GUIDE TO THE AP4 BURMESE FILE

[The AP4 Burmese file is concerned with the Tibeto-Burman speaking Burmese people living in the Union of Burma. Since this file is a subfile of the AP1 Burma file, with no sources processed for it as such, please see the orientation category (10) in the AP1 Burma file, for information on the sources involved.]

1: Mi Mi Khaing 1-5 (no date) 1946 AP1 Burma
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CHAPTER TWO

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MOULMEIN, Maul-la-Myaing to us, is a fair and prosperous city. It is fair in its descent from the hills behind, in three successive parallel main streets, to the wide Moulmein River, where seagoing ships can sail in, and an island rich in legend lies dark and green in the sunlit water. It had prospered since it was made the military headquarters of Tenasserim in the British annexation of 1826 until, in about 1900, it had over 50,000 inhabitants and a busy rice and teak export trade. Moulmein is fair also becauset he ridges behind are crowned with pagodas, and the hills and rivers contain waterfalls and caves, but to me it is particularly fair like a queen city that rides athwart her domain, because my father and my mother came from the two ends of the natural sphere of Moulmein's influence, Ye and Thaton, each from about 100 miles away, each sent by the family as an adventurous experiment, to meet and contract an understanding in Moulmein.

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My maternal great-grandfather was a Talaing general, and when I look around at my mother's family I cannot think anything else, for they are all most robust, alive and resurgent; whether I take the members who

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S they mutter spells and incomprehensible incantations over
B the "medicine," are looked up to with profound belief and a
305 very considerable deal of awe.
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The tattooing on the loins and legs is universal with all
B Burmans, and nothing more is ordinarily required; but there
304 are very few who have not charms of some kind tattooed on
531 the arms, back, chest, or even on the top of the head, which is shaved for the purpose. These figures are of all kinds—lizards, birds, mystic words and squares, rings, images of the Buddha, and sometimes merely a few scattered dots, the latter especially on the face, between the eyes, over the ears, or on the chin. The colouring matter is almost always vermilion, with drugs and solutions, according to requirement, mingled with it. The blue dye from the lampblack never disappears, but the red colour of the vermilion gradually fades away and vanishes. Nevertheless figures of this kind, more or less distinct, are to be found on Burmans of all ages, so great is the national superstition. Even the town
B youths, whose limbs are smooth and "unbreeched" as a
[832] girl's, are never without some charms of this kind, if it is only the a-nu se, which enables a man to gain the woman he loves. This "drug of tenderness" is composed of vermilion mixed with a variety of herbs and curious things, prominent
B among which is the bruised, dry skin of the tauktè, the
[825] trout-spotted gekko, whose sonorous cry and fidelity to the
[101] house where he establishes himself and brings luck, are well known to all who have visited Burma or Siam. It is very sparingly used, a few round spots arranged in the shape of a triangle being of sufficient virtue to ensure the object aimed at. The commonest place for them is between the eyes,
B but occasionally the se sayā recommends the lips, or even
305 the tongue, and his advice is always followed. This is the
562 only tattooing which women ever have executed on them,
832 and there are not many of them who have it done. The patient is usually a love-sick maiden who is afraid the object of her affection will escape from her, or a girl whom rolling years warn that she must be quick if she would not be condemned to remain an a-pyo heing, an old maid. Except in very desperate cases, however, they always manage to persuade the operator to place the charm on some part of the

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of time, but Mr. Taw Sein Ko says in his report of 1908: "Numerous terra-cotta tiles have been found in the basements and corridors of several of the pagodas. They illustrate scenes in the *jâtakas* and in the life of the Buddha Gautama. They are of two types. In the Ananda and Shwezigôn the tiles are enamelled green and show Chinese influence. In the Petleik pagoda they are of red baked clay and have South-Indian resemblances. All three shrines belong to the eleventh century A.D. The stone sculptures in the Ananda are fine, and the pose, drapery, and contour are distinctly Indian. In the Sein nyet pagoda, halfway between Myinpagân and Thiyipyitsaya, of the eleventh century, the Chinese influence preponderates. The twin Petleik pagodas are at Thiyipyitsaya."

Few, if any, contain actual relics. The cloistered and terraced temples are simply receptacles for huge images of the Buddha and others. The corridors of the Ananda and Gawdapalin are filled with sculptured groups representing events in the life of the Great Master, and figures of eminent disciples and yahanda. In the central recesses, where are the colossal figures of the Buddhas, the light is cunningly admitted from above so as to fall on the calm gilded face, producing a most weird and striking effect. But Pagân would require a monograph itself, and with it should be compared Shwegu, between Mandalay and Bhamaw. That sacred island is a perfect forest of pagodas, and only fails to obtain wider fame because of the existence of Pagân. There are 999 shrines within its limits, and a much larger proportion of these exist intact than is the case with Pagân, though none of them can compare with the magnificence of the Ananda.

The question of the architecture of the Pagân temples, which is so different in style from that found in other parts of Burma, has been fully discussed in Yule's admirable *Mission to Ava*. He omits, however, to notice the fact that Anawrata-saw Min, when he established Buddhism in Pagân, built all the pagodas and temples after the exact model of those then existing in Thatôn, in the same order and of the same size. The town of Thatôn, above Maulmein, was the first settlement of Thawna and Ôttara, the

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thought that the few hours spent at the payā gather up stores of kutho, not less certainly profitable than the social delights of the "duty day" are pleasurable.

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The greatest of all the pagoda feasts is, of course, that of the Shwe Dagôn in Rangoon, with its pilgrims, not only from the farthest parts of Burma and far-away Shan hills, but also from over the seas, from Siam and Cambodia and the Corea. But the vastness of the gathering and the proximity of the great town spoil the national character of the festival, and introduce too many elements of nineteenth-century civilisation in the shape of merry-go-rounds and hack carriages. A "jungle" feast is not only more characteristic, but more appreciated in its way by both town and country folk.

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There are three old Talaing pagodas near Rangoon, Kyaik-ka-san, Kyaik-ka-lo, and Kyaik-waing, whose annual duty days are looked forward to with pleasure by all the people round about. The feasts all occur in the month of Tabodwè, corresponding to our February or March. I have a suspicion that, were the proper date adhered to, all three would have the same ubonê; but such a lavish squandering of the good a popular religion provides for us would hardly meet with lay approval, even if advocated by the most holy of hermits. Accordingly the three pagoda days occur at intervals of a week, without reference to the crescent or waning moon; and latterly, with singular convenience for Burmans occupied in business in Rangoon, have usually been fixed for Sunday; so that English merchants are not troubled with the sudden ailments of their clerks at this season so much as used formerly to be the case. The Kyaik-ka-san is probably the most sacred of the three; containing as it does a tooth and bone of the forehead of Shin Gautama, brought to Rangoon by a yahanda, a blameless mendicant, over whose remains in Rangoon a huge thein-gyi, or ceremonial building, has been erected. Kyaik-ka-lo is, however, seemingly the more popular. It stands on the summit of a little hill about fourteen miles north of Rangoon, and is built of laterite blocks, now faced with bricks covered with plaster. The shrine was built in the second century before Christ, and,

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When there is a boat-race, the opposing crews have a preliminary row over the course with offerings placed on the prow for the nat who guards that stretch of the river. And so on through numberless examples. Some nats achieve fame, and are known far and wide by special appellations. Such is Maung In Gyi, a spirit who is feared in all the district round Rangoon, and away eastward and northward as far as Pegu. He lives in the water, and causes death. A special festival is celebrated in his honour, or rather in deprecation, in the month of Waso, the same in which Lent begins. Others more especially known in Upper Burma are Byindôn, Shwe Pyin-Gyi and his brother, and a drunkard nat called Maung Min Gyaw, to whom great quantities of rice spirit are offered. Uyingyi is a spirit universally known among the Talaings. The chief spirit of a district usually goes by the name of A-shin Gyi, the great lord, or, among the Talaings, Okkaya. Then there are generic names; there is the Hmin nat who lives in woods, and shakes those he meets so that they go mad. There is the Upaka, who flies about in the clouds to spy out men whom he may snap up. There is the Akakaso who lives in the tops of trees, Shekkaso who lives in the trunk, and Bumaso who is content with a dwelling in the roots. The presence of spirits or witches in trees may always be ascertained by the quivering and trembling of the leaves when all around are still. 776 782

The Talaings, and many of the Burmans in the Irrawaddy delta, have a regular nat-feast just before harvesting begins. The figure of a woman is fashioned out of straw, and a tamein, kerchief, and other portions of female dress placed along with it in a bullock cart. Great quantities of kauk-hnyin, "sticky rice," are heaped up, and the whole driven in procession round the ripe paddy fields. The figure is then set up in the place where the paddy is to be stored, and the offerings are usually swept away by the boys of the place, whose appetites overcome their fear of the nats, Bumadi, the guardian of the earth, and Nagyi, the guardian of the grain, to propitiate whom the feast is held. 776 527 782 101

There is a theory that persons who are executed or meet a violent death become nats and haunt the place where they 776 769

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to accumulate money, and their carelessness results in the constant death of their plough-beasts, so that matters usually remain exactly at the same level if the farmer does not actually get into permanent debt. The Scottish Highlanders have a pious wish, "May the free hand always be full!" If it is not always full in Burma it is consoling to think that it is seldom absolutely empty. Still, when the grandson succeeds he ordinarily finds that there is as little actual money hoarded up about the place as there was when the grandfather Po Gyi spent so many borrowed rupees at his uncle's funeral. 243 454 511

If rice cultivation is easy work in the low country, it is very different with the taung-ya, or hill clearings. Here the dense underwood and forest growth has to be cut down; and the more there is to cut the better the crop, for the soil needs fertilising badly, and all that is cut down is burned. Work is begun about January; everything is felled, bushes and all; and after the fallen logs have dried some time in the sun, the brushwood is heaped up round about them and the whole is set on fire. Some of the logs smoulder for weeks —perhaps till the first rains come. Then the ground is rudely dug up with hoes, and the ashes turned in. Cotton-seed is ordinarily mixed with the rice, which is of a quite different variety from that produced in the plains. It is sown broadcast, and the farmer has thereafter only to keep down the weeds, but this is not by any means a light task. The crop is ready by October, and furnishes little more than enough to support the family or community. The scanty manure provided by the wood-ashes is not sufficient to last more than two or three years; and when the crop is secured the party proceeds on to a new settlement, there to repeat the same laborious process. A very ingenious device for lightening the toil is resorted to where there is much heavy timber. Beginning at the bottom, they slightly cut the lowest trees on the upper side only, gradually increasing the depth of the notch as they advance up the hill, until at the top of the clearing they cut the trees completely through. These fall on the row immediately below them, and by their weight knock it down; and so the felling process is continued down to the bottom. Occasionally a tangle occurs 243 101 241 [243] [433] 241 313

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CHAPTER XXIV

A GRACIOUS PLOUGHING

LIKE the "royal elder brother" of China, the king of Burma ought to go out once a year to plough the fields. Thibaw Min did not do it during the first two years of his reign, and, as far as I am aware, was equally heedless throughout the later years also. The consequences ought to have been disastrous. According to tradition, the failure of the Lètwin mingala to come off should have caused a drought all over the country. But the Mo hkaung did not ensue; on the contrary, there was Mo kaung: an aspirate makes all the difference between a water-famine and seasonable showers. King Thibaw went very little indeed out of his palace. The annals of the country supply too many instances of kings, who, having gone abroad, found on their return to the palace gates that a usurper had taken possession of the throne in the meantime, and had no better greeting for his predecessor than a short shrift and a red velvet sack in which to plunge his body into the Irrawaddy. This unlovable custom had great weight with King Thibaw; but it was unwise of him to entirely abandon so venerable a tradition as the Lètwin mingala. It was at this ceremonial that one of the earliest marvels in the life of the Buddha Gautama happened. The king Thudawdana, with eight hundred noblemen save one, was ploughing the fields at the annual festival. Many country people came to see the great sight, and the city emptied itself. The maids who had charge of the little Prince Theidat laid him down under the shade of a tree and went to look on. The infant Buddha rose up as soon as they were gone, and sitting

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527 the plays, of which there are three or four, while some unwearied spirits can only find relief for their exultant triumph in yein dances and irresponsible performances of their own. [273] Till dawn of day the revelry goes on, but there is nothing like drunkenness. It is exceedingly seldom that you see a drunken Burman out of Rangoon, where they claim to be Europeanised. For a couple of days the excitement lasts, and then the strangers wend their way homewards, and the township calms down to its usual quiet. But for years the great event will be talked of at the local feasts, and the Yein choruses of three or four generations will tell of the gallant struggle when the Daungsatpyan beat the Thônpanhla and broke the long supremacy of the Thônkwa rowers.

177.52 526 It is a great pity that these old contests are not kept up with the spirit that used to characterise them. In 1877 the then Chief Commissioner of British Burma, Mr. Rivers Thompson, believing that they led to unrestrained and dangerous gambling, issued an order forbidding all government officials to have anything to do with them, and advising that great races should be discouraged as much as possible. This policy was continued by Mr. Aitchison (late Sir Charles), and there seemed some danger that the art of making fine racing-boats would be lost, while all the fun and jollity of the old ye-pwè, kôn-pwè, land and water sports, were put an end to, without any decrease in the amount of 525 gambling. The habit is as engrained with the Burman as [101] with the Chinaman, and if there are no boat-races to bet on there are lots of other things, from pony matches to gônnyin-to, on which sporting votaries might stake their money. 526 There were still local matches between adjacent villages held, 177.52 but they were but a sorry imitation of the old festivals, and have unfortunately led to the unpleasant speculations of the West being introduced. "Barneyings," in-and-out rowing, and all the unlovely customs of Western professionalism have sprung up as a consequence of the degradation of the old manly sport. Sir Charles Bernard, who was an ardent athlete himself, did a good deal towards reviving boat-racing. Sports have been held on the Great Royal Lake at Rangoon, it may be hoped only as a preliminary measure to the encouragement of longer contests on

be done is a thorough examination of the whole question by a conclave of experts who combine a knowledge of Burmese music with a knowledge of western musical theory. The matter is now extremely urgent. Burmese music seems to be dying out. Perhaps I may be permitted to leave about some threads which will lead future more competent research to their final unravelling. I only hope that the urgency will be recognised and early efforts made to begin a proper study of the music of the country. 533

I have reduced Mr. Mariano's three kinds of scales into one *bona-fide* key—the peculiar major diatonic scale with indeterminate Fourth and Seventh within which there are changes—of key? of mode? I shall not say at present.

With the classical circle of keys I shall deal later.

The four keys still extant, as set out by U Ba Choe and U San Win are presumably the keys of C, F, B, E, in which different prescribed classes of Burmese songs must be played or sung, and in the prescribed order. It would not do to play a *yodaya* ရိုးရာသား or a *bawlè* ဘောလီ in immediate succession to a *kyoh* ကြီး A song from the *putpyo* ပတ်ပျိုး class must be the next to follow. Otherwise the new song will jar on the ear. All this is perfectly true. The puzzle is this: **When discussing the laws of Burmese music does the word 'key' in its strictly technical sense apply?** I have met with many difficulties because I have so far been using this word with its strict musical denotations to represent a musical phenomenon which may be, so far as I know, represented by either one or all of the following three:— 533 [01]

1. Actual change of key.

2. Change of mode.

3. Change of 'tessitura'.

Again 'tessitura' is not quite right for the Sanskrit word *aṃça* Hearken to Fox Strangways, "What gives its peculiar flavour to a melody..is the position of *aṃça*. Round it, and round its consonant or correlative (*samwadi*)—a note at the distance of a Fourth or a Fifth from it[1]—are grouped the phrases of the song. They derive their meaning, their point, from their relation to it. It is easy to see that the character of a phrase would completely alter according as the *aṃça*, the salient note of the scale, were made the salient note of the phrase, or not. The *aṃça* may be any place in the scale not excluding the keynote or drone-note. The first section of the

1. In Burmese music, more often a Fourth than a Fifth.

BURMESE MUSIC.

As for the classical cycle of keys, diagrams of which appeared both in U Ba Choe's article and U San Win's book 2, both U Ba Choe and U San Win quote authoritative verses from classical literature (*Nātakaratanakosa* နာဋကရတနကောသာ) but regret that not all the keys mentioned are in use in this decadent age. With due reverence for the classics I shall assign these verses like Ruskin's works on art and Pater's, to literature. It is becoming increasingly difficult to fit classical theory with the actual music. Whereas our classical literature came *en masse* from ancient India along with Buddhism many hundred years ago our music seems to have come from the east. Indeed one class of songs *yodaya* ယိုးယား came *en masse* from Siam less than two centuries ago. Music is the last thing that could have come with Buddhism. It seems to have developed quite independently of classical literature. In fact Burmese poetry *linga* လင်္ဂ *alaṅkara*) is quite distinct from Burmese song (*thachin* သချင်း) and from both stands massive and remote the Buddhist literature of the *tripitaka* in the Pali language. 533 178 101 [779] [538]

What seems to have happened is that while the elegant royalty and courtesans in the palace were delighting in the intricacies of Burmese versification with liberal infusion of both the Pali language and the Buddhist philosophy, music in its robust form was having its origins in animistic ritual (နတ်), in the village when somebody was giving alms and in the paddy-fields when the transplanting of the seedlings were in progress. For the former we have *Byaw*[1] (ဗျော) stick-struck drum songs, and for the latter we have *Bonshay* (ဘုံဆေ) long-drum or *kauksaik* (ကောက်စိုက်) transplanting songs. *Kyoh* (ကြိုး) that most ancient class of Burmese songs also must have been in the beginning a labour chant for concerted action that germinated in ancient row boats, grew into a boat-song, and then developed for royal ears into its present high order of melodic and literary grandeur (*vide* the royal barge songs: ကောင်ရိုက်ကြိုး when the barge makes port, ကောင်ငင်ကြိုး when the barge is being towed out by rowers in open boats, ကောင် ကောကြိုး when the barge is underway[2]. The cadences of these still recall the rhythmic flash of wet oars in the sun. Thus Burmese music had as its sponsor the rustic festivals and the occupation of the hewers of wood and drawers of water, and not the Church as 533 178

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1. ကရေးဘဝ်ကိုရောဘွဲ့ခိုင်ရောတဲ့ 'A dancer's life (or dancing) begins with a tray of banana offerings (or *pwé* marked by a central fire-bowl stand of plantain trunk) in a *byaw* music party. Till 1698 A. D. when the 8th king of the Nyaungyan dynasty ဇေယျ *Sané Min* came to the throne there existed only intoned poems ရိုး ပေါ်ကျိုး but no real Burmese music. ကတောင်ပျံတယား by U Nu. Sun Magazine, 1938.

2. U Ba Choe told me that this was not true. This class of songs used to be played as exercises in the playing of the Burmese harp, when the pupil first learnt to pluck simultaneously certain strings (ကြိုး *Kyoh*). For a full explanation of it see ကောင်ကောကြိုးတဲ့ by U San Win.

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that the whole system of *ga nak*, the general term for the thing becomes an elaborate vehicle of light and shade. It brings the notes of a melody, as surely as the various light and shade of a picture brings the contours of the face, from the flat into the round; which again is precisely what harmony does for them, by assigning to the successive notes varying degrees of consonance. There is an obvious reason for grace-notes wherever there is no harmony. For a melody is a sentence with important 'words' and unimportant, and grace-notes and harmonic texture are the only two things that can always be applied to enhance this importance. For stress and quantity, which serve this purpose in verse, are not so well adapted to music. Stress, which is additional volume, is difficult to achieve with low notes; and quantity, which is additional duration, alters the melody itself, imposing on ~~it~~ from without something which should come from within."

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Although Burmese 'grace' may not be so elaborate or systematised as the Indian *gamak*, much of the above quotation equally applies to Burmese music. Much will have to be pointed out in notation when I deal with the problem of the 'writing' of Burmese music[1]. Mr. Mariano concluded: "It is a matter for great regret that the beautiful music which the Burmans unquestionably possess is being forgotten. The modern tendency is to imitate European and Indian themes, and the time is not distant when genuine Burmese music will be a thing of the past."

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He wrote that 40 years ago. Nowadays, the gramophone record business has encouraged wholesale filching of jazz tunes, first divested of harmony and then re-dressed in an imitation of it, with Burmese words making ungainly efforts to step along side by side with the wholly unsuitable western tunes. Shades of Mariano!

It is a matter for rejoicing that a state school of fine-arts has come into being. How much more rejoicing there would be in the hearts of lovers of true Burmese music if the government, instead of merely opening a class for teaching how to play certain musical instruments, had seized upon the means of saving real Burmese music from oblivion. The implacability of business so far as gramophone records are concerned, the rapid deterioration of public taste pandered to by radio and gramophone, the invasion

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1. A full treatment of Burmese grace with classified examples in staff-notation will require a separate chapter in the manner of the chapter on Ornamentation in Arnold Dolmetsch's *Interpretation of the music of 17th and 18th centuries*. For the present see specimens in the *saungbaun* violin part of *Bow-lè*.

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INTRODUCTION

101 This paper is a summary report of field research which I conducted in the
122 village of Tadagale, Insein District, Burma, during the period November, 1949, to April, 1950. The work was made possible by a scholarship under the Fulbright Program, supplemented by an Area Research Training Fellowship granted by the Social Science Research Council. I am indebted to both of these organizations for the support of my work.

114 A word seems in order concerning the selection of Tadagale as a community
121 for study. It was my original intention, before I reached Burma and learned in detail of the then prevailing conditions, to do fieldwork among the Burmese of the delta or dry zone, using as a base a single village which would more or less exemplify contemporary Burmese peasant culture. Nothing was more impossible, in view of the internal conditions, and the plan had to be abandoned. After several months of efforts to shift my research to the Shan States, during which time one project had to be abandoned before it actually commenced, and another came to an abrupt halt in its second week -- both because of the spread of the internal disturbances to the areas concerned -- it became clear that the greatest assurance of continuity of research was to be found in the general area near Rangoon. After a brief survey of communities within a few miles radius of the capital, Tadagale was chosen. It appeared most suitable for several reasons, among them accessibility, manageable size, and, owing to its contact with Rangoon, the possibility of studying socio-cultural change.

124 The fieldwork was done by interviewing of informants, by direct observation of events and behavior, and by the compilation of a detailed census concerning household membership, occupations, marital status, religious affiliation, group membership, income, and other matters. With the aid of a fluent, college-educated interpreter fieldwork was carried on daily.

114 This paper does not purport in any way to be a complete or definitive
121 study. An approximation to such a report, I am convinced, can result only from fieldwork done under a set of conditions very different from those that were possible for the research here reported. These should include extended continuous residence (minimally one year) in the community by the investigator, and participation by him in community life without self-imposed or assumed separateness or distinction from the people; and a command of the native language adequate to conduct interviews and conversations without the use of interpreters. For Southeast Asia especially, the real fulfillment of such conditions is most difficult, but to the extent that they are met in ethnographic work the material obtained will possess richness and depth. Since, for a variety of reasons, these conditions could not be met in my study of Tadagale, no apology is offered for the inadequacies of this report. It is well, however, in these days of studies of 'cultures from afar' and other short-cut methods of fieldwork, to indicate how we have worked and how our results are thereby affected. Since knowledge of contemporary Burmese village culture is virtually non-existent, a report such as this perhaps may be regarded as a small contribution towards filling a large void.

[127] I am much indebted to Miss C. A. Ruston, of Mandalay, my interpreter,
114 whose tact and insight certainly minimized the limitations that are inherent
122 in fieldwork done by means of an interpreter. Dr. Paul F. Crazzey of Wheaton College (Massachusetts), who was teaching in Rangoon University at the time of

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I

THE VILLAGE SETTING AND THE PEOPLE

Tadagale is a suburban community of Lower Burma, about four and one half miles north of the city center of Rangoon, chief port and national capital of the Union of Burma. To reach the village most readily one travels by automobile northward from the city along Prome Road, a main highway, to the junction with Kokine Road, beyond the city limit, on to which one turns eastward. After a quarter mile or so, one again goes northward on to a bumpy, poorly surfaced road which soon becomes dirt and terminates abruptly, after another quarter mile, at a small bridge. Tadagale means 'small bridge,' and it is after this bridge that the village is named. A few steps walk over the bridge brings one almost to the center of Tadagale. (See map on following page.) 101 361

Tadagale is more or less a 'line' type village, about 3000 yards in length. The domestic dwelling area is constituted by houses and granaries strung along the sides of a main dirt path which is just wide enough for a single bullock cart — or a jeep — to pass without scraping the bushes and trees. This area is heavily shaded from the intense tropical sun by many trees that grow in the household compounds and along the path; palms and banyans are the most prominent types. The houses are rectangular in shape, with low, slanting roofs, and platform-like porches in front. Among the more prosperous families of the village it is not unusual to find houses of plank construction, with roofs of corrugated iron. More frequently, houses are made of bamboo matted sides and palm thatched roofs. Every two or three houses share a well, which is simply an unlined and uncovered hole of perhaps ten to twelve feet in depth. In almost every compound there is a vegetable garden, from which the family supplies itself and realizes some cash income by the sale of any surplus. 361 342

To the east of Tadagale's dwelling area, perhaps five hundred yards distant and running parallel to it, is a railroad line, which begins in Rangoon and terminates at Mingaladon, about five miles north of Tadagale. A small railroad station is located at the eastern terminus of the path on which one finds oneself immediately after crossing the bridge that leads into the village. The villagers do not use the railroad nearly so much as they use buses, which run from Tadagale to Rangoon frequently. 101 496 494

Beyond the railroad line, still farther east, lie the paddy fields, extending out to the winding Pazundaung Creek. This creek begins at the southeastern tip of Rangoon, where the Rangoon and Pegu rivers join, and flows in a twisting course northward to separate Rangoon and the heavily populated area immediately north of the city from the sparsely settled area to the east. 361 133

Tadagale's climate is that of the tropical monsoon belt, with three well-defined seasons. From the end of October to about the end of February is the Dry Season, characterized by the absence of rain, with cool mornings and evenings. The daily maximum temperature is in the 80's and the humidity is moderate. English-speaking Burmese call this season winter; at night it is cool enough to sleep under one light blanket. The Hot Season commences at the beginning of March and lasts until June. Temperatures rise to daily maxima in the middle to high 90's, the earth is parched and cracked, and the loose dirt on the village paths, caught by occasional breezes, forms choking 132

565 basis of invidious distinctions. Persons of means are esteemed more for the
556 socially valued uses to which they may put their money, such as charity, ceremonial activities, and support of the clergy, than for sheer richness or consumption.

Economic Change

178 The changing pattern of Tadagale's economic life may be described from the
101 point of view of shift from a once largely subsistence economy to one based more upon commodity production and exchange. In discussing this shift, the general
433 trends are best indicated if we focus upon Lower Burma rather than upon Tadagale exclusively. It is desirable to make this large area our unit because pertinent data are available for it, whereas historical information specific to the village is somewhat scant and fragmentary. The term "Lower Burma" is an administrative and geographical one. It comprises about 81,000 square miles and a population of some 9 millions, four of the administrative divisions in the highly fertile, deltaic 'rice-bowl' of Burma.

178 1. Background. The trend from a relatively self-sufficient subsistence
433 economy, with little dependence upon money, to a more commercialized economy coincides with the coming of British colonial rule in Burma. Our historical perspective thus extends over a period of about 150 years. Within this span of time, profound economic change occurred in Lower Burma. Here we cannot give a detailed account of events from decade to decade, but must limit ourselves to a brief consideration of the major trends.

175 In pre-British Lower Burma, villages consisted of what might be called
433 islands of clearance in a big jungle. In these settlements the Burmese peasants
361 lived by cultivation of paddy and vegetable gardens. Individual small holdings were the rule, and the size of the plot depended almost entirely upon need. No incentive existed to clear and cultivate land beyond the requirements of household subsistence and taxes, paid in kind, to the representative of the Burmese Crown. Cotton, from the dry zone of central Burma, was spun and woven into cloth, and garments were made in the local community. Housing was of a simple bamboo and thatch type, made of materials available locally. The bullock cart provided transport on the relatively few occasions that it was necessary for the Lower Burma villager to travel distances that could not be walked. Contact between villages was minimized by the expanses of intervening, uncleared jungle country. In Tadagale, for example, one of our oldest informants was able to recall the period of his youth, around 1885, when jungle clearance and settlement was still taking place, bringing Tadagale into closer communication with other communities in the area. Local craftsmen provided the villagers with simple utensils, tools and implements.

178 When British colonialism took over, money came to dominate over barter.
433 Taxation was ordered to be paid in money. The Burmese cultivator was encouraged
436 to clear the heavy jungle, cultivate more land, sell surpluses of paddy to
456 commercial millers, and spend his money on attractive manufactured goods imported from England, which were on display in the town shops and bazaars. Moneylenders, some of them Burmese, but especially Indians of the moneylending Chettiar caste from Madras, who could enter Burma freely, were at hand to loan money in fairly unlimited amounts to the Burmese peasants. Thus the latter could finance the expansion of their cultivation. Rates of interest charged were unregulated, and commonly ranged from 10% to 35% per year. The Burmese peasant was an easy victim: he was, at first, entirely unsophisticated in money

591 matter. The wife's opportunities for social intercourse with her family of
101 orientation are, of course, greatest when residence is established in her home village; if, however, a couple from different villages marry and find it most opportune to settle in the husband's community, the chances are that the wife will maintain contact with her family of orientation by visits from time to
582 time. People from Tadagale seldom marry individuals from villages that are very distant. The structural features of bilaterality and absence of extension militate against inequality and male domination in the family.

562 Burmese culture is frequently remarked for the equality of the sexes, in contrast to the neighboring cultures of India and China. This status of the sexes seems to be the historic resultant of two patterns of thought. One is the apparently very old, pre-Buddhist emphasis upon equality, involving equal inheritance, equal sharing of the property brought to the marriage, equal division of property in the event of divorce, a prominent female role in social and economic life, and the absence of transmission of surnames. The other thought pattern dates from the superimposition of Buddhism upon older Burmese concepts: whatever ideas of male superiority exist stem from Buddhist ideas of reincarnation, it being assumed that only a man can attain reincarnation.

593 In the family household the wife's role includes not only such routine tasks as preparation of food and serving of meals, keeping the house orderly and clean, and looking after small children; very often it involves control of the family income and the making of all important decisions as to expenditures.

Certain observances and taboos, reflective of a deferential attitude towards males, are expected of a wife. She is careful that her lower garments do not touch her husband's bed or his personal belongings; she avoids touching her husband's head. It is believed that the breaking of such taboos may ruin the husband's success and glory, especially his spiritual attainments. These injunctions are followed as a matter of course by village wives and will be broken deliberately only as an act of malice by a woman who wishes to harm or lower her husband for some reason.

837 Despite the various equalitarian aspects of husband-wife relations, there is a tendency towards a double standard of sexual conduct. A husband who has reason to believe that his wife is engaging in extra-marital affairs is very likely to display violent anger, beat her, and break up the marriage. The wife of a philandering husband, on the other hand, will usually do no more than display hurt feelings for a brief period; rarely will she separate from her husband, especially if they have children.

593 Siblings. It is the duty of the younger to show deference to the elder. This pertains to the order of serving food, fetching and carrying things, and even the arrangement of sleeping mats -- a younger sibling should never sleep with his feet extended towards an elder sibling. Upon the death of a parent, the eldest child of the same sex assumes that parent's socio-economic role in the family.

Father and Daughter. Consistent with the age principle, it is a daughter's duty to be obedient and to wait upon her father. Once an unmarried daughter passes the age of puberty, her father is expected to lead a circumspect and moral life more than ever before. Any deviant sexual behavior or drunken-
[581] ness on his part reflects upon his daughter and detracts from her marital chances.

Mother and Son. Although a son owes obedience to his mother, her claim upon him in this regard is tempered by the fact that, in Burmese Buddhist

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

776 delight of her life; and it would seem to me that
779 she must believe in a God and in prayer after all.
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So though I found much in these books that
771 was believed by the people, and much that was
779 to them the guiding influence of their lives, yet I
182 was unable to trust to them altogether, and I was in doubt where to seek for the real beliefs of these people. If I went to their monks, their holy men, the followers of the great teacher, Gaudama, they referred me to their books as containing all that a Buddhist believed; and when I pointed out the discrepancies, they only shook their heads, and said that the people were an ignorant people and confused their beliefs in that way.

779 When I asked what was a Buddhist, I was told
795 that, to be a Buddhist, a man must be accepted into
182 the religion with certain rites, certain ceremonies, he must become for a time a member of the community of the monks of the Buddha, and that a Buddhist was he who was so accepted, and who thereafter held by the teachings of the Buddha.

But when I searched the life of the Buddha, I could not find any such ceremonies necessary at all. So that it seemed that the religion of the Buddha was one religion, and the religion of the Buddhists another; but when I said so to the monks, they were horror-struck, and said that it was because I did not understand.

114 In my perplexity I fell back, as we all must, to
182 my own thoughts and those of my own people; and
779 I tried to imagine how a Burman would act if he
• 101 came to England to search into the religion of the English and to know the impulses of our lives.

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

I saw how he would be sent to the Bible as the source of our religion, how he would be told to study that if he would know what we believed and what we did not—what it was that gave colour to our lives. I followed him in imagination as he took the Bible and studied it, and then went forth and watched our acts, and I could see him puzzled, as I was now puzzled when I studied his people.

I thought of him reading the New Testament, and how he would come to these verses:

'27. But I say unto you which hear, Love your enemies, do good to them which hate you,

'28. Bless them that curse you, and pray for them which despitefully use you.

'29. And unto him that smiteth thee on the one cheek, offer also the other; and him that taketh away thy cloke, forbid him not to take thy coat also.

'30. Give to every man that asketh of thee; and of him that taketh away thy goods ask them not again.'

He would read them again and again, these wonderful verses, that he was told the people and Church believed, and then he would go forth to observe the result of this belief. And what would he see? He would see this: A nation proud and revengeful, glorying in her victories, always at war, a conqueror of other peoples, a mighty hater of her enemies. He would find that in the public life of the nation with other nations there was no thought of this command. He would find, too, in her inner life, that the man who took a cloak was not forgiven, but was terribly punished—he used to be hanged.

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

825 It is true that it is part of their great theory of life
779 that the souls of men have risen from being souls of beasts, and that we may so relapse if we are not
825 careful. Many stories are told of cases that have
775 occurred where a man has been reincarnated as an animal, and where what is now the soul of a man used to live in a beast. But that makes no difference. Whatever a man may have been, or may be, he is a man now; whatever a beast may have been, he is a beast now. Never suppose that a Burman has any other idea than this. To him men are men, and animals are animals, and men are far the higher. But he does not deduce from this that man's superiority gives him permission to illtreat or to kill animals. It is just the reverse. It is because man is so much higher than the animal that he can and must observe towards animals the very greatest care, feel for them the very greatest compassion, be good to them in every way he can. The Burman's motto should be *Noblesse oblige;* he knows the meaning, if he knows not the words.

825 For the Burman's compassion towards animals
101 goes very much farther than a mere reluctance to kill them. Although he has no command on the subject, it seems to him quite as important to treat animals well during their lives as to refrain from taking those lives. His refusal to take life he shares with the Hindu; his perpetual care and tenderness to all living creatures is all his own. And here I may mention a very curious contrast, that whereas in India the Hindu will not take life and the Mussulman will, yet the Mussulman is by reputation far kinder to his beasts than the Hindu. Here the

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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Burman combines both qualities. He has all the kindness to animals that the Mahommedan has, and more, and he has the same horror of taking life that the Hindu has.

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Coming from half-starved, over-driven India, it is a revelation to see the animals in Burma. The village ponies and cattle and dogs in India are enough to make the heart bleed for their sordid misery, but in Burma they are a delight to the eye. They are all fat, every one of them—fat and comfortable and impertinent; even the ownerless dogs are well fed. I suppose the indifference of the ordinary native of India to animal suffering comes from the evil of his own lot. He is so very poor, he has such hard work to find enough for himself and his children, that his sympathy is all used up. He has none to spare. He is driven into a dumb heartlessness, for I do not think he is actually cruel.

The Burman is full of the greatest sympathy towards animals of all kinds, of the greatest understanding of their ways, of the most humorously good-natured attitude towards them. Looking at them from his manhood, he has no contempt for them; but the gentle toleration of a father to very little children who are stupid and troublesome often, but are very lovable. He feels himself so far above them that he can condescend towards them, and forbear with them.

His ponies are pictures of fatness and impertinence and go. They never have any vice because the Burman is never cruel to them; they are never well trained, partly because he does not know how to train them, partly because they are so near the

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HOME

Home is: Pathwe

Home is the village of Pathwe, Pantanaw Township, Maubin district, Lower Burma. It is located on one of the countless small streams of the Lower Irrawaddy estuary about ninety miles west of Rangoon. The country is a flat alluvium plain dissected by myriads of streams and canals. The monotony of marshy plains is relieved by occasional clumps of trees and tall reeds which flank the streams. The land is a result of depositions of silts from upstream by the Irrawaddy river and its tributaries - a process which is going on today as Lower Burma extends into the bays of Bengal and Martaban. When asked how long his family had lived in the village of Pathwe, U Myaing replied : 131 [101]

> "My parents were born here and their parents before them and their's before them - as far back as we can remember." [591]

The village of Pathwe occupies the adjacent banks of three streams at the point where they join.

The larger town of Pantanaw is located some three miles upstream. The section U Myaing lives in is called TWA-GYI-BET (Big-village-side) and is the main residential area of Pathwe. Directly across the stream, which is about 200 feet wide at this point, are TWA-LAY-BET (small-village-side) and PAYA-GYI-DAUNT (Big-pagoda-corner). 361

TWA-GYI-BET consists of four rows of houses placed 200 feet apart parallel to the main branch of the stream. The rows consist of about fifty houses each and are separated by brick or earth roads. The brick road is raised about three feet to form a passageway in time of floods. Communal lavatories flank both sides of the village rows and the ones on the side of the river have been located about 60 or 70 feet back from the edge of the river "in order not to pollute the water." The lavatories in the village differ from one another, in that some of them are in the house itself and others are outside by a small passageway connected to the house. The houses with lavatories in them depend on the water to carry away the droppings in the rainy season. [363] 514 364 [312]

They are not eaten at all in the camp. One bundle of these leaves cost an anna in Pantanaw. They are eaten as TOZAYA with NGAPI water. They do not need to be boiled but can be eaten as they are after being washed. For one eating about 45 leaves are needed.

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SHWE-PAYON-THEE, (Golden pumpkin: Cucurbita pepo, D.C.): In Pathwe this fruit was eaten about three or four times a month. One fruit lasted for three meals and costs four annas. It has not been eaten in camp and is not greatly desired. SHWE-PAYON-THEE is cooked with dried fish. The fruit is very large and has to be chopped into pieces and added. Sessamum oil has to be cured with onions, and then the mixture is added to it. NGAN PYAR YE is an ingredient, but not chillies. This dish is eaten after mixing thoroughly with rice or after burying small pieces in small mounds of rice.

THAKWA-THEE (Cucumber: Cucumis sativus, Linn.): Eaten two or three times a month in Pathwe, one fruit measuring about one foot by two inches cost two annas and lasted a meal. It is eaten four or five times a month in camp, but the fruit here measures two inches by eight inches and cost two annas. One fruit is used for one meal. Cucumber can be eaten in two ways - either as a pickle or as a dish. To make pickle dried prawns have to be pounded, cucumber scraped into small slivers, sessamum oil has to be cured with onions and poured onto the cucumber and prawns. Some fish juice and pounded dried chillies are added. This preparation is eaten buried in handfuls of rice. To make the dish, the prawns are skinned and the cucumber peeled. The cucumber is then sliced and mixed with the prawns. Then sessamum oil is cured with the sliced onions, and the mixture of prawns and cucumber is placed in the oil. Some fish juice and little water are also added. This is known as cooking in the KYAW-CHET manner. Food cooked in this way can be either poured onto the rice, or the liquid may be taken as soup and the pieces buried in rice and eaten.

HMO WA DO (Water fern leaves, Marsilea Minuta):
These were obtained free from the fields. One small bundle consisting of about eight were eaten about four times a year in Pathwe. This has been eaten only once since the family's arrival in camp. One bundle costs one anna. It is eaten as TOZAYA with NGAPI. It cannot be made into a dish. It does not need to be prepared in any way, except for washing with water and removing the roots.

HMO (Mushrooms of many varieties): Mushrooms were eaten three times a month in Pathwe using 50 ticals for one meal. They cost two rupees a viss. Not eaten in camp. Mushrooms are cooked with prawns. The prawns are skinned and mixed with cured sessamum oil, onions and fish juice, and a little water is added. This is a KYAW CHET (fried-cooked). Mushrooms cooked in this way are eaten with handfuls of rice.

KAW BI DOKE (Cabbage: Brassica oleracea, Linn., sub-species capitata): One cabbage about seven inches in diameter was eaten at two meals per month costing six annas in Pathwe. In camp the vegetable is eaten two or three times a month, 25 ticals at a cost of three annas per meal. This is eaten with prawns. The cabbage is sliced, sessamum oil cured with onions, fish juice added, and the cabbage fried. This is also eaten either mixed with rice or buried in rice.

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KA NAN (crab: Crustacean, Potamon sayanum): Crab has not been eaten by the family at all. It was not eaten because in Pantanaw the crabs were very small and quite unlike the big ones that can be obtained in Rangoon. Owing to this factor they do not know how to cook or to otherwise prepare crabs for food, and now in the camp, even though crabs are available, they do not inquire into the price of crabs. Ma Aye Myaing still does not know how to cook crabs for a meal.

NWAYWET (tender sprouts of bottle gourd: Lagenaria vulgaris Ser): NU NYONT soup, consisting of five sprouts costing one anna boiled in water was made four to six times a month in Pathwe. In Rangoon one bundle consisting of two sprouts cost one anna. Two bundles were used for one meal, but eaten only three times during the last year.

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INTRODUCTION

1. The Rise of a Vernacular Literature in Burma

Burma is a small country lying between the two great countries of India and China, and at a first glance it may perhaps be thought that Burmese civilization has little of originality or individuality, and that it is only a minor branch of the Indian and Chinese civilizations. That is not the case. The peninsula of Indo-China shades into India and China along its borders, but Burma proper, where Burmese is spoken,[1] lies away from these borders, and therefore preserves special characteristics of her own. Surrounded on three sides by highlands and on the fourth by the sea, Burma has always remained insular, more insular even than England. The barriers, however, were not impassable, and there were routes from India and China along which foreign influences came, but in such a restricted way that Burma could absorb them without losing her individuality. Even now, when with better sea communications foreign influences come in more extensively, the power of absorption possessed by Burma and the Burmese still leave them their individuality, and they are still a nation with a civilization of their own. 101 131

According to early chronicles which most English scholars, except Mr G. E. Harvey, have accepted as quite reliable, the kingdom of Prome in Lower Burma was flourishing as a civilized State by about the fifth century before Christ. A few centuries earlier the first kingdom, named Tagaung, in Upper Burma, is said to have been founded by a king who came overland from India. He found the natives quite civilized and willing to be more so. That kingdom was destroyed, but was revived and restored by another king from India during the lifetime of the Buddha. It, too, was destroyed and the kingdom of Prome was later founded by a prince of Tagaung. Prome is generally believed to have dominated the regions around 175

[1] Burma proper is the valley of the Irrawaddy. On the west of it are the China and allied tribes, on the north Kachins, and on the east the Shans. They were under the Burmese kings and are now under the Government of Burma. Being backward races, except the Shans, they have no writing. [101]

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175 it, carrying on trade with India and the rest of Indo-China. During this period Burmese dancing and music and poetry, as embodied in songs, perhaps assumed definite and national forms. But there was
177 no writing. The kings that came from India probably knew writing,
175 but their knowledge was perhaps limited; in any case, it never
212 reached the people. The introduction of Buddhism into the country brought no writing, as it came through traders whose knowledge of religious learning was meagre. The few religious tracts preserved in monasteries were looked upon merely as curious and sacred objects. The religion, feeble from the beginning, decayed and soon disappeared. The kingdom came to an end in the first century A.D.[1]

175 A new kingdom was founded in Upper Burma at Pagan, which
779 controlled the land and river trade-routes, and as a result of its
212 commercial advantages, it became a powerful kingdom with the ascension to the throne of Anawrahta in 1044. From that point Burmese history ceases to be conjectural. Through the influence of the learned and saintly monk, Shin Arahan, Buddhism in one of its purest forms was introduced into the kingdom by Anawrahta. With it, writing was also introduced. The alphabet was the 'Square Pali', and the literature the *Three Pitakas* embodying all the religious
101 teachings in Pali. Curiously enough, the alphabet and the literature
171 did not come directly from India, but from Burma itself—from the
141 Talaing kingdom of Thaton. The Talaings were a branch of the Burmese race. Many think that they were a mixture of native tribes with Indian traders. I venture to disagree. The earliest inhabitants of Burma were Indonesians, who settled on the coast of Burma during successive 'drifts' of humanity from the west, through India, to further east. Later, there was an infiltration of Mongolian tribes, who came down the rivers from the North. Inland, where the Indonesian element was weak, the new-comers dominated and later became the Burmese; along the coast where the Indonesian element was strong the tribes united and became the Talaings. However, all this is mere con-
175 jecture. The early history of the Talaing kingdom of Thaton, which
101 Anawrahta had to destroy to obtain possession of the alphabet and the *Three Pitakas*, is not known, except that it was perhaps in existence a few centuries before Christ and was under the influence

[1] Pe Maung Tin and G. H. Luce, *The Glass Palace Chronicle*; A. Phayre, *History of Burma*. G. E. Harvey in his *History of Burma* contends that the first Burmese kingdom was Prome, and that it flourished only in about the seventh century A.D.

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of Hindu traders from South India. After the introduction of Buddhism into South India by Asoka in 261 B.C., the traders began to bring Buddhist elements to Thaton. With the establishment in the third or fourth century after Christ of the Hindu kingdoms in Java and Sumatra, Thaton became an important trading centre, and with the rise of a great Buddhist centre at Conjeveram in Madras in the fifth century, the Talaings began to receive religious writings in Pali. From that time onwards, learning was definitely established in the kingdom, and, as a result, a Talaing literature came into being. Anawrahta was interested in Pali only, and therefore when he destroyed the city, he burnt all the manuscripts except those in Pali.[1]

175 101 [779] [177]

The writing and learning that were thus introduced into Pagan took root at once. Prose and poetry as embodied in the language of the court and in songs had been in existence long before, though unwritten, and now the new learning turned them into written forms and began to develop them. Pali was studied everywhere, and in the newly-built temples with their crowded monastic life, works in Pali on religion, on Pali grammar and prosody, and on the legal code of Manu came to be produced.[2] Translations were also made, and soon Pagan became famous throughout India for its Pali scholarship. But

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[1] The Burmese language belongs to the Tibeto-Burmese group, whereas the Talaing belongs to the Mon-Khmar group. In spite of Anawrahta's conquest and in spite of the fact that racially they were cousins, the Talaings became completely merged with the Burmese only in the eighteenth century. The probability of the Sanskrit drama reaching the Talaings is considered in chap. ii.

[197] [101]

[2] G. E. Harvey, op. cit., pp. 59, 70.

The most famous for literary activity was the *Kyaukku Ohmmin* temple. Though built perhaps even before Anawrahta, when a corrupted form of Buddhism was prevalent, it is still in an excellent condition (Harvey, p. 17).

The code of Manu was compiled originally in Sanskrit, during the period 200 B.C.–A.D. 200. Since that time it has been one of the chief sources of Hindu law (J. D. Mayne, *Hindu Law*). The Burmese received it in a Talaing-Pali version in which the sacerdotal element had been done away with. That explains why, although Manu is one of the chief sources also of Burmese Buddhist law, it has little in common with Hindu law. The existence of the code as the chief source of Talaing law (Harvey, op. cit., p. 111) raises again the question, how far were the Talaing writings under the influence of Sanskrit and its literature? We shall never know. When Anawrahta destroyed Talaing institutions and historical and literary works, he intended that all knowledge of the past greatness of the Talaings should pass into oblivion so as to smooth his way towards unifying Burma into one single State.

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Pali has been, since 1044, the classical language of Burma.

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was appointed viceroy of the Seven Hill Districts of Mindon, situated between Arakan and the river Irrawaddy. It was during the Age of Triumph, the period when the native interlude and the Siamese-influenced court drama were being fused. At the miniature court of the viceroy were presented interludes and court plays, and *Hanmar* were publicly recited. In his palace,[1] a special apartment was built for the regular performance of plays and interludes, a special troupe of actors was taken under his patronage, and more famous troupes were often invited from the capital. In 1824 the unfortunate viceroy failed to stem the advance of the British forces, and he was executed and his palace burnt by royal order. From 1825 to 1852, the date of the second Anglo-Burmese war, Mindon was administered directly from the capital, and times were difficult; therefore dramatic performances at Mindon were few and far between. Though the son of the late viceroy was living, he wisely chose to leave the court, the administration of justice and politics alone, and as a result, he had neither the influence nor the wealth to patronize the drama. Therefore, as far as the drama was concerned, a gap resulted in the tradition of the family. In 1852 the British annexed the whole of Lower Burma, and Mindon passed into British hands. The viceroy's grandson was appointed chief administrative officer. This officer, my great-grandfather, took his office to be exactly similar in rank to that of his grand-sire, and though the British Government did not know of it—or the authorities at Rangoon did not care—he restored in effect the court of his grandfather, and dramatic performances were revived.[2] To him I am indebted for preserving much of the custom and tradition of the executed ancestor. To his revival of official performances of plays and interludes, I owe my information gathered from members of my family and the townspeople of Mindon. While the court poet, U Pon Nya, was further developing the drama, continuing the work of U Kyin U at the Burmese capital of Mandalay, in the out-of-the-way town of Mindon the interludes were still being performed. But it must not be supposed that Mindon was the only place where the interlude lived on. It survived in many places alongside the plays of the two great dramatists. But only from Mindon have I been able to obtain first-hand information and

647 175 536* 127 [177] [635] [635] [101]

[1] Though it was termed the 'palace', it was by no means a stately mansion or an imposing castle. Except for its gilded spires, emblems of the king's authority, it was just a big house of timber and bamboo with thatched roofs. [635]

[2] He was U Seuk, Extra Assistant Commissioner.

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175 At the first blast of the jewelled shell, their matted locks grow crisp.
533 At one blow from their copper gong their painted limbs leap.
535 Pearl streams glitter as they twist, as though the stars were shaken in the sky
Flowery crowns nod and whirl, with the motion of dragon or snake.[1]

The music and the dance were strange enough and pleasing enough for the Emperor to bestow minor honorary offices at the court on the leaders of the deputation. Burmese music and dancing continued to develop, and at least the music reached great artistic heights in the kingdom of Pagan, for the kings were its patrons; Alaungsithu, king from 1112 to 1167, was himself an accomplished musician, and introduced new notes and tunes. With all its developments, the music remained so national that when the great Anawrahta (1044–77) led a raiding expedition into Bengal and wanted to leave a sign that he had been there, he set up, not stone pillars as was the practice of most eastern kings of the period, but stone images of Burmese musicians. And when Alaungsithu, his grandson, later raided Bengal, he found them; and men say that the stone musicians played tunes as if they were alive, to the great delight of the homesick king.[2]

[101] Music and dancing could develop on their own without being overwhelmed by an already developed drama, as the Burmese did not know of the great Indian epics, the *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana*, or the Sanskrit drama and its kinsman the puppet show, although Java and the rest of Indo-China, through their Hindu colonists and kings, had definitely adopted the Indian epics and the drama as their own by about the sixth or seventh century. This absence of Hindu influence on Burmese music and dancing explains why the Burmese are the only civilized nation in the Far East who do not possess the fighting dance—the dance essentially connected with the great Indian epics.[3]

[1] The extract is taken from G. E. Harvey, op. cit., p. 14.

[2] Harvey, pp. 39 and 48; Tin and Luce, *The Glass Palace Chronicle*, p. 114. Alaungsithu was a great warrior and traveller.

[3] A fuller account of the Sanskrit drama and the epics is given in chap. ii.

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2. Folk Feasts and Spirit Dances

According to legend, the Sanskrit drama was created in the Silver Age to cheer up the people, who were no longer happy as they were in the Golden Age; the Japanese drama was first used by the gods to beguile the sun-goddess to reappear; and the Chinese drama came into being as the result of the Emperor Yuen Tsaung ordering, in the eighth century after Christ, a group of children to be trained to sing the various deeds of the great national heroes before his consort, in appreciation of her love for him.[1] The Burmese, however, have no such legends, and the origins of their drama were in the religious *Nibbathkhin*. But before considering those Burmese miracle plays, perhaps it will not be out of place to give an account of the various folk feasts and spirit dances, which have in them elements essentially dramatic, and which gave some idea of the dramatic to the people and paved a way for the coming of the religious pageants and plays.

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Folk feasts can be divided into two classes, those directly connected with Buddhism and those which are not. The Buddhist feasts occur on fixed dates and are celebrated all over the country. Of those, two are especially interesting, the feast of the Full Moon of the month of Tazaungmôn (which occurs in November) and the feast of the New Year (in April). Though the Full Moon of Tazaungmôn is an important Buddhist festival now, it is extremely probable that it was an important feast-day even before the introduction of Buddhism.[2] Special celebrations connected with the date have two distinct elements, the element of mimicry and the element of foolery. On that day, in the villages men dress themselves as animals, wearing appropriate masks, and dance through the village. The animal most commonly imitated is a sort of unicorn known to myth only. The desire to mimic animals probably came before the desire to mimic spirits, and I think the mimicry of animals, such as that we see in these celebrations, was the earliest attempt at the dramatic by the Burmese. Probably the mimicry of animals by men resulted in the presentation of animal puppet shows. In a Burmese puppet show, before the play begins, different animals come out one by

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[1] A. B. Keith, *The Sanskrit Drama*; F. A. Lombard, *Japanese Drama*; A. E. Zucker, *Chinese Theatre*.

[2] Some Buddhist festivals in Burma probably are of pre-Buddhist origins (cf. the English Christmas which has many elements derived from pre-Christian times). At least the special celebrations of Tazaungmôn described here are almost certainly pre-Buddhist.

On this great national epic were founded many plays. For
538 example, the thirteen Trivandrum plays commonly attributed to the
536* authorship of Bhasa contain two based on the *Ramayana*. The date of the plays is generally accepted as the second or third century after Christ.

2. The Siamese Court Play of *Rama*

177 From about the third century after Christ, the great Hindu expan-
175 sion overseas began in earnest, and as a result many Hindu kingdoms
101 were founded in Indo-China, Malaya, Java, and the surrounding regions. Before that time, very probably there was at least some intercourse between India and those regions, and may be Buddhism was not unknown in the regions mentioned. But by the third century A.D. Buddhism had completely disappeared in them, except for very faint traces remaining in Burma. In India itself, Buddhism was on the wane and Brahmanism was in the ascendant. Therefore when the merchants of Northern India spread a new culture in Indo-China and
[538] the surrounding regions, the culture was distinctly Hindu. The Indians took with them their religious epics, the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata*. Though both came to be very well known, the former was perhaps the more popular, probably because it was more finished artistically. Sanskrit plays were also no doubt introduced. The Hindu influence reached its height about the fourth and fifth centuries—in the third century Bhasa was composing his plays, and Kalidasa, the greatest of Hindu-Sanskrit dramatists lived about the year 400. Hindu poems and romances must also have been brought into the newly-founded kingdoms and trading centres.

177 The intensity of the new influence varied in the regions. Burma
101 was nearest and directly on the route from India. But probably
174 there was already a strong native civilization, and Hindu culture failed to take root. Along the coast, however, at Thaton, there was quite a strong outpost of Hindu culture, but even there the Hindu influence was quite negligible compared with regions farther east. In Cambodia the new culture was especially favoured, and in Java, Sumatra and the Malay peninsula, it took deep root. In Siam, however, the intensity was much less. In the narrow circle of the court the Hindu influence was strong, but the people were quite untouched by it. The chief reason was very probably the continuous, peaceful invasion by people from the north, the Shans, or at least the forefathers of the modern Shans. According to some scholars, they were Buddhists, which is not unlikely as Buddhism, in a modified form,

[i.e., the Ramayana -- ANALYST]

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was prevailing in China and Tibet by about the third century A.D. In any case, the ever-increasing population, alien to Hindu culture, must have acted against the intensity of the Hindu influence. Moreover, Siam was one of the earliest converts from Hinduism to Buddhism which, especially after the great Buddhist missionary, Buddhagosa, who lived in the fifth century, was ousting Brahmanism in Indo-China. At the Siamese court, however, the Hindu tradition was very strong, and remained so even when the king and his courtiers had become Buddhists. 177 174 101

In Siam, as in the neighbouring regions, learning did not reach the people for a long time even though it flourished at the court. The Hindu tradition was not strong enough to prevent the courtiers from creating a native literature. Buddhism prevented the courtiers from looking upon the Hindu learning with a conservatism that would not have allowed imitations. In Cambodia and elsewhere native ideas could never shake off the dominance of Hindu culture, and no native literature could come into being until quite modern times. Moreover, the very fact that the Hindu tradition was strong prevented the survival of Sanskrit literature in those regions, for once the tradition was broken, only chaos resulted. To make it clear, I will take the Java shadow-play. Sanskrit dramatic representation gave rise to the Java shadow-play. Therefore, one would expect Java to preserve a Hindu dramatic literature to herself and to the world. But it failed to do so. The shadow-play of Java is interesting as a special kind of dramatic performance, and not as dramatic literature. The stories that are presented on the shadow-stage in Java are taken mostly from the Hindu epics, but they have very little dramatic structure. Yet originally they must have been developed Sanskrit plays. Of course, to begin with, the Sanskrit shadow-plays themselves were slight in structure, but by no means so crude as the Javanese ones. The Hindu tradition was so strong that once it was destroyed, not only did the Hindu drama in Java decay and disappear, but a native drama in a developed form failed to appear. Stories from Hindu sources as well as stories from native history and mythology are still shown on the Java shadow-stage, but the plays are all formless and crude. In Cambodia, where the Hindu tradition was indeed very strong and lasted much longer, some remnants of the developed Sanskrit drama are preserved, but the tradition was so strong that no native element could enter it. There, up to the present day, a State theatre, with a special minister 177 369 564 538 101

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177 of State, presents the *Ramayana*, and less frequently that play which
369 the Burmese calls the *Eenaung*.[1] Both are remnants of Sanskrit plays
564 no doubt introduced by the early Hindu kings. Throughout the
538 centuries, the two plays have been regularly presented with the full
101 patronage of the king and all the splendour at his command. It is almost a ritual. During the intervening centuries, no fresh incentive had come from India, and no new element, no native element, was allowed to enter it; the result was that the Cambodian *Ramayana* soon lost its freshness. Cambodia, therefore, not only has no native drama; it also failed to preserve for posterity good examples of Sanskrit dramatic literature.

101 To return to Siam. Even the courtiers did not look upon the
538 Hindu tradition with too much awe and conservatism. They recog-
[564] nised and retained the vital elements of Hindu culture as far as
536* possible so as not to clash with native and Buddhistic elements. The results of such special circumstances are best seen in Siamese literature. The court encouraged and the courtiers produced romances based on and in imitation of Sanskrit-Hindu romances. Native ideas, native tales, and native mythology were introduced into works modelled on Hindu literary works. In drama, the Siamese did not produce native plays, and they retained the *Ramayana* as a play. But they introduced new ideas and kept alive the old. In dramatic literature, as in all other matters, the Siamese had to reject all that was contrary to Buddhism, and some were retained only after much alteration to suit new needs. A consideration of the Siamese play of *Rama* shows clearly the above facts.

The epic tradition was very strong in India and it prevented Sanskrit drama from rising to still greater heights. In the new Hindu regions of Indo-China and the Malay Archipelago epic tradition was equally strong, if not stronger. In India the Sanskrit drama was shackled by the epic tradition; in the new regions the drama was very probably entirely subordinated to the epic. The dramatic performances in Cambodia, in Siam, in Java, before modern influences came in, were based mostly on the *Mahabharata* or the *Ramayana*. Perhaps it is legitimate to assume that the Sanskrit plays introduced into the new Hindu kingdoms were mostly those based on the epics: mostly, but not all. For the *Eenaung*, which is very probably from Hindu-Sanskrit sources, tells a story unconnected with the two epics.

[1] This is explained in the next section.

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The *Ramayana* was probably the more popular; it is likely then that plays based on that epic were more numerous. The Siamese *Rama* play seems to prove the above facts. 101 536* 538

The Siamese *Rama* play is based on the epic. But much had to be altered, much had to be rejected. Rama was taken to be a Future-Buddha; this alteration suggested itself, no doubt, by the existence of the Birth Story, the *Dasaratha Jataka* which must have been known in Siam after Buddhism had taken root (and which, as already stated, probably existed before the epic). Rama was destined to be a Buddha soon, otherwise he was an ordinary mortal; he was of no divine birth, and all the supernatural help he had was his magic bow. In the original, the supernatural was connected with the Hindu religion and Hindu gods. The Siamese had to reject all those; the supernatural in the Siamese play became just simple magic or help by the Siamese equivalent of the Burmese *nats* who are supposed to help or hinder human beings just as ordinary mortals help or hinder each other; the Hindu gods of the epic were religious, whereas the Siamese supernatural beings in their play were quite independent of religion in their acts and behaviour. In the Hindu epic, the gods were behind the scenes, planning the destiny of mortals, but such a conception was entirely rejected by the Siamese. Therefore, whereas the Hindu *Ramayana* was a religious epic, the Siamese play became merely a dramatized *Jataka* Birth Story.

The Siamese play of *Rama*, dramatizing the epic, was influenced also by the Sanskrit plays themselves founded on the epic. Whether non-Rama Sanskrit plays had any direct influence is uncertain; it would be natural to suppose that they might have had some influence, but it was probably very slight. The play as a whole lacks unity and dramatic structure, but taken separately, each scene is quite dramatic. That dramatic element was doubtless borrowed from the finished Sanskrit plays. The character of the villain, the demon king, was borrowed direct from the Sanskrit *Rama* plays. In the epic, he was a worthy rival of the hero in many ways, but in the Siamese play he became merely a boastful villain, who could never rival the hero. The summing up of the character of the demon king in the plays of the great Sanskrit dramatist, Bhasa, by Dr Keith—that he 'was nothing more than a *miles gloriosus* if not comic'—can be applied to the Siamese demon. The Sanskrit drama aimed at producing sentiment, but it would not allow a division of sentiment. As Dr Keith says: 'It would not allow the enemy of the hero to rival him

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in any degree; nothing is more striking than the failure to realize the possibility of a great dramatic creation presented by the character of Ravana as the rival of Rama for Sita's love. Ravana varies in the hands of the dramatists, but all tend to reduce him to the status of a boastful and rather stupid villain, who is inferior at every point to his rival.' Therefore, it can be safely assumed that the Siamese Ravana stepped straight out of the Sanskrit drama.

However, the interest was more in the epic than in the plays founded on the epic. The Siamese aimed at presenting the epic scene by scene. In the Sanskrit plays, the whole story was not given, only some scenes being taken, as there were limits to the length of a Sanskrit play. A knowledge of the story was assumed in the audience. As a result, in the Sanskrit plays, we have description rather than action. But it was different with the Siamese. The audience as a whole, composed not only of courtiers, but also of common people who were often admitted to a State or palace performance, did not know the story so well as a Hindu audience. Therefore, action rather than description was given in the presentation of the story. The Siamese play came to have many elements comparable to those existing in the Indian open-air performance of the epic, the *Rama Lila*, where the whole epic is presented scene by scene (the *Rama Lila*, though still performed at the present day in India, is very ancient). But the Siamese play is much more developed drama, for there is good dramatic construction in the individual scenes. The Siamese had also to modify the story because they wanted to make the action presentable on the stage. Therefore, they rejected the fight with the vulture king, and they made Ravana much more like an ordinary human being. The demon king was allowed to have ten heads (they could be represented by a series of masks on the head); but he was no longer a very tall giant. All the demons were turned into ordinary mortals as far as stature was concerned. In a *Rama Lila* performance, the battle between the demons and Rama is presented by means of tall, grotesque figures made of wood and paper. In the Siamese performance, as in the Sanskrit plays, living actors took the parts of the demons. The *Rama Lila* is primitive and crude; the Siamese play, thanks to the influence of the Sanskrit drama and native genius, became quite developed artistically. Though following the epic, the Siamese play, unlike the *Rama Lila*, was not bound to follow it blindly.

These points, and also some others, will perhaps be made clearer

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by a consideration of the story of the Siamese play. It begins with Rama's father holding court, and information regarding the sons of the king, etc. is given by way of introduction. Then the scene shifts to Sita's court where Rama wins her after beating all other princely suitors by his strength and prowess with the bow. The princess is brought to Rama's palace, and the king calls his ministers and announces his intention of appointing Rama as heir. The junior queen enters and asks for the fulfilment of a boon promised to her by the king when she nursed him back to health. She now asks for the appointment of her own son, Bharata, as heir. The king tries to protest, but the queen remains stubborn. Rama comes and begs his father to keep the promise. So the younger son is appointed. The king, however, suggests to Rama that he should go into exile, pointing out the danger to the State and to Rama himself if he remains in the country. Rama agrees to leave the kingdom for fourteen years, and begs his father to look after Sita, who, however, refuses to stay behind. Lakshmana, the younger brother of Rama, begs leave to accompany his brother. Rama argues with Sita and his brother to make them stay behind, but it is in vain. So the three bid farewell to the king, and amidst the wailing of the courtiers, they leave. It will be noticed that the queen does not ask that Rama should be exiled, as in the epic. In the next scene, a Malay king, monarch of a neighbouring kingdom, is holding court, when a messenger enters and announces the arrival of two princes and a princess, attended by only two or three retainers. The king gives orders for them to be invited, and on learning the identity of the strangers and the reason of their journey, the king offers his throne to Rama, who, however, refuses to accept it. The king then begs Rama to rest a few days, to which request the latter agrees. In the next scene, the ministers in Rama's palace are begging Bharata to take the throne, but he refuses to do so as long as Rama is alive. In the next scene, a messenger is refused admission to the palace of the Malay king by an attendant of Rama, who has been appointed to guard the palace gates. Blinded by conceit, the guard brags to the messenger and a humorous conversation follows until the guard recognizes the messenger as an attendant on Bharata, who is announced as waiting at the city gates. In the next scene, Rama refuses to return to his kingdom until the promised fourteen years have elapsed, and Bharata sadly returns home with Rama's sandals. Rama bids farewell to the Malay king, and amidst the homage and wailing of the court, Rama,

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Sita and Lakshmana leave for the forest. The Malay king is a Siamese invention. Though the Burmese translation terms him the Malay king, it is difficult to say where the kingdom was supposed to be as the Burmese call not only Malays but Cambodians and Javanese 'Malay'. There are three explanations of the introduction of the Malay king's court into the play. First, it is probably an acknowledgement of the indebtedness of the Siamese to the neighbouring regions for the story of Rama. Second, the Siamese wanted to lay the scene of the story as near Siam as possible. Third, the Siamese play is essentially a court play, dealing with court-inmates, and with scenes mostly laid at court; the court of the Malay king gives yet another court scene. The next scene is the court of the demon king and we understand that the forest is his domain. In this scene, the sister of the demon king tries to make love to the two brothers but she is not successful. It is not a comic scene as in the *Rama Lila*, and no nose is cut off. She returns to her brother, who at first refuses to interfere with Rama, but agrees to do so when he learns that Sita is with Rama. We are told that the demon king had been an unsuccessful applicant for the hand of Sita before her marriage. The sister turns herself into a doe and Rama is pressed to give chase to it by Sita. Rama, full of evil forebodings, marks on the ground a circle around Sita, praying that no evil being should enter the circle. The doe is shot and as she lies dying, she shouts: 'Lakshmana, help!' Sita begs Lakshmana to go to Rama's help, in spite of the strict command given to him not to leave Sita's side. The demon king now appears, but he cannot enter the magic circle. He is in the guise of a hermit, and as he preaches and begs for food, Sita gradually comes out of the circle. He makes advances, but is unsuccessful. He then seizes Sita and flies away in his flying carriage. The death of the demon king's sister is moving and strikes in a note of pathos, for she dies by the hand of the one she loves. The incident of the magic circle is very dramatic, and the idea of such a circle is borrowed from folklore common both to the Siamese and the Burmese. Rama and his brother then go in search of Sita, and after much wandering, they fall asleep in each other's arms under a tree. Sugriva, the deposed king of the monkeys, is on the tree, and in a soliloquy, he admires the love for each other of the brothers, and regrets that his own brother should be so heartless. He drops a tear which falls on the sleeping princes, who are awakened by it. Rama aims an arrow at the monkey, who begs for mercy and tells

21: Htin Aung B-5 (ca. 1930) 1957 AP1 Burma
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his tale. This meeting of Rama and the monkey king is more dramatic than that described in the epic. In the epic, a spirit advises Rama to seek the monkey king, whereas in the Siamese play the meeeting is accidental and more plausible. Rama agrees to help Sugriva. The next scene is again a court scene—the court of the usurping monkey-brother. A battle follows soon after, in which the usurper is killed, to the great sorrow of his queen, who, however, returns to the arms of her first and rightful husband. Sugriva then sends Hanumat as a spy to the demon king. Hanumat succeeds in learning Sita's whereabouts and then opens the gates of the demon city for Rama and his army of monkeys to enter. There is a great fight and the demon king is slain. Rama refuses to take back Sita, who, however, proves her purity by an ordeal by fire. They are crowned king and queen on their return to Rama's own city. The happy ending was perhaps just to please the happy throng who witnessed the play in holiday mood, or perhaps it was borrowed from Sanskrit plays. The Sanskrit dramatist aimed at harmony in every way, and to him, a happy ending was the only ending possible; virtue must be rewarded and lovers must be united. In the Sanskrit plays based on the epic, Sita is always restored to Rama, thereby rejecting the more artistic separation after vindication. The Siamese play and the Sanskrit plays were the productions of courts where polygamy prevailed and women had very little say in the matter. If Rama took back Sita, all was well. The court could not see, or refused to see, that Rama did not deserve Sita after all; after various sufferings, after her faithfulness to Rama, after a captivity against her will, Rama was cruel enough to denounce her as impure.

Though the Siamese *Rama* had many characteristics of a proper play, it had many elements of the kind which we find in the Elizabethan masque. The actors and actresses wore gorgeous dress. Though the majority of the performers were professionals, many lords and ladies probably took part often, for at the Burmese court exiled members of the Siamese nobility took part in the earlier presentations of the play, but it may be that they had to do so as teachers of the new art of court dramatic performance. Music and song were essentially connected with the play, and all the characters danced. There was no scenery, and change of scene was denoted (apart from references in the dialogue) either by the characters leaving the stage, or when some of the characters were supposed to be going on a journey, the actual journey was bridged over by the orchestra playing while the characters

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101 536* 538 walked up and down the stage—a dramatic practice which was taken from the Siamese and used on the Burmese stage. The language was the language of the court, artificial, but not so removed from reality as to prevent it from being understood by the lowest classes. The play was mostly in verse. The prose was poetic and elegant except in comic scenes.

[175] When the Burmese conquered Siam in 1767, they were able to take the play back with them for various reasons. The play was to both nations a *Jatake* story. The manners and the language of the Siamese court, as depicted in the play, were similar in many ways to those of the Burmese court. The mythology was common to both nations. The play was easy of reproduction at the Burmese court because of the many characteristics common to both countries, and because the captive and exiled members of the Siamese nobility at the Burmese court were ready and willing to help not only because they were anxious to teach the new art to their conquerors, but also because they missed an entertainment to which they had been accustomed for generations.

3. The *Rama* Play at the Burmese Court

175 669 727 The age that followed the conquest of Siam in 1767 was one of triumph. In 1752 the Burmese Empire had been destroyed by the Talaings, and the conquerors were ruthlessly putting into practice their policy of stopping the continual war between Burmese and Talaing by exterminating the Burmese as a race. In the same year, however, a humble villager arose, rallied the Burmese around him, with the result that five years later the mighty Talaing Empire was destroyed and the Talaings as a race disappeared from Burma. The obscure villager became the great Alaungpaya, founder of the famous dynasty that bore his name. He tried to conquer Siam, but died when victory was in sight. His son, Hsinbyushin, carried on the war, and continued the extension of the Empire. Manipur was soon conquered, and in 1767 Siam was completely crushed and its capital destroyed. The Siamese court was taken captive to the Burmese capital. The weary army was given no rest, however, for the Chinese had invaded Burma. From 1765 to 1769, the Chinese carried on a serious campaign against Burma. There were four distinct invasions, but each was repulsed. In 1769, the Chinese defeat was complete. Of that age of triumph, Harvey says:

The victory [against the Chinese], coming as it did on top of a

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
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renown, whose literary works were worthy rivals in popularity to those of Myawaddi.[1] The native court plays were so popular that even *Rama* soon fell under their sway. Through their influence, the tradition of rigidly following the Siamese version was broken and destroyed, and adaptations of *Rama* in the style of *Eenaung* came to be presented at the Burmese court.

5. The Court Drama Reaches the People

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The latter half of Bodawpaya's reign saw the court drama becoming national instead of being confined to the narrow limits of the palace. The national interest in the drama was now so great that the king had to create a new ministry, that of the stage. The new minister greatly developed the puppet-show, which is described in a later chapter. The drama became a regular entertainment at the court, and a dramatic performance in the palace came to be looked upon as a semi-State function. Not only was the drama now looked upon as a national entertainment at the court, but the court drama itself was being spread all over the country through governors and administrative officials imitating the court and holding little dramatic performances of their own. The greatest gift the court performances gave to the acting profession was to raise its status. The actors were still looked upon with prejudice as being nothing more than beggars, but they were no longer considered as being only a little better than rogues and vagabonds. Many travelling companies also came to be looked upon with less disfavour, for they would style themselves 'the King's actors' or 'those who had acted before such-and-such a minister on such-and-such an occasion'. For their ability many actors were given rewards of money and some sort of decoration, which might be a medal or a special dress, and these the actors would wear during their performances with great pride. The Burmese actors of the period were very much in the same position as those acting companies

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[1] The fact that the Lady Khin Sôn was the rival of Myawaddi in the literary circles of the court, reflects the difference in character, as far as women were concerned, between the Burmese and most other oriental courts. Burmese women have enjoyed equal rights with men from prehistoric times: 'when greater races bound the feet or veiled the faces of their women, or doubted if she had a soul, the Burmese held her free and enthroned her as chieftainess and queen' (Harvey). Perhaps this difference in the atmosphere of the court had much to do with the sympathetic portrayal of women by Myawaddi in his *Eenaung*. In India, the fact that women were given an inferior social position is reflected in the absence of Sanskrit plays by women.

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4
Upper Burma
Lower Burma

So for about a decade after the death of U Pon Nya, the drama decayed and was left entirely in the hands of actors. And in Upper Burma, the real home of the drama, it never recovered from their influence. True, some scholars in the quiet of a monastery wrote many a play, retelling a religious story, but their plays were never meant to be presented on the stage, nor did they follow the established dramatic traditions. They were merely scholarly exercises, and though many contained masterly prose and poetry, they did not really belong to the true drama, for they were plays only in name.[1] In Lower Burma, however, scholars again assumed control of the drama, though they had to comply with the desires of the actors in many matters. The change in the venue of Burmese drama is significant. Rangoon, the capital of British Burma, and not Mandalay, the national capital, was now the centre of dramatic development. The reasons for the change were many. The court was the centre of political intrigues and the drama could no longer look to it for development. Upper Burma was in a hopeless condition, and it never recovered until some years after the completion of the British conquest in 1886. In Lower Burma, on the other hand, by about 1875, the benefits of a developed commerce were seen, and after a few years of transition, prosperity was returning. There was peace and stability of government. The spirit of the people in Lower Burma was no longer of anxiety and despair. But it was not one of great serenity, for they realised that Upper Burma would soon fall into British hands, and the Burmese would never again have a kingdom of their own. There was intense regret, and the Burmese Crown, from which the past greatness of the nation had flowed, came to be looked upon with great sentimentality. True, the court in Upper Burma was in a disgraceful condition, especially since the death of Mindon and the accession of his son, Theebaw (1875–86), but that very deterioration, by contrast, enhanced the sentimental respect for the past glories of the throne. The drama therefore was used to present scenes of great splendour, in which court manners and customs were shown to an audience who, having come under an alien rule since 1824, knew their national court only from hearsay. That was why sentimentality and spectacle continued to dominate the drama, even though conditions had improved enough

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[1] Some plays of this type, printed in Lower Burma, are preserved in the British Museum, e.g. *Thamana-thana* and *Maha Zanaka*, both by monks and founded on U Awbatha's *Jataka*s of the same names. Many of these plays are still obtainable in Burma.

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21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1957 AP1 Burma
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536* popularity of the novel which discouraged the people from reading
538 the once-famous plays and caused the 'dead' drama to be for-
178 gotten.

536* Yet the dramatic performances were popular everywhere, and in the circumstances, 'matinee idols' adored by their admirers soon appeared. These popular actors and actresses were admired purely for their dancing and singing. The result was to put the play yet further into the background. When a performance started, the audience clamoured for their favourite actor or actress, and during scenes in which he or she did not appear, it went to sleep. Three of these popular 'stars' became exceptionally famous; Aungbala, Sein Kadon, and Po Sein.[1] When Aungbala died in 1910, his funeral at Mandalay was similar in nature and incident to that of Rudolph Valentino, the cinema actor. These three led famous troupes of their own and toured the country, which on the whole tended to lower even further the dramatic performances in artistic value. For example, Sein Kadon danced with little electric bulbs all over his dress, and Po Sein had two English ex-soldiers with rifles standing motionless on each side of the stage whenever he appeared. There is no denying that there had been threats against his life by supporters of rival troupes, but I do not think that the rifles were quite necessary. In any case, the fact that he was guarded by two live English ex-soldiers impressed the audience, increased his prestige, and enhanced the theatrical effect. Such 'playing to the gallery' by the actors further prevented the possibility of any revival of
[559] scholarly interest in the dramatic performance. Moreover, as rival supporters spread tales of immorality and bad conduct among those actors whom they did not favour, the prejudice against the profession increased in intensity among the more conservative Burmese. And by about 1900, the performances could claim at the most only a distant relationship with the drama of U Kyin U and U Pon Nya.

2. The English Drama in Burma

536* If we put the Sanskrit, Elizabethan, and Burmese dramas side by
101 side, we find that the Elizabethan and Burmese have much in common, both differing greatly from the Sanskrit.[2] Of the Sanskrit drama Dr A. B. Keith says:

[1] Po Sein was decorated later by the Government. See chap. viii.

[2] Apart, of course, from the fact that the Sanskrit drama is classical in language and in age.

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
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(*a*) 'The drama bears . . . essential traces of its connexion with the Brahmins. They were idealist in outlook, capable of large generalizations, but regardless of accuracy in detail, and to create a realistic drama was wholly incompatible with their temperament. The accurate delineation of facts or character was to them nothing; they aimed at the creation in the mind of the audience of sentiment, and what was necessary for this end was all that was attempted.'

'Kalidasa, greatest of Indian dramatists, experiences no uneasiness at the structure of life or the working of the world. He accepts without question or discontent the fabric of Indian society.'

'Admirable as is Kalidasa's work, it would be unjust to ignore the fact that in his dramas . . . he shows no interest in the great problems of life and destiny.'

'Fascinating and exquisite as is the *Çakuntala*, it moves in a narrow world, removed far from the cruelty of real life, and it neither seeks answer, nor does it solve, the riddles of life.'

(*b*) 'Idealist as it is, the spirit of the drama declines to permit of a division of sentiment; it will not allow the enemy of the hero to rival him in any degree . . . Equally effectively the drama banishes from the possibilities the conception of a struggle of conscience in the mind of the hero or the heroine; if this were represented, it would create a similar struggle in the mind of the audience, and destroy the unity and purity of the sentiment, which is the part of the drama to generate.

(*c*) 'The plot is a secondary element in the drama in its highest form, the heroic play or *Nataka*. To complicate it would divert the mind from emotion to intellectual interest, and affect injuriously the production of sentiment.'

'To the Brahmin ideal individuality has no appeal . . . and indifference to individuality necessarily meant indifference to action, and therefore to plot.'

Therefore, to realize the essential difference of Burmese drama from the Sanskrit, one has but to remember: (*a*) the realism in U Pon Nya and some element of it in U Kyin U, their character studies, the connexion between their plays and the political problems of their times, U Pon Nya's interest in the destiny that controlled the action in *Wizaya*; (*b*) U Kyin U's sympathy with Parpahein, Daywagonban, and Kaywut the villains, U Pon Nya's interest in the struggle in the mind of the water-seller; and (*c*) the dramatic doctrine that the essence of technique was in the smooth, logical, and clear unfolding of the plot. Though much lower in achievement, Burmese drama is similar in nature and in aim to the Elizabethan drama, and its development from religious 'miracle' to 'interlude', the influence of the Siamese-modified classical Sanskrit drama, the interest of a court composed of learned men of action, the

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
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536* blending together of the 'people's drama' and the court drama in the
●101 hands of U Kyin U, the continuation and fuller achievement of his aims and ideals in U Pon Nya, and the decadence have their counterparts in the history of the Elizabethan drama. Yet whereas the Elizabethan drama as represented by Shakespeare has influenced the remnants of the Sanskrit drama to give birth to a new and vigorous national drama in India, it has failed to confer such a benefit on Burma.

Although Kalidasa flourished long before decadence set in, by the tenth century A.D. in the Sanskrit drama, remnants of it lived on, and still live on, in India. The best plays of Kalidasa and other classical dramatists were often performed right through the centuries to the present day, though with 'popular' modifications. In Bengal, the *Rama Lila*, an open-air performance of the *Rama* legend, was the chief dramatic entertainment until recent times. Once the study of English institutions and literature had taken root and spread all over India, Shakespeare was not only translated and read, but also put on the stage, with modifications to meet native and 'popular' tastes.[1] Once Shakespeare had been successfully introduced, other dramatists followed as a matter of course, and the English drama began to influence the Indian stage.[2] And in Bengal, helped perhaps by the awakening of a national consciousness somewhat comparable to that which gave Ireland the Abbey Theatre, a new and intensely living drama came to be well established by the end of the nineteenth century.[3]

536* In Burma the 'old' drama was not preserved on the native stage
177 by professional actors. When the first Burmese translations of Shakespeare—of *Romeo and Juliet* and *Othello*—appeared in a Burmese magazine in 1912, the actors had so far removed themselves from the drama and the scholars, that presentation of the translations on the stage was never thought of, and was perhaps impossible. The great disservice the actors did to Burmese dramatic development was the dismissal from their theatre of the drama that had given them their occupation, for had they retained but some remnants of the great plays of U Kyin U and U Pon Nya, or even the decadent ones, English drama could have influenced those remnants and created a new drama. Without a theatre, the translated Shakespearian drama

[1] C. J. Sisson, *Shakespeare in India*.
[2] R. K. Yajnik, *The Indian Theatre*.
[3] Gubatbakarta: *Bengalee Drama*.

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1980) 1937 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

175 the same. Therefore after the minister's innovation, the puppet
536* show was actually a combination of two different things, the old puppet show as seen in the animal puppets coming out to dance, and the new puppet play. To many people it must have seemed that the minister did not really introduce any new thing, but only lengthened and made more elaborate that part of the show devoted to the prince
●[101] and princess. It should be remembered that the Burmese had no puppet drama. In India, in Java, in Siam, in Bali, and in Turkey, there was an actual puppet drama, but in Burma the puppet show was entirely dependent for its plays on the drama of living actors. The minister imposed two restrictions on the puppet show.
[656] First, the plays presented by puppets must either be founded on the *Jatakas*, or on the great events in the nation's history. Second, the dress, manners, and customs of the king and his court presented on the puppet stage should be correct in every detail.

536* The innovations of the able minister resulted in the rise of a new
463 class of puppet show-men. They were mostly drawn from the ranks of the professional actors, but they were of proved ability and experience, and had to serve at least some months of apprenticeship. The show-men were never looked down upon, and the living actors themselves held them in respect. The puppet show-men were very conservative. State control ended with the death of the minister, perhaps because his successors were not so able; but the show-men kept their stage exactly the same as it was in the time of the minister, except that they presented the plays of U Kyin U, most of which were founded neither on the *Jatakas* nor on historical events. During the decadent period, the puppets stuck to the 'old' plays, and introduced no innovations either in stage-craft or in dramatic
536* technique. The annexation by the British in 1886 was disastrous
178 to the puppet show, for, unlike the living actors, the puppets were almost totally dependent on court patronage. When the country became peaceful again by about 1885, the puppet show-men made gallant attempts to revive their shows, and all over Burma they gave performances. But the show belonged to a dead past, and the conservatism of the show-men would not allow the introduction of anything new. The old show-men died out, and there were not many new-comers, for the profession demanded a term of apprenticeship and its conservatism did not suit the young men, products of the changed conditions. The result was that the puppet troupes gradually disappeared. In 1921, when a puppet performance was given at

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
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Pegu, many English officials asked to be my father's guests, for 536 *
although they had been some years in Burma and heard so much of 178
the puppet show, they had never been able to find one. In 1929, on inquiry, I found that there was not one puppet troupe in Lower Burma, though there were two in Upper Burma; of these, only one was giving performances occasionally, the members of the other being content to earn their living by some other means.

Before considering the probable history of the puppet show before 536 *
the time of Bodawpaya, it is necessary to give an account of the 101 ●
puppet-shadow show of the east. The home of the puppet show was India. Pischel in *The Home of the Puppet Stage* even contends that the Sanskrit shadow drama preceded the drama proper, but that theory is not accepted by Dr Keith and other scholars. From India, with Hindu expansion overseas, the puppet-shadow show spread, together with the epics and the drama, to Malaya and the East Indies. In Java it found a permanent home, and there shadow drama is still very popular. From Java it spread to Siam and other countries of Indo-China, to Persia, Turkey, Arabia and Japan. Perhaps it even spread to Europe; at least the English Punch is a direct descendant of the Turkish puppet Karageuz, who himself was a descendant of the Sanskrit puppet Vidusaka. To give an idea of the puppet-shadow show, I will give a description of a Java shadow performance.

As 'stage' there is a huge curtain with a light behind it. The puppets are put between the light and the curtain, on which their shadows are thrown. 'The light shines through the transparent material of which his (the puppet's) many-coloured garments are made. His shadow on the curtain glows with such bright hues within the framework of dark shells that he looks like a figure in stained glass. . . . In the middle of the huge curtain is seen a fantastic vine with interlacing branches. Monkeys and birds climb on it, and beneath it two grim guards stand watch. When the play begins, the strange shadow tree vanishes. The stage manager is the *Dalang*. He sits on a mat and gives the play.[1] Back of him is the orchestra to accompany the explanations of the *Dalang*. Whenever a new figure enters the [534]
orchestra plays. The men in the audience are allowed to sit on the right of the *Dalang* and see the actual puppets perform, and the children sit at the *Dalang's* left hand. But the women are not permit- [562]
ted to see the real puppets act. They see only the shadows on the

[1] i.e. he recites the words of the play.

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

536* 101 screen. The transparent sticks (tied to the side of the figures) that guide the actors do not show on the screen.'[1] The shadow shows of other countries are essentially the same as in Java, except that (1) 'the fantastic vine' is not found anywhere else, (2) the audience, men and women, see only the shadows, and (3) the faces are not distorted as in Java; but this is because with the Mohammedan conquest, the Javanese had to get over the religious difficulty. The Mohammedan religion does not allow the reproduction of the human form in any way, and therefore the Javanese puppets came to have distorted bird-like profiles, and the Turkish puppets were held high enough for the heads of their shadows to be a little bit cut off, so that it could not be said that they were real reproductions of the human form. In Bali and in Siam, where the old Sanskrit-Hindu culture has remained up to the present day, the faces of the puppets are human.

How far was the Burmese puppet show under the influence of the shadow play? The question must be answered with reference to its history only before Bodawpaya, as it is obvious that after his time the show could not be and was not under any foreign influence.

That there was no direct influence of the Sanskrit and East-Indian shadow drama is certain because (1) a shadow show of any sort has never been known to the Burmese, and (2) the introduction of anything directly connected with the shadow show would bring with it semi-Sanskrit plays founded on the epics, upon which the East-Indian shadow drama was dependent, but as we have seen, no such plays were ever brought into Burma. In this connexion Sir William Ridgeway's theory that the puppets first became known to the Burmese when the 'Indian historical plays' were introduced, falls to the ground as no such plays were ever introduced. And (3) although a descendant of the Sanskrit puppet Vidusaka, whether he be called Punch or Karageuz or by some other name, is found in the East Indies, Turkey, China and other countries where the shadow drama had spread, there is no such puppet in Burma.

536* 101 177 The question whether there was any indirect influence at all is difficult to answer, and I dare not venture to express a definite opinion. I give below evidence for and against the possibility of such indirect influence. The balance of probability would perhaps seem to indicate that the Burmese obtained some idea of their puppet show from the shadow puppets of their neighbouring countries. Just as the decadent actors could borrow some ideas of European stage-craft

[1] Madge Anderson, *The Heroes of the Puppet Stage.*

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

without ever knowing or caring for the European drama itself, the Burmese may have borrowed their puppets and puppet stage-craft, without ever caring for the shadow drama itself. Such borrowings were possible although the shadow drama itself never reached Burma, for Burmese trading or raiding expeditions were in continuous contact with Siam, and to a lesser extent with Malaya and the East Indies. 536 101 177

1. (*a*) The Burmese puppets are worked in delicate detail, and are similar in this and other respects to the Javanese and Siamese figures.

(*b*) But the Burmese puppets are worked by strings, whereas most other eastern puppets are moved by sticks from below. However, some puppets of India and China are stringed.

2. (*a*) The Burmese puppet show-men make offerings to the spirits before a performance. Such offerings are also made in Java before the presentation of a shadow play.

(*b*) But, although the offerings are not made particularly to the thirty-seven *nats*, it may be that the puppet show-men, who consider their calling to be just a branch of the acting profession, are only following the custom of the living actors.

3. (*a*) The puppet show begins with dances by animals, which are perhaps reminiscent of the Javanese 'fantastic vine' with birds and monkeys on it. A monkey appears among the Burmese puppets. [825]

(*b*) But Burmese folk feasts occasioned mimicry of animals, and that practice may have influenced the puppet show. Moreover, the Burmese animal puppets consist, in addition to the monkey, of the tiger, the elephant, and the horse. The *zaungyee* has no counterpart in the Javanese show, and the Burmese show has no bird puppets.

4. (*a*) Burmese women are not admitted to membership of a puppet troupe, and are not allowed to step on the puppet stage, even when no actual performance is in progress. Is this reminiscent of the Java show, where women are not allowed to see the actual puppets perform? [462]

(*b*) But the practice may have been only an attempt by men to reserve the profession for themselves.

5. (*a*) An appropriate tune to identify a new animal puppet is played in Burma. This is perhaps akin to the Javanese practice of identifying a new figure that has entered by the orchestra playing a special tune. [533]

(*b*) But the practice of identifying a new scene (which is almost the same as identifying a new figure) by an appropriate tune has always existed in the performances of living actors, and the puppet show-men may have borrowed it.

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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APPENDIX I

THE *RAMA* PLAY[1]

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The following extracts from the *Rāmāyān of Valmiki*, *The Statue Play* attributed to Bhasa, and the Siamese-Burmese *Rama* illustrate ●101

i. the difference between the demon-king of the epic and the demon-king of Sanskrit plays; and 177

ii. the indebtedness of the Siamese *Rama*, for its portrayal of the demon as a boastful villain, to the Sanskrit plays founded on the epic, rather than to the epic itself.

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From THE RAMAYANA[2]

The DEMON *in the guise of a hermit praises the beauty of* SITA, *who is surprised and alarmed at this unusual behaviour. He now announces himself.*

With knitted brow and furious eye
The stranger made his fierce reply:
'In me, O fairest dame, behold,
The brother of the King of Gold,
The Lord of Ten Necks my title, named
Ravan, for might and valour famed.
Gods and Gandharva hosts I scare;
Snakes, spirits, birds that roam the air
Fly from my coming, wild with fear,
Trembling like men when Death is near.

. . .

What, O thou large-eyed dame, hast thou
To do with fallen Rama now,
From home and kingdom forced to fly
A wretched hermit soon to die?
Accept thy lover, nor refuse
The giant king who fondly woos.

[1] This play has been considered in chap. ii.

[2] Translation by R. T. H. Griffith, *The Rāmāyān of Valmiki*, reproduced by permission of Messrs E. J. Lazarus & Co., Benares.

1 [see pp. 151 ff., cat. 116 -- Analyst]

9. Burmese and the Lolo Languages

●101 Burmese and the Lolo languages of southwestern China,
197 northern Tonkin and Siam, and the Shan States, constitute one of the largest single blocs in the Tibeto-Burman family (Burmish-Loloish). The center of dispersion for this group seems to have been southwestern China, whence have proceeded successive waves of migration to the south and east. The trail of the Burmese southward down the Irrawaddy valley is today marked by a series of tribes of Burmese stock, viz. Maru, Lashi, Atsi, Achang, Hpön. The Lolo movements southward and eastward have continued down to the present time, even in the face of strongly entrenched Thai populations. The process has been one of infiltration rather than of displacement, since these immigrant Lolo groups almost invariably constitute a depressed economic class under the control of their Chinese or Thai neighbors.

197 Burmese is a literary language of some antiquity (its inscriptions extend back to the 11th century), and hence is of great value in comparative Tibeto-Burman studies. The written forms, especially those in the inscriptions, contain many archaic features not found in Tibetan, but the modern spoken language has undergone extensive phonetic modification. The non-standard dialects, viz. Arakanese, Taungyo, Intha, Danu, and Tavoyan, in general tend to retain older forms. Hpön is transitional to the Maru group (supra), while the latter is again transitional to the Lolo languages. The

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[101] The linguistic bridge between Burmese and the Lolo languages is supplied by the Maru group of languages, spoken in the upper Irrawaddy valley. The Maru proper are found in the Myitkyina and Bhamo districts of Upper Burma, their true home being the valley and watershed of the Nmai Kha, or eastern tributary of the Irrawaddy (south of the Hung), while the closely affiliated Lashi and Atsi are found scattered all along the Burma-China frontier. Hpŏn is transitional between Burmese and Maru, to judge from what little we know of its two dialects (Megyaw and Samong), spoken by nearly extinct groups living in the defile of the Irrawaddy between Bhamo and Myitkyina. A few kinship terms are cited in our Hpŏn sources (Scott, Davies, LSI). Noteworthy are Megyaw ma-mo cB, Samong a-mo-ku; Megyaw pi-pi cSi, Samong a-pi-ku; Megyaw a-sa Ch, mi-sa D, i-sa ySb; and Megyaw a-yi ~ a-ye M (Samong a-mi).

Maru, Lashi, and Atsi are closely related languages or perhaps dialects of a single language. All three have been heavily influenced by Kachin, with whom they are often mistakenly grouped (as in Hanson). In Atsi this influence has been felt much more strongly, and hence the Atsi terminology is best examined apart from the Maru-Lashi system. Our material on the Maru group, which includes two dictionaries of Maru (Clerk, Abbey), some word-lists in the works of Scott and Davies, and tables of terms in the census report

601 conclusions can be drawn, despite the categorical equations in their kinship terminology.

Achang (Hotha Shan, Maingtha Shan), spoken in the Möng Hsa valley of the Southern Shan States, is a fourth language of Maru type. A few of its kinship terms have been recorded by Davies, Anderson, and Taylor (in the LSI). Achang is unusual in having preserved the Burmese root ní ySb, in the terms a-nyi yS, a-nyi a-nyo yo ySi (cf. i-nyo "woman, wife"). Be oSi (Davies, in Scott) belongs with Lashi pe, Maru pai, and a-meng B (Anderson) with either *mang or *mong. In contrast to the languages just examined, no Kachin loan-words appear in Achang, spoken south of the Kachin area. Some Shan loan-words may occur, however; note especially tsai oB, Shan pi-ssi; sau-ks oSi, Shan s'au "young unmarried woman".

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197 The Southern Lolo languages, spoken in the Southern
601 Shan States, Laos, and Tonkin, are phonetically intermediate
[101] between Burmese-Maru and the Northern Lolo languages of southwestern China. The best preserved of these languages are Phunoi, in the French Laos, and the closely related Pyen, in Kengtung State, but our knowledge of the kinship terms of these languages is incomplete (Phunoi has been recorded only by Roux, and Pyen only by Stirling, in Scott). Akha (Kas), which is spoken in the 5th Military District of the Laos and in Kengtung, has been recorded by Roux, Antisdel,

601 a two-day visit, and the bride returns again alone and remains with her parents until she becomes pregnant (Lunet de Lajonquiere, pp. 322 and sq.). This practice is also found among the Tai peoples of Tonkin (ibid.), from whom it may have been borrowed, yet it can well be interpreted along the lines suggested above. Writing of the same Lolo groups, Bonifacy observes that a man may earn his wife by working for his father-in-law and taking the family name (姓 tính) of the latter, or that he may obtain his wife without changing his name, and without paying for her, by supporting his aged parents-in-law.

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197 [101] The Northern Lolo languages fall into several large groups, viz. Lisu, a central bloc (Ahi, Nyi, Lolopho), a southeastern bloc (Chöko, Phupha), an eastern bloc (Ulu, Nasö), and the Independent Lolo dialects of Szuchuan. Of the above languages, Lisu, Ahi, and Nyi are fairly well known and Lolopho is somewhat less fully known, while the remaining languages have been recorded only in fragments. The general linguistic picture, however, is much clearer than in the case of the Southern Lolo languages, e.g. tonal equations have been worked out for Lisu, Ahi, and Nyi (in relation to Burmese). The bulk of the literature on the Lolo is entirely disproportionate to its value, largely because of the failure to recognize the thoroughgoing Burmese affiliations of these peoples. Much of it is

197 occupied with the futile question of the etymology of the name "Lo-lo", and with (largely) sterile discussions of Chinese sources. The most valuable of a number of articles of this type is the scholarly contribution by Feng and Shryock (cited infra).

One of the most useful criteria in distinguishing among these languages is found in the treatment of final -a, which is ordinarily retained in Lisu, Nyi, and Phupha, is shifted to -o in Ahi, Lolopho, and Chŏko (somewhat irregularly here), to -u in the Ulu-Nasŏ dialects, and is retained or shifted to -ŏ, -ɔ in the Independent Lolo group. These correspondences are illustrated by the following table:

	Lisu	Nyi	Phupha	Ahi	Lolopho	Chŏko	Ulu	Ind. Lolo
eat	dza	dza	dza	dzo	dzo	zo	dzu	dzŏ
salt	ts'a	ts'a	-	ts'o	ts'o	-	ts'u	tsŏ
five	ngwa	nga	nga	ngo	ngo	ngo	ngu	ngu ɔ

This criterion is not absolute, e.g. the Lisu dialect recorded in Clarke (Appendix II) has -o rather than -a, but is useful as a rule-of-thumb procedure.

601 In the present discussion the Lisu terminology will be analyzed first, followed by the Ahi-Nyi-Lolopho terminology
[101] and annotations on the remaining groups. The Lisu (Lisaw) are primarily a Salween valley people, but have colonized extensively throughout most of Yunnan and have penetrated into northern Burma and the Shan States. The primary sources are the works of Frazer and Rose and Brown, but a number of

601 There remains for consideration only the language of the
[101 Moso (Nakhi) of western Yunnan, which differs rather widely
197] from the Northern Lolo languages just discussed. Only a few Moso terms, all badly recorded, are known; these have been taken from the works of Bacot, Rock, and Madrolle (by Monbeig) (note that in Madrolle the Moso and Kutsong = Tibetan lists have been accidentally reversed on pp. 564-65). The following terms are of Lolo type: a-ba F; a-mä ~ mä .. (also mi "female", in Rock); a-p'u gF (but a-tsö gM); a-bu oB (Nyi a-pu); so 9, mi ~ mi-so D (also su Ch, in Bacot). Note Moso a-p'u gF, a-bu oB, but Nyi a-bu gF, a-pu oB. The 3b terms are generally distinct from those in Lolo; Madrolle cites gö-zö yB, me-me oSi, ku-me ySi. Of primary importance, however, is the term a-gu Bl (Bacot), cognate with Ahi kö-pu-li ySiH, Akha a-kö B, and Burmese ats-kui oB; cf. Moso gu "9", Burmese kui^3; Moso k'u "to steal", Burmese k'ui^3; Moso hngu "to weep", Burmese ngui.

Despite the extent of literature on the Lolo, almost no material bearing on our problem can be found. Ahi and Nyi, which linguistically are fairly well known, are ethnographic blanks. Cross-cousin marriage can be established only for the Lisu, and even here the source is linguistic (Fraser) rather than ethnographic (Rose and Brown). Fraser's remarks in this connection are worth quoting <u>in extenso</u>, since the work is rare:

Sometimes an exchange will be made between two families, a man giving his daughter to another's son in exchange for the latter's daughter for his own son; this arrangement

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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131 Burma possessed no staples of trade to encourage

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5. LANDING-STAGE IN THE TIDAL REGION.

enterprise of the peaceable sort. Left entirely to her own resources, she developed her character in independence. It preserves a large measure of its original freshness and charm.

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[349]

Detached though Burma lay from the contact of other civilisation, the seed-corn of a spiritual influence was brought to her shore from afar, and took root and spread until it pervaded her whole life. The one extraneous influence under which she fell proved of a paramount order. But the inspiration of Buddhism was broadly human, not racial. Every people might take its message to heart in their own individual way. The restraints it enjoined and the ideals it held up became the occasions for Burma to unfold her own inmost nature. The abounding treasury of Buddhist legend furnished the subjects to exercise her poetic fancy. In the fifth century, A.D., long after Buddhism had declined at its source in India, and when it only prevailed in Ceylon, its real progress began among the people who were to give it an enduring home. Buddhism is popularly credited with five hundred millions of adherents. But the seven millions of Burma and perhaps a twentieth of that number in Ceylon, together with the half million Jains of India, are the practical Buddhists of the world. With the rest the profession has sunk to an empty name, as in China and Japan, or it is lax, as in Siam, or it is utterly transformed, as in Tibet.

6. RUINS OF CITY GATE, PAGAN.

●101 The phrase *Further India* gives point to a wide misconception. The surprise of so many persons on finding that the Burmans have no *caste*—to take the commonest instance—betrays the notion that Burma is part of India

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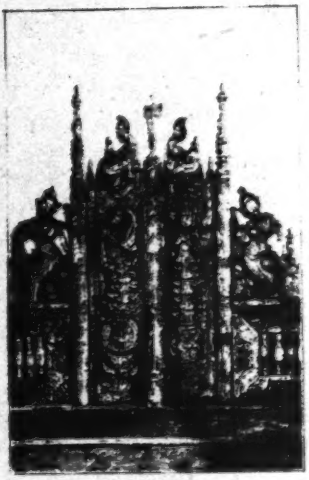
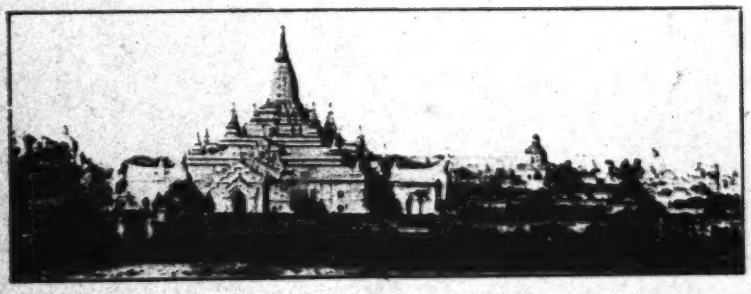
25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4



7. ANCIENT GATE, WITH FIGURES OF THADYA-MIN AND KEINNAYA.

is part of India. The phrase *Indo-China* is also misleading unless in respect of geography. In respect of climate, flora and fauna, *Further India* is not inapplicable. A probable Indo-Aryan admixture exists in the north-east (Arakán). But Burma Proper and Pegu are as distinct from India as Tibet itself.

The original Burman tribes are conjectured to have pushed their way south from the mountains of Tibet. They divided into three principal branches, Arakán (*Rakáing*, *Yakáing*) on the west, Paung on the east, and Burma (*Bamá*), which attained to the chief position, in the middle, on the northern Irawadi (*E-ya wadi*). Nothing is known of the early history of these nations. But it is certain that in 1000 A.D. Burma was a large and powerful kingdom, with its seat at Pagán. About that time the first historical conquest of the lower Irawadi was effected. From the fact that the country was not permanently subdued it may be inferred that the power of the Mun or Peguan race (later called Talaing) was not greatly inferior to that of the Burman. The Muns, from the affinities of their language, are conjectured to be of Annamitic origin. There is mention of the Pagán kingdom independently of the Burman chronicles, and there is above all the evidence of the ruins of Pagán, probably the mightiest of their kind. They testify to the power of the kingdom and the influence of the



8. ANANDA PAYA, PAGAN.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

27. VILLAGE LAY SCHOOL.

next to a parent, with a life-long devotion.

Before or after the monastic novitiate, it is the custom for the Burman lads to have themselves tattooed from the waist to the knee (No. 152). Not to submit to this ordeal is to incur the reproach of cowardice. The tattooing is an intricate pattern of animals and tracery. Owing to the extent of surface involved, the process is most painful. It occupies days or weeks, according to the fortitude of the subject, who is drugged with opium for the occasion. The instrument has a handle weighted at the butt, and a long point of bronze, split like a ruling-pen. It is worked with great rapidity. The pigment is a kind of lamp-black of the consistence of ink. It shows bluish black through the brown skin. When a Burman tucks up his loin-cloth, as he always does for work or exercise (*kaddung-chaik*), he looks as if he had black knee-breeches. As plain as the contrast is to the eye, ordinary photographic plates fail to render it. In No. 153 it appears fully. On other parts of the body the men frequently have horoscopes and cabalistic diagrams tattooed with vermilion (*se-ul*, No. 162) for luck and bravado. The Shan practice of letting in gold and silver discs the size of two-penny pieces—beneath the skin—is sometimes imitated by Burmans as a charm against sword-cuts and bullets (*dâbyi*; *themabbyi*). The Arakanese, who repudiate the custom of *thywin*, ascribe it to a Burman King, who endeavoured to disguise his leprosy in this way.

28. BITE-PLUNGE.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

792
735
[346]

[415]

49. FOREST KYAUNG.

ates the incumbent, regularly undertakes the support of the *phudyi*, and frequently of his sojourner *yahán* as well. The food, which is the best of its kind, is brought every morning by the daughters and young children of the supporter, or, in the case of joint support, by children of the leading families in turn. An ornamented vessel is used, having a tall finial to the cover (*ht*). The supplies are received by the lay scholars

792 or the novices, and by them served to the *yahán*. The principal meal is
264 taken shortly before noon, for no food may be eaten after that hour till the
273 following sunrise. Water may be drunk and betel chewed at any time.
276 Tobacco-smoking is discountenanced, especially in Burma Proper, where the
● 101 religious views are strictest. Burma furnishes the standard both for scholarship and practice, and trains most of the incumbents of the monasteries of Pegu. Scholars and novices may prepare food at the monastery from raw supplies. These the *yahán* may not even handle. Hired labour (*kappiza dayaka*) may

[464] be attached to the monastery by the
792 supporter for the preparation of food
735 and other services. In some cases lands have been dedicated for the maintenance of monasteries and temples. But the *yahán* have no concern with their administration. Supplies of raiment, chattels and food are dedicated to the use of the recluses

[346] when the distinction of their presence is solicited, especially at *shinlaung* fêtes and funerals. The annual pro-

[796] vision of raiment (*hatfin thingán*) is made between the months of *Thadinkyut* and *Tazaungmón*. The offerings of necessaries are supplemented by accessories of every sort —books and writing materials, mats,

50. VILLAGE KYAUNG.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

133 of the delta of the Irawadi, by which fresh silt-beds are raised to the cultivation
134 level. The town of Thâton, now sixteen miles from the coast and without a sea approach, was, in historic times, a port. Ships came up to Tenaserim in the south, the ancient emporium of trade across the Peninsula to Siam, and to Akauttaung in the north, and probably to Pegu. A mass of precise data on this subject was collected by the late Mr. John Merrifield, who came to the conclusion that Tenaserim had risen fifteen to twenty feet in the course of the last 300 years. In 1900, ten and a half million acres were cultivated in Burma. The rice crop was estimated at three and a half million tons, of which two millions were exported, worth £14,000,000. Fallow lands were estimated at five and a half million acres and arable waste at twenty-four millions, out of a gross area of one hundred and one millions. In 1872 a considerable firm failed over the enterprise of bringing a few thousand acres of reputed arable waste at Kayásu under cultivation; the crops got so much water that they rotted. The area has lain waste ever since. Most of the waste land granted to companies has been resumed, on account of their failure to satisfy the condition of utilising the land. The conditions which render land suitable for wet cultivation are less simple than they appear at the first glance. It is possible that the estimate of the arable waste is much too high.

[243]

106. THE RICE PLANT IN THE EAR.

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311

Where the fields depend on the surface-water for their supply, a margin of fallow has to be left; where they get a deposit of river-silt it is unnecessary. If manure is plentiful it is taken out on the fields. But this is seldom the case because the cattle are so much at large. On the outskirts of the rice-fields, which are dispersed in groups throughout the *kwin*, fallow land may readily relapse into waste. The depopulation of Pegu (Chronology, 1570, 1591–1740) threw great areas out of cultivation. Anyone was free to reclaim waste, and is so still. In Burma Proper, where good land is much scarcer than in Pegu, proprietors are fixed on the soil in many places by royal grants (*kha-mye, bôbabaing*). There were also royal demesne lands leased to tenants.

[175]

[423]

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In the dry zone of Burma Proper, rice cultivation is impracticable except where rivers flood their margins or where facilities for irrigation exist. Rice

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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132
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[438]

108. PLOUGHING IN THE DRY ZONE.

is a luxury in that region, and a part of the requirement is imported from Pegu. Crops of sorghum and millet (*pyaung*, *lu*), sesamum (*hmaw*) and various pulses (*pè*), as well as cotton (*wūl*), are obtained on the better sort of soil, during the light rains, from July to September. The dry soil is too hard for ploughing even when moistened by such rain as falls. It is scraped up with harrows instead. Four oxen are yoked abreast and the driver rides on the beam of the harrow to give it weight.

241 The wet or staple cultivation of the whole country begins between June and
132 August, as soon as the grass-sod which has formed on the rice-fields in the by-season—and which has served for pasture in the interval—has got thoroughly
231 water-logged. The soil is then turned, about six inches deep, with a wooden plough (*tè*, Nos. 102, 119) bearing a shoe of bronze or iron. Where elephants are available, a large *tôn* is used which does the work of four ploughs. The clods left by the plough are broken fine, and the wet soil worked into slush by herds of buffaloes driven round and round in the fields. If there are not enough cattle, the plough-clods are worked down with harrows drawn by buffaloes or oxen (No. 325). A rotary implement is coming into use to prepare
[136] the clods for the harrow (No. 168). There is very little open grass-land in the moist region. Unless the scrub which springs up is cut, the land soon relapses into jungle.

241 For the above operations cattle are needful to
231 the cultivator, though he makes little use of the manure and does not use the milk at all. The cattle are only used for draught, and very little care is bestowed on breeding. Oxen

109. ELEPHANT PLOUGH.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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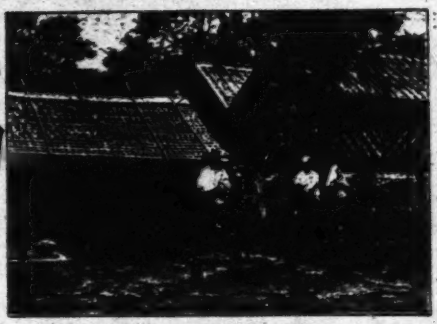
[492]



310 BURMAN PONIES.

for heavy wheels and the light spider wheels he uses in pleasure and racing carts. He employs a very long hub to steady the wheel, which is as yet unprovided with turned axles and boxes. *Padauk* and *pyinkadô* wood are used for hubs, with plain iron bushes at the ends. Teak is used for spokes and felloes. The axle is of imported round bar iron, with plain linch-pins; the end of the wooden axle-bed forms the shoulder. The bar-iron for tyres is likewise imported. Imported springs [177] are coming into use for the light carts. European vehicles built by Chinese are used by well-to-do Burmans in the towns; they exemplify to the natives a novel departure in luxury, in which not splendour but comfort is the standard.

491 The country roads are merely the tracks made by the carts. As the bullocks travel in the line of the wheels, the road is passable until the ruts 487 are so deep that the axle-bed scrapes the mound in the centre. Then the track is abandoned for one to the right or left. The same thing happens when the road is too heavy or when a tree falls over it. In the rice country the grain is carted across the fields. But in the dry zone a roadway is left between the fences of the fields, as is also the case in the eastern hill-plateaux. A few state roads (*minlan*) following the high ground used to be kept clear, but the only regular road-making was done near to the capital. Cart-tracks do not penetrate the hill districts to any distance.

231 The Burman pony is small—eleven to thirteen 492 hands—but is said to have the best constitution and [485] the greatest endurance of any breed. In Pegu, with [101] its damp climate, the breed does not flourish so well as in the North. The ponies exported from Pegu are brought down from the

311. WAYSIDE REST-HOUSE.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

388. TEMPLES RAISED BY A MODERN KING (THE KUTHODAW p. 122).

historic centres of Burman dominion. Sagáing was abandoned for the last time in 1776 for a new capital at Amayapôya (*Amarapúra*—Abode of Immortals) half-way between Ava (*Inwa*) and the modern capital Mandálé, which was founded in 1857, after the accession of King Mindôn Min. The most ancient capital is Tagáung, one hundred miles north of Mandalé. Other capitals were Shwebô, Myinzaing, Pannya. The capitals of the Talaing dominion were Thatôn, Pegu, and Prome (*Pye*). Rangoon (*Yangôn*), at the meeting point of five navigable channels, and with anchorage for the largest ships, has out-distanced all competitors since the modern development of commerce.

For the history of Burma the only available source is the official chronicle kept by command of the kings—*mahá-yazawin*. The first part is occupied with the legendary origin of the race from the cloud-dwellers—*Byamma* (the Burman form of *Brahma*).* The names and doings of legendary persons follow, and lines of legendary kings. The earliest historical facts which emerge are the founding of Tagáung, and incidents relating to the Buddha and the councils of his church in India. It is believed by Phayre that the *Sawanna Bhumi* of ancient Indian books refers to Thatôn, and that under *Chryse Chersonesus* Ptolemy refers to the Eastern Peninsula of Asia. We do not reach a connected history till the founding of Pagán about 100 A.D. From that epoch onwards the history of the peninsula, until the Burman Empire was consolidated and the dynasty of

389. FIGURES OF BYAMMA (BRAHMA).

* The name is also written *Myanmá*, but commonly pronounced *Bamá*, of which "Burma(h)" and "Birma" are corruptions.

14: Brant E-5 (1949-50) 1954 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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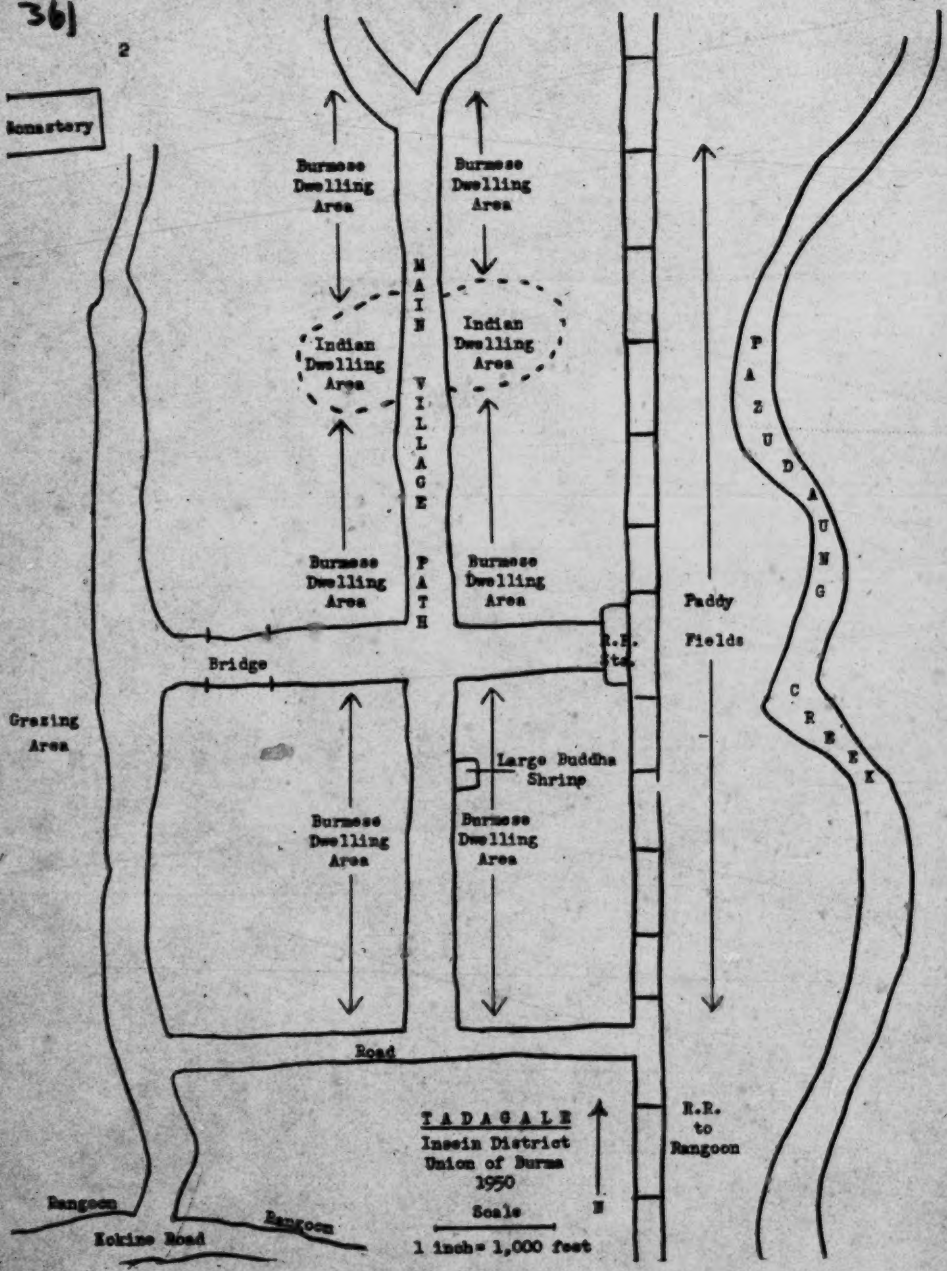

25:Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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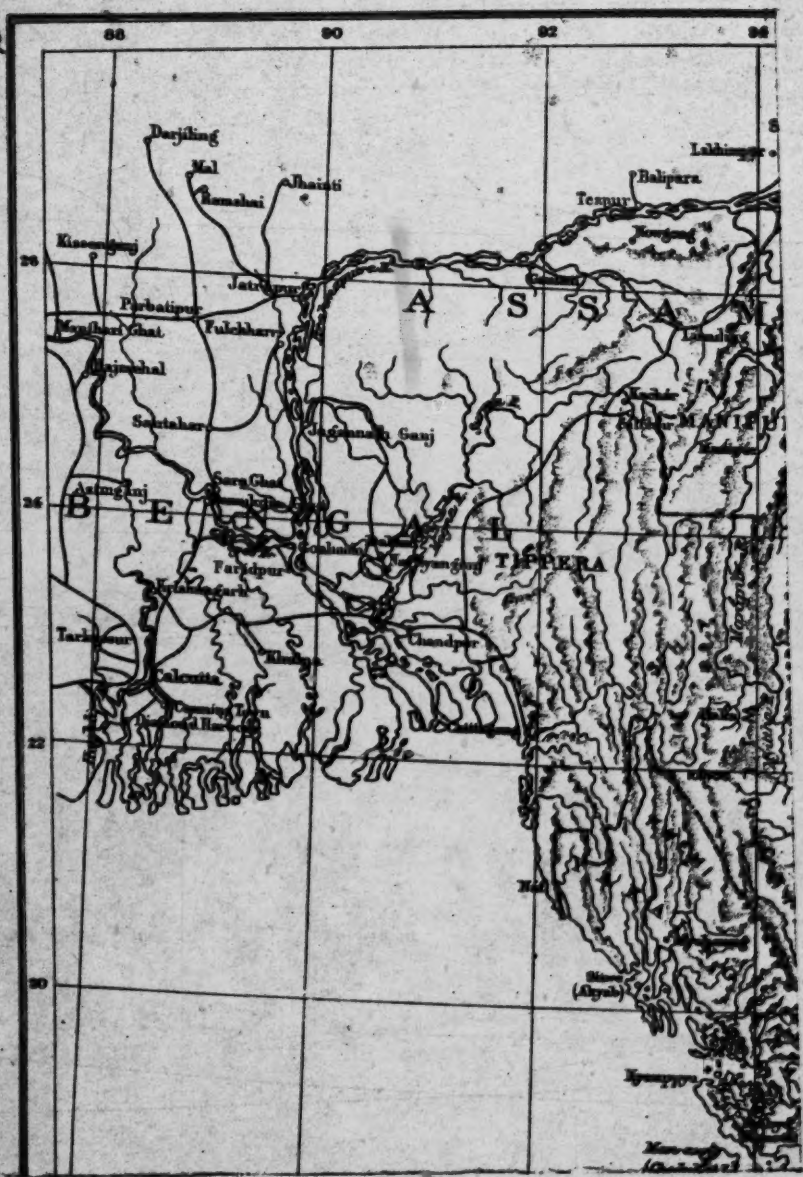

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237a

25:Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma

Burmese AP4

●102

[upper centre]

237b

25:Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma

Burmese AP4

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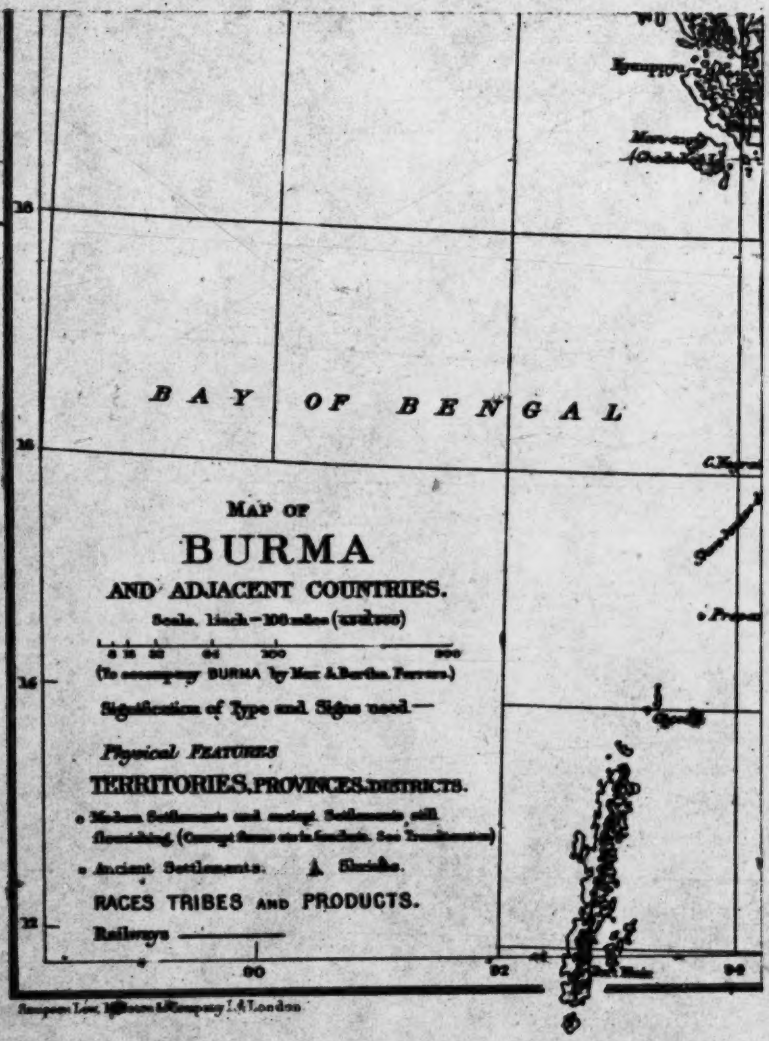
237c

25:Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma

Burmese AP4

• 102



ANDAMAN ISLANDS

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25:Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma

Burmese AP4

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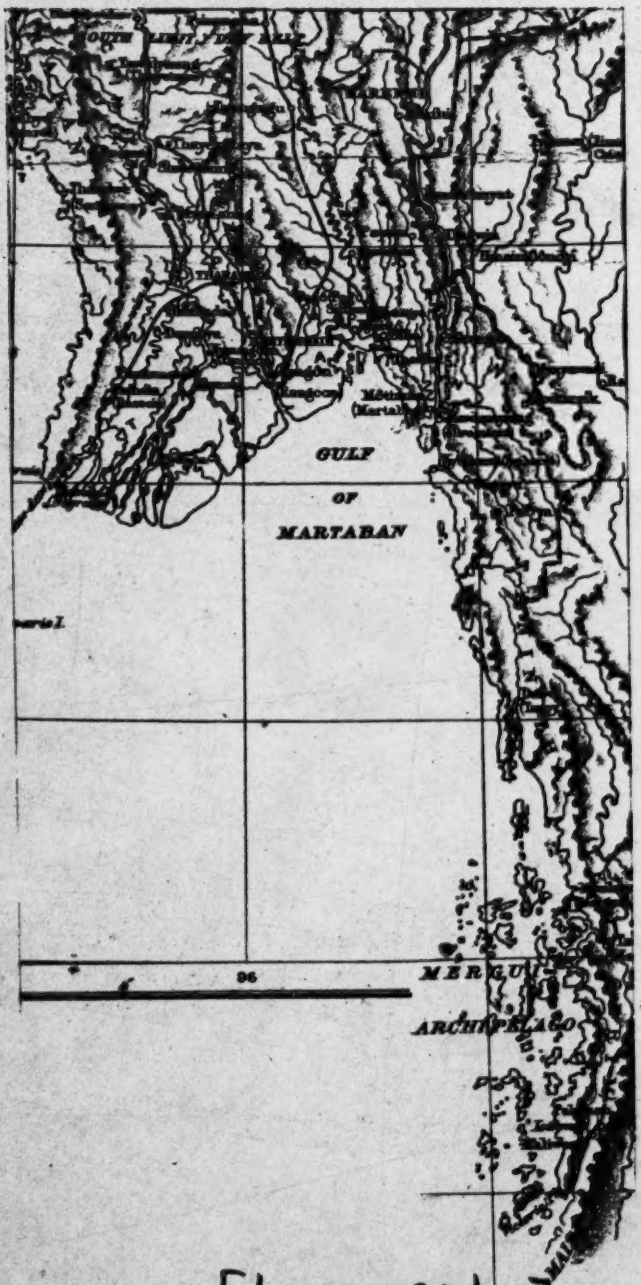

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25:Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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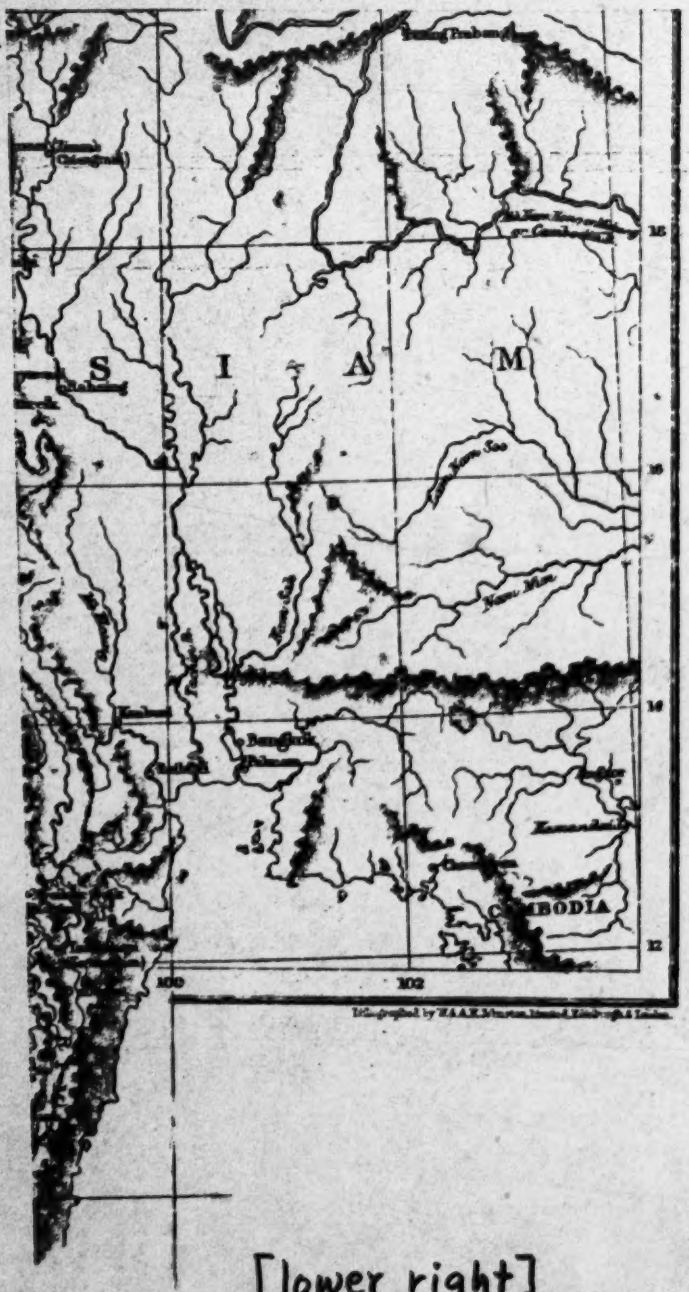

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237f

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

779
929

the Lord Buddha, and some fell away into lamentable heresies. Many of them still retain reminiscences of the teachings of the Great Master. Thus the Bible of the Christian contains moral precepts in a great measure identical with the sentiments conveyed in the thoughts or sermons of the Lord Buddha. There is even confirmation in the mention of the ages of Methuselah and other men of old, of the doctrine of the waxing and waning term of human life. Some learned Sadaws have held that the Lord Jesus is Dewadat, the cousin of Shin Gautama, who was always trying to overthrow the good works of the Buddha; and it is well known that the Siamese speak of the evil Dewadat as the God of Europe, and the causer of all the evil in the world. This opinion is not, however, generally held, and the best thing a Burman can wish for a good Englishman is that in some future existence, as a reward of good works, he may be born a Buddhist and if possible a Burman. For that the Burmese are most nearly descended [103] from the original holy people, their name Byammā or Bamā evidently shows, while no other nation preserves the sacred law more carefully and more exactly in its form as it came from the lips of the Lord Buddha himself. Moreover, the Burmese monarchs retained the titles given to Mahāthamada, the first king, and his immediate successors, and therefore they ranked above all others.

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

778 were still a good number of the tame fish, tame enough to allow you to stroke them and put gold-leaf on their heads, but there were far from being as many as there should have been had the villagers duly observed the teachings of the [177·77] Buddha. The primeval simplicity of the people is fast fading away throughout the province. The travelling Englishman finds no difficulty in either getting people to sell fowls, or others still less hampered by doubts, to wring their necks and cook them.

792 108 The monastery sometimes has a name of its own; more frequently it is called by the Pali name of the town or pagoda near which it lies, or by that of its prior. The Thayet-daw Kyaung in Rangoon is so called from the magnificent mango-trees that grow within it. Well known in Upper Burma is the monastery of U Sandimā, or the Mingala-san Taik, where King Mindôn received his instruction in the religious texts which he knew so well. The name is usually given by the founder after consultation with the proposed head of the community, and it cannot be said that the consultation results in much originality.

792 Here and there throughout the country there are a few yatheit, hermits who withdraw into solitude in forests and desert places, and, like the old rathi (from which word of course the Burman term is derived), they live on wild fruits and roots and the chance alms of passers-by. But as the rathi were closely connected with the Brahmins, and as the custom is not recommended by the Buddha, nor looked upon with favour by the people, it is not of frequent occurrence. Occasionally a very austere monk buries himself in the solitude of the jungle during the season of Lent, in order the better to devote himself to meditation, but even this is not common. Nevertheless in the rocks above Nyaung-u, near Pagān, there are a few cells dug out high up in the cliffs which are always occupied, as any one who has gone out to shoot the rock pigeons which abound there will very speedily find. The yatheit comes down, confiscates the bag, and drives away the sportsman with terrible threats of future punishment. Such caves and holes in the rocks are not uncommon on other parts of the Irrawaddy, wherever the ascetic is able to climb up and finds the stratum soft enough to hack

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

There's many a goodly image 539
In Mahā Myat-muni,
But Mamyay[1] shall be aged
Ere it a fairer see.

And I, the poor Inspector,
May lay me down in peace,
For when this life is ended
Existences shall cease.

It is a very usual practice at the casting of bells and images for the onlookers to throw gold and silver articles of jewellery into the ladles of melted ore. 778 325

[1] Mamyay is a common poetical contraction for Mandalay. Man is also frequently used. [103]

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

A woman who has seven sons or seven daughters in unbroken succession is almost certain to become a witch; her husband had better not quarrel with her at any rate. 754

At Kāma, a small place between Prome and Thayetmyo, there is a spirit flame, a kind of Jack o' Lantern, in a hollow near the town. Long ago a smith was killed in a brawl and became a nat after death. He liked his old profession and set up a nat-fire, and worked away at nights on a spectral forge. The inhabitants soon found out what was going on, and after their first terror was over used to go out in the middle of the day and leave a piece of iron, saying, "Good Mr. Spirit, make me an axe, a dah, a hoe." Next day they found it all ready made. At last a Chin—just the sort of thing one of those stupid people would do—hid himself, and just when the midnight cocks had finished crowing, up rose the smith in human shape, dressed in a red paso and a flaring red turban. He began hammering away on his anvil, welding a sword. The infatuated Chin at last shouted, "Make it quick." The demon smith whipped round on the instant and flung the red-hot dah at him, burning his cheek. The indiscreet peeping Tom took to his heels and ran. After he had got a mile away he rubbed his blistered cheek, and in after-times there rose at that place Pāpôt, "the cheek-rubbing village." A mile farther on he began to shake all over with fatigue and terror, whence the name of Tôn, "the trembling village." Finally, when he reached the site of Paukpogu, the "swelling burst," he sank down on the ground, and was found there next morning with just enough life left to tell his story. The smith never worked again, but his fire may be seen to this day. Once a year all the house fires in Kāma are put out and lighted again from the nat-mi. Should any one neglect so to pay hônour to the nat, his house and all his goods will be burnt before the year is out. The resemblance to the legend of Wayland Smith at Lambourn in Berkshire is obvious. The naming of the villages is also a favourite form of Horne Took etymology prevalent all over Burma. 823 [513] [186] [103]

The common notion of earthquakes is that the earth is supported on the shoulders of four creatures called nga-hlyin. These monsters are less sturdy than the classical Atlas, and 823

1: Mi Mi Khaing I-5 (no date) 1946 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

104

GLOSSARY

A-hlu, mass cooking for free feasting, 83
a-hmong, tree whose bark is ground into a cosmetic, 22
ahs-doung-ngit-si, household goods, 130
A-Kyi, see Ma Ohn Kyi
a-kyo nay, "preparing-to-great day", New Year's Eve, 59
angein-pate, variety show, 100
Apana, Grandfather's Indian servant, 11
arahat, man ready to attain Nirvana, 58
a-say-hkan, servants, 19
a-zein-bok, rotten vegetation, 82
a-ei-hkan, solid stub for rolling into end of cheroot, 80
a-ee-ga min, Government official from Burma Civil Service Class II, 18
aung-thate, go-between, 74
auna, authority, 74

Bahugyi, term of respect for Hindu shop-keeper, 117
bahmya, jewel, possession of highest worth, 48
balachaung, toast spread with *ngapi*, a dish for Europeans, 84
baw, fine silver, 24
bedin-saya, fortune teller, astrologer, 32
bein-mon, wheat cake, 88
belu, ogre, 31
bi-mon, comb cake, 88
bi-gaung-tan, combseller (a game), 29
boho-dauk, Westerner's hair-cut, 6
bok-ta-lon taukte, a tuck too with a buff, *i.e.* blind man's buff, 30

Chaung hya, stream's source, 1
cheik, elaborately patterned silk, 82
chep-paung, a kind of vegetable, 85
chet, cooked, 84
chinhoung, roselle leaves, 21
chinlone, a ball game, 9
chit, love, 74

Dago, giver, 3
dah, blade, 23
dahma, heavy chopper for wood, meat, etc., 24
dalwe, knife for splitting bamboos, etc., 23
damouk, light paring knife, 24
damayaung, dagger carried by Shans, 24
dandalin, edible fruit, 14
dani, nipah tree, 51
Da-ngin, a tree like a laburnum, 68

• 104 *daung*, pounded, 84
daw-may, lit forgotten tress, a particularly good variety of mango, 10
dat-le-ba-ay, lit "physic of the four elements", 32
daung-kwa-mon, peacock's hoof cake, 88

Eggaya-hto, alchemy, 73

Galon, an animal, 59
gangaw, flowering tree, 2
Gaung-aw kyun, island in Moulmein river, 60
ga-zun-ywet, water greens, 89
gone, prestige, 74
go-ngin, seeds in children's games, 28
gwe, tree with sweet fruit, 14
gyo, cake of rice, 84

Hin, curry, 83
hinggyo, soup, 83
hkut-te, lading out, 84
hmway-de, fragrant, 53
hna-yet, second day, 44
hne, clarionet, 100
hpa, cane box used when travelling, 27
hpet-hpu, leaf-bud, 82
hpon, glory, holiness, 39
hpongyi-bo-sha-na, pill for coughs and sore throats, 31
hpon-nein, to lower a man's hpon making him subservient to his wife, 39
hpya, reed mat, 21
hsa-min mak-kin, cake not free from turmeric, 88
hsay, mixture, 79
hsi-byan, oil-returns curry, 86
hsi-mi-khwet, earthen oil-flame dishes for festival lights, 22
Hsin-byu Shin, Lord of the white elephant, 57
hsu-taung, that part of prayers in which blessings are asked for, 72
htamane, special rice dish for Festivals, 44
hti, umbrella of gold at summit of pagoda, 110
hto, making, 44
htok-si-tan, a team game somewhat like "French and English", 29

Kalame, tree whose bark is ground into a cosmetic, 22
kalape-so, cake-wee-gram-balls, 88
kan, fate, luck, 32
kanaze, a sweet-sour fruit, 56
Kattu, small sailing ship, 7
kaukhnyin, glutinous rice, 44
khame, charm, 32
kha-yay, a tree from whose flowers garlands are woven, 28
kho, dove, 82
Khway-yu, mad dog, the one left out in a game, 30
kinmun, a kind of tree, 84
Ko-Gyi, eldest male first cousin, 113

1: Mi Mi Khaing I-5 (no date) 1946 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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Ko Ko, elder brother, 74
Kyauk-chan, cake smooth as marble, 88
kyauk-kar, lacquer, 25
kyaukpyin, stone for grinding *thanaka*, 22
kyaukwin, lit "green rock", jade, 48
kyaung, monastery and school, 2
kyaungtha, scholar, 2
Kyaw-gyet, fry-cook, 85
Kyet-thaung, cock's blood, 82
kyi-saing, instrument made with series of gongs, 27, 40

La-hpet, pickled tea-leaf, 33
la-hsan, new moon, 44
la-hsat, waning moon, 44
la-gyit nay, full moon day, 44
lanba, greed for riches, 73
laung, dug-out boat, 26
lay-hto-te, wind-to-pierce, 89
lay-nyo shit-se, lit "80 kinds of wind", a digestive powder, 31
lay-naing-te, wind conquering, 89
le, fields, 68
le-gat, narrow gold collar, 47
lethok, lit "hand-wiping or mixing"; a kind of vegetable dish, 85
let-htat, laying of hands one on another in marriage-ceremony, 123
let-sut let-se, lit "wear for the arms and such"; jewellery, 47
Lin-nge, lesser husband, 123
longyi, skirt worn by both sexes, 3
m, ordinary human beings (as opposed to a monk), 129
Lu Pe, author's cousin and Superintendent of Archaeology, 14

Ma, female; odd (as opp. to even; see *Sun*), 29
Mahawahpu, noble forehead, 80
Ma Ma Gyi, elder sister, 53
Ma Maya Shwe, } third cousins of author's father
Ma Ohn Kyi, (A-Kyi) } employed as "upstairs servants", 19
Ma Ngwe Yin, second cousin of author's mother, employed as "upstairs servant", 19
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mingala, part of marriage ceremony, 126
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mun-hsing-daung, cake in stick pieces, 88
—*ka*, sweetmeat money, 19
—*kat-kyaw*, cake fried in oil, 88
—*kaun*, cake sprinkled, 88
—*ka-lawa*, black Indian cake, 88
—*kyaw-ale*, buffalo's liver cake, 88

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—*le-baing*, whirlwind cake, 88
—*lit-pya*, butterfly cake, 88
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—*longyi*, big-cake-ball, 88
—*lon-yay-paw*, cake-balls floating, 88
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myookhip, junior Government post, 16

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—*pe*, } kinds of fish, 36
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nga-ponna, kind of fish, 86
ngan-ay, black power, taken to reduce a temperature, 31
nga-tha-lauk, a kind of fish, 5
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nyi-ma-lay, little sister ; used as form of address by husbands to wives, 74

Ohn-ne, coconut flower, 79
ok, book, 82
ok-ta-sauk, spirit of the next world, 30
ok-te, covering with the vegetable, 85

Padauk, a flower, 61
palin, jewelled reclining chair, 40
pan, flowers, 29 ; flower (of victory), 122
pan-nu tender flowers, 82
pazan-hai, prawn oil, 82
pa-thein halawa, Bassein Cake, 88
paw-pwa, Grandmother, 2
Paya, a term of great respect, 33
payin, amber, 82
peik-ta, spirit of the next world, 30
pein, arum, 10
pe-myit, bean, 87
pinle wa, ocean's opening, 1
pin-sin tha-ma, the word "pensioner" incorporated in Burmese, 66

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pulaway, flute, 100
pyaw-pate-sa, "happy-eating gathering"; picnic, 35

Sado, pin for the hair, 47
sadone, style of hairdressing, 80
saing-saing, musical gathering, 100
salaungbon, cover for earthen pot, 21
sameik, false tress added in hairdressing for coquetry, 80
sameik-kwin, more restrained form of above, 81
San Lin, author's uncle, 20
sa-sa-ya, food eater at a regular meal, 87 (see tha-ya-sa)
saungs, stoutly woven cotton pieces used as blankets, 21
saya-daw, senior monk, 2
seinbu, diamond bud at the summit of pagoda, 110
sein-pan gaing, diamond and gold pins for the hair, 47
seinsa, diamond, 53
setauk-te, seed-flicking game, 29
shikko, make obeisance to or worship, 34
shinbyu, initiation ceremony for boys, 6
shinlaung, boy attendant on monk, 41
shwe-dinga, gold sovereign; used as a qualification of durians, 55
si, seeds, 29
son, a pair; even, 29
son-sa, witches, 31
son-sa saya, admonitory words, 112

Tabodwe, full moon festival (January-February), 44
taik-pan, honolulu creeper flowers, 24
ta-ngo-thu, fishermen; regarded as outcasts, 53
tanga, servants' quarters, 18
ta-ozy, ghost, 31
ta-get, first day, 44
ta-gok chi-thay-ma, tiny-footed Chinese women, 76
tagok-kalay, little Chinaman, 115
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thakan, a reed, 21
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tha-do-thu, bridegroom, 126
tha-do-thumi, bride, 126
tha-gyan daw gyi, ceremonial washing of the King's hair at New Year, 60
tha-gyan hta-min, special cooking of rice at New Year, 62
tha-gyan mo, rain showers at New Year, 62
tha-gyan sa, beginning of New Year, 59
thakin, master, 19
thakinma, mistress, 19
tha-na, compassion, 74
thanakha, tree whose bark is ground into a cosmetic; the paste made from this, 22
thanot, (i) tree whose leaves are used for wrapping cheroots, 79
(ii) type of vegetable dish, 85
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tha-gaw, fiddle, 60
tha-get, mango, 33
tha-get-hte, a style of *longyi*, 114
Tha-lgay, plum, 59
thein, house for meditation of monks, 71
tha-mi-to, son-in-law, 53
thi, leaves, 85
thin, a grass, 21
thinbyu, mat woven from *thin*, 21
thingan, tree whose trunk is used for dug-out boats, 26
thitsi, wood oil, 25
thit-to, a kind of pear, 87
thok, mixed, 84
ton-kyin-thi, shiver-sour-fruit, 87
to-ee-yu, dish of raw green vegetables, 83
thugyi, headman or "elder persons" of a village, 46

U-bok-nay, duty day gathering in monastic rest-house, 75
U-yin, garden, 36
upazin, a monk, 2

Waso, first month of Lent (July-August); every other year a double month, 44
wet, pig's flesh, 33
Wingaba, a maze, 110
winna, possessed (by the spirit of one already dead), 6
wun-sa, lit "food for the womb"; staple diet, 69

Ya-khaing, type of check weave (for longyis) made in Arakan, 81
yamane, coarse grained wood used for carving, 25
Yangon, lit "end of strife"; Rangoon, 109
Yan-gon-tha, Rangoon folk, 91
yaung-ma, sister-in-law, the stirrer of trouble; name given to wooden rice-stirrer, 27
yay-luyi, slime moss, 82
yay-ngan, salt-water, 87
Ye, town in Tenasserim, 1 ff.
yet-sa linctus powder, 31
yin-sha, drawn up above the bosom, as a *longyi* is after bathing, 80
yun-it, lacquer box, 25
yway, adenanthera tree, 29
ywetyo, tree with edible fruit, 14

Zat-pwe, traditional drama, 99
zaung-ya, a kind of fruit with five edges or blades, 85
zayat, rest house, 60
zi-byu-thi, Indian gooseberry, 90
zin-me, geometric type of silk weave, 81
zun-chit, "spoon-scrape", as much of a fruit as a spoon will easily scrape, 55

GLOSSARY

Amè	'Mother': exclamation commonly denoting astonishment and other sudden reactions
Ahmudan	Troops of the palace guard in the Mandalay regime
Atwin Wun	Literally, 'Inner Burden', privy councilor or minister of the second rank
Bawdi Bin	The Bodhi tree (Ficus Religiosa) under which Gautama Buddha was sitting when he attained to enlightenment or Buddhahood
Bedin	Sanskrit Veda, books and sciences of astrology
Bedin Sayā	Astrologer
Bilu	The commonest variety of ogre, who comes in human form and swallows people
Bin	Tree
Bitaghat	Sanskrit Pitaka or 'basket', the Buddhist canonical literature
Chinlon	Game of keeping a wickerwork ball in the air for as long as possible
Dacoit	From Anglo-Indian Daku, organised bands of brigands
Dhammathat	Sanskrit Dharmashastra, lawbooks and codes
Eingshemin	Royal heir apparent

GLOSSARY (cont'd)

Gaung	Titningman or head of a group of some ten households, a subdivision of the village
Hlut Daw	Supreme court and council formed of the four Wungyis (q. v.)
Hti	Sacred umbrella atop religious spires and edifices; a Buddhist cosmographical symbol of high status
Kala	Foreigner
Kalatha	Mettlesome youths of the neighbourhood
Kan	Sanskrit Karma, luck, fate, merit or demerit accumulated toward reincarnation
Kin Wungyi	A sort of prime minister in the last native regime
Kon Thi	Betel for chewing; Kon It, Betel boxes for holding Kon Thi
Kyaung	A monastery
Le'pet	Salted ginger strips, a frequent condiment
Leip Bya	'Butterfly,' i. e. the soul of a person
Letwin mingala	Annual rite in which king initiates the plowing season
Lingga	Doggrel verse

GLOSSARY (cont'd)

Lu Byet	A clown or jester in a pwe (q. v.)
Lu Gyi	A sort of diviner or caster of horoscopes
Lungyi	Waist-cloth (see Paso)
Mandut	Platform from which upper class persons watch a pwe (q. v.
Min	King
Mingala That	(That — Sanskrit Shastra or sacred book), The Buddhist Beatitudes
Myo	City or township, i. e. circle of villages; an administrative division
Myo Ok	Township governor under a Myo Wun (q. v.)
Myo Sa	Literally an 'Eater of a town,' i. e. a prince assigned the revenues of a Myo
Myothugyi	Headman of a township, often hereditary
Myo Wun	Minister or governor of town, city etc.
Nat	A spirit
Ne'ban	Sanskrit Nirvana, the state of escape from the cycles or reincarnation, highest condition attained under Buddhist practice
Nga	Buddhist Hells: Nga Ye, the lowest of these.

Nga Pi	A universal condiment, fish paste or, literally, Pressed Fish
Parakyan	Pagoda slaves
Parawun	Sacred precincts
Paso	see Lungyi
Paya	Lord, a high honorific title
Pe	A land measure of about one acre
Pongyi	A Buddhist monk; literally, Great Glory
Ponna	A Brahman astrologer
Pwe	A dramatic performance, usually associated with ceremonial occasions
Pya That	Canopy or 5-tiered spire, royal and ecclesiastical symbols and emblems
Sada	Horoscope
Sadon	Women's topknot headdress

GLOSSARY (cont'd)

Saya	A practitioner of any priestly or occult or text-using craft
Se Paw Leip	A cheroot
Shekho	Kowtowing with forehead to floor; an honorific obeisance
Shin	Monk-novice or probationer
Sin Byudaw	Sacred royal white elephant
Tabindaing	Princess reserved in marriage for her half-brother, the next king
Taga	Donator, e.g. Kyaung Taga - builder of a monastery
Taik Thugyi	Village headman
Talapoin	Monk
Taunggya	Brand tillage
Taw twet	One who has run off from his responsibilities in the civil estate to be a monk, a 'Jungle runaway'.
Thabeit	Monks' begging bowl
ThagyaMin	King of the Nats of one of the Buddhist heavens
Thengan	Monks' yellow robe
Thi' Si	Lacquer or 'wood-oil'
Thugyi	A leader or big man

GLOSSARY (cont'd)

Ubone'	Duty days; four days in the lunar month reserved for stricter observance by laymen of pieties regularly enjoined for monks
Wan	A ceremonial litter
Waso	Period of Buddhist lenten-like abstentions from July to October
Wini	(Sanskrit Vinaya?) The whole duty, i.e. canon of the rules of the Buddhist order
Wun	An official, literally 'Burden'
Wundauk	'prop of the Burden,' minister of the third rank, assistant to Wungyi

GLOSSARY (cont'd)

Wungyi	Minister of the first rank and member of Hlutdaw (q. v.), "Great Burden"
Yahan	A kind of monk
Yazagaing	Sumptuary laws
Zat	Sanskrit Jataka; stories of the former incarnations of Gautama the Buddha, common themes of stories and dramatic performances (Pwe)
Zedi	Sanskrit Chaitya; Buddhist reliquary shrines or Pagodas

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Shiko: Formal obeisance to monks, elders, etc. made with folded hands.
Shinbyu: Initiation rite for boys, who usually enter Buddhist monasteries for at least a short period at about adolescence.
Thadingyut: Burmese Buddhist festival of lights after full moon of month of same name (October) celebrating return of Buddha to world of men.
Oame?: Son-in-law; lit. "desired one".
Thanakha: Astringent-like paste of ground bark and water, used as cosmetic on face, etc.
Thingyan: New Year's festival, about mid-April.
Waso: The so-called Buddhist lent, from about mid-July to about mid-October.

Glossary

Aingyi: Women's jacket

Cweima: Daughter-in-law; lit. "sweat woman", i.e., she who works hard for Mother-in-law.

Duty Days: Four days in each lunar month of Burmese calendar, reserved for a sort of sabbath.

Kahtein: Ceremony of offerings to Buddhist Monks on day after full moon on Thadingyut (q.v.) and Tasaungmon (November).

Longyi: One-seamed wrap-skirt for both sexes; knotted at waist for men and tucked for women.

Mantra: Inscribed Buddhist prayer or formula (Sanskrit).

Mohinga: Rice noodles cooked and mixed with curry; manufacture described

Molesaun: A Drink of sugar, coconut milk and bits of rice mixed together.

Nats: Animistic spirits of all sorts; a cult.

Padauk tree: Pterocarpus, sp.; a tree whose flowers are used in Waso ceremonies (q.v.).

Pwe: Outdoor dramatic presentations at holidays.

GLOSSARY

Measurements: 1040 804

LET MAH (finger-major) 1st thumb joint, 1 inch.
TA TAUNG (one-tip of finger to elbow) - 1½ feet.
TA LAN (one-distance from finger tips with arms spread to side) about 6 feet.
TA BU (one-tin) condensed milk tin a cylinder 3" high and 2.8" in diameter.
TA BYEE (one-medium basket) 8 BU.
TA DIN (one-big basket) 16 BYEE.

Months: The Burmese calendar for 1951-52 is as follows: 805

TA GU - 7th April - 9th May.
KA SON - 6th May - 4th June.
WA TON - 5th June - 3rd July.
WA SO - 4th July - 2nd August.
WA GAUNG - 3rd August - 31st August.
TAW THA LIN - 1st September - 30th September.
THA DIN GYUT - 1st October - 29th October.
TA ZAUNG MON - 30th October - 28th November.
NA DAW - 29th November - 27th December.
PYAR THO - 28th December - 27th January.
TA BO DWE - 28th January - 27th February.
TA BAUNG - 28th February - 29th March.

Coinage: 436

Pice (Indian), PI SON (Burmese) - ¼ anna.
Anna (Indian), PEN (Burmese) - 1/16th rupee.
Ripee (Indian), GYAT (Burmese) - 21 American cents.

Weights: 804

Tickal - (Indian); BEYAT (Burmese, rupee) 1/100th of a viss.
Viss - (Indian); PE THA (Burmese, viss) - 3.65 pounds.

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GLOSSARY

B = Burmese
P = Pali
S = Sanscrit

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abhiññā (P)	vision; super-intellection
an-attā (P)	i. e. an-attā doctrine -- denial of 'soul theory'
animitta (P)	the signless
an-upādisesa (P)	final Nibbāna; where no residual stuff of life is said to remain
arahant, arahat, arhat (P)	saint; he who is worthy
artha (S)	the good, goodness
attha (P)	wholeness, health
apaccaya (P)	not related to causes
abhāva (P)	non-being
bhikku (P)	mendicant — hence, monk.
bhikṣu (S)	
deva (S)	god.
dhamma (P)	a disputed term with many shades of meaning; generally means 'Law,' or the Teaching of the Buddha (when cited in the Three Refuges)
dukkha (P)	many shades of meaning; no English word is its precise equivalent: It is often translated 'pain' but has a wider reference. Opposite of *well-being* generally. Some nowadays trans. 'ill'
dosa (P)	ill will
dhātu (P)	final physical substratum, hence sometimes bodily remains after cremation
galon (B)	evil spirit
jhāna (P)	a technical term for a stage in the progress towards the Nibbāna condition: sometimes translated 'meditation' but this is misleading. A mystical state (not necessarily implying rapture)
jātaka (P)	Buddhist Birth story concerning some incident previous to Buddha's birth as historic Buddha. In Burmese, *zat*
kan (B)	karma (S) effect of previous deeds
khandhas or skandhas (P)	aggregates constituting the individual personality
kutho (B)	frequently translated 'merit' but 'worthiness' is a better translation: the result of good deeds, leading to better condition hereafter
koyin (B)	novice (monk)
kyaung (B)	place of learning: used frequently for monastery, or more explicitly *pongyi* (monk)-*kyoung*
kyaung-tagā (B)	founder of a monastery

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leip-pyā (B)	'butterfly' soul
Maung (B)	prefix for a junior male, distinguished from U. (Mister)
moha (P)	ignorance; dullness
nat (B)	god, cf deva: see discussion ch. II
nat-ka-daw (B)	nat medium,
Nebban, Niban Neh'ban, Neikban, Nigban	transliteration used for the Burmese equivalent for Nibbāna
ni-rodha	end of the round of ill
nāga (B)	dragon or tree deity
paññā (P)	somewhat debated term: higher insight
paññā-cakku (P)	eye of higher knowledge; insight: vision
peta (P) (preta)	"a departed spirit": a suffering rather than a malevolent spirit: see Law, *Buddhist conception of Spirits* p. 90
pōn-gyi, phōn-gyī (B)	a monk (lit. 'great glory')
pa-yā (B)	pagoda, shrine, sacred image: also title of honour
payā-shikoh (B)	to pray
pōn-gyīkyaung (B)	monastery
rahan	a term used in some of the older books for 'monk'
raga (P)	lust: passion
sayā (B)	teacher
sayādaw, sadaw (B)	senior monk; abbot
Saṃgha (P)	Order of Buddhist monks: the Church
saṃbodhi (P)	the final illumination of the Eight-fold Path: arahat's insight
sa-upādisesa (P)	Nibbāna condition prior to the final complete stage; Nibbāna without dissolution of present 'individual' body, whether in this life or a re-birth
tathāgata (P)	meaning obscure: title often employed for the Buddha: applied also to arahats generally; probably pre-Buddhist
talapoin (B ?)	obsolete name for monk. Used by Sangermano
taṇhā (P)	craving: thirst: attachment to present existence sometimes translated 'desire' but this is too mild a term
tasō (B)	ghost
therā (P)	elder. Hence 'Theravāda': school of the elders: Hīnayāna sect
thāthanābaing (B)	chief abbot or arch-abbot of Burmese Saṃgha
Upādi and upahdi (P)	elements of existence: for discussion on distinction between upādi and upadhi. See Note C.
upazin (P) upasin	fully ordained monk
tesdi, zedi (B)	pagoda; stupa
zat (B)	jātaka story.

13: Khin Zaw I-5 (no date) 1940 AP1 Burma
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[114] Now comes the time to discuss the technical remarks of Mr. Paul Edmonds and Mr. P. A. Mariano mentioned at the beginning of this article. In Chap. VII of his *Peacocks and Pagodas* (Routledge, 1924) Paul Edmonds says:

> Hla Tin having fixed up his mandolin proceeded to play me a tune. The tune, he said, was the introduction to the "baw lè," and the "baw lè" is the tune to which all songs of a sad and plaintive character are commonly sung—though there is nothing about the tune that sounds sad to the western ears[1]. The short introduction was in two parts, the lower being a kind of rough counterpoint[2]. It is played at the beginning, between every verse, and at the end. I wrote it down on paper in western notation after several repetitions, (*See* Example 4), and upon examining the upper part, or tune, was interested to find that it was apparently in the pentatonic scale. I then successfully transcribed the "baw lè" tune proper, (*See* Example 6), but this was, I found, approximately in our ordinary major scale, and it was difficult to say for certain whether or not the tune had originally been pentatonic[3].

Paul Edmonds also examined the xylophone (*pattalar*), the drum-circle (*saingwaing*), and the gong-circle (*kyi-waing*) and said:

> The pattala, which seemed to be in the key of C, had an eight-note scale; but at first I was puzzled to classify it, since in the upper octave the note B was nearer to B-flat than to B-natural, whereas in the lower octave it was the other way about. How to account for an approximate B-flat in one octave and an approximate B-natural in the octave in the same instrument was a problem[4]. The note F in both octaves was indeterminate. It seemed to be about midway between F and F-sharp[5].
>
> This first suggested to me what I now believe to be the true explanation, which is that the pentatonic scale is the foundation and that notes have been roughly inserted in the two gaps between E and G and between A and C in order to make the scale approximate to the Western major scale. I was not sure of this at that time, but subsequent investigations confirmed it.

I wish Paul Edmonds had left a full account of his investigations. It would be a real service not only to future research but also to Burmese music. While heartily agreeing with him that the pentatonic scale was the foundation of the Burmese scale, I hesitate

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1. No wonder. Hla Tin has spoilt the plaintive part of the tune with a variation: (*See* Example 7) the last beat of the third bar leading down to the tonic in the beginning of the bar following. These five notes are characteristic of the *baw-lè* cadence, and of the original Burmese tonality. Harmonically, they form the arpeggio of the tonic major chord with added sixth like the arpeggio ending to Grieg's *To the Spring* in F-sharp major.

2. P.E. apparently here refers to Hla Tin's thumb work. When playing the mandolin a Burman does not use the plectrum. Forefinger and thumb are employed, the latter to strike an occasional lower octave or the Fourth or the Fifth, or to help the forefinger along with the melody. The result perhaps often sounds like rough counterpoint. But the tune was certainly not in two parts. The division is of labour, not thematic.

[116] 3. It could not be. *Baulè* is a very much later invention attributed to Hlaing-Htaik-Khaung-Tin (1835-1875 A.D.) an excellent summary of whose life translated by Nyi Nyi from the excellent series of short biographies of famous Burmese authoresses by Ma Ma Gyi, appeared in the *World of Books* Nos. 136-137. U Thein Han (Zaw Gyi) points out the germ of the *baw-lè* tune in the concluding part of a *patpyo* "ya-gon-myaing-gyar" attributed by some to Myawadiwungyi and by others to Hlaing-Htaik-Khaung-Tin's own mother Ma Mya Gale.
[115]

4. I would blame its maker. My *pattalar* reveals just the opposite.

5. It is still there.

14: Brant E-5 (1949-50) 1954 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

III

SOCIAL GROUPS AND RELATIONS

In this section we describe the patterns of kinship and interpersonal relations, the beliefs and customs pertaining to the life cycle of the individual associations, and intergroup relations.*

Kinship

The kinship system reflects very clearly the bilateral family structure in the absence of terminological differentiation on the basis of the sex of the connecting relative. The other outstanding characteristic is the recognition at many points of relative age. For each generation a distinct set of kinship terms is employed. On the speaker's (ego's) generation, all cousins are merged with siblings, the terms being differentiated, however, according to relative age. In the first ascending generation, the parents' siblings are differentiated according to the degree of age relative to the parent. In the first descending generation the factor of relative age loses significance; sex is the sole basis of differentiation of kinship terms, except for separate terms to distinguish the speaker's own children from others. On successive descending generations sex distinction is absent and all relatives of a given generation are subsumed under a single kinship term.

Relative age is the all-important hub upon which the wheel of village social life revolves. Deference to one's elders is reflected in such customs as carrying objects for them, refraining from sitting with one's head higher than those of elders, and avoiding postures in which the feet are extended towards such persons.

Beyond such matters of etiquette, the importance of age is even more fundamentally demonstrated in the showing of obeisance to one's elders. This is done on all the important ceremonial occasions. Four such occasions are regarded as obligatory times for paying one's respects. These are the beginning and the end of Waso (sometimes called the Buddhist 'Lent'), a period of about three months, roughly from mid-July to mid-October; the New Year; and the harvest. Respect is paid to all of one's elders in the parental generation and above. A visit is made at which an offering, valuable or symbolic, is brought and the elder's blessings are received.

Interpersonal Relations

Husband and Wife. The household is normally composed of husband and wife and their offspring. It is a bilateral, limited type of family structure, contrasting markedly with the patrilineal extended Chinese family and the joint family of India. Unlike the position of the wife in the traditional Chinese and Indian family systems, that of the Burmese wife is not one of an outsider living in a group dominated by her husband's relatives. Where a married couple reside is a matter of choice and is decided very largely on the basis of economic opportunity. When there is such opportunity in the village for an outsider who marries a girl of Tadagale, he is urged to establish their residence there, but there is no particular pressure or feeling about the

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*The material on kinship and the life cycle, with certain changes, was published under the title "Burmese Kinship and the Life Cycle: an Outline" in Southwestern Journal of Anthropology, vol 7, no 4, 1951, pp. 437-454. The reader interested in the technical details of the kinship terms and a diagrammatic presentation of the kinship system is referred to that article. The author wishes to express his thanks to Mi Mi Khaing for valuable assistance in the compilation and analysis of the material on this aspect of the culture.

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
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have been celebrated year after year, at least since the reintroduction of Buddhism in 1056, and at least since March, 638, when an early king of Pagan, Popa Sawrahan (613–40), drew up the present Burmese era, the dawn of every Burmese new year has been the occasion for mirthful water-throwing.[1]

Buddhism had been introduced into the country through commercial relations with India long before the foundation of the kingdom of Pagan, but from the beginning it was only at second-hand and therefore feeble. The real religion of the Burmese before the reintroduction of Buddhism in 1056 was animistic, and they worshipped various spirits, known as *nats*. There were mediums, mostly women, who danced to please the spirits, and as the spirits were supposed to enter into the bodies of the mediums, sometimes it was believed that the spirits, and not the mediums, were actually dancing. Sometimes the medium herself actually believed that a spirit had taken control of her body, but usually she only pretended that a spirit had entered her, and gave an exhibition of acting. As the medium of each particular *nat* dressed herself in appropriate clothes, the spirit dances were essentially dramatic.[2] When Buddhism, in one of its purest forms, was introduced under Anawrahta, the great king realized the impossibility of attracting people suddenly to the new faith; so he compromised by recognizing the *nats* as Buddhist spirits and giving them shrines in his Shwezigôn Pagoda as its guardian spirits. When asked the reason, Anawrahta replied: 'Men will not come suddenly to the new faith. Let them come for their old gods, and they will gradually be won over.'[3]

So the worship of the *nats* lived on, and with the advance of

[1] Shway-Yoe (Sir George Scott) in *The Burman: His Life and Notions*, and Fielding Hall in *The Soul of a People* give detailed accounts of the feasts and life in the villages. However, as far as I have been able to find out, the Tazaungmôn celebrations have never been described in any English work.

[2] These dances are still performed on spirit-feast days at Taungbyôn (near Mandalay), a small town given up to spirit worship since the days of Pagan's greatness and perhaps even before.

The belief in, as distinct from the worship of, spirits is not alien to Buddhism.

The chief works on the subject are: Sir R. C. Temple, *The Thirty-Seven Nats*; Grant Brown, 'The Taungbyon Festival' in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, 1915; the same author's 'The Pre-Buddhist Religion of the Burmese' in *Folk-Lore*, 1921; and G. E. Harvey, *History of Burma*.

[3] G. E. Harvey, op. cit., p. 33.

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who put themselves under the patronage and protection of some noble lord in Elizabethan England.

Though the various plays presented at court were performed all over the country in little towns and little courts, the *Rama* play alone reached the remotest corners of the country, and it alone took root in the hearts of the people. What they wanted was action, and of the court plays, only *Rama* could satisfy the desire for action. The original Siamese version had been dead for some time even at court, and what the people saw were adaptations, which contained elements borrowed from the *Nibhatkhin* and the interlude. The story was shortened, many of the palace-scenes cut out, romantic love-scenes between Rama and Sita put in, and the demon king became a comic villain, whom everyone laughed at and liked. The villain as a popular comic character was borrowed straight from the *Nibhatkhin* and the interlude, where the Burmese equivalent of the devil in the English miracle plays, kept the audience in roars of laughter.

There was another important reason why the *Rama* play was so popular, and why the play became more and more Burmese. Under King Singu, while the court contented itself with the Siamese version, a poet outside the court circle broke completely away from the Siamese tradition and recast the story in a purely native form. U Toe, who became famous among the people under Singu and who was given official rewards and recognition under Bodawpaya, was termed the 'Great Master of the *Yagan*'. The *Yagan* is a romance in verse. It probably developed out of the *Hanza*, a dramatic recitation of a story, but in the *Yagan* the dramatic element is subordinated to poetic description. The most famous of U Toe's *Yagans* was the *Rama-yagan*. In the history of Burmese poetry it enjoys a very important place. It is famous for the clearness and beauty of the language, for beautifully coined words and for richness in imagery. He may be termed the Burmese 'poet's poet' because his language inspired other poets to imitate his style. The *Rama-yagan* was studied by his courtier-contemporaries although he was outside the court; and imitations of his style are found in the works of Burmese authors, including U Pon Nya and authors of the present day.[1]

[113]

[1] An admirable account (in Burmese) of the importance of the *Rama-yagan* in Burmese literature and its influence on U Pon Nya is given in U Po Kya's *The Water-seller's Play of U Pon Nya*, a textbook of the Council of National Education.

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1980) 1957 AP1 Burma
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536* guess that the interlude was rapidly becoming heroic when the popu-
538 larity of U Awbatha's works showed it the way to better things.
178 The return of the interlude to the fold of the *Jataka* did in no way make the drama suffer. The range was not narrowed, because the Birth Stories were numerous and they were concerned with all classes of society and all classes of events. The *Jataka* was a developed art. Some of the stories existed in India long before the time of the Buddha and therefore they were artistically finished through retelling by generation after generation. In short, the *Jataka* was an artistic and finished short story. It was religious and it concerned itself with a moral, but the moral suggested itself and was not pointed out; the artistic qualities of the *Jataka* did not suffer because it was never pointedly didactic. Moreover, a *Jataka* contained always some interpretation of life, a view of life from a different standpoint. Therefore the interlude gained by returning to the Birth Stories for its themes.[1]

2. The Life of U Kyin U

536* The existing accounts regarding the life of U Kyin U are very meagre. Even those were obtained only through painstaking research by the learned editors of the Burma Research Society's editions of his two plays, *Purpakein* and *Dayagonkan*.

U Kyin U lived during the reigns of Bagyidaw (1819–37) Tharrawaddy (1837–46) and Pagan (1846–53). The exact dates of his life and writings are not known. He was a native of the little town of Sinbaungwe, but he migrated to the capital where he wrote his works, returning to his native town when he had retired from active literary and dramatic life. He was learned and knew Pali, Burmese literature, Burmese history and probably Siamese; at least he knew the Siamese court drama well. He probably first won fame as a writer of songs and speeches for characters on the stage, and in later life a collection of these was published. After he had thus won fame, he probably either set up a troupe of actors of his own or was engaged by such a troupe as its official dramatist; in any case, he was connected with the acting profession and the stage, and he wrote his plays in outline only, many scenes being left to be filled in later when the plays were being presented, very probably under his direction; his plays were merely stage copies and were not intended to be read. He won fame as dramatist

[1] For this section, I am greatly indebted to my sister's M.A. thesis at Rangoon University, entitled *The Jataka in Burma*.

[1:3]

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
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could not and did not achieve success, even though the translator was the learned scholar and journalist, U Shwe Kyu.[1] The translations went unnoticed, and as the magazine became defunct in 1913, the precious issues which contain them are now available only in some libraries. After this failure to introduce Shakespeare into the vernacular, no further attempt was made, and Burmese is one of the very few civilized languages into which the plays of the great dramatist have not been successfully translated. 536* 177

In 1919, after the Great War, a wave of national aspiration swept over Asia, and Burma was affected by it. With the resulting revival of interest in Burmese institutions, the study of U Kyin U and U Pon Nya has become again popular, not only in schools and colleges, but all over the country. In schools following the established educational practice of prescribing Shakespeare's plays as textbooks, the plays of U Kyin U and U Pon Nya are now so prescribed. The newly established Rangoon University, founded by the Government in 1920, the Burma Research Society[2] and the Burma Book Club—institutions founded by the British Government and University officials interested in Burmese history and literature, encouraged and led to the study of Burmese literature, including the drama, side by side with the English. And when adaptations in Burmese of a play by Molière and another by Tchekov appeared in 1928 in the magazine of the Book Club,[3] there were hopes that a new drama was in course of being developed. But the study has been from the beginning independent of and unconnected with, the theatre of the professional actors, who are in great demand and still popular with the majority of the people. Therefore the interest in the drama, even though spread beyond the university walls, remains academic rather than practical. And as far as I can see, there are no signs of the coming in the near future of a new national drama. 536* 178 668 871

[1] The magazine in which the translation appeared was the *Shwe Kyu Magazine*, and U Shwe Kyu was its founder and editor. [113]

[2] The Text Publication Committee of the Research Society has published U Kyin U's *Dayagaubaw* and *Parpakein* with editorial notes, contributing much to our knowledge of the dramatist.

[3] The adaptations were from English translations of the two plays. English is the only medium of contact with the western drama for the Burmese, and, as in India, the influence of other European literatures can come only through English channels.

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to be under the direct control of the state. But as living actors were now past such control, he turned his attention towards puppets, which were in great demand by the people. He realized the possibilities of puppets in the newly arisen national drama. The puppet show, which was then entirely independent of the drama and the living actors, started with different animals coming out one by one, and each gave a special dance to a particular tune of its own, played by the orchestra, then a *zaugyee*[1] appeared and danced, and finally, a prince and princess came out, made love, sang and danced. The puppets were from 2½ to 3 feet in height, and were worked by strings. As stage, there was a raised platform, with a black curtain, behind which the show-men stood and manipulated the puppets. The men's hands were visible, but as the platform was about four feet high and the audience had to look up, the hands did not distinctly come into the line of vision. The platform was about twenty feet in length, and the width of the part in front of the curtain was about four feet. 536 * 175 [534]

The minister put the puppet show under direct state patronage and control. Under him the puppet show became similar to an ordinary dramatic presentation except that puppets performed instead of living actors. The use of puppets to act the play of course caused the introduction of new puppets, but it also rendered the *zaugyee* and animal puppets unnecessary; yet they were retained all 536 * 175 [656]

[1] *Zaugyee* is the Burmese term for an alchemist. It is a derivative of the Indian word *yogi* but the Burmese alchemist has little in common with the Indian ascetic. It is an example of how names of Pali and semi-Buddhist origin were applied to already-existing native ideas. 789 822 [198]

A man (but not a woman) becomes a *zaugyee* when he has introduced into his body the right metal-compounds. To obtain those compounds, he has to experiment on metals with quicksilver or iron. In the first case, he becomes a 'quicksilver *zaugyee*' and in the second, an 'iron *zaugyee*', but both have the same powers. A *zaugyee* lives for millions of years, and can travel in the air, in water, or under the earth, for his body has reached the state when it is beyond the ordinary laws of nature. A halfway stage in the experiments is reached when a 'stone of live metal' (equivalent to the medieval 'philosopher's stone') is obtained. A person in actual possession of the stone can fly in the air and travel under the earth, but his powers are entirely dependent on the stone, i.e. his body is still an ordinary human body. The stone turns lead into silver and brass into gold. It will be seen that a Burman striving to become a *zaugyee* has much in common with the medieval European alchemist.

The beliefs connected with the *zaugyee* are still widely current. For a detailed account of Burmese alchemy, see the writer's 'Alchemy and Alchemists in Burma' in *Folk-Lore*, December 1933. [113]

601 t'i hnga "one bone" The Chinese terms hei ku-t'ou and pe ku-t'ou must be regarded simply as translations of native Lolo terms. Insofar as the writer is aware, this obvious explanation has not been suggested by previous writers in the field.

The custom whereby the bride returns for a visit to her parent's home, already observed among the Southern Lolo, is also in evidence among their northern neighbors. Among the Lolopho (Liétard, 1913, pp. 152 and sq.), the bride is carried to the groom's home by her elder sister, and remains there for from two to four days, in the company of her elder sister. The couple then pass several days with the bride's parents, after which the bride returns to her husband's home to stay. Hedrolle (p. 539) records a similar custom for the Eul-yi-tseu (=Uln), but states that this is now disappearing in the face of Chinese influence. Here the couple remain three days with the family of the groom, then return to the bride's home, where the groom remains only overnight but the bride lingers for from eight to ten days before rejoining her husband.

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590. KOTHEMA YON (p. 191).

of the unsuccessfully vaccinated caught the disease, and ten of them died. None of the forty-four were attacked. These statistics could be multiplied. The medicine-dealers keep many of the crude commercial drugs, besides simples of their own collecting. Of the former, the principal are aloes, jalap, croton-seed, senna, bitter barks, catechu, opium, camphor, ginger, cardamom and other aromatics. The medicinal use of castor-oil is not known, though the plant is common. Spirits are now used medicinally. Many of the vegetable remedies are almost inert (see *The Burmese, what do they know of medicine?* by Dr. D. H. Cullimore). But there is one that deserves to be known, namely, the Shan remedy for tape-worm, *tôssé*, which is both effectual and mild. Among the mineral drugs are mercury, calomel, sulphur, blue and green vitriols, alum, salammoniac, nitre. There is a whole category of suppositious remedies, tiger's gall, rhinoceros' blood, ant-eater's scales, and so forth; they are charred before being made up. Allied to this class of remedies is that of charms, the vendors of which (nat-wives—*nakkadáw*) trade on the superstition that disease is caused by demons. Every patient will be as particular to mention his star as to describe his complaint. He will be advised to avoid certain classes of remedies on certain days. The "Sunday son" must not purge on Friday, and so on. In times of epidemic and panic, *thèbinzedi* are erected at every house, as they likewise are in cases of sickness (No. 431). They are merely of sand, held together with circles of bast. Sometimes they are erected to avert calamity declared to be impending in a *shwepe-hlwdau*, a message on gold foil dropped from heaven by a *Thadyè* (p. 186). Images are dedicated

591. CHILDREN'S BAZAR (p. 191).

29: Slater M-4 (no date) 1951 APl Burma
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FOREWORD

114 I wrote this book in Delhi early in 1945 when Burma was still guarded by the Japanese invader. Its inspiration, therefore, was nostalgia and memories, instead of the surging life of my native environment which would have enabled these slight five thousand lines to carry with more strength the growth and the spirit of three generations in Burma. In offering the present result to readers outside Burma, I would have them be guided by the weighty verdict of my solemn friend U. Thein Tin, who is known to the Burmese reading public as "The Dark Emerald" for the fanciful play of his pen. He returned me my manuscript with the words "You have done what you can. It is for posterity to do better."

When a Burmese word is first introduced in the book it is printed in Italics and thereafter in Roman type. At the end of the book (p. 132) will be found a Glossary of such words, with page references to their first appearance in the text. A few Proper names are included in the Glossary with page references to explanations which may help the reader.

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212 194 The scientific men write bhoora (lord), the Burman pronounces the word păyah; tsit-tshay (ghost) is a formidable way of reproducing the spoken tăsay; pa-nya (learning) but inadequately represents the sound of pyinya; khwon (taxes) is a startling, not to say puzzling, way of suggesting the sound kohn. The matter is made none the easier by the difficulty of finding an English equivalent at all for some Burmese sounds. In the words nyaung, pyouk, gyi, and the like, the *y* belongs to the preceding letter, and has always the consonantal and never the vowel sound. Such words are therefore invariably monosyllables. Again, the nou'pyit sound, which I have written *è* on the analogy of the French *mère*, has as a final vocable no equivalent in English. *Errant* gives the force as an initial letter. The scientific form of *eh* is certainly misleading. The initial *ky* is a great crux to beginners in Burmese. It requires a fine ear to catch the precise sound. An English officer will call for his clerk, Maung Poh Chè, and the punkah-boy will pass on the word for Maung Poh Kyè—tyè it might almost be written. But it is little use multiplying instances. Suffice it to add that a final consonant is always silent—strangled is almost a literal translation of the Burmese word.

● 114 Of published works on Burma I have found those of Colonel Yule, Captain Forbes, and Dr. Bastian most valuable in supplying hints as to those of the national customs most likely to be interesting to foreigners. Had Captain Forbes's life been prolonged this book would probably have had no *raison d'être*.

000 In conclusion, I have only to record my indebtedness to the Rev. Dr. Marks, the head of the S.P.G. in Burma. For over twenty years he has laboured in Burma both as a teacher and a missionary, and there is no Burman in the

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585 369 with which he intends to set up house: a bundle of mats, a long arm-chair, a teak box, mattresses, pillows, besides materials for the feast and presents for the bride. The people who have put up the string — called the gold or silver cord—usually young men intent on a jollification of their own, stop the happy man, and threaten to break the string with a curse on the married couple unless some money is given them. It is simple extortion, and English district officers sometimes forbid it. Nevertheless the speculation is usually successful. I suppose no one feels very niggardly on his marriage day.

585 The other custom is much more singular, more ancient, and infinitely more disagreeable. On the night of the marriage a band of the young bachelors of the place come and shower stones and sticks on the roof of the house where the happy couple are, keeping up sometimes such a sustained battery that the thatch or wooden shingles suffer materially, while the furniture and even the newly-wedded couple occasionally do not escape injury. In Lower Burma the lads are usually bought off with a sum of money, and where the officials do not interfere to prevent it, the custom has degenerated into a system of extortion. Not a few lawsuits have sprung out of such sieges. The money paid in toll to this horseplay goes by the name of ké-bo, and is supposed to be devoted by the receivers to making offerings at the pagoda, but the young men nowadays use it shamelessly for their own entertainment. In Upper Burma the 585 114 blackmail is never demanded, and consequently Father San Germano was puzzled to conceive any reason for the extraordinary practice. Captain Forbes seeing the payment to procure relief, believed that extortion was the sole origin as well as object of the performance. But the learned in Burmese folk-lore assign it a much higher and more estimable 585 773 beginning. When, after the world was formed, it was first peopled from the superior heavens of the Byammās, of the nine that remained behind, weighed down by the gross earthly food they had eaten, five gradually became men and four women. When these Byammā-gyi ko-yauk, these nine great ancestors of the Burmese and of all mankind, had gradually degenerated, through the substitution of Pada-

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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CHAPTER XXXIX

LUCKY AND UNLUCKY DAYS

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It has come to be considered an axiom that the Burmese are irredeemably lazy. Some authors who have written about the country ascribe a very great number of additional bad qualities to them; others are more favourable; but all are unanimous in the declaration that they are lazy. The reverend missioner, Father San Germano, who was almost the first European to write a definite account of Burma, is the most unkind critic of all. He gathered together a great deal of information about the country during his long residence, but the opinion he formed of the people would be crushing were it not so strongly at variance with that expressed by a Christian priest who has been still longer in Burma, and whose knowledge of everything connected with it yields to none, the late Bishop Bigandet. But it is as well to see ourselves as others see us. The good father says: "The Burmese are distinguished for that timidity and servility which is the characteristic of slaves. . . . There is no contempt, oppression, or injustice they will not exercise towards their fellow-men when they can assure themselves of the protection of government. They are thus vile and abject in adversity, but arrogant and presumptuous in prosperity. There is no one amongst them, however mean, who does not aim at the dignity of mandarin (minister)." But the chief characteristic of the Burmese "is an incorrigible idleness. Instead of employing their time in improving their possessions, they prefer to give themselves up to an indolent repose; to spend the day in talking, smoking, and chewing betel, or else to become the satellites of some powerful

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mandarin. The same hatred of labour leads to an excessive love of cunning, and also to thieving, to which they are much addicted. . . . It would seem that it is impossible for this people to tell the truth; nay, a person who ventures to do it is called a fool, a good kind of man, but not fitted for managing his affairs." Still the padre has a little good to say of them: "Besides giving daily alms to their talapoins, they all lay by something to be applied to some sort of public benefit. They are very fond of thus signalising their generosity, and will often deprive themselves of comforts to have the pleasure of being benefactors to the public." This is an unlovely picture. But the good father was apparently very unfortunate in his acquaintances.

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It is pleasant after this to turn to a soldier's opinion. Major Grant Allen says: "Unlike the generality of Asiatics, the Burmese are not a fawning race. They are cheerful, and singularly alive to the ridiculous; buoyant, elastic, soon recovering from personal or domestic disaster. Free from the prejudices of caste or creed, they readily fraternise with strangers, and at all times frankly yield to the superiority of the European. . . . Indifferent to the shedding of blood on the part of their rulers, yet not individually cruel; temperate, abstemious, and hardy, but idle, with neither fixedness of purpose nor perseverance. Discipline, or any continued employment, becomes most irksome to them, yet they are not devoid of a certain degree of enterprise."

This is a much better certificate, but still we are accused of laziness. Let us now turn to the last and the best authority on the subject (from an English point of view), Colonel Horace Browne, at one time Commissioner of Pegu, and always very popular with the Burmese. The Burman, he says, "displays much spasmodic energy and general laziness, much love of feasts and shows, much disregard of the sacredness of human life, and much tenderness for the lives of inferior members of the animal kingdom, much arrogance and inconsiderateness when placed in high position, and last, though not least, much general truthfulness, and, amongst unsophisticated villagers, the very unoriental trait of being unable to tell a specious falsehood."

The hauteur complained of towards strangers is princi-

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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pally due to the fact that the stranger is not a Buddhist, and has not as a boy been admitted into a monastery. To a Burman such a man is no better than a buffalo or a dog. In those of low degree this feeling shows itself in pitying kindness, in those in high positions in arrogance and insulting rudeness.

The unpleasant allegations of Father San Germano may be considered cancelled by the advocacy of the two military gentlemen, but there remains the united charge of unwarrantable laziness. Let us see what can be said for the defence on this point.

It may be taken for granted that the whole human race is more or less hampered by a dislike for work when there is no necessity for doing it. In addition to sharing this weakness, the Burman is fettered by a multiplicity of fortunate and unfortunate days. When he is born, his sadā, or horoscope, is cast, detailing minutely the moment at which he appeared, and the influence the presiding constellation has over him personally; and this sadā must be carefully examined before anything can be done. But beyond this there are a great variety of unlucky days which more or less concern everybody, and have to be avoided if a man is to hope for success in his enterprise or his journey. To enlist the sympathy of maritime England, I will begin with the superstition about Friday:

> Thaukkya ye gyaung
> Ma thwa kaung.
>
> On Friday boats sailing
> Cause weeping and wailing.

On the contrary, if you begin the study of a subject on Friday you will become an authority on it. Thursday is also a good day; but if you commence on Tuesday or Saturday you will soon die. Saturday is a bad day for everything, especially for fires—a fact which the Fire Brigade would probably corroborate. But doubtless it is somewhat irritating for an Englishman when he wants to commence a journey, and has everything ready except the bullocks for the cart, to find that he cannot persuade his servants to buy or engage them till Sunday, because such a proceeding would

13: Khin Zaw 1-5 (no date) 1940 AP1 Burma
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BURMESE MUSIC.

(A Preliminary Enquiry).

"Just at the moment, when western civilization is beginning to realise that oriental music is something better than the barbaric noise it has long thought it to be, the oriental nations are in grave danger of losing interest in it, and as it has been conveyed from generation to generation not by the arts of writing and printing, but orally, so soon as that interest is gone the art itself, unless special measures are taken, will have entirely evaporated—that is, will be forever un-recoverable. One would wish East and West to study one another's music, whilst pursuing independent courses in their own, but that seems to be impossible." 000

PERCY A. SCHOLES,
Oxford Companion to Music, p. 672,
O. U. P. 1938.

Part I. Classics, Legend and History.

Burmese music is a virgin field for research. Nobody can bewail this virginity more than myself. To help me there does not seem to exist a single western work on Burmese music though there are such classics as Fox Strangways' on Indian and J. H. Levis' on Chinese music. Many writers on Burma have passed remarks, kind or humorous, on Burmese music. But few have attempted a technical study of it. Nothing Burmese escaped the notice of Sir James George Scott of course. But I know of only two who left some technical remarks on Burmese music: Paul Edmonds, the author of *Peacocks and Pagodas*; and P. A. Mariano, in an appendix on Burmese music to that most lovingly produced book *Burma* by Max and Bertha Ferrars. I shall discuss the observations of both by and by[1]. I draw attention to this paucity of reference material to prove that I cannot be well informed and therefore cannot speak with authority on the subject. 114 533

It is fitting to begin with a translation of what has already been written on Burmese music in the Burmese language. If it is unscientific it is at least what the Burmese have to say about it. And I shall be lacking in veneration for the Burmese classics if I neglect the following extracts. They are published in U San Win's admirable effort to preserve Burmese classical tunes in his specially invented system of notation, entitled *Burmese Music Notes* Book No. 1. ကျွတ်ဘေးနှင့် ရှေးဟောင်းသီချင်း ဒီးတူးနှင့် ဘုရားပုံတော်ခင်ခေတ် I must draw public attention to this and a second book which came out recently; because, in spite of their naivety in the technique of notation, they nevertheless mark the beginnings of a systematisation of Burmese music by a Burmese lover of music. It is a labour of love; and

1. In 1939 appeared *Die Musik Birmas* by Kurt Reinhard. But it is an ethnological work on the music of Burma and when recognizable Burmese music there is in it is taken from Mariano.

114 533 very considerable the labour must have been. Experts in western notation who may be disposed to smile at the *Burmese Music Notes* will realise notwithstanding that here at last are the authentic classical tunes of the Burmese put on record in black and white, ready, and if desired, easy enough to be transcribed into western notation after a perusal of this article and its supplement 'The writing of Burmese music.'

534 114 In the second book of U San Win is appended most valuable and authentic information on the fundamentals of Burmese music, such as, the tuning of the Burmese harp (ဆောင်းတောတံ), its history; the tuning of the drum-circle (စည်းဝိုင်း); the gong-circle (ခြေးတောင်းဝိုင်း); the ခ *Hnè* (Burmese oboe), big and small; and the succession of Burmese keys. The word 'key' will arouse sudden interest. It will become very interesting indeed in due course. To begin with the classics:—

533 773 "*Preface* :—From the beginning of the world, during the sovereignty of the first President King the five principal sounds of bass, string, percussion, wind and clapper, had been employed in music in ceremonies of sprinkling the holy water all over the world.

"Three hundred years before Buddha's Enlightenment, when, to avoid the enmity of Pañcala Rajā, the Sakya kings of Kapilavatthu, Devadaha and Koliya left the middle regions (Majjhimadesa) and founded the Tagaung kingdom of Saṅkassaraṭṭha, the same five kinds of instruments were wont to supply music for auspicious Royal occasions and entertainments.

"Also, during the life-time of Lord Buddha, according to *Sakkapañha Sutta*, deva Pañcasikhā, the wearer of five top-knots, renowned the Lord in song playing the seven times seven (49) melodic figures of *cita pluta* on his celestial harp, which was said to be three-quarters of a *yojanā* (*i.e.*, about 2¼ miles)[1] in length, called Beluva-paṇḍu-vīṇā.

"The Buddhist anchorite Nārada of the middle regions compiled the treatise *Nāradasikhā* from musicology as known to all learned ones from the beginning. In it was mentioned the same seven times seven (49) melodic figures (*tāna*) and three times seven (21) modes (*mucchanā*) which are mentioned in *Sakkapañha Sutta*.

"In the chronicle of Buddha are descriptions of how, when he was seated on the invincible throne Aparājita the devas came and paid homage with musical instruments; and how, on the occasion of His departure from their abode, Tāvatiṁsa to visit Saṅkassa Nagara, they followed in His wake proclaiming His excellence in music and song.

"After the death of Lord Buddha, too, in the history of the middle regions, the Buddhist nobility and gentry practised music on various instruments, classifying and utilising various kinds of sounds.

"In the history of our Buddhist country of Burma, music and musical instruments existed throughout the successive kingdoms of Tagaung, Srikhettara, Pagan, Myinsaing, Sagaing, Pinya, Ava, Konbaung, Amarapūra, down to Rangpūra Mandalay.

1. Authorities differ on the exact measurement of *Yojanā*.

BURMESE MUSIC.

A feeble musician, Musila (ဗုဒ္ဓိ) of Ujjeni, whose music on the *vina* was 'like scratching on a mat,' came to learn of Guttila (ဂုတ္တိ) of Benares (the Bodhisatta). Guttila's parents when they heard him said "Shoo! Shoo! the rats are gnawing the *vina* to pieces'. Guttila who, as Bodhisatta, was 'skilled in discerning from the lineaments of the body' said 'Go my son, this art is not for you.' But Musila got his way; and Guttila, the Bodhisatta who did not stint his knowledge, at last pronounced his pupil perfect. Musila pressed to be taken into the king's service. This was done; but the king awarded Guttila twice as much as his pupil. Musila protested, and forced matters to a contest, of which proclamation was made to tuck of drum. The Bodhisatta reflected that he was old, and that 'if he beats me, death in the wood is better than the shame which will be my portion.' So to the woods he went; but 'kept returning through fear of death, and going back to the wood for fear of shame,' so that 'the grass died as he walked and his feet wore away a path.' In his trouble Sakka, the king of gods, appeared. Guttila was to break, in the contest, one string after another. beginning at the 'beestring' and the music should be as good as before. 'Then you shall go on playing with nothing but the body; and from the ends of the broken strings the sound shall go forth and fill all the land of Benares for the space of twelve leagues.' All happened as was foretold, and the scholar, beaten out of the field, was stoned and torn in pieces by the populace..." 533 773

. . . . . .

So far the classics: Yet it appears that in the music itself there is as much evidence (if not more) of Chinese and Siamese influence as there is of ancient Indian influence in literature. I hope these influences will receive the attention of researchers in Burmese history. 533 171

As far as I am aware the Chinese influence seems to be the oldest. An unspoilt Burmese ear will catch Chinese cadences in any extemporization on the black keys of the piano in the truly old Burmese style. But that is no evidence. I quote J. Kunst[1].

"....This being granted, Prof. von Hornbostel has made a very important discovery, that the scales of very different civilizations and peoples are derived from this ancient Chinese cycle of blown fifths. All these scales are composed of a series of notes, ordinarily 5 or 7, which follow each other in the cycle in some kind of regular fashion.

1. *De l'Origine des Echelles Musicales Javano-Balinaises.* Conférence faite le 7 Janvier 1929 à l'Institut Colonial d'Amsterdam. *In* Journal of the Siam Society, Vol. XXIII, pt., pp. 115-116. Translated by G. [114]

13: Khin Zaw 1-5 (no date) 1940 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

....Nowadays in certain localities of China, the performance of music has come to be looked down on as a menial and unscholarly vocation.... although this aversion is not universal in China, music has been intellectually neglected for a long time. As a result music has become unmusical in China. And this in turn has increased the contempt in which it is held by the educated classes. It is a vicious circle.".....

533 171 175

I would not have allowed myself to be thus catapulted into the problem of the Burmese scale were it not so necessary to emphasise the very sharp line of demarcation between classical evidence and musical evidence. Too long have we taken shelter behind the façade of ancient Indian culture.

[1143]

With regard to the most important real evidence of the written records, what have we to rely on ? Only one MS in *parabeik* form—ꩁꩌꩲꩌꩲꩌꩲ

533 [114] Now comes the time to discuss the technical remarks of Mr. Paul Edmonds and Mr. P. A. Mariano mentioned at the beginning of this article. In Chap. VII of his *Peacocks and Pagodas* (Routledge, 1924) Paul Edmonds says:

> Hla Tin having fixed up his mandolin proceeded to play me a tune. The tune, he said, was the introduction to the "baw lè," and the "baw lè" is the tune to which all songs of a sad and plaintive character are commonly sung—though there is nothing about the tune that sounds sad to the western ears[1]. The short introduction was in two parts, the lower being a kind of rough counterpoint[2]. It is played at the beginning, between every verse, and at the end. I wrote it down on paper in western notation after several repetitions, (*See* Example 4), and upon examining the upper part, or tune, was interested to find that it was apparently in the pentatonic scale. I then successfully transcribed the "baw lè" tune proper, (*See* Example 6), but this was, I found, approximately in our ordinary major scale, and it was difficult to say for certain whether or not the tune had originally been pentatonic[3].

Paul Edmonds also examined the xylophone (*pattalar*), the drum-circle (*saingwaing*), and the gong-circle (*kyi-waing*) and said:

> The pattala, which seemed to be in the key of C, had an eight-note scale; but at first I was puzzled to classify it, since in the upper octave the note B was nearer to B-flat than to B-natural, whereas in the lower octave it was the other way about. How to account for an approximate B-flat in one octave and an approximate B-natural in the octave in the same instrument was a problem[4]. The note F in both octaves was indeterminate. It seemed to be about midway between F and F-sharp[5].
>
> This first suggested to me what I now believe to be the true explanation, which is that the pentatonic scale is the foundation and that notes have been roughly inserted in the two gaps between E and G and between A and C in order to make the scale approximate to the Western major scale. I was not sure of this at that time, but subsequent investigations confirmed it.

I wish Paul Edmonds had left a full account of his investigations. It would be a real service not only to future research but also to Burmese music. While heartily agreeing with him that the pentatonic scale was the foundation of the Burmese scale, I hesitate

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1. No wonder. Hla Tin has spoilt the plaintive part of the tune with a variation: (*See* Example 7) the last beat of the third bar leading down to the tonic in the beginning of the bar following. These five notes are characteristic of the *baw-lè* cadence, and of the original Burmese tonality. Harmonically, they form the arpeggio of the tonic major chord with added sixth like the arpeggio ending to Grieg's *To the Spring* in F-sharp major.

2. P.E. apparently here refers to Hla Tin's thumb work. When playing the mandolin a Burman does not use the plectrum. Forefinger and thumb are employed, the latter to strike an occasional lower octave or the Fourth or the Fifth, or to help the forefinger along with the melody. The result perhaps often sounds like rough counterpoint. But the tune was certainly not in two parts. The division is of labour, not thematic.

[118] [115] 3. It could not be. *Baulè* is a very much later invention attributed to Hlaing-Htaik-Khaung-Tin (1835-1875 A.D.) an excellent summary of whose life translated by Nyi Nyi from the excellent series of short biographies of famous Burmese authoresses by Ma Ma Gyi, appeared in the *World of Books* Nos. 136-137. U Thein Han (Zaw Gyi) points out the germ of the *baw-lè* tune in the concluding part of a *patpyo* "ya-gon-myaing-gyar" attributed by some to Myawadiwungyi and by others to Hlaing-Htaik-Khaung-Tin's own mother Ma Mya Gale.

4. I would blame its maker. My *pattalar* reveals just the opposite.

5. It is still there.

533 [114] In appendix C to *Burma* by Max and Bertha Ferrars (Low, Marston, 1900) Mr. Mariano says :

> The fundamental pitch-note of Burmese music corresponds to our A-natural. Three kinds of scales are used. The first is the Doric scale consisting of the first, second, fifth, sixth and eighth intervals of the diatonic scale...

In example 7, I have drawn attention to the last beat of the third bar, which, with the first note in the bar following formed the C - E - G - A - C cadence so familiar to our ears. Unless Mr. Mariano meant the third instead of the second interval mentioned above, I am ignorant of the Doric scale he spoke of. In fact I have floundered among the Greek scales and the ecclesiastical modes of Europe in the hope of finding a short-cut to an explanation of the unchromatic Burmese scale. I fight shy of comparing the Burmese scale with the old modes of the West.

Mariano :

> The second is the Burmese diatonic scale, in which however, the Seventh is tuned flat by about a quarter tone. There are no flats or sharps in the Burmese gamut. Nevertheless changes of keys are not infrequent in their melodies. These invariably proceed from the tonic to the sub-dominant but without the introduction of the seventh flat, as there is no regular system of counterpoint. Here the advantage of tuning the Seventh somewhat flat is apparent, for it does duty as the Fourth interval of the new key. A change from the tonic to the dominant also sometimes takes place.

Mr. Mariano does not mention if it does so without the fourth sharp. Yet so it does by the help of the half-sharp Fourth which does duty as the Seventh of the new key. Mariano :

> The third scale is a kind of minor; it consists of the same notes as the major diatonic scale but it begins and ends with the third interval..

533 536 This scale is strictly speaking only a mode, the modes of the mediant (*see* Example 11*a*). There seems to be also the modes of the dominant and the sub-dominant (*See* Examples 9 and 10). Oddly enough the E-mode, which Mr. Mariano describes as a kind of minor[1], is commonly used in the happy lovemaking scenes [illegible] *hnitpathwa* in *pwès* where the Prince and the Princess dance and sing in this E-mode till, after about two hours, troth has been plighted and, in the final bar of the last song, the voice without stopping at the temporary keynote E holds it for a moment and then slides *via* D down to the real old tonic C; this descent being the signal that the scene has ended. Mr. Stewart describes the scene better :

1. "The Greek mode beginning with E was supposed to have manly and vigorous qualities."—R. T. White in *Music and its Story*.

14: Brant E-5 (1949-50) 1954 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

V

INTRODUCTION

101 This paper is a summary report of field research which I conducted in the
122 village of Tadagale, Insein District, Burma, during the period November, 1949, to April, 1950. The work was made possible by a scholarship under the Fulbright Program, supplemented by an Area Research Training Fellowship granted by the Social Science Research Council. I am indebted to both of these organizations for the support of my work.

114 A word seems in order concerning the selection of Tadagale as a community
121 for study. It was my original intention, before I reached Burma and learned in detail of the then prevailing conditions, to do fieldwork among the Burmese of the delta or dry zone, using as a base a single village which would more or less exemplify contemporary Burmese peasant culture. Nothing was more impossible, in view of the internal conditions, and the plan had to be abandoned. After several months of efforts to shift my research to the Shan States, during which time one project had to be abandoned before it actually commenced, and another came to an abrupt halt in its second week -- both because of the spread of the internal disturbances to the areas concerned -- it became clear that the greatest assurance of continuity of research was to be found in the general area near Rangoon. After a brief survey of communities within a few miles radius of the capital, Tadagale was chosen. It appeared most suitable for several reasons, among them accessibility, manageable size, and, owing to its contact with Rangoon, the possibility of studying socio-cultural change.

124 The fieldwork was done by interviewing of informants, by direct observation of events and behavior, and by the compilation of a detailed census concerning household membership, occupations, marital status, religious affiliation, group membership, income, and other matters. With the aid of a fluent, college-educated interpreter fieldwork was carried on daily.

114 This paper does not purport in any way to be a complete or definitive
121 study. An approximation to such a report, I am convinced, can result only from fieldwork done under a set of conditions very different from those that were possible for the research here reported. These should include extended continuous residence (minimally one year) in the community by the investigator, and participation by him in community life without self-imposed or assumed separateness or distinction from the people; and a command of the native language adequate to conduct interviews and conversations without the use of interpreters. For Southeast Asia especially, the real fulfillment of such conditions is most difficult, but to the extent that they are met in ethnographic work the material obtained will possess richness and depth. Since, for a variety of reasons, these conditions could not be met in my study of Tadagale, no apology is offered for the inadequacies of this report. It is well, however, in these days of studies of 'cultures from afar' and other short-cut methods of fieldwork, to indicate how we have worked and how our results are thereby affected. Since knowledge of contemporary Burmese village culture is virtually non-existent, a report such as this perhaps may be regarded as a small contribution towards filling a large void.

[127] I am much indebted to Miss C. A. Ruston, of Mandalay, my interpreter,
114 whose tact and insight certainly minimized the limitations that are inherent
122 in fieldwork done by means of an interpreter. Dr. Paul F. Cressey of Wheaton College (Massachusetts), who was teaching in Rangoon University at the time of

14: Brant E-5 (1949-50) 1954 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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my fieldwork, gave helpful suggestions and advice.. The greatest thanks are doubtless due the people of Tadagale. At a time when their own problems of living were unusually difficult, they were friendly and cooperative towards one who must, at times, have seemed a quite aimless and overly inquisitive outsider. To Professor Lauriston Sharp of Cornell University I am grateful for making it possible for me to spend part of my time during the spring term of 1951 in the organization of data embodied in this report; and no less appreciative of his forbearance in the face of my unusual tardiness in getting the report written.

Charles S. Brant

Easton, Maryland
January, 1954

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

PREFACE

In most of the quotations from Burmese books containing the life of the Buddha I am indebted, if not for the exact words, yet for the sense, to Bishop Bigandet's translation.

I do not think I am indebted to anyone else. I have, indeed, purposely avoided quoting from any other book and using material collected by anyone else.

The story of Ma Pa Da has appeared often before, but my version is taken entirely from the Burmese song. It is, as I have said, known to nearly every Burman.

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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(1)

THE SOUL OF A PEOPLE

CHAPTER I

LIVING BELIEFS

'The observance of the law alone entitles to the right of belonging to my religion.'—*Saying of the Buddha.*

FOR the first few years of my stay in Burma my life was so full of excitement that I had little care or time for any thought but of to-day. There was, first of all, my few months in Upper Burma in the King's time before the war, months which were full of danger and the exhilaration of danger, when all the surroundings were too new and too curious to leave leisure for examination beneath the surface. Then came the flight from Upper Burma at the time of the war, and then the war itself. And this war lasted four years. Not four years of fighting in Burma proper, for most of the Irrawaddy valley was peaceful enough by the end of 1889; but as the central parts quieted down, I was sent to the frontier, first on the North and then on the East by

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16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

114 the Chin Mountains; so that it was not until 1890 that a transfer to a more settled part gave me quiet and opportunity for consideration of all I had seen and known. For it was in those years that I gained most of whatever little knowledge I have of the Burmese people.

Months, very many months, I passed with no one to speak to, with no other companions but Burmese. I have been with them in joy and in sorrow, I have fought with them and against them, and sat round the camp-fire after the day's work and talked of it all. I have had many friends amongst them, friends I shall always honour; and I have seen them killed sometimes in our fights, or dead of fever in the marshes of the frontier. I have known them, from the labourer to the Prime Minister, from the little novice just accepted into the faith to the head of all the Burmese religion. And I have known their wives and daughters, and have watched many a flirtation in the warm scented evenings; and have seen girls become wives and wives mothers while I have lived amongst them. So that although when the country settled down, and we built houses for ourselves and returned more to English modes of living, and I felt that I was drifting away from them into the distance and necessary ignorance of our official lives, yet I had in my memory much of what I had seen, much of what I had done, that I shall never forget. I felt that I had been—even if it were only for a time—behind the veil, where it is so hard to come.

In looking over these memories it seemed to me that there were many things I did not understand,

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

acts of theirs and customs, which I had seen and noted, but of which I did not know the reason. We all know how hard it is to see into the heart even of our own people, those of our flesh and blood who are with us always, and whose ways are our ways, and whose thoughts are akin to ours. And if this be so with them, it is ten thousand times harder with those whose ways are not our ways, and from whose thoughts we must be far apart. It is true that there are no dark places in the lives of the Burmese as there are in the lives of other Orientals. All is open to the light of day in their homes and in their religion, and their women are the freest in the world. Yet the barriers of a strange tongue and a strange religion, and of ways caused by another climate than ours, is so great that, even to those of us who have every wish and every opportunity to understand, it seems sometimes as if we should never know their hearts. It seems as if we should never learn more of them than just the outside—that curiously varied outside which is so deceptive, and which is so apt to prevent our understanding that they are men just as we are and not strange creations from some far-away planet.

So when I settled down and sought to know more of the meaning of what I had seen, I thought that first of all I must learn somewhat of their religion, of that mainspring of many actions, which seemed sometimes admirable, sometimes the reverse, and nearly always foreign to my ideas. It is true that I knew they were Buddhists, that I recognised the yellow-robed monks as followers of the word of Gaudama the Buddha, and that I had a general

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 18[illegible] AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

114 acquaintance with the theory of their faith as picked
121 up from a book or two—notably, Rhys Davids'
779 'Buddhism' and Bishop Bigandet's book—and from many inconsequent talks with the monks and others. But the knowledge was but superficial, and I was painfully aware that it did not explain much that I had seen and that I saw every day.

So I sent for more books, such books as had been published in English, and I studied them, and hoped thereby to attain the explanations I wanted; and as I studied, I watched as I could the doings of the people, that I might see the effects of
775 causes and the results of beliefs. I read in these
779 sacred books of the mystery of Dharma, of how a man has no soul, no consciousness after death; that to the Buddhist 'dead men rise up never,' and that those who go down to the grave are known no more. I read that all that survives is the effect of a man's actions, the evil effect, for good is merely negative, and that this is what causes pain and trouble to the next life. Everything changes, say the sacred books, nothing lasts even for a moment. 'It will be, and it has been,' is the life of man. The life that lives to-morrow in the next incarnation is no more the life that died in the last than the flame we light in the lamp to-day is the same that went out yesternight. It is as if a stone were thrown into a pool—that is the life, the splash of the stone; all that remains, when the stone lies resting in the mud and weeds below the waters of forgetfulness, are the circles ever widening on the surface, and the ripples never dying, but only spreading farther and farther away. And all this

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

776 delight of her life; and it would seem to me that
779 she must believe in a God and in prayer after all.
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So though I found much in these books that
771 was believed by the people, and much that was
779 to them the guiding influence of their lives, yet I
182 was unable to trust to them altogether, and I was in doubt where to seek for the real beliefs of these people. If I went to their monks, their holy men, the followers of the great teacher, Gaudama, they referred me to their books as containing all that a Buddhist believed; and when I pointed out the discrepancies, they only shook their heads, and said that the people were an ignorant people and confused their beliefs in that way.

779 When I asked what was a Buddhist, I was told
795 that, to be a Buddhist, a man must be accepted into
182 the religion with certain rites, certain ceremonies, he must become for a time a member of the community of the monks of the Buddha, and that a Buddhist was he who was so accepted, and who thereafter held by the teachings of the Buddha.

But when I searched the life of the Buddha, I could not find any such ceremonies necessary at all. So that it seemed that the religion of the Buddha was one religion, and the religion of the Buddhists another; but when I said so to the monks, they were horror-struck, and said that it was because I did not understand.

•114 In my perplexity I fell back, as we all must, to
182 my own thoughts and those of my own people; and
779 I tried to imagine how a Burman would act if he
101 came to England to search into the religion of the English and to know the impulses of our lives.

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

I saw how he would be sent to the Bible as the source of our religion, how he would be told to study that if he would know what we believed and what we did not—what it was that gave colour to our lives. I followed him in imagination as he took the Bible and studied it, and then went forth and watched our acts, and I could see him puzzled, as I was now puzzled when I studied his people. 114 182 779 101

I thought of him reading the New Testament, and how he would come to these verses: 000

'27. But I say unto you which hear, Love your enemies, do good to them which hate you,

'28. Bless them that curse you, and pray for them which despitefully use you.

'29. And unto him that smiteth thee on the one cheek, offer also the other; and him that taketh away thy cloke, forbid him not to take thy coat also.

'30. Give to every man that asketh of thee; and of him that taketh away thy goods ask them not again.'

He would read them again and again, these wonderful verses, that he was told the people and Church believed, and then he would go forth to observe the result of this belief. And what would he see? He would see this: A nation proud and revengeful, glorying in her victories, always at war, a conqueror of other peoples, a mighty hater of her enemies. He would find that in the public life of the nation with other nations there was no thought of this command. He would find, too, in her inner life, that the man who took a cloak was not forgiven, but was terribly punished—he used to be hanged.

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

792 of the monks, if obtained in a different way to elsewhere, is very effective.
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The more you study the monkhood, the more you see that this community is the outcome of the very heart of the people. It is a part of the people, not cut off from them, but of them; it is recruited in great numbers from all sorts and conditions of men. In every village and town—nearly every man has been a monk at one time or another—it is honoured alike by all; it is kept in the straight way, not only from the inherent righteousness of its teaching, but from the determination of the people to allow no stain to rest upon what they consider as their 'great glory.' This whole monkhood is founded on freedom. It is held together not by a strong organization, but by general consent. There is no mystery about it, there are no dark places here where the sunlight of inquiry may not come. The whole business is so simple that the very children can and do understand it. I shall have expressed myself very badly if I have not made it understood how absolutely voluntary this monkhood is, held together by no everlasting vows, restrained by no rigid discipline. It is simply the free outcome of the free beliefs of the people, as much a part of them as the fruit is of the tree. You could no more imagine grapes without a vine than a Buddhist monkhood that did not spring directly from, and depend entirely on, the people. It is the higher expression of their life.

114 In writing this account of the Burmese and their
792 religion, I have tried always to see with my own

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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eyes, to write my own thoughts without any reference to what anyone else may have thought or written. I have believed that whatever value may attach to any man's opinions consists in the fact that they are his opinions, and not a *réchauffé* of the thoughts of others, and therefore I have not even referred to, or quoted from, any other writer, preferring to write only what I have myself seen and thought. But I cannot end this chapter on the monks of the Buddha without a reference to what Bishop Bigandet has said on the same subject, for he is no observer prejudiced in favour of Buddhism, but the reverse. He was a bishop of the Church of Rome, believing always that his faith contained all truth, and that the Buddha was but a 'pretended saviour,' his teachings based on 'capital and revolting errors,' and marked with an 'inexplicable and deplorable eccentricity.' Bishop Bigandet was in no sympathy with Buddhism, but its avowed foe, desirous of undermining and destroying its influence over the hearts of men, and yet this is the way he ends his chapter:

'There is in that religious body—the monks—a latent principle of vitality that keeps it up and communicates to it an amount of strength and energy that has hitherto maintained it in the midst of wars, revolutionary and political, convulsions of all descriptions. Whether supported or not by the ruling power, it has remained always firm and unchanged. It is impossible to account satisfactorily for such a phenomenon, unless we find a clear and evident cause of such extraordinary vitality, a cause independent of ordinary occurrences of time and circumstances, a cause deeply rooted in the very soul of

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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the populations that exhibit before the observer this great and striking religious feature.

'That cause appears to be the strong religious sentiment, the firm faith, that pervades the mass of Buddhists. The laity admire and venerate the religious, and voluntarily and cheerfully contribute to their maintenance and welfare. From its ranks the religious body is constantly recruited. There is hardly a man that has not been a member of the fraternity for a certain period of time.

'Surely such a general and continued impulse could not last long unless it were maintained by a powerful religious connection.

'The members of the order preserve, at least exteriorly, the decorum of their profession. The rules and regulations are tolerably well observed; the grades of hierarchy are maintained with scrupulous exactitude. The life of the religious is one of restraint and perpetual control. He is denied all sorts of pleasures and diversions. How could such a system of self-denial ever be maintained, were it not for the belief which the Rahans have in the merits that they amass by following a course of life which, after all, is repugnant to Nature? It cannot be denied that human motives often influence both the laity and the religious, but, divested of faith and the sentiments supplied by even a false belief, their action could not produce in a lasting and persevering manner the extraordinary and striking fact that we witness in Buddhist countries.'

This monkhood is the proof of how the people believe. Has any religion ever had for twenty-four centuries such a proof as this?

Introduction

This is a study of the falling standard of living of a Burmese family who were uprooted by the insurrection from their village home of Patine in 1949 and transplanted in a refugee camp in Rangoon. The family consisted of U Myaing - a fisherman aged 47; hee wife Ma Aye Myaing, age 33, Daw Aw Zar, his mother, age 72, and four daughters - Ma Tin Shwe, age 14, Ma Khin Myein, age 11, Ma Khni Swe, age 7, and Ma Win Tin, age 5.(1951). 121 [664] [722] [592]

An attempt is made to present quantitatively and qualitatively the items used in, and activities of everyday life in the home village as contrasted with the refugee camp. It is hoped this dynamic situation will reveal some of the basic facts of Burmese culture as they pertain to an average family. The bulk of the data was collected under my direction by Ko Sein Tu, Tutor of the Psychology Department, University of Rangoon, from August 1950 to May 1951. Ko Mya Tu, medical student at the University, helped in collecting the health data. Ma Khin Hmway, Assistant in Anthropology at the University, collected some of the more personal data from the ladies of the family. Professor Mohinda Nath, Head of the Department of Biology, University of Rangoon, kindly arranged for the scientific identification of the food items. Part of the data was collectedby the use of a tape recorder portions of which are reproduced verbatim in this report. Miss Mary Watson, Head Stenographer of the Community Project, gave her valuable help in proof reading and typing the stencils for this report. 121 114 126 128

A setting for the better understanding of the facts of the family is given in sections on general Burmese Concepts which follow the family data. This was provided by Ko Maung Than, student at the University, who worked as my assistant from August through November 1951. 128

I am indebted to Dr. Htin Aung, Professor of Anthropology and Rector of the University of Rangoon for his constant support and encouragement in this study. I carried out the study as a Fulbright grantee in Anthropology attached to the United States Educational Foundation in Rangoon, to whose officers I am grateful 122

21: Htin Aung B-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
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it, carrying on trade with India and the rest of Indo-China. During this period Burmese dancing and music and poetry, as embodied in songs, perhaps assumed definite and national forms. But there was no writing. The kings that came from India probably knew writing, but their knowledge was perhaps limited; in any case, it never reached the people. The introduction of Buddhism into the country brought no writing, as it came through traders whose knowledge of religious learning was meagre. The few religious tracts preserved in monasteries were looked upon merely as curious and sacred objects. The religion, feeble from the beginning, decayed and soon disappeared. The kingdom came to an end in the first century A.D.[1]

A new kingdom was founded in Upper Burma at Pagan, which controlled the land and river trade-routes, and as a result of its commercial advantages, it became a powerful kingdom with the accession to the throne of Anawrahta in 1044. From that point Burmese history ceases to be conjectural. Through the influence of the learned and saintly monk, Shin Arahan, Buddhism in one of its purest forms was introduced into the kingdom by Anawrahta. With it, writing was also introduced. The alphabet was the 'Square Pali', and the literature the *Three Pitakas* embodying all the religious teachings in Pali. Curiously enough, the alphabet and the literature did not come directly from India, but from Burma itself—from the Talaing kingdom of Thaton. The Talaings were a branch of the Burmese race. Many think that they were a mixture of native tribes with Indian traders. I venture to disagree. The earliest inhabitants of Burma were Indonesians, who settled on the coast of Burma during successive 'drifts' of humanity from the west, through India, to further east. Later, there was an infiltration of Mongolian tribes, who came down the rivers from the North. Inland, where the Indonesian element was weak, the new-comers dominated and later became the Burmese; along the coast where the Indonesian element was strong the tribes united and became the Talaings. However, all this is mere conjecture. The early history of the Talaing kingdom of Thaton, which Anawrahta had to destroy to obtain possession of the alphabet and the *Three Pitakas*, is not known, except that it was perhaps in existence a few centuries before Christ and was under the influence

[1] Pe Maung Tin and G. H. Luce, *The Glass Palace Chronicle*; A. Phayre, *History of Burma*. G. E. Harvey in his *History of Burma* contends that the first Burmese kingdom was Prome, and that it flourished only in about the seventh century A.D.

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175 538 536* Though prose and poetry had thus assumed definite forms by about the fourteenth, or early fifteenth century, the drama was unknown until very much later. The first real Burmese drama appeared, though it had its origins some decades earlier, only towards the close of the eighteenth century, and during the next hundred years it developed and then decayed. Burmese dramatic literature developed in a historical sequence and in a way essentially similar to that of the Elizabethan drama. But why the similarity? Is it accident? Is it because of the similarity in the geographical isolation of the two countries? Or, is there a definite way in which all dramas have to develop in natural sequence?

2. Sources of Information

178 536* The history of Burmese drama can be divided into six stages. First, there is the age of the *Nibhathkhin*, comparable to the English miracle play, ending about 1752. Second, we have, from 1752 to 1819, the period of the interlude[1] (comparable to the English morality and interlude) and the court drama. Third, we have the period of the dramatist, U Kyin U, 1819 to 1853. Fourth, we have the period of the poet, U Pon Nya, 1853 to 1878. Fifth, there is the period of decadence, 1878 to 1886. Sixth, we have the time from [404] 1886 to the present day. As dates are in many cases uncertain in [805] determining the periods I am taking the reigns of various kings. As the drama depended much on the court and the victories and defeats of the king, perhaps I am justified in so doing. In any case, if a date is wrong, it is wrong by not more than two or three years.

175 538 536* The time before 1752 is the most difficult period as far as research is concerned. The centuries that followed the fall of Pagan—the time of internal wars, 1287 to 1531—saw the rise of a vernacular literature, which is found existing in the Empire of 1531 to 1752.[2]

[114] [538] [178] arranges its extracts in more or less chronological order, and therefore gives a good idea of the development. The subject is outside the scope of this work but I mention it to show how late the first appearance of Burmese drama was as compared with other branches of Burmese literature.

[1] The term 'interlude' is explained in chap. i.

175 [2] Perhaps it will not be out of place to give a short summary of the history. The various small States into which the country broke up after 1287 gave place, after some fifty years of incessant strife, to Ava, the kingdom of the Burmese, and Pegu, that of the Talaings. The small principality of Toungoo under Ava rebelled and conquered the whole of Burma in 1531.

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173 drama. In 1916 I saw a *Nibhathkhin* at the obscure town of Pauk.
178 For this period, I am greatly indebted to the notes made by my
536* father. They are the results of inquiries and researches spread over
127 a period of forty or fifty years. I realize that to many European scholars the section on the *Nibhathkhin* must appear conjectural in its dependence on tradition. My plea is that at present there is nothing else to depend on.[1]

175 With regard to the interlude, I am on surer ground. Again I
536* depend much on tradition, but it is now tradition supported by
[791] evidence. Besides the general and common tradition, there is the tradition of the spirit mediums and actors, and, as I shall explain, the
127 tradition of my own family.
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Professional tradition of the mediums and actors is more reliable
[791] than common tradition because the two professions, especially the former, are closed fraternities, and as written records were never in use, they handed down the facts regarding the nature and history of their callings by word of mouth. To them oral tradition was as strong as written records. Moreover, their oral tradition can be checked by the stage conventions which exist at the present day. The various stage conventions are considered in Chapter VII.

The tradition in my family[2] begins from about the year 1800. About that time, an officer[3] in the victorious army of King Bodawpaya

[1] Even Harvey, who wrote his *History of Burma* at Exeter College,
[114] Oxford, often accepts oral tradition supported by no other evidence as substantially correct (*History of Burma*, pp. 33, 41, 211, 252, 267, 299). In two instances, pp. 33 and 41, the tradition cited dates back to the eleventh century A.D.

[2] My father is U Pein, District Magistrate, Burma Commission, now retired. In Burma, historical researches and inquiries are often made by administrative officials, as their duties carry them all over the country and to the remotest villages. Messrs Harvey, Stewart, Furnivall—great names in the Burma Research Society—are all officials belonging to the Burma Commission.

[3] He was Maha Minhla Mindin Raza.

I have to cite in this section the full names and official positions of some members of my family because:

1. As the Burmese use no surnames, my name alone would not convey
[551] anything regarding their identity.

2. The service record of the family may perhaps be construed as evidence in favour of the reliability of its tradition. G. E. Harvey, op. cit., p. 310 where he rejects Fuhrer's statement regarding an inscription because the 'precious slab has never been produced, and in view of Fuhrer's service record its production is essential.'

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647 accounts regarding it. Apart from the notes gathered by my father, I
175 base my information on the accounts given to me orally by my grand-
536* mother and grand-aunts who actually saw the interludes performed.

127 In support of the oral tradition regarding the nature of the
175 interlude, there are some echoes of it in the plays of U Kyin U. He
536* developed the interlude into a proper play, but the change was not a sudden one, and in his plays we find echoes of the interlude in its various stages. His plays are considered in detail in another chapter. There are also contemporary references to the interlude. Even from an English pen we have an account. Colonel Yule in 1855 saw an entertainment midway between the interlude and the developed plays of U Kyin U.[1]

644 The period of the court plays offers an easier task for research.
536* The *Rama* play from Siam is preserved, with adaptations, it is true,
[177] but with notes on the original when a change was made in the pre-
538 served version.[2] The other Siamese play of *Eenaung* has come down to us. The poem *Rama-yagan* which Burmanized the *Rama* story has also come down. Accounts of the performances of the court plays and the recitation of the poem at court are many and well known. From the time when they were first composed down to the present day, the works of these court poets and dramatists have been studied and read. The influence of these works on the interlude is suggested, not only by the 'internal evidence' in U Kyin U's plays, but also by the editorial prefaces to the works in their various editions.

[114] Though only three plays of U Kyin U exist at the present day as far as is known, the period is quite easy of research, because references and notes regarding him occur in various records of the court and the nobility, and because the Burma Research Society has published new editions of two of his plays; and though the prefaces to them are short and no attempt is made to make a complete study, suggestions for further study and research are made by the editors.

175 The period of U Pon Nya offers the easiest task, as compared with
536* other periods, so far as research is concerned. All his plays are

[1] H. Yule, *A Narrative of the Mission sent by the Governor-General of India to the Court of Ava in 1855*. His description of the dramatic entertainment he saw is considered again in the next chapter in connexion with Sir William Ridgewsy's theory of the development of the Burmese drama.

[2] There is a copy of the *Rama* play in the British Museum. It is wrongly catalogued as by U Ku, who was only the editor. All these plays and the poem have been printed again and again, and are easily obtainable in Burma.

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have been celebrated year after year, at least since the reintroduction 527
of Buddhism in 1056, and at least since March, 638, when an early 796
king of Pagan, Popa Sawrahan (613–40), drew up the present Burmese [805]
era, the dawn of every Burmese new year has been the occasion for mirthful water-throwing.[1]

Buddhism had been introduced into the country through com- 177
mercial relations with India long before the foundation of the kingdom 439
of Pagan, but from the beginning it was only at second-hand and 771
therefore feeble. The real religion of the Burmese before the re- 791
introduction of Buddhism in 1056 was animistic, and they worshipped
various spirits, known as *nats*. There were mediums, mostly women, [462]
who danced to please the spirits, and as the spirits were supposed to enter into the bodies of the mediums, sometimes it was believed that the spirits, and not the mediums, were actually dancing. Sometimes the medium herself actually believed that a spirit had taken control of her body, but usually she only pretended that a spirit had entered her, and gave an exhibition of acting. As the medium of each parti- [535]
cular *nat* dressed herself in appropriate clothes, the spirit dances were essentially dramatic.[2] When Buddhism, in one of its purest forms, was introduced under Anawrahta, the great king realized the impossibility of attracting people suddenly to the new faith; so he compromised by recognizing the *nats* as Buddhist spirits and giving them shrines in his Shwezigôn Pagoda as its guardian spirits. When asked the reason, Anawrahta replied: 'Men will not come suddenly to the new faith. Let them come for their old gods, and they will gradually be won over.'[3]

So the worship of the *nats* lived on, and with the advance of

[1] Shway-Yoe (Sir George Scott) in *The Burman: His Life and Notions*, and [114]
Fielding Hall in *The Soul of a People* give detailed accounts of the feasts and life in the villages. However, as far as I have been able to find out, the Tazaungmôn celebrations have never been described in any English work.

[2] These dances are still performed on spirit-feast days at Taungbyôn (near Mandalay), a small town given up to spirit worship since the days of Pagan's greatness and perhaps even before.

The belief in, as distinct from the worship of, spirits is not alien to Buddhism.

The chief works on the subject are: Sir R. C. Temple, *The Thirty-Seven* [113]
Nats; Grant Brown, 'The Taungbyon Festival' in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, 1915; the same author's 'The Pre-Buddhist Religion of the Burmese' in *Folk-Lore*, 1921; and G. E. Harvey, *History of Burma*.

[3] G. E. Harvey, op. cit., p. 33.

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536* While the interlude was developing, the drama, another form of
178 entertainment, was also becoming rapidly popular. The *Hawsa* or the
773 dramatic reading and recital of a Birth Story in verse was becoming
538 the fashion. The *Hawsa* was in dialogue form, and the reciter changed his voice and used dramatic gestures. As I have said, one cannot be certain of many things regarding the interlude, but it seems exceedingly probable that the early interludes were not literary. The actors were unlettered, unpractised in verse composition and only knew the *Jataka* Birth Stories from translations. The *Hawsa*, on the other hand, was a literary work. It was in verse. The reciter was an accomplished verse-writer if not a poet, and when reciting pieces he himself had not written, he invariably put in additions and modifications. He knew Pali and therefore could read the *Jatakas* in the original. Whilst the actor was looked upon as nothing more than a beggar, the reciter was greatly respected. This will perhaps explain why the *Hawsa*, and not the interlude, has come down to us in writing.[1] With all the differences, however, the reciter and the actor were akin to each other, and both contributed much to the rise of the developed play, just as both the dramatic recitations of the epic *Ramayana*, and the open-air performances of its scenes contributed much to the rise of the developed Sanskrit play in India.

536* There is no special term for that entertainment which I have called the interlude. The name *Pya-zat*, which means a play, is vaguely applied to it in common with developed plays, but it is certain that the term came into use only about the time of U Kyin U to denote developed plays. Therefore, I have ventured to name it the interlude, partly because of its similarity to the English interlude, but mainly because it was given in the middle of, or at least subsidiary to, the main entertainment of dancing.

[175] The interlude and the *Hawsa* were at the height of their popularity in 1767 when Siam was conquered. The results of the conquest are considered in Chapter II.

4. Sir William Ridgeway's Theory of the Origins and Development of Burmese Drama

536* Sir William Ridgeway, in *The Dramas and Dramatic Dances of*
114 *Non-European Races*, considers that the dramas and dramatic dances of those races support his theory regarding Greek tragedy, that it arose

[1] Some specimens of the *Hawsa* are given in the *Anthology of Burmese Literature*.

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out of the worship of the dead. Most scholars are sceptical of that animistic theory of the origin of the drama. With regard to the Greek drama, Dr Farnell, in *The Cult of the Greek States*, seems to prove clearly that Ridgeway is wrong. Likewise with regard to Sanskrit drama, Dr Keith, in his book on the subject, rejects Ridgeway's theory; and he adds more generally: 'Whether elsewhere the worship of the dead resulted in drama is a matter open to grave doubt. Certainly in the case of the Greek drama, which offers the most interesting parallel to that of India, the evidence of derivation from the funeral games is wholly defective.'[1]

Ridgeway treats of Burmese drama in detail. He knows it only from hearsay. He has never seen a play acted on the Burmese stage, nor has he read any in the original or translation. All his information is purely descriptive of the actual presentation of a play, not of the play itself. His informants knew no Burmese dramatic literature nor did they have any idea as to the history of the drama. Nevertheless, Ridgeway gives quite a good estimate of the nature of the drama. The fault lies chiefly with Mr Taw Sein Kho, on whose information Ridgeway mainly relies. The late Mr Taw Sein Kho was no doubt a great archæologist, but he was a poor student of Burmese literature, and he had absolutely no idea of the origins and development of Burmese drama. In his letter[2] to the Director-General of the Archæological Survey of India, who was in correspondence with him on the nature of Burmese drama at the request of Ridgeway, he wrote: 'The *Ramayana* in an adapted form is also acted. I am inclined to think that it was derived by the Burmans from the Cambodians, because the dresses and stage paraphernalia of the Burmans and Cambodians in acting the play are so strikingly similar.' As the Siamese *Ramayana* was influenced by, or came from the same sources as the Cambodian *Ramayana*, Mr Taw Sein Kho did good detective work. But his letter shows clearly that he was absolutely ignorant of the introduction of the Siamese *Ramayana* into Burma and its results. He seems to have known nothing about the great dramatists, U Kyin U and U Pon Nya, for Ridgeway does not mention them at all.

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Ridgeway traces the development of Burmese drama in three main stages:

[1] A. B. Keith, *The Sanskrit Drama*.

[2] The letter is quoted in *The Dramas and Dramatic Dances of Non-European Races*.

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536* 1. The impersonation of the *nats* by mediums;

114 2. The true dramatic element borrowed from the Indian historical
174 plays of Rama, presented by puppet players;

3. Drama based on the Indian models, but finding its themes in national history and mythology, intermixed with Buddhistic elements, and performed by puppets and living actors.

178 I proceed to deal with these three alleged stages.

536* 1. There is no doubt that the impersonation of the *nats* by
114 mediums had, and still has, the element of the dramatic, as I have described. However, it is unreasonable to hold that the impersonation in question was the origin of Burmese drama. Ridgeway puts forward three lines of argument with regard to his theory: (*a*) the worship of the dead and the ritual connected with it have resulted in true dramas in other countries: the impersonation of the *nats* by mediums is a ritual connected with the worship of the dead, and therefore, as in other countries, it has resulted in the rise of a drama; (*b*) the *nat* dances had, and still have, the dramatic element in them; (*c*) the derivation of true Burmese drama from the earliest stages of the drama, the *nat* dances, is proved by the fact that there is a tree in the centre of the 'stage' when a play is being presented. These lines of argument are unsound.

(*a*) Whether the worship of the dead results in drama in other countries is doubtful. We have seen that the view has been controverted as regards Greece and as regards India. Even if it were true of countries around Burma, it would not follow that the theory holds good as regards Burma, for that country has a history and civilization distinctly national because of its geographical barriers.

(*b*) There is no doubt as to the existence of the dramatic element in the *nat* dances. But such an element also existed in the various folk feasts of the Burmese people. Ridgeway has no information regarding them. Though the spirit dances made some contribution to the rise of the drama, they were not mainly responsible, and it could not be said that the drama developed out of those dances. They gave to the country new dances and new dancers, and they developed dancing and music. But the true drama resulted only from the presentation of religious stories by amateurs. The *nat* dancers were essentially professional, and alien to the religious feeling and education that inspired the *Nibhatkhin*. It is true that those professionals later developed the drama, but they did so as professional actors and not as spirit mediums.

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Before proceeding any further perhaps I ought to explain what I mean when I speak of the 'origins' of Burmese drama. A great deal of confusion can result through the vagueness of the term 'origins'. By it I mean that point where the drama has taken some definite shape as drama, and not merely as dramatic elements. If we were to consider as origins all prehistoric dramatic elements in the life and customs of the nation, it would lead us nowhere. The worship of the *nats* in some form or other must have been developed by the tribes that first settled in Burma. And as religious ritual leads to music and dancing among primitive people, the worship led to the development of Burmese music and dancing. But we cannot take music and dancing as the origins of drama. No doubt music and dancing are necessary for the rise of a drama, but speech is necessary too, and yet we cannot say that the first attempt of man to express himself was the real origin of drama. It is vital to distinguish mere dramatic elements from true drama. In this connexion, Dr Keith's treatment of the origins of Sanskrit drama is enlightening. Many had contended before him that the Sanskrit drama had its origins in Vedic ritual. Dr Keith, however, rejects the theory. He recognizes the dramatic elements in Vedic ritual, but he recognizes them as such and not as the origins of the drama. No doubt the dramatic elements in the ritual gave some idea of the dramatic to the Indian people, but the drama did not arise out of them. It arose only when the great Indian epics had spread all over the country, for the true origin of the drama was in the recitation of the epics. With regard to Burmese drama, although the elements of the dramatic existed in the worship of the spirits and in various folk customs and folk feasts, the origin of the true drama was in the religious pageants and the *Nibhatkhin*.

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(*c*) Ridgeway puts forward the tree in the middle of the 'stage' as evidence of the fact that the drama developed out of the *nat* worship. He contends that the tree is a symbol of the *nat*, because *nats* live in trees. He quotes from Colonel Yule's account of his embassy to Burma where the latter described a Burmese play in progress. There was no actual stage in those days. The play was given in the centre of an open place or yard, and the space for the actors was marked off. In the centre of that space was a tree. The ambassador inquired as to the purpose of the tree, but he was given a 'somewhat vague answer' that it represented a forest. He was not satisfied and put forward the theory that there must have been some belief connected with the tree, for it was present on all the occasions on which he

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178 witnessed Burmese plays.[1] Ridgeway approves of that theory. He
536* maintains that the tree is symbolic of the worship of the *nats*. In an
appendix to the book he quotes a letter from a resident in Burma
● 114 (which arrived too late to be discussed in the book itself), describing
some sort of a *nat* ritual where a spirit was supposed to be dwelling in a
[776] tree. However, *nats* are supposed to dwell, not only in trees, but also
in houses, mountains, streams, lakes, on Mount Mayyu, in fact every-
[796] where, and it is extremely unlikely that the tree should have been chosen
specially to represent the abode of the *nat*. In all the ritual connected with the worship of the thirty-seven *nats*, the use of a tree does not occur except in the case of the *nat*, U-Yin-Gyi. When offerings are made to him, a wooden representation of a forked branch of a tree is used. But that symbol is used only when that particular spirit alone is being worshipped, i.e. when all the *nats* are being worshipped *en bloc* the symbol is not used. U-Yin-Gyi has no special connexion with the stage, and he is essentially connected with Lower Burma; and Upper Burma, not Lower, was the home of Burmese drama. And what Colonel Yule took to be a vague answer was the true answer. What he saw was an interlude and not a developed play, and, as has been stated, the scene of the interlude was almost always the forest, for it needed nothing except a tree to indicate the scene. Therefore, the tree which the ambassador saw was a piece of stage scenery and nothing more.

536* Though Ridgeway's theory that the drama had its origins in the
795 worship of the *nats*, therefore, is not founded on fact, his contention that the Burmese professional actors are the lineal descendants of the mediums who impersonated the spirits of the dead is not wrong. But the fact that the actors are the descendants of such persons should not mislead us into thinking the drama to be a descendant of spirit worship. There is a great danger of being thus misled if one knows the various stage conventions without knowing the real history of the drama. And had Ridgeway been acquainted with those conventions, which (strangely enough) were not known to him and his informants, he might have been strengthened in his view. The most important of the stage conventions is the *nat* chorus which often acts as a 'curtain-raiser' to the actual play. The chorus composed of females comes out and sings and dances to various *nat*

[1] H. Yule, *A Narrative of the Mission sent by the Governor-General of India to the Court of Ava in 1855.*

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tunes played by the orchestra. The chorus was first introduced for two reasons: the audience liked a dance, and the actors did not forget that their original calling was that of mediums. 536* 775

2. According to Ridgeway, the second stage of the drama was reached when the 'true dramatic element borrowed from the Indian historical plays of Rama, presented by the puppet players' had entered Burmese drama. The weak points in this theory will be apparent when the further history of the drama is considered in later chapters. The 'true dramatic element' was already in the *Nibhathkin*, or at least in the interlude; the Indian *Ramayana* coming by way of Siam did influence Burmese drama, but this was possible only because there was already a native drama to absorb this foreign influence. Nor were the *Rama* plays presented at first by puppet players. When the translations and adaptations of the Siamese *Ramayana* were being first presented at court, puppet plays were unknown. Ridgeway puts forward some opinions regarding the Burmese puppet show also, but they will be considered in Chapter VII. 536* 178 177 538

3. According to Ridgeway, the third stage of Burmese drama was reached when there appeared plays 'based on the Indian models, but finding their themes in the national history and mythology, intermixed with Buddhistic elements, and performed by puppets and living actors.' It is true that after the introduction of the Siamese *Rama* play to the Burmese court, plays of the type described appeared, but the plays were by no means modelled on the *Rama* play. The Siamese play gave rise to a native court drama which influenced the interlude and prepared the way for the first great Burmese dramatist, U Kyin U. And the 'Buddhistic elements' which entered the drama have a history of their own. All these points are considered in later chapters.

On the nature and achievements of Burmese drama, Ridgeway says: 'The Burmese drama has not remained crystallized as a piece of religious ritual. On the contrary, it has made distinct steps towards the true drama which Thepis in Greece and the forerunners of Marlowe and Shakespeare in England detached from the sacred shrines and lifted into a distinct artistic form. Yet it has not advanced beyond the lyrical stage, consisting of dancing, singing and instruments of music, the undulation of the vocal expression being much more subtle and intense than the expression of features, whilst gesture is restricted to the conventional gestures of the dance. The usual scene is the palace, its inmates the characters, and the drama 536* 114

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adheres tenaciously to the tradition of royalty. Hero and heroine are prince and princess, their retinue courtiers, and the countrymen jester and clown; the king is idealized, his deputies travestied.' In short, the Burmese drama is narrow in range. These opinions of Ridgeway are true and just in many respects, but they have also their weakness. He errs in thinking that Burmese drama is still in the undeveloped lyrical stage. What he thinks to be an earlier stage is in reality a later one. Dancing and singing have dominated the Burmese *pwe* (the public presentation of a play) since the fall of the kingdom, but that stage was only reached after decadence had set in in the drama developed so well by U Kyin U and U Pon Nya. What Mr Taw Sein Kho described in his letter to the Director-General of the Archæological Survey, what most other informants of Ridgeway also saw, was Burmese drama in decadence and distortion. The scene of the drama is not always the palace, though the palace and its inmates appear almost always in Burmese plays. The forest, village, city and the common people often appear, though it is true that they are subordinated to the dramatic interest in the palace and its inmates. Burmese drama was forced to confine itself in general to the palace, as in a society where other class distinctions scarcely existed, the king and his courtiers alone were different from the rest: and, in general, a Burmese audience wanted characters somewhat different from those of common life. The same was true of the Elizabethan drama. Though the 'domestic' drama was popular, the best plays of the Elizabethans have their scenes in distant lands or in high society. Therefore the narrowness of its range does not necessarily make out Burmese drama to be in an early stage of growth. For the sake of completeness, I have described briefly these aspects of the drama, but they will be considered in detail in later chapters.

The opinions expressed by Sir William Ridgeway are full of error. The worth of the chapter on Burmese drama in his *Dramas and Dramatic Dances of Non-European Races* consists in this, that it was he who made the first attempt to study the development of Burmese drama scientifically, to compare it with the drama of other countries, and to form an estimate of it according to western standards of criticism. And, erroneous though his views are, it is much to his credit that with the scanty and often misleading information before him he could give such a shrewd estimate of Burmese drama.

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Upper Burma
Lower Burma

So for about a decade after the death of U Pon Nya, the drama decayed and was left entirely in the hands of actors. And in Upper Burma, the real home of the drama, it never recovered from their influence. True, some scholars in the quiet of a monastery wrote many a play, retelling a religious story, but their plays were never meant to be presented on the stage, nor did they follow the established dramatic traditions. They were merely scholarly exercises, and though many contained masterly prose and poetry, they did not really belong to the true drama, for they were plays only in name.[1] In Lower Burma, however, scholars again assumed control of the drama, though they had to comply with the desires of the actors in many matters. The change in the venue of Burmese drama is significant. Rangoon, the capital of British Burma, and not Mandalay, the national capital, was now the centre of dramatic development. The reasons for the change were many. The court was the centre of political intrigues and the drama could no longer look to it for development. Upper Burma was in a hopeless condition, and it never recovered until some years after the completion of the British conquest in 1886. In Lower Burma, on the other hand, by about 1875, the benefits of a developed commerce were seen, and after a few years of transition, prosperity was returning. There was peace and stability of government. The spirit of the people in Lower Burma was no longer of anxiety and despair. But it was not one of great serenity, for they realized that Upper Burma would soon fall into British hands, and the Burmese would never again have a kingdom of their own. There was intense regret, and the Burmese Crown, from which the past greatness of the nation had flowed, came to be looked upon with great sentimentality. True, the court in Upper Burma was in a disgraceful condition, especially since the death of Mindon and the accession of his son, Theebaw (1875–86), but that very deterioration, by contrast, enhanced the sentimental respect for the past glories of the throne. The drama therefore was used to present scenes of great splendour, in which court manners and customs were shown to an audience who, having come under an alien rule since 1824, knew their national court only from hearsay. That was why sentimentality and spectacle continued to dominate the drama, even though conditions had improved enough

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[1] Some plays of this type, printed in Lower Burma, are preserved in the British Museum, e.g. *Thuwana-thama* and *Maha Zanaka*, both by monks and founded on U Awbatha's *Jatakas* of the same names. Many of these plays are still obtainable in Burma.

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church has been connected with a consciousness of the paradoxical content of faith."[3] 121

My inquiry, thus begun in Burma, was continued in Ceylon and India and concluded in New York. It has been pursued, with various interruptions, for some twenty years. In listing my acknowledgments, I am therefore aware that I may omit some who have given me generous help, more especially in the earlier days in Burma, since some of the notes relating to this period were lost during the Japanese invasion. I must also make it clear that acknowledgment of help given does not imply approval of the views expressed in this work. I am fully aware that some of these views are debatable. Any Western writer, knowing how much confusion has been caused by the temptation to read Western preconceptions into Buddhist thought, is bound to feel hesitant in expressing his own conclusions. He looks for the day when other scholars from the Orient such as the late U Shwe Zan Aung, themselves acquainted with our Western idiom, will assist our interpretation. Meantime he can only hope that his own efforts will promote that better understanding between East and West which may yield new insights in the universal search for truth. 122

While in India, I was invited to Union Theological Seminary, New York, and I am most grateful to the President, Dr Henry P. Van Dusen and the members of the Seminary for this invitation and the subsequent hospitality and facilities received there which enabled the preparation of this work as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy awarded by Columbia University. I am especially indebted to the following for their generous encouragement and assistance: Dr Horace L. Friess, Dr Frederick C. Grant, Dr Arthur Jeffery, Dr Richard Kroner, Dr August Karl Reischauer, Dr David E. Roberts and Dr Herbert W. Schneider.

In his devoted work for the Missionary Research Library, the late Mr Charles H. Fahs collected books and documents on Burma not available elsewhere, and I am glad to have this opportunity of acknowledging his most courteous assistance. I am similarly very grateful for the help I received from Dr Lucy W. Markley and the staff of the Union Seminary Library; Dr Marguerite Block of the Low Memorial Library, Columbia University; and from the librarians of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London University.

To the Rev. R. F. Spear, American Methodist Mission, Pegu, Burma, I am very grateful for permission to read and quote from his MS thesis, 114

[3] G. Ljunggren, "The Paradox as a Theological Expression," *Swedish Theological Quarterly Review*, (1928), p. 333, quoted by Gustaf Aulén, *The Faith of the Christian Church* (trans. by Wahlstrom and Arden, 1948), Part I, p. 101.

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114 *The Syncretism of Animism and Buddhism in Burma*, and to the Northwestern University and Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston, Illinois, for allowing me to consult this MS.

122 Correspondents who have been kind enough to answer my questions on specific issues include the late Professor J. A. Stewart of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London; Dr William Stede, co-editor of the Pali English Dictionary; U Lu Pe Win, Mandalay, Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Burma; Dr A. D. Sagayam, Maymyo, Upper Burma; and the Rev. H. Harwood, American Methodist Mission, Rangoon, Burma.

For the co-operation and very valuable help given me by my wife I can never be too grateful, and in the final preparation of this work for the Press I am greatly indebted to Professor J. Duchesne-Guillemin of Liége University and to my colleague at McGill, Professor Wilfred Cantwell Smith.

To the Humanities Research Council of Canada and to the McGill University Research Fund Committee I am most grateful for financial grants which have made this publication possible.

McGill University
Montreal
May 24, 1950.

ROBERT LAWSON SLATER

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The discovery of Buddhism, and the discovery of the Pali literature, have been compared with the impact of those Greek manuscripts which, one by one, came into the hands of Renaissance scholars after the capture of Constantinople by the Turks.[11] It is a significant comparison. Perhaps it explains the tendency of many European readers to regard the Buddhist scriptures in much the same light as Renaissance scholars regarded their Greek manuscripts — as museum treasures, as words from the past, reminders of a bygone culture. Joined with this tendency was the fashion to represent Buddhism as primarily a philosophy or a morality — a morality in search of religion, said the Christians; a morality happily divorced from religion, said their critics. 000

Ex oriente lux! Once again it was happening, as so often before, but this time the new light from the East was a sober evangel, just the evangel needed by an 'age of science which no longer wants to believe, but to know,' a teaching presenting 'the kernel of all religions and all metaphysics ... guaranteed in accordance with the methods of exact science.'[12] In the 'mountain of books' on Buddhism, written in the West in the last century, many of them based on the flimsiest evidence, would-be exponents have found in Buddhism the anticipation of their own philosophic preferences. Spinoza, Hegel, Schopenhauer, Bradley, Bergson and Bertrand Russell have all been cited, and have all been read into Buddhism, with confusing results. It was largely this emphasis on Buddhism *as a philosophy* which led at first to negative conceptions of Nirvana. 121 114

In 1912, a discerning Buddhist scholar in Burma uttered a protest. The Western scholar, he observed, "seems like one who has drawn forth from some 'chamber long to quiet vowed' a curious object all dented and covered with dust, concerning the origin and history of which he at once begins to speculate, without first enquiring if there are not some fresh, new specimens of the object to be found in everyday use around him. He treats of Buddhism as a dead and gone system and ignores the fact of its present existence as a living force in the lives of countless millions of his fellowmen, — pays little or no heed to the circumstance that, in addition to a literature belonging to the past, Buddhism possesses a living and active tradition in the present.

"The history of discussions at one time current in the West and not yet quite extinct, as to the meaning of Nibbāna,[13] presents a fairly charac-

[10] E.g. Woodward's translation of Vol. V of the Aṅguttara-Nikāya for the Pali Text Society, an important scripture, is dated only 1936.

[11] Rhys Davids, *American Lectures* II, 44.

[12] George Grimm, *Die Lehre des Buddha*, pp. 7, 9.

[13] *Nibbāna* is the Pali equivalent for the Sanskrit *Nirvāṇa*.

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teristic specimen of the scholar's method of setting to work upon the investigation of Buddhist ideas. Ancient manuscripts, and commentaries upon them only a trifle less ancient, were racked for every slightest word that might bear upon the vexed question, and every such finding was discussed *pro* and *con* entirely with reference to its meaning as that meaning might present itself to an *occidental* mind; and it never seemed to occur to anybody that the simplest and best way to find out what Nibbāna really meant was to ask one or two of the more intelligent among the living representatives of the religion in which the word was used to express one of its leading concepts."[14] Written in dispraise of other Western authors, this criticism was also written in very lavish praise of a new book on Buddhism by Mrs Rhys Davids[15]. In that book, the authoress was far from rejecting Buddhism as a philosophy. But she also affirmed that the Buddha himself should be recognised, not only as a Sage, but as a prophet — a prophet "who had seen in a vision of universal law, not a philosophic theory only ... but a saving Truth, a Religion, whereby he might purify his own beliefs and redeem mankind."

Once Buddhism is seen for what it is, a religion, and a living religion at that, it becomes increasingly difficult to reconcile the older Western misinterpretation of Nirvana as annihilation in such a context.

4. *The Buddhist Religion*

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A glance at the long history of Buddhism shows that it has been, at different times and in different settings, a dynamic religious movement. Through many veils of legend, the Founder, Gautama,[16] is discerned as a young noble of the Sakyan clan in Northern India, some six centuries before the Christian era, who combined a sage moral insight with deep religious conviction. This conviction has been disguised for some by the fact that Gautama avoided exaggerations, for religion, by many minds, has frequently been identified with the abnormal and the extreme. But Gautama, in his first 'sermon' at Benares, preached a Middle Way. His followers were to avoid sensuality, on the one hand, and, on the other, the extremes of asceticism which he himself had practised in vain. He seems to have shared with his contemporaries a pessimistic valuation of the ceaseless round of Ill, the grim cycle of repeated, frustrating existence in which men felt themselves to be trapped, and the pith of his teaching

[14] Review in *J.B.R.S.*, Vol II, Part II (December, 1912) pp. 249ff.

[15] *Buddhism, a Study of the Buddhist Norm.*

[16] Rendered variously as Gotama, Gaudama, etc. Other names for the historic Buddha are Śākyamuni, the Tathāgata and his personal name, Siddārtha.

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175 But Burmese kings were not always good. The monasteries which became centres of community life in village after village have to be pictured more often against a dark background of marauding armies, political feud and violent revolt. This chequered history gives point to the suggestion that Burma owes its civilisation and 'the preservation of ... moral and mental balance' very largely to the Buddhist Order which persisted and grew apace through all vicissitudes.[33] Within the Order, there was a remarkable degree of discipline, upheld by a *Thāthanābaing* or Burmese Arch-Abbot. There was also a remarkable unanimity. Although there were different schools and parties, it is significant that there is little, if any, hint of doctrinal controversy. If there had been any considerable impact of Mahāyāna interpretation, we should surely have heard more about it. What, on the contrary, is much more evident, is the continued impact of Ceylon. Perhaps the most serious division was occasioned by a claim that it was necessary to resort to Ceylon to maintain the legitimate 'line of descent.'[34] There were, it is true, schismatics. Non-conformist Paramata sects decried the Order and taught the existence of an immanent Divine Being, the *Shwe Nyan Daw*, a belief which may reflect either Mahāyāna or Hindu influence. By and large, however the dominating religious and cultural force was Hīnayāna Buddhism for eight centuries without interruption. We have therefore good reason for beginning a study of Southern Buddhism in a country which has been so deeply impressed by its influence.

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114 121 There is also a personal reason. It was in Burma, some twenty years ago, that my own acquaintance with Buddhism began. It was during discussions with monks and laymen there that I began to think that Nirvana was the ultimate religious term of their faith — the term which symbolised the consummation of their doctrine, practice and aspiration. And the mode of expression of this Nirvana symbol seemed to me significant, not only for my Buddhist friends, but for all concerned with the study of religion and life.

[33] J. A. Stewart, "Note on Some Authorities for the History of Burma," *J.B.R.S.*, XIII (1923), p. 75.

[34] M. H. Bode, *Pali Literature of Burma*, chap. II, p. 19.

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CHAPTER II

BUDDHISM AND ANIMISM IN BURMA

1. Animism or Buddhism?

It never occurred to anybody, remarked the Burmese critic quoted in our previous chapter, that the best way to find out what Nirvana meant was to consider its significance in some present, living tradition of Buddhism. His criticism was apposite in its immediate reference. As a matter of fact, however, it was precisely this course which *did* occur to Bishop Bigandet a century ago, as his voluminous footnotes to his translation of the Burmese Legend of Gaudama show.[1] The same may be said of his predecessor in the field, Father Sangermano, and of several successors.[2] Our present purpose is to take up the task where they left it. We hope to describe Buddhism in Burma in sufficient detail to exhibit the essentially religious character of the Nirvana paradox.

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Since the context is Burmese and the reference is to Hīnayāna or Southern Buddhism, Nirvana for the time being will be *Nibbāna*, which is its form in the Pali language of the Hīnayāna scriptures. In Burmese, Nibbāna is Nebban.

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One reason, perhaps, why this approach to the subject has been largely disregarded by Western scholars in recent years is the prevalent impression that the popular religion in Burma is a syncretism in which the dominant element is not Buddhism, but Animism. "Hinayana," writes Dr. Bouquet, in an outline of Comparative Religion, "is still 'the little vehicle,' because it does not and cannot appeal to the masses of any population.... It is true that it is the Buddhism of Burma and Ceylon. But anyone who knows these countries is well aware that the real popular faith of their peoples is not Hinayana but a thinly veiled animism."[3]

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[1] Rt. Rev. P. Bigandet, Bishop of Ramatha, *The Life or Legend of Gaudama, the Buddha of the Burmese*, first published in Rangoon 1858.

[2] Father Vincentius Sangermano, *The Burmese Empire*, first published in 1833.

[3] A. C. Bouquet, *Comparative Religion*, new ed., 1945, p. 129. Dr. J. B. Pratt's balanced estimate of the Burma situation in his *The Pilgrimage of Buddhism* (1928) should have done something to correct this impression.

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Besides translating (in collaboration with Mrs Rhys Davids) the *Kathā-Vatthu* and the *Abhidhammattha-Saṃgaha* for the Pali Text Society, with an Introductory Essay to the latter, Shwe Zan Aung published, in instalments, in the *Journal of the Burma Research Society* (1917) a study of "The Buddhist Philosophy of the Real" and followed this up by the "Dialogue on Nibbāna," which I have quoted in chapter III. Born in 1871 at Akyab, he graduated from Rangoon College in 1892 and was later appointed a Magistrate in Henzada.

"My colleage," wrote Mrs Rhys Davids, "has been in close touch with several very learned monks, including the distinguished Doctor, Ledi Sadaw, in a country where the study of Abbidhamma, or philosophy, is cultivated more than elsewhere. Bhikkus from Ceylon come now, as in days of old, to study philosophy under the Theras of Burma, so renowned are the latter for proficiency in this subject. Mr Aung has also, through a course of study necessarily limited ..... assimilated a notable purview of our own philosophic tradition. He is thus better fitted than most Oriental students to translate into our vehicles of expression the living meaning, as distinguished from the *etymological* connotation, of Buddhist philosophical terms."[1] "I have," wrote Shwe Zan Aung himself, in his last note in the *Compendium*, "no theories of my own. ... I am acting only as the mouthpiece of my country's teachers. At best I am but an interpreter of Burmese views based on the Ceylon Commentary and the works of Buddhaghosa. You may take my essay as medieval Buddhism presented through modern glasses."[2]

This may have been true enough of the essay in question — the introductory essay to the Compendium. But in his 'Buddhist Philosophy of the Real' he certainly presented theories of his own which aroused considerable controversy at the time. His studies in Western philosophy, to which Mrs Rhys Davids referred, led him to conclude that there were marked affinities between Buddhist thought on the one hand, and Bergson and Bertrand Russell on the other hand. Bergson and Russell — a strange alignment! as Shwe Zan Aung's critics remarked. But Aung saw a comparison between Buddhism and Bergson's concept of durée and also between the Bergsonian and Buddhist emphasis on intuition, while Russell's relational logic resembled, to his mind, Buddhist logic. Both Bergson and Russell are said to have been interested in these comparisons from Burma.[3]

Aung's principal critic was Dr. G.R.T. Ross, who accused Aung of attempting to 'force an identity between the doctrines of these modern writers and Buddhism.' Ross wrote, that passages quoted by Aung himself

[1] Editor's Preface, *The Compendium of Philosophy*, pp. xiii, xiv.

[2] *Compendium of Philosophy:* Note 'On Authority in Buddhist Belief,' p. 283.

[3] Cf. *J.B.R.S.* Vol. VII, Part III, p. 229; Vol. VIII, part III, p. 266.

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showed that the Buddhist 'criterion of reality is permanence, that of unreality is impermanence.'[4] Aung had quoted Buddhaghosa: "There is nothing permanent and constant like Nibbāna". (If Aung can be said to have disregarded this interpretation of Nibbāna in his essay, he certainly did not do so in his Dialogue).

The criticism aroused a spirited reply, including a confession of orthodoxy. "Dr Ross thinks that I am dissatisfied with the present attitude of traditional Buddhism. Buddhist writers are conservative.... Now and again, we may have a controversy amidst our own ranks owing to different interpretations of one and the same passage. But the more I study traditional Buddhism as it has come down to us in writings, the more I have reason to be satisfied with it."[5]

This reply was published in the same year as his Dialogue. It seems clear that he regarded the Dialogue as a fair presentation of Saṃgha discussions. His own view is partly reflected in U Agga's opinions, but he also suggests that these opinions have roots in the past, while Sumana, the exponent of the Ledi school, speaks for more recent opinion. At the same time Sumana voices the objection emphasised by Ross that Nibbāna cannot be conceived as flux.

In the controversy, Aung had an ally in Professor K.M.Ward who emphasised both the reliability and significance of Shwe Zan Aung as an interpreter of Burmese Buddhism. Mrs Rhys Davids, said Ward, was dissatisfied with her own translation of Buddhist psychology. She felt that she had not been able to understand the traditional terms. Hence her collaboration with Aung in the 'Compendium.' "This book revolutionised the methods of Pali research," wrote Ward, "I think it safe to say that no western scholar of repute would now attempt a translation of the all-important Abhidhamma or other technical works without colleborating with someone on the spot — in Burma or Ceylon. U Shwe Zan Aung then inaugurated the new movement. He did not as Dr Ross would have his readers suppose .. give us dogmatically high sounding philosophical terms (whose substitution in the older translations immediately made sense of them). On the contrary he collected a number of definitions, sentences, quotations in which the disputed term appeared: he explained the traditional meanings to his English editor, ... By this means a near modern equivalent to the Buddhist term was generally found... What we want is more of such work."[6]

Besides his close contacts with the Saṃgha scholars, Aung collaborated, too, with another distinguished Pali translator, U Pe Maung Tin. As we have seen, Lēdi Sayādaw was among the scholars he consulted, and Lēdi's own work has had a wide influence on modern Burmese thought. Aung takes note of this, but he distinguishes it from earlier schools. There are grounds, then, for the conclusion that Shwe Zan Aung is himself the more reliable interpreter of the Burmese tradition as a whole.

[4] *J.B.R.S.*, Vol. VIII, Part I, pp. 57ff.
[5] *J.B.R.S.*, Vol. VIII, Part II, pp. 166ff.
[6] *J.B.R.S.*, Vol. VIII, Part III, pp. 263ff.

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FOREWORD

Dr. Charles Brant was associated from 1948 to 1951 with the Department of Sociology and Anthropology at Cornell University, from which he received his degree in cultural anthropology with special emphasis on the cultures of Southeast Asia. The University in 1947 had inaugurated on the campus and afield a teaching and research program designed to explore cultural repercussions related to the introduction of new technology and scientific ideas in a variety of peasant communities. Among the projects established in connection with this program in anthropology, and sponsored also by the Cornell Department of Far Eastern Studies, were village researches which had been begun in eastern Uttar Pradesh, India, and in the central rice plain of Thailand. The University therefore welcomed Dr. Brant's suggestion that he carry out a community study in Burma, a region which had been united with India administratively and which shared many cultural elements with Thailand.

As recounted in the introduction of this report, political and military conditions in Burma in 1949 forced several changes in research plans and eventually made it necessary to retreat to Rangoon, where the present study was finally begun late in that year. However, the choice of a community adjacent to the primary metropolis of Burma in which to carry on the field research admirably fitted the purposes of the larger comparative anthropological program. It has made possible a point by point comparison of the urban influences of Rangoon on this village with influences exerted by Bangkok on the village being studied under this program which is located some twenty miles from the center of the Thai capital. It has also proved possible for Cornell to sponsor the study of a second Burmese village, on the outskirts of Mandalay, in which Mr. John Brohm conducted research during 1952 and 1953.

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So little is known of contemporary conditions in the Burmese village that this study, as Dr. Brant suggests, will contribute towards filling a large void. Readers who know Burma will find much in the report with which they are familiar. They will be particularly interested, however, in the valuable case study in Part III of the solution found for the tensions between the Burman villagers and the Indian minority. And they will obtain a picture of the radical changes in behavior which mark an inevitably increasing sector of Burmese rural life. These new behaviors incorporate conflicts between a peasant technology which can hardly be altered for some time and the new ideas and ideals which can only be rapidly enlarged—conflicts for which flight is no solution.

Lauriston Sharp, Director
Southeast Asia Program

Department of Far Eastern Studies
Cornell University
Ithaca, New York
April, 1954

14: Brant E-5 (1949-50) 1954 AP1 Burma
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INTRODUCTION

101 This paper is a summary report of field research which I conducted in the
122 village of Tadagale, Insein District, Burma, during the period November, 1949, to April, 1950. The work was made possible by a scholarship under the Fulbright Program, supplemented by an Area Research Training Fellowship granted by the Social Science Research Council. I am indebted to both of these organizations for the support of my work.

114 A word seems in order concerning the selection of Tadagale as a community
121 for study. It was my original intention, before I reached Burma and learned in detail of the then prevailing conditions, to do fieldwork among the Burmese of the delta or dry zone, using as a base a single village which would more or less exemplify contemporary Burmese peasant culture. Nothing was more impossible, in view of the internal conditions, and the plan had to be abandoned. After several months of efforts to shift my research to the Shan States, during which time one project had to be abandoned before it actually commenced, and another came to an abrupt halt in its second week -- both because of the spread of the internal disturbances to the areas concerned -- it became clear that the greatest assurance of continuity of research was to be found in the general area near Rangoon. After a brief survey of communities within a few miles radius of the capital, Tadagale was chosen. It appeared most suitable for several reasons, among them accessibility, manageable size, and, owing to its contact with Rangoon, the possibility of studying socio-cultural change.

124 The fieldwork was done by interviewing of informants, by direct observation of events and behavior, and by the compilation of a detailed census concerning household membership, occupations, marital status, religious affiliation, group membership, income, and other matters. With the aid of a fluent, college-educated interpreter fieldwork was carried on daily.

114 This paper does not purport in any way to be a complete or definitive
121 study. An approximation to such a report, I am convinced, can result only from fieldwork done under a set of conditions very different from those that were possible for the research here reported. These should include extended continuous residence (minimally one year) in the community by the investigator, and participation by him in community life without self-imposed or assumed separateness or distinction from the people; and a command of the native language adequate to conduct interviews and conversations without the use of interpreters. For Southeast Asia especially, the real fulfillment of such conditions is most difficult, but to the extent that they are met in ethnographic work the material obtained will possess richness and depth. Since, for a variety of reasons, these conditions could not be met in my study of Tadagale, no apology is offered for the inadequacies of this report. It is well, however, in these days of studies of 'cultures from afar' and other short-cut methods of fieldwork, to indicate how we have worked and how our results are thereby affected. Since knowledge of contemporary Burmese village culture is virtually non-existent, a report such as this perhaps may be regarded as a small contribution towards filling a large void.

I am much indebted to Miss C. A. Ruston, of Mandalay, my interpreter,
[127] whose tact and insight certainly minimized the limitations that are inherent
114 in fieldwork done by means of an interpreter. Dr. Paul F. Cressey of Wheaton
122 College (Massachusetts), who was teaching in Rangoon University at the time of

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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acts of theirs and customs, which I had seen and 114
noted, but of which I did not know the reason. We all know how hard it is to see into the heart even of our own people, those of our flesh and blood who are with us always, and whose ways are our ways, and whose thoughts are akin to ours. And if this be so with them, it is ten thousand times harder with those whose ways are not our ways, and from whose thoughts we must be far apart. It is true that there are no dark places in [181]
the lives of the Burmese as there are in the lives of other Orientals. All is open to the light of day in their homes and in their religion, and their women are the freest in the world. Yet the barriers of a strange tongue and a strange religion, and of ways caused by another climate than ours, is so great that, even to those of us who have every wish and every opportunity to understand, it seems sometimes as if we should never know their hearts. It seems as if we should never learn more of them than just the outside—that curiously varied outside which is so deceptive, and which is so apt to prevent our understanding that they are men just as we are and not strange creations from some far-away planet.

So when I settled down and sought to know 114
more of the meaning of what I had seen, I thought 121 ●
that first of all I must learn somewhat of their 777
religion, of that mainspring of many actions, which seemed sometimes admirable, sometimes the reverse, and nearly always foreign to my ideas. It is true that I knew they were Buddhists, that I recognised the yellow-robed monks as followers of the word of Gaudama the Buddha, and that I had a general

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 18[illegible] AP1 Burma
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114 acquaintance with the theory of their faith as picked
121 up from a book or two—notably, Rhys Davids'
779 'Buddhism' and Bishop Bigandet's book—and from many inconsequent talks with the monks and others. But the knowledge was but superficial, and I was painfully aware that it did not explain much that I had seen and that I saw every day.

So I sent for more books, such books as had been published in English, and I studied them, and hoped thereby to attain the explanations I wanted; and as I studied, I watched as I could the doings of the people, that I might see the effects of
775 causes and the results of beliefs. I read in these
779 sacred books of the mystery of Dharma, of how a man has no soul, no consciousness after death; that to the Buddhist 'dead men rise up never,' and that those who go down to the grave are known no more. I read that all that survives is the effect of a man's actions, the evil effect, for good is merely negative, and that this is what causes pain and trouble to the next life. Everything changes, say the sacred books, nothing lasts even for a moment. 'It will be, and it has been,' is the life of man. The life that lives to-morrow in the next incarnation is no more the life that died in the last than the flame we light in the lamp to-day is the same that went out yesternight. It is as if a stone were thrown into a pool—that is the life, the splash of the stone; all that remains, when the stone lies resting in the mud and weeds below the waters of forgetfulness, are the circles ever widening on the surface, and the ripples never dying, but only spreading farther and farther away. And all this

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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Whence, then, come their acts? for their acts seem to show that they hold riches to be a good thing. What is to be accepted as their belief: the Book they say they believe, which condemns riches, or their acts, by which they show that they hold that wealth is a good thing—ay, and if used according to their ideas of right, a very good thing indeed?

So, it seemed to me, would a Burman be puzzled if he came to us to find out our belief; and as the Burman's difficulty in England was, *mutatis mutandis*, mine in Burma, I set to work to think the matter out. How were the beliefs of a people to be known, and why should there be such difficulties in the way? If I could understand how it was with us, it might help me to know how it was with them.

I have thought that the difficulty arises from the fact that there are two ways of seeing a religion —from within and from without—and that these are as different as can possibly be. It is because we forget there are the two standpoints that we fall into error.

In every religion, to the believers in it, the crown and glory of their creed is that it is a revelation of truth, a lifting of the veil, behind which every man born into this mystery desires to look.

They are sure, these believers, that they have the truth, that they alone have the truth, and that it has come direct from where alone truth can live. They believe that in their religion alone lies safety for man from the troubles of this world and from the terrors and threats of the next, and that those

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

121 alone who follow its teaching will reach happiness hereafter, if not here. They believe, too, that this truth only requires to be known to be understood and accepted of all men; that as the sun requires no witness of its own warmth, so the truth requires no evidence of its truth.

It is to them so eternally true, so matchless in beauty, so convincing in itself, that adherents of all other creeds have but to hear it pronounced and they must believe. To them the question, How do you know that your faith is true? is as vain and foolish as the cry of the wind in an empty house. And if they be asked wherein lies their religion, they will produce their sacred books, and declare that in them is contained the whole matter. Here is the very word of truth, herein is told the meaning of all things, herein alone lies righteousness. This, they say, is their faith: that they believe in every line of it, this truth from everlasting to everlasting, and that its precepts, and none other, can be held by him who seeks to be a sincere believer. And to these believers the manifestation of their faith is that its believers attain salvation hereafter. But as that is in the next world, if the unbeliever ask what is the manifestation in this, the believers will answer him that the true mark and sign whereby a man may be known to hold the truth is the observance of certain forms, the performance of certain ceremonies, more or less mystical, more or less symbolical, of some esoteric meaning. That a man should be baptized, should wear certain marks on his forehead, should be accepted with certain rites, is generally the outward and visible sign of a believer,

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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and the badge whereby others of the same faith have known their fellows.

It has never been possible for any religion to make the acts and deeds of its followers the test of their belief. And for these reasons: that it is a test no one could apply, and that if anyone were to attempt to apply it, there would soon be no Church at all. For to no one is it given to be able to observe in their entirety all the precepts of their prophet, whoever that prophet may be. All must fail, some more and some less, but generally more, and thus all would fall from the faith at some time or another, and there would be no Church left. And so another test has been made necessary. If from his weakness a man cannot keep these precepts, yet he can declare his belief in and his desire to keep them, and here is a test that can be applied. Certain rites have been instituted, and it has been laid down that those who by their submission to these rites show their belief in the truth and their desire to follow that truth as far as in them lies, shall be called the followers of the faith. And so in time it has come about that these ceremonial rites have been held to be the true and only sign of the believer, and the fact that they were but to be the earnest of the beginning and living of a new life has become less and less remembered, till it has faded into nothingness. And so, instead of the life being the main thing, and being absolutely necessary to give value and emphasis to the belief, it has come to pass that it is the belief, and the acceptance of the belief, that has been held to hallow the life and excuse and palliate its errors.

16;Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

121 Thus of every religion is this true, that its essence is a belief that certain doctrines are revelations of eternal truth, and that the fruit of this truth is the observance of certain forms. Morality and works may or may not follow, but they are immaterial compared with the other. This, put shortly, is the view of every believer.

But to him who does not believe in a faith, who views it from without, from the standpoint of another faith, the whole view is changed, the whole perspective altered. Those landmarks which to one within the circle seem to stand out and overtop the world are to the eyes of him without dwarfed often into insignificance, and other points rise into importance.

For the outsider judges a religion as he judges everything else in this world. He cannot begin by accepting it as the only revelation of truth; he cannot proceed from the unknown to the known, but the reverse. First of all, he tries to learn what the beliefs of the people really are, and then he judges from their lives what value this religion has to them. He looks to acts as proofs of beliefs, to lives as the ultimate effects of thoughts. And he finds out very quickly that the sacred books of a people can never be taken as showing more than approximately their real beliefs. Always through the embroidery of the new creed he will find the foundation of an older faith, of older faiths, perhaps, and below these, again, other beliefs that seem to be part of no system, but to be the outcome of the great fear that is in the world.

The more he searches, the more he will be sure

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

that there is only one guide to a man's faith, to his soul, and that is not any book or system he may profess to believe, but the real system that he follows —that is to say, that a man's beliefs can be known even to himself from his acts only. For it is futile to say that a man believes in one thing and does another. That is not a belief at all. A man may cheat himself, and say it is, but in his heart he knows that it is not. A belief is not a proposition to be assented to, and then put away and forgotten. It is always in our minds, and for ever in our thoughts. It guides our every action, it colours our whole life. It is not for a day, but for ever. When we have learnt that fire burns, we do not put the belief away in a pigeon-hole of our minds, there to rust for ever unused, nor do we go straightway and put our hands in the flames. We remember it always; we keep it as a guiding principle of our daily lives.

A belief is a strand in the cord of our lives, that runs through every fathom of it, from the time that it is first twisted among the others till the time when that life shall end. And as it is thus impossible for the onlooker to accept from adherents of a creed a definition of what they really believe, so it is impossible for him to acknowledge the forms and ceremonies of which they speak as the real manifestations of their creed.

It seems to the onlooker indifferent that men should be dipped in water or not, that they should have their heads shaved or wear long hair. Any belief that is worth considering at all must have results more important to its believers, more valuable

16 Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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121 to mankind, than such signs as these. It is true that of the great sign of all, that the followers of a creed attain heaven hereafter, he cannot judge. He can only tell of what he sees. This may or may not be true; but surely, if it be true, there must be some sign of it here on earth beyond forms. A religion that fits a soul for the hereafter will surely begin by fitting it for the present, he will think. And it will show that it does so otherwise than by ceremonies.

For forms and ceremonies that have no fruit in action are not marks of a living truth, but of a dead dogma. There is but little thought of forms to him whose heart is full of the teaching of his Master, who has His words within his heart, and whose soul is full of His love. It is when beliefs die, and love has faded into indifference, that forms are necessary, for to the living no monument is needed, but to the dead. Forms and ceremonies are but the tombs of dead truths, put up to their memory to recall to those who have never known them that they lived and died long ago.

And because men do not seek for signs of the living among the graveyards of the dead, so it is not among the ceremonies of religions that we shall find the manifestations of living beliefs.

It is from the standpoint of this outsider that I have looked at and tried to understand the soul of the Burmese people. When I have read or heard of a teaching of Buddhism, I have always taken it to the test of the daily life of the people to see whether it was a living belief or no. I have accepted just so much as I could find the people have accepted, such as they have taken into their hearts to be with them

16:Fielding Hall G-8 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

for ever. A teaching that has been but a teaching or theory, a vain breath of mental assent, has seemed to me of no value at all. The guiding principles of their lives, whether in accordance with the teaching of Buddhism or not, these only have seemed to me worthy of inquiry or understanding. What I have desired to know is not their minds, but their souls. And as this test of mine has obliged me to omit much that will be found among the dogmas of Buddhism, so it has led me to accept many things that have no place there at all. For I have thought that what stirs the heart of man is his religion, whether he calls it religion or not. That which makes the heart beat and the breath come quicker, love and hate, and joy and sorrow—that has been to me as worthy of record as his thoughts of a future life. The thoughts that come into the mind of the ploughman while he leads his teams afield in the golden glory of the dawn; the dreams that swell and move in the heart of the woman when she knows the great mystery of a new life; whither the dying man's hopes and fears are led—these have seemed to me the religion of the people as well as doctrines of the unknown. For are not these, too, of the very soul of the people?

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17; Orr E-5 (1950-1951) 1951 APA Burma
Burmese AP4

Foreword

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Research in social and cultural Anthropology of the Burmese peoples is still a virgin field, and these Field Notes made by Dr. Kenneth Orr, Visiting Professor of Anthropology in the University of Rangoon, will be of great value both as a source-book and a hand-book for students of Burmese culture and society.

To the non-Burmese reader, the information given in these Notes will be refreshingly new, for since "The Burman: his Life and Notions" by Sir James Scott writing under the pseudonym of "Shwe Yoe" was first published more than fifty years ago, there has been no book on the life and notions of the average Burman. To the Burmese reader, the information will not be new, but he will be pleasantly surprised to find that when noted down and scientifically viewed, his everyday beliefs and ideas assume a new importance.

The value of these Field Notes is the greater because Burmese society and culture are experiencing rapid changes due to greater contact with the outside world, and many interesting beliefs and ideas which are recorded in these pages will be remembered no more in the next few years. When I think of the many folk-tales, folk-songs and proverbs that were current during my childhood days, and now lost for ever, (and if I may say it, I am not very old), I cannot but despair that collections of such priceless treasures of the mind of the Burmese peoples will ever be made in time.

This Monograph is the first in the series which the Community Research Project of the Department of Anthropology of the University of Rangoon hopes to publish from time to time. It is indeed fitting that the first Monograph of the series should be written by Dr. Orr, for the successful introduction of Anthropology Studies into the University Curriculum, and the successful working out of the Community Research Project by the Department of Anthropology were in a great measure due to Dr. Orr. The first batch of Anthropology students in Burma, and the University of Rangoon itself will ever be grateful to Dr. Orr for the effective and valuable services he rendered to the cause of Anthropological research in Burma, during the short period of some eighteen months as Visiting Professor of the University.

9th November 1951. HTIN AUNG.

Introduction

This is a study of the falling standard of living of a Burmese family who were uprooted by the insurrection from their village home of Pathwe in 1949 and transplanted in a refugee camp in Rangoon. The family consisted of U Myaing - a fisherman aged 47; his wife Ma Aye Myaing, age 33, Daw Aw Zar, his mother, age 72, and four daughters - Ma Tin Shwe, age 14, Ma Khin Nyein, age 11, Ma Khni Saw, age 7, and Ma Win Tin, age 5.(1951). 121 [664] [722] [592]

An attempt is made to present quantitatively and qualitatively the items used in, and activities of everyday life in the home village as contrasted with the refugee camp. It is hoped this dynamic situation will reveal some of the basic facts of Burmese culture as they pertain to an average family. The bulk of the data was collected under my direction by Ko Sein Tu, Tutor of the Psychology Department, University of Rangoon, from August 1950 to May 1951. Ko Nya Tu, medical student at the University, helped in collecting the health data. Ma Khin Hmway, Assistant in Anthropology at the University, collected some of the more personal data from the ladies of the family. Professor Mohinda Nath, Head of the Department of Biology, University of Rangoon, kindly arranged for the scientific identification of the food items. Part of the data was collectedby the use of a tape recorder portions of which are reproduced verbatim in this report. Miss Mary Watson, Head Stenographer of the Community Project, gave her valuable help in proof reading and typing the stencils for this report. 121 114 126 128

A setting for the better understanding of the facts of the family is given in sections on general Burmese Concepts which follow the family data. This was provided by Ko Maung Than, student at the University, who worked as my assistant from August through November 1951. 128

I am indebted to Dr. Htin Aung, Professor of Anthropology and Rector of the University of Rangoon for his constant support and encouragement in this study. I carried out the study as a Fulbright grantee in Anthropology attached to the United States Educational Foundation in Rangoon, to whose officers I am grateful 122

511 increasingly cognizant.

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722 Food: The relative quality of food has remained the same but many expensive items have been discarded. Cheap foods when known previously have been elevated to importance in the camp dict but no previously unknown foods have been accepted - the new trifles which have become popular with the family are close enough in taste to the Pathwe trifles no longer available. Many foods which were secured free in Pathwe now cost money and have been discarded or reduced in quantity. The dict is reduced close to the essentials.

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Social and ceremonial activities: The active life in which the family was involved in a small folk community has given way to life in an urban community where the major consideration is gaining a livelihood. But the new life is promising and exciting and retains the basic activities of the village.

Concluding Analysis

●121 Some preliminary conclusions can be drawn from this particular set of circumstances; also the data suggests hypothesis of wider application to Burmese culture specifically and human societies generally.

185 Nature of the case: The case is clearly one of reduction in standard of living where the pattern of living remains unbroken. As such, certain deductions concerning the flexibility of the pattern can be drawn. The general situation is a contraction where items were sloughed-off as the pattern approached a minimum situation. The extreme level beyond which the pattern would have broken and/or the family ceased to exist was not reached. Data on such cases would be most valuable in extending this study. For example, I heard of a case supposedly during the Japanese occupation where a girl became too poor to afford a longyi and had to use gunny-sacks for clothing. The story goes that this girl committed suicide. Also, during the war some families are reported to have been reduced to eating "only rice and ngapi" - apparently the irreducible condition. Data on families expanding economically would also be necessary to carry this type of study in the other direction. U Myaing's case gives data on the flexibility of the Burmese culture pattern under certain circumstances from a median point of average standard of living, to a point near the minimum standard.

183 The conditions under which this flexibility was observed were

369 those of a displaced family uprooted from a folk society and replanted in an refugee community within an urban society. As such the case

gives important data on the process of urbanising villagers - the country people are an important group in the growth of the Burmese section of Rangoon; probably a large section of the present refugee population will stay in the future. 183 369 [178]

The concepts of pattern of living and standard of living: The Burmese pattern of living, or any culture pattern, is a universe of beliefs and practices manifested in acts and artifacts. The analogy of the "Universe" is a useful one in that it recognises a guiding body of understandings that controls the whole of the society (like "laws" of Universe) while emphasising the particular understandings that govern the various groups or classes of the society (like the "laws" of the Solar and other systems within the Universe). The "solar systems" are the standard levels of operations forming a comprehensive set of forces within itself. Families, like U Myaing's have a mobility, in the case understudy a forced change, which takes them out of one standard system into another. The adjustments which they undergo reflects the "laws" which control the various standard levels as well as the basic concepts controlling the whole of the society. 121 183

Each belief and practice has a range of expressions which can be defined. The particular expression practiced by a family is the standard or level of a phenomenon capable of expansion or contraction within prescribed limits. The ultimate limits are defined by the total range of expressions for the culture as a whole. But the practical limits for a family are defined by the possibilities of the society segment (community) in which they find themselves. Thus, the range of U Myaing's possibilities of expression are much greater in Rangoon than they were in Pathwe and greatly exceed his original ideas of what was possible. He may, for example, become a highly westernized political leader - although this seems unlikely in terms of his expectations. The westernized, urban spheres of Burmese culture is now opened to the family. [621] [369] [177]

U Myaing is motivated by the basic expectations of the Burmese culture at a level applicable to his situation in terms of the possibilities of his social environment. In Pathwe, he was a fisherman and aspired to those things that fishermen should. In camp, he was at 181 565 555

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

PREFACE

As a postgraduate research student working under the supervision of the Professor of English Literature, I wrote, at Trinity College, Dublin, a thesis entitled *A Comparative Study of Burmese with English and European Drama*. With the special permission of the Board of Trinity College and the supervising Professor, I spent three terms at the School of Oriental Studies (University of London), before submitting my thesis for the degree of Ph.D.

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From the thesis for which I was granted the degree, I have omitted only some portions that dealt with the English and European Drama, and have given the work in its present form the new title, *Burmese Drama*.

To Dr W. F. Trench, Professor of English Literature at the University of Dublin, I owe a debt of gratitude the extent of which I can never fully express. I had not only the benefit of his lectures and personal supervision, but also his interest and help in my life outside the college walls. I had the great fortune to become acquainted with him before I went to Dublin, and it was through his recommendation that I was admitted to Trinity College. Without his kindness and help, the thesis would never have been written.

I am greatly indebted to Professor A. Berriedale Keith for his kindness and help when I was writing the chapters dealing with the Sanskrit drama.

My thanks are also due to the Provost and the Board of Trinity College, Dublin, for various favours granted, and to Miss E. M. Swann for her interest and help.

M.H.A.

Bar Library, Rangoon
March, 1935

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

Before proceeding any further perhaps I ought to explain what I mean when I speak of the 'origins' of Burmese drama. A great deal of confusion can result through the vagueness of the term 'origins'. By it I mean that point where the drama has taken some definite shape as drama, and not merely as dramatic elements. If we were to consider as origins all prehistoric dramatic elements in the life and customs of the nation, it would lead us nowhere. The worship of the *nats* in some form or other must have been developed by the tribes that first settled in Burma. And as religious ritual leads to music and dancing among primitive people, the worship led to the development of Burmese music and dancing. But we cannot take music and dancing as the origins of drama. No doubt music and dancing are necessary for the rise of a drama, but speech is necessary too, and yet we cannot say that the first attempt of man to express himself was the real origin of drama. It is vital to distinguish mere dramatic elements from true drama. In this connexion, Dr Keith's treatment of the origins of Sanskrit drama is enlightening. Many had contended before him that the Sanskrit drama had its origins in Vedic ritual. Dr Keith, however, rejects the theory. He recognizes the dramatic elements in Vedic ritual, but he recognizes them as such and not as the origins of the drama. No doubt the dramatic elements in the ritual gave some idea of the dramatic to the Indian people, but the drama did not arise out of them. It arose only when the great Indian epics had spread all over the country, for the true origin of the drama was in the recitation of the epics. With regard to Burmese drama, although the elements of the dramatic existed in the worship of the spirits and in various folk customs and folk feasts, the origin of the true drama was in the religious pageants and the *Nibhatkhin*.

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(*c*) Ridgeway puts forward the tree in the middle of the 'stage' as evidence of the fact that the drama developed out of the *nat* worship. He contends that the tree is a symbol of the *nat*, because *nats* live in trees. He quotes from Colonel Yule's account of his embassy to Burma where the latter described a Burmese play in progress. There was no actual stage in those days. The play was given in the centre of an open place or yard, and the space for the actors was marked off. In the centre of that space was a tree. The ambassador inquired as to the purpose of the tree, but he was given a 'somewhat vague answer' that it represented a forest. He was not satisfied and put forward the theory that there must have been some belief connected with the tree, for it was present on all the occasions on which he

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536*
114

23: Brant & Mi Mi Khaing E, I-5 (1949-1950)1951
AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

BURMESE KINSHIP AND THE LIFE CYCLE: AN OUTLINE

CHARLES S. BRANT AND MI MI KHAING[1]

INTRODUCTORY STATEMENT

•121 OUR PURPOSE is to present and analyze some basic features of Burmese social organization. So numerous, elaborate and varied are the details of belief and behavior pertaining to kinship and the life cycle that to present them in a manner approximating completeness would be beyond the scope of a brief paper.

121 184 The material that follows, concerning the kinship system, patterns of customary behavior between various pairs of relatives, and the life cycle, is to be understood as applying to contemporary Burmese culture as it is manifested in the villages of Lower Burma. In and near the urban centers, where the secularizing influences of the West have permeated indigenous custom to a greater extent, practice is likely to diverge from ideal patterns much more than in the small, homogeneous village communities. Our concern here is with the social life of the ordinary peasantry of Lower Burma. It is hoped that these data may contribute in some measure to the very scant and fragmentary knowledge of modern Burmese culture.[2]

[177]

THE KINSHIP SYSTEM

601 The basic consanguineal and affinal kinship terminologies are shown in Figures 1, 2, and 3. The kinship terms, corresponding to the numbers shown on the diagrams, are as follows:[3]

1. ʔaméi Mother.
2. ʔaphéi Father.
3. pharjî Parent's elder brother; parent's elder sister's husband.

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[122] 1 The first-named author of this paper expresses his thanks to the Board of Foreign Scholarships for appointment to a scholarship under the Fulbright Program, making possible the field research period 1949-50 in Burma, and to the Social Science Research Council for supplementary support in the form of a World Area Research Training fellowship.

2 The interested reader is referred to Shway Yoe's *The Burman: His Life and Notions*, first published in 1882 and most recently reprinted by Macmillan & Co., London, for the only fully-rounded account of Burmese culture. See also Mi Mi Khaing, *Burmese Family* (London, 1946) for a culturally insightful narrative of life in a Burmese family.

3 For assistance in transcription of the kinship terms thanks are due Professor W. S. Cornyn. The symbols follow the system employed in his *Outline of Burmese Grammar* (Baltimore: Linguistic Society of America, 1944).

29: Slater M-4 (no date) 1951 AP1 Burma
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PREFACE

"Buddhism," remarks a Christian theologian, "is the crux of all theories of religion."[1] It is at least true that statements concerning the nature of religion in general are frequently based on some estimate of Buddhism. Thus it is claimed, on the one hand, that Buddhist agnosticism proves the possibility of vital religion without belief in God, and even the superiority of such religion. On the other hand, it is suggested that later developments in Buddhist history prove that man cannot live without God: denial must ultimately yield to faith. 121

These and similar statements frequently assume that the Southern Buddhist is both more orthodox and more negative than his northern brother. And this more orthodox Buddhism, maintained today in the monasteries of Ceylon, Burma and Siam, indicates, it is sometimes said, that original Buddhism was not a religion at all but an ethic or philosophy in search of religion. The further suggestion is made that this search was only satisfied when Buddhism, re-born and travelling north to China and Japan, became syncretic, turning aside from the original narrow orthodoxy to quench its spiritual thirst at the wells of more positive, more speculative, more religious traditions.

If it is objected that such an estimate fails to account for the missionary vitality of original Buddhism, the reply is sometimes made that Southern Buddhism, while remaining substantially orthodox, degenerated and became a static, monastic scholasticism. To some this presents a picture of monkish moralists who found it possible to sustain an ascetic discipline through long centuries without any vision of those Eternal Realities which inspired similar disciplines elsewhere: a proof that man can dispense with such vision. Others see rather a picture of an excluded laity, outside the monasteries, a picture of ordinary men and women, Buddhists in name perhaps, but animists at heart, left so desolate that they must cling to primitive superstitions: a proof that man, normal man, cannot live without some vision, however inadequate, of the Beyond.

In this present work a very different picture of Southern Buddhism is presented. Here the monastic life is seen in full, creative relationship to

[1] W. R. Matthews, *God in Christian Thought and Experience*, chap. VIII, p. 162.

29: Slater M-4 (no date) 1951 AP1 Burma
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Burmese life and culture, a relationship persisting through many centuries, and it is suggested that if Buddhism is indeed the crux of all theories of religion, this picture must be considered, not only by those more particularly interested in Buddhism, but by all students of Comparative Religion. It may also be of topical interest to those concerned with social and political developments in South-East Asia today.

For others, however, the main interest of this work may lie in its relevance to the subject of religious paradox, a subject which is receiving increasing attention by Christian theologians and others. "The observation that there is 'a way of paradox' demanding analysis and formulation," states a recent writer, "has been one of the major discoveries of Christian thought during the last century, and the task of relating it to classic ways of negation and analogy ... has only been taken up in our own time and is still far from the stage of achievement."[2] Meantime, various preliminary questions arise. It is, for example, sometimes taken for granted that the paradoxical expression of the Christian faith is, in itself, a proof of the distinctive character of the Christian Revelation. Or it may be held that this form of expression indicates the 'objective' character of the Christian Revelation. Discussions of the subject, however, are frequently determined by the evidence provided in the Judaic-Christian tradition alone. The present work points the need for a wider reference, and it is believed that the questions raised by the study of the paradox of Nirvana will be of considerable interest to theologians and others.

These questions are perhaps the more significant because they are the result of an empirical approach, an approach begun in Burma with an attempt to find some point of contact between Buddhist aspirations and the Christian faith. It was observed that, while certain monks were conditioned against any attempt to discuss grounds for belief in God, they were better disposed to consider the Christian hope of Eternal Life in relation to the Buddhist hope of Nirvana. Further study obliged recognition of the paradoxical expression of this Nirvana faith and the relation of this expression to similar language in other religions.

The fact that I was concerned to inquire what it was that constitued Buddhism a living religion, able to inspire the loyalty of the Burmese people through so many centuries, led gradually to the conclusion that paradoxical expression is intimately associated with vitality in religion. This conclusion was the more interesting because it was found to be affirmed by other writers, starting from different premises. A Swedish theologian, for example, claims that "every revival in the history of the

[2] J. V. Langmead Casserley, *The Christian in Philosophy* Part I, chap. I, pp. 41–42; cf. Part II, chap. I, pp. 179–182.

29: Slater M-4 (no date) 1951 APl Burma
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church has been connected with a consciousness of the paradoxical content of faith."[3] 121

My inquiry, thus begun in Burma, was continued in Ceylon and India and concluded in New York. It has been pursued, with various interruptions, for some twenty years. In listing my acknowledgments, I am therefore aware that I may omit some who have given me generous help, more especially in the earlier days in Burma, since some of the notes relating to this period were lost during the Japanese invasion. I must also make it clear that acknowledgment of help given does not imply approval of the views expressed in this work. I am fully aware that some of these views are debatable. Any Western writer, knowing how much confusion has been caused by the temptation to read Western preconceptions into Buddhist thought, is bound to feel hesitant in expressing his own conclusions. He looks for the day when other scholars from the Orient such as the late U Shwe Zan Aung, themselves acquainted with our Western idiom, will assist our interpretation. Meantime he can only hope that his own efforts will promote that better understanding between East and West which may yield new insights in the universal search for truth. 122

While in India, I was invited to Union Theological Seminary, New York, and I am most grateful to the President, Dr Henry P. Van Dusen and the members of the Seminary for this invitation and the subsequent hospitality and facilities received there which enabled the preparation of this work as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy awarded by Columbia University. I am especially indebted to the following for their generous encouragement and assistance: Dr Horace L. Friess, Dr Frederick C. Grant, Dr Arthur Jeffery, Dr Richard Kroner, Dr August Karl Reischauer, Dr David E. Roberts and Dr Herbert W. Schneider.

In his devoted work for the Missionary Research Library, the late Mr Charles H. Fahs collected books and documents on Burma not available elsewhere, and I am glad to have this opportunity of acknowledging his most courteous assistance. I am similarly very grateful for the help I received from Dr Lucy W. Markley and the staff of the Union Seminary Library; Dr Marguerite Block of the Low Memorial Library, Columbia University; and from the librarians of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London University.

To the Rev. R. F. Spear, American Methodist Mission, Pegu, Burma, I am very grateful for permission to read and quote from his MS thesis, 114

[3] G. Ljunggren, "The Paradox as a Theological Expression," *Swedish Theological Quarterly Review*, (1928), p. 333, quoted by Gustaf Aulén, *The Faith of the Christian Church* (trans. by Wahlstrom and Arden, 1948), Part I, p. 101.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1. The Yes and No of Faith

121

Three of the following chapters are concerned with Buddhism, and with Buddhism in a narrow field — the country of Burma. The ultimate interest, however, is much wider; the final issue is universal: it is the challenge of bewilderment which is everywhere twin brother to Faith, the No which accompanies our Yes. This final issue concerns the nature of that Reality which shapes our lives, both quickening and confounding our philosophy.

It is an issue which branches out into many questions. We may ask whether religion is a necessity or a luxury, a healthy response to life or a stumbling attempt at escape, a recognition of truth or a runaway from truth; whether philosophy or religion must have the final word, whether philosophy is religion's rival, religion's successor, religion's partner or religion's jailor; whether the language of religion corresponds to the language of philosophy, and whether one should be subject to the other; whether language most manifests faith when it is most voluble or when it exhibits a seemly reserve; whether denial of God is the final proof of God.

These and similar questions gather around the problem of paradoxical religious expression with which we shall be confronted in this inquiry. The resort to paradox arouses frequent distrust: it appears to cover a retreat from the challenge of logic to a realm of confused statement. Distrust is further inflamed by the fact that many who emphasise the significance of paradox fail to define the term. But the omission is understandable, since definition is beset by difficulties. It is easier to denote than to define, pointing to such examples as St. Augustine's confession: "What art Thou then, my God, what, I ask, save the Lord God ... most far and yet most near ... ever busy, yet ever at rest; gathering, yet never needing ... seeking, though Thou hast no lack.... Men give Thee more than Thou dost claim, that Thou shouldest be their debtor, yet who possesses aught that is not Thine? Thou payest debts which Thou dost not owe; Thou forgivest debts and losest nothing.... What can anyone say when he speaks of Thee?"[1]

[1] *Confessions*, Book I, chap. IV (trans. by C. Bigg).

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Whenever religious faith ventures furthest with bold affirmation, it is obliged in the last resort to express this affirmation in negative as well as in positive terms. A Yes is uncomfortably joined with a No. This union may appear in one challenging proposition, or the Yes and the No may be found in separate passages related to the same symbol. In either case, the union is regarded as indissoluble, and a distinction is drawn between the language of religious paradox and the language of logical opposition. The logician makes ready with his knife to sever or prune the apparently discordant terms and thus relieve the tension. But his surgery is refused. "There can be no going behind or pretending to resolve the paradox. To evade the paradox is to lose the truth."[2] Whether this refusal is justified is one of the questions in debate. What perhaps is indicated by religious paradox is an imaginative contrast rather than a logical opposition, a contrast derived from the fact that the imaginative language of analogy is joined with the language of negation.

Any adequate discussion of the problems involved, however, depends upon a wide survey of the context of religious paradox, a survey not limited to the Christian tradition. This present inquiry may be regarded as a contribution towards such a survey, for the situation which gives rise to religious paradox is nowhere more strikingly exemplified than it is by the Buddhist symbol of Nirvana.

The essentially religious character of this Nirvana symbol, however, has been questioned, especially with reference to its statement in the context of Southern or Hīnayāna Buddhism, where the negative emphasis appears to obscure the basic affirmation.

Our inquiry, therefore, has two aspects. In the first place we are concerned to show that Burmese religion is a living tradition of Hīnayāna Buddhism in which Nirvana is the religious ultimate term, paradoxically affirmed. We begin in the field of historical interpretation.

Secondly, in order to exhibit the significance of the Nirvana paradox for Buddhism, we shall relate this expression to similar expressions of other religious ultimates in other traditions. This excursion into the field of comparative religion will raise the question of the significance of the language of paradox for the study of religion generally.

The more detailed examination of Burmese Buddhism which will concern us in the earlier chapters may seem to some a narrow and laborious approach to the larger questions which confront us in our comparative survey. But there is much to be said for such an approach to the problems presented by the study of Comparative Religion. Just as the traveller or missionary comes first into contact with some one, particular religion, so

[2] J. V. Langmead Casserley, *The Christian in Philosophy*, Part II, chap. 1, p. 181.

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the general reader may be well advised first to range himself alongside some one, specific tradition, not avoiding the details which present the difficulties as well as the rewards of investigation. He may thus escape those distortions, confusions and misinterpretations which result from a merely surface acquainatance when religious beliefs are torn from their living context and discussed as abstract propositions.

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2. *The Paradox of Nirvana*

The symbol of Nirvana is the more emphatic because it is set against the distinctive backcloth of Indian belief, including the belief that present existence does not end with death: man is reborn in this world or a similar realm, and existence with all its ills may continue through a dreaded cycle of successive rebirths. Nirvana, for the Buddhist, is the word of release from this cycle.

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But what kind of release does Nirvana signify? Is it the finish, the final dissolution, or a new beginning under happier conditions? Conceptions of Nirvana as ultimate annihilation, we shall term negative. They may include the view that annihilation is postponed or preceded by a brief moment of enjoyed sanctity or intellectual illumination before the final death; but in the end, man reaches his terminus and there is nothing beyond.[3] "People . . . disappear for ever in Nirvāṇa by being extinct."[4]

Positive conceptions, on the other hand, interpret Nirvana in terms of fulfilment, survival and bliss, a continuation of life beyond the cycle of present, chequered existence. Such conceptions may be compared with the hope of immortality in other religions. They signify an ultimate consummation, even when the conception of individual survival is vague or absent. "Nirvana is none other than that ultimate, eternal, primordial Mystery, which all religious people have sought for, divined and intuited, which all religions have tried to express by means of weak and insufficient symbols, similes, concepts and images."[5]

Now there are terms and passages in the Buddhist literature which seem to demand a choice between these two rival conceptions. But the Buddhist system of thought implies their combination. Herein we have the paradox of Nirvana. On the one hand, Nirvana is denoted in terms which encourage a positive conception. It is the further shore, the harbour of refuge, the cool cave, the matchless island, the holy city; it is peace, rest, supreme happiness. On the other hand we appear to be confronted by curt negation. Nibbana is the Void. It is Cessation.

[3] E.g., as in the theories of Childers, Rhys Davids.
[4] Th. Stcherbatsky, *The Conception of Buddhist Nirvāṇa*, p. 20.
[5] Friedrich Heiler, *Die buddhistische Versenkung*, chap. 10, p. 42.

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The discovery of Buddhism, and the discovery of the Pali literature, have been compared with the impact of those Greek manuscripts which, one by one, came into the hands of Renaissance scholars after the capture of Constantinople by the Turks.[11] It is a significant comparison. Perhaps it explains the tendency of many European readers to regard the Buddhist scriptures in much the same light as Renaissance scholars regarded their Greek manuscripts — as museum treasures, as words from the past, reminders of a bygone culture. Joined with this tendency was the fashion to represent Buddhism as primarily a philosophy or a morality — a morality in search of religion, said the Christians; a morality happily divorced from religion, said their critics.

Ex oriente lux! Once again it was happening, as so often before, but this time the new light from the East was a sober evangel, just the evangel needed by an 'age of science which no longer wants to believe, but to know,' a teaching presenting 'the kernel of all religions and all metaphysics ... guaranteed in accordance with the methods of exact science.'[12] In the 'mountain of books' on Buddhism, written in the West in the last century, many of them based on the flimsiest evidence, would-be exponents have found in Buddhism the anticipation of their own philosophic preferences. Spinoza, Hegel, Schopenhauer, Bradley, Bergson and Bertrand Russell have all been cited, and have all been read into Buddhism, with confusing results. It was largely this emphasis on Buddhism *as a philosophy* which led at first to negative conceptions of Nirvana.

In 1912, a discerning Buddhist scholar in Burma uttered a protest. The Western scholar, he observed, "seems like one who has drawn forth from some 'chamber long to quiet vowed' a curious object all dented and covered with dust, concerning the origin and history of which he at once begins to speculate, without first enquiring if there are not some fresh, new specimens of the object to be found in everyday use around him. He treats of Buddhism as a dead and gone system and ignores the fact of its present existence as a living force in the lives of countless millions of his fellowmen, — pays little or no heed to the circumstance that, in addition to a literature belonging to the past, Buddhism possesses a living and active tradition in the present.

"The history of discussions at one time current in the West and not yet quite extinct, as to the meaning of Nibbāna,[13] presents a fairly charac-

[10] E.g. Woodward's translation of Vol. V of the Aṅguttara-Nikāya for the Pali Text Society, an important scripture, is dated only 1936.

[11] Rhys Davids, *American Lectures* II, 44.

[12] George Grimm, *Die Lehre des Buddha*, pp. 7, 9.

[13] *Nibbāna* is the Pali equivalent for the Sanskrit *Nirvāṇa*.

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teristic specimen of the scholar's method of setting to work upon the investigation of Buddhist ideas. Ancient manuscripts, and commentaries upon them only a trifle less ancient, were racked for every slightest word that might bear upon the vexed question, and every such finding was discussed *pro* and *con* entirely with reference to its meaning as that meaning might present itself to an *occidental* mind; and it never seemed to occur to anybody that the simplest and best way to find out what Nibbāna really meant was to ask one or two of the more intelligent among the living representatives of the religion in which the word was used to express one of its leading concepts."[14] Written in dispraise of other Western authors, this criticism was also written in very lavish praise of a new book on Buddhism by Mrs Rhys Davids[15]. In that book, the authoress was far from rejecting Buddhism as a philosophy. But she also affirmed that the Buddha himself should be recognised, not only as a Sage, but as a prophet — a prophet "who had seen in a vision of universal law, not a philosophic theory only ... but a saving Truth, a Religion, whereby he might purify his own beliefs and redeem mankind."

Once Buddhism is seen for what it is, a religion, and a living religion at that, it becomes increasingly difficult to reconcile the older Western misinterpretation of Nirvana as annihilation in such a context.

4. *The Buddhist Religion*

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A glance at the long history of Buddhism shows that it has been, at different times and in different settings, a dynamic religious movement. Through many veils of legend, the Founder, Gautama,[16] is discerned as a young noble of the Sakyan clan in Northern India, some six centuries before the Christian era, who combined a sage moral insight with deep religious conviction. This conviction has been disguised for some by the fact that Gautama avoided exaggerations, for religion, by many minds, has frequently been identified with the abnormal and the extreme. But Gautama, in his first 'sermon' at Benares, preached a Middle Way. His followers were to avoid sensuality, on the one hand, and, on the other, the extremes of asceticism which he himself had practised in vain. He seems to have shared with his contemporaries a pessimistic valuation of the ceaseless round of Ill, the grim cycle of repeated, frustrating existence in which men felt themselves to be trapped, and the pith of his teaching

[14] Review in *J.B.R.S.*, Vol II, Part II (December, 1912) pp. 249ff.

[15] *Buddhism, a Study of the Buddhist Norm.*

[16] Rendered variously as Gotama, Gaudama, etc. Other names for the historic Buddha are Śākyamuni, the Tathāgata and his personal name, Siddārtha.

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a simple, straightforward affirmation, but it is not denial. No religion could so persist if it merely brought man's elemental aspirations to a sharp cliff and threw them over. 779* 775

5. *Burmese Buddhism*

If there are good reasons for approaching the subject of religious paradox by a study of Buddhism, there are also good reasons for considering Buddhism as it appears in Burma where it is still a living and a dominant religion. 121

In the study of great religious traditions there is always need to maintain a balance between regard for the written texts and for the living expression. To consult one without the other is to misinterpret both. What the Christmas stories in the gospels mean to Christians cannot be fully discerned if they are isolated from Christmas observance any more than the Jātaka stories of Buddhism can be fully appreciated until they are read in the context of popular faith, with its drama and poetry. And what an entirely misleading impression of monastic Buddhism one might get from the Abhidhamma literature unless one has seen something of the life of a Buddhist monastery! This balance, as our Burmese critic observed, has not always been maintained in the study of Southern Buddhism.

Burma provides exceptional opportunities for such a study. "If anybody wants to know and see Buddhism as conceived and preached by the Buddha himself so far as the Saṃgha life goes," says a recent writer, "one can see a nearest approach to it in the monasteries of Burma.... Of all the Indianised lands of South-eastern Asia, Burma is indeed the only country where monastic Buddhism of the Theravāda nikāya survives to this day in its pristine purity."[24] And the same writer emphasises the impact of this monastic life on Burmese life and culture. [792]

In Burma, eighty-five per cent of the inhabitants are Buddhists. Of these, one in every hundred is a Buddhist monk. Go where you will, you find the yellow robe of the Order, the pagoda gleaming white across the plain or on the hillside, the monastery in every village, intimately related to the life of the people. This has been the situation for centuries. Here one can see Buddhism in action; one can try to interpret its symbols in the light of the very real, if rustic, civilisation which it has shaped and maintained. Burma is one of the most interesting countries in the Orient. Its people are literate. There is freedom from caste, and, for that matter, scarcely any class system. In the days of the monarchy, "when you left the king, you dropped at once to the villager."[25] An Englishman observed, [162] 779* 565 562 779*

[24] Nihar-Ranjan Ray, *Theravāda Buddhism in Burma*, chap. VII, p. 262.
[25] Fielding Hall, *The Soul of a People*, chap. IX, p. 106.

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175 792 779* But Burmese kings were not always good. The monasteries which became centres of community life in village after village have to be pictured more often against a dark background of marauding armies, political feud and violent revolt. This chequered history gives point to the suggestion that Burma owes its civilisation and 'the preservation of ... moral and mental balance' very largely to the Buddhist Order which persisted and grew apace through all vicissitudes.[33] Within the Order, there was a remarkable degree of discipline, upheld by a *Thāthanābaing* or Burmese Arch-Abbot. There was also a remarkable unanimity. [795] Although there were different schools and parties, it is significant that there is little, if any, hint of doctrinal controversy. If there had been any considerable impact of Mahāyāna interpretation, we should surely have heard more about it. What, on the contrary, is much more evident, is the 177 continued impact of Ceylon. Perhaps the most serious division was 795 occasioned by a claim that it was necessary to resort to Ceylon to maintain the legitimate 'line of descent.'[34] 779* There were, it is true, schismatics. Non-conformist Paramata sects decried the Order and taught the existence of an immanent Divine Being, the *Shwe Nyun Daw*, a belief which may reflect either Mahāyāna or Hindu influence. By and large, however the dominating religious and cultural force was Hīnayāna Buddhism for eight centuries without interruption. We have therefore good reason for beginning a study of Southern Buddhism in a country which has been so deeply impressed by its influence.

114 121 There is also a personal reason. It was in Burma, some twenty years ago, that my own acquaintance with Buddhism began. It was during discussions with monks and laymen there that I began to think that Nirvana was the ultimate religious term of their faith — the term which symbolised the consummation of their doctrine, practice and aspiration. And the mode of expression of this Nirvana symbol seemed to me significant, not only for my Buddhist friends, but for all concerned with the study of religion and life.

[33] J. A. Stewart, "Note on Some Authorities for the History of Burma," *J.B.R.S.*, XIII (1923), p. 75.

[34] M. H. Bode, *Pali Literature of Burma*, chap. II, p. 19.

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CHAPTER II

BUDDHISM AND ANIMISM IN BURMA

1. Animism or Buddhism?

It never occurred to anybody, remarked the Burmese critic quoted in our previous chapter, that the best way to find out what Nirvana meant was to consider its significance in some present, living tradition of Buddhism. His criticism was apposite in its immediate reference. As a matter of fact, however, it was precisely this course which *did* occur to Bishop Bigandet a century ago, as his voluminous footnotes to his translation of the Burmese Legend of Gaudama show.[1] The same may be said of his predecessor in the field, Father Sangermano, and of several successors.[2] Our present purpose is to take up the task where they left it. We hope to describe Buddhism in Burma in sufficient detail to exhibit the essentially religious character of the Nirvana paradox. 114 121

Since the context is Burmese and the reference is to Hīnayāna or Southern Buddhism, Nirvana for the time being will be *Nibbāna*, which is its form in the Pali language of the Hīnayāna scriptures. In Burmese, Nibbāna is Nebban. 775 198

One reason, perhaps, why this approach to the subject has been largely disregarded by Western scholars in recent years is the prevalent impression that the popular religion in Burma is a syncretism in which the dominant element is not Buddhism, but Animism. "Hinayana," writes Dr. Bouquet, in an outline of Comparative Religion, "is still 'the little vehicle,' because it does not and cannot appeal to the masses of any population.... It is true that it is the Buddhism of Burma and Ceylon. But anyone who knows these countries is well aware that the real popular faith of their peoples is not Hinayana but a thinly veiled animism."[3] 771

[1] Rt. Rev. P. Bigandet, Bishop of Ramatha, *The Life or Legend of Gaudama, the Buddha of the Burmese*, first published in Rangoon 1858.

[2] Father Vincentius Sangermano, *The Burmese Empire*, first published in 1833.

[3] A. C. Bouquet, *Comparative Religion*, new ed., 1945, p. 129. Dr. J. B. Pratt's balanced estimate of the Burma situation in his *The Pilgrimage of Buddhism* (1928) should have done something to correct this impression.

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FOREWORD

Dr. Charles Brant was associated from 1948 to 1951 with the Department of Sociology and Anthropology at Cornell University, from which he received his degree in cultural anthropology with special emphasis on the cultures of Southeast Asia. The University in 1947 had inaugurated on the campus and afield a teaching and research program designed to explore cultural repercussions related to the introduction of new technology and scientific ideas in a variety of peasant communities. Among the projects established in connection with this program in anthropology, and sponsored also by the Cornell Department of Far Eastern Studies, were village researches which had been begun in eastern Uttar Pradesh, India, and in the central rice plain of Thailand. The University therefore welcomed Dr. Brant's suggestion that he carry out a community study in Burma, a region which had been united with India administratively and which shared many cultural elements with Thailand.

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As recounted in the introduction of this report, political and military conditions in Burma in 1949 forced several changes in research plans and eventually made it necessary to retreat to Rangoon, where the present study was finally begun late in that year. However, the choice of a community adjacent to the primary metropolis of Burma in which to carry on the field research admirably fitted the purposes of the larger comparative anthropological program. It has made possible a point by point comparison of the urban influences of Rangoon on this village with influences exerted by Bangkok on the village being studied under this program which is located some twenty miles from the center of the Thai capital. It has also proved possible for Cornell to sponsor the study of a second Burmese village, on the outskirts of Mandalay, in which Mr. John Brohm conducted research during 1952 and 1953.

So little is known of contemporary conditions in the Burmese village that this study, as Dr. Brant suggests, will contribute towards filling a large void. Readers who know Burma will find much in the report with which they are familiar. They will be particularly interested, however, in the valuable case study in Part III of the solution found for the tensions between the Burman villagers and the Indian minority. And they will obtain a picture of the radical changes in behavior which mark an inevitably increasing sector of Burmese rural life. These new behaviors incorporate conflicts between a peasant technology which can hardly be altered for some time and the new ideas and ideals which can only be rapidly enlarged—conflicts for which flight is no solution.

Lauriston Sharp, Director
Southeast Asia Program

Department of Far Eastern Studies
Cornell University
Ithaca, New York
April, 1954

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INTRODUCTION

101 This paper is a summary report of field research which I conducted in the
122 village of Tadagale, Insein District, Burma, during the period November, 1949, to April, 1950. The work was made possible by a scholarship under the Fulbright Program, supplemented by an Area Research Training Fellowship granted by the Social Science Research Council. I am indebted to both of these organizations for the support of my work.

114 A word ~~seems in order~~ concerning the selection of Tadagale as a community
121 for study. It was my original intention, before I reached Burma and learned in detail of the then prevailing conditions, to do fieldwork among the Burmese of the delta or dry zone, using as a base a single village which would more or less exemplify contemporary Burmese peasant culture. Nothing was more impossible, in view of the internal conditions, and the plan had to be abandoned. After several months of efforts to shift my research to the Shan States, during which time one project had to be abandoned before it actually commenced, and another came to an abrupt halt in its second week -- both because of the spread of the internal disturbances to the areas concerned -- it became clear that the greatest assurance of continuity of research was to be found in the general area near Rangoon. After a brief survey of communities within a few miles radius of the capital, Tadagale was chosen. It appeared most suitable for several reasons, among them accessibility, manageable size, and, owing to its contact with Rangoon, the possibility of studying socio-cultural change.

124 The fieldwork was done by interviewing of informants, by direct observation of events and behavior, and by the compilation of a detailed census concerning household membership, occupations, marital status, religious affiliation, group membership, income, and other matters. With the aid of a fluent, college-educated interpreter fieldwork was carried on daily.

114 This paper does not purport in any way to be a complete or definitive
121 study. An approximation to such a report, I am convinced, can result only from fieldwork done under a set of conditions very different from those that were possible for the research here reported. These should include extended continuous residence (minimally one year) in the community by the investigator, and participation by him in community life without self-imposed or assumed separateness or distinction from the people; and a command of the native language adequate to conduct interviews and conversations without the use of interpreters. For Southeast Asia especially, the real fulfillment of such conditions is most difficult, but to the extent that they are met in ethnographic work the material obtained will possess richness and depth. Since, for a variety of reasons, these conditions could not be met in my study of Tadagale, no apology is offered for the inadequacies of this report. It is well, however, in these days of studies of 'cultures from afar' and other short-cut methods of fieldwork, to indicate how we have worked and how our results are thereby affected. Since knowledge of contemporary Burmese village culture is virtually non-existent, a report such as this perhaps may be regarded as a small contribution towards filling a large void.

I am much indebted to Miss C. A. Rustom, of Mandalay, my interpreter,
[122] whose tact and insight certainly minimized the limitations that are inherent
114 in fieldwork done by means of an interpreter. Dr. Paul F. Cressey of Wheaton
122 College (Massachusetts), who was teaching in Rangoon University at the time of

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my fieldwork, gave helpful suggestions and advice. The greatest thanks are doubtless due the people of Tadagale. At a time when their own problems of living were unusually difficult, they were friendly and cooperative towards one who must, at times, have seemed a quite aimless and overly inquisitive outsider. To Professor Lauriston Sharp of Cornell University I am grateful for making it possible for me to spend part of my time during the spring term of 1951 in the organization of data embodied in this report; and no less appreciative of his forbearance in the face of my unusual tardiness in getting the report written.

Charles S. Brant

Easton, Maryland
January, 1954

Introduction

This is a study of the falling standard of living of a Burmese family who were uprooted by the insurrection from their village home of Pathwe in 1949 and transplanted in a refugee camp in Rangoon. The family consisted of U Myaing - a fisherman aged 47; hes wife Ma Aye Myaing, age 33, Daw Aw Zar, his mother, age 72, and four daughters - Ma Tin Shwe, age 14, Ma Khin Nyein, age 11, Ma Khmi Saw, age 7, and Ma Win Tin, age 5.(1951). 121 [664] [722] [592]

An attempt is made to present quantitatively and qualitatively the items used in, and activities of everyday life in the home village as contrasted with the refugee camp. It is hoped this dynamic situation will reveal some of the basic facts of Burmese culture as they pertain to an average family. The bulk of the data was collected under my direction by Ko Sein Tu, Tutor of the Psychology Department, University of Rangoon, from August 1950 to May 1951. Ko Nya Tu, medical student at the University, helped in collecting the health data. Ma Khin Hmay, Assistant in Anthropology at the University, collected some of the more personal data from the ladies of the family. Professor Mohinda Nath, Head of the Department of Biology, University of Rangoon, kindly arranged for the scientific identification of the food items. Part of the data was collectedby the use of a tape recorder portions of which are reproduced verbatim in this report. Miss Mary Watson, Head Stenographer of the Community Project, gave her valuable help in proof reading and typing the stencils for this report. 121 114 126 128

A setting for the better understanding of the facts of the family is given in sections on general Burmese Concepts which follow the family data. This was provided by Ko Maung Than, student at the University, who worked as my assistant from August through November 1951. 128

I am indebted to Dr. Htin Aung, Professor of Anthropology and Rector of the University of Rangoon for his constant support and encouragement in this study. I carried out the study as a Fulbright grantee in Anthropology attached to the United States Educational Foundation in Rangoon, to whose officers I am grateful 122

122 for their cooperation in making the study possible.

128 The material is presented here as a collection of field notes from which certain preliminary observations and conclusions may be drawn. A final intensive analysis with the advantages of comparative data must await adequate reference facilities not available at the present time. The notes form part of a collection of Anthropological data on Burmese culture and society being amassed by the Burma Community Research Project under the sponsorship of the Union of Burma Government Mass Education Council.

128 Notes on Presentation:

1. Burmese words are captilized.

2. The spelling of the Burmese words is not truly "phonetical" (which would necessitate the use of an international phonetic alphabet) but is the way the Burmese ordinarily convert their sounds into English spelling. The Burmese phonetic system and true sounds of many of the words given here may be had in William S. Cornyn "Spoken Burmese" 1945-46 (Holt).

3. Wherever meaningful the actual translatick of words follow in parenthesis.

4. Space and time measurements and costs are usually given as recorded from the informant in Burmese terms. The glossary gives the western equivalents.

[436] 5. The units of money used are rupees (21 American cents) and annas (1/16th of the rupee) written as in this example: Rs. (rupees) 10/8 with the diagnal line separating the rupees from the annas. When no annas - a dash (-) is used.

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BURMESE KINSHIP AND THE LIFE CYCLE: AN OUTLINE

CHARLES S. BRANT AND MI MI KHAING[1]

INTRODUCTORY STATEMENT

121 OUR PURPOSE is to present and analyze some basic features of Burmese social organization. So numerous, elaborate and varied are the details of belief and behavior pertaining to kinship and the life cycle that to present them in a manner approximating completeness would be beyond the scope of a brief paper.

121 184 The material that follows, concerning the kinship system, patterns of customary behavior between various pairs of relatives, and the life cycle, is to be understood as applying to contemporary Burmese culture as it is manifested in the villages of Lower Burma. In and near the urban centers, where the secularizing influences of the West have permeated indigenous custom to a greater extent, [177] practice is likely to diverge from ideal patterns much more than in the small, homogeneous village communities. Our concern here is with the social life of the ordinary peasantry of Lower Burma. It is hoped that these data may contribute in some measure to the very scant and fragmentary knowledge of modern Burmese culture.[2]

THE KINSHIP SYSTEM

601 The basic consanguineal and affinal kinship terminologies are shown in Figures 1, 2, and 3. The kinship terms, corresponding to the numbers shown on the diagrams, are as follows:[3]

1. ʔaméi Mother.
2. ʔaphéi Father.
3. pharjî Parent's elder brother; parent's elder sister's husband.

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1 The first-named author of this paper expresses his thanks to the Board of Foreign [122] Scholarships for appointment to a scholarship under the Fulbright Program, making possible the field research period 1949-50 in Burma, and to the Social Science Research Council for supplementary support in the form of a World Area Research Training fellowship.

2 The interested reader is referred to Shway Yoe's *The Burman: His Life and Notions*, first published in 1882 and most recently reprinted by Macmillan & Co., London, for the only fully-rounded account of Burmese culture. See also Mi Mi Khaing, *Burmese Family* (London, 1946) for a culturally insightful narrative of life in a Burmese family.

3 For assistance in transcription of the kinship terms thanks are due Professor W. S. Cornyn. The symbols follow the system employed in his *Outline of Burmese Grammar* (Baltimore: Linguistic Society of America, 1944).

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church has been connected with a consciousness of the paradoxical content of faith."[3] 121

My inquiry, thus begun in Burma, was continued in Ceylon and India and concluded in New York. It has been pursued, with various interruptions, for some twenty years. In listing my acknowledgments, I am therefore aware that I may omit some who have given me generous help, more especially in the earlier days in Burma, since some of the notes relating to this period were lost during the Japanese invasion. I must also make it clear that acknowledgment of help given does not imply approval of the views expressed in this work. I am fully aware that some of these views are debatable. Any Western writer, knowing how much confusion has been caused by the temptation to read Western preconceptions into Buddhist thought, is bound to feel hesitant in expressing his own conclusions. He looks for the day when other scholars from the Orient such as the late U Shwe Zan Aung, themselves acquainted with our Western idiom, will assist our interpretation. Meantime he can only hope that his own efforts will promote that better understanding between East and West which may yield new insights in the universal search for truth. 122

While in India, I was invited to Union Theological Seminary, New York, and I am most grateful to the President, Dr Henry P. Van Dusen and the members of the Seminary for this invitation and the subsequent hospitality and facilities received there which enabled the preparation of this work as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy awarded by Columbia University. I am especially indebted to the following for their generous encouragement and assistance: Dr Horace L. Friess, Dr Frederick C. Grant, Dr Arthur Jeffery, Dr Richard Kroner, Dr August Karl Reischauer, Dr David E. Roberts and Dr Herbert W. Schneider.

In his devoted work for the Missionary Research Library, the late Mr Charles H. Fahs collected books and documents on Burma not available elsewhere, and I am glad to have this opportunity of acknowledging his most courteous assistance. I am similarly very grateful for the help I received from Dr Lucy W. Markley and the staff of the Union Seminary Library; Dr Marguerite Block of the Low Memorial Library, Columbia University; and from the librarians of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London University.

To the Rev. R. F. Spear, American Methodist Mission, Pegu, Burma, I am very grateful for permission to read and quote from his MS thesis, 114

[3] G. Ljunggren, "The Paradox as a Theological Expression," *Swedish Theological Quarterly Review*, (1928), p. 333, quoted by Gustaf Aulén, *The Faith of the Christian Church* (trans. by Wahlstrom and Arden, 1948), Part I, p. 101.

29: Slater M-4 (no date) 1951 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

114 *The Syncretism of Animism and Buddhism in Burma*, and to the Northwestern University and Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston, Illinois, for allowing me to consult this MS.

122 Correspondents who have been kind enough to answer my questions on specific issues include the late Professor J. A. Stewart of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London; Dr William Stede, co-editor of the Pali English Dictionary; U Lu Pe Win, Mandalay, Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Burma; Dr A. D. Sagayam, Maymyo, Upper Burma; and the Rev. H. Harwood, American Methodist Mission, Rangoon, Burma.

For the co-operation and very valuable help given me by my wife I can never be too grateful, and in the final preparation of this work for the Press I am greatly indebted to Professor J. Duchesne-Guillemin of Liége University and to my colleague at McGill, Professor Wilfred Cantwell Smith.

To the Humanities Research Council of Canada and to the McGill University Research Fund Committee I am most grateful for financial grants which have made this publication possible.

McGill University
Montreal
May 24, 1950.

ROBERT LAWSON SLATER

[p. ix blank]

14: Brant E-5 (1949-50) 1954 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

V

INTRODUCTION

101 This paper is a summary report of field research which I conducted in the
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21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

preserved in their entirety except the *Waythandaya*, and even that is extant with only two scenes missing, while respecting the lost scenes themselves some accounts are preserved. His works have been also studied widely and editorial prefaces to his works offer adequate accounts of his life and writings. Moreover, many courtiers of U Pon Nya's time are still living, and from them first-hand accounts have been obtained by scholars of the present day. After all, U Pon Nya's period is very recent.[1] 175 536*

For the decadent period, 1878 to 1886, I was dependent on oral accounts of the plays until I went to England. Printing came into general use in Burma during this period and very great numbers of plays were printed. From the Government register of published books we learn that as many as three or four editions of 5,000 copies each of the more famous plays of the period were sold out a few weeks after publication. Yet search as I might, I could not find any copies of the plays in Burma. I discovered later that every one of the more famous plays, with about a hundred less-known plays of the period, are happily preserved in the British Museum. Incidentally, I found that the oral accounts regarding them were correct. 127 213 536*

References to historical events and to non-dramatic works made in the thesis are taken from standard works. [128]

As regards my dependence on oral tradition, there is this to be said. The oral accounts of a less civilized nation may be more imaginative than accurate, but with the Burmese everything points to the reliability of the tradition. After all, it goes back to only about two hundred years, and the intervening period is not so long as to undermine human memory. Moreover, as I have said, the truth of the tradition can be ascertained from other sources. It should be remembered that in a country where printing was not in general use until about 1860, and records and literary works were written on palm-leaf and parchment, both of which are very liable to destruction by

[1] My chief informants for the period are:

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2. My mother's elder brother. My maternal grandfather was Naymyo Thiri Kyawhtin Nawyahta, Minister for Revenue at Minhla, and an 'honorary poet to the court' in the last two reigns.

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

country to whom his name is not known, and with whom it is not held in reverence. Had it not been for him this work would never have appeared. 000

The chapters xviii. to xx., and xxiii. to xxvii. in the first volume, and chapters v., viii., x. to xiv., xvii., xxiii., and xxiv. in the second, have already appeared, mostly in a shorter form, in the columns of the *St. James's Gazette.*

June 1882.

With the exception of a few verbal alterations, rendered necessary by the annexation of Upper Burma, this second edition in no way differs from that which preceded it.

November 1895.

This third edition has been more thoroughly revised, in view of the changes during the twenty-seven years since it was written. The system of transliteration adopted by the Royal Geographical Society has been substituted for phoneticism. 126

CAMP WANKAN,
SOUTHERN SHAN STATES,
April 26, 1909.

IT: Orr E-5 (1950-1951) 1951 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

Introduction

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An attempt is made to present quantitatively and qualitatively the items used in, and activities of everyday life in the home village as contrasted with the refugee camp. It is hoped this dynamic situation will reveal some of the basic facts of Burmese culture as they pertain to an average family. The bulk of the data was collected under my direction by Ko Sein Tu, Tutor of the Psychology Department, University of Rangoon, from August 1950 to May 1951. Ko Mya Tu, medical student at the University, helped in collecting the health data. Ma Khin Mamy, Assistant in Anthropology at the University, collected some of the more personal data from the ladies of the family. Professor Mohinda Nath, Head of the Department of Biology, University of Rangoon, kindly arranged for the scientific identification of the food items. Part of the data was collectedby the use of a tape recorder portions of which are reproduced verbatim in this report. Miss Mary Watson, Head Stenographer of the Community Project, gave her valuable help in proof reading and typing the stencils for this report. 121 114 126● 128

A setting for the better understanding of the facts of the family is given in sections on general Burmese Concepts which follow the family data. This was provided by Ko Maung Than, student at the University, who worked as my assistant from August through November 1951. 128

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The rise of the *Nibhatkhin* was the result of the rise of the vernacular literature, for then learning had reached the people. But we do not quite know at what time the *Nibhatkhin* first came into being. According to tradition, the custom of holding religious processions and pageants had existed long before 1752, about which time the interlude and the *Hawsa* (a recitation of a story in verse) came into being, but how long before nobody can tell. However, as it must have taken some time for the vernacular literature to take root, I adopt tentatively 1531 to 1752 as the period of the *Nibhatkhin*. 175 536* 538

For the story of the development of the *Nibhatkhin*, I am dependent on tradition alone. The tradition of its development from the pageant is quite logical. Moreover, it is general and not confined to a particular district. I have discussed it with various Burmese scholars and I have made inquiries in far-away villages, and always I find the same tradition. In some out-of-the-way villages, which the influences that affected the drama at the capital had failed to reach, the development of the *Nibhatkhin* from the pageant was within living memory. Until recently, in such villages, one could even see the *Nibhatkhin* in its various stages of development. One village would be presenting a procession, another a pageant, a third would be staging a fully developed *Nibhatkhin*; in all the villages, their particular practice had been the custom for many years, further development having been checked by the introduction of the drama in its more mature stages by touring troupes of professional actors, and it had continued to exist side by side with the performances of strolling players, just as some miracle plays continued to be presented in certain places in England during the heyday of the Elizabethan 173 178 536* [369] 127

Under Bayinnaung (1551–81) the whole of Indo-China, the outlying provinces of China, and Manipur owed allegiance to the Burmese king. After his death, the Empire decayed until the ruler of Pegu, who had become independent, defeated the Burmese, and turned Burma into a Talaing Empire in 1752. The Empire was short-lived, for in the same year Alaungpaya rebelled, founded the last Burmese dynasty, and 'Burmanized' the Talaings by force. He and his successors turned Burma into one united kingdom, which with the Shan States, Siam, Manipur, and Assam, formed the Burmese Empire. The period 1752–1819 was the Age of Triumph, a fuller account of which is given in chap. ii. 175

The Burmese lost Assam, Manipur, and the native provinces of Arakan and Tenasserim to the British in 1824. The rest of Lower Burma fell into British hands in 1852. On 1 January 1886 the whole country was proclaimed a province of the Indian Empire.

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173 drama. In 1916 I saw a *Nibhatkhin* at the obscure town of Pauk.
178 For this period, I am greatly indebted to the notes made by my
536* father. They are the results of inquiries and researches spread over
127 a period of forty or fifty years. I realize that to many European scholars the section on the *Nibhatkhin* must appear conjectural in its dependence on tradition. My plea is that at present there is nothing else to depend on.[1]

175 With regard to the interlude, I am on surer ground. Again I
536* depend much on tradition, but it is now tradition supported by
[791] evidence. Besides the general and common tradition, there is the tradition of the spirit mediums and actors, and, as I shall explain, the
127 tradition of my own family.
647

Professional tradition of the mediums and actors is more reliable
[791] than common tradition because the two professions, especially the former, are closed fraternities, and as written records were never in use, they handed down the facts regarding the nature and history of their callings by word of mouth. To them oral tradition was as strong as written records. Moreover, their oral tradition can be checked by the stage conventions which exist at the present day. The various stage conventions are considered in Chapter VII.

The tradition in my family[2] begins from about the year 1800. About that time, an officer[3] in the victorious army of King Bodawpaya

[114] [1] Even Harvey, who wrote his *History of Burma* at Exeter College, Oxford, often accepts oral tradition supported by no other evidence as substantially correct (*History of Burma*, pp. 33, 41, 211, 252, 267, 299). In two instances, pp. 33 and 41, the tradition cited dates back to the eleventh century A.D.

[2] My father is U Pein, District Magistrate, Burma Commission, now retired. In Burma, historical researches and inquiries are often made by administrative officials, as their duties carry them all over the country and to the remotest villages. Messrs Harvey, Stewart, Furnivall—great names in the Burma Research Society—are all officials belonging to the Burma Commission.

[3] He was Maha Minhla Mindin Raza.

I have to cite in this section the full names and official positions of some members of my family because:

[551] 1. As the Burmese use no surnames, my name alone would not convey anything regarding their identity.

2. The service record of the family may perhaps be construed as evidence in favour of the reliability of its tradition. G. E. Harvey, op. cit., p. 310 where he rejects Fuhrer's statement regarding an inscription because the 'precious slab has never been produced, and in view of Fuhrer's service record its production is essential.'

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was appointed viceroy of the Seven Hill Districts of Mindon, situated 647
between Arakan and the river Irrawaddy. It was during the Age of 175
Triumph, the period when the native interlude and the Siamese- 536*
influenced court drama were being fused. At the miniature court of 127●
the viceroy were presented interludes and court plays, and *Hawsas* [177]
were publicly recited. In his palace,[1] a special apartment was built for [635]
the regular performance of plays and interludes, a special troupe of actors was taken under his patronage, and more famous troupes were often invited from the capital. In 1824 the unfortunate viceroy failed to stem the advance of the British forces, and he was executed and his palace burnt by royal order. From 1825 to 1852, the date of the second Anglo-Burmese war, Mindon was administered directly from the capital, and times were difficult; therefore dramatic performances at Mindon were few and far between. Though the son of the late viceroy was living, he wisely chose to leave the court, the administration of justice and politics alone, and as a result, he had neither the influence nor the wealth to patronize the drama. Therefore, as far as the drama was concerned, a gap resulted in the tradition of the family. In 1852 the British annexed the whole of Lower Burma, and Mindon passed into British hands. The viceroy's grandson was appointed [635]
chief administrative officer. This officer, my great-grandfather, took his office to be exactly similar in rank to that of his grand-sire, and though the British Government did not know of it—or the authorities at Rangoon did not care—he restored in effect the court of his grandfather, and dramatic performances were revived.[2] To him I am indebted for preserving much of the custom and tradition of the executed ancestor. To his revival of official performances of plays and interludes, I owe my information gathered from members of my family and the townspeople of Mindon. While the court [101]
poet, U Pon Nya, was further developing the drama, continuing the work of U Kyin U at the Burmese capital of Mandalay, in the out-of-the-way town of Mindon the interludes were still being performed. But it must not be supposed that Mindon was the only place where the interlude lived on. It survived in many places alongside the plays of the two great dramatists. But only from Mindon have I been able to obtain first-hand information and

[1] Though it was termed the 'palace', it was by no means a stately mansion [635]
or an imposing castle. Except for its gilded spires, emblems of the king's authority, it was just a big house of timber and bamboo with thatched roofs.

[2] He was U Sauk, Extra Assistant Commissioner.

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647 accounts regarding it. Apart from the notes gathered by my father, I
175 base my information on the accounts given to me orally by my grand-
536* mother and grand-aunts who actually saw the interludes performed.

127 In support of the oral tradition regarding the nature of the
175 interlude, there are some echoes of it in the plays of U Kyin U. He
536* developed the interlude into a proper play, but the change was not a sudden one, and in his plays we find echoes of the interlude in its various stages. His plays are considered in detail in another chapter. There are also contemporary references to the interlude. Even from an English pen we have an account. Colonel Yule in 1855 saw an entertainment midway between the interlude and the developed plays of U Kyin U.[1]

644 The period of the court plays offers an easier task for research.
536* The *Rama* play from Siam is preserved, with adaptations, it is true,
[177] but with notes on the original when a change was made in the pre-
538 served version.[2] The other Siamese play of *Eenaung* has come down to us. The poem *Rama-yagan* which Burmanized the *Rama* story has also come down. Accounts of the performances of the court plays and the recitation of the poem at court are many and well known. From the time when they were first composed down to the present day, the works of these court poets and dramatists have been studied and read. The influence of these works on the interlude is suggested, not only by the 'internal evidence' in U Kyin U's plays, but also by the editorial prefaces to the works in their various editions.

[114] Though only three plays of U Kyin U exist at the present day as far as is known, the period is quite easy of research, because references and notes regarding him occur in various records of the court and the nobility, and because the Burma Research Society has published new editions of two of his plays; and though the prefaces to them are short and no attempt is made to make a complete study, suggestions for further study and research are made by the editors.

175 The period of U Pon Nya offers the easiest task, as compared with
536* other periods, so far as research is concerned. All his plays are

[1] H. Yule, *A Narrative of the Mission sent by the Governor-General of India to the Court of Ava in 1855*. His description of the dramatic entertainment he saw is considered again in the next chapter in connexion with Sir William Ridgeway's theory of the development of the Burmese drama.

[2] There is a copy of the *Rama* play in the British Museum. It is wrongly catalogued as by U Ku, who was only the editor. All these plays and the poem have been printed again and again, and are easily obtainable in Burma.

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
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preserved in their entirety except the *Waythandaya*, and even that is extant with only two scenes missing, while respecting the lost scenes themselves some accounts are preserved. His works have been also studied widely and editorial prefaces to his works offer adequate accounts of his life and writings. Moreover, many courtiers of U Pon Nya's time are still living, and from them first-hand accounts have been obtained by scholars of the present day. After all, U Pon Nya's period is very recent.[1]

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For the decadent period, 1878 to 1886, I was dependent on oral accounts of the plays until I went to England. Printing came into general use in Burma during this period and very great numbers of plays were printed. From the Government register of published books we learn that as many as three or four editions of 5,000 copies each of the more famous plays of the period were sold out a few weeks after publication. Yet search as I might, I could not find any copies of the plays in Burma. I discovered later that every one of the more famous plays, with about a hundred less-known plays of the period, are happily preserved in the British Museum. Incidentally, I found that the oral accounts regarding them were correct.

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127 fire, damp, or during a war, it is natural that original documents and
213 records should not exist in great number. As this is the first attempt
536 to study Burmese drama as a whole and from a modern critical standpoint, I am on virgin soil. My hope is that better scholars will consider critically the results which I have reached in necessary dependence upon tradition, and that when all has been reconsidered and much has been rejected, the residue may be accepted as a contribution to knowledge.

Introduction

This is a study of the falling standard of living of a Burmese family who were uprooted by the insurrection from their village home of Pathwe in 1949 and transplanted in a refugee camp in Rangoon. The family consisted of U Myaing - a fisherman aged 47; his wife Ma Aye Myaing, age 33, Daw Aw Zar, his mother, age 72, and four daughters - Ma Tin Shwe, age 14, Ma Khin Myein, age 11, Ma Khni Saw, age 7, and Ma Win Tin, age 5.(1951). 121 [664] [722] [592]

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128 The material is presented here as a collection of field notes from which certain preliminary observations and conclusions may be drawn. A final intensive analysis with the advantages of comparative data must await adequate reference facilities not available at the present time. The notes form part of a collection of Anthropological data on Burmese culture and society being amassed by the Burma Community Research Project under the sponsorship of the Union of Burma Government Mass Education Council.

128 Notes on Presentation:

1. Burmese words are capitilised.

2. The spelling of the Burmese words is not truly "phonetical" (which would necessitate the use of an international phonetic alphabet) but is the way the Burmese ordinarily convert their sounds into English spelling. The Burmese phonetic system and true sounds of many of the words given here may be had in William S. Cornyn "Spoken Burmese" 1943-46 (Holt).

3. Wherever meaningful the actual translatick of words follow in parenthesis.

4. Space and time measurements and costs are usually given as recorded from the informant in Burmese terms. The glossary gives the western equivalents.

[436] 5. The units of money used are rupees (21 American cents) and annas (1/16th of the rupee) written as in this example: Rs. (rupees) 10/8 with the diagnal line separating the rupees from the annas. When no annas - a dash (-) is used.

basket PYIDAUNG. Both cost a rupee. One does not seem to be preferred to the other except as getting them allows a bargain to be made. The form is that of a pear shaped body with a square base, measuring about 8 by 8 inches. The basket is constructed in the wicker technique with small, whole reeds. Pathwe: 2. Camp: 1. 415 252 [285]

CHIN DAUNG (storage basket): The form of this basket is a larger version of the measurers. It has, however, an open weave giving a checkered effect to the sides and bottom. It is used to store objects including food. At Pathwe this basket was used in working the INS. The fish were scooped up, and later washed in them. The two used in camp were brought from Pathwe where they cost Rs. 1/4- Camp: 1, Pathwe: 15 for washing fish. 251 415 [435]

Winnowing trays: Shallow baskets about 2½ feet in diameter and 2 inches high were used as shifting and storage trays. The SAGAW has a rounded base; whole the SAGAR has a flat base with fiber walls. Both are made of flat, wide-meshed reeds. The trays used in camp came from Pathwe where they cost Rs. 1/4 each. Pathwe: 1. 243 415

THE CHIN (Marketing basket): This basket is in the general shape of a cylinder, 1½ feet wide and 8 inches high, with open, flat reed sides and a semi-circular handle across the top. It is used to carry objects from market and to store them in the house. Pathwe: 2, Camp: 1. 415

U Myaing expresses the contrast between the camp equipment and that of Pathwe: "These objects in camp are barely sufficient. We have to live as we are. In our own district we had sufficient to nail in boxes. The extra ones were nailed in boxes and only enough were taken out for the seven people who ect. When visitors come, good ones are brought out. Plates for curry, plates for eating rice. There were various kinds." 415 511 178

Food Items

Ma Aye Myaing gave as complete a set of data on the food consumption of her family as she could. The following data is inclusive for the family of seven, both in Pantanaw and the refugee camp. Ma Aye Myaing decides what dishes to cook for each meal of the day, and she does this without any consultation with U Myaing. She does not ask him what he would like for each meal, although sometimes when he expresses a desire for a certain dish she sees to it that it is prepared. She has a free hand in deciding what to cook for each meal in the day. Definitions of the weights and measures used follow in a glossary. The data is organized under the headings of (1) Main dishes and raw foods, (2) supplementary dishes and TO-SAYA (vegetables eaten with SHAPI), and (3) trifles. 262 [593] [128]

were dropped in favour of cheaper Rangoon products. The new items added to the diet in camp were either similar to those of Pathma or known before. No real innovations were attempted with success.

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SOCIAL AND CEREMONIAL ACTIVITIES

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An attempt will be made under this heading to present some of the major routine activities carried out by U Myaing's family in every day life. Because of the complex nature of the socio-ceremonial activities it will be possible only to outline the more important of these activities. They may be grouped under the headings of (1) activities concerning the family relations, (2) activities relating the family to their community and state and (3) activities relating the family to the supernatural. Wherever possible the Pathma situation will be compared to that of the refugee camp.

Family Relations

Marriage

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U Myaing's account of the initial step in the formation of a family is of some interest. When a couple in love have money, they might marry with a proper ceremony; when they do not, they have to elope. U Myaing eloped with his wife. Some people take this course because the parents are not agreeable to the match. Others feel that it takes too much trouble and time to get married with proper ceremony. Others again elope because they do not like the match made for them by parents. U Myaing and Ma Aye Myaing gave as reason the point that it took too long and too much trouble to get properly married. Also at that time they could not afford to spend a great deal of money.

Some time after elopement there are attempts either on the part of the parents or the elders of the village to effect a reconciliation between the parties concerned. The couple does not usually take the initiative in these proceedings "because the young man is in the position of one who has stolen something from the girl's parents" and consequently has to lie low. The reconciliation takes place through the elders of the village, who approach the parents and request them to take back the young couple. Some couples stay away [illegible] days, some a month, and some a year before rejoining the parent[illegible] fold. The reconciliation itself is somewhat similar to a wedding ceremony, and

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

preserved in their entirety except the *Waythandaya*, and even that is extant with only two scenes missing, while respecting the lost scenes themselves some accounts are preserved. His works have been also studied widely and editorial prefaces to his works offer adequate accounts of his life and writings. Moreover, many courtiers of U Pon Nya's time are still living, and from them first-hand accounts have been obtained by scholars of the present day. After all, U Pon Nya's period is very recent.[1]

For the decadent period, 1878 to 1886, I was dependent on oral accounts of the plays until I went to England. Printing came into general use in Burma during this period and very great numbers of plays were printed. From the Government register of published books we learn that as many as three or four editions of 5,000 copies each of the more famous plays of the period were sold out a few weeks after publication. Yet search as I might, I could not find any copies of the plays in Burma. I discovered later that every one of the more famous plays, with about a hundred less-known plays of the period, are happily preserved in the British Museum. Incidentally, I found that the oral accounts regarding them were correct.

References to historical events and to non-dramatic works made in the thesis are taken from standard works.

As regards my dependence on oral tradition, there is this to be said. The oral accounts of a less civilized nation may be more imaginative than accurate, but with the Burmese everything points to the reliability of the tradition. After all, it goes back to only about two hundred years, and the intervening period is not so long as to undermine human memory. Moreover, as I have said, the truth of the tradition can be ascertained from other sources. It should be remembered that in a country where printing was not in general use until about 1860, and records and literary works were written on palm-leaf and parchment, both of which are very liable to destruction by

[1] My chief informants for the period are:

1. Myothawundauk-kadaw, wife of the Myothawundauk, who distinguished himself in the defence of the palace during the Myingun Rebellion mentioned in the chapter on U Pon Nya. She was a lady-in-waiting at court during the last two reigns.

2. My mother's elder brother. My maternal grandfather was Naymyo Thiri Kyawhtin Nawyahta, Minister for Revenue at Minhla, and an 'honorary poet to the court' in the last two reigns.

29: Slater M-4 (no date) 1951 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

In the previous chapters we have tried to discern what Nibbāna means to the Burmese. We now begin to consider its wider significance. We have seen Nibbāna as a consummating, ultimate term in a religion which shapes Burmese life and culture. Yet it is a term which vexes Burmese understanding, a term struggling for expression in a mingling of apparently conflicting affirmations and negations. But it is this very struggle for expression which gives Nibbāna its significance for the study of religion in general. Rightly understood, the problem of Nibbāna is no isolated problem. Its solution concerns the nature of religious expression everywhere. Religion is primarily an affirmation. Why, then, after bold announcement, not only in Buddhism but in other religions too, must the ultimate affirmation be shrouded in mystifying negation? What is the fundamental reference of this negation? To these and similar questions our further study will lead. 775* 779*

It is a study which moves now towards a comparative survey. We shall begin with a reference to the general context of Hīnayāna (Southern) Buddhism. To complete our account of Buddhism, this will be followed by a reference to the Mahāyāna (Northern) context in which Nibbāna as a religious goal is merged with other terms, a development which gives us a stepping stone to the comparative survey of Hindu, Christian and kindred traditions where Nibbāna is no longer the goal. [128]

What we must emphasise at the outset is that the comparison is not between concepts. Neither here, nor in our story of the monk, for example, is it suggested that the *idea* of Nibbāna corresponds to the idea of God or to the idea of Brahman. Our concern throughout is with terms presented by a religious situation, not with philosophical concepts, though the impact of philosophy upon this religious situation cannot, of course, be denied. It is the nature of religious expression which is now our primary interest. All that we have said in the previous chapters concerning the fundamentally religious character of Burmese Buddhism points to this definition of the grounds for comparison.

We turn, then, to a further consideration of the hope of Nibbāna, as it is expressed in the context of Hīnayāna Buddhism, first in the affirmative terms of analogy, secondly in terms of negation.

2. *The Buddhist Affirmation*

As the Goal of religious and moral effort, Nibbāna is clearly an affirmation. Like all religious affirmations, it is the announcement of truth believed to be revealed or discovered. The proclamation of Nibbāna is joined with the proclamation of the Buddha's enlightenment. The Buddha discerned both the Way and the End of the Way.

HOME

Home in Pathwe

Home is the village of Pathwe, Pantanaw Township, Maubin district, Lower Burma. It is located on one of the countless small streams of the Lower Irrawaddy estuary about ninety miles west of Rangoon. The country is a flat alluvium plain dissected by myriads of streams and canals. The monotony of marshy plains is relieved by occasional clumps of trees and tall reeds which flank the streams. The land is a result of depositions of silts from upstream by the Irrawaddy river and its tributaries - a process which is going on today as Lower Burma extends into the bays of Bengal and Martaban. When asked how long his family had lived in the village of Pathwe, U Myaing replied : 131 [101]

"My parents were born here and their parents before them and their's before them - as far back as we can remember." [591]

The village of Pathwe occupies the adjacent banks of three streams at the point where they join.

The larger town of Pantanaw is located some three miles upstream. The section U Myaing lives in is called YWA-GYI-BET (Big-village-side) and is the main residential area of Pathwe. Directly across the stream, which is about 200 feet wide at this point, are YWA-LAY-BET (small-village-side) and PAYA-GYI-DAUNT (Big-pagoda-corner). 361

YWA-GYI-BET consists of four rows of houses placed 200 feet apartparallel to the main branch of the stream. The rows consist of about fifty houses each and are separated by brick or earth roads. The brick road is raised about three feet to form a passageway in time of floods. Communal lavatories flank both sides of the village rows and the ones on the side of the river have been located about 60 or 70 feet back from the edge of the river "in order not to pollute the water." The lavatories in the village differ from one another, in that some of them are in the house itself and others are outside by a small passageway connected to the house. The houses with lavatories in them depend on the water to carry away the droppings in the rainy season. [363] 514 364 [312]

21:• Htin Aung E-5• (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

INTRODUCTION

1. The Rise of a Vernacular Literature in Burma

Burma is a small country lying between the two great countries of India and China, and at a first glance it may perhaps be thought that Burmese civilization has little of originality or individuality, and that it is only a minor branch of the Indian and Chinese civilizations. That is not the case. The peninsula of Indo-China shades into India and China along its borders, but Burma proper, where Burmese is spoken,[1] lies away from these borders, and therefore preserves special characteristics of her own. Surrounded on three sides by highlands and on the fourth by the sea, Burma has always remained insular, more insular even than England. The barriers, however, were not impassable, and there were routes from India and China along which foreign influences came, but in such a restricted way that Burma could absorb them without losing her individuality. Even now, when with better sea communications foreign influences come in more extensively, the power of absorption possessed by Burma and the Burmese still leave them their individuality, and they are still a nation with a civilization of their own. 101 131

According to early chronicles which most English scholars, except Mr G. E. Harvey, have accepted as quite reliable, the kingdom of Prome in Lower Burma was flourishing as a civilized State by about the fifth century before Christ. A few centuries earlier the first kingdom, named Tagaung, in Upper Burma, is said to have been founded by a king who came overland from India. He found the natives quite civilized and willing to be more so. That kingdom was destroyed, but was revived and restored by another king from India during the lifetime of the Buddha. It, too, was destroyed and the kingdom of Prome was later founded by a prince of Tagaung. Prome is generally believed to have dominated the regions around 175

[1] Burma proper is the valley of the Irrawaddy. On the west of it are the Chins and allied tribes, on the north Kachins, and on the east the Shans. They were under the Burmese kings and are now under the Government of Burma. Being backward races, except the Shans, they have no writing. [101]

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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3. SUNSET ON THE COAST.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY

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4. ESTUARY OF THE SALWEEN.

BURMA remained in isolation throughout the longest period of her history. One result of this was that her type grew more and more distinct. The isolation of Burma was due to her geographical position, not to the prejudice which animates other Mongolian states. Burma is shut away in a coign of the earth between mountain wastes and the ocean. The kindred nations settled within the same natural confines, one after another came under the sway of Burma. They fought among themselves and they traded among themselves; the wars and the commerce of the greater world beyond affected them little. No base of attack was near enough to Burma for the ancient conditions of warfare. On the west the seas were too wide for the transport of armies; on the east serried ranges of hills blocked the efforts of China to push her way to the coast. Burma possessed no staples of trade to encourage

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 API Burma
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●131 Burma possessed no staples of trade to encourage

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2 LANDING-STAGE IN THE TIDAL REGION

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enterprise of the peaceable sort. Left entirely to her own resources, she developed her character in independence. It preserves a large measure of its original freshness and charm.

Detached though Burma lay from the contact of other civilisation, the seed-corn of a spiritual influence was brought to her shore from afar, and took root and spread until it pervaded her whole life. The one extraneous influence under which she fell proved of a paramount order. But the inspiration of Buddhism was broadly human, not racial. Every people might take its message to heart in their own individual way. The restraints it enjoined and the ideals it held up became the occasions for Burma to unfold her own inmost nature. The abounding treasury of Buddhist legend furnished the subjects to exercise her poetic fancy. In the fifth century, A.D., long after Buddhism had declined at its source in India, and when it only prevailed in Ceylon, its real progress began among the people who were to give it an enduring home. Buddhism is popularly credited with five hundred millions of adherents. But the seven millions of Burma and perhaps a twentieth of that number in Ceylon, together with the half million Jains of India, are the practical Buddhists of the world. With the rest the profession has sunk to an empty name, as in China and Japan, or it is lax, as in Siam, or it is utterly transformed, as in Tibet.

101 The phrase *Further India* gives point to a wide misconception. The surprise of so [172] many persons on finding that the Burmans have no *caste*—to [564] take the commonest instance—betrays the notion that Burma is part of India

6 RUINS OF CITY GATE, PAGAN.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

APPENDIX D.

STATISTICAL.

AREA.

131 Burma Proper and Pegu (excluding Shan States, 61,000 sq. m.) square miles . . . . . 158,322 = 101,326,122 acres.
Area cropped, 1900 . . . . . 10,556,104 acres.

161 POPULATION IN 1901 (including Shan States, 1,228,460) . 9,221,181

Mean annual birth-rate per 1,000	37·34
" death " "	28·16

162 DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION IN 1891.

Burmans and Talaings { males, 3,030,797; females, 3,098,385 } (Increase since 1881, 22¼ per cent.)	6,129,182
Shans	206,794
Karéns	633,657
Chins	95,571
Chimpáws (Kachin ? more)	2,200
Chinese	37,407
Natives of India	432,699
Europeans (including 4000 troops)	12,491
Eurasians	6,978
Others	167,134
Total, census of 1891	7,722,053

FISCAL.

178 In 1796 the special impost of 33·3 tikals of fine silver per house took three years to collect, and produced the equivalent of about nine million rupees. The purchasing-power of money has
651 declined 50 to 60 per cent. since that time, apart from depreciation of silver.

In 1900 the gross revenue of Burma was 70,400,000 rupees, of which Pegu contributed
435 63 per cent. The expenditure was forty-three millions. Out of the surplus there was a balance of Rs. 24,700,000 of Imperial revenue over expenditure. The incidence of direct taxation (land and capitation taxes, which produce about one-half of the revenue) is four rupees per head of population; which, with an average of 5·5 inhabitants, comes to twenty-two rupees per house.

CRIMINAL, AVERAGES 1894-8.

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Convictions for offences against life (including attempted murder and culpable homicide, 40 per cent.)	244
" " hurt	2,691
" " rape	76
" " robbery	654
" " theft	8,681

1: Mi Mi Khaing I-5 (no date) 1946 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4
Mon

houses did likewise and the procession collected more girls as it passed each house on its way towards the zayats. Behind the girls, the young lads of the village followed with empty tins and buckets, to go and draw water with which to bathe the images of the Buddha, and then the bath-water for the old folk in the zayat. The procession always looked very gay, for the girls wore stout bright cotton prints instead of the usual white muslin jackets, so that the wet clinging clothes after a splashing would not make immodest figures of them. As this procession passed, not even the naughtiest urchin would dare to splash them as long as they headed in the direction of the monastery. Arrived at their destination, the young people served the meal to the elders, drew the water and washed the images, filled the jars with bathwater for their grandmothers, ate their own meal from the pooled remains of what they had brought, and then started uproarious fun. The young men had the advantage of their buckets, but the girls had the advantage of being able to use guile by affecting fear and helplessness until they could turn the buckets round on their pursuers. After this they went in search of the ngu branches, the equavalent, in Ye, of the *padauk* flowers which boys and girls in other parts of Burma were plucking. 796

The padauk is the *pterocarpus indica*, a tall tree growing in the mixed dry forests of Burma and giving a rich red wood which is much used in the making of bullock carts. It is also a beautiful flowering tree, whose bright yellow blossoms are always associated with the freshness of the New Year festivities, for it flowers at this time and its branches are cut down and dragged into houses with drops of water lighting up the golden 796 137 132 821

796 yellow flowers against the rich dark green leaves, either water from the
137 water throwers or the *tha-gyan mo*, the thingyan showers. Light showers
usually fall about this time although the monsoon is far off yet; they come
● 132 from a small low pressure area over the land although when we were
821 young it seemed to be part of what the true tha-gyan sa leaflets should promise, a foretaste of the coolness of the real monsoon, and a recognition of Tha-gya Min's presence. If the rain was late in falling, the villagers set to work to hurry it on. The rain spirits live in the stars but they sometimes come out to play with each other in the space of the firmament. Then rain falls on the earth. But at other times, when the sun is not in the right quarter, they stay indoors and the earth receives only the scorching heat of the sun. Men can then rouse the rain spirits to show more energy and come out, by the beating of tin cans and by exerting energy themselves in a tug-of-war. In Ye, the upper street and the lower street used to put up teams for this and tugging was carried on amidst betting and cheering and the beating of empty kerosene tins by women and children around.

796 The girls and youths from the monastery returned at about noon,
262 wet and happy and dragging the branches of *ngu* along. Throughout the day the children ran into the street to pour water on passers-by; bullock carts went by, decorated with ngu branches and holding music and water parties of young men and girls, the young men richly painted and dancing in the open carts; rival teams drew up and staged water-fights in the street or went to besiege houses where beautiful girls with a reputation for coldness or coyness were hiding. Throughout the day, also, dishes of sweetmeats arrived, for each house does the good act of making a comestible in large quantities for distribution. Ours was made on the second day and was a Moulmein speciality for which my mother had the best talent. This *tha-gyan hta-min*, thingyan rice, sounds insipid when described as boiled rice, eaten floating in cold water which has been made fragrant, to the accompaniment of green mango salad and saltfish shredded and fried crisp. To us, of course, it is delicious. The water has received an infusion of the aroma from an earthen pot which is turned upside down over the burning of tallow and fragrant woods. The rice is not the moist steamy rice of meal times but has been drained after cooking, on tray-sieves of cane, and the grains lie clear and separate and whole. The delight of eating thingyan rice in the hot weather is indescribable to foreigners, perhaps even to all non-Moulmein people, eating it in wide china bowls, with china spoons, alternating the concentration of sour and salt tastes of mango and saltfish with the coolness and cleanness of the rice and its water. We could eat this throughout the day; being thingyan rice it carried a blessedness which made us immune

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

CHAPTER VIII

DOMESTIC LIFE

THE Burman is the most calm and contented of mortals. He does not want to grow rich. When he does make a large sum of money, he spends it all on some pious work, and rejoices in the thought that this will meet with its reward in his next existence. If he never amasses enough to build any great public work, at any rate he subscribes what he can, and is generous in almsgiving. A bountiful soil will not let its children starve; and so the Burman jogs on through a cheerful existence, troubled by no anxious cares, and free from all the temptations of ambition. His daily round is simple enough. In the morning, after his bath, he loiters about, talking to the neighbours till breakfast time, or perhaps strolls out to the corner of his paddy field, and indulges in a contemplative smoke. After breakfast he probably dozes through the heat of the day, and when the shadows begin to get long, saunters about again. A semblance of regular labour appears when the paddy is being sown or the grain reaped, but even then no one is in the least inclined to disturb himself for the sake of rapid work. It is sufficient that you are always certain in Burma what kind of weather you are going to have. "Another hot day," or "another wet day," is quite as much a matter of course as the rising of the sun itself, and there is therefore no need to hurry operations in case of a change. The evenings are spent ordinarily at a pwè during the fine season, or in amicable converse over a cheroot at a friend's house in the rains. Variety comes occasionally in the shape of a jolting, hilarious journey to a distant pagoda feast, or a trip

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2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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These personal examples furnished by the teacher of neh'ban and the Law himself have only served to emphasise what is seen on the admission of every new member to the holy assembly. One of the articles with which, in addition to his dress and begging-bowl, every postulant must provide himself, is a strainer, without using which he must drink no water. The object is, of course, to prevent him from destroying life in the shape of the small animalcula to be found in water. Some zealous and scientific proselytiser endeavoured, by the use of microscopes, to persuade the people that this was of no avail, seeing that even in the strained water there was abundance of animal life; but a council decided that, provided the water had been filtered, if the ascetic could detect nothing living with his unaided eyes he was at liberty to drink the water without incurring blood-guiltiness. The attacks of science on Buddhism failed as completely as the efforts of most missionaries.

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The mingled pity and dislike with which professional hunters and fishermen, whose occupation implies the regular taking of life, are viewed by Buddhists, is well known, and makes itself evident in the fact that the villains in most plays are hunters. Fishermen are perhaps not so much decried—possibly on account of the plea brought forward on their behalf, that the fish die of themselves, being taken out of the water, and not through any direct action of their captors. It is in connection with fish, however, that one of the most curious national works of merit takes place annually—furnishing, like all Burmese festivals, occasion for much fun and frolic.

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The violence of the rain during the five or six months of the south-west monsoon floods the country. Not only do the rivers, which in many places rise regularly as much as thirty or forty feet above their hot-weather level—not only do they overflow their banks, and make wide seas of the neighbouring flat lands, but great lakes spring up everywhere. These are gradually stocked with fish of all kinds, most of which, by the sudden fall of the water, are cut off from all chance of retreat to the large rivers, where alone there is safety. Steadily the water goes down, the hot sun sucks up the pools, till at last the end seems to be come. The river

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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is far away, and there will be no rain for months. Another day or two will suffice to bake and split into long fissures the bottom of the puddle, wherein are yet hundreds of animate things, from the whiskered mud-fish to the lordly hilsa, the salmon of India. Then the seekers after merit come out, bearing with them big chatties, huge earthenware jars, the size of some of which makes the story of *Ali Baba and the Forty Thieves* seem very much more credible. Girls and boys, old men and old women, go tramping about in the soft slush, capturing the fish and dropping them into the jars of water. Great laughter there is over the wild plunges and flounderings of the boys, the little screams and "a-mè lele, a-mè le-taw" of the girls as they step upon a fish, which whizzes away with a suddenness that is apt to disturb the equilibrium, or slip with one leg slowly but irremediably into a hole—perhaps a last year's buffalo-wallow—out of which they are only extricated after much teasing and tickling by the boys. Then there is the stalking and driving of a great nga-gyi into a corner, whence with a flop and a muddy dash he escapes into the middle again, amidst a chorus of the inevitable amè! ("mother") which springs to a Burman's lips on all possible and unexpected occasions. There is the caution to be observed in seizing the stinging mud-fish, the gingerliness with which, when he is caught, the waving whiskers are avoided; especially the control over yourself to be maintained if he does sting you, lest you should spoil all your chance of merit in a moment of irritation, by doing him an injury. Sometimes the fish are caught in nets; but this reckless wastefulness in the matter of combining merit with merriment is not very favourably viewed by the neighbourhood.

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At last the fish are all caught and crowded together in the sin-o—the water-jars. There is, perhaps, a considerable pause before they are liberated. The nga-hlut pwè usually occurs a little after the carnival of the water feast, when everybody is doused with water; and if the fish have been rescued from their danger some time before that, they have to wait in their uncomfortable quarters all the longer. The *fête* seems to be celebrated with more enthusiasm in Maulmein than in any other large town in Lower Burma

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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amusement to both native and English spectators. The fun goes on all the way with jokes at the expense both of the performers and the lookers-on, and shouts and roars of laughter at every new buffoonery. At last they reach the spot on the river-bank selected for freeing the fish, and after a few pious formulæ have been recited, the contents of the jars are capsized into the water. Many of the fish are already dead, and not a few are so sickly that there is little chance of their escaping being eaten by cannibal brethren; but this does not disturb the equanimity of any one. A great kaunghmu has been done, much merit has been gained, and there has been great fun over it. The motley procession wends its way back again, and everybody goes at nightfall to see the great kyi-gyin pwè given by some public-spirited and drama-loving quarter or street in the town.

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

about the rains. In Rangoon the annual average rainfall is a hundred inches, but in Maulmein, Akyab, and other towns considerably over twice that amount is registered. In Rangoon, on 3rd November 1879, between one o'clock in the morning and two in the afternoon eleven inches fell. Happily this sort of thing is not usual.

In Mandalay, time was calculated by means of a water-clock, which stood in the bo-ho. the clock-tower by the eastern gate, where were also the gong and drum on which the watches were sounded by one, two, three, or four alternate blows. The water-clock is a simple enough affair. It consists of nothing more than a large vessel filled with water, in which cups are placed, perforated so that an hour—a Burmese nayi—elapses before they sink to the bottom. It is only at the vernal and autumnal equinoxes that the hours of the day and night are equal. At other times they vary, and the Burmans make a great fuss over their complicated calculations. In July the days are longest with thirty-six hours, the night only lasting twenty-four, while these figures are exactly reversed in January. Any inaccuracy in Burmese computations arises from the loss of the fourth book of Bedin (the Indian Vedas), which was destroyed in the bonfire made by the religious of all fishing-nets, snares, weapons of war, and such writings as are denounced in the sacred books. It was by pecking at the ashes of this volume that the domestic fowls of Burma acquired that astronomical lore which induces them to crow all together at midnight (tha'gaung kyet).

It is only, however, in the capital that the water-clock is found, and in the rest of the country, and especially in all the smaller villages and towns, time is only roughly indicated by a reference to the position of the sun or the moon, or to certain daily occurrences taking place at fixed times, as "in the morning when the sun was a span above the horizon"; or "when the sun was as high as a toddy-palm"; "before the sky was light"; "when the light gets strength" about half-past five; "the earliest cock-crowing time"; "when the monks go a-begging," that is to say, six or seven in the morning, according to the custom of the local monastery; "monks' returning time," usually about eight, but varying,

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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Besides the ordinary names given above for the twelve months, the soothsayers, for the sake of the increased learning it seems to give them, are accustomed to refer to the months by the names of the twelve signs of the zodiac called Yathi.

Thus Tagu is known as Meittha, the ram.

„	Kasôn	„	Pyeittha, the bull.
„	Nayôn	„	Medôn, the union of the procreating powers of the male and female.
„	Waso	„	Karakat, the crab.
„	Wagaung	„	Thein, the lion.
„	Tawthalin	„	Kan, the virgin.
„	Thadingyut	„	Tu, the scales.
„	Tasaungmôn	„	Pyeitsa, the scorpion.
„	Na'daw	„	Nu, the bow.
„	Pyatho	„	Makāya, the sea monster.
„	Tabodwè	„	Kôn, the water-pot.
„	Tabaung	„	Mein, the fish.

There are reckoned to be three seasons, the cold, the hot, and the wet.

The cold season, saung-dwin, heman, or hemanta utu, lasts from the first of the waning of Tasaungmôn to the first of the waning of Tabaung, from the end of November to the beginning of March.

The hot season, nwe, geman, or gemanta utu, lasts from the first of the waning of Tabaung to the first of the waning of Waso, from the beginning of March to the beginning of July.

The wet season, mo, wathan, or wathanta utu, lasts from the first of the waning of Waso to the first of the waning of Tasaungmôn, from the beginning of July to the end of November.

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This is a very hard and fast division, but it is fairly accurate. The cold weather is, however, only perceptible in the early morning. Fifty degrees is about the lowest known in Rangoon, but it is colder in other stations. Still you have to journey beyond Bhamaw in the north before you come to the region of duck frosts. There is no mistake

14: Brant E-5 (1949-50) 1954 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

I

THE VILLAGE SETTING AND THE PEOPLE

Tadagale is a suburban community of Lower Burma, about four and one half miles north of the city center of Rangoon, chief port and national capital of the Union of Burma. To reach the village most readily one travels by automobile northward from the city along Prome Road, a main highway, to the junction with Kokine Road, beyond the city limit, on to which one turns eastward. After a quarter mile or so, one again goes northward on to a bumpy, poorly surfaced road which soon becomes dirt and terminates abruptly, after another quarter mile, at a small bridge. Tadagale means 'small bridge,' and it is after this bridge that the village is named. A few steps walk over the bridge brings one almost to the center of Tadagale. (See map on following page.) 101 361

Tadagale is more or less a 'line' type village, about 3000 yards in length. The domestic dwelling area is constituted by houses and granaries strung along the sides of a main dirt path which is just wide enough for a single bullock cart — or a jeep — to pass without scraping the bushes and trees. This area is heavily shaded from the intense tropical sun by many trees that grow in the household compounds and along the path; palms and banyans are the most prominent types. The houses are rectangular in shape, with low, slanting roofs, and platform-like porches in front. Among the more prosperous families of the village it is not unusual to find houses of plank construction, with roofs of corrugated iron. More frequently, houses are made of bamboo matted sides and palm thatched roofs. Every two or three houses share a well, which is simply an unlined and uncovered hole of perhaps ten to twelve feet in depth. In almost every compound there is a vegetable garden, from which the family supplies itself and realizes some cash income by the sale of any surplus. 361 342

To the east of Tadagale's dwelling area, perhaps five hundred yards distant and running parallel to it, is a railroad line, which begins in Rangoon and terminates at Mingaladon, about five miles north of Tadagale. A small railroad station is located at the eastern terminus of the path on which one finds oneself immediately after crossing the bridge that leads into the village. The villagers do not use the railroad nearly so much as they use buses, which run from Tadagale to Rangoon frequently. 101 496 494

Beyond the railroad line, still farther east, lie the paddy fields, extending out to the winding Pazundaung Creek. This creek begins at the southeastern tip of Rangoon, where the Rangoon and Pegu rivers join, and flows in a twisting course northward to separate Rangoon and the heavily populated area immediately north of the city from the sparsely settled area to the east. 361 133

Tadagale's climate is that of the tropical monsoon belt, with three well-defined seasons. From the end of October to about the end of February is the Dry Season, characterized by the absence of rain, with cool mornings and evenings. The daily maximum temperature is in the 80's and the humidity is moderate. English-speaking Burmese call this season winter; at night it is cool enough to sleep under one light blanket. The Hot Season commences at the beginning of March and lasts until June. Temperatures rise to daily maxima in the middle to high 90's, the earth is parched and cracked, and the loose dirt on the village paths, caught by occasional breezes, forms choking 132

clouds of dust. The Rainy Season begins sometime late in May or early in June and lasts until October. Almost all of Tadagale's 90 to 100 inches of annual rainfall comes during this period. It rains every day, in periodic downpours which often start so suddenly that the newcomer to the area is caught unaware on a good many occasions. Although temperatures drop during the Rainy Season to daily maxima in the low 80's, the discomfort, for the average denizen of the temperate zone, is greater than in the Hot Season because of the extremely high humidity and the small difference between daily maximum and minimum temperatures. 132

The Burmese inhabitants of the community, who are 90% of the population, are medium brown in skin color, tend to be broad-nosed, have straight black hair, and are of medium stature. 142

All of the men, with the exception of a few of the old ones, wear their hair in western style, cut short and parted on one side. The women, however, adhere to the traditional Burmese hair styles, without exception. Little girls wear their hair in a top-knot on the middle of the head, with a circular part around the temples and crown, short bangs hanging down in front. Adult women comb their hair, liberally oiled, back to form a coiled knot at the nape of the neck. Adherence by the women to traditional hair styles and mode of dress is strikingly in contrast with the situation in neighboring Thailand, where permanent waves and short skirts may be seen among peasant women many miles outside the capital. 302 177

Burmese dress is universal in the village. It consists of the longyi, a circular, single-seamed skirt reaching to the ankles, and a jacket. The longyi is worn by both sexes. The woman's longyi differs from the man's in that it has a black waistband sewn to the upper edge. It is folded over and tucked in at the waist. The man's longyi is drawn tight about the waist and knotted in front to hold it in place. Women's jackets (the aingyi) are not quite so loose-fitting as men's, and for dress occasions they are made of fine muslin, or, if it can be afforded, sheer nylon, climate notwithstanding. Men's jackets are of a heavier material, and are never worn at the workaday tasks of everyday life in the village; the men generally go unclad from the waist up. For ordinary wear both sexes use wooden clog-like shoes, held to the foot by a single band of rubber over the in-step. For dress occasions, single-thonged leather sandals are worn. 291

About nine hundred people live in Tadagale. Census data collected at first-hand do not yield exact information because a few families could not be interviewed. The data include 807 people, and it is doubtful if as many as one hundred people were not covered by the census. 161

In Table I below the population of the village is given in terms of ethnic groups. The imposition of any a priori set of categories was avoided, and informants were simply asked the question, "To what people do you consider yourself to belong?" In this way it was possible to learn something of the group identifications of informants. 162

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

CHAPTER XIII

FESTIVALS

'The law is sweet, filling the soul with joy.'
Saying of the Buddha.

796 THE three months of the rains, from the full moon
132 of July to the full moon of October, is the Buddhist
484 Lent. It was during these months that the Buddha
241 would retire to some monastery and cease from travelling and teaching for a time. The custom was far older even than that—so old that we do not know how it arose. Its origin is lost in the mists of far-away time. But whatever the beginning may have been, it fits in very well with the habits of the people; for in the rains travelling is not easy. The roads are very bad, covered even with water, often deep in mud; and the rest-houses, with open sides, are not very comfortable with the rain drifting in. Even if there were no custom of Lent, there would be but little travelling then. People would stay at home, both because of the discomfort of moving, and because there is much work then at
132 the village. For this is the time to plough, this is
241 the time to sow; on the villagers' exertions in these

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1835-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

months depends all their maintenance for the rest of the year. Every man, every woman, every child, has hard work of some kind or another. 132 241

And so, what with the difficulties of travelling, what with the work there is to do, and what with the custom of Lent, everyone stays at home. It is the time for prayer, for fasting, for improving the soul. Many men during these months will live even as the monks live, will eat but before mid-day, will abstain from tobacco. There are no plays during Lent, and there are no marriages. It is the time for preparing the land for the crop; it is the time for preparing the soul for eternity. The congregations on the Sundays will be far greater at this time than at any other; there will be more thought of the serious things of life. 132 796 785

It is a very long Lent—three months; but with the full moon of October comes the end. The rains then are over; the great black bank of clouds that walled up all the south so long is gone. The south wind has died away, and the light, fresh north wind is coming down the river. The roads are drying up, the work in the fields is over for a time, awaiting the ripening of the grain. The damp has gone out of the air, and it is very clear. You can see once more the purple mountains that you have missed so long; there is a new feeling in the wind, a laughter in the sunshine, a flush of blossom along the fields like the awakening of a new joy. The rains are over and the cool weather is coming; Lent is over and gladness is returned; the crop has been sown, and soon will come the reaping. And so at this full moon of October is the great feast of the 132 796 [241]

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

132 year. There are other festivals: of the New Year,
796 in March, with its water-throwing; of each great pagoda at its appointed time; but of all, the festival of the end of Lent is the greatest.

796 Wherever there are great pagodas the people will come in from far and near for the feast. There are many great pagodas in Burma; there is the Arakan pagoda in Mandalay, and there was the Incomparable pagoda, which has been burnt; there are great pagodas at Pegu, at Prome, at many other places; but perhaps the greatest of all is the Shwe Dagon at Rangoon.

778 You see it from far away as you come up the
346 river, steaming in from the open sea, a great tongue of flame before you. It stands on a small conical hill just behind the city of Rangoon, about two miles away from the wharves and shipping in the busy river. The hill has been levelled on the top and paved into a wide platform, to which you ascend by a flight of many steps from the gate below, where stand the dragons. This entrance-way is all roofed over, and the pillars and the ceiling are red and
[712] painted. Here it was that much fighting took place in the early wars, in 1852 especially, and many men, English and Burmese, were killed in storming and defending this strong place. For it had been made a very strong place, this holy place of him who taught that peace was the only good, and the de-
346 fences round about it are standing still. Upon the top of this hill, the flat paved top, stands the pagoda, a great solid tapering cone over three hundred feet high, ending in an iron fretwork spire that glitters with gold and jewels; and the whole pagoda is

WORK

Work in Pathwe

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U Myaing is an IN fisherman and in normal times he is helped by his family in catching and preparing fish. Another source of revenue is also renting out oxen and the making of mats usually relied on only when there is little other work. He regards himself as "one who works INS on a large scale", and on further questioning it appears that he was a sort of foreman working with a group of IN fishermen. About 95 other workers in Pathwe made their living by fishing and fish processing, but there were also some cultivators. In addition there were 9 or 10 in the paddy husking business, 4 or 5 merchants and one gardener. With these few introductory remarks let us examine in some detail the nature of IN fishing.

U Myaing describes the IN fishery of which he was a part as follows:-

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[435]
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"The IN is located upstream about two miles from Pathwe. The trap is remade every year and costs anywhere from Rs. 5000/- to Rs. 10,000/- to make. It takes twenty men about one month to make the trap. First we plant timber poles, after which we put up the IIN- strips of bamboo held together by coconut fibre rope, in such a manner as to present a large flat surface. When the IIN has been safely put up (across the entire width of the stream) the fish are carried down (by the current) through the SHAW (inclined plane of the sluice) and they are caught at the end. At the deep end the bamboo fence is about 16 taungs high and only a little of the poles remain above water. These poles have to propped up by other timber poles. Then the IIN are placed across these poles and tied in position. All the water has to flow along this small channel, and the force of the current washes up the fish (at the end of the SHAW). The poles are hammered down into the earth to a depth of one LAW (one yard) The water passes through the dam, but the fish cannot. The fish cannot swim upstream again because of the force of the water in the narrow sluice, which is only about eight taungs across. The length of the trap is approximately 100 feet whereas the width across the stream is 200 feet. When the floods are high at times the fish do get away. The water spills over and the fish do escape. We catch the remaining fish. When the water increases we have to extend the dam sideways a long way. But the height of the dam cannot be raised. In the dry season those fish which have gone over are left stranded outside the IN by the retreating waters. Some people fish below the dam with nets and fish hooks.

"When the rains come, that is the time they spawn. This time is called MGA-YIY-TET time. At this time the fish group together to go upstream. The better the rains, the better the catch. After these fish have passed, the HSE is closed. The fish spawn at the beginning of the rains after they have collect and passed upstream. At about the month of TAW THA-LIN (last month of the rains season) the HSE is closed and the fish that come down with the force of the water are picked up. If many fish go upstream - fish that spawn, then we get a good catch. If only few spawning fish go up, we get a bad catch. Even

if there are many fish, if the water is bad they may die off - and do not come down to the NGE. When the water is good we get many fish. When the water is bad it is called YE-MAR-DE (the water is hot). When the water is bad they die off on their own and become putrid on this side; they do not come down. When the water is bad it stops the coming down of fish even more effectively than if a KYE barrier were put up (further upstream.) They do not come down to the mouth of the NGE. 226 221 132

"There are 80 to 100 fishermen working at the CHAUNG-MA-GYI IN where I work. Thirty of these are from INWA-GYI-HET and they are the only IN workers there, although there are 7 other INS in the neighbourhood. They work for 6 months out of the year. During the month of TAGU when the fish is sold, we start on the YIN and work through the months of KASON, NAYON, NAGO, WAGAUNG, TAWTHALIN and in TAWTHALINwe place it in the IN. Water comes down and with it the fish, and we end upabout the month of PYATHO. In the hot season we catch the remaining fish and after the hot season the INS are again auctioned by the Government. 226

"Night and day the fish are coming down and they have to be gathered up in wicker baskets and poured into tubs. They are coming down all the time. We have no special work time; both night and day. That is why there have to be so many workers. We have watches. If this person watches this night, that person watches the next night and another person the next night. They have to stay till morning. The person who has watched up till morning is given a turn (to rest) and another person placed there for the next night. The fisherman works for a day and a night. Then shifts are changed. The man who worked from the afternoon is given a rest in the morning. There are shifts of eight to nine men at a time. These nine men are changed after a day and a night. They rest for a day and a night. 226 461

"Some of the more common fish are:- Nga Thaing, Nga Gyin, Nga Gyaing, Nga Myit Chin, Nga Dan, Nga Myin Yin; small fish are plentiful, Nga Khumma, Nga Hpare Aung, Nga Bat, Nga Khu, Nga Gyi; you get a lot. During one shift, (one day and one night) 2000 fish may come down, 3000 fish may come, or there may be 500, or there may be only 100. You cannot say for sure. At the end of the SHAW the fish are scooped up with kerosene tins and poured into the boat with wicker baskets. After that they are taken home. We take both big and small fish, The big ones are caught by hand and kept alive in big tubs, and it is the small fish that are scooped up with kerosene tins. We take all the fish that are stranded at the sluice end. The tiny fish escape through the YIN. Some larger fish also escape if the YIN cracks are wide.

"The large fish are kept alive and sent to the Rangoon markets and to various towns. They usually stay alive this way. When the distance is great they are placed in ice and sent. The other fish are dried or made into fish paste or NGAPI. In making Ngapi, the heads are first cut off. The scales are removed by wrapping the fish in gunny-bags and stamping with the feet after the bag has been placed in a tub. After that they are washed and salt is put in. After mixing thoroughly with salt they are pressed into jars. Those who want to pound their fish into NGAPI DAUNG (pounded ngapi) leave their fish to become putrid and then pound them. Those who want to keep them raw (AMYIN) do not. 226 438 263

Ma Aye Myaing describes the preparation of ngapi as follows:-

"The fish have to be chopped and placed in water; after the scales are removed, the fishes are chopped and placed in water for a night. In the morning the putrid fish are taken out, mixed with salt and laid out to dry. In the evening they are again mixed with salt and pounded. You pound the fish today, lay 251 263

recognised as over-stimulated by anxieties. "Don't talk my gall into disorder" is a common reaction to calamity tales. 158 753

The weather is important is maintaining health. Changeable weather as during the late part of the Monsoon season is generally unhealthy and gives rise to pulmonary disorders. One should provide head protection (through covering or shade from umbrella) from the sun's rays - which cause headaches by melting the brain. Colds come from getting wet in the rain resulting from the lack of sufficient bodily heat. MIEH HNGME (earth-vapour) which rises as a steam in the early morning or after sudden rains is unhealthful in causing sore eyes and other inflamations. The"steam of the body" healthfully goes out in ordinary bathing and adds to one's comfort. Heat is a key factor in health and sickness being readily discerned as causes of local or general infection. The additional concept of "like producing like" helps explain the above beliefs. 753 132●

The odor of AH HNYAW (fried-food) is especially dangerous to babies and persons in a weakened condition. When frying, which will create extensive fumes, is to be undertaken the cook must give warning to the neighbourhood so that susceptible ones can be protected. Such persons take refuge behind the thick, cloth mosquito nets. Many heated arguments take place in our servants' quarters when the Indian fried food fumes carry over to the Burmese apartments. It is observed that this danger applies peculiarly to the Burmese - Chinese are also exempt since they are seen to cook with babies strapped on their backs. [252] [186]

Parts of the body are cared for with special ingredients. The eyes are cleaned with pure water or coconut water. Oil is frequently dropped into the ears through a feather quill. The mouth and teeth are cleaned with salt. Bitter foods help keep the stomach fit. 515 751

Babies up to 1 year are fed on mother's milk or cow's milk. After one, rice chewed by the mother "to make it digestible" is added with some dried fish. After two, the child can chew its own rice, have a little meat, but no hot condiments. After five the child eats the same foods as the adults but is not allowed sour foods as this will "lessen the weight". After 16 or 17, this restriction is 853 561 262

369 and women too did the same, and wore their HTAMEINS breast high.
291 Here except for the refugees, he does not see much of this except when
562 people are bathing in the public water hydrants. When it is hot the men wear T shirts and the women wear light garments.

369 U Myaing says that the ordinary city dweller cannot do as much
464 hard labour as the average villager. For example, he cannot carry
461 a bag of rice on his shoulders if suddenly called upon to do so.

The workers from Rangoon are much more acute than the workers from the village. They speak and understand English and Hindustani and so get to know of any possible job long before the others. The villagers do not have these advantages, and so have to join work only later and they are placed to work under them.

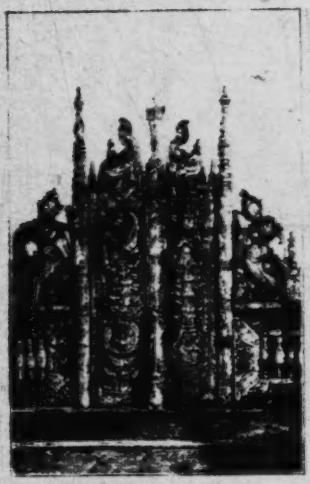
563 As far as U Myaing is concerned, there is no racial animosity
464 towards Indians and workers of other races. This is due to the fact that there is no racial discrimination on the part of the employers, the first suitable applicant being given the work.

369 He finds that Rangoon has a much more equable climate than
0132 Pathwe. In Rangoon it is not as cold as in Pathwe, where in the cold season it was very cold even though they lived in a proper house and kept all the doors and windows shut. He says that they would not be able in Pathwe to live in an open dwelling like they do at present.

369 Their relatives in Rangoon keep to themselves a great deal.
571 They work on their own and earn on their own. In Rangoon each family
602 has only sufficient for itself. We cannot help them financially and neither can they help us much. When we go on a visit they can invite us to join in a meal or to partake of sweet tea, but they would not be able to lend us fifty or a hundred rupees. In Pathwe we could lend each other any amount up till a thousand five hundred rupees and that free of interest. These loans also need to be repaid only when it is convenient to the debtor. It would be inconvenient to have to repay a loan while the money was in the form of goods."

159 U Myaings eldest daughter has returned to the camp because the
369 woman who owns the cheroot rolling business has temporarily closed it
602 down and gone to Pantanaw with goods like onions, prawns and textiles. Since the girl is not sufficiently dexterous to find work elsewhere as

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4



7. ANCIENT GATE, WITH FIGURES OF THADYA-MIN AND KEINNAYA.

is part of India. The phrase *Indo-China* is also misleading unless in respect of geography. In respect of climate, flora and fauna, *Further India* is not inapplicable. A probable Indo-Aryan admixture exists in the north-east (Arakán). But Burma Proper and Pegu are as distinct from India as Tibet itself.

The original Burman tribes are conjectured to have pushed their way south from the mountains of Tibet. They divided into three principal branches, Arakán (*Rakáing, Yakáing*) on the west, Paung on the east, and Burma (*Bamá*), which attained to the chief position, in the middle, on the northern Irawadi (*E-ya wadi*). Nothing is known of the early history of these nations. But it is certain that in 1000 A.D. Burma was a large and powerful kingdom, with its seat at Pagán. About that time the first historical conquest of the lower Irawadi was effected. From the fact that the country was not permanently subdued it may be inferred that the power of the Mun or Peguan race (later called Talaing) was not greatly inferior to that of the Burman. The Muns, from the affinities of their language, are conjectured to be of Annamitic origin. There is mention of the Pagán kingdom independently of the Burman chronicles, and there is above all the evidence of the ruins of Pagán, probably the mightiest of their kind. They testify to the power of the kingdom and the influence of the

8. ANANDA PAYA, PAGAN.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

62. DAYIN ORNAMENT.

exhausted their resources in the building of it. In the moist region the effects of rain and vegetation combine to dilapidate buildings in less than a lifetime. The stone-grey and lichen-covered wood attains the distinction of age before its time. In the dry zone of Burma Proper fires are very frequent. Few examples of wood architecture of over a century old exist anywhere. It is scarcely possible to trace the steps by which the present style developed from the Indian models. 346 735 [132 731]

As distinguished from the *kyaung*, *thein*, and other wood buildings, the *Zedi*, which are such a prominent feature of Burma and Siam, are of masonry. In Arakán they are of hewn stone; elsewhere they are of brick plastered with lime. It is a point of honour with the Buddhists of those countries to crown every eminence with a *zedi*. The chief *zedi* of a place—*Payá-dyí*—is on the highest ground in the vicinity, and is cared for by the public. The subsidiary *zedi*, the *wut*, *tazáung*, and other accessories which cluster around the *Payá-dyí*, are the work of private individuals. Old and new are huddled in chaotic profusion. Many erections are ruinous and disregarded. But so long as a vestige of the original structure remains, it monopolises the site. The development of the conical *zedi* may be traced, step by step, from the ancient temple. Originally, *zedi* are shrines for relics of the Buddha—the Indian *Stupa*, *tôp*, *dágaba*, *dagôba*, of which last "pagoda" is a transposition. The vast majority of *zedi* only pretend to symbolize actual shrines. The shrines of reputed relics are 346 778

63. DETAIL OF EAVES AND GABLE

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

104. OUTLOOK OVER MIXED FORMS OF CULTIVATION.

the vagaries of the rivers. A good season is one in which a large proportion of the fields have water enough for an early start and in which the rainfall is steady, not leaving the surface to dry up by a long break in the rain nor deluging the soil at other times. All the alluvial land of favourable elevation and quality is laid out in level rice-fields. Where the rainfall is ample—fifty inches and upwards—portions of the diluvial land with tenacious soil can be utilised in the same way by merely saving the surface-water. In regions of lighter rainfall, in a few favoured localities, such land is brought under rice by help of irrigation and if need be by terracing as well. The rice-fields are bordered by low turfy balks (*kazin*) about a cubit high, to keep in the water. These regular rice-lands form less than one-tenth of the gross area of the country. The rest is mainly irreclaimable, chiefly mountain waste. The waste areas of the alluvial plains (*kwin*) are flooded from three to ten feet deep in the rains. They are clothed with elephant-grass (*kaing*) studded, through with silk-cotton trees and a few other species. The lowest levels in the *kwin* form shallow lagoons (*in*, No. 103) which dry up in the hot season. Dry-season crops—sugar-cane (which is also grown on the wet system), maize, lentils, and vegetables for a limited market—are obtained in the *kaing*.

105. HILL-PEOPLE MAKING THEIR CULTIVATION CLEARING (p. 149).

Burma has become the rice-mart of the world. Since the development of this trade the price of the staple export has more than quadrupled, producing in the lower country a prosperity which has no parallel in respect of its equal diffusion. It is believed that this development of the wealth of Pegu has been favoured by the upheaval

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

133 of the delta of the Irawadi, by which fresh silt-beds are raised to the cultivation
134 level. The town of Thâton, now sixteen miles from the coast and without a sea approach, was, in historic times, a port. Ships came up to Tenaserim in the south, the ancient emporium of trade across the Peninsula to Siam, and to Akauttaung in the north, and probably to Pegu. A mass of precise data on this subject was collected by the late Mr. John Merrifield, who came to the conclusion that Tenaserim had risen fifteen to twenty feet in the course of the last 300 years. In 1900, ten and a half million acres were cultivated in Burma. The rice crop was estimated at three and a half million tons, of which two millions were exported, worth £14,000,000. Fallow lands were estimated at five and a half million acres and arable waste at twenty-four millions, out of a gross area of one hundred and one millions. In 1872 a considerable firm failed over the enterprise of bringing a few thousand acres of reputed arable waste at Kayásu under cultivation; the crops got so much water that they rotted. The area has lain waste ever since. Most of the waste land granted to companies has been resumed, on account of their failure to satisfy the condition of utilising the land. The conditions which render land suitable for wet cultivation are less simple than they appear at the first glance. It is possible that the estimate of the arable waste is much too high.

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[175] 106. THE RICE PLANT IN THE EAR.

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Where the fields depend on the surface-water for their supply, a margin of fallow has to be left; where they get a deposit of river-silt it is unnecessary. If manure is plentiful it is taken out on the fields. But this is seldom the case because the cattle are so much at large. On the outskirts of the rice-fields, which are dispersed in groups throughout the *kwin*, fallow land may readily relapse into waste. The depopulation of Pegu (Chronology, 1570, 1591–1740) threw great areas out of cultivation. Anyone was free to reclaim waste, and is so still. In Burma Proper, where good land is much scarcer than in Pegu, proprietors are fixed on the soil in many places by royal grants (*kha-mye, bôbabaing*). There were also royal demesne lands leased to tenants.

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In the dry zone of Burma Proper, rice cultivation is impracticable except where rivers flood their margins or where facilities for irrigation exist. Rice

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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108. PLOUGHING IN THE DRY ZONE.

is a luxury in that region, and a part of the requirement is imported from Pegu. Crops of sorghum and millet (*pyaung*, *lu*), sesamum (*hnan*) and various pulses (*pè*), as well as cotton (*wè*), are obtained on the better sort of soil, during the light rains, from July to September. The dry soil is too hard for ploughing even when moistened by such rain as falls. It is scraped up with harrows instead. Four oxen are yoked abreast and the driver rides on the beam of the harrow to give it weight.

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The wet or staple cultivation of the whole country begins between June and August, as soon as the grass-sod which has formed on the rice-fields in the by-season—and which has served for pasture in the interval—has got thoroughly water-logged. The soil is then turned, about six inches deep, with a wooden plough (*tè*, Nos. 102, 119) bearing a shoe of bronze or iron. Where elephants are available, a large *thu* is used which does the work of four ploughs. The clods left by the plough are broken fine, and the wet soil worked into slush by herds of buffaloes driven round and round in the fields. If there are not enough cattle, the plough-clods are worked down with harrows drawn by buffaloes or oxen (No. 325). A rotary implement is coming into use to prepare the clods for the harrow (No. 168). There is very little open grass-land in the moist region. Unless the scrub which springs up is cut, the land soon relapses into jungle.

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For the above operations cattle are needful to the cultivator, though he makes little use of the manure and does not use the milk at all. The cattle are only used for draught, and very little care is bestowed on breeding. Oxen

109. ELEPHANT PLOUGH.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

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171. THE VILLAGE DOGS.

the kinked tail. Wild animals are often kept as pets, and fetch good prices. Monkeys, deer, porcupines, otters, are occasionally tamed. Cage-birds are in many houses (No. 404); doves, minas, and parakeets are the commonest. The principal singing bird is the bulbul, but it is not a cage-bird. Poultry is kept for the sake of fighting-cocks or for fancy. The wild peacock is caught young and kept; it is generally a savage bird. The peacock and the hare are the national emblems of Burma (Nos. 2, 7, 11).

The houses and boats are infested with rats and cockroaches. The latter have an enemy in the *taukté*, a large lizard of the same tribe as the little gecko, which catches flies in the houses throughout the tropics of Asia. This animal is remarkable for its loud cry, whence its name (see *The Shadow of the Pagoda*). What with the cawing of crows, barking of dogs, croaking of frogs, chatter of sparrows, loud hum of cicadas, squeaking of rats—an interval of real stillness by day or night is a boon in Burma, when the quiet does not merely serve to bring out the ominous "ping" of the mosquito. In addition to this perennial pest come the flights of insects at dusk, as the rainy season approaches. The "bombardier" comes with them, a beetle which raises a blister wherever it touches, and which is a danger to eyesight. But one of the most charming effects of the country is produced by the myriads of fireflies with their rhythmical illumination of the river sedges at night.

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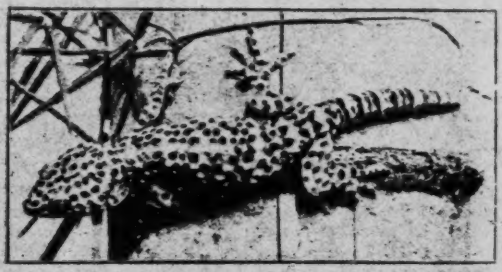
The seasons of Burma—and Further India at large—are three; the rainy, or south-west monsoon, the cool, or north-east monsoon, and the hot season. The rains last, roughly speaking, from May to September (*Kasôn, Nayôn, Wazô, Wagáung, Tawthalin,*



172. THE TAUK-TE (ONE-THIRD NATURAL SIZE).

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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173. VILLAGE SCENE IN THE DRY SEASON.

see Appendix E), with a fall of fifty to two hundred inches according to locality, and with shade temperatures of 75 to 88° F. The cool dry season is from November to February (*Nadáw, Pyathô, Tabôdwè*), with rare showers, and shade temperatures ranging from 50 to 80° in the twenty-four hours. The cool season is most pronounced in the inland and northern regions, less so in the south and the neighbourhood of the sea. At elevations of four thousand feet, winter-night frosts occur. The hot months are March and April (*Tabáung, Tagú*), with occasional showers, and shade temperatures of 80–95°, and 90–105°, according to locality, in the course of the day. There is always a considerable fall of temperature at night in Burma. October (*Thadindyut—Tazáungmôn*) frequently has the character of the hot months. The regions which have the lowest temperatures in the cool seasons have the highest in the hot season. But the greater heat of the dry zone is relatively not so trying as is a lesser heat in an atmosphere saturated with moisture, which impedes the cooling of the body by evaporation. As the heat attains its climax, clouds begin to gather. The rains break, often quite abruptly, with violent thunderstorms. Nevertheless, lightning-stroke is uncommon. Hail is very rare. Even before

132 the rains set in, the great rivers
133 Irawadi and Salween begin to swell, owing, as it is believed, to the melting of Himalayan snows in which they have their sources. The high floods of these rivers, however, coincide with the heavy rainfall in Burma. Towards the beginning of July the rivers and tributaries have risen ten to twenty feet, submerging their banks and flooding the low-lands. The Irawadi at Mandalay, where it is about two miles wide, rises thirty

174. SOUTH WEST MONSOON CLOUDS.

Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

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176. VILLAGE ENVIRONS IN THE FLOODS.

feet. The Salween, above the rapids, with a width of a quarter of a mile, rises fifty feet. The high level is maintained, with fluctuations, till September. The water in the main channels is turbid and heavy with yellow silt, but it clears itself in the grass-grown *Kwin*. Many a cart-track of the dry weather becomes a creek passable by deep-laden boats. The whole aspect of the country and mode of life are changed; the villages of the Delta are accessible by water, and many stand in water. At this season the heavy traffic of the country proceeds. In some places the rise is so great and so variable that the people depend on their boats, and every child has a tub of its own (Nos. 159, 161). Such a village is Sanyuè on the Myimmakâ (*Myit-ma-kâ*), the river that denies its tribute to the great Irawadi, and delivers the waters of the Yôma straight to the sea (see map, and *mômakâ*, p. 115).

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The rise of the spring-tides above mean low-water level on the coast of Burma is sixteen to eighteen feet. In certain estuaries of the Martaban Gulf, dangerous bores are produced. In the Delta, which is a network of creeks, and in Arakân, the facilities afforded for traffic by the tidal currents are unequalled.

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The abatement of the monsoon rains, in the course of September, like the break of the monsoon, is attended with thunderstorms. The surface soon dries and the sub-soil water begins to sink, leaving but little marsh land (*bwet*). As the hot season advances, the trees and bamboos of the dry forest lose their leaves, and the grasses wither, covering the soil with an inflammable layer. In the open, the heavy dews

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177. VILLAGE SCENE IN THE HIGH FLOOD.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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178. SCENE IN THE PLAINS AT FLOOD-TIME.

keep the pasture green till March. By April the elephant-grass in the *Kwin* is dry and ready to burn like a prairie. Camp fires and cultivation fires spread, or the stump of a burning cheroot starts the fire, which runs through the *kaing* and the bamboo forest till it is stopped by a broad water-course. In the hot weather the thatch and bamboo of the houses are as dry as tinder, and village fires are frequent. A hook and flapper on long bamboo poles are provided at every house to tear off the thatch and beat out the fire (No. 431). Water-pots are set along the roof-ridges, so that they only need to be overturned. But if a high wind is blowing, the burning thatch is carried across streets and creeks. The people can only save their movables and accept the situation, which they do with characteristic good humour. The religious buildings being more substantial, there is a better chance of extinguishing them when on fire. Religious merit is to be gained by the effort; the whole village turns out with waterpots to quench the flames and slake the embers.

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179. THE IRAWADI AT PROME (P. 157).

1: Mi Mi Khaing 1-5 (no date) 1946 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4
Mon AP9

CHAPTER TWO

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MOULMEIN, Maul-la-Myaing to us, is a fair and prosperous city. It is fair in its descent from the hills behind, in three successive parallel main streets, to the wide Moulmein River, where seagoing ships can sail in, and an island rich in legend lies dark and green in the sunlit water. It had prospered since it was made the military headquarters of Tenasserim in the British annexation of 1826 until, in about 1900, it had over 50,000 inhabitants and a busy rice and teak export trade. Moulmein is fair also becauset he ridges behind are crowned with pagodas, and the hills and rivers contain waterfalls and caves, but to me it is particularly fair like a queen city that rides athwart her domain, because my father and my mother came from the two ends of the natural sphere of Moulmein's influence, Ye and Thaton, each from about 100 miles away, each sent by the family as an adventurous experiment, to meet and contract an understanding in Moulmein.

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My maternal great-grandfather was a Talaing general, and when I look around at my mother's family I cannot think anything else, for they are all most robust, alive and resurgent; whether I take the members who

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma (Europeans Chinese) AP1
Burmese AP4

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the Scotch engineer, is not looking. There is a cluster of Chinese carpenters, chipping away with their queer thick-headed axes and planes, which, with characteristic perversity, they pull towards them, instead of pushing away as other workmen do. Here is M——, the English "assistant" at the mill, his hat and coat all covered with rice-dust, which hangs in queer fashion on his eyebrows and moustache. He is in high spirits. "We've got twenty-four pair of stones going to-day, more than anybody else in the creek;" and he goes off to see how the Burmese girls are stitching up the rice-bags, a duty of which he is particularly fond, and over which he spends a quite unnecessary amount of time. There is R——'s voice on the other side of the creek. He is storming at some men in the cargo-boat, who have done something wrong—anchored in the wrong place, or not started for the upper mill at Kemendine last night as they ought to have done. R—— has a voice which is the terror of every loitering coolie and dawdling boat-wallah in his employ; and he will be as hoarse as a North Sea pilot by nightfall, and will want a "double-barrelled" whisky and soda to moisten him before dinner. He wants company down to "the Point," and presently comes skimming across in his gig, manned by Chittagonian Kalassies, and we drop down the creek—they call small rivers creeks in the East—to where it joins with the main Rangoon stream. The Pegu river, tapping the country north-east and north of Rangoon, comes in at the same place; and there is a great crowd of paddy-boats here in the early morning. Each firm has its brokers, middlemen who make the purchases from the farmers that come down with their grain. They have been here since daylight, and fly about in their little dug-outs from one seller to another. The great point in a broker seems to be power of lungs and fluency in abuse. The amount of yelling that goes on at "Monkey Point" would silence the bookmakers' ring at Epsom on a Derby day.

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R—— has not come down to this pandemonium for nothing. There are a couple of big ships in, which must be filled, or there will be demurrage to pay, and a "canal-wallah" is expected this afternoon or to-morrow morning; so that the wheels must be kept going their hardest.

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2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

CHAPTER XXVI

SILK-GROWING

REARING silkworms, though a very profitable occupation, is not looked upon with any favour in Burma. To get the silk the pupa must be killed; and the taking of life in any form is an impiety always looked upon with great horror by all good Buddhists. Silk-growers are classed together with professional hunters and fishermen. The Four States of Punishment yawn for them, and their portion will be in the lowest abyss of the lowest hell. Still there are colonies of silk-growers in various parts of the country; but they live apart from the rest of the inhabitants as a rule, and often have entire villages to themselves. Colonel Horace Browne who, more than any other Englishman took an interest in the ways and occupations of the districts under his charge, states that the cultivators near Prome, where more silk is produced than in any part of Burma, are nearly all Yabeins —a race of the same stock as the Burmese, but despised by them independently of their crime in the way of habitually taking animal life. So much has the cultivation of silk become identified with them, that to Burman ears the term Yabein is virtually synonymous with that of silk-grower. They usually live on the hillsides, occupying themselves like the poorer Burmans and Karens, with taung-ya cultivation; burning the forests on the slopes and sowing the ground thus enriched with the wood ashes, with rice, cotton, or oil-seed. The system is viewed with very little approval by the government officials, for the taung-ya soil, hardly exhausted by the single crop raised off it, immediately produces a dense shrub-growth of no use to anybody, certainly not to the foresters.

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14: Brant E-5 (1949-50) 1954 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

I

THE VILLAGE SETTING AND THE PEOPLE

Tadagale is a suburban community of Lower Burma, about four and one half miles north of the city center of Rangoon, chief port and national capital of the Union of Burma. To reach the village most readily one travels by automobile northward from the city along Prome Road, a main highway, to the junction with Kokine Road, beyond the city limit, on to which one turns eastward. After a quarter mile or so, one again goes northward on to a bumpy, poorly surfaced road which soon becomes dirt and terminates abruptly, after another quarter mile, at a small bridge. Tadagale means 'small bridge,' and it is after this bridge that the village is named. A few steps walk over the bridge brings one almost to the center of Tadagale. (See map on following page.) 101 361

Tadagale is more or less a 'line' type village, about 3000 yards in length. The domestic dwelling area is constituted by houses and granaries strung along the sides of a main dirt path which is just wide enough for a single bullock cart — or a jeep — to pass without scraping the bushes and trees. This area is heavily shaded from the intense tropical sun by many trees that grow in the household compounds and along the path; palms and banyans are the most prominent types. The houses are rectangular in shape, with low, slanting roofs, and platform-like porches in front. Among the more prosperous families of the village it is not unusual to find houses of plank construction, with roofs of corrugated iron. More frequently, houses are made of bamboo matted sides and palm thatched roofs. Every two or three houses share a well, which is simply an unlined and uncovered hole of perhaps ten to twelve feet in depth. In almost every compound there is a vegetable garden, from which the family supplies itself and realizes some cash income by the sale of any surplus. 361 342

To the east of Tadagale's dwelling area, perhaps five hundred yards distant and running parallel to it, is a railroad line, which begins in Rangoon and terminates at Mingaladon, about five miles north of Tadagale. A small railroad station is located at the eastern terminus of the path on which one finds oneself immediately after crossing the bridge that leads into the village. The villagers do not use the railroad nearly so much as they use buses, which run from Tadagale to Rangoon frequently. 101 496 494

Beyond the railroad line, still farther east, lie the paddy fields, extending out to the winding Parundaung Creek. This creek begins at the southeastern tip of Rangoon, where the Rangoon and Pegu rivers join, and flows in a twisting course northward to separate Rangoon and the heavily populated area immediately north of the city from the sparsely settled area to the east. 361 133

Tadagale's climate is that of the tropical monsoon belt, with three well-defined seasons. From the end of October to about the end of February is the Dry Season, characterized by the absence of rain, with cool mornings and evenings. The daily maximum temperature is in the 80's and the humidity is moderate. English-speaking Burmese call this season winter; at night it is cool enough to sleep under one light blanket. The Hot Season commences at the beginning of March and lasts until June. Temperatures rise to daily maxima in the middle to high 90's, the earth is parched and cracked, and the loose dirt on the village paths, caught by occasional breezes, forms choking 132

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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3. SUNSET ON THE COAST.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY

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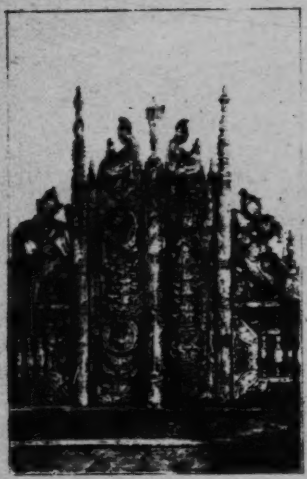
4. ESTUARY OF THE SALWEEN.

BURMA remained in isolation throughout the longest period of her history. One result of this was that her type grew more and more distinct. The isolation of Burma was due to her geographical position, not to the prejudice which animates other Mongolian states. Burma is shut away in a coign of the earth between mountain wastes and the ocean. The kindred nations settled within the same natural confines, one after another came under the sway of Burma. They fought among themselves and they traded among themselves; the wars and the commerce of the greater world beyond affected them little. No base of attack was near enough to Burma for the ancient conditions of warfare. On the west the seas were too wide for the transport of armies; on the east serried ranges of hills blocked the efforts of China to push her way to the coast. Burma possessed no staples of trade to encourage

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 API Burma
Burmese AP4



7. ANCIENT GATE, WITH FIGURES OF THADYA-MIN AND KEINNAYA.

is part of India. The phrase *Indo-China* is also misleading unless in respect of geography. In respect of climate, flora and fauna, *Further India* is not inapplicable. A probable Indo-Aryan admixture exists in the north-east (Arakán). But Burma Proper and Pegu are as distinct from India as Tibet itself.

The original Burman tribes are conjectured to have pushed their way south from the mountains of Tibet. They divided into three principal branches, Arakán (*Rakáing, Yakáing*) on the west, Paung on the east, and Burma (*Bamá*), which attained to the chief position, in the middle, on the northern Irawadi (*E-ya wadi*). Nothing is known of the early history of these nations. But it is certain that in 1000 A.D. Burma was a large and powerful kingdom, with its seat at Pagán. About that time the first historical conquest of the lower Irawadi was effected. From the fact that the country was not permanently subdued it may be inferred that the power of the Mun or Peguan race (later called Talaing) was not greatly inferior to that of the Burman. The Muns, from the affinities of their language, are conjectured to be of Annamitic origin. There is mention of the Pagán kingdom independently of the Burman chronicles, and there is above all the evidence of the ruins of Pagán, probably the mightiest of their kind. They testify to the power of the kingdom and the influence of the

8. ANANDA PAYA, PAGAN.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

104. OUTLOOK OVER MIXED FORMS OF CULTIVATION.

the vagaries of the rivers. A good season is one in which a large proportion of the fields have water enough for an early start and in which the rainfall is steady, not leaving the surface to dry up by a long break in the rain nor deluging the soil at other times. All the alluvial land of favourable elevation and quality is laid out in level rice-fields. Where the rainfall is ample—fifty inches and upwards—portions of the diluvial land with tenacious soil can be utilised in the same way by merely saving the surface-water. In regions of lighter rainfall, in a few favoured localities, such land is brought under rice by help of irrigation and if need be by terracing as well. The rice-fields are bordered by low turfy balks (*kazin*) about a cubit high, to keep in the water. These regular rice-lands form less than one-tenth of the gross area of the country. The rest is mainly irreclaimable, chiefly mountain, waste. The waste areas of the alluvial plains (*kwin*) are flooded from three to ten feet deep in the rains. They are clothed with elephant-grass (*kaing*) studded, through with silk-cotton trees and a few other species. The lowest levels in the *kwin* form shallow lagoons (*in*, No. 103) which dry up in the hot season. Dry-season crops—sugar-cane (which is also grown on the wet system), maize, lentils, and vegetables for a limited market—are obtained in the *kaing*.

106. HILL-PEOPLE MAKING THEIR CULTIVATION CLEARING (p. 149).

Burma has become the rice-mart of the world. Since the development of this trade the price of the staple export has more than quadrupled, producing in the lower country a prosperity which has no parallel in respect of its equal diffusion. It is believed that this development of the wealth of Pegu has been favoured by the upheaval

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

133 of the delta of the Irawadi, by which fresh silt-beds are raised to the cultivation
134 level. The town of Thâton, now sixteen miles from the coast and without a sea approach, was, in historic times, a port. Ships came up to Tenaserim in the south, the ancient emporium of trade across the Peninsula to Siam, and to Akauttaung in the north, and probably to Pegu. A mass of precise data on this subject was collected by the late Mr. John Merrifield, who came to the conclusion that Tenaserim had risen fifteen to twenty feet in the course of the last 300 years. In 1900, ten and a half million acres were cultivated in Burma. The rice crop was estimated at three and a half million tons, of which two millions were exported, worth £14,000,000. Fallow lands were estimated at five and a half million acres and arable waste at twenty-four millions, out of a gross area of one hundred and one millions. In 1872 a considerable firm failed over the enterprise of bringing a few thousand acres of reputed arable waste at Kayásu under cultivation; the crops got so much water that they rotted. The area has lain waste ever since. Most of the waste land granted to companies has been resumed, on account of their failure to satisfy the condition of utilising the land. The conditions which render land suitable for wet cultivation are less simple than they appear at the first glance. It is possible that the estimate of the arable waste is much too high.

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106. THE RICE PLANT IN THE EAR.

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Where the fields depend on the surface-water for their supply, a margin of fallow has to be left; where they get a deposit of river-silt it is unnecessary. If manure is plentiful it is taken out on the fields. But this is seldom the case because the cattle are so much at large. On the outskirts of the rice-fields, which are dispersed in groups throughout the *kwin*, fallow land may readily relapse into waste. The depopulation of Pegu (Chronology, 1570, 1591–1740) threw great areas out of cultivation. Anyone was free to reclaim waste, and is so still. In Burma Proper, where good land is much scarcer than in Pegu, proprietors are fixed on the soil in many places by royal grants (*kha-mye, bôbabaing*). There were also royal demesne lands leased to tenants.

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In the dry zone of Burma Proper, rice cultivation is impracticable except where rivers flood their margins or where facilities for irrigation exist. Rice

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

132 [361]

173. VILLAGE SCENE IN THE DRY SEASON.

see Appendix E), with a fall of fifty to two hundred inches according to locality, and with shade temperatures of 75 to 88° F. The cool dry season is from November to February (*Nadáw, Pyathô, Tabôdwé*), with rare showers, and shade temperatures ranging from 50 to 80° in the twenty-four hours. The cool season is most pronounced in the inland and northern regions, less so in the south and the neighbourhood of the sea. At elevations of four thousand feet, winter-night frosts occur. The hot months are March and April (*Tabáung, Tagú*), with occasional showers, and shade temperatures of 80–95°, and 90–105°, according to locality, in the course of the day. There is always a considerable fall of temperature at night in Burma. October (*Thadinḍyut—Tazáungmôn*) frequently has the character of the hot months. The regions which have the lowest temperatures in the cool seasons have the highest in the hot season. But the greater heat of the dry zone is relatively not so trying as is a lesser heat in an atmosphere saturated with moisture, which impedes the cooling of the body by evaporation. As the heat attains its climax, clouds begin to gather. The rains break, often quite abruptly, with violent thunderstorms. Nevertheless, lightning-stroke is uncommon. Hail is very rare. Even before the rains set in, the great rivers Irawadi and Salween begin to swell, owing, as it is believed, to the melting of Himalayan snows in which they have their sources. The high floods of these rivers, however, coincide with the heavy rainfall in Burma. Towards the beginning of July the rivers and tributaries have risen ten to twenty feet, submerging their banks and flooding the low-lands. The Irawadi at Mandalay, where it is about two miles wide, rises thirty

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174. SOUTH-WEST MONSOON CLOUDS.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

[opp. p. 80]

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120 THE FLOODS IN THE LOWLAND FOREST

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

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178. VILLAGE ENVIRONS IN THE FLOODS.

feet. The Salween, above the rapids, with a width of a quarter of a mile, rises fifty feet. The high level is maintained, with fluctuations, till September. The water in the main channels is turbid and heavy with yellow silt, but it clears itself in the grass-grown *Kwin*. Many a cart-track of the dry weather becomes a creek passable by deep-laden boats. The whole aspect of the country and mode of life are changed; the villages of the Delta are accessible by water, and many stand in water. At this season the heavy traffic of the country proceeds. In some places the rise is so great and so variable that the people depend on their boats, and every child has a tub of its own (Nos. 159, 161). Such a village is Sanyuè on the Myimmakà (*Myit-ma-kà*), the river that denies its tribute to the great Irawadi, and delivers the waters of the Yôma straight to the sea (see map, and *môwakà*, p. 115).

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The rise of the spring-tides above mean low-water level on the coast of Burma is sixteen to eighteen feet. In certain estuaries of the Martaban Gulf dangerous bores are produced. In the Delta, which is a network of creeks, and in Arakán, the facilities afforded for traffic by the tidal currents are unequalled.

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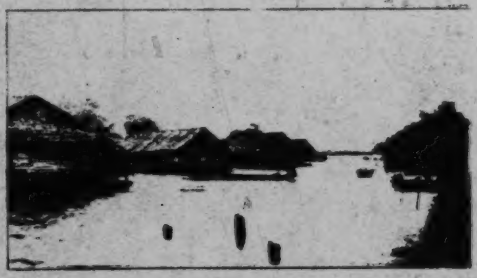
The abatement of the monsoon rains, in the course of September, like the break of the monsoon, is attended with thunder-storms. The surface soon dries and the sub-soil water begins to sink, leaving but little marsh land (*kwet*). As the hot season advances, the trees and bamboos of the dry forest lose their leaves, and the grasses wither, covering the soil with an inflammable layer. In the open, the heavy dews

[361]



177. VILLAGE SCENE IN THE HIGH FLOOD.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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778. SCENE IN THE PLAINS AT FLOOD-TIME.

keep the pasture green till March. By April the elephant-grass in the *Kwin* is dry and ready to burn like a prairie. Camp fires and cultivation fires spread, or the stump of a burning cheroot starts the fire, which runs through the *kaing* and the bamboo forest till it is stopped by a broad water-course. In the hot weather the thatch and bamboo of the houses are as dry as tinder, and village fires are frequent. A hook and flapper on long bamboo poles are provided at every house to tear off the thatch and beat out the fire (No. 431). Water-pots are set along the roof-ridges, so that they only need to be overturned. But if a high wind is blowing, the burning thatch is carried across streets and creeks. The people can only save their movables and accept the situation, which they do with characteristic good humour. The religious buildings being more substantial, there is a better chance of extinguishing them when on fire. Religious merit is to be gained by the effort; the whole village turns out with waterpots to quench the flames and slake the embers.

[782]

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779. THE IRAWADI AT PROME (p. 187).

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

[opp. p.90]

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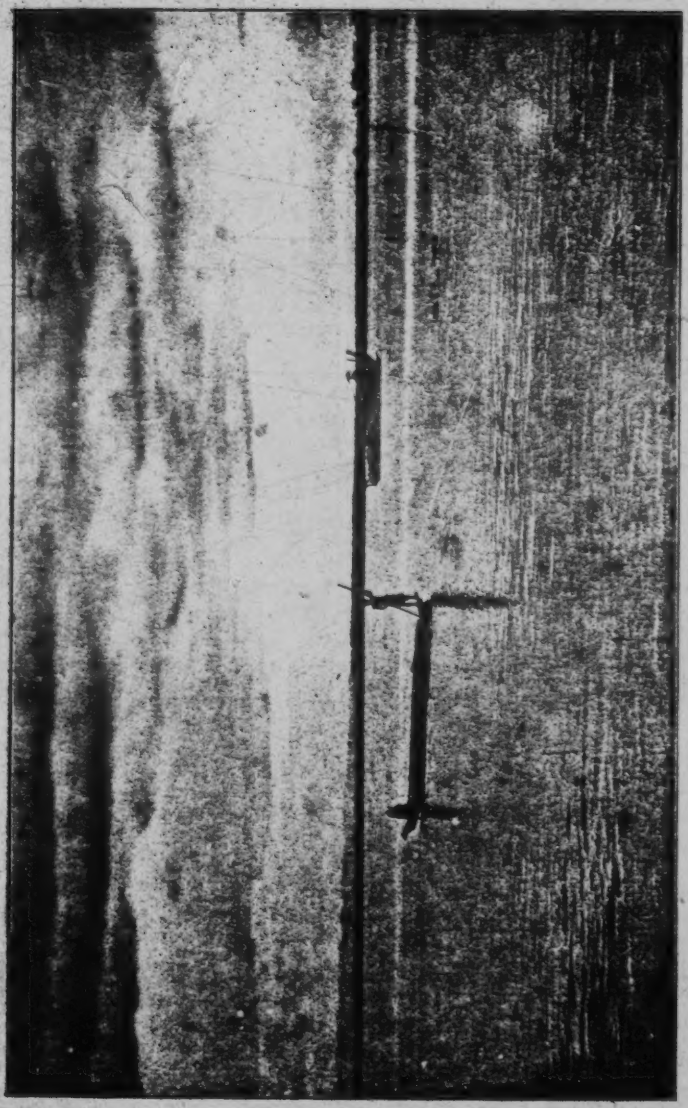

[To face p. 90]

THE HIAWADI AT NYAUNG U

B5: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

[opp. p. 94]

208. FOREST STREAM

[Tr. Nov 8, 94.

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25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

332. CANOPY OF GREAT ZEDI (T1, PP. 30, 101).

thing like a spoke-shave (*daing-dyaik*), for the rough shaping of the blades after forging, to save their files. The blacksmiths make the axes of the country also. The old Burman axe consists of a long-handled wooden mallet with an iron tip like a small spade. The smiths also make spear-heads for the hill-people, iron shoes for ploughs, mattocks and hoes, tires and axles of carts, dee nails for boats, nippers for sugar-cane and betel-nut, and other tools. They do repairs of locks and fire-arms. A special class of iron-work is making *tl* for *zedi*. The tinsmith's trade was unknown in Burma until fifty years ago. In Pegu it is still in Indian hands; but in Mandalay the Burman tinsmiths are unequalled.

Argentiferous galena is found in Burma, but the ore barely repays working for the sake of the lead. The silver used in Burma and most of the gold is imported from China, India, and Europe. A dozen villages in different parts of Burma get a living by sifting the sand of streams which bear gold. A broad thin wooden dish shaped like a flat cone is filled with sand and gravel, and worked at the water-level with a rotary movement, by which the lighter material is driven out centrifugally. The dish is filled and refilled, and after seven or eight hours' work as many grains weight of gold flakes will have accumulated in the depression at the centre. The out-turn of a steady worker is three to five tikals of gold in the season.

333. MOUNTAIN CASCADE.

The stock in trade of the gold and silver worker consists of a bamboo blast, clay crucibles, blowpipe, solder and flux, aquafortis and mercury, hammers, punches and anvils of bronze and iron, wire-plate and beading-plate. Bullion is furnished by the customer, who pays from one half up to the full weight, in

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

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242. DEFILE BELOW THE GREAT RAPID OF THE SALWEEN.

which it is hammered is obtained from bamboo-fibre.

In Burma the idea still prevails that gold may be compounded from baser metals or the quantity of fine gold augmented by their means. Alchemists are found in every town, who experiment in the hope of success or practise on dupes who furnish the gold that is to be increased. A furnace and blast is the chief appliance of the laboratory, and the potent agent relied upon is mercury. Ingredients of every sort, animal, vegetable and mineral, are experimented with, under the influence of charms and cabalistic forms, whence the name for alchemy, *ekkaya-tô*. The business is under the ban of religion, not alone as being actuated by greed (*lawba*, p. 44), but because primitive Buddhism eschews every thing mystical and occult. The operations are carried on at night for secrecy. Reputed adepts are found among the class of recluses called *yathé*, who from their life in the wilds are supposed to penetrate the arcana of nature.

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Wood-work was greatly restricted until better tools were imported. Planks and scantlings used to be laboriously prepared for boat-building and for palaces, religious edifices, and the houses of the great. Excepting the inner gates of the masonry temples, wood-work over a century old is scarce. But before the Burmans possessed the means of turning their timber to account for themselves, the country had become noted for its stock of teak. Burma possesses many valuable woods, but the pre-eminence of teak is such that for general purposes *timber* had come to mean always *teak* timber. Teak possesses the advantages

243. TEAK-TREE OUT OF LEAF (MARCH).

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

[opp. p.112]

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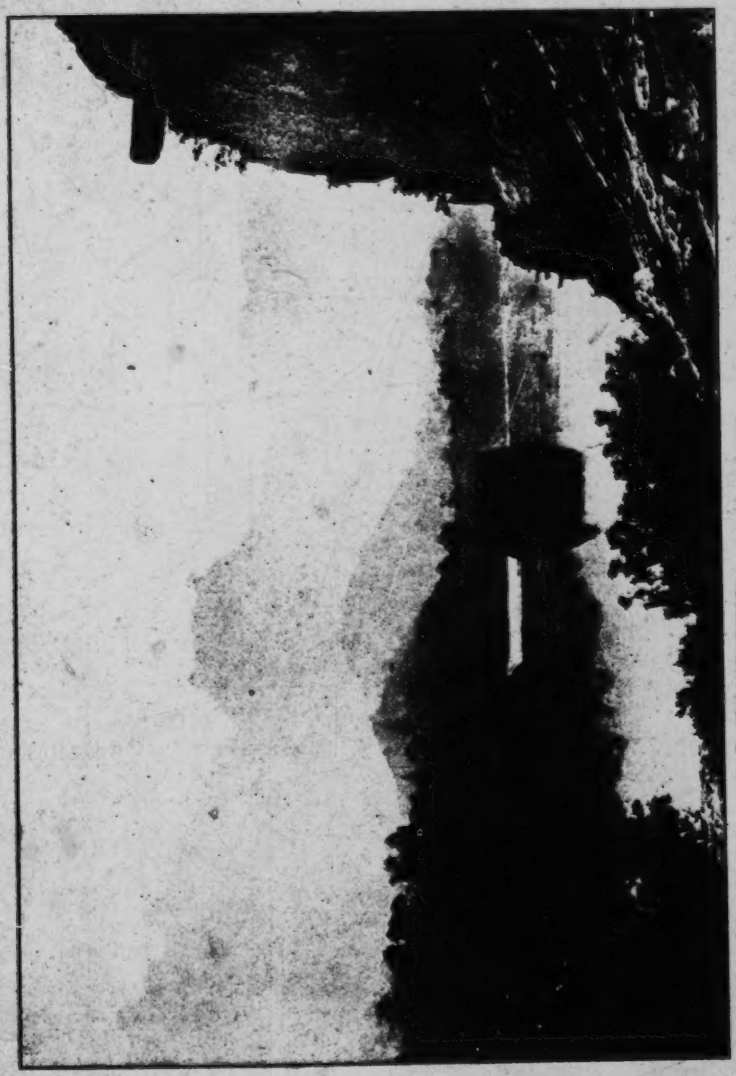

[To face p. 112.

248. SCENE ON THE SALWEEN RIVER.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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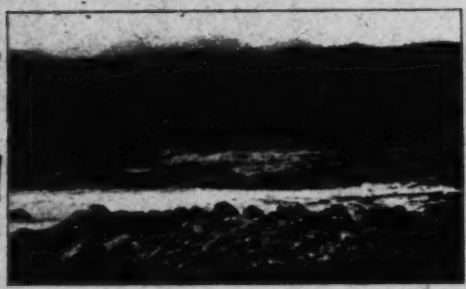
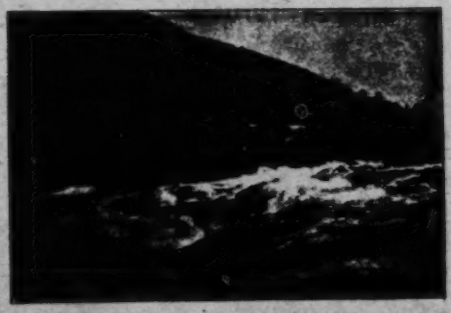


247. THE GREAT RAPID OF THE SALWEEN (HATJI).

the chance for the timber-trees. A seeding teak-tree may originate a clump of young teak on the natural clearing, just as happens on cultivation clearings (*taungya*, p. 149). Sometimes a mixture of trees in its turn suppresses the young bamboo. So far from forming vegetable mould on the surface, the great crisp leaves of teak (No. 355) provide rich fuel to the forest fires which burn every season and kill the struggling seedlings of trees. The bark of teak has about an eighth of an inch of a loose corky layer which protects the quick against scorching. The bare soil is exposed to severe erosion by rain. It is only where contributions of a better kind than its own are made to the soil that teak flourishes. Its occurrence is limited to patches of the dry forest zone, in which drainage and other factors not yet understood concur in a favourable way. Teak plantations are easy to start and the young trees are very promising. But they begin to languish and to seed prematurely when planted pure, as they mostly are. Teak attains its full height early, before commencing to flower, which it does in its axes of growth. Where the bloom drops off, no further straight length is grown. The stock of teak is in the main mature and over-mature. It is the savings which the mixed forest has accumulated of this imperishable wood, and is not supported by relays of younger generations in due proportion. Much even of the apparently rising stock is exhausted in vigour and is stationary; a tree crippled in vigour may never attain a girth of five feet. The blanks made by working out the teak are naturally filled up by the more numerous competing species. Teak seedlings in open situations grow twenty to thirty feet

[133]



248. VORTEX OF THE GREAT RAPID.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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289. PUSHING THE LOGS OFF THE SHOALS (AUNG).

timber-work at eighteen years, and are at their prime from thirty to sixty. Females and tuskless males (*haing*) are worth one thousand to two thousand rupees; tuskers from one thousand five hundred to four thousand. Tuskers are of use for manœuvring the logs in the shallow streams and getting them off shoals. The logs are

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not launched into the main stream or river until the last freshets of the season have gone down, for fear of the timber becoming unmanageable. The logs are allowed to drift singly as far as the deep water, where they are stopped by a boom, for sorting and rafting to port. On the Irawadi and Sittaung, the main water-course is available for rafting, but on the Salween, only the last sixty miles below the rapids. The Salween tears its rugged course through the limestone mountains which occupy the centre of the Eastern Peninsula, traversing some ten degrees of latitude and tapping teak localities on a good part of its way. Deep tranquil stretches alternate with furious rapids, the violence of which may be judged from the fact that teak logs are often shivered in splinters. The foresters stamp the timber all over with their property-marks. They have to bide their time until the logs reach the rope-station or boom (*kyodán*) and can be sorted. In the south-west monsoon the logs have to be salved one by one by men in canoes. The deep-water raft consists of five to ten tiers of as many logs each, securely bound with rattan by the drag-holes to cross-poles, and linked with the same material. The raft is manned by four or five men, and is often several weeks on its journey. It may not have to bring up until it reaches tidal waters, when it is easily moored. But where the raft has to be stopped against the full force of a three to five knot

290. LAUNCHING NEAPED LOGS.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

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262. ROPE-STATION ON THE SALWEEN (KYODAN).

current, a remarkable device is employed. Two ten-foot handspikes, with a shoulder two feet above the point, have mooring-rattans from each end of the raft, one hundred feet long and an inch thick, bent on to them. One of these is sent ashore from the forward end of the raft and worked like a plough in the bank, going deeper as the raft slews round and the tension increases, and so stopping its way by degrees. If the first attempt fails a second is made from the other end of the raft, which is then the forward one. Arrived in port the logs are dragged up the mud-banks by elephants. But when the path is blocked, a powerful elephant sometimes carries a log bodily. The whole of the operations of bringing the timber to market are combined by a timber-broker (forester, *thiggaung*).

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Teak cuts readily, though it blunts the tools very soon. There is little waste. Sawn planks are displacing bamboo for the better-class houses. Sawyers earn from one-half to one rupee a day. The indigenous carpenter's tools were a small adze (*pègôt*), chisels and gouges (*sauk*), awls (*hsu*), and a rough saw (*khwa*), besides *dâ* and axe (*paussein*). The Burman adopted the Chinese plane (*yulhaw*, "selecting-shave") with the Chinese straddle bench. The English carpenter's rule is also general. When the impulse to good house-building was given by the production of cheap planks, the immigrants from China got the whole of the work. The Burmans have begun to oust them from the heavy carpentering and from the joinery as well. Ordinary Burman carpenters earn ¾ rupee a day, the better workmen 1 to 1½ rupees a day, compared with the Chinaman's 1½ rupees. The wood-work is left

263. BINDING THE LOGS INTO RAFTS.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

484 inferior to his own—not penetrating as far as China or India, where he might
485 witness the dire struggle for existence which has disciplined the races about to compete for his soil—the Burman fails to realise how enviable is the lot he

[532]
[133 361]

315. TOWN ENVIRONS IN THE DRY ZONE.

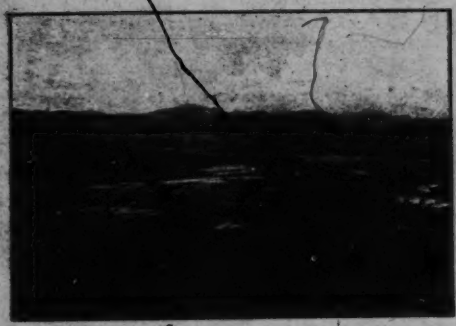
316. CARVED FIGURE OF ANANDA (p. 85).

now enjoys and to recognise the nature of the influences which may effect the decline of his prosperity. Great as are the facilities for travel from the native point of view, to Europeans the discomfort of travel, once off the lines of rail and steamer, is so considerable that few who can avoid it visit the interior.

[505 493]

317. FERRY STATION.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4



104. OUTLOOK OVER MIXED FORMS OF CULTIVATION.

the vagaries of the rivers. A good season is one in which a large proportion of the fields have water enough for an early start and in which the rainfall is steady, not leaving the surface to dry up by a long break in the rain nor deluging the soil at other times. All the alluvial land of favourable elevation and quality is laid out in level rice-fields. Where the rainfall is ample—fifty inches and upwards—portions of the diluvial land with tenacious soil can be utilised in the same way by merely saving the surface-water. In regions of lighter rainfall, in a few favoured localities, such land is brought under rice by help of irrigation and if need be by terracing as well. The rice-fields are bordered by low turfy balks (*kazin*) about a cubit high, to keep in the water. These regular rice-lands form less than one-tenth of the gross area of the country. The rest is mainly irreclaimable, chiefly mountain, waste. The waste areas of the alluvial plains (*kwin*) are flooded from three to ten feet deep in the rains. They are clothed with elephant-grass (*kaing*) studded, through with silk-cotton trees and a few other species. The lowest levels in the *kwin* form shallow lagoons (*in*, No. 103) which dry up in the hot season. Dry-season crops—sugar-cane (which is also grown on the wet system), maize, lentils, and vegetables for a limited market—are obtained in the *kaing*.

106. HILL-PEOPLE MAKING THEIR CULTIVATION CLEARING (P. 149).

Burma has become the rice-mart of the world. Since the development of this trade the price of the staple export has more than quadrupled, producing in the lower country a prosperity which has no parallel in respect of its equal diffusion. It is believed that this development of the wealth of Pegu has been favoured by the upheaval

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

133 of the delta of the Irawadi, by which fresh silt-beds are raised to the cultivation level. The town of Thâton, now sixteen miles from the coast and without a sea approach, was, in historic times, a port. Ships came up to Tenaserim in the south, the ancient emporium of trade across the Peninsula to Siam, and to Akauttaung in the north, and probably to Pegu. A mass of precise data on this subject was collected by the late Mr. John Merrifield, who came to the conclusion that Tenaserim had risen fifteen to twenty feet in the course of the last 300 years. In 1900, ten and a half million acres were cultivated in Burma. The rice crop was estimated at three and a half million tons, of which two millions were exported, worth £14,000,000. Fallow lands were estimated at five and a half million acres and arable waste at twenty-four millions, out of a gross area of one hundred and one millions. In 1872 a considerable firm failed over the enterprise of bringing a few thousand acres of reputed arable waste at Kayásu under cultivation; the crops got so much water that they rotted. The area has lain waste ever since. Most of the waste land granted to companies has been resumed, on account of their failure to satisfy the condition of utilising the land. The conditions which render land suitable for wet cultivation are less simple than they appear at the first glance. It is possible that the estimate of the arable waste is much too high.

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[195] 106. THE RICE PLANT IN THE EAR.

Where the fields depend on the surface-water for their supply, a margin of fallow has to be left; where they get a deposit of river-silt it is unnecessary. If manure is plentiful it is taken out on the fields. But this is seldom the case because the cattle are so much at large. On the outskirts of the rice-fields, which are dispersed in groups throughout the *kwin*, fallow land may readily relapse into waste. The depopulation of Pegu (Chronology, 1570, 1591–1740) threw great areas out of cultivation. Anyone was free to reclaim waste, and is so still. In Burma Proper, where good land is much scarcer than in Pegu, proprietors are fixed on the soil in many places by royal grants [423] (*kye-mye, bbbabaing*). There were also royal demesne lands leased to tenants.

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In the dry zone of Burma Proper, rice cultivation is impracticable except where rivers flood their margins or where facilities for irrigation exist. Rice

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese APl

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249. DEFILE BELOW THE LAST RAPID OF THE SALWEEN.

high in a few seasons and get clear of the forest fires. But those struggling under cover are cut back by fire every year. Trees may attain a height of sixty feet in twenty years. A vigorous tree attains a marketable size of seven to eight feet girth at breast height in sixty to eighty years; trees of ten to twelve feet girth are common on good sites. The boles of the full-grown trees range from twenty-five to seventy-five feet and are mostly straight and round.

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The character of the dry mixed forest is determined by the prevailing bamboo, one of seven or eight species. The mixed forest constitutes a vegetal zone skirting the *kwin*, chiefly on sandstone slopes and hills, up to one thousand feet elevation. The timber tree most abundantly interspersed in the bamboo is *pyinkadò*, an "iron-wood" suitable for house-posts, sleepers, and rough work. The most valuable timber tree after teak, but even more sparingly distributed, is *padáuk*, an excellent wood for carriage-building; it has a rich red colour. In the driest type of mixed forest the cutch-tree is common (*shá*). The sandstone soil is interrupted by great stretches of "laterite," noted for its barrenness. It is not devoid of vegetation, but the forest which occupies these areas is open and stunted, with frequent blanks. It is called *indaing* from the prevailing *in*, the only gregarious forest tree of Burma, excepting the trees of the littoral and the pine of the high altitudes. This forest contains several congeners of the *sál* of India. Below the forests of the sandstone and laterite comes the *kwin*, with its prevailing *kaing*, interspersed with *leppan* and *pauk* trees. In the water-logged spots, and on the fringes of permanent lagoons, is the

250. MANGROVE JUNGLE.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

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252. RIPARIAN FOREST.

paludal forest (*yagaing taw*) and marshland (*bwet*). Towards the sea, the river-sides of the *kwin* are bordered with *lamú* and *pinlè-kanazò*, the evergreen monotony of which is only broken by the *danl* (*Nipa*), a palm with immense fronds somewhat like the cocoanut, but not developing a stem. The mud-banks of the tidal estuaries are overgrown with mangrove (*byú*). Above the brackish water, the riparian tree is the willow (*mômakò*), the tree that "denies its homage to the rain." For when by grace of heaven trees put forth their leaves, the willow sheds its own, and in the drought when all the rest are bare, the saucy tree breaks into leaf. Between the willow at the water's edge and the *kwin* or the hill-slope, as the case may be, comes a narrow band of riparian forest with a frequent undergrowth of cane-brake. This is the habitat of several useful timber trees, *thingán*, *pyinma*, *thikkò*, *ka-nyín* (wood-oil). These trees and their associates follow the banks of the small feeders into the hill-regions, or form an inter-mixture in the forest of evergreen trees which occupies the soles of ravines, abounding in lianas and epiphytic plants, with an undergrowth of *musaceæ*. Above this forest or, in other cases, the *kwin*, comes the zone of dry forest already described.

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Above the dry forest zone, but also at lower levels where the soil is volcanic, comes the hill evergreen forest (No. 256). Here trees are in the ascendant, except for occasional patches of giant bamboo (Nos. 122, 362). The trees are of innumerable species, of spongy and worthless timber, with a sprinkling of *ka-nyín*, *kaung-hmò*, *taung-pein-hnè*, and *thingán*, and in the extreme South, *gangaw*. The undergrowth consists of young trees, with palms, pandanuses and

253. UPPER WATERS OF RIVER (JULY).

301 sapphires to wear in the house or on informal occasions. No wonder a man groans when his wife bears him four daughters to be provided with jewellery.

135 Although Burma possesses no diamond mines, it has undoubtedly
301 been a gem country from early times. The regalia of the Burmese
511 court displayed at the South Kensington Museum in London, encrusted and coruscant with rubies set one against the other, row upon row, must be seen to get an idea of how rich in gems was the small kingdom of Burma. Its rubies, sapphires and jade are unrivalled in the world. Jade has been worked since the 13th century, but unlike the transparent gem stones, it has not been highly prized by the Burmese people who call it, merely, *kyauksein*, green-rock. Almost all is sent to China, in valuable quantity and quality, from the tract round the Kachin Hills in Northern Burma, near the town of Mogaung, where, as "the magic powers of heaven and earth are ever combined to form perfect results; so the pure essences of hill and water became solidified into precious jade."

If jade is green-rock, the ruby is red-rock, but it is also *badamya*, gem, jewel, possession of highest worth. The ruby mines at Mogok have given the world the Burma ruby, famous amongst these rare precious stones which vary from deep crimson or purple to pale rose. Here also are found precious sapphires; the two lying in crystalline beds flashed with mica and embedded also with garnets and spinels of all colours, which the poorer people can use for their let-wut let-sa, set in silver, if they cannot buy gold, from the silver mines at Bawdwin about 50 miles away. An ordinary family like ours, with children for whom an expensive modern education is provided, possesses only the "utility" pieces for each member of the family, *i.e.*, the buttons, chains, bangles, rings and ear studs; and a hairpin and comb for the eldest, but this is considered as being poor in let-wut let-sa for a family of our standing. It can be imagined then what good housewives Burmese women have to be. A relative of mine who began petty trading as a young girl, was wearing in her middle age diamond rings, one of which held a single stone with the base a little over half an inch in diameter. But this can be done with less self-denial than it sounds, because all Burmese people have the same foods and ways of enjoyment, and a man does not develop more expensive habits or likings when he grows richer.

602 The financial help given to relatives is a part of our family system. It is difficult for nations whose sons go out to work in foreign lands and whose boarding houses contain old fathers and mothers waited on by pail labour, to realize the strong family unity that still exists among natons like the Burmese. Even the naming of relationships knits them together: cousins become "brother-one-womb-removed"; my father's

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

222. CANOPY OF GREAT ZEDI (TI, PP. 80, 101).

thing like a spoke-shave (*daing-dyaik*), for the rough shaping of the blades after forging, to save their files. The blacksmiths make the axes of the country also. The old Burman axe consists of a long-handled wooden mallet with an iron tip like a small spade. The smiths also make spear-heads for the hill-people, iron shoes for ploughs, mattocks and hoes, tires and axles of carts, dee nails for boats, nippers for sugar-cane and betel-nut, and other tools. They do repairs of locks and fire-arms. A special class of iron-work is making *tt* for *zedi*. The tinsmith's trade was unknown in Burma until fifty years ago. In Pegu it is still in Indian hands; but in Mandalay the Burman tinsmiths are unequalled.

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223. MOUNTAIN CASCADE.

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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I might give example after example of this sort, for they happen every day. We who are meat-eaters, who delight in shooting, who have a horror of insects and reptiles, are continually coming into collision with the principles of our neighbours; for even harmful reptiles they do not care to kill. Truly I believe it is a myth, the story of the Burmese mother courteously escorting out of the house the scorpion which had just bitten her baby. A Burmese mother worships her baby as much as the woman of any other nation does, and I believe there is no crime she would not commit in its behalf. But if she saw a scorpion walking about in the fields, she would not kill it as we should. She would step aside and pass on. 'Poor beast!' she would say, 'why should I hurt it? It never hurt me.'

The Burman never kills insects out of sheer brutality. If a beetle drone annoyingly, he will catch it in a handkerchief and put it outside, and so with a bee. It is a great trouble often to get your Burmese servants to keep your house free of ants and other annoying creatures. If you tell them to kill the insects they will, for in that case the sin falls on you. Without special orders they would rather leave the ants alone.

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In the district in which I am now living snakes are very plentiful. There are cobras and keraits, but the most dreaded is the Russell's viper. He is a snake that averages from three to four feet long, and is very thick, with a big head and a stumpy tail. His body is marked very prettily with spots and blurs of light on a dark, grayish green, and he

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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is so like the shadows of the grass and weeds in a dusty road, that you can walk on him quite unsuspectingly. Then he will bite you, and you die. He comes out usually in the evening before dark, and lies about on footpaths to catch the home-coming ploughman or reaper, and, contrary to the custom of other snakes, he will not flee on hearing a footstep. When anyone approaches he lies more still than ever, not even a movement of his head betraying him. He is so like the colour of the ground, he hopes he will be passed unseen; and he is slow and lethargic in his movements, and so is easy to kill when once detected. As a Burman said, 'If he sees you first, he kills you; if you see him first, you kill him.'

In this district no Burman hesitates a moment in killing a viper when he has the chance. Usually he has to do it in self-defence. This viper is terribly feared, as over a hundred persons a year die here by his bite. He is so hated and feared that he has become an outcast from the law that protects all life.

[165]

But with other snakes it is not so. There is the hamadryad, for instance. He is a great snake about ten to fourteen feet long, and he is the only snake that will attack you first. He is said always to do so, certainly he often does. One attacked me once when out quail shooting. He put up his great neck and head suddenly at a distance of only five or six feet, and was just preparing to strike, when I literally blew his head off with two charges of shot.

You would suppose he was vicious enough to be included with the Russell's viper in the category of

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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the exceptions, but no. Perhaps he is too rare to excite such fierce and deadly hate as makes the Burman forget his law and kill the viper. However it may be, the Burman is not ready to kill the hamadryad. A few weeks ago a friend of mine and myself came across two little Burman boys carrying a jar with a piece of broken tile over it. The lads kept lifting up the tile and peeping in, and then putting the tile on again in a great hurry, and their actions excited our curiosity. So we called them to come to us, and we looked into the jar. It was full of baby hamadryads. The lads had found a nest of them in the absence of the mother, who would have killed them if she had been there, and had secured all the little snakes. There were seven of them.

We asked the boys what they intended to do with the snakes, and they answered that they would show them to their friends in the village. 'And then?' we asked. And then they would let them go in the water. My friend killed all the hamadryads on the spot, and gave the boys some coppers, and we went on. Can you imagine this happening anywhere else? Can you think of any other schoolboys sparing any animal they caught, much less poisonous snakes? The extraordinary hold that this tenet of their religion has upon the Burmese must be seen to be understood. What I write will sound like some fairy story, I fear, to my people at home. It is far beneath the truth. The belief that it is wrong to take life is a belief with them as strong as any belief could be. I do not know anywhere any command, earthly or heavenly, that is acted up to with such earnestness as this command

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16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

776 flowers and water offered, the Nat might know and return. I even offered to contribute myself, that it might be taken as an *amende honorable* on behalf of the English government. But they did not think this would be any use. No Nat would come where there was so much going and coming, so little care for life, such a disregard for pity and for peace. If we were to take away our rest-house, well then, perhaps, after a time, something could be done, but not under present circumstances.

776 626 And so, besides dethroning the Burmese king, and occupying his golden palace, we are ousting from their pleasant homes the guardian spirits of the trees. They flee before the cold materialism of our belief, before the brutality of our manners. The headman did not say this; he did not mean to say this, for he is a very courteous man and a great friend of all of us; but that is what it came to, I think.

776 136 The trunk of this tree is more than ten feet through—not a round bole, but like the pillar in a Gothic cathedral, as of many smaller boles growing together; and the roots spread out into a pedestal before entering the ground. The trunk does not go up very far. At perhaps twenty-five feet above the ground it divides into a myriad of smaller trunks, not branches, till it looks more like a forest than a single tree; it is full of life still. Though the pigeons and the doves come here no longer, there are a thousand other birds flitting to and fro in their aerial city and chirping to each other. Two tiny squirrels have just run along a branch nearly over my head, in a desperate hurry apparently, their tails

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

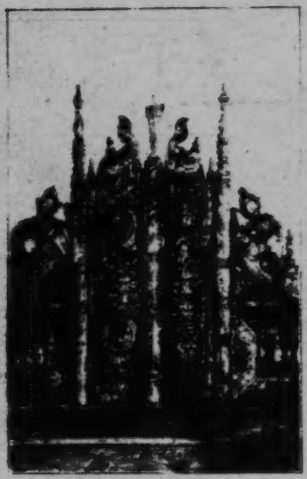
cocked over their backs, and a sky-blue chameleon is standing on the trunk near where it parts. There is always a breeze in this great tree; the leaves are always moving, and there is a continuous rustle and murmur up there. A mango-tree and tamarind near by are quite still. Not a breath shakes their leaves; they are as still as stone, but the shadow of the fig-tree is chequered with ever-changing lights. Is the Nat really gone? Perhaps not; perhaps he is still there, still caring for his tree, only shy now and distrustful, and therefore no more seen.

Whole woods are enchanted sometimes, and no one dare enter them. Such a wood I know, far away north, near the hills, which is full of Nats. There was a great deal of game in it, for animals sought shelter there, and no one dared to disturb them; nor the villagers to cut firewood, nor the girls seeking orchids, nor the hunter after his prey, dared to trespass upon that enchanted ground.

'What would happen,' I asked once, 'if anyone went into that wood? Would he be killed, or what?'

And I was told that no one could tell what would happen, only that he would never be seen again alive. 'The Nats would confiscate him,' they said, 'for intruding on their privacy.' But what they would do to him after the confiscation no one seemed to be quite sure. I asked the official who was with me, a fine handsome Burman who had been with us in many fights, whether he would go into the wood with me, but he declined at once. Enemies are one thing, Nats are quite another, and a very much more dreadful thing. You can escape

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 · APl Burma
Burmese AP4



7. ANCIENT GATE, WITH FIGURES OF THADYA-MIN AND KEINNAYA.

is part of India. The phrase *Indo-China* is also misleading unless in respect of geography. In respect of climate, flora and fauna, *Further India* is not inapplicable. A probable Indo-Aryan admixture exists in the north-east (Arakán). But Burma Proper and Pegu are as distinct from India as Tibet itself.

The original Burman tribes are conjectured to have pushed their way south from the mountains of Tibet. They divided into three principal branches, Arakán (*Rakáing, Yakáing*) on the west, Paung on the east, and Burma (*Bamá*), which attained to the chief position, in the middle, on the northern Irawadi (*E-ya wadi*). Nothing is known of the early history of these nations. But it is certain that in 1000 A.D. Burma was a large and powerful kingdom, with its seat at Pagán. About that time the first historical conquest of the lower Irawadi was effected. From the fact that the country was not permanently subdued it may be inferred that the power of the Mun or Peguan race (later called Taláing) was not greatly inferior to that of the Burman. The Muns, from the affinities of their language, are conjectured to be of Annamitic origin. There is mention of the Pagán kingdom independently of the Burman chronicles, and there is above all the evidence of the ruins of Pagán, probably the mightiest of their kind. They testify to the power of the kingdom and the influence of the

8. ANANDA PAYA, PAGAN.

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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108. PLOUGHING IN THE DRY ZONE.

is a luxury in that region, and a part of the requirement is imported from Pegu. Crops of sorghum and millet (*pyaung*, *lu*), sesamum (*hnan*) and various pulses (*pè*), as well as cotton (*wè*), are obtained on the better sort of soil, during the light rains, from July to September. The dry soil is too hard for ploughing even when moistened by such rain as falls. It is scraped up with harrows instead. Four oxen are yoked abreast and the driver rides on the beam of the harrow to give it weight.

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The wet or staple cultivation of the whole country begins between June and August, as soon as the grass-sod which has formed on the rice-fields in the by-season—and which has served for pasture in the interval—has got thoroughly water-logged. The soil is then turned, about six inches deep, with a wooden plough (*tè*, Nos. 102, 119) bearing a shoe of bronze or iron. Where elephants are available, a large *thu* is used which does the work of four ploughs. The clods left by the plough are broken fine, and the wet soil worked into slush by herds of buffaloes driven round and round in the fields. If there are not enough cattle, the plough-clods are worked down with harrows drawn by buffaloes or oxen (No. 325). A rotary implement is coming into use to prepare the clods for the harrow (No. 168). There is very little open grass-land in the moist region. Unless the scrub which springs up is cut, the land soon relapses into jungle.

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For the above operations cattle are needful to the cultivator, though he makes little use of the manure and does not use the milk at all. The cattle are only used for draught, and very little care is bestowed on breeding. Oxen

109. ELEPHANT PLOUGH.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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168. VILLAGE CAUSEWAY IN THE TIDAL REGION.

the village head-man or other functionary, and round about, the houses of the villagers in more or less regular rows. The village streets are broad and in some places the houses are well-spaced, with plots of fruit-trees and vegetable-gardens between and at the back. No care is bestowed on the roads except in a few riverain localities and tidal regions, where embanked roads and brick causeways are necessary. Trees are planted in front of the houses—cocoanut and betel palms, giant bamboo, the evergreens, tamarind, mango, and jack, for their fruit and shade: *gangaw*, *sagâ*, and *padáuk* for their shade and scented flowers; *mèzali*, *zi*, and several *ficus* species. The screw-pine and various ornamental shrubs are cultivated—*tarôssaga* (*frangipani*, No. 92), *sènnaya*, gardenias, and roses. *Palma Christi* (castor-oil plant) is common for hedges. Plants cultivated by Europeans in the tropics—crotons, begonias, caladiums, balsams—are spreading everywhere. Pot-gardening is becoming a feature of the villages and even of the raft-houses and boats.

[487] [245] [177] 247

Well received as the stranger is by the people of the village, he has to brave the displeasure of the village curs. The dogs are the scavengers of the settlements, together with the crows and the myriads of ants. The termites ("white ants") account for the dry vegetable refuse, but they also invade the dwellings and destroy dry wood, mats, and thatch. Cats attach themselves to houses in the same way as dogs. A peculiarity of the domestic cat of Burma is

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169. VILLAGE RIVER-FRONT.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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171. THE VILLAGE DOGS.

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the kinked tail. Wild animals are often kept as pets, and fetch good prices. Monkeys, deer, porcupines, otters, are occasionally tamed. Cage-birds are in many houses (No. 404); doves, minas, and parakeets are the commonest. The principal singing bird is the bulbul, but it is not a cage-bird. Poultry is kept for the sake of fighting-cocks or for fancy. The wild peacock is caught young and kept; it is generally a savage bird. The peacock and the hare are the national emblems of Burma (Nos. 2, 7, 11).

The houses and boats are infested with rats and cockroaches. The latter have an enemy in the *taukté*, a large lizard of the same tribe as the little gecko, which catches flies in the houses throughout the tropics of Asia. This animal is remarkable for its loud cry, whence its name (see *The Shadow of the Pagoda*). What with the cawing of crows, barking of dogs, croaking of frogs, chatter of sparrows, loud hum of cicadas, squeaking of rats—an interval of real stillness by day or night is a boon in Burma, when the quiet does not merely serve to bring out the ominous "ping" of the mosquito. In addition to this perennial pest come the flights of insects at dusk, as the rainy season approaches. The "bombardier" comes with them, a beetle which raises a blister wherever it touches, and which is a danger to eyesight. But one of the most charming effects of the country is produced by the myriads of fireflies with their rhythmical illumination of the river sedges at night.

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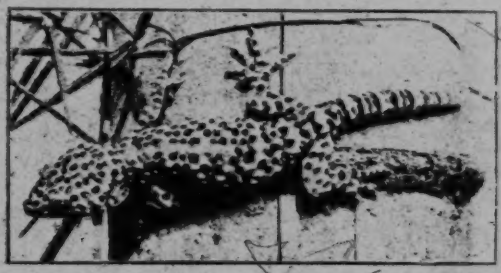
The seasons of Burma—and Further India at large—are three; the rainy, or south-west monsoon, the cool, or north-east monsoon, and the hot season. The rains last, roughly speaking, from May to September (*Kasôn*, *Nayôn*, *Wazô*, *Wagâung*, *Tawthalin*,

[136]



172. THE TAUK-TE (ONE-THIRD NATURAL SIZE).

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

202. SETTING NETS FOR DEER.

which a second party is in hiding with dogs. At a sign, the dogs are slipped and the deer chased headlong into the nets, where they are caught or cut down before they can get clear. 224 [231]

Sat and *thamin*, which would clear the net at a bound, are coursed with greyhounds of local breed (*Kamâbi*) when they have ventured far enough into the open. The Burmans have been acquainted with firearms since the fourteenth century of our era. Saltpetre they obtained by percolating with water the droppings of bats accumulated in caves, and boiling down the lye; it was also obtained from certain marshes; sulphur probably came from China. The old flint-lock is still a favourite, because the ammunition is easy to procure. Weapons were bad, and the *mhôi* is a poor marksman; but he manages to approach very near to his quarry. Cross-bows, snares, and traps for game are used by the hill people, in default of firearms. Such venison as is obtained is hurried off to the nearest market town, where it is retailed fresh. If it cannot be thus disposed of, it is cut into strips and sun-dried. Next to deer, the chief quarry is the wild pig. Wild buffaloes ("bison," *gyaung*) frequent the forests. In a few localities a wild ox is found (*saing*). A wild goat lives in some of the rocky limestone hills. The hare and the partridge are common in the open country of the dry zone and the plateau-land of the hills. Peacocks are not uncommon in some localities, but are nowhere so abundant as in India. A silver pheasant (*yit*) is common in the bamboo forests. The great argus occurs in the extreme south. Wild or jungle fowl (*tawe-dyet*) are common in all the dry forests. Decoy-birds are used for snaring these, and also the ring-doves (*dyu*). Ducks,

411 389 [262] 224 136

203. KAMABI DOG

[231]

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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224. HILL-MAN WITH CROSSBOW.

geese and teal are abundant in some places, as are pigeons of many kinds, including the large "imperial" pigeon. But the only game to be counted upon in Burma is the snipe (*sinyaw*), which frequents the rice-fields. The Burman does not attempt this game, nor does he shoot at any bird on the wing or running game. Pelicans are shot for the sake of the crest and neck feathers, adjutant-birds for the marabout feathers. The cruel chase of the egret (*byaing*) for *aigrettes* is conducted by aliens. Other notable birds of Burma are the hornbill, with its noisy flight, the pewit (*tititu*), and the kingfisher, hunted by the Chinese for its plumage. There are no rapacious birds of dangerous size. Carrion is speedily disposed of by vultures and crows. (For the birds of Burma see the systematic work by Eugene W. Oates.) Herbivorous wild animals being scarce, the beasts which prey on them are particularly scarce, and their depredations on men and cattle are of much less significance than in India. The annual casualties in the population of Burma from these causes are about one hundred, of which thirty are ascribed to snake-bite. An old tiger (*kyá*), past hunting deer and pig, or a tigress with cubs, makes a forest track insecure from time to time. The tiger is sometimes shot from a tree over the kill, or a spring-gun is set or a trap constructed. A feature of the trap in the illustration is a partition as stout as its walls, to protect the dog used as the bait, from the tiger. Panthers or leopards (*kyathlt*) occasionally take calves, goats, pigs, and dogs from the villages. These beasts are easier to trap than tigers, which are shy of dwellings and everything artificial. A crocodile (*mijáung*) sometimes makes a reach of river unsafe for swimmers, and

225. TRAP FOR TIGER.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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[231]
[439]
[563
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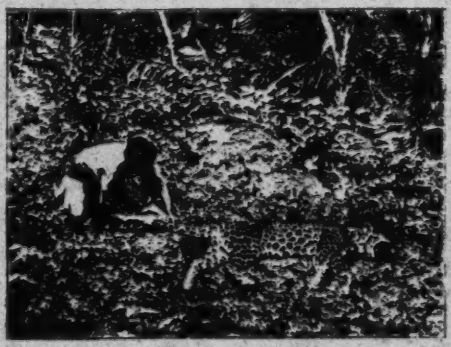
207. BRINGING IN ROE-DEER (DYI).

then the bathing-places have to be staked in. Wild elephants make a road dangerous at times. Elephants are captured by pit-falls. Decoys are also used in various ways; small animals are detached from the herd by their means and then kept going until they are worn out, and can be tethered and hobbled for taming. The breaking in is accomplished by pinning the elephant between trees or stout posts where it cannot lie down, keeping it underfed, and giving food as the reward of docility. Young elephants born in captivity—as occasionally happens—are broken in, in the same way, about the sixth year, when half grown. The stock is replenished from Siam, where the wild herds are larger, and the business of catching is more developed, and where also elephants breed more frequently in captivity. The elephant-breakers and trainers are Shans, and the words of command Shan. Rhinoceroses (*kyan*) may be found about the sources of streams in the evergreen hills; occasional tracks are seen. A tapir occurs in the forests of Tenaserim. Wild dogs (*canis rutilans*) occur in a few localities. There is no wolf, fox, or hyæna, and no jackal east of Arakán. There is a larger and a smaller black bear (*wèzaun*), very rarely encountered, and not aggressive. There are several species of wild cat (*tare-dhaung*) large and small, and a few species of weasel. A small porcupine is found (*pyw*). The huge bamboo-rat (*pazè*) is dug out of its burrow by the hill people. There are many tribes of monkeys and gibbons; the weird cry of the latter is the characteristic sound of the evergreen forest. Squirrels are the only wild animals



208. MEASURING THE PANTHER.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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209. THE HAMADRYAD.

one commonly notices. A great lizard (*put*), weighing twenty to forty pounds, infests hollow trees; it is shot and eaten by the Burmans, and its skin used for sandals. Most of the venomous snakes of India are common to Burma, excepting the small and deadly *krait*. The formidable hamadryad is added, but there are no fully established cases of the pursuit of man which is attributed to this snake. The casualties due to snake-bite are chiefly among the reapers. The gigantic python is not dangerous to man. Scorpions and centipedes are common enough, but their stings and bites are not often serious.

Good clay for pottery is only found in certain localities, and from these the manufactures are sent to great distances by water. Clay almost stone-hard and laterite are pounded with a tilt-hammer, screened, and worked up in certain proportions with water and sand, by treading with the feet. The best and strongest pots for cooking are not turned on the lathe but *patted* into shape by hand. These are but slightly porous and of a hard consistence. The lathe pottery is very porous when not glazed. A salt glaze is used for jars to store oil. For ornamental work, lead glazes, coloured with vitriols, are employed. At the potteries, immense reverberating kilns are built for firing the pots. Smaller kilns are fired all round or are excavated underground on the plan of the lime-kiln. Wood is the fuel used.

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Stone for building is scarce, except in Arakán. Masonry is reserved for the *zedi*. Of late, owing to a fresh impulse from India, masonry has again come into greater use. Everywhere in the inhabited plains one

210. POTTERY—PATTING THE WARE INTO SHAPE.

1: Mi Mi Khaing I-5 (no date) 1946 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4
Mon

houses did likewise and the procession collected more girls as it passed each house on its way towards the zayats. Behind the girls, the young lads of the village followed with empty tins and buckets, to go and draw water with which to bathe the images of the Buddha, and then the bath-water for the old folk in the zayat. The procession always looked very gay, for the girls wore stout bright cotton prints instead of the usual white muslin jackets, so that the wet clinging clothes after a splashing would not make immodest figures of them. As this procession passed, not even the naughtiest urchin would dare to splash them as long as they headed in the direction of the monastery. Arrived at their destination, the young people served the meal to the elders, drew the water and washed the images, filled the jars with bathwater for their grandmothers, ate their own meal from the pooled remains of what they had brought, and then started uproarious fun. The young men had the advantage of their buckets, but the girls had the advantage of being able to use guile by affecting fear and helplessness until they could turn the buckets round on their pursuers. After this they went in search of the new branches, the equavalent, in Ye, of the *padauk* flowers which boys and girls in other parts of Burma were plucking. 796

The padauk is the *pterocarpus indica*, a tall tree growing in the mixed dry forests of Burma and giving a rich red wood which is much used in the making of bullock carts. It is also a beautiful flowering tree, whose bright yellow blossoms are always associated with the freshness of the New Year festivities, for it flowers at this time and its branches are cut down and dragged into houses with drops of water lighting up the golden 796 137 132 821

796 yellow flowers against the rich dark green leaves, either water from the
137 water throwers or the *tha-gyan mo*, the thingyan showers. Light showers
132 usually fall about this time although the monsoon is far off yet; they come
821 from a small low pressure area over the land although when we were young it seemed to be part of what the true tha-gyan sa leaflets should promise, a foretaste of the coolness of the real monsoon, and a recognition of Tha-gya Min's presence. If the rain was late in falling, the villagers set to work to hurry it on. The rain spirits live in the stars but they sometimes come out to play with each other in the space of the firmament. Then rain falls on the earth. But at other times, when the sun is not in the right quarter, they stay indoors and the earth receives only the scorching heat of the sun. Men can then rouse the rain spirits to show more energy and come out, by the beating of tin cans and by exerting energy themselves in a tug-of-war. In Ye, the upper street and the lower street used to put up teams for this and tugging was carried on amidst betting and cheering and the beating of empty kerosene tins by women and children around.

796 The girls and youths from the monastery returned at about noon,
262 wet and happy and dragging the branches of *ngu* along. Throughout the day the children ran into the street to pour water on passers-by; bullock carts went by, decorated with ngu branches and holding music and water parties of young men and girls, the young men richly painted and dancing in the open carts; rival teams drew up and staged water-fights in the street or went to besiege houses where beautiful girls with a reputation for coldness or coyness were hiding. Throughout the day, also, dishes of sweetmeats arrived, for each house does the good act of making a comestible in large quantities for distribution. Ours was made on the second day and was a Moulmein speciality for which my mother had the best talent. This *tha-gyan hta-min*, thingyan rice, sounds insipid when described as boiled rice, eaten floating in cold water which has been made fragrant, to the accompaniment of green mango salad and saltfish shredded and fried crisp. To us, of course, it is delicious. The water has received an infusion of the aroma from an earthen pot which is turned upside down over the burning of tallow and fragrant woods. The rice is not the moist steamy rice of meal times but has been drained after cooking, on tray-sieves of cane, and the grains lie clear and separate and whole. The delight of eating thingyan rice in the hot weather is indescribable to foreigners, perhaps even to all non-Moulmein people, eating it in wide china bowls, with china spoons, alternating the concentration of sour and salt tastes of mango and saltfish with the coolness and cleanness of the rice and its water. We could eat this throughout the day; being thingyan rice it carried a blessedness which made us immune

1: Mi Mi Khaing I-5 (no date) 1946 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4
Chinese

previous child, the ta-yok chi-thay-ma had frantically grabbed a piece 511
of charcoal and had smudged the arm of the dying child, saying: "If I 563
get this child back in my next labour, may I know her by this mark." 775
Down below the arum bushes grew close and dark against the fence.
They had frightened us, like green snakes that must not be touched, [137]
because the leaves made your tongue itch with an intangible and incurable itch although the roots were made into delicious soups. In Grandfather's bedroom was a window looking into the maternity chamber, [562]
still padlocked with a lock whose key had been lost nearly twenty years ago, and a patch of light wood nailed over the hole which a robber had made with the point of his damyaung. From the maternity chamber, also, an aunt had thrown a basin of washing water to splash on an uncle sitting below, with whom she had quarrelled and whose hpon would be lowered by the ignobility of the woman's labour. For my mother the house must have had sharp memories, but she never spoke of them while there because my father became ill shortly after. This oppressed her spirits, and made her think only with sorrow of her dead mother and father, her brothers and sisters, so many now dead and the rest scattered far and never returning after the death of Grandfather.

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

231 Silk-raising is therefore encouraged as a means of stopping the ruination of the timber. It is a very simple matter, involving the least possible amount of toil, and at the same time being on the whole very profitable. Moreover, the
● [137] Burmese mulberry-bush, which is quite distinct from the ordinary *Morus Indica*, does not grow well on the alluvial soil of the low lands, while it flourishes on the hillsides, where the Yabeins mostly live. The silk obtained from the caterpillars fed on the leaves of the hill-shrubs is very much better than that obtained from the mulberry-bushes of the plains. Thus it happens that all parties are likely to be pleased. The English Government foresters will gradually find means of putting an end to the timber-burning, which they detest; the richer Burmans down in the lowlands will neither have the temptation to increase their income at the expense of their piety, nor will they have that piety shocked by an organised system of taking life; while the Yabeins in their own hill-villages will be allowed to do as they please, and will accumulate tidy sums of money into the bargain.

231 It is certain that neither the silkworm nor the mulberry-
171 bush is indigenous in Burma. It is said that the first cocoons were brought from China in the reign of King Anawrata Saw. Others again maintain that the Chinese taught the Shans, the Shans the Karens, and these the Burmese. In some places among the more superstitious hill-tribes the mulberry-tree receives a kind of worship. In any case it is more probable that both the silkworm and the tree were introduced from Western China, down the valley of the Irrawaddy or the Salween, than that they came over the hills, through turbulent mountaineers, from India. The
231 shrub does not grow much more than ten feet high, and
289 seldom produces good succulent leaves for a longer period than three years. After that the plants are apt to get coarse and stringy, and the cultivators ordinarily abandon the plantation, or root out the bushes and plant new ones. As the shrub will not flower it is propagated by cuttings, and new shoots are constantly being planted so that there may be an unfailing supply of young and fresh leaves. The Burmans call it the posabin, "the tree the silkworms eat." There is another tree—that from the bark of which the coarse paper

[i.e. as an alternative to brand-tillage--ANALYST]

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

CHAPTER XXVII

LACQUER WARE

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FOR a long time it was assumed that Japanese and Chinese lacquered goods were simply papier-mâché. A popular fancy for the ware has brought to the knowledge of all who care for the information that it is really wood of different kinds painted over with the juice of the urushi tree. Should fashion ever inspire a similar enthusiasm for Burmese productions of the same kind, it is probable that it may be supposed that these also are composed of solid wood, and people will wonder at the extreme thinness and flexibility of the finer specimens. But it is only the coarsest ware which is thus produced. All the better boxes and cups are made of a woven basket-work of strips of bamboo; the varnish used on them is, like the Japanese lacquer, the sap obtained from the stem of a tree, and has nothing whatever to do with the insect-produced lac, such as English varnishers employ in solution with alcohol. I am no botanist enough to know whether the urushi (*Rhus vernicifera*), the Japanese tree, is identical with the Burman thi'si (*Melanorrhœa usitatissima*), or even whether it is of the same genus or order. Thi'si (literally wood-oil) is dark in colour from the moment it is gathered, whereas the urushi sap is described as being light yellow when first extracted, and only turning black after considerable exposure to the air. The urushi has been cultivated by royal order for hundreds of years in Japan; but in Burma, though the Forest Department declares the thi'si a reserved tree, there is no attempt at organised cultivation, and the thi'si-bin grows wild in the jungle. Not even near Nyaung-u, where nearly

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2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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every household in the town is occupied in the trade, is there any attempt at regular planting of nurseries. Nevertheless it is plentiful enough, and affords a magnificent spectacle when it is in flower—a huge forest tree covered so thickly with creamy-white blossoms that the leaves cannot be seen. The flowers have a fragrant scent not unlike that of apples, and the needy and practical Burman often makes a very acceptable curry of the buds. In full-grown trees the average height to the first branch is thirty feet, and the ordinary girth six feet from the ground is nine feet. Charcoal-burners have a predilection for the wood, which would not meet with approval in Japan; and it is much used for anchors and tool-helves, being very close and fine-grained. It is too heavy to float when green, but dried it is not particularly weighty. The sap may be collected at all times, except when the fruit is on the trees, from Pyatho to Tabaung—the first three months of the English year. Then it is thin and does not produce such a brilliant polish. The mode of collection is simple enough. Incisions are made in the stem, and the sap trickles into bamboos placed to catch it. When it is to be kept any time there must be a depth of two or three inches of water on the top, otherwise it would dry up and become solid. The water, however, does not improve it. The best varnish, called thi'si ayaungtin, is that which has been just drawn from the tree; the second quality contains twenty-five per cent of water, the inferior as much as fifty.

The articles lacquered are chiefly drinking-cups and betel-boxes, the latter consisting of a cylindrical inner case, in which are fitted two or three trays for holding the lime, betel-vine leaves, cutch, nuts, and other ingredients for betel-chewing, the whole covered by an outer lid reaching to the bottom of the inner case. Ordinary kôn-it, betel-boxes, are three or four inches high and two and a half to three in diameter. Articles of the same shape are made of all sizes up to a couple of feet or more in height, these last being used for holding clothes and women's working materials. The bi-it, ladies' toilet-boxes, are often the most delicate and carefully worked. The actresses always carry splendid specimens about with them to contain their combs, oil, scent,

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
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104. OUTLOOK OVER MIXED FORMS OF CULTIVATION.

the vagaries of the rivers. A good season is one in which a large proportion of the fields have water enough for an early start and in which the rainfall is steady, not leaving the surface to dry up by a long break in the rain nor deluging the soil at other times. All the alluvial land of favourable elevation and quality is laid out in level rice-fields. Where the rainfall is ample—fifty inches and upwards—portions of the diluvial land with tenacious soil can be utilised in the same way by merely saving the surface-water. In regions of lighter rainfall, in a few favoured localities, such land is brought under rice by help of irrigation and if need be by terracing as well. The rice-fields are bordered by low turfy balks (*kazin*) about a cubit high, to keep in the water. These regular rice-lands form less than one-tenth of the gross area of the country. The rest is mainly irreclaimable, chiefly mountain, waste. The waste areas of the alluvial plains (*kwin*) are flooded from three to ten feet deep in the rains. They are clothed with elephant-grass (*kaing*) studded, through with silk-cotton trees and a few other species. The lowest levels in the *kwin* form shallow lagoons (*in*, No. 103) which dry up in the hot season. Dry-season crops—sugar-cane (which is also grown on the wet system), maize, lentils, and vegetables for a limited market—are obtained in the *kaing*.

105. HILL-PEOPLE MAKING THEIR CULTIVATION CLEARING (P. 149).

Burma has become the rice-mart of the world. Since the development of this trade the price of the staple export has more than quadrupled, producing in the lower country a prosperity which has no parallel in respect of its equal diffusion. It is believed that this development of the wealth of Pegu has been favoured by the upheaval

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
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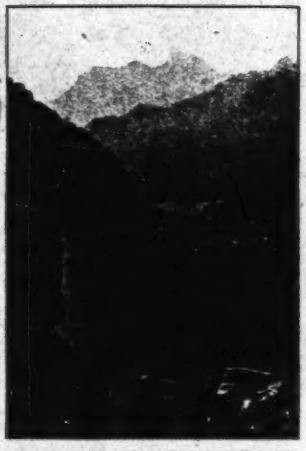

342. DEFILE BELOW THE GREAT RAPID OF THE SALWEEN.

which it is hammered is obtained from bamboo-fibre.

In Burma the idea still prevails that gold may be compounded from baser metals or the quantity of fine gold augmented by their means. Alchemists are found in every town, who experiment in the hope of success or practise on dupes who furnish the gold that is to be increased. A furnace and blast is the chief appliance of the laboratory, and the potent agent relied upon is mercury. Ingredients of every sort, animal, vegetable and mineral, are experimented with, under the influence of charms and cabalistic forms, whence the name for alchemy, *ekkaya-tô*. The business is under the ban of religion, not alone as being actuated by greed (*lawba*, p. 44), but because primitive Buddhism eschews every thing mystical and occult. The operations are carried on at night for secrecy. Reputed adepts are found among the class of recluses called *yathé*, who from their life in the wilds are supposed to penetrate the arcana of nature.

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Wood-work was greatly restricted until better tools were imported. Planks and scantlings used to be laboriously prepared for boat-building and for palaces, religious edifices, and the houses of the great. Excepting the inner gates of the masonry temples, wood-work over a century old is scarce. But before the Burmans possessed the means of turning their timber to account for themselves, the country had become noted for its stock of teak. Burma possesses many valuable woods, but the pre-eminence of teak is such that for general purposes *timber* had come to mean always *teak* timber. Teak possesses the advantages

343. TEAK-TREE OUT OF LEAF (MARCH).

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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944. MIXED HILL-CROP OF RICE, SESAMUM, AND TEAK, IN SEPTEMBER (p. 149).

of being nearly all heart-wood, having considerable strength, with moderate hardness and weight, working easily with axe, saw and chisel, taking nails, and above all, not rusting nails or iron in contact with it. It has a serviceable brown colour and an odour by which it may always be distinguished, due to the presence of an oil which repels the attacks of insects, notably of the termites, and which protects it from decay. Teak is in short the prince of eastern woods. At the end of the eighteenth century, teak was already being worked out of the Burma forests and brought to port, where the foreign shippers had established saw-pits for squaring the logs. The steel pit-saws found their way into trade and gave an impetus to wood architecture, of which the ecclesiastical buildings of Burma are the chief examples. Timber-traders started building teak ships in Burma, employing Chinese carpenters. This business has been abandoned, but lighters are still built.

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943. FLUE OF FACTORY DISUSED TEN YEARS.

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The teak-tree (*tectona grandis*) occurs in patches of the dry mixed forest, the forest namely of which the principal element is a deciduous bamboo, with timber trees of fifty or more deciduous species scattered through it. Of these species about half a dozen produce serviceable timber. The bamboo-stools send up their culms to heights of forty and sixty feet in the course of a few weeks, before their branchlets and leaves appear. By means of this the bamboo has the advantage over all other vegetation. The seedlings of trees have to struggle up under its cover. At intervals of twenty to thirty years the bamboo species flower, to grow again from seed. Then is

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
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247. THE GREAT RAPID OF THE SALWEEN (HATJI).

the chance for the timber-trees. A seeding teak-tree may originate a clump of young teak on the natural clearing, just as happens on cultivation clearings (*taungya*, p. 149). Sometimes a mixture of trees in its turn suppresses the young bamboo. So far from forming vegetable mould on the surface, the great crisp leaves of teak (No. 355) provide rich fuel to the forest fires which burn every season and kill the struggling seedlings of trees. The bark of teak has about an eighth of an inch of a loose corky layer which protects the quick against scorching. The bare soil is exposed to severe erosion by rain. It is only where contributions of a better kind than its own are made to the soil that teak flourishes. Its occurrence is limited to patches of the dry forest zone, in which drainage and other factors not yet understood concur in a favourable way. Teak plantations are easy to start and the young trees are very promising. But they begin to languish and to seed prematurely when planted pure, as they mostly are. Teak attains its full height early, before commencing to flower, which it does in its axes of growth. Where the bloom drops off, no further straight length is grown. The stock of teak is in the main mature and over-mature. It is the savings which the mixed forest has accumulated of this imperishable wood, and is not supported by relays of younger generations in due proportion. Much even of the apparently rising stock is exhausted in vigour and is stationary; a tree crippled in vigour may never attain a girth of five feet. The blanks made by working out the teak are naturally filled up by the more numerous competing species. Teak seedlings in open situations grow twenty to thirty feet

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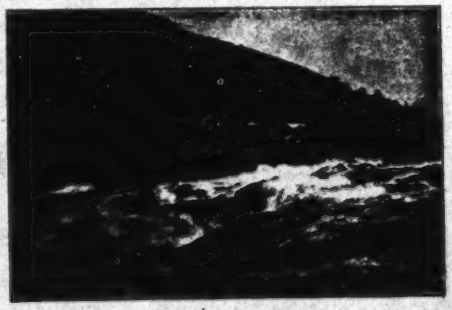

248. VORTEX OF THE GREAT RAPID.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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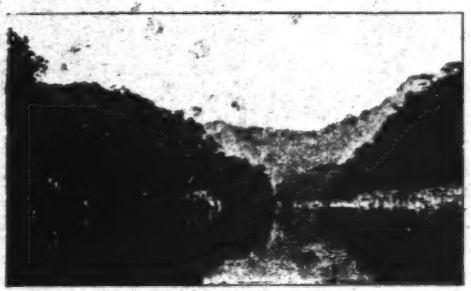

249. DEFILE BELOW THE LAST RAPID OF THE SALWEEN.

high in a few seasons and get clear of the forest fires. But those struggling under cover are cut back by fire every year. Trees may attain a height of sixty feet in twenty years. A vigorous tree attains a marketable size of seven to eight feet girth at breast height in sixty to eighty years; trees of ten to twelve feet girth are common on good sites. The boles of the full-grown trees range from twenty-five to seventy-five feet and are mostly straight and round.

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The character of the dry mixed forest is determined by the prevailing bamboo, one of seven or eight species. The mixed forest constitutes a vegetal zone skirting the *kwin*, chiefly on sandstone slopes and hills, up to one thousand feet elevation. The timber tree most abundantly interspersed in the bamboo is *pyinkadô*, an "iron-wood" suitable for house-posts, sleepers, and rough work. The most valuable timber tree after teak, but even more sparingly distributed, is *padauk*, an excellent wood for carriage-building; it has a rich red colour. In the driest type of mixed forest the cutch-tree is common (*shâ*). The sandstone soil is interrupted by great stretches of "laterite," noted for its barrenness. It is not devoid of vegetation, but the forest which occupies these areas is open and stunted, with frequent blanks. It is called *indaing* from the prevailing *in*, the only gregarious forest tree of Burma, excepting the trees of the littoral and the pine of the high altitudes. This forest contains several congeners of the *sâl* of India. Below the forests of the sandstone and laterite comes the *kwin*, with its prevailing *kaing*, interspersed with *leppan* and *pauk* trees. In the water-logged spots, and on the fringes of permanent lagoons, is the

250. MANGROVE JUNGLE.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
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[opp. p.114]

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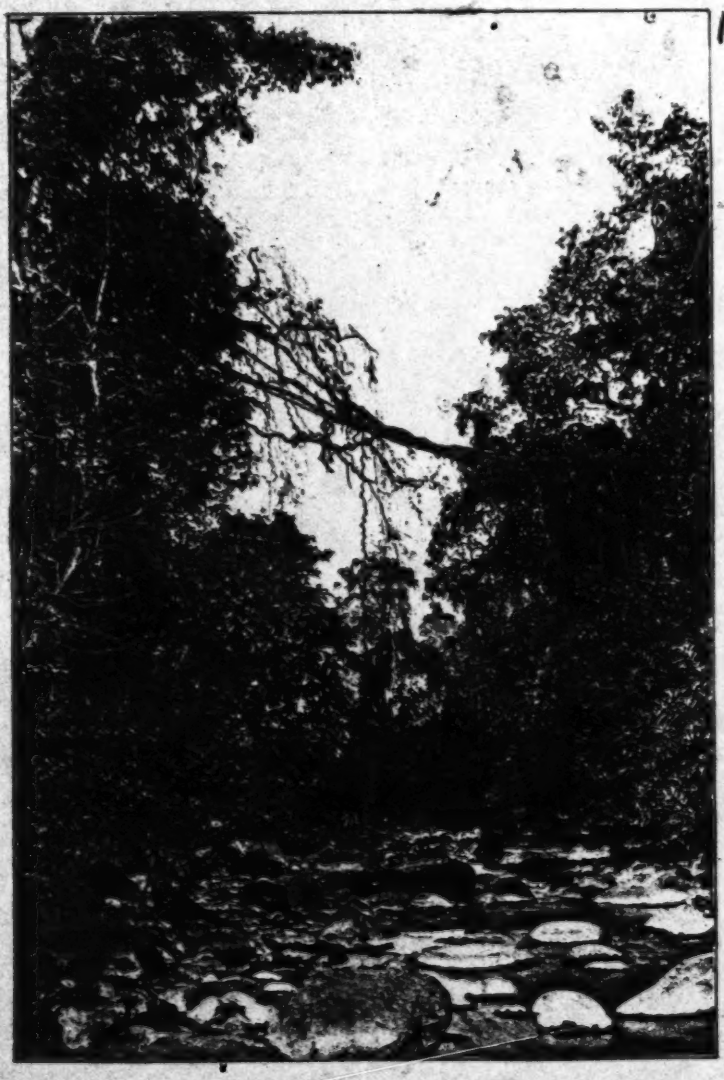

EVERGREEN FOREST BROOK. [To face p. 114.

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
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252. RIPARIAN FOREST.

paludal forest (*yagaing taw*) and marshland (*bwet*). Towards the sea, the river-sides of the *kwin* are bordered with *kwuá* and *pinlè-kanazè*, the evergreen monotony of which is only broken by the *danî* (*Nipa*), a palm with immense fronds somewhat like the cocoanut, but not developing a stem. The mud-banks of the tidal estuaries are overgrown with mangrove (*byè*). Above the brackish water, the riparian tree is the willow (*mômakè*), the tree that "denies its homage to the rain." For when by grace of heaven trees put forth their leaves, the willow sheds its own, and in the drought when all the rest are bare, the saucy tree breaks into leaf. Between the willow at the water's edge and the *kwin* or the hill-slope, as the case may be, comes a narrow band of riparian forest with a frequent undergrowth of cane-brake. This is the habitat of several useful timber trees, *thingán*, *prinma*, *thikkè*, *ka-nyin* (wood-oil). These trees and their associates follow the banks of the small feeders into the hill-regions, or form an inter-mixture in the forest of evergreen trees which occupies the soles of ravines, abounding in lianas and epiphytic plants, with an undergrowth of *musaceæ*. Above this forest or, in other cases, the *kwin*, comes the zone of dry forest already described.

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Above the dry forest zone, but also at lower levels where the soil is volcanic, comes the hill evergreen forest (No. 256). Here trees are in the ascendant, except for occasional patches of giant bamboo (Nos. 122, 362). The trees are of innumerable species, of spongy and worthless timber, with a sprinkling of *ka-nyin*, *kaung-kmè*, *taung-pein-kmè*, and *thingán*, and in the extreme South, *gungaw*. The undergrowth consists of young trees, with palms, pandanuses and

253. UPPER WATERS OF RIVER (JULY).

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

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254. FOREST STREAM IN THE PINE REGION.

other large endogenous plants. The shade is dense, so that grasses do not grow, but owing to the absence of forest fires, there is mould on the surface. The trees are of great height, commonly one hundred feet clear bole (No. 362), and often are of enormous girth. The natural rotation is short owing to early decay, and the bulk of the trees are slender. Above this "tropical" evergreen forest, as it is named by its explorer, Kurz, at the altitude of three to four thousand feet, according to latitude, comes a zone of stunted evergreen trees, among which oak species are conspicuous. Mulberry, raspberry, briar, and other shrubs of the temperate zone grow wild, and a decided change of climate is experienced. One to several thousand feet above this zone is the region of the pine (*pinus khasya, tinyú*, No. 340), up to ten thousand feet, the greatest altitude of the Burma hills. The pine forest has an undergrowth of saccharum. When this burns, the fire runs up the resinous stems, and kills extensive areas of forest. The timber is good and attains great size, but is too unfavourably situated for transport. The forest types are not in all cases sharply defined, but merge into each other.

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The specific gravity of green teak is about 1·2, and of dry teak about 0·8. The best way to get it dry for floating is to ring or "girdle" the trees. The bark and shallow sap-wood are cut through with the axe; the leaves wither and the tree dies. In two or three seasons the timber is light enough to float, and meanwhile it is not exposed to the danger of being burned or overseen in the undergrowth as it might be if felled in order to season. The tree is eventually felled at the level of the girdle, but if buttressed or un-

255. GIRDLING THE TREE.

clouds of dust. The Rainy Season begins sometime late in May or early in June and lasts until October. Almost all of Tadagale's 90 to 100 inches of annual rainfall comes during this period. It rains every day, in periodic downpours which often start so suddenly that the newcomer to the area is caught unaware on a good many occasions. Although temperatures drop during the Rainy Season to daily maxima in the low 80's, the discomfort, for the average denizen of the temperate zone, is greater than in the Hot Season because of the extremely high humidity and the small difference between daily maximum and minimum temperatures. 132

The Burmese inhabitants of the community, who are 90% of the population, are medium brown in skin color, tend to be broad-nosed, have straight black hair, and are of medium stature. 142

All of the men, with the exception of a few of the old ones, wear their hair in western style, cut short and parted on one side. The women, however, adhere to the traditional Burmese hair styles, without exception. Little girls wear their hair in a top-knot on the middle of the head, with a circular part around the temples and crown, short bangs hanging down in front. Adult women comb their hair, liberally oiled, back to form a coiled knot at the nape of the neck. Adherence by the women to traditional hair styles and mode of dress is strikingly in contrast with the situation in neighboring Thailand, where permanent waves and short skirts may be seen among peasant women many miles outside the capital. 302 177

Burmese dress is universal in the village. It consists of the longyi, a circular, single-seamed skirt reaching to the ankles, and a jacket. The longyi is worn by both sexes. The woman's longyi differs from the man's in that it has a black waistband sewn to the upper edge. It is folded over and tucked in at the waist. The man's longyi is drawn tight about the waist and knotted in front to hold it in place. Women's jackets (the aingyi) are not quite so loose-fitting as men's, and for dress occasions they are made of fine muslin, or, if it can be afforded, sheer nylon, climate notwithstanding. Men's jackets are of a heavier material, and are never worn at the workaday tasks of everyday life in the village; the men generally go unclad from the waist up. For ordinary wear both sexes use wooden clog-like shoes, held to the foot by a single band of rubber over the in-step. For dress occasions, single-thonged leather sandals are worn. 291

About nine hundred people live in Tadagale. Census data collected at first-hand do not yield exact information because a few families could not be interviewed. The data include 807 people, and it is doubtful if as many as one hundred people were not covered by the census. 161

In Table I below the population of the village is given in terms of ethnic groups. The imposition of any a priori set of categories was avoided, and informants were simply asked the question, "To what people do you consider yourself to belong?" In this way it was possible to learn something of the group identifications of informants. 162

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
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144. THE FAMILY MEAL (NEW STYLE).

having no trace of beard till thirty. The beard is sparse and is not shaved but plucked out with tweezers. (The *yakán* of Burma likewise use tweezers for the beard.) When there is a passable moustache, towards middle life, it is allowed to grow. The hair on a mole is cultivated—sometimes a single long hair—for luck. Besides the sandal-wood perfume just mentioned, there is the perfumed wood *kalamdi*. Sandal-oil and attar of roses have long been imported from India. Scented waters are made from various flowers and an oil is obtained from *hadát-ngan*. Scents imported from Europe have become a regular toilet article. The shoulders and arms of those who habitually wear jackets and do not labour in the open are brunette; face and hands are darker, much like the complexion of the sun-browned Levantine, but of a yellower tint than his. Regular exposure browns the skin to a copper hue, and where exposure is severe to a brown-black, but not so opaque a black as that of India or Africa. The colour lightens again on avoidance of exposure. Women's and children's complexions are fairer; the new-born are no darker than in Europe. As a rule the Burman is darker and slenderer, with a more oval face; the Taláing fairer and more thick-set, with a broader face. The gloss of the skin helps to exaggerate the light and shade in photographs and make the complexion appear too dark. The ordinary stature of the men is from five feet three inches to five feet six inches, and of the women from four feet nine inches to five feet. The people are of a moderately spare habit.

145. BETEL (KUN).

Having made her evening toilet,

2:Scott · G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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terrific in their denunciations, in little receptacles fixed high up in trees.

With the view of guarding thoughtless or reckless people against themselves there were certain classes enumerated who should not under any circumstances be allowed to take the oath, or to appear as witnesses. These were:—1. Those who do not believe in the merit of good works. 2. Such people as trade with the goods of others. 3. Parties interested in the case, as well as their relations, friends, and enemies. 4. Great talkers. 5. Sick persons. 6. Old men. 7. Children. 8. Overbearing men. 9. Public singers. 10. Actresses. 11. Women of ill fame. 12. Goldsmiths. 13. Painters. 14. Blacksmiths. 15. Cobblers. 16. Asthmatic persons. 17. Low people. 18. Gluttons. 19. Gamblers. 20. Hot-tempered people. 21. Doctors. 22. Thieves. 23. Pregnant women. 24. Hermaphrodites, a by no means uncommon class in Burma. If, however, both parties to the suit gave their consent, some of these classes might be allowed to give testimony. Another curious old provision was that when one of the litigants produced a witness, he himself was not required to take the oath, while contrariwise, if he swore on the book, it was not imperative that he should call witnesses.

[143]

The Book of the Oath is not quite fixed in its length, nor in the number of the imprecations which it threatens against false witnesses. Some copies are much more diffuse than others. It is always written on palm-leaf, in the ordinary character, and these in English courts are kept wrapped up in the ecclesiastical kabbalwè, usually sewn for greater convenience. The commonest version is as follows:—

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I will speak the truth. If I should be influenced by the laws of demerits, namely, passion, folly, anger, false opinion, immodesty, pride, scepticism, hard-heartedness, then may all these calamities attend me and my relations, wherever we may be, by land or by water, travelling or remaining quietly at home. May the nats who guard the sacred heavens, the athura nats and all other giants, the nats who guard the three Baskets of the Sacred Law, delivered by the most excellent Buddha, and all the other holy writings and sermons; may the nats, the guardians of the sacred relics

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4
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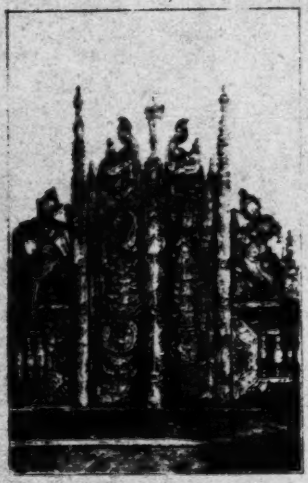
175 it, carrying on trade with India and the rest of Indo-China. During this period Burmese dancing and music and poetry, as embodied in songs, perhaps assumed definite and national forms. But there was
177 no writing. The kings that came from India probably knew writing,
175 but their knowledge was perhaps limited; in any case, it never
212 reached the people. The introduction of Buddhism into the country brought no writing, as it came through traders whose knowledge of religious learning was meagre. The few religious tracts preserved in monasteries were looked upon merely as curious and sacred objects. The religion, feeble from the beginning, decayed and soon disappeared. The kingdom came to an end in the first century A.D.[1]

175 A new kingdom was founded in Upper Burma at Pagan, which
779 controlled the land and river trade-routes, and as a result of its
212 commercial advantages, it became a powerful kingdom with the ascension to the throne of Anawrahta in 1044. From that point Burmese history ceases to be conjectural. Through the influence of the learned and saintly monk, Shin Arahan, Buddhism in one of its purest forms was introduced into the kingdom by Anawrahta. With it, writing was also introduced. The alphabet was the 'Square Pali', and the literature the *Three Pitakas* embodying all the religious
101 teachings in Pali. Curiously enough, the alphabet and the literature
174 did not come directly from India, but from Burma itself—from the
● 144 Talaing kingdom of Thaton. The Talaings were a branch of the Burmese race. Many think that they were a mixture of native tribes with Indian traders. I venture to disagree. The earliest inhabitants of Burma were Indonesians, who settled on the coast of Burma during successive 'drifts' of humanity from the west, through India, to further east. Later, there was an infiltration of Mongolian tribes, who came down the rivers from the North. Inland, where the Indonesian element was weak, the new-comers dominated and later became the Burmese; along the coast where the Indonesian element was strong the tribes united and became the Talaings. However, all this is mere con-
175 jecture. The early history of the Talaing kingdom of Thaton, which
101 Anawrahta had to destroy to obtain possession of the alphabet and the *Three Pitakas*, is not known, except that it was perhaps in existence a few centuries before Christ and was under the influence

[1] Pe Maung Tin and G. H. Luce, *The Glass Palace Chronicle*; A. Phayre, *History of Burma*. G. E. Harvey in his *History of Burma* contends that the first Burmese kingdom was Prome, and that it flourished only in about the seventh century A.D.

[114]

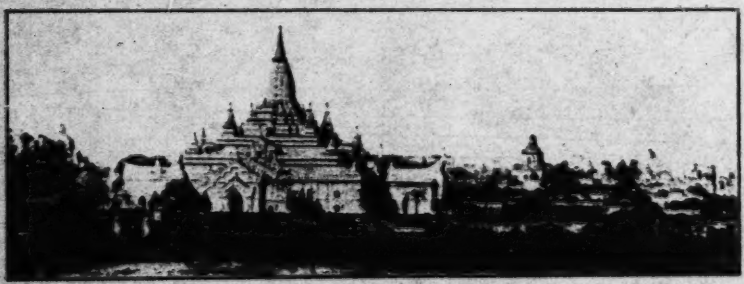
25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4



7. ANCIENT GATE, WITH FIGURES OF THADYA-MIN AND KEINNAYA.

is part of India. The phrase *Indo-China* is also misleading unless in respect of geography. In respect of climate, flora and fauna, *Further India* is not inapplicable. A probable Indo-Aryan admixture exists in the north-east (Arakán). But Burma Proper and Pegu are as distinct from India as Tibet itself.

The original Burman tribes are conjectured to have pushed their way south from the mountains of Tibet. They divided into three principal branches, Arakán (*Rakáing, Yakáing*) on the west, Paung on the east, and Burma (*Bamâ*), which attained to the chief position, in the middle, on the northern Irawadi (*E-ya wadî*). Nothing is known of the early history of these nations. But it is certain that in 1000 A.D. Burma was a large and powerful kingdom, with its seat at Pagán. About that time the first historical conquest of the lower Irawadi was effected. From the fact that the country was not permanently subdued it may be inferred that the power of the Mun or Peguan race (later called Talaing) was not greatly inferior to that of the Burman. The Muns, from the affinities of their language, are conjectured to be of Annamitic origin. There is mention of the Pagán kingdom independently of the Burman chronicles, and there is above all the evidence of the ruins of Pagán, probably the mightiest of their kind. They testify to the power of the kingdom and the influence of the



8. ANANDA PAYA, PAGAN.

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

modestly closed in front, and to prevent the dainty slipper, just covering her toes and no more, from slipping off the foot. However that may be, it is an accomplishment indispensable to a Burmese belle. She takes as much pains over it as she does with her jetty tresses. In a word, the nā-twin mingala transforms the girl into a woman, just as much as admission to a monastery makes the boy a man. It is her baptism, and is the distinctive mark of her race. Most of the men get their ears bored too, but the ceremony is not so solemn with them, and latterly is not so universal, at any rate not in the towns on the coast.

The ceremony takes place at the age of twelve or thirteen, just when the girl has attained puberty in fact. Her sadā is submitted to a soothsayer, that a fortunate day and hour may be chosen, and that being fixed, a great feast is prepared, and all the friends of the family and the relations are invited. An invitation to an ear-boring feast is a very urgent matter. No one can refuse without a very good excuse, and serious business is often postponed to the demands of such a ceremony. Everybody comes early, and sits down in any place he can find round about the front part and sides of the room, the girl, with all her female relatives about her, reclining on a mat at the back. The bedin sayā stalks about gazing at a mysterious strip of palm-leaf, or apparently wrapped in deep thought. Beside him is the professional ear-borer. He carries the needles, which are almost always pure gold, and even in the case of the poorest, never of any baser metal than silver. Rich people very often have them set at the ends with precious stones. At last the soothsayer gives the sign that the favourable moment has arrived. The ear-borer moves up immediately and passes the needles through the lobe of the ear, sometimes using a cork as they do in England, but more often letting them pass between two of his fingers. The girl, who has been worked up into a high state of excitement and terror by all the preparations, usually struggles and shrieks as hard as she can, but the women round about hold her down, and the band of music in the street outside strikes up a rapid movement and drowns her lamentations, while all the visitors burst into a flood of talk

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
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[252]

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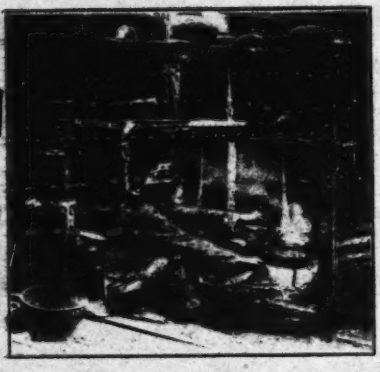
[178]



142. THE COOKING-PLACE.

of a tree of the dry zone, ground into a paste with water on a special stone. It is perfumed by grinding sandal-wood with it. The paste is smeared on the face and left to dry, after which the excess is rubbed off. For great occasions the paste is left on over-night. But ordinarily the face is "freshed" with water (*mye-hma-thit*) on rising in the morning. The Burmans admire white teeth and polish them with charcoal on a soft stick. The old style of women's hair-dress was like the early *chignon* fashion of about 1867 in Europe. The *sadôn* in this form is seen in Nos. 30, 381. About 1880 a new fashion was set by the palace, which now prevails. Tresses of false hair are much used by the women. Flowers in the hair and jewellery complete the toilet, which, like that of the actors in the *pwé*, is performed in view of everyone. The men's toilet consists in combing their long hair (No. 127). They take pride in the size of their top-knot (*yaung*) and rarely eke it out with false hair in the way the women do. The heavy knot works loose, so that combing and knotting up go on perpetually. The hair of both sexes is coarse and straight and jet black. Children's hair gets foxy from alternate exposure to rain and sun. The hair is smoothed with cocoanut oil and washed with soap-nut once or twice a month. At other times the Burmans are concerned to avoid wetting their hair. The native wooden combs are coarse, but the Chinese tooth comb is beginning to serve a useful purpose. Burmans turn grey at forty to fifty years of age and are white at sixty to seventy. Baldness is rare. Aged men still wear their little top-knot. The men's faces are smooth, many

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143. THE FAMILY MEAL (OLD STYLE).

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
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144. THE FAMILY MEAL (NEW STYLE).

having no trace of beard till thirty. The beard is sparse and is not shaved but plucked out with tweezers. (The *yakán* of Burma likewise use tweezers for the beard.) When there is a passable moustache, towards middle life, it is allowed to grow. The hair on a mole is cultivated—sometimes a single long hair—for luck. Besides the sandal-wood perfume just mentioned, there is the perfumed wood *kala-mlé*. Sandal-oil and attar of roses have long been imported from India. Scented waters are made from various flowers and an oil is obtained from *haddí-ngan*. Scents imported from Europe have become a regular toilet article. The shoulders and arms of those who habitually wear jackets and do not labour in the open are brunette; face and hands are darker, much like the complexion of the sun-browned Levantine, but of a yellower tint than his. Regular exposure browns the skin to a copper hue, and where exposure is severe to a brown-black, but not so opaque a black as that of India or Africa. The colour lightens again on avoidance of exposure. Women's and children's complexions are fairer; the new-born are no darker than in Europe. As a rule the Burman is darker and slenderer, with a more oval face; the Taláing fairer and more thick-set, with a broader face. The gloss of the skin helps to exaggerate the light and shade in photographs and make the complexion appear too dark. The ordinary stature of the men is from five feet three inches to five feet six inches, and of the women from four feet nine inches to five feet. The people are of a moderately spare habit.

145. BETEL (KUN).

Having made her evening toilet,

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

CHAPTER XXVIII

NGAPI

263 151 THERE are few articles of food which meet with more energetic denunciation than the favourite Burman condiment, ngapi, which means literally pressed fish. The frogs of France, the rats and puppy dogs of China, the diseased liver of the Strasburg *pâtés*, the "ripe" cheeses of most European countries, and the peculiar character of game in England, with its occasional garniture of "rice," all meet with condemnation from those who dislike such dainties. The smell of ngapi is certainly not charming to an uneducated nose, but the Backsteiner or Limburger cheese of Southern Germany is equally ill-calculated to evoke approbation on a first experience. An old herring barrel smells strong, but there is nothing in nature that more than ngapi hath an ancient and a fish-like smell. Travellers on the steamers of the Irrawaddy Flotilla Company are wont to rail in no measured terms at the fish-paste which forms an invariable and obtrusively evident part of the cargo, yet no Burman would think a dinner complete without his modicum of ngapi, and it is a noteworthy fact that one form of the condiment is of frequent appearance on English dinner-tables in the East, under the name of balachong, a term borrowed from the Straits Settlements, but which designates nothing more nor less than a specially prepared variety of ngapi. In the same way there are equally various opinions with regard to the celebrated Durian, a fruit found as abundantly in the Tenasserim province as in the islands of the East Indian Archipelago, and equally highly prized by Burmans. Some Englishmen will tell you that the flavour

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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and the odour of the fruit may be realised by eating a "garlic custard" over a London sewer; others will be no less positive in their perception of blendings of sherry, noyau, delicious custards, and the nectar of the gods, while a somewhat objectionable smell is regarded as doing no more than suggest, or recall, a delightful sensation. I am not aware that any Englishman has been equally enthusiastic with regard to balachong, but there is no doubt that ngapi seinsa ["raw-eaten fish-paste," so called because it is fit for consumption without being cooked] is identical with this much-used substitute for anchovy sauce, and is often brought direct from the Burman bazaar by Madrasi butlers, who declare it has come all the way from Penang, and charge correspondingly. 263 151

Of ngapi there are three main kinds—ngapi gaung, taung-tha ngapi, and ngapi seinsa. Each of these has its special varieties, getting their names from the township where they are prepared, or from the species of fish used in their manufacture. 263

Ngapi gaung, or whole ngapi, is the most prized and the highest in price. That made at the village of Payagyi, in the Angyi circle, not far from Rangoon, is celebrated from the rocky promontory of Modain, with its golden pagoda, to the barren solitudes of Mogaung, the Burmese Siberia. It may be made from any kind of fish, but the varieties preferred are the nga-ku, an amphibious, slimy fish, found in ponds and ditches wherever there is plenty of mud, and something under a foot and a half in length; and the nga-gyi, a fish very similar in general appearance and size, but called by the English the scorpion-fish, and very much dreaded for the wounds it causes with the pectoral spines. The great object in the preparation is to keep the fish quite whole, not so easy a matter as would at first appear. The process is as follows: A great mass of the fish, some of them only half dead, are thrown together into a big wooden mortar, and a man stands over them and works about with a curious cleaner made of a bamboo, the end of which has been slit and frayed into a kind of stiff brush. By this means it is surprising how soon the fish are scaled, and how effectively it is done. The larger specimens are, however, 252 [415]

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

But the dog only made a splash in the water with her paws, and then turned and ran after me. The boatmen laughed and resumed their poling, and I passed on. In the still morning across the still water I could hear every word, but I hardly took any note; I have heard it so often. Only now when I come to write on this subject do I remember. 231

It has been inculcated in us from childhood that it is a manly thing to be indifferent to pain—not to our own pain only, but to that of all others. To be sorry for a hunted hare, to compassionate the wounded deer, to shrink from torturing the brute creation, has been accounted by us as namby-pamby sentimentalism, not fit for man, fit only for a squeamish woman. To the Burman it is one of the highest of all virtues. He believes that all that is beautiful in life is founded on compassion and kindness and sympathy—that nothing of great value can exist without them. Do you think that a Burmese boy would be allowed to birds'-nest, or worry rats with a terrier, or go ferreting? Not so? These would be crimes. 152

That this kindness and compassion for animals has very far-reaching results no one can doubt. If you are kind to animals, you will be kind, too, to your fellow-man. It is really the same thing, the same feeling in both cases. If to be superior in position to an animal justifies you in torturing it, so it would do with men. If you are in a better position than another man, richer, stronger, higher in rank, that would—that does often in our minds—justify ill-treatment and contempt. Our innate feeling towards all that we consider inferior to ourselves

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

152 is scorn; the Burman's is compassion. You can see this spirit coming out in every action of their daily life, in their dealings with each other, in their thoughts, in their speech. 'You are so strong, have you no compassion for him who is weak, who is tempted, who has fallen?' How often have I heard this from a Burman's lips! How often have I seen him act up to it! It seems to them the necessary corollary of strength that the strong man should be sympathetic and kind. It seems to them an unconscious confession of weakness to be scornful, revengeful, inconsiderate. Courtesy, they say, is the mark of a great man, discourtesy of a little one. No one who feels his position secure will lose his temper, will persecute, will be disdainful. Their word for a fool and for a hasty-tempered man is the same. To them it is the same thing, one infers the other. And so their attitude towards animals is but an example of their attitude to each other. That an animal or a man should be lower and weaker than you is the strongest claim he can have on your humanity, and your courtesy and consideration for him is the clearest proof of your own superiority. And so in his dealings with animals the Buddhist considers himself, consults his own dignity, his own strength, and is kind and compassionate to them out of the greatness of his own heart. Nothing is more beautiful than the Burman in his ways with his children, and his beasts, with all who are lesser than himself.

Even to us, who think so very differently from him on many points, there is a great and abiding charm in all this, to which we can find only one

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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exception; for to our ideas there is one exception, and it is this: No Burman will take any life if he can help it, and therefore, if any animal injure itself, he will not kill it—not even to put it out of its pain, as we say. I have seen bullocks split on slippery roads, I have seen ponies with broken legs, I have seen goats with terrible wounds caused by accidental falls, and no one would kill them. If, when you are out shooting, your beaters pick up a wounded hare or partridge, do not suppose that they wring its neck; you must yourself do that, or it will linger on till you get home. Under no circumstances will they take the life even of a wounded beast. And if you ask them, they will say: 'If a man be sick, do you shoot him? If he injure his spine so that he will be a cripple for life, do you put him out of his pain?'

If you reply that men and beasts are different, they will answer that in this point they do not recognize the difference. 'Poor beast! let him live out his little life.' And they will give him grass and water till he dies.

This is the exception that I meant, but now, after I have written it, I am not so sure. Is it an exception?

352 415 513 mortar and measurers, market basket, condiment's stored in cigarette tins and quart bottles. A discussion on these subjects is found under the chapter on Food.

Details were secured on the following household items:

SAUNG (blankets). Both THA-KA-LAT SAUNG (flannel blanket) and GUN SAUNG (Cotton blanket) are actually woolen blankets. (cost Rs. 25/-). Heavy cotton blankets are called CHI SAUNG . (cost Rs.15/-). Both are for individual use. In Pathwe U Myaing had one blanket of each kind which would last 3 or 4 years. In camp he has only the GUN SAUNG or Upper Burma blanket which he used for 2 years then brought from Pathwe . The females of the family had 6 cotton blankets between them (cost Rs. 12/ each). They brought 4 from Pathwe, two are "good ones", and two are "torn ones". The cotton blankets are supposed to last for 2 years according to Ma Aye Myaing. Intense love is indicated by the saying "we will go under one blanket", but double blankets are not known.

[455] [152]

HMWE-YAR, (Enjoying place) mattress. It is a thin square cloth sack measuring 4 TAUNG on a side by 4 inches in thickness and stuffed with MAPAK. U Myaing had one at Pathwe which would last 7 or 8 years. It was made at home and valued at Rs. 30/-. Daw Aw Zar and the children shared a double mattress, a gift from her neice, in Pathwe but all sleep on split cane mats only in camp.

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(KU DIN; raised wooden beds are rarely used in villages.)

GAUNG-ON, (head-lay) pillow. Pillows are made at home. Two may be made from 3 TAUNG (1½ yards) of cloth. They are cloth sacks filled with cotton and last 3 or 4 years - valued at Rs. 3/8 each. U Myaing had 2, and the females 8 at Pathwe. He used a wooden pillow made of small, raised board, while the females use rag bundles.

HPYAR, Sleeping mats. Two kinds are used; a split TA BAW plant mat and a more finely woven thin plant with over 2 under 2 weave mat. They measure 6 by 3½ feet . The mats lasted two years and were woven at home. 4 to 8 mats were kept on hand at Pathwe; here 4 mats are in use.

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AYAR-KIN (sleeping place cover) bed sheet: The bedsheets used in Pathwe measured 6' by 3½' and were made of cotton. Three were used by U Myaing and lasted a year; they cost Rs. 7/- each. Camp: none.

CHIN TAUNG, Mosquito net: One kind was made of fine netted

sufficient food for myself and my family." Yet, it is significant that he[1] manifests no anxiety symtoms, and appears happy and carefree. This suggests that despite the fact that he is presented with insecurity he does not react to it with tensions that have nervous manifestations. The sense of insecurity does not seem to be in his pattern of living, consequently his response is ill-defined. 465 722 369 464 [152]

The points of difference that U Myaing especially emphasized were:- 511

1. A few weeks of intensive work in Pathwe would get him more than a whole year of salary working in Rangoon. 178 461

2. His income in Rangoon is established at a low level. In Pathwe he might make 3 or 4 times his average income from fish products in a good year. On bad years he might just break even. But this did not affect his everyday living quality - since his food was for the most part gathered (fish, fruits etc.) or secured from the cattle loan (baskets of rice). 458

3. If he was sick in Pathwe his standard of living was not threatened. He made his cash in a short time and had ample leisure for resting. In Rangoon if he does not work he does not eat.

4. In Pathwe he usually had a surplus of 1000 to 1500 rupees on hand during a year. To be lent out (free of interest) to friends and relatives or (usually) invested in fish or family accoutrement. Now he lives from hand to mouth. [454]

5. The loss of comfort and ease is severely felt by the adults. In Rangoon he works to stay alive, in Pathwe, to enjoy a full life. [181]

[1 i.e., U Myaing -- ANALYST]

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The key to high positions lies in education in the high schools and Univercities. Family support is necessary for this and the student is constantly aware of his obligation to succeed for their benefit. "One tree can support a thousand birds" illustrate the dependency of the relatives on the successful individual.

In order to succeed one needs each of these three qualities: KAMMA (fate or luck), NYAN (intelligence), and WIRIYA(industriousness The failure of any one can cause the lack of success. Ordinarily, however, KAMMA is blamed in cases of failure - and the other two credited for success. The concept of KAMMA includes merit and demerit compiled in all previous existences. Because of this convenient excuse the true causes of failure are seldom analysed by the individual and he does not have a sense of personal blame or shame. Also social condemnation does not fall heavily on the unsuccessful who has tried and failed. However, one should finish what he starts or not attempt it, "once you start climbing the pole you must reach the top". The individual may not achieve fame or fortune but he is expected to maintain his birth position. His relatives, who suffer shame if he does not, help him. A major contribution of the individual is an advantagous marriage within or above his occupational group.

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What does one strive for, by work, in the Burmese society? Not subsistence, for food is ordinarily cheap and easily attained in the villages. Clothing, shelter and the other necessities of life are also not the objective. The subsistence pattern is simple and essentially homogeneous throughout the village.

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The ordinary head of a household thinks of three major benefits to be gained from wealth. The first and most immediate are jewels to adorn the women of the family. The status of the family is reflected in public by the bangles, necklaces and earrings worn by the ladies. Diamonds are most prized and the size is important. However, most important is that each female be provided with "a set" of jewelry. The wife of the middle and upper status group particularly will prod the husband until he provides these necessities. The women's clothing and also the husbands and his son's must also be the finest they can afford.

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The second urge for wealth arises out of the desire for old age security. Hence gold coins are saved (hidden) against the day when

21: Htin Aung B-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

536* plays, the doctrine of logical and clear unfolding of plot perishes, for there is no plot to unfold.

536* 152 The decadent dramatists try to appeal not to the mind but to the senses, and naturally we find in their plays glaring attempts at sentimentality and sensationalism. Tears occur often and in great abundance on the slightest excuse. Even in the quite artistic 'Baboon Play', sentimentality is the chief fault, and the hero appears weak and unattractive, for he does nothing but cry, trying to protect his sister not by manly action but by tears. One reason why *Saw-phay and Saw-may* appears so far above other plays of the period is in its freedom from sentimental pathos until the last scene. When the heroine and hero are parted, they cry, but they appear sincere in their sorrow, and the play ends quite happily. In most other plays of the period, the hero and heroine are made to undergo misfortune after misfortune, so as to give them ample opportunity to sing pathetic songs. The sentimentality is heightened by sensationalism, for the more unusual and terrible the suffering of hero or heroine the greater is the pathos. When a queen is executed, she has to be slowly beaten. When a hero is put to death, he has to be trodden on by elephants. When a princess is banished, the orders for her exile have to be announced when she is in travail. For, in the decadent drama, swift and sudden death or misfortune seems out of place, and the agony has to be long drawn out and unusual in order to increase the desired effect. Even in the 'Baboon Play', written by the most learned of the decadent dramatists, we find ample use of blood and horror. The First Part of *Saw-phay and Saw-may* is the one play of the period which is free from horror. In *Tin-tin and Khin-khin*, the last scene where the heroine dies dancing, ill and mad, is typically decadent. Madness, leprosy, incest, and a woman in travail are favourite subjects. Dead bodies are popular, and in one play, a scene occurs where the hero is shown roasting and eating his new-born heir.[1]

536* 552 Comic scenes occur in the decadent plays, as dramatic relief from scenes of horror and pathos. The humour is good humour, and in many ways it is an advance even on U Pon Nya. Lewd references are very rare. There is some satire, but it is without bitterness. All the comic characters are lovable in their own way. The comedy is one of 'humours', and we have admirably drawn portraits of a nagging wife and a cynical bricklaying philosopher in *The History of*

[1] *When Father Eats His Son*, by an unknown author.

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

14. BURMAN MOTHER AND INFANT.

tempers Nature's discipline of knocks 854
and bumps, as compared with the bare 342
hard ground of the Indian hut. Nevertheless the young Burman's converse with his environment is unrestricted enough. By the time he is a year old he may be trusted to himself on a flimsy platform many feet off the ground or over the water. There are few things in the way 854
of the child that it may not handle. The 356
very cheroot its mother is smoking is a 866
coveted plaything. The daily bath at the river-side or well has familiarised the child with another element. It may rush out into the first tropical shower and splash to its heart's content with its older playmates in the first tepid puddle. The [593
Burman's regular exclamation of wonder 152]
or fear is "mother!"—*amè*.

When the child is a few months old, 852
relatives and friends are assembled and entertained with tea and sweets to 574
witness the ceremony of piercing the ears and giving a name. The Burmans 553
have no patronymics. The name is chosen from a set of current euphemisms proper to the days of the week and their planets, according to the star presiding over the day of birth. The fancy of the parents and the prognostics of the soothsayer unite to decide the choice. Names are single or are compounded from two series (in Arakan from three). Common names, beginning with the "Sunday-son," are Ôn, Kyaw, San, Shwe, Po, Tha, Dun. Men's and women's names are taken from the same sets; only the courtesy-prefixes differ (p. 74). The needle-hole made in the lobe of the ear on the naming-day is expanded by means of plugs and rolls of bast. In the course of a few years the lobe takes a plug one-half to three-quarters

15. MUDLARKS.

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25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
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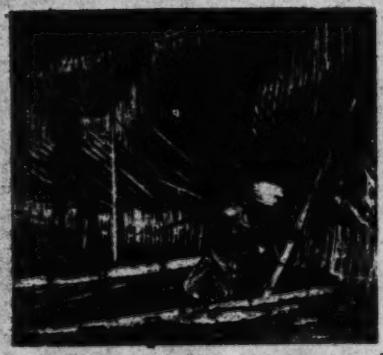
149. THE SUITOR'S VISIT.

work-boxes, loom-laths, mirror-stands are often the lover's handiwork. Not the least of the lover's offerings is poetry. If he be a scholar, he will sing or recite to his mistress verses of his own in praise of her charms. But there are current ditties to the fancy of every one. The imagery which is the main feature of these odes, is borrowed from every source of beauty, blossom and flower, dewdrop and pearl, planet and star. Burmese metre is largely eked out with euphonic particles; at other times the diction is so compressed as to make the sense most difficult for a foreigner to grasp.

Marriages of affection are general. Romantic attachments are frequent in real life, as they are the rule in the play. The frequency of the mere marriage of convenience is not greater in Burma than in England or America. In this respect there is no parallel to the customs of the hill-tribes of Burma, the neighbouring Asiatic civilisations or even the Latin races of Europe. Their mutual qualities, physical, moral, and material, are for the most part known to the parties from childhood. Burmans evince an openness and frankness amounting to joviality, not to be met with in other parts of Asia. They indulge a much freer play of feature and yet greater freedom in the modulation of the voice. The term for betrothal—*saydn-pe*, earnest-money—testifies to the original purchase of the bride. In modern usage, however, the *saydn* is merely a share of the cost of outfit, according to means. It takes the form of a silk *htmein* or a piece of jewellery for the girl, and is brought by the lad when he comes with his parents to ask the consent of the girl's parents to the marriage. Where parents oppose, runaway matches are frequent.

150. MARRIAGE CEREMONY.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4



166. VILLAGE CHEVAUX-DE-FRISE.

away from the company. In a similar spirit of courtesy a rider dismounts and umbrellas are closed. Among acts of discourtesy few are accounted so grave by the Burmans as that of awakening a sleeper. The reluctance to disturb a sleeper is connected with the belief that the spirit (*leippya*) leaves the body during sleep (p. 197). It is looked upon as a weakness to show resentment and temper (*dawtha*, p. 44). A visitor in a house is offered a new mat to sit upon, water to drink, betel to chew, and a spittoon. If it be meal-time he is invited to partake; otherwise he is asked if he has had food, and refreshment is brought. Although the quota of leisure that falls to everyone is greater in Burma than anywhere else, owing to the wide-spread prosperity of the inhabitants, there is perhaps no country in which every man, woman, and child is less exempt from business concern. Thus it happens that after a few commonplaces, conversation inevitably gravitates to business—prices, harvests, prospects. Next in interest come the festival programmes, the local celebrities and their doings. In every house there are scales and weights, and the household is engaged in occasional or regular trade. Accounts in money and kind are current between neighbours. Whatever spare produce remains is exposed for sale.

576 [349] [513 775] [152] 574 521 437

The villages either have a quick fence of impenetrable thorny bamboo (*myiswa*), or a hedge of cactus and briar or bamboo *chevaux-de-frise*. In some parts they are open. The old towns (*myó*) had ramparts and stockades (Nos. 6, 371, 387). The highest sites about the village are for the *sadi*, the *Payá-myo* or sacred ground, the next best are for the *kyaung*. Then comes the enclosure of

167. APPROACH TO THE VILLAGE.

361 [349] [311] [346]

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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398. BULLOCK RACING.

in the ring and slaps his arm (*lenmáung-kat*) to the exclamation of *yáuk-kyá! báthá!*—man that you are and son of a man! (No. 153). When some one steps into the ring to take up the challenge, the pair are conducted by seconds to the judges, who decide if they are fairly matched; they then stand aside to await their turn. Every kind of attack is fair except pulling hair and biting; a cap is tied on the head to keep the long hair from coming loose. The first trace of blood betokens defeat, but matches are very frequently drawn. This may be the reason why there is no betting. Powerful seconds are on the alert to separate the combatants if they show temper. But the absence of temper, despite the severity of the contest, is its conspicuous feature. The frank dispositions of Burman and Taláing appear to rare advantage. The high spirits of the victor overflow in chivalrous deprecation of his prowess—"the merest fluke in the world!" That among such a people the sense of personal honour is keen goes without saying. Abuse is not so cheap as in India. The *vendetta* is unknown. Fatal quarrels occasionally arise from jealousy; the old national justice put the law into the hand of a betrayed husband.

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Pony-racing is the sport of the North, as boat-racing is that of Pegu with its network of channels. The races are run in heats of twos, like all races in Burma. There are small stakes for the owners, but betting is the soul of the sport. In this the women freely participate. The course is flat, half

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399. THE BOAT-RACE GOAL (PAN).

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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20. TOY CART.

of a savage description. Children have pretty manners; they are respectful to their elders without shyness or cringing.

Children grow up among the implements they will use in after life. Wooden mills for husking rice, tilt-hammers and mortars for pounding, cotton-seeders with geared rollers, spinning-wheels, weaving-looms and other simple machines are in every household; besides agricultural implements, carts and boats, all of which are made or kept in repair by the inmates (*cf.* p. 120). The workshops of artizans of every class are open to view, and the processes are obvious to every passer-by. The interest aroused in children is more diversified than in cold countries with their more secluded life. From mimicking the occupations of adults children learn to take part and soon begin to like a real share in them. Their trade begins with make-believe wares, then come scraps of house and garden produce till it develops into a source of pocket-money and training in business (Nos. 281, 431). The years of tutelage merge into the age of responsibility without abrupt transition. The intelligence which the school-teacher proceeds to build on has insensibly developed under conditions more than commonly favourable, which may help to account for the precocity of Burman school-children under good teaching.

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From the ages of eight to ten, boys begin attending the school of the Buddhist monastery (*kyaung*), where they are taught free by the recluse (*pôndyi*) or by his sojourner recluses (*upazin*). The spelling-book is chanted in a chorus led by a senior pupil and is copied out with a white steatite pencil on a

21. PEG-TOPS (DYIN-PAUK).

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

himself by evil intentions and deeds. Therefore in your intercourse with others remember always yourself, remember that no one can injure you but yourself; be careful, therefore, of your acts for your own sake. For if you lose your temper, who is the sufferer? Yourself; no one but yourself. If you are guilty of disgraceful acts, of discourteous words, who suffers? Yourself. Remember that; remember that courtesy and good temper are due from you to everyone. What does it matter who the other person be? you should be courteous to him, not because he deserves it, but because you deserve it. Courtesy is measured by the giver, not by the receiver. We are apt sometimes to think that this continual care of self is selfishness; it is the very reverse. Self-reverence is the antipode of self-conceit, of selfishness. If you honour yourself, you will be careful that nothing dishonourable shall come from you. 'Self-reverence, self-knowledge, self-control'; we, too, have had a poet who taught this. 571

And so dignity of manner is very marked amongst this people. It is cultivated as a gift, as the outward sign of a good heart.

'A rough diamond'; no Burman would understand this saying. The value of a diamond is that it can be polished. As long as it remains in the rough, it has no more beauty than a lump of mud. If your heart be good, so, too, will be your manners. A good tree will bring forth good fruit. If the fruit be rotten, can the tree be good? Not so. If your manners are bad, so, too, is your heart. To be courteous, even-tempered, to be tolerant and full of sympathy, these are the proofs of an inward 156 577

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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goodness. You cannot have one without the other. Outward appearances are not deceptive, but are true.

Therefore they strive after even temper. Hot-tempered as they are, easily aroused to wrath, easily awakened to pleasure, men with the passions of a child, they have very great command over themselves. They are ashamed of losing their temper; they look upon it as a disgrace. We are often proud of it; we think sometimes we do well to be angry.

And so they are very patient, very long-suffering, accepting with resignation the troubles of this world, the kicks and spurns of fortune, secure in this, that each man's self is in his own keeping. If there be trouble for to-day, what can it matter if you do but command yourself? If others be discourteous to you, that cannot hurt you, if you do not allow yourself to be discourteous in return. Take care of your own soul, sure that in the end you will win, either in this life or in some other, that which you deserve. What you have made your soul fit for, that you will obtain, sooner or later, whether it be evil or whether it be good. The law of righteousness is for ever this, that what a man deserves that he will obtain. And so in the end, if you cultivate your soul with unwearying patience, striving always after what is good, purifying yourself from the lust of life, you will come unto that lake where all desire shall be washed away.

181 565 555 first a bewildered refugee, but gradually assumed the role of a labourer rising in the ranks. The case indicates the mobility of the Burmese family and shows clearly that it may function successfully outside of the confines of its original social atmosphere.

182 594 621 ●156 The family in Burmese society: The successful mobility of U Myaing's family indicate that the immediate family is the primary social unit of Burmese society. The Burmese community is then a congregation of immediate families who engage in activities of mutual benefit within the protective framework of the village structure. This interpretation high lights a particular type of individualism which is a familiy individualism depending on the roles of each [779] member of the family for its full expression. This concept seems tied to the Buddhist idea of individual salvation through acts of merit on the one hand and the exigencies of gaining a livelihood on the other. [474] The family is the basic economic unit and though it will enter cooperative endeavours (like the IN fisheries, or communal nat propitiations), has the ultimate responsibility and capabilities of support- [596] ing itself. The extended family is important, as indeed is the total village social structure, only in so far as it contributes to the maintenance of the individual immediate family of procreation including spouses, offspring and aged parents. The "looseness" of the social structure conversely allows mobility of the immediate families. This analysis indicates that attempts at modernizing of the Burmese people (acculturation) should meet with a minimum of structural obstacles - such as caste, clan and rigid associations might present.

181 156 369 555 The Burmese culture pattern and the individual: The village culture pattern is dominated by a series of relatively simple, interrelated ideas held by all. Each individual feels himself temporily occupying a particular situation which is only one of many existences and but an instant in eternity. He is fated to be a member of a particular family with a set of opportunities through life. Life should be pleasant and must be virtuous if future existences are to be pleasant. He must realise as fully as possible the talents and opportunities that come to him through his KARMA situation. In the villages this concept is a great stabilising force and tends to make an individual content with

his lot. It also tends toward a kind of stratification of society where the boundaries, however, are neither sharp nor fast. Each person is comfortably installed in his place and competes, mildly, only with those of his own level. The obligations (as contributions for ceremonies) are in terms of one's ability, and his status is in terms of his virtues. Status is closely correlated with increasing age. This concept motivate the Burmese in the village within "KARMA groups". 181 156 364 555 [561] [554]

The unusual individual may transcend his family positions in exceptional cases - by marriage or achievement. Achievement by physical force has been a means of mobility in the past - there is the tradition of the strong man leader who comes from humble origins. Mobility by entrepreneur achievement (rice mill owners, traders) has been greatly stimulated with increased western contacts. U Myaing was a sort of entrepreneur in Pathwe. In Rangoon the opportunities are great and some Burmese are successfully embracing this, as yet, somewhat unfamiliar course. The western entrepreneur concept appears to be finding a fertile ground in the traditional "group individualism" of the Burmese. 156 555 557 [177]

The standards or levels of culture: When U Myaing's standard of living plummeted downwards as a refugee he became discontented and unhappy desiring to return to the "plateau" of his former level. At first he could only think of returning to Pathwe to achieve this, but as [illegible] begins to crown his efforts in Rangoon he now feels the beginnings of a sense of achievement. In his refugee situation there was no sense of shame for his reduction - the events contributing to his downfall were beyond his control, and he had lived "as a refugee should" in which his abilities and obligations were balanced. This resulted in an attitude of cheerful patience understandable in terms of the KARMA concept. 511 181 558

The two standards, in Pathwe and camp, represent balanced levels ranging from the "average" Burmese village situation to close to the minimum. Higher standards than those of Pathwe are seen in the administrative class of Rangoon and other major towns where western influences are strong (car, western furniture and household utensils, westernized house and clothing, etc.). Lower standards may be 511 565 [177]

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

and the enemy were gone, no one could tell whither, into the night. 721 175

Such a scene of desolation as that village was next day! It was all destroyed—every house. All the food was gone, all furniture, all clothes, everything, and here and there was a corpse in among the blackened cinders. The whole countryside was terror-stricken at this failure to defend those who had depended on us. 579

I do not think this was a particularly gallant act, but it was a very able one. It was certainly war. It taught us a very severe lesson—more severe than a personal reverse would have been. It struck terror in the countryside. The memory of it hampered us for very long; even now they often talk of it. It was a brutal act—that of a brigand, not a soldier.

But there was no want of courage. If these men, inferior in number, in arms, in everything, could do this under the lead of a robber chief, what would they not have done if well led, if well trained, if well armed?

Of desperate encounters between our troops and the insurgents I could tell many a story. I have myself seen such fights. They nearly always ended in our favour—how could it be otherwise?

There was Ta Te, who occupied a pagoda enclosure with some eighty men, and was attacked by our mounted infantry. There was a long fight in that hot afternoon, and very soon the insurgents' ammunition began to fail, and the pagoda was stormed. Many men were killed, and Ta Te, when his men were nearly all dead, and his ammunition quite expended, climbed up the pagoda wall, and twisted off 721 157 701

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

721 pieces of the cement and threw them at the troops.
157 He would not surrender—not he—and he was killed.
701 There were many like him. The whole war was little affairs of this kind—a hundred, three hundred, of our men, and much the same, or a little more, of theirs. They only once or twice raised a force of two thousand men. Nothing can speak more forcibly of their want of organization than this. The whole country was pervaded by bands of fifty or a hundred men, very rarely amounting to more than two hundred, and no two bands ever acted in concert.

It is probable that most of the best men of the country were against us. It is certain, I think, that of those who openly joined us and accompanied us in our expedition, very, very few were other than men who had some private grudge to avenge, or some purpose to gain, by opposing their own people. Of such as these you cannot expect very much. And yet there were exceptions—men who showed up all the more brilliantly because they were exceptions—men whom I shall always honour. There were two I remember best of all. They are both dead now.

722 One was the eldest son of the hereditary governor
642 of a part of the country called Kawlin. It is in
631 the north-west of Upper Burma, and bordered on a semi-independent state called Wuntho. In the troubles that occurred after the deposition of King Thibaw, the Prince of Wuntho thought that he would be able to make for himself an independent kingdom, and he began by annexing Kawlin. So the governor had to flee, and with him his sons, and

16;Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

000 son's name, and 'Traitor, traitor!' till the hills were full of sound.

The Burman turned away.

'You see,' he said, 'how they hate me. What would be the good of charms?'

The voice was quiet, and the camp sank into stillness, and ere long the moon set, and it was quite dark.

719 He was a brave man, and, indeed, there are
577 many brave men amongst the Burmese. They
157 kill leopards with sticks and stones very often, and even tigers. They take their frail little canoes across the Irrawaddy in flood in a most daring way. They in no way want for physical courage, but they have never made a cult of bravery; it has never been a necessity to them; it has never occurred to them that it is the prime virtue of a man. You will hear them confess in the calmest way, 'I was afraid.' We would not do that; we should be much more afraid to say it. And the teaching of Buddhism is all in favour of this. Nowhere is courage—I mean aggressive courage—praised. No soldier could be a fervent Buddhist; no nation of Buddhists could be good soldiers; for not only does Buddhism not inculcate bravery, but it does not inculcate obedience. Each man is the ruler of his life, but the very essence of good fighting is discipline, and discipline, subjection, is unknown to Buddhism. Therefore the inherent courage of the Burmans could have no assistance from their faith in any way, but the very contrary: it fought against them.

000 There is no flexibility in Buddhism. It is a law.

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

304 festival for a girl of great importance, this ear-
561 boring, and, according to the wealth of the parents,
562 it is accompanied by pwès and other rejoicings.

A little girl, the daughter of a shopkeeper here in this town, had her ears bored the other day, and there were great rejoicings. There was a pwè open to all for three nights, and there were great quantities of food, and sweets, and many presents given away, and on the last night the river was illuminated. There was a boat anchored in mid-stream, and from this were launched myriads of tiny rafts, each with a little lamp on board. The lamps gleamed bright with golden light as they drifted on the bosom of the great water, a moving line of living fire. There were little boats, too, with the outlines marked with lamps, and there were pagodas and miniature houses all floating, floating down the river, till, in far distance by the promontory, the lamps flickered out one by one, and the river fell asleep again.

'There is only one great festival in a girl's life,' a woman told me. 'We try to make it as good as we can. Boys have many festivals, girls have but one. It is only just that it should be good.'

562 And so they grow up very quiet, very sedate,
157 looking on the world about them with very clear eyes. It is strange, talking to Burmese girls, to see how much they know and understand of the world about them. It is to them no great mystery, full of unimaginable good and evil, but a world that they are learning to understand, and where good and evil are never unmixed. Men are to them neither angels nor devils, but just men, and so the world does not hold for them the disappointments, the disillusionings

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

562 that await those who do not know. They have their
157 dreams—who shall doubt it?—dreams of him who shall love them, whom they shall love, who shall make life one great glory to them; but their dreams are dreams that can come true. They do not frame to themselves ideals out of their own ignorance and imagine these to be good, but they keep their eyes wide open to the far more beautiful realities that are around them every day. They know that a living lover is greater, and truer, and better than any ideal of a girl's dream. They live in a real world, and they know it is good.

584 In time the lover comes. There is a delightful custom all through Burma, an institution, in fact, called 'courting-time.' It is from nine till ten o'clock, more especially on moonlight nights, those wonderful tropic nights, when the whole world lies in a silver dream, when the little wandering airs that touch your cheek like a caress are heavy with the scent of flowers, and your heart comes into your throat for the very beauty of life.

There is in front of every house a veranda, raised perhaps three feet from the ground, and there the girl will sit in the shadow of the eaves, sometimes with a friend, but usually alone; and her suitors will come and stand by the veranda, and talk softly in little broken sentences, as lovers do. There may be many young men come, one by one, if they mean business, with a friend if it be merely a visit of
584 courtesy. And the girl will receive them all, and
431 will talk to them all; will laugh with a little humorous knowledge of each man's peculiarities; and she may give them cheroots, of her own making;

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

585 Friends are called to the wedding, and a ribbon is stretched round the couple, and then their hands are clasped; they also eat out of the same dish. All this is very pretty, but not at all necessary.

It is, indeed, not a settled point in law what constitutes a marriage, but there are certain things that will render it void. For instance, no marriage can be a marriage without the consent of the girl's parents if she be under age, and there are certain other conditions which must be fulfilled.

But although there be this doubt about the actual ceremony of marriage, there is none at all about the status. There is no confusion between a woman who is married and a woman who is not. The condition of marriage is well known, and it brings the parties under the laws that pertain to husband and wife. A woman not married does not, of course, obtain these privileges; there is a very strict line between the two.

585 515 157 Amongst the poorer people a marriage is frequently kept secret for several days. The great pomp and ceremony which with us, and occasionally with a few rich Burmese, consecrate a man and a woman to each other for life, are absent at the greater number of Burmese marriages; and the reason they tell me is that the girl is shy. She does not like to be stared at, and wondered at, as a maiden about to be a wife; it troubles her that the affairs of her heart, her love, her marriage, should be so public. The young men come at night and throw stones upon the house roof, and demand presents from the bridegroom. He does not mind giving the presents; but he, too, does not like the publicity. And so

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

Divorce is a dissolution of that partnership. A Burman would not ask, 'Were they married?' but, 'Are they man and wife?' And so with divorce, it is a cessation of the state of marriage. 586 779

Elders tell me that women ask for divorce far more than men do. 'Men have patience, and women have not,' that is what they say. For every little quarrel a woman will want a divorce. 'Thakin, if we were to grant divorces every time a woman came and demanded it, we should be doing nothing else all day long. If a husband comes home to find dinner not cooked, and speaks angrily, his wife will rush to us in tears for a divorce. If he speaks to another woman and smiles, if he does not give his wife a new dress, if he be fond of going out in the evening, all these are reasons for a breathless demand for a divorce. The wives get cross and run to us and cry, "My husband has been angry with me. Never will I live with him again. Give me a divorce." Or, "See my clothes, how old they are. I cannot buy any new dress. I will have a divorce." And we say, "Yes, yes; it is very sad. Of course, you must have a divorce; but we cannot give you one to-night. Go away, and come again in three days or in four days, when we have more time." And they go away, thakin, and they do not return. Next day it is all forgotten. You see, they don't know what they want; they turn with the wind—they have no patience.' 586 562 157

Sometimes they repent too late. Here is another of my memories about divorce: 586 593

There was a man and his wife, cultivators, living in a small village. The land that he cultivated

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 API Burma
Burmese AP4

18. TOWN CHILDREN'S TOYS

Manufactured toys are the most noticeable wares in the sale-booths. A universal toy is the seed from the giant pod of the *ôô* creeper (No. 251). Like marbles with us, the seeds—*gôn-hwyin*—are the prizes of the game. In Sangermano's time (1783–1806) these games used to be played by adults. A characteristic boys' game is *shippyit* (No. 25). Lots are cast for riders and horses. A ball or bundle is thrown from rider to rider till a player misses the catch, when all the riders dismount and scramble with the horses for the ball. The one who secures it becomes or remains a rider as the case may be. Boys run races for their own sport and that of their elders, and race their toy boats. They fight duels with their kites, each flier seeking to saw through his opponent's kite-line, for which purpose a length of string has been roughened with sand or pounded glass. The peg-top is a favourite toy. That it is indigenous is proved by certain proverbial sayings. Burmese boys see more like our own and take to European games more kindly than other Asiatics (*cf.* p. 69). The toy of the day is the tricycle, which parents will pinch themselves to provide for their children, and which the happy possessors of will make the common property of all their playmates. Where children awaken such genuine interest, punishment is rarely called for and is never

19. GAMES IN THE WATER.

753 in the nose and by using it as an inhalant also. A bottle of balm costs between Rs. 1/4 or Rs. 1/8.

757 Sore in the Nose: _____. The youngest child had a sore in her nose during the month of October 1950. This was through falling on her nose. Pus accumulated, and the nose became inflamed. It lasted for two weeks and was cured through the application of nose drops given to the family by a medical student.

Toothache: THWA KAIK (tooth ache): U Myaing had a toothache once in his life when he was 33 years of age. This was due to a decayed tooth. He suffered off and on for a period of over two years, and obtained relief only when it became sufficiently weak for him to pull it out. U Myaing did not go to the dentist to have the tooth extracted, and therefore there was no cost. This is the only case of toothache in the family, and even Daw Aw Zar has a complete set of sound teeth.

Stomach-Ache: BAIK NAE (stomach pain): U Myaing informs us that all the members of the family have had stomach ache some time in their lives. This he attributed to "wind" in the stomach. No treatment was taken other than the eating of digestive salts or YET HMA (sodium chloride and crushed bark.)

Piles: DU LAE, LEIK GAUNG (Young man disorder - tortoise head (rectum)): U Myaing has had piles since he was thirty years of age. He still suffers from it, but it does not trouble him much. He has undergone no treatment to cure it, as, he says, "All men have this. It is only a matter of size."

●[158] Fits: YET. U Myaing tells us that his youngest daughter is subject to fits. To be exact, she has had them twice in her life. once when about a year old, and once about 5 months ago - at the age of three years. This comes on when the child falls into an incontrollable rage, forgets to breathe, and her face becomes blue. In this condition, the child has to be quickly massaged, till it resumes breathing. The period of affliction is short and there is no cost of treatment.

Cuts and Wounds. All the members of the family have had cuts or wounds at some time or the other. On such occasions Burmese practioners come and recite certain incantations over the wound, with the ostensible object of making it heal. For sword cuts, onions and sesamum oil are applied externally. This heals the wound quickly. If the leg is pierced by an iron nail, salt is pressed into the wound. At the age of thirty-two, U Myaing cut his toe with a DAH and inflicted a severe wound on himself. He cured it with onion and sesamum oil. Ma Khin Saw was severely burnt in the leg by hot water when one year old. Betel leaves, sugar and Ngan Pyar Ie (fish paste water) were first applied to the burn, and later on crushed THE BUWT leaves mixed in water. There was no swelling at all. Daw Aw Zar, when at Rangoon developed a huge boil on the leg through having to walk in grass without any slippers on. She had to suffer for two months from this. Treatment consisted in bathing the boil with Ngan-Ie antiseptic liquid, and application of crushed KAZUN and gourd leaves mixed in water. The hospital also gave external medicines, but U Myaing does not know what medicine it was. It was healed after 2 months of treatment.

U Myaing was bitten twice by dogs. In such cases, treatment is by taking a silver THIN-GHA (tincture of iodine) rubbing charcoal onto its surface, and then pressing it seven times onto the wound while the person who is bitten holds his breath. There is a stanza which is usually recited on such occasions, but U Myaing does not happen to know it. When U Myaing himself was bitten, other people came and did the same service for him, and neither did they recite any stanza. However, his wound did not even fester.

There is also a stanza which is used to staunch the flow of blood. U Myaing believes in the efficacy of this stanza because

753 The concept of KARMA (fate) is important only in determining
777 the general well-being of the individual, as seen in Daw Aw Zar's
262 belief that her general good health was due to a morally-lived previous existence. "It is like a shadow". Some specific situations like being born blind is attributed to one's KARMA - in this case the person had been a notorious fighter of cocks in the previous existence; cocks being frequently blinded in the fights.

Each person is regarded as subject to some special disorder or weakness such as being especially subject to colds or headaches, or stomach troubles. Collectively these are referred to as "age-group" weaknesses. (MIYAT - girls' weakness; DULAH - boys' weaknesses.) But this is due to childhood illnesses and neglect of early troubles rather than KARMA. Persons with the weaknesses noted above avoid cucumbers (a "cold" vegetable), or hot foods including liquor (these cause greater heat to rise to the head), or green or raw vegetables (hard to digest). The choice of the correct diet to suit one's particular condition is important.

751 Bodily exercise is a prime consideration for health. Callis-
526 thenics or sports for this purpose are unknown or unrecognized and by
461 " healthful exercise " is meant everyday work activities. Regular
757 daily motion is regarded as necessary for health, and a purgative is
514 taken regularly once a month. The idea is to " clean out disease ". Purgatives are taken first in most sicknesses. This is followed by drinking preparations in hot water to induce perspiration along with woolen blankets. The colour of the urine is checked "daily" since a too yellow colour indicates an unhealthy condition. If so - one must drink additional quantities of water and coconut water. "Urine takes the place of perspiration in cold weather". Over-working and lack of sleep also lead to unhealthiness. The ideal
[93] sleep period is from 8 p.m. to 6 a.m. with a nap thrown in from 12 to 2 after "breakfast".

● 151 Too much worrying SAY TAUNG LO HOJEE (mind-beating-because-
753 body-crush) leads to sickness. This is a common problem for mothers who worry about their children's futures. It results in THEHJEH-PYEEN (small black bitter (gall)-disorder) where the gall fluid is

recognised as over-stimulated by anxieties. "Don't talk my gall into disorder" is a common reaction to calamity tales. 158 753

The weather is important is maintaining health. Changeable weather as during the late part of the Monsoon season is generally unhealthy and gives rise to pulmonary disorders. One should provide head protection (through covering or shade from umbrella) from the sun's rays - which cause headaches by melting the brain. Colds come from getting wet in the rain resulting from the lack of sufficient bodily heat. MIEH HNGME (earth-vapour) which rises as a steam in the early morning or after sudden rains is unhealthful in causing sore eyes and other inflamations. The "steam of the body" healthfully goes out in ordinary bathing and adds to one's comfort. Heat is a key factor in health and sickness being readily discerned as causes of local or general infection. The additional concept of "like producing like" helps explain the above beliefs. 753 132

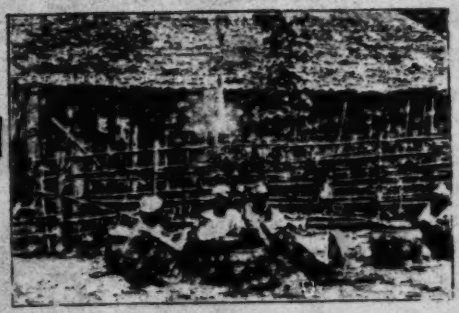
The odor of AH HNLAW (fried food) is especially dangerous to babies and persons in a weakened condition. When frying, which will create extensive fumes, is to be undertaken the cook must give warning to the neighbourhood so that susceptible ones can be protected. Such persons take refuge behind the thick, cloth mosquito nets. Many heated arguments take place in our servants' quarters when the Indian fried food fumes carry over to the Burmese apartments. It is observed that this danger applies peculiarly to the Burmese - Chinese are also exempt since they are seen to cook with babies strapped on their backs. [252] [186]

Parts of the body are cared for with special ingredients. The eyes are cleaned with pure water or coconut water. Oil is frequently dropped into the ears through a feather quill. The mouth and teeth are cleaned with salt. Bitter foods keep keep the stomach fit. 515 751

Babies up to 1 year are fed on mother's milk or cow's milk. After one, rice chewed by the mother "to make it digestible" is added with some dried fish. After two, the child can chew its own rice, have a little meat, but no hot condiments. After five the child eats the same foods as the adults but is not allowed sour foods as this will "lessen the weight". After 16 or 17, this restriction is 853 561 262

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

844 [432]

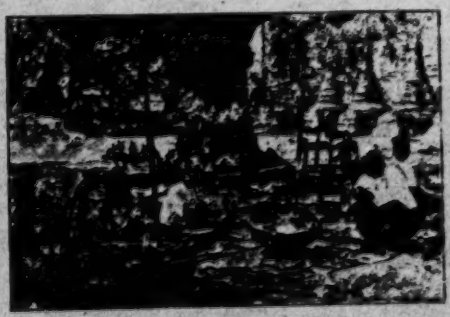


285. PEDLARS.

tain a fire of billets on a special hearth as big as the couch, and placed alongside of it, for five or seven days. The antiseptic property of the smoke may be of value, but the relaxing effect of the artificial heat is believed to be a reason why the Burman women are so much less hardy in this particular than the neighbouring races. The hospital of the Lady Dufferin Fund is helping to spread a [158] more enlightened practice. The ratio of insane in the population is about a quarter of that of Western Europe and America, but is double that of India.

482 [443] 314 Almost the only dealer who hawks his goods in the street is the seller of oil (*hmanzi*, No. 282). He uses a light spring yoke of the wood of the *zi*-tree, the heavier form of which is seen in No. 283. By its springiness the yoke maintains the load at an even level, thus saving waste of work. As much as a hundredweight is carried for long distances. In merely shifting goods at warehouses, carriers will move two hundredweight. They earn six to twelve annas a day. The only vegetable oil used for burning is the oil or resin of the *ka-nyin* (No. 362). Chips are soaked in the wood-oil and made up into [373] torches (*mildaing*) with leaves of the pandanus. The oil is obtained by hewing deep recesses into the butts of the trees for it to collect in, and firing these from time to time to induce a fresh flow. In the valley of the Irawadi, the crude earth-oil from the wells at Yenándyaung is burned in open lamps. This is the earliest petroleum known to commerce, under the name "Rangoon oil." In recent years petroleum has also been found in Arakán. The out-turn from the Burma oilwells in 1898–99 was thirty-two million gallons, valued at

315 [432]



286. TOY AND FLOWER STALLS

369 and women too did the same, and wore their HTAMEINS breast high.
291 Here except for the refugees, he does not see much of this except when
562 people are bathing in the public water hydrants. When it is hot the men wear T shirts and the women wear light garments.

369 U Myaing says that the ordinary city dweller cannot do as much
464 hard labour as the average villager. For example, he cannot carry
461 a bag of rice on his shoulders if suddenly called upon to do so.

The workers from Rangoon are much more acute than the workers from the village. They speak and understand English and Hindustani and so get to know of any possible job long before the others. The villagers do not have these advantages, and so have to join work only later and they are placed to work under them.

563 As far as U Myaing is concerned, there is no racial animosity
464 towards Indians and workers of other races. This is due to the fact that there is no racial discrimination on the part of the employers, the first suitable applicant being given the work.

369 He finds that Rangoon has a much more equable climate than
132 Pathwe. In Rangoon it is not as cold as in Pathwe, where in the cold season it was very cold even though they lived in a proper house and kept all the doors and windows shut. He says that they would not be able in Pathwe to live in an open dwelling like they do at present.

369 Their relatives in Rangoon keep to themselves a great deal.
571 They work on their own and earn on their own. In Rangoon each family
602 has only sufficient for itself. "We cannot help them financially and neither can they help us much. When we go on a visit they can invite us to join in a meal or to partake of sweet tea, but they would not be able to lend us fifty or a hundred rupees. In Pathwe we could lend each other any amount up till a thousand five hundred rupees and that free of interest. These loans also need to be repaid only when it is convenient to the debtor. It would be inconvenient to have to repay a loan while the money was in the form of goods."

●159 U Myaings eldest daughter has returned to the camp because the
369 woman who owns the cheroot rolling business has temporarily closed it
602 down and gone to Pantanaw with goods like onions, prawns and textiles. Since the girl is not sufficiently dexterous to find work elsewhere as

as a roller, and as the aunt from whom she is learning embroidery went into confinement quite recently, she has returned home to the camp. When this aunt had her child, Daw Aw Zar had to go and keep her company for a period of twenty days. Ma Aye Myaing made one or two visits to inquire into her progress. The actual delivery was performed not by Daw Aw Zar, but by someone else, a midwife. When Ma Aye Myaing gives birth to her child the other relatives are sure to offer help, especially if she had the baby in her own home. However, there are only about ten families from Pathee in Rangoon and out of that number only two or three will be able to come. There would be no need to ask them to come - they would come of their own accord if they heard the news. At present they live in distant parts of Rangoon town. In Pathee, on an occasion like this everyone comes to ask after the health of the mother and child, even though they may be no relations at all. On the seventh day after birth the house is washed and all visitors to the house are provided with scented water to wash their hair - and it is also sent to those elders who are unble to come. The water is scented with the cream of TAUNG-BAN-GYI, MATHAPTU and KALAMET roots. Enough scented water is provided for about 60 visitors. Most of the visitors are women and girls - very few young men come.

159 369 602 844

In Rangoon it is very easy to earn two or three rupees in one day as labourers, while in Pathee even the worker who worked at the IMS for a monthly wage was paid only twenty to thirty rupees. But to offset that, the prices in Pathee were very much lower than those in Rangoon. MEAPI workers earn Rs. 10/- a month, and the foreman for the MEAPI workers is paid Rs. 15/- a month. This salary of ten rupees was more than sufficient for buying decent clothing and other necessities. These men had to be fed by their employer. The IMS workmen who earned twenty to thirty rupees a month had to find their own food.

369 511 465

U Myaing has made some friends among his fellow workers in Rangoon and has visited the house of one of them, but even this was not a social visit, as he went there to enquire about their work.

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2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4
Upper Burma
Lower Burma

423 distinctions are more minute than is at all necessary or indeed
428 comprehensible. They include all children born out of wed-
848 lock, among whom are reckoned such as are born before the parents have been married ten months; all children that are
[597] purchased, or adopted by any other ceremony than that of abadita or keiktima; and such as "from respect or affection
423 style their guardians father or mother." The settlement of
184 boundary marks was one of the earliest duties of the first ruler. The thale rice became constantly scarcer and scarcer, and it was determined that it would be well to give every person his share and mark it off distinctly. The appointment of persons to execute this duty was the first occasion on which executive officials were found necessary. Manu enumerated twenty-five objects suitable for legal landmarks. These included all natural objects, such as lakes, rivers, ridges, and hills, remarkable large trees and clumps of bamboos; artificial boundaries of an equally permanent character, such as pagodas, shrines for demon-worship, zayats, or rest-houses, stone pillars and sacred posts, wells and cairns; finally such singular distinguishing marks as heads of cattle, chaff, ashes, charcoal, sand, broken earthenware vessels, and men's bones. "Beating the bounds," one would think, must have been very necessary with the younger members of the household in the case of such perishable boundary lines as could be constituted by chaff, or even sand. In Upper Burma the cultivating
●[161] population was so sparse that no difficulty was found in the matter of boundaries. In Lower Burma farms are as distinctly marked off as land-surveyors' chains can effect the operation in pointing out the little raised ridges which separate the plots of paddy land from one another. Nevertheless they are hardly such as the South of England farmers would approve.

423 These allodial tenures are the only ones which exist in
[177-92] Burma now. In independent territory there were two other
651 kinds of holding, which were not, however, very numerous or
622 extensive. The first of these were called thugyisa fields, and consisted of certain tracts of land near the town or village set apart for the maintenance of the headman. As that official was anything but a permanency, the tenant for the time being very seldom cultivated them himself, but let them

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

CHAPTER LVIII

MANDALAY AND RANGOON

[This chapter describes these towns as they were in 1881.]

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177.36
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AMERICANS talk, and with good reason, of the magic growth of their cities. But for mere mushroom growth, Mandalay might compare even with Chicago itself, and if we are to judge of the progress of a commercial place by the fair criterion of business results, Rangoon may hold up its head in confident rivalry with any of the typical American cities. In the middle of last century the site of Mandalay was swampy paddy land and rank jungle. Now an area of five square miles is covered with houses, many of them squalid enough certainly, and with large patches of unused land round about them, but none the less contained within the city limits. Rangoon came into British hands in 1852, and at that time possessed no commerce worthy of the name, indeed it was only known as the place for pilgrims to the Shwe Dagôn pagoda to stay at, and the residence of the Regent of Pegu, as being the guard station on the most accessible mouth of the Irrawaddy. Ten years later, ships entered or cleared from the port having a tonnage of 295,000 tons, and the imports were worth £1,200,000, the exports £1,400,000, and since that date—a year or two after Mandalay had been founded—the tonnage has increased to 1,000,000, the value of the imports to £5,000,000 sterling, and the exports to £4,000,000. In a quarter of a century the commerce of British Burma rose to nearly £20,000,000 sterling. The population has quadrupled; public works are carried on; education is widely disseminated; the administration is carefully managed by British officials; a railway,

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[871]
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14: Brant E-5 (1949-50) 1954 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

clouds of dust. The Rainy Season begins sometime late in May or early in June and lasts until October. Almost all of Tadagale's 90 to 100 inches of annual rainfall comes during this period. It rains every day, in periodic downpours which often start so suddenly that the newcomer to the area is caught unaware on a good many occasions. Although temperatures drop during the Rainy Season to daily maxima in the low 80's, the discomfort, for the average denizen of the temperate zone, is greater than in the Hot Season because of the extremely high humidity and the small difference between daily maximum and minimum temperatures. 132

The Burmese inhabitants of the community, who are 90% of the population, are medium brown in skin color, tend to be broad-nosed, have straight black hair, and are of medium stature. 142

All of the men, with the exception of a few of the old ones, wear their hair in western style, cut short and parted on one side. The women, however, adhere to the traditional Burmese hair styles, without exception. Little girls wear their hair in a top-knot on the middle of the head, with a circular part around the temples and crown, short bangs hanging down in front. Adult women comb their hair, liberally oiled, back to form a coiled knot at the nape of the neck. Adherence by the women to traditional hair styles and mode of dress is strikingly in contrast with the situation in neighboring Thailand, where permanent waves and short skirts may be seen among peasant women many miles outside the capital. 302 177

Burmese dress is universal in the village. It consists of the longyi, a circular, single-seamed skirt reaching to the ankles, and a jacket. The longyi is worn by both sexes. The woman's longyi differs from the man's in that it has a black waistband sewn to the upper edge. It is folded over and tucked in at the waist. The man's longyi is drawn tight about the waist and knotted in front to hold it in place. Women's jackets (the aingyi) are not quite so loose-fitting as men's, and for dress occasions they are made of fine muslin, or, if it can be afforded, sheer nylon, climate notwithstanding. Men's jackets are of a heavier material, and are never worn at the workaday tasks of everyday life in the village; the men generally go uncled from the waist up. For ordinary wear both sexes use wooden clog-like shoes, held to the foot by a single band of rubber over the in-step. For dress occasions, single-thonged leather sandals are worn. 291

About nine hundred people live in Tadagale. Census data collected at first-hand do not yield exact information because a few families could not be interviewed. The data include 807 people, and it is doubtful if as many as one hundred people were not covered by the census. 161 ●

In Table I below the population of the village is given in terms of ethnic groups. The imposition of any a priori set of categories was avoided, and informants were simply asked the question, "To what people do you consider yourself to belong?" In this way it was possible to learn something of the group identifications of informants. 162

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

APPENDIX D.

STATISTICAL.

AREA.

131

Burma Proper and Pegu (excluding Shan States, 61,000 sq. m.) square miles	158,322 = 101,326,122 acres.
Area cropped, 1900	10,556,104 acres.

161

POPULATION IN 1901 (including Shan States, 1,228,460)	9,221,161
Mean annual birth-rate per 1,000	37·34
" death " "	28·16

162

DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION IN 1891.

Burmans and Talaings { males, 3,030,797; females, 3,098,385 }	6,129,182
(Increase since 1881, 22½ per cent.)	
Shans	206,794
Karéns	633,657
Chins	95,571
Chimpáws (Kachin ? more)	2,200
Chinese	37,407
Natives of India	432,639
Europeans (including 4000 troops)	12,491
Eurasians	6,978
Others	167,134
Total, census of 1891	7,722,053

FISCAL.

178 In 1796 the special impost of 33·3 tikals of fine silver per house took three years to collect, and produced the equivalent of about nine million rupees. The purchasing-power of money has 651 declined 50 to 60 per cent. since that time, apart from depreciation of silver.

435 In 1900 the gross revenue of Burma was 70,400,000 rupees, of which Pegu contributed 63 per cent. The expenditure was forty-three millions. Out of the surplus there was a balance of Rs. 24,700,000 of Imperial revenue over expenditure. The incidence of direct taxation (land and capitation taxes, which produce about one-half of the revenue) is four rupees per head of population; which, with an average of 5·5 inhabitants, comes to twenty-two rupees per house.

CRIMINAL, AVERAGES 1894–8.

674

Convictions for offences against life (including attempted murder and culpable homicide, 40 per cent.)	244
" " hurt	2,691
" " rape	76
" " robbery	654
" " theft	8,681

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14: Brant E-5 (1949-50) 1954 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

Table I

Ethnic Identification of Villagers

162

Response	Number	Per Cent of Total
Burmese	726	90.0
Indian Hindu	46	6.0
Indian Muslim	3	0.4
Pakistani Muslim	1	0.1
Chinese	2	0.2
Talaing (Mon)	12	2.0
Karen	1	0.1
Tavoyan	1	0.1
Sino-Burmese	7	1.0
Indo-Burmese	3	0.4
Indo-Burmese Muslim	3	0.4
Karen-Burmese	2	0.2
Total	807	

It is interesting to note that 2% of the village population identified themselves as Talaings (Mons). The general area of Burma in which Tadagale is located was first settled by the Talaings, who came with the first of three major historic waves of migration into Burma. The Burmese arrived centuries later in the dry zone of Upper Burma and then thrust southward to conquer the Talaings and Burmanize the area. No doubt many more than 2% of the people of Tadagale can trace their ancestry back to the Talaings, but today they think of themselves simply as Burmese.

166

The majority of the people of the village were born either in Tadagale or in its immediate vicinity. Nearly 68% were born in Tadagale or in nearby villages included with the administrative unit "Tadagale Tract." Another 19% were born elsewhere within Insein District, the next higher administrative-geographic unit to which the village belongs. 11% originate from other districts of Burma, while the remaining 3% are foreign-born. The latter are all Indians, save one person born in China.

244 Garden cultivation is quite simple. Hand tools, such as steel mattocks, rakes and hoes, which are obtained from Rangoon, are employed to prepare the soil. Cattle or water buffalo excrement is mixed with water to a thin consistency and poured from bamboo-spouted metal buckets over the ground. (The use of human excrement as a fertilizer, common in China and Japan, is not practiced in Burma.) During the monsoon season there is, of course, no problem of irrigation, but during the hot and dry seasons the gardens must be watered frequently. This task is often performed by young boys, who draw water from the wells and apply it to the gardens. The work of picking the matured crops and preparing them for transport to market is commonly done by female members of the household.

243 2. Paddy Cultivation. The principal occupation of forty-three persons is cultivation of paddy. This category is here defined to include individuals who own or rent land on which they cultivate paddy, as distinct from persons who work on a wage basis in the paddy cultivation of others. The latter are referred to in this report as field laborers.

243 ●162 427 178 Of the thirty-four paddy land holdings on which we have data, twenty-nine are rented and five are owned by the cultivators. All but one of these holdings is under twenty acres. This high ratio of renters to owners, as well as the small number of paddy cultivators relative to the total number of gainfully occupied villagers is reflective of long-run trends in agriculture in this general area. Rural tenancy has been the outcome, in Lower Burma, of a long period of loss of land ownership to moneylenders, largely absentee, through inability of the cultivators to repay loans taken out at very high rates of interest. As tenancy has grown apace, individual cultivators have become discouraged with their small return for hard work. Accordingly, many have given up paddy cultivation altogether in favor of less arduous and relatively more rewarding occupations. However, this trend may be reversed, for there began in early 1951 actual implementation of the Land Nationalization Act of 1948, which provides for distribution of agricultural land to the cultivators on an individual ownership basis.

243 434 For the great majority of the paddy cultivators of Tadagale it is possible to eke out little more than subsistence from season to season. A few, after paying their hired labor, putting aside seed for the next year's planting, and filling the granary for home use, can realize some cash income by the sale of a small surplus of paddy. If the cultivator with a little surplus can possibly afford it, he holds the paddy until the hot season, when the market price is highest.

243 433 The average yield per acre in Tadagale, based on data for thirty cultivators for the harvest season 1948-49, is 19.8 bushels of paddy. This compares closely with the overall average figures for Burma. According to the Yearbook of Food and Agriculture for 1949 (U.N.-F.A.O.) the average yield per acre for Burma was 20 bushels.

243 437 In late March, the paddy fields of Tadagale are burned over, depositing an ash from any stubble remaining from the previous harvest. Sometime after the New Year celebration (which begins about April 13th and continues several days) the cultivators spread manure over their fields in preparation for the coming planting season. The manure is obtained from the Indian dairy farmers of the village in exchange for paddy stalk.

Home in Lewis Road Refugee Camp

Since November 1949 U Myeing and his family have been living in the Lewis Road refugee camp, Rangoon. They had stopped at half a dozen places prior to their present abode, but their living had been on very much the same scale. The refugee camp is located about a mile north of the Shwe Dagon Pagoda on a hilly promontory. The area is not far from Tiger Alley (U Wisara Road) and along this road and others nearby, huts have been built up within the last few years, largely by war refugees. The buildings of the camp were earlier used as headquarters and barracks by the People's Volunteer Organisation (P.V.O.). The P.V.O. is an offshoot of the Burmese Patriot's Army following the end of the Second World War. It was originally an army, but after independence was converted into an "organisation" for political purposes. A Yellow Band and a White Band section developed and the White P.V.O.s becoming insurgents.

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The vital statistics of the camp as given by U Khant, the school master are as follows:- 269 families comprised of 856 adults (LU GYI), 211 young people (LU LAT), and 33 infants (MO SO) live in 15 huts . The number of families in each hut ranges from 9 in the smallest to 36 in the largest. The infant category includes those babies who are still breast feeding - up to one year of age. The adult category begins at the age of voting - 18 years. The proportion of the three categories as shown in the totals remains fairly consistent for each of the houses indicating that there are no special age-grade habitations. The refugees come for the most part from the Delta area of Lower Burma, from the districts of Pantanaw and Bassein but they have not organised themselves in their huts according to the district or village from which they come. The assignment of space has been on a pragmatic base according to who arrived at what time. The buildings consisted for the most part of rectangular huts measuring 30 feet by 60 feet with woven split bamboo walls and thatched roofs. When the area was converted into a refugee camp, each family was assigned a certain space which they then partitioned off. A map of the refugee camp area shows a haphazard plan. The only

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25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
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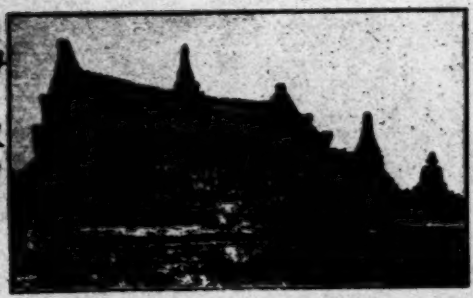

44. ANCIENT THEIN AT PAGAN.

not by age, but by the number of lenten seasons they have belonged to the Assembly. Vigils and restriction of night rest are not practised. The rule of life of the *yahán* is laid down in the *Wini* (*Vinaya Bitaka*), one of the three divisions ("baskets") of the Buddhist scriptures. A *hambaná*, or breviary of scripture, relating to mem-

[212] bership of the Assembly, illuminated with lacquer on copper or ivory leaves, is read by turns by the five members of the conclave assembled for the reception of the new member. This solemnity is undertaken in the *thein*, a *wut* set apart for the *Thingá* alone. No lay persons enter the precincts, but they may be spectators from a distance. The new *yahán* is called *Upazin*, sojourner recluse, or assistant to the *Upyiza*, or *Phúdyí*, *Kindyí* (incumbent) of the monastery. In

● [162] 1891 there were 13,613 *phúdyí*, 6,668 sojourner *yahán*, and 13,500 probationers in the monasteries of Burma, which numbered 15,371, in a Buddhist population of about seven millions.

346 The dedication of the site for building such a *thein* (Pâli *sima*) is preceded
796 by the solemnity of *thein-thambí*. Ground so dedicated can never be alienated
778 to any other use. In this respect the *thein* is more sacred than the temples in general. After the site has been levelled, it is surrounded with a trench, into which water is led. In the centre a small well is sunk (*alí-dwin*). The *yahán*, not less than twenty-four in number, assemble on the spot, over which a gay pavilion (*mandat*) has been erected, and wait for the water from the trench to

[792] percolate to the well. When this occurs, the site is said to have "taken" (*aung*). Otherwise it must be rejected. The *yahán* gather round the well and intone scriptural passages from a

45. YAHAN ASSEMBLED FOR DEDICATION OF THEIN.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

153. THE CHALLENGE (see p. 177).

the young wife's home, the lad working for her parents. 591
As family comes and other daughters marry, the elder pairs are established in houses of their own. Married people are designated *ein-daung*—householders. Marriage 581
makes no difference in the names and their prefixes. 592
Everyone marries in Burma; the census of 1891 gave 551
1,306,722 husbands to 1,307,292 wives. The same census 162
gave 102 females to 100 males of the Burman (so classed [548]
as Buddhist) population. (In Burma prostitution is confined to the large towns.) [524]

A family of seven is considered large. The average 592
number of house-occupants is 5.5. The cost of living of 511
a Burman village household is 100 to 200 Rs. a year. In 357
the towns the well-to-do spend 600 to 1000 Rs. and more, 556
and at the present day keep a servant or two for the rough work, generally natives of India. Such accumulations of wealth as are made by individuals in India and other countries with a plutocracy and a proletariate are not paralleled among the Burmans. Nevertheless individuals amass tens of thousands of rupees, which for the most part they spend on works of religious merit. Monogamy is the received and almost universal practice in Burma. Second-wives are taken by a proportion of the officials and men of wealth. Hence it comes that the Burmans wonder more at the moderation of Europeans than at such license as they indulge. This license is not nearly so great as in India, but it is more open, corresponding to the higher status of the women of Burma, and thus it provokes more scandal in comparison. Unions of this sort among the Burmans are merely by mutual consent. A separate establishment in a different quarter of the town is maintained for the second wife or concubine (*maya-ngè*). Her children are under no disability, but she is not acknowledged by the first, and generally older, wife (*mayaji*), whose husband's love she is said to have stolen.

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154. AN "ORIGINAL"

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25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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307. TYREING THE WHEEL.

a shallow dug-out bottom with three or four side-planks built up from it. The planks are held together by cane lacing, with a caulking of grass. They are very crank, but are good sea-boats, nevertheless. The only decoration is a rough crocodile's head at the bow. The boat population of Burma in 1891 was nearly 84,000, or about 1·5 per

[463] cent. of the whole population—"greatly in excess of the proportion borne to the total by the maritime population of the most maritime nation in the world" (Census report, p. 34). The only sea-going craft are the few score *kattu*, small

501 junks of twenty to sixty tons, manned by five or six Taláings. They venture

439 as far to sea as the Nicobars, where they ship cocoanuts in the fine or north-east monsoon. The rest of the year they lie by. The *kattu* are built at Dawè ("Tavoy"), and cost from one to two thousand rupees. They carry a compass of European make, for use in thick weather; but the navigation is empirical.

398 The cart-building exemplifies the Burman love of curves. In Burma Proper

493 the root-wood of *shá* (cutch) is dug out for the sake of the bent timber. In Pegu, curved branches of *thingán* are used for the body. For wheels, solid discs of *kaung-hmu* and other woods were used in Pegu, where timber grows large (No. 306). In the North, the solid wheel is still made up of three pieces, held together by mortices and tenons (Nos. 301, 309). *Padáuk* is the wood preferred for these wheels. They have a very long box for the axle, which is of *pangá* wood; the axle-box is hooped with rattan. Since the introduction of spokes and iron tyres, skill has been concentrated on the wheel; the body of the cart preserves its local type. The Burman has proved the best wheelwright of the East, both

308. PLEASURE-CART, BURMA PROPER.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

APPENDIX D.

STATISTICAL.

AREA.

131

Burma Proper and Pegu (excluding Shan States, 61,000 sq. m.) square miles	158,322 = 101,326,122 acres.
Area cropped, 1900	10,556,104 acres.

161

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Total, census of 1891	7,722,053

FISCAL.

178 In 1796 the special impost of 33·3 tikals of fine silver per house took three years to collect, and produced the equivalent of about nine million rupees. The purchasing-power of money has
651 declined 50 to 60 per cent. since that time, apart from depreciation of silver.

435 In 1900 the gross revenue of Burma was 70,400,000 rupees, of which Pegu contributed 63 per cent. The expenditure was forty-three millions. Out of the surplus there was a balance of Rs. 24,700,000 of Imperial revenue over expenditure. The incidence of direct taxation (land and capitation taxes, which produce about one-half of the revenue) is four rupees per head of population; which, with an average of 5·5 inhabitants, comes to twenty-two rupees per house.

CRIMINAL, AVERAGES 1894–8.

674

Convictions for offences against life (including attempted murder and culpable homicide, 40 per cent.)	244
" " hurt	2,691
" " rape	76
" " robbery	654
" " theft	8,481

29: Slater M-4 (no date) 1951 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

a simple, straightforward affirmation, but it is not denial. No religion could so persist if it merely brought man's elemental aspirations to a sharp cliff and threw them over. 779* 775

5. *Burmese Buddhism*

If there are good reasons for approaching the subject of religious paradox by a study of Buddhism, there are also good reasons for considering Buddhism as it appears in Burma where it is still a living and a dominant religion. 121

In the study of great religious traditions there is always need to maintain a balance between regard for the written texts and for the living expression. To consult one without the other is to misinterpret both. What the Christmas stories in the gospels mean to Christians cannot be fully discerned if they are isolated from Christmas observance any more than the Jātaka stories of Buddhism can be fully appreciated until they are read in the context of popular faith, with its drama and poetry. And what an entirely misleading impression of monastic Buddhism one might get from the Abhidhamma literature unless one has seen something of the life of a Buddhist monastery! This balance, as our Burmese critic observed, has not always been maintained in the study of Southern Buddhism.

Burma provides exceptional opportunities for such a study. "If anybody wants to know and see Buddhism as conceived and preached by the Buddha himself so far as the Saṃgha life goes," says a recent writer, "one can see a nearest approach to it in the monasteries of Burma.... Of all the Indianised lands of South-eastern Asia, Burma is indeed the only country where monastic Buddhism of the Theravāda nikāya survives to this day in its pristine purity."[24] And the same writer emphasises the impact of this monastic life on Burmese life and culture. [792]

In Burma, eighty-five per cent of the inhabitants are Buddhists. Of these, one in every hundred is a Buddhist monk. Go where you will, you find the yellow robe of the Order, the pagoda gleaming white across the plain or on the hillside, the monastery in every village, intimately related to the life of the people. This has been the situation for centuries. Here one can see Buddhism in action; one can try to interpret its symbols in the light of the very real, if rustic, civilisation which it has shaped and maintained. Burma is one of the most interesting countries in the Orient. Its people are literate. There is freedom from caste, and, for that matter, scarcely any class system. In the days of the monarchy, "when you left the king, you dropped at once to the villager."[25] An Englishman observed, [162] 779* 565 562 779*

[24] Nihar-Ranjan Ray, *Theravāda Buddhism in Burma*, chap. VII, p. 262.
[25] Fielding Hall, *The Soul of a People*, chap. IX, p. 106.

Analysis

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The main active preventative measures are those of cleaning the body and the clothes. The Burmese seem to be fastidious in this regard. The boiling of water and food is a similar measure. However, there does not seem to be much concern with communal sanitary measures as practical in western countries. It is difficult to see a real difference in the standard of preventative measures in Camp as opposed to Pathes. In effect, the individual standards are maintained and the communal ones remain as negative as previously.

The medical record as given by the family, though open to question as to accuracy in coming from laymen, does indicate a high incident of communicable diseases and apparent lack of deficiency disorders. The low incident of dysentery is surprising, but may not be accepted without question. The high incident of piles is interesting in suggesting a cultural disorder perhaps organically tied to the constant squat position. There appeared to be a greater incident of eyesores, chlis, and skin diseases in the refugee camp - perhaps as a result of greater crowding in the the urban situation. Certainly the dust of Rangoon is an active hazard in this regard.

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Most of the family's medical care has been that of Burmese practitioners. Only 3 cases was western medicine used, and in two of these Burmese remedies were also used. Dr. Sheppard, ECA medical advisor, and Ko Mya Tu interviewed U Myaing for the purpose of finding out his reactions to western medicine. His increased contact with modern medicine in Rangoon has had an effect on his thought as seen in the interview below:

> U Myaing said: "In our practical experience we find that western medicine is more efficacious (than native Burmese medicine). I remember the woman whom you (Ko Mya Tu) came and gave injections to. She recovered at once and is now hale and hearty - the woman who lives in the shed near our place (in the refugee camp). She was stricken with dysentery. She was suffering from 11 o'clock at night till morning, when an ambulance was summoned by telephone to take her to the hospital. She was given injections and by noon she was feeling very much better. Burmese doctors take much longer. Some of them mix in western medicines with their own. If we were given the choice we would prefer western medicine because it takes effect quicker. I have seen one case of Burmese medicine succeeding where western medicine failed. This was a case of urinary trouble."

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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88. MÈTHILA ON THE ROUND FOR SUN.

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struggles. Apart from this and the serfdom referred to at p. 32, slavery has only played a subordinate *rôle* in Burma within historic times. The *payadyún*, and they alone, are treated as outcasts by both of these populations. They beg for alms and also appropriate the offerings brought to the shrines in profusion at festivals. Their right to beg is admitted, although they frequently accumulate money and build fine houses.

Lepers (*anû*) in many cases quit their families of their own accord and settle in the *payadyún* colony. In some places they were compelled to do so. The settlements have thus acquired the semblance of leper colonies. There are a few country villages of this character. Indigent lepers beg for alms. In 1891 there were 6,000 lepers in Burma, the highest ratio in the Indian Empire. There are now four leper asylums. Casual mendicancy is almost unknown in Burma.

[735]

787 The Burman and Brahman soothsayers (p. 158) are regular frequenters of the shrines. The Burman astrologer (*bedín-sayâ*) casts horoscopes on the
803 Brahman model (No. 279) and designates the days auspicious for undertakings. He takes his name from proficiency in reckoning, and is consulted about business calculations that cannot be done mentally.

796 The Buddhist duty-days (*ûbôt-ne, thadín*) follow the quarters of the moon.
785 They are kept regularly during lent. On these days the pious laity of both sexes and sedate years observe the rule of *pôthudaw* and *mèthila* from sunrise to sunrise (*ûbôt-saung*). They adopt sober attire, or else white cotton clothing, which is considered the plainest of any. In the forenoon men and women separately repair to the temple rest-houses, whither food for the morning meal, which has been collected the previous evening from religious donors

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89. SOOTHSAYER.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

Dealers, with the exception of 1164

276. THE LORD OF HELL RECEIVES HIS STEWARD'S ACCOUNT OF THE PAINS INFLICTED ON SINNERS (p. 121).

The dealer in medicine, who is at the same time the physician, do not receive the title *sayá*—teacher, doctor—which is accorded to every master workman. The physician (*séthama sayá*) makes no charge for his advice, but only for his medicines. There is, however, a school of doctors who oppose the use of drugs, and rely upon the regulation of diet and on shampooing; they make their charge for the latter operation. Ague (intermittent fever, *pyá-na*) is the commonest complaint in Burma, which no one escapes. The remittent form of malarial fever is also common. Attacks may be light and pass away of themselves, or they may be severe and protracted. Malaria is the chief cause of mortality. The common treatment is to encourage sweating. Aperients are not resorted to if it can be helped, as the Burmese drugs are drastic. In severe cases the head is shaved. Quinine was at one time making its way in the bazárs; but soon adulteration began to be practised, and it lost repute. The scheme of selling the Government quinine at the post offices may be effectual in rehabilitating the medicine. Santonin worm-tablets likewise had a great reputation until adulteration began. Rheumatism is common in Burma. It is treated by shampooing (*a-hnélik*), which in this complaint is most efficacious. *A-hnélik* is a kneading of the muscles and nervous plexuses; massage, in the sense of rubbing, is not practised. The expert shampooers possess an empirical knowledge of the interdependences in the nervo-muscular system which is remarkable. An attack of lumbago, which would cripple one for days, is cured in half an hour. Vapour baths, over the water of hot springs, are also resorted to. Heart-burn and colic are common ailments.

277. BURMAN APOTHECARY.

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25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

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278. SHAMPOOING (A-HNEIK).

Dysentery is much less frequent in natives than in European residents. Consumption and pneumonia are rare, but coughs and bronchitis are common. Cancer is not unknown. Measles and chicken-pox follow a mild course. Scarlet fever does not occur, nor does typhus. It is uncertain whether typhoid fever existed in Burma or has been introduced; it is rare among the natives, but attacks Europeans in a bad form. Venereal diseases lurk in the towns. (For leprosy, see p. 41.) Diarrhœa and cholera recrudesce every hot season. There are no records of other pestilence. Small-pox rages in severe epidemics, but with greatly diminished incidence where vaccination has been accepted. Native practitioners were acquainted with inoculation. In introducing voluntary vaccination the British Government has met with great success. The introduction of this measure exemplifies how grotesque the arguments may be that prevail upon the people. The alleged motive of the government was too improbable; so wiseacres cast about for another. What more likely than a dream of the Queen of England—that a child existed in Burma who would overthrow her dominion! This child could not be known, but it would be reached and removed by the plan of poisoning the blood of the whole generation. It was many years before

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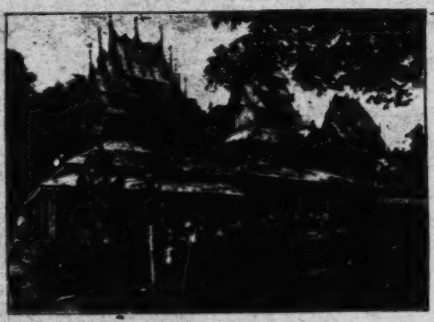
279. HOROSCOPE ON PALM-LEAF.

the myth was dispelled. In 1894, when small-pox was known to be approaching from Karenni, the Karén (nat-worshipping) village of Bilin-Mèwaing among others, consisting of sixty souls, submitted to vaccination. The lymph took in all but sixteen cases. Six months later small-pox reached the locality. Twelve

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4



280. KOTHENA YON (p. 101).

of the unsuccessfully vaccinated caught the disease, and ten of them died. None of the forty-four were attacked. These statistics could be multiplied. The medicine-dealers keep many of the crude commercial drugs, besides simples of their own collecting. Of the former, the principal are aloes, jalap, croton-seed, senna, bitter barks, catechu, opium, camphor, ginger, cardamom and other aromatics. The medicinal use of castor-oil is not known, though the plant is common. Spirits are now used medicinally. Many of the vegetable remedies are almost inert (see *The Burmese, what do they know of medicine?* by Dr. D. H. Cullimore). But there is one that deserves to be known, namely, the Shan remedy for tape-worm, *Mssé*, which is both effectual and mild. Among the mineral drugs are mercury, calomel, sulphur, blue and green vitriols, alum, salammoniac, nitre. There is a whole category of supposititious remedies, tiger's gall, rhinoceros' blood, ant-eater's scales, and so forth; they are charred before being made up. Allied to this class of remedies is that of charms, the vendors of which (nat-wives—*nakkadaw*) trade on the superstition that disease is caused by demons. Every patient will be as particular to mention his star as to describe his complaint. He will be advised to avoid certain classes of remedies on certain days. The "Sunday son" must not purge on Friday, and so on. In times of epidemic and panic, *thibhwadi* are erected at every house, as they likewise are in cases of sickness (No. 431). They are merely of sand, held together with circles of bast. Sometimes they are erected to avert calamity declared to be impending in a *shwepo-bhwdau*, a message on gold foil dropped from heaven by a *Thadyé* (p. 186). Images are dedicated

281. CHILDREN'S BAZAR (p. 18).

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

846 757 she is made to smell samôn-net, a plant (the *Nigella sativa*), which is put in an earthen pot, strongly heated, and then triturated into the shape of a ball. The odour is not exactly such as one would recognise as calculated to exhilarate any one, but probably after the hot bricks and the se sein everything else comes as a matter of detail. All this is done to drive out the noxious humours which are supposed to be generated by the birth of a child. On the seventh day the woman takes an elementary kind of Turkish bath. She sits over a large jar of boiling water, medicated with tamarind twigs and a few other kinds of leaves and grasses, with a blanket over her. After about an hour of this she has a cold bath, and is then free to do as she pleases. She usually goes to bed.

165 846 177·84 184 It might be supposed that under this treatment death in child-bearing would be very frequent, but as far as imperfect statistics can show the percentage is not much higher than in other countries. The result, however, appears in another way. A woman ages up ten or fifteen years for every child she has. It is satisfactory to notice that in all the larger towns in Lower Burma the more unpleasant features are fading away before the example and influence of women of other nationalities. In the jungle and in Upper Burma, however, ancient use and wont still prevail, and the young mother of fourteen or fifteen is shrivelled into thirty with her first baby.

845 If a woman gives birth to a still-born child, a piece of iron is placed in the cloth in which the body is wrapped, or in the coffin if there is one, and at the burial some member of the family says some such formula as "Never more return into thy mother's womb till this metal becomes soft as down."

If a married woman dies before bearing a child (alôn [775] hnin the-thi), a Cæsarean operation is performed, and the alôn is buried in some secret place. The reason alleged for this is, that were it not done, the husband in future existences would marry this woman again, and she would die in 845 the same way. Were the embryo not secretly buried it 754 would be disinterred by hmaw-sayās, necromancers, and wizards, who would make evil uses of it. Children's cauls are as highly thought of by Burmans as they are by English

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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is so like the shadows of the grass and weeds in a dusty road, that you can walk on him quite unsuspectingly. Then he will bite you, and you die. He comes out usually in the evening before dark, and lies about on footpaths to catch the home-coming ploughman or reaper, and, contrary to the custom of other snakes, he will not flee on hearing a footstep. When anyone approaches he lies more still than ever, not even a movement of his head betraying him. He is so like the colour of the ground, he hopes he will be passed unseen; and he is slow and lethargic in his movements, and so is easy to kill when once detected. As a Burman said, 'If he sees you first, he kills you; if you see him first, you kill him.'

In this district no Burman hesitates a moment in killing a viper when he has the chance. Usually he has to do it in self-defence. This viper is terribly feared, as over a hundred persons a year die here by his bite. He is so hated and feared that he has become an outcast from the law that protects all life.

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But with other snakes it is not so. There is the hamadryad, for instance. He is a great snake about ten to fourteen feet long, and he is the only snake that will attack you first. He is said always to do so, certainly he often does. One attacked me once when out quail shooting. He put up his great neck and head suddenly at a distance of only five or six feet, and was just preparing to strike, when I literally blew his head off with two charges of shot.

You would suppose he was vicious enough to be included with the Russell's viper in the category of

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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16. THE FIRST STEP.

of an inch thick. This custom is on the decline, and the ears of boys are not so generally pierced as they used to be. The *naddung* or women's ear-plug of gold is being replaced by the *nagdt* with its slender stem (No. 241). With eldest-born girls the fête is frequently deferred until they are twelve or fourteen, and is then celebrated with all the more splendour (p. 14).

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854 Burman children are not weaned until the second or third year. Nevertheless they begin to receive solid food as soon as they will take it. The illusion prevails that the earlier they do so the stronger they will be. It is a [165] chief source of infant sickness and mortality, and of the smallness of the families reared. A curious feature of Burman sociality is the promiscuous suckling of infants in the circle of relatives and friends.

855 Children's heads are shaved
858 in more or less fanciful ways up
302 to the ages of ten or twelve, after which the hair is allowed to grow long.

858 The road-fronts of the houses
857 are always peopled with children.
524 Children are equals and are free to roam through the neighbours' houses and plots, where they are kindly noticed. Adults take in-
[854] terest in their games, and make kites and reels, boats, carts and other simple toys for them.

17. THE WOODEN CRADLE (BAUNGBAN).

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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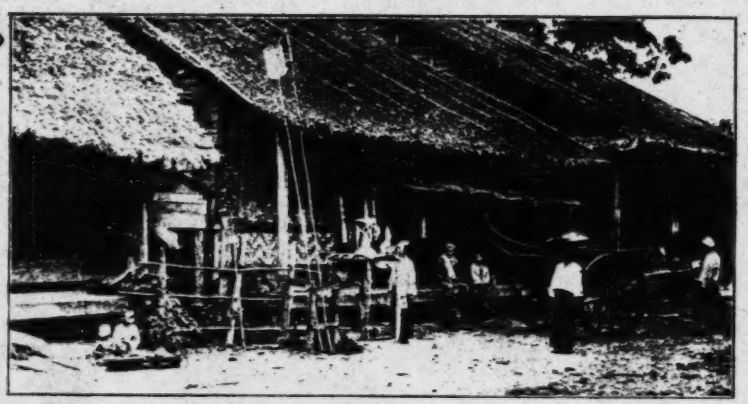

431. DECORATING THE THEBONZEDI p. 127.

CHAPTER IX

AGE AND MORTALITY

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432. A DAUGHTER PRAYING HER PARENTS TO NOBO-SAT.

THE men and women of the tropics age and die sooner than those of temperate climates. One meets reputed centenarians in Burma, but it is rarely that the old people can prove their age, unless they are able to connect their year of birth with some historical event. Ninety years is a very great age for a native of Burma to attain. When parents are past their prime their children pray them to *nobo-sat*, which means that they should be at the children's charge for the remainder of their lives, as the children had first been at their parents'. The turning-point is not marked by any formality, but a child approaching parents on a solemn occasion adopts the gesture of veneration. The aged are not idle; they preserve a great elasticity of mind and interest in things;

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14: Brant E-5 (1949-50) 1954 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

Table I

Ethnic Identification of Villagers

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Response	Number	Per Cent of Total
Burmese	726	90.0
Indian Hindu	46	6.0
Indian Muslim	3	0.4
Pakistani Muslim	1	0.1
Chinese	2	0.2
Talaing (Mon)	12	2.0
Karen	1	0.1
Tavoyan	1	0.1
Sino-Burmese	7	1.0
Indo-Burmese	3	0.4
Indo-Burmese Muslim	3	0.4
Karen-Burmese	2	0.2
Total	807	

It is interesting to note that 2% of the village population identified themselves as Talaings (Mons). The general area of Burma in which Tadagale is located was first settled by the Talaings, who came with the first of three major historic waves of migration into Burma. The Burmese arrived centuries later in the dry zone of Upper Burma and then thrust southward to conquer the Talaings and Burmanize the area. No doubt many more than 2% of the people of Tadagale can trace their ancestry back to the Talaings, but today they think of themselves simply as Burmese.

The majority of the people of the village were born either in Tadagale or in its immediate vicinity. Nearly 68% were born in Tadagale or in nearby villages included with the administrative unit "Tadagale Tract." Another 19% were born elsewhere within Insein District, the next higher administrative-geographic unit to which the village belongs. 11% originate from other districts of Burma, while the remaining 3% are foreign-born. The latter are all Indians, save one person born in China.

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25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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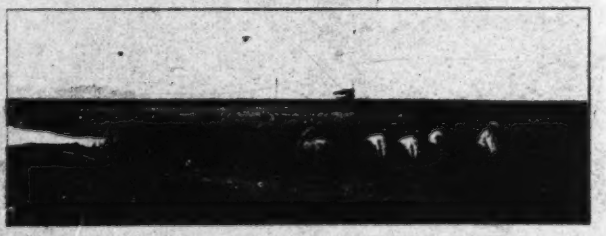
115. WATER SCOOP (KA-HNWE).

for fodder, the corn is cut close to the ground, having first been laid by pressing it down with bamboos, which makes it easier. For reaping, the villagers co-operate. But in the plains of the delta, where cultivation has extended so greatly, there is not labour enough on the spot to reap the crop. Harvest labourers come down from Burma Proper and also large numbers from the south of India (p. 159). In the plains reapers get their two meals and a quarter of a bushel of grain a day or the equivalent in money (p. 56). In the hills a reaper gets a bushel a day for his labour. The common wages of daily labour are about half a rupee in Pegu, and a quarter less in Burma Proper. Before 1850, when the export trade began, wages were only half as much.

243

The sheaves are left to dry for a day in the sun and then gathered into garbs. These are piled on a dry field into a circular heap some three feet high, and broad enough for a herd of buffaloes to tramp round upon and tread the grain off the ear, to which it is attached by a slender petiole. Another way is to pile the garbs in a high crescent-shaped heap, round the central space of which four to six head of cattle are made to travel abreast and tread the garbs which are cast down from above. The grain keeps best in the husk and is stored in bins of bamboo wattle smeared with clay (*sabajt*, Nos. 119, 120).

The covering of the rice-grain is a strong adherent husk like that of barley, but mostly without any beard. Rice in the husk is called *Sabd* (Engl. paddy).



116. CUTTING THE CROP IN THE GREAT PLAIN.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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114. CUTTING THE CROP IN THE GREAT PLAIN.

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

CHAPTER X

THE EARTH AND ITS BEGINNING

772 THE Lord Buddha cared very little for speculations, or
779 theories as to the construction and extent of the terrestrial
171 globe, or as to the size and motions of the sun, the moon, and the stars. Shin Gautama was entirely a moral philosopher, concerned with the workings of the mind, whose highest aim was to despise matter and free itself from such trammels in the progress towards Ne'ban. The consideration of natural phenomena was therefore entirely outside the province of the true sage. It is probable, therefore, that the transmogrified Hindu system which does duty for Burmese cosmography was elaborated rather by the Buddha's disciples than by himself. It has been altered only to suit Buddhistic religious views, with here and there the fancies of a lively imagination thrown in, but the outline of it existed before Prince Theidat came.

The Burmese are therefore certainly not responsible for it, but as some knowledge of the system is necessary for the comprehension of various superstitions, phrases, and forms of speech, it may be desirable to give a slight sketch of these astronomical and cosmical theories.

772 The word lawka means a whole revolution of nature.
779 The world is being constantly destroyed and reproduced, but each lawka lasts an incalculable length of years. It is divided into four periods, and it is not till the arrival of the fourth period that man appears upon earth. During that last period, divided into sixty-four Andrakaps, the life of man must, in each Andrakap, wax from ten years to an Athinkaya (a time represented by a unit and a hundred and

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

of time, but Mr. Taw Sein Ko says in his report of 1908: 778
"Numerous terra-cotta tiles have been found in the basements 361
and corridors of several of the pagodas. They illustrate 172
scenes in the *jâtakas* and in the life of the Buddha Gautama. 101
They are of two types. In the Ananda and Shwezigôn the tiles are enamelled green and show Chinese influence. In the Petleik pagoda they are of red baked clay and have South-Indian resemblances. All three shrines belong to the eleventh century A.D. The stone sculptures in the Ananda are fine, and the pose, drapery, and contour are distinctly Indian. In the Sein nyet pagoda, halfway between Myinpagān and Thiyipyitsaya, of the eleventh century, the Chinese influence preponderates. The twin Petleik pagodas are at Thiyipyitsaya."

Few, if any, contain actual relics. The cloistered and terraced temples are simply receptacles for huge images of the Buddha and others. The corridors of the Ananda and Gawdapalin are filled with sculptured groups representing events in the life of the Great Master, and figures of eminent disciples and yahanda. In the central recesses, where are the colossal figures of the Buddhas, the light is cunningly admitted from above so as to fall on the calm gilded face, producing a most weird and striking effect. But Pagān would require a monograph itself, and with it should be compared Shwegu, between Mandalay and Bhamaw. That sacred island is a perfect forest of pagodas, and only fails to obtain wider fame because of the existence of Pagān. There are 999 shrines within its limits, and a much larger proportion of these exist intact than is the case with Pagān, though none of them can compare with the magnificence of the Ananda.

The question of the architecture of the Pagān temples, 546
which is so different in style from that found in other parts 171●
of Burma, has been fully discussed in Yule's admirable 172
Mission to Ava. He omits, however, to notice the fact that Anawrata-saw Min, when he established Buddhism in Pagān, built all the pagodas and temples after the exact model of those then existing in Thatôn, in the same order and of the same size. The town of Thatôn, above Maulmein, was the first settlement of Thawna and Ôttara, the

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

346 171 172 missionaries from Central India who introduced the teachings of the Lord Buddha into Burma. There was certainly an ancient Hindu colony there, and its inhabitants may have brought some notions of their architecture with them. But whether this be so or not, Burmans find source for pride in the admitted fact that "there is nothing in India to compare with the classical beauty of some of the smaller temples, or the stupendous architectural majesty of the Ânanda, or the Ta-pyi-nyu."

778 788 538 The following song is taken from a very favourite play, *Sawpé Sawmé*, written by a Pegu dramatist and published in 1880, and gives an idea of the canticles sung at the dedication of pagodas and similar ceremonies. It is set to a very popular air, the Yôddaya Nan-thein Than, "the Siamese Palace Tune," but I have not ventured to try to reproduce the original complicated metre. The sikkè or magistrate in question was U Maung Galé, a younger brother of the late U On, long the only Burmese C.I.E., and once second judge of the Small Cause Court in Rangoon.

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THE GILDING OF THE SHWE MAW-DAW

Far-famed and bright, the Shwe Maw-daw
Is known where'er the Sacred Law
To toiling millions brings the peace,
Bids grief be still and turmoil cease.
Fair glory of Peguan land
Revered on earth's most distant strand,
Not more Dagôn's great golden pile
Hath honour in the Southern Isle,
Where'er beneath the zampu tree
The pious bend the suppliant knee,
Than thou the glorious lotus shrine
High temple of the hairs divine.
As leaps on high the funeral flame
Of some yahan of sainted name,
A beacon light to Neh'ban's rest
And haven sure to men distressed,
So skywards reared, thy shapely spire
Upsprings a pyramid of fire.

The hoar seer's words are now proved true,
Spoke ages since while yet all new

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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231 Silk-raising is therefore encouraged as a means of stopping the ruination of the timber. It is a very simple matter, involving the least possible amount of toil, and at the same time being on the whole very profitable. Moreover, the [137] Burmese mulberry-bush, which is quite distinct from the ordinary *Morus Indica*, does not grow well on the alluvial soil of the low lands, while it flourishes on the hillsides, where the Yabeins mostly live. The silk obtained from the caterpillars fed on the leaves of the hill-shrubs is very much better than that obtained from the mulberry-bushes of the plains. Thus it happens that all parties are likely to be pleased. The English Government foresters will gradually find means of putting an end to the timber-burning, which they detest; the richer Burmans down in the lowlands will neither have the temptation to increase their income at the expense of their piety, nor will they have that piety shocked by an organised system of taking life; while the Yabeins in their own hill-villages will be allowed to do as they please, and will accumulate tidy sums of money into the bargain.

231 ●171 It is certain that neither the silkworm nor the mulberry-bush is indigenous in Burma. It is said that the first cocoons were brought from China in the reign of King Anawrata Saw. Others again maintain that the Chinese taught the Shans, the Shans the Karens, and these the Burmese. In some places among the more superstitious hill-tribes the mulberry-tree receives a kind of worship. In any case it is more probable that both the silkworm and the tree were introduced from Western China, down the valley of the Irrawaddy or the Salween, than that they came over the hills, through turbulent mountaineers, from India. The 231 shrub does not grow much more than ten feet high, and 289 seldom produces good succulent leaves for a longer period than three years. After that the plants are apt to get coarse and stringy, and the cultivators ordinarily abandon the plantation, or root out the bushes and plant new ones. As the shrub will not flower it is propagated by cuttings, and new shoots are constantly being planted so that there may be an unfailing supply of young and fresh leaves. The Burmans call it the posabin, "the tree the silkworms eat." There is another tree—that from the bark of which the coarse paper

[i.e. as an alternative to bread-tillage--ANALYST]

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CHAPTER XXXVII

CHESS

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I DO not say that the Burmese invented chess, either for the world or themselves. As latter-day English dramatists "adapt" from the French, so Burmese play-writers steal from the Hindoos, and possibly the game of chess was got in the same way. But there is a considerable diversity in one respect. The plays are rendered into Burmese with a stupid fidelity. The sayās do not even take the trouble of altering the names of men and places, and the only difference in the pieces is that the lubyets, and occasionally even the actors of higher parts, introduce "gag" of a comic and local description to satisfy the national demand for fun and frolic, and to carry down the prosiness of the staid Hindoo. Chess may have been taken over in a similar way, and altered after the same fashion. I remember once, indeed, hearing an enthusiastic player in Rangoon claim the invention of the game for an ancient Talaing queen. She was passionately fond of her lord; he was equally fond of fighting; and to keep him by her, and at the same time out of the dangers of the wars, she invented the game of chess. The story has a certain pathos about it, and it would be pleasant to believe it true; but I never came across any other Burman who had ever heard the story, and am afraid the old sitduiyin player was romancing. But if the Burmans did take the first notion from India, they have greatly altered the game, and not less improved than altered it.

It is generally believed that it is to the Hindoos that the world owes this most purely intellectual of games. Sir William Jones was quite positive on the point, and quotes

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from the Bhawishya Puran. This seems all the more mysterious when he proceeds: "The beautiful simplicity and extreme perfection of the game, as it is commonly played in Europe and Asia, convinces me that it was invented by one effort of some great genius; not completed by gradual improvements, but formed, to use the phrase of Italian writers, by the first intention." But the European game is as different from the old Hindoo as the Burmese is from either. The Sanskrit name was cha-tur-anga—literally, the four members of an army: elephants, horses, chariots, and foot-soldiers. But the Hindoo game had four armies on the board; yellow and black against green and red. Each army had a corner of the board to itself, and there were usually four players. One of the allied armies on either side attacked the immediately opposed force in flank, and therefore had an immense advantage at the start. Moreover, the allies were never sure of one another. It was allowed, and even recommended, to indulge in treachery. The black king might, in the heat of battle, attack and depose his yellow friend, uniting the two armies under himself against the green and red foe. However consonant this might be with the national character, it can hardly be claimed as a special beauty in the game. A ship, or boat, also figured somewhat mysteriously in the warfare. Moreover, the rule that the piece to be moved was determined by a throw of the dice, by still further complicating the game, virtually ruined all scientific play, and robbed it of more than half of its interest as an exercise of purely intellectual skill. When a cinque was thrown, the king or a pawn had to be moved; when a quarte, the elephant; a trois, the horse; a deux, the boat. With such a method it was impossible to forecast the game—or, in fact, to work on any leading idea at all. Nevertheless, the Hindoo game is undoubtedly very ancient, and has certainly the oldest history of any known form of chess. It is alluded to in the most ancient law-books. The wife of Ravan, King of Lunka (Ceylon), is said to have invented it to amuse her spouse with the image of field war while his capital was besieged, 5000 years ago, by Rama, with his wild hordes of barbarian mountaineers, derisively called monkeys, or satyrs, in the great Indian epic. The Hindoo

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game, then, if it really be the first idea, has been no less altered by us than by the Burmans, as well as by the Persians. 524 171

The Burmese arrangement of the pieces differs entirely from the Hindoo, though we may, perhaps, imagine a reminiscence of the four armies in the arrangement of the pawns. The pieces are as follows :— 524

1. Min = one king.
2. Sikkè = one lieutenant-general.
3. Yittā = two war-chariots.
4. Sin = two elephants.
5. Myin = two horsemen.
6. Nè = eight pawns, or foot-soldiers.

3							3
	1	4	5	5			
	4	2		6	6	6	6
6	6	6	6				
				6	6	6	6
6	6	6	6		2	4	
			5	5	4	1	
3							3

The king has the same moves as in the English game, but cannot "castle." Sikkè can move diagonally in advance, or retrograde one square at a time. The yittās have the same power as the English castle or rook. The sins have five moves, one square at a time—one direct forward, two diagonally forward, and two diagonally backwards. An elephant cannot walk straight backwards, nor can he go sideways. The myins have precisely the same power as the English knight. The pawns act in the same way as in the English game, except that in the initial move they can only advance one square. They may become sikkè, in the event of that piece being taken, by advancing to the diagonal line which stretches across the board. When, however, the pawn replaces the dead leader, he is not allowed to remain on the square where he gained the distinction. He must be placed as one of the eight surrounding checks, at the player's option, and therefore often falls a victim to his new-gained eminence.

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for the gallant foot-soldier who may win the marshal's bâton. 524
On the whole, the Burmese game is undeniably a good one; far superior to the Hindoo, or the Persian, though possibly not requiring the skill and calculation of the European form.

It may perhaps be said that the Burmese would be 524
more likely to get their game from their Mongolian relations 171
than from the Hindoos. This is historically improbable, and a comparison of the games bears out the belief. The Chinese, as usual, claim for themselves priority in the discovery of the game. Unfortunately, however, they fix a date when it was invented, and this is long after the time when the Aryan game is first spoken of. Three hundred and seventy years after Confucius (B.C. 174), Hung Ko-chi sent a warlike expedition into the Shensi country, under a mandarin called Hem Sing. After one successful campaign, the troops went into winter quarters. Shensi lies in the north-west, and the weather was very cold; and the soldiers thought of their families, and wanted to go home. Hem Sing, who was a great military genius, invented the game of chess to occupy their minds and foster their military ardour. The soldiers were so delighted with it that they forgot the inclemency of the weather, and their wives and children at home, in the excitement of the new game. So the winter passed away, and in the spring-time Hem Sing took the field again and conquered the entire province, in consequence of which Hung Ko-chi assumed the title of Emperor, and chess was held in the greatest reverence ever after. So says the book of Chinese Annals.

The Chinese game is a very odd one. The pieces are played, not on the squares, but on the lines. I should have mentioned before that in none of the Eastern games are the squares differently coloured. Midway between the opposed forces flows a river. The king on either side is shut up inside a fortress, out of which he cannot move, but can shift about from one side to the other as much as he pleases. On either side of the fortress are two princes, his sons, who are equally bound to stick to the side assigned to them. There are a couple of elephants in either army, which, however, being very heavy, cannot cross the slender plank-bridge thrown over the stream for the passage of the other troops.

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They therefore remain on the defensive. There are also pieces called pau—bombardiers or rocket-men—with curious powers. They can move the whole length of the board, in the fashion of the castle. If an adversary's piece intervenes, they can take the pawn or piece immediately behind it, but cannot kill direct. Students of the Persian game will be reminded of the power of their elephant. It will be seen from this cursory description that the Burmans can hardly owe their game to the Chinese. Shin Gautama sent us Buddhism from "the Middle Country";[1] it is possible that the game of chess came from India also. But if so, while Burmese Buddhism has hardly changed at all, and remains much more like the original teachings of the Master than the faiths of Ceylon, Nepaul, and Thibet, the game of chess has been greatly altered, and I think I may venture to say vastly improved.

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[1] Myizimadetha, not the "Middle Kingdom" of the Chinese.

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to learn by the eye, while the Burman learns almost entirely by ear, and the language is correspondingly affected. The semi-civilised man has a gift for catching faint distinctions of sound; and a modulation hardly perceptible to the European is enough to give to the Burman an entirely new meaning to the word. Fortunately the grammar is of the easiest possible character, and there is an extensive written literature, so that recourse may be had to the system of learning by the eye; but this only produces book scholars, and without a knowledge of the pronunciation it is impossible to appreciate the smooth flow of the dramatic metres. Individual sentences, too, may be clear enough, and the immediate connection of subordinate ideas with the leading thought is a great help, but longer compositions can often only be understood by a careful collating of the whole meaning, when once reading aloud would make the whole idea perfectly evident to a Burman.

One of the principal features in the language is the arrangement of words in a sentence, which, as is the case also in Thibetan, is the exact reverse of the order followed in English. This is the more singular and significant to the philologist, because the surrounding Shans, Talaings, and Karens observe practically the same sequence as in English. Another peculiarity is in the nouns, adjectives, and tenses of verbs, which are all formed by the addition of suffixes or affixes to the verbal root. Passive verbs are in very many cases transformed into the active form by the aspiration of the initial consonant, and transitives from intransitives in the same way; as kya-thi, to fall; hkya-thi, to throw down, or cause to fall; pyet-thi, to be ruined; hpyet-thi, to bring to ruin; lut-thi, to be free; hlut-gyi, to set free. The language is written from left to right, and there are no spaces between the words, and but very few paik, or stops, to mark separate sentences, except the paik-gyi which divides paragraphs, and consists of four short perpendicular lines arranged in couples. The written characters are, all but one or two, composed of circles, or segments of circles, having acquired that shape from the original Nagari, by the custom of writing with a pointed style on palm leaves. The alphabet is derived from

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212 the Magadhi or Pali (the latter word properly meaning a
● 171 text and not a language), and was doubtless imported into Burma with the teachings of Buddhism. The monosyllabic character of the language has, however, considerably changed
194 the sound of many of the letters. There are ten vowels and thirty-two consonants, every alternate vowel having the sound of that preceding it, but considerably longer and broader in tone. The consonants are divided into groups of gutturals, palatals, cerebrals, dentals, and labials, with five liquids, a sibilant pronounced *th*, and an aspirate. In each class there are five letters; the first the simple sound, the second its aspirate, the third the sound rough and hard, the fourth its aspirate, and the fifth the corresponding nasal.
212 The letters of the alphabet have all names descriptive of their shapes, beginning with ka-gyi and ka-gwe, "great ka" and "curved ka." Some of the names are singular; "big-bellied ta," "elephant shackles hta," "bottom indented da," "steep pa," "hump-backed ba," "bridle za," and "supine ya." The vowel *a* is inherent in every consonant, and is pronounced in every case, except when it is "killed" by the "that" mark, when the consonant itself is also killed, and the effect produced is a short, sharp, abrupt termination to the word, as if the letter were strangled in the attempt to pronounce it.

193 A peculiarity which Burmese shares with all the other cognate tongues is the use of help words in counting—"nouns generic" as they have been called. One cannot say in Burmese, as in English, "two dogs," "four spears," "three trees," and so forth. It is requisite to mention first the thing spoken of; second, the number or quantity of objects; and finally, the genus, or class to which they belong. Thus kwe hni'-gaung, dogs, two animals, or two dogs; hlan le-sin, spears, four long, straight things; ôn-bin thôn-bin, cocoanut palms, three trees, and so forth. The cardinal is not placed in immediate juxtaposition with the noun, but has the guiding word in between. There are a vast number of these generic nouns, and they come quite naturally to a Burman. He speaks of boxes and pots as so many "round things"; books and letters as "writings"; mats as "flat things"; horses and carts as "things to be ridden on";

BURMESE MUSIC.

"Among all the kings of Burma, there was one King Thālun, during whose reign (1629-1648 A.D.) Minister U Aye compiled a treatise on Burmese music called *Naralkha*[1] နရလင်္ကာ in which were included the 37 ritual songs. Later, in the reign of Bodawpaya (1782-1819 A.D.) this treatise was revised and enlarged by Myawadiwungyi U Sa. It was known to be printed in the royal press within the city in Mandalay. Apart from this no other Burmese work on Burmese music has been known to exist for all the fifty years and more after the British annexation (1885 A.D.). 533 173

"Because of this paucity of printed record, it was thought that music existed only in western countries and not in Burma. Not so. There is evidence in Buddhist literature that music has flourished in this country for a long time. Unfortunately, the theory and practice of music have not been put into writing. Instead, they were handed down from father to son by word of mouth and by hand-on-hand instruction, so that, human memory was the only repository of Burmese music.....

"*Appendix—cide* Abhidhāma Nissaya: The music which Pañcasikhā (the wearer of five top-knots) made on his three-quarter-*yojana* long celestial harp Bheḷuva is composed of 7 (ground tones) *Svara*, 3 *Grāmas*, 21 *Mūrchanas* and 49 *tānas*, the total effect of which is known as *Sramaṇḍala*.

"Bulls produce the Usabha tone; horses, the Dhevata; peacocks, the Çaḍya; goats, Gandhāra; cranes, Majjhima; cuckoos Pañcama; and elephants Nisāda.

Grāmas are three: Çaḍya, Majjhima and Sādhāraṇa.

Therefore the above scale of seven tones played in three different positions, raised, lowered, or natural, produces the 21 varieties of sounds, which according to U Ba Choe in ဗမာနှဲ(ဂ)ပါး အကြောင်း is the reason why twenty one is the number of drums in a drum-circle ခိုင်ခိုင်, gongs in a gong-circle ကြေးနှင်ခိုင်း and pieces of bamboo or iron in the ပုတ်တလား *pattalar* the Burmese relative of the xylophone or the glockenspiel. 533 171

The above classical terms are explained authoritatively by Fox Strangways[2]: 533

GRĀMA (ဝါ) the name has been applied specifically only to three scales—the Sa-grāma, our major with a sharpened Sixth; Ma-grāma, *our major C-c, but intended presumably to be used as an F-f scale*[3] with a sharpened Sixth; and the Ga-grāma, possibly intermediate between the two, long obsolete.

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1. Name of the works on music mentioned are available nowadays. U San Win has seen *Naralkha* နရလင်္ကာ in pamphlet form and informed me that he would try to trace the whereabouts of the present owner in response to my suggestion that this valuable document should find its final resting place in the University Library. In an article on the 7 tones ဗမာနှဲ(ဂ)ပါးအကြောင်း in ဗဟုတ်ကော် Vol. 1, No. 3, 1936, U Ba Choe mentioned two more works *Natyafatra* နာဋ်ကျော်ကျော် and *Maghathi* မာဃသိတ္ထာ of which only the former, a Sanskrit classic attributed to Bharata, is mentioned in the list of Sanskrit works on music in Fox Strangways' *Music of Hindostan*.

2. *Music of Hindostan*, p. 106 *et seq.* It should be noted however that these terms, in spite of their Burmese connotation, apply, so far as Fox Strangways is concerned, to the music of Hindostan.

3. The italics are mine. This statement seems to apply to the Burmese scale of *Hnyielone* ဘင်းကျိ: C-c, which has puzzled me for a long time because that class of songs ကြေးခွေပြန်ခန်ဆို *Kyet, Bait Thaikkyan*, which I am sure have F as their tonic, are said to be played in the C-c scale. These words made me feel less puzzled. However, there are more puzzles to come concerning the Burmese scale.

BURMESE MUSIC.

A feeble musician, Musila (ဗုဒ္ဓိ) of Ujjeni, whose music on the *vīnā* was 'like scratching on a mat,' came to learn of Guttila (ဗုဒ္ဓိ) of Benares (the Bodhisatta). Guttila's parents when they heard him said "Shoo! Shoo! the rats are gnawing the *vīnā* to pieces'. Guttila who, as Bodhisatta, was 'skilled in discerning from the lineaments of the body' said 'Go my son, this art is not for you.' But Musila got his way; and Guttila, the Bodhisatta who did not stint his knowledge, at last pronounced his pupil perfect. Musila pressed to be taken into the king's service. This was done; but the king awarded Guttila twice as much as his pupil. Musila protested, and forced matters to a contest, of which proclamation was made to tuck of drum. The Bodhisatta reflected that he was old, and that 'if he beats me, death in the wood is better than the shame which will be my portion.' So to the woods he went; but 'kept returning through fear of death, and going back to the wood for fear of shame,' so that 'the grass died as he walked and his feet wore away a path.' In his trouble Sakka, the king of gods, appeared. Guttila was to break, in the contest, one string after another. beginning at the 'beestring' and the music should be as good as before. 'Then you shall go on playing with nothing but the body; and from the ends of the broken strings the sound shall go forth and fill all the land of Benares for the space of twelve leagues.' All happened as was foretold, and the scholar, beaten out of the field, was stoned and torn in pieces by the populace..." 533 773

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So far the classics: Yet it appears that in the music itself there is as much evidence (if not more) of Chinese and Siamese influence as there is of ancient Indian influence in literature. I hope these influences will receive the attention of researchers in Burmese history. 533 171

As far as I am aware the Chinese influence seems to be the oldest. An unspoilt Burmese ear will catch Chinese cadences in any extemporization on the black keys of the piano in the truly old Burmese style. But that is no evidence. I quote J. Kunst[1].

"....This being granted, Prof. von Hornbostel has made a very important discovery, that the scales of very different civilisations and peoples are derived from this ancient Chinese cycle of blown fifths. All these scales are composed of a series of notes, ordinarily 5 or 7, which follow each other in the cycle in some kind of regular fashion.

1. *De l'Origine des Echelles Musicales Jawano-Balinaises.* Conference faite le 7 Janvier 1929 à l'Institut Colonial d'Amsterdam. *In* Journal of the Siam Society, Vol. XXIII, pt., pp. 115-116. Translated by G. [114]

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The above seven songs, when sung or danced, all follow the *huang-chung-shang* mode.

(viii) "Sweet Sugarcane King." In P'iao it is called *o-ssŭ-lüo*. It says that Buddhists are as sweet as sugarcane, the flavour of which pleases everyone.

(ix) "Peacock King." In P'iao it is called *t'ao-t'ai*. It tells of the brilliance of its plumage.

(x) "The wild goose." It says that, flying or standing, these birds are always in pairs : so comrades must all forgather.

(xi) "Banquet Music." It is called in P'iao *lung-ts'ung-wang-mo*. It says that tunes of peace are excellent for banquets and meeting together.

(xii) "Washing care away." It is also called "the reed-organ dance." In P'iao it is called *ku-na*. It says that from tune to tune one washes away one's cares and anxieties and this song takes one's fancy.

The above seven tunes are in one or other of the scales of *huang-chung* ; one is in *huang-chung shang* (the *i-yüeh* mode); one in *lin-chung shang* (the *hsiao-chih* mode).

The musicians all wear K'un-lun dress, covering their loins with red cotton cloth (*tieh-chao-hsia*) which they call *jung-man*. They wear *chao-hsia* across their shoulders; on their legs and arms they have golden, jewel-studded bracelets ; they wear golden head-dresses and ear-rings. They use a string or sash to thread flowers in order to make a headdress. They use two hair-retainers decorated with down. Before the dance begins the "introducers" come forward and explain its meaning. The dance-movements follow the music. The number of dancers used is 2, 4, 6, 8 or 10. They all wear jewelled caps. When the tune is over, they bow. Their songs were translated at fifth hand.

The Emperor Tê Tsung made Shu-nan-t'o an Officer of the Stables *t'ai-p'u-ch'ing*), and sent him home. T'ang Tz'u, Governor of K'ai-chou, made an "Eulogy upon the event of the P'iao offering music," which he laid before the Throne.

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One wishes that all this had not been lost so completely. Siamese influence is of course much more recent. There were two conquests of Ayudhya (ရိုးယား *Yodaya*); the 1st by Bayinnaung (1551-81 A.D.) and the second by Hsinbyushin (1763-76 A.D). The latter was the more important because the conqueror not only brought back enormous numbers of prisoners of war but managed to hold Siam in subjection for a few years. Mr. Stewart, writing on the Burmese stage[1] remarked "Entertainers of all sorts were

1. Journal of the Royal Society of Arts, Vol. LXXXVII. No. 4516. The Burmese Stage

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533 171 On learning this remarkable fact, one will feel no doubt inclined to say : 'Quite so, but since the cycle is formed in a logical fashion by the application of the phenomenon of harmonics, is it not possible that the construction might also have been discovered elsewhere than in China, quite independently ; in other words is it not possible that it may have a multiple origin ?'

No doubt that would not be impossible in itself. But what is hardly believable is that not only should the structure of these scales be founded everywhere on the cycle of the blown fifths, but that all should start from the same fundamental note, that of the *houang tchoung* of 732 vibrations ; which brings us back to the same conclusion that, not only the relative structure of the scale, but also the absolute pitch of the notes is the same in all cases considered. This circumstance eliminates the hypothesis of a series of coincidences : One is certainly dealing here with intercourse between people and people. For all we know, this intercourse may apply to the musical scales of prehistoric China, of Siam, of Burma, of Cambodia, to those of the African xylophones, of the pan-pipes of the Incas, to those of certain Melanesian, Polynesian and present-day Brazilian tribes. And it is intercourse of the same kind which one must concede, by virtue of the same arguments, to explain the Javano-Balinese scales, as we believe we have demonstrated by means of a number of measurements of sounds *De Toonkunst van Bali* II, Figures I-V and VII-XIX. It has been proved that the influence of the Chinese metrological basis, corresponding to the *houang tchong*—230 mm.—was used or is still used, everywhere independently of musical instruments and scales, in an enormous territory, stretching from Europe on the one side to South America on the other. Von Hornbostel, *Ueber einige Panpeifen aus Nordwest-brasilien* (*in* Th-Koch. Grunberg, *Zwei Jahre unter den Indianerpa*), 1910 ; *id.*, *Ueber ein akustisches Kriterium fus Kulturzusammenhange* (*in* the *Zeitschrift fur Ethnologie*, 1911, p. 601 sqq.); *id.*, A brief summary of the theory of the blown fifths (*in Anthropos*, Vol. XIV/XV, p. 569-570), 1919-20 ; *id.*, An article treating with the metrical norm in the *Pater Schmidt Festschrift*, which will very soon appear. Recently appeared under the title *Die Massnorm als Kulturgeschichtliches Forschungsmittel.*

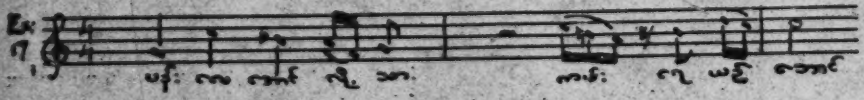
I hope those who are interested will be able to go farther into the matter with the works mentioned. I feel personally very much inclined to believe that the Burmese scale, whatever it may be now, was at the beginning founded on a pentatonic basis not very much different from the *kung*, *shang cho*, *tze*, *yui* of the ancient Chinese musicologists.

533 175 At this point I must draw the distinction between Burmese music as we know it and music which once existed in Burma now lost to us. Of the former the earliest mention was in connection with Mintra Shwehti's investment of Salin *circa* 1539 A.D. Of the latter the earliest mention was in the reign of Emperor Tè-tsung in 802 A. D. Mr. G. H. Luce says :

• "In 791 K'o-lo-fêng's successor, I-mou-hsün, attacked the Mang tribes. At the request of Wei Kao, the Chinese governor of Hsi-ch'uan, he sent a troupe of musicians, including Pyu, which appeared at the T'ang court in 800. This led the Pyu king, Yung-ch'iang or K'un-mo-chang, to send in 801-2 a formal embassy to China *via* Nan-chao; it included his younger brother (or son)

13: Khin Zaw I-5 (no date) 1940 API Burma
Burmese AP4

deported from the conquered country to Burma, and these included actors capable of performing dramas, of which the prime favourite in Siam was the Rāma play.." He restricted himself to the stage only. What was true of the entertainers was true also of artists, craftsmen, musicians, sculptors, even games and confectionery. It was at that time that our cultural store-house was filled with Siamese loot. And at that time there lived a remarkable adaptor, creator and preserver of music, in the person of Myawadi-wungyi U Sa (1766-1853 A.D.) whose incredibly long life was filled with literary, dramatic and musical activity. There does not seem to be any kind of song which he has not written. Popular belief attributes to him no less than 200 *patpyos* ပတ်ဖျိုး alone.[1] All the *patpyos* in *Enoung Zat* are his. Our most famous *Htumachana thachingan* ထုံးစံသားကောင်းခန်း is his. Our present harp with 13 strings instead of 7 was also his. Our *Yodaya* ယိုးဒယား songs owe their establishment as a principal section in our classical repertoire entirely to the tireless adaptation into Burmese of every kind of *Yodaya* song he and his collaborator ဝန်ကြီးမင်းသား could lay hands on. If the second conquest of Ayudhya was the single event, U Sa was the single person responsible for the energising of the body of our music by a liberal infusion of Siamese blood. Not content with adapting Siamese melodies, U Sa is reputed to have adapted certain slow measures of Christian sacred music ဘုရားကျောင်း which he heard from early Roman Catholic missionaries in the beginning of his အရုဏ်ဦးပေါ်နှင့် ပတ်ပျိုး In another သားဆန်းရုံတစ်ပျိုး notice the following phrase:



He was already experimenting with the Western Leading-note. The first B at ဆောင် is the flattish Burmese seventh, whereas the B's in the following bar at ထမ်း and ဒရ are really the Western Leading-notes only a semi-tone distant from the Tonic. It is impossible to be certain, but it is highly probable that it was then that an advance from the pentatonic basis was achieved. For even as late as Bodawpaya (1782-1819 A.D.) according to the great harpist U Phoo Gaung, U Sa himself was still playing on a harp with only 7 strings, until his royal master asked him if he could not do better than that, when he fashioned the harp as we know it, with 13 strings and a gamut of nearly 3 octaves.[2]

Under the circumstances mentioned above it is inevitable that the Siamese scale too came to Burma, to stay. The question is whether the Burmese adopted the Siamese scale or adapted it to

1. Ba-U Na's သတ္တပရိုက်ပတ်ပေ Sun Mag. July 1939.
2. Although there are only 13 strings, the intermediate notes are obtained by 'stopping' the open strings with the tip of the fore-finger of the left hand.

13: Khin Zaw I-5 (no date) 1940 API Burma
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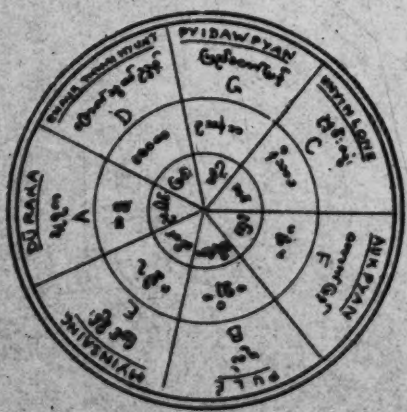
their needs. The only clues that can lead to an answer to this question exist in the chart *La Planche-I* appended to J. Kunst's article. The measurements of the Siamese scale were taken from Stumpf's '*Tonsystem und Musik der Siamesan*' p. 137; and the measurements of the Burmese scale, presumably the only scientific measurements ever taken, were from Von Hornbostel's *Ueber ein akustisches kriterium für Kulturzusammenhänge*, p. 613. The Siamese scale attracted also the attention of Prof. F. Max Mayer of the Missouri University, who, in his article *Musician's Arithmetic*[1] seemed fully convinced that the Siamese equal tempered 7-tone-scale and the Javanese equal tempered 5-tone-scale with the western chromatic scale were the only equal tempered scales in the world. Kunst, however, refuted that theory towards the end of his article in the Journal of the Siam Society:—

> "Sometimes it seems as though they meant to create an equigraded scale (5 x 240 C.), but most of the scales measured had one degree greater than the others. [Kunst's *De Toonkunst van Bali*, Vol. II, tables II, IV and V] in conformity with the hypothesis propounded above.
>
> "Furthermore, the famous tonal plan of the *patet* is based—and the Slendro too—on the particular position in the scale of intervals having different dimensions, in other words: an equigraded scale (of which one uses all the tones in one and the same composition, as always with the *Slendro*), is, if I am not mistaken, incompatible with the pure nature of Javanese melody."

That disposed of the theory of the Javanese equal tempered 5-tone scale. Unfortunately, Kunst did not deal with the Siamese scale at all beyond supplying the measurements. And of these measurements, those of the Burmese scale by Hornbostel certainly look as though it was an equal tempered 7-tone scale. There was no sign of the existing sharpened Fourth.

Diagram 1.



Diagrams of changes of key prescribed by the classics go right round the octave in a succession of underfifths without such means as the black keys of the piano [*See* Diagram 1]. Indeed U Ba Choe mentioned, in his [illegible] one song (long forgotten), a *kyoh* [illegible] which modulates (?) into all the 7 keys.[2]

1. University of Missouri Studies, Vol. IV, 1929.
2. U Ba Choe has rediscovered it, and when we investigated its changes of key on the piano, we found that it went the round of 12 keys; C—F—B flat—so on, back to C major.

13: Khin Zaw I-5 (no date) 1940 APl Burma
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If ever true modulation into all the 7 keys were possible, it must have been at the time of U Sa, employing some such scale as Hornbostel's *echelle birmane*. Was the Burmese scale pentatonic in origin? Did it adapt itself to an equal tempered seven-tone scale from Siam towards the end of the 18th century? Did the intervals then become less and less equal until they nearly approximated to the Chinese scale of Mr. K. C. Hsiao, presently to be quoted, with an indeterminate Fourth and Seventh? How did this indeterminate Fourth and Seventh come about? These are questions to be settled by future more competent research. I shall however quote the very significant remarks of K. C. Hsiao on the present day Chinese scale.[1]

"....The true cause seems to lie in the incorrect intonation of modern Chinese instruments, incorrect in the sense that the intonation has deviated from the theoretical intention of the scale construction.

Let us take up the keyless-flute and find out what sort of scale it produces. This flute is virtually the standard pitch pipe[2] of the Chinese ensemble..... By careful experiment it has been found that the fourth and the seventh of the scale thereon are both "neutral," that is, the fourth is neither a half-tone above the third as in the European diatonic major scale, nor a full tone above it as in the theoretical Chinese heptatonic scale, but is just about mid-way between the third and the fifth, and the seventh is similarly mid-way between the sixth and the octave. It becomes at once clear why Chinese instruments sound impersonal or neutral or out of tune .....

The true reason for the incorrect intonation of the existing Chinese instruments cannot be stated with absolute certainty. The most probable reason is this: During the Yuan dynasty both the neutral and sharp F were used.....But the production of both these chromatic tones could not be done on the flute except with the assistance of special key devices unknown to the Chinese instrument makers or with boring the second and fifth holes counting from the lower end, larger than the rest. It was possible at that time when both f and f-sharp were in use to bore the holes on the Chinese flute so as to enable the player to produce the notes when desired by a definite system of fingering such as now used by western fife players. But with the coming of the Ming dynasty, this whole system transgressing the pentatonic scale was officially abolished.

Musicians then and therefore did not have to bother at all about producing f and f-sharp, and following the law of supply and demand, the flute makers undertook to make flutes that could not produce either f or f-sharp accurately, *but had more uniformity and symmetry in their appearance by boring all the finger holes of the same size and with a minimum variation of distances from each other*[3].....If a player who had bought the flute cared to produce all the tones on the instrument, what he got was naturally a scale with neutral fourth and seventh, agreeing neither with the European diatonic (with the perfect), nor the Chinese heptatonic scale (with the augmented fourth). The same thing was then applied to the playing of stringed instruments.....to be in tune with the wind instruments.

1. *Chinese scale theories*. Appendix 6 to *The Musician's Arithmetic* by Prof. Max Meyer in the University of Missouri Studies, Vol. IV, 1929. pp. 115-6.

2. Like the Burmese oboe ʼ (*hné*)

3. See Diagrams 2 and 3 of the Burmese oboe ʼ (*hné*) and tables 3 and 6.

13: Khin Zaw I-5 (no date) 1940 AP1 Burma
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....Nowadays in certain localities of China, the performance of music has come to be looked down on as a menial and unscholarly vocation.... although this aversion is not universal in China, music has been intellectually neglected for a long time. As a result music has become unmusical in China. And this in turn has increased the contempt in which it is held by the educated classes. It is a vicious circle.".....

533 171 175

I would not have allowed myself to be thus catapulted into the problem of the Burmese scale were it not so necessary to emphasise the very sharp line of demarcation between classical evidence and musical evidence. Too long have we taken shelter behind the façade of ancient Indian culture.

[114]

With regard to the most important real evidence of the written records, what have we to rely on ? Only one MS in *parabeik* form—ꩁꩌꩲꩌꩴꩌꩲꩌ *Naralikha*. U San Win himself pointed out that no other Burmese work on Burmese music had ever been known to exist. Until one has seen that *parabeik* one would be foolish to talk about the Burmese scale with any conviction. The best that can be done is to proceed from the known to the unknown and talk of clues rather than discoveries.

If it were possible, a scientific survey of the principal Burmese musical instruments should establish the one Burmese scale which is common to the whole country, or rather to which all the scales all over the country approximate. Everything about us is approximate. Our tunes, having no notation, are always at variance. Western people talk of our lack of method. Yet....

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" The elements of tone and rhythm have been combined and recombined, and have left the theory a tangled mass of forgotten systems and the practice an ineradicable instinct. The veneration for the past because of its remoteness, the mental attitude which looks away from the categories of time and space and turns its attention upon the essence of the thing itself, the faith which links the present closely with the time when the gods walked the earth and still points to the visible imprints of their feet—all these have united to personify every element of their music, and piously to preserve names and attitudes which have long lost their meaning; so that much of the theory is clear only to those who can read myth. Nor on the practical side has extemporization, as it is understood, been learned in a day, nor even in the life-time of any individual.....But it is age-long practice rather than memory which has placed at the command of the best singers that inexhaustible wealth of variation with which they make a melody their own, that gift of improvisation which takes on an epic quality, as all crafts do that are handed down from father to son. To walk on the Old Trunk Road is, it has been said, to step into a chapter of Genesis ; and in the same way we catch, in these immemorial cadences, the very spirit of the rhapsodists of Homer. Their music is old, but with an age like the eternal youth of Greece, not with a second childhood like the stereotyped formulas of the Troubadours."[1]

1. Fox Strangways' Introduction to *Music of Hindostan*.

13: Khin Zaw I-5 (no date) 1940 APl Burma
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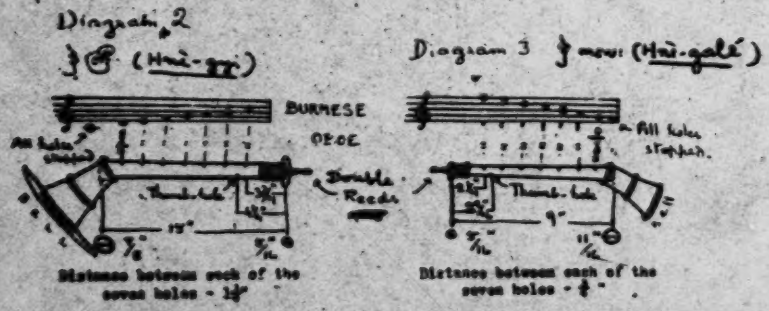
BURMESE MUSIC.

That is a hopeful sign that the impersonal scale, which is no more than the result of a lazy way of boring finger-holes on wind-instruments, has not yet usurped the true Burmese scale. This is the time to instruct the makers of Burmese wind-instruments to bore their finger-holes more faithfully to the Burmese scale and with less *uniformity and symmetry in appearance*. Either that, or adopt the diatonic scale entirely with all its advantages. 534 171

Actually it has been the Burmese oboists who have been keeping in tune with the other Burmese instruments by means of their wonderful expertness in lipping and blowing their inadequately bored instruments. To them a precision instrument like a modern European oboe with its mechanical keys is merely an impediment. The reed on their own instruments is everything, the system of holes a mere convenience. It is amazing how their *hnès* speak not from the bell but from the staple, and how they speak! My *saya* can obtain all the notes of the chromatic scale on his *hnè* following my western oboe note by note. 533 534

Diagrams 2 and 3 will show the different arrangements of the scale on *hnè-gyi* (big oboe) and *hnè-galé* (little oboe), the former beginning and ending with the tonic and the latter with the subdominant. That does not mean that we have tenor oboes, alto oboes, transposing oboes and so on. The arrangement is purely for convenience. The middle one of the finger-holes being the most convenient place for the most frequently fingered predominating note, on the *hnè-gyi*, which plays those tunes with the subdominant predominating, that note is placed in the middle. On the *hnè-galé*, which plays those tunes with the tonic predominating, the tonic is placed in the middle. The theory of the "predominating note" will be developed in the course of this article.



The bell of this brass is hung loosely by means of cords. It is of no acoustic value and is often dispensed with. Hnè-gyi is used for grand style songs in the subdominant mode; and Hnè-galé for songs in the ordinary key of the approximate diatonic major scale. All the holes in both instruments are of the same size.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

The cordage used in 283

215. LIMESTONE ROCKS.

Burma is twisted from the bast of the *shaw* tree (*sterculia* varieties). For guys, stays, and standing rigging of boats, rattan is employed. Split rattan is used for strong ties, and withes of split bamboo (*hnî*) for common ties. The *shaw* rope is three and four stranded, and is twisted with native gear very like that of our own rope-walks. A long and even four-stranded rope is made by three men. This furnishes a good example of mechanical advancement, when compared with the method of the hill-people, who require six men to twist a much shorter rope of the same number of strands (Nos. 219–20). Shaw rope is smooth, but has not the flexibility of cocoanut-fibre and manila-fibre ropes, which are now imported. Fine cotton yarn is twisted into cord for making nets. A coarse jute fibre (*paissan*) is also twisted for net-making. [171] [439]

Silk-culture is under the ban of Buddhism for the same reason as fishery. 288
The greater part of the silk yarn used is brought from China, but a good 231
deal is produced locally by the *Zabîn* or *Yabîn*, a people speaking Burmese and resembling the Burmans in most respects, but despised by the latter. [779]
They are settled along the foot of the Pegu Yôma hill-range, on its eastern and 554
western slopes, where they make clearings in the forest (*taungya*) and plant the mulberry. They prepare a yellow silk yarn which, coarse and knotty as it is, is 463]
preferred for the best class of Burman silk cloths (*luntayd*, No. 132). The raw silk fetches thirty-five to forty rupees a viss. It is a perfect washing silk in all its dyes and wears a lifetime. In a few localities, silk-weaving is a special industry practised by men as well as women. Settlers from Manipúr

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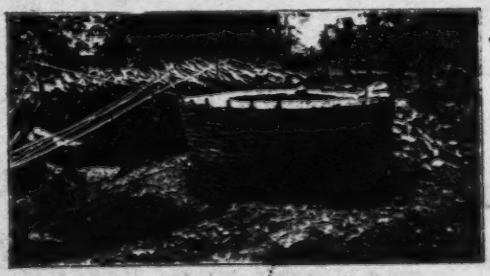

218. LIME-KILN.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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217. PLASTERER'S SCAFFOLD ON ZEDI.

(*Kathé*) excel in this work and form colonies for the industry. Attempts have been made in Europe to imitate the scroll-patterns on the Jacquard loom, as well as to print them. But the imitations fall too far short of the original, which is nearly the same front and back. The best *lun-tayé* silks cost ten to fifteen rupees the square foot, which makes two hundred to three hundred rupees for the *pasé*. Only an inch or two a day can be woven. Italian methods of carding, dyeing, and finishing silk, were introduced by the late King, Mindôn Min, and have helped to develop an important industry in Mandalay. Stripe and tartan patterns are woven in this way, chiefly from China silk. Fine texture and delicate tints are aimed at, rather than rich colour and design. The *pasé* of

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twenty cubits, one cubit wide, costs ten to twenty rupees.

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The Burman umbrella (*tî*) is on the Chinese model—a bamboo frame with paper cover. The Chinese umbrella has a thin paper cover, the Burman has bast-paper, which outlasts several of the other. But the Chinese umbrellas are cheaper, better waterproofed, and sun-proof. The Burman *tî* is waterproofed by occasional oiling with crude petroleum. A waterproof size made from the fruit of the *tî* is used for fixing the paper to the ribs and the cotton twines that connect them. The red, the gilt and the white umbrellas are emblems of state. The first two denote official rank, according to the number assigned. Such umbrellas have stems of turned wood, six to eight feet long, to allow of the *tî* being borne over the officer on horseback or in his chariot, by attendants on foot (No. 375). The

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218. SCULPTURING MARBLE IMAGES.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APr Burma
Burmese AP4

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308. BURMAN CARTWRIGHTS.

ngapi, dried fish, salt and rice, besides imported goods. They bring down the manufactures of the North—cutch, lacquer, images, and *parti-kaya* wares. They have to endure a formidable competition from the river steamers. In its existing form, the boat of Burma presents no near affinity to the boats of neighbouring peoples. The types of architecture which the Burmans borrowed from India they have treated in a distinctive way which gives them independent interest. But the art which culminates in the stately ship of the Irawadi is purely their own achievement. The work derives unity from the noble balance of the masses and life from the spirited sweep of the curves. The severity of line is relieved by plastic incident in the rich carving. The structure itself is patent and not concealed (with the exception noted), and the decoration goes hand in hand with it. Besides their own type of boat, the Shan type (No. 320) has been developed into a large craft for carrying earth-oil in bulk—the *peingáw*. Two long, partially-hollowed teak logs form the sides of the lower hull, with several thick planks intervening, for the flat bottom. Two planks above these complete the sides, all held together by nails and ribs as in the *laungzát*. There are outrigged bamboo galleries for the crew to row and pole, which allow of the deck-house being carried from end to end, providing accommodation for several families. The rig is the same as in the *laungzát*. In tidal and salt waters, boats have to be beached once a month to bream the bottoms and destroy the teredo. The rest of the woodwork and tackle is protected with earth-oil. The boats of Arakán are on Indian lines. There is

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309. BUFFALO-CART.

31: Scherman--2 E-4 (no date) 1915 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

/203/ TYPES OF HOUSES IN BURMA AND ASSAM

by

L. Scherman, Munich.

(With one map, 17 illustrations in text and Plates
171 IV-X.)
341 The traveler coming from India to Burma will, in addition to the change in the racial types, notice the strange architecture of the buildings, their floors resting on piles about one to one and one-half meters above the ground. By this characteristic they contrast sharply with the construction methods of the great cultural zones: India, China and the kindred Tibet, between which Burma, a British Indochina, is wedged. They adhere to that familiar system which is customary farther south in the archipelago and the South Sea Islands. The geographical and anthropological passage by land is through Assam, and here the Tibeto-Burmese mountain people, surrounded by levelling Hinduism, still cling predominantly to the pile dwelling which is found in Burma as the general norm. In the rest of Indochina, e.g. Siam and French Indochina this norm continues, if it has not given way to Chinese influence, which makes itself felt also at Bhamo, at Burma's northeastern border. At Siam's southern tip adjoins the already-mentioned civilization with its pile dwellings, more rightfully called Malayan (1).
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1. cf. the popular survey by F.V. Hellwald, Haus und Hof in ihrer Entwicklung mit Bezug auf die Wohnsitten der Völker /The Development of House and Farm in Relation to the Housing

31:Scherman--4A E-4 (no date) 1915 AP1 Burma

Burmese AP4

Southeast Asia AL1

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[p. 204]

[For description see page 4, category 116.—Analyst]

[562] below the man and are not accorded full value as human beings, one does not consider this a degredation, although to be under inhabited floors (see above)[1] would be considered as a disgrace for others.

342 industriously. Weaving in Burma is still one of the most important home industries. Otherwise the room under the house is used only for storage [231] of household and agricultural implements, and also at night as a stable for buffaloes and cattle if there are no protective roofs provided for them. On top of such roofs the fodder grass is piled up.

A large Burmese house (Plate IV, 3) gives the impression of a composite of several individual buildings (6) standing on a platform. This is

[171] 6. The accounts of P.A. Thompson, Lotus Land (London, 1906), p. 40, and F. Swettenham, British Malaya (London, 1907), p. 151, show that this Burmese house-type with its detached sections, surrounded by a platform, is also customary in the lowlands of Siam and on the Malayan Peninsula. It is also known in Sumatra, according to M. Moszkowski, "Beiträge zur Entwicklungsgeschichte des Wohnhauses in Ostsumatra" /Contributions to the History of the Development of Houses in East Sumatra/, Archiv für Anthropologie /Archive for Anthropology/, Vol. 37, (1910), pp. 11-13, Figure 21.

P. Sarasin in "Über die Entwicklungsgeschichte des griechischen Tempels aus dem Pfahlhause" /History of the Development of the Greek Temple out of the Pile House/, Zeitschrift für Ethnolologie

[1] [See category 116, page 5.— Analyst]

342 of the roof ridge. Rafters--thin bamboo poles--
335 are placed over this roof structure (Figure 1). Split and flattened bamboo poles are used for floor boards as well as being joined together to serve as doors. The outer walls and partitions consist of frames (zali) with strong bamboo wickerwork (yaing). The outer walls are frequent-
[353] ly decorated with black and white ornaments (Plate IV, 4); more delicate wickerwork is used for the floor covering. Not one single nail can be found in the entire house. The posts and the strong cross beams are mortised with each other; to fasten the roof rafters and the mat walls, tough green ribbons are cut from bamboo and are made pliable by soaking them in water. The doors have no hinges, but turn in sunken in peg extensions on top and bottom of the door cases (7).

[171] 7. The avoidance of nails through fastening with plant fibers (bamboo, rattan) is the rule for the bamboo house all over Burma and Assam. H. Frobenius, ibid., p. 568, points out the same with regard to the central Oceanic architectural area.

~~342~~ The houses in the cities are usually built of
824 wood; the famous teak wood which was selected primarily for monasteries and the palaces of the princes has long since become a costly building material. Therefore even the well-to-do people use it only for the main posts; its resinous oil protects it against attacks from termites. For the better housing constructions iron wood (Xylia dolabriformis, Burmese: pyinkado) which is just as durable, is mostly used. For the simplest roofing material the thekké grass (Saccharum cylindricum and Saccharum spontaneum) is preferred in the entire country, with the exception of lower Burma where palm leaf material is popular. The former is a coarse grass related to the sugar cane. Their stalks are tied fringe-

346 776 777 782 776 ous buildings, such as monasteries, /208/ monastic rest houses and wooden chapels. The burying alive of human sacrifices at the posts of the foundations of the entrances was in old Burmese days considered as an indispensable method of protecting important buildings, such as princely palaces, city gates, bridges, etc. The ghost of the entombed—according to Burmese belief those who have been killed by violence are rooted to the spot where they died--is supposed to watch as a guardian over the building, post, or bridge foundation.

782 787 As late as the middle of the past century, more than fifty human beings were buried alive when the foundations for the palace and the city walls of Mandalay were laid. But the protective power of those ghosts was of limited duration. From certain omens it could be predicted that the protection was going to cease, and then it was time to leave the place which was open to disaster. This was the explanation given for the frequent change of residence of the Burmese rulers. The small chapels with their stone images of door guardians at the gates and corners of the walls of the palace area of Mandalay still indicate the locations where these human sacrifices have been buried, though the modern inhabitants will not admit this to a European. At the corners, filled oil jugs were sunk over the buried people; the dwindling of the oil in the containers, which were examined every seven years, foreshadowed an approaching catastrophe in 1880. They tried to avoid this catastrophe with new sacrifices. Nevertheless, it happened. The British occupied the country and the kingdom perished (10).

171 782 10. Primarily, according to Shway Yoe, ibid., pp. 482 ff. It is well known that the burying of live sacrifices at construction foundations is a custom, widespread all over the world,

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which was not at all unknown in European countries. About it see: R. Andree, Ethnographische Parallelen /Ethnographic Parallels/ (1878), pp. 18 ff.; F.S. Krauss, "Das Bauopfer bei den Südslaven" /Building Sacrifice among the Southern Slavs/, Mitteilungen der anthropologischen Gesellschaft zu Wien /Proceedings of the Vienna Anthropological Society/, Vol. 17 (1887), pp. 16 ff.; W.T. Brigham, The Ancient Hawaiian House (Memoirs B.P. Bishop Museum, Honolulu II, 3), pp. 27 ff.

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In earlier days every Burmese settlement was surrounded by a fortification, cities having stone walls or stockades, the villages impenetrable fences of close rows of thorny bamboo shrubs, prickly cacti, or palisade-like fences of bamboo poles between which pointed bamboo stakes protruded. The latter type of fortification exists today only in the areas where the mountain tribes live, beyond the zone of British administration. Before the British took over, the constant feuds between the individual tribes and the excesses of robbery made it necessary for each village to protect itself like a fort. With the increased safety of travel and property under the British rule this has become more and more unnecessary, although some districts still experience nocturnal robberies. The villages in the Prome District, which has one of the worst criminal records in Burma, are with practically no exfeptions enclosed by dense high, thorny hedges which have only narrow entrances.

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The buildings of the Shan (11)--population in

11. Cf. especially L. Milne, Shans at Home (London, 1910), pp. 100 ff.; A.K. Gebauer, "Die nördlichen Schanstaaten und ihre Bewohner" /The Nor-

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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346 the most ancient Buddhist *chaityas*, as represented in the sculptures at Sanchi, and in the ancient model pagodas found near Buddhist remains in India; the fantastic bu-payā, or pumpkin pagoda, which seemed rather like a fragment of what we might conceive the architecture of the moon than anything terrestrial, and many variations on these types. But the predominant and characteristic form is that of the cruciform vaulted temple."

778 361 The Irrawaddy just below Pagān widens out like a gigantic lake to over two miles in breadth, and the view of the sacred city from far down the river is particularly fine. Towering above the others rise the great temples of Ananda, Ta-pyi-nyu, and Gawdapalin, like visions of old-world cathedrals strayed into the desert. Round about them gradually rise into view hoary round towers, like a border "peel"; airy minarets as of an underground mosque; apparitions like the pyramids, chiselled into fairy terraced fretwork; huge bulbous mushrooms with slim lanterns on their backs, like the wide studio of a mad architect. There is a memorial line which, placing letters for numbers, declares the sum total of the pagodas to be 9999.

> Hlè win-yo than ta-nyan nyan
> Pagān payā paung.
>
> The cartwheel's creaking strains
> Pass Pagahn's storied fanes.

778 361 172 Probably, however, there are not nearly so many in anything like a complete state. Pagān ceased to be capital in 1284 A.D. The Emperor of China had sent a vast army to avenge the murder of an ambassador. The Burmese king pulled down a thousand arched temples, a thousand smaller ones, and four thousand square temples to strengthen the fortifications. But a prophecy found under one of the desecrated shrines robbed him of his courage, and he fled to the south; and ever since Pagān has remained in its present practically deserted state. The whole ground within the old walls is strewn with bricks and mortar. Some of the pedis are strangled with jungle growth, huge bushes spring from their summits and sides and tear the masonry asunder, and with the vast majority no attempt is made to arrest the ravages

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of time, but Mr. Taw Sein Ko says in his report of 1908: "Numerous terra-cotta tiles have been found in the basements and corridors of several of the pagodas. They illustrate scenes in the *jâtakas* and in the life of the Buddha Gautama. They are of two types. In the Ananda and Shwezigôn the tiles are enamelled green and show Chinese influence. In the Petleik pagoda they are of red baked clay and have South-Indian resemblances. All three shrines belong to the eleventh century A.D. The stone sculptures in the Ananda are fine, and the pose, drapery, and contour are distinctly Indian. In the Sein nyet pagoda, halfway between Myinpagān and Thiyipyitsaya, of the eleventh century, the Chinese influence preponderates. The twin Petleik pagodas are at Thiyipyitsaya."

Few, if any, contain actual relics. The cloistered and terraced temples are simply receptacles for huge images of the Buddha and others. The corridors of the Ananda and Gawdapalin are filled with sculptured groups representing events in the life of the Great Master, and figures of eminent disciples and yahanda. In the central recesses, where are the colossal figures of the Buddhas, the light is cunningly admitted from above so as to fall on the calm gilded face, producing a most weird and striking effect. But Pagān would require a monograph itself, and with it should be compared Shwegu, between Mandalay and Bhamaw. That sacred island is a perfect forest of pagodas, and only fails to obtain wider fame because of the existence of Pagān. There are 999 shrines within its limits, and a much larger proportion of these exist intact than is the case with Pagān, though none of them can compare with the magnificence of the Ananda.

The question of the architecture of the Pagān temples, which is so different in style from that found in other parts of Burma, has been fully discussed in Yule's admirable *Mission to Ava*. He omits, however, to notice the fact that Anawrata-saw Min, when he established Buddhism in Pagān, built all the pagodas and temples after the exact model of those then existing in Thatôn, in the same order and of the same size. The town of Thatôn, above Maulmein, was the first settlement of Thawna and Ôttara, the

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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missionaries from Central India who introduced the teachings of the Lord Buddha into Burma. There was certainly an ancient Hindu colony there, and its inhabitants may have brought some notions of their architecture with them. But whether this be so or not, Burmans find source for pride in the admitted fact that "there is nothing in India to compare with the classical beauty of some of the smaller temples, or the stupendous architectural majesty of the Ananda, or the Ta-pyi-nyu."

778 788 538

The following song is taken from a very favourite play, *Sawpé Sawmé*, written by a Pegu dramatist and published in 1880, and gives an idea of the canticles sung at the dedication of pagodas and similar ceremonies. It is set to a very popular air, the Yôddaya Nan-thein Than, "the Siamese Palace Tune," but I have not ventured to try to reproduce the original complicated metre. The sikkè or magistrate in question was U Maung Galé, a younger brother of the late U On, long the only Burmese C.I.E., and once second judge of the Small Cause Court in Rangoon.

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THE GILDING OF THE SHWE MAW-DAW

Far-famed and bright, the Shwe Maw-daw
Is known where'er the Sacred Law
To toiling millions brings the peace,
Bids grief be still and turmoil cease.
Fair glory of Peguan land
Revered on earth's most distant strand,
Not more Dagôn's great golden pile
Hath honour in the Southern Isle,
Where'er beneath the zampu tree
The pious bend the suppliant knee,
Than thou the glorious lotus shrine
High temple of the hairs divine.
As leaps on high the funeral flame
Of some yahan of sainted name,
A beacon light to Neh'ban's rest
And haven sure to men distressed,
So skywards reared, thy shapely spire
Upsprings a pyramid of fire.

The hoar seer's words are now proved true,
Spoke ages since while yet all new

Cooking and Eating Utensils

Ma Aye Myaing does her work directly in front of the fireplace in a squating position, often resting on the tiny bamboo stool. A few sticks of firewood, or brush, are placed within the three sided enclosure made of three single bricks on edge. A hollow bamboo tube about 10 inches long and 1½ inches in diameter is periodically used to blow the fire to a hot flame in lieu of a draft. The identifications of the cooking and eating utensils given below were provided by Daw Aw Zar and U Myaing in an interview in which photographs of the objects were used. 415 252 [516] [352] [372]

HTA MIN O (cooking pot): This is an earthenware jar used for cooking vegetables and other foods. It is a round based globular form with outflaring rim. A wide conical shaped lid with flat disc knob for raising goes over the orifice. It is smooth, light tan in colour throughout and about ¼ inch in thickness. It is tempered with sand. A stamped design encircles the widest diameter on the body. This diameter is about 7 inches, height is 4½ inches. One or two are kept on hand (Pathwe: several. Camp: one). They cost 5 annas each. This sand tempered, stamped, earthenware appears in the early European contact period (late 1500's) at Syrian (Orr, K.G. "Stratigraphy in Lower Burma" Ms. in preparation.) It is rapidly being discarded in favour of aluminum pots which are not nearly as cheap but do not break Traditionally this pot is used to cook rice. In speaking of its use Daw Aw Zar said: "We keep one or two, to boil vegetables and do other things to eat, seeing that there are seven people we have to cook (i.e. rice) with a big aluminum pot." [172] [178]

HIN O (curry pot): This jar is generally of the same shape as the one described above but is wider at the orifice (8 inches diameter) though about the same height. It is of the same ware type; has a wavy-line stamped design just under the rim. Ordinarilly equipped with a conical lid, this vessel had a flat aluminum lid. This vessel is used to cook curry. It was brought from Pathwe, where it was bought at a cost of 6 annas. Number used in Pathwe: several, camp: 1. [435]

LAPHET-YE-OH (tea pot): The tea pot is also of tan earthenware and generally of the same ware as the cooking pots, with the exception that the surface was carefully scraped and slightly burnished. The body is globular, with thumb-like spout, and semi-circular clay handle. This pot was brought from Pantanaw, where it had cost 8 annas.

SIN O (food storage jar): Whereas the cooking vessels are moulded by hand with the aid of a paddle, and lack glazing, the storage jars are glazed and have been made on the wheel. These glazed jars also have flat disc bases, and pear-shaped bodies with contracted necks and short, collar-like rims. In every way they appear to be a separate tradition from the cooking ware. The glaze is dark reddish-brown over a hard-baked purple-red core. The interior is thoroughly glazed but the glaze only covers the upper half of the exterior. The reddish-brown glaze is recent, appearing in ceramic collections of the last century in Rangoon (Orr, K.G. "Stratigraphy in Lower Burma", the Monkine Street section) being preceeded by a yellow-black glaze in the early European period at Syrain. [323] [172]

Salt saffron, oils, etc are stored in these jars. The one examined was about 4 inches in height and 5 inches in diameter. It came from Pathwe and cost 3 annas. Number in Pathwe several, camp: 3. [251] [435]

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1980) 1987 AP1 Burma
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But

175 538 198 there never was any attempt to imitate the Pali language and its literature in the vernacular, and Burma offers no parallel to the controversy among English Renaissance scholars over the merits and demerits of the vernacular.

175 538 The period of Pagan's ascendancy marked the zenith of Burmese greatness and civilization. It was a great centre of trade, and visitors from afar talked of the glory that was Pagan. Its supremacy was unquestioned by the whole of Burma, which had been united into a kingdom for the first time. It even demanded and probably obtained nominal allegiance from the greater part of Indo-China and the governors of the outlying provinces of the Chinese Empire. But the period of Pagan's ascendancy was not a great period in Burmese literature. Her capital looked radiant with its golden temples, her kings were learned and powerful, her troops marched in triumph, but Pagan never forgot that no material thing was real, and everything decayed and perished. Therefore, the scholars were interested only in religious themes, and religious themes seldom offer adequate scope for the development of a great literature. Although the clearness of diction and the artistry of the death-song of the royal tutor, Anantathuria, composed while awaiting execution in 1173, indicate that at least a few must have practised the use of the vernacular for non-religious purposes, the efforts of writers in the vernacular were chiefly directed towards the recording of inscriptions, which are still [172] preserved in countless numbers in the pagodas of Pagan.[1] Many of these inscriptions contain good prose. The earlier inscriptions tend to be bombastic through sheer wealth of learning; the scholars of Pagan could not at once learn to control their use of the newly-acquired scholarship, just as the earlier writers of the Renaissance in England failed to restrict their use of learned words. However, after a few decades, the bombastic style gave place to a simpler and more 175 concise diction. In addition to the narrowness of scope offered by 172 religious themes, there was another reason which prevented Pagan,

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[1] The death-song is one of the greatest poems in the language and is the oldest non-religious piece of literature existing in Burma. A translation is given in G. E. Harvey, op. cit., p. 55, and another in Tin and Luce, *The Glass Palace Chronicle*, p. 139.

G. E. Harvey, op cit. (p. 70) describes the inscriptions as 'richly human and intensely devout', and he ranks (p. 38) some of Kyanzittha's (1084–1112) inscriptions as literature.

[172] *Epigraphia Birmanica*, a Government publication, gives the text of the more important inscriptions with translations.

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

in spite of its greatness in other directions, from being a great period of Burmese literature. The love of beauty, which is the basis of all literature, had adequate satisfaction in the developed art of architecture. The poets of Pagan wrote their poems in bricks, instead of words, and their pagodas are still famous. When one stands on the shore of the Irrawaddy and looks towards the ruins of Pagan, one is reminded of the delicate beauty of an incomplete poem.[1]

Pagan fell in 1287 as the result of the Tartar onslaught during the time of Kubla Khan, the Scourge of God, and the country broke up into several little States, each attempting to control the others. For the next fifty years, political struggles went on in the capitals, but they failed to disturb the peace of smaller towns and villages. Many who had grown tired of the strife around the thrones flocked to the quiet of the village monasteries in order to find peace. Religion went on undiminished, but the learning connected with it decayed, for the royal patronage was lacking. Architecture also decayed because there was no royal support and because the country had become poor. Men turned to literature for its own sake, and during this period Burmese prose and poetry assumed definite forms with fully developed diction, rhythm, rhyme and style.[2]

[1] Many temples and pagodas of the Pagan period are in an excellent state of preservation and are still in use as places of worship. Scott O'Conner's *Mandalay and Other Cities* contains fine illustrations of the more famous of these religious buildings.

The achievement of the Pagan kings, the 'Temple Builders', is summed up by Harvey thus: 'The legacy of their fleeting sway has enriched posterity for ever. It was they who made the sun-scorched wilderness, the solitary plain of Myingyan, to blossom forth into the architectural magnificence of Pagan. If they produced no nation-builder like Simon de Montfort, no lawgiver like Edward I, they unified Burma for more than two centuries, and that in itself was an achievement. But their role was æsthetic and religious rather than political. To them the world owes in great measure the preservation of Theravada Buddhism, one of the purest faiths mankind has ever known. Brahminism had strangled it in the land of its birth; in Ceylon its existence was threatened again and again; east of Burma it was not yet free from priestly corruptions; but the kings of Burma never wavered, and at Pagan the stricken faith found a city of refuge. Vainglorious tyrants built themselves lasting sepulchres, but none of these men has a tomb. . . . These men's magnificence went to glorify their religion, not to deck the tent wherein they camped during this transitory life.'—*History of Burma*, p. 70.

[2] Ibid., p. 103. Since that time, prose and poetry show continuous development. The full history of Burmese literature still remains unwritten. However, the *Anthology of Burmese Literature*, a Government publication,

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

2

131 Burma possessed no staples of trade to encourage
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5 LANDING-STAGE IN THE TIDAL REGION

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enterprise of the peaceable sort. Left entirely to her own resources, she developed her character in independence. It preserves a large measure of its original freshness and charm.

Detached though Burma lay from the contact of other civilisation, the seed-corn of a spiritual influence was brought to her shore from afar, and took root and spread until it pervaded her whole life. The one extraneous influence under which she fell proved of a paramount order. But the inspiration of Buddhism was broadly human, not racial. Every people might take its message to heart in their own individual way. The restraints it enjoined and the ideals it held up became the occasions for Burma to unfold her own inmost nature. The abounding treasury of Buddhist legend furnished the subjects to exercise her poetic fancy. In the fifth century, A.D., long after Buddhism had declined at its source in India, and when it only prevailed in Ceylon, its real progress began among the people who were to give it an enduring home. Buddhism is popularly credited with five hundred millions of adherents. But the seven millions of Burma and perhaps a twentieth of that number in Ceylon, together with the half million Jains of India, are the practical Buddhists of the world. With the rest the profession has sunk to an empty name, as in China and Japan, or it is lax, as in Siam, or it is utterly transformed, as in Tibet.

101 The phrase *Further India* gives point to a wide misconception. The surprise of so many persons on finding that the Burmans have no *caste*—to take the commonest instance—betrays the notion that Burma is part of India

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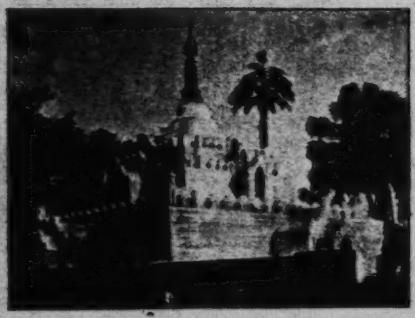
6 RUINS OF CITY GATE, PAGAN.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4



68. SITAKA-TAIK, THATON.

platform (*tamánthalin*). Unlike the ancient temples with their stairs and corridors, the later *zedi* is a solid mass of brick and earth, plastered over. The summit is inaccessible, except by means of scaffolding (*nyau*, No. 217). *Zedi* are commonly spoken of as *Payá*, in the same way as are the images of the Buddha, for which the distinctive term is *sindu*.

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In addition to the *zedi*, the *thein*, and *kyaung*, there are three other classes of religious edifices, the *taszdung*, *wut*, and *zayát*. All these may be decorated in the palatial style and are mostly of wood. But a public well or a roadside water-stand, the portal of a bridge or a wharf, may likewise be surmounted by the royal *pyatthat* in virtue of the religious distinction which attaches to every work dedicated to public use by private bounty. Nothing adds so much to the picturesqueness of Burma. The temple *zayát* (No. 98) is intended for sojourners in the precincts on duty days. The *wut* differs from the *zayát* in having a dais for images of the Buddha. The *taszdung* is only for the reception of images.

The ancient remains are almost entirely confined to the dry zone of Burma Proper, with the exception of a few in Thatôn and in Arakán. Those at Thatôn, dating from about 1000 A.D., have square bases built of huge laterite blocks in the Indian style. The ornament is deeply hewn into the stone. Above the laterite base is brick and plaster work of later date. Apart from the destructive influence of the climate, and of the rank vegetation the climate favours, a further reason of the scarcity of ancient monuments and inscriptions is the over-building of the shrines, by which the original work is lost to view.

67. SHWE-HMAWDAW PAYA, PEGU.

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Where we say "countless as the

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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68. WUT WITH IMAGES OF THE BUDDHA.

stars," the Burman says "countless as the temples of Pagán." The remains at Pagán are all ecclesiastical with the exception of the city gates and ramparts (No. 6). The temple enclosures are now ploughed, but no building is cleared nor is any of the old material utilised. The Pagán monuments are of brick laid in clay and generally lime-plastered. Many have been wrecked by treasure-hunters. A few of the principal temples only are kept in repair. Pagán is said to have been exhausted by the temple-building of its kings, who, besides exacting labour from their subjects, must have imported skilled labour. An old saying is "the temple is finished and the country is ruined." The temple remains occupy an area of several thousand acres, in many places with just room for roads between the walls of the enclosures. The style of the Pagán buildings is Indian. It has been suggested that the Hindu type of work and possibly Buddhism itself reached Pagán by way of Annam: the Mun or Peguan race, from whom the Burmans adopted Buddhism, having a language of Annam type. The great ruins at Angkor Wat, two hundred miles east of Bankok, have been compared to the ruins of Pagán. (See *Through the Buffer State*, by Surgeon-Major McGregor, 1896.) Such a route as this would help to account for certain features of Burman architecture foreign to India, the superposed roofs, and everted gable-ends. The Indian types may have reached Burma by this circuit as well as by the direct route.

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69. THADYA PAYA AT THATON.

The ancient temples of Pagán consist of brick corridors, one within the other, with vaulted pent roofs of masonry springing from the outer or lower wall to the inner or higher. The section of the vault is like that of a Gothic flying buttress. In the centre of all are colossal images

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
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[opp. p. 32]

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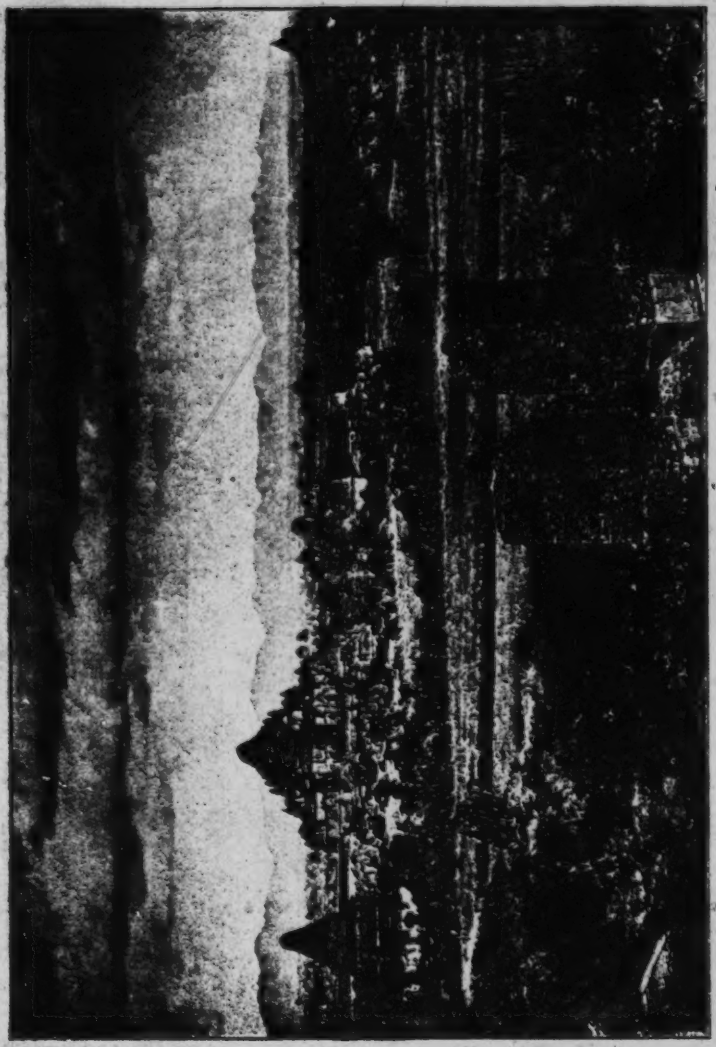

70. RUINS AT PAGAN

[To face p. 32.]

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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71. TERRA-COTTA FIGURES AT THADYA PAYA, THATON.

of the Buddha, set against the column which supports the dome or Hindu cone. The later domes are pure vaults without central support. In these ancient temples the conical *zedi* now so typical of Burma forms the finial only, held like a jewel, by four cusps. The lowermost portion of this structure resembles an inverted *thabit*, the name of the homologous part of the modern *zedi*. Possibly this forms the actual reliquary or is the symbol of the same.

An example of direct imitation of Indian monuments is the *Bawdi Payá*. It takes its name from the *Bo* tree at Buddha Gáya in Bahár, and is a florid reproduction of the *stupa* there. It was built by King Zeyathinka about 1220 A.D.

The temple named after Ánanda, the chief disciple of the Buddha, was built by King Kyansitthu about 1080 A.D. Both the temple (No. 8) and the *thein* and *kyaung* adjoining (Nos. 64, 74) are in full preservation. The gigantic lattice gates of the inner temple are of teak-wood and probably coeval with the masonry.

The most imposing of the ancient monuments and the one which marks the best period of the Pagán architecture is Thappyinnyu Payá, built by King Alaung Sittha, about 1100 A.D. (No. 73). Its height is two hundred feet or more.

In the mural decorations at Pagán the Indian character is as marked as in the buildings themselves. India has evidently furnished the subjects of the Burman designer and trained his style (Nos. 272, 94).

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The Burman bricklayers had at one time lost the art of arch-building. A pointed arch like the Gothic is used in the temples of ancient Pagán (Nos. 75, 76).

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The images of the Buddha (*sinda*) are the principal features of the interior of the ancient temples, the true character of

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72. BAWDI PAYA, PAGAN.

25; Ferrars E-3 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
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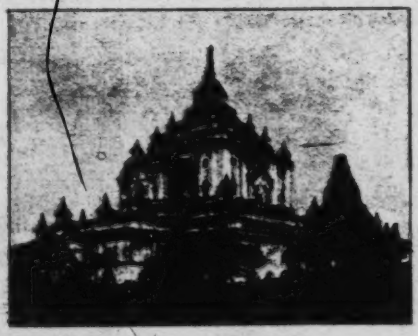
which is the same as that of the *zali*. The images are of sandstone in Arakán, where, moreover, the Hindu caste-mark between the brows (*tika*) is not omitted



73. THAPYTHNYU PAYA, PAGAN.

as it commonly is in Burma. In Burma Proper and Pegu good stone is scarce, and the large immovable images are built of brick and plaster and finished in fine white lime. Movable images, up to several tons weight, are hewn in the marble of Sagáing, the freestone of Taung-u (opposite Pagán), and are cast in brass. Lighter images are made of wood or of lacquer (*maw-Payá*). The

74. KYAUNG AT AMAHDA PAYA.

postures are the cross-legged, seated in contemplation (*timbyingaw*), the erect posture (*mayyattaw*), preaching or receiving alms, and the reclining posture

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
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75. EXAMPLE OF 4EVED VAULT AT PAGAN.

(*kyaung-daw*). In the sitting figure the garb is either the array of the prince before he became the Buddha or his subsequent garb of recluse. In the standing and reclining images the garb is always that of the recluse. The mound on the head represents the residue of hair, as cut off with his sword by the prince when he fled from the palace. According to the legend the hair grew no more. The pose of the conventional figure is the Indian one with its rigid symmetry. The fingers and toes are parallel and of equal length. The lobe of the ear reaches to the shoulder. Of late, under the stimulus of western art-products, the figure is beginning to be realistically treated, especially in the drapery, which is now modelled into natural folds in relief, instead of being conventionally mapped on the flat. Builders vie with each other in the size they give the figure. The recumbent images attain a length of fifty cubits. The image is set on a throne (*balin*) which is a conventionalised lotus in form, and is surmounted by floral tracery which symbolizes the sacred *Bo* tree. Images of the Buddha are reverently handled and are spoken of in honorific terms—*the sacred countenance, the venerable form.* There may be no bargaining about the purchase (*puzaw*) from the maker. The images are only placed in the temples or on the image-da" f the *kyaung*

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76. MODERN FALSE ARCH, AMAYAPOYA.

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
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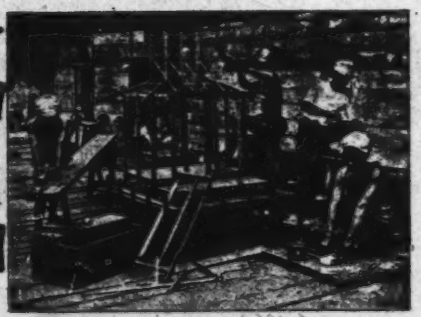

287. BURMAN CARPENTERS.

arbour of tracery, which entirely encloses them. Ivory hafts and scabbards of daggers and sabres are ornamented in the same way. The ivory carving is not polished.

The conventional flat design, painting and embroidery exhibit affinities to the Indian decoration of the ancient temples (Nos. 94, 272). The anachronisms and other naiveties of our mediæval designers are paralleled in modern Burma; witness the introduction of British officers with their field-glasses in the design of the Prince of Pagán destroying the monster at Hngep-pyittaung (No. 224). The medium used for painting is a coarse tempera. From the labels attached to European goods, many of which are excellent in design and colour, lessons in colouring and perspective have been learned. From photographs, ideas of accuracy have been gathered, and from illustrated news-papers, ideas of composition. Neither carver nor designer ever uses a model. The painter of No. 433 confessed that he had not seen the place himself; he had it described to him. In pure design without colour, the *shwezawd* work is the best. It is a kind of drawing in lacquer, which appears black on a gold ground (No. 96). Of late the Burmans have attempted cuts on type-metal for illustrations of books (No. 276). They are executed with chisel and punch; the graver is unknown.

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288. BURMAN TURNER.

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788
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Ancient inscriptions are rare in Burma, although the *thamding*, or depository for slabs recording the circumstances of religious foundations, is a recognised institution. In many of the *thamding* at Pagán may be seen the ancient *Pâli* square character, of which the Burmese round character is a development. The square character is preserved in the *kambawd* (No. 46). The late King Mindôn Min caused the whole of the Pâli text of the Tripitaka to be

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
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[322]

368. BURMAN WOOD-CARVER.

engraved on 729 marble slabs, 4 feet by 3 feet. These, set under as many stucco canopies, are known as the *Kûthodaw* or *Law-hama-yazin* — the royal work of merit (No. 385). They constitute the most important of the King's religious foundations. A number of years were spent by a committee of learned *yahán* in editing the text. Certain portions have since been transferred to type, and in time the whole of this text will be available in print. The development of the round Burmese character out of the square Pâli was favoured by the nature of the material used for writing on—the leaf of the *pe* palm. The fan-leaf is split into its segments, which are piled, and dried under pressure. Then they are trimmed even, and punched with holes to file them by. The leaf is ruled with turmeric, and the writing is done with a sharp steel style, which scratches through the hard epidermis to the spongy layer underneath; both sides are written on. The transverse strokes tear the fibre more, and leave a plainer mark, which leads to a minimising of longitudinal strokes. When the writing is complete, the wooden covers are lacquered, the edges of the leaves gilt, and their faces oiled with crude brown petroleum, which both preserves the material and brings out the writing. The oiling is repeated from time to time. The leaves become dark and friable in fifty years, and the writing hard to decipher. Manuscripts over two hundred years old are scarce. Copyists are paid one rupee per *inga* of ten leaves, the work of a day or two, according to their expertness. Until rag-paper began to be imported, the paper in use was

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[531]
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370. CARVED SCENE FROM ZAT.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A.

CHRONOLOGY.

Compiled from Spearman's Gazetteer of British Burma and Phayre's History of Burma. 175

B.C.

1000. Legendary origin of the Burman kingdom. Founding of Tagáung by Abhi Yaza (Raja), a conquered Sakya king of Kapilavastu ("*Kapilawût*") in Audh.

865. Era of King Kawza begins. Thirty-two kings follow, ending with Binnaka Yaza.

825. King Kan Yaza-dyi is established at Kalé on the Chindwin. His son Umidusitta migrates to Kyanppadaung in Arakán and establishes the Arakán Kingdom. King Kan Yaza-ngè is established in Tagáung.

691. Era of King Kawza closes. Era of Bôdaw Yuzana, Raja of the Sakyas, grandfather of Gawdama, begins.

623. Birth of Gawdama, afterwards the Buddha, according to the legend; according to historical researches, sixty to one hundred and thirty-one years later.

Chinese irruption into Burma. King driven south to Malé. Tripartition of kingdom. Prince Doza Yaza of Kapilavastu marries the chief widow of the king and founds old or northern Pagán. Seventeen reigns follow, up to 443 B.C.

588. Gawdama quits the palace and enters on his mission as Buddha. Miraculous visit of the Buddha and five hundred *pahán* to Sagáing. Changes in the earth prophesied—the formation of the Bo-u lake, the rise of Popa mount (volcanic), the retreat of the sea from Thayékittaya near Prome(*cf.* p. 50), and the spread of Buddhism.

543. Demise of Gawdama Buddha. Era of Gawdama begins (lasts till 82 A.D). First Buddhist council.

523. King Ajutasatra collects the relics of the Buddha.

443. Two Burmán kingdoms, Tagáung and Pyu (Pye, Prum, Prome?) Prince Labadutra of Tagáung hunts the great bear, which he kills at Wettokyún near Prome.

Second Buddhist council.

250. King Asôka (*Asúnhu'min*) of Pattaliputra distributes the relics of the Buddha. The king's son Mahindá goes as missionary *pahán* to Ceylon. Û Óttara and Û Sawnasé missionary *pahán* to Burma.

241. Third Buddhist council.

448. IMAGE FOUND IN A CAVE NEAR AN ANCIENT TALAING TOWN.

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them know their ground perfectly well, and are quite able to take full advantage of the strong points of their position. They rely entirely on the holy books, and these they have at their fingers' ends. It is granted by all that they are, almost without exception, entirely free from intolerance, and are quite unable to comprehend the zeal for conversion. A venerable Sadaw in Bhamo came and listened attentively to a Burmese sermon of Dr. Mason, the celebrated American missionary. When it was over he came and complimented him on its depth and grasp, and then suggested that the reverend doctor should go with him to offer up worship before the image of Buddha! The monks do not think, with cynical mockery, that every one should be allowed to go his own way and be blessed after his own fashion; on the contrary, they seek zealously for new truths and explanations of mysteries; but they hold it presumptuous and unwarrantable, in view of the dark secrets which envelop the life of man from its dawning to its close, to set up each his individual opinion with dogmatic certainty as the only true form and the only one that can save. They take their standpoint on the actual state of things, on the misery and sorrow which is externally bound up with the nature of the human body as it exists. They devote themselves entirely to preparing the spirit for its delivery, when it will finally rest, raised above every fear of new change, in the harmonious equipoise of Ne'ban. For this last and highest aim no hypotheses have to be assumed. They require no personal deity who would demand a special place in the system of the world, and in a possible danger to the cosmic system might incur the same risk of destruction. They remain entirely within the clearly defined horizon of their limit of vision, and are therefore very difficult to attack in argument.

Nevertheless schisms have arisen from time to time, and exist at the present day, but they have sprung more from revolt against excessive austerity, or corresponding laxity, than from any real difference on doctrinal points. The Lord Buddha had hardly died before one of the most aged of the disciples, Subhadra, thus addressed the assembled brethren: "Revered ones, cease to mourn. We are now happily released from the rule of the great Sramana; we shall no

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more be tormented with 'this is allowable' and 'that is not allowable'; we can now do what we wish, and leave undone what we do not care for." To put an end to this scandal to religion, and to fix definitely the bonds of morality, the great disciple, Kathapa, called together, forty-five years after the Buddha's death, in the year 543 B.C., the first great Council, at Rajagriha, in the country of Magadha. Kathapa himself was president. The Wini was read by Upali, whom Shin Gautama himself had pointed out as the most learned of his followers, and the Dharma by Ananda, the personal attendant and favourite disciple of the Budh. During seven months the various points in dispute were considered from all points, and after rulings had been publicly and authoritatively given, the Council broke up. Thus were the three "baskets of the Law" first settled.

But the backsliders were not corrected, and they gradually increased in number, until, one hundred years later, it was found necessary to call together another synod. There was now a considerable body of schismatics, and they formulated a demand for definite relaxations from the severity of the laws. The Council was again held in the country of Magadha (the modern Oudh), this time in the town of Wethali. The king, Kalathawka, built a splendid hall, and when all was ready, himself placed the ivory fan on the ledge of the pulpit, and sent a message to the members of the Thengă who had assembled for the conference, saying, "Lords, my task is finished." The relaxations demanded were then discussed. The most important were as follows:—Food might be taken until the shade of the sun was two inches in length; whereas Shin Gautama had directed that for the curbing of the flesh none should be eaten after noontide.

Whey might be drunk after mid-day; forbidden as being a component part of milk, and therefore approaching animal food.

Tari, or palm toddy, might be taken, because it looks like water. This was a particularly bold demand, seeing that all fermented liquors are forbidden, and that in modern days the same plea might be urged on behalf of gin.

Gold and silver might be accepted as alms; the use of them being strictly prohibited.

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A junior might lawfully copy a senior even in what is wrong; whereas no example could be any valid excuse for a wrong act. 795 779 173

Subsequent permission might cover an act; whereas the Wini required prior permission.

The restrictions against indulgences were to be in force only in the monasteries; and not for those who might be sojourning in villages.

These points, after lengthy discussion, were all given against the dissenters, and degradation was awarded them as a punishment.

Still matters got worse, and in 241 B.C. the great king Athawka, of Pataliputra, brought about the third and last great Council to cleanse the Church. After nine months' public reading of the Book of Rules and of the most excellent Law, 60,000 heretics were expelled from the Church, and it was resolved to propagate the religion far and wide. This last decision was fraught with the most momentous consequences to Burma, for among the missionaries sent north, south, east, and west from Behar were the two, Thawna and Ôttara, who proceeded to the country of Suvarna Bhumi, the "Golden Land," and landing at Thatôn, now north of Maulmein, but then on the sea-coast, proceeded to disseminate the Buddhist doctrines amongst the tribes in the great river-valleys of the country. It is important to notice that the doctrines they brought with them had just been revised and confirmed by a great Council of the Church. Since then, throughout all Burma, the old geniolatry has been displaced by the teachings of the Buddha. The regulations, introduced then in their first purity, have been retained ever since practically unchanged, so that at the present time Buddhism exists in Burma in a form much nearer to that which Shin Gautama taught than is found in any country where the Three Precious Things are held in reverence. 795 797 173

The only sect which has at any time started any doctrinal heresy is that of the Paramats. They reject the worship before pagodas and images, and pray only to the Nyan-daw, the godlike wisdom, which abides like a mountain of fire in the heavens, invisible to mortal eyes, and taking no interest and exercising no influence over mundane things. These 795 175

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1. Datu zedi, erected over relics of the Buddha, or models of these. 778

2. Paribawga zedi, over the sacred eight utensils, or their imitations.

3. Oddeitha zedi, enclosing images.

4. Damma zedi, enclosing the sacred books, such as the *Bitaghat thôn-bôn*, the three baskets of the Law, and other sacred volumes, like the *Bagawa*, appointed to be read during Lent.

It may be well to remark that the word "pagoda" is not known at all in Burmese, either in its English or Cinghalese form, any more than the word Mandarin is known in China. Such a building is called a Zedi, from the Pali chaitya, meaning the offering-place, or place of prayer, but the expression Payā, applicable as well to the image as to the shrine, is most frequently used in reference to the more famous centres of worship. 778 192

The greatest of the payās, such as the Shwe Dagôn in Rangoon, the most famous of all; the Shwe Maw-daw, the lotus-shrine of Pegu; the Shwe San-daw, the depository of the sacred hair at Prome; and the Mahā Myat Muni, the temple of the most exalted saint in Mandalay; all these were founded by single individuals, or brothers to whom the most excellent Master had given hairs from his head to deposit in the specified place. How the exact spot was found, and how successive kings increased the size of the first erection, and donations flowed in from the pious in all parts of the world to beautify and preserve the building, all these particulars are recorded in the palm-leaf records of the various temples. Many later Zedi, however, have been erected by villages, or by public subscription in whole districts, as pious memorials, or to commemorate some particular event, as well as for the obvious purposes of public convenience on the duty days of the month. Very many, and among them some of the most beautiful, are, on the other hand, the outcome of purely individual desire for merit. Some, such as the chaste, white Sibyo shrine at Mengôn, near Mandalay, are built in remembrance of individuals; the graceful pagoda mentioned being erected by a recent monarch in memory of a favourite queen. Under all, however, to render 778 173 778 [735]

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778 them sacred, are buried some of the holy things. Without these, no hti, or umbrella, could be placed on the summit of the spire.

These objects are deposited in the tāpana taik, a square chamber, built in the basement of every payā, and always the first thing finished. Not only one, but many things are thus enclosed. Captain Cox, who saw the first beginnings of the huge Mengôn pagoda, describes the tāparta taik of that vast amount of brickwork. It measured sixty-one and a half feet square, and was eleven feet deep. The interior was plastered white and gaily painted, and was divided into a number of compartments of various sizes to receive the offerings of the king and the courtiers, the innermost naturally containing the most sacred. The dedicated treasures themselves were very numerous, including a great variety of miniature pagodas and monasteries in silver and gold of varying degrees of purity; images of the same materials and of polished alabaster, some of them four feet high; a number of gold caskets, probably containing models of the sacred teeth and bones; besides these, there was a miscellaneous collection of other things—slabs of coloured glass, precious stones, white jars, such as are used by the royal family, and finally a soda-water machine, then almost as much a novelty
000 in England as in Burma. The offerings did not strike Captain Cox as being very valuable, but the then king, Bodaw Payā, cared a good deal more for his own special glory than for the raising of religion. Not long afterwards he claimed to be a new Buddha, and because the Sacred Order would not recognise his right to the title, turned heretic, and victimised the monks with renegade zeal.

778 The relic chamber at the great Shwe Maw-daw offers a
173 very decided contrast. The Buddha gave two hairs of his head to two brothers, with instructions to enshrine them on the Thu-da-thana hill. An earthquake revealed the exact spot to them, and a host of byammās and nat-déwas came down to take part in the depositing of the relics. A chamber, ten cubits square, was prepared, and at the bottom was laid a slab of pearly white marble, set with diamonds. A similar slab, studded with emeralds, formed the lid. The Tha-gyā king placed a golden cradle in the centre of the bottom

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slab, and round this were arranged images of the chief disciples of Shin Gautama, each holding a golden bouquet. The jewelled casket containing the hairs was placed on the cradle, and high festival was held for many days. Numbers of other images of the Buddha himself, and of many eminent disciples, were placed round the sides of the tāpana taik, and countless offerings were made, the Tha-gyā king giving ten billions of gold, each of his queens forty thousand of silver; the father of the two brethren one thousand of gold, and many others equally great sums. But this was in the brave days of old, when imagination was vivid and evidence cursory.

Still even nowadays very costly offerings are often deposited in the relic chamber. An almost invariable gift is a representation in gold of the Lord Buddha, with the hooded snake raising itself over him, as in the images of Vishnu in India, or a great model of the Great Master as he received the supreme wisdom under the bawdi-bin. Examples of the last may be seen in the South Kensington Museum, as also of the Sabupati payā, representing him with the tower-like royal crown, the wings on legs and arms, and other emblems recalling the king's son who went out to dedicate himself as the Buddha and the conqueror of Mān-nat. Open-handed piety is twice as frequent as of yore, only the chroniclers of modern days have not the florid imaginations of their predecessors.

The dedication of a payā is a high festival, but there is no prescribed ritual in the sacred books, and each individual pôngyi, after reciting the precepts and the Itti pithaw, has a form of his own, embracing portions of the law and the sacred discourses. A prominent function in the service, as indeed always in giving alms, is the yeset-cha, the pouring out of water drop by drop on the ground. The great king Bimbathara did it himself from a gold cup when he presented the Weluwun or Bamboo-grove monastery, and so likewise it is recorded of the rich man Anātabein. The idea is to share the merit of the action with all creatures, and at the same time to call to witness, besides the mathôn-daye nats, all gods and men, that the donor may have due reward for his piety. The same thing is frequently

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And kneeling pray that they may gain
Release from fitful change and pain.
Ah, Saviour Buddha, hear them call
And grant the long, last life to all.

High striving to the upper air,
Great convent of the Sacred Hair,
Thou'st stood upon the foreland's brow
From misty ages e'en till now.
The Budh himself, with his own mouth,
Stood on this hill, and, looking south,
Foretold that on this spot should stand
A fane far-famed in farthest land;
And hither came the brethren twain
And reared with stone of precious vein
A lordly pile and gilt it o'er
And many a monarch added store,
Till last of all our Sikkè came
And joined to theirs a pious name.
From youngest years till hoarest hours,
Peguans all, great fame is ours;
Two Henthas dwelt here, male and mate,
Ten thousand kings kept regal state,
And ever till the kalpas end
Will pious pilgrims hither wend.
Ah, Sikkè, great reward is thine,
Thy fame doth last while lasts the shrine
And ere the shrine falls, falls the world.

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Pegu was the capital of the Talaing kingdom of Hanthawadi. Shin Gautama foretold that it would be founded in the 1116th year of his religion, and gave two of his hairs to two brothers, Mahā Thala and Sula Thala, to enshrine on the Thudathana Myinthila Hill. A pagoda fifty cubits high was erected over them, and this was the original of the Shwe Maw (or Hmaw)-daw Payā.

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CHAPTER XVI

THE LEGEND OF THE RANGOON PAGODA

AT the end of the last world-period five lotus-buds sprang up on the Theinguttara Hill, where now the Shwe Dagôn pagoda stands. They opened their leaves and disclosed each of them within its chalice a thengan, the holy yellow robe of the monastic brethren. Then a huge bird settled on the top of the hill and laid an egg, and from this was presently hatched the kalawaik, the carrying bird of Vishnu, which seized the sacred garments and flew up to the heavens. This was an omen foretelling the appearance of five Buddhas in the present world cycle, and accordingly the universe which had existed in the preceding kalpa was shortly afterwards destroyed, with Mount Meru, the enclosing Set-ya-wala hills, the six heavens of the nat-dêwas, and many of the lower seats of Byammās. Then followed myriads of years of chaos; then myriads more while the present world called Badda was being constructed atom by atom, and at last the earth was ready and prepared to receive the first Buddha, Kaukkathan. He left his staff on the Theinguttara Hill; his successor Gawnagông deposited his water-filter beside it, and the third Buddha, Kathapa, added a portion of his robe.

In the time of the fourth Buddha, Gautama, there lived on the Theinguttara Hill a gigantic scorpion, so huge that it devoured every day an elephant, and the tusks of its many victims were set up in a great ring fence round about its den. One day seven foreign ships passed along the coast. The sailors saw the white glimmer of the ivory from far out at sea, and landed to ascertain what it was. They began loading their ships with the precious treasure; and were working

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their hardest, when suddenly they saw the giant scorpion coming straight at them. They rushed on board, cut their cables, and stood out to sea. But here a new danger awaited them. A monster crab reared two gigantic claws out of the waters and threatened to crush anything that passed between. But there was no retreat, and, overwhelmed with terror, they drove before the wind. The vessels just managed to pass through without touching the claws with their yards or masts; but the scorpion, following in hot pursuit, rushed up against both pincers with its bulky body, and they closed in an instant, crushing and rending the monstrous prey. The crab itself died of the poisonous food, and the neighbourhood of the holy hill was thus freed from its terrors.

Not long afterwards another ship sailed in these waters. Near Twanté, a town about twenty miles from Rangoon, lived a pious Talaing merchant, who had two sons named Pu, or dove, and Tapaw, or plenty. These young men heard that there was a famine in the western lands, and set sail thither with a shipload of rice. They landed at the mouth of the Ganges, and having procured five hundred waggons, loaded them with their grain and travelled into the Wethali country. There one day their waggons were suddenly arrested, and as it were chained to the earth. While they were seeking for the cause, a nat, who in a previous existence had been their mother, appeared to them and asked: "Desire ye store of gold and precious things, or rather desire ye heavenly treasure?" They answered, "Heavenly treasure." Thereupon the nat bade them go to where Shin Gautama, the embryo Buddha, was sitting beneath the yaza-yatana tree in the seventh period of seven days' meditation, which immediately preceded his becoming perfect. They laid a sack of rice reverently at his feet, and in return received four hairs each. The Buddha renamed them Tapôt-tha and Palika, and enjoined them to deposit the hairs on the Theinguttara Hill, beside the relics of the three preceding Budhs. The place was to be determined by the "takun," a felled wood-oil tree "lying athwart," so that neither the top nor the roots touched the ground.

The brothers, happy in the possession of such inestimable relics, enclosed them in a golden casket, hastened back

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to their ship and set sail. But they visited many a distant shore without gaining any tidings of the whereabouts of the Theinguttara mount. In vain they besought the nats, the bilus, and yekkathas, good genii, ogres, and demons, of whom there were many upon earth in those days. The spirits knew no more than the men. At last the king of the Tha-gyas took pity upon them, came down from the heavens, and appearing before the seekers in the guise of a nat, told them to return to their own native land. There, not far from their birthplace, Twanté, was the hill they sought for, and the only being who could point it out to them was the guardian spirit of the hill, the aged Sulé nat. But this guardian nat had lived so long upon earth that his eyelids had become weak and heavy and had fallen together, so that he was stone blind. Before he could help them at all it would be necessary to restore to him his eyesight, and this could only be done by hoisting up his eyelids with two great wooden props. The Sulé nat was of gigantic stature, and the two brothers sought about in the forest for the tallest oil-palms they could find, cut them down, lopped them into shape, and then went out in quest of the aged guardian spirit. At length they found him so thickly covered with ancient moss and lichens that it was difficult to recognise a living creature in him. When he was asked where the Theinguttara Hill lay he became suspicious, and brought forward his blindness as an excuse for not being able to indicate its situation. But the two brothers were prepared with their remedy. They got their two great beams into position, and after much trouble managed to hoist up his heavy lids so far that the light fell in a narrow streak on his pupils. Sulé then indicated with a wave of his hand in what direction they were to go, and Tapôt-tha and Palika set off again on their search. But here they encountered a new difficulty. Instead of one hill they found three, with a lake in the middle of them, and there was nothing to show where the staff, the filter, and the bathing robe of the previous three Budhs lay buried. They were in despair, but the king of the Tha-gyās again came to their aid. He descended with his subject dêwas during the night and united the three peaks into one. The next day the brothers felled the

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tree on the summit and it fulfilled the required conditions. "It remained poised on its centre on the peak. Its top touched not the ground, and its root touched not the ground. Therefore the place was called in the Môn language, Takun." A pagoda was built twenty-seven feet high, and all the land round about on which its shadow fell between sunrise and sunset was consecrated to it for ever. The déwa king prepared a golden boat to hold the casket containing the hairs, and this vessel circled about perpetually on the lake, and was protected by water-wheels, whose spokes were prolonged into great swords and knives that struck out in all directions and turned without ceasing, except for a moment at midday, when they halted for the space of time during which a woman might draw out a thread from her spinning-loom.

Long after, the royal elder brother of China, King Udibwa, during his wars with the Burmans, was exceedingly anxious to carry off the sacred relics which are deposited in the Rangoon shrine. He prepared a magic figure in human form and despatched it to steal the Budhs' remains. The creature crawled all the way down the Irrawaddy on its stomach until it arrived at the suburb of Rangoon called Kemindine ("the looking-post"). There it raised its head to look for a moment, and was so overcome by the splendour of the shrine that it delayed too long, and when at length it stretched out its hands to steal the relics, the favourable moment at noon was passed, and the whirling swords cut it in pieces. Since then the whole of the treasures have been walled up in the relic-chamber, whence nothing but the entire destruction of the payā could remove them. The marvellous wealth of the shrine has been a fruitful source of wonder and speculation to many. Nevertheless the statement of Sonnerat that the spire, which has now risen to a height of nearly 370 feet, has a narrow funnel descending from the top down to the basement, and that down this shaft princes, rich men, and the religious of all nations cast gold and silver and precious stones, has a foundation only in the imagination of the Gallic writer. The crown or "umbrella" at the top is known to be crusted thick on the upper ring with precious stones, and from it hang scores of jewelled gold bells, placed there in recent times, but to the

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mysterious relic-chamber no one has penetrated for hundreds of years, nor probably ever will. Neither the shrine itself, nor the relics, nor the images, are the objects of the adoration of the pious. The Burman, it cannot be too much urged, is not an idolater. He worships neither relic nor image. The pagoda and the figure only supply him with a seemly place to utter the praises of the great Buddha, and to form resolutions to imitate, as far as he can, the charity and the sinless life of the great model.

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and little morsels of food. Often, if the village is larger, the shrine is much more pretentious, assuming almost the size and appearance of a zayat, a large tectum or roof, gabled and supported with red posts, the platform ornamented, and with a dais at one end, on which a representation of the nat is placed at the feast time, which, in imitation of the pagoda festivals, occurs at a regular fixed season. At other times these images are kept stowed away in an adjoining chamber, built for the purpose. It is particularly irritating to an educated Burman to see these absurd figures, which remind one of nothing so much as the fetiches of the prognathous African. Two gaudily dressed puppets, masquerading with spire-like crown, and royal, sharp-pointed swords, represent the much-feared nats, Shwe Pyin-gyi and Shwe Pyin-ngè, the Nyi-daw, Naung-daw, the Royal Younger Brother and the Royal Elder Brother, who command much respect in the neighbourhood of Mandalay and in Upper Burma generally. A still more dreaded spirit is one whose representation figures in a shrine at Tagaung, one of the ancient capitals of the country, half-way between Mandalay and Bhamaw. He appears simply as a head on a post, four feet high or thereabouts. A spire-like crown rests on his head, his eyes protrude and goggle in semi-globular wrath, asinine ears and a Punch-like nose complete the likeness, for he has no mouth, and his body is that of a dragon. Every one avoids his temple as much as possible, but the inhabitants of the village bow in that direction before they venture to do anything, and passing boatmen kindle lamps and offer flowers, of which he is said to be particularly fond, and fruit, for the nat has an incorrigible habit of giving people the stomach-ache when he is offended, and death punishes the recalcitrant. "Tagaung colic" is a recognised ailment with the Burmese faculty. The demon is said to have been one of the ancient kings of the place, who acquired his power from magical arts which he learned in Northern India. Three famous pagodas in the defile take their names from episodes in his life; and his two sons founded the dynasty of Prome. Oftenest of all, however, the nat-shrine contains no figure. It is occupied only by the viewless spirits of the air.

First in the list of personal spirits may be considered the

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suffering no one to enter till he came to the person decided by fate to rule the country, usually some one of the royal lineage, or of some other princely line, who had wandered or been carried off from court. Then the horse waited patiently till the sleeper should wake up; the tales always represent the prince as asleep when the chariot arrives. When he rouses himself he steps into the chariot, and without guidance, the horse forthwith gallops back to the palace and the tabindaing finds a husband and the country a king. Alompra became sovereign, only in a slightly different way, but his descent from Mahā Thamada must be unimpeachable.

Long before he took up arms and won for himself the throne, the soothsayers saw about him signs that betokened his coming dignity. When he slept his arms shone like fire; vultures perched on the houses of his enemies; gorgeous butterflies and gay-plumaged birds and strange animals entered his dwelling; he dug up an ancient image of the Buddha not far from his doorstep; when he came to fight it was manifest that he was favoured even beyond the great men of old. He possessed a sword that flew through the air and cut off heads; his shoes enabled him to clear miles at a stride; his fairy spear could spit a whole line of soldiers at once; his javelin could be hurled to any distance; finally, as a fifth weapon, he had a gun which never missed its mark, and was brought down to him by a thagyā. The possession of these five weapons at once proved his right to the throne and secured his holding it. It is true that some of the omens which signalised his right have appeared in others with very different result. A Karen minlaung, or embryo king, displayed the same fire-streaming arms, and raised a rebellion since the British occupation of Pegu. He gained a considerable following, and seemed formidable for a time, till the English wise men pointed out that the fiery glow was produced by rubbing phosphorus on his skin. Then all went against him as an impostor, and he very soon vanished into the hill-country. Similarly, in 1858, a poor fisherman at Twante, a large village not far from Rangoon, dragged up in his net a small image of the Buddha. Such discoveries are always looked upon as an omen of high

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destiny, and according to the common superstition, the fisherman believed that he would rise in dignity, restore the Talaing kingdom, and revive religion. He announced the supernatural call in the village bazaar. A few desperate characters joined him, took possession of the town, and issued a proclamation calling upon all the faithful to rally to his standard. But the British civil authorities stepped in and broke up the procession which was going in solemn state to the pagoda to inaugurate and consecrate the fisherman in his new profession. The claimant of royal honours escaped at the time, but was afterwards given up by the villagers. In each of these cases there was deception or misapprehension of the meaning of the omens, but the abundance of the signs in the case of Alompra disposes of the assertion that he was a mere adventurer. He himself thoroughly believed in his high destiny, and talked of it in right royal fashion to Captain Baker, an ambassador sent to him in 1755 by the Honourable East India Company. This gentleman, the commander of an East Indiaman, who, under the instructions of his employers, evidently regarded the great conqueror as little better than a savage, brought him a present of a chest or two of gunpowder, a couple of muskets and carbines, a gilt looking-glass, some red earth in bags, and half a dozen bottles of lavender water (there is no mention of glass beads), and offered Alompra the assistance of the great company. Whereupon his majesty burst into a defiant laugh and replied in the following fashion: "Have I asked, or do I want any assistance to reduce my enemies to subjection? Let none conceive such an opinion! Have I not in three years' time extended my conquests three months' journey in every quarter without the help of cannon or muskets? Nay, I have with bludgeons only, opposed and defeated these Peguans who destroyed the capital of this kingdom, and took the prince prisoner; and a month hence I intend to go with a great force to Dagôn (Rangoon), where I have an army now lying, when I will advance to the walls of Pegu, blockade and starve them out of it, which is the last town I have now to take to complete my conquest, and then I will go in quest of Bourno (the French governor of Syriam, whom he afterwards actually did put to

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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death). Captain, see this sword; it is now three years since it has been constantly exercised in chastising my enemies; it is indeed almost blunt with use; but it shall be continued to the same till they are utterly dispersed. Do not talk of assistance. I require none. The Peguans I can wipe away as thus (drawing the palm of one hand over the other). See these arms and this thigh (drawing his loose coat-sleeve up to the armpit, and lifting his pasoh, so as to display a bare tattooed leg); amongst a thousand you cannot see my match. I can crush a hundred such as the King of Pegu." (Quoted from Crawford.)

Two years later he talked to Ensign Lester in the same bombastic strain, telling him that he would go to Madras, and that if a nine-pounder shot was to hit him it could do him no harm, with a good deal more to the same effect. He is described at this time, when he was about forty-five years of age, as five feet eleven in height, and of a powerful build, with a long, but not a thin face, the expression not being improved by a number of smallpox pitmarks. He had a broad but very retreating forehead, a characteristic shared by all his descendants, and prominent in the case of King Mindôn.

Alaungpaya, then, was no feeble founder of the present line of successors to the great Mahā Thamada. He certainly had the power to command, and his military successes carried the peacock flag from far away towards Dacca, down to the Siamese capital. Assuredly he was a worthy follower of the great first king, and the Burmese believed firmly in the unbroken character of the succession. Accordingly all the old Indian and Sakyan customs were carefully observed by the Burmese royal family. Such were the marriage with half-sisters, and the consequent preserving unmarried of the king's eldest daughter; the reverence of the three most excellent animals, the peacock of the sun, the hare of the moon, and the kalawaik, the carrying bird of Vishnu, whose eyes like jewels look friendly on the stranger; and the beit-theit, the consecration by pouring out of water at the accession. Marriage with half-sisters was only allowed to the king, not to the people at large, or even to the princes of the blood-royal. The throne was painted over with representations of

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CHAPTER LXI

SELECTIONS FROM THE LITERATURE

THE following is taken from the Mahā Yazawin :—

The Queen Shin-saw-bu

539 In Ava there lived a very learned pôngyi called Bamè-soda, and a rich man in the capital gave him his son Dhamma-sedi to bring up and instruct. This youth was possessed of very wonderful powers, due to virtues which he had exercised in previous existences. By means of these powers he brought to life one day a fowl which had been roasted and placed on the platter before his teacher. From this circumstance, to the present day, the place where the fowl scratched and sought its food is called Shwe Gyet-yet (the more popular legend assigns a different reason). On the same day it happened that a young hunter appeared in the monastery and begged the holy brother to teach him wisdom. As a present he had brought with him a roasted hare. He lifted the cover off the basket and the hare sprang up alive and healthy immediately and ran away. The pôngyi was very much struck at these two miracles, all the more because they happened on the same day, and he took the two highly gifted youths for his only scholars and taught them all he knew in the way of scholarship and mystic lore. Both were very zealous in their studies, but Dhamma-sedi learnt one letter more than his fellow-student.

539 ●173 Engwa-min, Thihathu, the Burman king, levied war upon the King of Rangoon, Bya-ngya-yan, and having defeated him, carried off his sister Saw Bomi. The young lady, who now got the name of Shin-saw-bu, agreed to

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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share his throne on the condition that she should be allowed to institute religious ceremonies to remind her of the holy pagoda of her own Talaing town. Captivated by her charms, the king consented, and recommended to her notice, as being the most likely to give her aid, the two most highly honoured pôngyis of the capital, Dhamma-sedi and Dhamma-bāla, the ex-hunter. The wily princess managed to arrange a love intrigue with the two yahans, and by their aid succeeded in escaping to Rangoon, where in no very great time she was placed on the throne, and built a golden monastery for the two holy men to live in. Out of gratitude she wished to raise one of her two friends to share the throne with her, but the choice was a hard matter, for they were both equally well favoured, and no man could say which was the more learned. She resolved therefore to put their wit to the test and to abide by the issue.

The two holy men were summoned to her audience-chamber, where before her throne were placed two alms-bowls: one perfectly empty and plain, but decorated with the royal insignia; the other more elaborately worked and full of the choicest delicacies. The rivals were bidden to place themselves, according to their liking, by the one or the other. Dhamma-bāla chose the juncates, but the wiser Dhamma-sedi walked straight to the royal thabeit. The latter therefore received the hand of the queen after he had left the order.

Dhamma-bāla was full of wrath and envy, and forthwith created countless armies by reciting powerful bedin linga over a bowl full of rice, every grain of which grew into a soldier. But Dhamma-sedi was skilful in the same arts, and by virtue of the additional letter which he had learned was able always to overcome the machinations of his opponent, so that at last Dhamma-balā saw himself overcome at all points, and took to flight to save his life. But he had not thrown off his long monkish robes, and his feet got entangled in them, and he fell and was overtaken by his pursuers, who killed him at a place where now the village Thengan Nyôn stands, "the spot where the yellow robe betrayed." The queen only reigned three years, but in that time she greatly enlarged and beautified the pagodas of Shwe Dagôn at Rangoon and Shwe Hmaw Daw at

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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Pegu. Dhamma-sedi reigned after her gloriously and highly honoured for thirty-one years.

The main points of this bit of Mahā Yaza-win history are correct. Shin-saw-bu was carried off in A.D. 1439 and did escape from Ava to be placed on the Peguan throne. Rangoon cantonments are to this day known among the Burmese as Shin-saw-bu Myo. King Dhamma-sedi was celebrated for his wisdom and for his intercourse with foreign powers. He received embassies from China, Siam, and Ceylon. He was also certainly originally a monk; his magic arts are another thing. His death is placed in A.D. 1491. The slight suggestion of the casket scene in the *Merchant of Venice* will be noticed.

The following is a favourite fable:—

Why Ants are found everywhere

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All the animals of the forest came to the lion-king to pay him homage. The little ant came with the rest to bow down before the king of beasts, but the noblemen drove it away with scorn. When the king of the ants heard of it he was very angry, and sent a worm to creep into the ear of the lion and torment him. The lion roared aloud with pain, and all the animals came running from every side to offer their services and fight the enemy, wherever or whoever he might be. But none of them could do any real good. They could not get at the worm. At last, after many humble embassies, the king of the ants was prevailed upon to send one of his subjects, who crept into the lion's ear and pulled out the worm. Since that time the ants have enjoyed the privilege of living everywhere and in any country, while the other animals had all of them their special places assigned at the division of the earth.

The following, the fourteenth decision of the Princess Thudhammasari, is considered a legal precedent as well as the inculcation of a moral principle:—

The Dog, the Cat, and the Ichneumon

In the time of the Buddha Gawnagông, four pupils, a prince, a young noble, a rich man's son, and a poor man's

set aside for the 37 plates, the people are served.

"The Nat ceremony at the Nat-Kauk IN is for KHIN BAING, the Indian Nat. He is given offerings of chicken, liquor, Htamsins, etc. This Nat lives in a tree and he has made this known by possessing someone and speaking through him. After the food is offered to this Nat, the people who gave the offering eat it all up, drink all the liquor and present the Htamsins to the aged and elderly. The gold leaf is stuck onto the trunk of the Nat tree, and the black rice is thrown away. 776 796

"The person who works his IN for himself alone has to provide for his own offerings. If the IN undertaking is a cooperative one the various members get together to give offerings to the IN nat."

In holding a ceremony for U SHIN GYI there are some items offered which are only just sufficient for his consumption, and for a few other people. Some items of food, however, are prepared in sufficient quantity to feed the whole village.

The items used in the yearly offering to the IN nat KHIN BAING includes:- One chicken, one bottle of liquor, jaggery, Rs. 2/8 worth of KAUKHNYIN or black rice and about four condensed milk tins of rice. No Htamsins. The nat who likes Htamsins is the HSE-DAW-SHIN nat to whom King Anawratha himself is believed to have given offerings.

Items used in a single ceremony for U Shin Gyi includes:- Three condensed milk tins of black rice or KAUKHNYIN @ Rs. 8/-, ten coconuts @ Rs. 1/- each, 50 ticals of LAPHET or Burmese pickled tea @ Rs. 6/- per viss (100 ticals), about 4 or 6 annas worth of betel quid, about three viss of jaggery, costing Rs. 5/-, 8 packets of 10 candles @ 2 annas per packet and flowers just sufficient to place on the altar. Rs. 2/- worth of flowers are bought @ one anna per bundle. The flowers are mainly SKIN CHE (diamond decorated) . Some flowers need not be purchased, but can be easily gathered from the trees. THA BYAY (pleasant country) flowers and coconut kernels are also placed on the altar. These kernels are obtained free of charge from the coconut trees. [173] ●

Buddhism

The practices of Buddhism are both a religious duty and a social occasion for the family. The difficulty of separating the everyday "secular" activities from the supernatural will be especially apparent in the passages below. 779

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

The rise of the *Nibhatkhin* was the result of the rise of the vernacular literature, for then learning had reached the people. But we do not quite know at what time the *Nibhatkhin* first came into being. According to tradition, the custom of holding religious processions and pageants had existed long before 1752, about which time the interlude and the *Hawsa* (a recitation of a story in verse) came into being, but how long before nobody can tell. However, as it must have taken some time for the vernacular literature to take root, I adopt tentatively 1531 to 1752 as the period of the *Nibhatkhin*.

For the story of the development of the *Nibhatkhin*, I am dependent on tradition alone. The tradition of its development from the pageant is quite logical. Moreover, it is general and not confined to a particular district. I have discussed it with various Burmese scholars and I have made inquiries in far-away villages, and always I find the same tradition. In some out-of-the-way villages, which the influences that affected the drama at the capital had failed to reach, the development of the *Nibhatkhin* from the pageant was within living memory. Until recently, in such villages, one could even see the *Nibhatkhin* in its various stages of development. One village would be presenting a procession, another a pageant, a third would be staging a fully developed *Nibhatkhin*; in all the villages, their particular practice had been the custom for many years, further development having been checked by the introduction of the drama in its more mature stages by touring troupes of professional actors, and it had continued to exist side by side with the performances of strolling players, just as some miracle plays continued to be presented in certain places in England during the heyday of the Elizabethan

Under Bayinnaung (1551–81) the whole of Indo-China, the outlying provinces of China, and Manipur owed allegiance to the Burmese king. After his death, the Empire decayed until the ruler of Pegu, who had become independent, defeated the Burmese, and turned Burma into a Talaing Empire in 1752. The Empire was short-lived, for in the same year Alaungpaya rebelled, founded the last Burmese dynasty, and 'Burmanised' the Talaings by force. He and his successors turned Burma into one united kingdom, which with the Shan States, Siam, Manipur, and Assam, formed the Burmese Empire. The period 1752–1819 was the Age of Triumph, a fuller account of which is given in chap. ii.

The Burmese lost Assam, Manipur, and the native provinces of Arakan and Tenasserim to the British in 1824. The rest of Lower Burma fell into British hands in 1852. On 1 January 1886 the whole country was proclaimed a province of the Indian Empire.

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1980) 1937 AP1 Burma
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173 drama. In 1916 I saw a *Nibbathbin* at the obscure town of Pauk.
178 For this period, I am greatly indebted to the notes made by my
536* father. They are the results of inquiries and researches spread over
12] a period of forty or fifty years. I realize that to many European scholars the section on the *Nibbathbin* must appear conjectural in its dependence on tradition. My plea is that at present there is nothing else to depend on.[1]

175 With regard to the interlude, I am on surer ground. Again I
536* depend much on tradition, but it is now tradition supported by
[791] evidence. Besides the general and common tradition, there is the tradition of the spirit mediums and actors, and, as I shall explain, the
127 tradition of my own family.
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Professional tradition of the mediums and actors is more reliable
[791] than common tradition because the two professions, especially the former, are closed fraternities, and as written records were never in use, they handed down the facts regarding the nature and history of their callings by word of mouth. To them oral tradition was as strong as written records. Moreover, their oral tradition can be checked by the stage conventions which exist at the present day. The various stage conventions are considered in Chapter VII.

The tradition in my family[2] begins from about the year 1800. About that time, an officer[3] in the victorious army of King Bodawpaya

[114] [1] Even Harvey, who wrote his *History of Burma* at Exeter College, Oxford, often accepts oral tradition supported by no other evidence as substantially correct (*History of Burma*, pp. 33, 41, 211, 252, 267, 299). In two instances, pp. 33 and 41, the tradition cited dates back to the eleventh century A.D.

[2] My father is U Pein, District Magistrate, Burma Commission, now retired. In Burma, historical researches and inquiries are often made by administrative officials, as their duties carry them all over the country and to the remotest villages. Messrs Harvey, Stewart, Furnivall—great names in the Burma Research Society—are all officials belonging to the Burma Commission.

[3] He was Maha Minhla Mindin Raza.

I have to cite in this section the full names and official positions of some members of my family because:

1. As the Burmese use no surnames, my name alone would not convey
[551] anything regarding their identity.

2. The service record of the family may perhaps be construed as evidence in favour of the reliability of its tradition. G. E. Harvey, op. cit., p. 310 where he rejects Fuhrer's statement regarding an inscription because the 'precious slab has never been produced, and in view of Fuhrer's service record its production is essential.'

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
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90. PAYA SUN-KAN.

(*Payá sun-kan*), or privately prepared, is conveyed. The day is devoted to contemplation, and the night is passed at the *zayát*. Those who keep the duty-day present offerings at the *zedi* and the adjoining *kyaung*. At either of these places a *yahán* is invited to rehearse the precepts, which the laity chant verse, by verse after his lead (*thila-kan*). Passages from other scriptures are added, with their interpretations. This is called *Tayá-haw*—the preaching of the Law. The great Mun King, Yazadiyít of Pegu, in the year 1400 A.D., is reported to have been so impressed by the preaching of a *yahán* that he abandoned a campaign on which he had embarked. More than once in Burman history the peaceful contest of building rival temples has been substituted for battle by opposing armies.

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The Buddha has passed out of existence. While existent, all that the Buddha could accomplish for any being was the human service of showing him the way to work out deliverance by individual effort. Self-reliance is the cardinal principle. There is none to hear prayer. The true significance of the popular worship is not apprehended unless this be borne in mind. No virtue can surpass that of the Inestimable Master (*Myasswa Payá*) who fulfilled the Law and bequeathed it to men. To cultivate the memory of his transcendent merit is itself meritorious in the first degree. Such is the personal side of the cult, to which the effigies of the founder appeal. Before the images of the Buddha are performed the gestures of homage, and are placed offerings symbolical of veneration — tapers lighted at the shrine, flowers

91. YAHAN RECITING THE PRECEPTS (TAYA-HAW).

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

385. TEMPLES RAISED BY A MODERN KING (THE KUTHODAW p. 122).

historic centres of Burman dominion. Sagáing was abandoned for the last time in 1776 for a new capital at Amayapôya (*Amarapúra*—Abode of Immortals) half-way between Ava (*Inwa*) and the modern capital Mandálé, which was founded in 1857, after the accession of King Mindôn Min. The most ancient capital is Tagáung, one hundred miles north of Mandalé. Other capitals were Shwebô, Myinzaing, Pannya. The capitals of the Taláing dominion were Thatôn, Pegu, and Prome (*Pye*). Rangoon (*Yangôn*), at the meeting point of five navigable channels, and with anchorage for the largest ships, has out-distanced all competitors since the modern development of commerce.

644 633 [346] [438 178]

For the history of Burma the only available source is the official chronicle kept by command of the kings—*mahâ-yazawîn*. The first part is occupied with the legendary origin of the race from the cloud-dwellers—*Byammâ* (the Burman form of *Brahma*).* The names and doings of legendary persons follow, and lines of legendary kings. The earliest historical facts which emerge are the founding of Tagáung, and incidents relating to the Buddha and the councils of his church in India. It is believed by Phayre that the *Savanna Bhumi* of ancient Indian books refers to Thatôn, and that under *Chryse Chersonesus* Ptolemy refers to the Eastern Peninsula of Asia. We do not reach a connected history till the founding of Pagán about 100 A.D. From that epoch onwards the history of the peninsula, until the Burman Empire was consolidated and the dynasty of

175 [173] [531 776]

386. FIGURES OF BYAMMA (EMBROIDERY).

* The name is also written *Myammâ*, but commonly pronounced *Bamâ*, of which "Burma(h)" and "Birma" are corruptions. [101]

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
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427. PILGRIMS WITH THEIR BELONGINGS.

1884, and has had to be replaced. The body of the image is encrusted with gold which the pilgrims affix; by a miraculous quality of the image the gold leaf is said to adhere without the usual size. Next in celebrity to this image is the *Shwe-settaw*, a sacred footprint on the rock, west of Mimbu on the Irawadi (*cf.* p. 36). Only the site of the original footprint on the hill is shown. The rock which bore it clove asunder, according to the legend, in consequence of a profanation. A model of the original occupies a *tazaung* beneath. The fourth great resort of pilgrims is *Kyaittiyo Payá*, which is believed to enshrine two hairs of the Buddha. It is erected on a boulder which overhangs the peak of a mountain three thousand six hundred feet high, looking out on the plains of the Sittaung river. The legend tells how this boulder—which is not a rocking-stone—in days of greater piety used to float free above the summit. There are those who argue that even now a fine thread can be drawn between the boulder and the rock. About one hundred and fifty years ago

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428. SHWE-DAGON PAYA, RANGOON.

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
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788 a Karén from this neighbourhood was taken prisoner in the wars and carried
173 to Ava, where he eventually became *yahán*. One night he dreamt that in the cavity of a rock, on a hill near his home, were two hairs of the Buddha which had been deposited by Ôttara and Sawnasé, the missionary *yahán* who brought Buddhism to Pegu; they died and attained *parî-nirvana* at this place, and were buried at the foot of the hill. The Karén was allowed to travel to the spot, where he found what he had seen in his dream; a *zedi* was built there, which is now a famous resort of pilgrims—*Kôthena yôn* (No. 280).

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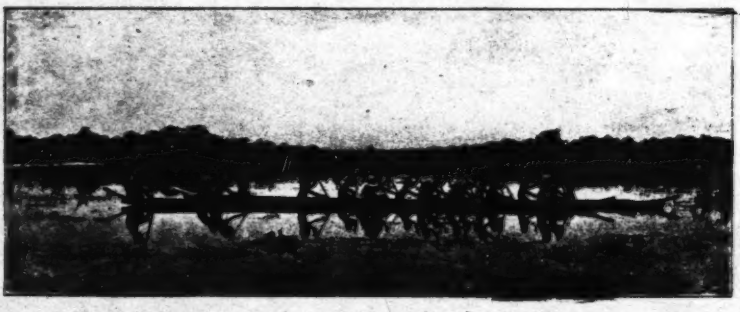

430. CANOES RACING (p. 179).

29: Slater M-4 (no date) 1951 APl Burma
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teristic specimen of the scholar's method of setting to work upon the investigation of Buddhist ideas. Ancient manuscripts, and commentaries upon them only a trifle less ancient, were racked for every slightest word that might bear upon the vexed question, and every such finding was discussed *pro* and *con* entirely with reference to its meaning as that meaning might present itself to an *occidental* mind; and it never seemed to occur to anybody that the simplest and best way to find out what Nibbāna really meant was to ask one or two of the more intelligent among the living representatives of the religion in which the word was used to express one of its leading concepts."[14] Written in dispraise of other Western authors, this criticism was also written in very lavish praise of a new book on Buddhism by Mrs Rhys Davids[15]. In that book, the authoress was far from rejecting Buddhism as a philosophy. But she also affirmed that the Buddha himself should be recognised, not only as a Sage, but as a prophet — a prophet "who had seen in a vision of universal law, not a philosophic theory only ... but a saving Truth, a Religion, whereby he might purify his own beliefs and redeem mankind."

Once Buddhism is seen for what it is, a religion, and a living religion at that, it becomes increasingly difficult to reconcile the older Western misinterpretation of Nirvana as annihilation in such a context.

4. *The Buddhist Religion*

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A glance at the long history of Buddhism shows that it has been, at different times and in different settings, a dynamic religious movement. Through many veils of legend, the Founder, Gautama,[16] is discerned as a young noble of the Sakyan clan in Northern India, some six centuries before the Christian era, who combined a sage moral insight with deep religious conviction. This conviction has been disguised for some by the fact that Gautama avoided exaggerations, for religion, by many minds, has frequently been identified with the abnormal and the extreme. But Gautama, in his first 'sermon' at Benares, preached a Middle Way. His followers were to avoid sensuality, on the one hand, and, on the other, the extremes of asceticism which he himself had practised in vain. He seems to have shared with his contemporaries a pessimistic valuation of the ceaseless round of Ill, the grim cycle of repeated, frustrating existence in which men felt themselves to be trapped, and the pith of his teaching

[14] Review in *J.B.R.S.*, Vol II, Part II (December, 1912) pp. 249ff.

[15] *Buddhism, a Study of the Buddhist Norm.*

[16] Rendered variously as Gotama, Gaudama, etc. Other names for the historic Buddha are Śākyamuni, the Tathāgata and his personal name, Siddārtha.

29: Slater M-4 (no date) 1951 AP1 Burma
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has often appeared as a diagnosis of cause and effect, linking the suffering of life to man's wayward passions, hot desires, and consequent illusion.

But it has been pointed out that he countenanced no pessimistic resignation. On the contrary, he challenged the human will to sustained effort, with the promise of higher good, He brought a gospel. The new discipline he enjoined 'making vision, making knowledge, would lead on to peace, to wisdom, to enlightenment, to Nirvana.'[27] He could announce this gospel because he himself had attained enlightenment; he had become a Buddha (an Enlightened One.)

This teaching inspires among his hearers an immediate missionary zeal. Yasa, the first layman to become a disciple, converts four of his friends, then fifty, and Yasa's mother and his wife become the first women disciples. Sixty followers are sent out by the Buddha in all directions to proclaim the new faith. A celebrated ascetic is challenged and convinced. With all his five hundred adherents, he joins the new movement. There are many personal encounters. Sāriputta rushing to tell the good news to his friend, Mogallāna, may be compared with the Christian scripture, "Philip findeth Nathanael."[28] There is jealousy and division among the disciples, as well as fervour. There is a Judas (Devadatta) and a Beloved Disciple (Ānanda). There is opposition: the people of Magadha accuse Gautama of breaking up family life. These tales are legendary, but they communicate the impact which Gautama made on his contemporaries and the impression of this impact retained to the fourth and the fifth and succeeding generations. "It was all like a modern revival," comments Rhys Davids. The comment is interesting. Even an age which saw Gautama primarily as an intellectual moralist, conceiving it possible that an Erasmus could be a Luther, a Buddhaghosa a Gautama, could not fail to note the signs of religious fervour.[29]

Missionary journeys are punctuated by times of retreat and assembly. The first monasteries are established, the Order (the *Saṃgha*) is formed, and through the Order, the Doctrine (the *Dhamma*) is transmitted by recital until, two or three centuries after Gautama's death, it is embodied in written scriptures.[30]

[27] *Saṃyutta-Nikāya*, V, 420 (Trans. F. L. Woodward, *The Book of the Kindred Sayings* P.T.S., London, 1930, Part V, p. 357.) Cf. Mrs Rhys Davids, *Sakya*, chap. III, pp. 53ff.

[28] John 1: 45.

[29] But the revival, adds Rhys Davids, "must have been of a strangely dignified and intellectual sort." (*Early Buddhism*, chap. III, p. 42).

[30] The earliest date for the Pali scriptures is B.C. 247 but Sanscrit fragments and Chinese translations suggest the possibility of other scriptures. cf. Thomas, *The Life of Buddha*, p. XIX.

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
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175 it, carrying on trade with India and the rest of Indo-China. During this period Burmese dancing and music and poetry, as embodied in songs, perhaps assumed definite and national forms. But there was
177 no writing. The kings that came from India probably knew writing,
175 but their knowledge was perhaps limited; in any case, it never
212 reached the people. The introduction of Buddhism into the country brought no writing, as it came through traders whose knowledge of religious learning was meagre. The few religious tracts preserved in monasteries were looked upon merely as curious and sacred objects. The religion, feeble from the beginning, decayed and soon disappeared. The kingdom came to an end in the first century A.D.[1]

175 A new kingdom was founded in Upper Burma at Pagan, which
779 controlled the land and river trade-routes, and as a result of its
212 commercial advantages, it became a powerful kingdom with the ascension to the throne of Anawrahta in 1044. From that point Burmese history ceases to be conjectural. Through the influence of the learned and saintly monk, Shin Arahan, Buddhism in one of its purest forms was introduced into the kingdom by Anawrahta. With it, writing was also introduced. The alphabet was the 'Square Pali', and the literature the *Three Pitakas* embodying all the religious
101 teachings in Pali. Curiously enough, the alphabet and the literature
● 174 did not come directly from India, but from Burma itself—from the
141 Talaing kingdom of Thaton. The Talaings were a branch of the Burmese race. Many think that they were a mixture of native tribes with Indian traders. I venture to disagree. The earliest inhabitants of Burma were Indonesians, who settled on the coast of Burma during successive 'drifts' of humanity from the west, through India, to further east. Later, there was an infiltration of Mongolian tribes, who came down the rivers from the North. Inland, where the Indonesian element was weak, the new-comers dominated and later became the Burmese; along the coast where the Indonesian element was strong the tribes united and became the Talaings. However, all this is mere con-
175 jecture. The early history of the Talaing kingdom of Thaton, which
101 Anawrahta had to destroy to obtain possession of the alphabet and the *Three Pitakas*, is not known, except that it was perhaps in existence a few centuries before Christ and was under the influence

[1] Pe Maung Tin and G. H. Luce, *The Glass Palace Chronicle*; A. Phayre, *History of Burma*. G. E. Harvey in his *History of Burma* contends that the first Burmese kingdom was Prome, and that it flourished only in about the seventh century A.D.

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21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
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2. Folk Feasts and Spirit Dances

According to legend, the Sanskrit drama was created in the Silver Age to cheer up the people, who were no longer happy as they were in the Golden Age; the Japanese drama was first used by the gods to beguile the sun-goddess to reappear; and the Chinese drama came into being as the result of the Emperor Yuen Tsaung ordering, in the eighth century after Christ, a group of children to be trained to sing the various deeds of the great national heroes before his consort, in appreciation of her love for him.[1] The Burmese, however, have no such legends, and the origins of their drama were in the religious *Nibbatkhin*. But before considering those Burmese miracle plays, perhaps it will not be out of place to give an account of the various folk feasts and spirit dances, which have in them elements essentially dramatic, and which gave some idea of the dramatic to the people and paved a way for the coming of the religious pageants and plays.

Folk feasts can be divided into two classes, those directly connected with Buddhism and those which are not. The Buddhist feasts occur on fixed dates and are celebrated all over the country. Of those, two are especially interesting, the feast of the Full Moon of the month of Tazaungmôn (which occurs in November) and the feast of the New Year (in April). Though the Full Moon of Tazaungmôn is an important Buddhist festival now, it is extremely probable that it was an important feast-day even before the introduction of Buddhism.[2] Special celebrations connected with the date have two distinct elements, the element of mimicry and the element of foolery. On that day, in the villages men dress themselves as animals, wearing appropriate masks, and dance through the village. The animal most commonly imitated is a sort of unicorn known to myth only. The desire to mimic animals probably came before the desire to mimic spirits, and I think the mimicry of animals, such as that we see in these celebrations, was the earliest attempt at the dramatic by the Burmese. Probably the mimicry of animals by men resulted in the presentation of animal puppet shows. In a Burmese puppet show, before the play begins, different animals come out one by

[1] A. B. Keith, *The Sanskrit Drama*; F. A. Lombard, *Japanese Drama*; A. E. Zucker, *Chinese Theatre*.

[2] Some Buddhist festivals in Burma probably are of pre-Buddhist origins (cf. the English Christmas which has many elements derived from pre-Christian times). At least the special celebrations of Tazaungmôn described here are almost certainly pre-Buddhist.

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

527 one, and each gives a special dance of its own.[1] At night, as part of the
796 celebrations, there is a feast of fools. Young men and boys roam the
530 village, throwing *zibyu* fruits at houses and stealing things, which will
174 be found in the centre of the village the next morning: the objects of the good-natured theft are mostly articles that would provoke laughter—such as a lady's under-skirt; or those which would cause temporary inconvenience in the morning—such as cooking utensils, steps from stairs, or a piece from the roof. The Feast of the New Year is one of mirth and foolery. It is known as the Water Festival because on that occasion, every Burman takes a delight in throwing water at his neighbour and getting soaked himself as the result of the other's counter-attack. The men derive great enjoyment from drenching the women, who in their turn are not slow to have their revenge. Young men group themselves and dance joyously along the streets, at times being chased by bands of elderly maiden ladies who lie in wait to catch the ringleaders. When caught, the youths are lightly bound with silken cords and their faces are blackened with soot. Then they are made to perform a monkey dance before being granted their release. The spirit of fun apparent in these Burmese feasts of foolery is akin to that which moved the young clerks of the *Parlement* of Paris and the members of the Inns of Court in London to stage their Feasts of Fools in medieval times.[2]

527 As the villagers lead a communal life and every joy and sorrow of a villager is shared by all others, a joyful event is celebrated by a
[561] public feast. Marriage, birth, the admission of a son to his novitiate (for every Burmese boy enters priesthood for at least a week), and the piercing of the ear of a daughter are occasions for mirth and jollity. At these feasts they sing and dance and mimic, groups of villagers vie with each other for new methods of giving entertainment, and there
[241] is keen rivalry between youths and maidens. The most mirthful feast of all is the Harvest Feast in February, when the paddy has been reaped, and the village is ready to enjoy a well-earned rest of four after a working period of eight months.

527 These folk feasts are of great antiquity, though, because of the
796 essentially unchanging life in the villages, they continue to exist even at the present day. The Tazaungmôn and other Buddhist feasts

[1] The puppet show is described in a later chapter.

[2] Cf. E. K. Chambers, *The Medieval Stage*, chap. xiii, 'The Feast of Fools'; also E. Welsford, *The Court Masque*, p. 2.

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
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out of the worship of the dead. Most scholars are sceptical of that animistic theory of the origin of the drama. With regard to the Greek drama, Dr Farnell, in *The Cult of the Greek States*, seems to prove clearly that Ridgeway is wrong. Likewise with regard to Sanskrit drama, Dr Keith, in his book on the subject, rejects Ridgeway's theory; and he adds more generally: 'Whether elsewhere the worship of the dead resulted in drama is a matter open to grave doubt. Certainly in the case of the Greek drama, which offers the most interesting parallel to that of India, the evidence of derivation from the funeral games is wholly defective.'[1]

Ridgeway treats of Burmese drama in detail. He knows it only from hearsay. He has never seen a play acted on the Burmese stage, nor has he read any in the original or translation. All his information is purely descriptive of the actual presentation of a play, not of the play itself. His informants knew no Burmese dramatic literature nor did they have any idea as to the history of the drama. Nevertheless, Ridgeway gives quite a good estimate of the nature of the drama. The fault lies chiefly with Mr Taw Sein Kho, on whose information Ridgeway mainly relies. The late Mr Taw Sein Kho was no doubt a great archæologist, but he was a poor student of Burmese literature, and he had absolutely no idea of the origins and development of Burmese drama. In his letter[2] to the Director-General of the Archæological Survey of India, who was in correspondence with him on the nature of Burmese drama at the request of Ridgeway, he wrote: 'The *Ramayana* in an adapted form is also acted. I am inclined to think that it was derived by the Burmans from the Cambodians, because the dresses and stage paraphernalia of the Burmans and Cambodians in acting the play are so strikingly similar.' As the Siamese *Ramayana* was influenced by, or came from the same sources as the Cambodian *Ramayana*, Mr Taw Sein Kho did good detective work. But his letter shows clearly that he was absolutely ignorant of the introduction of the Siamese *Ramayana* into Burma and its results. He seems to have known nothing about the great dramatists, U Kyin U and U Pon Nya, for Ridgeway does not mention them at all.

Ridgeway traces the development of Burmese drama in three main stages:

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[1] A. B. Keith, *The Sanskrit Drama*.

[2] The letter is quoted in *The Dramas and Dramatic Dances of Non-European Races*.

21: Htin Aung · E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
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536* 1. The impersonation of the *nats* by mediums;

114 2. The true dramatic element borrowed from the Indian historical

174 plays of Rama, presented by puppet players;

3. Drama based on the Indian models, but finding its themes in national history and mythology, intermixed with Buddhistic elements, and performed by puppets and living actors.

178 I proceed to deal with these three alleged stages.

536* 1. There is no doubt that the impersonation of the *nats* by

114 mediums had, and still has, the element of the dramatic, as I have described. However, it is unreasonable to hold that the impersonation in question was the origin of Burmese drama. Ridgeway puts forward three lines of argument with regard to his theory: (*a*) the worship of the dead and the ritual connected with it have resulted in true dramas in other countries: the impersonation of the *nats* by mediums is a ritual connected with the worship of the dead, and therefore, as in other countries, it has resulted in the rise of a drama; (*b*) the *nat* dances had, and still have, the dramatic element in them; (*c*) the derivation of true Burmese drama from the earliest stages of the drama, the *nat* dances, is proved by the fact that there is a tree in the centre of the 'stage' when a play is being presented. These lines of argument are unsound.

(*a*) Whether the worship of the dead results in drama in other countries is doubtful. We have seen that the view has been controverted as regards Greece and as regards India. Even if it were true of countries around Burma, it would not follow that the theory holds good as regards Burma, for that country has a history and civilization distinctly national because of its geographical barriers.

(*b*) There is no doubt as to the existence of the dramatic element in the *nat* dances. But such an element also existed in the various folk feasts of the Burmese people. Ridgeway has no information regarding them. Though the spirit dances made some contribution to the rise of the drama, they were not mainly responsible, and it could not be said that the drama developed out of those dances. They gave to the country new dances and new dancers, and they developed dancing and music. But the true drama resulted only from the presentation of religious stories by amateurs. The *nat* dancers were essentially professional, and alien to the religious feeling and education that inspired the *Nibhatkhin*. It is true that those professionals later developed the drama, but they did so as professional actors and not as spirit mediums.

On this great national epic were founded many plays. For
538 example, the thirteen Trivandrum plays commonly attributed to the
536* authorship of Bhasa contain two based on the *Ramayana*. The date of the plays is generally accepted as the second or third century after Christ.

2. The Siamese Court Play of *Rama*

177 From about the third century after Christ, the great Hindu expan-
175 sion overseas began in earnest, and as a result many Hindu kingdoms
101 were founded in Indo-China, Malaya, Java, and the surrounding regions. Before that time, very probably there was at least some intercourse between India and those regions, and may be Buddhism was not unknown in the regions mentioned. But by the third century A.D. Buddhism had completely disappeared in them, except for very faint traces remaining in Burma. In India itself, Buddhism was on the wane and Brahmanism was in the ascendant. Therefore when the merchants of Northern India spread a new culture in Indo-China and
[538] the surrounding regions, the culture was distinctly Hindu. The Indians took with them their religious epics, the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata*. Though both came to be very well known, the former was perhaps the more popular, probably because it was more finished artistically. Sanskrit plays were also no doubt introduced. The Hindu influence reached its height about the fourth and fifth centuries—in the third century Bhasa was composing his plays, and Kalidasa, the greatest of Hindu-Sanskrit dramatists lived about the year 400. Hindu poems and romances must also have been brought into the newly-founded kingdoms and trading centres.

177 The intensity of the new influence varied in the regions. Burma
101 was nearest and directly on the route from India. But probably
174 there was already a strong native civilization, and Hindu culture failed to take root. Along the coast, however, at Thaton, there was quite a strong outpost of Hindu culture, but even there the Hindu influence was quite negligible compared with regions farther east. In Cambodia the new culture was especially favoured, and in Java, Sumatra and the Malay peninsula, it took deep root. In Siam, however, the intensity was much less. In the narrow circle of the court the Hindu influence was strong, but the people were quite untouched by it. The chief reason was very probably the continuous, peaceful invasion by people from the north, the Shans, or at least the forefathers of the modern Shans. According to some scholars, they were Buddhists, which is not unlikely as Buddhism, in a modified form,

[i.e., the Ramayana -- ANALYST]

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
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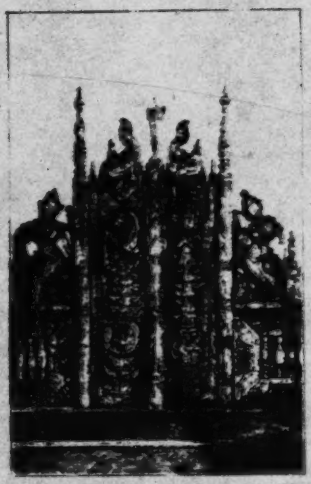
was prevailing in China and Tibet by about the third century A.D. In any case, the ever-increasing population, alien to Hindu culture, must have acted against the intensity of the Hindu influence. Moreover, Siam was one of the earliest converts from Hinduism to Buddhism which, especially after the great Buddhist missionary, Buddhagosa, who lived in the fifth century, was ousting Brahmanism in Indo-China. At the Siamese court, however, the Hindu tradition was very strong, and remained so even when the king and his courtiers had become Buddhists. 177 174 101

In Siam, as in the neighbouring regions, learning did not reach the people for a long time even though it flourished at the court. The Hindu tradition was not strong enough to prevent the courtiers from creating a native literature. Buddhism prevented the courtiers from looking upon the Hindu learning with a conservatism that would not have allowed imitations. In Cambodia and elsewhere native ideas could never shake off the dominance of Hindu culture, and no native literature could come into being until quite modern times. Moreover, the very fact that the Hindu tradition was strong prevented the survival of Sanskrit literature in those regions, for once the tradition was broken, only chaos resulted. To make it clear, I will take the Java shadow-play. Sanskrit dramatic representation gave rise to the Java shadow-play. Therefore, one would expect Java to preserve a Hindu dramatic literature to herself and to the world. But it failed to do so. The shadow-play of Java is interesting as a special kind of dramatic performance, and not as dramatic literature. The stories that are presented on the shadow-stage in Java are taken mostly from the Hindu epics, but they have very little dramatic structure. Yet originally they must have been developed Sanskrit plays. Of course, to begin with, the Sanskrit shadow-plays themselves were slight in structure, but by no means so crude as the Javanese ones. The Hindu tradition was so strong that once it was destroyed, not only did the Hindu drama in Java decay and disappear, but a native drama in a developed form failed to appear. Stories from Hindu sources as well as stories from native history and mythology are still shown on the Java shadow-stage, but the plays are all formless and crude. In Cambodia, where the Hindu tradition was indeed very strong and lasted much longer, some remnants of the developed Sanskrit drama are preserved, but the tradition was so strong that no native element could enter it. There, up to the present day, a State theatre, with a special minister 177 369 564 538 101

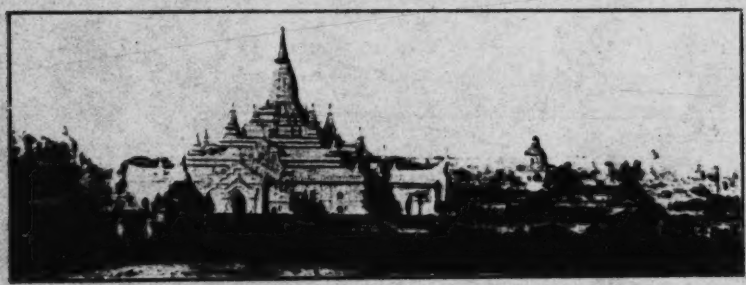
25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4



7. ANCIENT GATE, WITH FIGURES OF THADYA-MIN AND KEINNAYA.

is part of India. The phrase *Indo-China* is also misleading unless in respect of geography. In respect of climate, flora and fauna, *Further India* is not inapplicable. A probable Indo-Aryan admixture exists in the north-east (Arakán). But Burma Proper and Pegu are as distinct from India as Tibet itself. 101 [132 136] [144]

The original Burman tribes are conjectured to have pushed their way south from the mountains of Tibet. They divided into three principal branches, Arakán (*Rakáing*, *Yakáing*) on the west, Paung on the east, and Burma (*Bamá*), which attained to the chief position, in the middle, on the northern Irawadi (*E-ya wadi*). Nothing is known of the early history of these nations. But it is certain that in 1000 A.D. Burma was a large and powerful kingdom, with its seat at Pagán. About that time the first historical conquest of the lower Irawadi was effected. From the fact that the country was not permanently subdued it may be inferred that the power of the Mun or Peguan race (later called Talaing) was not greatly inferior to that of the Burman. The Muns, from the affinities of their language, are conjectured to be of Annamitic origin. There is mention of the Pagán kingdom independently of the Burman chronicles, and there is above all the evidence of the ruins of Pagán, probably the mightiest of their kind. They testify to the power of the kingdom and the influence of the [144] [133] 174 175 [197]



8. ANANDA PAYA, PAGAN.

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29: Slater M-4 (no date) 1951 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

565 in the middle of the last century, that Burmese women not only enjoyed
562 a much freer and higher position than elsewhere in the East but, in some
779* matters, had attained rights that their sisters in England were still seeking to obtain.[26] These and similar aspects of Burmese life must be attributed in large degree to the dominant influence of Buddhism in a country which has been left for hundreds of years, shut away from the surrounding world by its seaboard and mountain barriers, to work out its own salvation with only occasional interference from outside until modern times.

779* It is possible that the first Buddhist monastery in Burma was established more than two thousand years ago. While we may be sceptical of the
●174 legend which attributes the conversion of the first Burmese disciples to
177 the Buddha himself, there is perhaps less reason than formerly to question the persistent Burmese tradition that missionaries were sent from India to Burma after the Third Great Council in the time of Aśoka. We have, at any rate, shreds of reliable evidence relating to the early centuries of the Christian era. In Burma, as elsewhere, the archaeologist has been active in recent years and there are also illuminating references in Chinese and other texts. Examining the evidence now available, Mr. Nihar-Ranjan Ray has presented a substantial argument for the conclusion that Buddhism was introduced to Burma possibly in Aśoka's day, probably by the third century A.D. and certainly by the fifth century A.D.[27] In these earlier centuries, Burma was parcelled into small kingdoms, and all that can be said is that, at certain capitals, there were strong centres of Buddhist influence.[28]

175 It is, however, sufficient for our present purpose to be able to trace the
779* dominating influence of Buddhism throughout the country from the
177 eleventh century onwards. In this century, the turning point in Burmese story, the curtain of history lifts to reveal A-naw-ra-hta, the Burmese Constantine, moving southwards from his capital at Pagan to vanquish the king of Thaton and annex his dominion. According to the Burmese chroniclers, the motive for this advance was not mere lust of conquest but zeal for the true faith. King A-naw-ra-hta had been converted by a monk from the south, Shin Arahan of Thaton. But 'without the scriptures there can be no study, without study there can be no intuition.' To obtain these scriptures, the Pali scriptures, A-naw-ra-hta must needs subdue his rival at Thaton who possessed them.

ooo What is of further importance for our present inquiry is the fact that

[26] Forbes, *British Burma and Its People*, chap. III, p. 55.

[27] Ray, op. cit. chap. I, pp. 83ff.

[28] *Ibid.*, chap. I, pp. 33ff., 81; cf. Taw Sein Kho, *Census of India Report* (Burma 1901), XII, 32.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

AFTER a stay of three years in England, I set out on a return journey home with a band of friends and compatriots. This was in August 1940, and the long sea voyage round the Cape gave us time for all the thoughts which filled our minds at the prospect of seeing Burma again after three and four years abroad. Besides our excitement at the approach of family reunions and the delights of once again eating Burmese food, we wondered whether the events in the outside world during the past few years, and the outbreak of the European war, had filled our people with interest, excitement or alarm for international events. 175 •

Before I left Burma I had been a student among companions who had only a passing interest in affairs outside Burma, so filled had our minds been with separation from India in 1936, the general elections for the first House of Representatives in Burma's history, the formation of the first Ministry under Dr. Ba Maw, student strikes for the amendment of the University Act, and the fervid chastising campaigns on the part of monks and fanatic students for the wearing of thick homespun by women instead of the scandalously transparent imported muslins. The older people at home also turned their eyes along the same channels. Of Hitler and Mussolini our aunts had heard, as of caricatured figures on a distant screen, and Ba Maw's admiration of Hitler's position of power was obscured by his eccentric passion for gorgeous attire, which was much more in the public eye. 175 668

The letters which I received from friends in Burma during my three years in England had also been too full of the Indian-Burman riots which raged violently in 1938, the industrial strikes in the oilfields, and the repeated school and university strikes which added to the general domestic unrest of those years, to tell me much else. But since then we had read of the opening of the Burma Road as an event of world interest; later we had read with feelings of surprise, amusement and expectancy of the face-slapping, debagging and stuffing of passports into the mouth to which the Japanese had subjected Englishmen in the ports of China, as something new and startling in our time; and later still, the closing of the Burma Road at the insistence of the Japanese Government made us suddenly connect the European politics which so excited our English friends with the events in places which surrounded Burma, though not 175 578 563

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yet with Burma itself. Brought up as a complacent child of a government officer in Burma, this was the first time that I realized how we had unconsciously thought of England, the British Empire, as a permanent world force during our lifetime—a force with which we might bargain advantageously or without success, but one that our fathers and we had taken for granted for all the time that we could remember. But now we realized it as one power—leading perhaps—amongst other powers in the West, and we realized also the existence of Japan and remembered how the Burmans who visited it always brought back stories of the beauty, progress and good manners of the country.

We left our English friends in the first half of August 1940, as they waited, braced for an invasion, to go to what they and we considered a war-free country. I was in the Ladies Room of a big restaurant in London just before I left, when the attendant who watched me wrap my longyi asked me which country I came from. "Burma," I told her. "Burma," she repeated uncertainly. "Is there a war there, Miss?" "No," I said laughing, "but there is a Road there." Yet I was only amusing myself. As we set out home, the furthest that our thoughts of war and Burma ranged, was to wonder whether the Burma Road and the recent closing of it had made people think more about Japan and China than they had done in 1937, when the outbreak of war between the two countries had caused little excitement except that some of my friends became consistent boycotters of Japanese goods. We also wondered vaguely whether trade had been affected, and whether thought and general social conditions had been stimulated with the world-shattering event of a European war, not dreaming that this was but the splash of a pebble compared to the tempest that was to follow.

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Since I had left Burma, my mother and brother and sisters had settled themselves in Rangoon and I wondered how the city would seem after the big cities of the West. Rangoon is not one of the ancient cities of Burma. Its present position in the life of the country and people is a complete turnabout from its traditional place, for in days gone by it had attracted the inhabitants through spiritual rather than material renown. While Pagan, Ava, Toungoo and Mandalay rose and fell in political and commercial importance, Rangoon—Dagon as it was called—continued unchangingly a seat of pilgrimage, connected with fable and divinity, forming an actual link with another world cycle that existed in the universe before this present arrangement of Mount Myinmo, with its surrounding heavenly, earthly and hellish regions, was formed.

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For it was on the hill called Theinguttara, which now casts its shadow on the city of Rangoon with its crown of the Shwe Dagon Pagoda, that the omens for the spiritual life of this world cycle were manifested, before

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

As yet they have not begun to demand an equal share 562
of education with the boys, and the only accomplishments 871
most Burmese girls know are how to dress neatly, do up
their hair, and powder their faces. This is the single open
implication of their inferiority—except in worship at the [775]
pagoda, when every woman will pray that in another existence she may be a man—and it is not likely that female education will make much progress for another generation, the popular idea in Burma being that learning is no use to a girl when she has it, and she may, consequently, as well devote all her spare time to making herself look as pretty as possible. Here and there are a few who are deeply learned in Burmese literature. The young wife of one of the most prominent living Burman pleaders in Rangoon has as good a knowledge of the sacred books and as great a fluency in repeating Pali rituals as any pôngyi in the country. But the great majority of girls only know what they pick up from the conversation of their brothers and the men who
come about the house. It is therefore greatly to their credit 562
that they manage not only house affairs, but their husband's [432]
business into the bargain. A farmer's wife will carry out the sale of the whole rice crop to the agent of an English rice firm in her husband's absence, and generally strikes a better bargain than he would have made himself. If the village head constable is away, the wife will get together the policemen, stop a fight, arrest the offenders, and send them off to the lock-up all on her own responsibility. The wife sits by, no matter what public business is being transacted, and very
often puts in her own opinion quite as a matter of course; 562
in fact, she is virtual master of the house, and henpecked 581
husbands are not by any means uncommon. The last king 643
of Burma, Thibaw Min, was a notable instance. There 175
never was a king of Burma before who remained for three years the husband of one wife. It was not inclination in his case. He had quite a number of *amourettes*; but the sturdy Supayā Lat and her formidable mother soon got the offending damsels out of the way. There is also little doubt that it was Supayā Lat and her mother who suggested the massacre of the Princes and prompted the defiance of the British Government, which brought about the ending of the Burmese monarchy.

[1] [i.e., girls--ANALYST]

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

A junior might lawfully copy a senior even in what is wrong; whereas no example could be any valid excuse for a wrong act. 795 779 173

Subsequent permission might cover an act; whereas the Wini required prior permission.

The restrictions against indulgences were to be in force only in the monasteries; and not for those who might be sojourning in villages.

These points, after lengthy discussion, were all given against the dissenters, and degradation was awarded them as a punishment.

Still matters got worse, and in 241 B.C. the great king Athawka, of Pataliputra, brought about the third and last great Council to cleanse the Church. After nine months' public reading of the Book of Rules and of the most excellent Law, 60,000 heretics were expelled from the Church, and it was resolved to propagate the religion far and wide. This last decision was fraught with the most momentous consequences to Burma, for among the missionaries sent north, south, east, and west from Behar were the two, Thawna and Ôttara, who proceeded to the country of Suvarna Bhumi, the "Golden Land," and landing at Thatôn, now north of Maulmein, but then on the sea-coast, proceeded to disseminate the Buddhist doctrines amongst the tribes in the great river-valleys of the country. It is important to notice that the doctrines they brought with them had just been revised and confirmed by a great Council of the Church. Since then, throughout all Burma, the old geniolatry has been displaced by the teachings of the Buddha. The regulations, introduced then in their first purity, have been retained ever since practically unchanged, so that at the present time Buddhism exists in Burma in a form much nearer to that which Shin Gautama taught than is found in any country where the Three Precious Things are held in reverence. 795 797 173

The only sect which has at any time started any doctrinal heresy is that of the Paramats. They reject the worship before pagodas and images, and pray only to the Nyan-daw, the godlike wisdom, which abides like a mountain of fire in the heavens, invisible to mortal eyes, and taking no interest and exercising no influence over mundane things. These 795 175

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dissenters pay reverence to the ordinary brethren of the yellow robe, keep the Ten Precepts, repeat the Bawana (Payā, Tayā, Thengā, etc.) and the Ittipi-thaw, but they never go near the shrines, and recite their prayers and invocations in the jungle or in open fields. It is a kind of reminiscence of fire-worship, an ancestral adoration of the heavens in the sun, caused possibly by a shrinking from the suspicion of idolatry. A cardinal fault in them is that they give no alms, for most religions are at one on the question that charity covers a multitude of sins. The sect was founded at the beginning of this century by a pôngyi, called by his followers Shin Tabaung. He lived at Sinbyugyun, "White Elephant Island," a place half-way between Mandalay and the British frontier, and the dissent would probably never have spread beyond that district, or outlived the life of its originator, had it not been for the king Bodaw Payā. When the Thenga refused to recognise his claim to be the fifth Buddha of this world cycle, he espoused the cause of the Paramats, imposed penalties on all monks who would not accept their tenets, and went so far as to force a Thathanabaing, one of the heads of the Order, to marry, marriage being permissible under the doctrines of the dissenters. This gave the schism a prominence which it could not otherwise have attained, and enabled it to last down to the present time, though its numbers, never very great, have steadily dwindled away. There are perhaps more Paramats in Prome than in any other town of Burma, Lower or Upper. Their most prominent doctrine is that the Shwe Nyan-daw existed before the world began, and will exist for all eternity. Ideas may arise from the influence of exterior objects, but when they have been freed from their connection with bodily creations, they have an independent existence, and when once they have come into being continue to live. This is explained by the assertion that the quasi-deity of the Buddha is founded only on his supreme wisdom. Buddha means, etymologically, "the wise," and Shin Gautama was simply an incarnation of the pure Wisdom. Men believed they actually saw him when he was already really a deity—nothing else than the inspiring Nyan-daw, which made the five Khandas appear to have an

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2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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the process. He scaled twelve stone three, a remarkably good weight for a Burman, and the gold used cost over £9000. The last occasion when the whole vast bulk was gilt was in 1871, when King Mindôn sent down his hti. On every feast-day and ubonê, however, numbers of the pious clamber up wherever they can and fix on little squares of gold-leaf, packets of which can be bought at the stalls below for a few rupees. The consequence is that every now and again the spire breaks out in a rash of bright patches, which give it a mysterious, rough, uneven appearance on clear moonlight nights. Of late years a great part of the lower portion has been covered with thin plates of gold brought by the pious from all parts of the Buddhist world.

It is difficult to say what the real age of the building is, if, as sceptical Englishmen tell us, we are not to place implicit faith in the palm-leaf record. Trustworthy documents reach no further back than the time of the Peguan Queen Shin-saw-bu, who reigned in the early part of the sixteenth century; but there is every reason to believe that a pagoda existed there long before her time. The shrine has remained unaltered in size or shape since 1564, and probably will never be altered again. At all times and at all distances it looks imposing and sublime, like the religion whose followers have built it.

At the base of the pagoda hill are many monasteries embowered in their groves of palmyra palms and shady trees; and to the south is a small convent of nuns, not far from the zayat which the king of Siam had built for pilgrims from his dominions. Similar rest-houses line the Saung-dan all the way up to the pagoda, and they always have occupants; while at the season of the feast in Tabaung they are crowded to overflowing. Lepers, and cripples, and nuns in their white robes, line the steps, and cry out in piteous tones for alms from the passers-by. Nearer the top and round the platform itself are sellers of candles and coloured tapers, Chinese incense-sticks, and prayer-flags, along with abundance of gold-leaf. Numbers of young girls sit about with flowers, especially of the lotus, and meats of different kinds for offerings. Others —these always enfranchised pagoda slaves—sell toys and

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma (Hill Peoples Burmese) AP1
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where some sturdy tree refuses to fall, and the clearing it away becomes a matter of very considerable danger. This taung-ya system is very wasteful as well as laborious, and annually draws down upon itself the denunciations of the English forest officers. But the hill-tribes who adopt it are too few to support themselves in any other way. They were long ago driven out of the plains by the Burmans, and now cling to their old nomadic life with a degree of obstinacy which Government officials, in a variety of ways, have found is not to be tempted by any tale of the present security and plenty of the low country, or even of the valleys among the hills. Rice, therefore, continues to be produced with the minimum and the maximum of labour; but none of the hill rice ever finds its way out of the country, and seldom even down to the plains.

The rice season, as far as the English merchant is concerned, commences in January and ends about May; but though this is pre-eminently the "busy season," there are purchases made in greater or less quantities all the year round. The relations between the great English rice firms and the simple jungle cultivators have not always been of a very elevating character, and it can hardly be denied that the fault lies wholly at the door of the foreigner. Missionaries in Burma are wont to mourn that their teachings are often rendered wholly nugatory by the want of scruple, and it might almost be said of honour, displayed by the great Rangoon rice firms. The good padres teach their proselytes that Christians are all honest and truthful. The ingenuous lads enter as clerks in a rice-mill and discover that Englishmen scarcely differ from the "poor heathen," except in being more lordly in the way of doing the thing.

Years ago, when there were not nearly so many mills as there are now, and not a quarter so many ships in the harbour during the rice season, things went on pretty equably. One day one firm would give a rupee or so more per hundred baskets, and the next day it would be another. But soon the mills began to increase in number and more ships came, and it was harder to get paddy. Then rival firms began to bid against each other. There was demurrage before their eyes, and it was terribly expensive work keeping the mill

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma (Europeans Indians) AP1
Burmese AP4

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establishment up to its full strength. And so prices rose and rose until they became absurdly high, and no one profited but the hawks that preyed on the simple Burmese cultivators. Then the English merchants held a meeting, and all pledged themselves not to give more than the current market rate for paddy. This seemed a fair enough agreement; but after a while it was found that the boats all gravitated towards one or two firms. A little investigation showed that this was due to the fact that though they paid the ordinary rate, according to the compact, they had a smaller measuring basket than their neighbours. Accordingly every one went on reducing the size of his basket until the system became as ruinously absurd as ever it had been before. Then there was another meeting, at which it was unanimously agreed that this state of affairs would never do, and that it was absolutely necessary to come to some definite understanding. A committee was appointed which, after some deliberation, concluded that, if, in addition to abiding by the market rate, every one were bound to use a basket of a certain fixed size, there would be no chance for unfair speculations. A standard basket was therefore fixed upon; and the competitors were supposed to start fair again. But in no very long time, one firm put a false bottom in the basket, another wedged in a board; and so on, till matters got back to the old way. This state of affairs is hardly creditable to mercantile honour, and it certainly is by no means profitable.

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Independently of this, paddy has gone up in price at an alarming rate of late years. The first heavy rise was in 1877, at the time of the Madras famine. That was also the time of the resolution to have a standard basket. Rice was wanted in any quantity for the famine districts, and millers gave an altogether fabulous price for grain. The game went on merrily, introduced the scandalous "paddy morality," and lasted long enough to make the cultivators think the new prices had come in for good. Far too many Burmese farmers are heavily in debt to the "chetties," the money-lending caste of the Madras coast. The agriculturists have borrowed money to build a pagoda or a monastery; to give a grand feast on the

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CHAPTER XLVI

FORMING THE NATIONAL CHARACTER

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If the nation which has no history is happy, it is difficult to know what is to be said of the nation which has a very voluminous history, almost all of which is, however, pure romance. The effect on the Burmese of the fond imaginings of the Mahā Yazawin, the great Chronicle of Kings, is most undesirable. No defeats are recorded in those courtly pages; reverses are charmed into acts of clemency; armies vast as those that people dreamland march through its chapters; its heroes are of the old ballad type; its treasures such as might have been the produce of Aladdin's lamp. The result has been a permanent influence on the national character. Geoffrey of Monmouth's "Chronicle of British Kings" has left only a faint mark on the national literature, but had the English lived forty degrees nearer the line, they might still be believing in Brut, great-grandson of Æneas, and the unbroken line of kings of whom King Arthur was chief. As it is, the British Mahā Yazawin only supplied a spring for the poets of all the after time. The Burman Chronicle, on the other hand, has laid the foundation of the national character. Like all hardy, strong-limbed races, the Burmans are naturally proud; but this innate pride has been tenfold increased by the wonderful tales of the national annals. What is a Burman to think when he reads in the history of his country—there is but the one means of learning the past—that the English have only foothold in Burma through the clemency of a gracious king? They might have been crushed as effectually as the first settlers of Negrais Island; they might have been driven forth as easily as their seven-

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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teenth-century ancestors from the factory at Bhamaw, far up the Irrawaddy on the confines of China; but Bagyidaw, the king, said, like the Lord Buddha, "All can take life, but who can give it back?" The Burmese annalist relates: "The kalabyu, the white strangers from the west, fastened a quarrel upon the Lord of the Golden Palace. They landed at Rangoon, took that place, and Prome, and were permitted to advance as far as Yandabo; for the king, from motives of piety and regard to life, made no effort whatever to oppose them. The strangers had spent vast sums of money on the enterprise; and by the time they reached Yandabo their resources were exhausted; and they were in great distress. They petitioned the king, who, of his clemency and generosity, sent them large sums of money to pay their expenses back, and ordered them out of the country."

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By the Treaty of Yandabo, extorted by the fear that the capital would fall into the hands of Sir Archibald Campbell, then thundering at the gates of Ava, the English acquired the provinces of Tenasserim and Arakan, and deprived the sovereign of two-thirds of his sea-board. The Province of Pegu, which was annexed after the second Burmese war in 1852-53, has never been formally ceded by any treaty. King Mindôn said, "Let them stay there; I cannot turn them out, but I will not be written down as the king that gave up Rangoon." Lord Dalhousie said, "A treaty with a man like that is useless"; and he straightway fixed upon a parallel of latitude as the northern boundary of British Burma, and put up a line of frontier pillars along it without reference to the Burmese Government at all. The Mahā Yazawin said, in effect, "The foreigner was starving in his own land, and the king bounteously granted him a resting-place in the dismal swamps by the sea." Until the Burmese kingdom finally disappeared the only approach to a recognition of the British possession of Pegu was an announcement from Mindôn Min that "orders had been issued to the governors of districts not to allow the Burmese troops to attack the territories of Myedè and Taung-ngu, in which the British Government had placed its garrisons." Well may it be said that Burmese kings submitted to accomplished facts, but did not sanction them. Shortly before the storming of

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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Malun, the King Mintayagyi sent a note to Sir Archibald Campbell representing that "it was contrary to his religious principles and the constitution of the Empire, to make any cession of territory, and he was bound to preserve its integrity."

Naturally, therefore, the up-country Burman thinks that his race is the bravest in all the realms of Zampudipa, the island in the south, with all its five hundred surrounding islets. The idea has been little checked by English communications and relations with the Lord of the Golden Palace. Such documents as the following are duly inserted in the Mahā Yazawin, and lose nothing in the translating. This was sent, in 1695, by Nathaniel Higginson, Governor of Madras, to the King of Ava. "To his Imperial Majesty who blesseth the noble city of Ava with his presence, Emperour of Emperours, and excelling the Kings of the East and the West in glory and honour, the clear firmament of Virtue, the fountain of Justice, the perfection of Wisdom, the lord of Charity and Protector of the Distressed, the first mover in the Sphere of Greatness, president in council, victorious in war; who feareth none and is feared by all; centre of the treasures of the Earth, and of the Sea; Lord Proprietor of Gold and Silver, Rubies, Amber, and all precious Jewels; favoured by Heaven and honoured by all men; whose brightness shines through the World as the light of the Sun, and whose great name will be preserved in perpetual memory."

After this promising exordium the letter goes on: "The fame of so glorious an Emperour, the Lord of power and riches, being spread throughout the whole earth, all nations resort to view the splendour of your greatness, and, with your majesty's subjects, to partake of the blessings which God Almighty hath bestowed upon your kingdom above all others. Your majesty has been pleased to grant your especial favours to the Honourable English Company, whose servant I am; and now send to present before the footstool of your throne a few toys, as an acknowledgment of your majesty's goodness, which I beg your majesty to accept, and to vouchsafe an audience to my servants and a gracious answer to my petition."

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over many rulers and princes, who wait round his throne with the badges of his authority; of the lord who is adorned with the greatest power, wisdom, knowledge, prudence, foresight, etc.; of the lord who is rich in the possession of elephants and horses, and in particular is the lord of many white elephants; of the lord who is the greatest of kings, the most just and the most religious; the master of life and death; we his slaves, the governor of Bengal, the officers and administrators of the Company, bowing and lowering our heads under the sole of his royal golden feet, do present to him, with the greatest veneration, this our humble petition."

Such documents might have flowed from the chronicler's own pen, and the Burmese historical student, in reading this unbought praise of nations, naturally takes it as honest homage due to the race, since there is now no king. So exalted an idea had the Court of the military power of the country that in 1810 a minister at Ava told Captain Canning that if proper application had been made to the king, he would have sent an army to Europe and put England in possession of France, and so ended all the troubles of the beginning of the century.

Most envoys sent to the Arbiter of Existence were treated very cavalierly in the way of interviews; not a few in the old days waited long months without ever seeing the king at all. All, down to Sir Douglas Forsyth, in 1874, had to go in shoeless, and sit cross-legged on the floor, an unaccustomed attitude which did not tend to render the position less ridiculous. In other ways they were treated with every indignity. When King Mintayagyi heard that Colonel Symes was coming, he went away to Mingôn, to contemplate his gigantic failure at a pagoda there. Thither the colonel had to follow him, congratulating himself on the circumstance that as the king was away from the palace, there would be the less trouble in seeing him. But he found himself vastly mistaken. On arriving at Mingôn he was told to take up his quarters on an island in the middle of the river. On this barren place, shunned by all Burmese as a polluted spot, where bodies were burnt and criminals executed, he had to remain forty days, and during all that

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He finishes by asking leave to send a factor next monsoon to reside at Syriam, opposite Rangoon, on the other side of the Pegu river. Edward Fleetwood was the envoy. He had to wait a long time before the gate of the palace stockade was opened; when that was done he had to bow three times to the building; half way across the esplanade he had to bow humbly three times again; then at fifteen yards' distance, and finally had to make the same obeisance to the king.

The answer to the governor, in the name of the ministers, ran as follows: "In the East, where the sun rises, and in that Oriental part of it which is called Chapudu; the Lord of water and earth, the Emperor of Emperors, against whose imperial majesty if any shall be so foolish as to imagine anything, it shall be happy for them to die and be consumed; the lord of great charity and help of all nations, the great Lord esteemed for happiness; the Lord of all riches, of elephants and horses and all good blessings; the Lord of high-built palaces of gold; the great and most powerful Emperor in this life, the soles of whose feet are gilt and set upon the heads of all people; we his great governor and president here, called Mahā Eggena Tibodis, do make known to the governor, Nathaniel Higginson," and so it goes on in the same strain, concluding with a notification of the presents sent—1500 viss of lac, 2500 viss of tin, 300 viss of ivory, 6 earthen dishes, and 8 lacquered boxes. This was, however, more satisfactory than that which fell to the lot of Ensign Lester in 1757, when he got a concession of Negrais Island and a commercial treaty from the conqueror, Alaungpaya. The gallant envoy received a present of eighteen oranges, two dozen heads of Indian corn, and five cucumbers. Two years later the garrison on the ceded island was massacred. The national annalist gloats over these things.

Here is another petition from the white foreigners: "Placing above our heads the golden majesty of the mighty lord, the possessor of the mines of rubies, amber, gold, silver, and all kinds of metals; of the lord under whose command are innumerable soldiers, generals, and captains; of the lord who is king of many countries and provinces, and emperor

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time not the slightest notice of him was taken by the court. Finally he was admitted on a kadaw, or "Beg-Pardon Day," one of those set apart for all inferiors and vassals to come and do homage and worship at the Golden Feet. For long it was the invariable custom to receive representatives of foreign states on these days. Colonel Burney was the first to refuse to be so treated, and he carried his point, though the wungyis told the king the reason why he did not come on the appointed kadaw day was because he was sick. The utmost protestations of Symes and Crawford failed to save them from the humiliation. Another favourite method of showing contempt for foreigners and exalting the national dignity was rather curious in its elaborate ingenuity. Foreign missions were provided for by a tax levied on outcasts. The money was only collected when an embassy was expected, and was applied to no other purpose than providing accommodation and food for the members of the mission. The coin was considered too vile to be put to any other use. Delaying the envoy at the gates was an invariable device. Just as he came up to the entrance a band of princes, with their followers, would turn in from a side street, and the luckless representative of England would have to stop and bite his nails till they had all passed in. Colonel Burney was delayed two hours in this way, and even Colonel Phayre, the first Commissioner of the three coast provinces, in 1856, had to wait on his elephant till the Eingshemin and his train filed in before him. Arrived at the palace, all the earlier envoys were made to fall on their knees, and shikho to the central spire of the royal residence. The members of the embassy of 1856 were nearly bullied into taking off their hats to the pyathat. The object was to show them as suppliants at the Golden Feet, honoured by being allowed to view his dwelling, and elevated to the summit of earthly ambition by being admitted to an interview. Symes and Cox paid for their admission in this way. Besides this official bad treatment the plenipotentiaries were victimised with numberless personal insults. Even the Supreme Court on at least one occasion refused to see Cox. He was knocked up long after midnight one night by a clerk who wanted to get a nutmeg-grater to show to the king. The

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Myowun wrote to him to say that as the envoy would not take his advice he must break off all intercourse, and the English thanthaman would be good enough not to come near his house for the future. Captain Cox had had a fence put up round his house to keep away the inquisitive rabble, at a cost of twenty rupees. One morning when he woke up he found this had been unceremoniously carried away, and that it had been used to enclose a place near the river where the heir-apparent's head might be washed. Finally great pressure was put upon him to take the oath of allegiance to the king; he was to drink the water in which the muskets and lances of the guard had been dipped, and it was expressly stipulated that he should pay for his oath just as any Burman would have to do. Scores of like details might be mentioned with regard to all the other ambassadors and residents. It will be sufficient, however, to mention that, in later years, one resident had a cane flourished over his head by a convict lictor, and that the last *chargé d'affaires* of all was chased by a howling rabble from the Mandalay bazaar to the Residency gates, which were broken in—no great exertion of strength was necessary certainly—all because he had killed a pariah dog that was snapping at his heels.

If the various Government representatives were treated in this way, non-official Englishmen could not expect great reverence to be paid to them, and it is hardly worth mentioning that in 1881 a Rangoon merchant, yelled at by convict lictors, went down on his knees while one of the leading spirits of the massacres, the Hpaung Wun, went by on his elephant. Little wonder then that the patriotic fictions of the Mahā Yazawin were believed, and that the perusal of them was all the more greedily indulged in. The wearing of shoes in the Palace was never settled till there had ceased to be a Lord of it.

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But it is not so much the English that suffered—though occasionally a few of them did get stoned—as the smaller nations and tribes who live around and among the Burmese. It must be acknowledged that the Burman is a sad bully; but the white strangers could reduce him to civility, if to nothing else, very speedily. It is different with other races—some perhaps aboriginal, some invaders of Burma as much

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CHAPTER XLVII

THE LORD OF THE CELESTIAL ELEPHANT AND OF MANY WHITE ELEPHANTS

773 THE *Royal History of Kings* enumerates altogether 587,000
175 kings, following one another in regular succession. From
643 Mahā Thamada, the great first ruler of land and of sea, there were 334,569 sovereigns till the time of the most excellent Buddha Gautama. From thence onward, the Mahā Yazawin carefully records the sequence of the predecessors of the last ruler of the Eastern Land, Thibaw Min. Western chroniclers point out incredulously that the hunter Aung Zaya, who died in 1760, founded the present dynasty under the title of Alaungpaya (commonly written Alompra), and till his rescue of the country from the victorious Peguans, held no more exalted rank than that of headman of his native village. But this scepticism ignores the doctrine of Kan, which provides that none can succeed to the throne of the Arbiter of Existence and Great Lord of Righteousness but those whose merit in previous existences entitles them to it.
643 The king emphatically rules by what is called in the Western kingdoms the right divine. The eldest daughter of the reigning king was always declared tabindaing, she was forbidden to marry till the death of the sovereign. When that occurred, if there were no sons to succeed, there was an interregnum till the tabindaing could find a husband to ascend the throne. This selection was not made by the laws of passion or personal inclination, but was solely decided according to the principles of kan. A royal chariot was harnessed to a fiery steed and driven away from the palace with no one to guide it. The horse roamed about,

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suffering no one to enter till he came to the person decided by fate to rule the country, usually some one of the royal lineage, or of some other princely line, who had wandered or been carried off from court. Then the horse waited patiently till the sleeper should wake up; the tales always represent the prince as asleep when the chariot arrives. When he rouses himself he steps into the chariot, and without guidance, the horse forthwith gallops back to the palace and the tabindaing finds a husband and the country a king. Alompra became sovereign, only in a slightly different way, but his descent from Mahā Thamada must be unimpeachable.

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Long before he took up arms and won for himself the throne, the soothsayers saw about him signs that betokened his coming dignity. When he slept his arms shone like fire; vultures perched on the houses of his enemies; gorgeous butterflies and gay-plumaged birds and strange animals entered his dwelling; he dug up an ancient image of the Buddha not far from his doorstep; when he came to fight it was manifest that he was favoured even beyond the great men of old. He possessed a sword that flew through the air and cut off heads; his shoes enabled him to clear miles at a stride; his fairy spear could spit a whole line of soldiers at once; his javelin could be hurled to any distance; finally, as a fifth weapon, he had a gun which never missed its mark, and was brought down to him by a thagyā. The possession of these five weapons at once proved his right to the throne and secured his holding it. It is true that some of the omens which signalised his right have appeared in others with very different result. A Karen minlaung, or embryo king, displayed the same fire-streaming arms, and raised a rebellion since the British occupation of Pegu. He gained a considerable following, and seemed formidable for a time, till the English wise men pointed out that the fiery glow was produced by rubbing phosphorus on his skin. Then all went against him as an impostor, and he very soon vanished into the hill-country. Similarly, in 1858, a poor fisherman at Twante, a large village not far from Rangoon, dragged up in his net a small image of the Buddha. Such discoveries are always looked upon as an omen of high

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destiny, and according to the common superstition, the fisherman believed that he would rise in dignity, restore the Talaing kingdom, and revive religion. He announced the supernatural call in the village bazaar. A few desperate characters joined him, took possession of the town, and issued a proclamation calling upon all the faithful to rally to his standard. But the British civil authorities stepped in and broke up the procession which was going in solemn state to the pagoda to inaugurate and consecrate the fisherman in his new profession. The claimant of royal honours escaped at the time, but was afterwards given up by the villagers. In each of these cases there was deception or misapprehension of the meaning of the omens, but the abundance of the signs in the case of Alompra disposes of the assertion that he was a mere adventurer. He himself thoroughly believed in his high destiny, and talked of it in right royal fashion to Captain Baker, an ambassador sent to him in 1755 by the Honourable East India Company. This gentleman, the commander of an East Indiaman, who, under the instructions of his employers, evidently regarded the great conqueror as little better than a savage, brought him a present of a chest or two of gunpowder, a couple of muskets and carbines, a gilt looking-glass, some red earth in bags, and half a dozen bottles of lavender water (there is no mention of glass beads), and offered Alompra the assistance of the great company. Whereupon his majesty burst into a defiant laugh and replied in the following fashion: "Have I asked, or do I want any assistance to reduce my enemies to subjection? Let none conceive such an opinion! Have I not in three years' time extended my conquests three months' journey in every quarter without the help of cannon or muskets? Nay, I have with bludgeons only, opposed and defeated these Peguans who destroyed the capital of this kingdom, and took the prince prisoner; and a month hence I intend to go with a great force to Dagôn (Rangoon), where I have an army now lying, when I will advance to the walls of Pegu, blockade and starve them out of it, which is the last town I have now to take to complete my conquest, and then I will go in quest of Bourno (the French governor of Syriam, whom he afterwards actually did put to

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death). Captain, see this sword; it is now three years since it has been constantly exercised in chastising my enemies; it is indeed almost blunt with use; but it shall be continued to the same till they are utterly dispersed. Do not talk of assistance. I require none. The Peguans I can wipe away as thus (drawing the palm of one hand over the other). See these arms and this thigh (drawing his loose coat-sleeve up to the armpit, and lifting his pasoh, so as to display a bare tattooed leg); amongst a thousand you cannot see my match. I can crush a hundred such as the King of Pegu." (Quoted from Crawford.)

Two years later he talked to Ensign Lester in the same bombastic strain, telling him that he would go to Madras, and that if a nine-pounder shot was to hit him it could do him no harm, with a good deal more to the same effect. He is described at this time, when he was about forty-five years of age, as five feet eleven in height, and of a powerful build, with a long, but not a thin face, the expression not being improved by a number of smallpox pitmarks. He had a broad but very retreating forehead, a characteristic shared by all his descendants, and prominent in the case of King Mindôn.

Alaungpaya, then, was no feeble founder of the present line of successors to the great Mahā Thamada. He certainly had the power to command, and his military successes carried the peacock flag from far away towards Dacca, down to the Siamese capital. Assuredly he was a worthy follower of the great first king, and the Burmese believed firmly in the unbroken character of the succession. Accordingly all the old Indian and Sakyan customs were carefully observed by the Burmese royal family. Such were the marriage with half-sisters, and the consequent preserving unmarried of the king's eldest daughter; the reverence of the three most excellent animals, the peacock of the sun, the hare of the moon, and the kalawaik, the carrying bird of Vishnu, whose eyes like jewels look friendly on the stranger; and the beit-theit, the consecration by pouring out of water at the accession. Marriage with half-sisters was only allowed to the king, not to the people at large, or even to the princes of the blood-royal. The throne was painted over with representations of

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643 the peacock and the hare, typifying the descent of the king from the solar and lunar races, which was also directly laid claim to in the title, netwetbuyin, sovereign of the rising sun. Similarly with the titles khattia, implying that he had dominion over the crops, and yaza, because he could instruct men in the laws, a somewhat doubtful ability in regard to all except perhaps King Mindôn. The consecration by beittheit was completed in three special ceremonies, as was the case with the Payālaung chosen to be the first ruler.

1. Yaza-beit, the consecrating of him as king.

2. Manda beittheit, the solemn marrying him to a queen of royal lineage.

3. Thenga beittheit, the confirmation or renewal of his engagement to abide by the laws, whereupon full powers for the government and administration of the country are conferred.

643 773 177 793 The actual coronation ceremony was latterly a mere form, but was intended to mark the claim of the Lord of the Golden Palace to be the representative of the universal monarch, the Sekyawadé king, who never makes his appearance during the time allotted to the publication and duration of the religious institutions of a Buddha. It consisted principally in incantations and sprinkling with holy water from the Ganges, performed by the pônnas, the Brahmin astrologers; the Burman yahans had nothing whatever to do with it. Besides the pônnas, only a few of the chief ministers were present. The really national part of the ceremony was the royal progress round the city moat, made seven days after the beittheit. The king left 643 175 the city by the Eastern Gate, the precise moment being notified by a discharge of cannon. He then entered the state barge, a most gorgeously gilt and carved construction, surpassing even the traditional coach of the Lord Mayor of London. This boat was then slowly rowed round the moat, with music clashing all around, and bands of dancers supplying the place of a rejoicing populace. Then when the circuit had been completed, the newly crowned monarch entered again between the guardian ogres of the Eastern Gate, a fresh salvo of artillery announcing the arrival at the palace. The ceremony was simple enough, but King

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Thibaw never went through it. In the first days of his reign he was afraid to leave the nandaw, lest conspirators might find the chance too good a one to lose, and later on, a fear that the delayed festival might suggest ideas of previous faint-heartedness came in the way. Consequently, though he was crowned successor to Mahā Thamada as far as the beittheit was concerned, and therefore became the source of the law, the guardian of the welfare of the country, the recipient of the revenues, and the chief administrator of justice, he was no proper successor to the warlike Alaungpaya. Possibly the failure to assume the sturdy spirit of the first of the family may account for the deficiency in some of the attributes derived from the first king, a deficiency which even the most loyal of his subjects did not hesitate to admit. 643 175

The first ruler was chosen for his strict adherence to the five fundamental precepts now incumbent on all men, and for his general sanctity. These qualities are inherent in all successors, though sometimes it is difficult to distinguish them. From them sprang four other laws incumbent on all kings and rulers. These thengaha, kingly laws, or byammazoya are as follows:— 643 773

1. Thathameda, ordaining that he shall not receive more than a tithe of the produce of the country.

2. Purithameda, ordaining that the king shall engage to pay his servants and army once every six months.

3. Thamapatha, by which the king binds himself to assist his subjects with money, and to receive payment of it within three years, without charging interest.

4. Wāsapaya, the use of courteous and fitting language, according to the age and position in life of the persons addressed.

It is to be feared that these kindly kingly laws were not found suitable to the conditions of modern society. At any rate they were not very strictly observed by Thibaw Min.

Nevertheless that monarch was very far from being such an unlovely character as most Europeans have been led to believe. It was explicitly denied by many that he drank at all; it is certain that whatever excesses he may have plunged 643 175

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into in the remorse caused by the massacres of February 1879, he was assuredly not a confirmed drunkard. His worst fault was that he was easy, or call it weak-spirited if you like. It is an open secret that he was not intended to be king. His father, Mindôn Min, had a strong liking for the young yahan, but his intention, if he had any, was that the pious and well-read Nyaungyan prince, who died a refugee at Barrackpore, near Calcutta, was to be his successor, and if the court or the town had been polled, the choice would have fallen on the same burly, good-natured individual.

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It must be understood that, notwithstanding the precautions for the preservation of the pure blood-royal, the system of keeping a princess tabindaing, to be married to the new ruler, it by no means followed that the eldest son of this union, or, indeed, any son by this queen at all, necessarily succeeded to the throne. It was not often that there was a recognised Eingshemin, an heir-apparent to the throne, but when there was such a dignitary, he might be the fifth, or the tenth, or the thirtieth son, the only stipulation being that he should be the child of one of the four chief queens. The nomination rested with the king. A consideration of the gruesome history of the parricide kings, who reigned in one of the countries of the Myissi Madetha, the middle country, as India is called, each of whom ascended a throne stained with a father's blood, until the horrified populace of Pataliputra revolted and exterminated the whole house; the reading of this bloody chapter in the royal annals may have prompted the custom, but it is certain that it is not often that the heir to the throne was recognised. Mindôn made no sign till his last illness came upon him. Then when it was evident that he could not survive, he named the Nyaungyan mintha and after him the yellow-robed Thibaw prince. Then palace intrigue began. The Thibaw prince, it was well known, had a passion for the tabindaing, Selin Supaya (Selina Sophia as she was called by some of the English residents in Mandalay), and the second of the Supayās, for there were three of them, was equally enamoured of the young Patama Byan. Therefore the

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queen-mother resolved to gratify all parties, and become herself queen dowager. She opened up communications with the then all-powerful Kin Wunmingyi, the Premier as he was usually called. That able minister saw continued power in store for himself if he could get the unsophisticated pyin-sin placed on the throne. Therefore he threw himself into the plot. The princes were summoned by a forged royal order to come before his majesty, bid him farewell, and hear his nomination of a successor. As they came up to the hmawgaw, the mirror throne room, where the kings body afterwards lay in state, they were seized separately and forthwith hurried off to prison. The Nyaungyan and his brother, the Nyaungôk prince, received timely warning, and instead of coming to the palace went straight off for sanctuary to the English Church, whence they afterwards escaped, disguised, to the protection of the British flag in the compound of the British Residency. But though they thus saved their lives, as appeared five months afterwards, when the other princes were done to death, the throne was lost, for Thibaw was left master of the situation, and soon completed his arrangements for securing his position. At first everything went well. It was necessary to retain the support of the Kin Wungyi, and that astute minister, acting on the idea that he could easily manage the raw young ex-neophyte, proceeded to draw up a scheme for a constitutional government, the greater part of which was written for him by the late Dr. Clement Williams, the first English Resident in Mandalay, and afterwards an independent trader. This constitution was published with a great flare of trumpets and much talk about the establishment of Western methods, and the raising of Burma to the rank of a first-class Eastern power. The people at large did not perceive any very radical difference, as far as the payment of moneys was concerned, under the new system. Perhaps it would have turned out well if it had lasted. But it was not destined to last.

As soon as the funeral rites of the dead king were over, and Thibaw Min had been sprinkled with the consecrated water by the pônnas, he proposed to marry "Selina Sophia," and take the younger sister, the Supayalat, along with her

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according to agreement. But the tabindaing was not willing. On the contrary, she took the altogether unprecedented step of cutting off her hair and entering a nunnery. The slighted golden monarch was furious. The two luckless maids of honour of the scornful beauty had their hands chopped off by the "spotted man." What became of the nun herself no one seems to know. Whether she went to her grave or to a jungle convent is a matter which neither her friends nor her enemies ever revealed. Thibaw Min at any rate had to be satisfied with the Supayalat. He very soon found that he had quite enough to do with her. The mother had always been known as strong-minded; the daughter developed an even greater amount of determination, and between them they soon reduced the ruler of the umbrella-bearing chiefs to submission. It had never been their intention that the Kin Wungyi should derive the greatest part of advantage from the scheme for enthroning the Thibaw prince, and they gradually worked his majesty into a state of desperation. However meek he might be towards them, he soon became embarrassingly testy with his courtiers, and after a time took to using what was called Tharrawaddy's spear. Kônbaung Min, that fiery descendant of Alaungpaya, in his latter years amused himself with spearing his courtiers with a javelin he always kept by him. This trait, which soon grew into a regular homicidal mania, and led to his being smothered in the end, seemed to have broken out afresh in the young king, and the Rangoon papers began to talk of hereditary insanity. Soon, however, the whole civilised world was to be shocked. The queen mother and the Supayalat persuaded the king that he would never be safe till the princes were put out of the way. It is said that Thibaw Min at first flatly refused, and then, broken down by daily taunts, pleaded the danger from the British Government. Here also, however, he was overruled. The queen dowager called in a European (not an Englishman), and asked what would be done if all the imprisoned princes were massacred? He answered there would be a great deal of talk and nothing more. So Thibaw gave in, and said, "Shin-ba se, let them be cleared away"; and seventy of the royal blood, men, women, and children, were murdered in the next three days, and buried

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within the palace, in a long trench dug for the purpose. The eldest prince, the Mekhaya, a man nearly three times Thibaw's age, and hated for his fierce, proud demeanour, died shrieking for mercy at the hands of his own slaves, whom he had often tortured. The Thonsè mintha, equally overbearing in his manner, and a fanatical hater of the English, whom he lost no opportunity of insulting, gained in his death an esteem he had never known while living. With his last breath he hurled defiance and imprecations at the brother whom he had always despised, and prophesied a speedy and bloody end for the "runaway monk." The weakly and gentle-mannered Maingtun murmured a prayer that the hideous sin of murder might be pardoned to its instigator and perpetrators, and then resigned his neck to the club which sent him to the blissful seats of nat-dewas. The princesses were subjected to nameless horrors, and the treatment of the children recalled the days when ravaging hordes marched through the land with babes spitted on their pike staffs for standards. The poor old regent of Pegu, governor at Rangoon when the British came in 1852, had his nostrils and gullet crammed with gunpowder, and was thus blown up. But the tale of horrors is not one to enlarge upon. They were conducted by those who became the king's most trusted advisers. All the three days bands of music were playing throughout the palace, and dancers posturing to divert attention from what was going on, and to drown the cries of the victims.

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The custom of putting to death all dangerous rivals on the accession of a new king was without doubt almost a recognised thing in Burma whenever there was a new sovereign. Many Burmans defend it warmly, on the plea that it secured the peace of the country. Where there were so many of the royal blood, the appointment of one, possibly among the youngest, to the supreme power, could not but lead to discontent, breaking out into open rebellion when the slighted found themselves strong enough to feel hope of success for a rising. The accession of Mindôn was marked by no such atrocities, but he came to the throne under exceptional circumstances. His brother, the Pagān Min, was deposed because he would do nothing to make peace with the English, then threatening

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to occupy the capital, which they were so near effecting in the first war of 1826. The deposed king was allowed to live happy with his game-cocks. The people's idol, the fiery "War Prince," was passed over because he was pledged to fight to the death, and there was an explicit understanding that he, or failing him, his issue, should succeed to the royal honours on the death of King Mindôn. That pious and enlightened monarch was forced on the country by a happy necessity. But it was very different when he died. There was no war to distract the people, and further, there was a multiplicity of candidates. The Convener of the Fifth Great Synod had, during his lifetime, fifty-three recognised wives, besides an indefinite number of handmaidens. By the wives he had altogether one hundred and ten children, forty-eight sons and sixty-two daughters. Of the forty-eight sons only twenty-four were alive at the time of his death, and two of these were detained as political prisoners in India, the Myingun and Myingundaing princes, the originators of the rebellion of 1866, when the "War Prince" was killed, and the king himself had a narrow escape. The Myingundaing died many years ago in India; the Myingun still lives on an allowance from the French Government in Saigon.

There were thus twenty-two possible successors to the Golden Throne. One was a lunatic—the Kyabin Mintha; four were little boys under ten years of age, others were disqualified for a variety of reasons, but there remained the Thonsè, the Mekhaya, the Nyaungyan, and the Nyaungôk, all of whom were considered as having certainly greater claims than the actual successor. Thibaw Min wanted to keep them all in prison, and a range of barracks was actually being constructed for their occupation when the massacres occurred. Whatever foreigners may think, all Burmans lay the guilt of the executions at the door of the queen and the queen dowager. When some were killed, prudential motives, as well as a ghoul-like thirst for blood, prompted the murder of all, and this accordingly was carried out. Of all the twenty-four princes, excluding the king, there were left alive but four little boys in sanctuary in Mandalay monasteries, one of them barely five years old, and three refugees in India, one of the four, the Mingundaing

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prince, having died soon after. Of the princesses, thirty-five of whom survived their father, four were killed in the February massacres, and twenty-one kept in confinement in the palace, some of whom almost certainly died of want or external violence. The remainder were of too little account to be taken notice of. Thirty-seven queens were alive when the late king died. Thirteen fled when his illness became dangerous, and so extinguished themselves. Twenty-three were kept in underground dungeons, or under close surveillance in the palace; one only, the mother of the Mekhaya, with fourteen of her children and grandchildren, were killed in 1879. This is rather a dismal list, and the shadow of it rested over the royal throne. Whether Thibaw Min was the direct author of the tragedy or not, the stain of the crime and the recollection of it clung to him. After its accomplishment, the king fell more and more under the malign influence of the termagant queen. The Kin Wungyi and his constitution were ignominiously bundled out of the palace. The former all-powerful minister became little more than a private citizen, and the vile conductors of the massacres were the chief in authority. With their lotteries and monopolies they had very soon brought the country to ruin, had it not been for the blessing of English rule.

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Personally, Thibaw Min could not be otherwise than miserable. The harridan queen kept him in most humble subjection. Hitherto every king of Burma had had at least four chief queens, those of the east, west, north, and south palaces, of whom the southern queen was supreme. But Supayalat persisted in remaining sole controller of the royal heart. Terrible stories are told of the death by lingering torture which proved the portion of maids of honour on whose charms the unhappy king is said to have looked with favour. Such an unusual state of things, such a disgrace as a woman's slave for a king, had never befallen any country before. A son was born in the end of 1879, but he died of smallpox in the epidemic of March 1880, and a daughter in the end of the same year compared but badly with King Mindôn's three or four a year.

The king was practically a prisoner within his golden walls. No king of Burma had ever been much in the habit

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of leaving the palace. Possession of it, with the vast arsenal which it contained, implied the subduing of the entire country. When a monarch went forth to worship at a pagoda or preside at some function, he left the nandaw in charge of the prince or minister whom he could best trust. But poor Thibaw Min could trust no one, or at any rate believed that this was his state. From the time he succeeded to the throne till he left it a prisoner, he never went outside the palace walls.

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CHAPTER XLIX

KING THIBAW

II.—THE MANY-TITLED

643 HIS most glorious, excellent majesty, the present ruler of the city of Mandalay, or Yatanabông Nepyidaw, ruler of the sea and land, lord of the rising sun, sovereign of the empires of Thumaparanta and Zampudipa, and of other great empires and countries, and king of all the umbrella-bearing chiefs, lord of the mines of gold, silver, rubies, amber, and the noble serpentine, chief of the Saddan, or celestial elephant, and master of many white elephants, the supporter of religion, owner of the sekya, or Indra's weapon, the sun-descended monarch, sovereign of the power of life and death, great chief of righteousness, king of kings, and possessor of boundless dominions and supreme wisdom, the arbiter of existence, has a very bad character. He killed his brothers and sisters and he drinks gin.

643 [175] He is very far from being a fool for all that. All his predecessors killed certain of their relatives too when they came to the throne; only they had not so many as Thibaw, and there were no electric telegraphs in those days. Besides, they had not such pressing need to clear the field. Thibaw was put on the throne by a palace intrigue, and if he had not disposed of his brothers they would probably have killed him. So say all his majesty's subjects, and they ought to know. The drinking of plebeian gin is another matter, and is likely to be the ruin of the many-titled monarch. It is telling on him fast. When he came to the throne he was a very good-looking young man, the

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643 [644] [177.64] Kin Wunmingyi, who, after all, had been to Europe and was versed in public affairs, lost all influence, and was succeeded as adviser by the Taingda Mingyi, a statesman of the typical oriental kind, supple, unscrupulous and grasping. Thibaw even achieved a certain kind of popularity with his subjects. He insulted our representative and blustered at all foreigners, and finally frightened the Indian Government by covert threats into suddenly withdrawing the whole *personnel* of the Residency. Then it was announced by sound of gong all over Burma that the Sovereign of Land and Water, by reason of his great might and glory, had caused the hated English to flee from his sight, and would, in his own good time, carry the great peacock flag to the south, and plant it once more on the shores of the Gulf of Martaban.

643 648 175 It is a great triumph for the pôngyi's son, as he was nicknamed when it was safe to do so, and it will be remembered about him quite as long as the fiendish cruelty of his massacres. We have certainly not done with Thibaw yet. We cannot go on for ever keeping strong garrisons at Thayet-myo and Toungoo, our frontier stations, where the soldiers have little else to do but die of fever and cholera and heat-apoplexy. Constant scares ruin the trade in Rangoon, and, as Lord Ripon says, when we are attacked in our mercantile interests we are wounded in our most irritable point. The abrogation of the monopolies is little better than a sham, and the negotiations for a new treaty are little more sincere. Thibaw will not receive a new Resident in the Royal City, except shoeless and practically lying on his stomach. We can hardly agree to that again.

The rupture came six years later, brought about by secret treatings with France and autocratic dealings with the Bombay Burma Trading Corporation. The Burmese kingdom fell with the suddenness of a paralytic stroke, and King Thibaw was a prisoner within a month of his rejection of the British ultimatum. He now lives forgotten at Ratnagiri.

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not very much more could be said for the infantry—not so much in some cases. 704 714

The lancers were followed by the commissariat and control departments, a rabble of men carrying pots and pans and rolls of bamboo matting and boxes intended for ammunition, but containing none, and huge wicker baskets, besides a lot of other baggage which might be useful, but did not look like it. There were five or six hundred of these men, guarded by a handful of dah and spearmen. 705

In their wake followed the artillery corps; first, thirty or forty two-pounders, similar to those between the different regiments, and with the same complement of men to each gun, and the same appliances. Then the elephant battery, each elephant with two jingals mounted on the howdah. These jingals, throwing a half or three-quarter pound ball, with their long pointed tails and muzzles pointed up to the skies, look very much like telescopes from a distance. In actual warfare they would probably do nothing beyond scaring the elephant. Besides the mahaut, each elephant carried a man to manage the guns. Fifty of them were loaded with this mosquito artillery, and behind them came fifty more with nothing on them but the mahaut. Many were most magnificent tuskers, and they constituted the most valuable part of his majesty's army. 713 704

Behind the elephants came the heavier guns, drawn by buffaloes, but they were apt to stick in the heavy, unmade roads, and the buffaloes themselves were not easy brutes to manage, especially on a warm day when their skin begins to crack. This battery, therefore, usually went but a short distance. These heavy guns were mostly very ancient ship guns of Portuguese, Dutch, French, and Arakanese make, and would be considered valuable in an English parish museum. They were formidable to none except primitive mountaineers, and to them chiefly from the noise they made.

As this account shows, Thibaw's army was neither threatening nor efficient, and the events of 1885 bore out the estimate. When the time came for adding Upper Burma to the British dominions it was effected with the least possible amount of bloodshed on either side. It might be supposed from what has been said that the ahmudan 704 [175] ● 702

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712 forts Captain Barker of H.M.'s 89th P.V., the best English authority on Upper Burma military matters, said, "without ditch, without flank defence, without expense magazines, without traverses to protect the gunners, they are mere shell-
712 traps for the destruction of the garrison." He might have
361 added that they were without armament, and in 1885 they surrendered without firing a shot. Mandalay itself has naturally a strong position because of its inaccessibility. To the east it is guarded by the Shan mountains and the marshy plains below. Rivers and creeks make the approach from the south difficult. On the north is an impassable morass. On the west of the city are wide-spreading, thickly populated suburbs, and the river-side is defended by a high
701 embankment. But the weakness of Mandalay lay in the
● 175 worthlessness of the army and the feebleness of its armament. The kingdom of Burma was, in fact, nothing like so powerful as it was a quarter of a century before, when the second Burmese war was ended. When the end came Mandalay fell to a force twenty miles away.

000 *Note.*—It has been brought to the writer's notice that several worthy Frenchmen have been hurt by the references to foreigners in this and in preceding and following chapters. It may therefore be noted here that the count who sold syrups was not the Comte de Trevelec, who was a contemporary of the Marquis de Gallifet at St. Cyr, and that there is no reference to General de Facieu, a popular, picturesque, and notable French gentleman. Neither were Louis Vossion nor Monsieur Fernand d'Avéra thought of when this book was written. Vossion was a stubborn patriot. Monsieur d'Avéra is a genial patriot with a doubt whether France or Upper Burma has the greater claims on him. In any case for fifty years Fernand d'Avéra has been one of the best known and best liked men in Burma.

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the right of land tenure should always have been so fixed and certain. The fondness with which the people cling to their ancestral lands has something of almost religious fervour in its tenacity. As long as a family remains in the neighbourhood of their inheritance nothing will persuade them to give up their connection with it. In Upper Burma, to the present day, land is never sold as the term would be understood in Europe. The transaction which goes by the name of a sale is, in reality, a kind of mortgaging, or, more exactly, pawning, if such a term can be used with regard to land. 423

The estate passes from one occupant to another for a certain sum of money, and it is clearly understood that if at any time the original owner is in a position to reclaim his property he may do so whether the purchaser likes it or not. Farther than this even, the buyer cannot sell the land to a third party without first obtaining the consent of its former owner. Notwithstanding this feeling, however, it is seldom that a property can be found which has remained for any considerable length of time in the same family. This is owing to the constant rebellions and wars between Peguans and Burmese and Shans, which afflicted the country for five hundred years. All those who were not killed were driven away from their former homes by ruthless invaders or were drafted off to fight for the king. In the short intervals of peace rival governors, in desperation for means to raise the revenues expected from their provinces, would tempt people away from their former homes by the offer of rewards or a reduction of body service. Thus in some cases the proprietors were killed out, in others they left for districts so remote that it was impossible to retain a hold on the ancestral property, however great their attachment to it. As an illustration of the sanctity attaching to ownership of land, the law concerning church lands may be quoted from Buddhaghosha's Parables: "Whoso shall take for himself or for another wutmye, consecrated or glebe-land, shall become a mite, or a white ant upon that sacred ground for the whole of 100,000 cycles." 423 721 175 ● [773]

The eighteenth of the original eighteen laws given by Manu to the king refers to the partition of property, and an elaboration of this points out sixteen descriptions of children who cannot claim a portion of their parents' property. The 423 428

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36 Parama nu-myu	=	one a-nu-myu, visible particles of dust, such as the motes dancing in the sunbeam.
36 Anu-myu	=	one ka-nyit-che, a gross particle, such as the dust which falls from the style, when a scribe writes on a palm-leaf.
7 Ka-nyit-che	=	one than ôk-kaung, a louse's head.
7 Than ôk-kaung	=	one môn-nyin se, a mustard seed.
3 Môn-nyin se	=	one hnan se, a grain of sesamum.
4 Hnan se	=	one san se, a grain of rice.
4 San se	=	one hkyin ywe, a seed of the *Abrus precatorius.*
2 Hkyin ywe	=	one ywegyi, a seed of the *Adenanthera pavorina.*
4 Ywegyi	=	one pè.
2 Pè	=	one mu.
2 Mu	=	one mat.
4 Mat	=	one kyat.
5 Kyat	=	one bo.
20 Bo	=	beittha, a viss, 3.652 lbs. avoirdupois.
4 Beittha	=	one tula.
4000 Tula	=	one tapông, or tasu.

The only weights in ordinary use are the mu, mat, ngamu (or hkwè), half a kyat, and the kyat. The standard weights are usually formed with a figure of the sacred hantha on them, or sometimes with the animal representing the royal birthday. [531]

Formerly the Burmese had no stamped coinage, and the silver and gold used, mixed in greater or less amount with alloy, which necessitated the calling in of an assayer for every transaction, was always dealt out by weight. King Mindôn struck gold coins stamped with the lion and the peacock, silver and copper with the royal peacock, and lead with the hare. The lead coins were simply blobs of metal like a spherical bullet squeezed out of shape. One might examine thousands of them and never see a hare. Mandalay

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be in danger of losing all, as not sufficiently appreciating the dignities conferred upon him.

As soon as Mindôn Min died, or at least as soon as it was officially made known that he was dead (for there are great doubts as to whether he died on the 12th September or on the 1st October 1878, or on some date between these two), as soon as the ministerial announcement came out on the latter date, the bo-ho, the great drum and gong suspended in a tower by the eastern gate, were stopped. The new king's drum and gong were not sounded till nine o'clock in the evening of the funeral, after which they were struck in the ordinary way every three hours. Bands of soldiers and police with gongs patrolled the streets all night long to see that everything was quiet. The princes had been seized and cast into prison some time before, but there was a chance that their adherents might raise disturbances on their behalf, and this precaution was kept up for some time. Meanwhile a pagoda, to serve as a mausoleum, was being run up with the greatest expedition close to the Mint, on the eastern side of the palace, in the outer enclosure, and this was finished in four or five days. The king had specially requested that his body should not be burnt according to ordinary royal custom, and the Sinbyumè, the senior queen and chief mourner, had resolved that this wish should be respected.

The corpse was laid out in state, and on the 3rd October the greater number of the foreigners and the officials of inferior rank were admitted to look upon it. This ceremony was conducted in the Hman-nandaw, the "Glass Palace," a room in which Thibaw Min has received most Europeans since. The body lay in the fore part of the chamber on a gilt couch, or bedstead, studded with bits of glass, and was robed from head to foot in white, a piece of white satin covering the face. The royal number of white umbrellas was canopied overhead, and at the top part of the couch were arranged the regalia in a row. On this occasion the Sinbyumè and the Anauk Nammadaw, the favourite queen of the West Palace, sat by the couch and slowly waved gorgeous peacock fans. At other times the sonless queens took it in turn to watch by the body, two at a time.

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Round about were grouped all the other queens and princesses, weeping piteously. The deceased king's brother, the ex-Pagān Min, the newly elected Thibaw Min, and all the high officials, were behind at the farther end of the room. Suspended over the corpse was a small flat piece of gold shaped like a heart, called thényun, and in this the leip-bya, the butterfly spirit of the departed king, was supposed to dwell till such time as he should be buried. The public lying in state only lasted a few hours, but the body remained there unaltered till the time of the funeral. It was not certainly known whether any attempt at embalming was made, but the body was very much shrunk, and contrasted greatly with the genial presence of his majesty when last he was seen alive.

The funeral took place on the 7th, at noon. It was the first that took place that day, and no other was allowed until the royal obsequies were entirely over. The city gates were shut and strongly guarded to prevent any such going forth if any one had been bold or ignorant enough to attempt it. From the gates of the interior palace stockade to the tomb, the whole route of the procession was laid with scarlet cloth, and round the mausoleum was a wide bamboo fence covered with long cloth, inside of which were some slight sheds, run up for the accommodation of the queens and the chief ministers. It is worthy of notice also that, in a favourable position to view all that passed, was erected a similar mandut for the accommodation of the late Mr. Shaw, then British Resident in Mandalay, his assistants, and the Residency Chaplain, the late Rev. J. A. Colbeck. The Resident and Assistant Resident were admitted in full uniform, wearing their shoes and swords, and it was thought that at length a solution of the great shoe-question had been arrived at, for though in the outer court this dignity had always been allowed them, the fact that later on they saw the king not very far off roused hopes of an audience at a remote date with similar appendages. But alas, the hopes were vain.

Punctually at twelve the procession left the palace gates. At the head of the cortège came the late king's wan, a huge palanquin borne on men's shoulders. Close upon it came

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six elephants, in royal purple and gold housings, and after them two richly caparisoned ponies. Following these were three of the mingyis and a wundauk, the fourth chief minister, the Laungshwe being too old and feeble to appear. Then came the band, called byaing-daung, on such occasions, playing an ancient royal *miserere*, and after it a great crowd of the minor officials, wearing baungs, white official hats. Behind these came a number of men and women bearing the regalia and the utensils of the royal dead, the crown, the heavy court dress, the gold betel box, the spittoon, the hentha, and the rest. Then came an empty coffin, overlaid with scarlet velvet and plates of gold, and immediately behind it the body in a ta-nyin, or hammock of white velvet, attached to a bamboo swathed in red velvet, across which was thrown a white velvet covering spangled with gold. To the ta-nyin were attached two long cloths, sanda-ya-mya, held by a multitude of queens, princesses, and exceedingly young princes (all the older ones being in jail). Above were the eight white umbrellas, and over the Sinbyumè, the chief mourner, were held three of the same royal colour. Her three daughters, one of whom, the Supayalat, became Thibaw Min's queen, were shaded by bright yellow htis, a colour which ranks even over gold. Thus they proceeded to the bamboo enclosure. Then it was announced that the new king, Thibaw Min, was coming, having just received the beit-theit, been anointed by the Brahmin Pônnas. He appeared shortly, seated in a lofty wan, at each of the four corners of which crouched a maiden with bowed head and clasped hands, the whole being carried on the shoulders of forty men. Preceding him was his bodyguard of twelve pages all dressed alike and armed with double-barrelled breechloaders in red serge cases. The Shwe nan-yin payā, the new possessor of the golden throne, remained for half an hour, looking very ill at ease, and little inclined to inspect the splendid spectacle before him. Then he gave the order for the last rites, and in accordance with custom returned immediately to the palace. The actual ceremony of burial was now concluded with as little ceremony as previously there had been superabundance of it, and in a very short time the yahans, of whom there had been a great multitude

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present, were superintending the carrying off of the 108 (representing the number of divisions in the foot of the Lord Buddha, and the beads on the rosary) heaps of alms piled up in great mountains in a long shed to the east of the mausoleum. This was the last of the pious king, Maung Lun, Mindon Min, the Convener of the Fifth Great Synod.

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The following is the substance of a funeral dirge sung in Mandalay by a Rangoon man whose wife had died in the royal city:—

Gone, gone art thou, sweet wife; gone far away,
Fair still and charmful, stretched on thy cold bier,
As erst thou wert upon that joyous day
When first I wed thee; gladsome brought thee here,
And joyed to think that thou wert mine. Ah me!
The butterfly's silk wings are shred; no more,
Ne'er more to rest upon thy head, Mah Meit—
Sweet name for wife: "affectionate." Deplore
Her death ye nats that rule forests and streams,
The hills and vales, and greater ye who guard
The sacred law, the holy shrines, the beams
Of silent moon, and sunlight baking hard
The hot-scorched earth, not scorchèd more and seared
Than is the parchment of my tortured heart.
Nay, bear with me, good neighbours. Be not feared.
I am not mad. The nat-so hath no part
Of me or mine. The spaewife sure hath said it.

Ay, thou wert mine when last I trod the earth,
Ere yet, all sinful, I was born as man,
And yet again, in yet another birth,
I'll claim thee; when mayhap a happier kan,
A fairer sum of merit, hardly won,
Will lead us on, linked-armed, to linkèd death,
That so progressing, joyful we may run
Through all life's changes, and with single breath,
Through heavens and zān and rupa, we may bound
To Ne'ban, blissful home of rest. So mote it be!

Alas, thou wert from Hanthawaddy's plains,
And were we there, where thou so fain hadst stayed,
A stately pomp had honoured thy remains,
In silk and velvet wound, with gilded shade
Of wide umbrella's pride, and regal spire
Had towered to the skies, all seemly draped
With flowing cloths and princesses' attire,
Such as now thou dost wear, from earth escaped

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533 171 On learning this remarkable fact, one will feel no doubt inclined to say: 'Quite so, but since the cycle is formed in a logical fashion by the application of the phenomenon of harmonics, is it not possible that the construction might also have been discovered elsewhere than in China, quite independently; in other words is it not possible that it may have a multiple origin?'

No doubt that would not be impossible in itself. But what is hardly believable is that not only should the structure of these scales be founded everywhere on the cycle of the blown fifths, but that all should start from the same fundamental note, that of the *houang tchoung* of 732 vibrations; which brings us back to the same conclusion that, not only the relative structure of the scale, but also the absolute pitch of the notes is the same in all cases considered. This circumstance eliminates the hypothesis of a series of coincidences: One is certainly dealing here with intercourse between people and people. For all we know, this intercourse may apply to the musical scales of prehistoric China, of Siam, of Burma, of Cambodia, to those of the African xylophones, of the pan-pipes of the Incas, to those of certain Melanesian, Polynesian and present-day Brazilian tribes. And it is intercourse of the same kind which one must concede, by virtue of the same arguments, to explain the Javano-Balinese scales, as we believe we have demonstrated by means of a number of measurements of sounds *De Toonkunst van Bali* II, Figures I-V and VII-XIX. It has been proved that the influence of the Chinese metrological basis, corresponding to the *houang tchong*—230 mm.—was used or is still used, everywhere independently of musical instruments and scales, in an enormous territory, stretching from Europe on the one side to South America on the other. Von Hornbostel, *Ueber einige Panpeifen aus Nordwest-brasilien* (*in* Th-Koch. Grunberg, *Zwei Jahre unter den Indianern*), 1910; *id.*, *Ueber ein akustisches Kriterium fus Kulturzusammenhange* (*in* the *Zeitschrift fur Ethnologie*, 1911, p. 601 seq.); *id.*, A brief summary of the theory of the blown fifths (*in Anthropos*, Vol. XIV/XV, p. 569-570), 1919-20; *id.*, An article treating with the metrical norm in the *Pater Schmidt Festschrift*, which will very soon appear. Recently appeared under the title *Die Massnorm als Kulturgeschichtliches Forschungsmittel.*

I hope those who are interested will be able to go farther into the matter with the works mentioned. I feel personally very much inclined to believe that the Burmese scale, whatever it may be now, was at the beginning founded on a pentatonic basis not very much different from the *kung*, *shang cho*, *tze*, *yui* of the ancient Chinese musicologists.

533 175 At this point I must draw the distinction between Burmese music as we know it and music which once existed in Burma now lost to us. Of the former the earliest mention was in connection with Mintra Shwehti's investment of Salin *circa* 1539 A.D. Of the latter the earliest mention was in the reign of Emperor Te-tsung in 802 A. D. Mr. G. H. Luce says:

"In 791 K'o-lo-feng's successor, I-mou-hsun, attacked the Mang tribes. At the request of Wei Kao, the Chinese governor of Hsi-ch'uan, he sent a troupe of musicians, including Pyu, which appeared at the T'ang court in 800. This led the Pyu king, Yung-ch'iang or K'un-mo-chang, to send in 801-2 a formal embassy to China *via* Nan-chao; it included his younger brother (or son)

Sunandana, lord of the city of Sri, and also 35 musicians. Chinese texts give many details of the mission, and the *Hsin-t'ang-shu* in particular has a long description of Pyu music."[1] 533 175

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Yung-ch'iang also sent his younger brother, master of the city of Hsi-li-i, Shu-nan-t'o, to bring an offering of the music of their country. When they reached Ch'êng-tu, Wei Kao made a collection of their tunes, and considering their dances and musical instruments to be of unusual interest, he made pictures of them to send to Court. They have twenty-two instruments, made of eight different substances, to wit, metal, shell, string, bamboo, gourd, leather, ivory and horn: of metal, 2; of shell, 1; of string, 7; of bamboo, 2; of gourd, 2; of leather, 2; of ivory 1; and of horn, 2. They have four bells shaped like those of the Kucha players, three inches in circumference, with clappers fastened by leather. They sound them in time with the tune. They have two iron clappers, three inches and a half long, and two inches and a half wide, flat in front, but with leather handles at the back. These and the bells are decorated profusely with steamers of brocade. There are four conch-shells, the largest capable of holding about 1 pint (shêng). There are two flat harps; one is 10 ft. long and its belly is 7 inches wide. It has a phoenix-head with neck 2 ft. 5 in. long. The front is decorated with snake-skin. There are 14 strings. The tuning-pegs are on the neck, facing outwards towards the phoenix-head. The other flat harp has "branching pegs." 534 175

There are two lizard-head zithers. One of them is wholly in the shape of a lizard. It is 4 ft. long, and has four legs; the belly is hollowed out. The back and the front are decorated with lizard skin as far as the shoulder, which turns upward like that of the Chinese lute *Ch'in*. It is 7 in. broad; the belly is 8 in. broad, and the tail a foot or more long. On the roller in the empty space there is fixed a barrier upon which are stretched nine strings on each side, attached to eighteen pegs. The front of the other zither is decorated with various-coloured flowers; or as an alternative, covered with snake-skin. There is a dragon-head lute (*p'i-p'a*) which resembles those used by the people of Kucha, but the neck is more than 2 ft. 6 in. long, and the belly 6 in. broad. The dragons' head face each other. There are three tuning pegs and three bridges, with strings to correspond. Two of the pegs are on the neck and one on the throat. It has a cover shaped like a lion. There is also a cloud-head guitar shaped like the foregoing; but the face is decorated with snake-skin and the whole surface with ivory bolts. The head is shaped like clouds. On the top of the pegs are flowers shaped like the ideogram 品. The three strings, the cover

1. In "Burma down to the fall of Pagan" B.R.S.J. Vol. XXIX, pt. 3, 1939.

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534 115 and the handle (?) are all decorated with snake-skin. The plectrum is carved. It is ornamented like this for dancing in the K'un-lun style. There are two large gourd-lutes, covered with half-gourds all painted and patterned. On the top are added bronze bowls. The lute itself is of bamboo, with snake patterns across the top. It is 3 feet long; its head is bent as though it were making a bow, and is 2 inches long. The belly is tied with cords that go through the bowl and reach the bottom of the gourd. It would hold about 2 pints (*shêng*) of liquid. The big string plays *t'ai-ts'ou*; the next, *ku hsien*. There is a one-stringed gourd-lute made of speckled bamboo. It is not decorated, but a snake's head is carved in the wood. The string is stretched without a tuning-peg, being tied to the neck. There are four bridges, as in the Kucha guitar. The string plays *t'ai-ts'ou*. There are two kinds of small gourd-lute shaped like the big ones, 2 ft. long. The big string plays *nan-lü*,, the next *ying-chung*. There are two transverse flutes, one about a foot long. When tested by our *lü*, it is completely out of tune; but when one adds a waxen lion's head over the real head and makes six holes with an ivory tusk, it gives the notes of the *huang-chung-shang* mode, and a full succession of semitones can be played on it. There is another flute to which one adds an elephant's head and it at once plays a scale corresponding to that described in the Flute Treatise *Ti p'u* of Hsün Hsü. Moreover it corresponds with the pitch of bells of the "high second" category. There are two double flutes, 2 ft. 8 in. long, separated by a joint. To left and right of the joint are vent holes. The two parts are hollowed out to the right proportions (?). The left side plays *t'ai-ts'ou*. The three holes at the end of the pipe play *ku-hsien-jui-jin*, and *i-tsê*. The other plays *lin-chung*, while, the holes at the end play *nan-lü*, *yingchung* and *ta-lü*. If one carries one's finger to a hole underneath, it makes the *t'ai-ts'ou* of the octave above. The two hollowed furrows and seven holes enable one to play the scales of *huang-chung* and *lin-chung*.

There are two big gourd mouth-organs with 16 pipes, 8 on each side. It is shaped like a phoenix' wings. The largest pipe measures 4 ft. 8¼ in., and the rest are of various sizes in proportion, as in an ordinary *shêng*. The pipes are also made to look like phoenix' wings. The tongue [*i.e. vibrating "reed"*] is made of bamboo which pierces the gourd right through. In high antiquity the instruments were all of wood and varnish. Afterwards metal was used instead for making the tongue (*huang*), and no instruments were any longer made of gourd. The old style survives only in the P'iao country.

They also have two small gourd mouth-organs similar in construction to the big ones. They play the notes of the mode *lin-chung-shang*. There are two three-sided drums shaped like wine-jars, about 2 ft. high, with broad bottoms and pointed tops, seven

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inches above and four below (?). The belly is nowhere larger than the top. It is made with three layers of snake-skin tied on with blue ropes. When they put it down, they do not keep the drum-skin tied on. The sides are painted with pictures of P'iao musicians holding mouth-organs and drums. There are four small drums like our waist-drums in shape, 5 in. long, only 3½ in. broad at the head, stretched with snake-skin. They have ivory nails and other ornaments; they have no handles and are shaken to mark the beat of the music. The "introducers" hold them. There is an ivory mouth-organ, made by piercing a gourd right through. It is lacquered; then two elephant tusks are put in instead of bamboo pipes. Both tusks play the note *ku-hsien*. There is a three horn mouth-organ, also made by piercing a gourd and lacquering it over; it is fitted with three bull's horns, playing one of them *ku-hsien*, the other two *nan-lü*. The horns are sharpened at the bottom and stuck through the gourd. The handle and mouth-piece are both straight. There is a two-horn mouth-organ of similar construction, *ku-hsien*. The gourd-part is ornamented with coloured designs. 534 175

The names of their twelve tunes are:— 533 175

(i) "Buddha's Seal." In P'iao it is called *mu-t'o-mi*. The natives and Indians sing this song when they minister to the king.

(ii) "Praise of the *sāla* flower." In P'iao it is called *lung-mang-ti*. The natives make clothes of this flower, thinking that it purifies their bodies.

(iii) "The white dove." In P'iao it is called *ta-tu*. They admire the way in which the bird flies or stops, according to its fancy.

(iv) "The white crane's rambles." In P'iao it is called *su-man-ti-li*. It says that when it soars it touches the sky and when it walks, it steps sedately.

(v) "The fighting goat's victory." In P'iao it is called *lai-nai*. Once there was a man who saw two goats fighting on the sea-shore; the stronger thereafter saw the weaker one enter the mountains. The people of the time called it *lai-nai*, which means "the pomp of victory."

(vi) "The dragon-headed single lute." In P'iao it is called *mi-ssü-mi*. It has one string, but all the five notes complete: which signifies that a king of kings by his single virtue nourishes ten thousand countries.

(vii) "*Jhāna* concentration." In P'iao it is called *ch't-lan-shih*. It tells how one who quits the world, becomes solitary and quiet.

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The above seven songs, when sung or danced, all follow the *huang-chung-shang* mode.

(viii) "Sweet Sugarcane King." In P'iao it is called *o-ssü-lüo*. It says that Buddhists are as sweet as sugarcane, the flavour of which pleases everyone.

(ix) "Peacock King." In P'iao it is called *t'ao-i'ai*. It tells of the brilliance of its plumage.

(x) "The wild goose." It says that, flying or standing, these birds are always in pairs : so comrades must all forgather.

(xi) "Banquet Music." It is called in P'iao *lung-ts'ung-wang-mo*. It says that tunes of peace are excellent for banquets and meeting together.

(xii) "Washing care away." It is also called "the reed-organ dance." In P'iao it is called *hu-na*. It says that from tune to tune one washes away one's cares and anxieties and this song takes one's fancy.

The above seven tunes are in one or other of the scales of *huang-chung* ; one is in *huang-chung shang* (the *i-yüeh* mode); one in *lin-chung shang* (the *hsiao-chih* mode).

The musicians all wear K'un-lun dress, covering their loins with red cotton cloth (*tieh-chao-hsia*) which they call *jung-man*. They wear *chao-hsia* across their shoulders; on their legs and arms they have golden, jewel-studded bracelets ; they wear golden head-dresses and ear-rings. They use a string or sash to thread flowers in order to make a headdress. They use two hair-retainers decorated with down. Before the dance begins the "introducers" come forward and explain its meaning. The dance-movements follow the music. The number of dancers used is 2, 4, 6, 8 or 10. They all wear jewelled caps. When the tune is over, they bow. Their songs were translated at fifth hand.

The Emperor Tê Tsung made Shu-nan-t'o an Officer of the Stables *t'ai-p'u-ch'ing*), and sent him home. T'ang Tz'u, Governor of K'ai-chou, made an "Eulogy upon the event of the P'iao offering music," which he laid before the Throne.

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One wishes that all this had not been lost so completely. Siamese influence is of course much more recent. There were two conquests of Ayudhya (ရိုးရာ *Yodaya*); the 1st by Bayinnaung (1551-81 A.D.) and the second by Hsinbyushin (1763-76 A.D). The latter was the more important because the conqueror not only brought back enormous numbers of prisoners of war but managed to hold Siam in subjection for a few years. Mr. Stewart, writing on the Burmese stage[1] remarked "Entertainers of all sorts were

1. Journal of the Royal Society of Arts, Vol. LXXXVII. No. 4516. The Burmese Stage

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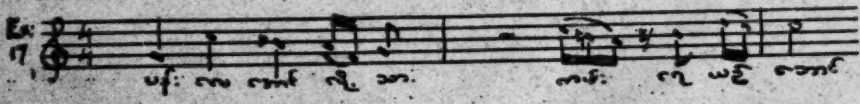
deported from the conquered country to Burma, and these included actors capable of performing dramas, of which the prime favourite in Siam was the Rāma play.." He restricted himself to the stage only. What was true of the entertainers was true also of artists, craftsmen, musicians, sculptors, even games and confectionery. It was at that time that our cultural store-house was filled with Siamese loot. And at that time there lived a remarkable adaptor, creator and preserver of music, in the person of Myawadi-wungyi U Sa (1766-1853 A.D.) whose incredibly long life was filled with literary, dramatic and musical activity. There does not seem to be any kind of song which he has not written. Popular belief attributes to him no less than 200 *patpyos* ပတ်ဖျိုး alone.[1] All the *patpyos* in *Enoung Zat* are his. Our most famous *Htumachana thachingan* ထုံးရှုခံသံချင်းခံ is his. Our present harp with 13 strings instead of 7 was also his. Our *Yodaya* ယိုးဒယား songs owe their establishment as a principal section in our classical repertoire entirely to the tireless adaptation into Burmese of every kind of *Yodaya* song he and his collaborator ဝန်ကြီးခင်ဘား could lay hands on. If the second conquest of Ayudhya was the single event, U Sa was the single person responsible for the energising of the body of our music by a liberal infusion of Siamese blood. Not content with adapting Siamese melodies, U Sa is reputed to have adapted certain slow measures of Christian sacred music ဘုရားကျောင်း which he heard from early Roman Catholic missionaries in the beginning of his အရုဏ်ဦးကျမ်း ပတ်ဖျိုး. In another သားဆန်းရုံတစ်ဖျိုး notice the following phrase:



He was already experimenting with the Western Leading-note. The first B at ဟောင် is the flattish Burmese seventh, whereas the B's in the following bar at ထမ်း and ရ are really the Western Leading-notes only a semi-tone distant from the Tonic. It is impossible to be certain, but it is highly probable that it was then that an advance from the pentatonic basis was achieved. For even as late as Bodawpaya (1782-1819 A.D.) according to the great harpist U Phoo Gaung, U Sa himself was still playing on a harp with only 7 strings, until his royal master asked him if he could not do better than that, when he fashioned the harp as we know it, with 13 strings and a gamut of nearly 3 octaves.[2]

Under the circumstances mentioned above it is inevitable that the Siamese scale too came to Burma, to stay. The question is whether the Burmese adopted the Siamese scale or adapted it to

1. *In* U Nu's သတင်းဟောပြတမ်း Sun Mag. July 1939.
2. Although there are only 13 strings, the intermediate notes are obtained by 'stopping' the open strings with the tip of the fore-finger of the left hand.

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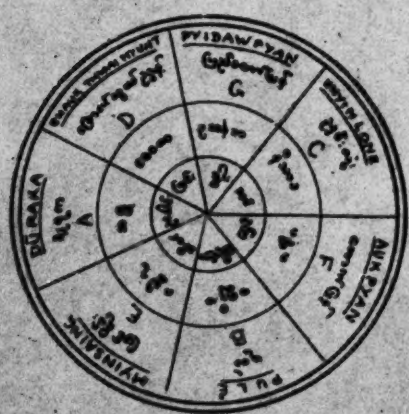
their needs. The only clues that can lead to an answer to this question exist in the chart *La Planche-I* appended to J. Kunst's article. The measurements of the Siamese scale were taken from Stumpf's '*Tonsystem und Musik der Siamesan*' p. 137; and the measurements of the Burmese scale, presumably the only scientific measurements ever taken, were from Von Hornbostel's *Ueber ein akustisches kriterium für Kulturzusammenhänge*, p. 613. The Siamese scale attracted also the attention of Prof. F. Max Mayer of the Missouri University, who, in his article *Musician's Arithmetic*[1] seemed fully convinced that the Siamese equal tempered 7-tone-scale and the Javanese equal tempered 5-tone-scale with the western chromatic scale were the only equal tempered scales in the world. Kunst, however, refuted that theory towards the end of his article in the Journal of the Siam Society:—

> "Sometimes it seems as though they meant to create an equigraded scale (5 x 240 C.), but most of the scales measured had one degree greater than the others. [Kunst's *De Toonkunst van Bali*, Vol. II, tables II, IV and V] in conformity with the hypothesis propounded above.
>
> "Furthermore, the famous tonal plan of the *patet* is based—and the Slendro too—on the particular position in the scale of intervals having different dimensions, in other words: an equigraded scale (of which one uses all the tones in one and the same composition, as always with the *Slendro*), is, if I am not mistaken, incompatible with the pure nature of Javanese melody."

That disposed of the theory of the Javanese equal tempered 5-tone scale. Unfortunately, Kunst did not deal with the Siamese scale at all beyond supplying the measurements. And of these measurements, those of the Burmese scale by Hornbostel certainly look as though it was an equal tempered 7-tone scale. There was no sign of the existing sharpened Fourth.

Diagram 1.



Diagrams of changes of key prescribed by the classics go right round the octave in a succession of underfifths without such means as the black keys of the piano [*See* Diagram 1]. Indeed U Ba Choe mentioned, in his ဆယ်မှ(ဂ)ပ'ား ဆရာကြီး one song (long forgotten), a *kyah* ဘုန်းဆက်တစော စကြာဝဠာ-ဆရာ-ဂ-သ် ထည့်ကြား which modulates (?) into all the 7 keys.[2]

1. University of Missouri Studies, Vol. IV, 1929.
2. U Ba Choe has rediscovered it, and when we investigated its changes of key on the piano, we found that it went the round of 12 keys; C—F—B flat—so on, back to C major.

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If ever true modulation into all the 7 keys were possible, it must have been at the time of U Sa, employing some such scale as Hornbostel's *echelle birmane*. Was the Burmese scale pentatonic in origin? Did it adapt itself to an equal tempered seven-tone scale from Siam towards the end of the 18th century? Did the intervals then become less and less equal until they nearly approximated to the Chinese scale of Mr. K. C. Hsiao, presently to be quoted, with an indeterminate Fourth and Seventh? How did this indeterminate Fourth and Seventh come about? These are questions to be settled by future more competent research. I shall however quote the very significant remarks of K. C. Hsiao on the present day Chinese scale.[1]

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"....The true cause seems to lie in the incorrect intonation of modern Chinese instruments, incorrect in the sense that the intonation has deviated from the theoretical intention of the scale construction.

Let us take up the keyless-flute and find out what sort of scale it produces. This flute is virtually the standard pitch pipe[2] of the Chinese ensemble..... By careful experiment it has been found that the fourth and the seventh of the scale thereon are both "neutral," that is, the fourth is neither a half-tone above the third as in the European diatonic major scale, nor a full tone above it as in the theoretical Chinese heptatonic scale, but is just about mid-way between the third and the fifth, and the seventh is similarly mid-way between the sixth and the octave. It becomes at once clear why Chinese instruments sound impersonal or neutral or out of tune .....

The true reason for the incorrect intonation of the existing Chinese instruments cannot be stated with absolute certainty. The most probable reason is this: During the Yuan dynasty both the neutral and sharp F were used.....But the production of both these chromatic tones could not be done on the flute except with the assistance of special key devices unknown to the Chinese instrument makers or with boring the second and fifth holes counting from the lower end, larger than the rest. It was possible at that time when both f and f-sharp were in use to bore the holes on the Chinese flute so as to enable the player to produce the notes when desired by a definite system of fingering such as now used by western fife players. But with the coming of the Ming dynasty, this whole system transgressing the pentatonic scale was officially abolished.

Musicians then and therefore did not have to bother at all about producing f and f-sharp, and following the law of supply and demand, the flute makers undertook to make flutes that could not produce either f or f-sharp accurately, *but had more uniformity and symmetry in their appearance by boring all the finger holes of the same size and with a minimum variation of distances from each other*[3].....If a player who had bought the flute cared to produce all the tones on the instrument, what he got was naturally a scale with neutral fourth and seventh, agreeing neither with the European diatonic (with the perfect), nor the Chinese heptatonic scale (with the augmented fourth). The same thing was then applied to the playing of stringed instruments.....to be in tune with the wind instruments.

1. *Chinese scale theories*. Appendix 6 to *The Musician's Arithmetic* by Prof. Max Meyer in the University of Missouri Studies, Vol. IV, 1929. pp. 115-6.

2. Like the Burmese oboe ⅓ (*hne*)

3. *See* Diagrams 2 and 3 of the Burmese oboe ⅓ (*hne*) and tables 3 and 6.

13: Khin Zaw I-5 (no date) 1940 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

> ....Nowadays in certain localities of China, the performance of music has come to be looked down on as a menial and unscholarly vocation.... although this aversion is not universal in China, music has been intellectually neglected for a long time. As a result music has become unmusical in China. And this in turn has increased the contempt in which it is held by the educated classes. It is a vicious circle.".....

533 171 175

I would not have allowed myself to be thus catapulted into the problem of the Burmese scale were it not so necessary to emphasise the very sharp line of demarcation between classical evidence and musical evidence. Too long have we taken shelter behind the façade of ancient Indian culture. [114]

With regard to the most important real evidence of the written records, what have we to rely on ? Only one MS in *parabeik* form—[illegible] *Naralikha*. U San Win himself pointed out that no other Burmese work on Burmese music had ever been known to exist. Until one has seen that *parabeik* one would be foolish to talk about the Burmese scale with any conviction. The best that can be done is to proceed from the known to the unknown and talk of clues rather than discoveries.

If it were possible, a scientific survey of the principal Burmese musical instruments should establish the one Burmese scale which is common to the whole country, or rather to which all the scales all over the country approximate. Everything about us is approximate. Our tunes, having no notation, are always at variance. Western people talk of our lack of method. Yet.... 533 183

> " The elements of tone and rhythm have been combined and recombined, and have left the theory a tangled mass of forgotten systems and the practice an ineradicable instinct. The veneration for the past because of its remoteness, the mental attitude which looks away from the categories of time and space and turns its attention upon the essence of the thing itself, the faith which links the present closely with the time when the gods walked the earth and still points to the visible imprints of their feet—all these have united to personify every element of their music, and piously to preserve names and attitudes which have long lost their meaning; so that much of the theory is clear only to those who can read myth. Nor on the practical side has extemporization, as it is understood, been learned in a day, nor even in the life-time of any individual.....But it is age-long practice rather than memory which has placed at the command of the best singers that inexhaustible wealth of variation with which they make a melody their own, that gift of improvisation which takes on an epic quality, as all crafts do that are handed down from father to son. To walk on the Old Trunk Road is, it has been said, to step into a chapter of Genesis; and in the same way we catch, in these immemorial cadences, the very spirit of the rhapsodists of Homer. Their music is old, but with an age like the eternal youth of Greece, not with a second childhood like the stereotyped formulas of the Troubadours."[1]

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1. Fox Strangways' Introduction to *Music of Hindostan*.

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533 [114] Now comes the time to discuss the technical remarks of Mr. Paul Edmonds and Mr. P. A. Mariano mentioned at the beginning of this article. In Chap. VII of his *Peacocks and Pagodas* (Routledge, 1924) Paul Edmonds says:

> Hla Tin having fixed up his mandolin proceeded to play me a tune. The tune, he said, was the introduction to the "baw lè," and the "baw lè" is the tune to which all songs of a sad and plaintive character are commonly sung—though there is nothing about the tune that sounds sad to the western ears[1]. The short introduction was in two parts, the lower being a kind of rough counterpoint[2]. It is played at the beginning, between every verse, and at the end. I wrote it down on paper in western notation after several repetitions, (*See* Example 4), and upon examining the upper part, or tune, was interested to find that it was apparently in the pentatonic scale. I then successfully transcribed the "baw lè" tune proper, (*See* Example 6), but this was, I found, approximately in our ordinary major scale, and it was difficult to say for certain whether or not the tune had originally been pentatonic[3].

Paul Edmonds also examined the xylophone (*pattalar*), the drum-circle (*saingwaing*), and the gong-circle (*kyi-waing*) and said:

> The pattala, which seemed to be in the key of C, had an eight-note scale; but at first I was puzzled to classify it, since in the upper octave the note B was nearer to B-flat than to B-natural, whereas in the lower octave it was the other way about. How to account for an approximate B-flat in one octave and an approximate B-natural in the octave in the same instrument was a problem[4]. The note F in both octaves was indeterminate. It seemed to be about midway between F and F-sharp[5].
>
> This first suggested to me what I now believe to be the true explanation, which is that the pentatonic scale is the foundation and that notes have been roughly inserted in the two gaps between E and G and between A and C in order to make the scale approximate to the Western major scale. I was not sure of this at that time, but subsequent investigations confirmed it.

I wish Paul Edmonds had left a full account of his investigations. It would be a real service not only to future research but also to Burmese music. While heartily agreeing with him that the pentatonic scale was the foundation of the Burmese scale, I hesitate

1. No wonder. Hla Tin has spoilt the plaintive part of the tune with a variation: (*See* Example 7) the last beat of the third bar leading down to the tonic in the beginning of the bar following. These five notes are characteristic of the *baw-lè* cadence, and of the original Burmese tonality. Harmonically, they form the arpeggio of the tonic major chord with added sixth like the arpeggio ending to Grieg's *To the Spring* in F-sharp major.

2. P.E. apparently here refers to Hla Tin's thumb work. When playing the mandolin a Burman does not use the plectrum. Forefinger and thumb are employed, the latter to strike an occasional lower octave or the Fourth or the Fifth, or to help the forefinger along with the melody. The result perhaps often sounds like rough counterpoint. But the tune was certainly not in two parts. The division is of labour, not thematic.

[118] [170] 3. It could not be. *Baulè* is a very much later invention attributed to Hlaing-Htaik-Khaung-Tin (1835 1875 A.D.) an excellent summary of whose life translated by Nyi Nyi from the excellent series of short biographies of famous Burmese authoresses by Ma Ma Gyi, appeared in the *World of Books* Nos. 136-137. U Thein Han (Zaw Gyi) points out the germ of the *baw-lè* tune in the concluding part of a *patpyo* "ya-gon-myaing-gyar" attributed by some to Myawadiwungyi and by others to Hlaing-Htaik-Khaung-Tin's own mother Ma Mya Gale.

4. I would blame its maker. My *pattalar* reveals just the opposite.

5. It is still there.

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565 basis of invidious distinctions. Persons of means are esteemed more for the
556 socially valued uses to which they may put their money, such as charity, ceremonial activities, and support of the clergy, than for sheer richness or consumption.

Economic Change

178 The changing pattern of Tadagale's economic life may be described from the
101 point of view of shift from a once largely subsistence economy to one based more upon commodity production and exchange. In discussing this shift, the general
433 trends are best indicated if we focus upon Lower Burma rather than upon Tadagale exclusively. It is desirable to make this large area our unit because pertinent data are available for it, whereas historical information specific to the village is somewhat scant and fragmentary. The term "Lower Burma" is an administrative and geographical one. It comprises about 81,000 square miles and a population of some 9 millions, four of the administrative divisions in the highly fertile, deltaic 'rice-bowl' of Burma.

178 1. Background. The trend from a relatively self-sufficient subsistence
433 economy, with little dependence upon money, to a more commercialized economy coincides with the coming of British colonial rule in Burma. Our historical perspective thus extends over a period of about 150 years. Within this span of time, profound economic change occurred in Lower Burma. Here we cannot give a detailed account of events from decade to decade, but must limit ourselves to a brief consideration of the major trends.

175 In pre-British Lower Burma, villages consisted of what might be called
433 islands of clearance in a big jungle. In these settlements the Burmese peasants
361 lived by cultivation of paddy and vegetable gardens. Individual small holdings were the rule, and the size of the plot depended almost entirely upon need. No incentive existed to clear and cultivate land beyond the requirements of household subsistence and taxes, paid in kind, to the representative of the Burmese Crown. Cotton, from the dry zone of central Burma, was spun and woven into cloth, and garments were made in the local community. Housing was of a simple bamboo and thatch type, made of materials available locally. The bullock cart provided transport on the relatively few occasions that it was necessary for the Lower Burma villager to travel distances that could not be walked. Contact between villages was minimized by the expanses of intervening, uncleared jungle country. In Tadagale, for example, one of our oldest informants was able to recall the period of his youth, around 1885, when jungle clearance and settlement was still taking place, bringing Tadagale into closer communication with other communities in the area. Local craftsmen provided the villagers with simple utensils, tools and implements.

178 When British colonialism took over, money came to dominate over barter.
433 Taxation was ordered to be paid in money. The Burmese cultivator was encouraged
436 to clear the heavy jungle, cultivate more land, sell surpluses of paddy to
406 commercial millers, and spend his money on attractive manufactured goods imported from England, which were on display in the town shops and bazaars. Moneylenders, some of them Burmese, but especially Indians of the moneylending Chettiar caste from Madras, who could enter Burma freely, were at hand to loan money in fairly unlimited amounts to the Burmese peasants. Thus the latter could finance the expansion of their cultivation. Rates of interest charged were unregulated, and commonly ranged from 10% to 35% per year. The Burmese peasant was an easy victim: he was, at first, entirely unsophisticated in money

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Indians
52

563 within the past two or three decades. In almost every way, they form a
463 village within the village. They are spatially clustered together, apart from
184 the Burmese. Their living is earned by dairying; milk from their cattle and
water buffaloes is sold in Rangoon, for cash, to Muslim restaurants. Since the
Burmese do not consume milk, the Indian dairymen find no market for their
[262] product in the community. The only economic relationship between the two
groups consists of some exchange of Burmese paddy stalk, when the harvest is
over, for animal manure. The Indians use the paddy stalk as fodder for their
animals, while the Burmese use animal manure to some extent for their not
very fertile garden and rice lands.

563 The Indians being Hindus, the Burmese Buddhists, the two groups have no
571 basis for common participation in religious or ceremonial life. Nor is there
556 more than a negligible tendency towards intermarriage; our census showed two cases.

As shown by our figures on income, the Indians as a group are far more prosperous than the Burmese. Although the Burmese seem to realize this, they tend to phrase the matter not so much in terms of greater wealth of the Indians as in terms of how little the Indian spends of his income. To the average Burmese of the village, the Indian is something of a lesser breed who lives on next to nothing and so grows rich.

563 Throughout the course of research in Tadagale, an effort was made from time to time to study intergroup feelings and attitudes, but this was a subject on which informants who were quite ready to discuss almost any other matter were loath to speak. The Burmese seemed to know little (or at least so professed) about the ways of the Indians; the Indians were very tight-lipped concerning the Burmese.

●175 It was towards the close of our work in Tadagale that certain events
669 occurred which brought out, in sharp focus, the nature of Burmese-Indian relations
674 and attitudes, and completely broke the silence maintained earlier. At this point, however, some digression is necessary to provide a background for understanding what took place.

In 1949-50, the internal disturbances which have beset Burma since the end of World War II were at their height. During this time the maintenance of law and order sank to a very low point; robbery, armed and unarmed, was rampant. Tadagale was robbed three times within the preceding year, according to informants. On such occasions, bandits entered the village, fired their guns into the air to frighten the defenseless villagers, and then proceeded to tie up some villagers and remove their money and other valuables. Anyone who resisted was beaten. According to villagers, the police, located about half a mile away, could not be depended upon for protection or for action once a crime occurred, for the bandits were better organized and armed than the police, making the latter extremely reluctant to take any action.

674 Some early evidences of distrust between Indians and Burmese appeared
563 about the middle of our research period, when an Indian dairyman stated that he
175 was convinced that the bandits who periodically invaded Tadagale had Burmese collaborators in the village. He based his belief on the fact that the bandits seemed always to find their way directly to the homes of the more prosperous inhabitants, which knowledge, he claimed, could be gotten only from villagers.

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Indians

On February 18, 1950, on arriving in the village early in the morning for our usual daily period of observation and interviewing concerning village life, we were immediately struck by the absence of villagers going to and fro in their daily tasks and by the deadly silent atmosphere pervading the whole village scene. On the veranda of one house located just across the bridge leading into the village a large number of people was assembled. An informant related that on the previous evening, about eleven o'clock, some fifteen armed bandits carrying automatic weapons as well as small arms came via Pazundaung Creek and invaded the village. Firing their guns into the air to frighten the people, they proceeded directly to the house where the large gathering was now assembled and demanded Rs. 1000 in cash and ten ticals of gold. When the head of the household protested that he did not have that much, they took him to the ricefields, bound his feet, and shot him to death. They also visited another home and made demands upon the woman who was the head of the household. When money was not forthcoming, they tied up the members of the family, struck the woman on the head, and removed all the clothing in the house except that being worn. Although the police were notified immediately after this attack upon the village, they did not come to investigate until many hours later. Villagers expected no real assistance from the authorities, whom they considered incompetent and afraid of bandits. The village headman said that although he suspected that there were accomplices among the villagers, he was afraid to name these suspects to the police, lest revenge be taken upon himself and his family. 674 175

This event, climaxing a series of attacks upon the village within the past year, set in motion a number of actions which are interesting for what they reveal of the social structure of the village as well as for the light they throw on intergroup relations. 621 674

The village headman, who had spoken of the need for the community to arm itself, and of the high cost of doing so, decided that a village meeting should be called to consider the matter.

A few days after the murder described above, the meeting was called. Early one morning the village crier went through the community sounding a gong and summoning the people to the school-house. Within an hour some fifty villagers arrived. As the group slowly gathered, several men came to tell the headman that their gardening or other work was urgent and asked to be excused.

As the meeting began, the elders sat on the veranda of the school-house, surrounding the headman, who sat at the schoolmaster's desk. A good deal of informal discussion took place between the elders and the headman before the meeting was called to order, and it was at this point that actual decision making was doubtless done.

The headman opened the meeting formally by addressing the assembled group, telling them that he was sure they were tired of the attacks upon the village and that they wanted to take action; that there was no future for them so long as they remained defenseless; and that once the rainy season came, it would not even be possible to flee during an attack. Although he could have made a decision in consultation with the elders, the headman told the gathering, he had called a general meeting because he wanted to be sure the community would support him in any course of action he might take.

The headman now proposed that a fund be raised for the purchase of arms and a plan formulated for defending the village. Since the idea of a common

621 consider, because they did not want to lose the Indians as customers for their paddy stalk and as a source of manure for their gardens and fields.

563 The headman of Tadagale, when queried as to the reasons for the departure of the Indians, shrugged his shoulders and said simply that they were afraid, despite the plans for village defense, that their animals might be injured in the event of any fighting between villagers and bandits.

Within a few days, the Indians of Tadagale had all departed; and in the vacant spaces where their houses had stood, the Burmese were eagerly at work erecting buildings of their own.

Social Change

●175 Prior to effective British rule in Lower Burma (about 1830), the local autonomous unit was the village circle, consisting of several villages under
631 the authority of a headman. The office of headman seems to have been hereditary in fact, although elections were held. That is to say, headmen tended to be
622 elected in a particular lineage. Rule was through personal relationship between the headman and the villagers. Under the circle headman was a council
626 of elders, appointed by him, one from each village in the circle. Disputes were almost entirely settled by arbitration and compromise, rather than with any concern over the abstract legal right and wrong of the case.

621 Within the village, a system called 'ten-house heads' was operative. This system appears to have been operative through British times, but at least since 1948 has lost effectiveness. Tadagale houses are strung out along a main path, and the ten-house division is such that the houses belonging to one group are mostly contiguous. The head of each ten-house section acted as a kind of deputy to the headman and sat on the council of elders.

175 With the coming of British rule, much of this changed. They established a hierarchical system, in which there were, in descending order of size,
631 nation, division, district, township, village circle, and village. All officials at each level were appointed from the capital, even down to the village level, where the headman was made an appointed civil servant. He
622 was paid on a percentage basis of his total tax collections and fines levied. The circle headman had police power and judicial authority in petty crimes.

175 A judicial system was introduced by the British to replace the old informal arbitration. With an almost total disregard for indigenous institutions
692 and customs, the British established a territorial system based upon law. The loosely structed and informal system of old gradually broke down.

669 Early in 1948 Burma gained her independence. Since that time the country has been in a state of disorganization. The civil strife has brought about
631 an almost complete breakdown of administrative function on many levels. Certainly the ties of the village with higher units have been curtailed.
182 One indication of this is the fact that the headman no longer submits reports with any degree of regularity to higher echelons, as was required under British rule. Even the local ten-house heads council has largely ceased to function. It exists, but is scarcely used.

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Burmese AP4

000 situation with regard to other nations, its climate, its occupations. It is a great subject that I cannot go into. I wish to take all such things as I find them, and to discuss only the effect of the religion upon the courage of the people, upon its fighting capabilities. That religion may have a very serious effect one way or the other, no one can doubt. I went through the war of annexation, from 1885 to 1889, and from it I will draw my examples.

175 642 721 When we declared war in Upper Burma, and the column advanced up the river in November 1885, there was hardly any opposition. A little fight there was at the frontier fort of Minhla, but beyond that nothing. The river that might have been blocked was open; the earthworks had no cannon, the men no guns. Such a collapse was never seen. There was no organization, no material, no money. The men wanted officers to command and teach them; the officers wanted authority and ability to command. The people looked to their rulers to repel the invaders; the rulers looked to the people. There was no common intelligence or will between them. Everything was wanting; nothing was as it should be. And so Mandalay fell without a shot, and King Thibaw, the young, incapable, kind-hearted king, was taken into captivity.

175 642 721 That was the end of the first act, brief and bloodless. For a time the people were stupefied. They could not understand what had happened; they could not guess what was going to happen. They expected that the English would soon retire, and that then their own government would reorganize itself. Meanwhile they kept quiet.

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It is curious to think how peaceful the country really was from November 1885 till June 1886. And then the trouble came. The people had by that time, even in the wild forest villages, begun to understand that we wanted to stay, that we did not intend going away unless forced to. They felt that it was of no further use looking to Mandalay for help. We had begun, too, to consider about collecting taxes, to interfere with the simple machinery of local affairs, to show that we meant to govern. And as the people did not desire to be governed—certainly not by foreigners, at least—they began to organize resistance. They looked to their local leaders for help, and, as too often these local governors were not very capable men, they sought, as all people have done, the assistance of such men of war as they could find—brigands, and freelances, and the like—and put themselves under their orders. The whole country rose, from Bhamo to Minhla, from the Shan Plateau to the Chin Mountains. All Upper Burma was in a passion of insurrection, a very fury of rebellion against the usurping foreigners. Our authority was confined to the range of our guns. Our forts were attacked, our convoys ambushed, our steamers fired into on the rivers. There was no safety for an Englishman or a native of India, save within the lines of our troops, and it was soon felt that these troops were far too few to cope with the danger. To overthrow King Thibaw was easy, to subdue the people a very different thing.

It is almost impossible to describe the state of Upper Burma in 1886. It must be remembered that the central government was never very strong

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175 —in fact, that beyond collecting a certain amount
642 of taxes, and appointing governors to the different
721 provinces, it hardly made itself felt outside Mandalay and the large river towns. The people to a great extent governed themselves. They had a very good system of village government, and managed nearly all their local affairs. But beyond the presence of a governor, there was but little to attach
642 them to the central government. There was, and
565 is, absolutely no aristocracy of any kind at all. The
722 Burmese are a community of equals, in a sense that has probably never been known elsewhere. All their institutions are the very opposite to feudalism. Now, feudalism was instituted to be useful in war. The Burmese customs were instituted that men should live in comfort and ease during peace; they were useless in war. So the natural leaders of a people, as in other countries, were absent. There were no local great men; the governors were men appointed from time to time from Mandalay, and usually knew nothing of their charges; there were
[565] no rich men, no large landholders—not one. There
795 still remained, however, one institution that other
642 nations have made useful in war, namely, the organization of religion. For Buddhism is fairly well organized—certainly much better than ever the government was. It has its heads of monasteries, its Gaing-dauks, its Gaing-oks, and finally the Thathanabaing, the head of the Burmese Buddhism. The overthrow of King Thibaw had not injured any of this. This was an organization in touch with the whole people, revered and honoured by every man and woman and child in the country. In this

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795 own soul perfect. This is the first of all things, and
642 comes before any other consideration. Of the virtues
721 that only war can create and nourish this teaching
knows nothing. Be pure and kind-hearted, full of
charity and compassion, and so you may do good to
[792] others. These are the vows the Buddhist monks
make, these are the vows they keep; and so it
happened that all that great organization was useless
to the patriot fighter, was worse than useless, for it
175 was against him. The whole spectacle of Burma in
722 those days, with the country seething with strife, and
792 the monks going about their business calmly as ever,
begging their bread from door to door, preaching of
peace, not war, of kindness, not hatred, of pity, not
revenge, was to most foreigners quite inexplicable.
They could not understand it. I remember a friend
of mine with whom I went through many experiences
speaking of it with scorn. He was a cavalry officer,
'the model of a light cavalry officer'; he had with
him a squadron of his regiment, and we were trying
to subdue a very troubled part of the country.

We were camping in a monastery, as we frequently did—a monastery on a hill near a high golden pagoda. The country all round was under the sway of a brigand leader, and sorely the villagers suffered at his hands now that he had leapt into unexpected power. The villages were half abandoned, the fields untilled, the people full of unrest; but the monasteries were as full of monks as ever; the gongs rang, as they ever did, their message through the quiet evening air; the little boys were taught there just the same; the trees were watered and the gardens swept as if there were no change

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at all—as if the king were still on his golden throne, and the English had never come; as if war had never burst upon them. And to us, after the very different scenes we saw now and then, saw and acted in, these monks and their monasteries were difficult to understand. The religion of the Buddha thus professed was strange.

'What is the use,' said my friend, 'of this religion that we see so many signs of? Suppose these men had been Jews or Hindus or Mussulmans, it would have been a very different business, this war. These yellow-robed monks, instead of sitting in their monasteries, would have pervaded the country, preaching against us and organizing. No one organizes better than an ecclesiastic. We should have had them leading their men into action with sacred banners, and promising them heaven hereafter when they died. They would have made Ghazis of them. Any one of these is a religion worth having. But what is the use of Buddhism? What do these monks do? I never see them in a fight, never hear that they are doing anything to organize the people. It is, perhaps, as well for us that they do not. But what is the use of Buddhism?'

So, or somewhat like this, spoke my friend, speaking as a soldier. Each of us speaks from our own standpoint. He was a brilliant soldier, and a religion was to him a sword, a thing to fight with. That was one of the first uses of a religion. He knew nothing of Buddhism; he cared to know nothing, beyond whether it would fight. If so, it was a good religion in its way. If not, then not.

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the law, the unchangeable law that man is subject to. 779
There is no good thing but peace, no sin like strife 721
and war.' That is what the followers of the great teacher would tell the peasant yearning for help to strike a blow upon the invaders. The law is the same for all. There is not one law for you and another for the foreigner; there is not one law to-day and another to-morrow. Truth is for ever and for ever. It cannot change even to help you in your extremity. Think of the English soldier and the Burmese peasant. Can there be anywhere a greater contrast than this?

Truly this is not a creed for a soldier, not a creed for a fighting-man of any kind, for what the soldier wants is a personal god who will always be on his side, always share his opinions, always support him against everyone else. But a law that points out unalterably that right is always right, and wrong always wrong, that nothing can alter one into the other, nothing can ever make killing righteous and violence honourable, that is no creed for a soldier. And Buddhism has ever done this. It never bent 779
to popular opinion, never made itself a tool in the hands of worldly passion. It could not. You might as well say to gravity, 'I want to lift this stone; please don't act on it for a time,' as expect Buddhism to assist you to make war. Buddhism is the unalterable law of righteousness, and cannot ally itself with evil, cannot ever be persuaded that under any circumstances evil can be good.

And so the Burmese peasant had to fight his 721
own fight in 1885 alone. His king was gone, his 175
government broken up, he had no leaders. He had 701

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721 no god to stand beside him when he fired at the
175 foreign invaders; and when he lay a-dying, with a
701 bullet in his throat, he had no one to open to him the gates of heaven.

And yet he fought—with every possible discouragement he fought, and sometimes he fought well. It has been thrown against him as a reproach that he did not do better. Those who have said this have never thought, never counted up the odds against him, never taken into consideration how often he did well.

Here was a people—a very poor people of peasants—with no leaders, absolutely none; no aristocracy of any kind, no cohesion, no fighting religion. They had for their leaders outlaws and desperadoes, and
[411] for arms old flint-lock guns and soft iron swords. Could anything be expected from this except what actually did happen? And yet they often did well, their natural courage overcoming their bad weapons, their passionate desire of freedom giving them the necessary impulse.

In 1886, as I have said, all Burma was up. Even in the lower country, which we held for so long, insurrection was spreading fast, and troops and military police were being poured in from India.

There is above Mandalay a large trading village—a small town almost—called Shemmaga. It is the river port for a large trade in salt from the inner country, and it was important to hold it. The village lay along the river bank, and about the middle of it, some two hundred yards from the river, rises a small hill. Thus the village was a triangle,

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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with the base on the river, and the hill as apex. On the hill were some monasteries of teak, from which the monks had been ejected, and three hundred Ghurkas were in garrison there. A strong fence ran from the hill to the river like two arms, and there were three gates, one just by the hill, and one on each end of the river face. 721 175 701

Behind Shemmaga the country was under the rule of a robber chief called Maung Yaing, who could raise from among the peasants some two hundred or three hundred men, armed mostly with flint-locks. He had been in the king's time a brigand with a small number of followers, who defied or eluded the local authorities, and lived free in quarters among the most distant villages. Like many a robber chief in our country and elsewhere, he was liked rather than hated by the people, for his brutalities were confined to either strangers or personal enemies, and he was open-handed and generous. We look upon things now with different eyes to what we did two or three hundred years ago, but I dare say Maung Yaing was neither better nor worse than many a hero of ours long ago. He was a fairly good fighter, and had a little experience fighting the king's troops; and so it was very natural, when the machinery of government fell like a house of cards, and some leaders were wanted, that the young men should crowd to him, and put themselves under his orders. He had usually with him forty or fifty men, but he could, as I have said, raise five or six times as many for any particular service, and keep them together for a few days. He very soon discovered that he and his men were absolutely no match for our troops. 721 175 579 701

16;Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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In two or three attempts that he made to oppose the troops he was signally worsted, so he was obliged to change his tactics. He decided to boycott the enemy. No Burman was to accept service under him, to give him information or supplies, to be his guide, or to assist him in any way. This rule Maung Yaing made generally known, and he announced his intention of enforcing it with rigour. And he did so. There was a head man of a village near Shemmaga whom he executed because he had acted as guide to a body of troops, and he cut off all supplies from the interior, lying on the roads, and stopping all men from entering Shemmaga. He further issued a notice that the inhabitants of Shemmaga itself should leave the town. They could not move the garrison, therefore the people must move themselves. No assistance must be given to the enemy. The villagers of Shemmaga, mostly small traders in salt and rice, were naturally averse to leaving. This trade was their only means of livelihood, the houses their only homes, and they did not like the idea of going out into the unknown country behind. Moreover, the exaction by Maung Yaing of money and supplies for his men fell most heavily on the wealthier men, and on the whole they were not sorry to have the English garrison in the town, so that they could trade in peace. Some few left, but most did not, and though they collected money, and sent it to Maung Yaing, they at the same time told the English officer in command of Maung Yaing's threats, and begged that great care should be taken of the town, for Maung Yaing was very angry. When he found he could not cause the

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16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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abandonment of the town, he sent in word to say that he would burn it. Not three hundred foreigners, nor three thousand, should protect these lazy, unpatriotic folk from his vengeance. He gave them till the new moon of a certain month, and if the town were not evacuated by that time he declared that he would destroy it. He would burn it down, and kill certain men whom he mentioned, who had been the principal assistants of the foreigners. This warning was quite public, and came to the ears of the English officer almost at once. When he heard it he laughed.

He had three hundred men, and the rebels had three hundred. His were all magnificently trained and drilled troops, men made for war; the Burmans were peasants, unarmed, untrained. He could have defeated three thousand of them, or ten times that number, with his little force, and so, of course, he could if he met them in the open; no one knew that better, by bitter experience, than Maung Yaing. The villagers, too, knew, but nevertheless they were stricken with fear, for Maung Yaing was a man of his word. He was as good as his threat.

One night, at midnight, the face of the fort where the Ghurkas lived on the hill was suddenly attacked. Out of the brushwood near by a heavy fire was opened upon the breastwork, and there was shouting and beating of gongs. So all the Ghurkas turned out in a hurry, and ran to man the breastwork, and the return fire became hot and heavy. In a moment, as it seemed, the attackers were in the village. They had burst in the north gate by the river face, killed the guard on it, and streamed in.

16;Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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They lit torches from a fire they found burning, and in a moment the village was on fire. Looking down from the hill, you could see the village rushing into flame, and in the lurid light men and women and children running about wildly. There were shouts and screams and shots. No one who has never heard it, never seen it, can know what a village is like when the enemy has burst in at night. Everyone is mad with hate, with despair, with terror. They run to and fro, seeking to kill, seeking to escape being killed. No one can tell one from another. The bravest man is dismayed. And the noise is like a great moan coming out of the night, pierced with sharp cries. It rises and falls, like the death-cry of a dying giant. It is the most terrible sound in the world. It makes the heart stop.

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To the Ghurkas this sight and sound came all of a sudden, as they were defending what they took to be a determined attack on their own position. The village was lost ere they knew it was attacked. And two steamers full of troops, anchored off the town, saw it, too. They were on their way up country, and had halted there that night, anchored in the stream. They were close by, but could not fire, for there was no telling friend from foe.

And before the relief party of Ghurkas could come swarming down the hill, only two hundred yards, before the boats could land the eager troops from the steamers, the rebels were gone. They went through the village and out of the south gate. They had fulfilled their threat and destroyed the town. They had killed the men they had declared they would kill. The firing died away from the fort side,

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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and the enemy were gone, no one could tell whither, into the night. 721 175

Such a scene of desolation as that village was next day! It was all destroyed—every house. All the food was gone, all furniture, all clothes, everything, and here and there was a corpse in among the blackened cinders. The whole countryside was terror-stricken at this failure to defend those who had depended on us. 579

I do not think this was a particularly gallant act, but it was a very able one. It was certainly war. It taught us a very severe lesson—more severe than a personal reverse would have been. It struck terror in the countryside. The memory of it hampered us for very long; even now they often talk of it. It was a brutal act—that of a brigand, not a soldier.

But there was no want of courage. If these men, inferior in number, in arms, in everything, could do this under the lead of a robber chief, what would they not have done if well led, if well trained, if well armed?

Of desperate encounters between our troops and the insurgents I could tell many a story. I have myself seen such fights. They nearly always ended in our favour—how could it be otherwise?

There was Ta Te, who occupied a pagoda enclosure with some eighty men, and was attacked by our mounted infantry. There was a long fight in that hot afternoon, and very soon the insurgents' ammunition began to fail, and the pagoda was stormed. Many men were killed, and Ta Te, when his men were nearly all dead, and his ammunition quite expended, climbed up the pagoda wall, and twisted off 721 157 701

16;Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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CHAPTER VII

GOVERNMENT

'Fire, water, storms, robbers, rulers—these are the five great evils.'
—*Burmese saying.*

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IT would be difficult, I think, to imagine anything worse than the government of Upper Burma in its later days. I mean by 'government' the king and his counsellors and the greater officials of the empire. The management of foreign affairs, of the army, the suppression of greater crimes, the care of the means of communication, all those duties which fall to the central government, were badly done, if done at all. It must be remembered that there was one difficulty in the way—the absence of any noble or leisured class to be entrusted with the greater offices. As I have shown in another chapter, there was no one between the king and the villager—no noble, no landowner, no wealthy or educated class at all. The king had to seek for his ministers among the ordinary people, consequently the men who were called upon to fill great offices of state were as often as not men who had no experience beyond the narrow limits of a village.

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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it well, no one can doubt. They taxed themselves 621
without friction, they built their own monastery schools by voluntary effort, they maintained a very high, a very simple, code of morals, entirely of their own initiative.

All this has passed, or is passing away. The 175
king has gone to a banishment far across the sea, 621
the ministers are either banished or powerless for 642
good or evil. It will never rise again, this government of the king, which was so bad in all it did, and only good in what it left alone. It will never rise again. The people are now part of the British Empire, subjects of the Queen. What may be in store for them in the far future no one can tell, only we may be sure that the past can return no more. And the local government is passing away, too. It cannot exist with a strong government such as ours. For good or for evil, in a few years it, too, will be gone.

But, after all, these are but forms; the soul is 000
far within. In the soul there will be no change. No one can imagine even in the far future any monk of the Buddha desiring temporal power, or interfering in any way with the government of the people. That is why I have written this chapter, to show how Buddhism holds itself towards the government. With us, we are accustomed to ecclesiastics trying to manage affairs of state, or attempting to grasp the secular power. It is in accordance with our ideals that they should do so. Our religious phraseology is full of such terms as 779
lord and king and ruler and servant. Buddhism 642
knows nothing of any of them. In our religion we

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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community over the individual—the restraining 674
influence of public opinion and of religion is greater. But even during the years of trouble, the years from 1885 till 1890, when, in the words of the Burmese proverb, 'the forest was on fire and the wild-cat slapped his arm,' there were certain peculiarities about the criminals that differentiated them from those of Europe. You would hear of a terrible crime, a village attacked at night by brigands, a large robbery of property, one or two villagers killed, and an old woman tortured for her treasure, and you would picture the perpetrators as hardened, brutal criminals, lost to all sense of humanity, tigers in human shape; and when you came to arrest them—if by good luck you did so—you would find yourself quite mistaken. One, perhaps, or two of the ringleaders might be such as I have described, but the others would be far different. They would be boys or young men led away by the idea of a frolic, allured by the romance of being a free-lance for a night, very sorry now, and ready to confess and do all in their power to atone for their misdeeds. Nothing, I think, was more striking than the universal confession of criminals on their arrest. Even now, despite the spread of lawyers and notions [177]
of law, in country districts accused men always confess, sometimes even they surrender themselves.[1] I have known many such cases. Here is one that happened to myself only the other day.

A man was arrested in another jurisdiction for 672
cattle theft; he was tried there and sentenced to

[1] This was written in 1896. In 1902 it is very different. The increase of all forms of perjury and false evidence is universal. [175] [691]

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ness. Can there be a more valuable knowledge for anyone than this?

In many ways she will act for her husband with vigour and address, and she is not afraid of appearing in his name or her own in law courts, for instance, or in transacting certain kinds of business. She knows that she can do certain business as well as or better than her husband, and she does it. There is nothing more remarkable than the way in which she makes a division of these matters in which she can act for herself, and those in which, if she act at all, it is for her husband.

Thus, as I have said, she will, as regards her own property or her own business, act freely in her own name, and will also frequently act for her husband too. They will both sign deeds, borrow money on joint security, lend money repayable to them jointly. But in public affairs she will never allow her name to appear at all. Not that she does not take a keen interest in such things. She lives in no world apart; all that affects her husband interests her as keenly as it does him. She lives in a world of men and women, and her knowledge of public affairs, and her desire and powers of influencing them, is great. But she learnt long ago that her best way is to act through and by her husband, and that his strength and his name are her bucklers in the fight. Thus women are never openly concerned in any political matters. How strong their feeling is can better be illustrated by a story than in any other way.

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In 1889 I was stationed far away on the north-west frontier of Burma, in charge of some four thousand square miles of territory which had been

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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newly incorporated. I went up there with the first column that ever penetrated that country, and I remained there when, after the partial pacification of the district, the main body of the troops were withdrawn. It was a fairly exciting place to live in. To say nothing of the fever which swept down men in batches, and the trans-frontier people who were always peeping over to watch a good opportunity for a raid, my own charge simply swarmed with armed men, who seemed to rise out of the very ground—so hard was it to follow their movements—attack anywhere they saw fit, and disappear as suddenly. There was, of course, a considerable force of troops and police to suppress these insurgents, but the whole country was so roadless, so unexplored, such a tangled labyrinth of hill and forest, dotted with sparse villages, that it was often quite impossible to trace the bands who committed these attacks; and to the sick and weary pursuers it sometimes seemed as if we should never restore peace to the country.

The villages were arranged in groups, and over each group there was a headman with certain powers and certain duties, the principal of the latter being to keep his people quiet, and, if possible, protect them from insurgents.

Now, it happened that among these headmen was one named Saw Ka, who had been a free-lance in his day, but whose services were now enlisted on the side of order—or, at least, we hoped so. He was a fighting-man, and rather fond of that sort of exercise; so that I was not much surprised one day when I got a letter from him to say that his villagers

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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had pursued and arrested, after a fight, a number of armed robbers, who had tried to lift some of the village cattle. The letter came to me when I was in my court-house, a tent ten feet by eight, trying a case. So, saying I would see Saw Ka's people later, and giving orders for the prisoners to be put in the lock-up, I went on with my work. When my case was finished, I happened to notice that among those sitting and waiting without my tent-door was Saw Ka himself, so I sent to call him in, and I complimented him upon his success. 'It shall be reported,' I said, 'to the Commissioner, who will, no doubt, reward you for your care and diligence in the public service.'

As I talked I noticed that the man seemed rather bewildered, and when I had finished he said that he really did not understand. He was aware, he added modestly, that he was a diligent headman, always active in good deeds, and a terror to dacoits and other evil-doers; but as to these particular robbers and this fighting he was a little puzzled.

I was considerably surprised, naturally, and I took from the table the Burmese letter describing the affair. It began, 'Your honour, I, Maung Saw Ka, headman,' etc., and was in the usual style. I handed it to Saw Ka, and told him to read it. As he read his wicked black eyes twinkled, and when he had finished he said he had not been home for a week.

'I came in from a visit to the river,' he said, 'where I have gathered for your honour some private information. I had not been here five minutes before I was called in. All this the letter

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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speaks of is news to me, and must have happened while I was away.' 175 622

'Then, who wrote the letter?' I asked.

'Ah!' he said, 'I think I know; but I will go and make sure.'

Then Saw Ka went to find the guard who had come in with the prisoners, and I dissolved court and went out shooting. After dinner, as we sat round a great bonfire before the mess, for the nights were cold, Saw Ka and his brother came to me, and they sat down beside the fire and told me all about it.

It appeared that three days after Saw Ka left his village, some robbers came suddenly one evening to a small hamlet some two miles away and looted from there all the cattle, thirty or forty head, and went off with them. The frightened owners came in to tell the headman about it, and in his absence they told his wife. And she, by virtue of the order of appointment as headman, which was in her hands, ordered the villagers to turn out and follow the dacoits. She issued such government arms as she had in the house, and the villagers went and pursued the dacoits by the cattle tracks, and next day they overtook them, and there was a fight. When the villagers returned with the cattle and the thieves, she had the letter written to me, and the prisoners were sent in, under her husband's brother, with an escort. Everything was done as well, as successfully, as if Saw Ka himself had been present. But if it had not been for the accident of Saw Ka's sudden appearance, I should probably never have known that this exploit was due to his wife; for she was 175 622 562

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

175 acting for her husband, and she would not have been
622 pleased that her name should appear.
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'A good wife,' I said to Saw Ka.

'Like many,' he answered.

462 But in her own line she has no objection to publicity. I have said that nearly all women work, and that is so. Married or unmarried, from the age of sixteen or seventeen, almost every woman has some occupation besides her own duties. In the higher classes she will have property of her own to manage; in the lower classes she will have some trade. I cannot find that in Burma there have ever been certain occupations told off for women in which they may work, and others tabooed to them. As there is no caste for the men, so there is none for the women. They have been free to try their hands at anything they thought they could excel in, without any fear of public opinion. But nevertheless, as is inevitable, it has been found that there are certain trades in which women can compete successfully with men, and certain others in which they cannot. And these are not quite the same as in the West. We usually consider sewing to be a feminine
462 occupation. In Burma, there being no elaborately
294 cut and trimmed garments, the amount of sewing done is small, but that is usually done by men. Women often own and use small hand-machines, but the treadles are always used by men only. As I am writing, my Burmese orderly is sitting in the garden sewing his jacket. He is usually sewing when not sent on messages. He seems to sew very well.

Weaving is usually done by women. Under

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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581 divorce your husband or your wife without good—
586 very good and sufficient cause. And what is good and sufficient cause is very well understood. That a woman should have a nagging tongue, that a man should be a drunkard, what could be better cause than this? The gravity of the offence lies in whether it makes life unbearable together, not in the name you may give it.

The facility for divorce has other effects too. It makes a man and a woman very careful in their behaviour to each other. The chain that binds them is a chain of mutual forbearance, of mutual endurance, of mutual love; and if these be broken, then is the bond gone. Marriage is no fetter about a man or woman, binding both to that which they may get to hate.

[175] In the first Burmese war in 1825 there was a
[727] man, an Englishman, taken prisoner in Ava and put in prison, and there he found certain Europeans and Americans. And after a time, for fear of attempts at escape, these prisoners were chained together two and two. And he tells you, this Englishman, how terrible this was, and of the hate and repulsion that arose in your heart to your co-bondsman. Before they were chained together they lived in close neighbourhood, in peace and amity; but when the chains came it was far otherwise, though they were no nearer than before. They got to hate each other.

And this is the Burmese idea of marriage, that it is a partnership of love and affection, and that when these die, all should be over. An unbreakable marriage appears to them as a fetter, a bond, something hateful and hate inspiring. You see, they are

General Attitudes of the Burmese toward Work.

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Rank and status in the Burmese Village is determined to a large extent on the basis of occupation - with the factor of wealth where applicable taking precedence over occupation. The highest rank is accorded to the Buddhist monks who exert the ultimate influence. Government officials including the township officers, the THU GYI (headman) and elders, and the schoolmaster occupy the second rank. The large land owners (of this group the rice-mill owners rate highest) rank next. Below these are the tradesmen - the paddy dealers, shop keepers and small holdings farmers who comprise the bulk of the population. Professional artisans such as carpenters, blacksmiths, gold and silver smiths occupy a lower position. However, it is common for the small holdings farmers to practice a secondary occupation such as pottery making.

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Fishermen and hunters are looked down on by the rest of the community because they offend Buddhist precepts by taking life. In this class also are those who raise animals (cows, poultry, pigs) for food, smugglers and brewers. Fishermen, particularly those such as U Myaing who operate IN fisheries often become wealthy, but the stigma of the source of this wealth is remembered by the community.

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A story is told of a rich fisherman who came to cover the Shwe Dagon Pagoda in Rangoon with gold plate. Unfortunately, he had sinned so much by taking the lives of fish that he could not see the pagoda. In a rage he returned to his IN to cover its posts with the gold. Because of the stigma attached to fishing those who make their living in this way tend to live together in their own communities. Thus Pathma, U Myaing's village is primarily a fisherman's community.

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In the days of the Burmese kings, wealthy men and nobles (THAKIN) would assign people under their command to serve as pagoda slaves. Their names were engraved in stone and their descendants for all eternity assigned to this position. The duties were light - consisting mainly of sweeping the platforms and carrying for the images, but the social position was next to the lowest. It is believed that the flower vendors on the platform of the Rangoon

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pagodas and those throughout the country are descendants of the pagoda slaves.

Beggars are rated below the pagoda slaves - but, because of the Buddhist merit associated with giving do well for themselves. The beggars live in communities on the outskirts of the town often in cemetaries. They are thought to exhume the dead to get the coins placed in the mouth of the deceased to ensure expenses on his journey to heaven. The wood of the coffin is believed to be used in constructing their huts. Professional undertakers or morticians are regarded with horror since they like the beggars, make their living from the dead. The functions of burial are performed gratis by the entire village. A story is currently going round the University dormitories [203] telling of an immensely wealthy Burmese coffin maker in Rangoon who has offered riches to the young man who will marry his beautiful daughter. When the future seems blank the students' friend advises "Hey, why don't you go and marry the coffin maker's daughter?" It seems that the money would scarcely compensate for the social discrimation. The extent to which the occupation classes are rigid in marriage and other social exchanges is an interesting problem.

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A young man is obliged to remain within the occupation class of his family or to rise to greater heights. He is advised at an early [867] age to "be simple, aim high, and tell the truth." When children [857] play at dacoits (thieves) of other "low class" games their parents object to their low aspirations and advise them to play nobles and ministers. One would feel justified in remaining idle rather than accept a position below that of his birth. It is better to accept a clerks job at a low salary than an artisans at a high salary. On the other hand those born into lower status occupation groups tend to be satisfied with their state as a condition of birth. In Rangoon, however, even the hawkers may have ambitions to achieve fame and fortune. The opportunities for social mobility is greater in the towns and cities [369] but difinitely restricted in the villages.

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Apprenticeship to trades begins at the age of 12 to 14 years, and usually lasts for several years. Ordinarily the youth is attached to the shop of a relative where he lives and is payed a subsistence wage while learning. The key to high positions lies in education in

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
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INTRODUCTION

1. The Rise of a Vernacular Literature in Burma

Burma is a small country lying between the two great countries of India and China, and at a first glance it may perhaps be thought that Burmese civilization has little of originality or individuality, and that it is only a minor branch of the Indian and Chinese civilizations. That is not the case. The peninsula of Indo-China shades into India and China along its borders, but Burma proper, where Burmese is spoken,[1] lies away from these borders, and therefore preserves special characteristics of her own. Surrounded on three sides by highlands and on the fourth by the sea, Burma has always remained insular, more insular even than England. The barriers, however, were not impassable, and there were routes from India and China along which foreign influences came, but in such a restricted way that Burma could absorb them without losing her individuality. Even now, when with better sea communications foreign influences come in more extensively, the power of absorption possessed by Burma and the Burmese still leave them their individuality, and they are still a nation with a civilization of their own. 101 131

According to early chronicles which most English scholars, except Mr G. E. Harvey, have accepted as quite reliable, the kingdom of Prome in Lower Burma was flourishing as a civilized State by about the fifth century before Christ. A few centuries earlier the first kingdom, named Tagaung, in Upper Burma, is said to have been founded by a king who came overland from India. He found the natives quite civilized and willing to be more so. That kingdom was destroyed, but was revived and restored by another king from India during the lifetime of the Buddha. It, too, was destroyed and the kingdom of Prome was later founded by a prince of Tagaung. Prome is generally believed to have dominated the regions around 175

[1] Burma proper is the valley of the Irrawaddy. On the west of it are the Chins and allied tribes, on the north Kachins, and on the east the Shans. They were under the Burmese kings and are now under the Government of Burma. Being backward races, except the Shans, they have no writing. [101]

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4
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175 it, carrying on trade with India and the rest of Indo-China. During this period Burmese dancing and music and poetry, as embodied in songs, perhaps assumed definite and national forms. But there was
177 no writing. The kings that came from India probably knew writing,
175 but their knowledge was perhaps limited; in any case, it never
212 reached the people. The introduction of Buddhism into the country brought no writing, as it came through traders whose knowledge of religious learning was meagre. The few religious tracts preserved in monasteries were looked upon merely as curious and sacred objects. The religion, feeble from the beginning, decayed and soon disappeared. The kingdom came to an end in the first century A.D.[1]

175 A new kingdom was founded in Upper Burma at Pagan, which
179 controlled the land and river trade-routes, and as a result of its
212 commercial advantages, it became a powerful kingdom with the ascension to the throne of Anawrahta in 1044. From that point Burmese history ceases to be conjectural. Through the influence of the learned and saintly monk, Shin Arahan, Buddhism in one of its purest forms was introduced into the kingdom by Anawrahta. With it, writing was also introduced. The alphabet was the 'Square Pali', and the literature the *Three Pitakas* embodying all the religious
101 teachings in Pali. Curiously enough, the alphabet and the literature
174 did not come directly from India, but from Burma itself—from the
144 Talaing kingdom of Thaton. The Talaings were a branch of the Burmese race. Many think that they were a mixture of native tribes with Indian traders. I venture to disagree. The earliest inhabitants of Burma were Indonesians, who settled on the coast of Burma during successive 'drifts' of humanity from the west, through India, to further east. Later, there was an infiltration of Mongolian tribes, who came down the rivers from the North. Inland, where the Indonesian element was weak, the new-comers dominated and later became the Burmese; along the coast where the Indonesian element was strong the tribes united and became the Talaings. However, all this is mere con-
175 jecture. The early history of the Talaing kingdom of Thaton, which
101 Anawrahta had to destroy to obtain possession of the alphabet and the *Three Pitakas*, is not known, except that it was perhaps in existence a few centuries before Christ and was under the influence

[1] Pe Maung Tin and G. H. Luce, *The Glass Palace Chronicle*; A. Phayre, *History of Burma*. G. E. Harvey in his *History of Burma* contends that the first Burmese kingdom was Prome, and that it flourished only in about the seventh century A.D.

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21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1880) 1937 AP1 Burma
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of Hindu traders from South India. After the introduction of Buddhism into South India by Asoka in 261 B.C., the traders began to bring Buddhist elements to Thaton. With the establishment in the third or fourth century after Christ of the Hindu kingdoms in Java and Sumatra, Thaton became an important trading centre, and with the rise of a great Buddhist centre at Conjeveram in Madras in the fifth century, the Talaings began to receive religious writings in Pali. From that time onwards, learning was definitely established in the kingdom, and, as a result, a Talaing literature came into being. Anawrahta was interested in Pali only, and therefore when he destroyed the city, he burnt all the manuscripts except those in Pali.[1]

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The writing and learning that were thus introduced into Pagan took root at once. Prose and poetry as embodied in the language of the court and in songs had been in existence long before, though unwritten, and now the new learning turned them into written forms and began to develop them. Pali was studied everywhere, and in the newly-built temples with their crowded monastic life, works in Pali on religion, on Pali grammar and prosody, and on the legal code of Manu came to be produced.[2] Translations were also made, and soon Pagan became famous throughout India for its Pali scholarship. But

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[1] The Burmese language belongs to the Tibeto-Burmese group, whereas the Talaing belongs to the Mon-Khmer group. In spite of Anawrahta's conquest and in spite of the fact that racially they were cousins, the Talaings became completely merged with the Burmese only in the eighteenth century. The probability of the Sanskrit drama reaching the Talaings is considered in chap. ii.

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[2] G. E. Harvey, op. cit., pp. 59, 70.

The most famous for literary activity was the *Kyaukse Ohnmin* temple. Though built perhaps even before Anawrahta, when a corrupted form of Buddhism was prevalent, it is still in an excellent condition (Harvey, p. 17).

The code of Manu was compiled originally in Sanskrit, during the period 200 B.C.–A.D. 200. Since that time it has been one of the chief sources of Hindu law (J. D. Mayne, *Hindu Law*). The Burmese received it in a Talaing-Pali version in which the sacerdotal element had been done away with. That explains why, although Manu is one of the chief sources also of Burmese Buddhist law, it has little in common with Hindu law. The existence of the code as the chief source of Talaing law (Harvey, op. cit., p. 111) raises again the question, how far were the Talaing writings under the influence of Sanskrit and its literature? We shall never know. When Anawrahta destroyed Talaing institutions and historical and literary works, he intended that all knowledge of the past greatness of the Talaings should pass into oblivion so as to smooth his way towards unifying Burma into one single State.

[671]

Pali has been, since 1044, the classical language of Burma.

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But

175 there never was any attempt to imitate the Pali language and its
538 literature in the vernacular, and Burma offers no parallel to the
198 controversy among English Renaissance scholars over the merits and demerits of the vernacular.

175 The period of Pagan's ascendancy marked the zenith of Burmese
538 greatness and civilization. It was a great centre of trade, and visitors from afar talked of the glory that was Pagan. Its supremacy was unquestioned by the whole of Burma, which had been united into a kingdom for the first time. It even demanded and probably obtained nominal allegiance from the greater part of Indo-China and the governors of the outlying provinces of the Chinese Empire. But the period of Pagan's ascendancy was not a great period in Burmese literature. Her capital looked radiant with its golden temples, her kings were learned and powerful, her troops marched in triumph, but Pagan never forgot that no material thing was real, and everything decayed and perished. Therefore, the scholars were interested only in religious themes, and religious themes seldom offer adequate scope for the development of a great literature. Although the clearness of diction and the artistry of the death-song of the royal tutor, Anantathuria, composed while awaiting execution in 1173, indicate that at least a few must have practised the use of the vernacular for non-religious purposes, the efforts of writers in the vernacular were chiefly directed towards the recording of inscriptions, which are still
[172] preserved in countless numbers in the pagodas of Pagan.[1] Many of these inscriptions contain good prose. The earlier inscriptions tend to be bombastic through sheer wealth of learning; the scholars of Pagan could not at once learn to control their use of the newly-acquired scholarship, just as the earlier writers of the Renaissance in England failed to restrict their use of learned words. However, after a few decades, the bombastic style gave place to a simpler and more
175 concise diction. In addition to the narrowness of scope offered by
172 religious themes, there was another reason which prevented Pagan,

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[1] The death-song is one of the greatest poems in the language and is the oldest non-religious piece of literature existing in Burma. A translation is given in G. E. Harvey, op. cit., p. 55, and another in Tin and Luce, *The Glass Palace Chronicle*, p. 139.

G. E. Harvey, op cit. (p. 70) describes the inscriptions as 'richly human and intensely devout', and he ranks (p. 38) some of Kyanzittha's (1084–1112) inscriptions as literature.

[172] *Epigraphia Birmanica*, a Government publication, gives the text of the more important inscriptions with translations.

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in spite of its greatness in other directions, from being a great period of Burmese literature. The love of beauty, which is the basis of all literature, had adequate satisfaction in the developed art of architecture. The poets of Pagan wrote their poems in bricks, instead of words, and their pagodas are still famous. When one stands on the shore of the Irrawaddy and looks towards the ruins of Pagan, one is reminded of the delicate beauty of an incomplete poem.[1]

Pagan fell in 1287 as the result of the Tartar onslaught during the time of Kubla Khan, the Scourge of God, and the country broke up into several little States, each attempting to control the others. For the next fifty years, political struggles went on in the capitals, but they failed to disturb the peace of smaller towns and villages. Many who had grown tired of the strife around the thrones flocked to the quiet of the village monasteries in order to find peace. Religion went on undiminished, but the learning connected with it decayed, for the royal patronage was lacking. Architecture also decayed because there was no royal support and because the country had become poor. Men turned to literature for its own sake, and during this period Burmese prose and poetry assumed definite forms with fully developed diction, rhythm, rhyme and style.[2]

[1] Many temples and pagodas of the Pagan period are in an excellent state of preservation and are still in use as places of worship. Scott O'Conner's *Mandalay and Other Cities* contains fine illustrations of the more famous of these religious buildings.

The achievement of the Pagan kings, the 'Temple Builders', is summed up by Harvey thus: 'The legacy of their fleeting sway has enriched posterity for ever. It was they who made the sun-scorched wilderness, the solitary plain of Myingyan, to blossom forth into the architectural magnificence of Pagan. If they produced no nation-builder like Simon de Montfort, no lawgiver like Edward I, they unified Burma for more than two centuries, and that in itself was an achievement. But their role was æsthetic and religious rather than political. To them the world owes in great measure the preservation of Theravada Buddhism, one of the purest faiths mankind has ever known. Brahminism had strangled it in the land of its birth; in Ceylon its existence was threatened again and again; east of Burma it was not yet free from priestly corruptions; but the kings of Burma never wavered, and at Pagan the stricken faith found a city of refuge. Vainglorious tyrants built themselves lasting sepulchres, but none of these men has a tomb. . . . These men's magnificence went to glorify their religion, not to deck the tent wherein they camped during this transitory life.'—*History of Burma*, p. 70.

[2] Ibid., p. 103. Since that time, prose and poetry show continuous development. The full history of Burmese literature still remains unwritten. However, the *Anthology of Burmese Literature*, a Government publication,

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175 538 536* Though prose and poetry had thus assumed definite forms by about the fourteenth, or early fifteenth century, the drama was unknown until very much later. The first real Burmese drama appeared, though it had its origins some decades earlier, only towards the close of the eighteenth century, and during the next hundred years it developed and then decayed. Burmese dramatic literature developed in a historical sequence and in a way essentially similar to that of the Elizabethan drama. But why the similarity? Is it accident? Is it because of the similarity in the geographical isolation of the two countries? Or, is there a definite way in which all dramas have to develop in natural sequence?

2. Sources of Information

178 536* The history of Burmese drama can be divided into six stages. First, there is the age of the *Nibhathkhin*, comparable to the English miracle play, ending about 1752. Second, we have, from 1752 to 1819, the period of the interlude[1] (comparable to the English morality and interlude) and the court drama. Third, we have the period of the dramatist, U Kyin U, 1819 to 1853. Fourth, we have the period of the poet, U Pon Nya, 1853 to 1878. Fifth, there is the period of decadence, 1878 to 1886. Sixth, we have the time from [114] 1886 to the present day. As dates are in many cases uncertain in [505] determining the periods I am taking the reigns of various kings. As the drama depended much on the court and the victories and defeats of the king, perhaps I am justified in so doing. In any case, if a date is wrong, it is wrong by not more than two or three years.

176 538 536* The time before 1752 is the most difficult period as far as research is concerned. The centuries that followed the fall of Pagan—the time of internal wars, 1287 to 1531—saw the rise of a vernacular literature, which is found existing in the Empire of 1531 to 1752.[2]

[114] arranges its extracts in more or less chronological order, and therefore gives a [538] good idea of the development. The subject is outside the scope of this work [178] but I mention it to show how late the first appearance of Burmese drama was as compared with other branches of Burmese literature.

[1] The term 'interlude' is explained in chap. i.

175 [2] Perhaps it will not be out of place to give a short summary of the history. The various small States into which the country broke up after 1287 gave place, after some fifty years of incessant strife, to Ava, the kingdom of the Burmese, and Pegu, that of the Talaings. The small principality of Toungoo under Ava rebelled and conquered the whole of Burma in 1531.

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The rise of the *Nibhatkhin* was the result of the rise of the vernacular literature, for then learning had reached the people. But we do not quite know at what time the *Nibhatkhin* first came into being. According to tradition, the custom of holding religious processions and pageants had existed long before 1752, about which time the interlude and the *Hawsa* (a recitation of a story in verse) came into being, but how long before nobody can tell. However, as it must have taken some time for the vernacular literature to take root, I adopt tentatively 1531 to 1752 as the period of the *Nibhatkhin*.

For the story of the development of the *Nibhatkhin*, I am dependent on tradition alone. The tradition of its development from the pageant is quite logical. Moreover, it is general and not confined to a particular district. I have discussed it with various Burmese scholars and I have made inquiries in far-away villages, and always I find the same tradition. In some out-of-the-way villages, which the influences that affected the drama at the capital had failed to reach, the development of the *Nibhatkhin* from the pageant was within living memory. Until recently, in such villages, one could even see the *Nibhatkhin* in its various stages of development. One village would be presenting a procession, another a pageant, a third would be staging a fully developed *Nibhatkhin*; in all the villages, their particular practice had been the custom for many years, further development having been checked by the introduction of the drama in its more mature stages by touring troupes of professional actors, and it had continued to exist side by side with the performances of strolling players, just as some miracle plays continued to be presented in certain places in England during the heyday of the Elizabethan

Under Bayinnaung (1551–81) the whole of Indo-China, the outlying provinces of China, and Manipur owed allegiance to the Burmese king. After his death, the Empire decayed until the ruler of Pegu, who had become independent, defeated the Burmese, and turned Burma into a Talaing Empire in 1752. The Empire was short-lived, for in the same year Alaungpaya rebelled, founded the last Burmese dynasty, and 'Burmanized' the Talaings by force. He and his successors turned Burma into one united kingdom, which with the Shan States, Siam, Manipur, and Assam, formed the Burmese Empire. The period 1752–1819 was the Age of Triumph, a fuller account of which is given in chap. ii.

The Burmese lost Assam, Manipur, and the native provinces of Arakan and Tenasserim to the British in 1824. The rest of Lower Burma fell into British hands in 1852. On 1 January 1886 the whole country was proclaimed a province of the Indian Empire.

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173 drama. In 1916 I saw a *Nibhatkhin* at the obscure town of Pauk.
178 For this period, I am greatly indebted to the notes made by my
536* father. They are the results of inquiries and researches spread over
127 a period of forty or fifty years. I realize that to many European scholars the section on the *Nibhatkhin* must appear conjectural in its dependence on tradition. My plea is that at present there is nothing else to depend on.[1]

175 With regard to the interlude, I am on surer ground. Again I
536* depend much on tradition, but it is now tradition supported by
[791] evidence. Besides the general and common tradition, there is the
127 tradition of the spirit mediums and actors, and, as I shall explain, the
647 tradition of my own family.

Professional tradition of the mediums and actors is more reliable
[791] than common tradition because the two professions, especially the former, are closed fraternities, and as written records were never in use, they handed down the facts regarding the nature and history of their callings by word of mouth. To them oral tradition was as strong as written records. Moreover, their oral tradition can be checked by the stage conventions which exist at the present day. The various stage conventions are considered in Chapter VII.

The tradition in my family[2] begins from about the year 1800. About that time, an officer[3] in the victorious army of King Bodawpaya

[114] [1] Even Harvey, who wrote his *History of Burma* at Exeter College, Oxford, often accepts oral tradition supported by no other evidence as substantially correct (*History of Burma*, pp. 33, 41, 211, 252, 267, 299). In two instances, pp. 33 and 41, the tradition cited dates back to the eleventh century A.D.

[2] My father is U Pein, District Magistrate, Burma Commission, now retired. In Burma, historical researches and inquiries are often made by administrative officials, as their duties carry them all over the country and to the remotest villages. Messrs Harvey, Stewart, Furnivall—great names in the Burma Research Society—are all officials belonging to the Burma Commission.

[3] He was Maha Minhla Mindin Raza.

I have to cite in this section the full names and official positions of some members of my family because:

[551] 1. As the Burmese use no surnames, my name alone would not convey anything regarding their identity.

2. The service record of the family may perhaps be construed as evidence in favour of the reliability of its tradition. G. E. Harvey, op. cit., p. 310 where he rejects Fuhrer's statement regarding an inscription because the 'precious slab has never been produced, and in view of Fuhrer's service record its production is essential.'

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was appointed viceroy of the Seven Hill Districts of Mindon, situated between Arakan and the river Irrawaddy. It was during the Age of Triumph, the period when the native interlude and the Siamese-influenced court drama were being fused. At the miniature court of the viceroy were presented interludes and court plays, and *Hausas* were publicly recited. In his palace,[1] a special apartment was built for the regular performance of plays and interludes, a special troupe of actors was taken under his patronage, and more famous troupes were often invited from the capital. In 1824 the unfortunate viceroy failed to stem the advance of the British forces, and he was executed and his palace burnt by royal order. From 1825 to 1852, the date of the second Anglo-Burmese war, Mindon was administered directly from the capital, and times were difficult; therefore dramatic performances at Mindon were few and far between. Though the son of the late viceroy was living, he wisely chose to leave the court, the administration of justice and politics alone, and as a result, he had neither the influence nor the wealth to patronize the drama. Therefore, as far as the drama was concerned, a gap resulted in the tradition of the family. In 1852 the British annexed the whole of Lower Burma, and Mindon passed into British hands. The viceroy's grandson was appointed chief administrative officer. This officer, my great-grandfather, took his office to be exactly similar in rank to that of his grand-sire, and though the British Government did not know of it—or the authorities at Rangoon did not care—he restored in effect the court of his grandfather, and dramatic performances were revived.[2] To him I am indebted for preserving much of the custom and tradition of the executed ancestor. To his revival of official performances of plays and interludes, I owe my information gathered from members of my family and the townspeople of Mindon. While the court poet, U Pon Nya, was further developing the drama, continuing the work of U Kyin U at the Burmese capital of Mandalay, in the out-of-the-way town of Mindon the interludes were still being performed. But it must not be supposed that Mindon was the only place where the interlude lived on. It survived in many places alongside the plays of the two great dramatists. But only from Mindon have I been able to obtain first-hand information and

[1] Though it was termed the 'palace', it was by no means a stately mansion or an imposing castle. Except for its gilded spires, emblems of the king's authority, it was just a big house of timber and bamboo with thatched roofs.

[2] He was U Seuk, Extra Assistant Commissioner.

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647 accounts regarding it. Apart from the notes gathered by my father, I
175 base my information on the accounts given to me orally by my grand-
536* mother and grand-aunts who actually saw the interludes performed.

127 In support of the oral tradition regarding the nature of the
175 interlude, there are some echoes of it in the plays of U Kyin U. He
536* developed the interlude into a proper play, but the change was not a sudden one, and in his plays we find echoes of the interlude in its various stages. His plays are considered in detail in another chapter. There are also contemporary references to the interlude. Even from an English pen we have an account. Colonel Yule in 1855 saw an entertainment midway between the interlude and the developed plays of U Kyin U.[1]

644 The period of the court plays offers an easier task for research.
536* The *Rama* play from Siam is preserved, with adaptations, it is true,
[177] but with notes on the original when a change was made in the pre-
538 served version.[2] The other Siamese play of *Eenaung* has come down to us. The poem *Rama-yagan* which Burmanized the *Rama* story has also come down. Accounts of the performances of the court plays and the recitation of the poem at court are many and well known. From the time when they were first composed down to the present day, the works of these court poets and dramatists have been studied and read. The influence of these works on the interlude is suggested, not only by the 'internal evidence' in U Kyin U's plays, but also by the editorial prefaces to the works in their various editions.

[114] Though only three plays of U Kyin U exist at the present day as far as is known, the period is quite easy of research, because references and notes regarding him occur in various records of the court and the nobility, and because the Burma Research Society has published new editions of two of his plays; and though the prefaces to them are short and no attempt is made to make a complete study, suggestions for further study and research are made by the editors.

175 The period of U Pon Nya offers the easiest task, as compared with
536* other periods, so far as research is concerned. All his plays are

[1] H. Yule, *A Narrative of the Mission sent by the Governor-General of India to the Court of Ava in 1855*. His description of the dramatic entertainment he saw is considered again in the next chapter in connexion with Sir William Ridgeway's theory of the development of the Burmese drama.

[2] There is a copy of the *Rama* play in the British Museum. It is wrongly catalogued as by U Ku, who was only the editor. All these plays and the poem have been printed again and again, and are easily obtainable in Burma.

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preserved in their entirety except the *Waythandaya*, and even that is extant with only two scenes missing, while respecting the lost scenes themselves some accounts are preserved. His works have been also studied widely and editorial prefaces to his works offer adequate accounts of his life and writings. Moreover, many courtiers of U Pon Nya's time are still living, and from them first-hand accounts have been obtained by scholars of the present day. After all, U Pon Nya's period is very recent.[1]

For the decadent period, 1878 to 1886, I was dependent on oral accounts of the plays until I went to England. Printing came into general use in Burma during this period and very great numbers of plays were printed. From the Government register of published books we learn that as many as three or four editions of 5,000 copies each of the more famous plays of the period were sold out a few weeks after publication. Yet search as I might, I could not find any copies of the plays in Burma. I discovered later that every one of the more famous plays, with about a hundred less-known plays of the period, are happily preserved in the British Museum. Incidentally, I found that the oral accounts regarding them were correct.

References to historical events and to non-dramatic works made in the thesis are taken from standard works.

As regards my dependence on oral tradition, there is this to be said. The oral accounts of a less civilized nation may be more imaginative than accurate, but with the Burmese everything points to the reliability of the tradition. After all, it goes back to only about two hundred years, and the intervening period is not so long as to undermine human memory. Moreover, as I have said, the truth of the tradition can be ascertained from other sources. It should be remembered that in a country where printing was not in general use until about 1860, and records and literary works were written on palm-leaf and parchment, both of which are very liable to destruction by

[1] My chief informants for the period are:

1. Myothawundauk-kadaw, wife of the Myothawundauk, who distinguished himself in the defence of the palace during the Myingun Rebellion mentioned in the chapter on U Pon Nya. She was a lady-in-waiting at court during the last two reigns.

2. My mother's elder brother. My maternal grandfather was Naymyo Thiri Kyawhtin Nawyahta, Minister for Revenue at Minhla, and an 'honorary poet to the court' in the last two reigns.

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CHAPTER I

THE ORIGINS OF BURMESE DRAMA

1. Burmese Music and Dancing

I have said that no Burmese drama is to be found before the eighteenth century. The origins of that drama are to be found in the remote past of Burma's own national development, rather than in foreign importations or influence.

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No doubt, Burmese music and dancing arose out of primitive religious rituals as in other countries. Society developed, civilization expanded, and contact with the Hindus and Chinese gave new ideas, but the native element always dominated, and the music and dancing remained, as indeed they still remain, essentially Burmese. In A.D. 800 when the Hindu expansion overseas was an accomplished fact, when the Hindu and Chinese civilizations had come into contact with each other, and when the rest of Indo-China had been drawn into the influence of those civilizations, Burmese music and dancing remained independent. In 800–2, when some parts of Upper Burma were under the nominal suzerainty of Nanchao (then a semi-independent State, now Yunnan), two Burmese deputations accompanied Nanchao missions to the Court of the Chinese Emperor, and the Burmese 'sang songs containing Sanskrit words and went through spelling dances, lining up in a pattern which read "Nanchao sends holy music!"'[1] The Imperial Secretary has left us a poem describing the occasion. The following is an extract:

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Music from the land of P'iao, music from the land of P'iao,[2]
Brought hither from the great ocean's south-west corner
  Yung Ch'iang's son, Shunant'o.
Has come with an offering of southern tunes to fête the New Year.
Our Emperor has taken his seat in the courtyard of the palace.
He does not press his cap strings to his ears, he is listening to you!

[1] G. E. Harvey, *History of Burma*, p. 14.

[2] The land of P'iao was the name by which Burma was known to the Chinese until the tenth century (ibid., p. 11).

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175 At the first blast of the jewelled shell, their matted locks grow crisp.
533 At one blow from their copper gong their painted limbs leap.
535 Pearl streams glitter as they twist, as though the stars were shaken in the sky
Flowery crowns nod and whirl, with the motion of dragon or snake.[1]

The music and the dance were strange enough and pleasing enough for the Emperor to bestow minor honorary offices at the court on the leaders of the deputation. Burmese music and dancing continued to develop, and at least the music reached great artistic heights in the kingdom of Pagan, for the kings were its patrons; Alaungsithu, king from 1112 to 1167, was himself an accomplished musician, and introduced new notes and tunes. With all its developments, the music remained so national that when the great Anawrahta (1044–77) led a raiding expedition into Bengal and wanted to leave a sign that he had been there, he set up, not stone pillars as was the practice of most eastern kings of the period, but stone images of Burmese musicians. And when Alaungsithu, his grandson, later raided Bengal, he found them; and men say that the stone musicians played tunes as if they were alive, to the great delight of the homesick king.[2]

[101] Music and dancing could develop on their own without being overwhelmed by an already developed drama, as the Burmese did not know of the great Indian epics, the *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana*, or the Sanskrit drama and its kinsman the puppet show, although Java and the rest of Indo-China, through their Hindu colonists and kings, had definitely adopted the Indian epics and the drama as their own by about the sixth or seventh century. This absence of Hindu influence on Burmese music and dancing explains why the Burmese are the only civilized nation in the Far East who do not possess the fighting dance—the dance essentially connected with the great Indian epics.[3]

[1] The extract is taken from G. E. Harvey, op. cit., p. 14.

[2] Harvey, pp. 30 and 48; Tin and Luce, *The Glass Palace Chronicle*, p. 114. Alaungsithu was a great warrior and traveller.

[3] A fuller account of the Sanskrit drama and the epics is given in chap. ii.

So the worship of the nats lived on, and with the advance of
795 civilization the spirit dances became elaborate, for though the belief
535 was primitive, the people were no longer so. The dances benefited from the developments that had taken place in Burmese music which, as we have seen, flourished under the patronage of the Pagan kings. New spirits were added, and they were usually those of heroic princes. The dancers were now many, for the mediums turned themselves into dancing and music mistresses. The chief medium of each spirit dressed herself in the special dress of the spirit, but the junior mediums, who were equivalent to the chorus of an English revue, were in the dress of Burmese princesses. It is interesting to note the
[292] origin of this dress. The mediums realized the necessity of dressing
[565] themselves in fine raiment, but as everybody wore clothes of bright colours, the only solution of the problem was to don the dress of the court and official class, which the commoners were forbidden to
[536] wear by law, except during feasts and dances. When drama proper came into being, the hero and the heroine dressed themselves in the court dress, even when they were representing common characters.

3. Miracles and Interludes

175 After the fall of the kingdom of Pagan in A.D. 1257, Burma was
369 the scene of fierce civil wars, but the trouble was mainly in the capitals; in the villages and small towns life went on in its joyous
726 way. Religion continued to spread in spite of the fact that the throne
779 of Pagan was no longer in existence to support it. Learning began
538 to reach the remotest parts of the country, carried far and near by monks. To escape from the aimless strife of the civil wars, men turned towards literature. Money was lacking to compose poems in brick as had been done at Pagan, and men now expressed their love for the religion and their love for the beautiful in writing. The new literature further educated the people and made even stronger the already strong religious fervour. As a result, at village feasts and on days of public rejoicing, the people turned towards their religion for amusement and entertainment. So pageants depicting scenes from the life of the Buddha and from his Birth Stories came into being.

796 Pageants were given on ordinary carts that were in use for all
541 kinds of transport and which are still in use in backward parts of the
493 country at the present day. Each cart carried a group of (amateur) actors standing still and representing a set scene. Originally, no doubt, there were only a few carts representing scenes from different stories. Later, a pageant came to consist of many carts and many

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However, the Burmese equivalent of the English interlude came into being all the same. It developed out of the equivalent of the English miracle play, but indirectly. The chance of developing the drama was seized by professional actors. To break away from the tradition and the conservatism, persons outside the pale of 'good' society were needed. Spirit dancers were such persons. They worshipped the *nats*[1] and most people looked upon them with fear as being in touch with sinister and unnatural forces. They were outside the religion, and their drunken dances—drunken from wine and ecstacy—were outside the popular conception of moral behaviour. Therefore the new professional actors were drawn from the ranks of the spirit mediums. However, those who took to the new profession were malcontents and failures in their original profession. The increase in the number of the spirit dancers had caused the mediums to form themselves into a fraternity, the entry to which was closely guarded. The economic attractions of spirit dancing tempted people who had no faith in the spirits to become mediums. These factors caused discontent and disunion among the mediums, and within and without the fraternity pseudo-mediums came into being. The advance of education had robbed the *nats* of many worshippers, but most people continued to patronize spirit dancing for mere love of music and dancing. The result was the rise of a class of professional entertainers who danced and sang and played on musical instruments. The new dancers pretended to be mediums and semi-mediums, but their dancing was unconnected with any spirit feast. The rise of this professional dancing was doubtless gradual and must have preceded the *Nibhatkhin*. As early as about the year 1400, two princes and their attendants, when turned out of their palace, earned their living as wandering minstrels and professional dancers, pretending to be spirit worshippers.[2] Because of the very fact that the new dancers were malcontents and failures in their original

[1] The objects of the spirit worship are the thirty-seven *nats*, all of whom are more or less of evil character; but there are in addition to these many good *nats* who have little to do with human affairs.

[2] One prince became King Minkaung (1401–22), the other, his brother, helping him to gain the throne. An attendant became King Mohnyinthadot (1427–40), and the others ministers (G. E. Harvey, op. cit., p. 96).

The new dancers were mostly men. Men mediums were secondary to women mediums, and perhaps that was one of the reasons for the discontent among the mediums, and also the reason why the men took to wandering all over the country as dancers.

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
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536* While the interlude was developing, the drama, another form of
178 entertainment, was also becoming rapidly popular. The *Hawsa* or the
773 dramatic reading and recital of a Birth Story in verse was becoming
538 the fashion. The *Hawsa* was in dialogue form, and the reciter changed his voice and used dramatic gestures. As I have said, one cannot be certain of many things regarding the interlude, but it seems exceedingly probable that the early interludes were not literary. The actors were unlettered, unpractised in verse composition and only knew the *Jataka* Birth Stories from translations. The *Hawsa*, on the other hand, was a literary work. It was in verse. The reciter was an accomplished verse-writer if not a poet, and when reciting pieces he himself had not written, he invariably put in additions and modifications. He knew Pali and therefore could read the *Jatakas* in the original. Whilst the actor was looked upon as nothing more than a beggar, the reciter was greatly respected. This will perhaps explain why the *Hawsa*, and not the interlude, has come down to us in writing.[1] With all the differences, however, the reciter and the actor were akin to each other, and both contributed much to the rise of the developed play, just as both the dramatic recitations of the epic *Ramayana*, and the open-air performances of its scenes contributed much to the rise of the developed Sanskrit play in India.

536* There is no special term for that entertainment which I have called the interlude. The name *Pya-zat*, which means a play, is vaguely applied to it in common with developed plays, but it is certain that the term came into use only about the time of U Kyin U to denote developed plays. Therefore, I have ventured to name it the interlude, partly because of its similarity to the English interlude, but mainly because it was given in the middle of, or at least subsidiary to, the main entertainment of dancing.

[175] The interlude and the *Hawsa* were at the height of their popularity in 1767 when Siam was conquered. The results of the conquest are considered in Chapter II.

4. Sir William Ridgeway's Theory of the Origins and Development of Burmese Drama

536* Sir William Ridgeway, in *The Dramas and Dramatic Dances of*
114 *Non-European Races*, considers that the dramas and dramatic dances of those races support his theory regarding Greek tragedy, that it arose

[1] Some specimens of the *Hawsa* are given in the *Anthology of Burmese Literature*.

On this great national epic were founded many plays. For
538 example, the thirteen Trivandrum plays commonly attributed to the
536* authorship of Bhasa contain two based on the *Ramayana*. The date of the plays is generally accepted as the second or third century after Christ.

2. The Siamese Court Play of *Rama*

177 From about the third century after Christ, the great Hindu expan-
● 175 sion overseas began in earnest, and as a result many Hindu kingdoms
101 were founded in Indo-China, Malaya, Java, and the surrounding regions. Before that time, very probably there was at least some intercourse between India and those regions, and may be Buddhism was not unknown in the regions mentioned. But by the third century A.D. Buddhism had completely disappeared in them, except for very faint traces remaining in Burma. In India itself, Buddhism was on the wane and Brahmanism was in the ascendant. Therefore when the merchants of Northern India spread a new culture in Indo-China and
[538] the surrounding regions, the culture was distinctly Hindu. The Indians took with them their religious epics, the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata*. Though both came to be very well known, the former was perhaps the more popular, probably because it was more finished artistically. Sanskrit plays were also no doubt introduced. The Hindu influence reached its height about the fourth and fifth centuries—in the third century Bhasa was composing his plays, and Kalidasa, the greatest of Hindu-Sanskrit dramatists lived about the year 400. Hindu poems and romances must also have been brought into the newly-founded kingdoms and trading centres.

177 The intensity of the new influence varied in the regions. Burma
101 was nearest and directly on the route from India. But probably
174 there was already a strong native civilization, and Hindu culture failed to take root. Along the coast, however, at Thaton, there was quite a strong outpost of Hindu culture, but even there the Hindu influence was quite negligible compared with regions farther east. In Cambodia the new culture was especially favoured, and in Java, Sumatra and the Malay peninsula, it took deep root. In Siam, however, the intensity was much less. In the narrow circle of the court the Hindu influence was strong, but the people were quite untouched by it. The chief reason was very probably the continuous, peaceful invasion by people from the north, the Shans, or at least the forefathers of the modern Shans. According to some scholars, they were Buddhists, which is not unlikely as Buddhism, in a modified form,

[i.e., the Ramayana -- ANALYST]

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1980) 1937 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

101 walked up and down the stage—a dramatic practice which was taken
536* from the Siamese and used on the Burmese stage. The language was
the language of the court, artificial, but not so removed from reality as
538 to prevent it from being understood by the lowest classes. The
play was mostly in verse. The prose was poetic and elegant except in
comic scenes.

[175] When the Burmese conquered Siam in 1767, they were able to take the play back with them for various reasons. The play was to both nations a *Jataka* story. The manners and the language of the Siamese court, as depicted in the play, were similar in many ways to those of the Burmese court. The mythology was common to both nations. The play was easy of reproduction at the Burmese court because of the many characteristics common to both countries, and because the captive and exiled members of the Siamese nobility at the Burmese court were ready and willing to help not only because they were anxious to teach the new art to their conquerors, but also because they missed an entertainment to which they had been accustomed for generations.

3. The *Rama* Play at the Burmese Court

175 The age that followed the conquest of Siam in 1767 was one of
669 triumph. In 1752 the Burmese Empire had been destroyed by the
Talaings, and the conquerors were ruthlessly putting into practice
727 their policy of stopping the continual war between Burmese and
Talaing by exterminating the Burmese as a race. In the same year,
however, a humble villager arose, rallied the Burmese around him,
with the result that five years later the mighty Talaing Empire was
destroyed and the Talaings as a race disappeared from Burma. The
obscure villager became the great Alaungpaya, founder of the famous
dynasty that bore his name. He tried to conquer Siam, but died
when victory was in sight. His son, Hsinbyushin, carried on the war,
and continued the extension of the Empire. Manipur was soon
conquered, and in 1767 Siam was completely crushed and its capital
destroyed. The Siamese court was taken captive to the Burmese
capital. The weary army was given no rest, however, for the Chinese
had invaded Burma. From 1765 to 1769, the Chinese carried on a
serious campaign against Burma. There were four distinct invasions,
but each was repulsed. In 1769, the Chinese defeat was complete.
Of that age of triumph, Harvey says:

The victory [against the Chinese], coming as it did on top of a

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
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generation of continual warfare which might well have exhausted the race, shows that the exploits of Alaungpaya were no mere flash in the pan, but were broad-based on the energy of the race as a whole. . . . The chronicles for the period are verbose and pompous, but it is impossible to read them without being struck with their fierce pride.[1] 175 669 727

It was during this age of triumph, after the Chinese invaders had been sent back defeated and people could breathe again without anxiety, that the Siamese *Rama* was produced at the Burmese court for the first time. [536]*

The court of Ava, then the capital of Burma, was in many ways comparable to the court of Elizabeth after the victory over Spain. Glory and wealth and splendour surrounded the king and his courtiers. Masters in the arts of war, they were also masters in the arts of peace. Almost everyone was learned, and the ablest soldiers and statesmen were also the foremost poets. Queens and ladies-in-waiting vied with princes and lords in the study and practice of learning and literature. Experts in the study of Pali, Sanskrit, and Buddhistic lore, keen students of foreign institutions and literatures, they were essentially Burmese, and enriched their own language and literature with borrowings from all sources. The period 1770 to 1824, the date of the first British conquest, that period of triumph, may easily be termed the age of translations, so keen were the people for knowledge from all sources. Siamese romances, Pali *Jatakas*, Chinese histories, Siamese and Cambodian chronicles, a history of Portugal, a Sanskrit work on sexual science—this list made at random shows clearly the range and variety of the translations. The court led the people in the pursuit of learning and literature. The courtiers were learned, the king was a patron of learning, and at the court the captives and hostages numbered among them great scholars and poets from conquered States. After the toils of war, men turned towards learning for rest and recreation. Men gloried in their country and studied their own literature, history, and institutions, and that study naturally led to the study of those of other countries. Almost everyone studied and almost everyone wrote. The age of triumph was an age of learning.[2] 644 536* 538 175

The Siamese court plays appealed to the imagination of the court. The Siamese captives longed for their native entertainment. 644 536*

[1] *History of Burma*, p. 258.

[2] Some account of the learned atmosphere of the court and of its more famous translators and poets is given by G. E. Harvey, op. cit., pp. 249 and 250.

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536* 261 gesture passed on to the Burmese reproduction of the play. The rigid tradition soon called forth protests, if not in actual words, then in deeds. If the *Rama* play could not be changed to meet Burmese tastes, other plays would have to be invented. As a result, a native court drama came into being.[1]

4. The Burmese Court Drama

536* 175 644 538 It was during the reign of Hsinbyushin under whom the victories against the Siamese and the Chinese had been won, that the *Rama* play was first presented at court. He was succeeded by Singu, who was king from 1776 to 1782. Singu could appreciate and compose good poetry when sober, but such occasions were rare. All the same, the learned atmosphere of the court was maintained, for his queen, the daughter of the famous commander-in-chief who defeated the Siamese and the Chinese invaders, was an accomplished poet herself, and she ever encouraged the continued presentation of the Siamese *Rama* at court. Singu was followed by Bodawpaya (1782–1811), who was one of the strongest despots that ever sat on the Burmese throne. But his despotism was of the enlightened kind, and under his patronage, the learned atmosphere of the court remained unimpaired. The earlier half of his reign saw the rise of a Burmese court drama.

Some time about the year 1783, a young courtier came to the forefront of scholastic circles at the court. This young man, who was a typical product of the age of learning, which was also the age of triumph, had distinguished himself in various campaigns when he began his literary career by composing songs modelled on those of the Siamese *Rama*. He was essentially a scholar, learning and experimenting, and he was an accomplished student of literature, both [195] Burmese and foreign. But in spite of his great learning, he kept his own writings free from too rich an imagery and too bombastic a language; his Burmese was simple and pure. He wrote in the language of the court but without artificiality, so that his songs were not only admired at court, but understood and sung by the common people. After making his name as a song-writer, he produced various literary works of all kinds and thus enhanced his reputation, until he reached the zenith of his literary career in about the year 1785, when he composed and produced the first Burmese court play. This young

[1] Extracts from the *Ramayana*, *The Statue Play* attributed to Bhasa, and the Siamese-Burmese *Rama* play are given in appendix i.

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courtier later won fresh fame as a statesman and judge, becoming known to history as the Minister Myawaddi.[1]

As has been stated, there was at the Siamese court a companion play to *Rama*. It was known as *Aindarwuntha*. There was also a Siamese court romance of the same name and dealing with the same theme. Aindarwuntha was a prince-soldier, and he had two sets of adventures, one amorous and the other martial. Myawaddi was one of those who broke away from the tradition that the Siamese models at the Burmese court must be preserved without any substantial change. He did not want to have his hands tied through this tradition, and so he did not translate the play, *Aindarwuntha*, but translated instead the court romance. Then he dramatized the romance, and called his new play, not *Aindarwuntha* but *Eenaung*.[2] In *Eenaung*, Myawaddi rejects the heroic adventures and tells only of the hero-prince's romantic intrigues.

The play is far too long. The *Rama* play was long, too, and it took two or three days to present it entire. The court had all the leisure in the world. *Rama*, if translated, would require about 400 of these pages. *Eenaung* is longer; it would be about 600 pages. The play was written more to be read than acted, and as far as is known, it was never presented entire. Only some scenes were acted. The play on the whole is disjointed; it is merely a collection of scenes, connected only through the personality of the prince. As the adventures are purely amorous, there is no action at all. We are told occasionally that the prince has gone on a journey or that he has achieved a conquest, but the scene is always the palace. Following the Siamese style, music and song are important elements in the play, but dances and fine dresses are absent. It is not a masque.

The merit of the play lies in its language, dialogue, and characterization. It is the language of the court, refined and elegant as that of *Rama*. But a certain element of simplicity is in it, and it is not too rich in words or in imagery, so that the common people could understand and appreciate it; in short, the usual clear style of the author, which is the hall-mark of his other writings, is also found in this play. In dialogue, the play retains the freshness and liveliness of the *Rama* play. In characterization, the play is a great advance on *Rama*

[1] An account of his career is given in G. E. Harvey, op. cit., p. 296.

[2] The play *Aindarwuntha* or *Eenaung* has been mentioned earlier in this chapter, on pp. 36 and 44–5.

536* These problems, which interest us now, interested still more t
867 audience of U Kyin U's day, for then the throne was disgraced, half
● 175 Burma was lost, and men were depressed and tired of life; many
[643] shunned the court and lived in retirement and in peace, and some turned to the comforts of religion and the monastery. And there was the eternal question of succession, for Alaungpaya's dynasty—the last in Burma—did not settle the succession by any fixed rule; sometimes brother succeeded brother, at other times son or grandson; promises and appointments with regard to the succession were made only to be broken later. Men did not know which prince to follow; Bagyidaw, the reigning king, was a good man, a kind man, but a weak man also, under the thumb of a wicked and scheming queen; a kindly man, a good husband, he was responsible for the collapse of organization at the court and the resulting British victory; it would not do to choose a weak prince like that king and like Zayathein; but it was not very safe to choose a strong prince, for he might be foolish like Kaywut and be overcome by the wisdom and cunning of the British. Men were troubled in mind and weary of politics, and that feeling of tiredness with the world is found in U Kyin U. In fact the political conditions of the times, especially the war with the British, must have contributed much to the ideas expressed in the plays; ideas that must have been appreciated by the people who had just realized, with the defeat of their forces and the death of their General Bandoola—a product of the heroic age of triumph—in the recent war, the transitory nature of human glory, the bitterness of defeat, and the sufferings of war. The sympathetic portrayal of Kaywut was due mainly to the genius of the dramatist, but the recent defeat must have contributed something towards it, for both U Kyin U and his audience could see in Kaywut their own court, foolish but none the less pathetic through defeat. They could sympathize with that character as Milton did with Satan. The ability to appreciate the point of view of the other side, the ability to see the good points in the villain, are also due in some measure to the same war, for the Burmese found the British to be valiant foes, who treated the captured wounded with loving care—a practice unknown before in the East—and found them to be conquerors who were kind to the people of the annexed provinces. Therefore the plays of U Kyin U are the product of his times.

536* U Kyin U, with his spirits and magic and gods and heroic deeds, is doubtless a romantic. His scenes, where some of the characters on the stage are supposed not to see and hear the others, though all are

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became the patron of U Pon Nya, rebelled successfully against his brother Pagan, and there came into being a promise of better times. He built a new capital, Mandalay, with wide streets and pleasant squares, and his wisdom and statesmanship won him the love of his people and the respect of the British. There was again an understanding between the court and the people, and the court became once more the centre of learning, after the lapse of some fifty years. Treaties of friendship between Burma and Britain and the personal affection the king had for Queen Victoria seemed to assure lasting peace to the country.[1] Dreams of a mighty empire, reflected in the heroic interludes, and to some extent in U Kyin U, were abandoned for ever. Peace and contentment were the keynote of the period, and there entered the drama, restored to the forefront by U Pon Nya, an atmosphere of calm, as opposed to that of strife in U Kyin U. Even in *Wizaya* that calmness prevailed. The epoch ended with the execution of U Pon Nya and the rebellion of Myingun, which caused the death of the heir to the throne, the ablest soldiers, the wisest statesmen, and the most learned scholars of the day, leaving the king alone to rule a country wrapped in gloom and a people torn into different factions over the pressing and difficult problem of succession.

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U Pon Nya followed U Kyin U in expressing political opinions in his plays, but he went further and used the drama as a political weapon. In *Paduma* he attacked those ladies of the court who had not shown enough respect or patronage to him, and he was so successful that he became a power in the land. The king, the crown prince, and the chief queen realized this, and they used *The Water-seller* to announce to the people, who were secretly getting ready for a civil war, that the threatened rupture between the brothers, king and prince, happily, would not materialize. Even after its author's death, the play was once specially performed at court, to test opinion with regard to the king's plan to appoint an able prince, who was far removed from the line of succession, as heir to the throne. In the middle of the performance, a senior prince said: 'If father wants to

536 * 668 208 175

[1] One of the most prized possessions of King Mindon was a gold watch which Queen Victoria had presented him, and which he always wore. During the Indian Mutiny, in spite of temptation, he remained friendly and even sent help to the British, saying that he would never 'strike a friend in trouble'. Cf. G. E. Harvey, *History of Burma*, school edition: the ordinary edition gives the history up to 1824 only.

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appoint a lowly prince as crown prince, there will be no objection on our part. But it does not mean that he will become king for, look at *The Water-seller*.' The project was consequently abandoned. This incident illustrates the power of the drama in the politics of the time. *Kawthala* was probably meant to convey to a small section of the people who were against treating with the British and wanting revenge the doctrine that destiny, a worthy foe, and the interests of a country would act against any personal motive of revenge. *Wizaya* was written to win over supporters for Prince Myingun. He had been wild and troublesome as the youthful Wizaya, and the suggestion was that Myingun would bring greatness to Burma if he were but entrusted with the throne. Also, as Myingun had the project of killing both his father and father-in-law, the crown prince, the play was probably meant to spread the doctrine that the destined greatness of a country called for, and justified, sacrifices. The play was so popular that probably Myingun thought wrongly that public opinion had been moulded to give him support when he rebelled. The rebellion failed, and U Pon Nya lost his life, chiefly through the very play which most Burmese critics acclaim as his masterpiece.

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CHAPTER V

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THE DECADENT PERIOD

1. The Drama from 1866 to 1877

The years that followed the Myingun rebellion and the execution of U Pon Nya were years of distress and discontent. The rebellion had taken its toll of able men, and the king was left alone to rule a country, discontented especially for economic reasons. Lower Burma was being developed by the British, and the resulting increase in commerce with the west was changing the existing economic conditions in both Lower and Upper Burma. Naturally, the period of transition was one of distress and discontent. The English and French were rivals in their desire to gain control of Burmese trade relations, and the Burmese played on the rivalry by bargaining, making secret treaties, and asking exorbitant prices for favours granted, thereby denying economic stability to the country. The king was without advisers and a dying man, and as the eternal question of succession—the bane of Burmese politics—was unsolvable of solution, the English and French struggled for influence, and consequently, the palace was one mass of intrigue. Corruption was rife in the kingdom, administration was neglected, the judges took bribes, and robbers roamed the country at will. Amidst such adverse conditions, the drama could not flourish, and though the plays of U Pon Nya were still acted, studied and imitated, no dramatist of even moderate ability appeared.

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We have seen that from the beginning, song and dance were the main items of entertainment on the stage. Even when the Siamese plays were being presented at court and influencing the drama all over the country, the song and dance were still important, first, because of the earlier tradition, second, because the professional actors were in reality singers and dancers, and third, because the song was of great importance in the *Rawa* play. However, with the coming of developed plays, the dance was eliminated, although the song occasionally remained. In U Kyin U's plays the dance did not

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CHAPTER VI

THE AFTERMATH

1. Dramatic Performances after the Annexation

175 The proclamation of annexation of the whole country as a province of the Indian Empire on 1 January 1886 came as a surprise to the people, for although it was realized that the end of the Burmese kingdom was inevitable, the general expectation was that the British would turn Upper Burma into an internally independent state of the same pattern as the native states of India. It was indeed a great shock, and the country was plunged into chaos. The old order was at an end, and men did not know what the new would be like. Many felt that the nation had been finally destroyed, and rather than accept the changed conditions, they chose to fight desperately and then die on the scaffold. Completely bewildered by the events, they fought without unity or organization, for the throne around which they had usually rallied was no longer in existence. The resulting guerilla warfare brought disorder and suffering to the whole country until 1890 when tranquillity was restored. The country went back to normal and entered upon a new period of prosperity. Literature flourished again and dramatic performances were revived all over the country.

536* The professional actors were left supreme in the field of dramatic entertainment and, unhampered by critical scholars, they followed their own ideas of what a dramatic performance should be. Singing and dancing and theatrical effect were all that they considered important. A play was only to be a framework for song and dance, and even dialogue was of no importance to them. They made no attempt to revive or even preserve the 'old' drama, nor did they try to model a new one on it. They used the 'old' plays or their own imitations of them as a framework for controlling loosely the course of their performance. There was little interest in the actual play. For one thing, it was never acted right up to its conclusion. During the performance certain songs and dances had to be repeated again and again on the audience applauding persistently, while the play itself stood still. So when

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536* 177 345 Burmese drama before, and most of U Ku's plays and *The History of Thaton* and *Saw-phay and Saw-may* were produced at that theatre. Admission to a performance was by payment, a practice alien to dramatic performances before the decadent period. The rise of 'matinee idols' resulted in the chief actor, instead of the leader of the orchestra, becoming the head of a troupe of actors. Formerly, a dramatic performance took place during the afternoon or early evening, but now because of the repeated applause for the popular 'idols', a performance lasted throughout the night.

554 536* 178 I have stated how the prejudice against professional actors increased rather than diminished through the coming of popular actors or actresses and the resulting rivalry between different troupes. But the prejudice was gradually overcome through the efforts of one man, Po Sein, who used to perform with two ex-soldiers standing beside him with rifles. By about 1912, his reputation as a leading actor was firmly established, and from that time onwards he concerned himself with raising the prestige of his profession by destroying the bitterness and the ugliness that had crept into it. By his charm of manner and personality, he soon established himself as the undisputed leader of the profession. His generous gifts to charity and irreproachable conduct soon acquitted the profession from the charge of immorality and irreligiousness. During the Great War he contributed much to the Red Cross Fund. For his services to charity and his profession, he was given a title by the Government in 1919. Such an honour had never been given before to an actor (had such a thing happened under the Burmese kings or even before 1914, the officials would certainly have vehemently protested, taking it as an insult to their class), and the Government's action was the final denial of the old dictum that actors and beggars were outside the pale of good society.

2. The Puppet Show

536* 175 According to common tradition, the Burmese puppet show came into being long before the drama, but as our knowledge of the history of the puppet show before the reign of Bodawpaya (1782–1819) is meagre, perhaps it will be better to consider first the puppet's history from that reign.

[645] It will be remembered that, as stated in Chapter II, Bodawpaya, under whom the court and the 'people's' dramas united together to give rise to a national drama, created a new ministry, that of the stage. The new minister, being a conservative courtier, wanted the drama

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to be under the direct control of the state. But as living actors were now past such control, he turned his attention towards puppets, which were in great demand by the people. He realized the possibilities of puppets in the newly arisen national drama. The puppet show, which was then entirely independent of the drama and the living actors, started with different animals coming out one by one, and each gave a special dance to a particular tune of its own, played by the orchestra, then a *zaugyee*[1] appeared and danced, and finally, a prince and princess came out, made love, sang and danced. The puppets were from 2½ to 3 feet in height, and were worked by strings. As stage, there was a raised platform, with a black curtain, behind which the show-men stood and manipulated the puppets. The men's hands were visible, but as the platform was about four feet high and the audience had to look up, the hands did not distinctly come into the line of vision. The platform was about twenty feet in length, and the width of the part in front of the curtain was about four feet. 536 * 175 ● [534]

The minister put the puppet show under direct state patronage and control. Under him the puppet show became similar to an ordinary dramatic presentation except that puppets performed instead of living actors. The use of puppets to act the play of course caused the introduction of new puppets, but it also rendered the *zaugyee* and animal puppets unnecessary; yet they were retained all 536 * 175 [656]

[1] *Zaugyee* is the Burmese term for an alchemist. It is a derivative of the Indian word *yogi* but the Burmese alchemist has little in common with the Indian ascetic. It is an example of how names of Pali and semi-Buddhist origin were applied to already-existing native ideas. 789 822 [198]

A man (but not a woman) becomes a *zaugyee* when he has introduced into his body the right metal-compounds. To obtain those compounds, he has to experiment on metals with quicksilver or iron. In the first case, he becomes a 'quicksilver *zaugyee*' and in the second, an 'iron *zaugyee*', but both have the same powers. A *zaugyee* lives for millions of years, and can travel in the air, in water, or under the earth, for his body has reached the state when it is beyond the ordinary laws of nature. A halfway stage in the experiments is reached when a 'stone of live metal' (equivalent to the medieval 'philosopher's stone') is obtained. A person in actual possession of the stone can fly in the air and travel under the earth, but his powers are entirely dependent on the stone, i.e. his body is still an ordinary human body. The stone turns lead into silver and brass into gold. It will be seen that a Burman striving to become a *zaugyee* has much in common with the medieval European alchemist.

The beliefs connected with the *zaugyee* are still widely current. For a detailed account of Burmese alchemy, see the writer's 'Alchemy and Alchemists in Burma' in *Folk-Lore*, December 1933. [113]

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

175 536* the same. Therefore after the minister's innovation, the puppet show was actually a combination of two different things, the old puppet show as seen in the animal puppets coming out to dance, and the new puppet play. To many people it must have seemed that the minister did not really introduce any new thing, but only lengthened and made more elaborate that part of the show devoted to the prince [101] and princess. It should be remembered that the Burmese had no puppet drama. In India, in Java, in Siam, in Bali, and in Turkey, there was an actual puppet drama, but in Burma the puppet show was entirely dependent for its plays on the drama of living actors. The minister imposed two restrictions on the puppet show. [656] First, the plays presented by puppets must either be founded on the *Jatakas*, or on the great events in the nation's history. Second, the dress, manners, and customs of the king and his court presented on the puppet stage should be correct in every detail.

536* 463 The innovations of the able minister resulted in the rise of a new class of puppet show-men. They were mostly drawn from the ranks of the professional actors, but they were of proved ability and experience, and had to serve at least some months of apprenticeship. The show-men were never looked down upon, and the living actors themselves held them in respect. The puppet show-men were very conservative. State control ended with the death of the minister, perhaps because his successors were not so able; but the show-men kept their stage exactly the same as it was in the time of the minister, except that they presented the plays of U Kyin U, most of which were founded neither on the *Jatakas* nor on historical events. During the decadent period, the puppets stuck to the 'old' plays, and introduced no innovations either in stage-craft or in dramatic 536* technique. The annexation by the British in 1886 was disastrous 178 to the puppet show, for, unlike the living actors, the puppets were almost totally dependent on court patronage. When the country became peaceful again by about 1885, the puppet show-men made gallant attempts to revive their shows, and all over Burma they gave performances. But the show belonged to a dead past, and the conservatism of the show-men would not allow the introduction of anything new. The old show-men died out, and there were not many new-comers, for the profession demanded a term of apprenticeship and its conservatism did not suit the young men, products of the changed conditions. The result was that the puppet troupes gradually disappeared. In 1921, when a puppet performance was given at

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

7. ANCIENT GATE, WITH FIGURES OF TNADYA-MIN AND KEINNAYA.

is part of India. The phrase *Indo-China* is also misleading unless in respect of geography. In respect of climate, flora and fauna, *Further India* is not inapplicable. A probable Indo-Aryan admixture exists in the north-east (Arakán). But Burma Proper and Pegu are as distinct from India as Tibet itself.

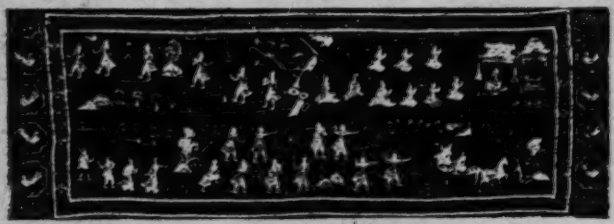
The original Burman tribes are conjectured to have pushed their way south from the mountains of Tibet. They divided into three principal branches, Arakán (*Rakáing, Yakáing*) on the west, Paung on the east, and Burma (*Bamá*), which attained to the chief position, in the middle, on the northern Irawadi (*E-ya wadi*). Nothing is known of the early history of these nations. But it is certain that in 1000 A.D. Burma was a large and powerful kingdom, with its seat at Pagán. About that time the first historical conquest of the lower Irawadi was effected. From the fact that the country was not permanently subdued it may be inferred that the power of the Mun or Peguan race (later called Talaing) was not greatly inferior to that of the Burman. The Muns, from the affinities of their language, are conjectured to be of Annamitic origin. There is mention of the Pagán kingdom independently of the Burman chronicles, and there is above all the evidence of the ruins of Pagán, probably the mightiest of their kind. They testify to the power of the kingdom and the influence of the

9. ANANDA PAYA, PAGAN.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

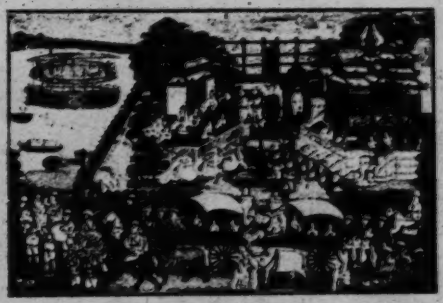
●175 religion which actuated the kings to build temples on such a scale. In 1300 A.D. the power of the Pagán kingdom had spent itself, in a great degree [779] owing, as the Burmans believe, to the drain of the temple-building. But the force of the religion was unabated. Burma fell a prey to Shan invaders, who snatched the dominion for nearly two hundred years but failed to consolidate

[532 726]



9. BURMAN GENERAL GOING OUT TO WAR (APPLIQUE WORK).

it, splitting up into principalities like those of their native hills. The weakness of Burma allowed the Mun power to develop. The sixteenth century saw the rise of Pegu and the establishment of a shifting empire over Burma. Exhausted by wars, Pegu in turn declined and lay at the mercy of Siam (*Yôdayâ*) when Paung (*Taung-ngu*) came to the rescue. In the seventeenth century the Paung-Peguan dynasty brought the Mun empire to its zenith, from which it waned in the eighteenth. Towards the middle of the latter century the Burmans under Aláung Payâ rose against the Mun garrisons, overthrew Pegu and finally established the empire of Burma. Arakán was incorporated; Siam was subjugated and made tributary for a time. The empire directed its ambition to the west. Manipúr was overrun [175 726 532] and the Arakanese pretensions in Chittagong were revived, which produced friction with the British power in India. Burman dominion had been a career of unbroken conquest in the memory of the then generation; the nation believed itself invincible. In the elation of their prowess at home they



10. BURMAN PICTURE OF THE FALL OF MANDALAY.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

failed to form a conception of the power of nations beyond the sea. The Burmans had no intelligence branch in the shape of a sea-borne trade of their own. So they provoked a trial of strength, and after a struggle, which they made a long and well-nigh desperate one for their well-equipped opponents, succumbed. Burman empire was over, the ancient kingdom only remained. The people had learned the lesson, but not so their rulers, who suffered affairs to come to a thrice-repeated crisis. (See CHRONOLOGY, 1825, 1852, 1885.)

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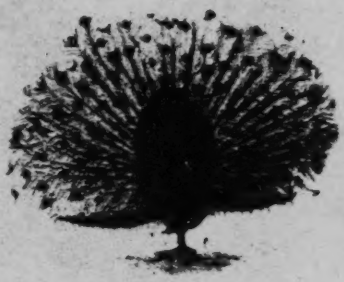

11. THE NATIONAL EMBLEM OF BURMA.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

133 of the delta of the Irawadi, by which fresh silt-beds are raised to the cultivation
134 level. The town of Thâton, now sixteen miles from the coast and without a sea approach, was, in historic times, a port. Ships came up to Tenaserim in the south, the ancient emporium of trade across the Peninsula to Siam, and to Akauttaung in the north, and probably to Pegu. A mass of precise data on this subject was collected by the late Mr. John Merrifield, who came to the conclusion that Tenaserim had risen fifteen to twenty feet in the course of the last 300 years. In 1900, ten and a half million acres were cultivated in Burma. The rice crop was estimated at three and a half million tons, of which two millions were exported, worth £14,000,000. Fallow lands were estimated at five and a half million acres and arable waste at twenty-four millions, out of a gross area of one hundred and one millions. In 1872 a considerable firm failed over the enterprise of bringing a few thousand acres of reputed arable waste at Kayásu under cultivation; the crops got so much water that they rotted. The area has lain waste ever since. Most of the waste land granted to companies has been resumed, on account of their failure to satisfy the condition of utilising the land. The conditions which render land suitable for wet cultivation are less simple than they appear at the first glance. It is possible that the estimate of the arable waste is much too high.

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108. THE RICE PLANT IN THE EAR.

Where the fields depend on the surface-water for their supply, a margin of fallow has to be left; where they get a deposit of river-silt it is unnecessary. If manure is plentiful it is taken out on the fields. But this is seldom the case because the cattle are so much at large. On the outskirts of the rice-fields, which are dispersed in groups throughout the *kwin*, fallow land may readily relapse into waste. The depopulation of Pegu (Chronology, 1570, 1591–1740) threw great areas out of cultivation. Anyone was free to reclaim waste, and is so still. In Burma Proper, where good land is much scarcer than in Pegu, proprietors are fixed on the soil in many places by royal grants (*kha-mye, bbabaing*). There were also royal demesne lands leased to tenants.

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In the dry zone of Burma Proper, rice cultivation is impracticable except where rivers flood their margins or where facilities for irrigation exist. Rice

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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297. TOWN SILVERSMITH.

of plain gold bangles (*lek-kauk*), and their ear-plugs consist of a roll of sheet-gold coiled to the thickness of a finger. The Burmans admire a red-yellow gold with dull surface. They enhance the effect by a red colouring of the interstices of the work, in the same way as the Chinese do. Neck ornaments (*bayè*) are of several kinds. The commonest one used to be the thick roll of gold filigree, worn in front of the neck. This is now replaced by *bayè* of several chains, for the most part jewelled. On the breast is worn the broad *dalisán*, also formerly of filigree, but now of jewels and pearls. Strings of real and imitation pearls are worn; and jewelled pins and gold or jewelled combs in the hair. Rings are worn on the fingers and gold filigree buttons of the Chinese type on the jackets. The last two are the only ornaments now used by men. Anklets are worn by children.

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Gold and silver coinage on a European model was adopted by the kings of Burma about the middle of the nineteenth century—the "peacock" coins, struck from dies engraved in Paris. Rough coins of lead used to circulate. The coins shown in No. 238 are those of Arakán kings from 1500 to 1750 A.D., from the collection of the late Mr. C. H. White. Before the introduction of coinage,

298. SILVER COINS OF THE ARAKAN KINGS.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

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239. GOLD-BEATERS.

circulates in Burma is three times the value of the lowest Indian coin. Notes have no circulation as yet among the Burmans, although they now bear their figures of value in Burmese.

316 Rubies and sapphires (*kyaunmyat*) are separated from the
306 sand and gravel of certain localities, notably Mogôk, in the same way as gold is. Hard gems are cut with gem-dust on a horizontal wheel driven by a fly-
[822] wheel and treadle in a regular lathe-stand. Rock-crystal is cut in this way and also on a hone. Jade is found at Mogaung and is exported to China. Amber is found at Bamâw.

306 Gold-leaf is used in enormous quantities for gilding *zedi* and images. Only pure gold is employed. The paper for separating the gold-leaf in the book in

gold and silver bullion were used for exchange, as they still are in the Shan States. Chinese gold is current in the form of foil with the market stamp of fineness. It can be conveniently cut with scissors and weighed. Travellers often carry their bullion in this form. Silver is used by the Shans in the form of ingots which have to be hewn and assayed when making a purchase. The standard for commodities, wages and rent is silver, the fluctuation being referred to the gold. The lowest coin that

240. ALCHEMISTS.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

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370. HEADMAN MUSTERING HIS VILLAGERS.

CHAPTER VII

POLITICAL

WITH alien races planted on his soil and the watchful rivalry of the Taláing to contend with, the Burman had hourly need to guard his camp. Besides the enemies without, and their potential allies within, brigand bands of his own race had to be held in check. The chronic wars of Burman and Taláing (Mun), who were separated by no natural frontier, have left their record in the stockaded villages between Prome and Mimbu, a no-man's-land in which soldiers were impressed to fight, now on this side, now on that, and where, on being disbanded, they continued the plunder by which the armies subsisted in war. The traditions of brigandage and the exploits of noted leaders are remembered, and such enterprises are still a resort of the *vaurions* of a village or country-side when they perceive their chance—*damyá-taik sádya!* These brigands (*damyá*, gang-robbers, dacoits) lay their plans to surprise a village while the men are away at work or endeavour to create a panic by a night attack and so obtain their booty without risk of an encounter. An occasional gang might

175 726 579

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[712]

371. BURMAN OUTPOST STOCKADE.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

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[623]

572. VILLAGE ELDERS IN CONCLAVE.

disperse as quickly as it was recruited or else it might develop into a band under a regular leader (*Bô*) and become the scourge of the country, rapidly attacking points separated by days' journeys. Against such bands the villagers combine and keep guard; torches are ready for night alarms. But when the brigands are too strong, the villagers have no choice but to enter into league with them and pay blackmail if they would not experience the horrors of barbarous war. At present brigandage is of very sporadic occurrence. Travellers are perfectly safe.

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Throughout Burma every man was liable to serve in war. He would have his own sabre and pike and would be provided with musket and ammunition, but no further accoutrements. Latterly the king's body-guards wore a sort of uniform (No. 9). Cannon are mentioned as early as 1350, and a century later, matchlocks were in use. Cæsar Frederick in 1569 speaks of pikes and arquebuses and good cannon. When disbanded, the soldiers had to surrender their muskets, but numbers were smuggled away, to add to the rigour of the guerilla waged by brigands and the severity of the villagers' retaliation.

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The military leader is called *Bô*; the civil governor or minister of the king, *Wun*, which means a burden or trust. The former might be a young man, the latter but rarely so. Age and influence are almost synonymous in Burma. If the elders—headmen, *Lôdyî*—are agreed upon a thing, it is done. The village elders represent the fundamental substratum of government in Burma. They are consulted by the officials on matters affecting the people, whose natural, if unofficial,

573. BURMAN OFFICIAL RECEIVING APPLICANTS.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

388. TEMPLES RAISED BY A MODERN KING (THE KUTHODAW p. 122).

historic centres of Burman dominion. Sagáing was abandoned for the last time in 1776 for a new capital at Āmayapôya (*Amarapúra* — Abode of Immortals) half-way between Ava (*Inwa*) and the modern capital Mandálé, which was founded in 1857, after the accession of King Mindôn Min. The most ancient capital is Tagáung, one hundred miles north of Mandalé. Other capitals were Shwebô, Myinzaing, Pannya. The capitals of the Taláing dominion were Thatôn, Pegu, and Prome (*Pye*). Rangoon (*Yangôn*), at the meeting point of five navigable channels, and with anchorage for the largest ships, has out-distanced all competitors since the modern development of commerce.

For the history of Burma the only available source is the official chronicle kept by command of the kings—*mahâ-yazawin*. The first part is occupied with the legendary origin of the race from the cloud-dwellers—*Byammâ* (the Burman form of *Brahma*).* The names and doings of legendary persons follow, and lines of legendary kings. The earliest historical facts which emerge are the founding of Tagáung, and incidents relating to the Buddha and the councils of his church in India. It is believed by Phayre that the *Savanna Bhumi* of ancient Indian books refers to Thatôn, and that under *Chrysé Chersonesus* Ptolemy refers to the Eastern Peninsula of Asia. We do not reach a connected history till the founding of Pagán about 100 A.D. From that epoch onwards the history of the peninsula, until the Burman Empire was consolidated and the dynasty of

389. FIGURES OF BYAMMA (EMBROIDERY).

* The name is also written *Myammâ*, but commonly pronounced *Bamâ*, of which "Burma(h)" and "Birma" are corruptions.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

175 Aláung Payâ established in 1754, is the involved account of the struggles for mastery of its three imperial races, the Burman, the Mun, and the Shan.* As already stated in the Introduction, the isolation of the valley of the Irawadi from the neighbouring civilisations by great natural barriers, favoured the development of an independent and distinct civilisation. The neutralization of those barriers it is that now exposes Burma to the sudden competition of races inured to worse conditions.

* See Appendix A, CHRONOLOGY.

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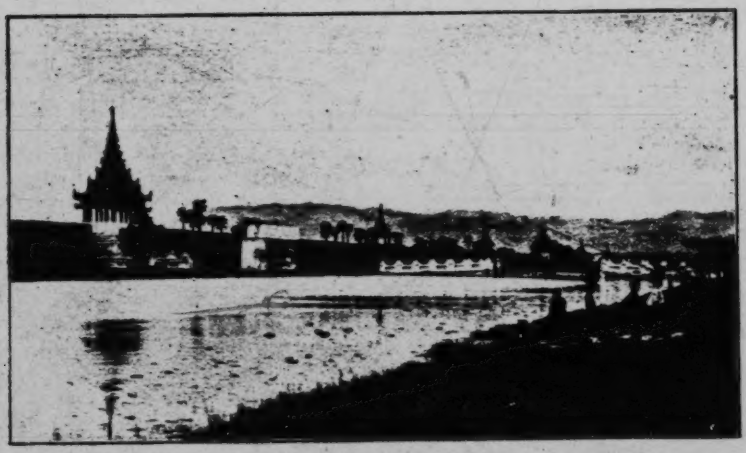


387. THE CITY MOAT.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A.

CHRONOLOGY.

Compiled from Spearman's Gazetteer of British Burma and Phayre's History of Burma.

175

B.C.

1000. Legendary origin of the Burman kingdom. Founding of Tagáung by Abbi Yaza (Raja), a conquered Sakya king of Kapilavastu ("*Kapilawút*") in Audh.

865. Era of King Kawza begins. Thirty-two kings follow, ending with Binnaka Yaza.

825. King Kan Yaza-dyi is established at Kalé on the Chindwin. His son Umidusitta migrates to Kyauppadaung in Arakán and establishes the Arakán Kingdom. King Kan Yaza-ngè is established in Tagáung.

691. Era of King Kawza closes. Era of Bôdaw Yazana, Raja of the Sakyas, grandfather of Gawdama, begins.

623. Birth of Gawdama, afterwards the Buddha, according to the legend; according to historical researches, sixty to one hundred and thirty-one years later.

Chinese irruption into Burma. King driven south to Malé. Tripartition of kingdom. Prince Doza Yaza of Kapilavastu marries the chief widow of the king and founds old or northern Pagán. Seventeen reigns follow, up to 443 B.C.

588. Gawdama quits the palace and enters on his mission as Buddha. Miraculous visit of the Buddha and five hundred *yahán* to Sagáing. Changes in the earth prophesied—the formation of the Bo-u lake, the rise of Popa mount (volcanic), the retreat of the sea from Thayékittaya near Prome (*cf.* p. 50), and the spread of Buddhism.

543. Demise of Gawdama Buddha. Era of Gawdama begins (lasts till 82 A.D). First Buddhist council.

523. King Ajutasatra collects the relics of the Buddha.

443. Two Burman kingdoms, Tagáung and Pyu (Pye, Prum, Prome?) Prince Labadutra of Tagáung hunts the great boar, which he kills at Wettokyún near Prome.

Second Buddhist council.

448. IMAGE FOUND IN A CAVE NEAR AN ANCIENT TALAING TOWN.

[172]

250. King Asôka (*Asawka'mie*) of Pattaliputra distributes the relics of the Buddha. The king's son Mahindá goes as missionary *yahán* to Ceylon. Û Ôttara and Û Sawnasé missionary *yahán* to Burma.

241. Third Buddhist council.

p. 201

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

B.C.

175 150. Legendary visit of Gawdama to Arakán (!) The *Mahá-myammuni* image modelled from the Buddha, and cast by King Sandathuria.

80. The Buddhist canon reduced to writing by Vattâgâmini.

A.D.

65. The Buddhist Scriptures brought to China.

82. New era of Pyu King Thamúndayít. (Lasts till 638.)

104. The Muns destroy Thayékittaya. King Thamúndayít driven north, where he establishes New Pagán. Eighteen reigns follow.

128. Rise of Magadu in Martaban (*Méttama*).

400. The missionary *yahán* Buddhagôsha from Ceylon brings the Buddhist scriptures to Pegu and reforms the religious practice (see Phayre, p. 31).

440. MAHA-MYAMMUNI IMAGE.

410. Chinese Buddhist pilgrim Fa Hian visits Ceylon.

450. Burma invaded by Shan Chinese (*Tarôk*—Tartar?)

518. Chinese Buddhist pilgrim Chun Yun visits Ceylon.

552. Buddhism introduced into Japan.

629. Chinese Buddhist pilgrim Hiouen Sung visits Ceylon; remained till 648.

638. Era and dynasty of King Pupasaw—the present era.
Accession of King Pyimbya, to whom nine of the temples at Pagán are ascribed.
Siam (*Yódayá*) converted to Buddhism.

[532] 800. Irruption of Shans into Burma. (Date earlier? Pressure of Chinese on the N.E. the probable cause, Phayre, p. 12.) King Saw Yahán introduced *nagá* worship.

1017. Accession of King Anáwyata Minsaw the Great. Abolishes *nagá* worship. Builds temples at Pagán Invades China to procure the Buddhist scriptures and sacred tooth-relic. A model of the relic procured and deposited in the *Shwezígôn Payá*, Nyaung-ú. Invades Arakán and endeavours to take the *Mahá-myammuni* image. Invades Pegu, captures Thatôn and brings away the Buddhist scriptures to Pagán. Takes Tenaserim from Siam.

1085. Southern provinces rebel, but are re-subjugated. King Kyansitthu of Pagán builds *Ananda Payá* and *Shwe Ku Payá*. Establishes relations with the Buddhists of Ceylon. Repairs the shrines at Boddhagâya through the agency of the King of Arakán.

1160. King Kyansitthu of Pagán murdered by his son after reigning seventy-five years.

1167. Accession of King Narapati Sitthu the Great. Empire established over all the kingdoms except Arakán. Embassy sent to the King of Ceylon, who deputes five *yahán* to teach Buddhism in Burma.

1204. Burma invaded from India. Burman sovereign deposed—*Kalá-kyá min*. Cambodia and Arayamana invaded from Ceylon.

1284. Burma invaded by China and tribute demanded. King Narashihepade driven south and pursued to Tarôk-hmaw before Prome, whence he fled to Pathein—*Tarôk-pye-min* Pagán referred to by Marco Polo as the capital of a great kingdom.

1300. Burma invaded by Shans. King Kyawzwa of Pagán made a recluse. China interferes

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

A.D.

on behalf of Burma and besieges Myinzaing, but without effect. Pagán kingdom parcelled out among Shan leaders. Siam recovers Tenaserim. Pegu regains independence. Prome, Taung-ngu (Paung), Myinzaing, Pinya, Sagáing, Thayét assert independence. Pagán dynasty continues in name only. Shan dynasty of Beinnaka established in Burma Proper. 175 ●

1306. King Zaw-aw Thin Hmaing of Pegu recaptures Tenaserim from Siam. Foundation of chronic hostility between Pegu and Siam. [778]

1330. Tenaserim recovered and Pegu made tributary by Siam (Siamese accounts).

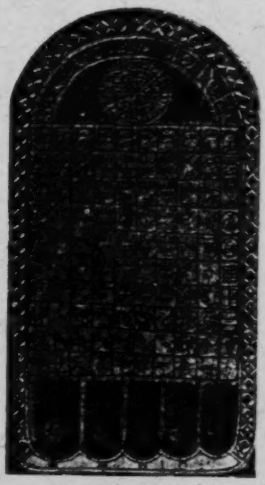
1348. King Sinbyu Shin of Pegu. First mention of cannon. The Mun have fire-arms.

1364. Inwa ("Ava," *Ratanapôya*—city of gems) founded by Shan-Burman King Rahûla (Thadô Minbya).

1385. Accession of King Yazadiyít the Great, of Pegu. War with Burma. Chinese interfere on behalf of latter. Arakán supports Burma. Peace concluded, 1421, on the basis that Prome is Burman territory.

1423. Death of King Yazadiyít of Pegu.

1438. The calendar adjusted by moving the date back two years. Nicolo d' Conti, traveller from Italy, describes Thatôn as a seaport. Other travellers from the West about this period—Ludovico Barthema of Bologna, Hieronimo Adorno, Hieronimo de San Stefano and the Russian, Athanasius Nitikin.



450. CHIDAW-YA P. 36.

1444. Chinese invasion of Burma repelled.

1446. Queen Shinsawbu of Pegu.

1454. Ali Khan usurps the kingdom of Arakán. Burman kingdom weakened by inroads from the North. Adventurers from Europe in the service of the rival kingdoms.

1461. King Dammazedi of Pegu. Zealous Buddhist.

1505. Shan Swabwa of Ûnaung overthrows the Shan-Burman king of Ava.

1530. Five independent kingdoms—Ava (Shan), Prome (Shan-Burman), Taung-ngu (Paung), Pegu (Mun) and Arakán. Taung-ngu begins to rise in power.

Thohambwa succeeds to the kingdom of Ava. Massacres of *yakdu* and plunder of *zedi* take place. The king assassinated, 1542.

Travellers of the period—Ruy Nunes d'Alcunha, 1511. Giovanni de Sylveira (Arakán). Antonio Carrea (treats with the King of Pegu on behalf of Portugal, 1519). Odoardo Barbessa (reports the King of Pegu to be very powerful, 1520). Cæsar Frederick. Ralph Fitch. (Memoirs, ed. J. Horton Ryley. See Jardine, introduction to Sangermano's *Burmese Empire*.) Soldiers of fortune—Caspar d' Cruz, Boniface Damien, Giovanni Cayero and Ferdinand Mendez Pinto.

1540. Martabán (Môttamá) besieged by Siam.

1550. King Tabín Shwe-tí of Pegu advances on Ava, but is repulsed by a confederation of the Shans. Pagán is occupied and the other Burman kingdoms subjugated. Siam recovers Tenaserim. Nawratha (afterwards called *Bayin-naung*—next to the king) leads an expedition against Siam with assistance of the Portuguese adventurers, Seixas and Cayero, who bring five hundred Portuguese soldiers.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

A.D.

175 1550. Bayîn-naung (brother-in-law of the last king of Pegu) succeeds, under the title of Sinbyu-myâ Shin. Thamêin Taw, representative of the ancient Mun dynasty, is beheaded. Expedition to and capture of Ava. Advance to Zimmè. Shan states subjugated, excepting Theinni. Advance on Laos, as far as the Mêkong. 1562, Siam invaded and the capital Ayôdayâ captured. Tenaserim recovered from Siam. 1575, the Shan states re-subjugated. Troops sent to the aid of the King of Ceylon. Zenith of Mun empire.

1570. Pegu exhausted and depopulated. In his old age the emperor becomes fanatical, compels foreigners to embrace Buddhism (the solitary example of the kind) and to respect animal life. Mahomedan butchers mentioned at this period. 1581, preparations for invading Arakân interrupted by the death of the emperor.

1581. Ywwa Yaza (crown prince) succeeds.

1591. Nanda Bayîn succeeds to the empire of Pegu. Successful expedition against Ava. Advance against Siam "with 5000 elephants and 300,000 men." Ayôdayâ besieged without success, and again in 1593. Pegu drained of men and resources. The emperor gives way to senseless savagery; immolates his relatives (witnessed by Gaspari Balbi, of Venice). Massacres of the people ordered and persecution of the *yahdu*. Taung-ngu and Arakân league against the emperor. The Siamese invader is acclaimed.

1596. The Arakanese advance as far as Thallyîn ("Syriam") on Pegu channel, opposite Rangoon. Sack of Pegu. Fabulous accounts of its wealth. Independence of Ava re-established. Siam recovers Tenaserim and besieges Martaban. Taung-ngu attacked by Prome while engaged in repulsing the Siamese. Philip de Brito—a Portuguese ship-boy who grew up in the palace at Arakân—deserts the Arakanese and seizes Syriam for the Portuguese. 1600, Philip de Brito recovers Yamêthin for Taung-ngu.

1607. Ava re-subjugates Prome and (1610) Taung-ngu also, and obtains the tooth-relic of the Buddha. Travellers at this period, the Jesuit Boves, Faria y Souza.

1615. De Brito captures Taung-ngu but is attacked and defeated by the King of Ava and is tortured to death. De Brito's Portuguese comrades are sent to Ava.

King Mahâ Damma Yaza of Taung-ngu reconstitutes the empire, with his capital at Ava. The help of Portuguese galleons obtained by sea. The Siamese ally with the Portuguese. Envoys sent to Burma from the Emperor Jehangîr and the governor of Bengal.

1616. The Englishman Samuel dies in Burma; his property seized but afterwards restored. The English invited to settle. English factories at Syriam, Prome, Ava, Bamâw. Disputes of English and Dutch settlers. Both compelled to withdraw.

1632. The Mun Emperor Thadô Damma Yaza on the throne, with the capital at Ava; a good and wise ruler. Builds *Keung-hmudaw Payâ*, below Sagâing.

1648. Bintale succeeds, and is succeeded by Mahâ Pâyawa Damma Yaza.

1658. An invasion from China repulsed with difficulty.

1661. The Kingdom of Ava usurped by Prome.

The pirate Gonzales appears in Arakân. Bengal in a disorganized state, of which Arakân takes advantage, and with the help of Gonzales advances as far as Lakimpûr, but is driven back to Chittagong. Gonzales turns the Arakanese fleet against Arakân and commits shocking atrocities. The Viceroy of Goa leagues with the pirate, who nevertheless is eventually beaten.

1664. The Arakanese advance into Bengal as far as Dakka.

1672. Accession of Emperor Thiyi Payawa Mahâ Damma Yaza of Pegu.

1687. Haindyî Island ("Negrais"), at the mouth of the Pathêin River, is taken by Captain Weldon (British) on behalf of the Siamese. At the bidding of the East India Company

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A.D.

the Siamese Governor of Mergui expels British traders ("interlopers"); seventeen British massacred in the scuffle that took place. The British fall into disrepute. A French mission follows. 175

1688. The Governor of Pegu sends a letter to the Governor of Madras asking for British traders to settle in Pegu.

1695. The Burman Government confiscates the goods of Adrian Tilbury, an Englishman who died in Burma; and the ship *SS. Antony and Nicholas*. Messrs. Fleetwood and Sealy deputed by the Madras Government to recover the above, in 1697. Messrs. Bowyear and Alison deputed on the same duty in 1709.

1698. Accession of Emperor Sinbyû Shin Dipata. Non-Buddhist foreigners treated with contempt, but not molested.

1720. First Catholic mission.

1733. Accession of Emperor Sinbyû Shin Dipata II.

1738. Manipúris advance as far as Sagáing and destroy temples there.

1740. Pegu-Burman Empire again disintegrating. Pegu exhausted by imposts; even the looms are taxed. The condition of the people wretched. The Muns rise against the Taung-ngu-Peguan dynasty, march north and capture the Emperor Kaungthit.

The East India Company have an agent in Pegu.

1746. A Gwe Shan becomes King of Pegu, but abdicates. Binnya Dala elected in his place.

1750. The Muns under the Yuwa Yaza (crown-prince) and Dalaban march north in great force, with the co-operation of renegade Dutch and native Portuguese.

1752. Ava destroyed, the king taken to Pegu (where he was executed two years later on a charge of conspiracy).

1754. Aungzaya of Moněbo (later Shwebô), afterwards called Alâung Payâ, rallies the Burmans to rise against the Mun garrisons, which are dispersed. The Burmans march on Pegu, take the city and capture the emperor. Rangoon (*Yangôn*—the end of the strife) is founded and Burman empire proclaimed under Alâung Payâ.

1755. Embassy of Captain George Baker to Burma. See his journal (Oriental Repertory, London, Dalrymple, 1791). The Emperor Alâung Payâ sends a golden letter for delivery to King George III., but it is intercepted.

1756. Murder of Bishop Nerini.

1757. Rising of Muns. Fresh Campaign, in which Pegu is finally subjugated. The name Talâing—the vanquished—given to the Mun race. Dalaban, the Mun general, afterwards called Nawratha, enters the service of the Burman Emperor on honourable terms.

The crew of the French ship *Galathé* are seized.

1758. Manipúr is subdued. A rebellion of the Talâings is suppressed.

1759. The British settlers at Negrais are massacred at the instigation of the French.

Siam is invaded and siege laid to Ayôdayâ, without success.

1760. Death of Alâung Payâ. His eldest son Naungdawdyî succeeds, under his father's will that his three sons should reign in succession. Palace intrigues. The capital changed from Shwebô to Sagáing.

1761. Captain Alves deputed on a mission to the Burman Emperor.

1763. The Emperor Sinbyushin succeeds his brother Naungdawdyî. The capital changed to Shwebô.

1765. Manipúr, now the ally of the British, is overrun by Burma.

1766. Burman expedition against Zimmè. Tenaserim is recaptured, Siam invaded under the command of Dalaban, Ayôdayâ destroyed and the country laid under tribute. The Siamese defence conducted with the help of a British privateer.

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A.D.

175 1767. The Chinese invade Burma with 50,000 men. Their army is repulsed and destroyed.

1769. The Chinese invade Burma and are repulsed again. Their soldiers permitted to return disarmed.

1771. Siam throws off the Burman yoke and recovers Tenaserim. A force is despatched against Siam, of which the Talaing brigade mutinies and invests Rangoon. Failing to take the place they retreat to Martaban.

1774. An expedition is sent against Martaban, consisting of 20,000 men and twenty-four guns, which reduces the place.

1775. The Emperor Sinbyu Shin visits Rangoon. Judicial murder of the last Peguan Emperor Binnya Dala. The *Shwe Dagôn Payâ* is built over, to its present dimensions, and decorated with a magnificent *tî*. Siam invaded again, without effect. Manipûr overrun again.

[532]

451. COPPER IMAGE DISCOVERED IN THE FOUNDATIONS OF MAHA-MYAMMUNI, 1784.

1776. Emperor Sinbyu Shin succeeded by his son Singu Min. Capital changed to Sagâing.

1781. Emperor Singu Min dies. Succeeded by Maung Maung, son of Emperor Naungdawdyî, contrary to the will of Alâung Payâ, under which his own third son Maung Waing was designated. Maung Waing captures the palace, murders his nephew, and assumes the empire under the title of Bôdaw Payâ (also called Badôn Min, Sinbyu-myâ Shin, and Mantayâ-dyî). Commits fearful atrocities against his opponents at Paunga, where he destroys the whole of the inhabitants, *yahdn* included. Capital changed from Sagâing to Amayapôya (Abode of Immortals).

1782. Rebellion of the Talâings in Rangoon suppressed. Surgeon W. Hunter visits Burma.

1783. Father Sangermano lands in Burma. (Remained till 1806. See his work *The Burmese Empire.*)

1784. Arakân invaded and subdued.
The *Mahâ-myammuni* image brought to Amayapôya (*cf.* B.C. 150 and A.D. 1017).
Arakanese take refuge in British Chittagong and from thence harass the Burmans.

1785. Expedition made against Junkseylon, without success.

1786. Siam invaded without success.

1787. Invasion from Siam repulsed.

1790. Tenaserim recaptured from Siam.

1793. Punitive expedition sent against the Arakanese refugees in Chittagong.

1795. Captain Michael Symes (see his work) sent on a mission to the Emperor of Burma by the Governor-General of India. Burma contends for an envoy from the King of England, on the precedent of the envoy (Lord Macartney) sent to the empire of China. Efforts to negotiate a commercial treaty unsuccessful. Subsequent envoys—Captain Cox, 1803, Lieut. Canning, 1811.

1803. The Amayapôya *gaing* of Burman *yahdn* in Ceylon, protests against the intrusion of caste ideas in the *Thingâ* there.

1811. The filibuster Chin Byan overruns Arakân from the base of British Chittagong.

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A.D.

1813. Burman embassy to the Governor-General of India.
Adoniram Judson, American Baptist missionary, lands in Burma.

1817. The Burman government intrigues with the Mahrattas.

1819. The Emperor Bôdaw Payâ is succeeded by his grandson Badyidaw. Capital changed to Ava, 1823. Troubles with Munipúr; the Rája erects a royal *pyatthat* over his residence. The British arm the Manipúris.

1823. Outrage committed by the Burman government on the British outpost at Shahpúri Island, at Naf, Arakán. Burma warned by the British that war may ensue. The Burmans in reply advance to Kachár.

1824 (5th March). British declare war and land their forces. Burman resistance broken, not without aid of the Talaings, on the fall of the able General Mahâ Bandúla (24th April, 1825). Cost to British, 4000 men and £5,000,000. Arakán, Martaban and Tenaserim provinces annexed. Indemnity of 1,000,000 rupees imposed on Burma, and a treaty of commerce exacted.

1827. Talaing rising in Rangoon.
Mission of Captain Crawfurd to Ava (see his work).

1829. Inroads made on British territory by Burman brigands, from the base of Martaban. Martaban government bound down by British to restrain Burman subjects.

1837. King Badyidaw deposed and his son Thâyawadî Min proclaimed king in Burma: Capital, Kyaunmyaung and later Âmayapôya. The reign disfigured by barbarities. 1841, the king visits Rangoon.

1845. King Thâyawadî deposed and his son Pagán Min proclaimed. Massacres at the palace.

1851. Extortions practised by the government of Rangoon, and the British traders Lewis and Sheppard ill-treated.

1852. Second British war, which lasts nearly twelve months. Pegu annexed; British Burma Commission organised by Colonel (afterwards Sir) Arthur Phayre, the first Chief Commissioner. Brigandage becomes rife, but is suppressed by degrees.

1853. King Pagán Min deposed and his son Mindôn Min proclaimed in Burma.

1855. Mission of Capt. Henry Yule to Ava (see his work).

1857. The Burman capital changed to Mandalay.

1862. A fresh commercial treaty with Burma negotiated by Colonel Phayre.

1866. The rebellion headed by the Myingôn-Myingôndaing princes, quelled, with the assistance of the British.

1872. Embassy of the King of Burma to the Queen of England.

1878. Death of King Mindôn Min. Accession of his son Thîbaw Min. The young king a puppet in the hands of evil ministers. Massacres at the palace.

1884. Massacres in the jail and atrocities at the palace. Disorganization of the state. Approaches made by the Burman government to the French. Third British war. Burman resistance nominal only. The Burman government overthrown, the king deported and the country incorporated in the Indian Empire.

1885–87. Local outbreaks of resistance and general revival of brigandage, which are gradually suppressed.

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565 in the middle of the last century, that Burmese women not only enjoyed
562 a much freer and higher position than elsewhere in the East but, in some
779* matters, had attained rights that their sisters in England were still seeking to obtain.[26] These and similar aspects of Burmese life must be attributed in large degree to the dominant influence of Buddhism in a country which has been left for hundreds of years, shut away from the surrounding world by its seaboard and mountain barriers, to work out its own salvation with only occasional interference from outside until modern times.

779* It is possible that the first Buddhist monastery in Burma was established more than two thousand years ago. While we may be sceptical of the
174 legend which attributes the conversion of the first Burmese disciples to
177 the Buddha himself, there is perhaps less reason than formerly to question the persistent Burmese tradition that missionaries were sent from India to Burma after the Third Great Council in the time of Aśoka. We have, at any rate, shreds of reliable evidence relating to the early centuries of the Christian era. In Burma, as elsewhere, the archaeologist has been active in recent years and there are also illuminating references in Chinese and other texts. Examining the evidence now available, Mr. Nihar-Ranjan Ray has presented a substantial argument for the conclusion that Buddhism was introduced to Burma possibly in Aśoka's day, probably by the third century A.D. and certainly by the fifth century A.D.[27] In these earlier centuries, Burma was parcelled into small kingdoms, and all that can be said is that, at certain capitals, there were strong centres of Buddhist influence.[28]

175 It is, however, sufficient for our present purpose to be able to trace the
779* dominating influence of Buddhism throughout the country from the
177 eleventh century onwards. In this century, the turning point in Burmese story, the curtain of history lifts to reveal A-naw-ra-hta, the Burmese Constantine, moving southwards from his capital at Pagan to vanquish the king of Thaton and annex his dominion. According to the Burmese chroniclers, the motive for this advance was not mere lust of conquest but zeal for the true faith. King A-naw-ra-hta had been converted by a monk from the south, Shin Arahan of Thaton. But 'without the scriptures there can be no study, without study there can be no intuition.' To obtain these scriptures, the Pali scriptures, A-naw-ra-hta must needs subdue his rival at Thaton who possessed them.

000 What is of further importance for our present inquiry is the fact that

[26] Forbes, *British Burma and Its People*, chap. III, p. 55.

[27] Ray, op. cit. chap. I, pp. 83ff.

[28] *Ibid.*, chap. I, pp. 83ff., 81; cf. Taw Sein Kho, *Census of India Report* (Burma 1901), XII, 32.

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What is of further importance for our present inquiry is the fact that the tradition thus established throughout Burma was the Hīnayāna tradition, not the Mahāyāna.[20] It will therefore be the more significant if we find in Burmese Buddhism a positive conception of Nirvana, for, in the past, scholars have frequently associated a negative conception with the Hīnayāna tradition, enlarging the distance between the two schools: Nirvana might spell paradise in China or Japan, it was argued, but for Southern Buddhists it was the Void. 175 779* 795 [775] 177

There were, it is true, outposts of the Mahāyāna faith in Burma, notably at Pagan, where Mahāyāna cults survived for perhaps two centuries after A-naw-ra-hta's conversion, tolerated by the now dominating Hīnayāna tradition which absorbed some elements of the sister faith.[20] There is also evidence, not only of Mahāyāna rivalry, but also of Brahmanical Hinduism (as at Pagan) in Southern Burma in the earlier centuries.[21]

A first glance at the map may occasion surprise that Mahāyāna influence on Burmese Buddhism was not more considerable, for China, where the Mahāyāna tradition thrived for several centuries, is just across the north east border and the Burmese themselves are a Mongolian race. A second glance, however, discovers the far distances between centres of influence. There is a sweeping borderland of mountain ranges and remote valleys, and, in the earlier centuries, the buffer state of Nanchao lay in between China and the Burmese kingdoms. The sea route from India was the easier route to Southern Burma and Indian traders and adventurers were the forerunners of Indian missionaries.

When all qualifications have been made, we must conclude that the formative tradition of Buddhism in Burma was the Hīnayāna, introduced from India and nourished from Ceylon. And from the eleventh century onwards, "the stronger vitality of the Southern school completely absorbed, assimilated and obliterated the Northern school."[22]

The royal encouragement given by A-naw-ra-hta was frequently echoed by later rulers. Burmese kings were styled 'great Captains of the Law,' and as late as the nineteenth century good King Mindon convened the 'Fifth Buddhist Council' at Mandalay, when the scriptures were engraved on over seven hundred tablets of marble. 643 779* 175

[20] The term, Hīnayāna, is sometimes regarded as disparaging. 'Southern' or 'Theravāda' Buddhism might be preferred in this connection, but it is probably less confusing to use the terms now familiar in the West.

[20] Ray, *Sanskrit Buddhism in Burma*, p. 92, and *Theravāda Buddhism in Burma*, pp. 150ff.

[21] Ray, *Theravāda Buddhism in Burma*, pp. 86, 87; cf. Taw Sein Kho, *Census Report* (Burma, 1901), p. 32.

[22] Taw Sein Kho, *ibid.*, p. 32.

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175 792 779*

But Burmese kings were not always good. The monasteries which became centres of community life in village after village have to be pictured more often against a dark background of marauding armies, political feud and violent revolt. This chequered history gives point to the suggestion that Burma owes its civilisation and 'the preservation of ... moral and mental balance' very largely to the Buddhist Order which persisted and grew apace through all vicissitudes.[33] Within the Order, there was a remarkable degree of discipline, upheld by a *Thāthanābaing* or Burmese Arch-Abbot. There was also a remarkable unanimity. [795] Although there were different schools and parties, it is significant that there is little, if any, hint of doctrinal controversy. If there had been any considerable impact of Mahāyāna interpretation, we should surely have heard more about it. What, on the contrary, is much more evident, is the 177 continued impact of Ceylon. Perhaps the most serious division was 795 occasioned by a claim that it was necessary to resort to Ceylon to maintain the legitimate 'line of descent.'[34] There were, it is true, schismatics. 779* Non-conformist Paramata sects decried the Order and taught the existence of an immanent Divine Being, the *Shwe Nyan Daw*, a belief which may reflect either Mahāyāna or Hindu influence. By and large, however the dominating religious and cultural force was Hīnayāna Buddhism for eight centuries without interruption. We have therefore good reason for beginning a study of Southern Buddhism in a country which has been so deeply impressed by its influence.

114 121

There is also a personal reason. It was in Burma, some twenty years ago, that my own acquaintance with Buddhism began. It was during discussions with monks and laymen there that I began to think that Nirvana was the ultimate religious term of their faith — the term which symbolised the consummation of their doctrine, practice and aspiration. And the mode of expression of this Nirvana symbol seemed to me significant, not only for my Buddhist friends, but for all concerned with the study of religion and life.

[33] J. A. Stewart, "Note on Some Authorities for the History of Burma," *J.B.R.S.*, XIII (1923), p. 75.

[34] M. H. Bode, *Pali Literature of Burma*, chap. II, p. 19.

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Maung Htin Aung

CUSTOMARY LAW IN BURMA

•.175 THERE WERE PEOPLE living in the fertile valley of the Irrawaddy some three-thousand years ago, but we have very little information regarding them. It is known, however, that they used a special type of stone tool, they were acquainted with the rudiments of agriculture, and they had certain affinities with the stone-age people of those regions which are now known to us as Assam and Java. But some eighteen-hundred years ago, the Tibeto-Burman tribes appeared on the scene. They came from the eastern slopes of the mountains of Tibet, and their route into Burma was down the rivers Irrawaddy and Salween. Of those new people, the most important were the Pyus and the Burmese. The Pyus were probably the spearhead of the migration, and in any case, they arrived before the Burmese. Unlike similar migrations of early people, the Tibeto-Burman tribes did not come in search of fresh sources of supply of food. Instead they were seeking to preserve their freedom. Their original homeland was not unfertile, and they had evolved a culture of their own; but now their nearest neighbors, the Chinese, becoming organized and powerful, were harassing them, and they were fleeing southward to unknown lands to preserve their freedom and independence. It was a perilous journey. They came in groups, and it took them one or two centuries before they could settle in the valley of the Irrawaddy. They brought with them to their new home their own democratic tribal organization—and their fierce love of freedom. They brought also their own customary law.

Since those remote times, the Burmese customary law has

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692 original and appellate jurisdiction. These officers were execu-
631 tive officers under the crown, but when they sat as judges in their respective courts, they were judges in the full sense of the term, for they were free of all executive control. Finally there
[643] was the Supreme Court. This final court of appeal consisted of the king as the president, the crown prince as the vice-president, the four chief ministers, and their four deputies. The king, however, attended only on rare occasions, and thus the crown prince usually presided over the court. The law that these courts administered and interpreted was the customary
694 law of the Burmese people. One special feature of the courts
[693] was their attempt to settle the case before actually trying it. Lawyers, who were attached to the courts as officers, although their fees were payable by the litigants, also endeavored to conciliate the contending parties. Often the parties decided to refer their suit to an arbitrator. There was no right of appeal from the decision of an arbitrator, on the ground that the arbitrator was chosen by the contending parties themselves. When a suit had been heard and decided, the successful party offered a dish of pickled tea to the other party, and if the latter accepted, the parties were deemed to have been reconciled, and there could be no appeal from the decision of the court. The refusal of the unsuccessful party to accept the offered dish of pickled tea served as his notice of appeal.

671 Burmese history, like the history of many countries, re-
[178] cords rebellions, invasions, and violent struggles for power,
177 but the development of Burmese customary law has been
175 singularly free from catastrophes and sudden changes. There has never been a revolution in the Burmese customary law. However, the law in the course of its long history experienced three great impacts with the outside world. The first was the impact of Hindu jurisprudence, second was the impact of Buddhism, and the third was the impact of English law as the result of the British conquest of the country towards the end of the nineteenth century.

Some of my colleagues of this conference have already

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spoken on the impact of Hindu thought and culture on the countries of Southeast Asia. The Hindu expansion overseas was well underway by the second and third centuries after Christ, and Hindu ideas and Hindu philosophies were beginning to remold the native patterns of belief and culture in Southeast Asia. In Burma, however, only the coastal region fell under Hindu influence. The Pyus by the fifth century had founded their kingdom of Prome, then situated only a few miles away from the sea, at the mouth of the Irrawaddy. The Mons, who belonged to the Mon-Khmer tribes that had settled in the regions now known as Thailand and Indo-China, had entered Lower Burma from the east, and their kingdom of Thaton, also then on the sea, seemed to have become powerful by the fifth century, about the same time as Prome. These two cities, Prome and Thaton, probably first became important as ports of call for Hindu merchant ships sailing between India and Malaya and Java, but even in those two kingdoms, Hindu influence was not strong. Thus Burma is the one country in Southeast Asia which was not Hinduized. By the eighth century after Christ, the Irrawaddy Delta was quickly forming, and Prome became farther away from the sea; the kingdom seemed to have declined rapidly, and the Pyus began to merge with the Burmese, who had now founded their kingdom at Pagan in Upper Burma. In the eleventh century, the Burmese made their kingdom strong enough to conquer and destroy the kingdom of Thaton. The Burmese were now supreme in the land.

But the conquest of Thaton opened the outer world beyond the seas to the Burmese. From the conquered Mons the Burmese became acquainted with Hindu literature and with Buddhist scriptures. Burmese society and Burmese law now experienced the double impact of Hinduism and Buddhism, but, of course, by that time, Hindu power in Southeast Asia was a spent force. Both Burmese society and Burmese law survived those two impacts.

Hindu jurisprudence and Hindu legal literature had

872 to go home because Grandmother would have sent him back for a double
792 beating, so he hitched up his longyi, tied his shirt round his head and
861 swam across the stream. One of the huts on the other bank belonged to a woman who had always been very fond of him because she believed
[775] him to be a reincarnation of her brother who had died in childhood; Burmese Buddhists believe that one goes through many existences on this earth, and sometimes children are born who have not yet forgotten their previous existence by the time they can talk; they adopt habits uncannily like those of the departed member who, the fond and grieving relatives hope, has returned to them in the guise of this new child; they say "My bed", "My clothes" to the possessions of the dead person, especially if eggs are not included in their diet, the belief being that eggs cause them to forget. When we were very young, the fame of a wonder child, who could recite the most learned religious passages untaught, spread throughout Burma, and my parents travelled to hear him; he had been a monk in his past existence and could remember.

792 My father's case was no outstanding one like this; he had just re-
561 sembled the lady's brother in looks and gesture, and a few childish utterances helped out by her belief had endeared my father to her as having been *winsa* (come in and inhabited) by her brother. The good and fond lady received the boy with open arms, agreed that he was getting too old for the monastery, and promised to go over and plead with my grandmother to take him out now and hasten his initiation ceremony into the priesthood. This was achieved and my father went back to his mother's house and prepared for the *shinbyu* as the ceremony was called.

484 The manner of his exit from the monastery, however, had made
●177 him restless. During the short period he was free, he could go where
874 he willed, and in this way he often met traders who came and went between Ye and Tavoy, a seaport town about 100 miles away, to which passenger and cargo ships from Moulmein made regular trips. One day he was at the house on the opposite bank when a boy he used to know as a toddler returned from Tavoy after a trip to Moulmein. This boy could speak a few words of English. Moreover, he wore his hair in a *boha-dauk* (a Westerner's crop) and seemed to think my father a jungle boy. All the restlessness in my father flowed over then, because up to now he had always felt himself clever and ahead of other boys. He worried Grandmother to let him go to Moulmein and learn English, and and get a job with the government which would bring them hundreds of rupees each month. Other families who considered that Grandmother had clever sons agreed that this would be a good idea; though none of them had been to Moulmein and my father was still a boy, it would not be so daring an adventure as it sounded, because there was some one

among our relations in the village who had Anglo-Burman connections in Moulmein. These would put my father in school and look after him.

So after his shinbyu and his spell in the monastery, my father set off down the ye creek to catch a sailing boat of trader friends who, in their sailing ships called *kattu*, ventured as far as the Nicobar Islands and could sail to Moulmein in about seven days. His head was now cropped, and my grandmother had put a ruby ring on his finger; he was 16 years old, which was a very late age to start English schooling and pass it in time to get a good civil service job, but everyone at home thought he would do it easily for he had been the brightest boy in the monastery school.

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CHAPTER THREE

MY mother, as I have said, was the fair young jewel of her father's eye; and my grandfather had flashes of the most radical behaviour. Though he refused to learn English and this irreligious language was never spoken in his house, he suddenly decided to send my mother to learn English, not just as a second language, nor even to spend a few years at a totally English-speaking school—for an accomplishment, as a few other Burmese girls of the time did—but to study seriously until she passed the High School Standard of a European Code school which did all its teaching in English. My mother was thus the first Burmese Buddhist woman to pass the High School Examination in the European Code, and today she can speak faultless English though she never uses it unless necessary, and can even read some of the books of Virginia Woolf, although she does not like them. She and her two young brothers were sent to Moulmein; they stayed at the house of my eldest uncle who had settled there, and my mother attended an American Baptist Mission School. This was just before 1900. 177 871 562

My father, in the meantime, had arrived in Moulmein at the same time as my mother. The world had opened for him suddenly. After the strict and simple life of the monastery he found himself a smart young man with a Western crop and a collared shirt and outer jacket. He carefully put away his mother's ring to be put on again only on his visits back to Ye; he found a big and busy town to range in and no anxious mother waiting at home. I think it was during these years that my father got his love of all the sweet pleasures of life. A non-smoker and a teetotaller, he was one of the most spontaneously happy people. He loved food and many friends, to see young people happy and free from discipline, to spend all his resources in order to create happiness around him; he glorified the ability to think and work quickly and leave the maximum time for eating and laughing. 000

Particularly in this, Moulmein appealed to him. Having grown up in the monastic system of education by memorizing, he was bewildered at a system which prescribed a whole year of full-day studies for five or six thin text-books. As soon as he could read and understand he committed all his year's text-books to memory within a month, and could not conceive that there was anything else to be learnt unless they prescribed such books to be memorized. During school hours he wrote an Arith- 177, 87 876

1: Mi Mi Khaing I-5 (no date) 1946 AP1 Burma
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around that we had meritoriously praised the Lord Buddha, and then touched the earth with the striker to pass the message to the spirits there also. These big bells may weigh up to 25 tons; the bell at Mingun is said to be the second largest in the world. They are all inscribed with lauds and invocations for the welfare of the donor. Gongs of brass are the bells of the town-crier; all announcements are punctuated with the striking of a gong. *Maung le htu tè* is the equivalent of "broadcasting it around the town". Much attention is paid to the melodiousness of gongs for the Burmese have a musical instrument called the *kyi-waing*, which is a circular frame on which graduated gongs are hung and beaten with a knobbed stick to harmonize with the rest of a Burmese orchestra.

There were numerous other objects for which my mother would never accept a substitute from English shops because they did not cater for our ingrained customs. Soup never tastes right when eaten with a metal spoon—we always used Burmese china spoons bought for about one anna each; rice is not to be stirred with a metal utensil either—the Burmese wooden ladle for this is the *yaung-ma*, the same word as for sister-in-law, the stirrer of trouble. There were, of course, particular places in Burma which supplied particular articles of dress, but I took an interest in this only when I was grown up.

What delights me is to find now that, in the imported things about the house also, all minkadaw households bought a standard type. This was probably due to the enterprise of Messrs. Rowe and Co., a Rangoon firm selling general goods, which established branches in all district towns to provide officers with anything they could not buy in native shops. We all bought Gold Medal camp chairs and camp cots from Rowe's. We bought durwan's kerosene lamps for bedrooms, Storm King and Petromax lamps with incandescent mantles for sitting and dining rooms, we bought crockery which came out in three or four good standard patterns, with an adaptation from the orthodox English dinner service to provide soup and curry dishes suitable for Burmese meals. We got cane furniture made in the local jails, odd chairs and always the half-wood half-cane stores box to serve on tours, and the long basket trays in which my father's files and papers would come home and go to the office every day, on the head of the *chaprassi*. The *hpas*, soft expandable cane boxes in which Burmese people pack their bedding when travelling, were always covered with green canvas from Rowe's. With these hpas, matching the Gold Medal camp cots and chairs, the boxes from the jails, a clerk and two or three girls looking after the children, and a general air of solicitous attention from the people around, no one could mistake an a-so-ya government official's family on its touring travels.

593 always do so, at home and everywhere else, but mother understands
177. that you make habits easily at your English school. Never walk into
57 the house with your slippers on, as you do in the downstairs room here. When you eat with your grandmother and aunts, don't touch anything until your aunts have put a little of it into Grandmother's plate. And try not to talk to one another in English." All the way in the train my sisters would fling themselves at me and shout, "Big Elder Sister, Big Big Elder Sister."

528 We went to Ye during our summer holidays which were the longest
592 in the school year and allowed us three weeks with my father and a
264 month at Ye. It also enabled us to pay obeisance to our grandmother at the New Year, and to celebrate this loveliest of festivals in its most fitting surroundings. My Uncle San Lin usually sent his wife and our four small cousins at the same time, so that for one month in the year at least Grandmother could feel that the world of big towns and English civilization had not robbed her of any family affection. Sleeping and eating arrangements for the gathering of twenty odd people were no problems for the simple large-scale economy of the household. My mother had a bed, and beside it my Aunt Khin and all the children slept on thinbyus laid side by side on the platform upper storey. Meals were eaten in successive rounds at a low table on the kitchen floor, not served as separate sittings, but by calling more diners as places were vacated, and filling each dish that diminished from the stove near-by.

528 Half of our visit to Ye was spent at the garden where we were
177 surrounded by rich fruits and could bathe in the clear swift water that rushed through islands of reeds. We walked and rode in bullock carts

for miles, to visit other gardens owned by Grandmother's friends—old men and women who lived there all the time, and who chuckled with delight to see us, for to them we were not ourselves, not ordinary

children such as were playing about them. We were ready-made re- 528
productions sent back by my father and Uncle San Lin who disappeared 177
into an unknown world many years ago. At house after house, and at the same houses year after year, we sat in a row on the benches they kept on the verandahs of all houses, eight children awkward and re-
strained, while the old people peered and chuckled at us: "Yes, that is 827
San Lin, all right—but there is Htwa Yin's nose; look at this expression, it is Maung Chit Kaing himself—oh but look here, here is the image of Maung Pyant, yes, exactly Maung Pyant, hullo you little Pyant, oh, look at her." This was my poor sister Mya Mya whose face seemed to be the quintessence of the features of my father and all his brothers and sisters. My sister Aye and I, who had the good fortune to take after my mother's family, were noticed very little during these visits, but my poor little Mya Mya sat there solemn and unhappy, thrusting her face out until even to us she looked comically like the forty-year-old aunts and uncles.

When I think back on eating the fruits of Grandmother's garden, 245
they seem to have the quality of some heavenly ambrosia about them. 262
They were all such luscious fruits. For example, the durian, the fruit 824
which foreigners describe as smelling most foul, usually had in Rangoon only a thin layer of the precious golden flesh around the seeds. In this garden we ate only *shwe-dinga* durians, gold-sovereign durians, whose flesh was so soft and full that a gold coin could be stood on edge on the seed and be buried in it. Moreover, the eating of durians in excess was usually discouraged anywhere else, because of the heating qualities of the fruit, but here they grew beside the cooling mangosteen, which we always ate after the durian. This delicious fruit never travels successfully; even from district to district it gets bruised and stained. The mangosteen tree was most exciting to me as a child. It was full of dark foliage and the distilled nectar of the snow-white fruit seemed to be enclosed in bitterness and fraught with dangers, for the thick skin which contains tannin was bitter, its stain was indelible and to be kept carefully away from our clothes, and the fruit itself was said to be poisonous when eaten with sugar. This was owing to the belief that the sap of the rind made a toxic combination with sugar. Even the coconuts in Ye had a succulence about them. They were so abundant in the garden that we discarded all the fruit in which the meat had hardened beyond the *zun-chit*, the "spoon-scrape", stage when the flesh was of such tenderness that it could be scraped up with a spoon as a transparent jelly, to be put into the drink of coconut water. We were encouraged to drink this because it was said to make the heat "kick" and come out of the system. The grains of the pomeloes also were swollen

becoming common. Borrowing money is always such a shameful thing 452
to Burmans that highly usurious rates prevail. The minimum rate of these private money-lenders is Re. 1/8 per Rs. 100/- per month, *i.e.* 18% per annum.

But this emphasis on money-making during the retirement period 181
was not pure avariciousness. It was connected with the ability to dis- 593
charge the duties of a parent and a good Buddhist during one's last years, to have sufficient means to settle children in a good marriage, which is one of the duties laid down for a good parent, and to make many donations towards pagodas, resthouses and monasteries, all as a foundation for a rebirth into a better existence.

For men like my father, this last period of their lives was a soft and 887
gentle immersion in the atmosphere which pervaded their childhood in 177
the monastery, and which had been banished into a memory with the years of English education, government posts, courts and litigation, and the rearing of children whose future must be bound up with the obtaining of better government posts.

During these years, my father continued his daily prayers before 887
the altar, but they were short and he said them softly, his feet were shod 788
with shoes and socks, his tourings took him to headmen's houses more often than to monasteries, his evenings were spent in playing tennis in- 593
stead of chinlon, and drinking lime-juice instead of coconut water, and 177, 88
his houses of the regulation pattern were filled with cane furniture made by convicts in jails. What a far cry from the dim light on wooden floors and pillars, the steady chorus of young monks at prayers. My father, who during his working years had encouraged us to eat, laugh and be merry in each present moment, now dismayed us with a sudden conviction of the vanity of all worldly things, towns, society, dress and ornament. We woke up at dawn to the sound of his prayers, and on [741]
most mornings he walked out of the town to the hills where the monasteries and resthouses were gathered; he walked barefoot again with great enjoyment in those quiet grounds, turned aside to supervise the building of a *thein*, a house for the ordination and meditation of monks, which he had persuaded a more wealthy friend to endow. He no longer showered on us de luxe editions of Western encyclopaedias and the collected works of Dickens and Scott as he used to, but bought richly carved book cases and sacred books for the monasteries in Thaton. We no longer ate our meals on chairs, sitting up at a table, but at a low round table on the polished floor. My father sat cross legged, but he could not go back to eating with his fingers, he still used a spoon and fork. At nights we fell asleep to the sound of his prayers and it was like a benediction. Buddhist prayers in Burma consist of two parts: the first is a

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787 houses, for the niche shrines, if there are more than one at
782 the pagoda, are always at the four cardinal points, and if there
778 is only one, as is usual at small pagodas, it is to the East.
823 The sadā is carefully kept by the parents until the child
787 is old enough to take care of it himself, and thenceforward it
768 is guarded as the most valuable possession the person has. No matter how often the name is changed the new one is never put in the sadā, so that this certificate cannot be trusted to implicitly for a man's name. Some of them are very beautifully engraved and ornamented, but they are naturally not often to be seen. I only know of two in England at the present time (1881), one of which is my own and the other belonging to a travelling Burman. When a man dies, the sadā is either destroyed or preserved as a memento by the family. A great many sadās were found and carried off as curiosities during the Third Burmese War. There is one at Abbotsford.

787 A curious instance of the firm belief of the nation in the
436 reasonableness of the conviction that the planet under which
643 one is born influences the fates and actions of one's life, is
● 177 the fact that royalty ordained that the coins and measures used by traders should bear the emblem of the monarch's birthday. Thus for example all the gold coins used in Upper Burma bazaars during the penultimate reign had the figure of a lion on them, Mindôn Min having been born on a Tuesday. The few remaining from previous reigns bearing other symbols were rigidly kept out of the sight of Burmese officials. The Convenor of the Fifth Great Synod, though probably the mildest and best sovereign Burma ever had, would certainly have stood no trifling in matters of this kind, which, if not amounting actually to a part of the religion, were at any rate very intimately connected with it. His son Thibaw Min, however, notoriously indifferent to religion, if a stronger word might not even be admissible, let the old weights remain in use, and probably called it the march of civilisation.

852 The naming and the construction of the sadā being
957 finished, the principal events in the youthful Burman's life
[291] are over, and the children run about in as happy a state of nudity as the respectability of the family permits; and boys and girls steal grandmamma's cheroot, and potter about

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tribute must be as gratifying as the loudest stamping of feet and whistling on fingers of a London theatre. In fact a Burman might perhaps be justified in doubting the enthusiasm and admiration which finds vent in whistling. 536

The acting as a whole cannot be said to be satisfactory. The circumstances are against it. Who could "lose himself in his part" in the centre of a crowd of people all smoking and often talking? Moreover the subjects treated are so romantic and remote from ordinary worldly events that no one can be expected to realise them. Finally, who could keep it up for ten hours at a stretch? Nevertheless, individual passages are occasionally wonderfully well done. The piteous wailings and desolation of the princess; the majesty of the king; the grim savagery of the demon, are often very effectively delineated, while the clowns are almost invariably exceedingly clever. They are chosen for their ready wit, many of the jokes being extempore, as well as for their power of facial contortion. Caricatures of the performances of the other actors and comic songs form their chief stock-in-trade, and the text of the play is very far from being adhered to. It is an undoubted fact, if scarcely complimentary, that the clown has much more to do in the play and is very much broader in his jokes when Englishmen are present than when there is a purely national audience. The prolongation of the comic parts is due to a courteous desire to please the visitors, buffooneries being much more readily understood than high dramatic art, while the coarseness is unfortunately due to the same impression which makes a Burman always produce brandy and beer for the refreshment of a white man, the idea namely that that is what he likes best. None of the higher class troupes, more especially those from Upper Burma, will, however, condescend to this sort of thing. 522 522 186

The company formerly was always made up in Mandalay, or said it was. There are other troupes, but it is usually taken for granted that they cannot be better than second-rate. The delta Burman is firmly persuaded that "far birds have fair feathers." In their humble phraseology they say, "In the Low Country we are not up in the humanities." This is not exactly complimentary to longer 536 184 177

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536 184 177 English rule and civilisation, but in one sense it is true. In Upper Burma every one is taught in the monasteries, and having no other relief from Pali doxologies, becomes saturated with the phraseology and ideas of the zāts. Thus, from the theatrical point of view, the Mandalay youth starts with a distinct advantage over the Lower Burman who potters away in lay and elementary Government schools 545 over addition and multiplication and the sterilities of the First Reader. To qualify for the first ranks, therefore, the ambitious Peguer starts for the Royal City of Gems, practises as much as he can there, and watches the most celebrated players. Then, after a time, he obtains an engagement, and turns up in Rangoon as a quasi anya tha. The stage managers, usually old actors who have made some money and are inclined to take their ease, go up to Mandalay during the rains, when comparatively little is doing, the wet, combined with the four months of Lent, making pwès few and far between. There they cast about and get together a company, entering into a written engagement with the actors, male and female, for the season, which lasts about seven months, from Ta'saungmôn to Nayôn (roughly, November to May). The manager makes all arrangements, and usually takes up his headquarters in some town or large village whence he can easily move to the surrounding places [465] where the company may be wanted. The salaries paid are very good. A first-class prince or princess commands from 800 to 1000 rupees for the season. A good lubyet, or jester, will get five or six hundred. After these come the actors who take such parts as the king or the maids of honour. The dancers, that is to say, those who simply dance and do no more, get about sixty rupees; the saingthama, the musicians, receive forty. The company have not more than two or three rehearsals together before they commence their tour, but this does not matter much, because every one knows his part well, and the cue is not a matter of supreme importance. The zat-ôk (the manager) draws all the money from the performances. As much as 450 rupees have been paid for a two-night performance. This, however, was exceptional, and it was a marionette play with the great Maung Tha Byaw in the prince's part. Very few people

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the two are smashing away at one another with their long hair streaming over their faces and down their shoulders. Friends join in, and almost before you can realise what has happened, the actors disappear, the women and children run off home, and the street is filled with an excited crowd of men swaying backwards and forwards, and fighting promiscuously. For this reason pwès are now never allowed in towns without permission from the civil authority, and numbers of policemen are always at hand to nip any riot in the bud. With the same object performances are only allowed in large towns about the time of the full moon, when there is abundance of light, in case the street lamps should be put out. The worst row of the kind I ever saw, however, was started by two of the Burman policemen themselves. They quarrelled about the merits of two apyodaws, talented *danseuses*, and the crowd, relishing the absurdity of the thing, backed up the quarrel with such energy that broken heads were plentiful and a ward in the infirmary was filled.

Foreigners very often make the mistake of taking the performances of children's companies to be actual zāt plays. Even Captain Forbes, usually so accurate, falls into this error in speaking of a representation of the Wethandaya zāt. This must simply have been a yein, an adaptation of the great drama for performance by the little choral dancers. For people who do not understand Burmese well—among whom, of course, the late Captain Forbes was certainly not to be included—the mistake is very easy. They are far prettier to look at, and much preferable in every way to the actual text of the birth-story, mainly because they are not so dismally drawn out, and can ordinarily be got through in an evening.

The dramas are all founded on the tales which Shin Gautama told of five hundred and ten of his previous existences, or on events in the lives of kings and heroes in India. None of them are original. The story in every instance is taken from the Hindoo, the adapter in most cases not even taking the trouble to nationalise the names of places and characters. It is only in the extemporising of the clown that anything really characteristic comes out. The Hindoo sense of humour is vastly inferior to the

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527 302 643 only from the stranger's land, but so many miles through alien waters, and so it was necessary to seek for another place. Where could a better be found than the mighty Irrawaddy itself? Accordingly from then on till there ceased to be a king of Burma, the necessary amount was drawn from the centre of the river by the Ye-kyi-wun, a minister specially appointed for that purpose.

527 177 As in so many other cases the amenities of the thi'gyan pwè have led to the extorting of money. In the good old days, and in the country districts still, it was the practice for benevolent people to keep open house, and give food and dainties to all passers-by, with tea and flavoured drinks, cheroots and betel for those that preferred them. To lighten the expense, contributions, called kèbo, were invited from friends and neighbours, and out of this has sprung the system of blackmail prevalent in Rangoon. A bevy of girls go into an Englishman's house and sprinkle him with lavender-water, or the moss-rose bouquet, so much in favour with Burmese belles. After a little badinage, they produce plain water, and threaten further operations unless something is given them. This they usually get, and if Englishmen complain of shameless extortion it is their own fault. The fair speculators are not such as any respectable girl would care to be seen with, and the prettinesses with scents are no more national than the scents are themselves. A provincial beauty would infinitely prefer a good honest ducking with vulgar water to the mawkish sentimentality of *eau de Cologne*. Some of the results of superior civilisation are very undesirable.

805 527 On the final day of the feast a gun is fired at noon to signalise the ascent of the thi'gya min to his happy realms again, and then all is over. The squirts are laid by for another year; clothes are hung up to dry, and nothing remains but to wait and see whether the pônnas are more successful than usual in their prognostications for the year.

805 527 773 The origin of the custom is no doubt the rain-making, described by Professor J. G. Frazer in *The Golden Bough*, but the Burmese explain it by a legend. The thi'gya min had a bet with a rival and the loser lost his head. This could not be allowed to be defiled by touching the ground, so it was caught by a daughter of Natdewas. Seven of them take it

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death). Captain, see this sword; it is now three years since it has been constantly exercised in chastising my enemies; it is indeed almost blunt with use; but it shall be continued to the same till they are utterly dispersed. Do not talk of assistance. I require none. The Peguans I can wipe away as thus (drawing the palm of one hand over the other). See these arms and this thigh (drawing his loose coat-sleeve up to the armpit, and lifting his pasoh, so as to display a bare tattooed leg); amongst a thousand you cannot see my match. I can crush a hundred such as the King of Pegu." (Quoted from Crawford.)

Two years later he talked to Ensign Lester in the same bombastic strain, telling him that he would go to Madras, and that if a nine-pounder shot was to hit him it could do him no harm, with a good deal more to the same effect. He is described at this time, when he was about forty-five years of age, as five feet eleven in height, and of a powerful build, with a long, but not a thin face, the expression not being improved by a number of smallpox pitmarks. He had a broad but very retreating forehead, a characteristic shared by all his descendants, and prominent in the case of King Mindôn.

Alaungpaya, then, was no feeble founder of the present line of successors to the great Mahā Thamada. He certainly had the power to command, and his military successes carried the peacock flag from far away towards Dacca, down to the Siamese capital. Assuredly he was a worthy follower of the great first king, and the Burmese believed firmly in the unbroken character of the succession. Accordingly all the old Indian and Sakyan customs were carefully observed by the Burmese royal family. Such were the marriage with half-sisters, and the consequent preserving unmarried of the king's eldest daughter; the reverence of the three most excellent animals, the peacock of the sun, the hare of the moon, and the kalawaik, the carrying bird of Vishnu, whose eyes like jewels look friendly on the stranger; and the beit-theit, the consecration by pouring out of water at the accession. Marriage with half-sisters was only allowed to the king, not to the people at large, or even to the princes of the blood-royal. The throne was painted over with representations of

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643 the peacock and the hare, typifying the descent of the king from the solar and lunar races, which was also directly laid claim to in the title, netwetbuyin, sovereign of the rising sun. Similarly with the titles khattia, implying that he had dominion over the crops, and yaza, because he could instruct men in the laws, a somewhat doubtful ability in regard to all except perhaps King Mindôn. The consecration by beittheit was completed in three special ceremonies, as was the case with the Payālaung chosen to be the first ruler.

1. Yaza-beit, the consecrating of him as king.

2. Manda beittheit, the solemn marrying him to a queen of royal lineage.

3. Thenga beittheit, the confirmation or renewal of his engagement to abide by the laws, whereupon full powers for the government and administration of the country are conferred.

643 773 177 793 The actual coronation ceremony was latterly a mere form, but was intended to mark the claim of the Lord of the Golden Palace to be the representative of the universal monarch, the Sekyawadé king, who never makes his appearance during the time allotted to the publication and duration of the religious institutions of a Buddha. It consisted principally in incantations and sprinkling with holy water from the Ganges, performed by the pônnas, the Brahmin astrologers; the Burman yahans had nothing whatever to do with it. Besides the pônnas, only a few of the chief ministers were present. The really national part of the ceremony was the royal progress round the city moat, made seven days after the beittheit. The king left 643 175 the city by the Eastern Gate, the precise moment being notified by a discharge of cannon. He then entered the state barge, a most gorgeously gilt and carved construction, surpassing even the traditional coach of the Lord Mayor of London. This boat was then slowly rowed round the moat, with music clashing all around, and bands of dancers supplying the place of a rejoicing populace. Then when the circuit had been completed, the newly crowned monarch entered again between the guardian ogres of the Eastern Gate, a fresh salvo of artillery announcing the arrival at the palace. The ceremony was simple enough, but King

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The only analogy to the crown lands in Lower Burma was found in the reservation of forests by the government for the preservation of teak and other valuable trees such as the thit-ka (*Cedreela toona*), thit-kado (*Pentace Burmanica*), and padauk (*Pterocarpus Indicus*), which are absolutely reserved, that is to say, no tree may be felled which has not been girdled by government forest officers, even by those who have bought the right to remove the timber. It is expressly stated that the lessee is in no case allowed to girdle trees on his own account, and the rules are in other respects of the most stringent and Oriental description. No taung-ya, or hill-gardens may be made in the demarcated tracts. A selection of rivers and streams is made which must be kept free from all artificial obstructions, whether for fisheries, irrigation, or other purposes. Unauthorised felling, cutting, marking, killing, or injuring trees of all kinds, shrubs or bamboos, the collection of wood oil, resin, and even leaves, and any interference with the soil or its produce without permission, is made penal. Even the use of existing roads and bridle-paths may, if the forest officer sees fit, be prohibited. In 1882, out of a total area of about 80,000 square miles of teak-producing forests, some 13,000 square miles were thus reserved, but this area has now been ten times exceeded. The Burman, who knows nothing whatever of game laws or edicts against trespassers, is inclined to look upon this stringent reservation of land which the ancient code declares free for all, as something far more despotic than the enforced labour and extortionate demands of national rule. Doubtless time will prove to him that it is a wise precaution to guard from destruction a slow-growing tree like the teak, and when the wandering hunter gets to understand that forest fires are a calamity and not simply an easy method of making a clearing, the State forests will come to be something less like pheasant coverts than they now are.

423 311

Otherwise, waste lands, as in old Upper Burma, are by the law of the Dhammathat open to all-comers. Any one can select for himself a tract of such land at his pleasure, and may clear and cultivate in any way he chooses, paying his tax upon it when the time for the annual assessment of land revenue comes round. In many cases, however, he is allowed

to believe that the two notes he mentioned had been inserted in the way he mentioned. Hornbostel's *echelle birmane* stands in the way. Much more seems to have happened to the Burmese scale than the insertion mentioned by Paul Edmonds. To continue: 533

> The tuning of the gongs, as I rather anticipated, was similar to the tuning of the pattala... ...The drum-circle, however, was tuned, I was excited to find, in the pentatonic scale; there was no F and no B, with the exception of an F in the top octave of all. (*See* Examples 1, 2, 3). My discovery of the pentatonic tuning of the drum-circle fairly convinced me that the pentatonic scale is, as I had already begun to suspect, the foundation of Burmese music. And when I came to re-examine the two tunes which I had thought showed no signs of pentatonic origin, I found one significant point which I had previously overlooked— all the cadences were pentatonic, and there was no cadence in which the leading-note B appeared as the penultimate note.

Examples 1, 2, and 3 will show that Paul Edmonds' tuning of the drum-circle does not agree with U San Win's. But that will be because the modern drum-circle has had added to it three more drums. And perhaps it has also become sophisticated, as oriental ears have unconsciously become with the western diatonic major scale. In the beginning the drum-circle was not even a circle. It was a semi-circle, called ကျွန်းခြောင်း (*ta-chan-saing*) half-moon-band, the tuning of which could not be but pentatonic, to supply the ground notes of the tunes. The most characteristic (*the first violin*), among Burmese musical instruments is the *hnè*, Burmese oboe, whose limitless flexibility of tone has now been overwhelmed by the blustering gusto of the completed drum-circle. (*See* Diagrams 2 and 3). Although only one octave is shown in the diagrams, notes of the octave above are easily obtained by lipping and overblowing. Actual blowing of the *hnè* in diagram 3 side by side with the modern oboe (new philharmonic pitch) shows that the lowest note of the *hnè* corresponds to the lowest A of the oboe, and the *hnè*'s highest practicable note corresponds to the oboe's highest E, *i.e.* third line above the treble stave. The natural scale of the *hnè* is D pitched one octave higher. 533 177

The *bawlè* Paul Edmonds heard might not have had any cadence which was not pentatonic. Nowadays it has too many things. Worse offenders than Hla Tin have with their variations, *fioritura* and *bravura* twisted its characteristic cadence out of all recognition. But there certainly are any amount of pentatonic cadences in Burmese music. In fact, an improvization strictly on the black keys of the piano sounds more Burmese than many a modern Burmese song.

His statement that the Burmese band, owing to the fixed scale of the gong-circle, always played in one key, C major—approximately, is very significant, though the reason, as will be seen later, 533

533 178 [179] in Europe. Indeed the Buddhist religion so frowns upon music that it was practised rather shamefacedly and its devotees are often called *Phet-khwet-sā* (Eaters out of leaves), *i.e.* vagabonds. Even so recently as last year a learned old Burmese gentleman loth to depart this life without imparting all of his Burmese learning concluded a series of Burmese articles on Burmese music and dancing with an apology for having at all indulged in such frivolities.

533 181 178 565 177 Music found in the irrepressible gaiety of the Burmese people a fertile soil and it let its roots deep into the soil, and soon from occupational songs music developed into an art-form which finally invaded the towns, the capital and the royal palace. There it received fresh impetus from a system of competitive patronage in which the king himself joined with his own band. There also, apparently it received its classical nomenclature. Names which sound imposing enough—ဆရာ ဗွဲ့ရာ ဝါး ဆင်း etc. *Svara*, *Mūrchana*, *Grāma*, *Çruti* etc.—but meant for quite different things, must have been borrowed in their entirety for the sake of their classical origin, so that the names were not in accordance with what they stood for, even as the Greek names, by which the western ecclesiastical modes were distinguished, were not in accordance with those of the ancient Greek octave system from which the names were taken. Thus it seems Burmese musical theory in the classical manner is a grafted dignity which dignifies but does not apply. Indeed it seems yet to be written.

533 However, to go on with Mariano: "Pure Burmese melodies are beautiful in themselves. But on account of the preponderance of grace-notes (mordente, acciaccatura, appoggiatura) Europeans find it difficult to catch Burmese tunes." This is very true, but not true enough. Ornament in Burmese music does something more than preponderate. They themselves are an inherent part of the tunes. That is why when a Burmese song is taken down by a western musican and reproduced, the ornaments having been unappreciated and eschewed the 'tune' that remains no longer sounds Burmese. Fox Strangways explains succinctly:

> "We think of grace-notes as something which may but need not be added to the note, not as something actually inherent in it. If cultivated for their own sake or used at all in excess they are regarded by us as meretricious.....Indian 'grace' is different in kind. There never is the least suggestion of anything having been 'added' to the note which is graced. The note with the grace makes one utterance. The object of grace is, of course, to add importance to the particular note, but there are such varying degrees in which this may be done

clouds of dust. The Rainy Season begins sometime late in May or early in June and lasts until October. Almost all of Tadagale's 90 to 100 inches of annual rainfall comes during this period. It rains every day, in periodic downpours which often start so suddenly that the newcomer to the area is caught unaware on a good many occasions. Although temperatures drop during the Rainy Season to daily maxima in the low 80's, the discomfort, for the average denizen of the temperate zone, is greater than in the Hot Season because of the extremely high humidity and the small difference between daily maximum and minimum temperatures. 132

The Burmese inhabitants of the community, who are 90% of the population, are medium brown in skin color, tend to be broad-nosed, have straight black hair, and are of medium stature. 142

All of the men, with the exception of a few of the old ones, wear their hair in western style, cut short and parted on one side. The women, however, adhere to the traditional Burmese hair styles, without exception. Little girls wear their hair in a top-knot on the middle of the head, with a circular part around the temples and crown, short bangs hanging down in front. Adult women comb their hair, liberally oiled, back to form a coiled knot at the nape of the neck. Adherence by the women to traditional hair styles and mode of dress is strikingly in contrast with the situation in neighboring Thailand, where permanent waves and short skirts may be seen among peasant women many miles outside the capital. 302 177

Burmese dress is universal in the village. It consists of the longyi, a circular, single-seamed skirt reaching to the ankles, and a jacket. The longyi is worn by both sexes. The woman's longyi differs from the man's in that it has a black waistband sewn to the upper edge. It is folded over and tucked in at the waist. The man's longyi is drawn tight about the waist and knotted in front to hold it in place. Women's jackets (the aingyi) are not quite so loose-fitting as men's, and for dress occasions they are made of fine muslin, or, if it can be afforded, sheer nylon, climate notwithstanding. Men's jackets are of a heavier material, and are never worn at the workaday tasks of everyday life in the village; the men generally go unclad from the waist up. For ordinary wear both sexes use wooden clog-like shoes, held to the foot by a single band of rubber over the in-step. For dress occasions, single-thonged leather sandals are worn. 291

About nine hundred people live in Tadagale. Census data collected at first-hand do not yield exact information because a few families could not be interviewed. The data include 807 people, and it is doubtful if as many as one hundred people were not covered by the census. 161

In Table I below the population of the village is given in terms of ethnic groups. The imposition of any a priori set of categories was avoided, and informants were simply asked the question, "To what people do you consider yourself to belong?" In this way it was possible to learn something of the group identifications of informants. 162

Puberty and Adolescence. The Burmese view, in the village, is that one is an adult when one becomes physiologically mature. Upon reaching pubescence boys as well as girls are referred to by a term which means 'virgin.' The connotation is that the individual has now entered a period of life in which the dangers of temptation are especially great and in which correspondingly greater precautions are necessary. 881

A girl's first menstruation is believed to cleanse her system; frequently, such phenomena as eruption of the skin or sexually delinquent behavior preceding the first menstrual period are regarded as evidence that the 'blood is trying to flow.' Although the idea of uncleanliness is associated with menstruation, there is no segregation of the girl or any particular fear of contamination. So long as she conducts herself with propriety and modesty a girl is free to move in public at this time. 881 841

Ideally, the attainment of puberty is the time for the girl's ear-piercing ceremony, but in actual practice this often takes place as early as her seventh or eighth year — if it occurs at all. There is a tendency for this ceremony to be omitted in Tadagale. Since it is a feast occasion involving considerable expense to her family, the trend is towards holding a single ceremony, at which several girls who are related will have their ears pierced. The initiate is dressed for this occasion in the traditional garb of the Burmese Court, and also wears a spired-helmet type of head dress. The villagers gather at the family house for the event. An elderly woman rubs an anaesthetic plant substance on the girl's ear lobes and pierces them with gold pins. These pins are left in the ears, bent back. Later, if larger holes are desired, rolled leaves may be inserted. The family presents gifts to the assembled guests; often these are conventionalized tokens, such as inscribed cigars or fans. 852

On the same occasion boys of approximately the same age may be initiated into the Buddhist monkhood. 881

Boys' Initiation. For Burmese boys one of the most important events is initiation as a novice into the Buddhist monkhood. The traditional rite of shinbyu continues to be an important part of Burmese culture, in the urban as well as the rural setting. In the towns and cities, of course, it has been affected by the greater contact with western culture; the procession, for example, is likely to take place in automobiles rather than on horseback and on foot. Nevertheless, city-bred as well as rural Burmese feel it is very important for social as well as religious reasons that their sons be initiated; and everywhere the shinbyu involves large expenditures if not great sacrifices, requires the services of many people for its planning and carrying out, and is the occasion par excellence for joyous celebration as well as religious solemnity. 792 369 177

No two shinbyu ceremonies are the same in detail. The circumstances of the sponsoring families, the physical setting, the idiosyncrasies of individual monks all make for variation. Here we shall indicate the main features of the initiation ceremony as observed in Tadagale. 881 792

The ceremony proper is held on the open-sided ground floor of a wooden building, in the upper portion of which the monks and their pupils live. On the south side of this room is a platform raised about three feet above the ground, on which the monks sit during the proceedings. The room is decorated with various hangings, tapestries, and net curtains; the floor is covered with mats and carpets. Four tables front the platform, on which are placed various

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651 merchant as much as fifty or sixty. The assessment
621 was levied according to the means of the villagers. So well was this done, that complaints against the decisions of the assessors were almost unknown—I might, I think, safely say were absolutely unknown. The assessment was made publicly, and each man was heard in his own defence before being assessed. Then the money was collected. If by any chance, such as death, any family could not pay, the deficiency was made good by the other villagers in proportion. When the money was got in it was paid to the governor.

674 Crime such as gang-robbery, murder, and so on,
627 had to be reported to the governor, and he arrested
177 the criminals if he felt inclined, and knew who they were, and was able to do it. Generally something was in the way, and it could not be done. All lesser crime was dealt with in the village itself, not only dealt with when it occurred, but to a great extent prevented from occurring. You see, in a village anyone knows everyone, and detection is usually easy. If a man became a nuisance to a village, he was expelled. I have often heard old Burmans talking about this, and comparing these times with those. In those times all crimes were unpunished, and there was but little petty crime. Now all big criminals are relentlessly hunted down by the police; and the inevitable weakening of the village system has led to a large increase of petty crime, and certain breaches of morality and good conduct. I remember talking to a man not long ago—a man who had been a headman in the king's time, but was not so now. We were chatting of

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various subjects, and he told me he had no children; they were dead. 621 626

'When were you married?' I asked, just for something to say, and he said when he was thirty-two. 582

'Isn't that rather old to be just married?' I asked. 'I thought you Burmans often married at eighteen and twenty. What made you wait so long?'

And he told me that in his village men were not allowed to marry till they were about thirty. 'Great harm comes,' he said, 'of allowing boys and girls to make foolish marriages when they are too young. It was never allowed in my village.'

'And if a young man fell in love with a girl?' I asked.

'He was told to leave her alone.'

'And if he didn't?'

'If he didn't, he was put in the stocks for one day or two days, and if that was no good, he was banished from the village.'

A monk complained to me of the bad habits of the young men in villages. 'Could government do nothing?' he asked. They used shameful words, and they would shout as they passed his monastery, and disturb the lads at their lessons and the girls at the well. They were not well-behaved. In the Burmese time they would have been punished for all this—made to draw so many buckets of water for the school-gardens, or do some road-making, or even be put in the stocks. Now the headman was afraid to do anything, for fear of the great government It was very bad for the young men, he said. 621 626 177

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community over the individual—the restraining 674
influence of public opinion and of religion is greater. But even during the years of trouble, the years from 1885 till 1890, when, in the words of the Burmese proverb, 'the forest was on fire and the wild-cat slapped his arm,' there were certain peculiarities about the criminals that differentiated them from those of Europe. You would hear of a terrible crime, a village attacked at night by brigands, a large robbery of property, one or two villagers killed, and an old woman tortured for her treasure, and you would picture the perpetrators as hardened, brutal criminals, lost to all sense of humanity, tigers in human shape; and when you came to arrest them—if by good luck you did so—you would find yourself quite mistaken. One, perhaps, or two of the ringleaders might be such as I have described, but the others would be far different. They would be boys or young men led away by the idea of a frolic, allured by the romance of being a free-lance for a night, very sorry now, and ready to confess and do all in their power to atone for their misdeeds. Nothing, I think, was more striking than the universal confession of criminals on their arrest. Even now, despite the spread of lawyers and notions [177]
of law, in country districts accused men always confess, sometimes even they surrender themselves.[1] I have known many such cases. Here is one that happened to myself only the other day.

A man was arrested in another jurisdiction for 672
cattle theft; he was tried there and sentenced to

[1] This was written in 1896. In 1902 it is very different. The [175]
increase of all forms of perjury and false evidence is universal. [691]

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will guard her breath as it passes her lips to and fro, lest she awaken him whom she fears.

'And she will remember that when he awakens he will have certain wants. She will be anxious that the bath be to his custom, that his clothes are as he wishes, that his food is tasteful to him. Always she will have before her the fear of his anger.'

It must be remembered that the Laws of Manu are of Indian origin, and are not totally accepted by the Burmese. I fear a Burmese girl would laugh at this ideal of a wife. She would say that if a wife were always afraid of her husband's wrath, she and he, too, must be poor things. A household is ruled by love and reverence, not by fear. A girl has no idea when she marries that she is going to be her husband's slave, but a free woman, yielding to him in those things in which he has most strength, and taking her own way in those things that pertain to a woman. She has a very keen idea of what things she can do best, and what things she should leave to her husband. Long experience has taught her that there are many things she should not interfere with; and she knows it is experience that has proved it, and not any command. She knows that the reason women are not supposed to interfere in public affairs is because their minds and bodies are not fitted for them. Therefore she accepts this, in the same way as she accepts physical inferiority, as a fact against which it is useless and silly to declaim, knowing that it is not men who keep her out, but her own unfitness. Moreover, she knows that it is made good to her in other ways, and thus the balance is redressed. You see, she knows her own strength and her own weak-

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heard of it; and although I thought my heart would break, I did not say anything. I told my husband, "Bring her here, let us live all together; it will be best so." I always did for the best, thakin. So he brought her, and she came to live with us a week ago. Ah, thakin, I did not know! She tramples on me. My head is under her feet. My husband does not care for me, only for her. And to-day, this evening, they went out together for a walk, and my husband took with him the concertina. As they went I could hear him play upon it, and they walked down through the trees, he playing and she leaning upon him. I heard the music.' 593 587

Then she began to cry bitterly, sobbing as if her heart would break. And the sunset died out of the sky, and the shadows took all the world and made it gray and dark. No one said anything, only the woman cried.

'Thakin,' she said at last, 'what am I to do? Tell me.'

Then my friend spoke.

'You can divorce him,' he said; 'you can go to the elders and get a divorce. Won't that be best?' 586 177 779

'But, thakin, you do not know. We are both Christians; we are married for ever. We were both at the mission-school in Rangoon, and we were married there, "for ever and for ever," so the padre said. We are not married according to Burmese customs, but according to your religion; we are husband and wife for ever.'

My friend said nothing. It seemed to him useless to speak to her of the High Court, five hundred

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586 miles away, and a decree nisi; it would have been a
● 177 mockery of her trouble.
719 'Your husband had no right to take a second wife, if you are Christians and married,' he said.

'Ah,' she answered, 'we are Burmans; it is allowed by Burmese law. Other officials do it. What does my husband care that we were married by your law? Here we are alone with no other Christians near. But I would not mind so much,' she went on, 'only she treads me under her feet. And he takes her out and not me, who am the elder wife, and he plays music to her; and I did all for the best. This trouble has come upon me, though all my life I have always acted for the best.'

There came another footstep up the stair, and a man entered. It was her husband. On his return he had missed his wife, and guessed whither she had gone, and had followed her. He came alone.

Then there was a sad scene, only restrained by respect for my friend. I need not tell it. There was a man's side to the question, a strong one. The wife had a terrible temper, a peevish, nagging, maddening fashion of talking. She was a woman very hard for a man to live with.

Does it matter much which was right or wrong, now that the mischief was done? They went away at last, not reconciled. Could they be reconciled? I cannot tell. I left there next day, and have never returned.

There they had lived for many years among their own people, far away from the influence that had
586 come upon their childhood, and led them into strange
177 ways. And now all that was left of that influence

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was the chain that bound them together. Had it 586
not been for that they would have been divorced 177
long ago; for they had never agreed very well, and both sides had bitter grounds for complaint. They would have been divorced, and both could have gone their own way. But now, what was to be done?

That is one of my memories: this is another.

There was a girl I knew, the daughter of a man 428
who had made some money by trading, and when 562
the father died the property was divided according to law between the girl and her brother. She was a little heiress in her way, owning a garden, where grew many fruit-trees, and a piece of rice land. She had also a share in a little shop which she managed, and she had many gold bracelets and fine diamond earrings. She was much wooed by the young men
about there, and at last she married. He was a 586
young man, good-looking, a sergeant of police, and 593
for a time they were very happy. And then trouble came. The husband took to bad ways. The knowledge that he could get money for nothing was too much for him. He drank and he wasted her money, and he neglected his work, and at last he was dismissed from government employ. And his wife got angry with him, and complained of him to the neighbours; and made him worse, though she was at heart a good girl. Quickly he went from bad to worse, until in a very short time, six months, I think, he had spent half her little fortune. Then she began to limit supplies—the husband did no work at all—and in consequence he began to neglect her; they had many quarrels, and her tongue was sharp, and matters got worse and worse until they

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586 'I did not know,' she said; 'I was hot-tempered. I was foolish. But now I know. Ah! the house is so lonely! I have but two ears, I have but two eyes, and the house is so large.'

But the husband refused again.

'What is done, is done. Marriage is not to be taken off and put on like a jacket. I have made up my mind.'

[762] Then he went away, and after a little the woman went away too. She went straight to the big, lonely house, and there she hanged herself.

You see, she loved him all the time, but did not know till too late.

Men do not often apply for divorce except for very good cause, and with their minds fully made up to obtain it. They do obtain it, of course.

586 177 647 With this facility for divorce, it is remarkable how uncommon it is. In the villages and amongst respectable Burmans in all classes of life it is a great exception to divorce or to be divorced. The only class amongst whom it is at all common is the class of hangers-on to our Administration, the clerks and policemen, and so on. I fear there is little that is good to be said of many of them. It is terrible to see how demoralizing our contact is to all sorts and conditions of men. To be attached to our Administration is almost a stigma of disreputableness. I remember remarking once to a headman that a certain official seemed to be quite regardless of public opinion in his life, and asked him if the villagers did not condemn him. And the headman [554] answered with surprise: 'But he is an official'; as if officials were quite *super grammaticam* of morals.

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Yet this is the class from whom we most of us obtain our knowledge of Burmese life, whom we see most of, whose opinions we accept as reflecting the truth of Burmese thought. No wonder we are so often astray. 586 177 647

Amongst these, the taking of second, and even third, wives is not at all uncommon, and naturally divorce often follows. Among the great mass of the people it is very uncommon. I cannot give any figures. There are no records kept of marriage or of divorce. What the proportion is it is impossible to even guess. I have heard all sorts of estimates, none founded on more than imagination. I have even tried to find out in small villages what the number of divorces were in a year, and tried to estimate from this the percentage. I made it from 2 to 5 per cent. of the marriages. But I cannot offer these figures as correct for any large area. Probably they vary from place to place and from year to year. In the old time the queen was very strict upon the point. As she would allow no other wife to her king, so she would allow no taking of other wives, no abuse of divorce among her subjects. Whatever her influence may have been in other ways, here it was all for good. But the queen has gone, and there is no one left at all. No one but the hangers-on of whom I have spoken, examples not to be followed, but to be shunned. 586 587 [177] [643]

But of this there is no manner of doubt, that this freedom of marriage and divorce leads to no license. There is no confusion between marriage or non-marriage, and even yet public opinion is a very great check upon divorce. It is not considered right to 581 586

CLOTHING

Clothing Habits

The standard garments worn by U Myaing consist of a longyi which reaches from his waist to his ankles, a shirt or a vest for his upper torso, clogs or slippers for his feet. Head covering is seldom worn but for every-day purpose would be a western style hat or a bamboo topee. For special occasions the GAUNG-BAUNG would be worn. When U Myaing works he takes off his shirt and vest because, he said, otherwise he would have no other shirt to wear afterwards. In Pantanaw, when they went to PWES (stage performances) and festivals he had on a vest, a shirt, and a jacket. 291 [292] [296]

> "Sometimes, when I feel that way, I wear these at home even though I do not intend to see the PWE. It is just because I am in the habit of wearing them. At night I sleep in my vest. When it is cold, I pull on a shirt over that. In the daytime ordinarily I wear vest, shirt and cotton longyi. Here in the camp I cannot wash my shirt and vest very often - I do so only when they have become soiled, not at regular intervals of time. But the shirt becomes soiled every three or four days and the vest every two days or so. On the other hand I possess three longyis and wash each of them after one wearing, when I have a bath."

The females of the family habitually wear a women's longyi sometimes called a HTA-MEIN, extending from the waist to the ankles clogs or slippers and an KIN-GYI over a bodice for the upper torso. The two younger children wear western style frocks. The specific items worn are given below. The clothing items may be organised into two headings, one dealing with U Myaing's clothing, and the second with the clothing of the remaining (female) members of the family. [177]

U Myaing's Clothing.

CHEE LONGYI (Cotton Longyi): — The LONGYI is a piece of cloth reaching from the waist to the ankles. It is stitched so as to be cylindrical in form, somewhat wider than twice the girth of the individual. The patterns are most frequently squared and of different colours resembling the scotch tartan closely. Men's colours are dark or pastel colours mainly. It is secured about the waist with several twists one upon the other in the front midline. Ceremonial LONGYIS are wider than those of ordinary use giving a fold of 6 to 8 inches in front. [292]

Analysis of wearing a parel used by U Myaing's family.

291 Fifty three items of wearing apparel and personal accoutrement
511 were recorded. These are divided into three large catagories:

178 (1) Objects used in Pathwe but not in camp.
(2) Objects used in camp but not in Pathwe.
722 (3) Objects used in both localities.

Twenty nine items used in Pathwe were not used in camp. 55% of the Pathwe complex had been discontinued for a variety of reasons. The bulk of the objects were not replaced due to lack of funds. Many items such as umbrellas, towels, leather sandals were needed and desired. Some objects, such as men's jackets, headbands, silk longyis and associated underwear pants, men's bamboo hats, men's hair dressing comb, jewelry and parasols are recognized as luxury items. Both the ceremonial and social occasions in which such luxuries assumed the proportions of necessities had diminished or disappeared so that the desire for them is no longer as strong. This is reflected in the statements that some of the luxuries were no longer desired (hair dressing) or that smaller quantities (silk longyis) would be adequate.

It is interesting to note that whereas both U Myaing and the ladies had the same number of items in Pathwe (26 respectively) - in camp U Myaing has only 7 items or 28% of the Pathwe complex. The ladies, however, have 16 items or 59% of the Pathwe complex.
[562] This data suggests that the women's standards are less flexible than the men's. In order to be respectable the women have to have certain items. Whereas, U Myaing's demand depends more on his immediate
[183] situation. If this is so, then it follows that the men's standard might expand more rapidly under opulent conditions - with sets of special socio-ceremonial garb (headband, silk longyi, jacket, jewelry including western items(Gillette razor, topee, western jackets and shirts).

Only three objects were used in camp but not in Pathwe. The
[177] rubber-tyred wooden sandals are simply new varieties of an old form used in Pathwe - a cheap and popular urban form due to abundance of tyre-rubber fellowing the web. The earrings with white stones and set of silver buttons are also substitute varieties, not innovations.

length) draped over one shoulder. The PUWA, part of the scarf, still draped, is placed on front of the worshipping woman for her head and hands as she bows. The beads, a string about 2 feet long made of black lacquer or of red or white beads about ½ inch in diametre are called SEIK-PA-DWE (count-beads). They are worn about the neck when not in use, and are "counted" by the fingers of one hand. Each bead, thus counted calls to the worshipper's mind a vision of Buddha as she says ARA HAHN (God) in a low voice. While in this dress women do not decorate their hair with flowers or wear jewelry or cosmetiques as such would be unseemly. 792 291 293 [788]

The older men and other religious men (who are gathering alms as members of Buddhist lay societies) wear a loose white robe over a white jacket, white head band, praying bead necklace, and a chocolate coloured scarf draped over one shoulder. The general public must wear their very best clothes for religious festivals but the women do not use cosmetiques. "Rangoon Sabbath" is the term applied to the less strict observations of the town people who may appear with a little THANAKA or other cosmetiques. The marriage dress of the bride is an older form of costume involving use of a long split skirt with out-flaring jackets. 888 779 575 291 [369] [779] [292] [585]

The hair styles are important and denote age and sex. Children of both sexes wear their hair in a knot at the top of the head with a fringe of short hair like a bowl below. The older men's style was long hair knotted on one side in the back of the head; except in villages this has been superseded by the western short crop ranging from a long "Pompador" to short "crew cuts" - the latter being rarer and more modern. Old men wear very short cropped hair or are shaven - as the Pongyis and nuns. Maidens wear their hair in elaborately woven tresses - earlier on top of the head in a disc-shaped - now in chain braids at the back of the head. False switches of hair are commonly used. Flowers are used as decoration on all occasions. The usual style for married ladies is a knot at the back of the head wound around a rectangular comb of wood, (common) tortoise shell, ivory or gold. Older and married women sometimes appear in an ancient ceremonial style consisting of the hair wrapped around a fiber cylinder 302 177 369

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on top of the head. Scented hair oil is used by both sexes on special occasions.

The HTAMKIN is regarded as "unworthy" for a man to touch. A severe insult is for a wife to request her husband to bring her HTAMKIN or to wash it. Drying HTAMKINS in the front of the house is never allowed; and it is strictly forbidden for this garment to touch any pongyi utensils. Parents instruct their boys never to pass under the strings of a line of which HTAMKINS are drying as such is thought to take away the masculine powers, and render the tattooed charms ineffective. Men and women's clothes are washed and stored separately.

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When a son neglects his mother after marriage she will complain with rage that he has not come out of the HTAMKIN and is under the HTAMKIN government of his wife.

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Women usually wear solid black HTAMKINS during menstruation. Boys, in jest, inform one of their companions that he may now become serious when the girl of his choice appears in a black dress for the first time.

Slippers of both sexes are regarded as "dirty" objects and are left outside of the houses. They are strictly prohibited in pagoda enclosures and land. When a girl is angry at a teasing boy (or quarreling with a woman) she will threaten to slap his face with her sandal. This is a double insult since the head is regarded as a particularly sacred part of the body. Barbers must ask permission and apologise for touching the heads of their customers.

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Western clothing has a higher status than Burmese clothing in certain situations and on certain occasions especially where western people are present in suits. However, for most occasions, everyday or special, the Burmese costume is preferred. When abroad the Burmese men usually wear western garb. The wearer of western clothes

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is often open to the taunt that he is "Bo Gyi (term for Englishmen) made in Burma". There is a strong feeling in all cases to be "properly" dressed and not to stand out from the rest of the group. This tendency is stronger in men than women who with their jewels and fine silks attempt to rival each other in a contest for social position.

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Burmese girl students who go abroad almost invariably wear their native costumes.

Westernization is invading the woman's sphere more slowly than the man's. However, the use of lipstick is now appearing among the upperclass or town people - along with modern brassieres and nylon KIMONOS with short sleeves. This is deplored by the more conservative as too revealing. The hair is shorter than formerly though the styles are only modified-western hairdo. A most important influence in the westernization of dress of the upper classes have been the American films.

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Normal and Preventative Measures.

Childbirth; MEE-BWA (Fire-Birth). U Myaing gives a short description of the handling of childbirth: 844

> "In the process of birth, the umbilical cord is severed with a flat bamboo. The midwife then washes the baby, wraps it up in cloth and puts it to sleep. After delivery saffron is mixed with water and given to the mother to drink. It is also smeared on the mother's body. After one week she is given hot baths once a day for three days in succession, 'to bring out the sweat'. There are no costs for delivery. Midwives do it free of charge. However, the family is obliged to give them presents of Kingyis, clothes, etc., but never money. Furthermore, it is perfectly all right even if no presents are made."

Ma Aye Myaing gives a more complete description of the entire course of pregnancy and labour, followed by the initial treatment of the new-born infant: 843 844 846

> "During the first four months of pregnancy, the expectant mother experiences occasional spells of dizziness and palpitation, and after a while begins to vomit once a day early in the morning until the time for labour. Two days before the onset of labour, pain begins to be felt in the abdomen and in the back. A mixture of saffron and water was taken internally three times a day and hot brick was applied twice a day for one week. The cost of saffron for one month is Rs. 3/-. The patient is made to perspire by boiling herbs known as "Thanat-ywet" and 'Sin-kho-ywet' in a pot and placing the pot in a covered place where the patient had to sit andperspire. The midwife visited her for seven days and applied massage to the abdomen. The umbilical cord was cut by the midwife. In cutting the cord, a silver coin was placed underneath and the cord was tied by a string. The navel cord dropped after three days. During the first week after labour, a mixture of "Yin-pya" and saffron also had to be taken to prevent haemorrhage. The infant was fed after three days, when the milk appeared. On the third day after labour, "saffron smoking" was given, and if the patient felt sleepy she had to smell "sa-mon-net". This day is known as "Thwe-thit-laung-de-ne" and is regarded as an important day. Great care is taken, as it is believed that any shock or excitement is fatal. The patient is not allowed to oversleep in the daytime. That is the reason why "sa-mon-net" is given."

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Ma Aye Myaing also reported an abortion on the third month of pregnancy at Kyaunggon on their way to Rangoon. This was due to the rigors of the evacuation. No treatment was taken.

Menstruation; YAR THI LAR. (Season-coming). Menstruation for Ma Aye Myaing started at the age of fifteen years, then disappeared for seven months, after which it appeared again and has occured regularly since. For this, she takes a mixture of jaggery and ginger. Jaggery for one day costs one anna and ginger costs .33 annas. The black longyi worn at this time absorbs the discharge and does not show the stain. The upper classes in towns now use western pads in public, but black longyis are still in use in private. 841

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Analysis

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The main active preventative measures are those of cleaning the body and the clothes. The Burmese seem to be fastidious in this regard. The boiling of water and food is a similar measure. However, there does not seem to be much concern with communal sanitary measures as practical in western countries. It is difficult to see a real difference in the standard of preventative measures in Camp as opposed to Pethwe. In effect, the individual standards are maintained and the communal ones remain as negative as previously.

The medical record as given by the family, though open to question as to accuracy in coming from laymen, does indicate a high incident of communicable diseases and apparent lack of deficiency disorders. The low incident of dysentery is surprising, but may not be accepted without question. The high incident of piles is interesting in suggesting a cultural disorder perhaps organically tied to the constant squat position. There appeared to be a greater incident of sycscres, chlis, and skin diseases in the refugee camp - perhaps as a result of greater crowding in the the urban situation. Certainly the dust of Rangoon is an active hazard in this regard.

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Most of the family's medical care has been that of Burmese practitioners. Only 3 cases was western medicine used, and in two of these Burmese remedies were also used. Dr. Sheppard, ECA medical advisor, and Ko Mya Tu interviewed U Myaing for the purpose of finding out his reactions to western medicine. His increased contact with modern medicine in Rangoon has had an effect on his thought as seen in the interview below:

> U Myaing said: "In our practical experience we find that western medicine is more efficacious (than native Burmese medicine). I remember the woman whom you (Ko Mya Tu) came and gave injections to. She recovered at once and is now hale and hearty - the woman who lives in the shed near our place (in the refugee camp). She was stricken with dysentery. She was suffering from 11 o'clock at night till morning, when an ambulance was summoned by telephone to take her to the hospital. She was given injections and by noon she was feeling very much better. Burmese doctors take much longer. Some of them mix in western medicines with their own. If we were given the choice we would prefer western medicine because it takes effect quicker. I have seen one case of Burmese medicine succeeding where western medicine failed. This was a case of urinary trouble."

561 removed. Old folks habitually like bitter foods - especially tea
262 leaves. Eating prepared foods left over night is strictly prohibited as a cause of illnesses. Curry must be eaten while it is hot. (There are no apparent reasons - just observation from eating spoiled
[757] foods). Boiled rice and fried dry fish comprises the standard sick diet in addition to other foods especially prescribed for the care or
●177 for giving vigour. It is interesting to note that English foods such
757 as tinned biscuits ("Golden Puff biscuits") or milk preparations
262 ("Hollicks") are preferred for the sick diet by those who can afford them. The "strong" tastes of these foods give strength to the sick person. Lately, western medicines have been recognized as powerful. U Myaing's experiences above show the means by which this idea is established. However, the Burmese doctor is relied on even by families of the administrative class in Rangoon.

759 When a case of sickness seems beyond response to normal treatments, and it has been diagnosed as of a natural cause, the SAY SAYA (medicine-master) is called in. "Foot-hire" at a stiff rate of Rs.5/- for the first visit and 2 or 3 rupees for succeeding visits is paid for this service."Say-saya, we place the case in your hands" is entoned, to which the doctor replies "If our faith coincides (i.e. patients and doctors) then we will be successful - otherwise we cannot go against Karma". The doctor notes the symptoms, feels fore-
[198] head for fever, inquires of colour of urine and the course of the disorder. He then chants in verse the diagnosis as "eyes yellow, ection irregular, forehead moist - (giving nature of sickness)". The treatment also follows in verse form as a rigid formula prescribing medicines and diet. The doctor is a specialist in one or more types of medicine which he has concocted such as "blood purifying
[755] medicines,"fever medicine", "purgative medicine", and he will have been called in because of this specialty. Charmed water is frequently given. Here verse formula is said over a cup of water to give it power.

SAY SAYA are trained when young men as apprentices to older doctors. The training includes memorizing many books giving diagnosis and formulas for curing as well as learning the master's arts.

A village of 2000 persons may have 10 or more doctors. The more successful "move up" to the towns and cities. Most of the medicines are herbs and chemicals including roots, leaves, fruits, berries, salt, and sulphur. Many of the herbs are imported from India. Parts of animals such as crocodile skin, pig and horse droppings are used less frequently. The doctor must be a moral man of good character or the medicine will not be effective. He uses the right index finger "medical finger" to stir the concoctions. The family of the sick person may either prepare the medicine themselves from the doctor's directions or take his on special preparations. Many cures are effected by regulating diet, and in most cases this plays an important part in the cure. The knowledge which the SAY-SAYA must command is extensive including not only the medic' wisdom of the ages but also the peculiarities of the patient and above all the relationship of the seasons (weather conditions) to the case.

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If one doctor fails to cure, another may be called in after dismissing the first. A keen feeling of rivalry exists between the various doctors and there are no cooperative consultations. Although each prides himself on a specialty the secrets of which he jealously guards he feels qualified also to handle any other medical problems. "If two are of the same thoughts, they are enemies" emphasizes the general attitude of competition seen in many other phases of Burmese life. The Burmese doctors are invariably applied to for help first. If this does not succeed modern midicinal facilities are sought. If modern medicine fails it is greatly derided. Maung Maung Than's aunt was ill for a long time and, after consulting many Burmese specialists she was taken to the Rangoon Mission Hospital where her case was diagnosed as advanced breast cancer beyond cure. His uncle, though not a medical man, is recognized as a last resort specialist who when the patient is beyond any other help administers lime juice (ordinarily fatal where fever is involved) in a "do or die" treatment. He is warned off when he appears at a sick house for the risk often does not pay off.

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Illness is frequently caused by supernatural spirits acting either independently or as agents for "black magic" specialists.

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776 of the villagers. The head-nat, the guardian of the village, replies
753 with accusations that "the whole village has forgotten me", boasts of
688 his powers to punish and is finally molified. In Rangoon there are
672 professional nat-givers who parade the streets with a cart bearing the
782 image of "the conqueror of the salty waters" (special nat of entrepre-
[463] neurs). For a few annas he will make offerings to the nat and relcive the busy townspeople of this task.

776 The arrangement is a mutual one where the people enjoy freedom
782 from oppressions in return for certain concessions. This phenomenon closely parallels the traditional relationship between the rulers and the ruled in Burma. In a real sense the nat concept serves the function of allowing the Burmese a sense of control over catastrophic forces which do not fall into any other system (as secular, political, personal relationships, cosmology.). It is this system of controls
•[177] that the western scientific system most immediately competes with. The administrative and entrepreneur class of Burmese especially in Rangoon say they "Do not believe" in nats. But it is usual for most individuals no matter what their western background to apply to nats in cases of ill fortune "just in case".

775 THAYEH (Ghosts) generally are a group of supernatural spirits closely related to nats in their origins but with a different set of properties. These are "recently" deceased individuals whose crimes and sins while on earth or manner of death condemn them to an eternity of wandering and mischief-making. Actually, each person becomes a ghost at death but is ordinarily released from earth at the moment of the interment of the corpse for judgment in heaven. Those who die of
[761] "raw death" become ghosts. These include: death in childbirth, by wild animals (especially tigers), instant deaths by dahs as in warfare, or by hanging. In Maung Maung Than's village a prominent ghost is U Me Gyi (Mr. Blacky) a very sinful fellow who lived 50 or 60 years ago in the village. His complexion is quite black and horribly distorted. He inhabits a banyan tree and specialises in causing infant illness. Offerings of rice at the tree pacifies him. Ghosts are forces for evil only - evil of the more irritating and less important kind.
751 Older people wear red and white coloured strings about their necks as a protection against ghost evils. It is very common to wear a LET-PWET

gives important data on the process of urbanizing villagers - the country people are an important group in the growth of the Burmese section of Rangoon; probably a large section of the present refugee population will stay in the future. 183 369 [178]

The concepts of pattern of living and standard of living: The Burmese pattern of living, or any culture pattern, is a universe of beliefs and practices manifested in acts and artifacts. The analogy of the "Universe" is a useful one in that it recognizes a guiding body of understandings that controls the whole of the society (like "laws" of Universe) while emphasizing the particular understandings that govern the various groups or classes of the society (like the "laws" of the Solar and other systems within the Universe). The "solar systems" are the standard levels of operations forming a comprehensive set of forces within itself. Families, like U Myaing's have a mobility, in the case understudy a forced change, which takes them out of one standard system into another. The adjustments which they undergo reflects the "laws" which control the various standard levels as well as the basic concepts controlling the whole of the society. 121 183

Each belief and practice has a range of expressions which can be defined. The particular expression practiced by a family is the standard or level of a phenomenon capable of expansion or contraction within prescribed limits. The ultimate limits are defined by the total range of expressions for the culture as a whole. But the practical limits for a family are defined by the possibilities of the society segment (community) in which they find themselves. Thus, the range of U Myaing's possibilities of expression are much greater in Rangoon than they were in Pathwe and greatly exceed his original ideas of what was possible. He may, for example, become a highly westernized political leader - although this seems unlikely in terms of his expectations. The westernized, urban spheres of Burmese culture is now opened to the family. [621] [369] [177]

U Myaing is motivated by the basic expectations of the Burmese culture at a level applicable to his situation in terms of the possibilities of his social environment. In Pathwe, he was a fisherman and aspired to those things that fishermen should. In camp, he was at 181 565 555

his lot. It also tends toward a kind of stratification of society where the boundaries, however, are neither sharp nor fast. Each person is comfortably installed in his place and competes, mildly, only with those of his own level. The obligations (as contributions for ceremonies) are in terms of one's ability, and his status is in terms of his virtues. Status is closely correlated with increasing age. This concept motivate the Burmese in the village within "KARMA groups". 181 156 364 555 [561] [554]

The unusual individual may transcend his family positions in exceptional cases - by marriage or achievement. Achievement by physical force has been a means of mobility in the past - there is the tradition of the strong man leader who comes from humble origins. Mobility by entrepreneur achievement (rice mill owners; traders) has been greatly stimulated with increased western contacts. U Myaing was a sort of entrepreneur in Pathwe. In Rangoon the opportunities are great and some Burmese are successfully embracing this, as yet, somewhat unfamiliar course. The western entrepreneur concept appears to be finding a fertile ground in the traditional "group individualism" of the Burmese. 156 555 557 [177]●

<u>The standards or levels of culture</u>: When U Myaing's standard of living plummeted downwards as a refugee he became discontented and unhappy desiring to return to the "plateau" of his former level. At first he could only think of returning to Pathwe to achieve this, but as ~~[illegible]~~ begins to crown his efforts in Rangoon he now feels the beginnings of a sense of achievement. In his refugee situation there was no sense of shame for his reduction - the events contributing to his downfall were beyond his control, and he had lived "as a refugee should" in which his abilities and obligations were balanced. This resulted in an attitude of cheerful patience understandable in terms of the KARMA concept. 511 181 558

The two standards, in Pathwe and camp, represent balanced levels ranging from the "average" Burmese village situation to close to the minimum. Higher standards than those of Pathwe are seen in the administrative class of Rangoon and other major towns where western influences are strong (car, western furniture and household utensils, westernised house and clothing, etc.). Lower standards may be 511 565 [177]

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Mon

175 it, carrying on trade with India and the rest of Indo-China. During this period Burmese dancing and music and poetry, as embodied in songs, perhaps assumed definite and national forms. But there was
177 no writing. The kings that came from India probably knew writing,
175 but their knowledge was perhaps limited; in any case, it never
212 reached the people. The introduction of Buddhism into the country brought no writing, as it came through traders whose knowledge of religious learning was meagre. The few religious tracts preserved in monasteries were looked upon merely as curious and sacred objects. The religion, feeble from the beginning, decayed and soon disappeared. The kingdom came to an end in the first century A.D.[1]

175 A new kingdom was founded in Upper Burma at Pagan, which
779 controlled the land and river trade-routes, and as a result of its
212 commercial advantages, it became a powerful kingdom with the ascension to the throne of Anawrahta in 1044. From that point Burmese history ceases to be conjectural. Through the influence of the learned and saintly monk, Shin Arahan, Buddhism in one of its purest forms was introduced into the kingdom by Anawrahta. With it, writing was also introduced. The alphabet was the 'Square Pali', and the literature the *Three Pitakas* embodying all the religious
101 teachings in Pali. Curiously enough, the alphabet and the literature
174 did not come directly from India, but from Burma itself—from the
144 Talaing kingdom of Thaton. The Talaings were a branch of the Burmese race. Many think that they were a mixture of native tribes with Indian traders. I venture to disagree. The earliest inhabitants of Burma were Indonesians, who settled on the coast of Burma during successive 'drifts' of humanity from the west, through India, to further east. Later, there was an infiltration of Mongolian tribes, who came down the rivers from the North. Inland, where the Indonesian element was weak, the new-comers dominated and later became the Burmese; along the coast where the Indonesian element was strong the tribes united and became the Talaings. However, all this is mere con-
175 jecture. The early history of the Talaing kingdom of Thaton, which
101 Anawrahta had to destroy to obtain possession of the alphabet and the *Three Pitakas*, is not known, except that it was perhaps in existence a few centuries before Christ and was under the influence

[1] Pe Maung Tin and G. H. Luce, *The Glass Palace Chronicle*; A. Phayre, *History of Burma*. G. E. Harvey in his *History of Burma* contends that the first Burmese kingdom was Prome, and that it flourished only in about the seventh century A.D.

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of Hindu traders from South India. After the introduction of Buddhism into South India by Asoka in 261 B.C., the traders began to bring Buddhist elements to Thaton. With the establishment in the third or fourth century after Christ of the Hindu kingdoms in Java and Sumatra, Thaton became an important trading centre, and with the rise of a great Buddhist centre at Conjeveram in Madras in the fifth century, the Talaings began to receive religious writings in Pali. From that time onwards, learning was definitely established in the kingdom, and, as a result, a Talaing literature came into being. Anawrahta was interested in Pali only, and therefore when he destroyed the city, he burnt all the manuscripts except those in Pali.[1]

175 101 [779] [177]

The writing and learning that were thus introduced into Pagan took root at once. Prose and poetry as embodied in the language of the court and in songs had been in existence long before, though unwritten, and now the new learning turned them into written forms and began to develop them. Pali was studied everywhere, and in the newly-built temples with their crowded monastic life, works in Pali on religion, on Pali grammar and prosody, and on the legal code of Manu came to be produced.[2] Translations were also made, and soon Pagan became famous throughout India for its Pali scholarship. But

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[1] The Burmese language belongs to the Tibeto-Burmese group, whereas the Talaing belongs to the Mon-Khmar group. In spite of Anawrahta's conquest and in spite of the fact that racially they were cousins, the Talaings became completely merged with the Burmese only in the eighteenth century. The probability of the Sanskrit drama reaching the Talaings is considered in chap. ii.

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[2] G. E. Harvey, op. cit., pp. 59, 70.

The most famous for literary activity was the *Kyauku Ohmnin* temple. Though built perhaps even before Anawrahta, when a corrupted form of Buddhism was prevalent, it is still in an excellent condition (Harvey, p. 17).

The code of Manu was compiled originally in Sanskrit, during the period 200 B.C.–A.D. 200. Since that time it has been one of the chief sources of Hindu law (J. D. Mayne, *Hindu Law*). The Burmese received it in a Talaing-Pali version in which the sacerdotal element had been done away with. That explains why, although Manu is one of the chief sources also of Burmese Buddhist law, it has little in common with Hindu law. The existence of the code as the chief source of Talaing law (Harvey, op. cit., p. 111) raises again the question, how far were the Talaing writings under the influence of Sanskrit and its literature? We shall never know. When Anawrahta destroyed Talaing institutions and historical and literary works, he intended that all knowledge of the past greatness of the Talaings should pass into oblivion so as to smooth his way towards unifying Burma into one single State.

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Pali has been, since 1044, the classical language of Burma.

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was appointed viceroy of the Seven Hill Districts of Mindon, situated 647
between Arakan and the river Irrawaddy. It was during the Age of 175
Triumph, the period when the native interlude and the Siamese- 536*
influenced court drama were being fused. At the miniature court of 127
the viceroy were presented interludes and court plays, and *Hamsas* [177]
were publicly recited. In his palace,[1] a special apartment was built for [635]
the regular performance of plays and interludes, a special troupe of actors was taken under his patronage, and more famous troupes were often invited from the capital. In 1824 the unfortunate viceroy failed to stem the advance of the British forces, and he was executed and his palace burnt by royal order. From 1825 to 1852, the date of the second Anglo-Burmese war, Mindon was administered directly from the capital, and times were difficult; therefore dramatic performances at Mindon were few and far between. Though the son of the late viceroy was living, he wisely chose to leave the court, the administration of justice and politics alone, and as a result, he had neither the influence nor the wealth to patronize the drama. Therefore, as far as the drama was concerned, a gap resulted in the tradition of the family. In 1852 the British annexed the whole of Lower Burma, and Mindon passed into British hands. The viceroy's grandson was appointed [635]
chief administrative officer. This officer, my great-grandfather, took his office to be exactly similar in rank to that of his grand-sire, and though the British Government did not know of it—or the authorities at Rangoon did not care—he restored in effect the court of his grandfather, and dramatic performances were revived.[2] To him I am indebted for preserving much of the custom and tradition of the executed ancestor. To his revival of official performances of plays and interludes, I owe my information gathered from members of my family and the townspeople of Mindon. While the court [101]
poet, U Pon Nya, was further developing the drama, continuing the work of U Kyin U at the Burmese capital of Mandalay, in the out-of-the-way town of Mindon the interludes were still being performed. But it must not be supposed that Mindon was the only place where the interlude lived on. It survived in many places alongside the plays of the two great dramatists. But only from Mindon have I been able to obtain first-hand information and

[1] Though it was termed the 'palace', it was by no means a stately mansion [635]
or an imposing castle. Except for its gilded spires, emblems of the king's authority, it was just a big house of timber and bamboo with thatched roofs.

[2] He was U Sauk, Extra Assistant Commissioner.

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647 accounts regarding it. Apart from the notes gathered by my father, I
175 base my information on the accounts given to me orally by my grand-
536* mother and grand-aunts who actually saw the interludes performed.

127 In support of the oral tradition regarding the nature of the
175 interlude, there are some echoes of it in the plays of U Kyin U. He
536* developed the interlude into a proper play, but the change was not a sudden one, and in his plays we find echoes of the interlude in its various stages. His plays are considered in detail in another chapter. There are also contemporary references to the interlude. Even from an English pen we have an account. Colonel Yule in 1855 saw an entertainment midway between the interlude and the developed plays of U Kyin U.[1]

644 The period of the court plays offers an easier task for research.
536* The *Rama* play from Siam is preserved, with adaptations, it is true,
[177] but with notes on the original when a change was made in the pre-
538 served version.[2] The other Siamese play of *Eenaung* has come down to us. The poem *Rama-yagan* which Burmanized the *Rama* story has also come down. Accounts of the performances of the court plays and the recitation of the poem at court are many and well known. From the time when they were first composed down to the present day, the works of these court poets and dramatists have been studied and read. The influence of these works on the interlude is suggested, not only by the 'internal evidence' in U Kyin U's plays, but also by the editorial prefaces to the works in their various editions.

[114] Though only three plays of U Kyin U exist at the present day as far as is known, the period is quite easy of research, because references and notes regarding him occur in various records of the court and the nobility, and because the Burma Research Society has published new editions of two of his plays; and though the prefaces to them are short and no attempt is made to make a complete study, suggestions for further study and research are made by the editors.

175 The period of U Pon Nya offers the easiest task, as compared with
536* other periods, so far as research is concerned. All his plays are

[1] H. Yule, *A Narrative of the Mission sent by the Governor-General of India to the Court of Ava in 1855*. His description of the dramatic entertainment he saw is considered again in the next chapter in connexion with Sir William Ridgeway's theory of the development of the Burmese drama.

[2] There is a copy of the *Rama* play in the British Museum. It is wrongly catalogued as by U Ku, who was only the editor. All these plays and the poem have been printed again and again, and are easily obtainable in Burma.

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CHAPTER I

THE ORIGINS OF BURMESE DRAMA

1. Burmese Music and Dancing

I have said that no Burmese drama is to be found before the eighteenth century. The origins of that drama are to be found in the remote past of Burma's own national development, rather than in foreign importations or influence.

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No doubt, Burmese music and dancing arose out of primitive religious rituals as in other countries. Society developed, civilization expanded, and contact with the Hindus and Chinese gave new ideas, but the native element always dominated, and the music and dancing remained, as indeed they still remain, essentially Burmese. In A.D. 800 when the Hindu expansion overseas was an accomplished fact, when the Hindu and Chinese civilizations had come into contact with each other, and when the rest of Indo-China had been drawn into the influence of those civilizations, Burmese music and dancing remained independent. In 800–2, when some parts of Upper Burma were under the nominal suzerainty of Nanchao (then a semi-independent State, now Yunnan), two Burmese deputations accompanied Nanchao missions to the Court of the Chinese Emperor, and the Burmese 'sang songs containing Sanskrit words and went through spelling dances, lining up in a pattern which read "Nanchao sends holy music!"'[1] The Imperial Secretary has left us a poem describing the occasion. The following is an extract:

> Music from the land of P'iao, music from the land of P'iao,[2]
> Brought hither from the great ocean's south-west corner
> Yung Ch'iang's son, Shunant'o.
> Has come with an offering of southern tunes to fête the New Year.
> Our Emperor has taken his seat in the courtyard of the palace.
> He does not press his cap strings to his ears, he is listening to you!

[1] G. E. Harvey, *History of Burma*, p. 14.

[2] The land of P'iao was the name by which Burma was known to the Chinese until the tenth century (ibid., p. 11).

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have been celebrated year after year, at least since the reintroduction of Buddhism in 1056, and at least since March, 638, when an early king of Pagan, Popa Sawrahan (613–40), drew up the present Burmese era, the dawn of every Burmese new year has been the occasion for mirthful water-throwing.[1] 527 796 [805]

Buddhism had been introduced into the country through commercial relations with India long before the foundation of the kingdom of Pagan, but from the beginning it was only at second-hand and therefore feeble. The real religion of the Burmese before the re-introduction of Buddhism in 1056 was animistic, and they worshipped various spirits, known as *nats*. There were mediums, mostly women, who danced to please the spirits, and as the spirits were supposed to enter into the bodies of the mediums, sometimes it was believed that the spirits, and not the mediums, were actually dancing. Sometimes the medium herself actually believed that a spirit had taken control of her body, but usually she only pretended that a spirit had entered her, and gave an exhibition of acting. As the medium of each particular *nat* dressed herself in appropriate clothes, the spirit dances were essentially dramatic.[2] When Buddhism, in one of its purest forms, was introduced under Anawrahta, the great king realized the impossibility of attracting people suddenly to the new faith; so he compromised by recognizing the *nats* as Buddhist spirits and giving them shrines in his Shwezigôn Pagoda as its guardian spirits. When asked the reason, Anawrahta replied: 'Men will not come suddenly to the new faith. Let them come for their old gods, and they will gradually be won over.'[3] 177 439 771 791 [462] [535]

So the worship of the *nats* lived on, and with the advance of

[1] Shway-Yoe (Sir George Scott) in *The Burman: His Life and Notions*, and Fielding Hall in *The Soul of a People* give detailed accounts of the feasts and life in the villages. However, as far as I have been able to find out, the Tazaungmôn celebrations have never been described in any English work. [114]

[2] These dances are still performed on spirit-feast days at Taungbyôn (near Mandalay), a small town given up to spirit worship since the days of Pagan's greatness and perhaps even before.

The belief in, as distinct from the worship of, spirits is not alien to Buddhism.

The chief works on the subject are: Sir R. C. Temple, *The Thirty-Seven Nats*; Grant Brown, 'The Taungbyon Festival' in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, 1915; the same author's 'The Pre-Buddhist Religion of the Burmese' in *Folk-Lore*, 1921; and G. E. Harvey, *History of Burma*. [113]

[3] G. E. Harvey, op. cit., p. 33.

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tunes played by the orchestra. The chorus was first introduced for two reasons: the audience liked a dance, and the actors did not forget that their original calling was that of mediums. 536* 795

2. According to Ridgeway, the second stage of the drama was reached when the 'true dramatic element borrowed from the Indian historical plays of Rama, presented by the puppet players' had entered Burmese drama. The weak points in this theory will be apparent when the further history of the drama is considered in later chapters. The 'true dramatic element' was already in the *Nibhatkhin*, or at least in the interlude; the Indian *Ramayana* coming by way of Siam did influence Burmese drama, but this was possible only because there was already a native drama to absorb this foreign influence. Nor were the *Rama* plays presented at first by puppet players. When the translations and adaptations of the Siamese *Ramayana* were being first presented at court, puppet plays were unknown. Ridgeway puts forward some opinions regarding the Burmese puppet show also, but they will be considered in Chapter VII. 536* 178 177 538

3. According to Ridgeway, the third stage of Burmese drama was reached when there appeared plays 'based on the Indian models, but finding their themes in the national history and mythology, intermixed with Buddhistic elements, and performed by puppets and living actors.' It is true that after the introduction of the Siamese *Rama* play to the Burmese court, plays of the type described appeared, but the plays were by no means modelled on the *Rama* play. The Siamese play gave rise to a native court drama which influenced the interlude and prepared the way for the first great Burmese dramatist, U Kyin U. And the 'Buddhistic elements' which entered the drama have a history of their own. All these points are considered in later chapters.

On the nature and achievements of Burmese drama, Ridgeway says: 'The Burmese drama has not remained crystallized as a piece of religious ritual. On the contrary, it has made distinct steps towards the true drama which Thepis in Greece and the forerunners of Marlowe and Shakespeare in England detached from the sacred shrines and lifted into a distinct artistic form. Yet it has not advanced beyond the lyrical stage, consisting of dancing, singing and instruments of music, the undulation of the vocal expression being much more subtle and intense than the expression of features, whilst gesture is restricted to the conventional gestures of the dance. The usual scene is the palace, its inmates the characters, and the drama 536* 114

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CHAPTER II

THE RISE OF A COURT DRAMA IN BURMA

1. The *Ramayana* of Valmiki

Before considering the influence of the Siamese *Rama* play on Burmese drama, perhaps it will not be out of place to attempt to give an account of the great Indian epic, the *Ramayana*, in which the Siamese play had its sources. 538 177

The *Ramayana* is one of the two Hindu epics, the other being the *Mahabharata*. The *Ramayana* as a completed poem is the older of the two, though the kernel of the *Mahabharata* may have been older. Very probably the legend of Rama existed long before Valmiki composed the poem, to which later poets made large additions; the original composition and the main additions belong to the period 400 B.C. The epic contains two separate stories, the court intrigues of Ayodhya and the exile of Rama to the forest; the capture of Sita by Ravana and the resulting war with the demon king. The first story was probably in existence as a Buddhist Birth Story—the *Dasaratha Jataka*—when the poem came into being.[1]

The poem is divided into seven books. The first book in its present shape, which reveals additions to the original, tells of the manner in which the poem came to be composed by Valmiki, of the Hindu gods, the divine origin of the prince Rama, and his winning of Sita as bride by bending a strong bow which none other could bend. In the second book we read that Rama was going to be consecrated heir, but the junior queen, Kaikeyi, the mother of Bharata, reminded the king that he had promised two boons to her for nursing him when he was lying ill. She demanded firstly the choice of her own son, Bharata, as heir, and secondly the exile of Rama. The doting king was in great distress and tried to argue with the queen, but it was in vain, and the promise had to be kept. Rama acquiesced, and 538

[1] Dr A. B. Keith has kindly pointed out to me that many scholars doubt whether the *Dasaratha Jataka* could be so old, and, therefore, the general opinion would seem to regard it as being later than the poem.

On this great national epic, were founded many plays. For
538 example, the thirteen Trivandrum plays commonly attributed to the
536* authorship of Bhasa contain two based on the *Ramayana*. The date of the plays is generally accepted as the second or third century after Christ.

2. The Siamese Court Play of *Rama*

● 177 From about the third century after Christ, the great Hindu expan-
175 sion overseas began in earnest, and as a result many Hindu kingdoms
101 were founded in Indo-China, Malaya, Java, and the surrounding regions. Before that time, very probably there was at least some intercourse between India and those regions, and may be Buddhism was not unknown in the regions mentioned. But by the third century A.D. Buddhism had completely disappeared in them, except for very faint traces remaining in Burma. In India itself, Buddhism was on the wane and Brahmanism was in the ascendant. Therefore when the merchants of Northern India spread a new culture in Indo-China and
[538] the surrounding regions, the culture was distinctly Hindu. The Indians took with them their religious epics, the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata*. Though both came to be very well known, the former was perhaps the more popular, probably because it was more finished artistically. Sanskrit plays were also no doubt introduced. The Hindu influence reached its height about the fourth and fifth centuries—in the third century Bhasa was composing his plays, and Kalidasa, the greatest of Hindu-Sanskrit dramatists lived about the year 400. Hindu poems and romances must also have been brought into the newly-founded kingdoms and trading centres.

177 The intensity of the new influence varied in the regions. Burma
101 was nearest and directly on the route from India. But probably
174 there was already a strong native civilization, and Hindu culture failed to take root. Along the coast, however, at Thaton, there was quite a strong outpost of Hindu culture, but even there the Hindu influence was quite negligible compared with regions farther east. In Cambodia the new culture was especially favoured, and in Java, Sumatra and the Malay peninsula, it took deep root. In Siam, however, the intensity was much less. In the narrow circle of the court the Hindu influence was strong, but the people were quite untouched by it. The chief reason was very probably the continuous, peaceful invasion by people from the north, the Shans, or at least the forefathers of the modern Shans. According to some scholars, they were Buddhists, which is not unlikely as Buddhism, in a modified form,

[i.e., the Ramayana--ANALYST]

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was prevailing in China and Tibet by about the third century A.D. In any case, the ever-increasing population, alien to Hindu culture, must have acted against the intensity of the Hindu influence. Moreover, Siam was one of the earliest converts from Hinduism to Buddhism which, especially after the great Buddhist missionary, Buddhagosa, who lived in the fifth century, was ousting Brahmanism in Indo-China. At the Siamese court, however, the Hindu tradition was very strong, and remained so even when the king and his courtiers had become Buddhists. 177 174 101

In Siam, as in the neighbouring regions, learning did not reach the people for a long time even though it flourished at the court. The Hindu tradition was not strong enough to prevent the courtiers from creating a native literature. Buddhism prevented the courtiers from looking upon the Hindu learning with a conservatism that would not have allowed imitations. In Cambodia and elsewhere native ideas could never shake off the dominance of Hindu culture, and no native literature could come into being until quite modern times. Moreover, the very fact that the Hindu tradition was strong prevented the survival of Sanskrit literature in those regions, for once the tradition was broken, only chaos resulted. To make it clear, I will take the Java shadow-play. Sanskrit dramatic representation gave rise to the Java shadow-play. Therefore, one would expect Java to preserve a Hindu dramatic literature to herself and to the world. But it failed to do so. The shadow-play of Java is interesting as a special kind of dramatic performance, and not as dramatic literature. The stories that are presented on the shadow-stage in Java are taken mostly from the Hindu epics, but they have very little dramatic structure. Yet originally they must have been developed Sanskrit plays. Of course, to begin with, the Sanskrit shadow-plays themselves were slight in structure, but by no means so crude as the Javanese ones. The Hindu tradition was so strong that once it was destroyed, not only did the Hindu drama in Java decay and disappear, but a native drama in a developed form failed to appear. Stories from Hindu sources as well as stories from native history and mythology are still shown on the Java shadow-stage, but the plays are all formless and crude. In Cambodia, where the Hindu tradition was indeed very strong and lasted much longer, some remnants of the developed Sanskrit drama are preserved, but the tradition was so strong that no native element could enter it. There, up to the present day, a State theatre, with a special minister 177 369 564 538 101

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177 of State, presents the *Ramayana*, and less frequently that play which
369 the Burmese calls the *Eenaung*.[1] Both are remnants of Sanskrit plays
564 no doubt introduced by the early Hindu kings. Throughout the
538 centuries, the two plays have been regularly presented with the full
101 patronage of the king and all the splendour at his command. It is almost a ritual. During the intervening centuries, no fresh incentive had come from India, and no new element, no native element, was allowed to enter it; the result was that the Cambodian *Ramayana* soon lost its freshness. Cambodia, therefore, not only has no native drama; it also failed to preserve for posterity good examples of Sanskrit dramatic literature.

101 To return to Siam. Even the courtiers did not look upon the
538 Hindu tradition with too much awe and conservatism. They recog-
[564] nized and retained the vital elements of Hindu culture as far as
536 possible so as not to clash with native and Buddhistic elements. The results of such special circumstances are best seen in Siamese literature. The court encouraged and the courtiers produced romances based on and in imitation of Sanskrit-Hindu romances. Native ideas, native tales, and native mythology were introduced into works modelled on Hindu literary works. In drama, the Siamese did not produce native plays, and they retained the *Ramayana* as a play. But they introduced new ideas and kept alive the old. In dramatic literature, as in all other matters, the Siamese had to reject all that was contrary to Buddhism, and some were retained only after much alteration to suit new needs. A consideration of the Siamese play of *Rama* shows clearly the above facts.

The epic tradition was very strong in India and it prevented Sanskrit drama from rising to still greater heights. In the new Hindu regions of Indo-China and the Malay Archipelago epic tradition was equally strong, if not stronger. In India the Sanskrit drama was shackled by the epic tradition; in the new regions the drama was very probably entirely subordinated to the epic. The dramatic performances in Cambodia, in Siam, in Java, before modern influences came in, were based mostly on the *Mahabharata* or the *Ramayana*. Perhaps it is legitimate to assume that the Sanskrit plays introduced into the new Hindu kingdoms were mostly those based on the epics: mostly, but not all. For the *Eenaung*, which is very probably from Hindu-Sanskrit sources, tells a story unconnected with the two epics.

[1] This is explained in the next section.

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courtier later won fresh fame as a statesman and judge, becoming known to history as the Minister Myawaddi.[1]

As has been stated, there was at the Siamese court a companion play to *Rama*. It was known as *Aindarwuntha*. There was also a Siamese court romance of the same name and dealing with the same theme. Aindarwuntha was a prince-soldier, and he had two sets of adventures, one amorous and the other martial. Myawaddi was one of those who broke away from the tradition that the Siamese models at the Burmese court must be preserved without any substantial change. He did not want to have his hands tied through this tradition, and so he did not translate the play, *Aindarwuntha*, but translated instead the court romance. Then he dramatized the romance, and called his new play, not *Aindarwuntha* but *Eenaung*.[2] In *Eenaung*, Myawaddi rejects the heroic adventures and tells only of the hero-prince's romantic intrigues.

The play is far too long. The *Rama* play was long, too, and it took two or three days to present it entire. The court had all the leisure in the world. *Rama*, if translated, would require about 400 of these pages. *Eenaung* is longer; it would be about 600 pages. The play was written more to be read than acted, and as far as is known, it was never presented entire. Only some scenes were acted. The play on the whole is disjointed; it is merely a collection of scenes, connected only through the personality of the prince. As the adventures are purely amorous, there is no action at all. We are told occasionally that the prince has gone on a journey or that he has achieved a conquest, but the scene is always the palace. Following the Siamese style, music and song are important elements in the play, but dances and fine dresses are absent. It is not a masque.

The merit of the play lies in its language, dialogue, and characterization. It is the language of the court, refined and elegant as that of *Rama*. But a certain element of simplicity is in it, and it is not too rich in words or in imagery, so that the common people could understand and appreciate it; in short, the usual clear style of the author, which is the hall-mark of his other writings, is also found in this play. In dialogue, the play retains the freshness and liveliness of the *Rama* play. In characterization, the play is a great advance on *Rama*

[1] An account of his career is given in G. E. Harvey, op. cit., p. 296.

[2] The play *Aindarwuntha* or *Eenaung* has been mentioned earlier in this chapter, on pp. 36 and 44–5.

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536* through good fortune he is given a princely sum of money, his regard
828 for the silver halfpenny acquired through industry and thrift, and his love for the woman remain. In the hour of his acquisition of half the kingdom, he does not forget either his lover or his halfpenny. However, he soon loses his cheerfulness through having to fill his office with dignity and ability; the crown prince is no longer the laughing water-seller, indulging in mock-heroics, laughing unashamed at his own poverty. Wealth and power do not always make one happy and cheerful. To the previously contented water-seller ambition comes to disturb his peace of mind. He is next only to the king, but he wants to be king now—he, who was contented before with a halfpenny hidden safely away. His greed and ambition tempt him, to kill his friend and king, who is responsible for making him the crown prince. Fortunately, his old sense of honesty and gratitude still remain. The good and evil in him fight, and U Pon Nya gives us a fine picture of the struggle in the mind of the water-seller. In the end, the good wins. If the character of a person is essentially good, in the end, in spite of all temptations, the good in him will carry him through, just as the water-seller's character finally triumphs over ambition and greed that result from wealth and power. The king offers him the whole kingdom, he has but to say 'yes', and from being the lowest in the country, he will become the highest. But he refuses the offer. He has tasted both poverty and wealth and in the end he chooses poverty—the poverty and peace of a hermit's life. He has the courage to act according to his convictions, and we can but respect and admire his final action.[1]

4. *Wizaya*

536* The story of this play is taken with slight modifications from a
719 semi-religious work on the history of Buddhism in Ceylon, which is
[171] classed in the same category as a *Jataka*. In the original not only the history of Ceylon, but also some account of the history of the kingdom in India from which the island was colonized, was given. U Pon Nya, however, begins only at the point where the colonists leave their mother country, and ends his play at the point where a dynasty is assured to Ceylon.

536* The king is holding his court when he hears cries for help. On inquiry he learns that his elder son, Wizaya, has long been in the

[1] A translation of the play is given in appendix vi.

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536* 535 appear at all, and the song had lost its importance to such an extent that only one scene in all his plays had songs, which was in *Daymagonban*, where the hermit and the two princesses spoke to each other in songs. Though U Pon Nya was a great writer of songs, not one appeared in his plays. These great dramatists, through their brilliance, made the audience interested in the play alone, and the professional actors had no choice but to follow the dictates of the famous playwrights. After U Pon Nya, through lack of interest in true drama and because there were no able dramatists, the drama fell again into the hands of the professional actors, who had always considered themselves dancers and singers. They continued to present the great plays and their imitations, but only as frameworks for their songs and dances. We shall see later that after the final flicker of the drama during the years 1877–86 it perished in the hands of the actors with their interest in song and dance.

536* 541 178 [171] The people themselves wanted song and dance. They wanted an entertainment pleasing to the eye and the ear, without taxing the brain. They wanted an escape from the realities of life, because they were weary of the present and anxious for the future, as they knew not what dreadful events the next few months would bring. They wanted new dances and new tunes, and they applauded elaborate dresses and brilliantly staged scenes; and the actors could give them what they wanted as, through the influence of English and French touring companies, the stage scenery and devices had developed by leaps and bounds.[1] They demanded both laughter and tears, but as they desired the drama to appeal only to their senses and not to the intellect, what they really wished for and received were farce and sentimental pathos. The spirit of the audience had changed since the days of the great dramatists. The drama came into being in the age of triumph, when the attitude of the audience towards life was one of serenity and optimism. During U Kyin U's time, disaster, in the shape of the loss of provinces to the British, had overtaken the country, but there seemed to be a promise of better times, and therefore the spirit of the nation was still serene. When U Pon Nya wrote his plays, more provinces had been lost to the British, but again there was a promise of better times, and the spirit of the audience remained calm and serene. But after U Pon Nya, the spirit was one of despair and anxiety.

[1] The development of the stage is considered in detail in chap. vii.

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668 for scholars to rehandle it. The introduction of cheap printing in
178 Lower Burma was of the utmost importance to the drama. Printing
had been known to the Burmese long before the British administered
536* Lower Burma, but it was an expensive and laborious affair. The
[213] British introduced cheap and efficient printing presses, worked by
[171] cheap but skilled Indian labour. Once the stage of transition had been completed and economic prosperity had returned, printing spread all over Lower Burma and widened the circle of admirers of the drama, encouraged the study of the great plays in their original form as distinct from the modified versions of the professional actors, and created a public eager not only to see but also to read plays. As a result of these various causes scholars began writing plays again after 1875, but their efforts were not very successful until Saya Yaw in 1877 wrote and produced his *History of Thaton*.

2. *The History of Thaton*

536* Saya Yaw's story is remarkably original. In order that the question of succession should be settled beforehand, the young king of Thaton is advised by his ministers to take a consort without delay, and he promises to consider the matter. In the next scene, a brother and sister, belonging to a semi-civilized tribe on a neighbouring mountain, are entering the city to seek employment, for they have been starving since the death of their parents. The scene shifts to the centre of the city, where a rich nobleman and his wife are quarrelling and blaming each other, because they have no children to inherit their wealth. The characters are comic, and the scene is humorous. As they stand shouting at each other, the brother and sister pass by, and they are struck by the girl's beauty and the young man's nobility of bearing. When they discover that the strangers are without parents and are looking for employment, they, in great
[563] joy, adopt them as son and daughter. In the next scene, merchants from the Shan hills arrive at the city, singing and dancing their own songs and dances. They soon dispose of their wares, and they are making preparations to leave when the brother arrives. He becomes friendly with the merchants, and after listening to their tales of romance and adventure in their hills, he decides to accompany them to their home. He asks permission to go from his foster-parents and his sister, who reluctantly let him go. The foster-parents cry, and the brother and sister bid farewell to each other in songs of great tenderness. In the next scene, the chieftain of a Shan state is sorely

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dawn broke and the audience dispersed to work, at the most only the first half of the play had been shown. 536 *

The continued contact with the outside world further elaborated the stage scenery. The great development was in the lighting. Even during the decadent period, the stage was lit only by feeble oil lamps, but now powerful battery and arc lamps were used. Coloured lights played on the dancing actors and actresses, to the great delight of the audience. The developments in stage technique which would have been beneficial had the drama been alive, were wasted in the hands of the actors. 536* 177 ●

The people themselves neglected the 'old' plays. U Kyin U and U Pon Nya seemed to belong to the dim past and even the decadent plays which flourished but five years previously seemed to be far away, for much had happened in the intervening years. Scholars continued to read and study the plays of the two great masters, but they were read more for their prose and poetry than for their dramatic merit. The reason why the 'old' drama was so completely forgotten is not far to seek. It was because of the popularity of the novel. When the Siamese drama was introduced into Burma, the Siamese court romances were introduced along with it, and for a time, at court, they rivalled the plays. The Burmese court dramatists wrote many imitations of the romances, and thus the Burmese novel was born. But, as the drama increased in popularity, the novel was soon forgotten. Again, when the court drama had lost its freshness, the Birth Stories of U Awbatha, which were in many ways novels, became popular, but the coming of U Kyin U regained for the drama its popularity, and checked any further development of the novel. The later history of the novel I do not profess to have studied—the subject is outside the scope of this thesis, and no one has as yet written on it—but I think that after the annexation of Upper Burma, by which time many Lower Burmans had been educated in English schools, English and English translations of European novels began to influence the Burmese novel. In about 1889 or 1890, there appeared the famous *Maung Yin Maung and Ma Mai Ma*, a brilliant adaptation into Burmese, by an unknown author, of an English translation of *The Count of Monte Cristo* by Dumas. And from that time onwards until 1919 when the English short story began to be imitated in Burmese, the novel was extremely popular and satisfied the people's interest in character and incident that had developed the drama. As has been stated, the non-existence of the throne prevented the rise of a new drama, but it was the 536* 538 178

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blending together of the 'people's drama' and the court drama in the hands of U Kyin U, the continuation and fuller achievement of his aims and ideals in U Pon Nya, and the decadence have their counterparts in the history of the Elizabethan drama. Yet whereas the Elizabethan drama as represented by Shakespeare has influenced the remnants of the Sanskrit drama to give birth to a new and vigorous national drama in India, it has failed to confer such a benefit on Burma.

Although Kalidasa flourished long before decadence set in, by the tenth century A.D. in the Sanskrit drama, remnants of it lived on, and still live on, in India. The best plays of Kalidasa and other classical dramatists were often performed right through the centuries to the present day, though with 'popular' modifications. In Bengal, the *Rama Lila*, an open-air performance of the *Rama* legend, was the chief dramatic entertainment until recent times. Once the study of English institutions and literature had taken root and spread all over India, Shakespeare was not only translated and read, but also put on the stage, with modifications to meet native and 'popular' tastes.[1] Once Shakespeare had been successfully introduced, other dramatists followed as a matter of course, and the English drama began to influence the Indian stage.[2] And in Bengal, helped perhaps by the awakening of a national consciousness somewhat comparable to that which gave Ireland the Abbey Theatre, a new and intensely living drama came to be well established by the end of the nineteenth century.[3]

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In Burma the 'old' drama was not preserved on the native stage by professional actors. When the first Burmese translations of Shakespeare—of *Romeo and Juliet* and *Othello*—appeared in a Burmese magazine in 1912, the actors had so far removed themselves from the drama and the scholars, that presentation of the translations on the stage was never thought of, and was perhaps impossible. The great disservice the actors did to Burmese dramatic development was the dismissal from their theatre of the drama that had given them their occupation, for had they retained but some remnants of the great plays of U Kyin U and U Pon Nya, or even the decadent ones, English drama could have influenced those remnants and created a new drama. Without a theatre, the translated Shakespearian drama

[1] C. J. Sisson, *Shakespeare in India.*
[2] R. K. Yajnik, *The Indian Theatre.*
[3] Guhathakerta: *Bengalee Drama.*

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could not and did not achieve success, even though the translator was the learned scholar and journalist, U Shwe Kyu.[1] The translations went unnoticed, and as the magazine became defunct in 1913, the precious issues which contain them are now available only in some libraries. After this failure to introduce Shakespeare into the vernacular, no further attempt was made, and Burmese is one of the very few civilized languages into which the plays of the great dramatist have not been successfully translated. 536* 177

In 1919, after the Great War, a wave of national aspiration swept over Asia, and Burma was affected by it. With the resulting revival of interest in Burmese institutions, the study of U Kyin U and U Pon Nya has become again popular, not only in schools and colleges, but all over the country. In schools following the established educational practice of prescribing Shakespeare's plays as textbooks, the plays of U Kyin U and U Pon Nya are now so prescribed. The newly established Rangoon University, founded by the Government in 1920, the Burma Research Society[2] and the Burma Book Club—institutions founded by the British Government and University officials interested in Burmese history and literature, encouraged and led to the study of Burmese literature, including the drama, side by side with the English. And when adaptations in Burmese of a play by Molière and another by Tchekov appeared in 1928 in the magazine of the Book Club,[3] there were hopes that a new drama was in course of being developed. But the study has been from the beginning independent of, and unconnected with, the theatre of the professional actors, who are in great demand and still popular with the majority of the people. Therefore the interest in the drama, even though spread beyond the university walls, remains academic rather than practical. And as far as I can see, there are no signs of the coming in the near future of a new national drama. 536* 178 668 871

[1] The magazine in which the translation appeared was the *Shwe Kyu Magazine*, and U Shwe Kyu was its founder and editor. [113]

[2] The Text Publication Committee of the Research Society has published U Kyin U's *Daywagonban* and *Parpahein* with editorial notes, contributing much to our knowledge of the dramatist.

[3] The adaptations were from English translations of the two plays. English is the only medium of contact with the western drama for the Burmese, and, as in India, the influence of other European literatures can come only through English channels.

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of course there were limits to the latitude allowed to him. The neglect of these conventions was supposed to result in disaster to the troupe and the death through diarrhoea of the actor who took the part or cracked the joke, and it would certainly result in the whole troupe being beaten by the audience and then put in prison by the officials. On the whole, the charge of irreligiousness attributed to the actors was not justified, and throughout the years, they had never been known even to attempt to evade the conventions. There were also conventions connected with social decorum. Kissing was not allowed on the stage. Although no penalty, supposed or real, was attached to it, this convention has never been broken. The actors could wear reproductions of all the regalia of a king, except the golden shoes, which only the king himself and princes in the line of succession could wear. The breaking of this rule was supposed to result in the death by diarrhoea of the actor who wore the shoes, but it was not punishable as a crime if they were actually worn on the stage, and it is known to have been broken sometimes. All the conventions, including those connected with spirit-dancing, still exist at the present day.

536 * 463 554 536 * 577 [643] 626

During the decadent period the platform stage, the elaborate scenery and curtains were introduced from French and English sources, for French touring companies often performed before the court towards the close of Mindon's reign (1853–78), and from about 1870 English touring companies of actors often visited Rangoon. With the performances of these companies of European actors, the general public had no contact. At the court the king and a few courtiers, out of respect for the French embassy, witnessed presentations of French operettas, but as they did not understand French and the actors could speak no Burmese, the court found the performances boring at times. At Rangoon the English actors presented musical comedies, or more truly, musical shows, to an audience composed entirely of English residents. It must be stated that the touring actors did in no way introduce specimens of the French or English dramas, for what they presented were third-rate musical shows. But they did introduce some examples of western stage-craft, and the Burmese professional actors, ever on the alert for borrowings, copied wholesale the platform stage, the curtain, and the elaborate stage scenery, with the result that, during the decadent period, the Burmese stage came to be a copy of the European stage. At Rangoon a permanent theatre was even built, a thing unknown to

536 * 177 ● 345

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

536* Burmese drama before, and most of U Ku's plays and *The History of*
177 *Thaton* and *Saw-phay and Saw-may* were produced at that theatre.
345 Admission to a performance was by payment, a practice alien to dramatic performances before the decadent period. The rise of 'matinee idols' resulted in the chief actor, instead of the leader of the orchestra, becoming the head of a troupe of actors. Formerly, a dramatic performance took place during the afternoon or early evening, but now because of the repeated applause for the popular 'idols', a performance lasted throughout the night.

554 I have stated how the prejudice against professional actors increas-
536* ed rather than diminished through the coming of popular actors or
178 actresses and the resulting rivalry between different troupes. But the prejudice was gradually overcome through the efforts of one man, Po Sein, who used to perform with two ex-soldiers standing beside him with rifles. By about 1912, his reputation as a leading actor was firmly established, and from that time onwards he concerned himself with raising the prestige of his profession by destroying the bitterness and the ugliness that had crept into it. By his charm of manner and personality, he soon established himself as the undisputed leader of the profession. His generous gifts to charity and irreproachable conduct soon acquitted the profession from the charge of immorality and irreligiousness. During the Great War he contributed much to the Red Cross Fund. For his services to charity and his profession, he was given a title by the Government in 1919. Such an honour had never been given before to an actor (had such a thing happened under the Burmese kings or even before 1914, the officials would certainly have vehemently protested, taking it as an insult to their class), and the Government's action was the final denial of the old dictum that actors and beggars were outside the pale of good society.

2. The Puppet Show

536* According to common tradition, the Burmese puppet show came
175 into being long before the drama, but as our knowledge of the history of the puppet show before the reign of Bodawpaya (1782–1819) is meagre, perhaps it will be better to consider first the puppet's history from that reign.

[645] It will be remembered that, as stated in Chapter II, Bodawpaya, under whom the court and the 'people's' dramas united together to give rise to a national drama, created a new ministry, that of the stage. The new minister, being a conservative courtier, wanted the drama

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

536* 101 screen. The transparent sticks (tied to the side of the figures) that guide the actors do not show on the screen.'[1] The shadow shows of other countries are essentially the same as in Java, except that (1) 'the fantastic vine' is not found anywhere else, (2) the audience, men and women, see only the shadows, and (3) the faces are not distorted as in Java; but this is because with the Mohammedan conquest, the Javanese had to get over the religious difficulty. The Mohammedan religion does not allow the reproduction of the human form in any way, and therefore the Javanese puppets came to have distorted bird-like profiles, and the Turkish puppets were held high enough for the heads of their shadows to be a little bit cut off, so that it could not be said that they were real reproductions of the human form. In Bali and in Siam, where the old Sanskrit-Hindu culture has remained up to the present day, the faces of the puppets are human.

How far was the Burmese puppet show under the influence of the shadow play? The question must be answered with reference to its history only before Bodawpaya, as it is obvious that after his time the show could not be and was not under any foreign influence.

That there was no direct influence of the Sanskrit and East-Indian shadow drama is certain because (1) a shadow show of any sort has never been known to the Burmese, and (2) the introduction of anything directly connected with the shadow show would bring with it semi-Sanskrit plays founded on the epics, upon which the East-Indian shadow drama was dependent, but as we have seen, no such plays were ever brought into Burma. In this connexion Sir William Ridgeway's theory that the puppets first became known to the Burmese when the 'Indian historical plays' were introduced, falls to the ground as no such plays were ever introduced. And (3) although a descendant of the Sanskrit puppet Vidusaka, whether he be called Punch or Karageuz or by some other name, is found in the East Indies, Turkey, China and other countries where the shadow drama had spread, there is no such puppet in Burma.

536* 101 177 The question whether there was any indirect influence at all is difficult to answer, and I dare not venture to express a definite opinion. I give below evidence for and against the possibility of such indirect influence. The balance of probability would perhaps seem to indicate that the Burmese obtained some idea of their puppet show from the shadow puppets of their neighbouring countries. Just as the decadent actors could borrow some ideas of European stage-craft

[1] Madge Anderson, *The Heroes of the Puppet Stage.*

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

without ever knowing or caring for the European drama itself, the Burmese may have borrowed their puppets and puppet stage-craft, without ever caring for the shadow drama itself. Such borrowings were possible although the shadow drama itself never reached Burma, for Burmese trading or raiding expeditions were in continuous contact with Siam, and to a lesser extent with Malaya and the East Indies. 536* 101 177●

1. (*a*) The Burmese puppets are worked in delicate detail, and are similar in this and other respects to the Javanese and Siamese figures.

(*b*) But the Burmese puppets are worked by strings, whereas most other eastern puppets are moved by sticks from below. However, some puppets of India and China are stringed.

2. (*a*) The Burmese puppet show-men make offerings to the spirits before a performance. Such offerings are also made in Java before the presentation of a shadow play.

(*b*) But, although the offerings are not made particularly to the thirty-seven *nats*, it may be that the puppet show-men, who consider their calling to be just a branch of the acting profession, are only following the custom of the living actors.

3. (*a*) The puppet show begins with dances by animals, which are perhaps reminiscent of the Javanese 'fantastic vine' with birds and monkeys on it. A monkey appears among the Burmese puppets. [825]

(*b*) But Burmese folk feasts occasioned mimicry of animals, and that practice may have influenced the puppet show. Moreover, the Burmese animal puppets consist, in addition to the monkey, of the tiger, the elephant, and the horse. The *zawgyee* has no counterpart in the Javanese show, and the Burmese show has no bird puppets.

4. (*a*) Burmese women are not admitted to membership of a puppet troupe, and are not allowed to step on the puppet stage, even when no actual performance is in progress. Is this reminiscent of the Java show, where women are not allowed to see the actual puppets perform? [462]

(*b*) But the practice may have been only an attempt by men to reserve the profession for themselves.

5. (*a*) An appropriate tune to identify a new animal puppet is played in Burma. This is perhaps akin to the Javanese practice of identifying a new figure that has entered by the orchestra playing a special tune. [533]

(*b*) But the practice of identifying a new scene (which is almost the same as identifying a new figure) by an appropriate tune has always existed in the performances of living actors, and the puppet show-men may have borrowed it.

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
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APPENDIX I

THE *RAMA* PLAY[1]

The following extracts[1] from the *Rāmāyān of Valmiki*, *The Statue Play* attributed to Bhasa, and the Siamese-Burmese *Rama* illustrate 536* 101

i. the difference between the demon-king of the epic and the demon-king of Sanskrit plays; and 77

ii. the indebtedness of the Siamese *Rama*, for its portrayal of the demon as a boastful villain, to the Sanskrit plays founded on the epic, rather than to the epic itself.

From THE RAMAYANA[2]

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The DEMON *in the guise of a hermit praises the beauty of* SITA, *who is surprised and alarmed at this unusual behaviour. He now announces himself.*

With knitted brow and furious eye
The stranger made his fierce reply:
'In me, O fairest dame, behold,
The brother of the King of Gold,
The Lord of Ten Necks my title, named
Ravan, for might and valour famed.
Gods and Gandharva hosts I scare;
Snakes, spirits, birds that roam the air
Fly from my coming, wild with fear,
Trembling like men when Death is near.

. . .

What, O thou large-eyed dame, hast thou
To do with fallen Rama now,
From home and kingdom forced to fly
A wretched hermit soon to die?
Accept thy lover, nor refuse
The giant king who fondly woos.

[1] This play has been considered in chap. ii.

[2] Translation by R. T. H. Griffith, *The Rāmāyān of Valmiki*, reproduced by permission of Messrs E. J. Lazarus & Co., Benares.

1 [see pp. 151 ff., cat. 116 -- Analyst]

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

2

131 Burma possessed no staples of trade to encourage
439

5. LANDING-STAGE IN THE TIDAL REGION.

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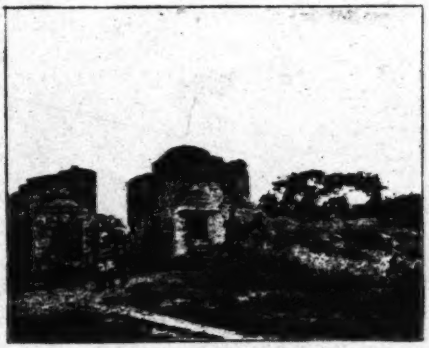
[349]

enterprise of the peaceable sort. Left entirely to her own resources, she developed her character in independence. It preserves a large measure of its original freshness and charm.

Detached though Burma lay from the contact of other civilisation, the seed-corn of a spiritual influence was brought to her shore from afar, and took root and spread until it pervaded her whole life. The one extraneous influence under which she fell proved of a paramount order. But the inspiration of Buddhism was broadly human, not racial. Every people might take its message to heart in their own individual way. The restraints it enjoined and the ideals it held up became the occasions for Burma to unfold her own inmost nature. The abounding treasury of Buddhist legend furnished the subjects to exercise her poetic fancy. In the fifth century, A.D., long after Buddhism had declined at its source in India, and when it only prevailed in Ceylon, its real progress began among the people who were to give it an enduring home. Buddhism is popularly credited with five hundred millions of adherents. But the seven millions of Burma and perhaps a twentieth of that number in Ceylon, together with the half million Jains of India, are the practical Buddhists of the world. With the rest the profession has sunk to an empty name, as in China and Japan, or it is lax, as in Siam, or it is utterly transformed, as in Tibet.

101 The phrase *Further India* gives point to a wide misconception. The surprise of so [172] many persons on finding that the Burmans have no *caste*—to [564] take the commonest instance—betrays the notion that Burma is part of India



6. RUINS OF CITY GATE, PAGAN.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

18. YOUNG CHILDREN'S TOYS.

Manufactured toys are the most noticeable wares in the sale-booths. A universal toy is the seed from the giant pod of the *dô* creeper (No. 251). Like marbles with us, the seeds—*gôn-hnyin*—are the prizes of the game. In Sangermano's time (1783–1806) these games used to be played by adults. A characteristic boys' game is *sîtôppyit* (No. 25). Lots are cast for riders and horses. A ball or bundle is thrown from rider to rider till a player misses the catch, when all the riders dismount and scramble with the horses for the ball. The one who secures it becomes or remains a rider as the case may be. Boys run races for their own sport and that of their elders, and race their toy boats. They fight duels with their kites, each flier seeking to saw through his opponent's kite-line, for which purpose a length of string has been roughened with sand or pounded glass. The peg-top is a favourite toy. That it is indigenous is proved by certain proverbial sayings. Burman boys are more like our own and take to European games more kindly than other Asiatics (*cf.* p. 69). The toy of the day is the tricycle, which parents will pinch themselves to provide for their children, and which the happy possessors of will make the common property of all their playmates. Where children awaken such genuine interest, punishment is rarely called for and is never

19. GAMES IN THE WATER.

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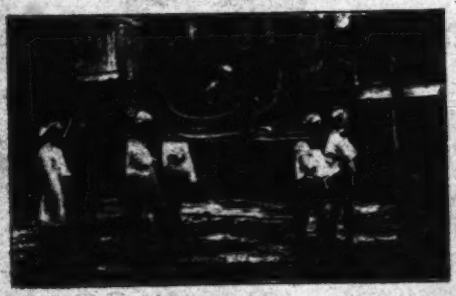
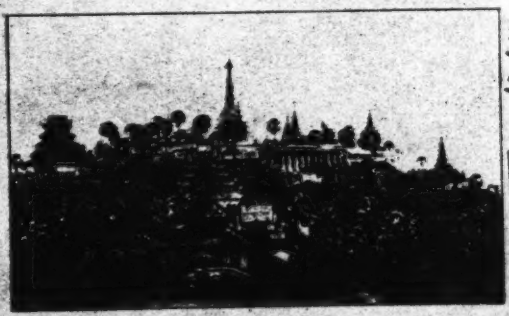
25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 API Burma
Burmese AP4



98. AGED YAHAN CARRIED ON VIN.

The majority of the *kyaungs* and buildings of Burma are constructed on piles. The country at large is mountainous. The Burman race monopolises the flat lands in the basin of the upper Irawadi — "the narrows" (*Anyá*)—in the same way as the Shan races do in the sphere of their influence and the Mun (or Taláing) race in the south (Pegu). The quasi-aboriginal races occupy the hill-land and mountains. The plains-dweller settles as near as he can to the natural waterways with which Burma is abundantly provided. In the drought the rivers recede to great distances from their flood-level margins. In order to be close to the channels, the houses have to be on high piles. The races of Burma adhere to their practice of pile-building even on elevated sites, such as those of the temples. The Burman wood architecture appears to have developed through the exigencies of pile-building and under the influence, as regards decoration, of an exotic masonry style. The Burman style possesses a naïve charm recalling the art of the "ages of faith" in Western Europe. It has a certain resemblance to the wooden church-building of Norway. The style was in full vigour up to the middle of the nineteenth century. Since that time novelties of type and manufacture have crowded in faster than they could be assimilated into the indigenous arts, on which they are foisted crudely (Nos. 60, 99).

The affinities of Burman art above referred to, to the art of mediæval Europe, are extrinsic only. The "aspiring" character of the florid ornament, the quaint figures in their labyrinths of tracery, recall the crocketed niches and fantastic gargoyles of the



99. TEMPLE HILL.

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1931 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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60. DECADENT KYAUNG.

Gothic, especially in the richness of the *ensemble*. But the Burman decoration does not strike the eye as an efflorescence of the structure so much as an overlaying of it. The grandest work produces the effect of an elaborate model rather than a monumental achievement. The perspicuity of the play of forces operating in the structure, out of which the poetry of Gothic architecture flows, has a parallel in the Burman boat-building. But the effort which the land architecture incorporates, to interpret a masonry style in wood, was naturally productive of incongruities, despite the fact that the masonry was itself an interpretation of still earlier wood building. The outward incongruities have been mitigated in the unique style in which the genius of Burma has found expression. The stiff and monotonous feather-ornament of the Hindu gable (No. 74) has developed into the Burman flamboyant decoration. The bold finial is the sole element of the original which has been preserved literally (No. 62). The graduated ornament of the *pyatthat*, soaring above the verdure, recalls the proportions of some budding head-of-bloom—a case in point of the theory of the sources of architectural types, in the insensible suggestions of natural objects, expressed by Herbert Spencer. (*Essays*, vol. ii.) Through the Burman treatment types other than architectural, which Burma has borrowed, acquire a new and distinctive interest.

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When a *kyaung*, or any work of public utility, has been undertaken by the people of a village jointly, it is kept in good repair. But when it has been carried out at the cost of an individual—and this applies to most of the public works—the repairs are left to the founder and to his family, who have frequently

61. ORNAMENTATION OF KYAUNG.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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68. WUT WITH IMAGES OF THE BUDDHA.

stars," the Burman says "countless as the temples of Pagán." The remains at Pagán are all ecclesiastical with the exception of the city gates and ramparts (No. 6). The temple enclosures are now ploughed, but no building is cleared nor is any of the old material utilised. The Pagán monuments are of brick laid in clay and generally lime-plastered. Many have been wrecked by treasure-hunters. A few of the principal temples only are kept in repair. Pagán is said to have been exhausted by the temple-building of its kings, who, besides exacting labour from their subjects, must have imported skilled labour. An old saying is "the temple is finished and the country is ruined." The temple remains occupy an area of several thousand acres, in many places with just room for roads between the walls of the enclosures. The style of the Pagán buildings is Indian. It has been suggested that the Hindu type of work and possibly Buddhism itself reached Pagán by way of Annam: the Mun or Peguan race, from whom the Burmans adopted Buddhism, having a language of Annam type. The great ruins at Angkor Wat, two hundred miles east of Bankok, have been compared to the ruins of Pagán. (See *Through the Buffer State*, by Surgeon-Major McGregor, 1896.) Such a route as this would help to account for certain features of Burman architecture foreign to India, the superposed roofs, and everted gable-ends. The Indian types may have reached Burma by this circuit as well as by the direct route.

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69. THADYA PAYA AT THATON.

The ancient temples of Pagán consist of brick corridors, one within the other, with vaulted pent roofs of masonry springing from the outer on lower wall to the inner or higher. The section of the vault is like that of a Gothic flying buttress. In the centre of all are colossal images

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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71. TERRA-COTTA FIGURES AT THADYA PAYA, THATON.

of the Buddha, set against the column which supports the dome or Hindu cone. The later domes are pure vaults without central support. In these ancient temples the conical *zedi* now so typical of Burma forms the finial only, held like a jewel, by four cusps. The lowermost portion of this structure resembles an inverted *thabît*, the name of the homologous part of the modern *zedi*. Possibly this forms the actual reliquary or is the symbol of the same.

An example of direct imitation of Indian monuments is the *Bawdi Payá*. It takes its name from the *Bo* tree at Buddha Gáya in Bahár, and is a florid reproduction of the *stupa* there. It was built by King Zeyathinka about 1220 A.D.

The temple named after Ananda, the chief disciple of the Buddha, was built by King Kyansitthu about 1080 A.D. Both the temple (No. 8) and the *thein* and *kyaung* adjoining (Nos. 64, 74) are in full preservation. The gigantic lattice gates of the inner temple are of teak-wood and probably coeval with the masonry.

The most imposing of the ancient monuments and the one which marks the best period of the Pagán architecture is Thappyinnyu Payá, built by King Alaung Sitthu, about 1100 A.D. (No. 73). Its height is two hundred feet or more.

In the mural decorations at Pagán the Indian character is as marked as in the buildings themselves. India has evidently furnished the subjects of the Burman designer and trained his style (Nos. 272, 94).

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The Burman bricklayers had at one time lost the art of arch-building. A pointed arch like the Gothic is used in the temples of ancient Pagán (Nos. 75, 76).

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The images of the Buddha (*sindu*) are the principal features of the interior of the ancient temples, the true character of

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72. BAWDI PAYA, PAGAN.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
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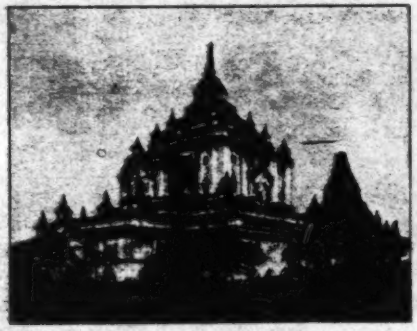
which is the same as that of the *zedi*. The images are of sandstone in Arakán, where, moreover, the Hindu caste-mark between the brows (*tika*) is not omitted



73. THAPPYINNYU PAYA, PAGAN.

as it commonly is in Burma. In Burma Proper and Pegu good stone is scarce, and the large immovable images are built of brick and plaster and finished in fine white lime. Movable images, up to several tons weight, are hewn in the marble of Sagáing, the freestone of Taung-u (opposite Pagán), and are cast in brass. Lighter images are made of wood or of lacquer (*man-Payá*). The

74. KYAUNG AT ANANDA PAYA.

postures are the cross-legged, seated in contemplation (*tinbyingwe*), the erect posture (*mayyattaw*), preaching or receiving alms, and the reclining posture

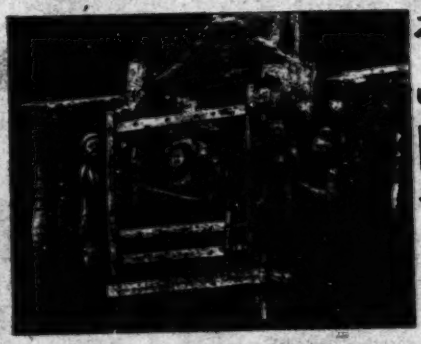
25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

No kind of wool is indigenous 286
or is spun or woven in 291
Burma. Cæsar Frederick [283
in 1569 mentions woollen 439]
cloth among the goods
brought to Burma, *vid* Arakán. Web vests for boys and men, of European manufacture, are becoming general. The use of shoes of the European shape is bringing in the use of socks and stockings. The addition of a European shirt under the Burman jacket

126. LAYING OUT THE WARP.

makes up the incongruous kit affected by the modern office clerks. With the [296
increased use of body-linen have come the Indian washermen. The coloured 463]
stuffs are washed by the Burman women. The native dyes wash well, especially
the silk dyes. An alkali-earth (*saggya*) is found in Burma, but soap is of modern
introduction, and is now sold in every bazár. Needles used to be brought to 439
Burma from China, as well as scissors, though the latter are also fashioned in
Burma; at present both are imported from Europe. Burmans work the needle 413
from them, like other Asiatics. The work is pinned to a cushion at the head 286
of a post planted on the work-box. The use of the thimble was unknown until
tailors came over from India, but is now general. The bulk of the tailoring is [177]
in the hands of immigrants from China; but their prejudice against the sewing-
machine is helping to transfer the 463
business to the Burman women. 294
Nearly every well-to-do family in
the towns has its sewing-machine.

At sunrise the women start with their water-pots for the day's supply, and again before they cook the evening meal, which finishes the day's work. On the morning errand they do the most of their washing. In the evening they carry a spare cloth to change for the one they bathe in, which they wash and coil into a pad to put between the head and the water-



131. BURMESE CARVING OF WEAVING-LOOM.

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[532]
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25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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168. VILLAGE CAUSEWAY IN THE TIDAL REGION.

the village head-man or other functionary, and round about, the houses of the villagers in more or less regular rows. The village streets are broad and in some places the houses are well-spaced, with plots of fruit-trees and vegetable-gardens between and at the back. No care is bestowed on the roads except in a few riverain localities and tidal regions, where embanked roads and brick causeways are necessary. Trees are planted in front of the houses—cocoanut and betel palms, giant bamboo, the evergreens, tamarind, mango, and jack, for their fruit and shade; *gangaw*, *sagâ*, and *padauk* for their shade and scented flowers; *mèzali*, *zi*, and several *ficus* species. The screw-pine and various ornamental shrubs are cultivated—*tarôssaga* (*frangipani*, No. 92), *sènnaya*, gardenias, and roses. *Palma Christi* (castor-oil plant) is common for hedges. Plants cultivated by Europeans in the tropics—crotons, begonias, caladiums, balsams—are spreading everywhere. Pot-gardening is becoming a feature of the villages and even of the raft-houses and boats.

[487] [245] [177 247]

Well received as the stranger is by the people of the village, he has to brave the displeasure of the village curs. The dogs are the scavengers of the settlements, together with the crows and the myriads of ants. The termites ("white ants") account for the dry vegetable refuse, but they also invade the dwellings and destroy dry wood, mats, and thatch. Cats attach themselves to houses in the same way as dogs. A peculiarity of the domestic cat of Burma is

231 [136]

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361

169. VILLAGE RIVER-FRONT.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

186. CANE-CRUSHING MILL.

mented *tan-ye* (*tári*, palm-wine) has the alcoholic strength of small beer. Most of the juice is boiled down for the sake of the sugar. Drinkers of *tári* are few among the Burmans. Women are universally abstainers. The Burmans do not brew or distil liquor of any kind, but in some places they make a drink called *sè-ye* by adding to *tari* an infusion of herbs of weak narcotic properties.

245 273 [249]

In parts of the *kwin*, too heavily flooded for rice-cultivation, certain varieties of sugar-cane (*kyan*) thrive. These have been introduced from India within the last fifty years and have proved a means of extending cultivation. On dry soil, a thin variety of sugar-cane with a dark rind is cultivated, principally by Shan settlers. Sugar-cane is cut in November; cane tops are kept standing in water till the soil has been turned and they can be put out for the next crop. A great deal of sugar-cane is eaten like fruit. Cane-juice is pressed out in wooden mills between rollers accurately turned and geared by cogs or spiral teeth (No. 187). In an adjacent shed is an earthen furnace for boiling the juice, which is on a much larger scale than the palm-juice boiling. Earthen pots have been superseded by cast-iron cauldrons, at first of Shan manufacture, but now imported from Europe. The crushed stalks of the cane furnish a large part of the fuel. When the syrup has thickened it is poured into flat moulds to solidify. The product is hard and of a light brown colour (*kyautagá*). It is eaten plain and is used for baking sweetmeats; none of it goes to refineries. Almost the whole

249 [177]

188. BOILING DOWN THE CANE-JUICE.

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

211. LATHE POTTERY.

comes upon bricks, and on nearly every hill bricks bear evidence that at some time a *zedi* had crowned the top. In the moist region the disintegrating effect of the vegetation is such that frequently no indication remains of the form of the original structure. The use of brick doubtless came in with the early Buddhist architecture exemplified at Pagán. The brick-fields are on the confines of the rice-fields, and of the same character as to soil, a light loam. The work begins in November after the ground has dried. The surface soil is rejected and the earth dug with mattocks a yard or two deep. The clods are soaked in water and trodden into a doughy mass with an admixture of rice husk. The bricks are moulded direct on the ground, which has been smoothed beforehand, and are left to dry in the sun (No. 181). Before stacking the dried bricks, the lower or rough edge is trimmed with a *dá*. The commonest size of brick is 12" × 6" × 1½". A burn consists of ten thousand bricks and sells for about forty-five rupees. In the dry zone, brick has always been used for house-building to some extent, unless when prohibited by the government. In the south, the brick-work is invariably plastered over with *ingade* to prevent the clay mortar from washing out. Now that bricklaying in Pegu has passed into the hands of masons from India, lime-mortar is usual.

333
341
346
[323]

The limestone rocks which are a feature of the Eastern Peninsula, rise abruptly from the plains to heights of one to three thousand feet (No. 107). They are honeycombed with fissures which facilitate quarrying. During the floods, boats can approach and be loaded with the stone. Lime is used for whitewash, plaster, mortar, and for chewing

212. FANCY POTTERY, SHAN

[323]
[463
563
177]
333
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25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

288
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[435]
[346]
[177
643]

217. PLASTERER'S SCAFFOLD ON ZEDI.

(*Kathé*) excel in this work and form colonies for the industry. Attempts have been made in Europe to imitate the scroll-patterns on the Jacquard loom, as well as to print them. But the imitations fall too far short of the original, which is nearly the same front and back. The best *lun-tayá* silks cost ten to fifteen rupees the square foot, which makes two hundred to three hundred rupees for the *pasó*. Only an inch or two a day can be woven. Italian methods of carding, dyeing, and finishing silk, were introduced by the late King, Mindôn Min, and have helped to develop an important industry in Mandalay. Stripe and tartan patterns are woven in this way, chiefly from China silk. Fine texture and delicate tints are aimed at, rather than rich colour and design. The *pasó* of [435] twenty cubits, one cubit wide, costs ten to twenty rupees.

The Burman umbrella (*tí*) is on the Chinese model—a bamboo frame with 293 paper cover. The Chinese umbrella has a thin paper cover, the Burman has [171] bast-paper, which outlasts several of the other. But the Chinese umbrellas are cheaper, better waterproofed, and sun-proof. The Burman *tí* is waterproofed by occasional oiling with crude petroleum. A waterproof size made from the fruit of the *tí* is used for fixing the paper to the ribs and the cotton twines that connect them. The red, the [186] gilt and the white umbrellas are emblems of state. The [554] first two denote official rank, according to the number assigned. Such umbrellas [532] have stems of turned wood, six to eight feet long, to allow of the *tí* being borne over the officer on horseback or in his chariot, by attendants on foot (No. 375). The

218. SCULPTURING MARBLE IMAGES.

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

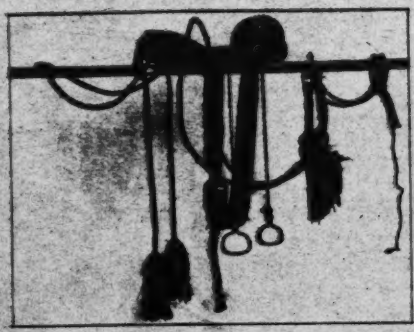
218. ROPE-WALK.

inner side is brightly decorated with floss silks. Gilt umbrellas (*shwe-dî*) are dedicated in the *kyaung*, but are not actually used. The white umbrella (*tlhyu*) is the emblem of sovereignty. The *tlhyu* is set above the images of the Buddha and above the remains of the *yahán*, who are assumed at their death to enter upon a higher spiritual stage. The metal canopy surmounting the *sadi* is a conventionalised *tî* (No. 232). Of late, European umbrellas have become a staple import of Burma.

Lacquer-ware vessels and utensils—light, durable, and watertight—are made with the help of *thissi*, the exudation of the bark of *Melanorrhœa usitatissima*, a common tree of the *in* forest. The gum blackens to jet on exposure to the air. It dries slower than the "Japan black" of commerce, but is much tougher; it sells for two to three rupees a viss. *Thissi* is applied to wood turnery and bamboo wickerwork, either plain or with pigments, generally with vermilion. The commonest lacquer goods are platters (*hyat* and *dawgiau*), which are turned of teak or *yamané* wood and given two or three coats of *thissi*. After the platters, the principal article of lacquer-ware is the betel-box (*kun-ît*). Coarse lacquering is done everywhere in the dry region, but the betel-box industry is peculiar to Pagán. The advantage of lacquer-ware and of a deep cover for the betel-box, is to keep the green leaf fresh At first sight it appears incredible that these exact cylindrical boxes with their trays and covers, fitting as if each piece had been turned out of the block, should start from a wicker-work frame. Yet so it is; the models are plaited so true that the rest

219. HILL-PEOPLE TWISTING ROPE.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 API Burma
Burmese AP4



328. BURMAN HORSE-FURNITURE.

gongs (*maung*, No. 322) have very sonorous qualities. Copper and brass utensils are not used by the Burmans for cooking, but brass is used for fruit-platters, water-cups and bowls, betel-boxes and spittoons, mortars, scales and weights, cow-bells, and furniture for horse and bullock harness. 325 [492]

The import of iron and steel began centuries ago, nevertheless blades of Shan steel and manufacture are still accounted the best. With the exception of Shan settlers, the Burmans were the only blacksmiths of the country till the Chinese blacksmiths arrived. The hill-people depended for their chief implement and their weapons upon the dominant races. The Burman forge is the same as the Shan, on a bigger scale. The hearth is at the ground-level, with a pit in front, to enable the smith to stand up to his work if needful. He does most of it sitting on a peculiar round-backed seat to the right of the blast. The anvil is like a hammer-head, set upright in a block of wood. There is a trough shaped like a canoe for quenching the work and the tools. The hammers are from one to five pounds, the pincers of the universal pattern. There are the ordinary punches and sets. The blast is on the plan of the bamboo blast in No. 235, but has large cylinders of palm trunks in which pistons, packed with feathers, are worked alternately. The Chinese blacksmith had already adopted the European anvil and heavy sledge-hammer for forging iron axles and tyres, anchors and grapnels. These the Burman has adopted in turn. The bench-vice is also universal. The Chinaman adheres to his horizontal wooden box-blast, fitted with valves like a double-action pump, whereas the [563] 326

329. BURMAN BLACKSMITH (OLD STYLE). [177]

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

332. CANOPY OF GREAT ZEDI (T2, pp. 30, 101).

thing like a spoke-shave (*daing-dyaik*), for the rough shaping of the blades after forging, to save their files. The blacksmiths make the axes of the country also. The old Burman axe consists of a long-handled wooden mallet with an iron tip like a small spade. The smiths also make spear-heads for the hill-people, iron shoes for ploughs, mattocks and hoes, tires and axles of carts, dee nails for boats, nippers for sugar-cane and betel-nut, and other tools. They do repairs of locks and fire-arms. A special class of iron-work is making *tl* for *zedi*. The tinsmith's trade was unknown in Burma until fifty years ago. In Pegu it is still in Indian hands; but in Mandalay the Burman tinsmiths are unequalled.

326 411 412 [346] [177 563]

Argentiferous galena is found in Burma, but the ore barely repays working for the sake of the lead. The silver used in Burma and most of the gold is imported from China, India, and Europe. A dozen villages in different parts of Burma get a living by sifting the sand of streams which bear gold. A broad thin wooden dish shaped like a flat cone is filled with sand and gravel, and worked at the water-level with a rotary movement, by which the lighter material is driven out centrifugally. The dish is filled and refilled, and after seven or eight hours' work as many grains weight of gold flakes will have accumulated in the depression at the centre. The out-turn of a steady worker is three to five tikals of gold in the season.

[135] 316 [133]

The stock in trade of the gold and silver worker consists of a bamboo blast, clay crucibles, blowpipe, solder and flux, aquafortis and mercury, hammers, punches and anvils of bronze and iron, wire-plate and beading-plate. Bullion is furnished by the customer, who pays from one half up to the full weight, in

333. MOUNTAIN CASCADE.

326

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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237. TOWN SILVERSMITH.

of plain gold bangles (*lak-hanè*), and their ear-plugs consist of a roll of sheet-gold coiled to the thickness of a finger. The Burmans admire a red-yellow gold with dull surface. They enhance the effect by a red colouring of the interstices of the work, in the same way as the Chinese do. Neck ornaments (*hayè*) are of several kinds. The commonest one used to be the thick roll of gold filigree, worn in front of the neck. This is now replaced by *hayè* of several chains, for the most part jewelled. On the breast is worn the broad *dalisàn*, also formerly of filigree, but now of jewels and pearls. Strings of real and imitation pearls are worn; and jewelled pins and gold or jewelled combs in the hair. Rings are worn on the fingers and gold filigree buttons of the Chinese type on the jackets. The last two are the only ornaments now used by men. Anklets are worn by children.

[562]

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Gold and silver coinage on a European model was adopted by the kings of Burma about the middle of the nineteenth century—the "peacock" coins, struck from dies engraved in Paris. Rough coins of lead used to circulate. The coins shown in No. 238 are those of Arakàn kings from 1500 to 1750 A.D., from the collection of the late Mr. C. H. White. Before the introduction of coinage,

238. SILVER COINS OF THE ARAKAN KINGS.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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[326]

239. GOLD-BEATERS.

circulates in Burma is three times the value of the lowest Indian coin. Notes have no circulation as yet among the Burmans, although they now bear their figures of value in Burmese.

316 Rubies and sapphires (*kyaunmyat*) are separated from the
306 sand and gravel of certain localities, notably Mogôk, in the same way as gold is. Hard gems are cut with gem-dust on a horizontal wheel driven by a fly-
[822] wheel and treadle in a regular lathe-stand. Rock-crystal is cut in this way and also on a hone. Jade is found at Mogaung and is exported to China. Amber is found at Bamáw.

306 Gold-leaf is used in enormous quantities for gilding *zedi* and images. Only pure gold is employed. The paper for separating the gold-leaf in the book in gold and silver bullion were used for exchange, as they still are in the Shan States. Chinese gold is current in the form of foil with the market stamp of fineness. It can be conveniently cut with scissors and weighed. Travellers often carry their bullion in this form. Silver is used by the Shans in the form of ingots which have to be hewn and assayed when making a purchase. The standard for commodities, wages and rent is silver, the fluctuation being referred to the gold. The lowest coin that

240. ALCHEMISTS.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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262. ROPE-STATION ON THE SALWEEN (KYODAN).

current, a remarkable device is employed. Two ten-foot handspikes, with a shoulder two feet above the point, have mooring-rattans from each end of the raft, one hundred feet long and an inch thick, bent on to them. One of these is sent ashore from the forward end of the raft and worked like a plough in the bank, going deeper as the raft slews round and the tension increases, and so stopping its way by degrees. If the first attempt fails a second is made from the other end of the raft, which is then the forward one. Arrived in port the logs are dragged up the mud-banks by elephants. But when the path is blocked, a powerful elephant sometimes carries a log bodily. The whole of the operations of bringing the timber to market are combined by a timber-broker (forester, *thiggaung*).

[463]

Teak cuts readily, though it blunts the tools very soon. There is little waste. Sawn planks are displacing bamboo for the better-class houses. Sawyers earn from one-half to one rupee a day. The indigenous carpenter's tools were a small adze (*pègôt*), chisels and gouges (*sauk*), awls (*hun*), and a rough saw (*khwa*), besides *dâ* and axe (*paussein*). The Burman adopted the Chinese plane (*yuk-haw*, "selecting-shave") with the Chinese straddle bench. The English carpenter's rule is also general. When the impulse to good house-building was given by the production of cheap planks, the immigrants from China got the whole of the work. The Burmans have begun to oust them from the heavy carpentering and from the joinery as well. Ordinary Burman carpenters earn ¾ rupee a day, the better workmen 1 to 1½ rupees a day, compared with the Chinaman's 1½ rupees. The wood-work is left

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[197]
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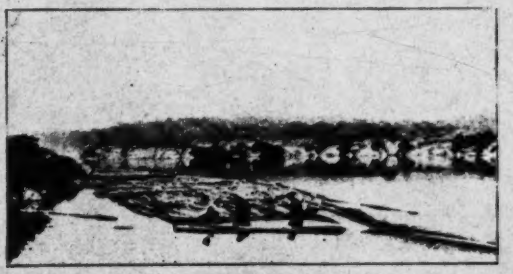
[563]



263. BINDING THE LOGS INTO RAFTS.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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321]
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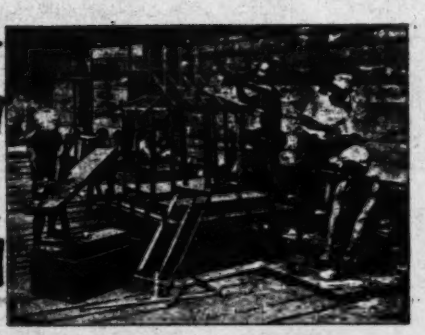

287. BURMAN CARPENTERS.

arbour of tracery, which entirely encloses them. Ivory hafts and scabbards of daggers and sabres are ornamented in the same way. The ivory carving is not polished.

The conventional flat design, painting and embroidery exhibit affinities to the Indian decoration of the ancient temples (Nos. 94, 272). The anachronisms and other naiveties of our mediæval designers are paralleled in modern Burma; witness the introduction of British officers with their field-glasses in the design of the Prince of Pagán destroying the monster at Hngep-pyittaung (No. 224). The medium used for painting is a coarse tempera. From the labels attached to European goods, many of which are excellent in design and colour, lessons in colouring and perspective have been learned. From photographs, ideas of accuracy have been gathered, and from illustrated news-papers, ideas of composition. Neither carver nor designer ever uses a model. The painter of No. 433 confessed that he had not seen the place himself; he had it described to him. In pure design without colour, the *shwezawô* work is the best. It is a kind of drawing in lacquer, which appears black on a gold ground (No. 96). Of late the Burmans have attempted cuts on type-metal for illustrations of books (No. 276). They are executed with chisel and punch; the graver is unknown.

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288. BURMAN TURNER.

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Ancient inscriptions are rare in Burma, although the *thamâing*, or depository for slabs recording the circumstances of religious foundations, is a recognised institution. In many of the *thamâing* at Pagán may be seen the ancient *Pâli* square character, of which the Burmese round character is a development. The square character is preserved in the *kambawô* (No. 46). The late King Mindôn Min caused the whole of the Pâli text of the Tripitaka to be

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

212 still is used by the Shans for their sacred MSS. The Burmans use the paper chiefly in the form of stiff tablets (*parabèik*), blackened, like the *thimbôn*, for writing on with a steatite pencil. Burmese type was cut (No. 452) and the first 213 printing-plant set up in Burma by the American Baptist Mission. At present

538
●177
[212]
214

274. PALM-LEAF MS.

871 there are a number of printing establishments owned by Burmans, from which 198 quite a literature of their religious works has issued. At first the Buddhists of Burma considered print not good enough for the scripture canon. Modernised 203 legends of the Buddha in his previous incarnations (*zat*) are beginning to form the foundation of a romance-literature of indigenous type. Newspapers have not yet taken a firm hold, even in the large towns; but news travels very fast in the ordinary way, especially news about the prices of goods. This western art has not contributed to the spread of western knowledge in the way that might be expected. The Yaw Mindyi, a minister of the late King Mindôn Min, made a most praiseworthy effort to popularise western ideas in a series of MS. treatises. A native undertaking upon a grand scale—nothing less than a Burmese encyclopædia—was on foot in the sixties, but fell through for want of organised support. In Japan, an analogous enterprise was successful. What applies to concerted action in matters like the above, applies equally to political combination. Few Burmans, even after years of schooling, learn enough to read an English newspaper with profit. To this day there is no Burmese [212] manual for the study of English. The scholars learn only enough of the language to procure them employment as accountants and copyists. Similarly, there are few English who can understand a Burmese newspaper.

275. COPYIST AT WORK.

000 Dealers, with the exception of the

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

164
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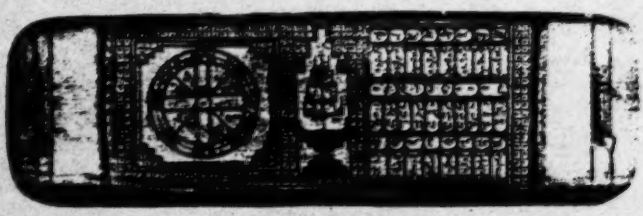
757

278. SHAMPOOING (A-HNEIK).

Dysentery is much less frequent in natives than in European residents. Consumption and pneumonia are rare, but coughs and bronchitis are common. Cancer is not unknown. Measles and chicken-pox follow a mild course. Scarlet fever does not occur, nor does typhus. It is uncertain whether typhoid fever existed in Burma or has been introduced; it is rare among the natives, but attacks Europeans in a bad form. Venereal diseases lurk in the towns. (For leprosy, see p. 41.) Diarrhœa and cholera recrudesce every hot season. There are no records of other pestilence. Small-pox rages in severe epidemics, but with greatly diminished incidence where vaccination has been accepted. Native practitioners were acquainted with inoculation. In introducing voluntary vaccination the British Government has met with great success. The introduction of this measure exemplifies how grotesque the arguments may be that prevail upon the people. The alleged motive of the government was too improbable; so wiseacres cast about for another. What more likely than a dream of the Queen of England—that a child existed in Burma who would overthrow her dominion! This child could not be known, but it would be reached and removed by the plan of poisoning the blood of the whole generation. It was many years before

[177]

[787]



279. HOROSCOPE ON PALM-LEAF.

the myth was dispelled. In 1894, when small-pox was known to be approaching from Karenni, the Karén (nat-worshipping) village of Bilin-Mèwaing among others, consisting of sixty souls, submitted to vaccination. The lymph took in all but sixteen cases. Six months later small-pox reached the locality. Twelve

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

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438
[398]
[505]
[171]

308. BURMAN CARTWRIGHTS.

ngapi, dried fish, salt and rice, besides imported goods. They bring down the manufactures of the North—cutch, lacquer, images, and *parti-kaya* wares. They have to endure a formidable competition from the river steamers. In its existing form, the boat of Burma presents no near affinity to the boats of neighbouring peoples. The types of architecture which the Burmans borrowed from India they have treated in a distinctive way which gives them independent interest. But the art which culminates in the stately ship of the Irawadi is purely their own achievement. The work derives unity from the noble balance of the masses and life from the spirited sweep of the curves. The severity of line is relieved by plastic incident in the rich carving. The structure itself is patent and not concealed (with the exception noted), and the decoration goes hand in hand with it. Besides their own type of boat, the Shan type (No. 320) has been developed into a large craft for carrying earth-oil in bulk—the *peingdu*. Two long, partially-hollowed teak logs form the sides of the lower hull, with several thick planks intervening, for the flat bottom. Two planks above these complete the sides, all held together by nails and ribs as in the *laungzát*. There are outrigged bamboo galleries for the crew to row and pole, which allow of the deck-house being carried from end to end, providing accommodation for several families. The rig is the same as in the *laungzát*. In tidal and salt waters, boats have to be beached once a month to bream the bottoms and destroy the teredo. The rest of the woodwork and tackle is protected with earth-oil. The boats of Arakán are on Indian lines. There is

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315]
[493]
501
[177]

309. BUFFALO-CART.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

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[492]

310 BURMAN PONIES.

for heavy wheels and the light spider wheels he uses in pleasure and racing-carts. He employs a very long hub to steady the wheel, which is as yet unprovided with turned axles and boxes. *Padauk* and *pyinkadò* wood are used for hubs, with plain iron bushes at the ends. Teak is used for spokes and felloes. The axle is of imported round bar iron, with plain linch-pins; the end of the wooden axle-bed forms the shoulder. The bar-iron for tyres is likewise imported. Imported springs [177] are coming into use for the light carts. European vehicles built by Chinese are used by well-to-do Burmans in the towns; they exemplify to the natives a novel departure in luxury, in which not splendour but comfort is the standard.

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487

The country roads are merely the tracks made by the carts. As the bullocks travel in the line of the wheels, the road is passable until the ruts are so deep that the axle-bed scrapes the mound in the centre. Then the track is abandoned for one to the right or left. The same thing happens when the road is too heavy or when a tree falls over it. In the rice country the grain is carted across the fields. But in the dry zone a roadway is left between the fences of the fields, as is also the case in the eastern hill-plateaux. A few state roads (*minlan*) following the high ground used to be kept clear, but the only regular road-making was done near to the capital. Cart-tracks do not penetrate the hill districts to any distance.

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The Burman pony is small—eleven to thirteen hands—but is said to have the best constitution and the greatest endurance of any breed. In Pegu, with its damp climate, the breed does not flourish so well as in the North. The ponies exported from Pegu are brought down from the

311. WAYSIDE REST-HOUSE.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 API Burma API
Indians
Burmese AP4

Ba Bse 241 731 563

trees. All that the villagers asked for (and of course got) was exemption from land-tax. Another hopeful feature is that the Burman is not devoid of the quality of self-criticism. With the Indian retail trader comes also the wholesale merchant—Persian, Parsi, Súrati, Chetti and Bania. And the Burmans at large accept the situation, never dreaming that by travelling abroad and seeing for themselves how other nations manage and how they fare, they might learn to conduct their own business, and help to save Burma from sinking to the level of proletariate countries. Natives of India and China have learned so much in their capacities of assistants to European merchants that they are getting the retail trade in European goods to themselves. Even as importers, with their agents in Europe, they are making themselves independent of the European merchant in the East. The European spheres of activity on which Burmans

Ba Bse 463 [177] 563 438

Ba [341 177]

268. EUROPEAN TYPE OF HOUSE.

have entered are saw-mill enterprise and the profession of advocacy, in which latter they have attained a high standing.

Ba 167 563

To the Burman, the native of India is the foreigner *par excellence*—*Kalá*—and shares the disrepute that a stay-at-home people commonly accord to the foreigner, especially when he is a needy one. To them he is the dog that eats the crumbs which fall from his table ("*Kwe-Kalá!*"). While the Chinaman, despite his uncouthness and uncanny parasitic trade, is considered an eligible man, *Kalá-mayá*—nigger's-wife—is a term of reproach. The *Kalá* half-breeds are called *Zerbádi*. They appear to possess fewer good qualities than either of the pure races. The Euro-Burman half-breeds are called *Bayinjí*—(Feringhi, the Indian equivalent of Frank) explained by the Burmans as *Bayin-dyí* (adherent of) the Great Prince (the Pope).

Bse 609 563

Ba Bse 563

Europeans are the only remaining foreigners whom the Burmans encounter, excepting a few Armenians, Jews and Malays. Armenians were beginning to play

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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621
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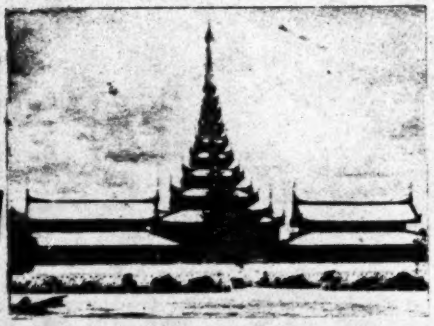
[344]



380. PALACE FRONT AND SPIRE.

The British administration preserves the native official machinery, from the *thadyt* to the *myoôk*, augmenting the numbers so as to reach every part of the area and curtailing the powers. Under native *régime* even *thadyts* might be *dâbaing*. The new *régime* takes account of the village *lûdyts* for the sake of their moral influence; many of them have been invested with power to compose differences up to small amounts, and some of the more prominent are honorary magistrates. Independent spirit is on the increase; the officials have to reckon with a new temper in the people. Nevertheless, in municipal councils the supineness and complaisance of the native members are calculated to stultify the position accorded to them. Road-making and sanitation do not arouse their interest, and the local excise, the matter they long to deal with, is excluded from their jurisdiction (*cf.* p. 157). The *thadyt* personally measures the fields, collects the land-tax and poll-tax from house to house, in such a circle as he can make the circuit of twice a year, and receives commission on the amount. He reports on matters within his circle. As many revenue-circles as a native magistrate can personally control are united into a township, under a *myoôk*, who at the same time supervises the co-ordinate grades of police distributed in the township. He publicly tries criminal and civil cases, under his powers as magistrate, by codes of law and procedure accessible to everybody. These codes form the most valuable models of system, in the vernacular, up to the present. By their help both judges and advocates have trained themselves in law. Five to eight townships, according to facilities for

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671
[292
644]
631

381. BURMAN PRINCESS.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

The Burmans do not appreciate singing in a low pitch. They do not admire men's voices in the baritone or the bass. A-natural is considered the standard pitch for men's and D-natural for women's voices. The higher the tenor the more it is admired. Their ideal singer is a tenor approaching a contralto. On the other hand a soprano voice is less admired than a contralto. The propensity is to cultivate high voices in the men and low voices in the women. The professional singers are true artists and are able to command the feelings of their hearers. The *ngè-dyin than*—weeping song—invariably brings tears to the eyes of the hearers. The love songs are full of pathos. An indispensable scene in all the operas is the separation and meeting again of the lovers. It is the most interesting part of the play and is eagerly awaited by the play-goers. 533

The best songs are sung in these scenes and the best talents of the performers called into play. The Burman is readily excited by music; the dancing songs never fail to set his hands and legs going. There is a style of martial music played at boxing-matches, races, and grand tugs-of-war which excites the Burmans to action. The performance of a complete Burmese band is a study in itself. Considering that the musicians play without a score, the harmony and strict time they observe are truly wonderful.

454. THE BURMESE HARP AND DULCIMER (p. 178). [534]

A few specimens of genuine Burmese music are appended (pp. 216–220). No. 1 is a song in the major scale, with harp accompaniment. The first twenty bars constitute the usual prelude to music of this kind. The tendency of the Burmese musician is to repeat the vocal part as an interlude, with all the variations and embellishments he can add. The last four bars are also usually played as a symphony at the end of each verse. The prelude and symphony are not peculiar to this song but are played with all songs of the same description. No. 2 is a specimen of another style, more suited for an orchestra. Nos. 3 and 4 are examples in the minor scale. Both are very ancient. No. 3 is called *Naw-thein yôdaya*. It used to be played on the entrance of the king to the Audience Hall and is the true national anthem of the Burmans. Its beauty and grandeur need no comment. No. 4 is a popular lullaby.

It is a matter for great regret that the beautiful music which the Burmans unquestionably possess is being forgotten. The modern tendency is to imitate European and Indian themes, and the time is not distant when genuine Burmese music will be a thing of the past. [177 178]

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
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APPENDIX E.

805

MEASURES.

TIME.

Obsolete	10 fillips (*harani*)	= 1 *byan*
	6 *byan*	= 1 *hizana*.
	60 *hizana*	= 1 hour (*nayi*).
	60 hours	= 1 day (*ni*).
	30 days	= 1 month (*la*).
	12 months	= 1 year (*hnit*).

[177] Since the introduction of clocks and watches the old day of sixty *nayi* has become obsolete and the day of twenty-four hours universal. The days of the week are named after the sun, moon, and planets, correspondingly to our own. The month is divided into the waxing (*lazdu*) and the waning (*labyidyaw*) moon of fifteen days each, alternately with months of fifteen days waxing and fourteen days waning. Seven years in every nineteen admit an intercalar month of thirty days. In leap years the month *Wdzô* is repeated under the name *Dûtiya Wdzô*.

The months correspond more or less with our months, as follows :—

1. *Kasôn*	30 days,	April to May.	7. *Tasôungmôn*	30 days,	October to November.
2. *Nayôn*	29 ,,	May to June.	8. *Nadôw*	29 ,,	November to December.
3. *Wasô*	30 ,,	June to July.	9. *Pyôdôô*	30 ,,	December to January.
4. *Wâgdaung*	29 ,,	July to August.	10. *Tabôdwê*	29 ,,	January to February
5. *Tawthalin*	30 ,,	August to September.	11. *Tabôdung*	30 ,,	February to March.
6. *Thadingyût*	29 ,,	September to October.	12. *Tagû*	29 ,,	March to April.

The present era (*thagayit*) commenced in 638 A.D. Thus the year 1900 A.D. is the Burmese year 1261–62.

LENGTH.

804

4 grains of rice = 1 finger-breadth (*lattathit*).
8 *thit* = 1 *mait* (breadth of palm with thumb extended, 6 inches).
12 *thit* = 1 *tuo* (span, 9 inches).
2 *tuo* = 1 *daung* (cubit, 18 inches).
7 *daung* = 1 *ta*.
300 *ta* = *ngôya-daiw* (one mile, 2609·33 *metres*).
1000 *ta* = 1 *daing*.
6400 *ta* = 1 *yôzana* (obsolete).

6 grains = 1 thumb (inch, *dawsu*).
2 *mait* = 1 *pê* (foot, 12 inches, 30·5 c.m.).
4 *daung* = 1 *hlaw* (spear, fathom, 6 feet).

CAPACITY.

					Litres.
1 *mû*			(sixty-fourth)	1 pint	0·567
4 *mû*		= 1 *byê*	(sixteenth)	2 quarts	
2 *byê*		= 1 *sayôt*	(eighth)	1 gallon	4·543
2 *sayôt*		= 1 *sôô*	(quarter)	2 gallons	
2 *sôô*		= 1 *gwê*	(half)	4 ,,	
2 *gwê*		= 1 *ôw*	(basket)	8 ,,	36·346

29: Slater M-4 (no date) 1951 AP1 Burma
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565 in the middle of the last century, that Burmese women not only enjoyed
562 a much freer and higher position than elsewhere in the East but, in some
779* matters, had attained rights that their sisters in England were still seeking to obtain.[26] These and similar aspects of Burmese life must be attributed in large degree to the dominant influence of Buddhism in a country which has been left for hundreds of years, shut away from the surrounding world by its seaboard and mountain barriers, to work out its own salvation with only occasional interference from outside until modern times.

779* It is possible that the first Buddhist monastery in Burma was established more than two thousand years ago. While we may be sceptical of the
174 legend which attributes the conversion of the first Burmese disciples to
177 the Buddha himself, there is perhaps less reason than formerly to question the persistent Burmese tradition that missionaries were sent from India to Burma after the Third Great Council in the time of Aśoka. We have, at any rate, shreds of reliable evidence relating to the early centuries of the Christian era. In Burma, as elsewhere, the archaeologist has been active in recent years and there are also illuminating references in Chinese and other texts. Examining the evidence now available, Mr. Nihar-Ranjan Ray has presented a substantial argument for the conclusion that Buddhism was introduced to Burma possibly in Aśoka's day, probably by the third century A.D. and certainly by the fifth century A.D.[27] In these earlier centuries, Burma was parcelled into small kingdoms, and all that can be said is that, at certain capitals, there were strong centres of Buddhist influence.[28]

175 It is, however, sufficient for our present purpose to be able to trace the
779* dominating influence of Buddhism throughout the country from the
177 eleventh century onwards. In this century, the turning point in Burmese story, the curtain of history lifts to reveal A-naw-ra-hta, the Burmese Constantine, moving southwards from his capital at Pagan to vanquish the king of Thaton and annex his dominion. According to the Burmese chroniclers, the motive for this advance was not mere lust of conquest but zeal for the true faith. King A-naw-ra-hta had been converted by a monk from the south, Shin Arahan of Thaton. But 'without the scriptures there can be no study, without study there can be no intuition.' To obtain these scriptures, the Pali scriptures, A-naw-ra-hta must needs subdue his rival at Thaton who possessed them.

000 What is of further importance for our present inquiry is the fact that

[26] Forbes, *British Burma and Its People*, chap. III, p. 55.

[27] Ray, op. cit. chap. I, pp. 83ff.

[28] *Ibid.*, chap. I, pp. 83ff., 81; cf. Taw Sein Kho, *Census of India Report* (Burma 1901), XII, 32.

29: Slater M-4 (no date) 1951 APl Burma
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What is of further importance for our present inquiry is the fact that the tradition thus established throughout Burma was the Hīnayāna tradition, not the Mahāyāna.[20] It will therefore be the more significant if we find in Burmese Buddhism a positive conception of Nirvana, for, in the past, scholars have frequently associated a negative conception with the Hīnayāna tradition, enlarging the distance between the two schools: Nirvana might spell paradise in China or Japan, it was argued, but for Southern Buddhists it was the Void.

175 779* 795 [775] 177

There were, it is true, outposts of the Mahāyāna faith in Burma, notably at Pagan, where Mahāyāna cults survived for perhaps two centuries after A-naw-ra-hta's conversion, tolerated by the now dominating Hīnayāna tradition which absorbed some elements of the sister faith.[20] There is also evidence, not only of Mahāyāna rivalry, but also of Brahmanical Hinduism (as at Pagan) in Southern Burma in the earlier centuries.[21]

A first glance at the map may occasion surprise that Mahāyāna influence on Burmese Buddhism was not more considerable, for China, where the Mahāyāna tradition thrived for several centuries, is just across the north east border and the Burmese themselves are a Mongolian race. A second glance, however, discovers the far distances between centres of influence. There is a sweeping borderland of mountain ranges and remote valleys, and, in the earlier centuries, the buffer state of Nanchao lay in between China and the Burmese kingdoms. The sea route from India was the easier route to Southern Burma and Indian traders and adventurers were the forerunners of Indian missionaries.

When all qualifications have been made, we must conclude that the formative tradition of Buddhism in Burma was the Hīnayāna, introduced from India and nourished from Ceylon. And from the eleventh century onwards, "the stronger vitality of the Southern school completely absorbed, assimilated and obliterated the Northern school."[22]

The royal encouragement given by A-naw-ra-hta was frequently echoed by later rulers. Burmese kings were styled 'great Captains of the Law,' and as late as the nineteenth century good King Mindon convened the 'Fifth Buddhist Council' at Mandalay, when the scriptures were engraved on over seven hundred tablets of marble.

643 779* 175

[20] The term, Hīnayāna, is sometimes regarded as disparaging. 'Southern' or 'Theravāda' Buddhism might be preferred in this connection, but it is probably less confusing to use the terms now familiar in the West.

[20] Ray, *Sanskrit Buddhism in Burma*, p. 93, and *Theravāda Buddhism in Burma*, pp. 150ff.

[21] Ray, *Theravāda Buddhism in Burma*, pp. 86, 87; cf. Taw Sein Kho, *Census Report* (Burma, 1901), p. 32.

[22] Taw Sein Kho, *ibid.*, p. 32.

29: Slater M-4 (no date) 1951 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

175 792 779* But Burmese kings were not always good. The monasteries which became centres of community life in village after village have to be pictured more often against a dark background of marauding armies, political feud and violent revolt. This chequered history gives point to the suggestion that Burma owes its civilisation and 'the preservation of ... moral and mental balance' very largely to the Buddhist Order which persisted and grew apace through all vicissitudes.[33] Within the Order, there was a remarkable degree of discipline, upheld by a *Thāthanābaing* or Burmese Arch-Abbot. There was also a remarkable unanimity. [795] Although there were different schools and parties, it is significant that there is little, if any, hint of doctrinal controversy. If there had been any considerable impact of Mahāyāna interpretation, we should surely have heard more about it. What, on the contrary, is much more evident, is the 177 795 779* continued impact of Ceylon. Perhaps the most serious division was occasioned by a claim that it was necessary to resort to Ceylon to maintain the legitimate 'line of descent.'[34] There were, it is true, schismatics. Non-conformist Paramata sects decried the Order and taught the existence of an immanent Divine Being, the *Shwe Nyan Daw*, a belief which may reflect either Mahāyāna or Hindu influence. By and large, however the dominating religious and cultural force was Hīnayāna Buddhism for eight centuries without interruption. We have therefore good reason for beginning a study of Southern Buddhism in a country which has been so deeply impressed by its influence.

114 121 There is also a personal reason. It was in Burma, some twenty years ago, that my own acquaintance with Buddhism began. It was during discussions with monks and laymen there that I began to think that Nirvana was the ultimate religious term of their faith — the term which symbolised the consummation of their doctrine, practice and aspiration. And the mode of expression of this Nirvana symbol seemed to me significant, not only for my Buddhist friends, but for all concerned with the study of religion and life.

[33] J. A. Stewart, "Note on Some Authorities for the History of Burma," *J.B.R.S.*, XIII (1923), p. 75.

[34] M. H. Bode, *Pali Literature of Burma*, chap. II, p. 19.

29: Slater M-4 (no date) 1951 AP1 Burma
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771 It is necessary, therefore, at the outset of our inquiry to correct this impression.

A writer on Comparative Religion is dependent on the experts from different fields, and Dr Bouquet is only repeating what a number of commentators on Burmese religion have been saying for the past fifty years. But if we examine their statements we find that many of them merely reflect, without further evidence or critical examination, an opinion expressed by a European official in a Census Report of 1891. This opinion was emphasised by another Census official, Mr. C. C. Lowis, ten years later:

"The Burman has added to his Animism just so much Buddhism as suits him and with infantile inconsequence draws solace from each in turn. I know of no better definition of the religion of the great bulk of the people ... than that given by Mr Eales in his 1891 Census Report, 'a thin veneer of philosophy laid over the main structure of Shamanistic belief.' The facts are here exactly expressed. Animism supplies the solid constituents that hold the faith together, Buddhism the superficial polish. Far be it from me to underrate the value of that philosophic veneer. It has done all that a polish can do to smooth, to beautify and to brighten, but to the end of time it will never be anything more than a polish. In the hour of great heart-searchings it is profitless as the Apostle's sounding brass. It is then that the Burman falls back upon his primaeval beliefs. Let but the veneer be scratched, the crude animism that lurks below must out. Let but his inmost vital depths be touched, the Burman stands forth an Animist confessed."[4]

771 782 [563] [177] Mr Lowis' opinion is based on a critical examination of the situation, and it cannot be lightly gainsaid. He also refers to the prevailing Animistic beliefs of the surrounding hill tribes who still infiltrate into the plains of Burma, a factor which encourages the survival of primitive ideas among the Burmese themselves. This survival is not to be denied. It is impossible to live in Burma without coming across evidences of Animism, sooner or later — the coconut, surmounted by a red cloth, still hung in most Burmese households as a *Nat* offering; the 'bus driver halting his vehicle to run across the road and place a little bouqet of flowers at the foot of some tree which is the shrine of a local spirit. Most of these practices are innocent. Occasionally, however, one has a grim reminder of more fateful beliefs. Burmese students once explained to me, reluctantly, [761] that they had desisted in their efforts to save a drowning boy because it was obvious that he had been seized by the *Nat* of the lake.

[4] *Census of India Report*, Vol. XII, (Burma, 1901), Part 1, by C. C. Lowis, chap. III, p. 35.

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Animism in Burma is usually termed Nat-worship. *Nat* has been compared with the Indian, *Natha*, but it is probably an indigenous term.[5] Strictly speaking, it should be distinguished from "disembodied spirit" or ghost, for which the Burmese name is *tasè*. The Burmese also speak of the "butterfly" soul in man, the *leip-byu*, which may leave the body even in life, during dream or unconsciousness.[6] "A *nat* is something quite different. The word is the equivalent of our word god, in the sense in which we speak of the gods of ancient Greece and Rome."[7] *Nat* legends, however, express the belief that most, if not all, of these godlings were once human beings. Thus the familiar household Nat, Min Magayi, was once a blacksmith, Maung Tin Dè, a man of such prodigious strength that whenever he struck his anvil the whole city was shaken, to the great wrath of the king who caused the blacksmith's death. His spirit continued to vex the neighbourhood until a temple was built in his honour.[8] In later times such spirits seem to have been elevated to *Nat* status by royal degree. Burmese tradition emphasises *the* Thirty Seven *Nats*, but the number has no special significance. Many *Nats* not included in the thirty seven are recognised today and some of the thirty seven ignored. Any attempt to denote the *Nat* realm too narrowly misrepresents what is, in fact, a fluctuating and ill defined situation. 'All is change' applies to this realm, in Burmese estimation, as much as to any other. Nor can we point to any one origin of the cultus. The Mondaing *Nat*, for example, may reflect a primitive Nature worship, since Mondaing signifies whirlwind, but local legend suggests another origin.[9] Some of the *Nats* are associated with Brahmanic and Buddhist legend. Others are definitely local and even recent. Sir George Scott, who was an acute observer, said that the Burman always distinguished the Spirits of Nature from the legendary gods imported from India.[10] On the other hand, there is a tendency to mingle Buddhist story and Nat story, and the Buddhist *pots*, as well as the *dons* is quite at home among the Burmese *Nats*.[11]

In earlier times, a victim was slain in order to provide a guardian spirit for a new town or building, and as late as the eleventh century a queen is said to have given her life for such a purpose. Buddhist teaching against taking life has gradually prevailed, however, against these harsher

[5] Cf. Bigandet, *Life of Gaudama* Vol. I, p. 17, Vol. II, p. 324 and Temple, *The Thirty Seven Nats*, p. 8.
[6] Cf. Forbes, *British Burma*, chap. IV, p. 99.
[7] R. Grant Brown, *The Pre-Buddhist Religion of the Burmese*, p. 6.
[8] R. Grant Brown, *Ibid.*, p. 12.
[9] *Ibid.*, p. 7.
[10] Temple, *Ibid.*, p. 3.
[11] Cf. Bimala C. Law, *The Buddhist Conception of Spirits*.

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original and appellate jurisdiction. These officers were executive officers under the crown, but when they sat as judges in their respective courts, they were judges in the full sense of the term, for they were free of all executive control. Finally there was the Supreme Court. This final court of appeal consisted of the king as the president, the crown prince as the vice-president, the four chief ministers, and their four deputies. The king, however, attended only on rare occasions, and thus the crown prince usually presided over the court. The law that these courts administered and interpreted was the customary law of the Burmese people. One special feature of the courts was their attempt to settle the case before actually trying it. Lawyers, who were attached to the courts as officers, although their fees were payable by the litigants, also endeavored to conciliate the contending parties. Often the parties decided to refer their suit to an arbitrator. There was no right of appeal from the decision of an arbitrator, on the ground that the arbitrator was chosen by the contending parties themselves. When a suit had been heard and decided, the successful party offered a dish of pickled tea to the other party, and if the latter accepted, the parties were deemed to have been reconciled, and there could be no appeal from the decision of the court. The refusal of the unsuccessful party to accept the offered dish of pickled tea served as his notice of appeal.

Burmese history, like the history of many countries, records rebellions, invasions, and violent struggles for power, but the development of Burmese customary law has been singularly free from catastrophes and sudden changes. There has never been a revolution in the Burmese customary law. However, the law in the course of its long history experienced three great impacts with the outside world. The first was the impact of Hindu jurisprudence, second was the impact of Buddhism, and the third was the impact of English law as the result of the British conquest of the country towards the end of the nineteenth century.

Some of my colleagues of this conference have already

30: Maung Htin Aung E-4 (no date) 1953 AP1 Burma
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spoken on the impact of Hindu thought and culture on the countries of Southeast Asia. The Hindu expansion overseas was well underway by the second and third centuries after Christ, and Hindu ideas and Hindu philosophies were beginning to remold the native patterns of belief and culture in Southeast Asia. In Burma, however, only the coastal region fell under Hindu influence. The Pyus by the fifth century had founded their kingdom of Prome, then situated only a few miles away from the sea, at the mouth of the Irrawaddy. The Mons, who belonged to the Mon-Khmer tribes that had settled in the regions now known as Thailand and Indo-China, had entered Lower Burma from the east, and their kingdom of Thaton, also then on the sea, seemed to have become powerful by the fifth century, about the same time as Prome. These two cities, Prome and Thaton, probably first became important as ports of call for Hindu merchant ships sailing between India and Malaya and Java, but even in those two kingdoms, Hindu influence was not strong. Thus Burma is the one country in Southeast Asia which was not Hinduized. By the eighth century after Christ, the Irrawaddy Delta was quickly forming, and Prome became farther away from the sea; the kingdom seemed to have declined rapidly, and the Pyus began to merge with the Burmese, who had now founded their kingdom at Pagan in Upper Burma. In the eleventh century, the Burmese made their kingdom strong enough to conquer and destroy the kingdom of Thaton. The Burmese were now supreme in the land.

But the conquest of Thaton opened the outer world beyond the seas to the Burmese. From the conquered Mons the Burmese became acquainted with Hindu literature and with Buddhist scriptures. Burmese society and Burmese law now experienced the double impact of Hinduism and Buddhism, but, of course, by that time, Hindu power in Southeast Asia was a spent force. Both Burmese society and Burmese law survived those two impacts.

Hindu jurisprudence and Hindu legal literature had

671 molded the native customary laws in the other regions of
177 Southeast Asia, and the great Hindu Code of Manu, the hermit, the sage, the lawgiver, had gained enormous prestige and authority in Southeast Asia. The Burmese scholars and lawyers of the eleventh century studied the Code of Manu, but found
[565] little in it to interest them. The rigid caste system, which served as the basis of Hindu law as embodied in the Code of Manu, made no appeal to the Burmese with their classless society. The Burmese never had an aristocracy or a middle class. The king was above others, but others were all equal. There was no hereditary nobility, and the Burmese have always been so individualistic that family names or surnames have never existed with the Burmese. The officers of the king could be said to have formed a nobility, but if that was so, it was a nobility into which every Burmese could enter by talent and personality alone. The king, the chieftain, and the headman were originally elected. Thus the idea of dividing society into classes distinguished only by birth seemed strange to the Burmese.

671 Nonetheless, the prestige of the Code of Manu was so high
773 in Southeast Asia that the Burmese decided to make Manu their mythical law-giver. In Hindu mythology, Manu was a hermit, divinely inspired. In Burmese legend, Manu became a simple cowherd who was later elected king because of his mastery of customary law. The Burmese Manu also became a hermit later, but he became a hermit out of remorse because he once gave a wrong decision. This wrong judgment of the great Manu is well known in Burmese folklore as the case of the small cucumber. There was a cucumber plant growing in a man's garden, but as it was a creeper, it grew across the dividing hedge and bore fruit in the neighbor's garden. Now the man and the neighbor quarreled as to who was entitled to the small cucumber fruit, and they took their case before the great Manu, who decided in favor of the neighbor. But he soon reversed his decision, and feeling remorseful over his previous judgment, became a hermit. This clearly

30: Maung Htin Aung E-4 (no date) 1953 AP1 Burma
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illustrates that with the Burmese, Manu had become only an 671
ordinary human being with the human trait of making mis- 773
takes, so very different from the divine hermit of Hindu lore.

By the thirteenth century, the customary law of the Bur- 671
mese came to be collected and written down by jurists and [178]
scholars. Throughout the intervening centuries until the British conquest of the country, such collections of the law, and also collections of judicial precedents were made from time to time by scholars and jurists. But those collections were not codes, and were not fully binding on the judges. In all these [177]
collections, Manu was mentioned as the law-giver, and this lip-service paid to the prestige of the Hindu Code of Manu has misled modern scholars, especially European scholars of Burmese history and Burmese law, into thinking that the Burmese law was merely the Hindu Code of Manu modified and transplanted almost overnight in Burma of the eleventh century.

But in the eleventh century, the Burmese did become Bud- 177
dhists almost overnight. The Burmese took to Buddhism with 609
great enthusiasm, because the way of life preached by the 565
Buddha seemed to be identical with their own democratic 779
way of life. The Buddhistic revolt against the rigid caste system of the Hindu society could be appreciated by the Burmese, who called the Hindu half-playfully and half-seriously, "kula" or "caste people," and the Buddhistic emphasis on the equality of all men appealed to the Burmese with their classless society and their own emphasis on individual freedom. The [671]
jurists and the scholars waxed enthusiastic over Buddhism, and they gave a Buddhistic coloring and a Buddhistic background to their collections of Burmese customary law. This misled the early British administrators and judges in Burma into thinking that Burmese customary law was Buddhistic in origin, and gave to it the misleading official name of "Burmese Buddhist Law."

The impact of the English legal system introduced into 000

671 The impact of the English legal system introduced into
177 the country after the annexation of 1886 shook Burmese cus-
178 tomary law to its very foundations, just as Burmese society itself rocked with the shock of the impact. But Burmese society soon regained its balance, and so did Burmese customary law. The British, by statute, superseded the Burmese customary law of contract and tort with their own English common law, but recognized the Burmese customary law regarding marriage and divorce, adoption, inheritance, and religious usage, and these branches of the customary law remain valid today. Thus, whereas in India the legislature now struggles against strong public opposition to pass new statutes introducing changes in the Hindu law of marriage and inheritance so as to adjust Hindu law to new developments in Hindu society, the Burmese, after their hard-won independence, have not found it necessary to modify by statute or to codify their customary law. With regard to the English law of contract and tort that was introduced into the country after the British annexation, the Burmese did not find the new law strange and mysterious, for the fundamental principles of Burmese law of contract and tort had certain similarities with the funda-
675 mental principles of English common law. Thus the principles
671 of specific performance, of damages, of a period of limitation,
672 and a remoteness of damage were known to the Burmese law also. Even the English legal plea of "Act of God" for exemption from liability has its Burmese counterpart in the plea of "ill fortune." The following rules of law relating to ferries will illustrate this aspect of Burmese law:

> If a man, for the sake of hire, becomes a ferryman, let him follow these rules. He shall carefully consider and take only the correct fare. If he is careless, or jocular, or immodest, and as a result, property of a passenger is spilled or damaged, let him make good the loss to the owner. But if he crosses with proper care and proper behaviour, and property be lost or damaged, let him blame ill fortune, and he shall not be liable. Women with child, monks, and sick persons shall be ferried across, even if they have no money to pay as fare.

23: Brant & Mi Mi Khaing E, I-5 (1949-1950)1951
AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

BURMESE KINSHIP AND THE LIFE CYCLE: AN OUTLINE

CHARLES S. BRANT AND MI MI KHAING[1]

INTRODUCTORY STATEMENT

121 OUR PURPOSE is to present and analyze some basic features of Burmese social organization. So numerous, elaborate and varied are the details of belief and behavior pertaining to kinship and the life cycle that to present them in a manner approximating completeness would be beyond the scope of a brief paper.

The material that follows, concerning the kinship system, patterns of customary behavior between various pairs of relatives, and the life cycle, is to be understood as applying to contemporary Burmese culture as it is manifested in the villages of Lower Burma. In and near the urban centers, where the secularizing influences of the West have permeated indigenous custom to a greater extent, practice is likely to diverge from ideal patterns much more than in the small, homogeneous village communities. Our concern here is with the social life of the ordinary peasantry of Lower Burma. It is hoped that these data may contribute in some measure to the very scant and fragmentary knowledge of modern Burmese culture.[2]

121 184 [177]

THE KINSHIP SYSTEM

601 The basic consanguineal and affinal kinship terminologies are shown in Figures 1, 2, and 3. The kinship terms, corresponding to the numbers shown on the diagrams, are as follows:[3]

1. ʔaméi Mother.
2. ʔaphéi Father.
3. pharjî Parent's elder brother; parent's elder sister's husband.

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[122] 1 The first-named author of this paper expresses his thanks to the Board of Foreign Scholarships for appointment to a scholarship under the Fulbright Program, making possible the field research period 1949-50 in Burma, and to the Social Science Research Council for supplementary support in the form of a World Area Research Training fellowship.

2 The interested reader is referred to Shway Yoe's *The Burman: His Life and Notions*, first published in 1882 and most recently reprinted by Macmillan & Co., London, for the only fully-rounded account of Burmese culture. See also Mi Mi Khaing, *Burmese Family* (London, 1946) for a culturally insightful narrative of life in a Burmese family.

3 For assistance in transcription of the kinship terms thanks are due Professor W. S. Cornyn. The symbols follow the system employed in his *Outline of Burmese Grammar* (Baltimore: Linguistic Society of America, 1944).

23: Brant & Mi Mi Khaing E, I-5 (1949-1950)1951
AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

593 husband's kinfolk. Post-marital residence is independent and is decided very
[591] largely on the basis of economic opportunity. The wife's opportunities for social intercourse with her family of orientation are, of course, greatest when residence is established in her home village; if, however, a couple from different villages marry and find it most opportune to settle in the husband's community, the
[574] chances are that the wife will maintain contact with her family of orientation by
[582] visits from time to time; such marriages seldom unite persons from villages that are very far apart. The very structural features of bilaterality and absence of extension militate against inequality and male domination.

Burmese culture is frequently remarked for the equality of the sexes, in con-
562 trast to the neighboring cultures of India and China. This status of the sexes
593 seems to be the resultant historically of two patterns of thought. One is an apparently very old, pre-Buddhist emphasis upon equality, involving equal inheri-
[428] tance, equal sharing of the property brought to the marriage, equal division of
[586] property upon divorce, a prominent female role in social and economic life, and an absence of transmission of surnames. The other thought pattern dates from the superimposition of Buddhism upon older Burmese conceptions: whatever
[177] ideas of male superiority exist in Burmese life stem from Buddhist notions of
[775] reincarnation. Although Buddha never expressed himself explicitly on the matter, it is taken for granted that only a male can attain Nirvana, since Gautama Buddha, who attained that state, was a male.

462 In the family household the wife's role includes not only such routine tasks as
592 the preparation of food and serving of meals, keeping the house orderly and clean, and looking after small children; very often it involves control of the family income and the making of all important decisions as to expenditures.

Certain observances and taboos, reflective of deference to males, are expected
593 of the female partner in marriage. She is careful that her lower garments do not
784 touch her husband's bed or his personal belongings; she avoids touching her husband's head. It is believed that the breaking of such taboos may ruin the husband's success and glory, especially his spiritual attainments. These injunctions are followed as a matter of course by Burmese wives and will be broken deliberately only as an act of spite by a woman who wishes to harm or lower her husband for some reason.

593 Despite the various equalitarian aspects of husband-wife relations, there is
837 a tendency towards a double standard of sexual behavior. A husband who has reason to believe that his wife is engaging in extra-marital affairs is very likely
[586] to display violent anger, beat her, and break up the marriage. The wife of a

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lecturer went to the head of the grave and said in English: "So-and-so, I give you notice that you are no longer in the Jr. B. A. class." When U Tin Gyi died during an official visit to England, we held his cremation at Golders Green and succeeded in getting a Singhalese hpongyi from the Buddhist Lodge in London to perform the rites. In spite of the environment of the crematorium we felt that we had achieved a dim and religious Buddhist atmosphere, such as he would have wished, by the time the hpongyi had intoned the verses, with all the gathered Burmese students repeating them phrase by phrase. But suddenly one of the English officers present got up and read in English: "U Tin Gyi, O.B.E., Registrar for Co-operative Societies in the Government of Burma, I give you leave to relinquish your post in the service of the Government. Signed—Adams." As if the persistent ghost might return to haunt in English, having been dismissed in only one of his two languages.)

Mr. Bernard Swithinbank of the I.C.S. had, through long years of friendship for Burmese people, laid the hands of many young couples one upon the other in marriage, and in this case he seemed particularly fitted for the task, for twenty-five years before he had married the parents of the bride, and though he could not perform for the bridegroom's parents their marriage ceremony which was held in Grandfather's time, it was he who gave my father leave to go to Thaton, as senior officer wishing him all prosperity in his marriage.

At last the great day arrived and all the male cousins and uncles collected at our house to dress the bridegroom with as much fuss as attends a bride in any other country. My mother had bought three pink silk turbans varying barely perceptibly in shade, so that the young man's complexion might be matched exactly when the fateful hour approached. My two young sisters and I took one each and sewed the finest possible seams, but submitting every inch as we went long to the scrutiny of my senior uncle Kyaw Din who said that a man's turban needed finer sewing than any woman's garment. My *Ko Lay*, most debonair of the cousins, tied the turban on my brother's head, while the band of elder brothers-once-removed stood around and complained that he did not make the floating end dance and toss with sufficient sprightliness. Two uncles and two cousins combined to tie his pasoe, the magnificent skirt which had been brought down from Mandalay and matched in the weaving with the bride's own skirt. My brother submitted to all of this with a meekness born of never having worn full Burmese dress before. All the while my three sisters danced around to look at him from every angle, exclaiming with sauciness and delight how beautiful and pink he looked, for my brother was really a robust and dark-skinned type of man who liked to wear sober English clothes.

276 them down. She stopped the base with one of the a-si-hkans and stuck the leaf over it. This provided a firm grip for the mouth, and the same a-si-hkan could be used again and again. What we loved best about this was that my aunt never used matches but, even when we were little children, she would hand us a cheroot with which we ran to the kitchen. There the cook would pull out a piece of firewood and hold the gigantic flaming match while we puffed the cheroot alight and brought it back to my aunt.

302 Kyi-Kyi's daily toilet was another thing we loved to watch, and even when I was grown up I never ceased to admire its simple thoroughness. 177. 30 She has never altered it since she was a young girl forty-five years ago, neither conceding to newer fashions nor omitting any of the vanities as she grew from girlhood into middle-age. She came out of her bath with her longyi *yin-sha* that is, drawn up above her bosom. She then put thanakha on face, neck and shoulders; face powder she condemned as having lead in it, but baby's talcum powder she sprayed on her palms, rubbed them together and patted into her face as the thanakha was drying. Then she moistened a brush the size of a baby toothbrush, and rubbed the thanakha off her eyebrows and lashes and traced her hairline in an exaggerated rectangle to produce what was considered a noble and beautiful forehead, a *mahanahpu*. By this time the thanakha and powder were dry, and uneven patches were rubbed off with a dry brush. Then she opened a little jar—always an empty Tiger Balm bottle—in which was a mixture of oil and blacking. She dipped a special brush into this and drew her eyebrows and the rectangular hairline. She cleaned her lips and ear-studs with water, and then put sandalwood or other ground bark on her arms and legs. Her hair had been dressed before she had her bath, in a *sadone*. This is the coil of hair built up in a cylindrical form around a framework of combs and hairpains, helped out by false tresses. It is the universal hair style for all women after they pass the age of about seventeen, and ladies like my aunt never go anywhere unless their hair is formally dressed in this way.

In modern times, however, the younger women have not only streamlined the sadone, making it thinner and taller, but they have shelved it as a full-dress style, to be worn only on special occasions, while every day they go about with the hair drawn straight back and twisted over a comb at the back of the head. Although the sadone is worn by both older and younger ladies, differentiating touches are carried out. Young unmarried girls fix a *sameik* on the right side of the sadone. This is a short tress, the head of which is anchored hidden inside the cylinder, but which comes over the top and leaves its free end to dangle coquettishly at the side. The modern girls exaggerate the coquetry of

the sameik by using an unoiled dry and slightly wavy tress to offer a wanton contrast to the smooth severe cylinder. In the absence of permanent waving, and with the straightness of the Burmese hair, I admired the enterprise of a Rangoon family who subsidized, with supplies of coconut oil, the Indian gardener next door, an Oriya coming from a race with wavy raven locks, until his tresses grew to the requisite length and they bought them for binding into a sameik. This sameik is discarded after marriage, but in the case of a girl who does not get married early, it continues in a more restrained form, a *sameik-kwin*, when it is tucked back into the bottom of the cylinder to form a loop. Shortly after the age of twenty-five, she discards it altogether and makes just a sadone like a married woman. Kyi-Kyi's sadone was broad and low; after she had finished the rest of her toilet she tied her hair by drawing a thread backwards from her forehead so that stray hairs were tucked into the sadone, and the same with the upswept hair at the back. She also carried the Burmese powder puff in her luggage though I never saw her use it. These, which we also still use as the best means of applying Max Factor powder, were scraps of old cotton vests about ten inches square, which had been soaked and washed in thanakha, thus avoiding the horrible newness of the unused modern powder puff.

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My aunt's clothes were also aggressively her own. This was noticeable especially with her going-out clothes, for which she would never have any imported materials. She declared that imported silks, crêpe-de-chines and the like, could not be washed and beaten clean like the Burmese silks and cottons. Neither did they produce suitable colours and designs for elderly spinster ladies like her—they were either gay and skittish, or of a soberness that depressed without pleasing one. What she loved most were the *ya-khaing* longyis, silks and cottons woven in Arakan, in small check patterns, but so stout that you soaked them and beat them hard before the first wearing, and then washed them again and again until you had a pliant closely-woven fabric whose colour and freshness lasted a lifetime. One of my sisters, whom my aunt pressed to wear a ya-khaing longyi in preference to a crêpe-de-chine piece whose bright butterflies had appealed to her sixteen-year-old fancy, stated that no doubt if she slept in the ya-khaing longyi every night for seven years, it would just be at its best for her to wear when she reached the age of twenty-five. For more dressy occasions, my aunt wore *zin-mè* silks, the design of which was reputed to come from Chiengmai in Siam, and in imitation of which Burmese weavers now produce zin-mè longyis in dull red and green geometrical designs, like old lacquer colours. Kyi-Kyi sometimes wore *Bangauk* longyis also, said to come truly from Bangkok, but more often woven in Burma in imitation of the characteristic twist

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584 family made it necessary to arrange things in a traditional manner. My brother had chosen his bride from a family of sisters who had been to school with us and with whom we were on the friendliest terms, so that he could have pressed his own suit if he wished, but since my sister-in-law's family also stood for tradition, we had to go through elaborate negotiations.

For a go-between we chose a lady who belonged to high circles of Rangoon society and who was known to be a great friend of the girl's family. One morning my mother and I paid her a formal call and made the proposal. my mother reciting the list of her son's qualifications which the lady already knew quite well. She promised to approach the guardian aunt of the girl's family. Shortly after this, we called on the aunt, who demurred, not to seem eager, and said, moreover, that she could not give an answer until she had consulted an astrologer to see whether the stars of the young man and woman formed an auspicious union. We thereupon gave her the date and hour of my brother's birth. During all this time, no word had passed between my future sister-in-law and us upon the matter; we did not, in fact, visit her. In due course, the aunt gave her answer, and while my brother was out of town on a tour, a party was held at the girl's house, with the senior relatives of both sides present to formalize the engagement. No unmarried young girls should attend this, out of modesty, and although I went along as my mother's right-hand, I had to closet myself in the bedroom with the girls. It was only then, when the elders were formalizing the engagement, that my sister-in-law did not feel it forward to talk about the wedding and future happiness with much excitement. After the engagement had been announced, my brother was allowed to call every day during the three months of their engagement, but they were not allowed to be seen together in public.

• 177. 19 764 775 Meanwhile, great preparations went on, for besides the social arrangements attendant on all weddings, the attire of the bride and bridegroom had to be matched in colour, a panegyric writer had to be found to write the poem of praise, and suitable elders to perform the ceremony had to be agreed upon. The modern Burmese custom is to ask the most respected highly placed Burmese couple among the family's friends, along with an equally respected English official to pronounce recognition in English. (This learning of English by a vast number of Burmans, and their daily activities in that language, have led to much duplication of effort in the disposal of their spirits also. When a person is buried, a notice is served on his spirit that this body is now to be vacated, and the spirit to go elsewhere for fear that the faithful spirit hovering round the grave may create a ta-say, a ghost. When a student died in term time at the University, the rites at her funeral were completed only when a

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

351 231 The abundance of land allows every one to have a courtyard of his own. In this the farmer keeps his cart and plough, the fisherman his boat. The buffaloes and oxen of the whole village are usually all together on a pasture-ground kept by some speculative individual, who charges a couple of rupees or so for feeding and looking after them. The care exercised is not very great. Heat and rain kill many of them, where, as is too frequently the case, no shelter is available; foot-and-mouth disease, and other epidemics, carry off great numbers, and finally, they are not at all averse to killing one another. Consequently the vultures are frequently to be seen on the trees round the village pasture-land. Besides his implements the house-owner has always in his yard a hand rice-mill. Husking paddy has become, near the big towns, quite a separate trade, and abundance of cleaned rice may be bought in the bazaars, but in the village every family husks its own rice, the grain being kept stored in a small granary in the yard. The milling is done by the women, and there are two processes in the operation. The mill consists of two wooden cylinders about two feet thick, the inner surfaces of both roughened in a simple way by the cutting of radii from their centres, the lines being about a quarter of an inch deep. The upper cylinder has a funnel-shaped hole cut through it, to let the grain down, and is worked backwards and forwards by a long pole loosely fastened in, the rice coming out between the two cylinders, and falling on mats down below. It is winnowed either in the primitive way of throwing it into the air, so that the light husk may be blown away, or, often nowadays in Lower Burma, by a hand-worked pair of fanners, introduced since the English occupation.

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The rice is not yet, however, ready for cooking. The inner pellicle has still to be removed, and this is done in a big wooden mortar. Two varieties are in use, worked either by hand, as an apothecary pounds his drugs, the pestle being very long and heavy; or by foot, when the wooden mortar is sunk in the ground. The pestle in this latter case consists of a short, stumpy piece of wood, let into a long lever near the end. This lever is supported on two uprights at some distance from the mortar, and the machine is worked by the

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

342 addition to this a mi-kat stands beside it. This is a broad
731 griddle, or flapper kind of thing, and its object is to beat out
355 the flame which may be caused by a spark lighting on the roof. In addition to this, in many parts of the country, pots full of water are always kept in readiness on the tops of the houses, so that when the hour of danger comes, the householder may douse his roof, and so do the best for him-
[368] self. In Mandalay, under native rule, some of the pa-gwets, and other outcasts, patrolled the streets all night, to watch for and prevent fires as much as possible.

342 Another kind of roofing is wā-kat, a sort of flat tile-like construction, six feet long by two feet broad, made of coarse bamboo matting. Bamboos split in half down the centre, and with the knots smoothed away, are also used. They are placed close together, with the hollow side upwards, extending all the way down from the ridge to the eaves, and over these again are placed others with the rounded side up, the whole presenting rather a curious appearance, but making a very serviceable roof and not nearly so dangerous as the leaf or grass thatching. The leaves of other trees are also occasionally used, but the simplicity and cheapness of the dani roof make it by far the most prevalent in the delta, as grass is elsewhere, notwithstanding its danger. In Rangoon and Maulmein, shingles, that is, small wooden slabs like slates, are being very generally introduced.

In the better class of houses the floors are made of
[565] planking, but poorer people have nothing better than a series of whole or split bamboos laid side by side on the cross-beams and tied down with rattans. This is not very pleasant to walk on, and has the further disadvantage of being anything but cleanly, for the spaces between the bamboos offer an irresistible temptation to drop all litter and garbage on to the ground immediately underneath the house, and were it not for the pariah dogs the sanitary condition of the place would soon be very bad.

352 The house is thus simple enough in its character, but
● 177.35 the furniture is still more so. Intercourse with the English
369 has indeed brought many Burmans to indulge in English luxuries, and in many houses in Rangoon and the larger district towns, chandeliers, bookcases, pictures, and even

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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statuary are to be seen, besides abundance of chairs and tables, and occasionally bedsteads, while clocks, kerosine lamps, looking-glasses, and lounge chairs are universal. But it is very different in the village houses. There is practically no furniture at all there, for a chair is of no use to a jungle Burman, and without chairs tables are equally useless. Consequently all that is to be seen in a village house is the goodman's box, and a few woven mats and hard bamboo pillows to sleep on. Cots are not used, for one of the Ten Precepts, to be kept on duty-days, is that one must not sleep on a high place. The only furnishings visible are the mats rolled up during the day with the rugs or blankets which serve for bedding. The mats themselves are probably home-made, manufactured from fine strips of bamboo, the best being those with the polished silicious surface outside, which stand any amount of work. Softer, finer articles are made from the skin of the theng, a species of rush, which takes a black dye, and is often worked into patterns, but no one has anything more elaborate, and indeed nothing better could be wished for. A cooler bed could not easily be found. In the country, also, the cooking place during the rains is in the house. During the fine weather culinary operations are carried on in the open air, behind the premises. The cooking range is nothing more than a box, two or three feet square, and six inches deep, filled up with earth or ashes, and on the top of this the wood used as fuel is piled. The cooking utensils and the dining service are equally simple. The former consists of nothing further than two or three earthen pots with lids to them, and a wooden spurtle to stir the contents with. Close at hand is a jar full of water, with a ladle—half a cocoa-nut with a handle through it. These are all the kitchen appliances. In place of table there is a huge round dish of lacquered wood, called a byat. These byats are sometimes as much as three feet and more in diameter, and on them is heaped up in a gigantic pile the rice, while the curry is served in little bowls disposed round about. A young couple have, therefore, no ruinous expenses when they set up house. The inventory of effects necessarily is soon made.

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Outside the house there is not much more to notice.

175 578 563 yet with Burma itself. Brought up as a complacent child of a government officer in Burma, this was the first time that I realized how we had unconsciously thought of England, the British Empire, as a permanent world force during our lifetime—a force with which we might bargain advantageously or without success, but one that our fathers and we had taken for granted for all the time that we could remember. But now we realized it as one power—leading perhaps—amongst other powers in the West, and we realized also the existence of Japan and remembered how the Burmans who visited it always brought back stories of the beauty, progress and good manners of the country.

We left our English friends in the first half of August 1940, as they waited, braced for an invasion, to go to what they and we considered a war-free country. I was in the Ladies Room of a big restaurant in London just before I left, when the attendant who watched me wrap my longyi asked me which country I came from. "Burma," I told her. "Burma," she repeated uncertainly. "Is there a war there, Miss?" "No," I said laughing, "but there is a Road there." Yet I was only amusing myself. As we set out home, the furthest that our thoughts of war and Burma ranged, was to wonder whether the Burma Road and the recent closing of it had made people think more about Japan and China than they had done in 1937, when the outbreak of war between the two countries had caused little excitement except that some of my friends became consistent boycotters of Japanese goods. We also wondered vaguely whether trade had been affected, and whether thought and general social conditions had been stimulated with the world-shattering event of a European war, not dreaming that this was but the splash of a pebble compared to the tempest that was to follow.

Since I had left Burma, my mother and brother and sisters had settled 177. •36 633 772 themselves in Rangoon and I wondered how the city would seem after the big cities of the West. Rangoon is not one of the ancient cities of Burma. Its present position in the life of the country and people is a complete turnabout from its traditional place, for in days gone by it had attracted the inhabitants through spiritual rather than material renown. While Pagan, Ava, Toungoo and Mandalay rose and fell in political and commercial importance, Rangoon—Dagon as it was called—continued unchangingly a seat of pilgrimage, connected with fable and divinity, forming an actual link with another world cycle that existed in the universe before this present arrangement of Mount Myinmo, with its surrounding heavenly, earthly and hellish regions, was formed.

632 773 For it was on the hill called Theinguttara, which now casts its shadow on the city of Rangoon with its crown of the Shwe Dagon Pagoda, that he omens for the spiritual life of this world cycle were manifested, before

the last world was dissolved in chaos. On this hill five lotus buds sprang out of the earth; they opened into blossom, and from each flew a sacred bird which bore a sacred yellow robe towards the heavens. These five robes presaged the coming of five Buddhas who would guide the future world along the noble path to Nirvana. After this sign, that former world was destroyed; the present world followed, and the Buddhas appeared as foretold: Kaukathan, Gaunagong, Kathapa and Gautama, who successively attained enlightenment in this world, and whose statues now sit, each fifty feet tall and twenty feet broad, back to back in a great quadrate at the Kyaikpun Pagoda, calm and majestic as the grass grows about them and the rain washes down on their faces, awaiting the arrival of the fifth and last Buddha, after which this world cycle will be destroyed in a universal chaos. As each Buddha saw his enlightenment in this world he left a relic at the Theinguttara Hill, which had foretold his coming and which would now mark his attainment of wisdom—Kaukathan his staff, Gaunagon his water filter, Kathapa a portion of his robe, and Gautama his eight hairs which were enshrined in the first Shwe Dagon Pagoda after many perilous journeys. 632 773

But now the importance of Rangoon banishes all that into the realm of our dreams. The beginnings of trade date from about 1760 after King Alaungpaya had won a battle here and called the place *Yangon*: end of strife; but the big foreign port sprang up suddenly after 1852 when the British gained possession of it; the ships coming into its harbour from the oceans grew larger and larger, buildings followed the expanding commerce, roads and railways were built to all parts of Burma, foreigners crowded in and stamped its character, and by 1941 Rangoon had become a cosmopolitan city of over 500,000 inhabitants, more than three times larger than the next largest city in Burma and controlling over 80% of its export trade. 177.36• 632

If the Burmese Empire of former days had been a sea-power, the development of Rangoon would not have been left to this late day, for its position makes it the obvious port for the whole country, and it had many natural beauties which would have made it a fair metropolis. Twenty-one miles up from the open sea, the Rangoon River gives a broad sweep to the left and allows a frontage of over two miles for ocean shipping to anchor. The river is a continuation of the Hlaing River flowing southwards from about 50 miles north of Rangoon and this, with the Pegu River and the Pazundaung Creek which join its waters opposite Rangoon from the right, made inland water transport also easy. The land giving on to the Rangoon River was open and flat for the layout of a fine city, with, further in, lakes and wooded hillocks, but just north of Rangoon the range of hills known as the Pegu Yomas stretched northwards for 361 504

voice, "Do you understand the hpongyi's language after being so long as it were one human amongst a thousand monkeys?" 192 186

Chastened and fortified by such injunctions, I was ready to plunge into six months of social life before starting on the serious business of earning a living. Rangoon should have offered plenty of scope for that, according to the rhyme about the first three cities of Burma: *"Moul-a-myaing a-sa, Mandalay sa-ga, Yangon a-kywa:* Moulmein for rich eating, Mandalay for fine speaking, Rangoon for showy vanity." 361 177 36

The Yangon-thu were grouped in urban or verdant clusters about the city of foreigners. There were two packed streets of the more prosperous trading classes in a western quarter of Rangoon, which the municipal authorities called Edward Street and Oliphant Street, but which to every Burman had always been known as *Kon-zay Dan:* Goods Bazaar Row, and *Shwedaung Dan:* Gold Mountain Row. Here the families lived in tightly packed unpretentious houses and did not possess Western style furniture or cars; they went to the cinema in rickshaws, but the women were loaded with valuable diamond jewellery which put many a minkadaw to shame. In the dusk of the evenings, they sat on wooden platform couches on the pavement outside each house, puffing at cheroots, calling out to neighbours and eating a variety of choice foods from the Burmese, Chinese and Indian restaurant quarter which surrounded them. In the east of the town, separated from this area by rows of Indian and mixed streets, retired Government officers were concentrated in a block. Here the houses were substantial, the sons and daughters attended school and University in cars, and the most eligible civil servants could be obtained in marriage for daughters, but the pensioners were the type who lived in a congested neighbourhood for fear of dacoits in a more open area, and whose womenfolk considered lawns and the drawing-rooms of modern bungalows a poor substitute for the access to cinema, eating houses and bazaars that a crowded part of Rangoon afforded them. Round about the Kokine Lakes and along the main highway to Prome, however, more newly retired Burmans who entertained on chairs, laid rugs on floors and hung pictures on walls in the Western fashion, had built pleasant modern bungalows. To the west of this area, just a stone's throw from the main Prome Road, began the village of Kemmendine with its rows of small wooden houses, each with its front enclosure full of green foliage, an altar-stand jutting out on the east wall, three steps raising the first and only storey a few feet off the ground, and wooden floors with one plank loose in them to allow the dust to be swept below. Kemmendine had its own bazaar, country boats on the river, and children and dogs playing on the street, just like any district town. My *Ko Gyi*, eldest male first cousin, lived there among small traders, clerks and school

1: Mi Mi Khaing 1-5 (no date) 1946 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

361 177. 36 teachers. There were similar colonies of Burmese in the eastern parts of Rangoon—Yegyaw, Bahan, Tamwe and Pazundaung—but none so pleasant as Kemmendine.

When we were young, my mother's stock of household goods bought from their places of manufacture had shown us all the small industries 361 of Burma. Now my sisters appeared to be as determined to do my 438 Rangoon shopping from the most orthodox sources, and I learnt that to 563 fit me out with a new set of Burmese clothes required the services and the varied talents of all communities of the cosmopolitan city. Imported silks, which were bought for longyis in addition to native silks, were the monopoly of merchants from Sind and Bikaner—houses of Ramchandra, Tejumal, Lekraj and others—who had set up windows in the modern Scott Market of Rangoon, and whose salesmanship had flowered in Burma into something vastly different from the nonchalance which they display in their native land. They offered cigarettes to casual buyers who fingered the usual run of silks, supplemented them with sweet coloured drinks from the sherbet stall behind the shops when they went on to more expensive satins, and if they ventured further into fine brocades and laces, dishes of ice-cream appeared as they waited for the material to be cut and measured.

Cotton longyis for day and night wear in the house took us to the western Burmese quarter of Rangoon. Here, in Goods Bazaar Row, the family firm of *U Hsin-Daw Htay:* husband and wife married in business, lived in the upper floor of their house, and stacked the lower floor with hundreds of cotton prints, made in Japan but manufactured with such an eye to Burmese requirements as regards texture, colours, design and width, that these *tha-yet-htè* longyis, as they were called, seemed to most people as Burmese as Bassein umbrellas or Mandalay slippers. All over Burma the women wore these longyis. The transplanters of the paddy, the young servant maids in a-so-ya mins' houses, the girls in Ye and a thousand other villages, women in bazaars and minkadaws themselves, all wore various qualities of bright tha-yet-hte prints bought for 10 annas to Re. 1/4 a longyi length of 1¾ yards. U Hsin and Daw Htay were prosperous; we bought our longyis from them through snobbery, in lots of ten, sitting barefooted on their mat-covered floor, with betel box in front of us, but it was possible to buy tha-yet-hte from the stalls of young Burmese women all along the big Soortee Bazaar and the Scott Market of the Town. These young women form one of Burma's fairest sights.

361 In the days of my schooling, when each new term plunged me into 438 the foreign world behind Convent walls, as my mother completed the shopping for it on the last day of each vacation, I gazed back with longing

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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644 631 782 announced massacres caused in England, and the whole thing was countermanded and denied. But upwards of a hundred people had been arrested, and some of these, when liberated months afterwards, declared that in the dark nights of terror, when no one ventured about Mandalay streets, people were buried under each of the posts at the twelve gates, as a compromise between the fear of the spirits and the fear that the English troops would cross the frontier. 644 787 Each of these posts bears an image of an animal from one of the seals of the king, and before the post sits a figure of a bilu, with a thick club, to act as watchman, in case the human guard should go to sleep. As Burman sentries generally sleep sounder than other people, the propitiation of these spirits at any rate was a very imperative precaution. Whether the oil-jars were filled and reburied *alone* is a dark mystery. But the smallpox left Mandalay, and the place is as happy as ever it was, which, however, is not saying much.

644 361 177·36 The British town of Mandalay is very different from that described. The Palace stockade has gone, and with it very many of the suites of apartments, notably in the women's quarter. The Hall of Audience for a time was converted into a Tamil Mission chapel; the Hlutdaw into a hideous collection of clerks' offices. This has been changed owing to the indignant protests of English visitors. Most of the Palace Halls are now empty: even the Upper Burma Club has been turned out.

The old City has now become cantonments with a few scattered barracks, officers' quarters, and wide stretches of grass. What formerly constituted the suburbs is now Mandalay town. The former execrable roads are now among the best in Burma. But many of the notable buildings, the elaborate monasteries, and gilt shrines have been burnt. Mandalay is certainly a dwindling town; the only question is how long it will remain the second town in Burma.

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

CHAPTER LVIII

MANDALAY AND RANGOON

[This chapter describes these towns as they were in 1881.]

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AMERICANS talk, and with good reason, of the magic growth of their cities. But for mere mushroom growth, Mandalay might compare even with Chicago itself, and if we are to judge of the progress of a commercial place by the fair criterion of business results, Rangoon may hold up its head in confident rivalry with any of the typical American cities. In the middle of last century the site of Mandalay was swampy paddy land and rank jungle. Now an area of five square miles is covered with houses, many of them squalid enough certainly, and with large patches of unused land round about them, but none the less contained within the city limits. Rangoon came into British hands in 1852, and at that time possessed no commerce worthy of the name, indeed it was only known as the place for pilgrims to the Shwe Dagôn pagoda to stay at, and the residence of the Regent of Pegu, as being the guard station on the most accessible mouth of the Irrawaddy. Ten years later, ships entered or cleared from the port having a tonnage of 295,000 tons, and the imports were worth £1,200,000, the exports £1,400,000, and since that date—a year or two after Mandalay had been founded—the tonnage has increased to 1,000,000, the value of the imports to £5,000,000 sterling, and the exports to £4,000,000. In a quarter of a century the commerce of British Burma rose to nearly £20,000,000 sterling. The population has quadrupled; public works are carried on; education is widely disseminated; the administration is carefully managed by British officials; a railway,

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2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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There are Chinese, Japanese, Malays, Siamese, natives of India of all parts, Bengalis, Madrassis, Panjabis, Parsis, Persians, Suratis, together with Armenians, Jews, English, French, Germans, Italians, Greeks, and all the European nationalities, mixed up with the native races, Burmese, Talaings, Shans, Karens, but they are all kept in order by the strong arm of the law, which is the same for the rich man and the poor.

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177.36

The same benefits are now extended to Mandalay, but it is a vastly less interesting place than it used to be. A siding from the railway cuts its way through the city wall; one of the pyathats on the battlements has thrown out corridors to make a somewhat barrack-like Government house; a carriage drive goes round Mandalay hill; the pigs have all been eaten up, and the pariah dogs are poisoned periodically by municipal order. There never were any sludgy sqwudgy creeks, but the roads, which were a passable imitation of them in the rains, are now eminently fitted for exceeding the speed limit. A, B, and C roads testify to the unromantic stolidity of the Military Intelligence Department; electric trams make it easier for the Burman to move to the suburbs and leave the town to the hustling foreigner. There are no agreeable scallywags. There are Cook's tourists instead during the three cool months of the year. The palace, instead of being tawdrily magnificent, smells horribly of bats. It has been declared to be an archæological treasure, though it is only about sixty years old, and has been horribly mishandled by unimaginative secretaries and a Public Works Department oppressed with sealed patterns.

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

humiliation. As an instance of Burman carelessness in money matters it may be mentioned that when the final instalment was paid, considerably over the sum due was sent to Calcutta. When the overplus was returned, there was great discussion among the Ministers as to what could be the motive of the Indian Government in being so singularly scrupulous. 651

A good many districts were almost entirely exempted from taxes in recognition of special services required of them. The inhabitants of the capital were particularly well off in this respect. They furnished the troops to guard the palace and city. Moreover, it would have been much more difficult to oppress them with impunity, apart from the fact that if they were disaffected it would have offered a premium to rebels. For similar reasons some of the townships about Môtshobo were free from the ngwedaw. It was from this district that Alaungpaya, the founder of the dynasty, came, and insurrectionist princes always made for Môtshobo when they levied war. Several villages on the Irrawaddy, in consideration of supplying the royal gilded boats, manning the royal barges, and passing on Court despatches, were relieved from the family tax. But the petty officials took very good care that they did not grow rich on their immunities. 651 631

All these methods were more or less sanctioned by ancient custom. Modern ingenuity and requirements, however, found out new ways of raising money. The pious ardour of Mindôn led him to spend vast sums on the erection of pagodas and religious buildings of all kinds, as well as on the manufactories, cotton mills, foundries, and powder mills with which he crowded the suburbs of Mandalay, and closed when he got tired of them. All this cost a very great deal of money, which even the exaction of benevolences from wealthy courtiers failed to supply. Consequently Mindôn Min turned merchant and established a great number of royal monopolies. The producers were allowed to sell to none but to him, and he fixed the price which he was prepared to pay. For long, cotton, jaggery, timber, wheat, precious stones, and earth oil could only be had from the royal merchant, and the trade with British Burma was in anything but a satisfactory state. Then in 1867, Colonel 651 177·38 361 651 651

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4
Upper Burma
Lower Burma

423 distinctions are more minute than is at all necessary or indeed
428 comprehensible. They include all children born out of wed-
848 lock, among whom are reckoned such as are born before the parents have been married ten months; all children that are
[597] purchased, or adopted by any other ceremony than that of abadita or keiktima; and such as "from respect or affection
423 style their guardians father or mother." The settlement of
184 boundary marks was one of the earliest duties of the first ruler. The thale rice became constantly scarcer and scarcer, and it was determined that it would be well to give every person his share and mark it off distinctly. The appointment of persons to execute this duty was the first occasion on which executive officials were found necessary. Manu enumerated twenty-five objects suitable for legal landmarks. These included all natural objects, such as lakes, rivers, ridges, and hills, remarkable large trees and clumps of bamboos; artificial boundaries of an equally permanent character, such as pagodas, shrines for demon-worship, zayats, or rest-houses, stone pillars and sacred posts, wells and cairns; finally such singular distinguishing marks as heads of cattle, chaff, ashes, charcoal, sand, broken earthenware vessels, and men's bones. "Beating the bounds," one would think, must have been very necessary with the younger members of the household in the case of such perishable boundary lines as could be constituted by chaff, or even sand. In Upper Burma the cultivating
[161] population was so sparse that no difficulty was found in the matter of boundaries. In Lower Burma farms are as distinctly marked off as land-surveyors' chains can effect the operation in pointing out the little raised ridges which separate the plots of paddy land from one another. Nevertheless they are hardly such as the South of England farmers would approve.

423 These allodial tenures are the only ones which exist in
[177-42] Burma now. In independent territory there were two other kinds of holding, which were not, however, very numerous or
651 extensive. The first of these were called thugyisa fields, and
622 consisted of certain tracts of land near the town or village set apart for the maintenance of the headman. As that official was anything but a permanency, the tenant for the time being very seldom cultivated them himself, but let them

:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

527 the plays, of which there are three or four, while some unwearied spirits can only find relief for their exultant triumph in yein dances and irresponsible performances of their own. [273] Till dawn of day the revelry goes on, but there is nothing like drunkenness. It is exceedingly seldom that you see a drunken Burman out of Rangoon, where they claim to be Europeanised. For a couple of days the excitement lasts, and then the strangers wend their way homewards, and the township calms down to its usual quiet. But for years the great event will be talked of at the local feasts, and the Yein choruses of three or four generations will tell of the gallant struggle when the Daungsatpyan beat the Thônpanhla and broke the long supremacy of the Thônkwa rowers.

177.52 526 It is a great pity that these old contests are not kept up with the spirit that used to characterise them. In 1877 the then Chief Commissioner of British Burma, Mr. Rivers Thompson, believing that they led to unrestrained and dangerous gambling, issued an order forbidding all government officials to have anything to do with them, and advising that great races should be discouraged as much as possible. This policy was continued by Mr. Aitchison (late Sir Charles), and there seemed some danger that the art of making fine racing-boats would be lost, while all the fun and jollity of the old ye-pwè, kôn-pwè, land and water sports, were put an end to, without any decrease in the amount of 525 gambling. The habit is as engrained with the Burman as [101] with the Chinaman, and if there are no boat-races to bet on there are lots of other things, from pony matches to gônnyin-to, on which sporting votaries might stake their money. 526 There were still local matches between adjacent villages held, but they were but a sorry imitation of the old festivals, and 177.52 have unfortunately led to the unpleasant speculations of the West being introduced. "Barneyings," in-and-out rowing, and all the unlovely customs of Western professionalism have sprung up as a consequence of the degradation of the old manly sport. Sir Charles Bernard, who was an ardent athlete himself, did a good deal towards reviving boat-racing. Sports have been held on the Great Royal Lake at Rangoon, it may be hoped only as a preliminary measure to the encouragement of longer contests on

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

the great rivers again. The surest way of putting an end to "roping" and false rowing with the object of mere money gain, is to reintroduce the old honest, enthusiastic rivalry. Where every rower feels that the name of his village depends upon the prowess of his arm, there will be no "sugaring" and ignobly waiting, in Sheffield handicap fashion, to "have their heads loose." 526 177·52

All the races in the low country are rowed in hlaw hle, or hlaw laung, that is to say, in paddle-boats. Up country there are frequently contests in hkap hle, "pull-away boats," rowed with oars, but even there the national paddle predominates. It may be mentioned that the coast men are by far the better rowers. In the Mandalay October races in 1881, a scratch Bassein boat challenged all comers, and was victorious in every match. 526 184

There are a variety of boats, mostly, however, made on the same model, of which the launggo is the type. This is simply a canoe hollowed out of the trunk of a tree, the sides of which are drawn out by charring and inserting wedges; then the boat-builder chips out the centre. The laungsat is only a little larger and more commodious, plank sides being added to the solid keel, if it may be so called. The huge hnaw, or rice-boats, are made in the same fashion. 501

Of a different style are the pein-gaw, huge, ungainly, barge-like things, used principally at Yenangyaung for carrying oil. Along the sides, projecting over the beams of the boat, and reaching aft to the house raised on the quarter-deck, are tagin, a sort of platform for the polers to walk backwards and forwards on. Pihn-gaw keep mostly in shallow water, so that their ungainly weight may be moved along by poles, which is much quicker and less laborious work than rowing.

Barring exceptionally fine racing-boats, the hlawkadaw, or hlawga, the king's despatch boats, were the finest specimens of boat-building. They were gilt all over, even to the kat-tat, or paddles, and the stern rose high up in the air for the accommodation of the steerer. The express boats, or hpaungpaw, had usually a representation of the kalawaik, the carrying bird of Vishnu and national emblem of the Burmese, on the bows, and had often as many as sixty [531]

to bring chairs, tables, food and attendants for the sum of Re. 1/4 per
533 head. The tune which was written to sing sentimentally of the Isle of
177. Capri now sang, with romping glee, the English names of these delicacies:
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Vi-ta-mo, co-co *hnin amyo son myi*
Ham pattie, cream roll *hnin* cold coff-ee,
Columbia *dat pya hnin htè hso myi*,
Plain cake *hnin* Gold Flake *le kyamma wè myi*.
Etc.....

Vitamo, cocoa and all kinds you'll see,
Ham patties, cream rolls and cold coffee
With Columbia record playing merrily,
Plain cake and Gold Flake will I buy for tea.

Expensive things, expensive things of all kinds for eating,
I'll order from a restaurant for this fashion meeting.
Sit up round a table in gathering so hearty,
A very respectable tea-drinking party.

Don't eat of Burmese comestibles,
They are so indigestible.

On the other hand the lilting tune of the Campdown Races was slowed down to sing:

Chit-te thu ko tway hma tha,
Seik pyaw,
Aye da.

Only when you see the loved one,
Heart is happy,
Mind at rest.

369 Compared to dwellers of country towns, Yangonthu not only went
177. to the cinema oftener, but also read a good deal more, probably in the
53 absence of so many happy-eating-gatherings and charity feasts. There
204 were four daily newspapers in Burmese and a few which appeared bi- or
538 tri-weekly. The daily paper provided a lot of reading matter for the average person; a grandaunt of mine made it a daily institution to sit on her verandah with a bottle of lemonade and the *New Light of Burma* whose 24 pages were filled with international news, home politics, articles on the economic development of the country and attacks on abuses prevalent in social life, exhortations to good behaviour to the younger generation, reports of cases of a scandalous nature, just like a popular daily anywhere in the world. But in Burma there was no distinction such as exists between a paper which tries to keep a dignified

1: Mi Mi Khaing I-5 (no date) 1946 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

face, like the London *Times*, and papers which make sensational interest their strong point. Similarly, poetry and clear prose were not the monopoly of a class of intellectuals, although certain periodicals such as the *World of Books* endeavoured to contain only literary excellences; wit and vivid description could be present in the tuppenny novels. These two anna novels were largely drug-like and pornographic in nature. There was a great trade in them, about 30,000 being sold annually in Rangoon. Mobile circulating libraries functioned in the person of hawker boys who went round to houses, selling them at two annas each, returning the next week to buy the used copies back for one anna and selling a fresh lot. They also brought monthly magazines containing articles on a fairly wide variety of subjects. The following is a sample of the contents of one such popular magazine—costing 8 annas and read by all who read the tuppenny novels—*Kyi-Pwa-Yay*, PROGRESS-PROSPERITY, for September 1941.

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Title		Description
Don't fear war	..	Wars are in the natural order of things, and we must not fear them but be ready to encounter them.
The Myook	..	Comic Verse.
Love and Vanity	..	Translation of English story with a moral.
Inscriptions of Pagan Period	..	Descriptive account of inscriptions in Pagan.
Win on Every Throw	..	Short story, set in gaming houses of Chinese quarter of Rangoon.
The True Burman	..	Instalment of series on muscular development.
Two Blossoms	..	Short story of a doctor's family in country town.
Impermanence of States and Races	..	Warning that the Burmese race may die out with wholesale settling of foreigners.
Biggest of their Kind	..	Information tit-bits.
Miss Fiery Temper	..	Love story of a bazaar girl.
Tour in Arakan	..	Factual and humourous account of visit to Arakan.

177. Villager .. Short story.
• 53 Are we seeing aright? .. Attack on prolonged nat-festivals at pagodas, as endangering physical and moral welfare of people, including attack on worldly members of monkhood.
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541 Horse-racing in Rangoon was a foreign importation, but nevertheless
177. the stadium was always filled, not only with the fashionable section in an enclosure but also with rows of four-anna spectators who had been col-
54 lected from all the streets of the town by the privately-run Burmese buses
369 which tore along on race days, with two "spares" (spare-men in addition to the driver) hanging out from the back step and shouting to all they passed: "Race-a-ko, Race-a-ko! Race-course, race-course." But in the country the traditional boat racing was still alive. Boat races were held in every village which had a stream or river, as an annual event after the Lenten season. Long narrow canoes built in the village itself were rowed by twenty-two men and put out in rivalry between quarter and quarter, or between one village and another. At Ye the upper street and lower street put out boats bearing names of prowess or aquatic grace. The cheering and betting raged more furious and wild with the manner of the finish: the winning post was a boat in the centre of the stream, equidistant from the tracks of each boat, and across this was laid a hollow cane sticking about three feet out on either side. Through the hollow was thrust the prize *pan:* flower (of victory), a stick with a flag on each end. The winning crew was to seize this flower before it could be called victorious, and thus a dead-heat often sent both crews tumbling into the water as they wrestled for the prize.

525 Burmans are said to have an irrepressible gambling spirit, even when no money is laid on. A stock example quoted by foreigners of the Burman's readiness with a dah in his hot temper, gives as provocation the anger worked up between two men who sit idly in a tea-shop, and for lack of amusement bet on the number of flies which will settle on the sugar bowl. I prefer the story of two street urchins, who saw two monks walking before them, sedately, with downcast eyes and steady pace, as monks should walk. "Look," says one idle urchin, "there are two hpongyis. You look at the one on the right, I'll watch the one the left. I bet you my hpongyi walks faster than your hpongyi." The monks ignore this, but soon begin to hear: "My holiness is going faster!" "No' mind!" Unobtrusively, each hpongyi tries to walk quicker and yet with dignity. The boys get thoroughly excited now. "*My* holiness!", "No, *my* holiness!" Soon the astonished spectators see two hpongyis

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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CHAPTER XXXI

MUSIC AND SONGS

533 THERE are no teachers of music or singing in Burma, and there are no written scores. A musician commences his career by diligently listening to the performance of a good band. By and by he enters the village orchestra as a clapper player, and so learns the time and the peculiarities of various tunes, just as actors rise from the posturing and choruses of the children's and country yein pwès to the full dignity of dramatic performers. As a natural consequence there are occasionally variations, and indeed every pulwè, or flute-player, has his own particular mannerisms, but these are never so great as to materially alter the character of the air, and such tunes as the tedat, apudaik, lôngyin, and so forth, which occur in every zāt, are as familiar to everybody as "God save the King" and "Auld Lang Syne" are to an Englishman. Nevertheless it is very difficult for a foreigner to catch the air, and I have not been able to get an English
533 score of any of the really old national tunes. The melody
● 177·53 given later on was taken down from the playing of a well-known pwè leader in Maulmein, and has been harmonised for the town brass band by Mr. W. G. St. Clair, formerly of that place, to whom I am indebted for the score. So true is it to the air that many wealthy Burmans have the band to play at domestic festivals, funerals, and the like, and are satisfied to have the one tune played over and over again a score of times. But the kayāthan is of modern origin, and, as Burmans always say, in the English style, though Englishmen will persist in saying that there is nothing English about it. It has somewhat absurdly been adopted by the

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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British army as "The Burmese National Anthem." It makes not at all a bad quick march, but it is about as appropriate for a national anthem as "Champagne Charlie is my name." In the acknowledged national airs it is very difficult to get a definite rhythm, the music being apparently, at any rate to all but experts, a mere succession of recitative, more or less Wagnerian in its style.

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The instruments of a full Burmese band always include the following, whether the occasion is the orchestra for a play, the music for a dance, for a wedding, an ear-boring ceremony, or a funeral. A saing-waing, an elaborately carved, circular, wooden frame, painted in parts, standing between two and three feet high, and five feet or more in diameter. Round the inside of this are hung drums of graduated sizes, which are struck with the hands of the performer, who sits in the middle. The alternate dry and saturated state of the atmosphere renders constant tuning necessary, and this is effected by tightening the drum-heads, and also by smearing on with the fingers a paste made of burnt rice husk. The music produced is rather thin in itself, but by no means unpleasing. Similar to it in construction, but not standing so high, is the kyi-waing, the only difference being that graduated gongs take the place of the drums. The gongs are of course beaten with a knobbed stick, and not with the hand. These ponderous instruments can only be carried about in a cart, and their owner keeps perpetual guard over them, sitting in the centre, cheroot in mouth, for they cost a very considerable sum of money. Fair specimens of both the drum and the gong-harmonicon may be seen in the South Kensington Museum. In addition to these, there are in every band two or three hnè, trumpets or clarionets, with a broad bell-shaped mouth, which is movable and ordinarily but loosely attached. The noise of these is always very prominent, and is not relished by people who do not care for the bagpipes. There is also a similar number of pulwè, or pyue, a rude kind of flute. The best pulwè-player is always the leader of the band. Then there are ya-gwin, big cymbals, and than-lwin, little cymbals, and the patma, a long drum like the tom-tom of India and beaten with the hand in the same way. Finally there are the wa le'kôt, each formed of

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

are used to strike them with. The notes produced are surprisingly clear and melodious. 534

Fiddles may often be heard played with greater or less skill, especially on the pagoda steps by blind and deformed beggars, but the instrument is not national, and is never, or but rarely, found where Europeans have not penetrated. The same may be said of the young Burmans who play in Rangoon on the concertina and the English fife and piccolo. It is flattering to national pride to notice with what accuracy and rapidity they pick up English airs. 177.53

But except at funerals and other solemn occasions instrumental music is looked upon not so much as a means of enjoyment in itself as an accompaniment to the human voice, and mere orchestral concerts would never draw the crowds which a single good singer can always command. The recitative character of the music is always more evident in the singing than in the instruments, and each "prince" or "princess" has individual peculiarities in the way of trills and staccatos introduced into the legitimate air. As the young musician learns by hanging about the band, so a vocalist follows an acknowledged great singer about and imitates his style, or at any rate learns the tunes and the words. The latter are, however, very immaterial, for the language itself is so pliant that it is easy to express the ideas in rhythm as you go on. Maung Tha Byaw, the great singer of his day, always made his songs as he sung them, and this was so well known that whenever he appeared, whether in a regular play or only to sing a few airs, there were always thirty or forty reporters sitting round to take down his words in their parabaik. This peculiarity of the Thabinwun occasionally got him into trouble. A somewhat incomprehensible piece of palace etiquette rendered it treasonable to sing a thanzan, a new song, before the king. Maung Tha Byaw several times, whether through too great laziness to learn the words, or from the force of habit, transgressed this rule, and was several times ordered out to execution. But he sang to the taunghmu and the pagwet, and these grim customers, the gaoler and the executioner, unable to resist the melody of this latter-day Orpheus, hid him away and exhibited some less talented 533 [644]

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

533 person's body in evidence of having carried out their orders. Then when the next palace concert came on, the king—his late majesty—would grow tired of the ordinary vocalists and regret that the great improvisatore was gone. Whereupon Maung Tha Byaw would promptly come forth and sing his sweetest. He was killed in this way several times, but in the end died a natural death, about the same time as his contemporary Yindaw Ma Le.

533 554 The honours he received were quite on a par with European estimation of musical talent. He had a patent to carry a golden umbrella, and, as Thabinwun, had magisterial powers to punish those who offended him or refused to obey his edicts. Two lictors went before him to clear the way, a white cloth being tied round their fasces as a distinctive mark. When he performed in a play a low yaza mat, or royal fence, extended across the front of the stage, and at the ends were planted his golden hti and a banana-tree. The latter distinction was also granted to Maung Tha Zan and Maung Mu, singers only inferior to the Thabinwun himself.

533 ● 177.53 538 If the tunes are not easily reduced to regular rules, the difficulty with the metres is not less. There exist, indeed, written laws ordaining the number of feet to the verse, but they are as lightly regarded as is consistent with their recognition at all. Much more precision is indeed expected in the old tunes than in those of modern date, but even with them song-writers of the present time allow themselves considerable freedom. The original linga are all very short. Thus the pyo has but four syllables; kabya, four; yatu, six and four; luta, four; yagan, six and four; ègyin, four, five, and six; hmawlôn, four and six; paikzôn, four; legyo, four; sagyin, four, five, and six; and so forth. In the thanzan, or new tunes, however, the compass of the lines often approaches the portentous length of some of Walt Whitman's *Leaves of Grass*. Such modern tunes are the kayāthan (so-called English), dobatthan, nabethan, nanthein yodaya (Siamese), and pyigyithan (Chinese). Such composi-
533 538 tions as the lôngyin and ngogyin cannot be designated otherwise than as musical prose, with occasional fits of metre, prompted by their dolorous character. They are the

441 563 semi-precious stones, or gold dust, all cut with many tiny facets. We once had in our house a heavy glass vase, imported by an English firm, of a dull bluish-black colour. One day a wind mercifully blew the vase on to the floor where it broke into a hundred pieces. My cousin gathered up the pieces and the next time she went to Mandalay her button cutter fashioned them into several sets of round sparkling buttons catching the light and showing now black, now grey, now blue, one set of which I wear to this day. These and the velvet slippers which are universally worn were sold in the market by young Burmese women sitting opposite the tha-yet-htè longyi sellers. The slippers also came from Mandalay, and in the days of the last Burmese king, the common people were forbidden to wear them; they were reserved for royal use alone.

[438 565]

265 563 At last my sisters considered that I was suitably dressed as the elder sister of such fashionable young ladies as they had now grown into, and equipped to attend any social function of the town. Although Burmese people love gathering to eat and drink, hotels and restaurants did not exist in Rangoon society. Both the Western restaurants where people danced and drank alcoholic drinks, and the leading Chinese restaurants where the dolled-up Chinese waitresses served the male customers with playful attentions, were out of bounds for Burmese women, and therefore not greatly frequented by Burmese men either, except in the case of the Chinese hotels as a carousal. Night bazaars were, however, eminently respectable, all Rangoon families being addicted to the habit of eating out as a supper after their dinner at home. They drove in cars to the pavement stalls of Chinatown, Moghul Street and Yegyaw; at Burmese stalls they got out and squatted on the benches provided, while the seller served them from the cooking pot beside her; at Indian and Chinese shops they had a plank thrust through to rest on the doors of the car, and ate sitting there. After eating rich Mohammedan food or delicious Chinese dishes, they drove a few streets further on to eat in the same fashion at an ice-cream or sherbet stall. It was a good life indeed.

546 177. 54 We usually did this after the cinema. While we went to see American films, my mother and her friends invariably went to a Burmese film. There were four Burmese cinema halls in Rangoon, whose box offices were always besieged, but in spite of this the cinema industry in Burma was not a thriving one. Actors and actresses were poor and suffered a social stigma. About twenty-five feature films were produced in Rangoon each year, both sound and silent, by companies whose prosperity never lasted more than a few years. They could often be seen filming their outdoor scenes round the Royal Lakes, the University Estate and the fields around Mingaladon, using studios only for indoor scenes. In pite of this, the effects aimed at were ambitious, especially in the earlier

days when the themes were from mythology and legend rather than 546
modern streets, thus necessitating flights through the air, chariots in the 177.
clouds, magical transformations, magnificences of palaces and celestial 54
gardens lighted by the moon. Now the films go in largely for themes of real life, but unlike Western films, the actors and actresses still do not set the standard for everyday dress and behaviour. A cinema actress, even when playing the part of a girl of most respectable parents, was rendered attractive by touches which in real life were considered by my mother to be suggestive of loose behaviour—her hair was overdecked with flowers, her garments had floral designs, her forehead was bordered with a fringe, and the neck of her jacket fitted loosely. On the screen, however, my mother and aunts watched this enthralled. They liked also the way that love was shown, concentrating on sentimentality rather than sex. There was no kissing or attracting attention to the body, but oh the pining, the sighing, the stamping of feet, the coyness and the moonlight gazing of Burmese cinema heroines. No wonder that aunts who once in a long while accompanied us to an American film, looked all around during the passionate kissing scenes, with scrutiny of our reaction to such displays of what should not be admitted to exist.

If the Burmese cinema failed to draw the crowd of young English- 533
speaking men and women away from the Hollywood films, Burmese ren- 177.
dering of jazz conquered them completely and gave them no acquaintance 54
with the originals from America and England. There was a body of modern songs in the true Burmese style which, unlike the old classical songs, could be sung with ease by the untrained voice, but despite this Burma did not escape the craze which has grown up in all countries of the Far East for snatching up tunes written in America and England and putting them to words in the native tongue. Still, Burmans of fastidious taste might object to the lack of music in the tunes, rather than to the words of these popular songs, for the Burmese words are never so execrable as the original English compositions; often there is real wit, poetic brevity, and even philosophic comment. The technique was to take the refrain of a Western jazz tune as the repetitive theme, with a slight alteration in the rhythm, and to embroider this extensively with a slapdash quality of Burmese turns of melody. The theme of the Burmese version probably bore no relation to that of the original. For example, the sickly account of a romantic meeting in the Isle of Capri was converted into a satirical skit on the Rangoon fashion of giving garden tea-parties in the English manner. Whereas the Burmese custom at weddings and other celebra- 574
tions in the country towns was to invite townspeople to a full meal, 533
with the feasting of monks and the distribution of gifts, the Yangonthu 177.
had taken to employing the catering services of Western-style restaurants 54
569

to bring chairs, tables, food and attendants for the sum of Re. 1/4 per
533 head. The tune which was written to sing sentimentally of the Isle of
177. Capri now sang, with romping glee, the English names of these delicacies:
54
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Vi-ta-mo, co-co *hnin amyo son myi*
Ham pattie, cream roll *hnin* cold coff-ee,
Columbia *dat pya hnin htè hso myi,*
Plain cake *hnin* Gold Flake *le kyamma wè myi.*
Etc.....

Vitamo, cocoa and all kinds you'll see,
Ham patties, cream rolls and cold coffee
With Columbia record playing merrily,
Plain cake and Gold Flake will I buy for tea.

Expensive things, expensive things of all kinds for eating,
I'll order from a restaurant for this fashion meeting.
Sit up round a table in gathering so hearty,
A very respectable tea-drinking party.

Don't eat of Burmese comestibles,
They are so indigestible.

On the other hand the lilting tune of the Campdown Races was slowed down to sing:

Chit-te thu ko tway hma tha,
Seik pyaw,
Aye da.

Only when you see the loved one,
Heart is happy,
Mind at rest.

369 Compared to dwellers of country towns, Yangonthu not only went
177. to the cinema oftener, but also read a good deal more, probably in the
53 absence of so many happy-eating-gatherings and charity feasts. There
204 were four daily newspapers in Burmese and a few which appeared bi- or
538 tri-weekly. The daily paper provided a lot of reading matter for the average person; a grandaunt of mine made it a daily institution to sit on her verandah with a bottle of lemonade and the *New Light of Burma* whose 24 pages were filled with international news, home politics, articles on the economic development of the country and attacks on abuses prevalent in social life, exhortations to good behaviour to the younger generation, reports of cases of a scandalous nature, just like a popular daily anywhere in the world. But in Burma there was no distinction such as exists between a paper which tries to keep a dignified

177. Villager .. Short story.
53 Are we seeing aright? .. Attack on prolonged nat-festivals at
204 pagodas, as endangering physical
538 and moral welfare of people, including attack on worldly members of monkhood.

541 Horse-racing in Rangoon was a foreign importation, but nevertheless the stadium was always filled, not only with the fashionable section in an
•177. enclosure but also with rows of four-anna spectators who had been col-
54 lected from all the streets of the town by the privately-run Burmese buses
369 which tore along on race days, with two "spares" (spare-men in addition to the driver) hanging out from the back step and shouting to all they passed: "Race-a-ko, Race-a-ko! Race-course, race-course." But in the country the traditional boat racing was still alive. Boat races were held in every village which had a stream or river, as an annual event after the Lenten season. Long narrow canoes built in the village itself were rowed by twenty-two men and put out in rivalry between quarter and quarter, or between one village and another. At Ye the upper street and lower street put out boats bearing names of prowess or aquatic grace. The cheering and betting raged more furious and wild with the manner of the finish: the winning post was a boat in the centre of the stream, equidistant from the tracks of each boat, and across this was laid a hollow cane sticking about three feet out on either side. Through the hollow was thrust the prize *pan*: flower (of victory), a stick with a flag on each end. The winning crew was to seize this flower before it could be called victorious, and thus a dead-heat often sent both crews tumbling into the water as they wrestled for the prize.

525 Burmans are said to have an irrepressible gambling spirit, even when no money is laid on. A stock example quoted by foreigners of the Burman's readiness with a dah in his hot temper, gives as provocation the anger worked up between two men who sit idly in a tea-shop, and for lack of amusement bet on the number of flies which will settle on the sugar bowl. I prefer the story of two street urchins, who saw two monks walking before them, sedately, with downcast eyes and steady pace, as monks should walk. "Look," says one idle urchin, "there are two hpongyis. You look at the one on the right, I'll watch the one the left. I bet you my hpongyi walks faster than your hpongyi." The monks ignore this, but soon begin to hear: "My holiness is going faster!" "No' mind!" Unobtrusively, each hpongyi tries to walk quicker and yet with dignity. The boys get thoroughly excited now. "*My* holiness!". "No, *my* holiness!" Soon the astonished spectators see two hpongyis

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

541 Buffalo fights, which used to be great festivals in the
[177·54] Tenasserim province, especially round about Amherst and Tavoy, have, under the influence of the British Government, almost totally died out. Each village used to have its champion, songs were composed in its honour, and special guards appointed to look after it, and the conqueror brought as much honour to the village as a personal victory of the inhabitants would have done. But they were nearly as brutal exhibitions as Spanish bull-fights, and only a little less dangerous.

224 517 Field sports are barred to all but professional hunters by the religious objection to taking animal life, though when a Burman does enter upon the pursuit, he is always an enthusiastic and skilful sportsman and generally a clever shot.

taking life. Only the hardened ones of the village, *ta-nga-thès*, drew 244
and netted in the wealth of fish around Ye, and the theoretical condem- 262
nation in which their profession was held absolved all good Buddhists
from any sin in eating the fruits of their labours. My aunts bought vast 226
quantities of fish for salting and drying. This cured fish supplied our 438
yearly needs as well as theirs. They also bought prawns to press into a paste called *ngapi*, in this case *seinsa* ngapi, which forms the basis of all our flavouring and condiments. As soon as the ta-nga-thè came up with his boatloads of prawns they were spread out on rough bamboo mats and sunned on the big platform behind the house. When they were fairly dried, my aunts, with a helper or two from the village, mashed up the prawns by hand, throwing in vast quantities of salt as they worked. The mess was left in the sun for a few days, being stirred every now and again. By this time it had turned into a grey-black paste, more or less smooth, smelling most pungent and rotten to foreigners but *hmway-dè*, fragrant, to us, and tasting like a concentrate of anchovy. This paste is stored in small glazed earthenware jars. It is used to flavour all meat and vegetables dishes, or is fried or pounded with other ingredients to provide condiments for the meal. The Tenasserim coast is the chief source of seinsa ngapi in Burma, the big towns of Tavoy and Mergui supplying towns in Upper Burma as well. The large amounts of salt needed come from the valuable salt fields in this area which produce about 6,000 tons annually.

It can be imagined what excitement a holiday at Ye caused us 528
in our growing years, and even my mother's admonitions that we were 177.
to behave in accordance with strict Burmese ideas which prevailed at 55
Ye rather than the un-Burmese habits acquired at school did not dampen 593
our excitement. We were then at English-speaking schools where we had adopted the habit of calling each other by name. The eldest of my young sisters Mya Mya, is seven years younger than I am, but when she went to school I had only two sisters left who called me respectfully, *Ma-Ma Gyi*, elder sister, and by the time the youngest was at school there was no Ma Ma Gyi left in the family. The tradition of the younger ones fetching and carrying for the elder had also sadly deteriorated.

At meals, my mother had not kept up the custom of helping the 593
eldest person present with a portion of every dish before it was open to 177.
the rest of the company. Before we went to Ye, therefore, my mother 57
gathered us around her and told us how we were to behave so as to give our grandmother and aunts great pleasure in our visit and no rude shocks. "Now don't forget, *the-mi-to*, my daughters, you will all three call your sister Big-Elder-Sister; you, Pusu, are to call Mya Mya Middle-Elder-Sister, and Aye Little-Elder-Sister. In fact you should

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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to have the pagoda attended to. A very small acquaintance with human nature induces the belief that this will not be done if individual effort is trusted to do the work. Therefore prisoners of war and others whom it is not convenient to put to death are dedicated to the service. So strict is the dedication that any one who attempts or connives at setting free a pagoda slave is condemned to misery in the lowest hell, awizi. The servitor of the shrine can be employed in no other duty than keeping it in order, and kings and great men are threatened with loss of power and dire destruction if they venture to employ such outcasts as servants, even in the meanest capacity.

Slavery of the familiar form known in semi-civilised countries formerly existed in Upper Burma, but the pagoda slaves are a perfectly distinct body. A person who sells himself, or is sold, by his relation for debt is in a very inferior position doubtless and cannot enjoy any very great privileges. But he can always work his release, and is not thereafter considered as lying under any particular stigma. But the parakyun are neither more nor less than outcasts. They are looked upon as unclear, and the rest of the community will have no intercourse whatever with them. So much is this the case that under British rule, which has of course freed them from their compulsory servitude, they are still looked upon with no less aversion than they were when the country was independent, and though nominally free to do as they please, have to travel into districts where they are unknown before they can find employment even of the most menial kind.

[177.56]

It is no explanation of the taint that the original servitors were prisoners taken in war, condemned convicts, or people expressly sentenced to this office on account of hideous crimes. The reverence for the pagoda cannot be exceeded, why then should the care of it and the surrounding buildings be considered to make its compulsory guardians vile and degraded people? In the old autocratic days it was a common thing for a pious sovereign to set apart certain villages, or a stated number of houses in those villages, for the service of the pagoda, and the victims were selected, quite regardless of personal character, by the village head-

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1: Mi Mi Khaing 1-6 (no date) 1946 APT Burma
Burmese AP4
Mon

593 always do so, at home and everywhere else, but mother understands
177. that you make habits easily at your English school. Never walk into
8 57 the house with your slippers on, as you do in the downstairs room here. When you eat with your grandmother and aunts, don't touch anything until your aunts have put a little of it into Grandmother's plate. And try not to talk to one another in English." All the way in the train my sisters would fling themselves at me and shout, "Big Elder Sister, Big Big Elder Sister."

528 We went to Ye during our summer holidays which were the longest
592 in the school year and allowed us three weeks with my father and a
264 month at Ye. It also enabled us to pay obeisance to our grandmother at the New Year, and to celebrate this loveliest of festivals in its most fitting surroundings. My Uncle San Lin usually sent his wife and our four small cousins at the same time, so that for one month in the year at least Grandmother could feel that the world of big towns and English civilization had not robbed her of any family affection. Sleeping and eating arrangements for the gathering of twenty odd people were no problems for the simple large-scale economy of the household. My mother had a bed, and beside it my Aunt Khin and all the children slept on thinbyus laid side by side on the platform upper storey. Meals were eaten in successive rounds at a low table on the kitchen floor, not served as separate sittings, but by calling more diners as places were vacated, and filling each dish that diminished from the stove near-by.

529 Half of our visit to Ye was spent at the garden where we were
177 surrounded by rich fruits and could bathe in the clear swift water that rushed through islands of reeds. We walked and rode in bullock carts,

for miles, to visit other gardens owned by Grandmother's friends—old men and women who lived there all the time, and who chuckled with delight to see us, for to them we were not ourselves, not ordinary

tinkled with every passing breeze. The Shwe Dagon Paya was a beautiful 346
and sacred thing. In the early mornings it gave a radiance to the clear air and the blue sky; in the daylight it shone forth like a blaze of gold, burning and pure; in the evenings it glowed softly as the breeze tinkled its bells, and filled the heart with a gentle sadness which is not grief but a sweet perception of unearthly things; and at night the lights flooded it to stand high and illumined above the dark wooded slopes of the hill. At all times and from all parts of Rangoon it could be seen, calm and sublime, with the same smiling look as is seen on the face of the Buddha, not smiling in the eyes or mouth but in the serene expression of inward calm.

As we landed in Rangoon we saw a great gathering of people waiting 177
to meet us. Going abroad for years of study is still a rare enough event 57
to be of interest to all relatives and neighbours, so that the people were 873
assembled not only for an affectionate reunion, but also to observe in 186
what way the stay in England might have corrupted Burmese habits. 582
In the case of a man it is always feared that he may bring back an English wife, and it sometimes happens that a loved child who has been away for five and six years may be greeted with tears and mourning rather than expressions of joy, if he has married an English girl. The tears of mother and sisters are very heartfelt; they express shame at what the neighbours will think, sorrow at the alienation of the man and his children which must inevitably occur, and chagrin at the loss of the rich dowry which might have been procured in the marriage market.

Even when a man does not marry in England, he is strongly scrutinized for undesirable preferences in the matter of marriage arrangements. I remember the night my brother came home. It was his first evening in Burma after nine years of English schooling and University, and it was clear enough that he was neither married nor secretly engaged to an English girl. But my Ma Ma Gyi, my eldest woman cousin who had children as old as we were, subjected him to a searching enquiry. "Set-Set," she said, calling him by his childhood name, "do you think English girls are more attractive than Burmese girls?" My brother who had many English friends but had not noticed any Burmese girls during his few hours in Burma, tried not to answer this question. On being held to it, he said they were different from each other and could not be compared. My cousin said, "But which do *you* like better?" She was getting quite stern by this time, and my mother and we who felt very sorry for my brother were all praying that he would tell a lie, as we held our breath. My brother repeated with much awkwardness that the two were different; so now my cousin took his opinion for granted, and lectured him on the desirability of marrying in an orthodox Burmese manner so that he would prove himself a good son to his mother, a good

177. brother to his young sisters, and thus give joy to the whole family.
• 57 "For," said she, "our family has always commanded respect. Grandfather
873 was a great man, and you are the only son of the youngest family of his
186 grandchildren, and it should not be said that with us the end tapers to a
582 point;" which is the expression for a stock which degenerates with successive generations.

In the case of a girl, there was not of course, the fear that she would bring back an English husband, but the concern that Burmese standards of morality and dignity would be affected by an unchaperoned stay in a foreign country was very great. As we landed, I remembered enough of my childhood environment to feel the eyes of elder relatives and friends on me while I tried to restrain the wild excitement and love I felt at seeing again my mother and my young sisters now grown so sweet and shy, and I noticed also that my brother had been home long enough not to kiss me in front of my aunts as he had done when he himself had first returned from England. I felt this scrutiny also when my mother took me on the round of obeisance visits during my first days at home, and it formed a complement to the visit which I had paid to each of these elder relatives and friends before I left for England three years before. Then, each had given me a lecture which contained strong injunctions to keep to the path of virtue, modesty and dignity. But these were just *son-ma saga*, admonitory words, to be received with meekness, and not a slight on the strength of my character, just as now, when, satisfied with their scrutiny, they told my mother that her womb should be layered
[192] with gold leaf (sacrilegiously using the term for the gilding of sacred objects) for having brought forth such daughters, I was not expected to take conceit.

In all the houses of friends in Rangoon, in Thaton and Ye, I went
192 through the same ritual, but the words of the hpongyi at Thaton moved
186 me more than any other. "Now I will tell three stories about Mi Mi Khaing," he said, and proceeded in beautiful words and a chanting flow; "You are like a young tree planted of good seed in the fertile earth. Now the tree is heavy with ripe fruit, but the boughs are tender and bend under the weight. The tree must grow carefully and steadily, so that the full fruit do not break the young bough.....Let your stature be measured by your shadow that is cast after the noonday sun, for your knowledge and learning are now at noonday height. So your shadow will grow longer and longer towards the setting of the day.....Let your merit be like a river that gathers more strength from the rain that falls about it, and grows from a stream into a great river before it joins the mighty Thammodhaya." Then he took the monk's expression off his face, and turned to me with a smile and asked in a normal speaking

never talked about the business of their past working days when they met. Sometimes they showed a fleeting interest in news of the postings of friends still in service, but even the official matters of Thaton district itself did not enter into their discussions. They talked of charity donations, of the respective monasteries which they endowed and attended, and of formulæ of *eggaya-hto*, alchemy, or the search for the philosopher's stone which will turn all metals to gold. Most Burmans get interested in eggaya-hto during their later years, even if few now practise it. 887 521 [822]

This alchemy, which has no place among the true teachings of Buddhism, has to be done under auspicious astrological influences and is usually carried on in secret. Burman Buddhists condemn the use of it when it is carried on for *lawba*, greed for riches, but others justify the process as a means of concentrating the mental faculties. The common stories tell of hermits in the forests, who by their ascetic life and concentrated meditation have more powers over the forces of nature, as being well versed in the processes of alchemy. When such a hermit achieves the extreme concentration of mind on his task he is successful—the philosopher's stone is discovered, the body of the hermit then disappears in the dissolving of matter, and his spirit is free to live unhampered by the body, till the arrival of the next Buddha on the earth. Most Burmese women, however, although they believe that this happens in the case of hermits, object very strongly to the practice of alchemy on the part of their menfolk, owing to the money and energy that is wasted on seeking out new and expensive formulæ once the craze has got hold of a man. All experiments are started with mercury which is melted with other minerals, animal or vegetable substances which derive their magical properties partly from their inaccessibility, partly from being treated with prescribed rites. My father had no intention of taking up alchemy and impoverishing us, but he too was very interested to hear of the success and failure of various methods. These discussions must have been kept well anchored to reality by the other chief topic of discussion—the families of the pensioners. 822 792 779

The five duties of a parent towards his children include the settling of the child in a good marriage. By the time the a-so-ya mins retire, their sons and daughters have reached a marriageable age. The sons are in the process of winning a good position in one of the government services and their daughters have been dressed with an adequate amount of jewellery. The marriage market, which had no existence in former Burmese society and which still is unheard of in Ye, and among the poorer people, is now a very concrete institution among the educated and modern classes. The rise of the minkadaw class and of higher paid Class I government officials has been mainly responsible for this. More 593 584 554 177. 58 565

593 and more within recent years, the higher government services have come
584 to be associated not only with "face", but with *gon*, prestige, and *ausa*,
authority, which together make up a *myet-hna-gyi*, big face, in Burma.
554 Mothers of daughters want their daughters to have gon and ausa and be
177. big of face as the wife of the senior government officer in a town, and
58 mothers of sons want to get the most for themselves and their other
565 children out of having such a golden goose. They want a girl with wealth, a meek nature, good looks, religious piety and education, more or less in this order. So that the imperfect daughter-in-law may lack the last named qualities rather than the first. Wealth means not merely money, property or jewels, but an absence of younger brothers and sisters or other potential dependents, this being a very important factor in our closely-knit family system. A relative of mine who had just seen his son enter a top service, showed my father his comprehensive table of the marriageable girls of Burma, under headings of family connections, amount and form of property, potential dependents, physical and moral qualities of the girl. My father should have been keenly interested as the father of a son who was studying in England with success, and, indeed, when my brother returned, he might have fetched us about Rs. 30,000 had he desired, so far have we progressed beyond the Burmese traditions of the man's family asking for the hand of the girl with presents of money and jewellery.

It may be asked, what of the men who are thus bartered? Burmans are very greatly attached to their mothers; few can resist a mother's tears, and the tears in these cases are genuinely of grief, because the mother sees this marriage as a faithful discharge of one of her five duties. The five duties of a child towards its parent, on the other hand, include the support of father and mother, and in making this marriage the man sees the best way of providing comfort to his parents in their old age. For the girls also, an arranged marriage is not necessarily a joyless thing. Girls who are educated as we have been, in spite of reading Western romances, are brought up to believe that a girl will grow to love her husband who is good to her. *Tha-na*, pity, compassion, and *chit*, affection-love, are very close in Burmese; the usual way for a wife to address her husband is *Maung*, the same word as younger brother, or *Ko Ko*, elder brother; some husbands address their wives as *nyi-ma-lay*, little sister. And, in fact, in most cases the results do bear out the wisdom of this attitude towards marriage; so that to most Burmans it is the "free" Western marriages which so often appear ill-assorted and lead to divorces. Still, it cannot be denied that much undignified haggling and manœuvring go on nowadays, in the efforts to obtain the best match for sons and daughters. *Aung-thwès*, go-betweens, get a lot of

face from bringing something off, money is paid in advance, rush tactics 593
are employed to prevent the man returning from abroad from marrying
the sweetheart of his college days, and in some cases even magic is resor- 584
ted to, though in secret. This black magic, especially, involves some 554
very undignified actions. A younger cousin of mine once warned his 177
mother: "Please, Mother, never try to sell me like a bullock, or worse 58
still to arrange a marriage for my sister. I will not help you to jump
thrice on eggshells or throw ten viss of fish into a well at dead of night [789]
under instructions from a soothsayer."

Although marriages were constantly being arranged among our [585]
circle of friends in Thaton, I was not allowed to attend weddings as a 527
young unmarried girl. What we did attend regularly with the grown-
ups were the *u-bok-nay*, the duty day gatherings every week in the
resthouses among the hills. On these days Buddhists who choose to
observe the day, obey eight or ten precepts instead of five. Amongst
these ten are the abstaining from food after mid-day, absence of ornament
and cosmetics in dress, meditation and prayer, and absence of a high
couch in sleep. In Thaton the observance of this day was made the
weekly social event with the same combination of material enjoyment
and religious piety that characterizes all Burmese functions as described
previously. Each family went to the hills early in the morning with
mats, betel boxes and a well-cooked meal. The girls wore all the [556]
jewellery they had because we had not yet taken the precepts, and this
was a good chance of showing that a family did not lack wealth. We
met in the resthouses, to one of which a monk came to intone the pre-
cepts. These we repeated in chorus after him; then the elders talked
and chewed betel, and at about 10-30 the whole party went to bathe in
the pools made by the waterfalls down the hills. We went back to find
the pooled dishes of four or five families laid out in a rich feast. We
stuffed ourselves with this. The law states that food should not be eaten
after noon, and the law was always obeyed in the letter if not in the spirit.

One maiden lady in Rangoon who kept duty days regularly ate till 755
as near noon as she possibly could. She usually finished her meal with
fruit, and if she was eating a banana when noon struck with a loud bang 527
from the cannon at the Shwe Dagon Pagoda, "Haw!" she would ex-
claim, and in would go the whole length of the banana into her mouth.
After noon, tea and coffee are not allowed either but aerated waters,
which look so much like water, are sanctioned. When my husband was
a novice monk in the monastery, they were allowed medicinal pro-
ducts also after noon, and the hungry young novices often made a [278]
delicious soup of garlic (a digestive) fried in butter (medicinal compo-
nent), and water poured on to the fragrant compound.

647 631 Service and beginners in the B.C.S. II. It entailed the charge of a unit of administration known as the township, a collection of village tracts, with headquarters at a town of about two to five thousand inhabitants. The township officer supervised the administration of villages and the land system, helped in the suppression of crime and revenue collection, acted as government registrar, and carried out duties assigned to him by his senior officer. This was the Sub-divisional officer, in charge of two or three townships. Two or three sub-divisions were in turn grouped into a district under a Deputy Commissioner, a post attainable by members of the B.C.S. II before their term of service if they showed talent, but more often held by members of the B. C. S. I. Three to eight districts were grouped in divisions under a Divisional Commissioner who had civil and revenue powers and was responsible to the Governor for every department of public service except special branches directly under the control of the central government. There were eight Divisions in Burma.

When my father was an S.D.O. he had various magisterial, civil and revenue powers. Besides exercising these duties in the sub-divisional headquarters, he toured around the sub-division for about ten days in the month and we sometimes accompanied him. When he was stationed at Myanaung we went to Ingabu where my mother had good friends, Pauktaing where there was a great and revered Image of Buddha, Kyangin which had a thriving silk-weaving industry. In a township headquarters like Kyangin we met only the Township Officer although the town was divided into blocks or wards, each of which was under a headman whom my father also had to meet.

647 631 177, 63 621 But in a village like Pauktaing we came directly into contact with the headman, the *thugyi* or "elder person", who, as a source of local authority over villagers, is a carry over of the administrative system under the Burmese kings. The headmen in those days were properly described by their name of thugyi. They were chosen by the villagers and assisted in their duties by a group of elders. The headman distributed the burden of the revenue that was due from the village among the villagers and collected it, being allowed a percentage of the collections. He was the village magistrate and sometimes the village judge. New settlers in the village had to obtain his permission to take up abode. The office tended to become hereditary, and in those times when there was little contact between the central government and the local administration of the peasantry, the authority of a good headman was a strong influence that extended over more than one village. In present times, however, each village has been established as a separate administrative unit under one headman; the Township Officer, the Sub-divisional

Officer have appeared as higher sources of authority which are present not far away, and the village headman has lost much of his standing as elder person responsible for law and order, retaining chiefly his position as tax-collector. This is to the loss of village administration.

As a-so-ya mins, men like my father had more power and prestige than they had money. The salary of a B.C.S. II Officer, which ranged from Rs. 300/- to Rs. 900/-, was enough to ensure easy living and a certain amount of saving for old age, but in the place of the expensive carpets, glass, silver, uniformed servants and tinned foods which we saw in English officials' houses, they had to spend what might seem to foreigners a disproportionate amount on two items: jewellery for the women and financial help to relatives. Jewellery is not a vanity for a Burmese woman but an article of dress, worn both day and night, in varying degrees according to whether she is working or out on pleasure. The word for jewellery does not include any description of gems, but is *let-wut let-sa*: wear for the arms and such. When servant girls enter a household the humblest of them is given a gold chain to hang around her neck or a bangle for her wrist. Thus among the classes who have any money to spare beyond that for mere sustenance, from the more affluent cultivators, the small traders and shopkeepers and clerks, to "rich" land-owners, mill-owners and government officials, a great amount of money is spent on jewellery. Not to have any would be an unbearable shame.

A complete set of jewellery for a well-dressed woman comprises the following articles, all worn together when attending shinbyus, ear-boring and marriage ceremonies, official functions and numerous other occasions. For the hair a *sado*, a hairpin with a single large diamond on the end; a comb with teeth of gold and a row of diamonds set closely along the back of the rim; a *sein-pan gaing*, a gold hairpin with a cluster of flowers to hang and dangle, set with diamonds. These articles have the gold parts embedded in the knot of hair and only show the diamonds. Round the neck are worn the *lè-gat*, a narrow gold collar set widely with diamonds, fitting like a vice; below this a double row of small pearls tied tightly behind with red tassels; the *lè-ton* "trembling necklace"—a "choker" necklace—sitting so that little chains set with diamonds hang from it all round the neck and tremble; a chain with a diamond locket below this. In the ears are worn single diamond studs. On the jacket five diamond buttons, attached to gold rings set with diamonds, fasten the button loops. On the wrists and hands diamond bracelets and as many rings as possessed, of rubies, emeralds and sapphires set with diamonds are worn. A young girl also wears hollow anklets of gold round her ankles. In addition to the above, the richer minkadaws and wives of big traders possess corresponding pieces of rubies, emeralds and

592 sent to stay with us at various times and were sent to schools which taught English, but nothing would persuade them to take any interest in studies. My cousin Nyein Maung, whom I liked very much, could never bear to keep a shirt on, which was why he was always to be found with only a longyi tucked around his loins playing chinlon or helping boatmen with their canoes, when he should have been sitting fully clothed in a class-room.

[601] My young Uncle Pyant, whom we called U-Ngè, small Uncle, had 692 passed his B.A. and his law degree, and returned to Ye in preference to 177 a more modern life in a larger town. He walled off one doorway's space • 64 from the main room of the house and filled it with bookcases, a big desk and chairs for visitors. Outside this room my Uncle Pyant put up a sign saying: "*A-htet tan shaynay gyi:* Advocate and Higher Grade Pleader," and within a very short time became the lawyer of the whole village; but so great was his attachment to this consultation-living-room, which had nothing in common with the rest of Ye, that he relinquished all cases whose developing complexities led client and lawyer to a higher court in Moulmein.

592 Grandmother had gardens about ten miles up the creek from Ye. 244 These contained coconuts, durians and areca nuts grown over about 276 fifty acres for commercial disposal. Around the bungalow in the centre 427 of the garden there grew mangosteen, rambutan, pomeloes and pineapples for eating on a large-scale, clumps of bamboos, a coffee tree, tobacco plants, capsicum, lime and citron trees, lemon grass, and vegetables of all kinds to serve the needs of the bungalow and the household in town. My aunts with one young male relative took turns to live at the garden and help the family that was hired to look after it permanently. It was a dangerous life in these plantations as dacoities were very frequent. [501] The produce was taken down to Ye in a succession of graceful narrow boats shaped out of single tree trunks. The durians and coconuts were [442] sold straight away to traders who travelled between Moulmein and Ye for this purpose. The areca nuts were first dried on a bamboo attic made by an extension of the platform upper storey of the house until it met the back slope of the roof. When they were dried the whole family gathered around in the back kitchen and removed the husks with blunted nutcrackers, leaving the smooth nut to be sold.

244 With the rice from the paddy-land on the opposite bank, fruits, 262 vegetables and spices from the garden, rolling their cheroots with a mix- 226 ture containing tobacco in leaves shed by the areca trees in the garden, 438 and grinding their own coffee berries, my aunts and grandmother only 276 needed to buy a little fish and meat for their daily consumption. This they could not provide themselves owing to the Buddhist law against

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Some thirty people about the Court were beheaded, and the queen dowager was relegated to the convent.

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Thibaw himself was brought up in an uncle's house and used to be unmercifully bullied by his cousins. When Dr. Marks, the eminent S.P.G. missionary, came to Mandalay and established a school, the late king asked what was the best age for a Burman to commence learning English. The reverend gentleman said, "About twelve years old." King Mindôn called for "all his sons that were twelve years old or thereabouts." Eleven were produced, and among them was Thibaw. The future king went to the royal school, but he sat apart from his late victims, and never came to school on the same elephant with them. He was a surly, morose boy, not very good at his lessons, and once or twice narrowly escaped the usual result of such conduct. I believe he was never actually birched, but he had several times to stand in the corner. When he left he was able to read a little, but he has forgotten all his English now. He used to be fond of cricket, and slogged away in fairly good pendulum form; but he never would field out, and used unprincely language to any one who bowled him. He was the youngest of the batch by a month or two, and was always quarrelling with his brothers and bullying the wretched slave who attended him and carried his cheroots and betel-nut. But nobody paid much attention to his vagaries then, for he was twentieth or thirtieth son, and the Mekhaya prince, the eldest, might very easily have been his father, or even grandfather.

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After he left the S.P.G. Royal School, King Mindôn made him a koyin, a neophant, in the royal monastery. There he seemed to get on better. At any rate when his novitiate was over, he passed with honours as Patama Kyaw, an examination in the Bitaghat thônbông, the three "baskets" of the Buddhist law, and sundry other volumes of ritual and controversy. This was what first drew the old king's attention to him. Mindôn Min was a very pious old gentleman, and had a particular delight in his title of Convener of the Fifth Great Synod. When therefore young Thibaw made a score in the Turanian Theological Tripos, his father bored everybody with his talk about the juvenile

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Kin Wunmingyi, who, after all, had been to Europe and was versed in public affairs, lost all influence, and was succeeded as adviser by the Taingda Mingyi, a statesman of the typical oriental kind, supple, unscrupulous and grasping. Thibaw even achieved a certain kind of popularity with his subjects. He insulted our representative and blustered at all foreigners, and finally frightened the Indian Government by covert threats into suddenly withdrawing the whole *personnel* of the Residency. Then it was announced by sound of gong all over Burma that the Sovereign of Land and Water, by reason of his great might and glory, had caused the hated English to flee from his sight, and would, in his own good time, carry the great peacock flag to the south, and plant it once more on the shores of the Gulf of Martaban.

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It is a great triumph for the pôngyi's son, as he was nicknamed when it was safe to do so, and it will be remembered about him quite as long as the fiendish cruelty of his massacres. We have certainly not done with Thibaw yet. We cannot go on for ever keeping strong garrisons at Thayet-myo and Toungoo, our frontier stations, where the soldiers have little else to do but die of fever and cholera and heat-apoplexy. Constant scares ruin the trade in Rangoon, and, as Lord Ripon says, when we are attacked in our mercantile interests we are wounded in our most irritable point. The abrogation of the monopolies is little better than a sham, and the negotiations for a new treaty are little more sincere. Thibaw will not receive a new Resident in the Royal City, except shoeless and practically lying on his stomach. We can hardly agree to that again.

The rupture came six years later, brought about by secret treatings with France and autocratic dealings with the Bombay Burma Trading Corporation. The Burmese kingdom fell with the suddenness of a paralytic stroke, and King Thibaw was a prisoner within a month of his rejection of the British ultimatum. He now lives forgotten at Ratnagiri.

177. 87 876 metic book for an old man called Samuel who produced a series of swot books on various subjects, beautifully tabulated books with questions and answers, invaluable for examinations and used even in my day when we and our school teachers whisked them out of sight of Education Inspectors who came on the prowl for just such unprogressive methods of education. He also went across to the American Mission School where quite often the teachers were more Christian and painstaking than brilliant, to help old Teacher Nellie with Geometry riders, and in this way he met my mother.

873 593 562 582 My parents could not get married as soon as they left school. My father had first to go to the University, which consisted then of Rangoon College, affiliated to Calcutta University, and then he felt he must work to buy my grandmother a big enough plot of paddy land so that her two youngest sons would not need to look after her in Ye, but could come into the world like my father. He now felt that they should not be denied the wonderful opportunities which he had found. My father did go to College, but had passed only his F. A. (corresponding to Intermediate) when he heard that my mother was now going out to teach in a school at Thaton, and that she was having to put on a European gown and hat in order to be less conspicuous, because at that time no Burmese Buddhist ladies went out to work. My father left his studies at once and got a job in the same school to look after her, and it was only after some months of persuasion by Grandfather and my mother that he consented to leave and look for a better paid position.

647 177. 65 582 He managed to obtain a myookship in the Government Service, which is a junior administrative post but considered a very good job for Burmans in those days. In this job he could save enough to buy Grandmother her paddy land, after which he and my mother would get married. But my father with his good looks, his teetotaller habits, and his myookship, was considered a desirable son-in-law by many people, and other parents were not like Grandfather; they would try to engage the young man's affections for their daughters. I am sure my mother spent the next three years in some anxiety, as she heard stories of the young myook's gay and happy life in such far-off towns as Toungoo and Shwegyin. But one day the children dashed up to her with a telegram; she opened it and read *Gyi will you marry me.* My mother, who has never shown any excitement as far as I can remember, got up very quietly and went to her chest of drawers. She took out ten annas in change, and wired back *Yes.*

584 Soon after this my father arrived amidst great excitement on the part of my mother's family and a pretence of complete ignorance on Grandfather's part. My aunts expected an explosion from him when

CHAPTER FOUR

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BY the time that I was about four years old my father had become a Subdivisional Officer in the Civil Service, and our family had joined the ranks of what has now come to be known as the *minkadaw* class, an *a-so-ya min* being a government official and *minkadaw* the wife of a *min*. The minkadaws usually referred to were in the great majority the wives of officials of the Burma Civil Service, Class II, and by the time that we were passing through our childhood and adolescent years they already formed a very definite stratum in Burmese society. We children now comparing notes with the children of the minkadaws posted as far apart as Tavoy and Myitkyina can find common characteristics in all the households, from domestic commodities and meal habits to social conventions and standards of wealth. It is as though a new upper middle class has grown up, complete with snobberies, in what was formerly a classless Burmese society, but a class that still keeps itself quite apart from the European gymkhana life of the district towns.

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The houses which I can remember, when my father was a Subdivisional Officer in the subdivisional towns of Zigon and Myanaung where he was in charge of the subdivision, or in the divisional headquarters town of Magwe where the whole hierarchy of min from the Commissioner downwards were present, or in the district headquarters town of Maubin where the min ranked down from the Deputy Commissioner and my father was Headquarters Assistant, all bore certain uniform features. They were all wooden, two-storied and large, with a sufficient number of big rooms to have a dining-room and an office room below, a sitting-room above the portico and two big bedrooms, besides little verandahs and odd rooms. They all had a front staircase for common use and one or two ladder-like staircases behind for watermen, sanitation and servants. The kitchen was about 20 yards away, connected by a covered passage, and at the back of the large garden or compound was the *tanya*, a row of rooms for men servants and Indian [351] servants. The garden in front was usually modest owing to frequent changes of occupants, but a minimum amount of flowers for daily vases on the altar had always to be cultivated, and fruit trees were prized highly, guava, mango, marian or citron.

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Unlike most Burmese households we did not have any aunts or other relatives staying with us, but we had our full quota of domestic

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778 were still a good number of the tame fish, tame enough to allow you to stroke them and put gold-leaf on their heads, but there were far from being as many as there should have been had the villagers duly observed the teachings of the Buddha. The primeval simplicity of the people is fast fading away throughout the province. The travelling Englishman finds no difficulty in either getting people to sell fowls, or others still less hampered by doubts, to wring their necks and cook them.

792 The monastery sometimes has a name of its own; more frequently it is called by the Pali name of the town or pagoda near which it lies, or by that of its prior. The Thayet-daw Kyaung in Rangoon is so called from the magnificent mango-trees that grow within it. Well known in Upper Burma is the monastery of U Sandimā, or the Mingala-san Taik, where King Mindôn received his instruction in the religious texts which he knew so well. The name is usually given by the founder after consultation with the proposed head of the community, and it cannot be said that the consultation results in much originality.

792 Here and there throughout the country there are a few yatheit, hermits who withdraw into solitude in forests and desert places, and, like the old rathi (from which word of course the Burman term is derived), they live on wild fruits and roots and the chance alms of passers-by. But as the rathi were closely connected with the Brahmins, and as the custom is not recommended by the Buddha, nor looked upon with favour by the people, it is not of frequent occurrence. Occasionally a very austere monk buries himself in the solitude of the jungle during the season of Lent, in order the better to devote himself to meditation, but even this is not common. Nevertheless in the rocks above Nyaung-u, near Pagān, there are a few cells dug out high up in the cliffs which are always occupied, as any one who has gone out to shoot the rock pigeons which abound there will very speedily find. The yatheit comes down, confiscates the bag, and drives away the sportsman with terrible threats of future punishment. Such caves and holes in the rocks are not uncommon on other parts of the Irrawaddy, wherever the ascetic is able to climb up and finds the stratum soft enough to hack

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There is a percentage of thirty-five in the "middle standard" (Government Education Department). What matters if the successful halt and stumble in the pareit-gyi? There are two boys who have a chance in the Calcutta University Matriculation Examinations. It is a matter of indifference that the thingyo is as unknown to them as it is to any poor foreigner. Nevertheless, notwithstanding their shortcomings in this respect, there are but few even of these young Burmans who have not become members of the society, if only for long enough to get their heads shaved and be invested with the yellow dress. Still in these latter years there are a few who have never gone through even this slight ceremony, and the number may be expected annually to increase as Western habits spread more widely over the country. Not till the monastic schools begin to be deserted will the Christian missionary find that his labours have had any effect on the vital energies of the ancient faith of the Buddha. That day is still far off. As yet the government and vernacular lay schools have had very little effect in reducing the number of scholars who go daily to study in the dim-lighted schoolrooms of the monastery. Not even in Rangoon have the monks to call for scholars; they flock there abundantly of their own accord.

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kyaungs has led to very imperfect and limited knowledge of these treasuries of sacred knowledge. Formerly it used to be said that the man who did not know the Thadda, the Pali "grammar," knew nothing. If this position were insisted on now, the number of ignorant people in Lower Burma would be somewhat startling. 792 871 [177·87] [184]

But there are many difficulties before you get to the Abidhamma and its cognate subjects. Even in the Payeit Gyi there is a section called Ta-zet, or Ta-zet-thut, which has the credit of sending many a probationer back to the noisy, sinful world. According to the couplet—

> Shin pyet ta-zet,
> Loo pyet a-yet.
>
> Brandy sends a man to hell;
> Ta-zet spoils the saint as well.

It is a sort of religious *Pons Asinorum.*

Besides prosecuting his religious studies, the shin is required also to attend on the pon-gyis and minister to their wants. He must lay before them at fixed times their daily food, the proper supply of water, the well-used betel-box, and whatever else the monk may require. He must of course go round every morning with the other members of the monastery, the begging-bowl strapped round his neck, accepting meekly, without word of thanks, or glance thrown to the right or left, even when he passes his father's house, the food poured in by the pious. When a pon-gyi goes abroad the neophyte may be required to follow, carrying his fan or umbrella, or perhaps an arm-load of palm-leaf books, if a function is to be performed anywhere. According to the strict letter of the law the ko-yin ought to eat only of the food presented in the morning, but a very great laxity has crept in in this respect, not only with the neophytes, but even among the professed members of the order. It is no uncommon thing for the parents of the youth to send in daily a special meal for him, or even, in the case of wealthy families, actually to keep a cook on the monastic premises to prepare his food. Such sybaritism is not by any means uncommon in Lower Burma, though even there hardly approved of. In any good monastery in Upper Burma, or 792 735 177·79 [184]

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792 735 177-79 indeed in any monastery at all, even in Mandalay, it would be promptly put a stop to. But where the monks themselves show the example of carnal weakness, the probationers cannot be expected to maintain the old austerity.

792 779 The shin is subject in every way to the discipline of the monastery, but there are very few additional rules really incumbent on him. He has to observe always the Sè-ba Thila, the ten commandments. Five of these are obligatory on all Buddhists at all times: the other five are supposed to be incumbent upon laymen only on sacred days and during Lent. The five universal commandments are:—

1. Thou shalt not take any life at all.
2. Thou shalt not steal.
3. Thou shalt not commit adultery.
4. Thou shalt not lie.
5. Thou shalt not drink intoxicating liquor.

The additional five are:

6. Thou shalt not eat after mid-day.
7. Thou shalt not sing, dance, or play on any musical instrument.
8. Thou shalt not use cosmetics, or colour the face.
9. Thou shalt not sit, stand, or sleep on platforms or elevated places not proper for thee.
10. Thou shalt not touch gold or silver.

785 796 These latter five are, it has been said, imposed upon laymen on sacred days, but the burden is very light, the people observing them or not, accordingly as they are observing the "duty-day." If they are not "keeping the feast," they conduct themselves precisely as they would on any other day, and buy and sell and attend pwès in their ordinary fashion.

779 792 This laxity is, of course, not open to the shins, but it cannot be said that the regulations, except perhaps as to eating, are very irksome. The seventh and eighth commandments seem by themselves peculiar, but they refer to filthy habits more explicitly set forth in the Patimauk, or book of the enfranchisement, containing the 227 sins which

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527 thought that the few hours spent at the payā gather up stores of kutho, not less certainly profitable than the social delights of the "duty day" are pleasurable.

796 101 The greatest of all the pagoda feasts is, of course, that of the Shwe Dagôn in Rangoon, with its pilgrims, not only from the farthest parts of Burma and far-away Shan hills, but also from over the seas, from Siam and Cambodia and the Corea. But the vastness of the gathering and the proximity of the great town spoil the national character of the festival, and introduce too many elements of nineteenth-century civilisation in the shape of merry-go-rounds and hack carriages. A "jungle" feast is not only more characteristic, but more appreciated in its way by both town and country folk.

796 There are three old Talaing pagodas near Rangoon, Kyaik-ka-san, Kyaik-ka-lo, and Kyaik-waing, whose annual duty days are looked forward to with pleasure by all the people round about. The feasts all occur in the month of Tabodwè, corresponding to our February or March. I have a suspicion that, were the proper date adhered to, all three would have the same uboné; but such a lavish squandering of the good a popular religion provides for us would hardly meet with lay approval, even if advocated by the most holy of hermits. Accordingly the three pagoda days occur at intervals of a week, without reference to the crescent or waning moon; and latterly, with singular convenience for Burmans occupied in business in Rangoon, [177-79] have usually been fixed for Sunday; so that English merchants are not troubled with the sudden ailments of their clerks at this season so much as used formerly to be the case. The Kyaik-ka-san is probably the most sacred of the three; containing as it does a tooth and bone of the forehead of Shin Gautama, brought to Rangoon by a yahanda, a blameless mendicant, over whose remains in Rangoon a huge thein-gyi, or ceremonial building, has been erected. Kyaik-ka-lo is, however, seemingly the more popular. It stands on the summit of a little hill about fourteen miles north of Rangoon, and is built of laterite blocks, now faced with bricks covered with plaster. The shrine was built in the second century before Christ, and,

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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846 757 she is made to smell samôn-net, a plant (the *Nigella sativa*), which is put in an earthen pot, strongly heated, and then triturated into the shape of a ball. The odour is not exactly such as one would recognise as calculated to exhilarate any one, but probably after the hot bricks and the se sein everything else comes as a matter of detail. All this is done to drive out the noxious humours which are supposed to be generated by the birth of a child. On the seventh day the woman takes an elementary kind of Turkish bath. She sits over a large jar of boiling water, medicated with tamarind twigs and a few other kinds of leaves and grasses, with a blanket over her. After about an hour of this she has a cold bath, and is then free to do as she pleases. She usually goes to bed.

165 846 177·84 184 It might be supposed that under this treatment death in child-bearing would be very frequent, but as far as imperfect statistics can show the percentage is not much higher than in other countries. The result, however, appears in another way. A woman ages up ten or fifteen years for every child she has. It is satisfactory to notice that in all the larger towns in Lower Burma the more unpleasant features are fading away before the example and influence of women of other nationalities. In the jungle and in Upper Burma, however, ancient use and wont still prevail, and the young mother of fourteen or fifteen is shrivelled into thirty with her first baby.

845 If a woman gives birth to a still-born child, a piece of iron is placed in the cloth in which the body is wrapped, or in the coffin if there is one, and at the burial some member of the family says some such formula as "Never more return into thy mother's womb till this metal becomes soft as down."

If a married woman dies before bearing a child (alôn [775] hnin the-thi), a Cæsarean operation is performed, and the alôn is buried in some secret place. The reason alleged for this is, that were it not done, the husband in future existences would marry this woman again, and she would die in the same way. 845 754 Were the embryo not secretly buried it would be disinterred by hmaw-sayās, necromancers, and wizards, who would make evil uses of it. Children's cauls are as highly thought of by Burmans as they are by English

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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792 553 775 561 In recognition of this new-gained power the novice drop his secular name and receives a bwè, an honorific title, to mark that it is now open to him to escape from suffering. The name lapses when he returns to the world again, but it is sufficient that he has once borne it. He may now add to his kan, merit, and gain for himself a glorious new life by good works.

[198] This is what is meant by calling the ceremony a baptism. The bwè are almost invariably Pali, or Burmanised Pali names, and follow the same rules with regard to initial letters as the lu nāmé. Thus a Maung Po Myat, born on Thursday, might take the name of Pyinya-Zawta, while the bwè of a Sunday child, Maung An, would be Adesa. This religious or Buddhist (on the analogy of Christian) name is, of course, retained by the regular members of the monastery, and a monk is never addressed by any other when a name is used at all. When he becomes old a U is added, as U Adesa, but it must not be forgotten that [576] the use of a person's name in addressing him is considered very far from being polite in Burma, especially to one of rank and dignity such as a mendicant. On the other hand, one who has returned to the world never uses the bwè, not even when he accomplishes some great religious work such as the foundation of a pagoda, which according to a comforting belief ensures passage to Ne'ban after death.

The entry into the monastic order is therefore certainly the most important event in the life of a Burman, since only under the robe of the recluse and in the abandonment of the world can he completely fulfil the law and hope to find the way to eventual deliverance from the misery of ever-recur- [796] ring existences. The popular time for the ceremony is just at the beginning of Wā, the Buddhist Lent, which lasts from July to October, roughly speaking. Strict Buddhists make their sons stay throughout the whole Wā. During that season feasts, though they do occur, are very much discountenanced, and dramatic performances are energetically denounced by the religious.

792 561 184 177.84 According to the letter of the law the intending probationers should have reached the age of fifteen, but this regulation has almost entirely lapsed in Lower Burma, among other reasons chiefly because that is just the most

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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important age for the boy to be learning English and arithmetic, with a view to getting situations under Government or in English merchants' offices. Therefore in the vast majority of cases shin-pyu thi takes place at the age of twelve, or perhaps even a year earlier. 792 561 184 177.84

If the boy has been a scholar in the monastery beforehand, he is sure to be already prepared in all that is required of him. If not, he gets a few hasty lessons in the duties that will be incumbent on him. He must address a full member of the order in such and such language; he must walk decorously through the streets, keeping his eyes fixed on the ground six feet before him, and on no account gaze round him, no matter what exciting events may be going on; he must wear his thingan and du-gut in the prescribed fashion; he must eat with dignity and circumspection, and so on. All these details are set forth in most minute fashion in a code. When he has mastered the most essential portions, and has also given proof of an acquaintance with the ordinary forms of worship, all is ready. His horoscope now comes into requisition, and a bedinsayā or Ponna is called in to determine a lucky day and hour from the sadā. When this has been settled, three or four girls, the intending koyin-gale's sisters, or friends of the family, dress themselves up in their finest silks and jewels—often borrowing a large quantity of the latter—and go round the town, announcing to all relatives, friends, and neighbours when the induction will take place, and inviting them to the feast, presenting the little packet of le'-pet usual on such occasions. Almost all of these send some little present, either of money or victuals, to aid in the feast and make it as grand as possible. Not unseldom, if somebody else's son is also going to enter the kyaung and the town is not very large, the two join forces, while occasionally as many as half a dozen unite, especially if the families are not well off. 792 872 [516] [292] 792 561 [787] 796 [292]

On the appointed day the young neophyte dresses in his finest clothes, and loads himself with all the family gold chains and jewellery, and as much more as he can borrow for the occasion. He then mounts a pony or gets into a richly decorated car. Shaded by gold umbrellas, allowed formerly on this occasion only in Upper Burma, except to those who had got a special patent for them from the sovereign... [292] [554]

1: Mi Mi Khaing I-5 (no date) 1948 API Burma
Burmese AP4

CHAPTER THREE

My mother, as I have said, was the fair young jewel of her father's eye; and my grandfather had flashes of the most radical behaviour. Though he refused to learn English and this irreligious language was never spoken in his house, he suddenly decided to send my mother to learn English, not just as a second language, nor even to spend a few years at a totally English-speaking school—for an accomplishment, as a few other Burmese girls of the time did—but to study seriously until she passed the High School Standard of a European Code school which did all its teaching in English. My mother was thus the first Burmese Buddhist woman to pass the High School Examination in the European Code, and today she can speak faultless English though she never uses it unless necessary, and can even read some of the books of Virginia Woolf, although she does not like them. She and her two young brothers were sent to Moulmein; they stayed at the house of my eldest uncle who had settled there, and my mother attended an American Baptist Mission School. This was just before 1900.

My father, in the meantime, had arrived in Moulmein at the same time as my mother. The world had opened for him suddenly. After the strict and simple life of the monastery he found himself a smart young man with a Western crop and a collared shirt and outer jacket. He carefully put away his mother's ring to be put on again only on his visits back to Ye; he found a big and busy town to range in and no anxious mother waiting at home. I think it was during these years that my father got his love of all the sweet pleasures of life. A non-smoker and a teetotaller, he was one of the most spontaneously happy people. He loved food and many friends, to see young people happy and free from discipline, to spend all his resources in order to create happiness around him; he glorified the ability to think and work quickly and leave the maximum time for eating and laughing.

Particularly in this, Moulmein appealed to him. Having grown up in the monastic system of education by memorizing, he was bewildered at a system which prescribed a whole year of full-day studies for five or six thin text-books. As soon as he could read and understand he committed all his year's text-books to memory within a month, and could not conceive that there was anything else to be learnt unless they prescribed such books to be memorized. During school hours he wrote an Arith-

177. metic book for an old man called Samuel who produced a series of swot
87 books on various subjects, beautifully tabulated books with questions
876 and answers, invaluable for examinations and used even in my day when we and our school teachers whisked them out of sight of Education Inspectors who came on the prowl for just such unprogressive methods of education. He also went across to the American Mission School where quite often the teachers were more Christian and painstaking than brilliant, to help old Teacher Nellie with Geometry riders, and in this way he met my mother.

873 My parents could not get married as soon as they left school. My
593 father had first to go to the University, which consisted then of Rangoon
562 College, affiliated to Calcutta University, and then he felt he must work
582 to buy my grandmother a big enough plot of paddy land so that her two youngest sons would not need to look after her in Ye, but could come into the world like my father. He now felt that they should not be denied the wonderful opportunities which he had found. My father did go to College, but had passed only his F. A. (corresponding to Intermediate) when he heard that my mother was now going out to teach in a school at Thaton, and that she was having to put on a European gown and hat in order to be less conspicuous, because at that time no Burmese Buddhist ladies went out to work. My father left his studies at once and got a job in the same school to look after her, and it was only after some months of persuasion by Grandfather and my mother that he consented to leave and look for a better paid position.

647 He managed to obtain a myookship in the Government Service,
177. which is a junior administrative post but considered a very good job for
65 Burmans in those days. In this job he could save enough to buy Grand-
582 mother her paddy land, after which he and my mother would get married. But my father with his good looks, his teetotaller habits, and his myookship, was considered a desirable son-in-law by many people, and other parents were not like Grandfather; they would try to engage the young man's affections for their daughters. I am sure my mother spent the next three years in some anxiety, as she heard stories of the young myook's gay and happy life in such far-off towns as Toungoo and Shwegyin. But one day the children dashed up to her with a telegram; she opened it and read *Gyi will you marry me.* My mother, who has never shown any excitement as far as I can remember, got up very quietly and went to her chest of drawers. She took out ten annas in change, and wired back *Yes.*

584 Soon after this my father arrived amidst great excitement on the part of my mother's family and a pretence of complete ignorance on Grandfather's part. My aunts expected an explosion from him when

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joking enquiries about whether we were getting enough Buddhist and Burmese teaching for we were attending English Christian schools at the time.

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The monks have lost all touch with the schooling of the great majority of children by now. In the first decade of the century the monastic schools were still the backbone of instruction for boys throughout all the rural districts, being responsible for the high literacy figure of 49% for Burman males, as compared with 11.9% in Madras at the time. But lay schools, either established and run on Burman lines, or established by Christian missionary societies with perhaps grants-in-aid, or under the direct management of Government or a committee acting on behalf of the government, were springing up on all sides, until by 1934 the proportion of lay to recognized monastic schools for vernacular education was about five to one. Although there had been attempts to raise the utilitarian value of monastic education by the encouragement of such subjects as arithmetic, geography and land surveying, it was far easier for the lay schools to conform to the standards set by the Board of Examiners. With the passing of such standards becoming the means of obtaining employment and the changing of fashions, more and more children went to the lay schools. Moreover, the lay schools included schools for girls, either separately or in common with boys.

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In my childhood there were still echoes of the opposition between monastic and secular education. In about 1922 my Uncle Pyant, who was then a serious student at the University, told me the world was round, "but", he added, "the hpongyis say that this is not true and most elder people don't believe it." My husband also tells me that when he went home from his government school with the statement that the earth spun around on its axis and took twenty-four hours to do it, the elders were most scornful. "In that case," they said, "if you were to go up into the air and stay there for some time, you could not come down to Kengtung until the same time the next day, but might land in England for your lunch."

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Another difference between old and new ideas of education was that the elder people were aghast at the long years which a modern education from primary schools to University lasted. They felt that at least one must have learnt everything there was to learn by then, for a few years at a monastery taught a boy all the reading, writing, calculation and literature which any grown man was expected to know. Once my grandfather received a telegram announcing the birth of a grandson; the message contained the additional information that the doctors had found it necessary to perform a circumcision on the infant. The telegram was in English, according to the rules of the Posts and Telegraphs in Burma,

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792 and Grandfather called my cousin Ko Lu Pe to read it. My cousin had
871 been at a government school for some years and though he could read
177. and write English with some ease, he stuck at the word "circumcise".
87 "What!" exploded Grandfather, "five years learning English, and you can't even read a telegram. This education is quite useless." Whereupon he took the grandchildren and his two young sons out of their schools until his wrath subsided and they quietly started attendance again. It is a popular stage joke also, the B.A. who returns to his village and is asked in good faith by the hpongyi to mend a villager's watch that has gone wrong. The graduate confesses that he cannot mend it. The monk is horrified: "What, passed B.A. and cannot mend a watch?"

527 So now on my father's birthday the monks ask jokingly and kindly
792 about our school subjects. Their meal is laid out on a low round table,
574 and consists of all the good things my mother can think of, for they have only one main meal in the day. Rice and meat and vegetable dishes are followed by fruit, sweet milky coffee, sweet English cakes. The monastery boys are given their meal outside; the monks, after eating, rise and go, and the boys follow them bearing away the gifts for the monastery. At once there is a general shuffling into more relaxed positions, conversation swells out, we start to scamper around and help to wheel in more round tables. Then everybody eats, and my father feels a deep sense of well-being.

805 Our lunar calendar has twelve months in its year, beginning the new year about the middle of April with the month of *Tagu*. Each month contains the twenty-nine to thirty days of the moon's cycle, but the dates are numbered with only 15 numbers—15 waxing days starting from the crescent of the new moon: *la-hsan ta-yet, la-hsan hna-yet*, new moon first day, second day and so on, until the 15th and full moon day, *la-pyit nay*: after which come the waning days, *la-hsot*. With this system, we are 12 or 13 days short of the 365 each year, and hence every second year there occurs a double month of *Waso*, in July and August, which month also starts our Lent. Lent lasts the three months of the monsoon, until *Thadingyut*, in October, when we see it out with lights, feasting and
796 much merriment. For the observance of festivals such as New Year
262 and Thadingyut we usually visited relatives, but certain other observances came round each year to us in our own home.

Such is *htamanè-hto*, the making of a comestible known as *htamanè* in vast quantities, for distribution on the first full moon after the harvest. On the full moon night of *Taboduè* in January-February, the villagers sit up all night in big parties of men and women singing and joking as they make all preparations for the cooking that is to take place by dawn. The basis of htamanè is a glutinous rice called *kaukhnyin*, always

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CHAPTER TWELVE

WE lived at Thaton for two years, and then my father became ill and had to be moved to Rangoon for treatment. This meant the packing up of the household, and when my father died shortly afterwards, my mother never went back to live at the great echoing house, but stayed in Rangoon to be near our schools. Thus the long period of our district life came to an end. From now onwards, my mother and sisters were to become merged in the increasing company of *Yan-gon-thu*, Rangoon dwellers, but we saw nothing of this life yet. School walls and student interests at the University enfolded us, and our holidays were spent at Ye and other country places. I was already at the University by this time, after having spent nine years at an English school—nine years during which the alternating periods of school and holidays transported me by turns into two completely different worlds, each kept shut off from the other by childish self-consciousness and reticence. The educational system in Burma did not have a homogeneous structure owing to the different media of instructions in use, and I have always felt that we were the particular victims of this shortcoming. Mistakenly sent to exclusive schools, we were denied the company of a great crowd of Burmeseplay mates during the greater part of these nine years.

Classified according to the language of instruction, there were three types of schools in Burma—the Vernacular, the Anglo-Vernacular and the European. There were over 5,000 recognized vernacular schools in Burma, which contributed towards raising the literacy of the poorest classes, but did little more. The pupils could not hope to continue their studies at the University where the medium of instruction was English, and, although high-school classes were introduced after 1931, they did not qualify a student for any post except that of teaching in such a school. There were few well-paid posts open to those without a knowledge of English.

The great bulk of schools in Burma were Anglo-Vernacular schools, where instruction was carried on in Burmese, but English was taught as a subject; and in the highest classes, some of the text-books used were in English, as the translation of schoolbooks into Burmese was still at an infant stage. My experiences of teaching at the Teachers' Training College, Rangoon, where we had an Anglo-Vernacular school for model

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teaching and practical training of educational students, were a fair example of the multiple forms of instruction prevailing. I taught in Burmese from a text-book which had not yet been translated into Burmese, as the subject, Home Science, was a new one. I explained the lesson and questioned the pupils in Burmese, but when summing up the points on the blackboard, wrote in English, so that the copying children could more easily correlate the matter with the contents of their English text-books. When answering examinations they were free to write in English or Burmese, and there were many who had a deficient knowledge of English but preferred to write in this language because the text-book had been in English. Among the educational students taking notes, also, there might be included a few Anglo-Burman students who did not know Burmese well. Up to 1935 it was still possible to enter Rangoon University without any knowledge of Burmese, and one grade of the Burmese "lectures" there started with the learning of the alphabet, progressing to the stage of writing sentences by the end of the two-year course. Almost all towns with a population of more than 5,000 inhabitants had a girls' school and a mixed school of the Anglo-Vernacular type —either government or mission or national schools, which later received government aid. The majority of the students at the University was from these Anglo-Vernacular schools.

Finally there were the European Code schools, teaching in English with Burmese as an alternative second language to French or even to Additional English in the high school, until about 1933 when Burmese was made the compulsory second language and the standard of it was also raised to approximate more closely to the Anglo-Vernacular standard.

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When my brother and I were first to be sent to school, about 22 years ago, government officials like my father were still under the impression that education in an English school would give a child a great advantage in making his way in Burma. All the examinations for higher government services were conducted in English, and all well-paid posts required a knowledge of English. We were therefore sent to a European Code school, although such schools were started primarily for English-speaking children. Owing to the peculiar social conditions prevailing in the schools at the time, we underwent acute misery during all the years that we were there.

Such schools, both for boys and girls, were set up in the big towns, Rangoon, Mandalay, Moulmein, Maymyo, Toungoo, etc. Most of them were mission or religious schools, aided by the government and by the diocese or a religious mission.

Very few Burmans at that time sent daughters to such schools, though sons were sent commonly enough, and the distinctions made against the stray natives who entered the rolls began from the moment of entry. The diocesan schools insisted on our adopting English Christian and surnames, from an aversion to including heathen names on their registers. Burman Buddhist were thus transformed into orthodox Christian names: Sir Htoon Aung Gyaw and his brothers became a family of Thompsons, Sir Paw Tun was happily converted into Potter, and my brother U Sett Kaing, with less relevance, became Robert Downs. Thus many distinguished Burmans spent years under these assumed names. The Roman Catholic schools were kinder. They merely required us to adopt a system of first name and surname, which does not exist among Burmans, and wished us to pick a Christian first name so that the nuns could pronounce it easily. Thus we got Kathleen Maung, Grace Nee, Sarah Tin Gyi, the daughters of U Maung Maung, U Nee and U Tin Gyi. My own name Mi Mi Khaing was brought into line as Mamie Kaing.

We went to a Roman Catholic convent where the nuns made no attacks on Buddhism and no attempts to proselytise us—despite which I became attracted to their religion for a few years—but with sincere conviction and fervour they condemned everything else in us that was different from the great mass of Anglo-Burmans who filled the school. A good proportion of these children were the children of Englishmen who, not having entered into a legal marriage with the Burmese mothers, had now left mother and child with a sum of money which the kind nuns stretched to cover as much schooling as was possible. These and other Anglo-Burman children were encouraged to swank over us with childish cruelty about our darker skins, flat noses, and uncurling hair. They did this to such an extent that many of us in our minority and our helpless misery, branded our distinguished parents as being "half Burmese and half English", in order to gain their good opinion. We were told that Burmese food was stinking, that the use of oil for the hair was dirty and insanitary, and when young sisters ran after their elder ones calling Ma Ma, Elder Sister, all the children hooted with laughter. No wonder that my sister Mya Mya during her first weeks at school would sit by the gate, evening after evening, singing mournfully:

May May yay-ay
La pa taw
Kyi-gan ta-maw maw.

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

and ninepins, played with the big flat seeds of a jungle creeper. Pleasant they were under the shade of the great mango and pipul trees and the lofty cocoa-nut and palmyra palms, and exciting were the games, so that the customary stillness of the place was rudely broken upon by disputing voices, till a monk would come out and bring all back to work again as a penance. Then during the work there was the fun of the writing hour, when everybody had to write out maxims and prayers on his little parabaik with a clumsy pointed steatite pencil. There were always some stiff-fingered big pupils who could not manage to write their copy neatly or correctly, and as punishment had to take the good writers on their backs and march ruefully up and down the long schoolroom during pleasure. Sometimes they were thrashed, but the other punishment was the more dreaded. Then there was the schoolmaster monk, who would tell fairy stories of the other three great islands which lie in the sea round about Myinmo mountain; of the half-moon-faced western islanders, and the wondrous tree that bore everything eatable one could wish for and delivered it ready cooked; the joys of the six heavens of the Nats and the grisly horrors of Nga-yè, with its fearful ages of fantastic punishments. Every now and again travelling necromancers and hmaw sayās would spend a night or two at the monastery, and in recompense for the little delicacies and odds and ends of food which good-natured neophytes would get for them, used to tell stories of witchery and marvel. Sometimes there would be a sā-haw sayā, a kind of cyclic poet, who knew half the zats in the language by heart, and would recite a little just for practice. Or a tattooing sayā would come round and mark some particularly favoured youth with a quaint figure. Discussion as to its meaning and probable virtues would be carried on in the shadowy evenings for months afterwards. Varieties of this kind recur to the old Burman as he thinks of the school days long ago, and he sighs with as much conviction as any European that there are no days so happy as the school days.

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English rule has disturbed old customs a good deal in the province, but even now we may say that, as an invari-

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2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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he does will swell the sum of his demerits, but not a single good action, no uttermost act of charity or devotion, will be recorded to his advantage for another existence. Without admission to the order, without "Buddhist baptism," no man can count his present existence as other than an animal's. The great gift of having appeared in the likeness of a human being; the happy balancing of merits and demerits which has resulted in so glorious an opportunity of advancing towards Ne'-ban; the still greater fortune of existence in a country where the tenets of Buddhism offer supreme chances to the weary seeker after rest from the moil of a work-a-day world; all will have been recklessly thrown away. It is written that more hardly will a needle cast from the summit of Mount Myinmo across the wide Thamoddaya Sea, more hardly will it touch with its point as it falls another needle standing point upwards in the great Southern Island, than will any given creature become a human being. How are the Western foreigners, black and white, to be pitied, who have indeed by earnest strivings attained the seat of man, but, arrived there, find it all naught because they do not hear the teachings of the Buddha! How much worse the Burman, to whom all his life long the monastery door stands open, to whom a week's, a day's, an hour's sojourn would offer boundless possibilities, and yet who enters not in. If this be so, what then can be the prospect for the boy who having put his hand to the plough turns back, who entering the monastery as a child, imbibes the religious thoughts and becomes acquainted with the religious creed, and yet fails to seek the "humanity" so easily to be gained? Better have been born an animal or an Englishman, and scoffed at what he did not understand.

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Consequently it may be invariably assumed that the little scholar, as soon as age and acquirements admit, puts on the yellow garb as a finish to his education. This used to include every one. Till the English came and took the country, everybody went to the Pon-gyi-Kyaung. But now there are English government schools; there are Burmese laymen's schools, which neglect religious education altogether, and look to competitive examinations as the end and aim of juvenile existence, as the ne'-ban of school life.

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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There is a percentage of thirty-five in the "middle standard" (Government Education Department). What matters if the successful halt and stumble in the pareit-gyi? There are two boys who have a chance in the Calcutta University Matriculation Examinations. It is a matter of indifference that the thingyo is as unknown to them as it is to any poor foreigner. Nevertheless, notwithstanding their shortcomings in this respect, there are but few even of these young Burmans who have not become members of the society, if only for long enough to get their heads shaved and be invested with the yellow dress. Still in these latter years there are a few who have never gone through even this slight ceremony, and the number may be expected annually to increase as Western habits spread more widely over the country. Not till the monastic schools begin to be deserted will the Christian missionary find that his labours have had any effect on the vital energies of the ancient faith of the Buddha. That day is still far off. As yet the government and vernacular lay schools have had very little effect in reducing the number of scholars who go daily to study in the dim-lighted schoolrooms of the monastery. Not even in Rangoon have the monks to call for scholars; they flock there abundantly of their own accord.

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2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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kyaungs has led to very imperfect and limited knowledge of these treasuries of sacred knowledge. Formerly it used to be said that the man who did not know the Thadda, the Pali "grammar," knew nothing. If this position were insisted on now, the number of ignorant people in Lower Burma would be somewhat startling.

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But there are many difficulties before you get to the Abidhamma and its cognate subjects. Even in the Payeit Gyi there is a section called Ta-zet, or Ta-zet-thut, which has the credit of sending many a probationer back to the noisy, sinful world. According to the couplet—

> Shin pyet ta-zet,
> Loo pyet a-yet.
>
> Brandy sends a man to hell;
> Ta-zet spoils the saint as well.

It is a sort of religious *Pons Asinorum.*

Besides prosecuting his religious studies, the shin is required also to attend on the pon-gyis and minister to their wants. He must lay before them at fixed times their daily food, the proper supply of water, the well-used betel-box, and whatever else the monk may require. He must of course go round every morning with the other members of the monastery, the begging-bowl strapped round his neck, accepting meekly, without word of thanks, or glance thrown to the right or left, even when he passes his father's house, the food poured in by the pious. When a pon-gyi goes abroad the neophyte may be required to follow, carrying his fan or umbrella, or perhaps an arm-load of palm-leaf books, if a function is to be performed anywhere. According to the strict letter of the law the ko-yin ought to eat only of the food presented in the morning, but a very great laxity has crept in in this respect, not only with the neophytes, but even among the professed members of the order. It is no uncommon thing for the parents of the youth to send in daily a special meal for him, or even, in the case of wealthy families, actually to keep a cook on the monastic premises to prepare his food. Such sybaritism is not by any means uncommon in Lower Burma, though even there hardly approved of. In any good monastery in Upper Burma, or

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2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

a monk is liable to commit. The ninth refers to the common Oriental dislike to any person of insufficient dignity occupying an elevated place physically above worthier people. 779 792

So far, then, the shin is not very grievously burdened in the monastery. But the discipline maintained is very strict. None of the ko-yins or of the boarder-pupils must be out of the monastic limits after the bell has rung. A lay scholar may get permission from the kyaung po-go to sleep at home now and again, but this indulgence is naturally impossible to the neophyte; he must always stay in the monastery. Again, the boarders may run home in the afternoon to get some dinner at their parents' houses, but this the shin cannot do. Breaches of the rules are very severely punished. The culprit's hands are tied high above his head to a post, and the castigator lays on vigorously on the naked back with a stout bamboo. Cases of deliberate cruelty of course occasionally happen, for human nature is the same everywhere, and a Dotheboys Hall is not an entire figment; but they are rare, and on the whole the shin is happy in the monastery, and occasionally in later life looks back with regret to the old, quiet, unruffled, careless life of the pon-gyi kyaung. 792 861

In Upper Burma it has actually been his school, for but very few adopt the system of having private teachers to instruct their children; and in Lower Burma it probably contrasts favourably with the uncomfortable hard benches and desks of the English institution, and the still more irksome quietness demanded, and steady, prolonged application exacted by the English teacher. Those who have been to both remember most fondly the long dusky monastery schoolroom, where they sat on the floor and shouted out their lessons, and now and again slipped out into the air to take the stiffness out of their limbs with a quarter of an hour at chin lôn, Burmese football. In the English school you learned to make money; in the Burmese school you learned to be happy and contented. 792 871 184 177.87

1: Mi Mi Khaing I-5 (no date) 1946 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4
Mon AP9

CHAPTER NINE

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MEN of my father's generation followed a definite pattern in the stages of their lives. They passed their infancy and early childhood playing around their mother's knee, but as soon as they were capable of receiving spiritual influence and training, the atmosphere of the monastery and the men of religion enwrapt them. Thus their spiritual life began at the monastery. After they left it they spent many stages in the world of offices and money-earning, but none of them could be reconciled to this as the final stage of their lives. They hoped to leave this when they were fifty or soon after, and go back full circle to spending the twilight in the atmosphere of religion, before they went out finally in childish decay to another and better existence. The retirement from the civil service was therefore a very important point in my father's life. The English term "pensioner" has come to be incorporated into popular Burmese usage, as *pin-sin tha-ma*, so full of meaning is it. Most men at this time look about for a town which will ensure easy living and performance of meritorious deeds, in which to settle down. We went back to Thaton because of our family connections, but, as it happened, Thaton was also the most noted town in Burma for the settling of pin-sin tha-mas; it was indeed the pensioner's paradise.

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Thaton is a very old town. From the fifth to the tenth century A.D. it flourished as the centre of a Buddhist kingdom of Talaings, while the greater Burmese capital at Pagan was still without the true faith. There the Burmese King and the people were under the sway of a body of monks called the Aris, whose hypnotic influence was exercised through the practice of ritualistic observances contrary to the teachings of the Buddha and of which they set themselves to be the high priests. To this capital came a Buddhist monk from Thaton called Shin Arahan. He came into the presence of the King with his staff and a simple robe and the stamp of an ascetic life on his face, but also with the serene assurance that a monk's life ennobled any man beyond all other men, for he went up to the throne of the King and sat upon it. King Anawrahta asked, "What is the true teaching of this holy religion, and where can one get its Books?" Shin Arahan then told the King of the Buddhist kingdom of Thaton and the sacred scriptures which were there. The King of Pagan sent messengers to Thaton for copies of the scriptures, but the proud King at Thaton would not yield them. The

becoming common. Borrowing money is always such a shameful thing 452
to Burmans that highly usurious rates prevail. The minimum rate of
these private money-lenders is Re. 1/8 per Rs. 100/- per month, *i.e.* 18%
per annum.

But this emphasis on money-making during the retirement period 181
was not pure avariciousness. It was connected with the ability to dis- 593
charge the duties of a parent and a good Buddhist during one's last years,
to have sufficient means to settle children in a good marriage, which is
one of the duties laid down for a good parent, and to make many donations
towards pagodas, resthouses and monasteries, all as a foundation for a
rebirth into a better existence.

For men like my father, this last period of their lives was a soft and 887
gentle immersion in the atmosphere which pervaded their childhood in 177
the monastery, and which had been banished into a memory with the
years of English education, government posts, courts and litigation, and
the rearing of children whose future must be bound up with the obtaining
of better government posts.

During these years, my father continued his daily prayers before 887
the altar, but they were short and he said them softly, his feet were shod 788
with shoes and socks, his tourings took him to headmen's houses more
often than to monasteries, his evenings were spent in playing tennis in- 593
stead of chinlon, and drinking lime-juice instead of coconut water, and
his houses of the regulation pattern were filled with cane furniture made 177 88
by convicts in jails. What a far cry from the dim light on wooden
floors and pillars, the steady chorus of young monks at prayers. My
father, who during his working years had encouraged us to eat, laugh
and be merry in each present moment, now dismayed us with a sudden
conviction of the vanity of all worldly things, towns, society, dress and
ornament. We woke up at dawn to the sound of his prayers, and on [741]
most mornings he walked out of the town to the hills where the monas-
teries and resthouses were gathered; he walked barefoot again with
great enjoyment in those quiet grounds, turned aside to supervise the
building of a *thein*, a house for the ordination and meditation of monks,
which he had persuaded a more wealthy friend to endow. He no longer
showered on us de luxe editions of Western encyclopaedias and the
collected works of Dickens and Scott as he used to, but bought richly
carved book cases and sacred books for the monasteries in Thaton. We
no longer ate our meals on chairs, sitting up at a table, but at a low round
table on the polished floor. My father sat cross legged, but he could
not go back to eating with his fingers, he still used a spoon and fork.
At nights we fell asleep to the sound of his prayers and it was like a bene-
diction. Buddhist prayers in Burma consist of two parts: the first is a

1: Mi Mi Khaing I-5 (no date) 1946 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

887 long recitation of precepts and lauds, mostly in Pali and not intelligible
788 to the casual ear. The second part, the *hsu-taung*, is the asking for
593 blessings in a formula which asks: "May (my mother) be blessed.
174. May (a married couple) have long life together." My father worked
88 through a list of all his and my mother's relations and connections. Going down in order of seniority he fitted them all into a rhythm and we came to know the place of each in this melodious chant. When we were young we sometimes waited with bated breath for the turn of a relation who had just quarrelled with my parents, but my father never omitted to ask for blessings on him. We loved this part of our parents' prayers. Uncles, first and second cousins whom we did not see for long stretches

of time, were kep familiar in this way. Relationships were prefixed to each name; births, deaths and marriages were registered, the infant cousins added, the newly-dead aunts omitted, and the new niece-at-law joined in a long and happy life to her husband. We loved especially our own place in the litany—my sisters, because they were given their full and correct names by which they were never called, and I, because I was an exception, called even in this formal litany by the affectionate name my parents had for me. "*Tha Maung Sett Kaing*," my father, would chant, "*Tha Maung Sett Kaing, Tha-mi Mamie, Tha-mi Ma Mya Thin, Tha-mi Ma Hin Aye, Tha-mi Ma Myat Kyi:* Son Succeeding and Lasting, Daughter Mamie, Daughter Fragrant Emerald, Daughter Cool as the Dew, Daughter Noble and Clear."

897 Most of the pensioners lived a similar life to my father's at this time.
52 It was indicative of the contentment of their retired existence that they

Yenangyaung oilfields, support of Ministers, and the indifference of the less worthy sections of University staff and students towards the nationalist movement. 873 668

The crowning event of my years there was the great strike of 1936 when about 600 students got into buses just before the final examinations and encamped themselves on the slopes of the Shwe Dagon Pagoda hill, with much sympathy and material support from the public, the men returning every morning to picket the black-leg examination candidates by lying across all exits and entrances—a completely successful technique, for it is an unthinkable insult to a Buddhist male to have his body trodden on, and no Burman, or Burma Indian or Chinese for that matter, will dare to inflict such an insult. Some of the strikers felt, after the rallying speeches in the Union, that they were striking to evict an immoral member of the staff who had the support of the Principal whom they considered an autocrat; others knew that definite demands had been put forward for the amendment of the University Act, the ultimate result of which would be to make this Principal more accountable to Burmese political leaders; a great majority felt a wave of unnameable exaltation as they stormed hall after hall for recruits, ringing bells and shouting, "Come on, sisters, the day of freedom has arrived at last!" and almost all banged and cheered as they drove away, on the roofs, the steps and the wheels of the buses, at the thought of no examinations that year, and the exciting days of picketing ahead. But it was a tragic and unhappy time for some who did not have money to waste on another year before graduation and who trusted that the authorities would succeed in holding the examinations, or for others who did not join out of personal loyalties of the moment and who had friends and brothers with impassioned convictions on the other side. I shall always remember the face of my friend Ko Ohn, as he refused to let a doctor into Inya Hall to attend to a sick non-striker, his good face so full of distress and his longyi all smudged with the melted tarmac of the road in which he had been lying under the hot March sun. "Please, we must do it," he said; "I am so thirsty and my head is aching, but we must do it for our country." [547]

One of the reasons for the focussing of public interest on the University students was the great interest taken in the development of the young women there. The male students, like the public, were not interested in them only for reasons of courtship or companionship, but took a keen objective interest in them. It has been said of Burma that she has no feminist movements because none have been necessary; the women have always had all the rights they wanted. But it goes further than that. Burmese men take a sincere pride in the achievements of a woman who can successfully invade spheres outside her domestic tasks. 873 562 178

1: Mi Mi Khaing I-5 (no date) 1946 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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Far from the medical and legal professions presenting a closed phalanx to the first women seeking to enter, Burmans love to introduce their distinguished women as "the first lady doctor" and "the first lady barrister". On the other hand they demand that on no account shall a woman take on mannish and immodest behaviour and outlook with her new abilities. Allowances will be made, if necessary, for weaker constitutions, extra time spent on the making of a formal sadone hair style before attending work, or for soft voices.

Hence, in University College, where there was a generation of adolescent girls, some of whom had never before been to Rangoon from their district schools, the greatest interest was taken in their line of development—their scholastic success, their interest in or indifference to politics and nationalism, the degree of their response to Westernizing influences, their clothes and their morals—and yet the most censorious interest was not to be taken as personal or malicious. It was concern for the future of Burmese womanhood, we were told. Thus no woman student had any private life or anonymity. Whatever characteristics she possessed were taken up by a few who were interested in those particular qualities and then received the attentions of the great body of men students who only wanted something to sharpen their wit on. The height of this interfering concern, on the part of young men, for the moral welfare of young women was reached in 1940 when a petition was seriously put up to the Principal of University College, by a number of students, that certain young women be ordered to shorten the shoulder straps of the ornamental bodices worn under the transparent jackets. So sincere was their solicitude that the Principal felt constrained to refer the matter to the Warden of the Women's Hall for action.

But the young men were not stinting in approval either, even though the majority expressed it in loud good-natured chaff. In fact, for a keen interest in politics, for wit, for exquisite coyness or a proud beauty, the girls in University College were in as much limelight as can surround a rugger hero at an English University. And indeed, the word "hero" was used for them because the word "heroine" could not be shouted in Burmese euphony. Hence, if a report had gone abroad that a girl had swum the 2,000 yards of the cross-lake track, or had harangued a group of young men for bad manners, or was coming to a lecture with her hair in an informal knot at the back of her head instead of a formal sadone, she was greeted on entrance by a hundred odd youths stamping and cheering and jeering and all shouting, "Hero! Hero!"

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No wonder there was love everywhere. Even in modern Rangoon an unmarried young man and woman could not be seen without the presence of a third person, but sentimental love flourished all the more

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

hollow pipes of glass, coloured in a variety of tints. The shape is somewhat peculiar, a slight irregular concave, if I may be allowed the expression, the front being a little larger in diameter than the back. Some of the princesses wore very costly na-daung, the diamonds, and especially the rubies, for which Burma is celebrated, being exceedingly fine. The men, except those of high rank, very seldom wear them, unless on exceptional feast days. Women ordinarily put them on whenever they go out. Poor people keep the holes open with a roll of paper or cloth. A *chic* damsel very often courts attention by carrying spare cheroots dangling from her lobes. Elder women who subordinate personal appearance to bodily comforts usually do the same thing on a journey. It secures them a smoke whenever they may want it, and the huge green cheroots are not easily carried in the penetralia of the Burmese female dress, while if they were in the travelling box, they might be abstracted by unscrupulous youngsters.

It is curious to notice how much the custom is falling into disuse in the larger towns with the men. Even among the wealthier classes you seldom see a man wearing a na-daung of the largest size. Those of the thickness of a pencil or a little less are still common, but they too probably will pass out of use shortly. Yet this used to be looked upon as the distinctive mark of Burmese nationality. Probably, nowadays, the tattooing is considered sufficient; while the ear-plugs were certainly inconvenient things, and afforded obvious attractions to robbers. But with the women ear-boring is still universal, and probably will continue so as long as the men go on tattooing, notwithstanding the pain of the process. The na-daung are as characteristic of the Burmese women as the flapping tamein.

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

little used. This punishment was calculated to isolate the offending brother. The other yahans were to avoid speaking to him, to the extent of not even uttering a rebuke, if he indulged in indiscreet talk. Nowadays, when one pyin-sin is irritated with another, he does not indeed talk to him, or go and abuse him, but he advises the people to have nothing to do with him, and give him no alms. 792

Indeed many laxities have crept in. Some casuists evade the rule against touching gold and silver. It is becoming lamentably common for monks, otherwise eminently pious and worthy of respect, not only not to refuse money, but actually to receive it with their own hands—covered with a handkerchief. Such unprincipled playing with the letter of the law is vehemently denounced by the Sulagandi, and disliked by the more earnest laymen, even when the pyin-sin does not personally shave so close to the wind, but bids one of his schoolboys take the coin and put it in the box. Of a piece with this is the roundabout way of getting anything the monk may especially desire. He may not directly ask for anything, if it were even food to save him from starvation, far less must he bargain for the object he wishes. Therefore an elaborate method of exchange has been invented by a yahan in whom the passion of covetousness was far from being extinguished. He says, such and such a thing "is useless to me; but what is the value of that? I have begging-bowls, iron, clay, and lacquer in abundance, but my robe is sadly worn and discoloured. That thengan is seemly and suitable for a holy man. Thrice blessed is he that giveth alms, his merit will wax great." Very often he thus gets the thing he wants without having to part with previous alms-gifts. Others, perhaps, a little more scrupulous, mention to the kappiyadāyaka, the manciple of the kyaung, that they would be glad to have such and such a thing, and he provides it out of the monastic funds. All this trifling with the spirit of the patimauk is, however, strenuously denounced by the Sulagandi, who in Lower Burma have gathered a large proportion of the more right-thinking of the laity to their side. 792 178

Some of the regulations of the Book of the Enfranchisement are very singular, but all may be traced to some one 792

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma(Mon) AP1
Burmese AP4

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sick will recover and the plague leave the locality. Thereupon the villagers rush off like madmen into the surrounding forest, and run about hither and thither in a reckless way with an open cloth, or the end of their waistcloth, in their hands. Some of them suddenly make a plunge with their cloth over a bush or a tussock of grass, and then closing it up carefully, hurry breathless back to the village. The leip-bya or "butterflies" of the sick man are supposed to have been captured. The paso, or cloth, is carefully opened and shaken over the patient's head, and the leip-bya is supposed to return to its proper habitation. This operation is repeated several times, in case a wrong "butterfly" might have been captured, or lest the actual one should have escaped on the way. Then everybody returns. The function is not without its danger, for it has happened that the [754] temporary mimes have become permanently possessed of evil spirits, and as witches and wizards have proved as great curses to the neighbourhood as any pestilence could have been. Which things are an allegory. The whole ceremony [178] is beginning to get into very bad odour in the more settled parts of the province, and respectable people avoid having anything to do with it, while those who have taken a part are ashamed to own it.

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All these nats are directly connected with a particular locality, and therefore well known to, and regularly propitiated by, the inhabitants of that place. But there are abundance of nats to be found elsewhere, away from villages and houses, and all of them equally ready to resent any injury which the passer-by may unwittingly do them. When a Burman starts on a journey he hangs a bunch of plantains, or a twig of the tha-bye tree, on the pole of the buffalo cart or the stern of the boat, to conciliate any spirit whose beat he may intrude upon. The fisherman makes offerings in his nat-sin every time he launches his dug-out; the lonely hunter in the forest deposits some rice and ties together a few leaves whenever he comes across some particularly large and imposing tree, lest there might be a thi'pinsaung nat dwelling there. Should there be none, the tied-back twigs will at any rate stand in evidence to the taw-saung nat, the demon who presides over all the forest.

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma (Europeans) Indians)AP1
Burmese AP4

Be 243 452 435

do no harm in Rangoon rice dealings, and would win that respect from the farmer which heavy payments and cunning never will.

Be 243 439 178 256

Rangoon still continues to be the largest rice port in the world. From January to May the river is crowded with shipping—huge iron and steel sailing craft that have been chartered beforehand, and carry off thousands of bags in their capacious holds; and a constant succession of "ditchers," as the steamers passing through the Suez Canal are called, which come "seeking," and seldom have to go away without their full complement of "five parts cargo rice," or "Europe milled." The steamers are displacing the sailing ships, and the shorter passage now makes it possible to carry fully husked rice home without the danger of heating, which was supposed to be avoided by the partly husked "five parts cargo rice." Harbour-masters and river-pilots have a busy time, and gather together many pieces of silver against the later months of the year, when they will have abundant leisure to spend them. Coringi coolies swarm in the town, and their monotonous chant, "Eh-ya-mah-la Tah-ma-lay, Madras Ag-boat Tah-ma-lay," may be heard at any hour of the night or the morning, floating over the river. The British sailor overflows into the town and sings noisy old salt sea-songs round about the Sule pagoda, gets mad drunk on arrack, and not unseldom clears Dalhousie Street with a linked-arm rush, heedless of the red-turbaned guardian of the peace, who keeps out of the way in the meantime, but will break poor drunken Jack's head with his truncheon if he finds him helpless and strayed from his fellow-roysterers.

Be Ba 439 463 563

Be Ba 361 256 463 563

The Puzundaung Creek, where all the mills are, is as busy as an ant-hill all day long, and all night too, when some of the mills are lighted up with Jablochkoffs or later forms of electric light, and the silvery rays shine ghastly on the black and bronzed mill-workers. Here we have the Madrasi coolies again, making noises, according to their nature, as a kind of assertion that they are doing hard work. The lank Chittagonian firemen, with their aquiline noses, are coated with coal-dust, and divide their time between firing up and having a whiff at the hubble-bubble when Sandy,

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

boat. R—— is in luck this morning. We have hardly gone a hundred yards when the "Mah Hlah" comes puffing round the point behind us, with a boat on either side, and three towing astern. 256 442 455

And now we have got back to the mill. The Burmans are discharging their paddy, which is stowed in bulk, into a big cargo boat. The regulation basket is in use, and we do not peer too inquisitively into the bottom of it. The owner of the boat is perched on the lofty carved stern of his craft, and placidly smokes a great cheroot. Presently he will come down and make his way to the office, where he will get a great pile of rupees to carry off, tied in the end of his paso. The greater number of them will probably find their way into the hands of the oily chetty, who is squatting on the bank there. The rest our hleshin will most likely gamble away. 000

Meanwhile, a long string of coolies is carrying the paddy from the lighter into the godown, a gigantic shed, where there is already a mountain of grain. We skirt round it, and go to the other side. There a few hundred more coolies are running off with more baskets to the mill. The paddy is thrown into huge receptacles on the basement, winnowed, carried up in lifts to the top of the house, three stories high, where it is first of all passed over a long sieve. Here the stalks, leaves, stones, and stumps of cheroots are separated from the grain, which is then passed between two revolving stones, just sufficiently wide apart to grind off the outer husk without breaking the seed. Then it is rewinnowed in fanners, and passed over finer sieves, where the broken grains fall through, while the part-cleaned rice goes on to fresh stones. It is found that perfectly clean rice will not stand the long sea voyage, and the grain as it is sent in the sailing ship has still the inner pellicle, and is mixed with about twenty per cent of unhusked rice. This is what is technically known as "five parts cargo rice," or simply "cargo rice." Since so many steamers have begun to go through the Suez Canal, the amount of "white rice" milled in the province has been steadily increasing. Rice of a specially fine quality, with a glaze on the surface, is manufactured for Italy. Clouds of rice-dust float all over the mill, and settle every- 256 256 439 178 256

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

CHAPTER XXIV

A GRACIOUS PLOUGHING

LIKE the "royal elder brother" of China, the king of Burma ought to go out once a year to plough the fields. Thibaw Min did not do it during the first two years of his reign, and, as far as I am aware, was equally heedless throughout the later years also. The consequences ought to have been disastrous. According to tradition, the failure of the Lètwin mingala to come off should have caused a drought all over the country. But the Mo hkaung did not ensue; on the contrary, there was Mo kaung: an aspirate makes all the difference between a water-famine and seasonable showers. King Thibaw went very little indeed out of his palace. The annals of the country supply too many instances of kings, who, having gone abroad, found on their return to the palace gates that a usurper had taken possession of the throne in the meantime, and had no better greeting for his predecessor than a short shrift and a red velvet sack in which to plunge his body into the Irrawaddy. This unlovable custom had great weight with King Thibaw; but it was unwise of him to entirely abandon so venerable a tradition as the Lètwin mingala. It was at this ceremonial that one of the earliest marvels in the life of the Buddha Gautama happened. The king Thudawdana, with eight hundred noblemen save one, was ploughing the fields at the annual festival. Many country people came to see the great sight, and the city emptied itself. The maids who had charge of the little Prince Theidat laid him down under the shade of a tree and went to look on. The infant Buddha rose up as soon as they were gone, and sitting

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2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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They therefore remain on the defensive. There are also pieces called pau—bombardiers or rocket-men—with curious powers. They can move the whole length of the board, in the fashion of the castle. If an adversary's piece intervenes, they can take the pawn or piece immediately behind it, but cannot kill direct. Students of the Persian game will be reminded of the power of their elephant. It will be seen from this cursory description that the Burmans can hardly owe their game to the Chinese. Shin Gautama sent us Buddhism from "the Middle Country";[1] it is possible that the game of chess came from India also. But if so, while Burmese Buddhism has hardly changed at all, and remains much more like the original teachings of the Master than the faiths of Ceylon, Nepaul, and Thibet, the game of chess has been greatly altered, and I think I may venture to say vastly improved.

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[1] Myizimadetha, not the "Middle Kingdom" of the Chinese.

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

651 lists were filled up, no matter whether it was an uboné,
525 or a more sacred feast, and, as a consequence, the minds
446 of the people were kept in a state of perpetual unhealthy excitement.

651 Neither buyers nor sellers were to be seen in the bazaar.
525 Cultivators sold off their farming stock and implements, and
178 launched all their money into the state lotteries. Fathers
[562] sold their daughters, and husbands their wives, to have a final try for fortune, until the lottery managers issued a notice that they would give no more tickets in exchange for women. To fill up the totals faster, and draw in every available coin, twenty, or even more, people were allowed to club together to buy a single ticket. Business was entirely suspended, and all the people hovered about the lottery-offices, longing for the drawing, while cleaned-out speculators prowled about day and night, watching for an opportunity to thieve and rob. How it was that the plundered people did not rise against the government, or at least against the lottery managers, is a mystery, but they did not. The suburbs of Mandalay were filled for a time with ruined gamblers, until the soldiery were employed to drive them farther afield, when many made their way to the frontier, and recouped themselves by raids on British Burma villages. Eventually money failed, or the people were disillusionised, and the lottery-offices, though several remained open, drove but a very slight
651 trade. Then Thibaw Min had to resort to other measures
665 to meet his expenditure, and from July 1881 began disposing of monopolies right and left. Having finished the export monopolies, he commenced with those on imports. The British trade with Upper Burma was being steadily ruined, and the war which ended in the extinction of the kingdom of Burma was made inevitable.

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

to hold his land free from taxes for such a period as may be necessary to bring it into a thorough state of cultivation. In such a case as this he has to apply to the thugyi—the old hereditary officers being retained throughout British Burma—of his circle, if the land does not exceed five acres in extent. If it is above that area, application has to be made to the English Assistant-commissioner, or to the Deputy-commissioner in charge of the district, if the average of the new claim exceeds fifty. The land is then surveyed and a grant is drawn up specifying the term of years during which he shall be free from imposts. This varies according to the kind of jungle which is to be cleared away, and the kind of crops intended to be grown. The exemption is in no case for less than a year. If rice is to be grown, seven years is the longest term of rent-free tenure, but for orchard cultivation it extends to twelve years. In a few cases, where the nature of the ground necessitates, in addition to clearing away the forest growth, the digging of channels for irrigation, and the erection of dams, extension even of this long period is granted. As in France, Norway, Japan, and Switzerland, the farms are all very small, in some cases almost absurdly so. Along the old frontier the holdings averaged only about five acres, in the Rangoon district from sixteen to twenty acres is the ordinary size, but here and there are a few considerably larger. It would, however, be a great mistake to endeavour to introduce larger tenancies. It is entirely against the genius of the people, and the appearance of foreign capitalists could not be otherwise than disastrous. The present mode of cultivation is slovenly enough, and larger farms would most certainly not tend to remedy the defect, which is due in great part to the superabundance of available arable land lying waste. Burma is progressing fast enough as it is. The abundance of rich land, the facility with which rights over it can be acquired, the great demand for rice, and the ever-increasing counter demand for European goods, the fixed, though heavy taxation, the cessation of all irregular and unexpected collections, the absolute personal security enjoyed by all under the English administration: all these benefits have resulted in the trebling of the population of Lower Burma during twenty-six years since the annexation of Pegu;

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2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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in the more than trebling of the trade—the value of the sea-borne merchandise alone having doubled and reached twelve and a half millions sterling during the ten years previous to 1881—and in the wonderful increase in revenue, which makes Burma the most valuable of all the provinces under the Indian Government. Now that all Burma is one province the increase of revenue and the contribution paid to the Imperial Government have gone on increasing with a regularity which is almost automatic.

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

CHAPTER LVIII

MANDALAY AND RANGOON

[This chapter describes these towns as they were in 1881.]

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177.36
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AMERICANS talk, and with good reason, of the magic growth of their cities. But for mere mushroom growth, Mandalay might compare even with Chicago itself, and if we are to judge of the progress of a commercial place by the fair criterion of business results, Rangoon may hold up its head in confident rivalry with any of the typical American cities. In the middle of last century the site of Mandalay was swampy paddy land and rank jungle. Now an area of five square miles is covered with houses, many of them squalid enough certainly, and with large patches of unused land round about them, but none the less contained within the city limits. Rangoon came into British hands in 1852, and at that time possessed no commerce worthy of the name, indeed it was only known as the place for pilgrims to the Shwe Dagôn pagoda to stay at, and the residence of the Regent of Pegu, as being the guard station on the most accessible mouth of the Irrawaddy. Ten years later, ships entered or cleared from the port having a tonnage of 295,000 tons, and the imports were worth £1,200,000, the exports £1,400,000, and since that date—a year or two after Mandalay had been founded—the tonnage has increased to 1,000,000, the value of the imports to £5,000,000 sterling, and the exports to £4,000,000. In a quarter of a century the commerce of British Burma rose to nearly £20,000,000 sterling. The population has quadrupled; public works are carried on; education is widely disseminated; the administration is carefully managed by British officials; a railway,

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[161]
[871]
[497]

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma(Chinese)AP1
Burmese AP4

Be 178 [497] [206] [452]

163 miles long, has been made; there are 1300 miles of telegraph lines; stately law courts and other public buildings have sprung up, and so far from the work being a tax on the Indian Imperial Treasury, British Burma has been, after its first few years, more than self-supporting. For a considerable time it has contributed to the Imperial Treasury a clear surplus of a million sterling. The mere figures are in themselves surprising, but they cannot be truly appreciated unless they are read alongside the obvious, undeniable, and acknowledged prosperity and contentment of the native population. Since the annexation of Upper Burma these figures have been roughly multiplied by ten, and there is a steady yearly increase which would be greater if Burma were allowed to make use of her yearly surpluses.

Be 361

As long as there was a king of Burma, Mandalay was a larger town than Rangoon and an infinitely more picturesque one. It still remains by a long way the second town in Burma, but Rangoon has over-passed it in population. While Rangoon has gained, Mandalay has lost, but there seems no reason why it should go on declining.

The mushroom growth of Mandalay was entirely due to an autocratic order, but the number of ancient capitals in the neighbourhood shows that the position is an advantageous one. The astrologers and the king settled the new site between them, and when this was arranged a royal order came out bidding all remove themselves from Amarapura to Mandalay on pain of death in case of refusal. The transference of a bamboo hut is certainly no very great undertaking, and occupies less than a week in the pulling down and setting up. But the hardship was none the less where the people had gardens, or fruit-trees growing in their yards. The Chinese alone remained firm. Their houses were of the usual substantial, heavy, Celestial architecture, and, moreover, they had built for themselves an elaborate joss-house, in splendour quite equal to the best in Rangoon. Consequently, they flatly refused to migrate the two or three miles distance to the new capital. The astrologers were as usual for using force, but Mindôn Min had more sense. The Chinamen were almost all British subjects, and moreover their dealings contributed substantially to the revenue. Their

Ba [543] [341]

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

of the funeral paraphernalia takes some time, and it is nowadays almost a matter of ceremonial necessity that all children and blood relations should assemble for the burial. Technically, if the death occurred on the last day of the month the funeral ceremonies should take place before midnight, certainly before the new moon appears. This rule, however, is far from being strictly observed nowadays. A poor man is buried as quickly as possible to save expense; a rich man's obsequies last according to the pride of his family and their inclination to spend money. The coffin, called hkaung, is usually covered with tinsel paper, or perhaps gilt. The talā, the bier, is shaded by a light canopy, or spire made of bamboo, and carried by means of four long bamboo poles. This pya-that is usually most gaily decorated with coloured pasteboard, tinsel, and paintings of different kinds, and looks strangely bright and theatrical to Europeans. It is carpentered and decorated in the street before the house, for it is from eight or ten to twenty or thirty feet in height, and often overtops all the houses in the quarter.

764 [565]

When the day fixed for the funeral arrives the yahans are invited to the house. They usually come in numbers proportioned to the amount of alms given. There is ordinarily an address in the house, dwelling mainly on the vanity of human wishes and the uncertainty and misery of life on earth. Then the coffin is brought out and placed on the platform made for it in the lower part of the pya-that. Over it is then thrown a paso if the deceased was a man, or a tamein or neckerchief if a woman. This usually conceals the coffin, unless it is richly gilt, or painted, as is sometimes the case, with figures of the nobler of the animals, such as lions, tigers, monkeys, and elephants. Then the distinctive garment is looped up so that all may see. Over this cloth are usually placed short sticks wrapped round with gold and silver paper, shwe bidôn and ngwe bidôn which were forbidden in Mandalay except to the officials. Equally contrary to the Yazagaing are the sanda ya-mya, two long streamers which come down from the top of the spire and are taken in the hands of as many of the personal friends as can get hold of them. The musket shots which are fired often during the processions would have entailed especially

[793] 764 565 178●

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

764 heavy punishment under Burman rule. Latterly some
525 laymen in Rangoon have even been bold enough to glorify the
178 funerals of their relatives with keinnaya, figures of men or women with bird-like feet and lower extremities. These spangled toys, which are commonly to be seen in all monasteries, are properly only used at the last ceremonies of a member of the sacred order. But when some men are bold enough even to flaunt the royal white umbrella, it is hardly to be expected that the distinctive honours of the yahans would be respected.

764 The procession having been formed, a start is made.
[735] At the head come the alms intended for the monks and for the poor, some carried by men, some by women, the sexes going in separate lines. After this come the pyin-sin, never in any very great numbers, unless the a-hlu be particularly bountiful. Following them comes the band, and often a troop of singers. These are always hired for the purpose, and their callousness is as little to be cast up against Burman natural affection as the unlovable doings of the mutes at an English funeral. Close upon the musicians comes the bier carried by six or eight young men. Then in a general crowd follow the relations, friends, and neighbours, all on foot. Many passers-by, total strangers, join in the procession from motives of piety. Here and there the men carrying the bier stop and dance in a curious fantastic way to the measures of
[633] the dirge of the singers. The funeral *miserere* are usually the composition of an improvisatore in the chorus, and deal with the life and death and good actions of the deceased. A measure called maung pyaung is the most generally used.

Occasionally there is a tug-of-war with a rope as at a pôngyi's funeral, one side exclaiming, "We must bury our dead"; the other, "You shall not take away my friend." As a matter of necessity the former party must conquer, but they sometimes have to get recruits from the crowd before they can manage it.

764 It is a matter of regulation that a funeral should never
923 go to the north or to the east. The graveyard is usually to the west of the village, and the dead should all be carried out of a walled town by a gate reserved for this purpose. In Mandalay this a-mingala tagā was that to the south-west,

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

764 [564] a handful of earth the grave-diggers fill up the grave. These sandalās are outcasts, the name being probably derived from the Sanskrit term for the lowest caste of the Hindoos. It is considered a mark of respect to wait till the grave is filled in, and when this is over, there is some conversation in the zayat over the refreshments, and then all make their way home. The pya-that, bamboos, and other paraphernalia are the perquisites of the sandalās, and they usually get all the alms intended for the poor, though at a great funeral there, is often much competition for the pasos, turbans, and pieces of muslin given away in alms. It is to be observed that there is no tombstone put up; nothing to mark for future years where the grave was.

764 178 Though burial is becoming common with all classes, the old method of cremation still prevails extensively in the jungle districts, and was invariable in Independent Burma when the deceased had attained considerable age. When the body is to be burned, mithingyothi, it is not necessary that the coffin lid should be fastened down, and sometimes there is no lid at all. The preparations and procession are identical with that for burial. The pyre is composed of billets of wood, laid two and two at right angles to each other, quantities of sweet-smelling woods being placed in the intervals. A few billets are placed above the coffin as well as below, and at the bottom of the funeral pile is usually an iron trough into which any unconsumed bones may fall. The pyre is kindled at various points by the nearest relations, and the sandalās stay by to see that it burns freely, and that all is consumed. When the fire has burnt out, two or three of the nearest of kin come and search about among the ashes for the bones. These are washed clean with cocoanut milk, and in the case of great people in Lower Burma of late years, often with lavender water, eau de cologne, or any of Atkinson's or Piesse and Lubin's scents. They are then wrapped up in clean white cloths, and placed in a newly made earthenware pot, which is not uncommonly gilt, or covered with pictures of sacred events taken from the birth stories. This is then taken back to the house temporarily.

For seven days after either kind of funeral, mourning

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

764 778 mould the paste into a small image of the Lord Buddha, which they set up in an honoured place in their houses, and make use of as the object of their morning and evening doxologies. Such images are called tha-yo.

764 525 [178] Nowadays money and public estimation alone determine the character of the funeral; but formerly in Mandalay, apart from the ceremonial provided for a pôngyi byan, there were five kinds suitable for a layman—one for the sovereign; then for members of the royal family; thirdly, for nobles, and those who had received official rank, a rather precarious and dangerous possession; then for thuté, rich men—so designated by special patent, which placed them under the "protection" of the court, that is to say, made them accessible for the demand of "benevolences"; and finally, a funeral for ordinary people. The burials of the poor in Mandalay were gruesome spectacles. The body was carried to the graveyard in a big, roomy box, grown rickety with much use, or, more simply still, in a mat. The sandalas had dug a hole, little more than three feet deep. If it was not long enough the body was squeezed in without any regard for relatives feelings. Enough earth to cover it slightly was thrown on by the grave-diggers, and the howls and fights of the pariah dogs at night suggested how it was that epidemics did not arise.

In the case of the funeral, say of an Atwinwun's wife, the coffin might be gilt, with a web of white cotton cloth fastened at the head—velvet was only permissible for a person of royal blood; the bamboos composing the bier were covered with red cloth; the pasos, tameins, and so on, given in alms, were carried on long poles, each pole borne by two men. In the procession the insignia of the wun, his umbrellas, fans, kamauk, and the rest were carried in front; after the alms and yahans came a dozen or more young women, carrying the court dress and decorations of the deceased, then her state carriage and that of her husband, hers being usually a palanquin. The billets of wood on the funeral pyre were gilt. These honours were so greatly valued that not a single privilege would be omitted, though the husband had to borrow money for every single item. Indeed, were he to have omitted any of them, he might

13: Khin Zaw 1-5 (no date) 1940 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

As for the classical cycle of keys, diagrams of which appeared both in U Ba Choe's article and U San Win's book 2, both U Ba Choe and U San Win quote authoritative verses from classical literature (*Natakaratanakosa* နဋကရတနကောသာ) but regret that not all the keys mentioned are in use in this decadent age. With due reverence for the classics I shall assign these verses like Ruskin's works on art and Pater's, to literature. It is becoming increasingly difficult to fit classical theory with the actual music. Whereas our classical literature came *en masse* from ancient India along with Buddhism many hundred years ago our music seems to have come from the east. Indeed one class of songs *yodaya* ယိုးဒယား came *en masse* from Siam less than two centuries ago. Music is the last thing that could have come with Buddhism. It seems to have developed quite independently of classical literature. In fact Burmese poetry *linga* လင်္ဂ *alankara*) is quite distinct from Burmese song (*thachin* သချင်း) and from both stands massive and remote the Buddhist literature of the *tripitaka* in the Pali language.

533 178● 101 [779] [538]

What seems to have happened is that while the elegant royalty and courtesans in the palace were delighting in the intricacies of Burmese versification with liberal infusion of both the Pali language and the Buddhist philosophy, music in its robust form was having its origins in animistic ritual (နတ်), in the village when somebody was giving alms and in the paddy-fields when the transplanting of the seedlings were in progress. For the former we have *Byaw*[1] (ဗျော) stick-struck drum songs, and for the latter we have *Bonshay* (ဘုံရှေ) long-drum or *kauksaik* (ကောက်ရိုက်) transplanting songs. *Kyoh* (ကြိုး) that most ancient class of Burmese songs also must have been in the beginning a labour chant for concerted action that germinated in ancient row boats, grew into a boat-song, and then developed for royal ears into its present high order of melodic and literary grandeur (*vide* the royal barge songs: ဆောင်ရိုက်ကြိုး when the barge makes port, ဆောင်ဝင်ကြိုး when the barge is being towed out by rowers in open boats, ဆောင်ထောကြိုး when the barge is underway[2]. The cadences of these still recall the rhythmic flash of wet oars in the sun. Thus Burmese music had as its sponsor the rustic festivals and the occupation of the hewers of wood and drawers of water, and not the Church as

533 178

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1. တေးဘုရားထမ်းလျှောဝဲနှင့်ရေတမ်ထ 'A dancer's life (or dancing) begins with a tray of Lamma offerings (or *pwé* marked by a central fire-bowl stand of plantain trunk) in a *byaw* music party. TZI 1666 A. D. when the 8th king of the Nyaungyan dynasty ရေနှင်း *Sané Min* came to the throne there existed only intoned poems ပျိုး ပေါ်ကျိုး but no real Burmese music. သတင်ရှင်ထင်ပြား by U Nu. Sun Magazine, 1938.

2. U Ba Choe told me that this was not true. This class of songs used to be played as exercises in the playing of the Burmese harp, when the pupil first learnt to pluck simultaneously certain strings (ကြိုး *Kyoh*). For a full explanation of it *see* ဗလာပိတ်ဝေဖြာကျမ်း by U San Win.

533 in Europe. Indeed the Buddhist religion so frowns upon music
●178 that it was practised rather shamefacedly and its devotees are often
[179] called *Phet-khwet-sa* (Eaters out of leaves), *i.e.* vagabonds. Even so recently as last year a learned old Burmese gentleman loth to depart this life without imparting all of his Burmese learning concluded a series of Burmese articles on Burmese music and dancing with an apology for having at all indulged in such frivolities.

533 Music found in the irrepressible gaiety of the Burmese people
181 a fertile soil and it let its roots deep into the soil, and soon from
178 occupational songs music developed into an art-form which finally
565 invaded the towns, the capital and the royal palace. There it
177 received fresh impetus from a system of competitive patronage in which the king himself joined with his own band. There also, apparently it received its classical nomenclature. Names which sound imposing enough—ဆရာ ဗျူဟာ ဂီတ ဝဏ္ဏ etc. *Svara*, *Mūrchana*, *Grāma*, *Çruti* etc.—but meant for quite different things, must have been borrowed in their entirety for the sake of their classical origin, so that the names were not in accordance with what they stood for, even as the Greek names, by which the western ecclesiastical modes were distinguished, were not in accordance with those of the ancient Greek octave system from which the names were taken. Thus it seems Burmese musical theory in the classical manner is a grafted dignity which dignifies but does not apply. Indeed it seems yet to be written.

533 However, to go on with Mariano: "Pure Burmese melodies are beautiful in themselves. But on account of the preponderance of grace-notes (mordente, acciaccatura, appoggiatura) Europeans find it difficult to catch Burmese tunes.". This is very true, but not true enough. Ornament in Burmese music does something more than preponderate. They themselves are an inherent part of the tunes. That is why when a Burmese song is taken down by a western musican and reproduced, the ornaments having been unappreciated and eschewed the 'tune' that remains no longer sounds Burmese. Fox Strangways explains succinctly:

> "We think of grace-notes as something which may but need not be added to the note, not as something actually inherent in it. If cultivated for their own sake or used at all in excess they are regarded by us as meretricious.....Indian 'grace' is different in kind. There never is the least suggestion of anything having been 'added' to the note which is graced. The note with the grace makes one utterance. The object of grace is, of course, to add importance to the particular note, but there are such varying degrees in which this may be done

13: Khin Zaw I-5 (no date) 1940 ~~APT Burma~~
Burmese AP4

that the whole system of *ga nak*, the general term for the thing becomes an elaborate vehicle of light and shade. It brings the notes of a melody, as surely as the various light and shade of a picture brings the contours of the face, from the flat into the round; which again is precisely what harmony does for them, by assigning to the successive notes varying degrees of consonance. There is an obvious reason for grace-notes wherever there is no harmony. For a melody is a sentence with important words and unimportant, and grace-notes and harmonic texture are the only two things that can always be applied to enhance this importance. For stress and quantity, which serve this purpose in verse, are not so well adapted to music. Stress, which is additional volume, is difficult to achieve with low notes; and quantity, which is additional duration, alters the melody itself, imposing on ~~it~~ from without something which should come from within." 533

Although Burmese 'grace' may not be so elaborate or systematised as the Indian *gamak*, much of the above quotation equally applies to Burmese music. Much will have to be pointed out in notation when I deal with the problem of the 'writing' of Burmese music[1]. Mr. Mariano concluded: "It is a matter for great regret that the beautiful music which the Burmans unquestionably possess is being forgotten. The modern tendency is to imitate European and Indian themes, and the time is not distant when genuine Burmese music will be a thing of the past." 533 101

He wrote that 40 years ago. Nowadays, the gramophone record business has encouraged wholesale filching of jazz tunes, first divested of harmony and then re-dressed in an imitation of it, with Burmese words making ungainly efforts to step along side by side with the wholly unsuitable western tunes. Shades of Mariano! 533 178

It is a matter for rejoicing that a state school of fine-arts has come into being. How much more rejoicing there would be in the hearts of lovers of true Burmese music if the government, instead of merely opening a class for teaching how to play certain musical instruments, had seized upon the means of saving real Burmese music from oblivion. The implacability of business so far as gramophone records are concerned, the rapid deterioration of public taste pandered to by radio and gramophone, the invasion [207] [206]

1. A full treatment of Burmese grace with classified examples in staff-notation will require a separate chapter in the manner of the chapter on Ornamentation in Arnold Dolmetsch's *Interpretation of the music of 17th and 18th centuries*. For the present see specimens in the complete violin part of *Bau-lè*.

I3: Khin Zaw I-5 (no date) 1940 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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of western instruments and instrumentation, the ephemeral catchiness of jazz tunes—who, but the government can save Burmese music from the combined assault of these powerful forces?

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True Burmese music nowadays resides only in the memory of old Burmese musicians. And they are now too old. Their music should be recorded. They should be organised into a state orchestra and paid to broadcast selections from the classics at least twice a week. Their instruments should be measured and a standard pitch and a standard scale should be fixed and one complete set of Burmese musical instruments should be maintained and kept correctly in tune for purposes of research. The notation of the authentic ground patterns of Burmese classical songs should be undertaken. As an urgent preliminary measure U San Win should be subsidised to carry out his notation of the classics in his own style so that important classical tunes may be preserved for future more scientific notation and instrumentation. Above all, organised research into the theory of Burmese music should be instituted at once with suitable equipment and aid[1].

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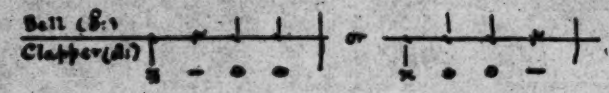
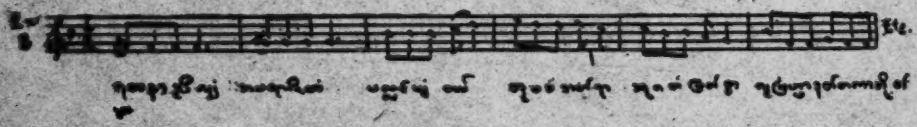
1. I am glad to add that the Government has responded generously to the application of the Burma Research Society for a grant towards the recording of a representative selection of Burmese classical songs, verse-forms, and drum music, for the gramophone. U Ba Choe labouring mightily, twenty-three recordings have just been completed at a total cost of Rs. 6,250. A further grant has just been made by the Government to enable the Burma Research Society to send me on an errand collecting Burmese folksongs, if the University Authorities will sanction me leave. There is much yet to be done.

533 Thus: Ex: 18 Bell (ခေါ်) Clapper (ခေါ်)



No great importance is attached to the variation. In one and the same piece of music the quadruple may sometimes change into the duple, or become faster or slower in accordance with the needs of the particular piece of music. But never must a musican get out of rhythmic time[1].

533 So far as I am aware compound time does not seem to be
788 used at all in music, though I detect signs of it in the congregational
562 chanting of certain quasi-religious verses which used to be the rage
[171] among young Burmese ladies when Myawadi Phongyi was at the height of his singular career about 18 years ago.



I give in example 8 what I can remember of the verses I used to chant as the only boy among a sort of choir of young ladies. This particular verse pays homage to Buddha. But young ladies used to pay homage to his reverence too, kneeling down and singing his praise and wishing him long-life etc. Had I not been a sort of pitch-pipe I would have been as little tolerated in that beauty chorus as a bee in a bouquet.

533 Example 11 (ဘောဘော *Baw-lè*) illustrates how the vocal part weaves in and out of (ဆင်ဆောင်) the instrumental part. Having no regular system of harmony or counterpoint the instrumental accompaniment to Burmese songs means something entirely different from what it means in the west. The instrument accompanies the voice with variations of the same tune liberally embellished. After each section the instrument plays a bar of interlude (ဘောဘော) either to emphasise the close by repetition, or to link it with the next section. In Example 11, so far as the voice is concerned, the section ends with its last note (the tonic in bar 9). But the instrument postpones this final tonic for yet another bar playing the interlude which too ends on that tonic.

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1. He is not *dead* in time like players of dance music. He keeps in time because he *feels* in time. One thinks of *Tempo Rubato*, but for its implication of virtuosity.

14: Brant E-5 (1949-50) 1954 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

II

MAKING A LIVING

Occupations

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The occupational pattern in Tadagale is a highly diversified one. There are thirty-eight principal gainful occupations in which a total of 341 individuals are engaged. A large proportion of these people have secondary and even tertiary pursuits at which they spend part of their time in order to round out a living. The following table shows the outstanding principal occupations in order of frequency.

Table II

Principal Occupations of Villagers

Occupation	No.
Gardener	52
Bus operator (driver, spare)	44
Paddy cultivator	43
Field laborer	38
Dairy farmer	26
Prepared foods seller	20
Urban laborer	19
Trader (middleman)	17
Shopkeeper	15

Some of the other principal occupations, of lesser frequency, are carpenter, fisherman, casual laborer, cowherd, woodcutter, and seamstress.

1. Gardening. The leading mode of making a living is truck gardening. The gardens are located on small patches of ground adjoining dwellings, and range in size from tiny plots up to perhaps 3000 square feet. They are cultivated intensively, four crops a year being usual, and six crops not unknown. The crops include gourds, cucumbers, mustard, cabbage, cauliflower, lettuce, radishes and spinach. 244

For all households, the garden supplies the family with the many vegetables that form an indispensable part of the various Burmese curries. Many gardens produce a surplus which is sold in nearby town bazaars or in the larger markets of Rangoon. The trend has been for gardening to become increasingly important as a source of income in recent years, particularly during the period of disturbed conditions in Burma. These conditions have seriously impeded the normal flow of fresh vegetables and fruits to Rangoon from more distant points; thus the people of Tadagale have been provided with an opportunity to secure high prices for almost all the vegetables they can supply. 244 178 443 438

244 Garden cultivation is quite simple. Hand tools, such as steel mattocks, rakes and hoes, which are obtained from Rangoon, are employed to prepare the soil. Cattle or water buffalo excrement is mixed with water to a thin consistency and poured from bamboo-spouted metal buckets over the ground. (The use of human excrement as a fertilizer, common in China and Japan, is not practiced in Burma.) During the monsoon season there is, of course, no problem of irrigation, but during the hot and dry seasons the gardens must be watered frequently. This task is often performed by young boys, who draw water from the wells and apply it to the gardens. The work of picking the matured crops and preparing them for transport to market is commonly done by female members of the household.

243 2. Paddy Cultivation. The principal occupation of forty-three persons is cultivation of paddy. This category is here defined to include individuals who own or rent land on which they cultivate paddy, as distinct from persons who work on a wage basis in the paddy cultivation of others. The latter are referred to in this report as field laborers.

243 162 427 178 Of the thirty-four paddy land holdings on which we have data, twenty-nine are rented and five are owned by the cultivators. All but one of these holdings is under twenty acres. This high ratio of renters to owners, as well as the small number of paddy cultivators relative to the total number of gainfully occupied villagers, is reflective of long-run trends in agriculture in this general area. Rural tenancy has been the outcome, in Lower Burma, of a long period of loss of land ownership to moneylenders, largely absentee, through inability of the cultivators to repay loans taken out at very high rates of interest. As tenancy has grown apace, individual cultivators have become discouraged with their small return for hard work. Accordingly, many have given up paddy cultivation altogether in favor of less arduous and relatively more rewarding occupations. However, this trend may be reversed, for there began in early 1951 actual implementation of the Land Nationalization Act of 1948, which provides for distribution of agricultural land to the cultivators on an individual ownership basis.

243 431 For the great majority of the paddy cultivators of Tadagale it is possible to eke out little more than subsistence from season to season. A few, after paying their hired labor, putting aside seed for the next year's planting, and filling the granary for home use, can realize some cash income by the sale of a small surplus of paddy. If the cultivator with a little surplus can possibly afford it, he holds the paddy until the hot season, when the market price is highest.

243 433 The average yield per acre in Tadagale, based on data for thirty cultivators for the harvest season 1948-49, is 19.8 bushels of paddy. This compares closely with the overall average figures for Burma. According to the Yearbook of Food and Agriculture for 1949 (U.N.-F.A.O.) the average yield per acre for Burma was 20 bushels.

243 437 In late March, the paddy fields of Tadagale are burned over, depositing an ash from any stubble remaining from the previous harvest. Sometime after the New Year celebration (which begins about April 13th and continues several days) the cultivators spread manure over their fields in preparation for the coming planting season. The manure is obtained from the Indian dairy farmers of the village in exchange for paddy stalk.

14: Brant E-5 (1949-50) 1954 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

One of the most popular foods of these vendors is mohingha. Rice noodles are made by pounding rice into a flour, mixing it with water, and grinding into a paste between two flat stone slabs. After the excess water has been expressed from this paste, it is pushed through sieves with narrow holes, to form noodles. Once dried, the noodles are cooked and mixed with a curry to make mohingha. 252

A beverage sold regularly by food vendors is molesaun. It is made of sugar, coconut milk and bits of rice noodles, mixed together. The villagers consider this drink very tasty and refreshing. 272

7. Shopkeeping and Middleman Trading. The typical shop in the village consists of nothing more than a few large glass jars containing cigars, matches, candy, soap, and various other articles, set out on the porch in front of a house. The stocks of these are very small and are periodically replenished by purchase in Rangoon. Customers are occasional and sales are very small. 414

Seventeen villagers devote their main activity to what we have called middleman trading. These persons make a living by periodically buying quantities of such goods as second-hand lumber from dismantled dwellings, bamboo, cloth, etc., and selling them in the village and nearby places.

8. Urban Labor. The nineteen individuals listed in Table II as urban laborers are employed in a government medical warehouse in Rangoon. They are unskilled workers who perform such tasks as moving boxes of medical supplies in and out of the establishment and arranging them in the warehouse. These people commute daily between Tadagale and their place of work by bus. 464 369

These are the numerically most significant of the variety of occupations followed by villagers. There are six unemployed persons and fourteen who are not gainfully employed because of old age, ill health, or blindness. The great majority of the married women and unmarried girls are occupied most of the time with domestic housework, looking after small children, and helping with gardening. 463

The whole character of the occupational pattern is shifting and unstable. Individuals move opportunistically from one form of activity to another as circumstances change, in an effort to round out a living. Informants stated that in former times the community was much more agricultural, but that owing to loss of land through indebtedness people had gradually left farming for other occupations. 463 178

Income

In analysing our data on income, figures for the Indians of Tadagale have been calculated separately. The Indians are occupationally a homogeneous group, all engaged in dairy farming. The range and average of income within this small group is so far above that of the Burmese that a misleading idea of the community's economic structure would be conveyed were the data on the Indians included in a single, overall computation for the village. 434 [563]

The following tables show family incomes.

565 basis of invidious distinctions. Persons of means are esteemed more for the
556 socially valued uses to which they may put their money, such as charity, ceremonial activities, and support of the clergy, than for sheer richness or consumption.

Economic Change

178 The changing pattern of Tadagale's economic life may be described from the
101 point of view of shift from a once largely subsistence economy to one based more
433 upon commodity production and exchange. In discussing this shift, the general trends are best indicated if we focus upon Lower Burma rather than upon Tadagale exclusively. It is desirable to make this large area our unit because pertinent data are available for it, whereas historical information specific to the village is somewhat scant and fragmentary. The term "Lower Burma" is an administrative and geographical one. It comprises about 81,000 square miles and a population of some 9 millions, four of the administrative divisions in the highly fertile, deltaic 'rice-bowl' of Burma.

178 1. Background. The trend from a relatively self-sufficient subsistence
433 economy, with little dependence upon money, to a more commercialized economy coincides with the coming of British colonial rule in Burma. Our historical perspective thus extends over a period of about 150 years. Within this span of time, profound economic change occurred in Lower Burma. Here we cannot give a detailed account of events from decade to decade, but must limit ourselves to a brief consideration of the major trends.

175 In pre-British Lower Burma, villages consisted of what might be called
433 islands of clearance in a big jungle. In these settlements the Burmese peasants
361 lived by cultivation of paddy and vegetable gardens. Individual small holdings were the rule, and the size of the plot depended almost entirely upon need. No incentive existed to clear and cultivate land beyond the requirements of household subsistence and taxes, paid in kind, to the representative of the Burmese Crown. Cotton, from the dry zone of central Burma, was spun and woven into cloth, and garments were made in the local community. Housing was of a simple bamboo and thatch type, made of materials available locally. The bullock cart provided transport on the relatively few occasions that it was necessary for the Lower Burma villager to travel distances that could not be walked. Contact between villages was minimized by the expanses of intervening, uncleared jungle country. In Tadagale, for example, one of our oldest informants was able to recall the period of his youth, around 1885, when jungle clearance and settlement was still taking place, bringing Tadagale into closer communication with other communities in the area. Local craftsmen provided the villagers with simple utensils, tools and implements.

178 When British colonialism took over, money came to dominate over barter.
433 Taxation was ordered to be paid in money. The Burmese cultivator was encouraged
436 to clear the heavy jungle, cultivate more land, sell surpluses of paddy to
426 commercial millers, and spend his money on attractive manufactured goods imported from England, which were on display in the town shops and bazaars. Moneylenders, some of them Burmese, but especially Indians of the moneylending Chettiar caste from Madras, who could enter Burma freely, were at hand to loan money in fairly unlimited amounts to the Burmese peasants. Thus the latter could finance the expansion of their cultivation. Rates of interest charged were unregulated, and commonly ranged from 10% to 35% per year. The Burmese peasant was an easy victim: he was, at first, entirely unsophisticated in money

matters, and cases occurred in which he unwittingly signed away title to his property, thinking he was only signing 'loan papers.' In some cases, Burmese cultivators, encouraged by moneylenders, borrowed sums greater than actually required for crop financing and used the excess for sponsorship of ceremonial activities, dramatic presentations, purchasing imported goods never before needed, and so on. 426

The result of this was the tremendous growth of rural indebtedness and 178
much foreclosure by creditors holding mortgages on the land. By the 1930's, 426
about half the cultivated land of Lower Burma was owned by landlords, largely
absentee. The once independent Burmese land holder was converted into a rural 463
tenant, or, in many instances, a landless agricultural laborer. Many tenant farmers, dependent upon rent-racking landlords, worked from harvest to harvest with little to show for their efforts beyond perhaps enough of the crop, after payment of rent, hired help, and debts, to feed their families through the planting and growing seasons. Large numbers left agriculture for other pursuits, such as petty clerical jobs in the towns and itinerant trading in imported goods. In Tadagale, for example, in 1949-50 it was possible to record cases of cultivators in such difficult straits that after paying their help and taxes, they did not have enough paddy left for the family granary to last until the next harvest, and were thus in the position of having to purchase in the market, at inflated prices, the very commodity they produced.

2. The Shift in Tadagale. The economic shift within the village may be 178
summarized in terms of modes of employment, resources, imports and exports.

a. Employment. Rice agriculture has been decreasing as the land has [243]
passed, over time, into the hands of absentee landlords and independent owner- [421]
cultivators have become fewer. The tenant farmers are likewise small in numbers.

The manufacture of clothing has also diminished. Formerly, cotton [294]
was spun and woven in the village. Now, clothing is very largely obtained by purchase of imported piece goods in Rangoon and having it finished by city tailors and seamstresses.

Oil pressing as an occupation has disappeared. The one remaining [249]
presser of oil seeds recently abandoned this work because of the difficulty and high cost of obtaining sesamum seeds from central Burma.

In a few occupations there seems to have been no notable change. 178
These are carpentry and work in bamboo and thatch, which keep a few people 463
occupied; itinerant selling of prepared foods; shopkeeping; and medical practice (indigenous medicine).

Several occupations are new or increasing in the village. Agricultural wage labor has increased as more people have been unable to secure a living as tenant farmers and have gone to work for others in and near the village. Vegetable gardening, always important because of the nearby Rangoon markets, has become a leading occupation, especially since the beginning of the insurrections in 1948 which reduced the supply of fresh vegetables from the north.

As motor transport has replaced animal transport over the years, the men of Tadagale have been increasingly employed in operating buses. Related to this is the establishment of a repair shop by a motor mechanic to service the buses owned by villagers.

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An increase has occurred in the number of individuals engaged in small-scale middleman trading. Such manufactured items as candles, mats, jewelery, and books are bought in Rangoon and sold increasingly in the village and nearby.

Wage labor of an unskilled sort has increased. Some villagers have found jobs in a warehouse in Rangoon, others in a mental hospital not far from the village. A very small number have become office and clerical workers.

Unemployment is said to be a new development, although these people are only a few.

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b. Resources. Both cultivated land and grazing land resources have declined. The grazing land is very badly eroded, with little grass left. Fishing resources remain steady; the large Pazundaung Creek at the eastern edge of the village yields as many fish as ever.

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c. Imports. There has been a decrease, as indicated earlier, in the amount of Burma-grown cotton that comes into the village for making of clothing. A variety of miscellaneous food items, such as salt, dried chilis, cigars, cooking oil, betel, potatoes, onions, and various spices are obtained from the outside as much as in the past. Increasingly sought beyond the village are building materials, housewares of all types, clothing, and medicine.

d. Exports. The amount of rice sold has declined, while the sale of cooked foods, fresh vegetables, labor and services has increased.

In 1949-50 the villagers of Tadagale felt that their economic lot had worsened over the preceding several years, owing to the aftermath of World War II and the instability prevailing in Burma. The most pressingly felt needs were for land and the curbing of inflationary high prices, and hope was expressed that the plans of the national government in these and other matters might bring some measure of relief.

14: Brant E-5 (1949-50) 1954 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

The orchestra plays as the initiates depart for the adjoining building to change into ordinary clothes, eat their last meal of the day, and bathe. Some guests now leave; borrowed articles, such as plates, cups and mats are gathered up for return to their owners, and eventually the orchestra departs. 881 796 792

The initiates return to the front of the building in which the ceremony took place. They sit on mats for the shaving of their heads. Two women hold a long piece of white cloth before them to catch the hair as several men proceed to wet their heads and shave them clean with straight razors. [302]

Once more the boys leave to bathe, then return and are seated before the chief monk. Their robes held in their hands before them, they recite prayers, give their robes to the monk, and ask him to dress them properly in the monkish garb.

Their robes donned, they squat before the monk and recite additional prayers, now following very carefully the special intonation appropriate to monks. The ceremony proper is complete. [195]

The following morning, early, a few relatives and close friends go to the monastery. The monks, including the novices, are offered food by them. A monk recites the Five-Fold Path, and then the ceremony of pouring water drop by drop is performed. Names are given the initiates -- special monastic names which they will bear only for the duration of their novitiate. [551]

In former times, and still today in the very remote villages of Burma, an initiate might spend many months, possibly several years, in the monkhood. Sometimes a boy would remain a monk for life. Today in Tadagale, as almost everywhere, initiates spend only a token period of about one week in the monkhood. During this time, they live the austere existence of the order, rising very early, spending long periods in prayer recitals, and abstaining from food after noon until the following morning. The short period of life as a novice is strongly in contrast with the easy-going, carefree childhood days that precede it. Some boys approach the time of their shinbyu with feelings of trepidation, and all are glad when the period spent in the monastery is over and they can return to the much less stern discipline of their parents. 881 792 178

Courtship and Marriage. Young people in the village find ample opportunities to assess each other's manners, physical appearance, and personality, in the company of others at feasts and various gatherings. If a young man and woman are together apart from the company of others, people assume that sex relations are involved. In fact, such going together is spoken of as 'getting married.' Villagers find it hard to conceive of a young unmarried couple associating on a purely friendly, non-sexual basis; such behavior is regarded as contrary to nature. But however much it occurs, unchaperoned association is not approved, much less encouraged. 584 831

Once a pair have decided they want to marry, the boy will inform his parents of his desire. They will already know, in a relatively small village such as Tadagale, something of the standing of the girl's family and of her dowry potentialities; in fact, as soon as they have sensed their son's interest in a particular girl, they will take steps to acquire this information. They will also ascertain whether acceptance by the girl's family is likely. Sometimes the approach to the girl's family is made directly; in other instances a female go-between will be employed. The latter is more likely when the girl's family 584

to worship. These are the eighth day of the waxing of the moon, full moon day, the eighth day of the waning moon, and a day during the transition to the new moon. The second and fourth of these are considered especially sacred. On these duty days all work in the village ceases and the public school is closed. The people go, usually in family groups, to the monastery. There they say prayers before the images of the Buddha and present gifts to the monks. For a good many, a large portion of the day, after the visit to the monastery, is passed in social visiting and in generally relaxing. For the more devout, usually the elderly people, the duty days are more serious; they abstain from food and drink after midday until the following sunrise, spending the day in silent meditation and prayer. 796 [887]

Ceremonies

Thingyan, the New Year. Throughout the year a number of the Burmese religious festivals are celebrated in Tadagale. We may begin with the New Year festival, which occurs in April, beginning on or about April 13th, according to the determination made by astrologers.

Traditionally, the New Year festival calls for visiting the pagodas and monasteries and washing the images of the Buddha, after which one calls upon his elders and sprinkles them gently with scented water from a silver bowl. The young men of the village go from house to house, dancing and singing to the accompaniment of an orchestra. At each house they sprinkle water on the elders and ask them to call out the young girls. The girls are likewise sprinkled with water by means of a flower carried in the bowls.

In Tadagale today, many of the traditional customs of the New Year are still observed. Preparatory to the holiday, houses are swept and compounds cleared of all refuse. Everything is made clean and orderly. The images of the Buddha are washed, elders are called upon, sprinkled with water, and wished well. But, as in many parts of the country, the New Year festival has tended to take on a rather secularized character in modern times. Water sprinkling has become water throwing; groups of people, especially youngsters, go into the towns in carts or trucks, armed with buckets of water which they throw at passers-by. The name 'Water Festival' which has been given to the New Year celebration is singularly appropriate, since water-throwing and associated hilarity has overshadowed the sacred significance of the occasion. Some villagers go into Rangoon for the celebration, where everyone engages in dousing everyone he encounters (monks excepted), utilizing every means from buckets to large hoses attached to city water hydrants. These activities are in contrast with the traditionally serious, sacred character of the New Year as conceived by older villagers. The schoolmaster of the community, a middle-aged man with many years of religious training, spoke of the New Year: 796 178 527

> Thingyan is the New Year festival, but the villagers do not know the significance of the festival. They know only that it is a feast day and a holiday and a day for having fun. In reality there should be no frivolity on New Year's day; it is a day on which one should fast and pray, for one is now one year older and therefore nearer death. One should meditate on the futility of frivolity as compared with the blessedness of deeds of merit.

Wasc, the Buddhist Lent. In July, on the full moon day of the month of Wasc, there begins a sacred period of some three months, corresponding closely 796 785

quality of their sleep suffers to any appreciable extent. Americans who live in Rangoon suffer far more relatively from lack of "beauty rest" mattresses. 511 722 [513]

As far as the actual physical needs of the family go, the refugee camp situation does not seem to be far below an acceptable level. The Pathwe house gave space far above that actually used for physical needs. The answer here would seem to be that social obligations in Pathwe were much greater than here and the actual space fulfilled a real need there. Since such a demand is not present in the refugee camp, the lack of this space is not regarded as a privation. In general the refugee camp quarters are a compressed version of the Pathwe quarters and do not represent any true innovations. The family has been able to contract the quantity and quality of their needs, but their nature has not been appreciably altered. The pattern of "Home" has not been shattered, but has been contracted and its quality somewhat changed. 352 415 [574] 511 178

The town of Pantanaw was recaptured from the insurgents early in the month of December 1950. U Myaing and his family are considering whether or not it would be advisable to return home. It seems that the government has offered to send back those who are willing to return. Government offers them, in addition to passage money, other things such as mosquito netting, or so U Myaing thinks. But they are also hesitant and afraid and would like to remain for some time longer in the peace and security of the refugee camp. However, when the country settles down and things return to normal, they would like to return. They prefer Pantanaw because they find it much easier to earn money there. Here they find it more difficult to find work - and it involves harder labour. Also, the prices here are very high in comparison. 722 669 511 [464] [435]

sufficient food for myself and my family." Yet, it is significant 465
that he[1] manifests no anxiety symtoms, and appears happy and carefree. 722
This suggests that despite the fact that he is presented with 369
insecurity he does not react to it with tensions that have nervous 464
manifestations. The ~~sense of insecurity~~ does not seem to be in his [152]
pattern of living, consequently his response is ill-defined.

The points of difference that U Myaing especially emphasized 511
were:- 178

1. A few weeks of intensive work in Pathwe would get him more 461
than a whole year of salary working in Rangoon.

2. His income in Rangoon is established at a low level. In 458
Pathwe he might make 3 or 4 times his average income from fish products in a good year. On bad years he might just break even. But this did not affect his everyday living quality - since his food was for the most part gathered (fish, fruits etc.) or secured from the cattle loan (baskets of rice).

3. If he was sick in Pathwe his standard of living was not threatened. He made his cash in a short time and had ample leisure for resting. In Rangoon if he does not work he does not eat.

4. In Pathwe he usually had a surplus of 1000 to 1500 rupees on [454]
hand during a year. To be lent out (free of interest) to friends and relatives or (usually) invested in fish or family accoutrement. Now he lives from hand to mouth.

5. The loss of comfort and ease is severely felt by the adults. [181]
In Rangoon he works to stay alive, in Pathwe, to enjoy a full life.

[1 i.e., U Myaing -- ANALYST]

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day on the calendar but the second phongyi decided to embark anyway. Both phongyis were lost when the boat sank that day.

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The revered position of phongyis is open to all regardless of birth or position. It is felt that some take up the robe because they are unsuccessful in life, or wish an "easy living" - but perhaps this attitude is one of modern sophisticates. Certainly the dominant position of the brotherhood is unchallenged. Occasionally differences arise between the headman and the phongyis of a village. But the phongyis invariably prevail. Offending laymen can be "deprived the gate of heaven" by phongyis refusing to accept HSOON, alms, from th This is called inverting the begging bowl THA-HEIT-MAUK-TAI (Begging bowl-upturn) and is the current phrase for any sort of a "strike".

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Some unprincipalled phongyis have sought to enrich themselves by accepting gifts of land or other property, or by selling gifts for money to traders. When they leave the brotherhood and become laymen again this property become theirs. Such occurences appear to be rare and are controlled by stipulations of the givers. For example a donor would hesitate to give paddy land to a suspected phongyi but might agree to giving the crops while retaining title.

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The government or administrative class is looked up to with great respect - in part a carry over from the days of royalty, in part an attitude towards power and influence. However, while the villager today may not know the details of the new constitution he knows there is a "code" wherein he can secure impartial justice.

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TABLE

Quantity of clothes and personal items on hand and consumed by U Myaing's family in Pathee and camp.*

Item	Consumer	On hand and quantity consumed per year. Pathee	Camp.
Cotton Longyis	U Myaing	5 or 6	(2 or 3) 4
Silk Longyis	"	(4 or 5) 1	0
Cotton Shirts	"	7 or 8	(1) 2
Vests	"	6 or 7	(1) 2
Burmese jackets	"	(2) .25	0
Headbands	"	3	0
Handkerchiefs	"	12	0
Underwear pants	"	(5) 4	0
Head Towels	"	2	0
Umbrellas	"	(1) .25	0
Bamboo hats (topees)	"	(1) .5	0
Razor, Gillette brand	"	(1)	0
Safety razor blades	"	(12) 15	0
Big razors	"	(1)	Same
Haircuts	"	24	12
Cosmetique for hair, sticks.	"	12	0
Celluloid comb	"	1	0
Slippers, "Air plane" pairs	"	3	0

*When there are two figures, the amount on hand is placed in parentheses. If the same item is used in both places the word "same" is used in camp column.

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Item	Consumer	Pathee	Camp.
Sandals, slippers pairs	U Myaing.	3	(1) 3
Wooden clogs, pairs	"	3 or 4	(1) 12
Face towels	"	2	0
Body towels	"	(1) 4	0
Ruby ring	"	(1)	0
Gold ring	"	(1)	0
Gold chain and buttons for fastening shirts	"	(1)	0
Silver cuff links	"	(1)	0
Cotton Tamein	Ma Aye Myaing	10	(4) 8
"	Daw Aw Zar	(3 or 4) 6 or 8	(2) 4
"	Two elder daughters	(10) 15	(6) 18
Jackets	Ma Aye Myaing	(7) 9	(3) 4
"	Daw Aw Zar	6	(2) 3
"	Two elder daughters, each	(4 to 6) 6	(3) 6
Frocks	2 younger daughters, together	(10) 12	(6) 8
Bodices	Ma Aye Myaing	(5) 6	(3) 5
"	Daw Aw Zar	(2) 8	(2) 3.5
Underwear	Two elder daughters, together.	(8) 9.5	(4) 6
Panties	2 younger daughters, together.	(5) 7.5	(4) 6
Slippers, leather, pairs	all females, each	1	0
Sandals, wooden, pairs	Ma Aye Myaing and Daw Aw Zar, each	(1) 4	(1) 12
"	The four daughters, each	(1) 4	(1) 12

Cloth Table 1. (c)

Item	Consumer	Pathwo	Camp
Scarf	Ma Aye Myaing and Daw Aw Zar	2	Same
Gold chain with pendant	Eldest Daughter	(1)	0
Ear-plugs with synthetic diamonds	Ma Aye Myaing	(1)	0
"	Eldest Daughter	(1)	0
Ear plugs with white stones	Ma Aye Myaing	0	(½)
Gold earrings	2 younger daughters, each	(1)	0
Copper and gold earrings	Youngest daughter	(1)	Same
Silver anklet, pair	2 youngest daughters, together	(2)	Same (1)
Face powder, sticks of sandal wood	All females	(80 to 100) 24	(1) 64
Cuticura brand, talcum powder, tins	Ma Aye Myaing and her children	(2) 12	0
Face powder, sticks of other woods	Daw Aw Zar	3	0
Ivory comb	Ma Aye Myaing	(1)	0
Bamboo comb	Ma Aye Myaing and Daw Aw Zar, each	(1) 1.3	(1) 1.3
Silver buttons, set	Ma Aye Myaing	0	(1)
Crystal buttons, set	Daw Aw Zar, Ma Aye Myaing and eldest daughter, each	(1)	Same
Green stone buttons, set	Eldest daughter	(1)	Same
Stone slab for making face powder	All females	(3)	(1)
Coconut oil for hair, ticals	All females	(20) 120	"small quantity" "few days"
Parasol	Children	(2) 4	0
Umbrella	Ma Aye Myaing	(1) 1.3	0

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Analysis of wearing a parel used by U Myaing's family.

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Fifty three items of wearing apparel and personal accoutrement were recorded. These are divided into three large catagories:

(1) Objects used in Pathwe but not in camp.
(2) Objects used in camp but not in Pathwe.
(3) Objects used in both localities.

Twenty nine items used in Pathwe were not used in camp. 55% of the Pathwe complex had been discontinued for a variety of reasons. The bulk of the objects were not replaced due to lack of funds. Many items such as umbrellas, towels, leather sandals were needed and desired. Some objects, such as men's jackets, headbands, silk longyis and associated underwear pants, men's bamboo hats, men's hair dressing comb, jewelry and parasols are recognised as luxury items. Both the ceremonial and social occasions in which such luxuries assumed the proportions of necessities had diminished or disappeared so that the desire for them is no longer as strong. This is reflected in the statements that some of the luxuries were no longer desired (hair dressing) or that smaller quantities (silk longyis) would be adequate.

It is interesting to note that whereas both U Myaing and the ladies had the same number of items in Pathwe (26 respectively) - in camp U Myaing has only 7 items or 28% of the Pathwe complex. The ladies, however, have 16 items or 59% of the Pathwe complex. This data suggests that the women's standards are less flexible than the men's. In order to be respectable the women have to have certain items. Whereas, U Myaing's demand depends more on his immediate situation. If this is so, then it follows that the men's standard might expand more rapidly under opulent conditions - with sets of special socio-ceremonial garb (headband, silk longyi, jacket, jewelry including western items(Gillette razor, topee, western jackets and shirts).

[562]

[183]

Only three objects were used in camp but not in Pathwe. The rubber-tyred wooden sandals are simply new varieties of an old form used in Pathwe - a cheap and popular urban form due to abundance of tyre-rubber following the war. The earrings with white stones and set of silver buttons are also substitute varieties, not innovations.

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The silver button set, however is a sort of windfall, resulting from the family's contact with more opulent urban standards.

Thirty nine percent of the total complex, 21 items, were used in the two localities. These fell into the catagories of: (1) items taken from Pathwe, and (2) items secured to replace those used in Pathwe.

Only 6 items or 11% of the complex survived from Pathwe days. These were big razor, scarf, copper and gold earrings, silver anklets, crystal and blue stone button sets. The razor took on the new function of shaving U Myaing in addition to the heads of the children but this was a pre-gillette-razor-stage function.

One item, ladies bamboo combs, was used in exactly the same frequency in both locales. It is easy to understand why this low frequency, cheap and durable object was unaffected by the change in the standard of living. Either the quantity on hand or amount consumed varied in the other cases. In a few instances the camp frequency was higher: the elder daughters used more cotton TAMEINS (though less are kept on hand) - a reflection of their greater social activities as elder children in an urban situation; 2 or 3 times as many wooden sandals are used in camp because: (1) these are the cheapest footwear, and (2) they wear out more rapidly on the Rangoon pavement than on the Pathwe mud-walks. The other items showed marked reduction in quantity, ranging from ⅓ to ½. Qualitatively the reduction is not so easily measured. However, most of the items cost less than in Pathwe. With inflation and an urban market, the qualities must have fallen below those of Pathwe for the most part.

In conclusion: over half of the personal accoutrement complex of Pathwe was discontinued, with the greater sacrifice falling to U Myaing. These items become part of an inactive cultubal inventory to be recovered when and if the family again resume their former standard of living.

of clothes. The old people take care to save the torn garments for use in wiping the hands after meals, for handling hot pots on the stove and the like. 291 554 181

There are three classes of clothing (1) working clothes (2) festive dress, and (3) religious dress. The working clothes consist of the cheaper and less ornate fabrics and are mainly of cotton. The men usually bind the longyi around the loins by looping the shirt in a band between the legs. Htamein (women's longyi) waist band is secured under the armpits when bathing. 291 292

While walking in the rain the longyis are also raised to prevent them from becoming wet. Festive dress involves the best which one has, usually silks and are worn on the Sabbath days and at special social occasions as the SHIN BYA and other ceremonies. Religious dress is worn constantly by Pongyis (orange robes), nuns (peach coloured) and frequently by old men (white) and old women (light chocolate coloured). On Sabbath days the particularly religious individuals of all ages, especially those belonging to Buddhist lay societies, wear religious dress. 291 779 [575]

The term LONGYI means "lower apparel" and is applied to both men's (PUSO) and women's (HTAMEIN). The men's festive longyi TAUNG-SHAY-PUSO (taung measurement- twenty-puso) worn frequently in the past and now reserved for special occasions was a double silk PUSO 8 yards long. A special method of securing this garment about the waist results in GABON ZA ("Sticking out piece") a fold which protrudes 6 or more inches in the midline - only, however, when the silk is crisp and stiff (new and/or finest heavy quality). This is regarded as a very manly garment. Two styles of APAN KINGYI (over jacket) men's jacket are worn. The "Peking" type meeting at the mid-line is most common. A "Cantonese" type buttons over like the women's jacket at the side. 291 292

Formerly every young man had tattooed thighs, extending in a solid band of decoration from a few inches above the knees to the hips. The motifs were frequently nat symbols. The main purpose was to display manliness and courage since the process of tatooing, done with a 3 pronged fork dipped in pigment was extremely painful. 304 562 178

304 The custom is dying out today; but, in the villages, the teen-age boy
562 frequently, on the encouragement of their family submit to the tattoo-
178 ing of a small area on the thigh. These decorations seen when the longyis are wrapped high were regarded as essential and those without them were openly criticised.

[751] A second type of tattooing consisting of potent symbols were, as still are, placed on the inner arm, back, or high forehead as a means of magical protection against harm. Snake, knife, cudgel and bullet proof motifs are common. Young girls frequently have the inner arm tattooed with such a charm.

838 Homo-sexuals are known as MEIN MA SHA ("woman-half") and are
826 recognised by their effeminate gestures, "pretty" looks and clothing. They frequently wear THANAKHA face powder, tie their longyis in a simple tucked-in fold, and wear jewelry like the women. They are rare in villages but have banded together into a society in Rangoon. They appear to be tolerated but are scorned.

It is beleived that individuals known as MEIN-THE-PON-LAIN-HNEH-PON-LAIN ("Female sex- 2 sexes") exist . These persons are supposed to be alternately a man for one month, and a woman for the following
[775] month in a complete process of transformation. Both the MEIN MA SHA and these individuals result from illicit seduction activities in a previous existence - the MEIN MA SHA being the less sinful of the two

The PONGYI dress consist of orange cotton cloth - one garment
792 being a longyi with a folled tie at the waist; the other a wide band
291 draped as a robe. When begging the PONGYIS have a special arrange-
293 ment of the robe which wraps the left arm and covers the neck region. The nuns wear a robe garment over a long sleeved KINGYI jacket of the same colour. They are frequently seen with a scarf folded on the head. Both orders carry orange-cloth (lacquered) parasols on long bamboo shafts, a string of beads and large palm leaf fans. The Pongyis carry leather bags suspended on a shoulder strap for personal effects. PONGYI slippers have a square toe, are made of stiff leather with reinforded soles.

[887] Religious women (including old women) wear chocolate coloured HTAMEINS, KINGYIS and carry a PUNG (a narrow scarf 4 of 5 feet in

Nats' powers for good include protecting the village from dacoit attacks but does not extend to modern warfare. When the Japanese armies were slicing up through Tenasserim in 1941, the elders of Maung Maung Than's village prayed for nat protection against the invaders. The nats replied "Dear ~~Villagers we~~ ourselves are wearing raised longyis in this crisis (ready to run)." This is a Rangoon town joke told among the sophisticated collegiates at the University. Not so well defined, but still sensed is a growing distrust of the powers of nats to combat modern evils. 776 178 [195]

The nats can best be visualized as supernatural despots each with his province (the home, village, sea, babies) and each exacting tribute of periodic or constant attention in the form of flowers or food, red and white cloth strips, and an altar which may have the image of the nat carved in wood (or moulded in modern plasticene). Banyan trees with their multiple, snake-like trunks, are the most common places of abode. When disaster in the form of sickness or other ill fortune strikes, the nats are appeased with offerings immediately. The SAY SAYA will frequently check with the family of his patient to make sure this has been done. In Rangoon and elsewhere, business men whose fortunes have been good are the main supporters of the nat festivals which are given for the entertainment of all the nats once a year in October, for a seven day period. NAT KADAW (nat-wives) are the mediums who contact the nats by becoming possessed by them at this festival and other special occasions (for a single nat) throughout the year. These are married women or more rarely homosexuals who dance, answer questions and give opinions when possessed. 776 782 [759] [796] 791

Punishment for offense against the nats is first shown by accidents or sudden illnesses like paralysis meted out to the offender. If the offender continues the village as a whole will gradually be afflicted. For example, when a drunkard offends the nats with blasphemous language evil falls on the entire village. Villagers led by the elders and a prominent NAT-KADAW go in a body to the major banyan tree shrine to have an understanding with the offended nats. Offerings are given and attention of the nats called to the woes of 776 753 688 672 782

FOOD

Eating Routine

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Ma Aye Myaing does the cooking with the help of the eldest daughter. U Myaing never cooks. In our third interview U Myaing prompted his wife what to say, concerning the routine of cooking, indicating that he understood the main outlines of the art:

> "In the morning the fire has to be made so as to cook the rice. After the fire is made the rice is washed and cooked. Then it is HNUT (water drained and rice steamed.) The onions to put in the curry are then sliced, the chillies are pounded vinegar is added and then everything is placed on the fire. This is what you are required to say."

Thus prompted, Ma Aye Myaing gets off to a fast start in giving information of her province.

> "I rise early in the morning, draw water, make the fire, set the tea-pot on, wash the rice, cook it, drain the water away, steam it, pound chillies, chop fish, peel potatoes, slice onions and skin prawns. Sesamum oil is first put in and THUT (smell of oil is cured) with onions and chillies in the pan. After this the potatoes are put in - potatoes and prawns. We cook once in the morning at 7 o'clock and once in the evening at 3 o'clock. In the morning there are times when we cook potatoes with prawn, and also times when we cook with vegetables. The evening meal is cooked with fish - it differs. Sometimes also we cook the fish by itself.
>
> "The meals we had to eat in Pantanaw were better of course. Only at times do we find cooking oil and onions etc. for our meals here. Rice has to bought; only at times do we have fish to eat. Sometimes we have to eat with vinegar and chillies (for curry)- sometimes vegetables and prawns."

U Myaing gives some information on the source of food in camp.

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> "The government brings rice, oil and salt once every 7 days - four times a month. Sometimes they do not come four times but only about twice a month. In Pathwe where food was concerned, there were fields. We could buy the paddy from the fields very cheaply. We get fish from the INS also."

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There are no great differences between cooking procedure in Pathwe and in the refugee camp. The only difference is that, prices being lower in Pathwe, there is some difference in the ingredients used and the dishes eaten. For example, fish oil, which can be used in cooking was obtained free of charge. It was so plentiful that the villagers even used it as a lubricant for the rice mill and also as axle grease for their bullock carts.

Cooking and Eating Utensils

Ma Aye Myaing does her work directly in front of the fireplace in a squating position, often resting on the tiny bamboo stool. A few sticks of firewood, or brush, are placed within the three sided enclosure made of three single bricks on edge. A hollow bamboo tube about 10 inches long and 1½ inches in diameter is periodically used to blow the fire to a hot flame in lieu of a draft. The identifications of the cooking and eating utensils given below were provided by Daw Aw Zar and U Myaing in an interview in which photographs of the objects were used.

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HTA MIN O (cooking pot): This is an earthenware jar used for cooking vegetables and other foods. It is a round based globular form with outflaring rim. A wide conical shaped lid with flat disc knob for raising goes over the orifice. It is smooth, light tan in colour throughout and about ¼ inch in thickness. It is tempered with sand. A stamped design encircles the widest diameter on the body. This diameter is about 7 inches, height is 4½ inches. One or two are kept on hand (Pathwe: several. Camp: one). They cost 5 annas each. This sand tempered, stamped, earthenware appears in the early European contact period (late 1500's) at Syriam (Orr, K.G. "Stratigraphy in Lower Burma" Ms. in preparation.) It is rapidly being discarded in favour of aluminum pots which are not nearly as cheap but do not break. Traditionally this pot is used to cook rice. In speaking of its use Daw Aw Zar said: "We keep one or two, to boil vegetables and do other things to eat, seeing that there are seven people we have to cook (i.e. rice) with a big aluminum pot."

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HIN O (curry pot): This jar is generally of the same shape as the one described above but is wider at the orifice (8 inches diameter) though about the same height. It is of the same ware type; has a wavy-line stamped design just under the rim. Ordinarilly equipped with a conical lid, this vessel had a flat aluminum lid. This vessel is used to cook curry. It was brought from Pathwe, where it was bought at a cost of 6 annas. Number used in Pathwe: several, camp: 1.

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LAPHET-YE-OH (tea pot): The tea pot is also of tan earthenware and generally of the same ware as the cooking pots, with the exception that the surface was carefully scraped and slightly burnished. The body is globular, with thumb-like spout, and semi-circular clay handle. This pot was brought from Pantanaw, where it had cost 8 annas.

HIN O (food storage jar): Whereas the cooking vessels are moulded by hand with the aid of a paddle, and lack glazing, the storage jars are glazed and have been made on the wheel. These glazed jars also have flat disc bases, and pear-shaped bodies with contracted necks and short, collar-like rims. In every way they appear to be a separate tradition from the cooking ware. The glaze is dark reddish-brown over a hard-baked purple-red core. The interior is thoroughly glazed but the glaze only covers the upper half of the exterior. The reddish-brown glaze is recent, appearing in ceramic collections of the last century in Rangoon (Orr, K.G. "Stratigraphy in Lower Burma", the Minkine Street section) being preceeded by a yellow-black glaze in the early European period at Syrain.

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Salt saffron, oils, etc are stored in these jars. The one examined was about 4 inches in height and 5 inches in diameter. It came from Pathwe and cost 3 annas. Number in Pathwe several, camp: 1.

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basket PYIDAUNG. Both cost a rupee. One does not seem to be preferred to the other except as getting them allows a bargain to be made. The form is that of a pear shaped body with a square base, measuring about 8 by 8 inches. The basket is constructed in the wicker technique with small, whole reeds. Pathee: 2. Camp: 1. 415 252 [285]

CHIN DAUNG (storage basket): The form of this basket is a larger version of the measurers. It has, however, an open weave giving a checkered effect to the sides and bottom. It is used to store objects including food. At Pathee this basket was used in working the INS. The fish were scooped up, and later washed in them. The two used in camp were brought from Pathee where they cost Rs. 1/4- Camp: 1, Pathee: 15 for washing fish. 251 415 [435]

Winnowing trays: Shallow baskets about 2½ feet in diameter and 2 inches high were used as shifting and storage trays. The SAGAW has a rounded base; while the SAGAR has a flat base with fiber walls. Both are made of flat, wide-meshed reeds. The trays used in camp came from Pathee where they cost Rs. 1/4 each. Pathee: 1. 243 415

THE CHIN (Marketing basket): This basket is in the general shape of a cylinder, ½ foot wide and 8 inches high, with open, flat reed sides and a semi-circular handle across the top. It is used to carry objects from market and to store them in the house. Pathee: 2, Camp: 1. 415

U Myaing expresses the contrast between the camp equipment and that of Pathee: "These objects in camp are barely sufficient. We have to live as we are. In our own district we had sufficient to pail in bamboo. The extra ones were nailed in bamboo and only enough were taken out for the seven people who ate. When visitors came, good ones are brought out. Plates for curry, plates for eating rice. There were various kinds." 415 511 178

Food Items

Ma Aye Myaing gave as complete a set of data on the food consumption of her family as she could. The following data is inclusive for the family of seven, both in Pantanaw and the refugee camp. Ma Aye Myaing decides what dishes to cook for each meal of the day, and she does this without any consultation with U Myaing. She does not ask him what he would like for each meal, although sometimes when he expresses a desire for a certain dish she sees to it that it is prepared. She has a free hand in deciding what to cook for each meal in the day. Definitions of the weights and measures used follows in a glossary. The data is organized under the headings of (1) Main dishes and raw foods, (2) supplementary dishes and TO-SAIN (vegetables eaten with [illegible]), and (3) trifles. 262 [593] [128]

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The dishes are briefly described and their contents identified, the amount consumed per unit of time, the source and cost of the food in Pantanaw is compared with the situation in Lewis Road camp. These figures are reduced to quantity and cost per month in table Page 99. for ready comparison.

NGA (Fish): In Pantanaw fish was eaten every other day. Ma Aye Myaing cooked the fish in the form of four separate dishes, alternately about once in two days for one dish. Fish was obtained free sometimes, as in THADINGYUT and TAZAUNGMON months, when U Myaing used to work in the IRS. The price of fish at that time was about Re. 1/- per viss. The first dish NGA-CHIN-YE-HIN (fish-sour-liquid-curry) is prepared with tamarind or dried mariam fruit, water, salt NGAPI water, chillies and onions. The second dish NGA-ACHOUK-CHET (fish-dry-cooked) is fish salted and fried with pounded chillies and onions. The third dish NGA-HSI-HYAN (fish-oily-cooked) is fish mixed with pounded chillies and onions dehydrated. The fourth dish is fish cooked with vegetables after being mixed with pounded chillies and onions and water, salt, NGAPI water and some oil are added. Fish is also sometimes used in preparing NGA-HSAM-BYONE (fish boiled in rice) but a lesser amount (25 ticals) is needed than in the case of the other four dishes, where 50 ticals of fish are needed. Rice boiled with fish is eaten sometimes for several days in succession and sometimes about only once in two weeks in Pathee. In the refugee camp fish is eaten only about four times a month when 12½ ticals are consumed at one eating. The fish are bought in MYEMIGON market at Rs. 3/-per viss.

PAZUN (prawns): Prawns are prepared in two ways. The first dish which is called PAZUN HSI NGAY or "prawns stirred in oil" dish is prepared by first skimming the prawns, mixing with salt, adding sliced onions, some oil and NGAPI water or NGA-M-PYAR-YE (fish juice) and frying. In the second dish, the prawns are kinned, and peeled potatoes, water, some oil, onions, NGAPI water and some vegetable like MEKIT (bamboo shoots) or CHIN BAUNG (Rosemary) are added. Thirty ticals of prawns were consumed at one meal - fifty ticals for both meals of the day. Prawns were eaten once every two or three days at Pantanaw, where they were bought at the rate of 12 annas or a rupee per viss, and sometimes obtained free from searching the IRS. In camp the amount consumed is 15 ticals, and this dish is eaten almost every other day. Prawns are bought in MYEMIGON market at Rs. 2/8 per viss.

KALA-PE (Indian-dhall):(Dhall: Gram, Cicera stictinum, Linn.) KALA PE are small yellow peas. Some of them have reddish brown skins. They are prepared in two ways by Ma Aye Myaing. One method is by preparing them in water BININ (dhall-curry). The dhall is boiled and pounded: sliced onions, fish juice and sesamum oil are added, additional water is poured in, and the mixture is placed on the fire. The other dish KALA PE GYAW (Dhall fried) is prepared by boiling and pounding dhall and then frying it in oil which has first been placed on fire and cured with sliced onion. Twenty five ticals of dhall at a rupee per viss are consumed at one meal, and dhall was eaten once every six or seven days in Pantanaw. In the camp 25 ticals at Rs. 1/8 per viss are consumed at every meal, and dhall is eaten here sometimes daily, sometimes once in two days.

KYET (chicken): Chicken is prepared by Ma Aye Myaing in either one of three ways. In the first dish "chicken with water", the chicken is cooked with chillies, onions, oil water and fish juice. This is prepared about twice in every eight times chicken curry is cooked. In the second dish KYET-THA-HSI-HYAN (chicken-flesh-oily cooked) or chicken cooked with oil, the same ingredients are used as above with the sole difference that very little water is poured in. This is a preferred manner of cooking and is eaten about six times out of every eight times chicken curry is prepared. The third dish KYET-THA-HSAM-BYONE (chicken-flesh-rice-boiled) or chicken boiled with rice, is very seldom eaten - only about twice a year. In Pantanaw they used to have

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a whole fowl weighing about 50 to 60 ticals for every meal with chicken. These fowls were bred at home, but were sometimes bought at Rs. 1/8 per viss. They used to have chicken curry three or four times a month, two meals every day that they ate chicken back in Pantanaw, whereas they have not had this dish even once in the past two years.

BE (duck): Duck can be prepared in the same way as the three dishes for chicken i.e. with water (eaten twice in every eight times duck curry is used), with oil (eaten about six times in eight times duck curry is used), and boiled in rice (eaten only about twice a year.) Roast duck is also very seldom eaten i.e. only about twice a year. In Pantanaw duck curry was eaten during eight meals a month. Fifty ticals were consumed at each meal. The ducks were bred at home, but were sometimes purchased for Rs. 2/- per viss. They have not had a single meal with duck curry in the pasttwo years.

AME-THA (beef): Beef is cooked by Ma Aye Myaing only in one way - as AME-THA-HSI-GYAN or beef cooked in oil. This was eaten for about eight meals in the month. At each meal the family consumed 50 ticals at a rupee per viss. They have not had beef for the past two years.

WET-THA (pork): Pork is cooked in two ways - with water and with oil. These dishes are cooked according to the same recipe as for chicken with water and chicken with oil. Pork cooked ih water is eaten four times while pork with oil is eaten six times, in every ten times that the family has pork for meals. Back in Pantanaw they ate pork during ten meals a month, consuming in one month 25 ticals at Rs. 2/8 per viss when bought in the village. In the camp pork is eaten about twice a month. 25 ticals at Rs. 4/- per viss are consumed in one meal. In addition to the other two dishes, pork can also be eaten in the form of soup made out of pig's head (pig's head weighs about 3 to 4 viss) or pig's trotter (including a lot of flesh from the shoulder, weighs 60 to 70 ticals), WET-GAUNG-HSU-BYOKE (pig-head-soup-boiled) or WET-CHE-DAUK-HSU-BYOKE (pig-trotters-soup-boiled) as a supplementary dish. This was cooked only back in Pathwe village where people used to kill pigs for sale. In the two years that U Myaing's family have been in the refugee camp they have not had a single meal of pork soup, whereas they were used to having it four or five times a month. A head cost a rupee, and each trotter cost two or three annas. One head is large enough to provide three or four families enough soup for two meals when shared. The other alternative is to have one trotter for each meal.

BE-U (duck's eggs): These were eaten three or four times a month back in Pantanaw, and is another food which the family has not had for the past two years. Eggs cost a rupee a dozen and five eggs were consumed at each meal. They were eaten in three forms BE-U-GYAN (fried) BE U BYOKE (boiled), and BE U BYOKE HIN (cooked with water). Boiled eggs are eaten very seldom, i.e. not even once a month. For ducks' eggs cooked with water, the recipe is the same as for chicken cooked in water, except that the eggs have to be boiled and peeled previous to cooking. This dish was eaten about once in every four times. BE U GYAN or fried duck eggs was liked better and eaten three times in every four.

KAYAN-THEE (Brinjal fruit: Solanum Melongena, Linn.): Brinjal fruit are purple in colour and have various sizes ranging from about an inch in the small KAYAN KYUT-THEE (brinjal-small-fruit) variety to about eight inches long in the larger ones. In the manner of preparation known as KAYAN-THEE-O-GAT(brinjal-fruit-pot-stick) they are fried with dried prawns in oil that has been cured with sliced onions. Five brinjals, costing between two and four annas were eaten at one meal in Pantanaw. This dish was eaten once every three or four days, the brinjals being purchased from Pantanaw market or from other villagers. In camp six brinjals costing four to six annas for six fruits in the MONGDAUN market are needed for one meal. This is eaten once in two or three days.

PE LINGME THEE (bean-snake-fruit) Snake Gourd: Trichosanthes Anguina, Linn.) are cooked in the same way as brinjals. They were grown at home in Pantanaw and eaten about once every two or three days.

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Two of these gourds were sufficient for one meal. In the refugee camp this curry dish is prepared once in three days. Three gourds, together costing four or five annas were used for every meal. Snake gourds are long and white in colour. They are about one TAUNG or one TAUNG and one span in length and usually have a diameter between 1½" and 2½".

PE THEE (Beans: Vigna Catiang, Walp. Var sinensis.): PE THEE beans are one quarter inch to one third inch in diameter, and are about one TAUNG long. They are cooked in the same way as brinjal. 25 beans, together costing about four annas were eaten at every meal. This dish was cooked about thrice a month in Pantanaw, and between three and five times a month here in camp. PE THEE beans have to be bought in MYENIGON market at the rate of 5 annas for 25 beans.

HSAN (Rice: Oriza Sativa, Linn.): Rice is the staple food of the Burmese. It is eaten after it has been boiled and steamed. In Pantanaw five condensed milk tins of rice were consumed in one meal, ten in two meals. At that time the two younger children were too young to eat much. There were two main meals a day. U Myaing bought paddy and had it husked at the rice mill whenever it was needed. It had to be bought at the rate of Rs. 150/- per hundred baskets. One basket is equivalent to 16 PYIS, each of which takes 8 condensed milk tins. The husking charges came to Rs. 10/- for hundred baskets. One hundred baskets of paddy yeilds fifty baskets of rice at three and one fifth rupees per basket. This comes up to three and one fifth annas per PYI or 1/16th of one basket. The market price at Pantanaw (if bought in the open market) was 5 annas per PYI of rice. In the refugee camp, 11 condensed milk tins of rice are consumed every day. The rice has to be bought in MYENIGON market at 12 annas per PYI. Until about three months ago rice was distributed once every two or three weeks by the government. The amount allotted to U Myaing's family as a whole for one week was 8 PYI and 6 condensed milk tins. This was insufficient, and Ma Aye Myaing explained that although they had for some time previous to that been given enough to feed the whole family, by then the government had reduced the total allotted by the amount of rice one adult would consume.

NGA-YOTE-THEE-MCHAUK (chilly-fruit-dry Chillies: Capsicum Frutescens, Linn.) Pounded chillies which have previously been dried constitute an ingredient in almost every dish that the Burmese people prepare for food. The same may be said of onions. Ma Aye Myaing informs us that back in Pantanaw the chillies consumption for one month was one viss at eight annas for ten ticals, or five rupees per viss. In the camp two one anna packets of dried chillies are used each day. One packet of chillies in Camp contains only 4 or 5, each 1½" long by 1" diameter. Ma Aye Myaing could not estimate the number of ticals in the packet, but a visitor who lives in the camp says that the packets contain only four or five chillies each. These packets have to be purchased at the MYENIGON market.

KYET THIN onions:(Allium cepa, Linn.) One viss of onions lasted ten days back in Pantanaw market at Rs. 1/- per viss. In the camp the figures for consumption are the same, but the price in MYENIGON market is eight annas per viss.

AR LU Potatoes:(Solanum tuberosum, Linn) One viss of onions lasted ten days back in Pantanaw and fifty ticals lasted only for one dish, which they gave away as HSOON four or five times a month, having one third of a viss for each meal. The price of potatoes in Myenigon market is 10 or 12 annas per viss.

NGA salt:(Sodium chloride:) There was no need to buy any salt for cooking purposes back in Pantanaw. The family used to work a great deal with salt in making NGAPI for the market, and as the cooking need of salt were taken from this supply the daily consumption was not note In camp, however, they have to buy salt at the rate of one anna per ten ticals, which amount will last them for four days. In camp salt is used at every meal, but at Pathee fish juice was used to fulfil most of the functions of salt. Salt was used there by the family only in preparing fish to be fried.

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PAZUN-CHAUK (prawns-dried): Both in Pantanaw and in camp ten ticals of dried prawns lasts about five or six days. The price per viss, however, was Re. 1/- in Pantanaw, while it is Rs. 1/4 in Myenigon market.

NGAN PYAR YE (fish juice): Fish juice , a viscous liquid, red in colour and salt to the taste is another of the cooking ingredients very widely used in Burmese homes and kitchens. Three large kerosene tins each with a capacity of thirteen viss hold the yearly consumption of NGAN PYAR YE of U Myaing's family in Pantanaw. This item does not involve any special cost since it is nothing but juice which drips from the fish which has been fermenting in the process of NGAPI making. Ma Aye Myaing's family made NGAPI every year. Here in camp, however, the fish juice has to be bought at Rs. 2/8 per viss, and is bought either from Myenigon market or from intinerant sellers. Back in Pathma it took 5 ticals of NGANPYAR YE to cook a meal while in the camp two ticals are made to suffice. NGAPI YE is light in colour and salt in taste. It is more viscous than NGANPYAR YE and contains some small pieces of fish as well.

NWAN-HSI (Sessamum oil: sessamum indicum, D.E.): Sessamum oil is used every day. In Pantanaw ten ticals of sessamum oil lasts three meals while in camp one tical of oil is used to cook one meal. The price of ten ticals in Pantanaw was 12 annas and in the refugee camp is 8 annas.

KYAN TAGAR (Cane jaggery: sacchhrum officinarum, L.): Two and a half ticals of cane jaggery at each eating were consumed twice a month in Pantanaw. In camp 2½ ticals last one eating and cane sugar jaggery costs two annas for five ticals here as against four annas in Pantanaw.

Supplementary Dishes and TOZAYA

Following are the dishes and ingredients that are usually served as a supplementary dish or as "TOZAYA", leaves of vegetables that are eaten with NGAPI water or fish juice.

BU-THEE (Bottle gourd: Lagenaria vulgaris, ser.): Gourd fruit was eaten three or four times month in Pantanaw. One gourd fruit varies in size from about 1½ feet by 1 foot to 1 foot by 8 inches. For each meal one slice measuring 1½ feet by two inches was cooked, one such slice of gourd fruit costing an anna. In the camp half of this amount is prepared for a meal once or twice a month. A slice of gourd fruit measuring half of the Pantanaw amount costs 2 annas in the Myenigon market. The method of preparation for gourd fruit is as follows: Peel, wash and slice the fruit into small pieces. Cook with skinned prawns, NGANPYAR YE, onions, sessamum oil and water. This is known as BU-THEE-KYAW-CHET and is eaten with rice.

DAN DA LUN-THEE (Drumstick fruit: moringa pterygosperma, Gaertn): One DAN DA LUN fruit measures about 3/4 " in diameter and about 1' long This fruit is prepared by cutting open the stalk, scraping out the inside with a spoon, and then cooking in CHIN YE fashion (as a sour dish) either with prawns or with fish, with tamarind as the sour ingredient, fish juice chillies, and sessamum oil. It is eaten with rice. This fruit was not eaten in Pathma. In camp it is eaten during two meals in the month. Each meal requires 25 fruit costing 12 annas for 10.

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YONPADE-THEE (Lady's finger, Hibiscus esculentus, Linn.): One fruit is about 3/4 " in diameter and 4" long. In Pantanaw 10 lady's fingers costi g one anna for ten were eaten at every meal. There were about four meals in the month where YONPADE THEE was cooked for curry. It is made into a soup, to be consumed with the main meals of the day. Fish have to be boiled and the bones removed from them. Then they have to be mixed with fish juice and water and place on the fire until it starts to boil, when the fruit has to be put in. The children pour this soup straight onto their bowls, whereas the adults drink this soup from the spoon in the soup bowl. The price of this fruit in camp is 10 for two annas. 10 fruit are consumed here at every meal, but they have cooked this dish only three times in the past year.

KAZUN-YWET (Rabbit green: Ipomaea aquatica, Forsk.): KAZUN YWET leaf was eaten during five meals a month back in Pantanaw. One bundle would suffice for a meal and was obtained free from the fields One bundle holds about 25 leaves in one bundle here. It may be prepared as a CHIN YE (sour liquid dish) with fish and NGANPYAR YE and tamarind, onions and water. The leaves have to be cut up and washed, mixed thoroughly with the ingredients mentioned above and placed on the fire. This dish can be poured onto the rice or it can be taken in the same way as soup. The leaves and the fish are eaten together with handfuls of rice. The inclusion of the tamarind makes the dish a CHINYE-HIN. In the refugee camp three bundles of these leaves, costing altogether two annas, are made to last three meals. This dish is eaten during ten meals in the month.

KYAUNG-SHAR-THEE (cat-tongue-fruit) Oroxylum indicum, vent): One KYAUNG SHAR THEE is about 1½' long by 3" wide by 3/4" thick. One fruit was eaten for one meal both in Pantanaw and in camp. This dish was prepared in Pantanaw once in every two or three days while here it was eaten only once last year. This fruit sells in Pantanaw at two for three annas as against two annas each in Rangoon. KYAUNG SHAR THEE is prepared in the following way: First the fruit has to be sliced and washed and then cooked with dried fish, oil onions and NGANPYAR YE. No water or chin is put in. This is KYAUNG-SHAR THEE-KYAW-CHET (cat-tongue-fruit-sweet-cooked) and is eaten after burying in handfulls of rice.

DA NYIN-THEE (Pithecolobium Labatum, Benth.): One DA NYIN-THEE is about 1" to 1½" in diameter and ½" to 1" thick. This small fruit eaten with NGAPI appeared ten for one meal, and almost every day when in season. The ten cost four annas. In Rangoon they are used less frequently - for 5 meals per month and ten fruit per meal. The price here is three or four annas for ten. This cheap food was "eaten whenever desired." This fruit is used as TOZAYA after it is either boiled or baked.

THAYET-YWET (Mango leaf: Mangifera indica, Linn.): The mango leaf is eaten as TOZAYA. The leaf, about 2" to 5" long, 3/4" to one and three quarters inch wide, and 1/8th inch thick, is washed. A piece is then broken off, placed on a rice mound, ngapi oil is poured over, more rice is added, and the concoction is ready to go. The leaf does not need to be boiled. In Pathwe the leaf is used for three meals per month and consisted of 5 leaves for each meal. It was free, and gathered from the tree. The leaf has not been eaten once in camp.

MAYAN-THEE (Marian fruit: Bouea Burmanica, Griff): One marian fruit is about ½ to one and three quarter inch long and 1" in diameter. Marian fruit, eaten raw or salted was gathered free in Pathwe and eaten six meals per month, six fruit per meal. In camp it was eaten two meals per month, six fruit per meal. In camp it was eaten two meals per month six per meal at the cost of one anna for six. It is eaten after being pounded with burnt chilli, dried prawns and mixed with NGAPI water.

MEU-BOKE-YWET (thorn-smelling-leaf: Acacia pennata.): These leaves were eaten five sprigs a meal three meals a month in Pathwe.

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They are not eaten at all in the camp. One bundle of these leaves cost an anna in Pantanaw. They are eaten as TOZAYA with NGAPI water. They do not need to be boiled but can be eaten as they are after being washed. For one eating about 45 leaves are needed.

SHWE-PAYON-THEE, (Golden pumpkin: Cucurbita pepo, R.C.): In Pathwe this fruit was eaten about three or four times a month. One fruit lasted for three meals and costs four annas. It has not been eaten in camp and is not greatly desired. SHWE-PAYON-THEE is cooked with dried fish. The fruit is very large and has to be chopped into pieces and added. Sessamum oil has to be cured with onions, and then the mixture is added to it. NGAN PYAR YE is an ingredient, but not chillies. This dish is eaten after mixing thoroughly with rice or after burying small pieces in small mounds of rice.

THAKWA-THEE (Cucumber: Cucumis sativus, Linn.): Eaten two or three times a month in Pathwe, one fruit measuring about one foot by two inches cost two annas and lasted a meal. It is eaten four or five times a month in camp, but the fruit here measures two inches by eight inches and cost two annas. One fruit is used for one meal. Cucumber can be eaten in two ways - either as a pickle or as a dish. To make pickle dried prawns have to be pounded, cucumber scraped into small slivers, sessamum oil has to be cured with onions and poured onto the cucumber and prawns. Some fish juice and pounded dried chillies are added. This preparation is eaten buried in handfuls of rice. To make the dish, the prawns are skinned and the cucumber peeled. The cucumber is then sliced and mixed with the prawns. Then sessamum oil is cured with the sliced onions, and the mixture of prawns and cucumber is placed in the oil. Some fish juice and little water are also added. This is known as cooking in the KYAW-CHET manner. Food cooked in this way can be either poured onto the rice, or the liquid may be taken as soup and the pieces buried in rice and eaten.

HMO NA DO (Water fern leaves, Marsilea Minuta): These were obtained free from the fields. One small bundle consisting of about eight were eaten about four times a year in Pathwe. This has been eaten only once since the family's arrival in camp. One bundle costs one anna. It is eaten as TOZAYA with NGAPI. It cannot be made into a dish. It does not need to be prepared in any way, except for washing with water and removing the roots.

HMO (Mushrooms of many varieties): Mushrooms were eaten three times a month in Pathwe using 50 ticals for one meal. They cost two rupees a viss. Not eaten in camp. Mushrooms are cooked with prawns. The prawns are skinned and mixed with cured sessamum oil, onions and fish juice, and a little water is added. This is a KYAW CHET (fried-cooked). Mushrooms cooked in this way are eaten with handfuls of rice.

KAW BI DOKE (Cabbage: Brassica oleracea, Linn., sub-species capitata): One cabbage about seven inches in diameter was eaten at two meals per month costing six annas in Pathwe. In camp the vegetable is eaten two or three times a month, 25 ticals at a cost of three annas per meal. This is eaten with prawns. The cabbage is sliced, sessamum oil cured with onions, fish juice added, and the cabbage fried. This is also eaten either mixed with rice or buried in rice.

KA NAN (crab: Crustacean, Potamon sayanum): Crab has not been eaten by the family at all. It was not eaten because in Pantanaw the crabs were very small and quite unlike the big ones that can be obtained in Rangoon. Owing to this factor they do not know how to cook or to otherwise prepare crabs for food, and now in the camp, even though crabs are available, they do not inquire into the price of crabs. Ma Aye Myaing still does not know how to cook crabs for a meal. [101]

BUNYUNT (tender sprouts of bottle gourd: Lagenaria vulgaris Ser): BU NYUNT soup, consisting of five sprouts costing one anna boiled in water was made four to six times a month in Pathwe. In Rangoon one bundle consisting of two sprouts cost one anna. Two bundles were used for one meal, but eaten only three times during the last year.

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DANDALUN-YWET (leaves of drumstick tree: Moringa pterygosperma, Gtn): A soup is made of this leaf. Fish is boiled and its bones removed; the small leaves are taken from the branch and washed. The prepared fish and NGAN PYAR YE are boiled, and when the water boils over the DANDALUN leaf is added. The adults drink this soup from the spoon in the saucer, while the children pour it onto their plates.

MAGYEE YWET (Tamarind leaves: tamarindus indicus, Linn): These small leaves were eaten five times a month, five ticals at a meal. They were gathered free from trees around the village. They have not been eaten once in Rangoon because they have not seen the tamarind on sale anywhere. Tamarind leaves can be prepared in two ways: either as a pickle or as a soup. To prepare the soup boil some fish and add NGAN PYAR YE. When the fish boils over wash some tamarind and add to the mixture. This gives a tamarind soup. For a pickle take either dried prawns or dried fish and pound in the pestle; take some tamarind leaves and mix with salt; put in the dried prawns (or dried fish), sliced onions, and also some sesesamm oil, and mix thoroughly. It is eaten buried in handfuls of rice.

KYAR-YO (lotus stalk: Nymphee lotus, Linn): The lotus stalk boiled or fried, was eaten three times a month, five for one meal. It was gathered free in Pathwe. One lotus bundle holds two straws. It is not eaten in camp. NGAN PYAR YE is added, the lotus stalk is peeled, and added to the water when it boils over. Adults drink this soup straight from the spoon in the soup saucer.

SAR LAY-CHI DAUK (
One Sar-lay-chi-dauk bundle measures 1½" in diameter. It has not been eaten in camp but was used for two meals a month in Pathwe. The market price was one anna for one bundle an inch and a half in diameter, but the family usually secured it free. SARLAY -CHI DAUK are small sprouts. Then they are ready for TOZAYA to be eaten with NGAPI water. There is no need to boil them before using them as TOZAYA.

OW SHI YWET (leaves of Bael fruit: Aegle marmelos, Corr): This leaf, eaten raw, was used in three meals a month. One bundle of four to eight leaves was used for each meal, and cost one anna. At camp it was not eaten once. OW SHI YWET are small leaves which are either circular or slightly elongated in shape. One bundle contains 4 to 8 leaves. They are eaten as TOZAYA with NGAPI. Two and a half ticals of this leaf are bought for each meal although they may or may not eat that amount.

SHAUK-THEE-LET-THOKE (citrus fruit-hand-prepared) (preparation of lemon: Citrus medica Linn. var.-acida): This citric fruit is eaten raw - either alone or intermixed with NGAPI and other ingredients. To prepare the lemon as LET THOKE take one lemon, peel it and add pounded green chillies and sliced onions. Then mix the whole thoroughly with powder of dried prawns, fish juice and salt. Eat with handfuls of rice.

HSALUT-YWET (salad leaves leaves of lettuce: lactuca sativa, Linn.) Lettuce leaves are fried and eaten. They are sliced in sesesamm oil cured with onions and eaten with rice. The family did not eat this at all in Pantanaw, while in the camp it is eaten for three meals in the month. Two sprouts at one anna apiece are used for each meal.

MON LAR-YWET (leaves of carrot: daucus carota, Linn.): One MON LAR leaf bundle holds four or five leaves. These leaves are prepared as a CHIN YE with fish, chillies, onions, sesesamm and tamarind fruit, dilute in water. The liquid curry is poured onto the rice while the leaves are buried in rice and eaten. This was eaten three meals a month back in Pathwe. One bundle costing one anna and holding six sprouts lasted for one meal. It has not been eaten once here.

TAMAR YWET (Neem leaves: Azadichata indica.A.Juss): One TAMAR leaf bundle holds four or five leaves. These leaves are eaten with NGAPI water as a TOZAYA. They are prepared by singeing in the fire. These leaves were not eaten in Pathwe. In camp they are eaten during two meals a month, one bundle costing an anna being consumed at each

meal.

TAMEN-CHIN (pickled leaves of neem: azadirachta indica, A. Juss): these are specially prepared neem leaves that have been made sour. They are bought from sellers and need no further preparation for eating. For one anna, four to six small stems may be obtained. They were eaten as TOZAYA with NGAPI and rice. They are not eaten here at all, but in Pantanaw the family used to eat it once a month, buying the pickle from boats that came from Upper Burma.

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HPAN-GA-THEE (Fruit of Terminalia chebula, Linn.): One HPAN GA fruit measures about 1½" by 1" in diameter. This fruit is eaten with NGAPI as TOZAYA. It is eaten raw. A piece of the small fruit (which is about one to one and a half inches long) is bitten off, and placed on a handful or rice. A spoonful of rice is then poured on it, and some more rice is used to cover it, after which the whole handful is conveyed to the mouth. This fruit was not eaten in Pathwe. Here it is eaten during four meals in the month. One anna buys ten and ten fruits last one meal.

PEIN NE-THEE (Jack fruit: Artocarpus integrifolia, L): One Jack fruit is one foot to one and three quarters feet in length and six inches to 1 foot in thickness. This big fruit contains between 25 and 40 small fruit inside, and it is these small fruit that have to be eaten. It is eaten as a TOZAYA in its raw and tender stage. While the fruit is still small it is taken from the tree and boiled. Then it is cut up into slices and eaten with NGAPI YE. It was eaten about four times a year in Pathwe where one fruit lasted three eatings and cost twelve annas. In camp one fruit lasts two eatings. None were eaten last year; three this year. The seed of the Jack fruit is occasionally boiled and eaten with salt and sesamum oil during the daytime. Even when seeds themselves are purchased they are quite cheap, the cost being only an anna for one condensed milk tin of Jack fruit seeds. Boiled Jack fruit seeds were eaten three times a month in Pathwe, where one condensed milk tin full was prepared for each eating. In camp, six seeds costing one anna for the six are eaten at a time, for three times a month when in season.

PAZUN-NGABAUNG-GYAW (prawn-fish mixed-fried. Prawns fried in meal): To make PAZUN-NGABAUNG-GYAW, pound some rice into a flour, remove the heads from some prawns and mix both with salt and water. Place some oil on the fire until it is ready, and then make small flat pieces of the prepared meal and slide into the oil. In a short time the pieces are ready for consumption. The PAZUN NGABAUNG GYAW sold in the streets are about 2½ inches in diameter and contain about 10 small prawns, but those made at home are usually much larger. They are eaten with rice by this family, although this is not absolutely necessary. In Pathwe, the prawns and fish oil were obtained free from the INS. This was eaten during six meals a month. At one eating four or five pieces, each containing about ten prawns, were consumed. It has been eaten only once in the camp. Four pieces, costing an anna each were eaten then.

NGA NGABAUNG GYAW (fish-mix-fried. Fish fried in meal) is prepared in the same way as PAZUN NGABAUNG GYAW (prawns fried in meal). Rice is pounded into a flour and mixed with the fish and a small amount of water. Oil is placed on the fire and when ready, the prepared meal and fish are shaped into small flat pieces and placed in the oil. The fried product is then eaten with rice. It may also be eaten by itself as a trifle. NGA NGABAUNG-GYAW was not eaten at all in Pathwe. In camp it is eaten four or five times a month. One piece costs one anna and three pieces are consumed every time it is eaten.

THAYEE-THEE-THAMAT (Mango-fruit-pickle: mangifera indica, Linn.): Mango pickle is made in the following manner:- The mango fruit are cut in halves and kept overnight in salt water. In the morning they are laid out in the sun to dry. This drying goes on for three or four days and then they are again mixed with salt water and after that steamed in a steam cooker (PAUNG GYAUNG). After this the mangoes are pressed and stored in a small SIN O or earthenware jar. When it is required for eating, large red onions and garlic, sesamum oil, NGAN PYAR YE

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and saffron are mixed with the dried and salted mangoes to make mango pickle. This pickle is eaten with rice. The mango is steamed to make it softer and easier to tear apart. THAYET-THEE-THANAT was eaten during three meals a month in Pathwe, where three or four pieces were consumed at each meal. One piece of mango pickle is about 1/6th of one mango. The pickle was made at home from mangoes that were obtained free of charge. The figures for consumption per meal in camp are the same, but here it is eaten more often - once in every two or three days. One anna's worth of mango pickle lasts two meals here.

MAYAN-THEE-THANAT (Marian-fruit-pickle: Bouea burmanica, Griff.): MAYAN THEE-THANAT has not been made once by Ma Aye Myaing. In Pantanaw no one made this, but in camp they have eaten some which they purchase from Indian women who came around selling it. Ma Aye Myaing does not know how Marian pickle can be made. Marian fruit is also eaten as a flavouring ingredient in dishes, after being sliced into halves and dried in the sun. Fish is chopped and washed, mixed with NGAN PYAR YE, pounded chillies, pounded onions, sessamum oil, water and dried marian. The main ingredient i this dish is fish, and the dried marian is just a flavouring agent. It serves as a flavouring in the NGA-CHIN-YE-HIN dish. Marian pickle is not desired by the family.

ZEE-YO (Plum jam: zizyphus jujuba, Lam.): Plum jam is bought from the sellers. It is eaten as a trifle in the daytime. One annas worth of plum jam weighs about 2½ ticals. In Pantanaw also ZEE YO sellers used to come around to the house; it was much cheaper there than Rangoon since one anna would buy 7½ ticals of plum jam. In Pathwe one tea-cup full weighing about 2½ ticals cost an anna and lasted one meal. ZEE-YO was eaten there only once a month. In camp it is eaten four or five times a month but the consumption per eating has dropped to ½ of one teacup, which costs one anna. One Burmese tea-cup is equivalent to about ½ the standard western teacup.

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THAYET-THEE-HSA-SKIN (mango-fruit-salt-soaked: mangifera indica, Linn): Salted mangoes are eaten with rice as TOZIYA. It is buried in rice and eaten with NGAPI water. To make salted mangoes, wash the required amount of mangoes, mix with salt and place in large earthenware jars. After three days mix salt with water and place on the fire, and then pour the salted water into the jar so that the mangoes inside will be completely submerged. In Pantanaw one salted mango sufficed for one meal, and salted mangoes were eaten once every two or three days. They were salted at home, the cost of making 120 salted mangoes amounting to Rs. 10/- in all. The family has not eaten salted mangoes in camp "even once".

MAYAN-THEE-HSA-SKIN (Marian-fruit-salt-soaked: Bouea burmanica, Griff.): Salted marian is prepared in the same manner as bove. In Pathwe marians were obtained free and salted at home. 1000 marians could be salted for one rupee. Six marians were eaten at each meal, and they were eaten almost every day. Salted marians have not been eaten in camp at all by the family.

NAN-NAT-YO (pineapple jam: ananas sativa, Linn.) has never been made by Ma Aye Myaing. She buys the jam from sellers who come round It can be eaten either by itself or with plain tea in the afternoons. In Pathwe village it was not eaten at all, and in camp they have had it only once, when they ate 5 ticals of jam worth four annas.

THAYET-YO (Mango-jam: mangifera indica, Linn.): It is bought from sellers and usually eaten in the afternoons as a trifle. It has not been eaten at all in camp. In Pantanaw mango jam was made once every year. Mangoes were obtained free and four annas worth of sugar gave ten or fifteen ticals of jam. One teacup was consumed at every eating.

OH-YO (coconut-jam: cocos nucifera, Linn.): Coconut jam has to be bought by pieces. They are usually of hite colour and square in shape. One stick measures 2" by 1½" by ½". They are made by mixing sugar with water and placing on the fire. Coconut scrapings are added, and when the liquid solidifies the hard coconut jam surface is cut up into separate pieces. OHYO Was not eaten in Pathwe. In camp it is

eaten once a month. Three or four sticks, each costing one anna, are consumed at each eating. 262 435 178●

BAMBR L PHET CHAUK (Burmese-tea-dry: Camellia theifera, Griff.): Burmese tea leaves are made into a beverage by simply sprinkling a few leaves in a pot of boiling water. The same leaves can be used to brew two or three pots of plain tea at each occasion of drinking. Burmese plain tea is taken either by itself or together with cane jaggery. Two or three pinches of tea-leaves, each pinch about the size of a betel nut, are necessary for one pot of plain tea both in Pantanaw and in camp. In both places the family drinks two pots a day, but a rupee buys 12½ ticals of tea here as against only 10 ticals in Pathwe.

PKIN U (Taro tuber: colocasia antiquorum, Schott): This fruit is cooked as a dish. It is peeled, prawns are skinned and mixed with NGANPYAR YE; sessamum oil is cured with onions, water is added, and the whole thing is then cooked. This is a KYAW-CHET dish and has to be eaten with rice. PKIN U has not been eaten once in camp but in Pathwe was eaten during four meals a month. Thirty ticals, costing three annas, were used at each meal.

KAZUN U (Sweet potato: Ipomea Batatas, Poir) is boiled and eaten with salt and sessamum oil. In Pathwe fifty ticals were eaten at one meal. One meal was eaten with KAZUN U every three days. One viss cost six annas in their village. In camp fifty ticals are consumed at each meal, but the price is ten annas for a viss. They have had this dish only once since their arrival at camp.

TRIFLES

"Trifles" are tid-bits eaten at the end of the meal or between meals. They are usually sweet foods as cakes and candy. The distinction between trifles and some supplementary dishes is not clear and they fall into either catagory depending on the use of the occasion. 263 435 178

MON YAR YOE (cake-lotus stalk) is a small elongated trifle, measuring 1½" in diameter, ½ inch in thickness and 5 ticals in weight. One condensed milk tin of treacle rice (KAUK HNYIN) and one condensed milk tin of ordinary white rice are ground together and then mixed with water and made into eliptical balls. These balls are then boiled and eaten with jaggery water and scraped coconuts. They are sold @ one anna each. This trifle was not sold in Pathwe. It is eaten three times a month in camp by the four children who have one each. One MON-KYAR-YOE costs one anna here.

MON-LETKAUK (cake-bangle) is made by grinding together some KAUK-HNYIN and some rice and then frying. In shape the trifle is sometimes long and sometimes is made in the form of whorls. It has to be fried in oil and eaten with jaggery liquid. It was eaten once a month in Pathwe but has not been eaten once in camp. This is in part due to the absense of sellers.

MON-OT-KALAY (cake-cover-small) are small circular trifles with a diameter of about two inches and measuring one inch in the thickest part of the trifle. These trifles are all of one size and are made by first grinding ordinary white rice, then adding some sugar and some coconut scrapeings and then being placed in the special oven for MON-OT-KALAY. This special oven is made of clay and contains several small declivities which give the shape of MON OT KALAY trifles to the prepared meal that is poured in after these moulds have been wiped with oil to prevent the meal from sticking to them. This trifle had

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never been seen by the family in Pathwe. In Rangoon, eight of these are sufficient for one eating. U Myaing's family ate MON OT KALAY five times in two months during their stay at the A.F.F.F.L. area. Eight trifles cost two annas.

MON-SALIN DAUNG is made by grinding flour from poor quality rice, mixing with jaggery, and frying in oil. In shape it is circular, with its thickness varying from about ½ inch at the circumference to about one inch and slightly over in the centre. The trifle is about three and one half inches in diameter. It is eaten as it is. MON SALIN DAUNG was not eaten at all in Pathwe. In camp the four children eat it four times a month at one anna each.

GYIN-THOKE. Preparation of ginger with sessamum oil, common salt: onion, garlic and sessamum seeds etc. (Ginger: gingiber officinale; Rose: Sessamum oil sessamum indicum, D.C.; common salt: sodium chloride onion: allium cepa Linn; garlic: allivium sativum, Linn; sessamum seed: sesamum indicum. D.C.) GYIN-THOKE is a trifle and is consumed between meals. One packet weighs 2½ ticals. In U Myaing's family it is eaten only by the three adults. In Pathwe they ate it only at festivals, which gave them four or five eatings in the year. In the refugee camp, it is eaten five times a month, and two packets, each costing two annas are eaten at a time.

AR PON (open-mounting) is a trifle which has to be bought by Ma Aye Myaing when they wish to eat it. It is usually eaten in the mornings and in between meals. It is made in the following manner: first, rice flour is mixed with water and liquid jaggery, then several deep pans are placed on the fire and hot coals placed on their improvised lids; when the pans are hot enough they are wiped with a rag soaked in sessamum oil in readiness for the prepared mixture. The meal is then taken up in small cups and poured into each pan, after which the pan is taken up andwith one deft circular movement the meal is spread out over the walls of the pan. Then the lids are replaced and between the two fires the trifle is ready within two or three minutes. The AR PON has to be scooped out of the pan with a flat iron ladle. In appearance it is a concave trifle, very thin and slightly brown at the sides, and thick and white at the centre of the declivity. It measures 6½ inches in diameter. It has to be eaten either with sugar or with a solution of sugar and coconut milk. Only the four children eat AR PON. In Pathwe they used to eat it every day. They ate one each, and it cost U Myaing four annas for the four of them. Here in the camp, the family has not had this trifle once yet.

MON-LAR-U-GYAW (Carrot root fried: daucus carota, Linn.): It is prepared with prawns in sessamum oil that has been cured with onions. MON LAR fruit can also be eaten as a TOZAYA with NGAPI after being boiled. It is generally an oblong shaped bulb about 4½ inches long and 2" to 2½" diameter in the thickest part. It can be cooked alternatively as a CHIN YE dish with fish, tamarind, chillies, onions, sessamum, and NGANPYAR YE. This fruit has not been eaten here at all, but in Pathwe village was eaten three times a month. Five fruits weighing about thirty ticals and costing two annas for the five, were needed for one meal.

THIN BAW THEE (ship-fruit. Papaiya fruit: carica papaya, Linn.): Papaiya fruit is cooked as a CHIN YE with the same ingredients as above. It has not been eaten once here. In Pathwe it was eaten four times a month. Each eating required one fruit weighing thirty ticals and costing 2 annas.

SAR LAY-CHI-GYAW (sparrow-feces-fried). These vermicelli circular plates made from gram flour and fried in oil were unknown to U Myaing's family back in Pathwe. They have eaten it in camp, but only after buying from sellers. They have never seen it being made. This is a trifle which consists of long thin strands of meal fried to a yellow crispness. It is eaten here almost every day, costs an anna apiece and five are eaten at a time.

KYAI (sugar cane: saccharum officinarium, Linn.) is eaten as it is.

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In Rangoon one small piece slightly over a span long costs an anna, whereas a stalk four TAUNGS long cost only three annas. It is eaten in the afternoons. In Pathwe sugar cane was bought in sufficient quantity for all members of the family, (a whole stalk for one eating, and eaten about six times in the month) but here only the children eat sugar cane and then only occasionally.

KYET THUN-GYAW (onion-fried: Allium cepa, Linn): Fried onions are eaten either alone or with rice. The onion stripe are bought at one anna apiece in Rangoon. They measure between 2" and 3" in diameter. In Pathwe it was never prepared, and they had never eaten it before their arrival in Rangoon. They knew that onions could be prepared in this way to be eaten as a trifle but they had never tried it themselves. One of the main reasons being the relatively high price of onions back in Pathwe. When it is eaten with the main meals, small pieces are torn off and buried in handfuls of rice then eaten. This trifle ordinarily measures about 4" in diameter and costs an anna each. It is prepared by frying flat pieces of a mixture prepared of rice flour. and sliced onions. The trifles are eaten thrice a month in here by the family. They do not eat till satisfied, three or four pieces being made to suffice for one eating. These are shared giving each member less than one each.

MALAKAR-THEE (Guava fruit: Psidum Guyava, Linn) is eaten as it is. It has to be bought in camp at the rate of one anna each if the fruit is big and two for an anna if they are small. In Pathwe guava fruit cost an anna for one small fruit. There were some guava trees in the village, but the fruit was meant for home consumption and not for sale, and consequently Ma Aye Myaing and family got guava fruit only when sellers from other villages came over. In Pathwe it was eaten six times a month, while in camp it is eaten almost every day when in season. Five fruits were taken at one meal in Pathwe while in camp the figure has risen to 12 per meal.

PAUK PAUK HSOTE (puffed grains with jaggery of Lower Burma) is prepared in the following way: a pan full of fine sand is placed on the fire and kept there till the sand grows burning hot. Grains of KAUK HNYIN paddy are taken and mixed and stirred in the sand until the the heat bursts the grains open. Then the sand is sifted out, and the burst grains are mixed with jaggery and rolled into balls about 3½" in diameter. These round balls are eaten in the afternoons. PAUK PAUK HSOTE was eaten three times a month in Pathwe. Three Burmese teacups full at one anna a teacup, were needed for each eating. This trifle is not eaten at all in camp.

KAYE KAYA (puffed grains with jaggery of Upper Burma: Oriza sativa, Linn) has not been eaten by U Myaing's family. In camp it is too expensive and back in Pathwe there was no one who made KAYE KAYA. However, Ma Aye Myaing knows the procedure for making it. According to her, this trifle is made by bursting fine powder, and mixing thoroughly with jaggery, Lakutate jam, (DAMIN YO) dorian-jam, and coconut scrapings. The finished product is not sliced up into ready made pieces, but instead is sold according to weight. In Pathwe [illegible] village there was no KAYE KAYA, but another trifle, very similar to it, known as PAUK PAUK PYIN was widely consumed. To make this trifle, KAUK HNYIN paddy has to be burst, pounded into a powder, mixed with lakutate jam, coconut scrapings water, grape jam (THABYET YO) grape jam, and sesamum. The whole mixture is then placed on the fire and stirred. About half an hour after stirring, it is placed in a shallow receptacle, and when it cools, it is cut up into pieces to give to the phongyis as HSOON or to feed visitors.

NAR MAT-THEE (pineapple fruit, Ananas sativa, Linn) is bought by the whole fruit, skinned, washed, and eaten with salt, or with NGAPI water. However, it is more often eaten by itself as a trifle. Pineapple was not eaten back in Pathwe. In camp it is eaten about four times a month when in season. One fruit, costing 2 annas, is consumed at one eating.

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PE MYINT (bean-root, tuberous roots of Goa-bean: Pachyrhizus angulatus, Rich) has not been eaten once since arriving at camp. This is because they do not want it. In Pathwe they used to buy these beans, boil and skin them and eat with salt and sesamum oil. PE MYINT was obtained free because Ma Aye Myaing's mother worked at gardening back in Pathwe.

PALAW PIN (Palaw-Penang Tapioca tuberous roots, Manihot utilissima, Pohl) had to be bought if desired, both in Pantanaw and in camp. In appearance they are long thick tubers which are white in colour and measure 12 to 14 inches long, with a diameter of about 2 inches. After it has been boiled it is eaten as a trifle with salt and sesamum oil. In Pathwe 50 ticals were consumed at one eating, at six annas a viss. It was eaten seven times a month. In the refugee camp it is eaten twice a month and then only by Ma Aye Myaing. She buys ten ticals for two annas from sellers who come to the camp.

MON-HIN-G. (cake-curry-bitter. vermicelli made from rice flour and eaten with curry) is another food which has to be bought for consumption both in Pantanaw and in the camp. It is eaten both in the early morning and in the daytime. In Pantanaw it was sold at the rate of 4 annas per 12 ticals - which was sufficient for one person. In camp it is eaten only individually, mainly by U Myaing. In Pantanaw it was usually prepared at home for all the family, and that required 50 ticals for each eating. It was eaten four times a month in Pantanaw and is eaten 5 times a month here. MON HIN GA sellers come to the camp.

KAUK HNIN-BAUNG (steamed treacle rice: Oriza sativa, Linn) has to be bought and is usually eaten in this family in the early morning. The rice is soaked in water and steamed on the fire for about one hour. Should it become too hard, water is poured in, and the KAUKNYIN stirred with a ladle. It is eaten with a mixture of coconut and sesamum and rice that has been pounded together. If for the whole family four condensed milk tins of treacle rice are prepared, usually two or three times a month when in Pathwe. One anna bought 7½ ticals. However, this trifle is mainly eaten by the youngest daughter and in camp she alone consumes five ticals every day. Sellers of this trifle come to the camp.

BEIN-MIN (wheel-cake) A sweet prepared from rice flour, in the form of a circular cake stuffed with jaggery and baked. It is bought from sellers, who cut the trifle into pieces with a pair of large scissors. Each of these small pieces when sold in camp weigh 2½ ticals and is sold for one anna. In appearance the trifle is brown and porous and bears some resemblance to a flat circular sponge. It is made by pounding poor quality rice into a flour and mixing with jaggery liquid and then frying in a flat pan with a lid on which hot coals are placed. Before putting the lid on, some sesamum seeds are sprinkled on the surface of the mixture. The trifle is ready in about five minutes. The whole BEIN MON weighs about 50 to 60 ticals and measures about "two fingers thick" and fourteen inches in diameter. The four children are the main consumers. In Pathwe they ate this three times a month and in camp twice a month. Four pieces are eaten in both places at one eating, and the price of an anna each is also the same, but whereas one piece in camp weighs 2½ ticals, those in Pathwe weigh 5 ticals each.

PE-GLAW (gram-fried: Cicer arietinum Linn) Grams fried in meal cost one anna each both in Pantanaw and in camp. Each measures about 3½" in diameter, and weighs 5 ticals. Rice of poor quality is pounded into a flour together with KAUK HYIN rice. The flour is then mixed with boiled PE LUN beans and fried. Some salt has to be added. This trifle also is mainly consumed by the children. In both Pathwe and the refugee camp four pieces at an anna each were eaten at a time, three or four times a month in Pantanaw, two or three times a month in camp.

MON YIT SALET (A sweet prepared from wheat flour and jaggery baked in frying pans. Triticum vulgare, Vill.) is made by mixing flour of coarse rice with liquid jaggery and then frying. Some sesamum seeds are sprinkled onto the trifle before it is fried. It is eaten either in the early morning or in the afternoon - never with meals. The figures for consumption of MON YIT SALET are exactly the same as for those of PE GLAW.

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MON KYO-LEIN (cake-string-single): A sweet prepared from rice flour, fried and soaked in sugar solution, as its name signifies, is a trifle which looks like a twisted rope. It is bought, and each piece weighs about 2½ ticals. It is made of flour of coarse rice and KAUK MYIN, fried and then dipped in a sugar solution. The sugar sticks to the trifle and solidifies there. With the exception of U Myaing, the whole family eats this trifle. In both places, 6 were consumed at one anna each, five times a month in Pathwe, four times a month in camp.

MON SEIN BAUNG (cake-rice-steam). Steam-cooked rice eaten with coconut scrapings and jaggery is made by sifting rice flour through a strainer, mixing it with water, and steaming it in a PAUNG GYAUNG (steam cooker). It is eaten in the mornings and in the afternoons. Only the four children eat this trifle; five ticals to each child both in Pantanaw and camp. The price is also the same in both places - one anna for five ticals, but whereas it was eaten ten times a month in Pathwe, it has been eaten by the family only twice since their arrival at camp.

MON-GA HNAUK (cake-brain). A sweet, soft preparation like pudding made from rice flour and sugar or jaggery is a trifle about two inches thick and 3½ to 4 inches long. The recipe for it is quite simple - take some rice flour and make a stew, mix with water and boil until it solidifies. Cut up into required sizes and eat with coconut milk and sugar. This is not eaten in the camp but in Pathwe they used to have it twice a month - six annas worth - for each eating.

MON-HPET-HTOKE (cake-leaf-wrap) This is a sweet prepared from soft rice paste covering jaggery or dorian. The procedure for making MON PHET HTOKE is as follows: KAUK MYIN rice is first soaked in water and then ground. The water is then strained away, and the rice flour again kneaded with water. Small amounts of the rice weighing about 5 ticals each are then taken, coconut scrapings and jaggery are buried in them, and they are then wrapped in plantain leaves boiled for about one hour. Eat after unwrapping the plantain leaves. This article was not eaten at all by the family when in Pathwe. In camp it is eaten three times a month by all except U Myaing. Six pieces, each costing an anna, are consumed at one eating.

HTAMEIT-CHAUNG (jaggery-stick: prepared from sugar cane, Saccharum officinarum, Linn.) They are made by placing some jaggery and water on the fire. The jaggery melts in the heat and when it completely liquifies, it is poured out into a receptacle containing water. During the interval in which the jaggery is still warm enough to be pliable, and cool enough to permit of handling, it is drawn out into long flat sticks and cut up into pieces. One piece measures 5" long, 1" wide and ¼ to ½ " thick, and three are sold for one anna. This is another trifle that was not found in Pantanaw. In camp the three youngest children eat this about ten times a month. Six pieces, at an anna for three pieces, are eaten at a time.

PE-GYI-HLAW (Baked long beans: Dolichos lablab, Linn. var lignosus, Prain.) These beans are soaked in water and laid out in the sun to dry. When they have been dried to a certain extent they are taken in and fried in a pan containing a very large amount of salt. In Pantanaw everyone in the family ate baked beans, but here consumption is mainly confined to the children. In Pathwe 12½ ticals at 4 annas for 12½. were eaten by the family five times a month, while in camp the children have 2½ ticals or one anna's worth at each eating. They have it eight times in the month.

MYE HE (ground nut: Arachis hypogaea, Linn.) is usually bought and eaten in between meals. In Pathwe twelve and one half ticals of ground nuts cost four annas. This lasted the family for a day, and they ate ground nuts four days in the month. In camp they eat this only occasionally, buying the nuts from the shop in the camp. Each person buys one anna's worth or ¼ tical of peeled ground nuts for one eating.

PATTANI (baked pea seeds: pisum arvense, Linn.) is not eaten here very often, only twice in the past two years and in Pantanaw it was not

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eaten at all. This was because there were no sellers of PATTANI in the village.

PE-BYOTE (pea-boiled: pisum arvense, Linn.) The peas are soaked in water and left there until they sprout, when they are taken out and boiled in water together with a small amount of soda. It is eaten with salt and sessamum oil. The figures for consumption of PE BYOTE are the same both for Pantanaw and for camp. Twelve and one half ticals, worth two annas, are eaten every morning by the family.

THAR GU (Sago: Arenga s charifera, Labill.) is mixed with water and placed on the fire and left there until the little white specks in the sago seeds have disappeared. Then, liquid jaggery and scraped coconuts and salt are added. After this the THAR GU is ready for eating. THAR GU was eaten twice a month in Pathwe from sellers. In camp they have had it five times since their arrival. They had six saucers at each eating in both places, but each saucer cost two annas here as against one anna in Pantanaw.

MON-LET HSAUNG (cake-hand-more). This is a sweet prepared from rice paste fried in oil in small drops and then put into either sugar solution or in jaggery solution. To make this, rice is soaked in water and then ground, and then the water wrung out. It is then laid out in the sun to dry, after which it is again mixed with water and put on the fire to expand. This forces the rice through a tin which has small holes bored in the bottom, so that small pieces of boiled rice either round or elongated in shape are obtained. When these are mixed with jaggery liquid, sugar and coconut milk the MON LET HSAUNG is ready for drinking. This is usually taken in the dry season and mainly by the four children. Four cups are taken at a time in both places. The cups are of the same capacity but the drink was consumed five times a month in Pathwe and only three times a month in camp.

MON-LEIT PYAR (cake-butterfly). This is a blue or purple coloured sweet prepared from rice flour and jaggery or sugar. Ma Aye Myaing is not acquainted with the procedure for making this trifle. She describes this as 4½" long and measuring four fingers across. It weighs 2½ ticals, and contains peas and jaggery mixed together. It is bought at the rate of two for an anna. Four are consumed at each eating and there are six meals a month of this trifle. It was not eaten in Pathwe.

BU-THEE-GYAW (Gourd-fruit-fried). This is fried gourd with gram flour or wheat flour used as a binding material and flavoured with ginger. The fruit is washed, peeled, sliced and fried with rice flour. It is not eaten by the family here but in Pathwe sellers used to come and sell this trifle at the rate of five for four annas. Seven of these pieces each three inches long and containing five slices were consumed at each eating. This was eaten during four meals in the month. (Gourd: lagenaria vulgaris, ser. Gram: cicer arietinum, Linn. Ginger; Zingiver officinale, Rose. Musa paradisiaca, Linn. Sub-sp. sapientum. K. Schum.)

NG PYAW-GYAW (plantains-fried) Fried plantains are prepared in the same manner, with the exception that the bananas are sometimes fried without being sliced into smaller pieces. In Pantanaw the family consumed in a day one bunch of bananas holding 13 fruit and costing three annas for the bunch. It was eaten four or five times a month. In camp one bunch of thirteen is eaten in a day, five days in the month, and costs four annas for the bunch.

KHE-THEE (Plum, zizyphus Jujuba, Lam.) are eaten after washing. They are eaten during the day, with salt. In Pathwe 2 condensed milk tins of plum were eaten at a time. It was eaten four times a month. The family does not eat plum here.

THAYET-THEE-AHMU (mango-fruit-ripe: mangifera indica, Linn) are also eaten frequently with rice and MAPI YE. Unripe mangoes are also eaten in this way. In Pantanaw they were eaten five times a month, 10 for one eating. The size of a mangoe varies from 4" long

to 2½. Mangoes in season cost four annas for ten. In camp they have eaten mangoes twice in six months, six for one eating, Re. 1/- for six. 263

MAYAN-THEE-AHME (marian-fruit-ripe: Bouea burmanica, Griff.) are eaten in the afternoons, with salt. Similarly with unripe ones. They are also eaten with rice and NGAPI YE. In Pathwe about ten fruits were eaten almost daily when in season. 435 178●

NGA PYAW-THEE (banana-fruit: Musa paradisica, Linn, Sub-sp, sapientum, K. Schum). Bananas are sometimes eaten with rice during the main meals but usually by themselves. In Pathwe one bunch a day containing 13 bananas and costing three annas were eaten during four or five times a month. In camp the same bunch costs four annas and bananas are eaten five times a month.

THAGYAR-LON (sugar-ball) or sweets, and CHO-CHIN (sweet-sour) are bought. Ma Aye Myaing has never seen these being made and hence does not know the process of manufacture. The THAGYAR-LON are round sweets also but are shaped like small orange pods and weighing about six to the tical. They are eaten only in camp. The consumption of sweets is limited to the youngest. She gets 8 THAGYAR-LONS a month at one anna for two and two for an eating; and 18 CHO-CHIN a month at an anna for six and six for one eating.

Ma Aye Myaing gave the following data on the period of the year when the foods used by the family are available. 262

Fish is obtained from the fishery in Pathwe from the month of Tawthalin to the month of Pyatho. From the other places in the river, fish was obtained from Tabodwe month to the months of Kason and Nayon. The varieties of fish remain the same in both fishing areas. Shrimps are plentiful in Pyatho month and lobsters in Tasaungmon and Nadaw.

KALA-BE (shell): In common with a great number of peas and beans, KALA BE appears about the month of Tabaung. However, since these are not very perishable, they can be kept in stock for the whole year and made available in any month.

KAYAN-THEE (brinjal): The brinjal plant starts to bear fruit in the month of Pyatho and continues to Kason and Nayon. In Tawthalin and Thadingyut, brinjal fruit was brought to Pathwe from other villages from the fields not on the river banks. Here in Rangoon they notice that brinjal fruit is available all year round.

PE-LINGME-THEE (snake beans) were available during the months of Kason, Nayon, Waso, Wagaung, Tawthalin and Thadingyut.

In Rangoon many of the plants and vegetables that were cultivated only seasonally back in Pathwe and the other district villages, are cultivated all the year round. The ready market in Rangoon encourages the districts lying just outside Rangoon to produce whatever plants they can and send them to town. [369] [241]

PE THEE (beans): these appeared in Pathwe for 9 months in the year. The first period is from Tasaungmon to Tagu, and the second from Waso to Thadingyut inclusive. In Rangoon this is available all year round.

HSAN (rice): During the months of Kason and Nayon the paddy grains are sown in the nurseries, and the seedlings are then transplanted to the fields during Waso and Wagaung. In other fields where no transplanting is carried on, the seeds are sown broadcast in Kason and Nayon. There are some species of paddy grain that ripen earlier than the rest. However, from the point of view of the consumer, rice is available all the year round. [243]

NGANYE-THEE (chillies): The seeds are planted during Waso, Wagaung and Tawthalin and transplanted during Tasaungmon. The chillies

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Second Meal (5:00 p.m.)

Steamed rice was eaten with a fish curry dish (NGA BYAY NA CHIN HNI)

Item	Weight in Grams
Rice (same type and amount as 1st meal)	1124
Water for boiled rice.....	1530
NGA PYAY NI (climbing Anabas testiduna), 13 fish.....	281
Garlic.....	6
Onions.....	15
Chillies (pounded).....	22
NA GYI-THEE (tamarind)	37
Salt	10
Sesamum oil	28
NGAN-PYAR-YE	23
Water used in curry	261
Total	3337

In the afternoon 1 anna's worth of PE KWAY GYAW trifle (grounded grams fried in groundnut oil after moulding, Grams are chick peas: Cicer arietinum, LINN., groundnuts are peanuts: Arachis hypogaea, LINN.) weighing 32 grams were bought for the children.

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Table:- An average estimate of major Foods consumed by U Myaing's family. (Number of meals per month over quantity per meal in parenthesis.)

Item	Food consumed in Pathus	Food consumed in Camp
HMAN (rice)	60 (5 milk tins).	60 (5½ milk tins)
Fish	30 eaten when other meats not eaten. (50 ticals)	4 (12½ ticals)
Prawns	10 (25 ticals)	15 (15 ticals)
KALAME (Dwell beans)	5 (25 ticals)	25 (25 ticals)

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Item	Food consumed in Pathwe	Food consumed in Camp
Chicken	8 (whole fowl) 50-60 ticals	0
Duck	8 (50 ticals)	0
Beef	8 (50 ticals)	0
Pork	10 (25 ticals)	2 (25 ticals)
Duck eggs	3 (5 eggs)	0
NGANYAN THEE (brinjal fruit)	7 (5 fruits)	10 (16 fruits)
PE LINGME THEE (snake gourd)	8 (2 gourds)	10 (3 gourds)
PE THEE (beans)	3 (25 beans)	4 (25 beans)
NGAYOTE THEE ACHAUK (dried chillies)	60 (1/20 viss)	60 (5 chillies)
KYET THUN NI (onions)	60 (1/20 viss)	60 (1/20 viss)
AR LU (potatoes)	4 Prepared only for pongyis. (50 ticals)	5 (33 ticals)
HSA (salt)	With fried fish only (12½ ticals a month).	60 (1.3 ticals)
NGAN PYAR YE (fish juice)	60 (5 ticals, 6 spoonfuls)	60 (2 ticals - 2 spoonfuls)
HNAN HSI (Sesamum oil)	60 (3.3 ticals)	60 (1 tical)
KYAN TAGAR (cane jaggery)	2 (2½ ticals)	5 (2½ ticals)
HTIN (firewood)	60 (5 pieces)	60 (3 pieces)
BAMA LAPHET CHAUK (tea leaves)	60 (2.5 teaspoons ful)	60 (2.5 teaspoon fuls)
BU THEE (gourd fruit)	4 (1 slice 1 ½' by 2")	2 (½ slice)
DAN DALUN THEE (drumstick fruit)	0	2 (25 fruits)

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Item	Food consumed in Pathus	Food consumed in Camp
TON PADE THEE (Lady's finger fruit)	4 (10 fruit)	.25 (10 fruit)
KAZUN YWET (Rabbit green leaf)	5 (1 bundle)	10 (1 bundle)
KYAUNG SHAR THEE (fruit)	10 (1 fruit)	.1 (1 fruit)
DANYIN THEE (small fruit)	Every day in season. (10 fruits)	5 (10 fruits)
THAYET YWET (Mango leaf)	3 (5 leaves)	0
MAYAN THEE (Marian fruit)	6 (6 fruits)	2 (6 fruits)
HSU BOTE YWET (Acacia leaves)	3 (5 leaves)	0
SHWE PAYON THEE (golden pumpkin)	4 (½ fruit)	0
THAMA THEE (cucumber)	3 (1 fruit 1' by 2")	5 (1 fruit 8" by 2")
HMO MA DO (water fern leaves)	.4 (8 leaves)	.1 (8 leaves)
HMO (mushrooms)	3 (50 ticals)	0
KAW PI GOK (cabbage)	2 (1 cabbage 7" diam.)	3 (25 ticals)
BU NYUNT (tender shoots of bottle gourd)	.5 5 sprouts	.25 4 sprouts
MA GYEE YWET (tamarind leaves)	5 (5 ticals)	0
KYAR YO (lotus stalk)	3 (5 stalks)	0
SAR LAY CHE DAUK (sprouts)	2 (1 bundle)	0
OH SHI YWET (leaves of bael fruit)	3 (6 leaves)	0
SHAUK THEE (large lemons)	0	3 (½ fruit)
MEN KYAR YOE trifle (lotus stalk shaped trifle)	4 trifles	0
MEN LET DAUK trifle (bracelet shaped trifle)	0	3 (4 trifles)

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Item	Food consumed in Pathne	Food consumed in Camp
MON OT KALAY trifle (small cover trifle)	0	2 (8 trifles)
MON SALIN DAUNG trifle. (circular trifle)	0	4 (4 trifles)
HSALUT TWET (leaves of lettuce)	0	3 (2 sprouts)
MON LAR TWET (carrot leaves)	3 (6 sprouts)	0
PEDI BIN BAUK (bean sprouts)	0	(once only) (25 ticals)
TAMAR TWET (leaves of neem)	0	2 (1 bundle)
HPAN GA THEE (fruit)	0	4 (10 fruits)
PEIN NE THEE (Jack fruit)	.3 (½ fruit)	.25 (½ fruit)
PAZUN NGABAUNG GYAW (prawns fried in meal.)	6 (40 prawns)	.1 (20 prawns)
NGA NGABAUNG GYAW (fish fried in flour)	0	4 (3 fish pieces)
THAYET THEE THAMAT (mango pickle)	3 (4 pieces)	10 (4 pieces)
MAYAN THEE THAMAT (marian pickle)	0	Sampled only
ZEE YO (plum jam)	1 (1 tea cup)	5 (½ teacup)
THAYET THEE HSA SEIN (salted mangoes)	10 (1 mango)	0
MAYAN THEE HSA SEIN (salted marians)	Almost every day (6 marians)	0
NAR MAT YO (pineapple jam)	0	once only (5 ticals)
THAYET YO (mango jam)	.25 (1 teacup)	0
KAZUN U (sweet potato)	10 (50 ticals)	once only (50 ticals)
MON LAR U GYAW (fried carrots)	3 (30 ticals)	0
THIN BAW THEE CHIN YE (Sour dish of papaya fruit)	4 (30 ticals)	0
SAR LAY CHI GYAW	0	every day 5

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Item	Food consumed in Pathwe	Food consumed in Camp
PEIN U (taro tuber)	4 (30 ticals)	0
GYIN THOKE (mixed ginger dish)	.4	5 (5 ticals)
AH PEN (concave shaped trifle)	Every day (4 ticals)	0
KYAN (sugar cane)	6 (7 stalks)	occasionally (4 stalks)
KYET THUN GYAW (fried onion trifle)	3	3 (4 pieces)
MALAKAR THEE (guava fruit)	6 (5 fruits)	almost every day (12 fruits)
PEIN NE THEE TOZAYA (Jack fruit as TOZAYA)	.9 (1 fruit)	.4 (1 fruit)
PAUK PAUK HSOTE (puffed rice trifle)	3 (3 teacupsful)	0
KAYE KAYAR (puffed rice trifle)	2 (12.5 ticals)	0
PAUK PAUK PYIN (puffed rice with jam trifle)	"widely consumed"	0
NANAT THEE (pineapple)	0	4 (1 fruit)
PE MYIT (Goa bean roots)	rarely	only once (6 roots)
PALAW PINAN (Tapioca tubers)	7 (50 ticals)	2 (10 ticals)
MON HINGA (bitter curry	4 (50 ticals)	5 (24 ticals)
KAUKNYIN BAUNG. (steamed treacle rice)	3 (25 ticals)	Every day (15 ticals)
HKIN MON (wheel-shaped trifle)	3 (20 ticals)	2
PE GYAW (fried peas in meal)	4 (4)	2 (4)
MON PYIT SALET ("worthless" cake trifle)	4 (4)	2 (4)
MON KYO LEIN (twisted rope trifle)	5 (6)	4 (6)
MON SHIN BAUNG (steamed raw trifle)	10 (20 ticals)	.2 (20 ticals)
MON OH HMAUK (brain trifle)	2 (15 ticals)	0
MON KYWE THE (cake-buffalo-heart)	.25 (5 ticals)	15 (8 ticals)

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Item	Food consumed in Pathwe	Food consumed in Camp
HTI NYET CHAUNG (jeggery sticks trifle)	0	10 (3)
PE GYI LLAW (roasted big beans trifle)	5 (12½ ticals)	8 (10 ticals)
MAY HE (groundnuts or peanuts)	4 (two condensed milk tins)	2 (4 ticals)
PANTANI (pea seed trifle)	0	.1 (4 annas worth)
PE BYOTE (boiled beans)	every morning (12½ ticals)	every morning (12½ ticals)
THAR GU (sago)	2 (6 saucers)	.4 (6 saucers)
MON LET HSAUNG (trifle made by cooling)	5 (4 cups)	3 (4 cups)
MON LEIT PYAR (Butterfly trifle)	0	6 (20 ticals)
KHAUK MON (trifle folded in half)	0	6 (2)
BU THEE GYAW (fried gourd fruit)	4 (7)	0
NGA PYAW GYAW (fried plantains)	3 (13)	0
ZEE THEE (plum)	4 (2 milk tins)	0
MAYAN THEE AMHE (ripe marians)	5 (10)	Almost every day in season (30)
THAYET THEE AMHE (ripe mangoes)	5 (10)	.3 6
NGA PYAW THEE (bananas)	5 (13, 1 bunch)	5 (1 bunch)
THAGYAR LON (sugar ball candy)	0	8 (2)
CHO CHIN (Sweet-sour candy)	0	3 (6)
KYET NINGA THEE (bitter gourd fruit)	0	3 times only
KYET THUN BYU (garlic)	40 (.9 ticals)	40 (.5 ticals)
MON LAR U (radish)	.25 (6 fruits)	5 (6 fruits)
HIN NU NWE (spinach)	0	once only (2 sprouts)
ZAUNG YA THEE (edges-line-fruit)	.11 (8 ticals)	0

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Item	Food consumed in Pathma	Food consumed in Camp
NGA YOTE KAUNG ZE (pepper corn)	.25 (10 corns)	.25 (10 corns)
NEKALI leaves	.50 (15 ticals)	once only
NAN NAN (coriander leaves)	20 in season (7½ ticals)	.25 (3 ticals)
HSAMWIN (tumeric)	60 (a pinch)	60 (a pinch)
NAZUN DOKE (Crayfish)	4 (35 ticals)	0
[illegible] KYIT (Palmyra root)	once only	only once (2 roots)
ANDARLUT (arrow root)	.15 (55 ticals)	.5 (2½ ticals)
MINGUT THEE (mangosteen)	once only	0
DURIN THEE (durian)	.25 (1 fruit)	0
LEIN MAN THEE (oranges)	0	3 times only (5 fruits)
NGAPI GYAW (fish-pickle-fried).	50	1.1 (12½ ticals)
NGAPI ANYAR CHET (fish-pickle liquid-cooked)	.25 (25 ticals)	.5 (25 ticals)
NGAPI YE GYO (ngapi with water)	60 (5 ticals)	50 (2½ ticals)
KHAUK HSWE (wheat noodles)	½ (U Myaing) (25 ticals)	once only (25 ticals)
GWE THI (fruit)	1 (1 fruit)	0
ZEE MYU THEE (plum-white-fruit).	.3 (½ milk tin)	.9 (½ milk tin)
MON LON GYI (cake-round-fried)	2 (36 ticals)	0
PE MON HSOT (bean-cake-ball)	.6 (20 ticals)	0
MON BAING DAUNG (cake-shuttle-stick).	.5 (1 milk tin)	0
MON HSAN (sticky rice dish)	every day in season. (4 milk tins)	0
HSA MYIN MA KIN (foreign expression Burmanized)	.25 (30 ticals)	0
KYAUK [illegible] (stone-smooth)	.9 (40 ticals)	0

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Analysis of Food Consumption

Table 5, gives a rough idea of the food consumption in Pathwe and Camp - summarising the foregoing data. Whatever the degree of absolute accuracy, this data is felt to be especially valuable in giving the relative consumption of items in the two areas. In general, the food pattern of Pathwe was not broken in camp but it was rather severely modified by the dropping of the more expensive and unavailable items and substitution of cheaper, available ones. The direction of the change is clear, the degree and specific nature of the change is discussed below.

Table . Summary incident of use of food items by U Myaing's family

Place and Use of Items	Frequency	Proportion
Items used only in Pathwe	40	31%
Items used only in camp	23	17%
Items used in both places: 1. But more frequently in Pathwe	30	23%
2. But more frequently in camp	24	18%
3. Same frequency in both places	13	10%
Total:	130	99%

These gross figures indicate that only a small proportion of the Pathwe complex (13 items) have remained unchanged, over ½ of the Pathwe complex (40 items) have been discarded, and the frequency of use of the rest shifted: 23 new items are added to the camp complex. A drastic change is thus demonstrated although the camp complex has only 17 items less than the Pathwe complex.

The gross idea of the shift in quantity of food used in both Pathwe and camp is gained from the following table:

Table . Variation in quantity of food per meal used at both Pathwe and Camp by U Myaing's family

Type of Variation	Frequency	Proportion
Same amount used in camp as in Pathwe	31	46%
A greater amount used in camp than in Pathwe	6	9%
A lesser amount used in camp than in Pathwe	23	34%

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Type of Variation	Frequency	Proportion
Non-comparable items	7	10%
Totals:	67	99%

This table shows the relatively high proportion of food items that are used in lesser quantities than in Pathwe.

The factor of quality could not be controlled in this survey - and since it was not mentioned by the informants we may assume that it is neglegible and may be disregarded.

The type of food in which the changes have taken place, along with the reasons given for the shifts give us a comprehensive picture of what has taken place.

Most of the items which did not change in frequency from Pathwe to camp are staples including : rice, fish juice, sesamum oil, tea leaves, chillies, PE BYUTE beans, firewood, onions, garlic, and tumeric that are used every day. However, the only one of this group to increase in quantity was the rice - due to the growing children. Fish juice consumption dropped ⅓ but was supplemented by the addition of salt for flavouring. Sesamum oil also dropped about the same proportions due to lack of extensive frying. The drop in firewood was supplemented by brush fragments collected around camp. Inexpensive items which were cheaper in Rangoon or just as cheap as Pathwe including onions, garlic, PE BYUTE beans, and tea were maintained at the same level.

The most severe drop was in meats (chicken, duck, beef, pork) which in all were included in approximately half of the meals each month in Pathwe, but were discontinued because they could not be afforded in camp. The fish consumption also dropped to about 1/7 th of what it had been . In Pathwe fish and fish products were free from the INS which U Myaing worked. This deficiency is supplemented to a certain extent by prawns but especially by the inexpensive KALAHE or dhall beans which in camp become a staple eaten almost every day. Whereas it was used only occasionally in Pathwe as a food definitely not preferred. A number of inexpensive fruits and vegetables including brinjals, snake gourd, rabbit greens, cucumber, guava fruit, ripe mariana, become important in supplementing the camp diet increasing double or more in frequency of use of each case with an increase in quanity per meal that reflects the growing

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capacity of the children. By eating the fruits in season they are secured relatively cheaply and in sufficient quantities.

The greatest part of the food items used in Pathwe but not in camp were specialty dishes and trifles for which substitutions could be made in some cases. Most were missed and desired in varying degrees although they were too expensive in Rangoon or not available. A few, although available, were not purchased because the family "didn't feel like it." A large number of items in this group including the tree leaves and stalks were obtained free in Pathwe, either for the picking or as gifts, and were prepared at home (salting and drying) without cost to the family. Such items (the fish products above are included) accrued to the family because of its situation or position in the village. The food gifts from the government agencies caring for refugees are in a comparable catagory for the family's camp position - but, of course, were staples rather than the specialty items of Pathwe The opportunities for gathering of food ingredients in and around the camp are poor because the land is in special (shade , etc.) trees and besides is privately owned. The camp is a good five or ten miles from good gathering areas. As an IN (large trap) fisherman U Myaing is not interested in line fishing even if it were possible to get to fishing areas.

Most of the items used in camp for the first time are trifles often never seen before coming to Rangoon - but quite similar to the trifles used in Pathwe. The consumption of trifles has risen sharply in camp but most go to the younger children. Possibly the sweet tid-bits compensate for the lack of the more satisfying Pathwe diet.

These are much more plentiful in camp and the temptation to spend on trifles, especially to please the children, is great.

A few items (bean-sprouts in prawns, spinach soup) are tried for the first time in camp and not repeated although the ingredients may be cheap. An element of choice still persists in camp although it is greatly restricted by costs.

In general, the data indicates that the Pathwe food pattern was not broken in the camp adjustment but was modified in the direction of simplification in which the more expensive items of the Pathwe diet were

were dropped in favour of cheaper Rangoon products. The new items added to the diet in camp were either similar to those of Pathwe or known before. No real innovations were attempted with success. 262 264 178

SOCIAL AND CEREMONIAL ACTIVITIES

An attempt will be made under this heading to present some of the major routine activities carried out by U Myaing's family in every day life. Because of the complex nature of the socio-ceremonial activities it will be possible only to outline the more important of these activities. They may be grouped under the headings of (1) activities concerning the family relations, (2) activities relating the family to theircommunity and state and (3) activities relating the family to the supernatural. Wherever possible the Pathwe situation will be compared to that of the refugee camp. 128

Family Relations

Marriage

U Myaing's account of the initial step in the formation of a family is of some interest. When a couple in love have money, they might marry with a proper ceremony; when they do not, they have to elope. U Myaing eloped with his wife. Some people take this course because the parents are not agreeable to the match. Others feel that it takes too much trouble and time to get married with proper ceremony. Others again elope because they do not like the match made for them by parents. U Myaing and Ma Aye Myaing gave as reason the point that it took too long and too much trouble to get properly married. Also at that time they could not afford to spend a great deal of money. 583

Some time after elopement there are attempts either on the part of the parents or the elders of the village to effect a reconciliation between the parties concerned. The couple does not usually take the initiative in these proceedings "because the young man is in the position of one who has stolen something from the girl's parents" and consequently has to lie low. The reconciliation takes place through the elders of the village, who approach the parents and request them to take back the young couple. Some couples stay away seven days, some a month, and some a year before rejoining the parental fold. The reconciliation itself is somewhat similar to a wedding ceremony, and

583 food and refreshment might be provided. After this the couple may
[178] put up either at the youth's home or the girl's home.
[185]

In modern times there have been very few cases of people from the villages getting properly married. In the past there used to be
[584] many marriages through the agency of match-makers, but now most people elope. U Myaing estimates that only about two couples in a hundred get married first. Daw Aw Zar also eloped with U Myaing's father. (U Myaing was not very sure of this and so called out the question to Daw Aw Zar, who replied "Hae-mathi-bor-bu"; "Hae - I don't know.") U Myaing and Ma Aye Myaing eloped, not because her parents would have raised any objections, but because it had become the usual thing to do. Out of all the marriages contracted by members of U Myaing's extended family (over 60 families), only seven were conducted with proper rites and ceremonies. These were the wealthy members of the family who had their status to consider.

584 U Myaing was in love with Ma Aye Myaing for a period extending two years prior to their elopement. He made a practice of visiting her house and of going with her to Pwes and entertainments, in the company of a large group of other people. Her parents never allowed her to go out alone with him. "That is the nature of parents - they will not allow that."

> "Of course there were occasions when we met, just the two of us; but that was more through accident than design. For instance, I used to meet her on the village street. There are men who ask for assignations from girls, but they are men who do not have consideration for the sisters of other men. I am not one of those. When we were ready to elope, I told Ma Aye Myaing that I was coming for her on such and such a night. Some daughters repeat this to their parents, "Mother, I am about to go along with him" and Ma Aye Myaing was one such. I also told my parents."

583 On the appointed night, at about nine or ten o'clock, U Myaing collected nine or ten of the beaus of the locality of help prevent any possible trouble on the part of the jealous suitors from the girl's village, made his way to Ma Aye Myaing's house and brought her along with him. An elopement is a joyous affair and U Myaing informs us that he used to often accompany friends when they went to elope with their girls. The girl is taken, either on foot, or by bullock cart if the distance is great, to the youth's village; and if they happen

don't usually talk about these things with them. We invite the phongyis and worship them. We don't talk much with them. They preach the law and the 5 SILLS to us. 181 203

16. Q. Are there any persons of influence in camp who give advise on everyday living? 621

A. Yes, the person of influence is the schoolmaster, U Khant. But he only teaches the children and looks to the general cleanliness of the camp. Another person is the man who teaches the English. But they do not lay down what is right and what is wrong.

Activities of the Family in Relationship to the Supernatural.

The main forces which U Myaing and his family are concerned with are those of the Nats and those of Buddhism. Speaking historically, the Nats seem to represent a remnant of an early form of animism in which the Nats were tree or nature spirits. It is interesting to note the manner in which U Myaing blends the two religious systems. The Nats control earthly happenings, and the Buddhist structure the eternal. We are concerned with identifying some of the major practices, but primarily with the differentiation between religious practices in Pantanaw and in the refugee camp. 771 [178]

Nats.

The problem of the Nats came up in our study by the appearance of a bamboo pole split so as to form a small basket at one end. This object, called a KYAUNG ZAUNG rested on the roof of the camp hut next to U Myaing's. An interview in which Daw Aw Zar (.D.A.Z.) and U Myaing (U.M.) discussed Nats, is given in its entirety below because it reveals the rather vague feelings of "superstition" held of the Nats on the one hand and their potency on the other. 776 782

Q. No. 25 (photograph) is a split bamboo pole with a basket at the top. What is this called and what is it used for?

A. (D.A.Z.) KYAUNG ZAUNG. The thing he took from the roof and photographed? It is called a KYAUNG ZAUNG.
(U.M.) It is called KYAUNG ZAUNG.

Q. How do you use it ?

A. (D.A.Z.) We offer to U SHIN GYI and others. Offerings to Nats. Didn't you hear that big man speak? (To U Myaing).

Q. Who made this object? Who makes them?

A. (D.A.Z.) The people who give the offerings of course.

Q. Do you have to make these when you give offerings?

A. If we give offerings we make them.

orange cloth but he remembered my original order and wanted to make these specialty items. I directed him to some friends who I thought would be interested. He was dressed in a new white shirt, colourful new longyi, a brown cloth topee and leather sandals and looked prosperous and contented. Recently, Ma Aye Myaing had presented him with another baby daughter and both were doing well. I asked him when he was going back to Pathwa. "Yes," he said, "as soon as it is safe to return." Even a considerably higher salary would not persuade him to stay in Rangoon. Here "though the eye is rich, the pocket is poor". U Myaing is well on his way to making successful adjustment as an urbanite -- but his heart will probably always remain in the village.

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CONCLUSION

Summary of Data

The data presented above on the changing standard of living of the Burmese fisherman-refugee family may be briefly summarized as follows:

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Home: A change from a large teak wood house personally owned to cramped quarters under the eves of a bamboo hut provided by the refugee camp. This represented a decline to 1/50th of the original home space but only to 1/10th of the original space used for the home vital functions of cooking, eating and sleeping. Home as a spacious area for social activities is replaced by an area used almost exclusively for the vital functions. There are no innovations and the pattern of home is not broken but is greatly contracted close to the minimum requirements.

Work: A change from a position as an overseer of a cooperative fishing organisation with income from cattle and fish products manufacturing to a day labourer. This represented a severe drop in income and prestige but was not outside of the labouring pattern which U Myaing was familiar with from his youth. It is a return to his basic occupation. The "road back" to position and higher income is being taken - at the present writing (November 1951) U Myaing has been raised to coolie boss of a section of street cleaners. Opportunities for rising in Rangoon are good and the future is once more promising.

Clothing: U Myaing is reduced by 72% from his former quantity, and the females of the family by 41%. The social clothing and accoutrement have been sacrificed and the inventory reduced to the garments essential for basic living. Quality of clothing has greatly declined. The process has been one of severe contraction but the pattern has not been broken or innovations substituted.

Health: The health of the family appears to be relatively unimpaired by change. However, the medical data necessary to arrive at a reliable analysis could not be secured. The most we can say is that hygenic conditions have not materially altered in the camp situation, and the family is not aware of any radical changes in health. The proximity of modern medical aid in Rangoon is of course a great advantage in any emergencies of which the family is becoming

511 increasingly cognizant.

178 Food: The relative quality of food has remained the same but
722 many expensive items have been discarded. Cheap foods when known
369 previously have been elevated to importance in the camp diet but no previously unknown foods have been accepted - the new trifles which have become popular with the family are close enough in taste to the Pathwe trifles no longer available. Many foods which were secured free in Pathwe now cost money and have been discarded or reduced in quantity. The diet is reduced close to the essentials.

Social and ceremonial activities: The active life in which the family was involved in a small folk community has given way to life in an urban community where the major consideration is gaining a livelihood. But the new life is promising and exciting and retains the basic activities of the village.

Concluding Analysis

121 Some preliminary conclusions can be drawn from this particular set of circumstances; also the data suggests hypothesis of wider application to Burmese culture specifically and human societies generally.

183 Nature of the case: The case is clearly one of reduction in standard of living where the pattern of living remains unbroken. As such, certain deductions concerning the flexibility of the pattern can be drawn. The general situation is a contraction where items were sloughed-off as the pattern approached a minimum situation. The extreme level beyond which the pattern would have broken and/or the family ceased to exist was not reached. Data on such cases would be most valuable in extending this study. For example, I heard of a case supposedly during the Japanese occupation where a girl became too poor to afford a longyi and had to use gunny-sacks for clothing. The story goes that this girl committed suicide. Also, during the war some familiss are reported to have been reduced to eating "only rice and ngapi" - apparently the irreducible condition. Data on families expanding economically would also be necessary to carry this type of study in the other direction. U Myaing's case gives data on the flexibility of the Burmese culture pattern under certain circumstances from a median point of average standard of living, to a point near the minimum standard.

183 The conditions under which this flexibility was observed were
369 those of a displaced family uprooted from a folk society and replanted in an refugee community within an urban society. As such the case

gives important data on the process of urbanizing villagers - the country people are an important group in the growth of the Burmese section of Rangoon; probably a large section of the present refugee population will stay in the future. 183 369 [178]

The concepts of pattern of living and standard of living: The Burmese pattern of living, or any culture pattern, is a universe of beliefs and practices manifested in acts and artifacts. The analogy of the "Universe" is a useful one in that it recognizes a guiding body of understandings that controls the whole of the society (like "laws" of Universe) while emphasizing the particular understandings that govern the various groups or classes of the society (like the "laws" of the Solar and other systems within the Universe). The "solar systems" are the standard levels of operations forming a comprehensive set of forces within itself. Families, like U Myaing's have a mobility, in the case understudy a forced change, which takes them out of one standard system into another. The adjustments which they undergo reflects the "laws" which control the various standard levels as well as the basic concepts controlling the whole of the society. 121 183

Each belief and practice has a range of expressions which can be defined. The particular expression practiced by a family is the standard or level of a phenomenon capable of expansion or contraction within prescribed limits. The ultimate limits are defined by the total range of expressions for the culture as a whole. But the practical limits for a family are defined by the possibilities of the society segment (community) in which they find themselves. Thus, the range of U Myaing's possibilities of expression are much greater in Rangoon than they were in Pathwe and greatly exceed his original ideas of what was possible. He may, for example, become a highly westernised political leader - although this seems unlikely in terms of his expectations. The westernised, urban spheres of Burmese culture is now opened to the family. [621] [369] [177]

U Myaing is motivated by the basic expectations of the Burmese culture at a level applicable to his situation in terms of the possibilities of his social environment. In Pathwe, he was a fisherman and aspired to those things that fishermen should. In camp, he was at 181 565 555

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
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in spite of its greatness in other directions, from being a great period of Burmese literature. The love of beauty, which is the basis of all literature, had adequate satisfaction in the developed art of architecture. The poets of Pagan wrote their poems in bricks, instead of words, and their pagodas are still famous. When one stands on the shore of the Irrawaddy and looks towards the ruins of Pagan, one is reminded of the delicate beauty of an incomplete poem.[1]

Pagan fell in 1287 as the result of the Tartar onslaught during the time of Kubla Khan, the Scourge of God, and the country broke up into several little States, each attempting to control the others. For the next fifty years, political struggles went on in the capitals, but they failed to disturb the peace of smaller towns and villages. Many who had grown tired of the strife around the thrones flocked to the quiet of the village monasteries in order to find peace. Religion went on undiminished, but the learning connected with it decayed, for the royal patronage was lacking. Architecture also decayed because there was no royal support and because the country had become poor. Men turned to literature for its own sake, and during this period Burmese prose and poetry assumed definite forms with fully developed diction, rhythm, rhyme and style.[2]

[1] Many temples and pagodas of the Pagan period are in an excellent state of preservation and are still in use as places of worship. Scott O'Conner's *Mandalay and Other Cities* contains fine illustrations of the more famous of these religious buildings.

The achievement of the Pagan kings, the 'Temple Builders', is summed up by Harvey thus: 'The legacy of their fleeting sway has enriched posterity for ever. It was they who made the sun-scorched wilderness, the solitary plain of Myingyan, to blossom forth into the architectural magnificence of Pagan. If they produced no nation-builder like Simon de Montfort, no lawgiver like Edward I, they unified Burma for more than two centuries, and that in itself was an achievement. But their role was æsthetic and religious rather than political. To them the world owes in great measure the preservation of Theravada Buddhism, one of the purest faiths mankind has ever known. Brahminism had strangled it in the land of its birth; in Ceylon its existence was threatened again and again; east of Burma it was not yet free from priestly corruptions; but the kings of Burma never wavered, and at Pagan the stricken faith found a city of refuge. Vainglorious tyrants built themselves lasting sepulchres, but none of these men has a tomb. . . . These men's magnificence went to glorify their religion, not to deck the tent wherein they camped during this transitory life.'—*History of Burma*, p. 70.

[2] Ibid., p. 103. Since that time, prose and poetry show continuous development. The full history of Burmese literature still remains unwritten. However, the *Anthology of Burmese Literature*, a Government publication,

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
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175 538 536 Though prose and poetry had thus assumed definite forms by about the fourteenth, or early fifteenth century, the drama was unknown until very much later. The first real Burmese drama appeared, though it had its origins some decades earlier, only towards the close of the eighteenth century, and during the next hundred years it developed and then decayed. Burmese dramatic literature developed in a historical sequence and in a way essentially similar to that of the Elizabethan drama. But why the similarity? Is it accident? Is it because of the similarity in the geographical isolation of the two countries? Or, is there a definite way in which all dramas have to develop in natural sequence?

2. Sources of Information

178 536 The history of Burmese drama can be divided into six stages. First, there is the age of the *Nibhatkhin*, comparable to the English miracle play, ending about 1752. Second, we have, from 1752 to 1819, the period of the interlude[1] (comparable to the English morality and interlude) and the court drama. Third, we have the period of the dramatist, U Kyin U, 1819 to 1853. Fourth, we have the period of the poet, U Pon Nya, 1853 to 1878. Fifth, there is the period of decadence, 1878 to 1886. Sixth, we have the time from [494] 1886 to the present day. As dates are in many cases uncertain in [805] determining the periods I am taking the reigns of various kings. As the drama depended much on the court and the victories and defeats of the king, perhaps I am justified in so doing. In any case, if a date is wrong, it is wrong by not more than two or three years.

175 538 536 The time before 1752 is the most difficult period as far as research is concerned. The centuries that followed the fall of Pagan—the time of internal wars, 1287 to 1531—saw the rise of a vernacular literature, which is found existing in the Empire of 1531 to 1752.[2]

[114] [538] [178] arranges its extracts in more or less chronological order, and therefore gives a good idea of the development. The subject is outside the scope of this work but I mention it to show how late the first appearance of Burmese drama was as compared with other branches of Burmese literature.

[1] The term 'interlude' is explained in chap. i.

175 [2] Perhaps it will not be out of place to give a short summary of the history. The various small States into which the country broke up after 1287 gave place, after some fifty years of incessant strife, to Ava, the kingdom of the Burmese, and Pegu, that of the Talaings. The small principality of Toungoo under Ava rebelled and conquered the whole of Burma in 1531.

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
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The rise of the *Nibhatkhin* was the result of the rise of the vernacular literature, for then learning had reached the people. But we do not quite know at what time the *Nibhatkhin* first came into being. According to tradition, the custom of holding religious processions and pageants had existed long before 1752, about which time the interlude and the *Hawsa* (a recitation of a story in verse) came into being, but how long before nobody can tell. However, as it must have taken some time for the vernacular literature to take root, I adopt tentatively 1531 to 1752 as the period of the *Nibhatkhin*. 175 536* 538

For the story of the development of the *Nibhatkhin*, I am dependent on tradition alone. The tradition of its development from the pageant is quite logical. Moreover, it is general and not confined to a particular district. I have discussed it with various Burmese scholars and I have made inquiries in far-away villages, and always I find the same tradition. In some out-of-the-way villages, which the influences that affected the drama at the capital had failed to reach, the development of the *Nibhatkhin* from the pageant was within living memory. Until recently, in such villages, one could even see the *Nibhatkhin* in its various stages of development. One village would be presenting a procession, another a pageant, a third would be staging a fully developed *Nibhatkhin*; in all the villages, their particular practice had been the custom for many years, further development having been checked by the introduction of the drama in its more mature stages by touring troupes of professional actors, and it had continued to exist side by side with the performances of strolling players, just as some miracle plays continued to be presented in certain places in England during the heyday of the Elizabethan 173 178 536* [369] 127

Under Bayinnaung (1551–81) the whole of Indo-China, the outlying provinces of China, and Manipur owed allegiance to the Burmese king. After his death, the Empire decayed until the ruler of Pegu, who had become independent, defeated the Burmese, and turned Burma into a Talaing Empire in 1752. The Empire was short-lived, for in the same year Alaungpaya rebelled, founded the last Burmese dynasty, and 'Burmanized' the Talaings by force. He and his successors turned Burma into one united kingdom, which with the Shan States, Siam, Manipur, and Assam, formed the Burmese Empire. The period 1752–1819 was the Age of Triumph, a fuller account of which is given in chap. ii. 175

The Burmese lost Assam, Manipur, and the native provinces of Arakan and Tenasserim to the British in 1824. The rest of Lower Burma fell into British hands in 1852. On 1 January 1886 the whole country was proclaimed a province of the Indian Empire.

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
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173 drama. In 1916 I saw a *Nibhathkhin* at the obscure town of Pauk.
178 For this period, I am greatly indebted to the notes made by my
536* father. They are the results of inquiries and researches spread over
127 a period of forty or fifty years. I realize that to many European scholars the section on the *Nibhathkhin* must appear conjectural in its dependence on tradition. My plea is that at present there is nothing else to depend on.[1]

175 With regard to the interlude, I am on surer ground. Again I
536* depend much on tradition, but it is now tradition supported by
[791] evidence. Besides the general and common tradition, there is the
127 tradition of the spirit mediums and actors, and, as I shall explain, the
647 tradition of my own family.

Professional tradition of the mediums and actors is more reliable
[791] than common tradition because the two professions, especially the former, are closed fraternities, and as written records were never in use, they handed down the facts regarding the nature and history of their callings by word of mouth. To them oral tradition was as strong as written records. Moreover, their oral tradition can be checked by the stage conventions which exist at the present day. The various stage conventions are considered in Chapter VII.

The tradition in my family[2] begins from about the year 1800. About that time, an officer[3] in the victorious army of King Bodawpaya

[114] [1] Even Harvey, who wrote his *History of Burma* at Exeter College, Oxford, often accepts oral tradition supported by no other evidence as substantially correct (*History of Burma*, pp. 33, 41, 211, 252, 267, 299). In two instances, pp. 33 and 41, the tradition cited dates back to the eleventh century A.D.

[2] My father is U Pein, District Magistrate, Burma Commission, now retired. In Burma, historical researches and inquiries are often made by administrative officials, as their duties carry them all over the country and to the remotest villages. Messrs Harvey, Stewart, Furnivall—great names in the Burma Research Society—are all officials belonging to the Burma Commission.

[3] He was Maha Minhla Mindin Raza.

I have to cite in this section the full names and official positions of some members of my family because:

[551] 1. As the Burmese use no surnames, my name alone would not convey anything regarding their identity.

2. The service record of the family may perhaps be construed as evidence in favour of the reliability of its tradition. G. E. Harvey, op. cit., p. 310 where he rejects Fuhrer's statement regarding an inscription because the 'precious slab has never been produced, and in view of Fuhrer's service record its production is essential.'

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
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536* 522 was introduced. The clowns were usually males, though later a female clown-attendant of the princess occasionally appeared. The clown was so popular that he continued to appear as an extra character even when the plays of the great dramatists came to be produced later. He was essentially outside the play. He made up his own part, he invented his own dialogue, and made up his jokes as the play moved along. However, even with the *Nibhatkhin*, he was not allowed to interfere with the movement of the play and its story. He played and joked at the beginning of the first scene when the actual story had not begun, he gave sometimes an outline of the story and its sources, and he gave information regarding the production of the [512] procession and the play. He was the most privileged person among the actors, for he alone could without offence laugh at, and satirize, all things and all persons.

536* 796 522 178 However, the clown was essentially unconnected with the actual story, and soon the actual characters came to be burlesqued. As the devil in the English miracle plays, the villain of the *Nibhatkhin* (in the Birth Stories, the villain was a previous incarnation of Devadat who repeatedly tried to harm the Buddha) became a humorous and popular character. The Burmese love of humour and gentle satire would have turned the whole *Nibhatkhin* into pure farce had not a convention arisen with regard to the presentation of religious characters. The Buddha was never to be represented on the stage. Stories about him up to the time he actually attained Buddhahood could be presented, but no one should impersonate him when he had become the Buddha. It was soon followed by another convention that the character of an *arahat* (saint) should not be presented unless it was absolutely necessary, and then only when the part was to be taken by an able and 'serious' actor, who must be actually keeping a fast on the day and night the *Nibhatkhin* was being presented. As a person keeping a fast has to behave in a dignified manner, that convention prevented the part from being turned into a humorous one.

With all these developments, people did not forget that the *Nibhatkhin* was essentially a religious show presented in connexion with religious festivals, and therefore further development was impossible. The conservatism of the village, the dislike of the amateur actors to be in any way profane or thought to be so, the restricted scope of the stories and the characters, all prevented any further development of the religious drama as such.

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However, the Burmese equivalent of the English interlude came into being all the same. It developed out of the equivalent of the English miracle play, but indirectly. The chance of developing the drama was seized by professional actors. To break away from the tradition and the conservatism, persons outside the pale of 'good' society were needed. Spirit dancers were such persons. They worshipped the *nats*[1] and most people looked upon them with fear as being in touch with sinister and unnatural forces. They were outside the religion, and their drunken dances—drunken from wine and ecstacy—were outside the popular conception of moral behaviour. Therefore the new professional actors were drawn from the ranks of the spirit mediums. However, those who took to the new profession were malcontents and failures in their original profession. The increase in the number of the spirit dancers had caused the mediums to form themselves into a fraternity, the entry to which was closely guarded. The economic attractions of spirit dancing tempted people who had no faith in the spirits to become mediums. These factors caused discontent and disunion among the mediums, and within and without the fraternity pseudo-mediums came into being. The advance of education had robbed the *nats* of many worshippers, but most people continued to patronize spirit dancing for mere love of music and dancing. The result was the rise of a class of professional entertainers who danced and sang and played on musical instruments. The new dancers pretended to be mediums and semi-mediums, but their dancing was unconnected with any spirit feast. The rise of this professional dancing was doubtless gradual and must have preceded the *Nibhatkhin*. As early as about the year 1400, two princes and their attendants, when turned out of their palace, earned their living as wandering minstrels and professional dancers, pretending to be spirit worshippers.[2] Because of the very fact that the new dancers were malcontents and failures in their original

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[1] The objects of the spirit worship are the thirty-seven *nats*, all of whom are more or less of evil character; but there are in addition to these many good *nats* who have little to do with human affairs. [776]

[2] One prince became King Minkaung (1401–22), the other, his brother, helping him to gain the throne. An attendant became King Mohnyinthadot (1427–40), and the others ministers (G. E. Harvey, op. cit., p. 96). [175]

The new dancers were mostly men. Men mediums were secondary to women mediums, and perhaps that was one of the reasons for the discontent among the mediums, and also the reason why the men took to wandering all over the country as dancers. [462]

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536* 178 791 554 profession of mediums, they could break away also from the tradition and conservatism of the spirit worshippers. They were outside the religion and outside the spirit worship. They were fettered by nothing. They were the only persons who could develop new ideas with regard to the *Nibhatkhin*. And they were the first to realize the possibilities of the new entertainment. Soon they had developed it into the Burmese equivalent of the English interlude.

536* 178 522 The professional dancers became actors. People were no longer satisfied with mere dancing and singing, for the *Nibhatkhin* had given them some taste of the dramatic scene. Therefore the dancers in the middle of their entertainment paused and gave a little scene, or rather a one-act play. The male dancer became the hero, the female dancer the heroine, and the other two or three dancers became minor characters. The clown had been long before borrowed from the *Nibhatkhin*, and he became a mimic-dancer attending on the others. For two reasons the scene was always the forest. First, it did not need much stage scenery, as the branch of a tree would be enough to indicate that the action was supposed to be taking place in a forest. Second, the journey through a forest by the hero and heroine made it possible for human beings and fairies, demons and gods, princes and commoners to meet and take part in various adventures and mis-adventures. Thus the Burmese interlude came into being.

536* 744 Perhaps it is not illogical to wonder whether there was an intermediary stage of development, whether there were plays comparable to the English morality plays, bridging the gap between the *Nibhatkhin* on the one hand and the Burmese interlude on the other. It is of course impossible to be certain with regard to the question, for no Burmese miracle play or interlude has come down to us in writing. I have said[1] that there are oral accounts regarding the *Nibhatkhin* and that entertainment which I have termed the interlude, and also written accounts regarding the latter. But there is absolutely no mention in those accounts of anything which could be termed the Burmese morality play. Yet, I venture to think that there must have been plays comparable to the English moralities. If it should be presumed that the interlude developed directly out of the *Nibhatkhin*, there would be a big gap between the two. I think that the professional actors first gave semi-religious plays in imitation of the *Nibhatkhin*. I think also that there were also plays actually dealing with abstract notions of morality and religion which formed the

[1] Introduction, pp. 7–10.

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536* While the interlude was developing, the drama, another form of
178 entertainment, was also becoming rapidly popular. The *Hawsa* or the
773 dramatic reading and recital of a Birth Story in verse was becoming
538 the fashion. The *Hawsa* was in dialogue form, and the reciter changed his voice and used dramatic gestures. As I have said, one cannot be certain of many things regarding the interlude, but it seems exceedingly probable that the early interludes were not literary. The actors were unlettered, unpractised in verse composition and only knew the *Jataka* Birth Stories from translations. The *Hawsa*, on the other hand, was a literary work. It was in verse. The reciter was an accomplished verse-writer if not a poet, and when reciting pieces he himself had not written, he invariably put in additions and modifications. He knew Pali and therefore could read the *Jatakas* in the original. Whilst the actor was looked upon as nothing more than a beggar, the reciter was greatly respected. This will perhaps explain why the *Hawsa*, and not the interlude, has come down to us in writing.[1] With all the differences, however, the reciter and the actor were akin to each other, and both contributed much to the rise of the developed play, just as both the dramatic recitations of the epic *Ramayana*, and the open-air performances of its scenes contributed much to the rise of the developed Sanskrit play in India.

536* There is no special term for that entertainment which I have called the interlude. The name *Pya-zat*, which means a play, is vaguely applied to it in common with developed plays, but it is certain that the term came into use only about the time of U Kyin U to denote developed plays. Therefore, I have ventured to name it the interlude, partly because of its similarity to the English interlude, but mainly because it was given in the middle of, or at least subsidiary to, the main entertainment of dancing.

[175] The interlude and the *Hawsa* were at the height of their popularity in 1767 when Siam was conquered. The results of the conquest are considered in Chapter II.

4. Sir William Ridgeway's Theory of the Origins and Development of Burmese Drama

536* Sir William Ridgeway, in *The Dramas and Dramatic Dances of*
114 *Non-European Races*, considers that the dramas and dramatic dances of those races support his theory regarding Greek tragedy, that it arose

[1] Some specimens of the *Hawsa* are given in the *Anthology of Burmese Literature*.

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536* 1. The impersonation of the *nats* by mediums;

114 2. The true dramatic element borrowed from the Indian historical

174 plays of Rama, presented by puppet players;

3. Drama based on the Indian models, but finding its themes in national history and mythology, intermixed with Buddhistic elements, and performed by puppets and living actors.

I proceed to deal with these three alleged stages.

178 536* 114 1. There is no doubt that the impersonation of the *nats* by mediums had, and still has, the element of the dramatic, as I have described. However, it is unreasonable to hold that the impersonation in question was the origin of Burmese drama. Ridgeway puts forward three lines of argument with regard to his theory: (*a*) the worship of the dead and the ritual connected with it have resulted in true dramas in other countries: the impersonation of the *nats* by mediums is a ritual connected with the worship of the dead, and therefore, as in other countries, it has resulted in the rise of a drama; (*b*) the *nat* dances had, and still have, the dramatic element in them; (*c*) the derivation of true Burmese drama from the earliest stages of the drama, the *nat* dances, is proved by the fact that there is a tree in the centre of the 'stage' when a play is being presented. These lines of argument are unsound.

(*a*) Whether the worship of the dead results in drama in other countries is doubtful. We have seen that the view has been controverted as regards Greece and as regards India. Even if it were true of countries around Burma, it would not follow that the theory holds good as regards Burma, for that country has a history and civilization distinctly national because of its geographical barriers.

(*b*) There is no doubt as to the existence of the dramatic element in the *nat* dances. But such an element also existed in the various folk feasts of the Burmese people. Ridgeway has no information regarding them. Though the spirit dances made some contribution to the rise of the drama, they were not mainly responsible, and it could not be said that the drama developed out of those dances. They gave to the country new dances and new dancers, and they developed dancing and music. But the true drama resulted only from the presentation of religious stories by amateurs. The *nat* dancers were essentially professional, and alien to the religious feeling and education that inspired the *Nibhathkin*. It is true that those professionals later developed the drama, but they did so as professional actors and not as spirit mediums.

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Before proceeding any further perhaps I ought to explain what I mean when I speak of the 'origins' of Burmese drama. A great deal of confusion can result through the vagueness of the term 'origins'. By it I mean that point where the drama has taken some definite shape as drama, and not merely as dramatic elements. If we were to consider as origins all prehistoric dramatic elements in the life and customs of the nation, it would lead us nowhere. The worship of the *nats* in some form or other must have been developed by the tribes that first settled in Burma. And as religious ritual leads to music and dancing among primitive people, the worship led to the development of Burmese music and dancing. But we cannot take music and dancing as the origins of drama. No doubt music and dancing are necessary for the rise of a drama, but speech is necessary too, and yet we cannot say that the first attempt of man to express himself was the real origin of drama. It is vital to distinguish mere dramatic elements from true drama. In this connexion, Dr Keith's treatment of the origins of Sanskrit drama is enlightening. Many had contended before him that the Sanskrit drama had its origins in Vedic ritual. Dr Keith, however, rejects the theory. He recognizes the dramatic elements in Vedic ritual, but he recognizes them as such and not as the origins of the drama. No doubt the dramatic elements in the ritual gave some idea of the dramatic to the Indian people, but the drama did not arise out of them. It arose only when the great Indian epics had spread all over the country, for the true origin of the drama was in the recitation of the epics. With regard to Burmese drama, although the elements of the dramatic existed in the worship of the spirits and in various folk customs and folk feasts, the origin of the true drama was in the religious pageants and the *Nibhatkhin*.

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(*c*) Ridgeway puts forward the tree in the middle of the 'stage' as evidence of the fact that the drama developed out of the *nat* worship. He contends that the tree is a symbol of the *nat*, because *nats* live in trees. He quotes from Colonel Yule's account of his embassy to Burma where the latter described a Burmese play in progress. There was no actual stage in those days. The play was given in the centre of an open place or yard, and the space for the actors was marked off. In the centre of that space was a tree. The ambassador inquired as to the purpose of the tree, but he was given a 'somewhat vague answer' that it represented a forest. He was not satisfied and put forward the theory that there must have been some belief connected with the tree, for it was present on all the occasions on which he

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178 witnessed Burmese plays.[1] Ridgeway approves of that theory. He
536* maintains that the tree is symbolic of the worship of the *nats*. In an
114 appendix to the book he quotes a letter from a resident in Burma (which arrived too late to be discussed in the book itself), describing some sort of a *nat* ritual where a spirit was supposed to be dwelling in a
[776] tree. However, *nats* are supposed to dwell, not only in trees, but also
[796] in houses, mountains, streams, lakes, on Mount Mayyu, in fact everywhere, and it is extremely unlikely that the tree should have been chosen specially to represent the abode of the *nat*. In all the ritual connected with the worship of the thirty-seven *nats*, the use of a tree does not occur except in the case of the *nat*, U-Yin-Gyi. When offerings are made to him, a wooden representation of a forked branch of a tree is used. But that symbol is used only when that particular spirit alone is being worshipped, i.e. when all the *nats* are being worshipped *en bloc* the symbol is not used. U-Yin-Gyi has no special connexion with the stage, and he is essentially connected with Lower Burma; and Upper Burma, not Lower, was the home of Burmese drama. And what Colonel Yule took to be a vague answer was the true answer. What he saw was an interlude and not a developed play, and, as has been stated, the scene of the interlude was almost always the forest, for it needed nothing except a tree to indicate the scene. Therefore, the tree which the ambassador saw was a piece of stage scenery and nothing more.

536* Though Ridgeway's theory that the drama had its origins in the
795 worship of the *nats*, therefore, is not founded on fact, his contention that the Burmese professional actors are the lineal descendants of the mediums who impersonated the spirits of the dead is not wrong. But the fact that the actors are the descendants of such persons should not mislead us into thinking the drama to be a descendant of spirit worship. There is a great danger of being thus misled if one knows the various stage conventions without knowing the real history of the drama. And had Ridgeway been acquainted with those conventions, which (strangely enough) were not known to him and his informants, he might have been strengthened in his view. The most important of the stage conventions is the *nat* chorus which often acts as a 'curtain-raiser' to the actual play. The chorus composed of females comes out and sings and dances to various *nat*

[1] H. Yule, *A Narrative of the Mission sent by the Governor-General of India to the Court of Ava in 1855.*

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tunes played by the orchestra. The chorus was first introduced for two reasons: the audience liked a dance, and the actors did not forget that their original calling was that of mediums. 536* 795

2. According to Ridgeway, the second stage of the drama was reached when the 'true dramatic element borrowed from the Indian historical plays of Rama, presented by the puppet players' had entered Burmese drama. The weak points in this theory will be apparent when the further history of the drama is considered in later chapters. The 'true dramatic element' was already in the *Nibhathkin*, or at least in the interlude; the Indian *Ramayana* coming by way of Siam did influence Burmese drama, but this was possible only because there was already a native drama to absorb this foreign influence. Nor were the *Rama* plays presented at first by puppet players. When the translations and adaptations of the Siamese *Ramayana* were being first presented at court, puppet plays were unknown. Ridgeway puts forward some opinions regarding the Burmese puppet show also, but they will be considered in Chapter VII. 536* 178 177 538

3. According to Ridgeway, the third stage of Burmese drama was reached when there appeared plays 'based on the Indian models, but finding their themes in the national history and mythology, intermixed with Buddhistic elements, and performed by puppets and living actors.' It is true that after the introduction of the Siamese *Rama* play to the Burmese court, plays of the type described appeared, but the plays were by no means modelled on the *Rama* play. The Siamese play gave rise to a native court drama which influenced the interlude and prepared the way for the first great Burmese dramatist, U Kyin U. And the 'Buddhistic elements' which entered the drama have a history of their own. All these points are considered in later chapters.

On the nature and achievements of Burmese drama, Ridgeway says: 'The Burmese drama has not remained crystallized as a piece of religious ritual. On the contrary, it has made distinct steps towards the true drama which Thepis in Greece and the forerunners of Marlowe and Shakespeare in England detached from the sacred shrines and lifted into a distinct artistic form. Yet it has not advanced beyond the lyrical stage, consisting of dancing, singing and instruments of music, the undulation of the vocal expression being much more subtle and intense than the expression of features, whilst gesture is restricted to the conventional gestures of the dance. The usual scene is the palace, its inmates the characters, and the drama 536* 114

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adheres tenaciously to the tradition of royalty. Hero and heroine are prince and princess, their retinue courtiers, and the countrymen jester and clown; the king is idealized, his deputies travestied.' In short, the Burmese drama is narrow in range. These opinions of Ridgeway are true and just in many respects, but they have also their weakness. He errs in thinking that Burmese drama is still in the undeveloped lyrical stage. What he thinks to be an earlier stage is in reality a later one. Dancing and singing have dominated the Burmese *pwe* (the public presentation of a play) since the fall of the kingdom, but that stage was only reached after decadence had set in in the drama developed so well by U Kyin U and U Pon Nya. What Mr Taw Sein Kho described in his letter to the Director-General of the Archæological Survey, what most other informants of Ridgeway also saw, was Burmese drama in decadence and distortion. The scene of the drama is not always the palace, though the palace and its inmates appear almost always in Burmese plays. The forest, village, city and the common people often appear, though it is true that they are subordinated to the dramatic interest in the palace and its inmates. Burmese drama was forced to confine itself in general to the palace, as in a society where other class distinctions scarcely existed, the king and his courtiers alone were different from the rest: and, in general, a Burmese audience wanted characters somewhat different from those of common life. The same was true of the Elizabethan drama. Though the 'domestic' drama was popular, the best plays of the Elizabethans have their scenes in distant lands or in high society. Therefore the narrowness of its range does not necessarily make out Burmese drama to be in an early stage of growth. For the sake of completeness, I have described briefly these aspects of the drama, but they will be considered in detail in later chapters.

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The opinions expressed by Sir William Ridgeway are full of error. The worth of the chapter on Burmese drama in his *Dramas and Dramatic Dances of Non-European Races* consists in this, that it was he who made the first attempt to study the development of Burmese drama scientifically, to compare it with the drama of other countries, and to form an estimate of it according to western standards of criticism. And, erroneous though his views are, it is much to his credit that with the scanty and often misleading information before him he could give such a shrewd estimate of Burmese drama.

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644 They themselves took part in the production of *Rama*, though it seems
536* that most of the actors at the Siamese court were professional; but once the play had been well established in its new home, only professional actors took part in the actual presentation, for the prejudice against the actors and the acting profession was strong: 'actors and
[533] beggars, eaters of food thrown away as waste.' Though the play was reproduced faithfully with all its dramatic qualities, the courtiers were more interested in the songs, which were new both in tune and in form. The *Rama* play at once enriched Burmese music and verse-forms. But the court did not at once realize that a new art had come. The Burmese equivalent of the English word 'play' was still uncoined. They called *Rama* a *zat*, a derivative from *Jataka*. *Zat* had by then come to mean a story; it could mean any story, though to distinguish it from a Birth Story, *hto-zat* (made-up *zat*) was used to denote a non-*Jataka* story. However, *zat* did not include fables or moral tales or legends and fairy tales. The Burmese interlude was without a name, and the courtiers realized the world of difference that lay between the *Nibhatkhin* and the Siamese entertainment. Therefore, the courtiers just called *Rama* a *zat*; the name suggested itself as they believed the *Rama* story to be a *Jataka* story.
536* However, when *Aindarwuntha*, the companion play to *Rama* at
● 178 the Siamese court, was later introduced to the Burmese court, the courtiers coined the term *nan-dwin zat* or 'palace-story', for that play had nothing to do with the *Jatakas*, and a new name was needed. When the *Rama* play reached the people, they thought it to be a specimen of the native *Nibhatkhin* or *Jataka*-shown-as-pageant and called it *Rama-khin* or *Rama*-shown-as-pageant. It was only when the native interlude had been moulded into a more developed art through the influence of the Burmese court drama that the term *pya-zat* (the equivalent of the English 'play') was introduced. It is of course impossible to ascertain when and by whom the word was first coined, but by U Kyin U's days, *pya-zat* or 'shown-story' had passed into general use.

To return to the court. The play was presented with Siamese (which were very similar to the Cambodian) dresses and costumes;
644 it was a faithful reproduction of the Siamese model. The introduction
536* of Burmese elements into the play through the professional actors was prevented by the tradition of rigid faithfulness to the Siamese model. The Siamese courtier-captives of course discouraged any interference with the form of their entertainment, which they took to

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In characterization, the play is a great advance on Rama

536* and on the Siamese original of *Aindarwuntha*. There, as in the
178 Sanskrit plays, the depiction of character was almost unknown. Rama was the perfect hero, Sita a lifeless damsel, Ravana a boastful villain. In Myawaddi's *Eenaung* the hero is shown to be full of faults, otherwise he is still lifeless and uninteresting as Rama. However, the characters of the women, the various loves of the prince, are well portrayed. True, the women pass swiftly through the play, often the interesting heroine never appears again after but one scene, and there is no character development; but the play is a rich portrait gallery where we see live women, who must have laughed and sorrowed at the court. The Sanskrit plays were written by men who did not or could not write of the miseries women suffered at the court, as the king's wives. They wrote from the point of view of men, and they would have it that to be the king's beloved was to reach the limits of womanly happiness. The Siamese court drama followed the Sanskrit
[644] in this respect. In *Eenaung*, however, we have a young courtier sympathizing with the women of the court, gently satirizing the king and showing up the disadvantages of being the king's love. The sorrows and laughter of the court maidens are well shown. Gentle satire, pathos, and light comedy keep the play alive.

The contribution made by *Eenaung* to the development of Burmese drama was no less in importance than that made by *Rama*. Of course *Eenaung* itself owed a great deal to *Rama*, but without Myawaddi's play, it seems rather doubtful that *Rama* could have done so much for Burmese drama, for the interest in human psychology and character, so essential to good drama, was absent in *Rama*. Moreover, *Eenaung* taught the Court to break away from the Siamese tradition and to develop a native drama with borrowings from and imitations of the Siamese court drama. Because many of the incidents in the play were invented by the author and not borrowed from the original Siamese court romance, it also pointed out the possibilities of an invented story as the subject of a play. In short, Myawaddi paved the way for the coming of U Kyin U and U Pon Nya.

Eenaung at once inspired others to imitate it. Many plays modelled on it were written by courtiers and produced at court. Although, unfortunately, none of these plays has come down to us, extracts in the form of dramatic speeches and songs have come down, and from those we can be certain that many of the court plays were not much
[562] inferior to that of the Minister Myawaddi. The most famous of the imitators was the Lady Khin Sôn, herself a scholar and poet of much

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renown, whose literary works were worthy rivals in popularity to those of Myawaddi.[1] The native court plays were so popular that even *Rama* soon fell under their sway. Through their influence, the tradition of rigidly following the Siamese version was broken and destroyed, and adaptations of *Rama* in the style of *Eenaung* came to be presented at the Burmese court.

5. The Court Drama Reaches the People

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The latter half of Bodawpaya's reign saw the court drama becoming national instead of being confined to the narrow limits of the palace. The national interest in the drama was now so great that the king had to create a new ministry, that of the stage. The new minister greatly developed the puppet-show, which is described in a later chapter. The drama became a regular entertainment at the court, and a dramatic performance in the palace came to be looked upon as a semi-State function. Not only was the drama now looked upon as a national entertainment at the court, but the court drama itself was being spread all over the country through governors and administrative officials imitating the court and holding little dramatic performances of their own. The greatest gift the court performances gave to the acting profession was to raise its status. The actors were still looked upon with prejudice as being nothing more than beggars, but they were no longer considered as being only a little better than rogues and vagabonds. Many travelling companies also came to be looked upon with less disfavour, for they would style themselves 'the King's actors' or 'those who had acted before such-and-such a minister on such-and-such an occasion'. For their ability many actors were given rewards of money and some sort of decoration, which might be a medal or a special dress, and these the actors would wear during their performances with great pride. The Burmese actors of the period were very much in the same position as those acting companies

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[1] The fact that the Lady Khin Sôn was the rival of Myawaddi in the literary circles of the court, reflects the difference in character, as far as women were concerned, between the Burmese and most other oriental courts. Burmese women have enjoyed equal rights with men from prehistoric times: 'when greater races bound the feet or veiled the faces of their women, or doubted if she had a soul, the Burmese held her free and enthroned her as chieftainess and queen' (Harvey). Perhaps this difference in the atmosphere of the court had much to do with the sympathetic portrayal of women by Myawaddi in his *Eenaung*. In India, the fact that women were given an inferior social position is reflected in the absence of Sanskrit plays by women.

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who put themselves under the patronage and protection of some noble lord in Elizabethan England.

Though the various plays presented at court were performed all over the country in little towns and little courts, the *Rama* play alone reached the remotest corners of the country, and it alone took root in the hearts of the people. What they wanted was action, and of the court plays, only *Rama* could satisfy the desire for action. The original Siamese version had been dead for some time even at court, and what the people saw were adaptations, which contained elements borrowed from the *Nibhatkhin* and the interlude. The story was shortened, many of the palace-scenes cut out, romantic love-scenes between Rama and Sita put in, and the demon king became a comic villain, whom everyone laughed at and liked. The villain as a popular comic character was borrowed straight from the *Nibhatkhin* and the interlude, where the Burmese equivalent of the devil in the English miracle plays, kept the audience in roars of laughter.

There was another important reason why the *Rama* play was so popular, and why the play became more and more Burmese. Under King Singu, while the court contented itself with the Siamese version, a poet outside the court circle broke completely away from the Siamese tradition and recast the story in a purely native form. U Toe, who became famous among the people under Singu and who was given official rewards and recognition under Bodawpaya, was termed the 'Great Master of the *Yagan*'. The *Yagan* is a romance in verse. It probably developed out of the *Hawsa*, a dramatic recitation of a story, but in the *Yagan* the dramatic element is subordinated to poetic description. The most famous of U Toe's *Yagans* was the *Rama-yagan*. In the history of Burmese poetry it enjoys a very important place. It is famous for the clearness and beauty of the language, for beautifully coined words and for richness in imagery. He may be termed the Burmese 'poet's poet' because his language inspired other poets to imitate his style. The *Rama-yagan* was studied by his courtier-contemporaries although he was outside the court; and imitations of his style are found in the works of Burmese authors, including U Pon Nya and authors of the present day.[1]

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[1] An admirable account (in Burmese) of the importance of the *Rama-yagan* in Burmese literature and its influence on U Pon Nya is given in U Po Kya's *The Water-seller's Play of U Pon Nya*, a textbook of the Council of National Education.

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However, what concerns us here is his treatment of the story. He does not treat the story as an epic but as a romance. He follows the Siamese version as far as the main incidents of the story are concerned, but his scenes and characters are Burmese, and the life reflected in the poem is the life of the Burmese people in his day. For example, he describes in detail the various festivities on the occasion of Rama's marriage to Sita, and the scene U Toe describes must have been common in the life of the people: 536 * 538 178 ●

From the dawning of the day, music and dancing did not stop, and silence was banished for long. Acrobats climbed poles, jumped through loops, balanced themselves on ropes, and people threw up their swords in the air and caught them in their hands again, so pleased they were. Drums said, 'Bain, bain, bain!' and the master of drums shouted, 'We are the makers of noise'. Dancers danced and drums played so loud that every person who had a good arm raised it in a dance. Noise, laughter, shouting, music, the feast was an occasion for shows wondrous and entertaining. [539] *

The love-scenes between Rama and Sita are no doubt taken from the life of many a Burmese man and maid. In portraying his characters, U Toe makes them more human and nearer to the life of the people. They are princes and princesses, but they are shown to have all the passion and sorrow and laughter of ordinary persons. In describing the characters, he uses terms applicable to the common people, and not to ladies and lords. In describing Sita, he calls her *lonma-galay* or 'little maid', a colloquial term used among the people and not at the court:

Her voice was clear and bell-like, as lovely to hear as music. She could use a crying tone, begging tone, musical tone. Oh, my hand is shaking with desire to imitate her voice on my harp. Little maid, little girl, how beautiful you were! [539] *

Throughout the poem there is an undercurrent of gentle satire and humour.

The poem of U Toe was read throughout the country and prepared and taught the people to appreciate the *Rama* play. It taught the professional actors to put more life, more realism into the play. The result was the rise of a national drama, where the elements of the *Nibhatkhin*, the interlude, and the court drama were combined and mixed. Everywhere there were theatrical shows, and the actors and dramatists struggled and experimented. It is unfortunate that none of the plays of those dramatists that entertained the people has come down to us. As they were experimental and unfinished, no one

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536* thought of writing them down and preserving them. But there are
538 accounts describing the dramatic performances of the period, and in
178 the dramatic works of U Kyin U we find echoes of those early plays.[1]
Therefore, we at least know that a national drama came into being towards the end of Bodawpaya's reign. It is interesting to note that the rise of a real national drama coincided with fresh conquests by the Burmese. Arakan and Assam fell into Burmese hands under this king.

538 With the rise of a more realistic national drama, the artificial
178 drama of the court must naturally decay. Already the court drama
644 itself was becoming less artificial, as we have seen, even in the hands of the court dramatists. But their plays, though far more realistic than the translation of the *Rama* play, were still artificial. Adaptations of *Rama* performed at the court were the beginnings of the decay. The decay was furthered by the popularity of U Toe's poem at Bodawpaya's court. It was read again and again by the author before the king. From such readings the court no doubt gradually went over to the national and more realistic drama, and it is perhaps legitimate to assume that plays presented at court in the closing years of the reign were mostly people's plays. The ascension of Bagyidaw to the throne in 1819 on the death of his royal grandfather destroyed finally the court drama, for his queen was of low origin, coarse, uneducated; and learned lords and ladies, poets and scholars, shunned the court. And it was in Bagyidaw's reign that the age of triumph ended with the annexation in 1824 of two of the three maritime provinces of Burma by the British. Under his descendant Mindon, who became king in 1853, the learned atmosphere of the court was fully restored, and U Pon Nya wrote his plays and produced them at court. But as his plays did not differ much from, and were dependent on, the people's drama of his day, he did not in any way revive that special court drama which entertained the Minister Myawaddi and his fellow-courtiers.

[1] The indebtedness of U Kyin U to his precursors is considered in the next chapter.

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CHAPTER III

U KYIN U

1. The Further History of the Interlude

When U Kyin U started writing his plays, he was not turning the interlude into a real play. The work had been done before him. It is impossible to determine, however, at what precise point the interlude became a proper play; at what time the dancer-actors ceased to give a play as a side-issue in the midst of their main entertainment of dancing and singing. The interlude, on being influenced by the court plays, became longer and more elaborate, and gradually the interlude ceased to be an interlude and came to be the main entertainment given by the professional dancer-actors. In fact, dancing and singing became less and less important until they disappeared from the play. In U Kyin U's plays, we find no dances, and only in *Daywagonban* do we find some songs. The interlude was further developed by becoming closely connected again with the *Jatakas*.

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We have seen how the interlude came into being, how it borrowed freely from the *Nibhatkhin* based on a Buddhist Birth Story, and how it was influenced and developed by the *Rama* play and the Burmese court plays. From the beginning the interlude was not fully religious, though the stories were *Jataka* stories and there was some undercurrent of religious teaching; nor was it fully secular. The court plays secularized the drama in that stories unconnected with the *Jatakas* were introduced. There was still some religious atmosphere in *Rama* because the play was taken to be founded entirely on a *Jataka*, but other court plays had no reference, direct or otherwise, to the religion. The interlude, on being influenced by the court plays, broke up its connexion with the *Jataka* stories. However, it soon went back to the Birth Stories for inspiration. There were many reasons for that return. The prejudice against secular dancing and acting as being sinful still remained strong, and the only way to overcome it was to retain the idea that the interlude preached the religion in some ways. The more common occasions for the presentation

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536* 779 178 [538] of the interlude were religious feast days, and out of respect for those occasions, the story had to be religious. Moreover, the interlude had to contend with the *Hawsa* or dramatic recitation by one person of a story, which was a rival in popularity; and all *Hawsas* were based on religious stories. However, the most important reason why the interlude had to depend again on the *Jatakas* for its stories was the great popularity of the works of U Awbatha.

538 178 195 [792] Shin U Awbatha was a monk who lived during the reigns of Bodawpaya (1782–1819) and Bagyidaw (1819–37). He was a product of the age of learning. Famed for his piety, religious learning, and knowledge of Sanskrit and Pali, he chose, like his contemporaries, to write in Burmese, and he enriched Burmese prose. The prose before him had been much neglected. The scholars were more interested in verse. When they did write prose, they never succeeded in forgetting that they were essentially verse-writers, and they used rhymed, balanced, and measured phrases. They used too rich an imagery. They broke into verse when they wanted to express any intensity of feeling. Often they introduced Pali words into their writings when there were more suitable Burmese ones. Burmese prose before U Awbatha was in the same position as English prose before Dryden. U Awbatha introduced a prose which was expressive and clear, simple yet effective. It was used to convey varieties of feelings and emotions, but it was always kept restrained and was never allowed to lose its [871] clearness. His works are still well known and popular. The importance of U Awbatha to Burmese language and literature can be judged from the fact that from the junior forms to the Honours course in Burmese at Rangoon University, his books are textbooks.[1]

538 178 There are hundreds of Birth Stories, but the most important are the *Ten Big Jatakas*. They are much longer than the rest. U Awbatha wrote Burmese prose versions of the eight longest of those. He followed closely the Pali originals as far as the incidents of the stories were concerned, but he portrayed character in detail, and made the characters more lifelike and therefore more interesting. The story was very well retold, but he was equally masterful in the portrayal of character and in his understanding of human psychology.

He wrote his first *Jataka* in 1785 when Burmese arms were flashing victorious in Assam and Manipur, but vainglorious references to contemporary events found no place in his works. In the peaceful

[1] A short account of U Awbatha is given in G. E. Harvey, op. cit., p. 269.

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atmosphere of a secluded monastery on the outskirts of the little town of Minbu, were the works composed. U Awbatha concerned himself, not with fleeting victories and events, but with the essential characteristics and emotions of human beings. Therefore, at the present day when few remember the victors and victories of the age of triumph, all read and enjoy the works of the learned monk. Though his first *Jataka* was composed in 1785, his works did not reach the height of their popularity until about 1800 when the interlude had been influenced by the court plays. The popularity of the *Jataka* stories of U Awbatha made the precursors of U Kyin U go back to the Birth Stories for inspiration. Though many such stories were presented on the stage, the interludes of the period dealt mostly with the eight made popular by the monk. Apart from the fact that the public probably demanded interludes based on these, the various scenes and characters in U Awbatha's works were good material for dramatization. Moreover, the fact that the stories were well known to the audience made it possible for the dramatists to take only the central events of the stories, leaving out minor and less dramatic scenes. Through that knowledge, too, dramatic irony resulted.

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Though U Awbatha never had any interest in the drama of his day, he indirectly saved Burmese drama from sinking into mere bombastic and rhetorical dramatic performances. The national victories and the resulting increase of martial spirit could easily have caused Burmese drama to fall away from the promising beginnings and early development through the influence of *Rama* and the court plays; Burmese plays could easily have become similar to the military plays of China, in which heroes and villains did nothing but fight, and one glorious victory followed another, to the worst Elizabethan chronicle plays and to the worst heroic plays of the Restoration. U Awbatha's works taught the interlude to concern itself more with the portrayal and study of character and to keep the presentation of heroic deeds and vainglorious speeches under control. He came in time. The *Rama* play favoured rhetorical rants and heroic deeds. The Minister Myawaddi did much to create an interest in the study of character and to put the drama nearer to real life. But *Rama* was so popular, and the national victories continued to come one after another so rapidly that the minister's influence on the interlude was being undermined. We have no example of the interlude of the period, but from stage tradition, contemporary references, and the echoes of it in the plays of U Kyin U, we can

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536* guess that the interlude was rapidly becoming heroic when the popu-
538 larity of U Awbatha's works showed it the way to better things.
178 The return of the interlude to the fold of the *Jataka* did in no way make the drama suffer. The range was not narrowed, because the Birth Stories were numerous and they were concerned with all classes of society and all classes of events. The *Jataka* was a developed art. Some of the stories existed in India long before the time of the Buddha and therefore they were artistically finished through retelling by generation after generation. In short, the *Jataka* was an artistic and finished short story. It was religious and it concerned itself with a moral, but the moral suggested itself and was not pointed out; the artistic qualities of the *Jataka* did not suffer because it was never pointedly didactic. Moreover, a *Jataka* contained always some interpretation of life, a view of life from a different standpoint. Therefore the interlude gained by returning to the Birth Stories for its themes.[1]

2. The Life of U Kyin U

536* The existing accounts regarding the life of U Kyin U are very meagre. Even those were obtained only through painstaking research by the learned editors of the Burma Research Society's editions of his two plays, *Parpahein* and *Daywagonban*.

U Kyin U lived during the reigns of Bagyidaw (1819–37) Tharrawaddy (1837–46) and Pagan (1846–53). The exact dates of his life and writings are not known. He was a native of the little town of Sinbaungwe, but he migrated to the capital where he wrote his works, returning to his native town when he had retired from active literary and dramatic life. He was learned and knew Pali, Burmese literature, Burmese history and probably Siamese; at least he knew the Siamese court drama well. He probably first won fame as a writer of songs and speeches for characters on the stage, and in later life a collection of these was published. After he had thus won fame, he probably either set up a troupe of actors of his own or was engaged by such a troupe as its official dramatist; in any case, he was connected with the acting profession and the stage, and he wrote his plays in outline only, many scenes being left to be filled in later when the plays were being presented, very probably under his direction; his plays were merely stage copies and were not intended to be read. He won fame as dramatist

[113] [1] For this section, I am greatly indebted to my sister's M.A. thesis at Rangoon University, entitled *The Jatakas in Burma*.

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and hermits who became so only to earn an easy living, but the satire is not bitter, for those vagabonds were quite harmless and amusing, at least in those days. The second scene is pure pathos. The pathos begins with the god and goddess speaking about the pathetic misfortunes and sufferings of Ma-di and the children, and it gradually increases in intensity, until the climax is reached when the princess faints, and Waythandaya weeps with her in his arms. U Pon Nya makes them entirely human, and in their sorrow, they behave and suffer the same as ordinary men and women, although they are prince and princess, and intensely religious. The third scene returns to humour, but the humour is restrained, as otherwise it might interfere with the course of the main action in the scene. The comic spirit of the play is finely conceived, and also original, for U Pon Nya rejects stock types of comic characters and does not even raise a smile for his Zuzaka. 536*

To the critics of the decadent period, *Waythandaya* was U Pon Nya's masterpiece as far as dramatic technique alone was concerned. They held that the play conformed to the rules of their own drama. The conformity is there, but it is not surprising, for the imitation of this play and *Wizaya* by dramatists less gifted than U Pon Nya, contributed much to the rise of the decadent drama. This topic is discussed in the next section, and also in the chapter on the decadent period.[1] 536* 178

7. The Characteristics and Achievement of U Pon Nya

Since U Pon Nya established himself as a great dramatist through the composition of *The Water-seller*, it has been the custom of Burmese critics to compare and contrast him with U Kyin U, invariably supposing them to represent two entirely different types of the drama. Doubtless there is an essential difference between the two, but it must not be forgotten that the history of Burmese drama shows a continuous development, and that U Pon Nya was the heir of U Kyin U's experiments and achievements. However, the best way to appreciate their qualities is to compare and contrast them. 536*

U Pon Nya was a courtier, and he wrote his plays primarily for production at court, but he did not in any way revive the old court drama as established by the *Rama* play and its imitators, nor did he introduce a new court drama comparable to the old. Since the final fusion of the court drama and the 'people's' drama by the time of

[1] An extract from the play is given in appendix ix.

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Mahaw, where the leader of Mahaw's men and a woman attendant on the queen-mother quarrelled and argued and hurled insults at each other. It is likely that that realistic and humorous scene taught U Pon Nya something. As he was very famous as a writer of humorous satires against various types of people, humorous satire naturally comes into some of his plays. In *Waythandaya* the roguish but rather charming hermits who lived on the credulity of simple villagers are well satirized. In *Kawthala* the goatherd is a typical countryman of U Pon Nya's time, good-natured, humorous, indulging in ribald jokes, easygoing, yet at the back of it all, having a shrewd common sense and the utmost loyalty. U Pon Nya has often been criticized for the coarse jokes of his goatherd, but his love of realism and his interest in all types of human character, make him portray the goatherd as he was in real life. It will be out of place to dwell on the humour, satire, and realism of U Pon Nya in his non-dramatic works, but as they are echoed in his plays, perhaps it is essential to give some idea of what he is like in his other works: he is there comparable to Chaucer of the *Canterbury Tales* and the goatherd is but an example of his many creations who are akin to the miller and his quarrelsome companions. The humour of U Pon Nya is said to detract from the artistic unity of his plays. Doubtless, humour is dangerous in Burmese drama, in view of the actor's and the audience's love of laughter, often uncontrolled. U Kyin U did not indulge in humorous scenes or characters, though the interlude had been given to broad humour, perhaps because he thought that the artistry and seriousness of the drama were in danger of being lost in cheap farce. And in the decadent period the uncontrolled use of humour does destroy the artistry of the plays. But U Pon Nya keeps his humour under control, and often through it he increases the artistry of his plays *Kawthala* has no unity, but the fault is not with the goatherd; in fact, one of the chief reasons why that play is at all interesting, is the existence of that character. In *Waythandaya* the humorous first scene has no direct connexion with the main action, but it stands as a contrast to the second scene, where pathos is the chief note. Again in the third scene U Pon Nya uses humour, but he keeps it under control so as to prevent it from interfering with the events connected with the main action. The failure by the decadent dramatists, who imitate his humorous scenes, encouraged to do so by their great popularity with the audience, to equal or even approach anywhere near U Pon Nya, emphasizes his greatness as a humorist. His humour is

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536* action. The main action is the grief and suffering of Ma-di, and that is shown only in the second scene, the other two scenes being used as a foil to the central scene. U Pon Nya seems to think that, though the first scene is not directly connected with the story, and though the third scene has little to do with the portrayal of Ma-di's character, they contribute to the main action in that they stand in contrast to it, and therefore help to heighten its effect. However, the result is not so artistic, and the play, in spite of its two 'unities', does not equal *The Water-seller* as a work of art. It has none the less some effect of completeness and artistry. U Pon Nya's love of, and mastery in, building up his play into a well-balanced structure of three parts, a central part with two wings, help to heighten the artistic effect. In *The Water-seller*, as has been already pointed out, the man is the central part with the king and the woman water-seller as wings, and in the final scene, at first, the king and the prince stand as the central structure, while on one side are male courtiers and on the other the princess and her ladies, and later, the empty middle-stage is the centre, with the king and courtiers on one side, and the water-sellers on the other. In *Waythandaya* the first scene and the last, both humorous, stand as wings to the second central scene of pathos. Again, the later dramatists fail to understand the essential qualities of *Waythandaya*, and they take it to mean that U Pon Nya's conception of the technique of a play is that humorous scenes and scenes of pathos should follow each other in turn, with the result that most decadent plays are mere collections of pathetic and humorous scenes, without any real connexion between them. It is ironical that imitation of U Pon Nya, who fully achieves U Kyin U's ideal of plot construction and perfection of form in *The Water-seller* and who nearly repeats the success in *Waythandaya*, should result in the decadent period of the drama.

536* 178 U Pon Nya's plays belonged to an epoch lasting for about twenty years in Burmese history, when the kingdom gave a final flicker before permanent extinction. The years that followed U Kyin U were of gloom. The hopes of winning back the provinces lost to the British in 1824 were destroyed by the realization of the might of Britain, by the madness of the able king, Tharrawaddy (1837–47), and by the incompetence of his successor, Pagan (1847–53). The country suffered another disaster in 1852 when, through the king's fault, more provinces fell into British hands. During that period the drama was greatly neglected. In 1853 Mindon, who later

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became the patron of U Pon Nya, rebelled successfully against his brother Pagan, and there came into being a promise of better times. He built a new capital, Mandalay, with wide streets and pleasant squares, and his wisdom and statesmanship won him the love of his people and the respect of the British. There was again an understanding between the court and the people, and the court became once more the centre of learning, after the lapse of some fifty years. Treaties of friendship between Burma and Britain and the personal affection the king had for Queen Victoria seemed to assure lasting peace to the country.[1] Dreams of a mighty empire, reflected in the heroic interludes, and to some extent in U Kyin U, were abandoned for ever. Peace and contentment were the keynote of the period, and there entered the drama, restored to the forefront by U Pon Nya, an atmosphere of calm, as opposed to that of strife in U Kyin U. Even in *Wizaya* that calmness prevailed. The epoch ended with the execution of U Pon Nya and the rebellion of Myingun, which caused the death of the heir to the throne, the ablest soldiers, the wisest statesmen, and the most learned scholars of the day, leaving the king alone to rule a country wrapped in gloom and a people torn into different factions over the pressing and difficult problem of succession.

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U Pon Nya followed U Kyin U in expressing political opinions in his plays, but he went further and used the drama as a political weapon. In *Paduma* he attacked those ladies of the court who had not shown enough respect or patronage to him, and he was so successful that he became a power in the land. The king, the crown prince, and the chief queen realized this, and they used *The Water-seller* to announce to the people, who were secretly getting ready for a civil war, that the threatened rupture between the brothers, king and prince, happily, would not materialize. Even after its author's death, the play was once specially performed at court, to test opinion with regard to the king's plan to appoint an able prince, who was far removed from the line of succession, as heir to the throne. In the middle of the performance, a senior prince said: 'If father wants to

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[1] One of the most prized possessions of King Mindon was a gold watch which Queen Victoria had presented him, and which he always wore. During the Indian Mutiny, in spite of temptation, he remained friendly and even sent help to the British, saying that he would never 'strike a friend in trouble'. Cf. G. E. Harvey, *History of Burma*, school edition: the ordinary edition gives the history up to 1824 only.

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536* 535 appear at all, and the song had lost its importance to such an extent that only one scene in all his plays had songs, which was in *Daywa-gonban*, where the hermit and the two princesses spoke to each other in songs. Though U Pon Nya was a great writer of songs, not one appeared in his plays. These great dramatists, through their brilliance, made the audience interested in the play alone, and the professional actors had no choice but to follow the dictates of the famous playwrights. After U Pon Nya, through lack of interest in true drama and because there were no able dramatists, the drama fell again into the hands of the professional actors, who had always considered themselves dancers and singers. They continued to present the great plays and their imitations, but only as frameworks for their songs and dances. We shall see later that after the final flicker of the drama during the years 1877–86 it perished in the hands of the actors with their interest in song and dance.

536* 541 178 [171] The people themselves wanted song and dance. They wanted an entertainment pleasing to the eye and the ear, without taxing the brain. They wanted an escape from the realities of life, because they were weary of the present and anxious for the future, as they knew not what dreadful events the next few months would bring. They wanted new dances and new tunes, and they applauded elaborate dresses and brilliantly staged scenes; and the actors could give them what they wanted as, through the influence of English and French touring companies, the stage scenery and devices had developed by leaps and bounds.[1] They demanded both laughter and tears, but as they desired the drama to appeal only to their senses and not to the intellect, what they really wished for and received were farce and sentimental pathos. The spirit of the audience had changed since the days of the great dramatists. The drama came into being in the age of triumph, when the attitude of the audience towards life was one of serenity and optimism. During U Kyin U's time, disaster, in the shape of the loss of provinces to the British, had overtaken the country, but there seemed to be a promise of better times, and therefore the spirit of the nation was still serene. When U Pon Nya wrote his plays, more provinces had been lost to the British, but again there was a promise of better times, and the spirit of the audience remained calm and serene. But after U Pon Nya, the spirit was one of despair and anxiety.

[1] The development of the stage is considered in detail in chap. vii.

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Burmese AP4
Upper Burma
Lower Burma

So for about a decade after the death of U Pon Nya, the drama decayed and was left entirely in the hands of actors. And in Upper Burma, the real home of the drama, it never recovered from their influence. True, some scholars in the quiet of a monastery wrote many a play, retelling a religious story, but their plays were never meant to be presented on the stage, nor did they follow the established dramatic traditions. They were merely scholarly exercises, and though many contained masterly prose and poetry, they did not really belong to the true drama, for they were plays only in name.[1] In Lower Burma, however, scholars again assumed control of the drama, though they had to comply with the desires of the actors in many matters. The change in the venue of Burmese drama is significant. Rangoon, the capital of British Burma, and not Mandalay, the national capital, was now the centre of dramatic development. The reasons for the change were many. The court was the centre of political intrigues and the drama could no longer look to it for development. Upper Burma was in a hopeless condition, and it never recovered until some years after the completion of the British conquest in 1886. In Lower Burma, on the other hand, by about 1875, the benefits of a developed commerce were seen, and after a few years of transition, prosperity was returning. There was peace and stability of government. The spirit of the people in Lower Burma was no longer of anxiety and despair. But it was not one of great serenity, for they realized that Upper Burma would soon fall into British hands, and the Burmese would never again have a kingdom of their own. There was intense regret, and the Burmese Crown, from which the past greatness of the nation had flowed, came to be looked upon with great sentimentality. True, the court in Upper Burma was in a disgraceful condition, especially since the death of Mindon and the accession of his son, Theebaw (1875–86), but that very deterioration, by contrast, enhanced the sentimental respect for the past glories of the throne. The drama therefore was used to present scenes of great splendour, in which court manners and customs were shown to an audience who, having come under an alien rule since 1824, knew their national court only from hearsay. That was why sentimentality and spectacle continued to dominate the drama, even though conditions had improved enough

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[1] Some plays of this type, printed in Lower Burma, are preserved in the British Museum, e.g. *Thuwana-thama* and *Maha Zanaka*, both by monks and founded on U Awbatha's *Jatakas* of the same names. Many of these plays are still obtainable in Burma.

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21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
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668 for scholars to rehandle it. The introduction of cheap printing in
178 Lower Burma was of the utmost importance to the drama. Printing
had been known to the Burmese long before the British administered
536* Lower Burma, but it was an expensive and laborious affair. The
[213] British introduced cheap and efficient printing presses, worked by
[171] cheap but skilled Indian labour. Once the stage of transition had been completed and economic prosperity had returned, printing spread all over Lower Burma and widened the circle of admirers of the drama, encouraged the study of the great plays in their original form as distinct from the modified versions of the professional actors, and created a public eager not only to see but also to read plays. As a result of these various causes scholars began writing plays again after 1875, but their efforts were not very successful until Saya Yaw in 1877 wrote and produced his *History of Thaton*.

2. *The History of Thaton*

536* Saya Yaw's story is remarkably original. In order that the question of succession should be settled beforehand, the young king of Thaton is advised by his ministers to take a consort without delay, and he promises to consider the matter. In the next scene, a brother and sister, belonging to a semi-civilized tribe on a neighbouring mountain, are entering the city to seek employment, for they have been starving since the death of their parents. The scene shifts to the centre of the city, where a rich nobleman and his wife are quarrelling and blaming each other, because they have no children to inherit their wealth. The characters are comic, and the scene is humorous. As they stand shouting at each other, the brother and sister pass by, and they are struck by the girl's beauty and the young man's nobility of bearing. When they discover that the strangers are without parents and are looking for employment, they, in great
[563] joy, adopt them as son and daughter. In the next scene, merchants from the Shan hills arrive at the city, singing and dancing their own songs and dances. They soon dispose of their wares, and they are making preparations to leave when the brother arrives. He becomes friendly with the merchants, and after listening to their tales of romance and adventure in their hills, he decides to accompany them to their home. He asks permission to go from his foster-parents and his sister, who reluctantly let him go. The foster-parents cry, and the brother and sister bid farewell to each other in songs of great tenderness. In the next scene, the chieftain of a Shan state is sorely

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
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U Pon Nya had many comic scenes which were mostly in prose, but not always. He was so fond of rhyme that he often used it in his prose. As his verse often had seven or eight syllables in one line, and as his prose contained rhymes, sometimes it was difficult to say whether a passage was in prose or in verse. *The Water-seller* was mostly in that half-prose, half-verse style. The decadent dramatists retain the four-syllabled verse, but following U Pon Nya, they use variations. Their songs, however, are in all varieties of verse. Whether in song or in dialogue, they attempt to convey not strength, but pathos and tenderness. Their prose, in contrast, is very bare and therefore suited to their comic scenes. The history of the style of verse in Burmese drama may perhaps be made clear by a reference to the Elizabethan drama. U Kyin U was a Marlowe, U Pon Nya a Shakespeare, and the decadent dramatists are Fords.

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Because of the great similarities, one is tempted to compare the decadent Burmese drama with the decadent Elizabethan drama. In both there is the same love of pathos, sentimentality, and horror. To take examples off-hand, Ford's *'Tis Pity She's a Whore* and our 'Baboon Play' touch on incestuous love in order to arouse both pity and horror, and the execution scenes in *The History of Thaton* and the 'Baboon Play' are comparable to the assassination scenes in Webster. The love of spectacle is common to both decadent dramas. We even find in the Burmese decadent drama a sentimental attitude towards kingship and royalty comparable to the attitude of some characters in Beaumont and Fletcher's *The Maid's Tragedy*. The similarities are so evident that one wonders whether there is a similarity too between the causes of the decadence, whether the chief cause of the decadence in Burmese drama was because it had spent itself out in the hands of U Pon Nya and his contemporaries in the same way as the Elizabethan drama could be considered to have exhausted itself in the hands of Shakespeare and his contemporaries. But, as far as it is known, the age of U Pon Nya is not comparable to the age of Shakespeare, for Burmese drama, even during U Pon Nya's time, did not equal the Elizabethan drama in spontaneity or intensity. In spite of the fact that there were many imitators during his lifetime, U Pon Nya is the one dramatist of his period that we now remember, which seems to show that there was no outburst of national dramatic energy. And he was not a Shakespeare, and had by no means exhausted the possibilities of the drama when he was executed. Moreover, Burmese decadent drama is

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indeed very far below its Elizabethan counterpart in artistic achievement.

After the publication of the Second Part of *Saw-phay and Saw-may* early in 1883, the decadence went on unchecked. Even the able author of that play, as has already been pointed out, became totally decadent in his *Tin-tin and Khin-khin*. The learned dramatist of the 'Baboon Play' abandoned his scholarly attempts to preserve with modifications the earlier tradition of the drama and became totally decadent also. By the end of 1883 the drama had become so formless and chaotic that plays ceased to be printed. And by the beginning of 1885 dramatic productions and the drama had gone back to the thrall of professional actors, and sunk again to the low levels from which it had been temporarily rescued by the scholar-dramatists. In the winter of that year, Britain declared war against the Burmese kingdom for the third time, and on 1 January 1886 the annexation of the whole country was proclaimed. The British annexation gave the final blow to the dying drama, for Burmese drama, from the beginnings to the days of the decadence, was mainly dependent on the king's court. The court had introduced the *Rama* play from Siam, it had inspired Myawaddi, U Kyin U and U Pon Nya, and even when it was in eclipse towards the end, its mere existence inspired the scholars of the decadent period, though living under another rule, to fan the dying embers of the drama into flame. The language of the drama was akin to that of the court, the chief scene was usually the palace, and at least one king figured in a play. Men's minds connected the drama with the court, and when the court fell, the drama fell with it. Of course, the end of the kingdom caused chaotic conditions to prevail in other branches of Burmese literature, for the court had always been their patron also, but they recovered after a few years. It was the drama alone which had no recovery. The British annexation in its effect on Burmese drama is comparable to Cromwell's closing of the English theatres, for both events gave the death-blow to decadent and already dying dramas. But in England the theatres were opened again, and though the 'old' drama was dead, its tradition could inspire, to a certain extent, the rise of the Restoration drama. In Burma there was no Restoration and a new drama did not arise. Though after the first shock of the annexation, dramatic performances were revived all over the country, they were entirely in the hands of professional actors, who did not produce any new plays but only distorted the old. And

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had the rise of a new drama been possible, I believe that it would have been something akin to the English Restoration comedy, for a comedy of 'humours' was developing rapidly in the decadent period, even though it was subsidiary to sentimentality and pathos. But I am wandering into the realms of pure conjecture, which is inexcusable in a work attempting to be scientific.

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dawn broke and the audience dispersed to work, at the most only the first half of the play had been shown. 536 *

The continued contact with the outside world further elaborated the stage scenery. The great development was in the lighting. Even during the decadent period, the stage was lit only by feeble oil lamps, but now powerful battery and arc lamps were used. Coloured lights played on the dancing actors and actresses, to the great delight of the audience. The developments in stage technique which would have been beneficial had the drama been alive, were wasted in the hands of the actors. 536* 177

The people themselves neglected the 'old' plays. U Kyin U and U Pon Nya seemed to belong to the dim past and even the decadent plays which flourished but five years previously seemed to be far away, for much had happened in the intervening years. Scholars continued to read and study the plays of the two great masters, but they were read more for their prose and poetry than for their dramatic merit. The reason why the 'old' drama was so completely forgotten is not far to seek. It was because of the popularity of the novel. When the Siamese drama was introduced into Burma, the Siamese court romances were introduced along with it, and for a time, at court, they rivalled the plays. The Burmese court dramatists wrote many imitations of the romances, and thus the Burmese novel was born. But, as the drama increased in popularity, the novel was soon forgotten. Again, when the court drama had lost its freshness, the Birth Stories of U Awbatha, which were in many ways novels, became popular, but the coming of U Kyin U regained for the drama its popularity, and checked any further development of the novel. The later history of the novel I do not profess to have studied—the subject is outside the scope of this thesis, and no one has as yet written on it—but I think that after the annexation of Upper Burma, by which time many Lower Burmans had been educated in English schools, English and English translations of European novels began to influence the Burmese novel. In about 1889 or 1890, there appeared the famous *Maung Yin Maung and Ma Mai Ma*, a brilliant adaptation into Burmese, by an unknown author, of an English translation of *The Count of Monte Cristo* by Dumas. And from that time onwards until 1919 when the English short story began to be imitated in Burmese, the novel was extremely popular and satisfied the people's interest in character and incident that had developed the drama. As has been stated, the non-existence of the throne prevented the rise of a new drama, but it was the 536* 538 178

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536* popularity of the novel which discouraged the people from reading
538 the once-famous plays and caused the 'dead' drama to be for-
178 gotten.

536* Yet the dramatic performances were popular everywhere, and in the circumstances, 'matinee idols' adored by their admirers soon appeared. These popular actors and actresses were admired purely for their dancing and singing. The result was to put the play yet further into the background. When a performance started, the audience clamoured for their favourite actor or actress, and during scenes in which he or she did not appear, it went to sleep. Three of these popular 'stars' became exceptionally famous; Aungbala, Sein Kadon, and Po Sein.[1] When Aungbala died in 1910, his funeral at Mandalay was similar in nature and incident to that of Rudolph Valentino, the cinema actor. These three led famous troupes of their own and toured the country, which on the whole tended to lower even further the dramatic performances in artistic value. For example, Sein Kadon danced with little electric bulbs all over his dress, and Po Sein had two English ex-soldiers with rifles standing motionless on each side of the stage whenever he appeared. There is no denying that there had been threats against his life by supporters of rival troupes, but I do not think that the rifles were quite necessary. In any case, the fact that he was guarded by two live English ex-soldiers impressed the audience, increased his prestige, and enhanced the theatrical effect. Such 'playing to the gallery' by the actors further prevented the possibility of any revival of
[559] scholarly interest in the dramatic performance. Moreover, as rival supporters spread tales of immorality and bad conduct among those actors whom they did not favour, the prejudice against the profession increased in intensity among the more conservative Burmese. And by about 1900, the performances could claim at the most only a distant relationship with the drama of U Kyin U and U Pon Nya.

2. The English Drama in Burma

536* If we put the Sanskrit, Elizabethan, and Burmese dramas side by
101 side, we find that the Elizabethan and Burmese have much in common, both differing greatly from the Sanskrit.[2] Of the Sanskrit drama Dr A. B. Keith says:

[1] Po Sein was decorated later by the Government. See chap. viii.

[2] Apart, of course, from the fact that the Sanskrit drama is classical in language and in age.

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could not and did not achieve success, even though the translator was the learned scholar and journalist, U Shwe Kyu.[1] The translations went unnoticed, and as the magazine became defunct in 1913, the precious issues which contain them are now available only in some libraries. After this failure to introduce Shakespeare into the vernacular, no further attempt was made, and Burmese is one of the very few civilized languages into which the plays of the great dramatist have not been successfully translated. 536* 177

In 1919, after the Great War, a wave of national aspiration swept over Asia, and Burma was affected by it. With the resulting revival of interest in Burmese institutions, the study of U Kyin U and U Pon Nya has become again popular, not only in schools and colleges, but all over the country. In schools following the established educational practice of prescribing Shakespeare's plays as textbooks, the plays of U Kyin U and U Pon Nya are now so prescribed. The newly established Rangoon University, founded by the Government in 1920, the Burma Research Society[2] and the Burma Book Club—institutions founded by the British Government and University officials interested in Burmese history and literature, encouraged and led to the study of Burmese literature, including the drama, side by side with the English. And when adaptations in Burmese of a play by Molière and another by Tchekov appeared in 1928 in the magazine of the Book Club,[3] there were hopes that a new drama was in course of being developed. But the study has been from the beginning independent of, and unconnected with, the theatre of the professional actors, who are in great demand and still popular with the majority of the people. Therefore the interest in the drama, even though spread beyond the university walls, remains academic rather than practical. And as far as I can see, there are no signs of the coming in the near future of a new national drama. 536* 178 668 871

[1] The magazine in which the translation appeared was the *Shwe Kyu Magazine*, and U Shwe Kyu was its founder and editor. [113]

[2] The Text Publication Committee of the Research Society has published U Kyin U's *Daywagonban* and *Parpahein* with editorial notes, contributing much to our knowledge of the dramatist.

[3] The adaptations were from English translations of the two plays. English is the only medium of contact with the western drama for the Burmese, and, as in India, the influence of other European literatures can come only through English channels.

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536* 177 345 Burmese drama before, and most of U Ku's plays and *The History of Thaton* and *Saw-phay and Saw-may* were produced at that theatre. Admission to a performance was by payment, a practice alien to dramatic performances before the decadent period. The rise of 'matinee idols' resulted in the chief actor, instead of the leader of the orchestra, becoming the head of a troupe of actors. Formerly, a dramatic performance took place during the afternoon or early evening, but now because of the repeated applause for the popular 'idols', a performance lasted throughout the night.

554 536* 178 I have stated how the prejudice against professional actors increased rather than diminished through the coming of popular actors or actresses and the resulting rivalry between different troupes. But the prejudice was gradually overcome through the efforts of one man, Po Sein, who used to perform with two ex-soldiers standing beside him with rifles. By about 1912, his reputation as a leading actor was firmly established, and from that time onwards he concerned himself with raising the prestige of his profession by destroying the bitterness and the ugliness that had crept into it. By his charm of manner and personality, he soon established himself as the undisputed leader of the profession. His generous gifts to charity and irreproachable conduct soon acquitted the profession from the charge of immorality and irreligiousness. During the Great War he contributed much to the Red Cross Fund. For his services to charity and his profession, he was given a title by the Government in 1919. Such an honour had never been given before to an actor (had such a thing happened under the Burmese kings or even before 1914, the officials would certainly have vehemently protested, taking it as an insult to their class), and the Government's action was the final denial of the old dictum that actors and beggars were outside the pale of good society.

2. The Puppet Show

536* 175 According to common tradition, the Burmese puppet show came into being long before the drama, but as our knowledge of the history of the puppet show before the reign of Bodawpaya (1782–1819) is meagre, perhaps it will be better to consider first the puppet's history from that reign.

[645] It will be remembered that, as stated in Chapter II, Bodawpaya, under whom the court and the 'people's' dramas united together to give rise to a national drama, created a new ministry, that of the stage. The new minister, being a conservative courtier, wanted the drama

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175 the same. Therefore after the minister's innovation, the puppet
536* show was actually a combination of two different things, the old puppet show as seen in the animal puppets coming out to dance, and the new puppet play. To many people it must have seemed that the minister did not really introduce any new thing, but only lengthened and made more elaborate that part of the show devoted to the prince
[101] and princess. It should be remembered that the Burmese had no puppet drama. In India, in Java, in Siam, in Bali, and in Turkey, there was an actual puppet drama, but in Burma the puppet show was entirely dependent for its plays on the drama of living actors. The minister imposed two restrictions on the puppet show.
[656] First, the plays presented by puppets must either be founded on the *Jatakas*, or on the great events in the nation's history. Second, the dress, manners, and customs of the king and his court presented on the puppet stage should be correct in every detail.

536* The innovations of the able minister resulted in the rise of a new
463 class of puppet show-men. They were mostly drawn from the ranks of the professional actors, but they were of proved ability and experience, and had to serve at least some months of apprenticeship. The show-men were never looked down upon, and the living actors themselves held them in respect. The puppet show-men were very conservative. State control ended with the death of the minister, perhaps because his successors were not so able; but the show-men kept their stage exactly the same as it was in the time of the minister, except that they presented the plays of U Kyin U, most of which were founded neither on the *Jatakas* nor on historical events. During the decadent period, the puppets stuck to the 'old' plays, and introduced no innovations either in stage-craft or in dramatic
536* technique. The annexation by the British in 1886 was disastrous
178 to the puppet show, for, unlike the living actors, the puppets were almost totally dependent on court patronage. When the country became peaceful again by about 1885, the puppet show-men made gallant attempts to revive their shows, and all over Burma they gave performances. But the show belonged to a dead past, and the conservatism of the show-men would not allow the introduction of anything new. The old show-men died out, and there were not many new-comers, for the profession demanded a term of apprenticeship and its conservatism did not suit the young men, products of the changed conditions. The result was that the puppet troupes gradually disappeared. In 1921, when a puppet performance was given at

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Pegu, many English officials asked to be my father's guests, for 536 *
although they had been some years in Burma and heard so much of 178 ●
the puppet show, they had never been able to find one. In 1929, on inquiry, I found that there was not one puppet troupe in Lower Burma, though there were two in Upper Burma; of these, only one was giving performances occasionally, the members of the other being content to earn their living by some other means.

Before considering the probable history of the puppet show before 536 *
the time of Bodawpaya, it is necessary to give an account of the 101
puppet-shadow show of the east. The home of the puppet show was India. Pischel in *The Home of the Puppet Stage* even contends that the Sanskrit shadow drama preceded the drama proper, but that theory is not accepted by Dr Keith and other scholars. From India, with Hindu expansion overseas, the puppet-shadow show spread, together with the epics and the drama, to Malaya and the East Indies. In Java it found a permanent home, and there shadow drama is still very popular. From Java it spread to Siam and other countries of Indo-China, to Persia, Turkey, Arabia and Japan. Perhaps it even spread to Europe; at least the English Punch is a direct descendant of the Turkish puppet Karageuz, who himself was a descendant of the Sanskrit puppet Vidusaka. To give an idea of the puppet-shadow show, I will give a description of a Java shadow performance.

As 'stage' there is a huge curtain with a light behind it. The puppets are put between the light and the curtain, on which their shadows are thrown. 'The light shines through the transparent material of which his (the puppet's) many-coloured garments are made. His shadow on the curtain glows with such bright hues within the framework of dark shells that he looks like a figure in stained glass. . . . In the middle of the huge curtain is seen a fantastic vine with interlacing branches. Monkeys and birds climb on it, and beneath it two grim guards stand watch. When the play begins, the strange shadow tree vanishes. The stage manager is the *Dalang*. He sits on a mat and gives the play.[1] Back of him is the orchestra to accompany the explanations of the *Dalang*. Whenever a new figure enters the [534]
orchestra plays. The men in the audience are allowed to sit on the right of the *Dalang* and see the actual puppets perform, and the children sit at the *Dalang's* left hand. But the women are not permitted to see the real puppets act. They see only the shadows on the [562]

[1] i.e. he recites the words of the play.

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16. THE FIRST STEP.

of an inch thick. This custom is on the decline, and the ears of boys are not so generally pierced as they used to be. The *naddung* or women's ear-plug of gold is being replaced by the *nagdt* with its slender stem (No. 241). With eldest-born girls the fête is frequently deferred until they are twelve or fourteen, and is then celebrated with all the more splendour (p. 14).

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Burman children are not weaned until the second or third year. Nevertheless they begin to receive solid food as soon as they will take it. The illusion prevails that the earlier they do so the stronger they will be. It is a chief source of infant sickness and mortality, and of the smallness of the families reared. A curious feature of Burman sociality is the promiscuous suckling of infants in the circle of relatives and friends.

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Children's heads are shaved in more or less fanciful ways up to the ages of ten or twelve, after which the hair is allowed to grow long.

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The road-fronts of the houses are always peopled with children. Children are equals and are free to roam through the neighbours' houses and plots, where they are kindly noticed. Adults take interest in their games, and make kites and reels, boats, carts and other simple toys for them.

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17. THE WOODEN CRADLE (BAUNGBAN).

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18. YOUNG CHILDREN'S TOYS.

Manufactured toys are the most noticeable wares in the sale-booths. A universal toy is the seed from the giant pod of the *dô* creeper (No. 251). Like marbles with us, the seeds—*gôn-hnyin*—are the prizes of the game. In Sangermano's time (1783-1806) these games used to be played by adults. A characteristic boys' game is *sitôppyit* (No. 25). Lots are cast for riders and horses. A ball or bundle is thrown from rider to rider till a player misses the catch, when all the riders dismount and scramble with the horses for the ball. The one who secures it becomes or remains a rider as the case may be. Boys run races for their own sport and that of their elders, and race their toy boats. They fight duels with their kites, each flier seeking to saw through his opponent's kite-line, for which purpose a length of string has been roughened with sand or pounded glass. The peg-top is a favourite toy. That it is indigenous is proved by certain proverbial sayings. Burman boys are more like our own and take to European games more kindly than other Asiatics (*cf.* p. 69). The toy of the day is the tricycle, which parents will pinch themselves to provide for their children, and which the happy possessors of will make the common property of all their playmates. Where children awaken such genuine interest, punishment is rarely called for and is never

19. GAMES IN THE WATER.

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346 *kambawd*. The laity assembled outside the precincts let off rockets and guns
796 in celebration of the event. Finally, the ceremony of *yeûtcha*, the pouring
778 of water (No. 100), is performed by the grantor of the site—as at every other

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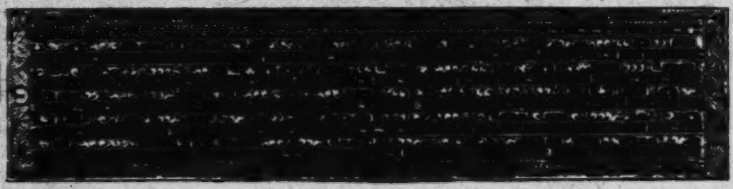

46. ILLUMINATED KAMBAWA.

religious dedication—to signify that the property has been dedicated for ever. The precincts of the *thein* are marked by low boundary pillars, mostly of Sagáing marble, set in the trench, which is then filled in. A different form of *thein* is the *ye-thein*, which is built over the water to effect its isolation.

792 Although the *yahán*, as already stated, may not ask for anything, he may
735 decline what is offered. He signifies this by inverting his *thabît* (*thabeit-kmauk*). The action has become a symbol for excommunication. The *yahán* might assemble in the *thein* and perform *thabît-kmauk* against a layman for
[794] heinous wickedness. His house would be passed by in collecting *sun* and all
[178] offerings tendered by him refused. The practice has become obsolete; it is said to have no warrant in the scriptures, and to be contrary to their spirit.

Where the people are very prosperous and the *yahán* are not many, the collecting of *sun* in the streets has sunk to a formality observed by the novices only, who on return to the monastery empty their *thabît* to the dogs. But in other circumstances the sojourner *yahán*, novices and scholars live on the *sun*. An ordinance of the Buddha dispenses the *yahán* from collecting his food from house to house if there be pious people who proffer him his sustenance at his abode. The founder of the monastery (*Kyaung-tagá*), who nomin-

47. SUN SENT BY THE KYAÛNGTABA.

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129. CLEANING AND SPINNING COTTON.

For work and exercise the *pasô* is girt into the narrowest compass (*kaddung-chaik*, No. 407). The women's cloth —*tamêin*—is only three cubits long. To the upper edge of the figured silk is joined a strip of plain dark-coloured cotton or velvet. To the lower edge is joined a piece striped with the colours of the centre-piece, to that again a strip of red silk shot with white, and it is lined with calico. The *tamein* overlaps very little (Nos. 136, 137). *Pasô* and *tamêin* are the distinctive national dress. Both are in process of being superseded by the more convenient *lôndyî*, except for *gala* occasions (No. 34). The *lôndyî* is an endless cloth, generally of red tartan, about equal to two *tamêin*, worn like the Malay *sárong*. Men wear their long hair in a top-knot, and frequently use no head-dress. For *gala* they wear a fillet of white muslin round the temples tied in a knot, of which the long ends stand up (*pazin-hnyat*). Bright-coloured figured silk kerchiefs (*gaung-baung*) are worn in the same way. But more generally hair and kerchief are wound up together upon the head. Women wear nothing on the head except flowers and jewels. They wear kerchiefs (*ywa*) over their shoulders, of the same kind as the men's *gaungbaung*. These kerchiefs were at first of bright Chinese embroidery, but are now damask silk prints from Europe. The fashion of their patterns and colours changes. Jackets were not an invariable part of the Burman costume, but are now universal. The older pattern of men's white muslin jacket (*tai-g-mo-thein inji*, Nos. 374, 389), and women's white muslin, or coloured and gold-figured gauze jackets (*lasshi-inji*, No. 379), are of Indian type. They are now superseded by the more convenient *kadô inji*, of Shan-Chinese type, worn by both men and women (Nos. 115, 288). Over-jackets of imported woollens have also become general. A wrap or blanket of heavy cotton cloth, or of imported broad-cloth (*saung*, No. 184), completes the outfit. No kind of wool is indigenous

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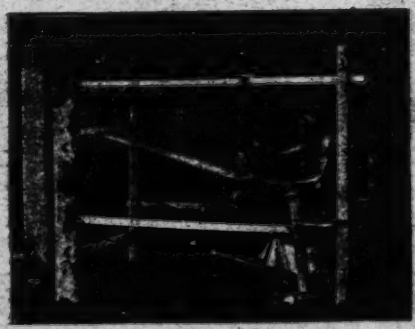

129. THE WEAVING-LOOM.

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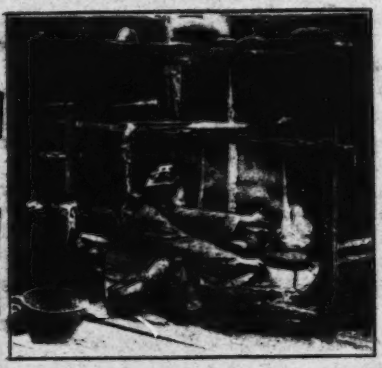

142. THE COOKING-PLACE.

of a tree of the dry zone, ground into a paste with water on a special stone. It is perfumed by grinding sandal-wood with it. The paste is smeared on the face and left to dry, after which the excess is rubbed off. For great occasions the paste is left on over-night. But ordinarily the face is "freshed" with water (*nyo-hna-thit*) on rising in the morning. The Burmans admire white teeth and polish them with charcoal on a soft stick. The old style of women's hair-dress was like the early *chignon* fashion of about 1867 in Europe. The *sadôn* in this form is seen in Nos. 30, 381. About 1880 a new fashion was set by the palace, which now prevails. Tresses of false hair are much used by the women. Flowers in the hair and jewellery complete the toilet, which, like that of the actors in the *pwè*, is performed in view of everyone. The men's toilet consists in combing their long hair (No. 127). They take pride in the size of their top-knot (*yaung*) and rarely eke it out with false hair in the way the women do. The heavy knot works loose, so that combing and knotting up go on perpetually. The hair of both sexes is coarse and straight and jet black. Children's hair gets foxy from alternate exposure to rain and sun. The hair is smoothed with cocoanut oil and washed with soap-nut once or twice a month. At other times the Burmans are concerned to avoid wetting their hair. The native wooden combs are coarse, but the Chinese tooth comb is beginning to serve a useful purpose. Burmans turn grey at forty to fifty years of age and are white at sixty to seventy. Baldness is rare. Aged men still wear their little top-knot. The men's faces are smooth, many

[515] [264] 145 302

143. THE FAMILY MEAL (OLD STYLE).

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

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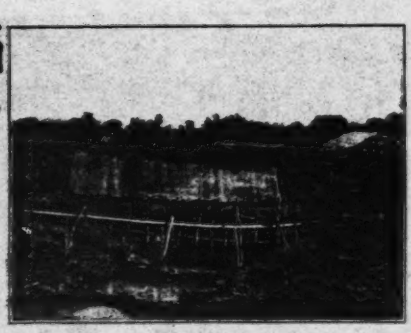

198. SLUICE OF LAGOON FISHERY (IN).

banks. Ducks' and fowls' eggs are also eaten.

Small fry and the bony fish are made into the Peguan condiment *ngapi*—pressed fish. The process is essentially the same as that of anchovy paste manufacture, but is conducted in a much rougher way. The fish after being taken are spread out in the sun and then pounded in a mortar, again sunned and again pounded with about a quarter their weight of salt. Fermentation is not uniformly arrested at the proper stage, so that the product becomes contaminated with putrescence. According as the compound remains moist or dry it is made into balls, moulded into bricks, or stored in jars. *Ngapi* is sent to Burma Proper and the Shan States in enormous quantities. Fresh fish, dried fish, and *ngapi* are much the same in price, one half to one rupee the viss (3.65 lbs.) according to quality. *Ngachin* is a crude and unwholesome pickle made by putting fish to ferment with boiled and salted rice.

258 Salt used to be obtained from sea-water and from brine wells in the interior, before the import of salt began. The manufacture still drags on, as the local salt is better for curing purposes. At spring-tides, sea-water in the estuaries is let into shallow pans like rice-fields, or it is raised with the *Ka-hnwé*. After the brine has been concentrated by evaporation in the heat of the sun, it is boiled down in spherical earthen pots, which are built with clay into a vault over a furnace. Iron cauldrons like those in No. 186 are superseding the earthen pots, and the round cauldron is in its turn being replaced by a flat iron pan.

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[415]
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The chase, so far from forming the diversion of princes and satraps, remains to the *vauriens* of the villages

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199. SHORE NET

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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[241]

344. MIXED HILL-CROP OF RICE, SESAMUM, AND TEAK, IN SEPTEMBER (p. 149).

of being nearly all heart-wood, having considerable strength, with moderate hardness and weight, working easily with axe, saw and chisel, taking nails, and above all, not rusting nails or iron in contact with it. It has a serviceable brown colour and an odour by which it may always be distinguished, due to the presence of an oil which repels the attacks of insects, notably of the termites, and which protects it from decay. Teak is in short the prince of eastern woods. At the end of the eighteenth century, teak was already being worked out of the Burma forests and brought to port, where the foreign shippers had established saw-pits for squaring the logs. The steel pit-saws found their way into trade and gave an impetus to wood architecture, of which the ecclesiastical buildings of Burma are the chief examples. Timber-traders started building teak ships in Burma, employing Chinese carpenters. This business has been abandoned, but lighters are still built.

[178
341]
[501]

343. FLUE OF FACTORY DISUSED TEN YEARS.

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The teak-tree (*tectona grandis*) occurs in patches of the dry mixed forest, the forest namely of which the principal element is a deciduous bamboo, with timber trees of fifty or more deciduous species scattered through it. Of these species about half a dozen produce serviceable timber. The bamboo-stools send up their culms to heights of forty and sixty feet in the course of a few weeks, before their branchlets and leaves appear. By means of this the bamboo has the advantage over all other vegetation. The seedlings of trees have to struggle up under its cover. At intervals of twenty to thirty years the bamboo species flower, to grow again from seed. Then is

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

388. TEMPLES RAISED BY A MODERN KING (THE KUTHODAW p. 122).

historic centres of Burman dominion. Sagáing was abandoned for the last time in 1776 for a new capital at Amayapôya (*Amarapúra* — Abode of Immortals) half-way between Ava (*Inwa*) and the modern capital Mandálé, which was founded in 1857, after the accession of King Mindôn Min. The most ancient capital is Tagáung, one hundred miles north of Mandalé. Other capitals were Shwebô, Myinzaing, Pannya. The capitals of the Taláing dominion were Thatôn, Pegu, and Prome (*Pye*). Rangoon (*Yangôn*), at the meeting point of five navigable channels, and with anchorage for the largest ships, has out-distanced all competitors since the modern development of commerce.

For the history of Burma the only available source is the official chronicle kept by command of the kings—*mahâ-yazawîn*. The first part is occupied with the legendary origin of the race from the cloud-dwellers—*Byammâ* (the Burman form of *Brahma*).* The names and doings of legendary persons follow, and lines of legendary kings. The earliest historical facts which emerge are the founding of Tagáung, and incidents relating to the Buddha and the councils of his church in India. It is believed by Phayre that the *Savanna Bhumi* of ancient Indian books refers to Thatôn, and that under *Chryse Chersonesus* Ptolemy refers to the Eastern Peninsula of Asia. We do not reach a connected history till the founding of Pagán about 100 A.D. From that epoch onwards the history of the peninsula, until the Burman Empire was consolidated and the dynasty of

389. FIGURES OF BYAMMA (EMBROIDERY).

* The name is also written *Myammâ*, but commonly pronounced *Bamâ*, of which "Burma(h)" and "Birma" are corruptions.

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese APl

The Burmans do not appreciate singing in a low pitch. They do not admire men's voices in the baritone or the bass. A-natural is considered the standard pitch for men's and D-natural for women's voices. The higher the tenor the more it is admired. Their ideal singer is a tenor approaching a contralto. On the other hand a soprano voice is less admired than a contralto. The propensity is to cultivate high voices in the men and low voices in the women. The professional singers are true artists and are able to command the feelings of their hearers. The *ngé-dyin thau*—weeping song—invariably brings tears to the eyes of the hearers. The love songs are full of pathos. An indispensable scene in all the operas is the separation and meeting again of the lovers. It is the most interesting part of the play and is eagerly awaited by the play-goers. The best songs are sung in these scenes and the best talents of the performers called into play. The Burman is readily excited by music; the dancing songs never fail to set his hands and legs going. There is a style of martial music played at boxing-matches, races, and grand tugs-of-war which excites the Burmans to action. The performance of a complete Burmese band is a study in itself. Considering that the musicians play without a score, the harmony and strict time they observe are truly wonderful.

454. THE BURMESE HARP AND DULCIMER (p. 178).

A few specimens of genuine Burmese music are appended (pp. 216–220). No. 1 is a song in the major scale, with harp accompaniment. The first twenty bars constitute the usual prelude to music of this kind. The tendency of the Burmese musician is to repeat the vocal part as an interlude, with all the variations and embellishments he can add. The last four bars are also usually played as a symphony at the end of each verse. The prelude and symphony are not peculiar to this song but are played with all songs of the same description. No. 2 is a specimen of another style, more suited for an orchestra. Nos. 3 and 4 are examples in the minor scale. Both are very ancient. No. 3 is called *Naw-thein yhlay*. It used to be played on the entrance of the king to the Audience Hall and is the true national anthem of the Burmans. Its beauty and grandeur need no comment. No. 4 is a popular lullaby.

It is a matter for great regret that the beautiful music which the Burmans unquestionably possess is being forgotten. The modern tendency is to imitate European and Indian themes, and the time is not distant when genuine Burmese music will be a thing of the past.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

APPENDIX D.

STATISTICAL.

AREA.

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Burma Proper and Pegu (excluding Shan States, 61,000 sq. m.) square miles	158,322 = 101,326,123 acres.
Area cropped, 1900	10,556,104 acres.

161

POPULATION IN 1901 (including Shan States, 1,228,460)	9,221,161
Mean annual birth-rate per 1,000	37·34
" death " "	28·16

162

DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION IN 1891.

Burmans and Talkings { males, 3,030,797; females, 3,098,385 } (Increase since 1881, 22½ per cent.)	6,129,182
Shans	206,794
Karéns	633,657
Chins	95,571
Chimpáws (Kachin ? more)	2,200
Chinese	37,407
Natives of India	432,639
Europeans (including 4000 troops)	12,491
Eurasians	6,978
Others	167,134
Total, census of 1891	7,722,053

FISCAL.

178 In 1796 the special impost of 33·3 tikals of fine silver per house took three years to collect, and produced the equivalent of about nine million rupees. The purchasing-power of money has
651 declined 50 to 60 per cent. since that time, apart from depreciation of silver.

In 1900 the gross revenue of Burma was 70,400,000 rupees, of which Pegu contributed
435 63 per cent. The expenditure was forty-three millions. Out of the surplus there was a balance of Rs. 24,700,000 of Imperial revenue over expenditure. The incidence of direct taxation (land and capitation taxes, which produce about one-half of the revenue) is four rupees per head of population; which, with an average of 5·5 inhabitants, comes to twenty-two rupees per house.

CRIMINAL, AVERAGES 1894–8.

674

Convictions for offences against life (including attempted murder and culpable homicide, 40 per cent.)	244
" " hurt	2,691
" " rape	76
" " robbery	654
" " theft	8,681

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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COMMERCIAL.

Values of the staple items of the sea-borne trade of 1899, to and from all countries, in lakhs of rupees :

IMPORTS.

Apparel (including haberdashery, excluding hosiery)	30·13
Candles	1·94
Cards, playing	2·00
Canes and rattans	1·17
Clocks and watches	1·18
Coal	25·70
Cotton yarn	61·57
" piece goods	146·68
" handkerchiefs & shawls	26·43
" thread (including hosiery ?)	7·15
Drugs (incl. opium by the Government 14·4, pp. 156–7)	50·89
Dyes	17·10
Earthenware and porcelain	6·12
Glass (incl. beads and bottles)	6·92
Jute (gunny-bags)	50·50
Leather (excl. boots and shoes)	2·41
Liquors	32·11
Machinery	16·01
Matches (safety only)	8·22
Metals :	
brass	4·34
copper	2·84
iron (incl. hardware)	42·07
lead	0·25
steel	3·24
tin (incl. tin-plate ?)	1·30
zinc	10·60
Oils (kerosene)	54·25
Paints and colours	1·90
Paper	3·00
Provisions (see p. 131)	98·42
Salt	12·28
Seeds	20·84
Silk : yarn	14·16
" manufactured	39·43
Spices and Betel nut	48·04
Sugar	31·56
Tobacco, unmanufactured	54·24
Tobacco, manufactured	0·64
Treasure	73·36
Umbrellas	8·73
Woollen goods	20·31
" shawls	3·28
Miscellaneous	111·64
Total Imports	1154·95

EXPORTS.

Caoutchouc, raw	11·37
Cotton, raw	26·36
Catch	22·74
Drugs	7·77
Fruit and vegetables	3·90
Hides, raw	16·01
Horns	0·73
Ivory	0·59
Jade	6·15
Jewellery	0·35
Jewels (rubies and pearls, excl. postal)	0·34
Lac	1·32
Tin	14·27
Oils, paraffin, wax	8·25
" other	43·24
Rice : in husk	20·94
" husked, "cargo rice"	1119·87
Rice bran, "meal"	27·79
Sesamum seed	0·05
Spices	9·92
Timber, teak	71·25
" other	3·32
Tobacco, unmanufactured	1·33
" manufactured	1·70
Treasure	68·11
Miscellaneous	51·10
Total Exports	1538·85

DEVELOPMENT OF SEA-BORNE TRADE.

Years	1811	1825	1830	1840	1854
Number of ships	20	56	140	..	..
Tonnage	..	5,400	..	82,000	86,000
Value of exports, Rs.	..	Coasting trade with Calcutta	..	..	300,000
Value of imports, Rs.	..	..	..	..	..

Years	1866	1876	1883	1893	1899
Number of ships	..	..	..	2,500	3,129
Tonnage	..	..	..	1,300,000	2,060,737
Value of exports, Rs.	23,140,600	55,166,540	87,202,560	114,058,201	153,885,920
Value of imports, Rs.	25,553,850	47,094,040	73,134,510	98,504,075	115,495,130

29: Slater M-4 (no date) 1951 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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the monastery. It is a day of excited celebration. Recalling the Great Renunciation, when Gautama left the royal court in his quest for truth, the boy, attired in princely robes, is feasted by his family and friends until the moment when he casts his finery aside to don the yellow robe of the Order.[21]

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Girls experience a similar ceremonial initiation, when (to the accompaniment of vigorous music) their ears are pierced to take the ear-rings which are the sign of womanhood. They cannot attend the monastic schools with the boys, but other means are found for their education, and they certainly do not lag behind their brothers in intelligence, character or Buddhist zeal. Mrs Hla Oung recounts the story of a little maid taken to the monastery to be reminded of the five precepts, after some childish misdemeanour. (The monk was benign. "There was the faintest suspicion of a smile on his calm face, to show, I suppose, that her backsliding was not to be taken as a defection from the faith.") The 'charity of learning' seems, then, to be shared by girls as well as boys. The status, freedom and privileges of Burmese women have already been remarked and Mrs Hla Oung affirms vigorously that "the life of the Burmese woman is bound up in her religion. Buddhism has formed the character of the Burmese woman.... There are few Burmese women, even in the villages, who are unable to read and write," and the Buddhist scriptures form the ground work of their studies.[22]

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Not only are the monks numerous, but they are dispersed throughout the country. Every village has at least one monastery, and sometimes more. The educational influence of the Order has been, therefore, both organised and ubiquitous. In more recent times this influence has been challenged by new conditions. Government and mission schools have intervened, and the modern Burmese boy may only remain in the monastery as a novice for a brief, token period. But during the centuries which shaped the Burmese character and outlook, the monks as educators had no serious rivals.

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Nor has their ministry to the community been confined to education. Herbs and potions from the monastery are held in high esteem, especially in Upper Burma.[23] The monastery also serves as alms-house and asylum.

[21] For a good description of this ceremony v. Ananda Metteya, quoted by G. Appleton, *Buddhism in Burma*, pp. 22–23.

[22] Ma M. Hla Oung, "The Women of Burma," *Buddhism*, Vol. I, No. 1, p. 61 (September, 1903, Rangoon); cf. a later series by Daw Mya Sein, "Kin Sein Hla," *Burma Today*, published by the Burma Government in India, 1944, in which the influence of the Monastery is not so strongly emphasised.

[23] "Theirs is faith cure rather than medicine," writes a Burmese correspondent, who cites cures from snake-bite, leprosy and hydrophobia.

178 Since those remote times, the Burmese customary law has
671 developed naturally, side by side with the growth and development of Burmese society. The Burmese have no great national code of laws gathered and authorized by a powerful king, no great charter forced from an unwilling king, no great statute passed by a national assembly fighting against tyranny, but nonetheless the Burmese customary law shows a conception of justice and a love of personal liberty in which every Burmese must take pride.

671 To the Burmese, before the partial introduction of the
643 English legal system, law meant civil law. To them, civil law was purely customary, and besides custom, there could be no other source of law. The idea of legislation by a parliament or a congress, or by executive order of the king was unfamiliar to the Burmese. In English common law, the king could do no
[685 wrong, and thus he was above the law. But with the Burmese,
694] the king himself was not exempt from the operation of the civil law, and the king was often the defendant in civil suits, usually for wrongful seizure of land. Admittedly the king was above his subjects, and he had the right to levy taxes in service or in kind, but he was also under a duty to give protection to the people. To protect the people and to preserve the peace, the king must prevent wrong-doing and punish wrong-doers, and it was for the king to proclaim which acts were wrongs from the point of view of public peace. Thus, at the beginning of each reign, the king proclaimed his list of crimes, and the punishments he would mete out to those who were found guilty of those crimes.

671 The list of crimes varied with each king, but the usual
681 crimes were offenses against the state, murder, robbery, theft, rape, and serious defamation. The usual penalties were whipping, confinement in irons, maiming, banishment, and death, with or without forfeiture to the king's treasury of the of-
[684] fender's possessions. In the eighteenth century, adultery was added to the list of crimes, with the punishment of whipping for both the woman and her paramour, and proclamation of their guilt by beat of drums and gongs. In the nineteenth

30: Maung Htin Aung E-4 (no date) 1953 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

692 original and appellate jurisdiction. These officers were execu-
631 tive officers under the crown, but when they sat as judges in their respective courts, they were judges in the full sense of the term, for they were free of all executive control. Finally there
[643] was the Supreme Court. This final court of appeal consisted of the king as the president, the crown prince as the vice-president, the four chief ministers, and their four deputies. The king, however, attended only on rare occasions, and thus the crown prince usually presided over the court. The law that these courts administered and interpreted was the customary
694 law of the Burmese people. One special feature of the courts
[693] was their attempt to settle the case before actually trying it. Lawyers, who were attached to the courts as officers, although their fees were payable by the litigants, also endeavored to conciliate the contending parties. Often the parties decided to refer their suit to an arbitrator. There was no right of appeal from the decision of an arbitrator, on the ground that the arbitrator was chosen by the contending parties themselves. When a suit had been heard and decided, the successful party offered a dish of pickled tea to the other party, and if the latter accepted, the parties were deemed to have been reconciled, and there could be no appeal from the decision of the court. The refusal of the unsuccessful party to accept the offered dish of pickled tea served as his notice of appeal.

671 Burmese history, like the history of many countries, re-
[178] cords rebellions, invasions, and violent struggles for power,
177 but the development of Burmese customary law has been
175 singularly free from catastrophes and sudden changes. There has never been a revolution in the Burmese customary law. However, the law in the course of its long history experienced three great impacts with the outside world. The first was the impact of Hindu jurisprudence, second was the impact of Buddhism, and the third was the impact of English law as the result of the British conquest of the country towards the end of the nineteenth century.

Some of my colleagues of this conference have already

illustrates that with the Burmese, Manu had become only an 671
ordinary human being with the human trait of making mis- 773
takes, so very different from the divine hermit of Hindu lore.

By the thirteenth century, the customary law of the Bur- 671
mese came to be collected and written down by jurists and [178]
scholars. Throughout the intervening centuries until the British conquest of the country, such collections of the law, and also collections of judicial precedents were made from time to time by scholars and jurists. But those collections were not codes, and were not fully binding on the judges. In all these [177]
collections, Manu was mentioned as the law-giver, and this lip-service paid to the prestige of the Hindu Code of Manu has misled modern scholars, especially European scholars of Burmese history and Burmese law, into thinking that the Burmese law was merely the Hindu Code of Manu modified and transplanted almost overnight in Burma of the eleventh century.

But in the eleventh century, the Burmese did become Bud- 177
dhists almost overnight. The Burmese took to Buddhism with 609
great enthusiasm, because the way of life preached by the 565
Buddha seemed to be identical with their own democratic 779
way of life. The Buddhistic revolt against the rigid caste system of the Hindu society could be appreciated by the Burmese, who called the Hindu half-playfully and half-seriously, "kula" or "caste people," and the Buddhistic emphasis on the equality of all men appealed to the Burmese with their classless society and their own emphasis on individual freedom. The [671]
jurists and the scholars waxed enthusiastic over Buddhism, and they gave a Buddhistic coloring and a Buddhistic background to their collections of Burmese customary law. This misled the early British administrators and judges in Burma into thinking that Burmese customary law was Buddhistic in origin, and gave to it the misleading official name of "Burmese Buddhist Law."

The impact of the English legal system introduced into 000

The impact of the English legal system introduced into
671 the country after the annexation of 1886 shook Burmese cus-
177 tomary law to its very foundations, just as Burmese society
178 itself rocked with the shock of the impact. But Burmese society soon regained its balance, and so did Burmese customary law. The British, by statute, superseded the Burmese customary law of contract and tort with their own English common law, but recognized the Burmese customary law regarding marriage and divorce, adoption, inheritance, and religious usage, and these branches of the customary law remain valid today. Thus, whereas in India the legislature now struggles against strong public opposition to pass new statutes introducing changes in the Hindu law of marriage and inheritance so as to adjust Hindu law to new developments in Hindu society, the Burmese, after their hard-won independence, have not found it necessary to modify by statute or to codify their customary law. With regard to the English law of contract and tort that was introduced into the country after the British annexation, the Burmese did not find the new law strange and mysterious, for the fundamental principles of Burmese law of contract and tort had certain similarities with the funda-
675 mental principles of English common law. Thus the principles
671 of specific performance, of damages, of a period of limitation,
672 and a remoteness of damage were known to the Burmese law also. Even the English legal plea of "Act of God" for exemption from liability has its Burmese counterpart in the plea of "ill fortune." The following rules of law relating to ferries will illustrate this aspect of Burmese law:

> If a man, for the sake of hire, becomes a ferryman, let him follow these rules. He shall carefully consider and take only the correct fare. If he is careless, or jocular, or immodest, and as a result, property of a passenger is spilled or damaged, let him make good the loss to the owner. But if he crosses with proper care and proper behaviour, and property be lost or damaged, let him blame ill fortune, and he shall not be liable. Women with child, monks, and sick persons shall be ferried across, even if they have no money to pay as fare.

M 197 484 101 177 my grandmother who, with her plot of paddy land and her fruit and vegetable gardens, was among the wealthiest in the village, never connected these with her children or those of her friends.

M 871 857 792 Grandfather died when quite young, leaving my Paw-Pwa (Grandmother) with four sons and two daughters, of whom my father was the eldest. Like all the boys of the village, my father after eight or nine years of unrestrained childish delights when he could play all day, in the stream and up and down the village streets, stopping only when hungry or tired, wheedling the grown-ups to let him sit up till late at night listening to stories, was sent to the monastery on the outskirts of the village. The word for monastery in Burmese, *kyaung*, is the same as the word used for school, and it was to be taught learning and holiness, obedience and discipline, dexterity in manual and domestic tasks, and to be given a deep spiritual influence to last throughout life, that Grandmother and her friends sent their sons there. The parents whose hearts suffered too much at the thought of inflicting any punishment themselves now handed B them over to the monks with the plea that they would teach them to be good and obedient, and chastise them severely if they did not obey.

792 792 346 The kyaung at Ye, like all kyaungs in Burma, was built in surroundings chosen for their pleasantness. On a slight slope overlooking the stream was a pagoda, the pagoda of the village where the people came on fasting and feast days to kneel on the paved platform around the tapering golden spire and recite the precepts. Down from the platform the steps were lined with shady trees, and to one side of this was the monastery, a wooden building with verandahs and tiered roofs, set in a large garden, containing a few flower beds for offerings at the altars, but chiefly wide shady spaces, great trees including a *nyaung-bin* (a sacred banyan, with huge spreading branches), flowering *gangaw* trees and deep green mango trees. In one corner was a well.

B 793 792 181 The monks consisted of the *saya-daw*, the senior monk who acted as head and abbot, about twenty monks who had been formally admitted to the order and were called *upasins*, and a number of novices who were wearing the yellow robe either for a short time, or to be admitted as monks later on. My father and his companions were admitted as *kyaungthas*, scholars. The monks spent their days in the recitation of religious formulæ and teachings, in meditation, in the telling of beads and the teaching of scholars. They did this while observing a strict and simple life, abstaining from solid food after noon, possessing no goods except the essential articles laid down in the monastic rules, observing chastity and poverty. To the people of the village they were the embodiment of good and holiness, living the noblest and most meritorious life a man can live. The people addressed them in conversation as

793
"Your holiness" and themselves as "Your holiness' pupil". The monks 792
addressed the people as *daga*, giver, for they lived by the gifts of the 181
people who donated robes, household articles and other necessities to the [431]
monasteries, as good works which brought them merit.

When my grandparents took my father to the kyaung he was a 858
frightened little boy dressed in a cotton skirt called a *longyi*, and a shirt 792
without cuffs and collar; his hair was grown long in the centre and tied 872
in a knot, the sides being cut in a fringe about two inches long all round, 302
and the rest shaved clean, a way of growing hair common to both little boys and girls and enhancing their youthful appearance. He and all the other scholars performed the domestic tasks of the monastery, swept and rubbed the good hard wooden floors, the monastery grounds and pagoda steps, because in these precincts all comers went barefoot; they drew water for drinking, and for the bath of the older monks; they followed the monks on their rounds, two of them bearing a pole on which was slung a covered tray, to take any food donated in excess of what would go into the monk's bowl; they waited on the monks at meals; they learned to read and write, and do simple sums, to recite precepts and religious passages which they shouted at the tops of their childish voices in imitation of the deep intoning voice of the teacher monk, phrase by phrase; in the evenings they went home to eat the meal which the monks abstained from, but came back at sunset to recite the lessons of the day and many past days all over again, to join in the assembled night prayers, to sleep in the monastery and rise again before dawn.

When my father spoke to us of his years in the monastery he always 872
chuckled with delight, in spite of this long list of disciplined tasks. He 659
had the advantage from the first; he was stronger and taller than other 876
boys, and in a system where all learning was by heart he had brilliant memorising powers. The school-room of the kyaung had not the formal atmosphere of the Western school-room with each child at a desk and chair, and a silence except for the voice of teacher or child. The monastery boys all went into the same big room of the monastery, irrespective of age or stage, each with his slate or book, got down on the floor

1: Mi Mi Khaing I-5 (no date) 1948 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4
Mon AP9

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chair, with a betel box and spittoon on one side of him, and his favourite and most learned grandchild, my cousin Lu Pe now Superintendent of Archæology, reading the scriptures to him, he could sit in the shadow of his solid teak house, with a row of mango trees before him, the townspeople using his well of clean good water, the road through his garden which was open at the hottest hours of the day for all wayfarers and sellers to find a short and shady route across, his garden with flowers for altar and vegetables for kitchen, and stray trees which are an asset in any garden —the *gwe* tree whose fruits were sweeter and larger than the ordinary, the *dandalun* with pods to curry and leaves for soup, the *ywetyo* with its leprous looking fruit which are for the connoisseur and to be eaten as cure for coughs. How blessed for my grandfather at the end of his days to have attained such peaceful comfort and to feel that he had passed on religion, literature, discipline of mind and body to the generation of his grandchildren.

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To dwell in a pleasant spot, to have done good deeds in former births,
To have set oneself in the right path,—this is the greatest blessing.
Much learning and much science, and a discipline well learned,
Yea, and a pleasant utterance,—this is the greatest blessing.

(From the *Mingala-thot-pyo :* Song of Blessing.)

three most productive areas, and Thaton district takes first place in 243
Tenasserim. But rice is more than the chief export crop of the country 438
to us. It is our *wun-sa*, food for the womb, our staple food; and we have 556
depended so much on it that we pay it reverence, almost. When we 262
were young, A-Kyi and our nurses never allowed us to tread on any rice
that had been spilt; rice was like a master and human beings its servants,
they said. The phrase for "I was not born yesterday" is "I grew [181]
up eating rice", and in the same way excessive stupidity excites wonder
that the person nourished on rice can be so stupid. Through years of
journeying on trains, bullock carts, and river steamers, we have seen the
peaceful green fields, the dry reaped corn, the golden grain heaped on
small canoes before milling. Though we did not know the toil and
the uncertain hopes of the cultivators, we followed the growth of the
life-giving grain through all its stages, seeing the first sproutings in one
place in one year, the ripe and mature crop in another, and the thriving
young stalks of a later generation in another place and time.

Our fields seemed perpetually marked into small beds by ridges six 243
inches high. Lying empty during the first months of the year, these
beds grew parched and baked by April and May. With the first blessed
showers of the monsoon about mid-May, however, one, two, three, four
or more inches of rain fell on the beds within about ten days, and softened the hard crust. Men went to work about the end of the month, and with harrow and plough they chopped and churned up the earth, cutting and burying weeds, refining the rough, and making the stiff clay soil pliant until a soft fine mud was produced. In the meantime, the seeds had been soaked in water in deep layers between banana leaves, to make them sprout and become more receptive of the soil's richness. These were brought out in baskets, and young men and women wearing wide bamboo hats in the heavy showers, walked about scattering them, using up to ten basketfuls in one acre. They allowed the seeds to lie for a few

becoming common. Borrowing money is always such a shameful thing 452
to Burmans that highly usurious rates prevail. The minimum rate of these private money-lenders is Re. 1/8 per Rs. 100/- per month, *i.e.* 18% per annum.

But this emphasis on money-making during the retirement period 181
was not pure avariciousness. It was connected with the ability to dis- 593
charge the duties of a parent and a good Buddhist during one's last years, to have sufficient means to settle children in a good marriage, which is one of the duties laid down for a good parent, and to make many donations towards pagodas, resthouses and monasteries, all as a foundation for a rebirth into a better existence.

For men like my father, this last period of their lives was a soft and 887
gentle immersion in the atmosphere which pervaded their childhood in 177
the monastery, and which had been banished into a memory with the years of English education, government posts, courts and litigation, and the rearing of children whose future must be bound up with the obtaining of better government posts.

During these years, my father continued his daily prayers before 887
the altar, but they were short and he said them softly, his feet were shod 788
with shoes and socks, his tourings took him to headmen's houses more often than to monasteries, his evenings were spent in playing tennis in- 593
stead of chinlon, and drinking lime-juice instead of coconut water, and his houses of the regulation pattern were filled with cane furniture made 177, 88
by convicts in jails. What a far cry from the dim light on wooden floors and pillars, the steady chorus of young monks at prayers. My father, who during his working years had encouraged us to eat, laugh and be merry in each present moment, now dismayed us with a sudden conviction of the vanity of all worldly things, towns, society, dress and ornament. We woke up at dawn to the sound of his prayers, and on [741]
most mornings he walked out of the town to the hills where the monasteries and resthouses were gathered; he walked barefoot again with great enjoyment in those quiet grounds, turned aside to supervise the building of a *thein*, a house for the ordination and meditation of monks, which he had persuaded a more wealthy friend to endow. He no longer showered on us de luxe editions of Western encyclopaedias and the collected works of Dickens and Scott as he used to, but bought richly carved book cases and sacred books for the monasteries in Thaton. We no longer ate our meals on chairs, sitting up at a table, but at a low round table on the polished floor. My father sat cross legged, but he could not go back to eating with his fingers, he still used a spoon and fork. At nights we fell asleep to the sound of his prayers and it was like a benediction. Buddhist prayers in Burma consist of two parts: the first is a

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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CHAPTER VIII

DOMESTIC LIFE

THE Burman is the most calm and contented of mortals. He does not want to grow rich. When he does make a large sum of money, he spends it all on some pious work, and rejoices in the thought that this will meet with its reward in his next existence. If he never amasses enough to build any great public work, at any rate he subscribes what he can, and is generous in almsgiving. A bountiful soil will not let its children starve; and so the Burman jogs on through a cheerful existence, troubled by no anxious cares, and free from all the temptations of ambition. His daily round is simple enough. In the morning, after his bath, he loiters about, talking to the neighbours till breakfast time, or perhaps strolls out to the corner of his paddy field, and indulges in a contemplative smoke. After breakfast he probably dozes through the heat of the day, and when the shadows begin to get long, saunters about again. A semblance of regular labour appears when the paddy is being sown or the grain reaped, but even then no one is in the least inclined to disturb himself for the sake of rapid work. It is sufficient that you are always certain in Burma what kind of weather you are going to have. "Another hot day," or "another wet day," is quite as much a matter of course as the rising of the sun itself, and there is therefore no need to hurry operations in case of a change. The evenings are spent ordinarily at a pwè during the fine season, or in amicable converse over a cheroot at a friend's house in the rains. Variety comes occasionally in the shape of a jolting, hilarious journey to a distant pagoda feast, or a trip

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma A P1
Burmese AP4
Upper Burma
Lower Burma
Europeans

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down the river in the big rice-boat to one of the great milling towns. And so an uneventful life passes away: the greatest ambition to see the village boat successful at the Thadingyut races, and the village champion cock or buffalo triumphant over all others; the greatest desire to live peaceably with all men and observe the Ten Precepts; the greatest excitement the occasional visit of the English district officer, or the suspicion of a witch in that lonely house down by the spirit's pool on the creek. In Upper Burma formerly this quiet was more apt to be disturbed by the summoning of levies to serve in some special raid against audacious dacoits, or to make a demonstration against reiving mountaineers. If the myo-wun was a pious man, calls for enforced labour at digging tanks, building pagodas and monasteries, rest-houses and tazaungs, were likely to keep the villager a great deal more occupied than he cared for. There can be no doubt in any patriotic Burman's mind that the state of the people, regularly taxed though they be, under British rule, is infinitely happier than it was under their king, and all but the officials and their hangers-on longed for the day when the English flag was to float over all the land as far as Mogaung. There could be no hope for the country, where, even under a kindly king like Mindôn, ill-conditioned governors oppressed the populace with absolute impunity. Complaints were made, but his majesty could not venture to leave his palace for any great distance to inquire for himself, and gold easily dulled the senses of the highest minister round the golden throne. It is little wonder then that the people, kept perpetually in the lowest depths of poverty, were, if not actually dying out, certainly not increasing in numbers. There was nothing which so much indicated the popular feeling, and at the same time so irritated the Burmese Government, as the unceasing stream of emigrants to Lower Burma.

Be 181 184 674 653 Ba 177 668 661 Be 181 731

Nevertheless, even in Independent territory the Burman preserved his light heart and buoyant disposition. No calamity is so overwhelming as to make him despond. Some years ago a large fire occurred in Mandalay, and spread with such terrible rapidity that the inhabitants of a whole quarter were unable to save anything but the clothes they

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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wore. Some of them went the next day to the English missionary chaplain, and told him of the misfortune that had befallen them, and how so completely were they rendered destitute that they had been indebted to the charity of the inhabitants of the monastery for a breakfast that morning. The clergyman promised to do what he could for them, and the same evening went along to view the site of the fire. What was his astonishment to find that the burnt-out victims had rigged up a rude stage among the charred stumps of their house-posts, and in default of a house to sleep in, were prepared to spend the night listening to the love-making of the princes and princesses, and laughing at the caustic witticisms of the clown, not a few of the jokes being inspired by the blackened surroundings. Such defiance of all the ills of fate is very characteristic, and would seem to a Burman mind the most natural thing to do under the circumstances, since it afforded both distraction and amusement.

If any one has escaped the curse of Adam it is the Burman. He does not need to earn his bread with the sweat of his brow, and riches having no attraction for him, when his patch of paddy land has been reaped, his only concern is how to pass the time, and that is no very difficult matter, where he has plenty of cheroots and betel-nut. He can stroll along to neighbour Maung Gyi's, whose son has a knack for wood-carving, and watch him as he deftly cuts out a piece of elaborate scroll-work for the roof of a neighbouring monastery, or finishes off the grim features of a bilu for the English Inspector of Police. Next door the sayā is engaged on a painting, the representation of some palace scene, or of some well-known event in the life of the Lord Buddha. Burmese artists do not, as a rule, paint likenesses, though they are by no means unsuccessful when they make the attempt. Any one but a high official would probably consider it a mark of great presumption and conceit to hang up a picture of himself in his house. There is, however, none of the objection to portrait painting which is so common with some other nations. For example, the Mohammedans will not suffer likenesses to be drawn for fear they should demand a soul on the Day of Judgment, and so some actual human being might come to be left out in the cold. Catlin

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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538 specially run up for the occasion, or even in the open street. When a well-known sā-haw sayā is going to recite the Wethandaya or the Zanekka Zāts, or when he tells how the Lord Buddha left his father's palace to wear the yellow robe, or how he ascended to Tawadeintha, a dramatic performance is often completely deserted, and the actors have no option but to follow the populace and listen to the improvisatore themselves. One of the best of the Burmese dramatic writers, U Po Mya, was also particularly celebrated as a sā-haw sayā. He could repeat his own drama, the Wizaya Zāt, from end to end, but had also a particular facility in improvising.

181 His night's amusement over, the Burman goes home to sound sleep on his Danubyu mat or a coarser one if he has not got that, and rises to spend another day of the same kind. He cares nothing for the assertion that he leads an aimless, lazy life. He has enough to live upon, and the writings of all the philosophers say that wealth only brings new cares.

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346 too broad to mount two at a time, and too low[1] They are to suit occidental tastes taken singly. This method of enforcing [181] respect is characteristic of the Burmese nation, and reminds one of the nails which projected through the floors in the Royal Palace at Mandalay.

The stairs debouch on a broad, open, flagged space, which runs all round the pagoda, and is left free for worshippers. From the centre of this springs from an octagonal bi-nat-daw, or plinth, the profusely gilt, solid brick payā. It has a perimeter of 1355 feet, and rises to a height of about 370, or a little higher than St. Paul's Cathedral. On the summit is the hti, the gilt iron-work "umbrella," on each of whose many rings hang multitudes of gold and silver jewelled bells, which tinkle melodiously with every breath of air. This hti was made and presented by Mindôn Min, the second last King of Burma, and was placed on the summit at a cost of not much less than £50,000. It was constructed by voluntary labour; and subscriptions in money and jewels, with which the vane and the uppermost band are richly studded, flowed in from all parts of Burma. The old king, "the convener of the fifth great synod," strove hard to have it placed on the pagoda entirely at his own cost and by his own men; but the British Government rightly and firmly refused, for had this been done it would have been regarded by British Burmans as an acknowledgment of his suzerainty. After considerable correspondence it was handed over at the frontier to native officials and a body of Buddhist elders, by whom it was conveyed to the holy Theinguttara Mount, and there successfully placed in position. The old hti was lowered intact, and now stands on the platform, filled in and gaily painted like a small pagoda or a florid marriage cake, beside a still earlier decoration which it had supplanted.

At the corners of the basement are somewhat Assyrian-like figures of Manôt-thiha, creatures with two bodies and one head, half lion, half man, with huge ears and ruffled crest, and all round about are stone figures of lions displaying an ample show of teeth between their grinning lips. The tale is that long ages ago a king's son who had been abandoned in the forest was found by a lioness and suckled by

[1] [i.e., the stairs of the Shwe Dagôn Payā -- ANALYST]

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CHAPTER XXXIX

LUCKY AND UNLUCKY DAYS

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It has come to be considered an axiom that the Burmese are irredeemably lazy. Some authors who have written about the country ascribe a very great number of additional bad qualities to them; others are more favourable; but all are unanimous in the declaration that they are lazy. The reverend missioner, Father San Germano, who was almost the first European to write a definite account of Burma, is the most unkind critic of all. He gathered together a great deal of information about the country during his long residence, but the opinion he formed of the people would be crushing were it not so strongly at variance with that expressed by a Christian priest who has been still longer in Burma, and whose knowledge of everything connected with it yields to none, the late Bishop Bigandet. But it is as well to see ourselves as others see us. The good father says: "The Burmese are distinguished for that timidity and servility which is the characteristic of slaves. . . . There is no contempt, oppression, or injustice they will not exercise towards their fellow-men when they can assure themselves of the protection of government. They are thus vile and abject in adversity, but arrogant and presumptuous in prosperity. There is no one amongst them, however mean, who does not aim at the dignity of mandarin (minister)." But the chief characteristic of the Burmese "is an incorrigible idleness. Instead of employing their time in improving their possessions, they prefer to give themselves up to an indolent repose; to spend the day in talking, smoking, and chewing betel, or else to become the satellites of some powerful

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mandarin. The same hatred of labour leads to an excessive love of cunning, and also to thieving, to which they are much addicted. . . . It would seem that it is impossible for this people to tell the truth; nay, a person who ventures to do it is called a fool, a good kind of man, but not fitted for managing his affairs." Still the padre has a little good to say of them: "Besides giving daily alms to their talapoins, they all lay by something to be applied to some sort of public benefit. They are very fond of thus signalising their generosity, and will often deprive themselves of comforts to have the pleasure of being benefactors to the public." This is an unlovely picture. But the good father was apparently very unfortunate in his acquaintances.

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It is pleasant after this to turn to a soldier's opinion. Major Grant Allen says: "Unlike the generality of Asiatics, the Burmese are not a fawning race. They are cheerful, and singularly alive to the ridiculous; buoyant, elastic, soon recovering from personal or domestic disaster. Free from the prejudices of caste or creed, they readily fraternise with strangers, and at all times frankly yield to the superiority of the European. . . . Indifferent to the shedding of blood on the part of their rulers, yet not individually cruel; temperate, abstemious, and hardy, but idle, with neither fixedness of purpose nor perseverance. Discipline, or any continued employment, becomes most irksome to them, yet they are not devoid of a certain degree of enterprise."

This is a much better certificate, but still we are accused of laziness. Let us now turn to the last and the best authority on the subject (from an English point of view), Colonel Horace Browne, at one time Commissioner of Pegu, and always very popular with the Burmese. The Burman, he says, "displays much spasmodic energy and general laziness, much love of feasts and shows, much disregard of the sacredness of human life, and much tenderness for the lives of inferior members of the animal kingdom, much arrogance and inconsiderateness when placed in high position, and last, though not least, much general truthfulness, and, amongst unsophisticated villagers, the very unoriental trait of being unable to tell a specious falsehood."

The hauteur complained of towards strangers is princi-

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pally due to the fact that the stranger is not a Buddhist, and has not as a boy been admitted into a monastery. To a Burman such a man is no better than a buffalo or a dog. In those of low degree this feeling shows itself in pitying kindness, in those in high positions in arrogance and insulting rudeness.

The unpleasant allegations of Father San Germano may be considered cancelled by the advocacy of the two military gentlemen, but there remains the united charge of unwarrantable laziness. Let us see what can be said for the defence on this point.

It may be taken for granted that the whole human race is more or less hampered by a dislike for work when there is no necessity for doing it. In addition to sharing this weakness, the Burman is fettered by a multiplicity of fortunate and unfortunate days. When he is born, his sadā, or horoscope, is cast, detailing minutely the moment at which he appeared, and the influence the presiding constellation has over him personally; and this sadā must be carefully examined before anything can be done. But beyond this there are a great variety of unlucky days which more or less concern everybody, and have to be avoided if a man is to hope for success in his enterprise or his journey. To enlist the sympathy of maritime England, I will begin with the superstition about Friday:

> Thaukkya ye gyaung
> Ma thwa kaung.
>
> On Friday boats sailing
> Cause weeping and wailing.

On the contrary, if you begin the study of a subject on Friday you will become an authority on it. Thursday is also a good day; but if you commence on Tuesday or Saturday you will soon die. Saturday is a bad day for everything, especially for fires—a fact which the Fire Brigade would probably corroborate. But doubtless it is somewhat irritating for an Englishman when he wants to commence a journey, and has everything ready except the bullocks for the cart, to find that he cannot persuade his servants to buy or engage them till Sunday, because such a proceeding would

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CHAPTER XLVI

FORMING THE NATIONAL CHARACTER

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If the nation which has no history is happy, it is difficult to know what is to be said of the nation which has a very voluminous history, almost all of which is, however, pure romance. The effect on the Burmese of the fond imaginings of the Mahā Yazawin, the great Chronicle of Kings, is most undesirable. No defeats are recorded in those courtly pages; reverses are charmed into acts of clemency; armies vast as those that people dreamland march through its chapters; its heroes are of the old ballad type; its treasures such as might have been the produce of Aladdin's lamp. The result has been a permanent influence on the national character. Geoffrey of Monmouth's "Chronicle of British Kings" has left only a faint mark on the national literature, but had the English lived forty degrees nearer the line, they might still be believing in Brut, great-grandson of Æneas, and the unbroken line of kings of whom King Arthur was chief. As it is, the British Mahā Yazawin only supplied a spring for the poets of all the after time. The Burman Chronicle, on the other hand, has laid the foundation of the national character. Like all hardy, strong-limbed races, the Burmans are naturally proud; but this innate pride has been tenfold increased by the wonderful tales of the national annals. What is a Burman to think when he reads in the history of his country—there is but the one means of learning the past—that the English have only foothold in Burma through the clemency of a gracious king? They might have been crushed as effectually as the first settlers of Negrais Island; they might have been driven forth as easily as their seven-

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563 775 he must feel himself strong enough to beat down the fire of passions and remain steadfast to the end, for a lutwet, a man who has put his hand to the plough and turns back again, exposes himself to infinitely greater danger towards his next existence than he who has remained throughout in the world. The monastery is a house of refuge not to be lightly sought, and, sad to say, even it is not open to the outcast.

775 ●181 761 This doctrine of kan also accounts for the equanimity and callousness with which Buddhists view human misery and the taking of human life, notwithstanding the law which forbids the killing of even the smallest insect. They recognise apathetically the working out of inexorable destiny, and watch a man drowning in the river with undisturbed tranquillity, for they are not called upon or even justified in stirring a hand to prevent it. You cannot combat manifest fate.

564 But the outcast may not in any case enter the monastery, not even as a scholar. Even that last chance is withheld from him. He is the connecting link with the state of animals, the highest state of punishment. He is considered no better than an animal in thought; he meets with less toleration in actual life. Were he bedizened to the eyes with costly silks and priceless jewellery no girl would look at him. His wealth is of no use. He is not allowed to build a pagoda, or even to supply fresh-water pots on a wayside stand. The monk would refuse his alms; the starving free-man beggar would scorn his bounty. They will no doubt gradually disappear under British rule, but there will be those who will regret it. They may have to work hard for their living.

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175 ● 181 teenth-century ancestors from the factory at Bhamaw, far up the Irrawaddy on the confines of China; but Bagyidaw, the king, said, like the Lord Buddha, "All can take life, but who can give it back?" The Burmese annalist relates: "The kalabyu, the white strangers from the west, fastened a quarrel upon the Lord of the Golden Palace. They landed at Rangoon, took that place, and Prome, and were permitted to advance as far as Yandabo; for the king, from motives of piety and regard to life, made no effort whatever to oppose them. The strangers had spent vast sums of money on the enterprise; and by the time they reached Yandabo their resources were exhausted; and they were in great distress. They petitioned the king, who, of his clemency and generosity, sent them large sums of money to pay their expenses back, and ordered them out of the country."

175 648 By the Treaty of Yandabo, extorted by the fear that the capital would fall into the hands of Sir Archibald Campbell, then thundering at the gates of Ava, the English acquired the provinces of Tenasserim and Arakan, and deprived the sovereign of two-thirds of his sea-board. The Province of Pegu, which was annexed after the second Burmese war in 1852-53, has never been formally ceded by any treaty. King Mindôn said, "Let them stay there; I cannot turn them out, but I will not be written down as the king that gave up Rangoon." Lord Dalhousie said, "A treaty with a man like that is useless"; and he straightway fixed upon a parallel of latitude as the northern boundary of British Burma, and put up a line of frontier pillars along it without reference to the Burmese Government at all. The Mahā Yazawin said, in effect, "The foreigner was starving in his own land, and the king bounteously granted him a resting-place in the dismal swamps by the sea." Until the Burmese kingdom finally disappeared the only approach to a recognition of the British possession of Pegu was an announcement from Mindôn Min that "orders had been issued to the governors of districts not to allow the Burmese troops to attack the territories of Myedè and Taung-ngu, in which the British Government had placed its garrisons." Well may it be said that Burmese kings submitted to accomplished facts, but did not sanction them. Shortly before the storming of

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436 rupees, though the same size as those of the Indian Government, were not in favour in Rangoon. They usually ran to fourteen annas, so that there was a loss of two annas on each. The gold coins were practically not in circulation at all. Englishmen bought them as curiosities in the bazaar and got cheated if they did not carefully ring every one. The smaller ones, struck from the same die as the silver two-anna bit, were principally used by the king to fill silver cups presented to distinguished visitors.

Being derived from the measures of weight, the coins have received the same names. The rupee is kyat, sometimes also called ding-ga, that is, a circular piece of metal, whether a coin or a medal, and the sub-multiples go by the names of the smaller weights: pè is one anna; mu, two annas; mat, four annas; nga-mu, eight annas; thôn-mat, twelve annas; kyat-mu-din, fourteen annas, literally a rupee less two annas; one piece is ti'-bya.

454 The Burmans have no bankers. In native times there were exceedingly few who would have anything to lodge with such a personage. Those who have superabundant coin almost always disperse it in giving a kyi-gyin pwè, or in building a pagoda, a monastery, digging a tank, or some such work of merit. Whatever money there may remain over is turned into use or display in the shape of fat oxen, and silver and gold cups and jewellery. These are pleasant things to look at and easily convertible into money when necessary. Burmans detest hoarding. A miser is threatened with as terrible a hereafter as a parricide. The portion of both is in awidzi, the lowest hell.

● 181 454 All this sort of thing shows a very unbusiness-like, certainly a very uncommercial spirit, but it is at least open to argument that the Burman is philosophically right. He cares little for the troubles of the world and the manifold questions of the day which distract the more highly cultured nations. His eyes are fixed uninterruptedly on the dark mysteries which surround our beginning, our end, and every moment of our life. The earth is only a camping-ground, in which it does not repay the trouble to establish one's self firmly and comfortably. The rich man carries his gold and silver, the poor his last handful of rice,

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to the pagoda, and deposits it there at usurer's interest for his future home beyond. Let the black coolie of India talk all day and dream all night of his filthy pice; let the greasy Chetty money-lender gloat over his bloated money-bags; let the English merchant delight in all the refined luxuries wealth can bring him: the Burman is content if he has enough to eat and remain a free man, happy if he accumulates sufficient to build a work of merit, or give a free festival to his less fortunate brethren. Who shall say he is not wise?

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A state envelope was a very curious affair. It was nothing else but two large elephant's tusks. Half-way up they were hollow, and on the mouth there was a heavy gold cover. The tusks were mounted in different parts with gold of no mean thickness. The letter of the lord of the Golden Throne was deposited inside, and borne to its destination with the flourish of trumpets and the braying of drums. The majesty of the Burmese king would have suffered if he had forwarded a communication to the Viceroy in a cover which cost anything under a couple of hundred pounds sterling. In similar fashion the reports of subordinate officials were written with steatite pencils on coarse black paper, and this was rolled up and put in a hollow joint of bamboo. The whole was then enveloped in cloth and sealed with a peacock seal. Communications of this kind were sometimes received by English officials on the British Burma frontier.

The following are a few proverbs:—

If you want to go fast, go the old road.

Wisdom guards life; no one can escape bad luck. The man gifted with wisdom is never left in peace.

Every bird is handsome compared with the vulture.

A mountain is climbed by degrees; property acquired by degrees; wisdom learnt by degrees.

Have regard for a whole family of rats, instead of for one cat.

The more you know, the more luck you have.

A short boat is hard to steer; a dwarf is quick in the temper.

If a cock ruffles up his feathers, it is easy to pluck him. If a man gets angry he is done for.

Constant cutting dulls the knife; constant talking dulls the wits.

A pot half full of water is hard to carry (on the head, of course; because the water sways from side to side); the less a man knows, the harder he is to argue with.

A cow that can give no milk will kick. An ignorant man is to be feared for his ignorance.

If there is much paddy (unhusked rice) in the bowl, it is hard to eat. If there is much talking it is hard to understand.

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Don't speak like a mountain, it is so easy to fall off.

Eat little, stomach slender; eat much, stomach-ache.

Beware of a man's shadow (*i.e.* his relations) and a bee's sting.

A coward tiger growls; a coward human howls.

The well-born are fair of speech; the low-born crooked.

A slave's son is a stupid son.

If a great man flatters you, be afraid.

A great man's sword is never blunt.

There are three chances in a nagā's stare; there is but one in a king's. (That is to say, you may escape from the dragon, but if the king is angry with you, speedy death is all you can expect.)

Kyet-go a-yo,
Lu-go a-myo.

Blood always tells; literally, you know a game-cock from his bones, a man from his family.

533 178 [179] in Europe. Indeed the Buddhist religion so frowns upon music that it was practised rather shamefacedly and its devotees are often called *Phet-khwet-sa* (Eaters out of leaves), *i.e.* vagabonds. Even so recently as last year a learned old Burmese gentleman loth to depart this life without imparting all of his Burmese learning concluded a series of Burmese articles on Burmese music and dancing with an apology for having at all indulged in such frivolities.

533 181 178 565 177 Music found in the irrepressible gaiety of the Burmese people a fertile soil and it let its roots deep into the soil, and soon from occupational songs music developed into an art-form which finally invaded the towns, the capital and the royal palace. There it received fresh impetus from a system of competitive patronage in which the king himself joined with his own band. There also, apparently it received its classical nomenclature. Names which sound imposing enough—[illegible] etc. *Svara*, *Mūrchana*, *Grāma*, *Çruti* etc.—but meant for quite different things, must have been borrowed in their entirety for the sake of their classical origin, so that the names were not in accordance with what they stood for, even as the Greek names, by which the western ecclesiastical modes were distinguished, were not in accordance with those of the ancient Greek octave system from which the names were taken. Thus it seems Burmese musical theory in the classical manner is a grafted dignity which dignifies but does not apply. Indeed it seems yet to be written.

533 However, to go on with Mariano: "Pure Burmese melodies are beautiful in themselves. But on account of the preponderance of grace-notes (mordente, acciaccatura, appoggiatura) Europeans find it difficult to catch Burmese tunes.". This is very true, but not true enough. Ornament in Burmese music does something more than preponderate. They themselves are an inherent part of the tunes. That is why when a Burmese song is taken down by a western musican and reproduced, the ornaments having been unappreciated and eschewed the 'tune' that remains no longer sounds Burmese. Fox Strangways explains succinctly:

> "We think of grace-notes as something which may but need not be added to the note, not as something actually inherent in it. If cultivated for their own sake or used at all in excess they are regarded by us as meretricious.....Indian 'grace' is different in kind. There never is the least suggestion of anything having been 'added' to the note which is graced. The note with the grace makes one utterance. The object of grace is, of course, to add importance to the particular note, but there are such varying degrees in which this may be done

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

acts of theirs and customs, which I had seen and 114
noted, but of which I did not know the reason. We all know how hard it is to see into the heart even of our own people, those of our flesh and blood who are with us always, and whose ways are our ways, and whose thoughts are akin to ours. And if this be so with them, it is ten thousand times harder with those whose ways are not our ways, and from whose thoughts we must be far apart. It is true that there are no dark places in [181]
the lives of the Burmese as there are in the lives of other Orientals. All is open to the light of day in their homes and in their religion, and their women are the freest in the world. Yet the barriers of a strange tongue and a strange religion, and of ways caused by another climate than ours, is so great that, even to those of us who have every wish and every opportunity to understand, it seems sometimes as if we should never know their hearts. It seems as if we should never learn more of them than just the outside—that curiously varied outside which is so deceptive, and which is so apt to prevent our understanding that they are men just as we are and not strange creations from some far-away planet.

So when I settled down and sought to know 114
more of the meaning of what I had seen, I thought 121
that first of all I must learn somewhat of their 777
religion, of that mainspring of many actions, which seemed sometimes admirable, sometimes the reverse, and nearly always foreign to my ideas. It is true that I knew they were Buddhists, that I recognised the yellow-robed monks as followers of the word of Gaudama the Buddha, and that I had a general

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

672 Instead of cleansing the garment, it tears it, and renders it useless for this life.

It is a very difficult question, this of crime and punishment. I have not written all this because I have any suggestion to make to improve it. I have not written it because I think that the laws of Manu, which obtained under the Burmese kings, and their methods of punishment, were any improvement on ours. On the contrary, I think they were much worse. Their laws and their methods of enforcing the law were those of a very young people. But, notwithstanding this, there was a spirit in their laws different from and superior to ours.

●181 I have been trying to see into the soul of this people whom I love so well, and nothing has struck me more than the way they regard crime and punishment; nothing has seemed to me more worthy of note than their ideas of the meaning and end of punishment, of its scope and its limits. It is so very different from ours. As in our religion, so in our laws: we believe in mercy at one time and in vengeance at another. We believe in vicarious punishment and vicarious salvation; they believe in absolute justice—always the same, eternal and unchangeable as the laws of the stars. We purposely make punishment degrading; they think it should be elevating, that in its purifying power lies its sole use and justification. We believe in tearing a soiled garment; they think it ought to be washed.

Surely these are great differences, surely thoughts like these, engraven in the hearts of a young people, will lead, in the great and glorious future that lies before them, to a conception of justice, to a method

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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of dealing with crime, very different from what we know ourselves. They are now very much as we were sixteen centuries ago, when the Romans ruled us. Now we are a greater people, our justice is better, our prisons are better, our morality is inconceivably better, than Imperial Rome ever dreamt of. And so with these people, when their time shall come, when they shall have grown out of childhood into manhood, when they shall have the wisdom and strength and experience to put in force the convictions that are in their hearts, it seems to me that they will bring out of these convictions something more wonderful than we to-day have dreamt of.

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

CHAPTER IX

HAPPINESS

'The thoughts of his heart, these are the wealth of a man.
Burmese saying.

565 181 As I have said, there was this very remarkable fact in Burma—that when you left the king, you dropped at once to the villager. There were no intermediate classes. There were no nobles, hereditary officers, great landowners, wealthy bankers or merchants.

Then there is no caste; there are no gilds of trade, or art, or science. If a man discovered a method of working silver, say, he never hid it, but made it common property. It is very strange how absolutely devoid Burma is of the exclusiveness of caste so universal in India, and which survives to a great extent in Europe. The Burman is so absolutely enamoured of freedom, that he cannot abide the bonds which caste demands. He will not bind himself with other men for a slight temporal advantage; he does not consider it worth the trouble. He prefers remaining free and poor to being bound and rich. Nothing is further from him

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

than the feeling of exclusiveness. He abominates secrecy, mystery. His religion, his women, himself, are free; there are no dark places in his life where the light cannot come. He is ready that everything should be known, that all men should be his brothers.

And so all the people are on the same level. Richer and poorer there are, of course, but there are no very rich; there is none so poor that he cannot get plenty to eat and drink. All eat much the same food, all dress much alike. The amusements of all are the same, for entertainments are always free. So the Burman does not care to be rich. It is not in his nature to desire wealth, it is not in his nature to care to keep it when it comes to him. Beyond a sufficiency for his daily needs money has not much value. He does not care to add field to field or coin to coin; the mere fact that he has money causes him no pleasure. Money is worth to him what it will buy. With us, when we have made a little money we keep it to be a nest-egg to make more from. Not so a Burman: he will spend it. And after his own little wants are satisfied, after he has bought himself a new silk, after he has given his wife a gold bangle, after he has called all his village together and entertained them with a dramatic entertainment — sometimes even before all this—he will spend the rest on charity.

He will build a pagoda to the honour of the great teacher, where men may go to meditate on the great laws of existence. He will build a monastery school where the village lads are taught,

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

565 or a rest-house may also receive the title of 'well-
553 builder,' and so on, but such titles are rarely used in common speech. Even the builder of a long shed for water-jars may call himself after it if he likes, but it is only big builders who receive any title from their fellows. But the satisfaction to the man himself, the knowledge that he has done a good deed, is much the same, I think.

741 A Burman's wants are very few, such wants as
181 money can supply—a little house, a sufficiency of
517 plain food, a cotton dress for weekdays, and a silk one for holidays, and that is nearly all.

You see, they are still a very young people. Many wants will come, perhaps, later on, but just now their desires are easily satisfied.

The Burman does not care for a big house, for there are always the great trees and the open spaces by the village. It is far pleasanter to sit out of doors than indoors. He does not care for books. He has what is better than many books—the life of his people all about him, and he has the eyes to see it and the heart to understand it. He cares not to see with other men's eyes, but with his own; he cares not to read other men's thoughts, but to think his own, for a love of books only comes to him who is shut always from the world by ill-health, by poverty, by circumstance. When we are poor and miserable, we like to read of those who are happier. When we are shut in towns, we love to read of the beauties of the hills. When we have no love in our hearts, we like to read of those who have. Few men who think their own thoughts care much to read the thoughts of others, for a man's

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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own thoughts are worth more to him than all the thoughts of all the world besides. That a man should think, that is a great thing. No great thinkers are at the same time great readers. And he who can live his life, what cares he for reading of the lives of other people? To have loved once is more than to have read all the poets that ever sang. So a Burman thinks. To see the moon rise on the river as you float along, while the boat rocks to and fro and someone talks to you, is not that better than any tale?

So a Burman lives his life, and he asks a great deal from it. He wants fresh air and sunshine, and the great thoughts that come to you in the forest. He wants love and companionship, the voice of friends, the low laugh of women, the delight of children. He wants his life to be a full one, and he wants leisure to teach his heart to enjoy all these things; for he knows that you must learn to enjoy yourself, that it does not always come naturally, that to be happy and good-natured and open-hearted requires an education. To learn to sympathize with your neighbours, to laugh with them and cry with them, you must not shut yourself away and work. His religion tells him that the first of all gifts is sympathy; it is the first step towards wisdom, and he holds it true. After that, all shall be added to you. He believes that happiness is the first of all things.

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We think differently. We are content with cheerless days, with an absence of love, of beauty, of all that is valuable to the heart, if we can but put away a little money, if we can enlarge our business,

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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And so I do not think his will ever make what we call a great nation. He will never try to be a conqueror of other peoples, either with the sword, with trade, or with religion. He will never care to have a great voice in the management of the world. He does not care to interfere with other people: he never believes interference can do other than harm to both sides. /8/

He will never be very rich, very powerful, very advanced in science, perhaps not even in art, though I am not sure about that. It may be he will be very great in literature and art. But, however that may be, in his own idea his will be always the greatest nation in the world, because it is the happiest.

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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776 have peopled their trees and rivers with; will show what sort of religion it is that underlies, without influencing, the creed of the Buddha that they follow. It is of the very poetry of superstition, free from brutality, from baseness, from anything repulsive, springing, as I have said, from their innate sympathy with Nature and recognition of the life that works in all things. It always seems to me that beliefs such as these are a great key to the nature of a people, are, apart from all interest in their beauty, and in their akinness to other beliefs, of great value in trying to understand the character of a nation.

778 181 For to beings such as Nats and fairies the people who believe in them will attribute such qualities as are predominant in themselves, as they consider admirable; and, indeed, all supernatural beings are but the magnified shadows of man cast by the light of his imagination upon the mists of his ignorance.

Therefore, when you find that a people make their spirits beautiful and fair, calm and even-tempered, loving peace and the beauty of the trees and rivers, shrinkingly averse from loud words, from noises, and from the taking of life, it is because the people themselves think that these are great qualities. If no stress be laid upon their courage, their activity, their performance of great deeds, it is because the people who imagine them care not for such things. There is no truer guide, I am sure, to the heart of a young people than their superstitions; these they make entirely for themselves, apart from their religion, which is, to a certain extent, made for them. That is why I have written this chapter on Nats: not

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Burmese AP4

because I think it affects Buddhism very much one way or another, but because it seems to me to reveal the people themselves, because it helps us to understand them better, to see more with their eyes, to be in unison with their ideas—because it is a great key to the soul of the people.

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sufficient food for myself and my family." Yet, it is significant 465
that he[1] manifests no anxiety symtoms, and appears happy and carefree. 722
This suggests that despite the fact that he is presented with 369
insecurity he does not react to it with tensions that have nervous 464
manifestations. The ~~sense of insecurity~~ does not seem to be in his [152]
pattern of living, consequently his response is ill-defined.

The points of difference that U Myaing especially emphasized 511
were:- 178

1. A few weeks of intensive work in Pathwe would get him more than a whole year of salary working in Rangoon. 461

2. His income in Rangoon is estabilised at a low level. In Pathwe he might make 3 or 4 times his average income from fish products in a good year. On bad years he might just break even. But this did not affect his everyday living quality - since his food was for the most part gathered (fish, fruits etc.) or secured from the cattle loan (baskets of rice). 458

3. If he was sick in Pathwe his standard of living was not threatened. He made his cash in a short time and had ample leisure for resting. In Rangoon if he does not work he does not eat.

4. In Pathwe he usually had a surplus of 1000 to 1500 rupees on hand during a year. To be lent out (free of interest) to friends and relatives or (usually) invested in fish or family accoutrement. Now he lives from hand to mouth. [454]

5. The loss of comfort and ease is severely felt by the adults. In Rangoon he works to stay alive, in Pathwe, to enjoy a full life. [181]

[1 i.e., U Myaing -- ANALYST]

General Burmese Attitudes about and Usages of Personal Accoutrement.

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"LU-HMAR-AH-MOOT-TAUNG-HMAR-AH-COOT" — "People must have decent dress just as a basket must have a rim" expresses the basic attitude of the Burmese towards personal accoutrement. By "decent" is meant fitting and proper to a person's station in life and the occasion. Most important, the garments must be clean and maintained in a state of repair. The cotton objects are cleaned by whacking on rock slabs at a water source; the silk garments are aired in the sun and shaken and when absolutely necessary washed - this removes the crispness for which they are valued. Recently dry cleaning establishments have operated in Rangoon. But these are quite expensive and used extensively only by the wealthy. "If one has only one shirt it must be white (i.e. clean)".

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Perhaps the most important means of asserting status is by personal accoutrement. The value of jewels, fine silks for the women of the family has been mentioned above. The Burmese have a low opinion of the person who does not dress up to his station. But are also scornful of those who dress above their qualifications. For example, a man who wears the religious all white costume inappropriately is called CHAUN-THU-DAW (cat-goodman) or pretender. The story is told of a cat who always faced the sun with open jaws. When visiting rats asked why he replied that the rays of the sun nourished him. Yet the last of the visiting rats invariably disappeared into the cat's paw. A war-time atrocity story records the sad tale of a Burmese maiden who was too poor to afford a decent longyi and therefore was forced to commit suicide.

The variety of different longyis worn also indicate status. It is said that some wealthy Rangoon ladies buy a new silk longyi for each social occasion - and rapidly discard them when slightly soiled. In the main, however, the Burmese "pay great respect to their clothes" and boast rather of wearing clothes that are years old - thus indicating the high quality of the cloth. Young girls frequently have Mandalay silk longyis handed down to them by their grandmothers. Success is indicated by the constant increase in quality and quantity

of clothes. The old people take care to save the torn garments for use in wiping the hands after meals, for handling hot pots on the stove and the like. 291 554 181

There are three classes of clothing (1) working clothes (2) festive dress, and (3) religious dress. The working clothes consist of the cheaper and less ornate fabrics and are mainly of cotton. The men usually bind the longyi around the loins by looping the shirt in a band between the legs. Htamein (women's longyi) waist band is secured under the armpits when bathing. 291 292

While walking in the rain the longyis are also raised to prevent them from becoming wet. Festive dress involves the best which one has, usually silks and are worn on the Sabbath days and at special social occasions as the SHIN BYA and other ceremonies. Religious dress is worn constantly by Pongyis (orange robes), nuns (peach coloured) and frequently by old men (white) and old women (light chocolate coloured). On Sabbath days the particularly religious individuals of all ages, especially those belonging to Buddhist lay societies, wear religious dress. 291 779 [575]

The term LONGYI means "lower apparel" and is applied to both men's (PUSO) and women's (HTAMEIN). The men's festive longyi TAUNG-SHAY-PUSO (taung measurement- twenty-puso) worn frequently in the past and now reserved for special occasions was a double silk PUSO 8 yards long. A special method of securing this garment about the waist results in GABON ZA ("Sticking out piece") a fold which protrudes 6 or more inches in the midline - only, however, when the silk is crisp and stiff (new and/or finest heavy quality). This is regarded as a very manly garment. Two styles of APAW KINGYI (over jacket) men's jacket are worn. The "Peking" type meeting at the mid-line is most common. A "Cantonese" type buttons over like the women's jacket at the side. 291 292

Formerly every young man had tattooed thighs, extending in a solid band of decoration from a few inches above the knees to the hips. The motifs were frequently nat symbols. The main purpose was to display manliness and courage since the purpose of tatooing, done with a 3 pronged fork dipped in pigment was extremely painful. 304 562 178

Basic Burmese Concepts of Health and Sickness.

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The Burmese regard health as the best of all earthly blessings. Although Buddha referred to the living body as a decaying corpse, which it was fully to feed, he recognized the necessity for bodily health in order to carry out the all-important mental activities connected with the Buddhist religion. It is then essential for each person to be as physically and mentally sound as he is able. The forces governing health and sickness are both supernatural and natural each with its own set of medical specialists. The specialists are called for only when the case is far advanced there being an extensive lore of home precautions and curative practices. In general, disorders caused by nats and ghosts (supernatural) or magic are recognized by their sudden, catastrophic or otherwise unusual nature, and are both instigated and cured by magical means. The natural disorders are caused by weaknesses in the constitution of the patient, foreign bodies, dangerous foods and such-like means, and are cured through knowledge of medical principles. The germ concept of disease is completely lacking, although when foreign matter is seen, as mosquito larvae in water, it is frequently regarded as unhealthy. The western idea of omnipresent harmful bacteria is regarded as fantastic in being contrary to observation - "our ancestors have lived for countless generations in these surroundings which you regard as dangerous", they will say. There are some 60 different kinds of PO MYOHSA or harmful ingredients that can infect the body. These range from undesirable ingredients in food to mystical influences that rise in the teeth to cause tooth-ache. The cleanliness of the Burmese, as seen in their several daily baths and emphasis on clean clothes, is not out of regard for "hygienic" reasons, but rather for social reasons. One must look his best in public so as not to give offense to the eye or nose. The sick person is never washed since cold water would have the effect of driving the fever-heat inward to a fatal degree. The date for resumption of bathing for the convalescent is carefully considered; mistakes can result in relapse and death. Cool breezes must be avoided by the sick person for similar reasons. The house doors closed during the day invariably mean sickness within.

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The following interview gives an impression of U Myaing's "World View" and current events: (U Myaing and Ma Aye Myaing answer).

Q. Where do you get your information on current events?
A. (U.M.) I read the newspapers, we buy them sometimes - or listen to others who buy and read.

Q. How often do you read a newspaper - once a week?
A. Quite seldom, because I do not have the time. As soon as it is light I have to go to work.

Q. Do you know anything of modern world conditions?
A. We hear what others say - that the Chinese will enter Burma. We do not know what is happening elsewhere. We've heard that the Chinese and Americans are fighting each other, but we don't know where this is taking place.

Q. How does the present situation compare with the past?
A. We don't know whether the world situation has improved or not. We get all sorts of information, but our main worry is work - and hope to provide sufficient food for the family.

Q. Do you know of the A.F.P.F.L. (Anti Fascist People's Freedom League - the major political party in Burma)?
A. Yes, there is even a sign board at the entrance to our camp.

Q. Do the phongyis give you current affairs information?
A. We don't even have a personal phongyi where we live. We

don't usually talk about these things with them. We invite the phongyis and worship them. We don't talk much with them. They preach the law and the 5 SIL.S to us. 181 203

16. Q. Are there any persons of influence in camp who give advise on everyday living? 621

A. Yes, the person of influence is the schoolmaster, U Khant. But he only teaches the children and looks to the general cleanliness of the camp. Another person is the man who teaches the English. But they do not lay down what is right and what is wrong.

Activities of the Family in Relationship to the Supernatural.

The main forces which U Myaing and his family are concerned with are those of the Nats and those of Buddhism. Speaking historically, the Nats seem to represent a remnant of an early form of animism in which the Nats were tree or nature spirits. It is interesting to note the manner in which U Myaing blends the two religious systems. The Nats control earthly happenings, and the Buddhist structure the eternal. We are concerned with identifying some of the major practices, but primarily with the differentiation between religious practices in Pantanaw and in the refugee camp. 771 [178]

Nats.

The problem of the Nats came up in our study by the appearance of a bamboo pole split so as to form a small basket at one end. This object, called a KYAUNG ZAUNG rested on the roof of the camp hut next to U Myaing's. An interview in which Daw Aw Zar (.D.A.Z.) and U Myaing (U.M.) discussed Nats, is given in its entirety below because it reveals the rather vague feelings of "superstition" held of the Nats on the one hand and their potency on the other. 776 782

Q. No. 25 (photograph) is a split bamboo pole with a basket at the top. What is this called and what is it used for?

A. (D.A.Z.) KYAUNG ZAUNG. The thing he took from the roof and photographed? It is called a KYAUNG ZAUNG.
(U.M.) It is called KYAUNG ZAUNG.

Q. How do you use it ?

A. (D.A.Z.) We offer to U SHIN GYI and others. Offerings to Nats. Didn't you hear that big man speak? (To U Myaing).

Q. Who made this object? Who makes them?

A. (D.A.Z.) The people who give the offerings of course.

Q. Do you have to make these when you give offerings?

A. If we give offerings we make them.

621 722 structure of the social and political organization is the same in both places. However, the expectations and obligations of the original village are ill defined perhaps for the reason that the camp families no longer depend so completely on each other for their social and ceremonial activities. In Pathwe, U Myaing and his family were responsible citizens of the village as a whole. In camp, they are merely temporary residents with only the most rudimentary of obligations to their fellow refugees. The basic functions of the camp are carried out by semi-official persons. There is a minimum of feeling of solidarity in the camp where the immediate family is the major functioning unit.

Much has been lost with the passing of the communal activities of the small village. Yet the basic social and ceremonial activities [181] are still carried out in Rangoon. The community has become a large, impersonal one but the values are the same. The activities, as at the gigantic Shwe Dagon pagoda, duplicate those of the village on a grand scale and are hence more stimulating - but the family is no longer in a special status position and are nameless and unknown in their activities. Because of lack of money the activities are greatly curtailed in scope, but also the obligation is less. In this sense the family is "freed" from pressing obligations of the village where, for example, they were expected to contribute relatively large sums to community activities.

621 722 369 517 The familiar and beloved flavour of routine village activities is replaced by the excitement of life in the big town. Everything is new and different and while the basic understandings are still encountered the old restrictions of the small community have disappeared. Life in Rangoon is full of possibilities and amusement.

369 555 [445] 000 Recently (during the summer of 1951) U Myaing was promoted from street cleaner to boss of the cleaners of one section. He still gets a salary of Rs. 86/- a month but has the position of an overseer somewhat equivalent in status to the IN overseer's job in Pathwe. There are many opportunities for an honest and intelligent person to rise in Rangoon. In October 1951 U Myaing visited me to take an order for table mats. His samples were much too large and bound with a violent

orange cloth but he remembered my original order and wanted to make these specialty items. I directed him to some friends who I thought could be interested. He was dressed in a new white shirt, colourful new longyi, a brown cloth topee and leather sandals and looked prosperous and contented. Recently, Ma Aye Myaing had presented him with another baby daughter and both were doing well. I asked him when he was going back to Pathma. "Yes," he said, "as soon as it is safe to return." Even a considerably higher salary would not persuade him to stay in Rangoon. Here "though the eye is rich, the pocket is poor". U Myaing is well on his way to making a successful adjustment as an urbanite — but his heart will probably always remain in the village.

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CONCLUSION

Summary of Data

The data presented above on the changing standard of living of the Burmese fisherman-refugee family may be briefly summarised as follows:

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Home: A change from a large teak wood house personally owned to cramped quarters under the eves of a bamboo hut provided by the refugee camp. This represented a decline to 1/50th of the original home space but only to 1/10th of the original space used for the home vital functions of cooking, eating and sleeping. Home as a spacious area for social activities is replaced by an area used almost exclusively for the vital functions. There are no innovations and the pattern of home is not broken but is greatly contracted close to the minimum requirements.

Work: A change from a position as an overseer of a cooperative fishing organisation with income from cattle and fish products manufacturing to a day labourer. This represented a severe drop in income and prestige but was not outside of the labouring pattern which U Myaing was familiar with from his youth. It is a return to his basic occupation. The "road back" to position and higher income is being taken - at the present writing (November 1951) U Myaing has been raised to coolie boss of a section of street cleaners. Opportunities for rising in Rangoon are good and the future is once more promising.

Clothing: U Myaing is reduced by 72% from his former quantity, and the females of the family by 41%. The social clothing and accoutrement have been sacrificed and the inventory reduced to the garments essential for basic living. Quality of clothing has greatly declined. The process has been one of severe contraction but the pattern has not been broken or innovations substituted.

Health: The health of the family appears to be relatively unimpaired by change. However, the medical data necessary to arrive at a reliable analysis could not be secured. The most we can say is that hygenic conditions have not materially altered in the camp situation, and the family is not aware of any radical changes in health. The proximity of modern medical aid in Rangoon is of course a great advantage in any emergencies of which the family is becoming

gives important data on the process of urbanizing villagers - the country people are an important group in the growth of the Burmese section of Rangoon; probably a large section of the present refugee population will stay in the future. 183 369 [178]

The concepts of pattern of living and standard of living: The Burmese pattern of living, or any culture pattern, is a universe of beliefs and practices manifested in acts and artifacts. The analogy of the "Universe" is a useful one in that it recognizes a guiding body of understandings that controls the whole of the society (like "laws" of Universe) while emphasizing the particular understandings that govern the various groups or classes of the society (like the "laws" of the Solar and other systems within the Universe). The "solar systems" are the standard levels of operations forming a comprehensive set of forces within itself. Families, like U Myaing's have a mobility, in the case understudy a forced change, which takes them out of one standard system into another. The adjustments which they undergo reflects the "laws" which control the various standard levels as well as the basic concepts controlling the whole of the society. 121 183

Each belief and practice has a range of expressions which can be defined. The particular expression practiced by a family is the standard or level of a phenomenon capable of expansion or contraction within prescribed limits. The ultimate limits are defined by the total range of expressions for the culture as a whole. But the practical limits for a family are defined by the possibilities of the society segment (community) in which they find themselves. Thus, the range of U Myaing's possibilities of expression are much greater in Rangoon than they were in Pathwe and greatly exceed his original ideas of what was possible. He may, for example, become a highly westernized political leader - although this seems unlikely in terms of his expectations. The westernized, urban spheres of Burmese culture is now opened to the family. [621] [369] [177]

U Myaing is motivated by the basic expectations of the Burmese culture at a level applicable to his situation in terms of the possibilities of his social environment. In Pathwe, he was a fisherman and aspired to those things that fishermen should. In camp, he was at 181● 565 555

●181 565 555 first a bewildered refugee, but gradually assumed the role of a labourer rising in the ranks. The case indicates the mobility of the Burmese family and shows clearly that it may function successfully outside of the confines of its original social atmosphere.

182 594 621 156 The family in Burmese society: The successful mobility of U Myaing's family indicate that the immediate family is the primary social unit of Burmese society. The Burmese community is then a congregation of immediate families who engage in activities of mutual benefit within the protective framework of the village structure. This interpretation high lights a particular type of individualism which is a familiy individualism depending on the roles of each [779] member of the family for its full expression. This concept seems tied to the Buddhist idea of individual salvation through acts of merit on the one hand and the exigencies of gaining a livelihood on the other. [474] The family is the basic economic unit and though it will enter cooperative endeavours (like the IN fisheries, or communal nat propitiations), has the ultimate responsibility and capabilities of support- [576] ing itself. The extended family is important, as indeed is the total village social structure, only in so far as it contributes to the maintenance of the individual immediate family of procreation including spouses, offspring and aged parents. The "looseness" of the social structure conversely allows mobility of the immediate families. This analysis indicates that attempts at modernising of the Burmese people (acculturation) should meet with a minimum of structural obstacles - such as caste, clan and rigid associations might present.

181 156 369 555 The Burmese culture pattern and the individual: The village culture pattern is dominated by a series of relatively simple, interrelated ideas held by all. Each individual feels himself temporily occupying a particular situation which is only one of many existences and but an instant in eternity. He is fated to be a member of a particular family with a set of opportunities through life. Life should be pleasant and must be virtuous if future existences are to be pleasant. He must realise as fully as possible the talents and opportunities that come to him through his KARMA situation. In the villages this concept is a great stabilising force and tends to make an individual content with

his lot. It also tends toward a kind of stratification of society where the boundaries, however, are neither sharp nor fast. Each person is comfortably installed in his place and competes, mildly, only with those of his own level. The obligations (as contributions for ceremonies) are in terms of one's ability, and his status is in terms of his virtues. Status is closely correlated with increasing age. This concept motivate the Burmese in the village within "KARMA groups". 181● 156 364 555 [561] [554]

The unusual individual may transcend his family positions in exceptional cases - by marriage or achievement. Achievement by physical force has been a means of mobility in the past - there is the tradition of the strong man leader who comes from humble origins. Mobility by entrepreneur achievement (rice mill owners, traders) has been greatly stimulated with increased western contacts. U Myaing was a sort of entrepreneur in Pathwe. In Rangoon the opportunities are great and some Burmese are successfully embracing this, as yet, somewhat unfamiliar course. The western entrepreneur concept appears to be finding a fertile ground in the traditional "group individualism" of the Burmese. 156 555 557 [177]

<u>The standards or levels of culture</u>: When U Myaing's standard of living plummeted downwards as a refugee he became discontented and unhappy desiring to return to the "plateau" of his former level. At first he could only think of returning to Pathwe to achieve this, but as ~~his~~ (?) begins to crown his efforts in Rangoon he now feels the beginnings of a sense of achievement. In his refugee situation there was no sense of shame for his reduction - the events contributing to his downfall were beyond his control, and he had lived "as a refugee should" in which his abilities and obligations were balanced. This resulted in an attitude of cheerful patience understandable in terms of the KARMA concept. 511 181 558

The two standards, in Pathwe and camp, represent balanced levels ranging from the "average" Burmese villages situation to close to the minimum. Higher standards than those of Pathwe are seen in the administrative class of Rangoon and other major towns where western influences are strong (car, western furniture and household utensils, westernized house and clothing, etc.). Lower standards may be 511 565 [177]

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

spire. To show the soles of the feet to the throne is high treason. This is awkward for the inhabitants of some quarters, for there is a rule applying to all Buddhists, that they must not place their feet towards the east, where the sun rises and whence the next Buddha, Arimadeya, will come, nor to the west, where the bawdi bin stands, or stood, the tree under which Shin Gautama attained the supreme wisdom. The superstition is probably derived from the Brahmins, who threaten grievous dangers to the man who places his feet on the shadow of a dewa, a king, a teacher, a saint, or another man's wife.

The frequent change of locality of the palace, and therefore of the capital, is a peculiarity of Burma. There are about a score of towns in the country which have been at one time or other the metropolis. Such are Tagaung, Old Pagān, and Shwebo, above Mandalay; Prome (under the title Tharekettara), Pagān, Sagaing, Ava, and Amarapura, below it. The last two are the best known; indeed some people to the present day persist in talking of the "Kingdom of Ava," though that once brilliant capital has been little better than a jungle for a great many years, and the lines of the old walls can only be traced with difficulty.

It is hardly correct to say, as most writers on Burma have hitherto done, that with a new king there should be a new capital. This has very frequently been the case, but the matter does not altogether depend upon the accession of a new sovereign. It is brought about by a very much more gruesome (the word is used advisedly) circumstance. On the foundation of a new capital, there are always a certain number of people buried alive. The idea is that they become nat-thein, that their spirits haunt the place where they were put to death, and attack all persons approaching with malevolent intentions. The notion is entirely due to the royal astrologers, the Brahmin pônnas, and as being repugnant to the tenets of Buddhism, is strenuously denounced by the true brethren of the yellow robe. But it fits in very well with the popular superstition regarding the existence of spirits, and has hence always firmly maintained its ground. It is a matter of common knowledge that this idea of

thinking, being the mother of a son is itself considered the greatest event of a woman's life and represents the achievement of full existence as a female human being. The relationship is close and indulgent. The mother is regarded by her son as more important than his wife; in fact, a son normally will choose a wife with a great deal of regard for his mother's opinions and wishes. 593

Mother and Daughter. The mother is her daughter's early teacher. It is considered most important for the girl to learn prayers, how to prepare the daily food offering, and how to change the flowers on the household altar. These things are taught almost from the time the child begins to speak and understand. Other household duties in which a mother instructs her daughter vary considerably with the economic status of the family. In poor families some assistance with tending animals and winnowing the rice is part of the girl's work from about the age of ten. Daughters are expected to show filial respect and deference equally to the mother and father. 593 868 [565]

Father and Son. The father occupies the role of disciplinarian in the family. Disciplining of sons may include physical punishment, though such measures are not resorted to readily. Prior to adolescence, boys are taught prayers and good habits by their mothers, with the father remaining more or less in the background and interfering only when disciplinary action may be required of him. After a son passes adolescence the father becomes important as his mentor. 593 861

Husband and Wife's Elder Sister. This relationship tends to mirror a conflict between age and sex as status factors in the social structure. There is an implicit conflict between the husband's position as a man and his wife's elder sister's position, in many cases, as his senior, having a claim on outward respect and obedience. In practice this relationship is often cool and aloof in nature, very much in contrast to the free and easy one between a man and his wife's younger sisters. 607 182 602

Husband and Wife's Younger Sister. A man is expected to show great favor to his wife's younger sisters and to display more interest in them than in his own sisters. He buys them presents, gives them spending money when he can, and covertly he is expected to be on the lookout for prospective husbands for them. Quite frequently, the wife's younger sisters will accompany her and her husband when she marries, and all will live together in the same house. Although husband and wife's younger sisters engage in a great deal of mutual joking and teasing, the relationship does not normally assume a sexual aspect. Polygyny is permissable but very rarely practiced; when it is, however, it takes the sororal form. The rather free and easy relationship between a husband and his wife's younger sisters sometimes gives rise to village gossip-- especially when it is known that he and his wife are not getting along well-- that he is carrying on love affairs with his younger sisters-in-law. 607 587

In-laws. A daughter-in-law is definitely subordinate to her mother-in-law. If they live in the same household, the mother-in-law is entitled to the best room and to be waited upon by her daughter-in-law. Significantly, the Burmese word for daughter-in-law (ewèimà) means 'sweat women. 606

The term for son-in-law (Gamè?) means 'desired son.' A son-in-law is a privileged member of his wife's family. His wishes are respected and his comforts looked after. His mother-in-law instructs her younger children to show him respect and deference.

14: Brant E-5 (1949-50) 1954 AP1 Burma
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Indians

621 consider, because they did not want to lose the Indians as customers for
563 their paddy stalk and as a source of manure for their gardens and fields.

The headman of Tadagale, when queried as to the reasons for the departure of the Indians, shrugged his shoulders and said simply that they were afraid, despite the plans for village defense, that their animals might be injured in the event of any fighting between villagers and bandits.

Within a few days, the Indians of Tadagale had all departed; and in the vacant spaces where their houses had stood, the Burmese were eagerly at work erecting buildings of their own.

Social Change

175 Prior to effective British rule in Lower Burma (about 1830), the local
631 autonomous unit was the village circle, consisting of several villages under
622 the authority of a headman. The office of headman seems to have been hereditary
626 in fact, although elections were held. That is to say, headmen tended to be elected in a particular lineage. Rule was through personal relationship between the headman and the villagers. Under the circle headman was a council of elders, appointed by him, one from each village in the circle. Disputes were almost entirely settled by arbitration and compromise, rather than with any concern over the abstract legal right and wrong of the case.

621 Within the village, a system called 'ten-house heads' was operative. This system appears to have been operative through British times, but at least since 1948 has lost effectiveness. Tadagale houses are strung out along a main path, and the ten-house division is such that the houses belonging to one group are mostly contiguous. The head of each ten-house section acted as a kind of deputy to the headman and sat on the council of elders.

175 With the coming of British rule, much of this changed. They established
631 a hierarchical system, in which there were, in descending order of size,
622 nation, division, district, township, village circle, and village. All officials at each level were appointed from the capital, even down to the village level, where the headman was made an appointed civil servant. He was paid on a percentage basis of his total tax collections and fines levied. The circle headman had police power and judicial authority in petty crimes.

175 A judicial system was introduced by the British to replace the old in-
692 formal arbitration. With an almost total disregard for indigenous institutions and customs, the British established a territorial system based upon law. The loosely structed and informal system of old gradually broke down.

669 Early in 1948 Burma gained her independence. Since that time the country
631 has been in a state of disorganization. The civil strife has brought about
182 an almost complete breakdown of administrative function on many levels. Certainly the ties of the village with higher units have been curtailed. One indication of this is the fact that the headman no longer submits reports with any degree of regularity to higher echelons, as was required under British rule. Even the local ten-house heads council has largely ceased to function. It exists, but is scarcely used.

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

seemed to me a mystery such as I could not understand. But when I went to the people, I found that it was simple enough to them; for I found that they remembered their former lives often, that children, young children, could tell who they were before they died, and remember details of that former existence. As they grew older the remembrance grew fainter and fainter, and at length almost died away. But in many children it was quite fresh, and was believed in beyond possibility of a doubt by all the people. So I saw that the teachings of their sacred books and the thoughts of the people were not at one in this matter.

Again, I read that there was no God. Nats there were, spirits of great power like angels, and there was the Buddha (the just man made perfect), who had worked out for all men the way to reach surcease from evil; but of God I saw nothing. And because the Buddha had reached heaven (Nirvana), it would be useless to pray to him. For, having entered into his perfect rest, he could not be disturbed by the sharp cry of those suffering below; and if he heard, still he could not help; for each man must through pain and sorrow work out for himself his own salvation. So all prayer is futile.

And then I remembered I had seen the young mother going to the pagoda on the hilltop with a little offering of a few roses or an orchid spray, and pouring out her soul in passionate supplication to Someone — Someone unknown to her sacred books — that her firstborn might recover of his fever, and be to her once more the measureless

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

776 delight of her life; and it would seem to me that
779 she must believe in a God and in prayer after all.
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So though I found much in these books that
771 was believed by the people, and much that was
779 to them the guiding influence of their lives, yet I
182 was unable to trust to them altogether, and I was in doubt where to seek for the real beliefs of these people. If I went to their monks, their holy men, the followers of the great teacher, Gaudama, they referred me to their books as containing all that a Buddhist believed; and when I pointed out the discrepancies, they only shook their heads, and said that the people were an ignorant people and confused their beliefs in that way.

779 When I asked what was a Buddhist, I was told
795 that, to be a Buddhist, a man must be accepted into
182 the religion with certain rites, certain ceremonies, he must become for a time a member of the community of the monks of the Buddha, and that a Buddhist was he who was so accepted, and who thereafter held by the teachings of the Buddha.

But when I searched the life of the Buddha, I could not find any such ceremonies necessary at all. So that it seemed that the religion of the Buddha was one religion, and the religion of the Buddhists another; but when I said so to the monks, they were horror-struck, and said that it was because I did not understand.

114 In my perplexity I fell back, as we all must, to
182 my own thoughts and those of my own people; and
779 I tried to imagine how a Burman would act if he
101 came to England to search into the religion of the English and to know the impulses of our lives.

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

I saw how he would be sent to the Bible as the source of our religion, how he would be told to study that if he would know what we believed and what we did not—what it was that gave colour to our lives. I followed him in imagination as he took the Bible and studied it, and then went forth and watched our acts, and I could see him puzzled, as I was now puzzled when I studied his people. 114 182 779 101

I thought of him reading the New Testament, and how he would come to these verses: 000

'27. But I say unto you which hear, Love your enemies, do good to them which hate you,

'28. Bless them that curse you, and pray for them which despitefully use you.

'29. And unto him that smiteth thee on the one cheek, offer also the other; and him that taketh away thy cloke, forbid him not to take thy coat also.

'30. Give to every man that asketh of thee; and of him that taketh away thy goods ask them not again.'

He would read them again and again, these wonderful verses, that he was told the people and Church believed, and then he would go forth to observe the result of this belief. And what would he see? He would see this: A nation proud and revengeful, glorying in her victories, always at war, a conqueror of other peoples, a mighty hater of her enemies. He would find that in the public life of the nation with other nations there was no thought of this command. He would find, too, in her inner life, that the man who took a cloak was not forgiven, but was terribly punished—he used to be hanged.

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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CHAPTER V

WAR—I

'Love each other and live in peace.'
Saying of the Buddha.

THIS is the Buddhist belief as I have understood it, and I have written so far in order to explain what follows. For my object is not to explain what the Buddha taught, but what the Burmese believe; and this is not quite the same thing, though in nearly every action of their life the influence of Buddhism is visible more or less strongly. Therefore I propose to describe shortly the ideas of the Burmese people upon the main objects of life; and to show how much or how little Buddhism has affected their conceptions. I will begin with courage.

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I think it will be evident that there is no quality upon which the success of a nation so much depends as upon its courage. No nation can rise to a high place without being brave; it cannot maintain its independence even; it cannot push forward upon any path of life without courage. Nations that are cowards must fail.

I am aware that the courage of a nation depends, as do its other qualities, upon many things: its

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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CHAPTER XXII

THE POTTER'S WHEEL

'Life is like a great whirlpool wherein we are dashed to and fro by our passions.'—*Saying of the Buddha.*

779 761 182 It is a hard teaching, this of the Buddha about death. It is a teaching that may appeal to the reason, but not to the soul. That when life goes out, this thing which we call 'I' goes out with it, and that love and remembrance are dead for ever.

It is so hard a teaching that in its purity the people cannot believe it. They accept it, but they have added on to it a belief which changes the whole form of it, a belief that is the outcome of that weakness of humanity which insists that death is not and cannot be all.

Though to the strict Buddhist death is the end of all worldly passion, to the Burmese villager that is not so. He cannot grasp, he cannot endure that it should be so, and he has made for himself out of Buddhism a belief that is opposed to all Buddhism in this matter.

775 He believes in the transmigration of souls, in the survival of the 'I.' The teaching that what survives

181 565 555 first a bewildered refugee, but gradually assumed the role of a labourer rising in the ranks. The case indicates the mobility of the Burmese family and shows clearly that it may function successfully outside of the confines of its original social atmosphere.

●182 594 621 156 The family in Burmese society: The successful mobility of U Myaing's family indicate that the immediate family is the primary social unit of Burmese society. The Burmese community is then a congregation of immediate families who engage in activities of mutual benefit within the protective framework of the village structure. This interpretation high lights a particular type of individualism which is a familiy individualism depending on the roles of each [779] member of the family for its full expression. This concept seems tied to the Buddhist idea of individual salvation through acts of merit on the one hand and the exigencies of gaining a livelihood on the other. [474] The family is the basic economic unit and though it will enter cooperative endeavours (like the IN fisheries, or communal net propitiations), has the ultimate responsibility and capabilities of support- [596] ing itself. The extended family is important, as indeed is the total village social structure, only in so far as it contributes to the maintenance of the individual immediate family of procreation including spouses, offspring and aged parents. The "looseness" of the social structure conversely allows mobility of the immediate families. This analysis indicates that attempts at modernising of the Burmese people (acculturation) should meet with a minimum of structural obstacles - such as caste, clan and rigid associations might present.

181 156 369 555 The Burmese culture pattern and the individual: The village culture pattern is dominated by a series of relatively simple, interrelated ideas held by all. Each individual feels himself temporily occupying a particular situation which is only one of many existences and but an instant in eternity. He is fated to be a member of a particular family with a set of opportunities through life. Life should be pleasant and must be virtuous if future existences are to be pleasent. He must realise as fully as possible the talents and opportunities that come to him through his KARMA situation. In the villages this concept is a great stabilizing force and tends to make an individual content with

29: Slater M-4 (no date) 1951 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

CHAPTER III

NIBBĀNA IN BURMESE BUDDHISM

1. A Positive Concept

It is still widely believed that the Buddha's teaching was fundamentally pessimistic, a philosophy of world and life negation culminating in a conception of Nibbāna as extinction or annihilation. It is also believed that while the Northern or Mahāyāna school developed more positive tendencies, picturing the goal as a Paradise of joy, the original pessimism is faithfully reflected and even emphasised in the southern, Hīnayāna school.

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Thus Schweitzer concludes that the Buddha conceived deliverance from transmigration "as a complete cessation of life which is attained by direct renunciation of the will-to-live" and that Hīnayāna Buddhism continues this original doctrine.[1] Although he qualifies this conclusion by a preliminary distinction between 'thought' and 'religious belief,' and also by a passing reference to more recent interpretations of original Buddhism, he remains convinced that the Buddha's thinking was "dominated by world and life negation."[2]

But if the analysis of Burmese Buddhism presented in our two previous chapters is accepted, there would appear to be reason for challenging this generally accepted opinion, both in regard to the Buddha's original teaching and the Hīnayāna reflection of that teaching. For here in the heart of this southern school is a people who certainly manifest a very lively will to live, yet a people indoctrinated by the Hīnayāna faith. This faith, as it is found in Burma, cannot be summarily dismissed as world-denying. It has shaped and maintained a very definite civilisation. It expresses itself in a closely-knit community life. It is still vigorous.

In such a context, we should expect, not a negative, but a positive concept of Nibbāna.

It is the purpose of this present chapter to show that this expectation is realised. Not only among the laity, in the 'popular religion,' but among the monks, there is an essentially positive concept of Nibbāna. Popular

[1] *Indian Thought and Its Development*, chap. VI, pp. 97, 122.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 110, 116.

29: Slater M-4 (no date) 1951 AP1 Burma
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belief is encouraged by 'scholastic' interpretation to a greater extent than might be expected.

It is perhaps relevant, and not without significance, to state that this was not the conclusion I anticipated when I began this inquiry. It seemed to me, as to others, that the general emphasis of the Hīnayāna Saṃgha, and of the Pali Canon, was towards a negative interpretation of Nibbāna. Therefore I expected to find a divergence between popular belief and monastic exposition, a latent, if not explicit, conflict. It was part of my original hypothesis to show how affirmative emphases in religion are maintained in the face of philosophical, credal definitions which might deny or discourage these emphases. Burma seemed to present a striking illustration of such a situation. Here, obviously, was a buoyant, life-affirming popular faith which claimed to be Hīnayāna Buddhism; here, too, was a long established monastic Order, firm in its allegiance to the Pali Canon. Such an allegiance, I thought, implied a negative interpretation of Buddhism and a negative conception of Nibbāna; therefore the popular faith must have persisted in disregard of this 'official' interpretation.

Further inquiry, however, has led me to doubt whether the facts substantiate this hypothesis of conflict. The initial fact, it is true, still stands. There can be little doubt about the *popular* view of Nibbāna. As Jardine remarks in a footnote to Sangermano's account, 'for a long period the masses have revolted at the conclusion (that Nibbāna means annihilation), and, in some way, which they cannot very intelligibly explain, believe that the individual soul survives death and is found in new conditions of existence.'[3] Except perhaps for the use of the term, soul, this remark, written sixty years ago, is still a fair summary of the popular attitude. What is ambiguous, what has now to be questioned in the light of the evidence which will be stated in this chapter, is the reference of the term, revolt. If it is conceived as a revolt against the teaching of the Burma Saṃgha, then the question arises whether there was, in fact, any ground or cause for such a revolt so far as a negative or positive emphasis is concerned. Monastic conceptions doubtless differed from popular conceptions. Nevertheless it would now appear that monastic interpretations in Burma left the way open to some kind of belief in personal survival in Nibbāna. In this respect, scholar and peasant were not so far apart. And if we go behind the Burmese Saṃgha and consult the Pali Canon, as it is being interpreted today in many quarters, there, too, we find ground for revised opinion: if there are passages of apparently negative import, expressed in negative terms, there are also other expositions of very different import.

[3] *Op. cit.*, chap. XIV, p. 106, footnote.

29: Slater M-4 (no date) 1951 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

Nihilistic interpreters there may have been, especially perhaps in the Sinhalese schools. But such interpreters do not seem to have figured largely among the members of the Burma Saṃgha. The idea, therefore, of a popular, buoyant faith persisting against the discouragement of ecclesiastical or philosophical interpretation has at least to be modified, if not abandoned, in regard to Burma. 779* 775* 182 184

Not that scholar and peasant thought alike. For the one pursued a difficult psychological analysis, and the other clung to pictures; the one conceived Nibbāna as a heavenly *condition*, the other thought of a heavenly *place*. This, if any, is the pertinent distinction. But it is not a distinction which breeds a conflict between a negative and positive outlook. In neither case is Nibbāna annihilation.

2. *Conclusions of previous investigators*

It is illuminating to glance at the conclusions arrived at by previous Western observers in this field, for such a review shows a gradual retreat from the first unqualified impression that Nibbāna, even in the popular view, signified annihilation. There may, of course, have been a change in the Burmese outlook itself, as missionaries of other faiths, especially the Christian faith, entered the country and the people became more subject to the influence, direct and indirect, of Western thought. I doubt, however, if this is the explanation, for Bishop Bigandet, as will be seen, was convinced that the popular view, at least, was not nihilistic and Bigandet made his inquiries long before the country was penetrated by missionaries. It is much more probable that growing knowledge and opportunity gave Western observers a better understanding of what had, in fact, been the true situation all along. 779* 775*

One of the first reports ever recorded for the information of the West was penned by a cultured and observant American woman who arrived in the port of Rangoon early in July, 1813 and immediately began the study of the Burmese language. This was Ann Judson, the wife of the famous Baptist missionary. In a letter written to a friend in England some years later, Mrs Judson gives a brief summary of the Buddhist faith as she discerned it. She had no doubt in her mind that Nibbāna signified annihilation.

"The Burmans are Boodhists or a nation of atheists. They believe that existence involves in itself the principles of misery and destruction; consequently, there is no Eternal God. The whole universe, they say, is only destruction and re-production. It therefore becomes a wise man to raise his desires above all things that exist, and aspire to *Nigban*, the state in which there is no existence. Rewards and punishments follow

29: Slater M-4 (no date) 1951 AP1 Burma
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think otherwise. Orthodoxy does not require it. The Buddha's teaching has been misunderstood. "They thought his ideal was Death, yet it was Life.... Only in Burma did the faith survive in somewhat of its early form."[24]

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In a report published in 1914, replies to a questionnaire from some thirty correspondents indicate, according to the editors, "that there are inconsistencies in the current views." Buddhists in the Shan States, the Burmese borderland "hold a two-fold conception of Nirvana, conceptions that are absolutely contradictory, and are admitted to be so. They may all say that Nirvana is complete extinction of being ... and that the place or state is mysterious and inexplicable, and with the same breath they may, and do, call Nirvana the City of Gold, the Country of Happiness and Peace, a Home unutterably surpassing any earthly home." Their Burmese cousins are in similar case. "Agnosticism is the only orthodox attitude" but few are satisfied with this attitude. Thus, while some correspondents report that in popular opinion Nirvana signifies extinction of all being, others agree with Mr Charles Duroiselle that the great mass of the people 'believe in a life to come after the Arhat's death.' Mr Duroiselle adds that some of the monks, too, share this view, though others state that Nirvana is complete extinction and most of them say that it is a mystery: no one knows what it really is.[25]

We have, then, a series of reports, covering a century, by Western residents in Burma who made a serious attempt to discover what their Burmese neighbours really thought about Nibbāna. They begin with the report that Nibbāna signifies annihilation. But it is interesting to note that as time goes on this impression is qualified; positive as well as negative conceptions are discovered; and it is emphasised that Nibbāna spells mystery. Finally, we have a statement which is described as contradictory, but which, perhaps, might be better described as paradoxical.

3. *Popular ideas of Nibbāna*

We have now to consider the question introduced at the beginning of this chapter: the relation between the popular conception of Nibbāna and the teaching of the Saṃgha. The observations we have been considering may seem to indicate a considerable divergence between the two. On the one hand we have a popular conception which is said to flout orthodoxy; on the other hand, there is the teaching of the monks which may be supposed to exalt orthodoxy.

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[24] *The Inward Light*, chap. XX, pp. 196, 198; cf. chap. XXII, pp. 219, 220.
[25] W. C. B. Purser and K. J. Saunders (editors), *Modern Buddhism in Burma*, pp. 48—50.

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Several consequent questions arise. How, for example, can we account for the persistence of this popular heresy, if indeed it be heresy, in view of the fact that the monastic Order is so influential? Heresies, it is true, flourish underground in every religion. But this 'heresy' is very much above ground. Are the monks themselves heretical, or the laity less heretical than they may appear to be?

Partial explanations will at once come to mind. Appeal may be made to the Buddhist emphasis on toleration, and further appeal may be made to the recognised distinction between what is expected of the layman and what is expected of the monk: the layman cannot be required to understand the truth which is only attained through monkish disciplines. These explanations are pertinent. But they are not sufficient.

The further explanation is to be found in certain undertones, certain basic tendencies, certain similarities of approach which influence monks and laity alike. These may be summed up and defined as the Agnostic Emphasis and the Ethical Emphasis. Making these emphases, though in different ways, learned bhikkus and simple villagers are in deeper, more effective sympathy than might be supposed if we merely isolate and regard their more explicit and divergent conceptions. In both cases, the resultant outlook is positive rather than negative. Hence the persistence of a lively popular faith which may seem at times to contradict its own basic dogmas.

In the following paragraphs, I shall select those results of my own inquiries which may elucidate this situation. I shall attempt to show how, in Burmese Buddhism, a fundamental agnosticism is derived in part from ethical considerations, and, secondly, how this agnosticism is associated with a positive faith, differently expressed but jointly affirmed by monk and layman, scholar and peasant.

The popular conception of Nibbāna will concern us first. But here there is need for discrimination. Whom have we in mind when we speak of this popular opinion? Burma is a country of villages, and we may conceive some very primitive peasant whose only concern is his rice field, his plough and his oxen. Over against such a simple peasant we may set the scholarly monk. But we must also bear in mind that large, intermediate class, already noted, which includes the more instructed layman and the less instructed monk.

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Nor should we exaggerate the simplicity of the Burmese villager. The Burmese may be a rural community, but they are also a civilised community, schooled and intelligent, very conscious of the difference between their conditions and the conditions of the surrounding, more primitive hill tribes. On the other hand, in seeking to estimate the popular opinion, we must be equally alert against the temptation to

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identify the majority of the people with the comparatively few sophisticated Burmans to be found in the larger towns. 775* 779* 182● 369

With this qualification in mind, we can agree with those observers who represent the popular conception of Nibbāna as a picture of some superheaven, some final sphère of complete happiness. We can also agree that they are right in distinguishing this conception from the ideas of the learned bhikkus. This is what must be said if the issue is pressed to the point of definition. But who exerts this pressure, who requires this definition, who is it that is bold to be explicit? Not the villager himself! It is the outside observer, the scholar impatient to complete his analysis. The villager himself is reserved and hesitant. He is far from attempting any explication. He is much too aware of the fact that for him Nibbāna is a distant prospect, wrapt in mystery. In a vague way he sees Nibbāna as the end of a chequered existence, the beginning of an entirely different and better life, in a vague way he may picture Nibbāna as he pictures the legendary heavens, but always in a vague way. He is never as explicit as the inquisitive inquirer wants him to be.

Nor is this hesitation solely characteristic of the more simple, more inarticulate villager. I recall a conversation with a Buddhist journalist. He was very clear and prompt in most of his answers to my questions. He distinguished lucidly, for example, between prayer and Buddhist meditation. He was convinced that Buddhism allowed no place for belief in God. He emphasised that Buddhists could not be said to believe in 'transmigration' since they rejected any 'soul' theory. But when it came to the question of Nibbāna, he paused. Nibbāna was not annihilation. On that he was clear. What *did* it mean then? Well, it might mean Life — life in contrast, perhaps, to 'mere existence' — but he added quickly that it was impossible to define. Nibbāna was a *mystery*.

This conversation was typical of many others I held with laymen. Typical, too, was the hesitation concerning Nibbāna. In one or two cases I was reminded that the Buddha himself did not consider the subject profitable. The scripture was maybe recalled: the complaint, for example, of the dissatisfied monk that the Buddha had left many questions unsettled, and the Buddha's reply: "Anyone who should say, 'I will not lead the religious life under Buddha until Buddha explains all these points' that man would die before Buddha had ever explained these points to him."[26]

The blind men and the elephant have often been quoted to me. Each blind man touched a different part of the elephant, and each one naturally came to a different conclusion. The man who felt the trunk said it 775* 779* 182

[26] *M.1.* 426.; cf. De La Vallée Poussin, *The Way to Nirvana*, pp. 128, 129.

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was a plough handle. He who felt the body was sure it was a granary. They wrangled about it and came to blows. In the scriptures, Buddha is said to have told the story to expose foolish teachers who argue beyond their knowledge.[27] My Burmese friends told the story to emphasise their own blindness. There are things beyond the ken of ordinary men, and a wise man recognises the fact.

Some ventured a simile, generally the simile of the dying flame, extinguished when the oil was exhausted in the lamp. It signified, they said, the end of *taṇhā* — the lusts and greed which distracted life now. (I do not recall that the translation 'Desire' was much used: there was greater emphasis on the heats and passions of life). Therefore life as we knew it now ceased to be. As to the life, the Nibbāna life which would follow, who could say? Comparisons from this present life were obviously misleading. Nibbāna was a mystery.

But it was never 'nothing.' I cannot recall a single Burmese friend who interpreted Nibbāna as annihilation.

To the simple villager, it has been said, Nibbāna is a super-heaven.[28] An ultimate heaven, a further Beyond, would perhaps be a better description, for it is doubtful whether many actually picture Nibbāna as *similar* to the heavens of imagination or legend. Sir George Scott's cautionary words bring us nearer the truth: "Buddhists have in their six heavens and twenty superior seats a choice of every kind of bliss, suited to every liking.... Yet all these ideal realms of phantasy ... have nothing to do with the state of Neh'ban.... The Buddhist system is much too logical to trouble itself with such incomprehensible problems, and in order to create no false impressions, the teachers surround the last state with the utmost possible uncertainty of expression."[29] By and large, the people follow this lead.

The agnostic emphasis in regard to Nibbāna, has, I am persuaded, penetrated the Burmese mind much more deeply than is sometimes supposed. And with it, closely joined, the ethical emphasis.

To supplement and confirm my own impressions, I have sought the aid of several correspondents. The reply of one of these, a widely travelled Hindu medical doctor, whose philanthropic work in the villages of Upper Burma has given him an intimate knowledge of village mentality, is illuminating: "About Neikban, ... though the Pali scriptural idea is the

[27] Udāna (v. Woodward, *The Minor Anthologus of the Buddhist Canon*, chap. VI, section 68).

[28] Prof. J. A. Stewart has drawn my attention to the significance of the Burmese proverb, *Hnit that ga ouga, pyaw ga Neikban*: What you like is ambrosia, where you are happy is Nibbāna.

[29] *The Burman*, Vol. I, chap. XI, p. 127.

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extinction of the 'ego', the people understand it differently .... The popular idea is that every successive birth is either better or worse according to one's actions in this present one, till finally, when one has led a 'perfect' life according to Buddhist precepts, one is not reborn more. When one attains Nibbāna, one's rebirth ceases, and one remains permanently in an exalted state." At first reading, this statement may seem neither more nor less illuminating than many similar summaries. But if it is closely examined it will be seen that it includes an *ethical reference* which is often missing in other summaries. It is the 'perfect life' which qualifies for Nibbāna — the quest for the perfect life through successive rebirths, through all the realms and all the intermediate heavens. Instead, then, of saying that Nibbāna is patterned after the imagery of these intermediate heavens, is it not a more discerning interpretation to say that the way through these heavens is patterned after the accepted Way to Nibbāna? The heavens of primitive belief and traditional legend remain. Buddhism has not displaced them. What Buddhism has done is to challenge more primitive conceptions of the way of life which spells progress through these heavens. It has brought into the heart of earlier imaginations an ethical reference.

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Now the average Burman is honest enough to admit that there is still a wide gulf between his accepted ethical ideal and his ethical practice. Not only is he still very far from perfection, but he is not as strongly disposed to seek it as he might be. Cynics, indeed, have remarked that many Burmans seem in no great hurry to attain Nibbāna. Few, perhaps, are as frank about it as the lively Queen Caw of Pagan who expressed her very qualified aspirations in the following dedicatory inscription:

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"Meantime, *before I reach Nirvāṇa* by virtue of this great work of merit I have done, may I prosper as a man.... More especially I would have a long life, freedom from disease, a lovely complexion, a pleasant voice and a beautiful figure. I would be the loved and honoured darling of every man and spirit. Gold, silver, rubies, corals, pearls and other lifeless treasure, elephants, horses and other living treasure — may I have lots of them.... Wherever I am born, may I be fulfilled with noble graces, charity, faith, piety, wisdom, etc., and not know one speck of misery; *and after I have tasted and enjoyed the happiness of men and the happiness of spirits*, when the noble law of deliverance called the fruit of Sanctity blossoms, may I at last attain the peaceful bliss of Nirvāṇa."[20]

The Burman is human, — as human as those Christians who have prayed, after the manner of the hesitant Augustine, "Give me chastity

[20] *A.S.* Burma, List of Inscriptions, no. 334; quoted Rey, *Theravāda Buddhism in Burma* chap. II, p. 165.

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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263 strongly-flavoured nga-pi, without which no Burman would consider his meal complete. Sometimes the big, fierce-stinging kā-gyin, a species of red ant, is used along with this fish paste, sometimes it is fried in oil by itself. As may be imagined, they have an acid and decidedly pungent flavour about them. Roasted turtle's and iguana's eggs, [828] dried fish, and fried ginger are gourmand's adjuncts. There is a particular objection to the smell of cookery, and when anything is fried in oil, or prepared so as to produce a strong savour, it is always done to leeward of the house, and where the fumes may not reach any other dwelling. Such smells 264 are believed to be very productive of fever. Nothing is ever 271 drunk at meals, but each one, when he has finished, goes to 273 the earthenware jar full of water which stands in a corner of the verandah, and rinses out his mouth. It is a lamentable fact that many Burmans in the low country now drink beer and spirits, but this is never done at meals nor in the house, where, indeed, the wife would not allow it. It is deplorable, because it is drinking for the sake of drinking, and is never done in moderation. The tippling Burman goes to the "toddy-shop" for his liquor, and he does not know when to stop. Brandy of the fiery description known to the British soldier as "fixed bayonets," or "chain-shot," is often drunk, but the usual tipple is "Old Tom." A particularly heady mixture of this with cheap beer is affected by confirmed [183] topers. It is contrary to the national religion, and it does not suit the national temperament.

276 After meals every one smokes—men, women, and children. Facetious people have declared that Burman babies blow a cloud while they are still at the breast. This is inaccurate. They never indulge till they are able to walk without needing the assistance of their hands, but their mothers give them whiffs long before that. The ordinary Burman cheroot is very mild and has really very little tobacco in it. The full-flavoured article to be seen occasionally in London shops is manufactured entirely for English residents. The se paw-leip, the cigar for home consumption, commonly known as the green cheroot, is very large, from six to eight inches long and about an inch in diameter at one end, tapering to slightly less at the other.

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But in Rangoon it has assumed in recent years a form which gives a great deal of offence to all the more serious people, and is especially condemned by the austere Sulagandis. Instead of having the offerings displayed in their houses and giving them to the yahans when they come round in the grey of the morning, the new fashion with the inhabitants of Rangoon is to carry all the alms to the monastery overnight, set them up in goodly array, there and then hold receptions, sing songs, dance, play musical instruments, and generally turn the quiet monastery into the semblance of an uproarious "penny gaff." This objectionable innovation has gradually arisen out of the practice of a few of the more pious old people who at the end of Lent used to go in the evenings with ahlu for the pyinsin, listen to some pious discourses, or the recitation of some sacred zāt, and then return betimes to bed. But now the frivolous find monks not less carnal-minded than themselves. Subscriptions are raised for weeks beforehand to make a grand display. One of the yahans is asked to grant the zayat near his house for the occasion. Some of the monks of the Thayet-daw kyaung in Godwin Road, which is the chief sinner in this respect, are even so shameless as actually to go touting about for people to take their zayats, or at times even part of the monastery itself.

Then at nightfall, on the full moon, the people begin to troop in. Those who have taken the management of the almsgiving are there before. We enter by one of the little wooden bridges, and come across a pya-that, a presentation spire, immediately, glittering bright in the moonlight and the glaring torches which are gathered thick farther on among the pôngyis' dwelling-places and the mango-trees from which the monastery takes its name. The spire has just been deposited, and the band has barely stopped the music which sounds so strange within the sacred parawun. But there is more coming that will be a far greater shock to up-country notions of religious propriety. The first place we come to is a zayat, and Maung Maung, the dispenser of hospitality, recognises us and calls us up. All his female friends are arranged in a row at the back, dressed in their finest, and before them, just as at the Tasaungmôn alms-

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feast, are heaped up piles of fruits, savoury curries, cakes, biscuits, and sweetmeats of all kinds, intended for the monks; while scattered about are great *repoussé* silver bowls full of sherbet, gold and silver cups, lamps, mirrors, and all the familiar adornments, fit enough for a private house, but singularly out of place where a gay piece of tapestry hung up barely conceals the image at the eastern side of the rest-house. Maung Maung offers us some lemonade, and we light cheroots, exchange a few compliments with the ladies, and pass on, just as a noisy half-dozen of young Englishmen from one of the mercantile houses come scrambling up the ladder-like steps. It would be well if these gentlemen would remember that each of the houses is to all intents and purposes a private assembly for the night, and that, though the host always welcomes them, he understands English, and does not by any means relish the mocking comments which are lavished on everything, and still less is inclined to approve of the criticisms passed on the ladies. But then there are so few Englishmen in Burma who understand the very shortest sentence in the language that they may be pardoned if they mistake for a promiscuous saturnalia what is nominally a religious ceremony. We leave them joking with Maung Maung and the hostess, as she offers them some beer—beer in a monastery! But then it is known that Englishmen will be there, and the Burman's notion is that an Englishman only leaves off drinking beer when he drinks brandy, so this last indignity is not objected to by the yahans.

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Farther on we come to the place we are specially in search of. The master of ceremonies here is our friend Maung Po Si, a Patama Byan, a certificated theologian and long resident in Mandalay, qualified, therefore, to be a yahan himself, and from his previous experiences, one would think, not at all likely to countenance such open contempt of the provisions of the Wini, which treatise his success in the above-mentioned "theological tripos" implies that he knows by heart. But "Mr. Grandfather Oil" is very emphatically in the world of kāma; he is far from having beaten down the passions, and his place is the most startlingly secular of them all. He has got the kyaung of a myizzi mati, a pôngyi who has been ten Lents in the Order, and

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ought therefore to scorn such desecration for any purpose whatever, and certainly should not be tempted by the offer of a feast for his palate. But the fact remains that not only has he given up the front part of his kyaung, all but the elevated dais on the eastern side, where the images stand and visitors are received, but there is actually a play going on, trumpets braying, drums beating, and the bamboo clappers sounding high over all. It is a zāt, a birth-story certainly, but that does not make it any less a sin for the pôngyi to be so near, and with all those thirty pretty girls looking on too. The monk is behind the curtain which shuts off the undesecrated part of the building, it is true, but he can hardly be asleep with all that music, surely, and it is a crime for a member of the Order to listen to music. Yet who is to condemn him to penance when the prior's house is very little better? In some of the kyaungs, indeed, the younger yahans take very little trouble to conceal the fact that they are looking through the chinks of the slight hangings which cut off their sleeping-places from the noisy throng on the other side. The Englishmen, when they come round, push aside the kalagas to see what is behind, stumble over the peeping postulants, and scare the conscience-stricken "ascetics" almost out of their senses, under the impression that it is a bilu who has been enabled to gain access, and is going to devour them incontinently. Nevertheless there is no check in the revelry. It goes on until far into the night, and increases in noise the later it gets. The liquor [273] which has been brought for expected visiting foreigners cannot be left behind in the kyaungs; they are not low enough for that yet. Consequently, the laymen must drink it. The result is that as time goes on there are quarrels and fights; and in this very Thayet-daw kyaung in the Thadingyut of 1879 a man was stabbed and died within the limits of the parawun. Little wonder that the strict Sulagandis are gaining over many of the more respectable inhabitants of Rangoon, for even this horror has not diminished the popularity of the wāgyut alms-feast.

The noise and hubbub go on till far into the morning, and when at last the people go, the monks may be supposed to have a little rest, for they can hardly have slept much

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before, however steadily they lay on their mats. The offerings are eaten next morning, and it is greatly to be feared that there are many abstentions from the morning's round of alms-begging. Such dissipation must scatter to the winds any merit acquired by diligent piety and meditation in the long weeks of Lent. It is only to be seen in Rangoon and a few other places where many foreigners congregate. The description is from the "country mouse" point of view.

In country towns, revels of this kind are never seen, and even in Mandalay, though there are festivities in abundance, the monasteries are never invaded in this scandalous way. The difference is that between the primitive Buddhist and the highly sophisticated latitudinarian. A more harmless and decidedly prettier custom is the illumination, called taungpyi pwè, of the pagodas and the town. In Rangoon a very fine effect is produced by hanging the Su Pagoda, in Fytche Square, all round with Chinese lanterns, from the base up to the top of the thabeit-hmauk, where the body of the shrine begins to narrow into the spire. The rings of coloured light narrowing upwards in a veritable pyramid of fire, produce one of the finest sights of the kind to be seen in the country. The street lamps, however, somewhat handicap the simple means of illumination open to the inhabitants, and to see the illumination of a town at its best one must go to a place where there are no street lamps. There all the pagodas and many of the private houses are lighted up, and the contrast to the ordinary gloom is startling. Candles are placed on posts at intervals of ten paces in every street, and the sè-eing gaungs have very plain-worded instructions as to what will happen to them if any of the lights in front of the ten houses of which they have charge go out. Mandalay Hill at such a time was a fine sight and still is, though it is no more a royal town. The two covered ways which lead up the steep uneven sides to the pagoda and the richly gilt Gautama on the top, look like streams of flame, or fiery serpents from the haunted nat-taung, under the shade of the Shan hills. But the monasteries which cluster close in to the foot of the sacred hill are all as dark and still as on any night in the middle of the Wā. No unseemly orgies are permitted there. In the town, on the

13: Khin Zaw I-5 (no date) 1940 AP1 Burma
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....Nowadays in certain localities of China, the performance of music has come to be looked down on as a menial and unscholarly vocation.... although this aversion is not universal in China, music has been intellectually neglected for a long time. As a result music has become unmusical in China. And this in turn has increased the contempt in which it is held by the educated classes. It is a vicious circle.".....

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I would not have allowed myself to be thus catapulted into the problem of the Burmese scale were it not so necessary to emphasise the very sharp line of demarcation between classical evidence and musical evidence. Too long have we taken shelter behind the façade of ancient Indian culture.

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With regard to the most important real evidence of the written records, what have we to rely on ? Only one MS in *parabeik* form—ရာလေခ *Naralèkha*. U San Win himself pointed out that no other Burmese work on Burmese music had ever been known to exist. Until one has seen that *parabeik* one would be foolish to talk about the Burmese scale with any conviction. The best that can be done is to proceed from the known to the unknown and talk of clues rather than discoveries.

If it were possible, a scientific survey of the principal Burmese musical instruments should establish the one Burmese scale which is common to the whole country, or rather to which all the scales all over the country approximate. Everything about us is approximate. Our tunes, having no notation, are always at variance. Western people talk of our lack of method. Yet.....

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" The elements of tone and rhythm have been combined and recombined, and have left the theory a tangled mass of forgotten systems and the practice an ineradicable instinct. The veneration for the past because of its remoteness, the mental attitude which looks away from the categories of time and space and turns its attention upon the essence of the thing itself, the faith which links the present closely with the time when the gods walked the earth and still points to the visible imprints of their feet—all these have united to personify every element of their music, and piously to preserve names and attitudes which have long lost their meaning; so that much of the theory is clear only to those who can read myth. Nor on the practical side has extemporization, as it is understood, been learned in a day, nor even in the life-time of any individual.....But it is age-long practice rather than memory which has placed at the command of the best singers that inexhaustible wealth of variation with which they make a melody their own, that gift of improvisation which takes on an epic quality, as all crafts do that are handed down from father to son. To walk on the Old Trunk Road is, it has been said, to step into a chapter of Genesis; and in the same way we catch, in these immemorial cadences, the very spirit of the rhapsodists of Homer. Their music is old, but with an age like the eternal youth of Greece, not with a second childhood like the stereotyped formulas of the Troubadours."[1]

1. Fox Strangways' Introduction to *Music of Hindostan*.

cloth, small enough to keep mosquitos out. The other kind was made of plain cloth to keep out the smallest insects. The nets are rectangular for a single bed, square for a double. They are suspended over the bed on a wooden framework and tucked under the mattress. Pathwe: three were used by the family and two kept in reserve. Each lasted 4 or 5 years. The reserve nets cost Rs. 60/- each, the others Rs. 40/- or 45/- each. Camp: one old one was brought from Pathwe, this is used by U Myaing and his wife. The rest of the family have none. Two are desired. 513 [435]

TA-BYET-SEE, broom: The hand broom is used to brush out dust and dirt from the floor of the house. It is about 2 feet long, 2 inches in diameter and consists of bent over bunches of stiff reeds bound at the top by a more flexible reed strip. The one used in camp cost 12 annas in Rangoon. 356 415

Burmese Concepts about the Home.

The following Burmese ideas about the home were secured mainly from Ko Maung Than, my research assistant. 342 183

The Burmese regard the KIN-YAR (home place) with great love, and as the most essential feature of life. The head of a family will frequently admonish: "My young ones let us remain with our nest intact and our eggs uncracked", this is also a common prayer. The ideal is to preserve the family home with necessary repairs in its original form. Wooden (teak) houses are preferred to bamboo. The husband and wife are partners in the ownership of the home which they start at marriage. Indeed, the word for "marriage" KIN-DAUNG-PYU (Home-separately-build) emphasizes the importance of building a home upon starting a family. In villages the mother and children spend almost all of their time in and around the home. Since the Burmese are especially sedentary, short journeys being unusual and infrequent events, the house is the spot where he lives and dies. It is furthermore his "castle" and place of security within which he is "ruler". [592] [591] [484]

Each house is under the direct protection of MIN MAHA-GIRI one of the 37 major nats of Burma. He controls the fortunes of the family and in return is revered. A coconut, the symbol of MIN- 342 776 782

Analysis of wearing a parel used by U Myaing's family.

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Fifty three items of wearing apparel and personal accoutrement were recorded. These are divided into three large catagories:

(1) Objects used in Pathwe but not in camp.
(2) Objects used in camp but not in Pathwe.
(3) Objects used in both localities.

Twenty nine items used in Pathwe were not used in camp. 55% of the Pathwe complex had been discontinued for a variety of reasons. The bulk of the objects were not replaced due to lack of funds. Many items such as umbrellas, towels, leather sandals were needed and desired. Some objects, such as men's jackets, headbands, silk longyis and associated underwear pants, men's bamboo hats, men's hair dressing comb, jewelry and parasols are recognized as luxury items. Both the ceremonial and social ocassions in which such luxuries assumed the proportions of necessities had diminished or disappeared so that the desire for them is no longer as strong. This is reflected in the statements that some of the luxuries were no longer desired (hair dressing) or that smaller quantities (silk longyis) would be adequate.

It is interesting to note that whereas both U Myaing and the ladies had the same number of items in Pathwe (26 respectively) - in camp U Myaing has only 7 items or 28% of the Pathwe complex. The ladies, however, have 16 items or 59% of the Pathwe complex. This data suggests that the women's standards are less flexible than the men's. In order to be respectable the women have to have certain items. Whereas, U Myaing's demand depends more on his immediate situation. If this is so, then it follows that the men's standard might expand more rapidly under opulent conditions - with sets of special socio-ceremonial garb (headband, silk longyi, jacket, jewelry including western items(Gillette razor, topee, western jackets and shirts).

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Only three objects were used in camp but not in Pathwe. The rubber-tyred wooden sandals are simply new varieties of an old form used in Pathwe - a cheap and popular urban form due to abundance of tyre-rubber following the war. The earrings with white stones and set of silver buttons are also substitute varieties, not innovations.

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on top of the head. Scented hair oil is used by both sexes on special occasions.

The HTAMEIN is regarded as "unworthy" for a man to touch. A severe insult is for a wife to request her husband to bring her HTAMEIN or to wash it. Drying HTAMEINS in the front of the house is never allowed; and it is strictly forbidden for this garment to touch any pongyi utensils. Parents instruct their boys never to pass under the strings of a line of which HTAMEINS are drying as such is thought to take away the masculine powers, and render the tattooed charms ineffective. Men and women's clothes are washed and stored separately.

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When a son neglects his mother after marriage she will complain with rage that he has not come out of the HTAMEIN and is under the HTAMEIN government of his wife.

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Women usually wear solid black HTAMEINS during menstruation. Boys, in jest, inform one of their companions that he may now become serious when the girl of his choice appears in a black dress for the first time.

Slippers of both sexes are regarded as "dirty" objects and are left outside of the houses. They are strictly prohibited in pagoda enclosures and land. When a girl is angry at a teasing boy (or quarreling with a woman) she will threaten to slap his face with her sandal. This is a double insult since the head is regarded as a particularly sacred part of the body. Barbers must ask permission and apologise for touching the heads of their customers.

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Western clothing has a higher status than Burmese clothing in certain situations and on certain occasions especially where western people are present in suits. However, for most occasions, everyday or special, the Burmese costume is preferred. When abroad the Burmese men usually wear western garb. The wearer of western clothes

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is often open to the taunt that he is "Bo Gyi (term for Englishmen) made in Burma". There is a strong feeling in all cases to be "properly" dressed and not to stand out from the rest of the group. This tendency is stronger in men than women who with their jewels and fine silks attempt to rival each other in a contest for social posi-

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tion. Burmese girl students who go abroad almost invariably wear their native costumes.

583 food and refreshment might be provided. After this the couple may
[178] put up either at the youth's home or the girl's home.
[185]

In modern times there have been very few cases of people from the villages getting properly married. In the past there used to be
[584] many marriages through the agency of match-makers, but now most people elope. U Myaing estimates that only about two couples in a hundred get married first. Daw Aw Zar also eloped with U Myaing's father. (U Myaing was not very sure of this and so called out the question to Daw Aw Zar, who replied "Hae-mathi-ber-bu"; "Hae - I don't know.") U Myaing and Ma Aye Myaing eloped, not because her parents would have raised any objections, but because it had become the usual thing to do. Out of all the marriages contracted by members of U Myaing's extended family (over 60 families), only seven were conducted with proper rites and ceremonies. These were the wealthy members of the family who had their status to consider.

584 U Myaing was in love with Ma Aye Myaing for a period extending two years prior to their elopement. He made a practice of visiting her house and of going with her to Pwes and entertainments, in the company of a large group of other people. Her parents never allowed her to go out alone with him. "That is the nature of parents - they will not allow that."

> "Of course there were occasions when we met, just the two of us; but that was more through accident than design. For instance, I used to meet her on the village street. There are men who ask for assignations from girls, but they are men who do not have consideration for the sisters of other men. I am not one of those. When we were ready to elope, I told Ma Aye Myaing that I was coming for her on such and such a night. Some daughters repeat this to their parents, "Mother, I am about to go along with him" and Ma Aye Myaing was one such. I also told my parents."

583 On the appointed night, at about nine or ten o'clock, U Myaing collected nine or ten of the beaus of the locality of help prevent any possible trouble on the part of the jealous suitors from the girl's village, made his way to Ma Aye Myaing's house and brought her along with him. An elopement is a joyous affair and U Myaing informs us that he used to often accompany friends when they went to elope with their girls. The girl is taken, either on foot, or by bullock cart if the distance is great, to the youth's village; and if they happen

511 increasingly cognizant.
178
722 Food: The relative quality of food has remained the same but
369 many expensive items have been discarded. Cheap foods when known previously have been elevated to importance in the camp diet but no previously unknown foods have been accepted - the new trifles which have become popular with the family are close enough in taste to the Pathwe trifles no longer available. Many foods which were secured free in Pathwe now cost money and have been discarded or reduced in quantity. The diet is reduced close to the essentials.

Social and ceremonial activities: The active life in which the family was involved in a small folk community has given way to life in an urban community where the major consideration is gaining a livelihood. But the new life is promising and exciting and retains the basic activities of the village.

Concluding Analysis

121 Some preliminary conclusions can be drawn from this particular set of circumstances; also the data suggests hypothesis of wider application to Burmese culture specifically and human societies generally.

●185 Nature of the case: The case is clearly one of reduction in standard of living where the pattern of living remains unbroken. As such, certain deductions concerning the flexibility of the pattern can be drawn. The general situation is a contraction where items were sloughed-off as the pattern approached a minimum situation. The extreme level beyond which the pattern would have broken and/or the family ceased to exist was not reached. Data on such cases would be most valuable in extending this study. For example, I heard of a case supposedly during the Japanese occupation where a girl became too poor to afford a longyi and had to use gunny-sacks for clothing. The story goes that this girl committed suicide. Also, during the war some families are reported to have been reduced to eating "only rice and ngapi" - apparently the irreducible condition. Data on families expanding economically would also be necessary to carry this type of study in the other direction. U Myaing's case gives data on the flexibility of the Burmese culture pattern under certain circumstances from a median point of average standard of living, to a point near the minimum standard.

183 The conditions under which this flexibility was observed were
369 those of a displaced family uprooted from a folk society and replanted in an refugee community within an urban society. As such the case

gives important data on the process of urbanising villagers - the country people are an important group in the growth of the Burmese section of Rangoon; probably a large section of the present refugee population will stay in the future. 183 369 [178]

The concepts of pattern of living and standard of living: The Burmese pattern of living, or any culture pattern, is a universe of beliefs and practices manifested in acts and artifacts. The analogy of the "Universe" is a useful one in that it recognises a guiding body of understandings that controls the whole of the society (like "laws" of Universe) while emphasising the particular understandings that govern the various groups or classes of the society (like the "laws" of the Solar and other systems within the Universe). The "solar systems" are the standard levels of operations forming a comprehensive set of forces within itself. Families, like U Myaing's have a mobility, in the case understudy a forced change, which takes them out of one standard system into another. The adjustments which they undergo reflects the "laws" which control the various standard levels as well as the basic concepts controlling the whole of the society. 121 183

Each belief and practice has a range of expressions which can be defined. The particular expression practiced by a family is the standard or level of a phenomenon capable of expansion or contraction within prescribed limits. The ultimate limits are defined by the total range of expressions for the culture as a whole. But the practical limits for a family are defined by the possibilities of the society segment (community) in which they find themselves. Thus, the range of U Myaing's possibilities of expression are much greater in Rangoon than they were in Pathus and greatly exceed his original ideas of what was possible. He may, for example, become a highly westernised political leader - although this seems unlikely in terms of his expectations. The westernised, urban spheres of Burmese culture is now opened to the family. [621] [369] [177]

U Myaing is motivated by the basic expectations of the Burmese culture at a level applicable to his situation in terms of the possibilities of his social environment. In Pathus, he was a fisherman and aspired to those things that fishermen should. In camp, he was at 181 565 555

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846 757 she is made to smell samôn-net, a plant (the *Nigella sativa*), which is put in an earthen pot, strongly heated, and then triturated into the shape of a ball. The odour is not exactly such as one would recognise as calculated to exhilarate any one, but probably after the hot bricks and the se sein everything else comes as a matter of detail. All this is done to drive out the noxious humours which are supposed to be generated by the birth of a child. On the seventh day the woman takes an elementary kind of Turkish bath. She sits over a large jar of boiling water, medicated with tamarind twigs and a few other kinds of leaves and grasses, with a blanket over her. After about an hour of this she has a cold bath, and is then free to do as she pleases. She usually goes to bed.

165 846 177·84 184 It might be supposed that under this treatment death in child-bearing would be very frequent, but as far as imperfect statistics can show the percentage is not much higher than in other countries. The result, however, appears in another way. A woman ages up ten or fifteen years for every child she has. It is satisfactory to notice that in all the larger towns in Lower Burma the more unpleasant features are fading away before the example and influence of women of other nationalities. In the jungle and in Upper Burma, however, ancient use and wont still prevail, and the young mother of fourteen or fifteen is shrivelled into thirty with her first baby.

845 If a woman gives birth to a still-born child, a piece of iron is placed in the cloth in which the body is wrapped, or in the coffin if there is one, and at the burial some member of the family says some such formula as "Never more return into thy mother's womb till this metal becomes soft as down."

If a married woman dies before bearing a child (alôn [775] hnin the-thi), a Cæsarean operation is performed, and the alôn is buried in some secret place. The reason alleged for this is, that were it not done, the husband in future existences would marry this woman again, and she would die in the same way. 845 754 Were the embryo not secretly buried it would be disinterred by hmaw-sayās, necromancers, and wizards, who would make evil uses of it. Children's cauls are as highly thought of by Burmans as they are by English

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Those born on Saturday have T, Ht, D, Dh, and N. The aspirated and unaspirated letters have to most Englishmen precisely the same sound, though a practised ear detects the difference immediately. Examples are:—Maung Ba Tu, Mr. Like His Father; Ma Ne Htun, Miss or Mrs. Sunshine; Maung Du Wun, Mr. Pole Star; Mi Nu, Miss Tender.

Those born on Thursday select from P, Hp, B, Hb, and M. For example:—U Po Mya, Old Grandfather Emerald; Maung Bo Gale, Mr. Little Officer; Ma Hmwe, Miss or Mrs. Fragrant; Mi Meit, Miss Affection.

Wednesday has L and W. Examples:—Maung Ho, Mr. Yonder; Ma Waing Hla, Miss or Mrs. All-Round Pretty; Ma Hein, Miss or Mrs. Growler.

From noon till midnight on Wednesday is represented as a special day, or, at any rate, under a special constellation called Yahu, and those born between those hours have the alternative of the two Y's, one of which is sounded R in Pali and by the Arakanese. Examples are:—Maung Yo, Mr. Honesty; Ma Yôn, Miss or Mrs. Rabbit, U Yauk, Old Individual. [194] [184]

Friday has Th and H. Examples:—Maung Than, Mr. Million; Maung Thet She, Mr. Long Life; Ma Thin, Miss or Mrs. Learned; Mè Thaw, (old) Mrs. Noisy.

A is the only letter assigned to Sunday, but the combination with it of the symbol of any other vowel changes it to the sound of that vowel. For example:—Maung Ôn, Mr. Cocoa-nut; Maung At Ni, Mr. Red Needle; Ma E, Miss Cold; Ma Eing Saung, Mrs. Housekeeper; U O, Old Pot.

A common popular belief is, that, according to the day of the week (or rather the constellation representing that day) on which a man is born, so will his character be. Thus a man's name discloses his probable characteristics to the superstitious. 828 551 787

A man born on Monday will be jealous; on Tuesday, honest; on Wednesday, short-tempered, but soon calm again, the characteristic being intensified under Yahu; on Thursday, mild; on Friday, talkative; on Saturday, hot-tempered and quarrelsome; on Sunday, parsimonious.

Not only has every day its special character and its fixed

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792 553 775 561 In recognition of this new-gained power the novice drops his secular name and receives a bwè, an honorific title, to mark that it is now open to him to escape from suffering. The name lapses when he returns to the world again, but it is sufficient that he has once borne it. He may now add to his kan, merit, and gain for himself a glorious new life by good works.

[198] This is what is meant by calling the ceremony a baptism. The bwè are almost invariably Pali, or Burmanised Pali names, and follow the same rules with regard to initial letters as the lu nāmé. Thus a Maung Po Myat, born on Thursday, might take the name of Pyinya-Zawta, while the bwè of a Sunday child, Maung An, would be Adesa. This religious or Buddhist (on the analogy of Christian) name is, of course, retained by the regular members of the monastery, and a monk is never addressed by any other when a name is used at all. When he becomes old a U is added, as U Adesa, but it must not be forgotten that [576] the use of a person's name in addressing him is considered very far from being polite in Burma, especially to one of rank and dignity such as a mendicant. On the other hand, one who has returned to the world never uses the bwè, not even when he accomplishes some great religious work such as the foundation of a pagoda, which according to a comforting belief ensures passage to Ne'ban after death.

The entry into the monastic order is therefore certainly the most important event in the life of a Burman, since only under the robe of the recluse and in the abandonment of the world can he completely fulfil the law and hope to find the way to eventual deliverance from the misery of ever-recur- [796] ring existences. The popular time for the ceremony is just at the beginning of Wā, the Buddhist Lent, which lasts from July to October, roughly speaking. Strict Buddhists make their sons stay throughout the whole Wā. During that season feasts, though they do occur, are very much discountenanced, and dramatic performances are energetically denounced by the religious.

792 561 184 177-84 According to the letter of the law the intending probationers should have reached the age of fifteen, but this regulation has almost entirely lapsed in Lower Burma, among other reasons chiefly because that is just the most

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important age for the boy to be learning English and arithmetic, with a view to getting situations under Government or in English merchants' offices. Therefore in the vast majority of cases shin-pyu thi takes place at the age of twelve, or perhaps even a year earlier. 792 561 184 177.84

If the boy has been a scholar in the monastery beforehand, he is sure to be already prepared in all that is required of him. If not, he gets a few hasty lessons in the duties that will be incumbent on him. He must address a full member of the order in such and such language; he must walk decorously through the streets, keeping his eyes fixed on the ground six feet before him, and on no account gaze round him, no matter what exciting events may be going on; he must wear his thingan and du-gut in the prescribed fashion; he must eat with dignity and circumspection, and so on. All these details are set forth in most minute fashion in a code. When he has mastered the most essential portions, and has also given proof of an acquaintance with the ordinary forms of worship, all is ready. His horoscope now comes into requisition, and a bedinsayā or Ponna is called in to determine a lucky day and hour from the sadā. When this has been settled, three or four girls, the intending koyin-gale's sisters, or friends of the family, dress themselves up in their finest silks and jewels—often borrowing a large quantity of the latter—and go round the town, announcing to all relatives, friends, and neighbours when the induction will take place, and inviting them to the feast, presenting the little packet of le'-pet usual on such occasions. Almost all of these send some little present, either of money or victuals, to aid in the feast and make it as grand as possible. Not unseldom, if somebody else's son is also going to enter the kyaung and the town is not very large, the two join forces, while occasionally as many as half a dozen unite, especially if the families are not well off. 792 872 [516] [292] 792 561 [787] 796 [292]

On the appointed day the young neophyte dresses in his finest clothes, and loads himself with all the family gold chains and jewellery, and as much more as he can borrow for the occasion. He then mounts a pony or gets into a richly decorated car. Shaded by gold umbrellas, allowed formerly on this occasion only in Upper Burma, except to those who had got a special patent for them from the sovereign... [292] [554]

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kyaungs has led to very imperfect and limited knowledge of these treasuries of sacred knowledge. Formerly it used to be said that the man who did not know the Thadda, the Pali "grammar," knew nothing. If this position were insisted on now, the number of ignorant people in Lower Burma would be somewhat startling. 792 871 [177·87] [184]

But there are many difficulties before you get to the Abidhamma and its cognate subjects. Even in the Payeit Gyi there is a section called Ta-zet, or Ta-zet-thut, which has the credit of sending many a probationer back to the noisy, sinful world. According to the couplet—

> Shin pyet ta-zet,
> Loo pyet a-yet.
>
> Brandy sends a man to hell;
> Ta-zet spoils the saint as well.

It is a sort of religious *Pons Asinorum.*

Besides prosecuting his religious studies, the shin is required also to attend on the pon-gyis and minister to their wants. He must lay before them at fixed times their daily food, the proper supply of water, the well-used betel-box, and whatever else the monk may require. He must of course go round every morning with the other members of the monastery, the begging-bowl strapped round his neck, accepting meekly, without word of thanks, or glance thrown to the right or left, even when he passes his father's house, the food poured in by the pious. When a pon-gyi goes abroad the neophyte may be required to follow, carrying his fan or umbrella, or perhaps an arm-load of palm-leaf books, if a function is to be performed anywhere. According to the strict letter of the law the ko-yin ought to eat only of the food presented in the morning, but a very great laxity has crept in in this respect, not only with the neophytes, but even among the professed members of the order. It is no uncommon thing for the parents of the youth to send in daily a special meal for him, or even, in the case of wealthy families, actually to keep a cook on the monastic premises to prepare his food. Such sybaritism is not by any means uncommon in Lower Burma, though even there hardly approved of. In any good monastery in Upper Burma, or 792 735 177·79 [184]

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a monk is liable to commit. The ninth refers to the common Oriental dislike to any person of insufficient dignity occupying an elevated place physically above worthier people. 779 792

So far, then, the shin is not very grievously burdened in the monastery. But the discipline maintained is very strict. None of the ko-yins or of the boarder-pupils must be out of the monastic limits after the bell has rung. A lay scholar may get permission from the kyaung po-go to sleep at home now and again, but this indulgence is naturally impossible to the neophyte; he must always stay in the monastery. Again, the boarders may run home in the afternoon to get some dinner at their parents' houses, but this the shin cannot do. Breaches of the rules are very severely punished. The culprit's hands are tied high above his head to a post, and the castigator lays on vigorously on the naked back with a stout bamboo. Cases of deliberate cruelty of course occasionally happen, for human nature is the same everywhere, and a Dotheboys Hall is not an entire figment; but they are rare, and on the whole the shin is happy in the monastery, and occasionally in later life looks back with regret to the old, quiet, unruffled, careless life of the pon-gyi kyaung. 792 861

In Upper Burma it has actually been his school, for but very few adopt the system of having private teachers to instruct their children; and in Lower Burma it probably contrasts favourably with the uncomfortable hard benches and desks of the English institution, and the still more irksome quietness demanded, and steady, prolonged application exacted by the English teacher. Those who have been to both remember most fondly the long dusky monastery schoolroom, where they sat on the floor and shouted out their lessons, and now and again slipped out into the air to take the stiffness out of their limbs with a quarter of an hour at chin lôn, Burmese football. In the English school you learned to make money; in the Burmese school you learned to be happy and contented. 792 871 184 ● 177.87

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entirely dispensed with. If the parents of both houses are agreeable, the contracting parties get married with most ardent lover-like rapidity. The age, too, has become very much younger. Most lads get married when they are eighteen or nineteen; thirteen or fourteen is a common age for the girls. Runaway marriages are common enough, and though the parents may be angry, they are usually too easy-going and indolent to take any energetic action in the matter, and let the couple find out their mistake and come and ask for pardon and a house to live in, which is seldom refused. Occasionally in Lower Burma a stern father demands that they shall be separated until the lad has got a situation for himself, but this is ordinarily little more than a mere form of speech. In Upper Burma, where food is scarce and working hands more valuable, the husband is brought to the girl's parents' house and made to do his share towards supporting the household.

The preliminary courting is naturally conducted in the old fashion, best known to those who have had experience of their own in such matters. The parties meet at pwès, the girl perhaps selling cheroots, fried garlic, le'pet, and what not, and therefore being readily accessible to any swain. It must not be supposed that keeping a stall is regarded as anything derogatory. Numbers of perfectly well-to-do women set them up regularly; some even have daily work in the bazaars, and very often a girl commences occupations of the kind with the view of attracting the young men and securing a husband. Then there are meetings at pagoda feasts, in the zayats and at friends' houses, so that there are plenty of chances of introduction to eligible swains, even without calling in the assistance of the aungthwè. This functionary makes it a regular occupation to know all the attractions, physical and sordid, of all the young women in the place, and for a small consideration, or sometimes merely for love of his trade, brings young couples together and arranges places of meeting for them. He is, of course, most useful where an impecunious youth aspires to the hand of a rich merchant's or high official's daughter. He manages an introduction in a roundabout way to avoid arousing suspicions, praises his client's appearance and

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down the river in the big rice-boat to one of the great milling towns. And so an uneventful life passes away: the greatest ambition to see the village boat successful at the Thadingyut races, and the village champion cock or buffalo triumphant over all others; the greatest desire to live peaceably with all men and observe the Ten Precepts; the greatest excitement the occasional visit of the English district officer, or the suspicion of a witch in that lonely house down by the spirit's pool on the creek. In Upper Burma formerly this quiet was more apt to be disturbed by the summoning of levies to serve in some special raid against audacious dacoits, or to make a demonstration against reiving mountaineers. If the myo-wun was a pious man, calls for enforced labour at digging tanks, building pagodas and monasteries, rest-houses and tazaungs, were likely to keep the villager a great deal more occupied than he cared for. There can be no doubt in any patriotic Burman's mind that the state of the people, regularly taxed though they be, under British rule, is infinitely happier than it was under their king, and all but the officials and their hangers-on longed for the day when the English flag was to float over all the land as far as Mogaung. There could be no hope for the country, where, even under a kindly king like Mindôn, ill-conditioned governors oppressed the populace with absolute impunity. Complaints were made, but his majesty could not venture to leave his palace for any great distance to inquire for himself, and gold easily dulled the senses of the highest minister round the golden throne. It is little wonder then that the people, kept perpetually in the lowest depths of poverty, were, if not actually dying out, certainly not increasing in numbers. There was nothing which so much indicated the popular feeling, and at the same time so irritated the Burmese Government, as the unceasing stream of emigrants to Lower Burma.

Be 181 184 674 653 Ba 177 668 661 Be 181 731

Nevertheless, even in Independent territory the Burman preserved his light heart and buoyant disposition. No calamity is so overwhelming as to make him despond. Some years ago a large fire occurred in Mandalay, and spread with such terrible rapidity that the inhabitants of a whole quarter were unable to save anything but the clothes they

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balls of opium. These vagaries are, however, frequently winked at, for a copyist who can write neatly and with accuracy is far from being common. 212

The Thiho Taik library is a model in its way. It is nearly the best monastic collection in Mandalay, and is certainly far better arranged than any other. The sadaiks, or manuscript boxes, are arranged in three rows, one over the other; the thôts and zāts—the sermons and birth-stories—of the Lord Buddha below; above them the Cinghalese commentaries and exegeses; and on the top shelf Burmese translations and the explanations of various learned sadaws. Each chest contains a large number of different books, every separate collection of leaves being enclosed between wooden boards, some plain, some carved in high relief, with figures of dêwas and demons. Round this is wrapped a kabalwè, a square piece of cloth with inwoven scenes from the sacred books, or portions of the Law, and the formulæ used at the pagoda. Most of these are of silk, very often with narrow slips of bamboo worked in so as to give stiffness to the whole. Instead of this, or sometimes in addition, is used the sā-si-gyo, a riband, about two fingers' breadth, and upwards of a yard in length. This is knitted or crocheted in a peculiarly close fashion, which puzzles English ladies. On it is worked the name of the owner, his titles and distinctions, and whatever other aspirations he chooses to add. They are very neat, and quite easy to read, an advantage which does not always characterise Berlin wool work. The king's grants of forest land, monopolies, and the like, were usually executed in this way. 792 217 [212] [531]

All the boxes are kept carefully locked, and the door is barred at night, for such a library represents years of labour, and could only with the greatest difficulty be replaced. It is only in Mandalay that libraries of any value are to be found. In Lower Burma the majority of the kyaungs do not even possess a complete copy of the three parts of the Bitaghat, the Buddhist Bible, and some few have nothing beyond a copy of the Kammawāsā, and perhaps a Malla Lingaya Wuttu, a life of the Lord Buddha, or something of the kind. Many others have, no doubt, valuable collections, but the monks are ignorant, they cannot read the books [184]

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at the top of the hti is the seinbu, the diamond-bud, which in not a few poor districts is represented by a soda-water bottle, which combines the resemblance to a flower-bud with the good offices of a lightning conductor. The hnget-pyaw-bu is usually surrounded with lavish adornment of the sacred lotus. The payās that rise up into a plain cone or spire are therefore the nearest to the original tumulus, the top being simply drawn out into a conical point. On the other hand, the bell-like pagodas are only a direct imitation of the lotus-bud, and this has led to the more rounded dome-like forms, sometimes called thabeit hmauk, the inverted begging-pot. This term, however, is applied to the swelling-out round part on every pagoda, and has thence been borrowed to designate special shrines. It has nothing to do with phallic worship as some have imagined, nor is there any idea of the resemblance to a human skull. Such grim reminders of mortality common in Thibetan Buddhism do not commend themselves to the Burman.

The buildings are all made of crumbling, sun-dried brick, for it is enough to gratify the pious feeling of the moment, and even the long years that the most solidly built stone edifices might last would only be as an evanescent drop in the stream of eternity. Thus the Burman sees no harm in building pagodas of sand, or even cloth and pasteboard, and in the national annals the victory which false shrines won over more substantial erections is a favourite theme. In Lower Burma, the payās are mostly of the simplest pattern, derived from the archetypal rice-heap and the lotus-bud. They are solid pyramidal cones, rising with a gradually diminishing rounded outline, and surmounted by a hti, or "umbrella" spire, a construction resembling the musical instrument called a *chapeau chinois*, formed of concentric rings, lessening to a rod with a small vane called hnget-ma-nā on the top. They are almost without exception erected on more or less elevated platforms. Burma is quite different from other Buddhist countries, where the relics are exhibited on great feast days. The payā is perfectly solid with the exception of the tāpana talk, situated directly under the spire and the hti, and

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346 184 there is no means of entering this to view the sacred relics. The addition of spires and the elaboration of the central pyramid are later thoughts, and give hints of the great architectural efforts to be seen in Upper Burma. The peaks of Mount Myinmo are said to have furnished the first notion. In some cases, as at the Shwe San-daw of Prome, the central spire is surrounded at its base by a circle of small gilded temples or zediyan, forming a continuous wall round the pagoda, each containing an image of the Buddha, and suggesting the idea of the Setyawala hills round the world-girding Thamôddaya sea. In almost all the larger payās there are arched wings on each face of the lower platform, serving, as it were, as ante-chapels, and each containing a large Gautama. It is obvious how easily the introduction of these niche chapels led to the halls and aisles of the Pagān temples. Still this elaboration remains only a sign of architectural genius, and not of greater sanctity, for in every case the building itself serves only as a meet place for meditation and praise in thought or words. The great temples of Pagān, with their galleries, transepts, and corridors, have more of the character of churches in the ordinary acceptation of the word, and the Ananda above all, with its echoing vaults and dim religious light, reminds one especially of some great cathedral of the Middle Ages. But the outward magnificence of the Pagān temples does not win for them the reverence which is shown to vastly plainer bell pagodas.

346 Of all the shrines, the Shwe Dagôn Payā, the great pagoda of Rangoon and the most venerable place of worship in all the Indo-Chinese countries, is the finest and the most universally visited. Its peculiar sanctity is due to the fact that it is the only payā, known to Buddhists, which contains actual relics, not only of Shin Gautama, but of the three Budhs who preceded him in this world. In the tāpana taik of the pagoda, along with eight hairs from the head of the Buddha, in the eleventh andrakap of whose cycle we are now living, there exist the ye-thauk-palā, the drinking-cup of Kaukkathan; the tLengan or robe of Gawnagông; and the taungwe or staff of Kathapa. Little wonder then that the glittering gold spire on the last spur of the

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Down the river there are hundreds of others of every variety and degree of decoration. There is the Naga Yôn Payā, the whole building wrought into the form of a dragon; the huge round-domed Kaung-hmu-daw, and the "king's victory pagoda" at Sagaing, the "golden cock-scratching," on the other side, commemorating a favourite legend of the boundless charity of the Budh. There are glistening white pinnacles, or flashing gold spires, far up the Sagaing hills, with thousands of steps wending wearily up over the steep, rough hill-side, and gazing up to them from the Amarapoora side are great massy temples, frowning over the river with all the stern solidity of a knightly hold. Each has its legend, some tale of bloodshed or piety, some event in Burmese history, or birth-story of the Buddha. 778

Most renowned, however, for its pagodas is Pagān, in many respects the most remarkable religious city in the world. Jerusalem, Rome, Kieff, Benares, none of them can boast the multitude of temples, and the lavishness of design and ornament that make marvellous the deserted capital on the Irrawaddy. Deserted it practically is, for the few flimsy huts that stand by the river are inhabited only by pagoda slaves and men condemned to perpetual beggary. For eight miles along the river-bank and extending to a depth of two miles inland, the whole space is thickly studded with pagodas of all sizes and shapes, and the very ground is so thickly covered with crumbling remnants of vanished shrines, that according to the popular saying you cannot move foot or hand without touching a sacred thing. Some of the zedis are all but perfect. Restored by the pious, they stand out glistening snow-white, only to render more striking the hoary, weather-beaten ruins of their less-cared-for neighbours. Here the bell-shaped, solid pyramid of Lower Burma is rarely seen. The religious structures fully merit the word temple as understood in ordinary language. To quote Yule, who gives a detailed account of the principal shrines in his *Mission to Ava*, there are all kinds: "The bell-shaped pyramid of dead brickwork in all its varieties; the same raised over a square or octagonal cell, containing an image of the Buddha; the bluff, knob-like dome of the Ceylon Dagobats, with the square cap which seems to have characterised

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2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4
Upper Burma
Lower Burma

it is perpetuated by a curious notion that though a man may present all three kinds of images, he must do so in a special order: the standing first, then the sitting, and last the lying down. As many as one pleases of one style may be presented, but you must not reverse the order: one dare not go backwards. The vast majority of images represent the master in a cross-legged attitude, in which he attained the Buddhaship, seated under the bawdi tree. This sitting figure is called Tinmyinkwé. The left hand lies palm upwards in the lap; the right hangs over the knee. The ears reach to the shoulder, and the face is calm and passionless. On the top of the head is a little knob or point. This is called the mani-daw, and represents the hair which Prince Theiddat cut off with his sword when he first put on the yellow robe. It was left a quarter of an inch long, and never grew again. In attaining to the supreme wisdom, the Prince attained to the Ne'ban, or annihilation of the passions. 778

Less common are the Shinbinthalyaung, the recumbent figures representing the Budh as he died and attained to the Ne'ban of earthly existence, reclining between the two sāl-trees. He lies on his right side, and is often represented with numbers of his lamenting disciples ranged around the couch. To these are not uncommonly added circles of the kings of the earth and the heavens, bilus, galôns, nats, yek-kathas, and a variety of other creatures. The figures of the latter often display some artistic skill in the modelling and the expression of the features, which it is impossible to show in the placid countenance of the teacher himself. The Shinbinthalyaung very often have the emblems of the Shwe-zet-daw carved on the soles of the feet.

Finally there is the Mat-tat-kodaw, or erect image, also called Mat-yat-daw, where the master is represented in the attitude of preaching, the right hand elevated, but still with the same calm, unmoved visage. These Mat-yat-daw are usually very large, and are far more common in the temples of Upper Burma than in the bell-pagodas of the low country. They are often Sapupati Payā, representing the Budh as a king with crown on head and the royal wings on arms and thighs. They are usually very large, like the recumbent figure. The standing figures in the Ananda at Pagān must [184]

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4
Upper Burma
Lower Burma

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be over forty feet in height, and form a very impressive sight. Light sufficient to illuminate the whole figure cannot be admitted at the comparatively low gateways of the shrine. Cunning architects have therefore cut slits far up in the chapel roof, and a narrow stream of light falls full on the gilded face of the Buddha. The effect is most solemn and awe-inspiring. The devotee passes through long dim corridors, where his foot falls soft on the mouldy pavement, and the smell is as of a charnel-house, and there is silence throughout the whole vast temple, broken fitfully by the eerie chant of a fellow-worshipper far away through the passages, and suddenly he comes on the chapel and sees before him the sad tranquil face, with a glory shed over it, and the hand stretched out as if in warning or benediction. One can then understand how it is that many of the ignorant and uninstructed do actually worship the Gautama as if it were an idol, and the Englishman involuntarily takes off his hat as he enters the sanctuary.

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The statues in the great lonely fanes at Pagān are certainly far more impressive than those in the smaller but more gaily-decked-out niche-shrines of the solid pyramidal pagodas of Lower Burma. The four great Mat-yat-daw in the Ananda Payā represent the four great Buddhas of this world-cycle. Kauk-kathan, as the first law-giver, is placed in the east; Gawnagông in the southern image chamber; Kathapa to the west, and the Buddha of the present religious period in the northern shrine. Kauk-kathan is made of the sweet-scented dantagu tree; Gawnagông of jasmine wood; Kathapa of brass, and Gautama of fir; but they have all been covered with plaster and gilt, and the material of which they are made is only known by tradition. An especially favourite figure to represent standing is Dibinkāya Payā, the fourth of the twenty-eight Buddhas whose names are recorded as appearing in successively destroyed worlds. It was this Buddha, the "Light-bringer," who first announced to Shin Gautama that he, then a fervent yahan, would hereafter, after many worlds, attain the supreme wisdom.

The temples of Pagān and other places in the upper territory are built specially for the reception of great images, and as the public zeal is concentrated on these, there are

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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Upper Burma
Lower Burma

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comparatively few surplus figures, and these mostly scattered along the sides of the dim corridors. In Lower Burma, however, where the sacred buildings are more particularly relic shrines, the images are more of an adjunct to the payā, and there is a most extraordinary multiplication of them. In each of the four image chambers round the base of the pagoda, besides the chief figure there are numbers of other Buddhas of all sizes, and these overflow into dozens of tazaungs, or image houses, all round about the central payā. This reserve stock is due to the unceasing desire for kutho. If a man cannot build a pagoda, or has not money enough to erect a monastery or a rest-house, there is at any rate no one so poor but he can gain merit by dedicating a Gautama; and so images of brass and marble, plaster and wood, and sun-dried clay, flow in a never-ending stream to the great district shrines. There has long ceased to be any room for them except in the image-houses, and there they remain, seldom visited by any but the very religious, and gradually becoming grimed and mouldy with age, notwithstanding the Yéthonpwè, at the new year, when the women come and wash them down. It is a maxim that devotions may and ought to be repeated before every image, but it is not often that a worshipper is seen in the tazaungs, and the offerings of candles and incense sticks, flowers and pauk-pauk san-pan (pop-corn), are few and far between. Nevertheless the houses are crammed with figures of all sizes, from huge ten feet high Sagaing marbles down to little clay painted and gilt specimens that you can put in your pocket, and that idolatry-detesting Britishers often do so serve and afterwards exhibit as having actually "been worshipped." Big and small, they are crowded together as close as they can be, the small ones reposing in the hand or the lap, or round about the sides of their bigger facsimiles. Sometimes, as is the case in a great long building at the Kyaik-than-lan Payā at Maulmein, the centre is occupied by a gigantic recumbent figure, the tinmyinkwe being placed in orderly array all round the sides facing the central dying Budh. Sometimes the figures stand side by side on steps rising one above the other with a small open space in the middle. The halls are always quite full, the most recently

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

CHAPTER XXII

NATS AND SPIRIT-WORSHIP

NOTWITHSTANDING that Buddhism has been the established 771
religion in Burma since shortly after the third great council 776
at Patalipootra in 241 B.C. (283 of the sacred era), and that 782
the purest form of the faith exists, and is firmly believed [184]
in, yet, throughout the whole Ashe Pyi (the Eastern country), both in Upper and Lower Burma, the old geniolatry still retains a firm hold on the minds of the people. Missionaries say that it is a natural revolting of the human mind against the denial of the existence of a Supreme Being, superior to man, and controlling his destiny. Government officers assert that the retention of the prior religion (for it is undoubtedly a kind of second religion) is due to the fact that surrounding, and scattered about amongst the Buddhist Burmans, are numerous tribes—Karens, Kachins, and others—who have no form of belief but nat-worship, the reverencing of the spirits of nature. As a simple matter of fact, it is undeniable that the propitiating of the nats is a question of daily concern to the lower class Burman, while the worship at the pagoda is only thought of once a week. For the nat may prove destructive and hostile at any time, whereas the acquisition of kutho at the pagoda is a thing which may be set about in a business-like way, and at proper and convenient seasons. It is just the difference between avoiding a motor car and avoiding the circular saw in a timber mill.

Before proceeding further, it will be well to discuss the 776
word "nat" itself. General Phayre and Bishop Bigandet did not finally settle whether Nat is derived from the Sanskrit term nath, meaning "master, husband, lord," or not. The

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Burmese AP4

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belief, do not regard them otherwise than as malevolent beings who must be looked up to with fear, and propitiated by regular offerings. They do not want to have anything to do with the nats; all they seek is to be let alone. The bamboo pipes of spirit, the bones of sacrificial animals, the hatchets, swords, spears, bows and arrows that line the way to a Kachin village, are placed there not with the idea of attracting the spirits, but of preventing them from coming right among the houses in search of their requirements. If they want to drink, the rice spirit has been poured out, and the bamboo stoup is there in evidence of the libation; the blood-stained skulls of oxen, pigs, and the feathers of fowls show that there has been no stint of meat-offerings; should the nats wax quarrelsome, and wish to fight, there are the axes and dahs with which to commence the fray. Only let them be grateful, and leave their trembling worshippers in peace and quietness. For the Karen all nature is filled with nats, every tree and stone and pool and breath of air has its spirit. The dead are only separated from the living by a thin white veil, through which, however, none but the gifted can see and venture to speak to them in words. So the Caffres leave an open space in their line of battle that there may be room for the spirits of dead heroes to join in the conflict and fight on their behalf.

The Burmans are naturally not so wholesale nor so demonstrative in their recognition of the existence of spirits. The yahans would not endure it, and Buddhism has at any rate a somewhat softening and reassuring power. Nevertheless evidences of the fact of the belief are universal and not to be mistaken, in all parts of the country, whether among the Government school educated youth, or among the bumpkins, who follow the plough, and crush the clods, and know the jungle better than anything else upon earth. At the extremity of every village, the Ywasôn, there is a nat-sin, a shrine for the nat or nats of the neighbourhood. This varies very much in size and character. Sometimes it is a mere bamboo cage, hung in a pipul or other tree, or slung on a post, a bird-cage kind of construction, with an image inside, and a little hole through which the superstitious can introduce their offerings, tiny water-pots, oil-lamps,

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2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

CHAPTER XXIII

RICE CULTIVATION

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A GROWING number of millions of acres are under cultivation in Lower Burma, and of this total all but some three hundred thousand acres are devoted to the planting of rice. Tobacco, sugar-cane, cotton, and oil-seeds of different kinds, as well as fruit-trees, form the other crops. Upper Burma has a greater number of crops, and the proportion of rice is far from being so overwhelming, though almost everywhere it is the chief crop. The alluvial lands of the Irrawaddy delta produce by far the greatest quantity of rice. It is certain that the best quality grain comes at present from this part of the country, but this may be due to more practised agricultural skill or long-continued tilling of the land. Hardly any possible number of crops in a season could apparently exhaust the fertility of the soil. Any part of the country, however, may be used for the cultivation of rice. The laziest farm is a swamp-land, where the ordinary rainfall is sufficient to produce the sodden ground requisite for a rice crop. Such low-lying plains and the riparian lands, annually flooded by the overflow of the river, are naturally best suited to Burmese indolence and are earliest taken up. Farther up the country, where the rain runs off the surface quickly and the land is too high for the south-west monsoon floods, it is necessary to resort to irrigation, either by the obvious method of dams or by ingenious water-wheels. Finally, there is the laborious taung-ya cultivation, where whole hillsides are cleared of trees to produce a crop. This hard work is left to mild aboriginal or other tribes, whom the Burman has long ago bullied out of the fat lowlands.

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

tribute must be as gratifying as the loudest stamping of feet and whistling on fingers of a London theatre. In fact a Burman might perhaps be justified in doubting the enthusiasm and admiration which finds vent in whistling. 536

The acting as a whole cannot be said to be satisfactory. The circumstances are against it. Who could "lose himself in his part" in the centre of a crowd of people all smoking and often talking? Moreover the subjects treated are so romantic and remote from ordinary worldly events that no one can be expected to realise them. Finally, who could keep it up for ten hours at a stretch? Nevertheless, individual passages are occasionally wonderfully well done. The piteous wailings and desolation of the princess; the majesty of the king; the grim savagery of the demon, are often very effectively delineated, while the clowns are almost invariably exceedingly clever. They are chosen for their ready wit, many of the jokes being extempore, as well as for their power of facial contortion. Caricatures of the performances of the other actors and comic songs form their chief stock-in-trade, and the text of the play is very far from being adhered to. It is an undoubted fact, if scarcely complimentary, that the clown has much more to do in the play and is very much broader in his jokes when Englishmen are present than when there is a purely national audience. The prolongation of the comic parts is due to a courteous desire to please the visitors, buffooneries being much more readily understood than high dramatic art, while the coarseness is unfortunately due to the same impression which makes a Burman always produce brandy and beer for the refreshment of a white man, the idea namely that that is what he likes best. None of the higher class troupes, more especially those from Upper Burma, will, however, condescend to this sort of thing. 522 522 186

The company formerly was always made up in Mandalay, or said it was. There are other troupes, but it is usually taken for granted that they cannot be better than second-rate. The delta Burman is firmly persuaded that "far birds have fair feathers." In their humble phraseology they say, "In the Low Country we are not up in the humanities." This is not exactly complimentary to longer 536 184 177

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

536 ●184 177 English rule and civilisation, but in one sense it is true. In Upper Burma every one is taught in the monasteries, and having no other relief from Pali doxologies, becomes saturated with the phraseology and ideas of the zāts. Thus, from the theatrical point of view, the Mandalay youth starts with a distinct advantage over the Lower Burman who potters away in lay and elementary Government schools over addition and multiplication and the sterilities of the First Reader. To qualify for the first ranks, therefore, the ambitious Peguer starts for the Royal City of Gems, practises as much as he can there, and watches the most celebrated players. Then, after a time, he obtains an engagement, and turns up in Rangoon as a quasi anya tha. The stage managers, usually old actors who have made some money and are inclined to take their ease, go up to Mandalay during the rains, when comparatively little is doing, the wet, combined with the four months of Lent, making pwès few and far between. There they cast about and get together a company, entering into a written engagement with the actors, male and female, for the season, which lasts about seven months, from Ta'saungmôn to Nayôn (roughly, November to May). The manager makes all arrangements, and usually takes up his headquarters in some town or large village whence he can easily move to the surrounding places where the company may be wanted. The salaries paid are very good. A first-class prince or princess commands from 800 to 1000 rupees for the season. A good lubyet, or jester, will get five or six hundred. After these come the actors who take such parts as the king or the maids of honour. The dancers, that is to say, those who simply dance and do no more, get about sixty rupees; the saingthama, the musicians, receive forty. The company have not more than two or three rehearsals together before they commence their tour, but this does not matter much, because every one knows his part well, and the cue is not a matter of supreme importance. The zat-ôk (the manager) draws all the money from the performances. As much as 450 rupees have been paid for a two-night performance. This, however, was exceptional, and it was a marionette play with the great Maung Tha Byaw in the prince's part. Very few people

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R:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

in the river Neritzara, at a place where more than 100,000 Buddhas had bathed, before obtaining the supreme intelligence. Then he divided the nogana into forty-nine mouthfuls, ate it, and mounted the throne, whereon he sat for forty-nine days tasting no food, and combating Mān Nat, the spirit of death and sin. But ere he lapsed into meditation he threw his golden bowl into the river. It ascended the stream swiftly, floated steadily for a short time, and then sank in a whirlpool far down, leagues beyond the earth into the country of the nagās, where it fell against the golden bowls of the three previous Budhs with a clang that resounded throughout the four worlds, and all things worshipped the present Lord:

> King and high Conqueror! thine hour is come.
> This is the night the ages waited for.

This event in the life of Shin Gautama is commemorated in the Sôndawgyi pwè. Sōnthi is a sacred word set apart to denote the eating of members of the Holy Assembly, and, in remembrance of Thuzata's historic offering, the mendicants are feasted annually by the pious, with a splendour and profusion far exceeding the ordinary alms poured daily with unstinting hand into the begging-bowl. The date of the feast does not exactly correspond with the original event. According to the chronicle, the Lord Buddha attained the first state of ne'ban in the month of Kasôn, about April, whereas the feast of Tawadeintha, with which the Sôndawgyi is always immediately connected, is celebrated after Lent, at the full moon of Ta'saung-môn in November. The festival is essentially one of the town rather than of the country. Except the New Year's Feast, none of the religious celebrations can be really called universal, and the Sôndawgyi perhaps least of all. Villages and small country towns cannot get together the splendour necessary to distinguish the occasion from the ordinary domestic feasts, or even from the daily almsgiving to the mendicants. It is therefore in a large town like Rangoon, where there is a certain amount of money, and a facility for acquiring or borrowing ornaments and frippery, that the festivities are best seen. There the *fête*—the word is more appropriate

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

CHAPTER XXXV

THE NEW YEAR'S FEAST

ALTHOUGH religious festivals and *fêtes* are so abundant in Burma, it is undoubtedly true that none of them are universally observed in all parts of the country, except the New Year's Feast. In localities where the people are exceptionally pious, the end of Lent may be more carefully observed than elsewhere, some devoting themselves especially to pious observances, others to the more worldly ceremonies of the sôndawgyi feast. The Tawadeintha festival is an annual observance in some districts, in others it practically passes over unnoticed. Similarly with all the minor *fêtes*. But it is not so with the thi'gyan pwè. All over Burma, from the smallest jungle hamlet to the crowded streets of Rangoon and the straggling suburbs of Mandalay, the New Year is ushered in with the old formalities, and with perennial enthusiasm. Not an hour is cut off from the allotted number of days, and every item of the old practice is carried out with the same vigour.

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For this reason the "Water Feast," as it is called by Englishmen, has forced itself on the attention of the most careless observer, and every one who has written about Burma devotes a greater or less amount of space to a description of the good-humoured merriment with which the New Year is introduced. I do not propose, therefore, to do more than allude to the lesser known formalities observed on the occasion.

The month Tagoo, the first of the Burman year, occurs in the spring, and New Year's Day is in the earlier half of April. But it does not fall annually on the same day. It

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2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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the great rivers again. The surest way of putting an end to "roping" and false rowing with the object of mere money gain, is to reintroduce the old honest, enthusiastic rivalry. Where every rower feels that the name of his village depends upon the prowess of his arm, there will be no "sugaring" and ignobly waiting, in Sheffield handicap fashion, to "have their heads loose." 526 177·52

All the races in the low country are rowed in hlaw hle, or hlaw laung, that is to say, in paddle-boats. Up country there are frequently contests in hkap hle, "pull-away boats," rowed with oars, but even there the national paddle predominates. It may be mentioned that the coast men are by far the better rowers. In the Mandalay October races in 1881, a scratch Bassein boat challenged all comers, and was victorious in every match. 526 184 ●

There are a variety of boats, mostly, however, made on the same model, of which the launggo is the type. This is simply a canoe hollowed out of the trunk of a tree, the sides of which are drawn out by charring and inserting wedges; then the boat-builder chips out the centre. The laungsat is only a little larger and more commodious, plank sides being added to the solid keel, if it may be so called. The huge hnaw, or rice-boats, are made in the same fashion. 501

Of a different style are the pein-gaw, huge, ungainly, barge-like things, used principally at Yenangyaung for carrying oil. Along the sides, projecting over the beams of the boat, and reaching aft to the house raised on the quarter-deck, are tagin, a sort of platform for the polers to walk backwards and forwards on. Pihn-gaw keep mostly in shallow water, so that their ungainly weight may be moved along by poles, which is much quicker and less laborious work than rowing.

Barring exceptionally fine racing-boats, the hlawkadaw, or hlawga, the king's despatch boats, were the finest specimens of boat-building. They were gilt all over, even to the kat-tat, or paddles, and the stern rose high up in the air for the accommodation of the steerer. The express boats, or hpaungpaw, had usually a representation of the kalawaik, the carrying bird of Vishnu and national emblem of the Burmese, on the bows, and had often as many as sixty [531]

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4
Upper Burma
Lower Burma

423 distinctions are more minute than is at all necessary or indeed
423 comprehensible. They include all children born out of wed-
848 lock, among whom are reckoned such as are born before the parents have been married ten months; all children that are
[597] purchased, or adopted by any other ceremony than that of abadita or keiktima; and such as "from respect or affection
423 style their guardians father or mother." The settlement of
184 boundary marks was one of the earliest duties of the first ruler. The thale rice became constantly scarcer and scarcer, and it was determined that it would be well to give every person his share and mark it off distinctly. The appointment of persons to execute this duty was the first occasion on which executive officials were found necessary. Manu enumerated twenty-five objects suitable for legal landmarks. These included all natural objects, such as lakes, rivers, ridges, and hills, remarkable large trees and clumps of bamboos; artificial boundaries of an equally permanent character, such as pagodas, shrines for demon-worship, zayats, or rest-houses, stone pillars and sacred posts, wells and cairns; finally such singular distinguishing marks as heads of cattle, chaff, ashes, charcoal, sand, broken earthenware vessels, and men's bones. "Beating the bounds," one would think, must have been very necessary with the younger members of the household in the case of such perishable boundary lines as could be constituted by chaff, or even sand. In Upper Burma the cultivating
[161] population was so sparse that no difficulty was found in the matter of boundaries. In Lower Burma farms are as distinctly marked off as land-surveyors' chains can effect the operation in pointing out the little raised ridges which separate the plots of paddy land from one another. Nevertheless they are hardly such as the South of England farmers would approve.

423 These allodial tenures are the only ones which exist in
[177·92] Burma now. In independent territory there were two other kinds of holding, which were not, however, very numerous or
651 extensive. The first of these were called thugyisa fields, and
622 consisted of certain tracts of land near the town or village set apart for the maintenance of the headman. As that official was anything but a permanency, the tenant for the time being very seldom cultivated them himself, but let them

14: Brant E-5 (1949-50) 1954 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4
Indians
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563 within the past two or three decades. In almost every way, they form a
463 village within the village. They are spatially clustered together, apart from
●184 the Burmese. Their living is earned by dairying; milk from their cattle and
[262] water buffaloes is sold in Rangoon, for cash, to Muslim restaurants. Since the Burmese do not consume milk, the Indian dairymen find no market for their product in the community. The only economic relationship between the two groups consists of some exchange of Burmese paddy stalk, when the harvest is over, for animal manure. The Indians use the paddy stalk as fodder for their animals, while the Burmese use animal manure to some extent for their not very fertile garden and rice lands.

563 The Indians being Hindus, the Burmese Buddhists, the two groups have no
571 basis for common participation in religious or ceremonial life. Nor is there
556 more than a negligible tendency towards intermarriage; our census showed two cases.

As shown by our figures on income, the Indians as a group are far more prosperous than the Burmese. Although the Burmese seem to realize this, they tend to phrase the matter not so much in terms of greater wealth of the Indians as in terms of how little the Indian spends of his income. To the average Burmese of the village, the Indian is something of a lesser breed who lives on next to nothing and so grows rich.

563 Throughout the course of research in Tadagale, an effort was made from time to time to study intergroup feelings and attitudes, but this was a subject on which informants who were quite ready to discuss almost any other matter were loath to speak. The Burmese seemed to know little (or at least so professed) about the ways of the Indians; the Indians were very tight-lipped concerning the Burmese.

175 It was towards the close of our work in Tadagale that certain events
669 occurred which brought out, in sharp focus, the nature of Burmese-Indian relations
674 and attitudes, and completely broke the silence maintained earlier. At this point, however, some digression is necessary to provide a background for understanding what took place.

In 1949-50, the internal disturbances which have beset Burma since the end of World War II were at their height. During this time the maintenance of law and order sank to a very low point; robbery, armed and unarmed, was rampant. Tadagale was robbed three times within the preceding year, according to informants. On such occasions, bandits entered the village, fired their guns into the air to frighten the defenseless villagers, and then proceeded to tie up some villagers and remove their money and other valuables. Anyone who resisted was beaten. According to villagers, the police, located about half a mile away, could not be depended upon for protection or for action once a crime occurred, for the bandits were better organized and armed than the police, making the latter extremely reluctant to take any action.

674 Some early evidences of distrust between Indians and Burmese appeared
563 about the middle of our research period, when an Indian dairyman stated that he
175 was convinced that the bandits who periodically invaded Tadagale had Burmese collaborators in the village. He based his belief on the fact that the bandits seemed always to find their way directly to the homes of the more prosperous inhabitants, which knowledge, he claimed, could be gotten only from villagers.

14: Brant E-5 (1949-50) 1954 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

IV

RELIGION

The people of Tadagale are overwhelmingly Theravada Buddhist in faith. The exceptions are the Indian minority, who are largely Hindus. There are three Indians who profess Mohammedanism, and three Indo-Burmans and one Pakistani of like faith. Being Burmese and Buddhist are almost identified in the thinking of the majority, as evidenced by the fact that almost all replied 'Burmese Buddhist' to the question, 'To what people do you consider yourself to belong?' 779 563

In discussing the religious life of Tadagale, realism calls for emphasis upon actual religious beliefs and behavior, rather than any extended setting down of the formal theology of Buddhism. The latter has been done in any number of specialized works, to which the interested reader may refer. Here we shall refer to Buddhist precepts insofar as is necessary to illuminate religious beliefs and practices of the villagers.

The Five Precepts or Commandments. Almost all villagers know well the fundamental Buddhist injunctions against the taking of life in any form, the consumption of alcohol, illicit sexual activity, theft, and prevarication. These moral rules are, of course, sometimes breached. In Tadagale, the use of alcohol, sometimes to excess, is perhaps the most notable instance. The 'good Buddhist' does not, however, seem to experience feelings of guilt or pangs of conscience in such matters. Rather, the following of the moral precepts has instrumental value for him, in relation to his accumulation of merit and his reincarnation after death. 779 677

Merit. One's behavior throughout life determines one's store of merit, and this, in turn, determines one's reincarnation after death. Morally proper behavior, such as the following of the five basic commandments of Buddhist faith, is regarded as contributing to one's store of merit and thus enhancing one's state of reincarnation after death. Religious acts, such as making daily offerings of food to the monks, saying prayers, and attending the pagoda festivals on the important sacred days are likewise considered to increase one's merit. Breaking the moral precepts, irreligiousity, acting selfish or quarrelsome, detract from merit and accordingly tend to lower one's state in reincarnation. 779 775

Such is about the extent of the average villager's lay conception and understanding of the moral code and the ideas of the afterlife in Buddhism. He has little or no knowledge of the detailed concepts of reincarnation, with its elaborate gradationary ladder leading from the four states of punishment up to the ultimate achievement of Nirvana. Such theological learning is the property of the monkhood and of a few laymen who spent more than the usual few years as pupils in the monastic school. 775 779 184

Functions of the Monks. The functions of the Buddhist monks in the village may be conveniently classified as three-fold: formal education; officiation at certain rites; and providing personal advice and guidance to individuals. 793

With respect to formal education, the monks of four monasteries close to the village conduct schools which are attended by a considerable number of 792 871

23: Benedict
●184, 192, 582, 591, 602, 611, 613, 614, 616, 618, 621

ALL Southeast Asia
Burmese AP4

/For lists of kinship terms, and for excellent and detailed information concerning correlations between kinship terminology, patterns of behavior, and social institutions, see category 601./

29: Slater M-4 (no date) 1951 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

CHAPTER III

NIBBĀNA IN BURMESE BUDDHISM

1. A Positive Concept

It is still widely believed that the Buddha's teaching was fundamentally pessimistic, a philosophy of world and life negation culminating in a conception of Nibbāna as extinction or annihilation. It is also believed that while the Northern or Mahāyāna school developed more positive tendencies, picturing the goal as a Paradise of joy, the original pessimism is faithfully reflected and even emphasised in the southern, Hīnayāna school.

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Thus Schweitzer concludes that the Buddha conceived deliverance from transmigration "as a complete cessation of life which is attained by direct renunciation of the will-to-live" and that Hīnayāna Buddhism continues this original doctrine.[1] Although he qualifies this conclusion by a preliminary distinction between 'thought' and 'religious belief,' and also by a passing reference to more recent interpretations of original Buddhism, he remains convinced that the Buddha's thinking was "dominated by world and life negation."[2]

But if the analysis of Burmese Buddhism presented in our two previous chapters is accepted, there would appear to be reason for challenging this generally accepted opinion, both in regard to the Buddha's original teaching and the Hīnayāna reflection of that teaching. For here in the heart of this southern school is a people who certainly manifest a very lively will to live, yet a people indoctrinated by the Hīnayāna faith. This faith, as it is found in Burma, cannot be summarily dismissed as world-denying. It has shaped and maintained a very definite civilisation. It expresses itself in a closely-knit community life. It is still vigorous.

In such a context, we should expect, not a negative, but a positive concept of Nibbāna.

It is the purpose of this present chapter to show that this expectation is realised. Not only among the laity, in the 'popular religion,' but among the monks, there is an essentially positive concept of Nibbāna. Popular

[1] *Indian Thought and Its Development*, chap. vi, pp. 97, 122.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 110, 116.

29: Slater M-4 (no date) 1951 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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belief is encouraged by 'scholastic' interpretation to a greater extent than might be expected.

It is perhaps relevant, and not without significance, to state that this was not the conclusion I anticipated when I began this inquiry. It seemed to me, as to others, that the general emphasis of the Hīnayāna Saṃgha, and of the Pali Canon, was towards a negative interpretation of Nibbāna. Therefore I expected to find a divergence between popular belief and monastic exposition, a latent, if not explicit, conflict. It was part of my original hypothesis to show how affirmative emphases in religion are maintained in the face of philosophical, credal definitions which might deny or discourage these emphases. Burma seemed to present a striking illustration of such a situation. Here, obviously, was a buoyant, life-affirming popular faith which claimed to be Hīnayāna Buddhism; here, too, was a long established monastic Order, firm in its allegiance to the Pali Canon. Such an allegiance, I thought, implied a negative interpretation of Buddhism and a negative conception of Nibbāna; therefore the popular faith must have persisted in disregard of this 'official' interpretation.

Further inquiry, however, has led me to doubt whether the facts substantiate this hypothesis of conflict. The initial fact, it is true, still stands. There can be little doubt about the *popular* view of Nibbāna. As Jardine remarks in a footnote to Sangermano's account, 'for a long period the masses have revolted at the conclusion (that Nibbāna means annihilation), and, in some way, which they cannot very intelligibly explain, believe that the individual soul survives death and is found in new conditions of existence.'[3] Except perhaps for the use of the term, soul, this remark, written sixty years ago, is still a fair summary of the popular attitude. What is ambiguous, what has now to be questioned in the light of the evidence which will be stated in this chapter, is the reference of the term, revolt. If it is conceived as a revolt against the teaching of the Burma Saṃgha, then the question arises whether there was, in fact, any ground or cause for such a revolt so far as a negative or positive emphasis is concerned. Monastic conceptions doubtless differed from popular conceptions. Nevertheless it would now appear that monastic interpretations in Burma left the way open to some kind of belief in personal survival in Nibbāna. In this respect, scholar and peasant were not so far apart. And if we go behind the Burmese Saṃgha and consult the Pali Canon, as it is being interpreted today in many quarters, there, too, we find ground for revised opinion: if there are passages of apparently negative import, expressed in negative terms, there are also other expositions of very different import.

[3] *Op. cit.*, chap. XIV, p. 106, footnote.

29: Slater M-4 (no date) 1951 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

Nihilistic interpreters there may have been, especially perhaps in the Sinhalese schools. But such interpreters do not seem to have figured largely among the members of the Burma Saṃgha. The idea, therefore, of a popular, buoyant faith persisting against the discouragement of ecclesiastical or philosophical interpretation has at least to be modified, if not abandoned, in regard to Burma. 779* 775* 182 184

Not that scholar and peasant thought alike. For the one pursued a difficult psychological analysis, and the other clung to pictures; the one conceived Nibbāna as a heavenly *condition*, the other thought of a heavenly *place*. This, if any, is the pertinent distinction. But it is not a distinction which breeds a conflict between a negative and positive outlook. In neither case is Nibbāna annihilation.

2. *Conclusions of previous investigators*

It is illuminating to glance at the conclusions arrived at by previous Western observers in this field, for such a review shows a gradual retreat from the first unqualified impression that Nibbāna, even in the popular view, signified annihilation. There may, of course, have been a change in the Burmese outlook itself, as missionaries of other faiths, especially the Christian faith, entered the country and the people became more subject to the influence, direct and indirect, of Western thought. I doubt, however, if this is the explanation, for Bishop Bigandet, as will be seen, was convinced that the popular view, at least, was not nihilistic and Bigandet made his inquiries long before the country was penetrated by missionaries. It is much more probable that growing knowledge and opportunity gave Western observers a better understanding of what had, in fact, been the true situation all along. 779* 775*

One of the first reports ever recorded for the information of the West was penned by a cultured and observant American woman who arrived in the port of Rangoon early in July, 1813 and immediately began the study of the Burmese language. This was Ann Judson, the wife of the famous Baptist missionary. In a letter written to a friend in England some years later, Mrs Judson gives a brief summary of the Buddhist faith as she discerned it. She had no doubt in her mind that Nibbāna signified annihilation.

"The Burmans are Boodhists or a nation of atheists. They believe that existence involves in itself the principles of misery and destruction; consequently, there is no Eternal God. The whole universe, they say, is only destruction and re-production. It therefore becomes a wise man to raise his desires above all things that exist, and aspire to *Nigbon*, the state in which there is no existence. Rewards and punishments follow

23: Brant & Mi Mi Khaing E, I-5 (1949-1950)1951
AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

BURMESE KINSHIP AND THE LIFE CYCLE: AN OUTLINE

CHARLES S. BRANT AND MI MI KHAING[1]

INTRODUCTORY STATEMENT

121 OUR PURPOSE is to present and analyze some basic features of Burmese social organization. So numerous, elaborate and varied are the details of belief and behavior pertaining to kinship and the life cycle that to present them in a manner approximating completeness would be beyond the scope of a brief paper.

The material that follows, concerning the kinship system, patterns of customary behavior between various pairs of relatives, and the life cycle, is to be understood as applying to contemporary Burmese culture as it is manifested in the villages of Lower Burma. In and near the urban centers, where the secularizing influences of the West have permeated indigenous custom to a greater extent, practice is likely to diverge from ideal patterns much more than in the small, homogeneous village communities. Our concern here is with the social life of the ordinary peasantry of Lower Burma. It is hoped that these data may contribute in some measure to the very scant and fragmentary knowledge of modern Burmese culture.[2]

121 184 [177]

THE KINSHIP SYSTEM

The basic consanguineal and affinal kinship terminologies are shown in Figures 1, 2, and 3. The kinship terms, corresponding to the numbers shown on the diagrams, are as follows:[3]

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1. ʔaméi Mother.
2. ʔaphéi Father.
3. pharjî Parent's elder brother; parent's elder sister's husband.

[122] 1 The first-named author of this paper expresses his thanks to the Board of Foreign Scholarships for appointment to a scholarship under the Fulbright Program, making possible the field research period 1949-50 in Burma, and to the Social Science Research Council for supplementary support in the form of a World Area Research Training fellowship.

2 The interested reader is referred to Shway Yoe's *The Burman: His Life and Notions*, first published in 1882 and most recently reprinted by Macmillan & Co., London, for the only fully-rounded account of Burmese culture. See also Mi Mi Khaing, *Burmese Family* (London, 1946) for a culturally insightful narrative of life in a Burmese family.

3 For assistance in transcription of the kinship terms thanks are due Professor W. S. Cornyn. The symbols follow the system employed in his *Outline of Burmese Grammar* (Baltimore: Linguistic Society of America, 1944).

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma (Hill Peoples Europeans) AP1
Burmese AP4

where some sturdy tree refuses to fall, and the clearing it away becomes a matter of very considerable danger. This taung-ya system is very wasteful as well as laborious, and annually draws down upon itself the denunciations of the English forest officers. But the hill-tribes who adopt it are too few to support themselves in any other way. They were long ago driven out of the plains by the Burmans, and now cling to their old nomadic life with a degree of obstinacy which Government officials, in a variety of ways, have found is not to be tempted by any tale of the present security and plenty of the low country, or even of the valleys among the hills. Rice, therefore, continues to be produced with the minimum and the maximum of labour; but none of the hill rice ever finds its way out of the country, and seldom even down to the plains.

Be 241 313 [185] Ba 563 241 439

The rice season, as far as the English merchant is concerned, commences in January and ends about May; but though this is pre-eminently the "busy season," there are purchases made in greater or less quantities all the year round. The relations between the great English rice firms and the simple jungle cultivators have not always been of a very elevating character, and it can hardly be denied that the fault lies wholly at the door of the foreigner. Missionaries in Burma are wont to mourn that their teachings are often rendered wholly nugatory by the want of scruple, and it might almost be said of honour, displayed by the great Rangoon rice firms. The good padres teach their proselytes that Christians are all honest and truthful. The ingenuous lads enter as clerks in a rice-mill and discover that Englishmen scarcely differ from the "poor heathen," except in being more lordly in the way of doing the thing.

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Years ago, when there were not nearly so many mills as there are now, and not a quarter so many ships in the harbour during the rice season, things went on pretty equably. One day one firm would give a rupee or so more per hundred baskets, and the next day it would be another. But soon the mills began to increase in number and more ships came, and it was harder to get paddy. Then rival firms began to bid against each other. There was demurrage before their eyes, and it was terribly expensive work keeping the mill

Ba Be 243 442 563 175

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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The only analogy to the crown lands in Lower Burma was found in the reservation of forests by the government for the preservation of teak and other valuable trees such as the thit-ka (*Cedreela toona*), thit-kado (*Pentace Burmanica*), and padauk (*Pterocarpus Indicus*), which are absolutely reserved, that is to say, no tree may be felled which has not been girdled by government forest officers, even by those who have bought the right to remove the timber. It is expressly stated that the lessee is in no case allowed to girdle trees on his own account, and the rules are in other respects of the most stringent and Oriental description. No taung-ya, or hill-gardens may be made in the demarcated tracts. A selection of rivers and streams is made which must be kept free from all artificial obstructions, whether for fisheries, irrigation, or other purposes. Unauthorised felling, cutting, marking, killing, or injuring trees of all kinds, shrubs or bamboos, the collection of wood oil, resin, and even leaves, and any interference with the soil or its produce without permission, is made penal. Even the use of existing roads and bridle-paths may, if the forest officer sees fit, be prohibited. In 1882, out of a total area of about 80,000 square miles of teak-producing forests, some 13,000 square miles were thus reserved, but this area has now been ten times exceeded. The Burman, who knows nothing whatever of game laws or edicts against trespassers, is inclined to look upon this stringent reservation of land which the ancient code declares free for all, as something far more despotic than the enforced labour and extortionate demands of national rule. Doubtless time will prove to him that it is a wise precaution to guard from destruction a slow-growing tree like the teak, and when the wandering hunter gets to understand that forest fires are a calamity and not simply an easy method of making a clearing, the State forests will come to be something less like pheasant coverts than they now are.

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Otherwise, waste lands, as in old Upper Burma, are by the law of the Dhammathat open to all-comers. Any one can select for himself a tract of such land at his pleasure, and may clear and cultivate in any way he chooses, paying his tax upon it when the time for the annual assessment of land revenue comes round. In many cases, however, he is allowed

I3: Khin Zaw I-5 (no date) 1940 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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of western instruments and instrumentation, the ephemeral catchiness of jazz tunes—who, but the government can save Burmese music from the combined assault of these powerful forces?

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True Burmese music nowadays resides only in the memory of old Burmese musicians. And they are now too old. Their music should be recorded. They should be organised into a state orchestra and paid to broadcast selections from the classics at least twice a week. Their instruments should be measured and a standard pitch and a standard scale should be fixed and one complete set of Burmese musical instruments should be maintained and kept correctly in tune for purposes of research. The notation of the authentic ground patterns of Burmese classical songs should be undertaken. As an urgent preliminary measure U San Win should be subsidised to carry out his notation of the classics in his own style so that important classical tunes may be preserved for future more scientific notation and instrumentation. Above all, organised research into the theory of Burmese music should be instituted at once with suitable equipment and aid[1].

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1. I am glad to add that the Government has responded generously to the application of the Burma Research Society for a grant towards the recording of a representative selection of Burmese classical songs, verse-forms, and drum music, for the gramophone. U Ba Choe labouring mightily, twenty-three recordings have just been completed at a total cost of Rs. 6,250. A further grant has just been made by the Government to enable the Burma Research Society to send me on an errand collecting Burmese folksongs, if the University Authorities will sanction me leave. There is much yet to be done.

14: Brant E-5 (1949-50) 1954 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

If the umbrella falls down it indicates that the spirit has departed and cannot return. The person who performs this ritual must not talk to anyone en route to the cemetery. 764

On the seventh day a ceremony takes place. The monks come to the house to eat and chant prayers. They are given offerings for their own use and a special tray containing white thread. The monks hold the thread, which symbolizes good, while they chant. The people present are seated before the monks, repeating the prayers and precepts after them. The deceased person is supposed to be sitting on the mat prepared for him and benefiting from this ceremony. Then the people are fed, the monks depart, and the influences of death are considered to be banished. The thread is kept in the house. 764 769

Graves are not visited, nor is there any upkeep of the cemetery, for folk belief has it that the tidying of graves will cause more people to die. The dead are commemorated by the meritorious act of feasting the Buddhist monks.

Associations

Bus Union. Owners of buses plying between Tadagale and Rangoon are organized into a union. In terms of its functions, this organization might be more fittingly termed a mutual protective and insurance association. These are to prevent outsiders from infringing on their route and competing with them; payment of damages in case of accidents between members' buses and other vehicles or persons; payment of any costs of litigation that arise in connection with accidents; and maintenance of a repair shop and mechanic in the village. Members of the union pay an initial sum to join, plus monthly dues and a small toll fee for each trip that is made. 441 444

Peasants Union. The Tadagale Peasants Union is a constituent body of the All Burma Peasants Union and operates directly under the Insein Division of the parent organization. Some fifty to sixty households in Tadagale are members. When the head of a family or household joins, the union regards all its members as union members. In theory, meetings are supposed to occur once a month, but in fact take place at irregular intervals, whenever a problem arises that is considered sufficiently important to warrant a meeting. Commonly this is a dispute between members over land. If opinion remains divided after considerable discussion of a dispute or other issue, the union meeting votes by written ballot. 467 427 185

The more long-run aims of the Peasants Union concern rent and taxes of cultivators. Protests and petitions are sent to the government when it is felt taxes are too high. The union was characterized as 'an organization that is against the landlords.' At the time of our research, its aim was to reduce the landowners' share of the produce to one-third from two-thirds. The union also favored land nationalization, under which it was believed rent would be paid in a just amount to the government. Just where the Peasants Union fitted in with existing political party programs and alignments in the country at large it was not, for various reasons, feasible to investigate.

Ceremonial Assistance Groups. For purposes of rendering help at such ceremonies as weddings, funerals and initiations, the villagers are divided into informal groups. These are: men's group; married women's group; and unmarried girls' group. The men's group does the heavier tasks, such as chopping and carrying firewood, erecting ceremonial structures, and preparing 575 476

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large amounts of food. The married women prepare food, serve, and entertain the guests, while the unmarried girls assist them. If a ceremony involves a procession, the unmarried girls bear the gifts which are invariably taken to the monks on such occasions.

These 'groups' are so informal and loosely organized that in the strict sociological sense they should not be so designated; rather, they are simply the conventional lines along which cooperation takes place and labor is divided, in a spirit of mutual aid, whenever a family sponsors a ceremony -- an occasion involving much work. Each is willing to help, for when his own family sponsors an event, similar assistance will be expected and forthcoming.

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Education. In addition to the Buddhist monastic schools, to be discussed in the next chapter, there is a small secular school in the village. This is operated on a voluntary basis by a middle-aged schoolmaster, a widower, who migrated, together with his daughter, to Tadagale two years ago. It is his hope that eventually the school will be incorporated into the regular school system, as compulsory education is gradually extended to the country. The school is financed wholly by voluntary contributions. The village headman personally contributes ten rupees per month, his brother gives a like amount, and the Bus Union donates five rupees. From this income of twenty-five rupees per month ($5.25) the schoolmaster pays five rupees for his house rent and provides blackboard chalk and his own books and pencils. On what remains, plus a little profit he derives from maintaining a small shop in his house, he must support his daughter and himself. But he is confident that once compulsory education is extended to Tadagale, his sacrificial efforts of the present will be rewarded by a regular appointment at Rs. 100 per month, an expanded program of instruction, and perhaps the services of an assistant. For the present he operates the school without any responsibilities to superiors, devising his own curriculum and teaching according to his own methods. The schoolmaster was himself once a student at a normal school in Moulmein.

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About eighty children attend the school with varying degrees of regularity. The average daily attendance is about sixty. The schoolmaster feels that many more children of school-age living in the community should attend, but finds that parents are reluctant to send their children. Some feel they are needed for household and field labor; others prefer what they regard as the stricter environment of the monastic school, with its great emphasis upon religion and correct conduct. The schoolmaster deplores the ignorance and negative attitudes of villagers concerning education, and their unwillingness to contribute financially to the maintenance of his school.

Instruction is given in five grades or 'standards' as they are called in Burma. These are termed 1B, 1A, 2, 3, and 4.

Standard 1B is equivalent to the kindergarten of the pre-World War II schools. The schoolmaster has divided the class into two sections, one for the children of seven to eight years who already can read to some extent, the other for the younger ones of four to six who cannot. According to the rules of the government schools six years is the minimum school age, but the schoolmaster in Tadagale is not bound by such regulations. He teaches these two groups of kindergarteners according to their own levels and at the pace which he thinks appropriate. They learn the alphabet and simple numbers at first, later moving on to reading and spelling. No regular allocation of time to different subjects is possible, since the schoolmaster must teach this and four other classes without any assistance.

1: Mi Mi Khaing I-5 (no date) 1946 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

CHAPTER TEN

000 ONE living force had continued at the old house, however, from the time it was built right to the present day. This was my mother's elder sister, our Kyi-Kyi Lon, the same who had thrown herself on the ground at first beholding the muddy fields of Thaton. She had never been to an English school like my mother and indeed had known no other home but the old house all her life. My Kyi-Kyi (aunt-elder-than-parent) is unmarried. The story of how she remained unmarried is stamped with her character.

587 589 My eldest aunt was married and died after bearing three children, and the bereaved husband came back to Grandfather and asked for the hand of another aunt so that the children should not lack a loving mother's care. This aunt also died, and the hardy widower again returned to Grandfather. Grandfather might have been persuaded to give another daughter in marriage but Kyi-Kyi Lon, who was next on the list, stamped her feet and shooed the widower away, regardless of the belief that a man who survives two wives is outlived by his third. She inherited my grandfather's spirit and vitriolic temper, and a very lively tongue. When she was young she was round and sturdy and was therefore called Ma Lon, Miss Round. With years of spinsterhood, roundness disappeared, the sturdiness developed into a masculine toughness and her natural abilities turned to business management; her feet broadened and she could tramp for miles; with her sharp tongue she could make men quail. It was our Kyi-Kyi who looked after our rubber estates for us. My mother stood in awe of her, and it was a beautiful lesson in gentle humanity to watch the sisters together. My mother had two aspects to her nature. She had an all-round ability equal to Kyi-Kyi Lon's, but there was a gentleness which tempered every masculine ability she possessed. This tempering was always imposed above. In my aunt's presence, the lower stratum automatically disappeared, because Kyi-Kyi, who quarrelled with everyone else, loved my mother like a child who must be scolded and looked after. She therefore devoted her life to our interests.

• 186 196 My aunt never learnt English, and derided the refined tones of English pronunciation. She never made the slightest concession to any foreign tongue. Surrounded by a world in which products and institutions bore English names, she took delight in pronouncing unavoidable terms with the broadest Burmese accent. "Ine-Si-Et", she would

say for I.C.S., with a marked emphasis on the last word which is pronounced with a glottal stop, and thus pronounced means "cracked". After listening to a conversation in English she would seize on what she heard most often, "You know" and "I know". "*You no, I no, hnit-yazk no, tha-hko ma-la-naing,*" she would say, punning on the word "know", which in Burmese means to wake up. "You wake, I wake, two awake—the thieves cannot come."

Kyi-Kyi lived an independent life; she had inherited a share of the house, among other things, and she lived there on what was due to her from the management of our property. Between her and one servant maid, the old house was kept spotless. A meal was cooked every day for the monastery, and Kyi-Kyi was on very amiable social terms with the monks and the nuns who lived close by. Everyone in Thaton knew her, the young men admired her for her lively wit and the women called her a harridan for it. Between visiting us and business and religious good works and scolding everyone, my Kyi-Kyi spent a busy life.

She was so different from my mother. My mother never smoked or chewed betel, but when Kyi-Kyi came we were treated to watching her roll her cheroots. She had the *hsay*, mixture, in a bowl. It was a compound of chopped tobacco leaves, the stem and pith of the *ohn-nè* (coconut flower), and jaggery or sugar. It was a sticky mixture. The wrapping leaves—the leaves of a tree called the *thanat*—were in a cream cracker biscuit tin. In a small cane sieve-tray she had a number of old *a-si-hkans*, stubs of solid ends, about 1½ to 2 inches long; and on a piece of paper was some boiled rice for sticking. She rolled the mixture in the leaf, tucked the edges of the narrower end neatly in and stuck

1: Mi Mi Khaing I-5 (no date) 1946 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

Such schools, both for boys and girls, were set up in the big towns, Rangoon, Mandalay, Moulmein, Maymyo, Toungoo, etc. Most of them were mission or religious schools, aided by the government and by the diocese or a religious mission.

Very few Burmans at that time sent daughters to such schools, though sons were sent commonly enough, and the distinctions made against the stray natives who entered the rolls began from the moment of entry. The diocesan schools insisted on our adopting English Christian and surnames, from an aversion to including heathen names on their registers. Burman Buddhist were thus transformed into orthodox Christian names: Sir Htoon Aung Gyaw and his brothers became a family of Thompsons, Sir Paw Tun was happily converted into Potter, and my brother U Sett Kaing, with less relevance, became Robert Downs. Thus many distinguished Burmans spent years under these assumed names. The Roman Catholic schools were kinder. They merely required us to adopt a system of first name and surname, which does not exist among Burmans, and wished us to pick a Christian first name so that the nuns could pronounce it easily. Thus we got Kathleen Maung, Grace Nee, Sarah Tin Gyi, the daughters of U Maung Maung, U Nee and U Tin Gyi. My own name Mi Mi Khaing was brought into line as Mamie Kaing.

We went to a Roman Catholic convent where the nuns made no attacks on Buddhism and no attempts to proselytise us—despite which I became attracted to their religion for a few years—but with sincere conviction and fervour they condemned everything else in us that was different from the great mass of Anglo-Burmans who filled the school. A good proportion of these children were the children of Englishmen who, not having entered into a legal marriage with the Burmese mothers, had now left mother and child with a sum of money which the kind nuns stretched to cover as much schooling as was possible. These and other Anglo-Burman children were encouraged to swank over us with childish cruelty about our darker skins, flat noses, and uncurling hair. They did this to such an extent that many of us in our minority and our helpless misery, branded our distinguished parents as being "half Burmese and half English", in order to gain their good opinion. We were told that Burmese food was stinking, that the use of oil for the hair was dirty and insanitary, and when young sisters ran after their elder ones calling Ma Ma, Elder Sister, all the children hooted with laughter. No wonder that my sister Mya Mya during her first weeks at school would sit by the gate, evening after evening, singing mournfully:

May May yay-ay
La pa taw
Kyi-gan ta-maw maw.

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Oh mother, mother,
When will you come ?
The crow is tired with a-cawing.

But conditions improved with time; we grew older and less imaginative, and above all the tide of Burmese nationalist feeling which surged into being in about 1920 was at last beginning to seep through the convent walls.

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Even the nuns heard, in 1930, about Saya San who raised a rebellion in Tharawaddy district, and roused such fervour among a certain section of the population that about 2,000 rebel followers were killed—their bodies vulnerable to gunfire in spite of the charms they had tattooed on—before the Government succeeded in suppressing the rebellion. Although Saya San was a charlatan to those in authority, and his followers a band of unruly dacoits, his conviction that he was born to become the monarch of a newly resurrected Burmese kingdom fired the imagination of some nationalists. To them he was an intrepid spirit, his courage so keen and his body so hardy: *Kya ko Khalok, thitngok hnin hsu ko thinbyu:* The tiger his stubbing stone, tree stumps and bushes of thorns his smoothest mat. By the time the nuns had heard of Saya San I had another Burmese girl as a fellow boarder and class-mate. Grace Nee was a girl of great spirit and mental liveliness. Her father was also an a-so-ya min, and we derived great comfort and happiness from each other's presence. When the class-teacher scolded one of us, saying, "You Burmans nowadays are expecting us to kow-tow to you. Yes, this mad fellow Saya San. And you think that we must bow to you," then the other would bang desk and chair in sympathy and indignation. Our hearts would swell to bursting point, for though we knew little yet about nationalism or patriotism, we identified our country and our race with the persons of our parents, and we could hardly bear this constant humiliation of their name. We shrank from telling them about it, however. My father never knew how different our life at school was from the world at home, and my mother will learn of it for the first time when she reads this.

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What a glorious new world opened out before us when we went to the University. What splendour there was in the richness of Burmese dress, food, companions, religious celebration, music, dancing and wit. I only regret that I could not take full advantage of these years because family troubles tumbled around my ears just then, and when they had subsided I was forced into earnest study to win the best degree possible in order to comfort my mother. This was necessary because up till this time I had always disappointed my parents because I had preferred popularity among companions to concentration on studies. Rangoon

tinkled with every passing breeze. The Shwe Dagon Paya was a beautiful 346
and sacred thing. In the early mornings it gave a radiance to the clear air and the blue sky; in the daylight it shone forth like a blaze of gold, burning and pure; in the evenings it glowed softly as the breeze tinkled its bells, and filled the heart with a gentle sadness which is not grief but a sweet perception of unearthly things; and at night the lights flooded it to stand high and illumined above the dark wooded slopes of the hill. At all times and from all parts of Rangoon it could be seen, calm and sublime, with the same smiling look as is seen on the face of the Buddha, not smiling in the eyes or mouth but in the serene expression of inward calm.

As we landed in Rangoon we saw a great gathering of people waiting 177.
to meet us. Going abroad for years of study is still a rare enough event 57
to be of interest to all relatives and neighbours, so that the people were 813
assembled not only for an affectionate reunion, but also to observe in
what way the stay in England might have corrupted Burmese habits. 186.
In the case of a man it is always feared that he may bring back an English 582
wife, and it sometimes happens that a loved child who has been away for five and six years may be greeted with tears and mourning rather than expressions of joy, if he has married an English girl. The tears of mother and sisters are very heartfelt; they express shame at what the neighbours will think, sorrow at the alienation of the man and his children which must inevitably occur, and chagrin at the loss of the rich dowry which might have been procured in the marriage market.

Even when a man does not marry in England, he is strongly scrutinized for undesirable preferences in the matter of marriage arrangements. I remember the night my brother came home. It was his first evening in Burma after nine years of English schooling and University, and it was clear enough that he was neither married nor secretly engaged to an English girl. But my Ma Ma Gyi, my eldest woman cousin who had children as old as we were, subjected him to a searching enquiry. "Set-Set," she said, calling him by his childhood name, "do you think English girls are more attractive than Burmese girls?" My brother who had many English friends but had not noticed any Burmese girls during his few hours in Burma, tried not to answer this question. On being held to it, he said they were different from each other and could not be compared. My cousin said, "But which do *you* like better?" She was getting quite stern by this time, and my mother and we who felt very sorry for my brother were all praying that he would tell a lie, as we held our breath. My brother repeated with much awkwardness that the two were different; so now my cousin took his opinion for granted, and lectured him on the desirability of marrying in an orthodox Burmese manner so that he would prove himself a good son to his mother, a good

177. brother to his young sisters, and thus give joy to the whole family.
57 "For," said she, "our family has always commanded respect. Grandfather
873 was a great man, and you are the only son of the youngest family of his
grandchildren, and it should not be said that with us the end tapers to a
• 186 point;" which is the expression for a stock which degenerates with
582 successive generations,

In the case of a girl, there was not of course, the fear that she would bring back an English husband, but the concern that Burmese standards of morality and dignity would be affected by an unchaperoned stay in a foreign country was very great. As we landed, I remembered enough of my childhood environment to feel the eyes of elder relatives and friends on me while I tried to restrain the wild excitement and love I felt at seeing again my mother and my young sisters now grown so sweet and shy, and I noticed also that my brother had been home long enough not to kiss me in front of my aunts as he had done when he himself had first returned from England. I felt this scrutiny also when my mother took me on the round of obeisance visits during my first days at home, and it formed a complement to the visit which I had paid to each of these elder relatives and friends before I left for England three years before. Then, each had given me a lecture which contained strong injunctions to keep to the path of virtue, modesty and dignity. But these were just *son-ma saga*, admonitory words, to be received with meekness, and not a slight on the strength of my character, just as now, when, satisfied with their scrutiny, they told my mother that her womb should be layered
[192] with gold leaf (sacrilegiously using the term for the gilding of sacred objects) for having brought forth such daughters, I was not expected to take conceit.

In all the houses of friends in Rangoon, in Thaton and Ye, I went
192 through the same ritual, but the words of the hpongyi at Thaton moved
186 me more than any other. "Now I will tell three stories about Mi Mi Khaing," he said, and proceeded in beautiful words and a chanting flow; "You are like a young tree planted of good seed in the fertile earth. Now the tree is heavy with ripe fruit, but the boughs are tender and bend under the weight. The tree must grow carefully and steadily, so that the full fruit do not break the young bough.....Let your stature be measured by your shadow that is cast after the noonday sun, for your knowledge and learning are now at noonday height. So your shadow will grow longer and longer towards the setting of the day.....Let your merit be like a river that gathers more strength from the rain that falls about it, and grows from a stream into a great river before it joins the mighty Thammodhaya." Then he took the monk's expression off his face, and turned to me with a smile and asked in a normal speaking

voice, "Do you understand the hpongyi's language after being so long as it were one human amongst a thousand monkeys?" 192 186

Chastened and fortified by such injunctions, I was ready to plunge into six months of social life before starting on the serious business of earning a living. Rangoon should have offered plenty of scope for that, according to the rhyme about the first three cities of Burma: *"Moul-a-myaing a-sa, Mandalay sa-ga, Yangon a-kywa:* Moulmein for rich eating, Mandalay for fine speaking, Rangoon for showy vanity." 361 177. 36

The Yangon-thu were grouped in urban or verdant clusters about the city of foreigners. There were two packed streets of the more prosperous trading classes in a western quarter of Rangoon, which the municipal authorities called Edward Street and Oliphant Street, but which to every Burman had always been known as *Kon-zay Dan:* Goods Bazaar Row, and *Shwedaung Dan:* Gold Mountain Row. Here the families lived in tightly packed unpretentious houses and did not possess Western style furniture or cars; they went to the cinema in rickshaws, but the women were loaded with valuable diamond jewellery which put many a minkadaw to shame. In the dusk of the evenings, they sat on wooden platform couches on the pavement outside each house, puffing at cheroots, calling out to neighbours and eating a variety of choice foods from the Burmese, Chinese and Indian restaurant quarter which surrounded them. In the east of the town, separated from this area by rows of Indian and mixed streets, retired Government officers were concentrated in a block. Here the houses were substantial, the sons and daughters attended school and University in cars, and the most eligible civil servants could be obtained in marriage for daughters, but the pensioners were the type who lived in a congested neighbourhood for fear of dacoits in a more open area, and whose womenfolk considered lawns and the drawing-rooms of modern bungalows a poor substitute for the access to cinema, eating houses and bazaars that a crowded part of Rangoon afforded them. Round about the Kokine Lakes and along the main highway to Prome, however, more newly retired Burmans who entertained on chairs, laid rugs on floors and hung pictures on walls in the Western fashion, had built pleasant modern bungalows. To the west of this area, just a stone's throw from the main Prome Road, began the village of Kemmendine with its rows of small wooden houses, each with its front enclosure full of green foliage, an altar-stand jutting out on the east wall, three steps raising the first and only storey a few feet off the ground, and wooden floors with one plank loose in them to allow the dust to be swept below. Kemmendine had its own bazaar, country boats on the river, and children and dogs playing on the street, just like any district town. My *Ko Gyi*, eldest male first cousin, lived there among small traders, clerks and school

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All the ill deeds 872
he does will swell the sum of his demerits, but not a single 779
good action, no uttermost act of charity or devotion, will be 792
recorded to his advantage for another existence. Without 775
admission to the order, without "Buddhist baptism," no man 186
can count his present existence as other than an animal's. The great gift of having appeared in the likeness of a human being; the happy balancing of merits and demerits which has resulted in so glorious an opportunity of advancing towards Ne'-ban; the still greater fortune of existence in a country where the tenets of Buddhism offer supreme chances to the weary seeker after rest from the moil of a work-a-day world; all will have been recklessly thrown away. It is written that more hardly will a needle cast from the summit of Mount Myinmo across the wide Thamoddaya Sea, more hardly will it touch with its point as it falls another needle standing point upwards in the great Southern Island, than will any given creature become a human being. How are the Western foreigners, black and white, to be pitied, who have indeed by earnest strivings attained the seat of man, but, arrived there, find it all naught because they do not hear the teachings of the Buddha! How much worse the Burman, to whom all his life long the monastery door stands open, to whom a week's, a day's, an hour's sojourn would offer boundless possibilities, and yet who enters not in. If this be so, what then can be the prospect for the boy who having put his hand to the plough turns back, who entering the monastery as a child, imbibes the religious thoughts and becomes acquainted with the religious creed, and yet fails to seek the "humanity" so easily to be gained? Better have been born an animal or an Englishman, and scoffed at what he did not understand.

Consequently it may be invariably assumed that the 871
little scholar, as soon as age and acquirements admit, puts 792
on the yellow garb as a finish to his education. This used 177.87
to include every one. Till the English came and took the country, everybody went to the Pon-gyi-Kyaung. But now there are English government schools; there are Burmese laymen's schools, which neglect religious education altogether, and look to competitive examinations as the end and aim of juvenile existence, as the ne'-ban of school life.

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tribute must be as gratifying as the loudest stamping of feet and whistling on fingers of a London theatre. In fact a Burman might perhaps be justified in doubting the enthusiasm and admiration which finds vent in whistling. 536

The acting as a whole cannot be said to be satisfactory. The circumstances are against it. Who could "lose himself in his part" in the centre of a crowd of people all smoking and often talking? Moreover the subjects treated are so romantic and remote from ordinary worldly events that no one can be expected to realise them. Finally, who could keep it up for ten hours at a stretch? Nevertheless, individual passages are occasionally wonderfully well done. The piteous wailings and desolation of the princess; the majesty of the king; the grim savagery of the demon, are often very effectively delineated, while the clowns are almost invariably exceedingly clever. They are chosen for their ready wit, many of the jokes being extempore, as well as for their power of facial contortion. Caricatures of the performances of the other actors and comic songs form their chief stock-in-trade, and the text of the play is very far from being adhered to. It is an undoubted fact, if scarcely complimentary, that the clown has much more to do in the play and is very much broader in his jokes when Englishmen are present than when there is a purely national audience. The prolongation of the comic parts is due to a courteous desire to please the visitors, buffooneries being much more readily understood than high dramatic art, while the coarseness is unfortunately due to the same impression which makes a Burman always produce brandy and beer for the refreshment of a white man, the idea namely that that is what he likes best. None of the higher class troupes, more especially those from Upper Burma, will, however, condescend to this sort of thing. 522 522 186

The company formerly was always made up in Mandalay, or said it was. There are other troupes, but it is usually taken for granted that they cannot be better than second-rate. The delta Burman is firmly persuaded that "far birds have fair feathers." In their humble phraseology they say, "In the Low Country we are not up in the humanities." This is not exactly complimentary to longer 536 184 177

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his colour was a mixture of light-brown and dingy, smoke-smirched cream colour. The eye, when you know it, is perhaps the best rough test for an amateur. The iris ought to be yellow, with a reddish outer annulus. The effect of this is decisive to the connoisseur, if only sinister to the outsider. But the red ring represents the circle of the nine precious gems. In other respects the Sinbyudaw was not attractive in appearance; he was very big, but, notwithstanding the care taken of him, was remarkably lean and hollow-sided. His tusks, however, were magnificent—white, smooth, and curving forward in front of his trunk so that they almost met. In his young days he was suckled by women, who stood in a long row outside his palace, and the honour was eagerly sought after, for the creature was a national pride and not merely a royal monopoly. A hundred soldiers guarded his palace, and the Sovereign of the Golden Throne himself made offerings and paid him reverence. An establishment of thirty men waited on him, and among them was a Minister of State, who managed his affairs and looked after the revenues of the province that was assigned to him to "eat." His palace stood within the inner stockade and was decorated with the royal pya-that. Every day he was bathed with scented sandal water, and all his vessels and utensils were made of gold. Troupes of the palace *coryphées* danced for his pleasure, and there were choruses of sweet-voiced singers to lull him to sleep.

Nevertheless his lordship was very bad-tempered, and his attendants were much afraid of him. Such things are, however, not unknown with human kings. On one occasion the Sinbyudaw killed a man who had ventured too near, and there was a good deal of trouble and noise before the body could be got away from him. The king—Thibaw's father—heard the commotion, and inquired what was the matter. When he was told, he expressed great concern and not a little alarm for the future state of the Lord White Elephant, with the red stain of murder on him, blotting out hosts of previous good deeds. But the elephant's minister calmed his mind and restored him to equanimity by saying, "Pray do not be disturbed, payā; lu ma hôk bu kalā—it was not a man only a foreigner."

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702 had no drill, but this was very far from being the case. On the contrary, drill was going on constantly inside the palace
704 and at the various guard stations. The French and Italian
● 186 officers were always instructing them, but a want of belief
563 in the utility of mass movements rendered all their efforts useless. The recruits went through the balance-step with the utmost enthusiasm; when it came to forming fours they were a little less ardent, but by the time they ought to have been counter-marching and right-forming company they were tired of the whole business and poked fun at the instructor. European officers called themselves, and were called, generals and colonels and what not, but they were simply drill sergeants with very unpromising material. They were allowed no uniform; they never took command on a review day. Occasionally they complained of being insulted by their squads, and were told by a sententious mingyi that patience is one of the ten virtues which go to the making up of a true gentleman. To recompense them for their trials they made a great deal of money in a variety of ways, their salaries being the least part, and paid at long and uncertain intervals in a lump sum. The real "generals" were men who hardly ever came out at all, least of all when there was a chance of fighting. The commander-in-chief was for many months in jail, but still retained his title, and two of his sons remained in command of regiments. The men who managed the reviews and any work that was to be done were all let-thôndaw, the king's pages of honour. Few of them were over twenty, but their duties did not require much experience.

702 Besides the legitimate drill, conducted by the European instructors, there were other performances, the object of which would hardly be apparent to the compilers of the *Manual of Field Exercise*. The instructor, one of the junior officers, assembled the men in a big circle round about him, and proceeded in a fashion dictated to him apparently by nothing but his own fancy. He threw his gun into the air, caught it and cried *hé!* and the men followed his example to the best of their ability. He went through the same manœuvre behind his back, cried *hé!* again, and the men probably got some hard knocks in dutifully trying to imitate him. He cried *hé* and hunched up his shoulders; cried *hé* and brought

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coats and waistcloths as "things to be worn"; and so forth in infinite variety. Even the numeral auxiliaries applied to human beings vary. The Buddha, as well as superior beings and pagodas, is spoken of as a ta-zu; kings, members of the Sacred Order, and persons in power generally, are referred to as ta-ba; respectable people to whom it is wished to be polite are numbered as ta-u (so many "foreheads"); and in ordinary conversation, mankind generally are denominated ta-yauk. Foreigners—regarded as aliens and indeed not entitled to rank as human beings at all, since they have never worn the yellow robe—receive but scant reverence from the tongues of the older people, and formerly from Upper Burmans, the same auxiliary being applied to them as would be used in speaking of a buffalo or a pig. Thus you would say kalā hni'-gaung, foreigners, two animals, or "two beastly foreigners." This has, however, now almost died out, certainly in regard to Europeans, and is only occasionally heard with reference to some of the least civilised of the hill tribes. A hint of the same style of enumeration occurs in the English "twenty head of cattle," and perhaps in the military "five hundred sabres," or "two thousand bayonets," where the weapon is more typical and perhaps of greater value than the man who wields it.

Chinese and Shan perhaps exceed the Burman language in the number of almost identically sounding syllables, in which the slightest difference of intonation makes a change of sense, but most people are of opinion that it is quite rich enough. Thus pe in its simple form may mean (1) the palmyra palm or leaf, whence pe-sa, a palm-leaf book; (2) an anvil; (3) to have the edge or point turned; (4) to lay the ears back, as a horse; (5) to be dull of sight, or blunted in feelings; (6) to be dirty; (7) an euphonic verbal affix.

Pe, with the heavy accent (denoting a lengthening of the sound) means to give, and pe-sa in this form, to give in marriage.

Hpe, with the heavy accent (practically the same sound to an Englishman's ears) means (1) to scab over; (2) to ward off evil; (3) to tack off shore with a boat in order to gain an offing; (4) to be broken down in bodily strength or ability.

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A woman who has seven sons or seven daughters in unbroken succession is almost certain to become a witch; her husband had better not quarrel with her at any rate. 754

At Kāma, a small place between Prome and Thayetmyo, there is a spirit flame, a kind of Jack o' Lantern, in a hollow near the town. Long ago a smith was killed in a brawl and became a nat after death. He liked his old profession and set up a nat-fire, and worked away at nights on a spectral forge. The inhabitants soon found out what was going on, and after their first terror was over used to go out in the middle of the day and leave a piece of iron, saying, "Good Mr. Spirit, make me an axe, a dah, a hoe." Next day they found it all ready made. At last a Chin—just the sort of thing one of those stupid people would do—hid himself, and just when the midnight cocks had finished crowing, up rose the smith in human shape, dressed in a red paso and a flaring red turban. He began hammering away on his anvil, welding a sword. The infatuated Chin at last shouted, "Make it quick." The demon smith whipped round on the instant and flung the red-hot dah at him, burning his cheek. The indiscreet peeping Tom took to his heels and ran. After he had got a mile away he rubbed his blistered cheek, and in after-times there rose at that place Pāpôt, "the cheek-rubbing village." A mile farther on he began to shake all over with fatigue and terror, whence the name of Tôn, "the trembling village." Finally, when he reached the site of Paukpogu, the "swelling burst," he sank down on the ground, and was found there next morning with just enough life left to tell his story. The smith never worked again, but his fire may be seen to this day. Once a year all the house fires in Kāma are put out and lighted again from the nat-mi. Should any one neglect so to pay hônour to the nat, his house and all his goods will be burnt before the year is out. The resemblance to the legend of Wayland Smith at Lambourn in Berkshire is obvious. The naming of the villages is also a favourite form of Horne Took etymology prevalent all over Burma. 823 [513] [186] [103]

The common notion of earthquakes is that the earth is supported on the shoulders of four creatures called nga-hlyin. These monsters are less sturdy than the classical Atlas, and 823

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the fence. Monasteries are places of meditation and peace.

Of course, all monasteries are not great and beautiful buildings; many are but huts of bamboo and straw, but little better than the villager's hut. Some villages are so poor that they can afford but little for their holy men. But always there will be trees, always the ground will be swept, always the place will be respected just the same. And as soon as a good crop gives the village a little money, it will build a teak monastery, be sure of that.

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Monasteries are free to all. Any stranger may walk into a monastery and receive shelter. The monks are always hospitable. I have myself lived, perhaps, a quarter of my life in Burma in monasteries, or in the rest-houses attached to them. We break all their laws: we ride and wear boots within the sacred enclosure; our servants kill fowls for our dinners there, where all life is protected; we treat these monks, these who are the honoured of the nation, much in the offhand, unceremonious way that we treat all Orientals; we often openly laugh at their religion. And yet they always receive us; they are often even glad to see us and talk to us. Very, very seldom do you meet with any return in kind for your contempt of their faith and habits. I have heard it said sometimes that some monks stand aloof, that they like to keep to themselves. If they should do so, can you wonder? Would any people, not firmly bound by their religion, put up with it all for a moment? If you went into a Mahommedan mosque in Delhi with your boots on, you would probably be killed. Yet

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we clump round the Shwe Dagon pagoda at our ease, and no one interferes. Do not suppose that it is because the Burman believes less than the Hindu or Mahommedan. It is because he believes more, because he is taught that submission and patience are strong Buddhist virtues, and that a man's conduct is an affair of his own soul. He is willing to believe that the Englishman's breaches of decorum are due to foreign manners, to the necessities of our life, to ignorance. But even if he supposed that we did these things out of sheer wantonness, it would make no difference. If the foreigner is dead to every feeling of respect, of courtesy, of sympathy, that is an affair of the foreigner's own heart. It is not for the monk to enforce upon strangers the respect and reverence due to purity, to courage, to the better things. Each man is responsible for himself, the foreigner no less than the Burman. If a foreigner have no respect for what is good, that is his own business. It can hurt no one but himself if he is blatant, ignorant, contemptuous. No one is insulted by it, or requires revenge for it. You might as well try and insult gravity by jeering at Newton and his pupils, as injure the laws of righteousness by jeering at the Buddha or his monks. And so you will see foreigners take all sorts of liberties in monasteries and pagodas, break every rule wantonly, and disregard everything the Buddhist holds holy, and yet very little notice will be taken openly. Burmans will have their own opinion of you, do have their own opinion of you, without a doubt; but because you are lost to all sense of decency,

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792 that is no reason why the Buddhist monk or layman
594 should also lower himself by getting angry and
186 resent it; and so you may walk into any monastery or rest-house and act as you think fit, and no one will interfere with you. Nay, if you even show a little courtesy to the monks, your hosts, they will be glad to talk to you and tell you of their lives and their desires. It is very seldom that a pleasant word or a jest will not bring the monks into forgetting all your offences, and talking to you freely and openly. I have had, I have still, many friends among the monkhood; I have been beholden to them for many kindnesses; I have found them always, peasants as they are, courteous and well-mannered. Nay, there are greater things than these.

792 When my dear friend was murdered at the out-
779 break of the war, wantonly murdered by the soldiers of a brutal official, and his body drifted down the river, everyone afraid to bury it, for fear of the wrath of government, was it not at last tenderly and lovingly buried by the monks near whose monastery it floated ashore? Would all people have done this? Remember, he was one of those whose army was engaged in subduing the kingdom; whose army imprisoned the king, and had killed, and were killing, many, many hundreds of Burmans. 'We do not remember such things. All men are brothers to the dead.' They are brothers to the living, too. Is there not a great monastery near Kindat, built by an Englishman as a memorial to the monk who saved his life at peril of his own at that same time, who preserved him till help came?

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great arm will seize you, and you will be pulled under and disappear for ever. 776 626

A Nat is much like a human being; if you treat him well he will treat you well, and conversely. Courtesy is never wasted on men or Nats, at least so a Burman tells me. [782]

The highest Nats live in the mountains. The higher the Nat the higher the mountain; and when you get to a very high peak indeed, like Mainthong Peak in Wuntho, you encounter very powerful Nats. 776 823

They tell a story of Mainthong Peak and the Nats there, how all of a sudden, one day in 1885, strange noises came from the hill. High up on his mighty side was heard the sound of great guns firing slowly and continuously; there was the thunder of falling rocks, cries as of someone bewailing a terrible calamity, and voices calling from the precipices. The people living in their little hamlets about his feet were terrified. Something they knew had happened of most dire import to them, some catastrophe which they were powerless to prevent, which they could not even guess. But when a few weeks later there came even into those remote villages the news of the fall of Mandalay, of the surrender of the king, of the 'great treachery,' they knew that this was what the Nats had been sorrowing over. All the Nats everywhere seem to have been distressed at our arrival, to hate our presence, and to earnestly desire our absence. They are the spirits of the country and of the people, and they cannot abide a foreign domination. [186]

But the greatest place for Nats is the Popa Mountain, which is an extinct volcano standing all

recognised as over-stimulated by anxieties. "Don't talk my gall into disorder" is a common reaction to calamity tales. 158 753

The weather is important is maintaining health. Changeable weather as during the late part of the Monsoon season is generally unhealthy and gives rise to pulmonary disorders. One should provide head protection (through covering or shade from umbrella) from the sun's rays - which cause headaches by melting the brain. Colds come from getting wet in the rain resulting from the lack of sufficient bodily heat. MIEH HNGME (earth-vapour) which rises as a steam in the early morning or after sudden rains is unhealthful in causing sore eyes and other inflamations. The "steam of the body" healthfully goes out in ordinary bathing and adds to one's comfort. Heat is a key factor in health and sickness being readily discerned as causes of local or general infection. The additional concept of "like producing like" helps explain the above beliefs. 753 132

The odor of AH HNLAW (fried-food) is especially dangerous to babies and persons in a weakened condition. When frying, which will create extensive fumes, is to be undertaken the cook must give warning to the neighbourhood so that susceptible ones can be protected. Such persons take refuge behind the thick, cloth mosquito nets. Many heated arguments take place in our servants' quarters when the Indian fried food fumes carry over to the Burmese apartments. It is observed that this danger applies peculiarly to the Burmese - Chinese are also exempt since they are seen to cook with babies strapped on their backs. [252] [186]

Parts of the body are cared for with special ingredients. The eyes are cleaned with pure water or coconut water. Oil is frequently dropped into the ears through a feather quill. The mouth and teeth are cleaned with salt. Bitter foods keep keep the stomach fit. 515 751

Babies up to 1 year are fed on mother's milk or cow's milk. After one, rice chewed by the mother "to make it digestible" is added with some dried fish. After two, the child can chew its own rice, have a little meat, but no hot condiments. After five the child eats the same foods as the adults but is not allowed sour foods as this will "lessen the weight". After 16 or 17, this restriction is 853 561 262

302 on top of the head. Scented hair oil is used by both sexes on
177 special occasions.
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291 The HTAMEIN is regarded as "unworthy" for a man to touch. A
562 severe insult is for a wife to request her husband to bring her
183 HTAMEIN or to wash it. Drying HTAMEINS in the front of the house is never allowed; and it is strictly forbidden for this garment to touch any pongyi utensils. Parents instruct their boys never to pass under the strings of a line of which HTAMEINS are drying as such is thought to take away the masculine powers, and render the tattooed charms ineffective. Men and women's clothes are washed and stored separately.

[593] When a son neglects his mother after marriage she will complain with rage that he has not come out of the HTAMEIN and is under the HTAMEIN government of his wife.

291 Women usually wear solid black HTAMEINS during menstruation.
841 Boys, in jest, inform one of their companions that he may now become serious when the girl of his choice appears in a black dress for the first time.

Slippers of both sexes are regarded as "dirty" objects and are left outside of the houses. They are strictly prohibited in pagoda enclosures and land. When a girl is angry at a teasing boy (or quarreling with a woman) she will threaten to slap his face with her sandal. This is a double insult since the head is regarded as a particularly sacred part of the body. Barbers must ask permission and apologize for touching the heads of their customers.

291 Western clothing has a higher status than Burmese clothing in
177 certain situations and on certain occasions especially where western
554 people are present in suits. However, for most occasions, everyday or special, the Burmese costume is preferred. When abroad the Burmese men usually wear western garb. The wearer of western clothes

● [186] is often open to the taunt that he is "Bo Gyi (term for Englishmen) made in Burma". There is a strong feeling in all cases to be "properly" dressed and not to stand out from the rest of the group. This tendency is stronger in men than women who with their jewels and fine silks attempt to rival each other in a contest for social posi-

[562] tion. Burmese girl students who go abroad almost invariably wear their native costumes.

the bereaved bring with them gifts of money and in this way seek to help them to defray the funeral expenses of which the funeral feast held 7 days after the death is most expensive. Sometimes these visitors are so generous that the householder does not need to contribute anything at all. Some people, however, prefer to reserve the right to pay for burial expenses of someone in the family, and put out an announcement requesting neighbours to refrain from making monetary contributions. 764 621 476

The community activities in the refugee camp are mainly of an economic nature - discussed in the section on "Work". The solidarity of the village is lacking and the feelings of obligation and responsibility beyond the basic economic ones are absent. 621 722

In Pathne there are ethnic groups other than the Burmese. There are a few Karens, Indians of Madrasi affiliation, as well as a few Chinese who run stores. The attitude of the family toward these other groups are reflected in the following interview: (Note: the concept of "religion" is used here as meaning "general way of life." 621 563 186●

Q. "Does U Pyaing know about other religions such as Christianity and Hinduism? If so, what is his attitude towards them.

A. "I don't understand them well. We are with our own religion. We are country folk. We understand our religion only. We don't understand other religions.

Q. "What is your attitude towards other racial groups living in the village?

A. "I don't hold any positive attitude. I harbour no evil thoughts. We hold them to be the same as we are.

Q. "Would you like to go back to live among the Karens you spoke of just now?

A. (D.A.Z.) "Of course not. Lots of Burmese were left behind. We wouldn't dare to live among the Karens."
(U.M.) "Some people do not dare to live among the Karens, but we do."
(D.A.Z.) U.M.)"We don't have enemies."
(D.A.Z.) "There are Karens who are friendly with us."
(U.M.) "Say that we lived together. We lived together."
(D.A.Z.)"Though we have no enemies we feel afraid. In the present turmoil and confusion people no longer know each other."

Q. " Do the Karens differ from you in religion?"

A. (U.M.) "Our religions do not differ. The religion of Karens in our place and our religion do not differ. It is Buddhism."

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Q. "We want to know your relations with adherents of other religions. There are people who worship Indian gods, Chinese gods, and Christians - what is your attitude towards them?"

A. (U.M.) "I don't hold any attitude at all."

Q. " Do you get on well?"

A. (U.M.) "Yes. We got on very well. They buy our goods and we buy theirs. They rent our fields and cultivate them. If there are cows they are borrowed and lent. We live together like this - buying and selling."

Q. "This is about the people. How about their attitude towards their gods?"

A. "I have no attitude."

Q. "Have you never thought about it?"

A. "I have never thought about it. Their god is only slightly different. There is only one god. There will be only one god. Only people differ somewhat. Our outlook should be improved. After all, his god is my god and my god is his god. Only the races differ. Even one race is divided within itself."

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The relationship of the family to the state in Pathwe involve taxes, military service and voting. In the pre-war days, U Myaing and family had to pay a capitation tax, levied at the rate of Rs. 5/- per year for a married couple, and Rs. 2/8 per year for a bachelor of twenty and over. Children and unmarried women and widows are exempt from any tax whatsoever. There was a land tax on cultivation fields - levied at the rate of annas 2 per acre per annum, and also on garden land at one anna or two annas per acre per annum according to the value of the land. The tax on INS - or purchase of the fishery rights amounted to a figure anywhere between Rs. 3000/- and Rs. 12,000/-. U Myaing is not liable to taxes because of his low income, he retains his voting privileges for general elections.

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The family was moved from Pathwe to the refugee camp because of the insurrection and has been under the protection of the government since coming to camp. The proportion of food and shelter benefits, which they receive from the government, has been noted under those headings. According to government policy, shelter is provided for the family, and food for all except one adult who is expected to work.

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Education for U Myaing's children is provided by the government both in Pantanaw and in the refugee camp. Only the cost of the books has to be paid by him.

Children in the Pathwe village learnt their lessons at the government school. This school, which was on YWA-GYI-BET side, teaches pupils up to the tenth standard. The school house was built by contributions taken in the village. When U Myaing was young, they had to pay a tuition fee of four annas each to the schoolmaster every month. Now government has taken over the cost of educating the children, and fees are no longer required of them. The children only have to bring their own books and pencils. There are three teachers in the school; one headmaster and two assistants. The headmaster draws a salary of Rs. 100/- and the assistants of over Rs. 90/- each. There are other schools across the river but they teach only up till the fourth standard, and children of higher grades have to come to YWA-GYI-BET to attend school.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

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171. THE VILLAGE DOGS.

the kinked tail. Wild animals are often kept as pets, and fetch good prices. Monkeys, deer, porcupines, otters, are occasionally tamed. Cage-birds are in many houses (No. 404); doves, minas, and parakeets are the commonest. The principal singing bird is the bulbul, but it is not a cage-bird. Poultry is kept for the sake of fighting-cocks or for fancy. The wild peacock is caught young and kept; it is generally a savage bird. The peacock and the hare are the national emblems of Burma (Nos. 2, 7, 11).

The houses and boats are infested with rats and cockroaches. The latter have an enemy in the *taukté*, a large lizard of the same tribe as the little gecko, which catches flies in the houses throughout the tropics of Asia. This animal is remarkable for its loud cry, whence its name (see *The Shadow of the Pagoda*). What with the cawing of crows, barking of dogs, croaking of frogs, chatter of sparrows, loud hum of cicadas, squeaking of rats—an interval of real stillness by day or night is a boon in Burma, when the quiet does not merely serve to bring out the ominous "ping" of the mosquito. In addition to this perennial pest come the flights of insects at dusk, as the rainy season approaches. The "bombardier" comes with them, a beetle which raises a blister wherever it touches, and which is a danger to eyesight. But one of the most charming effects of the country is produced by the myriads of fireflies with their rhythmical illumination of the river sedges at night.

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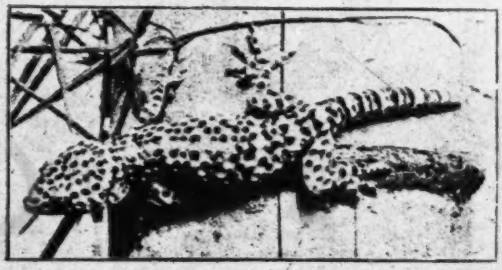
The seasons of Burma—and Further India at large—are three; the rainy, or south-west monsoon, the cool, or north-east monsoon, and the hot season. The rains last, roughly speaking, from May to September (*Kasôn*, *Nayôn*, *Wazô*, *Wagáung*, *Tawthalin*,



172. THE TAUK-TE (ONE-THIRD NATURAL SIZE).

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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217. PLASTERER'S SCAFFOLD ON ZEDI.

(*Kathé*) excel in this work and form colonies for the industry. Attempts have been made in Europe to imitate the scroll-patterns on the Jacquard loom, as well as to print them. But the imitations fall too far short of the original, which is nearly the same front and back. The best *htu-tayé* silks cost ten to fifteen rupees the square foot, which makes two hundred to three hundred rupees for the *pasé*. Only an inch or two a day can be woven. Italian methods of carding, dyeing, and finishing silk, were introduced by the late King, Mindôn Min, and have helped to develop an important industry in Mandalay. Stripe and tartan patterns are woven in this way, chiefly from China silk. Fine texture and delicate tints are aimed at, rather than rich colour and design. The *pasé* of

[435] twenty cubits, one cubit wide, costs ten to twenty rupees.

293 The Burman umbrella (*tî*) is on the Chinese model—a bamboo frame with

[171] paper cover. The Chinese umbrella has a thin paper cover, the Burman has bast-paper, which outlasts several of the other. But the Chinese umbrellas are cheaper, better waterproofed, and sun-proof. The Burman *tî* is waterproofed by occasional oiling with crude petroleum. A waterproof size made from the fruit of the *tê* is used for fixing the paper to the ribs and the cotton twines that connect them. The red, the

[186] gilt and the white umbrellas are emblems of state. The

[554] first two denote official rank, according to the number assigned. Such umbrellas

[532] have stems of turned wood, six to eight feet long, to allow of the *tî* being borne over the officer on horseback or in his chariot, by attendants on foot (No. 375). The

218. SCULPTURING MARBLE IMAGES.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

219. ROPE-WALK.

inner side is brightly decorated with floss silks. Gilt umbrellas (*shwe-di*) are dedicated in the *kyaung*, but are not actually used. The white umbrella (*thhyu*) is the emblem of sovereignty. The *thhyu* is set above the images of the Buddha and above the remains of the *pahán*, who are assumed at their death to enter upon a higher spiritual stage. The metal canopy surmounting the *sadi* is a conventionalised *ti* (No. 232). Of late, European umbrellas have become a staple import of Burma.

293 [283] [186] [179] [346] [177] 439

Lacquer-ware vessels and utensils—light, durable, and watertight—are made with the help of *thissi*, the exudation of the bark of *Melanorrhœa usitatissima*, a common tree of the *in* forest. The gum blackens to jet on exposure to the air. It dries slower than the "Japan black" of commerce, but is much tougher; it sells for two to three rupees a viss. *Thissi* is applied to wood turnery and bamboo wickerwork, either plain or with pigments, generally with vermilion. The commonest lacquer goods are platters (*byat* and *daunglan*), which are turned of teak or *yamané* wood and given two or three coats of *thissi*. After the platters, the principal article of lacquer-ware is the betel-box (*kun-it*). Coarse lacquering is done everywhere in the dry region, but the betel-box industry is peculiar to Pagán. The advantage of lacquer-ware and of a deep cover for the betel-box, is to keep the green leaf fresh At first sight it appears incredible that these exact cylindrical boxes with their trays and covers, fitting as if each piece had been turned out of the block, should start from a wicker-work frame. Yet so it is; the models are plaited so true that the rest

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220. HILL-PEOPLE TWISTING ROPE.

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CHAPTER SEVEN

805 ROUND about the end of January each year, for our lunar dates
527 do not fall on the same calendar dates every year, we celebrated my father's birthday. All Burmese celebrations have a basis of "doing merit" either in feasting people and perhaps fasting oneself, distributing gifts, or inviting monks to preach and others to hear them. An atmosphere of enjoyment is possible in these good works because Burmese people do not believe in divorcing their praying from their merry-making; usually both are carried out in the same room, the pleasure after the holiness; and the donor feels a great satisfaction of spirit as he says; "*A-hmya a-hmya* : Share with all, share with all (the merit from his good deed)." The friends gathered around reply to this "*Tha-du, tha-du :* Well done, well done."

527 On my father's birthday monks were "lifted" or invited to the house
352 for a grand meal. All the Western chairs and tables were moved out of the sitting room; and one end of the room was laid with carpets of red and green rose design, specially kept for such occasions in all Burmese houses. This was for the monks to sit on and facing them the people would sit on mats. Between the monks and people were laid out all the presents for the monastery.

792 I was always sad when I saw these presents; to my childish eyes they
•192 looked so uninteresting. A monk who renounces worldly goods is allowed to possess only eight articles, three pieces of cloth which form
[413] his robes, a begging bowl, a mat, a blade, a needle and a water strainer. Dagas or donators can, therefore, only give these, or other articles necessary to the way of life conforming to their precepts. Such include religious books, mats, candles and matches, brooms, spittoons. These last make very elegant presents, and are a common sight at all distributions of presents, the standard pattern being of white enamel, with a red band around the edge. Children are told of one monastry whose holiness is so high that a spittoon donated to the monks there will echo the name of the donator each time a monk spits into it. With the presents all laid out, the monks walk in in a row, and sit with eyes downcast and legs crossed. My mother and father make obeisance to them and send for us after a few words with the chief monk. We were always nervous and subdued on these occasions; in speaking to a monk a vocabulary of honorifics has to be used, even for "Yes". The hpongyi always made

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joking enquiries about whether we were getting enough Buddhist and Burmese teaching for we were attending English Christian schools at the time.

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The monks have lost all touch with the schooling of the great majority of children by now. In the first decade of the century the monastic schools were still the backbone of instruction for boys throughout all the rural districts, being responsible for the high literacy figure of 49% for Burman males, as compared with 11.9% in Madras at the time. But lay schools, either established and run on Burman lines, or established by Christian missionary societies with perhaps grants-in-aid, or under the direct management of Government or a committee acting on behalf of the government, were springing up on all sides, until by 1934 the proportion of lay to recognized monastic schools for vernacular education was about five to one. Although there had been attempts to raise the utilitarian value of monastic education by the encouragement of such subjects as arithmetic, geography and land surveying, it was far easier for the lay schools to conform to the standards set by the Board of Examiners. With the passing of such standards becoming the means of obtaining employment and the changing of fashions, more and more children went to the lay schools. Moreover, the lay schools included schools for girls, either separately or in common with boys.

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In my childhood there were still echoes of the opposition between monastic and secular education. In about 1922 my Uncle Pyant, who was then a serious student at the University, told me the world was round, "but", he added, "the hpongyis say that this is not true and most elder people don't believe it." My husband also tells me that when he went home from his government school with the statement that the earth spun around on its axis and took twenty-four hours to do it, the elders were most scornful. "In that case," they said, "if you were to go up into the air and stay there for some time, you could not come down to Kengtung until the same time the next day, but might land in England for your lunch."

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Another difference between old and new ideas of education was that the elder people were aghast at the long years which a modern education from primary schools to University lasted. They felt that at least one must have learnt everything there was to learn by then, for a few years at a monastery taught a boy all the reading, writing, calculation and literature which any grown man was expected to know. Once my grandfather received a telegram announcing the birth of a grandson; the message contained the additional information that the doctors had found it necessary to perform a circumcision on the infant. The telegram was in English, according to the rules of the Posts and Telegraphs in Burma,

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177. brother to his young sisters, and thus give joy to the whole family.
57 "For," said she, "our family has always commanded respect. Grandfather
873 was a great man, and you are the only son of the youngest family of his
grandchildren, and it should not be said that with us the end tapers to a
186 point," which is the expression for a stock which degenerates with
582 successive generations.

In the case of a girl, there was not of course, the fear that she would bring back an English husband, but the concern that Burmese standards of morality and dignity would be affected by an unchaperoned stay in a foreign country was very great. As we landed, I remembered enough of my childhood environment to feel the eyes of elder relatives and friends on me while I tried to restrain the wild excitement and love I felt at seeing again my mother and my young sisters now grown so sweet and shy, and I noticed also that my brother had been home long enough not to kiss me in front of my aunts as he had done when he himself had first returned from England. I felt this scrutiny also when my mother took me on the round of obeisance visits during my first days at home, and it formed a complement to the visit which I had paid to each of these elder relatives and friends before I left for England three years before. Then, each had given me a lecture which contained strong injunctions to keep to the path of virtue, modesty and dignity. But these were just *son-ma saga*, admonitory words, to be received with meekness, and not a slight on the strength of my character, just as now, when, satisfied with their scrutiny, they told my mother that her womb should be layered
• [192] with gold leaf (sacrilegiously using the term for the gilding of sacred objects) for having brought forth such daughters, I was not expected to take conceit.

In all the houses of friends in Rangoon, in Thaton and Ye, I went
192 through the same ritual, but the words of the hpongyi at Thaton moved
186 me more than any other. "Now I will tell three stories about Mi Mi Khaing," he said, and proceeded in beautiful words and a chanting flow; "You are like a young tree planted of good seed in the fertile earth. Now the tree is heavy with ripe fruit, but the boughs are tender and bend under the weight. The tree must grow carefully and steadily, so that the full fruit do not break the young bough.....Let your stature be measured by your shadow that is cast after the noonday sun, for your knowledge and learning are now at noonday height. So your shadow will grow longer and longer towards the setting of the day.....Let your merit be like a river that gathers more strength from the rain that falls about it, and grows from a stream into a great river before it joins the mighty Thammodhaya." Then he took the monk's expression off his face, and turned to me with a smile and asked in a normal speaking

voice, "Do you understand the hpongyi's language after being so long as it were one human amongst a thousand monkeys?" 192. 186

Chastened and fortified by such injunctions, I was ready to plunge into six months of social life before starting on the serious business of earning a living. Rangoon should have offered plenty of scope for that, according to the rhyme about the first three cities of Burma: *"Moul-a-myaing a-sa, Mandalay sa-ga, Yangon a-kywa:* Moulmein for rich eating, Mandalay for fine speaking, Rangoon for showy vanity." 361 177. 36

The Yangon-thu were grouped in urban or verdant clusters about the city of foreigners. There were two packed streets of the more prosperous trading classes in a western quarter of Rangoon, which the municipal authorities called Edward Street and Oliphant Street, but which to every Burman had always been known as *Kon-zay Dan:* Goods Bazaar Row, and *Shwedaung Dan:* Gold Mountain Row. Here the families lived in tightly packed unpretentious houses and did not possess Western style furniture or cars; they went to the cinema in rickshaws, but the women were loaded with valuable diamond jewellery which put many a minkadaw to shame. In the dusk of the evenings, they sat on wooden platform couches on the pavement outside each house, puffing at cheroots, calling out to neighbours and eating a variety of choice foods from the Burmese, Chinese and Indian restaurant quarter which surrounded them. In the east of the town, separated from this area by rows of Indian and mixed streets, retired Government officers were concentrated in a block. Here the houses were substantial, the sons and daughters attended school and University in cars, and the most eligible civil servants could be obtained in marriage for daughters, but the pensioners were the type who lived in a congested neighbourhood for fear of dacoits in a more open area, and whose womenfolk considered lawns and the drawing-rooms of modern bungalows a poor substitute for the access to cinema, eating houses and bazaars that a crowded part of Rangoon afforded them. Round about the Kokine Lakes and along the main highway to Prome, however, more newly retired Burmans who entertained on chairs, laid rugs on floors and hung pictures on walls in the Western fashion, had built pleasant modern bungalows. To the west of this area, just a stone's throw from the main Prome Road, began the village of Kemmendine with its rows of small wooden houses, each with its front enclosure full of green foliage, an altar-stand jutting out on the east wall, three steps raising the first and only storey a few feet off the ground, and wooden floors with one plank loose in them to allow the dust to be swept below. Kemmendine had its own bazaar, country boats on the river, and children and dogs playing on the street, just like any district town. My *Ko Gyi*, eldest male first cousin, lived there among small traders, clerks and school

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

1. Datu zedi, erected over relics of the Buddha, or models of these. 778

2. Paribawga zedi, over the sacred eight utensils, or their imitations.

3. Oddeitha zedi, enclosing images.

4. Damma zedi, enclosing the sacred books, such as the *Bitaghat thôn-bôn*, the three baskets of the Law, and other sacred volumes, like the *Bagawa*, appointed to be read during Lent.

It may be well to remark that the word "pagoda" is not known at all in Burmese, either in its English or Cinghalese form, any more than the word Mandarin is known in China. Such a building is called a Zedi, from the Pali chaitya, meaning the offering-place, or place of prayer, but the expression Payā, applicable as well to the image as to the shrine, is most frequently used in reference to the more famous centres of worship. 778 192

The greatest of the payās, such as the Shwe Dagôn in Rangoon, the most famous of all; the Shwe Maw-daw, the lotus-shrine of Pegu; the Shwe San-daw, the depository of the sacred hair at Prome; and the Mahā Myat Muni, the temple of the most exalted saint in Mandalay; all these were founded by single individuals, or brothers to whom the most excellent Master had given hairs from his head to deposit in the specified place. How the exact spot was found, and how successive kings increased the size of the first erection, and donations flowed in from the pious in all parts of the world to beautify and preserve the building, all these particulars are recorded in the palm-leaf records of the various temples. Many later Zedi, however, have been erected by villages, or by public subscription in whole districts, as pious memorials, or to commemorate some particular event, as well as for the obvious purposes of public convenience on the duty days of the month. Very many, and among them some of the most beautiful, are, on the other hand, the outcome of purely individual desire for merit. Some, such as the chaste, white Sibyo shrine at Mengôn, near Mandalay, are built in remembrance of individuals; the graceful pagoda mentioned being erected by a recent monarch in memory of a favourite queen. Under all, however, to render 778 173 778 [735]

23: Benedict
184, 192, 582, 591, 602, 611, 613, 614, 616, 618, 621

ALL Southeast Asia
Burmese AP4

/For lists of kinship terms, and for excellent and detailed information concerning correlations between kinship terminology, patterns of behavior, and social institutions, see category 601./

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

CHAPTER LX

THE LANGUAGE

● 193 194 THE Burmese language is monosyllabic, and is therefore, like all the other monosyllabic languages, forced into the tonic system on account of the limited number of combinations of which the consonants admit. The multitude of meanings which a slight difference of accentuation gives to an otherwise identical sound is the greatest difficulty which a stranger has to contend with in studying the language, and never fails to land the beginner in a most embarrassing maze of complications. The modulations of the voice which European nations employ only to express astonishment, disbelief, interrogation, and alarm, become in Burmese and other Indo-Chinese tongues a means for distinguishing between words of different meaning; and this peculiarity offers particular difficulties to the phlegmatic, monotonous-voiced Englishman. It does not simplify matters that Burmese is, of all these languages, the softest and most pliable, and has therefore received the title of the Italian of the Far East. The varying cadence of the sounds produces to the ear the semblance of a chant, and all the people seem to speak in a kind of rhythm, so that as long as a man has ideas, it is not
[505] a very difficult matter to compose linga. But this only
[195] renders it more puzzling to the Occidental, and accounts for the fact that very few Englishmen learn Burmese, and still fewer speak it well. Of the mercantile community not one in fifty has any knowledge of Burmese at all; and the civil officers, who have to pass examinations before they get
184 promotion, are but poor hands in conversation. The chief
876 reason of this is, of course, that the European is accustomed

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

to learn by the eye, while the Burman learns almost entirely by ear, and the language is correspondingly affected. The semi-civilised man has a gift for catching faint distinctions of sound; and a modulation hardly perceptible to the European is enough to give to the Burman an entirely new meaning to the word. Fortunately the grammar is of the easiest possible character, and there is an extensive written literature, so that recourse may be had to the system of learning by the eye; but this only produces book scholars, and without a knowledge of the pronunciation it is impossible to appreciate the smooth flow of the dramatic metres. Individual sentences, too, may be clear enough, and the immediate connection of subordinate ideas with the leading thought is a great help, but longer compositions can often only be understood by a careful collating of the whole meaning, when once reading aloud would make the whole idea perfectly evident to a Burman.

One of the principal features in the language is the arrangement of words in a sentence, which, as is the case also in Thibetan, is the exact reverse of the order followed in English. This is the more singular and significant to the philologist, because the surrounding Shans, Talaings, and Karens observe practically the same sequence as in English. Another peculiarity is in the nouns, adjectives, and tenses of verbs, which are all formed by the addition of suffixes or affixes to the verbal root. Passive verbs are in very many cases transformed into the active form by the aspiration of the initial consonant, and transitives from intransitives in the same way; as kya-thi, to fall; hkya-thi, to throw down, or cause to fall; pyet-thi, to be ruined; hpyet-thi, to bring to ruin; lut-thi, to be free; hlut-gyi, to set free. The language is written from left to right, and there are no spaces between the words, and but very few paik, or stops, to mark separate sentences, except the paik-gyi which divides paragraphs, and consists of four short perpendicular lines arranged in couples. The written characters are, all but one or two, composed of circles, or segments of circles, having acquired that shape from the original Nagari, by the custom of writing with a pointed style on palm leaves. The alphabet is derived from

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

212 the Magadhi or Pali (the latter word properly meaning a
171 text and not a language), and was doubtless imported into Burma with the teachings of Buddhism. The monosyllabic character of the language has, however, considerably changed
194 the sound of many of the letters. There are ten vowels and thirty-two consonants, every alternate vowel having the sound of that preceding it, but considerably longer and broader in tone. The consonants are divided into groups of gutturals, palatals, cerebrals, dentals, and labials, with five liquids, a sibilant pronounced *th*, and an aspirate. In each class there are five letters; the first the simple sound, the second its aspirate, the third the sound rough and hard, the fourth its aspirate, and the fifth the corresponding nasal.
212 The letters of the alphabet have all names descriptive of their shapes, beginning with ka-gyi and ka-gwe, "great ka" and "curved ka." Some of the names are singular; "big-bellied ta," "elephant shackles hta," "bottom indented da," "steep pa," "hump-backed ba," "bridle za," and "supine ya." The vowel *a* is inherent in every consonant, and is pronounced in every case, except when it is "killed" by the "that" mark, when the consonant itself is also killed, and the effect produced is a short, sharp, abrupt termination to the word, as if the letter were strangled in the attempt to pronounce it.

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2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
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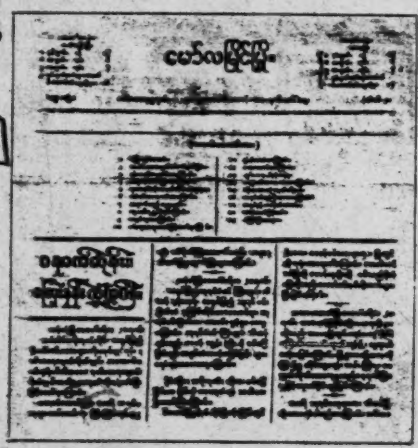

465. BURMESE LETTERPRESS (NEWSPAPER, p. 124).

[198]
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2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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The scientific men write bhoora (lord), the Burman pronounces the word păyah; tsit-tshay (ghost) is a formidable way of reproducing the spoken tăsay; pa-nya (learning) but inadequately represents the sound of pyinya; khwon (taxes) is a startling, not to say puzzling, way of suggesting the sound kohn. The matter is made none the easier by the difficulty of finding an English equivalent at all for some Burmese sounds. In the words nyaung, pyouk, gyi, and the like, the *y* belongs to the preceding letter, and has always the consonantal and never the vowel sound. Such words are therefore invariably monosyllables. Again, the nou'pyit sound, which I have written *è* on the analogy of the French *mère*, has as a final vocable no equivalent in English. *Errant* gives the force as an initial letter. The scientific form of *eh* is certainly misleading. The initial *ky* is a great crux to beginners in Burmese. It requires a fine ear to catch the precise sound. An English officer will call for his clerk, Maung Poh Chè, and the punkah-boy will pass on the word for Maung Poh Kyè—tyè it might almost be written. But it is little use multiplying instances. Suffice it to add that a final consonant is always silent—strangled is almost a literal translation of the Burmese word.

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Of published works on Burma I have found those of Colonel Yule, Captain Forbes, and Dr. Bastian most valuable in supplying hints as to those of the national customs most likely to be interesting to foreigners. Had Captain Forbes's life been prolonged this book would probably have had no *raison d'être*.

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In conclusion, I have only to record my indebtedness to the Rev. Dr. Marks, the head of the S.P.G. in Burma. For over twenty years he has laboured in Burma both as a teacher and a missionary, and there is no Burman in the

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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Those born on Saturday have T, Ht, D, Dh, and N. The aspirated and unaspirated letters have to most Englishmen precisely the same sound, though a practised ear detects the difference immediately. Examples are:—Maung Ba Tu, Mr. Like His Father; Ma Ne Htun, Miss or Mrs. Sunshine; Maung Du Wun, Mr. Pole Star; Mi Nu, Miss Tender.

Those born on Thursday select from P, Hp, B, Hb, and M. For example:—U Po Mya, Old Grandfather Emerald; Maung Bo Gale, Mr. Little Officer; Ma Hmwe, Miss or Mrs. Fragrant; Mi Meit, Miss Affection.

Wednesday has L and W. Examples:—Maung Ho, Mr. Yonder; Ma Waing Hla, Miss or Mrs. All-Round Pretty; Ma Hein, Miss or Mrs. Growler.

From noon till midnight on Wednesday is represented as a special day, or, at any rate, under a special constellation called Yahu, and those born between those hours have the alternative of the two Y's, one of which is sounded R in Pali and by the Arakanese. Examples are:—Maung Yo, Mr. Honesty; Ma Yôn, Miss or Mrs. Rabbit, U Yauk, Old Individual. [194] [184]

Friday has Th and H. Examples:—Maung Than, Mr. Million; Maung Thet She, Mr. Long Life; Ma Thin, Miss or Mrs. Learned; Mè Thaw, (old) Mrs. Noisy.

A is the only letter assigned to Sunday, but the combination with it of the symbol of any other vowel changes it to the sound of that vowel. For example:—Maung Ôn, Mr. Cocoa-nut; Maung At Ni, Mr. Red Needle; Ma E, Miss Cold; Ma Eing Saung, Mrs. Housekeeper; U O, Old Pot.

A common popular belief is, that, according to the day of the week (or rather the constellation representing that day) on which a man is born, so will his character be. Thus a man's name discloses his probable characteristics to the superstitious. 828 551 787

A man born on Monday will be jealous; on Tuesday, honest; on Wednesday, short-tempered, but soon calm again, the characteristic being intensified under Yahu; on Thursday, mild; on Friday, talkative; on Saturday, hot-tempered and quarrelsome; on Sunday, parsimonious.

Not only has every day its special character and its fixed

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CHAPTER LX

THE LANGUAGE

193 194 THE Burmese language is monosyllabic, and is therefore, like all the other monosyllabic languages, forced into the tonic system on account of the limited number of combinations of which the consonants admit. The multitude of meanings which a slight difference of accentuation gives to an otherwise identical sound is the greatest difficulty which a stranger has to contend with in studying the language, and never fails to land the beginner in a most embarrassing maze of complications. The modulations of the voice which European nations employ only to express astonishment, disbelief, interrogation, and alarm, become in Burmese and other Indo-Chinese tongues a means for distinguishing between words of different meaning; and this peculiarity offers particular difficulties to the phlegmatic, monotonous-voiced Englishman. It does not simplify matters that Burmese is, of all these languages, the softest and most pliable, and has therefore received the title of the Italian of the Far East. The varying cadence of the sounds produces to the ear the semblance of a chant, and all the people seem to speak in a kind of rhythm, so that as long as a man has ideas, it is not [563] a very difficult matter to compose linga. But this only [195] renders it more puzzling to the Occidental, and accounts for the fact that very few Englishmen learn Burmese, and still fewer speak it well. Of the mercantile community not one in fifty has any knowledge of Burmese at all; and the civil officers, who have to pass examinations before they get 194 promotion, are but poor hands in conversation. The chief 876 reason of this is, of course, that the European is accustomed

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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to learn by the eye, while the Burman learns almost entirely by ear, and the language is correspondingly affected. The semi-civilised man has a gift for catching faint distinctions of sound; and a modulation hardly perceptible to the European is enough to give to the Burman an entirely new meaning to the word. Fortunately the grammar is of the easiest possible character, and there is an extensive written literature, so that recourse may be had to the system of learning by the eye; but this only produces book scholars, and without a knowledge of the pronunciation it is impossible to appreciate the smooth flow of the dramatic metres. Individual sentences, too, may be clear enough, and the immediate connection of subordinate ideas with the leading thought is a great help, but longer compositions can often only be understood by a careful collating of the whole meaning, when once reading aloud would make the whole idea perfectly evident to a Burman.

One of the principal features in the language is the arrangement of words in a sentence, which, as is the case also in Thibetan, is the exact reverse of the order followed in English. This is the more singular and significant to the philologist, because the surrounding Shans, Talaings, and Karens observe practically the same sequence as in English. Another peculiarity is in the nouns, adjectives, and tenses of verbs, which are all formed by the addition of suffixes or affixes to the verbal root. Passive verbs are in very many cases transformed into the active form by the aspiration of the initial consonant, and transitives from intransitives in the same way; as kya-thi, to fall; hkya-thi, to throw down, or cause to fall; pyet-thi, to be ruined; hpyet-thi, to bring to ruin; lut-thi, to be free; hlut-gyi, to set free. The language is written from left to right, and there are no spaces between the words, and but very few paik, or stops, to mark separate sentences, except the paik-gyi which divides paragraphs, and consists of four short perpendicular lines arranged in couples. The written characters are, all but one or two, composed of circles, or segments of circles, having acquired that shape from the original Nagari, by the custom of writing with a pointed style on palm leaves. The alphabet is derived from

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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212 the Magadhi or Pali (the latter word properly meaning a
171 text and not a language), and was doubtless imported into Burma with the teachings of Buddhism. The monosyllabic character of the language has, however, considerably changed
● 194 the sound of many of the letters. There are ten vowels and thirty-two consonants, every alternate vowel having the sound of that preceding it, but considerably longer and broader in tone. The consonants are divided into groups of gutturals, palatals, cerebrals, dentals, and labials, with five liquids, a sibilant pronounced *th*, and an aspirate. In each class there are five letters; the first the simple sound, the second its aspirate, the third the sound rough and hard, the fourth its aspirate, and the fifth the corresponding nasal.
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194 Pè with the light accent (cutting the sound short) means (1) the stern of a boat; (2) to steer; (3) to be broken off, to crumble. Pè, with the heavy accent, means (1) a measure of weight equal to six seeds of the *Abrus precatorius*; (2) any leguminous plant, such as bears seed in a pod, of which there are many varieties, including a pè-sa; (3) to put aside, reject; (4) madam, a familiar term applied by men to their intimate female friends; (5) a square measure of ground; (6) one of the four states of punishment. The last three usually have *a-* prefixed to them.

Hpè, with the light accent, means (1) to break off, as a small piece from a larger; (2) to separate and take a different course.

Hpè, with the heavy accent, means (1) satin; (2) a playing card, hpè-sa hpè-kye meaning to have shifting luck; (3) to get out of the way; (4) to remove. Kye hpè, derived from this, means to be splay-footed.

Thus we have nearly thirty separate meanings for a syllable which in rapid speaking seems, to an unpractised ear, to have throughout the same sound. This is philologically interesting, but practically it spoils the temper.

Myin means to see, high, and a horse; and to translate the sentence "I saw a high horse," and read the same aloud, is a good test of the knowledge of the arrangement of words, of the accent, and of the power of appreciating delicacies of pronunciation.

There are not very many Englishmen who can properly appreciate the difference in sound between kyaung, a cat, and kyaung, a monastery. They are apt to lose their temper when the lesson is many times repeated. Hundreds of other instances might be given, but they would only tire and perhaps frighten off those who do not know the language, and would certainly irritate those who have begun the study of it.

195 It is a common saying that you cannot pronounce Burmese properly till you take to betel-chewing. This may be called smart, or flippant rather than true. It is, however, undeniable that the practice of chewing renders it very much more difficult to catch the sound of a word. The result appears in the grotesque names which have been given to

13: Khin Zaw I-5 (no date) 1940 APl Burma
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BURMESE MUSIC.

Part III

Notes on Time.

There remains the question of Burmese musical time. Both Mr. Mariano and Paul Edmonds wrote with enthusiasm on the strictness with which Burmese musicians kept time. Very few among Burmans do not know how to keep the tiny bell (*si* ꩜) and clapper (*waah* ꩜) going correctly when music is playing. A foot or a hand of listeners and players alike may often be seen beating time. That may be partly because we as a race find it impossible to hear music with stolid immobility. Partly, however, it is because our language is not accentual but tonal.....

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Rhythm in a language such as English is largely dependent upon differences of emphasis or accent upon the syllables in a word, and the words in a sentence. Differences of emphasis or accent do occur in Burmese, but not to the same extent; consequently emphasis or accent is not used very much, if at all, in the composition of Burmese verse.

Burmese verse depends rather upon the schematic arrangement of words with certain sounds recurring at fixed points. That is, Burmese verse has rhyme, but it has little or no accentual rhythm. On the other hand timing, especially such as depends upon the number of syllables pronounced in a given period and caesuras that mark the period are of greater importance in Burmese than in English. In Burmese singing the caesuras are even more important than the sets of syllables or words in each measure. *See*, the rests on the first beat of measures 1 to 8 (Example 11 Voice)[1].

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The singer keeps time with a pair of tiny bells (*si* ꩜) and a small clapper (*wa* ꩜) in his hand. The 'clap' coincides with each of the rests mentioned till the final note of the section when it coincides with the tonic.

Simple duple or simple quadruple is the usual time. In the duple the bell (O) and the clapper (X) go alternately. In the quadruple there is a rest (—) on one or the other of the middle beats.

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1. Had Mariano known the significance of these rests, which often marked the beginning of bars, he would have discovered six such rests in his own notation of Nanphein-yodaya in bars 13, 15, 23, 27, 33 and 35. Make two of his bars equal one, and halve the value of all his notes, and all becomes right. In barring, I often found that western musicians mistakenly listened for the accented note. Accented notes in Burmese music do not mark the beginnings of bars. They are merely emphasised or underlined notes. The caesuras are what should have been looked for. The Burmese equivalent of the strong beat at the beginning of bars is the beat, or rather the 'clap' of the clapper. *See* Example 11*a*.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
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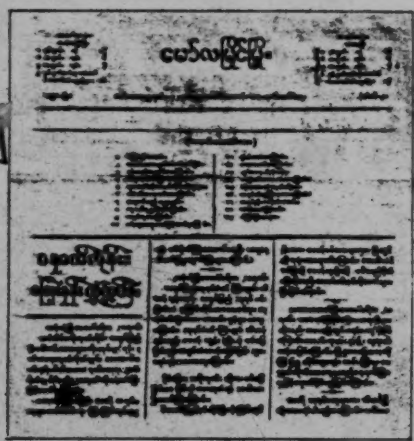

422. BURMESE LETTERPRESS (NEWSPAPER, p. 194).

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25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

The terseness of the language appears in its proverbs. 195

For instance, *Kwe-hle khale phu ma-th*—"The dog-flea may jump but it raises no dust." Seven syllables as compared with the ten of the almost monosyllabic English. In the above sentence the order of ideas is much the same as our own. But as a rule the order is the opposite. "Fetch hither water to quench the fire" is *ut thappo ye yagè*, literally, "fire to quench, water fetch hither." The ideas are expressed in order of their practical importance. The checked mutes of the Burmese language give it an abruptness which is reflected in the *staccato* of the Burmese music. But Burmese possesses sonorous qualities also, for instance, *Shwe Sandaw Payà, Shwe Mandaw Payà.* [538] 194

The sounds of the letters used in this work for transliterating Burmese words are as follows:— 194

Vowel-sounds.

a, e, i, o, u,	as in Italian	
ò	"	English *bell* (but long in quantity)
ai	"	" *aisle*
au	"	" *cow*
aw	"	" *caw*
ei	"	" *eight*
Consonants	"	English, including the *th*, omitting *f*, *v*, and *x*.

Few Burmans can pronounce *r*, and generally substitute *y* for it in the Pâli words. All final consonants are mute. They are not wholly suppressed as they are in French, but are merely checked in pronunciation. The Burmese for *demon* is written *nat* in this work, because it is too inconvenient to indicate the checked mute by such a form as *nat'*. The final *n* should, strictly speaking, be always followed by a *g* or a suggestion of *g*, thus *dagdag* or *dagdag'* instead of *dagdu*. But to write it in this way is inconvenient in many of the combinations. This should accordingly be borne in mind. The combinative changes on the other hand which consonants undergo in certain positions have been incorporated in the spelling and not left to the reader to form. Instead of the current form *sit-hayin* (chess), which correctly renders the Burmese spelling of the word, the form *sipphayin* is used, which renders the actual pronunciation. The letter *h* combined with *y* has a varying force according to its position. Thus *hya* is pronounced just as written, but in the duplicated form *hya-hya*, the pronunciation is *tya-dya*. There are a few exceptions such as *hsh-hyi* (scissors) pronounced as spelled. When the *h* is aspirated, its combination with *y* gives *tsh* (English *ch*) and *dzh* (English *j*). *Kyaung* (a monastery) is pronounced as written. In the compound *taw-kyaung* it is pronounced *taw-chaung* (a forest monastery). But when it is the aspirated *k*, *taw-'kyaung* makes *taw-chaung* (a forest stream). The modulation of the voice differentiates it further, thus *taw-chaung*, with the second syllable rounded up sharply (will cat). In deliberate utterance certain of these modifications disappear again; just as we

[778]

482. SADAIK (p. 88).

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

194 pronounce the article differently in deliberate and in rapid utterance. *Ka* in duplication becomes *ka-ga*, *pa* becomes *pa-ba*, *ta* becomes *ta-da*. Burmese words used within the English text have been inflected in the English way only when they have some currency in English, such as *Shan*, *Shans*. A further difference is made by the rising tone corresponding to the rising modulation of English speech in asking a question, and the falling one in answering. The former has a parallel in the Swedish; the pronunciation of the Burmese *mèthilè* recalls that of the Swedish Upsalt. On the other hand our interrogative modulation of voice has no signification in Burmese. The question is formed by the use of the interrogative particles, *lè*, *lè*. There are three quantities. *Wà* means bamboo; *wò* means cotton; *wa* means stout. Only the most salient of these distinctions have been embodied in the transliteration. Besides quantity, emphasis (stress) plays an important part. For instance, *pàla* means cardamom; *palà* means a bowl. Where the stress lies on a diphthong, the accent has been placed on the first vowel, for typographical reasons. The accent ' is used to express emphasis in the case of vowels which are stressed but are not long. The pronunciation of Burmese depends a great deal on the correct intervals or "rests." These are partly indicated by the conjoining of the syllables, the hyphening and the separation. For instance *Sinbyè-mya Shin* forms a single phrase, but the syllables have not all the same degree of cohesion. The hyphen has to be used in many cases where there is no rest, to simplify the reading and to preserve the right associations of consonants, such as in *Pòn-hnà*, *ko-myin*. Finally the cadence of speech is most distinctive. The intervals
[533] favoured in Burmese music and the tones on which the phrases begin and end indicate certain of its features (Appendix C).

APPENDIX C.

NOTE ON BURMESE MUSIC, BY MR. P. A. MARIANO.

533 THE fundamental pitch-note of Burmese music corresponds to our A-natural. Three kinds of scales are used. The first is the Doric scale consisting of the 1st, 2nd, 5th, 6th, and 8th intervals of the diatonic scale. The second is the diatonic scale; in the Burmese diatonic scale, however, the 7th is tuned flat by about a quarter tone. An instrument tuned in this way may sound out of tune to a good European ear, but most ears will scarcely perceive the difference. There are no flats or sharps in the Burmese gamut. Nevertheless, changes of key are not infrequent in their melodies. These invariably proceed from the tonic to the sub-dominant, but without the introduction of the 7th flat, as there is no regular system of counterpoint. Here the advantage of tuning the 7th somewhat flat is apparent, for it does duty as the 4th interval of the new key. A change from tonic to dominant sometimes also takes place. The third scale is a kind of minor; it consists of the same notes as the major diatonic scale, but it begins and ends with the third interval. Strict time is observed; two-four is the usual time.

Pure Burmese melodies are beautiful in themselves. But on account of the preponderance of grace-notes (*mordents*, *acciaturæ*, *appogiatura*) Europeans find it difficult to catch Burmese tunes. Not being able to eliminate the grace-notes from the simple theme, they do not appreciate genuine airs so much as they do the medley of catches of European and Indian music which is becoming the fashion. The "*Kayè-thas*" now played by the regimental bands as the Burmese National Anthem, is an example of this kind. It is made up of bits of bugle-calls (*Kayè*=bugle) and snatches of a polka.

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

intended more as an excuse for people to enter the house and have a talk than with any idea of making a profit. Whatever money is drawn is regarded as a kind of pin-money for the mistress of the establishment. When the ladies of the household are in earnest about trading, they start a stall in the bazaar, and very good hands they are at driving a bargain. A more regrettable trait is the forcible character of their language when they are annoyed. But this, unhappily, is a characteristic of the fair sex all the world over, whether in trade or out of it. Certain it is that the *dames de la halle* and the Billingsgate fishwives would require all their powers of voice and vituperation to silence a bazaar maiden when she sets her mind to it.

There are as a general thing two meals only in the day: breakfast at about eight in the morning, and dinner at five in the afternoon. There is no difference in the *menu* of the two meals. The staple article of food is plain boiled rice, which is piled up in a heap on a huge platter, round about which the household arrange themselves, sitting, like pit-men, on their heels. The curry which is taken with it is placed in little bowls, and each one of the party has his own plate, and helps himself. Knives are unnecessary; spoons and forks and celestial chopsticks are unknown, except in the houses of a few Government officials and traders in Rangoon, who have had some experience of English society. Very few are able to afford curries of meat or fish, besides that there are not always unscrupulous people ready to disregard the law against taking life, and the material is therefore not always available. Ordinarily the curry consists of a soup, or thin concoction of vegetables, in which chillies and onions figure largely. The other ingredients are very various. Young shoots of bamboo are very delicate in their flavour, if not overpowered by too much garlic. Wild asparagus, the succulent stems of a number of aquatic plants and fleshy arums are constantly used, and may be seen exposed for sale in every bazaar. Tamarind leaves and those of the mango-tree are used by the very poor. The former have a somewhat acrid taste, the latter are curiously aromatic. Along with the curry, which has always a large amount of oil and salt in it, there are a variety of condiments, notably the

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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dozen or more solemn-visaged monks sitting on their mats and coyly hiding their faces behind these big fans is apt to raise a smile on the face of a foreigner. But there is no doubt that the regulation is well advised. Women are disturbers of tranquil meditation.

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When these necessaries have been provided, the candidate proceeds to the appointed building. This is always a thein, a consecrated hall, built of teak, with open sides and the sacred three, five, or seven overlapping and diminishing roofs, not unlike the Albert Memorial in appearance, but much larger at the base. Here the examining body is assembled to the number of ten or twelve, ordinarily, but a minimum of four will suffice if the ceremony is conducted in the jungle. The senior is appointed upyitsi, or president, and a secretary is nominated, whose duty it is to bring forward the candidate and to read the Kammawāsā, the ritual of ordination. This is the most gorgeously ornamented of all the Burmese books. It is written, not in the ordinary round character, but in square letters painted on with a thick black resinous gum, and requires a special education to read it. The leaves are formed either of the ordinary palm-leaf, thickly covered with red lacquer, and profusely ornamented round the border and between the lines with gilded figures of nats and elaborate scroll-work, or in the case of the more sacred monasteries, of the discarded waistcloths of kings. None might wear these pasos after the Great King of Righteousness had tired of them, and many were therefore made use of for this purpose. Portions of them are taken, doubled over, and then covered with numerous coatings of wood-oil and a paste composed of this same thitsi, with finely sifted burnt rice-husks, sawdust, and rice-water, until at last they become firm as a piece of cardboard, but vastly more pliant. Then the sheets are emblazoned, and the text painted on, the whole being enclosed between richly ornamented teak boards. Few more splendid-looking manuscripts can be seen anywhere. Occasionally copies are found engrossed on thin sheets of ivory or copper, but those on the royal pasos, called Wut-lè Kammawāsās, are most highly esteemed. The text is always read in a peculiar way, in a high-pitched, jerky recitative, which is not without a certain impressive effect.

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[195]

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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O that curve in the round arm!
It has wrought men grievous harm.
Like the sylphs when they're at play,
Like the maids of Mandalay,
Without display
In everyday
Quiet dresses they
Are busked and gay
As the daughters of the palace, as the maidens of the skies
In their natural, their usual array.

O! could I but sing what I think,
My heart would no more on the brink
Of despairing love struggle and sink,
Ye maidens to heavens the link;
Each passer-by
Who casts his eye
Upon the buxom Hanthawaddy girls,
Though he be sage,
His feelings wage
Fierce war within his brain-pan till it whirls.

Dewa daughters, fair, fair,
Rosebud fairies, ware, ware,
Born men's hearts to snare, snare,
Can I paint your ways,
Better sound your praise,
In verse
That's terse
Than thus: You're fair as any maid in Mandalay.

Barani is a daughter of nats, corresponding very much to the classical Flora. [832]

Madi, the spouse of Prince Wethandaya, is always regarded as the model wife. [593]

Amè! "mother!" is the invariable exclamation of all Burmans on all possible occasions of astonishment, anger, doubt, or delight. [201]

The name Hanthawaddy, properly applied to the whole province, is, in songs, usually employed to designate Rangoon, for rhythmical more than any other reason, just as Mamye, or Mye, or Man stands for Mandalay. [195]

"Rosebud fairies," called bôngyo, are daughters of nats, who having stayed in the country of the dêwas for a thousand years, are obliged to come down to the seat of man again. 539 773

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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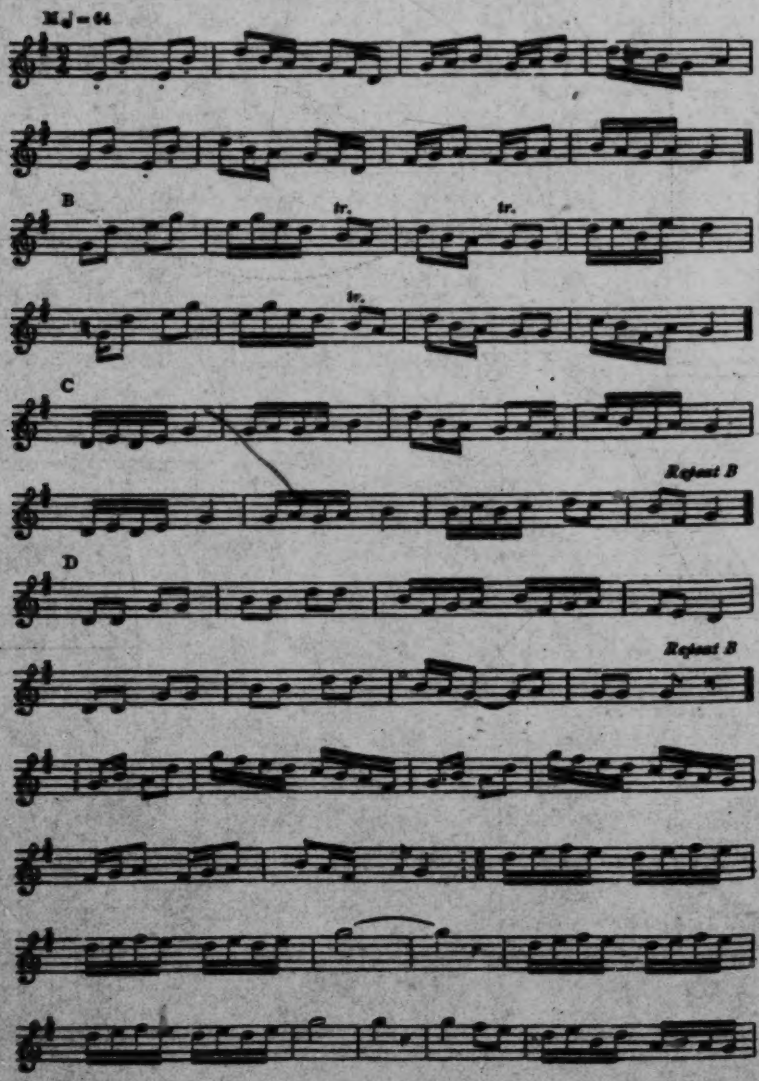
They are born from roses. Such charming houris apparently particularly affect Rangoon.

The following is the score as written down by Mr. St. Clair, now and for many years, editor of the *Singapore Free Press*:—

KAYA-THAN



Z:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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CHAPTER LX

THE LANGUAGE

193 194 THE Burmese language is monosyllabic, and is therefore, like all the other monosyllabic languages, forced into the tonic system on account of the limited number of combinations of which the consonants admit. The multitude of meanings which a slight difference of accentuation gives to an otherwise identical sound is the greatest difficulty which a stranger has to contend with in studying the language, and never fails to land the beginner in a most embarrassing maze of complications. The modulations of the voice which European nations employ only to express astonishment, disbelief, interrogation, and alarm, become in Burmese and other Indo-Chinese tongues a means for distinguishing between words of different meaning; and this peculiarity offers particular difficulties to the phlegmatic, monotonous-voiced Englishman. It does not simplify matters that Burmese is, of all these languages, the softest and most pliable, and has therefore received the title of the Italian of the Far East. The varying cadence of the sounds produces to the ear the semblance of a chant, and all the people seem to speak in a kind of rhythm, so that as long as a man has ideas, it is not [283] a very difficult matter to compose linga. But this only [195] renders it more puzzling to the Occidental, and accounts for the fact that very few Englishmen learn Burmese, and still fewer speak it well. Of the mercantile community not one in fifty has any knowledge of Burmese at all; and the civil officers, who have to pass examinations before they get 194 promotion, are but poor hands in conversation. The chief 876 reason of this is, of course, that the European is accustomed

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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194 Pè with the light accent (cutting the sound short) means (1) the stern of a boat; (2) to steer; (3) to be broken off, to crumble. Pè, with the heavy accent, means (1) a measure of weight equal to six seeds of the *Abrus precatorius*; (2) any leguminous plant, such as bears seed in a pod, of which there are many varieties, including a pè-sa; (3) to put aside, reject; (4) madam, a familiar term applied by men to their intimate female friends; (5) a square measure of ground; (6) one of the four states of punishment. The last three usually have *a-* prefixed to them.

Hpè, with the light accent, means (1) to break off, as a small piece from a larger; (2) to separate and take a different course.

Hpè, with the heavy accent, means (1) satin; (2) a playing card, hpè-sa hpè-kye meaning to have shifting luck; (3) to get out of the way; (4) to remove. Kye hpè, derived from this, means to be splay-footed.

Thus we have nearly thirty separate meanings for a syllable which in rapid speaking seems, to an unpractised ear, to have throughout the same sound. This is philologically interesting, but practically it spoils the temper.

Myin means to see, high, and a horse; and to translate the sentence "I saw a high horse," and read the same aloud, is a good test of the knowledge of the arrangement of words, of the accent, and of the power of appreciating delicacies of pronunciation.

There are not very many Englishmen who can properly appreciate the difference in sound between kyaung, a cat, and kyaung, a monastery. They are apt to lose their temper when the lesson is many times repeated. Hundreds of other instances might be given, but they would only tire and perhaps frighten off those who do not know the language, and would certainly irritate those who have begun the study of it.

195 It is a common saying that you cannot pronounce Burmese properly till you take to betel-chewing. This may be called smart, or flippant rather than true. It is, however, undeniable that the practice of chewing renders it very much more difficult to catch the sound of a word. The result appears in the grotesque names which have been given to

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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various places and things by old writers. Captain Hiram Cox persisted in calling the town-clerks mew-jerrys, which was neither a correct nor a dignified rendering of myosaye. Still the stately old king, Upa-Raza, had greater cause of complaint when he appeared in another book as "Upper Roger."

It is certain that in rapid talk, and among the lower classes, words do get softened down most remarkably. Nyaung-u, the great lacquer manufacturing town, dwindles away in the colloquial to Nyi-a-u, and the consequences are lamentably evident in the transliteration of its name in many English books. Similarly a youth named Tha Htun Aung will respond to the call of A-o-aw, but this hardly justifies the assertion that you do not need consonants in Burmese at all.

14: Brant E-5 (1949-50) 1954 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

The orchestra plays as the initiates depart for the adjoining building to change into ordinary clothes, eat their last meal of the day, and bathe. Some guests now leave; borrowed articles, such as plates, cups and mats are gathered up for return to their owners, and eventually the orchestra departs. 881 796 792

The initiates return to the front of the building in which the ceremony took place. They sit on mats for the shaving of their heads. Two women hold a long piece of white cloth before them to catch the hair as several men proceed to wet their heads and shave them clean with straight razors. [302]

Once more the boys leave to bathe, then return and are seated before the chief monk. Their robes held in their hands before them, they recite prayers, give their robes to the monk, and ask him to dress them properly in the monkish garb.

Their robes donned, they squat before the monk and recite additional prayers, now following very carefully the special intonation appropriate to monks. The ceremony proper is complete. [195]

The following morning, early, a few relatives and close friends go to the monastery. The monks, including the novices, are offered food by them. A monk recites the Five-Fold Path, and then the ceremony of pouring water drop by drop is performed. Names are given the initiates -- special monastic names which they will bear only for the duration of their novitiate. [551]

In former times, and still today in the very remote villages of Burma, an initiate might spend many months, possibly several years, in the monkhood. Sometimes, a boy would remain a monk for life. Today in Tadagale, as almost everywhere, initiates spend only a token period of about one week in the monkhood. During this time, they live the austere existence of the order, rising very early, spending long periods in prayer recitals, and abstaining from food after noon until the following morning. The short period of life as a novice is strongly in contrast with the easy-going, carefree childhood days that precede it. Some boys approach the time of their shinbyu with feelings of trepidation, and all are glad when the period spent in the monastery is over and they can return to the much less stern discipline of their parents. 881 792 188

Courtship and Marriage. Young people in the village find ample opportunities to assess each other's manners, physical appearance, and personality, in the company of others at feasts and various gatherings. If a young man and woman are together apart from the company of others, people assume that sex relations are involved. In fact, such going together is spoken of as 'getting married.' Villagers find it hard to conceive of a young unmarried couple associating on a purely friendly, non-sexual basis; such behavior is regarded as contrary to nature. But however much it occurs, unchaperoned association is not approved, much less encouraged. 584 831

Once a pair have decided they want to marry, the boy will inform his parents of his desire. They will already know, in a relatively small village such as Tadagale, something of the standing of the girl's family and of her dowry potentialities; in fact, as soon as they have sensed their son's interest in a particular girl, they will take steps to acquire this information. They will also ascertain whether acceptance by the girl's family is likely. Sometimes the approach to the girl's family is made directly; in other instances a female go-between will be employed. The latter is more likely when the girl's family 584

Nats' powers for good include protecting the village from dacoit attacks but does not extend to modern warfare. When the Japanese armies were slicing up through Tenasserim in 1941, the elders of Maung Maung Than's village prayed for nat protection against the invaders. The nats replied "Dear ~~villagers we~~ ourselves are wearing raised longyis in this crisis (ready to run)." This is a Rangoon town joke told among the sophisticated collegiates at the University. Not so well defined, but still sensed is a growing distrust of the powers of nats to combat modern evils. 776 178 [195]

The nats can best be visualized as supernatural despots each with his province (the home, village, sea, babies) and each exacting tribute of periodic or constant attention in the form of flowers or food, red and white cloth strips, and an altar which may have the image of the nat carved in wood (or moulded in modern plasticene). Banyan trees with their multiple, snake-like trunks, are the most common places of abode. When disaster in the form of sickness or other ill fortune strikes, the nats are appeased with offerings immediately. The SAY SAYA will frequently check with the family of his patient to make sure this has been done. In Rangoon and elsewhere, business men whose fortunes have been good are the main supporters of the nat festivals which are given for the entertainment of all the nats once a year in October, for a seven day period. NAT KADAW (nat-wives) are the mediums who contact the nats by becoming possessed by them at this festival and other special occasions (for a single nat) throughout the year. These are married women or more rarely homosexuals who dance, answer questions and give opinions when possessed. 776 782 [759] [796] 791

Punishment for offense against the nats is first shown by accidents or sudden illnesses like paralysis meted out to the offender. If the offender continues the village as a whole will gradually be afflicted. For example, when a drunkard offends the nats with blasphemous language evil falls on the entire village. Villagers led by the elders and a prominent NAT-KADAW go in a body to the major banyan tree shrine to have an understanding with the offended nats. Offerings are given and attention of the nats called to the woes of 776 753 688 672 782

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

536* gesture passed on to the Burmese reproduction of the play. The rigid
201 tradition soon called forth protests, if not in actual words, then in deeds. If the *Rama* play could not be changed to meet Burmese tastes, other plays would have to be invented. As a result, a native court drama came into being.[1]

4. The Burmese Court Drama

536* It was during the reign of Hsinbyushin under whom the victories
175 against the Siamese and the Chinese had been won, that the *Rama*
644 play was first presented at court. He was succeeded by Singu, who
538 was king from 1776 to 1782. Singu could appreciate and compose good poetry when sober, but such occasions were rare. All the same, the learned atmosphere of the court was maintained, for his queen, the daughter of the famous commander-in-chief who defeated the Siamese and the Chinese invaders, was an accomplished poet herself, and she ever encouraged the continued presentation of the Siamese *Rama* at court. Singu was followed by Bodawpaya (1782–1811), who was one of the strongest despots that ever sat on the Burmese throne. But his despotism was of the enlightened kind, and under his patronage, the learned atmosphere of the court remained unimpaired. The earlier half of his reign saw the rise of a Burmese court drama.

Some time about the year 1783, a young courtier came to the forefront of scholastic circles at the court. This young man, who was a typical product of the age of learning, which was also the age of triumph, had distinguished himself in various campaigns when he began his literary career by composing songs modelled on those of the Siamese *Rama*. He was essentially a scholar, learning and experimenting, and he was an accomplished student of literature, both
● [195] Burmese and foreign. But in spite of his great learning, he kept his own writings free from too rich an imagery and too bombastic a language; his Burmese was simple and pure. He wrote in the language of the court but without artificiality, so that his songs were not only admired at court, but understood and sung by the common people. After making his name as a song-writer, he produced various literary works of all kinds and thus enhanced his reputation, until he reached the zenith of his literary career in about the year 1785, when he composed and produced the first Burmese court play. This young

[1] Extracts from the *Ramayana*, *The Statue Play* attributed to Bhasa, and the Siamese-Burmese *Rama* play are given in appendix i.

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

courtier later won fresh fame as a statesman and judge, becoming known to history as the Minister Myawaddi.[1]

As has been stated, there was at the Siamese court a companion play to *Rama*. It was known as *Aindarwuntha*. There was also a Siamese court romance of the same name and dealing with the same theme. Aindarwuntha was a prince-soldier, and he had two sets of adventures, one amorous and the other martial. Myawaddi was one of those who broke away from the tradition that the Siamese models at the Burmese court must be preserved without any substantial change. He did not want to have his hands tied through this tradition, and so he did not translate the play, *Aindarwuntha*, but translated instead the court romance. Then he dramatized the romance, and called his new play, not *Aindarwuntha* but *Eenaung*.[2] In *Eenaung*, Myawaddi rejects the heroic adventures and tells only of the hero-prince's romantic intrigues.

The play is far too long. The *Rama* play was long, too, and it took two or three days to present it entire. The court had all the leisure in the world. *Rama*, if translated, would require about 400 of these pages. *Eenaung* is longer; it would be about 600 pages. The play was written more to be read than acted, and as far as is known, it was never presented entire. Only some scenes were acted. The play on the whole is disjointed; it is merely a collection of scenes, connected only through the personality of the prince. As the adventures are purely amorous, there is no action at all. We are told occasionally that the prince has gone on a journey or that he has achieved a conquest, but the scene is always the palace. Following the Siamese style, music and song are important elements in the play, but dances and fine dresses are absent. It is not a masque.

The merit of the play lies in its language, dialogue, and characterization. It is the language of the court, refined and elegant as that of *Rama*. But a certain element of simplicity is in it, and it is not too rich in words or in imagery, so that the common people could understand and appreciate it; in short, the usual clear style of the author, which is the hall-mark of his other writings, is also found in this play. In dialogue, the play retains the freshness and liveliness of the *Rama* play. In characterization, the play is a great advance on *Rama*

[1] An account of his career is given in G. E. Harvey, op. cit., p. 296.

[2] The play *Aindarwuntha* or *Eenaung* has been mentioned earlier in this chapter, on pp. 36 and 44–5.

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

536* 779 178 [538] of the interlude were religious feast days, and out of respect for those occasions, the story had to be religious. Moreover, the interlude had to contend with the *Hawsa* or dramatic recitation by one person of a story, which was a rival in popularity; and all *Hawsas* were based on religious stories. However, the most important reason why the interlude had to depend again on the *Jatakas* for its stories was the great popularity of the works of U Awbatha.

538 178 195 [192] Shin U Awbatha was a monk who lived during the reigns of Bodawpaya (1782–1819) and Bagyidaw (1819–37). He was a product of the age of learning. Famed for his piety, religious learning, and knowledge of Sanskrit and Pali, he chose, like his contemporaries, to write in Burmese, and he enriched Burmese prose. The prose before him had been much neglected. The scholars were more interested in verse. When they did write prose, they never succeeded in forgetting that they were essentially verse-writers, and they used rhymed, balanced, and measured phrases. They used too rich an imagery. They broke into verse when they wanted to express any intensity of feeling. Often they introduced Pali words into their writings when there were more suitable Burmese ones. Burmese prose before U Awbatha was in the same position as English prose before Dryden. U Awbatha introduced a prose which was expressive and clear, simple yet effective. It was used to convey varieties of feelings and emotions, but it was always kept restrained and was never allowed to lose its [871] clearness. His works are still well known and popular. The importance of U Awbatha to Burmese language and literature can be judged from the fact that from the junior forms to the Honours course in Burmese at Rangoon University, his books are textbooks.[1]

538 178 There are hundreds of Birth Stories, but the most important are the *Ten Big Jatakas*. They are much longer than the rest. U Awbatha wrote Burmese prose versions of the eight longest of those. He followed closely the Pali originals as far as the incidents of the stories were concerned, but he portrayed character in detail, and made the characters more lifelike and therefore more interesting. The story was very well retold, but he was equally masterful in the portrayal of character and in his understanding of human psychology.

He wrote his first *Jataka* in 1785 when Burmese arms were flashing victorious in Assam and Manipur, but vainglorious references to contemporary events found no place in his works. In the peaceful

[1] A short account of U Awbatha is given in G. E. Harvey, op. cit., p. 269.

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

those ladies of the court, junior queens, who were indulging in romantic intrigues with courtiers. It is amusing to reflect that even as a monk, U Pon Nya himself was suspected of having had amorous adventures, and he lost his life through his friendship with the charming ladies of the governor's household. The first performance of the play was received with an uproar of protest on the part of the court-ladies, and they clamoured for the destruction of every copy of the play. But there was much that was new and interesting in it, and the general opinion was that a new dramatist of rich promise had arisen. Therefore the king, before whom the performance was made, did not yield to the clamours of the ladies, but ordered that their request to U Pon Nya asking him to write another play praising the virtues in women, should be complied with. As a result, he wrote *Waythandaya*.

The great merit of the play is in its lyrical qualities (which I am unable to reproduce in my translation). The vigour of the verse, its rhythm, the harmonious and elaborate rhyme scheme, the richness of the imagery, all join together to make this play the most lyrical in Burmese drama. However, these very qualities were the butt of criticism by contemporary critics who, used to the straightforward and clear style of U Kyin U and his imitators, held that too rich a language was a fault in a play, for there would be a danger of conveying wrong or obscure meanings to the audience. As those critics belonged to the 'people's' stage, they were of course thinking of the less learned audience outside the court circles. There is no doubt that in some scenes of *Paduma* the charge of difficulty and obscurity of language is quite justified. For example, when the crocodile and Paduma speak about women loving dogs and pigs, U Pon Nya is speaking only metaphorically, but one realizes it is so only on a second or third reading of the play. But the language in the scene where Paduma and his princess are running away to safety, is as clear as it is beautiful.[1]

3. *The Water-seller*

The story of this play also is taken unchanged from a *Jataka*. A prince returns to his city after a stay at a university in India. As he rests for a few minutes outside the gates, a water-seller enters, and in a soliloquy says that he is just entering the city to sell water and earn

[1] A translation of this play is given in appendix v.

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
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SCENE 7

OUTSIDE THE PALACE-WALLS

Enter KING *on one side.*

KING. Because I am the eldest son, I have ascended the throne of my father. I am determined to follow the tradition of my dynasty, and I will rule this kingdom with honour, flying the banner of justice and law. However, I do not know what the men and women of my city think. Do they praise me loudly? Or do they whisper my failings? Many events have happened since I was crowned king only this morning. I must know the opinion of my people. Therefore, I have come out of the palace, disguised as a poor labourer, so that I may wander in my city and listen to my people's gossip. 536* 539*

[*Enter* PARPAHEIN *on the other side.*]

PARPAHEIN. When I come to think of it, he is the ruler of this mighty realm. Still, my turn will come, and I shall be able to stand against his might. . . . Well, I suppose I must dare. I am alone, I am only a young prince. So what does it matter if I die? And if I live! I will be as sharp as a thorn, my glory will be as pointed as a spear. . . . I have been tattooed with magic charms; I now repeat the magic words to myself. [*A pause.*] Now I will jump and climb this wall. Steady on, my prince!

KING. Ah, as I walk disguised as a poor man, I see before me a nightman, a suspicious-looking person. He watches the palace-walls, and the palace drum has just struck the hour of midnight. He cannot be a very pure and law-abiding person. I will pretend that I do not see him. Hush! I will glance slyly and watch his movements.

PARPAHEIN. The time has come, the drum has struck the hour. I must scale the walls quickly and steal the magic weapons. This reminds me of the famous robber hero Ngatetpya, who raided even the palace in the kingdom of Sagaing.[1] I will dare as he dared. I am

[1] Sagaing, one of the many little kingdoms that came into being after the fall of Pagan, flourished from 1315 to 1364. Ngatetpya was a great philanthropist and built many monasteries and pagodas, which he always announced to have been 'built by public charity'. At night, disguised, he raided the houses of the wealthy, including the palace itself. He was not even suspected for the robberies until one night he met the king disguised as a robber. Ngatetpya asked the king to be his lieutenant, and together they raided many houses. They parted before dawn, but the king had by then recognized Ngatetpya. He was brought to trial the next day. The people, learning that the daring robberies were the work of one man, single-handed and unaided until he [195] [685]

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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390. THE BURMAN BALLET (HAN-PWE).

date in the most fantastic way. The course of love is interrupted by all manner of vicissitudes — some grotesque, others of genuine pathos, to which the sentiment of the music is exquisitely adapted. The modulation of the vocal expression is much more subtle and intense than the expression of the features. Gesture is restricted to the conventional postures of the dance. The street or other open space is swept clear for the performance and laid with mats in the centre. A pavilion roof of bamboo is erected and covered with mats or thatch to keep off the sun by day and the dew by night; it is open at the sides. A space, twenty to thirty feet wide, is kept for the actors and musicians. The masks which will be worn in certain parts are hung out. Actors and actresses make up in public. There is a water-jar for the common use of actors and audience; both light their cheroots at the same lamps or torches. The spectators squat round the actors' circle, women and children in front, men standing behind. For the marionettes or *yotthé* a stage is erected. The entertainment goes on all night, frequently several nights in succession. The action of the play is slow, the dialogue is sung and spun out, with interludes of dancing and posturing, to the accompaniment of the music. There are breaks of spoken dialogue when the music stops, and the clowns indulge in banter, and set conundrums. The topical allusions are of a pungent description; the spice of coarseness is on a par with the taste of our Elizabethan public. The slightness of the distinctions of words makes the resources of *double entendre* especially rich, most of all when a foreigner, preferably from Europe, is brought on the scene. Peals of laughter proclaim these interludes from afar.

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391. THE BURMAN BALLET (HAN-PWE).

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

The terseness of the language appears in its proverbs. 195

For instance, *Kwe-hle hlwlo yôu ma-tè*—"The dog-flea may jump but it raises no dust." Seven syllables as compared with the ten of the almost monosyllabic English. In the above sentence the order of ideas is much the same as our own. But as a rule the order is the opposite. "Fetch hither water to quench the fire" is *mê thayôu yè yugè*, literally, "fire to quench, water fetch hither." The ideas are expressed in order of their practical importance. The checked notes of the Burmese language give it an abruptness which is reflected in the *staccato* of the Burmese music. But Burmese possesses sonorous qualities also, for instance, *Shwe Sandaw Payâ, Shwe Zigôn Paya*. [538] 194

The sounds of the letters used in this work for transliterating Burmese words are as follows:— 194

Vowel sounds.

a, a, i, a, u,	as in Italian	
ê	"	English *bell* (but long in quantity)
ai	"	" " *aisle*
au	"	" " *cow*
aw	"	" " *caw*
ai	"	" " *eight*
Consonants	"	English, including the *th*, omitting *f, v,* and *x*.

Few Burmans can pronounce *r*, and generally substitute *y* for it in the Pâli words. All final consonants are mute. They are not wholly suppressed as they are in French, but are merely checked in pronunciation. The Burmese for *demon* is written *nat* in this work, because it is too inconvenient to indicate the checked mute by such a form as *nat'*. The final *n* should, strictly speaking, be always followed by a *g* or a suggestion of *g*, thus *dagông* or *dagôn'* instead of *dagôn*. But to write it in this way is inconvenient in many of the combinations. This should accordingly be borne in mind. The combinative changes on the other hand which consonants undergo in certain positions have been incorporated in the spelling and not left to the reader to form. Instead of the current form *sit-bayôn* (chess), which correctly renders the Burmese spelling of the word, the form *sipbayôn* is used, which renders the actual pronunciation. The letter *h* combined with *y* has a varying force according to its position. Thus *hyo* is pronounced just as written, but in the duplicated form *hyo-hyo*, the pronunciation is *tyo-chyo*. There are a few exceptions such as *hsô-hyî* (scissors) pronounced as spelled. When the *h* is aspirated, its combination with *y* gives *tsô* (English *ch*) and *dzô* (English *j*). *Kyaung* (a monastery) is pronounced as written. In the compound *taw-kyaung* it is pronounced *taw-chyaung* (a forest monastery). But when it is the aspirated *h*, *taw-'kyaung* makes *taw-chaung* (a forest stream). The modulation of the voice differentiates it further, thus *taw-chyaung*, with the second syllable rounded up sharply (wild cat). In deliberate utterance certain of these modifications disappear again; just as we [778]

SEE. BADAK (p. 22).

CHAPTER TEN

000 ONE living force had continued at the old house, however, from the time it was built right to the present day. This was my mother's elder sister, our Kyi-Kyi Lon, the same who had thrown herself on the ground at first beholding the muddy fields of Thaton. She had never been to an English school like my mother and indeed had known no other home but the old house all her life. My Kyi-Kyi (aunt-elder-than-parent) is unmarried. The story of how she remained unmarried is stamped with her character.

587 My eldest aunt was married and died after bearing three children,
589 and the bereaved husband came back to Grandfather and asked for the hand of another aunt so that the children should not lack a loving mother's care. This aunt also died, and the hardy widower again returned to Grandfather. Grandfather might have been persuaded to give another daughter in marriage but Kyi-Kyi Lon, who was next on the list, stamped her feet and shooed the widower away, regardless of the belief that a man who survives two wives is outlived by his third. She inherited my grandfather's spirit and vitriolic temper, and a very lively tongue. When she was young she was round and sturdy and was therefore called Ma Lon, Miss Round. With years of spinsterhood, roundness disappeared, the sturdiness developed into a masculine toughness and her natural abilities turned to business management; her feet broadened and she could tramp for miles; with her sharp tongue she could make men quail. It was our Kyi-Kyi who looked after our rubber estates for us. My mother stood in awe of her, and it was a beautiful lesson in gentle humanity to watch the sisters together. My mother had two aspects to her nature. She had an all-round ability equal to Kyi-Kyi Lon's, but there was a gentleness which tempered every masculine ability she possessed. This tempering was always imposed above. In my aunt's presence, the lower stratum automatically disappeared, because Kyi-Kyi, who quarrelled with everyone else, loved my mother like a child who must be scolded and looked after. She therefore devoted her life to our interests.

186 My aunt never learnt English, and derided the refined tones of
• 196 English pronunciation. She never made the slightest concession to any foreign tongue. Surrounded by a world in which products and institutions bore English names, she took delight in pronouncing unavoidable terms with the broadest Burmese accent. "Ine-Si-Et", she would

say for I.C.S., with a marked emphasis on the last word which is pronounced with a glottal stop, and thus pronounced means "cracked". After listening to a conversation in English she would seize on what she heard most often, "You know" and "I know". "*You no, I no, hnit-yauk no, tha-hko ma-la-naing*," she would say, punning on the word "know", which in Burmese means to wake up. "You wake, I wake, two awake—the thieves cannot come."

Kyi-Kyi lived an independent life; she had inherited a share of the house, among other things, and she lived there on what was due to her from the management of our property. Between her and one servant maid, the old house was kept spotless. A meal was cooked every day for the monastery, and Kyi-Kyi was on very amiable social terms with the monks and the nuns who lived close by. Everyone in Thaton knew her, the young men admired her for her lively wit and the women called her a harridan for it. Between visiting us and business and religious good works and scolding everyone, my Kyi-Kyi spent a busy life.

She was so different from my mother. My mother never smoked or chewed betel, but when Kyi-Kyi came we were treated to watching her roll her cheroots. She had the *hsay*, mixture, in a bowl. It was a compound of chopped tobacco leaves, the stem and pith of the *ohn-nè* (coconut flower), and jaggery or sugar. It was a sticky mixture. The wrapping leaves—the leaves of a tree called the *thanat*—were in a cream cracker biscuit tin. In a small cane sieve-tray she had a number of old *a-si-hkans*, stubs of solid ends, about 1½ to 2 inches long; and on a piece of paper was some boiled rice for sticking. She rolled the mixture in the leaf, tucked the edges of the narrower end neatly in and stuck

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

CHAPTER VIII

CRIME AND PUNISHMENT

'Overcome anger by kindness, evil by good.'
Dammapada.

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NOT very many years ago an officer in Rangoon lost some currency notes. He had placed them upon his table overnight, and in the morning they were gone. The amount was not large. It was, if I remember rightly, thirty rupees; but the loss annoyed him, and as all search and inquiry proved futile, he put the matter in the hands of the police.

And before long — the very next day — the possession of the notes was traced to the officer's Burman servant, who looked after his clothes and attended on him at table. The boy was caught in the act of trying to change one of the notes. He was arrested, and he confessed. He was very hard up, he said, and his sister had written asking him to help her. He could not do so, and he was troubling himself about the matter early that morning while tidying the room, and he saw the notes on the table, and so he took them. It was a sudden temptation, and he fell. When the officer learnt

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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all this, he would, I think, have withdrawn from the prosecution and forgiven the boy; but it was too late. In our English law theft is not compoundable. A complaint of theft once made must be proved or disproved; the accused must be tried before a magistrate. There is no alternative. So the lad—he was only a lad—was sent up before the magistrate, and he again pleaded guilty, and his master asked that the punishment might be light. The boy, he said, was an honest boy, and had yielded to a sudden temptation. He, the master, had no desire to press the charge, but the reverse. He would never have come to court at all if he could have withdrawn from the charge. Therefore he asked that the magistrate would consider all this, and be lenient.

But the magistrate did not see matters in the same light at all. He would consider his judgment and deliver it later on.

When he came into court again and read the judgment he had prepared, he said that he was unable to treat the case leniently. There were many such cases, he said. It was becoming quite common for servants to steal their employers' things, and they generally escaped. It was a serious matter, and he felt himself obliged to make an example of such as were convicted, to be a warning to others. So the boy was sentenced to six months' rigorous imprisonment; and his master went home, and before long had forgotten all about it.

But one day, as he was sitting in his veranda reading before breakfast, a lad came quickly up the stairs and into the veranda, and knelt down before

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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him. It was the servant. As soon as he was released from gaol, he went straight to his old master, straight to the veranda where he was sure he would be sitting at that hour, and begged to be taken back again into his service. He was quite pleased, and sure that his master would be equally pleased, at seeing him again, and he took it almost as a matter of course that he would be reinstated.

But the master doubted.

'How can I take you back again?' he said. 'You have been in gaol.'

'But,' said the boy, 'I did very well in gaol. I became a warder with a cap white on one side and yellow on the other. Let the thakin ask.'

Still the officer doubted.

'I cannot take you back,' he repeated. 'You stole my money, and you have been in prison. I could not have you as a servant again.'

'Yes,' admitted the boy, 'I stole the thakin's money, but I have been in prison for it a long time —six months. Surely that is all forgotten now. I stole; I have been in gaol—that is the end of it.'

'No,' answered the master, 'unfortunately, your having been in gaol only makes matters much worse. I could forgive the theft, but the being in gaol—how can I forgive that?'

And the boy could not understand.

'If I have stolen, I have been in gaol for it. That is wiped out now,' he said again and again, till at last he went away in sore trouble of mind, for he could not understand his master, nor could his master understand him.

Each had his own idea of what was law, and

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

685 what was justice, and what was punishment. To
671 the Burman all these words had one set of mean-
196 ings; to the Englishman they had another, a very different one. And each of them took his ideas from his religion. To all men the law here on earth is but a reflection of the heavenly law; the judge is the representative of his god. The justice of the court should be as the justice of heaven. Many nations have imagined their law to be heaven-given, to be inspired with the very breath of the Creator of the world. Other nations have derived their laws elsewhere. But this is of little account, for to the one, as to the other, the laws are a reflection of the religion.

681 And therefore on a man's religion depends all
671 his views of law and justice, his understanding of
779 the word 'punishment,' his idea of how sin should
196 be treated. And it was because of their different religions, because their religions differed so greatly on these points as to be almost opposed, that the English officer and his Burman servant failed to understand each other.

For to the Englishman punishment was a degradation. It seemed to him far more disgraceful that his servant should have been in gaol than that he should have committed theft. The theft he was ready to forgive, the punishment he could not. Punishment to him meant revenge. It is the revenge of an outraged and injured morality. The sinner had insulted the law, and therefore the law was to make him suffer. He was to be frightened into not doing it again. That is the idea. He was to be afraid of receiving punishment. And

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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again his punishment was to be useful as a warning to others. Indeed, the magistrate had especially increased it with that object in view. He was to suffer that others might be saved. The idea of punishment being an atonement hardly enters into our minds at all. To us it is practically a revenge. We do not expect people to be the better for it. We are sure they are the worse. It is a deterrent for others, not a healing process for the man himself. We punish A. that B. may be afraid, and not do likewise. Our thoughts are bent on B., not really on A. at all. As far as he is concerned the process is very similar to pouring boiling lead into a wound. We do not wish or intend to improve him, but simply and purely to make him suffer. After we have dealt with him he is never fit again for human society. That was in the officer's thought when he refused to take back his Burmese servant.

Now see the boy's idea.

Punishment is an atonement, a purifying of the soul from the stain of sin. That is the only justification for, and meaning of, suffering. If a man breaks the everlasting laws of righteousness and stains his soul with the stain of sin, he must be purified, and the only method of purification is by suffering. Each sin is followed by suffering, lasting just so long as to cleanse the soul—not a moment less, or the soul would not be white; not a moment more, or it would be useless and cruel. That is the law of righteousness, the eternal inevitable sequence that leads us in the end to wisdom and peace. And as it is with the greater laws, so it should, the Buddhist thinks, be with the lesser laws.

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

CHAPTER XI

THE MONKHOOD—II

'The restrained in hand, restrained in foot, restrained in speech, of the greatest self-control. He whose delight is inward, who is tranquil and happy when alone—him they call "mendicant."'—*Acceptance into the Monkhood.*

BESIDES being the ideal of the Buddhists, the monk is more: he is the schoolmaster of all the boys. It must be remembered that this is a thing aside from his monkhood. A monk need not necessarily teach; the aim and object of the monkhood is, as I have written in the last chapter, purity and abstraction from the world. If the monk acts as schoolmaster, that is a thing apart. And yet all monasteries are schools. The word in Burmese is the same; they are identified in popular speech and in popular opinion. All the monasteries are full of scholars, all the monks teach. I suppose much the same reasons have had influence here as in other nations: the desire of the parents that their children should learn religion in their childhood, the fact that the wisest and most honoured men entered the monkhood, the leisure of the monks giving them opportunity for such occupation.

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21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4
Mon

of Hindu traders from South India. After the introduction of Buddhism into South India by Asoka in 261 B.C., the traders began to bring Buddhist elements to Thaton. With the establishment in the third or fourth century after Christ of the Hindu kingdoms in Java and Sumatra, Thaton became an important trading centre, and with the rise of a great Buddhist centre at Conjeveram in Madras in the fifth century, the Talaings began to receive religious writings in Pali. From that time onwards, learning was definitely established in the kingdom, and, as a result, a Talaing literature came into being. Anawrahta was interested in Pali only, and therefore when he destroyed the city, he burnt all the manuscripts except those in Pali.[1]

175 101 [779] [177]

The writing and learning that were thus introduced into Pagan took root at once. Prose and poetry as embodied in the language of the court and in songs had been in existence long before, though unwritten, and now the new learning turned them into written forms and began to develop them. Pali was studied everywhere, and in the newly-built temples with their crowded monastic life, works in Pali on religion, on Pali grammar and prosody, and on the legal code of Manu came to be produced.[2] Translations were also made, and soon Pagan became famous throughout India for its Pali scholarship. But

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[1] The Burmese language belongs to the Tibeto-Burmese group, whereas the Talaing belongs to the Mon-Khmar group. In spite of Anawrahta's conquest and in spite of the fact that racially they were cousins, the Talaings became completely merged with the Burmese only in the eighteenth century. The probability of the Sanskrit drama reaching the Talaings is considered in chap. ii.

[197] [101]

[2] G. E. Harvey, op. cit., pp. 59, 70.

The most famous for literary activity was the *Kyauku Ohmmin* temple. Though built perhaps even before Anawrahta, when a corrupted form of Buddhism was prevalent, it is still in an excellent condition (Harvey, p. 17).

The code of Manu was compiled originally in Sanskrit, during the period 200 B.C.–A.D. 200. Since that time it has been one of the chief sources of Hindu law (J. D. Mayne, *Hindu Law*). The Burmese received it in a Talaing-Pali version in which the sacerdotal element had been done away with. That explains why, although Manu is one of the chief sources also of Burmese Buddhist law, it has little in common with Hindu law. The existence of the code as the chief source of Talaing law (Harvey, op. cit., p. 111) raises again the question, how far were the Talaing writings under the influence of Sanskrit and its literature? We shall never know. When Anawrahta destroyed Talaing institutions and historical and literary works, he intended that all knowledge of the past greatness of the Talaings should pass into oblivion so as to smooth his way towards unifying Burma into one single State.

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Pali has been, since 1044, the classical language of Burma.

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9. Burmese and the Lolo Languages

101 Burmese and the Lolo languages of southwestern China,
197 northern Tonkin and Siam, and the Shan States, constitute one of the largest single blocs in the Tibeto-Burman family (Burmish-Loloish). The center of dispersion for this group seems to have been southwestern China, whence have proceeded successive waves of migration to the south and east. The trail of the Burmese southward down the Irrawaddy valley is today marked by a series of tribes of Burmese stock, viz. Maru, Lashi, Atsi, Achang, Hpōn. The Lolo movements southward and eastward have continued down to the present time, even in the face of strongly entrenched Thai populations. The process has been one of infiltration rather than of displacement, since these immigrant Lolo groups almost invariably constitute a depressed economic class under the control of their Chinese or Thai neighbors.

197 Burmese is a literary language of some antiquity (its inscriptions extend back to the 11th century), and hence is of great value in comparative Tibeto-Burman studies. The written forms, especially those in the inscriptions, contain many archaic features not found in Tibetan, but the modern spoken language has undergone extensive phonetic modification. The non-standard dialects, viz. Arakanese, Taungyo, Intha, Danu, and Tavoyan, in general tend to retain older forms. Hpōn is transitional to the Maru group (supra), while the latter is again transitional to the Lolo languages. The

197 latter may conveniently be divided into a Southern Lolo division (Phunoi, Akha, Lahu, Woni, Black and White Lolo) and a Northern Lolo division (Lisu, Ahi, Nyi, Lolopho). The so-called "Independent Lolo" tribes of western Szuchuan are linguistically akin to the latter, to judge from what little we know of their speech. The Mosc (Nakhi) language of western Yunnan, which is likewise only imperfectly known, must be reckoned an independent unit of Burmish-Loloish.

Our discussion falls naturally under the four headings indicated above, viz. Burmese and its dialects, the Maru group, Southern Lolo, and Northern Lolo. Our sources are in general of mediocre quality, but for Burmese itself we are in a somewhat better position. The standard dictionary by Judson (1911 edition) gives a large number of carefully defined terms, and these can be checked against the convenient tables in Brown (pp. 119-20). Variant spellings and forms are given in other works, e.g. that of Bennett, but Judson's dictionary is the locus classicus. The forms cited below are those of the written language, in the orthography developed by the writer after a detailed study of the Burmese group (Judson does not transliterate the originals in Burmese script, and Brown gives only the modern spoken forms, which would be misleading in the present study). The principal sources for the dialects of Burmese are Taylor, the LSI (by Taylor), Scott, Houghton, Konow, and Tin.

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• 197 [101] The linguistic bridge between Burmese and the Lolo languages is supplied by the Maru group of languages, spoken in the upper Irrawaddy valley. The Maru proper are found in the Myitkyina and Bhamo districts of Upper Burma, their true home being the valley and watershed of the Nmai Kha, or eastern tributary of the Irrawaddy (south of the Hung), while the closely affiliated Lashi and Atsi are found scattered all along the Burma-China frontier. Hpön is transitional between Burmese and Maru, to judge from what little we know of its two dialects (Megyaw and Samong), spoken by nearly extinct groups living in the defile of the Irrawaddy between Bhamo and Myitkyina. A few kinship terms are cited in our Hpön sources (Scott, Davies, LSI). Noteworthy are Megyaw ma-mo oB, Samong a-mo-ku; Megyaw pi-pi oSi, Samong a-pi-ku; Megyaw a-sa Ch, mi-sa D, i-sa ySb; and Megyaw a-yi ~ a-ye M (Samong a-mi).

Maru, Lashi, and Atsi are closely related languages or perhaps dialects of a single language. All three have been heavily influenced by Kachin, with whom they are often mistakenly grouped (as in Hanson). In Atsi this influence has been felt much more strongly, and hence the Atsi terminology is best examined apart from the Maru-Lashi system. Our material on the Maru group, which includes two dictionaries of Maru (Clerk, Abbey), some word-lists in the works of Scott and Davies, and tables of terms in the census report

197 by Webb, is relatively complete, but the recording is so poor that linguistic analysis is difficult (the tables in Webb fairly bristle with misprints and other mistakes). The Maru terms are tabulated below, while Lashi differences are treated in the notes.

601

Maru Consonantal Terms

(a-)p'yit gH	(a-)p'uk gF
(a-)ni H	(a-)p'o F
ma MoGi,FoBW	p'a-ma FoB,MoGiH
t'eng HyGi	p'a-lat FyB,HyGiH
ma FGi	nyi HB
pai oGi,pG	mang oB,pG
mma yGh,pG	mmang yB(wa)
uk FGiD(ma)	k'ma FGiB,HGB
nyi HGD(ma)	
ma Gh	
tam xH	
nyit gGh	

Maru Affixal Terms

ma WH,HW	nyi WF
uk HWF	vung HF,FGiH
pai WoGi,oGW(wa),HoHW	mong oGiH(wa),HyB,WoGiH
mma yGbl	
yuk-ma HoGi	k'ma Gl(ma)
tam-ma Dl	uk Gl

601 conclusions can be drawn, despite the categorical equations in their kinship terminology.

Achang (Hotha Shan, Maingtha Shan), spoken in the Möng Hsa valley of the Southern Shan States, is a fourth language of Maru type. A few of its kinship terms have been recorded by Davies, Anderson, and Taylor (in the LSI). Achang is unusual in having preserved the Burmese root ní yŠb, in the terms a-nyi yB, a-nyi a-nyo yo yŠi (cf. i-nyo "woman, wife"). Be oŠi (Davies, in Scott) belongs with Lashi pe, Maru pai, and a-mong B (Anderson) with either *mang or *mong. In contrast to the languages just examined, no Kachin loan-words appear in Achang, spoken south of the Kachin area. Some Shan loan-words may occur, however; note especially tsai oB, Shan pi-ssi; sau-ks oŠi, Shan s'au "young unmarried woman".

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•197 601 [101] The Southern Lolo languages, spoken in the Southern Shan States, Laos, and Tonkin, are phonetically intermediate between Burmese-Maru and the Northern Lolo languages of southwestern China. The best preserved of these languages are Phunoi, in the French Laos, and the closely related Pyen, in Kengtung State, but our knowledge of the kinship terms of these languages is incomplete (Phunoi has been recorded only by Roux, and Pyen only by Stirling, in Scott). Akha (Kaw), which is spoken in the 5th Military District of the Laos and in Kengtung, has been recorded by Roux, Antisdel,

197 601 Stirling (in Scott), and Taylor (in the LSI), while Stirling has also given us a record of Akö, a dialect of Akha. Lahu, another language of Kengtung State, has been described by Stirling, Davies, Antiedel, and Taylor (in the LSI). Both Akha and Lahu have been phonetically altered to such a degree that analysis is difficult, especially with the meagre material at our disposal. A list of Lahu kinship terms appears in the census report by Webb (p. lxiii), in the columns headed 'Nyen' and 'Muhso' (Shan terms for the Lahu), but this material cannot be trusted. The writer has not been able to make use of the recently published Lahu grammar and dictionary by J. H. Telford, but has had the opportunity of discussing Lahu with the author (Harvard, March 17, 1941) and has thus been led to be skeptical of the terms cited in Webb. A group of four Southern Lolo languages spoken in the canton of Tüong-yên, Haut-Tonkin, have been recorded by Bonifacy, who has added a few ethnographic notes on these tribes (Black Lolo, Man Khoanh, White Lolo, and Mông). Still other Southern Lolo languages, such as the Woni of southern China, are too little known to merit consideration.

601 Of the material mentioned above, only that relating to Lahu approaches completeness. We have indicated, however, that the Lahu data are not reliable, and we have hence refrained from tabulating the Lahu terms. Our remarks must of necessity, therefore, be confined to more general observations.

The Southern Lolo kinship terminologies are on the whole of Burmese type and many of the Burmese-Maru roots are represented, as shown by the following list:

601 a two-day visit, and the bride returns again alone and remains with her parents until she becomes pregnant (Lunet de Lajonquiere, pp. 322 and sq.). This practice is also found among the Tai peoples of Tonkin (ibid.), from whom it may have been borrowed, yet it can well be interpreted along the lines suggested above. Writing of the same Lolo groups, Bonifacy observes that a man may earn his wife by working for his father-in-law and taking the family name (姓 tính) of the latter, or that he may obtain his wife without changing his name, and without paying for her, by supporting his aged parents-in-law.

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● 197 [101] The Northern Lolo languages fall into several large groups, viz. Lisu, a central bloc (Ahi, Nyi, Lolopho), a southeastern bloc (Chŏko, Phupha), an eastern bloc (Ulu, Nasŏ), and the Independent Lolo dialects of Szuchuan. Of the above languages, Lisu, Ahi, and Nyi are fairly well known and Lolopho is somewhat less fully known, while the remaining languages have been recorded only in fragments. The general linguistic picture, however, is much clearer than in the case of the Southern Lolo languages, e.g. tonal equations have been worked out for Lisu, Ahi, and Nyi (in relation to Burmese). The bulk of the literature on the Lolo is entirely disproportionate to its value, largely because of the failure to recognize the thoroughgoing Burmese affiliations of these peoples. Much of it is

●197 occupied with the futile question of the etymology of the name "Lo-lo", and with (largely) sterile discussions of Chinese sources. The most valuable of a number of articles of this type is the scholarly contribution by Feng and Shryock (cited infra).

One of the most useful criteria in distinguishing among these languages is found in the treatment of final -a, which is ordinarily retained in Lisu, Nyi, and Phupha, is shifted to -o in Ahi, Lolopho, and Chôko (somewhat irregularly here), to -u in the Ulu-Nasö dialects, and is retained or shifted to -ö, -ɔ in the Independent Lolo group. These correspondences are illustrated by the following table:

	Lisu	Nyi	Phupha	Ahi	Lolopho	Chôko	Ulu	Ind. Lolo
eat	dza	dza	dza	dzo	dzo	zo	dzu	dzö
salt	ts'a	ts'a	-	ts'o	ts'o	-	ts'u	tsö
five	ngua	nga	nga	ngo	ngo	ngo	ngu	ngu>

This criterion is not absolute, e.g. the Lisu dialect recorded in Clarke (Appendix II) has -o rather than -a, but is useful as a rule-of-thumb procedure.

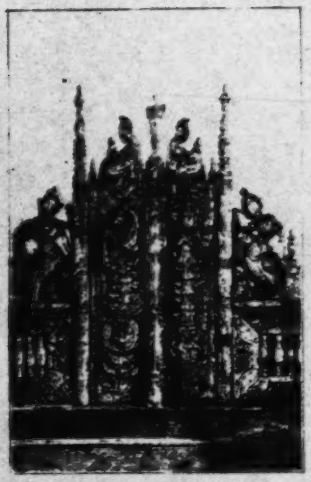
60| In the present discussion the Lisu terminology will be analyzed first, followed by the Ahi-Nyi-Lolopho terminology
[101] and annotations on the remaining groups. The Lisu (Lissu) are primarily a Salween valley people, but have colonized extensively throughout most of Yunnan and have penetrated into northern Burma and the Shan States. The primary sources are the works of Frazer and Rose and Brown, but a number of

601 [101 197] There remains for consideration only the language of the Moso (Nakhi) of western Yunnan, which differs rather widely from the Northern Lolo languages just discussed. Only a few Moso terms, all badly recorded, are known; these have been taken from the works of Bacot, Rock, and Madrolle (by Monbeig) (note that in Madrolle the Moso and Kutsong = Tibetan lists have been accidentally reversed on pp. 564-65). The following terms are of Lolo type: a-ba F; a-mä ~ mä .. (also mi "female", in Rock); a-p'u gF (but a-tsö gM); a-bu oB (Nyi a-pu); so S, mi ~ mi-zo D (also zu Ch, in Bacot). Note Moso a-p'u gF, a-bu oB, but Nyi a-bu gF, a-pu oB. The Sb terms are generally distinct from those in Lolo; Madrolle cites gö-zö yB, me-me oSi, ku-me ySi. Of primary importance, however, is the term a-gu Bl (Bacot), cognate with Ahi kö-pu-li ySiH, Akha a-kö B, and Burmese ats-kui oB; cf. Moso gu "9", Burmese kui^3; Moso k'u "to steal", Burmese k'ui^3; Moso hngu "to weep", Burmese ngui.

Despite the extent of literature on the Lolo, almost no material bearing on our problem can be found. Ahi and Nyi, which linguistically are fairly well known, are ethnographic blanks. Cross-cousin marriage can be established only for the Lisu, and even here the source is linguistic (Fraser) rather than ethnographic (Rose and Brown). Fraser's remarks in this connection are worth quoting <u>in extenso</u>, since the work is rare:

Sometimes an exchange will be made between two families, a man giving his daughter to another's son in exchange for the latter's daughter for his own son; this arrangement

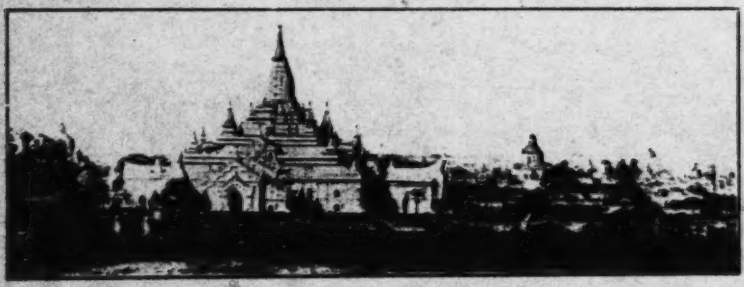
25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 API Burma
Burmese AP4



7. ANCIENT GATE, WITH FIGURES OF THADYA-MIN AND KEINNAYA.

is part of India. The phrase *Indo-China* is also misleading unless in respect of geography. In respect of climate, flora and fauna, *Further India* is not inapplicable. A probable Indo-Aryan admixture exists in the north-east (Arakán). But Burma Proper and Pegu are as distinct from India as Tibet itself.

The original Burman tribes are conjectured to have pushed their way south from the mountains of Tibet. They divided into three principal branches, Arakán (*Rakáing, Yakáing*) on the west, Paung on the east, and Burma (*Bamá*), which attained to the chief position, in the middle, on the northern Irawadi (*E-ya wadi*). Nothing is known of the early history of these nations. But it is certain that in 1000 A.D. Burma was a large and powerful kingdom, with its seat at Pagán. About that time the first historical conquest of the lower Irawadi was effected. From the fact that the country was not permanently subdued it may be inferred that the power of the Mun or Peguan race (later called Talaing) was not greatly inferior to that of the Burman. The Muns, from the affinities of their language, are conjectured to be of Annamitic origin. There is mention of the Pagán kingdom independently of the Burman chronicles, and there is above all the evidence of the ruins of Pagán, probably the mightiest of their kind. They testify to the power of the kingdom and the influence of the



8. ANANDA PAYA, PAGAN.

1: Mi Mi Khaing I-5 (no date) 1946 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

CHAPTER TWELVE

WE lived at Thaton for two years, and then my father became ill and had to be moved to Rangoon for treatment. This meant the packing up of the household, and when my father died shortly afterwards, my mother never went back to live at the great echoing house, but stayed in Rangoon to be near our schools. Thus the long period of our district life came to an end. From now onwards, my mother and sisters were to become merged in the increasing company of *Yan-gon-thu*, Rangoon dwellers, but we saw nothing of this life yet. School walls and student interests at the University enfolded us, and our holidays were spent at Ye and other country places. I was already at the University by this time, after having spent nine years at an English school—nine years during which the alternating periods of school and holidays transported me by turns into two completely different worlds, each kept shut off from the other by childish self-consciousness and reticence. The educational system in Burma did not have a homogeneous structure owing to the different media of instructions in use, and I have always felt that we were the particular victims of this shortcoming. Mistakenly sent to exclusive schools, we were denied the company of a great crowd of Burmeseplay mates during the greater part of these nine years.

Classified according to the language of instruction, there were three types of schools in Burma—the Vernacular, the Anglo-Vernacular and the European. There were over 5,000 recognized vernacular schools in Burma, which contributed towards raising the literacy of the poorest classes, but did little more. The pupils could not hope to continue their studies at the University where the medium of instruction was English, and, although high-school classes were introduced after 1931, they did not qualify a student for any post except that of teaching in such a school. There were few well-paid posts open to those without a knowledge of English.

The great bulk of schools in Burma were Anglo-Vernacular schools, where instruction was carried on in Burmese, but English was taught as a subject; and in the highest classes, some of the text-books used were in English, as the translation of schoolbooks into Burmese was still at an infant stage. My experiences of teaching at the Teachers' Training College, Rangoon, where we had an Anglo-Vernacular school for model

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teaching and practical training of educational students, were a fair example of the multiple forms of instruction prevailing. I taught in Burmese from a text-book which had not yet been translated into Burmese, as the subject, Home Science, was a new one. I explained the lesson and questioned the pupils in Burmese, but when summing up the points on the blackboard, wrote in English, so that the copying children could more easily correlate the matter with the contents of their English text-books. When answering examinations they were free to write in English or Burmese, and there were many who had a deficient knowledge of English but preferred to write in this language because the text-book had been in English. Among the educational students taking notes, also, there might be included a few Anglo-Burman students who did not know Burmese well. Up to 1935 it was still possible to enter Rangoon University without any knowledge of Burmese, and one grade of the Burmese "lectures" there started with the learning of the alphabet, progressing to the stage of writing sentences by the end of the two-year course. Almost all towns with a population of more than 5,000 inhabitants had a girls' school and a mixed school of the Anglo-Vernacular type —either government or mission or national schools, which later received government aid. The majority of the students at the University was from these Anglo-Vernacular schools.

Finally there were the European Code schools, teaching in English with Burmese as an alternative second language to French or even to Additional English in the high school, until about 1933 when Burmese was made the compulsory second language and the standard of it was also raised to approximate more closely to the Anglo-Vernacular standard.

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When my brother and I were first to be sent to school, about 22 years ago, government officials like my father were still under the impression that education in an English school would give a child a great advantage in making his way in Burma. All the examinations for higher government services were conducted in English, and all well-paid posts required a knowledge of English. We were therefore sent to a European Code school, although such schools were started primarily for English-speaking children. Owing to the peculiar social conditions prevailing in the schools at the time, we underwent acute misery during all the years that we were there.

1: Mi Mi Khaing 1-5 (no date) 1946 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

Such schools, both for boys and girls, were set up in the big towns, Rangoon, Mandalay, Moulmein, Maymyo, Toungoo, etc. Most of them were mission or religious schools, aided by the government and by the diocese or a religious mission.

Very few Burmans at that time sent daughters to such schools, though sons were sent commonly enough, and the distinctions made against the stray natives who entered the rolls began from the moment of entry. The diocesan schools insisted on our adopting English Christian and surnames, from an aversion to including heathen names on their registers. Burman Buddhist were thus transformed into orthodox Christian names: Sir Htoon Aung Gyaw and his brothers became a family of Thompsons, Sir Paw Tun was happily converted into Potter, and my brother U Sett Kaing, with less relevance, became Robert Downs. Thus many distinguished Burmans spent years under these assumed names. The Roman Catholic schools were kinder. They merely required us to adopt a system of first name and surname, which does not exist among Burmans, and wished us to pick a Christian first name so that the nuns could pronounce it easily. Thus we got Kathleen Maung, Grace Nee, Sarah Tin Gyi, the daughters of U Maung Maung, U Nee and U Tin Gyi. My own name Mi Mi Khaing was brought into line as Mamie Kaing.

We went to a Roman Catholic convent where the nuns made no attacks on Buddhism and no attempts to proselytise us—despite which I became attracted to their religion for a few years—but with sincere conviction and fervour they condemned everything else in us that was different from the great mass of Anglo-Burmans who filled the school. A good proportion of these children were the children of Englishmen who, not having entered into a legal marriage with the Burmese mothers, had now left mother and child with a sum of money which the kind nuns stretched to cover as much schooling as was possible. These and other Anglo-Burman children were encouraged to swank over us with childish cruelty about our darker skins, flat noses, and uncurling hair. They did this to such an extent that many of us in our minority and our helpless misery, branded our distinguished parents as being "half Burmese and half English", in order to gain their good opinion. We were told that Burmese food was stinking, that the use of oil for the hair was dirty and insanitary, and when young sisters ran after their elder ones calling Ma Ma, Elder Sister, all the children hooted with laughter. No wonder that my sister Mya Mya during her first weeks at school would sit by the gate, evening after evening, singing mournfully:

May May yay-ay
La pa taw
Kyi-gan ta-maw maw.

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

matter of fact, the more noise there is going on, the more work there is being got through. 876 872

Doubtless it is a primitive method—doubtless there are thick-headed boys with tough lungs who shout out the ka gyi, ka gwe (the A, B, C) with but the slightest portion of it remaining in their brains. There must be, because sometimes a boy takes a year to get through the alphabet (called the thin-bon-gyi, the "great basket of learning"), the combination of vowel symbols, and the alterations of sound effected by the union of consonants, all of which are mere materials, and only a very small portion of the complicated system of the language. Nevertheless everybody learns in the end, and then they are set to read in the same way, and gradually advance in the immemorial regulation subjects. The first books—all the books, in fact, put in the boys' hands—are religious. They learn the five universal commandments, the five subsidiary rules, the Pali formulæ to be employed at the pagoda—pattering them over till they pour out of the lips with the fluency and precision of water out of a pump. When there are a number at the same stage in their studies, they repeat their lesson word for word after the teacher, sitting in wide rows before him, and all chanting with the same emphasis and apparently in the same key. The effect is very singular when a string of sonorous Pali versicles is being mouthed over in the striking intoned recitative peculiar to these formulæ. The twenty or thirty boys crouching down on their knees, their little heads every now and then bowing down to the ground over their hands joined in supplication, the yellow-robed monk sitting cross-legged on the dais before them, repeating in abrupt, jerky fashion the clauses of the form of worship, which the childish voices instantly catch up, forms a scene which never loses its novelty and attractiveness. 872 779 198

The little schoolboy slowly learns all these formulæ. Even near to and in the larger towns of Lower Burma the amount of secular learning, arithmetic, and so on that is learnt, is of the most meagre possible description. All relates to the tenets of religion—to the existences and teachings of the Lord Buddha. The things thus impressed on the youthful mind sink deep into the memory, and leave their mark 872 779

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4
Lower Burma

792 553 775 561 In recognition of this new-gained power the novice drops his secular name and receives a bwè, an honorific title, to mark that it is now open to him to escape from suffering. The name lapses when he returns to the world again, but it is sufficient that he has once borne it. He may now add to his kan, merit, and gain for himself a glorious new life by good works.

[198] This is what is meant by calling the ceremony a baptism. The bwè are almost invariably Pali, or Burmanised Pali names, and follow the same rules with regard to initial letters as the lu nāmé. Thus a Maung Po Myat, born on Thursday, might take the name of Pyinya-Zawta, while the bwè of a Sunday child, Maung An, would be Adesa. This religious or Buddhist (on the analogy of Christian) name is, of course, retained by the regular members of the monastery, and a monk is never addressed by any other when a name is used at all. When he becomes old a U is added, as U Adesa, but it must not be forgotten that [576] the use of a person's name in addressing him is considered very far from being polite in Burma, especially to one of rank and dignity such as a mendicant. On the other hand, one who has returned to the world never uses the bwè, not even when he accomplishes some great religious work such as the foundation of a pagoda, which according to a comforting belief ensures passage to Ne'ban after death.

The entry into the monastic order is therefore certainly the most important event in the life of a Burman, since only under the robe of the recluse and in the abandonment of the world can he completely fulfil the law and hope to find the way to eventual deliverance from the misery of ever-recur- [796] ring existences. The popular time for the ceremony is just at the beginning of Wā, the Buddhist Lent, which lasts from July to October, roughly speaking. Strict Buddhists make their sons stay throughout the whole Wā. During that season feasts, though they do occur, are very much discountenanced, and dramatic performances are energetically denounced by the religious.

792 561 184 177.84 According to the letter of the law the intending probationers should have reached the age of fifteen, but this regulation has almost entirely lapsed in Lower Burma, among other reasons chiefly because that is just the most

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

breakfast ready prepared for them when they return from 792
their morning's walk, and are ready to set to with healthy 735
appetites. This question of Sybaritism is a chief source
of dispute between the rival sects of Mahā and Sula- [795]
gandi.

Breakfast done, they wash out the begging-bowls, and 792
chant a few lauds before the image of the Buddha, meditating for a short time on kindness and affection. During the succeeding hour the scholars are allowed to play about, but must not make a noise, or indulge in quarrelsome games; the religious pass the time in leisurely conversation, or in any other way they please; the kyaung po-go usually has visits from old people, who come to pay their respects, or perhaps [735]
the kyaung-tagā, the founder of the monastery, the patron of his benefice, comes to consult with him on various matters, or to converse about religion and good works. The etiquette observed on these occasions is always very stately and ceremonious. Whoever approaches, whether it be the poorest 792
villager, the founder of the monastery, or the governor of the 788
district, all alike must prostrate themselves three times be- 775
fore the yahan, and, with uplifted hands, say, "In order that all the sins I have committed, in thought, in word, or in deed, may be pardoned to me, I prostrate myself three times, once in honour of the Buddha, again in honour of the Law, and thirdly in honour of the Assembly, the three precious things. By so doing, I hope to be preserved from the three calamities, from the four states of punishment; and from the five enemies, fire, water, thieves, governors (literally translated burdens), and malevolent people." The sayā replies: "As a reward for his merit and his obeisances, may the supporter (tagā) be freed from the three calamities, the four states of punishment, the five enemies, and from harm of what kind soever. May all his aims be good and end well; may he advance firmly in the noble path, perfect himself in wisdom, and finally obtain rest in ne'ban." Whenever the visitor addresses the yahan he joins his hands together, and sitting as he does on a mat, slightly bends the body forward, applying the title of payā, or lord, and making use of the [198] ●
honorific forms of speech specially reserved for the religious. The mendicant on his part calls the layman, of whatever

E:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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Silver moonbeams
Cast their chill gleams,
But to make black darkness vanish,
Sweet sleep from my babe's eyes banish?
Fairies wiled him,
Dreams beguiled him,
In his cradle wrapped so snugly,
Cradle carved with nayas[1] ugly,
Carved with Nats and Kings and Princes,
Every splendour that evinces
Royal state and princely usance.
There he slept, when what a nuisance!
Comes the light
To affright
And scare him back to home from elfin land.

Sweet, my babe, your father's coming,
Rest and hear the songs I'm humming;
He will come and gently tend you,
Rock your cot and safe defend you;
Mother's setting out his dinner—
Oh, you naughty little sinner!
What a yell from such a wee thing,
Couldn't be worse if you were teething.
My sweet round mass of gold,
Now please do what you're told.
Be quiet and good,
As nice boys should.
Oh, you plaguy, nasty brat!
I must call the great big cat,
He will come and squeeze and bite,
Scratch and eat you up outright.
Puss, puss, puss, you great big pussy!
Here's a boy so nice and juicy,
Let the mice have one night's pleasure,
You shall eat him at your leisure.

Nasty, naughty, noisy baby,
If the cat won't, Nats will maybe
Come and pinch and punch and rend you.
If they do I won't defend you.
Oh, now please,
Do not tease.
Do be good,
As babies should,
Just one tiny little while;
Try to sleep, or try to smile.

[1] A naya is a dragon with four legs. The word used here, myat è yin-wè, is specially reserved for royal cradles. The plebeian article is called pa-hket. Throughout, the language is of the most honorific character.

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2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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The oldest layman assumes the title of disciple to the last inducted pyin-sin, and, with clasped hands, addresses him as payā, the highest title the language affords. The monk's commonest actions, walking, eating, sleeping, are referred to in honorific language, different from that which would be used of a layman, or even of the king, performing the same thing. The highest officials bow down before them, and impose upon themselves the greatest sacrifices, both of time and money, to build splendid kyaungs for them, and minister to their wants. Finally, the monk's person is sacred and inviolable. Nothing he does can subject him to the civil [671] law. He bears the title of Thagiwin Mintha, Thagiwin Prince, as the heir of the scion of Kapilawut, and receiver of his inheritance.

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

increase in earnestness and purity of heart, and am freed from the Four States of Punishment; from the Three Evil Things, starvation, plague, and warfare; from the Eight Chambers of Hell; and from the Five Enemies. And at the end, when the last existence has come for me, may I pass into Ne'ban." 782 788

Such "prayers" are addressed not merely to the image, but to the whole pagoda, and not even on the platform of the latter. It is common for the pious at any period of the day to repeat their devotions simply in the direction of the pagoda, and often from a spot where hardly even the summit of it can be seen. The pilgrims to the Shwe Dagôn Payā in Rangoon prostrate themselves at intervals from the moment they catch sight of its glittering spire; but they repeat nothing further than the above, or some more fanciful formula, such as this: "Awgatha, Awgatha, Awgatha, I worship the footsteps of the great, the brilliant Buddha, to whom even the savage hunters turn, and the fierce dragons on the mountain tops and in the abysses of the hills. In the far land of Thiho (Ceylon) there, where, in the wilderness of woods, far from human dwellings, temples and pagodas rise up 84,000 in number, in the caves and the deeps; there I worship, there I bow me in devotion." By far the greater number, however, repeat simple Pali sentences, of which they have long forgotten the meaning, if indeed they ever knew it. Many of the pyin-sin can repeat whole [198] books and chapters in the sacred tongue, without having any but a very confused notion of the meaning of what they utter. Yet even this parrot-like performance has its merit, for it brings the mind into a fit state to contemplate the great ideal. A conclusive proof of this is recorded in the Malla Lingaya Wuttu, the life of Shin Gautama. There were many bats who lived in a cave in the time of the last Buddha, Kathapa, and great numbers of yahans were in the habit of resorting to this cave to meditate and give themselves up to devotion. These bats learned to repeat some of the phrases which they heard, but could not understand, and this pious exercise resulted in such benefit to their kan, that on their death they migrated to the seats of nat-dêwas. Afterwards, when Shin Gautama was preaching upon earth,

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

782 they again appeared upon the seat of man as yahans, and,
788 attending diligently to the precepts of the Law, were the first, as disciples of Thariputra, one of the chief followers of the Buddha, to comprehend the sublime law of the Abhidamma. If dumb creatures then can win such rewards for piety, how much more a man whc repeats his sentences with at least a consciousness of what their import is.

[198] Similar to this feeling with regard to the Pali jargon, of which every Burman knows more or less, according to the length of his stay in the monastery or the depth of his religious sentiments, and prompted by a like idea, is the offering of little nan-tagôn. These prayer-flags—kyet-sha-taing, as they are sometimes called—are made of paper, cut fancifully into figures of dragons, lizards, and the like, with embroidery-work round their edges. In the centre is written some pious reflection or aspiration, and the offerer places it on the shrine. Most of those sold ready composed for the worshipper are in Pali, those which he writes for himself, in Burmese. Samples of these inscriptions are:—

"By means of this paper the offerer will become very strong."

"By the merit of this paper Wednesday's children will be blessed by spirits and men."

"May the man born on Friday gain reward for his pious offering."

"This paper is an offering for people born on any day of the week from Sunday to Saturday."

"May the man born on Monday be freed from sickness and from the Three Calamities."

Very often nothing but the names of certain days of the week are written on the nan-tagôn; but sometimes a friend of humanity, or a man with a particularly large family, covering with their birthdays the whole week, simply writes down the names of the days in any order he pleases. The commonest form at the stalls round about the Shwe Dagôn is this simple, bald list, and indeed Rangoon is particularly badly supplied in this way. There are other small flags or streamers made of coloured cloth, some of them, especially those presented by the Shans, stitched with many

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

exercise of so meritorious a ceremony as the expounding of the Law. Accordingly the great crowd, who have been looking on with much interest at the progress up the taper-lit saungdan, commence generally to prepare for sleep in the zayats which surround the place where the stage is, or failing accommodation there, curl themselves up as comfortably as may be under the bullock-carts which brought them thither. A still greater proportion, however, gather together in circles to have a gossip, and this talk, accompanied by much smoking and chewing of pickled tea and betel, goes on till far into the night. An excuse for the scant reverence paid to the sermon, to which none but a few white-haired men and women listen, is, that what part of it is not in Pali is in such suggagyi, such a lofty and stilted style of Burmese, that no one can follow it. Accordingly the discourse is hurried through and the performers come down, and after putting off their fine clothes receive the congratulations of their friends. The image remains all night in "Tawadeintha," and the following evening the descent is made with similar ceremonial, and so the dramatic part of the festival is concluded.

But this is very far from being the whole of the proceedings. On both days numerous presents are made to the yahans and offerings to the pagodas, and these are carried round about the town and by circuitous routes to the monasteries, so that the greatest amount of pleasure and publicity may accrue to the donors.

Chief among these offerings are always huge spires, some of them fifty feet high, representing Tawadeintha, and similar to that on the summit of the stage platform. They are made of bamboo covered with pasteboard, glittering with gold and silver paper and painted in many colours, and are carried by ten or twenty men, on long bamboo poles. Round about them dance all the youth of the quarter or village they are presented by, young men and girls, all in their brightest clothes. In Rangoon scores of these offerings wend their way to the monasteries under the shadow of the great Shwe Dagôn.

Mingled up in the procession come white umbrellas, gold umbrellas, lofty bamboo poles with gilt balls quivering and swaying at the top, big pasteboard images of nat-dêwas,

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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hension. It may have been an ancient law, but it was not enforced in the last years of the Burmese empire, and it does not seem to have been enforced even in the times of the haughtiest and most unreasonable monarchs, such as Tharrawaddy and Mintaya Gyi. The appellative was perhaps not so common as in British territory; but as far as the law was concerned, the poor man might call himself and his children Shwe as much as he pleased; only he had to be very careful how he used any of the gold he might possess in decorating his person or in adorning his house.

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If the regulations did not apply to the name a man might have, they certainly did to the language he might make use of. Oriental forms of speech in self-depreciation are familiar enough. They are universal with all the nations of the East, and even turn up in the democratic West in the petitions of "your humble, obedient servant." The magniloquent and supreme nga, as applied to one's self, is not peculiar to Burma; while hnin, addressed to an inferior, is only a little more contemptuous than the *Er* of the small German courts. The difference between the various ranks is far more distinctly marked than this in the employment of different forms of speech; an entirely special language as applied to the royal blood, and in a scarcely less adulatory way to the members of the Assembly of the Perfect. A man "dies"; a monk "goes back" to the blissful seats whence he came, or to ne'ban; a king "ascends to the village of Nats"; one of the six heavens of happiness, where the passions still reign, and in the contemplation of which Buddhists find consolation for the otherwise dismal forebodings of their faith. The Buddhist religion is thoroughly democratic. A man only is what he is through his actions in past existences. The accumulation of merits must therefore vastly outweigh the demerits in the kan of a king. However badly he may act in his regal existence, he cannot fall below the lowest seat of the dewas—at least, so official language declares. Similarly, an ordinary man "walks"; a mendicant "stalks," or "strides," or "paces with dignified gait," or whatever may be the English honorific equivalent of the Burmese chwa; while a king "makes a royal progress." The latter expression was emphatically correct as

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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far as personages of the Burmese royal blood were concerned. The descendants of Mahā Thamada never went on their own legs in the open air. If they did not mount an elephant, some official was honoured with the weight of majesty on his back. In the same way, while a humble subject "eats," a pôngyi sônpônpethi "assimilates," or "nourishes his body with the alms of the pious"; and a king demeans himself to nothing less than "ascending to the lordly board." You may "call" or "invite" an ordinary man; to an ascetic you may "suggest an interview"; you would be a reckless man indeed if you sought a formula which in the faintest imaginable way would suggest to a king that you wanted him to come to you. When your visitor departs, if he is on familiar terms, he says, Thwa-mi nŏ, "I say, I'm going," and you politely respond, Thwa-ba, "By all means, go away"; if he stands a little in awe of you, he says, Thwa-daw-mi, "Honoured sir, I take my leave"; on the other hand, when, after a conference with a holy brother, you take your departure, you say, "My lord's servant does obeisance" (literally, "kowtows with his forehead"). When there was a king he did not give you the chance to say anything; he flung out of the throne and disappeared behind a blue curtain, while your eyes were fixed on the ground a couple of feet before you.

And so it goes on through a triple language, which makes Burmese of the palace an unknown tongue to the best foreign scholar. Tales are told of the ludicrous mistakes of men, who to ordinary people could speak Burmese, and therefore imagined they might venture on it with the king. Thus it was with a bluff English manager of one of the numerous mills which King Mindôn built and kept going till he got tired of them. This gentleman, in replying in the affirmative to some remark of the Lord of the Golden Palace, horrified the court by saying hôkde instead of the prescribed tin-ba payah, "I think with your majesty." The expression to palace ears was much the same as if some one were to say to His Majesty the King of England, "Right you are, old cockie." The court language is still kept up by all Burmese in their intercourse with superior officials.

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If the proprieties of language were carefully observed, the regulations as to wearing apparel and ornaments were

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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to the payment of the barbarians. In any case he should not suffer, for the whole sum would be refunded in two months' time. The circumstance, however, seems to have preyed on his mind, for the bodyguard said that his majesty (the elephant) had never been the same since.

There are frequent reports of the capture of white elephants, and special questing parties are sent out every now and then. But the candidates almost invariably fail to satisfy the water test, or the tail is not long enough, or the position of the eye is wrong, and the red ring is wanting. At any rate, genuine "white" elephants are very seldom found. As with the king, when the Sinbyudaw died it was not permissible to say so in as many rude words. It had to be whispered that his majesty had "departed" or "disappeared." He used to get a royal funeral.

[198]

When Mandalay was taken in 1886 the Royal White Elephant was sent down to Rangoon, where he was to have been kept in the Zoological Gardens. But he died immediately after he arrived. There has been no suggestion of the discovery of a White Elephant since.

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

Can anyone ever tell when the influence of a monk has been other than for pity or mercy? Surely they believe their religion? I did not know how people could believe till I saw them. 792 779

Martyrdom—what is martyrdom, what is death, for your religion, compared to living within its commands? Death is easy; life it is that is difficult. Men have died for many things: love and hate, and religion and science, for patriotism and avarice, for self-conceit and sheer vanity, for all sorts of things, of value and of no value. Death proves nothing. Even a coward can die well. But a pure life is the outcome only of the purest religion, of the greatest belief, of the most magnificent courage. Those who can live like this can die, too, if need be—have done so often and often; that is but a little matter indeed. No Buddhist would consider that as a very great thing beside a holy life.

There is another difference between us. We think a good death hallows an evil life; no Buddhist would hear of this for a moment.

The reverence in which a monk—ay, even the monk to-day who was but an ordinary man yesterday—is held by the people is very great. All those who address him do so kneeling. Even the king himself was lower than a monk, took a lower seat than a monk in the palace. He is addressed as 'Lord,' and those who address him are his disciples. Poor as he is, living on daily charity, without any power or authority of any kind, the greatest in the land would dismount and yield the road that he should pass. Such is the people's reverence for a holy life. Never was such voluntary homage 792 554 198

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

792 yielded to any as to these monks. There is a
554 special language for them, the ordinary language
198 of life being too low to be applied to their actions.
They do not sleep or eat or walk as do other men.

792 It seems strange to us, coming from our land where poverty is an offence, where the receipt of alms is a degradation, where the ideal is power, to see here all this reversed. The monks are the poorest of the poor, they are dependent on the people for their daily bread; for although lands may be given to a monastery—as a matter of fact, very few have any at all, and those only a few palm-trees—they have no power at all, either temporal or eternal; they are not very learned, and yet they are the most honoured of all people. Without any of the attributes which in our experience gather the love and honour of mankind, they are honoured above all men.

The Burman demands from the monk no assistance in heavenly affairs, no interference in worldly, only this, that he should live as becomes a follower of the great teacher. And because he does so live the Burman reverences him beyond all others. The king is feared, the wise man admired, perhaps envied, the rich man is respected, but the monk is honoured and loved. There is no one beside him in the heart of the people. If you would know what a Burman would be, see what a monk is: that is his ideal. But it is a very difficult ideal. The Burman is very fond of life, very full of life, delighting in the joy of existence, brimming over with vitality, with humour, with merriment. They are a young people, in the full flush of early nationhood. To them of all

561 removed. Old folks habitually like bitter foods - especially tea
262 leaves. Eating prepared foods left over night is strictly prohibited as a cause of illnesses. Curry must be eaten while it is hot. (There are no apparent reasons - just observation from eating spoiled
[757] foods). Boiled rice and fried dry fish comprises the standard sick diet in addition to other foods especially prescribed for the care or
177 for giving vigour. It is interesting to note that English foods such
757 as tinned biscuits ("Golden Puff biscuits") or milk preparations
262 ("Hollicks") are preferred for the sick diet by those who can afford them. The "strong" tastes of these foods give strength to the sick person. Lately, western medicines have been recognized as powerful. U Myaing's experiences above show the means by which this idea is established. However, the Burmese doctor is relied on even by families of the administrative class in Rangoon.

759 When a case of sickness seems beyond response to normal treatments, and it has been diagnosed as of a natural cause, the SAY SAYA (medicine-master) is called in. "Foot-hire" at a stiff rate of Rs.5/- for the first visit and 2 or 3 rupees for succeeding visits is paid for this service. "Say-saya, we place the case in your hands" is entoned, to which the doctor replies "If our faith coincides (i.e. patients and doctors) then we will be successful - otherwise we cannot go against Karma". The doctor notes the symptoms, feels forehead for fever, inquires of colour of urine and the course of the disorder. He then chants in verse the diagnosis as "eyes yellow,
● [198] motion irregular, forehead moist - (giving nature of sickness)". The treatment also follows in verse form as a rigid formula prescribing medicines and diet. The doctor is a specialist in one or more types of medicine which he has concocted such as "blood purifying medicines", "fever medicine", "purgative medicine", and he will have
[755] been called in because of this specialty. Charmed water is frequently given. Here verse formula is said over a cup of water to give it power.

SAY SAYA are trained when young men as apprentices to older doctors. The training includes memorizing many books giving diagnosis and formulas for curing as well as learning the master's arts.

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4
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of Hindu traders from South India. After the introduction of Buddhism into South India by Asoka in 261 B.C., the traders began to bring Buddhist elements to Thaton. With the establishment in the third or fourth century after Christ of the Hindu kingdoms in Java and Sumatra, Thaton became an important trading centre, and with the rise of a great Buddhist centre at Conjeveram in Madras in the fifth century, the Talaings began to receive religious writings in Pali. From that time onwards, learning was definitely established in the kingdom, and, as a result, a Talaing literature came into being. Anawrahta was interested in Pali only, and therefore when he destroyed the city, he burnt all the manuscripts except those in Pali.[1]

175 101 [779] [177]

The writing and learning that were thus introduced into Pagan took root at once. Prose and poetry as embodied in the language of the court and in songs had been in existence long before, though unwritten, and now the new learning turned them into written forms and began to develop them. Pali was studied everywhere, and in the newly-built temples with their crowded monastic life, works in Pali on religion, on Pali grammar and prosody, and on the legal code of Manu came to be produced.[2] Translations were also made, and soon Pagan became famous throughout India for its Pali scholarship. But

175 212 779 538

[1] The Burmese language belongs to the Tibeto-Burmese group, whereas the Talaing belongs to the Mon-Khmar group. In spite of Anawrahta's conquest and in spite of the fact that racially they were cousins, the Talaings became completely merged with the Burmese only in the eighteenth century. The probability of the Sanskrit drama reaching the Talaings is considered in chap. ii.

[197] [101]

[2] G. E. Harvey, op. cit., pp. 59, 70.

The most famous for literary activity was the *Kyauku Ohnmin* temple. Though built perhaps even before Anawrahta, when a corrupted form of Buddhism was prevalent, it is still in an excellent condition (Harvey, p. 17).

The code of Manu was compiled originally in Sanskrit, during the period 200 B.C.–A.D. 200. Since that time it has been one of the chief sources of Hindu law (J. D. Mayne, *Hindu Law*). The Burmese received it in a Talaing-Pali version in which the sacerdotal element had been done away with. That explains why, although Manu is one of the chief sources also of Burmese Buddhist law, it has little in common with Hindu law. The existence of the code as the chief source of Talaing law (Harvey, op. cit., p. 111) raises again the question, how far were the Talaing writings under the influence of Sanskrit and its literature? We shall never know. When Anawrahta destroyed Talaing institutions and historical and literary works, he intended that all knowledge of the past greatness of the Talaings should pass into oblivion so as to smooth his way towards unifying Burma into one single State.

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Pali has been, since 1044, the classical language of Burma.

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21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

175 538 198 there never was any attempt to imitate the Pali language and its literature in the vernacular, and Burma offers no parallel to the controversy among English Renaissance scholars over the merits and demerits of the vernacular.

175 538 The period of Pagan's ascendancy marked the zenith of Burmese greatness and civilization. It was a great centre of trade, and visitors from afar talked of the glory that was Pagan. Its supremacy was unquestioned by the whole of Burma, which had been united into a kingdom for the first time. It even demanded and probably obtained nominal allegiance from the greater part of Indo-China and the governors of the outlying provinces of the Chinese Empire. But the period of Pagan's ascendancy was not a great period in Burmese literature. Her capital looked radiant with its golden temples, her kings were learned and powerful, her troops marched in triumph, but Pagan never forgot that no material thing was real, and everything decayed and perished. Therefore, the scholars were interested only in religious themes, and religious themes seldom offer adequate scope for the development of a great literature. Although the clearness of diction and the artistry of the death-song of the royal tutor, Anantathuria, composed while awaiting execution in 1173, indicate that at least a few must have practised the use of the vernacular for non-religious purposes, the efforts of writers in the vernacular were chiefly directed towards the recording of inscriptions, which are still [172] preserved in countless numbers in the pagodas of Pagan.[1] Many of these inscriptions contain good prose. The earlier inscriptions tend to be bombastic through sheer wealth of learning; the scholars of Pagan could not at once learn to control their use of the newly-acquired scholarship, just as the earlier writers of the Renaissance in England failed to restrict their use of learned words. However, after a few decades, the bombastic style gave place to a simpler and more 175 concise diction. In addition to the narrowness of scope offered by 172 538 341 religious themes, there was another reason which prevented Pagan,

[1] The death-song is one of the greatest poems in the language and is the oldest non-religious piece of literature existing in Burma. A translation is given in G. E. Harvey, op. cit., p. 55, and another in Tin and Luce, *The Glass Palace Chronicle*, p. 139.

G. E. Harvey, op cit. (p. 70) describes the inscriptions as 'richly human and intensely devout', and he ranks (p. 38) some of Kyanzittha's (1084–1112) inscriptions as literature.

[112] *Epigraphia Birmanica*, a Government publication, gives the text of the more important inscriptions with translations.

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

be a perfect art; probably they thought the Burmese, as far as 644
dramatic representation was concerned, to be barbarians. Moreover, 536*
many of the Burmese scholars themselves were against any substantial changes in the presentation of the play at their court. They were for borrowings from, and imitations of, the Siamese play, but they held that the model must be kept unchanged and intact. Their scholastic mind was such. The slightest distortion of the model called forth protests. When the Siamese play, *Aindarwuntha*, was translated as [198] ●
Eenaung, there was bitter criticism. The hero of the play had two names; the official title *Aindarwuntha* given by the king of the gods, and the palace name of *Eenaung*. The Siamese called their play *Aindarwuntha*, but the Burmese translator called it *Eenaung*, for that name was easier to say. The play was known as *Eenao* (only a slightly different pronunciation of the same name) in Cambodia. All the same, there were protests against the Minister Myawaddi's calling his translation *Eenaungzat*. Therefore, the scenes (of the *Rama* play) were presented in the same sequence as in the original, the characters were the same, and the story remained the same. However, changes were introduced in the actual words of the songs and speeches. Such changes were considered legitimate because such slight modifications were allowed even at the Siamese court, thereby keeping the play fresh. References to the topic of the day at the court, to Burmese ideals and ideas, to the wit of an actor: they naturally caused slight variations. Withal, the tradition of rigid faithfulness to the original remained. The gesture, rather than actual acting and facial expression, was of great importance in the Siamese play, and that the
Burmese court rigidly followed. Gesture was of great importance 536*
in the Sanskrit drama, and elaborate treatises were written on the 201
various gestures and their meaning. The code of the gesture in the Sanskrit drama was as rigid as it was elaborate. In the Siamese play, it was very much less elaborate, but still very rigid. For example, when Rama left the court of the Malay king, all the courtiers had to pay homage in an elaborate and very formal way. It is difficult to ascertain the reason of the importance of the gesture in the play; the Sanskrit drama may have influenced it; or the Siamese court wished to show to the common people the manners and customs of their king's palace; or maybe where the stage-lighting was extremely bad, facial expression could not be seen, and therefore gesture alone could convey the meaning to the audience, of course, apart from the actual dialogue. However, the importance of the

Z1: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

to be under the direct control of the state. But as living actors were now past such control, he turned his attention towards puppets, which were in great demand by the people. He realized the possibilities of puppets in the newly arisen national drama. The puppet show, which was then entirely independent of the drama and the living actors, started with different animals coming out one by one, and each gave a special dance to a particular tune of its own, played by the orchestra, then a *zawgyee*[1] appeared and danced, and finally, a prince and princess came out, made love, sang and danced. The puppets were from 2½ to 3 feet in height, and were worked by strings. As stage, there was a raised platform, with a black curtain, behind which the show-men stood and manipulated the puppets. The men's hands were visible, but as the platform was about four feet high and the audience had to look up, the hands did not distinctly come into the line of vision. The platform was about twenty feet in length, and the width of the part in front of the curtain was about four feet. 536 * 175 [534]

The minister put the puppet show under direct state patronage and control. Under him the puppet show became similar to an ordinary dramatic presentation except that puppets performed instead of living actors. The use of puppets to act the play of course caused the introduction of new puppets, but it also rendered the *zawgyee* and animal puppets unnecessary; yet they were retained all 536 * 175 [656]

[1] *Zawgyee* is the Burmese term for an alchemist. It is a derivative of the Indian word *yoga* but the Burmese alchemist has little in common with the Indian ascetic. It is an example of how names of Pali and semi-Buddhist origin were applied to already-existing native ideas. 789 822 [198]

A man (but not a woman) becomes a *zawgyee* when he has introduced into his body the right metal-compounds. To obtain those compounds, he has to experiment on metals with quicksilver or iron. In the first case, he becomes a 'quicksilver *zawgyee*' and in the second, an 'iron *zawgyee*', but both have the same powers. A *zawgyee* lives for millions of years, and can travel in the air, in water, or under the earth, for his body has reached the state when it is beyond the ordinary laws of nature. A halfway stage in the experiments is reached when a 'stone of live metal' (equivalent to the medieval 'philosopher's stone') is obtained. A person in actual possession of the stone can fly in the air and travel under the earth, but his powers are entirely dependent on the stone, i.e. his body is still an ordinary human body. The stone turns lead into silver and brass into gold. It will be seen that a Burman striving to become a *zawgyee* has much in common with the medieval European alchemist.

The beliefs connected with the *zawgyee* are still widely current. For a detailed account of Burmese alchemy, see the writer's 'Alchemy and Alchemists in Burma' in *Folk-Lore*, December 1933. [113]

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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[805]
[271]

Having made her evening toilet

148. TEA (LEPPEYVE).

the girl takes some light work, such as cotton to roll for the wheel for the hour of *lubyô-hlè*, as the dusk of evening is called, literally, the time of the "bachelors' round." The young men are expected to make short calls only, so as not to keep the old people up late. By "old men's sleeping time," as the hour after the short twilight is called, they must have left, so as to relieve the duenna, who, if not in sight, is always in waiting for the girls to come up into the house for the night. Courtship

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has quite a language of its own in which the suitor needs to be proficient. Young people of fashion are referred to as *kàla-thá*, *kàla-thamî*—lads and girls "of the period," who cultivate smartness in their speech, bearing and dress. The suitor brings presents of flowers and fruit and ornaments. Oranges, expensively stored one by one, long past the season, are for this sole purpose.. Carved

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147. BELLE AT HER TOILET.

148. VILLAGE BELLE.

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

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[231]
[439]
[563
198]

207. BRINGING IN ROE-DEER (DYI).

then the bathing-places have to be staked in. Wild elephants make a road dangerous at times. Elephants are captured by pit-falls. Decoys are also used in various ways; small animals are detached from the herd by their means and then kept going until they are worn out, and can be tethered and hobbled for taming. The breaking in is accomplished by pinning the elephant between trees or stout posts where it cannot lie down, keeping it underfed, and giving food as the reward of docility. Young elephants born in captivity—as occasionally happens—are broken in, in the same way, about the sixth year, when half grown. The stock is replenished from Siam, where the wild herds are larger, and the business of catching is more developed, and where also elephants breed more frequently in captivity. The elephant-breakers and trainers are Shans, and the words of command Shan. Rhinoceroses (*kyau*) may be found about the sources of streams in the evergreen hills; occasional tracks are seen. A tapir occurs in the forests of Tenaserim. Wild dogs (*canis rutilans*) occur in a few localities. There is no wolf, fox, or hyæna, and no jackal east of Arakán. There is a larger and a smaller black bear (*ursus*), very rarely encountered, and not aggressive. There are several species of wild cat (*taw-dyáung*) large and small, and a few species of weasel. A small porcupine is found (*pyu*). The huge bamboo-rat (*pauk*) is dug out of its burrow by the hill people. There are many tribes of monkeys and gibbons; the weird cry of the latter is the characteristic sound of the evergreen forest. Squirrels are the only wild animals

208. MEASURING THE PANTHER.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

212 still is used by the Shans for their sacred MSS. The Burmans use the paper chiefly in the form of stiff tablets (*parabéik*), blackened, like the *thimbôn*, for writing on with a steatite pencil. Burmese type was cut (No. 452) and the first 213 printing-plant set up in Burma by the American Baptist Mission. At present

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274. PALM-LEAF MS.

871 there are a number of printing establishments owned by Burmans, from which quite a literature of their religious works has issued. At first the Buddhists of •198 Burma considered print not good enough for the scripture canon. Modernised 203 legends of the Buddha in his previous incarnations (*sat*) are beginning to form the foundation of a romance-literature of indigenous type. Newspapers have not yet taken a firm hold, even in the large towns; but news travels very fast in the ordinary way, especially news about the prices of goods. This western art has not contributed to the spread of western knowledge in the way that might be expected. The Yaw Mindyi, a minister of the late King Mindôn Min, made a most praiseworthy effort to popularise western ideas in a series of MS. treatises. A native undertaking upon a grand scale—nothing less than a Burmese encyclopædia—was on foot in the sixties, but fell through for want of organised support. In Japan, an analogous enterprise was successful. What applies to concerted action in matters like the above, applies equally to political combination. Few Burmans, even after years of schooling, learn enough to read an English newspaper with [212] profit. To this day there is no Burmese manual for the study of English. The scholars learn only enough of the language to procure them employment as accountants and copyists. Similarly, there are few English who can understand a Burmese newspaper.

275. COPYIST AT WORK.

000 Dealers, with the exception of the

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

APPENDIX B.

STRUCTURE OF THE BURMESE LANGUAGE—MODE OF TRANSLITERATION.

212 THE Burmese alphabet is a model of classification. The vowels and consonants form separate orders, with sub-orders. The force of each letter is conveyed in its name. The name consists of two parts, the generic and the specific. The latter describes the form of the letter by its resemblance to some familiar object; for instance *ka-sindu*—elephant-fetter *ka* (ka). Sentences are punctuated, but the words are written—from left to right—without separation. The horizontal line of characters consists mainly of the consonants, the characters added above and below the line denote the vowels. The Burmese is all Burmese just as German is all German. The meaning of a compound word is as obvious as the meaning of *durch-sichtig* is in German and *trans-parens* is in Latin. A new root which one has learned in its function of substantive may be used as verb and adjective upon one unvarying model. The forms of speech have tended to preserve related ideas in the same categories as the terms expressing the ideas. The Burman has no equivalents for our "herb, shrub, tree." He speaks of "grain-plants, creeper-plants, timber-plants." The root idea is conveyed by a monosyllable. The disuse of mute consonants in the spoken language greatly reduces the number of available combinations of sounds by which to differentiate monosyllables. A tonic system of vowels and the aspiration of labial and dental as well as of liquid consonants, help to multiply the possible combinations. Context comes to the aid of these subtle distinctions. Prefixes and suffixes of universal application indicate the parts of speech in their syntax and their inflexions. The numeral affixes proper to various classes of objects are of a curious prolixity. Just as we say *pair*, *couple*, *brace*, so one of twenty or more different affixes has to be employed with the number, according to the nature of the object. Secondary meanings are obtained by a free compounding of words. The language possesses terms for ideas of much subtlety and complexity; but metaphysical terms are imported from the Pâli, the language of Buddhist philosophy. The pronunciation of the Pâli is adapted to that of the Burmese. Thus *Samanera* becomes *Chinthamané*. Sanskrit, which is studied by few, presents still greater difficulties to the Burman. The word for Sanskrit is corrupted into *Thinthakyét*. The terseness of the language appears in its proverbs. For

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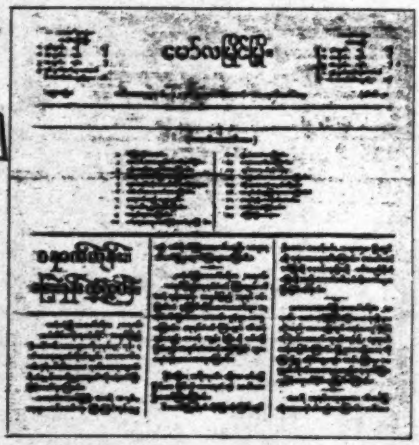

ASD. BURMESE LETTERPRESS (NEWSPAPER, p. 194).

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29: Slater M-4 (no date) 1951 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

CHAPTER II

BUDDHISM AND ANIMISM IN BURMA

1. Animism or Buddhism?

It never occurred to anybody, remarked the Burmese critic quoted in our previous chapter, that the best way to find out what Nirvana meant was to consider its significance in some present, living tradition of Buddhism. His criticism was apposite in its immediate reference. As a matter of fact, however, it was precisely this course which *did* occur to Bishop Bigandet a century ago, as his voluminous footnotes to his translation of the Burmese Legend of Gaudama show.[1] The same may be said of his predecessor in the field, Father Sangermano, and of several successors.[2] Our present purpose is to take up the task where they left it. We hope to describe Buddhism in Burma in sufficient detail to exhibit the essentially religious character of the Nirvana paradox. 114 121

Since the context is Burmese and the reference is to Hīnayāna or Southern Buddhism, Nirvana for the time being will be *Nibbāna*, which is its form in the Pali language of the Hīnayāna scriptures. In Burmese, Nibbāna is Nebban. 775 198

One reason, perhaps, why this approach to the subject has been largely disregarded by Western scholars in recent years is the prevalent impression that the popular religion in Burma is a syncretism in which the dominant element is not Buddhism, but Animism. "Hinayana," writes Dr. Bouquet, in an outline of Comparative Religion, "is still 'the little vehicle,' because it does not and cannot appeal to the masses of any population.... It is true that it is the Buddhism of Burma and Ceylon. But anyone who knows these countries is well aware that the real popular faith of their peoples is not Hinayana but a thinly veiled animism."[3] 771

[1] Rt. Rev. P. Bigandet, Bishop of Ramatha, *The Life or Legend of Gaudama, the Buddha of the Burmese*, first published in Rangoon 1858.

[2] Father Vincentius Sangermano, *The Burmese Empire*, first published in 1833.

[3] A. C. Bouquet, *Comparative Religion*, new ed., 1945, p. 129. Dr. J. B. Pratt's balanced estimate of the Burma situation in his *The Pilgrimage of Buddhism* (1928) should have done something to correct this impression.

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

When anything surprises or pleases a Burman he never fails to cry out, Amè—mother. Following the national example, to whom can I better dedicate this book than to you, my dear Mother? Who else will be so eager to praise; so tender to chide; so soft to soothe and console; so prompt to shield and defend? To you, therefore, I dedicate it; and if this tribute of reverence and gratitude gives you a day's pleasure, it will have been a kaung-hmu—a work of merit.

[201]

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

539

O that curve in the round arm!
It has wrought men grievous harm.
Like the sylphs when they're at play,
Like the maids of Mandalay,
Without display
In everyday
Quiet dresses they
Are busked and gay
As the daughters of the palace, as the maidens of the skies
In their natural, their usual array.

O! could I but sing what I think,
My heart would no more on the brink
Of despairing love struggle and sink,
Ye maidens to heavens the link;
Each passer-by
Who casts his eye
Upon the buxom Hanthawaddy girls,
Though he be sage,
His feelings wage
Fierce war within his brain-pan till it whirls.

Dewa daughters, fair, fair,
Rosebud fairies, ware, ware,
Born men's hearts to snare, snare,
Can I paint your ways,
Better sound your praise,
In verse
That's terse
Than thus: You're fair as any maid in Mandalay.

Barani is a daughter of nats, corresponding very much to the classical Flora. [832]

Madi, the spouse of Prince Wethandaya, is always regarded as the model wife. [593]

Amè! "mother!" is the invariable exclamation of all Burmans on all possible occasions of astonishment, anger, doubt, or delight. [201]●

The name Hanthawaddy, properly applied to the whole province, is, in songs, usually employed to designate Rangoon, for rhythmical more than any other reason, just as Mamye, or Mye, or Man stands for Mandalay. [195]

"Rosebud fairies," called bôngyo, are daughters of nats, who having stayed in the country of the dêwas for a thousand years, are obliged to come down to the seat of man again. 539 773

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

526 and to lay their last rupee or not on their champions according as their judgment or loyalty bids them. Not a man of them will back the enemy's boat. If they have not supreme confidence in the superiority of their representatives, they simply refrain from staking all they possess. But in all the vast crowd there is not a man who has not a money interest of some kind in the race. There is U Ôn, the district magistrate, in the "grand stand"—a primitive erection run up in half an hour with some sticks and bamboo matting; he is a Thônkwa man by birth himself, but nothing will persuade him to back the fishing village against the subdivision over which he now rules. Why, he has practically built and furnished all the money for the Daungsatpyan himself. The water-craft which he learnt in his native place has only prompted him to hang with greater loving care over the lines of the boat when it was building, and Ba Tu, his eldest son, wields the steering paddle in the Peacock, the pride of Myanaung. Now the old gentleman—he pulled a good oar himself twenty years ago for the very town he now longs to beat—moves about uneasily, gets up and sits down, winds and unwinds his white pawlôn, and can hardly refrain from shouting out, for the Peacock is just passing, and Ba Tu gives a yell and flourishes his paddle, and there is
● [201] a great shout of "Yauk-kya!" from the Myanaung partisans. Yauk-kya, or yauk-kya ba-tha, means simply "man" or "man, the son of his father," but it is a defiant challenge, or an inspiriting cheer to the Burmese. They are a fine, strong-looking lot, the Myanaung crew, perhaps a little too fleshy, and therefore possibly deficient in staying power, but all young, and worked up to a state of nearly frantic enthusiasm by the presence of their sweethearts and the momentous duty that rests upon them. Their weather-beaten old trainer paddles alongside of them in a little canoe, and begs them to be calm at the beginning and not rush themselves out at the start. The boat is a beauty, and does
501 credit to the old magistrate in the sweeping curves of its lines. Low and as light as skilled hands can make it, it draws only a few inches of water, and does not rise much more than a foot above the surface. So thin are the sides that the boat is tourniquetted together with twisted wire

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

be a perfect art; probably they thought the Burmese, as far as dramatic representation was concerned, to be barbarians. Moreover, many of the Burmese scholars themselves were against any substantial changes in the presentation of the play at their court. They were for borrowings from, and imitations of, the Siamese play, but they held that the model must be kept unchanged and intact. Their scholastic mind was such. The slightest distortion of the model called forth protests. When the Siamese play, *Aindarwuntha*, was translated as *Eenaung*, there was bitter criticism. The hero of the play had two names; the official title *Aindarwuntha* given by the king of the gods, and the palace name of *Eenaung*. The Siamese called their play *Aindarwuntha*, but the Burmese translator called it *Eenaung*, for that name was easier to say. The play was known as *Eenao* (only a slightly different pronunciation of the same name) in Cambodia. All the same, there were protests against the Minister Myawaddi's calling his translation *Eenaungzat*. Therefore, the scenes (of the *Rama* play) were presented in the same sequence as in the original, the characters were the same, and the story remained the same. However, changes were introduced in the actual words of the songs and speeches. Such changes were considered legitimate because such slight modifications were allowed even at the Siamese court, thereby keeping the play fresh. References to the topic of the day at the court, to Burmese ideals and ideas, to the wit of an actor, they naturally caused slight variations. Withal, the tradition of rigid faithfulness to the original remained. The gesture, rather than actual acting and facial expression, was of great importance in the Siamese play, and that the Burmese court rigidly followed. Gesture was of great importance in the Sanskrit drama, and elaborate treatises were written on the various gestures and their meaning. The code of the gesture in the Sanskrit drama was as rigid as it was elaborate. In the Siamese play, it was very much less elaborate, but still very rigid. For example, when Rama left the court of the Malay king, all the courtiers had to pay homage in an elaborate and very formal way. It is difficult to ascertain the reason of the importance of the gesture in the play; the Sanskrit drama may have influenced it; or the Siamese court wished to show to the common people the manners and customs of their king's palace; or maybe where the stage-lighting was extremely bad, facial expression could not be seen, and therefore gesture alone could convey the meaning to the audience, of course, apart from the actual dialogue. However, the importance of the

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21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

536* 261 gesture passed on to the Burmese reproduction of the play. The rigid tradition soon called forth protests, if not in actual words, then in deeds. If the *Rama* play could not be changed to meet Burmese tastes, other plays would have to be invented. As a result, a native court drama came into being.[1]

4. The Burmese Court Drama

536* 175 644 538 It was during the reign of Hsinbyushin under whom the victories against the Siamese and the Chinese had been won, that the *Rama* play was first presented at court. He was succeeded by Singu, who was king from 1776 to 1782. Singu could appreciate and compose good poetry when sober, but such occasions were rare. All the same, the learned atmosphere of the court was maintained, for his queen, the daughter of the famous commander-in-chief who defeated the Siamese and the Chinese invaders, was an accomplished poet herself, and she ever encouraged the continued presentation of the Siamese *Rama* at court. Singu was followed by Bodawpaya (1782–1811), who was one of the strongest despots that ever sat on the Burmese throne. But his despotism was of the enlightened kind, and under his patronage, the learned atmosphere of the court remained unimpaired. The earlier half of his reign saw the rise of a Burmese court drama.

Some time about the year 1783, a young courtier came to the forefront of scholastic circles at the court. This young man, who was a typical product of the age of learning, which was also the age of triumph, had distinguished himself in various campaigns when he began his literary career by composing songs modelled on those of the Siamese *Rama*. He was essentially a scholar, learning and experimenting, and he was an accomplished student of literature, both [195] Burmese and foreign. But in spite of his great learning, he kept his own writings free from too rich an imagery and too bombastic a language; his Burmese was simple and pure. He wrote in the language of the court but without artificiality, so that his songs were not only admired at court, but understood and sung by the common people. After making his name as a song-writer, he produced various literary works of all kinds and thus enhanced his reputation, until he reached the zenith of his literary career in about the year 1785, when he composed and produced the first Burmese court play. This young

[1] Extracts from the *Ramayana*, *The Statue Play* attributed to Bhasa, and the Siamese-Burmese *Rama* play are given in appendix i.

around that we had meritoriously praised the Lord Buddha, and then touched the earth with the striker to pass the message to the spirits there also. These big bells may weigh up to 25 tons; the bell at Mingun is said to be the second largest in the world. They are all inscribed with lauds and invocations for the welfare of the donor. Gongs of brass are the bells of the town-crier; all announcements are punctuated with the striking of a gong. *Maung le htu tè* is the equivalent of "broadcasting it around the town". Much attention is paid to the melodiousness of gongs for the Burmese have a musical instrument called the *kyi-waing*, which is a circular frame on which graduated gongs are hung and beaten with a knobbed stick to harmonize with the rest of a Burmese orchestra.

There were numerous other objects for which my mother would never accept a substitute from English shops because they did not cater for our ingrained customs. Soup never tastes right when eaten with a metal spoon—we always used Burmese china spoons bought for about one anna each; rice is not to be stirred with a metal utensil either—the Burmese wooden ladle for this is the *yaung-ma*, the same word as for sister-in-law, the stirrer of trouble. There were, of course, particular places in Burma which supplied particular articles of dress, but I took an interest in this only when I was grown up.

What delights me is to find now that, in the imported things about the house also, all minkadaw households bought a standard type. This was probably due to the enterprise of Messrs. Rowe and Co., a Rangoon firm selling general goods, which established branches in all district towns to provide officers with anything they could not buy in native shops. We all bought Gold Medal camp chairs and camp cots from Rowe's. We bought durwan's kerosene lamps for bedrooms, Storm King and Petromax lamps with incandescent mantles for sitting and dining rooms, we bought crockery which came out in three or four good standard patterns, with an adaptation from the orthodox English dinner service to provide soup and curry dishes suitable for Burmese meals. We got cane furniture made in the local jails, odd chairs and always the half-wood half-cane stores box to serve on tours, and the long basket trays in which my father's files and papers would come home and go to the office every day, on the head of the *chaprassi*. The *hpas*, soft expandable cane boxes in which Burmese people pack their bedding when travelling, were always covered with green canvas from Rowe's. With these hpas, matching the Gold Medal camp cots and chairs, the boxes from the jails, a clerk and two or three girls looking after the children, and a general air of solicitous attention from the people around, no one could mistake an a-so-ya government official's family on its touring travels.

pagodas and those throughout the country are descendants of the pagoda slaves. 461 175

Beggars are rated below the pagoda slaves - but, because of the Buddhist merit associated with giving do well for themselves. 567 778

The beggars live in communities on the outskirts of the town often in cemeteries. They are thought to exhume the dead to get the coins placed in the mouth of the deceased to ensure expenses on his journey to heaven. The wood of the coffin is believed to be used in constructing their huts. Professional undertakers or morticians are regarded with horror since they like the beggars, make their living from the dead. The functions of burial are performed gratis by the entire village. A story is currently going round the University dormitories telling of an immensely wealthy Burmese coffin maker in Rangoon who has offered riches to the young man who will marry his beautiful daughter. When the future seems blank the students' friend advises "Hey, why don't you go and marry the coffin maker's daughter?" It seems that the money would scarcely compensate for the social discrimation. The extent to which the occupation classes are rigid in marriage and other social exchanges is an interesting problem. 735 [779] 764 554 461 [203] 461 565 555

A young man is obliged to remain within the occupation class of his family or to rise to greater heights. He is advised at an early age to "be simple, aim high, and tell the truth." When children play at daccits (thieves) or other "low class" games their parents object to their low aspirations and advise them to play nobles and ministers. One would feel justified in remaining idle rather than accept a position below that of his birth. It is better to accept a clerks job at a low salary than an artisans at a high salary. On the other hand those born into lower status occupation groups tend to be satisfied with their state as a condition of birth. In Rangoon, however, even the hawkers may have ambitions to achieve fame and fortune. The opportunities for social mobility is greater in the towns and cities but difinitely restricted in the villages. [867] [857] [369]

Apprenticeship to trades begins at the age of 12 to 14 years, and usually lasts for several years. Ordinarily the youth is attached to the shop of a relative where he lives and is payed a subsistence wage while learning. The key to high positions lies in education in 461 467 874 [602]

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The following interview gives an impression of U Myaing's "World View" and current events: (U Myaing and Ma Aye Myaing answer).

Q. Where do you get your information on current events?
A. (U.M.) I read the newspapers, we buy them sometimes - or listen to others who buy and read.

Q. How often do you read a newspaper - once a week?
A. Quite seldom, because I do not have the time. As soon as it is light I have to go to work.

Q. Do you know anything of modern world conditions?
A. We hear what others say - that the Chinese will enter Burma. We do not know what is happening elsewhere. We've heard that the Chinese and Americans are fighting each other, but we don't know where this is taking place.

Q. How does the present situation compare with the past?
A. We don't know whether the world situation has improved or not. We get all sorts of information, but our main worry is work - and hope to provide sufficient food for the family.

Q. Do you know of the A.F.P.F.L. (Anti Fascist People's Freedom League - the major political party in Burma)?
A. Yes, there is even a sign board at the entrance to our camp.

Q. Do the phongyis give you current affairs information?
A. We don't even have a personal phongyi where we live. We

don't usually talk about these things with them. We invite the phongyis and worship them. We don't talk much with them. They preach the law and the 5 SILLS to us. 181 203

16. Q. Are there any persons of influence in camp who give advice on everyday living? 621

A. Yes, the person of influence is the schoolmaster, U Khant. But he only teaches the children and looks to the general cleanliness of the camp. Another person is the man who teaches the English. But they do not lay down what is right and what is wrong.

Activities of the Family in Relationship to the Supernatural.

The main forces which U Myaing and his family are concerned with are those of the Nats and those of Buddhism. Speaking historically, the Nats seem to represent a remnant of an early form of animism in which the Nats were tree or nature spirits. It is interesting to note the manner in which U Myaing blends the two religious systems. The Nats control earthly happenings, and the Buddhist structure the eternal. We are concerned with identifying some of the major practices, but primarily with the differentiation between religious practices in Pantanaw and in the refugee camp. 771 [178]

Nats.

The problem of the Nats came up in our study by the appearance of a bamboo pole split so as to form a small basket at one end. This object, called a KYAUNG ZAUNG rested on the roof of the camp hut next to U Myaing's. An interview in which Daw Aw Zar (D.A.Z.) and U Myaing (U.M.) discussed Nats, is given in its entirety below because it reveals the rather vague feelings of "superstition" held of the Nats on the one hand and their potency on the other. 776 782

Q. No. 25 (photograph) is a split bamboo pole with a basket at the top. What is this called and what is it used for?

A. (D.A.Z.) KYAUNG ZAUNG. The thing he took from the roof and photographed? It is called a KYAUNG ZAUNG.
(U.M.) It is called KYAUNG ZAUNG.

Q. How do you use it ?

A. (D.A.Z.) We offer to U SHIN GYI and others. Offerings to Nats. Didn't you hear that big man speak? (To U Myaing).

Q. Who made this object? Who makes them?

A. (D.A.Z.) The people who give the offerings of course.

Q. Do you have to make these when you give offerings?

A. If we give offerings we make them.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

212 still is used by the Shans for their sacred MSS. The Burmans use the paper chiefly in the form of stiff tablets (*parabèik*), blackened, like the *thimbôn*, for writing on with a steatite pencil. Burmese type was cut (No. 452) and the first
213 printing-plant set up in Burma by the American Baptist Mission. At present

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274. PALM-LEAF MS.

871 there are a number of printing establishments owned by Burmans, from which
198 quite a literature of their religious works has issued. At first the Buddhists of Burma considered print not good enough for the scripture canon. Modernised
203 legends of the Buddha in his previous incarnations (*zat*) are beginning to form the foundation of a romance-literature of indigenous type. Newspapers have not yet taken a firm hold, even in the large towns; but news travels very fast in the ordinary way, especially news about the prices of goods. This western art has not contributed to the spread of western knowledge in the way that might be expected. The Yaw Mindyi, a minister of the late King Mindôn Min, made a most praiseworthy effort to popularise western ideas in a series of MS. treatises. A native undertaking upon a grand scale—nothing less than a Burmese encyclopædia—was on foot in the sixties, but fell through for want of organised support. In Japan, an analogous enterprise was successful. What applies to concerted action in matters like the above, applies equally to political combination. Few Burmans, even after years of schooling, learn enough to read an English newspaper with
[212] profit. To this day there is no Burmese manual for the study of English. The scholars learn only enough of the language to procure them employment as accountants and copyists. Similarly, there are few English who can understand a Burmese newspaper.

275. COPYIST AT WORK.

000 Dealers, with the exception of the

to bring chairs, tables, food and attendants for the sum of Re. 1/4 per
533 head. The tune which was written to sing sentimentally of the Isle of
177. Capri now sang, with romping glee, the English names of these delicacies:
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Vi-ta-mo, co-co *hnin amyo son myi*
Ham pattie, cream roll *hnin* cold coff-ee,
Columbia *dat pya hnin htè hso myi*,
Plain cake *hnin* Gold Flake *le kyamma wè myi*.
Etc.....

Vitamo, cocoa and all kinds you'll see,
Ham patties, cream rolls and cold coffee
With Columbia record playing merrily,
Plain cake and Gold Flake will I buy for tea.

Expensive things, expensive things of all kinds for eating,
I'll order from a restaurant for this fashion meeting.
Sit up round a table in gathering so hearty,
A very respectable tea-drinking party.

Don't eat of Burmese comestibles,
They are so indigestible.

On the other hand the lilting tune of the Campdown Races was slowed down to sing:

Chit-te thu ko tway hma tha,
Seik pyaw,
Aye da.

Only when you see the loved one,
Heart is happy,
Mind at rest.

369 Compared to dwellers of country towns, Yangonthu not only went
177. to the cinema oftener, but also read a good deal more, probably in the
53 absence of so many happy-eating-gatherings and charity feasts. There
204 were four daily newspapers in Burmese and a few which appeared bi- or
538 tri-weekly. The daily paper provided a lot of reading matter for the average person; a grandaunt of mine made it a daily institution to sit on her verandah with a bottle of lemonade and the *New Light of Burma* whose 24 pages were filled with international news, home politics, articles on the economic development of the country and attacks on abuses prevalent in social life, exhortations to good behaviour to the younger generation, reports of cases of a scandalous nature, just like a popular daily anywhere in the world. But in Burma there was no distinction such as exists between a paper which tries to keep a dignified

face, like the London *Times*, and papers which make sensational interest their strong point. Similarly, poetry and clear prose were not the monopoly of a class of intellectuals, although certain periodicals such as the *World of Books* endeavoured to contain only literary excellences; wit and vivid description could be present in the tuppenny novels. These two anna novels were largely drug-like and pornographic in nature. There was a great trade in them, about 30,000 being sold annually in Rangoon. Mobile circulating libraries functioned in the person of hawker boys who went round to houses, selling them at two annas each, returning the next week to buy the used copies back for one anna and selling a fresh lot. They also brought monthly magazines containing articles on a fairly wide variety of subjects. The following is a sample of the contents of one such popular magazine—costing 8 annas and read by all who read the tuppenny novels—*Kyi-Pwa-Yay*, PROGRESS-PROSPERITY, for September 1941.

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Title		Description
Don't fear war	..	Wars are in the natural order of things, and we must not fear them but be ready to encounter them.
The Myook	..	Comic Verse.
Love and Vanity	..	Translation of English story with a moral.
Inscriptions of Pagan Period	..	Descriptive account of inscriptions in Pagan.
Win on Every Throw	..	Short story, set in gaming houses of Chinese quarter of Rangoon.
The True Burman	..	Instalment of series on muscular development.
Two Blossoms	..	Short story of a doctor's family in country town.
Impermanence of States and Races	..	Warning that the Burmese race may die out with wholesale settling of foreigners.
Biggest of their Kind	..	Information tit-bits.
Miss Fiery Temper	..	Love story of a bazaar girl.
Tour in Arakan	..	Factual and humourous account of visit to Arakan.

177. Villager .. Short story.
53 Are we seeing aright? .. Attack on prolonged nat-festivals at
•204 pagodas, as endangering physical
538 and moral welfare of people, including attack on worldly members of monkhood.

541 Horse-racing in Rangoon was a foreign importation, but nevertheless
177. the stadium was always filled, not only with the fashionable section in an
54 enclosure but also with rows of four-anna spectators who had been col-
369 lected from all the streets of the town by the privately-run Burmese buses which tore along on race days, with two "spares" (spare-men in addition to the driver) hanging out from the back step and shouting to all they passed: "Race-a-ko, Race-a-ko! Race-course, race-course." But in the country the traditional boat racing was still alive. Boat races were held in every village which had a stream or river, as an annual event after the Lenten season. Long narrow canoes built in the village itself were rowed by twenty-two men and put out in rivalry between quarter and quarter, or between one village and another. At Ye the upper street and lower street put out boats bearing names of prowess or aquatic grace. The cheering and betting raged more furious and wild with the manner of the finish: the winning post was a boat in the centre of the stream, equidistant from the tracks of each boat, and across this was laid a hollow cane sticking about three feet out on either side. Through the hollow was thrust the prize *pan*: flower (of victory), a stick with a flag on each end. The winning crew was to seize this flower before it could be called victorious, and thus a dead-heat often sent both crews tumbling into the water as they wrestled for the prize.

525 Burmans are said to have an irrepressible gambling spirit, even when no money is laid on. A stock example quoted by foreigners of the Burman's readiness with a dah in his hot temper, gives as provocation the anger worked up between two men who sit idly in a tea-shop, and for lack of amusement bet on the number of flies which will settle on the sugar bowl. I prefer the story of two street urchins, who saw two monks walking before them, sedately, with downcast eyes and steady pace, as monks should walk. "Look," says one idle urchin, "there are two hpongyis. You look at the one on the right, I'll watch the one the left. I bet you my hpongyi walks faster than your hpongyi." The monks ignore this, but soon begin to hear: "My holiness is going faster!" "No' mind!" Unobtrusively, each hpongyi tries to walk quicker and yet with dignity. The boys get thoroughly excited now. "*My* holiness!", "No, *my* holiness!" Soon the astonished spectators see two hpongyis

In Standard 1A, numerals up to one hundred and the various arithmetic operations are taught. Reading is done from a primer which contains fifteen commandments of the Buddha in Pali, with Burmese translations. In addition, a more advanced reader is used, containing sermons of the Buddha in both languages. The children in this class range in age from six to thirteen years, the average being nine. 872

The next class, Standard 2, provides further reading in the sermons and precepts of Buddhism, arithmetic ranging into high numbers, multiplication tables up to sixteen, and sums involving money. The geography of Burma is introduced. The pupils average ten and a half years.

More advanced arithmetic, reading of historical tales, and more advanced geography are included in the curriculum of Standard 3, the pupils of which average in age about the same as those in Standard 2. Hygiene is begun, literally called 'lessons to insure good health.' Besides cleanliness, the children learn proper postures for sitting, sleeping, and eating. Exercises in Burmese grammar are given by mass recitation -- which is the method of teaching all subjects. Another subject is the writing of letters and social invitations.

Children ranging from ten to fourteen years are in Standard 4. They use an advanced reader containing Buddhist sermons and history. Their arithmetic includes weights and measures, land measurement, and simple interest calculations. There is more emphasis on writing of letters and essays.

The school building is simply a vacant house. The entire school group is assembled at the same time, seated on the floor. The lessons of the different standards are recited one after another. While one standard is engaged in recitation, the other pupils are expected to study, or at least remain quiet. On the religious duty days, and of course on the holidays, the school is not in session.

This school contributes to the literacy of the village, although in large measure the high literacy here and generally in Burma, as compared with India and China, is attributable to the monastic schools. In Tadagale, 357 of a total of 640 persons, eight years of age and above, on whom literacy data could be secured, were literate. This is 55%. The criterion of literacy employed was ability to read a newspaper in some language. Of the 331 men in this number, 251 were literate, or nearly 76%. Women, however, were only 31% literate. Literacy in English is rare in the village; there were but twelve persons who could read an English language newspaper, and of these, nine were men. 872 242

Tadagale's proximity to Rangoon, where several newspapers are published, gives villagers access to the press. In fact, a few vendors of the metropolitan newspapers sell them in the community. Few persons buy them, but these copies receive very wide circulation. A survey of newspaper reading, carried out among those claiming literacy indicated a frequency range from zero to daily reading of newspapers. The largest group, nearly a third, both men and women, read a paper once or twice a week, while another 20% read one twice or three times a month. 10% reported never reading papers, while 16% claimed to be daily readers. 242 204

Intergroup Relations

As indicated earlier, about 6% of the population of Tadagale consists of Indians, some of them born in Burma. The Indian inhabitants came to the village 563

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

A state envelope was a very curious affair. It was nothing else but two large elephant's tusks. Half-way up they were hollow, and on the mouth there was a heavy gold cover. The tusks were mounted in different parts with gold of no mean thickness. The letter of the lord of the Golden Throne was deposited inside, and borne to its destination with the flourish of trumpets and the braying of drums. The majesty of the Burmese king would have suffered if he had forwarded a communication to the Viceroy in a cover which cost anything under a couple of hundred pounds sterling. In similar fashion the reports of subordinate officials were written with steatite pencils on coarse black paper, and this was rolled up and put in a hollow joint of bamboo. The whole was then enveloped in cloth and sealed with a peacock seal. Communications of this kind were sometimes received by English officials on the British Burma frontier.

The following are a few proverbs:—

If you want to go fast, go the old road.

Wisdom guards life; no one can escape bad luck. The man gifted with wisdom is never left in peace.

Every bird is handsome compared with the vulture.

A mountain is climbed by degrees; property acquired by degrees; wisdom learnt by degrees.

Have regard for a whole family of rats, instead of for one cat.

The more you know, the more luck you have.

A short boat is hard to steer; a dwarf is quick in the temper.

If a cock ruffles up his feathers, it is easy to pluck him. If a man gets angry he is done for.

Constant cutting dulls the knife; constant talking dulls the wits.

A pot half full of water is hard to carry (on the head, of course; because the water sways from side to side); the less a man knows, the harder he is to argue with.

A cow that can give no milk will kick. An ignorant man is to be feared for his ignorance.

If there is much paddy (unhusked rice) in the bowl, it is hard to eat. If there is much talking it is hard to understand.

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joking enquiries about whether we were getting enough Buddhist and Burmese teaching for we were attending English Christian schools at the time.

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The monks have lost all touch with the schooling of the great majority of children by now. In the first decade of the century the monastic schools were still the backbone of instruction for boys throughout all the rural districts, being responsible for the high literacy figure of 49% for Burman males, as compared with 11.9% in Madras at the time. But lay schools, either established and run on Burman lines, or established by Christian missionary societies with perhaps grants-in-aid, or under the direct management of Government or a committee acting on behalf of the government, were springing up on all sides, until by 1934 the proportion of lay to recognized monastic schools for vernacular education was about five to one. Although there had been attempts to raise the utilitarian value of monastic education by the encouragement of such subjects as arithmetic, geography and land surveying, it was far easier for the lay schools to conform to the standards set by the Board of Examiners. With the passing of such standards becoming the means of obtaining employment and the changing of fashions, more and more children went to the lay schools. Moreover, the lay schools included schools for girls, either separately or in common with boys.

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In my childhood there were still echoes of the opposition between monastic and secular education. In about 1922 my Uncle Pyant, who was then a serious student at the University, told me the world was round, "but", he added, "the hpongyis say that this is not true and most elder people don't believe it." My husband also tells me that when he went home from his government school with the statement that the earth spun around on its axis and took twenty-four hours to do it, the elders were most scornful. "In that case," they said, "if you were to go up into the air and stay there for some time, you could not come down to Kengtung until the same time the next day, but might land in England for your lunch."

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Another difference between old and new ideas of education was that the elder people were aghast at the long years which a modern education from primary schools to University lasted. They felt that at least one must have learnt everything there was to learn by then, for a few years at a monastery taught a boy all the reading, writing, calculation and literature which any grown man was expected to know. Once my grandfather received a telegram announcing the birth of a grandson; the message contained the additional information that the doctors had found it necessary to perform a circumcision on the infant. The telegram was in English, according to the rules of the Posts and Telegraphs in Burma, [206].

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma(Chinese)AP1
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Be 178 [497] [206] [652]

163 miles long, has been made; there are 1300 miles of telegraph lines; stately law courts and other public buildings have sprung up, and so far from the work being a tax on the Indian Imperial Treasury, British Burma has been, after its first few years, more than self-supporting. For a considerable time it has contributed to the Imperial Treasury a clear surplus of a million sterling. The mere figures are in themselves surprising, but they cannot be truly appreciated unless they are read alongside the obvious, undeniable, and acknowledged prosperity and contentment of the native population. Since the annexation of Upper Burma these figures have been roughly multiplied by ten, and there is a steady yearly increase which would be greater if Burma were allowed to make use of her yearly surpluses.

Be 361

As long as there was a king of Burma, Mandalay was a larger town than Rangoon and an infinitely more picturesque one. It still remains by a long way the second town in Burma, but Rangoon has over-passed it in population. While Rangoon has gained, Mandalay has lost, but there seems no reason why it should go on declining.

The mushroom growth of Mandalay was entirely due to an autocratic order, but the number of ancient capitals in the neighbourhood shows that the position is an advantageous one. The astrologers and the king settled the new site between them, and when this was arranged a royal order came out bidding all remove themselves from Amarapura to Mandalay on pain of death in case of refusal. The transference of a bamboo hut is certainly no very great undertaking, and occupies less than a week in the pulling down and setting up. But the hardship was none the less where the people had gardens, or fruit-trees growing in their yards. The Chinese alone remained firm. Their houses were of the usual substantial, heavy, Celestial architecture, and, moreover, they had built for themselves an elaborate joss-house, in splendour quite equal to the best in Rangoon. Consequently, they flatly refused to migrate the two or three miles distance to the new capital. The astrologers were as usual for using force, but Mindôn Min had more sense. The Chinamen were almost all British subjects, and moreover their dealings contributed substantially to the revenue. Their

Ba [563] [341]

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that the whole system of *ga nak*, the general term for the thing becomes an elaborate vehicle of light and shade. It brings the notes of a melody, as surely as the various light and shade of a picture brings the contours of the face, from the flat into the round; which again is precisely what harmony does for them, by assigning to the successive notes varying degrees of consonance. There is an obvious reason for grace-notes wherever there is no harmony. For a melody is a sentence with important words' and unimportant, and grace-notes and harmonic texture are the only two things that can always be applied to enhance this importance. For stress and quantity, which serve this purpose in verse, are not so well adapted to music. Stress, which is additional volume, is difficult to achieve with low notes; and quantity, which is additional duration, alters the melody itself, imposing on ~~it~~ from without something which should come from within."

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Although Burmese 'grace' may not be so elaborate or systematised as the Indian *gamak*, much of the above quotation equally applies to Burmese music. Much will have to be pointed out in notation when I deal with the problem of the 'writing' of Burmese music[1]. Mr. Mariano concluded: "It is a matter for great regret that the beautiful music which the Burmans unquestionably possess is being forgotten. The modern tendency is to imitate European and Indian themes, and the time is not distant when genuine Burmese music will be a thing of the past."

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He wrote that 40 years ago. Nowadays, the gramophone record business has encouraged wholesale filching of jazz tunes, first divested of harmony and then re-dressed in an imitation of it, with Burmese words making ungainly efforts to step along side by side with the wholly unsuitable western tunes. Shades of Mariano!

It is a matter for rejoicing that a state school of fine-arts has come into being. How much more rejoicing there would be in the hearts of lovers of true Burmese music if the government, instead of merely opening a class for teaching how to play certain musical instruments, had seized upon the means of saving real Burmese music from oblivion. The implacability of business so far as gramophone records are concerned, the rapid deterioration of public taste pandered to by radio and gramophone, the invasion [207] [206]

1. A full treatment of Burmese grace with classified examples in staff-notation will require a separate chapter in the manner of the chapter on Ornamentation in Arnold Dolmetsch's *Interpretation of the music of 17th and 18th centuries*. For the present see specimens in the complete violin part of *Bow-lè*.

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

became the patron of U Pon Nya, rebelled successfully against his brother Pagan, and there came into being a promise of better times. He built a new capital, Mandalay, with wide streets and pleasant squares, and his wisdom and statesmanship won him the love of his people and the respect of the British. There was again an understanding between the court and the people, and the court became once more the centre of learning, after the lapse of some fifty years. Treaties of friendship between Burma and Britain and the personal affection the king had for Queen Victoria seemed to assure lasting peace to the country.[1] Dreams of a mighty empire, reflected in the heroic interludes, and to some extent in U Kyin U, were abandoned for ever. Peace and contentment were the keynote of the period, and there entered the drama, restored to the forefront by U Pon Nya, an atmosphere of calm, as opposed to that of strife in U Kyin U. Even in *Wizaya* that calmness prevailed. The epoch ended with the execution of U Pon Nya and the rebellion of Myingun, which caused the death of the heir to the throne, the ablest soldiers, the wisest statesmen, and the most learned scholars of the day, leaving the king alone to rule a country wrapped in gloom and a people torn into different factions over the pressing and difficult problem of succession.

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U Pon Nya followed U Kyin U in expressing political opinions in his plays, but he went further and used the drama as a political weapon. In *Paduma* he attacked those ladies of the court who had not shown enough respect or patronage to him, and he was so successful that he became a power in the land. The king, the crown prince, and the chief queen realized this, and they used *The Water-seller* to announce to the people, who were secretly getting ready for a civil war, that the threatened rupture between the brothers, king and prince, happily, would not materialize. Even after its author's death, the play was once specially performed at court, to test opinion with regard to the king's plan to appoint an able prince, who was far removed from the line of succession, as heir to the throne. In the middle of the performance, a senior prince said: 'If father wants to

536 * 668 208 ● 175

[1] One of the most prized possessions of King Mindon was a gold watch which Queen Victoria had presented him, and which he always wore. During the Indian Mutiny, in spite of temptation, he remained friendly and even sent help to the British, saying that he would never 'strike a friend in trouble'. Cf. G. E. Harvey, *History of Burma*, school edition: the ordinary edition gives the history up to 1824 only.

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
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appoint a lowly prince as crown prince, there will be no objection on our part. But it does not mean that he will become king for, look at *The Water-seller*.' The project was consequently abandoned. This incident illustrates the power of the drama in the politics of the time. *Kawthala* was probably meant to convey to a small section of the people who were against treating with the British and wanting revenge the doctrine that destiny, a worthy foe, and the interests of a country would act against any personal motive of revenge. *Wizaya* was written to win over supporters for Prince Myingun. He had been wild and troublesome as the youthful Wizaya, and the suggestion was that Myingun would bring greatness to Burma if he were but entrusted with the throne. Also, as Myingun had the project of killing both his father and father-in-law, the crown prince, the play was probably meant to spread the doctrine that the destined greatness of a country called for, and justified, sacrifices. The play was so popular that probably Myingun thought wrongly that public opinion had been moulded to give him support when he rebelled. The rebellion failed, and U Pon Nya lost his life, chiefly through the very play which most Burmese critics acclaim as his masterpiece.

1: Mi Mi Khaing I-5 (no date) 1946 AP1 Burma
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University, which was embodied in 1920 from two colleges which had been affiliated to Calcutta University, now consisted of four constituent colleges—University College, Judson College, Teachers' Training College and Medical College. Of these, the Teachers' Training College led a self-sufficient collegiate life of its own, with its normal school, its Anglo-Vernacular high school and its graduate students. Judson College which was an American missionary college contained a very large percentage of Karens and Christians. Medical College was situated a good distance away from the University estate, and in any case students did not enter its buildings until their third year. For the great majority of Burman Buddhists, therefore, the University meant University College with its strength of about 200 women and 800 men students. 873

The buildings of the college were laid out on a garden estate of the University, about four miles out of Rangoon. There were brick and wood residential halls grouped in units, great blocks of teaching buildings in a series of rectangular arms from a main block, a University Convocation Hall in the form of a massive square structure laid heavily at the head of a fine central drive, a narrower and lofty University Library building, a Union Hall, a gymnasium with bright dancing murals on its outside walls, and later a Buddhist Congregational Hall with the traditional tiered roofs in concrete. Opposite was Judson College in the same style, but with the scale greatly contracted. The whole arrangement was set out with stretches of grassy lawns, gardens, great trees and the thousand smaller trees, which had been planted when the estate was first laid, and residential houses for the staff; and bordering all were the Kokine Lakes, extensive stretches of water with pretty banks and wooded islands. The University estate could have been developed into a self-sufficient garden city for it had already a post office, a bookshop and a small hospital of its own, and a servants' village stretched out till it joined the Teachers' Training College not far away. Although the blocks of modern structures could have been built in a more Burmese style, there was enough romance in these surroundings for those of us who had come from English schools. The Convocation Hall was guarded by two giant bronze gryphons squatting on slabs of concrete, in the way that lion gryphons guard all our pagodas. The names of the residential halls were the names of ancient capitals of Burma—Prome, Taguung, Pagan and Ava; Pegu, Thaton, Sagaing and Inya. The bus service connecting the University with Rangoon town was marked with the naga—the dragon of our mythology and a noble beneficent creature. It was the most elevated of the Rangoon Electric Tramway's attempts at symbols for the illiterate users of buses—an aeroplane for Mingaladon 873 873 873 494 212

1: Mi Mi Khaing 1-5 (no date) 1946 AP1 Burma
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where the airport of Rangoon was situated, a horse's head for the suburb of Insein where wild horses used to graze before the area was cleared and built up, a prawn for the suburb of Pasundaung which name means "Mountain of Prawns" and a naga for the *Tegatho*, the Taxila of learning.

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Burmese girls and boys came to this University from the age of sixteen upwards. They studied English and Burmese and a combination of three other subjects for two years, reducible to one for more promising students, and then took an Intermediate Arts or Science examination. After this, a small percentage read an Honours Course for three years, and the great majority took a B.A. or a B.Sc. with a combination of three subjects. There were facilities for an M.A. course, a Law Degree, and an Engineering Degree in a special Engineering College endowed by the Burma Oil Company. For graduates who wished to return to cram for a competitive examination for one of the government services, there was a useful system of minor tutorship posts which, originally paying Rs. 120/- per month, had been split up into two or three posts paying Rs. 40/- to Rs. 60/- for about four to six hours of work per week. This enabled students to have an extra year or two of preparation without any support from home, because boarding fees in any of the halls amounted to Rs. 24/- only. Indeed for the richer classes of Burmese people, life at the University was one of the cheapest ways of passing years in pleasant surroundings, and only the existing rules prevented some from continuing their adolescence into their late thirties. One of my cousins who showed such promise that he matriculated at fifteen, became a rowing man with much money to spend after he joined the University and spent altogether fifteen years as an undergraduate, dodging from one college to another, alternating the arts and the sciences as a reason for his long stay. My uncle Kyaw Din, who carried off the prize of the year in his Intermediate examination, subsequently spent seven years getting his B.A. because he was the best footballer of his day.

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Although there were students here and there who were buried in books either from a love of learning or from being the only breadwinner of a family, my remembrance of University College, Rangoon, is of a great mass of boys and girls who tried to get a passable degree round examination time, but were otherwise submerged in a flood of love and dramatic entertainment. The various associations of arts and sciences, religious and racial fraternities, were more social than intellectual in their activities, but in the Union there was no lack of exciting and impassioned discussions. Here it was that Thakin Nu, Foreign Minister during the Japanese occupation, and Major-General Aung San, leader of the Burmese National Army, harangued us as junior students. Here there was such fierce heartburning about agrarian troubles, labour strikes at the

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PREFACE

000 PHONETICISM is said to be "the murderer of history," and there has been a craze of late years to prevent this felony by the adoption of "scientific methods" of rendering Burmese in English characters. I have no doubt that whatever other faults I may be accused of, I shall be greatly blamed for endeavouring to reproduce the pronunciation rather than the orthography of Burmese words. But I may be allowed to contend that the catch phrase ascribing bloodguiltiness to phoneticism, however just it may be in a country where *fonetic nuz* puzzle a long-suffering generation, is most misleading and calumnious where it is applied to a foreign language, and especially to such a language as Burmese. No one who is concerned about the etymology of a language is likely to study it except in the national character; if he trusts to transliterations, scientific or otherwise, he will most assuredly be little worth listening to. When an author writes in English about a little-known people he presumably writes for a majority of readers who know nothing whatever of the language, and cannot be reasonably expected to have any very great concern in its etymology as long as they get a more or less correct notion of how the words should be
● 212 pronounced. This is most especially the case in Burmese, where, in very many cases, the orthography of a word supplies but the remotest possible hint of its pronunciation.

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The scientific men write bhoora (lord), the Burman pronounces the word păyah; tsit-tshay (ghost) is a formidable way of reproducing the spoken tăsay; pa-nya (learning) but inadequately represents the sound of pyinya; khwon (taxes) is a startling, not to say puzzling, way of suggesting the sound kohn. The matter is made none the easier by the difficulty of finding an English equivalent at all for some Burmese sounds. In the words nyaung, pyouk, gyi, and the like, the *y* belongs to the preceding letter, and has always the consonantal and never the vowel sound. Such words are therefore invariably monosyllables. Again, the nou'pyit sound, which I have written *è* on the analogy of the French *mère*, has as a final vocable no equivalent in English. *Errant* gives the force as an initial letter. The scientific form of *eh* is certainly misleading. The initial *ky* is a great crux to beginners in Burmese. It requires a fine ear to catch the precise sound. An English officer will call for his clerk, Maung Poh Chè, and the punkah-boy will pass on the word for Maung Poh Kyè—tyè it might almost be written. But it is little use multiplying instances. Suffice it to add that a final consonant is always silent—strangled is almost a literal translation of the Burmese word.

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Of published works on Burma I have found those of Colonel Yule, Captain Forbes, and Dr. Bastian most valuable in supplying hints as to those of the national customs most likely to be interesting to foreigners. Had Captain Forbes's life been prolonged this book would probably have had no *raison d'être*.

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In conclusion, I have only to record my indebtedness to the Rev. Dr. Marks, the head of the S.P.G. in Burma. For over twenty years he has laboured in Burma both as a teacher and a missionary, and there is no Burman in the

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The name given thus[1] appears to be entirely a matter of choice; but this is not so. The consonants of the language are divided into groups which are assigned to the days of the week, Sunday having all the vowels to itself. With all respectable families it is an invariable rule that the child's name must begin with one of the letters belonging to the day on which it was born, but within these limits any name may be chosen. As an immediate consequence it follows that a Burman has a birthday every week, a frequency of recurrence which renders the event monotonous, and precludes the friendly amenities of western nations on such occasions.

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The letters of the alphabet are apportioned to the days of the week in the following rough rhyme, which every Burman child can repeat with as much certainty as the English one will display in the recitation of Little Jack Horner:—

Ka, kha, ga, gha, nga, Taninla.
Sa, hsa, za, zha, nya, Ainga.
Ta, hta, da, dha, na, Sane.
Pa, hpa, ba, bha, ma, Kya-thabade.
La, wa, Boddahu.
Ya, ya (the Pali and Arakanese ra), Yahu.
Tha, ha, Thauk-kya.
A, Taninganwe.

That is to say, children born on Monday have for the initial letter of their names, K, Kh, G, Gh, or Ng; for example—Maung, Ngwe Khaing, Mr. Silver Sprig; Maung Gauk, Mr. Crooked; Ma Kwe Yo, Miss or Mrs. Dog's Bone; Ma Khin, Miss or Mrs. Lovable. It will be noticed that in Miss Dog's Bone's names the initial letters of the two words do not agree as to the day. This often occurs, and the first name (Maung and Ma being merely honorary additions) always denotes the birthday. The better class families avoid such a mixing, however, as far as possible.

Tuesday's children have the choice of S or S aspirated (practically the same), Z, Zh, and Ny. For example:—Maung San Nyun, Mr. Beyond Comparison; Maung Po Sin, Mr. Grandfather Elephant; Ma So, Miss or Mrs. Naughty.

1 [Cf. category 553, p. 3 -- ANALYST]

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and ninepins, played with the big flat seeds of a jungle creeper. Pleasant they were under the shade of the great mango and pipul trees and the lofty cocoa-nut and palmyra palms, and exciting were the games, so that the customary stillness of the place was rudely broken upon by disputing voices, till a monk would come out and bring all back to work again as a penance. Then during the work there was the fun of the writing hour, when everybody had to write out maxims and prayers on his little parabaik with a clumsy pointed steatite pencil. There were always some stiff-fingered big pupils who could not manage to write their copy neatly or correctly, and as punishment had to take the good writers on their backs and march ruefully up and down the long schoolroom during pleasure. Sometimes they were thrashed, but the other punishment was the more dreaded. Then there was the schoolmaster monk, who would tell fairy stories of the other three great islands which lie in the sea round about Myinmo mountain; of the half-moon-faced western islanders, and the wondrous tree that bore everything eatable one could wish for and delivered it ready cooked; the joys of the six heavens of the Nats and the grisly horrors of Nga-yè, with its fearful ages of fantastic punishments. Every now and again travelling necromancers and hmaw sayās would spend a night or two at the monastery, and in recompense for the little delicacies and odds and ends of food which good-natured neophytes would get for them, used to tell stories of witchery and marvel. Sometimes there would be a sā-haw ʼā, a kind of cyclic poet, who knew half the zats in the language by heart, and would recite a little just for practice. Or a tattooing sayā would come round and mark some particularly favoured youth with a quaint figure. Discussion as to its meaning and probable virtues would be carried on in the shadowy evenings for months afterwards. Varieties of this kind recur to the old Burman as he thinks of the school days long ago, and he sighs with as much conviction as any European that there are no days so happy as the school days.

English rule has disturbed old customs a good deal in the province, but even now we may say that, as an invari-

871 524 871 212 876 872 792 875 [772] [789] [773] [304] 871 [177·87]

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871 able rule, when a boy has reached the age of eight or nine years he goes as a matter of course to the Pôngyi Kyaung. It is open to all alike—to the poor fisherman's son as well as to the scion of princely blood—for no one pays anything, and it is not carefully considered who it is that fills the monkish begging pots in the daily round. Thus every Buddhist boy in the country is taught to read and write, and in this respect at least there are but very few illiterate Burmans. This primary education must by no means be confounded with entry into the monastery as a koyin-gale, or novice. Strictly speaking, this ceremony ought not to take place before the age of fifteen, and the earlier sojourn is only a preparation for it. The younger pupils may become boarders in the monastic building if they choose, but they do not assume the yellow robe, which marks them, for however short a time it may be worn, as members of the Assembly of the Perfect. They wear their ordinary clothes and retain their secular name.

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As soon as the boy enters the monastery he is set down in the big schoolroom beside all the other boys, and receives a roughly-made black wooden slate. On this are written a few of the letters, perhaps the whole of the alphabet. A little explanation starts him off, and for the next few days he is engaged in shouting out their sounds at the top of his voice. Nobody minds him, for all the other scholars are similarly engaged in hallooing, and the monks derive a sense of comfort and a virtuous consciousness of doing good from the noise. It is as soothing as the sound of his mill-wheels to the miller, or the roar of traffic to the cockney. If a boy stops shouting, it is a sign that he has stopped working—and if he is not meditating mischief, it is probable that he is about to go to sleep, and he is corrected accordingly. The method is an admirable one for keeping the boys occupied—much more so than civilised Western methods—though I fear a council of English head-masters would scout the idea. The casual foreign observer who goes about taking notes, like Grose or the "Rampant M.P.," passes the ecclesiastical school, and in amazement at the seeming uproar within, declares that monastery schools are hopelessly badly conducted, and without the semblance of discipline. As a

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fully observed, in accordance with the precise instructions laid down in the Wini. When a monk wants anything he must not go and get it for himself, nor direct any one in as many words to bring it to him. He must say to an attendant shin, or scholar, "Do what is lawful," whereupon the food is brought him, and the shin kneels down at a distance of a couple of feet, and, making the customary salutation, says, "This is lawful." The yahan then either takes it from his hand or directs him to place it within reach. The same ceremony is observed in everything, whether the religious wants water to wash his face or hands or to rinse out his mouth, or his sandals and fan when he goes out, or when offerings are made to him by the pious. The desire is of course to impart dignity to all the monk does, and to repress covetousness and inordinate carnal desires, and the custom dates from the very foundation of the order.

After the noontide meal all return to work again. A certain number undertake the teaching of the boys, who are at all stages of learning, from the children at the Thin-bôn-gyi, the spelling-book, up to the Ko-yins, who, in accordance with the law, are learning the Wini, the Whole Duty of the Monk, by heart, with a view to abandoning the world and adopting the religious life. Others set to work to read old texts and the commentaries on them, or go to superintend the professional writers who are copying out manuscripts, carefully scratching on the palm-leaves with sharp steel style. The pyin-sin themselves never do anything of the kind. The writers are all professionals, laymen, and almost without exception from Upper Burma. The sādaik, the carved and gilded box containing the palm-leaf books, stands in the central room near the images, and often shaded by a sacred umbrella. When a learned sadaw makes notes, or writes a commentary of his own, he dictates it all to these copyists, who afterwards engross it. Most of the older members of the kyaung do, however, what an Englishman would call nothing, all the afternoon. They talk with whatever idlers—and there are always an abundance of them—come about the place, and then sink into meditation and many of the weaker of them into sleep. Meditation is the only path to the higher seats whereby a

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dozen or more solemn-visaged monks sitting on their mats and coyly hiding their faces behind these big fans is apt to raise a smile on the face of a foreigner. But there is no doubt that the regulation is well advised. Women are disturbers of tranquil meditation.

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When these necessaries have been provided, the candidate proceeds to the appointed building. This is always a thein, a consecrated hall, built of teak, with open sides and the sacred three, five, or seven overlapping and diminishing roofs, not unlike the Albert Memorial in appearance, but much larger at the base. Here the examining body is assembled to the number of ten or twelve, ordinarily, but a minimum of four will suffice if the ceremony is conducted in the jungle. The senior is appointed upyitsi, or president, and a secretary is nominated, whose duty it is to bring forward the candidate and to read the Kammawāsā, the ritual of ordination. This is the most gorgeously ornamented of all the Burmese books. It is written, not in the ordinary round character, but in square letters painted on with a thick black resinous gum, and requires a special education to read it. The leaves are formed either of the ordinary palm-leaf, thickly covered with red lacquer, and profusely ornamented round the border and between the lines with gilded figures of nats and elaborate scroll-work, or in the case of the more sacred monasteries, of the discarded waistcloths of kings. None might wear these pasos after the Great King of Righteousness had tired of them, and many were therefore made use of for this purpose. Portions of them are taken, doubled over, and then covered with numerous coatings of wood-oil and a paste composed of this same thitsi, with finely sifted burnt rice-husks, sawdust, and rice-water, until at last they become firm as a piece of cardboard, but vastly more pliant. Then the sheets are emblazoned, and the text painted on, the whole being enclosed between richly ornamented teak boards. Few more splendid-looking manuscripts can be seen anywhere. Occasionally copies are found engrossed on thin sheets of ivory or copper, but those on the royal pasos, called Wut-lè Kammawāsās, are most highly esteemed. The text is always read in a peculiar way, in a high-pitched, jerky recitative, which is not without a certain impressive effect.

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the city walls was formerly covered with monasteries, each of them standing separate and enclosed within its own parawun, and almost all presided over by a sadaw, a monk of the highest rank. They were thus entirely independent of each other. One of the most interesting for Englishmen is the Thiho Taik, the "Ceylon Monastery," presided over by Lingayāmā, a sadaw who was in great favour with Mindôn Min, the last king but one. The term taik is always applied to a "bishop's monastery," as implying that his is the chief of a number of kyaungs, all under his care, and in which he makes occasional sojourns. The Thiho Taik is peculiar for its trim appearance. It is very new; the under part of all the buildings is of brick; the compound is kept scrupulously clean; there is not a single large tree in it, and the parawun is a neat sawn-wood fence, instead of being, as is the case almost everywhere else, composed simply of huge stems of trees placed side by side in the ground. The sadaw himself is a very enlightened man. He has been several times to Rangoon to worship at the Great Pagoda, and to decide on questions in dispute. He has, in his library, copies of the English Scriptures in the Burmese version of Judson, and has read them through. Numbers of American Baptists' tracts, and the sacred books of other religions, have also a place in his manuscript chests. These are all deposited in a separate building standing in the middle of the enclosure, and used for no other purpose, except that the scribes sit here making copies of borrowed MSS., or setting down notes of the learned bishop himself. The palm-leaf book is still universal, and the work of making up a volume is therefore very laborious; for the most practised manipulator cannot, with his agate style and light strip of palmyra-leaf, exceed the speed of an English boy who has just got over the preliminary difficulties of pot-hooks and hangers. The letters scratched on the leaf are made more distinct by the application of crude earth-oil. This serves to darken the writing, as well as to preserve the book. The regular scribes are always laymen, and it is a matter of very considerable unpleasantness to the cenobites, that the cleverest of them are very often uncommonly bad livers, spending all their gains in libations of "Old Tom," or little

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2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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Upper Burma

balls of opium. These vagaries are, however, frequently winked at, for a copyist who can write neatly and with accuracy is far from being common. 212

The Thiho Taik library is a model in its way. It is nearly the best monastic collection in Mandalay, and is certainly far better arranged than any other. The sadaiks, or manuscript boxes, are arranged in three rows, one over the other; the thôts and zāts—the sermons and birth-stories—of the Lord Buddha below; above them the Cinghalese commentaries and exegeses; and on the top shelf Burmese translations and the explanations of various learned sadaws. Each chest contains a large number of different books, every separate collection of leaves being enclosed between wooden boards, some plain, some carved in high relief, with figures of déwas and demons. Round this is wrapped a kabalwè, a square piece of cloth with inwoven scenes from the sacred books, or portions of the Law, and the formulæ used at the pagoda. Most of these are of silk, very often with narrow slips of bamboo worked in so as to give stiffness to the whole. Instead of this, or sometimes in addition, is used the sā-si-gyo, a riband, about two fingers' breadth, and upwards of a yard in length. This is knitted or crocheted in a peculiarly close fashion, which puzzles English ladies. On it is worked the name of the owner, his titles and distinctions, and whatever other aspirations he chooses to add. They are very neat, and quite easy to read, an advantage which does not always characterise Berlin wool work. The king's grants of forest land, monopolies, and the like, were usually executed in this way. 792 217 [212] [531]

All the boxes are kept carefully locked, and the door is barred at night, for such a library represents years of labour, and could only with the greatest difficulty be replaced. It is only in Mandalay that libraries of any value are to be found. In Lower Burma the majority of the kyaungs do not even possess a complete copy of the three parts of the Bitaghat, the Buddhist Bible, and some few have nothing beyond a copy of the Kammawāsā, and perhaps a Malla Lingaya Wuttu, a life of the Lord Buddha, or something of the kind. Many others have, no doubt, valuable collections, but the monks are ignorant, they cannot read the books [184]

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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articles for household use. The platform is never deserted. Even long after midnight the voice of the worshipper may be heard in the night air, chanting in solemn monotone his pious aspirations, while on a duty-day, and especially on a feast-day, the laughing, joyous crowd of men and maidens, in their gay national dress, makes the platform of the Shwe Dagôn one of the finest sights in the world.

The Shwe Dagôn Payā is by far the most widely celebrated of the great Buddhist shrines, but there are others which, if not so venerated in other lands, still enjoy an even greater local reputation for sanctity, and attract pilgrims from all parts of Burma and the dependent hills, with now and again a band of pious worshippers from distant countries. Chief among these is the Shwe Hmaw-daw at Pegu, which commands Talaing worship before even the shrine of "the slanted beam" on the Theinguttara hill. The pond close by it was covered with lotus blossoms immediately on the construction of the shapely spire and the great Tha-gyā Min, and countless Byammās and Nat-déwas assisted at the enshrinement of the relics. As with many other fanes, the king granted to the pagoda, and set apart from secular uses for ever, the whole space round it on which the shadow of the original pile fell between sunset and sunrise. Several hundred families were dedicated to its service, and in 1881 large sums were raised throughout all the low country for the manufacture of a new hti and the gilding of the whole surface, while many wondrous signs in the neighbourhood attested the sacred character of the undertaking. Similarly the Shwe San-daw at Prome, with its multitude of bells on the cramped hill-top, enjoys a special reputation on account of the prophecy there spoken by Shin Gautama himself, and the connection of the payā with the national hero-king, Dwut-tabaung, as recorded in the sacred books. In proof of this there exists to the present day, and may be seen at the foot of the hill, a huge stone with an inscription which none but the pure-minded can read, and few even of them understand. In other places examples of this duganan kye-ganan, a kind of cypher-writing, or cryptograph, as it appears to the unenfranchised, exists, and usually records in mystic phraseology and inverted orthography the alms presented to

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2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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the pagoda. Many of the lists of donations are, however, graven in a less cramped kyauk-sa, or "stone writing," the givers having probably had a weak hankering after earthly fame. Thus a goodly marble slab with a long list of names may be seen at the Shwe Hmaw-daw, and a tablet near the Mya Thalôn, the Temple of the Emerald Bed (of the Buddha), at Ma-gwe in Upper Burma records how Min Din and Min La-go had in the year 2399 of religion covered the whole payā with yellow cloth, repaired it thoroughly, and had it painted red and gold. An exact account is given of the amount of materials used and the money paid to workmen, and the inscription ends up with a prayer that the family of the donors might be gratified with the birth of a son. Near it is a magic stone with the figure of a hare, surrounded by stars, deeply graven in it to represent the moon, and a peacock to represent the sun. 778 212

A frequent adjunct of many pagodas is the Shwe Zet-daw, the imprint of the Lord Buddha's foot. It is too nearly square to command a painter's or sculptor's praise, and the toes are all of the same length, as may be seen in the example carried off by Captain Marryat, the novelist, in the first Burmese war, and now preserved in the British Museum. The sole is divided into a hundred and eight squares (taya shi' kwet), and on them are many lekkhana, representations of monasteries, pyathats, tigers, kalawaiks, henthas, parrots, seipputi fish, and the like, to signify that all things were under the feet of the Great Master. The number of beads on the rosary corresponds with the number of squares on the Shwe Zet-daw. The most famous example is at the pagoda of that name east of Mandalay, the great resort of the Shans, and another well-known one is opposite Magwe, inland from Minbu, where the mud volcanoes are, "the boiling vats of the nagās." But there are many specimens all over the country, not a few with the figure of a nagā, or sea monster, reared over them. 778 [563] [823]

Most famous among the small pagodas is the Kyaik-hti-yo, insignificant in size, but unique from its position. The hill on which it stands takes its name from the payā, and is over three thousand five hundred feet in height. On its summit are numbers of granitoid boulders, many of them 778

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

to learn by the eye, while the Burman learns almost entirely by ear, and the language is correspondingly affected. The semi-civilised man has a gift for catching faint distinctions of sound; and a modulation hardly perceptible to the European is enough to give to the Burman an entirely new meaning to the word. Fortunately the grammar is of the easiest possible character, and there is an extensive written literature, so that recourse may be had to the system of learning by the eye; but this only produces book scholars, and without a knowledge of the pronunciation it is impossible to appreciate the smooth flow of the dramatic metres. Individual sentences, too, may be clear enough, and the immediate connection of subordinate ideas with the leading thought is a great help, but longer compositions can often only be understood by a careful collating of the whole meaning, when once reading aloud would make the whole idea perfectly evident to a Burman.

One of the principal features in the language is the arrangement of words in a sentence, which, as is the case also in Thibetan, is the exact reverse of the order followed in English. This is the more singular and significant to the philologist, because the surrounding Shans, Talaings, and Karens observe practically the same sequence as in English. Another peculiarity is in the nouns, adjectives, and tenses of verbs, which are all formed by the addition of suffixes or affixes to the verbal root. Passive verbs are in very many cases transformed into the active form by the aspiration of the initial consonant, and transitives from intransitives in the same way; as kya-thi, to fall; hkya-thi, to throw down, or cause to fall; pyet-thi, to be ruined; hpyet-thi, to bring to ruin; lut-thi, to be free; hlut-gyi, to set free. The language is written from left to right, and there are no spaces between the words, and but very few paik, or stops, to mark separate sentences, except the paik-gyi which divides paragraphs, and consists of four short perpendicular lines arranged in couples. The written characters are, all but one or two, composed of circles, or segments of circles, having acquired that shape from the original Nagari, by the custom of writing with a pointed style on palm leaves. The alphabet is derived from

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

●212 the Magadhi or Pali (the latter word properly meaning a
171 text and not a language), and was doubtless imported into Burma with the teachings of Buddhism. The monosyllabic character of the language has, however, considerably changed
194 the sound of many of the letters. There are ten vowels and thirty-two consonants, every alternate vowel having the sound of that preceding it, but considerably longer and broader in tone. The consonants are divided into groups of gutturals, palatals, cerebrals, dentals, and labials, with five liquids, a sibilant pronounced *th*, and an aspirate. In each class there are five letters; the first the simple sound, the second its aspirate, the third the sound rough and hard, the fourth its aspirate, and the fifth the corresponding nasal.
212 The letters of the alphabet have all names descriptive of their shapes, beginning with ka-gyi and ka-gwe, "great ka" and "curved ka." Some of the names are singular; "big-bellied ta," "elephant shackles hta," "bottom indented da," "steep pa," "hump-backed ba," "bridle za," and "supine ya." The vowel *a* is inherent in every consonant, and is pronounced in every case, except when it is "killed" by the "that" mark, when the consonant itself is also killed, and the effect produced is a short, sharp, abrupt termination to the word, as if the letter were strangled in the attempt to pronounce it.

193 A peculiarity which Burmese shares with all the other cognate tongues is the use of help words in counting—"nouns generic" as they have been called. One cannot say in Burmese, as in English, "two dogs," "four spears," "three trees," and so forth. It is requisite to mention first the thing spoken of; second, the number or quantity of objects; and finally, the genus, or class to which they belong. Thus kwe hni'-gaung, dogs, two animals, or two dogs; hlan le-sin, spears, four long, straight things; ôn-bin thôn-bin, cocoanut palms, three trees, and so forth. The cardinal is not placed in immediate juxtaposition with the noun, but has the guiding word in between. There are a vast number of these generic nouns, and they come quite naturally to a Burman. He speaks of boxes and pots as so many "round things"; books and letters as "writings"; mats as "flat things"; horses and carts as "things to be ridden on";

In Standard 1A, numerals up to one hundred and the various arithmetic operations are taught. Reading is done from a primer which contains fifteen commandments of the Buddha in Pali, with Burmese translations. In addition, a more advanced reader is used, containing sermons of the Buddha in both languages. The children in this class range in age from six to thirteen years, the average being nine. 872

The next class, Standard 2, provides further reading in the sermons and precepts of Buddhism, arithmetic ranging into high numbers, multiplication tables up to sixteen, and sums involving money. The geography of Burma is introduced. The pupils average ten and a half years.

More advanced arithmetic, reading of historical tales, and more advanced geography are included in the curriculum of Standard 3, the pupils of which average in age about the same as those in Standard 2. Hygiene is begun, literally called 'lessons to insure good health.' Besides cleanliness, the children learn proper postures for sitting, sleeping, and eating. Exercises in Burmese grammar are given by mass recitation -- which is the method of teaching all subjects. Another subject is the writing of letters and social invitations.

Children ranging from ten to fourteen years are in Standard 4. They use an advanced reader containing Buddhist sermons and history. Their arithmetic includes weights and measures, land measurement, and simple interest calculations. There is more emphasis on writing of letters and essays.

The school building is simply a vacant house. The entire school group is assembled at the same time, seated on the floor. The lessons of the different standards are recited one after another. While one standard is engaged in recitation, the other pupils are expected to study, or at least remain quiet. On the religious duty days, and of course on the holidays, the school is not in session.

This school contributes to the literacy of the village, although in large measure the high literacy here and generally in Burma, as compared with India and China, is attributable to the monastic schools. In Tadagale, 357 of a total of 640 persons, eight years of age and above, on whom literacy data could be secured, were literate. This is 55%. The criterion of literacy employed was ability to read a newspaper in some language. Of the 331 men in this number, 251 were literate, or nearly 76%. Women, however, were only 31% literate. Literacy in English is rare in the village; there were but twelve persons who could read an English language newspaper, and of these, nine were men. 872 252

Tadagale's proximity to Rangoon, where several newspapers are published, gives villagers access to the press. In fact, a few vendors of the metropolitan newspapers sell them in the community. Few persons buy them, but these copies receive very wide circulation. A survey of newspaper reading, carried out among those claiming literacy indicated a frequency range from zero to daily reading of newspapers. The largest group, nearly a third, both men and women, read a paper once or twice a week, while another 20% read one twice or three times a month. 10% reported never reading papers, while 16% claimed to be daily readers. 252 204

Intergroup Relations

As indicated earlier, about 6% of the population of Tadagale consists of Indians, some of them born in Burma. The Indian inhabitants came to the village 563

16;Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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Every man all through Burma has gone to a monastery school as a lad, has lived there with the monks, has learnt from them the elements of education and a knowledge of his faith. <It is an exception to find a Burman who cannot read and write.> Sometimes from lack of practice the art is lost in later manhood, but it has always been acquired. The education is not very deep—reading Burmese and writing; simple, very simple, arithmetic; a knowledge of the days and months, and a little geography, perhaps, and history—that is all. But of their religion they learn a great deal. They have to get by heart great portions of the sacred books, stories and teachings, and they have to learn many prayers. They have to recite them, too, as those who have lived much near monasteries know. Several times a day, at about nine o'clock at night, and again before dawn, you will hear the lads intoning clearly and loudly some of the sacred teachings. I have been awakened many a time in the early morning, before the dawn, before even the promise of the dawn in the eastern sky, by the children's voices intoning. And I have put aside my curtain and looked out from my rest-house and seen them in the dim starlight kneeling before the pagoda, the tomb of the great teacher, saying his laws. The light comes rapidly in this country: the sky reddens, the stars die quickly overhead, the first long beams of sunrise are trembling on the dewy bamboo feathers ere they have finished. It is one of the most beautiful sights imaginable to see monks and children kneeling on the bare ground, singing while the dawn comes.

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

562 her; and as her surroundings change, so will she. What she was a thousand years ago I do not care, what she may be a thousand years hence I do not know; it is of what she is to-day that I have tried to know and write.

858 Children in Burma have, I think, a very good
562 time when they are young. Parentage in Burma
871 has never degenerated into a sort of slavery. It has never been supposed that gaiety and goodness are opposed. And so they grow up little merry naked things, sprawling in the dust of the gardens, sleeping in the sun with their arms round the village
[894] dogs, very sedate, very humorous, very rarely crying. Boys and girls when they are babies grow up together, but with the schooldays comes a division. All the boys go to school at the monastery without the walls, and there learn in noisy fashion their arithmetic, letters, and other useful knowledge. But little girls have nowhere to go. They cannot go to the monasteries, these are for boys alone, and the nunneries are very scarce. For twenty monasteries there is not one nunnery. Women do not seem to care to learn to become nuns as men do to become monks. Why this is so I cannot tell, but there is no doubt of the fact. And so there are no schools for girls as there are for boys, and consequently the girls
[369] are not well educated as a rule. In great towns there are, of course, regular schools for girls, generally for girls and boys together; but in the villages
562 these very seldom exist. The girls may learn from
212 their mothers how to read and write, but most of
871 them cannot do so. It is an exception in country places to find a girl who can read, as it is to find

16:Fielding Hall G-8 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

a boy who cannot. If there were more nunneries, there would be more education among the women; here is cause and effect. But there are not, so the little girls work instead. While their brothers are in the monasteries, the girls are learning to weave and herd cattle, drawing water, and collecting firewood. They begin very young at this work, but it is very light; they are never overworked, and so it does them no harm usually, but good.

The daughters of better-class people, such as merchants, and clerks, and advocates, do not, of course, work at field labour. They usually learn to read and write at home, and they weave, and many will draw water. For to draw water is to go to the well, and the well is the great meeting-place of the village. As they fill their jars they lean over the curb and talk, and it is here that is told the latest news, the latest flirtation, the little scandal of the place. Very few men or boys come for water; carrying is not their duty, and there is a proper place for flirtation. So the girls have the well almost to themselves.

Almost every girl can weave. In many houses there are looms where the girls weave their dresses and those of their parents; and many girls have stalls in the bazaar. Of this I will speak later. Other duties are the husking of rice and the making of cheroots. Of course, in richer households there will be servants to do all this; but even in them the daughter will frequently weave either for herself or her parents. Almost every girl will do something, if only to pass the time.

They have no accomplishments. They do not

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In Pathiwe the adults were all occupied with the question of how to acquire money. The children played at skipping a rope. There is also a game where two children sit facing each other and raise progressively higher and higher barriers with their feet and their hands, while a third child has to jump high enough to clear the obstraction. If he succeeds they raise it slightly higher and so on. If he fails, then it is his turn to provide the barrier with one while the other starts jumping from the lowest level. They also play the games "SAITS" and "HOP-SCOTCH" Then there is a game where about 20 children stand in a circle with faces turned inwards. There is a person left outside who runs round the circle and while running, drops a small bundle of cloth behind someone's back. If that person knows of it he picks up the bundle and chases the first child round the circle and if fleet enough has an opportunity of dealing him several hard whacks before he finds shelter in the vacant place of the person following and it is then the turn of the person with the bundle to make the rounds and drop it behind someone elses back. If a person does not realise that the bundle has been laid down behind him the first person completes another round, and then picks it up himself and chases him around the circle back to his own place.

There is another game which is known as "THE HUGE LIN-NWE SNAKE" where the children form a long line by holding each other's waist from behind. Someone then has to come pretending to sell something and the head of the line makes a purchase. When the seller demands payment he is referred by each child to the one behind him until the leader shouts that he can take the person last in the line in payment if he can catch him. The seller tries to do this while the whole line wriggles and twists in an effort to foil him.

When U Myaing was young he used to play "THE TURTLE AND THE HOOS". They first had to find a person who would play as the "turtle" [212] and to do this they recited the Burmese alphabet starting with the letter "KA" for one person and "KHA" for the second and so on round and round the circle until the letter "A" is reached. The person on whom this letter falls has to be the "turtle". He is placed in a circle with as many stones as there are people in the game.

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4
Mon

175 it, carrying on trade with India and the rest of Indo-China. During this period Burmese dancing and music and poetry, as embodied in songs, perhaps assumed definite and national forms. But there was 177 no writing. The kings that came from India probably knew writing, 175 but their knowledge was perhaps limited; in any case, it never 212 reached the people. The introduction of Buddhism into the country brought no writing, as it came through traders whose knowledge of religious learning was meagre. The few religious tracts preserved in monasteries were looked upon merely as curious and sacred objects. The religion, feeble from the beginning, decayed and soon disappeared. The kingdom came to an end in the first century A.D.[1]

175 A new kingdom was founded in Upper Burma at Pagan, which 179 controlled the land and river trade-routes, and as a result of its 212 commercial advantages, it became a powerful kingdom with the ascension to the throne of Anawrahta in 1044. From that point Burmese history ceases to be conjectural. Through the influence of the learned and saintly monk, Shin Arahan, Buddhism in one of its purest forms was introduced into the kingdom by Anawrahta. With it, writing was also introduced. The alphabet was the 'Square Pali', and the literature the *Three Pitakas* embodying all the religious 101 teachings in Pali. Curiously enough, the alphabet and the literature 174 did not come directly from India, but from Burma itself—from the 144 Talaing kingdom of Thaton. The Talaings were a branch of the Burmese race. Many think that they were a mixture of native tribes with Indian traders. I venture to disagree. The earliest inhabitants of Burma were Indonesians, who settled on the coast of Burma during successive 'drifts' of humanity from the west, through India, to further east. Later, there was an infiltration of Mongolian tribes, who came down the rivers from the North. Inland, where the Indonesian element was weak, the new-comers dominated and later became the Burmese; along the coast where the Indonesian element was strong the tribes united and became the Talaings. However, all this is mere con- 175 jecture. The early history of the Talaing kingdom of Thaton, which 101 Anawrahta had to destroy to obtain possession of the alphabet and the *Three Pitakas*, is not known, except that it was perhaps in existence a few centuries before Christ and was under the influence

[1] Pe Maung Tin and G. H. Luce, *The Glass Palace Chronicle*; A. Phayre, [114] *History of Burma*. G. E. Harvey in his *History of Burma* contends that the first Burmese kingdom was Prome, and that it flourished only in about the seventh century A.D.

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4
Mon

of Hindu traders from South India. After the introduction of Buddhism into South India by Asoka in 261 B.C., the traders began to bring Buddhist elements to Thaton. With the establishment in the third or fourth century after Christ of the Hindu kingdoms in Java and Sumatra, Thaton became an important trading centre, and with the rise of a great Buddhist centre at Conjeveram in Madras in the fifth century, the Talaings began to receive religious writings in Pali. From that time onwards, learning was definitely established in the kingdom, and, as a result, a Talaing literature came into being. Anawrahta was interested in Pali only, and therefore when he destroyed the city, he burnt all the manuscripts except those in Pali.[1]

175 101 [779] [177]

The writing and learning that were thus introduced into Pagan took root at once. Prose and poetry as embodied in the language of the court and in songs had been in existence long before, though unwritten, and now the new learning turned them into written forms and began to develop them. Pali was studied everywhere, and in the newly-built temples with their crowded monastic life, works in Pali on religion, on Pali grammar and prosody, and on the legal code of Manu came to be produced.[2] Translations were also made, and soon Pagan became famous throughout India for its Pali scholarship. But

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[1] The Burmese language belongs to the Tibeto-Burmese group, whereas the Talaing belongs to the Mon-Khmar group. In spite of Anawrahta's conquest and in spite of the fact that racially they were cousins, the Talaings became completely merged with the Burmese only in the eighteenth century. The probability of the Sanskrit drama reaching the Talaings is considered in chap. ii.

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[2] G. E. Harvey, op. cit., pp. 59, 70.

The most famous for literary activity was the *Kyauku Ohmmin* temple. Though built perhaps even before Anawrahta, when a corrupted form of Buddhism was prevalent, it is still in an excellent condition (Harvey, p. 17).

The code of Manu was compiled originally in Sanskrit, during the period 200 B.C.–A.D. 200. Since that time it has been one of the chief sources of Hindu law (J. D. Mayne, *Hindu Law*). The Burmese received it in a Talaing-Pali version in which the sacerdotal element had been done away with. That explains why, although Manu is one of the chief sources also of Burmese Buddhist law, it has little in common with Hindu law. The existence of the code as the chief source of Talaing law (Harvey, op. cit., p. 111) raises again the question, how far were the Talaing writings under the influence of Sanskrit and its literature? We shall never know. When Anawrahta destroyed Talaing institutions and historical and literary works, he intended that all knowledge of the past greatness of the Talaings should pass into oblivion so as to smooth his way towards unifying Burma into one single State.

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Pali has been, since 1044, the classical language of Burma.

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25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

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23. MARBLES (GON-HNYIN).

long wooden slate blackened with soot and rice-water (*thimbôn*). The Burmese word-building is exceedingly regular and in the main phonetic (See appendix B). Reading is acquired in one term, without much effort on the part of pupil or teacher. The Burmans have a pure decimal notation in which the bugbears *eleven* and *twelve* are unrepresented. The Burmese *eleven* is literally "onety-one." Children can count up to hundreds before they come to school and can reckon up sums mentally. In arithmetic they are taught the multiplication-table and a few rules of thumb (*bedin*). In addition to the five Buddhist commandments (p. 16) and the objects of contemplation (p. 43), which the children learn in their homes, they chant passages from the Pâli scriptures in the school chorus and get other precepts by rote: such as the category of duties to parents, teachers and elders, *viz.*, reverence, support, mutual affection (*parlik*). They are taught the value of learning as an inalienable possession, together with many precepts from the *Lewkantti* and *Mingala-thôt*; the conquests of the inner and outer worlds *Atwin-aungdyin*, *Apyin-aungdyin*, the story of the Buddha (see *The Light of Asia*) and the legendary cosmogony.

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212 As the result of this Buddhist system of schools, nearly half of the male and about 3 per cent. of the female population can read and write, as compared with 9 and 0·3 per cent. for men and women respectively in Bengal. The

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24. RACING TOY BOATS.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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25. GAME OF SITOPPYIT.

Burman average stands midway between those of Ireland and Austria on the one hand, and Italy and Spain on the other. (Report of the Census of 1891.)

The boys at the monastery-school (*kyaung-tha*) do the domestic work—sweep the floors and enclosures, attend upon the recluses, and help in collecting the daily food. Some scholars live at the *kyaung*, others have the morning meal there, others again have their meals at home. The recluse exacts no deference from his scholar, but nevertheless receives from all lay persons a spontaneous homage identical with that accorded to royal personages. In the *kyaung* the lads acquire the good breeding of their country, for it is among the recluses that the élite of the race is to be sought. In the stage next to be described, the lad completes this training, by himself sharing in the deference paid to the yellow robe, which he assumes for a season as novice. The monastery-schools are open all the year, but have a large attendance only in the rainy season or *wa*.

871 Besides the monastic public schools there are private schools kept by laymen and occasionally also by women, in which girls as well as boys are taught. The subjects and methods are the same, but more time is given to arithmetic. The rules of thumb of the Indian *bedin* are being superseded by modern arithmetic, by help of the vernacular manual prepared by the missionary [875] Stilson. A small fee is paid the lay teacher in money or in kind. Out of [855] hours, the lay-school pupils are of use at their homes, minding their little brothers [524] and sisters.

The training begun in youth is never broken off. 871 Study is a chief occupation of middle and advanced 875 age. The teacher—*sayd*—clerical or lay, is reverenced,

26. CYCLE RACE.

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

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44. ANCIENT THEIN AT PAGAN.

not by age, but by the number of lenten seasons they have belonged to the Assembly. Vigils and restriction of night rest are not practised. The rule of life of the *yahán* is laid down in the *Wini* (*Vinaya Bitaka*), one of the three divisions ("baskets") of the Buddhist scriptures. A *kambawd*, or breviary of scripture, relating to membership of the Assembly, illuminated with lacquer on copper or ivory leaves, is read by turns by the five members of the conclave assembled for the reception of the new member. This solemnity is undertaken in the *thein*, a *wut* set apart for the *Thingá* alone. No lay persons enter the precincts, but they may be spectators from a distance. The new *yahán* is called *Upazin*, sojourner recluse, or assistant to the *Uppiza*, or *Phodyi*, *Kindyi* (incumbent) of the monastery. In 1891 there were 13,613 *phodyi*, 6,668 sojourner *yahán*, and 13,500 probationers in the monasteries of Burma, which numbered 15,371, in a Buddhist population of about seven millions.

[212]

[162]

The dedication of the site for building such a *thein* (Pâli *sima*) is preceded by the solemnity of *thein-thambi*. Ground so dedicated can never be alienated to any other use. In this respect the *thein* is more sacred than the temples in general. After the site has been levelled, it is surrounded with a trench, into which water is led. In the centre a small well is sunk (*ali-dwin*). The *yahán*, not less than twenty-four in number, assemble on the spot, over which a gay pavilion (*mandat*) has been erected, and wait for the water from the trench to percolate to the well. When this occurs, the site is said to have "taken" (*aung*). Otherwise it must be rejected. The *yahán* gather round the well and intone scriptural passages from a

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796
778

[792]

45. YAHAN ASSEMBLED FOR DEDICATION OF THEIN.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

267. BURMAN CARPENTERS.

arbour of tracery, which entirely encloses them. Ivory hafts and scabbards of daggers and sabres are ornamented in the same way. The ivory carving is not polished.

The conventional flat design, painting and embroidery exhibit affinities to the Indian decoration of the ancient temples (Nos. 94, 272). The anachronisms and other naiveties of our mediæval designers are paralleled in modern Burma; witness the introduction of British officers with their field-glasses in the design of the Prince of Pagán destroying the monster at Hngep-pyittaung (No. 224). The medium used for painting is a coarse tempera. From the labels attached to European goods, many of which are excellent in design and colour, lessons in colouring and perspective have been learned. From photographs, ideas of accuracy have been gathered, and from illustrated news-papers, ideas of composition. Neither carver nor designer ever uses a model. The painter of No. 433 confessed that he had not seen the place himself; he had it described to him. In pure design without colour, the *shwezawd* work is the best. It is a kind of drawing in lacquer, which appears black on a gold ground (No. 96). Of late the Burmans have attempted cuts on type-metal for illustrations of books (No. 276). They are executed with chisel and punch; the graver is unknown.

Ancient inscriptions are rare in Burma, although the *thamding*, or depository for slabs recording the circumstances of religious foundations, is a recognised institution. In many of the *thamding* at Pagán may be seen the ancient *Pâli* square character, of which the Burmese round character is a development. The square character is preserved in the *kambawd* (No. 46). The late King Mindôn Min caused the whole of the Pâli text of the Tripitaka to be

268. BURMAN TURNER.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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212
788
[322]

269. BURMAN WOOD-CARVER.

engraved on 729 marble slabs, 4 feet by 3 feet. These, set under as many stucco canopies, are known as the *Kûthodaw* or *Law-kama-yazin* — the royal work of merit (No. 385). They constitute the most important of the King's religious foundations. A number of years were spent by a committee of learned *yahán* in editing the text. Certain portions have since been transferred to type, and in time the whole of this text will be available in print. The development of the round Burmese character out of the square Pâli was favoured by the nature of the material used for writing on—the leaf of the *pe* palm. The fan-leaf is split into its segments, which are piled, and dried under pressure. Then they are trimmed even, and punched with holes to file them by. The leaf is ruled with turmeric, and the writing is done with a sharp steel style, which scratches through the hard epidermis to the spongy layer underneath; both sides are written on. The transverse strokes tear the fibre more, and leave a plainer mark, which leads to a minimising of longitudinal strokes. When the writing is complete, the wooden covers are lacquered, the edges of the leaves gilt, and their faces oiled with crude brown petroleum, which both preserves the material and brings out the writing. The oiling is repeated from time to time. The leaves become dark and friable in fifty years, and the writing hard to decipher. Manuscripts over two hundred years old are scarce. Copyists are paid one rupee per *inga* of ten leaves, the work of a day or two, according to their expertness. Until rag-paper began to be imported, the paper in use was

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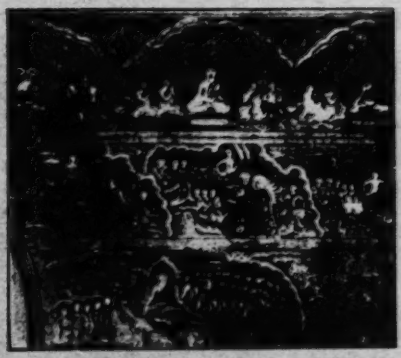
[531]
[463]

270. CARVED SCENE FROM ZAT.

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

that made from the inner bark-layer of the *sekku-bin*, the same that the umbrellas are covered with (*ye-sekku*). The tree is common in the mountains 212

271. BURMAN PAINTER AT WORK.



272. MURAL DECORATION IN AN ANCIENT THEIN.

273. CARVED ELEPHANT-TUSK.

[531]

on the eastern border. The bast is frayed out in water and the pulp spread on muslin trays to dry. It is soft and strong, but uneven. It was used for writing on, in its natural cream colour, with a reed pen and Chinese ink, and

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

212 still is used by the Shans for their sacred MSS. The Burmans use the paper chiefly in the form of stiff tablets (*parabèik*), blackened, like the *thimbôn*, for writing on with a steatite pencil. Burmese type was cut (No. 452) and the first printing-plant set up in Burma by the American Baptist Mission. At present

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274. PALM-LEAF MS.

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275. COPYIST AT WORK.

000 Dealers, with the exception of the

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

APPENDIX B.

STRUCTURE OF THE BURMESE LANGUAGE—MODE OF TRANSLITERATION.

212 THE Burmese alphabet is a model of classification. The vowels and consonants form separate orders, with sub-orders. The force of each letter is conveyed in its name. The name consists of two parts, the generic and the specific. The latter describes the form of the letter by its resemblance to some familiar object; for instance *ka-sindu*—elephant-fetter *ka* (ꩡ). Sentences are punctuated, but the words are written—from left to right—without separation. The horizontal line of characters consists mainly of the consonants, the characters added above and below the line denote the vowels. The Burmese is all Burmese just as German is all German. The meaning of a compound word is as obvious as the meaning of *durch-sichtig* is in German and *trans-parens* is in Latin. A new root which one has learned in its function of substantive may be used as verb and adjective upon one unvarying model. The forms of speech have tended to preserve related ideas in the same categories as the terms expressing the ideas. The Burman has no equivalents for our "herb, shrub, tree." He speaks of "grain-plants, creeper-plants, timber-plants." The root idea is conveyed by a monosyllable. The disuse of mute consonants in the spoken language greatly reduces the number of available combinations of sounds by which to differentiate monosyllables. A tonic system of vowels and the aspiration of labial and dental as well as of liquid consonants, help to multiply the possible combinations. Context comes to the aid of these subtle distinctions. Prefixes and suffixes of universal application indicate the parts of speech in their syntax and their inflexions. The numeral affixes proper to various classes of objects are of a curious prolixity. Just as we say *pair*, *couple*, *brace*, so one of twenty or more different affixes has to be employed with the number, according to the nature of the object. Secondary meanings are obtained by a free compounding of words. The language possesses terms for ideas of much subtlety and complexity; but metaphysical terms are imported from the Pâli, the language of Buddhist philosophy. The pronunciation of the Pâli is adapted to that of the Burmese. Thus *Samanera* becomes *Chinthameñd*. Sanskrit, which is studied by few, presents still greater difficulties to the Burman. The word for Sanskrit is corrupted into *Thinthakyêit*. The terseness of the language appears in its proverbs. For

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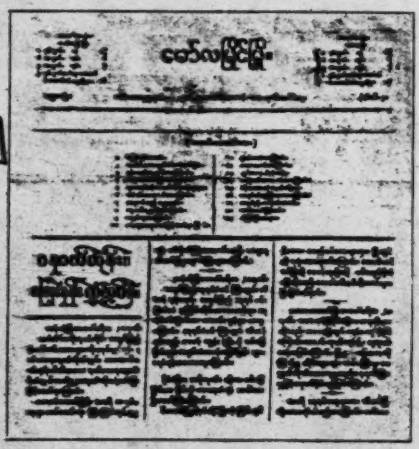
[212]



462. BURMESE LETTERPRESS (NEWSPAPER, P. 194).

[198]
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21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

preserved in their entirety except the *Waythandaya*, and even that is extant with only two scenes missing, while respecting the lost scenes themselves some accounts are preserved. His works have been also studied widely and editorial prefaces to his works offer adequate accounts of his life and writings. Moreover, many courtiers of U Pon Nya's time are still living, and from them first-hand accounts have been obtained by scholars of the present day. After all, U Pon Nya's period is very recent.[1] 175 536 *

For the decadent period, 1878 to 1886, I was dependent on oral accounts of the plays until I went to England. Printing came into general use in Burma during this period and very great numbers of plays were printed. From the Government register of published books we learn that as many as three or four editions of 5,000 copies each of the more famous plays of the period were sold out a few weeks after publication. Yet search as I might, I could not find any copies of the plays in Burma. I discovered later that every one of the more famous plays, with about a hundred less-known plays of the period, are happily preserved in the British Museum. Incidentally, I found that the oral accounts regarding them were correct. 127 213 ● 536 *

References to historical events and to non-dramatic works made in the thesis are taken from standard works. [128]

As regards my dependence on oral tradition, there is this to be said. The oral accounts of a less civilized nation may be more imaginative than accurate, but with the Burmese everything points to the reliability of the tradition. After all, it goes back to only about two hundred years, and the intervening period is not so long as to undermine human memory. Moreover, as I have said, the truth of the tradition can be ascertained from other sources. It should be remembered that in a country where printing was not in general use until about 1860, and records and literary works were written on palm-leaf and parchment, both of which are very liable to destruction by

[1] My chief informants for the period are:

1. Myothawundauk-kadaw, wife of the Myothawundauk, who distinguished himself in the defence of the palace during the Myingun Rebellion mentioned in the chapter on U Pon Nya. She was a lady-in-waiting at court during the last two reigns. 124

2. My mother's elder brother. My maternal grandfather was Naymyo Thiri Kyawhtin Nawyahta, Minister for Revenue at Minhla, and an 'honorary poet to the court' in the last two reigns.

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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fire, damp, or during a war, it is natural that original documents and records should not exist in great number. As this is the first attempt to study Burmese drama as a whole and from a modern critical standpoint, I am on virgin soil. My hope is that better scholars will consider critically the results which I have reached in necessary dependence upon tradition, and that when all has been reconsidered and much has been rejected, the residue may be accepted as a contribution to knowledge.

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

668 for scholars to rehandle it. The introduction of cheap printing in
178 Lower Burma was of the utmost importance to the drama. Printing
had been known to the Burmese long before the British administered
536* Lower Burma, but it was an expensive and laborious affair. The
[213] British introduced cheap and efficient printing presses, worked by
[171] cheap but skilled Indian labour. Once the stage of transition had been completed and economic prosperity had returned, printing spread all over Lower Burma and widened the circle of admirers of the drama, encouraged the study of the great plays in their original form as distinct from the modified versions of the professional actors, and created a public eager not only to see but also to read plays. As a result of these various causes scholars began writing plays again after 1875, but their efforts were not very successful until Saya Yaw in 1877 wrote and produced his *History of Thaton*.

2. *The History of Thaton*

536* Saya Yaw's story is remarkably original. In order that the question of succession should be settled beforehand, the young king of Thaton is advised by his ministers to take a consort without delay, and he promises to consider the matter. In the next scene, a brother and sister, belonging to a semi-civilized tribe on a neighbouring mountain, are entering the city to seek employment, for they have been starving since the death of their parents. The scene shifts to the centre of the city, where a rich nobleman and his wife are quarrelling and blaming each other, because they have no children to inherit their wealth. The characters are comic, and the scene is humorous. As they stand shouting at each other, the brother and sister pass by, and they are struck by the girl's beauty and the young man's nobility of bearing. When they discover that the strangers are without parents and are looking for employment, they, in great
[563] joy, adopt them as son and daughter. In the next scene, merchants from the Shan hills arrive at the city, singing and dancing their own songs and dances. They soon dispose of their wares, and they are making preparations to leave when the brother arrives. He becomes friendly with the merchants, and after listening to their tales of romance and adventure in their hills, he decides to accompany them to their home. He asks permission to go from his foster-parents and his sister, who reluctantly let him go. The foster-parents cry, and the brother and sister bid farewell to each other in songs of great tenderness. In the next scene, the chieftain of a Shan state is sorely

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

346 *kambawd*. The laity assembled outside the precincts let off rockets and guns
796 in celebration of the event. Finally, the ceremony of *yaditcha*, the pouring
778 of water (No. 100), is performed by the grantor of the site—as at every other

[213]

46. ILLUMINATED KAMBAWA.

religious dedication—to signify that the property has been dedicated for ever. The precincts of the *thein* are marked by low boundary pillars, mostly of Sagáing marble, set in the trench, which is then filled in. A different form of *thein* is the *ye-thein*, which is built over the water to effect its isolation.

792 Although the *yahán*, as already stated, may not ask for anything, he may
735 decline what is offered. He signifies this by inverting his *thabít* (*thabeit-kmauk*). The action has become a symbol for excommunication. The *yahán* might assemble in the *thein* and perform *thabít-kmauk* against a layman for
[794] heinous wickedness. His house would be passed by in collecting *sun* and all
[178] offerings tendered by him refused. The practice has become obsolete; it is said to have no warrant in the scriptures, and to be contrary to their spirit.

Where the people are very prosperous and the *yahán* are not many, the collecting of *sun* in the streets has sunk to a formality observed by the novices only, who on return to the monastery empty their *thabít* to the dogs. But in other circumstances the sojourner *yahán*, novices and scholars live on the *sun*. An ordinance of the Buddha dispenses the *yahán* from collecting his food from house to house if there be pious people who proffer him his sustenance at his abode. The founder of the monastery (*Kyaung-taga*), who nomin-

47. SUN SENT BY THE KYAÛNGTARA.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

212 still is used by the Shans for their sacred MSS. The Burmans use the paper chiefly in the form of stiff tablets (*parabèik*), blackened, like the *thimbôn*, for writing on with a steatite pencil. Burmese type was cut (No. 452) and the first
● 213 printing-plant set up in Burma by the American Baptist Mission. At present

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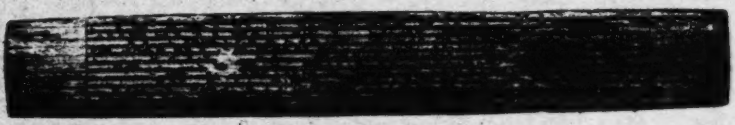

274. PALM-LEAF MS.

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272. COPYIST AT WORK.

000 Dealers, with the exception of the

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

With all its faults, the play achieves what it sets out to do. It tries to compromise between the tradition of dramatic scholarship on the one hand, and the demands of the audience and the desires of the acting profession on the other. To make the compromise possible, Saya Yaw has to evolve a new interpretation of the old doctrine that the essence of dramatic technique was the logical and clear unfolding of the plot.[1] The great achievement of this play is in the way the songs and dances are knit into it. The characters sing only when they are very happy or sad, and special dances are brought into the play in a masterly way; the Shan dance is introduced through the incidents connected with the Shan merchants, and a *nat*-spirit dance through the device of making the sister such a spirit after death. The ending of the play must have satisfied both the audience and the actors. It was sentimental, pathetic, and strange enough for the decadent audience, and it afforded an opportunity for the actors to show some spirit-dancing—the basis of their profession. The lyrics and the poetical language of the play satisfied the scholar-dramatists and brought back the drama definitely to the old tradition.[2]

536* [533]

3. *The Baboon Brother and Sister*

The History of Thaton was immensely popular, and it was produced repeatedly all over Lower Burma, and even troubled Upper Burma saw it performed sometimes. Within a few weeks of publication, 15,000 copies of the play in book form were sold. The figure was gigantic for those days, and the people were astounded. In spite of the fact that he was now looked upon as the greatest among contemporary dramatists, Saya Yaw wrote no other play. In fact, although there is ample evidence in the play that he was intimately connected with the drama and the acting profession, the *History* is the only dramatic work he ever composed. Many imitations of the successful play were put on the stage and published, but they were unworthy of their model, and the appetite of the public for the drama remained unsatisfied until U Ku composed *The Baboon Brother and Sister*.

[214]

U Ku was an able musician and song-writer. He had been connected with the drama long before *The Baboon Brother and Sister* (his first play), for he had been adviser to many acting troupes as he was a noted student of dramatic theory and practice. He wrote and

[1] This new conception of dramatic technique is considered in detail in s. 5.
[2] An extract from this play is given in appendix x.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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275. COPYIST AT WORK.

000 Dealers, with the exception of the

13: Khin Zaw I-5 (no date) 1940 ~~AP1 Burma~~
Burmese AP4

that the whole system of *ga nak*, the general term for the thing becomes an elaborate vehicle of light and shade. It brings the notes of a melody, as surely as the various light and shade of a picture brings the contours of the face, from the flat into the round; which again is precisely what harmony does for them, by assigning to the successive notes varying degrees of consonance. There is an obvious reason for grace-notes wherever there is no harmony. For a melody is a sentence with important 'words' and unimportant, and grace-notes and harmonic texture are the only two things that can always be applied to enhance this importance. For stress and quantity, which serve this purpose in verse, are not so well adapted to music. Stress, which is additional volume, is difficult to achieve with low notes; and quantity, which is additional duration, alters the melody itself, imposing on ~~it~~ from without something which should come from within." 533

Although Burmese 'grace' may not be so elaborate or systematised as the Indian *gamak*, much of the above quotation equally applies to Burmese music. Much will have to be pointed out in notation when I deal with the problem of the 'writing' of Burmese music[1]. Mr. Mariano concluded: "It is a matter for great regret that the beautiful music which the Burmans unquestionably possess is being forgotten. The modern tendency is to imitate European and Indian themes, and the time is not distant when genuine Burmese music will be a thing of the past." 533 101

He wrote that 40 years ago. Nowadays, the gramophone record business has encouraged wholesale filching of jazz tunes, first divested of harmony and then re-dressed in an imitation of it, with Burmese words making ungainly efforts to step along side by side with the wholly unsuitable western tunes. Shades of Mariano! 533 178

It is a matter for rejoicing that a state school of fine-arts has come into being. How much more rejoicing there would be in the hearts of lovers of true Burmese music if the government, instead of merely opening a class for teaching how to play certain musical instruments, had seized upon the means of saving real Burmese music from oblivion. The implacability of business so far as gramophone records are concerned, the rapid deterioration of public taste pandered to by radio and gramophone, the invasion [207] [296]

1. A full treatment of Burmese grace with classified examples in staff-notation will require a separate chapter in the manner of the chapter on Ornamentation in Arnold Dolmetsch's *Interpretation of the music of 17th and 18th centuries*. For the present see specimens in the complete violin part of *Bun-lè*.

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

the city walls was formerly covered with monasteries, each of them standing separate and enclosed within its own parawun, and almost all presided over by a sadaw, a monk of the highest rank. They were thus entirely independent of each other. One of the most interesting for Englishmen is the Thiho Taik, the "Ceylon Monastery," presided over by Lingayāmā, a sadaw who was in great favour with Mindôn Min, the last king but one. The term taik is always applied to a "bishop's monastery," as implying that his is the chief of a number of kyaungs, all under his care, and in which he makes occasional sojourns. The Thiho Taik is peculiar for its trim appearance. It is very new; the under part of all the buildings is of brick; the compound is kept scrupulously clean; there is not a single large tree in it, and the parawun is a neat sawn-wood fence, instead of being, as is the case almost everywhere else, composed simply of huge stems of trees placed side by side in the ground. The sadaw himself is a very e[illegible]d man. He has been several times to Rangoon to worship at the Great Pagoda, and to decide on questions in dispute. He has, in his library, copies of the English Scriptures in the Burmese version of Judson, and has read them through. Numbers of American Baptists' tracts, and the sacred books of other religions, have also a place in his manuscript chests. These are all deposited in a separate building standing in the middle of the enclosure, and used for no other purpose, except that the scribes sit here making copies of borrowed MSS., or setting down notes of the learned bishop himself. The palm-leaf book is still universal, and the work of making up a volume is therefore very laborious; for the most practised manipulator cannot, with his agate style and light strip of palmyra-leaf, exceed the speed of an English boy who has just got over the preliminary difficulties of pot-hooks and hangers. The letters scratched on the leaf are made more distinct by the application of crude earth-oil. This serves to darken the writing, as well as to preserve the book. The regular scribes are always laymen, and it is a matter of very considerable unpleasantness to the cenobites, that the cleverest of them are very often uncommonly bad livers, spending all their gains in libations of "Old Tom," or little

Z:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4
Upper Burma

balls of opium. These vagaries are, however, frequently winked at, for a copyist who can write neatly and with accuracy is far from being common. 212

The Thiho Taik library is a model in its way. It is nearly the best monastic collection in Mandalay, and is certainly far better arranged than any other. The sadaiks, or manuscript boxes, are arranged in three rows, one over the other; the thôts and zāts—the sermons and birth-stories—of the Lord Buddha below; above them the Cinghalese commentaries and exegeses; and on the top shelf Burmese translations and the explanations of various learned sadaws. Each chest contains a large number of different books, every separate collection of leaves being enclosed between wooden boards, some plain, some carved in high relief, with figures of déwas and demons. Round this is wrapped a kabalwè, a square piece of cloth with inwoven scenes from the sacred books, or portions of the Law, and the formulæ used at the pagoda. Most of these are of silk, very often with narrow slips of bamboo worked in so as to give stiffness to the whole. Instead of this, or sometimes in addition, is used the sā-si-gyo, a riband, about two fingers' breadth, and upwards of a yard in length. This is knitted or crocheted in a peculiarly close fashion, which puzzles English ladies. On it is worked the name of the owner, his titles and distinctions, and whatever other aspirations he chooses to add. They are very neat, and quite easy to read, an advantage which does not always characterise Berlin wool work. The king's grants of forest land, monopolies, and the like, were usually executed in this way. 792 217 [212] [531]

All the boxes are kept carefully locked, and the door is barred at night, for such a library represents years of labour, and could only with the greatest difficulty be replaced. It is only in Mandalay that libraries of any value are to be found. In Lower Burma the majority of the kyaungs do not even possess a complete copy of the three parts of the Bitaghat, the Buddhist Bible, and some few have nothing beyond a copy of the Kammawāsā, and perhaps a Malla Lingaya Wuttu, a life of the Lord Buddha, or something of the kind. Many others have, no doubt, valuable collections, but the monks are ignorant, they cannot read the books [184]

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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themselves, and they do not care to exhibit them to those who can. Consequently, they moulder away in the bottom of the sadaik, crushed away into the darkest corner of the main room of the monastery. It is, perhaps, not surprising that the most learned monks do not belong to the large towns, but come from remote kyaungs in the depths of the jungle. This is true also of Upper Burma, for though the sadaws in Mandalay are the most learned in the country, they have acquired their reputation in jungle monasteries, and have only been summoned to the royal city when their fame has spread over the land, and the title of royal teacher has been conferred on them.

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The main room of Lingayāmā's Monastery contains a great number of curiosities collected by the Burmese Embassies on their travels through Europe. Most of these were presented by the Kin Wun-gyi, the head of the mission, and are in many ways most interesting. Prominent is a large photograph album, emblazoned with the Italian royal arms and containing a fine collection of views. Another album is filled with cartes of members of the Embassy, notably of the lamented Naingan-gyaw Wun-dauk, the portly and good-natured "Pio Nono" of the *Daily News*, who seems never to have missed being photographed wherever he went, and figured in every style, from the penny smudge, apparently taken on a country race-course or outside Battersea Park, to the coloured and gilt grandeur of a Neapolitan cabinet. The author of the *Encyclopædia of Burmese Literature* had no notion of changing the expression of his face, however. He looks stolidly like just having had his dinner in every impression, and the multiplication of photographs serves principally as a means of comparing different styles of art, and exhibiting the great stock of clothing which the worthy Wun-dauk carried about with him.

In addition to the photographs, there is a great collection of engravings, some of them very valuable; and mixed up with these are to be found some very queer items—old hotel bills, advertisements of gigantic hosiery establishments, with pictures of the same at the top, circus play-bills, shilling view guides, some sheets of the *Graphic*, the front page of the wrapper of *Punch*, and a few railway tickets. These are

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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in itself, but serves as a most satisfactory corroboration of the truth of the events prognosticated by the movements and surroundings of the tha-gyā king. The conclusions are all carefully noted down in the thi'gyan sa, and great piles of these are carefully preserved in the archives of the monkish library, seldom to be looked at again.

[217]

Besides the events which are to happen in the coming year the astrologers are also able to determine whether the tha-gyā min will remain three days or four days upon earth. If he stays three days it is called a matulè year, if four, tawtulè, and the water-throwing is carried on a corresponding time.

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All these points are settled some time beforehand, so that every one in the remotest part of the country may have due notice, and then information is sent to the heads of monasteries, and the chief districts, and all is made ready to receive his nat-majesty with proper hônours. When at last the day comes round, all are on the watch, and when the wise men give the signal, tha-gyā min kyabyi, the king has come down, a cannon is fired off, and forthwith all the people come out of doors with pots full of water, the mouths of the jars filled up with fresh green leaves and twigs of the sacred tha-bye tree. A formal prayer is said, and the water is poured out on the ground, and all are happy. Many years ago an event happened which singularly impressed true believers in the royal city. Just when expectation was at its highest and all ears were strained in expectation of the roar of the cannon, there was a terrific thunderclap, which made all the town quiver, and demonstrated the accuracy of the pônnas' calculations. There was no more thunder that night, and the ranks of the pious received great increase during the ensuing week. In country towns and villages every one who has a gun rushes out into the street at the appointed hour and fires it off. Most wonderful blunderbusses and old flintlocks and ancient rusty horse-pistols make their appearance, warranted to make a noise, but capable of little more. After this ceremony is over a few go to bed,—for the descent is usually made at midnight,—but the majority sit up and talk.

With the earliest glimmer of light all rise, and taking

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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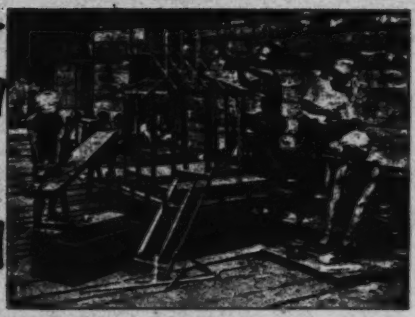

267. BURMAN CARPENTERS.

arbour of tracery, which entirely encloses them. Ivory hafts and scabbards of daggers and sabres are ornamented in the same way. The ivory carving is not polished.

The conventional flat design, painting and embroidery exhibit affinities to the Indian decoration of the ancient temples (Nos. 94, 272). The anachronisms and other naiveties of our mediæval designers are paralleled in modern Burma; witness the introduction of British officers with their field-glasses in the design of the Prince of Pagán destroying the monster at Hngeppyittaung (No. 224). The medium used for painting is a coarse tempera. From the labels attached to European goods, many of which are excellent in design and colour, lessons in colouring and perspective have been learned. From photographs, ideas of accuracy have been gathered, and from illustrated newspapers, ideas of composition. Neither carver nor designer ever uses a model. The painter of No. 433 confessed that he had not seen the place himself; he had it described to him. In pure design without colour, the *shwezawd* work is the best. It is a kind of drawing in lacquer, which appears black on a gold ground (No. 96). Of late the Burmans have attempted cuts on type-metal for illustrations of books (No. 276). They are executed with chisel and punch; the graver is unknown.

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268. BURMAN TURNER.

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Ancient inscriptions are rare in Burma, although the *thamding*, or depository for slabs recording the circumstances of religious foundations, is a recognised institution. In many of the *thamding* at Pagán may be seen the ancient *Pâli* square character, of which the Burmese round character is a development. The square character is preserved in the *kambawd* (No. 46). The late King Mindôn Min caused the whole of the Pâli text of the Tripitaka to be

MEK

Work in Pathwe

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U Myaing is an IN fisherman and in normal times he is helped by his family in catching and preparing fish. Another source of revenue is also renting out oxen and the making of mats usually relied on only when there is little other work. He regards himself as "one who works INS on a large scale", and on further questioning it appears that he was a sort of foreman working with a group of IN fishermen. About 95 other workers in Pathwe made their living by fishing and fish processing, but there were also some cultivators. In addition there were 9 or 10 in the paddy husking business, 4 or 5 merchants and one gardener. With these few introductory remarks let us examine in some detail the nature of IN fishing.

U Myaing describes the IN fishery of which he was a part as follows:-

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"The IN is located upstream about two miles from Pathwe. The trap is remade every year and costs anywhere from Rs. 5000/- to Rs. 10,000/- to make. It takes twenty men about one month to make the trap. First we plant timber poles, after which we put up the IIN - strips of bamboo held together by coconut fibre rope, in such a manner as to present a large flat surface. When the IIN has been safely put up (across the entire width of the stream) the fish are carried down (by the current) through the SHAW (inclined plane of the sluice) and they are caught at the end. At the deep end the bamboo fence is about 16 taungs high and only a little of the poles remain above water. These poles have to propped up by other timber poles. Then the IIN are placed across these poles and tied in position. All the water has to flow along this small channel, and the force of the current washes up the fish (at the end of the SHAW). The poles are hammered down into the earth to a depth of one LAN (one yard) The water passes through the dam, but the fish cannot. The fish cannot swim upstream again because of the force of the water in the narrow sluice, which is only about eight taungs across. The length of the trap is approximately 100 feet whereas the width across the stream is 200 feet. When the floods are high at times the fish do get away. The water spills over and the fish do escape. We catch the remaining fish. When the water increases we have to extend the dam sideways a long way. But the height of the dam cannot be raised. In the dry season those fish which have gone over are left stranded outside the IN by the retreating waters. Some people fish below the dam with nets and fish hooks.

"When the rains come, that is the time they spawn. This time is called NGA-LIT-THI time. At this time the fish group together to go upstream. The better the rains, the better the catch. After these fish have passed, the MEK is closed. The fish spawn at the beginning of the rains after they have collect and passed upstream. At about the month of TAN-THA-LIN (last month of the rains season) the MEK is closed and the fish that come down with the force of the water are picked up. If many fish go upstream - fish that spawn, then we get a good catch. If only few spawning fish go up, we get a bad catch. Even

if there are many fish, if the water is bad they may die off - and do not come down to the KEE. When the water is good we get many fish. When the water is bad it is called YE-MAR-DE (the water is hurt). When the water is bad they die off on their own and become putrid on this side; they do not come down. When the water is bad it stops the coming down of fish even more effectively than if a YIN barrier were put up (further upstream.) They do not come down to the mouth of the KEE. 226 221 132

"There are 80 to 100 fisherman working at the CHAUNG-MA-GYI IN where I work. Thirty of these are from TWA-GYI-GAT and they are the only IN workers there, although there are 7 other INS in the neighbourhood. They work for 6 months out of the year. During the month of TAGU when the fish is sold, we start on the YIN and work through the months of KASON, NAYON, NAYO, WAGAUNG, TAWTHALIN and in TAWTHALIN we place it in the IN. Water comes down and with it the fish, and we end up about the month of PYATHO. In the hot season we catch the remaining fish and after the hot season the INS are again auctioned by the Government. 226

"Night and day the fish are coming down and they have to be gathered up in wicker baskets and poured into tubs. They are coming down all the time. We have no special work time; both night and day. That is why there have to be so many workers. We have watches. If this person watches this night, that person watches the next night and another person the next night. They have to stay till morning. The person who has watched up till morning is given a turn (to rest) and another person placed there for the next night. The fisherman works for a day and a night. Then shifts are changed. The man who works from the afternoon is given a rest in the morning. There are shifts of eight to nine men at a time. These nine men are changed after a day and a night. They rest for a day and a night. 226 461

"Some of the more common fish are:- Nga Thaing, Nga Gyin, Nga Gyaing, Nga Myit Chin, Nga Dan, Nga Myin Yin; small fish are plentiful, Nga Khyone, Nga Hpare Aung, Nga Bat, Nga Khu, Nga Gyi; you get a lot. During one shift, (one day and one night) 2000 fish may come down, 3000 fish may come, or there may be 500, or there may be only 100. You cannot say for sure. At the end of the SHAW the fish are scooped up with kerosene tins and poured into the boat with wicker baskets. After that they are taken home. We take both big and small fish. The big ones are caught by hand and kept alive in big tubs, and it is the small fish that are scooped up with kerosene tins. We take all the fish that are stranded at the sluice end. The tiny fish escape through the YIN. Some larger fish also escape if the YIN cracks are wide.

"The large fish are kept alive and sent to the Rangoon markets and to various towns. They usually stay alive this way. When the distance is great they are placed in ice and sent. The other fish are dried or made into fish paste or NGAPI. In making Ngapi, the heads are first cut off. The scales are removed by wrapping the fish in gunny-bags and stamping with the feet after the bag has been placed in a tub. After that they are washed and salt is put in. After mixing thoroughly with salt they are pressed into jars. Those who want to pound their fish into NGAPI DAUNG (pounded ngapi) leave their fish to become putrid and then pound them. Those who want to keep them raw (AMYIN) do not. 226 438 263

Mr Aye Myaing describes the preparation of ngapi as follows:-

"The fish have to be chopped and placed in water; after the scales are removed, the fishes are chopped and placed in water for a night. In the morning the putrid fish are taken out, mixed with salt and laid out to dry. In the evening they are again mixed with salt and pounded. You pound the fish today, lay 251 263

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

231 more fortunate than his Malay congener in possessing a tail, but asserts relationship with that animal in the possession of a horny hook, with this difference, that the hard excrescence is at the end of a tail of fair dimensions instead of being humbly situated on the rump, as is the case with the Straits tabby.

235 There are always some tame villatic fowl about the house. If the householder does not aspire to the ownership of a taik-kyet, a regular game cock, bred for the purpose, he has at least a kyet-hpa, an ordinary cock of combative instincts, and backs him against his neighbour's when occasion offers, through the absence of the constable, by chance, or by the influence of pecuniary profit acting on a sporting disposition. A cock that declines to fight under any circumstances is called a kyet nyaung-gan, and stands in great danger of dying suddenly and being converted into curry. Hens are regarded with indifference except in view of similar possibilities, for their eggs are of no use. A fowl may be killed by accident by a stick thrown at random, but the germ of life in an egg cannot die unless it is boiled or goes rotten. In the former case the boiler incurs mortal danger from breaking one of the Five Precepts; in the latter the egg
223 is undesirable. In small villages almost every one keeps a tè-gyet, a decoy cock, for luring the wild jungle-fowl. The fore-doomed hunter kills the game, and the pious owner of the decoy bird gets a good dinner. Similarly tè-gyo, pigeons, are bred specially as lures, and so are partridges. Ordinary pigeons, occasionally used for the same purpose, go by the
231 name of gyo ta-nyin. Caged birds are not very common as
779 pets, though every here and there one comes across a hill
444 Mina, who has acquired a fair knowledge of the vernacular, and astonishes passers-by with the unceremonious way in which he hails them. But the Buddhist religion condemns keeping animals in confinement. So much is this the case that in Mandalay, and here and there in other places, there are men who make a regular living by catching birds and selling them to the pious, that they may gain merit by setting them free. Crafty birdcatchers are able so far to disable the bird, without doing it any material or visible harm, that they can catch it again immediately after their tender-hearted customer has gone his way.

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

541 [171·54] Buffalo fights, which used to be great festivals in the Tenasserim province, especially round about Amherst and Tavoy, have, under the influence of the British Government, almost totally died out. Each village used to have its champion, songs were composed in its honour, and special guards appointed to look after it, and the conqueror brought as much honour to the village as a personal victory of the inhabitants would have done. But they were nearly as brutal exhibitions as Spanish bull-fights, and only a little less dangerous.

224 517 Field sports are barred to all but professional hunters by the religious objection to taking animal life, though when a Burman does enter upon the pursuit, he is always an enthusiastic and skilful sportsman and generally a clever shot.

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

how the trouble increases when it comes to goats or any larger beasts. In the jungle villages meat of any kind at all is never seen: no animals of any kind are allowed to be killed. An officer travelling in the district would be reduced to what he could carry with him, if it were not for an Act of Government obliging villages to furnish—on payment, of course—supplies for officers and troops passing through. The mere fact of such a law being necessary is sufficient proof of the strength of the feeling against taking life.

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Of course, all shooting, either for sport or for food, is looked upon as disgraceful. In many jungle villages where deer abound there are one or two hunters who make a living by hunting. But they are disgraced men. They are worse than fishermen, and they will have a terrible penalty to pay for it all. It will take much suffering to wash from their souls the cruelty, the blood-thirstiness, the carelessness to suffering, the absence of compassion, that hunting must produce. 'Is there no food in the bazaar, that you must go and take the lives of animals?' has been said to me many a time. And when my house-roof was infested by sparrows, who dropped grass and eggs all over my rooms, so that I was obliged to shoot them with a little rifle, this was no excuse. 'You should have built a sparrow-cote,' they told me. 'If you had built a sparrow-cote, they would have gone away and left you in peace. They only wanted to make nests and lay eggs and have little ones, and you went and shot them.' There are many sparrow-cotes to be seen in the villages.

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General Attitudes of the Burmese toward Work.

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Rank and status in the Burmese Village is determined to a large extent on the basis of occupation - with the factor of wealth where applicable taking precedence over occupation. The highest rank is accorded to the Buddhist monks who exert the ultimate influence. Government officials including the township officers, the THU GYI (headman) and elders, and the schoolmaster occupy the second rank. The large land owners (of this group the rice-mill owners rate highest) rank next. Below these are the tradesmen - the paddy dealers, shop keepers and small holdings farmers who comprise the bulk of the population. Professional artisans such as carpenters, blacksmiths, gold and silver smiths occupy a lower position. However, it is common for the small holdings farmers to practice a secondary occupation such as pottery making.

[226] [224] [779]

Fishermen and hunters are looked down on by the rest of the community because they offend Buddhist precepts by taking life. In this class also are those who raise animals (cows, poultry, pigs) for food, smugglers and brewers. Fishermen, particularly those such as U Myaing who operate IN fisheries often become wealthy, but the stigma of the source of this wealth is remembered by the community. A story is told of a rich fisherman who came to cover the Shwe Dagon Pagoda in Rangoon with gold plate. Unfortunately, he had sinned so much by taking the lives of fish that he could not see the pagoda. In a rage he returned to his IN to cover its posts with the gold. Because of the stigma attached to fishing those who make their living in this way tend to live together in their own communities. Thus Pathae, U Myaing's village is primarily a fisherman's community.

[538]

175 567 778 461

In the days of the Burmese kings, wealthy men and nobles (THAKIN) would assign people under their command to serve as pagoda slaves. Their names were engraved in stone and their descendants for all eternity assigned to this position. The duties were light - consisting mainly of sweeping the platforms and carrying for the images, but the social position was next to the lowest. It is believed that the flower vendors on the platform of the Rangoon

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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199. SLUICE OF LAGOON FISHERY (IN).

banks. Ducks' and fowls' eggs are also eaten.

Small fry and the bony fish are made into the Peguan condiment *ngapi*—pressed fish. The process is essentially the same as that of anchovy paste manufacture, but is conducted in a much rougher way. The fish after being taken are spread out in the sun and then pounded in a mortar, again sunned and again pounded with about a quarter their weight of salt. Fermentation is not uniformly arrested at the proper stage, so that the product becomes contaminated with putrescence. According as the compound remains moist or dry it is made into balls, moulded into bricks, or stored in jars. *Ngapi* is sent to Burma Proper and the Shan States in enormous quantities. Fresh fish, dried fish, and *ngapi* are much the same in price, one half to one rupee the viss (3.65 lbs.) according to quality. *Ngachin* is a crude and unwholesome pickle made by putting fish to ferment with boiled and salted rice.

258 Salt used to be obtained from sea-water and from brine wells in the interior, before the import of salt began. The manufacture still drags on, as the local salt is better for curing purposes. At spring-tides, sea-water in the estuaries is let into shallow pans like rice-fields, or it is raised with the *Ka-hwee*. After the brine has been concentrated by evaporation in the heat of the sun, it is boiled down in spherical earthen pots, which are built with clay into a vault over a furnace. Iron cauldrons like those in No. 186 are superseding the earthen pots, and the round cauldron is in its turn being replaced by a flat iron pan.

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The chase, so far from forming the diversion of princes and satraps, remains to the *vauriens* of the villages

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199. SHORE NET

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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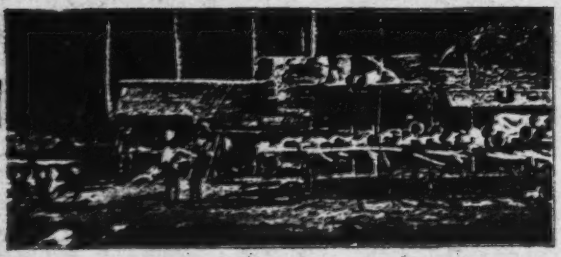
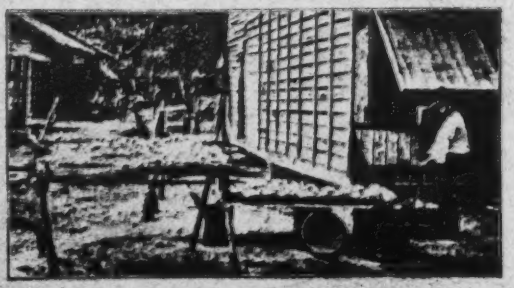


200. SEA-FISHERMEN'S HUTS

to eke their living by. The typical reprobate who is reclaimed in Buddhist legend is the hunter (*mósô*). The religious stigma would probably be less severe if the scope of the chase were not so restricted as it is. In the forests of Burma, with their dense cover, forage for herbivores is scarce at certain seasons, so that game cannot multiply extensively. Such game as there is has a wide beat, and is hard to find owing to the vast preponderance of forest land over clearing. For the same reason the game that forages in the cultivation or on its borders has a limited field in Burma. In the plains near the sea there is a closer approach to the conditions of *shikár* in India, and the chase becomes more of a recognised occupation. There are four species of deer: the *sat* (*sámbar* of India), the *dayè* (porcine deer), *dyí* (barking deer, roe), and a beautiful species peculiar to the Eastern Peninsula, the *thamlu* (brow-antlered deer), which has the form and stature of our red deer. *Thamlu* are found in the plains on the coast of Pegu, and again in the north-west of Burma Proper. On dark nights these deer are hunted with the *ut-ou*. A lantern is prepared, with three sides dark. The flare is directed towards the deer, which are so dazed by it that they may be approached up to striking distance. The herd is deceived at the same time by the tinkling of cow-bells. Smaller deer, *dayè* and *dyí*, are caught with nets in the plains of the coast. Hunters watch at their haunts for them to break cover and come out into the cane-fields or other cultivation. A stout net, a couple of yards wide, stiffened at intervals with bamboo uprights, is run across the line of retreat, opposite to

[251]



201. POUNDING NGAPI.

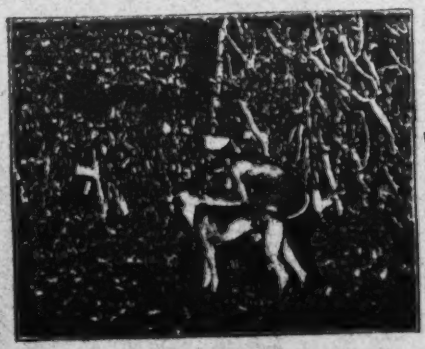
25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

202. SETTING NETS FOR DEER.

which a second party is in hiding with dogs. At a sign, the dogs are slipped and the deer chased headlong into the nets, where they are caught or cut down before they can get clear. 224 [231]

Sat and *thamin*, which would clear the net at a bound, are coursed with greyhounds of local breed (*Kamâbî*) when they have ventured far enough into the open. The Burmans have been acquainted with firearms since the fourteenth century of our era. Saltpetre they obtained by percolating with water the droppings of bats accumulated in caves, and boiling down the lye; it was also obtained from certain marshes; sulphur probably came from China. The old flint-lock is still a favourite, because the ammunition is easy to procure. Weapons were bad, and the *mdsô* is a poor marksman; but he manages to approach very near to his quarry. Cross-bows, snares, and traps for game are used by the hill people, in default of firearms. Such venison as is obtained is hurried off to the nearest market town, where it is retailed fresh. If it cannot be thus disposed of, it is cut into strips and sun-dried. Next to deer, the chief quarry is the wild pig. Wild buffaloes ("bison," *pyaung*) frequent the forests. In a few localities a wild ox is found (*saing*). A wild goat lives in some of the rocky limestone hills. The hare and the partridge are common in the open country of the dry zone and the plateau-land of the hills. Peacocks are not uncommon in some localities, but are nowhere so abundant as in India. A silver pheasant (*rit*) is common in the bamboo forests. The great argus occurs in the extreme south. Wild or jungle fowl (*tawe-dyet*) are common in all the dry forests. Decoy-birds are used for snaring these, and also the ring-doves (*dyô*). Ducks,

411 389 [262] 224 136



203. KAMABI DOG

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25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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204. HILL-MAN WITH CROSSBOW.

geese and teal are abundant in some places, as are pigeons of many kinds, including the large "imperial" pigeon. But the only game to be counted upon in Burma is the snipe (*zinyaw*), which frequents the rice-fields. The Burman does not attempt this game, nor does he shoot at any bird on the wing or running game. Pelicans are shot for the sake of the crest and neck feathers, adjutant-birds for the marabout feathers. The cruel chase of the egret (*byaing*) for *aigrettes* is conducted by aliens. Other notable birds of Burma are the hornbill, with its noisy flight, the pewit (*tititu*), and the kingfisher, hunted by the Chinese for its plumage. There are no rapacious birds of dangerous size. Carrion is speedily disposed of by vultures and crows. (For the birds of Burma see the systematic work by Eugene W. Oates.) Herbivorous wild animals being scarce, the beasts which prey on them are particularly scarce, and their depredations on men and cattle are of much less significance than in India. The annual casualties in the population of Burma from these causes are about one hundred, of which thirty are ascribed to snake-bite. An old tiger (*kyâ*), past hunting deer and pig, or a tigress with cubs, makes a forest track insecure from time to time. The tiger is sometimes shot from a tree over the kill, or a spring-gun is set or a trap constructed. A feature of the trap in the illustration is a partition as stout as its walls, to protect the dog used as the bait, from the tiger. Panthers or leopards (*kyathlt*) occasionally take calves, goats, pigs, and dogs from the villages. These beasts are easier to trap than tigers, which are shy of dwellings and everything artificial. A crocodile (*mljâung*) sometimes makes a reach of river unsafe for swimmers, and

205. TRAP FOR TIGER.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

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207. BRINGING IN ROE-DEER (DYI).

then the bathing-places have to be staked in. Wild elephants make a road dangerous at times. Elephants are captured by pit-falls. Decoys are also used in various ways; small animals are detached from the herd by their means and then kept going until they are worn out, and can be tethered and hobbled for taming. The breaking in is accomplished by pinning the elephant between trees or stout posts where it cannot lie down, keeping it underfed, and giving food as the reward of docility. Young elephants born in captivity—as occasionally happens—are broken in, in the same way, about the sixth year, when half grown. The stock is replenished from Siam, where the wild herds are larger, and the business of catching is more developed, and where also elephants breed more frequently in captivity. The elephant-breakers and trainers are Shans, and the words of command Shan. Rhinoceroses (*kyan*) may be found about the sources of streams in the evergreen hills; occasional tracks are seen. A tapir occurs in the forests of Tenaserim. Wild dogs (*canis rutilans*) occur in a few localities. There is no wolf, fox, or hyæna, and no jackal east of Arakán. There is a larger and a smaller black bear (*ursus*), very rarely encountered, and not aggressive. There are several species of wild cat (*tazaliyaing*) large and small, and a few species of weasel. A small porcupine is found (*pyu*). The huge bamboo-rat (*pwe*) is dug out of its burrow by the hill people. There are many tribes of monkeys and gibbons; the weird cry of the latter is the characteristic sound of the evergreen forest. Squirrels are the only wild animals

208. MEASURING THE PANTHER.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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309. THE HAMADRYAD.

one commonly notices. A great lizard (*put*), weighing twenty to forty pounds, infests hollow trees; it is shot and eaten by the Burmans, and its skin used for sandals. Most of the venomous snakes of India are common to Burma, excepting the small and deadly *krait*. The formidable hamadryad is added, but there are no fully established cases of the pursuit of man which is attributed to this snake. The casualties due to snake-bite are chiefly among the reapers. The gigantic python is not dangerous to man. Scorpions and centipedes are common enough, but their stings and bites are not often serious.

Good clay for pottery is only found in certain localities, and from these the manufactures are sent to great distances by water. Clay almost stone-hard and laterite are pounded with a tilt-hammer, screened, and worked up in certain proportions with water and sand, by treading with the feet. The best and strongest pots for cooking are not turned on the lathe but *patted* into shape by hand. These are but slightly porous and of a hard consistence. The lathe pottery is very porous when not glazed. A salt glaze is used for jars to store oil. For ornamental work, lead glazes, coloured with vitriols, are employed. At the potteries, immense reverberating kilns are built for firing the pots. Smaller kilns are fired all round or are excavated underground on the plan of the lime-kiln. Wood is the fuel used.

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Stone for building is scarce, except in Arakán. Masonry is reserved for the *zedi*. Of late, owing to a fresh impulse from India, masonry has again come into greater use. Everywhere in the inhabited plains one

310. POTTERY—PATTING THE WARE INTO SHAPE.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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410. THE CHARMER APPROACHING THE SNAKE.

state; the fascination of the show is the danger. But as soon as the snake is unmolested it glides away harmlessly; no one feels any apprehension from its proximity, the moment the showman ceases to tease the snake. A cobra is easy to find, but it may take months to discover a hamadryad. The creature is tracked by the trail it leaves in the sand of a dry stream or the dust of a road to the place where it is watching its eggs. At this time, if ever, the snake is aggressive. But like the rest of the cobra family, its movements are comparatively slow; the charmer's hand is quicker, the snake is captured and consigned to the basket before it can strike. After that it is handled with impunity. There is no sort of training; the charmers say that the snake may be shown the same day that it is caught. When the snake is set at large, it appears to be bluffed by the performer, and made to execute feints of attack corresponding to the feints of the charmer, who keeps time to music, and so creates the impression that the snake is swaying—"dancing"—to the sound. The snakes are difficult to feed and keep in condition. They are let go after a month or two, in the hope of catching them again; the charmer vows to release the snake after a definite term, and has a superstition that if he keeps faith the snake will not hurt him.

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The Burmese festivals have been described as being confined to a single one, which begins in April and goes on to the following March. But that is an exaggeration. There are two regular carnivals of a week or ten days each, and several others of a couple of days' duration, besides occasional festivities to celebrate the completion of *zeds* and temples,—and last, but not least, the

411. THE HAMADRYAD CAPTURED.

The houses were all built on the same pattern, only some being taller, 342
wider and of better quality wood and thatch than others.

Facing the street in line, each house had a verandah running all along its face, and one step took you up from this into the main room of the house. As you entered, this room extended right up to the roof which sloped very steeply down to its eaves, but about twelve feet in, where the roof was just high enough, a platform upper storey was built, looking over a balustrade into the main room below. This platform storey ended where the sloping roof again became too low at the back. The back portion reaching to the height of the roof was used for kitchen and washing rooms. By this time, in the row of houses containing ours, the ground had sloped down to the creek, and the kitchen was continued as a bamboo platform raised high above the mud on piles.

Grandmother, who had become among the wealthiest in the village, had made enlargements and adaptations within these lines. Her house was wider, with the clearing up of an adjacent house. It contained four door spaces in its face, each door space being a uniform seven feet in width throughout the village. The main floor was of fine polished teak boards, the part below the platform storey was walled off into a bedroom which was very badly ventilated and lighted, the back portion was cleared of all washing rooms and made into a large airy kitchen about 30 feet square, and the platform behind was extended right over the water's edge because we had bought a mooring site further up. On this bamboo platform two hatches were put as bathrooms, containing commodes in the European style, whereas other households walked to the common latrines in the first clearing beyond the street.

The people of Ye lived chiefly by the produce of their gardens, the 244
richer ones like Grandmother sending out to big towns their durians, 226
coconuts, areca nuts, or fish and oysters from the sea, the poorer ones 463
vending fish and vegetables daily around the town, making thatch roofing out of *dani* (nipah) leaves, acting as boatmen up and down the creek, helping to work the gardens and paddy-fields of other families.

My grandmother's household during these years consisted of her- 592
self, two aunts, one widow and one spinster, an uncle next to my father in age, my young Uncle Pyant and various cousins, one, two and three wombs removed from us. My elder uncle, Uncle Thet Hnan, had never been out of Ye; after going through the monastery he had worked in the gardens instead of going to an English-teaching school. It gave us an uncanny feeling to see him so like my father in build and general appearance and so dissimilar from him in speech, thought and habits. He now owned gardens up at Chaung-bya, and had five children all of whom had been brought up in Ye. My three boy cousins had been

[1 at Ye - Analyst]

592 sent to stay with us at various times and were sent to schools which taught English, but nothing would persuade them to take any interest in studies. My cousin Nyein Maung, whom I liked very much, could never bear to keep a shirt on, which was why he was always to be found with only a longyi tucked around his loins playing chinlon or helping boatmen with their canoes, when he should have been sitting fully clothed in a class-room.

[601] My young Uncle Pyant, whom we called U-Ngè, small Uncle, had
693 passed his B.A. and his law degree, and returned to Ye in preference to
177 a more modern life in a larger town. He walled off one doorway's space
164 from the main room of the house and filled it with bookcases, a big desk and chairs for visitors. Outside this room my Uncle Pyant put up a sign saying: *"A-htet tan shaynay gyi:* Advocate and Higher Grade Pleader," and within a very short time became the lawyer of the whole village; but so great was his attachment to this consultation-living-room, which had nothing in common with the rest of Ye, that he relinquished all cases whose developing complexities led client and lawyer to a higher court in Moulmein.

592 Grandmother had gardens about ten miles up the creek from Ye.
244 These contained coconuts, durians and areca nuts grown over about
276 fifty acres for commercial disposal. Around the bungalow in the centre
427 of the garden there grew mangosteen, rambutan, pomeloes and pineapples for eating on a large-scale, clumps of bamboos, a coffee tree, tobacco plants, capsicum, lime and citron trees, lemon grass, and vegetables of all kinds to serve the needs of the bungalow and the household in town. My aunts with one young male relative took turns to live at the garden and help the family that was hired to look after it permanently. It was a dangerous life in these plantations as dacoities were very frequent. [501] The produce was taken down to Ye in a succession of graceful narrow boats shaped out of single tree trunks. The durians and coconuts were [442] sold straight away to traders who travelled between Moulmein and Ye for this purpose. The areca nuts were first dried on a bamboo attic made by an extension of the platform upper storey of the house until it met the back slope of the roof. When they were dried the whole family gathered around in the back kitchen and removed the husks with blunted nutcrackers, leaving the smooth nut to be sold.

244 With the rice from the paddy-land on the opposite bank, fruits
262 vegetables and spices from the garden, rolling their cheroots with a mix-
226 ture containing tobacco in leaves shed by the areca trees in the garden
438 and grinding their own coffee berries, my aunts and grandmother only
276 needed to buy a little fish and meat for their daily consumption. The they could not provide themselves owing to the Buddhist law against

taking life. Only the hardened ones of the village, *ta-nga-thès*, drew 244
and netted in the wealth of fish around Ye, and the theoretical condem- 262
nation in which their profession was held absolved all good Buddhists
from any sin in eating the fruits of their labours. My aunts bought vast 226
quantities of fish for salting and drying. This cured fish supplied our 438
yearly needs as well as theirs. They also bought prawns to press into a paste called *ngapi*, in this case *seinsa* ngapi, which forms the basis of all our flavouring and condiments. As soon as the ta-nga-thè came up with his boatloads of prawns they were spread out on rough bamboo mats and sunned on the big platform behind the house. When they were fairly dried, my aunts, with a helper or two from the village, mashed up the prawns by hand, throwing in vast quantities of salt as they worked. The mess was left in the sun for a few days, being stirred every now and again. By this time it had turned into a grey-black paste, more or less smooth, smelling most pungent and rotten to foreigners but *hmway-dè*, fragrant, to us, and tasting like a concentrate of anchovy. This paste is stored in small glazed earthenware jars. It is used to flavour all meat and vegetables dishes, or is fried or pounded with other ingredients to provide condiments for the meal. The Tenasserim coast is the chief source of seinsa ngapi in Burma, the big towns of Tavoy and Mergui supplying towns in Upper Burma as well. The large amounts of salt needed come from the valuable salt fields in this area which produce about 6,000 tons annually.

It can be imagined what excitement a holiday at Ye caused us 528
in our growing years, and even my mother's admonitions that we were 177.
to behave in accordance with strict Burmese ideas which prevailed at 55
Ye rather than the un-Burmese habits acquired at school did not dampen 593
our excitement. We were then at English-speaking schools where we had adopted the habit of calling each other by name. The eldest of my young sisters Mya Mya, is seven years younger than I am, but when she went to school I had only two sisters left who called me respectfully, *Ma-Ma Gyi*, elder sister, and by the time the youngest was at school there was no Ma Ma Gyi left in the family. The tradition of the younger ones fetching and carrying for the elder had also sadly deteriorated.

At meals, my mother had not kept up the custom of helping the 593
eldest person present with a portion of every dish before it was open to 177.
the rest of the company. Before we went to Ye, therefore, my mother 57
gathered us around her and told us how we were to behave so as to give our grandmother and aunts great pleasure in our visit and no rude shocks. "Now don't forget, *the-mi-to*, my daughters, you will all three call your sister Big-Elder-Sister; you, Pusu, are to call Mya Mya Middle-Elder-Sister, and Aye Little-Elder-Sister. In fact you should

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

demand. The indignation which a crusade against the condiment by a young civil officer with more zeal than discretion caused in 1880, will not soon be forgotten. Cholera was rather bad in Yandun, one of the great places for ngapi, and the Assistant Commissioner, convinced that the heavy smells must be the cause of it, issued an order forbidding the manufacture of the fish-paste, or its sale in the public markets, as well as that other cherished but strong-smelling dainty, prawn-head oil. The result was an avalanche of petitions to the Chief Commissioner, and something very like open riot in the town. Equanimity was not restored till the too energetic official was removed to another station, and the lugyis pointed exultantly to the fact that as soon as they began to make up arrears in the way of ngapi consumption, cholera left the place. Nevertheless, Yandun is not a charming place of residence to a man with a sensitive nose.

Fishermen are promised terrible punishments in a future life for the number of lives they take, but popular sympathy finds a loophole of escape for them. They do not actually kill the fish. These are merely put out on the bank to dry, after their long soaking in the river, and if they are foolish and ill-judged enough to die while undergoing the process, it is their own fault. Nevertheless, some strict people hold by the doctrine of the Manichæans, who asserted that the soul of the farmer migrated into herbs so that it might be cut down and thrashed out. The baker becomes bread and is eaten. The killer of a deer becomes a deer; of a fish, a fish; and so on. But nevertheless, if all the fishermen became monks one day, the next would see some of the pious trying their hands with the cast-net.

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MOEK

Work in Pathwe

U Myaing is an IN fisherman and in normal times he is helped by his family in catching and preparing fish. Another source of revenue is also renting out oxen and the making of mats usually relied on only when there is little other work. He regards himself as "one who works INS on a large scale", and on further questioning it appears that he was a sort of foreman working with a group of IN fishermen. About 95 other workers in Pathwe made their living by fishing and fish processing, but there were also some cultivators. In addition there were 9 or 10 in the paddy husking business, 4 or 5 merchants and one gardener. With these few introductory remarks let us examine in some detail the nature of IN fishing.

U Myaing describes the IN fishery of which he was a part as follows:-

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"The IN is located upstream about two miles from Pathwe. The trap is remade every year and costs anywhere from Rs. 5000/- to Rs. 10,000/- to make. It takes twenty men about one month to make the trap. First we plant timber poles, after which we put up the YIN- strips of bamboo held together by coconut fibre rope, in such a manner as to present a large flat surface. When the YIN has been safely put up (across the entire width of the stream) the fish are carried down (by the current) through the SHAW (inclined plane of the sluice) and they are caught at the end. At the deep end the bamboo fence is about 16 taungs high and only a little of the poles remain above water. These poles have to propped up by other timber poles. Then the YIN are placed across these poles and tied in position. All the water has to flow along this small channel, and the force of the current washes up the fish (at the end of the SHAW). The poles are hammered down into the earth to a depth of one LAN (one yard) The water passes through the dam, but the fish cannot. The fish cannot swim upstream again because of the force of the water in the narrow sluice, which is only about eight taungs across. The length of the trap is approximately 100 feet whereas the width across the stream is 200 feet. When the floods are high at times the fish do get away. The water spills over and the fish do escape. We catch the remaining fish. When the water increases we have to extend the dam sideways a long way. But the height of the dam cannot be raised. In the dry season those fish which have gone over are left stranded outside the IN by the retreating waters. Some people fish below the dam with nets and fish hooks.

"When the rains come, that is the time they spawn. This time is called MYA-THI-THI time. At this time the fish group together to go upstream. The better the rains, the better the catch. After these fish have passed, the MEE is closed. The fish spawn at the beginning of the rains after they have collect and passed upstream. At about the month of TAW-THA-LIN (last month of the rains season) the MEE is closed and the fish that come down with the force of the water are picked up. If many fish go upstream - fish that spawn, then we get a good catch. If only few spawning fish go up, we get a bad catch. Even

if there are many fish, if the water is bad they may die off — and do not come down to the HSE. When the water is good we get many fish. When the water is bad it is called YE-NAR-DE (the water is hurt). When the water is bad they die off on their own and become putrid on this side; they do not come down. When the water is bad it stops the coming down of fish even more effectively than if a YIN barrier were put up (further upstream.) They do not come down to the mouth of the HSE. 226 221 132

"There are 80 or 100 fishermen working at the CHAUNG-MA-GYI IN where I work. Thirty of those are from INA-GYI-BET and they are the only IN workers there, although there are 7 other INS in the neighbourhood. They work for 6 months out of the year. During the month of TAGU when the fish is sold, we start on the YIN and work through the months of NAGON, NAYON, NAGO, WAGAUNG, TAWTHALIN and in TAWTHALINwe place it in the IN. Water comes down and with it the fish, and we end upabout the month of PYATHO. In the hot season we catch the remaining fish and after the hot season the INS are again auctioned by the Government. 226

"Night and day the fish are coming down and they have to be gathered up in wicker baskets and poured into tubs. They are coming down all the time. We have no special work time; both night and day. That is why there have to be so many workers. We have watches. If this person watches this night, that person watches the next night and another person the next night. They have to stay till morning. The person who has watched up till morning is given a turn (to rest) and another person placed there for the next night. The fisherman works for a day and a night. Then shifts are changed. The man who works from the afternoon is given a rest in the morning. There are shifts of eight to nine men at a time. These nine men are changed after a day and a night. They rest for a day and a night. 226 461

"Some of the more common fish are:- Nga Thaing, Nga Gyin, Nga Gyaung, Nga Myit Chin, Nga Dan, Nga Myin Yin; small fish are plentiful, Nga Khamma, Nga Hpare Aung, Nga Bet, Nga Khu, Nga Gyi; you get a lot. During one shift, (one day and one night) 2000 fish may come down, 3000 fish may come, or there may be 500, or there may be only 100. You cannot say for sure. At the end of the SHAW the fish are scooped up with kerosene tins and poured into the boat with wicker baskets. After that they are taken home. We take both big and small fish. The big ones are caught by hand and kept alive in big tubs, and it is the small fish that are scooped up with kerosene tins. We take all the fish that are stranded at the sluice end. The tiny fish escape through the YIN. Some larger fish also escape if the YIN cracks are wide.

"The large fish are kept alive and sent to the Rangoon markets and to various towns. They usually stay alive this way. When the distance is great they are placed in ice and sent. The other fish are dried or made into fish paste or NGAPI. In making Ngapi, the heads are first cut off. The scales are removed by wrapping the fish in gunny-bags and stamping with the feet after the bag has been placed in a tub. After that they are washed and salt is put in. After mixing thoroughly with salt they are pressed into jars. Those who want to pound their fish into NGAPI DAUNG (pounded ngapi) leave their fish to become putrid and then pound them. Those who want to keep them raw (ASHIN) do not. 226 438 263

Mr Aye Myaing describes the preparation of ngapi as follows:-

"The fish have to be chopped and placed in water; after the scales are removed, the fishes are chopped and placed in water for a night. In the morning the putrid fish are taken out, mixed with salt and laid out to dry. In the evening they are again mixed with salt and pounded. You pound the fish today, lay 251 263

it out to dry in the sun throughout the next day, then pound again and store in jars. The total process takes two days." 251

U Myaing continues his explanation of the IN fishery:- 263

"The fishery is worked on a co-operative basis. We contribute equal sums of money. If one puts up Rs. 100/- all put up Rs.100/-; if Rs.1000/- all put up Rs.1000/- each. We group together and work. Rights to the site of the fishery must be secured from the government by auction. We have to make an initial payment of about Rs. 1000/- or Rs. 2000/- and in bidding among ourselves the price increases to eight thousand, nine thousand, ten thousand, twelve thousand. The original price was three thousand rupees. This is the cost of the Deputy Commissioner's auction. There were many bidders at the auction for the IN. Four, five, six. For example if I give a thousand rupees you offer two thousand, he gives three, four, five thousand ..... When it comes to the hand of the successful bidder the price has increased. The money for the fishery rights have to be paid in later (after the fishing has begun). For example if I pay in a thousand rupees this month, I pay a thousand the next month and the next, in several instalments. This is in addition to the amount we sink into the actual working of the business. (Cost of constructing the IN and equipment). 226● 474 463

"The fishermen do not get paid a salary. They have shares. Accounts are kept of how much fish is caught, how much sold, and only after the IN has been worked to the end of the season is everything cleared up. Each fisherman gets only one share, and the profits are equally divided. We have to pay equal amounts of money for the IN and the money we get from the IN is the same for each of us. We all group and work together. There are some INS where one takes the lead and engages all the men and works it for himself. What he gets he keeps for himself. He pays the wages. In selling, we discuss the matter among ourselves and then sell. The four or five elders get together and if they decide to sell this kind of fish for this price, it is sold.

"As one of the elders, I go along and bid at the auctioning in the Deputy Commissioner's office. I also supervise the actual fishing saying to the other fishermen - "Do this, and this and this." I have a list of what things they need and have to go and buy these things for them. I have to buy poles, I have to buy IN bamboo, I have to buy all the implements which are to be used. I have to collect money, and buy all the implements used in the IN. I have to keep accounts for this. I get a bit more money (than the other fishermen) by making goods (from the profits of manufacture). You see, I also make dried Nga-gyi fish and Ngapi-daung. I buy the fish from them and process it. I have not worked at INS all my life. I worked for about ten years at the time when the British king reigned. When the Japanese came I worked at INS no longer."(He then bought fish and sold the preparations.) [656] 226 463 621

U Myaing gives the following supplementary information:

" There are ten leaders or foremen in the village, each of them taking charge of about seven or eight men. In all there are about eighty workers in the three sub-villages of Pathma working with me at our IN. About thirty or forty of these live in INA-GYI-BET on our side of the river. These are men working at our IN only. There are also workers living in the village who work in the six other INS of the neighbourhood. About a hundred of the two hundred families in INA-GYI-BET work INS. The rest process the fish, dry it, make ngapi etc., and to do this they have to buy the fish from the IN workers. Afterwards they sell to buyers who come from Upper Burma. Or sometimes they go upcountry in boats and steamers to sell the produce. Some people who are not IN workers go to the INS and help to extract fish oil. Fish like Nga-Kpare-daung yeild about one viss of oil to every 10 viss of fish. The fish are cut open with a knife and the fat collected. The women come and help without payment and take home oil for themselves when they go back. The women of my household also used to do this. [438] [562]

also used to do this. Sometimes they are able to extract about 5 viss of oil each in one day. 226 463 621

"There are also cultivators in the village. Some of those who work INS also own fields. They rent out the land to tenants. There are altogether 12 people in our village who own cultivation fields. But the biggest landowner does not own lands more extensive than three hundred acres. Some own 40 or 50 acres. Some engage cultivators and work their fields themselves, while others rent out the fields for a certain percentage of the produce. 421 463 621 427

"There were paid workers in the IN. They were paid, not a daily wage, but a monthly salary of Rs. 30/- without food. About 50 of the 80 workers were paid workers, though some of them owned shares as well. In addition to their pay, these paid workers received quite a lot of fish which their families went around selling. They get one or two basket-loads of fish to sell, and in this way make quite a lot of money. 226 463 465

"Fish is not distributed in this manner every day - only when the fish start coming down in great numbers. On these occasions however the workers get about 25 to 30 viss each - that is, by the boatload. Ordinarily they are given just enough for one meal.

"I also own eleven cows; eight for loaning out to cultivators and three for breeding purposes. No milk is drawn for human consumption because that is not the custom in our native place." 231 [272]

One yoke of oxen hired out brought U Myaing 50 baskets of paddy a year. He had 4 yokes. They kept by 100 baskets for home consumption and sold the rest at a rate fluctuating between Rs. 100/- and Rs. 175/- per hundred baskets.

In those years when U Myaing works at INS, he has to confine himself to such work only. During those years when he does not work at INS, he buys the fish from IN workers and process them for sale as NGAGYI, NGA-CHAUK, etc. Each year he uses between four to five thousand fish. When U Myaing his co-workers could not get an IN, he had to buy fish and make NGA-CHAUK, (dried fish), NGAPI and NGANPYAR-YE. 226 463 433

On his former visits to Rangoon U Myaing came in a boat loaded with NGAGYI CHAUK (dried NGA GYI) and transferred it to the care of a broker in Rangoon. He then ascended the Shwe Dagon pagoda platform, donated money and water, returned to the broker, and went around the town to places like Mogul Street (the Indian quarter) for meats and ate pillau-rice etc. It took three or four days, and sometimes about ten days for the broker to dispose of his goods and in this time he would go round all the pagodas in Rangoon like the Botataung, Sule, Kyaukhtatgyi etc. Once he went to a Chinese hotel known as the HAN-HIN hotel together with some traders from DAGUHTU. They pooled the expenses. The journey home took a day and a night. He took back with him clothes, longyis, KINGYIS, durian fruit, 226 438 484 [778]

•726 oranges, guava fruit, mangosteen fruit - together worth about forty
438 or fifty rupees. When he arrived at Pathwa this was distributed among
484 the members of his family, and also some relatives and the phongyis.
[431] On one such trip he made Rs. 2700/- which he carried back hidden away in a jar of salt.

494 U Myaing never came in to Rangoon purely for a visit. Besides
465 bringing down fish, U Myaing also came to Rangoon before the war to buy some motor parts and accessories such as tyres, tubes, etc. which they could not obtain in Pathwa village or in Pantanaw town. At that period in his life U Myaing used to drive a bus between Pathwa and the village on the bank of the river across from Pathwa. There was a cart track for a road, and they used to carry passengers at a rupee per head. In the rains this cart track became impossible and so they traversed this route only from TA-ZAUNG-BON to KASON months. U Myaing worked on this route for three summers. In the rains they shifted operations to the Maubin Ye Le route, which was a 10 mile journey, and occasionally the 10 mile route from Ye Le to HSE-DAING-
[491] NAW. He worked at these places for two rainy seasons, from WASO right up till the month of TA-ZAUNG-BON. The bus was owned by his cousin who collected all the earnings for each day. At that time bus drivers were hired at Rs. 45/- a month, plus sweet tea, food, shelter and one packet of cigarettes a day. "In Pathwa all the houses were too large and could accomodate a great many more people than they actually did. This was because each one erected his own building after the example of the other houses in the village. The person who hired the bus driver merely installed him in his home".

[589] This was when U Myaing was 17 or 18 years old. He was not paid anything, but the family was provided with everything they needed - food, clothes, etc. (U Myaing was still unmarried and the family
[582] consisted of two sisters, his mother and himself. (He did not marry
[431] till the age of thirty.) Both U Myaing and Daw Aw Zar estimated that the things they received from the bus owner would have amounted to much more than forty five rupees' worth.

General Attitudes of the Burmese toward Work.

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Rank and status in the Burmese Village is determined to a large extent on the basis of occupation - with the factor of wealth where applicable taking precedence over occupation. The highest rank is accorded to the Buddhist monks who exert the ultimate influence. Government officials including the township officers, the THU GYI (headman) and elders, and the schoolmaster occupy the second rank. The large land owners (of this group the rice-mill owners rate highest) rank next. Below these are the tradesmen - the paddy dealers, shop keepers and small holdings farmers who comprise the bulk of the population. Professional artisans such as carpenters, blacksmiths, gold and silver smiths occupy a lower position. However, it is common for the small holdings farmers to practice a secondary occupation such as pottery making.

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Fishermen and hunters are looked down on by the rest of the community because they offend Buddhist precepts by taking life. In this class also are those who raise animals (cows, poultry, pigs) for food, smugglers and brewers. Fishermen, particularly those such as U Myaing who operate IN fisheries often become wealthy, but the stigma of the source of this wealth is remembered by the community.

[538]

A story is told of a rich fisherman who came to cover the Shwe Dagon Pagoda in Rangoon with gold plate. Unfortunately, he had sinned so much by taking the lives of fish that he could not see the pagoda. In a rage he returned to his IN to cover its posts with the gold. Because of the stigma attached to fishing those who make their living in this way tend to live together in their own communities. Thus Pathne, U Myaing's village is primarily a fisherman's community.

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In the days of the Burmese kings, wealthy men and nobles (THAKIN) would assign people under their command to serve as pagoda slaves. Their names were engraved in stone and their descendants for all eternity assigned to this position. The duties were light - consisting mainly of sweeping the platforms and carrying for the images, but the social position was next to the lowest. It is believed that the flower vendors on the platform of the Rangoon

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

193. DABBING WITH FLY.

Next to the rice-industry the greatest industry of Burma is the catching and curing of fish. Unlike the rice, the fish is entirely for local consumption. The fisherman gets his living by taking life, contrary to the cardinal injunction of the Buddha—"let him not destroy, or cause to be destroyed, any life at all, or sanction the acts of those who do so." The subterfuge which the specious resort to in using animal food, namely, that they had no share in the act of taking life, was thus provided against by the Buddha in the form of his injunction. The Burman is a kind master to his animals, but much cruel suffering results from neglect of injuries, such as *dá*-cuts, often inflicted in temper. The merit of putting a suffering creature out of pain is not recognised or is denied. The reluctance to take life is operative in preventing the people at large from obtaining other animal food than fish.

226 [227] [779] [231] [262]

But such is the craving for flesh that the Burmans will consume that of animals dead from natural causes and of many animals commonly rejected for food. The Burmans do not eat the flesh of the monkey, dog, parrot and crow. The ways of taking fish are legion. Hooks are used with bait and also to mount a fly for dabbing (*bas laik*). A contrivance to be seen along the banks of every river is the *kayda*, a cage trap with falling door for large fish. Fish-spearing is practised by day and also by torch-light at night. On the largest scale, fish are taken by drawing off the water from the flat lagoons which form in the depressions of the *kwin* (*in*, p. 49). Screens of bamboo or reeds are set in the channels while the floods are

194. CAGING FISH SINGLY 'SAUNG-TO'.

[227]

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

226 draining off. When the weather is clear enough for the work of curing, the residue of water is run out and the fish are taken. Where the channels do not drain the *in* of its water, the fish are taken by men who advance close abreast up the length of the lagoon with conical cages which they thrust to the bottom

195. CAGING FISH IN COMPANY.

at every step, taking out the fish they catch by an opening at the top (*saung-tô*). But the water in some lagoons remains too deep for this plan, and then *tugaung* are made. These are enclosures along the margins of the lagoons into which the fish are enticed by the shelter of green boughs laid on the surface of the water. Small fish are caught with the casting-net (*hnn*). Heavy nets for river and sea fishing are made of *paissau* twine, a kind of jute, tanned with cutch or *madamá* bark. Light nets are made of cotton twine. Drop-nets with floats of bamboo or *pa*[illegible] are used in the big rivers, the estuaries, and on the coast. This class of fishing is getting into the hands of settlers from India. Enormous quantities of small fry are taken in the estuaries in large funnel-shaped traps called *damlu*, which are anchored in the tidal currents. [227] The shark tribe (*ngamán*) are common on the coast. The fish most prized in Burma is *ngathaláuk* (*hilsa*), but there are many kinds of excellent fish. [251] Large fish are slit, salted and sun-dried. The eggs of the turtle are collected on the laying-

196. FISH WEIR AND TRAP.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 API Burma
Burmese AP4

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198. SLUICE OF LAGOON FISHERY (IN)

banks. Ducks' and fowls' eggs are also eaten.

Small fry and the bony fish are made into the Peguan condiment *ngapi*—pressed fish. The process is essentially the same as that of anchovy paste manufacture, but is conducted in a much rougher way. The fish after being taken are spread out in the sun and then pounded in a mortar, again sunned and again pounded with about a quarter their weight of salt. Fermentation is not uniformly arrested at the proper stage, so that the product becomes contaminated with putrescence. According as the compound remains moist or dry it is made into balls, moulded into bricks, or stored in jars. *Ngapi* is sent to Burma Proper and the Shan States in enormous quantities. Fresh fish, dried fish, and *ngapi* are much the same in price, one half to one rupee the viss (3.65 lbs.) according to quality. *Ngachin* is a crude and unwholesome pickle made by putting fish to ferment with boiled and salted rice.

258 Salt used to be obtained from sea-water and from brine wells in the interior, before the import of salt began. The manufacture still drags on, as the local salt is better for curing purposes. At spring-tides, sea-water in the estuaries is let into shallow pans like rice-fields, or it is raised with the *Ka-hnwe*. After the brine has been concentrated by evaporation in the heat of the sun, it is boiled down in spherical earthen pots, which are built with clay into a vault over a furnace. Iron cauldrons like those in No. 186 are superseding the earthen pots, and the round cauldron is in its turn being replaced by a flat iron pan.

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[415]
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The chase, so far from forming the diversion of princes and satrapes, remains to the *vauriens* of the villages

224

199. SHORE NET

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

189. FRUIT-STALL IN JULY (TENASSERIM)

the villages. They demand little or no care. Fruit-trees on which proper care is bestowed are the custard-apple, orange, mangosteen and durian, the first of these in the dry region, the latter three in the moist south. The durian (*duyin*) requires about the same expenditure of labour before it bears as the cocoanut; but the fruit is prized above all others. Its cultivation has been so much extended of late that average durians in the season cost only about double the price of green cocoanuts. Thirty years ago both durian and mangosteen used to cost two and three times as much as now. The limits of durian and mangosteen are 17° N. and 95° E. Only a small part of the habitat of both trees is included in Burma. Oranges, like most fruit trees in Burma, are grown from seed. The custard-apple is planted on terraced hillsides. It gives to the Irawadi at Prome a character which recalls the vineyards of the Rhine. *The* fruit of Burma, however, as of the tropics at large, is the plantain or banana (*kngeppyaw-thi*). Many varieties are cultivated, some of them very delicate. The plantain is propagated from suckers; after fruiting in the second year, the plant dies. The papaya (*thimbaw-thi*, Nos. 407, 435) was introduced over sixty years ago and has spread everywhere. Of sweet fruits there remain the pine-apple, which is cultivated in the light shade of the orchards of jack, and the water-melon, grown in vegetable gardens together with cucumbers and vegetable marrows. The walnut and the chestnut flourish in the north. The vine bears there also, but is not extensively cultivated. Other nuts are the cashew kernel and the ground-nut (*myo-hi*); both have to be roasted. The kernels of

190. ROD NET (PAITTABANG)

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25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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191. SWING NET (YADWIN)

jack and several other fruits are roasted and eaten. Vegetables are regularly cultivated in the vicinity of large towns. In the villages very little trouble is taken with them. A bush or so of capsicum and a few plants of brinjal or tomato are set; pumpkins and gourds are trained over the roof or on arbours in front (Nos. 126, 414). The market vegetables are onions and garlic, many kinds of beans, fresh and dried, various tubers, yams, "sweet-potato," pumpkins, marrows, gourds, brinjals and tomatoes, *chimbaung*, *kyeppaung* and *kyemnauk*. Green maize is used as a vegetable. The cultivation of maize would admit of great extension in the *kwin* if there were a market for the grain. Green shoots culled from all sorts of wild herbs and trees are brought to market. The most substantial of these are bamboo shoots; they turn red by boiling as shellfish do. Black pepper and cardamom occur wild in Burma and are also cultivated, but not extensively. Turmeric and ginger are cultivated, as well as anise, caraway and coriander. Cinnamon and cloves are imported. Nutmeg is native to the evergreen forests of the south. European vegetables, raised by Chinese gardeners, are offered for sale in the markets of large towns. Potatoes are imported from India and have been grown with success in the Shan and Taung-ngu hills. European flowers have spread everywhere. Cut flowers are sold in the markets for toilet use. The rose has been cultivated in Burma for ages and is the flower most prized. No grafting is practised nor are any of the garden varieties known. The real floral wealth of Burma — its orchids (*thikkwabán*) — the people are only beginning to discover owing to the interest taken in them by strangers.

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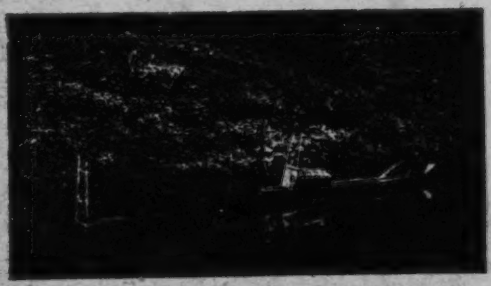

192. FISH-TRAP (HNYON)

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

193. DABBING WITH FLY.

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194. CASTING FISH SINGLY 'SAUNG-TO'

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25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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195. CAGING FISH IN COMPANY.

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25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 API Burma
Burmese AP4

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199. SLUICE OF LAGOON FISHERY (IN)

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224 The chase, so far from forming the diversion of princes and satraps, remains to the *vauriens* of the villages

199. SHORE NET

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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The abundance of land allows every one to have a courtyard of his own. In this the farmer keeps his cart and plough, the fisherman his boat. The buffaloes and oxen of the whole village are usually all together on a pasture-ground kept by some speculative individual, who charges a couple of rupees or so for feeding and looking after them. The care exercised is not very great. Heat and rain kill many of them, where, as is too frequently the case, no shelter is available; foot-and-mouth disease, and other epidemics, carry off great numbers, and finally, they are not at all averse to killing one another. Consequently the vultures are frequently to be seen on the trees round the village pasture-land. Besides his implements the house-owner has always in his yard a hand rice-mill. Husking paddy has become, near the big towns, quite a separate trade, and abundance of cleaned rice may be bought in the bazaars, but in the village every family husks its own rice, the grain being kept stored in a small granary in the yard. The milling is done by the women, and there are two processes in the operation. The mill consists of two wooden cylinders about two feet thick, the inner surfaces of both roughened in a simple way by the cutting of radii from their centres, the lines being about a quarter of an inch deep. The upper cylinder has a funnel-shaped hole cut through it, to let the grain down, and is worked backwards and forwards by a long pole loosely fastened in, the rice coming out between the two cylinders, and falling on mats down below. It is winnowed either in the primitive way of throwing it into the air, so that the light husk may be blown away, or, often nowadays in Lower Burma, by a hand-worked pair of fanners, introduced since the English occupation.

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The rice is not yet, however, ready for cooking. The inner pellicle has still to be removed, and this is done in a big wooden mortar. Two varieties are in use, worked either by hand, as an apothecary pounds his drugs, the pestle being very long and heavy; or by foot, when the wooden mortar is sunk in the ground. The pestle in this latter case consists of a short, stumpy piece of wood, let into a long lever near the end. This lever is supported on two uprights at some distance from the mortar, and the machine is worked by the

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma (Karen) AP1
Burmese AP4

Be 231

dogs with their uninflectional, agglutinative barking. They sleep most of the day, and at night gather together in bands and do their best to make up for the want of jackals in Burma. There is always a huge band of unattached dogs about the village, for Buddhism does not permit of the drowning of superfluous puppies, and these manage to lead a fairly well-fed life between stealing and devouring the offerings at the pagoda, and the superabundant charity received by the monks in their morning begging rounds. It is a mystery how they managed formerly to exist in Mandalay and Upper Burma generally; there were such constantly increasing hordes of them. Nowadays the Assistant Commissioner periodically issues an edict, and poisoned meat and the policemen's truncheons thin out their numbers very thoroughly for a month or two. The house-dog often perishes with his Bohemian acquaintances, and there is much lamentation among the younger members of the household, but there is no difficulty in getting a successor, grown up or otherwise. The ordinary pariah has a greater turn for agility than pluck, and the young civilian's English bull-dog would probably kill more of them, when he is on a tour to the outlying villages with his master, than he actually does, if he was as smart on his legs as he is with his jaws. The pariah is almost as noisy and quarrelsome as a Madrasi, but any fights there are result as harmlessly as a French duel. Nevertheless some of the Karen trained hunting dogs will fasten on to a tiger, or a leopard, or the even more dangerous wild boar, with the greatest determination. So esteemed are they that the sporting owner usually receives an official message to keep his dogs in safety when the half-yearly poisoners are about. Still though buffalo fights and mains of cocks have been common in Burma time out of mind, the pariah has never been called upon to develop pugnacious instincts.

Ba [224]

Be [541]

The harmless, necessary cat is not so abundant. There are, however, few villages without one or two of them. What becomes of the kittens is a mystery. Perhaps they go wild and take to the woods. Perhaps the pariah eats them when their mother is out foraging. At any rate the fact remains that they increase but very slowly. The Burman cat is

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

231 more fortunate than his Malay congener in possessing a tail, but asserts relationship with that animal in the possession of a horny hook, with this difference, that the hard excrescence is at the end of a tail of fair dimensions instead of being humbly situated on the rump, as is the case with the Straits tabby.

235 There are always some tame villatic fowl about the house. If the householder does not aspire to the ownership of a taik-kyet, a regular game cock, bred for the purpose, he has at least a kyet-hpa, an ordinary cock of combative instincts, and backs him against his neighbour's when occasion offers, through the absence of the constable, by chance, or by the influence of pecuniary profit acting on a sporting disposition. A cock that declines to fight under any circumstances is called a kyet nyaung-gan, and stands in great danger of dying suddenly and being converted into curry. Hens are regarded with indifference except in view of similar possibilities, for their eggs are of no use. A fowl may be killed by accident by a stick thrown at random, but the germ of life in an egg cannot die unless it is boiled or goes rotten. In the former case the boiler incurs mortal danger from breaking one of the Five Precepts; in the latter the egg is undesirable. In small villages almost every one keeps a 223 tè-gyet, a decoy cock, for luring the wild jungle-fowl. The fore-doomed hunter kills the game, and the pious owner of the decoy bird gets a good dinner. Similarly tè-gyo, pigeons are bred specially as lures, and so are partridges. Ordinary pigeons, occasionally used for the same purpose, go by the 231 name of gyo ta-nyin. Caged birds are not very common 779 pets, though every here and there one comes across a 444 Mina, who has acquired a fair knowledge of the vernacular and astonishes passers-by with the unceremonious way in which he hails them. But the Buddhist religion condemns keeping animals in confinement. So much is this the case that in Mandalay, and here and there in other places, there are men who make a regular living by catching birds and selling them to the pious, that they may gain merit by setting them free. Crafty birdcatchers are able so far to disable the bird, without doing it any material or visible harm, that they can catch it again immediately after their tender-hearted customer has gone his way.

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma (Kachin) AP1
Burmese AP4

Be 231 779

customer has gone his way. It used to be a common thing in the palace, during the late king's reign, to let loose a number of birds for the delectation of foreign worshippers at the golden feet, and the expansion of the royal merit. Ill-natured people said all the birds were recaptured in the next room, and appeared again for the next display of charity; but of that I can say nothing.

Be 342 251

Each house, with its ground, is surrounded by a rude fence more or less substantial according to the character of the district. Where there are many tigers or ill-doers, and especially north of Mandalay, where formerly the Kachins might swoop down any night, this is made very high and strong, and is further rendered effective by a formidable array of sharpened bamboos. Except where the British have taken the matter in hand, the village roads are simply places where the jungle is kept from growing. There is no attempt at metalling; in fact there is no material for the purpose. In some pretentious villages indeed there is a raised path formed of bricks set on edge, and about three feet broad. This is regarded as a public work of great value, and a distinction to the inhabitants of the place. It usually leads to the monastery. In many villages, however, it would be impossible to move about during the rains without some such contrivance. The mud would be too deep, and logs are slippery even to bare feet.

Ba. [563]
Be 487

Be 854 352 533

Swinging by a couple of ropes from the roof hangs in the centre of the house a rude basket, made snug with a blanket or some old clothes. This is the baby's cradle, and the mother may often be seen sitting by it crooning and gently swaying it backwards and forwards. Some of the lullabies are very clever. I have tried to give a version of one of the most popular, with as near an approach to the metre as practicable. It is sung to the favourite te-dat air.

Be 539

SEIN-NI LA-YAUNG

Clouds in Heaven,
Bright as levin,
Dyed with rosy diamond's light,
Did the Nine Gems
Stud your white hems,

2:Scott, G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

CHAPTER XXVI

SILK-GROWING

REARING silkworms, though a very profitable occupation, is not looked upon with any favour in Burma. To get the silk the pupa must be killed; and the taking of life in any form is an impiety always looked upon with great horror by all good Buddhists. Silk-growers are classed together with professional hunters and fishermen. The Four States of Punishment yawn for them, and their portion will be in the lowest abyss of the lowest hell. Still there are colonies of silk-growers in various parts of the country; but they live apart from the rest of the inhabitants as a rule, and often have entire villages to themselves. Colonel Horace Browne who, more than any other Englishman took an interest in the ways and occupations of the districts under his charge, states that the cultivators near Prome, where more silk is produced than in any part of Burma, are nearly all Yabeins —a race of the same stock as the Burmese, but despised by them independently of their crime in the way of habitually taking animal life. So much has the cultivation of silk become identified with them, that to Burman ears the term Yabein is virtually synonymous with that of silk-grower. They usually live on the hillsides, occupying themselves like the poorer Burmans and Karens, with taung-ya cultivation; burning the forests on the slopes and sowing the ground thus enriched with the wood ashes, with rice, cotton, or oil-seed. The system is viewed with very little approval by the government officials, for the taung-ya soil, hardly exhausted by the single crop raised off it, immediately produces a dense shrub-growth of no use to anybody, certainly not to the foresters.

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2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

231 Silk-raising is therefore encouraged as a means of stopping the ruination of the timber. It is a very simple matter, involving the least possible amount of toil, and at the same time being on the whole very profitable. Moreover, the [137] Burmese mulberry-bush, which is quite distinct from the ordinary *Morus Indica*, does not grow well on the alluvial soil of the low lands, while it flourishes on the hillsides, where the Yabeins mostly live. The silk obtained from the caterpillars fed on the leaves of the hill-shrubs is very much better than that obtained from the mulberry-bushes of the plains. Thus it happens that all parties are likely to be pleased. The English Government foresters will gradually find means of putting an end to the timber-burning, which they detest; the richer Burmans down in the lowlands will neither have the temptation to increase their income at the expense of their piety, nor will they have that piety shocked by an organised system of taking life; while the Yabeins in their own hill-villages will be allowed to do as they please, and will accumulate tidy sums of money into the bargain.

231 171 It is certain that neither the silkworm nor the mulberry-bush is indigenous in Burma. It is said that the first cocoons were brought from China in the reign of King Anawrata Saw. Others again maintain that the Chinese taught the Shans, the Shans the Karens, and these the Burmese. In some places among the more superstitious hill-tribes the mulberry-tree receives a kind of worship. In any case it is more probable that both the silkworm and the tree were introduced from Western China, down the valley of the Irrawaddy or the Salween, than that they came over the hills, through turbulent mountaineers, from India. The 231 shrub does not grow much more than ten feet high, and 289 seldom produces good succulent leaves for a longer period than three years. After that the plants are apt to get coarse and stringy, and the cultivators ordinarily abandon the plantation, or root out the bushes and plant new ones. As the shrub will not flower it is propagated by cuttings, and new shoots are constantly being planted so that there may be an unfailing supply of young and fresh leaves. The Burmans call it the posabin, "the tree the silkworms eat." There is another tree—that from the bark of which the coarse paper

[i.e. as an alternative to brand-tillage--ANALYST]

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used for the para-baik, or note-books, is got—the leaves of which the caterpillars will eat; but the silk thus obtained is much coarser, and recourse is had therefore to the mahlaing-bin only when the mulberry-bushes give out. In any case, however, it is undeniable that, as yet, the silk produced in Burma is of a very inferior kind. It is rough and coarse; but it is all the better suited for the strong lungyis and pasos in use for ordinary every-day wear among the people, the finer fabrics all coming from China or Manchester. 231 289 286

The whole process of growing the silk is of the simplest possible character, and is exactly suited to indolent people who have no conscientious objections to the killing of the pupæ. Silk can, indeed, be spun from the cocoons, out of which the moths have escaped; but it is very much coarser even than the ordinary silk, and commands somewhat less than half the price. Except the occasional trouble of strolling out for a few leaves, there is almost nothing to be done; and the whole operations are carried on in the rickety bamboo hut of the cultivator, within a yard or two of the place where his food is cooked. The caterpillars do not seem to care a bit for the smoke or the dirt; and the pupæ are equally callous to the fumes of tobacco which circle about them constantly during the few days that remain to them before they are stewed. The female moths are placed upon pieces of coarse cloth, with palm-leaf lids put over them. The eggs stick to the cloth, and form a compact little circle. A day or two over a week suffices to produce the larvæ, and these are then thrown upon flat trays, made of strips of bamboo plaited closely together, and guarded by a slightly raised edge. For four or five days the little caterpillars are fed on finely-chopped mulberry-leaves, the tenderest that can be found. After that they change their skins, and, beyond getting plenty of leaves, do not receive much attention. They are sturdy creatures, and they would need to be, for they are often very roughly treated. The trays are scarcely ever cleaned, and if the larvæ are to be shifted from one tray to another, they are scraped up in handfuls and thrown down as if they were so many chips of wood. Gauze or mosquito netting is usually thrown over the trays to keep away the ichneumon flies, which otherwise would deposit 231

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231 their eggs in the silkworm's back and kill him. In about a month's time the caterpillar is full grown. He is then bundled into a fresh tray, in which there lies, wound about in the form of a spiral, a narrow-plaited bamboo strip. The ripe larvæ are thrown into this with as little ceremony as if they were pebbles. In about a day's time they have spun their cocoons, fastening them to the strips of bamboo. These are torn off and kept in baskets for a day or two, when a pot with water in it is filled with the pupæ, and then set to simmer over a slow wood fire.

283 From a triangle over the pot is suspended a small bamboo reel, and down below, near the pot, is a wooden cylinder. The reeler is usually a girl. She fishes about for a time in the simmering vessel, and, catching a few threads of silk, passes them over the reel and down to the cylinder, to which they are fastened. She then turns the handle of the cylinder, winding on the silk, and at the same time constantly fishing up and fastening on new filaments, which she does by means of a light bamboo double-pronged fork. Not the least trouble is taken to keep the silk clean. Any rubbish that may be floating on the surface of the water is wound on to the cylinder without an attempt being made to disengage it. When all the silk has been got off the cocoons, and wound on to the cylinder, the pupæ are taken out of the water and [262] fried in oil to furnish a dish for the family dinner. They are not by any means unpleasant, tasting, barring the oil, very much like roasted chestnuts; and indeed the dish is considered a great dainty.

286 The silk-growers mostly sell their silk. A loom is to be 293 found in almost every Burman's house in the country; and 386 in Prome and Shwe-daung, as being close to the place where the silk is produced, great quantities of articles of dress are made for sale. The native-grown silk is only used for every-day clothes of simple patterns, the more elaborate being all [439] worked from imported Chinese silk. The silk is bought raw, the separate filaments twisted into a thread by means of a wheel, and then made up into hanks; these are boiled in soap and water, and are then ready for the dye. The commonest colours are green, yellow, orange, different shades of red and light blue; black and dark blue are only in

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363 wheels to a European, were strongly built, and the fair dames inside were used to the jolting. It was only when the king or one of the queens went forth that any attempt at road-mending was carried on. Then an ameindaw was issued, Shinbuyin Twet daw mumi, the Golden Majesty, will make a royal progress, and all along the route the house-reeves saw that the rough places were made smooth, and the crooked places straight. Thus the main thoroughfares were kept in a state of fair repair. In other respects, however, Mandalay was vastly
364 superior to all Indian towns. In all the city there is not a
231 drain, but it is equally certain that neither is there a smell. There were no such slums as constantly offend every sense a man has in the Black Town of Madras or the native quarters of Calcutta. This cleanliness was due to the exertions of the great multitudes of swine and dogs. The pigs formed most efficient scavengers during the day-time, and wandered all about in the most independent and ownerless fashion. Charitable people, in search of merit, set out daily meals for them, while all in common threw out their scraps and leavings in the confidence justified by experience that nothing would be left to decay. The great majority of the dogs, equally with the porkers, belonged to nobody in particular, and made themselves comfortable under any house they chose, sleeping nearly all day and howling and fighting all night. These animals were all strenuous adherents of the Old Burman party, and cherished a most fanatic hatred for Europeans. The old boar ran between the legs of the white man or of his pony, in a simulated state of alarm at his faded, ghost-like face, and the pariah dogs let all the town know the progress of a foreigner by their fierce barking and snapping of teeth a yard or so off his calves. The dogs of one street passed him on to the next, so that it was impossible for a wandering Briton to go about the town unobserved. It will not soon be forgotten how the English Assistant Resident had to run for his life from the Mandalay bazaar. He had killed a snarling brute with a quick backward swing of his stick, and the pious life-regarding populace came out upon him armed with billets of firewood and formidable dahs. He managed to keep away from them, but he had a half-mile race of it, and the Residency gates were smashed in by the mob. Then

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the guard dispersed the people. Next day, an old lady, who claimed to be the owner of the dog, visited the big Englishman and told him she forgave him. He was barely polite. 364 231

Burmans had no trouble with the pigs and dogs. They found their own countrymen much more awkward to meet. There was constantly some prince or mingyi passing along the streets, and then the road had to be immediately cleared, and every one knelt humbly till the great man passed. Any delay in clearing the path, or an imagined want of reverence in the shikhoing, met with very summary punishment. Before every dignitary rushed along a posse of half-naked lictors, yelling out to the people to bow down, and hitting round about them with their fasces and dahs. These masterful ruffians particularly loved to insult Englishmen. During Mindôn's reign an edict was published exempting Englishmen from the necessity of getting down on their knees in the mud and dust, but ordaining that they should lift their hats. The letyataung dearly loved to launch torrents of abuse at their victim, and make him dismount from his pony and remove his hat when the prince was half a block distant. In the spring of 1880 an English mercantile man was actually bullied into going down on his knees. But, as a rule, where it was possible, foreigners turned down a by-street, or into one of the waste plots of ground. This method of avoiding the annoyance was not open to a Burman. If he tried to avoid paying due obeisance, he was denounced as a disaffected man and thrown into jail. 363 576 565

But there were plenty of other obstructions to be met with in the streets of the royal city. Each householder was considered, or considered himself, perfectly at liberty to do what he pleased with the section of the road in front of his house. Accordingly, when the spirit moved him, he calmly blocked the thoroughfare by erecting a temporary theatre for the performance of a pwè. The construction of such a mandut did not take very long. A framework of bamboo was run up and covered in on the roof, and one side with bamboo matting, and all was ready; the stage was the street, and the spectators deposited themselves where they found room. After the three or four days' performance, the stage was pulled down, and the thoroughfare was clear again. 361 541

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262 779 and these were sold occasionally. It is ten years since King Thibaw was overthrown, and there is now no law against the sale of beef. And yet, as I have said, no respectable Burman will even now kill or sell beef. The law was founded on the beliefs of the people, and though the law is dead, the beliefs remain.

●231 779 It is true that the taking of life is against Buddhist commands. No life at all may be taken by him who adheres to Buddhistic teaching. Neither for sport, nor for revenge, nor for food, may any animal be deprived of the breath that is in it. And this is a command wonderfully well kept. There are a few exceptions, but they are known and accepted as breaches of the law, for the law itself knows no exceptions. Fish, as I have said, can be obtained almost everywhere. They are caught in great quantities in the river, and are sold in most bazaars, either fresh or salted. It is one of the staple foods of the Burmese. But although they [463] will eat fish, they despise the fisherman. Not so [554] much, perhaps, as if he killed other living things, but still, the fisherman is an outcast from decent society. He will have to suffer great and terrible punishment before he can be cleansed from the sins that he daily commits. Notwithstanding this, there are many fishermen in Burma.

A fish is a very cold-blooded beast. One must be very hard up for something to love to have any affection to spare upon fishes. They cannot be, or at all events they never are, domesticated, and most of them are not beautiful. I am not aware that they have ever been known to display any

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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attachment to anyone, which accounts, perhaps, for the comparatively lenient eye with which their destruction is contemplated. 779 231

For with warm-blooded animals it is very different. Cattle, as I have said, can never be killed nor their meat sold by a Burman, and with other animals the difficulty is not much less.

I was in Upper Burma for some months before the war, and many a time I could get no meat at all. Living in a large town among prosperous people, I could get no flesh at all, only fish and rice and vegetables. When, after much trouble, my Indian cook would get me a few fowls, he would often be waylaid and forced to release them. An old woman, say, anxious to do some deed of merit, would come to him as he returned triumphantly home with his fowls and tender him money, and beg him to release the fowls. She would give the full price or double the price of the fowls; she had no desire to gain merit at another person's expense, and the unwilling cook would be obliged to give up the fowls. Public opinion was so strong he dare not refuse. The money was paid, the fowls set free, and I dined on tinned beef.

And yet the villages are full of fowls. Why they are kept I do not know. Certainly not for food. I do not mean to say that an accidental meeting between a rock and a fowl may not occasionally furnish forth a dinner, but this is not the object with which they are kept—of this I am sure.

You would not suppose that fowls were capable of exciting much affection, yet I suppose they are. Certainly in one case ducks were. There is a

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779 Burman lady I know who is married to an English-
231 man. He kept ducks. He bought a number of ducklings, and had them fed up so that they might be fat and succulent when the time came for them to be served at table. They became very fine ducks, and my friend had promised me one. I took an interest in them, and always noticed their increasing fatness when I rode that way. Imagine, then, my disappointment when one day I saw that all the ducks had disappeared.

I stopped to inquire. Yes, truly they were all gone, my friend told me. In his absence his wife had gone up the river to visit some friends, and had taken the ducks with her. She could not bear, she said, that they should be killed, so she took them away and distributed them among her friends, one here and one there, where she was sure they would be well treated and not killed. When she returned she was quite pleased at her success, and laughed at her husband and me.

This same lady was always terribly distressed when she had to order a fowl to be killed for her husband's breakfast, even if she had never seen it before. I have seen her, after telling the cook to kill a fowl for breakfast, run away and sit down in the veranda with her hands over her ears, and her face the very picture of misery, fearing lest she should hear its shrieks. I think that this was the one great trouble to her in her marriage, that her husband would insist on eating fowls and ducks, and that she had to order them to be killed.

And as she is, so are most Burmans. If there is all this trouble about fowls, it can be imagined

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how the trouble increases when it comes to goats or any larger beasts. In the jungle villages meat of any kind at all is never seen: no animals of any kind are allowed to be killed. An officer travelling in the district would be reduced to what he could carry with him, if it were not for an Act of Government obliging villages to furnish—on payment, of course—supplies for officers and troops passing through. The mere fact of such a law being necessary is sufficient proof of the strength of the feeling against taking life.

779 231 [262]

Of course, all shooting, either for sport or for food, is looked upon as disgraceful. In many jungle villages where deer abound there are one or two hunters who make a living by hunting. But they are disgraced men. They are worse than fishermen, and they will have a terrible penalty to pay for it all. It will take much suffering to wash from their souls the cruelty, the blood-thirstiness, the carelessness to suffering, the absence of compassion, that hunting must produce. 'Is there no food in the bazaar, that you must go and take the lives of animals?' has been said to me many a time. And when my house-roof was infested by sparrows, who dropped grass and eggs all over my rooms, so that I was obliged to shoot them with a little rifle, this was no excuse. 'You should have built a sparrow-cote,' they told me. 'If you had built a sparrow-cote, they would have gone away and left you in peace. They only wanted to make nests and lay eggs and have little ones, and you went and shot them.' There are many sparrow-cotes to be seen in the villages.

779 224 825

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Burman combines both qualities. He has all the kindness to animals that the Mahommedan has, and more, and he has the same horror of taking life that the Hindu has. 825 101

Coming from half-starved, over-driven India, it is a revelation to see the animals in Burma. The village ponies and cattle and dogs in India are enough to make the heart bleed for their sordid misery, but in Burma they are a delight to the eye. They are all fat, every one of them—fat and comfortable and impertinent; even the ownerless dogs are well fed. I suppose the indifference of the ordinary native of India to animal suffering comes from the evil of his own lot. He is so very poor, he has such hard work to find enough for himself and his children, that his sympathy is all used up. He has none to spare. He is driven into a dumb heartlessness, for I do not think he is actually cruel.

The Burman is full of the greatest sympathy towards animals of all kinds, of the greatest understanding of their ways, of the most humorously good-natured attitude towards them. Looking at them from his manhood, he has no contempt for them; but the gentle toleration of a father to very little children who are stupid and troublesome often, but are very lovable. He feels himself so far above them that he can condescend towards them, and forbear with them.

His ponies are pictures of fatness and impertinence and go. They never have any vice because the Burman is never cruel to them; they are never well trained, partly because he does not know how to train them, partly because they are so near the 231

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1893 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

231 aboriginal wild pony as to be incapable of very much training. But they are willing; they will go for ever, and are very strong, and they have admirable constitutions and tempers. You could not make a Burman ill-use his pony if you tried, and I fancy that to break these little half-wild ponies to go in cabs in crowded streets requires severe treatment. At least, I never knew but one hackney-carriage driver either in Rangoon or Mandalay who was a Burman, and he very soon gave it up. He said that the work was too heavy either for a pony or a man. I think, perhaps, it was for the safety of the public that he resigned, for his ponies were the very reverse of meek—which a native of India says a hackney-carriage pony should be—and he drove entirely by the light of Nature.

563 231 493 So all the drivers of gharries, as we call them, are natives of India or half-breeds, and it is amongst them that the work of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals principally lies. While I was in Rangoon I tried a number of cases of over-driving, of using ponies with sore withers and the like. I never tried a Burman. Even in Rangoon, which has become almost Indianized, his natural humanity never left the Burman. As far as Burmans are concerned, the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals need not exist. They are kinder to their animals than even the members of the Society could be. Instances occur every day; here is one of the most striking that I remember.

489 There is a town in Burma where there are some troops stationed, and which is the headquarters of the civil administration of the district. It is, or was

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489 passing up and down, he said that they did not ride in his coach. Only the European soldiers and a few natives of India came with him. Officers had their own ponies and rode, and the Burmans either hired a bullock-cart or walked. They hardly ever came in his coach, but he could not say what the reason might be.

489 So an inquiry was made, and the Burmese were
231 asked why they did not ride on the coach. Were the fares too high?—was it uncomfortable? But no, it was for neither of these reasons that they left the coach to the soldiers and natives of India. It was because of the ponies. No Burman would care to ride behind ponies who were treated as these ponies were—half fed, overdriven, whipped. It was a misery to see them; it was twice a misery to drive behind them. 'Poor beasts!' they said; 'you can see their ribs, and when they come to the end of a stage they are fit to fall down and die. They should be turned out to graze.

The opinion was universal. The Burmans preferred to spend twice or thrice the money and hire a bullock-cart and go slowly, while the coach flashed past them in a whirl of dust, or they preferred to walk. Many and many times have I seen the road-side rest-houses full of travellers halting for a few minutes' rest. They walked while the coach came by empty; and nearly all of them could have afforded the fare. It was a very striking instance of what pure kind-heartedness will do, for there would have been no religious command broken by going in the
231 coach. It was the pure influence of compassion towards the beasts and refusal to be a party to such

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hard-heartedness. And yet, as I have said, I do not think the law could have interfered with success. Surely a people who could act like this, have the very soul of religion in their hearts, although the act was not done in the name of religion. 231

All the animals—the cattle, the ponies, and the buffaloes—are so tame that it is almost an unknown thing for anyone to get hurt.

The cattle are sometimes afraid of the white face and strange attire of a European, but you can walk through the herds as they come home in the evening with perfect confidence that they will not hurt you. Even a cow with a young calf will only eye you suspiciously; and with the Burmans even the huge water buffaloes are absolutely tame. You can see a herd of these great beasts, with horns six feet across, come along under the command of a very small boy or girl perched on one of their broad backs. He flourishes a little stick, and issues his commands like a general. It is one of the quaintest imaginable sights to see this little fellow get off his steed, run after a straggler, and beat him with his stick. The buffalo eyes his master, whom he could abolish with one shake of his head, submissively, and takes the beating, which he probably feels about as much as if a straw fell on him, good-humouredly. The children never seem to come to grief. Buffaloes occasionally charge Europeans, but the only place where I have known of Burmans being killed by buffaloes is in the Kalè Valley. There the buffaloes are turned out into the jungle for eight months in the year, and are only caught for ploughing and carting. Naturally they are

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231 quite wild; in fact, many of them are the offspring of wild bulls.

The Burmans, too, are very fond of dogs. Their villages are full of dogs; but, as far as I know, they never use them for anything, and they are never trained to do anything. They are supposed to be useful as watch-dogs, but I do not think they are very good even at that. I have surrounded a village before dawn and never a dog barked, and I have heard them bark all night at nothing.

But when a Burman sees a fox-terrier or any English dog his delight is unfeigned. When we first took Upper Burma, and such sights were rare, half a village would turn out to see the little 'tailless' dog trotting along after its master. And if the terrier would 'beg,' then he would win all hearts. I am not only referring to children, but to grown men and women; and then there is always something peculiarly childlike and frank in these children of the great river.

Only to-day, as I was walking very early up the bank of the river in the early dawn, I heard some Burman boatmen discussing my fox-terrier. They were about fifteen yards from the shore, poling their boat up against the current, which is arduous work. And as I passed them my little dog ran down the bank and looked at them across the water, and they saw her.

'See now,' said one man to another, pausing for a moment with his pole in his hand—'see the little white dog with the brown face, how wise she looks!'

'And how pretty!' said a man steering in the stern. 'Come!' he cried, holding out his hand to it.

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But the dog only made a splash in the water with her paws, and then turned and ran after me. The boatmen laughed and resumed their poling, and I passed on. In the still morning across the still water I could hear every word, but I hardly took any note; I have heard it so often. Only now when I come to write on this subject do I remember. 231

It has been inculcated in us from childhood that it is a manly thing to be indifferent to pain—not to our own pain only, but to that of all others. To be sorry for a hunted hare, to compassionate the wounded deer, to shrink from torturing the brute creation, has been accounted by us as namby-pamby sentimentalism, not fit for man, fit only for a squeamish woman. To the Burman it is one of the highest of all virtues. He believes that all that is beautiful in life is founded on compassion and kindness and sympathy—that nothing of great value can exist without them. Do you think that a Burmese boy would be allowed to birds'-nest, or worry rats with a terrier, or go ferreting? Not so? These would be crimes. 152

That this kindness and compassion for animals has very far-reaching results no one can doubt. If you are kind to animals, you will be kind, too, to your fellow-man. It is really the same thing, the same feeling in both cases. If to be superior in position to an animal justifies you in torturing it, so it would do with men. If you are in a better position than another man, richer, stronger, higher in rank, that would—that does often in our minds—justify ill-treatment and contempt. Our innate feeling towards all that we consider inferior to ourselves

also used to do this. Sometimes they are able to extract about 5 viss of oil each in one day. 226 463 621

"There are also cultivators in the village. Some of those who work INS also own fields. They rent out the land to tenants. There are altogether 12 people in our village who own cultivation fields. But the biggest landowner does not own lands more extensive than three hundred acres. Some own 40 or 50 acres. Some engage cultivators and work their fields themselves, while others rent out the fields for a certain percentage of the produce. 421 463 621 427

"There were paid workers in the IN. They were paid, not a daily wage, but a monthly salary of Rs. 30/- without food. About 50 of the 80 workers were paid workers, though some of them owned shares as well. In addition to their pay, these paid workers received quite a lot of fish which their families went around selling. They get one or two basket-loads of fish to sell, and in this way make quite a lot of money. 226 463 465

"Fish is not distributed in this manner every day - only when the fish start coming down in great numbers. On these occasions however the workers get about 25 to 30 viss each - that is, by the boatload. Ordinarily they are given just enough for one meal.

"I also own eleven cows; eight for loaning out to cultivators and three for breeding purposes. No milk is drawn for human consumption because that is not the custom in our native place." 231 [272]

One yoke of oxen hired out brought U Myaing 50 baskets of paddy a year. He had 4 yokes. They kept by 100 baskets for home consumption and sold the rest at a rate fluctuating between Rs. 100/- and Rs. 175/- per hundred baskets.

In those years when U Myaing works at INS, he has to confine himself to such work only. During those years when he does not work at INS, he buys the fish from IN workers and process them for sale as NGAGYI, NGA-CHAUK, etc. Each year he uses between four to five thousand fish. When U Myain his co-workers could not get an IN, he had to buy fish and make NGA-CHAUK, (dried fish), NGAPI and NGAPYAR-YE. 226 463 433

On his former visits to Rangoon U Myaing came in a boat loaded with NGAGYI CHAUK (dried NGA GYI) and transferred it to the care of a broker in Rangoon. He then ascended the Shwe Dagon pagoda platform, donated money and water, returned to the broker, and went around the town to places like Mogul Street (the Indian quarter) for meats and ate pillau-rice etc. It took three or four days, and sometimes about ten days for the broker to dispose of his goods and in this time he would go round all the pagodas in Rangoon like the Botataung, Sule, Kyaik-hat-gyi etc. Once he went to a Chinese hotel known as the NAN-HIN hotel together with some traders from DAGUTU. They pooled the expenses. The journey home took a day and a night. He took back with him clothes, longyis, KINGYIS, durian fruit, 226 438 484 [778]

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Burmese AP4

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108. PLOUGHING IN THE DRY ZONE.

is a luxury in that region, and a part of the requirement is imported from Pegu. Crops of sorghum and millet (*pyaung*, *lu*), sesamum (*hnan*) and various pulses (*pè*), as well as cotton (*wè*), are obtained on the better sort of soil, during the light rains, from July to September. The dry soil is too hard for ploughing even when moistened by such rain as falls. It is scraped up with harrows instead. Four oxen are yoked abreast and the driver rides on the beam of the harrow to give it weight.

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The wet or staple cultivation of the whole country begins between June and August, as soon as the grass-sod which has formed on the rice-fields in the by-season—and which has served for pasture in the interval—has got thoroughly water-logged. The soil is then turned, about six inches deep, with a wooden plough (*tè*, Nos. 102, 119) bearing a shoe of bronze or iron. Where elephants are available, a large *thu* is used which does the work of four ploughs. The clods left by the plough are broken fine, and the wet soil worked into slush by herds of buffaloes driven round and round in the fields. If there are not enough cattle, the plough-clods are worked down with harrows drawn by buffaloes or oxen (No. 325). A rotary implement is coming into use to prepare the clods for the harrow (No. 168). There is very little open grass-land in the moist region. Unless the scrub which springs up is cut, the land soon relapses into jungle.

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For the above operations cattle are needful to the cultivator, though he makes little use of the manure and does not use the milk at all. The cattle are only used for draught, and very little care is bestowed on breeding. Oxen

109. ELEPHANT PLOUGH.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

241
231

110. BUFFALOES TRAMPLING DOWN THE CLODS.

are worth twenty to sixty rupees a head, buffaloes twenty-five to fifty. The latter are heavier and more powerful, and better able to work in the wet and to forage for themselves, but they are subject to many distempers, of which the worst is anthrax. The noses of the draught-cattle are pierced and a thin rope rove through which is spliced at the back of the horns. During a great part of the year there is no work for the buffaloes, as they are of little service for wheel-draught; then they are left to roam at large. They frequent the streams and lagoons, where they are followed by egrets and crows, which pick the worms out of the mud as the buffaloes turn over in their wallow. While crops are standing, cattle have to be kept in pens at night, and to be herded by day. This work is done by children from twelve [857] years upwards. The buffalo-pen is made near the house, if possible in a water-logged spot where the animals can wallow in the mud, which protects them from the bites of gad-flies and mosquitoes. Where there is no wallow, smoky fires are made to keep the insects away. In certain localities of the delta cattle need to be protected with curtains. In the arid region fodder is grown for the cattle, but goats find pasture and are kept for their milk; they are worth five to twenty rupees a head.

243 The rice-fields first ploughed and ready are sown broad-cast for nurseries (*pyo-gin*). A month [231] later, when the rice-plants are about a foot high, they are taken up and transplanted into the prepared fields, a span apart. The roots are simply pressed down into the soft slush

111. DRIVING HOME THE BUFFALOES.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890)1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

243

[231]

115. BUFFALOES IN THEIR PEN.

with the fingers or with a forked stick. The acre produces thirty to eighty bushels of grain, according to soil and season. The ripe corn stands three to five feet high, and so thick as to keep down tares. Unlike hill-rice (p. 149, No. 244), which requires several heavy weedings in the season, the wet rice-fields need no care beyond that of regulating the water-supply. Where there is drainage for the water, it is allowed to stand only a few inches high on the ground. As the grain ripens, the soil is allowed to dry. If there is a head of water available during the rains, channels are led to the fields to keep the supply equal. If the supply is near and only at a slightly lower level than the fields, the effects of drought are counteracted by various devices such as the *ka-hnwè* (No. 115). Running water at too low a level to lay on to the fields is utilized by help of a bamboo water-wheel (*yit*), or if the water be still, the wheel is driven by ox-gear. In some parts, rice and wheat are sown in the deeply-flooded lands when the water has drained off (*mayin*).

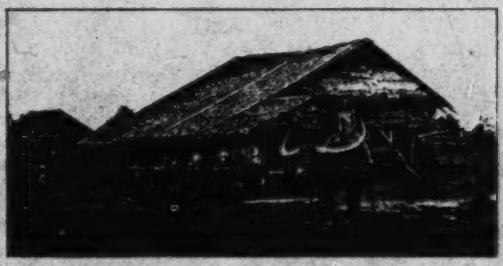
243

243

312

243 The varieties of rice, of which there are many, suited to different soils and modes of cultivation, take from three to five months to mature. The harvest of the crops is from October to December, according to the variety and time of planting out. When the grain turns yellow, flights of parakeets and other birds descend on the crops, from which they have to be scared till reaping-time. Bamboo clappers are worked by bast lines in a radius of a hundred yards from the watcher's hut. Where there is an abundance of pasture for cattle, the stubble is left very long and is burned where it stands, to manure the ground. But if straw is needed

[231]



114. CHILD RIDING BUFFALO OUT TO WORK.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

361

168. VILLAGE CAUSEWAY IN THE TIDAL REGION.

the village head-man or other functionary, and round about, the houses of the villagers in more or less regular rows. The village streets are broad and in some places the houses are well-spaced, with plots of fruit-trees and vegetable-gardens between and at the back. No care is bestowed on the [487] roads except in a few riverain localities and tidal regions, where embanked roads and brick causeways are necessary. Trees are planted in front of the houses— [245] cocoanut and betel palms, giant bamboo, the evergreens, tamarind, mango, and jack, for their fruit and shade: *gangaw*, *sagá*, and *padáuk* for their shade and scented flowers: *mèzali*, *zi*, and several *ficus* species. The screw-pine and various ornamental shrubs are cultivated—*taróssaga* (*frangipani*, No. 92), *sènnaya*, gardenias, and roses. *Palma Christi* (castor-oil plant) is common for hedges. [177 Plants cultivated by Europeans in the tropics—crotons, begonias, caladiums, 247] balsams—are spreading everywhere. Pot-gardening is becoming a feature of the villages and even of the raft-houses and boats.

●231 Well received as the stranger is by the people of the village, he has to brave the displeasure of the village curs. The dogs are the scavengers of the settlements, together with the crows and the myriads of ants. The termites [136] ("white ants") account for the dry vegetable refuse, but they also invade the dwellings and destroy dry wood, mats, and thatch. Cats attach themselves to houses in the same way as dogs. A peculiarity of the domestic cat of Burma is

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361

169. VILLAGE RIVER-FRONT.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

[OPP. P. 78]

231

170 RIDING BUFFALOES IN FLOOD TIME.

[To face p. 78.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

231

171. THE VILLAGE DOGS

[186]

136

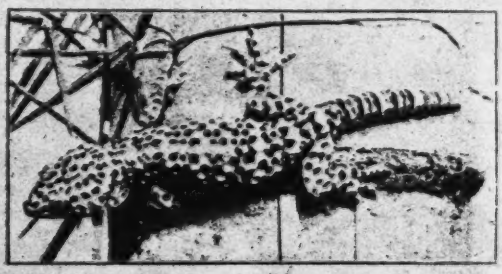
the kinked tail. Wild animals are often kept as pets, and fetch good prices. Monkeys, deer, porcupines, otters, are occasionally tamed. Cage-birds are in many houses (No. 404); doves, minas, and parakeets are the commonest. The principal singing bird is the bulbul, but it is not a cage-bird. Poultry is kept for the sake of fighting-cocks or for fancy. The wild peacock is caught young and kept; it is generally a savage bird. The peacock and the hare are the national emblems of Burma (Nos. 2, 7, 11).

The houses and boats are infested with rats and cockroaches. The latter have an enemy in the *taukté*, a large lizard of the same tribe as the little gecko, which catches flies in the houses throughout the tropics of Asia. This animal is remarkable for its loud cry, whence its name (see *The Shadow of the Pagoda*). What with the cawing of crows, barking of dogs, croaking of frogs, chatter of sparrows, loud hum of cicadas, squeaking of rats—an interval of real stillness by day or night is a boon in Burma, when the quiet does not merely serve to bring out the ominous "ping" of the mosquito. In addition to this perennial pest come the flights of insects at dusk, as the rainy season approaches. The "bombardier" comes with them, a beetle which raises a blister wherever it touches, and which is a danger to eyesight. But one of the most charming effects of the country is produced by the myriads of fireflies with their rhythmical illumination of the river sedges at night.

132

The seasons of Burma—and Further India at large—are three; the rainy, or south-west monsoon, the cool, or north-east monsoon, and the hot season. The rains last, roughly speaking, from May to September (*Kasôn, Nayôn, Wazô, Wagáung, Tawthalin,*

[136]



172. THE TAUK-TE (ONE-THIRD NATURAL SIZE)

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

193. DABBING WITH FLY.

Next to the rice-industry the greatest industry of Burma is the catching and curing of fish. Unlike the rice, the fish is entirely for local consumption. The fisherman gets his living by taking life, contrary to the cardinal injunction of the Buddha—"let him not destroy, or cause to be destroyed, any life at all, or sanction the acts of those who do so." The subterfuge which the specious resort to in using animal food, namely, that they had no share in the act of taking life, was thus provided against by the Buddha in the form of his injunction. The Burman is a kind master to his animals, but much cruel suffering results from neglect of injuries, such as *dâ*-cuts, often inflicted in temper. The merit of putting a suffering creature out of pain is not recognised or is denied. The reluctance to take life is operative in preventing the people at large from obtaining other animal food than fish. But such is the craving for flesh that the Burmans will consume that of animals dead from natural causes and of many animals commonly rejected for food. The Burmans do not eat the flesh of the monkey, dog, parrot and crow. The ways of taking fish are legion. Hooks are used with bait and also to mount a fly for dabbing (*ben laik*). A contrivance to be seen along the banks of every river is the *kwyin*, a cage trap with falling door for large fish. Fish-spearing is practised by day and also by torch-light at night. On the largest scale, fish are taken by drawing off the water from the flat lagoons which form in the depressions of the *kwin* (*iu*, p. 49). Screens of bamboo or reeds are set in the channels while the floods are

194. CAGING FISH SINGLY 'SAUNG-TO'

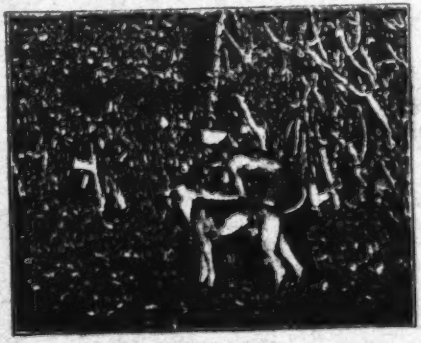
25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

202. SETTING NETS FOR DEER.

which a second party is in hiding with dogs. At a sign, the dogs are slipped and the deer chased headlong into the nets, where they are caught or cut down before they can get clear. 224 [231]

Sat and *thamin*, which would clear the net at a bound, are coursed with greyhounds of local breed (*Kanabhi*) when they have ventured far enough into the open. The Burmans have been acquainted with firearms since the fourteenth century of our era. Saltpetre they obtained by percolating with water the droppings of bats accumulated in caves, and boiling down the lye; it was also obtained from certain marshes; sulphur probably came from China. The old flint-lock is still a favourite, because the ammunition is easy to procure. Weapons were bad, and the *mdsi* is a poor marksman; but he manages to approach very near to his quarry. Cross-bows, snares, and traps for game are used by the hill people, in default of firearms. Such venison as is obtained is hurried off to the nearest market town, where it is retailed fresh. If it cannot be thus disposed of, it is cut into strips and sun-dried. Next to deer, the chief quarry is the wild pig. Wild buffaloes ("bison," *pyaung*) frequent the forests. In a few localities a wild ox is found (*saing*). A wild goat lives in some of the rocky limestone hills. The hare and the partridge are common in the open country of the dry zone and the plateau-land of the hills. Peacocks are not uncommon in some localities, but are nowhere so abundant as in India. A silver pheasant (*rit*) is common in the bamboo forests. The great argus occurs in the extreme south. Wild or jungle fowl (*tane-dyet*) are common in all the dry forests. Decoy-birds are used for snaring these, and also the ring-doves (*dpé*). Ducks,

411 389 [262] 224 136



203. KANABHI DOG

[231]

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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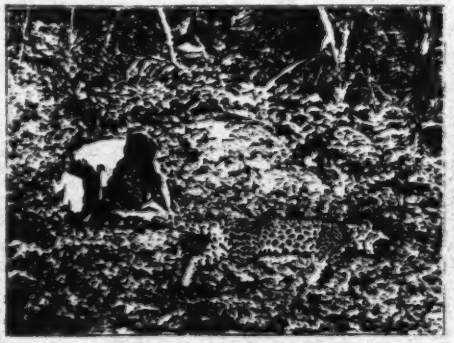
[231]
[439]
[563
198]

207. BRINGING IN ROE DEER (DYI).

then the bathing-places have to be staked in. Wild elephants make a road dangerous at times. Elephants are captured by pit-falls. Decoys are also used in various ways; small animals are detached from the herd by their means and then kept going until they are worn out, and can be tethered and hobbled for taming. The breaking in is accomplished by pinning the elephant between trees or stout posts where it cannot lie down, keeping it underfed, and giving food as the reward of docility. Young elephants born in captivity—as occasionally happens—are broken in, in the same way, about the sixth year, when half grown. The stock is replenished from Siam, where the wild herds are larger, and the business of catching is more developed, and where also elephants breed more frequently in captivity. The elephant-breakers and trainers are Shans, and the words of command Shan. Rhinoceroses (*kyan*) may be found about the sources of streams in the evergreen hills; occasional tracks are seen. A tapir occurs in the forests of Tenaserim. Wild dogs (*canis rutilans*) occur in a few localities. There is no wolf, fox, or hyæna, and no jackal east of Arakán. There is a larger and a smaller black bear (*wwunn*), very rarely encountered, and not aggressive. There are several species of wild cat (*taze-dyaung*) large and small, and a few species of weasel. A small porcupine is found (*pyu*). The huge bamboo-rat (*pwe*) is dug out of its burrow by the hill people. There are many tribes of monkeys and gibbons; the weird cry of the latter is the characteristic sound of the evergreen forest. Squirrels are the only wild animals



208. MEASURING THE PANTHER.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

The cordage used in 283

218. LIMESTONE ROCKS.

Burma is twisted from the bast of the *shaw* tree (*sterculia* varieties). For guys, stays, and standing rigging of boats, rattan is employed. Split rattan is used for strong ties, and withes of split bamboo (*lnt*) for common ties. The *shaw* rope is three and four stranded, and is twisted with native gear very like that of our own rope-walks. A long and even four-stranded rope is made by three men. This furnishes a good example of mechanical advancement, when compared with the method of the hill-people, who require six men to twist a much shorter rope of the same number of strands (Nos. 219–20). Shaw rope is smooth, but has not the flexibility of cocoanut-fibre and manila-fibre ropes, which are now imported. Fine cotton yarn is twisted into cord for making nets. A coarse jute fibre (*paissan*) is also twisted for net-making. [171] [439]

Silk-culture is under the ban of Buddhism for the same reason as fishery. 288 The greater part of the silk yarn used is brought from China, but a good 231 deal is produced locally by the *Zabîn* or *Yabîn*, a people speaking Burmese and resembling the Burmans in most respects, but despised by the latter. [779] They are settled along the foot of the Pegu Yôma hill-range, on its eastern and 554 western slopes, where they make clearings in the forest (*taungya*) and plant the mulberry. They prepare a yellow silk yarn which, coarse and knotty as it is, is 463] preferred for the best class of Burman silk cloths (*lunlayd*, No. 132). The raw silk fetches thirty-five to forty rupees a viss. It is a perfect washing silk in all its dyes and wears a lifetime. In a few localities, silk-weaving is a special industry practised by men as well as women. Settlers from Manipúr

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218. LIMEKILN.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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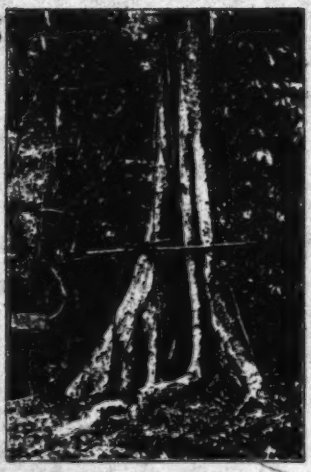

257. FELLING THE TREE.

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sound is felled much higher. As timber gets scarce, the woodmen are glad to work out the stem-pieces left in this way, maybe fifty years before. If felled green, the teak throws out powerful suckers from the stool which grow six to ten feet in a season and get clear of the forest fires. In sixty years they produce marketable timber. After felling, the trees are cut into suitable logs for dragging. The latter is the most arduous part of the business. From the stump to the nearest floating-stream may be a mile or two of heavy country. The teak to be worked out of the forests is too sparsely distributed for roads or machinery to pay. Elephant power is the most valuable adjunct for the work. The rainy season, when brooks and streams are full, the ground moist and slippery, and the weather cool for the animals to work, is the time chosen for dragging. The corners of the log are cut away at one end, and a drag-hole made for the elephant chain and the subsequent raft-ties, at each end. The dragging-paths get worn into troughs in which water lodges and facilitates the work. Every brook on the way is utilized, for though too scanty to float the log, it lightens the labour. The elephants are worked a few hours in the morning and a few in the evening and turned loose at other times, with the fore-feet hobbled, to forage for themselves. The Karéns keep their elephants in excellent condition; such casualties as they have are due to anthrax, which spreads from the buffaloes, and to other epidemics. In the timber-yards at the seaports, on the other hand, in spite of grain and green feeding and great care, the animals are worn out in a few years. Elephants are heavy enough for

258. DRAGGING THE LOG.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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259. PUSHING THE LOGS OFF THE SHOALS (AUNG).

timber-work at eighteen years, and are at their prime from thirty to sixty. Females and tuskless males (*haing*) are worth one thousand to two thousand rupees; tuskers from one thousand five hundred to four thousand. Tuskers are of use for manœuvring the logs in the shallow streams and getting them off shoals. The logs are

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not launched into the main stream or river until the last freshets of the season have gone down, for fear of the timber becoming unmanageable. The logs are allowed to drift singly as far as the deep water, where they are stopped by a boom, for sorting and rafting to port. On the Irawadi and Sittaung, the main water-course is available for rafting, but on the Salween, only the last sixty miles below the rapids. The Salween tears its rugged course through the limestone mountains which occupy the centre of the Eastern Peninsula, traversing some ten degrees of latitude and tapping teak localities on a good part of its way. Deep tranquil stretches alternate with furious rapids, the violence of which may be judged from the fact that teak logs are often shivered in splinters. The foresters stamp the timber all over with their property-marks. They have to bide their time until the logs reach the rope-station or boom (*kyoddu*) and can be sorted. In the south-west monsoon the logs have to be salved one by one by men in canoes. The deep-water raft consists of five to ten tiers of as many logs each, securely bound with rattan by the drag-holes to cross-poles, and linked with the same material. The raft is manned by four or five men, and is often several weeks on its journey. It may not have to bring up until it reaches tidal waters, when it is easily moored. But where the raft has to be stopped against the full force of a three to five knot

260. LAUNCHING HEAPED LOGS.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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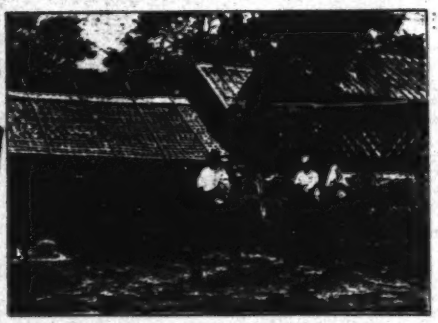
[492]



310 BURMAN PONIES.

for heavy wheels and the light spider wheels he uses in pleasure and racing-carts. He employs a very long hub to steady the wheel, which is as yet unprovided with turned axles and boxes. *Paddauk* and *pyinkadô* wood are used for hubs, with plain iron bushes at the ends. Teak is used for spokes and felloes. The axle is of imported round bar iron, with plain linch-pins; the end of the wooden axle-bed forms the shoulder. The bar-iron for tyres is likewise imported. Imported springs are coming into use for the light carts. European vehicles built by Chinese are used by well-to-do Burmans in the towns; they exemplify to the natives a novel departure in luxury, in which not splendour but comfort is the standard.

[177]

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The country roads are merely the tracks made by the carts. As the bullocks travel in the line of the wheels, the road is passable until the ruts are so deep that the axle-bed scrapes the mound in the centre. Then the track is abandoned for one to the right or left. The same thing happens when the road is too heavy or when a tree falls over it. In the rice country the grain is carted across the fields. But in the dry zone a roadway is left between the fences of the fields, as is also the case in the eastern hill-plateaux. A few state roads (*minlan*) following the high ground used to be kept clear, but the only regular road-making was done near to the capital. Cart-tracks do not penetrate the hill districts to any distance.

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The Burman pony is small—eleven to thirteen hands—but is said to have the best constitution and the greatest endurance of any breed. In Pegu, with its damp climate, the breed does not flourish so well as in the North. The ponies exported from Pegu are brought down from the

[485]
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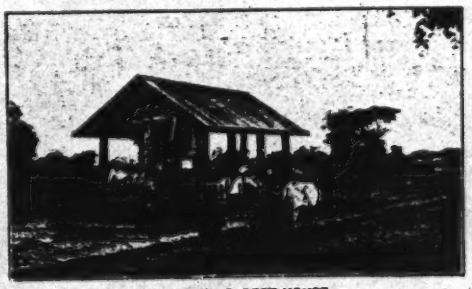

311. WAYSIDE REST-HOUSE.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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[491]

312. COUNTRY BRIDGE.

Shan hills, where alone breeding is a regular business. The Shan pony is stouter than the Burman, but not so hardy. The Burmans train their ponies to amble at a forced pace by sawing the bit as they urge them on; the ponies' mouths become hard in consequence. Ponies used to be worth twenty to fifty rupees, but now, many times more. Arab stud-horses have recently been introduced by the British Government. Ponies were used for riding only, doubtless owing to the want of roads and vehicles good enough for quick draught. There is little or no leather about the Burman saddle and accoutrements. The seat is a thick pad stuffed with cotton, with a hollow to leave the backbone free. The girth and stirrup holders are cotton web, the bridle and crupper are of thick cotton rope, plaited over with red cotton yarn; the stirrups are of brass, the plain bit is iron (No. 228). The Burmans hog their ponies' manes, but they admire a long natural tail. Very few animals are left entire.

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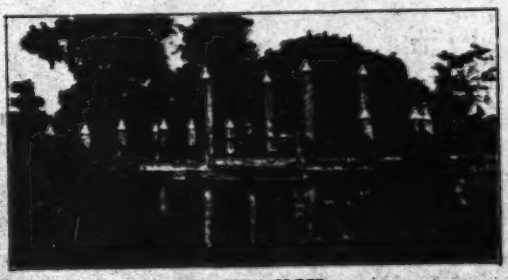
[779]

Travel is made easy in Burma. There are rest-houses (*zayát*) for travellers at every town and village and at every stage on the road. Both these and the needful foot-bridges (*tadá*) are provided from religious motives. The foot-traveller will get a lift on his way by cart or boat, and will take an oar or a hand at a job in return; those who can afford it pay their way. The Burman is a poor linguist, and is wholly engrossed with the language and ways of his own people. The aliens on his soil and the neighbouring races meet the Burman half way, saving him the need of learning languages and adopting from him their notions of culture and fashion. Encountering, as he does, within the limits of his travels, a material welfare little



313. ROYAL BRIDGE.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

644 on such occa-
[643] sions the king appeared in the royal insignia, which otherwise only figure as emblems of state. The insignia in the illustration are surmounted by a queen's crown (*sîbôn*). The shape of a king's crown is seen in Nos. 151 and 425. There
[346] being but a single palace and thousands of *kyaungs* and temples, the palace
[344] appears to resemble a *kyaung*. But the converse is the fact; the *kyaung* it is which in virtue of its religious character shares the distinction of the palace. The most recent style adopted by the Burman sovereigns was *Shin-Bayîn*—Lord of Lords. A chief title was *Sinbyû Shin*—Lord of the White Elephant. Every subject prostrated himself in the presence of the king, with face averted from the effulgence of the royal countenance. An official called *thandawzîn* used to repeat aloud the words uttered by the king. The ensign betokening the presence of the king and of the chief queen (*sutbayâ*) is the *tîbyû* (p. 101). Two to eight were borne according to the solemnity of the occasion. The chief queens were frequently half-sisters of the kings. For all the royal acts, the lying, rising, eating, speaking, there are euphemisms proper to the occasion; one of the most current of these is *shwepawddaw*—the golden foot. At his demise the sovereign is said to migrate to the abode of *nats* or delectable land; the staff of his *tîbyû* was broken. The paraphernalia of the king's service were elaborate; but in his attitude to the *yakân* he comported himself as an ordinary man. The Royal White Elephant was maintained in great pomp; it ate and drank out of golden vessels and had a retinue for its service. An elephant really white—probably an albino—was captured in 1805, but was pampered so that it died. A second was captured in 1806 which lived for fifty years. Other "white elephants" kept for state have enjoyed their reputation in virtue of possessing certain assumed criteria of the "white" variety, as to the number of the toes, direction of the tail-tuft and other distinctions, without regard to the colour of the skin.

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[776]
[532]
[588]
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364. CARVED FIGURE OF NAT.

644 Change of capital at the accession of a new sovereign was characteristic of Burman empire, even when there was no change of dynasty or other political
633 convulsion. Events of the latter kind were no doubt the original reasons of such changes. Next to Pagán, Sagaing, on the right bank of the Irawadi, facing the flat and now desolate site of Ava, is the most impressive of the

[562] below the man and are not accorded full value as human beings, one does not consider this a degredation, although to be under inhabited floors (see above)[1] would be considered as a disgrace for others.

342 industriously. Weaving in Burma is still one of the most important home industries. Otherwise the room under the house is used only for storage [231] of household and agricultural implements, and also at night as a stable for buffaloes and cattle if there are no protective roofs provided for them. On top of such roofs the fodder grass is piled up.

A large Burmese house (Plate IV, 3) gives the impression of a composite of several individual buildings (6) standing on a platform. This is

[171] 6. The accounts of P.A. Thompson, Lotus Land (London, 1906), p. 40, and F. Swettenham, British Malaya (London, 1907), p. 151, show that this Burmese house-type with its detached sections, surrounded by a platform, is also customary in the lowlands of Siam and on the Malayan Peninsula. It is also known in Sumatra, according to M. Moszkowski, "Beiträge zur Entwicklungsgeschichte des Wohnhauses in Ostsumatra" /Contributions to the History of the Development of Houses in East Sumatra/, Archiv für Anthropologie /Archive for Anthropology/, Vol. 37, (1910), pp. 11-13, Figure 21.

P. Sarasin in "Über die Entwicklungsgeschichte des griechischen Tempels aus dem Pfahlhause" /History of the Development of the Greek Temple out of the Pile House/, Zeitschrift für Ethnolologie

[1] [see category 116, page 5.— Analyst]

243 led around in circular fashion until the grain is thoroughly separated from the stalks. A pronged hoe is then drawn over the stalks to further the separation, after which the bullocks further stamp upon them. When the grain appears to be full separated from the stalks it is swept up into large heaps, while the stalks are put aside for use as cattle fodder.

Winnowing apparatus consists of a tripod of bamboo poles, from the top of which is suspended a plaited round tray of wide weave. Baskets ful of grain are handed up to a man who stands on a platform, often an old barrel or a chair, and empties them on to the tray. As he shakes the tray the grain falls through to the ground, while any chaff is carried away by the wind.

The paddy for household use may then be allowed to dry further before being sent by boat down Pazundaung Creek to be milled. In a few households the paddy for home consumption is husked by a foot-operated pounding device, or by a large, hand-operated mortar and pestle. If there is any surplus, beyond the requirements of home consumption, seed, payment of laborers and debts, it is sold to nearby millers who come to purchase it.

494 3. Bus Operation. Forty-four men of the community are principally occupied as bus drivers or fare-collectors. The latter are known as 'spares' in the local terminology. Because of the total destruction of public transportation facilities during World War II in Rangoon and the surrounding area, large numbers of surplus military vehicles have been converted into buses. These buses are owned individually or by small groups of partners. The Tadagale men who engage in bus operation ply between the village, which is a terminus, and Rangoon. Their vehicles are, for the most part, in poor repair, and breakdowns along the route are not uncommon. No regular time schedule is followed; rather, they begin a trip when fully loaded, which is to
[436] say extremely tightly packed with passengers. By carrying maximum loads, and by charging a fare of 6 annas (ca. 8 cents), the bus operators are able to make a profit, despite the high cost of fuel (ca. 47 cents per Imperial gallon) and of repairs.

464 4. Field Labor. Thirty-eight villagers make their livings mainly by field labor. During the planting and harvesting seasons they work steadily for cultivators, either in Tadagale or in nearby communities. They are paid in kind or in cash, seldom in combination. During the growing season, August to November, and again, between the end of the harvest and the beginning of the planting season, these people must depend on other temporary jobs to round out their livings.

● 234 563 443 5. Dairy Farming. This occupation is carried on exclusively by the small group of Indians in Tadagale, who possess herds of water buffalo and cattle. Fresh milk is taken daily by bus, in large metal containers, to Rangoon, where it is sold for cash, mostly to Muslim restaurants. The Burmese inhabitants of Tadagale make but slight use of milk and there is virtually no market for it in the village.

265 6. Selling of Prepared Foods. The preparation and itinerant selling of certain Burmese foods supports twenty persons, of whom many are women. Because of the Burmese habit of informal, occasional eating between the two regular daily meals, food sellers do a considerable business. They are invariably present at the pwes, outdoor dramatic presentations staged during holidays and on other festive occasions.

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

231 more fortunate than his Malay congener in possessing a tail, but asserts relationship with that animal in the possession of a horny hook, with this difference, that the hard excrescence is at the end of a tail of fair dimensions instead of being humbly situated on the rump, as is the case with the Straits tabby.

235 There are always some tame villatic fowl about the house. If the householder does not aspire to the ownership of a taik-kyet, a regular game cock, bred for the purpose, he has at least a kyet-hpa, an ordinary cock of combative instincts, and backs him against his neighbour's when occasion offers, through the absence of the constable, by chance, or by the influence of pecuniary profit acting on a sporting disposition. A cock that declines to fight under any circumstances is called a kyet nyaung-gan, and stands in great danger of dying suddenly and being converted into curry. Hens are regarded with indifference except in view of similar possibilities, for their eggs are of no use. A fowl may be killed by accident by a stick thrown at random, but the germ of life in an egg cannot die unless it is boiled or goes rotten. In the former case the boiler incurs mortal danger from breaking one of the Five Precepts; in the latter the egg
223 is undesirable. In small villages almost every one keeps a tè-gyet, a decoy cock, for luring the wild jungle-fowl. The fore-doomed hunter kills the game, and the pious owner of the decoy bird gets a good dinner. Similarly tè-gyo, pigeons, are bred specially as lures, and so are partridges. Ordinary pigeons, occasionally used for the same purpose, go by the
231 name of gyo ta-nyin. Caged birds are not very common as
779 pets, though every here and there one comes across a hill
444 Mina, who has acquired a fair knowledge of the vernacular, and astonishes passers-by with the unceremonious way in which he hails them. But the Buddhist religion condemns keeping animals in confinement. So much is this the case that in Mandalay, and here and there in other places, there are men who make a regular living by catching birds and selling them to the pious, that they may gain merit by setting them free. Crafty birdcatchers are able so far to disable the bird, without doing it any material or visible harm, that they can catch it again immediately after their tender-hearted customer has gone his way.

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

CHAPTER XXIII

RICE CULTIVATION

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A GROWING number of millions of acres are under cultivation in Lower Burma, and of this total all but some three hundred thousand acres are devoted to the planting of rice. Tobacco, sugar-cane, cotton, and oil-seeds of different kinds, as well as fruit-trees, form the other crops. Upper Burma has a greater number of crops, and the proportion of rice is far from being so overwhelming, though almost everywhere it is the chief crop. The alluvial lands of the Irrawaddy delta produce by far the greatest quantity of rice. It is certain that the best quality grain comes at present from this part of the country, but this may be due to more practised agricultural skill or long-continued tilling of the land. Hardly any possible number of crops in a season could apparently exhaust the fertility of the soil. Any part of the country, however, may be used for the cultivation of rice. The laziest farm is a swamp-land, where the ordinary rainfall is sufficient to produce the sodden ground requisite for a rice crop. Such low-lying plains and the riparian lands, annually flooded by the overflow of the river, are naturally best suited to Burmese indolence and are earliest taken up. Farther up the country, where the rain runs off the surface quickly and the land is too high for the south-west monsoon floods, it is necessary to resort to irrigation, either by the obvious method of dams or by ingenious water-wheels. Finally, there is the laborious taung-ya cultivation, where whole hillsides are cleared of trees to produce a crop. This hard work is left to mild aboriginal or other tribes, whom the Burman has long ago bullied out of the fat lowlands.

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

footpaths, and with a huge green cheroot in his mouth, leisurely contemplates the operation. Everything is now in the hands of nature, and the agriculturist may lounge round his farm in peace till November; unless, indeed, excessive rain floods the ground and rots the crop, when a new planting out has to be gone through. The harvesting near Rangoon is entirely done by men from Upper Burma, or even by Indian coolies. They work for very little, and it saves the farmer a good deal of time and dignity to get all the cutting done for him. Accordingly, from October till December the steamers down the Irrawaddy used to be crowded with King Thibaw's subjects, all of whom had to leave behind them with their Myo-sa, or his delegate the Myo-wun, who vicariously "ate" the township between them, a pledge either of property or of some member of their family, that they would return to their country again. When they got back, very little of their hard-earned gains escaped the voracity of the royal officials. Now they come down by train, and after a trip or two learn enough to keep their money from enterprising fellow-countrymen. These anyathas, as they are called, behave remarkably well in British territory, notwithstanding the assertions of the rural police, who, being unable to detect dacoits, declare that these are all Upper Burmans who have come down for the harvest. They are really, however, mostly simple, quiet people, who are kept very much in awe by the bluster and town-knowledge of the down-country farmers, and work away zealously with their queer sickles, looking like the ordinary English article worn to half its original size by long use. It is worthy of notice that the grain is not mown close to the ground as in Europe. Except where there is a market for straw, very little more than the ears are cut off, and the straw burnt in the hot weather of March and April supplies a scarcely-needed fertilising to the soil. The reapers usually receive their payment from the farmer in grain, but they naturally convert this into money, or more portable goods, before they start off home again.

It does not take long to cut the crop, and then the corn is brought in to the homestead, commonly on rude sledges, more seldom in carts. The threshing-floor does not take

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

to accumulate money, and their carelessness results in the constant death of their plough-beasts, so that matters usually remain exactly at the same level if the farmer does not actually get into permanent debt. The Scottish Highlanders have a pious wish, "May the free hand always be full!" If it is not always full in Burma it is consoling to think that it is seldom absolutely empty. Still, when the grandson succeeds he ordinarily finds that there is as little actual money hoarded up about the place as there was when the grandfather Po Gyi spent so many borrowed rupees at his uncle's funeral. 243 454 511

If rice cultivation is easy work in the low country, it is very different with the taung-ya, or hill clearings. Here the dense underwood and forest growth has to be cut down; and the more there is to cut the better the crop, for the soil needs fertilising badly, and all that is cut down is burned. Work is begun about January; everything is felled, bushes and all; and after the fallen logs have dried some time in the sun, the brushwood is heaped up round about them and the whole is set on fire. Some of the logs smoulder for weeks —perhaps till the first rains come. Then the ground is rudely dug up with hoes, and the ashes turned in. Cotton-seed is ordinarily mixed with the rice, which is of a quite different variety from that produced in the plains. It is sown broadcast, and the farmer has thereafter only to keep down the weeds, but this is not by any means a light task. The crop is ready by October, and furnishes little more than enough to support the family or community. The scanty manure provided by the wood-ashes is not sufficient to last more than two or three years; and when the crop is secured the party proceeds on to a new settlement, there to repeat the same laborious process. A very ingenious device for lightening the toil is resorted to where there is much heavy timber. Beginning at the bottom, they slightly cut the lowest trees on the upper side only, gradually increasing the depth of the notch as they advance up the hill, until at the top of the clearing they cut the trees completely through. These fall on the row immediately below them, and by their weight knock it down; and so the felling process is continued down to the bottom. Occasionally a tangle occurs 243 101 241 [248] [433] 241 313

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma (1911 Peoples Gunpeans) AP1
Burmese AP4

where some sturdy tree refuses to fall, and the clearing it away becomes a matter of very considerable danger. This taung-ya system is very wasteful as well as laborious, and annually draws down upon itself the denunciations of the English forest officers. But the hill-tribes who adopt it are too few to support themselves in any other way. They were long ago driven out of the plains by the Burmans, and now cling to their old nomadic life with a degree of obstinacy which Government officials, in a variety of ways, have found is not to be tempted by any tale of the present security and plenty of the low country, or even of the valleys among the hills. Rice, therefore, continues to be produced with the minimum and the maximum of labour; but none of the hill rice ever finds its way out of the country, and seldom even down to the plains.

The rice season, as far as the English merchant is concerned, commences in January and ends about May; but though this is pre-eminently the "busy season," there are purchases made in greater or less quantities all the year round. The relations between the great English rice firms and the simple jungle cultivators have not always been of a very elevating character, and it can hardly be denied that the fault lies wholly at the door of the foreigner. Missionaries in Burma are wont to mourn that their teachings are often rendered wholly nugatory by the want of scruple, and it might almost be said of honour, displayed by the great Rangoon rice firms. The good padres teach their proselytes that Christians are all honest and truthful. The ingenuous lads enter as clerks in a rice-mill and discover that Englishmen scarcely differ from the "poor heathen," except in being more lordly in the way of doing the thing.

Years ago, when there were not nearly so many mills as there are now, and not a quarter so many ships in the harbour during the rice season, things went on pretty equably. One day one firm would give a rupee or so more per hundred baskets, and the next day it would be another. But soon the mills began to increase in number and more ships came, and it was harder to get paddy. Then rival firms began to bid against each other. There was demurrage before their eyes, and it was terribly expensive work keeping the mill

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma (Europeans Indians) AP1
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establishment up to its full strength. And so prices rose and rose until they became absurdly high, and no one profited but the hawks that preyed on the simple Burmese cultivators. Then the English merchants held a meeting and all pledged themselves not to give more than the current market rate for paddy. This seemed a fair enough agreement; but after a while it was found that the boats all gravitated towards one or two firms. A little investigation showed that this was due to the fact that though they paid the ordinary rate, according to the compact, they had a smaller measuring basket than their neighbours. Accordingly every one went on reducing the size of his basket until the system became as ruinously absurd as ever it had been before. Then there was another meeting, at which it was unanimously agreed that this state of affairs would never do, and that it was absolutely necessary to come to some definite understanding. A committee was appointed which, after some deliberation, concluded that, if, in addition to abiding by the market rate, every one were bound to use a basket of a certain fixed size, there would be no chance for unfair speculations. A standard basket was therefore fixed upon; and the competitors were supposed to start fair again. But in no very long time, one firm put a false bottom in the basket, another wedged in a board; and so on, till matters got back to the old way. This state of affairs is hardly creditable to mercantile honour, and it certainly is by no means profitable.

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Independently of this, paddy has gone up in price at an alarming rate of late years. The first heavy rise was in 1877, at the time of the Madras famine. That was also the time of the resolution to have a standard basket. Rice was wanted in any quantity for the famine districts, and millers gave an altogether fabulous price for grain. The game went on merrily, introduced the scandalous "paddy morality," and lasted long enough to make the cultivators think the new prices had come in for good. Far too many Burmese farmers are heavily in debt to the "chetties," the money-lending caste of the Madras coast. The agriculturists have borrowed money to build a pagoda or a monastery; to give a grand feast on the

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occasion of their marriage, or their father's death; to buy a new yoke of oxen in the place of those that have been carried off by disease; to get seed-grain to sow their tracts of paddy land, the last season's gains having been lost in some gambling transaction when they were down in Rangoon. They have got into the chetty's books in some way at any rate; and hapless is the man, Burman or Englishman, who has dealings with the fat, shaven-headed Madras money-lender. He will be charged eight, ten, twelve per cent a month, or even more, before there is an end of the transaction. The chetties, therefore, took a particular interest in the rise of the price of paddy. High prices ensured their being paid; moreover, handling such unwonted sums of money made the ever-careless Burman reckless. He gambled, he gave great feasts, he got deeper and deeper into debt with the money-lenders. Consequently it was desirable that the prices should not go down; and as men of business the chetties understood how that was to be done; they made the Burman farmers hold back their grain. The Rangoon firms were in desperation to meet their contracts, the ships could not be kept waiting; and so prices were maintained at nearly famine rates. This more than anything else brought about the unlucky legerdemain with standard baskets. The appearance of the chetty element in the trade upset everything. They are charming men of business, and know all about bulling and bearing, and all the other civilised expedients of trade. Poor "Jack Burma," listless and good-natured as he is, would never have thought of such things of himself; but he is in the hands of his master. Not a single village in the jungle, however remote, is to be found without its bare-backed money-lender. He hovers round the paddy nursery; he watches the men planting out the handfuls of half-grown rice; he makes the farmer hold back the threshed-out grain till he gives the word: then he fixes the rate and all but takes the money himself.

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The English merchants have struggled against the system, but with small success. They have laid out heavy sums in advances. The farmer is paid for the next year's crop before ever it is sown. This is generally only practi-

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

CHAPTER XXIV

A GRACIOUS PLOUGHING

LIKE the "royal elder brother" of China, the king of Burma ought to go out once a year to plough the fields. Thibaw Min did not do it during the first two years of his reign, and, as far as I am aware, was equally heedless throughout the later years also. The consequences ought to have been disastrous. According to tradition, the failure of the Lètwin mingala to come off should have caused a drought all over the country. But the Mo hkaung did not ensue; on the contrary, there was Mo kaung: an aspirate makes all the difference between a water-famine and seasonable showers. King Thibaw went very little indeed out of his palace. The annals of the country supply too many instances of kings, who, having gone abroad, found on their return to the palace gates that a usurper had taken possession of the throne in the meantime, and had no better greeting for his predecessor than a short shrift and a red velvet sack in which to plunge his body into the Irrawaddy. This unlovable custom had great weight with King Thibaw; but it was unwise of him to entirely abandon so venerable a tradition as the Lètwin mingala. It was at this ceremonial that one of the earliest marvels in the life of the Buddha Gautama happened. The king Thudawdana, with eight hundred noblemen save one, was ploughing the fields at the annual festival. Many country people came to see the great sight, and the city emptied itself. The maids who had charge of the little Prince Theidat laid him down under the shade of a tree and went to look on. The infant Buddha rose up as soon as they were gone, and sitting

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2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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773 cross-legged in the fashion in which he is ordinarily represented in the images, became sunk in meditation. The careless maids all through the hot afternoon forgot about their princely charge, until the returning crowds and the setting sun reminded them of their neglect. Then they hurried to the tree and found that the Zampu tha-bye had maintained its shadow in the exact same position all day as it was in when Prince Theidat was first laid down. Notwithstanding the arc the sun had described, the shade had all along hung over the head of the meditating Payā Alaung.

241 796 643 The festival has therefore special reason to be celebrated by the descendants of the solar kings. It was also in every way a most picturesque fête, pleased the people, and offered a valuable opportunity for squeezing money out of them. King Mindôn never omitted it, even when he was grown old and portly, and little able to follow the slow-stepping bullocks. The ceremony took place in the beginning of June, about the time when the south-west monsoon usually breaks in Mandalay. The order went forth that the king would come out on such and such a day, and the people were enjoined to get ready. Not to see him—far from it. 643 349 The right of a cat to look at a king in Mandalay was not well established. The Amein-daw was issued in order that the heads over ten houses, the Sè-eing gaungs, might see that the road in their district was in proper repair, and that the yazamat had not got out of order. The yazamat, or king's fence, was a kind of lattice-paling put up in every street in the walled town, and in any of those in the suburbs through which the king was likely at any time to pass. It was formed of thick diagonal spars made into hurdles, which were lashed to heavy posts sunk in the ground at regular intervals. The whole was whitewashed, and often flower-pots stood on the top of the posts to enliven the structure a little; and it certainly wanted enlivening a good deal. The lattice-fence undoubtedly looked very neat and tidy, as a long straight road lined with Lombardy poplars does; but it became terribly tiresome, when you found all the streets looking exactly the same, with this six-foot-high heavy wood fence standing within a couple of feet or so of

2,Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

the walls of the houses, and shutting out all view of these wooden structures. It had, however, to be kept in constant repair, and the house-reeve has to go round carefully to see that none of the whitewash had been rubbed off, nor any of the transverse bars sprung with the sun. Behind these the entire populace had to stay when the king, or any one of the queens, went out. Woe betide the wretch who was caught outside them when the procession had started. He might consider himself lucky if he escaped with only a belabouring from the fasces of the shrieking lictors. No one was supposed even to look through the little diamond-shaped holes. As a matter of fact they did; but by way of condoning for the offence, they rendered it more difficult by planting flowering shrubs between the bamboo houses and the lattice-work.

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The procession on the route out to the Lèya, the royal acre, to be ploughed, was magnificent. The king was clad in all his robes of state: the paso with the daungyôp, the peacock sacred to royalty; the long silk surcoat, or tunic, so thickly crusted with jewels that its colour could not be seen; the tharapu, the spire-like crown, also a mass of precious stones; the twenty-four strings of the Order of the Salwè across his breast; and over his forehead the gold plate, or frontlet. The great gates in front of the stairs from the Hall of Audience were opened for him, Except the King of the Golden Throne no one might pass through them; there was the low red postern at the side for meaner beings—a shrewd device to make every one bow his head to the palace, whether he liked it or not. His majesty mounted the white elephant, which none save he might ride—for is not the noble creature a king himself?

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The king mounted the Lord White Elephant at the palace of the latter, to the right of the Hall of Audience; but the princes and ministers, all of whom came to attend the great function in their robes of state, might not enter their howdahs till the stockade of the nandaw had been passed. Then they fell into line in order of precedence, the wuns and wundauks wearing their official mitres—tall red velvet hats, with the top curled back like a nautilus, and the base surrounded with a row of gilt spear-heads. The long

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644 crimson velvet cassocks edged with rich brocade were also
796 worn, and every one paraded all the umbrellas, gold, or vermilion, or green, that he was entitled to.

Thus they pass through the official town into the suburbs. The road taken is that by the east gate, whence, in a line with the steps of the Hall of Audience, a broad way runs straight away to the blue Shan hills; or at least to where, in Mindôn's reign, the great Yankin-taung pagoda was being built, a few miles from where the hills rise, steep as out of a lake, from the flat rice lands. A death-like stillness prevails after the procession has passed the two timber guard-houses, between the tall columns of the eastern gate, surmounted by fantastic, triple-roofed teak pavilions, looking like Chinese joss-houses with their flamboyant carvings. The people are no doubt all there—we speak as those who know—crouching on their stomachs and peeping as best they can through yazamat and leaves of the bushes and legs of the soldiers that line the royal path all the way, striving their utmost to get a glimpse of the king and the splendour of his retinue; but they are not to be seen, and no one so much as sneezes. Thus the richly carved and gilt royal monastery is passed on the left; and immediately afterwards comparatively open ground is reached, stretching out on either side
796 of the high, raised road. A little farther on, half a mile
● 241 or so from the eastern gate, a halt is made at the selected
644 portion of the lèdawgyi. Ploughs stand ready in a long row, extending away as far as one can see; for all the princes and ministers must plough as well as the king. The royal plough is thickly covered with gold-leaf; the part on which his majesty stands—for it must not be forgotten that the Burmese plough is something like a giant rake, and is not really a plough to English ideas at all—is gold, roughened with pearls and emeralds. The milk-white oxen that draw it rival the Lord White Elephant in the splendour of their harness. Crimson and gold bands hook them on; the reins are stiff with rubies and diamonds; heavy gold tassels hang from gilded horns. The gold-tipped ox-goad his majesty wields is covered with jewels and flashes like a rod of fire in the sun.

The king ploughs a couple of furrows—or, rather, passes

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

the big rake once up and down the rain-sodden field—and then stops; for he is portly, and short of breath now. The ministers, no matter how fat they are, have to go on ploughing as long as the Arbiter of Existence chooses to look on. At last he declares that enough has been done, and preparations are made to go back again. He doffs his royal robes, for the tharapu, with its spire and jewelled ear-flappets, is burdensome, and the long surcoat, with its thousands of precious stones, is said to weigh about a hundred pounds. The Lord White Elephant is relieved too. He stalks back unencumbered, with his household of thirty retainers fussing about him with fans and swaying umbrellas.

The king gets into an open car, something like what Roman racing chariots are represented to have been. It is of course adorned as richly as everything else, and is drawn not by ponies or bullocks, but by men, eight of them pulling at each of the flexible shafts. The object is to prevent any one, the driver for example, sitting higher than the king. The English carriages presented at various times to different Burmese monarchs met with little approval. At first it was thought that the king was to sit on the box; but then it was found that with this arrangement there was nothing for it but that the driver should run by the side and therefore maintain a constant erect attitude in the presence of royalty. When it was found that the king was supposed to sit inside, with the driver two or three feet above him, a burst of indignation suggested that it was an insidious plot to put an insult on the majesty of the lord of the umbrella-bearing chiefs. For a time the vehicles were put away as lumber; but an ingenious handicraftsman adorned them with pyathats—five-roofed ecclesiastical or royal spires. They were now, when drawn by men, suitable for royal occupation; but unfortunately the solid teak-wood spires made them top-heavy, and especially unstable on rough Mandalay roads. They therefore degenerated into paraphernalia for exhibition on a kadaw day, or gauds for a procession at Tawadeintha feast time.

The king consequently returns on his low, gilt, native-made carriage, reclining on a mattress placed on the floor. He is now dressed in the ordinary national way, with a light

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linen jacket and a slender pawlôn (a fillet of book-muslin wound round the head), showing the thin white hair tied up in a little knot on the top of the head. The chief ministers are round about, fanning him assiduously; and he is in extreme good-humour, chaffing the Kin Wungyi, the astute prime minister, on the way he let his bullocks straggle away at random and the difficulties he got into in trying to turn them at the end of the field; while the stout old Naingan-gya Wun-dauk is rallied about the absurd state of heat he was brought into by his exertions. Possibly, if a venture-some and inquisitive subject were to be seen now, the king might pardon him for his rude gaping. But nobody knows in what temper the king is, and the silence is as death-like as when the party moved out. As soon, however, as the great procession has passed and has wound its way into the palace, the hitherto deserted streets are crowded again. Pwès begin with startling suddenness at every corner. Bands strike up; long lines of candles illuminate the streets at nightfall; rockets are let off, fire-balloons ascend, and every-thing is given up to rejoicing; for the lèdawgyi has been graciously ploughed, and the Lètwin mingala is a presage of abundant crops.

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It is needless to say that the persons mentioned are now all dead and that the British Government does not maintain the Lètwin mingala. The spectacle of the Lieu-tenant-Governor balancing himself on a harrow with the Commissioner of the Northern Division and the Judicial Commissioner for Upper Burma as acolytes, or rivals, would not be impressive. A striking spectacle has gone and cannot be revived.

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CHAPTER XXVI

SILK-GROWING

REARING silkworms, though a very profitable occupation, is not looked upon with any favour in Burma. To get the silk the pupa must be killed; and the taking of life in any form is an impiety always looked upon with great horror by all good Buddhists. Silk-growers are classed together with professional hunters and fishermen. The Four States of Punishment yawn for them, and their portion will be in the lowest abyss of the lowest hell. Still there are colonies of silk-growers in various parts of the country; but they live apart from the rest of the inhabitants as a rule, and often have entire villages to themselves. Colonel Horace Browne who, more than any other Englishman took an interest in the ways and occupations of the districts under his charge, states that the cultivators near Prome, where more silk is produced than in any part of Burma, are nearly all Yabeins —a race of the same stock as the Burmese, but despised by them independently of their crime in the way of habitually taking animal life. So much has the cultivation of silk become identified with them, that to Burman ears the term Yabein is virtually synonymous with that of silk-grower. They usually live on the hillsides, occupying themselves like the poorer Burmans and Karens, with taung-ya cultivation; burning the forests on the slopes and sowing the ground thus enriched with the wood ashes, with rice, cotton, or oil-seed. The system is viewed with very little approval by the government officials, for the taung-ya soil, hardly exhausted by the single crop raised off it, immediately produces a dense shrub-growth of no use to anybody, certainly not to the foresters.

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16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

CHAPTER XIII

FESTIVALS

'The law is sweet, filling the soul with joy.'
Saying of the Buddha.

796 THE three months of the rains, from the full moon
132 of July to the full moon of October, is the Buddhist
484 Lent. It was during these months that the Buddha
241 would retire to some monastery and cease from travelling and teaching for a time. The custom was far older even than that—so old that we do not know how it arose. Its origin is lost in the mists of far-away time. But whatever the beginning may have been, it fits in very well with the habits of the people; for in the rains travelling is not easy. The roads are very bad, covered even with water, often deep in mud; and the rest-houses, with open sides, are not very comfortable with the rain drifting in. Even if there were no custom of Lent, there would be but little travelling then. People would stay at home, both because of the discomfort of moving, and because there is much work then at
132 the village. For this is the time to plough, this is
241 the time to sow; on the villagers' exertions in these

16;Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

months depends all their maintenance for the rest of the year. Every man, every woman, every child, has hard work of some kind or another. 132 241

And so, what with the difficulties of travelling, what with the work there is to do, and what with the custom of Lent, everyone stays at home. It is the time for prayer, for fasting, for improving the soul. Many men during these months will live even as the monks live, will eat but before mid-day, will abstain from tobacco. There are no plays during Lent, and there are no marriages. It is the time for preparing the land for the crop; it is the time for preparing the soul for eternity. The congregations on the Sundays will be far greater at this time than at any other; there will be more thought of the serious things of life. 132 796 785

It is a very long Lent—three months; but with the full moon of October comes the end. The rains then are over; the great black bank of clouds that walled up all the south so long is gone. The south wind has died away, and the light, fresh north wind is coming down the river. The roads are drying up, the work in the fields is over for a time, awaiting the ripening of the grain. The damp has gone out of the air, and it is very clear. You can see once more the purple mountains that you have missed so long; there is a new feeling in the wind, a laughter in the sunshine, a flush of blossom along the fields like the awakening of a new joy. The rains are over and the cool weather is coming; Lent is over and gladness is returned; the crop has been sown, and soon will come the reaping. And so at this full moon of October is the great feast of the 132 796 [241]

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

nearly every house there will be a loom, where the wife or daughter weaves for herself or for sale. But many men weave also, and the finest silks are all woven by men. I once asked a woman why they did not weave the best silks, instead of leaving them all to the men. 462 286

'Men do them better,' she said, with a laugh. 'I tried once, but I cannot manage that embroidery.'

They also work in the fields—light work, such as weeding and planting. The heavy work, such as ploughing, is done by men. They also work on the roads carrying things, as all Oriental women do. It is curious that women carry always on their heads, men always on their shoulders. I do not know why. 462 241 482

But the great occupation of women is petty trading. I have already said that there are few large merchants among the Burmese. Nearly all the retail trade is small, most of it is very small indeed, and practically the whole of it is in the hands of the women. 462 444

Women do not often succeed in any wholesale trade. They have not, I think, a wide enough grasp of affairs for that. Their views are always somewhat limited; they are too penny-wise and pound-foolish for big businesses. The small retail trade, gaining a penny here and a penny there, just suits them, and they have almost made it a close profession. [442]

This trade is almost exclusively done in bazaars. In every town there is a bazaar, from six till ten each morning. When there is no town near, the baraar will be held on one day at one village and on another at a neighbouring one. It depends on the 443 [805]

to [illegible]. Mangoes in season cost four annas for ten. In camp they have eaten mangoes twice in six months, six for one eating, Re. 1/- for six. 263 435

MAYAN-THEE-AHNE (mariam-fruit-ripe: Bouea burmanica, Griff.) are eaten in the afternoons, with salt. Similarly with unripe ones. They are also eaten with rice and NGAPI YE. In Pathwe about ten fruits were eaten almost daily when in season. 178

NGA PYAW-THEE (banana-fruit: Musa paradisica, Linn, Sub-sp, sapientum, K. Schum). Bananas are sometimes eaten with rice during the main meals but usually by themselves. In Pathwe one bunch a day containing 13 bananas and costing three annas were eaten during four or five times a month. In camp the same bunch costs four annas and bananas are eaten five times a month.

THAGYAR-LON (sugar-ball) or sweets, and CHO-CHIN (sweet-sour) are bought. Ma Aye Myaing has never seen these being made and hence does not know the process of manufacture. The THAGYAR-LON are round sweets also but are shaped like small orange pods and weighing about six to the tical. They are eaten only in camp. The consumption of sweets is limited to the youngest. She gets 8 THAGYAR-LONS a month at one anna for two and two for an eating; and 18 CHO-CHIN a month at an anna for six and six for one eating.

Ma Aye Myaing gave the following data on the period of the year when the foods used by the family are available. 262

Fish is obtained from the fishery in Pathwe from the month of Tawthalin to the month of Pyatho. From the other places in the river, fish was obtained from Tabodwe month to the months of Kason and Nayon. The varieties of fish remain the same in both fishing areas. Shrimps are plentiful in Pyatho month and lobsters in Tasaungmon and Nadaw.

KALA-HE (dhall): In common with a great number of peas and beans, KALA HE appears about the month of Tabaung. However, since these are not very perishable, they can be kept in stock for the whole year and made available in any month.

KAYAN-THEE (brinjal): The brinjal plant starts to bear fruit in the month of Pyatho and continues to Kason and Nayon. In Tawthalin and Thadingyut, brinjal fruit was brought to Pathwe from other villages from the fields not on the river banks. Here in Rangoon they notice that brinjal fruit is available all year round.

PE-LINGME-THEE (snake beans) were available during the months of Kason, Nayon, Waso, Wagaung, Tawthalin and Thadingyut.

In Rangoon many of the plants and vegetables that were cultivated only seasonally back in Pathwe and the other district villages, are cultivated all the year round. The ready market in Rangoon encourages the districts lying just outside Rangoon to produce whatever plants they can and send them to town. [369] [241]

PE THEE (beans): these appeared in Pathwe for 9 months in the year. The first period is from Tasaungmon to Tagu, and the second from Waso to Thadingyut inclusive. In Rangoon this is available all year round.

HSAN (rice): During the months of Kason and Nayon the paddy grains are sown in the nurseries, and the seedlings are then transplanted to the fields during Waso and Wagaung. In other fields where no transplanting is carried on, the seeds are sown broadcast in Kason and Nayon. There are some species of paddy grain that ripen earlier than the rest. However, from the point of view of the consumer, rice is available all the year round. [243]

NGAYOK-THEE (chillies): The seeds are planted during Waso, Wagaung and Tawthalin and transplanted during Tasaungmon. The chillies

21: Htin Aung · E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

527 one, and each gives a special dance of its own.[1] At night, as part of the
796 celebrations, there is a feast of fools. Young men and boys roam the
532 village, throwing *zibyu* fruits at houses and stealing things, which will
174 be found in the centre of the village the next morning: the objects of the good-natured theft are mostly articles that would provoke laughter—such as a lady's under-skirt; or those which would cause temporary inconvenience in the morning—such as cooking utensils, steps from stairs, or a piece from the roof. The Feast of the New Year is one of mirth and foolery. It is known as the Water Festival because on that occasion, every Burman takes a delight in throwing water at his neighbour and getting soaked himself as the result of the other's counter-attack. The men derive great enjoyment from drenching the women, who in their turn are not slow to have their revenge. Young men group themselves and dance joyously along the streets, at times being chased by bands of elderly maiden ladies who lie in wait to catch the ringleaders. When caught, the youths are lightly bound with silken cords and their faces are blackened with soot. Then they are made to perform a monkey dance before being granted their release. The spirit of fun apparent in these Burmese feasts of foolery is akin to that which moved the young clerks of the *Parlement* of Paris and the members of the Inns of Court in London to stage their Feasts of Fools in medieval times.[2]

527 As the villagers lead a communal life and every joy and sorrow of a villager is shared by all others, a joyful event is celebrated by a
[561] public feast. Marriage, birth, the admission of a son to his novitiate (for every Burmese boy enters priesthood for at least a week), and the piercing of the ear of a daughter are occasions for mirth and jollity. At these feasts they sing and dance and mimic, groups of villagers vie with each other for new methods of giving entertainment, and there
[241] is keen rivalry between youths and maidens. The most mirthful feast of all is the Harvest Feast in February, when the paddy has been reaped, and the village is ready to enjoy a well-earned rest of four after a working period of eight months.

527 These folk feasts are of great antiquity, though, because of the
796 essentially unchanging life in the villages, they continue to exist even at the present day. The Tazaungmôn and other Buddhist feasts

[1] The puppet show is described in a later chapter.

[2] Cf. E. K. Chambers, *The Medieval Stage*, chap. xiii, 'The Feast of Fools'; also E. Welsford, *The Court Masque*, p. 2.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

104. OUTLOOK OVER MIXED FORMS OF CULTIVATION.

the vagaries of the rivers. A good season is one in which a large proportion of the fields have water enough for an early start and in which the rainfall is steady, not leaving the surface to dry up by a long break in the rain nor deluging the soil at other times. All the alluvial land of favourable elevation and quality is laid out in level rice-fields. Where the rainfall is ample—fifty inches and upwards—portions of the diluvial land with tenacious soil can be utilised in the same way by merely saving the surface-water. In regions of lighter rainfall, in a few favoured localities, such land is brought under rice by help of irrigation and if need be by terracing as well. The rice-fields are bordered by low turfy balks (*kazin*) about a cubit high, to keep in the water. These regular rice-lands form less than one-tenth of the gross area of the country. The rest is mainly irreclaimable, chiefly mountain, waste. The waste areas of the alluvial plains (*kwin*) are flooded from three to ten feet deep in the rains. They are clothed with elephant-grass (*kaing*) studded, through with silk-cotton trees and a few other species. The lowest levels in the *kwin* form shallow lagoons (*in*, No. 103) which dry up in the hot season. Dry-season crops—sugar-cane (which is also grown on the wet system), maize, lentils, and vegetables for a limited market—are obtained in the *kaing*.

105. HILL-PEOPLE MAKING THEIR CULTIVATION CLEARING (p. 149).

Burma has become the rice-mart of the world. Since the development of this trade the price of the staple export has more than quadrupled, producing in the lower country a prosperity which has no parallel in respect of its equal diffusion. It is believed that this development of the wealth of Pegu has been favoured by the upheaval

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

133 of the delta of the Irawadi, by which fresh silt-beds are raised to the cultivation
134 level. The town of Thâton, now sixteen miles from the coast and without a sea approach, was, in historic times, a port. Ships came up to Tenaserim in the south, the ancient emporium of trade across the Peninsula to Siam, and to Akauttaung in the north, and probably to Pegu. A mass of precise data on this subject was collected by the late Mr. John Merrifield, who came to the conclusion that Tenaserim had risen fifteen to twenty feet in the course of the last 300 years. In 1900, ten and a half million acres were cultivated in Burma. The rice crop was estimated at three and a half million tons, of which two millions were exported, worth £14,000,000. Fallow lands were estimated at five and a half million acres and arable waste at twenty-four millions, out of a gross area of one hundred and one millions. In 1872 a considerable firm failed over the enterprise of bringing a few thousand acres of reputed arable waste at Kayásu under cultivation; the crops got so much water that they rotted. The area has lain waste ever since. Most of the waste land granted to companies has been resumed, on account of their failure to satisfy the condition of utilising the land. The conditions which render land suitable for wet cultivation are less simple than they appear at the first glance. It is possible that the estimate of the arable waste is much too high.

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[175] 108. THE RICE PLANT IN THE EAR.

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Where the fields depend on the surface-water for their supply, a margin of fallow has to be left; where they get a deposit of river-silt it is unnecessary. If manure is plentiful it is taken out on the fields. But this is seldom the case because the cattle are so much at large. On the outskirts of the rice-fields, which are dispersed in groups throughout the *kwin*, fallow land may readily relapse into waste. The depopulation of Pegu (Chronology, 1570, 1591–1740) threw great areas out of cultivation. Anyone was free to reclaim waste, and is so still. In Burma Proper, where good land is much scarcer than in Pegu, proprietors are fixed on the soil in many places by royal grants (*ka-myo, bbabaing*). There were also royal demesne lands leased to tenants.

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In the dry zone of Burma Proper, rice cultivation is impracticable except where rivers flood their margins or where facilities for irrigation exist. Rice

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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108. PLOUGHING IN THE DRY ZONE.

is a luxury in that region, and a part of the requirement is imported from Pegu. Crops of sorghum and millet (*pyaung*, *lu*), sesamum (*hnan*) and various pulses (*pè*), as well as cotton (*wûl*), are obtained on the better sort of soil, during the light rains, from July to September. The dry soil is too hard for ploughing even when moistened by such rain as falls. It is scraped up with harrows instead. Four oxen are yoked abreast and the driver rides on the beam of the harrow to give it weight.

241 The wet or staple cultivation of the whole country begins between June and
132 August, as soon as the grass-sod which has formed on the rice-fields in the by-season—and which has served for pasture in the interval—has got thoroughly
231 water-logged. The soil is then turned, about six inches deep, with a wooden plough (*tè*, Nos. 102, 119) bearing a shoe of bronze or iron. Where elephants are available, a large *thu* is used which does the work of four ploughs. The clods left by the plough are broken fine, and the wet soil worked into slush by herds of buffaloes driven round and round in the fields. If there are not enough cattle, the plough-clods are worked down with harrows drawn by buffaloes or oxen (No. 325). A rotary implement is coming into use to prepare
[136] the clods for the harrow (No. 168). There is very little open grass-land in the moist region. Unless the scrub which springs up is cut, the land soon relapses into jungle.

241 For the above operations cattle are needful to
231 the cultivator, though he makes little use of the manure and does not use the milk at all. The cattle are only used for draught, and very little care is bestowed on breeding. Oxen

109. ELEPHANT PLOUGH.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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110. BUFFALOES TRAMPLING DOWN THE CLODS.

are worth twenty to sixty rupees a head, buffaloes twenty-five to fifty. The latter are heavier and more powerful, and better able to work in the wet and to forage for themselves, but they are subject to many distempers, of which the worst is anthrax. The noses of the draught-cattle are pierced and a thin rope rove through which is spliced at the back of the horns. During a great part of the year there is no work for the buffaloes, as they are of little service for wheel-draught; then they are left to roam at large. They frequent the streams and lagoons, where they are followed by egrets and crows, which pick the worms out of the mud as the buffaloes turn over in their wallow. While crops are standing, cattle have to be kept in pens at night, and to be herded by day. This work is done by children from twelve [857] years upwards. The buffalo-pen is made near the house, if possible in a water-logged spot where the animals can wallow in the mud, which protects them from the bites of gad-flies and mosquitoes. Where there is no wallow, smoky fires are made to keep the insects away. In certain localities of the delta cattle need to be protected with curtains. In the arid region fodder is grown for the cattle, but goats find pasture and are kept for their milk; they are worth five to twenty rupees a head.

243 The rice-fields first ploughed and ready are sown broad-cast for nurseries (*pyo-gin*). A month [231] later, when the rice-plants are about a foot high, they are taken up and transplanted into the prepared fields, a span apart. The roots are simply pressed down into the soft slush

111. DRIVING HOME THE BUFFALOES.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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344. MIXED HILL-CROP OF RICE, SESAMUM, AND TEAK, IN SEPTEMBER (p. 140).

of being nearly all heart-wood, having considerable strength, with moderate hardness and weight, working easily with axe, saw and chisel, taking nails, and above all, not rusting nails or iron in contact with it. It has a serviceable brown colour and an odour by which it may always be distinguished, due to the presence of an oil which repels the attacks of insects, notably of the termites, and which protects it from decay. Teak is in short the prince of eastern woods. At the end of the eighteenth century, teak was already being worked out of the Burma forests and brought to port, where the foreign shippers had established saw-pits for squaring the logs. The steel pit-saws found their way into trade and gave an impetus to wood architecture, of which the ecclesiastical buildings of Burma are the chief examples. Timber-traders started building teak ships in Burma, employing Chinese carpenters. This business has been abandoned, but lighters are still built.

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343. FLUE OF FACTORY DISUSED TEN YEARS.

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The teak-tree (*tectona grandis*) occurs in patches of the dry mixed forest, the forest namely of which the principal element is a deciduous bamboo, with timber trees of fifty or more deciduous species scattered through it. Of these species about half a dozen produce serviceable timber. The bamboo-stools send up their culms to heights of forty and sixty feet in the course of a few weeks, before their branchlets and leaves appear. By means of this the bamboo has the advantage over all other vegetation. The seedlings of trees have to struggle up under its cover. At intervals of twenty to thirty years the bamboo species flower, to grow again from seed. Then is

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma AP1
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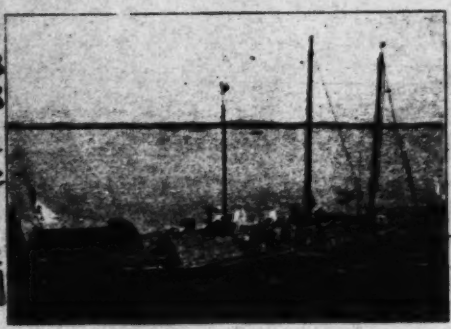

565. BRINGING THE PADDY TO THE RICE-MILLS.

of every class and caste, with his foreign connection and longer experience, has an incalculable advantage over the untravelled Burman. Beginning with a lower standard of comfort than the Burman—squatting on the bare soil where the poorest Burman makes a floor, wearing cotton where the other wears silk, and being able to improve his original condition upon half the return that the Burman expects for his work—the Indian immigrant finds land worth his labour which the Burman leaves waste. The influx of races whose religion it is to multiply, without regard to the prospect of subsistence, must speedily result in lowering the scale of life for everyone in Burma—a country of which it may now be said that "a large share of the happiness of each individual is derived from the consciousness of the well-being of other individuals." (Herbert Spencer, *Principles of Ethics*, Vol. I., p. 297.) Commencing by hiring the cheap Indian labour to reap his corn, then to plough and till his fields, the while emulating his neighbours in superfluous works, the Burman is apt to end by becoming the debtor of his servant, and mortgaging to him his lands. It seems to many that there is no escape for the Burman from the Indian flood that now menaces his country. But up to the present no class of Indians has attempted to deal with land subject to the vicissitudes of the Burman riverain soil. It is unlikely that people of less versatility and resource will establish themselves there. In 1879, when the vagaries of the Irawadi had submerged the cultivation on the Panhlaing creek some twelve feet, and the eaves of the houses were under water, the cattle were saved in hasty platforms made in

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566. FOREHORE AT THE FACTORIES.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 API Burma API
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trees. All that the villagers asked for (and of course got) was exemption from land-tax. Another hopeful feature is that the Burman is not devoid of the quality of self-criticism. With the Indian retail trader comes also the wholesale merchant—Persian, Parsi, Súrati, Chetti and Bania. And the Burmans at large accept the situation, never dreaming that by travelling abroad and seeing for themselves how other nations manage and how they fare, they might learn to conduct their own business, and help to save Burma from sinking to the level of proletariate countries. Natives of India and China have learned so much in their capacities of assistants to European merchants that they are getting the retail trade in European goods to themselves. Even as importers, with their agents in Europe, they are making themselves independent of the European merchant in the East. The European spheres of activity on which Burmans

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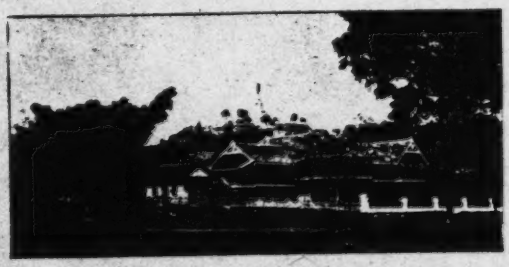

268. EUROPEAN TYPE OF HOUSE.

have entered are saw-mill enterprise and the profession of advocacy, in which latter they have attained a high standing.

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To the Burman, the native of India is the foreigner *par excellence*—*Kalá*—and shares the disrepute that a stay-at-home people commonly accord to the foreigner, especially when he is a needy one. To them he is the dog that eats the crumbs which fall from his table ("*Kwe-Kalá!*"). While the Chinaman, despite his uncouthness and uncanny parasitic trade, is considered an eligible man, *Kalá-mayá*—nigger's-wife—is a term of reproach. The *Kalá* half-breeds are called *Zerbádi*. They appear to possess fewer good qualities than either of the pure races. The Euro-Burman half-breeds are called *Bayinyá*—(Feringhi, the Indian equivalent of Frank) explained by the Burmans as *Bayin-dyí* (adherent of) the Great Prince (the Pope).

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Europeans are the only remaining foreigners whom the Burmans encounter, excepting a few Armenians, Jews and Malays. Armenians were beginning to play

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
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414. WATER-THROWING AT NEW-YEAR.

Party feeling, which often runs high between the quarters of a village, with their rival *kyaung* and *zedi*, finds an outlet at *Tagú* in the tug-of-war (*lun-swé*). As the superstitious whistle for the wind, so do they expect to tug in the monsoon by this means, at the season when everything is panting for rain.

After *Tagú*, the next festival season is *Wàzò*—in June—the commencement of the Buddhist Lent. This season is signalised by the *Shinláung ftes*, described in Chapter III. During Lent there is no regular festival.

The great festival of *Thadlndyút* celebrates the close of Lent. It falls in October, when the rains are generally over, and is the one for which the most extensive preparations are made. Every festival is signalised by the offerings made to the *yahán*. But now they are literally "poured" in profusion, as the word implies (*sun-láung*). *Yazamá*—paths fenced with bamboo trellis, such as those prepared for the progress of royalty—are got ready along the chief thoroughfare. Through these on the morning of the great day the *yahán* defile in endless procession. As many as a thousand *yahán* may be invited to receive the *Thadlndyút* offerings in a large town. The offerings are poured into the alms-bowls by the laity; scholars are stationed at intervals to relieve the *yahán* of their loads of offerings. After the *yahán* come *pôthudaw* and *mèthilá*. Both ends of the *yazamá* are decorated with arches of bamboo and tinsel. About these are grouped life-size figures of mythical import—dragons to guard the entrance, princes and princesses of the *nats* to take part in the honour done to the *Thingá* (No. 151). In the evenings fire-

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415. RANSOM PROCESSION AT NEW-YEAR.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
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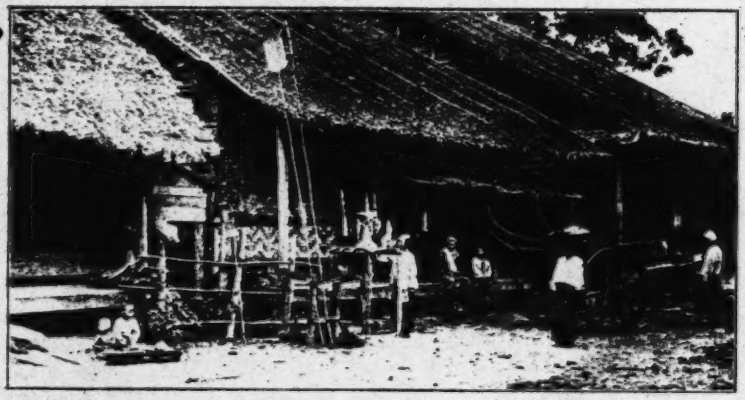

431. DECORATING THE THEBONZEDI p. 127.

CHAPTER IX

AGE AND MORTALITY

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432. A DAUGHTER PRAYING HER PARENTS TO NOBO-SAT.

THE men and women of the tropics age and die sooner than those of temperate climates. One meets reputed centenarians in Burma, but it is rarely that the old people can prove their age, unless they are able to connect their year of birth with some historical event. Ninety years is a very great age for a native of Burma to attain. When parents are past their prime their children pray them to *nobo-sat*, which means that they should be at the children's charge for the remainder of their lives, as the children had first been at their parents'. The turning-point is not marked by any formality, but a child approaching parents on a solemn occasion adopts the gesture of veneration. The aged are not idle; they preserve a great elasticity of mind and interest in things;

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30: Maung Htin Aung E-4 (no date) 1953 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

Although the kingdoms of Prome and Thaton probably based their wealth on trade and commerce, and the kingdom of Pagan based its power and wealth on commerce, the Burmese have been simple agriculturists throughout their history, and therefore Burmese customary law of contract and torts dealt with the business of agriculture, such as water-rights, land-rights, hire of cattle, carts, and implements, and with the relations between employers and laborers. As has been stated before, the Burmese law of contract and tort is no longer valid, and although the Burmese still remain agriculturalists, their business of agriculture is no longer simple as in the days before the British annexation. Nonetheless, some of the rules of law in contract and torts are still of interest. For example, let us consider the law relating to payment of wages to laborers. The Burmese law did not give emphasis to that part of the wages which was to be in the form of money. But it specifically laid down that (1) in the case of an agricultural laborer, he was to receive, in addition to wages in money, a suit of clothes at the end of each "season"—i.e., the "growing season" and the "reaping season," and (2) in the case of a nonagricultural laborer, he was to receive, throughout the period of his employment and in addition to wages in money, "regular meals of rice and curry." For the agricultural laborer, who had his own store of paddy, clothing was of great consequence, and to the nonagricultural laborer food was of great consequence. Thus the Burmese law ensured that the fluctuation either in the general level of wages or in the value of money should not adversely effect either the laborer or his employer. Moreover, as both the laborer and the employer wore the same homespun clothes and ate the same food, the arrangement was fair to both parties. With regard to professional services rendered also, the Burmese law attempted to be fair to both parties, as could be seen from the following rules of law regarding physicians and lawyers:

671 683 675 241 466 671 759 693

If a physician has been called for fee to attend to a sick person, but the sick person recovers or dies before the physician reaches

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

[opp. p. 118]

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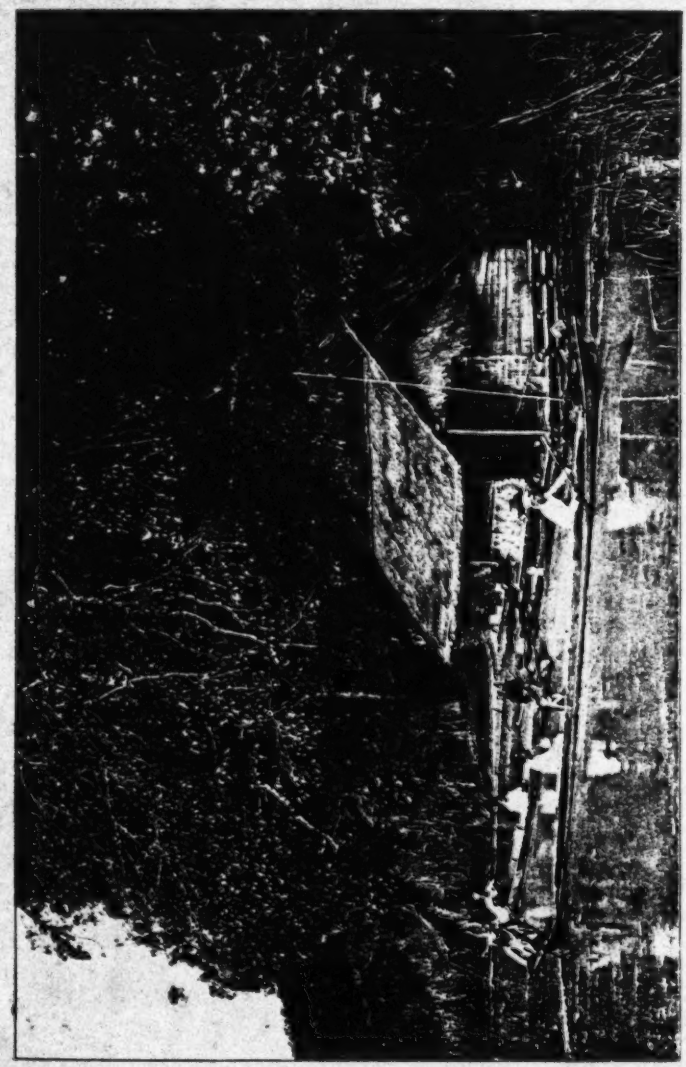

261 TIMBER-SALVER'S HUT.

To face p. 118.

249 kept a manager and his family in the bungalow of each plantation, and a
311 staff of eight or nine tappers. Once a week we drove out there on a
439 picnic inspection; my father and mother gazed with pride on the rows of neat trees, walked right round to see that clearings were maintained and that the trees looked right, peered into the cups of rich white latex, administered rebukes and instructions and inspected the books, visited the smoking house and saw the brown smoked sheets with GK stamped on them, after the traditional Burmese way of married business—G for Gyi, my mother, and K for Kaing, my father—and then we all returned home. Chinese traders came to the house and while chewing betel they talked about quantities and prices of the stock we had. Then the stacked sheets came from the plantation in the two bullock carts which we kept there, and the traders came and took them away and paid us in cash. Business was something so foreign to what we had always seen our parents doing, and this all seemed so simple, that we always felt they were surely being cheated.

245 Some of the other pensioners did not believe in dabbling with com-
438 modities that depended on a world market. Even the way in which we grew rubber went too much into the world of specialized commerce
262 which might have pitfalls for a retired civil servant. A friend of my father's grew large gardens of *da-nyin*, a tree of the laburnum species. The fruit of this tree rivals the durian for its nauseating effect on foreign sensibilities. It does not exude a smell as the durian does, until you eat it, but after eating it the smell comes out in breath, sweat and all other excretions. But it is one of our favourite foods. It is a small flat circular fruit of a hard and smooth consistency, enclosed in a shell which prises open in neat halves like an oyster shell. The texture and taste are delicious. We boil or bake it as a vegetable for fish sauce, we salt it in big jars as a pickle, we beat it and make it swim in coconut milk and eat it as a sweet, we bury it and make it sprout into a more pungent form called *da-nyin wet*. The main point is that it is eaten in vast quantities. It also contains substances which are good for diabetics, and families buy it literally in hundreds. No world depression interferes with the demand for *da-nyin thi*, and though the sale price is low, overhead charges are almost nil.

• 243 Other families in Thaton got their extra income from paddy-land.
438 Although the rice for which Burma is so famous today did not enter
556 world markets till the latter half of the last century, the possession of
262 *lè*, fields, which is synonymous with paddy-fields, is a well established form of wealth. Our part of Burma is particularly rich in fields. Nearly all the 3,500,000 tons of rice which is exported annually from Burma comes from Lower Burma, where Tenasserim Division ranks among the

three most productive areas, and Thaton district takes first place in 243
Tenasserim. But rice is more than the chief export crop of the country 438
to us. It is our *wun-sa*, food for the womb, our staple food; and we have 556
depended so much on it that we pay it reverence, almost. When we 262
were young, A-Kyi and our nurses never allowed us to tread on any rice
that had been spilt; rice was like a master and human beings its servants,
they said. The phrase for "I was not born yesterday" is "I grew [181]
up eating rice", and in the same way excessive stupidity excites wonder
that the person nourished on rice can be so stupid. Through years of
journeying on trains, bullock carts, and river steamers, we have seen the
peaceful green fields, the dry reaped corn, the golden grain heaped on
small canoes before milling. Though we did not know the toil and
the uncertain hopes of the cultivators, we followed the growth of the
life-giving grain through all its stages, seeing the first sproutings in one
place in one year, the ripe and mature crop in another, and the thriving
young stalks of a later generation in another place and time.

Our fields seemed perpetually marked into small beds by ridges six 243
inches high. Lying empty during the first months of the year, these
beds grew parched and baked by April and May. With the first blessed
showers of the monsoon about mid-May, however, one, two, three, four
or more inches of rain fell on the beds within about ten days, and softened the hard crust. Men went to work about the end of the month, and with harrow and plough they chopped and churned up the earth, cutting and burying weeds, refining the rough, and making the stiff clay soil pliant until a soft fine mud was produced. In the meantime, the seeds had been soaked in water in deep layers between banana leaves, to make them sprout and become more receptive of the soil's richness. These were brought out in baskets, and young men and women wearing wide bamboo hats in the heavy showers, walked about scattering them, using up to ten basketfuls in one acre. They allowed the seeds to lie for a few

243 days and then let in a gentle amount of water to flood the beds—one or two inches now, and more and more as the plants grew taller. In the meantime, vast stretches of beds were being prepared in the same way—plough and harrow and chop the weeds which here had become bigger and rougher with the rains, but would feed the soil better for that reason. When they had finished, all the country-side along the railway line looked like a vast segmented mirror, all the fine mud of the field lying beneath the four inches of water, and not a green weed to be seen. By now the plants in the nursery beds were about 1½—2 feet tall, and it was mid-July. Men plucked the seedlings, tying them swiftly into bundles of about 750. They chopped off the heads to free the plant of leaves which might make the young stalks topple over when they were planted upright. Then men and women stood ankle deep in the main beds and with one deft stroke of the right-hand they planted two or four stalks straight into the soft mud, each group a few inches from the next. It was this long and laborious task which gave the Lower Burman his landscape of endless green fields of rich waving paddy. From now on, these fields had only to be tended with water, neither to be stagnant, flooded, nor too dry. Through the months of September and October the rains diminished, the soil grew drier and the corn ripened from green to yellow. In December it was cut, tied in bundles and sunned for further drying and carried to the threshing floor. Here the bundles were ranged in rows with ears turned inwards, on the hardened surface of mud and dung, and bullocks trod round and round on them, slow and confident that their heavy hoofs would crush the chaff and leave the hard grain whole; and lo! when the mixture of corn and chaff was handed up in baskets to a high platform and tumbled down in a strong wind, the wind blew the chaff and dust away, but the corn fell in a clean heap on the ground below. Thus cultivators, and the weeds, earth, rain, sun, oxen and wind produced our wun-sa; but alas, the bounding broadcast sower, the slim, red-skirted deft-handed transplanters and the loving water-layers of this description are too often merely tenants or hired workers on the land. Owing to various causes, about 48% of the
423 land in Lower Burma belongs to non-agriculturists, chiefly non-resident, and although the money-lending alien and Indian Chettiar had become the chief holders of such lands, the owners of fields among our friends were also absentee landlords in the fullest sense, having little connection with the working of the paddy, except as a source of income.

452 Some of the pensioners got a fat income from money-lending although they would not have liked to admit it. Burmans who need money do not borrow from banks, nor do they have dealings with banks as a rule. It is only in this generation that such a thing as a bank balance is

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

CHAPTER XXIII

RICE CULTIVATION

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A GROWING number of millions of acres are under cultivation in Lower Burma, and of this total all but some three hundred thousand acres are devoted to the planting of rice. Tobacco, sugar-cane, cotton, and oil-seeds of different kinds, as well as fruit-trees, form the other crops. Upper Burma has a greater number of crops, and the proportion of rice is far from being so overwhelming, though almost everywhere it is the chief crop. The alluvial lands of the Irrawaddy delta produce by far the greatest quantity of rice. It is certain that the best quality grain comes at present from this part of the country, but this may be due to more practised agricultural skill or long-continued tilling of the land. Hardly any possible number of crops in a season could apparently exhaust the fertility of the soil. Any part of the country, however, may be used for the cultivation of rice. The laziest farm is a swamp-land, where the ordinary rainfall is sufficient to produce the sodden ground requisite for a rice crop. Such low-lying plains and the riparian lands, annually flooded by the overflow of the river, are naturally best suited to Burmese indolence and are earliest taken up. Farther up the country, where the rain runs off the surface quickly and the land is too high for the south-west monsoon floods, it is necessary to resort to irrigation, either by the obvious method of dams or by ingenious water-wheels. Finally, there is the laborious taung-ya cultivation, where whole hillsides are cleared of trees to produce a crop. This hard work is left to mild aboriginal or other tribes, whom the Burman has long ago bullied out of the fat lowlands.

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

● 243 Malicious people have declared that the only things a Burman does well are steering a boat and driving a bullock-cart. This is a libel; he can cultivate rice remarkably well. Unfortunately, however, as far as a vindication of his character as a worker is concerned, this does not imply any severe labour. Here the Burman is a victim of circumstances. So rich is the soil of his native land that it has only to be scratched to burst with plenty; the ploughing of the land cannot be described in any other way. The south-west monsoon rains, commencing early in June, soon reduce the ground to a soft sea of mud. When this has come about, the Burman proceeds to plough it. His plough is a single-barred harrow, or rake, with three long teeth of tough acacia-wood; a high bow or loop of bent wood rises from the cross-bar, and standing on this, the farmer is dragged backwards and forwards till the ground is reduced to a smooth surface—no very difficult matter. Oxen are frequently used, but more commonly the mud-loving buffalo, partly because he regards the toil as a pleasure on account of the mud, and partly because of his greater strength. Lazier farmers still adopt the primitive method of making the children drive the buffaloes and plough-oxen up and down in the mud and water so as to poach it up well; and then a log of wood is drawn over it to smooth it down. None of the farms are large, the average being somewhere between ten and twenty acres; so that this work is soon over. Nurseries are prepared at the same time on somewhat higher ground, where the seed will not rot with excessive moisture, and here the grain is sown broadcast.

Agricultural operations are now suspended for a month or six weeks. By about the beginning of August the ploughed fields have become somewhat less fluid, and the plants in the nursery, called pyokyèlè, have grown to a fair size. These are then pulled up and carried off to the prepared lands. A kaukseiktan, or knobbed stick, is used to make holes in the ground at intervals of a few inches, and into each of these holes a couple of plants are inserted. This work is left to the women and children, many of whom prefer their hands to the stick. The farmer squats on one of the solid ridges, which intersect the ground and serve as

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

footpaths, and with a huge green cheroot in his mouth, leisurely contemplates the operation. Everything is now in the hands of nature, and the agriculturist may lounge round his farm in peace till November; unless, indeed, excessive rain floods the ground and rots the crop, when a new planting out has to be gone through. The harvesting near Rangoon is entirely done by men from Upper Burma, or even by Indian coolies. They work for very little, and it saves the farmer a good deal of time and dignity to get all the cutting done for him. Accordingly, from October till December the steamers down the Irrawaddy used to be crowded with King Thibaw's subjects, all of whom had to leave behind them with their Myo-sa, or his delegate the Myo-wun, who vicariously "ate" the township between them, a pledge either of property or of some member of their family, that they would return to their country again. When they got back, very little of their hard-earned gains escaped the voracity of the royal officials. Now they come down by train, and after a trip or two learn enough to keep their money from enterprising fellow-countrymen. These anyathas, as they are called, behave remarkably well in British territory, notwithstanding the assertions of the rural police, who, being unable to detect dacoits, declare that these are all Upper Burmans who have come down for the harvest. They are really, however, mostly simple, quiet people, who are kept very much in awe by the bluster and town-knowledge of the down-country farmers, and work away zealously with their queer sickles, looking like the ordinary English article worn to half its original size by long use. It is worthy of notice that the grain is not mown close to the ground as in Europe. Except where there is a market for straw, very little more than the ears are cut off, and the straw burnt in the hot weather of March and April supplies a scarcely-needed fertilising to the soil. The reapers usually receive their payment from the farmer in grain, but they naturally convert this into money, or more portable goods, before they start off home again.

It does not take long to cut the crop, and then the corn is brought in to the homestead, commonly on rude sledges, more seldom in carts. The threshing-floor does not take

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

243 much preparing. It is simply a portion of the field swept clean. It is sufficiently hard from the broiling sun, and a stake is driven into the centre of the circle. Two lines of sheaves are arranged round this, head to head, and the grain is trodden out by slow-moving bullocks in good old lazy fashion. The Christian Biblical precept, not to muzzle the ox that treadeth out the corn, does not fail of observance with the Buddhist farmer. Then the paddy, that is, the unhusked grain, is winnowed. In some places hand-winnowing machines of a simple pattern are used; but ordinarily a far more primitive and easy method, corresponding to the substitution of oxen for threshing-flails, is in use. A man stands on an elevated platform and capsizes baskets of paddy brought from the threshing-floor; the rice falls on a sloping bamboo mat and so to the ground, the wind blowing away a great part of the bits of broken straw, chaff, and light grain. The system may not be very thorough, but it saves an immense amount of trouble, which is the chief consideration. All that now remains to be done is to carry the grain off to the big rice-boat lying in the creek. There it is stowed in bulk; and after a day or two, the farmer makes a start, dropping leisurely down through the network of creeks into one of the main streams, and so making his way to Rangoon, or Bassein, whence he will return in a few weeks with fine Chinese neckerchiefs for his daughters and perhaps a gay Manchester paso or two for himself and his sons—
[452] unless, indeed, the Madras money-lender has snapped up all
[674] his receipts down in town, or some of the robber-boats that infest the creeks at this time of the year have pounced upon him and carried off everything but the boat and the paddles.

243 Rice-farming would be profitable as well as easy work
427 were it not for the reckless squandering of almost all the
433 cultivators. The average rent per acre is under three
435 shillings; the average produce of the land per acre is from eighty to a hundred bushels in the more fertile parts, while elsewhere the yield is from forty to fifty. The selling price of rice per maund (80 lbs.) in Rangoon is between 4s. 6d.
243 and 5s. Agriculturists, therefore, ought to grow rich. But
511 they are too fond of gambling and building works of merit
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2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

to accumulate money, and their carelessness results in the constant death of their plough-beasts, so that matters usually remain exactly at the same level if the farmer does not actually get into permanent debt. The Scottish Highlanders have a pious wish, "May the free hand always be full!" If it is not always full in Burma it is consoling to think that it is seldom absolutely empty. Still, when the grandson succeeds he ordinarily finds that there is as little actual money hoarded up about the place as there was when the grandfather Po Gyi spent so many borrowed rupees at his uncle's funeral.

If rice cultivation is easy work in the low country, it is very different with the taung-ya, or hill clearings. Here the dense underwood and forest growth has to be cut down; and the more there is to cut the better the crop, for the soil needs fertilising badly, and all that is cut down is burned. Work is begun about January; everything is felled, bushes and all; and after the fallen logs have dried some time in the sun, the brushwood is heaped up round about them and the whole is set on fire. Some of the logs smoulder for weeks —perhaps till the first rains come. Then the ground is rudely dug up with hoes, and the ashes turned in. Cotton-seed is ordinarily mixed with the rice, which is of a quite different variety from that produced in the plains. It is sown broadcast, and the farmer has thereafter only to keep down the weeds, but this is not by any means a light task. The crop is ready by October, and furnishes little more than enough to support the family or community. The scanty manure provided by the wood-ashes is not sufficient to last more than two or three years; and when the crop is secured the party proceeds on to a new settlement, there to repeat the same laborious process. A very ingenious device for lightening the toil is resorted to where there is much heavy timber. Beginning at the bottom, they slightly cut the lowest trees on the upper side only, gradually increasing the depth of the notch as they advance up the hill, until at the top of the clearing they cut the trees completely through. These fall on the row immediately below them, and by their weight knock it down; and so the felling process is continued down to the bottom. Occasionally a tangle occurs

Z:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma (151 Peoples Campaigns AP1)
Burmese AP4

where some sturdy tree refuses to fall, and the clearing it away becomes a matter of very considerable danger. This taung-ya system is very wasteful as well as laborious, and annually draws down upon itself the denunciations of the English forest officers. But the hill-tribes who adopt it are too few to support themselves in any other way. They were long ago driven out of the plains by the Burmans, and now cling to their old nomadic life with a degree of obstinacy which Government officials, in a variety of ways, have found is not to be tempted by any tale of the present security and plenty of the low country, or even of the valleys among the hills. Rice, therefore, continues to be produced with the minimum and the maximum of labour; but none of the hill rice ever finds its way out of the country, and seldom even down to the plains.

The rice season, as far as the English merchant is concerned, commences in January and ends about May; but though this is pre-eminently the "busy season," there are purchases made in greater or less quantities all the year round. The relations between the great English rice firms and the simple jungle cultivators have not always been of a very elevating character, and it can hardly be denied that the fault lies wholly at the door of the foreigner. Missionaries in Burma are wont to mourn that their teachings are often rendered wholly nugatory by the want of scruple, and it might almost be said of honour, displayed by the great Rangoon rice firms. The good padres teach their proselytes that Christians are all honest and truthful. The ingenuous lads enter as clerks in a rice-mill and discover that Englishmen scarcely differ from the "poor heathen," except in being more lordly in the way of doing the thing.

Years ago, when there were not nearly so many mills as there are now, and not a quarter so many ships in the harbour during the rice season, things went on pretty equably. One day one firm would give a rupee or so more per hundred baskets, and the next day it would be another. But soon the mills began to increase in number and more ships came, and it was harder to get paddy. Then rival firms began to bid against each other. There was demurrage before their eyes, and it was terribly expensive work keeping the mill

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma (Europeans Indians) AP1
Burmese AP4

Be Ba 243 442 563 175

establishment up to its full strength. And so prices rose and rose until they became absurdly high, and no one profited but the hawks that preyed on the simple Burmese cultivators. Then the English merchants held a meeting, and all pledged themselves not to give more than the current market rate for paddy. This seemed a fair enough agreement; but after a while it was found that the boats all gravitated towards one or two firms. A little investigation showed that this was due to the fact that though they paid the ordinary rate, according to the compact, they had a smaller measuring basket than their neighbours. Accordingly every one went on reducing the size of his basket until the system became as ruinously absurd as ever it had been before. Then there was another meeting, at which it was unanimously agreed that this state of affairs would never do, and that it was absolutely necessary to come to some definite understanding. A committee was appointed which, after some deliberation, concluded that, if, in addition to abiding by the market rate, every one were bound to use a basket of a certain fixed size, there would be no chance for unfair speculations. A standard basket was therefore fixed upon; and the competitors were supposed to start fair again. But in no very long time, one firm put a false bottom in the basket, another wedged in a board; and so on, till matters got back to the old way. This state of affairs is hardly creditable to mercantile honour, and it certainly is by no means profitable.

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Independently of this, paddy has gone up in price at an alarming rate of late years. The first heavy rise was in 1877, at the time of the Madras famine. That was also the time of the resolution to have a standard basket. Rice was wanted in any quantity for the famine districts, and millers gave an altogether fabulous price for grain. The game went on merrily, introduced the scandalous "paddy morality," and lasted long enough to make the cultivators think the new prices had come in for good. Far too many Burmese farmers are heavily in debt to the "chetties," the money-lending caste of the Madras coast. The agriculturists have borrowed money to build a pagoda or a monastery; to give a grand feast on the

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2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma(Indians)AP1
Burmese AP4

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occasion of their marriage, or their father's death; to buy a new yoke of oxen in the place of those that have been carried off by disease; to get seed-grain to sow their tracts of paddy land, the last season's gains having been lost in some gambling transaction when they were down in Rangoon. They have got into the chetty's books in some way at any rate; and hapless is the man, Burman or Englishman, who has dealings with the fat, shaven-headed Madras money-lender. He will be charged eight, ten, twelve per cent a month, or even more, before there is an end of the transaction. The chetties, therefore, took a particular interest in the rise of the price of paddy. High prices ensured their being paid; moreover, handling such unwonted sums of money made the ever-careless Burman reckless. He gambled, he gave great feasts, he got deeper and deeper into debt with the money-lenders. Consequently it was desirable that the prices should not go down; and as men of business the chetties understood how that was to be done; they made the Burman farmers hold back their grain. The Rangoon firms were in desperation to meet their contracts, the ships could not be kept waiting; and so prices were maintained at nearly famine rates. This more than anything else brought about the unlucky legerdemain with standard baskets. The appearance of the chetty element in the trade upset everything. They are charming men of business, and know all about bulling and bearing, and all the other civilised expedients of trade. Poor "Jack Burma," listless and good-natured as he is, would never have thought of such things of himself; but he is in the hands of his master. Not a single village in the jungle, however remote, is to be found without its bare-backed money-lender. He hovers round the paddy nursery; he watches the men planting out the handfuls of half-grown rice; he makes the farmer hold back the threshed-out grain till he gives the word: then he fixes the rate and all but takes the money himself.

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The English merchants have struggled against the system, but with small success. They have laid out heavy sums in advances. The farmer is paid for the next year's crop before ever it is sown. This is generally only practi-

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma (Europeans)AP1
Burmese AP4

cable with men who have not yet fallen into the clutches of the chetties, and the result has been almost invariably to drive them into the money-lender's arms. The Burmese, it it is to be feared, have not sufficient stability of character. U Myaing or Maung Po never had so much money before in their lives as the advances figure to. They do not know the value of it, and proceed to squander the rupees forthwith; and so, long before the paddy is delivered they are heavily in the usurer's books, and then Maung Po and U Myaing have to do as they are bidden. Moreover, the system in any case could hardly be a safe one. The cultivator might die; there might be a flood or a jungle fire; many things might happen, in fact, to prevent the advance boats from ever reaching the Puzundaung creek. Consequently many English firms have given up the practice, and instead send agents away up the creeks, far into the jungle, to negotiate with the farmers on the spot and try to secure paddy before rivalry has had time to raise the price. But even this expedient does not answer well. The chetties do their best to throw obstacles in the way. It is not without expense, and it impresses the cultivators with a notion of the great demand there is for paddy.

Be 452 243 442

The telegraph, they say, ruins business. The paddy season opens in February with a price of, say between seventy and eighty rupees a hundred baskets. The merchants declare they will not be forced into materially increasing this rate, and the home firms charter a number of ships. Meanwhile the price of paddy steadily rises, while rice in England steadily goes down; and by the time the vessels discharge their cargo in Liverpool or London, milled rice is not very much dearer in wholesale shops than the raw paddy in the Burmese boats. New mills are constantly being started—which would seem contradictory, were it not that all the firms starting them have business of another kind; teak sawmills, cotton or piece-goods trade, silks for Burmese men and maidens, or jute and grey shirtings for Upper Burma and the hill tribes. Rice will certainly always be wanted, and there is any quantity of it to be had in Burma. A little more of the sterling probity which used to be associated with the name of the English merchant would

Be Ba 243 452 435

Be Ba [256] [441]

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma (Europeans) Indians) AP1
Burmese AP4

Be 243 452 435 do no harm in Rangoon rice dealings, and would win that respect from the farmer which heavy payments and cunning never will.

Be 243 439 178 256 Rangoon still continues to be the largest rice port in the world. From January to May the river is crowded with shipping—huge iron and steel sailing craft that have been chartered beforehand, and carry off thousands of bags in their capacious holds; and a constant succession of "ditchers," as the steamers passing through the Suez Canal are called, which come "seeking," and seldom have to go away without their full complement of "five parts cargo rice," or "Europe milled." The steamers are displacing the sailing ships, and the shorter passage now makes it possible to carry fully husked rice home without the danger of heating, which was supposed to be avoided by the partly husked "five parts cargo rice." Harbour-masters and river-pilots have a busy time, and gather together many pieces of silver against the later months of the year, when they will have abundant leisure to spend them. Coringi coolies swarm in the town, and their monotonous chant, "Eh-ya-mah-la Tah-ma-lay, Madras Ag-boat Tah-ma-lay," may be heard at any hour of the night or the morning, floating over the river. The British sailor overflows into the town and sings noisy old salt sea-songs round about the Sule pagoda, gets mad drunk on arrack, and not unseldom clears Dalhousie Street with a linked-arm rush, heedless of the red-turbaned guardian of the peace, who keeps out of the way in the meantime, but will break poor drunken Jack's head with his truncheon if he finds him helpless and strayed from his fellow-roysterers.

Be Ba 439 463 563

Be Ba 361 256 463 563 The Puzundaung Creek, where all the mills are, is as busy as an ant-hill all day long, and all night too, when some of the mills are lighted up with Jablochkoffs or later forms of electric light, and the silvery rays shine ghastly on the black and bronzed mill-workers. Here we have the Madrasi coolies again, making noises, according to their nature, as a kind of assertion that they are doing hard work. The lank Chittagonian firemen, with their aquiline noses, are coated with coal-dust, and divide their time between firing up and having a whiff at the hubble-bubble when Sandy,

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

CHAPTER XXV

A HARVEST FEAST

ONE of the pleasantest and most social of Burmese country festivals is the ceremony which goes by the name of Tamanè Hto-thi. It occurs in the month of Ta'saungmôn, or of Na'daw, when the harvest is over and the first of the new rice piled up in a heap near the farmer's house, or perhaps stowed away in the capacious bottom of the hnaw, the big rice-boat, with its stern rising ten or fifteen feet above the surface of the water, and ready to start for Rangoon whenever its owner shall have hit upon a lucky day for commencing the voyage. In order to acquire a store of merit as well towards the next existence as towards the journey immediately in view; to back up the verdict of the astrologer from the horoscope with the good wishes of the holy men of the monastery; and, above all, to have a feast such as generally comes in somewhere in all Burmese religious proceedings, the cultivator resolves to give away twenty baskets or so of rice in alms and presents to the yellow-robed monks and his neighbours. A special kind of rice is always used on these occasions. Englishmen generally are unaware probably that there are a great number of varieties of rice, and that they differ very much in their flavour. Most people imagine that all rice has the same taste (no taste, they would probably say); and distinguish in a rough material way between Patna rice, which is very small, and Rangoon rice, which is considerably larger in the grain, and finally Carolina rice, which is bigger than any of them. A Rangoon merchant would go a little farther, and say that there are two varieties—the nga-sein, which he likes best and gets most of, and the nga-kyauk, which comes in more sparingly. But beyond these—

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2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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243 and they are not the varieties most in favour with the Burmese for their own consumption—there are at least thirty different kinds. There is the byat sabā, the "tray" rice, which is considered the best, but, like most of the other sorts, will not stand the rough treatment of the steam mill-stones, and breaks in pieces. Then there is the myi-she, which has a long awn, and the myi-tôn, which has no awn at all; the taung-pyan, "winged rice," and the nga-chywè, "buffalo grain"; and so on through a long list, ending up with "black rice," which is not by any means bad eating. But of
527 all the kinds, kauk-hnyin, "sticky rice," is the variety always
262 used at the harvest feast. It is mixed with thin sliced cocoa-nut, sesamum seeds, ginger, onions, and pepper, all stirred together and well boiled; and the resulting mess is called tamanè. The rice is well named. It is very emphatically sticky, and even when taken alone is not very easily digested; but when it comes in the form of tamanè, the result is usually a widespread attack of colic throughout the village. This, however, comes after the festival, when the fun is all over, and does not concern us in any way.

574 When the farmer has made up his mind as to the day
527 on which he is going to have the feast—a date which, of
[787] course, cannot be settled without consulting the wise men of the village and much pondering over the palm-leaf horoscope—he sends out a few boys with a number of packets of "pickled tea" to all the young men in the place, requesting them to be good enough to eat it and to come without fail that night to his homestead in order to help him to husk his rice for the tamanè hto-thi. A few girls are also asked to come; and they bring their friends for the sake of company, and the mothers follow for the sake of propriety. Thus there is quite a large assemblage at the farmer's when night falls and the business is to commence. There is a good deal of preliminary tea-drinking and smoking of cheroots and chewing of betel and le'hpet, and a great deal of laughing and talking. The girls profess to be astonished to find so many young men there; they had not imagined their host was meditating such extensive preparations, and thought there would be nobody there but his own and his wife's younger brothers. That is exactly what they will say next week

14: Brant E-5 (1949-50) 1954 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

244 Garden cultivation is quite simple. Hand tools, such as steel mattocks, rakes and hoes, which are obtained from Rangoon, are employed to prepare the soil. Cattle or water buffalo excrement is mixed with water to a thin consistency and poured from bamboo-spouted metal buckets over the ground. (The use of human excrement as a fertilizer, common in China and Japan, is not practiced in Burma.) During the monsoon season there is, of course, no problem of irrigation, but during the hot and dry seasons the gardens must be watered frequently. This task is often performed by young boys, who draw water from the wells and apply it to the gardens. The work of picking the matured crops and preparing them for transport to market is commonly done by female members of the household.

243 2. Paddy Cultivation. The principal occupation of forty-three persons is cultivation of paddy. This category is here defined to include individuals who own or rent land on which they cultivate paddy, as distinct from persons who work on a wage basis in the paddy cultivation of others. The latter are referred to in this report as field laborers.

243 162 427 178 Of the thirty-four paddy land holdings on which we have data, twenty-nine are rented and five are owned by the cultivators. All but one of these holdings is under twenty acres. This high ratio of renters to owners, as well as the small number of paddy cultivators relative to the total number of gainfully occupied villagers, is reflective of long-run trends in agriculture in this general area. Rural tenancy has been the outcome, in Lower Burma, of a long period of loss of land ownership to moneylenders, largely absentee, through inability of the cultivators to repay loans taken out at very high rates of interest. As tenancy has grown apace, individual cultivators have become discouraged with their small return for hard work. Accordingly, many have given up paddy cultivation altogether in favor of less arduous and relatively more rewarding occupations. However, this trend may be reversed, for there began in early 1951 actual implementation of the Land Nationalization Act of 1948, which provides for distribution of agricultural land to the cultivators on an individual ownership basis.

243 434 For the great majority of the paddy cultivators of Tadagale it is possible to eke out little more than subsistence from season to season. A few, after paying their hired labor, putting aside seed for the next year's planting, and filling the granary for home use, can realize some cash income by the sale of a small surplus of paddy. If the cultivator with a little surplus can possibly afford it, he holds the paddy until the hot season, when the market price is highest.

243 433 The average yield per acre in Tadagale, based on data for thirty cultivators for the harvest season 1948-49, is 19.8 bushels of paddy. This compares closely with the overall average figures for Burma. According to the Yearbook of Food and Agriculture for 1949 (U.N.-F.A.O.) the average yield per acre in Burma was 20 bushels.

243 437 In late March, the paddy fields of Tadagale are burned over, depositing an ash from any stubble remaining from the previous harvest. Sometime after the New Year celebration (which begins about April 13th and continues several days) the cultivators spread manure over their fields in preparation for the coming planting season. The manure is obtained from the Indian dairy farmers of the village in exchange for paddy stalk.

14: Brant E-5 (1949-50) 1954 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

When the monsoon rains become heavy and steady in late June or early July the fields are plowed with a succession of bullock-drawn implements. The first is a single-toothed harrow, followed by a six-toothed plow. Finally, the soil is gone over with a seven-bladed revolving share. If the ground is not yet sufficiently churned up, a harrow with a large number of teeth may be used. 243

A few days before the planting time the paddy seed is soaked and placed in a wooden cask, the top of which is packed with hay and cow dung. This promotes germination of the seed.

The seed is broadcast sown.* The sower begins at the outermost edge of the field and works his way towards the center, walking in increasingly smaller circles. Beginning at six o'clock in the morning and working until four o'clock in the afternoon, with an interval at mid-morning for his meal and again in the early afternoon for a nap, a sower can cover ten acres in a day. It requires one basket of seed (ca. 48 lbs.) to sow one acre. It is said by villagers that when one is experienced at broadcasting of paddy seeds, regular rows of plants result. 243 512

During the period of about seven days required for the sown seeds to sprout, the cultivators weed the fields, block off water channels, and build up the embankments between fields. About forty days after sowing, when the plants have reached a height of several inches, some necessary thinning is done. Two inches is regarded as the optimum space between plants. Where they are growing closer together some are pulled up and re-planted in thinner areas. 243

Once sowing and thinning has been completed, in mid- to late August, there is little work for the cultivators until harvest time in December, except for frequent visits to the fields to make sure that the water is sufficient and evenly distributed.

At the harvest season, the cultivator and his hired field laborers work in teams of two. One team cuts the paddy about eighteen inches from the top with small hand sickles. These tools are made of good steel blades, obtained in the Rangoon bazaars, which are affixed to handles of buffalo horn. The paddy cutters are followed by another team, which cuts the paddy stalk close to the ground. In the case of hired field laborers doing this work, the prevailing wage is 12 to 16 rupees (ca. $2.50 to $3.50) per acre for paddy cutters, and twenty rupees (ca. $4.00) per acre for stalk cutters. The higher wage for the latter type of work is paid because it is considered harder. Sometimes such field laborers are remunerated in paddy rather than in monetary wages. 243 465 436

The cut paddy is gathered into small piles, about an armful around, which are left in the fields a few days to dry. Then they are bound as sheaves and transported in bullock carts to a cleared area nearer the domestic area, which serves as a threshing floor. 243

Threshing is accomplished by leading bullocks, yoked together and muzzled to prevent their eating the grain, over the paddy sheaves. The bullocks are

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* This method is not common in Burma. One cultivator, when queried concerning the reason for this method, stated: "The land here is not fertile, and though the transplantation method would give a higher yield, the added labor cost would not justify it." [243]

243 led around in circular fashion until the grain is thoroughly separated from the stalks. A pronged hoe is then drawn over the stalks to further the separation, after which the bullocks further stamp upon them. When the grain appears to be full separated from the stalks it is swept up into large heaps, while the stalks are put aside for use as cattle fodder.

Winnowing apparatus consists of a tripod of bamboo poles, from the top of which is suspended a plaited round tray of wide weave. Basketsful of grain are handed up to a man who stands on a platform, often an old barrel or a chair, and empties them on to the tray. As he shakes the tray the grain falls through to the ground, while any chaff is carried away by the wind.

The paddy for household use may then be allowed to dry further before being sent by boat down Pazundaung Creek to be milled. In a few households the paddy for home consumption is husked by a foot-operated pounding device, or by a large, hand-operated mortar and pestle. If there is any surplus, beyond the requirements of home consumption, seed, payment of laborers and debts, it is sold to nearby millers who come to purchase it.

494 3. Bus Operation. Forty-four men of the community are principally occupied as bus drivers or fare-collectors. The latter are known as 'spares' in the local terminology. Because of the total destruction of public transportation facilities during World War II in Rangoon and the surrounding area, large numbers of surplus military vehicles have been converted into buses. These buses are owned individually or by small groups of partners. The Tadagale men who engage in bus operation ply between the village, which is a terminus, and Rangoon. Their vehicles are, for the most part, in poor repair, and breakdowns along the route are not uncommon. No regular time schedule is followed; rather, they begin a trip when fully loaded, which is to say extremely tightly packed with passengers. By carrying maximum loads, and [436] by charging a fare of 6 annas (ca. 8 cents), the bus operators are able to make a profit, despite the high cost of fuel (ca. 47 cents per Imperial gallon) and of repairs.

464 4. Field Labor. Thirty-eight villagers make their livings mainly by field labor. During the planting and harvesting seasons they work steadily for cultivators, either in Tadagale or in nearby communities. They are paid in kind or in cash, seldom in combination. During the growing season, August to November, and again, between the end of the harvest and the beginning of the planting season, these people must depend on other temporary jobs to round out their livings.

234 563 443 5. Dairy Farming. This occupation is carried on exclusively by the small group of Indians in Tadagale, who possess herds of water buffalo and cattle. Fresh milk is taken daily by bus, in large metal containers, to Rangoon, where it is sold for cash, mostly to Muslim restaurants. The Burmese inhabitants of Tadagale make but slight use of milk and there is virtually no market for it in the village.

265 6. Selling of Prepared Foods. The preparation and itinerant selling of certain Burmese foods supports twenty persons, of whom many are women. Because of the Burmese habit of informal, occasional eating between the two regular daily meals, food sellers do a considerable business. They are invariably present at the pwe, outdoor dramatic presentations staged during holidays and on other festive occasions.

matters, and cases occurred in which he unwittingly signed away title to his property, thinking he was only signing 'loan papers.' In some cases, Burmese cultivators, encouraged by moneylenders, borrowed sums greater than actually required for crop financing and used the excess for sponsorship of ceremonial activities, dramatic presentations, purchasing imported goods never before needed, and so on. 426

The result of this was the tremendous growth of rural indebtedness and much foreclosure by creditors holding mortgages on the land. By the 1930's, about half the cultivated land of Lower Burma was owned by landlords, largely absentee. The once independent Burmese land holder was converted into a rural tenant, or, in many instances, a landless agricultural laborer. Many tenant farmers, dependent upon rent-racking landlords, worked from harvest to harvest with little to show for their efforts beyond perhaps enough of the crop, after payment of rent, hired help, and debts, to feed their families through the planting and growing seasons. Large numbers left agriculture for other pursuits, such as petty clerical jobs in the towns and itinerant trading in imported goods. In Tadagale, for example, in 1949-50 it was possible to record cases of cultivators in such difficult straits that after paying their help and taxes, they did not have enough paddy left for the family granary to last until the next harvest, and were thus in the position of having to purchase in the market, at inflated prices, the very commodity they produced. 178 426 463

2. The Shift in Tadagale. The economic shift within the village may be summarized in terms of modes of employment, resources, imports and exports. 178

a. Employment. Rice agriculture has been decreasing as the land has passed, over time, into the hands of absentee landlords and independent owner-cultivators have become fewer. The tenant farmers are likewise small in numbers. [243] [422]

The manufacture of clothing has also diminished. Formerly, cotton was spun and woven in the village. Now, clothing is very largely obtained by purchase of imported piece goods in Rangoon and having it finished by city tailors and seamstresses. [294]

Oil pressing as an occupation has disappeared. The one remaining presser of oil seeds recently abandoned this work because of the difficulty and high cost of obtaining sesamum seeds from central Burma. [249]

In a few occupations there seems to have been no notable change. These are carpentry and work in bamboo and thatch, which keep a few people occupied; itinerant selling of prepared foods; shopkeeping; and medical practice (indigenous medicine). 178 463

Several occupations are new or increasing in the village. Agricultural wage labor has increased as more people have been unable to secure a living as tenant farmers and have gone to work for others in and near the village. Vegetable gardening, always important because of the nearby Rangoon markets, has become a leading occupation, especially since the beginning of the insurrections in 1948 which reduced the supply of fresh vegetables from the north.

As motor transport has replaced animal transport over the years, the men of Tadagale have been increasingly employed in operating buses. Related to this is the establishment of a repair shop by a motor mechanic to service the buses owned by villagers.

basket PYIDAUNG. Both cost a rupee. One does not seem to be preferred to the other except as getting them allows a bargain to be made. The form is that of a pear shaped body with a square base, measuring about 8 by 8 inches. The basket is constructed in the wicker technique with small, whole reeds. Pathme: 2. Camp: 1. 415 252 [285]

CHIN DAUNG (storage basket): The form of this basket is a larger version of the measurers. It has, however, an open weave giting a checkered effect to the sides and bottom. It is used to store objects including food. At Pathme this basket was used in working the INS. The fish were scooped up, and later washed in them. The two used in camp were brought from Pathme where they cost Rs. 1/4- Camp: 1, Pathme: 15 for washing fish. 251 415 [435]

Winnowing trays: Shallow baskets about 2½ feet in diameter and 2 inches high were used as shifting and storage trays. The SAGAW has a rounded base; whole the SAGAR has a flat base with fiber walls. Both are made of flat, wide-meshed reeds. The trays used in camp came from Pathme where they cost Rs. 1/4 each. Pathme: 1. 243 ● 415

THE CHIN (Marketing basket): This basket is in the general shape of a cylinder, ½ feet wide and 8 inches high, with open, flat reed sides and a semi-circular handle across the top. It is used to carry objects from market and to store them in the house. Pathme: 2, Camp: 1. 415

U Nyaing expresses the contrast between the camp equipment and that of Pathme: "These objects in camp are barely sufficient. We have to live as we are. In our own district we had sufficient to pail in house. The extra ones were nailed in houses and only enough were taken out for the seven people who ate. When visitors came, good ones are brought out. Plates for curry, plates for eating rice. There were various kinds." 415 511 178

Food Items

Ma Aye Nyaing gave as complete a set of data on the food consumption of her family as she could. The following data is inclusive for the family of seven, both in Pantanaw and the refugee camp. Ma Aye Nyaing decides what dishes to cook for each meal of the day, and she does this without any consultation with U Nyaing. She does not ask him what he would like for each meal, although sometimes when he expresses a desire for a certain dish she sees to it that it is prepared. She has a free hand in deciding what to cook for each meal in the day. Definitions of the weights and measures used follows in a glossary. The data is organized under the headings of (1) Main dishes and raw foods, (2) supplementary dishes and TO-SAYA (vegetables eaten with NGAPI), and (3) trifles. 262 [593] [128]

to 2½. Mangoes in season cost four annas for ten. In camp they have eaten mangoes twice in six months, six for one eating, Re. 1/- for six. 263 435

MAYAN-THEE-AHME (marian-fruit-ripe: Bouea burmanica, Griff.) are eaten in the afternoons, with salt. Similarly with unripe ones. They are also eaten with rice and NGAPI YE. In Pathwe about ten fruits were eaten almost daily when in season. 178

NGA PYAN-THEE (banana-fruit: Musa paradisica, Linn, Sub-sp, sapientum, K. Schum). Bananas are sometimes eaten with rice during the main meals but usually by themselves. In Pathwe one bunch a day containing 13 bananas and costing three annas were eaten during four or five times a month. In camp the same bunch costs four annas and bananas are eaten five times a month.

THAGYAR-LON (sugar-ball) or sweets, and CHO-CHIN (sweet-sour) are bought. Ma Aye Myaing has never seen these being made and hence does not know the process of manufacture. The THAGYAR-LON are round sweets also but are shaped like small orange pods and weighing about six to the tical. They are eaten only in camp. The consumption of sweets is limited to the youngest. She gets 8 THAGYAR-LONS a month at one anna for two and two for an eating; and 18 CHO-CHIN a month at an anna for six and six for one eating.

Ma Aye Myaing gave the following data on the period of the year 262

when the foods used by the family are available.

Fish is obtained from the fishery in Pathwe from the month of Tawthalin to the month of Pyatho. From the other places in the river, fish was obtained from Tabodwe month to the months of Kason and Nayon. The varieties of fish remain the same in both fishing areas. Shrimps are plentiful in Pyatho month and lobsters in Tasaungmon and Nadaw.

KALA-HE (dhall): In common with a great number of peas and beans, KALA HE appears about the month of Tabaung. However, since these are not very perishable, they can be kept in stock for the whole year and made available in any month.

KAYAN-THEE (brinjal): The brinjal plant starts to bear fruit in the month of Pyatho and continues to Kason and Nayon. In Tawthalin and Thadingyut, brinjal fruit was brought to Pathwe from other villages from the fields not on the river banks. Here in Rangoon they notice that brinjal fruit is available all year round.

PE-LINGNE-THEE (snake beans) were available during the months of Kason, Nayon, Waso, Wagaung, Tawthalin and Thadingyut.

In Rangoon many of the plants and vegetables that were cultivated only seasonally back in Pathwe and the other district villages, are cultivated all the year round. The ready market in Rangoon encourages the districts lying just outside Rangoon to produce whatever plants they can and send them to town. [369] [241]

PE THEE (beans): these appeared in Pathwe for 9 months in the year. The first period is from Tasaungmon to Tagu, and the second from Waso to Thadingyut inclusive. In Rangoon this is available all year round.

HSAN (rice): During the months of Kason and Nayon the paddy grains are sown in the nurseries, and the seedlings are then transplanted to the fields during Waso and Wagaung. In other fields where no transplanting is carried on, the seeds are sown broadcast in Kason and Nayon. There are some species of paddy grain that ripen earlier than the rest. However, from the point of view of the consumer, rice is available all the year round. [243]

NGAYOTE-THEE (chillies): The seeds are planted during Waso, Wagaung and Tawthalin and transplanted during Tasaungmon. The chillies

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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102. PLOUGHING FOR WET CULTIVATION.

CHAPTER IV

MANHOOD AND OCCUPATION

103. VIEW OF IN.

THE cultivation of the lowlands provides the occupation and livelihood of one out of every two Burmans. There is little undulating land or steppe. The hills as a rule rise abruptly from the alluvial plains. On these latter the bulk of the population is settled. For the wet form of rice-cultivation, which alone gives regular crops and is therefore called *permanent* cultivation, as opposed to *taungya* (p. 147), the land must be lightly flooded for a good part of the season; the crop must not be submerged after the ear has formed nor for any lengthened period beforehand. The land must not be so porous as to let the rain-water drain away when the subsoil water sinks. The patch of fields favoured by the floods of one season may be drowned or be left dry the following year owing to the vagaries of the rivers.

p.48

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

104. OUTLOOK OVER MIXED FORMS OF CULTIVATION.

the vagaries of the rivers. A good season is one in which a large proportion of the fields have water enough for an early start and in which the rainfall is steady, not leaving the surface to dry up by a long break in the rain nor deluging the soil at other times. All the alluvial land of favourable elevation and quality is laid out in level rice-fields. Where the rainfall is ample—fifty inches and upwards—portions of the diluvial land with tenacious soil can be utilised in the same way by merely saving the surface-water. In regions of lighter rainfall, in a few favoured localities, such land is brought under rice by help of irrigation and if need be by terracing as well. The rice-fields are bordered by low turfy balks (*kazin*) about a cubit high, to keep in the water. These regular rice-lands form less than one-tenth of the gross area of the country. The rest is mainly irreclaimable, chiefly mountain, waste. The waste areas of the alluvial plains (*kwin*) are flooded from three to ten feet deep in the rains. They are clothed with elephant-grass (*kaing*) studded, through with silk-cotton trees and a few other species. The lowest levels in the *kwin* form shallow lagoons (*in*, No. 103) which dry up in the hot season. Dry-season crops—sugar-cane (which is also grown on the wet system), maize, lentils, and vegetables for a limited market—are obtained in the *kaing*.

105. HILL-PEOPLE MAKING THEIR CULTIVATION CLEARING (p. 149).

Burma has become the rice-mart of the world. Since the development of this trade the price of the staple export has more than quadrupled, producing in the lower country a prosperity which has no parallel in respect of its equal diffusion. It is believed that this development of the wealth of Pegu has been favoured by the upheaval

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

133 of the delta of the Irawadi, by which fresh silt-beds are raised to the cultivation
134 level. The town of Thâton, now sixteen miles from the coast and without a sea approach, was, in historic times, a port. Ships came up to Tenaserim in the south, the ancient emporium of trade across the Peninsula to Siam, and to Akauttaung in the north, and probably to Pegu. A mass of precise data on this subject was collected by the late Mr. John Merrifield, who came to the conclusion that Tenaserim had risen fifteen to twenty feet in the course of the last 300 years. In 1900, ten and a half million acres were cultivated in Burma. The rice crop was estimated at three and a half million tons, of which two millions were exported, worth £14,000,000. Fallow lands were estimated at five and a half million acres and arable waste at twenty-four millions, out of a gross area of one hundred and one millions. In 1872 a considerable firm failed over the enterprise of bringing a few thousand acres of reputed arable waste at Kayásu under cultivation; the crops got so much water that they rotted. The area has lain waste ever since. Most of the waste land granted to companies has been resumed, on account of their failure to satisfy the condition of utilising the land. The conditions which render land suitable for wet cultivation are less simple than they appear at the first glance. It is possible that the estimate of the arable waste is much too high.

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[175] 106. THE RICE PLANT IN THE EAR.

Where the fields depend on the surface-water for their supply, a margin of fallow has to be left; where they get a deposit of river-silt it is unnecessary. If manure is plentiful it is taken out on the fields. But this is seldom the case because the cattle are so much at large. On the outskirts of the rice-fields, which are dispersed in groups throughout the *kwin*, fallow land may readily relapse into waste. The depopulation of Pegu (Chronology, 1570, 1591–1740) threw great areas out of cultivation. Anyone was free to reclaim waste, and is so still. In Burma Proper, where good land is much scarcer than
[423] in Pegu, proprietors are fixed on the soil in many places by royal grants (*ka-myo, bôbabaing*). There were also royal demesne lands leased to tenants.

241 In the dry zone of Burma Proper, rice cultivation is impracticable except
132 where rivers flood their margins or where facilities for irrigation exist. Rice
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25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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110. BUFFALOES TRAMPLING DOWN THE CLODS.

are worth twenty to sixty rupees a head, buffaloes twenty-five to fifty. The latter are heavier and more powerful, and better able to work in the wet and to forage for themselves, but they are subject to many distempers, of which the worst is anthrax. The noses of the draught-cattle are pierced and a thin rope rove through which is spliced at the back of the horns. During a great part of the year there is no work for the buffaloes, as they are of little service for wheel-draught; then they are left to roam at large. They frequent the streams and lagoons, where they are followed by egrets and crows, which pick the worms out of the mud as the buffaloes turn over in their wallow. While crops are standing, cattle have to be kept in pens at night, and to be herded by day. This work is done by children from twelve [857] years upwards. The buffalo-pen is made near the house, if possible in a water-logged spot where the animals can wallow in the mud, which protects them from the bites of gad-flies and mosquitoes. Where there is no wallow, smoky fires are made to keep the insects away. In certain localities of the delta cattle need to be protected with curtains. In the arid region fodder is grown for the cattle, but goats find pasture and are kept for their milk; they are worth five to twenty rupees a head.

• 243 The rice-fields first ploughed and ready are sown broad-cast for nurseries (*pyo-gin*). A month [231] later, when the rice-plants are about a foot high, they are taken up and transplanted into the prepared fields, a span apart. The roots are simply pressed down into the soft slush

111. DRIVING HOME THE BUFFALOES.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

[opp. p. 52]

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[To face p. 52

112. PUTTING OUT THE RICE-PLANTS.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890)1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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113. BUFFALOES IN THEIR PEN.

with the fingers or with a forked stick. The acre produces thirty to eighty bushels of grain, according to soil and season. The ripe corn stands three to five feet high, and so thick as to keep down tares. Unlike hill-rice (p. 149, No. 244), which requires several heavy weedings in the season, the wet rice-fields need no care beyond that of regulating the water-supply. Where there is drainage for the water, it is allowed to stand only a few inches high on the ground. As the grain ripens, the soil is allowed to dry. If there is a head of water available during the rains, channels are led to the fields to keep the supply equal. If the supply is near and only at a slightly lower level than the fields, the effects of drought are counteracted by various devices such as the *ka-hnwè* (No. 115). Running water at too low a level to lay on to the fields is utilized by help of a bamboo water-wheel (*yit*), or if the water be still, the wheel is driven by ox-gear. In some parts, rice and wheat are sown in the deeply-flooded lands when the water has drained off (*mayin*).

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The varieties of rice, of which there are many, suited to different soils and modes of cultivation, take from three to five months to mature. The harvest of the crops is from October to December, according to the variety and time of planting out. When the grain turns yellow, flights of parakeets and other birds descend on the crops, from which they have to be scared till reaping-time. Bamboo clappers are worked by bast lines in a radius of a hundred yards from the watcher's hut. Where there is an abundance of pasture for cattle, the stubble is left very long and is burned where it stands, to manure the ground. But if straw is needed

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114. CHILD RIDING BUFFALO OUT TO WORK.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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[312]
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118. WATER SCOOP (KA-HNWE).

for fodder, the corn is cut close to the ground, having first been laid by pressing it down with bamboos, which makes it easier. For reaping, the villagers co-operate. But in the plains of the delta, where cultivation has extended so greatly, there is not labour enough on the spot to reap the crop. Harvest labourers come down from Burma Proper and also large numbers from the south of India (p. 159). In the plains reapers get their two meals and a quarter of a bushel of grain a day or the equivalent in money (p. 56). In the hills a reaper gets a bushel a day for his labour. The common wages of daily labour are about half a rupee in Pegu, and a quarter less in Burma Proper. Before 1850, when the export trade began, wages were only half as much.

243 The sheaves are left to dry for a day in the sun and then gathered into garbs. These are piled on a dry field into a circular heap some three feet high, and broad enough for a herd of buffaloes to tramp round upon and tread the grain off the ear, to which it is attached by a slender petiole. Another way is to pile the garbs in a high crescent-shaped heap, round the central space of which four to six head of cattle are made to travel abreast and tread the garbs which are cast down from above. The grain keeps best in the husk and is stored in bins of bamboo wattle smeared with clay (*sabaji*, Nos. 119, 120).

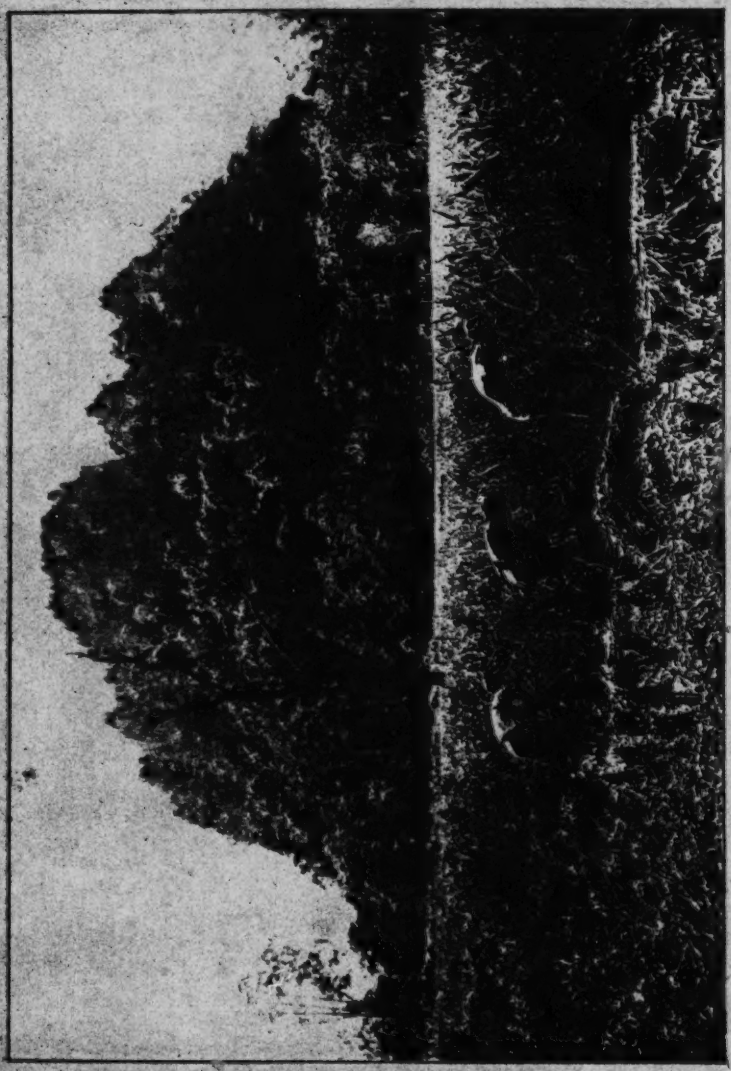
The covering of the rice-grain is a strong adherent husk like that of barley, but mostly without any beard. Rice in the husk is called *Sabi* (Engl. paddy).

119. CUTTING THE CROP IN THE GREAT PLAIN.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

[opp. p. 54]

243



117. CUTTING THE RICE-CROP IN THE KWIN.

[Tr./Ser. A. 14.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

243 Under the coarse yellow husk is a shell of bran, and beneath that a delicate white pellicle. The two outer coverings have to be removed and the inner one preserved. "Cargo rice," which forms the bulk of the mill produce, is three parts rice, simply husked, and one part paddy. The mixture bears the transport.

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251
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118. TREADING OUT THE GRAIN.

better than white rice. Burmans clean the rice according to daily need. This is done either by simple pounding or by first husking the grain in a wooden mill (*kyaizsin*), and then pounding it to get off the bran. The mortar is of hard wood, with a hard wood pounder as heavy as the arm can wield; or else the pounder is mounted in a tilting-beam for foot-power. Chaff and bran are separately winnowed out with sieves and trays (*sagáw*) of bamboo, and in exposed places by the help of the wind also. For wholesale husking, the native mill is composed of two strong wicker-work cylinders made solid with clay, in which are embedded upright staves of hard wood (Nos. 127, 184). As the mill wears down, the layers of wood keep above the clay like the layers of enamel in a herbivore's tooth, maintaining a rough surface for work. In the early days of the export trade, rice was husked for shipping in this way. The separation of the chaff is done with a machine copied from our farmyard winnower, and now manufactured in every town.

119. CLEANING RICE WITH THE HAND-POUNDER.

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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26. CLEANING RICE WITH THE HAND-MILL.

in every town. A basket (*din*, bushel) of cleaned rice (*san*) costs three to four rupees, and lasts a man about a month. The loss of volume in cleaning is about twenty-five per cent., and the cost of the unhusked grain about one-third of that of rice. For cakes and sweets, rice is ground with water in the Indian stone hand-mill. After first soaking, it is passed through the mill repeatedly until it forms a creamy fluid, which is strained and used while fresh. Wheaten bread is a novelty.

[262]

The houses in Burma are mostly built of bamboo. The giant bamboo (*wabó*), a denizen of the evergreen hills, is cultivated in the plains for house-posts and masts and side-buoys of boats. Its culms attain a height of eighty feet and a girth at the butt of two feet. Every bamboo jungle supplies the rest of the material for the house. No tools are needed for bamboo work, but the universal *dâ*—a sabre, trimmer, chopper, according to its proportions (No. 251). With the *dâ* the bamboos are hewn, split open and slit into withes (*lint*) for lashing. Thin-walled bamboos are opened out into broad planks for the walls of the houses (*tarán*). Stout thick-walled bamboos are shaped into narrow planks for flooring, or the floor is laid of round bamboos laced down at intervals. Loose planks of wood are becoming general for floors, even in houses built of bamboo (p. 119). Every Burman can handle the *dâ*, but not so expertly as the hill people. The house-posts, floor-girders, and principal frames are frequently of timber, and outlast several relays of the bamboo-work, which decays in a few seasons. The inducement to keep a material clean and neat which has soon to be replaced is not great, and engenders negligent habits. In the better houses, bamboo is only used for the walling and the roof rafters.

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121. WINNOWING GRAIN IN THE WIND.

The houses were all built on the same pattern, only some being taller, wider and of better quality wood and thatch than others. 342

Facing the street in line, each house had a verandah running all along its face, and one step took you up from this into the main room of the house. As you entered, this room extended right up to the roof which sloped very steeply down to its eaves, but about twelve feet in, where the roof was just high enough, a platform upper storey was built, looking over a balustrade into the main room below. This platform storey ended where the sloping roof again became too low at the back. The back portion reaching to the height of the roof was used for kitchen and washing rooms. By this time, in the row of houses containing ours, the ground had sloped down to the creek, and the kitchen was continued as a bamboo platform raised high above the mud on piles.

Grandmother, who had become among the wealthiest in the village, had made enlargements and adaptations within these lines. Her house was wider, with the clearing up of an adjacent house. It contained four door spaces in its face, each door space being a uniform seven feet in width throughout the village. The main floor was of fine polished teak boards, the part below the platform storey was walled off into a bedroom which was very badly ventilated and lighted, the back portion was cleared of all washing rooms and made into a large airy kitchen about 30 feet square, and the platform behind was extended right over the water's edge because we had bought a mooring site further up. On this bamboo platform two hatches were put as bathrooms, containing commodes in the European style, whereas other households walked to the common latrines in the first clearing beyond the street.

The people of Ye lived chiefly by the produce of their gardens, the richer ones like Grandmother sending out to big towns their durians, coconuts, areca nuts, or fish and oysters from the sea, the poorer ones vending fish and vegetables daily around the town, making thatch roofing out of *dani* (nipah) leaves, acting as boatmen up and down the creek, helping to work the gardens and paddy-fields of other families. 244 226 463

My grandmother's household during these years consisted of herself, two aunts, one widow and one spinster, an uncle next to my father in age, my young Uncle Pyant and various cousins, one, two and three wombs removed from us. My elder uncle, Uncle Thet Hnan, had never been out of Ye; after going through the monastery he had worked in the gardens instead of going to an English-teaching school. It gave us an uncanny feeling to see him so like my father in build and general appearance and so dissimilar from him in speech, thought and habits. He now owned gardens up at Chaung-bya, and had five children all of whom had been brought up in Ye. My three boy cousins had been 592

[1 at Ye - Analyst]

592 sent to stay with us at various times and were sent to schools which taught English, but nothing would persuade them to take any interest in studies. My cousin Nyein Maung, whom I liked very much, could never bear to keep a shirt on, which was why he was always to be found with only a longyi tucked around his loins playing chinlon or helping boatmen with their canoes, when he should have been sitting fully clothed in a class-room.

[601] My young Uncle Pyant, whom we called U-Ngè, small Uncle, had 693 passed his B.A. and his law degree, and returned to Ye in preference to 177 a more modern life in a larger town. He walled off one doorway's space .164 from the main room of the house and filled it with bookcases, a big desk and chairs for visitors. Outside this room my Uncle Pyant put up a sign saying: "*A-htet tan shaynay gyi:* Advocate and Higher Grade Pleader," and within a very short time became the lawyer of the whole village; but so great was his attachment to this consultation-living-room, which had nothing in common with the rest of Ye, that he relinquished all cases whose developing complexities led client and lawyer to a higher court in Moulmein.

592 Grandmother had gardens about ten miles up the creek from Ye. 244 These contained coconuts, durians and areca nuts grown over about 276 fifty acres for commercial disposal. Around the bungalow in the centre 427 of the garden there grew mangosteen, rambutan, pomeloes and pineapples for eating on a large-scale, clumps of bamboos, a coffee tree, tobacco plants, capsicum, lime and citron trees, lemon grass, and vegetables of all kinds to serve the needs of the bungalow and the household in town. My aunts with one young male relative took turns to live at the garden and help the family that was hired to look after it permanently. It was a dangerous life in these plantations as dacoities were very frequent. [501] The produce was taken down to Ye in a succession of graceful narrow boats shaped out of single tree trunks. The durians and coconuts were [442] sold straight away to traders who travelled between Moulmein and Ye for this purpose. The areca nuts were first dried on a bamboo attic made by an extension of the platform upper storey of the house until it met the back slope of the roof. When they were dried the whole family gathered around in the back kitchen and removed the husks with blunted nutcrackers, leaving the smooth nut to be sold.

244 With the rice from the paddy-land on the opposite bank, fruits, 262 vegetables and spices from the garden, rolling their cheroots with a mix- 226 ture containing tobacco in leaves shed by the areca trees in the garden, 438 and grinding their own coffee berries, my aunts and grandmother only 276 needed to buy a little fish and meat for their daily consumption. This they could not provide themselves owing to the Buddhist law against

taking life. Only the hardened ones of the village, *ta-nga-thès*, drew 244
and netted in the wealth of fish around Ye, and the theoretical condem- 262
nation in which their profession was held absolved all good Buddhists
from any sin in eating the fruits of their labours. My aunts bought vast 226
quantities of fish for salting and drying. This cured fish supplied our 438
yearly needs as well as theirs. They also bought prawns to press into a paste called *ngapi*, in this case *seinsa* ngapi, which forms the basis of all our flavouring and condiments. As soon as the ta-nga-thè came up with his boatloads of prawns they were spread out on rough bamboo mats and sunned on the big platform behind the house. When they were fairly dried, my aunts, with a helper or two from the village, mashed up the prawns by hand, throwing in vast quantities of salt as they worked. The mess was left in the sun for a few days, being stirred every now and again. By this time it had turned into a grey-black paste, more or less smooth, smelling most pungent and rotten to foreigners but *hmway-dè*, fragrant, to us, and tasting like a concentrate of anchovy. This paste is stored in small glazed earthenware jars. It is used to flavour all meat and vegetables dishes, or is fried or pounded with other ingredients to provide condiments for the meal. The Tenasserim coast is the chief source of seinsa ngapi in Burma, the big towns of Tavoy and Mergui supplying towns in Upper Burma as well. The large amounts of salt needed come from the valuable salt fields in this area which produce about 6,000 tons annually.

It can be imagined what excitement a holiday at Ye caused us 528
in our growing years, and even my mother's admonitions that we were 177.
to behave in accordance with strict Burmese ideas which prevailed at 55
Ye rather than the un-Burmese habits acquired at school did not dampen 593
our excitement. We were then at English-speaking schools where we had adopted the habit of calling each other by name. The eldest of my young sisters Mya Mya, is seven years younger than I am, but when she went to school I had only two sisters left who called me respectfully, *Ma-Ma Gyi*, elder sister, and by the time the youngest was at school there was no Ma Ma Gyi left in the family. The tradition of the younger ones fetching and carrying for the elder had also sadly deteriorated.

At meals, my mother had not kept up the custom of helping the 593
eldest person present with a portion of every dish before it was open to 177.
the rest of the company. Before we went to Ye, therefore, my mother 57
gathered us around her and told us how we were to behave so as to give our grandmother and aunts great pleasure in our visit and no rude shocks. "Now don't forget, *the-mi-to*, my daughters, you will all three call your sister Big-Elder-Sister; you, Pusu, are to call Mya Mya Middle-Elder-Sister, and Aye Little-Elder-Sister. In fact you should

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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These personal examples furnished by the teacher of neh'ban and the Law himself have only served to emphasise what is seen on the admission of every new member to the holy assembly. One of the articles with which, in addition to his dress and begging-bowl, every postulant must provide himself, is a strainer, without using which he must drink no water. The object is, of course, to prevent him from destroying life in the shape of the small animalcula to be found in water. Some zealous and scientific proselytiser endeavoured, by the use of microscopes, to persuade the people that this was of no avail, seeing that even in the strained water there was abundance of animal life; but a council decided that, provided the water had been filtered, if the ascetic could detect nothing living with his unaided eyes he was at liberty to drink the water without incurring blood-guiltiness. The attacks of science on Buddhism failed as completely as the efforts of most missionaries.

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The mingled pity and dislike with which professional hunters and fishermen, whose occupation implies the regular taking of life, are viewed by Buddhists, is well known, and makes itself evident in the fact that the villains in most plays are hunters. Fishermen are perhaps not so much decried—possibly on account of the plea brought forward on their behalf, that the fish die of themselves, being taken out of the water, and not through any direct action of their captors. It is in connection with fish, however, that one of the most curious national works of merit takes place annually—furnishing, like all Burmese festivals, occasion for much fun and frolic.

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The violence of the rain during the five or six months of the south-west monsoon floods the country. Not only do the rivers, which in many places rise regularly as much as thirty or forty feet above their hot-weather level—not only do they overflow their banks, and make wide seas of the neighbouring flat lands, but great lakes spring up everywhere. These are gradually stocked with fish of all kinds, most of which, by the sudden fall of the water, are cut off from all chance of retreat to the large rivers, where alone there is safety. Steadily the water goes down, the hot sun sucks up the pools, till at last the end seems to be come. The river

14: Brant E-5 (1949-50) 1954 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

II

MAKING A LIVING

Occupations

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The occupational pattern in Tadagale is a highly diversified one. There are thirty-eight principal gainful occupations in which a total of 341 individuals are engaged. A large proportion of these people have secondary and even tertiary pursuits at which they spend part of their time in order to round out a living. The following table shows the outstanding principal occupations in order of frequency.

Table II

Principal Occupations of Villagers

Occupation	No.
Gardener	52
Bus operator (driver, spare)	44
Paddy cultivator	43
Field laborer	38
Dairy farmer	26
Prepared foods seller	20
Urban laborer	19
Trader (middleman)	17
Shopkeeper	15

Some of the other principal occupations, of lesser frequency, are carpenter, fisherman, casual laborer, cowherd, woodcutter, and seamstress.

1. Gardening. The leading mode of making a living is truck gardening. The gardens are located on small patches of ground adjoining dwellings, and range in size from tiny plots up to perhaps 3000 square feet. They are cultivated intensively, four crops a year being usual, and six crops not unknown. The crops include gourds, cucumbers, mustard, cabbage, cauliflower, lettuce, radishes and spinach. 244

For all households, the garden supplies the family with the many vegetables that form an indispensable part of the various Burmese curries. Many gardens produce a surplus which is sold in nearby town bazaars or in the larger markets of Rangoon. The trend has been for gardening to become increasingly important as a source of income in recent years, particularly during the period of disturbed conditions in Burma. These conditions have seriously impeded the normal flow of fresh vegetables and fruits to Rangoon from more distant points; thus the people of Tadagale have been provided with an opportunity to secure high prices for almost all the vegetables they can supply. 244 178 443 438

244 Garden cultivation is quite simple. Hand tools, such as steel mattocks, rakes and hoes, which are obtained from Rangoon, are employed to prepare the soil. Cattle or water buffalo excrement is mixed with water to a thin consistency and poured from bamboo-spouted metal buckets over the ground. (The use of human excrement as a fertilizer, common in China and Japan, is not practiced in Burma.) During the monsoon season there is, of course, no problem of irrigation, but during the hot and dry seasons the gardens must be watered frequently. This task is often performed by young boys, who draw water from the wells and apply it to the gardens. The work of picking the matured crops and preparing them for transport to market is commonly done by female members of the household.

243 2. Paddy Cultivation. The principal occupation of forty-three persons is cultivation of paddy. This category is here defined to include individuals who own or rent land on which they cultivate paddy, as distinct from persons who work on a wage basis in the paddy cultivation of others. The latter are referred to in this report as field laborers.

243 162 427 178 Of the thirty-four paddy land holdings on which we have data, twenty-nine are rented and five are owned by the cultivators. All but one of these holdings is under twenty acres. This high ratio of renters to owners, as well as the small number of paddy cultivators relative to the total number of gainfully occupied villagers, is reflective of long-run trends in agriculture in this general area. Rural tenancy has been the outcome, in Lower Burma, of a long period of loss of land ownership to moneylenders, largely absentee, through inability of the cultivators to repay loans taken out at very high rates of interest. As tenancy has grown apace, individual cultivators have become discouraged with their small return for hard work. Accordingly, many have given up paddy cultivation altogether in favor of less arduous and relatively more rewarding occupations. However, this trend may be reversed, for there began in early 1951 actual implementation of the Land Nationalization Act of 1948, which provides for distribution of agricultural land to the cultivators on an individual ownership basis.

243 434 For the great majority of the paddy cultivators of Tadagale it is possible to eke out little more than subsistence from season to season. A few, after paying their hired labor, putting aside seed for the next year's planting, and filling the granary for home use, can realize some cash income by the sale of a small surplus of paddy. If the cultivator with a little surplus can possibly afford it, he holds the paddy until the hot season, when the market price is highest.

243 433 The average yield per acre in Tadagale, based on data for thirty cultivators for the harvest season 1948-49, is 19.8 bushels of paddy. This compares closely with the overall average figures for Burma. According to the Yearbook of Food and Agriculture for 1949 (U.N.-F.A.O.) the average yield per acre for Burma was 20 bushels.

243 437 In late March, the paddy fields of Tadagale are burned over, depositing an ash from any stubble remaining from the previous harvest. Sometime after the New Year celebration (which begins about April 13th and continues several days) the cultivators spread manure over their fields in preparation for the coming planting season. The manure is obtained from the Indian dairy farmers of the village in exchange for paddy stalk.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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181. SWING NET (YAGWIN).

jack and several other fruits are roasted and eaten. Vegetables are regularly cultivated in the vicinity of large towns. In the villages very little trouble is taken with them. A bush or so of capsicum and a few plants of brinjal or tomato are set; pumpkins and gourds are trained over the roof or on arbours in front (Nos. 126, 414). The market vegetables are onions and garlic, many kinds of beans, fresh and dried, various tubers, yams, "sweet-potato," pumpkins, marrows, gourds, brinjals and tomatoes, *chimbáung*, *kyeppaung* and *kyemmauk*. Green maize is used as a vegetable. The cultivation of maize would admit of great extension in the *kwin* if there were a market for the grain. Green shoots culled from all sorts of wild herbs and trees are brought to market. The most substantial of these are bamboo shoots; they turn red by boiling as shellfish do. Black pepper and cardamom occur wild in Burma and are also cultivated, but not extensively. Turmeric and ginger are cultivated, as well as anise, caraway and coriander. Cinnamon and cloves are imported. Nutmeg is native to the evergreen forests of the south. European vegetables, raised by Chinese gardeners, are offered for sale in the markets of large towns. Potatoes are imported from India and have been grown with success in the Shan and Taung-ngu hills. European flowers have spread everywhere. Cut flowers are sold in the markets for toilet use. The rose has been cultivated in Burma for ages and is the flower most prized. No grafting is practised nor are any of the garden varieties known. The real floral wealth of Burma — its orchids (*thikkwabán*) — the people are only beginning to discover owing to the interest taken in them by strangers.

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182. FISH-TRAP (HNYON).

that is, the D.I.S. (District Inspector of Schools), whether active or re- 517
tired, was usually more permanent and could dig his toes in more 647
happily. The social relationship was also ideal. Earning less than the 351
other officials, he could yet offer them this rich hospitality of natural pleasures.

When we were in Maubin the D.I.S. was our friend U Taik Wan. 245
He and his family of ten sons and daughters had the u-yin developed to 252
its fullest. He had a low large house where the river took a bend and had fenced in this bed with bamboo stakes and a diving platform. The garden orchard stretched away from the house to a bamboo hut at the far end, with open verandahs under the trees. The speciality of his orchard were his sweet-sour marian trees. The marian is the *bonea Burmanica*, common to Burma and northern Assam, where it forms an ideal appetizer for the heat-drowsy inhabitants. It is sour, of a sharp biting sourness which now makes my mouth water with longing. It is too sour to eat except doused in strong salt sauce or fish paste, salt being our antidote to sourness, in which I differ from the English idea of cooking, for salt combines and merges in with sourness whereas a pound of sugar thrown into a gooseberry tart would still leave it too sour for me. The marian is a small fruit, green when young and orange-yellow when ripe, with a pretty purple seed which has given its name to the Burmese colour "mauve". There is a sweet variety which is not popular. Sometimes, however, a prize tree is found which produces a sweet-sour marian, a sour fruit with its sting taken off. Such a tree should be treated with the greatest care; its fruits must never be salted or pickled as sour fruits are treated, because the "sour" use would communicate itself to the tree by what may be called sympathetic magic. Rather, my mother made jam (with sugar) of these marians, for the improvement of U Taik Wan's tree.

My mother was very punctilious about such things; the girl servants 252
were never allowed to pluck the citron leaves for our salad because a 841
woman in menstruation makes the tender leaves of the citron tree curl 789
up and lose their succulence when she plucks them. U Taik Wan had a row of sweet-sour marian trees which he guarded from flying foxes by throwing a net across one face of them, showing a wall of these creatures hanging head downwards, to passers-by.

Our pyaw-pwè-sas at the Taik Wan's always began with a lot of 526
water-fun. We never used bathing dresses, but adapted our longyis for 291
swimming. This longyi is shaped and wrapped, like the more famous 515
sarong, at the waist normally, but women and girls take it above the bosom when they discard their jackets. This enables all our poorer women to bathe with perfect decorum at public wells and streams.

children such as were playing about them. We were ready-made re- 528
productions sent back by my father and Uncle San Lin who disappeared 177
into an unknown world many years ago. At house after house, and at the same houses year after year, we sat in a row on the benches they kept on the verandahs of all houses, eight children awkward and re-
strained, while the old people peered and chuckled at us: "Yes, that is 827
San Lin, all right—but there is Htwa Yin's nose; look at this expression, it is Maung Chit Kaing himself—oh but look here, here is the image of Maung Pyant, yes, exactly Maung Pyant, hullo you little Pyant, oh, look at her." This was my poor sister Mya Mya whose face seemed to be the quintessence of the features of my father and all his brothers and sisters. My sister Aye and I, who had the good fortune to take after my mother's family, were noticed very little during these visits, but my poor little Mya Mya sat there solemn and unhappy, thrusting her face out until even to us she looked comically like the forty-year-old aunts and uncles.

When I think back on eating the fruits of Grandmother's garden, 245
they seem to have the quality of some heavenly ambrosia about them. 262
They were all such luscious fruits. For example, the durian, the fruit 824
which foreigners describe as smelling most foul, usually had in Rangoon only a thin layer of the precious golden flesh around the seeds. In this garden we ate only *shwe-dinga* durians, gold-sovereign durians, whose flesh was so soft and full that a gold coin could be stood on edge on the seed and be buried in it. Moreover, the eating of durians in excess was usually discouraged anywhere else, because of the heating qualities of the fruit, but here they grew beside the cooling mangosteen, which we always ate after the durian. This delicious fruit never travels successfully; even from district to district it gets bruised and stained. The mangosteen tree was most exciting to me as a child. It was full of dark foliage and the distilled nectar of the snow-white fruit seemed to be enclosed in bitterness and fraught with dangers, for the thick skin which contains tannin was bitter, its stain was indelible and to be kept carefully away from our clothes, and the fruit itself was said to be poisonous when eaten with sugar. This was owing to the belief that the sap of the rind made a toxic combination with sugar. Even the coconuts in Ye had a succulence about them. They were so abundant in the garden that we discarded all the fruit in which the meat had hardened beyond the *zun-chit*, the "spoon-scrape", stage when the flesh was of such tenderness that it could be scraped up with a spoon as a transparent jelly, to be put into the drink of coconut water. We were encouraged to drink this because it was said to make the heat "kick" and come out of the system. The grains of the pomeloes also were swollen

245 and pink with juice; we shredded them in piles and ate them with prawn
262 powder and fish sauce. The *kanazo*, the *baccaurea sapida*, gave us a
824 fruit of a mouth-watering sweet-sourness. This fruit was said to induce diarrhœa and we were always made to eat the white piths which had a binding action.

262 Whereas we feasted on the fruits of trees, our elders turned to the sea for more fleshly succulence. My mother and aunts loved to get turtles' eggs, nastily soft white things the size of golf balls, boil them and tear them open to spill their richness on to a plate of boiled rice; they got oysters swimming soft and cold in vinegar; big nga-tha-lauk, hilsa fish, bursting with fatness, and thick buffalo's milk which always seemed to us more meaty and strong than cow's milk.

796 We came back to Ye itself for the New Year festival. The New
772 Year in our lunar calendar usually occurs round about April 13th, and
775 is the occasion of the descent of a spirit-king, the Tha-gya Min, king of the tha-gyas, from heavenly regions to the world of men. The Burman Buddhist idea of the universe places the hellish, the earthly and the heavenly regions in well-defined order. In the centre of the universe is Mount Myinmo, the highest peak in all the world, a million miles above the sea and a million below the waters. Round about the sides of this mountain are ranged the six levels of heavenly regions where the Dewas or heavenly spirits dwell. These heavenly spirits also have homes in the sun, moon and stars. Far up in the heavens, above the seats of the Dewas, are ranged the sixteen seats of more perfect beings, the Byammas, one above the other. And far above them, as high as the imagination can soar, are four sublime seats, on the borders of the supreme Nirvana. Below the six levels of the Dewa regions of Myinmo are seven ranges of mountains, girdling the earth in a perfect ring interposed only by seven seas. In these seas are set four great islands, to the north, south, east and west of Myinmo Mountain, each attended by five hundred small islands grouped around it. On each island grows a fabulous tree which gives its name to the island, and dwell beings whose heads are shaped like the shape of the island. The northern, eastern and western islands are all more fair than the southern, life lasts for five hundred or a thousand years, and the trees bear gorgeous dresses and delicious foods of meat, but the inhabitants of the southern islands are infinitely more blessed in their merit. This island of Zampudipa, shaped like a trapezium and bearing the Zampu tree, surrounded by five hundred islands where live the English and the other nations of the human world, is the abode of man, the Buddhist man, and the known neighbours who are heretics from Buddhism. Here the inhabitants must work to weave their clothes and cook their food and

249 kept a manager and his family in the bungalow of each plantation, and a
311 staff of eight or nine tappers. Once a week we drove out there on a
439 picnic inspection; my father and mother gazed with pride on the rows of neat trees, walked right round to see that clearings were maintained and that the trees looked right, peered into the cups of rich white latex, administered rebukes and instructions and inspected the books, visited the smoking house and saw the brown smoked sheets with GK stamped on them, after the traditional Burmese way of married business—G for Gyi, my mother, and K for Kaing, my father—and then we all returned home. Chinese traders came to the house and while chewing betel they talked about quantities and prices of the stock we had. Then the stacked sheets came from the plantation in the two bullock carts which we kept there, and the traders came and took them away and paid us in cash. Business was something so foreign to what we had always seen our parents doing, and this all seemed so simple, that we always felt they were surely being cheated.

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25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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168. VILLAGE CAUSEWAY IN THE TIDAL REGION.

the village head-man or other functionary, and round about, the houses of the villagers in more or less regular rows. The village streets are broad and in some places the houses are well-spaced, with plots of fruit-trees and vegetable-gardens between and at the back. No [487] care is bestowed on the roads except in a few riverain localities and tidal regions, where embanked roads and brick causeways are necessary. Trees are planted in front of the houses— [245] cocoanut and betel palms, giant bamboo, the evergreens, tamarind, mango, and jack, for their fruit and shade: *gangaw*, *sagá*, and *padauk* for their shade and scented flowers: *mèzali*, *zi*, and several *ficus* species. The screw-pine and various ornamental shrubs are cultivated—*tarôssaga* (*frângipani*, No. 92), *sènnaya*, gardenias, and roses. *Palma Christi* (castor-oil plant) is common for hedges. [177 Plants cultivated by Europeans in the tropics—crotons, begonias, caladiums, 247] balsams—are spreading everywhere. Pot-gardening is becoming a feature of the villages and even of the raft-houses and boats.

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169. VILLAGE RIVER-FRONT.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
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182. PE AND TAN PALMS.

Hnan is grown as a secondary crop in the hills, a dry-weather crop in the *kwin*, and a full crop in the dry zone. The care of the *tári* palm, the planting and milling of sugar-cane, the care of orchards and the raising of vegetables are occupations of a special kind. The *tan* and *pe* palms, which yield the palm-wine or juice, propagate naturally. The *tan* grows about a foot a year, and attains a height of eighty to a hundred feet (No. 167). It fruits at fifteen to twenty years. *Tan* palms are common on the temple-lands and other well-drained and uncultivated clearings. The curved flower-stalks of the *tan* are cut through, and to their stumps earthen pots are slung to receive the juice that exudes. A gallon or more is collected from a tree in twenty-four hours. Palm-juice is also obtained from the *pe*, the dried leaves of which are used for writing on. The tree takes about fifty years to mature; then it flowers for the first time, fruits and dies; its gigantic head of bloom is cut off at the base and the juice flows for some months. The *danî* palm is tapped in the same way as the *tan*. Fresh juice of all three palms is sweet, and before fermentation sets in, it may be drunk even by the *yahán*. When boiled fresh, the juice yields a sugar (*tanmyét*). The collecting pots are boiled out daily, by which the yeast that forms is destroyed. This boiling is omitted when the [256] liquor is intended for a beverage. In that case a decoction of the nut of *pangá* or other astringent is added, which helps to arrest fermentation at the vinous stage. Otherwise, acid fermentation is complete within twenty-four hours. Fer-

184. CLEANING RICE WHOLESALE (p. 88)

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 API Burma
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188. CANE-CRUSHING MILL.

mented *tan-ye* (*tári*, palm-wine) has the alcoholic strength of small beer. Most of the juice is boiled down for the sake of the sugar. Drinkers of *tári* are few among the Burmans. Women are universally abstainers. The Burmans do not brew or distil liquor of any kind, but in some places they make a drink called *si-ye* by adding to *tari* an infusion of herbs of weak narcotic properties.

245 273 [249]

In parts of the *kwin*, too heavily flooded for rice-cultivation, certain varieties of sugar-cane (*kyau*) thrive. These have been introduced from India within the last fifty years and have proved a means of extending cultivation. On dry soil, a thin variety of sugar-cane with a dark rind is cultivated, principally by Shan settlers. Sugar-cane is cut in November; cane tops are kept standing in water till the soil has been turned and they can be put out for the next crop. A great deal of sugar-cane is eaten like fruit. Cane-juice is pressed out in wooden mills between rollers accurately turned and geared by cogs or spiral teeth (No. 187). In an adjacent shed is an earthen furnace for boiling the juice, which is on a much larger scale than the palm-juice boiling. Earthen pots have been superseded by cast-iron cauldrons, at first of Shan manufacture, but now imported from Europe. The crushed stalks of the cane furnish a large part of the fuel. When the syrup has thickened it is poured into flat moulds to solidify. The product is hard and of a light brown colour (*kyantagi*). It is eaten plain and is used for baking sweetmeats; none of it goes to refineries. Almost the whole

249 [177]

189. BOILING DOWN THE CANE-JUICE.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
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187. TURNING ROLLERS FOR THE CANE-MILL.

Almost the whole out-turn is bought up by Chinese settlers for distilling spirits (p. 156).

Of the edible wild fruits of Burma, after the wild mango the chief is *kanazó*. There are many less succulent kinds of wild fruit, for the most part acid and astringent. The cultivated fruit-trees need to be protected from cattle till high above the ground. But so rapid is the growth that in two to five years the trees are established. Tamarind, mango and jack are the commonest fruit trees and need little care; they are wayside trees in the villages. Clumps are planted in the *kyaung* enclosures and at camping-places (*sakán*) for their shade. In the dry zone the tamarind attains the proportions of our oak (No. 309), as does the mango in the moist regions (No. 304). A congener of the mango, the *mayán*, is also planted. The jack-tree attains moderate size, but, although evergreen, its shade is light. The cocoanut palm (*ôn*) has to be artificially germinated by watering the nut for several weeks before planting, for it rots if left to soak. It needs fencing for some years and does not bear for ten to fifteen, which is a comparatively long time for labour to await its return in the tropics. Burma grows only a small proportion of the cocoanuts she requires; the rest are imported from India and the Nicobar Islands. Dry cocoanuts cost one-half to one anna, and green nuts as much as two annas each. The water of the green nut is a refreshing beverage, frequently offered to the *yahán* and in hospitality to strangers. The betel-palm (*kun*, areca) is more extensively propagated. Limes, citron and pumelo, jujube and guava, cashew and bael are planted about

188. COLLECTING JACK-FRUIT.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

100. FRUIT-STALL IN JULY (TENASERIM)

the villages. They demand little or no care. Fruit-trees on which proper care is bestowed are the custard-apple, orange, mangosteen and durian, the first of these in the dry region, the latter three in the moist south. The durian (*duyin*) requires about the same expenditure of labour before it bears as the cocoanut; but the fruit is prized above all others. Its cultivation has been so much extended of late that average durians in the season cost only about double the price of green cocoanuts. Thirty years ago both durian and mangosteen used to cost two and three times as much as now. The limits of durian and mangosteen are 17° N. and 95° E. Only a small part of the habitat of both trees is included in Burma. Oranges, like most fruit trees in Burma, are grown from seed. The custard-apple is planted on terraced hillsides. It gives to the Irawadi at Prome a character which recalls the vineyards of the Rhine. *The* fruit of Burma, however, as of the tropics at large, is the plantain or banana (*hnget̂pyaw-thi*). Many varieties are cultivated, some of them very delicate. The plantain is propagated from suckers; after fruiting in the second year, the plant dies. The papaya (*thimbaw-thi*, Nos. 407, 435) was introduced over sixty years ago and has spread everywhere. Of sweet fruits there remain the pine-apple, which is cultivated in the light shade of the orchards of jack, and the water-melon, grown in vegetable gardens together with cucumbers and vegetable marrows. The walnut and the chestnut flourish in the north. The vine bears there also, but is not extensively cultivated. Other nuts are the cashew kernel and the ground-nut (*aye-ti*); both have to be roasted. The kernels of

100. ROD SET (PAITTABIN).

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25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
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181. SWING NET (YABWIN).

jack and several other fruits are roasted and eaten. Vegetables are regularly cultivated in the vicinity of large towns. In the villages very little trouble is taken with them. A bush or so of capsicum and a few plants of brinjal or tomato are set; pumpkins and gourds are trained over the roof or on arbours in front (Nos. 126, 414). The market vegetables are onions and garlic, many kinds of beans, fresh and dried, various tubers, yams, "sweet-potato," pumpkins, marrows, gourds, brinjals and tomatoes, *chimbáung*, *kyeppaung* and *kyemmauk*. Green maize is used as a vegetable. The cultivation of maize would admit of great extension in the *kwin* if there were a market for the grain. Green shoots culled from all sorts of wild herbs and trees are brought to market. The most substantial of these are bamboo shoots; they turn red by boiling as shellfish do. Black pepper and cardamom occur wild in Burma and are also cultivated, but not extensively. Turmeric and ginger are cultivated, as well as anise, caraway and coriander. Cinnamon and cloves are imported. Nutmeg is native to the evergreen forests of the south. European vegetables, raised by Chinese gardeners, are offered for sale in the markets of large towns. Potatoes are imported from India and have been grown with success in the Shan and Taung-ngu hills. European flowers have spread everywhere. Cut flowers are sold in the markets for toilet use. The rose has been cultivated in Burma for ages and is the flower most prized. No grafting is practised nor are any of the garden varieties known. The real floral wealth of Burma — its orchids (*thikkwabán*) — the people are only beginning to discover owing to the interest taken in them by strangers.

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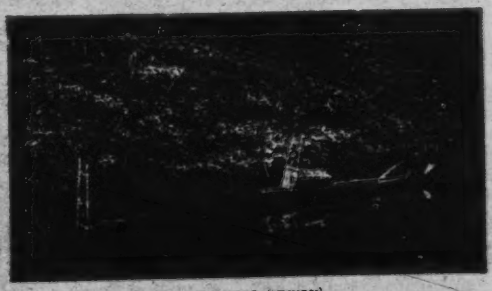

182. FISH-TRAP (HNYON).

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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[484]

animals generally when a journey is being made for any distance. At night the carts are arranged in a laager with the high backs outwards, and all inside, including even the pariah dogs, are safe from wild animals. The waggoners used to glory in the strident sound of their wheels, which often can be heard miles off in the forest. A wheel with a creak of particular volume and power of penetration is highly prized, and an experienced driver can tell whom he is going to meet or overtake by the groanings of the axles and the key in which they are pitched. Every bullock in addition carries a square metal bell tied under his throat.

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In the yard round about the house there is very often a little garden fenced off in a rough kind of way, but no particular care is taken to keep it neat and free from weeds—no easy matter even for an active gardener in Burma. The favourite plant is always the Bôddha Tharanat (*Canna Indica*, or Indian shot), so named from its seeds, which are used for the beads of the rosary. The flowers are red, or sometimes white. The fable relates that it sprang from the Buddha's blood. His impious and evil-minded brother-in-law and cousin Dewadat, enraged that he was not allowed to have a separate assembly of his own, went to the top of a hill and rolled down a huge stone, intending to destroy the most excellent payā. But the boulder burst into a thousand pieces, and only one little bit bruised Shin Gautama's toe, and drew a few drops of blood, whence sprang the sacred flower. The renowned physician Zewaka healed the great teacher's wound in a single day, and almost immediately afterwards the earth opened and swallowed up the sacrilegious Dewadat. The plants and flowers usually stand demurely in a single row, or perhaps in three or four, like a patch of peas. The *Datura tatula* is almost always found, and among the other mingled vegetables and medicinal plants the *Celosia cristata*, in both its yellow and purple varieties, is a special favourite. But the Burman can scarcely vaunt his success as a flower gardener.

There are always a few domestic animals and pets about the premises. Every family has its dog, which trots about the establishment and makes a terrible to-do whenever a white man appears. The pariahs are magnificent watch-

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
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168. VILLAGE CAUSEWAY IN THE TIDAL REGION.

the village head-man or other functionary, and round about, the houses of the villagers in more or less regular rows. The village streets are broad and in some places the houses are well-spaced, with plots of fruit-trees and vegetable-gardens between and at the back. No care is bestowed on the [487] roads except in a few riverain localities and tidal regions, where embanked roads and brick causeways are necessary. Trees are planted in front of the houses— [245] cocoanut and betel palms, giant bamboo, the evergreens, tamarind, mango, and jack, for their fruit and shade: *gangaw*, *sagè*, and *padauk* for their shade and scented flowers: *mèzali*, *zi*, and several *ficus* species. The screw-pine and various ornamental shrubs are cultivated—*tarôssaga* (*frangipani*, No. 92), *sènnaya*, gardenias, and roses. *Palma Christi* (castor-oil plant) is common for hedges. [177 Plants cultivated by Europeans in the tropics—crotons, begonias, caladiums, ● 247] balsams—are spreading everywhere. Pot-gardening is becoming a feature of the villages and even of the raft-houses and boats.

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169. VILLAGE RIVER-FRONT.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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[227]

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121. SWING NET (YADWIN).

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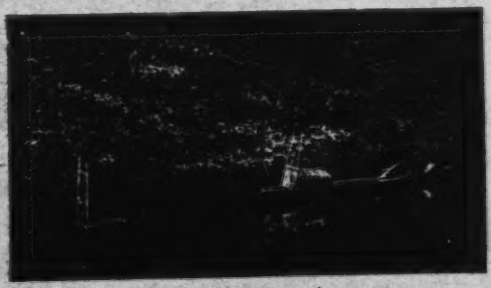

122. FISH-TRAP (HMYOK).

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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to accumulate money, and their carelessness results in the constant death of their plough-beasts, so that matters usually remain exactly at the same level if the farmer does not actually get into permanent debt. The Scottish Highlanders have a pious wish, "May the free hand always be full!" If it is not always full in Burma it is consoling to think that it is seldom absolutely empty. Still, when the grandson succeeds he ordinarily finds that there is as little actual money hoarded up about the place as there was when the grandfather Po Gyi spent so many borrowed rupees at his uncle's funeral. 243 454 511

If rice cultivation is easy work in the low country, it is very different with the taung-ya, or hill clearings. Here the dense underwood and forest growth has to be cut down; and the more there is to cut the better the crop, for the soil needs fertilising badly, and all that is cut down is burned. Work is begun about January; everything is felled, bushes and all; and after the fallen logs have dried some time in the sun, the brushwood is heaped up round about them and the whole is set on fire. Some of the logs smoulder for weeks —perhaps till the first rains come. Then the ground is rudely dug up with hoes, and the ashes turned in. Cotton-seed is ordinarily mixed with the rice, which is of a quite different variety from that produced in the plains. It is sown broadcast, and the farmer has thereafter only to keep down the weeds, but this is not by any means a light task. The crop is ready by October, and furnishes little more than enough to support the family or community. The scanty manure provided by the wood-ashes is not sufficient to last more than two or three years; and when the crop is secured the party proceeds on to a new settlement, there to repeat the same laborious process. A very ingenious device for lightening the toil is resorted to where there is much heavy timber. Beginning at the bottom, they slightly cut the lowest trees on the upper side only, gradually increasing the depth of the notch as they advance up the hill, until at the top of the clearing they cut the trees completely through. These fall on the row immediately below them, and by their weight knock it down; and so the felling process is continued down to the bottom. Occasionally a tangle occurs 243 101 241 [248] [433] 241 313

Burmese King thereupon went down with an army which succeeded in carrying off King, Clergy and Scriptures from the unfortunate city of Thaton. King Manuha of Thaton languished on a throne seat of bare stone in Pagan, but the religion thrived and blossomed into the grandeur of the thousand pagodas and temples of Pagan, so that even today Burmans can see the white majesty of the Ananda and rejoice in the way their kings received and enshrined their faith. With king and religion transplanted, Thaton fell into a decline, and soon lost her trade also, for the sea coast extended and left Thaton a dry inland town. However, it never lost its reputation as the old seat of religion; its rich geographical features also remained—a soil which can grow rice, fruits and plantations of other crops in abundance; its easy access to the big towns of Moulmein and Rangoon; the Martaban Hills which were ranged behind the town, and over which waterfalls tumbled down to cross the red laterite roads as streams of clear water.

Most pensioners, by the time they retired, had already established some form of livelihood other than the drawing of their pension. My father owned two rubber plantations just outside Thaton, each about 110 acres. Burma is not one of the chief rubber producing areas of the world, but the country round Tenasserim is suitable for rubber-growing and produced the greater part of what was, in 1939, a total of over 22,000,000 lbs. Thaton district contained about 15,628 acres of rubber, between big planters and many small plantations like ours.

My parents started our estates in the form of clearings which they planted with the help of my grandfather in about 1910, before my father became a myook, and were in time to reap the riches of the great boom in the post-war years, when they were selling rubber at Rs. 2/- per lb. and my father bought a motor boat and my mother many diamonds. As a Government servant my father was not allowed to work at any trade, so he handed over the possession of the estates to my mother's sister, our Kyi-Kyi Lon, who all her spinster life has devoted herself to my mother and to us. She worked the estates for us and, in the awful years of the slump that followed, we quite forgot indeed that we owned any such things as rubber plantations, for the only connection which my father ever had with them, the receipt of money from Kyi-Kyi, disappeared completely. In 1935, however, when my father retired, the market for rubber had just begun to stir into being, the Burma Rubber Committee allowed planters like us an annual quota of about 20,000 lbs or two-thirds of our production, which we hoped to sell at roughly as. 7 per lb, and my father was free to work them again. He had no technical knowledge and the minimum amount of business acumen, and I never ceased to wonder how money could come to us in this haphazard way. We

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311 staff of eight or nine tappers. Once a week we drove out there on a
439 picnic inspection; my father and mother gazed with pride on the rows of neat trees, walked right round to see that clearings were maintained and that the trees looked right, peered into the cups of rich white latex, administered rebukes and instructions and inspected the books, visited the smoking house and saw the brown smoked sheets with GK stamped on them, after the traditional Burmese way of married business—G for Gyi, my mother, and K for Kaing, my father—and then we all returned home. Chinese traders came to the house and while chewing betel they talked about quantities and prices of the stock we had. Then the stacked sheets came from the plantation in the two bullock carts which we kept there, and the traders came and took them away and paid us in cash. Business was something so foreign to what we had always seen our parents doing, and this all seemed so simple, that we always felt they were surely being cheated.

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262 which might have pitfalls for a retired civil servant. A friend of my father's grew large gardens of *da-nyin*, a tree of the laburnum species. The fruit of this tree rivals the durian for its nauseating effect on foreign sensibilities. It does not exude a smell as the durian does, until you eat it, but after eating it the smell comes out in breath, sweat and all other excretions. But it is one of our favourite foods. It is a small flat circular fruit of a hard and smooth consistency, enclosed in a shell which prises open in neat halves like an oyster shell. The texture and taste are delicious. We boil or bake it as a vegetable for fish sauce, we salt it in big jars as a pickle, we beat it and make it swim in coconut milk and eat it as a sweet, we bury it and make it sprout into a more pungent form called *da-nyin wet*. The main point is that it is eaten in vast quantities. It also contains substances which are good for diabetics, and families buy it literally in hundreds. No world depression interferes with the demand for *da-nyin thi*, and though the sale price is low, overhead charges are almost nil.

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2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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housewife or her daughter stepping on and off the bar, so as to raise the pestle and let it fall on the rice in the mortar. The rice is very thoroughly cleaned in this way, and Burmans prefer it to that which has passed between the mill-stones of the European factory. The Derbyshire, or composition stones, do their work only too thoroughly, and remove so much of the pellicle as to take away all the flavour, besides that the great heat caused by the steady grinding tends to the same result. Consequently the pleasant refrain of the girls chanting at their work may be heard all over the village after dark, and when a large quantity has to be prepared for some offering to the Sacred Order on a feast-day, the chanted chorus rises and falls round about the homestead often till long past "midnight cock-crow," till the rising of the "red star" warns them to retire to rest, tired, but happy, for such a good work earns great merit. A sesamum oil-press is also frequently found in at least one house in every village. This is equally simple in its construction. It consists of a deep wooden trough, in which the seeds are pressed by a heavy upright timber fixed in a frame. The weight is increased by a long lever, on the end of which a man sits and guides a bullock which goes round in a circle, thus crushing and turning the seed at the same time.

The carts are very strongly built, and are remarkable for the way in which the floor curves upwards towards the back in the same way as the boats do. In Upper Burma formerly the wheels were mostly composed of one solid, roughly-rounded slab of wood, or in some cases of two semicircular slabs joined together, and these are still found, but more and more rarely, in out-of-the-way places in the upper province, though wheels constructed in European fashion with spokes are mostly in use, and Government now prescribes a three-inch tyre on all district roads. Occasionally in the old days to save trouble the carter started with a square wheel, and trusted to time to round it for him. Padauk (*Pterocarpus indicus*) is the wood most valued for this purpose, but it is too expensive for most people. The wheels are never greased, and make hideous shrieking noises as they revolve. This serves to keep away tigers and wild

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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obtained. Red and yellow are, however, always the predominating colours. 531 285 322

The thi'si is turned to a variety of other uses besides the manufacture of lacquer-work; applied to wood, or to marble and clay images, it enables them readily to take on gilding. It is used as a waterproof varnish to all the umbrellas in the country, and makes them as impervious to rain as if they were made of wood, while it protects the palm-leaf against the rays of the sun, which otherwise would burn it as brittle as an egg-shell. All the racing and war-boats in Burma are painted with it, and the best caulking in the world could not make them more water-tight. Finally, boiled down thick it furnishes the material for delineating the square heavy characters of the sacred kammawa-sa, the ritual for the admission of brethren to the sacred order. 531 249

The oil is usually put in the sun for a short time before being used, and it is at first of a light brown colour, soon darkening into a brilliant black. It seems to be of a particularly mordant character, and raises huge blisters on the hands of some people, leaving marks of the ashy-white colour suggestive of leprosy. Hence strangers suspected of [753] being afflicted with the terrible malady always declare they are thi'si workers; and many people avoid these latter, in case they might find they had been holding communication with an outcast. A lotion composed of fine teak-wood saw- [757] dust, mixed with a little water, is used as a cure for blains. Many of the workmen periodically swallow small doses of the wood-oil, under the impression that it acts as a preventive. The capriciousness with which the varnish acts, leaving some men quite unharmed and punishing others severely, has given rise to a proverb in Nyaung-u:—

> Thi'si is a witness
> To a burgher's fitness;
> If bad, he's marked an outcast;
> If good, not long can doubt last.

matters, and cases occurred in which he unwittingly signed away title to his property, thinking he was only signing 'loan papers.' In some cases, Burmese cultivators, encouraged by moneylenders, borrowed sums greater than actually required for crop financing and used the excess for sponsorship of ceremonial activities, dramatic presentations, purchasing imported goods never before needed, and so on. 426

The result of this was the tremendous growth of rural indebtedness and much foreclosure by creditors holding mortgages on the land. By the 1930's, about half the cultivated land of Lower Burma was owned by landlords, largely absentee. The once independent Burmese land holder was converted into a rural tenant, or, in many instances, a landless agricultural laborer. Many tenant farmers, dependent upon rent-racking landlords, worked from harvest to harvest with little to show for their efforts beyond perhaps enough of the crop, after payment of rent, hired help, and debts, to feed their families through the planting and growing seasons. Large numbers left agriculture for other pursuits, such as petty clerical jobs in the towns and itinerant trading in imported goods. In Tadagale, for example, in 1949-50 it was possible to record cases of cultivators in such difficult straits that after paying their help and taxes, they did not have enough paddy left for the family granary to last until the next harvest, and were thus in the position of having to purchase in the market, at inflated prices, the very commodity they produced. 178 426 463

2. The Shift in Tadagale. The economic shift within the village may be summarized in terms of modes of employment, resources, imports and exports. 178

a. Employment. Rice agriculture has been decreasing as the land has passed, over time, into the hands of absentee landlords and independent owner-cultivators have become fewer. The tenant farmers are likewise small in numbers. [243] [427]

The manufacture of clothing has also diminished. Formerly, cotton was spun and woven in the village. Now, clothing is very largely obtained by purchase of imported piece goods in Rangoon and having it finished by city tailors and seamstresses. [294]

Oil pressing as an occupation has disappeared. The one remaining presser of oil seeds recently abandoned this work because of the difficulty and high cost of obtaining sesamum seeds from central Burma. [249]

In a few occupations there seems to have been no notable change. These are carpentry and work in bamboo and thatch, which keep a few people occupied; itinerant selling of prepared foods; shopkeeping; and medical practice (indigenous medicine). 178 463

Several occupations are new or increasing in the village. Agricultural wage labor has increased as more people have been unable to secure a living as tenant farmers and have gone to work for others in and near the village. Vegetable gardening, always important because of the nearby Rangoon markets, has become a leading occupation, especially since the beginning of the insurrections in 1948 which reduced the supply of fresh vegetables from the north.

As motor transport has replaced animal transport over the years, the men of Tadagale have been increasingly employed in operating buses. Related to this is the establishment of a repair shop by a motor mechanic to service the buses owned by villagers.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

104. OUTLOOK OVER MIXED FORMS OF CULTIVATION.

the vagaries of the rivers. A good season is one in which a large proportion of the fields have water enough for an early start and in which the rainfall is steady, not leaving the surface to dry up by a long break in the rain nor deluging the soil at other times. All the alluvial land of favourable elevation and quality is laid out in level rice-fields. Where the rainfall is ample—fifty inches and upwards—portions of the diluvial land with tenacious soil can be utilised in the same way by merely saving the surface-water. In regions of lighter rainfall, in a few favoured localities, such land is brought under rice by help of irrigation and if need be by terracing as well. The rice-fields are bordered by low turfy balks (*kazin*) about a cubit high, to keep in the water. These regular rice-lands form less than one-tenth of the gross area of the country. The rest is mainly irreclaimable, chiefly mountain, waste. The waste areas of the alluvial plains (*kwin*) are flooded from three to ten feet deep in the rains. They are clothed with elephant-grass (*kaing*) studded, through with silk-cotton trees and a few other species. The lowest levels in the *kwin* form shallow lagoons (*in*, No. 103) which dry up in the hot season. Dry-season crops—sugar-cane (which is also grown on the wet system), maize, lentils, and vegetables for a limited market—are obtained in the *kaing*.

105. HILL-PEOPLE MAKING THEIR CULTIVATION CLEARING (p. 149).

Burma has become the rice-mart of the world. Since the development of this trade the price of the staple export has more than quadrupled, producing in the lower country a prosperity which has no parallel in respect of its equal diffusion. It is believed that this development of the wealth of Pegu has been favoured by the upheaval

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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273

183. PE AND TAN PALMS.

Hnan is grown as a secondary crop in the hills, a dry-weather crop in the *kwin*, and a full crop in the dry zone. The care of the *tári* palm, the planting and milling of sugar-cane, the care of orchards and the raising of vegetables are occupations of a special kind. The *tan* and *pe* palms, which yield the palm-wine or juice, propagate naturally. The *tan* grows about a foot a year, and attains a height of eighty to a hundred feet (No. 167). It fruits at fifteen to twenty years. *Tan* palms are common on the temple-lands and other well-drained and uncultivated clearings. The curved flower-stalks of the *tan* are cut through, and to their stumps earthen pots are slung to receive the juice that exudes. A gallon or more is collected from a tree in twenty-four hours. Palm-juice is also obtained from the *pe*, the dried leaves of which are used for writing on. The tree takes about fifty years to mature; then it flowers for the first time, fruits and dies; its gigantic head of bloom is cut off at the base and the juice flows for some months. The *danî* palm is tapped in the same way as the *tan*. Fresh juice of all three palms is sweet, and before fermentation sets in, it may be drunk even by the *yahán*. When boiled fresh, the juice yields a sugar (*tanmyét*). The collecting pots are boiled out daily, by which the yeast that forms is destroyed. This boiling is omitted when the liquor is intended for a beverage. In that case a decoction of the nut of *pangá* or other astringent is added, which helps to arrest fermentation at the vinous stage. Otherwise, acid fermentation is complete within twenty-four hours. Fer-

[256]

184. CLEANING RICE WHOLESALE (p. 88).

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

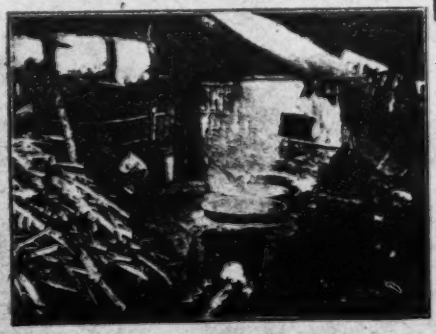
185. CANE-CRUSHING MILL.

mented *tan-ye* (*tári*, palm-wine) has the alcoholic strength of small beer. Most of the juice is boiled down for the sake of the sugar. Drinkers of *tári* are few among the Burmans. Women are universally abstainers. The Burmans do not brew or distil liquor of any kind, but in some places they make a drink called *sè-ye* by adding to *tari* an infusion of herbs of weak narcotic properties.

245 273 [249]

In parts of the *kwin*, too heavily flooded for rice-cultivation, certain varieties of sugar-cane (*kyan*) thrive. These have been introduced from India within the last fifty years and have proved a means of extending cultivation. On dry soil, a thin variety of sugar-cane with a dark rind is cultivated, principally by Shan settlers. Sugar-cane is cut in November; cane tops are kept standing in water till the soil has been turned and they can be put out for the next crop. A great deal of sugar-cane is eaten like fruit. Cane-juice is pressed out in wooden mills between rollers accurately turned and geared by cogs or spiral teeth (No. 187). In an adjacent shed is an earthen furnace for boiling the juice, which is on a much larger scale than the palm-juice boiling. Earthen pots have been superseded by cast-iron cauldrons, at first of Shan manufacture, but now imported from Europe. The crushed stalks of the cane furnish a large part of the fuel. When the syrup has thickened it is poured into flat moulds to solidify. The product is hard and of a light brown colour (*kyantagó*). It is eaten plain and is used for baking sweetmeats; none of it goes to refineries. Almost the whole

249 [177]



186. BOILING DOWN THE CANE-JUICE.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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[563
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187. TURNING ROLLERS FOR THE CANE-MILL.

Almost the whole out-turn is bought up by Chinese settlers for distilling spirits (p. 156).

Of the edible wild fruits of Burma, after the wild mango the chief is *kanazô*. There are many less succulent kinds of wild fruit, for the most part acid and astringent. The cultivated fruit-trees need to be protected from cattle till high above the ground. But so rapid is the growth that in two to five years the trees are established. Tamarind, mango and jack are the commonest fruit trees and need little care; they are wayside trees in the villages. Clumps are planted in the *kyaung* enclosures and at camping-places (*sakán*) for their shade. In the dry zone the tamarind attains the proportions of our oak (No. 309), as does the mango in the moist regions (No. 304). A congener of the mango, the *mayán*, is also planted. The jack-tree attains moderate size, but, although evergreen, its shade is light. The cocoanut palm (*ôn*) has to be artificially germinated by watering the nut for several weeks before planting, for it rots if left to soak. It needs fencing for some years and does not bear for ten to fifteen, which is a comparatively long time for labour to await its return in the tropics. Burma grows only a small proportion of the cocoanuts she requires; the rest are imported from India and the Nicobar Islands. Dry cocoanuts cost one-half to one anna, and green nuts as much as two annas each. The water of the green nut is a refreshing beverage, frequently offered to the *yahán* and in hospitality to strangers. The betel-palm (*kun*, areca) is more extensively propagated. Limes, citron and pumelo, jujube and guava, cashew and bael are planted about

188. COLLECTING JACK-FRUIT.

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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563

[366] 290. PAREIKAYA DEALER.

weather sale-booths (*tawzé*), for trade with the hill-people, at central points as far from the towns as canoes can navigate the stream. They sell dried fish and *ngapi*, salt, oil, pease, sugar, spices and tobacco, pottery and crockery, plain and coloured yarns, needles, thread, cloth of every sort, elastic belts, under-vests, matches, tapers and soap, kerosene oil, pencils, pens, ink and paper, playing-cards, beads, spectacles, mirrors and fancy articles from Europe, besides biscuits, sardines, and condensed milk. All these wares are sold in the larger villages as well. Sale-booths are set up at every festival, chiefly for refreshments. But there is nothing corresponding to the fairs of India and the West.

276 Both men and women smoke tobacco. Children begin at four or five (No. 21). The Burman cheroot (*seleik*) is a roll five to eight inches long and an inch thick, consisting of chopped tobacco-leaf and the pith of the tobacco stem, with a wrapper made of the inner skin of the spathe of the betel palm, or the spathe of maize, or else the leaves of *pauk*, *thanát* or *bambawè*, which are smoothed on a hot stone. The Burman exquisite toys with this cheroot much as the Japanese does with the fan. The fan is not affected by men or women in Burma. Good cheroots are also rolled of plain tobacco-leaf, in the Indian way; they are very strong. Unlike the Shans, Karéns and Chinese, with their pipes, and the natives of India with their hookah, the Burman sticks to the cheroot. Tobacco is grown on the silt banks left dry by the rivers (Nos. 191, 264); but the bulk is imported from the South of India. A delicate "birds-eye" tobacco is prepared by the Karéns and Shans on the North-East; it is shredded green, and does not keep well. At intervals on the main lines of

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291. BAZAR SCENE, BURMA PROPER.

352 TAUNG thick. The door had two leaves to it and one mirror. However, this cupboard had fallen into disuse as a receptacle for clothes, the family preferring to keep their clothing in teak boxes. The other cupboard had no mirror and was used to store crockery in. It measured 2 TAUNG wide, three TAUNGS high and little less than one TAUNG thick.

There were also two huge boxes both of which had been received as a bequest from his father. They were very heavy and needed two people to lift each of them. Each measured one TAUNG and five fingers long, one TAUNG broad, and one TAUNG high. Each had four legs two inches high. They were identical and both were used for clothing.

There was also a round table with four legs about two feet tall and with a diameter of two feet. This U Myaing bought in Rangoon for Rs. 3/8.

[291] [562] [651] A special basket was kept for storing women's HTA-MEINS (outer feminine nether garments). The Burmese do not allow mixture of women's and men's clothing. They had one of these baskets with lid in Pathwa. It was bought in Pantanaw and cost them 12 annas.

353 415 The following bric-a-brac is reported:- a porcelain duck and a porcelain rooster which had been handed down for two or three generations and had been used as a receptacle for trinkets and other small articles; a glass elephant also about a hundred years old with drawers to contain trinkets.

The following items are containers which may be regarded as household furnishings: abetel box about a hundred years old with a diameter [251] of about twelve inches; a clay water jug overlaid with porcelain, also a hundred years old; two huge vessels for HSOON, one costing Rs. 25/- and lasting twenty years, and the other costing Rs. [illegible]/- and lasting 13 years.

[196] These vessels were used when the family went to the KYAUNG to observe the sacred days. On such days HSOON for the whole family would be carried in these vessels. A KYAUK KAR food carrier woven of HNEE, (pith of the fibre used for mat weaving and overlaid with KYAUK KAR) cost Rs. 6/- and was used for about thirteen years. Five huge [251] earthenware jars each 3½ feet in diameter and 3 feet high, and three small jars were used to store fish. Each of the large jars cost Rs. 30/- and the small ones cost Rs. 4/8.

if there are many fish, if the water is bad they may die off - and do not come down to the KEE. When the water is good we get many fish. When the water is bad it is called YE-HAN-DE (the water is hurt). When the water is bad they die off on their own and become putrid on this side; they do not come down. When the water is bad it stops the coming down of fish even more effectively than if a KIN barrier were put up (further upstream.) They do not come down to the mouth of the KEE. 226 221 132

"There are 80 or 100 fisherman working at the CHAUNG-MA-GYI IN where I work. Thirty of these are from YWA-GYI-BAT and they are the only IN workers there, although there are 7 other INS in the neighbourhood. They work for 6 months out of the year. During the month of TAGU when the fish is sold, we start on the KIN and work through the months of KASON, NAYON, NAZO, WAGAUNG, TAWTHALIN and in TAWTHALINwe place it in the IN. Water comes down and with it the fish, and we end upabout the month of PYATHO. In the hot season we catch the remaining fish and after the hot season the INS are again auctioned by the Government. 226

"Night and day the fish are coming down and they have to be gathered up in wicker baskets and poured into tubs. They are coming down all the time. We have no special work time; both night and day. That is why there have to be so many workers. We have watches. If this person watches this night, that person watches the next night and another person the next night. They have to stay till morning. The person who has watched up till morning is given a turn (to rest) and another person placed there for the next night. The fisherman works for a day and a night. Then shifts are changed. The man who works from the afternoon is given a rest in the morning. There are shifts of eight to nine men at a time. These nine men are changed after a day and a night. They rest for a day and a night. 226 461

"Some of the more common fish are:- Nga Thaing, Nga Gyin, Nga Gyaung, Nga Myit Chin, Nga Dan, Nga Myin Yin; small fish are plentiful, Nga Khamma, Nga Hpare Aung, Nga Bat, Nga Khu, Nga Gyi; you get a lot. During one shift, (one day and one night) 2000 fish may come down, 3000 fish may come, or there may be 300, or there may be only 100. You cannot say for sure. At the end of the SHAN the fish are scooped up with kerosene tins and poured into the boat with wicker baskets. After that they are taken home. We take both big and small fish. The big ones are caught by hand and kept alive in big tubs, and it is the small fish that are scooped up with kerosene tins. We take all the fish that are stranded at the sluice end. The tiny fish escape through the KIN. Some larger fish also escape if the KIN cracks are wide.

"The large fish are kept alive and sent to the Rangoon markets and to various towns. They usually stay alive this way. When the distance is great they are placed in ice and sent. The other fish are dried or made into fish paste or NGAPI. In making Ngapi, the heads are first cut off. The scales are removed by wrapping the fish in gunny-bags and stamping with the feet after the bag has been placed in a tub. After that they are washed and salt is put in. After mixing thoroughly with salt they are pressed into jars. Those who want to pound their fish into NGAPI DAUNG (pounded ngapi) leave their fish to become putrid and then pound them. Those who want to keep them raw (AMEIN) do not. 226 438 263

Ma Aye Myaing describes the preparation of ngapi as follows:-

"The fish have to be chopped and placed in water; after the scales are removed, the fishes are chopped and placed in water for a night. In the morning the putrid fish are taken out, mixed with salt and laid out to dry. In the evening they are again mixed with salt and pounded. You pound the fish today, lay 251 263

it out to dry in the sun throughout the next day, then pound again and store in jars. The total process takes two days." 251 ●

U Myaing continues his explanation of the IN fishery:- 263

"The fishery is worked on a co-operative basis. We contribute equal sums of money. If one puts up Rs. 100/- all put up Rs.100/-; if Rs.1000/- all put up Rs.1000/- each. We group together and work. Rights to the site of the fishery must be secured from the government by auction. We have to make an initial payment of about Rs. 1000/- or Rs. 2000/- and in bidding among ourselves the price increases to eight thousand, nine thousand, ten thousand, twelve thousand. The original price was three thousand rupees. This is the cost of the Deputy Commissioner's auction. There were many bidders at the auction for the IN. Four, five, six. For example if I give a thousand rupees you offer two thousand, he gives three, four, five thousand ..... When it comes to the hand of the successful bidder the price has increased. The money for the fishery rights have to be paid in later (after the fishing has begun). For example if I pay in a thousand rupees this month, I pay a thousand the next month and the next, in several instalments. This is in addition to the amount we sink into the actual working of the business. (Cost of constructing the IN and equipment). 226 474 463

"The fishermen do not get paid a salary. They have shares. Accounts are kept of how much fish is caught, how much sold, and only after the IN has been worked to the end of the season is everything cleared up. Each fisherman gets only one share, and the profits are equally divided. We have to pay equal amounts of money for the IN and the money we get from the IN is the same for each of us. We all group and work together. There are some INS where one takes the lead and engages all the men and works it for himself. What he gets he keeps for himself. He pays the wages. In selling, we discuss the matter among ourselves and then sell. The four or five elders get together and if they decide to sell this kind of fish for this price, it is sold.

"As one of the elders, I go alone and bid at the auctioning in the Deputy Commissioner's office. I also supervise the actual fishing saying to the other fishermen - "Do this, and this and this." I have a list of what things they need and have to go and buy these things for them. I have to buy poles, I have to buy IN bamboo, I have to buy all the implements which are to be used. I have to collect money, and buy all the implements used in the IN. I have to keep accounts for this. I get a bit more money (than the other fishermen) by making goods (from the profits of manufacture). You see, I also make dried Nga-gyi fish and Ngapi-daung. I buy the fish from them and process it. I have not worked at INS all my life. I worked for about ten years at the time when the British king reigned. When the Japanese came I worked at INS no longer."(He then bought fish and sold the preparations.) [656] 226 463 621

U Myaing gives the following supplementary information:

" There are ten leaders or foremen in the village, each of them taking charge of about seven or eight men. In all there are about eighty workers in the three sub-villages of Pathe working with me at our IN. About thirty or forty of these live in INA-GYI-BET on our side of the river. These are men working at our IN only. There are also workers living in the village who work in the other INS of the neighbourhood. About a hundred of the two hundred families in INA-GYI-BET work INS. The rest process the fish, dry it, make ngapi etc., and to do this they have to buy the fish from the IN workers. Afterwards they sell to buyers who come from Upper Burma. Or sometimes they go upcountry in boats and steamers to sell the produce. Some people who are not IN workers go to the INS and help to extract fish oil. Fish like Nga-Nparo-daung yeild about one viss of oil to every 10 viss of fish. The fish are cut open with a knife and the fat collected. The women come and help without payment and take home oil for themselves when they go back. The women of my household also used to do this. [438] [562]

Cooking and Eating Utensils

Ma Aye Myaing does her work directly in front of the fireplace in a squating position, often resting on the tiny bamboo stool. A few sticks of firewood, or brush, are placed within the three sided enclosure made of three single bricks on edge. A hollow bamboo tube about 10 inches long and 1½ inches in diameter is periodically used to blow the fire to a hot flame in lieu of a draft. The identifications of the cooking and eating utensils given below were provided by Daw Aw Zar and U Myaing in an interview in which photographs of the objects were used. 415 252 [516] [352] [372]

HTA MIN O (cooking pot): This is an earthenware jar used for cooking vegetables and other foods. It is a round based globular form with outflaring rim. A wide conical shaped lid with flat disc knob for raising goes over the orifice. It is smooth, light tan in colour throughout and about ½ inch in thickness. It is tempered with sand. A stamped design encircles the widest diameter on the body. This diameter is about 7 inches, height is 4½ inches. One or two are kept on hand (Pathwe: several. Camp: one). They cost 5 annas each. This sand tempered, stamped, earthenware appears in the early European contact period (late 1500's) at Syriam (Orr, K.G. "Stratigraphy in Lower Burma" Ms. in preparation.) It is rapidly being discarded in favour of aluminum pots which are not nearly as cheap but do not break Traditionally this pot is used to cook rice. In speaking of its use Daw Aw Zar said: "We keep one or two, to boil vegetables and do other things to eat, seeing that there are seven people we have to cook (i.e. rice) with a big aluminum pot." [172] [178]

HIN O (curry pot): This jar is generally of the same shape as the one described above but is wider at the orifice (8 inches diameter) though about the same height. It is of the same ware type; has a wavy-line stamped design just under the rim. Ordinarilly equipped with a conical lid, this vessel had a flat aluminum lid. This vessel is used to cook curry. It was brought from Pathwe, where it was bought at a cost of 6 annas. Number used in Pathwe: several, camp: 1. [435]

LAPHET YE-OH (tea pot): The tea pot is also of tan earthenware and generally of the same ware as the cooking pots, with the exception that the surface was carefully scraped and slightly burnished. The body is globular, with thumb-like spout, and semi-circular clay handle. This pot was brought from Pantanaw, where it had cost 8 annas.

SIN O (food storage jar): Whereas the cooking vessels are moulded by hand with the aid of a paddle, and lack glazing, the storage jars are glazed and have been made on the wheel. These glazed jars also have flat disc bases, and pear-shaped bodies with contracted necks and short, collar-like rims. In every way they appear to be a separate tradition from the cooking ware. The glaze is dark reddish-brown over a hard-baked purple-red core. The interior is thoroughly glazed but the glaze only covers the upper half of the exterior. The reddish-brown glaze is recent, appearing in ceramic collections of the last century in Rangoon (Orr, K.G. "Stratigraphy in Lower Burma", the Monkine Street section) being preceeded by a yellow-black glaze in the early European period at Syriam. [323] [172]

Salt saffron, oils, etc are stored in these jars. The one examined was about 4 inches in height and 5 inches in diameter. It came from Pathwe and cost 3 annas. Number in Pathwe several, camp: 3. [251] [435]

basket PYIDAUNG. Both cost a rupee. One does not seem to be preferred to the other except as getting them allows a bargain to be made. The form is that of a pear shaped body with a square base, measuring about 8 by 8 inches. The basket is constructed in the wicker technique with small, whole reeds. Pathme: 2. Camp: 1. 415 252 [285]

CHIN DAING (storage basket): The form of this basket is a larger version of the measurers. It has, however, an open weave giving a checkered effect to the sides and bottom. It is used to store objects including food. At Pathme this basket was used in working the INS. The fish were scooped up, and later washed in them. The two used in camp were brought from Pathme where they cost Rs. 1/4- Camp: 1, Pathme: 15 for washing fish. 251 415 [435]

Winnowing trays: Shallow baskets about 2½ feet in diameter and 2 inches high were used as shifting and storage trays. The SAGAW has a rounded base; while the SAGAR has a flat base with fiber walls. Both are made of flat, wide-meshed reeds. The trays used in camp came from Pathme where they cost Rs. 1/4 each. Pathme: 1. 243 415

THE CHIN (Marketing basket): This basket is in the general shape of a cylinder, 1½ feet wide and 8 inches high, with open, flat reed sides and a semi-circular handle across the top. It is used to carry objects from market and to store them in the house. Pathme: 2, Camp: 1. 415

U Myaing expresses the contrast between the camp equipment and that of Pathme: "These objects in camp are barely sufficient. We have to live as we are. In our own district we had sufficient to nail in boxes. The extra ones were nailed in boxes and only enough were taken out for the seven people who eat. When visitors come, good ones are brought out. Plates for curry, plates for eating rice. There were various kinds." 415 511 178

Food Items

Ma Aye Myaing gave as complete a set of data on the food consumption of her family as she could. The following data is inclusive for the family of seven, both in Pantanaw and the refugee camp. Ma Aye Myaing decides what dishes to cook for each meal of the day, and she does this without any consultation with U Myaing. She does not ask him what he would like for each meal, although sometimes when he expresses a desire for a certain dish she sees to it that it is prepared. She has a free hand in deciding what to cook for each meal in the day. Definitions of the weights and measures used follows in a glossary. The data is organized under the headings of (1) Main dishes and raw foods, (2) supplementary dishes and TO-ZAYE (vegetables eaten with SHAYE), and (3) trifles. 262 [593] [128]

during the months of Waso and Wagaung. Mangoes can be preserved in the form of pickle or of salted mangoes. In Rangoon, ripe mangoes can be obtained all year round since some are laid by in cold storage, but they are very expensive out of season and cost about three rupees each. 262 [369] [251]

MAYAN THEE AHME (ripe marians) appear during the months of Tabaung, Tagu, Kason and Nayon. In Nayon month the output of marian fruit lessens.

Consumption of NGAPI YE: NGAPI YE is available all the year round. In Pantanaw it was eaten every day for both meals of the day. Ten ticals of NGAPI YE lasted the family four meals. In camp it is consumed only occasionally - about four days in the month. Two and one half ticals are taken with each meal and this would add up to twenty ticals for the eight meals in the month.

Consumption of firewood: If all the firewood needed by the family in camp had to be bought, the consumption of firewood per month in the camp would amount to 200 pieces of Kanazoe wood at the rate of Rs. 4/- per 100 pieces. About 3 months ago they found that they did not need to buy any firewood at all as they could gather a sufficient amount of brushwood to serve in its place; but now none of the members of the family remain free to go in search of brushwood and all their requirements have to be bought. 313

In Pantanaw, their needs of firewood for cooking were filled by three huge Koko trees which they owned. This was also supplemented by the wood that they had to buy for processing the fish. Three tons of firewood would last 1½ or 2 months, costing Rs. 25/- per ton. The firewood for cooking did not cost anything beyond the two or three rupees that had to be paid to the person who cut down the branches.

Consumption of PAUK PAUK PYIN: This is not found in Rangoon at all. In Pantanaw it was eaten at charities, particularly the Waso month charity. Each member of the family ate about 10 ticals each, and 40 or 50 ticals were needed for all. This was eaten only once a year and even then not necessarily every year. 262 [796]

KAYE KAYAR is eaten in camp only about once a year. This is the Rangoon equivalent of PAUK PAUK PYIN. KAYE KAYAR is different in having no oil in it. One anna's worth weighs five ticals and six or seven people eat an anna's worth each at one eating.

In Pantanaw bread was sometimes eaten at SHIN PYUS (novitiation ceremonies). MON-HIN-GA was eaten at the beginning of the Buddhist lent, when PAUK PAUK PHIN, MON KYAR YOE and MON SEIN BAUNG were also eaten sometimes. KAUK HNYIN BAUNG was eaten at this time and also at U Myaing's daughter's naming ceremony. GYIN THOKE, LAPHET and tea were served during novitiation ceremonies, and Mandalay HTO MON was eaten during the naming ceremony. Sweet tea was also served during marriage ceremonies. Rice and curries were eaten at some of the bigger festivals. KAUK HNYIN was prepared for almost every ceremony or festival. [796]

In Rangoon, U Myaing had MON HIN GA and sweet tea on the full moon of Tasaungmon from a charity in the THAYET-LAN KYAUNG-TAIK. He also had some MON-HIN-GA not long ago at a head washing ceremony for a child. There are no charities held in the camp enclosure. [796]

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

243 Under the coarse yellow husk is a shell of bran, and beneath that a delicate white pellicle. The two outer coverings have to be removed and the inner one preserved. "Cargo rice," which forms the bulk of the mill produce, is three parts rice, simply husked, and one part paddy. The mixture bears the transport.

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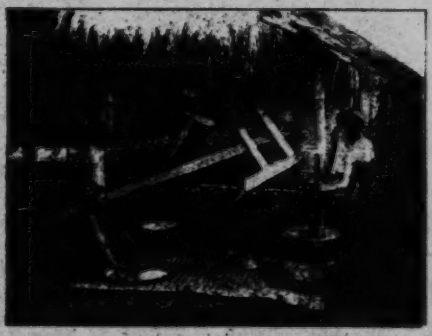
118. TREADING OUT THE GRAIN.

better than white rice. Burmans clean the rice according to daily need. This is done either by simple pounding or by first husking the grain in a wooden mill (*kyaissdw*), and then pounding it to get off the bran. The mortar is of hard wood, with a hard wood pounder as heavy as the arm can wield; or else the pounder is mounted in a tilting-beam for foot-power. Chaff and bran are separately winnowed out with sieves and trays (*sagdw*) of bamboo, and in exposed places by the help of the wind also. For wholesale husking, the native mill is composed of two strong wicker-work cylinders made solid with clay, in which are embedded upright staves of hard wood (Nos. 127, 184). As the mill wears down, the layers of wood keep above the clay like the layers of enamel in a herbivore's tooth, maintaining a rough surface for work. In the early days of the export trade, rice was husked for shipping in this way. The separation of the chaff is done with a machine copied from our farmyard winnower, and now manufactured in every town.



119. CLEANING RICE WITH THE HAND-POUNDER.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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120. CLEANING RICE WITH THE HAND-MILL.

in every town. A basket (*din*, bushel) of cleaned rice (*san*) costs three to four rupees, and lasts a man about a month. The loss of volume in cleaning is about twenty-five per cent., and the cost of the unhusked grain about one-third of that of rice. For cakes and sweets, rice is ground with water in the Indian stone hand-mill. After first soaking, it is passed through the mill repeatedly until it forms a creamy fluid, which is strained and used while fresh. Wheaten bread is a novelty.

[262]

342
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The houses in Burma are mostly built of bamboo. The giant bamboo (*wabó*), a denizen of the evergreen hills, is cultivated in the plains for house-posts and masts and side-buoys of boats. Its culms attain a height of eighty feet and a girth at the butt of two feet. Every bamboo jungle supplies the rest of the material for the house. No tools are needed for bamboo work, but the universal *dâ*—a sabre, trimmer, chopper, according to its proportions (No. 231). With the *dâ* the bamboos are hewn, split open and slit into withes (*hnî*) for lashing. Thin-walled bamboos are opened out into broad planks for the walls of the houses (*tayán*). Stout thick-walled bamboos are shaped into narrow planks for flooring, or the floor is laid of round bamboos laçed down at intervals. Loose planks of wood are becoming general for floors, even in houses built of bamboo (p. 119). Every Burman can handle the *dâ*, but not so expertly as the hill people. The house-posts, floor-girders, and principal frames are frequently of timber, and outlast several relays of the bamboo-work, which decays in a few seasons. The inducement to keep a material clean and neat which has soon to be replaced is not great, and engenders negligent habits. In the better houses, bamboo is only used for the walling and the roof rafters.

[313]
[412]
[243]

121. WINNOWING GRAIN IN THE WIND.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

226 draining off. When the weather is clear enough for the work of curing, the residue of water is run out and the fish are taken. Where the channels do not drain the *in* of its water, the fish are taken by men who advance close abreast up the length of the lagoon with conical cages which they thrust to the bottom

195. CASING FISH IN COMPANY.

at every step, taking out the fish they catch by an opening at the top (*saung-tô*). But the water in some lagoons remains too deep for this plan, and then *tugaung* are made. These are enclosures along the margins of the lagoons into which the fish are enticed by the shelter of green boughs laid on the surface of the water. Small fish are caught with the casting-net (*kun*). Heavy nets for river and sea fishing are made of *paissan* twine, a kind of jute, tanned with cutch or *madamâ* bark. Light nets are made of cotton twine. Drop-nets with floats of bamboo or *pau* are used in the big rivers, the estuaries, and on the coast. This class of fishing is getting into the hands of settlers from India. Enormous quantities of small fry are taken in the estuaries in large funnel-shaped traps called *damtu*, which are anchored in the tidal currents. [227] The shark tribe (*ngasudn*) are common on the coast. The fish most prized in Burma is *ngathaldúk* (*hilsa*), but there are many kinds of excellent fish. [251] Large fish are slit, salted and sun-dried. The eggs of the turtle are collected on the laying-

196. FISH WEIR AND TRAP.

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

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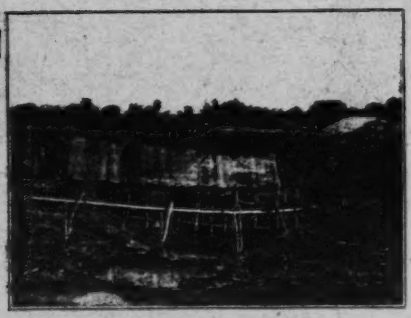

198. SLUICE OF LAGOON FISHERY (IN)

banks. Ducks' and fowls' eggs are also eaten.

Small fry and the bony fish are made into the Peguan condiment *ngapi*—pressed fish. The process is essentially the same as that of anchovy paste manufacture, but is conducted in a much rougher way. The fish after being taken are spread out in the sun and then pounded in a mortar, again sunned and again pounded with about a quarter their weight of salt. Fermentation is not uniformly arrested at the proper stage, so that the product becomes contaminated with putrescence. According as the compound remains moist or dry it is made into balls, moulded into bricks, or stored in jars. *Ngapi* is sent to Burma Proper and the Shan States in enormous quantities. Fresh fish, dried fish, and *ngapi* are much the same in price, one half to one rupee the viss (3.65 lbs.) according to quality. *Ngachin* is a crude and unwholesome pickle made by putting fish to ferment with boiled and salted rice.

258 Salt used to be obtained from sea-water and from brine wells in the interior, before the import of salt began. The manufacture still drags on, as the local salt is better for curing purposes. At spring-tides, sea-water in the estuaries is let into shallow pans like rice-fields, or it is raised with the *Ka-hmaè*. After the brine has been concentrated by evaporation in the heat of the sun, it is boiled down in spherical earthen pots, which are built with clay into a vault over a furnace. Iron cauldrons like those in [178] No. 186 are superseding [415] the earthen pots, and the round cauldron is in its turn being replaced by a flat iron [227] pan.

224 The chase, so far from forming the diversion of princes and satraps, remains to the *vauriens* of the villages

199. SHORE NET

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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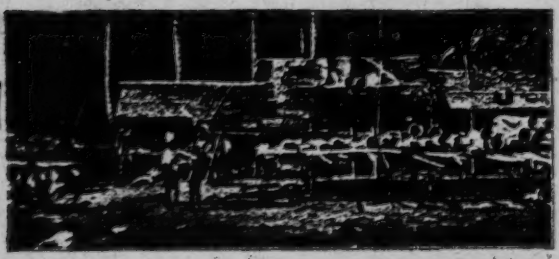
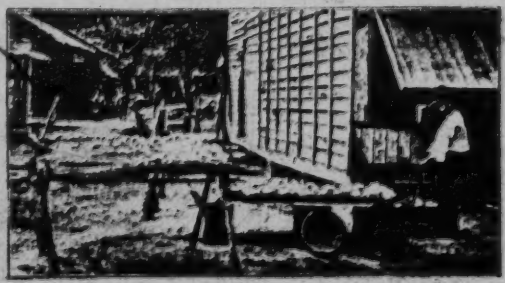


200 SEA-FISHERMEN'S HUTS

to eke their living by. The typical reprobate who is reclaimed in Buddhist legend is the hunter (*máso*). The religious stigma would probably be less severe if the scope of the chase were not so restricted as it is. In the forests of Burma, with their dense cover, forage for herbivores is scarce at certain seasons, so that game cannot multiply extensively. Such game as there is has a wide beat, and is hard to find owing to the vast preponderance of forest land over clearing. For the same reason the game that forages in the cultivation or on its borders has a limited field in Burma. In the plains near the sea there is a closer approach to the conditions of *shikár* in India, and the chase becomes more of a recognised occupation. There are four species of deer: the *sat* (*sámbar* of India), the *daye* (porcine deer), *dyi* (barking deer, roe), and a beautiful species peculiar to the Eastern Peninsula, the *thamlu* (brow-antlered deer), which has the form and stature of our red deer. *Thamlu* are found in the plains on the coast of Pegu, and again in the north-west of Burma Proper. On dark nights these deer are hunted with the *ut-ou*. A lantern is prepared, with three sides dark. The flare is directed towards the deer, which are so dazed by it that they may be approached up to striking distance. The herd is deceived at the same time by the tinkling of cow-bells. Smaller deer, *daye* and *dyi*, are caught with nets in the plains of the coast. Hunters watch at their haunts for them to break cover and come out into the cane-fields or other cultivation. A stout net, a couple of yards wide, stiffened at intervals with bamboo uprights, is run across the line of retreat, opposite to

[251]



201 POUNDING NGAPI.

shops to supply her with goods, but took a special pride in buying each 592
product from the town where the best quality of it was manufactured. 431
She could do this either by my father's being posted within its district, 513
by going there on a pagoda-visiting expedition, or by having relatives 286
posted there; and a survey of all the household possessions I can re- 511
member makes a cross-section of Burmese crafts. All our blankets were Burmese *saungs*, good stoutly woven cotton pieces, about 7 feet long and 4½ feet wide. We had single ones of red, black and yellow stripes which looked very bright and barbaric; they came from the Chin Hills. We used these in the hotter months. During the colder months we used thicker *ok-saungs* which we got from Pakokku; they were 14 feet long and used doubled, with a fringe at both ends. These were woven very strong and white, with bold red stripes on them in pleasing combinations. All these saungs washed more and more beautiful to our childish eyes. My mother had a big collection of them in wooden chests and some of them have lasted 30 years and are still beautiful.

She was also very jealous of her collection of *hpyas*, mats for sleeping 513
or sitting on, woven closely of the fibres of a reed called *thabaw*, or, 285
finer still, of the outer skin of a grass-like plant, the *thin*. These light 352
and flexible mats or *thinbyu* came from Laymyethna, "The Town of 511
Four Faces". They were equally smooth on both sides and had velvet borders piped on, broad at one end and narrower at the other, to distinguish the head end for nobler use, and to be sure of always resting the feet on the same ignoble end. We had them in big sizes for the beds and for afternoon naps on the verandah, and smaller sizes for prayers and for visitors to sit on. My mother kept them in rolls, five or six rolled together according to quality, covered with a cylinder of ticking and stood end up along her dressing-room.

Although we used imported crockery for the table we could not do without Burmese pottery for other purposes. Water-pots and goblets of light pottery from Twante, near Rangoon, were necessary to keep the water cool. There must be special pots for the altar water, for washing [271]
faces, for drinking water (in which pot, however, we kept a sand filter bought from Rangoon), and goblets in all bedrooms. For baths we had big black voluminous jars from Upper Burma, of a less porous pottery with a salt glaze on it, about 30 inches high and wide-mouthed. Smaller ones like these were kept for pickling mangoes and other green fruits. In the kitchen also, the modern aluminium pots 415
would not do for such purposes as cooking acid leaves and fish 252
curry that had tamarind in it; an earthen pot was always used for 511
chimbaung, roselle leaves. Moreover, the *salaungbon*, or cover, of an earthern pot can always be used for baking fish paste, a daily

511 necessity, by pressing the paste flat on the inside of the cover and
415 putting it over the fire; the top knob of the pottery always remains cool
252 enough to be touched by the time the paste is baked. On festival days
415 my mother bought dozens of little earthern dishes, no bigger than an
372 English coffee saucer. They were called *hsi-mi-khwet*, oil-flame dishes,
527 in which we burned lights of cotton wick and kerosene, and lined veran-
511 dahs and window-sills with bright fairy lights in the night breeze.

We had stoneware in the house too. The *kyaukpyin* is a flat circular piece of stone for grinding the bark of the *thanakha* (*linnoria*
511 *acidissima*) tree, to use as a cosmetic. It has a canal all around to receive
324 the ground paste. Kyaukpyins can be bought in all varieties and
412 sizes in any bazaar, but my mother always got hers through the headman
303 of Salé village, in Upper Burma, where they use a particularly suitable kind of rock which is durable and yet helps to make the paste smooth. We had some beauties, heavy pieces of about 14 inches across, a square around the circular canal, with carved figures on the corners and the ponderous legs. With the right quality of bark the ground thanakha fell in a smooth golden flow into the canal. Formerly, all women used this cream as the sole substitute for powder, letting it dry on the face and whiten it, but the sophisticated ones now use imported powder as giving a less artificial appearance.

302 Yet even the most ardent Max Factor fans cannot give up thanakha entirely for its great value lies in its astringent properties; it would have great success with European women who use mud-packs, because it acts like a mild and pleasant mud-pack. It also has cooling and refreshing properties, it is fragrant; older women apply it over the entire body after their baths, like talcum powder. My mother says it smooths the skin and, indeed, victims of smallpox who are left with deeply marked faces, have their skins smeared with thick thanakha many times a day, and
303 after a few months there is a definite improvement. The thanakha
512 bark is the most used, but barks of the red and white sandalwood and other trees (*nethapyu, nethani, kalamè, a-hmway*) are more fragrant and used on the body. Bad bark from the bazaar grinds gritty and dries patchily, but special consignments come from Myingyan and Pakokku, cut into six-inch lengths from branches two inches in diameter. A daily task of the girls in each household is to grind thanakha, and the commonest sight is a girl on a verandah with a kyaukpyin, a mug of

that is, the D.I.S. (District Inspector of Schools), whether active or re- 517
tired, was usually more permanent and could dig his toes in more 647
happily. The social relationship was also ideal. Earning less than the 351
other officials, he could yet offer them this rich hospitality of natural pleasures.

When we were in Maubin the D.I.S. was our friend U Taik Wan. 245
He and his family of ten sons and daughters had the u-yin developed to 252
its fullest. He had a low large house where the river took a bend and had fenced in this bed with bamboo stakes and a diving platform. The garden orchard stretched away from the house to a bamboo hut at the far end, with open verandahs under the trees. The speciality of his orchard were his sweet-sour marian trees. The marian is the *bonea Burmanica*, common to Burma and northern Assam, where it forms an ideal appetizer for the heat-drowsy inhabitants. It is sour, of a sharp biting sourness which now makes my mouth water with longing. It is too sour to eat except doused in strong salt sauce or fish paste, salt being our antidote to sourness, in which I differ from the English idea of cooking, for salt combines and merges in with sourness whereas a pound of sugar thrown into a gooseberry tart would still leave it too sour for me. The marian is a small fruit, green when young and orange-yellow when ripe, with a pretty purple seed which has given its name to the Burmese colour "mauve". There is a sweet variety which is not popular. Sometimes, however, a prize tree is found which produces a sweet-sour marian, a sour fruit with its sting taken off. Such a tree should be treated with the greatest care; its fruits must never be salted or pickled as sour fruits are treated, because the "sour" use would communicate itself to the tree by what may be called sympathetic magic. Rather, my mother made jam (with sugar) of these marians, for the improvement of U Taik Wan's tree.

My mother was very punctilious about such things; the girl servants 252
were never allowed to pluck the citron leaves for our salad because a 841
woman in menstruation makes the tender leaves of the citron tree curl 789
up and lose their succulence when she plucks them. U Taik Wan had a row of sweet-sour marian trees which he guarded from flying foxes by throwing a net across one face of them, showing a wall of these creatures hanging head downwards, to passers-by.

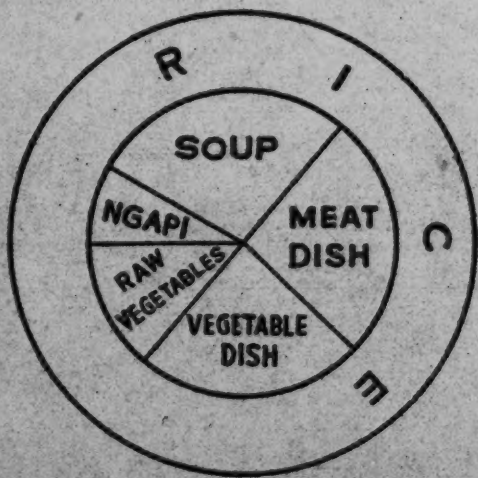
Our pyaw-pwè-sas at the Taik Wan's always began with a lot of 526
water-fun. We never used bathing dresses, but adapted our longyis for 291
swimming. This longyi is shaped and wrapped, like the more famous 515
sarong, at the waist normally, but women and girls take it above the bosom when they discard their jackets. This enables all our poorer women to bathe with perfect decorum at public wells and streams.

(83)

CHAPTER ELEVEN

IF my aunt's character and speech were full of sharpnesses with which she jabbed at people, they will all be forgiven her for the sensuous delights which she provided for one and all with her qualities as a cook and an expert on foods. She was such a wonderful cook, she used to be asked to supervise at *a-hlu*, the mass cooking for free feasting of clergy and townspeople. She regarded the feasting of others as her one indulgence in life. In all other respects she economized and denied her tastes like all Burmese spinster ladies, but in the matter of food she considered that we did not live lavishly or plenteously enough. She knew the rarest tit-bits, the physiological effects of eating any particular food, the properties of leaves, the times of year when the most ordinary foods had the greatest beneficent influence. 252 589

The field of Burmese food is a rich territory, and so little explored by foreigners who will normally hear only of the ngapi, rice and salad leaves of the poorest people, that I am tempted to write a whole chapter on it, as dedication to my Kyi-Kyi Lon. The composition of the average plain Burmese meal is: boiled white rice; the *hingyo* or soup; the ngapi or condiment dish; the *to-sa-ya*, "dipper", or raw green vegetable dish which may be classed as a naked salad; the dressed or cooked vegetable dish; and the *hin*, the "curry" of meat or fish to provide the gravy. Roughly, the importance and quantity of each dish may be shown thus, diagramatically: 264 511



If any visitors are expected there may be one or two other dishes, but this is the standard meal and is enjoyed by all classes of people except the poorest; a-so-ya mins, rich men, clerks and petty traders all eat the same, more or less. For a family of four or five persons two such meals can be provided daily at a cost of about Re. 1/- or Re. 1/4 in an average district town or village.

264 This is for the fresh bazaar, most families storing rice, saltfish and
511 ngapi, and sesamum oil for cooking, by the month or longer periods.

The rice is cooked to result in clean and separate grains. The usual
• 252 method is to put it on the fire with cold water, using judgment as to the
262 amount of grain and water for the pot. A person who cannot "cut his coat according to his cloth" is "*ko-oh hnin ko hsan ma-tan bè :* his grain and pot do not accord". When, after coming to the boil, the rice is cooked but not yet soft, it is drained by decanting; the water is kept aside for starching the jackets of the women in the daily wash, and the pot is put back on to coals or half off a fire, with the lid left open to let the steam escape and complete the cooking of the rice. It is shaken once or twice during this process, but there is no harm done if a bad servant forgets to do this or puts the pot back on a strong fire, for then the burnt rice is scraped up in a cake (*gyo*) and is eaten, dipped in oil and salt, by the children with great relish.

The soup is always clear. The great majority of soups are plain hingyos, with a stock of fish, prawn or dried prawn; flavoured with ngapi, beaten garlic or onion. It is made fresh for each soup, and when it comes to the boil, green vegetables are thrown in and left just long enough to wear down the tough cellulose. The vegetables are never overcooked. Throwing in the vegetables is called *hingyo hkut-tè*, ladling out the soup, and the green things for ladling are numerous indeed. Of leaves, the tamarind, the sorrel, the drumstick (*moringa pterygosperma*), the *kinmun*, the calabash, the mustard, various types of spinach, are only some. Some particular leaves, stalks or fruits require adaptations in the soup they ladle; for example, green chillies with the sorrel, pepper corns with the calabash; and the neem and *mezali* leaves are so bitter that they must be rubbed in salt and cooked three times before they can be eaten. All leaves used for soup have a distinct and delicate flavour. If the soup were strained after the leaves had been boiled in it a few minutes, one could still identify the taste. Richer soups are made with stock of meat—pig's trotters, chicken or duck—and are ladled with dried mushrooms, dried flowers or vermicelli strands, transparent and fair as the lotus.

263 The ngapi, condiment, dish has several standard forms. "Ngapi"
[438] is the general term applied to any of its forms. Usually it comes to the housewife as seinsa ngapi, from Tenasserim, such as is made by my aunts in Ye, or from Yandoon in the Delta region. This high-smelling, strongly flavoured paste is stored in glazed earthen jars and flavours almost all dishes or is cooked into its own palatable forms. It is fried with chillies and pounded dried prawns into a crisp brownness, in which form Europeans like it as a toast spread which they call *balachaung*. It

tastes something like the product known as Patum Peperium or Gentleman's Relish. More Burmese is *ngapi-chet* (ngapi cooked), when it is fried in a more oily and moist form with tomatoes, tamarind water, green chillies, red chillies, garlic and onion; or *ngapi-daung* (ngapi pounded), when it is pounded into a smooth paste with prawns, ginger, onion and chilly; or *ngapi-thok* (ngapi mixed), when it is made into a salad by baking it dry and then mixing chopped onion, green chillies and citron leaves and a squeeze of lemon. 263

The to-sa-ya, dipper dish, to dip into the ngapi, of raw green vegetables, consists of leaves, flowers, buds, stalks, and young fruit of all kinds—green mangoes when they are the size of marbles, mango flowers, green marians, *danyin-thi*, citron leaves, coriander leaves, cucumbers, *zaung-ya-thi*, *chep-paung-thi*, and a host of others which can be plucked by villagers from hedges or gardens or jungle patches. The dressed vegetable dish may be a *lethok* or a *thanat*. Lethok, hand-wiping-or-mixing, is a mixture of finely shredded or cut vegetable (say green papaya, grown green mango, marian or citron) with the balancing ingredients of oil for mixing smoothly; dried prawn powder and bean powder for filling; tamarind water for sourness if fruit is not sour; ngapi or fish sauce for salting; green or powdered red chilly for spicing; and crisp fried garlic and onion to set off and dress the whole. In a thanat we can make the orthodox cauliflower, cabbage, brinjals, beans, etc., into a delicious dish by boiling them with vinegar and water till they are not quite cooked, draining them, rolling them in cooked oil in which salt and a little baked ngapi have been dissolved, scattering sesame seeds and crisp fried garlic and onion. Some vegetables which have a natural succulence are made into thanat uncooked. They are cut up, soaked in vinegar for some hours, drained well and dressed in the same way. Cucumber and horse-radish treated thus are delicious and crunchy. Besides being made into salads, vegetables are "fried". This is not fat frying. Only the seasoning, consisting of a small quantity of chopped pork or shrimps, crushed garlic and ngapi, is fried in the merest fraction of sesamum oil, then the bean sprouts, cabbage or what not, chopped small, are spread over it. This is called *ok-tè*, covering with the vegetable; the lid is put on and the vegetable cooks in the steam from its own water content. Just before taking it off the fire, it is stirred with soya sauce, and, if taken off the fire at the correct moment, cauliflower, cabbage, beans and beansprouts are delicious. Some vegetables lend themselves to an extension of this method in the *kyaw-gyet*, fry-cook, what the English Domestic Science schools call a "combination method" of cooking. Here the fried seasoning ingredients are stronger flavoured, water is 262 252

262 added after the vegetable, and a dish which is half soup, half curry
252 is produced. Gourds are often cooked in this way.

The "curry" is called curry for want of a better word. The Burmese hin does not contain the spices usually associated with hot curries. The standard hin is the *hsi-byan*, oil-returns-curry, in which the seasoning and gravy are produced by pounded chilly, ginger, garlic and onion, fried in oil which has first been cooked free of moisture. This is fried brown while the meat is diced and rolled in salt and a little turmeric. Then the meat is put in and cooked till all its moisture has gone and the "oil returns". Then small quantities of water are added and the pot left until the meat is tender. The chief meats used are pork, chicken and duck. Beef and mutton are not liked generally, and many families, who wish to deny themselves the eating of the flesh of one animal in order to gain merit, give up beef. The curry described here is only the stock recipe. There are numerous special meat dishes, steamed, roasted, sauted. But it is fish and prawn that Burmese people love best. We have a great variety of sea and freshwater fish, each lending itself to special forms of cooking, from the richest nga-tha-lauk, through *nga-myin*, *nga-gyin*, *nga-ponna*, *nga-the-lè-do*, to the black and cheap *nga-gyi* and *nga-khu*. Crabs and crayfish with the lovely red oil in their heads; nga-myin cooked with ginger and soya sauce to make a "sweet" dish or with tamarind and ground chilly to make a peppery one; *nga-hpa-ma* cooked with vinegar and citronella grasses and green chillies into a thick soup, or *nga-yan*, cooked with tamarind water and vegetables into a minestrone; nga-tha-lauk baked so that the flesh is rich and full, but the numerous bones made so soft that they are no longer dangerous to swallow, or nga-khu fried so crisp as to give only a crunch and no taste; nga-ponna cooked into a hsi-byan curry with coriander leaves on top of the fishes, or *nga-kat* cooked and stirred into a flaked consistency; *nga-pè* whose white flesh is kneaded with salt into a glutinous slab to fry in slices, or nga-gyin wrapped in banana leaves with strong flavouring ingredients and steamed in packets until it is ready to melt in your mouth. In their daily meals Burmese people relish the odd parts of animals rather than their flesh—the liver and crop of chickens and ducks, the trotters of pigs, he guts of goats, the entrails of freshwater and, indeed, the heads, tails, fins and roe of all fish.

262 Besides providing us with rich daily meals, my aunt found great delight in buying vast quantities of foods which were seasonal or only to be bought in certain areas. Mushrooms appearing about May were bought literally in basketfuls, each basket being fifteen inches wide and fifteen high. These were cooked in various ways and eaten by family and servants for about three days on end or longer, until someone

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statuary are to be seen, besides abundance of chairs and tables, and occasionally bedsteads, while clocks, kerosine lamps, looking-glasses, and lounge chairs are universal. But it is very different in the village houses. There is practically no furniture at all there, for a chair is of no use to a jungle Burman, and without chairs tables are equally useless. Consequently all that is to be seen in a village house is the goodman's box, and a few woven mats and hard bamboo pillows to sleep on. Cots are not used, for one of the Ten Precepts, to be kept on duty-days, is that one must not sleep on a high place. The only furnishings visible are the mats rolled up during the day with the rugs or blankets which serve for bedding. The mats themselves are probably home-made, manufactured from fine strips of bamboo, the best being those with the polished silicious surface outside, which stand any amount of work. Softer, finer articles are made from the skin of the theng, a species of rush, which takes a black dye, and is often worked into patterns, but no one has anything more elaborate, and indeed nothing better could be wished for. A cooler bed could not easily be found. In the country, also, the cooking place during the rains is in the house. During the fine weather culinary operations are carried on in the open air, behind the premises. The cooking range is nothing more than a box, two or three feet square, and six inches deep, filled up with earth or ashes, and on the top of this the wood used as fuel is piled. The cooking utensils and the dining service are equally simple. The former consists of nothing further than two or three earthen pots with lids to them, and a wooden spurtle to stir the contents with. Close at hand is a jar full of water, with a ladle—half a cocoa-nut with a handle through it. These are all the kitchen appliances. In place of table there is a huge round dish of lacquered wood, called a byat. These byats are sometimes as much as three feet and more in diameter, and on them is heaped up in a gigantic pile the rice, while the curry is served in little bowls disposed round about. A young couple have, therefore, no ruinous expenses when they set up house. The inventory of effects necessarily is soon made.

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Outside the house there is not much more to notice.

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The abundance of land allows every one to have a courtyard of his own. In this the farmer keeps his cart and plough, the fisherman his boat. The buffaloes and oxen of the whole village are usually all together on a pasture-ground kept by some speculative individual, who charges a couple of rupees or so for feeding and looking after them. The care exercised is not very great. Heat and rain kill many of them, where, as is too frequently the case, no shelter is available; foot-and-mouth disease, and other epidemics, carry off great numbers, and finally, they are not at all averse to killing one another. Consequently the vultures are frequently to be seen on the trees round the village pastureland. Besides his implements the house-owner has always in his yard a hand rice-mill. Husking paddy has become, near the big towns, quite a separate trade, and abundance of cleaned rice may be bought in the bazaars, but in the village every family husks its own rice, the grain being kept stored in a small granary in the yard. The milling is done by the women, and there are two processes in the operation. The mill consists of two wooden cylinders about two feet thick, the inner surfaces of both roughened in a simple way by the cutting of radii from their centres, the lines being about a quarter of an inch deep. The upper cylinder has a funnel-shaped hole cut through it, to let the grain down, and is worked backwards and forwards by a long pole loosely fastened in, the rice coming out between the two cylinders, and falling on mats down below. It is winnowed either in the primitive way of throwing it into the air, so that the light husk may be blown away, or, often nowadays in Lower Burma, by a hand-worked pair of fanners, introduced since the English occupation.

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The rice is not yet, however, ready for cooking. The inner pellicle has still to be removed, and this is done in a big wooden mortar. Two varieties are in use, worked either by hand, as an apothecary pounds his drugs, the pestle being very long and heavy; or by foot, when the wooden mortar is sunk in the ground. The pestle in this latter case consists of a short, stumpy piece of wood, let into a long lever near the end. This lever is supported on two uprights at some distance from the mortar, and the machine is worked by the

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housewife or her daughter stepping on and off the bar, so as to raise the pestle and let it fall on the rice in the mortar. The rice is very thoroughly cleaned in this way, and Burmans prefer it to that which has passed between the mill-stones of the European factory. The Derbyshire, or composition stones, do their work only too thoroughly, and remove so much of the pellicle as to take away all the flavour, besides that the great heat caused by the steady grinding tends to the same result. Consequently the pleasant refrain of the girls chanting at their work may be heard all over the village after dark, and when a large quantity has to be prepared for some offering to the Sacred Order on a feast-day, the chanted chorus rises and falls round about the homestead often till long past "midnight cock-crow," till the rising of the "red star" warns them to retire to rest, tired, but happy, for such a good work earns great merit. A sesamum oil-press is also frequently found in at least one house in every village. This is equally simple in its construction. It consists of a deep wooden trough, in which the seeds are pressed by a heavy upright timber fixed in a frame. The weight is increased by a long lever, on the end of which a man sits and guides a bullock which goes round in a circle, thus crushing and turning the seed at the same time.

The carts are very strongly built, and are remarkable for the way in which the floor curves upwards towards the back in the same way as the boats do. In Upper Burma formerly the wheels were mostly composed of one solid, roughly-rounded slab of wood, or in some cases of two semicircular slabs joined together, and these are still found, but more and more rarely, in out-of-the-way places in the upper province, though wheels constructed in European fashion with spokes are mostly in use, and Government now prescribes a three-inch tyre on all district roads. Occasionally in the old days to save trouble the carter started with a square wheel, and trusted to time to round it for him. Padauk (*Pterocarpus indicus*) is the wood most valued for this purpose, but it is too expensive for most people. The wheels are never greased, and make hideous shrieking noises as they revolve. This serves to keep away tigers and wild

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when they attend a similar assemblage at Htun Aung's house at the other end of the village.

But after an hour or so they settle down to do a little work. The young men—kālathas, they call themselves—"Corinthians, lads of mettle"—have brought with them a number of wooden mortars, with a heavy pestle working on a lever; and these they set up and commence to husk the rice. The process is very simple. A few handfuls of the paddy are thrown into the mortar, the workers step off and on the lever which raises and lets fall the solid wooden pestle, and the husk is every now and then blown out and the grain stirred up a little. The Burmans infinitely prefer rice husked in the national way to that which is sent out from the European steam-mills. The big Derbyshire or composite stones do their work only too effectually; they take off not only the hard shell, but also the inner cuticle of the grain, which contains the chief flavour; and, moreover, the heat which the steady grinding induces, scorches out a great deal of what taste remains. Therefore at every house there is to be found the primitive national apparatus in which the girls of the household every morning or evening prepare the rice for the day's consumption. But to-night they are relieved from such hard work. The village youths for once in a way exert themselves; and all the girls have to do is to wash out a few dishes and prepare the bamboo-lacquered platters, the pyramidal ôk, in which the tamanè is to be carried to the yahans and the pagoda to-morrow, and get ready the palm-leaves in which less exalted people will receive their modicum of the stew. The whole actual work might be finished in little over an hour, but that is the intention neither of the giver of alms nor of the assembled young men and maidens. They have come much more for merriment than for merit. Else why that great pile of le'hpet? For the condiment is an anti-soporific, and if you take enough of it, you will be able to see all through a forty-eight hours' play, and give your friends an outline of the plot before you lapse into a slumber lasting twice round the clock.

Accordingly, after a quarter of an hour's work, the "prince" of the local amateur dramatic company jumps off his perch, and commences the "White Dove" song from the

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and the odour of the fruit may be realised by eating a "garlic custard" over a London sewer; others will be no less positive in their perception of blendings of sherry, noyau, delicious custards, and the nectar of the gods, while a somewhat objectionable smell is regarded as doing no more than suggest, or recall, a delightful sensation. I am not aware that any Englishman has been equally enthusiastic with regard to balachong, but there is no doubt that ngapi seinsa ["raw-eaten fish-paste," so called because it is fit for consumption without being cooked] is identical with this much-used substitute for anchovy sauce, and is often brought direct from the Burman bazaar by Madrasi butlers, who declare it has come all the way from Penang, and charge correspondingly. 263 151

Of ngapi there are three main kinds — ngapi gaung, taung-tha ngapi, and ngapi seinsa. Each of these has its special varieties, getting their names from the township where they are prepared, or from the species of fish used in their manufacture. 263

Ngapi gaung, or whole ngapi, is the most prized and the highest in price. That made at the village of Payāgyi, in the Angyi circle, not far from Rangoon, is celebrated from the rocky promontory of Modain, with its golden pagoda, to the barren solitudes of Mogaung, the Burmese Siberia. It may be made from any kind of fish, but the varieties preferred are the nga-ku, an amphibious, slimy fish, found in ponds and ditches wherever there is plenty of mud, and something under a foot and a half in length; and the nga-gyi, a fish very similar in general appearance and size, but called by the English the scorpion-fish, and very much dreaded for the wounds it causes with the pectoral spines. The great object in the preparation is to keep the fish quite whole, not so easy a matter as would at first appear. The process is as follows: A great mass of the fish, some of them only half dead, are thrown together into a big wooden mortar, and a man stands over them and works about with a curious cleaner made of a bamboo, the end of which has been slit and frayed into a kind of stiff brush. By this means it is surprising how soon the fish are scaled, and how effectually it is done. The larger specimens are, however, 252 [415]

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252 almost always cleaned by hand, the shoulder fins and the tail being also removed. They are then thoroughly rubbed with salt and tightly packed in bamboo baskets, each of which is well weighted down. They are thus left for from twelve to twenty-four hours, the superfluous juices of the fish straining out at the bottom. Then they are cautiously taken out one by one, well rubbed with salt again, and laid out on a mat in the sun to dry. On the second day they [415] are equally carefully packed away in huge earthenware jars with abundance of salt between the layers of fish. These jars are then put away—no easy matter with some of them, which might have served to conceal the forty thieves of the *Arabian Nights*—in as shady and cool a place as can be found. Gradually the liquid rises to the surface and evaporates by degrees, leaving a layer of solid salt on the top. Sometimes this fish-brine becomes alive with maggots, when the fish have not been sufficiently pressed, or have not had enough sun. When this occurs the liquid is drawn off the top and more salt is added, but in no case are any of the fish rejected. Usually the fish are ready for the market in a month's time, and will keep as long as may be wanted. They are eaten roasted, or fried somewhat in the same way as the "Bombay ducks," well known to the Anglo-Indian gourmand; sometimes also they are made into curries, the cook taking as great care as the manufacturer to keep them 317 quite whole. The salt used is in many places, such, for example, as the Angyi township, made on the spot. The soil there is strongly impregnated with salt. Water is run through it after the ground has been ploughed. The water is then collected in a tank, whence it is taken to pots, placed over furnaces, and evaporated to dryness, and the salt obtained is piled on sloping boards so that the bittern may run off.

263 252 A specially esteemed variety of the ngapi gaung is that called the nga-tha-lauk, after the fish of the same name, the hilsa, or "Indian salmon," which would be perfect, were it not supplied with bones all through its body, seemingly utterly irresponsible and unconnected with the spine. This handsome fish, silvery, shot with purple and gold, is not scaled, nor are the head, tail, or any of the fins removed.

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Each fish is cleaned and rubbed with salt in the usual way and exposed to the sun. Then they are spread out on the floor of a shed on mats, and mats are also put over them, and on these are placed weights of some size. This is all that is required. In four days at the outside they are ready for sale, and are then handled with most reverential care by both buyer and seller, for the hilsa is a fish that the foreigner loves, and therefore always commands a good price.

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The second kind is that called taungtha ngapi, that is, pounded fish, or fish-paste. It also frequently goes by the name of damin ngapi, from the bamboo trap in which the fish are usually caught. This is the form of ngapi which has earned the bad name for the whole preparation. It is made almost exclusively from shrimps and the smaller kinds of fish. These are spread out as they are caught, without the addition of salt or any cleaning whatever, on mats in the sun. There they remain for two, or perhaps three, days —by which time their condition is better imagined than closely investigated. They are then thrown into a huge wooden mortar and pounded together, with a liberal addition of salt. It does not take any very heavy work or length of time to reduce them to a state of mash, in which one fish is not to be distinguished from another. The whole is then heaped up in a great mound under a shed near the house, and several hollow bamboos, with little holes here and there in their sides, are thrust into it. Out of these a liquor, called nganpya ye, runs, and is carefully collected in jars set there for the purpose. This as well as some other fishy oils are greatly esteemed for culinary purposes, and fetch a good price. When these juices cease to run freely, the fish-paste is ready for sale, and is dug and shovelled out in an unceremonious way, contrasting very markedly with the loving care taken of the "whole fish ngapi." In the country boats it is usually carried in bulk, piled up as corn, or salt, or commodities of a like nature might be loaded; and therefore a boat which has once been used for this purpose is easily known again. In English steamers it is, of course, packed in jars, but the odours are none the less fragrant on that account. This is the true and only mode of preparation, and the marvellous tales

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000 related by some foreigners of the burial of the fish in the earth for periods varying from a week to a year (!) are due either to a guileless nature or a too powerful imagination. The soil of Burma needs no manure.

263 252 The fish most sought after for damin ngapi are those belonging to the family of cat- and dog-fish, from the circumstance that they have no scales, and therefore make a smoother compound. Some of these attain a huge size, the tame dog-fish at Thihadaw, above Mandalay, being quite five feet long, and blessed with mouths that would take in a leg of mutton. Many of them also have the peculiarity of breathing air, rising to the surface of the water and opening their mouths for the purpose; while, when the inland pools dry up after the rains are past, they are capable of making long journeys overland.

Seinsa ngapi is made entirely from prawns, and comes chiefly from the Tenasserim coast, Beit (the English Mergui) and Tavoy being the centres of its manufacture. The prawns are spread out on mats in the sun as soon as caught and left there till they are fairly well dried. Then they are mashed up by hand, abundance of salt being added, and are stirred up several times a day regularly for three days, lying out in the sun all the time. After that, the paste is ready for use, and is packed in small jars. Properly, seinsa is that made from the prawns exposed immediately after being caught. When some hours elapse before they are spread out to dry, the resulting ngapi is called yetpyán; and if a whole day elapses before the exposure, yet-ôk. The greater the delay, the more powerful the smell and the more piquant the flavour—a fact for Englishmen to remember when they take balachong. Ket ngapi is simply a variety made of large prawns, which are heavily pressed in baskets called ket, before they are put out in the sun to dry. They are then pounded with salt and pressed again, after which they are ready for consumption, either as they are or after frying.

263 438 Notwithstanding the open disfavour with which the English regard ngapi, the Burmese hold by it as the most savoury and necessary portion of their dinner, and vast quantities are exported to Upper Burma, where the manufacture, owing to the smaller fisheries, is not equal to the

342 514 In U Myaing's house the lavatory is in the kitchen and is walled off with woven KYU (kind of fiber) mat. There is a hole cut open in the board flooring, and the area underneath this opening also is walled off with woven KYU. U Myaing and family did not take their meals in the kitchen but in the house proper.

361 368 346 The PHON-GYI KYAUNG or monastery is located further downstream from the village. It is a two storied brick building comprised of nine rooms, each 6 TAUNG square. Children are not taught here but learn their lessons at the government school. This school, which is on YWA-GYI-BEIT side, teaches pupils up to the tenth standard. Below the PHON-GYI KYAUNG is the cemetery. [870] [364]

The houses in the village are separated one from the other by eight feet on each side. The rows of houses facing the river have porches on both sides. U Myaing's house is typical of those found in the village - some may be more elaborate, some less. His house had been built only six or seven years, and cost Rs. 3000/- at that time. There are no accounts for each of the separate items and U Myaing does not remember. The land was free and they did not have to pay any revenue on it. Separate from the houses and on the riverside is a huge platform built to process fish including the making of NGAPI. U Myaing had no land that 'belonged' round the house, although he could use the land directly in front of the house for various purposes. 342 435 [651] [366] [252]

U Myaing describes his house as follows;

342 592 "It is a wooden house, made of wooden posts - a two storied structure. The roof is of slates. Walls are of SHI-KHA-BU wooden boards (boards 8 inches wide and about ¾ inch thick) and there are four rooms. Other people have similar houses. It is a LAY-KUN-KUN (a four-tree-house or a house which has four supporting poles across the front) and all seven of us live in the house. We keep a kitchen from the back and cook there. The kitchen has three windows at the back, with one door leading into the house. We all live together in three rooms. We keep bedrooms. (U Myaing is speaking of a sketch of the house here). This side is for visitors - there is a room for people who come to buy goods. The old mother and the children live in one room and I and my wife in another with the smallest child. We eat in the front part of the house in one room at the foot of the sleeping place. There are nine 6 TAUNG rooms without partitions on each of the two floors. The sides of the house are enclosed with timber planks of IN wood, but the bedrooms are also partitioned off. It is very wide and roomy to live in. The floor is made of teak planks." [366]

a bamboo frame extending for about eight feet. The interior of the house contains piles of small boxes in which the bones and ashes of the P.V.O. dead are stored. Consequently no one lives inside. Seven families live under theseves on three sides of the house along a narrow strip nine feet wide. The area is divided into a number of rooms "6 TAUNG square - the same room size as in the Pathwe house." U Myaing's family occupies 2½ such rooms at the corner of the building. The head space varies from 8 feet against the wall of the house to less than two feet at the edges of the eaves. A break in the eaves forms an entrance at the corner. Figuring one room to be equivalent to a 6 foot square room 3½ feet high, we arrive at a total of 315 cubic feet of living space for the 2½ rooms. [764] 722 342

One and a half rooms are covered with a slightly raised bamboo floor on which U Myaing and his family sleep. A space 6' long by 2' wide is used as a work area and for social purposes, but this is not rigorously claimed, since the adjacent family frequently uses it as a storage space. In speaking of the refugee camp quarters U Myaing says:

> "It is very narrow (cramped) here. We eat and sleep in the same place. At Pathwe we kept 2 rooms separately to sleep in. Our house there was very wide and roomy. Here we sleep and cook all in one place." [511]

The sleeping and eating area is separated from the adjacent family by a woven split bamboo partition about 5 feet high; at five feet three inches from the floor, a number of bamboo poles criss-cross to form rafters on which objects are stored.

Here the sleeping mats are rolled up, along with sleeping equipment which consist of U Myaing's wooden pillow, makeshift pillow of rag bundles, 1 holey woolen blanket. One mosquito net used by U Myaing and his wife is also suspended from these rafters. At the far end of the bamboo flooring, there are three baskets. One of these baskets contains the women's clothing; another contains rice. Two clay pots are at the side. The altar consists of a slant board placed on the wall above the sleeping area and equipped with a flower vase. The objects found in the cooking area are: "U" shaped fire area made by 3 bricks touching on edge, bamboo stool for Ma Aye Myaing, hollow bamboo blow tube for starting fire, cooking pots, 352 415 [252]

recognized as over-stimulated by anxieties. "Don't talk my gall into disorder" is a common reaction to calamity tales. 158 753

The weather is important is maintaining health. Changeable weather as during the late part of the Monsoon season is generally unhealthy and gives rise to pulmonary disorders. One should provide head protection (through covering or shade from umbrella) from the sun's rays - which cause headaches by melting the brain. Colds come from getting wet in the rain resulting from the lack of sufficient bodily heat. MYEH HNOME (earth-vapour) which rises as a steam in the early morning or after sudden rains is unhealthful in causing sore eyes and other inflamations. The"steam of the body" healthfully goes out in ordinary bathing and adds to one's comfort. Heat is a key factor in health and sickness being readily discerned as causes of local or general infection. The additional concept of "like producing like" helps explain the above beliefs. 753 132

The odor of AH HNLAW (fried food) is especially dangerous to babies and persons in a weakened condition. When frying, which will create extensive fumes, is to be undertaken the cook must give warning to the neighbourhood so that susceptible ones can be protected. Such persons take refuge behind the thick, cloth mosquito nets. Many heated arguments take place in our servants' quarters when the Indian fried food fumes carry over to the Burmese apartments. It is observed that this danger applies peculiarly to the Burmese - Chinese are also exempt since they are seen to cook with babies strapped on their backs. [252] [186]

Parts of the body are cared for with special ingredients. The eyes are cleaned with pure water or coconut water. Oil is frequently dropped into the ears through a feather quill. The mouth and teeth are cleaned with salt. Bitter foods keep keep the stomach fit. 515 751

Babies up to 1 year are fed on mother's milk or cow's milk. After one, rice chewed by the mother "to make it digestible" is added with some dried fish. After two, the child can chew its own rice, have a little meat, but no hot condiments. After five the child eats the same foods as the adults but is not allowed sour foods as this will "lessen the weight". After 16 or 17, this restriction is 853 561 262

FOOD

Eating Routine

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Ma Aye Myaing does the cooking with the help of the eldest daughter. U Myaing never cooks. In our third interview U Myaing prompted his wife what to say, concerning the routine of cooking, indicating that he understood the main outlines of the art:

> "In the morning the fire has to be made so as to cook the rice. After the fire is made the rice is washed and cooked. Then it is HNUT (water drained and rice steamed.) The onions to put in the curry are then sliced, the chillies are pounded vinegar is added and then everything is placed on the fire. This is what you are required to say."

Thus prompted, Ma Aye Myaing gets off to a fast start in giving information of her province.

> "I rise early in the morning, draw water, make the fire, set the tea-pot on, wash the rice, cook it, drain the water away, steam it, pound chillies, chop fish, peel potatoes, slice onions and skin prawns. Sesamum oil is first put in and THUT (smell of oil is cured) with onions and chillies in the pan. After this the potatoes are put in - potatoes and prawns. We cook once in the morning at 7 o'clock and once in the evening at 3 o'clock. In the morning there are times when we cook potatoes with prawn, and also times when we cook with vegetables. The evening meal is cooked with fish - it differs. Sometimes also we cook the fish by itself.
>
> "The meals we had to eat in Pantanaw were better of course. Only at times do we find cooking oil and onions etc. for our meals here. Rice has to bought; only at times do we have fish to eat. Sometimes we have to eat with vinegar and chillies (for curry)- sometimes vegetables and prawns."

U Myaing gives some information on the source of food in camp.

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> "The government brings rice, oil and salt once every 7 days - four times a month. Sometimes they do not come four times but only about twice a month. In Pathee where food was concerned, there were fields. We could buy the paddy from the fields very cheaply. We get fish from the IRS also."

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There are no great differences between cooking procedure in Pathee and in the refugee camp. The only difference is that, prices being lower in Pathee, there is some difference in the ingredients used and the dishes eaten. For example, fish oil, which can be used in cooking was obtained free of charge. It was so plentiful that the villagers even used it as a lubricant for the rice mill and also as axle grease for their bullock carts.

Cooking and Eating Utensils

Ma Aye Myaing does her work directly in front of the fireplace in a squatting position, often resting on the tiny bamboo stool. A few sticks of firewood, or brush, are placed within the three sided enclosure made of three single bricks on edge. A hollow bamboo tube about 10 inches long and 1½ inches in diameter is periodically used to blow the fire to a hot flame in lieu of a draft. The identifications of the cooking and eating utensils given below were provided by Daw Aw Zar and U Myaing in an interview in which photographs of the objects were used. 415 252 [516] [352] [372]

MYA MIN O (cooking pot): This is an earthenware jar used for cooking vegetables and other foods. It is a round based globular form with outflaring rim. A wide conical shaped lid with flat disc knob for raising goes over the orifice. It is smooth, light tan in colour throughout and about ¼ inch in thickness. It is tempered with sand. A stamped design encircles the widest diameter on the body. This diameter is about 7 inches, height is 4½ inches. One or two are kept on hand (Pathus: several. Camp: one). They cost 5 annas each. This glazed tempered, stamped, earthenware appears in the early European contact period (late 1500's) at Syriam (Orr, K.G. "Stratigraphy in Lower Burma" Ms. in preparation.) It is rapidly being discarded in favour of aluminum pots which are not nearly as cheap but do not break. Traditionally this pot is used to cook rice. In speaking of its use Daw Aw Zar said: "We keep one or two, to boil vegetables and do other things to eat, seeing that there are seven people we have to cook (i.e. rice) with a big aluminum pot." [172] [178]

MIN O (curry pot): This jar is generally of the same shape as the one described above but is wider at the orifice (8 inches diameter) though about the same height. It is of the same ware type; has a wavy-line stamped design just under the rim. Customarily equipped with a conical lid, this vessel had a flat aluminum lid. This vessel is used to cook curry. It was brought from Pathus, where it was bought at a cost of 6 annas. Number used in Pathus: several, camp: 1. [435]

LEPEWY YE-GU (tea pot): The tea pot is also of tan earthenware and generally of the same ware as the cooking pots, with the exception that the surface was carefully scraped and slightly burnished. The body is globular, with thumb-like spout, and semi-circular clay handle. This pot was brought from Pantanaw, where it had cost 8 annas.

MIN O (food storage jar): Whereas the cooking vessels are moulded by hand with the aid of a paddle, and lack glazing, the storage jars are glazed and have been made on the wheel. These glazed jars also have flat disc bases, and pear-shaped bodies with contracted necks and short, collar-like rims. In every way they appear to be a separate tradition from the cooking ware. The glaze is dark reddish-brown over a hard-baked purple-red core. The interior is thoroughly glazed but the glaze only covers the upper half of the exterior. The reddish-brown glaze is recent, appearing in ceramic collections of the last century in Rangoon (Orr, K.G. "Stratigraphy in Lower Burma", the Mahbine Street section) being preceeded by a yellow-black glaze in the early European period at Syriam. [323] [172]

Salt saffron, oils, etc are stored in these jars. The one examined was about 4 inches in height and 5 inches in diameter. It came from Pathus and cost 3 annas. Number in Pathus several, camp: 1. [251] [435]

415
252 ●

NGA-YOT-SON (Mortar): The mortar resembles an inverted truncated cone with a loop handle extending from the rim. It is made of the smoked-brown glazed ware described above. A teak wood pestle (GYEBME) is a rounded club about 15 inches long and 2 inches in diameter. Some are ornate with circular bands, but U Myaing's club is plain. It took him about an hour to make. The mortar was purchased here and cost 10 annas. Number of mortars in Pathme: 1, Camp: 1. [531]

DAN O (aluminum cooking pots): The aluminum cooking pot is a wide cylindrical form with a flat lid. They are made locally. U Myaing's family had three in camp ranging in size from 10 inches in diameter and 4 inches high to 12 inches in diameter and 5 inches high. The vessels were used for cooking rice and curry. A pot holding 6 LON of rice costs Rs. 6/-. Pathme number: several, camp: 3. [435]

DAKYIN LON (aluminum pail): One aluminum pail, cylindrical in form with a height of 7 inches and diameter of 6 inches, and wire handle, was used in camp as a container in hauling foods from market and in their preparations. It cost Rs. 2/8 in Rangoon. Pathme: [435]

Miscellaneous containers: Several beer bottles and circular cigarette tins were used in camp to contain oils and spices.

SHWEH JAIK (Tiffin Carrier): A rectangular lunch box, or tiffin carrier, of aluminum was bought in Rangoon for Rs.3/8, Pathme: Rs. 12/-.

KYWAY PAGANEYA (China Plates): A single broken china plate was used as a cover for the water jar in camp. This was one of three brought from Pathme, where they cost Rs. 2/-. This is a special ware which was usually reserved for guests. In Pathme, the family had enough for family use and guests on special occasions.

THAN PAGANEYA (enamelled iron plates): Two enamelled iron plates of shallow dish and bowl form (about 12 inches in diameter) were used in camp. These cost Rs. 2/- each. Pathme: 0.

YAMEYA (stirring spoons): Two spatulate bladed spoons with thin handles 12 inches long were used as stirring spoons in the preparation of food. The iron one was bought in Rangoon and cost 10 annas. The wooden one was made by U Myaing in Pathme out of teakwood. It took him 2 hours to make it with a small knife.

ZOONE (eating spoons): Chinese porcelain spoons (KYWAY) and brass spoons (EYEK) were used indiscriminately to dip curry sauce over the rice. The Chinese spoons are boat shaped with high and hollow handles. The brass spoons are similar to European soup spoons. The porcelain spoons were preferred aesthetically, but because the children frequently broke them, brass spoons were most commonly used. Cost and frequency: In Pathme, 60. Camp: 8.
Food is commonly eaten with the fingers in all levels of Burmese society.

DAH (knife): The big knife used in camp for cutting fire-wood and other chopping jobs was about 1½ feet long including an 8 inch wooden handle bound in iron. The steel blade is curved slightly upward, has a square end and is used as a chopper frequently with two hands on the handle. The one in camp was bought "long ago" and cost Rs. 4/-. A small knife with a pointed steel blade was used for whittling and cutting in the preparation of food. Pathme: 10, most for work in IN. Camp 2. [412] [435]

KAWEE (pot rest): A hollow disc woven of soft reeds with a diameter of 6 to 8 inches is used to rest pots on - so that the carbon on their bases will not blacken the surface on which they rest. These are readily made by the women of the family. [285]

PYI DAING (Measures): There were two of these containers, used for measuring rice in camp. The iron one had a hole in it, but was retained as a general container. It had been replaced by the wicker

basket PYIDAUNG. Both cost a rupee. One does not seem to be preferred to the other except as getting them allows a bargain to be made. The form is that of a pear shaped body with a square base, measuring about 8 by 8 inches. The basket is constructed in the wicker technique with small, whole reeds. Pathwe: 2. Camp: 1. 415 252 [285]

CHIN DAUNG (storage basket): The form of this basket is a larger version of the measurers. It has, however, an open weave giting a checkered effect to the sides and bottom. It is used to store objects including food. At Pathwe this basket was used in working the INS. The fish were scooped up, and later washed in them. The two used in camp were brought from Pathwe where they cost Rs. 1/4- Camp: 1, Pathwe: 15 for washing fish. 251 415 [435]

Winnowing trays: Shallow baskets about 2½ feet in diameter and 2 inches high were used as shifting and storage trays. The SAGAW has a rounded base; whole the SAGAR has a flat base with fiber walls. Both are made of flat, wide-meshed reeds. The trays used in camp came from Pathwe where they cost Rs. 1/4 each. Pathwe: 1. 243 415

THE CHIN (Marketing basket): This basket is in the general shape of a cylinder, 1½ feet wide and 8 inches high, with open, flat reed sides and a semi-circular handle across the top. It is used to carry objects from market and to store them in the house. Pathwe: 2, Camp: 1. 415

U Myaing expresses the contrast between the camp equipment and that of Pathwe: "These objects in camp are barely sufficient. We have to live as we are. In our own district we had sufficient to nail in boxes. The extra ones were nailed in boxes and only enough were taken out for the seven people who eat. When visitors come, good ones are brought out. Plates for curry, plates for eating rice. There were various kinds." 415 511 178

Food Items

Ma Aye Myaing gave as complete a set of data on the food consumption of her family as she could. The following data is inclusive for the family of seven, both in Pantanaw and the refugee camp. Ma Aye Myaing decides what dishes to cook for each meal of the day, and she does this without any consultation with U Myaing. She does not ask him what he would like for each meal, although sometimes when he expresses a desire for a certain dish she sees to it that it is prepared. She has a free hand in deciding what to cook for each meal in the day. Definitions of the weights and measures used follow in a glossary. The data is organized under the headings of (1) Main dishes and raw foods, (2) supplementary dishes and TO-KAYA (vegetables eaten with NGAPI), and (3) trifles. 262 [593] [128]

14: Brant E-5 (1949-50) 1954 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

One of the most popular foods of these vendors is mohingha. Rice noodles are made by pounding rice into a flour, mixing it with water, and grinding into a paste between two flat stone slabs. After the excess water has been expressed from this paste, it is pushed through sieves with narrow holes, to form noodles. Once dried, the noodles are cooked and mixed with a curry to make mohingha. 252

A beverage sold regularly by food vendors is molessaun. It is made of sugar, coconut milk and bits of rice noodles, mixed together. The villagers consider this drink very tasty and refreshing. 272

7. Shopkeeping and Middleman Trading. The typical shop in the village consists of nothing more than a few large glass jars containing cigars, matches, candy, soap, and various other articles, set out on the porch in front of a house. The stocks of these are very small and are periodically replenished by purchase in Rangoon. Customers are occasional and sales are very small. 414

Seventeen villagers devote their main activity to what we have called middleman trading. These persons make a living by periodically buying quantities of such goods as second-hand lumber from dismantled dwellings, bamboo, cloth, etc., and selling them in the village and nearby places.

8. Urban Labor. The nineteen individuals listed in Table II as urban laborers are employed in a government medical warehouse in Rangoon. They are unskilled workers who perform such tasks as moving boxes of medical supplies in and out of the establishment and arranging them in the warehouse. These people commute daily between Tadagale and their place of work by bus. 464 369

These are the numerically most significant of the variety of occupations followed by villagers. There are six unemployed persons and fourteen who are not gainfully employed because of old age, ill health, or blindness. The great majority of the married women and unmarried girls are occupied most of the time with domestic housework, looking after small children, and helping with gardening. 463

The whole character of the occupational pattern is shifting and unstable. Individuals move opportunistically from one form of activity to another as circumstances change, in an effort to round out a living. Informants stated that in former times the community was much more agricultural, but that owing to loss of land through indebtedness people had gradually left farming for other occupations. 463 178

Income

In analyzing our data on income, figures for the Indians of Tadagale have been calculated separately. The Indians are occupationally a homogeneous group, all engaged in dairy farming. The range and average of income within this small group is so far above that of the Burmese that a misleading idea of the community's economic structure would be conveyed were the data on the Indians included in a single, overall computation for the village. 434 [563]

The following tables show family incomes.

881
792

objects used in the ceremony. The largest table is covered with a lace cloth and on it stands an alabaster statue of the Buddha in a carved and decorated case. Before the figure of the Buddha are offerings of flowers, water, a candle bananas and coconuts, placed in a special bowl. There is also a dish of puffed rice, a carved gilt bowl, and three new bowls, the latter for the initiates. Each of the bowls contains some of the traditional articles required for a monk: beads, water cups, needle and thread, a straight razor. The carved, gilt begging bowl symbolizes the type used by the Buddha when he was on earth. The second table contains offerings of bananas and coconuts for the monks, and richly decorated gilt trays symbolic of the kind used in the days of the Burmese kings but now only for purposes of decoration. These will be carried by young girls in the procession. The third table contains robes and other gifts for the several monks who are invited to the ceremony. On the fourth table are mats and pillows for the initiates to use. They will be presented to the monks as gifts afterwards.

The elaborate preparations for the ceremony begin on the morning of the preceding day. Young girls go from house to house to borrow betelnut boxes, mats and carpets. In the afternoon a five piece orchestra, hired for the occasion, arrives at the place of the ceremony. It consists of two large drums, a small drum, a wind instrument, a xylophone, and cymbals. Now an elder makes offerings to the spirits (nats). Bananas, a coconut and a lighted candle are placed on a tray. The elder holds the tray and recites invocations to the good and the evil spirits. The evil spirits are implored not to harass any person who participates in the ceremony, because it is a work of merit; the good spirits are reminded of the meritorious nature of the ceremony and asked to watch over and protect the proceedings. As the spirits are so addressed he swings the tray towards each member of the orchestra in turn, sometimes three, sometimes nine, and sometimes twelve times. The orchestra continues to play intermittently throughout the afternoon, evening, and into the night. Early in the evening the young men of the village come to the monastery with their own musical instruments -- mandolins, guitars, and violins -- and sing and dance into the early morning hours. The orchestra group remains at the monastery all night.

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About midnight, a group of men who are responsible for cooking the food set to work at this task. Women do not normally cook meals for an occasion as large as this; it is felt that the quantities of food required and the amount of labor involved is too much for them to manage. Around three hundred people are expected at a large shinbyu in the village. The cooks, about a dozen middle-aged men, sit around the fire they have lighted in a clearing a short distance from the monastery, drink tea, smoke, and make jokes. One man is introduced to the group as the 'all-Burma curry-cooking expert'; another is called 'No. 1 soup cook'; a third is dubbed 'best rice cook of the village.' During the night they prepare large quantities of boiled rice, pork curry, sour bean sprouts, fried fish paste, and a vegetable soup.

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[522]

Early on the morning of the day for the ceremony, the initiates are dressed by friends of their families. After a bath, thanakha, an astringent-like paste made from ground tree bark and water, is applied to their faces. Then they don silk longyis and thin, white muslin jackets, beneath which they wear cotton vests. The longyi is very ornate, made of heavy silk, and is seamless. Gold chains and necklace, bracelets and rings are put on. The head dress is a fine silk cloth, wound round the head, and decorated with garlands of flowers.

[291]

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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[312]
[271]
[482]
252
[805]

137. CARRYING HOME THE WATER-POTS.

fuel is required only for cooking and in manufactures.

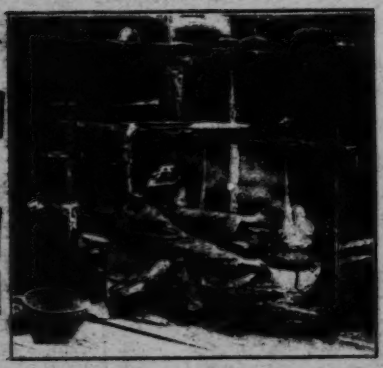
Rice is the staple of every meal, except in the dry zone. The millet and sorghum which there take the place of rice are cooked in the same way but need longer boiling. "A rice-boiling" (*ta-ô-dyét*) is the common phrase for an interval of about twenty minutes. After washing in several waters, rice is put to boil in an earthen pot with enough water to cover it, and boiled till the grains are quite clear. The rice-water is poured off, and the rice is put back on the fire to steam. Rice is cooked fresh for every meal and is eaten hot. A relish is made to eat with the rice, consisting of a watery stew of fresh greens or of pulse. The fat used is sesamum oil (*hnan-zi*). This curry is seasoned with turmeric (*sanwin*), capsicum (*ngàyôtthi*—chilli), and either salt-fish or *ngapi* (p. 92). Fresh fish, prawns, or meat are added if available. In default of cultivated vegetables, wild greens of all sorts, bamboo-shoots and sprouting leaves, are used. Pickles of lime and other fruits are used as separate relishes. There are two meals in the day, both of the same nature. The morning meal is eaten at about nine o'clock, the other before dark. Meals are taken by the household in common. The housewife or daughter gets mats ready in the *hyanndìng* and places in the centre a *byat*—a large, deep, wooden platter, lacquered red—into which she turns out the cooked rice (*tamìn*). In the middle of the rice is set a bowl with the curry and a spoon. The family squat round the *byat*, or if a large household round several.

[263]
2604
415
[271]

138. STAND FOR THE DRINKING-WATER.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

302 [252] [515] [178]



142. THE COOKING-PLACE.

of a tree of the dry zone, ground into a paste with water on a special stone. It is perfumed by grinding sandal-wood with it. The paste is smeared on the face and left to dry, after which the excess is rubbed off. For great occasions the paste is left on over-night. But ordinarily the face is "freshed" with water (*mye-hna-thit*) on rising in the morning. The Burmans admire white teeth and polish them with charcoal on a soft stick. The old style of women's hair-dress was like the early *chignon* fashion of about 1867 in Europe. The *sadôn* in this form is seen in Nos. 30, 381. About 1880 a new fashion was set by the palace, which now prevails. Tresses of false hair are much used by the women. Flowers in the hair and jewellery complete the toilet, which, like that of the actors in the *pwé*, is performed in view of everyone. The men's toilet consists in combing their long hair (No. 127). They take pride in the size of their top-knot (*yaung*) and rarely eke it out with false hair in the way the women do. The heavy knot works loose, so that combing and knotting up go on perpetually. The hair of both sexes is coarse and straight and jet black. Children's hair gets foxy from alternate exposure to rain and sun. The hair is smoothed with cocoanut oil and washed with soap-nut once or twice a month. At other times the Burmans are concerned to avoid wetting their hair. The native wooden combs are coarse, but the Chinese tooth comb is beginning to serve a useful purpose. Burmans turn grey at forty to fifty years of age and are white at sixty to seventy. Baldness is rare. Aged men still wear their little top-knot. The men's faces are smooth, many

[515] [264] 145 302

142. THE FAMILY MEAL (OLD STYLE).

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 API Burma
Burmese AP4

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191. BRICK MAKERS (P. 97)

CHAPTER V

TRADES AND PROFESSIONS

463 MOST artizans in the rural settlements are cultivators as well, plying their special trade in the by-season. The [256] home industries continue to be practised in the seaport towns, where certain of them, such as rice-cleaning, are conducted wholesale (No. 184). The largest plant used in [388] the country villages is the oil-mill (*sloln*). The cooking-[252] oil of Burma is pressed from the seed of sesamum (*hman*), a black grain resembling [402] rape. It is not so delicate as olive oil, but is used for adulterating the latter. Oil-cake is used for fodder. The mill consists of a great mortar made of the 000 trunk of some hard-timbered tree with a pestle of the same. *Hman* is grown as

192. OIL-MILL

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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The abundance of land allows every one to have a courtyard of his own. In this the farmer keeps his cart and plough, the fisherman his boat. The buffaloes and oxen of the whole village are usually all together on a pasture-ground kept by some speculative individual, who charges a couple of rupees or so for feeding and looking after them. The care exercised is not very great. Heat and rain kill many of them, where, as is too frequently the case, no shelter is available; foot-and-mouth disease, and other epidemics, carry off great numbers, and finally, they are not at all averse to killing one another. Consequently the vultures are frequently to be seen on the trees round the village pasture-land. Besides his implements the house-owner has always in his yard a hand rice-mill. Husking paddy has become, near the big towns, quite a separate trade, and abundance of cleaned rice may be bought in the bazaars, but in the village every family husks its own rice, the grain being kept stored in a small granary in the yard. The milling is done by the women, and there are two processes in the operation. The mill consists of two wooden cylinders about two feet thick, the inner surfaces of both roughened in a simple way by the cutting of radii from their centres, the lines being about a quarter of an inch deep. The upper cylinder has a funnel-shaped hole cut through it, to let the grain down, and is worked backwards and forwards by a long pole loosely fastened in, the rice coming out between the two cylinders, and falling on mats down below. It is winnowed either in the primitive way of throwing it into the air, so that the light husk may be blown away, or, often nowadays in Lower Burma, by a hand-worked pair of fanners, introduced since the English occupation.

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[177·25]

The rice is not yet, however, ready for cooking. The inner pellicle has still to be removed, and this is done in a big wooden mortar. Two varieties are in use, worked either by hand, as an apothecary pounds his drugs, the pestle being very long and heavy; or by foot, when the wooden mortar is sunk in the ground. The pestle in this latter case consists of a short, stumpy piece of wood, let into a long lever near the end. This lever is supported on two uprights at some distance from the mortar, and the machine is worked by the

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma (Europeans)AP1
Burmese AP4

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442

cable with men who have not yet fallen into the clutches of the chetties, and the result has been almost invariably to drive them into the money-lender's arms. The Burmese, it it is to be feared, have not sufficient stability of character. U Myaing or Maung Po never had so much money before in their lives as the advances figure to. They do not know the value of it, and proceed to squander the rupees forthwith; and so, long before the paddy is delivered they are heavily in the usurer's books, and then Maung Po and U Myaing have to do as they are bidden. Moreover, the system in any case could hardly be a safe one. The cultivator might die; there might be a flood or a jungle fire; many things might happen, in fact, to prevent the advance boats from ever reaching the Puzundaung creek. Consequently many English firms have given up the practice, and instead send agents away up the creeks, far into the jungle, to negotiate with the farmers on the spot and try to secure paddy before rivalry has had time to raise the price. But even this expedient does not answer well. The chetties do their best to throw obstacles in the way. It is not without expense, and it impresses the cultivators with a notion of the great demand there is for paddy.

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The telegraph, they say, ruins business. The paddy season opens in February with a price of, say between seventy and eighty rupees a hundred baskets. The merchants declare they will not be forced into materially increasing this rate, and the home firms charter a number of ships. Meanwhile the price of paddy steadily rises, while rice in England steadily goes down; and by the time the vessels discharge their cargo in Liverpool or London, milled rice is not very much dearer in wholesale shops than the raw paddy in the Burmese boats. New mills are constantly being started—which would seem contradictory, were it not that all the firms starting them have business of another kind; teak sawmills, cotton or piece-goods trade, silks for Burmese men and maidens, or jute and grey shirtings for Upper Burma and the hill tribes. Rice will certainly always be wanted, and there is any quantity of it to be had in Burma. A little more of the sterling probity which used to be associated with the name of the English merchant would

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2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma (Europeans Indians) AP1
Burmese AP4

Be 243 452 435

do no harm in Rangoon rice dealings, and would win that respect from the farmer which heavy payments and cunning never will.

Be 243 439 178 256

Rangoon still continues to be the largest rice port in the world. From January to May the river is crowded with shipping—huge iron and steel sailing craft that have been chartered beforehand, and carry off thousands of bags in their capacious holds; and a constant succession of "ditchers," as the steamers passing through the Suez Canal are called, which come "seeking," and seldom have to go away without their full complement of "five parts cargo rice," or "Europe milled." The steamers are displacing the sailing ships, and the shorter passage now makes it possible to carry fully husked rice home without the danger of heating, which was supposed to be avoided by the partly husked "five parts cargo rice." Harbour-masters and river-pilots have a busy time, and gather together many pieces of silver against the later months of the year, when they will have abundant leisure to spend them. Coringi coolies swarm in the town, and their monotonous chant, "Eh-ya-mah-la Tah-ma-lay, Madras Ag-boat Tah-ma-lay," may be heard at any hour of the night or the morning, floating over the river. The British sailor overflows into the town and sings noisy old salt sea-songs round about the Sule pagoda, gets mad drunk on arrack, and not unseldom clears Dalhousie Street with a linked-arm rush, heedless of the red-turbaned guardian of the peace, who keeps out of the way in the meantime, but will break poor drunken Jack's head with his truncheon if he finds him helpless and strayed from his fellow-roysterers.

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Be Ba 361 256 463 563

The Puzundaung Creek, where all the mills are, is as busy as an ant-hill all day long, and all night too, when some of the mills are lighted up with Jablochkoffs or later forms of electric light, and the silvery rays shine ghastly on the black and bronzed mill-workers. Here we have the Madrasi coolies again, making noises, according to their nature, as a kind of assertion that they are doing hard work. The lank Chittagonian firemen, with their aquiline noses, are coated with coal-dust, and divide their time between firing up and having a whiff at the hubble-bubble when Sandy,

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma (Europeans Chinese) AP1
Burmese AP4

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the Scotch engineer, is not looking. There is a cluster of Chinese carpenters, chipping away with their queer thick-headed axes and planes, which, with characteristic perversity, they pull towards them, instead of pushing away as other workmen do. Here is M——, the English "assistant" at the mill, his hat and coat all covered with rice-dust, which hangs in queer fashion on his eyebrows and moustache. He is in high spirits. "We've got twenty-four pair of stones going to-day, more than anybody else in the creek;" and he goes off to see how the Burmese girls are stitching up the rice-bags, a duty of which he is particularly fond, and over which he spends a quite unnecessary amount of time. There is R——'s voice on the other side of the creek. He is storming at some men in the cargo-boat, who have done something wrong—anchored in the wrong place, or not started for the upper mill at Kemendine last night as they ought to have done. R—— has a voice which is the terror of every loitering coolie and dawdling boat-wallah in his employ; and he will be as hoarse as a North Sea pilot by nightfall, and will want a "double-barrelled" whisky and soda to moisten him before dinner. He wants company down to "the Point," and presently comes skimming across in his gig, manned by Chittagonian Kalassies, and we drop down the creek—they call small rivers creeks in the East—to where it joins with the main Rangoon stream. The Pegu river, tapping the country north-east and north of Rangoon, comes in at the same place; and there is a great crowd of paddy-boats here in the early morning. Each firm has its brokers, middlemen who make the purchases from the farmers that come down with their grain. They have been here since daylight, and fly about in their little dug-outs from one seller to another. The great point in a broker seems to be power of lungs and fluency in abuse. The amount of yelling that goes on at "Monkey Point" would silence the bookmakers' ring at Epsom on a Derby day.

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R—— has not come down to this pandemonium for nothing. There are a couple of big ships in, which must be filled, or there will be demurrage to pay, and a "canal-wallah" is expected this afternoon or to-morrow morning; so that the wheels must be kept going their hardest.

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2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP1

000 Accordingly, we paddle about here and there, and whenever we come across the little canoe flying the flag that marks R——'s brokers, sundry signs pass, which result in three great paddy-boats mounting the red flag too. They presently weigh anchor, and drop up to the mill. R—— is a smart man of business, and is very scornful about the representatives of several other firms, who lounge on the bank, smoking cheroots, and throwing sticks into the water for their dogs to fetch out. It is not directly a matter of money that is in question. The cultivators know pretty well what they are about, though you might not think it when you hear a man refuse ninety-two rupees a hundred baskets, and afterwards settle with a broker for eighty-eight. Those passes with the finger on the nose meant a good deal more than appeared. Another brick in the bottom of the basket, a three-inch batten wedged in somewhere, was the significance of that wink which sent the broker off in such a hurry.

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000 At last it is over. There are no more boats to be had; and we are not sorry to turn back, for the sun throws its beams fiercely back from the water in a way that gets below the broadest solah hat. R—— is in great glee: "Thirteen boats, by George! Next best to the Imperial Firm; and then there's the launch to come back." The Imperial Firm is the biggest concern in Rangoon, and has sometimes as much as a lakh out for "advance boats," *i.e.* money paid to cultivators before the rice has been planted out from the nurseries, or perhaps even before it has been sown at all. The launch about which R—— is so solicitous went away last night far up the Pegu River to intercept boats coming down with paddy for sale. There are sometimes great bargains to be made in this way. The boatmen have come a long distance, and are tired with paddling. The tide is making strong when the steam-launch comes up. There is the welcome prospect of an end to their labours, and above all there are no outbidding rivals to interfere. R—— instituted the system, and for a day or two had the game all to himself; but now the other firms have got wind of it, and there are sometimes famous races for a big boat, which must somewhat astonish the simple jungle wallāhs, and certainly do not reduce the demands of the hleshin, the owner of the

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2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

boat. R—— is in luck this morning. We have hardly gone a hundred yards when the "Mah Hlah" comes puffing round the point behind us, with a boat on either side, and three towing astern. 256 442 455

And now we have got back to the mill. The Burmans are discharging their paddy, which is stowed in bulk, into a big cargo boat. The regulation basket is in use, and we do not peer too inquisitively into the bottom of it. The owner of the boat is perched on the lofty carved stern of his craft, and placidly smokes a great cheroot. Presently he will come down and make his way to the office, where he will get a great pile of rupees to carry off, tied in the end of his paso. The greater number of them will probably find their way into the hands of the oily chetty, who is squatting on the bank there. The rest our hleshin will most likely gamble away. 000

Meanwhile, a long string of coolies is carrying the paddy from the lighter into the godown, a gigantic shed, where there is already a mountain of grain. We skirt round it, and go to the other side. There a few hundred more coolies are running off with more baskets to the mill. The paddy is thrown into huge receptacles on the basement, winnowed, carried up in lifts to the top of the house, three stories high, where it is first of all passed over a long sieve. Here the stalks, leaves, stones, and stumps of cheroots are separated from the grain, which is then passed between two revolving stones, just sufficiently wide apart to grind off the outer husk without breaking the seed. Then it is rewinnowed in fanners, and passed over finer sieves, where the broken grains fall through, while the part-cleaned rice goes on to fresh stones. It is found that perfectly clean rice will not stand the long sea voyage, and the grain as it is sent in the sailing ship has still the inner pellicle, and is mixed with about twenty per cent of unhusked rice. This is what is technically known as "five parts cargo rice," or simply "cargo rice." Since so many steamers have begun to go through the Suez Canal, the amount of "white rice" milled in the province has been steadily increasing. Rice of a specially fine quality, with a glaze on the surface, is manufactured for Italy. Clouds of rice-dust float all over the mill, and settle every- 256 256 439 178 256

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma (Chinese) AP1
Burmese AP4

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where, making queer spectacles of the dark-skinned Madrasis. The dust is carefully swept up and sold to Chinamen, who fatten their pigs upon it. The milled grain descends to the ground-floor again, and pours in a stream through shoots into bags standing ready on weighing machines. There is a crowd of Burmese girls ready to sew them up as they are filled, and another band of coolies to carry them off in the cargo boats ready to convey them to the ships away up in the Rangoon harbour. Paddy that came in a Burmese boat in the morning may by night be safe stowed in the shape of milled rice deep down in the hold of a ship bound "to the Channel for orders." Everything is used but the paddy husk. That is passed out from the fanners, and pours in a great stream from wooden shoots into the creek. There it floats backwards and forwards with the tide, and creates miasma and narrows the river; still no other feasible means of getting rid of it has yet been devised. Several engineers and others in Rangoon have tried special furnaces for consuming the husk, but with no very great measure of success. Mr. Cowie's system is probably the best; but it requires a special kind of boiler and furnace, and has not as yet been generally adopted. The economy in fuel as well as the advantage to the river would be immense if the scheme were perfected.

And so we have seen the paddy sown out and mown, and passing from the hands of the cultivators, through the mills, into the great ships that carry the rice away to all parts of the world.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

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191. BRICK MAKERS (P. 97)

CHAPTER V

TRADES AND PROFESSIONS

463 MOST artizans in the rural settlements are cultivators as well, plying their special trade in the by-season. The [256] home industries continue to be practised in the seaport towns, where certain of them, such as rice-cleaning, are conducted wholesale (No. 184). The largest plant used in [388] the country villages is the oil-mill (*sɛ́ɔ́n*). The cooking-[252] oil of Burma is pressed from the seed of sesamum (*hmaw*), a black grain resembling [402] rape. It is not so delicate as olive oil, but is used for adulterating the latter. Oil-cake is used for fodder. The mill consists of a great mortar made of the 000 trunk of some hard-timbered tree with a pestle of the same. *Hmaw* is grown as

192. OIL-MILL

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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183. PE AND TAN PALMS.

Hnan is grown as a secondary crop in the hills, a dry-weather crop in the *kwin*, and a full crop in the dry zone. The care of the *tári* palm, the planting and milling of sugar-cane, the care of orchards and the raising of vegetables are occupations of a special kind. The *tan* and *pe* palms, which yield the palm-wine or juice, propagate naturally. The *tan* grows about a foot a year, and attains a height of eighty to a hundred feet (No. 167). It fruits at fifteen to twenty years. *Tan* palms are common on the temple-lands and other well-drained and uncultivated clearings. The curved flower-stalks of the *tan* are cut through, and to their stumps earthen pots are slung to receive the juice that exudes. A gallon or more is collected from a tree in twenty-four hours. Palm-juice is also obtained from the *pe*, the dried leaves of which are used for writing on. The tree takes about fifty years to mature; then it flowers for the first time, fruits and dies; its gigantic head of bloom is cut off at the base and the juice flows for some months. The *danl* palm is tapped in the same way as the *tan*. Fresh juice of all three palms is sweet, and before fermentation sets in, it may be drunk even by the *yahdn*. When boiled fresh, the juice yields a sugar (*tannyét*). The collecting pots are boiled out daily, by which the yeast that forms is destroyed. This boiling is omitted when the liquor is intended for a beverage. In that case a decoction of the nut of *pangá* or other astringent is added, which helps to arrest fermentation at the vinous stage. Otherwise, acid fermentation is complete within twenty-four hours. Fer-

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184. CLEANING RICE WHOLESALE (p. 155).

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

At intervals on the main lines of traffic are refreshment-booths, where fruit, sweetmeats, and tea are sold. Meals can be taken in the markets of the towns. In the villages casual travellers enjoy the hospitality of the people. In the afternoon the markets are closed; low tables are set in the roads, where cheroots, fruit, and sweetmeats are sold in the evening. Some of these refreshments are prepared on the spot, such as the *mônlebwè*, a wafer baked in the flame of a fire, in which it rises to an immense size.

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292. CLOTH BAZAR.

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The wholesale trade of Burma is conducted by brokers (*pwèza*) who receive a commission. Wealthy men operate with their own capital, others find investors and money-lenders to advance funds, some form partnerships and small companies to divide profits. Producers frequently bring their grain direct to the mills; but the bulk of the grain is bought up by the native brokers to the order of the exporters, most of whom never visit the interior. The interest on money is one to six per cent. per mensem. What is not hoarded in the form of plate and ornaments is put into trade or is put out to interest. Money-lending is not a special business because everybody practises it. Appalling as is the rate of interest—the measure of risk—such hard bargains are not driven as in India. Debtors when sold up can nowhere make a new start so well as in Burma. Brokers do banking in a small way; but banking has been made a regular branch of business by the Chettis from India (No. 364), who pay as much as one per cent. per month on deposits and charge one and a half per cent. on loans fully secured. European banks and investments with their high security and low rates of interest do not attract Burman capital.

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293. NIGHT BAZAR.

505 The carrying business is mainly by water, for which Burma possesses unrivalled facilities, especially in the floods

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

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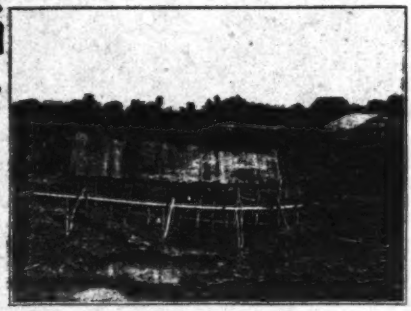

199. SLUICE OF LAGOON FISHERY (IN)

banks. Ducks' and fowls' eggs are also eaten.

Small fry and the bony fish are made into the Peguan condiment *ngapi*—pressed fish. The process is essentially the same as that of anchovy paste manufacture, but is conducted in a much rougher way. The fish after being taken are spread out in the sun and then pounded in a mortar, again sunned and again pounded with about a quarter their weight of salt. Fermentation is not uniformly arrested at the proper stage, so that the product becomes contaminated with putrescence. According as the compound remains moist or dry it is made into balls, moulded into bricks, or stored in jars. *Ngapi* is sent to Burma Proper and the Shan States in enormous quantities. Fresh fish, dried fish, and *ngapi* are much the same in price, one half to one rupee the viss (3.65 lbs.) according to quality. *Ngachin* is a crude and unwholesome pickle made by putting fish to ferment with boiled and salted rice.

258 Salt used to be obtained from sea-water and from brine wells in the interior, before the import of salt began. The manufacture still drags on, as the local salt is better for curing purposes. At spring-tides, sea-water in the estuaries is let into shallow pans like rice-fields, or it is raised with the *Ka-hmwe*. After the brine has been concentrated by evaporation in the heat of the sun, it is boiled down in spherical earthen pots, which are built with clay into a vault over a furnace. Iron cauldrons like those in No. 186 are superseding the earthen pots, and the round cauldron is in its turn being replaced by a flat iron pan.

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The chase, so far from forming the diversion of princes and satraps, remains to the *vaurieus* of the villages

199. SHORE NET

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

872 on the whole future life of the young scholars. As long as
779 these monastic schools are attended, all attacks on the Buddhist faith must be fruitless.

872 Besides the commandments, the paya-shekho, and the
779 pareit-yôp-thi, the lauds of the Lord Buddha, and the
792 aspirations to be repeated at the holy shrines, the formulæ to be told over on the beads; besides these first principles, the young Burman is taught the thin-ki-ya, the rules which are to prepare him for assuming the yellow robe, and to guide him during his longer or shorter withdrawal from the sinful world to the calm tranquillity of the monastery. He must learn that the young novice carefully imitates the decorous pace of the yahan; does not walk fast; avoids swinging his hands; does not smile or laugh in passing through a village, and keeps far away from all secular amuse-
[292] ments. The yellow robe, distinctive of the order, is to be regarded not as a garment to cherish and comfort the wearer, not as a robe to adorn the outward man and make it look stately or pious, but merely as a concession to modesty, born of the weaknesses of poor human flesh—and further, as a means of enabling the worthless frame to endure the
[261] extremes of heat and cold. In the same way food is to be eaten only to support life. The member of the sacred order must not think of meal times as an occasion for gratifying his senses; he must avoid dwelling on the tastiness of the food and the gratification to his palate which the pious zeal of a supporter may afford in presenting an unusually dainty meal. Especially must he refrain from eating food to make himself strong and lusty. He must always remember the transitoriness, the misery and unreality of the world, and find relief in the Triple Consolation, the trust in the Lord, the Law, and the Assembly.

All these things are impressed on the young pupil as soon as he is able to read at all, every one of them assuming the fact that as soon as he is old enough, or as soon as he has gone through the necessary preparation, he will assume the yellow robe of the devout, to wear it perhaps for life, perhaps only for a day or two, but certainly to put it on, for
[885] without this he cannot attain to the full privileges of a man.
[777] His kan (luck) will be altogether one-sided. All the ill deeds

CHAPTER FIVE

000 WHEN I was about five years old, my young brother, the third child of the family, died suddenly and created a gap of about seven years between me and the next child. My elder brother and I thus grew up apart from my younger sisters for a good part of our childhood.

357 524 Two boys were brought up to play with my brother and help my mother with the garden: I was given Mya Shwe to play with. A-Shwe and I were very attached to each other and liked the same games. Burmese children are not as interested in dolls, balls, animals and other toys of the European child; our treasures were chiefly in the form of seeds which play the same part in Burmese children's games as balls do in Western games. We had *go-nyin*, round flat seeds about two inches wide, from a jungle creeper which grew in my grandmother's garden in Ye. We rolled these along the ground to hit other go-nyins, like ninepins. When the family ate custard apples we collected all the seeds and washed them. These seeds provided us with several games; we scattered them in front of us and tried to flick as many as possible into a hole dug into the ground, or sometimes to flick each seed to touch another, removing one each time it touched until we could clear all the scattered seeds.

524 • 262 We could do this with tamarind seeds too: these were pretty black shining ones. We could get them from the kitchen but always preferred to take one of the boys on walks to tamarind trees. Hla Aung climbed the tree and brought down a cluster of fruits surrounded by delicate feathery leaves. We took a packet of salt along and ate the acid fruit dipped in salt, against all orders; we shredded the leaves till we got a big pile, wrapped them with the rest of the salt in stout paper, buried it a few inches in the ground and then all took turns at jumping on the spot, shouting: "*Bok-hsi-yay-Hsan, Hsan*: Oh pressed oil, come sprinkle, sprinkle." The moisture from the fresh leaves came out with the stamping and dissolved the salt, making a lovely savoury mess of the crushed leaves which we unearthed after a while and ate greedily. Then A-Shwe and I carried home the seeds to add to our collection.

524 301 *Kha-yay si* also we collected. These are seeds of the *kha-yay*, a tall tree which scatters its ripe fruit on to the ground where they lie until they dry, and shed their flesh and leave the seeds hidden amongst the

526 After the bath a dry longyi is slipped on over the wet one which is then
291 washed clean straight away. The poorest, who do not always possess a
515 spare longyi, sometimes let themselves into a stream gradually, lifting the longyi higher as they go in, and when the water is bosom-high they keep the garment on their head, letting it down again as they emerge. Our use for the adaptability of the longyi was to stand on a diving platform with it opened wide at the bottom, jump feet first and let the air rush in, nicking the longyi in at the ankles as we struck the water. This

makes you land with a balloon which floats you for a minute or two like those swollen celluloid ducks in babies' tubs. My friend Tin Tin Thoung was just like a swan on these occasions; she was not pretty normally, being very thin and angular, but she had a long and graceful neck, and when she floated on the water, gliding along with her neck rising out of her big round longyi, she looked like a beautiful swan to me.
•[262] After bathing, the Taik Wans' mother had basketfuls of Indian corn, the tender ones boiled and the tougher ones roasted, and dishes of the peeled marians doused in fish sauce awaiting us.

881 Besides these social visits there were special festivals that came with
585 the months, and occasions common to every family's history—the ear-boring of the girl, the initiation into the priesthood of the boy, and marriages of grown-up children—which had to be celebrated in traditional forms. Most minkadaws preferred to hold marriage ceremonies in Rangoon, Moulmein or Mandalay to have as much fashion and show as possible, but the ear-boring (*nadwin*) and initiation into priesthood (*shinbyu*) find a better background in country towns. Nadwin is the coming of age of a girl, not for marriage, but for the initiation into the pleasant vanities of a woman's life. It is fine enough to sit with a rich

792 and Grandfather called my cousin Ko Lu Pe to read it. My cousin had
871 been at a government school for some years and though he could read
177. and write English with some ease, he stuck at the word "circumcise".
87 "What!" exploded Grandfather, "five years learning English, and you can't even read a telegram. This education is quite useless." Whereupon he took the grandchildren and his two young sons out of their schools until his wrath subsided and they quietly started attendance again. It is a popular stage joke also, the B.A. who returns to his village and is asked in good faith by the hpongyi to mend a villager's watch that has gone wrong. The graduate confesses that he cannot mend it. The monk is horrified: "What, passed B.A. and cannot mend a watch?"

527 So now on my father's birthday the monks ask jokingly and kindly
792 about our school subjects. Their meal is laid out on a low round table,
574 and consists of all the good things my mother can think of, for they have only one main meal in the day. Rice and meat and vegetable dishes are followed by fruit, sweet milky coffee, sweet English cakes. The monastery boys are given their meal outside; the monks, after eating, rise and go, and the boys follow them bearing away the gifts for the monastery. At once there is a general shuffling into more relaxed positions, conversation swells out, we start to scamper around and help to wheel in more round tables. Then everybody eats, and my father feels a deep sense of well-being.

805 Our lunar calendar has twelve months in its year, beginning the new year about the middle of April with the month of *Tagu*. Each month contains the twenty-nine to thirty days of the moon's cycle, but the dates are numbered with only 15 numbers—15 waxing days starting from the crescent of the new moon: *la-hsan ta-yet*, *la-hsan hna-yet*, new moon first day, second day and so on, until the 15th and full moon day, *la-pyit nay*: after which come the waning days, *la-hsot*. With this system, we are 12 or 13 days short of the 365 each year, and hence every second year there occurs a double month of *Waso*, in July and August, which month also starts our Lent. Lent lasts the three months of the monsoon, until *Thadingyut*, in October, when we see it out with lights, feasting and
796 much merriment. For the observance of festivals such as New Year
262 and Thadingyut we usually visited relatives, but certain other observances came round each year to us in our own home.

Such is *htamanè-hto*, the making of a comestible known as *htamanè* in vast quantities, for distribution on the first full moon after the harvest. On the full moon night of *Tabodwè* in January-February, the villagers sit up all night in big parties of men and women singing and joking as they make all preparations for the cooking that is to take place by dawn. The basis of htamanè is a glutinous rice called *kaukhnyin*, always

associated with fresh country mornings, dew on the grass and smoke from the wood fire, men and women with cheroots and red striped blankets flung over them grouped around the fire. A favourite way of eating kaukhnyin is to put it with a little salt into a bamboo stick that has been cut with a knotch to form a bottom, stop the top with a cork of paper and then roast it over a fire. By the time the stick is about to scorch, the rice is cooked and stuck together in a long tube held by a thin white skin from the inside of the bamboo. Cracked open and eaten with fried chicken it is delicious clean food; the best "kaukhnyin legs" and fried chicken were produced at Letpadan, in Tharawaddy district, for many years running. Other kaukhnyin eaters steam it with beans, pile it on lacquer trays and walk around to sell it in the early mornings about six o'clock, serving it on banana leaves, with sesamum salt and shredded coconut sprayed on top. 796 262

But htamanè is made ceremonially only once a year. Work parties of women used to come to our house the day before and sit under the trees cutting coconut and ginger into thin slices, shelling peanuts, picking husks out of the kaukhnyin, and winnowing this and the sesamum in cane trays. At about four the next morning my mother and the rest of the household got up, and helped by one or two of the young men from other houses, they made fires under the trees, put the kaukhnyin in big pans, with oil and all the prepared ingredients, and cooked if for hours, taking turns to stir the sticky mixture all the time while the others sat around the fire smoking and talking. In the early morning we put the htamanè into dishes for the monasteries and all the houses in the neighbourhood, into tins for sending away to relatives in other towns, and store-jars for keeping in the house to eat between meals.

These accounts of our life in the districts are of ceremonies and celebrations so far because I was a child in those days. My parents had their own pattern of life with a background of work. My father, as I have said, belonged to the Burma Civil Service, Class II. The administrative services in Burma included three grades of Civil Services: the I.C.S., which became the Burma Civil Service I after separation from India, the B.C.S., which then became B.C.S. II, and the Subordinate Civil Service. These three services supplied the executive administrative officers who were placed in charge of the various-sized units of administration, helped in their government by judicial administrative officers of corresponding ranks, and by officers for police, forests, education, excise and other public services for which a separate recruitment was made. 647

The myookship which my father obtained in 1912 was the most junior of these posts, usually filled by members of the Subordinate Civil 647 631

592 sent to stay with us at various times and were sent to schools which taught English, but nothing would persuade them to take any interest in studies. My cousin Nyein Maung, whom I liked very much, could never bear to keep a shirt on, which was why he was always to be found with only a longyi tucked around his loins playing chinlon or helping boatmen with their canoes, when he should have been sitting fully clothed in a class-room.

[601] My young Uncle Pyant, whom we called U-Ngè, small Uncle, had
693 passed his B.A. and his law degree, and returned to Ye in preference to
177 a more modern life in a larger town. He walled off one doorway's space
164 from the main room of the house and filled it with bookcases, a big desk and chairs for visitors. Outside this room my Uncle Pyant put up a sign saying: "*A-htet-tan shaynay gyi:* Advocate and Higher Grade Pleader," and within a very short time became the lawyer of the whole village; but so great was his attachment to this consultation-living-room, which had nothing in common with the rest of Ye, that he relinquished all cases whose developing complexities led client and lawyer to a higher court in Moulmein.

592 Grandmother had gardens about ten miles up the creek from Ye.
244 These contained coconuts, durians and areca nuts grown over about
276 fifty acres for commercial disposal. Around the bungalow in the centre
427 of the garden there grew mangosteen, rambutan, pomeloes and pineapples for eating on a large-scale, clumps of bamboos, a coffee tree, tobacco plants, capsicum, lime and citron trees, lemon grass, and vegetables of all kinds to serve the needs of the bungalow and the household in town. My aunts with one young male relative took turns to live at the garden and help the family that was hired to look after it permanently. It was a dangerous life in these plantations as dacoities were very frequent.
[501] The produce was taken down to Ye in a succession of graceful narrow boats shaped out of single tree trunks. The durians and coconuts were
[442] sold straight away to traders who travelled between Moulmein and Ye for this purpose. The areca nuts were first dried on a bamboo attic made by an extension of the platform upper storey of the house until it met the back slope of the roof. When they were dried the whole family gathered around in the back kitchen and removed the husks with blunted nutcrackers, leaving the smooth nut to be sold.

244 With the rice from the paddy-land on the opposite bank, fruits,
262 vegetables and spices from the garden, rolling their cheroots with a mix-
226 ture containing tobacco in leaves shed by the areca trees in the garden,
438 and grinding their own coffee berries, my aunts and grandmother only
276 needed to buy a little fish and meat for their daily consumption. This they could not provide themselves owing to the Buddhist law against

taking life. Only the hardened ones of the village, *ta-nga-thès*, drew 244
and netted in the wealth of fish around Ye, and the theoretical condem- 262
nation in which their profession was held absolved all good Buddhists
from any sin in eating the fruits of their labours. My aunts bought vast 226
quantities of fish for salting and drying. This cured fish supplied our 438
yearly needs as well as theirs. They also bought prawns to press into a paste called *ngapi*, in this case *seinsa* ngapi, which forms the basis of all our flavouring and condiments. As soon as the ta-nga-thè came up with his boatloads of prawns they were spread out on rough bamboo mats and sunned on the big platform behind the house. When they were fairly dried, my aunts, with a helper or two from the village, mashed up the prawns by hand, throwing in vast quantities of salt as they worked. The mess was left in the sun for a few days, being stirred every now and again. By this time it had turned into a grey-black paste, more or less smooth, smelling most pungent and rotten to foreigners but *hmway-dè*, fragrant, to us, and tasting like a concentrate of anchovy. This paste is stored in small glazed earthenware jars. It is used to flavour all meat and vegetables dishes, or is fried or pounded with other ingredients to provide condiments for the meal. The Tenasserim coast is the chief source of seinsa ngapi in Burma, the big towns of Tavoy and Mergui supplying towns in Upper Burma as well. The large amounts of salt needed come from the valuable salt fields in this area which produce about 6,000 tons annually.

It can be imagined what excitement a holiday at Ye caused us 528
in our growing years, and even my mother's admonitions that we were 177.
to behave in accordance with strict Burmese ideas which prevailed at 55
Ye rather than the un-Burmese habits acquired at school did not dampen 593
our excitement. We were then at English-speaking schools where we had adopted the habit of calling each other by name. The eldest of my young sisters Mya Mya, is seven years younger than I am, but when she went to school I had only two sisters left who called me respectfully, *Ma-Ma Gyi*, elder sister, and by the time the youngest was at school there was no Ma Ma Gyi left in the family. The tradition of the younger ones fetching and carrying for the elder had also sadly deteriorated.

At meals, my mother had not kept up the custom of helping the 593
eldest person present with a portion of every dish before it was open to 177.
the rest of the company. Before we went to Ye, therefore, my mother 57
gathered us around her and told us how we were to behave so as to give our grandmother and aunts great pleasure in our visit and no rude shocks. "Now don't forget, *the-mi-to*, my daughters, you will all three call your sister Big-Elder-Sister; you, Pusu, are to call Mya Mya Middle-Elder-Sister, and Aye Little-Elder-Sister. In fact you should

children such as were playing about them. We were ready-made reproductions sent back by my father and Uncle San Lin *who disappeared* into an unknown world many years ago. At house after house, and at the same houses year after year, we sat in a row on the benches they kept on the verandahs of all houses, eight children awkward and restrained, while the old people peered and chuckled at us: "Yes, that is San Lin, all right—but there is Htwa Yin's nose; look at this expression, it is Maung Chit Kaing himself—oh but look here, here is the image of Maung Pyant, yes, exactly Maung Pyant, hullo you little Pyant, oh, look at her." This was my poor sister Mya Mya whose face seemed to be the quintessence of the features of my father and all his brothers and sisters. My sister Aye and I, who had the good fortune to take after my mother's family, were noticed very little during these visits, but my poor little Mya Mya sat there solemn and unhappy, thrusting her face out until even to us she looked comically like the forty-year-old aunts and uncles. 528 187 827

When I think back on eating the fruits of Grandmother's garden, they seem to have the quality of some heavenly ambrosia about them. They were all such luscious fruits. For example, the durian, the fruit which foreigners describe as smelling most foul, usually had in Rangoon only a thin layer of the precious golden flesh around the seeds. In this garden we ate only *shwe-dinga* durians, gold-sovereign durians, whose flesh was so soft and full that a gold coin could be stood on edge on the seed and be buried in it. Moreover, the eating of durians in excess was usually discouraged anywhere else, because of the heating qualities of the fruit, but here they grew beside the cooling mangosteen, which we always ate after the durian. This delicious fruit never travels successfully; even from district to district it gets bruised and stained. The mangosteen tree was most exciting to me as a child. It was full of dark foliage and the distilled nectar of the snow-white fruit seemed to be enclosed in bitterness and fraught with dangers, for the thick skin which contains tannin was bitter, its stain was indelible and to be kept carefully away from our clothes, and the fruit itself was said to be poisonous when eaten with sugar. This was owing to the belief that the sap of the rind made a toxic combination with sugar. Even the coconuts in Ye had a succulence about them. They were so abundant in the garden that we discarded all the fruit in which the meat had hardened beyond the *zun-chit*, the "spoon-scrape", stage when the flesh was of such tenderness that it could be scraped up with a spoon as a transparent jelly, to be put into the drink of coconut water. We were encouraged to drink this because it was said to make the heat "kick" and come out of the system. The grains of the pomeloes also were swollen 245 262 824

245 and pink with juice; we shredded them in piles and ate them with prawn
• 262 powder and fish sauce. The *kanaso*, the *baccaurea sapida*, gave us a
824 fruit of a mouth-watering sweet-sourness. This fruit was said to induce diarrhœa and we were always made to eat the white piths which had a binding action.

262 Whereas we feasted on the fruits of trees, our elders turned to the sea for more fleshly succulence. My mother and aunts loved to get turtles' eggs, nastily soft white things the size of golf balls, boil them and tear them open to spill their richness on to a plate of boiled rice; they got oysters swimming soft and cold in vinegar; big nga-tha-lauk, hilsa fish, bursting with fatness, and thick buffalo's milk which always seemed to us more meaty and strong than cow's milk.

796 We came back to Ye itself for the New Year festival. The New
772 Year in our lunar calendar usually occurs round about April 13th, and
775 is the occasion of the descent of a spirit-king, the Tha-gya Min, king of the tha-gyas, from heavenly regions to the world of men. The Burman Buddhist idea of the universe places the hellish, the earthly and the heavenly regions in well-defined order. In the centre of the universe is Mount Myinmo, the highest peak in all the world, a million miles above the sea and a million below the waters. Round about the sides of this mountain are ranged the six levels of heavenly regions where the Dewas or heavenly spirits dwell. These heavenly spirits also have homes in the sun, moon and stars. Far up in the heavens, above the seats of the Dewas, are ranged the sixteen seats of more perfect beings, the Byammas, one above the other. And far above them, as high as the imagination can soar, are four sublime seats, on the borders of the supreme Nirvana. Below the six levels of the Dewa regions of Myinmo are seven ranges of mountains, girdling the earth in a perfect ring interposed only by seven seas. In these seas are set four great islands, to the north, south, east and west of Myinmo Mountain, each attended by five hundred small islands grouped around it. On each island grows a fabulous tree which gives its name to the island, and dwell beings whose heads are shaped like the shape of the island. The northern, eastern and western islands are all more fair than the southern, life lasts for five hundred or a thousand years, and the trees bear gorgeous dresses and delicious foods of meat, but the inhabitants of the southern islands are infinitely more blessed in their merit. This island of Zampudipa, shaped like a trapezium and bearing the Zampu tree, surrounded by five hundred islands where live the English and the other nations of the human world, is the abode of man, the Buddhist man, and the known neighbours who are heretics from Buddhism. Here the inhabitants must work to weave their clothes and cook their food and

796 yellow flowers against the rich dark green leaves, either water from the water throwers or the *tha-gyan mo*, the thingyan showers. Light showers
137 usually fall about this time although the monsoon is far off yet; they come
132 from a small low pressure area over the land although when we were
821 young it seemed to be part of what the true tha-gyan se leaflets should promise, a foretaste of the coolness of the real monsoon, and a recognition of Tha-gya Min's presence. If the rain was late in falling, the villagers set to work to hurry it on. The rain spirits live in the stars but they sometimes come out to play with each other in the space of the firmament. Then rain falls on the earth. But at other times, when the sun is not in the right quarter, they stay indoors and the earth receives only the scorching heat of the sun. Men can then rouse the rain spirits to show more energy and come out, by the beating of tin cans and by exerting energy themselves in a tug-of-war. In Ye, the upper street and the lower street used to put up teams for this and tugging was carried on amidst betting and cheering and the beating of empty kerosene tins by women and children around.

796 The girls and youths from the monastery returned at about noon, wet and happy and dragging the branches of *ngu* along. Throughout the
262 day the children ran into the street to pour water on passers-by; bullock carts went by, decorated with ngu branches and holding music and water parties of young men and girls, the young men richly painted and dancing in the open carts; rival teams drew up and staged water-fights in the street or went to besiege houses where beautiful girls with a reputation for coldness or coyness were hiding. Throughout the day, also, dishes of sweetmeats arrived, for each house does the good act of making a comestible in large quantities for distribution. Ours was made on the second day and was a Moulmein speciality for which my mother had the best talent. This *tha-gyan hta-min*, thingyan rice, sounds insipid when described as boiled rice, eaten floating in cold water which has been made fragrant, to the accompaniment of green mango salad and saltfish shredded and fried crisp. To us, of course, it is delicious. The water has received an infusion of the aroma from an earthen pot which is turned upside down over the burning of tallow and fragrant woods. The rice is not the moist steamy rice of meal times but has been drained after cooking, on tray-sieves of cane, and the grains lie clear and separate and whole. The delight of eating thingyan rice in the hot weather is indescribable to foreigners, perhaps even to all non-Moulmein people, eating it in wide china bowls, with china spoons, alternating the concentration of sour and salt tastes of mango and saltfish with the coolness and cleanness of the rice and its water. We could eat this throughout the day; being thingyan rice it carried a blessedness which made us immune

to stomach ache, in the same way as it would be graceless to think that one could catch cold from the playing of thingyan water. 796 262

During the three days of the festival communal celebrations were also carried on, with shows and free feasting every night at pandals put up by each section of the streets. By the *a-tetnay*, rising day, when the Tha-gya Min goes back to the heavenly regions, everyone was a bit worn out, but the more energetic spirits declared that Tha-gya Min had forgotten his pipe or umbrella and had come back for one day more to fetch it. People try not to tell lies, quarrel, swear or lose their tempers during the days of the New Year. Apart from the offence it would give to the ears of the heavenly visitor in the vicinity it was considered a bad omen to begin the new year with such wicked behaviour. Children were always warned not to be disobedient in case the Tha-gya Min should note it, but the reason was also that the grown-ups should not be forced to scold them during this period. Woe to the servant maid who blunders then; greater woe indeed for her sin in causing the mistress to scold her and use angry words. 796 861

The years saw little change in the social programme of our visits to Ye, but in the absence of social changes, the human element always seemed more strong and primitive, and all the drama and romance of which we had so little in our placid district houses was concentrated in Ye. Life there seemed more full of physical movement and danger, anger was more strong, love more sweeping, quarrels more deep and lasting than we were used to. Births, deaths, disease and elopements all seemed to happen more frequently. It was all terror, excitement and romance to us. 000

A robbery at any of the houses in the village woke the whole quarter up, house by house, as the screams from there were taken up by frightened neighbours. My male cousins and all the men of the village hitched their longyis up around their loins, ran hither and thither in the night, with lanterns in one hand and dahs in the other. The womenfolk, as soon as the men had rushed out to the rescue, barricaded their doors and collected together in a whispering group, lest the fleeing robber should dodge into an open doorway in the shuttered line and demand silence and shelter at the point of his dah. On these occasions when we huddled together already terror-stricken, my grandmother recounted her story of the time when she failed to shut her door in time, and the robber was in the shadow of it as she went forward to fold it. "Not a word," he said, showing his blade. "Look out and see which way they have gone. Are they there? How many? Is the street clear? Don't talk loud." In this way Grandmother helped the felon to escape. Once or twice during the day we saw a saung, a blanket 674

249 kept a manager and his family in the bungalow of each plantation, and a
311 staff of eight or nine tappers. Once a week we drove out there on a
439 picnic inspection; my father and mother gazed with pride on the rows of neat trees, walked right round to see that clearings were maintained and that the trees looked right, peered into the cups of rich white latex, administered rebukes and instructions and inspected the books, visited the smoking house and saw the brown smoked sheets with GK stamped on them, after the traditional Burmese way of married business—G for Gyi, my mother, and K for Kaing, my father—and then we all returned home. Chinese traders came to the house and while chewing betel they talked about quantities and prices of the stock we had. Then the stacked sheets came from the plantation in the two bullock carts which we kept there, and the traders came and took them away and paid us in cash. Business was something so foreign to what we had always seen our parents doing, and this all seemed so simple, that we always felt they were surely being cheated.

245 Some of the other pensioners did not believe in dabbling with com-
438 modities that depended on a world market. Even the way in which we grew rubber went too much into the world of specialized commerce
• 262 which might have pitfalls for a retired civil servant. A friend of my father's grew large gardens of *da-nyin*, a tree of the laburnum species. The fruit of this tree rivals the durian for its nauseating effect on foreign sensibilities. It does not exude a smell as the durian does, until you eat it, but after eating it the smell comes out in breath, sweat and all other excretions. But it is one of our favourite foods. It is a small flat circular fruit of a hard and smooth consistency, enclosed in a shell which prises open in neat halves like an oyster shell. The texture and taste are delicious. We boil or bake it as a vegetable for fish sauce, we salt it in big jars as a pickle, we beat it and make it swim in coconut milk and eat it as a sweet, we bury it and make it sprout into a more pungent form called *da-nyin wet*. The main point is that it is eaten in vast quantities. It also contains substances which are good for diabetics, and families buy it literally in hundreds. No world depression interferes with the demand for *da-nyin thi*, and though the sale price is low, overhead charges are almost nil.

243 Other families in Thaton got their extra income from paddy-land.
438 Although the rice for which Burma is so famous today did not enter
556 world markets till the latter half of the last century, the possession of
262 *lè*, fields, which is synonymous with paddy-fields, is a well established form of wealth. Our part of Burma is particularly rich in fields. Nearly all the 3,500,000 tons of rice which is exported annually from Burma comes from Lower Burma, where Tenasserim Division ranks among the

three most productive areas, and Thaton district takes first place in 243
Tenasserim. But rice is more than the chief export crop of the country 438
to us. It is our *wun-sa*, food for the womb, our staple food; and we have 556
depended so much on it that we pay it reverence, almost. When we 262
were young, A-Kyi and our nurses never allowed us to tread on any rice
that had been spilt; rice was like a master and human beings its servants,
they said. The phrase for "I was not born yesterday" is "I grew [181]
up eating rice", and in the same way excessive stupidity excites wonder
that the person nourished on rice can be so stupid. Through years of
journeying on trains, bullock carts, and river steamers, we have seen the
peaceful green fields, the dry reaped corn, the golden grain heaped on
small canoes before milling. Though we did not know the toil and
the uncertain hopes of the cultivators, we followed the growth of the
life-giving grain through all its stages, seeing the first sproutings in one
place in one year, the ripe and mature crop in another, and the thriving
young stalks of a later generation in another place and time.

Our fields seemed perpetually marked into small beds by ridges six 243
inches high. Lying empty during the first months of the year, these
beds grew parched and baked by April and May. With the first blessed
showers of the monsoon about mid-May, however, one, two, three, four
or more inches of rain fell on the beds within about ten days, and softened the hard crust. Men went to work about the end of the month, and with harrow and plough they chopped and churned up the earth, cutting and burying weeds, refining the rough, and making the stiff clay soil pliant until a soft fine mud was produced. In the meantime, the seeds had been soaked in water in deep layers between banana leaves, to make them sprout and become more receptive of the soil's richness. These were brought out in baskets, and young men and women wearing wide bamboo hats in the heavy showers, walked about scattering them, using up to ten basketfuls in one acre. They allowed the seeds to lie for a few

264 This is for the fresh bazaar, most families storing rice, saltfish and
511 ngapi, and sesamum oil for cooking, by the month or longer periods.

The rice is cooked to result in clean and separate grains. The usual
252 method is to put it on the fire with cold water, using judgment as to the
• 262 amount of grain and water for the pot. A person who cannot "cut his coat according to his cloth" is "*ko-oh hnin ko hsan ma-tan bè :* his grain and pot do not accord". When, after coming to the boil, the rice is cooked but not yet soft, it is drained by decanting; the water is kept aside for starching the jackets of the women in the daily wash, and the pot is put back on to coals or half off a fire, with the lid left open to let the steam escape and complete the cooking of the rice. It is shaken once or twice during this process, but there is no harm done if a bad servant forgets to do this or puts the pot back on a strong fire, for then the burnt rice is scraped up in a cake (*gyo*) and is eaten, dipped in oil and salt, by the children with great relish.

The soup is always clear. The great majority of soups are plain hingyos, with a stock of fish, prawn or dried prawn; flavoured with ngapi, beaten garlic or onion. It is made fresh for each soup, and when it comes to the boil, green vegetables are thrown in and left just long enough to wear down the tough cellulose. The vegetables are never overcooked. Throwing in the vegetables is called *hingyo hkut-tè*, ladling out the soup, and the green things for ladling are numerous indeed. Of leaves, the tamarind, the sorrel, the drumstick (*moringa pterygosperma*), the *kinmun*, the calabash, the mustard, various types of spinach, are only some. Some particular leaves, stalks or fruits require adaptations in the soup they ladle; for example, green chillies with the sorrel, pepper corns with the calabash; and the neem and *mezali* leaves are so bitter that they must be rubbed in salt and cooked three times before they can be eaten. All leaves used for soup have a distinct and delicate flavour. If the soup were strained after the leaves had been boiled in it a few minutes, one could still identify the taste. Richer soups are made with stock of meat—pig's trotters, chicken or duck—and are ladled with dried mushrooms, dried flowers or vermicelli strands, transparent and fair as the lotus.

263 The ngapi, condiment, dish has several standard forms. "Ngapi"
[438] is the general term applied to any of its forms. Usually it comes to the housewife as seinsa ngapi, from Tenasserim, such as is made by my aunts in Ye, or from Yandoon in the Delta region. This high-smelling, strongly flavoured paste is stored in glazed earthen jars and flavours almost all dishes or is cooked into its own palatable forms. It is fried with chillies and pounded dried prawns into a crisp brownness, in which form Europeans like it as a toast spread which they call *balachaung*. It

tastes something like the product known as Patum Peperium or Gentleman's Relish. More Burmese is *ngapi-chet* (ngapi cooked), when it is fried in a more oily and moist form with tomatoes, tamarind water, green chillies, red chillies, garlic and onion; or *ngapi-daung* (ngapi pounded), when it is pounded into a smooth paste with prawns, ginger, onion and chilly; or *ngapi-thok* (ngapi mixed), when it is made into a salad by baking it dry and then mixing chopped onion, green chillies and citron leaves and a squeeze of lemon. 263

The to-sa-ya, dipper dish, to dip into the ngapi, of raw green vegetables, consists of leaves, flowers, buds, stalks, and young fruit of all kinds—green mangoes when they are the size of marbles, mango flowers, green marians, *danyin-thi*, citron leaves, coriander leaves, cucumbers, *zaung-ya-thi*, *chep-paung-thi*, and a host of others which can be plucked by villagers from hedges or gardens or jungle patches. The dressed vegetable dish may be a *lethok* or a *thanat*. Lethok, hand-wiping-or-mixing, is a mixture of finely shredded or cut vegetable (say green papaya, grown green mango, marian or citron) with the balancing ingredients of oil for mixing smoothly; dried prawn powder and bean powder for filling; tamarind water for sourness if fruit is not sour; ngapi or fish sauce for salting; green or powdered red chilly for spicing; and crisp fried garlic and onion to set off and dress the whole. In a thanat we can make the orthodox cauliflower, cabbage, brinjals, beans, etc., into a delicious dish by boiling them with vinegar and water till they are not quite cooked, draining them, rolling them in cooked oil in which salt and a little baked ngapi have been dissolved, scattering sesame seeds and crisp fried garlic and onion. Some vegetables which have a natural succulence are made into thanat uncooked. They are cut up, soaked in vinegar for some hours, drained well and dressed in the same way. Cucumber and horse-radish treated thus are delicious and crunchy. Besides being made into salads, vegetables are "fried". This is not fat frying. Only the seasoning, consisting of a small quantity of chopped pork or shrimps, crushed garlic and ngapi, is fried in the merest fraction of sesamum oil, then the bean sprouts, cabbage or what not, chopped small, are spread over it. This is called *ok-tè*, covering with the vegetable; the lid is put on and the vegetable cooks in the steam from its own water content. Just before taking it off the fire, it is stirred with soya sauce, and, if taken off the fire at the correct moment, cauliflower, cabbage, beans and beansprouts are delicious. Some vegetables lend themselves to an extension of this method in the *kyaw-gyet*, fry-cook, what the English Domestic Science schools call a "combination method" of cooking. Here the fried seasoning ingredients are stronger flavoured, water is 262* 252

• 262 added after the vegetable, and a dish which is half soup, half curry
252 is produced. Gourds are often cooked in this way.

The "curry" is called curry for want of a better word. The Burmese hin does not contain the spices usually associated with hot curries. The standard hin is the *hsi-byan*, oil-returns-curry, in which the seasoning and gravy are produced by pounded chilly, ginger, garlic and onion, fried in oil which has first been cooked free of moisture. This is fried brown while the meat is diced and rolled in salt and a little turmeric. Then the meat is put in and cooked till all its moisture has gone and the "oil returns". Then small quantities of water are added and the pot left until the meat is tender. The chief meats used are pork, chicken and duck. Beef and mutton are not liked generally, and many families, who wish to deny themselves the eating of the flesh of one animal in order to gain merit, give up beef. The curry described here is only the stock recipe. There are numerous special meat dishes, steamed, roasted, sauted. But it is fish and prawn that Burmese people love best. We have a great variety of sea and freshwater fish, each lending itself to special forms of cooking, from the richest nga-tha-lauk, through *nga-myin*, *nga-gyin*, *nga-ponna*, *nga-the-lè-do*, to the black and cheap *nga-gyi* and *nga-khu*. Crabs and crayfish with the lovely red oil in their heads; nga-myin cooked with ginger and soya sauce to make a "sweet" dish or with tamarind and ground chilly to make a peppery one; *nga-hpa-ma* cooked with vinegar and citronella grasses and green chillies into a thick soup, or *nga-yan*, cooked with tamarind water and vegetables into a minestrone; nga-tha-lauk baked so that the flesh is rich and full, but the numerous bones made so soft that they are no longer dangerous to swallow, or nga-khu fried so crisp as to give only a crunch and no taste; nga-ponna cooked into a hsi-byan curry with coriander leaves on top of the fishes, or *nga-bat* cooked and stirred into a flaked consistency; *nga-pè* whose white flesh is kneaded with salt into a glutinous slab to fry in slices, or nga-gyin wrapped in banana leaves with strong flavouring ingredients and steamed in packets until it is ready to melt in your mouth. In their daily meals Burmese people relish the odd parts of animals rather than their flesh—the liver and crop of chickens and ducks, the trotters of pigs, he guts of goats, the entrails of freshwater and, indeed, the heads, tails, fins and roe of all fish.

262 Besides providing us with rich daily meals, my aunt found great delight in buying vast quantities of foods which were seasonal or only to be bought in certain areas. Mushrooms appearing about May were bought literally in basketfuls, each basket being fifteen inches wide and fifteen high. These were cooked in various ways and eaten by family and servants for about three days on end or longer, until someone

suffered from the accumulated toxic effects. Kyi-Kyi also spent days 262
in extracting the red oil from the heads of about fifty crayfish or big prawns. This red stuff gives the flavouring to prawns and we therefore find prawn curries tasteless where the cooks discard the oil with the teeth and other excretions from the heads. Kyi-Kyi filled jars with the rich oil and we kept it through weeks, mixing it with rice and salt. Or she bought about two hundred sparrows at one go and stripped and cooked them unaided. It does not sound sporting to eat sparrows, but the meat of other bigger and more "game" birds is too strong for us. Sparrows when fried crisp are edible to the last shred of bone, little round head and all. It was one of our favourite foods during visits to Thaton, until [157]
after my littlest sister got measles and had her head shaved according to custom; when she went about looking so pathetically like the naked birds in the dish that none of us, from my father downwards, could bear to eat a sparrow for a long time afterwards.

All the dishes mentioned above are eaten with rice at the two main meals of the day, but there are also noodle dishes, both wheat and rice noodles, coconut-flavoured dishes and others which are eaten at luncheon parties or at mass gatherings of town and village people. At all social functions, also, there is an accompaniment to the cheroots and the betel box [276]
in the form of pickled tea-leaf and shredded pickled ginger served in small lacquer trays with nuts, sesamum, prawn powder, fried coconut and garlic. These are all foods eaten at regular times of the day, and as such can be called *sa-sa-ya* foods. But we have not yet ventured into the realm of sweet things, for after a meal only fruit is eaten. All sweet dishes are kept to be eaten *between* meals, and as such are called *tha-yay-sa*, food for the saliva, and only incidentally for nourishment.

Tha-yay-sa usually means something sweet because there are so many sweet ones, but what does produce more saliva than any other are the sour ones. A favourite Burmese afternoon pastime is the eating of sour and green fruit with ngapi and chilly, in order to offset the drowsiness of the heat. Green mangoes, marians, chep-paung-thi, *yay-ngan-thi*, *gwe*-thi, *thit-to-thi* range through all degrees of sourness till you come to *ton-kyin-thi*, shiver-sour-fruit, so sour that you shiver when you bite it. On rainy afternoons we felt too chilly to eat these and nibbled at things with a nutty flavour. Roots, tubers, seeds and nuts are eaten dipped in raw sesamum oil and salt—the roots of the palmyra, and of a bean (*pè-myit*), arrowroot and sweet potatoes, chestnuts and the boiled seeds of the jack tree. But when we come to the real sweetmeats, what richness, what variety is there! As exiles of the Japanese War, we collect in parties to eat uninteresting and foreign foods, but after the meal we gather round and add flavour to the whole evening as we list all the

262 tha-yay-sa we used to eat, some of them not since we were children—and excitement and salivation and comfort in each other's company mount as one after another throws in a fresh contribution to the list, bringing back with sharp delight some half-forgotten taste from a childhood paradise. The names of our sweetmeats are all descriptive of something, their appearance, consistency, composition, or associations which they have, so that the mere recitation of them gives one delight. Sweets which are in balls: *Mon-pein-nè-si, mon-lon-yay-paw, mon-longyi, kalapè-so:* cake jackseeds, cake-balls floating, big cake-ball, cake-weegram-balls. Those that are in round wafer shapes: *mon-pyissa-lè, mon-hsi-kyaw, bein-mon, mon-lè-bway:* worthless cake, fried-in-oil cake, wheel cake, whirlwind cake, which can be crushed into a mouthful from a circumference of about fifteen inches. Those that come as noodly bits of flour or grain, lathered or drowned in coconut juices: *mon-laing-daung, mon-lok-saung, mon-hsan:* cake in stick pieces, cake made by covering, cake sprinkled. Those rich cakes of flour, nuts and raisins which are cut in diamond shapes from slabs twenty inches in diameter: *hsa-nwin ma-kin, kyauk-chaw, pa-thein halawa, mon-kywè-thè* or *mon-ka-lame:* cake-not-free-from-turmeric, cake-smooth-as-marble, Bassein cake, cake-buffaloes'-liver or cake-black-Indian, so black and glossy is it. Or those that come in shapes of things: *mon-leit-pya, mon-let-kauk, bi-mon, daung-kwa-mon:* cake-butterfly, cake-bangle, comb cake, peacock's hoof cake. These sweets range through all consistencies from compressed cake form to almost liquid jelly; their ingredients are from sources as widely apart as the fruit of the palmyra palm and the groundnut. Most of them are freshly made, and women and men sellers walk around with them during the hours between breakfast and dinner, from about 11 a.m. to 5 p.m.

262 527 Sometimes a child sees a miracle when all these delights are gathered before its eyes and ready only for the asking. This is at a *Neibban Zay*, a Nirvana Bazaar, a paradise on earth to the child. Kyi-Kyi once took me and my small sister to a Neibban Zay when the rest of the family were away. In the absence of my mother's more sophisticated tastes, Kyi-Kyi smeared thanakha all over Pusu's body, dressed her only in a petticoat and wooden slippers so that she should keep as cool as possible and led her by the hand to Nirvana. Three streets of householders were giving a free feast to the town; each house had a stall before it and was serving a different mon from the next. Children wandered up and down, stopping before the sweet they liked best, stuffing themselves to their heart's content, because the Neibban Zay was being given as a work of merit and grown-ups would not interfere with the distribution of charity. Never shall I forget my Pusu walking up that street, her neck

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craned and her eyes round with wonder and appetite, her thanakha legs sticking out brown and chalky from under her white petticoat.

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Hand in hand with the keen delight in the tastes of food goes our interest in the physiological effects of foods. Thus medicine and food are closely allied, and the good health of a normally constituted person is maintained with very little reliance on bottled tonics, even among modern townspeople. For this reason, too, Burmese people often eat foods which are not altogether good for them but the taste of which they like, and they rely on the counteracting effect of the antidote food which is usually contained in the recipe. "Neutralization is more epicurean than prevention." Just as the cooling mangosteen is eaten after the heating durian, the pickled tea-leaf which contracts the menstrual flow of women is eaten with ginger, which, shredded and pickled in lemon juice and salt, can be eaten in large amounts to have a counteracting effect. Cucumber also causes *lay-hto-tè*, the wind-to-pierce in the body, but citron is *lay-naing-tè*, conquers wind. Citron leaves and cucumber are often seen on the some to-sa-ya plate. Mushrooms which have a toxic effect are cooked with the water-greens called *ga-zun-ywet*, which not only counteract the poison but also provide a neutralizing

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green taste to the richness of mushrooms. When we were constipated, my mother gave us a sherbet of tamarind, sweetened with jaggery—the cooked sugar juices of the palmyra palm—both of which are purging. The sherbet tasted cool and delicious and the jaggery has, in addition, a soothing effect on the stomach and intestinal linings. Guavas are best eaten green and crisp, when they might give one a stomach ache, but in any case they taste better when dipped in yet-sa, the linctus powder with digestive properties. There are numerous other examples. A crowning one may be seen in the *zi-byu-thi*, the Indian gooseberry, which has an astringent taste that on drinking water leaves a clean sweetness in the mouth. The contracting effect of this on the menstruation of a woman is considered so great that some elders say: "A girl has but to sit under a zibyu tree for her menstruation to stop." College girls of Rangoon University used to eat these fruits by the pile, sucking the pungent juices out of each bite as they talked and talked, and then they all trooped off to the college food shop where they each ate one anna's worth of ginger salad and never knew any ill effects.

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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intended more as an excuse for people to enter the house and have a talk than with any idea of making a profit. Whatever money is drawn is regarded as a kind of pin-money for the mistress of the establishment. When the ladies of the household are in earnest about trading, they start a stall in the bazaar, and very good hands they are at driving a bargain. A more regrettable trait is the forcible character of their language when they are annoyed. But this, unhappily, is a characteristic of the fair sex all the world over, whether in trade or out of it. Certain it is that the *dames de la halle* and the Billingsgate fishwives would require all their powers of voice and vituperation to silence a bazaar maiden when she sets her mind to it.

There are as a general thing two meals only in the day: breakfast at about eight in the morning, and dinner at five in the afternoon. There is no difference in the *menu* of the two meals. The staple article of food is plain boiled rice, which is piled up in a heap on a huge platter, round about which the household arrange themselves, sitting, like pit-men, on their heels. The curry which is taken with it is placed in little bowls, and each one of the party has his own plate, and helps himself. Knives are unnecessary; spoons and forks and celestial chopsticks are unknown, except in the houses of a few Government officials and traders in Rangoon, who have had some experience of English society. Very few are able to afford curries of meat or fish, besides that there are not always unscrupulous people ready to disregard the law against taking life, and the material is therefore not always available. Ordinarily the curry consists of a soup, or thin concoction of vegetables, in which chillies and onions figure largely. The other ingredients are very various. Young shoots of bamboo are very delicate in their flavour, if not overpowered by too much garlic. Wild asparagus, the succulent stems of a number of aquatic plants and fleshy arums are constantly used, and may be seen exposed for sale in every bazaar. Tamarind leaves and those of the mango-tree are used by the very poor. The former have a somewhat acrid taste, the latter are curiously aromatic. Along with the curry, which has always a large amount of oil and salt in it, there are a variety of condiments, notably the

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243 and they are not the varieties most in favour with the Burmese for their own consumption—there are at least thirty different kinds. There is the byat sabā, the "tray" rice, which is considered the best, but, like most of the other sorts, will not stand the rough treatment of the steam mill-stones, and breaks in pieces. Then there is the myi-she, which has a long awn, and the myi-tôn, which has no awn at all; the taung-pyan, "winged rice," and the nga-chywè, "buffalo grain"; and so on through a long list, ending up with "black rice," which is not by any means bad eating. But of
527 all the kinds, kauk-hnyin, "sticky rice," is the variety always
262 used at the harvest feast. It is mixed with thin sliced cocoa-nut, sesamum seeds, ginger, onions, and pepper, all stirred together and well boiled; and the resulting mess is called tamanè. The rice is well named. It is very emphatically sticky, and even when taken alone is not very easily digested; but when it comes in the form of tamanè, the result is usually a widespread attack of colic throughout the village. This, however, comes after the festival, when the fun is all over, and does not concern us in any way.

574 When the farmer has made up his mind as to the day
527 on which he is going to have the feast—a date which, of
[787] course, cannot be settled without consulting the wise men of the village and much pondering over the palm-leaf horoscope—he sends out a few boys with a number of packets of "pickled tea" to all the young men in the place, requesting them to be good enough to eat it and to come without fail that night to his homestead in order to help him to husk his rice for the tamanè hto-thi. A few girls are also asked to come; and they bring their friends for the sake of company, and the mothers follow for the sake of propriety. Thus there is quite a large assemblage at the farmer's when night falls and the business is to commence. There is a good deal of preliminary tea-drinking and smoking of cheroots and chewing of betel and le'hpet, and a great deal of laughing and talking. The girls profess to be astonished to find so many young men there; they had not imagined their host was meditating such extensive preparations, and thought there would be nobody there but his own and his wife's younger brothers. That is exactly what they will say next week

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231 their eggs in the silkworm's back and kill him. In about a month's time the caterpillar is full grown. He is then bundled into a fresh tray, in which there lies, wound about in the form of a spiral, a narrow-plaited bamboo strip. The ripe larvæ are thrown into this with as little ceremony as if they were pebbles. In about a day's time they have spun their cocoons, fastening them to the strips of bamboo. These are torn off and kept in baskets for a day or two, when a pot with water in it is filled with the pupæ, and then set to simmer over a slow wood fire.

283 From a triangle over the pot is suspended a small bamboo reel, and down below, near the pot, is a wooden cylinder. The reeler is usually a girl. She fishes about for a time in the simmering vessel, and, catching a few threads of silk, passes them over the reel and down to the cylinder, to which they are fastened. She then turns the handle of the cylinder, winding on the silk, and at the same time constantly fishing up and fastening on new filaments, which she does by means of a light bamboo double-pronged fork. Not the least trouble is taken to keep the silk clean. Any rubbish that may be floating on the surface of the water is wound on to the cylinder without an attempt being made to disengage it. When all the silk has been got off the cocoons, and wound on to the cylinder, the pupæ are taken out of the water and
● [262] fried in oil to furnish a dish for the family dinner. They are not by any means unpleasant, tasting, barring the oil, very much like roasted chestnuts; and indeed the dish is considered a great dainty.

286 The silk-growers mostly sell their silk. A loom is to be
283 found in almost every Burman's house in the country; and
386 in Prome and Shwe-daung, as being close to the place where the silk is produced, great quantities of articles of dress are made for sale. The native-grown silk is only used for every-day clothes of simple patterns, the more elaborate being all
[439] worked from imported Chinese silk. The silk is bought raw, the separate filaments twisted into a thread by means of a wheel, and then made up into hanks; these are boiled in soap and water, and are then ready for the dye. The commonest colours are green, yellow, orange, different shades of red and light blue; black and dark blue are only in

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every household in the town is occupied in the trade, is there any attempt at regular planting of nurseries. Nevertheless it is plentiful enough, and affords a magnificent spectacle when it is in flower—a huge forest tree covered so thickly with creamy-white blossoms that the leaves cannot be seen. The flowers have a fragrant scent not unlike that of apples, and the needy and practical Burman often makes a very acceptable curry of the buds. In full-grown trees the average height to the first branch is thirty feet, and the ordinary girth six feet from the ground is nine feet. Charcoal-burners have a predilection for the wood, which would not meet with approval in Japan; and it is much used for anchors and tool-helves, being very close and fine-grained. It is too heavy to float when green, but dried it is not particularly weighty. The sap may be collected at all times, except when the fruit is on the trees, from Pyatho to Tabaung—the first three months of the English year. Then it is thin and does not produce such a brilliant polish. The mode of collection is simple enough. Incisions are made in the stem, and the sap trickles into bamboos placed to catch it. When it is to be kept any time there must be a depth of two or three inches of water on the top, otherwise it would dry up and become solid. The water, however, does not improve it. The best varnish, called thi'si ayaungtin, is that which has been just drawn from the tree; the second quality contains twenty-five per cent of water, the inferior as much as fifty.

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The articles lacquered are chiefly drinking-cups and betel-boxes, the latter consisting of a cylindrical inner case, in which are fitted two or three trays for holding the lime, betel-vine leaves, cutch, nuts, and other ingredients for betel-chewing, the whole covered by an outer lid reaching to the bottom of the inner case. Ordinary kôn-it, betel-boxes, are three or four inches high and two and a half to three in diameter. Articles of the same shape are made of all sizes up to a couple of feet or more in height, these last being used for holding clothes and women's working materials. The bi-it, ladies' toilet-boxes, are often the most delicate and carefully worked. The actresses always carry splendid specimens about with them to contain their combs, oil, scent,

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527 than any implying more of a religious character—assumes the appearance of a gigantic reception, or *conversazione*. Streets and quarters of the town make up a common purse for general decorations and the erection of stages for hired troupes of actors, in addition to individual effort. The dates are arranged beforehand so that no two streets shall make their effort on the same night, and so lessen the enjoyment of the public, or draw away from the expected number of spectators. A committee is elected, or appoints itself, and having got as much money as possible, hires the best available dancers and actors for the zat pwè, if possible a puppet troupe also, and in addition, as many unattached mummers and clowns as can be got, whose business it is to dance up and down the street in the guise of dragons, snakes, nagās, and demons of all sorts, and amuse such of the visitors as cannot get near enough to see the set play, or prefer walking about talking to their acquaintances. Bands are engaged in profusion, flower-garlanded arches erected at the ends of the street and at intervals along its length, and gay Chinese lanterns hung up everywhere. Complimentary packets of le'hpet, pickled tea, serving as invitations, are sent out in profusion, but the non-receipt of one of these does not deter anybody, and all comers of whatever nationality are welcome.

735 262 Nowadays the monks are wont to complain that the presents customarily made them at the Tawadeintha feast are not nearly so valuable, or even so satisfactory, as they used to be. But it is different with the Sôndawgyi *fête*. There the emblems of the archetypal nogana are all edible and of the most sumptuous kind. In every house the offerings for the ascetics are set out for display all night long and make a goodly show, if the process can hardly be supposed to improve them for consumption. Mountains of cooked rice send out spurs of beef and pork, with flat lands of dried fish and outlying peaks of roasted ducks and fowls, the legs with their claws and the neck with the head and beak being extended as if they had been drawn out tight to exhibit their greatest length. Ngapi, fish paste, in all its malodorous varieties of ngapigaung, seinsa, dhamin, nga-thalauk, abounds, and loads the air with suggestions of a fish-

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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curing village, or an unclean fishmonger's in the dog days. Chinese patties of sugar and fat pork, plates full of fried silkworms, maggots from the top of the cocoa-nut tree, salt-pickled ginger and fried garlic, and a variety of other dishes beyond the ken of occidental cookery, abound all down the long tables. Alternating with these, and perhaps more pleasant to look at, are heaps of fruit, oranges, citrons, shaddocks, plantains, with here and there a late durian or two, rivalling the ngapi in its odour, and the brick-red or purple rind that conceals the luscious "snows" of the delicious mangosteen. Plentiful tins of sardines and Reading biscuits, with somewhat muddy-looking Bengali-made lemonade, give evidence of the progress of "civilisation"; and plates of betel with the fresh green leaves of the betel-vine suggest how the morrow's afternoon will be passed in well-filled meditations by the pôngyis of the neighbouring monastery.

The house itself is decked out on a corresponding scale of magnificence. To the uninitiated foreigner an ordinary Burmese hut presents about as unfavourable raw material for decoration as can well be imagined. Built of rough teak planking, or of split bamboo mats, and raised a few feet off the ground on posts, it resembles a marquee tent in shape and in size (according to the principle of the old Joe Miller story about the stone which was as big as a lump of chalk). On all ordinary occasions there is not a vestige of furniture in it. A row of earthenware pots with water, a couple of wooden boxes, and the rolled-up mats and blankets whereon the household sleep, are the only things to be seen. The sides and ceiling are grimed with the smoke of the fire that cooks the daily meals; the floor stained with smudges of oil and red blotches of betel. Yet this unpromising shanty the Burman transforms into a palace chamber, or stage-like fairy bower. The sides of the house are thrown up towards the street, so that the room assumes the appearance of a verandah. The floor is covered with thick bamboo matting finely woven, over which bright-flowered rugs are spread. The dingy sides of the house are draped with flags and kullagās, elaborate stitched pieces of tapestry, ten or twelve feet long, and reaching down to the ground. White, or

14: Brant E-5 (1949-50) 1954 AP1 Burma
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563 within the past two or three decades. In almost every way, they form a
463 village within the village. They are spatially clustered together, apart from
184 the Burmese. Their living is earned by dairying; milk from their cattle and
water buffaloes is sold in Rangoon, for cash, to Muslim restaurants. Since the
Burmese do not consume milk, the Indian dairymen find no market for their
●[262] product in the community. The only economic relationship between the two
groups consists of some exchange of Burmese paddy stalk, when the harvest is
over, for animal manure. The Indians use the paddy stalk as fodder for their
animals, while the Burmese use animal manure to some extent for their not
very fertile garden and rice lands.

563 The Indians being Hindus, the Burmese Buddhists, the two groups have no
571 basis for common participation in religious or ceremonial life. Nor is there
556 more than a negligible tendency towards intermarriage; our census showed two cases.

As shown by our figures on income, the Indians as a group are far more prosperous than the Burmese. Although the Burmese seem to realize this, they tend to phrase the matter not so much in terms of greater wealth of the Indians as in terms of how little the Indian spends of his income. To the average Burmese of the village, the Indian is something of a lesser breed who lives on next to nothing and so grows rich.

563 Throughout the course of research in Tadagale, an effort was made from time to time to study intergroup feelings and attitudes, but this was a subject on which informants who were quite ready to discuss almost any other matter were loath to speak. The Burmese seemed to know little (or at least so professed) about the ways of the Indians; the Indians were very tight-lipped concerning the Burmese.

175 It was towards the close of our work in Tadagale that certain events
669 occurred which brought out, in sharp focus, the nature of Burmese-Indian relations
674 and attitudes, and completely broke the silence maintained earlier. At this point, however, some digression is necessary to provide a background for understanding what took place.

In 1949-50, the internal disturbances which have beset Burma since the end of World War II were at their height. During this time the maintenance of law and order sank to a very low point; robbery, armed and unarmed, was rampant. Tadagale was robbed three times within the preceding year, according to informants. On such occasions, bandits entered the village, fired their guns into the air to frighten the defenseless villagers, and then proceeded to tie up some villagers and remove their money and other valuables. Anyone who resisted was beaten. According to villagers, the police, located about half a mile away, could not be depended upon for protection or for action once a crime occurred, for the bandits were better organized and armed than the police, making the latter extremely reluctant to take any action.

674 Some early evidences of distrust between Indians and Burmese appeared
563 about the middle of our research period, when an Indian dairyman stated that he
175 was convinced that the bandits who periodically invaded Tadagale had Burmese collaborators in the village. He based his belief on the fact that the bandits seemed always to find their way directly to the homes of the more prosperous inhabitants, which knowledge, he claimed, could be gotten only from villagers.

16;Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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These stalls are always crowded with people buying and selling, or looking anxiously at the many pretty wares, unable, perhaps, to buy. The refreshments are usually very simple—rice and curry for supper, and for little refreshments between whiles there are sugar-cakes and vermicelli, and other little cakes. 796 262

The crowd going up and down the steps is like a gorgeous-coloured flood, crested with white foam, flowing between the dragons of the gate; and on the platform the crowd is thicker than ever. All day the festival goes on—the praying, the offering of gifts, the burning of little candles before the shrines—until the sun sets across the open country far beyond in gold and crimson glory. But even then there is no pause, no darkness, for hardly has the sun's last bright shaft faded from the pagoda spire far above, while his streamers are still bright across the west, than there comes in the east a new radiance, so soft, so wonderful, it seems more beautiful than the dying day. Across the misty fields the moon is rising; first a crimson globe hung low among the trees, but rising fast, and as it rises growing whiter. Its light comes flooding down upon the earth, pure silver with very black shadows. Then the night breeze begins to blow, very softly, very gently, and the trees give out their odour to the night, which woos them so much more sweetly than the day, till all the air is heavy with incense. 796

Behold, the pagoda has started into a new glory, for it is all hung about with little lamps, myriads of tiny cresets, and the façades of the shrines are lit up, too. The lamps are put in long rows or in 796 778 373

16 Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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was not known. You paid a rupee, and took the change in rice or other commodities.

The excitement of the great day of the full moon began in the morning, about ten o'clock, with the offerings to the monks. Outside the village gate there was a piece of straight road, dry and open, and on each side of this, in rows, were the people with their gifts; mostly they were eatables. You see that it is very difficult to find any variety of things to give a monk; he is very strictly limited in the things he is allowed to receive. Garments, yellow garments, curtains to partition off corners of the monasteries and keep away the draughts, sacred books and eatables—that is nearly all. But eatables allow a very wide range. A monk may accept and eat any food—not drink, of course—provided he eat but the one big meal a day before noon; and so most of the offerings were eatables. Each donor knelt there upon the road with his or her offerings in a tray in front. There was rice cooked in all sorts of shapes, ordinary rice for eating with curry, and the sweet purple rice, cooked in bamboos and coming out in sticks. There were vegetables, too, of very many kinds, and sugar and cakes and oil and honey, and many other such things. There were a few, very few, books, for they are very hard to get, being all in manuscript; and there were one or two tapestry curtains; but there were heaps of flowers. I remember there was one girl whose whole offering was a few orchid sprays, and a little, very little, heap of common rice. She was so poor; her father and mother were dead, and she was not married. It was all she could give. She sat behind

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CHAPTER XIX

'NOBLESSE OBLIGE'

'Sooner shall the cleft rock reunite so as to make a whole, than may he who kills any living being be admitted into our society.'—*Acceptance into the Monkhood.*

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It is very noticeable throughout the bazaars of Burma that all the beef butchers are natives of India. No Burman will kill a cow or a bullock, and no Burman will sell its meat. It is otherwise with pork and fowls. Burmans may sometimes be found selling these; and fish are almost invariably sold by the wives of the fishermen. During the king's time, any man who was even found in possession of beef was liable to very severe punishment. The only exception, as I have explained elsewhere, was in the case of the queen when expecting an addition to her family, and it was necessary that she should be strengthened in all ways. None, not even foreigners, were allowed to kill beef, and this law was very stringently observed. Other flesh and fish might, as far as the law of the country went, be sold with impunity. You could not be fined for killing and eating goats, or fowls, or pigs,

16;Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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262 779 and these were sold occasionally. It is ten years since King Thibaw was overthrown, and there is now no law against the sale of beef. And yet, as I have said, no respectable Burman will even now kill or sell beef. The law was founded on the beliefs of the people, and though the law is dead, the beliefs remain.

231 779 It is true that the taking of life is against Buddhist commands. No life at all may be taken by him who adheres to Buddhistic teaching. Neither for sport, nor for revenge, nor for food, may any animal be deprived of the breath that is in it. And this is a command wonderfully well kept. There are a few exceptions, but they are known and accepted as breaches of the law, for the law itself knows no exceptions. Fish, as I have said, can be obtained almost everywhere. They are caught in great quantities in the river, and are sold in most bazaars, either fresh or salted. It is one of the staple foods of the Burmese. But although they [463] will eat fish, they despise the fisherman. Not so [554] much, perhaps, as if he killed other living things, but still, the fisherman is an outcast from decent society. He will have to suffer great and terrible punishment before he can be cleansed from the sins that he daily commits. Notwithstanding this, there are many fishermen in Burma.

A fish is a very cold-blooded beast. One must be very hard up for something to love to have any affection to spare upon fishes. They cannot be, or at all events they never are, domesticated, and most of them are not beautiful. I am not aware that they have ever been known to display any

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how the trouble increases when it comes to goats or any larger beasts. In the jungle villages meat of any kind at all is never seen: no animals of any kind are allowed to be killed. An officer travelling in the district would be reduced to what he could carry with him, if it were not for an Act of Government obliging villages to furnish—on payment, of course—supplies for officers and troops passing through. The mere fact of such a law being necessary is sufficient proof of the strength of the feeling against taking life.

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Of course, all shooting, either for sport or for food, is looked upon as disgraceful. In many jungle villages where deer abound there are one or two hunters who make a living by hunting. But they are disgraced men. They are worse than fishermen, and they will have a terrible penalty to pay for it all. It will take much suffering to wash from their souls the cruelty, the blood-thirstiness, the carelessness to suffering, the absence of compassion, that hunting must produce. 'Is there no food in the bazaar, that you must go and take the lives of animals?' has been said to me many a time. And when my house-roof was infested by sparrows, who dropped grass and eggs all over my rooms, so that I was obliged to shoot them with a little rifle, this was no excuse. 'You should have built a sparrow-cote,' they told me. 'If you had built a sparrow-cote, they would have gone away and left you in peace. They only wanted to make nests and lay eggs and have little ones, and you went and shot them.' There are many sparrow-cotes to be seen in the villages.

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753 The concept of KAMMA (fate) is important only in determining
777 the general well-being of the individual, as seen in Daw Aw Zar's
● 262 belief that her general good health was due to a morally-lived previous existence. "It is like a shadow". Some specific situations like being born blind is attributed to one's KAMMA - in this case the person had been a notorious fighter of cocks in the previous existence; cocks being frequently blinded in the fights.

Each person is regarded as subject to some special disorder or weakness such as being especially subject to colds or headaches, or stomach troubles. Collectively these are referred to as "age-group" weaknesses. (MIYAT - girls' weakness; DULAH - boys' weaknesses.) But this is due to childhood illnesses and neglect of early troubles rather than KAMMA. Persons with the weaknesses noted above avoid cucumbers (a "cold" vegetable), or hot foods including liquor (these cause greater heat to rise to the head), or green or raw vegetables (hard to digest). The choice of the correct diet to suit one's particular condition is important.

751 Bodily exercise is a prime consideration for health. Callis-
526 thenics or sports for this purpose are unknown or unrecognized and by
461 " healthful exercise " is meant everyday work activities. Regular
757 daily motion is regarded as necessary for health, and a purgative is
514 taken regularly once a month. The idea is to " clean out disease ". Purgatives are taken first in most sicknesses. This is followed by drinking preparations in hot water to induce perspiration along with woolen blankets. The colour of the urine is checked "daily" since a too yellow colour indicates an unhealthy condition. If so - one must drink additional quantities of water and coconut water. "Urine takes the place of perspiration in cold weather". Over-working and lack of sleep also lead to unhealthiness. The ideal
[93] sleep period is from 8 p.m. to 6 a.m. with a nap thrown in from 12 to 2 after "breakfast".

158 Too much worrying SAY.TAUNG.LO.KAJEN (mind-beating-because-
753 body-crush) leads to sickness. This is a common problem for mothers who worry about their children's futures. It results in THEHJEH-PEKEH (small black bitter (gall)-disorder) where the gall fluid is

recognized as over-stimulated by anxieties. "Don't talk my gall into disorder" is a common reaction to calamity tales. 158 753

The weather is important is maintaining health. Changeable weather as during the late part of the Monsoon season is generally unhealthy and gives rise to pulmonary disorders. One should provide head protection (through covering or shade from umbrella) from the sun's rays - which cause headaches by melting the brain. Colds come from getting wet in the rain resulting from the lack of sufficient bodily heat. MYEH HMONE (earth-vapour) which rises as a steam in the early morning or after sudden rains is unhealthful in causing sore eyes and other inflamations. The"steam of the body" healthfully goes out in ordinary bathing and adds to one's comfort. Heat is a key factor in health and sickness being readily discerned as causes of local or general infection. The additional concept of "like producing like" helps explain the above beliefs. 753 132

The odor of AH HNYAW (fried food) is especially dangerous to babies and persons in a weakened condition. When frying, which will create extensive fumes, is to be undertaken the cook must give warning to the neighbourhood so that susceptible ones can be protected. Such persons take refuge behind the thick, cloth mosquito nets. Many heated arguments take place in our servants' quarters when the Indian fried food fumes carry over to the Burmese apartments. It is observed that this danger applies peculiarly to the Burmese - Chinese are also exempt since they are seen to cook with babies strapped on their backs. [252] [186]

Parts of the body are cared for with special ingredients. The eyes are cleaned with pure water or coconut water. Oil is frequently dropped into the ears through a feather quill. The mouth and teeth are cleaned with salt. Bitter foods keep keep the stomach fit. 515 751

Babies up to 1 year are fed on mother's milk or cow's milk. After one, rice chewed by the mother "to make it digestible" is added with some dried fish. After two, the child can chew its own rice, have a little meat, but no hot condiments. After five the child eats the same foods as the adults but is not allowed sour foods as this will "lessen the weight". After 16 or 17, this restriction is 853 561 262

561 removed. Old folks habitually like bitter foods - especially tea
262 leaves. Eating prepared foods left over night is strictly prohibited as a cause of illnesses. Curry must be eaten while it is hot. (There are no apparent reasons - just observation from eating spoiled
[757] foods). Boiled rice and fried dry fish comprises the standard sick diet in addition to other foods especially prescribed for the care or
177 for giving vigour. It is interesting to note that English foods such
757 as tinned biscuits ("Golden Puff biscuits") or milk preparations
262 ("Hollicks") are preferred for the sick diet by those who can afford them. The "strong" tastes of these foods give strength to the sick person. Lately, western medicines have been recognized as powerful. U Myaing's experiences above show the means by which this idea is established. However, the Burmese doctor is relied on even by families of the administrative class in Rangoon.

759 When a case of sickness seems beyond response to normal treatments, and it has been diagnosed as of a natural cause, the SAY SAYA (medicine-master) is called in. "Foot-hire" at a stiff rate of Rs.5/- for the first visit and 2 or 3 rupees for succeeding visits is paid for this service."Say-saya, we place the case in your hands" is entoned, to which the doctor replies "If our faith coincides (i.e. patients and doctors) then we will be successful - otherwise we cannot go against Karma". The doctor notes the symptoms, feels forehead for fever, inquires of colour of urine and the course of the
[198] disorder. He then chants in verse the diagnosis as "eyes yellow, motion irregular, forehead moist - (giving nature of sickness)". The treatment also follows in verse form as a rigid formula prescribing medicines and diet. The doctor is a specialist in one or more types of medicine which he has concocted such as "blood purifying medicines, "fever medicine", "purgative medicine", and he will have
[755] been called in because of this specialty. Charmed water is frequently given. Here verse formula is said over a cup of water to give it power.

SAY SAYA are trained when young men as apprentices to older doctors. The training includes memorizing many books giving diagnosis and formulas for curing as well as learning the master's arts.

FOOD

Eating Routine

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Ma Aye Myaing does the cooking with the help of the eldest daughter. U Myaing never cooks. In our third interview U Myaing prompted his wife what to say, concerning the routine of cooking, indicating that he understood the main outlines of the art:

> "In the morning the fire has to be made so as to cook the rice. After the fire is made the rice is washed and cooked. Then it is HNUT (water drained and rice steamed.) The onions to put in the curry are then sliced, the chillies are pounded vinegar is added and then everything is placed on the fire. This is what you are required to say."

Thus prompted, Ma Aye Myaing gets off to a fast start in giving information of her province.

> "I rise early in the morning, draw water, make the fire, set the tea-pot on, wash the rice, cook it, drain the water away, steam it, pound chillies, chop fish, peel potatoes, slice onions and skin prawns... Sesamum oil is first put in and THUT (smell of oil is cured) with onions and chillies in the pan. After this the potatoes are put in - potatoes and prawns. We cook once in the morning at 7 o'clock and once in the evening at 3 o'clock. In the morning there are times when we cook potatoes with prawn, and also times when we cook with vegetables. The evening meal is cooked with fish - it differs. Sometimes also we cook the fish by itself.
>
> "The meals we had to eat in Pantanaw were better of course. Only at times do we find cooking oil and onions etc. for our meals here. Rice has to bought; only at times do we have fish to eat. Sometimes we have to eat with vinegar and chillies (for curry)- sometimes vegetables and prawns."

U Myaing gives some information on the source of food in camp.

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> "The government brings rice, oil and salt once every 7 days - four times a month. Sometimes they do not come four times but only about twice a month. In Pathwe where food was concerned, there were fields. We could buy the paddy from the fields very cheaply. We get fish from the INS also."

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There are no great differences between cooking procedure in Pathwe and in the refugee camp. The only difference is that, prices being lower in Pathwe, there is some difference in the ingredients used and the dishes eaten. For example, fish oil, which can be used in cooking was obtained free of charge. It was so plentiful that the villagers even used it as a lubricant for the rice mill and also as axle grease for their bullock carts.

basket PYIDAUNG. Both cost a rupee. One does not seem to be preferred to the other except as getting them allows a bargain to be made. The form is that of a pear shaped body with a square base, measuring about 8 by 8 inches. The basket is constructed in the wicker technique with small, whole reeds. Pathwe: 2. Camp: 1. 415 252 [285]

CHIN DAUNG (storage basket): The form of this basket is a larger version of the measurers. It has, however, an open weave giting a checkered effect to the sides and bottom. It is used to store objects including food. At Pathwe this basket was used in working the IRS. The fish were scooped up, and later washed in them. The two used in camp were brought from Pathwe where they cost Rs. 1/4- Camp: 1, Pathwe: 15 for washing fish. 251 415 [435]

Winnowing trays: Shallow baskets about 2½ feet in diameter and 2 inches high were used as shifting and storage trays. The SAGAW has a rounded base; while the SAGAR has a flat base with fiber walls. Both are made of flat, wide-meshed reeds. The trays used in camp came from Pathwe where they cost Rs. 1/4 each. Pathwe: 1. 243 415

THE CHIN (Marketing basket): This basket is in the general shape of a cylinder, 1½ feet wide and 8 inches high, with open, flat reed sides and a semi-circular handle across the top. It is used to carry objects from market and to store them in the house. Pathwe: 2, Camp: 1. 415

U Myaing expresses the contrast between the camp equipment and that of Pathwe: "These objects in camp are barely sufficient. We have to live as we are. In our own district we had sufficient to pail in boxes. The extra ones were nailed in boxes and only enough were taken out for the seven people who eat. When visitors come, good ones are brought out. Plates for curry, plates for eating rice. There were various kinds." 415 511 178

Food Items

Ma Aye Myaing gave as complete a set of data on the food consumption of her family as she could. The following data is inclusive for the family of seven, both in Pantanaw and the refugee camp. Ma Aye Myaing decides what dishes to cook for each meal of the day, and she does this without any consultation with U Myaing. She does not ask him what he would like for each meal, although sometimes when he expresses a desire for a certain dish she sees to it that it is prepared. She has a free hand in deciding what to cook for each meal in the day. Definitions of the weights and measures used follows in a glossary. The data is organized under the headings of (1) Main dishes and raw foods, (2) supplementary dishes and TO-NAYE (vegetables eaten with NGAPI), and (3) trifles. 262 [593] [128]

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The dishes are briefly described and their contents identified, the amount consumed per unit of time, the source and cost of the food in Pantanaw is compared with the situation in Lowis Road camp. These figures are reduced to quantity and cost per month in table Page 99. for ready comparison.

NGA (Fish): In Pantanaw fish was eaten every other day. Ma Aye Myaing cooked the fish in the form of four separate dishes, alternately about once in two days for one dish. Fish was obtained free sometimes, as in THADINGYUT and TAZAUNGMON months, when U Myaing used to work in the INS. The price of fish at that time was about Re. 1/- per viss. The first dish NGA-CHIN-YE-HIN (fish-sour-liquid-curry) is prepared with tamarind or dried marian fruit, water, salt NGAPE water, chillies and onions. The second dish NGA-ACHOUK-CHET (fish-dry-cooked) is fish salted and fried with pounded chillies and onions. The third dish NGA-HSI-BYAN (fish-oily-cooked) is fish mixed with pounded chillies and onions dehydrated. The fourth dish is fish cooked with vegetables after being mixed with pounded chillies and onions and water, salt, NGAPI water and some oil are added. Fish is also sometimes used in preparing NGA-HSAN-BYOKE (fish boiled in rice) but a lesser amount (25 ticals) is needed than in the case of the other four dishes, where 50 ticals of fish are needed. Rice boiled with fish is eaten sometimes for several days in succession and sometimes about only once in two weeks in Pathee. In the refugee camp fish is eaten only about four times a month when 12½ ticals are consumed at one eating. The fish are bought in MYENIGON market at Rs. 3/-per viss.

PAZUN (prawns): Prawns are prepared in two ways. The first dish which is called PAZUN HSI HMAY or "prawns stirred in oil" dish is prepared by first skinning the prawns, mixing with salt, adding sliced onions, some oil and NGAPI water or NGAN-PYAR-YE (fish juice) and frying. In the second dish, the prawns are skinned, and peeled potatoes, water, some oil, onions, NGAPI water and some vegetable like HNYIT (bamboo shoots) or CHIN BAUNG (Rosemary) are added. Thirty ticals of prawns were consumed at one meal - fifty ticals for both meals of the day. Prawns were eaten once every two or three days at Pantanaw, where they were bought at the rate of 12 annas or a rupee per viss, and sometimes obtained free from searching the INS. In camp the amount consumed is 15 ticals, and this dish is eaten almost every other day. Prawns are bought in MYENIGON market at Rs. 2/8 per viss.

KALA-BE (Indian-dhall):(Dhall: Orga. Cicera stictinum. Linn.) KALA BE are small yellow peas. Some of them have reddish brown skins. They are prepared in two ways by Ma Aye Myaing. One method is by preparing them in water B'SHIN (dhall-curry). The dhall is boiled and pounded: sliced onions, fish juice and sesamum oil are added, additional water is poured in, and the mixture is placed on the fire. The other dish KALA BE GYAW (Dhall fried) is prepared by boiling and pounding dhall and then frying it in oil which has first been placed on fire and cured with sliced onion. Twenty five ticals of dhall at a rupee per viss are consumed at one meal, and dhall was eaten once every six or seven days in Pantanaw. In the camp 25 ticals at Rs. 1/8 per viss are consumed at every meal, and dhall is eaten here sometimes daily, sometimes once in two days.

KYET (chicken): Chicken is prepared by Ma Aye Myaing in either one of three ways. In the first dish "chicken with water", the chicken is cooked with chillies, onions, oil water and fish juice. This is prepared about twice in every eight times chicken curry is cooked. In the second dish KYET-THA-HSI-BYAN (chicken-flesh-oily cooked) or chicken cooked with oil, the same ingredients are used as above with the sole difference that very little water is poured in. This is a preferred manner of cooking and is eaten about six times out of every eight times chicken curry is prepared. The third dish KYET-THA-HSAN-BYOKE (chicken-flesh-rice-boiled) or chicken boiled with rice, is very seldom eaten - only about twice a year. In Pantanaw they used to have

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a whole fowl weighing about 50 to 60 ticals for every meal with chicken. These fowls were bred at home, but were sometimes bought at Rs. 1/8 per viss. They used to have chicken curry three or four times a month, two meals every day that they ate chicken back in Pantanaw, whereas they have not had this dish even once in the past two years.

BE (duck): Duck can be prepared in the same way as the three dishes for chicken i.e. with water (eaten twice in every eight times duck curry is used), with oil (eaten about six times in eight times duck curry is used), and boiled in rice (eaten only about twice a year.) Roast duck is also very seldom eaten i.e. only about twice a year. In Pantanaw duck curry was eaten during eight meals a month. Fifty ticals were consumed at each meal. The ducks were bred at home, but were sometimes purchased for Rs. 2/- per viss. They have not had a single meal with duck curry in the pasttwo years.

AME-THA (beef): Beef is cooked by Ma Aye Myaing only in one way - as AME-THA-HSI-BYAN or beef cooked in oil. This was eaten for about eight meals in the month. At each meal the family consumed 50 ticals at a rupee per viss. They have not had beef for the past two years.

WET-THA (pork): Pork is cooked in two ways - with water and with oil. These dishes are cooked according to the same recipe as for chicken with water and chicken with oil. Pork cooked in water is eaten four times while pork with oil is eaten six times, in every ten times that the family has pork for meals. Back in Pantanaw they ate pork during ten meals a month, consuming in one month 25 ticals at Rs. 2/8 per viss when bought in the village. In the camp pork is eaten about twice a month. 25 ticals at Rs. 4/- per viss are consumed in one meal. In addition to the other two dishes, pork can also be eaten in the form of soup made out of pig's head (pig's head weighs about 3 to 4 viss) or pig's trotter (including a lot of flesh from the shoulder, weighs 60 to 70 ticals), WET-GAUNG-HSU-BYOKE (pig-head-soup-boiled) or WET-CHE-DAUK-HSU-BYOKE (pig-trotters-soup-boiled) as a supplementary dish. This was cooked only back in Pathwe village where people used to kill pigs for sale. In the two years that U Myaing's family have been in the refugee camp they have not had a single meal of pork soup, whereas they were used to having it four or five times a month. A head cost a rupee, and each trotter cost two or three annas. One head is large enough to provide three or four families enough soup for two meals when shared. The other alternative is to have one trotter for each meal.

BE-U (duck's eggs): These were eaten three or four times a month back in Pantanaw, and is another food which the family has not had for the past two years. Eggs cost a rupee a dozen and five eggs were consumed at each meal. They were eaten in three forms BE-U-GYAW (fried) BE U BYOKE (boiled), and BE U BYOKE HIN (cooked with water). Boiled eggs are eaten very seldom, i.e. not even once a month. For ducks' eggs cooked with water, the recipe is the same as for chicken cooked in water, except that the eggs have to be boiled and peeled previous to cooking. This dish was eaten about once in every four times. BE U GYAW or fried duck eggs was liked better and eaten three times in every four.

KA YAN-THEE (Brinjal fruit: Solanum Melongena, Linn.): Brinjal fruit are purple in colour and have various sizes ranging from about an inch in the small KAYAN KYUT-THEE (brinjal-small-fruit) variety to about eight inches long in the larger ones. In the manner of preparation known as KAYAN-THEE-O-GAT(brinjal-fruit-pot-stick) they are fried with dried prawns in oil that has been cured with sliced onions. Five brinjals, costing between two and four annas were eaten at one meal in Pantanaw. This dish was eaten once every three or four days, the brinjals being purchased from Pantanaw market or from other villagers. In camp six brinjals costing four to six annas for six fruits in the MOMNIOON market are needed for one meal. This is eaten once in two or three days.

PE LINGNE THEE (bean-snake-fruit) Snake Gourd: Trichosanthes Anguina, Linn.) are cooked in the same way as brinjals. They were grown at home in Pantanaw and eaten about once every two or three days.

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Two of these gourds were sufficient for one meal. In the refugee camp this curry dish is prepared once in three days. Three gourds, together costing four or five annas were used for every meal. Snake gourds are long and white in colour. They are about one TAUNG or one TAUNG and one span in length and usually have a diameter between 1½" and 2½".

PE THEE (Beans: Vigna Catiang, Walp. Var sinensis.): PE THEE beans are one quarter inch to one third inch in diameter, and are about one TAUNG long. They are cooked in the same way as brinjal. 25 beans, together costing about four annas were eaten at every meal. This dish was cooked about thrice a month in Pantanaw, and between three and five times a month here in camp. PE THEE beans have to be bought in MYENIGON market at the rate of 5 annas for 25 beans.

HSAN (Rice: Oriza Sativa, Linn.): Rice is the staple food of the Burmese. It is eaten after it has been boiled and steamed. In Pantanaw five condensed milk tins of rice were consumed in one meal, ten in two meals. At that time the two younger children were too young to eat much. There were two main meals a day. U Myaing bought paddy and had it husked at the rice mill whenever it was needed. It had to be bought at the rate of Rs. 150/- per hundred baskets. One basket is equivalent to 16 PYIS, each of which takes 8 condensed milk tins. The husking charges came to Rs. 10/- for hundred baskets. One hundred baskets of paddy yeilds fifty baskets of rice at three and one fifth rupees per basket. This comes up to three and one fifth annas per PYI or 1/16th of one basket. The market price at Pantanaw (if bought in the open market) was 5 annas per PYI of rice. In the refugee camp, 11 condensed milk tins of rice are consumed every day. The rice has to be bought in MYENIGON market at 12 annas per PYI. Until about three months ago rice was distributed once every two or three weeks by the government. The amount allotted to U Myaing's family as a whole for one week was 8 PYI and 6 condensed milk tins. This was insufficient, and Ma Aye Myaing explained that although they had for some time previous to that been given enough to feed the whole family, by then the government had reduced the total allotted by the amount of rice one adult would consume.

NGA-YOTE-THEE-ACHAUK (chilly-fruit-dry Chillies: Capsicum Frutescens, Linn.) Pounded chillies which have previously been dried constitute an ingredient in almost every dish that the Burmese people prepare for food. The same may be said of onions. Ma Aye Myaing informs us that back in Pantanaw the chillies consumption for one month was one viss at eight annas for ten ticals, or five rupees per viss. In the camp two one anna packets of dried chillies are used each day. One packet of chillies in Camp contains only 4 or 5, each 1½" long by 1" diameter. Ma Aye Myaing could not estimate the number of ticals in the packet, but a visitor who lives in the camp says that the packets contain only four or five chillies each. These packets have to be purchased at the MYENIGON market.

KYET THUN onions:(Allium cepa, Linn.) One viss of onions lasted ten days back in Pantanaw market at Re. 1/- per viss. In the camp the figures for consumption are the same, but the price in MYENIGON market is eight annas per viss.

AR LU Potatoes:(Solanum tuberosum, Linn) One viss of onions laste ten days back in Pantanaw and fifty ticals lasted only for one dish, which they gave away as HSOON four or five times a month, having one third of a viss for each meal. The price of potatoes in Myenigon market is 10 or 12 annas per viss.

NGA salt:(Sodium chloride:) There was no need to buy any salt for cooking purposes back in Pantanaw. The family used to work a great deal with salt in making NGAPI for the market, and as the cooking need of salt were taken from this supply the daily consumption was not note In camp, however, they have to buy salt at the rate of one anna per ten ticals, which amount will last them for four days. In camp salt is used at every meal, but at Pathee fish juice was used to fulfil most of the functions of salt. Salt was used there by the family only in preparing fish to be fried.

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PAZUN-CHAUK (prawns-dried): Both in Pantanaw and in camp ten ticals of dried prawns lasts about five or six days. The price per viss, however, was Rs. 1/- in Pantanaw, while it is Rs. 1/4 in Myenigon market.

NGAN PYAR YE (fish juice): Fish juice , a viscous liquid, red in colour and salt to the taste is another of the cooking ingredients very widely used in Burmese homes and kitchens. Three large kerosene tins each with a capacity of thirteen viss hold the yearly consumption of NGAN PYAR YE of U Myaing's family in Pantanaw. This item does not involve any special cost since it is nothing but juice which drips from the fish which has been fermenting in the process of NGAPI making. Ma Aye Myaing's family made NGAPI every year. Here in camp, however, the fish juice has to be bought at Rs. 2/8 per viss, and is bought either from Myenigon market or from intinerant sellers. Back in Pathwe it took 5 ticals of NGANPYAR YE to cook a meal while in the camp two ticals are made to suffice. NGAPI YE is light in colour and salt in taste. It is more viscous than NGANPYAR YE and contains some small pieces of fish as well.

NHAN-HSI (Sessamum oil: sessamum indicum, D.E.): Sessamum oil is used every day. In Pantanaw ten ticals of sessamum oil lasts three meals while in camp one tical of oil is used to cook one meal. The price of ten ticals in Pantanaw was 12 annas and in the refugee camp is 8 annas.

KYAN TAGAR (Cane jaggery: sacchhrum officinarum, L.): Two and a half ticals of cane jaggery at each eating were consumed twice a month in Pantanaw. In camp 2½ ticals last one eating and cane sugar jaggery costs two annas for five ticals here as against four annas in Pantanaw.

Supplementary Dishes and TOZAYA

Following are the dishes and ingredients that are usually served as a supplementary dish or as "TOZAYA", le ves of vegetables that are eaten with NGAPI water or fish juice.

BU-THEE (Bottle gourd: Lagenaria vulgaris, ser.): Gourd fruit was eaten three or four times a month in Pantanaw. One gourd fruit varies in size from about 1½ feet by 1 foot to 1 foot by 8 inches. For each meal one slice measuring 1½ feet by two inches was cooked, one such slice of gourd fruit costing an anna. In the camp half of this amount is prepared for a meal once or twice a month. A slice of gourd fruit measuring half of the Pantanaw amount costs 2 annas in the Myenigon market. The method of preparation for gourd fruit is as follows: Peel, wash and slice the fruit into small pieces. Cook with skimmed prawns, NGAN-YAR YE, onions, sessamum oil and water. This is known as BU-THEE-KYAW-CHET and is eaten with rice.

DAN DA LUN-THEE (Drumstick fruit: moringa pterygosperma, Gaertn): One DAN DA LUN fruit measures about 3/4 " in diameter and about 1' long This fruit is prepared by cutting open the stalk, scraping out the inside with a spoon, and then cooking in CHIN YE fashion (as a sour dish) either with prawns or with fish, with tamarind as the sour ingredient, fish juice chillies, and sessamum oil. It is eaten with rice. This fruit was not eaten in Pathwe. In camp it is eaten during two meals in the month. Each meal requires 25 fruit costing 12 annas for 10.

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YONPADE-THEE (Lady's finger, Hibiscus esculentus, Linn.): One fruit is about 3/4 " in diameter and 4" long. In Pantanaw 10 lady's fingers costi g one anna for ten were eaten at every meal. There were about four meals in the month where YONPADE THEE was cooked for curry. It is made into a soup, to be consumed with the main meals of the day. Fish have to be boiled and the bones removed from them. Then they have to be mixed with fish juice and water and place on the fire until it starts to boil, when the fruit has to be put in. The children pour this soup straight onto their bowls, whereas the adults drink this soup from the spoon in the soup bowl. The price of this fruit in camp is 10 for two annas. 10 fruit are consumed here at every meal, but they have cooked this dish only three times in the past year.

KAZUN YWET (Rabbit green: Ipomaea aquatica, Forsk.): KAZUN YWET leaf was eaten during five meals a month back in Pantanaw. One bundle would suffice for a meal and was obtained free from the fields One bundle holds about 25 leaves in one bundle here. It may be prepared as a CHIN YE (sour liquid dish) with fish and NGANPYAR YE and tamarind, onions and water. The leaves have to be cut up and washed, mixed thoroughly with the ingredients mentioned above and placed on the fire. This dish can be poured onto the rice or it can be taken in the same way as soup. The leaves and the fish are eaten together with handfuls of rice. The inclusion of the tamarind makes the dish a CHINYE-HIN. In the refugee camp three bundles of these leaves, costing altogether two annas, are made to last three meals. This dish is eaten during ten meals in the month.

KYAUNG-SHAR-THEE (cat-tongue-fruit) Oroxylum indicum, vent): One KYAUNG SHAR THEE is about 1½' long by 3" wide by 3/4" thick. One fruit was eaten for one meal both in Pantanaw and in camp. This dish was prepared in Pantanaw once in every two or three days while here it was eaten only once last year. This fruit sells in Pantanaw at two for three annas as against two annas each in Rangoon. KYAUNG SHAR THEE is prepared in the following way: First the fruit has to be sliced and washed and then cooked with dried fish, oil onions and NGANPYAR YE. No water or chain is put in. This is KYAUNG-SHAR THEE-KYAW-CHET (cat-tongue-fruit-sweet-cooked) and is eaten after burying in handfulls of rice.

DA NYIN-THEE (Pithecolobium Labatum, Benth.): One DA NYIN-THEE is about 1" to 1½" in diameter and 2" to 1" thick. This small fruit eaten with NGAPI appeared ten for one meal, and almost every day when in season. The ten cost four annas. In Rangoon they are used less frequently - for 5 meals per month and ten fruit per meal. The price here is three or four annas for ten. This cheap food was "eaten whenever desired." This fruit is used as TOZAYA after it is either boiled or baked.

THAYET-YWET (Mango leaf: Mangifera indica, Linn.): The mango leaf is eaten as TOZAYA. The leaf, about 2" to 5" long, 3/4" to one and three quarters inch wide, and 1/8th inch thick, is washed. A piece is then broken off, placed on a rice mound, ngapi oil is poured over, more rice is added, and the concoction is ready to go. The leaf does not need to be boiled. In Pathwe the leaf is used for three meals per month and consisted of 5 leaves for each meal. It was free, and gathered from the tree. The leaf has not been eaten once in camp.

MAYAN-THEE (Marian fruit: Bouea Burmanica, Griff): One marian fruit is about 1½ to one and three quarter inch long and 1" in diameter. Marian fruit, eaten raw or salted was gathered free in Pathwe and eaten six meals per month, six fruit per meal. In camp it was eaten two meals per mohth, six fruit per meal. In camp it was eaten two meals per month six per meal at the cost of one anna for six. It is eaten after being pounded with burnt chilli, dried prawns and mixed with NGAPI water.

HEU-BOKE-YWET (thorn-smelling-leaf: Acacia pennata.): These leaves were eaten five sprigs a meal three meals a month in Pathwe.

They are not eaten at all in the camp. One bundle of these leaves cost an anna in Pantanaw. They are eaten as TOZAYA with NGAPI water. They do not need to be boiled but can be eaten as they are after being washed. For one eating about 45 leaves are needed.

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SHWE-PAYON-THEE, (Golden pumpkin: Cucurbita pepo, D.C.): In Pathwe this fruit was eaten about three or four times a month. One fruit lasted for three meals and costs four annas. It has not been eaten in camp and is not greatly desired. SHWE-PAYON-THEE is cooked with dried fish. The fruit is very large and has to be chopped into pieces and added. Seesamum oil has to be cured with onions, and then the mixture is added to it. NGAN PYAR YE is an ingredient, but not chillies. This dish is eaten after mixing thoroughly with rice or after burying small pieces in small mounds of rice.

THAKWA-THEE (Cucumber: Cucumis sativus, Linn.): Eaten two or three times a month in Pathwe, one fruit measuring about one foot by two inches cost two annas and lasted a meal. It is eaten four or five times a month in camp, but the fruit here measures two inches by eight inches and cost two annas. One fruit is used for one meal. Cucumber can be eaten in two ways - either as a pickle or as a dish. To make pickle dried prawns have to be pounded, cucumber scraped into small slivers, seesamum oil has to be cured with onions and poured onto the cucumber and prawns. Some fish juice and pounded dried chillies are added. This preparation is eaten buried in handfuls of rice. To make the dish, the prawns are skinned and the cucumber peeled. The cucumber is then sliced and mixed with the prawns. Then seesamum oil is cured with the sliced onions, and the mixture of prawns and cucumber is placed in the oil. Some fish juice and little water are also added. This is known as cooking in the KYAW-CHET manner. Food cooked in this way can be either poured onto the rice, or the liquid may be taken as soup and the pieces buried in rice and eaten.

HMO NA DO (Water fern leaves, Marsilea Minuta):
These were obtained free from the fields. One small bundle consisting of about eight were eaten about four times a year in Pathwe. This has been eaten only once since the family's arrival in camp. One bundle costs one anna. It is eaten as TOZAYA with NGAPI. It cannot be made into a dish. It does not need to be prepared in any way, except for washing with water and removing the roots.

HMO (Mushrooms of many variaties): Mushrooms were eaten three times a month in Pathwe using 50 ticals for one meal. They cost two rupees a viss. Not eaten in camp. Mushrooms are cooked with prawns. The prawns are skinned and mixed with cured seesamum oil, onions and fish juice, and a little water is added. This is a KYAW CHET (fried-cooked). Mushrooms cooked in this way are eaten with handfuls of rice.

KAW BI DOKE (Cabbage: Brassica oleracea, Linn., sub-species capitata): One cabbage about seven inches in diameter was eaten at two meals per month costing six annas in Pathwe. In camp the vegetable is eaten two or three times a month, 25 ticals at a cost of three annas per meal. This is eaten with prawns. The cabbage is sliced, seesamum oil cured with onions, fish juice added, and the cabbage fried. This is also eaten either mixed with rice or buried in rice.

KA NAN (crab: Crustacean, Potamon sayanum): Crab has not been eaten by the family at all. It was not eaten because in Pantanaw the crabs were very small and quite unlike the big ones that can be obtained in Rangoon. Owing to this factor they do not know how to cook or do otherwise prepare crabs for food, and now in the camp, even though crabs are available, they do not inquire into the price of crabs. Ma Aye Myaing still does not know how to cook crabs for a meal.

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HNYUNT (tender sprouts of bottle gourd: Lagenaria vulgaris Ser): NU NYUNT soup, consisting of five sprouts costing one anna boiled in water was made four to six times a month in Pathwe. In Rangoon one bundle consisting of two sprouts cost one anna. Two bundles were used for one meal, but eaten only three times during the last year.

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DANDALUN-YWET (leaves of drumstick tree: Moringa pterygosperma, Gtn): A soup is made of this leaf. Fish is boiled and its bones removed; the small leaves are taken from the branch and washed. The prepared fish and NGAN PYAR YE are boiled, and when the water boils over the DANDALUN leaf is added. The adults drink this soup from the spoon in the saucer, while the children pour it onto their plates.

MAGYEE-YWET (Tamarind leaves: tamarindus indicus, Linn): These small leaves were eaten five times a month, five ticals at a meal. They were gathered free from trees around the village. They have not been eaten once in Rangoon because they have not seen the tamarind on sale anywhere. Tamarind leaves can be prepared in two ways: either as a pickle or as a soup. To prepare the soup boil some fish and add NGAN PYAR YE. When the fish boils over wash some tamarind and add to the mixture. This gives a tamarind soup. For a pickle take either dried prawns or dried fish and pound in the pestle; take some tamarind leaves and mix with salt; put in the dried prawns (or dried fish), sliced onions, and also some sesamum oil, and mix thoroughly. It is eaten buried in handfuls of rice.

KYAR-YO (lotus stalk: Nymphea lotus, Linn): The lotus stalk boiled or fried, was eaten three times a month, five for one meal. It was gathered free in Pathwe. One lotus bundle holds two straws. It is not eaten in camp. NGAN PYAR YE is added, the lotus stalk is peeled, and added to the water when it boils over. Adults drink this soup straight from the spoon in the soup saucer.

SAR-LAY-CHI DAUK (
One Sar-lay-chi-dauk bundle measures ¾" in diameter. It has not been eaten in camp but was used for two meals a month in Pathwe. The market price was one anna for one bundle an inch and a half in diameter, but the family usually secured it free. SARLAY-CHI DAUK are small sprouts. Then they are ready for TOZAYA to be eaten with NGAPI water. There is no need to boil them before using them as TOZAYA.

ON SHI YWET (leaves of Bael fruit: Aegle marmelos, Corr): This leaf, eaten raw, was used in three meals a month. One bundle of four to eight leaves was used for each meal, and cost one anna. At camp it was not eaten once. ON SHI YWET are small leaves which are either circular or slightly elongated in shape. One bundle contains 4 to 8 leaves. They are eaten as TOZAYA with NGAPI. Two and a half ticals of this leaf are bought for each meal although they may or may not eat that amount.

SHAUK-THEE-LET-THOKE (citrus fruit-hand-prepared) (preparation of lemon: Citrus medica Linn. var.-acida): This citric fruit is eaten raw - either alone or intermixed with NGAPI and other ingredients. To prepare the lemon as LET THOKE take one lemon, peel it and add pounded green chillies and sliced onions. Then mix the whole thoroughly with powder of dried prawns, fish juice and salt. Eat with handfuls of rice.

HGALUT-YWET (salad leaves leaves of lettuce: Lactuca sativa, Linn.) Lettuce leaves are fried and eaten. They are sliced in sesamum oil cured with onions and eaten with rice. The family did not eat this at all in Pantanaw, while in the camp it is eaten for three meals in the month. Two sprouts at one anna apiece are used for each meal.

MON LAE-YWET (leaves of carrot: daucus carota, Linn.): One MON LAE leaf bundle holds four or five leaves. These leaves are prepared as a CHIN YE with fish, chillies, onions, sesamum and tamarind fruit, dilute in water. The liquid curry is poured onto the rice while the leaves are buried in rice and eaten. This was eaten three meals a month back in Pathwe. One bundle costing one anna and holding six sprouts lasted for one meal. It has not been eaten once here.

TAMAR-YWET (Neem leaves: Azadichata indica A. Juss): One TAMAR leaf bundle holds four or five leaves. These leaves are eaten with NGAPI water as a TOZAYA. They are prepared by singeing in the fire. These leaves were not eaten in Pathwe. In camp they are eaten during two meals a month, one bundle costing an anna being consumed at each

meal.

TAMIR-CHIN (pickled leaves of neem: azadirachta indica, A. Juss): these are specially prepared neem leaves that have been made sour. They are bought from sellers and need no further preparation for eating. For one anna, four to six small stems may be obtained. They were eaten as TOZAYA with NGAPI and rice. They are not eaten here at all, but in Pantanaw the family used to eat it once a month, buying the pickle from boots that come from Upper Burma.

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HPAN-GA-THEE (Fruit of Terminalia chebula, Linn.): One HPAN GAR fruit measures about 1½" by 1" in diameter. This fruit is eaten with NGAPI as TOZAYA. It is eaten raw. A piece of the small fruit (which is about one to one and a half inches long) is bitten off, and placed on a handful or rice. A spoonful of rice is then poured on it, and some more rice is used to cover it, after which the whole handful is conveyed to the mouth. This fruit was not eaten in Pathee. Here it is eaten during four meals in the month. One anna buys ten and ten fruits last one meal.

PEIN NE-THEE (Jack fruit: Artocarpus integrifolia, L): One Jack fruit is one foot to one and three quarters feet in length and six inches to 1 foot in thickness. This big fruit contains between 25 and 40 small fruit inside, and it is these small fruit that have to be eaten. It is eaten as a TOZAYA in its raw and tender stage. While the fruit is still small it is taken from the tree and boiled. Then it is cut up into slices and eaten with NGAPI YE. It was eaten about four times a year in Pathee where one fruit lasted three eatings and cost twelve annas. In camp one fruit lasts two eatings. None were eaten last year; three this year. The seed of the Jack fruit is occasionally boiled and eaten with salt and seesamum oil during the daytime. Even when seeds themselves are purchased they are quite cheap, the cost being only an anna for one condensed milk tin of Jack fruit seeds. Boiled Jack fruit seeds were eaten three times a month in Pathee, where one condensed milk tin full was prepared for each eating. In camp, six seeds costing one anna for the six are eaten at a time, for three times a month when in season.

PAZUN-NGABAUNG-GYAW (prawn-fish mixed-fried. Prawns fried in meal): To make PAZUN-NGABAUNG-GYAW, pound some rice into a flour, remove the heads from some prawns and mix both with salt and water. Place some oil on the fire until it is ready, and then make small flat pieces of the prepared meal and slide into the oil. In a short time the pieces are ready for consumption. The PAZUN NGABAUNG GYAW sold in the streets are about 2½ inches in diameter and contain about 10 small prawns, but those made at home are usually much larger. They are eaten with rice by this family, although this is not absolutely necessary. In Pathee, the prawns and fish oil were obtained free from the INS. This was eaten during six meals a month. At one eating four or five pieces, each containing about ten prawns, were consumed. It has been eaten only once in the camp. Four pieces, costing an anna each were eaten then.

NGA NGABAUNG GYAW (fish-mix-fried. Fish fried in meal) is prepared in the same way as PAZUN-NGAB-UNG-GYAW (prawns fried in meal). Rice is pounded into a flour and mixed with the fish and a small amount of water. Oil is placed on the fire and when ready, the prepared meal and fish are shaped into small flat pieces and placed in the oil. The fried product is then eaten with rice. It may also be eaten by itself as a trifle. NGA-NGAB-UNG-GYAW was not eaten at all in Pathee. In camp it is eaten four or five times a month. One piece costs one anna and three pieces are consumed every time it is eaten.

THAYEE-THEE-THAMAT (Mango-fruit-pickle: mangifera indica, Linn.): Mango pickle is made in the following manner:- The mango fruit are cut in halves and kept overnight in salt water. In the morning they are laid out in the sun to dry. This drying goes on for three or four days and then they are again mixed with salt water and after that steamed in a steam cooker (PAUNG GYAUNG). After this the mangoes are pressed and stored in a small SIN O or earthenware jar. When it is required for eating, large red onions and garlic, sesamum oil, NGAN PYAR YE

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and saffron are mixed with the dried and salted mangoes to make mango pickle. This pickle is eaten with rice. The mango is steamed to make it softer and easier to tear apart. THAYET-THEE-THANAT was eaten during three meals a month in Pathwe, where three or four pieces were consumed at each meal. One piece of mango pickle is about 1/6th of one mango. The pickle was made at home from mangoes that were obtained free of charge. The figures for consumption per meal in camp are the same, but here it is eaten more often - once in every two or three days. One anna's worth of mango pickle lasts two meals here.

MAYAN-THEE-THANAT (Marian-fruit-pickle: Bouea burmanica, Griff.): MAYAN THEE-THANAT has not been made once by Ma Aye Myaing. In Pantanaw no one made this, but in camp they have eaten some which they purchase from Indian women who came around selling it. Ma Aye Myaing does not know how Marian pickle can be made. Marian fruit is also eaten as a flavouring ingredient in dishes, after being sliced into halves and dried in the sun. Fish is chopped and washed, mixed with NGAN PYAR YE, pounded chillies, pounded onions, sessamum oil, water and dried marian. The main ingredient i this dish is fish, and the dried marian is just a flavouring agent. It serves as a flavouring in the NGA-CHIN-YE-HIN dish. Marian pickle is not desired by the family.

ZEE-YO (Plum jam: zizyphus jujuba, Lam.): Plum jam is bought from the sellers. It is eaten as a trifle in the daytime. One annas worth of plum jam weighs about 2½ ticals. In Pantanaw also ZEE YO sellers used to come around to the house; it was much cheaper there than Rangoon since one anna would buy 7½ ticals of plum jam. In Pathwe one tea-cup full weighing about 2½ ticals cost an anna and lasted one meal. ZEE-YO was eaten there only once a month. In camp it is eaten four or five times a month but the consumption per eating has dropped to ½ of one teacup, which costs one anna. One Burmese tea-cup is equivalent to about ½ the standard western teacup.

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THAYET-THEE-HSA-SKIN (mango-fruit-salt-soaked: mangifera indica, Linn): Salted mangoes are eaten with rice as TOZAYA. It is buried in rice and eaten with NGAPI water. To make salted mangoes, wash the required amount of mangoes, mix with salt and place in large earthenware jars. After three days mix salt with water and place on the fire, and then pour the salted water into the jar so that the mangoes inside will be completely submerged. In Pantanaw one salted mango sufficed for one meal, and salted mangoes were eaten once every two or three days. They were salted at home, the cost of making 120 salted mangoes amounting to Rs. 10/- in all. The family has not eaten salted mangoes in camp "even once".

MAYAN-THEE-HSA-SKIN (Marian-fruit-salt-soaked: Bouea burmanica, Griff.): Salted marian is prepared in the same manner as bove. In Pathwe marians were obtained free and salted at home. 1000 marians could be salted for one rupee. Six marians were eaten at each meal, and they were eaten almost every day. Salted marians have not been eaten in camp at all by the family.

NAE-MAT-YO (pineapple jam: ananas sativa, Linn.) has never been made by Ma Aye Myaing. She buys the jam from sellers who come round It can be eaten either by itself or with plain tea in the afternoons. In Pathwe village it was not eaten at all, and in camp they have had it only once, when they ate 5 ticals of jam worth four annas.

THAYET-YO (Mango-jam: mangifera indica, Linn.): It is bought from sellers and usually eaten in the afternoons as a trifle. It has not been eaten at all in camp. In Pantanaw mango jam was made once every year. Mangoes were obtained free and four annas worth of sugar gave ten or fifteen ticals of jam. One teacup was consumed at every eating.

OW-YO (coconut-jam: cocos nucifera, Linn.): Coconut jam has to be bought by pieces. They are usually of bite colour and square in shape. One stick measures 2" by 1½" by ½". They are made by mixing sugar with water and placing on the fire. Coconut scrapings are added, and when the liquid solidifies the hard coconut jam surface is cut up into separate pieces. OWYO was not eaten in Pathwe. In camp it is

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eaten once a month. Three or four sticks, each costing one anna, are consumed at each eating.

BAMBOO-LEAF-PHET-CHAUK (Burmese-tea-dry: Camellia theifera, Griff.): Burmese tea leaves are made into a beverage by simply sprinkling a few leaves in a pot of boiling water. The same leaves can be used to brew two or three pots of plain tea at each occasion of drinking. Burmese plain tea is taken either by itself or together with cane jaggery. Two or three pinches of tea-leaves, each pinch about the size of a betel nut, are necessary for one pot of plain tea both in Pantanaw and in camp. In both places the family drinks two pots a day, but a rupee buys 12½ ticals of tea here as against only 10 ticals in Pathwe.

PEIN-U (Taro tuber: colocasia antiquorum, Schott): This fruit is cooked as a dish. It is peeled, prawns are skinned and mixed with NGANPYAR YE; sesamum oil is cured with onions, water is added, and the whole thing is then cooked. This is a KYAW-CHET dish and has to be eaten with rice. PEIN U has not been eaten once in camp but in Pathwe was eaten during four meals a month. Thirty ticals, costing three annas, were used at each meal.

KAZUN U (Sweet potato: Ipomea Batatas, Poir) is boiled and eaten with salt and sesamum oil. In Pathwe fifty ticals were eaten at one meal. One meal was eaten with KAZUN U every three days. One viss cost six annas in their village. In camp fifty ticals are consumed at each meal, but the price is ten annas for a viss. They have had this dish only once since their arrival at camp.

TRIFLES

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"Trifles" are tid-bits eaten at the end of the meal or between meals. They are usually sweet foods as cakes and candy. The distinction between trifles and some supplementary dishes is not clear and they fall into either catagory depending on the use of the occasion.

MON-YAR-YOE (cake-lotus stalk) is a small elongated trifle, measuring ¼" in diameter, ½ inch in thickness and 5 ticals in weight. One condensed milk tin of treacle rice (KAUK HNYIN) and one condensed milk tin of ordinary white rice are ground together and then mixed with water and made into eliptical balls. These balls are then boiled and eaten with jaggery water and scraped coconuts. They are sold @ one anna each. This trifle was not sold in Pathwe. It is eaten three times a month in camp by the four children who have one each. One MON-KYAR-YOE costs one anna here.

MON-LETKAUK (cake-bangle) is made by grinding together some KAUK-HNYIN and some rice and then frying. In shape the trifle is sometimes long and sometimes is made in the form of whorls. It has to be fried in oil and eaten with jaggery liquid. It was eaten once a month in Pathwe but has not been eaten once in camp. This is in part due to the absence of sellers.

MON-OT-KALAY (cake-cover-small) are small circular trifles with a diameter of about two inches and measuring one inch in the thickest part of the trifle. These trifles are all of one size and are made by first grinding ordinary white rice, then adding some sugar and some coconut scrapeings and then being placed in the special oven for MON-OT-KALAY. This special oven is made of clay and contains several small declivities which give the shape of MON OT KALAY trifles to the prepared meal that is poured in after these moulds have been wiped with oil to prevent the meal from sticking to them. This trifle had

to 2½. Mangoes in season cost four annas for ten. In camp they have eaten mangoes twice in six months, six for one eating, Rs. 1/- for six.

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MAYAN-THEE-AHME (marian-fruit-ripe: Bouea burmanica, Griff.) are eaten in the afternoons, with salt. Similarly with unripe ones. They are also eaten with rice and NGAPI YE. In Pathwe about ten fruits were eaten almost daily when in season.

NGA PYAW-THEE (banana-fruit: Musa paradisiaca, Linn, Sub-sp, sapientum, K. Schum). Bananas are sometimes eaten with rice during the main meals but usually by themselves. In Pathwe one bunch a day containing 13 bananas and costing three annas were eaten during four or five times a month. In camp the same bunch costs four annas and bananas are eaten five times a month.

THAGYAR-LON (sugar-ball) or sweets, and CHO-CHIN (sweet-sour) are bought. Ma Aye Myaing has never seen these being made and hence does not know the process of manufacture. The THAGYAR-LON are round sweets also but are shaped like small orange pods and weighing about six to the tical. They are eaten only in camp. The consumption of sweets is limited to the youngest. She gets 8 THAGYAR-LONS a month at one anna for two and two for an eating; and 18 CHO-CHIN a month at an anna for six and six for one eating.

Ma Aye Myaing gave the following data on the period of the year when the foods used by the family are available.

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Fish is obtained from the fishery in Pathwe from the month of Tawthalin to the month of Pyatho. From the other places in the river, fish was obtained from Tabodwe month to the months of Kason and Nayon. The varieties of fish remain the same in both fishing areas. Shrimps are plentiful in Pyatho month and lobsters in Tasaungmon and Nadaw.

KALA-HE (shell): In common with a great number of peas and beans, KALA HE appears about the month of Tabaung. However, since these are not very perishable, they can be kept in stock for the whole year and made available in any month.

KAYAN-THEE (brinjal): The brinjal plant starts to bear fruit in the month of Pyatho and continues to Kason and Nayon. In Tawthalin and Thadingyut, brinjal fruit was brought to Pathwe from other villages from the fields not on the river banks. Here in Rangoon they notice that brinjal fruit is available all year round.

PE-LINGME-THEE (snake beans) were available during the months of Kason, Nayon, Waso, Wagaung, Tawthalin and Thadingyut.

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In Rangoon many of the plants and vegetables that were cultivated only seasonally back in Pathwe and the other district villages, are cultivated all the year round. The ready market in Rangoon encourages the districts lying just outside Rangoon to produce whatever plants they can and send them to town.

PE THEE (beans): These appeared in Pathwe for 9 months in the year. The first period is from Tasaungmon to Tagu, and the second from Waso to Thadingyut inclusive. In Rangoon this is available all year round.

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HSAN (rice): During the months of Kason and Nayon the paddy grains are sown in the nurseries, and the seedlings are then transplanted to the fields during Waso and Wagaung. In other fields there no transplanting is carried on, the seeds are sown broadcast in Kason and Nayon. There are some species of paddy grain that ripen earlier than the rest. However, from the point of view of the consumer, rice is available all the year round.

NGAYOK-THEE (chillies): The seeds are planted during Waso, Wagaung and Tawthalin and transplanted during Tasaungmon. The chillies

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start to appear at about the month of Tabodwe, and in Tabaung they are plucked, and a second time in Kason and Nayon. In Rangoon, green chillies can be seen the whole year round.

KYET THUN (onions) are available in Rangoon at all times. In Pantanaw also, although onions are seasonal, they could get it all year round.

AR LU (potatoes): They did not have potatoes in Pathwe. They do not know when potatoes are grown and where. They only see potatoes in the market.

P.ZUN-GYAUK (dried prawns). In Rangoon dried prawns are availabl at all times. In Pathwe the prawns are caught in the INS during the month of Pyatho when the water is still. They made only enough for their family.

BU-THEE (bottle gourd fruit). This is ready for consumption from the month of Tabodwe right through Tabaung, Tagu, Kason and Nayon. In Kason and Nayon the fruit becomes less and less plentiful.

KYAUNG SHAR-THEE appears once a year and only about the beginning of the rains. It can be eaten only during the two months of Waso and Wagaung.

D.NYIN-THEE can be eaten from Kason right th[illegible] to Thadingyut, both months inclusive.

THI HO THET is eaten only in the camp. It can be seen in the market now (Tabaung month) but the family does not know the season in which it appears.

M.L.N-THEE (marian fruit) is first eaten during Tabodwe month and continues on till the month of Kason. In Rangoon too it is about the same. M.L.N THEE can be preserved in the form of pickle or as marian-in-salt.

HSU-BYOTE-THET is eaten during the months of Kason, Nayon and Waso. In Rangoon also, it can be eaten only during these months.

SHWE PAYON THEE (golden pumpkin) although it appears seasonally it can be kept for about one year before eating, and is therefore available all year round.

THA KWA THEE (cucumber) can be eaten from Tabaung month till about the month of Thadingyut.

HNO MA DO (water fern) can be eaten only during the rains in the months of Waso and Wagaung.

HNO (mushrooms). Mushrooms appeared in Pathwe three times in the year. Once during Waso month, once in Kason and Nayon and once in the month of Thadingyut. In Rangoon they are available only during two of these seasons- in Waso and in Thadingyut.

KAW BI DOKE (cabbage) is always on sale in Rangoon, while in Pathwe they were eaten mainly during the months of Tagu and Tabaung.

KANAN (crabs). In Pathwe crabs could be obtained during Kason, Nayon, Waso and Wagaung. In Rangoon the crabs on sale are huge ones obtained from the sea and they are available all the year round.

BU NYUNT (tender shoots of bottle gourd) can be eaten in Tazaungmon, Nadaw, Pyatho, Tabodwe and Tabaung.

MAGYEE THET (tamarind leaves) are eaten only during the months of Kason and Nayon, both in Pathwe and in the refugee camp.

KYAR YOZ (lotus stalk). In Pathwe this appears during the four months of the rainy season - Waso, Wagaung, Tasthalin and Thadingyut.

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After that it disappears from the market. The family has not seen this once in Rangoon.

SAILAY CHI KAUK appears at the same time as HMO MA DO (water fern) during the rainy season, and can be eaten only during Waso and Wagaung.

CH SHI-YET can only be eaten in the months of Tabaung and Tagu. They are perishable and are not consumed outside of these two months, whether in Rangoon or in Pathwe.

SHUK-THEE (large lemons) both in Rangoon or in Pathwe are eaten during the rains-Waso, Wagaung, Tawthalin and Thadingyut.

MON-KYAR-YO was eaten only at charities, and very seldom made at home. U Myaing remembers seeing this during the months of Pyatho, Kason and Nayon. In Pathwe they used to have this at the charity during the month of Wasp - at the beginning of the Buddhist lent. In the camp they did not have this trifle during Waso.

MSA LUT is always available here, while it was not available at all in Pathwe.

MON-LAR-YWET. In Pathwe, this leaf was eaten during Thadingyut and Tazaungmon. In Rangoon, Ma Aye Myaing sees it in the market all through the year.

PEDI-BIN-PAUK (bean sprouts) were eaten during Kason, Nayon Waso and Wagaung back in Pathwe. This can be had any time in Rangoon.

TAMAR-GYIN (pickle of neem leaves) are available all year round in Rangoon, while in Pathwe they could be bought only in Tazaungmon and Nadaw from the country boats that came down from Upper Burma.

HPAN-GA-THEE. In both Pathwe and Rangoon, this fruit can be obtained only during the months of Waso and Wagaung.

PEIN NE-THEE (Jack fruit) can be eaten during the months of Tabaung, Tagu, Kason, Nayon and Waso. There were not many Jack fruit trees in Pathwe.

PEIN-U. The season for PEIN U is the same both in Pathwe and in the refugee camp. It stretches from Thadingyut through to Nadaw both months inclusive.

ZEE-THEE (plums) appear on the trees from Tabaung to Tagu, but are available in dried form all throughout the year. Also as pickle.

TAN BYAR-THEE-HGA-SEIN (salted limes) are obtained from boats that come from Upper Burma during Tazaungmon and Nadaw. There were no plants in Pathwe, and U Myaing does not know the season for limes.

NAMMAT-THEE (Pineapples) are available during Waso and Wagaung, both in Pathwe and in the refugee camp.

OH-THEE (coconuts). There were coconut palms back in Pathwe and coconuts could be had all year round. U Myaing does not know about Rangoon.

GYIN-THOKE. In Pathwe they ate this only at festivals and charities. In Rangoon it has to be bought if they desire to eat it.

KYAN (sugar cane) is plentiful in Pathwe during the months of Tawthalin, Thadingyut and Tazaungmon. It is available in greatly reduced quantity during the other months. U Myaing and family do not know the seasons in which sugar cane makes an appearance in Rangoon.

MALAKAR-THEE (guava fruit). The season for guava fruit is during the four months of Kason, Nayon, Waso and Wagaung. This holds true both for Pantanaw and the refugee camp.

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PEIN NE THEE TOZAYA (Jack fruit tozaya) was not eaten there because it was expensive. In Rangoon, Jack fruit can be eaten as TOZAYA from Tabaung. They do not know how long the season for this fruit lasts.

PE-NYIT (Goa bean roots) was not found at all in Pathwe. In Rangoon, it is eaten only for about one month - during the month of Tazaungmon.

PALAW PINAN-U. In both refugee camp and in Pantanaw this tuberous root is eaten during Thadingyut, Tazaungmon and Nadaw.

KAUK HNYIN-BAUNG (steamed treacle rice) is eaten most frequently during the months of Thadingyut, Tazaungmon and Nadaw. It is not eaten much during the other months of the year.

BEIN-MON. This trifle was not made at all in Pathwe. In camp it is available all year round.

PE GYAW (beans fried in meal). PE-GYAW is eaten in Rangoon throughout the year. In Pathwe it was usually made only in the months of Thadingyut, Tazaungmon and Nadaw.

MON-PYIT SALET is eaten here all the time, but in Pathwe only during the months of Pyatho and Tabodwe.

MON-KYO-LEIN is also eaten here all the time and in Pathwe only during Pyatho and Tabodwe.

MON-SEIN-BAUNG. In Pathwe MON SEIN BAUNG was eaten mainly during Kason, Nayon, Waso and Wagaung. In Rangoon it is made all the year round.

MON-OW NAUK. In Rangoon it was made very occasionally and without any regard to the time of the year.

HTANYET-CHAUNG (sticks of jaggery) were not made at all in Pathwe, In the refugee camp this trifle made an appearance only for one month - the month of Pyatho.

PATTANI was not found at all in Pathwe, while it is available here all throughout the year.

PE-BYOTE (boiled beans) is eaten here all the year but in Pathwe it made an appearance only during the four months of Waso, Wagaung, Tawthalin and Thadingyut.

THAR GU (a[illegible]) was not sold in Pathwe at all. In Rangoon it can be eaten at any time in the year.

MON-LET HAINNG was made in Pantanaw only during two months of the hot season. In Rangoon it is made during the eight months that comprise the hot and cold seasons.

MON-LEIT PYAR can be obtained in Rangoon at any time in the year. In Pathwe it was made only the two months of Tazaungmon and Nadaw. Fishermen living in places more remote from town than Pathwe come to Pathwe and exchange Ngapi and other products for the trifles like MON-LEIT-PYAR that are made there.

KHAUK MON was not found in Pathwe. In Rangoon this trifle is always on sale.

BU-THEE-GYAW (fried gourd fruit) is available in Rangoon all the time and in Pathwe during the eight months when the bottle gourd is in season.

THAYET THEE (mango fruit) is in season both in Pathwe and in Rangoon during the months of Tabodwe, Tabaung, Tagu, Kason and Nayon. There are also other species, like the Bengal mango which bears fruit

during the months of Waso andWagaung. Mangoes can be preserved in the form of pickle or of salted mangoes. In Rangoon, ripe mangoes can be obtained all year round since some are laid by in cold storage, but they are very expensive out of season and cost about three rupees each. 2620 [369] [251]

MAYAN THEE AHME (ripe mariens) appear during the months of Tabaung, Tagu, Kason and Nayon. In Nayon month the output of marian fruit lessens.

Consumption of NGAPI YE: NGAPI YE is available all the year round. In Pantanaw it was eaten every day for both meals of the day. Ten ticals of NGAPI YE lasted the family four meals. In camp it is consumed only occasionally - about four days in the month. Two and one half ticals are taken with each meal and this would add up to twenty ticals for the eight meals in the month.

Consumption of firewood: If all the firewood needed by the family in camp had to be bought, the consumption of firewood per month in the camp would amount to 200 pieces of Kanazoe wood at the rate of Rs. 4/- per 100 pieces. About 3 months ago they found that they did not need to buy any firewood at all as they could gather a sufficient amount of brushwood to serve in its place; but now none of the members of the family remain free to go in search of brushwood and all their requirements have to be bought. 313

In Pantanaw, their needs of firewood for cooking were filled by three huge Koko trees which they owned. This was also supplemented by the wood that they had to buy for processing the fish. Three tons of firewood would last 1½ or 2 months, costing Rs. 25/- per ton. The firewood for cooking did not cost anything beyond the two or three rupees that had to be paid to the person who cut down the branches.

Consumption of PAUK PAUK PYIN: This is not found in Rangoon at all. In Pantanaw it was eaten at charities, particularly the Waso month charity. Each member of the family ate about 10 ticals each, and 40 or 50 ticals were needed for all. This was eaten only once a year and even then not necessarily every year. 262 [796]

KAYE KAYAR is eaten in camp only about once a year. This is the Rangoon equivalent of PAUK PAUK PYIN. KAYE KAYAR is different in having no oil in it. One anna's worth weighs five ticals and six or seven people eat an anna's worth each at one sitting.

In Pantanaw bread was sometimes eaten at SHIN PYUS (novitiation ceremonies). MON-HIN-GA was eaten at the beginning of the Buddhist lent, when PAUK PAUK PHIN, MON KYAR YOE and MON SEIN BAUNG were also eaten sometimes. KAUK HNYIN BAUNG was eaten at this time and also at U Myaing's daughter's naming ceremony. GYIN THOKE, LAPHET and tea were served during novitiation ceremonies, and Mandalay HTO MON was eaten during the naming ceremony. Sweet tea was also served during marriage ceremonies. Rice and curries were eaten at some of the bigger festivis. KAUK HNYIN was prepared for almost every ceremony or festival. [796]

In Rangoon, U Myaing had MON HIN GA and sweet tea on the full moon of Tasaungmon from a charity in the THAYET-TAW KYAUNG-TAIK. He also had some MON-HIN-GA not long ago at a head washing ceremony for a child. There are no charities held in the camp enclosure. [796]

Addenda

●262 The following foods are added to list above. They are mainly supplementary dishes and trifles.

KYET HIN G. THEE (bitter gourd fruit dish) is characterized by a bitter taste. It was not used in Pathwe. In camp they have cooked this dish three times (three meals) for Daw Aw Zar when she fell sick. this was to clear away the bad taste in the mouth which she then experienced. Each meal required one fruit which cost one anna and weighed five ticals. KYET HIN GA THEE is not eaten at all otherwise.

KYET THUN BIU (garlic). In Pathwe one anna's worth of garlic weighs 2½ ticals, which is sufficient for cooking three meals with. Ma Aye Myaing could not remember the number of meals in which garlic is used, but she said that between twenty five and thirty ticals were consumed in each month. In the camp garlic is used during 40 meals a month. One anna buys 2 ticals, which lasts for 4 meals.

MON LAR U (radish). Pyatho and Tabodwe are the two Burmese months in which MON LAR U is in season. In Rangoon it can be obtained all through the year. Each eating in Rangoon requires six of these, weighing altogether 15 to 20 ticals, and costing 2 annas for the six. They are eaten 4 or 5 times a month here. In Pathwe MON LAR U was eaten 3 or 4 times a year. Six of them weighing 15 to 20 ticals in all are consumed at each eating. They were obtained in Pathwe in exchange for NGAPI.

NGAYOTE LAUNG ZE (pepper corns, Zea Mays, Linn.) are used as a soup both in Pantanaw and in camp. In the camp one meal requires ten pepper corns or one anna's worth. In Pantanaw also the figures were the same - one anna for ten corns for one meal. In both places this was eaten 3 or 4 times a year.

HIN NY NAE (The spinach: spinacia oleracea, Linn.) is also eaten as a KYAW CHET and as a soup. This was not eaten at all in Pathwe although it was very cheap. They had not known how it would taste. In camp it has been consumed only once, and that time as a soup. On that occasion, 2 bundles containing 5 sprouts each were used. Each sprout weighed 10 ticals andcost an anna.

MON HNYIN (The mustard: Brassica Nigra, Koch) was not found at all in Pathwe. In the refugee camp they have eaten it during the months of Pyatho and Tabodwe. During those two months they had this for six meals, but not once since then. Two annas buys three sprouts of the MON HNYIN plant. This is eaten either as CHIN YE and also after being fried.

MEZALI LE-VEE (the mezali, Cassia sianea, Lam.,) have been eaten only once before in the camp. On that occasion they were fried with prawns. The leaves, weighing about fifteen ticals, cost two annas. In Pathwe MEZALI le ves were obtained free and eaten during about six or seven meals a year. About fifteen to twenty ticals were necessary for each eating.

MAN MAN leaves (The coriander, coriandum sativum, Linn.) Coriander leaves are eaten only during the month of Pyatho which is the only month in which these leaves are in season. They were eaten in Pantanaw as TOZAYA by the family. In that single month they ate coriander leaves as TOZAYA during twenty meals. At each of these meals they consumed from seven and a half to ten ticals, costing about two or three annas for that amount. In Rangoon MAN MAN leaves can be obtained all the year round, but they have been eaten only during three or four meals within the past twelve months. Each eating required between two and a half ticals and five ticals, costing two annas.

PE NGAPI (soya sauce, Glycine soja, Sieb) has not been eaten by the family.

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HAS MYIN or Ha MYIN (The tumeric: curcuma longa, Linn). In Pantanaw one anna could buy two and a half ticals of tumeric which will last two or three months because it is used just to counteract the offensive smells of some fish and prawns and meat, and for this purpose just a pinch is sufficient. Thus in Rangoon the family has used only two annas worth of tumeric during the past twelve months. Three annas' worth of tumeric in the refugee camp is about equivalent to one anna's worth here. This was used in every meal both in Pantanaw and in camp.

PAZUN DOKE (The Crayfish: Astacys sp.) Crayfish is available during the rains and during the working of the INS are obtained free. Each eating in Pantanaw required thirty to forty ticals at Rs. 2/- per viss. This was eaten during three or four meals a month. In Tawthalin, Thadingyut and Tazaungmon they are obtained free. PAZUN DOKE were available all the year round. In the refugee camp crayfish have not been eaten once.

HT.W MYIT (Palmyra root: Borassus flabellifer, Linn.) Palmyra root was eaten once in Pathee, when some people who came down from Upper Burma brought them down and gave U Myaing's family about two or three hundred as a present. They are eaten after baking. In Rangoon they buy this root if they desire to eat it. U Myaing is the only one in the family who has eaten it here, and even he has had it only once. He bought two roots for two annas, and each of them weighed about one and a half or two ticals.

AMO.BLUT or THIN U (The Arrowroot: Curcuma angustifolia, Roxb.,) was obtained back in Pantanaw through the medium of barter. The season for arrowroot is Tazaungmon and Nadaw and was eaten once or twice in each of these two months. About fifty to sixty ticals were consumed at each eating at six annas per viss. Here in camp one anna's worth (2½ ticals) is eaten by U Myaing at each eating, which is only when he goes to town. U Myaing has eaten it four to six times during the last year. He consumed one anna's worth at each eating.

MIN GUT-THEE (The mangosteen: Garcinia mangostana, Linn.,). Mangosteen fruit is not eaten in Rangoon at all by the family and in Pathee it was eaten only for its value as a part of a prescribed medicinal diet. There it was eaten about once a year when U Myaing returned from his business trip to Rangoon and brought back about fifteen fruit costing two or three rupees. [278]

DURIN THEE (The durian, Durio zibethinus, D.C.) has not been eaten once here. In Pathee it was eaten only when U Myaing returned from his trip to Rangoon. Only two or three Durian fruit were consumed in a year. These fruit cost between Rs. 1/4 and Rs. 1/8 for each. Each fruit has a spiky covering and weighs about 60 to 70 ticals. There are several sections within and each contains a big seed which is itself inedible.

LEIN M.W THEE (oranges) have been eaten three times here. They have to be bought for Daw Aw Zar five for Rs. 1/- at a time, and the others share her oranges whenever she eats them.

NGAPI GYAW . In camp eight or ten annas' worth of NGAPI GYAW lasts one meal and weighs about twelve and one half ticals. This has been eaten ten or fifteen times during the past year. It was eaten in Pathee for every meal during ten out of the twelve months of the year. The NGAPI was obtained free in Pantanaw. (See section in "Work" for method of making NGAPI.)

NGAPI .YL.R CHET. This is NGAPI cooked as in Upper Burma, that is, mixed with tamarind, etc., to flavour it with sour ingredients. This was eaten only during about two or three meals in the year. Twenty to twenty five ticals lasts two meals. In the last twelve months this has been eaten five or six times. Eight annas buys ten ticals of NGAPI here.

NGAPI YE CHO (NGAPI mixed with water). Ten ticals lasts three

●262 merls. Ten ticals cost four annas. This form of NGAPI is eaten during ten months out of twelve, two meals every day. In Pathwe it was eaten twelve months out of twelve. Each eating required about two and a half ticals or three ticals. This was obtained free.

KHAUK HSWE (Wheat noodles) were not eaten in Pathwe except by U Myaing who ate it three or four times a month in Pantanaw town. At each eating he consumed about 8 annas' worth. It has been eaten only once here - cooked with chicken as a soup. On that occasion they ate 25 ticals worth eight annas.

GWE THEE is not eaten here. In Pathwe it was obtained free from Karen plantations. Only about ten or fifteen fruit were eaten in the whole year. These were very small fruit weighing one tical each and quite unlike the larger town variety.

ZI BYU THEE (Plum-white-fruit). One condensed milk tinful of ZI BYU THEE cost one anna. This was eaten only three or four times a year. One condensed milk tin is sufficient for two meals. In Rangoon during the last twelve months they have eaten itten times in all. One anna buys five or six fruit. It is cooked as a dish.

MON LON GYI is made with peas, coconut, and sugar. They are round trifles, the outside coverings of which are made of ground KAUK HNYIN and rice, mixed with water and steamed in a PAING GYAUNG. PE LUN beans are then boiled and mixed with coconut scrapings and sugar, after which this mixture is placed in the round outer coverings each of which weighs about five ticals. These balls are then fried in oil. In Pathwe this was available all the year round, and was eaten about twenty to twenty-five times a year. Each eating took six one anna pieces, each weighing about six ticals. They have not seen this trifle in Rangoon at all.

PE MON HSOT (Rice - mixed). This comes in the form of round white balls. Peas are mixed with white rice flour which has been made into a dough with the addition of water. This is then made into round balls which are sliced and sold. In Pantanaw each eating for the six members of U Myaing's family required twenty ticals. This was eaten six or seven times a year and available all year round. It is not eaten here and in fact is not found here at all.

MON PAING DJING. First, rice is ground and then mixed with water and jaggery and steamed, and then eaten with pounded sessamum seeds and salt, and coconut scrapings and oil. In Pantanaw about one condensed milk-tin of rice was sufficint for all the members of the family for one meal. If this trifle was purchased one anna s worth weighing five ticals, was consumed by each one. This was eaten about five or six times a year in Pantanaw. In the camp this has not been eaten and has not been seen at all. U Myaing, however, concedes that it may be sold in Rangoon, in these localities which they do not frequent "Rangoon being such a big city."

MON HSAN appears in Pathwe during the month of Tazaungmon. KAUK HNYIN (sticky rice) has to be roasted and then pounded, resulting in a glutinous mass which has to be then eaten either with sugar of coconut. Each eating in Panataw required about one to one and a half PYI of KAUK HNYIN for the whole family. This measure of treacle rice yields about four condensed milk tins of MON HSAN. When bought one condensed milk tin of MON HSAN cost two annas. They usually bought five or six milk tins full of this trifle for every one in the immediate family as well as some of the closer relatives who lived in the village. In Pantanaw it was eaten only once a year in the month of Tazaungmon. In Rangoon it has not been eaten once as yet by the family.

HSA HNYIN MA KIN . Rice flour is mixed with water and placed on fire and tumeric is mixed with it. It has to be eaten with coconut milk. In Pantanaw it was eaten about two or three times a year, since it was available only during the months of Thadingyut and Tazaungmon when the sellers start making this trifle. At each eating the family consumed six to eight annas' worth, weighing about thirty ticals for consumption for the whole family. In camp it has not been eaten at all

because they do not feel like doing so.

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(Chinese bird nest)

KYAUK CHAW is made by boiling strands of gelatinous material until the separate strands dissolve. When this is allowed to cool, it solidifies, and it is then cut up and sold either as a trifle in the form of slabs, or as a cooling drink after being cut up into very small pieces and mixed with iced water and sugar. In Pantanaw this was sold during Tabaung and Tagu months in the hot season. Six to eight annas' worth were bought at a time, one anna's worth weighing five ticals. This was eaten in Pantanaw about ten times a year. In Rangoon they have not had this at all because "they do not feel like it."

MON-KYWE-THE. One PYI of rice is ground into a rice flour and is mixed in water with one viss of jaggery. The whole mixture is then boiled in water until the rice paste and the liquid jaggery solidifies again, when some lime and soda are poured in. The trifle is then ready for sale or home consumption. It has to be eaten with coconut scrapings. In Rangoon and in Pantanaw it was eaten two or three times a year during the months of Kason and Nayon, and the months of Tasaungmon and Nadaw. In camp it is sold all year and eaten about fifteen times in the month, but the two small children are the only consumers from the family. Five ticals (one anna's worth) sometimes suffices for the two of them and sometimes they have to be given five ticals each.

ZAUNG YA-THEE is a TOZAYA and eaten either with NGAPI water or with salt. These fruit are about three or four inches long, and are made up of four or five flat sections. One flat edge of each of these sections meets the others in the pith of the fruit, with the consequence that a cross section of the fruit reveals the shape of a star. Each ZAUNG YA fruit weighs between five and ten ticals and is sufficient for the whole family for one meal, as it is extremely sour. In Pathee these were available only during the months of Kason and Nayon - that is, the months just before the rainy season. ZAUNG YA fruit was eaten only about once or twice a year. They had to be bought at one anna each and sometimes obtained them free. They are not used in Rangoon.

Sample Meals

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The type and quality of food prepared for consumption in one day (two meals) in camp for the family was analysed. Both meals consisted of boiled rice plus a single dish or curry. The trifles eaten during the day are also noted. Ma Aye Myaing was asked to save identical amounts of the food eaten. The eldest daughter was absent during the day so the food was consumed by a Aye Myaing, U Myaing, Daw Aw Zar and the three younger daughters (6 all told).

First Meal (7:30 a.m.)

The rice was boiled and steamed; the other ingredients were fried together into a curry dish (PAN MONLA and PUZUN GYAN - cauliflower and prawn fry). The weight of the items are given below in grams.

Item	Weight in Grams
HSAN (rice: oriza, LINN.), 4½ tins, dry.....	1124
Water for boiling rice.....	1530
PAN MONLA (Cauliflower: Brassica oleraces, LINN., Sub-species botrytis), 2.....	481
PAZUN ZIET (prawn: carago Sp.).....	122
Sesamum oil	59
KYET-THUN-U-GYI (onions: Allium cepa, LINN.), 4.....	52
NGAN-PYAR-YE (fish water).....	11
NGANYOK-THEE (dried red chillies pounded: capsicum annuum, LINN.).....	12
salt (sodium chloride), plain.....	9
BAMA LA PHET CHAUK (tea leaves: camellia thea, link).....	5
Total	3405

3 trifles MONSAN, MA-YWAY (puffed rice sticks held together with jaggery) each measuring 2" by 3½" by 1" and weighing in all 126 grams were eaten by the 3 children in the late forenoon. (Jaggery is juice of palmyra palm. BORASSUS FLABELLIFER, LINN.)

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Second Meal (5:00 p.m.)

Steamed rice was eaten with a fish curry dish (NGA BYAY MA CHIN HIN)

Item	Weight in Grams
Rice (same type and amount as 1st meal)	1124
Water for boiled rice.....	1530
NGA PYAY MA (climbing Anabas testiduna), 13 fish.....	281
Garlic.....	6
Onions.....	15
Chillies (pounded).....	22
MA GYI-THEE (tamarind)	37
Salt	10
Sesamum oil	28
NGAN-PYAR-YE	23
Water used in curry	261
Total	3337

In the afternoon 1 anna's worth of PE KWAY GYAW trifle (grounded grams fried in groundnut oil after moulding, Grams are chick pea: Cicer arietinum, LINN., groundnuts are peanuts: Arachis hypogaea, LINN.) weighing 32 grams were bought for the children.

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Table:- An average estimate of major Foods consumed by U Myaing's family. (Number of meals per month over quantity per meal in parenthesis.)

Item	Food consumed in Pathus	Food consumed in Camp
HSAN (rice)	60 (5 milk tins)	60 (5½ milk tins)
Fish	30 eaten when other meats not eaten. (30 ticals)	4 (12½ ticals)
Prawns	10 (25 ticals)	15 (15 ticals)
KALAHE (Small beans)	5 (25 ticals)	25 (25 ticals)

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Item	Food consumed in Pathwe	Food consumed in Camp
Chicken	8 (whole fowl) 50-60 ticals	0
Duck	8 (50 ticals)	0
Beef	8 (50 ticals)	0
Pork	10 (25 ticals)	2 (25 ticals)
Duck eggs	3 (5 eggs)	0
MHANYAN THEE (brinjal fruit)	7 (5 fruits)	10 (16 fruits)
PE LINMOE THEE (snake gourd)	8 (2 gourds)	10 (3 gourds)
PE THEE (beans)	3 (25 beans)	4 (25 beans)
NGAYOTE THEE ACHAUK (dried chillies)	60 (1/20 viss)	60 (5 chillies)
KYET THUN NI (onions)	60 (1/20 viss)	60 (1/20 viss)
AR LU (pot atoes)	4 Prepared only for pongyis. (50 ticals)	5 (33 ticals)
HSA (salt)	With fried fish only (12½ ticals a month).	60 (1.3 ticals)
NGAN PYAR YE (fish juice)	60 (5 ticals, 6 spoonfuls)	60 (2 ticals - 2 spoonfuls)
HNAN HSI (Sessamum oil)	60 (3.3 ticals)	60 (1 tical)
KYAN TAGAR (cane jaggery)	2 (2½ ticals)	5 (2½ ticals)
HTIN (firewood)	60 (5 pieces)	60 (3 pieces)
BAMA LAPHET CHAUK (tea leaves)	60 (2.5 teaspoons ful)	60 (2.5 teaspoon fuls)
BU THEE (gourd fruit)	4 (1 slice 1 ½' by 2")	2 (½ slice)
DAN DAJUN THEE (drumstick fruit)	0	2 (25 fruits)

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(continued)

Item	Food consumed in Pathwe	Food consumed in Camp
YON PADE THEE (Lady's finger fruit)	4 (10 fruit)	.25 (10 fruit)
KAZUN YWET (Rabbit green leaf)	5 (1 bundle)	10 (1 bundle)
KYAUNG SHAR THEE (fruit)	10 (1 fruit)	.1 (1 fruit)
DANYIN THEE (small fruit)	Every day in season. (10 fruits)	5 (10 fruits)
THAYET YWET (Mango leaf)	3 (5 leaves)	0
MAYAN THEE (Marian fruit)	6 (6 fruits)	2 (6 fruits)
HSU BOTE YWET (Acacia leaves)	3 (5 leaves)	0
SHWE PAYON THEE (golden pumpkin)	4 (½ fruit)	0
THAKWA THEE (cucumber)	3 (1 fruit 1' by 2")	5 (1 fruit 8" by 2")
HMO MA DO (water fern leaves)	.4 (8 leaves)	.1 (8 leaves)
HMO (mushrooms)	3 (50 ticals)	0
KAW PI DOK (cabbage)	2 (1 cabbage 7" diam.)	3 (25 ticals)
BU NYUNT (tender shoots of bottle gourd)	5 5 sprouts	.25 4 sprouts
MA GYEE YWET (tamarind leaves)	5 (5 ticals)	0
KYAR YO (lotus stalk)	5 (5 stalks)	0
SAR LAY CHE DAUK (sprouts)	2 (1 bundle)	0
OH SHI YWET (leaves of bael fruit)	3 (6 leaves)	0
SHAUK THEE (large lemons)	0	3 (½ fruit)
MON KYAR YOE trifle (lotus stalk shaped trifle)	4 trifles	0
MON LET SAUK trifle (bracelet shaped trifle)	0	3 (4 trifles)

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Item	Food consumed in Pathwe	Food consumed in Camp
MON OT KALAY trifle (small cover trifle)	0	2½ (8 trifles)
MON SALIN DAUNG trifle. (circular trifle)	0	4 (4 trifles)
HSALOT TWET (leaves of lettuce)	0	3 (2 sprouts)
MON LAR TWET (carrot leaves)	3 (6 sprouts)	0
PEDI BIN BAUK (bean sprouts)	0	(once only) (25 ticals)
TAMAR TWET (leaves of neem)	0	2 (1 bundle)
HPAN GA THEE (fruit)	0	4 (10 fruits)
PEIN NE THEE (Jack fruit)	.3 (½ fruit)	.25 (½ fruit)
PAZUN NGABAUNG GYAW (prawns fried in meal.)	6 (40 prawns)	.1 (20 prawns)
NGA NGABAUNG GYAW (fish fried in flour)	0	4 (3 fish pieces)
THAYET THEE THANAT (mango pickle)	3 (4 pieces)	10 (4 pieces)
MAYAN THEE THANAT (marian pickle)	0	Sampled only
ZEE YO (plum jam)	1 (1 tea cup)	5 (½ teacup)
THAYET THEE HSA SEIN (salted mangoes)	10 (1 mango)	0
MAYAN THEE HSA SEIN (salted marians)	Almost every day (6 marians)	0
NAR NAT YO (pineapple jam)	0	once only (5 ticals)
THAYET YO (mango jam)	.25 (1 teacup)	0
KAZUN U (sweet potato)	10 (50 ticals)	once only (50 ticals)
MON LAR U GYAW (fried carrots)	3 (30 ticals)	0
THIN BAW THEE CHIN YE (Sour dish of paapiya fruit)	4 (30 ticals)	0
NAR LAY CHI GYAW	0	every day 5

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Item	Food consumed in Pathwe	Food consumed in Camp
PEIN U (taro tuber)	4 (30 ticals)	0
GYIN THOKE (mixed ginger dish)	.4	5 (5 ticals)
AR PON (concave shaped trifle)	Every day (4 ticals)	0
KYAN (sugar cane)	6 (7 stalks)	occasionally (4 stalks)
KYET THUN GYAW (fried onion trifle)	3	3 (4 pieces)
MALAKAR THEE (guava fruit)	6 (5 fruits)	almost every day (12 fruits)
PEIN NE THEE TOZAYA (Jack fruit as TOZAYA)	.9 (1 fruit)	.4 (1 fruit)
PAUK PAUK HSOTE (puffed rice trifle)	3 (3 teacupsful)	0
KAYE KYAR (puffed rice trifle)	2 (12.5 ticals)	0
PAUK PAUK PYIN (puffed rice with jam trifle)	"widely consumed"	0
NANAT THEE (pineapple)	0	4 (1 fruit)
PE MYIT (Goa bean roots)	rarely	only once (6 roots)
PALAW PINAN (Tapioca tubers)	2 (50 ticals)	2 (10 ticals)
MIN HINGA (bitter curry	4 (50 ticals)	5 (2½ ticals)
KAUKHYIN BAUNG. (steamed treacle rice)	3 (25 ticals)	Every day (15 ticals)
BEIN MIN (wheel-shaped trifle)	3 (20 ticals)	2
PE GYAW (fried peas in meal)	4 (4)	2 (4)
MIN PYIT SALET ("worthless" cake trifle)	4 (4)	2 (4)
MIN KYO LEIN (twisted rope trifle)	5 (6)	4 (6)
MIN SEIN BAUNG (steamed raw trifle)	10 (20 ticals)	.2 (20 ticals)
MIN GE HNAUK (brain trifle)	2 (15 ticals)	0
MIN KYWE THE (cake-buffalo-heart)	.25 (5 ticals)	15 (8 ticals)

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Item	Food consumed in Pathwe	Food consumed in Camp
HT.NYET CHAUNG (jaggery sticks trifle)	0	10 (3)
PE GYI LLAW (roasted big beans trifle)	5 (12½ ticals)	8 (10 ticals)
MAY BE (groundnuts or peanuts)	4 (two condensed milk tins)	2 (4 ticals)
PATTANI (pea seed trifle)	0	.1 (4 annas worth)
PE BYOTE (boiled beans)	every morning (12½ ticals)	every morning (12½ ticals)
THAR GU (sago)	2 (6 saucers)	.4 (6 saucers)
MON LET HSAUNG (trifle made by cooling)	5 (4 cups)	3 (4 cups)
MON LEIT PYAR (Butterfly trifle)	0	6 (20 ticals)
KHAUK MON (trifle folded in half)	0	6 (2)
BU THEE GYAW (fried gourd fruit)	4 (7)	0
NGA PYAN GYAW (fried plantains)	3 (13)	0
KEE THEE (plum)	4 (2 milk tins)	0
MAYAN THEE AHEE (ripe marians)	5 (10)	Almost every day in season (30)
THAMEE THEE AHEE (ripe mangoes)	5 (10)	.3 6
NGA PYAN THEE (bananas)	5 (13, 1 bunch)	5 (1 bunch)
THAGYAR LON (sugar ball candy)	0	8 (2)
CHO CHIN (Sweet-sour candy)	0	3 (6)
KYET HINGA THEE (bitter gourd fruit)	0	3 times only
KYET THUN BYU (garlic)	40 (.9 ticals)	40 (.5 ticals)
MON LAB U (radish)	.25 (6 fruits)	5 (6 fruits)
HIN NU BYE (spinach)	0	once only (2 sprouts)
ZAUNG YA THEE (edges-line-fruit)	.11 (8 ticals)	0

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Item	Food consumed in Pathee	Food consumed in Camp
NGA YOTE KAUNG ZE (pepper corn)	.25 (10 corns)	.25 (10 corns)
MEZALI leaves	.50 (15 ticals)	once only
NAN NAN (coriander leaves)	20 in season (7½ ticals)	.25 (3 ticals)
HSANNIN (tumeric)	60 (a pinch)	60 (a pinch)
NAZUN DOKE (Crayfish)	4 (35 ticals)	0
HPAN KYIT (Palmyra root)	once only	only once (2 roots)
ANDARLUT (arrow root)	.15 (55 ticals)	.5 (2½ ticals)
MINGUT THEE (mangosteen)	once only	0
DURIEN THEE (durian)	.25 (1 fruit)	0
LEIN MAN THEE (oranges)	0	3 times only (5 fruits)
NGAPI GYAW (fish-pickle-fried).	50	1.1 (12½ ticals)
NGAPI ANYAR CHET (fish-pickle liquid-cooked)	.25 (25 ticals)	.5 (25 ticals)
NGAPI YE GYO (ngapi with water)	60 (3 ticals)	50 (2½ ticals)
KHAUK HSWE (wheat noodles)	4 (U Myaing) (25 ticals)	once only (25 ticals)
GWE THI (fruit)	1 (1 fruit)	0
ZEE BYU THEE (plum-white-fruit).	.3 (½ milk tin)	.9 (½ milk tin)
MON LON GYI (cake-round-fried)	2 (36 ticals)	0
PE MON HSOT (bean-cake-ball)	.6 (20 ticals)	0
MON BAING DAUNG (cake-shuttle-stick).	.5 (1 milk tin)	0
MON HSAN (sticky rice dish)	every day in season. (½ milk tins)	0
HSA MWIN MA KIN (foreign expression Burmanised)	.25 (30 ticals)	0
KYAUK SAW (stone-smooth)	.9 (40 ticals)	0

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Analysis of Food Consumption

Table B.99 gives a rough idea of the food consumption in Pathwe and Camp - summarizing the foregoing data. Whatever the degree of absolute accuracy, this data is felt to be especially valuable in giving the relative consumption of items in the two areas. In general, the food pattern of Pathwe was not broken in camp but it was rather severely modified by the dropping of the more expensive and unavailable items and substitution of cheaper, available ones. The direction of the change is clear, the degree and specific nature of the change is discussed below.

Table . Summary incident of use of food items by U Myaing's family

Place and Use of Items	Frequency	Proportion
Items used only in Pathwe	40	31%
Items used only in camp	23	17%
Items used in both places: 1. But more frequently in Pathwe	30	23%
2. But more frequently in camp	24	18%
3. Same frequency in both places	13	10%
Total:	130	99%

These gross figures indicate that only a small proportion of the Pathwe complex (13items) have remained unchanged, over ½ of the Pathwe complex (40 items) have been discarded, and the frequency of use of the rest shifted: 23 new items are added to the camp complex. A drastic change is thus demonstrated although the camp complex has only 17 items less than the Pathwe complex.

The gross idea of the shift in quantity of food used in both Pathwe and camp is gained from the following table:

Table . Variation in quantity of food per meal used at both Pathwe and Camp by U Myaing's family

Type of Variation	Frequency	Proportion
Same amount used in camp as in Pathwe	31	46%
A greater amount used in camp than in Pathwe	6	9%
A lesser amount used in camp than in Pathwe	23	34%

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Type of Variation	Frequency	Proportion
Non-comparable items	7	10%
Totals:	67	99%

This table shows the relatively high proportion of food items that are used in lesser quantities than in Pathwe.

The factor of quality could not be controlled in this survey - and since it was not mentioned by the informants we may assume that it is neglegible and may be disregarded.

The type of food in which the changes have taken place, along with the reasons given for the shifts give us a comprehensive picture of what has taken place.

Most of the items which did not change in frequency from Pathwe to camp are staples including : rice, fish juice, sesamum oil, tea leaves, chillies, PE BYUTE beans, firewood, onions, garlic, and tumeric that are used every day. However, the only one of this group to increase in quantity was the rice - due to the growing children. Fish juice consumption dropped ½ but was supplemented by the addition of salt for flavouring. Sesamum oil also dropped about the same proportions due to lack of extensive frying. The drop in firewood was supplemented by brush fragments collected around camp. Inexpensive items which were cheaper in Rangoon or just as cheap as Pathwe including onions, garlic, PE BYUTE beans, and tea were maintained at the same level.

The most severe drop was in meats (chicken, duck, beef, pork) which in all were included in approximately half of the meals each month in Pathwe, but were discontinued because they could not be afforded in camp. The fish consumption also dropped to about 1/7 th of what it had been . In Pathwe fish and fish products were free from the INS which U Myaing worked. This deficiency is supplemented to a certain extent by prawns but especially by the inexpensive KALABE or dhall beans which in camp become a staple eaten almost every day. Whereas it was used only occasionally in Pathwe as a food definitely not preferred. A number of inexpensive fruits and vegetables including brinjals, snake gourd, rabbit greens, cucumber, guava fruit, ripe mariana, become important in supplementing the camp diet increasing double or more in frequency of use of each case with an increase in quantity per meal that reflects the growing

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capacity of the children. By eating the fruits in season they are secured relatively cheaply and in sufficient quantities.

The greatest part of the food items used in Pathwe but not in camp were specialty dishes and trifles for which substitutions could be made in some cases. Most were missed and desired in varying degrees although they were too expensive in Rangoon or not available. A few, although available, were not purchased because the family "didn't feel like it." A large number of items in this group including the tree leaves and stalks were obtained free in Pathwe, either for the picking or as gifts, and were prepared at home (salting and drying) without cost to the family. Such items (the fish products above are included) accrued to the family because of its situation or position in the village. The food gifts from the government agencies caring for refugees are in a comparable catagory for the family's camp position - but, of course, were staples rather than the specialty items of Pathwe The opportunities for gathering of food ingredients in and around the camp are poor because the land is in special (shade , etc.) trees and besides is privately owned. The camp is a good five or ten miles from good gathering areas. As an IN (large trap) fisherman U Myaing is not interested in line fishing even if it were possible to get to fishing areas.

Most of the items used in camp for the first time are trifles often never seen before coming to Rangoon - but quite similar to the trifles used in Pathwe. The consumption of trifles has risen sharply in camp but most go to the younger children. Possibly the sweet tid-bits compensate for the lack of the more satisfying Pathwe diet.

These are much more plentiful in camp and the temptation to spend on trifles, especially to please the children, is great.

A few items (bean-sprouts in prawns, spinach soup) are tried for the first time in camp and not repeated although the ingredients may be cheap. An element of choice still persists in camp although it is greatly restricted by costs.

In general, the data indicates that the Pathwe food pattern was not broken in the camp adjustment but was modified in the direction of simplification in which the more expensive items of the Pathwe diet were

were dropped in favour of cheaper Rangoon products. The new items added to the diet in camp were either similar to those of Pathwe or known before. No real innovations were attempted with success. 262 264 178

SOCIAL AND CEREMONIAL ACTIVITIES

An attempt will be made under this heading to present some of the major routine activities carried out by U Myaing's family in every day life. Because of the complex nature of the socio-ceremonial activities it will be possible only to outline the more important of these activities. They may be grouped under the headings of (1) activities concerning the family relations, (2) activities relating the family to their community and state and (3) activities relating the family to the supernatural. Wherever possible the Pathwe situation will be compared to that of the refugee camp. 128

Family Relations

Marriage

U Myaing's account of the initial step in the formation of a family is of some interest. When a couple in love have money, they might marry with a proper ceremony; when they do not, they have to elope. U Myaing eloped with his wife. Some people take this course because the parents are not agreeable to the match. Others feel that it takes too much trouble and time to get married with proper ceremony. Others again elope because they do not like the match made for them by parents. U Myaing and Ma Aye Myaing gave as reason the point that it took too long and too much trouble to get properly married. Also at that time they could not afford to spend a great deal of money. 583

Some time after elopement there are attempts either on the part of the parents or the elders of the village to effect a reconciliation between the parties concerned. The couple does not usually take the initiative in these proceedings "because the young man is in the position of one who has stolen something from the girl's parents" and consequently has to lie low. The reconciliation takes place through the elders of the village, who approach the parents and request them to take back the young couple. Some couples stay away seven days, some a month, and some a year before rejoining the parental fold. The reconciliation itself is somewhat similar to a wedding ceremony, and

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20. CLEANING RICE WITH THE HAND-MILL.

in every town. A basket (*din*, bushel) of cleaned rice (*san*) costs three to four rupees, and lasts a man about a month. The loss of volume in cleaning is about twenty-five per cent., and the cost of the unhusked grain about one-third of that of rice. For cakes and sweets, rice is ground with water in the Indian stone hand-mill. After first soaking, it is passed through the mill repeatedly until it forms a creamy fluid, which is strained and used while fresh. Wheaten bread is a novelty.

[262]

The houses in Burma are mostly built of bamboo. The giant bamboo (*wabó*), a denizen of the evergreen hills, is cultivated in the plains for house-posts and masts and side-buoys of boats. Its culms attain a height of eighty feet and a girth at the butt of two feet. Every bamboo jungle supplies the rest of the material for the house. No tools are needed for bamboo work, but the universal *dá*—a sabre, trimmer, chopper, according to its proportions (No. 231). With the *dá* the bamboos are hewn, split open and slit into withes (*hnt*) for lashing. Thin-walled bamboos are opened out into broad planks for the walls of the houses (*tayán*). Stout thick-walled bamboos are shaped into narrow planks for flooring, or the floor is laid of round bamboos laced down at intervals. Loose planks of wood are becoming general for floors, even in houses built of bamboo (p. 119). Every Burman can handle the *dá*, but not so expertly as the hill people. The house-posts, floor-girders, and principal frames are frequently of timber, and outlast several relays of the bamboo-work, which decays in a few seasons. The inducement to keep a material clean and neat which has soon to be replaced is not great, and engenders negligent habits. In the better houses, bamboo is only used for the walling and the roof rafters.

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121. WINNOWING GRAIN IN THE WIND.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
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137. CARRYING HOME THE WATER-POTS.

fuel is required only for cooking and in manufactures.

Rice is the staple of every meal, except in the dry zone. The millet and sorghum which there take the place of rice are cooked in the same way but need longer boiling. "A rice-boiling" (*ta-ô-dyét*) is the common phrase for an interval of about twenty minutes. After washing in several waters, rice is put to boil in an earthen pot with enough water to cover it, and boiled till the grains are quite clear. The rice-water is poured off, and the rice is put back on the fire to steam. Rice is cooked fresh for every meal and is eaten hot. A relish is made to eat with the rice, consisting of a watery stew of fresh greens or of pulse. The fat used is sesamum oil (*hnan-zi*). This curry is seasoned with turmeric (*sanzwin*), capsicum (*ngayôtthi*—chilli), and either salt-fish or *ngapi* (p. 92). Fresh fish, prawns, or meat are added if available. In default of cultivated vegetables, wild greens of all sorts, bamboo-shoots and sprouting leaves, are used. Pickles of lime and other fruits are used as separate relishes. There are two meals in the day, both of the same nature. The morning meal is eaten at about nine o'clock, the other before dark. Meals are taken by the household in common. The housewife or daughter gets mats ready in the *kyaunding* and places in the centre a *byat*—a large, deep, wooden platter, lacquered red—into which she turns out the cooked rice (*tamin*). In the middle of the rice is set a bowl with the curry and a spoon. The family squat round the *byat*, or if a large household round several.

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138. STAND FOR THE DRINKING-WATER.

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103. DABBING WITH FLY.

Next to the rice-industry the greatest industry of Burma is the catching and curing of fish. Unlike the rice, the fish is entirely for local consumption. The fisherman gets his living by taking life, contrary to the cardinal injunction of the Buddha—"let him not destroy, or cause to be destroyed, any life at all, or sanction the acts of those who do so." The subterfuge which the specious resort to in using animal food, namely, that they had no share in the act of taking life, was thus provided against by the Buddha in the form of his injunction. The Burman is a kind master to his animals, but much cruel suffering results from neglect of injuries, such as *dâ*-cuts, often inflicted in temper. The merit of putting a suffering creature out of pain is not recognised or is denied. The reluctance to take life is operative in preventing the people at large from obtaining other animal food than fish. But such is the craving for flesh that the Burmans will consume that of animals dead from natural causes and of many animals commonly rejected for food. The Burmans do not eat the flesh of the monkey, dog, parrot and crow. The ways of taking fish are legion. Hooks are used with bait and also to mount a fly for dabbing (*hsa lait*). A contrivance to be seen along the banks of every river is the *kayda*, a cage trap with falling door for large fish. Fish-spearing is practised by day and also by torch-light at night. On the largest scale, fish are taken by drawing off the water from the flat lagoons which form in the depressions of the *kwin* (*in*, p. 49). Screens of bamboo or reeds are set in the channels while the floods are

104. CASTING FISH SINGLY 'SAUNG-TO'.

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25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 API Burma
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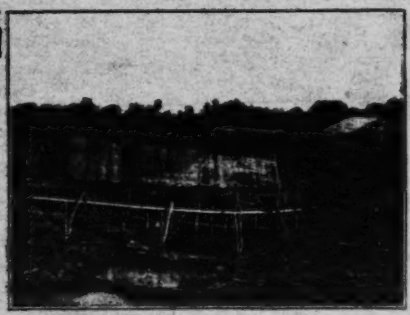

188. SLUICE OF LAGOON FISHERY (IN)

banks. Ducks' and fowls' eggs are also eaten.

Small fry and the bony fish are made into the Peguan condiment *ngapi*—pressed fish. The process is essentially the same as that of anchovy paste manufacture, but is conducted in a much rougher way. The fish after being taken are spread out in the sun and then pounded in a mortar, again sunned and again pounded with about a quarter their weight of salt. Fermentation is not uniformly arrested at the proper stage, so that the product becomes contaminated with putrescence. According as the compound remains moist or dry it is made into balls, moulded into bricks, or stored in jars. *Ngapi* is sent to Burma Proper and the Shan States in enormous quantities. Fresh fish, dried fish, and *ngapi* are much the same in price, one half to one rupee the viss (3.65 lbs.) according to quality. *Ngachin* is a crude and unwholesome pickle made by putting fish to ferment with boiled and salted rice.

258 Salt used to be obtained from sea-water and from brine wells in the interior, before the import of salt began. The manufacture still drags on, as the local salt is better for curing purposes. At spring-tides, sea-water in the estuaries is let into shallow pans like rice-fields, or it is raised with the *Ka-hnwé*. After the brine has been concentrated by evaporation in the heat of the sun, it is boiled down in spherical earthen pots, which are built with clay into a vault over a furnace. Iron cauldrons like those in [178] No. 186 are superseding [415] the earthen pots, and the round cauldron is in its turn being replaced by a flat iron [227] pan.

224 The chase, so far from forming the diversion of princes and satraps, remains to the *vauriens* of the villages

189. SHORE NET

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
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902. SETTING NETS FOR DEER.

which a second party is in hiding with dogs. At a sign, the dogs are slipped and the deer chased headlong into the nets, where they are caught or cut down before they can get clear. *Nat* and *thamin*, which would clear the net at a bound, are coursed with greyhounds of local breed (*Kamâbi*) when they have ventured far enough into the open. The Burmans have been acquainted with firearms since the fourteenth century of our era. Saltpetre they obtained by percolating with water the droppings of bats accumulated in caves, and boiling down the lye; it was also obtained from certain marshes; sulphur probably came from China. The old flint-lock is still a favourite, because the ammunition is easy to procure. Weapons were bad, and the *mdsi* is a poor marksman; but he manages to approach very near to his quarry. Cross-bows, snares, and traps for game are used by the hill people, in default of firearms. Such venison as is obtained is hurried off to the nearest market town, where it is retailed fresh. If it cannot be thus disposed of, it is cut into strips and sun-dried. Next to deer, the chief quarry is the wild pig. Wild buffaloes ("bison," *pyaung*) frequent the forests. In a few localities a wild ox is found (*saing*). A wild goat lives in some of the rocky limestone hills. The hare and the partridge are common in the open country of the dry zone and the plateau-land of the hills. Peacocks are not uncommon in some localities, but are nowhere so abundant as in India. A silver pheasant (*yit*) is common in the bamboo forests. The great argus occurs in the extreme south. Wild or jungle fowl (*tau-dyet*) are common in all the dry forests. Decoy-birds are used for snaring these, and also the ring-doves (*dyé*). Ducks,

903. KAMABI DOG

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25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
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At intervals on the main lines of traffic are refreshment-booths, where fruit, sweetmeats, and tea are sold. Meals can be taken in the markets of the towns. In the villages casual travellers enjoy the hospitality of the people. In the afternoon the markets are closed; low tables are set in the roads, where cheroots, fruit, and sweetmeats are sold in the evening. Some of these refreshments are prepared on the spot, such as the *mônlebwè*, a wafer baked in the flame of a fire, in which it rises to an immense size.

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292. CLOTH BAZAR.

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The wholesale trade of Burma is conducted by brokers (*pwèza*) who receive a commission. Wealthy men operate with their own capital, others find investors and money-lenders to advance funds, some form partnerships and small companies to divide profits. Producers frequently bring their grain direct to the mills; but the bulk of the grain is bought up by the native brokers to the order of the exporters, most of whom never visit the interior. The interest on money is one to six per cent. per mensem. What is not hoarded in the form of plate and ornaments is put into trade or is put out to interest. Money-lending is not a special business because everybody practises it. Appalling as is the rate of interest—the measure of risk—such hard bargains are not driven as in India. Debtors when sold up can nowhere make a new start so well as in Burma. Brokers do banking in a small way; but banking has been made a regular branch of business by the Chettis from India (No. 364), who pay as much as one per cent. per month on deposits and charge one and a half per cent. on loans fully secured. European banks and investments with their high security and low rates of interest do not attract Burman capital.

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293. NIGHT BAZAR.

505 The carrying business is mainly by water, for which Burma possesses unrivalled facilities, especially in the floods

23: Brant & Mi Mi Khaing E, I-5 (1949-1950)1951
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quite frequently help in rearing their grandchildren, telling them stories and 603
teaching them the Buddhist scriptures.

THE LIFE CYCLE OF THE INDIVIDUAL

Birth and Infancy. When a woman is pregnant her dreams are considered 843
especially significant. She is expected to remember those of her dreams that con- 787
cern what her child will be like. The welfare of the child is forecast by some dreams: a dream of only one of things that normally are paired, such as earrings, bodes ill, possibly death, of the child in infancy; a dream of her viscera coming out indicates a great future for the child. Persistent dreams of a particular deceased individual are indicative of whose reincarnation the child will represent. In all forebodings of ill the normal counter-measure is to consult a Buddhist [751]
monk or an astrologer, who may give the prospective mother an inscribed *mantra* (prayer) to keep or some amulet for the child to wear as protection.

Although the Burmese woman need not avoid any specific foods during her [262]
pregnancy, strong spices are regarded as harmful.

No supernatural means are employed to influence the sex of the prospective offspring. Certain signs are considered prognosticative: if the pregant woman's stomach is pointed, a boy will be born, whereas a broad, flat stomach indicates a girl is in prospect.

Pregnancy among the Burmese is considered a time of great happiness; the woman is greatly indulged and pampered by all concerned.

When the time for delivery approaches any other pregnant women in the 844
household must depart, lest their presence impede labor. Usually the woman's mother, grandmother, or aunt, in addition to a midwife, assists at birth. A fire is prepared in the room in which delivery is to take place and is maintained for ten days.

As soon as delivery has occurred, the umbilical cord is cut with a bamboo 846
knife. The afterbirth is wrapped in the new mother's skirt and is buried at once in the cardinal direction associated with the day of the week of the baby's birth. The mother is fed an infusion of turmeric, and turmetic paste is rubbed all over her body. She is kept close to the nearby fire and made very warm. For three days she is carefully watched to prevent her from sleeping heavily in daylight hours.

The new mother is treated as a delicate invalid for about a month and, in [262]
some cases, for as long as three months. She is fed only white rice and dried fish. [853]
A soup of garlic and banana stems is drunk to promote the flow of milk. She is not permitted to read, sew, or to do anything that will "arouse or stir the blood."

23: Brant & Mi Mi Khaing E, I-5 (1949-1950)1951
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A very close connection is believed to exist between mother and child during 853
the nursing period. Certain observances are necessary. For example, the mother 262
must not eat tomatoes at this time, for they may appear in the baby's stools;
for the same reason, she must abstain from green vegetables. Any falling out of
her hair during the nursing period is said to be caused by bubbles blown into [827]
her by the nursing baby. To prevent the milk supply from drying up, the nursing
mother avoids fruits of astringent quality, such as pomegranates and buds of the
banyan. She must also take care not to allow milk to fall on the floor and dry.

The Burmese baby is weaned very gradually, beginning at the age of nine 862
months to a year in most cases. This is facilitated by the mother's application of
some bitter substance to her breasts.

From infancy an attempt is made to mold the child's features. The ears are 856
pulled outward and the bridge of the nose is pulled upward, to prevent a flat 826
nose. A protuberant, prominent forehead is disliked; to prevent it people play
at bumping foreheads with the child. To elongate its neck the child is held
under the chin when lifted up from its bath. After being dressed its limbs are
pulled straight and it is wrapped around, to insure straight growth. A baby girl's
nipples are squeezed to prevent her having a large bosom.

Naming. The Burmese believe that one's name can influence the course of 551
events in life; therefore the name of a child is chosen with care. Burmese personal
names consist of monosyllables that are selected in a rather intricate manner.
The thirty-three characters of the alphabet are traditionally divided into seven
groups, each corresponding to a day of the week. The first syllable in a personal
name begins with a letter belonging to the group of letters assigned to the particular day of the week on which the child was born. Another syllable begins
with a letter belonging to a day that is considered congenial to the day of birth.
In the urban centers the tendency nowadays is to follow these rules only for the
first term in the name. The syllables of the name stand for qualities of character,
physical beauty, various gems, wealth or prosperity. Boys' names usually denote
strength, success or brilliance, while grace, beauty, tenderness, and various
precious stones are the most common meanings of girls' names. A son is never
named syllable for syllable after his father, for this is considered disrespectful
and an obstruction to each other's prosperity. There is also a tendency to avoid
naming children after deceased relatives. Terms indicating large numbers, such as
million, *lakh* (one hundred thousand), sometimes appear in the names of both
sexes. An interesting contemporary example is the comic strip heroine of a leading
Rangoon daily newspaper, Than Than, literally "Million Million."

The name of the child is rather informally conferred by means of a feast to 553

264 This is for the fresh bazaar, most families storing rice, saltfish and
511 ngapi, and sesamum oil for cooking, by the month or longer periods.

The rice is cooked to result in clean and separate grains. The usual
252 method is to put it on the fire with cold water, using judgment as to the
262 amount of grain and water for the pot. A person who cannot "cut his coat according to his cloth" is "*ko-oh hnin ko hsan ma-tan bè :* his grain and pot do not accord". When, after coming to the boil, the rice is cooked but not yet soft, it is drained by decanting; the water is kept aside for starching the jackets of the women in the daily wash, and the pot is put back on to coals or half off a fire, with the lid left open to let the steam escape and complete the cooking of the rice. It is shaken once or twice during this process, but there is no harm done if a bad servant forgets to do this or puts the pot back on a strong fire, for then the burnt rice is scraped up in a cake (*gyo*) and is eaten, dipped in oil and salt, by the children with great relish.

The soup is always clear. The great majority of soups are plain hingyos, with a stock of fish, prawn or dried prawn; flavoured with ngapi, beaten garlic or onion. It is made fresh for each soup, and when it comes to the boil, green vegetables are thrown in and left just long enough to wear down the tough cellulose. The vegetables are never overcooked. Throwing in the vegetables is called *hingyo hkut-tè*, ladling out the soup, and the green things for ladling are numerous indeed. Of leaves, the tamarind, the sorrel, the drumstick (*moringa pterygosperma*), the *kinmun*, the calabash, the mustard, various types of spinach, are only some. Some particular leaves, stalks or fruits require adaptations in the soup they ladle; for example, green chillies with the sorrel, pepper corns with the calabash; and the neem and *mezali* leaves are so bitter that they must be rubbed in salt and cooked three times before they can be eaten. All leaves used for soup have a distinct and delicate flavour. If the soup were strained after the leaves had been boiled in it a few minutes, one could still identify the taste. Richer soups are made with stock of meat—pig's trotters, chicken or duck—and are ladled with dried mushrooms, dried flowers or vermicelli strands, transparent and fair as the lotus.

• 263 The ngapi, condiment, dish has several standard forms. "Ngapi"
[438] is the general term applied to any of its forms. Usually it comes to the housewife as seinsa ngapi, from Tenasserim, such as is made by my aunts in Ye, or from Yandoon in the Delta region. This high-smelling, strongly flavoured paste is stored in glazed earthen jars and flavours almost all dishes or is cooked into its own palatable forms. It is fried with chillies and pounded dried prawns into a crisp brownness, in which form Europeans like it as a toast spread which they call *balachaung*. It

tastes something like the product known as Patum Peperium or Gentleman's Relish. More Burmese is *ngapi-chet* (ngapi cooked), when it is fried in a more oily and moist form with tomatoes, tamarind water, green chillies, red chillies, garlic and onion; or *ngapi-daung* (ngapi pounded), when it is pounded into a smooth paste with prawns, ginger, onion and chilly; or *ngapi-thok* (ngapi mixed), when it is made into a salad by baking it dry and then mixing chopped onion, green chillies and citron leaves and a squeeze of lemon. 263

The to-sa-ya, dipper dish, to dip into the ngapi, of raw green vegetables, consists of leaves, flowers, buds, stalks, and young fruit of all kinds—green mangoes when they are the size of marbles, mango flowers, green marians, *danyin-thi*, citron leaves, coriander leaves, cucumbers, *zaung-ya-thi*, *chep-paung-thi*, and a host of others which can be plucked by villagers from hedges or gardens or jungle patches. The dressed vegetable dish may be a *lethok* or a *thanat*. Lethok, hand-wiping-or-mixing, is a mixture of finely shredded or cut vegetable (say green papaya, grown green mango, marian or citron) with the balancing ingredients of oil for mixing smoothly; dried prawn powder and bean powder for filling; tamarind water for sourness if fruit is not sour; ngapi or fish sauce for salting; green or powdered red chilly for spicing; and crisp fried garlic and onion to set off and dress the whole. In a thanat we can make the orthodox cauliflower, cabbage, brinjals, beans, etc., into a delicious dish by boiling them with vinegar and water till they are not quite cooked, draining them, rolling them in cooked oil in which salt and a little baked ngapi have been dissolved, scattering sesame seeds and crisp fried garlic and onion. Some vegetables which have a natural succulence are made into thanat uncooked. They are cut up, soaked in vinegar for some hours, drained well and dressed in the same way. Cucumber and horse-radish treated thus are delicious and crunchy. Besides being made into salads, vegetables are "fried". This is not fat frying. Only the seasoning, consisting of a small quantity of chopped pork or shrimps, crushed garlic and ngapi, is fried in the merest fraction of sesamum oil, then the bean sprouts, cabbage or what not, chopped small, are spread over it. This is called *ok-tè*, covering with the vegetable; the lid is put on and the vegetable cooks in the steam from its own water content. Just before taking it off the fire, it is stirred with soya sauce, and, if taken off the fire at the correct moment, cauliflower, cabbage, beans and beansprouts are delicious. Some vegetables lend themselves to an extension of this method in the *kyaw-gyet*, fry-cook, what the English Domestic Science schools call a "combination method" of cooking. Here the fried seasoning ingredients are stronger flavoured, water is 262 252

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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intended more as an excuse for people to enter the house and have a talk than with any idea of making a profit. Whatever money is drawn is regarded as a kind of pin-money for the mistress of the establishment. When the ladies of the household are in earnest about trading, they start a stall in the bazaar, and very good hands they are at driving a bargain. A more regrettable trait is the forcible character of their language when they are annoyed. But this, unhappily, is a characteristic of the fair sex all the world over, whether in trade or out of it. Certain it is that the *dames de la halle* and the Billingsgate fishwives would require all their powers of voice and vituperation to silence a bazaar maiden when she sets her mind to it.

There are as a general thing two meals only in the day: breakfast at about eight in the morning, and dinner at five in the afternoon. There is no difference in the *menu* of the two meals. The staple article of food is plain boiled rice, which is piled up in a heap on a huge platter, round about which the household arrange themselves, sitting, like pit-men, on their heels. The curry which is taken with it is placed in little bowls, and each one of the party has his own plate, and helps himself. Knives are unnecessary; spoons and forks and celestial chopsticks are unknown, except in the houses of a few Government officials and traders in Rangoon, who have had some experience of English society. Very few are able to afford curries of meat or fish, besides that there are not always unscrupulous people ready to disregard the law against taking life, and the material is therefore not always available. Ordinarily the curry consists of a soup, or thin concoction of vegetables, in which chillies and onions figure largely. The other ingredients are very various. Young shoots of bamboo are very delicate in their flavour, if not overpowered by too much garlic. Wild asparagus, the succulent stems of a number of aquatic plants and fleshy arums are constantly used, and may be seen exposed for sale in every bazaar. Tamarind leaves and those of the mango-tree are used by the very poor. The former have a somewhat acrid taste, the latter are curiously aromatic. Along with the curry, which has always a large amount of oil and salt in it, there are a variety of condiments, notably the

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263 strongly-flavoured nga-pi, without which no Burman would consider his meal complete. Sometimes the big, fierce-stinging kā-gyin, a species of red ant, is used along with this fish paste, sometimes it is fried in oil by itself. As may be imagined, they have an acid and decidedly pungent flavour about them. Roasted turtle's and iguana's eggs, [828] dried fish, and fried ginger are gourmand's adjuncts. There is a particular objection to the smell of cookery, and when anything is fried in oil, or prepared so as to produce a strong savour, it is always done to leeward of the house, and where the fumes may not reach any other dwelling. Such smells 264 are believed to be very productive of fever. Nothing is ever 271 drunk at meals, but each one, when he has finished, goes to 273 the earthenware jar full of water which stands in a corner of the verandah, and rinses out his mouth. It is a lamentable fact that many Burmans in the low country now drink beer and spirits, but this is never done at meals nor in the house, where, indeed, the wife would not allow it. It is deplorable, because it is drinking for the sake of drinking, and is never done in moderation. The tippling Burman goes to the "toddy-shop" for his liquor, and he does not know when to stop. Brandy of the fiery description known to the British soldier as "fixed bayonets," or "chain-shot," is often drunk, but the usual tipple is "Old Tom." A particularly heady mixture of this with cheap beer is affected by confirmed [183] topers. It is contrary to the national religion, and it does not suit the national temperament.

276 After meals every one smokes—men, women, and children. Facetious people have declared that Burman babies blow a cloud while they are still at the breast. This is inaccurate. They never indulge till they are able to walk without needing the assistance of their hands, but their mothers give them whiffs long before that. The ordinary Burman cheroot is very mild and has really very little tobacco in it. The full-flavoured article to be seen occasionally in London shops is manufactured entirely for English residents. The se paw-leip, the cigar for home consumption, commonly known as the green cheroot, is very large, from six to eight inches long and about an inch in diameter at one end, tapering to slightly less at the other.

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when they attend a similar assemblage at Htun Aung's house at the other end of the village. 574 527

But after an hour or so they settle down to do a little work. The young men—kālathas, they call themselves—"Corinthians, lads of mettle"—have brought with them a number of wooden mortars, with a heavy pestle working on a lever; and these they set up and commence to husk the rice. The process is very simple. A few handfuls of the paddy are thrown into the mortar, the workers step off and on the lever which raises and lets fall the solid wooden pestle, and the husk is every now and then blown out and the grain stirred up a little. The Burmans infinitely prefer rice husked in the national way to that which is sent out from the European steam-mills. The big Derbyshire or composite stones do their work only too effectually; they take off not only the hard shell, but also the inner cuticle of the grain, which contains the chief flavour; and, moreover, the heat which the steady grinding induces, scorches out a great deal of what taste remains. Therefore at every house there is to be found the primitive national apparatus in which the girls of the household every morning or evening prepare the rice for the day's consumption. But to-night they are relieved from such hard work. The village youths for once in a way exert themselves; and all the girls have to do is to wash out a few dishes and prepare the bamboo-lacquered platters, the pyramidal ôk, in which the tamanè is to be carried to the yahans and the pagoda to-morrow, and get ready the palm-leaves in which less exalted people will receive their modicum of the stew. The whole actual work might be finished in little over an hour, but that is the intention neither of the giver of alms nor of the assembled young men and maidens. They have come much more for merriment than for merit. Else why that great pile of le'hpet? For the condiment is an anti-soporific, and if you take enough of it, you will be able to see all through a forty-eight hours' play, and give your friends an outline of the plot before you lapse into a slumber lasting twice round the clock. 527 263

Accordingly, after a quarter of an hour's work, the "prince" of the local amateur dramatic company jumps off his perch, and commences the "White Dove" song from the 545

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CHAPTER XXVIII

NGAPI

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THERE are few articles of food which meet with more energetic denunciation than the favourite Burman condiment, ngapi, which means literally pressed fish. The frogs of France, the rats and puppy dogs of China, the diseased liver of the Strasburg *pâtés*, the "ripe" cheeses of most European countries, and the peculiar character of game in England, with its occasional garniture of "rice," all meet with condemnation from those who dislike such dainties. The smell of ngapi is certainly not charming to an uneducated nose, but the Backsteiner or Limburger cheese of Southern Germany is equally ill-calculated to evoke approbation on a first experience. An old herring barrel smells strong, but there is nothing in nature that more than ngapi hath an ancient and a fish-like smell. Travellers on the steamers of the Irrawaddy Flotilla Company are wont to rail in no measured terms at the fish-paste which forms an invariable and obtrusively evident part of the cargo, yet no Burman would think a dinner complete without his modicum of ngapi, and it is a noteworthy fact that one form of the condiment is of frequent appearance on English dinner-tables in the East, under the name of balachong, a term borrowed from the Straits Settlements, but which designates nothing more nor less than a specially prepared variety of ngapi. In the same way there are equally various opinions with regard to the celebrated Durian, a fruit found as abundantly in the Tenasserim province as in the islands of the East Indian Archipelago, and equally highly prized by Burmans. Some Englishmen will tell you that the flavour

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and the odour of the fruit may be realised by eating a "garlic custard" over a London sewer; others will be no less positive in their perception of blendings of sherry, noyau, delicious custards, and the nectar of the gods, while a somewhat objectionable smell is regarded as doing no more than suggest, or recall, a delightful sensation. I am not aware that any Englishman has been equally enthusiastic with regard to balachong, but there is no doubt that ngapi seinsa ["raw-eaten fish-paste," so called because it is fit for consumption without being cooked] is identical with this much-used substitute for anchovy sauce, and is often brought direct from the Burman bazaar by Madrasi butlers, who declare it has come all the way from Penang, and charge correspondingly. 263 151

Of ngapi there are three main kinds — ngapi gaung, taung-tha ngapi, and ngapi seinsa. Each of these has its special varieties, getting their names from the township where they are prepared, or from the species of fish used in their manufacture. 263

Ngapi gaung, or whole ngapi, is the most prized and the highest in price. That made at the village of Payāgyi, in the Angyi circle, not far from Rangoon, is celebrated from the rocky promontory of Modain, with its golden pagoda, to the barren solitudes of Mogaung, the Burmese Siberia. It may be made from any kind of fish, but the varieties preferred are the nga-ku, an amphibious, slimy fish, found in ponds and ditches wherever there is plenty of mud, and something under a foot and a half in length; and the nga-gyi, a fish very similar in general appearance and size, but called by the English the scorpion-fish, and very much dreaded for the wounds it causes with the pectoral spines. The great object in the preparation is to keep the fish quite whole, not so easy a matter as would at first appear. The process is as follows: A great mass of the fish, some of them only half dead, are thrown together into a big wooden mortar, and a man stands over them and works about with a curious cleaner made of a bamboo, the end of which has been slit and frayed into a kind of stiff brush. By this means it is surprising how soon the fish are scaled, and how effectively it is done. The larger specimens are, however, 252 [415]

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252 almost always cleaned by hand, the shoulder fins and the tail being also removed. They are then thoroughly rubbed with salt and tightly packed in bamboo baskets, each of which is well weighted down. They are thus left for from twelve to twenty-four hours, the superfluous juices of the fish straining out at the bottom. Then they are cautiously taken out one by one, well rubbed with salt again, and laid out on a mat in the sun to dry. On the second day they [415] are equally carefully packed away in huge earthenware jars with abundance of salt between the layers of fish. These jars are then put away—no easy matter with some of them, which might have served to conceal the forty thieves of the *Arabian Nights*—in as shady and cool a place as can be found. Gradually the liquid rises to the surface and evaporates by degrees, leaving a layer of solid salt on the top. Sometimes this fish-brine becomes alive with maggots, when the fish have not been sufficiently pressed, or have not had enough sun. When this occurs the liquid is drawn off the top and more salt is added, but in no case are any of the fish rejected. Usually the fish are ready for the market in a month's time, and will keep as long as may be wanted. They are eaten roasted, or fried somewhat in the same way as the "Bombay ducks," well known to the Anglo-Indian gourmand; sometimes also they are made into curries, the cook taking as great care as the manufacturer to keep them 317 quite whole. The salt used is in many places, such, for example, as the Angyi township, made on the spot. The soil there is strongly impregnated with salt. Water is run through it after the ground has been ploughed. The water is then collected in a tank, whence it is taken to pots, placed over furnaces, and evaporated to dryness, and the salt obtained is piled on sloping boards so that the bittern may run off.

● 263 252 A specially esteemed variety of the ngapi gaung is that called the nga-tha-lauk, after the fish of the same name, the hilsa, or "Indian salmon," which would be perfect, were it not supplied with bones all through its body, seemingly utterly irresponsible and unconnected with the spine. This handsome fish, silvery, shot with purple and gold, is not scaled, nor are the head, tail, or any of the fins removed.

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Each fish is cleaned and rubbed with salt in the usual way and exposed to the sun. Then they are spread out on the floor of a shed on mats, and mats are also put over them, and on these are placed weights of some size. This is all that is required. In four days at the outside they are ready for sale, and are then handled with most reverential care by both buyer and seller, for the hilsa is a fish that the foreigner loves, and therefore always commands a good price.

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The second kind is that called taungtha ngapi, that is, pounded fish, or fish-paste. It also frequently goes by the name of damin ngapi, from the bamboo trap in which the fish are usually caught. This is the form of ngapi which has earned the bad name for the whole preparation. It is made almost exclusively from shrimps and the smaller kinds of fish. These are spread out as they are caught, without the addition of salt or any cleaning whatever, on mats in the sun. There they remain for two, or perhaps three, days —by which time their condition is better imagined than closely investigated. They are then thrown into a huge wooden mortar and pounded together, with a liberal addition of salt. It does not take any very heavy work or length of time to reduce them to a state of mash, in which one fish is not to be distinguished from another. The whole is then heaped up in a great mound under a shed near the house, and several hollow bamboos, with little holes here and there in their sides, are thrust into it. Out of these a liquor, called nganpya ye, runs, and is carefully collected in jars set there for the purpose. This as well as some other fishy oils are greatly esteemed for culinary purposes, and fetch a good price. When these juices cease to run freely, the fish-paste is ready for sale, and is dug and shovelled out in an unceremonious way, contrasting very markedly with the loving care taken of the "whole fish ngapi." In the country boats it is usually carried in bulk, piled up as corn, or salt, or commodities of a like nature might be loaded; and therefore a boat which has once been used for this purpose is easily known again. In English steamers it is, of course, packed in jars, but the odours are none the less fragrant on that account. This is the true and only mode of preparation, and the marvellous tales

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000 related by some foreigners of the burial of the fish in the earth for periods varying from a week to a year (!) are due either to a guileless nature or a too powerful imagination. The soil of Burma needs no manure.

263 252 The fish most sought after for damin ngapi are those belonging to the family of cat- and dog-fish, from the circumstance that they have no scales, and therefore make a smoother compound. Some of these attain a huge size, the tame dog-fish at Thihadaw, above Mandalay, being quite five feet long, and blessed with mouths that would take in a leg of mutton. Many of them also have the peculiarity of breathing air, rising to the surface of the water and opening their mouths for the purpose; while, when the inland pools dry up after the rains are past, they are capable of making long journeys overland.

Seinsa ngapi is made entirely from prawns, and comes chiefly from the Tenasserim coast, Beit (the English Mergui) and Tavoy being the centres of its manufacture. The prawns are spread out on mats in the sun as soon as caught and left there till they are fairly well dried. Then they are mashed up by hand, abundance of salt being added, and are stirred up several times a day regularly for three days, lying out in the sun all the time. After that, the paste is ready for use, and is packed in small jars. Properly, seinsa is that made from the prawns exposed immediately after being caught. When some hours elapse before they are spread out to dry, the resulting ngapi is called yetpyan; and if a whole day elapses before the exposure, yet-ôk. The greater the delay, the more powerful the smell and the more piquant the flavour—a fact for Englishmen to remember when they take balachong. Ket ngapi is simply a variety made of large prawns, which are heavily pressed in baskets called ket, before they are put out in the sun to dry. They are then pounded with salt and pressed again, after which they are ready for consumption, either as they are or after frying.

263 438 Notwithstanding the open disfavour with which the English regard ngapi, the Burmese hold by it as the most savoury and necessary portion of their dinner, and vast quantities are exported to Upper Burma, where the manufacture, owing to the smaller fisheries, is not equal to the

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demand. The indignation which a crusade against the condiment by a young civil officer with more zeal than discretion caused in 1880, will not soon be forgotten. Cholera was rather bad in Yandun, one of the great places for ngapi, and the Assistant Commissioner, convinced that the heavy smells must be the cause of it, issued an order forbidding the manufacture of the fish-paste, or its sale in the public markets, as well as that other cherished but strong-smelling dainty, prawn-head oil. The result was an avalanche of petitions to the Chief Commissioner, and something very like open riot in the town. Equanimity was not restored till the too energetic official was removed to another station, and the lugyis pointed exultantly to the fact that as soon as they began to make up arrears in the way of ngapi consumption, cholera left the place. Nevertheless, Yandun is not a charming place of residence to a man with a sensitive nose.

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Fishermen are promised terrible punishments in a future life for the number of lives they take, but popular sympathy finds a loophole of escape for them. They do not actually kill the fish. These are merely put out on the bank to dry, after their long soaking in the river, and if they are foolish and ill-judged enough to die while undergoing the process, it is their own fault. Nevertheless, some strict people hold by the doctrine of the Manichæans, who asserted that the soul of the farmer migrated into herbs so that it might be cut down and thrashed out. The baker becomes bread and is eaten. The killer of a deer becomes a deer; of a fish, a fish; and so on. But nevertheless, if all the fishermen became monks one day, the next would see some of the pious trying their hands with the cast-net.

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536 who cannot stay over the night, or when a local feast, limited in its time, occurs. The great and legitimate season is the night, and frequently a play, especially a puppet play, extends over six or seven successive nights. The majority of the audience stay the whole time, from seven or eight o'clock at night till sunrise. It is not, however, to be supposed that they hear it all through. Abundance of mats and rugs are brought, and not a few, after listening till midnight or thereabouts, calmly curl themselves up to sleep, and slumber away for two or three hours, heedless of the braying of the horns and the crash of the cymbals only a few yards off. Then they wake up and fall in with the progress of the piece with as keen interest as if they had
263 heard every word of it. Most of the young people, however, prime themselves with the anti-soporific le'hpet, "pickled tea," as the English call it, and bid defiance to drowsiness. This condiment is as regular a crown to a Burmese dinner as cheese is to an English one, and with the same idea, possibly erroneous in both cases, that it promotes digestion.
[563] It is almost exclusively produced in Taungbaing, in the
[438] Shan country, by a hill tribe called Rumai, better known by the Burmese name of Palaungs. The Burmese mix with it salt, garlic, and assafœtida, douse it in oil, and add a few grains of millet seed. The leaves forming the basis are the leaves of an actual tree as distinguished from the bushes of China and Assam. Hooker called it *Elæodendron orientale*, while Anderson asserted that it was really *E. persicum*. Of late years Assam planters have bought Taungbaing seed for their gardens. One of the grievances which Englishmen have when they attend a pwè is that they are always induced by their host to take pickled tea, and perceive in it nothing but the overpowering horrors of the assafœtida. Pwès and assafœtida are therefore associated with one another to the detriment of both.

533 Few foreigners can detect one tune from another, or the recitative from any one of them. Consequently most declare there is only one tune, or no tune at all, according to the capacity of generosity in them. The same thing has been said by an inappreciative Burman of the "vipers" of the Royal Scots Fusiliers. He admired the conscientiousness

if there are many fish, if the water is bad they may die off - and do not come down to the HNE. When the water is good we get many fish. When the water is bad it is called YE-MAR-DE (the water is hurt). When the water is bad they die off on their own and become putrid on this side; they do not come down. When the water is bad it stops the coming down of fish even more effectively than if a YIN barrier were put up (further upstream.) They do not come down to the mouth of the HNE. 226 221 132

"There are 80 to 100 fishermen working at the CHAUNG-MA-GYI IN where I work. Thirty of these are from INA-GYI-HAT and they are the only IN workers there, although there are 7 other INS in the neighbourhood. They work for 6 months out of the year. During the month of TAGU when the fish is sold, we start on the YIN and work through the months of KASON, NAYON, WASO, WAGAUNG, TAWTHALIN and in TAWTHALINwe place it in the IN. Water comes down and with it the fish, and we end upabout the month of PYATHO. In the hot season we catch the remaining fish and after the hot season the INS are again auctioned by the Government. 226

"Night and day the fish are coming down and they have to be gathered up in wicker baskets and poured into tubs. They are coming down all the time. We have no special work time; both night and day. That is why there have to be so many workers. We have watches. If this person watches this night, that person watches the next night and another person the next night. They have to stay till morning. The person who has watched up till morning is given a turn (to rest) and another person placed there for the next night. The fisherman works for a day and a night. Then shifts are changed. The man who works from the afternoon is given a rest in the morning. There are shifts of eight to nine men at a time. These nine men are changed after a day and a night. They rest for a day and a night. 226 461

"Some of the more common fish are:- Nga Thaing, Nga Gyin, Nga Gyaing, Nga Myit Chin, Nga Dan, Nga Myin Yin; small fish are plentiful, Nga Khamma, Nga Hpare Aung, Nga Bat, Nga Khu, Nga Gyi; you get a lot. During one shift, (one day and one night) 2000 fish may come down, 3000 fish may come, or there may be 300, or there may be only 100. You cannot say for sure. At the end of the SHAW the fish are scooped up with kerosene tins and poured into the boat with wicker baskets. After that they are taken home. We take both big and small fish. The big ones are caught by hand and kept alive in big tubs, and it is the small fish that are scooped up with kerosene tins. We take all the fish that are stranded at the sluice end. The tiny fish escape through the YIN. Some larger fish also escape if the YIN cracks are wide.

"The large fish are kept alive and sent to the Rangoon markets and to various towns. They usually stay alive this way. When the distance is great they are placed in ice and sent. The other fish are dried or made into fish paste or NGAPI. In making Ngapi, the heads are first cut off. The scales are removed by wrapping the fish in gunny-bags and stamping with the feet after the bag has been placed in a tub. After that they are washed and salt is put in. After mixing thoroughly with salt they are pressed into jars. Those who want to pound their fish into NGAPI DAUNG (pounded ngapi) leave their fish to become putrid and then pound them. Those who want to keep them raw (AMYIN) do not. 226 438 263

Ma Aye Myaing describes the preparation of ngapi as follows:-

"The fish have to be chopped and placed in water; after the scales are removed, the fishes are chopped and placed in water for a night. In the morning the putrid fish are taken out, mixed with salt and laid out to dry. In the evening they are again mixed with salt and pounded. You pound the fish today, lay 251 263

it out to dry in the sun throughout the next day, then pound again and store in jars. The total process takes two days." 251

U Myaing continues his explanation of the IN fishery:- 263 ●

"The fishery is worked on a co-operative basis. We contribute equal sums of money. If one puts up Rs. 100/- all put up Rs.100/-; if Rs.1000/- all put up Rs.1000/- each. We group together and work. Rights to the site of the fishery must be secured from the government by auction. We have to make an initial payment of about Rs. 1000/- or Rs. 2000/- and in bidding among ourselves the price increases to eight thousand, nine thousand, ten thousand, twelve thousand. The original price was three thousand rupees. This is the cost of the Deputy Commissioner's auction. There were many bidders at the auction for the IN. Four, five, six. For example if I give a thousand rupees you offer two thousand, he gives three, four, five thousand ..... When it comes to the hand of the successful bidder the price has increased. The money for the fishery rights have to be paid in later (after the fishing has begun). For example if I pay in a thousand rupees this month, I pay a thousand the next month and the next, in several instalments. This is in addition to the amount we sink into the actual working of the business. (Cost of constructing the IN and equipment). 226 474 463

"The fishermen do not get paid a salary. They have shares. Accounts are kept of how much fish is caught, how much sold, and only after the IN has been worked to the end of the season is everything cleared up. Each fisherman gets only one share, and the profits are equally divided. We have to pay equal amounts of money for the IN and the money we get from the IN is the same for each of us. We all group and work together. There are some INS where one takes the lead and engages all the men and works it for himself. What he gets he keeps for himself. He pays the wages. In selling, we discuss the matter among ourselves and then sell. The four or five elders get together and if they decide to sell this kind of fish for this price, it is sold.

"As one of the elders, I go alone and bid at the auctioning in the Deputy Commissioner's office. I also supervise the actual fishing saying to the other fisherman - "Do this, and this and this." I have a list of what things they need and have to go and buy these things for them. I have to buy poles, I have to buy THN bamboo, I have to buy all the implements which are to be used. I have to collect money, and buy all the implements used in the IN. I have to keep accounts for this. I get a bit more money (than the other fishermen) by making goods (from the profits of manufacture). You see, I also make dried Ngapyi fish and Ngapi-chaung. I buy the fish from them and process it. I have not worked at INS all my life. I worked for about ten years at the time when the British king reigned. When the Japanese came I worked at INS no longer."(He then bought fish and sold the preparations.) [656] 226 463 621

U Myaing gives the following supplementary information:

" There are ten leaders or foremen in the village, each of them taking charge of about seven or eight men. In all there are about eighty workers in the three sub-villages of Pathne working with me at our IN. About thirty or forty of these live in PWA-GYI-BET on our side of the river. These are men working at our IN only. There are also workers living in the village who work in the six other INS of the neighbourhood. About a hundred of the two hundred families in PWA-GYI-BET work INS. The rest process the fish, dry it, make ngapi etc., and to do this they have to buy the fish from the IN workers. Afterwards they sell to buyers who come from Upper Burma. Or sometimes they go upcountry in boats and steamers to sell the produce. Some people who are not IN workers go to the INS and help to extract fish oil. Fish like Ngu-Myare-chaung yeild about one viss of oil to every 10 viss of fish. The fish are cut open with a knife and the fat collected. The women come and help without payment and take home oil for themselves when they go back. The women of my household also used to do this. [438] [562]

eaten once a month. Three or four sticks, each costing one anna, are consumed at each eating. 262 435 178

BAMBU LEPHET CHAUK (Burmese-tea-dry: Camellia theifera, Griff.): Burmese tea leaves are made into a beverage by simply sprinkling a few leaves in a pot of boiling water. The same leaves can be used to brew two or three pots of plain tea at each occasion of drinking. Burmese plain tea is taken either by itself or together with cane jaggery. Two or three pinches of tea-leaves, each pinch about the size of a betel nut, are necessary for one pot of plain tea both in Pantanaw and in camp. In both places the family drinks two pots a day, but a rupee buys 12½ ticals of tea here as against only 10 ticals in Pathwe.

PEIN U (Yare tuber: colocasia antiquorum, Schott): This fruit is cooked as a dish. It is peeled, prawns are skinned and mixed with NGAMPYAR YE; seesamum oil is cured with onions, water is added, and the whole thing is then cooked. This is a KYAW-CHET dish and has to be eaten with rice. PEIN U has not been eaten once in camp but in Pathwe was eaten during four meals a month. Thirty ticals, costing three annas, were used at each meal.

KAZUN U (Sweet potato: Ipomea Batatas, Poir) is boiled and eaten with salt and seesamum oil. In Pathwe fifty ticals were eaten at one meal. One meal was eaten with KAZUN U every three days. One viss cost six annas in their village. In camp fifty ticals are consumed at each meal, but the price is ten annas for a viss. They have had this dish only once since their arrival at camp.

TRIFLES

"Trifles" are tid-bits eaten at the end of the meal or between meals. They are usually sweet foods as cakes and candy. The distinction between trifles and some supplementary dishes is not clear and they fall into either category depending on the use of the occasion. 263● 435 178

MON YAR YOE (cake-lotus stalk) is a small elongated trifle, measuring ½" in diameter, ½ inch in thickness and 5 ticals in weight. One condensed milk tin of treacle rice (KAUK HNYIN) and one condensed milk tin of ordinary white rice are ground together and then mixed with water and made into eliptical balls. These balls are then boiled and eaten with jaggery water and scraped coconuts. They are sold 4 one anna each. This trifle was not sold in Pathwe. It is eaten three times a month in camp by the four children who have one each. One MON-KYAR-YOE costs one anna here.

MON-LEYKAUK (cake-bangle) is made by grinding together some KAUK-HNYIN and some rice and then frying. In shape the trifle is sometimes long and sometimes is made in the form of whorls. It has to be fried in oil and eaten with jaggery liquid. It was eaten once a month in Pathwe but has not been eaten once in camp. This is in part due to the absence of sellers.

MON-OT-KALAY (cake-cover-small) are small circular trifles with a diameter of about two inches and measuring one inch in the thickest part of the trifle. These trifles are all of one size and are made by first grinding ordinary white rice, then adding some sugar and some coconut scrapeings and then being placed in the special oven for MON-OT-KALAY. This special oven is made of clay and contains several small declivities which give the shape of MON OT KALAY trifles to the prepared meal that is poured in after these moulds have been wiped with oil to prevent the meal from sticking to them. This trifle had

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never been seen by the family in Pathwe. In Rangoon, eight of these are sufficient for one eating. U Myaing's family ate MON OT KALAY five times in two months during their stay at the A.F.F.F.L. area. Eight trifles cost two annas.

MON-SALIN DAUNG is made by grinding flour from poor quality rice, mixing with jaggery, and frying in oil. In shape it is circular, with its thickness varying from about ½ inch at the circumference to about one inch and slightly over in the centre. The trifle is about three and one half inches in diameter. It is eaten as it is. MON SALIN DAUNG was not eaten at all in Pathwe. In camp the four children eat it four times a month at one anna each.

GYIN-THOKE. Preparation of ginger with sessamum oil, common salt: onion, garlic and sessamum seeds etc. (Ginger: gingiber officinale; Rose: Sessamum oil sessamum indicum, D.C.; common salt: sodium chloride onion: allium cepa Linn; garlic: allivium sativum, Linn; sessamum seed: sessamum indicum. D.C.) GYIN-THOKE is a trifle and is consumed between meals. One packet weighs 2½ ticals. In U Myaing's family it is eaten only by the three adults. In Pathwe they ate it only at festivals, which gave them four or five eatings in the year. In the refugee camp, it is eaten five times a month, and two packets, each costing two annas are eaten at a time.

AR PON (open-mounting) is a trifle which has to be bought by Ma Aye Myaing when they wish to eat it. It is usually eaten in the mornings and in between meals. It is made in the following manner: first, rice flour is mixed with water and liquid jaggery, then several deep pans are placed on the fire and hot coals placed on their improvised lids; when the pans are hot enough they are wiped with a rag soaked in sessamum oil in readiness for the prepared mixture. The meal is then taken up in small cups and poured into each pan, after which the pan is taken up and with one deft circular movement the meal is spread out over the walls of the pan. Then the lids are replaced and between the two fires the trifle is ready within two or three minutes. The AR PON has to be scooped out of the pan with a flat iron ladle. In appearance it is a concave trifle, very thin and slightly brown at the sides, and thick and white at the centre of the declivity. It measures 6½ inches in diameter. It has to be eaten either with sugar or with a solution of sugar and coconut milk. Only the four children eat AR PON. In Pathwe they used to eat it every day. They ate one each, and it cost U Myaing four annas for the four of them. Here in the camp, the family has not had this trifle once yet.

MON-LAR-U-GYAW (Carrot root fried: daucus carota. Linn.): It is prepared with prawns in sessamum oil that has been cured with onions. MON LAR fruit can also be eaten as a TOZAYA with NGAPI after being boiled. It is generally an oblong shaped bulb about 4½ inches long and 2" to 2½" diameter in the thickest part. It can be cooked alternatively as a CHIN YE dish with fish, tamarind, chillies, onions, sessamum, and NGANYIN YE. This fruit has not been eaten here at all, but in Pathwe village was eaten three times a month. Five fruits weighing about thirty ticals and costing two annas for the five, were needed for one meal.

THIN PAW THEE (ship-fruit, Papaiya fruit: carica papaya. Linn.): Papaiya fruit is cooked as a CHIN YE with the same ingredients as above. It has not been eaten once here. In Pathwe it was eaten four times a month. Each eating required one fruit weighing thirty ticals and costing 2 annas.

SAR LAY-CHI-GYAW (sparrow-faces-fried). These vermicelli circular plates made from gram flour and fried in oil were unknown to U Myaing's family back in Pathwe. They have eaten it in camp, but only after buying from sellers. They have never seen it being made. This is a trifle which consists of long thin strands of meal fried to a yellow crispness. It is eaten here almost every day, costs an anna apiece and five are eaten at a time.

KYAN (sugar cane: saccharum officinarium, Linn.) is eaten as it is.

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In Rangoon one small piece slightly over a span long costs an anna, whereas a stalk four FAUNGS long cost only three annas. It is eaten in the afternoons. In Pathee sugar cane was bought in sufficient quantity for all members of the family, (a whole stalk for one eating, and eaten about six times in the month) but here only the children eat sugar cane and then only occasionally.

KYET THUN-GYAW (onion-fried: Allium cepa, Linn): Fried onions are eaten either alone or with rice. The onion strips are bought at one anna apiece in Rangoon. They measure between 2" and 3" in diameter. In Pathee it was never prepared, and they had never eaten it before their arrival in Rangoon. They knew that onions could be prepared in this way to be eaten as a trifle but they had never tried it themselves. One of the main reasons being the relatively high price of onions back in Pathee. When it is eaten with the main meals, small pieces are torn off and buried in handfuls of rice then eaten. This trifle ordinarily measures about 4" in diameter and costs an anna each. It is prepared by frying flat pieces of a mixture prepared of rice flour and sliced onions. The trifles are eaten thrice a month in here by the family. They do not eat till satisfied, three or four pieces being made to suffice for one eating. These are shared giving each member less than one each.

MALAKAR-THEE (Guava fruit: Psidum Guyave, Linn) is eaten as it is. It has to be bought in camp at the rate of one anna each if the fruit is big and two for an anna if they are small. In Pathee guava fruit cost an anna for one small fruit. There were some guava trees in the village, but the fruit was meant for home consumption and not for sale, and consequently Ma Aye Myaing and family get guava fruit only when sellers from other villages came over. In Pathee it was eaten six times a month, while in camp it is eaten almost every day when in season. Five fruits were taken at one meal in Pathee while in camp the figure has risen to 12 per meal.

PAUK PAUK MSOTE (puffed grains with jaggery of Lower Burma) is prepared in the following way: a pan full of fine sand is placed on the fire and kept there till the sand grows burning hot. Grains of KAUK MYIN paddy are taken and mixed and stirred in the sand until the the heat bursts the grains open. Then the sand is sifted out, and the burst grains are mixed with jaggery and rolled into balls about 3½" in diameter. These round balls are eaten in the afternoons. PAUK PAUK MSOTE was eaten three times a month in Pathee. Three Burmese teacups full at one anna a teacup, were needed for each eating. This trifle is not eaten at all in camp.

KAYE KAYA (puffed grains with jaggery of Upper Burma: Oriza sativa, Linn) has not been eaten by U Myaing's family. In camp it is too expensive and back in Pathee there was no one who made KAYE KAYA. However, Ma Aye Myaing knows the procedure for making it. According to her, this trifle is made by bursting fine powder, and mixing thoroughly with jaggery, Lakatate jam, (DAWIN YO) dorian-jam, and coconut scrapings. The finished product is not sliced up into ready made pieces, but instead is sold according to weight. In Pathee village there was no KAYE KAYA, but another trifle, very similar to it, known as PAUK PAUK PYIN was widely consumed. To make this trifle, KAUK MYIN paddy has to be burst, pounded into a powder, mixed with lakatate jam, coconut scrapings water, grape jam (THABYET YO) grape jam, and sesamum. The whole mixture is then placed on the fire and stirred. About half an hour after stirring, it is placed in a shallow receptacle, and when it cools, it is cut up into pieces to give to the phongyis as MSOON or to feed visitors.

MAR MAT-THEE (pineapple fruit, Ananas sativa, Linn) is bought by the whole fruit, skinned, washed, and eaten with salt, or with MAPI water. However, it is more often eaten by itself as a trifle. Pineapple was not eaten back in Pathee. In camp it is eaten about four times a month when in season. One fruit, costing 2 annas, is consumed at one eating.

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PE MYINT (bean-root, tuberous roots of Goa-bean: Pachyrhizus angulatus, Rich) has not been eaten once since arriving at camp. This is because they do not want it. In Pathwe they used to buy these beans, boil and skin them and eat with salt and sesseamum oil. PE MYINT was obtained free because Ma Aye Myaing's mother worked at gardening back in Pathwe.

PALAW PONG (Palaw-Pong Tapioca tuberous roots, Manihot utilissima, Pohl) had to be bought if desired, both in Pantanaw and in camp. In appearance they are long thick tubers which are white in colour and measure 12 to 14 inches long, with a diameter of about 2 inches. After it has been boiled it is eaten as a trifle with salt and sesseamum oil. In Pathwe 50 ticals were consumed at one eating, at six annas a viss. It was eaten seven times a month. In the refugee camp it is eaten twice a month and then only by Ma Aye Myaing. She buys ten ticals for two annas from sellers who come to the camp.

MON-PYA-GA (cake-curry-bitter. vermicelli made from rice flour and eaten with curry) is another food which has to be bought for consumption both in Pantanaw and in the camp. It is eaten both in the early morning and in the daytime. In Pantanaw it was sold at the rate of 4 annas per 12 ticals - which was sufficient for one person. In camp it is eaten only individually, mainly by U Myaing. In Pantanaw it was usually prepared at home for all the family, and that required 50 ticals for each eating. It was eaten four times a month in Pantanaw and is eaten 5 times a month here. MON HIN GA sellers come to the camp.

KLUK HYMIN-BAUNG (steamed treacle rice: Oriza sativa, Linn) has to be bought and is usually eaten in this family in the early morning. The rice is soaked in water and steamed on the fire for about one hour. Should it become too hard, water is poured in, and the KLUKHYIN stirred with a ladle. It is eaten with a mixture of coconut and sesseamum and rice that has been pounded together. If for the whole family four condensed milk tins of treacle rice are prepared, usually two or three times a month when in Pathwe. One anna bought 7½ ticals. However, this trifle is mainly eaten by the youngest daughter and in camp she alone consumes five ticals every day. Sellers of this trifle come to the camp.

BEIN-MON (wheel-cake) A sweet prepared from rice flour, in the form of a circular cake stuffed with jaggery and baked. It is bought from sellers, who cut the trifle into pieces with a pair of large scissors. Each of these small pieces when sold in camp weigh 2½ ticals and is sold for one anna. In appearance the trifle is brown and porous and bears some resemblance to a flat circular sponge. It is made by pounding poor quality rice into a flour and mixing with jaggery liquid and then frying in a flat pan with a lid on which hot coals are placed. Before putting the lid on, some sesseamum seeds are sprinkled on the surface of the mixture. The trifle is ready in about five minutes. The whole BEIN MON weighs about 50 to 60 ticals and measures about "two fingers thick" and fourteen inches in diameter. The four children are the main consumers. In Pathwe they ate this three times a month and in camp twice a month. Four pieces are eaten in both places at one eating, and the price of an anna each is also the same, but whereas one piece in camp weighs 2½ ticals, those in Pathwe weigh 7 ticals each.

PE-GYAN (gram-fried: Cicer arietinum Linn) Grams fried in meal cost one anna each both in Pantanaw and in camp. Each measures about 3½" in diameter, and weighs 5 ticals. Rice of poor quality is pounded into a flour together with KLUK HYIN rice. The flour is then mixed with boiled PE LUN beans and fried. Some salt has to be added. This trifle also is mainly consumed by the children. In both Pathwe and the refugee camp four pieces at an anna each were eaten at a time, three or four times a month in Pantanaw, two or three times a month in camp.

MON YIT SALET (A sweet prepared from wheat flour and jaggery baked in frying pans. Triticum vulgare, vill.) is made by mixing flour of coarse rice with liquid jaggery and then frying. Some sesseamum seeds are sprinkled onto the trifle before it is fried. It is eaten either in the early morning or in the afternoon - never with meals. The figures for consumption of MON YIT SALET are exactly the same as for those of PE GYAN.

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MON KYO-LEIN (cake-string-single): A sweet prepared from rice flour, fried and soaked in sugar solution, as its name signifies, is a trifle which looks like a twisted rope. It is bought, and each piece weighs about 2½ ticals. It is made of flour of coarse rice and KAUK NYIN, fried and then dipped in a sugar solution. The sugar sticks to the trifle and solidifies there. With the exception of U Myaing, the whole family eats this trifle. In both places, 6 were consumed at one anna each, five times a month in Pathwe, four times a month in camp.

MON SEIN PAUNG (cake-rice-steam). Steam-cooked rice eaten with coconut scrapings and jaggery is made by sifting rice flour through a strainer, mixing it with water, and steaming it in a PAUNG GYAUNG (steam cooker). It is eaten in the mornings and in the afternoons. Only the four children eat this trifle; five ticals to each child both in Pantanaw and camp. The price is also the same in both places - one anna for five ticals, but whereas it was eaten ten times a month in Pathwe, it has been eaten by the family only twice since their arrival at camp.

MON-OH HNAUK (cake-brain). A sweet, soft preparation like pudding made from rice flour and sugar or jaggery is a trifle about two inches thick and 3½ to 4 inches long. The recipe for it is quite simple - take some rice flour and make a stew, mix with water and boil until it solidifies. Cut up into required sizes and eat with coconut milk and sugar. This is not eaten in the camp but in Pathwe they used to have it twice a month - six annas worth - for each eating.

MON-HPET-HTOKE (cake-leaf-wrap) This is a sweet prepared from soft rice paste covering jaggery or dorian. The procedure for making MON PHET HTOKE is as follows: KAUK NYIN rice is first soaked in water and then ground. The water is then strained away, and the rice flour again kneaded with water. Small amounts of the rice weighing about 5 ticals each are then taken, coconut scrapings and jaggery are buried in them, and they are then wrapped in plantain leaves boiled for about one hour. Eat after unwrapping the plantain leaves. This article was not eaten at all by the family when in Pathwe. In camp it is eaten three times a month by all except U Myaing. Six pieces, each costing an anna, are consumed at one eating.

HLAMYET-CHAUNG (jaggery-stick: prepared from sugar cane, Saccharum officinarum, Linn.) They are made by placing some jaggery and water on the fire. The jaggery melts in the heat and when it completely liquifies, it is poured out into a receptacle containing water. During the interval in which the jaggery is still warm enough to be pliable, and cool enough to permit of handling, it is drawn out into long flat sticks and cut up into pieces. One piece measures 5" long, 1" wide and ¼ to ½ " thick, and three are sold for one anna. This is another trifle that was not found in Pantanaw. In camp the three youngest children eat this about ten times a month. Six pieces, at an anna for three pieces, are eaten at a time.

PE-GYI-HLAW (Baked long beans: Dolichos lablab, Linn. var lignosus, Prain.) These beans are soaked in water and laid out in the sun to dry. When they have been dried to a certain extent they are taken in and fried in a pan containing a very large amount of salt. In Pantanaw everyone in the family ate baked beans, but here consumption is mainly confined to the children. In Pathwe 12½ ticals at 4 annas for 12½. were eaten by the family five times a month, while in camp the children have 2½ ticals or one anna's worth at each eating. They have it eight times in the month.

NYE [illegible] (ground nut: Arachis hypogaea, Linn.) is usually bought and eaten in between meals. In Pathwe twelve and one half ticals of ground nuts cost four annas. This lasted the family for a day, and they ate ground nuts four days in the month. In camp they eat this only occasionally, buying the nuts from the shop in the camp. Each person buys one anna's worth or ¼ tical of peeled ground nuts for one eating.

PATTANI (baked pea seeds: pisum arvense, Linn.) is not eaten here very often, only twice in the past two years and in Pantanaw it was not

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eaten at all. This was because there were no sellers of PATTANI in the village.

PE-BYOTE (pea-boiled: pisum arvense, Linn.) The peas are soaked in water and left there until they sprout, when they are taken out and boiled in water together with a small amount of soda. It is eaten with salt and sessamum oil. The figures for consumption of PE BYOTE are the same both for Pantanaw and for camp. Twelve and one half ticals, worth two annas, are eaten every morning by the family.

THAR GU (Sago: Arenga s charifera, Labill.) is mixed with water and placed on the fire and left there until the little white specks in the sago seeds have disappeared. Then, liquid jaggery and scraped coconuts and salt are added. After this the THAR GU is ready for eating. THAR GU was eaten twice a month in Pathwe from sellers. In camp they have had it five times since their arrival. They had six saucers at each eating in both places, but each saucer cost two annas here as against one anna in Pantanaw.

MON-LET HSAUNG (cake-hand-more). This is a sweet prepared from rice paste fried in oil in small drops and then put into either sugar solution or in jaggery solution. To make this, rice is soaked in water and then ground, and then the water wrung out. It is then laid out in the sun to dry, after which it is again mixed with water and put on the fire to expand. This forces the rice through a tin which has small holes bored in the bottom, so that small pieces of boiled rice either round or elongated in shape are obtained. When these are mixed with jaggery liquid, sugar and coconut milk the MON LET HSAUNG is ready for drinking. This is usually taken in the dry season and mainly by the four children. Four cups are taken at a time in both places. The cups are of the same capacity but the drink was consumed five times a month in Pathwe and only three times a month in camp.

MON-LEIT PYAR (cake-butterfly). This is a blue or purple coloured sweet prepared from rice flour and jaggery or sugar. Ma Aye Myaing is not acquainted with the procedure for making this trifle. She describes this as 4½" long and measuring four fingers across. It weighs 2½ ticals, and contains peas and jaggery mixed together. It is bought at the rate of two for an anna. Four are consumed at each eating and there are six meals a month of this trifle. It was not eaten in Pathwe.

BU-THEE-GYAW (Gourd-fruit-fried). This is fried gourd with gram flour or wheat flour used as a binding material and flavoured with ginger. The fruit is washed, peeled, sliced and fried with rice flour. It is not eaten by the family here but in Pathwe sellers used to come and sell this trifle at the rate of five for four annas. Seven of these pieces each three inches long and containing five slices were consumed at each eating. This was eaten during four meals in the month. (Gourd: lagenaria vulgaris, ser. Gram: cicer arietinum, Linn. Ginger; Zingiver officinale, Rose. Musa paradisiaca, Linn. Sub-sp. sapientum. L. Schum.)

NGA PYAN-GYAW (plain taing-fried) Fried plaitains are prepared in the same manner, with the exception that the bananas are sometimes fried without being sliced into smaller pieces. In Pantanaw the family consumed in a day one bunch of bananas holding 13 fruit and costing three annas for the bunch. It was eaten four or five times a month. In camp one bunch of thirteen is eaten in a day, five days in the month, and costs four annas for the bunch.

KHE-THEE (Plum, zizyphus Jujuba, Lam.) are eaten after washing. They are eaten during the day, with salt. In Pathwe 2 condensed milk tins of plum were eaten at a time. It was eaten four times a month. The family does not eat plum here.

THAYET-THEE-AHEE (mango-fruit-ripe: mangifera indica, Linn) are also eaten frequently with rice and NGAPI YE. Unripe mangoes are also eaten in this way. In Pantanaw they were eaten five times a month, 10 for one eating. The size of a mangoe varies from 4" long

to 2½d. Mangoes in season cost four annas for ten. In camp they have eaten mangoes twice in six months, six for one eating, Re. 1/- for six. 2630

MAYAN-THEE-AHME (marian-fruit-ripe: Bouea burmanica, Griff.) are eaten in the afternoons, with salt. Similarly with unripe ones. They are also eaten with rice and MOAPI YE. In Pathwe about ten fruits were eaten almost daily when in season. 435 178

MOA PYAN-THEE (banana-fruit: Musa paradisica, Linn, Sub-sp, sapientum, K. Schum). Bananas are sometimes eaten with rice during the main meals but usually by themselves. In Pathwe one bunch a day containing 13 bananas and costing three annas were eaten during four or five times a month. In camp the same bunch costs four annas and bananas are eaten five times a month.

THAGYAR-LON (sugar-ball) or sweets, and CHO-CHIN (sweet-sour) are bought. Ma Aye Myaing has never seen these being made and hence does not know the process of manufacture. The THAGYAR-LON are round sweets also but are shaped like small orange pods and weighing about six to the tical. They are eaten only in camp. The consumption of sweets is limited to the youngest. She gets 8 THAGYAR-LONS a month at one anna for two and two for an eating; and 18 CHO-CHIN a month at an anna for six and six for one eating.

Ma Aye Myaing gave the following data on the period of the year when the foods used by the family are available. 262

Fish is obtained from the fishery in Pathwe from the month of Tawthalin to the month of Pyatho. From the other places in the river, fish was obtained from Tabodwe month to the months of Kason and Nayon. The varieties of fish remain the same in both fishing areas. Shrimps are plentiful in Pyatho month and lobsters in Tasaungmon and Nadaw.

KALA-BE (dhall): In common with a great number of peas and beans, KALA BE appears about the month of Tabaung. However, since these are not very perishable, they can be kept in stock for the whole year and made available in any month.

KAYAN-THEE (brinjal): The brinjal plant starts to bear fruit in the month of Pyatho and continues to Kason and Nayon. In Tawthalin and Thadingyut, brinjal fruit was brought to Pathwe from other villages from the fields not on the river banks. Here in Rangoon they notice that brinjal fruit is available all year round.

PE-LINGME-THEE (snake beans) were available during the months of Kason, Nayon, Waso, Wagaung, Tawthalin and Thadingyut.

In Rangoon many of the plants and vegetables that were cultivated only seasonally back in Pathwe and the other district villages, are cultivated all the year round. The ready market in Rangoon encourages the districts lying just outside Rangoon to produce whatever plants they can and send them to town. [369] [241]

PE THEE (beans): these appeared in Pathwe for 9 months in the year. The first period is from Tasaungmon to Tagu, and the second from Waso to Thadingyut inclusive. In Rangoon this is available all year round.

HSAN (rice): During the months of Kason and Nayon the paddy grains are sown in the nurseries, and the seedlings are then transplanted to the fields during Waso and Wagaung. In other fields where no transplanting is carried on, the seeds are sown broadcast in Kason and Nayon. There are some species of paddy grain that ripen earlier than the rest. However, from the point of view of the consumer, rice is available all the year round. [243]

MYAYUNE-THEE (chillies): The seeds are planted during Waso, Wagaung and Tawthalin and transplanted during Tasaungmon. The chillies

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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157. CARRYING HOME THE WATER-POTS

fuel is required only for cooking and in manufactures.

Rice is the staple of every meal, except in the dry zone. The millet and sorghum which there take the place of rice are cooked in the same way but need longer boiling. "A rice-boiling" (*ta-ô-dyét*) is the common phrase for an interval of about twenty minutes. After washing in several waters, rice is put to boil in an earthen pot with enough water to cover it, and boiled till the grains are quite clear. The rice-water is poured off, and the rice is put back on the fire to steam. Rice is cooked fresh for every meal and is eaten hot. A relish is made to eat with the rice, consisting of a watery stew of fresh greens or of pulse. The fat used is sesamum oil (*hnan-zi*). This curry is seasoned with turmeric (*sauzin*), capsicum (*ngayôtthi*—chilli), and either salt-fish or *ngapi* (p. 92). Fresh fish, prawns, or meat are added if available. In default of cultivated vegetables, wild greens of all sorts, bamboo-shoots and sprouting leaves, are used. Pickles of lime and other fruits are used as separate relishes. There are two meals in the day, both of the same nature. The morning meal is eaten at about nine o'clock, the other before dark. Meals are taken by the household in common. The housewife or daughter gets mats ready in the *kyanndaing* and places in the centre a *byat*—a large, deep, wooden platter, lacquered red—into which she turns out the cooked rice (*tamin*). In the middle of the rice is set a bowl with the curry and a spoon. The family squat round the *byat*, or if a large household round several.

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158. STAND FOR THE DRINKING-WATER.

1: Mi Mi Khaing 1-5 (no date) 1946 APT Burma
Burmese AP4
Mon

593 always do so, at home and everywhere else, but mother understands
177. that you make habits easily at your English school. Never walk into
57 the house with your slippers on, as you do in the downstairs room here. When you eat with your grandmother and aunts, don't touch anything until your aunts have put a little of it into Grandmother's plate. And try not to talk to one another in English." All the way in the train my sisters would fling themselves at me and shout, "Big Elder Sister, Big Big Elder Sister."

528 We went to Ye during our summer holidays which were the longest
592 in the school year and allowed us three weeks with my father and a
• 264 month at Ye. It also enabled us to pay obeisance to our grandmother at the New Year, and to celebrate this loveliest of festivals in its most fitting surroundings. My Uncle San Lin usually sent his wife and our four small cousins at the same time, so that for one month in the year at least Grandmother could feel that the world of big towns and English civilization had not robbed her of any family affection. Sleeping and eating arrangements for the gathering of twenty odd people were no problems for the simple large-scale economy of the household. My mother had a bed, and beside it my Aunt Khin and all the children slept on thinbyus laid side by side on the platform upper storey. Meals were eaten in successive rounds at a low table on the kitchen floor, not served as separate sittings, but by calling more diners as places were vacated, and filling each dish that diminished from the stove near-by.

528 Half of our visit to Ye was spent at the garden where we were
177 surrounded by rich fruits and could bathe in the clear swift water that rushed through islands of reeds. We walked and rode in bullock carts,

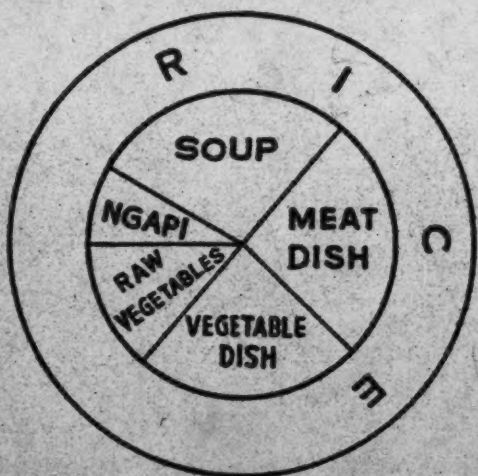
for miles, to visit other gardens owned by Grandmother's friends—old men and women who lived there all the time, and who chuckled with delight to see us, for to them we were not ourselves, not ordinary

1: Mi Mi Khaing I-5 (no date) 1946 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

CHAPTER ELEVEN

IF my aunt's character and speech were full of sharpnesses with which she jabbed at people, they will all be forgiven her for the sensuous delights which she provided for one and all with her qualities as a cook and an expert on foods. She was such a wonderful cook, she used to be asked to supervise at *a-hlus*, the mass cooking for free feasting of clergy and townspeople. She regarded the feasting of others as her one indulgence in life. In all other respects she economized and denied her tastes like all Burmese spinster ladies, but in the matter of food she considered that we did not live lavishly or plenteously enough. She knew the rarest tit-bits, the physiological effects of eating any particular food, the properties of leaves, the times of year when the most ordinary foods had the greatest beneficent influence. 252 589

The field of Burmese food is a rich territory, and so little explored by foreigners who will normally hear only of the ngapi, rice and salad leaves of the poorest people, that I am tempted to write a whole chapter on it, as dedication to my Kyi-Kyi Lon. The composition of the average plain Burmese meal is: boiled white rice; the *hingyo* or soup; the ngapi or condiment dish; the *to-sa-ya*, "dipper", or raw green vegetable dish which may be classed as a naked salad; the dressed or cooked vegetable dish; and the *hin*, the "curry" of meat or fish to provide the gravy. Roughly, the importance and quantity of each dish may be shown thus, diagramatically: 264 511



If any visitors are expected there may be one or two other dishes, but this is the standard meal and is enjoyed by all classes of people except the poorest; a-so-ya mins, rich men, clerks and petty traders all eat the same, more or less. For a family of four or five persons two such meals can be provided daily at a cost of about Re. 1/- or Re. 1/4 in an average district town or village.

264 This is for the fresh bazaar, most families storing rice, saltfish and
511 ngapi, and sesamum oil for cooking, by the month or longer periods.

The rice is cooked to result in clean and separate grains. The usual
252 method is to put it on the fire with cold water, using judgment as to the
262 amount of grain and water for the pot. A person who cannot "cut his coat according to his cloth" is "*ko-oh hnin ko hsan ma-tan bè :* his grain and pot do not accord". When, after coming to the boil, the rice is cooked but not yet soft, it is drained by decanting; the water is kept aside for starching the jackets of the women in the daily wash, and the pot is put back on to coals or half off a fire, with the lid left open to let the steam escape and complete the cooking of the rice. It is shaken once or twice during this process, but there is no harm done if a bad servant forgets to do this or puts the pot back on a strong fire, for then the burnt rice is scraped up in a cake (*gyo*) and is eaten, dipped in oil and salt, by the children with great relish.

The soup is always clear. The great majority of soups are plain hingyos, with a stock of fish, prawn or dried prawn; flavoured with ngapi, beaten garlic or onion. It is made fresh for each soup, and when it comes to the boil, green vegetables are thrown in and left just long enough to wear down the tough cellulose. The vegetables are never overcooked. Throwing in the vegetables is called *hingyo hkut-tè*, ladling out the soup, and the green things for ladling are numerous indeed. Of leaves, the tamarind, the sorrel, the drumstick (*moringa pterygosperma*), the *kinmun*, the calabash, the mustard, various types of spinach, are only some. Some particular leaves, stalks or fruits require adaptations in the soup they ladle; for example, green chillies with the sorrel, pepper corns with the calabash; and the neem and *mezali* leaves are so bitter that they must be rubbed in salt and cooked three times before they can be eaten. All leaves used for soup have a distinct and delicate flavour. If the soup were strained after the leaves had been boiled in it a few minutes, one could still identify the taste. Richer soups are made with stock of meat—pig's trotters, chicken or duck—and are ladled with dried mushrooms, dried flowers or vermicelli strands, transparent and fair as the lotus.

263 The ngapi, condiment, dish has several standard forms. "Ngapi"
[438] is the general term applied to any of its forms. Usually it comes to the housewife as seinsa ngapi, from Tenasserim, such as is made by my aunts in Ye, or from Yandoon in the Delta region. This high-smelling, strongly flavoured paste is stored in glazed earthen jars and flavours almost all dishes or is cooked into its own palatable forms. It is fried with chillies and pounded dried prawns into a crisp brownness, in which form Europeans like it as a toast spread which they call *balachaung*. It

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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intended more as an excuse for people to enter the house and have a talk than with any idea of making a profit. Whatever money is drawn is regarded as a kind of pin-money for the mistress of the establishment. When the ladies of the household are in earnest about trading, they start a stall in the bazaar, and very good hands they are at driving a bargain. A more regrettable trait is the forcible character of their language when they are annoyed. But this, unhappily, is a characteristic of the fair sex all the world over, whether in trade or out of it. Certain it is that the *dames de la halle* and the Billingsgate fishwives would require all their powers of voice and vituperation to silence a bazaar maiden when she sets her mind to it.

There are as a general thing two meals only in the day: breakfast at about eight in the morning, and dinner at five in the afternoon. There is no difference in the *menu* of the two meals. The staple article of food is plain boiled rice, which is piled up in a heap on a huge platter, round about which the household arrange themselves, sitting, like pit-men, on their heels. The curry which is taken with it is placed in little bowls, and each one of the party has his own plate, and helps himself. Knives are unnecessary; spoons and forks and celestial chopsticks are unknown, except in the houses of a few Government officials and traders in Rangoon, who have had some experience of English society. Very few are able to afford curries of meat or fish, besides that there are not always unscrupulous people ready to disregard the law against taking life, and the material is therefore not always available. Ordinarily the curry consists of a soup, or thin concoction of vegetables, in which chillies and onions figure largely. The other ingredients are very various. Young shoots of bamboo are very delicate in their flavour, if not overpowered by too much garlic. Wild asparagus, the succulent stems of a number of aquatic plants and fleshy arums are constantly used, and may be seen exposed for sale in every bazaar. Tamarind leaves and those of the mango-tree are used by the very poor. The former have a somewhat acrid taste, the latter are curiously aromatic. Along with the curry, which has always a large amount of oil and salt in it, there are a variety of condiments, notably the

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263 strongly-flavoured nga-pi, without which no Burman would consider his meal complete. Sometimes the big, fierce-stinging kā-gyin, a species of red ant, is used along with this fish paste, sometimes it is fried in oil by itself. As may be imagined, they have an acid and decidedly pungent flavour about them. Roasted turtle's and iguana's eggs, [828] dried fish, and fried ginger are gourmand's adjuncts. There is a particular objection to the smell of cookery, and when anything is fried in oil, or prepared so as to produce a strong savour, it is always done to leeward of the house, and where the fumes may not reach any other dwelling. Such smells 264 are believed to be very productive of fever. Nothing is ever 271 drunk at meals, but each one, when he has finished, goes to 273 the earthenware jar full of water which stands in a corner of the verandah, and rinses out his mouth. It is a lamentable fact that many Burmans in the low country now drink beer and spirits, but this is never done at meals nor in the house, where, indeed, the wife would not allow it. It is deplorable, because it is drinking for the sake of drinking, and is never done in moderation. The tippling Burman goes to the "toddy-shop" for his liquor, and he does not know when to stop. Brandy of the fiery description known to the British soldier as "fixed bayonets," or "chain-shot," is often drunk, but the usual tipple is "Old Tom." A particularly heady mixture of this with cheap beer is affected by confirmed [183] topers. It is contrary to the national religion, and it does not suit the national temperament.

276 After meals every one smokes—men, women, and children. Facetious people have declared that Burman babies blow a cloud while they are still at the breast. This is inaccurate. They never indulge till they are able to walk without needing the assistance of their hands, but their mothers give them whiffs long before that. The ordinary Burman cheroot is very mild and has really very little tobacco in it. The full-flavoured article to be seen occasionally in London shops is manufactured entirely for English residents. The se paw-leip, the cigar for home consumption, commonly known as the green cheroot, is very large, from six to eight inches long and about an inch in diameter at one end, tapering to slightly less at the other.

511 722 361 342 much of the Pathwe space was not vital in that it was used for social or storage functions only. 2987 cubic feet were used in Pathwe for sleeping, cooking, and religious purposes, approximately 20% of the total amount of space. However, all of the space in the refugee camp was used for these vital purposes. About 1/10th of the Pathwe space for these functions was available in the camp. In commenting on the differences, U Myaing especially stressed the lack of space and the fact that all functions had to be done in the same enclosure. He did not seem particularly bothered about the lack of space for social functions or visitors.

There seemed to be no difference regarding costs of housing - non-existent in both cases beyond the original investment in Pathwe. Also there is no difference regarding use of land surrounding house. The reduction of space available for the altar from a six taung room to a place on the wall seemed to be regarded lightly. The Pathwe house was undoubtedly healthier with its windows and open space, and this handicap will be further discussed under the heading of health.

511 722 352 415 There is considerable difference in the house furnishings of the two places. The quality and the quantity of the objects in the refugee camp are considerably lower. The bric-a-brac (porcelain duck glass elephant, and porbelain water jug) were lost in Pathwe and regretted because of sentimental value. The earthen-ware jars used for storing fish have no use here and are not "desired", but the HSOON vessels would be useful now. These would cost about Rs. 25/- apiece here. The KYAUK-KAN food carrier is also desired and this would cost Rs. 10/- here. Mosquito nets for Daw Aw Zar and the children would certainly be desirable, but these would cost over Rs.30/- even if made from cheap plain material.

[264] The tables used in Pathwe are not found in camp since the family sit on the floor on the mats and hold their dishes in their laps, and one stool is used in camp and this by Ma Aye Myaing in preparing the food. Storage containers including cupboards and boxes have been dispensed with and their place taken by baskets in camp. The bedding in camp lacks the comforts of mattress and adequate mosquito nets and pillows. The point must be made however, that U Myaing's family is used to sleeping on hard surfaces and it may not be supposed that the [513]

The daily work schedule of U Myaing while he was working as a fish processor (2 months in a year) was as follows:- 512 461 264

He rose at four or five in the morning said his prayers, drank plain tea, had boiled beans, fried fish and rice left over from the previous day's evening meal. After that he went to collect fish, bring it to the bank and start work on it. He rested from 11 o'clock to 2 o'clock. At two he resumed work till about five when he would be finished for the day. Sometimes he would sleep at the work place after returning home for his evening meal.

Work in the Refugee Camp.

Shortly after arriving at the Camp U Myaing worked in Sulian Park near the Kokine market where a factory for spinning and weaving cloth was being set up. The contractor was Chinese, and he engaged between 30 to 35 labourers every day. These labourers were unskilled and they were employed in levelling the ground and laying the foundation of the factory. Most of the labourers were Indians - there being only two Burmans, U Myaing and Ma Aye Myaing got Rs. 2/-. The working hours stretched from eight in the morning to 12 noon, with a break of one hour at 12. At one o'clock they resumed work and continued until five in the evening. In the mornings they had to go to the factory by themselves, and this took them about a half hour walk. Sometimes they were sent home in a truck in the evenings. U Myaing had to enquire each day at various places for a chance to work. He was not always successful. 722 461 464 331

It was not usual for Ma Aye Myaing to come along like this to work as a labourer. This was the first time she did so. Ma Aye Myaing said that in future she would accompany U Myaing whenever there are prospects of such work. They knew that women worked in this way, but had not known that such work was available. [562]

As a matter of fact, I met U Myaing through the mats which were made in his camp. We got dinner place mats through him. These are rectangular ½ feet by 2 feet mats of finelywoven split cane in an over 2 - under 2 pattern. They cost Rs. 2/8 each. U Myaing arranged for the making of these mats and collected the money for them, but 285 437

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Sample Meals

The type and quality of food prepared for consumption in one day (two meals) in camp for the family was analysed. Both meals consisted of boiled rice plus a single dish or curry. The trifles eaten during the day are also noted. Ma Aye Myaing was asked to save identical amounts of the food eaten. The eldest daughter was absent during the day so the food was consumed by a Aye Myaing, U Myaing, Daw Aw Zar and the three younger daughters (6 all told).

First Meal (7:30 a.m.)

The rice was boiled and steamed; the other ingredients were fried together into a curry dish (PAN MONLA and PUZUN GYAW - cauliflower and prawn fry). The weight of the items are given below in grams.

Item	Weight in Grams
HSAN (rice: oriza, LINN.), 4½ tins, dry.....	1124
Water for boiling rice.....	1530
PAN MONLA (Cauliflower: Brassica oleraces, LINN., Sub-species botrytis), 2.....	481
PAZUN ZIET (prawn: carago Sp.).....	122
Sesamum oil	59
KYET-THUN-U-GYI (onions: Allium cepa, LINN.), 4.....	52
NGAN-PYAR-YE (fish water).....	11
NGANYOK-THEE (dried red chillies pounded: capsicum annuum, LINN.).....	12
salt (sodium chloride), plain.....	9
BAMA LA PHET CHAUK (tea leaves: camellia thea, link).....	5
Total	3405

3 trifles MONSAN, MA-TMAY (puffed rice sticks held together with jaggery) each measuring 2" by 3½" by 1" and weighing in all 126 grams were eaten by the 3 children in the late forenoon. (Jaggery is juice of palmyra palm. BORASSUS FLABELLIFER, LINN.)

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Second Meal (5:00 p.m.)

Steamed rice was eaten with a fish curry dish (NGA BYAY MA CHIN HNO)

Item	Weight in Grams
Rice (same type and amount as 1st meal)	1124
Water for boiled rice.....	1530
NGA PYAY MA (climbing Anabas testiduna), 13 fish.....	281
Garlic.....	6
Onions.....	15
Chillies (pounded).....	22
MA GYI-THEZ (tamarind)	37
Salt	10
Sesamum oil	28
NGAN-PYAR-YE	23
Water used in curry	261
Total	3337

In the afternoon 1 anna's worth of PE KWAY GYAW trifle (grounded grams fried in groundnut oil after moulding, Grams are chick peas: Cicer arietinum, LINN., groundnuts are peanuts: Arachis hypogaea, LINN.) weighing 32 grams were bought for the children.

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Table:- An average estimate of major Foods consumed by U Myaing's family. (Number of meals per month over quantity per meal in parenthesis.)

Item	Food consumed in Pathwe	Food consumed in Camp
HSAN (rice)	60 (5 milk tins)	60 (5½ milk tins)
Fish	30 eaten when other meats not eaten. (50 ticals)	4 (12½ ticals)
Prawns	10 (25 ticals)	15 (15 ticals)
KALAHE (Dhall beans)	5 (25 ticals)	25 (25 ticals)

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Item	Food consumed in Pathwe	Food consumed in Camp
Chicken	8 (whole fowl) 50-60 ticals	0
Duck	8 (50 ticals)	0
Beef	8 (50 ticals)	0
Pork	10 (25 ticals)	2 (25 ticals)
Duck eggs	3 (5 eggs)	0
MHANYAN THEE (brinjal fruit)	7 (5 fruits)	10 (16 fruits)
PE LINMME THEE (snake gourd)	8 (2 gourds)	10 (3 gourds)
PE THEE (beans)	3 (25 beans)	4 (25 beans)
NGAYOTE THEE ACHAUK (dried chillies)	60 (1/20 viss)	60 (5 chillies)
KYEE THUN NI (onions)	60 (1/20 viss)	60 (1/20 viss)
AR LU (potatoes)	4 Prepared only for ponyis. (50 ticals)	5 (33 ticals)
HSA (salt)	With fried fish only (12½ ticals a month).	60 (1.3 ticals)
NGAN PYAR TE (fish juice)	60 (5 ticals, 6 spoonfuls)	60 (2 ticals - 2 spoonfuls)
HNAN HSI (Sessamum oil)	60 (3.3 ticals)	60 (1 tical)
KYAN TAGAR (cane jaggery)	2 (2½ ticals)	5 (2½ ticals)
HTIN (firewood)	60 (5 pieces)	60 (3 pieces)
BAMA LAPHET CHAUK (tea leaves)	60 (2.5 teaspoons ful)	60 (2.5 teaspoon fuls)
BU THEE (gourd fruit)	4 (1 slice 1 ½' by 2")	2 (½ slice)
DAN DALUN THEE (drumstick fruit)	0	2 (25 fruits)

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(continued)

Item	Food consumed in Pathwe	Food consumed in Camp
YON PAIN THEE (Lady's finger fruit)	4 (10 fruit)	.25 (10 fruit)
KAZUN YWET (Rabbit green leaf)	5 (1 bundle)	10 (1 bundle)
KYAUNG SHAR THEE (fruit)	10 (1 fruit)	.1 (1 fruit)
DANYIN THEE (small fruit)	Every day in season. (10 fruits)	5 (10 fruits)
THAYET YWET (Mango leaf)	3 (5 leaves)	0
MAYAN THEE (Marian fruit)	6 (6 fruits)	2 (6 fruits)
HSU BOTE YWET (Acacia leaves)	3 (5 leaves)	0
SHWE PAYON THEE (golden pumpkin)	4 (½ fruit)	0
THAMA THEE (cucumber)	3 (1 fruit 1' by 2")	5 (1 fruit 8" by 2")
HMO MA DO (water fern leaves)	.4 (8 leaves)	.1 (8 leaves)
HMO (mushrooms)	3 (50 ticals)	0
KAN PI BOK (cabbage)	2 (1 cabbage 7" diam.)	3 (25 ticals)
BU NYUNT (tender shoots of bottle gourd)	5 5 sprouts	.25 4 sprouts
MA GYEE YWET (tamarind leaves)	5 (5 ticals)	0
KYAR YO (lotus stalk)	5 (5 stalks)	0
SAR LAY CHE DAUK (sprouts)	2 (1 bundle)	0
ON SHI YWET (leaves of bael fruit)	3 (6 leaves)	0
SHAUK THEE (large lemons)	0	3 (3 fruit)
MIN KYAR YOE trifle (lotus stalk shaped trifle)	4 trifles	0
MIN LET HAUK trifle (bracelet shaped trifle)	0	3 (4 trifles)

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Item	Food consumed in Pathme	Food consumed in Camp
MON OT KALAY trifle (small cover trifle)	0	2½ (8 trifles)
MON SALIN DAUNG trifle. (circular trifle)	0	4 (4 trifles)
HSALUT TWET (leaves of lettuce)	0	3 (2 sprouts)
MON LAR TWET (carrot leaves)	3 (6 sprouts)	0
PEDI BIN BAUK (bean sprouts)	0	(once only) (25 ticals)
TAMAR TWET (leaves of neem)	0	2 (1 bundle)
HPAN DA THEE (fruit)	0	4 (10 fruits)
PEIN NE THEE (Jack fruit)	.3 (½ fruit)	.25 (½ fruit)
PAZUN NGABAUNG GYAN (prawns fried in meal.)	6 (40 prawns)	.1 (20 prawns)
NGA NGABAUNG GYAN (fish fried in flour)	0	4 (3 fish pieces)
THAYET THEE THANAT (mango pickle)	3 (4 pieces)	10 (4 pieces)
MAYAN THEE THANAT (marian pickle)	0	Sampled only
ZEE YO (plum jam)	1 (1 tea cup)	5 (½ teacup)
THAYET THEE HNA SKIN (salted mangoes)	10 (1 mango)	0
MAYAN THEE HNA SKIN (salted marians)	Almost every day (6 marians)	0
NAR NAT YO (pineapple jam)	0	once only (5 ticals)
THAYET YO (mango jam)	.25 (1 teacup)	0
KAZIN U (sweet potato)	10 (50 ticals)	once only (50 ticals)
MON LAR U GYAN (fried carrots)	3 (30 ticals)	0
THIN BAN THEE CHIN YE (Sour dish of peaniya fruit)	4 (30 ticals)	0
NAR LAY CHI GYAN	0	every day 5

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Item	Food consumed in Pathus	Food consumed in Camp
PEIN U (taro tuber)	4 (30 ticals)	0
GYIN THOKE (mixed ginger dish)	.4	5 (5 ticals)
AR PON (concave shaped trifle)	Every day (4 ticals)	0
KYAN (sugar cane)	6 (7 stalks)	occasionally (4 stalks)
KYET THUN GYAW (fried onion trifle)	3	3 (4 pieces)
MALAKAR THEE (guava fruit)	6 (5 fruits)	almost every day (12 fruits)
PEIN NE THEE TOZAYA (Jack fruit as TOZAYA)	.9 (1 fruit)	.4 (1 fruit)
PAUK PAUK HNOTE (puffed rice trifle)	3 (3 teacupsful)	0
KAYE KYAR (puffed rice trifle)	2 (12.5 ticals)	0
PAUK PAUK PYIN (puffed rice with jam trifle)	"widely consumed"	0
NANAT THEE (pineapple)	0	4 (1 fruit)
PE MYIT (Gwa bean roots)	rarely	only once (6 roots)
PALAW PYAN (Tapioca tubers)	7 (50 ticals)	2 (10 ticals)
MON HINGA (bitter curry	4 (50 ticals)	5 (24 ticals)
KAUKHWYIN BAUNG. (steamed treacle rice)	3 (25 ticals)	Every day (15 ticals)
SHIN MON (wheel-shaped trifle)	3 (20 ticals)	2
PE GYAW (fried peas in meal)	4 (4)	2 (4)
MON PYIT SALET ("worthless" cake trifle)	4 (4)	2 (4)
MON KYO LEIN (twisted rope trifle)	5 (6)	4 (6)
MON SHIN BAUNG (steamed raw trifle)	10 (20 ticals)	.2 (20 ticals)
MON GE HNAUK (brain trifle)	2 (15 ticals)	0
MON KYWE THE (cake-buffalo-heart)	.25 (5 ticals)	15 (8 ticals)

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Item	Food consumed in Pathwe	Food consumed in Camp
HT.NYET CHAUNG (jaggery sticks trifle)	0	10 (3)
PE GYI LLAW (roasted big beans trifle)	5 (12½ ticals)	8 (10 ticals)
MAY BE (groundnuts or peanuts)	4 (two condensed milk tins)	2 (4 ticals)
P.TTAWI (pea seed trifle)	0	.1 (4 annas worth)
PE BYOTE (boiled beans)	every morning (12½ ticals)	every morning (12½ ticals)
THAR GU (sago)	2 (6 saucers)	.4 (6 saucers)
MON LET HSAUNG (trifle made by cooling)	5 (4 cups)	3 (4 cups)
MON LEIT PYAR (Butterfly trifle)	0	6 (20 ticals)
KHAUK MON (trifle folded in half)	0	6 (2)
BU THEE GYAW (fried gourd fruit)	4 (7)	0
NGA PYAW GYAW (fried plantains)	3 (13)	0
ZEE THEE (plum)	4 (2 milk tins)	0
MAYAN THEE AHEE (ripe marians)	5 (10)	Almost every day in season (30)
THAYET THEE AHEE (ripe mangoes)	5 (10)	6 .3
NG PYAW THEE (bananas)	5 (13, 1 bunch)	5 (1 bunch)
THAGYAR LON (sugar ball candy)	0	8 (2)
CHO CHIN (Sweet-sour candy)	0	3 (6)
AYET NINGA THEE (bitter gourd fruit)	0	3 times only
KYET THUN BYU (garlic)	40 (.9 ticals)	40 (.5 ticals)
MON LAR U (radish)	.25 (6 fruits)	5 (6 fruits)
HIN NU HNE (spinach)	0	once only (2 sprouts)
ZAING YA THEE (edges-line-fruit)	.11 (8 ticals)	0

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Item	Food consumed in Pathee	Food consumed in Camp
MOA TOTE KAUNG ZE (pepper corn)	.25 (10 corns)	.25 (10 corns)
MEHALI leaves	.50 (15 ticals)	once only
NAN NAW (coriander leaves)	20 in season (7½ ticals)	.25 (3 ticals)
HSAMWIN (tumeric)	60 (a pinch)	60 (a pinch)
NAZUN DOKE (Greyfish)	4 (35 ticals)	0
HSAN KYIT (Palmyra root)	once only	only once (2 roots)
ANDAMLUT (arrow root)	.15 (55 ticals)	.5 (2½ ticals)
MINGOUT THEE (mangosteen)	once only	0
DURIN THEE (durian)	.25 (1 fruit)	0
LEIN MAW THEE (oranges)	0	3 times only (5 fruits)
NGAPI GYAW (fish-pickle-fried).	50	1.1 (12½ ticals)
NGAPI AMYAR CHET (fish-pickle liquid-cooked)	.25 (25 ticals)	.5 (25 ticals)
NGAPI YE GYO (ngapi with water)	60 (3 ticals)	50 (2½ ticals)
KHAUK HSWE (wheat noodles)	4 (U Hyaing) (25 ticals)	once only (25 ticals)
GAE THI (fruit)	1 (1 fruit)	0
THE HYU THEE (plum-white-fruit).	.3 (½ milk tin)	.9 (½ milk tin)
MON LON GYI (cake-round-fried)	2 (36 ticals)	0
PE MON HSOK (bean-cake-ball)	.6 (20 ticals)	0
MON BAING DAING (cake-shuttle-stick).	.5 (1 milk tin)	0
MON HSAN (sticky rice dish)	every day in season. (4 milk tins)	0
HNA SWIN MA KIN (foreign expression Burmanized)	.25 (30 ticals)	0
KYAUK HAW (stone-smooth)	.9 (40 ticals)	0

Analysis of Food Consumption

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Table 8.9 gives a rough idea of the food consumption in Pathwe and Camp - summarizing the foregoing data. Whatever the degree of absolute accuracy, this data is felt to be especially valuable in giving the relative consumption of items in the two areas. In general, the food pattern of Pathwe was not broken in camp but it was rather severely modified by the dropping of the more expensive and unavailable items and substitution of cheaper, available ones. The direction of the change is clear, the degree and specific nature of the change is discussed below.

Table . Summary incident of use of food items by U Myaing's family

Place and Use of Items	Frequency	Proportion
Items used only in Pathwe	40	31%
Items used only in camp	23	17%
Items used in both places: 1. But more frequently in Pathwe	30	23%
2. But more frequently in camp	24	18%
3. Same frequency in both places	13	10%
Total:	130	99%

These gross figures indicate that only a small proportion of the Pathwe complex (13 items) have remained unchanged, over ¼ of the Pathwe complex (40 items) have been discarded, and the frequency of use of the rest shifted: 23 new items are added to the camp complex. A drastic change is thus demonstrated although the camp complex has only 17 items less than the Pathwe complex.

The gross idea of the shift in quantity of food used in both Pathwe and camp is gained from the following table:

Table . Variation in quantity of food per meal used at both Pathwe and Camp by U Myaing's family

Type of Variation	Frequency	Proportion
Same amount used in camp as in Pathwe	31	44%
A greater amount used in camp than in Pathwe	6	9%
A lesser amount used in camp than in Pathwe	23	34%

Type of Variation	Frequency	Proportion
Non-comparable items	7	10%
Totals:	67	99%

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This table shows the relatively high proportion of food items that are used in lesser quantities than in Pathwe.

The factor of quality could not be controlled in this survey - and since it was not mentioned by the informants we may assume that it is neglegible and may be disregarded.

The type of food in which the changes have taken place, along with the reasons given for the shifts give us a comprehensive picture of what has taken place.

Most of the items which did not change in frequency from Pathwe to camp are staples including : rice, fish juice, sesamum oil, tea leaves, chillies, PE BYUTE beans, firewood, onions, garlic, and tumeric that are used every day. However, the only one of this group to increase in quantity was the rice - due to the growing children. Fish juice consumption dropped but was supplemented by the addition of salt for flavouring. Sesamum oil also dropped about the same proportions due to lack of extensive frying. The drop in firewood was supplemented by brush fragments collected around camp. Inexpensive items which were cheaper in Rangoon or just as cheap as Pathwe including onions, garlic, PE BYUTE beans, and tea were maintained at the same level.

The most severe drop was in meats (chicken, duck, beef, pork) which in all were included in approximately half of the meals each month in Pathwe, but were discontinued because they could not be afforded in camp. The fish consumption also dropped to about 1/7 th of what it had been . In Pathwe fish and fish products were free from the IES which U Myaing worked. This deficiency is supplemented to a certain extent by prawns but especially by the inexpensive KALABE or dhall beans which in camp became a staple eaten almost every day. Whereas it was used only occasionally in Pathwe as a food definitely not preferred. A number of inexpensive fruits and vegetables including brinjals, snake gourd, rabbit greens, cucumber, guava fruit, ripe mariana, become important in supplementing the camp diet increasing double or more in frequency of use of each case with an increase in quantity per meal that reflects the growing

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capacity of the children. By eating the fruits in season they are secured relatively cheaply and in sufficient quantities.

The greatest part of the food items used in Pathwe but not in camp were specialty dishes and trifles for which substitutions could be made in some cases. Most were missed and desired in varying degrees although they were too expensive in Rangoon or not available. A few, although available, were not purchased because the family "didn't feel like it." A large number of items in this group including the tree leaves and stalks were obtained free in Pathwe, either for the picking or as gifts, and were prepared at home (salting and drying) without cost to the family. Such items (the fish products above are included) accrued to the family because of its situation or position in the village. The food gifts from the government agencies caring for refugees are in a comparable catagory for the family's camp position - but, of course, were staples rather than the specialty items of Pathwe The opportunities for gathering of food ingredients in and around the camp are poor because the land is in special (shade , etc.) trees and besides is privately owned. The camp is a good five or ten miles from good gathering areas. As an IN (large trap) fisherman U Myaing is not interested in line fishing even if it were possible to get to fishing areas.

Most of the items used in camp for the first time are trifles often never seen before coming to Rangoon - but quite similar to the trifles used in Pathwe. The consumption of trifles has risen sharply in camp but most go to the younger children. Possibly the sweet tid-bits compensate for the lack of the more satisfying Pathwe diet.

These are much more plentiful in camp and the temptation to spend on trifles, especially to please the children, is great.

A few items (bean-sprouts in greens, spinach soup) are tried for the first time in camp and not repeated although the ingredients may be cheap. An element of choice still persists in camp although it is greatly restricted by costs.

In general, the data indicates that the Pathwe food pattern was not broken in the camp adjustment but was modified in the direction of simplification in which the more expensive items of the Pathwe diet were

were dropped in favour of cheaper Rangoon products. The new items added to the diet in camp were either similar to those of Pathwe or known before. No real innovations were attempted with success. 262 264 178

SOCIAL AND CEREMONIAL ACTIVITIES

An attempt will be made under this heading to present some of the major routine activities carried out by U Myaing's family in every day life. Because of the complex nature of the socio-ceremonial activities it will be possible only to outline the more important of these activities. They may be grouped under the headings of (1) activities concerning the family relations, (2) activities relating the family to their community and state and (3) activities relating the family to the supernatural. Wherever possible the Pathwe situation will be compared to that of the refugee camp. 128

Family Relations

Marriage

U Myaing's account of the initial step in the formation of a family is of some interest. When a couple in love have money, they might marry with a proper ceremony; when they do not, they have to elope. U Myaing eloped with his wife. Some people take this course because the parents are not agreeable to the match. Others feel that it takes too much trouble and time to get married with proper ceremony. Others again elope because they do not like the match made for them by parents. U Myaing and Ma Aye Myaing gave as reason the point that it took too long and too much trouble to get properly married. Also at that time they could not afford to spend a great deal of money. 583

Some time after elopement there are attempts either on the part of the parents or the elders of the village to effect a reconciliation between the parties concerned. The couple does not usually take the initiative in these proceedings "because the young man is in the position of one who has stolen something from the girl's parents" and consequently has to lie low. The reconciliation takes place through the elders of the village, who approach the parents and request them to take back the young couple. Some couples stay away seven days, some a month, and some a year before rejoining the parental fold. The reconciliation itself is somewhat similar to a wedding ceremony, and

25: Ferrars · E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
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49. FOREST KYAUNG.

ates the incumbent, regularly undertakes the support of the *pôndyl*, and frequently of his sojourner *yahán* as well. The food, which is the best of its kind, is brought every morning by the daughters and young children of the supporter, or, in the case of joint support, by children of the leading families in turn. An ornamented vessel is used, having a tall finial to the cover (*ôt*). The supplies are received by the lay scholars or the novices, and by them served to the *yahán*. The principal meal is taken shortly before noon, for no food may be eaten after that hour till the following sunrise. Water may be drunk and betel chewed at any time. Tobacco-smoking is discountenanced, especially in Burma Proper, where the religious views are strictest. Burma furnishes the standard both for scholarship and practice, and trains most of the incumbents of the monasteries of Pegu. Scholars and novices may prepare food at the monastery from raw supplies. These the *yahán* may not even handle. Hired labour (*kappiza dayaka*) may be attached to the monastery by the supporter for the preparation of food and other services. In some cases lands have been dedicated for the maintenance of monasteries and temples. But the *yahán* have no concern with their administration. Supplies of raiment, chattels and food are dedicated to the use of the recluses when the distinction of their presence is solicited, especially at *shinlaung* fêtes and funerals. The annual provision of raiment (*kathin thingán*) is made between the months of *Thadingyut* and *Tasaungmón*. The offerings of necessaries are supplemented by accessories of every sort —books and writing materials, mats,

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50. VILLAGE KYAUNG.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
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137. CARRYING HOME THE WATER-POTS.

fuel is required only for cooking and in manufactures.

Rice is the staple of every meal, except in the dry zone. The millet and sorghum which there take the place of rice are cooked in the same way but need longer boiling. "A rice-boiling" (*ta-ò-dyét*) is the common phrase for an interval of about twenty minutes. After washing in several waters, rice is put to boil in an earthen pot with enough water to cover it, and boiled till the grains are quite clear. The rice-water is poured off, and the rice is put back on the fire to steam. Rice is cooked fresh for every meal and is eaten hot. A relish is made to eat with the rice, consisting of a watery stew of fresh greens or of pulse. The fat used is sesamum oil (*hnan-zí*). This curry is seasoned with turmeric (*sanwin*), capsicum (*ngayôtthi*—chilli), and either salt-fish or *ngapí* (p. 92). Fresh fish, prawns, or meat are added if available. In default of cultivated vegetables, wild greens of all sorts, bamboo-shoots and sprouting leaves are used. Pickles of lime and other fruits are used as separate relishes. There are two meals in the day, both of the same nature. The morning meal is eaten at about nine o'clock, the other before dark. Meals are taken by the household in common. The housewife or daughter gets mats ready in the *kyaunding* and places in the centre a *byat*—a large, deep, wooden platter, lacquered red—into which she turns out the cooked rice (*tamin*). In the middle of the rice is set a bowl with the curry and a spoon. The family squat round the *byat*, or if a large household round several

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138. STAND FOR THE DRINKING-WATER.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
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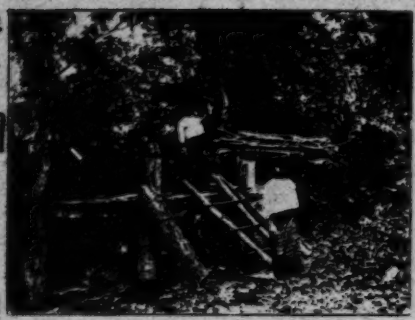

140. FETCHING IN FUEL.

In the villages the passing traveller is invited to join in the meal. Everyone in turn ladles gravy from the bowl on the rice in front of him and mixes and eats it with his fingers. Before and after eating, mouth and fingers are rinsed. After the meal a drink of water is taken. Fruit is eaten after meals and at odd times. The importation of delf crockery and enamelled ware has been going on for a long time.

Betel (*kun*) is taken at all times except at meals, and tobacco is smoked by men, women, and children (No. 21). The betel-box plays the same part in Burman sociality as the snuff-box still does in parts of Europe. The chew of betel is made up of the fresh leaf of the betel-vine (*kun-yuét*, No. 409) smeared with moist slaked lime (*tôn*) and folded over slices of the nut of the areca or betel palm. Dried tobacco-leaf, cutch and spices—cinnamon and cloves—are frequently added. "A betel-chewing" is a common phrase for about a quarter of an hour. Old people who have lost their teeth pound up the betel in a small brass mortar (*kun-dyeik*) for chewing. The spittoon (*tuk-gan*) is indispensable.

[805]

The native tea is prepared by hill-tribes of the North. It is either in dry balls the size of a fist (*sin-chi*) or loose (*leppétchauk*), or is pickled (*leppékkan*). The dry tea is infused in the Chinese fashion (*leppéyye*, No. 146).

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When the platters have been rinsed after the evening meal and the tables put by—*sabwé-hmauk*—which gives the name to the hour, the day's work is over and the young women smarten themselves up to receive their *hmuz*. The chief toilet-requisite is the face-powder (*than-dkhi*)—the cream-coloured bark

141. GETTING FIRE BY THE NATIVE METHOD.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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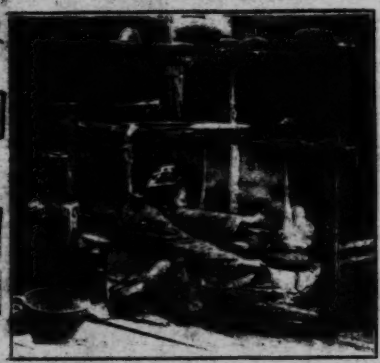

142. THE COOKING-PLACE.

of a tree of the dry zone, ground into a paste with water on a special stone. It is perfumed by grinding sandal-wood with it. The paste is smeared on the face and left to dry, after which the excess is rubbed off. For great occasions the paste is left on over-night. But ordinarily the face is "freshed" with water (*mye-ma-thit*) on rising in the morning. The Burmans admire white teeth and polish them with charcoal on a soft stick. The old style of women's hair-dress was like the early *chignon* fashion of about 1867 in Europe. The *sadôn* in this form is seen in Nos. 30, 381. About 1880 a new fashion was set by the palace, which now prevails. Tresses of false hair are much used by the women. Flowers in the hair and jewellery complete the toilet, which, like that of the actors in the *pwé*, is performed in view of everyone. The men's toilet consists in combing their long hair (No. 127). They take pride in the size of their top-knot (*yaung*) and rarely eke it out with false hair in the way the women do. The heavy knot works loose, so that combing and knotting up go on perpetually. The hair of both sexes is coarse and straight and jet black. Children's hair gets foxy from alternate exposure to rain and sun. The hair is smoothed with cocoanut oil and washed with soap-nut once or twice a month. At other times the Burmans are concerned to avoid wetting their hair. The native wooden combs are coarse, but the Chinese tooth comb is beginning to serve a useful purpose. Burmans turn grey at forty to fifty years of age and are white at sixty to seventy. Baldness is rare. Aged men still wear their little top-knot. The men's faces are smooth, many

[515] [264] 145 302

143. THE FAMILY MEAL (OLD STYLE).

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

144. THE FAMILY MEAL (NEW STYLE).

having no trace of beard till thirty. The beard is sparse and is not shaved but plucked out with tweezers. (The *yahán* of Burma likewise use tweezers for the beard.) When there is a passable moustache, towards middle life, it is allowed to grow. The hair on a mole is cultivated—sometimes a single long hair—for luck. Besides the sandal-wood perfume just mentioned, there is the perfumed wood *kalamét*. Sandal-oil and attar of roses have long been imported from India. Scented waters are made from various flowers and an oil is obtained from *baddi-ngan*. Scents imported from Europe have become a regular toilet article. The shoulders and arms of those who habitually wear jackets and do not labour in the open are brunette; face and hands are darker, much like the complexion of the sun-browned Levantine, but of a yellower tint than his. Regular exposure browns the skin to a copper hue, and where exposure is severe to a brown-black, but not so opaque a black as that of India or Africa. The colour lightens again on avoidance of exposure. Women's and children's complexions are fairer; the new-born are no darker than in Europe. As a rule the Burman is darker and slenderer, with a more oval face; the Taláing fairer and more thick-set, with a broader face. The gloss of the skin helps to exaggerate the light and shade in photographs and make the complexion appear too dark. The ordinary stature of the men is from five feet three inches to five feet six inches, and of the women from four feet nine inches to five feet. The people are of a moderately spare habit.

145. BETEL (KUN).

Having made her evening toilet,

441 563 semi-precious stones, or gold dust, all cut with many tiny facets. We once had in our house a heavy glass vase, imported by an English firm, of a dull bluish-black colour. One day a wind mercifully blew the vase on to the floor where it broke into a hundred pieces. My cousin gathered up the pieces and the next time she went to Mandalay her button cutter fashioned them into several sets of round sparkling buttons catching the light and showing now black, now grey, now blue, one set of which I wear to this day. These and the velvet slippers which are universally [438 565] worn were sold in the market by young Burmese women sitting opposite the tha-yet-htè longyi sellers. The slippers also came from Mandalay, and in the days of the last Burmese king, the common people were forbidden to wear them; they were reserved for royal use alone.

*265 563 At last my sisters considered that I was suitably dressed as the elder sister of such fashionable young ladies as they had now grown into, and equipped to attend any social function of the town. Although Burmese people love gathering to eat and drink, hotels and restaurants did not exist in Rangoon society. Both the Western restaurants where people danced and drank alcoholic drinks, and the leading Chinese restaurants where the dolled-up Chinese waitresses served the male customers with playful attentions, were out of bounds for Burmese women, and therefore not greatly frequented by Burmese men either, except in the case of the Chinese hotels as a carousal. Night bazaars were, however, eminently respectable, all Rangoon families being addicted to the habit of eating out as a supper after their dinner at home. They drove in cars to the pavement stalls of Chinatown, Moghul Street and Yegyaw; at Burmese stalls they got out and squatted on the benches provided, while the seller served them from the cooking pot beside her; at Indian and Chinese shops they had a plank thrust through to rest on the doors of the car, and ate sitting there. After eating rich Mohammedan food or delicious Chinese dishes, they drove a few streets further on to eat in the same fashion at an ice-cream or sherbet stall. It was a good life indeed.

546 177. 54 We usually did this after the cinema. While we went to see American films, my mother and her friends invariably went to a Burmese film. There were four Burmese cinema halls in Rangoon, whose box offices were always besieged, but in spite of this the cinema industry in Burma was not a thriving one. Actors and actresses were poor and suffered a social stigma. About twenty-five feature films were produced in Rangoon each year, both sound and silent, by companies whose prosperity never lasted more than a few years. They could often be seen filming their outdoor scenes round the Royal Lakes, the University Estate and the fields around Mingaladon, using studios only for indoor scenes. In pite of this, the effects aimed at were ambitious, especially in the earlier

14: Brant E-5 (1949-50) 1954 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

243 led around in circular fashion until the grain is thoroughly separated from the stalks. A pronged hoe is then drawn over the stalks to further the separation, after which the bullocks further stamp upon them. When the grain appears to be full separated from the stalks it is swept up into large heaps, while the stalks are put aside for use as cattle fodder.

Winnowing apparatus consists of a tripod of bamboo poles, from the top of which is suspended a plaited round tray of wide weave. Basketsful of grain are handed up to a man who stands on a platform, often an old barrel or a chair, and empties them on to the tray. As he shakes the tray the grain falls through to the ground, while any chaff is carried away by the wind.

The paddy for household use may then be allowed to dry further before being sent by boat down Pazundaung Creek to be milled. In a few households the paddy for home consumption is husked by a foot-operated pounding device, or by a large, hand-operated mortar and pestle. If there is any surplus, beyond the requirements of home consumption, seed, payment of laborers and debts, it is sold to nearby millers who come to purchase it.

494 3. Bus Operation. Forty-four men of the community are principally occupied as bus drivers or fare-collectors. The latter are known as 'spares' in the local terminology. Because of the total destruction of public transportation facilities during World War II in Rangoon and the surrounding area, large numbers of surplus military vehicles have been converted into buses. These buses are owned individually or by small groups of partners. The Tadagale men who engage in bus operation ply between the village, which is a terminus, and Rangoon. Their vehicles are, for the most part, in poor repair, and breakdowns along the route are not uncommon. No regular time schedule is followed; rather, they begin a trip when fully loaded, which is to [436] say extremely tightly packed with passengers. By carrying maximum loads, and by charging a fare of 6 annas (ca. 8 cents), the bus operators are able to make a profit, despite the high cost of fuel (ca. 47 cents per Imperial gallon) and of repairs.

464 4. Field Labor. Thirty-eight villagers make their livings mainly by field labor. During the planting and harvesting seasons they work steadily for cultivators, either in Tadagale or in nearby communities. They are paid in kind or in cash, seldom in combination. During the growing season, August to November, and again, between the end of the harvest and the beginning of the planting season, these people must depend on other temporary jobs to round out their livings.

234 5. Dairy Farming. This occupation is carried on exclusively by the small
563 group of Indians in Tadagale, who possess herds of water buffalo and cattle.
443 Fresh milk is taken daily by bus, in large metal containers, to Rangoon, where it is sold for cash, mostly to Muslim restaurants. The Burmese inhabitants of Tadagale make but slight use of milk and there is virtually no market for it in the village.

6. Selling of Prepared Foods. The preparation and itinerant selling of
● 265 certain Burmese foods supports twenty persons, of whom many are women. Because of the Burmese habit of informal, occasional eating between the two regular daily meals, food sellers do a considerable business. They are invariably present at the pwe, outdoor dramatic presentations staged during holidays and on other festive occasions.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
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At intervals on the main lines of traffic are refreshment-booths, where fruit, sweetmeats, and tea are sold. Meals can be taken in the markets of the towns. In the villages casual travellers enjoy the hospitality of the people. In the afternoon the markets are closed; low tables are set in the roads, where cheroots, fruit, and sweetmeats are sold in the evening. Some of these refreshments are prepared on the spot, such as the *mhulebwè*, a wafer baked in the flame of a fire, in which it rises to an immense size.

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292. CLOTH BAZAR.

The wholesale trade of Burma is conducted by brokers (*pwèza*) who receive a commission. Wealthy men operate with their own capital, others find investors and money-lenders to advance funds, some form partnerships and small companies to divide profits. Producers frequently bring their grain direct to the mills; but the bulk of the grain is bought up by the native brokers to the order of the exporters, most of whom never visit the interior. The interest on money is one to six per cent. per mensem. What is not hoarded in the form of plate and ornaments is put into trade or is put out to interest. Money-lending is not a special business because everybody practises it. Appalling as is the rate of interest—the measure of risk—such hard bargains are not driven as in India. Debtors when sold up can nowhere make a new start so well as in Burma. Brokers do banking in a small way; but banking has been made a regular branch of business by the Chettis from India (No. 364), who pay as much as one per cent. per month on deposits and charge one and a half per cent. on loans fully secured. European banks and investments with their high security and low rates of interest do not attract Burman capital.

[256]

293. NIGHT BAZAR.

505 The carrying business is mainly by water, for which Burma possesses unrivalled facilities, especially in the floods

shops to supply her with goods, but took a special pride in buying each 592
product from the town where the best quality of it was manufactured. 431
She could do this either by my father's being posted within its district, 513
by going there on a pagoda-visiting expedition, or by having relatives 286
posted there; and a survey of all the household possessions I can re- 511
member makes a cross-section of Burmese crafts. All our blankets were Burmese *saungs*, good stoutly woven cotton pieces, about 7 feet long and 4½ feet wide. We had single ones of red, black and yellow stripes which looked very bright and barbaric; they came from the Chin Hills. We used these in the hotter months. During the colder months we used thicker *ok-saungs* which we got from Pakokku; they were 14 feet long and used doubled, with a fringe at both ends. These were woven very strong and white, with bold red stripes on them in pleasing combinations. All these saungs washed more and more beautiful to our childish eyes. My mother had a big collection of them in wooden chests and some of them have lasted 30 years and are still beautiful.

She was also very jealous of her collection of *hpyas*, mats for sleeping 513
or sitting on, woven closely of the fibres of a reed called *thabaw*, or, 285
finer still, of the outer skin of a grass-like plant, the *thin*. These light 352
and flexible mats or *thinbyu* came from Laymyethna, "The Town of 511
Four Faces". They were equally smooth on both sides and had velvet borders piped on, broad at one end and narrower at the other, to distinguish the head end for nobler use, and to be sure of always resting the feet on the same ignoble end. We had them in big sizes for the beds and for afternoon naps on the verandah, and smaller sizes for prayers and for visitors to sit on. My mother kept them in rolls, five or six rolled together according to quality, covered with a cylinder of ticking and stood end up along her dressing-room.

Although we used imported crockery for the table we could not do without Burmese pottery for other purposes. Water-pots and goblets of light pottery from Twante, near Rangoon, were necessary to keep the water cool. There must be special pots for the altar water, for washing [271] •
faces, for drinking water (in which pot, however, we kept a sand filter bought from Rangoon), and goblets in all bedrooms. For baths we had big black voluminous jars from Upper Burma, of a less porous pottery with a salt glaze on it, about 30 inches high and wide-mouthed. Smaller ones like these were kept for pickling mangoes and other green fruits. In the kitchen also, the modern aluminium pots 415
would not do for such purposes as cooking acid leaves and fish 252
curry that had tamarind in it; an earthen pot was always used for 511
chimbaung, roselle leaves. Moreover, the *salaungbon*, or cover, of an earthern pot can always be used for baking fish paste, a daily

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

263 strongly-flavoured nga-pi, without which no Burman would consider his meal complete. Sometimes the big, fierce-stinging kā-gyin, a species of red ant, is used along with this fish paste, sometimes it is fried in oil by itself. As may be imagined, they have an acid and decidedly pungent flavour about them. Roasted turtle's and iguana's eggs, [828] dried fish, and fried ginger are gourmand's adjuncts. There is a particular objection to the smell of cookery, and when anything is fried in oil, or prepared so as to produce a strong savour, it is always done to leeward of the house, and where the fumes may not reach any other dwelling. Such smells 264 are believed to be very productive of fever. Nothing is ever 271 drunk at meals, but each one, when he has finished, goes to 273 the earthenware jar full of water which stands in a corner of the verandah, and rinses out his mouth. It is a lamentable fact that many Burmans in the low country now drink beer and spirits, but this is never done at meals nor in the house, where, indeed, the wife would not allow it. It is deplorable, because it is drinking for the sake of drinking, and is never done in moderation. The tippling Burman goes to the "toddy-shop" for his liquor, and he does not know when to stop. Brandy of the fiery description known to the British soldier as "fixed bayonets," or "chain-shot," is often drunk, but the usual tipple is "Old Tom." A particularly heady mixture of this with cheap beer is affected by confirmed [183] topers. It is contrary to the national religion, and it does not suit the national temperament.

276 After meals every one smokes—men, women, and children. Facetious people have declared that Burman babies blow a cloud while they are still at the breast. This is inaccurate. They never indulge till they are able to walk without needing the assistance of their hands, but their mothers give them whiffs long before that. The ordinary Burman cheroot is very mild and has really very little tobacco in it. The full-flavoured article to be seen occasionally in London shops is manufactured entirely for English residents. The se paw-leip, the cigar for home consumption, commonly known as the green cheroot, is very large, from six to eight inches long and about an inch in diameter at one end, tapering to slightly less at the other.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
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135. SEWING CLOTH.

surface water. In some parts of the country the water is brackish. Shallow tanks with built-up earthen borders are made to store the rain-water for drinking, and, unlike the tanks in India, these are kept free from contamination. There is always a separate stand for the pots of drinking-water, either in the house itself, or within reaching distance, with a roof of its own. The domestic shrine and flower-stand (*nyaung ye-ô zin*) is frequently associated with the water-stand. Apart from the advantage of keeping away the drip the isolation of the water-stand is so marked as to suggest a religious intention—possibly of forgotten animistic import—in addition to the obvious one of a boon to the traveller, in virtue of which the water-stand is frequently decorated in the Buddhistic religious style (No. 158). As already noted, dwelling-houses are not fit places for images of the Buddha, but only temples. In the houses, the Buddha is venerated by keeping his sacred tree green in the flower-vases on the *nyaung ye-ô zin*, which is often richly decorated. The shrine takes its name from the *ficus*, but the plants actually used are such as keep green longest in the shade, especially the aloe (*môt*). The observance has very possibly been transferred from a pre-buddhistic one (No. 157).

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The native method of getting fire is shown in No. 141. Except in the great plains, there is enough waste land about the settlements, bearing trees and scrub where dry faggots may be collected. Logs [312] of dry timber are dragged in, and firewood for cooking split off as required, or billets are carted in and stored against the rainy season. In the cold season, fires are often [354] made on the ground in front of the houses, for the inmates to sit around. But in general,

136. VILLAGE WELL.

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137. CARRYING HOME THE WATER-POTS.

fuel is required only for cooking and in manufactures.

Rice is the staple of every meal, except in the dry zone. The millet and sorghum which there take the place of rice are cooked in the same way but need longer boiling. "A rice-boiling" (*ta-ô-dyét*) is the common phrase for an interval of about twenty minutes. After washing in several waters, rice is put to boil in an earthen pot with enough water to cover it, and boiled till the grains are quite clear. The rice-water is poured off, and the rice is put back on the fire to steam. Rice is cooked fresh for every meal and is eaten hot. A relish is made to eat with the rice, consisting of a watery stew of fresh greens or of pulse. The fat used is sesamum oil (*hnan-zi*). This curry is seasoned with turmeric (*sanzin*), capsicum (*ngayôtthi*—chilli), and either salt-fish or *ngapi* (p. 92). Fresh fish, prawns, or meat are added if available. In default of cultivated vegetables, wild greens of all sorts, bamboo-shoots and sprouting leaves, are used. Pickles of lime and other fruits are used as separate relishes. There are two meals in the day, both of the same nature. The morning meal is eaten at about nine o'clock, the other before dark. Meals are taken by the household in common. The housewife or daughter gets mats ready in the *kyanding* and places in the centre a *byat*—a large, deep, wooden platter, lacquered red—into which she turns out the cooked rice (*tamin*). In the middle of the rice is set a bowl with the curry and a spoon. The family squat round the *byat*, or if a large household round several

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415
[271]

138. STAND FOR THE DRINKING-WATER.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

302 Having made her evening toilet
512
883
[805]
[271]

146. TEA (LEPPEYYE).

the girl takes some light work, such as cotton to roll for the wheel for the hour of *lubyô-hlè*, as the dusk of evening is called, literally, the time of the "bachelors' round." The young men are expected to make short calls only, so as not to keep the old people up late. By "old men's sleeping time," as the hour after the short twilight is called, they must have left, so as to relieve the duenna, who, if not in sight, is always in waiting for the girls to come up into the house for the night. Courtship

883
[198]
431
538

has quite a language of its own in which the suitor needs to be proficient. Young people of fashion are referred to as *kàla-thá*, *kàla-thamî*—lads and girls "of the period," who cultivate smartness in their speech, bearing and dress. The suitor brings presents of flowers and fruit and ornaments. Oranges, expensively stored one by one, long past the season, are for this sole purpose. Carved

302

147. BELLE AT HER TOILET.

148. VILLAGE BELLE.

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

187. DOMESTIC FLOWER-STAND (NYAUNG-YE-O, pp. 6, 62).

one, no disability of a practical kind exists for her. But it is the aspiration of every woman to transmigrate as a man in the next phase of existence (*kawa*, p. 43). As the state of a man is thought a more desirable one, so it is inferred that her life in the previous incarnation has brought the woman's state upon her. How deep and tender is the poetry which the idea of transmigration weaves into the life of the Buddhist may be judged from the example at the close of Chapter XXIII. of *The Soul of a People*. Orphans are adopted by relatives, and in default of such, never fail to find foster-parents. The division of labour between the sexes is the common one of out-door and in-door. Wherever circumstances permit, women are relieved of hardship; the sheltered places in boats and carts belong to the women and children. The great middle zone of commerce is neutral; women embark in wholesale trade, besides transacting the bulk of the retail trade. In certain localities women do the lighter part of the out-door work, and in the poorer districts of the dry zone they share in the heavy labour. Women are accorded precedence among men according to the standing they have acquired by marriage or by their independent efforts. The *Kyaungmá*—the woman who has founded and who supports a school—enjoys a deference on all sides proportioned to the munificence of her gift. Women mix freely among men but are never jostled by them. At great gatherings men and women group apart. The Burman women are smart at repartee, and hold their own in the perpetual banter that goes on between the sexes.

188. WAYSIDE WATER-STAND IN THE CITY (pp. 21, 62).

14: Brant E-5 (1949-50) 1954 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

One of the most popular foods of these vendors is mohingha. Rice noodles are made by pounding rice into a flour, mixing it with water, and grinding into a paste between two flat stone slabs. After the excess water has been expressed from this paste, it is pushed through sieves with narrow holes, to form noodles. Once dried, the noodles are cooked and mixed with a curry to make mohingha. 252

A beverage sold regularly by food vendors is molessaun. It is made of sugar, coconut milk and bits of rice noodles, mixed together. The villagers consider this drink very tasty and refreshing. 272

7. Shopkeeping and Middleman Trading. The typical shop in the village consists of nothing more than a few large glass jars containing cigars, matches, candy, soap, and various other articles, set out on the porch in front of a house. The stocks of these are very small and are periodically replenished by purchase in Rangoon. Customers are occasional and sales are very small. 414

Seventeen villagers devote their main activity to what we have called middleman trading. These persons make a living by periodically buying quantities of such goods as second-hand lumber from dismantled dwellings, bamboo, cloth, etc., and selling them in the village and nearby places.

8. Urban Labor. The nineteen individuals listed in Table II as urban laborers are employed in a government medical warehouse in Rangoon. They are unskilled workers who perform such tasks as moving boxes of medical supplies in and out of the establishment and arranging them in the warehouse. These people commute daily between Tadagale and their place of work by bus. 464 369

These are the numerically most significant of the variety of occupations followed by villagers. There are six unemployed persons and fourteen who are not gainfully employed because of old age, ill health, or blindness. The great majority of the married women and unmarried girls are occupied most of the time with domestic housework, looking after small children, and helping with gardening. 463

The whole character of the occupational pattern is shifting and unstable. Individuals move opportunistically from one form of activity to another as circumstances change, in an effort to round out a living. Informants stated that in former times the community was much more agricultural, but that owing to loss of land through indebtedness people had gradually left farming for other occupations. 463 178

Income

In analysing our data on income, figures for the Indians of Tadagale have been calculated separately. The Indians are occupationally a homogeneous group, all engaged in dairy farming. The range and average of income within this small group is so far above that of the Burmese that a misleading idea of the community's economic structure would be conveyed were the data on the Indians included in a single, overall computation for the village. 434 [563]

The following tables show family incomes.

also used to do this. Sometimes they were able to extract about 5 viss of oil each in one day. 226 463 621

"There are also cultivators in the village. Some of those who work INS also own fields. They rent out the land to tenants. There are altogether 12 people in our village who own cultivation fields. But the biggest landowner does not own lands more extensive than three hundred acres. Some own 40 or 50 acres. Some engage cultivators and work their fields themselves, while others rent out the fields for a certain percentage of the produce. 421 463 621 427

"There were paid workers in the IN. They were paid, not a daily wage, but a monthly salary of Rs. 30/- without food. About 50 of the 80 workers were paid workers, though some of them owned shares as well. In addition to their pay, these paid workers received quite a lot of fish which their families went around selling. They get one or two basket-loads of fish to sell, and in this way make quite a lot of money. 226 463 465

"Fish is not distributed in this manner every day - only when the fish start coming down in great numbers. On these occasions however the workers get about 25 to 30 viss each - that is, by the boatload. Ordinarily they are given just enough for one meal.

"I also own eleven cows; eight for loaning out to cultivators and three for breeding purposes. No milk is drawn for human consumption because that is not the custom in our native place." 231 [272]

One yoke of oxen hired out brought U Myaing 50 baskets of paddy a year. He had 4 yokes. They kept by 100 baskets for home consumption and sold the rest at a rate fluctuating between Rs. 100/- and Rs. 175/- per hundred baskets.

In those years when U Myaing works at INS, he has to confine himself to such work only. During those years when he does not work at INS, he buys the fish from IN workers and processes them for sale as NGAGYI, NGA-CHAUK, etc. Each year he uses between four to five thousand fish. When U Myaing his co-workers could not get an IN, he had to buy fish and make NGA-CHAUK, (dried fish), NGAPI and NGANPYAR-YE. 226 463 433

On his former visits to Rangoon U Myaing came in a boat loaded with NGAGYI-CHAUK (dried NGA GYI) and transferred it to the care of a broker in Rangoon. He then ascended the Shwe Dagon pagoda platform, donated money and water, returned to the broker, and went around the town to places like Mogul Street (the Indian quarter) for meals and ate pillau-rice etc. It took three or four days, and sometimes about ten days for the broker to dispose of his goods and in this time he would go round all the pagodas in Rangoon like the Botataung, Sule, Nga-htat-gyi etc. Once he went to a Chinese hotel known as the HAN-HIN hotel together with some traders from DAGUTIU. They pooled the expenses. The journey home took a day and a night. He took back with him clothes, longyis, KINGYIS, durian fruit, 226 438 484 [778]

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

263 strongly-flavoured nga-pi, without which no Burman would consider his meal complete. Sometimes the big, fierce-stinging kā-gyin, a species of red ant, is used along with this fish paste, sometimes it is fried in oil by itself. As may be imagined, they have an acid and decidedly pungent flavour about them. Roasted turtle's and iguana's eggs, [828] dried fish, and fried ginger are gourmand's adjuncts. There is a particular objection to the smell of cookery, and when anything is fried in oil, or prepared so as to produce a strong savour, it is always done to leeward of the house, and where the fumes may not reach any other dwelling. Such smells 264 are believed to be very productive of fever. Nothing is ever 271 drunk at meals, but each one, when he has finished, goes to 273 the earthenware jar full of water which stands in a corner of the verandah, and rinses out his mouth. It is a lamentable fact that many Burmans in the low country now drink beer and spirits, but this is never done at meals nor in the house, where, indeed, the wife would not allow it. It is deplorable, because it is drinking for the sake of drinking, and is never done in moderation. The tippling Burman goes to the "toddy-shop" for his liquor, and he does not know when to stop. Brandy of the fiery description known to the British soldier as "fixed bayonets," or "chain-shot," is often drunk, but the usual tipple is "Old Tom." A particularly heady mixture of this with cheap beer is affected by confirmed [183] topers. It is contrary to the national religion, and it does not suit the national temperament.

276 After meals every one smokes—men, women, and children. Facetious people have declared that Burman babies blow a cloud while they are still at the breast. This is inaccurate. They never indulge till they are able to walk without needing the assistance of their hands, but their mothers give them whiffs long before that. The ordinary Burman cheroot is very mild and has really very little tobacco in it. The full-flavoured article to be seen occasionally in London shops is manufactured entirely for English residents. The se paw-leip, the cigar for home consumption, commonly known as the green cheroot, is very large, from six to eight inches long and about an inch in diameter at one end, tapering to slightly less at the other.

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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ought therefore to scorn such desecration for any purpose whatever, and certainly should not be tempted by the offer of a feast for his palate. But the fact remains that not only has he given up the front part of his kyaung, all but the elevated dais on the eastern side, where the images stand and visitors are received, but there is actually a play going on, trumpets braying, drums beating, and the bamboo clappers sounding high over all. It is a zāt, a birth-story certainly, but that does not make it any less a sin for the pôngyi to be so near, and with all those thirty pretty girls looking on too. The monk is behind the curtain which shuts off the undesecrated part of the building, it is true, but he can hardly be asleep with all that music, surely, and it is a crime for a member of the Order to listen to music. Yet who is to condemn him to penance when the prior's house is very little better? In some of the kyaungs, indeed, the younger yahans take very little trouble to conceal the fact that they are looking through the chinks of the slight hangings which cut off their sleeping-places from the noisy throng on the other side. The Englishmen, when they come round, push aside the kalagas to see what is behind, stumble over the peeping postulants, and scare the conscience-stricken "ascetics" almost out of their senses, under the impression that it is a bilu who has been enabled to gain access, and is going to devour them incontinently. Nevertheless there is no check in the revelry. It goes on until far into the night, and increases in noise the later it gets. The liquor which has been brought for expected visiting foreigners cannot be left behind in the kyaungs; they are not low enough for that yet. Consequently, the laymen must drink it. The result is that as time goes on there are quarrels and fights; and in this very Thayet-daw kyaung in the Thadingyut of 1879 a man was stabbed and died within the limits of the parawun. Little wonder that the strict Sulagandis are gaining over many of the more respectable inhabitants of Rangoon, for even this horror has not diminished the popularity of the wāgyut alms-feast.

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The noise and hubbub go on till far into the morning, and when at last the people go, the monks may be supposed to have a little rest, for they can hardly have slept much

:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

527 the plays, of which there are three or four, while some unwearied spirits can only find relief for their exultant triumph in yein dances and irresponsible performances of their own. [273] Till dawn of day the revelry goes on, but there is nothing like drunkenness. It is exceedingly seldom that you see a drunken Burman out of Rangoon, where they claim to be Europeanised. For a couple of days the excitement lasts, and then the strangers wend their way homewards, and the township calms down to its usual quiet. But for years the great event will be talked of at the local feasts, and the Yein choruses of three or four generations will tell of the gallant struggle when the Daungsatpyan beat the Thônpanhla and broke the long supremacy of the Thônkwa rowers.

177.52 526 It is a great pity that these old contests are not kept up with the spirit that used to characterise them. In 1877 the then Chief Commissioner of British Burma, Mr. Rivers Thompson, believing that they led to unrestrained and dangerous gambling, issued an order forbidding all government officials to have anything to do with them, and advising that great races should be discouraged as much as possible. This policy was continued by Mr. Aitchison (late Sir Charles), and there seemed some danger that the art of making fine racing-boats would be lost, while all the fun and jollity of the old ye-pwè, kôn-pwè, land and water sports, were put an end to, without any decrease in the amount of 525 [101] gambling. The habit is as engrained with the Burman as with the Chinaman, and if there are no boat-races to bet on there are lots of other things, from pony matches to gônnyin-to, on which sporting votaries might stake their money. 526 There were still local matches between adjacent villages held, but they were but a sorry imitation of the old festivals, and 177.52 have unfortunately led to the unpleasant speculations of the West being introduced. "Barneyings," in-and-out rowing, and all the unlovely customs of Western professionalism have sprung up as a consequence of the degradation of the old manly sport. Sir Charles Bernard, who was an ardent athlete himself, did a good deal towards reviving boat-racing. Sports have been held on the Great Royal Lake at Rangoon, it may be hoped only as a preliminary measure to the encouragement of longer contests on

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49. FOREST KYAUNG.

ates the incumbent, regularly undertakes the support of the *phôngyi*, and frequently of his sojourner *yahán* as well. The food, which is the best of its kind, is brought every morning by the daughters and young children of the supporter, or, in the case of joint support, by children of the leading families in turn. An ornamented vessel is used, having a tall finial to the cover (*ôti*). The supplies are received by the lay scholars

792 or the novices, and by them served to the *yahán*. The principal meal is
264 taken shortly before noon, for no food may be eaten after that hour till the
273 following sunrise. Water may be drunk and betel chewed at any time.
276 Tobacco-smoking is discountenanced, especially in Burma Proper, where the
101 religious views are strictest. Burma furnishes the standard both for scholarship
[444] and practice, and trains most of the incumbents of the monasteries of Pegu.
792 Scholars and novices may prepare food at the monastery from raw supplies.
735 These the *yahán* may not even handle. Hired labour (*kappiza dayaka*) may be attached to the monastery by the supporter for the preparation of food and other services. In some cases lands have been dedicated for the maintenance of monasteries and temples. But the *yahán* have no concern with their administration. Supplies of raiment, chattels and food are dedicated to the use of the recluses when the distinction of their presence is solicited, especially at *shinlaung* fêtes and funerals. The annual provision of raiment (*katên thingán*) is made between the months of *Thadinkyut* and *Tadaungmôn*. The offerings of necessaries are supplemented by accessories of every sort —books and writing materials, mats,

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50. VILLAGE KYAUNG.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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182. PE AND TAN PALMS.

Htnem is grow'n as a secondary crop in the hills, a dry-weather crop in the *kwin*, and a full crop in the dry zone. The care of the *tári* palm, the planting and milling of sugar-cane, the care of orchards and the raising of vegetables are occupations of a special kind. The *tan* and *pe* palms, which yield the palm-wine or juice, propagate naturally. The *tan* grows about a foot a year, and attains a height of eighty to a hundred feet (No. 167). It fruits at fifteen to twenty years. *Tan* palms are common on the temple-lands and other well-drained and uncultivated clearings. The curved flower-stalks of the *tan* are cut through, and to their stumps earthen pots are slung to receive the juice that exudes. A gallon or more is collected from a tree in twenty-four hours. Palm-juice is also obtained from the *pe*, the dried leaves of which are used for writing on. The tree takes about fifty years to mature; then it flowers for the first time, fruits and dies; its gigantic head of bloom is cut off at the base and the juice flows for some months. The *daut* palm is tapped in the same way as the *tan*. Fresh juice of all three palms is sweet, and before fermentation sets in, it may be drunk even by the *yahdn*. When boiled fresh, the juice yields a sugar (*tanyét*). The collecting pots are boiled out daily, by which the yeast that forms is destroyed. This boiling is omitted when the liquor is intended for a beverage. In that case a decoction of the nut of *paugh* or other astringent is added, which helps to arrest fermentation at the vinous stage. Otherwise, acid fermentation is complete within twenty-four hours. Fer-

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184. CLEANING RICE WHOLESALE (P. 88).

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

186. CANE-CRUSHING MILL.

mented *tan-ye* (*tári*, palm-wine) has the alcoholic strength of small beer. Most of the juice is boiled down for the sake of the sugar. Drinkers of *tári* are few among the Burmans. Women are universally abstainers. The Burmans do not brew or distil liquor of any kind, but in some places they make a drink called *ah-ye* by adding to *tari* an infusion of herbs of weak narcotic properties.

245 273 [249]

In parts of the *kwin*, too heavily flooded for rice-cultivation, certain varieties of sugar-cane (*kyan*) thrive. These have been introduced from India within the last fifty years and have proved a means of extending cultivation. On dry soil, a thin variety of sugar-cane with a dark rind is cultivated, principally by Shan settlers. Sugar-cane is cut in November; cane tops are kept standing in water till the soil has been turned and they can be put out for the next crop. A great deal of sugar-cane is eaten like fruit. Cane-juice is pressed out in wooden mills between rollers accurately turned and geared by cogs or spiral teeth (No. 187). In an adjacent shed is an earthen furnace for boiling the juice, which is on a much larger scale than the palm-juice boiling. Earthen pots have been superseded by cast-iron cauldrons, at first of Shan manufacture, but now imported from Europe. The crushed stalks of the cane furnish a large part of the fuel. When the syrup has thickened it is poured into flat moulds to solidify. The product is hard and of a light brown colour (*kyantagi*). It is eaten plain and is used for baking sweetmeats; none of it goes to refineries. Almost the whole

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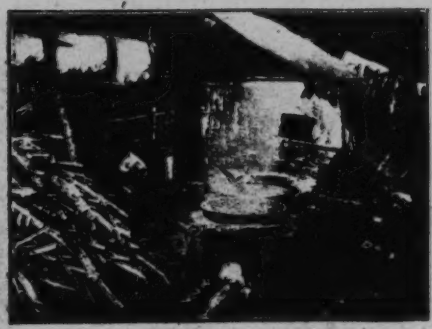

188. BOILING DOWN THE CANE-JUICE.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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187. TURNING ROLLERS FOR THE CANE-MILL.

Almost the whole cut-turn is bought up by Chinese settlers for distilling spirits (p. 156).

Of the edible wild fruits of Burma, after the wild mango the chief is *kanazô*. There are many less succulent kinds of wild fruit, for the most part acid and astringent. The cultivated fruit-trees need to be protected from cattle till high above the ground. But so rapid is the growth that in two to five years the trees are established. Tamarind, mango and jack are the commonest fruit trees and need little care; they are wayside trees in the villages. Clumps are planted in the *kyaung* enclosures and at camping-places (*sakán*) for their shade. In the dry zone the tamarind attains the proportions of our oak (No. 309), as does the mango in the moist regions (No. 304). A congener of the mango, the *mayán*, is also planted. The jack-tree attains moderate size, but, although evergreen, its shade is light. The cocoanut palm (*ôn*) has to be artificially germinated by watering the nut for several weeks before planting, for it rots if left to soak. It needs fencing for some years and does not bear for ten to fifteen, which is a comparatively long time for labour to await its return in the tropics. Burma grows only a small proportion of the cocoanuts she requires; the rest are imported from India and the Nicobar Islands. Dry cocoanuts cost one-half to one anna, and green nuts as much as two annas each. The water of the green nut is a refreshing beverage, frequently offered to the *yakán* and in hospitality to strangers. The betel-palm (*kun*, areca) is more extensively propagated. Limes, citron and pomelo, jujube and guava, cashew and bael are planted about

188. COLLECTING JACK-FRUIT.

326 or bamboo, iron-bound or tightly whipped to prevent splitting. In the
412 form of a shorter dahwé, with or without a point, it is used as an all-round implement in house-building. With this bamboos are hewn, split open and slit into widths, boards of bamboo or planks are chopped for floor-boards and timbers are hewn for posts. The short, broad-ended *dahmas* are used for heavy chopping and were the general choppers for meat and firewood in our kitchens. The dahma is a stout iron blade faced with steel. Lighter paring knives called *damauks* are also produced. Thus a Burman in a village normally carries a dah of some sort tucked into his waist as he sallies forth perhaps to find some firewood, house-building material or an enemy. The Shan people also had long murderous-looking dagger knives called *damyaungs*.

The iron-workers of Magwe sent us scissors which my mother preferred to stainless steel ones because they could be oiled and sharpened throughout a lifetime, and because they had inscribed on one blade her name and on the other "Health and wealth to you". We got our betel-nut crackers from there also; these had a blade on one arm, to cut as well as crack.

276 Our house, like every Burmese house, kept a betel box always ready
415 for visitors. The box had a top tray with little cups or boxes for the
511 chopped areca nut, orange peel, spice seeds and lime, and a bottom compartment for fresh betel leaves of the betel vine (*piper betle*). A deep cover fitted the whole box. Grown-ups smeared lime on a leaf, wrapped nuts and spices in it and chewed it, spitting out the red juice which is too strong to be swallowed. Betel has an astringent action in the mouth
326 and by promoting the flow of salivary juices it aids digestion. Our betel
412 boxes were of richly carved silver, with embossed designs of elephants,
531 princes riding on horses in the forest, heavenly male and female spirits,
511 all looking very alive. Silver carving is one of our show industries; the silversmiths at Mandalay and Moulmein produce handsome bowls, boxes, dagger handles and various other objects bought by foreigners.
[353] Burmese people do not have the custom of buying *objets d'arts* for their houses, but the articles of daily use which they like to have of good quality and pleasing designs are the real inspiration of these traditional crafts of Burma. The silver used ranges from rupee fineness up to the pure metal called *baw*. We had silver bowls, *ngway-balas*, of all sizes, smaller ones for drinking, bigger for pouring the bath-water, and enormous ones about twelve inches across for holding gifts to the monks on festival days. Sometimes my mother used these to hold *taik-pan*, the flowers of the honolulu creeper, for the drawing room, but she always preferred a religious use for such noble and valuable objects. I liked all these bowls very much; they had good proportions, round the rim and base was a border of formal scroll

592 sent to stay with us at various times and were sent to schools which taught English, but nothing would persuade them to take any interest in studies. My cousin Nyein Maung, whom I liked very much, could never bear to keep a shirt on, which was why he was always to be found with only a longyi tucked around his loins playing chinlon or helping boatmen with their canoes, when he should have been sitting fully clothed in a class-room.

[601] My young Uncle Pyant, whom we called U-Ngè, small Uncle, had passed his B.A. and his law degree, and returned to Ye in preference to
693 a more modern life in a larger town. He walled off one doorway's space
177 from the main room of the house and filled it with bookcases, a big desk
.64 and chairs for visitors. Outside this room my Uncle Pyant put up a sign saying: "*A-htet tan shaynay gyi:* Advocate and Higher Grade Pleader," and within a very short time became the lawyer of the whole village; but so great was his attachment to this consultation-living-room, which had nothing in common with the rest of Ye, that he relinquished all cases whose developing complexities led client and lawyer to a higher court in Moulmein.

592 Grandmother had gardens about ten miles up the creek from Ye.
244 These contained coconuts, durians and areca nuts grown over about
276 fifty acres for commercial disposal. Around the bungalow in the centre
427 of the garden there grew mangosteen, rambutan, pomeloes and pineapples for eating on a large-scale, clumps of bamboos, a coffee tree, tobacco plants, capsicum, lime and citron trees, lemon grass, and vegetables of all kinds to serve the needs of the bungalow and the household in town. My aunts with one young male relative took turns to live at the garden and help the family that was hired to look after it permanently. It was a dangerous life in these plantations as dacoities were very frequent.
[501] The produce was taken down to Ye in a succession of graceful narrow boats shaped out of single tree trunks. The durians and coconuts were
[442] sold straight away to traders who travelled between Moulmein and Ye for this purpose. The areca nuts were first dried on a bamboo attic made by an extension of the platform upper storey of the house until it met the back slope of the roof. When they were dried the whole family gathered around in the back kitchen and removed the husks with blunted nutcrackers, leaving the smooth nut to be sold.

244 With the rice from the paddy-land on the opposite bank, fruits,
262 vegetables and spices from the garden, rolling their cheroots with a mix-
226 ture containing tobacco in leaves shed by the areca trees in the garden,
438 and grinding their own coffee berries, my aunts and grandmother only
276 needed to buy a little fish and meat for their daily consumption. This they could not provide themselves owing to the Buddhist law against

say for I.C.S., with a marked emphasis on the last word which is pronounced with a glottal stop, and thus pronounced means "cracked". After listening to a conversation in English she would seize on what she heard most often, "You know" and "I know". "*You no, I no, hnit-yauk no, tha-hko ma-la-naing,*" she would say, punning on the word "know", which in Burmese means to wake up. "You wake, I wake, two awake—the thieves cannot come."

Kyi-Kyi lived an independent life; she had inherited a share of the house, among other things, and she lived there on what was due to her from the management of our property. Between her and one servant maid, the old house was kept spotless. A meal was cooked every day for the monastery, and Kyi-Kyi was on very amiable social terms with the monks and the nuns who lived close by. Everyone in Thaton knew her, the young men admired her for her lively wit and the women called her a harridan for it. Between visiting us and business and religious good works and scolding everyone, my Kyi-Kyi spent a busy life.

She was so different from my mother. My mother never smoked or chewed betel, but when Kyi-Kyi came we were treated to watching her roll her cheroots. She had the *hsay*, mixture, in a bowl. It was a compound of chopped tobacco leaves, the stem and pith of the *ohn-nè* (coconut flower), and jaggery or sugar. It was a sticky mixture. The wrapping leaves—the leaves of a tree called the *thanat*—were in a cream cracker biscuit tin. In a small cane sieve-tray she had a number of old *a-si-hkans*, stubs of solid ends, about 1½ to 2 inches long; and on a piece of paper was some boiled rice for sticking. She rolled the mixture in the leaf, tucked the edges of the narrower end neatly in and stuck

•216 them down. She stopped the base with one of the a-si-hkans and stuck the leaf over it. This provided a firm grip for the mouth, and the same a-si-hkan could be used again and again. What we loved best about this was that my aunt never used matches but, even when we were little children, she would hand us a cheroot with which we ran to the kitchen. There the cook would pull out a piece of firewood and hold the gigantic flaming match while we puffed the cheroot alight and brought it back to my aunt.

302 Kyi-Kyi's daily toilet was another thing we loved to watch, and even
177. when I was grown up I never ceased to admire its simple thoroughness.
30 She has never altered it since she was a young girl forty-five years ago, neither conceding to newer fashions nor omitting any of the vanities as she grew from girlhood into middle-age. She came out of her bath with her longyi *yin-sha* that is, drawn up above her bosom. She then put thanakha on face, neck and shoulders; face powder she condemned as having lead in it, but baby's talcum powder she sprayed on her palms, rubbed them together and patted into her face as the thanakha was drying. Then she moistened a brush the size of a baby toothbrush, and rubbed the thanakha off her eyebrows and lashes and traced her hairline in an exaggerated rectangle to produce what was considered a noble and beautiful forehead, a *mahanahpu*. By this time the thanakha and powder were dry, and uneven patches were rubbed off with a dry brush. Then she opened a little jar—always an empty Tiger Balm bottle—in which was a mixture of oil and blacking. She dipped a special brush into this and drew her eyebrows and the rectangular hairline. She cleaned her lips and ear-studs with water, and then put sandalwood or other ground bark on her arms and legs. Her hair had been dressed before she had her bath, in a *sadone*. This is the coil of hair built up in a cylindrical form around a framework of combs and hairpains, helped out by false tresses. It is the universal hair style for all women after they pass the age of about seventeen, and ladies like my aunt never go anywhere unless their hair is formally dressed in this way.

In modern times, however, the younger women have not only streamlined the sadone, making it thinner and taller, but they have shelved it as a full-dress style, to be worn only on special occasions, while every day they go about with the hair drawn straight back and twisted over a comb at the back of the head. Although the sadone is worn by both older and younger ladies, differentiating touches are carried out. Young unmarried girls fix a *sameik* on the right side of the sadone. This is a short tress, the head of which is anchored hidden inside the cylinder, but which comes over the top and leaves its free end to dangle coquettishly at the side. The modern girls exaggerate the coquetry of

suffered from the accumulated toxic effects. Kyi-Kyi also spent days 262
in extracting the red oil from the heads of about fifty crayfish or big prawns. This red stuff gives the flavouring to prawns and we therefore find prawn curries tasteless where the cooks discard the oil with the teeth and other excretions from the heads. Kyi-Kyi filled jars with the rich oil and we kept it through weeks, mixing it with rice and salt. Or she bought about two hundred sparrows at one go and stripped and cooked them unaided. It does not sound sporting to eat sparrows, but the meat of other bigger and more "game" birds is too strong for us. Sparrows when fried crisp are edible to the last shred of bone, little round head and all. It was one of our favourite foods during visits to Thaton, until [157]
after my littlest sister got measles and had her head shaved according to custom; when she went about looking so pathetically like the naked birds in the dish that none of us, from my father downwards, could bear to eat a sparrow for a long time afterwards.

All the dishes mentioned above are eaten with rice at the two main meals of the day, but there are also noodle dishes, both wheat and rice noodles, coconut-flavoured dishes and others which are eaten at luncheon parties or at mass gatherings of town and village people. At all social func- [276]
tions, also, there is an accompaniment to the cheroots and the betel box in the form of pickled tea-leaf and shredded pickled ginger served in small lacquer trays with nuts, sesamum, prawn powder, fried coconut and garlic. These are all foods eaten at regular times of the day, and as such can be called *sa-sa-ya* foods. But we have not yet ventured into the realm of sweet things, for after a meal only fruit is eaten. All sweet dishes are kept to be eaten *between* meals, and as such are called *tha-yay-sa*, food for the saliva, and only incidentally for nourishment.

Tha-yay-sa usually means something sweet because there are so many sweet ones, but what does produce more saliva than any other are the sour ones. A favourite Burmese afternoon pastime is the eating of sour and green fruit with ngapi and chilly, in order to offset the drowsiness of the heat. Green mangoes, marians, chep-paung-thi, *yay-ngan-thi*, *gwe-thi*, *thit-to-thi* range through all degrees of sourness till you come to *ton-kyin-thi*, shiver-sour-fruit, so sour that you shiver when you bite it. On rainy afternoons we felt too chilly to eat these and nibbled at things with a nutty flavour. Roots, tubers, seeds and nuts are eaten dipped in raw sesamum oil and salt—the roots of the palmyra, and of a bean (*pè-myit*), arrowroot and sweet potatoes, chestnuts and the boiled seeds of the jack tree. But when we come to the real sweetmeats, what richness, what variety is there! As exiles of the Japanese War, we collect in parties to eat uninteresting and foreign foods, but after the meal we gather round and add flavour to the whole evening as we list all the

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places such as the tender inside parts of the thigh and at the joints of the knee, it needs more stoicism than most youths can command, to endure it without relieving the mind in speech. Therefore it is common to put the boy under the influence of opium while it is being done, though some parents will not allow this, for cases have occurred where the youth has died of an over-dose. For the same reason it is very seldom that more than three or four figures are done at a time. The part swells up a good deal, and there is danger of fever; besides that a few days afterwards the itchiness which supervenes is almost as intolerable as the first tattooing, while if the skin is broken by scratching there is not only a nasty sore, but the figure is spoilt. You not uncommonly hear of cases where the whole surface was finished at one sitting, but you only hear of them because it is unusual, and because the youth is proud of it.

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The instrument used is a pricker about two feet long, weighted at the top with a brass figure, sometimes plain, but in the case of good sayās, always carved more or less elaborately in the figure of a bird, a nat, or a bilu. The yat, or style part, is solid, with a round, sharp point, split up into four by long slits at right angles to each other, which serve to hold the colouring matter. This style is about four inches long and fits into a hollow pipe, which again joins it to the weighted end. Thus the length required for free work is gained without too great weight, except where it is wanted. The tattooer catches the pricker with his right hand, and guides the point with a rest formed by the forefinger and thumb of his left, the hand resting firmly on the person's body. The dye used is lampblack, the best being that obtained by the burning of sessamum oil, and this is mixed with water as it is wanted. Good sayās always sketch the outline of the figure roughly on the skin with an ordinary camel's-hair brush, and then the pattern is executed with a series of punctures close together, forming what afterwards fades into a rough line. Skilful men are very quick at it. I have had fifteen figures done in little over half an hour. But then Sayā Chein is a celebrated man.

The figures tattooed are those of all kinds of animals, tigers, cats, monkeys, and elephants being the commonest,

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263 strongly-flavoured nga-pi, without which no Burman would consider his meal complete. Sometimes the big, fierce-stinging kā-gyin, a species of red ant, is used along with this fish paste, sometimes it is fried in oil by itself. As may be imagined, they have an acid and decidedly pungent flavour about them. Roasted turtle's and iguana's eggs, [828] dried fish, and fried ginger are gourmand's adjuncts. There is a particular objection to the smell of cookery, and when anything is fried in oil, or prepared so as to produce a strong savour, it is always done to leeward of the house, and where the fumes may not reach any other dwelling. Such smells 264 are believed to be very productive of fever. Nothing is ever 271 drunk at meals, but each one, when he has finished, goes to 273 the earthenware jar full of water which stands in a corner of the verandah, and rinses out his mouth. It is a lamentable fact that many Burmans in the low country now drink beer and spirits, but this is never done at meals nor in the house, where, indeed, the wife would not allow it. It is deplorable, because it is drinking for the sake of drinking, and is never done in moderation. The tippling Burman goes to the "toddy-shop" for his liquor, and he does not know when to stop. Brandy of the fiery description known to the British soldier as "fixed bayonets," or "chain-shot," is often drunk, but the usual tipple is "Old Tom." A particularly heady mixture of this with cheap beer is affected by confirmed [183] topers. It is contrary to the national religion, and it does not suit the national temperament.

276 After meals every one smokes—men, women, and children. Facetious people have declared that Burman babies blow a cloud while they are still at the breast. This is inaccurate. They never indulge till they are able to walk without needing the assistance of their hands, but their mothers give them whiffs long before that. The ordinary Burman cheroot is very mild and has really very little tobacco in it. The full-flavoured article to be seen occasionally in London shops is manufactured entirely for English residents. The se paw-leip, the cigar for home consumption, commonly known as the green cheroot, is very large, from six to eight inches long and about an inch in diameter at one end, tapering to slightly less at the other.

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It rounds a girl's mouth a good deal when she puts it in. In the manufacture of it chopped tobacco leaves and pieces of the stem of the tobacco plant and the pith of the oh'nè, a species of Euphorbia, are the chief ingredients. Very often these are boiled with palm-sugar and allowed to dry before making up. The cover is made of the leaf of the teak-tree, or of a tree called the thanat, the ends being tucked in at the point. A piece of red raw silk fastens it at the end put in the mouth, and some broader pieces of pith are put there to give it stiffness to the lips. The finer kinds, such as were only used in Upper Burma in the palace, are rolled up in the thin white inner coating of the bark of the betel-tree. The cheroot has an ash like a cinder, and usually burns holes in the clothes of an Englishman the first time he tries it. Laid down thoughtlessly on an oily mat, it is a fruitful cause of fires. All Burman ladies are adepts at rolling cheroots, and a dozen or two of them form a common present to favoured swains.

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Chewing betel is sometimes carried on simultaneously with smoking, but most people prefer to economise enjoyment, and only chew in the interval between smokes. Chewing is hardly an exact expression, and the use of it frequently leads the experimenting Briton into the unpleasant predicament of having all the interstices between his teeth choked up with little fragments of the nut, which, with their indescribable aromatic flavour, stimulate the flow of saliva for hours afterwards. The Burman splits his nut in half, smears a little slaked lime, usually white, but sometimes tinted pink or salmon coloured, on the betel vine leaf, puts in a little morsel of cutch and tobacco, and then rolls it up and stows away the quid in the side of his mouth, occasionally *squeezing* it a little between his teeth. It is as well to be very cautious with the lime and cutch (the juice of the *Acacia catechu*) the first time you make a trial. The latter especially is very astringent. One variety of the nut, called the Taunggu betel, has effects very much resembling intoxication. Chewing kôn-thi is an unlovely practice. The Burman has none of the delicacy with regard to a spittoon which characterises the American, and these articles require to be of a very considerable size. The monks are perhaps

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Burmese AP4

276 792 the most persistent chewers of the good betel. Smoking is prohibited, but nothing is said against betel, and it is considered a great stimulator of the meditative faculties. The lime used very speedily corrodes and destroys the teeth, and then the old póngyi has to make the scholars crush up the nuts so that they may not hurt his toothless gums. It is a common belief that no one can speak Burmese well till he chews betel. Demosthenes is said to have put pebbles in his mouth when he was practising oratory.

517 515 302 Alternate smoking, chewing, and conversation serve to pass the day, and after dinner, when the sun goes down, our villager has a bath down by the well to freshen him up. The water is drawn up in a bucket and simply poured over the body. Soap is never used, and particular care is taken not to wet the hair. The head washing is a special ceremony, to be gone through only occasionally, and then with circumspection. Dandies, as a rule, put a solution of rice and water on their hair every day to make it grow long, and cocoanut oil is also very generally used. Both sexes are proud of the length of their hair, and it is not uncommon to see it reaching below the knee and down to the ankles. The men wear it in a yaung or knot on the top of the head, while the sadôn of the women is at the back of the head. Both men and women are in the habit of adding to its size by interweaving false tresses, which are easily got, seeing that everybody has black hair, and that some young member of the family is constantly getting his locks cut off on his entry into the monastery. There is no more sense of shame in using false hair than there is in improving the appearance by wearing fine clothes. At his bath it is usual for a pious [751] person to repeat a Pali charm over the first bucket of water, which is then slowly poured over the body. The object of this is to guard against sickness.

517 514 291 After bathing, the Burman, if he is young, usually puts on his fine clothes, for except in the rainy season there is sure to be a dramatic performance, or a yein dance by the village lads and lasses, or an entertainment of some kind going on at some house in the village. The dress is very simple and picturesque. The paso is a long silk cloth, fifteen cubits long and about two and a half wide. It is

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every household in the town is occupied in the trade, is there any attempt at regular planting of nurseries. Nevertheless it is plentiful enough, and affords a magnificent spectacle when it is in flower—a huge forest tree covered so thickly with creamy-white blossoms that the leaves cannot be seen. The flowers have a fragrant scent not unlike that of apples, and the needy and practical Burman often makes a very acceptable curry of the buds. In full-grown trees the average height to the first branch is thirty feet, and the ordinary girth six feet from the ground is nine feet. Charcoal-burners have a predilection for the wood, which would not meet with approval in Japan; and it is much used for anchors and tool-helves, being very close and fine-grained. It is too heavy to float when green, but dried it is not particularly weighty. The sap may be collected at all times, except when the fruit is on the trees, from Pyatho to Tabaung—the first three months of the English year. Then it is thin and does not produce such a brilliant polish. The mode of collection is simple enough. Incisions are made in the stem, and the sap trickles into bamboos placed to catch it. When it is to be kept any time there must be a depth of two or three inches of water on the top, otherwise it would dry up and become solid. The water, however, does not improve it. The best varnish, called thi'si ayaungtin, is that which has been just drawn from the tree; the second quality contains twenty-five per cent of water, the inferior as much as fifty.

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The articles lacquered are chiefly drinking-cups and betel-boxes, the latter consisting of a cylindrical inner case, in which are fitted two or three trays for holding the lime, betel-vine leaves, cutch, nuts, and other ingredients for betel-chewing, the whole covered by an outer lid reaching to the bottom of the inner case. Ordinary kôn-it, betel-boxes, are three or four inches high and two and a half to three in diameter. Articles of the same shape are made of all sizes up to a couple of feet or more in height, these last being used for holding clothes and women's working materials. The bi-it, ladies' toilet-boxes, are often the most delicate and carefully worked. The actresses always carry splendid specimens about with them to contain their combs, oil, scent,

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644 time, and chews betel simultaneously, making up the morsel himself very often. Many of those in the hall smoke also, but the operation cannot be conducted with any great degree of comfort when your nose is close to the nether [276] extremity of the spine of the man in front of you. In former days pipes were often smoked, but the bowls were always thrust through holes in the floor made for the 000 purpose.

Thibaw's apparent affability at these public audiences counteracts the effect of any other habits he may have, not so favourably viewed by Buddhists, and there are, perhaps, not a few of his subjects with whom he is possibly more popular than any king of Burma has been since the days of Alaungpaya the founder of the dynasty. His faults are thought to be those of his ministers and advisers. His easy-going indolence is the end of the desire of all his race. But it is not likely that his reign will be long. There is too much scheming and plotting going on in Mandalay just now for that. If Thibaw dies a sovereign he will be lucky. In the meantime the king rises and disappears behind the purple curtain. The durbar disperses immediately. The worshippers return home rejoicing and damn the king's enemies.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

next to a parent, with a life-long devotion.

Before or after the monastic novitiate, it is the custom for the Burman lads to have themselves tattooed from the waist to the knee (No. 152). Not to submit to this ordeal is to incur the reproach of cowardice. The tattooing is an intricate pattern of animals and tracery. Owing to the extent of surface involved, the process is most painful. It occupies days or weeks, according to the fortitude of the subject, who is drugged with opium for the occasion. The instrument has a handle weighted at the butt, and a long point of bronze, split like a ruling-pen. It is worked with great rapidity. The pigment is a kind of lamp-black of the consistence of ink. It shows bluish black through the brown skin. When a Burman tucks up his loin-cloth, as he always does for work or exercise (*kaddung-chaik*), he looks as if he had black knee-breeches. As plain as the contrast is to the eye, ordinary photographic plates fail to render it. In No. 153 it appears fully. On other parts of the body the men frequently have horoscopes and cabalistic diagrams tattooed with vermilion (*se-ut*, No. 162) for luck and bravado. The Shan practice of letting in gold and silver discs the size of two-penny pieces—beneath the skin—is sometimes imitated by Burmans as a charm against sword-cuts and bullets (*dâbyi*; *thenabbyi*). The Arakanese, who repudiate the custom of *thgwin*, ascribe it to a Burman King, who endeavoured to disguise his leprosy in this way.

27. VILLAGE LAY SCHOOL.

28. KITE-FLYING.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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49. FOREST KYAUNG.

ates the incumbent, regularly undertakes the support of the *pôndyi*, and frequently of his sojourner *yahán* as well. The food, which is the best of its kind, is brought every morning by the daughters and young children of the supporter, or, in the case of joint support, by children of the leading families in turn. An ornamented vessel is used, having a tall finial to the cover (*ôt*). The supplies are received by the lay scholars

792 or the novices, and by them served to the *yahán*. The principal meal is taken shortly before noon, for no food may be eaten after that hour till the
264 following sunrise. Water may be drunk and betel chewed at any time.
273 Tobacco-smoking is discountenanced, especially in Burma Proper, where the religious views are strictest. Burma furnishes the standard both for scholarship
● 276 and practice, and trains most of the incumbents of the monasteries of Pegu.
101 Scholars and novices may prepare food at the monastery from raw supplies. These the *yahán* may not even handle. Hired labour (*kappiza dayaka*) may
[464] be attached to the monastery by the supporter for the preparation of food
792 and other services. In some cases
735 lands have been dedicated for the maintenance of monasteries and temples. But the *yahán* have no concern with their administration. Supplies of raiment, chattels and food are dedicated to the use of the recluses
[346] when the distinction of their presence is solicited, especially at *shinlaung* fêtes and funerals. The annual pro-
[796] vision of raiment (*hatêin thingân*) is made between the months of *Thadinkyut* and *Tasáungmôn*. The offerings of necessaries are supplemented by accessories of every sort —books and writing materials, mats,

50. VILLAGE KYAUNG.

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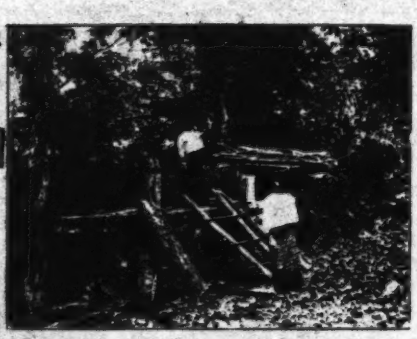

140. FETCHING IN FUEL.

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In the villages the passing traveller is invited to join in the meal. Everyone in turn ladles gravy from the bowl on the rice in front of him and mixes and eats it with his fingers. Before and after eating, mouth and fingers are rinsed. After the meal a drink of water is taken. Fruit is eaten after meals and at odd times. The importation of delf crockery and enamelled ware has been going on for a long time.

Betel (*kun*) is taken at all times except at meals, and tobacco is smoked by men, women, and children (No. 21). The betel-box plays the same part in Burman sociality as the snuff-box still does in parts of Europe. The chew of betel is made up of the fresh leaf of the betel-vine (*kun-yuêt*, No. 409) smeared with moist slaked lime (*tôn*) and folded over slices of the nut of the areca or betel palm. Dried tobacco-leaf, cutch and spices—cinnamon and cloves [805] —are frequently added. "A betel-chewing" is a common phrase for about a quarter of an hour. Old people who have lost their teeth pound up the betel in a small brass mortar (*kun-dyeik*) for chewing. The spittoon (*tuê-gan*) is indispensable.

The native tea is prepared by hill-tribes of the North. It is either in dry balls the size of a fist (*sin-chî*) or loose (*leppêtchauk*), or is pickled (*leppêkkan*). The dry tea is infused in the Chinese fashion (*leppêyye*, No. 146).

141. GETTING FIRE BY THE NATIVE METHOD.

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[372]
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When the platters have been rinsed after the evening meal and the tables put by—*sabwê-hmauk*—which gives the name to the hour, the day's work is over and the young women smarten themselves up to receive their *beinx*. The chief toilet-requisite is the face-powder (*than-âkhê*)—the cream-coloured bark

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[366] 290. PAREIKAYA DEALER.

weather sale-booths (*tawzat*), for trade with the hill-people, at central points as far from the towns as canoes can navigate the stream. They sell dried fish and *ngapi*, salt, oil, pease, sugar, spices and tobacco, pottery and crockery, plain and coloured yarns, needles, thread, cloth of every sort, elastic belts, under-vests, matches, tapers and soap, kerosene oil, pencils, pens, ink and paper, playing-cards, beads, spectacles, mirrors and fancy articles from Europe, besides biscuits, sardines, and condensed milk. All these wares are sold in the larger villages as well. Sale-booths are set up at every festival, chiefly for refreshments. But there is nothing corresponding to the fairs of India and the West.

● 276 Both men and women smoke tobacco. Children begin at four or five (No. 21). The Burman cheroot (*seleik*) is a roll five to eight inches long and an inch thick, consisting of chopped tobacco-leaf and the pith of the tobacco stem, with a wrapper made of the inner skin of the spathe of the betel palm, or the spathe of maize, or else the leaves of *pauk*, *thanát* or *bambaw*, which are smoothed on a hot stone. The Burman exquisite toys with this cheroot much as the Japanese does with the fan. The fan is not affected by men or women in Burma. Good cheroots are also rolled of plain tobacco-leaf, in the Indian way; they are very strong. Unlike the Shans, Karéns and Chinese, with their pipes, and the natives of India with their hookah, the Burman sticks to the cheroot. Tobacco is grown on the silt banks left dry by the rivers (Nos. 191, 264); but the bulk is imported from the South of India. A delicate "birds-eye" tobacco is prepared by the Karéns and Shans on the North-East; it is shredded green, and does not keep well. At intervals on the main lines of

[249 439] [432] 000

291. BAZAR SCENE, BURMA PROPER.

285 they were made by friends. Ma Aye Myaing and Daw Aw Zar appear to
437 specialize in the larger mats such as used for sleeping. Mat making appears to be an occupation which in ordinary times is unimportant but is is relied heavily upon in bad times.

461 The children are put to work around the house and in processing
562 the fish at an early age. Just recently U Myaing's eldest daughter
561 left school to learn a trade. She left one month ago from the fourth
●[277] standard, to learn cheroot rolling. In another month's time she will
874 have learnt how. She does not have to pay any fees - neither is she paid for her help. She lives with her aunt (U Myaing's sister) and
[294] has her meals there. Near their house there is also an embroidery shop which is owned by her aunt. At night U Myaing's daughter is taught embroidery and sewing by her aunt. The owner of the cheroot rolling shop is not a relative, but the women who work there are aunts and grand-aunts of the girl. When she has learnt the trade, then she will be paid between two and three rupees a day on piece work basis.

463 At present (May 1951) U Myaing is working as a sweeper in the
363 Rangoon Municipality on a monthly wage of Rs. 80/-. There is an over-
512 seer placed over him every day. U Myaing's main job is to keep one street in town clean. He leaves his house at six and arrives at the overseer's by half past six and there a roll-call is taken of about a hundred of them. At seven he begins on his street and stops at about half-eight to go to answer the roll-call (see below for rest of schedule). He has personal contact only with the overseer, the docter and the MUNDAUK (official). All three of them go around the town to see if they work hard enough. The MUNDAUK also comes everyday to witness the roll-call. "If we do not do good work we shall be dismissed. Everything is in their hands. But they do so after two or three warnings. We do not possess any rights at all. Sometimes offenders are sent to other streets that require harder labour. "

U Myaing's street is located in Myeni-gon, and he has to clean the street of dirt as well as clean the drains on either side.

His daily schedule at present is as follows: He rises at 4, washes his face and cleans his teeth, says his prayers and then has plain tea which Ma Aye Myaing has prepared for him. At six he leaves

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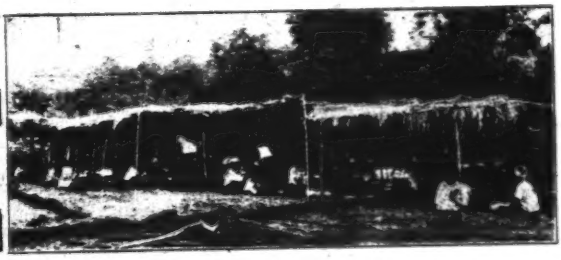

287. COUNTRY SALE-DEPOT.

about three million rupees. At present both wood-oil and crude earth-oil are being superseded by kerosene. The crude earth-oil is used for preserving woodwork. But its place is being taken by

438 the residues from the local refineries, now established in Rangoon.* Travelling
443 pedlars hawk the silk goods of Burma Proper and all sorts of fancy nicknacks
782 from the sea-ports to the villages of the interior. The approaches to the temples are favourite resorts of stall-keepers of all sorts of wares, especially of wax-tapers, plain and moulded, gold leaf, coloured paper flags and flowers for the votaries to decorate the shrines with, and toys wherewith to gladden the hearts of children—an act of merit befitting the shrine of religion in this cheerful land. In sad contrast to the gaiety of the booths is the spectacle of the lepers who beg for alms. The prominence of these unfortunates at such places creates a disproportionate impression of their numbers, high as these are (p. 41). The offerings dedicated on the occasions of *Shinláung fêtes*, festivals, and funerals, make the trades of manufacturing and distributing the requisites of the *kyaung* very important ones. The wares collected in the *parékaya* shop used to be representative of the manufactures of Burma. But of late, imported goods—crockery, glassware, lamps and clocks—have become a regular part of the *kyaung* furniture, and are offered in meaningless profusion. This
●[277] has helped to bring the *parékaya* trade into the hands of foreigners.

288. ROLLING CHEROOTS.

438 Every year, after the floods have subsided, Bur-
443 man dealers establish dry-
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* See *The Occurrence of Petroleum in Burma*, by Dr. F. Noetling.

face from bringing something off, money is paid in advance, rush tactics 593
are employed to prevent the man returning from abroad from marrying
the sweetheart of his college days, and in some cases even magic is resor- 584
ted to, though in secret. This black magic, especially, involves some 554
very undignified actions. A younger cousin of mine once warned his 177-
mother: "Please, Mother, never try to sell me like a bullock, or worse 58
still to arrange a marriage for my sister. I will not help you to jump
thrice on eggshells or throw ten viss of fish into a well at dead of night [789]
under instructions from a soothsayer."

Although marriages were constantly being arranged among our [585]
circle of friends in Thaton, I was not allowed to attend weddings as a 527
young unmarried girl. What we did attend regularly with the grown-
ups were the *u-bok-nay*, the duty day gatherings every week in the
resthouses among the hills. On these days Buddhists who choose to
observe the day, obey eight or ten precepts instead of five. Amongst
these ten are the abstaining from food after mid-day, absence of ornament
and cosmetics in dress, meditation and prayer, and absence of a high
couch in sleep. In Thaton the observance of this day was made the
weekly social event with the same combination of material enjoyment
and religious piety that characterizes all Burmese functions as described
previously. Each family went to the hills early in the morning with
mats, betel boxes and a well-cooked meal. The girls wore all the [556]
jewellery they had because we had not yet taken the precepts, and this
was a good chance of showing that a family did not lack wealth. We
met in the resthouses, to one of which a monk came to intone the pre-
cepts. These we repeated in chorus after him; then the elders talked
and chewed betel, and at about 10-30 the whole party went to bathe in
the pools made by the waterfalls down the hills. We went back to find
the pooled dishes of four or five families laid out in a rich feast. We
stuffed ourselves with this. The law states that food should not be eaten
after noon, and the law was always obeyed in the letter if not in the spirit.

One maiden lady in Rangoon who kept duty days regularly ate till 785
as near noon as she possibly could. She usually finished her meal with
fruit, and if she was eating a banana when noon struck with a loud bang 527
from the cannon at the Shwe Dagon Pagoda, "Haw!" she would ex-
claim, and in would go the whole length of the banana into her mouth.
After noon, tea and coffee are not allowed either but aerated waters,
which look so much like water, are sanctioned. When my husband was
a novice monk in the monastery, they were allowed medicinal pro-
ducts also after noon, and the hungry young novices often made a [278]
delicious soup of garlic (a digestive) fried in butter (medicinal compo-
nent), and water poured on to the fragrant compound.

A village of 2000 persons may have 10 or more doctors. The more successful "move up" to the towns and cities. Most of the medicines are herbs and chemicals including roots, leaves, fruits, berries, salt, and sulphur. Many of the herbs are imported from India. Parts of animals such as crocodile skin, pig and horse droppings are used less frequently. The doctor must be a moral man of good character or the medicine will not be effective. He uses the right index finger "medical finger" to stir the concoctions. The family of the sick person may either prepare the medicine themselves from the doctor's directions or take it's on special preparations. Many cures are effected by regulating diet, and in most cases this plays an important part in the cure. The knowledge which the SAY-SAYA must command is extensive including not only the medic: wisdom of the ages but also the peculiarities of the patient and above all the relationship of the seasons (weather conditions) to the case.

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If one doctor fails to cure, another may be called in after dismissing the first. A keen feeling of rivalry exists between the various doctors and there are no cooperative consultations. Although each prides himself on a specialty the secrets of which he jealously guards he feels qualified also to handle any other medical problems. "If two are of the same thoughts, they are enemies" emphasizes the general attitude of competition seen in many other phases of Burmese life. The Burmese doctors are invariably applied to for help first. If this does not succeed modern midicinal facilities are sought. If modern medicine fails it is greatly derided. Maung Maung Than's aunt was ill for a long time and, after consulting many Burmese specialists she was taken to the Rangoon Mission Hospital where her case was diagnosed as advanced breast cancer beyond cure. His uncle, though not a medical man, is recognised as a last resort specialist who when the patient is beyond any other help administers lime juice (ordinarily fatal where fever is involved) in a "do or die" treatment. He is warned off when he appears at a sick house for the risk often does not pay off.

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Illness is frequently caused by supernatural spirits acting either independently or as agents for "black magic" specialists.

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HAS NWIN or NA NWIN (The tumeric: curcuma longa, Linn). In Pantanaw one anna could buy two and a half ticals of tumeric which will last two or three months because it is used just to counteract the offensive smells of some fish and prawns and meat, and for this purpose just a pinch is sufficient. Thus in Rangoon the family has used only two annas worth of tumeric during the past twelve months. Three annas' worth of tumeric in the refugee camp is about equivalent to one anna's worth here. This was used in every meal both in Pantanaw and in camp.

PAZUN DOKE (The Crayfish: Astacys sp.) Crayfish is available during the rains and during the working of the IRS are obtained free. Each eating in Pantanaw required thirty to forty ticals at Rs. 2/- per viss. This was eaten during three or four meals a month. In Tawthalin, Thadingyut and Tazaungmon they are obtained free. PAZUN DOKE were available all the year round. In the refugee camp crayfish have not been eaten once.

HT-N NYIT (Palmyra root: Borassus flabellifer, Linn.) Palmyra root was eaten once in Pathee, when some people who came down from Upper Burma brought them down and gave U Myaing's family about two or three hundred as a present. They are eaten after baking. In Rangoon they buy this root if they desire to eat it. U Myaing is the only one in the family who has eaten it here, and even he has had it only once. He bought two roots for two annas, and each of them weighed about one and a half or two ticals.

ARO-NLUT or THIN U (The Arrowroot: Curcuma augustifolia, Roxb.,) was obtained back in Pantanaw through the medium of barter. The season for arrowroot is Tazaungmon and Nadaw and was eaten once or twice in each of these two months. About fifty to sixty ticals were consumed at each eating at six annas per viss. Here in camp one anna's worth (2½ ticals) is eaten by U Myaing at each eating, which is only when he goes to town. U Myaing has eaten it four to six times during the last year. He consumed one anna's worth at each eating.

MIN GUT-THEE (The mangosteen: Garcinia mangostana, Linn.,). Mangosteen fruit is not eaten in Rangoon at all by the family and in Pathee it was eaten only for its value as a part of a prescribed medicinal diet. There it was eaten about once a year when U Myaing returned from his business trip to Rangoon and brought back about fifteen fruit costing two or three rupees. [278]

DURIN THEE (The durian, Durio zibethinus, D.C.) has not been eaten once here. In Pathee it was eaten only when U Myaing returned from his trip to Rangoon. Only two or three Durian fruit were consumed in a year. These fruit cost between Rs. 1/4 and Rs. 1/8 for each. Each fruit has a spiky covering and weighs about 60 to 70 ticals. There are several sections within and each contains a big seed which is itself inedible.

LEIN M-M THEE (oranges) have been eaten three times here. They have to be bought for Daw Aw Zar five for Re. 1/- at a time, and the others share her oranges whenever she eats them.

NGAPI GYAW . In camp eight or ten annas' worth of NGAPI GYAW lasts one meal and weighs about twelve and one half ticals. This has been eaten ten or fifteen times during the past year. It was eaten in Pathee for every meal during ten out of the twelve months of the year. The NGAPI was obtained free in Pantanaw. (See section in "Work" for method of making NGAPI.)

NGAPI AYLE CHET. This is NGAPI cooked as in Upper Burma, that is, mixed with tamarind, etc., to flavour it with sour ingredients. This was eaten only during about two or three meals in the year. Twenty to twenty five ticals lasts two meals. In the last twelve months this has been eaten five or six times. Eight annas buys ten ticals of NGAPI here.

NGAPI YE GYO (NGAPI mixed with water). Ten ticals lasts three

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 API Burma
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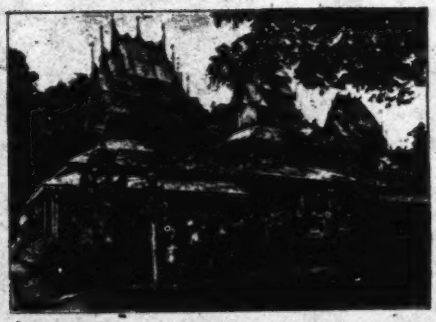

280. KOTHEMA YON (p. 181).

of the unsuccessfully vaccinated caught the disease, and ten of them died. None of the forty-four were attacked. These statistics could be multiplied. The medicine-dealers keep many of the crude commercial drugs, besides simples of their own collecting. Of the former, the principal are aloes, jalap, croton-seed, senna, bitter barks, catechu, opium, camphor, ginger, cardamom and other aromatics. The medicinal use of castor-oil is not known, though the plant is common. Spirits are now used medicinally. Many of the vegetable remedies are almost inert (see *The Burmese, what do they know of medicine?* by Dr. D. H. Cullimore). But there is one that deserves to be known, namely, the Shan remedy for tape-worm, *thsé*, which is both effectual and mild. Among the mineral drugs are mercury, calomel, sulphur, blue and green vitriols, alum, salammonaic, nitre. There is a whole category of suppositious remedies, tiger's gall, rhinoceros' blood, ant-eater's scales, and so forth; they are charred before being made up. Allied to this class of remedies is that of charms, the vendors of which (nat-wives—*nakkadáw*) trade on the superstition that disease is caused by demons. Every patient will be as particular to mention his star as to describe his complaint. He will be advised to avoid certain classes of remedies on certain days. The "Sunday son" must not purge on Friday, and so on. In times of epidemic and panic, *thibhuzedi* are erected at every house, as they likewise are in cases of sickness (No. 431). They are merely of sand, held together with circles of bast. Sometimes they are erected to avert calamity declared to be impending in a *shwepo-hlwáza*, a message on gold foil dropped from heaven by a *Thadyá* (p. 186). Images are dedicated

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281. CHILDREN'S BAZAR (p. 181).

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25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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282. PREPARING TAWTHALIN OFFERINGS (p. 188).

at the temples in the same spirit. *Thèbônzeli* are erected on the day of a sick person's planet, and decorated with flags according to the years of age. Here Buddhism, which knows of no vicarious merit (or demerit), is tainted by a survival of animism (p. 188). The merit of the act is intended to cancel the demerit of some troubled spirit which is seeking to possess the body of the sufferer. Offerings are likewise set apart for the troubled spirit in the forest, to divert him from the sick person. When an epidemic of cholera occurs, the whole village sets up a din at sunset with bamboo sticks, to frighten the demons away. But many minds are averse to such superstitions, and they seek for natural explanations. They ascribe disease to states of the blood, to "heats" and "vapours." The cooling qualities of nitre are extolled for the one, and the cordial effects of spice for the other. Dietetic questions interest everybody, and everyone has his or her pet nostrum. Very little operative surgery is attempted as compared with India and China—merely the opening of abscesses and setting of bones. Hare-lip and cleft palate, and the cognate deformities, appear to be frequent. The dressings applied to wounds and sores are chiefly turmeric, slaked lime, *nlm*-leaves. Successful lithotomies and other major operations, and the boon of chloroform, have spread the fame of western surgery in a vastly wider circle than it can reach itself. The sick are tenderly nursed by the Burmans, and never abandoned in panic fear as happens in epidemics among the hill-tribes. There are few greater sources of religious merit than ministering to the sick. During the puerperium, the Burman custom is to main-

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283. BURMAN CARRIER.

23: Brant & Mi Mi Khaing E, I-5 (1949-1950)1951
AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

787 Omens are read from the position of mongoloid spots on the newborn baby's
826 body. They are said to represent marks put on in a previous existence and their presence proves the child was then a human being. A blue spot on the foot presages a life of travel. Any marks leading from the right shoulder to the left hip, the line that the royal riband takes, indicate a royal future; today, however, with no royalty in Burmese society, such marks merely forecast a "great" future for the child.

775 A child is constantly watched from the time of birth for signs of whose
826 reincarnation it represents. This is a constant topic in the family conversations. Any disfigurement in a newborn child is regarded as a carry-over of the parents' store of demerit, as well as that of the child, from previous existences. It is regarded with a sense of shame and sorrow.

845 Although multiple births are neither preferred nor desired, they are not looked upon with any marked anxiety nor are there any supernatural means employed to prevent them.

In the event of a stillborn baby, the corpse is given special treatment. It is
766 kept in a case, clothed and powdered, and a tray of food is set in front of it every day. It is considered auspicious to care for a stillborn child in this manner: the spirits will guide the parents in their dreams toward the attainment of material prosperity.

751 For the normal baby who survives, a number of things are done by Burmese
854 parents to protect it from malevolent influences. Before it is a month old, a tiger bone is ground on a stone, together with a little water, and mixed with
[825] honey. This is fed to the child to ward off a mysterious infant illness associated
[753] with the tiger. A connection is believed to exist between the tiger and convulsions; some parents place a tiger skin under the mattress of the baby's bed to guard against such illness. A knife placed under the baby's mattress is said to protect against illness in general.

To insure good health and well-being for the child, a white thread over which certain *mantras* have been recited may be given by a Buddhist monk and tied around the baby's wrists. Should a baby be admired by people for its growth, the thread may be left on to neutralize the harm that is believed to result from such expressions.

When the child's umbilical cord has dried and fallen off, it is kept and used
[278] as a medicine for any illness that befalls the child. A little of it is ground up and mixed with water for such purposes.

000 A very close connection is believed to exist between mother and child during

23: Brant & Mi Mi Khaing E, I-5 (1949-1950)1951
AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

mony, but in actual practice this often takes place as early as her seventh or eighth year. Since this is a feast occasion involving considerable expense to her family, there is a tendency to hold a single ceremony, at which perhaps a pubescent girl, together with her younger sisters or cousins, will all have their ears bored. On the same occasion male children of approximately the same age may be initiated into the Buddhist monkhood.[5]

The girl initiate is dressed for the occasion in the traditional garb of the Burmese court, and in addition she wears a spired-helmet type of head dress. The villagers gather at her family's house for the event. An elderly woman rubs an anaesthetic plant substance on the girl's ear lobes and pierces them with gold pins. The pins are left in the ears, bent back. Later, if larger holes are desired, rolled leaves may be inserted. The family presents gifts to the assembled guests; often these are conventionalized tokens, such as inscribed cigars and fans.

Courtship and Marriage. Young people in the villages find ample opportunities to assess each other's manners, physical appearance, and personality in the company of others, at feasts and various gatherings. If a young man and woman are together apart from the company of others it is assumed that sex relations are involved. In fact, such going together is spoken of as "getting married." The Burmese find it hard to conceive of a young unmarried couple associating on a purely friendly, non-sexual basis: such behavior would be regarded as contrary to nature. However, unchaperoned association is disapproved and does not occur very frequently.

Once a pair have decided they wish to marry, the boy will inform his parents of his desire. They will already know, especially in the smaller villages, of the standing of the girl's family and of her dowry potentialities; in fact, as soon as they have sensed their son's interest in a particular girl they will take steps to acquire this information. They will also ascertain whether acceptance by the girl's family is likely. In a small community the approach may be made directly by the boy's parents. In larger centers a female go-between is more likely to be employed. The boy's parents will be informed by the girl's family that the decision must await the outcome of consultation with an astrologer concerning the compatibility of the birth dates of the prospective bride and groom. If the marriage is found to be an auspicious one—which it will usually be found to be if the girl's parents desire the match—an affirmative answer will be relayed to the boy's parents. The latter will then call upon her parents and in the presence of elders, not necessarily related to either family, formally ask for the girl's hand.

5 Description of the boy's initiation ceremony is being reserved for a separate publication.

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

231 their eggs in the silkworm's back and kill him. In about a month's time the caterpillar is full grown. He is then bundled into a fresh tray, in which there lies, wound about in the form of a spiral, a narrow-plaited bamboo strip. The ripe larvæ are thrown into this with as little ceremony as if they were pebbles. In about a day's time they have spun their cocoons, fastening them to the strips of bamboo. These are torn off and kept in baskets for a day or two, when a pot with water in it is filled with the pupæ, and then set to simmer over a slow wood fire.

● 283 From a triangle over the pot is suspended a small bamboo reel, and down below, near the pot, is a wooden cylinder. The reeler is usually a girl. She fishes about for a time in the simmering vessel, and, catching a few threads of silk, passes them over the reel and down to the cylinder, to which they are fastened. She then turns the handle of the cylinder, winding on the silk, and at the same time constantly fishing up and fastening on new filaments, which she does by means of a light bamboo double-pronged fork. Not the least trouble is taken to keep the silk clean. Any rubbish that may be floating on the surface of the water is wound on to the cylinder without an attempt being made to disengage it. When all the silk has been got off the cocoons, and wound on to the cylinder, the pupæ are taken out of the water and
[262] fried in oil to furnish a dish for the family dinner. They are not by any means unpleasant, tasting, barring the oil, very much like roasted chestnuts; and indeed the dish is considered a great dainty.

286 The silk-growers mostly sell their silk. A loom is to be
283 found in almost every Burman's house in the country; and
386 in Prome and Shwe-daung, as being close to the place where the silk is produced, great quantities of articles of dress are made for sale. The native-grown silk is only used for every-day clothes of simple patterns, the more elaborate being all
[437] worked from imported Chinese silk. The silk is bought raw, the separate filaments twisted into a thread by means of a wheel, and then made up into hanks; these are boiled in soap and water, and are then ready for the dye. The commonest colours are green, yellow, orange, different shades of red and light blue; black and dark blue are only in

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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favour with the Shans. The dyes are obtained from various jungle seeds, roots, flowers, leaves, and barks; the yellow dye obtained from the wood of the Jack-tree (*Artocarpus integrifolia*) being reserved for the monkish robes. After being dyed, the thread is unwound again. The weaving machine is very much like the old hand-loom still occasionally seen in out-of-the-way parts of England. The operators are almost always young women, and they are very clever at working the treadle and shooting through the shuttle, while talking all the time to village gossips or admiring swains. Some of the tameins, made for the richer women, are extremely intricate in pattern and require between twenty and thirty shuttles. The treadle raises and lowers the alternate threads of the warp. Except the rough dresses and the most complicated in pattern, however, not many native-made clothes are worn now. The townspeople prefer the showy and cheaper imported articles, and, though the Manchester goods are too frequently "doctored" and do not last long, yet this does not trouble the Burman much, for he is fond of a change of dress, and, unless he is very poor, will never wear a paso, except about the house, after it has been washed. All the more elaborate designs are, however, native made. The "dog's tooth" pattern is almost confined to Amarapura or Sagaing court looms, and since the fall of the monarchy is hardly seen at all. The acheit paso or tamein, of a complicated, wavy, sprigged design, which middle-aged Burmans remember as being the cherished object of desire of their young days, is now considered rustic. Young Rangoon will tell you that you may always know a taw-tha (a jungle wallah) at the pagoda feast by his wearing an acheit paso and nothing else except his turban; and although the waist-cloth may cost from 150 to 400 rupees, that does not redeem it in the town-bred youth's eyes.

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25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
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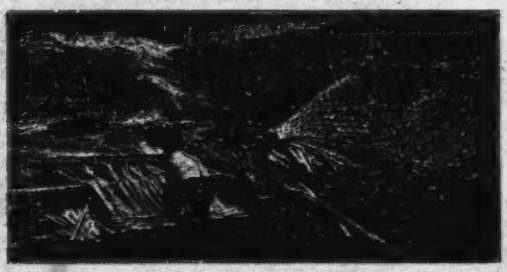
124. LASHING THE ROOF-POLES.

these (No. 16). Frequently the water-stand is a separate erection, opening into one of the lower bays. There are several kinds of roof-thatch, of which the commonest is *thekkè*, a broad-leaved grass, bound on sticks of split bamboo. The leaf of the *danè* palm makes the best thatch. The large leathery leaf of the *in* tree is also used. A roofing material called *wagàt* is made of bamboo shingles, of which strips are held together by three or four wattles, handy for tying to the rafters. This material is less inflammable than *thekkè*. Tiles and modern wooden shingles can only be used on strong roof-frames. Floor-mats of the stoutest kind are [285] plaited of the outer silicious rind of the bamboo (*kné-dyaw*). Common mats are plaited of the inner fibre split into withes, one half to three-quarters of an inch broad, and about one-twentieth in thickness. Finer and more pliable mats are made of the reed *thabáw*. The finest of all are made of the outer skin of the *thin* plant. *Thimbyu* is the universal sleeping-mat.

286 The cloth used in Burma is now, for the most part, imported, as are also the cotton yarns, both plain and coloured. Nevertheless, the domestic cloth industry 283 continues to flourish in the villages. Native textile cotton (*wā*) is of two varieties, one white, the other dun. The cotton, after being culled from the plants, is seeded between wooden rollers. The fibre, caked together by the rollers, is scutched by flicking it off the string of a bow into a basket, where the fibres disperse again. It is then worked between the palms into flakes convenient for the spinner (*baing-hngin*). The plain spindle, com- [413] mon everywhere in India, is obsolete in Burma where even the [285] hill-people use the wheel (*yit*). With the exceptions of the stuff for the



125. PLAITING WALL-MATS.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
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129. CLEANING AND SPINNING COTTON.

For work and exercise the *pasô* is girt into the narrowest compass (*kaddung-chaik*, No. 407). The women's cloth —*tamêin*—is only three cubits long. To the upper edge of the figured silk is joined a strip of plain dark-coloured cotton or velvet. To the lower edge is joined a piece striped with the colours of the centre-piece, to that again a strip of red silk shot with white, and it is lined with calico. The *tamêin* overlaps very little (Nos. 136, 137). *Pasô* and *tamêin* are the distinctive national dress. Both are in process of being superseded by the more convenient *lôndyî*, except for *gala* occasions (No. 34). The *lôndyî* is an endless cloth, generally of red tartan, about equal to two *tamêin*, worn like the Malay *sárong*. Men wear their long hair in a top-knot, and frequently use no head-dress. For *gala* they wear a fillet of white muslin round the temples tied in a knot, of which the long ends stand up (*pazin-hnyat*). Bright-coloured figured silk kerchiefs (*gaung-baung*) are worn in the same way. But more generally hair and kerchief are wound up together upon the head. Women wear nothing on the head except flowers and jewels. They wear kerchiefs (*pwa*) over their shoulders, of the same kind as the men's *gaungbaung*. These kerchiefs were at first of bright Chinese embroidery, but are now damask silk prints from Europe. The fashion of their patterns and colours changes. Jackets were not an invariable part of the Burman costume, but are now universal. The older pattern of men's white muslin jacket (*taing-ma-thein inji*, Nos. 374, 389), and women's white muslin, or coloured and gold-figured gauze jackets (*lesshé-inji*, No. 379), are of Indian type. They are now superseded by the more convenient *kadô inji*, of Shan-Chinese type, worn by both men and women (Nos. 115, 288). Over-jackets of imported woollens have also become general. A wrap or blanket of heavy cotton cloth, or of imported broad-cloth (*saung*, No. 184), completes the outfit. No kind of wool is indigenous

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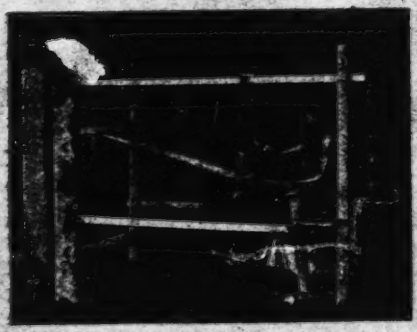

130. THE WEAVING-LOOM.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
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No kind of wool is indigenous 286

130. LAYING OUT THE WARP.

or is spun or woven in Burma. Cæsar Frederick in 1569 mentions woollen cloth among the goods brought to Burma, *viâ* Arakán. Web vests for boys and men, of European manufacture, are becoming general. The use of shoes of the European shape is bringing in the use of socks and stockings. The addition of a European shirt under the Burman jacket makes up the incongruous kit affected by the modern office clerks. With the increased use of body-linen have come the Indian washermen. The coloured stuffs are washed by the Burman women. The native dyes wash well, especially the silk dyes. An alkali-earth (*sappya*) is found in Burma, but soap is of modern introduction, and is now sold in every bazár. Needles used to be brought to Burma from China, as well as scissors, though the latter are also fashioned in Burma; at present both are imported from Europe. Burmans work the needle from them, like other Asiatics. The work is pinned to a cushion at the head of a post planted on the work-box. The use of the thimble was unknown until tailors came over from India, but is now general. The bulk of the tailoring is in the hands of immigrants from China; but their prejudice against the sewing-machine is helping to transfer the business to the Burman women. Nearly every well-to-do family in the towns has its sewing-machine.

291 [283 439] [296 463] 439 413 286 [177] 463 294

At sunrise the women start with their water-pots for the day's supply, and again before they cook the evening meal, which finishes the day's work. On the morning errand they do the most of their washing. In the evening they carry a spare cloth to change for the one they bathe in, which they wash and coil into a pad to put between the head and the water-

131. BURMESE CARVING OF WEAVING-LOOM.

462 [532] 512 515

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
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The cordage used in 283

213. LIMESTONE ROCKS.

Burma is twisted from the bast of the *shaw* tree (*sterculia* varieties). For guys, stays, and standing rigging of boats, rattan is employed. Split rattan is used for strong ties, and withes of split bamboo (*hnl*) for common ties. The *shaw* rope is three and four stranded, and is twisted with native gear very like that of our own rope-walks. A long and even four-stranded rope is made by three men. This furnishes a good example of mechanical advancement, when compared with the method of the hill-people, who require six men to twist a much shorter rope of the same number of strands (Nos. 219–20). Shaw rope is smooth, but has not the flexibility of cocoanut-fibre and manila-fibre ropes, which are now imported. Fine cotton yarn is twisted into cord for making nets. A coarse jute fibre (*paissan*) is also twisted for net-making. [171] [439]

Silk-culture is under the ban of Buddhism for the same reason as fishery. 288
The greater part of the silk yarn used is brought from China, but a good 231
deal is produced locally by the *Zabîn* or *Yabîn*, a people speaking Burmese
and resembling the Burmans in most respects, but despised by the latter. [779]
They are settled along the foot of the Pegu Yôma hill-range, on its eastern and
western slopes, where they make clearings in the forest (*taungya*) and plant the 554
mulberry. They prepare a yellow silk yarn which, coarse and knotty as it is, is 463]
preferred for the best class of Burman silk cloths (*luntayd*, No. 132). The raw silk fetches thirty-five to forty rupees a viss. It is a perfect washing silk in all its dyes and wears a lifetime. In a few localities, silk-weaving is a special industry practised by men as well as women. Settlers from Manipúr

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214. LIMESKILN.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

218. ROPE-WALK.

inner side is brightly decorated with floss silks. Gilt umbrellas (*shwe-dî*) are dedicated in the *kyaung*, but are not actually used. The white umbrella (*tîhyu*) is the emblem of sovereignty. The *tîhyu* is set above the images of the Buddha and above the remains of the *yahán*, who are assumed at their death to enter upon a higher spiritual stage. The metal canopy surmounting the *sadi* is a conventionalised *tî* (No. 232). Of late, European umbrellas have become a staple import of Burma.

293 [283] [186] [179] [346] [177] [439]

Lacquer-ware vessels and utensils—light, durable, and watertight—are made with the help of *thissi*, the exudation of the bark of *Melanorrhœa usitatissima*, a common tree of the *in* forest. The gum blackens to jet on exposure to the air. It dries slower than the "Japan black" of commerce, but is much tougher; it sells for two to three rupees a viss. *Thissi* is applied to wood turnery and bamboo wickerwork, either plain or with pigments, generally with vermilion. The commonest lacquer goods are platters (*hyat* and *daunglan*), which are turned of teak or *yamanè* wood and given two or three coats of *thissi*. After the platters, the principal article of lacquer-ware is the betel-box (*kun-it*). Coarse lacquering is done everywhere in the dry region, but the betel-box industry is peculiar to Pagán. The advantage of lacquer-ware and of a deep cover for the betel-box, is to keep the green leaf fresh At first sight it appears incredible that these exact cylindrical boxes with their trays and covers, fitting as if each piece had been turned out of the block, should start from a wicker-work frame. Yet so it is; the models are plaited so true that the rest

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[283]

219. HILL-PEOPLE TWISTING ROPE.

shops to supply her with goods, but took a special pride in buying each product from the town where the best quality of it was manufactured. She could do this either by my father's being posted within its district, by going there on a pagoda-visiting expedition, or by having relatives posted there; and a survey of all the household possessions I can remember makes a cross-section of Burmese crafts. All our blankets were Burmese *saungs*, good stoutly woven cotton pieces, about 7 feet long and 4½ feet wide. We had single ones of red, black and yellow stripes which looked very bright and barbaric; they came from the Chin Hills. We used these in the hotter months. During the colder months we used thicker *ok-saungs* which we got from Pakokku; they were 14 feet long and used doubled, with a fringe at both ends. These were woven very strong and white, with bold red stripes on them in pleasing combinations. All these saungs washed more and more beautiful to our childish eyes. My mother had a big collection of them in wooden chests and some of them have lasted 30 years and are still beautiful. 592 431 513 286 511

She was also very jealous of her collection of *hpyas*, mats for sleeping or sitting on, woven closely of the fibres of a reed called *thabaw*, or, finer still, of the outer skin of a grass-like plant, the *thin*. These light and flexible mats or *thinbyu* came from Laymyethna, "The Town of Four Faces". They were equally smooth on both sides and had velvet borders piped on, broad at one end and narrower at the other, to distinguish the head end for nobler use, and to be sure of always resting the feet on the same ignoble end. We had them in big sizes for the beds and for afternoon naps on the verandah, and smaller sizes for prayers and for visitors to sit on. My mother kept them in rolls, five or six rolled together according to quality, covered with a cylinder of ticking and stood end up along her dressing-room. 513 285 352 511

Although we used imported crockery for the table we could not do without Burmese pottery for other purposes. Water-pots and goblets of light pottery from Twante, near Rangoon, were necessary to keep the water cool. There must be special pots for the altar water, for washing faces, for drinking water (in which pot, however, we kept a sand filter bought from Rangoon), and goblets in all bedrooms. For baths we had big black voluminous jars from Upper Burma, of a less porous pottery with a salt glaze on it, about 30 inches high and wide-mouthed. Smaller ones like these were kept for pickling mangoes and other green fruits. In the kitchen also, the modern aluminium pots would not do for such purposes as cooking acid leaves and fish curry that had tamarind in it; an earthen pot was always used for *chimbaung*, roselle leaves. Moreover, the *salaungbon*, or cover, of an earthern pot can always be used for baking fish paste, a daily [271] 415 252 511

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

CHAPTER XXVII

LACQUER WARE

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FOR a long time it was assumed that Japanese and Chinese lacquered goods were simply papier-mâché. A popular fancy for the ware has brought to the knowledge of all who care for the information that it is really wood of different kinds painted over with the juice of the urushi tree. Should fashion ever inspire a similar enthusiasm for Burmese productions of the same kind, it is probable that it may be supposed that these also are composed of solid wood, and people will wonder at the extreme thinness and flexibility of the finer specimens. But it is only the coarsest ware which is thus produced. All the better boxes and cups are made of a woven basket-work of strips of bamboo; the varnish used on them is, like the Japanese lacquer, the sap obtained from the stem of a tree, and has nothing whatever to do with the insect-produced lac, such as English varnishers employ in solution with alcohol. I am no botanist enough to know whether the urushi (*Rhus vernicifera*), the Japanese tree, is identical with the Burman thi'si (*Melanorrhœa usitatissima*), or even whether it is of the same genus or order. Thi'si (literally wood-oil) is dark in colour from the moment it is gathered, whereas the urushi sap is described as being light yellow when first extracted, and only turning black after considerable exposure to the air. The urushi has been cultivated by royal order for hundreds of years in Japan; but in Burma, though the Forest Department declares the thi'si a reserved tree, there is no attempt at organised cultivation, and the thi'si-bin grows wild in the jungle. Not even near Nyaung-u, where nearly

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2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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the white lead and thana'kha for the complexion, and a few tresses of false hair. Other articles are the pyramidal tamin-sa-ôk, used for carrying food to the monasteries and the pagodas, fashioned somewhat in the style of the sacred spires, of five or seven roofs, and of all sizes from eighteen inches to the huge things, the height of a man, which the king sent under the royal umbrellas to the Arakan pagoda in Mandalay. Byat, platters of all sizes, up to the gigantic circular tray as big as a small table, used for dishing up the family dinner, are always made of wood, like the Japan ware. The people do not think much of them, and they are therefore almost always quite plain, either black or red. There is no inferiority to the Japanese in capacity for sketching fantastic designs. The future may see great developments in this branch of the art, but at present it is practically untouched. It is unfortunate that enterprise so far has taken the form of making "peg" tumblers and cigar-cases instead of developing national forms.

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The process of manufacture is as follows: Little basket-like boxes of the required shape and size are woven of fine bamboo wicker-work, upon round chucks of wood prepared and firmly fixed for the purpose. The bamboos used, which are usually split and cleaned by the women and children, are of different kinds, that called myinwa being the most highly esteemed. Similarly, the yet, or woven basket-work, is of different degrees of excellence, the kyaungleinyet being the finest. Some of the Shans and better workmen at Nyaung-u are celebrated for the delicacy of their work. On this is then evenly applied with the hand (so that the slightest particle of sand or dirt may be at once detected) a coat of the pure wood-oil. This is then put away to dry—not in the sun, which is apt to pucker and blister it, but in a cool airy place. Some careful workmen have often an underground room prepared specially for the purpose. After three days it is quite dry and hard, and is then liberally and evenly covered over with a paste called thayo. This is made in a variety of ways, the commonest being a mixture of finely-sifted teak sawdust, thi'si, and rice-water. But instead of the sawdust, or often mixed with it, finely-ground bone-ash, or paddy-husk burnt and strained through a cloth,

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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is kneaded in. In the coarse, common articles for every-day use, tempered clay and some other materials are often used; but this being thicker and less putty-like, is apt to scale and come off in flakes, especially if at all roughly used. This thayo is allowed to dry quite hard, and the box is then fastened to a rude lathe, which is turned with one hand, while the other is employed in polishing the box. This smoothing-down is effected with sifted ashes, or sometimes with a piece of silicious bamboo, which is as good as fine sand-paper. When this is done the box is ready for a fresh coat, which almost invariably consists of a mixture of finely-powdered bone-ashes and thi'si. This, after drying, is polished in the same way as before. We have now a box of a brilliant glossy black, in itself very pretty and fit for use anywhere. But this is only the end of the first stage; none but the byat and common wooden platters are left in this state. 285 322

The ground colour of the great majority of the boxes and cups is red; but some of the black wood-oil is required to rise through it and define the pattern. This is effected in a most ingenious way. The black box is put on the lathe again and turned round, while the lines and spots, and the form of the black pattern generally, is sketched on with a sut, or split stile, charged with thi'si. The drawer has no guide but his eye. There is no preliminary mapping out, yet a practised hand will never make a mistake and spoil a box. The fresh thi'si thus put on stands up above the general level of the surface. The whole box is now covered with red paint; and when this is dry the box is put on the lathe again, and the operator turns it round and rubs it steadily with ashes. By this means the red paint is removed where the lines of thi'si rise above the general surface, and the black pattern stands out clearly on the red ground. A quaint chequer-work is also always produced, where the slightly projecting edges of the bamboo wicker-work raise the black wood-oil through the vermilion layer. Still, however, it is not finished. No box is complete without three colours; and this last shade is applied in an equally simple and effective way. The desired pattern is incised with a graving-tool called a kauk—often nothing 531

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531 more elaborate than a pin firmly tied to a piece of stick. Then the whole box is coated over with the new colour, and this is in its turn polished off on the lathe till nothing remains but the lines of the engraved pattern. If another colour is required, a similar process is gone through.

531 When the design is complete, a clear varnish of another
●285 vegetable oil, called shansi, with a dash of thi'si in it, is
322 applied all over as a last touch, unless indeed a very high polish is required. This is effected by rubbing gently with the powdered petrified wood found so useful in imparting a gloss to the alabaster images. The patterns are none of them very intricate, and are handed down as heirlooms from father to son, so that the same family will have all its ware made on a few clearly-defined models, and there is no fear of "spoiling a set." The invention does not as yet soar beyond scroll-work and line-figures of infinite variety; but should a foreign demand spring up there would be no lack of skill to meet it; just as the Rangoon tattooers have taken to copying pictures out of the *Graphic* on English sailors' breasts.

The supreme test of excellence in the manufacture is when the sides will bend in till they touch without cracking the varnish or breaking the wicker-work. Connoisseurs can discriminate between Shan, Nyaung-u, and the ware of other places, by the shadow thrown on the inside (which is varnished plain red or black), when the cup or circular box is held at an angle of forty-five. Three colours only are used besides the black groundwork; but variety is produced by graduating their intensity of shade. They are red, green, and yellow. Red is prepared from finely-ground vermilion mixed with shansi. The Nyaung-u people prefer a vermilion called hinthapadi ywè, prepared by themselves, to that procured from China and used elsewhere. The home-made stuff seems to be much brighter in tint. Myeni, red ochre, is used only with the coarsest work. For yellow, yellow orpiment is ground down and washed several times until a pure, impalpable powder remains. This is mixed with a pellucid gum, and when required for use, worked up with shansi. Green is obtained by adding finely-ground indigo to the yellow orpiment until the required tint is

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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obtained. Red and yellow are, however, always the predominating colours. 531 285 322

The thi'si is turned to a variety of other uses besides the manufacture of lacquer-work; applied to wood, or to marble and clay images, it enables them readily to take on gilding. It is used as a waterproof varnish to all the umbrellas in the country, and makes them as impervious to rain as if they were made of wood, while it protects the palm-leaf against the rays of the sun, which otherwise would burn it as brittle as an egg-shell. All the racing and war-boats in Burma are painted with it, and the best caulking in the world could not make them more water-tight. Finally, boiled down thick it furnishes the material for delineating the square heavy characters of the sacred kammawa-sa, the ritual for the admission of brethren to the sacred order. 531 249

The oil is usually put in the sun for a short time before being used, and it is at first of a light brown colour, soon darkening into a brilliant black. It seems to be of a particularly mordant character, and raises huge blisters on the hands of some people, leaving marks of the ashy-white colour suggestive of leprosy. Hence strangers suspected of [753] being afflicted with the terrible malady always declare they are thi'si workers; and many people avoid these latter, in case they might find they had been holding communication with an outcast. A lotion composed of fine teak-wood saw- [757] dust, mixed with a little water, is used as a cure for blains. Many of the workmen periodically swallow small doses of the wood-oil, under the impression that it acts as a preventive. The capriciousness with which the varnish acts, leaving some men quite unharmed and punishing others severely, has given rise to a proverb in Nyaung-u:—

> Thi'si is a witness
> To a burgher's fitness;
> If bad, he's marked an outcast;
> If good, not long can doubt last.

352 415 mortar and measurers, market basket, condiments stored in cigarette tins and quart bottles. A discussion on these subjects is found under the chapter on Food.

513 Details were secured on the following household items:

SAUNG (blankets). Both THA-KA-LAT SAUNG (flannel blanket) and GUN SAUNG (Cotton blanket) are actually woolen blankets. (cost Rs. 25/-). Heavy cotton blankets are called CHI SAUNG . (cost Rs.15/-). Both are for individual use. In Pathwe U Myaing had one blanket of each kind which would last 3 or 4 years. In camp he has only the GUN SAUNG or Upper Burma blanket which he used for 2 years then brought from Pathwe . The females of the family had 6 cotton blankets between them (cost Rs. 12/ each). They brought 4 from Pathwe, two are "good ones", and two are "torn ones". The cotton blankets are supposed to last for 2 years according to Ma Aye Myaing. Intense love is indicated by the saying "we will go under one blanket", but double blankets are not known.

[455] [152]

EMME-YAR, (Enjoying place) mattress. It is a thin square cloth sack measuring 4 TAUNG on a side by 4 inches in thickness and stuffed with KAPOK. U Myaing had one at Pathwe which would last 7 or 8 years. It was made at home and valued at Rs. 30/-. Daw Aw Zar and the children shared a double mattress, a gift from her neice, in Pathwe but all sleep on split cane mats only in camp.

[435]

(KU DIN; raised wooden beds are rarely used in villages.)

GAUNG-ON, (head-lay) pillow. Pillows are made at home. Two may be made from 3 TAUNG (1½ yards) of cloth. They are cloth sacks filled with cotton and last 3 or 4 years - valued at Rs. 3/8 each. U Myaing had 2, and the females 8 at Pathwe. He used a wooden pillow made of small, raised board, while the females use rag bundles.

HPYAR, Sleeping mats. Two kinds are used; a split TA BAW plant mat and a more finely woven thin plant with over 2 under 2 weave mat. They measure 6 by 3½ feet . The mats lasted two years and were woven at home. 4 to 8 mats were kept on hand at Pathwe; here 4 mats are in use.

[285]

AYAR-KIN (sleeping place cover) bed sheet: The bedsheets used in Pathwe measured 6' by 3½' and were made of cotton. Three were used by U Myaing and lasted a year; they cost Rs. 7/- each. Camp: none.

CHIN TAUNG, Mosquito net: One kind was made of fine netted

The daily work schedule of U Myaing while he was working as a fish processor (2 months in a year) was as follows:- 512 461 264

He rose at four or five in the morning said his prayers, drank plain tea, had boiled beans, fried fish and rice left over from the previous day's evening meal. After that he went to collect fish, bring it to the bank and start work on it. He rested from 11 o'clock to 2 o'clock. At two he resumed work till about five when he would be finished for the day. Sometimes he would sleep at the work place after returning home for his evening meal.

Work in the Refugee Camp.

Shortly after arriving at the Camp U Myaing worked in Sulian Park near the Kokine market where a factory for spinning and weaving cloth was being set up. The contractor was Chinese, and he engaged between 30 to 35 labourers every day. These labourers were unskilled and they were employed in levelling the ground and laying the foundation of the factory. Most of the labourers were Indians - there being only two Burmans, U Myaing and Ma Aye Myaing got Rs. 2/-. The working hours stretched from eight in the morning to 12 noon, with a break of one hour at 12. At one o'clock they resumed work and continued until five in the evening. In the mornings they had to go to the factory by themselves, and this took them about a half hour walk. Sometimes they were sent home in a truck in the evenings. U Myaing had to enquire each day at various places for a chance to work. He was not always successful. 722 461 464 331

It was not usual for Ma Aye Myaing to come along like this to work as a labourer. This was the first time she did so. Ma Aye Myaing said that in future she would accompany U Myaing whenever there are prospects of such work. They knew that women worked in this way, but had not known that such work was available. [562]

As a matter of fact, I met U Myaing through the mats which were made in his camp. We got dinner place mats through him. These are rectangular 1½ feet by 2 feet mats of finelywoven split cane in an over 2 - under 2 pattern. They cost Rs. 2/8 each. U Myaing arranged for the making of these mats and collected the money for them, but 285 437

285 H37 they were made by friends. Ma Aye Myaing and Daw Aw Zar appear to specialise in the larger mats such as used for sleeping. Mat making appears to be an occupation which in ordinary times is unimportant but it is relied heavily upon in bad times.

461 562 561 [277] 874 [294] The children are put to work around the house and in processing the fish at an early age. Just recently U Myaing's eldest daughter left school to learn a trade. She left one month ago from the fourth standard, to learn cheroot rolling. In another month's time she will have learnt how. She does not have to pay any fees - neither is she paid for her help. She lives with her aunt (U Myaing's sister) and has her meals there. Near their house there is also an embroidery shop which is owned by her aunt. At night U Myaing's daughter is taught embroidery and sewing by her aunt. The owner of the cheroot rolling shop is not a relative, but the women who work there are aunts and grand-aunts of the girl. When she has learnt the trade, then she will be paid between two and three rupees a day on piece work basis.

463 363 512 At present (May 1951) U Myaing is working as a sweeper in the Rangoon Municipality on a monthly wage of Rs. 80/-. There is an overseer placed over him every day. U Myaing's main job is to keep one street in town clean. He leaves his house at six and arrives at the overseer's by half past six and there a roll-call is taken of about a hundred of them. At seven he begins on his street and stops at about half-eight to go to answer the roll-call (see below for rest of schedule). He has personal contact only with the overseer, the doctor and the WUNDAUK (official). All three of them go around the town to see if they work hard enough. The WUNDAUK also comes everyday to witness the roll-call. "If we do not do good work we shall be dismissed. Everything is in their hands. But they do so after two or three warnings. We do not possess any rights at all. Sometimes offenders are sent to other streets that require harder labour."

U Myaing's street is located in Myeni-gon, and he has to clean the street of dirt as well as clean the drains on either side.

His daily schedule at present is as follows: He rises at 4, washes his face and cleans his teeth, says his prayers and then has plain tea which Ma Aye Myaing has prepared for him. At six he leaves

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NGA-YOT-SON (Mortar): The mortar resembles an inverted truncated cone with a loop handle extending from the rim. It is made of the samered-brown glazed ware described above. A teak wood pestle (GYEBME) is a rounded club about 15 inches long and 2 inches in diameter. Some are ornate with circular bands, but U Myaing's club is plain. It took him about an hour to make. The mortar was purchased here and cost 10 annas. Number of mortars in Pathwe: 1 , Camp: 1 . [531]

DAW O (aluminum cooking pot): The aluminum cooking pot is a wide cylindrical form with a flat lid. They are made locally. U Myaing's family had three in camp ranging in size from 10 inches in diameter and 4 inches high to 12 inches in diameter and 5 inches high. The vessels were used for cooking rice and curry. A pot holding 6 LON of rice costs Rs. 6/-. Pathwe number: several, camp: 3. [435]

DAWTHIN LON (aluminum pail): One aluminum pail, cylindrical in form with a height of 7 inches and diameter of 6 inches, and wire handle, was used in camp as a container in hauling foods from market and in their preparations. It cost Rs. 2/8 in Rangoon. Pathwe: [435]

Miscellaneous containers: Several beer bottles and circular cigarette tins were used in camp to contain oils and spices.

SHWEI JAIK (Tiffin Carrier): A rectangular lunch box, or tiffin carrier, of aluminum was bought in Rangoon for Rs.3/8, Pathwe: Rs. 12/-.

KYWAY PAGWEYA (China Plates): A single broken china plate was used as a cover for the water jar in camp. This was one of three brought from Pathwe, where they cost Rs. 2/-. This is a special ware which was usually reserved for guests. In Pathwe, the family had enough for family use and guests on special occasions.

THAN PAGWEYA (enamelled iron plates): Two enamelled iron plates of shallow dish and bowl form (about 12 inches in diameter) were used in camp. These cost Rs. 2/- each. Pathwe: 0.

YAWEYA (stirring spoons): Two spatulate bladed spoons with thin handles 12 inches long were used as stirring spoons in the preparation of food. The iron one was bought in Rangoon and cost 10 annas. The wooden one was made by U Myaing in Pathwe out of teakwood. It took him 2 hours to make it with a small knife.

YOONE (eating spoons): Chinese porcelain spoons (KYWAY) and brass spoons (KYEE) were used indiscriminately to dip curry sauce over the rice. The Chinese spoons are boat shaped with high and hollow handles. The brass spoons are similar to European soup spoons. The porcelain spoons were preferred aesthetically, but because the children frequently broke them, brass spoons were most commonly used. Cost and frequency: In Pathwe, 60. Camp: 8.
Food is commonly eaten with the fingers in all levels of Burmese society.

DAW (knife): The big knife used in camp for cutting fire-wood and other chopping jobs was about 1½ feet long including an 8 inch wooden handle bound in iron. The steel blade is curved slightly upward, has a square end and is used as a chopper frequently with two hands on the handle. The one in camp was bought "long ago" and cost Rs. 4/-. A small knife with a pointed steel blade was used for whittling and cutting in the preparation of food. Pathwe: 10, most for work in IN. Camp 2. [412] [435]

KAWE (pot rest): A hollow disc woven of soft reeds with a diameter of 6 to 8 inches is used to rest pots on - so that the carbon on their bases will not blacken the surface on which they rest. These are readily made by the women of the family. [285]

PYI DAING (Measures): There were two of these containers, used for measuring rice in camp. The iron one had a hole in it, but was retained as a general container. It had been replaced by the wicker

basket PYIDAUNG. Both cost a rupee. One does not seem to be preferred to the other except as getting them allows a bargain to be made. The form is that of a pear shaped body with a square base, measuring about 6 by 8 inches. The basket is constructed in the wicker technique with small, whole reeds. Pathme: 2. Camp: 1. 415 252 [285]

CHIN DAUNG (storage basket): The form of this basket is a larger version of the measurers. It has, however, an open weave giving a checkered effect to the sides and bottom. It is used to store objects including food. At Pathme this basket was used in working the INS. The fish were scooped up, and later washed in them. The two used in camp were brought from Pathme where they cost Rs. 1/4- Camp: 1, Pathme: 15 for washing fish. 251 415 [435]

Winnowing trays: Shallow baskets about 2½ feet in diameter and 2 inches high were used as shifting and storage trays. The SAGAW has a rounded base; while the SAGAR has a flat base with fiber walls. Both are made of flat, wide-meshed reeds. The trays used in camp came from Pathme where they cost Rs. 1/4 each. Pathme: 1. 243 415

THE CHIN (Marketing basket): This basket is in the general shape of a cylinder, ½ feet wide and 8 inches high, with open, flat reed sides and a semi-circular handle across the top. It is used to carry objects from market and to store them in the house. Pathme: 2, Camp: 1. 415

U Myaing expresses the contrast between the camp equipment and that of Pathme: "These objects in camp are barely sufficient. We have to live as we are. In our own district we had sufficient to pail in boxes. The extra ones were nailed in boxes and only enough were taken out for the seven people who eat. When visiters come, good ones are brought out. Plates for curry, plates for eating rice. There were various kinds." 415 511 178

Food Items

Ma Aye Myaing gave as complete a set of data on the food consumption of her family as she could. The following data is inclusive for the family of seven, both in Pantanaw and the refugee camp. Ma Aye Myaing decides what dishes to cook for each meal of the day, and she does this without any consultation with U Myaing. She does not ask him what he would like for each meal, although sometimes when he expresses a desire for a certain dish she sees to it that it is prepared. She has a free hand in deciding what to cook for each meal in the day. Definitions of the weights and measures used follow in a glossary. The data is organized under the headings of (1) Main dishes and raw foods, (2) supplementary dishes and TO-ZAYE (vegetables eaten with NGAPI), and (3) trifles. 262 [593] [128]

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
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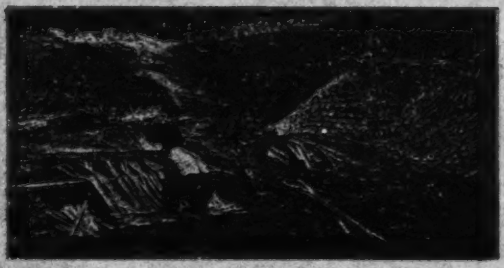
124. LASHING THE ROOF-POLES.

these (No. 16). Frequently the water-stand is a separate erection, opening into one of the lower bays. There are several kinds of roof-thatch, of which the commonest is *thekkè*, a broad-leaved grass, bound on sticks of split bamboo. The leaf of the *danè* palm makes the best thatch. The large leathery leaf of the *in* tree is also used. A roofing material called *wagàt* is made of bamboo shingles, of which strips are held together by three or four wattles, handy for tying to the rafters. This material is less inflammable than *thekkè*. Tiles and modern wooden shingles can only be used on strong roof-frames. Floor-mats of the stoutest kind are [285] plaited of the outer silicious rind of the bamboo (*hnè-dyaw*). Common mats are plaited of the inner fibre split into withes, one half to three-quarters of an inch broad, and about one-twentieth in thickness. Finer and more pliable mats are made of the reed *thabàw*. The finest of all are made of the outer skin of the *thin* plant. *Thimbyu* is the universal sleeping-mat.

286 The cloth used in Burma is now, for the most part, imported, as are also the cotton yarns, both plain and coloured. Nevertheless, the domestic cloth industry 283 continues to flourish in the villages. Native textile cotton (*wā*) is of two varieties, one white, the other dun. The cotton, after being culled from the plants, is seeded between wooden rollers. The fibre, caked together by the rollers, is scutched by flicking it off the string of a bow into a basket, where the fibres disperse again. It is then worked between the palms into flakes convenient for the spinner (*baing-hngin*). The plain spindle, common everywhere in [413] India, is obsolete in [285] Burma where even the hill-people use the wheel (*yit*). With the exception of the stuff for the



125. PLAITING WALL-MATS.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

219. ROPE-WALK.

inner side is brightly decorated with floss silks. Gilt umbrellas (*zkwe-di*) are dedicated in the *kyaung*, but are not actually used. The white umbrella (*tlhyu*) is the emblem of sovereignty. The *tlhyu* is set above the images of the Buddha and above the remains of the *yahán*, who are assumed at their death to enter upon a higher spiritual stage. The metal canopy surmounting the *zeti* is a conventionalised *tl* (No. 232). Of late, European umbrellas have become a staple import of Burma.

293 [283] [186] [779] [346] [177] 439

Lacquer-ware vessels and utensils—light, durable, and watertight—are made with the help of *thissi*, the exudation of the bark of *Melanorrhœa usitatissima*, a common tree of the *in* forest. The gum blackens to jet on exposure to the air. It dries slower than the "Japan black" of commerce, but is much tougher; it sells for two to three rupees a viss. *Thissi* is applied to wood turnery and bamboo wickerwork, either plain or with pigments, generally with vermilion. The commonest lacquer goods are platters (*byat* and *daungdan*), which are turned of teak or *yamané* wood and given two or three coats of *thissi*. After the platters, the principal article of lacquer-ware is the betel-box (*kun-it*). Coarse lacquering is done everywhere in the dry region, but the betel-box industry is peculiar to Pagán. The advantage of lacquer-ware and of a deep cover for the betel-box, is to keep the green leaf fresh At first sight it appears incredible that these exact cylindrical boxes with their trays and covers, fitting as if each piece had been turned out of the block, should start from a wicker-work frame. Yet so it is; the models are plaited so true that the rest

322 285

220. HILL-PEOPLE TWISTING ROPE.

[283]

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

322
285
[293]

221. UMBRELLA MAKERS.

of the work can be done on a lathe. To prepare the wicker for lacquering, it is first given a "rough-stuffing" of fine clay to fill the interstices. The work is then painted with *thissi*, which penetrates and toughens the clay and binds the fibres of the wicker. When the *thissi* has set, which takes several days, the work is put on the chuck of a bow-lathe and ground smooth with a fibrous stone—a petrifaction-product. Varnishing and grinding are repeated till the surface is smooth, colour being added to the later coats. Then a coat of contrasted colour is given, and when the varnish is about half set, the pattern is chipped with a metal style through the fresh layer to the hard lacquer beneath. After the work has hardened, the patterns are em-
[531] bellished by scoring rings through the layers, with a tool like a carpenter's gouge, so as to bring out the underlying contrasts. The patterns are arabesques and conventionalized figures.* Subject designs are also executed (No. 224). Finally the lacquer is polished with buffs of graduated fineness. A
[341] peculiarity of *thissi* is that it sets hardest in a moist atmosphere. Every manufacturer has an underground cellar—a thing almost unknown in Burma—for the wares to harden in. Pagán, the centre of the industry, is at the same time the driest locality of the dry zone. The finest lacquer, which is only made by a few highly-skilled workmen, is so elastic that the lips of a cup may be brought to meet without the ware cracking. As much as
[435] twenty-five rupees is paid for a cup of such quality. The ordinary ware has not the tenth part of this elasticity, and sells for one to ten rupees a box. The
[415] deep cover of the betel-box is the traveller's ordinary drinking-cup.

222. LACQUER-WARE MANUFACTURE.

* See the end-papers of the binding of this volume.

592 She was fairly pretty, very quiet and reserved towards us, and enjoyed
357 helping my mother with the babies, supervising the work of the servant girls and valeting my father. Ngwe Yin, who came to us as a very attractive girl with a reputation for being unmanageable even at a young age, always chose the task of taking us for walks in the evenings so that she could put on her nice clothes. She took us wherever she liked, or she sat with us at meal times and let us be as naughty as we wanted while she indulged in repartee with my father's clerks or chauffeur. Mya Shwe was my contemporary and playmate; she went to school while I was in boarding school but cut short her attendances the day I came home, irrespective of differences in our school calendars.

357 When A-Kyi was about nineteen it was announced to us that she
584 was to be married to my father's clerk, Maung Hla Bu. This young man was a favourite of my parents and had been a constant admirer of A-Kyi, helping her to make the beds when my father took the whole family on tours, but awaiting the graciousness of my parents before he dared to ask for her in marriage. My mother gave A-Kyi a small trousseau and a few pieces of jewellery, and they were married shortly before my father got a posting to another station. When a child was born, Mya Shwe, who had outgrown her days as a playmate for me, went to stay with them. Ngwe Yin, the beautiful girl, continued discontentedly for about a year, and then she eloped with a student protégé of my father's. I don't think either of my parents were very shocked at this.

357 My memories of the girls who worked for us are happy enough only
565 because my mother had been brought up in Grandfather's house where everyone was taught to do things for herself; in her character also was a pervading sense of tolerance. In some minkadaws' houses, however, I have seen two girls kneeling with soap and towel outstretched, while the mistress bathed herself. In more cheerful but no less aristocratic-minded households a meal laid ready on the table is the signal for one girl to get under the table and fan the mosquitoes off the legs of the family, and another to play the gramophone right through the meal My gay young uncle San Lin extended the domestic duties of his girls to the learning of modern songs which he liked, and he did his morning dressing to the accompaniment of his servant girls with powder on their faces and jasmine buds in their hair, swinging their feather brooms to the rhythm of modern love songs.

592 A-Kyi and A-Shwe and all the girls we had before and after them
431 bring back memories of the household articles which made with them a
513 background never recovered in our later Rangoon days. My mother,
•286 like all minkadaws in the districts, did not depend on a big bazaar and
511

shops to supply her with goods, but took a special pride in buying each 592
product from the town where the best quality of it was manufactured. 431
She could do this either by my father's being posted within its district, 513
by going there on a pagoda-visiting expedition, or by having relatives 280
posted there; and a survey of all the household possessions I can re- 511
member makes a cross-section of Burmese crafts. All our blankets were Burmese *saungs*, good stoutly woven cotton pieces, about 7 feet long and 4½ feet wide. We had single ones of red, black and yellow stripes which looked very bright and barbaric; they came from the Chin Hills. We used these in the hotter months. During the colder months we used thicker *ok-saungs* which we got from Pakokku; they were 14 feet long and used doubled, with a fringe at both ends. These were woven very strong and white, with bold red stripes on them in pleasing combinations. All these saungs washed more and more beautiful to our childish eyes. My mother had a big collection of them in wooden chests and some of them have lasted 30 years and are still beautiful.

She was also very jealous of her collection of *hpyas*, mats for sleeping 513
or sitting on, woven closely of the fibres of a reed called *thabaw*, or, 285
finer still, of the outer skin of a grass-like plant, the *thin*. These light 352
and flexible mats or *thinbyu* came from Laymyethna, "The Town of 511
Four Faces". They were equally smooth on both sides and had velvet borders piped on, broad at one end and narrower at the other, to distinguish the head end for nobler use, and to be sure of always resting the feet on the same ignoble end. We had them in big sizes for the beds and for afternoon naps on the verandah, and smaller sizes for prayers and for visitors to sit on. My mother kept them in rolls, five or six rolled together according to quality, covered with a cylinder of ticking and stood end up along her dressing-room.

Although we used imported crockery for the table we could not do without Burmese pottery for other purposes. Water-pots and goblets of light pottery from Twante, near Rangoon, were necessary to keep the water cool. There must be special pots for the altar water, for washing [271] faces, for drinking water (in which pot, however, we kept a sand filter bought from Rangoon), and goblets in all bedrooms. For baths we had big black voluminous jars from Upper Burma, of a less porous pottery with a salt glaze on it, about 30 inches high and wide-mouthed. Smaller ones like these were kept for pickling mangoes and other green fruits. In the kitchen also, the modern aluminium pots 415
would not do for such purposes as cooking acid leaves and fish 252
curry that had tamarind in it; an earthen pot was always used for 511
chimbaung, roselle leaves. Moreover, the *salaungbon*, or cover, of an earthern pot can always be used for baking fish paste, a daily

291 in the weave. These were produced in smoky blues, ambers and dull greens so beloved of elderly Burmese ladies.

*286 438 Silk weaving is one of the old industries of Burma, but the yarn is mostly imported, for the rearing of silkworms, like fishing, is a form of taking life. Fortunately, around Prome on the central Irrawaddy, there live a tribe of hill people called Yabeins who are animists and may safely cultivate the *po-sa*, worm food mulberry tree. The silk from here is coarse, but is used for the weaving of the most elaborately patterned silks called *cheik*. These valuable pieces are used for wedding skirts and ceremonial wear. Few people possess more than one cheik skirt; the great number of spools—a hundred or more—necessary to produce the intricate patterns in minute waves of blended colours makes the prices vary from Rs. 40/- to Rs. 400/- per piece, a high price compared to the present imported silks. All the weaving is done by handlooms, rectangular frames about five feet long, holding the warp threads of four yards in length and 40 to 45 inches in width, operated by girls sitting on high stools, raising the alternate threads by a foot-pedal, and banging the pushboard against the woven threads each time they throw the spool across by pulling on a cord, producing eventually an *ok*, a book, a piece for two skirts folded flat and stiff like a book.

With imported yarns dyed with native vegetable dyes, the weavers at Mandalay, Amarapura, Prome and Shwedaung, Kyangin, Tavoy, Kindat and the Yaw valley produced silks of exquisite pinks, blue-greys, gold and amber, strong reds and purples, dull dirty greens, all from the sunset skies, water-vegetation, birds and trees, never fading: *pan-nu, kho, mi-go, hpet-hpu, ma-yan, pasun-hsi, payin, kyet-thway, yay-kwyi, a-sein-bok*: tender flowers, dove, smoke, leaf-bud, marian seed, prawn oil, amber, cock's blood, slime-moss, rotten vegetation. Plain colours, checks, stripes and geometrical designs all cost only Rs. 3/- or Rs. 5/- or, perhaps, Rs. 10/- per piece and could be washed forever. No wonder Kyi-Kyi did not understand why we bought imported silks. She did not understand the desire for novelty, for frivolity of birds, giant flowers or sprouting fruit such as are never seen on land or sea.

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma AP1
Burmese AP4
Chinese

Be 532 BeBa [532] [774]

tells us that the American Indian chief was in a state of great alarm lest his soul might be carried off with his picture. A notion of the same kind appears in the Chinese custom of getting a priest to put in the pupil of the eye, a method which often has rather a ghastly effect when the reverend gentleman is not skilful. Similarly, every Chinese-owned craft, from the sampan to the English-built iron screw steamer, has a couple of eyes painted on its bows, in order that it may see the way. Down in the Straits, and in all places where there are many Chinese, the local steamers, whoever their owners may be, are all endowed with eyes. Were they not so favoured, no Chinaman would travel with them as a passenger, or send any of his goods aboard of them. The Burman is not troubled with any such fantastic notions, and has no objection whatever to sitting for his portrait, only, as King Mindôn said to Yule, they prefer a flattering likeness to an exact one. It is seldom, however, that a Burman has a picture gallery in his house, and the village artist usually confines himself to vivid-coloured sketches for the funeral of a pôngyi, or to be hung round the mandut, where the great people sit to look on at a play. The drawing and the perspective are naturally a little faulty, but the details are usually worked out with very creditable skill.

Be 532 353

517

Thus wandering about, seeing what his neighbours are doing, with an occasional visit to the mônastery to have some edifying talk with the religious, the villager may spend the time very comfortably. Oftenest however, he stays at home, and waits for visitors to drop in and have a little gossip. The goodwife always has a little shop in the lower part of the building. There is hardly a single house in the whole village where something is not offered for sale: a few dried fish, betel-nut, with the fresh green leaves, lime, cardamoms, and cutch, all ready for making up, half a dozen cocoa-nuts, or perhaps some twopenny-ha'penny knives, looking-glasses, coloured tumblers, and paltry Manchester goods, or where there are many girls about the house, a few home-made lungyis and pasos, waist-cloths, woven at odd times in the loom which stands in the yard or in a corner of the verandah of every house. The stock-in-trade is

592 444 562

[286]

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

used for the para-baik, or note-books, is got—the leaves of which the caterpillars will eat; but the silk thus obtained is much coarser, and recourse is had therefore to the mahlaing-bin only when the mulberry-bushes give out. In any case, however, it is undeniable that, as yet, the silk produced in Burma is of a very inferior kind. It is rough and coarse; but it is all the better suited for the strong lungyis and pasos in use for ordinary every-day wear among the people, the finer fabrics all coming from China or Manchester.

The whole process of growing the silk is of the simplest possible character, and is exactly suited to indolent people who have no conscientious objections to the killing of the pupæ. Silk can, indeed, be spun from the cocoons, out of which the moths have escaped; but it is very much coarser even than the ordinary silk, and commands somewhat less than half the price. Except the occasional trouble of strolling out for a few leaves, there is almost nothing to be done; and the whole operations are carried on in the rickety bamboo hut of the cultivator, within a yard or two of the place where his food is cooked. The caterpillars do not seem to care a bit for the smoke or the dirt; and the pupæ are equally callous to the fumes of tobacco which circle about them constantly during the few days that remain to them before they are stewed. The female moths are placed upon pieces of coarse cloth, with palm-leaf lids put over them. The eggs stick to the cloth, and form a compact little circle. A day or two over a week suffices to produce the larvæ, and these are then thrown upon flat trays, made of strips of bamboo plaited closely together, and guarded by a slightly raised edge. For four or five days the little caterpillars are fed on finely-chopped mulberry-leaves, the tenderest that can be found. After that they change their skins, and, beyond getting plenty of leaves, do not receive much attention. They are sturdy creatures, and they would need to be, for they are often very roughly treated. The trays are scarcely ever cleaned, and if the larvæ are to be shifted from one tray to another, they are scraped up in handfuls and thrown down as if they were so many chips of wood. Gauze or mosquito netting is usually thrown over the trays to keep away the ichneumon flies, which otherwise would deposit

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

231 their eggs in the silkworm's back and kill him. In about a month's time the caterpillar is full grown. He is then bundled into a fresh tray, in which there lies, wound about in the form of a spiral, a narrow-plaited bamboo strip. The ripe larvæ are thrown into this with as little ceremony as if they were pebbles. In about a day's time they have spun their cocoons, fastening them to the strips of bamboo. These are torn off and kept in baskets for a day or two, when a pot with water in it is filled with the pupæ, and then set to simmer over a slow wood fire.

283 From a triangle over the pot is suspended a small bamboo reel, and down below, near the pot, is a wooden cylinder. The reeler is usually a girl. She fishes about for a time in the simmering vessel, and, catching a few threads of silk, passes them over the reel and down to the cylinder, to which they are fastened. She then turns the handle of the cylinder, winding on the silk, and at the same time constantly fishing up and fastening on new filaments, which she does by means of a light bamboo double-pronged fork. Not the least trouble is taken to keep the silk clean. Any rubbish that may be floating on the surface of the water is wound on to the cylinder without an attempt being made to disengage it. When all the silk has been got off the cocoons, and wound on to the cylinder, the pupæ are taken out of the water and [262] fried in oil to furnish a dish for the family dinner. They are not by any means unpleasant, tasting, barring the oil, very much like roasted chestnuts; and indeed the dish is considered a great dainty.

●286 283 386 The silk-growers mostly sell their silk. A loom is to be found in almost every Burman's house in the country; and in Prome and Shwe-daung, as being close to the place where the silk is produced, great quantities of articles of dress are made for sale. The native-grown silk is only used for every-day clothes of simple patterns, the more elaborate being all [439] worked from imported Chinese silk. The silk is bought raw, the separate filaments twisted into a thread by means of a wheel, and then made up into hanks; these are boiled in soap and water, and are then ready for the dye. The commonest colours are green, yellow, orange, different shades of red and light blue; black and dark blue are only in

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

favour with the Shans. The dyes are obtained from various jungle seeds, roots, flowers, leaves, and barks; the yellow dye obtained from the wood of the Jack-tree (*Artocarpus integrifolia*) being reserved for the monkish robes. After being dyed, the thread is unwound again. The weaving machine is very much like the old hand-loom still occasionally seen in out-of-the-way parts of England. The operators are almost always young women, and they are very clever at working the treadle and shooting through the shuttle, while talking all the time to village gossips or admiring swains. Some of the tameins, made for the richer women, are extremely intricate in pattern and require between twenty and thirty shuttles. The treadle raises and lowers the alternate threads of the warp. Except the rough dresses and the most complicated in pattern, however, not many native-made clothes are worn now. The townspeople prefer the showy and cheaper imported articles, and, though the Manchester goods are too frequently "doctored" and do not last long, yet this does not trouble the Burman much, for he is fond of a change of dress, and, unless he is very poor, will never wear a paso, except about the house, after it has been washed. All the more elaborate designs are, however, native made. The "dog's tooth" pattern is almost confined to Amarapura or Sagaing court looms, and since the fall of the monarchy is hardly seen at all. The acheit paso or tamein, of a complicated, wavy, sprigged design, which middle-aged Burmans remember as being the cherished object of desire of their young days, is now considered rustic. Young Rangoon will tell you that you may always know a taw-tha (a jungle wallah) at the pagoda feast by his wearing an acheit paso and nothing else except his turban; and although the waist-cloth may cost from 150 to 400 rupees, that does not redeem it in the town-bred youth's eyes.

286 283 386 [562] [439] [291]

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

a boy who cannot. If there were more nunneries, there would be more education among the women; here is cause and effect. But there are not, so the little girls work instead. While their brothers are in the monasteries, the girls are learning to weave and herd cattle, drawing water, and collecting firewood. They begin very young at this work, but it is very light; they are never overworked, and so it does them no harm usually, but good.

The daughters of better-class people, such as merchants, and clerks, and advocates, do not, of course, work at field labour. They usually learn to read and write at home, and they weave, and many will draw water. For to draw water is to go to the well, and the well is the great meeting-place of the village. As they fill their jars they lean over the curb and talk, and it is here that is told the latest news, the latest flirtation, the little scandal of the place. Very few men or boys come for water; carrying is not their duty, and there is a proper place for flirtation. So the girls have the well almost to themselves.

Almost every girl can weave. In many houses there are looms where the girls weave their dresses and those of their parents; and many girls have stalls in the bazaar. Of this I will speak later. Other duties are the husking of rice and the making of cheroots. Of course, in richer households there will be servants to do all this; but even in them the daughter will frequently weave either for herself or her parents. Almost every girl will do something, if only to pass the time.

They have no accomplishments. They do not

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

443 369 holder is then buying his or her provisions for the day, and the people crowd in thousands round the sellers. Everyone is bargaining and chaffing and laughing, both buyers and sellers; but both are very keen, too, on business.

443 286 The cloth and silk sellers, the large rice-merchants, and a few other traders, cannot carry on business sitting on a mat, nor can they carry their wares to and fro every day in a basket. For such there are separate buildings or separate aisles, with wooden stalls, on either side of a gangway. The wooden floor of the stalls is raised two to three feet, so that the buyer, standing on the ground, is about on a level with the seller sitting in the stall. The stall will be about eight feet by ten, and each has at the back a strong lock-up cupboard or wardrobe, where the wares are shut at night; but in the day they will be taken out and arranged daintily about the girl-seller. Home-made silks are the staple—silks in checks of pink and white, of yellow and orange, of indigo and dark red. Some are embroidered in silk, in silver, or in gold; some are plain. All are thick and rich, none are glazed, and none are gaudy. [439] There will also be silks from Bangkok, which are of two colours—purple shot with red, and orange [286] shot with red, both very beautiful. All the silks are [291] woven the size of the dress: for men, about twenty-eight feet long and twenty inches broad; and for women, about five feet long and much broader. Thus, there is no cutting off the piece. The anas, too, which are the bottom pieces for a woman's dress, are woven the proper size. There will probably, too, be piles of showy cambric jackets and

16;Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

443 gauzy silk handkerchiefs; but often these are sold
286 at separate stalls.

But prettier than the silks are the sellers, for these are nearly all girls and women, sweet and fresh in their white jackets, with flowers in their hair. And they are all delighted to talk to you and show you their goods, even if you do not buy; and they will take a compliment sedately, as a girl should, and they will probably charge you an extra rupee for it when you come to pay for your purchases. So it is never wise for a man, unless he have a heart of stone,
443 to go marketing for silks. He should always ask a
562 lady friend to go with him and do the bargaining, and he will lose no courtesy thereby, for these women know how to be courteous to fellow-women as well as to fellow-men.

443 In the provincial bazaars it is much the same.
369 There may be a few travelling merchants from
438 Rangoon or Mandalay, most of whom are men;
442 but nearly all the retailers are women. Indeed, speaking broadly, it may be said that the retail trade of the country is in the hands of the women, and they nearly all trade on their own account. Just as the men farm their own land, the women own their businesses. They are not saleswomen for others, but traders on their own account; and with the exception of the silk and cloth branches of the trade, it does not interfere with home-life. The bazaar lasts but three hours, and a woman has ample time for her home duties when her daily visit to the bazaar is over; she is never kept away all day in shops and factories.

Her home-life is always the centre of her life;

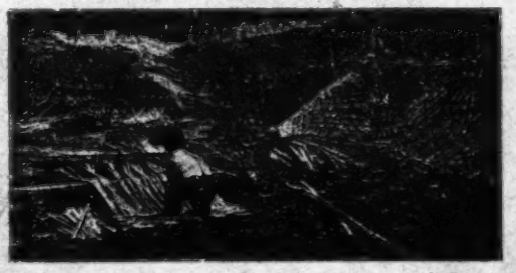
25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

342

124. LASHING THE ROOF-POLES.

these (No. 16). Frequently the water-stand is a separate erection, opening into one of the lower bays. There are several kinds of roof-thatch, of which the commonest is *thekkè*, a broad-leaved grass, bound on sticks of split bamboo. The leaf of the *danè*-palm makes the best thatch. The large leathery leaf of the *in* tree is also used. A roofing material called *wagàt* is made of bamboo shingles, of which strips are held together by three or four wattles, handy for tying to the rafters. This material is less inflammable than *thekkè*. Tiles and modern wooden shingles can only be used on strong roof-frames. Floor-mats of the stoutest kind are [285] plaited of the outer silicious rind of the bamboo (*knè-dyaw*). Common mats are plaited of the inner fibre split into withes, one half to three-quarters of an inch broad, and about one-twentieth in thickness. Finer and more pliable mats are made of the reed *thabáw*. The finest of all are made of the outer skin of the *thin* plant. *Thimbyu* is the universal sleeping-mat.

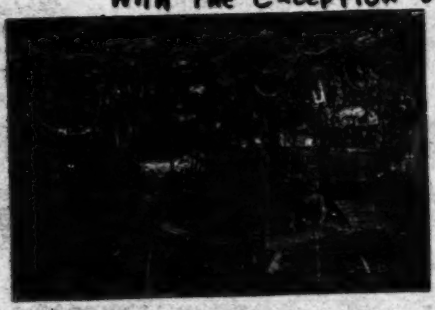
●286 The cloth used in Burma is now, for the most part, imported, as are also the cotton yarns, both plain and coloured. Nevertheless, the domestic cloth industry 283 continues to flourish in the villages. Native textile cotton (*wú*) is of two varieties, one white, the other dun. The cotton, after being culled from the plants, is seeded between wooden rollers. The fibre, caked together by the rollers, is scutched by flicking it off the string of a bow into a basket, where the fibres disperse again. It is then worked between the palms into flakes convenient for the spinner (*baing-hngin*). The plain spindle, com- [413] mon everywhere in India, is obsolete in [285] Burma where even the hill-people use the wheel (*yit*). With the excep- 000 tion of the stuff for the



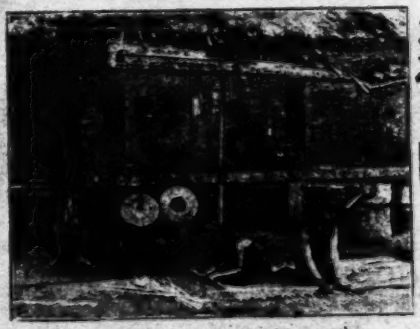
125. PLAITING WALL-MATS.

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

With the exception of the stuff for the 386
recluses' robes, cloth is not dyed 286
in the piece, but in the yarn. [792]
Dyes used for cotton are also chiefly imported, but the indigenous dyes continue to be used for silk. [342] The Burmans excel in yellows, oranges, deep reds, and rich deep greens, which they harmonise with beautiful effect. Their clear blues and purples are indifferent. Except in a few localities, where 286
weaving is a speciality, the men 462
take no share in the industry [438]
beyond constructing the looms. Women spin and dye the yarn and weave the cloth. The lath of the loom (*lokka*) is of graceful outline—often elaborately carved—and is furnished with two ornamented metal pins, with loose metal rings, [531] that jangle at each swing of the beam, and proclaim the industry of the young woman, to whom this business chiefly falls. [584] Hence it comes that the loom is a favourite *rendezvous*. The same applies to other occupations of the girls, such as rice-cleaning, when the suitor will take a turn at the heavy part of the work and lounge while the sifting goes on. Common patterns of cloth are tartans, 286
for which two or three shuttle-spools are required. The plainest cloth woven is at least shot with a colour different to that of the warp. The intricacy of a pattern is denoted by the number of spools. Scroll patterns (*cheik*) in silk are called *hun-taya* (hundred-spool). The warp is a cubit wide and about twenty cubits long, which makes a man's loin-cloth (*pasu*). The piece is doubled and its edges sewn together along one side; the turn of the cloth serves as a bag or wallet, according as the piece is draped; it has no lining. The *pasu* is hitched round the loins and girt long or short, according to fancy, without the help of a belt; but elastic belts are now coming in. The slack is worn in a bunch in front (*hubiungsu*) or is thrown over the shoulder.



128. BINDING THE THATCH.



127. PLAITING FLOOR-MATS (see p. 66).

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25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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128. CLEANING AND SPINNING COTTON.

For work and exercise the *pasô* is girt into the narrowest compass (*kaddung-chaik*, No. 407). The women's cloth —*tamêin*—is only three cubits long. To the upper edge of the figured silk is joined a strip of plain dark-coloured cotton or velvet. To the lower edge is joined a piece striped with the colours of the centre-piece, to that again a strip of red silk shot with white, and it is lined with calico. The *tamêin* overlaps very little (Nos. 136, 137). *Pasô* and *tamêin* are the distinctive national dress. Both are in process of being superseded by the more convenient *lôndyî*, except for *gala* occasions (No. 34). The *lôndyî* is an endless cloth, generally of red tartan, about equal to two *tamêin*, worn like the Malay *sárong*. Men wear their long hair in a top-knot, and frequently use no head-dress. For *gala* they wear a fillet of white muslin round the temples tied in a knot, of which the long ends stand up (*pazin-hnyat*). Bright-coloured figured silk kerchiefs (*gaung-baung*) are worn in the same way. But more generally hair and kerchief are wound up together upon the head. Women wear nothing on the head except flowers and jewels. They wear kerchiefs (*gaua*) over their shoulders, of the same kind as the men's *gaungbaung*. These kerchiefs were at first of bright Chinese embroidery, but are now damask silk prints from Europe. The fashion of their patterns and colours changes. Jackets were not an invariable part of the Burman costume, but are now universal. The older pattern of men's white muslin jacket (*taing-ma-thein inji*, Nos. 374, 389), and women's white muslin, or coloured and gold-figured gauze jackets (*lesshé-inji*, No. 379), are of Indian type. They are now superseded by the more convenient *kaló inji*, of Shan-Chinese type, worn by both men and women (Nos. 115, 288). Over-jackets of imported woollens have also become general. A wrap or blanket of heavy cotton cloth, or of imported broad-cloth (*saung*, No. 184), completes the outfit. No kind of wool is indigenous

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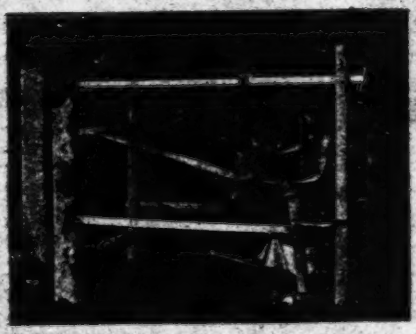


129. THE WEAVING-LOOM.

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

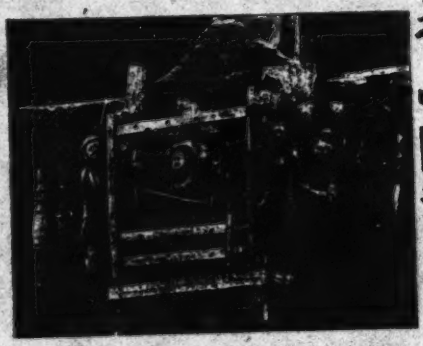
No kind of wool is indigenous 286

130. LAYING OUT THE WARP.

or is spun or woven in Burma. Cæsar Frederick in 1569 mentions woollen cloth among the goods brought to Burma, *viâ* Arakán. Web vests for boys and men, of European manufacture, are becoming general. The use of shoes of the European shape is bringing in the use of socks and stockings. The addition of a European shirt under the Burman jacket makes up the incongruous kit affected by the modern office clerks. With the increased use of body-linen have come the Indian washermen. The coloured stuffs are washed by the Burman women. The native dyes wash well, especially the silk dyes. An alkali-earth (*sappyu*) is found in Burma, but soap is of modern introduction, and is now sold in every bazár. Needles used to be brought to Burma from China, as well as scissors, though the latter are also fashioned in Burma; at present both are imported from Europe. Burmans work the needle from them, like other Asiatics. The work is pinned to a cushion at the head of a post planted on the work-box. The use of the thimble was unknown until tailors came over from India, but is now general. The bulk of the tailoring is in the hands of immigrants from China; but their prejudice against the sewing-machine is helping to transfer the business to the Burman women. Nearly every well-to-do family in the towns has its sewing-machine.

291 [283 439] [296 463] 439 413 286 [177] 463 294

At sunrise the women start with their water-pots for the day's supply, and again before they cook the evening meal, which finishes the day's work. On the morning errand they do the most of their washing. In the evening they carry a spare cloth to change for the one they bathe in, which they wash and coil into a pad to put between the head and the water-



131. BURMESE CARVING OF WEAVING-LOOM.

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25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1907 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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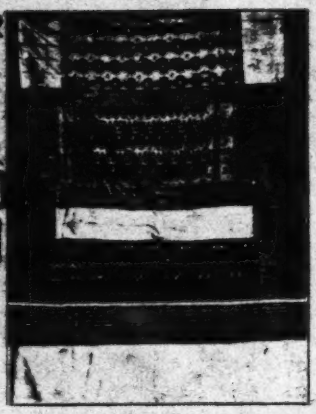

132. BURMESE SILK CLOTH PATTERNS.

pot. The Burmans bathe in the morning or evening, and not in the heat of the day. Men and women bathe in their clothes and at the same places.

Burmans will travel far to a source of good drinking water. It is stored in porous earthen pots with covers, in which it settles and cools over-night. Rain-water is saved for other uses and stored in large glazed jars (*sin-ôl*). A cocoanut ladle is used for dipping the water out, to avoid disturbing the sediment. In the rainy season the river water bears a heavy silt and has to stand for hours. Spring-water is scarce owing to the distance of the Burman settlements from the hills. The ordinary sources are rivers, wells, and tanks. In the moist region the subsoil water comes up to, or near the surface during the rains, and in the drought sinks twenty or thirty feet. In the dry zone it is sometimes necessary to dig one hundred feet for water. Wells are generally fenced and protected from return and

133. THE SPRING.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

The cordage used in 283

215. LIMESTONE ROCKS.

Burma is twisted from the bast of the *shaw* tree (*sterculia* varieties). For guys, stays, and standing rigging of boats, rattan is employed. Split rattan is used for strong ties, and withes of split bamboo (*kul*) for common ties. The *shaw* rope is three and four stranded, and is twisted with native gear very like that of our own rope-walks. A long and even four-stranded rope is made by three men. This furnishes a good example of mechanical advancement, when compared with the method of the hill-people, who require six men to twist a much shorter rope of the same number of strands (Nos. 219–20). Shaw rope is smooth, but has not the flexibility of cocoanut-fibre and manila-fibre ropes, which are now imported. Fine cotton yarn is twisted into cord for making nets. A coarse jute fibre (*paissan*) is also twisted for net-making. [171] [439]

Silk-culture is under the ban of Buddhism for the same reason as fishery. 288 The greater part of the silk yarn used is brought from China, but a good 231 deal is produced locally by the *Zabên* or *Yabên*, a people speaking Burmese [779] and resembling the Burmans in most respects, but despised by the latter. They are settled along the foot of the Pegu Yôma hill-range, on its eastern and 554 western slopes, where they make clearings in the forest (*taungya*) and plant the 463] mulberry. They prepare a yellow silk yarn which, coarse and knotty as it is, is preferred for the best class of Burman silk cloths (*lungyi*, No. 132). The raw silk fetches thirty-five to forty rupees a viss. It is a perfect washing silk in all its dyes and wears a lifetime. In a few localities, silk-weaving is a special industry practised by men as well as women. Settlers from Manipur

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563

216. LIMEKILN.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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217. PLASTERER'S SCAFFOLD ON ZEDI.

(*Kathé*) excel in this work and form colonies for the industry. Attempts have been made in Europe to imitate the scroll-patterns on the Jacquard loom, as well as to print them. But the imitations fall too far short of the original, which is nearly the same front and back. The best *lun-tayá* silks cost ten to fifteen rupees the square foot, which makes two hundred to three hundred rupees for the *pasó*. Only an inch or two a day can be woven. Italian methods of carding, dyeing, and finishing silk, were introduced by the late King, Mindôn Min, and have helped to develop an important industry in Mandalay. Stripe and tartan patterns are woven in this way, chiefly from China silk. Fine texture and delicate tints are aimed at, rather than rich colour and design. The *pasó* of

[435] twenty cubits, one cubit wide, costs ten to twenty rupees.

293 The Burman umbrella (*tí*) is on the Chinese model—a bamboo frame with

[171] paper cover. The Chinese umbrella has a thin paper cover, the Burman has bast-paper, which outlasts several of the other. But the Chinese umbrellas are cheaper, better waterproofed, and sun-proof. The Burman *tí* is waterproofed by occasional oiling with crude petroleum. A waterproof size made from the fruit of the *tí* is used for fixing the paper to the ribs and the cotton twines that connect them. The red, the

[186] gilt and the white umbrellas are emblems of state. The

[554] first two denote official rank, according to the number assigned. Such umbrellas

[532] have stems of turned wood, six to eight feet long, to allow of the *tí* being borne over the officer on horseback or in his chariot, by attendants on foot (No. 375). The

218. SCULPTURING MARBLE IMAGES.

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

231 Silk-raising[1] is therefore encouraged as a means of stopping the ruination of the timber. It is a very simple matter, involving the least possible amount of toil, and at the same time being on the whole very profitable. Moreover, the [137] Burmese mulberry-bush, which is quite distinct from the ordinary *Morus Indica*, does not grow well on the alluvial soil of the low lands, while it flourishes on the hillsides, where the Yabeins mostly live. The silk obtained from the caterpillars fed on the leaves of the hill-shrubs is very much better than that obtained from the mulberry-bushes of the plains. Thus it happens that all parties are likely to be pleased. The English Government foresters will gradually find means of putting an end to the timber-burning, which they detest; the richer Burmans down in the lowlands will neither have the temptation to increase their income at the expense of their piety, nor will they have that piety shocked by an organised system of taking life; while the Yabeins in their own hill-villages will be allowed to do as they please, and will accumulate tidy sums of money into the bargain.

231 171 It is certain that neither the silkworm nor the mulberry-bush is indigenous in Burma. It is said that the first cocoons were brought from China in the reign of King Anawrata Saw. Others again maintain that the Chinese taught the Shans, the Shans the Karens, and these the Burmese. In some places among the more superstitious hill-tribes the mulberry-tree receives a kind of worship. In any case it is more probable that both the silkworm and the tree were introduced from Western China, down the valley of the Irrawaddy or the Salween, than that they came over the hills, through turbulent mountaineers, from India. The 231 shrub does not grow much more than ten feet high, and 289 seldom produces good succulent leaves for a longer period than three years. After that the plants are apt to get coarse and stringy, and the cultivators ordinarily abandon the plantation, or root out the bushes and plant new ones. As the shrub will not flower it is propagated by cuttings, and new shoots are constantly being planted so that there may be an unfailing supply of young and fresh leaves. The Burmans call it the posabin, "the tree the silkworms eat." There is another tree—that from the bark of which the coarse paper

[1 i.e. as an alternative to brand-tillage--ANALYST]

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

used for the para-baik, or note-books, is got—the leaves of which the caterpillars will eat; but the silk thus obtained is much coarser, and recourse is had therefore to the mahlaing-bin only when the mulberry-bushes give out. In any case, however, it is undeniable that, as yet, the silk produced in Burma is of a very inferior kind. It is rough and coarse; but it is all the better suited for the strong lungyis and pasos in use for ordinary every-day wear among the people, the finer fabrics all coming from China or Manchester. 231 289 286

The whole process of growing the silk is of the simplest possible character, and is exactly suited to indolent people who have no conscientious objections to the killing of the pupæ. Silk can, indeed, be spun from the cocoons, out of which the moths have escaped; but it is very much coarser even than the ordinary silk, and commands somewhat less than half the price. Except the occasional trouble of strolling out for a few leaves, there is almost nothing to be done; and the whole operations are carried on in the rickety bamboo hut of the cultivator, within a yard or two of the place where his food is cooked. The caterpillars do not seem to care a bit for the smoke or the dirt; and the pupæ are equally callous to the fumes of tobacco which circle about them constantly during the few days that remain to them before they are stewed. The female moths are placed upon pieces of coarse cloth, with palm-leaf lids put over them. The eggs stick to the cloth, and form a compact little circle. A day or two over a week suffices to produce the larvæ, and these are then thrown upon flat trays, made of strips of bamboo plaited closely together, and guarded by a slightly raised edge. For four or five days the little caterpillars are fed on finely-chopped mulberry-leaves, the tenderest that can be found. After that they change their skins, and, beyond getting plenty of leaves, do not receive much attention. They are sturdy creatures, and they would need to be, for they are often very roughly treated. The trays are scarcely ever cleaned, and if the larvæ are to be shifted from one tray to another, they are scraped up in handfuls and thrown down as if they were so many chips of wood. Gauze or mosquito netting is usually thrown over the trays to keep away the ichneumon flies, which otherwise would deposit 231

that is, the D.I.S. (District Inspector of Schools), whether active or re- 517
tired, was usually more permanent and could dig his toes in more 647
happily. The social relationship was also ideal. Earning less than the 351
other officials, he could yet offer them this rich hospitality of natural pleasures.

When we were in Maubin the D.I.S. was our friend U Taik Wan. 245
He and his family of ten sons and daughters had the u-yin developed to 252
its fullest. He had a low large house where the river took a bend and had fenced in this bed with bamboo stakes and a diving platform. The garden orchard stretched away from the house to a bamboo hut at the far end, with open verandahs under the trees. The speciality of his orchard were his sweet-sour marian trees. The marian is the *bonea Burmanica*, common to Burma and northern Assam, where it forms an ideal appetizer for the heat-drowsy inhabitants. It is sour, of a sharp biting sourness which now makes my mouth water with longing. It is too sour to eat except doused in strong salt sauce or fish paste, salt being our antidote to sourness, in which I differ from the English idea of cooking, for salt combines and merges in with sourness whereas a pound of sugar thrown into a gooseberry tart would still leave it too sour for me. The marian is a small fruit, green when young and orange-yellow when ripe, with a pretty purple seed which has given its name to the Burmese colour "mauve". There is a sweet variety which is not popular. Sometimes, however, a prize tree is found which produces a sweet-sour marian, a sour fruit with its sting taken off. Such a tree should be treated with the greatest care; its fruits must never be salted or pickled as sour fruits are treated, because the "sour" use would communicate itself to the tree by what may be called sympathetic magic. Rather, my mother made jam (with sugar) of these marians, for the improvement of U Taik Wan's tree.

My mother was very punctilious about such things; the girl servants 252
were never allowed to pluck the citron leaves for our salad because a 841
woman in menstruation makes the tender leaves of the citron tree curl
up and lose their succulence when she plucks them. U Taik Wan had 1789
a row of sweet-sour marian trees which he guarded from flying foxes by throwing a net across one face of them, showing a wall of these creatures hanging head downwards, to passers-by.

Our pyaw-pwè-sas at the Taik Wan's always began with a lot of 526
water-fun. We never used bathing dresses, but adapted our longyis for 291
swimming. This longyi is shaped and wrapped, like the more famous 515
sarong, at the waist normally, but women and girls take it above the bosom when they discard their jackets. This enables all our poorer women to bathe with perfect decorum at public wells and streams.

526 After the bath a dry longyi is slipped on over the wet one which is then
•291 washed clean straight away. The poorest, who do not always possess a
515 spare longyi, sometimes let themselves into a stream gradually, lifting the longyi higher as they go in, and when the water is bosom-high they keep the garment on their head, letting it down again as they emerge. Our use for the adaptability of the longyi was to stand on a diving platform with it opened wide at the bottom, jump feet first and let the air rush in, nicking the longyi in at the ankles as we struck the water. This

makes you land with a balloon which floats you for a minute or two like those swollen celluloid ducks in babies' tubs. My friend Tin Tin Thoung was just like a swan on these occasions; she was not pretty normally, being very thin and angular, but she had a long and graceful neck, and when she floated on the water, gliding along with her neck rising out of her big round longyi, she looked like a beautiful swan to me.
[262] After bathing, the Taik Wans' mother had basketfuls of Indian corn, the tender ones boiled and the tougher ones roasted, and dishes of the peeled marians doused in fish sauce awaiting us.

881 Besides these social visits there were special festivals that came with
585 the months, and occasions common to every family's history—the ear-boring of the girl, the initiation into the priesthood of the boy, and marriages of grown-up children—which had to be celebrated in traditional forms. Most minkadaws preferred to hold marriage ceremonies in Rangoon, Moulmein or Mandalay to have as much fashion and show as possible, but the ear-boring (*nadwin*) and initiation into priesthood (*shinbyu*) find a better background in country towns. Nadwin is the coming of age of a girl, not for marriage, but for the initiation into the pleasant vanities of a woman's life. It is fine enough to sit with a rich

the sameik by using an uncoiled dry and slightly wavy tress to offer a wanton contrast to the smooth severe cylinder. In the absence of permanent waving, and with the straightness of the Burmese hair, I admired the enterprise of a Rangoon family who subsidized, with supplies of coconut oil, the Indian gardener next door, an Oriya coming from a race with wavy raven locks, until his tresses grew to the requisite length and they bought them for binding into a sameik. This sameik is discarded after marriage, but in the case of a girl who does not get married early, it continues in a more restrained form, a *sameik-kwin*, when it is tucked back into the bottom of the cylinder to form a loop. Shortly after the age of twenty-five, she discards it altogether and makes just a sadone like a married woman. Kyi-Kyi's sadone was broad and low; after she had finished the rest of her toilet she tied her hair by drawing a thread backwards from her forehead so that stray hairs were tucked into the sadone, and the same with the upswept hair at the back. She also carried the Burmese powder puff in her luggage though I never saw her use it. These, which we also still use as the best means of applying Max Factor powder, were scraps of old cotton vests, about ten inches square, which had been soaked and washed in thanakha, thus avoiding the horrible newness of the unused modern powder puff.

302 177. 30 302 177 30 561

My aunt's clothes were also aggressively her own. This was noticeable especially with her going-out clothes, for which she would never have any imported materials. She declared that imported silks, crêpe-de-chines and the like, could not be washed and beaten clean like the Burmese silks and cottons. Neither did they produce suitable colours and designs for elderly spinster ladies like her—they were either gay and skittish, or of a soberness that depressed without pleasing one. What she loved most were the *ya-khaing* longyis, silks and cottons woven in Arakan, in small check patterns, but so stout that you soaked them and beat them hard before the first wearing, and then washed them again and again until you had a pliant closely-woven fabric whose colour and freshness lasted a lifetime. One of my sisters, whom my aunt pressed to wear a ya-khaing longyi in preference to a crêpe-de-chine piece whose bright butterflies had appealed to her sixteen-year-old fancy, stated that no doubt if she slept in the ya-khaing longyi every night for seven years, it would just be at its best for her to wear when she reached the age of twenty-five. For more dressy occasions, my aunt wore *zin-mè* silks, the design of which was reputed to come from Chiengmai in Siam, and in imitation of which Burmese weavers now produce zin-mè longyis in dull red and green geometrical designs, like old lacquer colours. Kyi-Kyi sometimes wore *Bangauk* longyis also, said to come truly from Bangkok, but more often woven in Burma in imitation of the characteristic twist

291 438 296 177. 29 291

291 in the weave. These were produced in smoky blues, ambers and dull greens so beloved of elderly Burmese ladies.

286 438 Silk weaving is one of the old industries of Burma, but the yarn is mostly imported, for the rearing of silkworms, like fishing, is a form of taking life. Fortunately, around Prome on the central Irrawaddy, there live a tribe of hill people called Yabeins who are animists and may safely cultivate the *po-sa*, worm food mulberry tree. The silk from here is coarse, but is used for the weaving of the most elaborately patterned silks called *cheik*. These valuable pieces are used for wedding skirts and ceremonial wear. Few people possess more than one cheik skirt; the great number of spools—a hundred or more—necessary to produce the intricate patterns in minute waves of blended colours makes the prices vary from Rs. 40/- to Rs. 400/- per piece, a high price compared to the present imported silks. All the weaving is done by handlooms, rectangular frames about five feet long, holding the warp threads of four yards in length and 40 to 45 inches in width, operated by girls sitting on high stools, raising the alternate threads by a foot-pedal, and banging the pushboard against the woven threads each time they throw the spool across by pulling on a cord, producing eventually an *ok*, a book, a piece for two skirts folded flat and stiff like a book.

With imported yarns dyed with native vegetable dyes, the weavers at Mandalay, Amarapura, Prome and Shwedaung, Kyangin, Tavoy, Kindat and the Yaw valley produced silks of exquisite pinks, blue-greys, gold and amber, strong reds and purples, dull dirty greens, all from the sunset skies, water-vegetation, birds and trees, never fading: *pan-nu, khо, mi-go, hpet-hpu, ma-yan, pasun-hsi, payin, kyet-thway, yay-hnyi, a-sein-bok*: tender flowers, dove, smoke, leaf-bud, marian seed, prawn oil, amber, cock's blood, slime-moss, rotten vegetation. Plain colours, checks, stripes and geometrical designs all cost only Rs. 3/- or Rs. 5/- or, perhaps, Rs. 10/- per piece and could be washed forever. No wonder Kyi-Kyi did not understand why we bought imported silks. She did not understand the desire for novelty, for frivolity of birds, giant flowers or sprouting fruit such as are never seen on land or sea.

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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787 houses, for the niche shrines, if there are more than one at
782 the pagoda, are always at the four cardinal points, and if there
778 is only one, as is usual at small pagodas, it is to the East.
823

The sadā is carefully kept by the parents until the child
787 is old enough to take care of it himself, and thenceforward it
768 is guarded as the most valuable possession the person has. No matter how often the name is changed the new one is never put in the sadā, so that this certificate cannot be trusted to implicitly for a man's name. Some of them are very beautifully engraved and ornamented, but they are naturally not often to be seen. I only know of two in England at the present time (1881), one of which is my own and the other belonging to a travelling Burman. When a man dies, the sadā is either destroyed or preserved as a memento by the family. A great many sadās were found and carried off as curiosities during the Third Burmese War. There is one at Abbotsford.

787 A curious instance of the firm belief of the nation in the
436 reasonableness of the conviction that the planet under which
643 one is born influences the fates and actions of one's life, is
177 the fact that royalty ordained that the coins and measures used by traders should bear the emblem of the monarch's birthday. Thus for example all the gold coins used in Upper Burma bazaars during the penultimate reign had the figure of a lion on them, Mindôn Min having been born on a Tuesday. The few remaining from previous reigns bearing other symbols were rigidly kept out of the sight of Burmese officials. The Convenor of the Fifth Great Synod, though probably the mildest and best sovereign Burma ever had, would certainly have stood no trifling in matters of this kind, which, if not amounting actually to a part of the religion, were at any rate very intimately connected with it. His son Thibaw Min, however, notoriously indifferent to religion, if a stronger word might not even be admissible, let the old weights remain in use, and probably called it the march of civilisation.

852 The naming and the construction of the sadā being
957 finished, the principal events in the youthful Burman's life
[291] are over, and the children run about in as happy a state of nudity as the respectability of the family permits; and boys and girls steal grandmamma's cheroot, and potter about

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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the monks are perhaps
276 the most persistent chewers of the good betel. Smoking is
792 prohibited, but nothing is said against betel, and it is considered a great stimulator of the meditative faculties. The lime used very speedily corrodes and destroys the teeth, and then the old pôngyi has to make the scholars crush up the nuts so that they may not hurt his toothless gums. It is a common belief that no one can speak Burmese well till he chews betel. Demosthenes is said to have put pebbles in his mouth when he was practising oratory.

517 Alternate smoking, chewing, and conversation serve to
515 pass the day, and after dinner, when the sun goes down, our
302 villager has a bath down by the well to freshen him up. The water is drawn up in a bucket and simply poured over the body. Soap is never used, and particular care is taken not to wet the hair. The head washing is a special ceremony, to be gone through only occasionally, and then with circumspection. Dandies, as a rule, put a solution of rice and water on their hair every day to make it grow long, and cocoanut oil is also very generally used. Both sexes are proud of the length of their hair, and it is not uncommon to see it reaching below the knee and down to the ankles. The men wear it in a yaung or knot on the top of the head, while the sadôn of the women is at the back of the head. Both men and women are in the habit of adding to its size by interweaving false tresses, which are easily got, seeing that everybody has black hair, and that some young member of the family is constantly getting his locks cut off on his entry into the monastery. There is no more sense of shame in using false hair than there is in improving the appearance
[751] by wearing fine clothes. At his bath it is usual for a pious person to repeat a Pali charm over the first bucket of water, which is then slowly poured over the body. The object of this is to guard against sickness.

517 After bathing, the Burman, if he is young, usually puts
514 on his fine clothes, for except in the rainy season there is
291 sure to be a dramatic performance, or a yein dance by the village lads and lasses, or an entertainment of some kind going on at some house in the village. The dress is very simple and picturesque. The paso is a long silk cloth, fifteen cubits long and about two and a half wide. It is

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wound round the body, kilt fashion, tucked in with a twist in front, and the portion which remains, gathered up and allowed to hang in folds from the waist, or thrown jauntily over the shoulder. The body is covered with a short white cotton jacket, over which another of dark or coloured cloth is often worn. Elderly people, and the wealthy of all ages, when they are paying a visit of ceremony or going to worship at the pagoda, wear a taing-mathein, a long white coat, open in front except at the throat, where it is tied, and reaching almost to the knees. Round the head a flowered silk handkerchief is loosely wound as a turban. The old wear a simple narrow fillet of white book-muslin round the temples and showing the hair. This is called a pawlôn.

The woman's tamein is a simple piece of cotton or silk, almost square, four feet and a half long by about five broad, and woven in two pieces of different patterns. This is wound tightly over the bosom, and fastened with a simple twist of the ends. The opening being in front, the symmetry of the thigh is displayed in walking, but a peculiar outward jerk of the heels which the girls acquire prevents any suggestion of immodesty. The loose cotton jacket is unhappily not so well contrived to display their charms. Over the shoulders is thrown a bright silk handkerchief, the same as that used by the men for turbans. Nothing is worn on the head except flowers twisted into the hair. Dressed in their best, the family sally forth in search of amusement. If it is a pwè, they will not get home till very late, possibly not till daybreak, when the yellow line of monks issuing forth on their matutinal tour may meet them at the monastery gate. A country dance naturally does not last nearly so long, though it is kept up much longer than most people would care to dance a hornpipe or even a minuet. But a still more favourite form of amusement is the entertainment of a sā-haw sayā, a kind of reciter or improvisatore. He is paid to come to a house, and the company invited are asked to choose a subject for him, some of the favourite zāts, or an incident in history, sacred or secular. Many of them, like the cyclic poets, repeat from memory, but there are others who invent their smooth verses as they go on chanting. They may perform in a house, or in a mandut

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are recorded with enthusiasm and delighted precision of detail; and when an hour or so has been passed in this way, a little more rice-husking is done, and the girls set to work getting ready the onions and sesamum seed, and slicing up the cocoa-nut kernels. This sort of thing goes on all the night through. There is half an hour's work, and then an hour of singing and story-telling and gossip; about the great Shinbinthalyaung, the gigantic recumbent image of Shin Gautama dug up lately near Pegu; of the two min-laungs, the embryo kings, who have been revealed there, and the third one, who is foretold by the old theit-sa, the prophecy which declares that he will restore the ancient Talaing kings and revive religion; of the new hti which is being set up on the pagoda of the lotus tank, and its exceeding splendour, each single one of the concentric rings having been assigned as a particular favour to one out of many competing districts. Then there is a discussion as to the new fashion of turbans, the one plain colour with worked flowers on it, which has supplemented the old thinner style with more braid-like patterns; and the present rage for waist-cloths with many-coloured stripes in place of the old wavy and dog's-tooth fashion. Then the girls are rallied about the method in which they dress their hair—all of them in the style just declared treasonable in the upper country. Queen Supayalat has hit upon some particular set, or plaiting of her tresses, which she thinks becomes her very well, and a royal order has come out making it penal for any meaner damsels to adopt the same method. Consequently all the maidens from Taungoo to Kyauk-Hpyu and the A-eng Pass to Malawun have made up after the queenly model and flatter themselves that it is *chic*. There are always ghost stories at these gatherings, tales about the three farmer brothers that were killed just after harvest time three years ago, and now haunt the dense patch of swampy jungle down by the creek as nat seins, and sometimes scare the fishermen out of a night's work by the violent agitation of the tree-tops on a still night; and then there is that old hag in the lone house at the far end of the village, who is certainly a witch; it must have been she who gave the old sikkè the tet, poor old man, and he a payā-tagā too, founder

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favour with the Shans. The dyes are obtained from various jungle seeds, roots, flowers, leaves, and barks; the yellow dye obtained from the wood of the Jack-tree (*Artocarpus integrifolia*) being reserved for the monkish robes. After being dyed, the thread is unwound again. The weaving machine is very much like the old hand-loom still occasionally seen in out-of-the-way parts of England. The operators are almost always young women, and they are very clever at working the treadle and shooting through the shuttle, while talking all the time to village gossips or admiring swains. Some of the tameins, made for the richer women, are extremely intricate in pattern and require between twenty and thirty shuttles. The treadle raises and lowers the alternate threads of the warp. Except the rough dresses and the most complicated in pattern, however, not many native-made clothes are worn now. The townspeople prefer the showy and cheaper imported articles, and, though the Manchester goods are too frequently "doctored" and do not last long, yet this does not trouble the Burman much, for he is fond of a change of dress, and, unless he is very poor, will never wear a paso, except about the house, after it has been washed. All the more elaborate designs are, however, native made. The "dog's tooth" pattern is almost confined to Amarapura or Sagaing court looms, and since the fall of the monarchy is hardly seen at all. The acheit paso or tamein, of a complicated, wavy, sprigged design, which middle-aged Burmans remember as being the cherished object of desire of their young days, is now considered rustic. Young Rangoon will tell you that you may always know a taw-tha (a jungle wallah) at the pagoda feast by his wearing an acheit paso and nothing else except his turban; and although the waist-cloth may cost from 150 to 400 rupees, that does not redeem it in the town-bred youth's eyes.

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far as personages of the Burmese royal blood were concerned. The descendants of Mahā Thamada never went on their own legs in the open air. If they did not mount an elephant, some official was honoured with the weight of majesty on his back. In the same way, while a humble subject "eats," a pôngyi sônpônpethi "assimilates," or "nourishes his body with the alms of the pious"; and a king demeans himself to nothing less than "ascending to the lordly board." You may "call" or "invite" an ordinary man; to an ascetic you may "suggest an interview"; you would be a reckless man indeed if you sought a formula which in the faintest imaginable way would suggest to a king that you wanted him to come to you. When your visitor departs, if he is on familiar terms, he says, Thwa-mi nŏ, "I say, I'm going," and you politely respond, Thwa-ba, "By all means, go away"; if he stands a little in awe of you, he says, Thwa-daw-mi, "Honoured sir, I take my leave"; on the other hand, when, after a conference with a holy brother, you take your departure, you say, "My lord's servant does obeisance" (literally, "kowtows with his forehead"). When there was a king he did not give you the chance to say anything; he flung out of the throne and disappeared behind a blue curtain, while your eyes were fixed on the ground a couple of feet before you.

And so it goes on through a triple language, which makes Burmese of the palace an unknown tongue to the best foreign scholar. Tales are told of the ludicrous mistakes of men, who to ordinary people could speak Burmese, and therefore imagined they might venture on it with the king. Thus it was with a bluff English manager of one of the numerous mills which King Mindôn built and kept going till he got tired of them. This gentleman, in replying in the affirmative to some remark of the Lord of the Golden Palace, horrified the court by saying hôkde instead of the prescribed tin-ba payah, "I think with your majesty." The expression to palace ears was much the same as if some one were to say to His Majesty the King of England, "Right you are, old cockie." The court language is still kept up by all Burmese in their intercourse with superior officials.

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If the proprieties of language were carefully observed, the regulations as to wearing apparel and ornaments were

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far more minute, and guarded with the most jealous care. The almost wretched character of the houses of Upper Burma, as compared with those in the lower territory, was very apparent; but what struck a stranger even more was the absence of the gay dress which is so pleasant and picturesque in Pegu and the seaboard provinces. There was indeed no law against any one wearing the most brilliant paso he could get; but the money was wanting to support the character. A man with a fine waistcloth would be considered to have the money at the back of it, and might have to sell his dress to meet the contributions demanded accordingly by the local official. In Lower Burma, every one has a feast-day dress, however poor he may be. He gets the money for it by a week's work, perhaps backed up by a lucky bit of gambling. Then he is at liberty to strut about and do nothing till the clothes get shabby, when he has to bestir himself again. In British territory, too, he might decorate his kilt with any number of representations of the peacock. An Upper Burman would have been promptly put in gaol—he would even have run some risk of being killed outright—if he ventured upon one. Peacocks were for personages of the blood-royal. Most people in independent territory wore no coats at all; but if they did wear coats, they had to be of the simplest possible "Chinese cut." Long-tailed taingmatheins, surcoats and the like, were reserved for officials, with regulations as to buttons, gold or otherwise, and other minutiæ which must have severely taxed the memory of informers and chamberlains.

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As we ascend in the social, or rather the official scale,—for all dignity came from office, or from a special patent from the king—distinctions thickened. Naturally in the land of the umbrella-bearing chiefs, the huge htis afforded a prominent and obvious mode of marking rank. The umbrella is twelve or fifteen high, with an expanse of six feet or more across. A poor man had nothing to do with these big umbrellas whatever, unless he were employed to carry one over his master's head. If he owned an umbrella at all, it had to be short in the handle and otherwise of Western limensions. Royal officials about the palace had their mbrellas painted black inside; country people, and those

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565 301 not directly connected with the royal abode, had the palm-leaf as near the original colour as the varnishing with wood-oil permitted. Some had permission to cover the wide surface with pink or green satin; others, more honoured, might add a fringe, either plain or embroidered. A golden umbrella was given by special grace to the highest wuns and the royal princes. A white umbrella belonged to the king alone and to religion, and not even the Eingshemin, the heir-apparent, when such a person existed, was allowed to use it. Matters were still further complicated by the number of umbrellas. Nine white ones marked the king; the Eingshemin had eight golden ones; and the rest of the royal personages numbers corresponding to their achievements, or the regard the king had for them. If they achieved too much, however, and became popular, they died. Distinguished statesmen and generals might have several gold htis, which were duly displayed on all public occasions, and were put up in the house in prominent places. The king's "agent" in Rangoon had only one, which very fairly represented the consideration in which Great Britain was held, and the official rank thought good enough to communicate with the Chief Commissioner. A favourite trick 565 291 301 of the king, Naungdaw Gyi, was to issue perpetually new edicts as to the length of umbrella handles and the proper measurement of the paso. District officials used to make [661] large sums of money in the way of fines in those days, and occasionally themselves fell victims. There was nothing of the kind latterly, unless we may consider the queen Supayalat's announcement as to the way in which her hair was dressed, being patented as her sole prerogative, an instance of the same nature. Nevertheless, the general distinctions were very tenaciously held by. Innocent, unwitting Englishmen got themselves into serious trouble in Mandalay by going about carrying silk umbrellas with white covers. The offence was high treason and merited death. None actually underwent the supreme penalty, but there were a few who had vivid denunciations for the stocks.

565 The metal, size, and construction of spittoons, betel-boxes, cups, and the like household furniture for different grades were rigidly demarcated, and afforded the most

clouds of dust. The Rainy Season begins sometime late in May or early in June and lasts until October. Almost all of Tadagale's 90 to 100 inches of annual rainfall comes during this period. It rains every day, in periodic downpours which often start so suddenly that the newcomer to the area is caught unaware on a good many occasions. Although temperatures drop during the Rainy Season to daily maxima in the low 80's, the discomfort, for the average denizen of the temperate zone, is greater than in the Hot Season because of the extremely high humidity and the small difference between daily maximum and minimum temperatures. 132

The Burmese inhabitants of the community, who are 90% of the population, are medium brown in skin color, tend to be broad-nosed, have straight black hair, and are of medium stature. 142

All of the men, with the exception of a few of the old ones, wear their hair in western style, cut short and parted on one side. The women, however, adhere to the traditional Burmese hair styles, without exception. Little girls wear their hair in a top-knot on the middle of the head, with a circular part around the temples and crown, short bangs hanging down in front. Adult women comb their hair, liberally oiled, back to form a coiled knot at the nape of the neck. Adherence by the women to traditional hair styles and mode of dress is strikingly in contrast with the situation in neighboring Thailand, where permanent waves and short skirts may be seen among peasant women many miles outside the capital. 302 177

Burmese dress is universal in the village. It consists of the longyi, a circular, single-seamed skirt reaching to the ankles, and a jacket. The longyi is worn by both sexes. The woman's longyi differs from the man's in that it has a black waistband sewn to the upper edge. It is folded over and tucked in at the waist. The man's longyi is drawn tight about the waist and knotted in front to hold it in place. Women's jackets (the aingyi) are not quite so loose-fitting as men's, and for dress occasions they are made of fine muslin, or, if it can be afforded, sheer nylon, climate notwithstanding. Men's jackets are of a heavier material, and are never worn at the workaday tasks of everyday life in the village; the men generally go unclad from the waist up. For ordinary wear both sexes use wooden clog-like shoes, held to the foot by a single band of rubber over the in-step. For dress occasions, single-thonged leather sandals are worn. 291

About nine hundred people live in Tadagale. Census data collected at first-hand do not yield exact information because a few families could not be interviewed. The data include 807 people, and it is doubtful if as many as one hundred people were not covered by the census. 161

In Table I below the population of the village is given in terms of ethnic groups. The imposition of any a priori set of categories was avoided, and informants were simply asked the question, "To what people do you consider yourself to belong?" In this way it was possible to learn something of the group identifications of informants. 162

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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443 369 holder is then buying his or her provisions for the day, and the people crowd in thousands round the sellers. Everyone is bargaining and chaffing and laughing, both buyers and sellers; but both are very keen, too, on business.

443 286 The cloth and silk sellers, the large rice-merchants, and a few other traders, cannot carry on business sitting on a mat, nor can they carry their wares to and fro every day in a basket. For such there are separate buildings or separate aisles, with wooden stalls, on either side of a gangway. The wooden floor of the stalls is raised two to three feet, so that the buyer, standing on the ground, is about on a level with the seller sitting in the stall. The stall will be about eight feet by ten, and each has at the back a strong lock-up cupboard or wardrobe, where the wares are shut at night; but in the day they will be taken out and arranged daintily about the girl-seller. Home-made silks are the staple—silks in checks of pink and white, of yellow and orange, of indigo and dark red. Some are embroidered in silk, in silver, or in gold; some are plain. All are thick and rich, none are glazed, and none are gaudy. [439] There will also be silks from Bangkok, which are of two colours—purple shot with red, and orange [286] shot with red, both very beautiful. All the silks are [291] woven the size of the dress: for men, about twenty-eight feet long and twenty inches broad; and for women, about five feet long and much broader. Thus, there is no cutting off the piece. The anas, too, which are the bottom pieces for a woman's dress, are woven the proper size. There will probably, too, be piles of showy cambric jackets and

352 TAUNG thick. The door had two leaves to it and one mirror. However, this cupboard had fallen into disuse as a receptacle for clothes, the family preferring to keep their clothing in teak boxes. The other cupboard had no mirror and was used to store crockery in. It measured 2 TAUNG wide, three TAUNGS high and little less than one TAUNG thick.

There were also two huge boxes both of which had been received as a bequest from his father. They were very heavy and needed two people to lift each of them. Each measured one TAUNG and five fingers long, one TAUNG broad, and one TAUNG high. Each had four legs two inches high. They were identical and both were used for clothing.

There was also a round table with four legs about two feet tall and with a diameter of two feet. This U Myaing bought in Rangoon for Rs. 3/8.

[291] [562] [651] A special basket was kept for storing women's HTA-MEINS (outer feminine nether garments). The Burmese do not allow mixture of women's and men's clothing. They had one of these baskets with lid in Pathwa. It was bought in Pantanaw and cost them 12 annas.

353 415 The following bric-a-brac is reported:- a porcelain duck and a porcelain rooster which had been handed down for two or three generations and had been used as a receptacle for trinkets and other small articles; a glass elephant also about a hundred years old with drawers to contain trinkets.

The following items are containers which may be regarded as household furnishings: betel box about a hundred years old with a diameter [251] of about twelve inches; a clay water jug overlaid with porcelain, also a hundred years old; two huge vessels for HNOON, one costing Rs. 25/- and lasting twenty years, and the other costing Rs. 15/- and lasting 13 years.

[796] These vessels were used when the family went to the KYAUNG to observe the sacred days. On such days HNOON for the whole family would be carried in these vessels. A KYAUK KAE food carrier woven of KNEE, (pith of the fibre used for mat weaving and overlaid with KYAUK KAE) cost Rs. 6/- and was used for about thirteen years. Five huge [251] earthenware jars each 3½ feet in diameter and 3 feet high, and three small jars were used to store fish. Each of the large jars cost Rs. 30/- and the small ones cost Rs. 4/8.

CLOTHING

Clothing Habits

The standard garments worn by U Myaing consist of a longyi which reaches from his waist to his ankles, a shirt or a vest for his upper torso, clogs or slippers for his feet. Head covering is seldom worn but for every-day purpose would be a western style hat or a bamboo topee. For special occasions the GAUNG-BAUNG would be worn. When U Myaing works he takes off his shirt and vest because, he said, otherwise he would have no other shirt to wear afterwards. In Pantanaw, when they went to PWES (stage performances) and festivals he had on a vest, a shirt, and a jacket. 291 [292] [296]

> "Sometimes, when I feel that way, I wear these at home even though I do not intend to see the PWE. It is just because I am in the habit of wearing them. At night I sleep in my vest. When it is cold, I pull on a shirt over that. In the daytime ordinarily I wear vest, shirt and cotton longyi. Here in the camp I cannot wash my shirt and vest very often - I do so only when they have become soiled, not at regular intervals of time. But the shirt becomes soiled every three or four days and the vest every two days or so. On the other hand I possess three longyis and wash each of them after one wearing, when I have a bath."

The females of the family habitually wear a women's longyi sometimes called a HTA-MEIN, extending from the waist to the ankles clogs or slippers and an KIN-GYI over a bodice for the upper torso. The two younger children wear western style frocks. The specific items worn are given below. The clothing items may be organised into two headings, one dealing with U Myaing's clothing, and the second with the clothing of the remaining (female) members of the family. [177]

U Myaing's Clothing.

CHEE LONGYI (Cotton Longyi): — The LONGYI is a piece of cloth reaching from the waist to the ankles. It is stitched so as to be cylindrical in form, somewhat wider than twice the girth of the individual. The patterns are most frequently squared and of different colours resembling the scotch tartan closely. Men's colours are dark or pastel colours mainly. It is secured about the waist with several twists one upon the other in the front midline. Ceremonial LONGYIS are wider than those of ordinary use giving a fold of 6 to 8 inches in front. [292]

inches in front. When working in wet areas, the back portion is taken between the legs and tucked into the waist band- resulting in a kind of loin cloth garment. Pathwe: 5 or 6 per year were used, and kept on hand at all times; they cost Rs. 1/8 each in the Pantanaw market. Camp: 4 last a year with 2 or 3 on hand; cost 2 at Rs. 5/- each, 1 at Rs. 3/4. Six are regarded as necessary for one year. 291 435

PYE LONGYI (Silk Longyi):- Pathwe: 4 or 5 were kept on hand, although they were worn out at the rate of about 1 per year. These were bought by U Myaing while in Rangoon on a business trip: HEIT LONGYI (Mergui woven) cost Rs. 18/-; KYANGIN (Kyangin woven) cost the same; BANGKOK (Bangkok woven) cost Rs. 25/-; MANDALAY (Mandalay woven) cost Rs. 5/- or 6/-. Camp: he has none. One or two good ones are required, and these will last about 3 years. 292 435

CHEK LONGYI Cotton Shirts: — Cotton shirts may be western or Burmese style. The Burmese shirts lack collars and pockets and utilise a chain of metal studs as buttons. Pathwe: 7 or 8 Burmese style shirts were kept on hand and lasted about 1 year. They were bought in Rangoon and the rest in Pantanaw at Rs. 1/8 per shirt. Camp: one western style Khaki shirt is on hand, and he now uses about 2 per year. The one shirt was bought at Thein-gyi-zay (Socrates Bazaar) for Rs. 6/-. Two or three shirts are regarded as necessary for a period of 8 months. 291 435

SUT KAIB (elastic or wear widen) vest:— The vests are western style jackets without arms and buttoning up the midline to a V-shaped neck or the western T shirt. Pathwe: 6 or 7 garments at a cost of Rs. 1/4 per garment. Camp: he has had one T shirt for the past 6 months and it cost him Rs. 2/8 at the Socrates Bazaar. Two garments will suffice a year now.

APAN-KYEKHI (over-jacket) Burmese jacket:— The Burmese jacket is made of a light material, often silk. It lacks a collar, is loose fitting and short, falling just over the top of the LONGYI, has wide sleeves to the wrist. There are five evenly spaced strips of cloth tied into knots that function as buttons on the midline. The eyes of the buttons are little loops of cloth strips. The sleeves lack buttons. The garment is usually worn open. It is reversed for dress occasions. Pathwe: U Myaing had two jackets for a period of 8 or 9 years. The flannel ones in Rangoon for Rs. 25/- or Rs. 20/-. A black [292]

"pence" one cost Rs. 12/8. He has none in Camp. 291 435

GAUNG BAUNG (head band):— This is a strip of brightly coloured silk about 4 feet long and 8 inches wide which is wrapped tightly about the head. Pastel colours are most common of which a bright pink colour is most frequently seen around Rangoon. It is tied so that the two ends project as "plumes" over the right ear. Now that the traditional Burmese long hair knotted high on the back of the head has given way to western style short hair cuts a light conical wicker basket is used as a base on which the GAUNG BAUNG is wrapped. This is mainly used by those who lack time to tie the cloth around the head. The basket retains the traditional cone-shaped form of the headgear. Pathus: Three silk GAUNG BAUNGS were used per year. These were bought in Rangoon at Rs. 1/12 to Rs. 2/4 each. He has none in camp. This head-dress is used mainly for dress and ceremonial occasions.

LET-KUNE-PU-NA (Hand hold cloth) handkerchief:— These are the western cotton square, imported from United Kingdom, Japan or India. Pathus: one dozen were used per year, at a cost of Rs. 4/8. Camp: none.

AE-PWIN-KIN-BAUNG-HI, underwear pants:— These are loose cotton pants coming down to the knees and fastened at the upper end around the waist in the same manner as the LONGYI. They are worn by U Myaing only with silk LONGYIS. Pathus: he kept five on hand, using about 4 a year. They were made at home at a cost of Rs. 1/8 or Rs. 1/12 each. Camp: none, since the silk LONGYI is not used.

Head Towels: (same as towel) When a head wrapping is needed as protection against the heat or cold a cotton towel about 3 feet long and a foot and a half wide is wrapped around in a loose fashion. Pathus: two were used per year; bought in Pantanaw marked for Rs. 2/8 or Rs. 3/- per towel. Camp: none.

SHAN YAE AIKE Shan bags: — This is a shoulder bag commonly called "Shan bag" since the Shan area is a common source. They are made over most of Burma. The bag is a square pouch about a foot and a half on a side made by sewing the sides of a folded piece of printed, or woven cotton. The more ornate have geometric designs 293 435 482

DEE Comb: Man uses a western brand celluloid comb. Pathus: one costing ten pice or 2 annas was used for more than a year. Camp: none. This item is "not greatly desired". 302 435

SHAY-TOE-PAMAT (Forward-push-shoe) Slippers: Burmese man's slippers consist of leather soles held to the foot by two leather straps. The straps, attached on each side to the sole at the instep converge in an arrow-shape between the big toe. The back is open. Pathus: three pairs of "airplane" brand sandals were used per year. They were bought in Pantanaw at Rs 1/4 per pair. Camp: He has one pair of rubber strap tyred sandals which last for 4 months. They cost 8 annas per pair in Rangoon. Six or Seven are desired per year, here, since they wear out rapidly on the cement pavements. 291 435

HONE-PA-MAT (heel-shoe) Wooden Clogs: The soles are wooden, and they are attached to the feet by a single strap of rubber(tyre tube strips) or leather placed across the toes and held to the sole by nails. Pathus: 3 or 4 pairs were used in one year. They were bought in Pantanaw at 8 annas. Camp: He used one pair per month due to hard wear on pavements and they cost 6 annas for one pair.

MYET-MYA-THOKE-PU-MAR (Face-rubbing-cloth) Face Towel: This item is made of cotton and measured a few feet square. Pathus: two were used and lasted about one year. They were bought in Pantanaw at Rs 1/4 each. Camp: one old one was brought from Pathus but it fell apart about a year ago. None is used now. Two are desired.

MO-THOKE-PU-MAR (Body-rubbing-cloth) Body Towel: Body towels are made of cotton and measure somewhat larger than face towels. One was used for every 3 or 4 months in Pathus (by the whole family). They cost Rs 2/8/ or 3/- and were bought in Pantanaw. Camp: none. 515 435

PADAMYA-LET-SUT (Ruby-hand-put-loop) ruby ring: A finger ring set with a ruby was in U Myiang's possession from the age of 18 to 30. It cost Rs 35/- 301

SE'E LET SUT (gold hand-put loop) Gold ring: A gold finger was used from the age of 14 to the time of evacuation. It cost Rs 17/-

SE'E CHI. THEE (Gold-gap-pip. or button) Gold chain or buttons: A gold chain with attached gold buttons used to fasten the Burmese 291

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shirt front. It cost Rs 25/-. U Myiang had a set from the age of 14 to 30.

MONG-LET-THEE (Silver hand button) Silver Cuff links: One pair of plain silver cuff links was used from the age of 14 to the evacuation. These cost 12 annas.

Accoutrement of the Female members of
U Myiang's family

Following are the clothing and accoutrement of Ma Aye Myaing Daw Aw Zar, and the children as given by Ma Aye Myaing. The data was collected by Ma Khin Hemay, Assistant in Anthropology.

CHEE-LONGYI (Cotton Tamein): This is the dress worn by Burmese women. It is a rectangular piece of cloth, cotton or silk extending from the waist to the ankles. At the waist is a black band about 6 inches wide. The colors and patterns are quite varied and usually floral rather than checked as in the case of the men's LON GYI. It is about twice the width of the individual and wrapped in a single fold very tightly, the end being tucked into the waist band. Pathwe: Ma Aye Myaing used 10 per year (cost Rs 3/- to 5/-) ; Daw Aw Zar used 3 or 4 for 5 or 8 months (cost Rs 2/8 to 4/-). All were bought in the Pantanaw market. Camp: Ma Aye Myaing used 4 in 6 months (2 cost Rs 4/-, others cost Rs.5/- and 7/-). Daw Aw Zar used two for 6 month (cost Rs.3/8, and 7/-)- The two older daughters used 6 for 3 or 4 months (2 cost Rs.4/- each, and 2 cost Rs.2/8 each. The remaining 2 were received as gifts from Daw Khin Kyi (Mrs. Aung San who is engaged in child and maternity welfare work). All desired 10 garments per year.

INGYI (Jacket): The Burmese women's jacket is made of muslin, silk, cotton, or nylon, and are usually white (though some pastel shades such as blues and green are now appearing). They have no pattern. The garment has sleeves, fits over the bodice, and comes down to the waist band fitting snuggly. There is no collar. They seldom button down the midline, but rather fasten by ornate buttons (5 in all) in a square pattern. Pathwe: Ma Aye Myaing had 7 which lasted for 9 months (cost Rs.4/- each). Daw Aw Zar had 6 lasting one

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year (same price). The two elder daughters had 4 to 6 each lasting 9 to 10 months (cost Rs. 2/8 to 3/-). All were bought in the Pantanaw market. Camp: Ma Aye Myaing has 3 KINGYIS for 8 months (cost from 3/- to 4/- each); Daw Aw Zar has 2 lasting 8 months (same price); the two elder children had 3 each for 6 months (received as gifts). The number which they had in Pathwe are desired.

GAR YIN "Gown" frocks: — These are English style children's garments which may be described as short skirts with attached short sleeved shirt. Pathwe: the two younger daughters had ten between them lasting 10 months. Four frocks were received as gifts from friends in Rangoon, and two from Daw Khin Kyi. Twelve are regarded by Ma Aye Myaing as necessary for one year.

CHAME-KAN (sweat preventer) Bodice: — The bodice is a plain white band which binds the breasts closely. It is an ancient type of brassiere, probably of European (English) origin. Pathwe: Ma Aye Myaing had 5 lasting 10 months (cost Rs. 1/9 to 2/8). Daw Aw Zar had 2 lasting 2 or 3 months each. Cloth was bought at Rs. 2/- per yard and she sewed them herself. These garments were bought from Paya-gyi-daunt on the other bank of Pantanaw. Camp: Ma Aye Myaing has three lasting 7 months; (two cost Rs. 3/- and 2/8, the other was received as a gift. Ma Aye Myaing now feels she needs 6 garments for 1 year; Daw Aw Zar needs 4 for 1 year.

SHIN-MI Underwear: — Only the two elder daughters wear this garment also called "chemise" a kind of petticoat. Pathwe: 8 garments were used between them for 10 months. The cloth was bought at Pantanaw for Rs. 2/- per yard and sewed at home - plain ones with no lace. Camp: only 4 garments were used for 8 months. These were received as gifts from their aunt who sewed them with lace. Six are desired for one year.

Panties (European style): — Only the two younger daughters wear these, with their frocks. Pathwe: 5 garments were used in 8 months, bought at Pantanaw for 8 annas each. Camp: four garments used for an eight-month period. These were sewed at home with cloth received as a gift from Daw Khin Kyi. Four are now regarded as a good supply for one year.

SHE-HUNG-HPA-NUT slippers: — The women's leather slippers are

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are the same as the men's. Pathwe: Ma Aye Myaing and Daw Aw Zar and the three daughters each had one pair which would last for six months. They were bought in Rangoon by U Myaing at Rs. 5/- per pair for the adults and Rs. 3/- per pair for the children. Camp: none.

KON-HPA-NUT Wooden sandals: — Same as Burmese man's type. Pathwe: both ladies had one pair each, used for 3 months and cost 8 annas at Pantanaw. Camp: same quantity and price, but they only last 1 month on the hard pavement. The four daughters had one pair each lasting 2 months in Pathwe, bought in Pantanaw for 4 annas per pair. In camp the children also each have one pair, but they last only 1 month. The Rangoon article costs 4 annas per pair for the 3 younger daughters and 6 annas per pair for the elder daughter.

GAUNG-SI (head-bind) scarf: — A towel was used as a scarf around the head by Ma Aye Myaing and Daw Aw Zar. Each had two lasting one year. They cost Rs. 3/- each in the Pantanaw market. The same two scarfs are in use in camp.

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SI-GE KYO (hanging string) Gold chain with pendant: — In Pathwe the eldest daughter had a golden chain with a locket of a gold coin about the size of an 8 anna bit. The piece of jewelry weighed 1 tical and was worth Rs. 50/-. It was later sold.

SHEIN-MA.G.T-A-TU(Diamond ear sticking false) Ear-plug:— In Pathwe Ma Aye Myaing had one pair of ear plugs set with synthetic diamonds. They were from a goldsmith in Pantanaw for Rs. 35/- . They have now disappeared. Burmese women have their ear lobes pierced when very young. "Plugs" are shafts about 1/8 inch or less in diameter. A socket on the inner side keeps the shaft from slipping out. The end showing is mounted with a decorative element, usually a precious stone.

KYAUK HPYU MA GAT (stone white earring) :— One pair of earring with white stones was bought at Mye-ni-gone for 3 annas and is now used by Ma Aye Myaing. One pair of gold earrings (SHWE MAGAT) belonged to each of the two younger daughters. They were bought for Rs. 30/- each from Pantanaw. They have been sold. The eldest daughter had a pair of synthetic diamond(SHEIN MAGAT) bought at Pantanaw for Rs. 20/-, but these have disappeared. Earrings made of a mixture of

TABLE

Quantity of clothes and personal items on hand and consumed by U Myaing's family in Pathee and camp.*

Item	Consumer	On hand and quantity consumed per year. Pathee	Camp.
Cotton Longyis	U Myaing	5 or 6	(2 or 3) 4
Silk Longyis	"	(4 or 5) 1	0
Cotton Shirts	"	7 or 8	(1) 2
Vests	"	6 or 7	(1) 2
Burmese jackets	"	(2) .25	0
Headbands	"	3	0
Handkerchiefs	"	12	0
Underwear pants	"	(5) 4	0
Hand Towels	"	2	0
Umbrellas	"	(1) .25	0
Bamboo hats (topees)	"	(1) .5	0
Razor, Gillette brand	"	(1)	0
Safety razor blades	"	(12) 15	0
Big razors	"	(1)	Same
Haircuts	"	24	12
Cosmetique for hair, sticks.	"	12	0
Celluloid combs	"	1	0
Slippers, "Ai plane" pairs	"	3	0

*When there are two figures, the amount on hand is placed in parentheseises. If the same item is used in both places the word "same" is used in camp column.

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Cloth Table 1.(b)

Item	Consumer	Pathee	Cano.
Sandals, slippers pairs	U Myaing.	3	(1) 3
Wooden clogs, pairs	"	3 or 4	(1) 12
Face towels	"	2	0
Body towels	"	(1) 4	0
Ruby ring	"	(1)	0
Gold ring	"	(1)	0
Gold chain and buttons for fastening shirts	"	(1)	0
Silver cuff links	"	(1)	0
Cotton Tamein	Ma Aye Myaing	10	(4) 8
"	Daw Aw Zar	(3 or 4) 6 or 8	(2) 4
"	Two elder daughters	(10) 15	(6) 18
Jackets	Ma Aye Myaing	(7) 9	(3) 4
"	Daw Aw Zar	6	(2) 3
"	Two elder daughters, each	(4 to 6) 6	(3) 6
Frocks	2 younger daughters, together	(10) 12	(6) 8
Bodices	Ma Aye Myaing	(5) 6	(3) 5
"	Daw Aw Zar	(2) 8	(2) 3.5
Underwear	Two elder daughters, together.	(8) 9.5	(4) 6
Panties	2 younger daughters, together.	(5) 7.5	(4) 6
Slippers, leather, pairs	all females, each	1	0
Sandals, wooden, pairs	Ma Aye Myaing and Daw Aw Zar, each	(1) 4	(1) 12
"	The four daughters, each	(1) 4	(1) 12

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Analysis of wearing a parel used by U Myaing's family.

●291 Fifty three items of wearing apparel and personal accoutrement
511 were recorded. These are divided into three large catagories:

178 (1) Objects used in Pathwe but not in camp.
722 (2) Objects used in camp but not in Pathwe.
(3) Objects used in both localities.

Twenty nine items used in Pathwe were not used in camp. 55% of the Pathwe complex had been discontinued for a variety of reasons. The bulk of the objects were not replaced due to lack of funds. Many items such as umbrellas, towels, leather sandals were needed and desired. Some objects, such as men's jackets, headbands, silk longyis and associated underwear pants, men's bamboo hats, men's hair dressing comb, jewelry and parasols are recognised as luxury items. Both the ceremonial and social occasions in which such luxuries assumed the proportions of necessities had diminished or disappeared so that the desire for them is no longer as strong. This is reflected in the statements that some of the luxuries were no longer desired (hair dressing) or that smaller quantities (silk longyis) would be adequate.

It is interesting to note that whereas both U Myaing and the ladies had the same number of items in Pathwe (26 respectively) - in camp U Myaing has only 7 items or 28% of the Pathwe complex. The ladies, however, have 16 items or 59% of the Pathwe complex.
[562] This data suggests that the women's standards are less flexible than the men's. In order to be respectable the women have to have certain items. Whereas, U Myaing's demand depends more on his immediate
[183] situation. If this is so, then it follows that the men's standard might expand more rapidly under opulent conditions - with sets of special socio-ceremonial garb (headband, silk longyi, jacket, jewelry including western items(Gillette razor, topee, western jackets and shirts).

Only three objects were used in camp but not in Pathwe. The
[177] rubber-tyred wooden sandals are simply new varieties of an old form used in Pathwe - a cheap and popular urban form due to abundance of tyre-rubber following the war. The earrings with white stones and set of silver buttons are also substitute varieties, not innovations.

The silver button set, however is a sort of windfall, resulting from the family's contact with more opulent urban standards.

Thirty nine percent of the total complex, 21 items, were used in the two localities. These fell into the categories of: (1) items taken from Pathwe, and (2) items secured to replace those used in Pathwe.

Only 6 items or 11% of the complex survived from Pathwe days. These were big razor, scarf, copper and gold earrings, silver anklets, crystal and blue stone button sets. The razor took on the new function of shaving U Myaing in addition to the heads of the children but this was a pre-gillette-razor-stage function.

One item, ladies bamboo combs, was used in exactly the same frequency in both locales. It is easy to understand why this low frequency, cheap and durable object was unaffected by the change in the standard of living. Either the quantity on hand or amount consumed varied in the other cases. In a few instances the camp frequency was higher: the elder daughters used more cotton TAMEINS (though less are kept on hand) - a reflection of their greater social activities as elder children in an urban situation; 2 or 3 times as many wooden sandals are used in camp because: (1) these are the cheapest footwear, and (2) they wear out more rapidly on the Rangoon pavement than on the Pathwe mud-walks. The other items showed marked reduction in quantity, ranging from ⅓ to ½. Qualitatively the reduction is not so easily measured. However, most of the items cost less than in Pathwe. With inflation and an urban market, the qualities must have fallen below those of Pathwe for the most part.

In conclusion: over half of the personal accoutrement complex of Pathwe was discontinued, with the greater sacrifice falling to U Myaing. These items become part of an inactive cultural inventory to be recovered when and if the family again resume their former standard of living.

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General Burmese Attitudes about and Usages of
Personal Accoutrement.

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"LU-HMAR-AH-MOOT-TAUNG-HMAR-AH-COOT" — "People must have decent dress just as a basket must have a rim" expresses the basic attitude of the Burmese towards personal accoutrement. By "decent" is meant fitting and proper to a person's station in life and the occasion. Most important, the garments must be clean and maintained in a state of repair. The cotton objects are cleaned by whacking on rock slabs at a water source; the silk garments are aired in the sun and shaken and when absolutely necessary washed - this removes the crispness for which they are valued. Recently dry cleaning establishments have operated in Rangoon. But these are quite expensive and used extensively only by the wealthy. "If one has only one shirt it must be white (i.e. clean)".

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Perhaps the most important means of asserting status is by personal accoutrement. The value of jewels, fine silks for the women of the family has been mentioned above. The Burmese have a low opinion of the person who does not dress up to his station. But are also scornful of those who dress above their qualifications. For example, a man who wears the religious all white costume inappropriately is called CHAUK-THU-DAW (cat-goodman) or pretender. The story is told of a cat who always faced the sun with open jaws. When visiting rats asked why he replied that the rays of the sun nourished him. Yet the last of the visiting rats invariably disappeared into the cat's paw. A war-time atrocity story records the sad tale of a Burmese maiden who was too poor to afford a decent longyi and therefore was forced to commit suicide.

The variety of different longyis worn also indicate status. It is said that some wealthy Rangoon ladies buy a new silk longyi for each social occasion - and rapidly discard them when slightly soiled. In the main, however, the Burmese "pay great respect to their clothes" and boast rather of wearing clothes that are years old - thus indicating the high quality of the cloth. Young girls frequently have Mandalay silk longyis handed down to them by their grandmothers. Success is indicated by the constant increase in quality and quantity

of clothes. The old people take care to save the torn garments for use in wiping the hands after meals, for handling hot pots on the stove and the like. 291 554 181

There are three classes of clothing (1) working clothes (2) festive dress, and (3) religious dress. The working clothes consist of the cheaper and less ornate fabrics and are mainly of cotton. The men usually bind the longyi around the loins by looping the shirt in a band between the legs. Htamein (women's longyi) waist band is secured under the armpits when bathing. 291 292

While walking in the rain the longyis are also raised to prevent them from becoming wet. Festive dress involves the best which one has, usually silks and are worn on the Sabbath days and at special social occasions as the SHIN BYA and other ceremonies. Religious dress is worn constantly by Pongyis (orange robes), nuns (peach coloured) and frequently by old men (white) and old women (light chocolate coloured). On Sabbath days the particularly religious individuals of all ages, especially those belonging to Buddhist lay societies, wear religious dress. 291 779 [575]

The term LONGYI means "lower apparel" and is applied to both men's (PUSO) and women's (HTAMEIN). The men's festive longyi TAUNG-SHAY-PUSO (taung measurement- twenty-puso) worn frequently in the past and now reserved for special occasions was a double silk PUSO 8 yards long. A special method of securing this garment about the waist results in GABON ZA ("Sticking out piece") a fold which protrudes 6 or more inches in the midline - only, however, when the silk is crisp and stiff (new and/or finest heavy quality). This is regarded as a very manly garment. Two styles of APAW KINGYI (over jacket) men's jacket are worn. The "Peking" type meeting at the mid-line is most common. A "Cantonese" type buttons over like the women's jacket at the side. 291 292

Formerly every young man had tattooed thighs, extending in a solid band of decoration from a few inches above the knees to the hips. The motifs were frequently nat symbols. The main purpose was to display manliness and courage since the process of tatooing, done with a 3 pronged fork dipped in pigment was extremely painful. 304 562 178

304 The custom is dying out today; but, in the villages, the teen-age boy
562 frequently, on the encouragement of their family submit to the tattoo-
178 ing of a small area on the thigh. These decorations seen when the longyis are wrapped high were regarded as essentiall and those without them were openly criticised.

[751] A second type of tattooing consisting of potent symbols were, as still are, placed on the inner arm, back, or high forehead as a means of magical protection against harm. Snake, knife, cudgel and bullet proof motifs are common. Young girls frequently have the inner arm tattooed with such a charm.

838 Homo-sexuals are known as MEIN MA SHA ("woman-half") and are
826 recognized by their effeminate gestures, "pretty" locks and clothing. They frequently wear THANAKHA face powder, tie their longyis in a simple tucked-in fold, and wear jewelry like the women. They are rare in villages but have banded together into a society in Rangoon. They appear to be tolerated but are scorned.

It is beleived that individuals known as MEIN-TEE-PON-LAIN-HNEH-PON-LAIN ("Female sex- 2 sexes") exist . These persons are supposed to be alternately a man for one month, and a woman for the following
[775] month in a complete process of transformation. Both the MEIN MA SHA and these individuals result from illicit seduction activities in a previous existence - the MEIN MA SHA being the less sinful of the two

792 The PONGYI dress consist of orange cotton cloth - one garment
291 being a longyi with a folled tie at the waist; the other a wide band
293 drapped as a robe. When begging the PONGYIS have a special arrangement of the robe which wraps the left arm and covers the neck region. The nuns wear a robe garment over a longsleeved KINGYI jacket of the same colour. They are frequently seen with a scarf folded on the head. Both orders carry orange-cloth (lacquered) parasols on long bamboo shafts, a string of beads and large palm leaf fans. The Pongyis carry leather bags suspended on a shoulder strap for personal effects. PONGYI slippers have a square toe, are made of stiff leather with reinforded soles.

[887] Religious women (including old women) wear chocolate coloured HTAMEINS, KINGYIS and carry a PUNG (a narrow scarf 4 of 5 feet in

length) draped over one shoulder. The PUNA, part of the scarf, still draped, is placed on front of the worshipping woman for her head and hands as she bows. The beads, a string about 2 feet long made of black lacquer or red or white beads about ½ inch in diametre are called SEIK-PA-DEE (count-beads). They are worn about the neck when not in use, and are "counted" by the fingers of one hand. Each bead, thus counted calls to the worshipper's mind a vision of Buddha as she says ARA HAHN (God) in a low voice. While in this dress women do not decorate their hair with flowers or wear jewelry or cosmetiques as such would be unseemly.

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The older men and other religious men (who are gathering alms as members of Buddhist lay societies) wear a loose white robe over a white jacket, white head band, praying bead necklace, and a chocolate coloured scarf draped over one shoulder. The general public must wear their very best clothes for religious festivals but the women do not use cosmetiques. "Rangoon Sabbath" is the term applied to the less strict observations of the town people who may appear with a little THANAKA or other cosmetiques. The marriage dress of the bride is an older form of costume involving use of a long split skirt with cut-flaring jackets.

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The hair styles are important and denote age and sex. Children of both sexes wear their hair in a knot at the top of the head with a fringe of short hair like a bowl below. The older men's style was long hair knotted on one side in the back of the head; except in villages this has been superseded by the western short crop ranging from a long "Pompador" to short "crew cuts" - the latter being rarer and more modern. Old men wear very short cropped hair or are shaven - as the Pongyis and nuns. Maidens wear their hair in elaborately woven tresses - earlier on top of the head in a disc-shaped - now in chain braids at the back of the head. False switches of hair are commonly used. Flowers are used as decoration on all occasions. The usual style for married ladies is a knot at the back of the head wound around a rectangular comb of wood, (common) tortoise shell, ivory or gold. Older and married women sometimes appear in an ancient ceremonial style consisting of the hair wrapped around a fiber cylinder

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302 on top of the head. Scented hair oil is used by both sexes on
177 special occasions.
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●291 The HTAMKIN is regarded as "unworthy" for a man to touch. A
562 severe insult is for a wife to request her husband to bring her
183 HTAMKIN or to wash it. Drying HTAMKINS in the front of the house is never allowed; and it is strictly forbidden for this garment to touch any pongyi utensils. Parents instruct their boys never to pass under the strings of a line of which HTAMKINS are drying as such is thought to take away the masculine powers, and render the tattooed charms ineffective. Men and women's clothes are washed and stored separately.

[593] When a son neglects his mother after marriage she will complain with rage that he has not come out of the HTAMKIN and is under the HTAMKIN government of his wife.

291 Women usually wear solid black HTAMKINS during menstruation.
841 Boys, in jest, inform one of their companions that he may now become serious when the girl of his choice appears in a black dress for the first time.

Slippers of both sexes are regarded as "dirty" objects and are left outside of the houses. They are strictly prohibited in pagoda enclosures and land. When a girl is angry at a teasing boy (or quarreling with a woman) she will threaten to slap his face with her sandal. This is a double insult since the head is regarded as a particularly sacred part of the body. Barbers must ask permission and apologise for touching the heads of their customers.

291 Western clothing has a higher status than Burmese clothing in
177 certain situations and on certain occasions especially where western
554 people are present in suits. However, for most occasions, everyday or special, the Burmese costume is preferred. When abroad the Burmese men usually wear western garb. The wearer of western clothes

[186] is often open to the taunt that he is "Bo Gyi (term for Englishman) made in Burma". There is a strong feeling in all cases to be "properly" dressed and not to stand out from the rest of the group. This tendency is stronger in men than women who with their jewels and fine silks attempt to rival each other in a contest for social posi-

[562] tion. Burmese girl students who go abroad almost invariably wear their native costumes.

Westernization is invading the woman's sphere more slowly than the man's. However, the use of lipstick is now appearing among the upperclass ~~of town people~~ - along with modern brassieres and nylon BLOUSES with short sleeves. This is deplored by the more conservative as too revealing. The hair is shorter than formerly though the styles are only ~~modified western type~~. A most important influence in the westernization of dress of the upper classes have been the American film.

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must be getting a lot of demerit.

He then had to say something about the women's clothes in Rangoon. In Pathwe the girls did not dare to dress in these fashions. "I do not even dare to look at some of them." In Pathwe village there were no such things as girls with short sleeves, etc. Only the girls who had been to town affected them. The majority wore KIN-GYIS of thick material. In Rangoon one sometimes has the feeling that one is looking at little dolls".

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U Myaing considers that there is a greater variety of means of earning money here. In Pathwe there were only a few ways in which one could earn money and these were almost wholly confined to working fish and paddy and their by products. There was of course frequent interchange of goods with people from other villages inland and with boats from Upper Burma.

U Myaing has been in Rangoon before and had seen the electric tramway and things that the others in the family had not seen before, but even he has seen comparatively little. The others have not seen so manydifferent kinds of automobiles, they have never seen the trains, rickshaws, pony-carts etc.

In the matter of clothing, they find a difference between Pathwe and Rangoon even in hair styles and in making up the face. U Myaing thinks that the people in Rangoon have inverted the order of things. According to him, a man can stay undressed except for a longyi and it can remain acceptable, while girls must wear clothing of thick material. This was the case in Pathwe, whereas in Rangoon men wear thick clothing and women wear garments made out of sheer material.

The life of Rangoon is beginning to influence girls who came from the villages, and they are beginning to imitate their sisters in town in the use of short sleeved jackets, lipstick and "waves". In Pathwe the usual facial make up is to daub the whole face with THANAT-KHA cream and leave it to dry. In Rangoon THANAT-KHA is used only as a powder base. Even Ma Aye Myaing has now a jacket which has sleeves that are elbow long.

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In Rangoon, the men's garments are of better quality. In Pathwe during the hot season the men stayed without any shirts on,

369 and women too did the same, and wore their HTAMEINS breast high.
●291 Here except for the refugees, he does not see much of this except when
562 people are bathing in the public water hydrants. When it is hot the men wear T shirts and the women wear light garments.

369 U Myaing says that the ordinary city dweller cannot do as much
464 hard labour as the average villager. For example, he cannot carry
461 a bag of rice on his shoulders if suddenly called upon to do so.

The workers from Rangoon are much more acute than the workers from the village. They speak and understand English and Hindustani and so get to know of any possible job long before the others. The villagers do not have these advantages, and so have to join work only later and they are placed to work under them.

563 As far as U Myaing is concerned, there is no racial animosity
464 towards Indians and workers of other races. This is due to the fact that there is no racial discrimination on the part of the employers, the first suitable applicant being given the work.

369 He finds that Rangoon has a much more equable climate than
132 Pathwe. In Rangoon it is not as cold as in Pathwe, where in the cold season it was very cold even though they lived in a proper house and kept all the doors and windows shut. He says that they would not be able in Pathwe to live in an open dwelling like they do at present.

369 Their relatives in Rangoon keep to themselves a great deal.
571 They work on their own and earn on their own. In Rangoon each family
602 has only sufficient for itself. "We cannot help them financially and neither can they help us much. When we go on a visit they can invite us to join in a meal or to partake of sweet tea, but they would not be able to lend us fifty or a hundred rupees. In Pathwe we could lend each other any amount up till a thousand five hundred rupees and that free of interest. These loans also need to be repaid only when it is convenient to the debtor. It would be inconvenient to have to repay a loan while the money was in the form of goods."

159 U Myaings eldest daughter has returned to the camp because the
369 woman who owns the cheroot rolling business has temporarily closed it
602 down and gone to Pantanaw with goods like onions, prawns and textiles. Since the girl is not sufficiently dexterous to find work elsewhere as

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

MONASTIC NOVITIATE

31. SHINLAUNG ARRAYED FOR HIS FETE.

the home of the Buddha. In order to accentuate the renunciation of the world which the lad is making, he is arrayed and attended like a prince and makes a royal progress on horseback or in a chariot to the monastery. Attendants bear gilt umbrellas over him, and a retinue of relatives and friends carry his *parĕikaya* and offerings for the use of the monastery. The *parĕikaya* are the eight chattels, to the possession of which the regular recluse (*yahán*) is restricted. They consist of the *thingán* or monastic yellow robes, *viz.*, the loin-cloth (*thimbáing*), upper cloth (*egust*), wrapper (*thingán-dyt*), and red girdle (*kabán*); a needle (*at*), wherewith to piece his clothing together, a hard-baked black earthen pot (*thabĕit*) in which to collect the morning dole of food, a filter (*yezit*) to strain the drinking water clear of living things, and a razor (*thindôn-dâ*) to shave the head and face (excepting the eyebrows). The garments are of plain cloth, without any cut, but torn into strips and joined up again (by the donors) in commemoration of the primitive rule of piecing the garments together from rags, as well as to deprive the cloth of value. The cloth is mostly cotton, but silk and wool are also offered. The stuffs are dyed a bright ochre, with chips of Jack-wood. By repeated washings the colour deepens to tan. These varying shades produce a picturesque effect. The recluse customarily also receives sandals to wear, a deer-skin to sit and sleep upon, a broom to sweep his dwelling with, and a large palm-leaf fan, both for a shelter from the sun and a screen from the sight of womankind. The *thabĕit* is slung in a yellow cotton net, and has a lacquerwork stand and cover. In respect of chattels, however, these primitive tokens of privation have sunk to a form. The recluses have many changes of raiment and the use of spacious dwellings

32. SHINLAUNG PAGEANT (BURMA PROPER).

25; Fetrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

26. SHINLAUNG PRAYING FOR ACCEPTANCE (PEGU).

attendance upon his preceptor, to contemplation and sober study. His preceptor receives voluntary confession of faults, without questioning, prescribes penances, and is to his disciple as a parent. Having acquiesced in the rule of life, the candidate is admonished to divest himself of worldly state and personal adornment, and after that to renew his prayer for admission. 858 792

The *shinlaung* then retires to be divested of his grandeur. His long hair—the pride of the Burman—is cut close to the roots with scissors and preserved by his female relatives. His head is shaved by a male relative. The same day, or later, after bathing, the candidate will present himself clad in a plain loin-cloth, offering his robes and the rest of the *parikhara* for acceptance as before. The recluse will now accept the robes on behalf of the Assembly, and deliver them to the candidate, who retires to robe himself. Invested with the *thingán*, he returns as accepted probationer, to make obeisance (*shikô*) to his instructor. The novice takes no vow and owes no formal obedience. Like the full member of the Assembly, he is always free to abandon the religious rule of life (*ju-tsuk*—to become a layman again). The *goyin* (*maung-yin*, Pâli *samanera*, "*shinthamanê*") or "gentle-brother," as the novice is designated, discontinues the use of his secular name, in lieu of which he receives from his preceptor a Pâli title (*ju*), chosen in the same way as the secular name from one of seven sets. Thus Maung Shwe Ni, Brother Golden-red, becomes Ô Âlawka, Sage Above-the-world. [302] [291] [553]

27. SHINLAUNG PRAYING FOR ACCEPTANCE (BURMA). 792

The whole male population of the village are free of the monastery. The recluse and his novices have withdrawn from participation in

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

83. DAUTCHA YATHE.

Burma by pilgrims. Dried and gilt leaves are also brought as relics. The seeds of the tropical *ficus* species germinate in the fork of some other tree or in a cranny of masonry and flourish in such mould as they find. The roots develop thick bands which dislodge the masonry, but, interlacing in all directions, hold the loose material together while the tree lives; or else, when the host is another tree, strangle it and take its place (Nos. 77, 245, 321). 788 824

The *yahán* are not the only religious celibates of Burma. Several other classes follow this way of life, observing many or few rules, according to their own choice. Nearest to the *yahán* are the *yathé*. They depend chiefly on alms, but cultivate gardens for themselves. Their appeal for alms is mute, they accept them in money as well as in kind, and they lay up a store for actual needs. They take food in the forenoon only. The *yathé*, who are few in number, live in forest caves or in derelict shrines, and shift for themselves, singly or in small colonies. The majority study, though they do not teach; some are illiterate. They receive a certain deference from the laity, and themselves defer to the *yahán*. The *yathé* are the subject of harmless satire and burlesque in the plays; the *yahán* never. The robe is like that of the *yahán*, but dyed tan instead of yellow. *Yathé* mostly shave the head, but there is a class who wear the hair long. Certain of them use a headgear called *dautcha*, which forms a receptacle for an image of the Buddha. Some are addicted to mild forms of occultism such as alchemy (p. 111) and devising cabalistic diagrams for charms and tattoo-marks. These practices are under the ban of Buddhism. Pretensions to occult powers, such as have 792

84. CAVE-SHRINE NEAR MAULMAIN.

[522] [301] [788] [291] 789 792

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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88. POTHUDAW.

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been brought into a pseudo-connection with Buddhism by certain western neophytes of the Tibetan cult, are unheard of in Burma, which is the stronghold of primitive tradition.

Pôthudaw observe fewer *thila* than *yathé*. They make their appeal with a gong of triangular shape (*kyizi*, Nos. 22, 86), which spins on the string it hangs by, and emits a high and sustained throbbing note. *Pôthudaw* eat in the forenoon only. They accept alms in money and in kind, for which they carry baskets with a shoulder-yoke. They wear a white robe, shave the head, and pluck out the beard. *Pôthudaw* shift for themselves in *zayats* about the temples and seldom remain long in one place.

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Mèthilá are female celibates who observe a rule parallel to that of the *Pôthudaw*. They shave the head. Their robe is like that of the other celibates with the addition of a jacket. The cloth is dyed a faint red. Both they and the *pôthudaw* are generally individuals who have lost their family ties. In some places *kyaungs* are provided for *mèthilá*, where they keep schools for girls. A few are possessed of learning. *Mèthilá* are about as numerous as *pôthudaw*, and both together are about one-tenth to one-twentieth as numerous as *yahán*, and several times more so than *yathé*. There is no class of female recluses answering to *yahán*.

[871]

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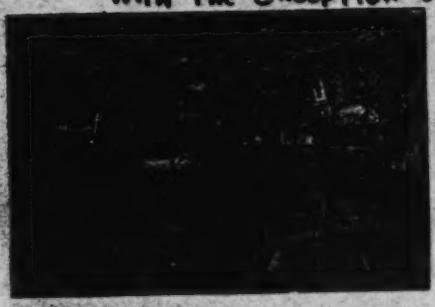
Payadyún form colonies in the vicinities of the principal shrines and of the cemeteries of large towns. They are the descendants of temple slaves, the condition to which captives in war were reduced both by the Burman and the Taláing races during their incessant

89. METHILA AT WORSHIP.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

With the exception of the stuff for the recluses' robes, cloth is not dyed in the piece, but in the yarn. Dyes used for cotton are also chiefly imported, but the indigenous dyes continue to be used for silk. The Burmans excel in yellows, oranges, deep reds, and rich deep greens, which they harmonise with beautiful effect. Their clear blues and purples are indifferent. Except in a few localities, where weaving is a speciality, the men take no share in the industry beyond constructing the looms. Women spin and dye the yarn and weave the cloth. The lath of the loom (*lokhu*) is of graceful outline—often elaborately carved—and is furnished with two ornamented metal pins, with loose metal rings, that jangle at each swing of the beam, and proclaim the industry of the young woman, to whom this business chiefly falls. Hence it comes that the loom is a favourite *rendezvous*. The same applies to other occupations of the girls, such as rice-cleaning, when the suitor will take a turn at the heavy part of the work and lounge while the sifting goes on. Common patterns of cloth are tartans, for which two or three shuttle-spools are required. The plainest cloth woven is at least shot with a colour different to that of the warp. The intricacy of a pattern is denoted by the number of spools. Scroll patterns (*cheit*) in silk are called *hsu-taya* (hundred-spool). The warp is a cubit wide and about twenty cubits long, which makes a man's loin-cloth (*paso*). The piece is doubled and its edges sewn together along one side; the turn of the cloth serves as a bag or wallet, according as the piece is draped; it has no lining. The *paso* is hitched round the loins and girt long or short, according to fancy, without the help of a belt; but elastic belts are now coming in. The slack is worn in a bunch in front (*hakdaungsu*) or is thrown over the shoulder.

386 286 [192] [342] 286 462 [438] [531] [584] 286 286 291 [342]



THE SHADOW THE THATCH.

127. PLAITING FLOOR-MATS (see p. 66).

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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129. CLEANING AND SPINNING COTTON.

For work and exercise the *pasó* is girt into the narrowest compass (*kaddung-chaik*, No. 407). The women's cloth —*tamein*—is only three cubits long. To the upper edge of the figured silk is joined a strip of plain dark-coloured cotton or velvet. To the lower edge is joined a piece striped with the colours of the centre-piece, to that again a strip of red silk shot with white, and it is lined with calico. The *tamein* overlaps very little (Nos. 136, 137). *Pasó* and *tamein* are the distinctive national dress. Both are in process of being superseded by the more convenient *lôndyt*, except for *gala* occasions (No. 34). The *lôndyt* is an endless cloth, generally of red tartan, about equal to two *tamein*, worn like the Malay *sárong*. Men wear their long hair in a top-knot, and frequently use no head-dress. For *gala* they wear a fillet of white muslin round the temples tied in a knot, of which the long ends stand up (*pazin-hnyat*). Bright-coloured figured silk kerchiefs (*gaung-baung*) are worn in the same way. But more generally hair and kerchief are wound up together upon the head. Women wear nothing on the head except flowers and jewels. They wear kerchiefs (*gwa*) over their shoulders, of the same kind as the men's *gaungbaung*. These kerchiefs were at first of bright Chinese embroidery, but are now damask silk prints from Europe. The fashion of their patterns and colours changes. Jackets were not an invariable part of the Burman costume, but are now universal. The older pattern of men's white muslin jacket (*taing-ma-thein inji*, Nos. 374, 389), and women's white muslin, or coloured and gold-figured gauze jackets (*lesshé-inji*, No. 379), are of Indian type. They are now superseded by the more convenient *kadó inji*, of Shan-Chinese type, worn by both men and women (Nos. 115, 288). Over-jackets of imported woollens have also become general. A wrap or blanket of heavy cotton cloth, or of imported broad-cloth (*saung*, No. 184), completes the outfit. No kind of wool is indigenous

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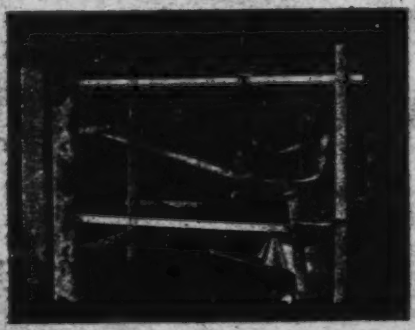

130. THE WEAVING-LOOM.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

No kind of wool is indigenous 286

190. LAYING OUT THE WARP.

or is spun or woven in Burma. Cæsar Frederick in 1569 mentions woollen cloth among the goods brought to Burma, *viâ* Arakán. Web vests for boys and men, of European manufacture, are becoming general. The use of shoes of the European shape is bringing in the use of socks and stockings. The addition of a European shirt under the Burman jacket makes up the incongruous kit affected by the modern office clerks. With the increased use of body-linen have come the Indian washermen. The coloured stuffs are washed by the Burman women. The native dyes wash well, especially the silk dyes. An alkali-earth (*sajjya*) is found in Burma, but soap is of modern introduction, and is now sold in every bazár. Needles used to be brought to Burma from China, as well as scissors, though the latter are also fashioned in Burma; at present both are imported from Europe. Burmans work the needle from them, like other Asiatics. The work is pinned to a cushion at the head of a post planted on the work-box. The use of the thimble was unknown until tailors came over from India, but is now general. The bulk of the tailoring is in the hands of immigrants from China; but their prejudice against the sewing-machine is helping to transfer the business to the Burman women. Nearly every well-to-do family in the towns has its sewing-machine.

291 [283 439] [296 463] 439 413 286 [177] 463 294

At sunrise the women start with their water-pots for the day's supply, and again before they cook the evening meal, which finishes the day's work. On the morning errand they do the most of their washing. In the evening they carry a spare cloth to change for the one they bathe in, which they wash and coil into a pad to put between the head and the water-

191. BURMESE CARVING OF WEAVING-LOOM.

462 [532] 512 515

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

153. THE CHALLENGE (see p. 177).

the young wife's home, the lad working for her parents. 591
As family comes and other daughters marry, the elder pairs are established in houses of their own. Married people are designated *ein-daung*—householders. Marriage 581
makes no difference in the names and their prefixes. 592
Everyone marries in Burma; the census of 1891 gave 551
1,306,722 husbands to 1,307,292 wives. The same census 162
gave 102 females to 100 males of the Burman (so classed [548]
as Buddhist) population. (In Burma prostitution is confined to the large towns.) [524]

A family of seven is considered large. The average 592
number of house-occupants is 5.5. The cost of living of 511
a Burman village household is 100 to 200 Rs. a year. In 357
the towns the well-to-do spend 600 to 1000 Rs. and more, 556
and at the present day keep a servant or two for the rough work, generally natives of India. Such accumulations of wealth as are made by individuals in India and other countries with a plutocracy and a proletariate are not paralleled among the Burmans. Nevertheless individuals amass tens of thousands of rupees, which for the most part they spend on works of religious merit. Monogamy is the received and almost universal practice in Burma. Second-wives are taken by a proportion of the officials and men of wealth. Hence it comes that the Burmans wonder more at the moderation of Europeans than at such license as they indulge. This license is not nearly so great as in India, but it is more open, corresponding to the higher status of the women of Burma, and thus it provokes more scandal in comparison. Unions of this sort among the Burmans are merely by mutual consent. A separate establishment in a different quarter of the town is maintained for the second wife or concubine (*maya-ngè*). Her children are under no disability, but she is not acknowledged by the first, and generally older, wife (*mayaji*), whose husband's love she is said to have stolen.

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154. AN "ORIGINAL."

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25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

378. THE PALACE GARDENS.

the cause of suffering and death, and the discredit reflected on officialdom by its methods, lead the best elements of the population to shun office, as a touching of pitch. The dearth of ability and character in the governing classes leaves the governed without efficient protection. The religious motive further operates in withholding information about criminals. A pregnant category is that of the "five enemies"—Fire, Water, Robbers, Rulers, Ill-wishers. The governors and deputies who acted as judges heard causes at the *yôn*, an open shed in a public place. But every cause was presented in the first instance at the house of the official, and it is contrary to accepted ideas of politeness to approach a superior empty-handed, even on a mere visit of courtesy. The *pros* and *cons* of the case were understood before the regular hearing. At the hearing, the advocates of the parties (*ashé-ne*) publicly presented their pleas and the evidence was recorded. The Burmese form of oath is to take the *kyanza* in the hands, a book of imprecations which the witness invokes on his head if he should speak falsely. The judge or judges intimated their finding to their clerks (*sayé*), who recorded it in official style and read it out. The punishments awarded to criminals and the condition of prisoners were much like those prevailing in Europe at the time of the Renaissance. Every judgment of importance was registered in the *Hluttaw* or chancellery at the capital, presided over by the four chief ministers (*Wundyi*), through whom all royal commands to the governors of provinces issued. There was no regular system of appeals. The Hindu code of Manú served as a body of law, and statutes were decreed by the kings; but *thnzan* (custom) supplied standards of a more practical and stable nature.

379. ROYAL MAID OF HONOUR (APYODAW).

647 554 [341] [779 674] 695 [291] [681] [692] [671]

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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[482]

427. PILGRIMS WITH THEIR BELONGINGS.

1884, and has had to be replaced. The body of the image is encrusted with gold which the pilgrims affix; by a miraculous quality of the image the gold leaf is said to adhere without the usual size. Next in celebrity to this image is the *Shwe-sattaw*, a sacred footprint on the rock, west of Mimbu on the Irawadi (*cf.* p. 36). Only the site of the original footprint on the hill is shown. The rock which bore it clove asunder, according to the legend, in consequence of a profanation. A model of the original occupies a *tazaing* beneath. The fourth great resort of pilgrims is *Kyaittlyo Payá*, which is believed to enshrine two hairs of the Buddha. It is erected on a boulder which overhangs the peak of a mountain three thousand six hundred feet high, looking out on the plains of the Sittaung river. The legend tells how this boulder—which is not a rocking-stone—in days of greater piety used to float free above the summit. There are those who argue that even now a fine thread can be drawn between the boulder and the rock. About one hundred and fifty years ago

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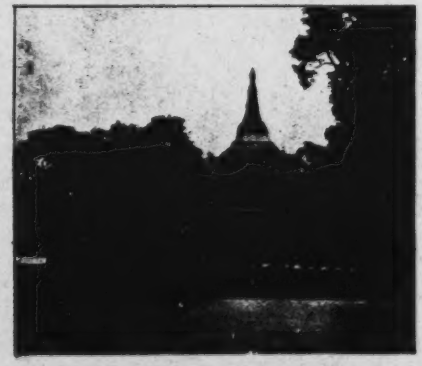

428. SHWE-DAGON PAYA, RANGOON.

779 It is this renunciation[1] which we symbolize in the shinbyu ceremony
881 when a boy leaves his home and lives in the order. A parent who fails
792 to hold the ceremony or get his son initiated in some other way fails in his first duty towards his son, and those who hold a shinbyu for orphans or the sons of the poor achieve great merit.

To provide a background symbolic of Prince Siddhartha's circumstances, parents spend as much as they can afford; a flagged pavilion is put up before the house, a multitude of people are invited for feasting, the boy is dressed in princely garments and jewels, and rides around the town on a white horse, with a procession following. For him to return and wash the powder off his face, to doff the turban and show the newly shaven head, to change the glittering clothes of silk for a plain yellow
• [292] robe showing golden on the bare brown skin,—this is moving indeed. And when he comes back the next day in procession with other monks, his eyes cast down and his bowl before him, his mother makes obeisance to him for the first time, not as her son now but as one of the priestly order, a hpongyi, a "great glory". That must be a moment of spiritual plenitude in a mother's life.

881 I do not remember much about my brother's shinbyu, but I re-
792 member the beauty of his face as he came back in procession on that first day. A good face has its nobility enhanced by the complete absence of such adornment, even as is provided by the frame of hair or the line of neck clothing; it has to stand alone. I am often struck with the beautiful calm faces of some older monks. There is a look of repose which they wear easily after years of daily meditation and freedom from petty irritations and personal relationships, and a glow to the brown skin which is the result of years spent in clean and open surroundings, with sufficient to eat, and regularity of hours; the strongly marked eyebrows giving a nobility to the face when the head has been shorn. The unconscious reflection of this look on the face of a small boy touches us profoundly; there is a sweet solemnity on the young shaven face; the most mischievous boys become awed and chastened without any prompting.

881 In recent years, we have had a full dress shinbyu in the family for
792 my husband's nephew, Sao Sai Long, who as the heir to the Shan
565 State of Kengtung was initiated into the priesthood with the full panoply due to Buddhist royalty. A long wide bamboo pavilion was set
[563] up, beginning with a high shelf for the offerings to all the monasteries in the town, the next platform for the monks who were to receive Sao Sai Long into their monastery, the next lower for the attendant boys who were also to be initiated, and for the *palin* (the jewelled *chaise longue* on which Sao Sai Long was to recline), the next for the family, and successively lower ones for the various grades of the people. (The

[i.e., The Great Renunciation of Prince Siddhartha--Analyst]

lecturer went to the head of the grave and said in English: "So-and-so, I give you notice that you are no longer in the Jr. B. A. class." When U Tin Gyi died during an official visit to England, we held his cremation at Golders Green and succeeded in getting a Singhalese hpongyi from the Buddhist Lodge in London to perform the rites. In spite of the environment of the crematorium we felt that we had achieved a dim and religious Buddhist atmosphere, such as he would have wished, by the time the hpongyi had intoned the verses, with all the gathered Burmese students repeating them phrase by phrase. But suddenly one of the English officers present got up and read in English: "U Tin Gyi, O.B.E., Registrar for Co-operative Societies in the Government of Burma, I give you leave to relinquish your post in the service of the Government. Signed—Adams." As if the persistent ghost might return to haunt in English, having been dismissed in only one of his two languages.)

Mr. Bernard Swithinbank of the I.C.S. had, through long years of friendship for Burmese people, laid the hands of many young couples one upon the other in marriage, and in this case he seemed particularly fitted for the task, for twenty-five years before he had married the parents of the bride, and though he could not perform for the bridegroom's parents their marriage ceremony which was held in Grandfather's time, it was he who gave my father leave to go to Thaton, as senior officer wishing him all prosperity in his marriage.

At last the great day arrived and all the male cousins and uncles collected at our house to dress the bridegroom with as much fuss as attends a bride in any other country. My mother had bought three pink silk turbans varying barely perceptibly in shade, so that the young man's complexion might be matched exactly when the fateful hour approached. My two young sisters and I took one each and sewed the finest possible seams, but submitting every inch as we went long to the scrutiny of my senior uncle Kyaw Din who said that a man's turban needed finer sewing than any woman's garment. My *Ko Lay*, most debonair of the cousins, tied the turban on my brother's head, while the band of elder brothers-once-removed stood around and complained that he did not make the floating end dance and toss with sufficient sprightliness. Two uncles and two cousins combined to tie his pasoe, the magnificent skirt which had been brought down from Mandalay and matched in the weaving with the bride's own skirt. My brother submitted to all of this with a meekness born of never having worn full Burmese dress before. All the while my three sisters danced around to look at him from every angle, exclaiming with sauciness and delight how beautiful and pink he looked, for my brother was really a robust and dark-skinned type of man who liked to wear sober English clothes.

585 When we arrived in procession at the bride's house, we found all her relatives gathered in the drawing-room, men down one side and women down the other; at the head a couch for the presiding elders, U Maung Maung and Mr. Swithinbank, before it a pair of rich cushions for the bridal pair to sit upon, and before it again a giant bowl of carved silver, filled with flowers and offerings. Everything in here was silent, restrained and correct. None but relatives were present, not divorcees, nor those whose married lives had been scandalous, lest they spoil the auspicious nature of the day.

585 I slipped into the bedroom to see the bride and, pausing, caught
• 292 my breath to see how lovely she looked at that moment. On her wed-
832 ding-day a Burmese woman wears the full court-dress of the by-gone days of the Burmese kings; the dress was worn by the queens and princesses of our songs and history, as they bowed before the magnificence of the king on his throne, as they stood by casements in the moonlight, as they sang songs of melancholy when evil days were upon them and their enemies had prevailed over them. The long side tress, the trailing open skirt, the tight jacket which left the bosom bare for necklaces of diamonds, were created to show the perfections of a beautiful woman. Neither tall nor short should she be, her waist small and her breast carried high, her skin smooth and yellow like the thanakha finely ground, rich and creamy, her eyes like those of a golden doe, beneath eyebrows arched no heavier than a three days' moon, her lips two ruby gems, and her hair as black as a beetle's wings. Such was Ommadhanti, such Pabhawadi, the beautiful one. Such was my sister-in-law on that day as she came out, betraying no emotion and recognizing no one as she walked up the room in silence and sank down on the cushion beside the bridegroom.

585 Now the writer of the panegyric rose and chanted the paean of praise. The young *tha-do-tha*, Maung Sett Kaing, so blessed with virtues, complete with every manly quality; the young *tha-do-thami*, Khin Khin Su, so beautiful and full of womanly dignity; both of good race, good stock, to be married thus auspiciously, to have a good long life together, so great is their merit. Then the elder presiding lady put the offerings from the silver bowl, one after another, into the hands of the bride, and she made obeisance with each one. Now was every evil banished and every good present, for the performance of the *mingala*, the auspicious thing. The bridal pair rose from the cushions and took their places on the couch; U Maung Maung took the hands of bride and groom, laid them one upon the other, and dipped them into a golden bowl of water as the reader of the panegyric now called witness to the marriage. Then Mr. Swithinbank held their hands together and said

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

872 on the whole future life of the young scholars. As long as
779 these monastic schools are attended, all attacks on the Buddhist faith must be fruitless.

872 Besides the commandments, the paya-shekho, and the
779 pareit-yôp-thi, the lauds of the Lord Buddha, and the
792 aspirations to be repeated at the holy shrines, the formulæ to be told over on the beads; besides these first principles, the young Burman is taught the thin-ki-ya, the rules which are to prepare him for assuming the yellow robe, and to guide him during his longer or shorter withdrawal from the sinful world to the calm tranquillity of the monastery. He must learn that the young novice carefully imitates the decorous pace of the yahan; does not walk fast; avoids swinging his hands; does not smile or laugh in passing through a village, and keeps far away from all secular amuse-
[292] ments. The yellow robe, distinctive of the order, is to be regarded not as a garment to cherish and comfort the wearer, not as a robe to adorn the outward man and make it look stately or pious, but merely as a concession to modesty, born of the weaknesses of poor human flesh—and further, as a means of enabling the worthless frame to endure the
[261] extremes of heat and cold. In the same way food is to be eaten only to support life. The member of the sacred order must not think of meal times as an occasion for gratifying his senses; he must avoid dwelling on the tastiness of the food and the gratification to his palate which the pious zeal of a supporter may afford in presenting an unusually dainty meal. Especially must he refrain from eating food to make himself strong and lusty. He must always remember the transitoriness, the misery and unreality of the world, and find relief in the Triple Consolation, the trust in the Lord, the Law, and the Assembly.

All these things are impressed on the young pupil as soon as he is able to read at all, every one of them assuming the fact that as soon as he is old enough, or as soon as he has gone through the necessary preparation, he will assume the yellow robe of the devout, to wear it perhaps for life, perhaps only for a day or two, but certainly to put it on, for
[885] without this he cannot attain to the full privileges of a man.
[777] His kan (luck) will be altogether one-sided. All the ill deeds

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4
Lower Burma

important age for the boy to be learning English and arithmetic, with a view to getting situations under Government or in English merchants' offices. Therefore in the vast majority of cases shin-pyu thi takes place at the age of twelve, or perhaps even a year earlier. 792 561 184 177.84

If the boy has been a scholar in the monastery beforehand, he is sure to be already prepared in all that is required of him. If not, he gets a few hasty lessons in the duties that will be incumbent on him. He must address a full member of the order in such and such language; he must walk decorously through the streets, keeping his eyes fixed on the ground six feet before him, and on no account gaze round him, no matter what exciting events may be going on; he must wear his thingan and du-gut in the prescribed fashion; he must eat with dignity and circumspection, and so on. All these details are set forth in most minute fashion in a code. When he has mastered the most essential portions, and has also given proof of an acquaintance with the ordinary forms of worship, all is ready. His horoscope now comes into requisition, and a bedinsayā or Ponna is called in to determine a lucky day and hour from the sadā. When this has been settled, three or four girls, the intending koyin-gale's sisters, or friends of the family, dress themselves up in their finest silks and jewels—often borrowing a large quantity of the latter—and go round the town, announcing to all relatives, friends, and neighbours when the induction will take place, and inviting them to the feast, presenting the little packet of le'-pet usual on such occasions. Almost all of these send some little present, either of money or victuals, to aid in the feast and make it as grand as possible. Not unseldom, if somebody else's son is also going to enter the kyaung and the town is not very large, the two join forces, while occasionally as many as half a dozen unite, especially if the families are not well off. 792 872 [516] [292] 792 561 [787] 796 [292]

On the appointed day the young neophyte dresses in his finest clothes, and loads himself with all the family gold chains and jewellery, and as much more as he can borrow for the occasion. He then mounts a pony or gets into a richly decorated car. Shaded by gold umbrellas, allowed formerly on this occasion only in Upper Burma, except to those who had got a special patent for them from the sovereign... [292] [554]

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

gyis, and settles down to observe the proceedings. The boy throws off all his fine clothes and jewellery, and binds a piece of white cloth round his loins. Then his long hair is cut off close to the head. Often the locks are as much as three or four feet long, and are carefully preserved by the mother or sister, the latter often making them up into ta-su, the tails of hair twisted in with her own to increase the size of her sa-dôn—the knot of hair she wears at the back of her head. When the hair has been cut, the head is carefully shaved, the boy holding it over a cloth held by some of his relations. After this the head is washed in the usual way with a decoction of the seeds and bark of the kin-bôn thi, and rubbed well with saffron. A bath is then taken, and once more he puts on the bright paso, and repairs to the presence of the monks. Near at hand the parents have set ready the thingan, belt, ko-wut, and other yellow robes, the begging-pot and other requisites of the shin. The boy comes forward, prostrates himself three times, raises his hands joined in reverence, and begs, in a Pali formula got up by heart, to be admitted to the Holy Assembly as a neophyte, that he may walk steadily in the path of perfection, enjoy the advantages which result therefrom, and finally attain to the blessed state of Ne'ban. The kyaung po-go with his own hands gives him the garments; he is duly robed; the thabeit is hung round his neck by the strap, and then it is announced formally that he is a member of the monastery. He falls in among the other novices who have come with the mendicants. The abbot perhaps exhorts the assemblage for a short time, and then rising while all the people do obeisance, walks off slowly to the monastery, whither the newly-appointed ko-yins follow him, not unlikely helping to carry the presents which have been given at their induction.

792 561 796 302 [292]

The feast at the parents' house begins immediately, and of course ends in a pwè, which lasts till dawn. Sometimes, though this is very seldom the case even in Rangoon, the young probationer comes back again the same night and assumes the lay dress. This *pro forma* observance of the ceremony of baptism is, however, vehemently opposed by all the monks who are worth anything. A few boys

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promise from the Buddha that ever after none should put on the celibate robe without his parents' consent. The candidate must also give proof of a sufficient knowledge of the Pareit-gyi, the Padiseit, the three Bitaghats, and the like. When it is understood that he has given satisfaction in these subjects, his friends provide for him the complete equipment of a mendicant, the sacred eight utensils which a pyin-sin cannot do without. These are :—

[292]

1. The dugôt, a piece of yellow cloth of rectangular shape, folded many times and worn over the left shoulder, with the ends hanging down behind and before.

2. The kowut, a piece of cloth worn round the loins and reaching to the ankles.

3. The thinbaing, a square-shaped cloth, yellow like the others, thrown cloak-fashion over the chest and shoulders, and coming down as far as the knees.

[293]

4. The thabeit, or begging-pot, worn suspended round the neck by a cord. It is shaped like a large circular soup-tureen with a rounded bottom, and has no lid. This must be carried round every morning to receive the alms of the pious.

5. The kaban, a leathern girdle used for binding on the kowut.

6. The pèkot, a short-handled axe used for splitting firewood and the like.

7. An at, or needle.

8. A yesit, a strainer, or water dipper, an apparatus for filtering the water which he drinks, so that he may not, even unwittingly, take animal life.

To these pareik-kaya shit-ba, these sacred eight utensils, is usually added an awana or yap, a lotus-leaf-shaped fan, made from a single palm frond, with an edging of bamboo or light wood, and furnished with a handle fashioned like the letter S. The leaf used is that of the Talapat palm, hence the name of Talapoins given to the members of the brotherhood by the early Portuguese adventurers in Burma. Every mendicant must have this fan with him when he goes to an assemblage where there are likely to be women present, in order that he may be thus able to shut himself off from any temptation to carnal thoughts. The sight of half a

2,[illegible]cott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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the walls of the houses, and shutting out all view of these wooden structures. It had, however, to be kept in constant repair, and the house-reeve has to go round carefully to see that none of the whitewash had been rubbed off, nor any of the transverse bars sprung with the sun. Behind these the entire populace had to stay when the king, or any one of the queens, went out. Woe betide the wretch who was caught outside them when the procession had started. He might consider himself lucky if he escaped with only a belabouring from the fasces of the shrieking lictors. No one was supposed even to look through the little diamond-shaped holes. As a matter of fact they did; but by way of condoning for the offence, they rendered it more difficult by planting flowering shrubs between the bamboo houses and the lattice-work. 643 349

The procession on the route out to the Lèya, the royal acre, to be ploughed, was magnificent. The king was clad in all his robes of state: the paso with the daungyôp, the peacock sacred to royalty; the long silk surcoat, or tunic, so thickly crusted with jewels that its colour could not be seen; the tharapu, the spire-like crown, also a mass of precious stones; the twenty-four strings of the Order of the Salwè across his breast; and over his forehead the gold plate, or frontlet. The great gates in front of the stairs from the Hall of Audience were opened for him. Except the King of the Golden Throne no one might pass through them; there was the low red postern at the side for meaner beings—a shrewd device to make every one bow his head to the palace, whether he liked it or not. His majesty mounted the white elephant, which none save he might ride—for is not the noble creature a king himself? 643 241 796 292

The king mounted the Lord White Elephant at the palace of the latter, to the right of the Hall of Audience; but the princes and ministers, all of whom came to attend the great function in their robes of state, might not enter their howdahs till the stockade of the nandaw had been passed. Then they fell into line in order of precedence, the wuns and wundauks wearing their official mitres—tall red velvet hats, with the top curled back like a nautilus, and the base surrounded with a row of gilt spear-heads. The long 644 796

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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527 brilliant-coloured chintz, or paper, forms a roof studded with
353 red, blue, or green stars and rosettes of tinsel paper. Great mirrors, swinging and other lamps, statuettes of wood or stucco, candlesticks with glass shades, clocks, German half-crown engravings, and gay Chinese lanterns hang or stand about. The floor is literally covered with silver and gold cups and betel-boxes, of all sizes, from that of a soup-tureen down to a breakfast cup. Some are plain; some of that *repoussé* work at which the Burmese silversmiths are so clever. The great majority of these are of course borrowed from friends (of another street or quarter) or hired for the night from the chetty pawnbrokers. A few chairs and tables stand about for any European visitors who may come, and they are sure of a friendly welcome. At the back of the
527 room in a long line, behind the mirrors and statuettes, sit
292 the girls, decked out in their most expensively embroidered skirts and gayest silk neckerchiefs. They are literally
301 loaded with jewellery. Round their necks and over the bosom hangs the broad network of the dalizan, formed of silver or gold fishes and flowers linked together. The nadaung, the huge gold plugs or circlets in their ears, sparkle with rubies and emeralds. So do the bracelets on their arms and the rings on their fingers. Each girl as she sits is worth many hundred rupees. It is probably for this reason that they are made so inaccessible, seated behind the lamps and lights. If admiring swains could get at them, so could other individuals, whose regard for the jewellery might exceed that for the commandments. The young women may therefore be supposed not to care so much for the Sôndawgyi *fête* as their brothers. Most of the girls are of course daughters of the house. If, however, the householder has not womankind enough, he simply goes into the bazaar and hires as many personable-looking damsels as he may find necessary. They are as much a part of the display as the silver cups and the looking-glasses. A band at one end
527 of the room discourses music fitfully. Occasionally a girl, too young to have attained to the dignity of jewellery, gets up and dances and sings for a while. Musical instruments of different kinds, pattala, hnè, and migyaung, harmonicons, trumpets, and alligator guitars, lie scattered about here and

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objects used in the ceremony. The largest table is covered with a lace cloth and on it stands an alabaster statue of the Buddha in a carved and decorated case. Before the figure of the Buddha are offerings of flowers, water, a candle bananas and coconuts, placed in a special bowl. There is also a dish of puffed rice, a carved gilt bowl, and three new bowls, the latter for the initiates. Each of the bowls contains some of the traditional articles required for a monk: beads, water cups, needle and thread, a straight razor. The carved, gilt begging bowl symbolizes the type used by the Buddha when he was on earth. The second table contains offerings of bananas and coconuts for the monks, and richly decorated gilt trays symbolic of the kind used in the days of the Burmese kings but now only for purposes of decoration. These will be carried by young girls in the procession. The third table contains robes and other gifts for the several monks who are invited to the ceremony. On the fourth table are mats and pillows for the initiates to use. They will be presented to the monks as gifts afterwards.

The elaborate preparations for the ceremony begin on the morning of the preceding day. Young girls go from house to house to borrow betelnut boxes, mats and carpets. In the afternoon a five piece orchestra, hired for the occasion, arrives at the place of the ceremony. It consists of two large drums, a small drum, a wind instrument, a xylophone, and cymbals. Now an elder makes
534 offerings to the spirits (nats). Bananas, a coconut and a lighted candle are placed on a tray. The elder holds the tray and recites invocations to the good and the evil spirits. The evil spirits are implored not to harass any person who participates in the ceremony, because it is a work of merit; the good spirits are reminded of the meritorious nature of the ceremony and asked to watch over and protect the proceedings. As the spirits are so addressed he swings the tray towards each member of the orchestra in turn, sometimes three, sometimes nine, and sometimes twelve times. The orchestra continues to play intermittently throughout the afternoon, evening, and into the night. Early in the evening the young men of the village come to the monastery with their own musical instruments -- mandolins, guitars, and violins -- and sing and dance into the early morning hours. The orchestra group remains at the monastery all night.

252 About midnight, a group of men who are responsible for cooking the food set to work at this task. Women do not normally cook meals for an occasion as large as this; it is felt that the quantities of food required and the amount of labor involved is too much for them to manage. Around three hundred people are expected at a large shinbyu in the village. The cooks, about a dozen middle-aged men, sit around the fire they have lighted in a clearing a short distance
[522] from the monastery, drink tea, smoke, and make jokes. One man is introduced to the group as the 'all-Burma curry-cooking expert'; another is called 'No. 1 soup cook'; a third is dubbed 'best rice cook of the village.' During the night they prepare large quantities of boiled rice, pork curry, sour bean sprouts, fried fish paste, and a vegetable soup.

[291] Early on the morning of the day for the ceremony, the initiates are dressed by friends of their families. After a bath, thanakha, an astringent-like paste made from ground tree bark and water, is applied to their faces. Then they don silk longyis and thin, white muslin jackets, beneath which they wear cotton vests. The longyi is very ornate, made of heavy silk, and is seamless. Gold chains and necklace, bracelets and rings are put on. The head dress is a fine silk cloth, wound round the head, and decorated with garlands of flowers.

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

towards the Great Peace; and there are old women, too—many of them. 796 778

Young men will be there, walking briskly up, laughing and talking to each other, very happy, very merry, glad to see each other, to see so many people, calling pleasant greetings to their friends as they pass. They are all so gaily dressed, with [292] beautiful silks and white jackets and gay satin head-clothes, tied with a little end sticking up as a plume.

And the girls, how shall I describe them?—so sweet they are, so pretty in their fresh dresses, with downcast eyes of modesty, tempered with little side-glances. They laugh, too, as they go, and they talk, never forgetting the sacredness of the place, never forgetting the reverences due, kneeling always first as they come up to the great pagoda, but being of good courage, happy and contented. There are children, too, numbers and numbers of them, walking along, with their little hands clasping so tightly some bigger ones, very fearful lest they should be lost. They are as gay as butterflies in their dress, but their looks are very solemn. There is no solemnity like that of a little child; it takes all the world so very seriously, walking along with great eyes of wonder at all it sees about it.

They are all well dressed who come here; on 796 a festival day even the poor can be dressed well. 292 Pinks and reds are the prevailing colours, in checks, in stripes, mixed usually with white. These colours go best with their brown skins, and they are fondest of them. But there are other colours, too: there is silver and green embroidery, and there are shot-

16;Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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796 silks in purple and orange, and there is dark blue.
292 All the jackets, or nearly all the jackets, are white with wide sleeves, showing the arm nearly up to the elbow. Each man has his turban very gay, while each girl has a bright handkerchief which she drapes as she likes upon her arm, or carries in her hand. Such a blaze of colour would not look well with us. Under our dull skies and with our sober lights it would be too bright; but here it is not so. Everything is tempered by the sun; it is so brilliant, this sunlight, such a golden flood pouring down and bathing the whole world, that these colours are only in keeping. And before them is the gold pagoda, and about them the red lacquer and dark-brown carving of the shrines.

796 You hear voices like the murmur of a summer sea, rising and falling, full of laughter low and sweet, and above is the music of the fairy bells.

Everything is in keeping—the shining pagoda and the gaily-dressed people, their voices and the bells, even the great bell far beyond, and all are so happy.

796 The feast lasts for seven days; but of these there
778 are three that are greater, and of these, one, the day of the full moon, is the greatest of all. On that day the offerings will be most numerous, the crowd densest. Down below the pagoda are many temporary stalls built, where you can buy all sorts of fairings, from a baby's jointed doll to a new silk dress; and there are restaurants where you may obtain refreshments; for the pagoda is some way from the streets of the city, and on festival days refreshments are much wanted.

CLOTHING

Clothing Habits

The standard garments worn by U Myaing consist of a longyi which reaches from his waist to his ankles, a shirt or a vest for his upper torso, clogs or slippers for his feet. Head covering is seldom worn but for every-day purpose would be a western style hat or a bamboo topee. For special occasions the GAUNG BAUNG would be worn. When U Myaing works he takes off his shirt and vest because, he said, otherwise he would have no other shirt to wear afterwards. In Pantanaw, when they went to PWES (stage performances) and festivals he had on a vest, a shirt, and a jacket. 291 [292] [296]

> "Sometimes, when I feel that way, I wear these at home even though I do not intend to see the PWE. It is just because I am in the habit of wearing them. At night I sleep in my vest. When it is cold, I pull on a shirt over that. In the daytime ordinarily I wear vest, shirt and cotton longyi. Here in the camp I cannot wash my shirt and vest very often - I do so only when they have become soiled, not at regular intervals of time. But the shirt becomes soiled every three or four days and the vest every two days or so. On the other hand I possess three longyis and wash each of them after one wearing, when I have a bath."

The females of the family habitually wear a women's longyi sometimes called a HTA-MEIN, extending from the waist to the ankles clogs or slippers and an KIN-GYI over a bodice for the upper torso. The two younger children wear western style frocks. The specific items worn are given below. The clothing items may be organised into two headings, one dealing with U Myaing's clothing, and the second with the clothing of the remaining (female) members of the family. [177]

U Myaing's Clothing.

CHEE LONGYI (Cotton Longyi): — The LONGYI is a piece of cloth reaching from the waist to the ankles. It is stitched so as to be cylindrical in form, somewhat wider than twice the girth of the individual. The patterns are most frequently squared and of different colours resembling the scotch tartan closely. Men's colours are dark or pastel colours mainly. It is secured about the waist with several twists one upon the other in the front midline. Ceremonial LONGYIS are wider than those of ordinary use giving a fold of 6 to 8 inches in front. [292]

inches in front. When working in wet areas, the back portion is taken between the legs and tucked into the waist band- resulting in a kind of loin cloth garment. Pathwe: 5 or 6 per year were used, and kept on hand at all times; they cost Rs. 1/8 each in the Pantanaw market. Camp: 4 last a year with 2 or 3 on hand; cost 2 at Rs. 5/- each, 1 at Rs. 3/4. Six are regarded as necessary for one year. 291 435

PYE LONGYI (Silk Longyi):- Pathwe: 4 or 5 were kept on hand, although they were worn out at the rate of about 1 per year. These were bought by U Myaing while in Rangoon on a business trip: HEIT LONGYI (Nergui woven) cost Rs. 18/-; KYANGIN (Kyangin woven) cost the same; BANGKOK (Bangkok woven) cost Rs. 25/-; MANDALAY (Mandalay woven) cost Rs. 5/- or 6/-. Camp: he has none. One or two good ones are required, and these will last about 3 years. 292 435

CHEE KONGYI Cotton Shirts: — Cotton shirts may be western or Burmese style. The Burmese shirts lack collars and pockets and utilise a chain of metal studs as buttons. Pathwe: 7 or 8 Burmese style shirts were kept on hand and lasted about 1 year. They were bought in Rangoon and the rest in Pantanaw at Rs. 4/8 per shirt. Camp: one western style Khaki shirt is on hand, and he now uses about 2 per year. The one shirt was bought at Thein-gyi-zay (Socratee Bazaar) for Rs. 6/-. Two or three shirts are regarded as necessary for a period of 8 months. 291 435

SUT KAIB (elastic or wear widen) vest:— The vests are western style jackets without arms and buttoning up the midline to a V-shaped neck or the western T shirt. Pathwe: 6 or 7 garments at a cost of Rs. 1/4 per garment. Camp: he has had one T shirt for the past 6 months and it cost him Rs. 2/8 at the Socratee Bazaar. Two garments will suffice a year now.

APAN-KONGYI (over-jacket) Burmese jacket:— The Burmese jacket is made of a light material, often silk. It lacks a collar, is loose fitting and short, falling just over the top of the LONGYI, has wide sleeves to the wrist. There are five evenly spaced strips of cloth tied into knots that function as buttons on the midline. The eyes of the buttons are little loops of cloth strips. The sleeves lack buttons. The garment is usually worn open. It is reserved for dress occasions. Pathwe: U Myaing had two jackets for a period of 8 or 9 years. The flannel ones in Rangoon for Rs. 25/- or Rs. 27/-. A [redacted] [292]

of clothes. The old people take care to save the torn garments for use in wiping the hands after meals, for handling hot pots on the stove and the like. 291 554 181

There are three classes of clothing (1) working clothes (2) festive dress, and (3) religious dress. The working clothes consist of the cheaper and less ornate fabrics and are mainly of cotton. The men usually bind the longyi around the loins by looping the shirt in a band between the legs. Htamein (women's longyi) waist band is secured under the arapits when bathing. 291 292

While walking in the rain the longyis are also raised to prevent them from becoming wet. Festive dress involves the best which one has, usually silks and are worn on the Sabbath days and at special social occasions as the SHIN BYA and other ceremonies. Religious dress is worn constantly by Pongyis (orange robes), nuns (peach coloured) and frequently by old men (white) and old women (light chocolate coloured). On Sabbath days the particularly religious individuals of all ages, especially those belonging to Buddhist lay societies, wear religious dress. 291 779 [575]

The term LONGYI means "lower apparel" and is applied to both men's (PUSO) and women's (HTAMEIN). The men's festive longyi TAUNG-SHAY-PUSO (taung measurement- twenty-puso) worn frequently in the past and now reserved for special occasions was a double silk PUSO 8 yards long. A special method of securing this garment about the waist results in GABON ZA ("Sticking out piece") a fold which protrudes 6 or more inches in the midline - only, however, when the silk is crisp and stiff (new and/or finest heavy quality). This is regarded as a very manly garment. Two styles of APAW KINGYI (over jacket) men's jacket are worn. The "Peking" type meeting at the mid-line is most common. A "Cantonese" type buttons over like the women's jacket at the side. 291 292

Formerly every young man had tattooed thighs, extending in a solid band of decoration from a few inches above the knees to the hips. The motifs were frequently sat symbols. The main purpose was to display manliness and courage since the process of tattooing, done with a 3 pronged fork dipped in pigment was extremely painful. 304 562 178

length) draped over one shoulder. The PUWA, part of the scarf, still draped, is placed on front of the worshipping woman for her head and hands as she bows. The beads, a string about 2 feet long made of black lacquer or red or white beads about ½ inch in diameter are called SEIK-PA-DEE (count-beads). They are worn about the neck when not in use, and are "counted" by the fingers of one hand. Each bead, thus counted calls to the worshipper's mind a vision of Buddha as she says ARA HANN (God) in a low voice. While in this dress women do not decorate their hair with flowers or wear jewelry or cosmetiques as such would be unseemly. 792 291 293 [788]

The older man and other religious men (who are gathering alms as members of Buddhist lay societies) wear a loose white robe over a white jacket, white head band, praying bead necklace, and a chocolate coloured scarf draped over one shoulder. The general public must wear their very best clothes for religious festivals but the women do not use cosmetiques. "Rangoon Sabbath" is the term applied to the less strict observations of the town people who may appear with a little THANAKA or other cosmetiques. The marriage dress of the bride is an older form of costume involving use of a long split skirt with cut-flaring jackets. 888 779 575 291 [369] [779] [292] [585]

The hair styles are important and denote age and sex. Children of both sexes wear their hair in a knot at the top of the head with a fringe of short hair like a bowl below. The older man's style was long hair knotted on one side in the back of the head; except in villages this has been superseded by the western short crop ranging from a long "Pompador" to short "crew cuts" - the latter being rarer and more modern. Old men wear very short cropped hair or are shaven - as the Pongyis and nuns. Maidens wear their hair in elaborately woven tresses - earlier on top of the head in a disc-whorl - now in chain braids at the back of the head. False switches of hair are commonly used. Flowers are used as decoration on all occasions. The usual style for married ladies is a knot at the back of the head wound around a rectangular comb of wood, (common) tortoise shell, ivory or gold. Older and married women sometimes appear in an ancient ceremonial style consisting of the hair wrapped around a fiber cylinder 302 177 369

So the worship of the nats lived on, and with the advance of
795 civilization the spirit dances became elaborate, for though the belief
535 was primitive, the people were no longer so. The dances benefited from the developments that had taken place in Burmese music which, as we have seen, flourished under the patronage of the Pagan kings. New spirits were added, and they were usually those of heroic princes. The dancers were now many, for the mediums turned themselves into dancing and music mistresses. The chief medium of each spirit dressed herself in the special dress of the spirit, but the junior mediums, who were equivalent to the chorus of an English revue, were in the dress of Burmese princesses. It is interesting to note the
[292] origin of this dress. The mediums realized the necessity of dressing
[565] themselves in fine raiment, but as everybody wore clothes of bright colours, the only solution of the problem was to don the dress of the court and official class, which the commoners were forbidden to
[536] wear by law, except during feasts and dances. When drama proper came into being, the hero and the heroine dressed themselves in the court dress, even when they were representing common characters.

3. Miracles and Interludes

175 After the fall of the kingdom of Pagan in A.D. 1257, Burma was
369 the scene of fierce civil wars, but the trouble was mainly in the
726 capitals; in the villages and small towns life went on in its joyous
779 way. Religion continued to spread in spite of the fact that the throne of Pagan was no longer in existence to support it. Learning began
538 to reach the remotest parts of the country, carried far and near by monks. To escape from the aimless strife of the civil wars, men turned towards literature. Money was lacking to compose poems in brick as had been done at Pagan, and men now expressed their love for the religion and their love for the beautiful in writing. The new literature further educated the people and made even stronger the already strong religious fervour. As a result, at village feasts and on days of public rejoicing, the people turned towards their religion for amusement and entertainment. So pageants depicting scenes from the life of the Buddha and from his Birth Stories came into being.

796 Pageants were given on ordinary carts that were in use for all
541 kinds of transport and which are still in use in backward parts of the
493 country at the present day. Each cart carried a group of (amateur) actors standing still and representing a set scene. Originally, no doubt, there were only a few carts representing scenes from different stories. Later, a pageant came to consist of many carts and many

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

The orchestra, in the intervals between scenes, played a tune appropriate to the next scene: a royal march for a throne-room scene, a 'battle tune' for a martial scene, a 'woodland tune' for a forest scene, and so on. The tunes were so well known that the audience recognized them at once. The orchestra also played in the middle of a scene, when certain actions could not be satisfactorily represented, as in *Parpahein*, scene 7, where the brothers were supposed to be climbing the palace-walls, and in *Paduma*, scene 4, where the hero was presumed to be swimming in the river to rescue the criminal. The costumes of the actors were picturesque, but not more gorgeous than those of the Elizabethans. They wore appropriate court dresses. The king in full regalia when holding an audience, the ministers in their velvet gowns, the princes and princesses in gold and jewels appeared striking, but except for the material which was silk, the dresses were not expensive, for the seeming gold and jewels were all imitation. Masks were worn for special purposes. Ogre, *naga*-dragon, *galôn*-bird, had masks of their own, which the actors representing them wore. When an ogress was supposed to have assumed human form, the actress representing her raised the mask on to the forehead, making the face visible. A soldier on horseback or on an elephant was represented simply by an actor in uniform holding a dummy horse's head or elephant's head. Actors taking the part of gods wore shining dress, which was traditionally believed to be worn by all gods. The dresses were not the creations of actors. The court dresses of course were copied from those actually worn at court, but the dresses of gods and other spirits and the masks were copies from the stone images which had adorned the platforms of pagodas even before the rise of Pagan in the eleventh century. Perhaps it is not irrelevant to mention that Burmese dramatic performances, in spite of the dependence on the music of the orchestra, were not like masques, for the stage scenery was not elaborate. In this connexion, it should be mentioned that the Burmese actors used the mask purely for the purpose of representing certain characters, and masked dancing was unknown.[1]

An acting troupe consisted of actors proper and members of the orchestra. Women were freely admitted to the troupe, but they were all actresses. Playing in the orchestra was deemed to be a man's

[1] In Siam, even at the present day, the king has special dancers who perform in masks. Masked dancing, for religious purposes, is also known in Tibet.

23: Brant & Mi Mi Khaing E, I-5 (1949-1950)1951
AP1 Burma
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mony, but in actual practice this often takes place as early as her seventh or eighth year. Since this is a feast occasion involving considerable expense to her family, there is a tendency to hold a single ceremony, at which perhaps a pubescent girl, together with her younger sisters or cousins, will all have their ears bored. On the same occasion male children of approximately the same age may be initiated into the Buddhist monkhood.[5] 304 881

The girl initiate is dressed for the occasion in the traditional garb of the Burmese court, and in addition she wears a spired-helmet type of head dress. The villagers gather at her family's house for the event. An elderly woman rubs an anaesthetic plant substance on the girl's ear lobes and pierces them with gold pins. The pins are left in the ears, bent back. Later, if larger holes are desired, rolled leaves may be inserted. The family presents gifts to the assembled guests; often these are conventionalized tokens, such as inscribed cigars and fans. [292] [278] [431]

Courtship and Marriage. Young people in the villages find ample opportunities to assess each other's manners, physical appearance, and personality in the company of others, at feasts and various gatherings. If a young man and woman are together apart from the company of others it is assumed that sex relations are involved. In fact, such going together is spoken of as "getting married." The Burmese find it hard to conceive of a young unmarried couple associating on a purely friendly, non-sexual basis: such behavior would be regarded as contrary to nature. However, unchaperoned association is disapproved and does not occur very frequently. 584 836

Once a pair have decided they wish to marry, the boy will inform his parents of his desire. They will already know, especially in the smaller villages, of the standing of the girl's family and of her dowry potentialities; in fact, as soon as they have sensed their son's interest in a particular girl they will take steps to acquire this information. They will also ascertain whether acceptance by the girl's family is likely. In a small community the approach may be made directly by the boy's parents. In larger centers a female go-between is more likely to be employed. The boy's parents will be informed by the girl's family that the decision must await the outcome of consultation with an astrologer concerning the compatibility of the birth dates of the prospective bride and groom. If the marriage is found to be an auspicious one—which it will usually be found to be if the girl's parents desire the match—an affirmative answer will be relayed to the boy's parents. The latter will then call upon her parents and in the presence of elders, not necessarily related to either family, formally ask for the girl's hand. 584 [787]

5 Description of the boy's initiation ceremony is being reserved for a separate publication.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
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29. NOVICES MAKING THE ROUND FOR DAILY FOOD (P. 18).

CHAPTER III

ADOLESCENCE

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30. THAMI-U ARRAYED FOR HER FETE.

BETWEEN the ages of ten and sixteen Burman lads enter upon the monastic novitiate, an occasion celebrated with a brilliant fête. The adoption of a religious life by girls is much less general, even for the short time it is embraced by the youths; and when it is adopted, there is no ceremony. But a holiday answering to that of the boy's novitiate is held in honour of the girl, especially when she is the first-born child—*thami-u*. In her case the ear-boring ceremony, if not the piercing itself, is deferred to the age of ten or twelve. The child, equipped in royal attire, or an imitation of it, and wearing a queen's crown (*sibôn*), is the centre of a great gathering of relatives and friends, who are entertained with music and plays.

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The lad who has prepared to renounce the world for a season, or it may be for life, is called *shinláung*. The *shinláung* festivals usher in the religious or lenten season—*wû*, June to September—the season of rain in Bahár,

p. 14

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

31. SHINLAUNG ARRAYED FOR HIS FETE.

the home of the Buddha. In order to accentuate the renunciation of the world which the lad is making, he is arrayed and attended like a prince and makes a royal progress on horseback or in a chariot to the monastery. Attendants bear gilt umbrellas over him, and a retinue of relatives and friends carry his *parłikaya* and offerings for the use of the monastery. The *parłikaya* are the eight chattels, to the possession of which the regular recluse (*yahán*) is restricted. They consist of the *thingán* or monastic yellow robes, *viz.*, the loin-cloth (*thimbáing*), upper cloth (*egasí*), wrapper (*thingán-dyí*), and red girdle (*kabán*); a needle (*at*), wherewith to piece his clothing together, a hard-baked black earthen pot (*thabłit*) in which to collect the morning dole of food, a filter (*yezít*) to strain the drinking water clear of living things, and a razor (*thindôn-dá*) to shave the head and face (excepting the eyebrows). The garments are of plain cloth, without any cut, but torn into strips and joined up again (by the donors) in commemoration of the primitive rule of piecing the garments together from rags, as well as to deprive the cloth of value. The cloth is mostly cotton, but silk and wool are also offered. The stuffs are dyed a bright ochre, with chips of Jack-wood. By repeated washings the colour deepens to tan. These varying shades produce a picturesque effect. The recluse customarily also receives sandals to wear, a deer-skin to sit and sleep upon, a broom to sweep his dwelling with, and a large palm-leaf fan, both for a shelter from the sun and a screen from the sight of womankind. The *thabłit* is slung in a yellow cotton net, and has a lacquerwork stand and cover. In respect of chattels, however, these primitive tokens of privation have sunk to a form. The recluses have many changes of raiment and the use of spacious dwellings

32. SHINLAUNG PAGEANT (BURMA PROPER).

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
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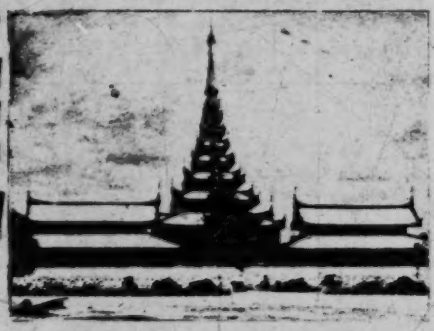

380. PALACE FRONT AND SPIRE.

The British administration preserves the native official machinery, from the *thadyt* to the *myoôk*, augmenting the numbers so as to reach every part of the area and curtailing the powers. Under native *régime* even *thadyts* might be *dâbaing*. The new *régime* takes account of the village *lûdyts* for the sake of their moral influence; many of them have been invested with power to compose differences up to small amounts, and some of the more prominent are honorary magistrates. Independent spirit is on the increase; the officials have to reckon with a new temper in the people. Nevertheless, in municipal councils the supineness and complaisance of the native members are calculated to stultify the position accorded to them. Road-making and sanitation do not arouse their interest, and the local excise, the matter they long to deal with, is excluded from their jurisdiction (*cf.* p. 157). The *thadyt* personally measures the fields, collects the land-tax and poll-tax from house to house, in such a circle as he can make the circuit of twice a year, and receives commission on the amount. He reports on matters within his circle. As many revenue-circles as a native magistrate can personally control are united into a township, under a *myoôk*, who at the same time supervises the co-ordinate grades of police distributed in the township. He publicly tries criminal and civil cases, under his powers as magistrate, by codes of law and procedure accessible to everybody. These codes form the most valuable models of system, in the vernacular, up to the present. By their help both judges and advocates have trained themselves in law. Five to eight townships, according to facilities for

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381. BURMAN PRINCESS.

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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promise from the Buddha that ever after none should put on the celibate robe without his parents' consent. The candidate must also give proof of a sufficient knowledge of the Pareit-gyi, the Padiseit, the three Bitaghats, and the like. When it is understood that he has given satisfaction in these subjects, his friends provide for him the complete equipment of a mendicant, the sacred eight utensils which a pyin-sin cannot do without. These are:—

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1. The dugôt, a piece of yellow cloth of rectangular shape, folded many times and worn over the left shoulder, with the ends hanging down behind and before.

2. The kowut, a piece of cloth worn round the loins and reaching to the ankles.

3. The thinbaing, a square-shaped cloth, yellow like the others, thrown cloak-fashion over the chest and shoulders, and coming down as far as the knees.

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4. The thabeit, or begging-pot, worn suspended round the neck by a cord. It is shaped like a large circular soup-tureen with a rounded bottom, and has no lid. This must be carried round every morning to receive the alms of the pious.

5. The kaban, a leathern girdle used for binding on the kowut.

6. The pèkot, a short-handled axe used for splitting firewood and the like.

7. An at, or needle.

8. A yesit, a strainer, or water dipper, an apparatus for filtering the water which he drinks, so that he may not, even unwittingly, take animal life.

To these pareik-kaya shit-ba, these sacred eight utensils, is usually added an awana or yap, a lotus-leaf-shaped fan, made from a single palm frond, with an edging of bamboo or light wood, and furnished with a handle fashioned like the letter S. The leaf used is that of the Talapat palm, hence the name of Talapoins given to the members of the brotherhood by the early Portuguese adventurers in Burma. Every mendicant must have this fan with him when he goes to an assemblage where there are likely to be women present, in order that he may be thus able to shut himself off from any temptation to carnal thoughts. The sight of half a

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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dozen or more solemn-visaged monks sitting on their mats and coyly hiding their faces behind these big fans is apt to raise a smile on the face of a foreigner. But there is no doubt that the regulation is well advised. Women are disturbers of tranquil meditation.

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When these necessaries have been provided, the candidate proceeds to the appointed building. This is always a thein, a consecrated hall, built of teak, with open sides and the sacred three, five, or seven overlapping and diminishing roofs, not unlike the Albert Memorial in appearance, but much larger at the base. Here the examining body is assembled to the number of ten or twelve, ordinarily, but a minimum of four will suffice if the ceremony is conducted in the jungle. The senior is appointed upyitsi, or president, and a secretary is nominated, whose duty it is to bring forward the candidate and to read the Kammawāsā, the ritual of ordination. This is the most gorgeously ornamented of all the Burmese books. It is written, not in the ordinary round character, but in square letters painted on with a thick black resinous gum, and requires a special education to read it. The leaves are formed either of the ordinary palm-leaf, thickly covered with red lacquer, and profusely ornamented round the border and between the lines with gilded figures of nats and elaborate scroll-work, or in the case of the more sacred monasteries, of the discarded waistcloths of kings. None might wear these pasos after the Great King of Righteousness had tired of them, and many were therefore made use of for this purpose. Portions of them are taken, doubled over, and then covered with numerous coatings of wood-oil and a paste composed of this same thitsi, with finely sifted burnt rice-husks, sawdust, and rice-water, until at last they become firm as a piece of cardboard, but vastly more pliant. Then the sheets are emblazoned, and the text painted on, the whole being enclosed between richly ornamented teak boards. Few more splendid-looking manuscripts can be seen anywhere. Occasionally copies are found engrossed on thin sheets of ivory or copper, but those on the royal pasos, called Wuṭ-lè Kammawāsās, are most highly esteemed. The text is always read in a peculiar way, in a high-pitched, jerky recitative, which is not without a certain impressive effect.

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"pecca"one cost Rs. 12/8. He has none in Camp.

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GAUNG BAUNG (head band):— This is a strip of brightly coloured silk about 4 feet long and 8 inches wide which is wrapped tightly about the head. Pastel colours are most common of which a bright pink colour is most frequently seen around Rangoon. It is tied so that the two ends project as "plumes" over the right ear. Now that the traditional Burmese long hair knotted high on the back of the head has given way to western style short hair cuts a light conical wicker basket is used as a base on which the GAUNG BAUNG is wrapped. This is mainly used by those who lack time to tie the cloth around the head. The basket retains the traditional cone-shaped form of the headgear. Pathae: Three silk GAUNG BAUNGS were used per year. These were bought in Rangoon at Rs. 1/12 to Rs. 2/4 each. He has none in camp. This head-dress is used mainly for dress and ceremonial occasions.

LET-KYWE-PU-MA (Hand held cloth) handkerchiefs:— These are the western cotton square, imported from United Kingdom, Japan or India. Pathae: one dozen were used per year, at a cost of Rs. 4/8. Camp: none.

AH-TWUN-KAN-BAUNG-HI, underwear pants:— These are loose cotton pants coming down to the knees and fastened at the upper end around the waist in the same manner as the LONGYI. They are worn by U Myaing only with silk LONGYIS. Pathae: he kept five on hand, using about 4 a year. They were made at home at a cost of Rs. 1/8 or Rs. 1/12 each. Camp: none, since the silk LONGYI is not used.

Hand Towels: (same as towel) when a head wrapping is needed as protection against the heat or cold a cotton towel about 3 feet long and a foot and a half wide is wrapped around in a loose fashion. Pathae: two were used per year; bought in Pantanaw marked for Rs. 2/8 or Rs. 3/- per towel. Camp: none.

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SHAN LOK AYEE Shan bags: — This is a shoulder bag commonly called "Shan bag" since the Shan area is a common source. They are made over most of Burma. The bag is a square pouch about a foot and a half on a side made by sewing the sides of a folded piece of printed, or woven cotton. The more ornate have geometric designs

293 435 482 of many colours. A thin strap about 4 inches wide is attached at the greatest width on both sides and serves to suspend the bag over the shoulder. U Myaing had two in Pathee, one lasting for 2 or 3 years. They were bought in Rangoon and Pantanaw at prices which are forgotten. Camp: Four were made at home from old pieces of cloth, and are in poor condition. They have been in use for 3 or 4 months, and are thought to be good for only a couple of months more. The larger number in camp is due to the need for hauling goods and food from the distant market in downtown Rangoon. The bags are used by the entire family.

293 435 PYEE HTEE (shiny cotton umbrella) Umbrellas: — The black, cotton cloth, folding umbrella with wooden handle of western type is used. Pathee: one was owned and lasted 3 or 4 years. Bought at Pantanaw for Rs. 22/-. Camp: none, one is needed and desired.

WAR-AOK-HTOKE (bamboo hat) Topee: — These hats are made of strips of bamboo on the pattern of the British army's cork topee. The technique is similar to that used in making the conical hats of palm leaf and bamboo found commonly throughout Southeast Asia. Pathee: one was owned; it lasted for two years and was bought in Pathee for Rs. 10/-. Camp; none. U Myaing believes these are available only in the districts. However, they are seen for sale in the Rangoon bazaar also.

302 435 RAZOR: — Pathee: a Gillette brand safety razor and blades were used. 15 blades would last about a year. They were bought in Rangoon for 2 annas each. Camp: a THIN DON DAA (sharp knife) "big razor used for shaving children's heads" is used.

Haircut: — Pathee: a western style short haircut was secured twice a month for two annas per haircut from the local barber in Pathee. Camp: U Myaing now goes for slightly over a month between haircuts; they now cost 8 annas in the Rangoon barber shops. He desired his hair cut twice a month.

Cosmetique for the Hair: — The preparation used in Pathee was sticks of hard white substance scented with various perfumes. They are produced locally of European type. He had one stick per month, costing Rs. 1/4. Camp: none. This item is now "not desired at all".

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KIN GYI THI (Jacket button) Buttons: — Buttons come in matched sets of five for use in fastening the jackets. They are detachable, and range from ½ to ¾ inch in diameter for the most part.

A set of silver buttons were received by the eldest daughter as a present from a medical student, Miss Margaret Gaudoin, 6 months ago in camp. Ma Aye Myaing, her eldest daughter and Daw Aw Zar each had a set of crystal buttons costing in Pathme Rs. 3/- or 4/- in Japanese currency during the Japanese regime. Daw Aw Zar's set cost 12 annas The children each had a set of green stone buttons costing Rs. 1/- in Pathme. These items are still in use in camp.

Stone Slab for making Face Powder.

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KYAUK-PYIN: (Stone Slab): — These are circular stone slabs about 1 foot in diameter and ½ inches thick. Pathme: three were used by the family. One was received as a present from a friend. One, with a diameter of 1¼ inches was "100 years old" and handed down to Daw Aw Zar by her mother. The third was bought at Pantanaw for Rs. 4/-. All three were left behind in the move. Camp: one with a diameter of 6 inches was received as a present.

OW HSI (Coconut oil): — The oil of the coconut meat, a yellow, slightly viscous fluid with a characteristic odour is highly prized by the Burmese woman as a hair dressing. Pathme: 20 ticals of oil, costing 8 annas, would be used per month. Camp: a small quantity is occasionally bought lasting 2 days at a time. It is purchased in the refugee camp for 2 annas.

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PATHEIN HYEE (Bassein town umbrella) parasol: — These are made of cloth with bamboo ribs and handle. The cloth is painted with flora and other designs in various bright colours. They are considered "elegant" and used primarily for social saunntering. The town of

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Bassein is famous as a place of manufacture for parasols. Pathme: the children had two parasols, lasting 6 months. These were bought in Pantanaw for Rs. 3/- each. Camp: none.

HYEE, umbrella: — Ma Aye Myaing reports that she had an umbrella in Pathme, the black cloth European kind, for which she paid Rs. 7/- It lasted 8 or 9 months. One was bought in camp, second hand for Rs. 3/- 5 months ago. It is good for 2 months more.

304 The custom is dying out today; but, in the villages, the teen-age boy
562 frequently, on the encouragement of their family submit to the tattoo-
178 ing of a small area on the thigh. These decorations seen when the longyis are wrapped high were regarded as essential and those without them were openly criticised.

[751] A second type of tattooing consisting of potent symbols were, as still are, placed on the inner arm, back, or high forehead as a means of magical protection against harm. Snake, knife, cudgel and bullet proof motifs are common. Young girls frequently have the inner arm tattooed with such a charm.

838 Homo-sexuals are known as MEIN MA SHA ("woman-half") and are
826 recognised by their effeminate gestures, "pretty" locks and clothing. They frequently wear THANAKHA face powder, tie their longyis in a simple tucked-in fold, and wear jewelry like the women. They are rare in villages but have banded together into a society in Rangoon. They appear to be tolerated but are scorned.

It is beleived that individuals known as MIN-YEE-PON-LAIN-HMEH-PON-LAIN ("Female sex- 2 sexes") exist . These persons are supposed to be alternately a man for one month, and a woman for the following
[715] month in a complete process of transformation. Both the MEIN MA SHA and these individuals result from illicit seduction activities in a previous existence - the MEIN MA SHA being the less sinful of the two

792 The PONGYI dress consist of orange cotton cloth - one garment
291 being a longyi with a folled tie at the waist; the other a wide band
●293 drapped as a robe. When begging the PONGYIS have a special arrangement of the robe which wraps the left arm and covers the neck region. The nuns wear a robe garment over a long sleeved KINGHI jacket of the same colour. They are frequently seen with a scarf folded on the head. Both orders carry orange-cloth (lacquered) parasols on long bamboo shafts, a string of beads and large palm leaf fans. The Pongyis carry leather bags suspended on a shoulder strap for personal effects. PONGYI slippers have a square toe, are made of stiff leather with reinforded soles.

[887] Religious women (including old women) wear chocolate coloured HTAMEINS, KINGHIS and carry a PONE (a narrow scarf 4 of 5 feet in

length) draped over one shoulder. The PUNA, part of the scarf, still draped, is placed on front of the worshipping woman for her head and hands as she bows. The beads, a string about 2 feet long made of black lacquer or red or white beads about ½ inch in diameter are called SHIK-PA-HNE (count-beads). They are worn about the neck when not in use, and are "counted" by the fingers of one hand. Each bead, thus counted calls to the worshipper's mind a vision of Buddha as she says ARA HANN (God) in a low voice. While in this dress women do not decorate their hair with flowers or wear jewelry or cosmetiques as such would be unseemly. 792 291 293 [788]

The older men and other religious men (who are gathering alms as members of Buddhist lay societies) wear a loose white robe over a white jacket, white head band, praying bead necklace, and a chocolate coloured scarf draped over one shoulder. The general public must wear their very best clothes for religious festivals but the women do not use cosmetiques. "Rangoon Sabbath" is the term applied to the less strict observations of the town people who may appear with a little THANAKA or other cosmetiques. The marriage dress of the bride is an older form of costume involving use of a long split skirt with cut-flaring jackets. 888 779 575 291 [369] [779] [292] [585]

The hair styles are important and denote age and sex. Children of both sexes wear their hair in a knot at the top of the head with a fringe of short hair like a bowl below. The older men's style was long hair knotted on one side in the back of the head; except in villages this has been superceded by the western short crop ranging from a long "Pompador" to short "crew cuts" - the latter being rarer and more modern. Old men wear very short cropped hair or are shaven - as the Pongyis and nuns. Maidens wear their hair in elaboretely woven tresses - earlier on top of the head in a disc-shaped - now in chain braids at the back of the head. False switches of hair are commonly used. Flowers are used as decoration on all occasions. The usual style for married ladies is a knot at the back of the head wound around a rectangular comb of wood, (common) tortoise shell, ivory or gold. Older and married women sometimes appear in an ancient ceremonial style consisting of the hair wrapped around a fiber cylinder 302 177 369

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217. PLASTERER'S SCAFFOLD ON ZEDI.

(*Kathi*) excel in this work and form colonies for the industry. Attempts have been made in Europe to imitate the scroll-patterns on the Jacquard loom, as well as to print them. But the imitations fall too far short of the original, which is nearly the same front and back. The best *lun-tayi* silks cost ten to fifteen rupees the square foot, which makes two hundred to three hundred rupees for the *pasi*. Only an inch or two a day can be woven. Italian methods of carding, dyeing, and finishing silk, were introduced by the late King, Mindôn Min, and have helped to develop an important industry in Mandalay. Stripe and tartan patterns are woven in this way, chiefly from China silk. Fine texture and delicate tints are aimed at, rather than rich colour and design. The *pasi* of

[435] twenty cubits, one cubit wide, costs ten to twenty rupees.

• 293 The Burman umbrella (*tî*) is on the Chinese model—a bamboo frame with
[171] paper cover. The Chinese umbrella has a thin paper cover, the Burman has bast-paper, which outlasts several of the other. But the Chinese umbrellas are cheaper, better waterproofed, and sun-proof. The Burman *tî* is waterproofed by occasional oiling with crude petroleum. A waterproof size made from the fruit of the *tî* is used for fixing the paper to the ribs and the cotton twines that connect them. The red, the
[186] gilt and the white umbrellas are emblems of state. The
[554] first two denote official rank, according to the number assigned. Such umbrellas
[532] have stems of turned wood, six to eight feet long, to allow of the *tî* being borne over the officer on horseback or in his chariot, by attendants on foot (No. 375). The

218. SCULPTURING MARBLE IMAGES.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
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219. ROPE-WALK.

inner side is brightly decorated with floss silks. Gilt umbrellas (*shwe-di*) are dedicated in the *kyaung*, but are not actually used. The white umbrella (*thbyu*) is the emblem of sovereignty. The *thbyu* is set above the images of the Buddha and above the remains of the *yahan*, who are assumed at their death to enter upon a higher spiritual stage. The metal canopy surmounting the *sati* is a conventionalised *ti* (No. 232). Of late, European umbrellas have become a staple import of Burma.

293 [283] [186] [779] [346] [177] 439

Lacquer-ware vessels and utensils—light, durable, and watertight—are made with the help of *thissi*, the exudation of the bark of *Melanorrhœa usitatissima*, a common tree of the *in* forest. The gum blackens to jet on exposure to the air. It dries slower than the "Japan black" of commerce, but is much tougher; it sells for two to three rupees a viss. *Thissi* is applied to wood turnery and bamboo wickerwork, either plain or with pigments, generally with vermilion.[1] The commonest lacquer goods are platters (*byat* and *daunglan*), which are turned of teak or *yamané* wood and given two or three coats of *thissi*. After the platters, the principal article of lacquer-ware is the betel-box (*kwa-it*). Coarse lacquering is done everywhere in the dry region, but the betel-box industry is peculiar to Pagán. The advantage of lacquer-ware and of a deep cover for the betel-box, is to keep the green leaf fresh. At first sight it appears incredible that these exact cylindrical boxes with their trays and covers, fitting as if each piece had been turned out of the block, should start from a wicker-work frame. Yet so it is; the models are plaited so true that the rest

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220. HILL-PEOPLE TWISTING ROPE.

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25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
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221. UMBRELLA MAKERS.

of the work can be done on a lathe. To prepare the wicker for lacquering, it is first given a "rough-stuffing" of fine clay to fill the interstices. The work is then painted with *thissi*, which penetrates and toughens the clay and binds the fibres of the wicker. When the *thissi* has set, which takes several days, the work is put on the chuck of a bow-lathe and ground smooth with a fibrous stone—a petrifaction-product. Varnishing and grinding are repeated till the surface is smooth, colour being added to the later coats. Then a coat of contrasted colour is given, and when the varnish is about half set, the pattern is chipped with a metal style through the fresh layer to the hard lacquer beneath. After the work has hardened, the patterns are embellished by scoring rings through the layers, with a tool like a carpenter's gouge, so as to bring out the underlying contrasts. The patterns are arabesques and conventionalized figures.* Subject designs are also executed (No. 224). Finally the lacquer is polished with buffs of graduated fineness. A peculiarity of *thissi* is that it sets hardest in a moist atmosphere. Every manufacturer has an underground cellar—a thing almost unknown in Burma—for the wares to harden in. Pagán, the centre of the industry, is at the same time the driest locality of the dry zone. The finest lacquer, which is only made by a few highly-skilled workmen, is so elastic that the lips of a cup may be brought to meet without the ware cracking. As much as twenty-five rupees is paid for a cup of such quality. The ordinary ware has not the tenth part of this elasticity, and sells for one to ten rupees a box. The deep cover of the betel-box is the traveller's ordinary drinking-cup.

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222. LACQUER-WARE MANUFACTURE.

* See the end-papers of the binding of this volume.

and envy at these fair creatures who continued work and home in one long pleasant Burmese continuity. They are girls from the ages of sixteen upward. Probably their parents set them up in these stalls, each separated from its neighbour by a stack of cotton bales, six or seven stalls on a long platform. They come there in the mornings, dressed in crisp muslin jackets and bright longyis, their faces powdered with thanakha and the Five B's, flowers in their hair, and fragrant ground bark on their hands and feet. They open up shop and dust with feather brooms while they shout across to each other the news of the previous evening. Then the whole day unfolds, calling out to food sellers and treating their friends to a succession of delicacies, button-holing the young boy who hawks magazines and tuppenny novels, and reclining against a pile of the tha-yet-hte longyis to read these romances, helping each other to fold up the pieces after a troublesome customer has gone, anything but making an earnest business of their profession. They always looked so cool and pretty and indifferent beside the small Indian storekeepers who flanked their platforms and solicited passers-by for patronage. "Oh to be a bazaar girl!" I still thought when I was in the University; "to pass unchaperoned days, reading novels and eating sweets, to have time to be powdered and neatly dressed, and only now and then be disturbed by someone who wants to buy a longyi." 361 438

Our starched white muslin jackets are made out of fine transparent muslin manufactured in England, and sent out in bales of 11 yards with the quality stamped in Burmese characters, and on the jacket a florid illustration of the quality-name—names such as *Nat-thami, Sein ta-hsok, Shwe Pan-gaing, Mè Nyo:* Heavenly Damsel, Cluster of Diamonds, Golden Spray of Flowers, Dusky Maiden—and imported by both Indian and Burmese traders. 294 439 563

The making up of the jackets was the monopoly of Chinese tailors; our *tayok-kalay*, little Chinaman, lived in the crowded quarter of Yegyaw in a barnlike room which was carpenter's shop at one end and tailor's at the other. The tailor's end had a row of shelves along the wall in to which the finished garments and uncut material were shoved, higgledy-piggledy in paper bags on which the merest scribble denoted owner and date of order. In front of this was the counter on which the cutter was at work, and separating it from the carpentery end was a table at which one or two half-clad men always seemed to be eating noodles or reading a Chinese newspaper, of which there were three in Rangoon. In spite of this, the tayok-kalay never confused an order for garments which had to fit so meticulously and always delivered them in a snow-white condition. He charged 9 annas for each fine handsewn garment, and for modern girls managed to cut twelve out of the eleven-yard piece. This 294 563 441 465

294 563 441 466 was sweated labour indeed. Possibly he paid the cutter two pice, the seamstress three annas, the button-loop maker two annas, for each garment. We met one of the button-loop makers one evening as she brought a pile of finished garments, a Chinese girl of ten years, with eyes which looked tired from two years of exquisite hemming on the ten button loops of each Burmese jacket, nine jackets each day. When we had got our jackets the tayok-kalay added up our three bills into one on his abacus. There may be many ways of using an [405 abacus, but our tayok-kalay's was bafflingly simple. He had each 803] bead on the first rung representing one anna, each on the second one representing four of these, that is four annas; and each on the third rung representing four of these again, that is one rupee, there being sixteen annas in the rupee. When he wanted to add Rs. 5/10 and Rs. 9/11 for example, he represented the first sum on the three rungs above the median bar by drawing down towards it, two beads of the first rung, two of the second and five of the third. Then he represented the second sum on the rungs below the bar by drawing up to it three beads of the first rung, two of the second and nine of the third. He then counted up the sum of all the beads along the bar, pushing back every four beads of the first rung and pulling down one of the second as equivalent, pushing back every four of the second and pulling down one of the third again as its equivalent. All this he did with lightning speed, and, counting finally one bead on the first rung, one on the second and fifteen on the third, he announced Rs. 15/5, a sum which my sisters had arrived at long before by mental arithmetic and had, in vain, been trying to thrust on his notice.

441 563 I needed also a superior quality comb to wind my hair around in a knot at the back of my head, having given away the old one I had as a curiosity in England. My mother took me to the west end of Rangoon where the Chinese community are concentrated in about six or seven streets, mostly narrow streets of three storeyed houses packed closely together, containing valuable ivory and mother-of-pearl inlaid chairs within and jewellery behind safe doors, but bordering deep and dirty drains and congestion in the street. These were houses of rich men who got their money from trading in indigenous products; by long years of industry building up lakhs of money from the supplying of onions, coconuts, potatoes and other dry goods to the retail shops in bazaars. In the Strand running along the south end of these streets and in the broad Latter Street in the centre of the quarter, were the big emporiums of these traders. One of my father's greatest friends U Chein Swan was a Burma Chinese of this description, and we stayed for short periods in his three-storeyed house in 20th Street when we were children. With

matters, and cases occurred in which he unwittingly signed away title to his property, thinking he was only signing 'loan papers.' In some cases, Burmese cultivators, encouraged by moneylenders, borrowed sums greater than actually required for crop financing and used the excess for sponsorship of ceremonial activities, dramatic presentations, purchasing imported goods never before needed, and so on. 426

The result of this was the tremendous growth of rural indebtedness and much foreclosure by creditors holding mortgages on the land. By the 1930's, about half the cultivated land of Lower Burma was owned by landlords, largely absentee. The once independent Burmese land holder was converted into a rural tenant, or, in many instances, a landless agricultural laborer. Many tenant farmers, dependent upon rent-racking landlords, worked from harvest to harvest with little to show for their efforts beyond perhaps enough of the crop, after payment of rent, hired help, and debts, to feed their families through the planting and growing seasons. Large numbers left agriculture for other pursuits, such as petty clerical jobs in the towns and itinerant trading in imported goods. In Tadagale, for example, in 1949-50 it was possible to record cases of cultivators in such difficult straits that after paying their help and taxes, they did not have enough paddy left for the family granary to last until the next harvest, and were thus in the position of having to purchase in the market, at inflated prices, the very commodity they produced. 178 426 463

2. The Shift in Tadagale. The economic shift within the village may be summarized in terms of modes of employment, resources, imports and exports. 178

a. Employment. Rice agriculture has been decreasing as the land has passed, over time, into the hands of absentee landlords and independent owner-cultivators have become fewer. The tenant farmers are likewise small in numbers. [243] [427]

The manufacture of clothing has also diminished. Formerly, cotton was spun and woven in the village. Now, clothing is very largely obtained by purchase of imported piece goods in Rangoon and having it finished by city tailors and seamstresses. [294]

Oil pressing as an occupation has disappeared. The one remaining presser of oil seeds recently abandoned this work because of the difficulty and high cost of obtaining sesamum seeds from central Burma. [249]

In a few occupations there seems to have been no notable change. These are carpentry and work in bamboo and thatch, which keep a few people occupied; itinerant selling of prepared foods; shopkeeping; and medical practice (indigenous medicine). 178 463

Several occupations are new or increasing in the village. Agricultural wage labor has increased as more people have been unable to secure a living as tenant farmers and have gone to work for others in and near the village. Vegetable gardening, always important because of the nearby Rangoon markets, has become a leading occupation, especially since the beginning of the insurrections in 1948 which reduced the supply of fresh vegetables from the north.

As motor transport has replaced animal transport over the years, the men of Tadagale have been increasingly employed in operating buses. Related to this is the establishment of a repair shop by a motor mechanic to service the buses owned by villagers.

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

175 622 562 acting for her husband, and she would not have been pleased that her name should appear.

'A good wife,' I said to Saw Ka.

'Like many,' he answered.

462 But in her own line she has no objection to publicity. I have said that nearly all women work, and that is so. Married or unmarried, from the age of sixteen or seventeen, almost every woman has some occupation besides her own duties. In the higher classes she will have property of her own to manage; in the lower classes she will have some trade. I cannot find that in Burma there have ever been certain occupations told off for women in which they may work, and others tabooed to them. As there is no caste for the men, so there is none for the women. They have been free to try their hands at anything they thought they could excel in, without any fear of public opinion. But nevertheless, as is inevitable, it has been found that there are certain trades in which women can compete successfully with men, and certain others in which they cannot. And these are not quite the same as in the West. We usually consider sewing to be a feminine 462 occupation. In Burma, there being no elaborately 294 cut and trimmed garments, the amount of sewing done is small, but that is usually done by men. Women often own and use small hand-machines, but the treadles are always used by men only. As I am writing, my Burmese orderly is sitting in the garden sewing his jacket. He is usually sewing when not sent on messages. He seems to sew very well.

Weaving is usually done by women. Under

285 they were made by friends. Ma Aye Myaing and Daw Aw Zar appear to
437 specialise in the larger mats such as used for sleeping. Mat making appears to be an occupation which in ordinary times is unimportant but it is relied heavily upon in bad times.

461 The children are put to work around the house and in processing
562 the fish at an early age. Just recently U Myaing's eldest daughter
561 left school to learn a trade. She left one month ago from the fourth
[277] standard, to learn cheroot rolling. In another month's time she will
874 have learnt how. She does not have to pay any fees - neither is she
[294] paid for her help. She lives with her aunt (U Myaing's sister) and has her meals there. Near their house there is also an embroidery shop which is owned by her aunt. At night U Myaing's daughter is taught embroidery and sewing by her aunt. The owner of the cheroot rolling shop is not a relative, but the women who work there are aunts and grand-aunts of the girl. When she has learnt the trade, then she will be paid between two and three rupees a day on piece work basis.

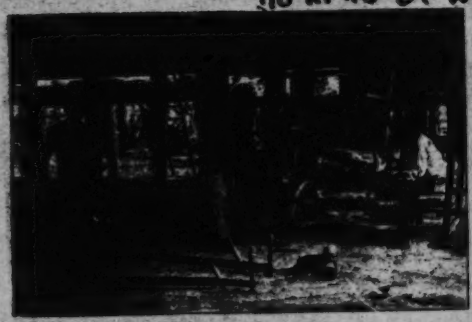
463 At present (May 1951) U Myaing is working as a sweeper in the
363 Rangoon Municipality on a monthly wage of Rs. 80/-. There is an over-
512 seer placed over him every day. U Myaing's main job is to keep one street in town clean. He leaves his house at six and arrives at the overseer's by half past six and there a roll-call is taken of about a hundred of them. At seven he begins on his street and stops at about half-eight to go to answer the roll-call (see below for rest of schedule). He has personal contact only with the overseer, the doctor and the WUNDAUK (official). All three of them go around the town to see if they work hard enough. The WUNDAUK also comes everyday to witness the roll-call. "If we do not do good work we shall be dismissed. Everything is in their hands. But they do so after two or three warnings. We do not possess any rights at all. Sometimes offenders are sent to other streets that require harder labour."

U Myaing's street is located in Myeni-gon, and he has to clean the street of dirt as well as clean the drains on either side.

His daily schedule at present is as follows: He rises at 4, washes his face and cleans his teeth, says his prayers and then has plain tea which Ma Aye Myaing has prepared for him. At six he leaves

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

No kind of wool is indigenous 286



130. LAYING OUT THE WARP.

or is spun or woven in Burma. Cæsar Frederick in 1569 mentions woollen cloth among the goods brought to Burma, *viâ* Arakán. Web vests for boys and men, of European manufacture, are becoming general. The use of shoes of the European shape is bringing in the use of socks and stockings. The addition of a European shirt under the Burman jacket makes up the incongruous kit affected by the modern office clerks. With the increased use of body-linen have come the Indian washermen. The coloured stuffs are washed by the Burman women. The native dyes wash well, especially the silk dyes. An alkali-earth (*sappya*) is found in Burma, but soap is of modern introduction, and is now sold in every bazár. Needles used to be brought to Burma from China, as well as scissors, though the latter are also fashioned in Burma; at present both are imported from Europe. Burmans work the needle from them, like other Asiatics. The work is pinned to a cushion at the head of a post planted on the work-box. The use of the thimble was unknown until tailors came over from India, but is now general. The bulk of the tailoring is in the hands of immigrants from China; but their prejudice against the sewing-machine is helping to transfer the business to the Burman women. Nearly every well-to-do family in the towns has its sewing-machine.

291 [283 439] [296 463] 439 413 286 [177] 463 294

At sunrise the women start with their water-pots for the day's supply, and again before they cook the evening meal, which finishes the day's work. On the morning errand they do the most of their washing. In the evening they carry a spare cloth to change for the one they bathe in, which they wash and coil into a pad to put between the head and the water-

131. BURMESE CARVING OF WEAVING-LOOM.

462 [532] 512 515

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

312
[271]
[178
352]
[294]

136. SEWING CLOTH.

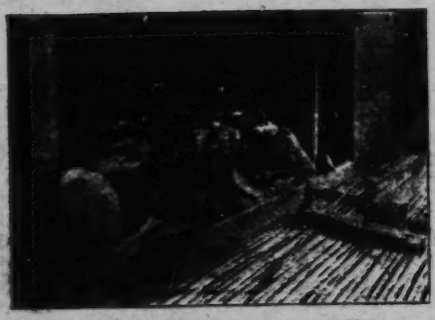
surface water. In some parts of the country the water is brackish. Shallow tanks with built-up earthen borders are made to store the rain-water for drinking, and, unlike the tanks in India, these are kept free from contamination. There is always a separate stand for the pots of drinking-water, either in the house itself, or within reaching distance, with a roof of its own. The domestic shrine and flower-stand (*nyaung ye-ò zin*) is frequently associated with the water-stand. Apart from the advantage of keeping away the drip the isolation of the water-stand is so marked as to suggest a religious intention—possibly of forgotten animistic import—in addition to the obvious one of a boon to the traveller, in virtue of which the water-stand is frequently decorated in the Buddhistic religious style (No. 158). As already noted, dwelling-houses are not fit places for images of the Buddha, but only temples. In the houses, the Buddha is venerated by keeping his sacred tree green in the flower-vases on the *nyaung ye-ò zin*, which is often richly decorated. The shrine takes its name from the *ficus*, but the plants actually used are such as keep green longest in the shade, especially the aloe (*mòt*). The observance has very possibly been transferred from a pre-buddhistic one (No. 157).

372

The native method of getting fire is shown in No. 141. Except in the great plains, there is enough waste land about the settlements, bearing trees and scrub where dry faggots may be collected. Logs [312] of dry timber are dragged in, and firewood for cooking split off as required, or billets are carted in and stored against the rainy season. In the cold season, fires are often [354] made on the ground in front of the houses, for the inmates to sit around. But in general,

138. VILLAGE WELL.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4



293. SOCKING SINGS ON LACQUER-WARE.

Thissi also forms the vehicle of a putty, with which mosaic of many-coloured mirror-glass is cemented together. This is used for the thrones and other appointments of the palaces, temples, and *kyaing*. Whole ceilings and walls are ornamented in this way (*thayô*). The mosaic is set off with gilt mouldings. The work, though often tawdry, is sometimes rich and impressive, both as to design and colour (*Frontispiece*). 531 [322]

Foot-gear used to be of the nature of luxury in Burma. In houses and boats people always go barefoot. But in many parts of the dry zone the thorny weeds make sandals a necessity. The common material is raw buffalo-hide, covered on top with woollen cloth and having cloth-covered straps. The straps come from the sides, near the hollow of the foot, and arch over to the spot where the toe-post of the Indian patten is set. Tanned leather slippers of European shape made by Chinese are now ousting the Burman sandal and wood patten. 295

Most of the well-known metals are found in Burma. Before the importation of pig, bar, and sheet metals, and of metal manufactures from the West began, Lawa settlers from Zimmè (Chiengmai, *Tyin-mai*) practised the smelting of iron, copper, tin, zinc, and lead. These industries have disappeared. Metal goods used to come in from the Shan States and China, but the principal manufacture was carried on by Burmans and Talléngs. Even at present, the only heavy metal goods imported are iron cauldrons, anvils, sledge-hammers, and vices—besides machinery. Saws, files, chisels, augers, hinges and locks, nails and screws, dies and taps, pocket-knives and fancy metal goods, are imported. Bells for the temple precincts were, until recently, the heaviest castings made, but of late a 325 [439]

294. ETCHED DESIGN ON LACQUER (HNGEP-PYITTAUNG). [531 322]

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

325 rivalry has sprung up between the towns in casting large images. For the best bells, a bronze consisting of four parts copper to two of tin is used. The alloy is enriched—as they fancy—by pious donors who cast silver into the melting-pot. Ordinary bells are made of brass; images also are cast in brass. The

[322] [295]

225. LACQUER-WARE DEALER.

226. SANDAL-MAKER.

alloy consists of about 70 per cent. copper to 20 of zinc, and 10 of lead. The image or bell is modelled in wax as thick as the metal is intended to be, upon a core of clay. A shell of clay is plastered over the wax with the needful supports between the clay surfaces at intervals. When the clay has dried, the mould is heated and the wax run out, ready for casting. The crucibles are of clay, of about two hundredweight capacity, and are heated by a forge-blast. The Burman castings are seldom sound, and never so fine and clean as those of the Shans. Though the bells are defective in tone, the *kyizi* (Nos. 22, 86) and the round, hammered

[563]

227. BRASS-IMAGE FOUNDERS.

1: Mi Mi Khaing 1-5 (no date) 1946 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4
Indians

the sameik by using an uncoiled dry and slightly wavy tress to offer a wanton contrast to the smooth severe cylinder. In the absence of permanent waving, and with the straightness of the Burmese hair, I admired the enterprise of a Rangoon family who subsidized, with supplies of coconut oil, the Indian gardener next door, an Oriya coming from a race with wavy raven locks, until his tresses grew to the requisite length and they bought them for binding into a sameik. This sameik is discarded after marriage, but in the case of a girl who does not get married early, it continues in a more restrained form, a *sameik-kwin*, when it is tucked back into the bottom of the cylinder to form a loop. Shortly after the age of twenty-five, she discards it altogether and makes just a sadone like a married woman. Kyi-Kyi's sadone was broad and low; after she had finished the rest of her toilet she tied her hair by drawing a thread backwards from her forehead so that stray hairs were tucked into the sadone, and the same with the upswept hair at the back. She also carried the Burmese powder puff in her luggage though I never saw her use it. These, which we also still use as the best means of applying Max Factor powder, were scraps of old cotton vests, about ten inches square, which had been soaked and washed in thanakha, thus avoiding the horrible newness of the unused modern powder puff.

My aunt's clothes were also aggressively her own. This was noticeable especially with her going-out clothes, for which she would never have any imported materials. She declared that imported silks, crêpe-de-chines and the like, could not be washed and beaten clean like the Burmese silks and cottons. Neither did they produce suitable colours and designs for elderly spinster ladies like her—they were either gay and skittish, or of a soberness that depressed without pleasing one. What she loved most were the *ya-khaing* longyis, silks and cottons woven in Arakan, in small check patterns, but so stout that you soaked them and beat them hard before the first wearing, and then washed them again and again until you had a pliant closely-woven fabric whose colour and freshness lasted a lifetime. One of my sisters, whom my aunt pressed to wear a ya-khaing longyi in preference to a crêpe-de-chine piece whose bright butterflies had appealed to her sixteen-year-old fancy, stated that no doubt if she slept in the ya-khaing longyi every night for seven years, it would just be at its best for her to wear when she reached the age of twenty-five. For more dressy occasions, my aunt wore *zin-mè* silks, the design of which was reputed to come from Chiengmai in Siam, and in imitation of which Burmese weavers now produce zin-mè longyis in dull red and green geometrical designs, like old lacquer colours. Kyi-Kyi sometimes wore *Bangauk* longyis also, said to come truly from Bangkok, but more often woven in Burma in imitation of the characteristic twist

CLOTHING

Clothing Habits

The standard garments worn by U Myaing consist of a longyi which reaches from his waist to his ankles, a shirt or a vest for his upper torso, clogs or slippers for his feet. Head covering is seldom worn but for every-day purpose would be a western style hat or a bamboo topee. For special occasions the GAUNG BAUNG would be worn. When U Myaing works he takes off his shirt and vest because, he said, otherwise he would have no other shirt to wear afterwards. In Pantanaw, when they went to PWES (stage performances) and festivals he had on a vest, a shirt, and a jacket. 291 [292] [296]

> "Sometimes, when I feel that way, I wear these at home even tl ugh I do not intend to see the PWE. It is just because I am in the habit of wearing them. At night I sleep in my vest. When it is cold, I pull on a shirt over that. In the daytime ordinarily I wear vest, shirt and cotton longyi. Here in the camp I cannot wash my shirt and vest very often - I do so only when they have become soiled, not at regular intervals of time. But the shirt becomes soiled every three or four days and the vest every two days or so. On the other hand I possess three longyis and wash each of them after one wearing, when I have a bath."

The females of the family habitually wear a women's longyi sometimes called a HTA-MEIN, extending from the waist to the ankles clogs or slippers and an EIN-GYI over a bodice for the upper torso. The two younger children wear western style frocks. The specific items worn are given below. The clothing items may be organised into two headings, one dealing with U Myaing's clothing, and the second with the clothing of the remaining (female) members of the family. [177]

U Myaing's Clothing.

CHEK LONGYI (Cotton Longyi): — The LONGYI is a piece of cloth reaching from the waist to the ankles. It is stitched so as to be cylindrical in form, somewhat wider than twice the girth of the individual. The patterns are most frequently squared and of different colours resembling the scotch tartan closely. Men's colours are dark or pastel colours mainly. It is secured about the waist with several twists one upon the other in the front midline. Ceremonial LONGYIS are wider than those of ordinary use giving a fold of 6 to 8 inches in front. [292]

General Burmese Attitudes about and Usages of Personal Accoutrement.

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181
296

"LU-HMAR-AH-MOOT-TAUNG-HMAR-AH-COOT" — "People must have decent dress just as a basket must have a rim" expresses the basic attitude of the Burmese towards personal accoutrement. By "decent" is meant fitting and proper to a person's station in life and the occasion. Most important, the garments must be clean and maintained in a state of repair. The cotton objects are cleaned by whacking on rock slabs at a water source; the silk garments are aired in the sun and shaken and when absolutely necessary washed - this removes the crispness for which they are valued. Recently dry cleaning establishments have operated in Rangoon. But these are quite expensive and used extensively only by the wealthy. "If one has only one shirt it must be white (i.e. clean)".

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181

Perhaps the most important means of asserting status is by personal accoutrement. The value of jewels, fine silks for the women of the family has been mentioned above. The Burmese have a low opinion of the person who does not dress up to his station. But are also scornful of those who dress above their qualifications. For example, a man who wears the religious all white costume inappropriately is called CHAUN-TWU-DAW (cat-goodman) or pretender. The story is told of a cat who always faced the sun with open jaws. When visiting rats asked why he replied that the rays of the sun nourished him. Yet the last of the visiting rats invariably disappeared into the cat's paw. A war-time atrocity story records the sad tale of a Burmese maiden who was too poor to afford a decent longyi and therefore was forced to commit suicide.

The variety of different longyis worn also indicate status. It is said that some wealthy Rangoon ladies buy a new silk longyi for each social occasion - and rapidly discard them when slightly soiled. In the main, however, the Burmese "pay great respect to their clothes" and boast rather of wearing clothes that are years old - thus indicating the high quality of the cloth. Young girls frequently have Mandalay silk longyis handed down to them by their grandmothers. Success is indicated by the constant increase in quality and quantity

Menopause: MEE YAT THWAY SOWE (Woman Disorder-Blood End). 886
Daw Aw Zar reached her climacteric at the age of 50. She did not suffer from menopause symptoms, as she had taken the following 757
preventative measures: she ha. eaten boiled duck eggs three at a time, and very frequently. Kyauk-Hpayon fruit jam was eaten all the time (since 25 ticals of jam can be offered on the altar and can then be eaten to last for 10 days. Phalaung-taung-hmwe root is thinly sliced, mixed with 25 ticals of palm jaggery, 6 pice worth of the 5 kinds of Hsa-mon seeds, and some salt, brewed together and taken. Also, each about two fingers small, were boiled and eaten with rice. Daw Aw Zar ate all these things until the age of 60.

Smallpox: (Preventatives). The Burmese preventative measure 757
for smallpox consists in rubbing the whole body in horse sweat and drinking mare's milk. The liver of the python is mixed with water and taken internally. Python flesh is also eaten and python skin is burnt and the ash mixed with jaggery (palm sugar) and made into pills to be taken orally. This is quite effective, and even if smallpox does come on later, it only does so in a mild form, as in the case of two of U Myaing's children who had only about 15 pustules each. U Myaing applied the preventatives. He tells us that practioners can shift the location of pustules. A pustule about to appear on the eyes of a child can be shifted elsewhere by using the tongue of the mother.

Medical injections-Vaccination and Cholera. Back in Pantanaw the English vaccinator came around only once in abc.t three years, and consequently the children have been vaccinated only once in their lives. This, however is a service which is rendered free of charge. The youngest child has been vaccinated once here. The same remarks hold true for cholera injections also, except that every one in the family including the adults, have had only one inoculation each in their whole lives.

Cleanliness. For bathing, U Myaing's family uses the hydrant 515
in the camp twice a day. The soap which is used for washing clothes is also used on the body. In Pantanaw the river was used twice a 2%
day, and they had special soap for the body. In the camp clothes are washed every day because of their small number. In one month, the family uses up thirty cakes of soap each worth 2 annas, for bathing and washing. Teeth are cared for by cleaning them every morning with either salt or charcoal. This is true both of Pantanaw. and refugee camp. It involves no special cost. In Pantanaw, the water used was water from the stream. This water was very clear, but it was also filtered before being used. In the refugee camp here the water is very clear and is used as it comes from the hydrant

Warts: KATO. The cure for warts is to kill the mother wart by 757
prodding it with some sharp instrument or pinching it away slowly.

An important factor in the health of the family has been the 753
supernatural. Daw Aw Zar was completely serious in informing us 775
that the reason she was in good health at 72 years of age was that she had been good in a previous existence. This idea is apparently tied to the concept of merit acquisition in which the deeds of the present existence add to or subtract from the well being of the future existence. U Myaing states it in this manner:

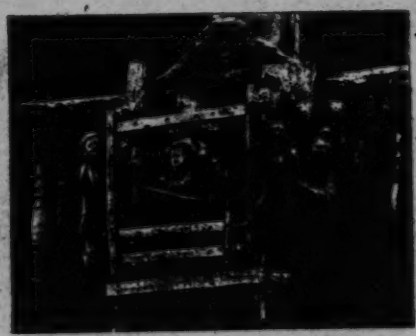
"The good in this life is because of the meritorious acts in the previous existence."

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

No kind of wool is indigenous 286 or is spun or woven in 291 Burma. Cæsar Frederick [283 in 1569 mentions woollen 439] cloth among the goods brought to Burma, *viâ* Arakán. Web vests for boys and men, of European manufacture, are becoming general. The use of shoes of the European shape is bringing in the use of socks and stockings. The addition of a European shirt under the Burman jacket makes up the incongruous kit affected by the modern office clerks. With the [296 increased use of body-linen have come the Indian washermen. The coloured 463] stuffs are washed by the Burman women. The native dyes wash well, especially the silk dyes. An alkali-earth (*sappya*) is found in Burma, but soap is of modern 439 introduction, and is now sold in every bazár. Needles used to be brought to Burma from China, as well as scissors, though the latter are also fashioned in 413 Burma; at present both are imported from Europe. Burmans work the needle from them, like other Asiatics. The work is pinned to a cushion at the head 286 of a post planted on the work-box. The use of the thimble was unknown until [177] tailors came over from India, but is now general. The bulk of the tailoring is in the hands of immigrants from China; but their prejudice against the sewing-machine is helping to transfer the 463 business to the Burman women. 294 Nearly every well-to-do family in the towns has its sewing-machine.

130. LAYING OUT THE WARP.

At sunrise the women start with their water-pots for the day's supply, and again before they cook the evening meal, which finishes the day's work. On the morning errand they do the most of their washing. In the evening they carry a spare cloth to change for the one they bathe in, which they wash and coil into a pad to put between the head and the water-



131. BURMESE CARVING OF WEAVING-LOOM.

462 [532] 512 515

CHAPTER FIVE

000 WHEN I was about five years old, my young brother, the third child of the family, died suddenly and created a gap of about seven years between me and the next child. My elder brother and I thus grew up apart from my younger sisters for a good part of our childhood.

357 524 Two boys were brought up to play with my brother and help my mother with the garden: I was given Mya Shwe to play with. A-Shwe and I were very attached to each other and liked the same games. Burmese children are not as interested in dolls, balls, animals and other toys of the European child; our treasures were chiefly in the form of seeds which play the same part in Burmese children's games as balls do in Western games. We had *go-nyin*, round flat seeds about two inches wide, from a jungle creeper which grew in my grandmother's garden in Ye. We rolled these along the ground to hit other go-nyins, like ninepins. When the family ate custard apples we collected all the seeds and washed them. These seeds provided us with several games; we scattered them in front of us and tried to flick as many as possible into a hole dug into the ground, or sometimes to flick each seed to touch another, removing one each time it touched until we could clear all the scattered seeds.

524 262 We could do this with tamarind seeds too: these were pretty black shining ones. We could get them from the kitchen but always preferred to take one of the boys on walks to tamarind trees. Hla Aung climbed the tree and brought down a cluster of fruits surrounded by delicate feathery leaves. We took a packet of salt along and ate the acid fruit dipped in salt, against all orders; we shredded the leaves till we got a big pile, wrapped them with the rest of the salt in stout paper, buried it a few inches in the ground and then all took turns at jumping on the spot, shouting: "*Bok-hsi-yay-Hsan, Hsan*: Oh pressed oil, come sprinkle, sprinkle." The moisture from the fresh leaves came out with the stamping and dissolved the salt, making a lovely savoury mess of the crushed leaves which we unearthed after a while and ate greedily. Then A-Shwe and I carried home the seeds to add to our collection.

524 • 301 *Kha-yay si* also we collected. These are seeds of the *kha-yay*, a tall tree which scatters its ripe fruit on to the ground where they lie until they dry, and shed their flesh and leave the seeds hidden amongst the

grass and leaves for us to find. But expeditions to the kha-yay trees were approved of because the tree also scatters pretty white starry flowers of a delicate fragrance; the beautiful ladies in my dreams always wore *kha yay pan* in their hair. A-Kyi took us on these walks; we collected seeds, and the flowers we deposited in cane sieve trays; when we got home we helped her to thread them in garlands, the first for the altar, next for my mother's hair and the rest for A-Kyi and the girls. Our tiniest seeds were the *yway si*, seeds of the *adenanthera* tree, bright red and black seeds about the size of an orange pip. Goldsmiths use them as their lowest unit of weight, ninety-six of these seeds forming one tola. They were very difficult to find and I used to pun and call them *ma-yway si* (cannot pick seeds), but it was exciting to turn over a leaf and see the seed suddenly, like a bright ladybird asleep.

My brother was very scornful about our girlish *sètauk-tè*, seed flicking games, but sometimes when Hla Aung and Hla Maung were working he would join in the *son-la ma-la* game, guessing whether a pile of seeds was *son*, a pair, that is even; or *ma*, female, that is odd. We could play this to gamble our privileges or possessions on the strength of guessing right. I always annoyed my brother at this game; when it came to my turn to pose the question I would take as great a pile as my two hands could cover because I loved counting. My father told me I was mathematical, and so I had counted everything I could; I knew the number of steps leading up to every pagoda we had visited, how many matches there were in a box, how many holes the lattice work round our house contained, and now I counted hundreds of custard apple seeds while my brother tried his best not to hit me, to swallow his impatience to see whether he had guessed right or wrong. He himself hated to count.

On moonlight nights my mother gave permission for A-Kyi and the other girls to play with us in the company of the male servants and clerks. We played *bi-yaung-tan*, the comb seller, in which we formed a long row one behind the other to form the teeth of a comb, and after a long altercation between the head of the row—the seller—and the catcher, the latter tried to catch the end person on the row. Or we drew lines of white lime on the red gravel road outside and played *htok-si-tan*, in teams, one team "keeping" the lines and the other dashing through until a member got trapped by the keepers. I can still see the long line of the human comb waving sinuously as the players ran to and fro, and the straight white lines of the htok-si-tan, as patterns in the flood of moonlight. They were invariably broken by a bout of "cock-fighting" to exhaust everyone's legs and lungs and spirits before bed.

The Burmese representation of a cock walk is to sit on the haunches, and then slide each foot forward and sideways while in that position, in

Officer have appeared as higher sources of authority which are present not far away, and the village headman has lost much of his standing as elder person responsible for law and order, retaining chiefly his position as tax-collector. This is to the loss of village administration.

As a-so-ya mins, men like my father had more power and prestige than they had money. The salary of a B.C.S. II Officer, which ranged from Rs. 300/- to Rs. 900/-, was enough to ensure easy living and a certain amount of saving for old age, but in the place of the expensive carpets, glass, silver, uniformed servants and tinned foods which we saw in English officials' houses, they had to spend what might seem to foreigners a disproportionate amount on two items: jewellery for the women and financial help to relatives. Jewellery is not a vanity for a Burmese woman but an article of dress, worn both day and night, in varying degrees according to whether she is working or out on pleasure. The word for jewellery does not include any description of gems, but is *let-wut let-sa*: wear for the arms and such. When servant girls enter a household the humblest of them is given a gold chain to hang around her neck or a bangle for her wrist. Thus among the classes who have any money to spare beyond that for mere sustenance, from the more affluent cultivators, the small traders and shopkeepers and clerks, to "rich" landowners, mill-owners and government officials, a great amount of money is spent on jewellery. Not to have any would be an unbearable shame.

A complete set of jewellery for a well-dressed woman comprises the following articles, all worn together when attending shinbyus, earboring and marriage ceremonies, official functions and numerous other occasions. For the hair a *sado*, a hairpin with a single large diamond on the end; a comb with teeth of gold and a row of diamonds set closely along the back of the rim; a *sein-pan gaing*, a gold hairpin with a cluster of flowers to hang and dangle, set with diamonds. These articles have the gold parts embedded in the knot of hair and only show the diamonds. Round the neck are worn the *lè-gat*, a narrow gold collar set widely with diamonds, fitting like a vice; below this a double row of small pearls tied tightly behind with red tassels; the *lè-ton* "trembling necklace"—a "choker" necklace—sitting so that little chains set with diamonds hang from it all round the neck and tremble; a chain with a diamond locket below this. In the ears are worn single diamond studs. On the jacket five diamond buttons, attached to gold rings set with diamonds, fasten the button loops. On the wrists and hands diamond bracelets and as many rings as possessed, of rubies, emeralds and sapphires set with diamonds are worn. A young girl also wears hollow anklets of gold round her ankles. In addition to the above, the richer minkadaws and wives of big traders possess corresponding pieces of rubies, emeralds and

301 sapphires to wear in the house or on informal occasions. No wonder a man groans when his wife bears him four daughters to be provided with jewellery.

135 Although Burma possesses no diamond mines, it has undoubtedly
301 been a gem country from early times. The regalia of the Burmese
511 court displayed at the South Kensington Museum in London, encrusted and coruscant with rubies set one against the other, row upon row, must be seen to get an idea of how rich in gems was the small kingdom of Burma. Its rubies, sapphires and jade are unrivalled in the world. Jade has been worked since the 13th century, but unlike the transparent gem stones, it has not been highly prized by the Burmese people who call it, merely, *kyauksein*, green-rock. Almost all is sent to China, in valuable quantity and quality, from the tract round the Kachin Hills in Northern Burma, near the town of Mogaung, where, as "the magic powers of heaven and earth are ever combined to form perfect results; so the pure essences of hill and water became solidified into precious jade."

If jade is green-rock, the ruby is red-rock, but it is also *badamya*, gem, jewel, possession of highest worth. The ruby mines at Mogok have given the world the Burma ruby, famous amongst these rare precious stones which vary from deep crimson or purple to pale rose. Here also are found precious sapphires; the two lying in crystalline beds flashed with mica and embedded also with garnets and spinels of all colours, which the poorer people can use for their let-wut let-sa, set in silver, if they cannot buy gold, from the silver mines at Bawdwin about 50 miles away. An ordinary family like ours, with children for whom an expensive modern education is provided, possesses only the "utility" pieces for each member of the family, *i.e.*, the buttons, chains, bangles, rings and ear studs; and a hairpin and comb for the eldest, but this is considered as being poor in let-wut let-sa for a family of our standing. It can be imagined then what good housewives Burmese women have to be. A relative of mine who began petty trading as a young girl, was wearing in her middle age diamond rings, one of which held a single stone with the base a little over half an inch in diameter. But this can be done with less self-denial than it sounds, because all Burmese people have the same foods and ways of enjoyment, and a man does not develop more expensive habits or likings when he grows richer.

602 The financial help given to relatives is a part of our family system. It is difficult for nations whose sons go out to work in foreign lands and whose boarding houses contain old fathers and mothers waited on by paid labour, to realize the strong family unity that still exists among nations like the Burmese. Even the naming of relationships knits them together: cousins become "brother-one-womb-removed"; my father's

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882 304 and reminiscences of other ceremonies of the kind that they have witnessed. Usually the gold needle is bent round and left in the wound, but poor people sometimes pass a piece of string through and tie it. This is turned round and passed backwards and forwards daily till the sides heal, and then begins the process of enlarging the hole to receive the na-daung, a big tube an inch long and from half an inch to three-quarters in diameter. This takes a very long time, and is less pleasant even than the first boring. Some do it with a gold or thickly gilt metal plate, which is rolled up and passed through the hole. The elasticity of the metal makes it constantly tend to expand, and so the hole is gradually enlarged. A commoner method, however, is by introducing stems of the kaing, or elephant grass. As many of the little stems of the inner blade as will go through are passed in, and daily their number is added to until a considerable width is attained. When kaing grass is not available, little splints of the thekkè kyaung are made use of. This is the ordinary thatch of the poorer sort of houses, and almost universal in the country districts, but forbidden in the large towns on account of its inflammable character. Then, after a time, the nā-kat is brought into use. This is a curious ear-plug, big at both ends, and smaller in the middle, where the two parts screw into one another. The screw is passed through the lobe of the ear, and the other portion is then twisted on. These nā-kat are gradually increased in size, until at last the orifices are large enough to receive the na-daung, the regular ear-cylinders. These are of various make and material, the latter being formerly regulated by the sumptuary laws in independent territory. The royal family, both males and females, had them of gold, richly set with jewels, often a single large brilliant in front, or a diamond surrounded by a ring of emeralds, while the back was a cluster of rubies. The right to wear these was also extended to the higher ministers and their families. Others wear gold, plain hollow tubes, or with the ends filled up with delicate *repoussé* work. Those who cannot afford this content themselves with solid amber plugs, which, when they are without a flaw, are worth three or four pounds sterling apiece. Finally, the poor content themselves with

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hollow pipes of glass, coloured in a variety of tints. The shape is somewhat peculiar, a slight irregular concave, if I may be allowed the expression, the front being a little larger in diameter than the back. Some of the princesses wore very costly na-daung, the diamonds, and especially the rubies, for which Burma is celebrated, being exceedingly fine. The men, except those of high rank, very seldom wear them, unless on exceptional feast days. Women ordinarily put them on whenever they go out. Poor people keep the holes open with a roll of paper or cloth. A *chic* damsel very often courts attention by carrying spare cheroots dangling from her lobes. Elder women who subordinate personal appearance to bodily comforts usually do the same thing on a journey. It secures them a smoke whenever they may want it, and the huge green cheroots are not easily carried in the penetralia of the Burmese female dress, while if they were in the travelling box, they might be abstracted by unscrupulous youngsters.

It is curious to notice how much the custom is falling into disuse in the larger towns with the men. Even among the wealthier classes you seldom see a man wearing a na-daung of the largest size. Those of the thickness of a pencil or a little less are still common, but they too probably will pass out of use shortly. Yet this used to be looked upon as the distinctive mark of Burmese nationality. Probably, nowadays, the tattooing is considered sufficient; while the ear-plugs were certainly inconvenient things, and afforded obvious attractions to robbers. But with the women ear-boring is still universal, and probably will continue so as long as the men go on tattooing, notwithstanding the pain of the process. The na-daung are as characteristic of the Burmese women as the flapping tamein.

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527 brilliant-coloured chintz, or paper, forms a roof studded with
353 red, blue, or green stars and rosettes of tinsel paper. Great mirrors, swinging and other lamps, statuettes of wood or stucco, candlesticks with glass shades, clocks, German half-crown engravings, and gay Chinese lanterns hang or stand about. The floor is literally covered with silver and gold cups and betel-boxes, of all sizes, from that of a soup-tureen down to a breakfast cup. Some are plain; some of that *repoussé* work at which the Burmese silversmiths are so clever. The great majority of these are of course borrowed from friends (of another street or quarter) or hired for the night from the chetty pawnbrokers. A few chairs and tables stand about for any European visitors who may come, and they are sure of a friendly welcome. At the back of the
527 room in a long line, behind the mirrors and statuettes, sit
292 the girls, decked out in their most expensively embroidered skirts and gayest silk neckerchiefs. They are literally
● 301 loaded with jewellery. Round their necks and over the bosom hangs the broad network of the dalizan, formed of silver or gold fishes and flowers linked together. The nadaung, the huge gold plugs or circlets in their ears, sparkle with rubies and emeralds. So do the bracelets on their arms and the rings on their fingers. Each girl as she sits is worth many hundred rupees. It is probably for this reason that they are made so inaccessible, seated behind the lamps and lights. If admiring swains could get at them, so could other individuals, whose regard for the jewellery might exceed that for the commandments. The young women may therefore be supposed not to care so much for the Sôndawgyi *fête* as their brothers. Most of the girls are of course daughters of the house. If, however, the householder has not womankind enough, he simply goes into the bazaar and hires as many personable-looking damsels as he may find necessary. They are as much a part of the display as the silver cups and the looking-glasses. A band at one end
527 of the room discourses music fitfully. Occasionally a girl, too young to have attained to the dignity of jewellery, gets up and dances and sings for a while. Musical instruments of different kinds, pattala, hnè, and migyaung, harmonicons, trumpets, and alligator guitars, lie scattered about here and

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far as personages of the Burmese royal blood were concerned. The descendants of Mahā Thamada never went on their own legs in the open air. If they did not mount an elephant, some official was honoured with the weight of majesty on his back. In the same way, while a humble subject "eats," a pôngyi sônpônpethi "assimilates," or "nourishes his body with the alms of the pious"; and a king demeans himself to nothing less than "ascending to the lordly board." You may "call" or "invite" an ordinary man; to an ascetic you may "suggest an interview"; you would be a reckless man indeed if you sought a formula which in the faintest imaginable way would suggest to a king that you wanted him to come to you. When your visitor departs, if he is on familiar terms, he says, Thwa-mi nŏ, "I say, I'm going," and you politely respond, Thwa-ba, "By all means, go away"; if he stands a little in awe of you, he says, Thwa-daw-mi, "Honoured sir, I take my leave"; on the other hand, when, after a conference with a holy brother, you take your departure, you say, "My lord's servant does obeisance" (literally, "kowtows with his forehead"). When there was a king he did not give you the chance to say anything; he flung out of the throne and disappeared behind a blue curtain, while your eyes were fixed on the ground a couple of feet before you.

And so it goes on through a triple language, which makes Burmese of the palace an unknown tongue to the best foreign scholar. Tales are told of the ludicrous mistakes of men, who to ordinary people could speak Burmese, and therefore imagined they might venture on it with the king. Thus it was with a bluff English manager of one of the numerous mills which King Mindôn built and kept going till he got tired of them. This gentleman, in replying in the affirmative to some remark of the Lord of the Golden Palace, horrified the court by saying hôkde instead of the prescribed tin-ba payah, "I think with your majesty." The expression to palace ears was much the same as if some one were to say to His Majesty the King of England, "Right you are, old cockie." The court language is still kept up by all Burmese in their intercourse with superior officials.

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If the proprieties of language were carefully observed, the regulations as to wearing apparel and ornaments were

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far more minute, and guarded with the most jealous care. The almost wretched character of the houses of Upper Burma, as compared with those in the lower territory, was very apparent; but what struck a stranger even more was the absence of the gay dress which is so pleasant and picturesque in Pegu and the seaboard provinces. There was indeed no law against any one wearing the most brilliant paso he could get; but the money was wanting to support the character. A man with a fine waistcloth would be considered to have the money at the back of it, and might have to sell his dress to meet the contributions demanded accordingly by the local official. In Lower Burma, every one has a feast-day dress, however poor he may be. He gets the money for it by a week's work, perhaps backed up by a lucky bit of gambling. Then he is at liberty to strut about and do nothing till the clothes get shabby, when he has to bestir himself again. In British territory, too, he might decorate his kilt with any number of representations of the peacock. An Upper Burman would have been promptly put in gaol—he would even have run some risk of being killed outright—if he ventured upon one. Peacocks were for personages of the blood-royal. Most people in independent territory wore no coats at all; but if they did wear coats, they had to be of the simplest possible "Chinese cut." Long-tailed taingmatheins, surcoats and the like, were reserved for officials, with regulations as to buttons, gold or otherwise, and other minutiæ which must have severely taxed the memory of informers and chamberlains.

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As we ascend in the social, or rather the official scale,—for all dignity came from office, or from a special patent from the king—distinctions thickened. Naturally in the land of the umbrella-bearing chiefs, the huge htis afforded a prominent and obvious mode of marking rank. The umbrella is twelve or fifteen high, with an expanse of six feet or more across. A poor man had nothing to do with these big umbrellas whatever, unless he were employed to carry one over his master's head. If he owned an umbrella at all, it had to be short in the handle and otherwise of Western limensions. Royal officials about the palace had their mbrellas painted black inside; country people, and those

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565 not directly connected with the royal abode, had the palm-leaf
301 as near the original colour as the varnishing with wood-oil permitted. Some had permission to cover the wide surface with pink or green satin; others, more honoured, might add a fringe, either plain or embroidered. A golden umbrella was given by special grace to the highest wuns and the royal princes. A white umbrella belonged to the king alone and to religion, and not even the Eingshemin, the heir-apparent, when such a person existed, was allowed to use it. Matters were still further complicated by the number of umbrellas. Nine white ones marked the king; the Eingshemin had eight golden ones; and the rest of the royal personages numbers corresponding to their achievements, or the regard the king had for them. If they achieved too much, however, and became popular, they died. Distinguished statesmen and generals might have several gold htis, which were duly displayed on all public occasions, and were put up in the house in prominent places. The king's "agent" in Rangoon had only one, which very fairly represented the consideration in which Great Britain was held, and the official rank thought good enough to communicate with the Chief Commissioner. A favourite trick
565 of the king, Naungdaw Gyi, was to issue perpetually new
291 edicts as to the length of umbrella handles and the proper
301 measurement of the paso. District officials used to make
[661] large sums of money in the way of fines in those days, and occasionally themselves fell victims. There was nothing of the kind latterly, unless we may consider the queen Supayalat's announcement as to the way in which her hair was dressed, being patented as her sole prerogative, an instance of the same nature. Nevertheless, the general distinctions were very tenaciously held by. Innocent, unwitting Englishmen got themselves into serious trouble in Mandalay by going about carrying silk umbrellas with white covers. The offence was high treason and merited death. None actually underwent the supreme penalty, but there were a few who had vivid denunciations for the stocks.

565 The metal, size, and construction of spittoons, betel-boxes, cups, and the like household furniture for different grades were rigidly demarcated, and afforded the most

461 The key to high positions lies in education in
555 the high schools and Universities. Family support is necessary for
873 this and the student is constantly aware of his obligation to succeed
602 for their benefit. "One tree can support a thousand birds" illustrate
[538] the dependency of the relatives on the successful individual.

555 In order to succeed one needs each of these three qualities:
777 KARMA (fate or luck), NYAN (intelligence), and WIRIYA(industriousness
152 The failure of any one can cause the lack of success. Ordinarily,
602 however, KARMA is blamed in cases of failure - and the other two
credited for success. The concept of KARMA includes merit and demerit
compiled in all previous existences. Because of this convenient
excuse the true causes of failure are seldom analysed by the individual
and he does not have a sense of personal blame or shame. Also social
condemnation does not fall heavily on the unsuccessful who has tried
and failed. However, one should finish what he starts or not attempt
it, "once you start climbing the pole you must reach the top". The
individual may not achieve fame or fortune but he is expected to
maintain his birth position. His relatives, who suffer shame if he
does not, help him. A major contribution of the individual is an
[583] advantagous marriage within or above his occupational group.

556 What does one strive for, by work, in the Burmese society? Not
554 subsistence, for food is ordinarily cheap and easily attained in the
461 villages. Clothing, shelter and the other necessities of life are
also not the objective. The subsistence pattern is simple and
essentially homogeneous throughout the village.

554 The ordinary head of a household thinks of three major bennfits
●301 to be gained from wealth. The first and most immediate are jewels to
461 adorn the women of the family. The status of the family is reflected
in public by the bangles, necklaces and earrings worn by the ladies.
Diamonds are most prized and the size is important. However, most
important is that each female be provided with"a set" of jewelry.
The wife of the middle and upper status group particularly will prod
the husband until he provides these necessities. The women's cloth-
ing and also the husbands and his son's must also be the finest they
461 can afford.

554 The second urge for wealth arises out of the desire for old age
454 security. Hence gold coins are saved (hidden) against the day when
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HSE Comb: Men use a western brand celluloid comb. Pathwe: one costing ten pice or 2 annas was used for more than a year. Camp: none. This item is "not greatly desired". 302 435

SHAY-TOE-PAHAT (Forward-push-shoe) Slippers: Burmese men's slippers consist of leather soles held to the foot by two leather straps. The straps, attached on each side to the sole at the instep converge in an arrow-shape between the big toe. The back is open. Pathwe: three pairs of "airplane" brand sandals were used per year. They were bought in Pantanaw at Rs 1/4 per pair. Camp: He has one pair of rubber strap tyred sandals which last for 4 months. They cost 8 annas per pair in Rangoon. Six or Seven are desired per year, here, since they wear out rapidly on the cement pavements. 291 435

KONE-PA-HAT (heel-shoe) Wooden Clogs: The soles are wooden, and they are attached to the foot by a single strap of rubber(tyre tube strips) or leather placed across the toes and held to the sole by nails. Pathwe: 3 or 4 pairs were used in one year. They were bought in Pantanaw at 8 annas. Camp: He used one pair per month due to hard wear on pavements and they cost 6 annas for one pair.

MYET-HNA-THOKE-PU-MAN (Face-rubbing-cloth) Face Towel: This item is made of cotton and measured a few feet square. Pathwe: two were used and lasted about one year. They were bought in Pantanaw at Rs 1/4 each. Camp: one old one was brought from Pathwe but it fell apart about a year ago. None is used now. Two are desired.

KO-THOKE-PU-MAR (Body-rubbing-cloth) Body Towel: Body towels are made of cotton and measure somewhat larger than face towels. One was used for every 3 or 4 months in Pathwe (by the whole family). They cost Rs 2/8/ or 3/- and were bought in Pantanaw. Camp: none. 515 435

PADAMYA-LET-SUT (Ruby-hand-put-loop) ruby ring: A finger ring set with a ruby was in U Myiang's possession from the age of 18 to 30. It cost Rs 35/- 301

SHWE LET SUT (gold hand-put loop) Gold ring: A gold finger was used from the age of 14 to the time of evacuation. It cost Rs 17/-

SHWE CHAIN THEE (Gold-gap-pin or button) Gold chain or button: A gold chain with attached gold buttons used to fasten the Burmese 291

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are the same as the men's. Pathwe: Ma Aye Myaing and Daw Aw Zar and the three daughters each had one pair which would last for six months. They were bought in Rangoon by U Myaing at Rs. 5/- per pair for the adults and Rs. 3/- per pair for the children. Camp: none.

KON-HPA-NUT Wooden sandals: — Same as Burmese men's type. Pathwe: both ladies had one pair each, used for 3 months and cost 8 annas at Pantanaw. Camp: same quantity and price, but they only last 1 month on the hard pavement. The four daughters had one pair each lasting 2 months in Pathwe, bought in Pantanaw for 4 annas per pair. In camp the children also each have one pair, but they last only 1 month. The Rangoon article costs 4 annas per pair for the 3 younger daughters and 6 annas per pair for the elder daughter.

GAUNG-SI (head-bind) scarf: — A towel was used as a scarf around the head by Ma Aye Myaing and Daw Aw Zar. Each had two lasting one year. They cost Rs. 3/- each in the Pantanaw market. The same two scarfs are in use in camp.

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SYIN KYO (hanging string) Gold chain with pendant: — In Pathwe the eldest daughter had a golden chain with a locket of a gold coin about the size of an 8 anna bit. The piece of jewelry weighed 1 tical and was worth Rs. 50/-. It was later sold.

SEIN-MI.G.T-.-TU(Diamond ear sticking false) Ear-plug:— In Pathwe Ma Aye Myaing had one pair of ear plugs set with synthetic diamonds. They were from a goldsmith in Pantanaw for Rs. 35/- . They have now disappeared. Burmese women have their ear lobes pierced when very young. "Plugs" are shafts about 1/8 inch or less in diameter. A socket on the inner side keeps the shaft from slipping out. The end showing is mounted with a decorative element, usually a precious stone.

KYAUK HPYU EA GAT (stone white earring) :— One pair of earring with white stones was bought at Mye-ni-gone for 3 annas and is now used by Ma Aye Myaing. One pair of gold earrings (SHWE MAGAT) belonged to each of the two younger daughters. They were bought for Rs. 30/- each from Pantanaw. They have been sold. The eldest daughter had a pair of synthetic diamond(SEIN MAGAT) bought at Pantanaw for Rs. 20/-, but these have disappeared. Earrings made of a mixture of

gold and copper was made from a button in Pathee and used by the youngest daughter there and at present in camp. 301 435

MYIT-CHE-GYIN Silver anklet: — This item is a thin "U" shaped circle of silver worn at the ankle. The youngest daughters had one pair each. They were made by a silversmith in Pantanaw. He received from U Myaing two silver coins which he made into one pair and 3 coins into the other. For his labour he charged Rs. 5/- each. One pair was brought from Pathee and is in use in camp.

THANAKHA Face powder: — For beautifying the complexion Burmese females (all ages) use a cream made from the wood of the THANAKHA tree. The wood is rubbed on a rock slab especially made for the purpose and mixed with water. Several other varieties of wood are used including KANAMET, TAUNG THAN KADO, and MATHAPTU. All the females of the family used this preparation. In Pathewe 90 or 100 pieces were received as presents from traders who came from Shwegyin. They rarely had to buy the sticks which were from 8 to 10 inches in length and 1 to 2 inches thick. In Pathee 6 sticks cost 8 annas. For one year they bought THANAKHA four times. Camp: one stick is bought at a time and lasts 3 or 4 days. It costs 3 annas a stick. Daw Aw Zar used the woods MATHAPTU, TAUNTHAN KADO and KANAMET in Pathee. She would get one piece of each kind weighing 12½ ticals and these would last for one year. They were bought for Rs. 3/- for 20 ticals. She does not use this in camp. 302 435

The western brand "Cuticura" talcum powder MYET-HNAR-CHE (Face smoothener) was used by Ma Aye Myaing and the children in Pathee. The tins bought at Pantanaw for Rs. 3/- per tin would last two months Camp: not used.

SHIN SWE HEE (elephant tusk comb) Ivory comb and MA HEE (bamboo combs) ranging from three to six inches in length, and an inch or inch and a half in width are used by Burmese women. The combs are kept wrapped up in a bun of hair in the back when not in use. Ma Aye Myaing had one ivory comb, bought for Rs. 5/-, in Pathee, but does not have this in camp. Both adult ladies had a bamboo comb apiece in Pathee. These lasted 8 months and cost 8 annas each in Pantanaw. Camp: they have each had a bamboo comb for a year now, costing from 4 to 6 annas.

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KIN GYI THI (Jacket button) Buttons: — Buttons come in matched sets of five for use in fastening the jackets. They are detachable, and range from ½ to ¾ inch in diameter for the most part.

A set of silver buttons were received by the eldest daughter as a present from a medical student, Miss Margaret Gaudoin, 6 months ago in camp. Ma Aye Myaing, her eldest daughter and Daw Aw Zar each had a set of crystal buttons costing in Pathwe Rs. 3/- or 4/- in Japanese currency during the Japanese regime. Daw Aw Zar's set cost 12 annas The children each had a set of green stone buttons costing Rs. 1/- in Pathwe. These items are still in use in camp.

Stone Slab for making Face Powder.

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KYAUK-PYIN: (Stone Slab): — These are circular stone slabs about 1 foot in diameter and 1½ inches thick. Pathwe: three were used by the family. One was received as a present from a friend. One, with a diameter of 14 inches was "100 years old" and handed down to Daw Aw Zar by her mother. The third was bought at Pantanaw for Rs. 4/-. All three were left behind in the move. Camp: one with a diameter of 6 inches was received as a present.

OH HSI (Coconut oil): — The oil of the coconut meat, a yellow, slightly viscous fluid with a characteristic odour is highly prized by the Burmese women as a hair dressing. Pathwe: 20 ticals of oil, costing 8 annas, would be used per month. Camp: a small quantity is occasionally bought lasting 2 days at a time. It is purchased in the refugee camp for 2 annas.

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PATHEIN HTEE (Bassintown umbrella) parasol: — These are made of cloth with bamboo ribs and handle. The cloth is painted with flow and other designs in various bright colours. They are considered "elegant" and used primarily for social sauntering. The town of

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Bassein is famous as a place of manufacture for parasols. Pathwe: the children had two parasols, lasting 6 months. These were bought in Pantanaw for Rs. 3/- each. Camp: none.

HTEE, umbrella: — Ma Aye Myaing reports that she had an umbrella in Pathwe, the black cloth European kind, for which she paid Rs. 7/- It lasted 8 or 9 months. One was bought in camp, second hand for Rs. 3/- 5 months ago. It is good for 2 months more.

Item	Consumer	Pathma	Camo.
Sandals, slippers pairs	U Myaing.	3	(1) 3
Wooden clogs, pairs	"	3 or 4	(1) 12
Face towels	"	2	0
Body towels	"	(1) 4	0
Ruby ring	"	(1)	0
Gold ring	"	(1)	0
Gold chain and buttons for fastening shirts	"	(1)	0
Silver cuff links	"	(1)	0
Cotton Tamein	Ma Aye Myaing	10	(4) 8
"	Daw Aw Zar	(3 or 4) 6 or 8	(2) 4
"	Two elder daughters	(10) 15	(6) 18
Jackets	Ma Aye Myaing	(7) 9	(3) 4
"	Daw Aw Zar	6	(2) 3
"	Two elder daughters, each	(4 to 6) 6	(3) 6
Frocks	2 younger daughters, together	(10) 12	(6) 8
Bodices	Ma Aye Myaing	(5) 6	(3) 5
"	Daw Aw Zar	(2) 8	(2) 3.5
Underwear	Two elder daughters, together.	(8) 9.5	(4) 6
Panties	2 younger daughters, together.	(5) 7.5	(4) 6
Slippers, leather, pairs	all females, each	1	0
Sandals, wooden, pairs	Ma Aye Myaing and Daw Aw Zar, each	(1) 4	(1) 12
"	The four daughters, each	(1) 4	(1) 12

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Cloth Table 1. (c)

Item	Consumer	Pathwe	Camp
Scarf	Ma Aye Myaing and Daw Aw Zar	2	Same
Gold chain with pendant	Eldest Daughter	(1)	0
Ear-plugs with synthetic diamonds	Ma Aye Myaing	(1)	0
"	Eldest Daughter	(1)	0
Ear plugs with white stones	Ma Aye Myaing	0	(1)
Gold earrings	2 younger daughters, each	(1)	0
Copper and gold earrings	Youngest daughter	(1)	Same
Silver anklet, pair	2 youngest daughters, together	(2)	Same (1)
Face powder, sticks of sandal wood	All females	(80 to 100) 24	(1) 64
Cuticura brand, talcum powder, tins	Ma Aye Myaing and her children	(2) 12	0
Face powder, sticks of other woods	Daw Aw Zar	3	0
Ivory comb	Ma Aye Myaing	(1)	0
Bamboo comb	Ma Aye Myaing and Daw Aw Zar, each	(1) 1.3	(1) 1.3
Silver buttons, set	Ma Aye Myaing	0	(1)
Crystal buttons, set	Daw Aw Zar, Ma Aye Myaing and eldest daughter, each	(1)	Same
Green stone buttons, set	Eldest daughter	(1)	Same
Stone slab for making face powder	All females	(3)	(1)
Coconut oil for hair, tikals	All females	(20) 120	"small quantity" "few days"
Parasol	Children	(2) 4	0
Umbrella	Ma Aye Myaing	(1) 1.3	0

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must be getting a lot of demerit.

He then had to say something about the women's clothes in Rangoon. In Pathee the girls did not dare to dress in these fashions. "I do not even dare to look at some of them." In Pathee village there were no such things as girls with short sleeves, etc. Only the girls who had been to town affected them. The majority were KIN-GYIS of thick material. In Rangoon one sometimes has the feeling that one is looking at little dolls".

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U Myaing considers that there is a greater variety of means of earning money here. In Pathee there were only a few ways in which one could earn money and these were almost wholly confined to working fish and paddy and their by products. There was of course frequent interchange of goods with people from other villages inland and with boats from Upper Burma.

U Myaing has been in Rangoon before and had seen the electric tramway and things that the others in the family had not seen before, but even he has seen comparatively little. The others have not seen so manydifferent kinds of automobiles, they have never seen the trains, rickshaws, pony-carts etc.

In the matter of clothing, they find a difference between Pathee and Rangoon even in hair styles and in making up the face. U Myaing thinks that the people in Rangoon have inverted the order of things. According to him, a man can stay undressed except for a longyi and it can remain acceptable, while girls must wear clothing of thick material. This was the case in Pathee, whereas in Rangoon men wear thick clothing and women wear garments made out of sheer material.

The life of Rangoon is beginning to influence girls who come from the villages, and they are beginning to imitate their sisters in town in the use of short sleeved jackets, lipstick and "waves". In Pathee the usual facial make up is to daub the whole face with THANAT-KHA cream and leave it to dry. In Rangoon THANAT-KHA is used only as a powder base. Even Ma Aye Myaing has now a jacket which has sleeves that are elbow long.

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In Rangoon, the men's garments are of better quality. In Pathee during the hot season the men stayed without any shirts on,

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

14. BURMAN MOTHER AND INFANT.

tempers Nature's discipline of knocks and bumps, as compared with the bare hard ground of the Indian hut. Nevertheless the young Burman's converse with his environment is unrestricted enough. By the time he is a year old he may be trusted to himself on a flimsy platform many feet off the ground or over the water. There are few things in the way of the child that it may not handle. The very cheroot its mother is smoking is a coveted plaything. The daily bath at the river-side or well has familiarised the child with another element. It may rush out into the first tropical shower and splash to its heart's content with its older playmates in the first tepid puddle. The Burman's regular exclamation of wonder or fear is "mother!"—*amè*.

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When the child is a few months old, relatives and friends are assembled and entertained with tea and sweets to witness the ceremony of piercing the ears and giving a name. The Burmans have no patronymics. The name is chosen from a set of current euphemisms proper to the days of the week and their planets, according to the star presiding over the day of birth. The fancy of the parents and the prognostics of the soothsayer unite to decide the choice. Names are single or are compounded from two series (in Arakan from three). Common names, beginning with the "Sunday-son," are Ôn, Kyaw, San, Shwe, Po, Tha, Dun. Men's and women's names are taken from the same sets; only the courtesy-prefixes differ (p. 74). The needle-hole made in the lobe of the ear on the naming-day is expanded by means of plugs and rolls of bast. In the course of a few years the lobe takes a plug one-half to three-quarters

852 574 553 [857 351] 301 854 852

15. MUDLARKS.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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16. THE FIRST STEP.

of an inch thick. This custom is on the decline, and the ears of boys are not so generally pierced as they used to be. The *nadáung* or women's ear-plug of gold is being replaced by the *nagát* with its slender stem (No. 241). With eldest-born girls the fête is frequently deferred until they are twelve or fourteen, and is then celebrated with all the more splendour (p. 14).

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Burman children are not weaned until the second or third year. Nevertheless they begin to receive solid food as soon as they will take it. The illusion prevails that the earlier they do so the stronger they will be. It is a chief source of infant sickness and mortality, and of the smallness of the families reared. A curious feature of Burman sociality is the promiscuous suckling of infants in the circle of relatives and friends.

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Children's heads are shaved in more or less fanciful ways up to the ages of ten or twelve, after which the hair is allowed to grow long.

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The road-fronts of the houses are always peopled with children. Children are equals and are free to roam through the neighbours' houses and plots, where they are kindly noticed. Adults take interest in their games, and make kites and reels, boats, carts and other simple toys for them.

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17. THE WOODEN CRADLE (SAUNGBAN).

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

63. DAUTCHA YATHE.

Burma by pilgrims. Dried and gilt leaves are also brought as relics. The seeds of the tropical *ficus* species germinate in the fork of some other tree or in a cranny of masonry and flourish in such mould as they find. The roots develop thick bands which dislodge the masonry, but, interlacing in all directions, hold the loose material together while the tree lives; or else, when the host is another tree, strangle it and take its place (Nos. 77, 245, 321). 788 824

The *yahán* are not the only religious celibates of Burma. Several other classes follow this way of life, observing many or few rules, according to their own choice. Nearest to the *yahán* are the *yathé*. They depend chiefly on alms, but cultivate gardens for themselves. Their appeal for alms is mute, they accept them in money as well as in kind, and they lay up a store for actual needs. They take food in the forenoon only. The *yathé*, who are few in number, live in forest caves or in derelict shrines, and shift for themselves, singly or in small colonies. The majority study, though they do not teach; some are illiterate. They receive a certain deference from the laity, and themselves defer to the *yahán*. The *yathé* are the subject of harmless satire and burlesque in the plays; the *yahán* never. The robe is like that of the *yahán*, but dyed tan instead of yellow. *Yathé* mostly shave the head, but there is a class who wear the hair long. Certain of them use a headgear called *dautcha*, which forms a receptacle for an image of the Buddha. Some are addicted to mild forms of occultism such as alchemy (p. 111) and devising cabalistic diagrams for charms and tattoo-marks. These practices are under the ban of Buddhism. Pretensions to occult powers, such as have 792

64. CAVE-SHRINE NEAR MAULMAIN.

[522] [301] [788] [291] 789 792

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890)-1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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85. POTHUDAW.

been brought into a pseudo-connection with Buddhism by certain western neophytes of the Tibetan cult, are unheard of in Burma, which is the stronghold of primitive tradition.

Pôthudaw observe fewer *thila* than *yathé*. They make their appeal with a gong of triangular shape (*kyizi*, Nos, 22, 86), which spins on the string it hangs by, and emits a high and sustained throbbing note. *Pôthudaw* eat in the forenoon only. They accept alms in money and in kind, for which they carry baskets with a shoulder-yoke. They wear a white robe, shave the head, and pluck out the beard. *Pôthudaw* shift for themselves in *zayats* about the temples and seldom remain long in one place.

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Mèthilá are female celibates who observe a rule parallel to that of the *Pôthudaw*. They shave the head. Their robe is like that of the other celibates with the addition of a jacket. The cloth is dyed a faint red. Both they and the *pôthudaw* are generally individuals who have lost their family ties. In some places *kyaungs* are provided for *mèthilá*, where they keep schools for girls. A few are possessed of learning. *Mèthilá* are about as numerous as *pôthudaw*, and both together are about one-tenth to one-twentieth as numerous as *yahán*, and several times more so than *yathé*. There is no class of female recluses answering to *yahán*.

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Payadyin form colonies in the vicinities of the principal shrines and of the cemeteries of large towns. They are the descendants of temple slaves, the condition to which captives in war were reduced both by the Burman and the Taláing races during their incessant

86. METHILA AT WORSHIP.

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

[opp. p. 110]

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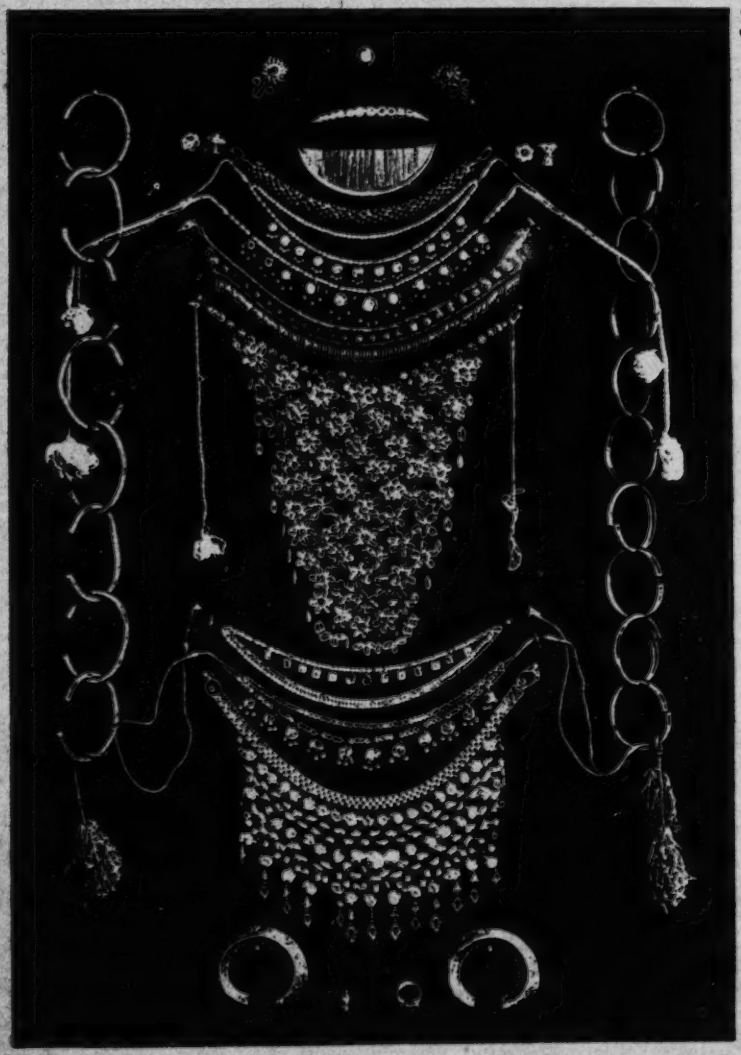

241. GOLD JEWELLERY. [To face p. 110.

29: Slater M-4 (no date) 1951 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

792 881 the monastery. It is a day of excited celebration. Recalling the Great Renunciation, when Gautama left the royal court in his quest for truth, the boy, attired in princely robes, is feasted by his family and friends until the moment when he casts his finery aside to don the yellow robe of the Order.[21]

[301] 562 881 779* 871 Girls experience a similar ceremonial initiation, when (to the accompaniment of vigorous music) their ears are pierced to take the ear-rings which are the sign of womanhood. They cannot attend the monastic schools with the boys, but other means are found for their education, and they certainly do not lag behind their brothers in intelligence, character or Buddhist zeal. Mrs Hla Oung recounts the story of a little maid taken to the monastery to be reminded of the five precepts, after some childish misdemeanour. (The monk was benign. "There was the faintest suspicion of a smile on his calm face, to show, I suppose, that her backsliding was not to be taken as a defection from the faith.") The 'charity of learning' seems, then, to be shared by girls as well as boys. The status, freedom and privileges of Burmese women have already been remarked and Mrs Hla Oung affirms vigorously that "the life of the Burmese woman is bound up in her religion. Buddhism has formed the character of the Burmese woman.... There are few Burmese women, even in the villages, who are unable to read and write," and the Buddhist scriptures form the ground work of their studies.[22]

772 871 178 Not only are the monks numerous, but they are dispersed throughout the country. Every village has at least one monastery, and sometimes more. The educational influence of the Order has been, therefore, both organised and ubiquitous. In more recent times this influence has been challenged by new conditions. Government and mission schools have intervened, and the modern Burmese boy may only remain in the monastery as a novice for a brief, token period. But during the centuries which shaped the Burmese character and outlook, the monks as educators had no serious rivals.

792 [157] 737 672 Nor has their ministry to the community been confined to education. Herbs and potions from the monastery are held in high esteem, especially in Upper Burma.[23] The monastery also serves as alms-house and asylum.

[21] For a good description of this ceremony v. Ananda Metteya, quoted by G. Appleton, *Buddhism in Burma*, pp. 22–23.

[22] Ma M. Hla Oung, "The Women of Burma," *Buddhism*, Vol. I, No. 1, p. 61 (September, 1903, Rangoon); cf. a later series by Daw Mya Sein, "Kin Sein Hla," *Burma Today*, published by the Burma Government in India, 1944, in which the influence of the Monastery is not so strongly emphasised.

[23] "Theirs is faith cure rather than medicine, "writes a Burmese correspondent, who cites cures from snake-bite, leprosy and hydrophobia.

"Your holiness" and themselves as "Your holiness' pupil". The monks addressed the people as *daga*, giver, for they lived by the gifts of the people who donated robes, household articles and other necessities to the monasteries, as good works which brought them merit. 793 792 181 [431]

When my grandparents took my father to the kyaung he was a frightened little boy dressed in a cotton skirt called a *longyi*, and a shirt without cuffs and collar; his hair was grown long in the centre and tied in a knot, the sides being cut in a fringe about two inches long all round, and the rest shaved clean, a way of growing hair common to both little boys and girls and enhancing their youthful appearance. He and all the other scholars performed the domestic tasks of the monastery, swept and rubbed the good hard wooden floors, the monastery grounds and pagoda steps, because in these precincts all comers went barefoot; they drew water for drinking, and for the bath of the older monks; they followed the monks on their rounds, two of them bearing a pole on which was slung a covered tray, to take any food donated in excess of what would go into the monk's bowl; they waited on the monks at meals; they learned to read and write, and do simple sums, to recite precepts and religious passages which they shouted at the tops of their childish voices in imitation of the deep intoning voice of the teacher monk, phrase by phrase; in the evenings they went home to eat the meal which the monks abstained from, but came back at sunset to recite the lessons of the day and many past days all over again, to join in the assembled night prayers, to sleep in the monastery and rise again before dawn. 858 792 872 302

When my father spoke to us of his years in the monastery he always chuckled with delight, in spite of this long list of disciplined tasks. He had the advantage from the first; he was stronger and taller than other boys, and in a system where all learning was by heart he had brilliant memorising powers. The school-room of the kyaung had not the formal atmosphere of the Western school-room with each child at a desk and chair, and a silence except for the voice of teacher or child. The monastery boys all went into the same big room of the monastery, irrespective of age or stage, each with his slate or book, got down on the floor 872 659 876

1: Mi Mi Khaing I-5 (no date) 1946 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4
Mon AP9

have chosen industry and renown, or those others who have concentrated on hard living and the enjoyment of the pleasures of life, they all seem so ebullient, so much Lower Burman and not of the court of Mandalay. M 563 156

My grandfather was a pleader by profession, but by reputation much more—he was a classical scholar, famed for his fiery temper, his forthrightness and the stern discipline he imposed on all his children, grandchildren, dependents and anyone else who was given into his charge. He was also known for sudden progressive and even radical courses of action while expressing most reactionary views. My mother says he was a great man. My aunts loved to tell of his mental prowess, of how he never learnt English, never spoke it, but always as he did his pleading in court he could understand everything that was said around him in English; my mother also told us of how beautiful he looked on a horse; and when he was playing *chinlon*, which is a light cane ball to be kept in the air by tossing with legs, shoulders or any part of one's body that agility can devise, his short strong body, bare except for the longyi tucked about his loins, with tattoo marks in a blue-ringed pattern from waist to knee, and his long thick hair in a knot on the crown of his head, all looked more fair, more *manly* than the cropped hair, the shoes and socks and collars of the present punier generation. M 554 693 B [526] B [304] B [302]

Grandfather started his family in a village just outside Moulmein, but a fire burnt down the house when my mother was still very young, and he decided to bring his family to Thaton and set up a practice there. He chose a site outside the town proper. It was then surrounded by muddy fields and, knowing Thaton at present with its 220 inches of rain a year, I can sympathize with my aunt Kyi-Kyi-Lon, who is said to have rolled herself on the ground with rage at beholding such a prospect. OD

The house which Grandfather built still stands today. There are not many houses left in Burma which reflect so well the type of comfort which a well-to-do family provided for in those days, or which have been built with so much regard to the customs of daily life and occasional festivities, and so little regard for appearance. Grandfather enclosed M 342 565 351

511 necessity, by pressing the paste flat on the inside of the cover and
415 putting it over the fire; the top knob of the pottery always remains cool
252 enough to be touched by the time the paste is baked. On festival days
415 my mother bought dozens of little earthern dishes, no bigger than an
372 English coffee saucer. They were called *hsi-mi-khwet*, oil-flame dishes,
527 in which we burned lights of cotton wick and kerosene, and lined veran-
511 dahs and window-sills with bright fairy lights in the night breeze.

We had stoneware in the house too. The *kyaukpyin* is a flat circular piece of stone for grinding the bark of the *thanakha* (*limoria*
511 *acidissima*) tree, to use as a cosmetic. It has a canal all around to receive
324 the ground paste. Kyaukpyins can be bought in all varieties and
412 sizes in any bazaar, but my mother always got hers through the headman
303 of Salé village, in Upper Burma, where they use a particularly suitable kind of rock which is durable and yet helps to make the paste smooth. We had some beauties, heavy pieces of about 14 inches across, a square around the circular canal, with carved figures on the corners and the ponderous legs. With the right quality of bark the ground thanakha fell in a smooth golden flow into the canal. Formerly, all women used this cream as the sole substitute for powder, letting it dry on the face and whiten it, but the sophisticated ones now use imported powder as giving a less artificial appearance.

302 Yet even the most ardent Max Factor fans cannot give up thanakha entirely for its great value lies in its astringent properties; it would have great success with European women who use mud-packs, because it acts like a mild and pleasant mud-pack. It also has cooling and refreshing properties, it is fragrant; older women apply it over the entire body after their baths, like talcum powder. My mother says it smooths the skin and, indeed, victims of smallpox who are left with deeply marked faces, have their skins smeared with thick thanakha many times a day, and
303 after a few months there is a definite improvement. The thanakha
512 bark is the most used, but barks of the red and white sandalwood and other trees (*nethapyu, nethani, kalamè, a-hmway*) are more fragrant and used on the body. Bad bark from the bazaar grinds gritty and dries patchily, but special consignments come from Myingyan and Pakokku, cut into six-inch lengths from branches two inches in diameter. A daily task of the girls in each household is to grind thanakha, and the commonest sight is a girl on a verandah with a kyaukpyin, a mug of

water and a basket of logs; she pours water and grinds unceasingly, bored to tears, and then scoops the paste into separate dishes for use on face, body and legs. 303 512

Our toilet to this day never included imported combs. Even the most frivolous girls in the University prefer Burmese combs. Burmese women, unlike Siamese and modern Chinese and Japanese women, wear their hair long without exception, and European combs could never cope with so much work. At one time, the village girls did favour long, bright bakelite combs to wind the hair around in a knot at the back, but the fashion was ridiculed as "aeroplane head-dress" and soon died. Burmese utility combs for general use and for distribution to servants of the household are made of wood and shaped according to use: for combing the hair are those with slightly curved rims, two inches wide and six inches long; for the little girls to stick in front of their knots and for women to form a frame for their formal hairdressing are small ones, almost semi-circular in the curve of the rim; for the women to wind their hair into a knot on less formal occasions are almost straight-backed combs; for delousing are fine, double-edged combs. My mother chose wooden combs for smoothness and stoutness and put them at the bottom of the sesamum oil jar until the brittle yellow wood turned a deep rich brown. These combs, with teeth that bite and rarely break off, can be bought for three annas. We also had ivory and tortoise-shell combs for superior use. 302 412

Burmese blacksmiths have been busy since olden days, producing weapons for the hill people, agricultural implements, scissors, nut-crackers and fire-irons, and, above all, blades of all kinds (*dahs*). The dah is the universal implement in Burma. It serves as a fighting weapon in the form of a long *dahat*, a slender pointed steel blade, about 15 inches long, fixed by a tang into a long handle of cane 326 412

276 them down. She stopped the base with one of the a-si-hkans and stuck the leaf over it. This provided a firm grip for the mouth, and the same a-si-hkan could be used again and again. What we loved best about this was that my aunt never used matches but, even when we were little children, she would hand us a cheroot with which we ran to the kitchen. There the cook would pull out a piece of firewood and hold the gigantic flaming match while we puffed the cheroot alight and brought it back to my aunt.

• 302 Kyi-Kyi's daily toilet was another thing we loved to watch, and even when I was grown up I never ceased to admire its simple thoroughness. 177. 30 She has never altered it since she was a young girl forty-five years ago, neither conceding to newer fashions nor omitting any of the vanities as she grew from girlhood into middle-age. She came out of her bath with her longyi *yin-sha* that is, drawn up above her bosom. She then put thanakha on face, neck and shoulders; face powder she condemned as having lead in it, but baby's talcum powder she sprayed on her palms, rubbed them together and patted into her face as the thanakha was drying. Then she moistened a brush the size of a baby toothbrush, and rubbed the thanakha off her eyebrows and lashes and traced her hairline in an exaggerated rectangle to produce what was considered a noble and beautiful forehead, a *mahanahpu*. By this time the thanakha and powder were dry, and uneven patches were rubbed off with a dry brush. Then she opened a little jar—always an empty Tiger Balm bottle—in which was a mixture of oil and blacking. She dipped a special brush into this and drew her eyebrows and the rectangular hairline. She cleaned her lips and ear-studs with water, and then put sandalwood or other ground bark on her arms and legs. Her hair had been dressed before she had her bath, in a *sadone*. This is the coil of hair built up in a cylindrical form around a framework of combs and hairpains, helped out by false tresses. It is the universal hair style for all women after they pass the age of about seventeen, and ladies like my aunt never go anywhere unless their hair is formally dressed in this way.

In modern times, however, the younger women have not only streamlined the sadone, making it thinner and taller, but they have shelved it as a full-dress style, to be worn only on special occasions, while every day they go about with the hair drawn straight back and twisted over a comb at the back of the head. Although the sadone is worn by both older and younger ladies, differentiating touches are carried out. Young unmarried girls fix a *sameik* on the right side of the sadone. This is a short tress, the head of which is anchored hidden inside the cylinder, but which comes over the top and leaves its free end to dangle coquettishly at the side. The modern girls exaggerate the coquetry of

1: Mi Mi Khaing I-5 (no date) 1946 AP1 Burma
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the sameik by using an uncoiled dry and slightly wavy tress to offer a wanton contrast to the smooth severe cylinder. In the absence of permanent waving, and with the straightness of the Burmese hair, I admired the enterprise of a Rangoon family who subsidized, with supplies of coconut oil, the Indian gardener next door, an Oriya coming from a race with wavy raven locks, until his tresses grew to the requisite length and they bought them for binding into a sameik. This sameik is discarded after marriage, but in the case of a girl who does not get married early, it continues in a more restrained form, a *sameik-kwin*, when it is tucked back into the bottom of the cylinder to form a loop. Shortly after the age of twenty-five, she discards it altogether and makes just a sadone like a married woman. Kyi-Kyi's sadone was broad and low; after she had finished the rest of her toilet she tied her hair by drawing a thread backwards from her forehead so that stray hairs were tucked into the sadone, and the same with the upswept hair at the back. She also carried the Burmese powder puff in her luggage though I never saw her use it. These, which we also still use as the best means of applying Max Factor powder, were scraps of old cotton vests, about ten inches square, which had been soaked and washed in thanakha, thus avoiding the horrible newness of the unused modern powder puff.

My aunt's clothes were also aggressively her own. This was noticeable especially with her going-out clothes, for which she would never have any imported materials. She declared that imported silks, crêpe-de-chines and the like, could not be washed and beaten clean like the Burmese silks and cottons. Neither did they produce suitable colours and designs for elderly spinster ladies like her—they were either gay and skittish, or of a soberness that depressed without pleasing one. What she loved most were the *ya-khaing* longyis, silks and cottons woven in Arakan, in small check patterns, but so stout that you soaked them and beat them hard before the first wearing, and then washed them again and again until you had a pliant closely-woven fabric whose colour and freshness lasted a lifetime. One of my sisters, whom my aunt pressed to wear a ya-khaing longyi in preference to a crêpe-de-chine piece whose bright butterflies had appealed to her sixteen-year-old fancy, stated that no doubt if she slept in the ya-khaing longyi every night for seven years, it would just be at its best for her to wear when she reached the age of twenty-five. For more dressy occasions, my aunt wore *zin-mè* silks, the design of which was reputed to come from Chiengmai in Siam, and in imitation of which Burmese weavers now produce zin-mè longyis in dull red and green geometrical designs, like old lacquer colours. Kyi-Kyi sometimes wore *Bangauk* longyis also, said to come truly from Bangkok, but more often woven in Burma in imitation of the characteristic twist

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

gyis, and settles down to observe the proceedings. The boy throws off all his fine clothes and jewellery, and binds a piece of white cloth round his loins. Then his long hair is cut off close to the head. Often the locks are as much as three or four feet long, and are carefully preserved by the mother or sister, the latter often making them up into ta-su, the tails of hair twisted in with her own to increase the size of her sa-dôn—the knot of hair she wears at the back of her head. When the hair has been cut, the head is carefully shaved, the boy holding it over a cloth held by some of his relations. After this the head is washed in the usual way with a decoction of the seeds and bark of the kin-bôn thi, and rubbed well with saffron. A bath is then taken, and once more he puts on the bright paso, and repairs to the presence of the monks. Near at hand the parents have set ready the thingan, belt, ko-wut, and other yellow robes, the begging-pot and other requisites of the shin. The boy comes forward, prostrates himself three times, raises his hands joined in reverence, and begs, in a Pali formula got up by heart, to be admitted to the Holy Assembly as a neophyte, that he may walk steadily in the path of perfection, enjoy the advantages which result therefrom, and finally attain to the blessed state of Ne'ban. The kyaung po-go with his own hands gives him the garments; he is duly robed; the thabeit is hung round his neck by the strap, and then it is announced formally that he is a member of the monastery. He falls in among the other novices who have come with the mendicants. The abbot perhaps exhorts the assemblage for a short time, and then rising while all the people do obeisance, walks off slowly to the monastery, whither the newly-appointed ko-yins follow him, not unlikely helping to carry the presents which have been given at their induction.

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The feast at the parents' house begins immediately, and of course ends in a pwè, which lasts till dawn. Sometimes, though this is very seldom the case even in Rangoon, the young probationer comes back again the same night and assumes the lay dress. This *pro forma* observance of the ceremony of baptism is, however, vehemently opposed by all the monks who are worth anything. A few boys

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2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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the monks are perhaps

276 the most persistent chewers of the good betel. Smoking is
792 prohibited, but nothing is said against betel, and it is considered a great stimulator of the meditative faculties. The lime used very speedily corrodes and destroys the teeth, and then the old pôngyi has to make the scholars crush up the nuts so that they may not hurt his toothless gums. It is a common belief that no one can speak Burmese well till he chews betel. Demosthenes is said to have put pebbles in his mouth when he was practising oratory.

517 Alternate smoking, chewing, and conversation serve to
515 pass the day, and after dinner, when the sun goes down, our
302 villager has a bath down by the well to freshen him up. The water is drawn up in a bucket and simply poured over the body. Soap is never used, and particular care is taken not to wet the hair. The head washing is a special ceremony, to be gone through only occasionally, and then with circumspection. Dandies, as a rule, put a solution of rice and water on their hair every day to make it grow long, and cocoanut oil is also very generally used. Both sexes are proud of the length of their hair, and it is not uncommon to see it reaching below the knee and down to the ankles. The men wear it in a yaung or knot on the top of the head, while the sadôn of the women is at the back of the head. Both men and women are in the habit of adding to its size by interweaving false tresses, which are easily got, seeing that everybody has black hair, and that some young member of the family is constantly getting his locks cut off on his entry into the monastery. There is no more sense of shame in using false hair than there is in improving the appearance
[751] by wearing fine clothes. At his bath it is usual for a pious person to repeat a Pali charm over the first bucket of water, which is then slowly poured over the body. The object of this is to guard against sickness.

517 After bathing, the Burman, if he is young, usually puts
514 on his fine clothes, for except in the rainy season there is
291 sure to be a dramatic performance, or a yein dance by the village lads and lasses, or an entertainment of some kind going on at some house in the village. The dress is very simple and picturesque. The paso is a long silk cloth, fifteen cubits long and about two and a half wide. It is

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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could afford so much as this. The best engagements are those known as ahlu pwè, given by a rich man in celebration of some religious festival, or to commemorate some event in his family, such as the donning by his son of the yellow robes of the monastery. The elders of the village, or the custodians of the pagoda, often collect money for the performance of some of the religious zāts, depicting avatars of the Lord Buddha. Then there are subscription pwès, where some energetic lover of the drama suggests the propriety of a play to the inhabitants of the village, or of a street in the town. He goes round gathering subscriptions, and then negotiates with the zat-ôk for as many nights as the manager is inclined to give for the money. This system has unfortunately led to abuses. Sharp individuals have discovered the possibility of collecting three or four hundred rupees among the people, paying the manager two hundred out of this, and keeping the rest for themselves. The dodge has been too often tried in Rangoon, but in the smaller towns it is still practicable, and is far too often carried out. Besides these performances by accredited companies, there are others called kyigyin pwè, given by professionals anxious to make a name for themselves, and for this purpose giving gratuitous exhibitions. These are naturally very uneven from the difficulty of getting a complete company together. But in all cases the vast majority of the spectators pay nothing at all. The guests invited by packets of le'hpet usually contribute a rupee or two towards the expenses of their host, but otherwise the entire cost is defrayed by him.

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The pwè is begun by the arrival of the band, which, with characteristic Burmese disregard of the value of time, ordinarily comes upon the scene several hours before the actual commencement of operations. They occupy one side of the stage, and tune up their saing and play away vigorously while the people gather. The zatthama and zatthamā, the male and female artistes, drop in casually along with the spectators. Each is ordinarily accompanied by a servant to carry their dresses and help them in robing. All of them, women as well as men, make their preparations in full view of everybody. Each lady has a toilette-box with all the necessaries for making up. Many are the hints the village

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maidens receive in the way of touching up eyebrows, artfully swelling out the sadôn with false locks of hair, intertwining the raven tresses with red and white fragrant flowers, toning the complexion with thana'ka, and so on. The young men look on critically while the princess scans herself in the little hand-mirror and tranquilly completes the touching-up and other feminine mysteries so little dreamed of by ordinary European swains. No one has the slightest appearance of recognising the ludicrousness of the thing, or of deprecating the exposure of little female wiles and vanities. The zat-thamā wears her acting skirt indeed when she arrives, but everything else—the tight-fitting lace jacket, the stiff brocaded wings, the jewellery, the pagoda-like crown—is put on by the side of the stage at the bamboo rack which supports the masks and necessary changes of dress. The audience either looks on with stolid earnestness, or takes no notice whatever.

Finally, having smoked all through the toilette, the princess and the maids of honour quietly seat themselves—squat would be more accurate, but does not sound nice—at the edge of the pwè-waing, and continue to smoke till everything is ready and their call comes. Then they simply stand up and are on the stage immediately. They do not cease smoking then, except during a long song. The men are equally calm. The king chews betel and salivates copiously between observations or speeches, but in so doing he can
545 only be said to be the more realistic. Incidental ballets are introduced to relieve the monotony of the dialogue, and the maids of honour and the clowns perform wonderful feats of winding themselves about as if they had no bones, picking up coins with the mouth bent back to the ground, doubling themselves up so that the toes touch the forehead, and so on.

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Sometimes there are great fights at these pwès. A young man has got surly because there is such a crowd that he can see nothing of what is going on, and runs up against another equally inclined to quarrel for the same reason. Or perhaps he is angry because some one has supplanted him in a flirtation with one of the girls who have established a temporary bazaar in the outskirts of the crowd. Or there may be a dispute as to the ownership of a mat. There are a few loud words; a woman's voice joins in. Next minute

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A special feature of the New Year's Feast was the formal washing of the king's head, called thi'gyan daw gyi. It is not to be supposed that his majesty washed his head only once a year, or that it is at any time an operation to be lightly undertaken, any more than it is by the humblest of his subjects. But at other times the ceremony was called hkaung-se mingala or thi'gyan daw hkaw, and was not attended with so great solemnity as characterised the function at the opening of a new year. Formerly the water for the purpose was annually brought up from Hkaung-se Gyun (Head-washing Island), a little rocky islet situated on the river opposite Maulmein. Hkaung-se Gyun is fabled to hang, with its little cluster of pagodas and monasteries, by an invisible cord from the heavens, and has therefore long enjoyed a special sanctity, not by any means reduced by the springs of clear bubbling water found on its limited surface. Therefore for long it supplied all the water for the royal head-washing. Latterly, however, it was abandoned, and with this there is a curious history connected. After the war of 1826, it was settled in a general way between the commissioners that the river Salween should form the boundary between Burma and the newly-acquired British province of Tenasserim. But later a question arose as to the ownership of the islands, and especially of the rich rice-growing Bilu-gyun, north and south of which the three rivers flow into the sea. After much fruitless palavering it was determined to leave the decision to chance. A couple of cocoa-nuts were tied together and taken some distance up the Salween and thrown into the water in the middle of the river. They went down bobbing gaily till they came to the place where the conflicting currents of the Gyaing and the Attaran come in, and there they twirled and twisted about in an aggravating way until at last an eddy caught them, and, carrying them past the old town of Martaban, decided for the Dayè outlet, through which they were swept away to sea. Thus the "Ogre's Isle" became British territory, and with it the little Hkaung-se Gyun. Nevertheless for many years water was still carried up to Mandalay for the thi'gyan daw gyi, till at last Pegu was annexed to the British crown. Then it seemed undignified to carry the sacred water, not

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527 only from the stranger's land, but so many miles through
302 alien waters, and so it was necessary to seek for another
643 place. Where could a better be found than the mighty Irrawaddy itself? Accordingly from then on till there ceased to be a king of Burma, the necessary amount was drawn from the centre of the river by the Ye-kyi-wun, a minister specially appointed for that purpose.

527 As in so many other cases the amenities of the thi'gyan
177 pwè have led to the extorting of money. In the good old days, and in the country districts still, it was the practice for benevolent people to keep open house, and give food and dainties to all passers-by, with tea and flavoured drinks, cheroots and betel for those that preferred them. To lighten the expense, contributions, called kèbo, were invited from friends and neighbours, and out of this has sprung the system of blackmail prevalent in Rangoon. A bevy of girls go into an Englishman's house and sprinkle him with lavender-water, or the moss-rose bouquet, so much in favour with Burmese belles. After a little badinage, they produce plain water, and threaten further operations unless something is given them. This they usually get, and if Englishmen complain of shameless extortion it is their own fault. The fair speculators are not such as any respectable girl would care to be seen with, and the prettinesses with scents are no more national than the scents are themselves. A provincial beauty would infinitely prefer a good honest ducking with vulgar water to the mawkish sentimentality of *eau de Cologne*. Some of the results of superior civilisation are very undesirable.

805 On the final day of the feast a gun is fired at noon to
527 signalise the ascent of the thi'gya min to his happy realms again, and then all is over. The squirts are laid by for another year; clothes are hung up to dry, and nothing remains but to wait and see whether the pônnas are more successful than usual in their prognostications for the year.

805 The origin of the custom is no doubt the rain-making,
527 described by Professor J. G. Frazer in *The Golden Bough*, but
773 the Burmese explain it by a legend. The thi'gya min had a bet with a rival and the loser lost his head. This could not be allowed to be defiled by touching the ground, so it was caught by a daughter of Natdewas. Seven of them take it

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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777 bring disaster on everybody connected with it. He declares it is dilatoriness, or the desire to stay and see some feast; whereas it is a matter of conscience, and was taught to the Burman in a rhyme when he was a little boy at school.
777 Similarly there are regulations as to the days proper for
302 washing one's head. This is a regular ceremony, performed only once a month or so, partly because it takes a long time with the Burman's luxuriant hair; partly because many people, especially in the small Talaing villages in Pegu, believe that too frequent washings would disturb and irritate the genius who dwells in the head and protects the man. Therefore when you collect the bark and saponaceous seeds and other material for the operation, you must remember that it is unlucky to wash your head on Monday, Friday, and Saturday. In the same way, parents sending their boy into the monastery must remember not to cut his hair on a Monday, a Friday, or on his birthday. A Burman's birthday, it must not be forgotten, occurs once a week, and his name recalls the day.

777 This circumstance gives rise to a number of barriers to the proceedings of the children of particular days, all of which are taught in the linga, the doggerel rhymes of the monastic and lay schools. Pyatthada ne (unlucky days) are as follows: Thursday and Saturday in the months of Tagu (April), Wagaung (August), and Na'daw (December). The months do not exactly correspond: Tagu, the first month of the Burman year, is really half April and half May; Na'daw, half December and half January, and so on; which must be remembered in the months mentioned below. Thursday and Saturday mean that the people born on those days are invariably unlucky in the specified three months, and had consequently much better remain at home, talking, smoking, and chewing betel, even though it irritate good missionaries, like San Germano, than endeavour to do work of any kind which could only result unfortunately. The monastery rhyme may be rendered as follows:—

> Tagu the hot, Wagaung the wet,
> Na'daw the dull and chilly,
> Scowl on the serpent and the rat,
> So rest ye, willy nilly,—

clouds of dust. The Rainy Season begins sometime late in May or early in June and lasts until October. Almost all of Tadagale's 90 to 100 inches of annual rainfall comes during this period. It rains every day, in periodic downpours which often start so suddenly that the newcomer to the area is caught unaware on a good many occasions. Although temperatures drop during the Rainy Season to daily maxima in the low 80's, the discomfort, for the average denizen of the temperate zone, is greater than in the Hot Season because of the extremely high humidity and the small difference between daily maximum and minimum temperatures. 132

The Burmese inhabitants of the community, who are 90% of the population, are medium brown in skin color, tend to be broad-nosed, have straight black hair, and are of medium stature. 142

All of the men, with the exception of a few of the old ones, wear their hair in western style, cut short and parted on one side. The women, however, adhere to the traditional Burmese hair styles, without exception. Little girls wear their hair in a top-knot on the middle of the head, with a circular part around the temples and crown, short bangs hanging down in front. Adult women comb their hair, liberally oiled, back to form a coiled knot at the nape of the neck. Adherence by the women to traditional hair styles and mode of dress is strikingly in contrast with the situation in neighboring Thailand, where permanent waves and short skirts may be seen among peasant women many miles outside the capital. 302 ● 177

Burmese dress is universal in the village. It consists of the longyi, a circular, single-seamed skirt reaching to the ankles, and a jacket. The longyi is worn by both sexes. The woman's longyi differs from the man's in that it has a black waistband sewn to the upper edge. It is folded over and tucked in at the waist. The man's longyi is drawn tight about the waist and knotted in front to hold it in place. Women's jackets (the aingyi) are not quite so loose-fitting as men's, and for dress occasions they are made of fine muslin, or, if it can be afforded, sheer nylon, climate notwithstanding. Men's jackets are of a heavier material, and are never worn at the workaday tasks of everyday life in the village; the men generally go unclad from the waist up. For ordinary wear both sexes use wooden clog-like shoes, held to the foot by a single band of rubber over the in-step. For dress occasions, single-thonged leather sandals are worn. 291

About nine hundred people live in Tadagale. Census data collected at first-hand do not yield exact information because a few families could not be interviewed. The data include 807 people, and it is doubtful if as many as one hundred people were not covered by the census. 161

In Table I below the population of the village is given in terms of ethnic groups. The imposition of any a priori set of categories was avoided, and informants were simply asked the question, "To what people do you consider yourself to belong?" In this way it was possible to learn something of the group identifications of informants. 162

14: Brant E-5 (1949-50) 1954 AP1 Burma
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The orchestra plays as the initiates depart for the adjoining building to change into ordinary clothes, eat their last meal of the day, and bathe. Some guests now leave; borrowed articles, such as plates, cups and mats are gathered up for return to their owners, and eventually the orchestra departs. 881 796 792

The initiates return to the front of the building in which the ceremony took place. They sit on mats for the shaving of their heads. Two women hold a long piece of white cloth before them to catch the hair as several men proceed to wet their heads and shave them clean with straight razors. [302]

Once more the boys leave to bathe, then return and are seated before the chief monk. Their robes held in their hands before them, they recite prayers, give their robes to the monk, and ask him to dress them properly in the monkish garb.

Their robes donned, they squat before the monk and recite additional prayers, now following very carefully the special intonation appropriate to monks. The ceremony proper is complete. [195]

The following morning, early, a few relatives and close friends go to the monastery. The monks, including the novices, are offered food by them. A monk recites the Five-Fold Path, and then the ceremony of pouring water drop by drop is performed. Names are given the initiates -- special monastic names which they will bear only for the duration of their novitiate. [551]

In former times, and still today in the very remote villages of Burma, an initiate might spend many months, possibly several years, in the monkhood. Sometimes a boy would remain a monk for life. Today in Tadagale, as almost everywhere, initiates spend only a token period of about one week in the monkhood. During this time, they live the austere existence of the order, rising very early, spending long periods in prayer recitals, and abstaining from food after noon until the following morning. The short period of life as a novice is strongly in contrast with the easy-going, carefree childhood days that precede it. Some boys approach the time of their shinbyu with feelings of trepidation, and all are glad when the period spent in the monastery is over and they can return to the much less stern discipline of their parents. 881 792 198

Courtship and Marriage. Young people in the village find ample opportunities to assess each other's manners, physical appearance, and personality, in the company of others at feasts and various gatherings. If a young man and woman are together apart from the company of others, people assume that sex relations are involved. In fact, such going together is spoken of as 'getting married.' Villagers find it hard to conceive of a young unmarried couple associating on a purely friendly, non-sexual basis; such behavior is regarded as contrary to nature. But however much it occurs, unchaperoned association is not approved, much less encouraged. 584 831

Once a pair have decided they want to marry, the boy will inform his parents of his desire. They will already know, in a relatively small village such as Tadagale, something of the standing of the girl's family and of her dowry potentialities; in fact, as soon as they have sensed their son's interest in a particular girl, they will take steps to acquire this information. They will also ascertain whether acceptance by the girl's family is likely. Sometimes the approach to the girl's family is made directly; in other instances a female go-between will be employed. The latter is more likely when the girl's family 584

293 435 482 of many colours. A thin strap about 4 inches wide is attached at the greatest width on both sides and serves to suspend the bag over the shoulder. U Myaing had two in Pathwe, one lasting for 2 or 3 years. They were bought in Rangoon and Pantanaw at prices which are forgotten. Camp: Four were made at home from old pieces of cloth, and are in poor condition. They have been in use for 3 or 4 months, and are thought to be good for only a couple of months more. The larger number in camp is due to the need for hauling goods and food from the distant market in downtown Rangoon. The bags are used by the entire family.

293 435 PYWE HYEE (shiny cotton umbrella) Umbrellas: — The black, cotton cloth, folding umbrella with wooden handle of western type is used. Pathwe: one was owned and lasted 3 or 4 years. Bought at Pantanaw for Rs. 22/-. Camp: none, one is needed and desired.

WAR-AGE-HTOKE (bamboo hat) Topes: — These hats are made of strips of bamboo on the pattern of the British army's cork topes. The technique is similar to that used in making the conical hats of palm leaf and bamboo found commonly throughout Southeast Asia. Pathwe: one was owned; it lasted for two years and was bought in Pathwe for Rs. 10/-. Camp; none. U Myaing believes these are available only in the districts. However, they are seen for sale in the Rangoon bazaar also.

●302 435 Razor: — Pathwe: a Gillette brand safety razor and blades were used. 15 blades would last about a year. They were bought in Rangoon for 2 annas each. Camp: a THIN DOW DHA (sharp knife) "big razor used for shaving children's heads" is used.

Haircut: — Pathwe: a western style short haircut was secured twice a month for two annas per haircut from the local barber in Pathwe. Camp: U Myaing now goes for slightly over a month between haircuts; they now cost 8 annas in the Rangoon barber shops. He desired his hair cut twice a month.

Cosmetics for the Hair: — The preparation used in Pathwe was sticks of hard white substance scented with various perfumes. They are produced locally of European type. He had one stick per month, costing Rs. 1/4. Camp: none. This item is now "not desired at all".

HSE Comb: Men use a western brand celluloid comb. Pathee: one costing ten pice or 2 annas was used for more than a year. Camp: none. This item is "not greatly desired". 302 435

SHAY-TOE-PAHAT (Forward-push-shoe) Slippers: Burmese men's slippers consist of leather soles held to the foot by two leather straps. The straps, attached on each side to the sole at the instep converge in an arrow-shape between the big toe. The back is open. Pathee: three pairs of "airplane" brand sandals were used per year. They were bought in Pantanaw at Rs 1/4 per pair. Camp: He has one pair of rubber strap tyred sandals which last for 4 months. They cost 8 annas per pair in Rangoon. Six or Seven are desired per year, here, since they wear out rapidly on the cement pavements. 291 435

KONG-PA-HAT (heel-shoe) Wooden Clogs: The soles are wooden, and they are attached to the feet by a single strap of rubber(tyre tube strips) or leather placed across the toes and held to the sole by nails. Pathee: 3 or 4 pairs were used in one year. They were bought in Pantanaw at 8 annas. Camp: He used one pair per month due to hard wear on pavements and they cost 6 annas for one pair.

MYEY-HNA-THONE-PU-HNA (Face-rubbing-cloth) Face Towel: This item is made of cotton and measured a few feet square. Pathee: two were used and lasted about one year. They were bought in Pantanaw at Rs 1/4 each. Camp: one old one was brought from Pathee but it fell apart about a year ago. None is used now. Two are desired.

MU-THONE-PU-HNA (Body-rubbing-cloth) Body Towel: Body towels are made of cotton and measure somewhat larger than face towels. One was used for every 3 or 4 months in Pathee (by the whole family). They cost Rs 2/8/ or 3/- and were bought in Pantanaw. Camp: none. 515 435

PADONGE-LEE-BUT (Lady-hand-put-loop) ruby ring: A finger ring set with a ruby was in U Myiang's possession from the age of 18 to 30. It cost Rs 35/- 301

SHE LEE BUT (gold hand-put loop) Gold ring: A gold finger was used from the age of 14 to the time of evacuation. It cost Rs 17/-

SHE CHE THEE (Gold-gap-pip or button) Gold chain or button: A gold chain with attached gold buttons used to fasten the Burmese 291

gold and copper was made from a button in Pathee and used by the youngest daughter there and at present in camp. 301 435

MYEE-CHE-GYIN Silver anklet: — This item is a thin "U" shaped circle of silver worn at the ankle. The youngest daughters had one pair each. They were made by a silversmith in Pantanaw. He received from U Myaing two silver coins which he made into one pair and 3 coins into the other. For his labour he charged Rs. 5/- each. One pair was brought from Pathee and is in use in camp.

THANAKHA Face powder: — For beautifying the complexion Burmese females (all ages) use a cream made from the wood of the THANAKHA tree. The wood is rubbed on a rock slab especially made for the purpose and mixed with water. Several other varieties of wood are used including KHAMMET, TAUNG THAN KADO, and MATHAPYU. All the females of the family used this preparation. In Pathee 90 or 100 pieces were received as presents from traders who came from Shwegyin. They rarely had to buy the sticks which were from 8 to 10 inches in length and 1 to 2 inches thick. In Pathee 6 sticks cost 8 annas. For one year they bought THANAKHA four times. Camp: one stick is bought at a time and lasts 3 or 4 days. It costs 3 annas a stick. Daw Aw Zar used the woods MATHAPYU, TAUNTHAN KAD-DO and KHAMMET in Pathee. She would get one piece of each kind weighing 12½ ticals and these would last for one year. They were bought for Rs. 3/- for 20 ticals. She does not use this in camp. 302 435

The western brand "Cuticura" talcum powder MYEE-HMAR-CHE (Face smoothener) was used by Ma Aye Myaing and the children in Pathee. The tins bought at Pantanaw for Rs. 3/- per tin would last two months. Camp: not used.

HSIN SWE HEE (elephant tusk comb) Ivory comb and WA HEE (bamboo combs) ranging from three to six inches in length, and an inch or inch and a half in width are used by Burmese women. The combs are kept wrapped up in a bun of hair in the back when not in use. Ma Aye Myaing had one ivory comb, bought for Rs. 5/-, in Pathee, but does not have this in camp. Both adult ladies had a bamboo comb apiece in Pathee. These lasted 8 months and cost 8 annas each in Pantanaw. Camp: they have each had a bamboo comb for a year now, costing from 4 to 6 annas.

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KIN GYI THI (Jacket button) Buttons: — Buttons come in matched sets of five for use in fastening the jackets. They are detachable, and range from ½ to ¾ inch in diameter for the most part.

A set of silver buttons were received by the eldest daughter as a present from a medical student, Miss Margaret Gaudoin, 6 months ago in camp. Ma Aye Myaing, her eldest daughter and Daw Aw Zar each had a set of crystal buttons costing in Pathwe Rs. 3/- or 4/- in Japanese currency during the Japanese regime. Daw Aw Zar's set cost 12 annas The children each had a set of green stone buttons costing Rs. 1/- in Pathwe. These items are still in use in camp.

Stone Slab for making Face Powder.

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KYAUK-PYIN; (Stone Slab): — These are circular stone slabs about 1 foot in diameter and 1½ inches thick. Pathwe: these were used by the family. One was received as a present from a friend. One, with a diameter of 14 inches was "100 years old" and handed down to Daw Aw Zar by her mother. The third was bought at Pantanaw for Rs. 4/-. All three were left behind in the move. Camp: one with a diameter of 6 inches was received as a present.

OW HSI (Coconut oil): — The oil of the coconut meat, a yellow, slightly viscous fluid with a characteristic odour is highly prized by the Burmese women as a hair dressing. Pathwe: 20 ticals of oil, costing 8 annas, would be used per month. Camp: a small quantity is occasionally bought lasting 2 days at a time. It is purchased in the refugee camp for 2 annas.

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PATHEIN HYEE (Bassein town umbrella) parasol: — These are made of cloth with bamboo ribs and handle. The cloth is painted with flora and other designs in various bright colours. They are considered "elegant" and used primarily for social sauntering. The town of

[438]

Bassein is famous as a place of manufacture for parasols. Pathwe: the children had two parasols, lasting 6 months. These were bought in Pantanaw for Rs. 3/- each. Camp: none.

HYEE, umbrella: — Ma Aye Myaing reports that she had an umbrella in Pathwe, the black cloth European kind, for which she paid Rs. 7/- It lasted 8 or 9 months. One was bought in camp, second hand for Rs. 3/- 5 months ago. It is good for 2 months more.

length) draped over one shoulder. The PUNA, part of the scarf, still draped, is placed on front of the worshipping woman for her head and hands as she bows. The beads, a string about 2 feet long made of black lacquer or of red or white beads about ½ inch in diametre are called SHIK-PA-DEE (count-beads). They are worn about the neck when not in use, and are "counted" by the fingers of one hand. Each bead, thus counted calls to the worshipper's mind a vision of Buddha as she says ARA HANN (God) in a low voice. While in this dress women do not decorate their hair with flowers or wear jewelry or cosmetiques as such would be unseemly. 792 291 293 [788]

The older men and other religious men (who are gathering alms as members of Buddhist lay societies) wear a loose white robe over a white jacket, white head band, praying bead necklace, and a chocolate coloured scarf draped over one shoulder. The general public must wear their very best clothes for religious festivals but the women do not use cosmetiques. "Rangoon Sabbath" is the term applied to the less strict observations of the town people who may appear with a little THANAKA or other cosmetiques. The marriage dress of the bride is an older form of costume involving use of a long split skirt with out-flaring jackets. 888 779 575 291 [369] [779] [292] [585]

The hair styles are important and denote age and sex. Children of both sexes wear their hair in a knot at the top of the head with a fringe of short hair like a bowl below. The older men's style was long hair knotted on one side in the back of the head; except in villages this has been superseded by the western short crop ranging from a long "Pompador" to short "crew cuts" - the latter being rarer and more modern. Old men wear very short cropped hair or are shaven - as the Pongyis and nuns. Maidens wear their hair in elaborately woven tresses - earlier on top of the head in a disc-whorl - now in chain braids at the back of the head. False switches of hair are commonly used. Flowers are used as decoration on all occasions. The usual style for married ladies is a knot at the back of the head wound around a rectangular comb of wood, (common) tortoise shell, ivory or gold. Older and married women sometimes appear in an ancient ceremonial style consisting of the hair wrapped around a fiber cylinder 302 177 369

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on top of the head. Scented hair oil is used by both sexes on special occasions.

The HTAMEIN is regarded as "unworthy" for a man to touch. A severe insult is for a wife to request her husband to bring her HTAMEIN or to wash it. Drying HTAMEINS in the front of the house is never allowed; and it is strictly forbidden for this garment to touch any pongyi utensils. Parents instruct their boys never to pass under the strings of a line of which HTAMEINS are drying as such is thought to take away the masculine powers, and render the tattooed charms ineffective. Men and women's clothes are washed and stored separately.

[593]

When a son neglects his mother after marriage she will complain with rage that he has not come out of the HTAMEIN and is under the HTAMEIN government of his wife.

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Women usually wear solid black HTAMEINS during menstruation. Boys, in jest, inform one of their companions that he may now become serious when the girl of his choice appears in a black dress for the first time.

Slippers of both sexes are regarded as "dirty" objects and are left outside of the houses. They are strictly prohibited in pagoda enclosures and land. When a girl is angry at a teasing boy (or quarreling with a woman) she will threaten to slap his face with her sandal. This is a double insult since the head is regarded as a particularly sacred part of the body. Barbers must ask permission and apologize for touching the heads of their customers.

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Western clothing has a higher status than Burmese clothing in certain situations and on certain occasions especially where western people are present in suits. However, for most occasions, everyday or special, the Burmese costume is preferred. When abroad the Burmese men usually wear western garb. The wearer of western clothes

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is often open to the taunt that he is "Bo Gyi (term for Englishmen) made in Burma". There is a strong feeling in all cases to be "properly" dressed and not to stand out from the rest of the group. This tendency is stronger in men than women who with their jewels and fine silks attempt to rival each other in a contest for social posi-

[562]

tion. Burmese girl students who go abroad almost invariably wear their native costumes.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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[562]
[868]

18. THE FIRST STEP.

of an inch thick. This custom is on the decline, and the ears of boys are not so generally pierced as they used to be. The *naddung* or women's ear-plug of gold is being replaced by the *nagdi* with its slender stem (No. 241). With eldest-born girls the fête is frequently deferred until they are twelve or fourteen, and is then celebrated with all the more splendour (p. 14).

862
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Burman children are not weaned until the second or third year. Nevertheless they begin to receive solid food as soon as they will take it. The illusion prevails that the earlier they do so the stronger they will be. It is a [165] chief source of infant sickness and mortality, and of the smallness of the families reared. A curious feature of Burman sociality is the promiscuous suckling of infants in the circle of relatives and friends.

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Children's heads are shaved in more or less fanciful ways up to the ages of ten or twelve, after which the hair is allowed to grow long.

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The road-fronts of the houses are always peopled with children. Children are equals and are free to roam through the neighbours' houses and plots, where they are kindly noticed. Adults take in- [854] terest in their games, and make kites and reels, boats, carts and other simple toys for them.

17. THE WOODEN CRADLE (BAUNGDAN).

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

31. SHINLAUNG ARRAYED FOR HIS FETE.

the home of the Buddha. In order to accentuate the renunciation of the world which the lad is making, he is arrayed and attended like a prince and makes a royal progress on horseback or in a chariot to the monastery. Attendants bear gilt umbrellas over him, and a retinue of relatives and friends carry his *parĕikaya* and offerings for the use of the monastery. The *parĕikaya* are the eight chattels, to the possession of which the regular recluse (*yahán*) is restricted. They consist of the *thingán* or monastic yellow robes, *viz.*, the loin-cloth (*thimbáing*), upper cloth (*egazí*), wrapper (*thingán-dyí*), and red girdle (*kabán*); a needle (*at*), wherewith to piece his clothing together, a hard-baked black earthen pot (*thabĕít*) in which to collect the morning dole of food, a filter (*yezít*) to strain the drinking water clear of living things, and a razor (*thindôn-dâ*) to shave the head and face (excepting the eyebrows). The garments are of plain cloth, without any cut, but torn into strips and joined up again (by the donors) in commemoration of the primitive rule of piecing the garments together from rags, as well as to deprive the cloth of value. The cloth is mostly cotton, but silk and wool are also offered. The stuffs are dyed a bright ochre, with chips of Jack-wood. By repeated washings the colour deepens to tan. These varying shades produce a picturesque effect. The recluse customarily also receives sandals to wear, a deer-skin to sit and sleep upon, a broom to sweep his dwelling with, and a large palm-leaf fan, both for a shelter from the sun and a screen from the sight of womankind. The *thabĕít* is slung in a yellow cotton net, and has a lacquerwork stand and cover. In respect of chattels, however, these primitive tokens of privation have sunk to a form. The recluses have many changes of raiment and the use of spacious dwellings

32. SHINLAUNG PAGEANT (BURMA PROPER).

25; Fetrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

28. SHINLAUNG PRAYING FOR ACCEPTANCE (PEGU).

attendance upon his preceptor, to contemplation and sober study. His preceptor receives voluntary confession of faults, without questioning, prescribes penances, and is to his disciple as a parent. Having acquiesced in the rule of life, the candidate is admonished to divest himself of worldly state and personal adornment, and after that to renew his prayer for admission. 858 792

The *shinláung* then retires to be divested of his grandeur. His long hair—the pride of the Burman—is cut close to the roots with scissors and preserved by his female relatives. His head is shaved by a male relative. The same day, or later, after bathing, the candidate will present himself clad in a plain loin-cloth, offering his robes and the rest of the *parčikaya* for acceptance as before. The recluse will now accept the robes on behalf of the Assembly, and deliver them to the candidate, who retires to robe himself. Invested with the *thingán*, he returns as accepted probationer, to make obeisance (*shikô*) to his instructor. The novice takes no vow and owes no formal obedience. Like the full member of the Assembly, he is always free to abandon the religious rule of life (*hu-tuô*—to become a layman again). The *goyin* (*maung-yin*, Pâli *samanera*, "*chinthamani*") or "gentle-brother," as the novice is designated, discontinues the use of his secular name, in lieu of which he receives from his preceptor a Pâli title (*hnô*), chosen in the same way as the secular name from one of seven sets. Thus Maung Shwe Ni, Brother Golden-red, becomes Ô Âlawka, Sage Above-the-world. [302] [291] [553]

29. SHINLAUNG PRAYING FOR ACCEPTANCE (BURMA). 792

The whole male population of the village are free of the monastery. The recluse and his novices have withdrawn from participation in

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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128. CLEANING AND SPINNING COTTON.

For work and exercise the *paso* is girt into the narrowest compass (*hoddung-chaik*, No. 407). The women's cloth —*tamein*—is only three cubits long. To the upper edge of the figured silk is joined a strip of plain dark-coloured cotton or velvet. To the lower edge is joined a piece striped with the colours of the centre-piece, to that again a strip of red silk shot with white, and it is lined with calico. The *tamein* overlaps very little (Nos. 136, 137). *Paso* and *tamein* are the distinctive national dress. Both are in process of being superseded by the more convenient *londyi*, except for *gala* occasions (No. 34). The *londyi* is an endless cloth, generally of red tartan, about equal to two *tamein*, worn like the Malay *sarong*. Men wear their long hair in a top-knot, and frequently use no head-dress. For *gala* they wear a fillet of white muslin round the temples tied in a knot, of which the long ends stand up (*pazin-hnyat*). Bright-coloured figured silk kerchiefs (*gaung-baung*) are worn in the same way. But more generally hair and kerchief are wound up together upon the head. Women wear nothing on the head except flowers and jewels. They wear kerchiefs (*gwa*) over their shoulders, of the same kind as the men's *gaung-baung*. These kerchiefs were at first of bright Chinese embroidery, but are now damask silk prints from Europe. The fashion of their patterns and colours changes. Jackets were not an invariable part of the Burman costume, but are now universal. The older pattern of men's white muslin jacket (*taing-ma-thein inji*, Nos. 374, 389), and women's white muslin, or coloured and gold-figured gauze jackets (*htshé-inji*, No. 379), are of Indian type. They are now superseded by the more convenient *kadó inji*, of Shan-Chinese type, worn by both men and women (Nos. 115, 288). Over-jackets of imported woollens have also become general. A wrap or blanket of heavy cotton cloth, or of imported broad-cloth (*saung*, No. 184), completes the outfit. No kind of wool is indigenous

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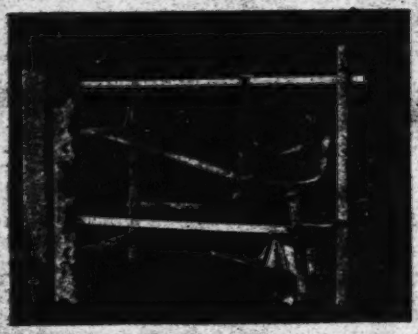

129. THE WEAVING-LOOM.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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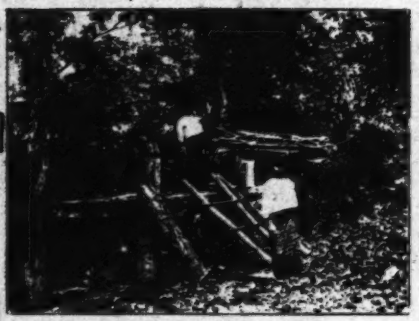

140. FETCHING IN FUEL.

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In the villages the passing traveller is invited to join in the meal. Everyone in turn ladles gravy from the bowl on the rice in front of him and mixes and eats it with his fingers. Before and after eating, mouth and fingers are rinsed. After the meal a drink of water is taken. Fruit is eaten after meals and at odd times. The importation of delf crockery and enamelled ware has been going on for a long time.

Betel (*kun*) is taken at all times except at meals, and tobacco is smoked by men, women, and children (No. 21). The betel-box plays the same part in Burman sociality as the snuff-box still does in parts of Europe. The chew of betel is made up of the fresh leaf of the betel-vine (*kun-yuêt*, No. 409) smeared with moist slaked lime (*thn*) and folded over slices of the nut of the areca or betel palm. Dried tobacco-leaf, cutch and spices—cinnamon and cloves [805] —are frequently added. "A betel-chewing" is a common phrase for about a quarter of an hour. Old people who have lost their teeth pound up the betel in a small brass mortar (*kun-dyeik*) for chewing. The spittoon (*tuê-gan*) is indispensable.

The native tea is prepared by hill-tribes of the North. It is either in dry balls the size of a fist (*sin-chî*) or loose (*leppêtchauk*), or is pickled (*leppêkkan*). The dry tea is infused in the Chinese fashion (*leppêyye*, No. 146).

141. GETTING FIRE BY THE NATIVE METHOD.

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[372]
[805]
[302]
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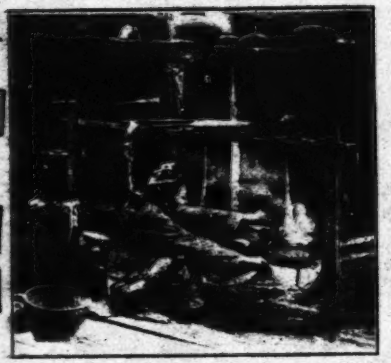
When the platters have been rinsed after the evening meal and the tables put by—*sabwê-hmauk*—which gives the name to the hour, the day's work is over and the young women smarten themselves up to receive their *hsaus*. The chief toilet-requisite is the face-powder (*than-dkhê*)—the cream-coloured bark

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

302 [252] [515] [178]



142. THE COOKING-PLACE.

of a tree of the dry zone, ground into a paste with water on a special stone. It is perfumed by grinding sandal-wood with it. The paste is smeared on the face and left to dry, after which the excess is rubbed off. For great occasions the paste is left on over-night. But ordinarily the face is "freshed" with water (*mye-hna-thit*) on rising in the morning. The Burmans admire white teeth and polish them with charcoal on a soft stick. The old style of women's hair-dress was like the early *chignon* fashion of about 1867 in Europe. The *sadôn* in this form is seen in Nos. 30, 381. About 1880 a new fashion was set by the palace, which now prevails. Tresses of false hair are much used by the women. Flowers in the hair and jewellery complete the toilet, which, like that of the actors in the *pwé*, is performed in view of everyone. The men's toilet consists in combing their long hair (No. 127). They take pride in the size of their top-knot (*yaung*) and rarely eke it out with false hair in the way the women do. The heavy knot works loose, so that combing and knotting up go on perpetually. The hair of both sexes is coarse and straight and jet black. Children's hair gets foxy from alternate exposure to rain and sun. The hair is smoothed with cocoanut oil and washed with soap-nut once or twice a month. At other times the Burmans are concerned to avoid wetting their hair. The native wooden combs are coarse, but the Chinese tooth comb is beginning to serve a useful purpose. Burmans turn grey at forty to fifty years of age and are white at sixty to seventy. Baldness is rare. Aged men still wear their little top-knot. The men's faces are smooth, many

[515] [264] 145 302

143. THE FAMILY MEAL (OLD STYLE).

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

144. THE FAMILY MEAL (NEW STYLE).

having no trace of beard till thirty. The beard is sparse and is not shaved but plucked out with tweezers. (The *yakán* of Burma likewise use tweezers for the beard.) When there is a passable moustache, towards middle life, it is allowed to grow. The hair on a mole is cultivated—sometimes a single long hair—for luck. Besides the sandal-wood perfume just mentioned, there is the perfumed wood *kalamét*. Sandal-oil and attar of roses have long been imported from India. Scented waters are made from various flowers and an oil is obtained from *hadát-ngan*. Scents imported from Europe have become a regular toilet article. The shoulders and arms of those who habitually wear jackets and do not labour in the open are brunette; face and hands are darker, much like the complexion of the sun-browned Levantine, but of a yellower tint than his. Regular exposure browns the skin to a copper hue, and where exposure is severe to a brown-black, but not so opaque a black as that of India or Africa. The colour lightens again on avoidance of exposure. Women's and children's complexions are fairer; the new-born are no darker than in Europe. As a rule the Burman is darker and slenderer, with a more oval face; the Taláing fairer and more thick-set, with a broader face. The gloss of the skin helps to exaggerate the light and shade in photographs and make the complexion appear too dark. The ordinary stature of the men is from five feet three inches to five feet six inches, and of the women from four feet nine inches to five feet. The people are of a moderately spare habit.

145. BETEL (KUN).

Having made her evening toilet,

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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[805]
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Having made her evening toilet

148. TEA (LEPPEYVE).

the girl takes some light work, such as cotton to roll for the wheel for the hour of *lubyô-hlè*, as the dusk of evening is called, literally, the time of the "bachelors' round." The young men are expected to make short calls only, so as not to keep the old people up late. By "old men's sleeping time," as the hour after the short twilight is called, they must have left, so as to relieve the duenna, who, if not in sight, is always in waiting for the girls to come up into the house for the night. Courtship has quite a language of its own in which the suitor needs to be proficient. Young people of fashion are referred to as *kâla-thâ*, *kâla-thamî*—lads and girls "of the period," who cultivate smartness in their speech, bearing and dress. The suitor brings presents of flowers and fruit and ornaments. Oranges, expensively stored one by one, long past the season, are for this sole purpose.. Carved

883
[198]
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302

147. BELLE AT HER TOILET.

149. VILLAGE BELLE.

511 necessity, by pressing the paste flat on the inside of the cover and
415 putting it over the fire; the top knob of the pottery always remains cool
252 enough to be touched by the time the paste is baked. On festival days
415 my mother bought dozens of little earthern dishes, no bigger than an
392 English coffee saucer. They were called *hsi-mi-khaet*, oil-flame dishes,
527 in which we burned lights of cotton wick and kerosene, and lined veran-
511 dahs and window-sills with bright fairy lights in the night breeze.

We had stoneware in the house too. The *kyaukpyin* is a flat circular piece of stone for grinding the bark of the *thanakha* (*limoria*
511 *acidissima*) tree, to use as a cosmetic. It has a canal all around to receive
324 the ground paste. Kyaukpyins can be bought in all varieties and
412 sizes in any bazaar, but my mother always got hers through the headman
303 of Salé village, in Upper Burma, where they use a particularly suitable kind of rock which is durable and yet helps to make the paste smooth. We had some beauties, heavy pieces of about 14 inches across, a square around the circular canal, with carved figures on the corners and the ponderous legs. With the right quality of bark the ground thanakha fell in a smooth golden flow into the canal. Formerly, all women used this cream as the sole substitute for powder, letting it dry on the face and whiten it, but the sophisticated ones now use imported powder as giving a less artificial appearance.

302 Yet even the most ardent Max Factor fans cannot give up thanakha entirely for its great value lies in its astringent properties; it would have great success with European women who use mud-packs, because it acts like a mild and pleasant mud-pack. It also has cooling and refreshing properties, it is fragrant; older women apply it over the entire body after their bathe, like talcum powder. My mother says it smooths the skin and, indeed, victims of smallpox who are left with deeply marked faces, have their skins smeared with thick thanakha many times a day, and
303 after a few months there is a definite improvement. The thanakha
512 bark is the most used, but barks of the red and white sandalwood and other trees (*nethapyu, nethani, kalamè, a-hmway*) are more fragrant and used on the body. Bad bark from the bazaar grinds gritty and dries patchily, but special consignments come from Myingyan and Pakokku, cut into six-inch lengths from branches two inches in diameter. A daily task of the girls in each household is to grind thanakha, and the commonest sight is a girl on a verandah with a kyaukpyin, a mug of

water and a basket of logs; she pours water and grinds unceasingly, bored 303
to tears, and then scoops the paste into separate dishes for use on face, 512
body and legs.

Our toilet to this day never included imported combs. Even the 302
most frivolous girls in the University prefer Burmese combs. Burmese 412
women, unlike Siamese and modern Chinese and Japanese women, wear

their hair long without exception, and European combs could never cope with so much work. At one time, the village girls did favour long, bright bakelite combs to wind the hair around in a knot at the back, but the fashion was ridiculed as "aeroplane head-dress" and soon died. Burmese utility combs for general use and for distribution to servants of the household are made of wood and shaped according to use: for combing the hair are those with slightly curved rims, two inches wide and six inches long; for the little girls to stick in front of their knots and for women to form a frame for their formal hairdressing are small ones, almost semi-circular in the curve of the rim; for the women to wind their hair into a knot on less formal occasions are almost straight-backed combs; for delousing are fine, double-edged combs. My mother chose wooden combs for smoothness and stoutness and put them at the bottom of the sesamum oil jar until the brittle yellow wood turned a deep rich brown.

These combs, with teeth that bite and rarely break off, can be bought for three annas. We also had ivory and tortoise-shell combs for superior use.

Burmese blacksmiths have been 326
busy since olden days, producing 412
weapons for the hill people, agricultural implements, scissors, nutcrackers and fire-irons, and, above all, blades of all kinds (*dahs*). The dah is the universal implement in Burma. It serves as a fighting weapon in the form of a long *dahs*, a slender pointed steel blade, about 15 inches long, fixed by a tang into a long handle of cane

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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every household in the town is occupied in the trade, is there any attempt at regular planting of nurseries. Nevertheless it is plentiful enough, and affords a magnificent spectacle when it is in flower—a huge forest tree covered so thickly with creamy-white blossoms that the leaves cannot be seen. The flowers have a fragrant scent not unlike that of apples, and the needy and practical Burman often makes a very acceptable curry of the buds. In full-grown trees the average height to the first branch is thirty feet, and the ordinary girth six feet from the ground is nine feet. Charcoal-burners have a predilection for the wood, which would not meet with approval in Japan; and it is much used for anchors and tool-helves, being very close and fine-grained. It is too heavy to float when green, but dried it is not particularly weighty. The sap may be collected at all times, except when the fruit is on the trees, from Pyatho to Tabaung—the first three months of the English year. Then it is thin and does not produce such a brilliant polish. The mode of collection is simple enough. Incisions are made in the stem, and the sap trickles into bamboos placed to catch it. When it is to be kept any time there must be a depth of two or three inches of water on the top, otherwise it would dry up and become solid. The water, however, does not improve it. The best varnish, called thi'si ayaungtin, is that which has been just drawn from the tree; the second quality contains twenty-five per cent of water, the inferior as much as fifty.

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The articles lacquered are chiefly drinking-cups and betel-boxes, the latter consisting of a cylindrical inner case, in which are fitted two or three trays for holding the lime, betel-vine leaves, cutch, nuts, and other ingredients for betel-chewing, the whole covered by an outer lid reaching to the bottom of the inner case. Ordinary kôn-it, betel-boxes, are three or four inches high and two and a half to three in diameter. Articles of the same shape are made of all sizes up to a couple of feet or more in height, these last being used for holding clothes and women's working materials. The bi-it, ladies' toilet-boxes, are often the most delicate and carefully worked. The actresses always carry splendid specimens about with them to contain their combs, oil, scent,

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322 the white lead and thana'kha for the complexion, and a few
● 303 tresses of false hair. Other articles are the pyramidal tamin-
322 sa-ôk, used for carrying food to the monasteries and the
415 pagodas, fashioned somewhat in the style of the sacred spires, of five or seven roofs, and of all sizes from eighteen inches to the huge things, the height of a man, which the king sent under the royal umbrellas to the Arakan pagoda in Mandalay. Byat, platters of all sizes, up to the gigantic circular tray as big as a small table, used for dishing up the family dinner, are always made of wood, like the Japan ware. The people do not think much of them, and they are therefore almost always quite plain, either black or red. There is no inferiority to the Japanese in capacity for sketching fantastic designs. The future may see great developments in this branch of the art, but at present it is practically untouched. It is unfortunate that enterprise so far has taken the form of making "peg" tumblers and cigar-cases instead of developing national forms.

285 The process of manufacture is as follows: Little basket-
322 like boxes of the required shape and size are woven of fine bamboo wicker-work, upon round chucks of wood prepared and firmly fixed for the purpose. The bamboos used, which are usually split and cleaned by the women and children, are of different kinds, that called myinwa being the most highly esteemed. Similarly, the yet, or woven basket-work, is of different degrees of excellence, the kyaungleinyet being the finest. Some of the Shans and better workmen at Nyaung-u are celebrated for the delicacy of their work. On this is then evenly applied with the hand (so that the slightest particle of sand or dirt may be at once detected) a coat of the pure wood-oil. This is then put away to dry—not in the sun, which is apt to pucker and blister it, but in a cool airy place. Some careful workmen have often an underground room prepared specially for the purpose. After three days it is quite dry and hard, and is then liberally and evenly covered over with a paste called thayo. This is made in a variety of ways, the commonest being a mixture of finely-sifted teak sawdust, thi'si, and rice-water. But instead of the sawdust, or often mixed with it, finely-ground bone-ash, or paddy-husk burnt and strained through a cloth,

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ment as possible, to stimulate the thein-nats to exert themselves also. A lônswèthi sometimes continues for nearly an hour without definite result. 773 789

The "painted cheeks," or "fragrant cheeks," so frequently mentioned in all these love-songs, refers to the thana'kha, a sweet-scented, straw-coloured powder made from the bark and roots of the *Murraya paniculata*, a flowering shrub of the citron species. Some girls, and especially some actresses, have particular recipes for making up the cosmetic into a moist paste. It is applied with the finger, and a good deal of skill is exhibited in putting on the requisite amount. Unpractised hands usually smear on far too much, and it is as unsightly as a badly whitewashed outhouse. On others it is barely visible. All girls use it, and not a few town dandies. 303 533

The following may be regarded as somewhat of an approach to the European *vers de société*. I have not attempted to imitate the original metre:— 539

THE CIGAR-MAIDEN OF MADEYA, NEAR MANDALAY

Thy cheroots, so deftly fingered,
  Famous are in Burma's land,
Many a chief has fondly lingered,
  Watched the maiden's nimble hand.

Madeya, I'd spare to sing thee
  For cheroots and dainty maids,
For their crispness doth but bring thee
  Sorrow from the palace blades.

By the throne's great gilded grandeur
  Sits the prince, cheroot in hand,
And behind him little Ma Nyo,
  Pearl of all the village band.

Burnt up all my love and sighing,
  Like the ash of his cigar;
Hopes dispelled and idly flying,
  Like the smoke he puffs afar.

Thy cheroots so deftly fingered,
  Madeya are silver-white,
But the prince that came and lingered,
  Stole away the hamlet's light.

have chosen industry and renown, or those others who have concentrated on hard living and the enjoyment of the pleasures of life, they all seem so ebullient, so much Lower Burman and not of the court of Mandalay. M 563 156

My grandfather was a pleader by profession, but by reputation much more—he was a classical scholar, famed for his fiery temper, his forthrightness and the stern discipline he imposed on all his children, grandchildren, dependents and anyone else who was given into his charge. He was also known for sudden progressive and even radical courses of action while expressing most reactionary views. My mother says he was a great man. My aunts loved to tell of his mental prowess, of how he never learnt English, never spoke it, but always as he did his pleading in court he could understand everything that was said around him in English; my mother also told us of how beautiful he looked on a horse; and when he was playing *chinlon*, which is a light cane ball to be kept in the air by tossing with legs, shoulders or any part of one's body that agility can devise, his short strong body, bare except for the longyi tucked about his loins, with tattoo marks in a blue-ringed pattern from waist to knee, and his long thick hair in a knot on the crown of his head, all looked more fair, more *manly* than the cropped hair, the shoes and socks and collars of the present punier generation. 554 693 B [526] B [304] B [302]

Grandfather started his family in a village just outside Moulmein, but a fire burnt down the house when my mother was still very young, and he decided to bring his family to Thaton and set up a practice there. He chose a site outside the town proper. It was then surrounded by muddy fields and, knowing Thaton at present with its 220 inches of rain a year, I can sympathize with my aunt Kyi-Kyi-Lon, who is said to have rolled herself on the ground with rage at beholding such a prospect. 00

The house which Grandfather built still stands today. There are not many houses left in Burma which reflect so well the type of comfort which a well-to-do family provided for in those days, or which have been built with so much regard to the customs of daily life and occasional festivities, and so little regard for appearance. Grandfather enclosed M 342 565 351

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and ninepins, played with the big flat seeds of a jungle creeper. Pleasant they were under the shade of the great mango and pipul trees and the lofty cocoa-nut and palmyra palms, and exciting were the games, so that the customary stillness of the place was rudely broken upon by disputing voices, till a monk would come out and bring all back to work again as a penance. Then during the work there was the fun of the writing hour, when everybody had to write out maxims and prayers on his little parabaik with a clumsy pointed steatite pencil. There were always some stiff-fingered big pupils who could not manage to write their copy neatly or correctly, and as punishment had to take the good writers on their backs and march ruefully up and down the long schoolroom during pleasure. Sometimes they were thrashed, but the other punishment was the more dreaded. Then there was the schoolmaster monk, who would tell fairy stories of the other three great islands which lie in the sea round about Myinmo mountain; of the half-moon-faced western islanders, and the wondrous tree that bore everything eatable one could wish for and delivered it ready cooked; the joys of the six heavens of the Nats and the grisly horrors of Nga-yè, with its fearful ages of fantastic punishments. Every now and again travelling necromancers and hmaw sayās would spend a night or two at the monastery, and in recompense for the little delicacies and odds and ends of food which good-natured neophytes would get for them, used to tell stories of witchery and marvel. Sometimes there would be a sā-haw sayā, a kind of cyclic poet, who knew half the zats in the language by heart, and would recite a little just for practice. Or a tattooing sayā would come round and mark some particularly favoured youth with a quaint figure. Discussion as to its meaning and probable virtues would be carried on in the shadowy evenings for months afterwards. Varieties of this kind recur to the old Burman as he thinks of the school days long ago, and he sighs with as much conviction as any European that there are no days so happy as the school days.

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English rule has disturbed old customs a good deal in the province, but even now we may say that, as an invari-

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CHAPTER V

TATTOOING

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WHATEVER his parents may think, the Burman youth considers the tattooing of his thighs quite as important a matter as his entry into a monastery. If he attains to the full dignity of humanity by becoming a shin, it is no less settled in his own mind that till he is tattooed in proper fashion there may be doubts as to his thorough manhood. Accordingly, very often at a tender age, varying with the spiritedness of his character, he begins to get figures tattooed on various parts of his thighs. When the operation is finished, the whole body from the waist, in a line with the navel, downwards to just beyond the knee-cap, is completely covered, the effect to the eye being not so much of a marking of the cuticle as of a skin-tight pair of *caleçons*, fitting better than the best glove ever made. The origin of the custom may or may not be the shameful reason assigned by foreign writers. No true Burman believes it. But in any case the tattooing looks very well on the olive skin, and I have heard English ladies admire it. The custom will probably never die out. There are, it is true, not a few puny Rangoonites, spiritless sons of the town, who do not get tattooed, but they are ashamed of it and take every opportunity of concealing their weakness. But there is not a single up-country man, not a solitary taw-tha, the sturdy inhabitants of the small towns and villages, who is not decorated with the dark blue tracery. They would as soon think of wearing a woman's skirt as of omitting to be tattooed, and they are strengthened in the feeling by the opinion of the girls themselves.

The operation is not by any means pleasant. In fact in

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places such as the tender inside parts of the thigh and at the joints of the knee, it needs more stoicism than most youths can command, to endure it without relieving the mind in speech. Therefore it is common to put the boy under the influence of opium while it is being done, though some parents will not allow this, for cases have occurred where the youth has died of an over-dose. For the same reason it is very seldom that more than three or four figures are done at a time. The part swells up a good deal, and there is danger of fever; besides that a few days afterwards the itchiness which supervenes is almost as intolerable as the first tattooing, while if the skin is broken by scratching there is not only a nasty sore, but the figure is spoilt. You not uncommonly hear of cases where the whole surface was finished at one sitting, but you only hear of them because it is unusual, and because the youth is proud of it.

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The instrument used is a pricker about two feet long, weighted at the top with a brass figure, sometimes plain, but in the case of good sayās, always carved more or less elaborately in the figure of a bird, a nat, or a bilu. The yat, or style part, is solid, with a round, sharp point, split up into four by long slits at right angles to each other, which serve to hold the colouring matter. This style is about four inches long and fits into a hollow pipe, which again joins it to the weighted end. Thus the length required for free work is gained without too great weight, except where it is wanted. The tattooer catches the pricker with his right hand, and guides the point with a rest formed by the forefinger and thumb of his left, the hand resting firmly on the person's body. The dye used is lampblack, the best being that obtained by the burning of sessamum oil, and this is mixed with water as it is wanted. Good sayās always sketch the outline of the figure roughly on the skin with an ordinary camel's-hair brush, and then the pattern is executed with a series of punctures close together, forming what afterwards fades into a rough line. Skilful men are very quick at it. I have had fifteen figures done in little over half an hour. But then, Sayā Chein is a celebrated man.

The figures tattooed are those of all kinds of animals, tigers, cats, monkeys, and elephants being the commonest,

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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Shan AP11

while nats, bilus, and compound animals called tiger-bilus are also frequent. Each representation is surrounded by a roughly oval tracery of a variety of letters of the alphabet, which form a curious and remarkably effective frame. Thus each animal has a setting of its own. Vacant spaces are filled up in a similar way, and the top and bottom are finished off with a scolloped line. Sometimes these letters are asserted to have a cabalistic meaning, but ordinarily no greater virtue is claimed for them than that of beauty. Mystic squares and ladder-step triangles of serious import are often added in vacant spaces, but all the more important and valid charms are reserved for other parts of the body and for special execution, usually too in vermilion. The old style, and that which prevails still in jungle districts, was to cover every available piece of skin with tracery, so that the figures became blurred and indistinct, and on a dark skin grown old were practically not visible without careful examination, which, considering the portion of the body, was embarrassing to both parties. The newer style, and that specially affected by those with a white skin, is to sacrifice mass of colour to distinctness of outline. The best sayās carry about sample-books with them containing clever drawings, from which the aspirant may select the patterns he likes best, and mark their relative positions before he takes the opium. But tigers, cats, monkeys, and bilus always predominate. To fill up space, and for greater certainty, the name of the animal is often added in the figure, after the style of juvenile art on slates, or with a piece of chalk on blank hoardings.

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The Shans tattoo even more extensively than the Burmans. The figures are carried down well over the calf of the leg and above the navel, while from the upper line tattooed rays run up to the chest and at the back, after the fashion of a rising sun, almost to the nape of the neck. Sometimes the retainers of the Sawbwas, or Shan chiefs, had every part of the body except the palms of the hands and the soles of the feet tattooed. Even the face was covered with the dark-blue markings. Mostly all the men who tattoo charms and cabalistic figures are Shans. They claim and are allowed a special skill in such matters, and as

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Shan AP 11

S they mutter spells and incomprehensible incantations over
B the "medicine," are looked up to with profound belief and a
305 very considerable deal of awe.
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The tattooing on the loins and legs is universal with all
B Burmans, and nothing more is ordinarily required; but there
304 are very few who have not charms of some kind tattooed on
531 the arms, back, chest, or even on the top of the head, which is shaved for the purpose. These figures are of all kinds—lizards, birds, mystic words and squares, rings, images of the Buddha, and sometimes merely a few scattered dots, the latter especially on the face, between the eyes, over the ears, or on the chin. The colouring matter is almost always vermilion, with drugs and solutions, according to requirement, mingled with it. The blue dye from the lampblack never disappears, but the red colour of the vermilion gradually fades away and vanishes. Nevertheless figures of this kind, more or less distinct, are to be found on Burmans of all ages, so great is the national superstition. Even the town
B youths, whose limbs are smooth and "unbreeched" as a
[832] girl's, are never without some charms of this kind, if it is only the a-nu se, which enables a man to gain the woman he loves. This "drug of tenderness" is composed of vermilion mixed with a variety of herbs and curious things, prominent
B among which is the bruised, dry skin of the tauktè, the
[825] trout-spotted gekko, whose sonorous cry and fidelity to the
[101] house where he establishes himself and brings luck, are well known to all who have visited Burma or Siam. It is very sparingly used, a few round spots arranged in the shape of a triangle being of sufficient virtue to ensure the object aimed at. The commonest place for them is between the eyes,
B but occasionally the se sayā recommends the lips, or even
305 the tongue, and his advice is always followed. This is the
562 only tattooing which women ever have executed on them,
832 and there are not many of them who have it done. The patient is usually a love-sick maiden who is afraid the object of her affection will escape from her, or a girl whom rolling years warn that she must be quick if she would not be condemned to remain an a-pyo heing, an old maid. Except in very desperate cases, however, they always manage to persuade the operator to place the charm on some part of the

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body where it will not be visible. If it is not effectual, there is always open to them the signal afforded by kindly national custom to maidens longing for a mate. They cut off the lappets of hair, the bya-bazan, hanging over the ears, and the significance is the same as the white heather of the language of flowers, "heart for sale." In Rangoon the tattooing of a woman has a special signification, not recognised elsewhere. It means that she wants an Englishman for a husband. Poor thing!

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Another very universal kind of tattooing is that with a-hpi se. Almost every schoolboy in the country has a specimen of this on him, for does it not prevent him from feeling the pain when he is caned? No amount of falsified hopes in the experience of friends will persuade him that it may not be effectual in his case, and a flogging is often courted as an immediate test of its efficacy. Pride repels the inquiries of chums as to the results, but the experimenter is usually very well behaved for some time. In the case of older men the a-hpi se acts as a talisman against bullets, sword cuts, and ills of that kind. Allied to this are the thenat hpi, which soldiers and dacoits carry about with them. These are the horns of buffaloes and other animals, which may be plain, but are usually elaborately carved with figures according to fancy. They must be quite solid down to the root. A hollow or flaw of any kind deprives them of their virtue. While the man has such a talisman in his hands he cannot be killed. A monkey is a very favourite image to have carved in this way on a sword or dagger hilt, the reference being to the tale of the Ramayana. Of a similar nature are talismans which are especially used by soldiers and dacoits. These hkaung-beit-set are charmed or consecrated objects let into the flesh under the skin. They are of various kinds. Some are gold, silver, or lead; others curious pebbles, pieces of tortoise-shell, or bits of horn, all of them with incantations of mystic character written on them. Many famed dacoits have long rows and curves of them over the chest, showing in little knobs through the skin. When they get into English prisons, an energetic jailer has been known to cut them out, lest they should be pieces of gold or silver, or perhaps precious stones, with which the turnkeys

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might be bribed. The usual result is to break the robber's spirit. Once the continuity is interrupted the consecration is gone. More peaceable people wear necklaces or bracelets of such talismans in the belief that they are thus proof against malignant witches and necromancers. Most Englishmen in Burma, who are on friendly terms with the people, have been asked to test the virtue of such a charm, by firing at it tied up in a handkerchief. If the incantation is valid the handkerchief will be unharmed, though the muzzle of the pistol be held up to it. In such a case the pistol will burst.

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Another kind of tattooing is the mwe se, which guards against danger from snake bite. Similarly the a-kwè a-ka, the shielding, or defending drug, renders harmless the spells of wizards and geomancers, and keeps far away evil spirits of every kind. But the most hideous and weird of the superstitions about tattooing is that connected with the a-kyan se. There are but very few sayās who are acquainted with the necessary drugs and incantations, and fewer people still who have the courage to submit to the operation, for many men are pointed out whose minds have given way under the gruesome process, and who wander about graveyards, gnashing their teeth and fumbling about for human bones to gnaw and mouth. And no wonder, for some tattooers make them chew the raw flesh of a man who has been hanged, while the figure is being tattooed on the breast. Those who go through the operation are called Baw-di-tha-da. Some become Baw-di-tha-da without knowing it, and without the sickening necessity of mumbling human flesh like a ghoul. I knew an instance in a monastery. The patient was a boarder about fourteen years of age. A Shan tattooer wandering about the country spent a couple of nights in the kyaung, and the boy, attracted by the fellow's eerie tales, managed to save up a good many titbits for him from the food going in the monastery. Out of gratitude, and having nothing better to give him, for he was very poor and homeless, the sayā tattooed on the lad a figure with singular drugs, muttering queer phrases the while. Then he went away saying no more than that it would make the boy very strong. In about a month's time the boarder displayed unmistakable signs of being a Baw-di-tha-da. He

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leapt enormous heights in the air, jumped about and ran at random, carried with the utmost ease things which no one else could move. The abbot locked him up in a sadaik, the box in which the palm-leaf manuscripts were kept; he got out without injuring the lock in any way, sprang on to the roof of the monastery, forty feet high, and turned a somersault to the ground without hurting himself in the least. He had been a boy of very soft, easy temper, and now he became fiery and uncertain, and with his vast strength, very dangerous. He only calmed down when a monk preached the law to him. He was constantly doing marvellous things; one day he walked across the river in front of the monastery, holding a monk's ôk, or food vessel, in his hands. The depth of the water was over six fathoms, but it did not reach higher than his waist. On another occasion a tree which was being cut down fell on him. He sank into the ground and came forth quite uninjured. After some years his parents took him to Magwe in Upper Burma. There he fell into bad courses and became a dacoit. This was terrible for his family in a special way, because in native territory if they cannot catch the dacoit they seize all his friends and relations and put them in jail till they can get hold of the real culprit, and no one can lay hands on a Baw-di-tha-da. At last, however, he was restored to his right mind. A holy ascetic came across him, soothed him with the payeit gyi, and then with a rusty nail and sacred medicines, tattooed out the figure put on with such lamentable results by the Shan sayā. The quondam Baw-di-tha-da is now a staid and respected broker in the employ of one of the best-known English rice firms in Rangoon. He was fortunate; most Baw-di-tha-das have to be killed in their sleep.

But though Baw-di-tha-das are very rare, charmed tattooing is not, and there are some fast young men who seem almost to make picture galleries of themselves with emblems and patterns all over their chests, arms, backs, and the calves of their legs. The colour gradually dies away until at last nothing remains but the blue breeches. These really look well, and they last a man to his dying day.

The following recipes and formulæ to be repeated

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The following recipes and formulae to be repeated during tattooing are taken from a Mandalay tattooer's book :—

For an a-nu se: "I was Kutha Min, I. At the time when Papawadi was my queen, when I routed the kings of all the seven countries who came suing for her hand. Right beautiful was she, fair as the malla flower when it perfumes the forest with its odours. I the great Kutha Yaza."

This is to be repeated seven times at various stages in the operation. Kutha Yaza is the hero of one of the 510 Zats, detailing the previous births of the Lord Buddha.

For an a-hpi se: "Steal gold from the pagodas, fine, bright gold. Refine it in the fire and repeat the magic words in the house, on the lonely path, before the lucky star, at the pagoda; repeat them a thousand times save one. Consecrate the water, draw the circle of the flying galôn. Put it under the left arm, under the right arm. No harm will befall thee, safe and invulnerable."

"A parrot tattooed on the arm will give great favour with princes."

"Take a length of bamboo or of rattan the size of a joint of the merchant's finger, and repeat, pressing your foot against the tha-bye tree, Nat-tha wa-pa, wa-pa nat-tha na. Repeat this seven times and put the joint in your mouth when you are in danger. There is no better the-nat hpi."

[826] The merchant's finger (let thugywè) is the third—that on which rings are worn. The forefinger is called let-hno. Hno means to hate, but whether this is the meaning or not —as it were "the finger of scorn"—I do not know.

"Repeat sa ba pa wa wa ba pa wa with the tooth of the wild boar in your palm, with the wild boar's ear as you know. Draw the circle with pure red gold. Draw in it a nagā; then draw sideways the figure of a flying lion. Write round it ôm gyu-lu gyu-lu thwa ha ya. Then carry rice, fresh water, betel, tobacco, and le'pet to the pagoda and heap them together. When you have repeated a thousand times the words of the encircling gāta (spell) put it below the skin. But be careful not to give it to the first man who asks for it. It is very powerful." This is another a-hpi se.

Certain stones called amadé, said to be found in the

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Certain stones called amadé, said to be found in the 751
heads of birds, in trees, and in animals, are highly prized 787
as amulets. They will guard from musket shots, or sword thrusts, from painful blows, or evil spirits. Hmaw sayās always have them. When they are placed on a child's face, or introduced into any one's blood, nat thwin thi, they introduce a spirit. The person so possessed falls into a trance, and may be questioned as to the doings of any other evil spirits in the neighbourhood.

Letters, placed in the magic squares and triangular "in" 751
are la-gyi, na-gyi, ka-gyi, ga-gyi (great *l*, great *n*, great *k*, 304
and great *g*). Other very powerful s'ma, as these tattooed letters are called, are "round" sa, wa, la, and "bottom-indented" da. The arm is a favourite place for them.

The belief of every Burman in the efficacy of these tattooed charms is practically ineradicable. In 1881, in Rangoon, a young man had the figure of the great Peguan byaing, the "paddy-bird," a species of egret, tattooed upon him. This was to be as efficacious in preserving him from drowning as a child's caul used to be considered by British sailors. When it was finished, he suggested that an immediate experiment should be made. Accordingly his hands and feet were tied, and he was tossed over the side of a boat into the river. The under-currents in the Rangoon river are very dangerous, and the poor fellow was never seen again. The tattooers, master and assistant, were brought up on a charge of murder, and convicted of manslaughter, but the great mass of the Burman population thought they were very hardly treated, and that the fact of an unlucky side-wind, some mischance in the calculation from the horoscope, the machinations of an evil-disposed person against the deceased, or something of that kind, which had caused the lamentable issue, ought never to have led to the conviction of the skilled sayās. That they were charlatans was never once hinted.

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CHAPTER IV

EAR-BORING

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THE first great event in a Burmese girl's life is the nā-twin mingala, the boring of her ears. She is not out of the doll stage till that happens. She may have toddled after her mother to the market with a basket of fruit on her head, long before the ear-boring, but that ceremony is as much an epoch to her as putting on the yellow robe, or getting his legs tattooed, is to her brother. Ever afterwards she will look upon every male as a possible lover. No more taking alternate whiffs at a big green cheroot with little Maung Po; no more teasing Po Shan to let her have a taste of those fine nettè mangoes his father has got down from Mandalay; no more dawdling about the streets by herself, watching the small boys playing with the round gôn nyin seeds, or having a hurried glimpse of the puppet play, while she is supposed to be at home looking after the house with her little brother. When she walks out now it will be with her mother, or an aunt, or married sister, as a chaperone; and if she goes to the play it will be in formal procession, and with all her finest clothes on. Nothing like getting the ears bored to set a girl thinking about the wave of the hair that falls down in lappets by her ears, or the best recipe for the fragrant straw-coloured thanaka, with which she tints her face and charms half the senses of the gallants. It even alters her walk. She sets about practising the coquettish sway of the body in walking, which is considered so attractive, and which a philosophical matter-of-fact Darwinian would probably declare was first of all due to an involuntary throwing out of the heel with each step to keep the folds of the dress

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2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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modestly closed in front, and to prevent the dainty slipper, just covering her toes and no more, from slipping off the foot. However that may be, it is an accomplishment indispensable to a Burmese belle. She takes as much pains over it as she does with her jetty tresses. In a word, the nā-twin mingala transforms the girl into a woman, just as much as admission to a monastery makes the boy a man. It is her baptism, and is the distinctive mark of her race. Most of the men get their ears bored too, but the ceremony is not so solemn with them, and latterly is not so universal, at any rate not in the towns on the coast.

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The ceremony takes place at the age of twelve or thirteen, just when the girl has attained puberty in fact. Her sadā is submitted to a soothsayer, that a fortunate day and hour may be chosen, and that being fixed, a great feast is prepared, and all the friends of the family and the relations are invited. An invitation to an ear-boring feast is a very urgent matter. No one can refuse without a very good excuse, and serious business is often postponed to the demands of such a ceremony. Everybody comes early, and sits down in any place he can find round about the front part and sides of the room, the girl, with all her female relatives about her, reclining on a mat at the back. The bedin sayā stalks about gazing at a mysterious strip of palm-leaf, or apparently wrapped in deep thought. Beside him is the professional ear-borer. He carries the needles, which are almost always pure gold, and even in the case of the poorest, never of any baser metal than silver. Rich people very often have them set at the ends with precious stones. At last the soothsayer gives the sign that the favourable moment has arrived. The ear-borer moves up immediately and passes the needles through the lobe of the ear, sometimes using a cork as they do in England, but more often letting them pass between two of his fingers. The girl, who has been worked up into a high state of excitement and terror by all the preparations, usually struggles and shrieks as hard as she can, but the women round about hold her down, and the band of music in the street outside strikes up a rapid movement and drowns her lamentations, while all the visitors burst into a flood of talk

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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882 304 and reminiscences of other ceremonies of the kind that they have witnessed. Usually the gold needle is bent round and left in the wound, but poor people sometimes pass a piece of string through and tie it. This is turned round and passed 882 304 backwards and forwards daily till the sides heal, and then 301 begins the process of enlarging the hole to receive the na-daung, a big tube an inch long and from half an inch to three-quarters in diameter. This takes a very long time, and is less pleasant even than the first boring. Some do it with a gold or thickly gilt metal plate, which is rolled up and passed through the hole. The elasticity of the metal makes it constantly tend to expand, and so the hole is gradually enlarged. A commoner method, however, is by introducing stems of the kaing, or elephant grass. As many of the little stems of the inner blade as will go through are passed in, and daily their number is added to until a considerable width is attained. When kaing grass is not available, little splints of the thekkè kyaung are made use [369] of. This is the ordinary thatch of the poorer sort of houses, [342] and almost universal in the country districts, but forbidden in the large towns on account of its inflammable character. Then, after a time, the nā-kat is brought into use. This is a curious ear-plug, big at both ends, and smaller in the middle, where the two parts screw into one another. The screw is passed through the lobe of the ear, and the other 301 portion is then twisted on. These nā-kat are gradually 565 increased in size, until at last the orifices are large enough to receive the na-daung, the regular ear-cylinders. These are of various make and material, the latter being formerly regulated by the sumptuary laws in independent territory. The royal family, both males and females, had them of gold, richly set with jewels, often a single large brilliant in front, or a diamond surrounded by a ring of emeralds, while the back was a cluster of rubies. The right to wear these was also extended to the higher ministers and their families. Others wear gold, plain hollow tubes, or with the ends filled up with delicate *repoussé* work. Those who cannot afford this content themselves with solid amber plugs, which, when they are without a flaw, are worth three or four pounds sterling apiece. Finally, the poor content themselves with

16;Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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562 sing, nor play, nor paint. It must never be forgotten
517 that their civilization is relatively a thousand years behind ours. Accomplishments are part of the polish that a civilization gives, and this they have not yet reached. Accomplishments are also the means to fill up time otherwise unoccupied; but very few Burmese girls have any time on their hands. There is no leisured class, and there are very few girls who have not to help, in one way or another, at the upkeep of the household.

Mr. Rudyard Kipling tells of a young lady who played the banjo. He has been more fortunate than myself, for I have never heard of such a person.
562 They have no accomplishments at all. House-
356 keeping they have not very much of. Houses are small, and households also are small; and there is very little furniture; and as the cooking is all the same, there is not much to learn in that way. I fear, too, that their houses could not compete as models of neatness with any other nation. Tidiness is one of the last gifts of civilization. We now pride ourselves on our order; we forget how very recent an accomplishment it is. To them it will come with the other gifts of age, for it must never be forgotten that they are a very young people—only children, big children—learning very slowly the lessons of experience and knowledge.

792 When they are between eight and fourteen years
561 of age the boys become monks for a time, as every
792 boy must, and they have a great festival at their
[562] entrance into the monastery. Girls do not enter
● 304 nunneries, but they, too, have a great feast in their
561 honour. They have their ears bored. It is a
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16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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304 festival for a girl of great importance, this ear-
561 boring, and, according to the wealth of the parents,
562 it is accompanied by pwès and other rejoicings.

A little girl, the daughter of a shopkeeper here in this town, had her ears bored the other day, and there were great rejoicings. There was a pwè open to all for three nights, and there were great quantities of food, and sweets, and many presents given away, and on the last night the river was illuminated. There was a boat anchored in mid-stream, and from this were launched myriads of tiny rafts, each with a little lamp on board. The lamps gleamed bright with golden light as they drifted on the bosom of the great water, a moving line of living fire. There were little boats, too, with the outlines marked with lamps, and there were pagodas and miniature houses all floating, floating down the river, till, in far distance by the promontory, the lamps flickered out one by one, and the river fell asleep again.

'There is only one great festival in a girl's life,' a woman told me. 'We try to make it as good as we can. Boys have many festivals, girls have but one. It is only just that it should be good.'

562 And so they grow up very quiet, very sedate,
157 looking on the world about them with very clear eyes. It is strange, talking to Burmese girls, to see how much they know and understand of the world about them. It is to them no great mystery, full of unimaginable good and evil, but a world that they are learning to understand, and where good and evil are never unmixed. Men are to them neither angels nor devils, but just men, and so the world does not hold for them the disappointments, the disillusionings

of clothes. The old people take care to save the torn garments for use in wiping the hands after meals, for handling hot pots on the stove and the like. 291 554 181

There are three classes of clothing (1) working clothes (2) festive dress, and (3) religious dress. The working clothes consist of the cheaper and less ornate fabrics and are mainly of cotton. The men usually bind the longyi around the loins by looping the shirt in a band between the legs. Htamein (women's longyi) waist band is secured under the armpits when bathing. 291 292

While walking in the rain the longyis are also raised to prevent them from becoming wet. Festive dress involves the best which one has, usually silks and are worn on the Sabbath days and at special social occasions as the SHIN BYA and other ceremonies. Religious dress is worn constantly by Pongyis (orange robes), nuns (peach coloured) and frequently by old men (white) and old women (light chocolate coloured). On Sabbath days the particularly religious individuals of all ages, especially those belonging to Buddhist lay societies, wear religious dress. 291 779 [575]

The term LONGYI means "lower apparel" and is applied to both men's (PUSO) and women's (HTAMEIN). The men's festive longyi TAUNG-SHAY-PUSO (taung measurement- twenty-puso) worn frequently in the past and now reserved for special occasions was a double silk PUSO 8 yards long. A special method of securing this garment about the waist results in GABON ZA ("Sticking out piece") a fold which protrudes 6 or more inches in the midline - only, however, when the silk is crisp and stiff (new and/or finest heavy quality). This is regarded as a very manly garment. Two styles of APAW KINGYI (over jacket) men's jacket are worn. The "Peking" type meeting at the mid-line is most common. A "Cantonese" type buttons over like the women's jacket at the side. 291 292

Formerly every young man had tattooed thighs, extending in a solid band of decoration from a few inches above the knees to the hips. The motifs were frequently nat symbols. The main purpose was to display manliness and courage since the process of tatooing, done with a 3 pronged fork dipped in pigment was extremely painful. 304● 562 178

●304 The custom is dying out today; but, in the villages, the teen-age boy
562 frequently, on the encouragement of their family submit to the tattoo-
178 ing of a small area on the thigh. These decorations seen when the longyis are wrapped high were regarded as essential and those without them were openly criticised.

[751] A second type of tattooing consisting of potent symbols were, as still are, placed on the inner arm, back, or high forehead as a means of magical protection against harm. Snake, knife, cudgel and bullet proof motifs are common. Young girls frequently have the inner arm tattooed with such a charm.

838 Homo-sexuals are known as MEIN MA SHA ("woman-half") and are
826 recognised by their effeminate gestures, "pretty" locks and clothing. They frequently wear THANAKHA face powder, tie their longyis in a simple tucked-in fold, and wear jewelry like the women. They are rare in villages but have banded together into a society in Rangoon. They appear to be tolerated but are scorned.

It is believed that individuals known as MEIN-THE-PON-LAIN-HNEH-PON-LAIN ("Female sex- 2 sexes") exist . These persons are supposed to be alternately a man for one month, and a woman for the following
[775] month in a complete process of transformation. Both the MEIN MA SHA and these individuals result from illicit seduction activities in a previous existence - the MEIN MA SHA being the less sinful of the two

792 The PONGYI dress consist of orange cotton cloth - one garment
291 being a longyi with a folled tie at the waist; the other a wide band
293 drapped as a robe. When begging the PONGYIS have a special arrangement of the robe which wraps the left arm and covers the neck region. The nuns wear a robe garment over a long sleeved KINGYI jacket of the same colour. They are frequently seen with a scarf folded on the head. Both orders carry orange-cloth (lacquered) parasols on long bamboo shafts, a string of beads and large palm leaf fans. The Pongyis carry leather bags suspended on a shoulder strap for personal effects. PONGYI slippers have a square toe, are made of stiff leather with reinforced soles.

[887] Religious women (including old women) wear chocolate coloured HTAMEINS, KINGYIS and carry a PUNL (a narrow scarf 4 of 5 feet in

23: Brant & Mi Mi Khaing E, I-5 (1949-1950)1951
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553 which the family invites the people of the village. In the larger communities a written invitation may be sent, in which the name of the child is announced. The [431] feast occurs in the family house, to which the invited guests bring presents and where they may see the child. The only ritualized feature of this event is the washing of the child's hair, which is always done by an elderly person. This may occur, however, before the arrival of the guests.

Because of the significance and influence attributed to the personal name, it may be changed very readily and informally. If it is felt that ill fortune is in the offing, an announcement may be made in the village of change of one's name.

[551] Childhood nicknames as well as teknonymy are utilized by the Burmese, but not to the exclusion of use of the personal name.

Childhood. Burmese children are generally indulged and their existence is 857 more or less carefree and unencumbered by rigid discipline, apart from early 858 inculcation of respect for elders, until they are of educational age and considered capable of understanding the moral teachings of Buddhism. A male child is valued religiously, for at an early age he will be initiated into the monkhood, [851] remaining from a few days to several years, depending upon family circumstances and needs. The initiation of a son brings great religious merit to his parents.

In the Burmese village children are valued for the economic help they render. This will, of course, vary with family circumstances. But in the ordinary cultivator's family, sons and daughters help from the age of about nine or ten years in tending cattle, getting firewood, and winnowing rice. Children are also looked upon as a kind of social insurance for old age.

[884] *Puberty and Adolescence.* Apart from modern legal ideas concerning the attainment of adulthood, the Burmese view is that one is adult when physiologically mature. Upon reaching pubescence boys as well as girls are referred to by a 881 term meaning "virgin." The connotation is that the individual has now entered a period of life in which the dangers of temptation are especially great and in which corresponding precautions are necessary.

A girl's first menstruation is believed to cleanse her system; frequently, such phenomena as eruption of the skin or sexually delinquent behavior preceding the first menstrual period are regarded as evidence that the "blood is trying to flow." [841] Although the idea of uncleanliness is associated with menstruation, there is no segregation of the girl or particular fear of contamination. So long as she conducts herself with propriety and modesty a girl is free to move in public at this time.

● 304 881 Ideally, the attainment of puberty is the time for the girl's ear-boring cere-

23: Brant & Mi Mi Khaing E, I-5 (1949-1950)1951
AP1 Burma
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mony, but in actual practice this often takes place as early as her seventh or eighth year. Since this is a feast occasion involving considerable expense to her family, there is a tendency to hold a single ceremony, at which perhaps a pubescent girl, together with her younger sisters or cousins, will all have their ears bored. On the same occasion male children of approximately the same age may be initiated into the Buddhist monkhood.[5] 304 881

The girl initiate is dressed for the occasion in the traditional garb of the Burmese court, and in addition she wears a spired-helmet type of head dress. The villagers gather at her family's house for the event. An elderly woman rubs an anaesthetic plant substance on the girl's ear lobes and pierces them with gold pins. The pins are left in the ears, bent back. Later, if larger holes are desired, rolled leaves may be inserted. The family presents gifts to the assembled guests; often these are conventionalized tokens, such as inscribed cigars and fans. [292] [278] [431]

Courtship and Marriage. Young people in the villages find ample opportunities to assess each other's manners, physical appearance, and personality in the company of others, at feasts and various gatherings. If a young man and woman are together apart from the company of others it is assumed that sex relations are involved. In fact, such going together is spoken of as "getting married." The Burmese find it hard to conceive of a young unmarried couple associating on a purely friendly, non-sexual basis: such behavior would be regarded as contrary to nature. However, unchaperoned association is disapproved and does not occur very frequently. 584 836

Once a pair have decided they wish to marry, the boy will inform his parents of his desire. They will already know, especially in the smaller villages, of the standing of the girl's family and of her dowry potentialities; in fact, as soon as they have sensed their son's interest in a particular girl they will take steps to acquire this information. They will also ascertain whether acceptance by the girl's family is likely. In a small community the approach may be made directly by the boy's parents. In larger centers a female go-between is more likely to be employed. The boy's parents will be informed by the girl's family that the decision must await the outcome of consultation with an astrologer concerning the compatibility of the birth dates of the prospective bride and groom. If the marriage is found to be an auspicious one—which it will usually be found to be if the girl's parents desire the match—an affirmative answer will be relayed to the boy's parents. The latter will then call upon her parents and in the presence of elders, not necessarily related to either family, formally ask for the girl's hand. 584 [787]

5 Description of the boy's initiation ceremony is being reserved for a separate publication.

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
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next to a parent, with a life-long devotion.

Before or after the monastic novitiate, it is the custom for the Burman lads to have themselves tattooed from the waist to the knee (No. 152). Not to submit to this ordeal is to incur the reproach of cowardice. The tattooing is an intricate pattern of animals and tracery. Owing to the extent of surface involved, the process is most painful. It occupies days or weeks, according to the fortitude of the subject, who is drugged with opium for the occasion. The instrument has a handle weighted at the butt, and a long point of bronze, split like a ruling-pen. It is worked with great rapidity. The pigment is a kind of lamp-black of the consistence of ink. It shows bluish black through the brown skin. When a Burman tucks up his loin-cloth, as he always does for work or exercise (*kaddung-chaik*), he looks as if he had black knee-breeches. As plain as the contrast is to the eye, ordinary photographic plates fail to render it. In No. 153 it appears fully. On other parts of the body the men frequently have horoscopes and cabalistic diagrams tattooed with vermilion (*se-ut*, No. 162) for luck and bravado. The Shan practice of letting in gold and silver discs the size of two-penny pieces—beneath the skin—is sometimes imitated by Burmans as a charm against sword-cuts and bullets (*dâbyi*; *thenabbyi*). The Arakanese, who repudiate the custom of *Mgwin*, ascribe it to a Burman King, who endeavoured to disguise his leprosy in this way.

27. VILLAGE LAY SCHOOL.

29. KITE-FLYING.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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151 THE IDEAL AND THE REAL

They are generally condoned. Burmans do not wait to make money in order to marry, but marry in order to make money. Girls marry from the age of about twenty, and men about twenty-five. The marriage is a quiet affair. A day is fixed, when the lad and his parents repair to the home of the girl, whither some of the elders of the village (*lidyi*) have been invited for witness. The father of the lad addresses the parents of the girl in this wise: "Seeing that our children love each other, we pray you let your daughter be as our daughter and our son as your son" (*ekkan*). The girl's parents express their pleasure and approval, and according to one usage, the couple thereupon join hands (*lettat*), which means marriage; but the joining-of-hands is as a rule figurative. After this the lad goes and fetches his bedding, curtain, and clothes and places them in the house in token of reception into the family. In conclusion, the parties and the witnesses eat pickled tea together. When one or both parties are strangers in the place, friends undertake the part of parents and the elders make inquiries as to blood-relationship and pre-existing ties. Kinship closer than first-cousin and the corresponding step-relationships are respected—except by royalty (p. 170). Sometimes marriages are of a more festive description (*mingala*). Astrologers are called in and company entertained as at the *nibaik mingala*. Other unions, again, are by mere mutual agreement, without formalities of any kind. By time-honoured custom the lads of the village claim the right to pelt the house of the new-married pair at night (*gè-pyit*), and it is usual to buy them off. New couples mostly start life in

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152. TATTOOING (TOGWIN, see p. 18)

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406. CHINESE DICE (NIDAUNG).

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ment associated with sot (*ayet-thauk*), next after which is *hinza*—opium-eater. Women do not often play chess or cards; they have a game called *pasit* (beetle-fight), somewhat resembling back-gammon.

Games of pure hazard are in great favour, especially at festival times. Chinese and Shan settlers start gambling-dens for the dissolute youth, with Chinese dice (*Nidaung*, *Angalôn*, No. 406), and the thirty-six animal lottery (*tî*, *thônzâ-chaukkaung kazâ*), symbols intelligible to every nation and the meanest capacity. For *angalôn* there is a paper or cloth with compartments for six different figures of animals on which money is staked, corresponding to similar figures on a wooden cube, which is shaken in a box.

541 The showmen in Burma are the conjuror and the snake-charmer. The Burman juggler (*myet-hlè sayâ*) makes no pretence of occult powers, not even to children. His name implies that his movements "elude the eye;" but his legerdemain does not attain to the art of the Indian and Chinese jugglers. The snake-charmer, on the other hand (*âlambè sayâ*), pretends to be protected by magic. He is tattooed all over with snakes; he has slits at the side of his tongue which he shows, and in other ways he plays upon credulity. It has been alleged that the snake-men inoculate themselves with the venom, but this is not authenticated, though it is known from the experiments of Calmette and Fraser that immunity can be produced in this way. The cobra (*mwye-hauk*) is exhibited, but only when the hamadryad (*ngan-blè*), a much larger species of the same family, cannot be procured (p. 96). The snakes are exhibited in their natural

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409. BURMAN JUGGLER.

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while nats, bilus, and compound animals called tiger-bilus are also frequent. Each representation is surrounded by a roughly oval tracery of a variety of letters of the alphabet, which form a curious and remarkably effective frame. Thus each animal has a setting of its own. Vacant spaces are filled up in a similar way, and the top and bottom are finished off with a scolloped line. Sometimes these letters are asserted to have a cabalistic meaning, but ordinarily no greater virtue is claimed for them than that of beauty. Mystic squares and ladder-step triangles of serious import are often added in vacant spaces, but all the more important and valid charms are reserved for other parts of the body and for special execution, usually too in vermilion. The old style, and that which prevails still in jungle districts, was to cover every available piece of skin with tracery, so that the figures became blurred and indistinct, and on a dark skin grown old were practically not visible without careful examination, which, considering the portion of the body, was embarrassing to both parties. The newer style, and that specially affected by those with a white skin, is to sacrifice mass of colour to distinctness of outline. The best sayās carry about sample-books with them containing clever drawings, from which the aspirant may select the patterns he likes best, and mark their relative positions before he takes the opium. But tigers, cats, monkeys, and bilus always predominate. To fill up space, and for greater certainty, the name of the animal is often added in the figure, after the style of juvenile art on slates, or with a piece of chalk on blank hoardings.

B 304 531

The Shans tattoo even more extensively than the Burmans. The figures are carried down well over the calf of the leg and above the navel, while from the upper line tattooed rays run up to the chest and at the back, after the fashion of a rising sun, almost to the nape of the neck. Sometimes the retainers of the Sawbwas, or Shan chiefs, had every part of the body except the palms of the hands and the soles of the feet tattooed. Even the face was covered with the dark-blue markings. Mostly all the men who tattoo charms and cabalistic figures are Shans. They claim and are allowed a special skill in such matters, and as

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they mutter spells and incomprehensible incantations over the "medicine," are looked up to with profound belief and a very considerable deal of awe.

B 304 531

The tattooing on the loins and legs is universal with all Burmans, and nothing more is ordinarily required; but there are very few who have not charms of some kind tattooed on the arms, back, chest, or even on the top of the head, which is shaved for the purpose. These figures are of all kinds—lizards, birds, mystic words and squares, rings, images of the Buddha, and sometimes merely a few scattered dots, the latter especially on the face, between the eyes, over the ears, or on the chin. The colouring matter is almost always vermilion, with drugs and solutions, according to requirement, mingled with it. The blue dye from the lampblack never disappears, but the red colour of the vermilion gradually fades away and vanishes. Nevertheless figures of this kind, more or less distinct, are to be found on Burmans of all ages, so great is the national superstition. Even the town youths, whose limbs are smooth and "unbreeched" as a girl's, are never without some charms of this kind, if it is only the a-nu se, which enables a man to gain the woman he loves. This "drug of tenderness" is composed of vermilion mixed with a variety of herbs and curious things, prominent among which is the bruised, dry skin of the tauktè, the trout-spotted gekko, whose sonorous cry and fidelity to the house where he establishes himself and brings luck, are well known to all who have visited Burma or Siam. It is very sparingly used, a few round spots arranged in the shape of a triangle being of sufficient virtue to ensure the object aimed at. The commonest place for them is between the eyes, but occasionally the se sayā recommends the lips, or even the tongue, and his advice is always followed. This is the only tattooing which women ever have executed on them, and there are not many of them who have it done. The patient is usually a love-sick maiden who is afraid the object of her affection will escape from her, or a girl whom rolling years warn that she must be quick if she would not be condemned to remain an a-pyo heing, an old maid. Except in very desperate cases, however, they always manage to persuade the operator to place the charm on some part of the

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B [825] [101]
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body where it will not be visible. If it is not effectual, there is always open to them the signal afforded by kindly national custom to maidens longing for a mate. They cut off the lappets of hair, the bya-bazan, hanging over the ears, and the significance is the same as the white heather of the language of flowers, "heart for sale." In Rangoon the tattooing of a woman has a special signification, not recognised elsewhere. It means that she wants an Englishman for a husband. Poor thing!

305 562 832 [563] [369]

Another very universal kind of tattooing is that with a-hpi se. Almost every schoolboy in the country has a specimen of this on him, for does it not prevent him from feeling the pain when he is caned? No amount of falsified hopes in the experience of friends will persuade him that it may not be effectual in his case, and a flogging is often courted as an immediate test of its efficacy. Pride repels the inquiries of chums as to the results, but the experimenter is usually very well behaved for some time. In the case of older men the a-hpi se acts as a talisman against bullets, sword cuts, and ills of that kind. Allied to this are the thenat hpi, which soldiers and dacoits carry about with them. These are the horns of buffaloes and other animals, which may be plain, but are usually elaborately carved with figures according to fancy. They must be quite solid down to the root. A hollow or flaw of any kind deprives them of their virtue. While the man has such a talisman in his hands he cannot be killed. A monkey is a very favourite image to have carved in this way on a sword or dagger hilt, the reference being to the tale of the Ramayana. Of a similar nature are talismans which are especially used by soldiers and dacoits. These hkaung-beit-set are charmed or consecrated objects let into the flesh under the skin. They are of various kinds. Some are gold, silver, or lead; others curious pebbles, pieces of tortoise-shell, or bits of horn, all of them with incantations of mystic character written on them. Many famed dacoits have long rows and curves of them over the chest, showing in little knobs through the skin. When they get into English prisons, an energetic jailer has been known to cut them out, lest they should be pieces of gold or silver, or perhaps precious stones, with which the turnkeys

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234. WASHING FOR GOLD.

silver, of the work, for workmanship. The fineness of the gold used is from eighteen to twenty-two and a half carats. Copper is the alloy for gold (four to sixteen *yué* of copper to the *kyat* or tikal). Silver is used of rupee fineness (four *yué* of alloy to the *kyat*) up to pure metal (*baw*). The intermediate fineness of sterling silver is the most usual. Silver is alloyed with copper and with zinc. With the few implements named above, plate for display and ornaments for women's wear are fashioned, of beautiful design and considerable finish. Chasing and *repoussé* ornament are used for the gold and silver plate, filigree and beading for the gold ornaments. Those who can afford it, serve drinking-water to their guests in a large silver bowl (*pald*) holding a gallon or so, with a small *pald* floating on the water. Other objects of luxury are silver lime-boxes, betel-boxes, hafts and scabbards of sabres. Broad zones of *repoussé*-work are relieved by fillets and beadings. The plain vessel having been hammered into shape is filled with a tough lac. This affords a ductile matrix, yielding where the chaser is applied and supporting the relief portions. The first step is to outline the work with a bronze punch, after which the lac is melted out and the metal annealed. Lac is poured in again, and a stage of relief raised. By successive annealings the full relief is obtained.* The figure designs are the signs of the zodiac, episodes from *nat*, and mythical animals. Women frequently carry some thousands of rupees worth of gold in the form

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235. VILLAGE SILVERSMITH.

* The figure to the left in No. 237 is Go Thu Ban of Maulmain, the silversmith who designed and executed the tools used for the sides of this volume. The back is from the cover of a *Kembawé*, to the colours of which it corresponds.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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237. TOWN SILVERSMITH.

of plain gold bangles (*lak-kauk*), and their ear-plugs consist of a roll of sheet-gold coiled to the thickness of a finger. The Burmans admire a red-yellow gold with dull surface. They enhance the effect by a red colouring of the interstices of the work, in the same way as the Chinese do. Neck ornaments (*bayè*) are of several kinds. The commonest one used to be the thick roll of gold filigree, worn in front of the neck. This is now replaced by *bayè* of several chains, for the most part jewelled. On the breast is worn the broad *dalizán*, also formerly of filigree, but now of jewels and pearls. Strings of real and imitation pearls are worn; and jewelled pins and gold or jewelled combs in the hair. Rings are worn on the fingers and gold filigree buttons of the Chinese type on the jackets. The last two are the only ornaments now used by men. Anklets are worn by children.

[562]

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Gold and silver coinage on a European model was adopted by the kings of Burma about the middle of the nineteenth century—the "peacock" coins, struck from dies engraved in Paris. Rough coins of lead used to circulate. The coins shown in No. 238 are those of Arakán kings from 1500 to 1750 A.D., from the collection of the late Mr. C. H. White. Before the introduction of coinage,

238. SILVER COINS OF THE ARAKAN KINGS.

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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239. GOLD-BEATERS.

circulates in Burma is three times the value of the lowest Indian coin. Notes have no circulation as yet among the Burmans, although they now bear their figures of value in Burmese.

316 Rubies and sapphires (*kyaunmyat*) are separated from the
306 sand and gravel of certain localities, notably Mogôk, in the same way as gold is. Hard gems are cut with gem-dust on a horizontal wheel driven by a fly-
[822] wheel and treadle in a regular lathe-stand. Rock-crystal is cut in this way and also on a bone. Jade is found at Mogaung and is exported to China. Amber is found at Bamáw.

306 Gold-leaf is used in enormous quantities for gilding *zedi* and images. Only pure gold is employed. The paper for separating the gold-leaf in the book in gold and silver bullion were used for exchange, as they still are in the Shan States. Chinese gold is current in the form of foil with the market stamp of fineness. It can be conveniently cut with scissors and weighed. Travellers often carry their bullion in this form. Silver is used by the Shans in the form of ingots which have to be hewn and assayed when making a purchase. The standard for commodities, wages and rent is silver, the fluctuation being referred to the gold. The lowest coin that

240. ALCHEMISTS.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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[133]

242. DEFILE BELOW THE GREAT RAPID OF THE SALWEEN.

which it is hammered is obtained from bamboo-fibre.

In Burma the idea still prevails that gold may be compounded from baser metals or the quantity of fine gold augmented by their means. Alchemists are found in every town, who experiment in the hope of success or practise on dupes who furnish the gold that is to be increased. A furnace and blast is the chief appliance of the laboratory, and the potent agent relied upon is mercury. Ingredients of every sort, animal, vegetable and mineral, are experimented with, under the influence of charms and cabalistic forms, whence the name for alchemy, *ekkaya-tô*. The business is under the ban of religion, not alone as being actuated by greed (*lawba*, p. 44), but because primitive Buddhism eschews every thing mystical and occult. The operations are carried on at night for secrecy. Reputed adepts are found among the class of recluses called *yathé*, who from their life in the wilds are supposed to penetrate the arcana of nature.

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243. TEAK-TREE OUT OF LEAF (MARCH).

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Wood-work was greatly restricted until better tools were imported. Planks and scantlings used to be laboriously prepared for boat-building and for palaces, religious edifices, and the houses of the great. Excepting the inner gates of the masonry temples, wood-work over a century old is scarce. But before the Burmans possessed the means of turning their timber to account for themselves, the country had become noted for its stock of teak. Burma possesses many valuable woods, but the pre-eminence of teak is such that for general purposes *timber* had come to mean always *teak* timber. Teak possesses the advantages

Burmese King thereupon went down with an army which succeeded in carrying off King, Clergy and Scriptures from the unfortunate city of Thaton. King Manuha of Thaton languished on a throne seat of bare stone in Pagan, but the religion thrived and blossomed into the grandeur of the thousand pagodas and temples of Pagan, so that even today Burmans can see the white majesty of the Ananda and rejoice in the way their kings received and enshrined their faith. With king and religion transplanted, Thaton fell into a decline, and soon lost her trade also, for the sea coast extended and left Thaton a dry inland town. However, [133] it never lost its reputation as the old seat of religion; its rich geographical features also remained—a soil which can grow rice, fruits and plantations of other crops in abundance; its easy access to the big towns of Moulmein and Rangoon; the Martaban Hills which were ranged behind the town, and over which waterfalls tumbled down to cross the red laterite roads as streams of clear water.

Most pensioners, by the time they retired, had already established some form of livelihood other than the drawing of their pension. My father owned two rubber plantations just outside Thaton, each about 110 acres. Burma is not one of the chief rubber producing areas of the world, but the country round Tenasserim is suitable for rubber-growing and produced the greater part of what was, in 1939, a total of over 22,000,000 lbs. Thaton district contained about 15,628 acres of rubber, between big planters and many small plantations like ours.

My parents started our estates in the form of clearings which they planted with the help of my grandfather in about 1910, before my father became a myook, and were in time to reap the riches of the great boom in the post-war years, when they were selling rubber at Rs. 2/- per lb. and my father bought a motor boat and my mother many diamonds. As a Government servant my father was not allowed to work at any trade, so he handed over the possession of the estates to my mother's sister, our Kyi-Kyi Lon, who all her spinster life has devoted herself to my mother and to us. She worked the estates for us and, in the awful years of the slump that followed, we quite forgot indeed that we owned any such things as rubber plantations, for the only connection which my father ever had with them, the receipt of money from Kyi-Kyi, disappeared completely. In 1935, however, when my father retired, the market for rubber had just begun to stir into being, the Burma Rubber Committee allowed planters like us an annual quota of about 20,000 lbs or two-thirds of our production, which we hoped to sell at roughly as. 7 per lb, and my father was free to work them again. He had no technical knowledge and the minimum amount of business acumen, and I never ceased to wonder how money could come to us in this haphazard way. We

249 kept a manager and his family in the bungalow of each plantation, and a
•311 staff of eight or nine tappers. Once a week we drove out there on a
439 picnic inspection; my father and mother gazed with pride on the rows of neat trees, walked right round to see that clearings were maintained and that the trees looked right, peered into the cups of rich white latex, administered rebukes and instructions and inspected the books, visited the smoking house and saw the brown smoked sheets with GK stamped on them, after the traditional Burmese way of married business—G for Gyi, my mother, and K for Kaing, my father—and then we all returned home. Chinese traders came to the house and while chewing betel they talked about quantities and prices of the stock we had. Then the stacked sheets came from the plantation in the two bullock carts which we kept there, and the traders came and took them away and paid us in cash. Business was something so foreign to what we had always seen our parents doing, and this all seemed so simple, that we always felt they were surely being cheated.

245 Some of the other pensioners did not believe in dabbling with com-
438 modities that depended on a world market. Even the way in which we grew rubber went too much into the world of specialized commerce
262 which might have pitfalls for a retired civil servant. A friend of my father's grew large gardens of *da-nyin*, a tree of the laburnum species. The fruit of this tree rivals the durian for its nauseating effect on foreign sensibilities. It does not exude a smell as the durian does, until you eat it, but after eating it the smell comes out in breath, sweat and all other excretions. But it is one of our favourite foods. It is a small flat circular fruit of a hard and smooth consistency, enclosed in a shell which prises open in neat halves like an oyster shell. The texture and taste are delicious. We boil or bake it as a vegetable for fish sauce, we salt it in big jars as a pickle, we beat it and make it swim in coconut milk and eat it as a sweet, we bury it and make it sprout into a more pungent form called *da-nyin wet*. The main point is that it is eaten in vast quantities. It also contains substances which are good for diabetics, and families buy it literally in hundreds. No world depression interferes with the demand for *da-nyin thi*, and though the sale price is low, overhead charges are almost nil.

243 Other families in Thaton got their extra income from paddy-land.
438 Although the rice for which Burma is so famous today did not enter
556 world markets till the latter half of the last century, the possession of
262 *lè*, fields, which is synonymous with paddy-fields, is a well established form of wealth. Our part of Burma is particularly rich in fields. Nearly all the 3,500,000 tons of rice which is exported annually from Burma comes from Lower Burma, where Tenasserim Division ranks among the

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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The only analogy to the crown lands in Lower Burma was found in the reservation of forests by the government for the preservation of teak and other valuable trees such as the thit-ka (*Cedreela toona*), thit-kado (*Pentace Burmanica*), and padauk (*Pterocarpus Indicus*), which are absolutely reserved, that is to say, no tree may be felled which has not been girdled by government forest officers, even by those who have bought the right to remove the timber. It is expressly stated that the lessee is in no case allowed to girdle trees on his own account, and the rules are in other respects of the most stringent and Oriental description. No taung-ya, or hill-gardens may be made in the demarcated tracts. A selection of rivers and streams is made which must be kept free from all artificial obstructions, whether for fisheries, irrigation, or other purposes. Unauthorised felling, cutting, marking, killing, or injuring trees of all kinds, shrubs or bamboos, the collection of wood oil, resin, and even leaves, and any interference with the soil or its produce without permission, is made penal. Even the use of existing roads and bridle-paths may, if the forest officer sees fit, be prohibited. In 1882, out of a total area of about 80,000 square miles of teak-producing forests, some 13,000 square miles were thus reserved, but this area has now been ten times exceeded. The Burman, who knows nothing whatever of game laws or edicts against trespassers, is inclined to look upon this stringent reservation of land which the ancient code declares free for all, as something far more despotic than the enforced labour and extortionate demands of national rule. Doubtless time will prove to him that it is a wise precaution to guard from destruction a slow-growing tree like the teak, and when the wandering hunter gets to understand that forest fires are a calamity and not simply an easy method of making a clearing, the State forests will come to be something less like pheasant coverts than they now are.

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Otherwise, waste lands, as in old Upper Burma, are by the law of the Dhammathat open to all-comers. Any one can select for himself a tract of such land at his pleasure, and may clear and cultivate in any way he chooses, paying his tax upon it when the time for the annual assessment of land revenue comes round. In many cases, however, he is allowed

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

to hold his land free from taxes for such a period as may be necessary to bring it into a thorough state of cultivation. In such a case as this he has to apply to the thugyi—the old hereditary officers being retained throughout British Burma—of his circle, if the land does not exceed five acres in extent. If it is above that area, application has to be made to the English Assistant-commissioner, or to the Deputy-commissioner in charge of the district, if the average of the new claim exceeds fifty. The land is then surveyed and a grant is drawn up specifying the term of years during which he shall be free from imposts. This varies according to the kind of jungle which is to be cleared away, and the kind of crops intended to be grown. The exemption is in no case for less than a year. If rice is to be grown, seven years is the longest term of rent-free tenure, but for orchard cultivation it extends to twelve years. In a few cases, where the nature of the ground necessitates, in addition to clearing away the forest growth, the digging of channels for irrigation, and the erection of dams, extension even of this long period is granted. As in France, Norway, Japan, and Switzerland, the farms are all very small, in some cases almost absurdly so. Along the old frontier the holdings averaged only about five acres, in the Rangoon district from sixteen to twenty acres is the ordinary size, but here and there are a few considerably larger. It would, however, be a great mistake to endeavour to introduce larger tenancies. It is entirely against the genius of the people, and the appearance of foreign capitalists could not be otherwise than disastrous. The present mode of cultivation is slovenly enough, and larger farms would most certainly not tend to remedy the defect, which is due in great part to the superabundance of available arable land lying waste. Burma is progressing fast enough as it is. The abundance of rich land, the facility with which rights over it can be acquired, the great demand for rice, and the ever-increasing counter demand for European goods, the fixed, though heavy taxation, the cessation of all irregular and unexpected collections, the absolute personal security enjoyed by all under the English administration: all these benefits have resulted in the trebling of the population of Lower Burma during twenty-six years since the annexation of Pegu;

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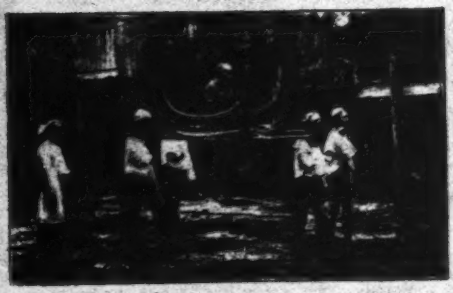
25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 API Burma
Burmese AP4



58. AGED YAHAN CARRIED ON YIN.

The majority of the *kyaungs* and buildings of Burma are constructed on piles. The country at large is mountainous. The Burman race monopolises the flat lands in the basin of the upper Irawadi — "the narrows" (*Anyá*)—in the same way as the Shan races do in the sphere of their influence and the Mun (or Taláing) race in the south (Pegu). The quasi-aboriginal races occupy the hill-land and mountains. The plains-dweller settles as near as he can to the natural waterways with which Burma is abundantly provided. In the drought the rivers recede to great distances from their flood-level margins. In order to be close to the channels, the houses have to be on high piles. The races of Burma adhere to their practice of pile-building even on elevated sites, such as those of the temples. The Burman wood architecture appears to have developed through the exigencies of pile-building and under the influence, as regards decoration, of an exotic masonry style. The Burman style possesses a naïve charm recalling the art of the "ages of faith" in Western Europe. It has a certain resemblance to the wooden church-building of Norway. The style was in full vigour up to the middle of the nineteenth century. Since that time novelties of type and manufacture have crowded in faster than they could be assimilated into the indigenous arts, on which they are foisted crudely (Nos. 60, 99).

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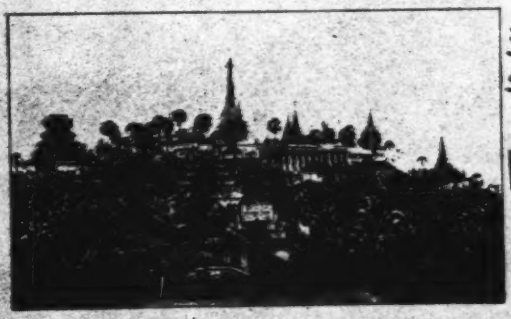
The affinities of Burman art above referred to, to the art of mediæval Europe, are extrinsic only. The "aspiring" character of the florid ornament, the quaint figures in their labyrinths of tracery, recall the crocketed niches and fantastic gargoyles of the



59. TEMPLE HILL.

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25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

104. OUTLOOK OVER MIXED FORMS OF CULTIVATION.

the vagaries of the rivers. A good season is one in which a large proportion of the fields have water enough for an early start and in which the rainfall is steady, not leaving the surface to dry up by a long break in the rain nor deluging the soil at other times. All the alluvial land of favourable elevation and quality is laid out in level rice-fields. Where the rainfall is ample—fifty inches and upwards—portions of the diluvial land with tenacious soil can be utilised in the same way by merely saving the surface-water. In regions of lighter rainfall, in a few favoured localities, such land is brought under rice by help of irrigation and if need be by terracing as well. The rice-fields are bordered by low turfy balks (*kasin*) about a cubit high, to keep in the water. These regular rice-lands form less than one-tenth of the gross area of the country. The rest is mainly irreclaimable, chiefly mountain, waste. The waste areas of the alluvial plains (*kwin*) are flooded from three to ten feet deep in the rains. They are clothed with elephant-grass (*kaing*) studded, through with silk-cotton trees and a few other species. The lowest levels in the *kwin* form shallow lagoons (*in*, No. 103) which dry up in the hot season. Dry-season crops—sugar-cane (which is also grown on the wet system), maize, lentils, and vegetables for a limited market—are obtained in the *kaing*.

105. HILL-PEOPLE MAKING THEIR CULTIVATION CLEARING (P. 149).

Burma has become the rice-mart of the world. Since the development of this trade the price of the staple export has more than quadrupled, producing in the lower country a prosperity which has no parallel in respect of its equal diffusion. It is believed that this development of the wealth of Pegu has been favoured by the upheaval

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

133 of the delta of the Irawadi, by which fresh silt-beds are raised to the cultivation
134 level. The town of Thâton, now sixteen miles from the coast and without a sea approach, was, in historic times, a port. Ships came up to Tenaserim in the south, the ancient emporium of trade across the Peninsula to Siam, and to Akauttaung in the north, and probably to Pegu. A mass of precise data on this subject was collected by the late Mr. John Merrifield, who came to the conclusion that Tenaserim had risen fifteen to twenty feet in the course of the last 300 years. In 1900, ten and a half million acres were cultivated in Burma. The rice crop was estimated at three and a half million tons, of which two millions were exported, worth £14,000,000. Fallow lands were estimated at five and a half million acres and arable waste at twenty-four millions, out of a gross area of one hundred and one millions. In 1872 a considerable firm failed over the enterprise of bringing a few thousand acres of reputed arable waste at Kayásu under cultivation; the crops got so much water that they rotted. The area has lain waste ever since. Most of the waste land granted to companies has been resumed, on account of their failure to satisfy the condition of utilising the land. The conditions which render land suitable for wet cultivation are less simple than they appear at the first glance. It is possible that the estimate of the arable waste is much too high.

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108. THE RICE PLANT IN THE EAR.

Where the fields depend on the surface-water for their supply, a margin of fallow has to be left; where they get a deposit of river-silt it is unnecessary. If manure is plentiful it is taken out on the fields. But this is seldom the case because the cattle are so much at large. On the outskirts of the rice-fields, which are dispersed in groups throughout the *kwin*, fallow land may readily relapse into waste. The depopulation of Pegu (Chronology, 1570, 1591–1740) threw great areas out of cultivation. Anyone was free to reclaim waste, and is so still. In Burma Proper, where good land is much scarcer than in Pegu, proprietors are fixed on the soil in many places by royal grants (*kho-mye, bôbabaing*). There were also royal demesne lands leased to tenants.

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In the dry zone of Burma Proper, rice cultivation is impracticable except where rivers flood their margins or where facilities for irrigation exist. Rice

25: Ferrars ES (ca. 1890) 1901 API Burma
Burmese API4

[opp. p.50]

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107. OUTLOOK OVER THE AREA OF WET CULTIVATION (PEGU).

(To face p. 50)

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

166. VILLAGE CHEVAUX-DE-FRISE.

away from the company. In a similar spirit of courtesy a rider dismounts and umbrellas are closed. Among acts of discourtesy few are accounted so grave by the Burmans as that of awakening a sleeper. The reluctance to disturb a sleeper is connected with the belief that the spirit (*laippa*) leaves the body during sleep (p. 197). It is looked upon as a weakness to show resentment and temper (*dawtha*, p. 44). A visitor in a house is offered a new mat to sit upon, water to drink, betel to chew, and a spittoon. If it be meal-time he is invited to partake; otherwise he is asked if he has had food, and refreshment is brought. Although the quota of leisure that falls to everyone is greater in Burma than anywhere else, owing to the wide-spread prosperity of the inhabitants, there is perhaps no country in which every man, woman, and child is less exempt from business concern. Thus it happens that after a few commonplaces, conversation inevitably gravitates to business—prices, harvests, prospects. Next in interest come the festival programmes, the local celebrities and their doings. In every house there are scales and weights, and the household is engaged in occasional or regular trade. Accounts in money and kind are current between neighbours. Whatever spare produce remains is exposed for sale.

The villages either have a quick fence of impenetrable thorny bamboo (*myinna*), or a hedge of cactus and briar, or bamboo *chevaux-de-frise*. In some parts they are open. The old towns (*myo*) had ramparts and stockades (Nos. 6, 371, 387). The highest sites about the village are for the *nat*, the *Payd-myo* or sacred ground, the next best are for the *kyaung*. Then comes the enclosure of

167. APPROACH TO THE VILLAGE.

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

They thus inform the inmates of the kyaung when they must cease eating for the day, and enable them to obey the provisions of the Patimauk. This useful acquirement of the Buddhist chanticleer was acquired in a singular way. Sundry books of the Bedin were burnt as containing unlawful cabalistic teachings. Among these was the Ā-tappana Bedin. When the fire had died out the barn-door flock came and pecked at the ashes, and so assimilated the astronomic lore contained in the book. I never had the opportunity of watching any particular cock to see if he actually crowed four times a day at the times reported. They fly about so, that for purposes of observation they might just as well be jungle fowl.

Thus even the powers of nature conspire for the well-being of the monks. It has been shown how the laity provide them with food and splendid dwellings. It may be unhesitatingly asserted that the most luscious fruits and the most delicate viands all find their way to the monasteries. A single instance will show to what an extent this is carried. In jungle places, where in the dry season there is often a great dearth of water, one spring is always set apart for the kyaung, because it would be a great sin, as well as being unpleasant for the yahan, to drink water which had been stirred up, and for that reason would be more likely to contain animal life. This reservation often compels the entire village to walk a mile or more for a supply of water, a very serious inconvenience to the easy-going Burman. In order that strangers and passers-by may have no excuse for drinking from the monastic well, a yellow cloth is hung over it from a bush or a post erected for the purpose. Here again a stumbling-block and stone of offence is set up in the way of the ignorant or unreflecting foreigner.

Everything near the monastery is rendered sacred, not merely when it is enclosed in the parawun, but as far as the prior may choose to proclaim it. This is especially common in the case of the large tanks or bricked reservoirs which the pious dig in many parts of the country. These are frequently well stocked with fish and turtle, and when the monks declare them sacred, the fish often become wonderfully tame from the abundant food that is brought them by yahans

HOME

Home is Pathwe

Home is the village of Pathwe, Pantanaw Township, Maubin district, Lower Burma. It is located on one of the countless small streams of the Lower Irrawaddy estuary about ninety miles west of Rangoon. The country is a flat alluvium plain dissected by myriads of streams and canals. The monotony of marshy plains is relieved by occasional clumps of trees and tall reeds which flank the streams. The land is a result of depositions of silts from upstream by the Irrawaddy river and its tributaries - a process which is going on today as Lower Burma extends into the bays of Bengal and Martaban. When asked how long his family had lived in the village of Pathwe, U Myaing replied : 131 [101]

> "My parents were born here and their parents before them and their's before them - as far back as we can remember." [591]

The village of Pathwe occupies the adjacent banks of three streams at the point where they join.

The larger town of Pantanaw is located some three miles upstream. 361 The section U Myaing lives in is called YWA-GYI-BET (Big-village-side) and is the main residential area of Pathwe. Directly across the stream, which is about 200 feet wide at this point, are YWA-LAY-BET (small-village-side) and PAYA-GYI-DAUNT (Big-pagoda-corner).

YWA-GYI-BET consists of four rows of houses placed 200 feet apartparallel to the main branch of the stream. The rows consist of about fifty houses each and are separated by brick or earth roads. The brick road is raised about three feet to form a passageway in time of floods. Communal lavatories flank both sides of the village rows and the ones on the side of the river have been located about 60 or 70 feet back from the edge of the river "in order not to pollute the water." The lavatories in the village differ from one another, in that some of them are in the house itself and others are outside by a small passageway connected to the house. The houses with lavatories in them depend on the water to carry away the droppings in the rainy season. [363] 514 364 [312]

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

104. OUTLOOK OVER MIXED FORMS OF CULTIVATION.

the vagaries of the rivers. A good season is one in which a large proportion of the fields have water enough for an early start and in which the rainfall is steady, not leaving the surface to dry up by a long break in the rain nor deluging the soil at other times. All the alluvial land of favourable elevation and quality is laid out in level rice-fields. Where the rainfall is ample—fifty inches and upwards—portions of the diluvial land with tenacious soil can be utilised in the same way by merely saving the surface-water. In regions of lighter rainfall, in a few favoured localities, such land is brought under rice by help of irrigation and if need be by terracing as well. The rice-fields are bordered by low turfy balks (*kazin*) about a cubit high, to keep in the water. These regular rice-lands form less than one-tenth of the gross area of the country. The rest is mainly irreclaimable, chiefly mountain, waste. The waste areas of the alluvial plains (*kwin*) are flooded from three to ten feet deep in the rains. They are clothed with elephant-grass (*kaing*) studded, through with silk-cotton trees and a few other species. The lowest levels in the *kwin* form shallow lagoons (*in*, No. 103) which dry up in the hot season. Dry-season crops—sugar-cane (which is also grown on the wet system), maize, lentils, and vegetables for a limited market—are obtained in the *kaing*.

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25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890)1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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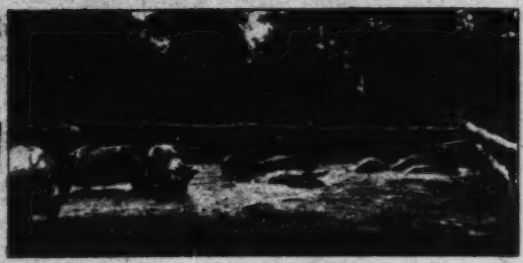
[231]



113. BUFFALOES IN THEIR PEN.

with the fingers or with a forked stick. The acre produces thirty to eighty bushels of grain, according to soil and season. The ripe corn stands three to five feet high, and so thick as to keep down tares. Unlike hill-rice (p. 149, No. 244), which requires several heavy weedings in the season, the wet rice-fields need no care beyond that of regulating the water-supply. Where there is drainage for the water, it is allowed to stand only a few inches high on the ground. As the grain ripens, the soil is allowed to dry. If there is a head of water available during the rains, channels are led to the fields to keep the supply equal. If the supply is near and only at a slightly lower level than the fields, the effects of drought are counteracted by various devices such as the *ka-hnwè* (No. 115). Running water at too low a level to lay on to the fields is utilized by help of a bamboo water-wheel (*yit*), or if the water be still, the wheel is driven by ox-gear. In some parts, rice and wheat are sown in the deeply-flooded lands when the water has drained off (*mayin*).

243

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The varieties of rice, of which there are many, suited to different soils and modes of cultivation, take from three to five months to mature. The harvest of the crops is from October to December, according to the variety and time of planting out. When the grain turns yellow, flights of parakeets and other birds descend on the crops, from which they have to be scared till reaping-time. Bamboo clappers are worked by bast lines in a radius of a hundred yards from the watcher's hut. Where there is an abundance of pasture for cattle, the stubble is left very long and is burned where it stands, to manure the ground. But if straw is needed

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114. CHILD RIDING BUFFALO OUT TO WORK.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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461
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166
167

115. WATER SCOOP (KA-HNWE).

for fodder, the corn is cut close to the ground, having first been laid by pressing it down with bamboos, which makes it easier. For reaping, the villagers co-operate. But in the plains of the delta, where cultivation has extended so greatly, there is not labour enough on the spot to reap the crop. Harvest labourers come down from Burma Proper and also large numbers from the south of India (p. 159). In the plains reapers get their two meals and a quarter of a bushel of grain a day or the equivalent in money (p. 56). In the hills a reaper gets a bushel a day for his labour. The common wages of daily labour are about half a rupee in Pegu, and a quarter less in Burma Proper. Before 1850, when the export trade began, wages were only half as much.

243 The sheaves are left to dry for a day in the sun and then gathered into garbs. These are piled on a dry field into a circular heap some three feet high, and broad enough for a herd of buffaloes to tramp round upon and tread the grain off the ear, to which it is attached by a slender petiole. Another way is to pile the garbs in a high crescent-shaped heap, round the central space of which four to six head of cattle are made to travel abreast and tread the garbs which are cast down from above. The grain keeps best in the husk and is stored in bins of bamboo wattle smeared with clay (*sabajl*, Nos. 119, 120).

The covering of the rice-grain is a strong adherent husk like that of barley, but mostly without any beard. Rice in the husk is called *Sabâ* (Engl. paddy).

116. CUTTING THE CROP IN THE GREAT PLAIN.

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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512
515
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[286]
[415]

132. BURMESE SILK CLOTH PATTERNS.

pot. The Burmans bathe in the morning or evening, and not in the heat of the day. Men and women bathe in their clothes and at the same places.

Burmans will travel far to a source of good drinking water. It is stored in porous earthen pots with covers, in which it settles and cools over-night. Rain-water is saved for other uses and stored in large glazed jars (*sin-ôl*). A cocoanut ladle is used for dipping the water out, to avoid disturbing the sediment. In the rainy season the river water bears a heavy silt and has to stand for hours. Spring water is scarce owing to the distance of the Burman settlements from the hills. The ordinary sources are rivers, wells, and tanks. In the moist region the subsoil water comes up to, or near the surface during the rains, and in the drought sinks twenty or thirty feet. In the dry zone it is sometimes necessary to dig one hundred feet for water. Wells are generally fenced and protected from return and

133. THE SPRING.

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

[opp. p. 62]

312
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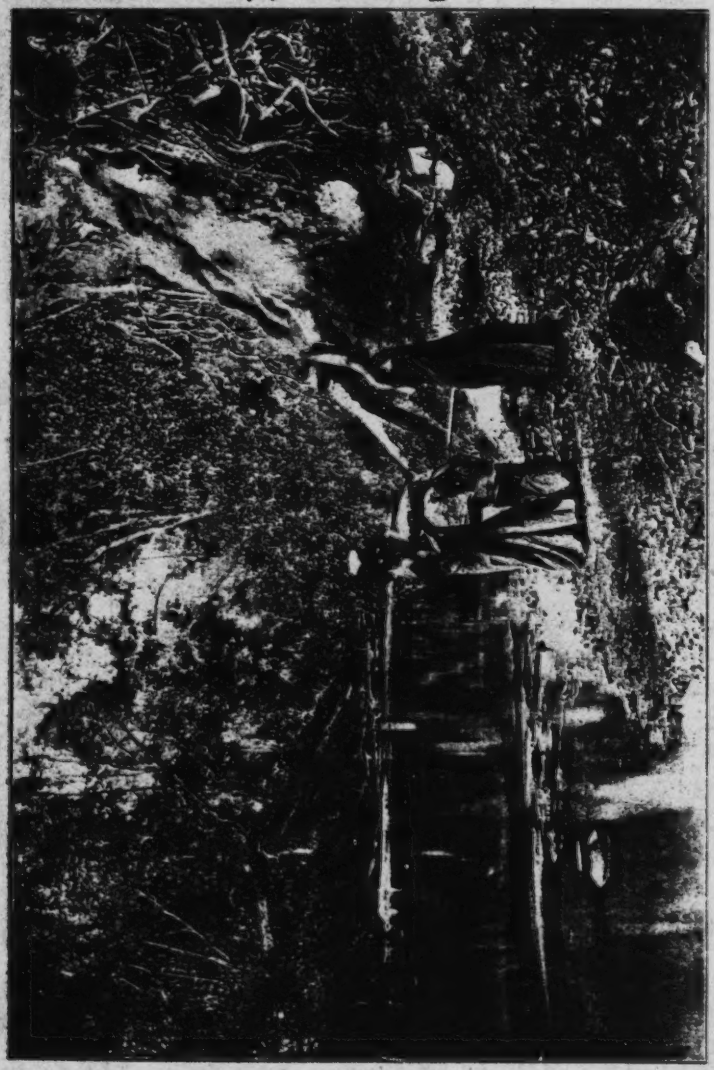

[Th. Fox & Co.

134. FETCHING WATER AT THE STREAM.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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[294]

125. SEWING CLOTH.

surface water. In some parts of the country the water is brackish. Shallow tanks with built-up earthen borders are made to store the rain-water for drinking, and, unlike the tanks in India, these are kept free from contamination. There is always a separate stand for the pots of drinking-water, either in the house itself, or within reaching distance, with a roof of its own. The domestic shrine and flower-stand (*nyaung ye-ô zin*) is frequently associated with the water-stand. Apart from the advantage of keeping away the drip the isolation of the water-stand is so marked as to suggest a religious intention—possibly of forgotten animistic import—in addition to the obvious one of a boon to the traveller, in virtue of which the water-stand is frequently decorated in the Buddhistic religious style (No. 158). As already noted, dwelling-houses are not fit places for images of the Buddha, but only temples. In the houses, the Buddha is venerated by keeping his sacred tree green in the flower-vases on the *nyaung ye-ô zin*, which is often richly decorated. The shrine takes its name from the *ficus*, but the plants actually used are such as keep green longest in the shade, especially the aloe (*môt*). The observance has very possibly been transferred from a pre-buddhistic one (No. 157).

372

The native method of getting fire is shown in No. 141. Except in the great plains, there is enough waste land about the settlements, bearing trees and scrub where dry faggots may be collected. Logs of dry timber are dragged in, and firewood for cooking split off as required, or billets are carted in and stored against the rainy season. In the cold season, fires are often made on the ground in front of the houses, for the inmates to sit around. But in general,

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126. VILLAGE WELL.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

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[271]
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252
[805]

137. CARRYING HOME THE WATER-POTS.

fuel is required only for cooking and in manufactures.

Rice is the staple of every meal, except in the dry zone. The millet and sorghum which there take the place of rice are cooked in the same way but need longer boiling. "A rice-boiling" (*ta-ò-dyét*) is the common phrase for an interval of about twenty minutes. After washing in several waters, rice is put to boil in an earthen pot with enough water to cover it, and boiled till the grains are quite clear. The rice-water is poured off, and the rice is put back on the fire to steam. Rice is cooked fresh for every meal and is eaten hot. A relish is made to eat with the rice, consisting of a watery stew of fresh greens or of pulse. The fat used is sesamum oil (*hnan-zí*). This curry is seasoned with turmeric (*sanzín*), capsicum (*ngayôtthi*—chilli), and either salt-fish or *ngapi* (p. 92). Fresh fish, prawns, or meat are added if available. In default of cultivated vegetables, wild greens of all sorts, bamboo-shoots and sprouting leaves, are used. Pickles of lime and other fruits are used as separate relishes. There are two meals in the day, both of the same nature. The morning meal is eaten at about nine o'clock, the other before dark. Meals are taken by the household in common. The housewife or daughter gets mats ready in the *kyaunčing* and places in the centre a *byat*—a large, deep, wooden platter, lacquered red—into which she turns out the cooked rice (*tamín*). In the middle of the rice is set a bowl with the curry and a spoon. The family squat round the *byat*, or if a large household round several.

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264
415
[271]

138. STAND FOR THE DRINKING-WATER.

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

to accumulate money, and their carelessness results in the constant death of their plough-beasts, so that matters usually remain exactly at the same level if the farmer does not actually get into permanent debt. The Scottish Highlanders have a pious wish, "May the free hand always be full!" If it is not always full in Burma it is consoling to think that it is seldom absolutely empty. Still, when the grandson succeeds he ordinarily finds that there is as little actual money hoarded up about the place as there was when the grandfather Po Gyi spent so many borrowed rupees at his uncle's funeral. 243 454 511

If rice cultivation is easy work in the low country, it is very different with the taung-ya, or hill clearings. Here the dense underwood and forest growth has to be cut down; and the more there is to cut the better the crop, for the soil needs fertilising badly, and all that is cut down is burned. Work is begun about January; everything is felled, bushes and all; and after the fallen logs have dried some time in the sun, the brushwood is heaped up round about them and the whole is set on fire. Some of the logs smoulder for weeks —perhaps till the first rains come. Then the ground is rudely dug up with hoes, and the ashes turned in. Cotton-seed is ordinarily mixed with the rice, which is of a quite different variety from that produced in the plains. It is sown broadcast, and the farmer has thereafter only to keep down the weeds, but this is not by any means a light task. The crop is ready by October, and furnishes little more than enough to support the family or community. The scanty manure provided by the wood-ashes is not sufficient to last more than two or three years; and when the crop is secured the party proceeds on to a new settlement, there to repeat the same laborious process. A very ingenious device for lightening the toil is resorted to where there is much heavy timber. Beginning at the bottom, they slightly cut the lowest trees on the upper side only, gradually increasing the depth of the notch as they advance up the hill, until at the top of the clearing they cut the trees completely through. These fall on the row immediately below them, and by their weight knock it down; and so the felling process is continued down to the bottom. Occasionally a tangle occurs

243 101 241 [248] [433] 241 313

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma (Hill Peoples Europeans) AP1
Burmese AP4

where some sturdy tree refuses to fall, and the clearing it away becomes a matter of very considerable danger. This taung-ya system is very wasteful as well as laborious, and annually draws down upon itself the denunciations of the English forest officers. But the hill-tribes who adopt it are too few to support themselves in any other way. They were long ago driven out of the plains by the Burmans, and now cling to their old nomadic life with a degree of obstinacy which Government officials, in a variety of ways, have found is not to be tempted by any tale of the present security and plenty of the low country, or even of the valleys among the hills. Rice, therefore, continues to be produced with the minimum and the maximum of labour; but none of the hill rice ever finds its way out of the country, and seldom even down to the plains.

The rice season, as far as the English merchant is concerned, commences in January and ends about May; but though this is pre-eminently the "busy season," there are purchases made in greater or less quantities all the year round. The relations between the great English rice firms and the simple jungle cultivators have not always been of a very elevating character, and it can hardly be denied that the fault lies wholly at the door of the foreigner. Missionaries in Burma are wont to mourn that their teachings are often rendered wholly nugatory by the want of scruple, and it might almost be said of honour, displayed by the great Rangoon rice firms. The good padres teach their proselytes that Christians are all honest and truthful. The ingenuous lads enter as clerks in a rice-mill and discover that Englishmen scarcely differ from the "poor heathen," except in being more lordly in the way of doing the thing.

Years ago, when there were not nearly so many mills as there are now, and not a quarter so many ships in the harbour during the rice season, things went on pretty equably. One day one firm would give a rupee or so more per hundred baskets, and the next day it would be another. But soon the mills began to increase in number and more ships came, and it was harder to get paddy. Then rival firms began to bid against each other. There was demurrage before their eyes, and it was terribly expensive work keeping the mill

during the months of Waso andWagaung. Mangoes can be preserved in the form of pickle or of salted mangoes. In Rangoon, ripe mangoes can be obtained all year round since some are laid by in cold storage, but they are very expensive out of season and cost about three rupees each. 262 [369] [251]

MAYAN THEE AHME (ripe marians) appear during the months of Tabaung, Tagu, Kason and Nayon. In Nayon month the output of marian fruit lessens.

Consumption of NGAPI YE: NGAPI YE is available all the year round. In Pantanaw it was eaten every day for both meals of the day. Ten ticals of NGAPI YE lasted the family four meals. In camp it is consumed only occasionally - about four days in the month. Two and one half ticals are taken with each meal and this would add up to twenty ticals for the eight meals in the month.

Consumption of firewood: If all the firewood needed by the family in camp had to be bought, the consumption of firewood per month in the camp would amount to 200 pieces of Kanasoe wood at the rate of Rs. 4/- per 100 pieces. About 3 months ago they found that they did not need to buy any firewood at all as they could gather a sufficient amount of brushwood to serve in its place; but now none of the members of the family remain free to go in search of brushwood and all their requirements have to be bought. 313●

In Pantanaw, their needs of firewood for cooking were filled by three huge Koko trees which they owned. This was also supplemented by the wood that they had to buy for processing the fish. Three tons of firewood would last 1½ or 2 months, costing Rs. 25/- per ton. The firewood for cooking did not cost anything beyond the two or three rupees that had to be paid to the person who cut down the branches.

Consumption of PAUK PAUK PYIN: This is not found in Rangoon at all. In Pantanaw it was eaten at charities, particularly the Waso month charity. Each member of the family ate about 10 ticals each, and 40 or 50 ticals were needed for all. This was eaten only once a year and even then not necessarily every year. 262 [796]

KAYE KAYAR is eaten in camp only about once a year. This is the Rangoon equivalent of PAUK PAUK PYIN. KAYE KAYAR is different in having no oil in it. One anna's worth weighs five ticals and six or seven people eat an anna's worth each at one eating.

In Pantanaw bread was sometimes eaten at SHIN PYUS (novitiation ceremonies). MON-HIN-GA was eaten at the beginning of the Buddhist lent, when PAUK PAUK PHIN, MON KYAR YOE and MON SEIN BAUNG were also eaten sometimes. KAUK HNYIN BAUNG was eaten at this time and also at U Myaing's daughter's naming ceremony. GYIN THOKE, LAPHET and tea were served during novitiation ceremonies, and Mandalay HTO MON was eaten during the naming ceremony. Sweet tea was also served during marriage ceremonies. Rice and curries were eaten at some of the bigger festivls. KAUK HNYIN was prepared for almost every ceremony or festival. [796]

In Rangoon, U Myaing had MON HIN GA and sweet tea on the full moon of Tasaungmon from a charity in the THAYET-TAW KYAUNG-TAIK. He also had some MON-HIN-GA not long ago at a head washing ceremony for a child. There are no charities held in the camp enclosure. [796]

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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10. CLEANING RICE WITH THE HAND-MILL.

in every town. A basket (*din*, bushel) of cleaned rice (*san*) costs three to four rupees, and lasts a man about a month. The loss of volume in cleaning is about twenty-five per cent., and the cost of the unhusked grain about one-third of that of rice. For cakes and sweets, rice is ground with water in the Indian stone hand-mill. After first soaking, it is passed through the mill repeatedly until it forms a creamy fluid, which is strained and used while fresh. Wheaten bread is a novelty.

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The houses in Burma are mostly built of bamboo. The giant bamboo (*wabó*), a denizen of the evergreen hills, is cultivated in the plains for house-posts and masts and side-buoys of boats. Its culms attain a height of eighty feet and a girth at the butt of two feet. Every bamboo jungle supplies the rest of the material for the house. No tools are needed for bamboo work, but the universal *dá*—a sabre, trimmer, chopper, according to its proportions (No. 231). With the *dá* the bamboos are hewn, split open and slit into withes (*hnt*) for lashing. Thin-walled bamboos are opened out into broad planks for the walls of the houses (*tayán*). Stout thick-walled bamboos are shaped into narrow planks for flooring, or the floor is laid of round bamboos laced down at intervals. Loose planks of wood are becoming general for floors, even in houses built of bamboo (p. 119). Every Burman can handle the *dá*, but not so expertly as the hill people. The house-posts, floor-girders, and principal frames are frequently of timber, and outlast several relays of the bamboo-work, which decays in a few seasons. The inducement to keep a material clean and neat which has soon to be replaced is not great, and engenders negligent habits. In the better houses, bamboo is only used for the walling and the roof rafters.

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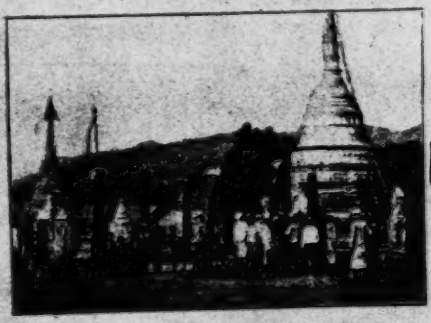
[412]
[243]

121. WINNOWING GRAIN IN THE WIND.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

122. CUTTING GIANT BAMBOO (WABO).

and the roof-rafters. Straight trees are selected for posts, and are either left plain, or the sapwood is dressed off, or they are dubbed octagonal; the timbers are rough-hewn with the *dâ*. Posts of hard and durable wood (*pyinkadô*) are also squared, and the scantlings for the timbers cut with the saw. A special significance attaches to the posts of the house. It is thought unlucky if birds alight on them before they are roofed in. Sham bows and arrows are set at the heads of the posts to scare them (*hngemmana*). Besides the miniature bow-and-arrow stuck in bazár goods to scare crows, this is the only form in which the long-bow and arrow survive in Burma; in practice, arrows are used with a crossbow (No. 204) and pellets with the plain bow (*le*), and that not extensively. Another curious custom is the one of laying a piece of cloth between the head of the post and the wall-plate as a propitiation to the *nat* of the tree (p. 187). Before the large posts of temples are reared, their heads are hung with offerings, which the workpeople afterwards share among themselves. The front bays of the house have a floor only a few feet off the ground (*kyanndaing*)—unless where the flood-levels require it to be higher—making a verandah, the common or unenclosed portion of the house, free to strangers. The back bays have a floor about four cubits off the ground or above the lower floor. A bamboo or wooden ladder connects the floors. The upper floor is enclosed all round, and has one or two bays partitioned off. A pent-roof covers the cooking-place and grain-bin, where the rice-pounders and implements are stored as well; or else there is a shed for



123. REARING THE POSTS OF THE WUT.

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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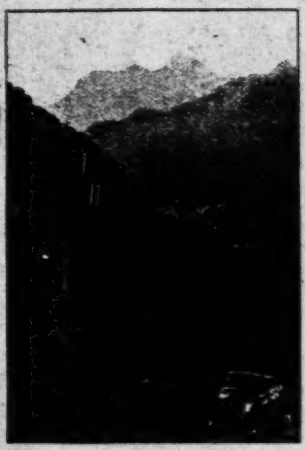

242. DEFILE BELOW THE GREAT RAPID OF THE SALWEEN.

which it is hammered is obtained from bamboo-fibre.

In Burma the idea still prevails that gold may be compounded from baser metals or the quantity of fine gold augmented by their means. Alchemists are found in every town, who experiment in the hope of success or practise on dupes who furnish the gold that is to be increased. A furnace and blast is the chief appliance of the laboratory, and the potent agent relied upon is mercury. Ingredients of every sort, animal, vegetable and mineral, are experimented with under the influence of charms and cabalistic forms, whence the name for alchemy, *ekkaya-tô*. The business is under the ban of religion, not alone as being actuated by greed (*lawba*, p. 44), but because primitive Buddhism eschews every thing mystical and occult. The operations are carried on at night for secrecy. Reputed adepts are found among the class of recluses called *yathé*, who from their life in the wilds are supposed to penetrate the arcana of nature.

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Wood-work was greatly restricted until better tools were imported. Planks and scantlings used to be laboriously prepared for boat-building and for palaces, religious edifices, and the houses of the great. Excepting the inner gates of the masonry temples, wood-work over a century old is scarce. But before the Burmans possessed the means of turning their timber to account for themselves, the country had become noted for its stock of teak. Burma possesses many valuable woods, but the pre-eminence of teak is such that for general purposes *timber* had come to mean always *teak* timber. Teak possesses the advantages

243. TEAK-TREE OUT OF LEAF (MARCH).

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

●313
322

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244. MIXED HILL-CROP OF RICE, SESAMUM, AND TEAK, IN SEPTEMBER (p. 149).

of being nearly all heart-wood, having considerable strength, with moderate hardness and weight, working easily with axe, saw and chisel, taking nails, and above all, not rusting nails or iron in contact with it. It has a serviceable brown colour and an odour by which it may always be distinguished, due to the presence of an oil which repels the attacks of insects, notably of the termites, and which protects it from decay. Teak is in short the prince of eastern woods. At the end of the eighteenth century, teak was already being worked out of the Burma forests and brought to port, where the foreign shippers had established saw-pits for squaring the logs. The steel pit-saws found their way into trade and gave an impetus to wood architecture, of which the ecclesiastical buildings of Burma are the chief examples. Timber-traders started building teak ships in Burma, employing Chinese carpenters. This business has been abandoned, but lighters are still built.

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341]

[501]

245. FLUE OF FACTORY DISUSED TEN YEARS.

313
137

The teak-tree (*tectona grandis*) occurs in patches of the dry mixed forest, the forest namely of which the principal element is a deciduous bamboo, with timber trees of fifty or more deciduous species scattered through it. Of these species about half a dozen produce serviceable timber. The bamboo-stools send up their culms to heights of forty and sixty feet in the course of a few weeks, before their branchlets and leaves appear. By means of this the bamboo has the advantage over all other vegetation. The seedlings of trees have to struggle up under its cover. At intervals of twenty to thirty years the bamboo species flower, to grow again from seed. Then is

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

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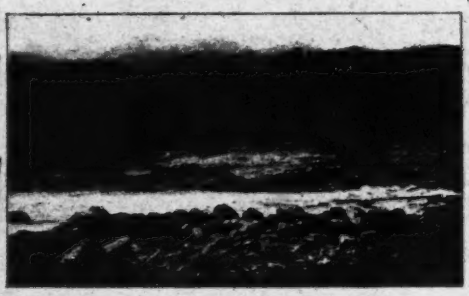

247. THE GREAT RAPID OF THE SALWEEN (HATJI).

the chance for the timber-trees. A seeding teak-tree may originate a clump of young teak on the natural clearing, just as happens on cultivation clearings (*taungya*, p. 149). Sometimes a mixture of trees in its turn suppresses the young bamboo. So far from forming vegetable mould on the surface, the great crisp leaves of teak (No. 355) provide rich fuel to the forest fires which burn every season and kill the struggling seedlings of trees. The bark of teak has about an eighth of an inch of a loose corky layer which protects the quick against scorching. The bare soil is exposed to severe erosion by rain. It is only where contributions of a better kind than its own are made to the soil that teak flourishes. Its occurrence is limited to patches of the dry forest zone, in which drainage and other factors not yet understood concur in a favourable way. Teak plantations are easy to start and the young trees are very promising. But they begin to languish and to seed prematurely when planted pure, as they mostly are. Teak attains its full height early, before commencing to flower, which it does in its axes of growth. Where the bloom drops off, no further straight length is grown. The stock of teak is in the main mature and over-mature. It is the savings which the mixed forest has accumulated of this imperishable wood, and is not supported by relays of younger generations in due proportion. Much even of the apparently rising stock is exhausted in vigour and is stationary; a tree crippled in vigour may never attain a girth of five feet. The blanks made by working out the teak are naturally filled up by the more numerous competing species. Teak seedlings in open situations grow twenty to thirty feet

[133]

248. VORTEX OF THE GREAT RAPID.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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137

249. DEFILE BELOW THE LAST RAPID OF THE SALWEEN.

high in a few seasons and get clear of the forest fires. But those struggling under cover are cut back by fire every year. Trees may attain a height of sixty feet in twenty years. A vigorous tree attains a marketable size of seven to eight feet girth at breast height in sixty to eighty years; trees of ten to twelve feet girth are common on good sites. The boles of the full-grown trees range from twenty-five to seventy-five feet and are mostly straight and round.

313
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134

The character of the dry mixed forest is determined by the prevailing bamboo, one of seven or eight species. The mixed forest constitutes a vegetal zone skirting the *kwin*, chiefly on sandstone slopes and hills, up to one thousand feet elevation. The timber tree most abundantly interspersed in the bamboo is *pyinkadó*, an "iron-wood" suitable for house-posts, sleepers, and rough work. The most valuable timber tree after teak, but even more sparingly distributed, is *padáuk*, an excellent wood for carriage-building; it has a rich red colour. In the driest type of mixed forest the cutch-tree is common (*shá*). The sandstone soil is interrupted by great stretches of "laterite," noted for its barrenness. It is not devoid of vegetation, but the forest which occupies these areas is open and stunted, with frequent blanks. It is called *indaing* from the prevailing *in*, the only gregarious forest tree of Burma, excepting the trees of the littoral and the pine of the high altitudes. This forest contains several congeners of the *sál* of India. Below the forests of the sandstone and laterite comes the *kwin*, with its prevailing *kaing*, interspersed with *leppan* and *pauk* trees. In the water-logged spots, and on the fringes of permanent lagoons, is the

250. MANGROVE JUNGLE.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

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252. RIPARIAN FOREST.

paludal forest (*yagaing taw*) and marshland (*hwet*). Towards the sea, the river-sides of the *kwin* are bordered with *lamú* and *pinlè-kanazò*, the evergreen monotony of which is only broken by the *dani* (*Nipa*), a palm with immense fronds somewhat like the cocoanut, but not developing a stem. The mud-banks of the tidal estuaries are overgrown with mangrove (*byè*). Above the brackish water, the riparian tree is the willow (*mômakò*), the tree that "denies its homage to the rain." For when by grace of heaven trees put forth their leaves, the willow sheds its own, and in the drought when all the rest are bare, the saucy tree breaks into leaf. Between the willow at the water's edge and the *kwin* or the hill-slope, as the case may be, comes a narrow band of riparian forest with a frequent undergrowth of cane-brake. This is the habitat of several useful timber trees, *thingán*, *pyinma*, *thikkò*, *ka-nyin* (wood-oil). These trees and their associates follow the banks of the small feeders into the hill-regions, or form an inter-mixture in the forest of evergreen trees which occupies the soles of ravines, abounding in lianas and epiphytic plants, with an undergrowth of *musaceæ*. Above this forest or, in other cases, the *kwin*, comes the zone of dry forest already described.

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Above the dry forest zone, but also at lower levels where the soil is volcanic, comes the hill evergreen forest (No. 256). Here trees are in the ascendant, except for occasional patches of giant bamboo (Nos. 122, 362). The trees are of innumerable species, of spongy and worthless timber, with a sprinkling of *ka-nyin*, *kaung-kmò*, *taung-pin-lai*, and *thingán*, and in the extreme South, *gangaw*. The undergrowth consists of young trees, with palms, pandanuses and

253. UPPER WATERS OF RIVER (JULY).

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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254. FOREST STREAM IN THE PINE REGION.

other large endogenous plants. The shade is dense, so that grasses do not grow, but owing to the absence of forest fires, there is mould on the surface. The trees are of great height, commonly one hundred feet clear bole (No. 362), and often are of enormous girth. The natural rotation is short owing to early decay, and the bulk of the trees are slender. Above this "tropical" evergreen forest, as it is named by its explorer, Kurz, at the altitude of three to four thousand feet, according to latitude, comes a zone of stunted evergreen trees, among which oak species are conspicuous. Mulberry, raspberry, briar, and other shrubs of the temperate zone grow wild, and a decided change of climate is experienced. One to several thousand feet above this zone is the region of the pine (*pinus khasya, tinyè*, No. 340), up to ten thousand feet, the greatest altitude of the Burma hills. The pine forest has an undergrowth of saccharum. When this burns, the fire runs up the resinous stems, and kills extensive areas of forest. The timber is good and attains great size, but is too unfavourably situated for transport. The forest types are not in all cases sharply defined, but merge into each other.

313 The specific gravity of green teak is about 1·2, and of dry teak about 0·8. The best way to get it dry for floating is to ring or "girdle" the trees. The bark and shallow sap-wood are cut through with the axe; the leaves wither and the tree dies. In two or three seasons the timber is light enough to float, and meanwhile it is not exposed to the danger of being burned or overseen in the undergrowth as it might be if felled in order to season. The tree is eventually felled at the level of the girdle, but if buttressed or un-

255. GIRDLING THE TREE.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

[opp. p. 116]

258. NEAPED LOGS ON THE SALWEEN RIVER (MARCH).

[To face p. 116.

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25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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227. FELLING THE TREE.

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sound is felled much higher. As timber gets scarce, the woodmen are glad to work out the stem-pieces left in this way, maybe fifty years before. If felled green, the teak throws out powerful suckers from the stool which grow six to ten feet in a season and get clear of the forest fires. In sixty years they produce marketable timber. After felling, the trees are cut into suitable logs for dragging. The latter is the most arduous part of the business. From the stump to the nearest floating-stream may be a mile or two of heavy country. The teak to be worked out of the forests is too sparsely distributed for roads or machinery to pay. Elephant power is the most valuable adjunct for the work. The rainy season, when brooks and streams are full, the ground moist and slippery, and the weather cool for the animals to work, is the time chosen for dragging. The corners of the log are cut away at one end, and a drag-hole made for the elephant chain and the subsequent raft-ties, at each end. The dragging-paths get worn into troughs in which water lodges and facilitates the work. Every brook on the way is utilized, for though too scanty to float the log, it lightens the labour. The elephants are worked a few hours in the morning and a few in the evening and turned loose at other times, with the fore-feet hobbled, to forage for themselves. The Karéns keep their elephants in excellent condition; such casualties as they have are due to anthrax, which spreads from the buffaloes, and to other epidemics. In the timber-yards at the seaports, on the other hand, in spite of grain and green feeding and great care, the animals are worn out in a few years. Elephants are heavy enough for

228. DRAGGING THE LOG.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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259. PUSHING THE LOGS OFF THE SHOALS (AUNG).

timber-work at eighteen years, and are at their prime from thirty to sixty. Females and tuskless males (*haing*) are worth one thousand to two thousand rupees; tuskers from one thousand five hundred to four thousand. Tuskers are of use for manœuvring the logs in the shallow streams and getting them off shoals. The logs are

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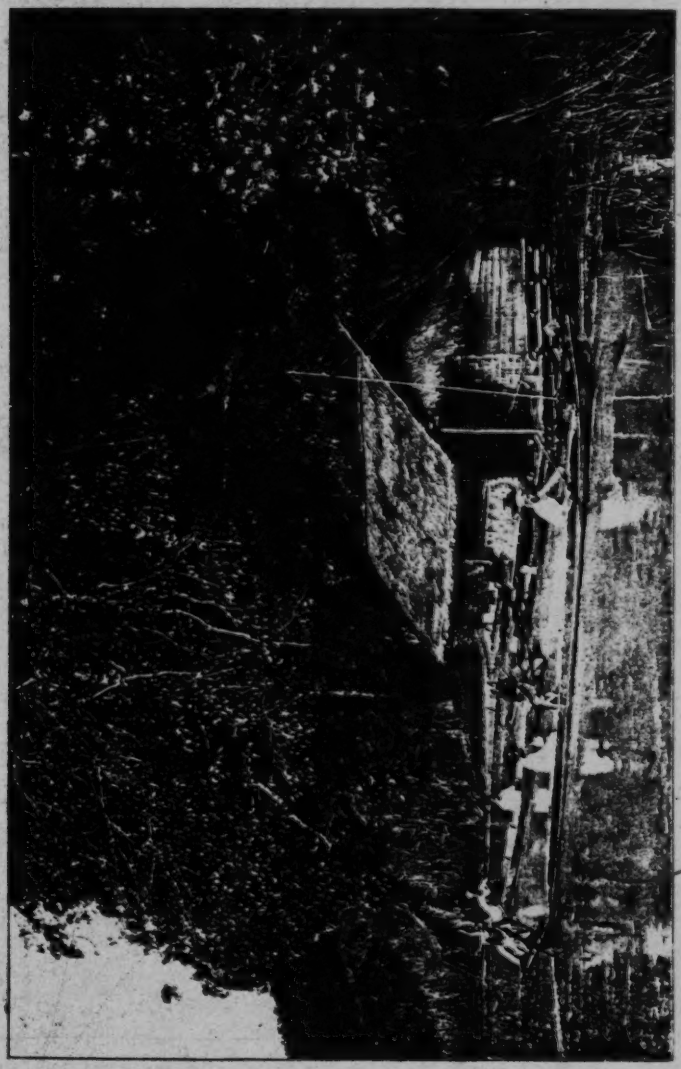
not launched into the main stream or river until the last freshets of the season have gone down, for fear of the timber becoming unmanageable. The logs are allowed to drift singly as far as the deep water, where they are stopped by a boom, for sorting and rafting to port. On the Irawadi and Sittaung, the main water-course is available for rafting, but on the Salween, only the last sixty miles below the rapids. The Salween tears its rugged course through the limestone mountains which occupy the centre of the Eastern Peninsula, traversing some ten degrees of latitude and tapping teak localities on a good part of its way. Deep tranquil stretches alternate with furious rapids, the violence of which may be judged from the fact that teak logs are often shivered in splinters. The foresters stamp the timber all over with their property-marks. They have to bide their time until the logs reach the rope-station or boom (*kyoldn*) and can be sorted. In the south-west monsoon the logs have to be salved one by one by men in canoes. The deep-water raft consists of five to ten tiers of as many logs each, securely bound with rattan by the drag-holes to cross-poles, and linked with the same material. The raft is manned by four or five men, and is often several weeks on its journey. It may not have to bring up until it reaches tidal waters, when it is easily moored. But where the raft has to be stopped against the full force of a three to five knot

260. LAUNCHING HEAPED LOGS.

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

[opp. p. 118]



281 TIMBER-SALVER'S HUT.

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25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 API Burma
Burmese AP4

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282. ROPE-STATION ON THE SALWEEN (KYODAN).

current, a remarkable device is employed. Two ten-foot handspikes, with a shoulder two feet above the point, have mooring-rattans from each end of the raft, one hundred feet long and an inch thick, bent on to them. One of these is sent ashore from the forward end of the raft and worked like a plough in the bank, going deeper as the raft slews round and the tension increases, and so stopping its way by degrees. If the first attempt fails a second is made from the other end of the raft, which is then the forward one. Arrived in port the logs are dragged up the mud-banks by elephants. But when the path is blocked, a powerful elephant sometimes carries a log bodily. The whole of the operations of bringing the timber to market are combined by a timber-broker (forester, *thiggaung*).

[463]

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Teak cuts readily, though it blunts the tools very soon. There is little waste. Sawn planks are displacing bamboo for the better-class houses. Sawyers earn from one-half to one rupee a day. The indigenous carpenter's tools were a small adze (*pègôt*), chisels and gouges (*sauk*), awls (*lun*), and a rough saw (*khwa*), besides *dâ* and axe (*pauzein*). The Burman adopted the Chinese plane (*yuk-haw*, "selecting-shave") with the Chinese straddle bench. The English carpenter's rule is also general. When the impulse to good house-building was given by the production of cheap planks, the immigrants from China got the whole of the work.

[197]

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[563]

The Burmans have begun to oust them from the heavy carpentering and from the joinery as well. Ordinary Burman carpenters earn ¾ rupee a day, the better workmen 1 to 1¼ rupees a day, compared with the Chinaman's 1½ rupees. The wood-work is left

283. BINDING THE LOGS INTO RAFTS.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

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[313]
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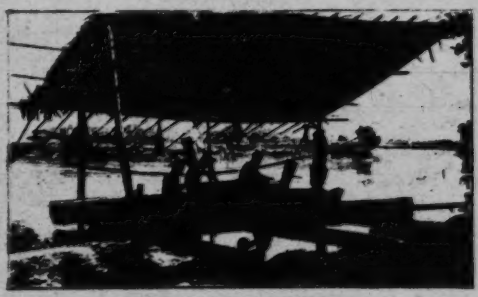
264. TIMBER-RAFT.

plain or is oiled with crude petroleum. A wooden house of the modern Burman pattern costs from three hundred rupees upwards; a bamboo house only twenty to sixty.

The Burman turning-lathe is of the usual primitive type; two poppets sliding in a bed, with centres to hold the work, round which a cord passes from the simple treadle-bar to a springy lath or bamboo overhead. But of late, mandril-lathes have been constructed after models in the steam-mill workshops (No. 187). Mechanical construction has great attractions for the Burman, and is stimulated [563] by the high wages of labour. The foremen sawyers at the steam-mills are Burmans, the other hands natives of India. Menders of clocks and sewing-[401] machines are in all the towns. An engine-erecter, who had set up machinery in most countries of Europe and Asia, said he had nowhere met the same natural aptitude for handling machinery as in Burma (*cf.* p. 10).

322 The floral wood-carving of Burma is remarkable for its freedom and
531 spontaneity. Rich as the floral tracery is, the animal grotesques are laboured and deficient in fancy. The carving is done in teak-wood when it is meant for fixtures; otherwise, *yamané* is preferred. The tools employed are chisel, gouge, and mallet. The design is traced on the wood with charcoal, gouged out in the rough and finished with sharp fine tools, using the mallet for every stroke. Teak-wood and *yamané* have a coarse grain, in which fine detail cannot be rendered. Small and delicately elaborated figures are carved in sandal-wood [313] and also in ivory. Whole tusks are carved over with figures of the Buddha and are dedicated in the *kyaungs*. In some of these the figures are modelled in a single piece under an



265. SAWING UP THE LOGS.

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 API Burma
Burmese AP4

[opp. p. 120]

265. SORTING LOGS AT THE SEA-PORT.

[To face p. 190.

313

design and, within this chaste frame, the elephants, princes, trees and *nat* spirits waved and bounded in profusion. At the base of each bowl was a felicitous salutation inscribed on a smooth ground. 326 412 531 511

Lacquer is another industry now turning out cigar and trinket boxes, table mats, bowls and other articles for the modern market, but also continuing to supply all Burmese households with objects for daily use. When my father was stationed at Magw we went up the river to Pagan and from there by bullock cart to the village of Nyaung-U where the best Burmese lacquer is made. A frame of bamboo strips woven closely is covered and filled out with a mixture of cow-dung and paddy husk, and given a thick coat of black *thitsi*, wood-oil. Traditional designs are engraved on this when dry, and successive coatings of thitsi mixed with colouring are put on, the bowl being allowed to dry and turned on a lathe to take off the colour not required in the pattern in between each coating. The finished product is polished smooth and so flexible that a bowl can be bent till the opposite sides of its rim touch. We had lacquer boxes, *yun-its*, of great size to hold my father's turbans and my mother's scarves, round ones to hold combs and tresses for my mother's hairdressing, drinking mugs, betel boxes and many others. We had *kyauk-ka*, a more solid lacquer of plain red and black, for food carriers. with plates and cups to match. 322 415 531 [438]

Wood seems part of the fabric of the Burmese craftsman's being. The wealth of the forests which provided teak, pyinkado, ingyin and a host of other woods for lasting structures; the perfect medium they afforded to the chisel, gouge and mallet of the carver, and the traditional forms of architecture which offered vantage points for the display of superb craftsmanship all combined to make wood-carving the most lively of Burmese arts. But wood-carving cannot be seen to advantage in domestic articles; we had carved wooden frames for photographs of monks and of Grandfather, carving on the screen which walled off the altar room, but Burmese carvers in wood had never devoted their talents to the cutting of small articles. Teak and *yamanè*, the two woods usually carved on, have a coarse grain in which fine detail cannot be rendered. Beginning from the days when the tradition was to reserve carving for the wood of sacred structures only—palaces and monasteries—the craftsman had put all his skill into animating the gables and eaves of tiered monastery roofs, palace walls and ceilings, with a riot of liying ogres, nats, dancing spirits and birds surrounded by leaves, flowers and scrollwork which did not leave an inch bare. 322 314 531

Still, the village craftsman with a talent for work in wood does not lack scope in his rural surroundings. 322

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

CHAPTER XXVII

LACQUER WARE

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FOR a long time it was assumed that Japanese and Chinese lacquered goods were simply papier-mâché. A popular fancy for the ware has brought to the knowledge of all who care for the information that it is really wood of different kinds painted over with the juice of the urushi tree. Should fashion ever inspire a similar enthusiasm for Burmese productions of the same kind, it is probable that it may be supposed that these also are composed of solid wood, and people will wonder at the extreme thinness and flexibility of the finer specimens. But it is only the coarsest ware which is thus produced. All the better boxes and cups are made of a woven basket-work of strips of bamboo; the varnish used on them is, like the Japanese lacquer, the sap obtained from the stem of a tree, and has nothing whatever to do with the insect-produced lac, such as English varnishers employ in solution with alcohol. I am no botanist enough to know whether the urushi (*Rhus vernicifera*), the Japanese tree, is identical with the Burman thi'si (*Melanorrhœa usitatissima*), or even whether it is of the same genus or order. Thi'si (literally wood-oil) is dark in colour from the moment it is gathered, whereas the urushi sap is described as being light yellow when first extracted, and only turning black after considerable exposure to the air. The urushi has been cultivated by royal order for hundreds of years in Japan; but in Burma, though the Forest Department declares the thi'si a reserved tree, there is no attempt at organised cultivation, and the thi'si-bin grows wild in the jungle. Not even near Nyaung-u, where nearly

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2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

every household in the town is occupied in the trade, is there any attempt at regular planting of nurseries. Nevertheless it is plentiful enough, and affords a magnificent spectacle when it is in flower—a huge forest tree covered so thickly with creamy-white blossoms that the leaves cannot be seen. The flowers have a fragrant scent not unlike that of apples, and the needy and practical Burman often makes a very acceptable curry of the buds. In full-grown trees the average height to the first branch is thirty feet, and the ordinary girth six feet from the ground is nine feet. Charcoal-burners have a predilection for the wood, which would not meet with approval in Japan; and it is much used for anchors and tool-helves, being very close and fine-grained. It is too heavy to float when green, but dried it is not particularly weighty. The sap may be collected at all times, except when the fruit is on the trees, from Pyatho to Tabaung—the first three months of the English year. Then it is thin and does not produce such a brilliant polish. The mode of collection is simple enough. Incisions are made in the stem, and the sap trickles into bamboos placed to catch it. When it is to be kept any time there must be a depth of two or three inches of water on the top, otherwise it would dry up and become solid. The water, however, does not improve it. The best varnish, called thi'si ayaungtin, is that which has been just drawn from the tree; the second quality contains twenty-five per cent of water, the inferior as much as fifty.

The articles lacquered are chiefly drinking-cups and betel-boxes, the latter consisting of a cylindrical inner case, in which are fitted two or three trays for holding the lime, betel-vine leaves, cutch, nuts, and other ingredients for betel-chewing, the whole covered by an outer lid reaching to the bottom of the inner case. Ordinary kôn-it, betel-boxes, are three or four inches high and two and a half to three in diameter. Articles of the same shape are made of all sizes up to a couple of feet or more in height, these last being used for holding clothes and women's working materials. The bi-it, ladies' toilet-boxes, are often the most delicate and carefully worked. The actresses always carry splendid specimens about with them to contain their combs, oil, scent,

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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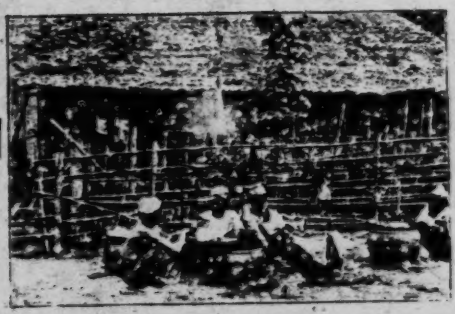
[432]

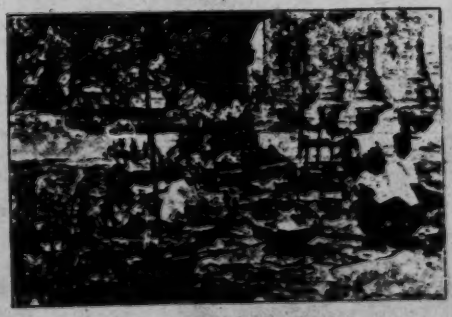


285. PEDLARS.

tain a fire of billets on a special hearth as big as the couch, and placed alongside of it, for five or seven days. The antiseptic property of the smoke may be of value, but the relaxing effect of the artificial heat is believed to be a reason why the Burman women are so much less hardy in this particular than the neighbouring races. The hospital of the Lady Dufferin Fund is helping to spread a [158] more enlightened practice. The ratio of insane in the population is about a quarter of that of Western Europe and America, but is double that of India.

482 Almost the only dealer who hawks his goods in the street is the seller [443] of oil (*hmanzi*, No. 282). He uses a light spring yoke of the wood of the *zi*-tree, the heavier form of which is seen in No. 283. By its springiness the 314 yoke maintains the load at an even level, thus saving waste of work. As much as a hundredweight is carried for long distances. In merely shifting goods at warehouses, carriers will move two hundredweight. They earn six to twelve annas a day. The only vegetable oil used for burning is the oil or resin of [373] the *ka-nyin* (No. 362). Chips are soaked in the wood-oil and made up into torches (*mldaing*) with leaves of the pandanus. The oil is obtained by hewing deep recesses into the butts of the trees for it to collect in, and firing these from time to time to induce a fresh

315 flow. In the valley of the Irawadi, the crude earth-oil from the wells at Yenándyaung is burned in open lamps. This is the earliest [432] petroleum known to commerce, under the name "Rangoon oil." In recent years petroleum has also been found in Arakán. The out-turn from the Burma oilwells in 1898–99 was thirty-two million gallons, valued at



286. TOY AND FLOWER STALLS

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

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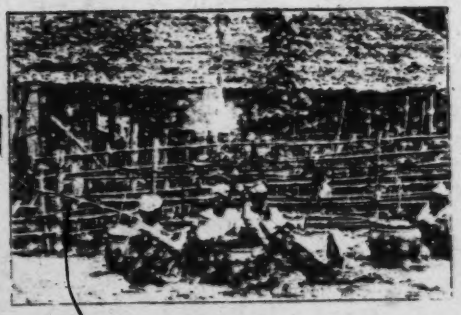
[432]



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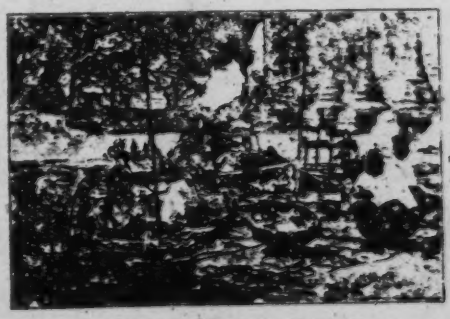

286. TOY AND FLOWER STALLS

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2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

825 baby curled up together in a corner with the boa, making one another mutually cosy.

[757] The gall-bladder and fat of the sabba-gyi are much prized for medicinal purposes, the fat especially being esteemed as a sovereign remedy for rheumatism and strains.

Of the poisonous snakes the most dreaded is the ngan, or u-gwet, the "spotted forehead." This creature, the hamadryad or ophiophagus, is, as his name imports, a cannibal, and lives on his neighbour snakes. Specimens as long as nine feet from nose to tail have been killed near Rangoon, and in the forests which are his proper home he sometimes grows to fourteen or fifteen feet. Unlike all other reptiles, the ngan does not get out of the way of a man approaching his haunts, but attacks him immediately. He is worse than the walrus that roused the indignation of the French poet.

Bees are kept in a good many places in the country, but it is necessary to be very careful where you put the hives. It is a most ill-omened circumstance if wild bees make a nest under the house, or if bees of any kind fly under the floor. On the other hand, a hive on the house-top is very lucky. Honey is in great request to present to the pôngyis at various feasts, and especially for the embalming of the [764] body of a dead brother of the Robe. After the cremation the honey is sold in the bazaar. It is not eaten by Englishmen in Burma. "Tapping the governor" does not commend itself to everybody. The hill tribes in the Shan States keep bees in hives made of blocks of wood.

757 Rhinoceros horns are in as great favour with the Burmans as with Chinese medical men. Shavings of the horn are considered an invaluable cure for epilepsy, and also guard against poisons of all kinds. There are two distinct species found in the eastern forests—the single and the double-horned.

315 787 Near Yenangyaung, in the petroleum district, when a new oil-well is wanted, the workmen place a marble image of an elephant on a smooth, flat stone, and surround it with gifts of all kinds, and then sit down to watch. If the elephant itself moves it indicates the direction in which borings are to be made; if not, the offering on which its shadow first falls as the sun sinks down, is marked, and a bedin sayā consulted.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

315 [432] [322]

287. COUNTRY SALE-DEPOT.

about three million rupees. At present both wood-oil and crude earth-oil are being superseded by kerosene. The crude earth-oil is used for preserving woodwork. But its place is being taken by

438 the residues from the local refineries, now established in Rangoon.* Travelling
443 pedlars hawk the silk goods of Burma Proper and all sorts of fancy nicknacks
782 from the sea-ports to the villages of the interior. The approaches to the temples are favourite resorts of stall-keepers of all sorts of wares, especially of wax-tapers, plain and moulded, gold leaf, coloured paper flags and flowers for the votaries to decorate the shrines with, and toys wherewith to gladden the hearts of children—an act of merit befitting the shrine of religion in this cheerful land. In sad contrast to the gaiety of the booths is the spectacle of the lepers who beg for alms. The prominence of these unfortunates at such places creates a disproportionate impression of their numbers, high as these are (p. 41). The offerings dedicated on the occasions of *Shinldung fêtes*, festivals, and funerals, make the trades of manufacturing and distributing the requisites of the *kyaung* very important ones. The wares collected in the *parikaya* shop used to be representative of the manufactures of Burma. But of late, imported goods—crockery, glassware, lamps and clocks—have become a regular part of the *kyaung* furniture, and are offered in meaningless profusion. This [277] has helped to bring the *parikaya* trade into the hands of foreigners.

288. ROLLING CHEROOTS.

438 Every year, after the floods have subsided, Bur-
443 man dealers establish dry-
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* See *The Occurrence of Petroleum in Burma*, by Dr. F. Noetling.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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438
[398]
[505]
[171]

308. BURMAN CARTWRIGHTS.

ngapi, dried fish, salt and rice, besides imported goods. They bring down the manufactures of the North—cutch, lacquer, images, and *parti-kaya* wares. They have to endure a formidable competition from the river steamers. In its existing form, the boat of Burma presents no near affinity to the boats of neighbouring peoples. The types of architecture which the Burmans borrowed from India they have treated in a distinctive way which gives them independent interest. But the art which culminates in the stately ship of the Irawadi is purely their own achievement. The work derives unity from the noble balance of the masses and life from the spirited sweep of the curves. The severity of line is relieved by plastic incident in the rich carving. The structure itself is patent and not concealed (with the exception noted), and the decoration goes hand in hand with it. Besides their own type of boat, the Shan type (No. 320) has been developed into a large craft for carrying earth-oil in bulk—the *peingdaw*. Two long, partially-hollowed teak logs form the sides of the lower hull, with several thick planks intervening, for the flat bottom. Two planks above these complete the sides, all held together by nails and ribs as in the *laungzát*. There are outrigged bamboo galleries for the crew to row and pole, which allow of the deck-house being carried from end to end, providing accommodation for several families. The rig is the same as in the *laungzát*. In tidal and salt waters, boats have to be beached once a month to bream the bottoms and destroy the teredo. The rest of the woodwork and tackle is protected with earth-oil. The boats of Arakán are on Indian lines. There is

[505
315]
[493]
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[177]

308. BUFFALO-CART.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 API Burma
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222. CANOPY OF GREAT ZEDI (VI, pp. 30, 101).

thing like a spoke-shave (*daing-dyaik*), for the rough shaping of the blades after forging, to save their files. The blacksmiths make the axes of the country also. The old Burman axe consists of a long-handled wooden mallet with an iron tip like a small spade. The smiths also make spear-heads for the hill-people, iron shoes for ploughs, mattocks and hoes, tires and axles of carts, dee nails for boats, nippers for sugar-cane and betel-nut, and other tools. They do repairs of locks and fire-arms. A special class of iron-work is making *tt* for *zedi*. The tinsmith's trade was unknown in Burma until fifty years ago. In Pegu it is still in Indian hands; but in Mandalay the Burman tinsmiths are unequalled.

Argentiferous galena is found in Burma, but the ore barely repays working for the sake of the lead. The silver used in Burma and most of the gold is imported from China, India, and Europe. A dozen villages in different parts of Burma get a living by sifting the sand of streams which bear gold. A broad thin wooden dish shaped like a flat cone is filled with sand and gravel, and worked at the water-level with a rotary movement, by which the lighter material is driven out centrifugally. The dish is filled and refilled, and after seven or eight hours' work as many grains weight of gold flakes will have accumulated in the depression at the centre. The out-turn of a steady worker is three to five tikals of gold in the season.

223. MOUNTAIN CASCADE.

The stock in trade of the gold and silver worker consists of a bamboo blast, clay crucibles, blowpipe, solder and flux, aquafortis and mercury, hammers, punches and anvils of bronze and iron, wire-plate and beading-plate. Bullion is furnished by the customer, who pays from one half up to the full weight, in

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
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234. WASHING FOR GOLD.

silver, of the work, for workmanship. The fineness of the gold used is from eighteen to twenty-two and a half carats. Copper is the alloy for gold (four to sixteen *yué* of copper to the *kyat* or tikal). Silver is used of rupee fineness (four *yué* of alloy to the *kyat*) up to pure metal (*baw*). The intermediate fineness of sterling silver is the most usual. Silver is alloyed with copper and with zinc. With the few implements named above, plate for display and ornaments for women's wear are fashioned, of beautiful design and considerable finish. Chasing and *repoussé* ornament are used for the gold and silver plate, filigree and beading for the gold ornaments. Those who can afford it, serve drinking-water to their guests in a large silver bowl (*pald*) holding a gallon or so, with a small *pald* floating on the water. Other objects of luxury are silver lime-boxes, betel-boxes, hafts and scabbards of sabres. Broad zones of *repoussé*-work are relieved by fillets and beadings. The plain vessel having been hammered into shape is filled with a tough lac. This affords a ductile matrix, yielding where the chaser is applied and supporting the relief portions. The first step is to outline the work with a bronze punch, after which the lac is melted out and the metal annealed. Lac is poured in again, and a stage of relief raised. By successive annealings the full relief is obtained.* The figure designs are the signs of the zodiac, episodes from *nat*, and mythical animals. Women frequently carry some thousands of rupees worth of gold in the form

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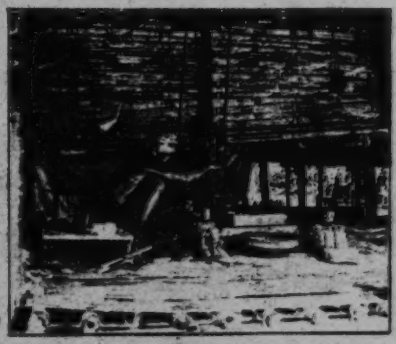

235. VILLAGE SILVERSMITH.

* The figure to the left in No. 237 is Go Thu Ban of Maulmain, the silversmith who designed and executed the tools used for the sides of this volume. The back is from the cover of a *Kembawé*, to the colours of which it corresponds.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
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239. GOLD-BEATERS.

circulates in Burma is three times the value of the lowest Indian coin. Notes have no circulation as yet among the Burmans, although they now bear their figures of value in Burmese.

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306 Rubies and sapphires (*kyaunmyat*) are separated from the sand and gravel of certain localities, notably Mogôk, in the same way as gold is. Hard gems are cut with gem-dust on a horizontal wheel driven by a fly-
[822] wheel and treadle in a regular lathe-stand. Rock-crystal is cut in this way and also on a bone. Jade is found at Mogaung and is exported to China. Amber is found at Bamáw.

306 Gold-leaf is used in enormous quantities for gilding *zedi* and images. Only pure gold is employed. The paper for separating the gold-leaf in the book in gold and silver bullion were used for exchange, as they still are in the Shan States. Chinese gold is current in the form of foil with the market stamp of fineness. It can be conveniently cut with scissors and weighed. Travellers often carry their bullion in this form. Silver is used by the Shans in the form of ingots which have to be hewn and assayed when making a purchase. The standard for commodities, wages and rent is silver, the fluctuation being referred to the gold. The lowest coin that

240. ALCHEMISTS.

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

251 almost always cleaned by hand, the shoulder fins and the tail being also removed. They are then thoroughly rubbed with salt and tightly packed in bamboo baskets, each of which is well weighted down. They are thus left for from twelve to twenty-four hours, the superfluous juices of the fish straining out at the bottom. Then they are cautiously taken out one by one, well rubbed with salt again, and laid out on a mat in the sun to dry. On the second day they [415] are equally carefully packed away in huge earthenware jars with abundance of salt between the layers of fish. These jars are then put away—no easy matter with some of them, which might have served to conceal the forty thieves of the *Arabian Nights*—in as shady and cool a place as can be found. Gradually the liquid rises to the surface and evaporates by degrees, leaving a layer of solid salt on the top. Sometimes this fish-brine becomes alive with maggots, when the fish have not been sufficiently pressed, or have not had enough sun. When this occurs the liquid is drawn off the top and more salt is added, but in no case are any of the fish rejected. Usually the fish are ready for the market in a month's time, and will keep as long as may be wanted. They are eaten roasted, or fried somewhat in the same way as the "Bombay ducks," well known to the Anglo-Indian gourmand; sometimes also they are made into curries, the cook taking as great care as the manufacturer to keep them ●317 quite whole. The salt used is in many places, such, for example, as the Angyi township, made on the spot. The soil there is strongly impregnated with salt. Water is run through it after the ground has been ploughed. The water is then collected in a tank, whence it is taken to pots, placed over furnaces, and evaporated to dryness, and the salt obtained is piled on sloping boards so that the bittern may run off.

263 252 A specially esteemed variety of the ngapi gaung is that called the nga-tha-lauk, after the fish of the same name, the hilsa, or "Indian salmon," which would be perfect, were it not supplied with bones all through its body, seemingly utterly irresponsible and unconnected with the spine. This handsome fish, silvery, shot with purple and gold, is not scaled, nor are the head, tail, or any of the fins removed.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
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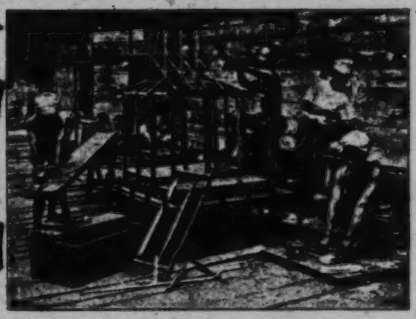

267. BURMAN CARPENTERS.

arbour of tracery, which entirely encloses them. Ivory hafts and scabbards of daggers and sabres are ornamented in the same way. The ivory carving is not polished.

The conventional flat design, painting and embroidery exhibit affinities to the Indian decoration of the ancient temples (Nos. 94, 272). The anachronisms and other naiveties of our mediæval designers are paralleled in modern Burma; witness the introduction of British officers with their field-glasses in the design of the Prince of Pagán destroying the monster at Hngep-pyittaung (No. 224). The medium used for painting is a coarse tempera. From the labels attached to European goods, many of which are excellent in design and colour, lessons in colouring and perspective have been learned. From photographs, ideas of accuracy have been gathered, and from illustrated news-papers, ideas of composition. Neither carver nor designer ever uses a model. The painter of No. 433 confessed that he had not seen the place himself; he had it described to him. In pure design without colour, the *shwezawá* work is the best. It is a kind of drawing in lacquer, which appears black on a gold ground (No. 96). Of late the Burmans have attempted cuts on type-metal for illustrations of books (No. 276). They are executed with chisel and punch; the graver is unknown.

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Ancient inscriptions are rare in Burma, although the *thamáing*, or depository for slabs recording the circumstances of religious foundations, is a recognised institution. In many of the *thamáing* at Pagán may be seen the ancient *Pâli* square character, of which the Burmese round character is a development. The square character is preserved in the *kambawá* (No. 46). The late King Mindôn Min caused the whole of the Pâli text of the Tripitaka to be

268. BURMAN TURNER.

design and, within this chaste frame, the elephants, princes, trees and *nat* spirits waved and bounded in profusion. At the base of each bowl was a felicitous salutation inscribed on a smooth ground. 326 412 531 511

Lacquer is another industry now turning out cigar and trinket boxes, table mats, bowls and other articles for the modern market, but also continuing to supply all Burmese households with objects for daily use. When my father was stationed at Magwe, we went up the river to Pagan and from there by bullock cart to the village of Nyaung-U where the best Burmese lacquer is made. A frame of bamboo strips woven closely is covered and filled out with a mixture of cow-dung and paddy husk, and given a thick coat of black *thitsi*, wood-oil. Traditional designs are engraved on this when dry, and successive coatings of thitsi mixed with colouring are put on, the bowl being allowed to dry and turned on a lathe to take off the colour not required in the pattern in between each coating. The finished product is polished smooth and so flexible that a bowl can be bent till the opposite sides of its rim touch. We had lacquer boxes, *yun-its*, of great size to hold my father's turbans and my mother's scarves, round ones to hold combs and tresses for my mother's hairdressing, drinking mugs, betel boxes and many others. We had *kyauk-ka*, a more solid lacquer of plain red and black, for food carriers. with plates and cups to match. 322 415 531 [438]

Wood seems part of the fabric of the Burmese craftsman's being. The wealth of the forests which provided teak, pyinkado, ingyin and a host of other woods for lasting structures; the perfect medium they afforded to the chisel, gouge and mallet of the carver, and the traditional forms of architecture which offered vantage points for the display of superb craftsmanship all combined to make wood-carving the most lively of Burmese arts. But wood-carving cannot be seen to advantage in domestic articles; we had carved wooden frames for photographs of monks and of Grandfather, carving on the screen which walled off the altar room, but Burmese carvers in wood had never devoted their talents to the cutting of small articles. Teak and *yamanè*, the two woods usually carved on, have a coarse grain in which fine detail cannot be rendered. Beginning from the days when the tradition was to reserve carving for the wood of sacred structures only—palaces and monasteries—the craftsman had put all his skill into animating the gables and eaves of tiered monastery roofs, palace walls and ceilings, with a riot of living ogres, nats, dancing spirits and birds surrounded by leaves, flowers and scroll work which did not leave an inch bare. 322 314 531

Still, the village craftsman with a talent for work in wood does not lack scope in his rural surroundings. 322

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

CHAPTER XXVII

LACQUER WARE

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FOR a long time it was assumed that Japanese and Chinese lacquered goods were simply papier-mâché. A popular fancy for the ware has brought to the knowledge of all who care for the information that it is really wood of different kinds painted over with the juice of the urushi tree. Should fashion ever inspire a similar enthusiasm for Burmese productions of the same kind, it is probable that it may be supposed that these also are composed of solid wood, and people will wonder at the extreme thinness and flexibility of the finer specimens. But it is only the coarsest ware which is thus produced. All the better boxes and cups are made of a woven basket-work of strips of bamboo; the varnish used on them is, like the Japanese lacquer, the sap obtained from the stem of a tree, and has nothing whatever to do with the insect-produced lac, such as English varnishers employ in solution with alcohol. I am no botanist enough to know whether the urushi (*Rhus vernicifera*), the Japanese tree, is identical with the Burman thi'si (*Melanorrhœa usitatissima*), or even whether it is of the same genus or order. Thi'si (literally wood-oil) is dark in colour from the moment it is gathered, whereas the urushi sap is described as being light yellow when first extracted, and only turning black after considerable exposure to the air. The urushi has been cultivated by royal order for hundreds of years in Japan; but in Burma, though the Forest Department declares the thi'si a reserved tree, there is no attempt at organised cultivation, and the thi'si-bin grows wild in the jungle. Not even near Nyaung-u, where nearly

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2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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every household in the town is occupied in the trade, is there any attempt at regular planting of nurseries. Nevertheless it is plentiful enough, and affords a magnificent spectacle when it is in flower—a huge forest tree covered so thickly with creamy-white blossoms that the leaves cannot be seen. The flowers have a fragrant scent not unlike that of apples, and the needy and practical Burman often makes a very acceptable curry of the buds. In full-grown trees the average height to the first branch is thirty feet, and the ordinary girth six feet from the ground is nine feet. Charcoal-burners have a predilection for the wood, which would not meet with approval in Japan; and it is much used for anchors and tool-helves, being very close and fine-grained. It is too heavy to float when green, but dried it is not particularly weighty. The sap may be collected at all times, except when the fruit is on the trees, from Pyatho to Tabaung—the first three months of the English year. Then it is thin and does not produce such a brilliant polish. The mode of collection is simple enough. Incisions are made in the stem, and the sap trickles into bamboos placed to catch it. When it is to be kept any time there must be a depth of two or three inches of water on the top, otherwise it would dry up and become solid. The water, however, does not improve it. The best varnish, called thi'si ayaungtin, is that which has been just drawn from the tree; the second quality contains twenty-five per cent of water, the inferior as much as fifty.

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The articles lacquered are chiefly drinking-cups and betel-boxes, the latter consisting of a cylindrical inner case, in which are fitted two or three trays for holding the lime, betel-vine leaves, cutch, nuts, and other ingredients for betel-chewing, the whole covered by an outer lid reaching to the bottom of the inner case. Ordinary kôn-it, betel-boxes, are three or four inches high and two and a half to three in diameter. Articles of the same shape are made of all sizes up to a couple of feet or more in height, these last being used for holding clothes and women's working materials. The bi-it, ladies' toilet-boxes, are often the most delicate and carefully worked. The actresses always carry splendid specimens about with them to contain their combs, oil, scent,

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2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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the white lead and thana'kha for the complexion, and a few tresses of false hair. Other articles are the pyramidal tamin-sa-ôk, used for carrying food to the monasteries and the pagodas, fashioned somewhat in the style of the sacred spires, of five or seven roofs, and of all sizes from eighteen inches to the huge things, the height of a man, which the king sent under the royal umbrellas to the Arakan pagoda in Mandalay. Byat, platters of all sizes, up to the gigantic circular tray as big as a small table, used for dishing up the family dinner, are always made of wood, like the Japan ware. The people do not think much of them, and they are therefore almost always quite plain, either black or red. There is no inferiority to the Japanese in capacity for sketching fantastic designs. The future may see great developments in this branch of the art, but at present it is practically untouched. It is unfortunate that enterprise so far has taken the form of making "peg" tumblers and cigar-cases instead of developing national forms.

285 322

The process of manufacture is as follows: Little basket-like boxes of the required shape and size are woven of fine bamboo wicker-work, upon round chucks of wood prepared and firmly fixed for the purpose. The bamboos used, which are usually split and cleaned by the women and children, are of different kinds, that called myinwa being the most highly esteemed. Similarly, the yet, or woven basket-work, is of different degrees of excellence, the kyaungleinyet being the finest. Some of the Shans and better workmen at Nyaung-u are celebrated for the delicacy of their work. On this is then evenly applied with the hand (so that the slightest particle of sand or dirt may be at once detected) a coat of the pure wood-oil. This is then put away to dry—not in the sun, which is apt to pucker and blister it, but in a cool airy place. Some careful workmen have often an underground room prepared specially for the purpose. After three days it is quite dry and hard, and is then liberally and evenly covered over with a paste called thayo. This is made in a variety of ways, the commonest being a mixture of finely-sifted teak sawdust, thi'si, and rice-water. But instead of the sawdust, or often mixed with it, finely-ground bone-ash, or paddy-husk burnt and strained through a cloth,

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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is kneaded in. In the coarse, common articles for every-day use, tempered clay and some other materials are often used; but this being thicker and less putty-like, is apt to scale and come off in flakes, especially if at all roughly used. This thayo is allowed to dry quite hard, and the box is then fastened to a rude lathe, which is turned with one hand, while the other is employed in polishing the box. This smoothing-down is effected with sifted ashes, or sometimes with a piece of silicious bamboo, which is as good as fine sand-paper. When this is done the box is ready for a fresh coat, which almost invariably consists of a mixture of finely-powdered bone-ashes and thi'si. This, after drying, is polished in the same way as before. We have now a box of a brilliant glossy black, in itself very pretty and fit for use anywhere. But this is only the end of the first stage; none but the byat and common wooden platters are left in this state. 285 322

The ground colour of the great majority of the boxes and cups is red; but some of the black wood-oil is required to rise through it and define the pattern. This is effected in a most ingenious way. The black box is put on the lathe again and turned round, while the lines and spots, and the form of the black pattern generally, is sketched on with a sut, or split stile, charged with thi'si. The drawer has no guide but his eye. There is no preliminary mapping out, yet a practised hand will never make a mistake and spoil a box. The fresh thi'si thus put on stands up above the general level of the surface. The whole box is now covered with red paint; and when this is dry the box is put on the lathe again, and the operator turns it round and rubs it steadily with ashes. By this means the red paint is removed where the lines of thi'si rise above the general surface, and the black pattern stands out clearly on the red ground. A quaint chequer-work is also always produced, where the slightly projecting edges of the bamboo wicker-work raise the black wood-oil through the vermilion layer. Still, however, it is not finished. No box is complete without three colours; and this last shade is applied in an equally simple and effective way. The desired pattern is incised with a graving-tool called a kauk—often nothing 531

LeScott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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531 more elaborate than a pin firmly tied to a piece of stick. Then the whole box is coated over with the new colour, and this is in its turn polished off on the lathe till nothing remains but the lines of the engraved pattern. If another colour is required, a similar process is gone through.

531 When the design is complete, a clear varnish of another
285 vegetable oil, called shansi, with a dash of thi'si in it, is
322 applied all over as a last touch, unless indeed a very high polish is required. This is effected by rubbing gently with the powdered petrified wood found so useful in imparting a gloss to the alabaster images. The patterns are none of them very intricate, and are handed down as heirlooms from father to son, so that the same family will have all its ware made on a few clearly-defined models, and there is no fear of "spoiling a set." The invention does not as yet soar beyond scroll-work and line-figures of infinite variety; but should a foreign demand spring up there would be no lack of skill to meet it; just as the Rangoon tattooers have taken to copying pictures out of the *Graphic* on English sailors' breasts.

The supreme test of excellence in the manufacture is when the sides will bend in till they touch without cracking the varnish or breaking the wicker-work. Connoisseurs can discriminate between Shan, Nyaung-u, and the ware of other places, by the shadow thrown on the inside (which is varnished plain red or black), when the cup or circular box is held at an angle of forty-five. Three colours only are used besides the black groundwork; but variety is produced by graduating their intensity of shade. They are red, green, and yellow. Red is prepared from finely-ground vermilion mixed with shansi. The Nyaung-u people prefer a vermilion called hinthapadi ywè, prepared by themselves, to that procured from China and used elsewhere. The home-made stuff seems to be much brighter in tint. Myeni, red ochre, is used only with the coarsest work. For yellow, yellow orpiment is ground down and washed several times until a pure, impalpable powder remains. This is mixed with a pellucid gum, and when required for use, worked up with shansi. Green is obtained by adding finely-ground indigo to the yellow orpiment until the required tint is

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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obtained. Red and yellow are, however, always the predominating colours. 531 285 322

The thi'si is turned to a variety of other uses besides the manufacture of lacquer-work; applied to wood, or to marble and clay images, it enables them readily to take on gilding. It is used as a waterproof varnish to all the umbrellas in the country, and makes them as impervious to rain as if they were made of wood, while it protects the palm-leaf against the rays of the sun, which otherwise would burn it as brittle as an egg-shell. All the racing and war-boats in Burma are painted with it, and the best caulking in the world could not make them more water-tight. Finally, boiled down thick it furnishes the material for delineating the square heavy characters of the sacred kammawa-sa, the ritual for the admission of brethren to the sacred order. 531 249

The oil is usually put in the sun for a short time before being used, and it is at first of a light brown colour, soon darkening into a brilliant black. It seems to be of a particularly mordant character, and raises huge blisters on the hands of some people, leaving marks of the ashy-white colour suggestive of leprosy. Hence strangers suspected of [753] being afflicted with the terrible malady always declare they are thi'si workers; and many people avoid these latter, in case they might find they had been holding communication with an outcast. A lotion composed of fine teak-wood saw- [757] dust, mixed with a little water, is used as a cure for blains. Many of the workmen periodically swallow small doses of the wood-oil, under the impression that it acts as a preventive. The capriciousness with which the varnish acts, leaving some men quite unharmed and punishing others severely, has given rise to a proverb in Nyaung-u:—

> Thi'si is a witness
> To a burgher's fitness;
> If bad, he's marked an outcast;
> If good, not long can doubt last.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
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120. CLEANING RICE WITH THE HAND-MILL.

in every town. A basket (*din*, bushel) of cleaned rice (*san*) costs three to four rupees, and lasts a man about a month. The loss of volume in cleaning is about twenty-five per cent., and the cost of the unhusked grain about one-third of that of rice. For cakes and sweets, rice is ground with water in the Indian stone hand-mill. After first soaking, it is passed through the mill repeatedly until it forms a creamy fluid, which is strained and used while fresh. Wheaten bread is a novelty.

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The houses in Burma are mostly built of bamboo. The giant bamboo (*wabó*), a denizen of the evergreen hills, is cultivated in the plains for house-posts and masts and side-buoys of boats. Its culms attain a height of eighty feet and a girth at the butt of two feet. Every bamboo jungle supplies the rest of the material for the house. No tools are needed for bamboo work, but the universal *dá*—a sabre, trimmer, chopper, according to its proportions (No. 231). With the *dá* the bamboos are hewn, split open and slit into withes (*hní*) for lashing. Thin-walled bamboos are opened out into broad planks for the walls of the houses (*tayán*). Stout thick-walled bamboos are shaped into narrow planks for flooring, or the floor is laid of round bamboos laced down at intervals. Loose planks of wood are becoming general for floors, even in houses built of bamboo (p. 119). Every Burman can handle the *dá*, but not so expertly as the hill people. The house-posts, floor-girders, and principal frames are frequently of timber, and outlast several relays of the bamboo-work, which decays in a few seasons. The inducement to keep a material clean and neat which has soon to be replaced is not great, and engenders negligent habits. In the better houses, bamboo is only used for the walling and the roof rafters.

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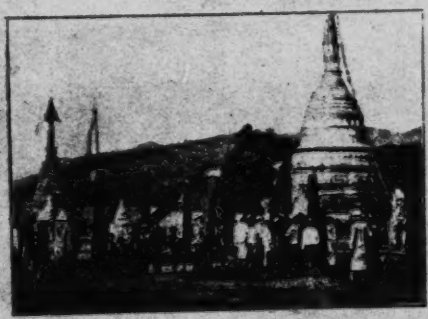
121. WINNOWING GRAIN IN THE WIND.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

122. CUTTING GIANT BAMBOO (WABO).

and the roof-rafters. Straight trees are selected for posts, and are either left plain, or the sapwood is dressed off, or they are dubbed octagonal; the timbers are rough-hewn with the *dâ*. Posts of hard and durable wood (*pyinkadô*) are also squared, and the scantlings for the timbers cut with the saw. A special significance attaches to the posts of the house. It is thought unlucky if birds alight on them before they are roofed in. Sham bows and arrows are set at the heads of the posts to scare them (*hwegemmana*). Besides the miniature bow-and-arrow stuck in bazár goods to scare crows, this is the only form in which the long-bow and arrow survive in Burma; in practice, arrows are used with a crossbow (No. 204) and pellets with the plain bow (*le*), and that not extensively. Another curious custom is the one of laying a piece of cloth between the head of the post and the wall-plate as a propitiation to the *nat* of the tree (p. 187). Before the large posts of temples are reared, their heads are hung with offerings, which the workpeople afterwards share among themselves. The front bays of the house have a floor only a few feet off the ground (*kyanneing*)—unless where the flood-levels require it to be higher—making a verandah, the common or unenclosed portion of the house, free to strangers. The back bays have a floor about four cubits off the ground or above the lower floor. A bamboo or wooden ladder connects the floors. The upper floor is enclosed all round, and has one or two bays partitioned off. A pent-roof covers the cooking-place and grain-bin, where the rice-pounders and implements are stored as well; or else there is a shed for



123. REARING THE POSTS OF THE WUT.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

219. ROPE-WALK.

inner side is brightly decorated with floss silks. Gilt umbrellas (*shwe-di*) are dedicated in the *kyaung*, but are not actually used. The white umbrella (*thbyu*) is the emblem of sovereignty. The *thbyu* is set above the images of the Buddha and above the remains of the *yahán*, who are assumed at their death to enter upon a higher spiritual stage. The metal canopy surmounting the *zati* is a conventionalised *ti* (No. 232). Of late, European umbrellas have become a staple import of Burma.

293 [283] [186] [779] [346] [177] 439

Lacquer-ware vessels and utensils—light, durable, and watertight—are made with the help of *thissi*, the exudation of the bark of *Melanorrhœa usitatissima*, a common tree of the *in* forest. The gum blackens to jet on exposure to the air. It dries slower than the "Japan black" of commerce, but is much tougher; it sells for two to three rupees a viss. *Thissi* is applied to wood turnery and bamboo wickerwork, either plain or with pigments, generally with vermilion. The commonest lacquer goods are platters (*byat* and *daunglan*), which are turned of teak or *yamanè* wood and given two or three coats of *thissi*. After the platters, the principal article of lacquer-ware is the betel-box (*kun-it*). Coarse lacquering is done everywhere in the dry region, but the betel-box industry is peculiar to Pagán. The advantage of lacquer-ware and of a deep cover for the betel-box, is to keep the green leaf fresh At first sight it appears incredible that these exact cylindrical boxes with their trays and covers, fitting as if each piece had been turned out of the block, should start from a wicker-work frame. Yet so it is; the models are plaited so true that the rest

322 285

220. HILL-PEOPLE TWISTING ROPE.

[283]

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

322
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[293]

221. UMBRELLA MAKERS.

of the work can be done on a lathe. To prepare the wicker for lacquering, it is first given a "rough-stuffing" of fine clay to fill the interstices. The work is then painted with *thissi*, which penetrates and toughens the clay and binds the fibres of the wicker. When the *thissi* has set, which takes several days, the work is put on the chuck of a bow-lathe and ground smooth with a fibrous stone—a petrifaction-product. Varnishing and grinding are repeated till the surface is smooth, colour being added to the later coats. Then a coat of contrasted colour is given, and when the varnish is about half set, the pattern is chipped with a metal style through the fresh layer to the hard lacquer beneath. After the work has hardened, the patterns are embellished by scoring rings through the layers, with a tool like a carpenter's gouge, so as to bring out the underlying contrasts. The patterns are arabesques and conventionalized figures.* Subject designs are also executed (No. 224). Finally the lacquer is polished with buffs of graduated fineness. A peculiarity of *thissi* is that it sets hardest in a moist atmosphere. Every manufacturer has an underground cellar—a thing almost unknown in Burma—for the wares to harden in. Pagán, the centre of the industry, is at the same time the driest locality of the dry zone. The finest lacquer, which is only made by a few highly-skilled workmen, is so elastic that the lips of a cup may be brought to meet without the ware cracking. As much as twenty-five rupees is paid for a cup of such quality. The ordinary ware has not the tenth part of this elasticity, and sells for one to ten rupees a box. The deep cover of the betel-box is the traveller's ordinary drinking-cup.

[531]
[341]
[435]
[415]

222. LACQUER-WARE MANUFACTURE.

* See the end-papers of the binding of this volume.

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 API Burma
Burmese AP4

223. SCORING RIMS ON LACQUER-WARE.

Thissi also forms the vehicle of a putty, with which mosaic of many-coloured mirror-glass is cemented together. This is used for the thrones and other appointments of the palaces, temples, and *kyaung*. Whole ceilings and walls are ornamented in this way (*thayó*). The mosaic is set off with gilt mouldings. The work, though often tawdry, is sometimes rich and impressive, both as to design and colour (*Frontispiece*). 531 [322]

Foot-gear used to be of the nature of luxury in Burma. In houses and boats people always go barefoot. But in many parts of the dry zone the thorny woods make sandals a necessity. The common material is raw buffalo-hide, covered on top with woollen cloth and having cloth-covered straps. The straps come from the sides, near the hollow of the foot, and arch over to the spot where the toe-post of the Indian patten is set. Tanned leather slippers of European shape made by Chinese are now ousting the Burman sandal and wood patten. 295

Most of the well-known metals are found in Burma. Before the importation of pig, bar, and sheet metals, and of metal manufactures from the West began, Lawá settlers from Zimmè (Chiengmai, *Tyin-mai*) practised the smelting of iron, copper, tin, zinc, and lead. These industries have disappeared. Metal goods used to come in from the Shan States and China, but the principal manufacture was carried on by Burmans and Talaings. Even at present, the only heavy metal goods imported are iron cauldrons, anvils, sledge-hammers, and vices—besides machinery. Saws, files, chisels, augers, hinges and locks, nails and screws, dies and taps, pocket-knives and fancy metal goods, are imported. Bells for the temple precincts were, until recently, the heaviest castings made, but of late a 325 [439]

224. ETCHED DESIGN ON LACQUER (HINGEP-PYITTAUNG).

[531 322]

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

325 rivalry has sprung up between the towns in casting large images. For the best bells, a bronze consisting of four parts copper to two of tin is used. The alloy is enriched—as they fancy—by pious donors who cast silver into the melting-pot. Ordinary bells are made of brass; images also are cast in brass. The

[322]
[295]

225. LACQUER-WARE DEALER.

226. SANDAL-MAKER.

alloy consists of about 70 per cent. copper to 20 of zinc, and 10 of lead. The image or bell is modelled in wax as thick as the metal is intended to be, upon a core of clay. A shell of clay is plastered over the wax with the needful supports between the clay surfaces at intervals. When the clay has dried, the mould is heated and the wax run out, ready for casting. The crucibles are of clay, of about two hundredweight capacity, and are heated by a forge-blast. The Burman castings are seldom sound, and never so fine and clean as those of the Shans. Though the bells are defective in tone, the *kyisi* (Nos. 22, 86) and the round, hammered

[563]

227. BRASS-MADE FOUNDERS.

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

306
822
[133]

348. DEFILE BELOW THE GREAT RAPID OF THE SALWEEN.

which it is hammered is obtained from bamboo-fibre.

In Burma the idea still prevails that gold may be compounded from baser metals or the quantity of fine gold augmented by their means. Alchemists are found in every town, who experiment in the hope of success or practise on dupes who furnish the gold that is to be increased. A furnace and blast is the chief appliance of the laboratory, and the potent agent relied upon is mercury. Ingredients of every sort, animal, vegetable and mineral, are experimented with, under the influence of charms and cabalistic forms, whence the name for alchemy, *ekkaya-tè*. The business is under the ban of religion, not alone as being actuated by greed (*lawba*, p. 44), but because primitive Buddhism eschews every thing mystical and occult. The operations are carried on at night for secrecy. Reputed adepts are found among the class of recluses called *yathé*, who from their life in the wilds are supposed to penetrate the arcana of nature.

[137]

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322

Wood-work was greatly restricted until better tools were imported. Planks and scantlings used to be laboriously prepared for boat-building and for palaces, religious edifices, and the houses of the great. Excepting the inner gates of the masonry temples, wood-work over a century old is scarce. But before the Burmans possessed the means of turning their timber to account for themselves, the country had become noted for its stock of teak. Burma possesses many valuable woods, but the pre-eminence of teak is such that for general purposes *timber* had come to mean always *tank* timber. Teak possesses the advantages

349. TEAK-TREE OUT OF LEAF (MARCH).

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

313
322
[241]

944. MIXED HILL-CROP OF RICE, SESAMUM, AND TEAK, IN SEPTEMBER (p. 149).

of being nearly all heart-wood, having considerable strength, with moderate hardness and weight, working easily with axe, saw and chisel, taking nails, and above all, not rusting nails or iron in contact with it. It has a serviceable brown colour and an odour by which it may always be distinguished, due to the presence of an oil which repels the attacks of insects, notably of the termites, and which protects it from decay. Teak is in short the prince of eastern woods. At the end of the eighteenth century, teak was already being worked out of the Burma forests and brought to port, where the foreign shippers had established saw-pits for squaring the logs. The steel pit-saws found their way into trade and gave an impetus to wood architecture, of which the ecclesiastical buildings of Burma are the chief examples. Timber-traders started building teak ships in Burma, employing Chinese carpenters. This business has been abandoned, but lighters are still built.

[178
341]
[501]

948. FLUE OF FACTORY DISUSED TEN YEARS.

313
137

The teak-tree (*tectona grandis*) occurs in patches of the dry mixed forest, the forest namely of which the principal element is a deciduous bamboo, with timber trees of fifty or more deciduous species scattered through it. Of these species about half a dozen produce serviceable timber. The bamboo-stools send up their culms to heights of forty and sixty feet in the course of a few weeks, before their branchlets and leaves appear. By means of this the bamboo has the advantage over all other vegetation. The seedlings of trees have to struggle up under its cover. At intervals of twenty to thirty years the bamboo species flower, to grow again from seed. Then is

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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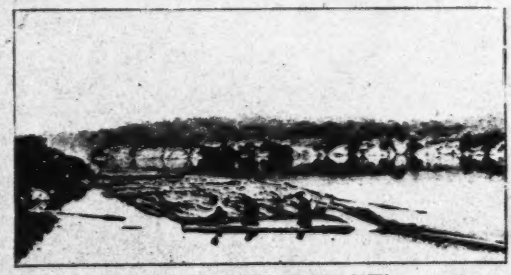
133

362. ROPE-STATION ON THE SALWEEN (KYODAN).

current, a remarkable device is employed. Two ten-foot handspikes, with a shoulder two feet above the point, have mooring-rattans from each end of the raft, one hundred feet long and an inch thick, bent on to them. One of these is sent ashore from the forward end of the raft and worked like a plough in the bank, going deeper as the raft slews round and the tension increases, and so stopping its way by degrees. If the first attempt fails a second is made from the other end of the raft, which is then the forward one. Arrived in port the logs are dragged up the mud-banks by elephants. But when the path is blocked, a powerful elephant sometimes carries a log bodily. The whole of the [463] operations of bringing the timber to market are combined by a timber-broker (forester, *thiggaung*).

322 313 413 [197] 322 341 [563]

Teak cuts readily, though it blunts the tools very soon. There is little waste. Sawn planks are displacing bamboo for the better-class houses. Sawyers earn from one-half to one rupee a day. The indigenous carpenter's tools were a small adze (*pègôt*), chisels and gouges (*sauk*), awls (*lun*), and a rough saw (*khwa*), besides *dâ* and axe (*paussein*). The Burman adopted the Chinese plane (*yuk-baw*, "selecting-shave") with the Chinese straddle bench. The English carpenter's rule is also general. When the impulse to good house-building was given by the production of cheap planks, the immigrants from China got the whole of the work. The Burmans have begun to oust them from the heavy carpentering and from the joinery as well. Ordinary Burman carpenters earn ¾ rupee a day, the better workmen 1 to 1¼ rupees a day, compared with the Chinaman's 1½ rupees. The wood-work is left



363. BINDING THE LOGS INTO RAFTS.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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341
[313]
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413

264. TIMBER-RAFT.

plain or is oiled with crude petroleum. A wooden house of the modern Burman pattern costs from three hundred rupees upwards; a bamboo house only twenty to sixty.

The Burman turning-lathe is of the usual primitive type; two poppets sliding in a bed, with centres to hold the work, round which a cord passes from the simple treadle-bar to a springy lath or bamboo overhead. But of late, mandril-lathes have been constructed after models in the steam-mill workshops (No. 187). Mechanical construction has great attractions for the Burman, and is stimulated [563] by the high wages of labour. The foremen sawyers at the steam-mills are Burmans, the other hands natives of India. Menders of clocks and sewing-[401] machines are in all the towns. An engine-erecter, who had set up machinery in most countries of Europe and Asia, said he had nowhere met the same natural aptitude for handling machinery as in Burma (*cf.* p. 10).

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The floral wood-carving of Burma is remarkable for its freedom and spontaneity. Rich as the floral tracery is, the animal grotesques are laboured and deficient in fancy. The carving is done in teak-wood when it is meant for fixtures; otherwise, *yamanè* is preferred. The tools employed are chisel, gouge, and mallet. The design is traced on the wood with charcoal, gouged out in the rough and finished with sharp fine tools, using the mallet for every stroke. Teak-wood and *yamanè* have a coarse grain, in which fine detail cannot be rendered. Small and delicately elaborated figures are carved in sandal-wood [313] and also in ivory. Whole tusks are carved over with figures of the Buddha and are dedicated in the *kyaungs*. In some of these the figures are modelled in a single piece under an

265. SAWING UP THE LOGS.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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[321]
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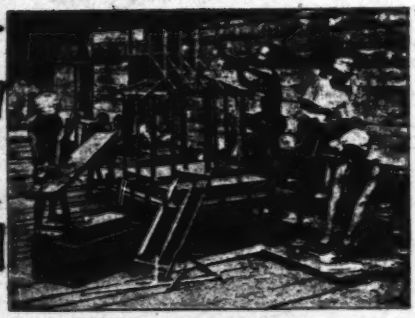

267. BURMAN CARPENTERS.

arbour of tracery, which entirely encloses them. Ivory hafts and scabbards of daggers and sabres are ornamented in the same way. The ivory carving is not polished.

The conventional flat design, painting and embroidery exhibit affinities to the Indian decoration of the ancient temples (Nos. 94, 272). The anachronisms and other naiveties of our mediæval designers are paralleled in modern Burma; witness the introduction of British officers with their field-glasses in the design of the Prince of Pagán destroying the monster at Hngep-pyittaung (No. 224). The medium used for painting is a coarse tempera. From the labels attached to European goods, many of which are excellent in design and colour, lessons in colouring and perspective have been learned. From photographs, ideas of accuracy have been gathered, and from illustrated news-papers, ideas of composition. Neither carver nor designer ever uses a model. The painter of No. 433 confessed that he had not seen the place himself; he had it described to him. In pure design without colour, the *shwezawd* work is the best. It is a kind of drawing in lacquer, which appears black on a gold ground (No. 96). Of late the Burmans have attempted cuts on type-metal for illustrations of books (No. 276). They are executed with chisel and punch; the graver is unknown.

[197]

268. BURMAN TURNER.

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988
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Ancient inscriptions are rare in Burma, although the *thamding*, or depository for slabs recording the circumstances of religious foundations, is a recognised institution. In many of the *thamding* at Pagán may be seen the ancient *Pâli* square character, of which the Burmese round character is a development. The square character is preserved in the *hambawd* (No. 46). The late King Mindôn Min caused the whole of the Pâli text of the Tripitaka to be

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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212
788
[322]

269. BURMAN WOOD-CARVER.

engraved on 729 marble slabs, 4 feet by 3 feet. These, set under as many stucco canopies, are known as the *Kûthodaw* or *Law-kama-yazin* — the royal work of merit (No. 385). They constitute the most important of the King's religious foundations. A number of years were spent by a committee of learned *yahán* in editing the text. Certain portions have since been transferred to type, and in time the whole of this text will be available in print. The development of the round Burmese character out of the square Pâli was favoured by the nature of the material used for writing on—the leaf of the *pe* palm. The fan-leaf is split into its segments, which are piled, and dried under pressure. Then they are trimmed even, and punched with holes to file them by. The leaf is ruled with turmeric, and the writing is done with a sharp steel style, which scratches through the hard epidermis to the spongy layer underneath; both sides are written on. The transverse strokes tear the fibre more, and leave a plainer mark, which leads to a minimising of longitudinal strokes. When the writing is complete, the wooden covers are lacquered, the edges of the leaves gilt, and their faces oiled with crude brown petroleum, which both preserves the material and brings out the writing. The oiling is repeated from time to time. The leaves become dark and friable in fifty years, and the writing hard to decipher. Manuscripts over two hundred years old are scarce. Copyists are paid one rupee per *inga* of ten leaves, the work of a day or two, according to their expertness. Until rag-paper began to be imported, the paper in use was

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[531]
[463]

270. CARVED SCENE FROM ZAT.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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[432]

[322]

287. COUNTRY SALE-DEPOT.

about three million rupees. At present both wood-oil and crude earth-oil are being superseded by kerosene. The crude earth-oil is used for preserving woodwork. But its place is being taken by the residues from the local refineries, now established in Rangoon.* Travelling pedlars hawk the silk goods of Burma Proper and all sorts of fancy nicknacks from the sea-ports to the villages of the interior. The approaches to the temples are favourite resorts of stall-keepers of all sorts of wares, especially of wax-tapers, plain and moulded, gold leaf, coloured paper flags and flowers for the votaries to decorate the shrines with, and toys wherewith to gladden the hearts of children—an act of merit befitting the shrine of religion in this cheerful land. In sad contrast to the gaiety of the booths is the spectacle of the lepers who beg for alms. The prominence of these unfortunates at such places creates a disproportionate impression of their numbers, high as these are (p. 41). The offerings dedicated on the occasions of *Shinldung fêtes*, festivals, and funerals, make the trades of manufacturing and distributing the requisites of the *kyaung* very important ones. The wares collected in the *parêikaya* shop used to be representative of the manufactures of Burma. But of late, imported goods—crockery, glassware, lamps and clocks—have become a regular part of the *kyaung* furniture, and are offered in meaningless profusion. This has helped to bring the *parêikaya* trade into the hands of foreigners.

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[277]

288. ROLLING CHEROOTS.

Every year, after the floods have subsided, Burman dealers establish dry-

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* See *The Occurrence of Petroleum in Burma*, by Dr. F. Noetling.

Cooking and Eating Utensils

Ma Aye Myaing does her work directly in front of the fireplace in a squating position, often resting on the tiny bamboo stool. A few sticks of firewood, or brush, are placed within the three sided enclosure made of three single bricks on edge. A hollow bamboo tube about 10 inches long and 1½ inches in diameter is periodically used to blow the fire to a hot flame in lieu of a draft. The identifications of the cooking and eating utensils given below were provided by Daw Aw Zar and U Myaing in an interview in which photographs of the objects were used. 415 252 [516] [352] [372]

HTA MIN O (cooking pot); This is an earthenware jar used for cooking vegetables and other foods. It is a round based globular form with outflaring rim. A wide conical shaped lid with flat disc knob for raising goes over the orifice. It is smooth, light tan in colour throughout and about ¼ inch in thickness. It is tempered with sand. A stamped design encircles the widest diameter on the body. This diameter is about 7 inches, height is 4½ inches. One or two are kept on hand (Pathwe: several. Camp: one). They cost 5 annas each. This sand tempered, stamped, earthenware appears in the early European contact period (late 1500's) at Syriam (Orr, K.G. "Stratigraphy in Lower Burma" Ms. in preparation.) It is rapidly being discarded in favour of aluminum pots which are not nearly as cheap but do not break Traditionally this pot is used to cook rice. In speaking of its use Daw Aw Zar said: "We keep one or two, to boil vegetables and do other things to eat, seeing that there are seven people we have to cook (i.e. rice) with a big aluminum pot." [172] [178]

HIN O (curry pot): This jar is generally of the same shape as the one described above but is wider at the orifice (8 inches diameter) though about the same height. It is of the same ware type; has a wavy-line stamped design just under the rim. Ordinarily equipped with a conical lid, this vessel had a flat aluminum lid. This vessel is used to cook curry. It was brought from Pathwe, where it was bought at a cost of 6 annas. Number used in Pathwe: several, camp: 1. [435]

LAPHET-YE-OH (tea pot): The tea pot is also of tan earthenware and generally of the same ware as the cooking pots, with the exception that the surface was carefully scraped and slightly burnished. The body is globular, with thumb-like spout, and semi-circular clay handle. This pot was brought from Pantanaw, where it had cost 8 annas.

SIN O (food storage jar): Whereas the cooking vessels are moulded by hand with the aid of a peddle, and lack glazing, the storage jars are glazed and have been made on the wheel. These glazed jars also have flat disc bases, and pear-shaped bodies with contracted necks and short, collar-like rims. In every way they appear to be a separate tradition from the cooking ware. The glaze is dark reddish-brown over a hard-baked purple-red core. The interior is thoroughly glazed but the glaze only covers the upper half of the exterior. The reddish-brown glaze is recent, appearing in ceramic collections of the last century in Rangoon (Orr, K.G. "Stratigraphy in Lower Burma", the Monkina Street section) being preceeded by a yellow-black glaze in the early European period at Syriam. [323] [172]

Salt saffron, oils, etc are stored in these jars. The one examined was about 4 inches in height and 5 inches in diameter. It came from Pathwe and cost 3 annas. Number in Pathwe several, camp: 3. [251] [435]

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
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209. THE HAMADRYAD.

one commonly notices. A great lizard (*put*), weighing twenty to forty pounds, infests hollow trees; it is shot and eaten by the Burmans, and its skin used for sandals. Most of the venomous snakes of India are common to Burma, excepting the small and deadly *krait*. The formidable hamadryad is added, but there are no fully established cases of the pursuit of man which is attributed to this snake. The casualties due to snake-bite are chiefly among the reapers. The gigantic python is not dangerous to man. Scorpions and centipedes are common enough, but their stings and bites are not often serious.

Good clay for pottery is only found in certain localities, and from these the manufactures are sent to great distances by water. Clay almost stone-hard and laterite are pounded with a tilt-hammer, screened, and worked up in certain proportions with water and sand, by treading with the feet. The best and strongest pots for cooking are not turned on the lathe but *patted* into shape by hand. These are but slightly porous and of a hard consistence. The lathe pottery is very porous when not glazed. A salt glaze is used for jars to store oil. For ornamental work, lead glazes, coloured with vitriols, are employed. At the potteries, immense reverberating kilns are built for firing the pots. Smaller kilns are fired all round or are excavated underground on the plan of the lime-kiln. Wood is the fuel used.

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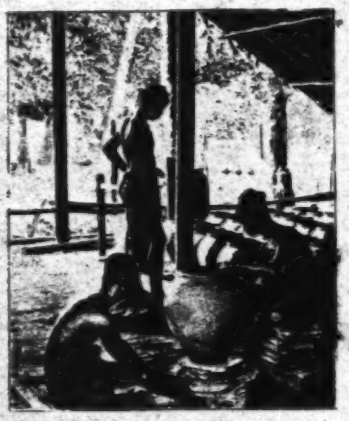
Stone for building is scarce, except in Arakán. Masonry is reserved for the *zedi*. Of late, owing to a fresh impulse from India, masonry has again come into greater use. Everywhere in the inhabited plains one

210. POTTERY—PATTING THE WARE INTO SHAPE.

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4



211. LATHE POTTERY.

comes upon bricks, and on nearly every hill bricks bear evidence that at some time a *zedi* had crowned the top. In the moist region the disintegrating effect of the vegetation is such that frequently no indication remains of the form of the original structure. The use of brick doubtless came in with the early Buddhist architecture exemplified at Pagán. The brick-fields are on the confines of the rice-fields, and of the same character as to soil, a light loam. The work begins in November after the ground has dried. The surface soil is rejected and the earth dug with mattocks a yard or two deep. The clods are soaked in water and trodden into a doughy mass with an admixture of rice husk. The bricks are moulded direct on the ground, which has been smoothed beforehand, and are left to dry in the sun (No. 181). Before stacking the dried bricks, the lower or rough edge is trimmed with a *dá*. The commonest size of brick is 12" × 6" × 1½". A burn consists of ten thousand bricks and sells for about forty-five rupees. In the dry zone, brick has always been used for house-building to some extent, unless when prohibited by the government. In the south, the brick-work is invariably plastered over with *ingade* to prevent the clay mortar from washing out. Now that bricklaying in Pegu has passed into the hands of masons from India, lime-mortar is usual.

The limestone rocks which are a feature of the Eastern Peninsula, rise abruptly from the plains to heights of one to three thousand feet (No. 107). They are honeycombed with fissures which facilitate quarrying. During the floods, boats can approach and be loaded with the stone. Lime is used for whitewash, plaster, mortar, and for chewing

212. FANCY POTTERY, SHAN.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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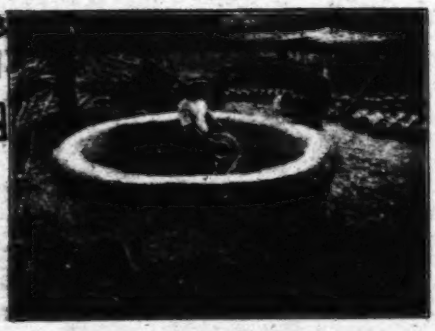
[323]



213. KILN FOR PATTED WARES.

with betel. The limestone rocks abound in caves, many of which have been incrusted with images, and transformed into temples and shrines (No. 84), but the rock is not hewn. The lime is packed in baskets of leaf and bamboo-wicker, a stone or two in weight; it sells at the kiln for one and a half to two rupees a hundredweight. The tenacity of the Burman lime-plaster is very great. Strength is obtained by liberal use of lime, and in the better class of work by the addition of glue and palm sugar. Hair and fibre are not added. For the first layers, coarse sand is mixed with the lime, for the finishing layers, fine sand. The decoration of the work is only roughly indicated in the masonry. The relief of the ornament is high, and the thickness of the stucco very considerable in parts. The stucco is frequently gilt, on *zedi* and images. The gold-size (*thissi*, p. 101) is applied direct to the plaster, which, however, in time, furnishes a soil for lichen, causing the gold to scale off.

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Although stone is not quarried in sufficient abundance for building except in Arakán, good stone for carving images is found in several places. The most notable of these is Taung-u, on the Irawadi, opposite Pagán. More important than the red sandstone industry of Taung-u is the industry at Sagáing, opposite Ava, on the Irawadi, where a beautiful white marble is quarried. The heavy blocks are hewn in the rough at the quarry and transported to the site of erection to be finished. The subjects are chiefly the conventional images of the Buddha, from a pound in weight to several tons (No. 218).

[323
438]

214. POTTERY SHOP.

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The cordage used in

511 necessity, by pressing the paste flat on the inside of the cover and
415 putting it over the fire; the top knob of the pottery always remains cool
252 enough to be touched by the time the paste is baked. On festival days
415 my mother bought dozens of little earthern dishes, no bigger than an
372 English coffee saucer. They were called *hsi-mi-khnet*, oil-flame dishes,
527 in which we burned lights of cotton wick and kerosene, and lined veran-
511 dahs and window-sills with bright fairy lights in the night breeze.

We had stoneware in the house too. The *kyaukpyin* is a flat circular piece of stone for grinding the bark of the *thanakha* (*linnoria*
511 *acidissima*) tree, to use as a cosmetic. It has a canal all around to receive
• 324 the ground paste. Kyaukpyins can be bought in all varieties and
412 sizes in any bazaar, but my mother always got hers through the headman
303 of Salé village, in Upper Burma, where they use a particularly suitable kind of rock which is durable and yet helps to make the paste smooth. We had some beauties, heavy pieces of about 14 inches across, a square around the circular canal, with carved figures on the corners and the ponderous legs. With the right quality of bark the ground thanakha fell in a smooth golden flow into the canal. Formerly, all women used this cream as the sole substitute for powder, letting it dry on the face and whiten it, but the sophisticated ones now use imported powder as giving a less artificial appearance.

302 Yet even the most ardent Max Factor fans cannot give up thanakha entirely for its great value lies in its astringent properties; it would have great success with European women who use mud-packs, because it acts like a mild and pleasant mud-pack. It also has cooling and refreshing properties, it is fragrant; older women apply it over the entire body after their baths, like talcum powder. My mother says it smooths the skin and, indeed, victims of smallpox who are left with deeply marked faces, have their skins smeared with thick thanakha many times a day, and
303 after a few months there is a definite improvement. The thanakha
512 bark is the most used, but barks of the red and white sandalwood and other trees (*nethapyu, nethani, kalamè, a-hmway*) are more fragrant and used on the body. Bad bark from the bazaar grinds gritty and dries patchily, but special consignments come from Myingyan and Pakokku, cut into six-inch lengths from branches two inches in diameter. A daily task of the girls in each household is to grind thanakha, and the commonest sight is a girl on a verandah with a kyaukpyin, a mug of

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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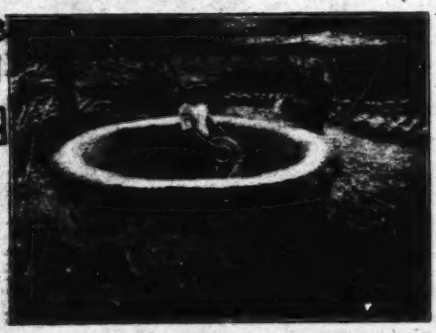

213. KILN FOR PATTED WARES.

with betel. The limestone rocks abound in caves, many of which have been incrusted with images, and transformed into temples and shrines (No. 84), but the rock is not hewn. The lime is packed in baskets of leaf and bamboo-wicker, a stone or two in weight; it sells at the kiln for one and a half to two rupees a hundredweight. The tenacity of the Burman lime-plaster is very great. Strength is obtained by liberal use of lime, and in the better class of work by the addition of glue and palm sugar. Hair and fibre are not added. For the first layers, coarse sand is mixed with the lime, for the finishing layers, fine sand. The decoration of the work is only roughly indicated in the masonry. The relief of the ornament is high, and the thickness of the stucco very considerable in parts. The stucco is frequently gilt, on *zedi* and images. The gold-size (*thissi*, p. 101) is applied direct to the plaster, which, however, in time, furnishes a soil for lichen, causing the gold to scale off.

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Although stone is not quarried in sufficient abundance for building except in Arakán, good stone for carving images is found in several places. The most notable of these is Taung-u, on the Irawadi, opposite Pagán. More important than the red sandstone industry of Taung-u is the industry at Sagáing, opposite Ava, on the Irawadi, where a beautiful white marble is quarried. The heavy blocks are hewn in the rough at the quarry and transported to the site of erection to be finished. The subjects are chiefly the conventional images of the Buddha, from a pound in weight to several tons (No. 218).

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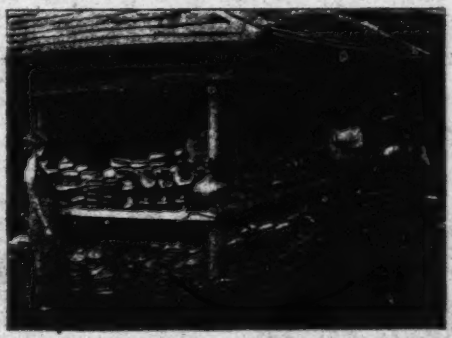

214. POTTERY SHOP.

000

The cordage used in

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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The casting of a brass image is a public festival, and the scene of general rejoicing. The people gather from miles round about, and there are plays and feastings for several nights, whether the Buddha is presented by an individual or by public subscription. The whole assemblage takes an interest in the proceedings, and rejoices in proportion to the success of the casting, which is effected in the same way as with bells. When the image is finished and ready to be dedicated, a great procession is formed; a band of music and dancers go at the head; the most wealthy men deem it an honour to be allowed to bear a hand in carrying the statue; men, women, and children from all the surrounding country, dressed in their gayest clothes, follow on foot or in brightly decorated bullock-carts to the bottom of the pagoda steps. Then the Buddha is carried up and solemnly deposited in the allotted place, myatta-thappè, in religious phraseology, a term not to be rendered without many words in English. It includes all the meanings of seemliness, dignity, beauty, splendour, and awe-compelling majesty. The ritual of the monks at the consecration of an image is, as in the case of the dedication of a pagoda, vague, and decided by individual opinion. Such a formal presentation service is called Nekaza, and is declared by the Sulagandi sect to be superfluous. The lineaments of the Budh are worthy of honour wherever seen, at the pagoda or in the workman's shop.

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The figures of Shin Gautama are not in themselves by any means handsome as works of art. The national skill in wood-carving is well known, and the little wooden lay figures made at Henzada and other places are remarkably clever in their variety of expression. None of this skill appears in the religious images. The modeller or sculptor is held fast by ancient custom. He must make his image of a particular pattern and with the recognised expression. The object is to portray the death of all human passions and earthly feelings. The calm, eternal sleep-like smile symbolises the attainment of ne'ban, the cessation of being, the end of the cycles of transincorporation of souls. This is all that is intended to be represented, and it is held out as a hope to the struggling sinner among earthly miseries.

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

There's many a goodly image 539
In Mahā Myat-muni,
But Mamyay[1] shall be aged
Ere it a fairer see.

And I, the poor Inspector,
May lay me down in peace,
For when this life is ended
Existences shall cease.

It is a very usual practice at the casting of bells and images for the onlookers to throw gold and silver articles of jewellery into the ladles of melted ore. 778 325

[1] Mamyay is a common poetical contraction for Mandalay. Man is also frequently used. [103]

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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the bell; it is indeed rather a kindly action, for the more clangour there is the more likely the nats are to observe the devotions going on. After the bell itself has been struck it is proper to strike the ground, so that the spirits of the earth may know as well as the guardians of the air. Most of the bells have a fine tone, and a flick with the finger is sufficient to cause a vibration through the whole twenty-five tons of metal in Maha Ganda. What sound the Mengôn bell, second only in size to that presented by the Empress Catherine to Moscow, is capable of producing, will never, probably, be known, for the supports have given way, and half of the rim rests on the ground. But, as Colonel Yule says, it would have at any time required a battering-ram to bring out its music. It has, since the annexation, been hung by the enterprise of the Irrawaddy Flotilla Company.

Besides those suspended round the precincts of the payā, the hti, or umbrella, on the top of the edifice, is always hung with a multitude of bells. Those on the more sacred shrines are very often entirely gold or silver. Several on the Shwe Dagôn are of gold, studded with precious stones, and are worth many hundred pounds sterling apiece. These, of course, are furnished with tongues, and the slightest breeze causes a constant harmonious tinkling, dear to the worshipper's heart. The object of these bells is identical with that of those below on the platform—to attract the attention of the good spirits in Tawa-deintha, and other abodes of the nat-dêwas on Mount Myinmo.

325

Though the bells are very well moulded, the mode of casting them is of the most primitive possible character. A mould of clay is formed to represent the inside. This is covered with bees'-wax to the proposed thickness of the metal, and over this again is placed a heavy layer of clay, mixed with chopped paddy straw. Through this outer covering there are a number of funnel holes in parallel rings at distances of six or nine inches, and through these the molten metal is poured in, melting and taking the place of the bees'-wax, which flows out at the bottom. Straws inserted through the clay let out the air and steam. Thus the bell is formed in a series of rings one above the other. The

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

325 copper and tin are melted together in small open-air furnaces round about, and the crucibles are carried in little wicker baskets. Large bells usually are made in a pit dug in the ground. The metal images of the Buddha for the pagodas are cast in a similar way. When the mass has cooled, the outside is polished, and any flaws there may be are patched up. Then the inscription is chiselled on, and the bell is solemnly dedicated.

325 527 The casting is made quite as much a ceremony as it used to be in the Middle Ages in Europe. The whole district gathers to see the operation. Songs are sung, and bands clash and play while the actual casting is going on, and sometimes the vast multitude is wrought up to such a state of enthusiasm that women and children throw in their necklaces, and gold and silver rings and bangles. Traces of these are to be seen in the inside of many bells, in the shape of whitish or yellowish streaks. The workmen sometimes, in the case of large bells, try to strengthen them by twisting iron chains round the inner mould in the midst of the bees'-wax. Such a chain cable is distinctly to be seen in the great ninety-ton Mengôn bell. Since the "Great Monarch" of Moscow became a chapel, this is actually the biggest bell in the world.

788 534 The shape of Burmese bells is not handsome. They come straight down to the mouth like a barrel—not expanding at the rim, like those of European make, but their tone is very sweet. In Burma bells are entirely reserved for pagodas. A Burman never has a bell in his house; and it would, in fact, be no use to him there if he had it. Englishmen do not use them either, so that throughout the whole country the bell is only used for sacred purposes.

000 The following is a translation of the inscription on the bell numbered 15219 in the Indian section of the South Kensington Museum:—

"The Victor, the All-gracious" [referring to Gautama, the Lord Buddha].

"The gist of the discourse on worship, as it appears in the beginning of the Dhamma-set, is as follows:—One must give goods in alms; one must preach the Law: these two things are good deeds both for this world and for the next;

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

223. SOCKING RIMS ON LACQUER-WARE.

Thissi also forms the vehicle of a putty, with which mosaic of many-coloured mirror-glass is cemented together. This is used for the thrones and other appointments of the palaces, temples, and *kyaung*. Whole ceilings and walls are ornamented in this way (*thayô*). The mosaic is set off with gilt mouldings. The work, though often tawdry, is sometimes rich and impressive, both as to design and colour (*Frontispiece*). 531 [322]

Foot-gear used to be of the nature of luxury in Burma. In houses and boats people always go barefoot. But in many parts of the dry zone the thorny weeds make sandals a necessity. The common material is raw buffalo-hide, covered on top with woollen cloth and having cloth-covered straps. The straps come from the sides, near the hollow of the foot, and arch over to the spot where the toe-post of the Indian patten is set. Tanned leather slippers of European shape made by Chinese are now ousting the Burman sandal and wood patten. 295

Most of the well-known metals are found in Burma. Before the importation of pig, bar, and sheet metals, and of metal manufactures from the West began, Lawá settlers from Zimmè (Chiengmai, *Tyin-mai*) practised the smelting of iron, copper, tin, zinc, and lead. These industries have disappeared. Metal goods used to come in from the Shan States and China, but the principal manufacture was carried on by Burmans and Talaings. Even at present, the only heavy metal goods imported are iron cauldrons, anvils, sledge-hammers, and vices—besides machinery. Saws, files, chisels, augers, hinges and locks, nails and screws, dies and taps, pocket-knives and fancy metal goods, are imported. Bells for the temple precincts were, until recently, the heaviest castings made, but of late a 325 ● [439]

224. ETCHED DESIGN ON LACQUER (HINGEP-PYITTAUNG).

[531 322]

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

325 rivalry has sprung up between the towns in casting large images. For the best bells, a bronze consisting of four parts copper to two of tin is used. The alloy is enriched—as they fancy—by pious donors who cast silver into the melting-pot. Ordinary bells are made of brass; images also are cast in brass. The

[322] [295]

225. LACQUER-WARE DEALER.

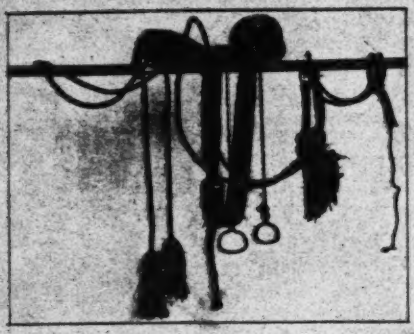
226. SANDAL-MAKER.

alloy consists of about 70 per cent. copper to 20 of zinc, and 10 of lead. The image or bell is modelled in wax as thick as the metal is intended to be, upon a core of clay. A shell of clay is plastered over the wax with the needful supports between the clay surfaces at intervals. When the clay has dried, the mould is heated and the wax run out, ready for casting. The crucibles are of clay, of about two hundredweight capacity, and are heated by a forge-blast. The Burman castings are seldom sound, and never so fine and clean as those of the Shans. Though the bells are defective in tone, the *kyizi* (Nos. 22, 86) and the round, hammered

[563]

227. BRASS-WARE FOUNDERS.

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4



228. BURMAN HORSE-FURNITURE.

gongs (*maung*, No. 322) have very sonorous qualities. Copper and brass utensils are not used by the Burmans for cooking, but brass is used for fruit-platters, water-cups and bowls, betel-boxes and spittoons, mortars, scales and weights, cow-bells, and furniture for horse and bullock harness. 325 [492]

The import of iron and steel began centuries ago, nevertheless blades of Shan steel and manufacture are still accounted the best. With the exception of Shan settlers, the Burmans were the only blacksmiths of the country till the Chinese blacksmiths arrived. The hill-people depended for their chief implement and their weapons upon the dominant races. The Burman forge is the same as the Shan, on a bigger scale. The hearth is at the ground-level, with a pit in front, to enable the smith to stand up to his work if needful. He does most of it sitting on a peculiar round-backed seat to the right of the blast. The anvil is like a hammer-head, set upright in a block of wood. There is a trough shaped like a canoe for quenching the work and the tools. The hammers are from one to five pounds, the pincers of the universal pattern. There are the ordinary punches and sets. The blast is on the plan of the bamboo blast in No. 235, but has large cylinders of palm trunks in which pistons, packed with feathers, are worked alternately. The Chinese blacksmith had already adopted the European anvil and heavy sledge-hammer for forging iron axles and tyres, anchors and grapnels. These the Burman has adopted in turn. The bench-vice is also universal. The Chinaman adheres to his horizontal wooden box-blast, fitted with valves like a double-action pump, whereas the [563] 326

229. BURMAN BLACKSMITH (OLD STYLE). [177]

water and a basket of logs; she pours water and grinds unceasingly, bored to tears, and then scoops the paste into separate dishes for use on face, body and legs. 303 512

Our toilet to this day never included imported combs. Even the most frivolous girls in the University prefer Burmese combs. Burmese women, unlike Siamese and modern Chinese and Japanese women, wear their hair long without exception, and European combs could never cope with so much work. At one time, the village girls did favour long, bright bakelite combs to wind the hair around in a knot at the back, but the fashion was ridiculed as "aeroplane head-dress" and soon died. Burmese utility combs for general use and for distribution to servants of the household are made of wood and shaped according to use: for combing the hair are these with slightly curved rims, two inches wide and six inches long; for the little girls to stick in front of their knots and for women to form a frame for their formal hairdressing are small ones, almost semi-circular in the curve of the rim; for the women to wind their hair into a knot on less formal occasions are almost straight-backed combs; for delousing are fine, double-edged combs. My mother chose wooden combs for smoothness and stoutness and put them at the bottom of the sesamum oil jar until the brittle yellow wood turned a deep rich brown. These combs, with teeth that bite and rarely break off, can be bought for three annas. We also had ivory and tortoise-shell combs for superior use. 302 412

Burmese blacksmiths have been busy since olden days, producing weapons for the hill people, agricultural implements, scissors, nut-crackers and fire-irons, and, above all, blades of all kinds (*dahs*). The dah is the universal implement in Burma. It serves as a fighting weapon in the form of a long dahs, a slender pointed steel blade, about 15 inches long, fixed by a tang into a long handle of cane 326 412

326 412 or bamboo, iron-bound or tightly whipped to prevent splitting. In the form of a shorter dalwé, with or without a point, it is used as an all-round implement in house-building. With this bamboos are hewn, split open and slit into widths, boards of bamboo or planks are chopped for floor-boards and timbers are hewn for posts. The short, broad-ended *dahmas* are used for heavy chopping and were the general choppers for meat and firewood in our kitchens. The dahma is a stout iron blade faced with steel. Lighter paring knives called *damauks* are also produced. Thus a Burman in a village normally carries a dah of some sort tucked into his waist as he sallies forth perhaps to find some firewood, house-building material or an enemy. The Shan people also had long murderous-looking dagger knives called *damyaungs*.

The iron-workers of Magwe sent us scissors which my mother preferred to stainless steel ones because they could be oiled and sharpened throughout a lifetime, and because they had inscribed on one blade her name and on the other "Health and wealth to you". We got our betel-nut crackers from there also; these had a blade on one arm, to cut as well as crack.

276 415 511 Our house, like every Burmese house, kept a betel box always ready for visitors. The box had a top tray with little cups or boxes for the chopped areca nut, orange peel, spice seeds and lime, and a bottom compartment for fresh betel leaves of the betel vine (*piper betle*). A deep cover fitted the whole box. Grown-ups smeared lime on a leaf, wrapped nuts and spices in it and chewed it, spitting out the red juice which is too strong to be swallowed. Betel has an astringent action in the mouth and by promoting the flow of salivary juices it aids digestion. Our betel boxes were of richly carved silver, with embossed designs of elephants, princes riding on horses in the forest, heavenly male and female spirits, all looking very alive. Silver carving is one of our show industries; the silversmiths at Mandalay and Moulmein produce handsome bowls, boxes, dagger handles and various other objects bought by foreigners. Burmese people do not have the custom of buying *objets d'arts* for their houses, but the articles of daily use which they like to have of good quality and pleasing designs are the real inspiration of these traditional crafts of Burma. The silver used ranges from rupee fineness up to the pure metal called *baw*. We had silver bowls, *ngway-balas*, of all sizes, smaller ones for drinking, bigger for pouring the bath-water, and enormous ones about twelve inches across for holding gifts to the monks on festival days. Sometimes my mother used these to hold *taik-pan*, the flowers of the honolulu creeper, for the drawing room, but she always preferred a religious use for such noble and valuable objects. I liked all these bowls very much; they had good proportions, round the rim and base was a border of formal scroll

326 412 531 511 [953]

design and, within this chaste frame, the elephants, princes, trees and *nat* spirits waved and bounded in profusion. At the base of each bowl was a felicitous salutation inscribed on a smooth ground. 326 412 531 511

Lacquer is another industry now turning out cigar and trinket boxes, table mats, bowls and other articles for the modern market, but also continuing to supply all Burmese households with objects for daily use. When my father was stationed at Magwe, we went up the river to Pagan and from there by bullock cart to the village of Nyaung-U where the best Burmese lacquer is made. A frame of bamboo strips woven closely is covered and filled out with a mixture of cow-dung and paddy husk, and given a thick coat of black *thitsi*, wood-oil. Traditional designs are engraved on this when dry, and successive coatings of thitsi mixed with colouring are put on, the bowl being allowed to dry and turned on a lathe to take off the colour not required in the pattern in between each coating. The finished product is polished smooth and so flexible that a bowl can be bent till the opposite sides of its rim touch. We had lacquer boxes, *yun-its*, of great size to hold my father's turbans and my mother's scarves, round ones to hold combs and tresses for my mother's hairdressing, drinking mugs, betel boxes and many others. We had *kyauk-ka*, a more solid lacquer of plain red and black, for food carriers. with plates and cups to match. 322 415 531 [438]

Wood seems part of the fabric of the Burmese craftsman's being. The wealth of the forests which provided teak, pyinkado, ingyin and a host of other woods for lasting structures; the perfect medium they afforded to the chisel, gouge and mallet of the carver, and the traditional forms of architecture which offered vantage points for the display of superb craftsmanship all combined to make wood-carving the most lively of Burmese arts. But wood-carving cannot be seen to advantage in domestic articles; we had carved wooden frames for photographs of monks and of Grandfather, carving on the screen which walled off the altar room, but Burmese carvers in wood had never devoted their talents to the cutting of small articles. Teak and *yamanè*, the two woods usually carved on, have a coarse grain in which fine detail cannot be rendered. Beginning from the days when the tradition was to reserve carving for the wood of sacred structures only—palaces and monasteries—the craftsman had put all his skill into animating the gables and eaves of tiered monastery roofs, palace walls and ceilings, with a riot of living ogres, nats, dancing spirits and birds surrounded by leaves, flowers and scroll work which did not leave an inch bare. 322 314 531

Still, the village craftsman with a talent for work in wood does not lack scope in his rural surroundings. 322

501 His constructive skill with wood has been most successfully ex-
396 pressed in the vehicles for land and water transport—the bullock cart and the canoe. The classic pattern for a Burmese boat is the *laung*, built from a single hollowed-out trunk of the *thingan*, a tough tree growing near the water with a girth of 4—20 feet and a height of 15—75 feet. The trunk is hollowed out into a rough hull, the outside is adzed, circles of holes are bored through for a guide, and the shell is hollowed to a uniform thickness. It is then waterlogged, and fired slowly, the symmetry being carefully tended as the hull opens out with the firing. Planks are built up on the sides to increase capacity. These laungs, of a capacity from 10—40 tons, are the universal canoes of the rivers and creeks of Burma. Poled upstream and rowed downstream, they are ideal in the ease with which they can be bumped against rocks or got off shoals, the thingan hull lasting for 20 or 30 years. The bigger boats which still carry rice and other produce up the Irrawaddy are built up from stout ribs on a style which simulates the solid hull of the laung. These boats carry enormous sails and a crew of about fifteen men. Their bulk-heads are richly carved, and they glide along the great Irrawaddy, stately and calm beside the chugging river-steamers, their prows rising and falling like the heads of some fabulous birds.

493 The Burmese cart is a poem in curves of wood. The floor of the cart gives a slight curving sweep from front to back, the sides exaggerate this in crescents that sweep right up into the air, and the circle of the wheel has good balance and strength behind its symmetry. For the sake of the curves, the root wood of cutch and the curved branches of thingan are specially sought out.

• 326 Brassware, for which the old centres were at Amarapura and Sagaing
788 in Upper Burma, we were familiar with in bells and gongs. Bells are
534 kept by the Burmese for sacred uses only. The delicate small bells hung high around the spires of pagodas, often of gold and silver, have tongues that are moved by the winds to give a sweet testimony, to all spirits, of the good work of men who built the pagoda and other men who pray below, and give the praying devotee a tinkling reassurance of his merit. The great big bells, however, made of molten copper and tin poured into moulds of clay and wax in pits dug in the earth, have no tongues; but when struck with deer's antlers or a wooden striker they
[552] sing a deep note of sweetness. The names given to some famous bells reflect their beauty: *Maha Ganda* (Great Voice), *Mahatti Thadda Ganda* (Great Sweet Sound). All big bells are hung on a cross bar with wooden supports at pagodas, where after recitation of precepts we picked up the striker in turn and struck three times to announce to the spirits

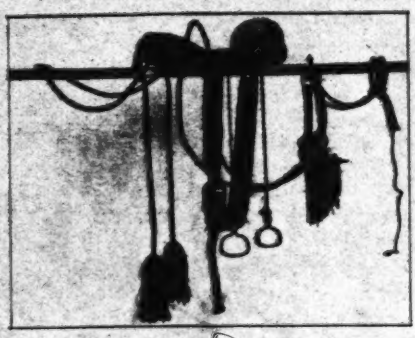
1: Mi Mi Khaing I-5 (no date) 1946 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

around that we had meritoriously praised the Lord Buddha, and then touched the earth with the striker to pass the message to the spirits there also. These big bells may weigh up to 25 tons; the bell at Mingun is said to be the second largest in the world. They are all inscribed with lauds and invocations for the welfare of the donor. Gongs of brass are the bells of the town-crier; all announcements are punctuated with the striking of a gong. *Maung le htu tè* is the equivalent of "broadcasting it around the town". Much attention is paid to the melodiousness of gongs for the Burmese have a musical instrument called the *kyi-waing*, which is a circular frame on which graduated gongs are hung and beaten with a knobbed stick to harmonize with the rest of a Burmese orchestra.

There were numerous other objects for which my mother would never accept a substitute from English shops because they did not cater for our ingrained customs. Soup never tastes right when eaten with a metal spoon—we always used Burmese china spoons bought for about one anna each; rice is not to be stirred with a metal utensil either—the Burmese wooden ladle for this is the *yaung-ma*, the same word as for sister-in-law, the stirrer of trouble. There were, of course, particular places in Burma which supplied particular articles of dress, but I took an interest in this only when I was grown up.

What delights me is to find now that, in the imported things about the house also, all minkadaw households bought a standard type. This was probably due to the enterprise of Messrs. Rowe and Co., a Rangoon firm selling general goods, which established branches in all district towns to provide officers with anything they could not buy in native shops. We all bought Gold Medal camp chairs and camp cots from Rowe's. We bought durwan's kerosene lamps for bedrooms, Storm King and Petromax lamps with incandescent mantles for sitting and dining rooms, we bought crockery which came out in three or four good standard patterns, with an adaptation from the orthodox English dinner service to provide soup and curry dishes suitable for Burmese meals. We got cane furniture made in the local jails, odd chairs and always the half-wood half-cane stores box to serve on tours, and the long basket trays in which my father's files and papers would come home and go to the office every day, on the head of the *chaprassi*. The *hpas*, soft expandable cane boxes in which Burmese people pack their bedding when travelling, were always covered with green canvas from Rowe's. With these hpas, matching the Gold Medal camp cots and chairs, the boxes from the jails, a clerk and two or three girls looking after the children, and a general air of solicitous attention from the people around, no one could mistake an a-so-ya government official's family on its touring travels.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 API Burma
Burmese API



229. BURMAN HORSE FURNITURE.

gongs (*maung*, No. 322) have very sonorous qualities. Copper and brass utensils are not used by the Burmans for cooking, but brass is used for fruit-platters, water-cups and bowls, betel-boxes and spittoons, mortars, scales and weights, cow-bells, and furniture for horse and bullock harness. 325 [492]

The import of iron and steel began centuries ago, nevertheless blades of Shan steel and manufacture are still accounted the best. With the exception of Shan settlers, the Burmans were the only blacksmiths of the country till the Chinese blacksmiths arrived. The hill-people depended for their chief implement and their weapons upon the dominant races. The Burman forge is the same as the Shan, on a bigger scale. The hearth is at the ground-level, with a pit in front, to enable the smith to stand up to his work if needful. He does most of it sitting on a peculiar round-backed seat to the right of the blast. The anvil is like a hammer-head, set upright in a block of wood. There is a trough shaped like a canoe for quenching the work and the tools. The hammers are from one to five pounds, the pincers of the universal pattern. There are the ordinary punches and sets. The blast is on the plan of the bamboo blast in No. 235, but has large cylinders of palm trunks in which pistons, packed with feathers, are worked alternately. The Chinese blacksmith had already adopted the European anvil and heavy sledge-hammer for forging iron axles and tyres, anchors and grapnels. These the Burman has adopted in turn. The bench-vice is also universal. The Chinaman adheres to his horizontal wooden box-blast, fitted with valves like a double-action pump, whereas the [563] 326

229. BURMAN BLACKSMITH (OLD STYLE). [177]

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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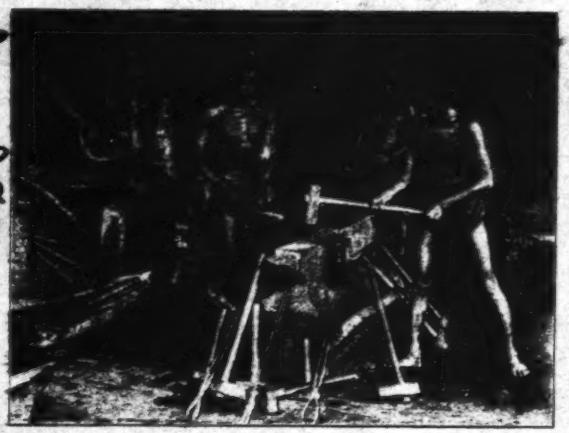

230. BURMAN BLACKSMITH (NEW STYLE).

Burman has copied the leather double-bellows from the steam-mill workshops.

Making *dâs* is the blacksmith's principal business. For the uses to which the Burman puts his *dâ*, he is not likely to be offered a better implement. The *dâ* is a blade twelve to twenty-four inches long, somewhat curved back from the edge, with the weight towards the point, and fixed by a tang into a long handle of cane or bamboo, iron-bound or whipped to prevent splitting. The *dâ* must not vibrate in the haft, and is for that reason not riveted through, so that when it works loose it can be driven tight again. Unless when both hands are used, the haft is gripped near the blade. Held in this way, the balance of the *dâ* is different to that of any other implement or weapon. It requires knack to use the *dâ* effectively. The long, slender, pointed *dâ* is the fighting weapon (*dalwè*), and is all of steel, with a cane handle. A shorter *dalwè*, with or without a point, is the universal implement. Short blunt-ended *dâs* are used for heavy work (*damâ*). These are only faced with steel. A light paring knife is called *damâuk*. There are dagger knives, but they are Shan rather than Burman implements (*damyâung*). The Burman and Shan smiths use a steel scraper set in a cross-handle, some-

231. SWORDSMITH.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901. AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4.

232. CANOPY OF GREAT ZEDI (VI, pp. 30, 101).

thing like a spoke-shave (*daing-dyaik*), for the rough shaping of the blades after forging, to save their files. The blacksmiths make the axes of the country also. The old Burman axe consists of a long-handled wooden mallet with an iron tip like a small spade. The smiths also make spear-heads for the hill-people, iron shoes for ploughs, mattocks and hoes, tires and axles of carts, dee nails for boats, nippers for sugar-cane and betel-nut, and other tools. They do repairs of locks and fire-arms. A special class of iron-work is making *tî* for *zedi*. The tinsmith's trade was unknown in Burma until fifty years ago. In Pegu it is still in Indian hands; but in Mandalay the Burman tinsmiths are unequalled.

Argentiferous galena is found in Burma, but the ore barely repays working for the sake of the lead. The silver used in Burma and most of the gold is imported from China, India, and Europe. A dozen villages in different parts of Burma get a living by sifting the sand of streams which bear gold. A broad thin wooden dish shaped like a flat cone is filled with sand and gravel, and worked at the water-level with a rotary movement, by which the lighter material is driven out centrifugally. The dish is filled and refilled, and after seven or eight hours' work as many grains weight of gold flakes will have accumulated in the depression at the centre. The out-turn of a steady worker is three to five tikals of gold in the season.

The stock in trade of the gold and silver worker consists of a bamboo blast, clay crucibles, blowpipe, solder and flux, aquafortis and mercury, hammers, punches and anvils of bronze and iron, wire-plate and beading-plate. Bullion is furnished by the customer, who pays from one half up to the full weight, in

233. MOUNTAIN CASCADE.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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[316]

234. WASHING FOR GOLD.

silver, of the work, for workmanship. The fineness of the gold used is from eighteen to twenty-two and a half carats. Copper is the alloy for gold (four to sixteen *yué* of copper to the *kyat* or tikal). Silver is used of rupee fineness (four *yué* of alloy to the *kyat*) up to pure metal (*bazo*). The intermediate fineness of sterling silver is the most usual. Silver is alloyed with copper and with zinc. With the few implements named above, plate for display and ornaments for women's wear are fashioned, of beautiful design and considerable finish. Chasing and *repoussé* ornament are used for the gold and silver plate, filigree and beading for the gold ornaments. Those who can afford it, serve drinking-water to their guests in a large silver bowl (*paldi*) holding a gallon or so, with a small *paldi* floating on the water. Other objects of luxury are silver lime-boxes, betel-boxes, hafts and scabbards of sabres. Broad zones of *repoussé*-work are relieved by fillets and beadings. The plain vessel having been hammered into shape is filled with a tough lac. This affords a ductile matrix, yielding where the chaser is applied and supporting the relief portions. The first step is to outline the work with a bronze punch, after which the lac is melted out and the metal annealed. Lac is poured in again, and a stage of relief raised. By successive annealings the full relief is obtained.* The figure designs are the signs of the zodiac, episodes from *zat*, and mythical animals. Women frequently carry some thousands of rupees worth of gold in the form

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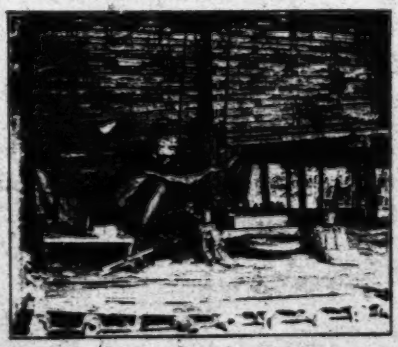

235. VILLAGE SILVERSMITH.

* The figure to the left in No. 237 is Go Tha Ban of Maulmain, the silversmith who designed and executed the tools used for the sides of this volume. The back is from the cover of a *Kambawzi*, to the colours of which it corresponds.

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

[opp. p.108]

326
415

BR. SILVER PLATE.

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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237. TOWN SILVERSMITH.

of plain gold bangles (*lak-kauk*), and their ear-plugs consist of a roll of sheet-gold coiled to the thickness of a finger. The Burmans admire a red-yellow gold with dull surface. They enhance the effect by a red colouring of the interstices of the work, in the same way as the Chinese do. Neck ornaments (*bayè*) are of several kinds. The commonest one used to be the thick roll of gold filigree, worn in front of the neck. This is now replaced by *bayè* of several chains, for the most part jewelled. On the breast is worn the broad *dalizán*, also formerly of filigree, but now of jewels and pearls. Strings of real and imitation pearls are worn; and jewelled pins and gold or jewelled combs in the hair. Rings are worn on the fingers and gold filigree buttons of the Chinese type on the jackets. The last two are the only ornaments now used by men. Anklets are worn by children.

[562]

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Gold and silver coinage on a European model was adopted by the kings of Burma about the middle of the nineteenth century—the "peacock" coins, struck from dies engraved in Paris. Rough coins of lead used to circulate. The coins shown in No. 238 are those of Arakán kings from 1500 to 1750 A.D., from the collection of the late Mr. C. H. White. Before the introduction of coinage,

238. SILVER COINS OF THE ARAKAN KINGS.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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175
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[326]

239. GOLD-BEATERS.

gold and silver bullion were used for exchange, as they still are in the Shan States. Chinese gold is current in the form of foil with the market stamp of fineness. It can be conveniently cut with scissors and weighed. Travellers often carry their bullion in this form. Silver is used by the Shans in the form of ingots which have to be hewn and assayed when making a purchase. The standard for commodities, wages and rent is silver, the fluctuation being referred to the gold. The lowest coin that circulates in Burma is three times the value of the lowest Indian coin. Notes have no circulation as yet among the Burmans, although they now bear their figures of value in Burmese.

316 Rubies and sapphires (*kyanmyat*) are separated from the
306 sand and gravel of certain localities, notably Mogôk, in the same way as gold is. Hard gems are cut with gem-dust on a horizontal wheel driven by a fly-
[822] wheel and treadle in a regular lathe-stand. Rock-crystal is cut in this way and also on a hone. Jade is found at Mogaung and is exported to China. Amber is found at Bamáw.

306 Gold-leaf is used in enormous quantities for gilding *zedi* and images. Only pure gold is employed. The paper for separating the gold-leaf in the book in

240. ALCHEMISTS.

The daily work schedule of U Myaing while he was working as a fish processor (2 months in a year) was as follows:- 512 461 264

He rose at four or five in the morning said his prayers, drank plain tea, had boiled beans, fried fish and rice left over from the previous day's evening meal. After that he went to collect fish, bring it to the bank and start work on it. He rested from 11 o'clock to 2 o'clock. At two he resumed work till about five when he would be finished for the day. Sometimes he would sleep at the work place after returning home for his evening meal.

Work in the Refugee Camp.

Shortly after arriving at the Camp U Myaing worked in Sulian Park near the Kokine market where a factory for spinning and weaving cloth was being set up. The contractor was Chinese, and he engaged between 30 to 35 labourers every day. These labourers were unskilled and they were employed in levelling the ground and laying the foundation of the factory. Most of the labourers were Indians - there being only two Burmans, U Myaing and Ma Aye Myaing got Rs. 2/-. The working hours stretched from eight in the morning to 12 noon, with a break of one hour at 12. At one o'clock they resumed work and continued until five in the evening. In the mornings they had to go to the factory by themselves, and this took them about a half hour walk. Sometimes they were sent home in a truck in the evenings. U Myaing had to enquire each day at various places for a chance to work. He was not always successful. 722 461 464 331

It was not usual for Ma Aye Myaing to come along like this to work as a labourer. This was the first time she did so. Ma Aye Myaing said that in future she would accompany U Myaing whenever there are prospects of such work. They knew that women worked in this way, but had not known that such work was available. [562]

As a matter of fact, I met U Myaing through the mats which were made in his camp. We got dinner place mats through him. These are rectangular 1½ feet by 2 feet mats of finelywoven split cane in an over 2 - under 2 pattern. They cost Rs. 2/8 each. U Myaing arranged for the making of these mats and collected the money for them, but 285 437

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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[332]

of stone. A fair-sized hill was hewn into blocks to furnish material. Canals several miles long were dug to convey the stones, and huge lighters were built upon them. The whole kingdom was called upon to furnish men to labour a few months at a time on the pious work. Architects, monks, foreigners, were called upon to offer suggestions and make plans. A French engineer, who declared that, with 5000 men working every day, it would require eighty-four years to complete the original design, came near being crucified on the spot. After four years' labour the basement, some four feet high, was completed, and then the Convener of the Fifth Great Synod returned to the village of Nats. Theebaw Min, who succeeded him, was the last man likely to finish the work, and there lie the mountains of squared stones and the heaps of rubble for the centre. The canals have silted up and the lighters foundered with their unloaded cargoes, and instead of a monument, King Mindôn has simply left a ghastly chaos. What kan King Mintaya Gyee must have had to get so far as he did!

The whole neighbourhood of Mandalay, Amarapoora, and Ava is rich with splendid fanes; but a detailed account of them would only weary the reader, as the visiting of them tires out the non-religious observer. Nevertheless some must at least be adverted to. There is the Ku-thu-daw, the "Royal Merit House," the richly-gilt shrine built by King Theebaw's uncle, the "War Prince," one of the most compact and tastefully adorned of pagodas, with beautifully carved gilt gates, the main spire being surrounded by a triple square of shrines, each shrine containing a marble slab engraved with a chapter of the Bitaghat on the back and front. The text of the three volumes of the Buddhist Scripture was carefully collated by the most learned Sadaws in the royal city, and is considered the best extant.

Especially interesting also is the Atumashi, the incomparable payā, the great, oblong, lofty-terraced chapel monastery of Mindôn Min, outwardly plain white, but within splendid with a gorgeously decorated shrine, purple and scarlet, and gold hangings, and velvet carpets. Here were preserved the gold spittoon, betel-box, kalawaik, and other paraphernalia of its founder. Unhappily it was burnt in 1892.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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209. THE HAMADRYAD.

one commonly notices. A great lizard (*put*), weighing twenty to forty pounds, infests hollow trees; it is shot and eaten by the Burmans, and its skin used for sandals. Most of the venomous snakes of India are common to Burma, excepting the small and deadly *krait*. The formidable hamadryad is added, but there are no fully established cases of the pursuit of man which is attributed to this snake. The casualties due to snake-bite are chiefly among the reapers. The gigantic python is not dangerous to man. Scorpions and centipedes are common enough, but their stings and bites are not often serious.

Good clay for pottery is only found in certain localities, and from these the manufactures are sent to great distances by water. Clay almost stone-hard and laterite are pounded with a tilt-hammer, screened, and worked up in certain proportions with water and sand, by treading with the feet. The best and strongest pots for cooking are not turned on the lathe but *patted* into shape by hand. These are but slightly porous and of a hard consistence. The lathe pottery is very porous when not glazed. A salt glaze is used for jars to store oil. For ornamental work, lead glazes, coloured with vitriols, are employed. At the potteries, immense reverberating kilns are built for firing the pots. Smaller kilns are fired all round or are excavated underground on the plan of the lime-kiln. Wood is the fuel used.

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Stone for building is scarce, except in Arakán. Masonry is reserved for the *zedi*. Of late, owing to a fresh impulse from India, masonry has again come into greater use. Everywhere in the inhabited plains one

210. POTTERY—PATTING THE WARE INTO SHAPE.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

211. LATHE POTTERY.

comes upon bricks, and on nearly every hill bricks bear evidence that at some time a *zedi* had crowned the top. In the moist region the disintegrating effect of the vegetation is such that frequently no indication remains of the form of the original structure. The use of brick doubtless came in with the early Buddhist architecture exemplified at Pagán. The brick-fields are on the confines of the rice-fields, and of the same character as to soil, a light loam. The work begins in November after the ground has dried. The surface soil is rejected and the earth dug with mattocks a yard or two deep. The clods are soaked in water and trodden into a doughy mass with an admixture of rice husk. The bricks are moulded direct on the ground, which has been smoothed beforehand, and are left to dry in the sun (No. 181). Before stacking the dried bricks, the lower or rough edge is trimmed with a *dá*. The commonest size of brick is 12" × 6" × 1½". A burn consists of ten thousand bricks and sells for about forty-five rupees. In the dry zone, brick has always been used for house-building to some extent, unless when prohibited by the government. In the south, the brick-work is invariably plastered over with *ingade* to prevent the clay mortar from washing out. Now that bricklaying in Pegu has passed into the hands of masons from India, lime-mortar is usual.

The limestone rocks which are a feature of the Eastern Peninsula, rise abruptly from the plains to heights of one to three thousand feet (No. 107). They are honeycombed with fissures which facilitate quarrying. During the floods, boats can approach and be loaded with the stone. Lime is used for whitewash, plaster, mortar, and for chewing

212. FANCY POTTERY, SHAN.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 API Burma
Burmese AP4

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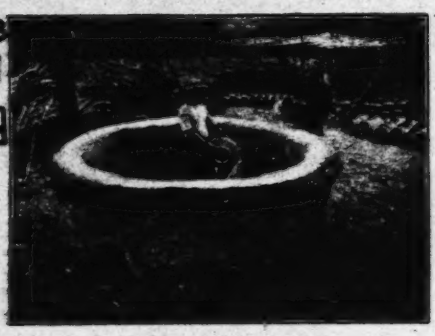
[323]



213. KILN FOR PATTED WARES.

with betel. The limestone rocks abound in caves, many of which have been incrusted with images, and transformed into temples and shrines (No. 84), but the rock is not hewn. The lime is packed in baskets of leaf and bamboo-wicker, a stone or two in weight; it sells at the kiln for one and a half to two rupees a hundredweight. The tenacity of the Burman lime-plaster is very great. Strength is obtained by liberal use of lime, and in the better class of work by the addition of glue and palm sugar. Hair and fibre are not added. For the first layers, coarse sand is mixed with the lime, for the finishing layers, fine sand. The decoration of the work is only roughly indicated in the masonry. The relief of the ornament is high, and the thickness of the stucco very considerable in parts. The stucco is frequently gilt, on *zedi* and images. The gold-size (*thissi*, p. 101) is applied direct to the plaster, which, however, in time, furnishes a soil for lichen, causing the gold to scale off.

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Although stone is not quarried in sufficient abundance for building except in Arakán, good stone for carving images is found in several places. The most notable of these is Taung-u, on the Irawadi, opposite Pagán. More important than the red sandstone industry of Taung-u is the industry at Sagáing, opposite Ava, on the Irawadi, where a beautiful white marble is quarried. The heavy blocks are hewn in the rough at the quarry and transported to the site of erection to be finished. The subjects are chiefly the conventional images of the Buddha, from a pound in weight to several tons (No. 218).

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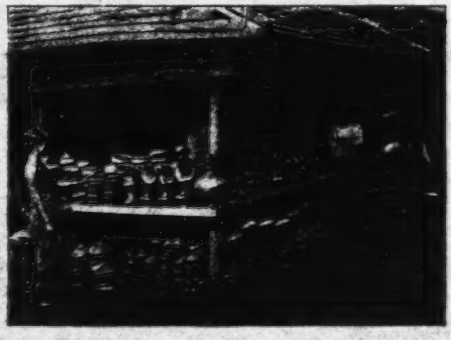

214. POTTERY SHOP.

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The cordage used in

31: Scherman--8 E-4 (no date) 1915 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

/Journal for Ethnology/ 39 (1907)
342 pp. 59 ff. has pointed out what constitutes the difference between the above-mentioned composite buildings and the prehistoric pile dwellings.

due to the fact that every part of the building has its own roof. The roofs of the two major sections run parallel to each other and an eave (ye-ta-yauk) is fitted in between. The front part, which opens directly onto the main veranda, contains the livingroom /Figure 1 - Simplest roof. Burmese house. Stronger roof truss./ and visiting room; in the rear are the bedrooms. The kitchen
[343] again is detached. At the railing of the veranda, near the livingroom, is usually the stand for the drinking water jugs. Windows are normally only in the front part of the house. At the east wall
353 of the interior of the livingroom is sometimes a very handsomely carved rack (nyaung-ye-o-sin), with a Buddha image, or simply with flower vases in odd /206/ numbers (three or five) which are dedicated to him. They contain fresh leaves of the Nyaung bin (Ficus religiosa), or as a substitute the "Tree of Knowledge," which is sacred to Buddhism, or the hardy, easily obtainable leaves of the aloe plants, etc.

The building material for the rural houses is
342 bamboo. For the main posts and beams (yet-ma)
395 wooden logs are used by anyone who can possibly afford them; otherwise the sturdy canes of the giant bamboo are employed. Strong bamboo poles also furnish the crossbeams (sin) /Figure 2 - Roof covers at the village of Kenghkam, southern Shan State Yawnghwe./ on which the floor at a height of 1 to 1 1/2 meters rests. The main posts, standing in pairs, are joined together at the top by crossbeams; on them, in the center, stands a short beam which serves as a support of the roof ridge. On larger houses an additional beam frame is used and on this stands the support

342 of the roof ridge. Rafters--thin bamboo poles--
335 are placed over this roof structure (Figure 1). Split and flattened bamboo poles are used for floor boards as well as being joined together to serve as doors. The outer walls and partitions consist of frames (zali) with strong bamboo wickerwork (yaing). The outer walls are frequent-
[353] ly decorated with black and white ornaments (Plate IV, 4); more delicate wickerwork is used for the floor covering. Not one single nail can be found in the entire house. The posts and the strong cross beams are mortised with each other; to fasten the roof rafters and the mat walls, tough green ribbons are cut from bamboo and are made pliable by soaking them in water. The doors have no hinges, but turn in sunken in peg extensions on top and bottom of the door cases (7).

[171] 7. The avoidance of nails through fastening with plant fibers (bamboo, rattan) is the rule for the bamboo house all over Burma and Assam. H. Frobenius, ibid., p. 568, points out the same with regard to the central Oceanic architectural area.

The houses in the cities are usually built of
342 wood; the famous teak wood which was selected
824 primarily for monasteries and the palaces of the princes has long since become a costly building material. Therefore even the well-to-do people use it only for the main posts; its resinous oil protects it against attacks from termites. For the better housing constructions iron wood (Xylia dolabriformis, Burmese: pyinkado) which is just as durable, is mostly used. For the simplest roofing material the thekké grass (Saccharum cylindricum and Saccharum spontaneum) is preferred in the entire country, with the exception of lower Burma where palm leaf material is popular. The former is a coarse grass related to the sugar cane. Their stalks are tied fringe-

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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181. BRICK MAKERS (P. 97)

CHAPTER V

TRADES AND PROFESSIONS

463 Most artizans in the rural settlements are cultivators as well, plying their special trade in the by-season. The [256] home industries continue to be practised in the seaport towns, where certain of them, such as rice-cleaning, are conducted wholesale (No. 184). The largest plant used in [388] the country villages is the oil-mill (*sfzdn*). The cooking-[252] oil of Burma is pressed from the seed of sesamum (*hman*), a black grain resembling [402] rape. It is not so delicate as olive oil, but is used for adulterating the latter. Oil-cake is used for fodder. The mill consists of a great mortar made of the 000 trunk of some hard-timbered tree with a pestle of the same. *Hman* is grown as

182. OIL-MILL

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

PS 75

CHAPTER IX

THE HOUSE AND ITS BELONGINGS

It is singular that in a country where the pagodas and temples will compare in stately grandeur and symmetry of form with the sacred edifices of any part of the world, and where the monastic buildings, though only constructed of wood, strike the most casual observer with their shapely beauty and wealth of decoration; it is singular where there is a taste for such edifices and abundance of the architectural skill necessary to erect them, that the Burman should in the vast majority of cases live in the flimsiest of bamboo huts. The original cause may be found perhaps in the stringent regulations of the Yāzagaing. In native Burma the shape of a man's house was fixed for him by law according to his station in life. All were one-storeyed, save where exceptional royal favour had granted the spire-like roof to a distinguished noble or a feudatory chief. Brick houses were forbidden, from the apprehension that the inhabitants might take it into their heads to turn them into fortifications. Gilding was forbidden to all subjects, and permission to lacquer and paint the pillars of their houses granted to but a very few, and it was expressly laid down that no one should have an arch over his door. This may account for the paltry and even wretched appearance of most villages, but it is undeniable that though nowadays, they are very considerably more substantial, yet a rich man never by any chance thinks of building himself a grand house, and remains firmly by the unpretentious model of his ancestors. This is the more curious, because they will spare no expense to buy gay turbans and bright-coloured pasos for themselves, and costly

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2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

517 silks for their wives. The ordinary explanation is that every one can see what clothes you wear, while few people care to come and spy out what kind of a house you live in, and how you fare. But there can be very little doubt that the real reason is a survival of the idea of the old Yāzagaing, as well as the fact that long years of custom have impressed upon everybody the opinion that there are only two forms of architecture, the secular and the ecclesiastical, and no one, no matter how sure he might be that the Government would take no notice of his ambition, would brave the denunciations of the religious by adding a spire to his house, or even adorning the gable ends with carved pinnacles and flamboyant finials of the monasteries. Consequently the one regular form prevails everywhere.

565 342 641

342 576 The Burman's dwelling, then, is always shaped more or less like a marquee tent, and never more than one storey high, to avoid the humiliating possibility of the feet of some one being over your head. But the whole house stands on posts, so that the floor is seven or eight feet from the ground. It consists often of only one room, usually, however, of two or more, and to the front of the house there is always a verandah, three or four feet lower than the general level of the house, and as often as not quite open to the street, or the garden, or whatever may be in front and always to the sky. The posts which form the main or central part of the house are usually six in number, and all have their names, such as Uyu, Kya-hngan, Nyaung-yan. The south post, in the main part of the house, the Thabye-taing, is the best known, as being always adorned with leaves and particularly marked as that in the top of which most probably lives the nat-spirit of the house. A dead body, after being swathed, and while waiting for the coffin, is always placed by it.

[551] 353 776 [764]

341 787 A house ought never to be built till the foundations have been thoroughly dug up and shown to a soothsayer. He will determine, from the substances found, whether it is a lucky place to build a house in or not. It stands to reason that the building cannot be commenced till a lucky day and hour have been sought out. There is considerable care to be observed in the selection of the timber. Posts are masculine, feminine, and neuter. Male posts are of equal size at both

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

ends; females are larger at the base; those which swell out in the middle are a-thet ma-shi—without life; taing bilu, ogre's posts are largest at the top. As a general rule it may be taken for granted that if a house is built with neuter posts, its inmates will always be miserable and unlucky; if the posts are ogres, death and disaster will attend; male posts are easy-going and harmless; females, on the contrary, are fortunate and leading to honour. But it may happen that the character of the piece of ground on which the house is built upsets all these generalisations, so that it is necessary to get a wise man's opinion before you get your posts. The Deittôn gives many instructions on the subject, and among other things mentions how a man's fortune may be calculated from the Hle-ga-tit, the side pieces of the steps which lead up to the verandah. The presence or absence of knots, and if the former, their position, determines the luck of the householder. 341 787

Poor people use bamboo instead of wood, and make their walls of mats, woven of the same substance, split up. Occasionally, however, they rise to the dignity of common jungle timber. Richer people make use of the invaluable teak, or of pyinkado (*Xylia dolabriformis*), a wood almost as durable, and equally expensive. White ants will attack neither of these. The walls of such houses are planked. The roof is sometimes composed of small flat tiles, but more commonly of thatch. This consists in most places in the Delta of dani, the leaves of the toddy palm, which are first soaked in salt water, a precaution which prevents insects from destroying them. Up country a species of grass called thekkè is universally used. This style of roofing is very satisfactory in every respect but one. It is cheap, easily put on, reasonably water-tight, but very inflammable, and consequently is not allowed in any of the larger towns in the Province. In the smaller stations, however, it is almost universal, and the consequence is that when one house takes fire, the sparks from it kindle all the others, as a matter of course. Consequently, as an imperative measure of protection, every house is provided with a long hooked bamboo, called a mi-cheit, by means of which to pull off all the thatch as soon as a fire breaks out in the neighbourhood, and in 342 565 342 731 355

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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from the pitiless sun and the raging of the storms. This is the explanation of the circumstance that every Budh is specially connected with some tree, as Shin Gautama with the bawdi-bin, the banyan, under which he attained his full dignity, and the eng-gyin-bin, the *Shorea robusta*, under which he was born and died, and, as we are told, the last Budh of this world cycle, Arimadeya, will receive his Buddhaship under the *Mesua ferrea*. Hence the regard for trees which the Burmans share with so many other nations, ancient and modern, and the fact that a clump of palmyras and tamarinds seen in the distance infallibly suggests a monastery. It is not to be supposed, however, that it was the intention of the Lord Buddha that the sacred order should remain far away from mankind in lonesome huts in the depths of the forest. Very early in his teaching, kings, nobles, and wealthy men vied with one another in erecting spacious and magnificent dwellings for the Budh himself and his disciples. Most noted among these were the Zetawun Monastery, built by the rich man Anatabein, within which the celebrated Mingala Thôt sermon was preached by the Buddha to a pious-minded déwa; the Pôppayôn Kyaung and that of Weluwun built by the wealthy dame Withaka and King Bimbathara of Razagyo, to both of which Shin Gautama frequently retired to spend the rainy season of Lent. These were all magnificently adorned; and it is expressly mentioned that the pious need spare themselves no expense in constructing and adorning such religious buildings, though the inhabitant of the most gorgeous of them dresses in no way differently from the humblest anchorite, and has no more costly utensils.

Ordinarily the monastery is built of teak, though in many places, both in Mandalay and Lower Burma, brick buildings are being erected, notwithstanding the prejudice that exists against them from their greater liability to damage in the case of earthquakes. The shape is always oblong, and the inhabited portion is raised on posts or pillars, some eight or ten feet above the ground. They are, like all the other houses in the country, never more than one story high; for if it is an indignity to a layman to have any one over his head, it is much more so to a member of the

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gathered from all parts of the country, many on gilt slabs of marble, a still greater number on sandstone. All day long circles of constantly renewed worshippers chant aloud the praises of the Buddha, and the air is heavy with the effluvia of candles and the odours from thousands of smouldering incense-sticks. Within the precincts of the pagoda is a large tank, tenanted by sacred turtle, who wax huge on the rice and cakes thrown them by the multitudes of pilgrims. Probably not even at the Shwe Dagôn Payā is more enthusiastic devotion shown than at the Payā Gyi in Mandalay. It is regarded with special reverence by the Shans.

Near the royal city, about nine miles up the river, on the right bank, is a huge monster of a pagoda, built on a low green bluff, running out from the barren, pagoda-sprinkled Sagaing hills. The groundwork of the great misshapen Mengôn Payā covers a square of 450 feet and its height is 165 feet, about one-third of the elevation intended for it when completed; but Mintaya Gyee, the crack-brained monarch who founded it, ran short of funds, and the building was stopped. Nature was jealous of the miniature mountain —the largest mass of brickwork in the world—and an earthquake in 1838 rent the gigantic cube with fantastic fissures from top to bottom, and cast down great masses of masonry, tons upon tons in weight, and yet not sufficient to destroy the main structure, massive and imperishable as Time itself. There it stands, unharmed alike by rain-floods and blistering suns, and laughing even at earthquakes. According to Burmese custom, Bodaw Payā built a model for the guidance of the workmen. This is called the Pôn-daw Payā, and is fifteen feet high. This consists of a bell-shaped dome surmounted by a *sikkhâra*, a pointed spire, and resting on a square plinth of solid brickwork. It is a hybrid between the Shwezigôn and Ananda pagodas of Pagān, and has all the requirements of a place of worship, circuit walls, staircases, ornamented arches, and leogryphs.

Perhaps it was this proud stability which induced King Mindôn Min to attempt an even greater work. He planned a huge shrine to be raised east of Mandalay, under the shadow of the Shan hills. The Yankin-taung Payā was to be larger than the Mengôn monster, and it was to be built

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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body-servants, carrying a gold-sheathed sword, a velvet pillow, spittoons, betel-nut boxes, and a variety of other things of uses more or less obvious. Last of all, surrounded by his page body-guard, comes the mintha himself, reclining in a wan, a finely-carved litter, borne by many shoulders. Many of the officials are, of course, unable to make such a grand display as this, but every one does his utmost to surpass his fellows in some point or other, and the result is a spectacle which would furnish abundance of valuable notions to a pantomime scenic artist racking his brains for novelties.

All the retinue is left outside when they come to the palace and ascend the broad flight of steps flanked by the two great gilded cannon, and approach the nandaw, the magnificent Hall of Audience. At stated points they pay lowly reverence to the graceful spire which rises over the throne and marks the centre of the palace, of the town, of Burma, and therefore of the universe. Inside the nandaw each man has his special place, according to his rank, Englishmen being ordinarily told off with ministers of the third grade. They sit there and smoke, placidly awaiting events.

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The Hall of Audience is a fine building of its kind; a long columned chamber, open on three sides, with gilt and red pillars, and a profusion of ornaments. The walls are made gorgeous with bits of looking-glass, porcelain, fragments of coloured glass, a mosaic of queer odds and ends fastened on with a resinous gum. This style of ornamentation is peculiarly Burmese, and is really very striking, though the materials may not seem promising. The effect of the whole is unique, if a little bewildering. It is like a compound chromotrope out of order. But close inspection gives an impression of tawdriness, and the national Burmese carelessness appears through all. Round the tops of the wooden walls runs beautifully carved lattice-work, but some of it has got broken in one place, and at another all the gilding has come off. There are some richly ornamented doors, but hinges have not been available when they were put up, and they swing on a sort of ball and socket contrivance which serves the purpose, but makes close-fitting and easy movement impossible.

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The throne stands at the far end of the hall on a high raised dais. It diminishes by a gradation of little ledges to mid-height, and then similarly expands, like one notched pyramid thrust down on another. Those of the royal blood sit ordinarily in front on either side of the dais, but there are lamentably few of the royal blood nowadays.

Every one is collected now. The scene is such as can be seen nowhere in the world but in Burma, and in Burma only in perfection in the Hall of Audience. A Burmese crowd is always a gay sight, but when all the highest in the land have assembled in the yôndaw, it is magnificent. The Tennysonian "wind-stirred tulip beds" is a tempting phrase, but it hardly seems sufficient. A stirabout of rainbows has an oriental sound about it, and perhaps more fitly suggests the brilliant contrasts of colour. What a magnificent sight it must be from the throne; the eye passing over the gaily dressed figures, every face bent low to the ground, down the broad steps, and through the towering eastern gate, over spires and pagodas away to the shaggy dark Shan hills beyond, like the entries to King Arthur's palace that

> Open'd from the hall
> At one end one, that gave upon a range
> Of level pavement where the king would pace.
> At sunrise, gazing over plain and wood;
> And down from this a lordly stairway sloped
> Till lost in blowing trees and tops of towers.

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Little wonder the king of Burma thinks himself a deity.

Meanwhile the collected worshippers smoke cheroots and chew betel, and talk freely. Suddenly a little bell tinkles, and every one is grovelling on his stomach in a second. A purple curtain is drawn aside, and down a long corridor, laid with crimson and gold carpet, the Sovereign of Life and Death comes with a hurried, uneven step. He is in full regal dress, and the broad gold shoulder-belt of the salwè and the towering jewelled crown on his head, seem to weigh heavily on him as he ascends wearily to the throne. Now comes the presentation of the kadaw. The actual presents are all lying tumbled in a heap somewhere, and his majesty probably never sees them at all. Lists are made out on palm-leaf, scratched on with a sharp-pointed style, and these are

2;Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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361 amingala or south-west gate, specially reserved for the passage of funerals. Outside every gate is a post bearing the name and emblem of the gate, the latter being the signs of the zodiac. Sixty feet, or thereabouts, from the walls, runs all round a deep moat, about fifty yards broad, covered in many places with the lotus plant that the Buddhist loves. Here and there upon it float a number of royal craft, state barges, and despatch boats, some of them richly gilded, with the kalawaik, the crane, carved on the stern, others foundered and lying rotting, with their lofty sterns rising high in the air. Covering each gate is a traverse, or crenelated barbican, of the same construction as the walls. Inside, the streets of the city run parallel to the walls. They are wide and fairly well kept wherever the king is likely to pass, but there is no attempt at metalling. Young trees line the sides, and [364] down most of them run little streams of water. There is no attempt at a drainage system, but the town is essentially clean and airy, the pigs and pariah dogs acting as scavengers, and the constant open spaces ensuring ventilation. Right in the centre is the palace, which has two successive enclosures. 644 341 The outer is a quarter of a mile square, and consists of a high teak palisade, very massive and compact. Within this is a wide open space laid out as an esplanade, inside of which is a brick wall, edged round a great part of the way by the houses of high ministers and court officials. The outer court has four gates, each presided over by a special commander; the north, or water gate, being only available for the royal barges. Except for members of the palace household, there is only admittance to the inner enclosure by the gate on the eastern face. There is a special portal in the centre here, opened only for the king, and none but the Lord of the Golden Throne may use it. All else must enter by the taga-ni, the red postern, a cramped little gateway, which makes the smallest man involuntarily bend his head as he approaches the golden palace. The front of the building is decorated with gilding and tinsel work, which looks well when it is new, but after the rainy seasons would be better not there at all. To the left is the Hlutdaw, the Hall off the Supreme Council, a detached structure, raised some feet off the ground, and perfectly open; the roof, richly

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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carved with flowers and figures, and adorned with the usual flamboyant pinnacles, supported on massive teak pillars, painted vermilion colour at the base, and gilt higher up. Straight ahead is the great Hall of Audience, a colonnade, or columned arcade, extending along the entire eastern front, and opening directly upon it. At the end of a pillared vista stands the throne, on a dais, reached by five steps from the level of the hall. The top is a cushioned ledge, like the box in a theatre. Just over the throne, and in the centre of the palace, which is the centre of the city, which is the centre of Burma, which is the Turanian "hub" of the world, rises the seven-roofed spire, emblematic of royalty and religion. The princes of the highest rank sit in front to the right of the throne; those of the blood-royal, but not so closely connected, to the left. Then in regular gradation, opposite one another, the wungyi, atwinwuns, wundauks, and the minor officials. On either side of the hall of audience and behind are a number of minor throne-rooms, not rooms in the English sense of the word, but simply open roofed spaces, separated from each other by skirtings of planking, covered with gold-leaf, and supported by a multitude of teak pillars, dyed for the greater part of their height a deep red. Some rooms are almost entirely gilt, others are adorned with wall-paintings, others, again, with the favourite mosaic of bits of mirror and coloured glass, framed in a gilt network. Every room is furnished with one or more stands of arms; there is a rack of sadly ill-cared-for muskets round the throne itself. The palace is, in fact, a gigantic armoury. All the cannon and guns in the country are kept there. Hence it is that when the palace is taken by a usurper, the country is conquered. The abundance of gold-leaf ought to make the effect splendid, but the quantity of alloy there is in the gilding makes it speedily lose its glitter, and the general impression is that of dinginess, if not indeed of actual slip-shod tawdriness. But to be seen at its best the palace should be visited on a great beg-pardon day, when the rough plank floors are covered with gorgeous rugs and carpets, and the halls are filled with officials dressed in all the hues of the rainbow.

There are a variety of matters to be carefully observed by all who enter, or have anything to do with the palace.

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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644 Best known is the regulation with regard to the wearing of shoes. Burmans must remove them as soon as they enter the palace enclosure, just as they would on going inside of the parawun of a pagoda or a monastery. Englishmen and white foreigners generally are required to take off their [341] boots whenever they begin to ascend a step—the whole palace and all the buildings near it being on a brick platform some ten feet or more above the level of the ground. There are always a number of dancers and jugglers and loiterers about the royal buildings, and the necessity of being separated from your shoes sometimes leads to the loss of them altogether. It is on record that a British Resident incurred this misfortune, and had to make the best of his way, partly in a pair of Burman sandals, and partly on his stocking soles —as being preferable—to the outside of the teak stockade where his pony was waiting for him.

Another ceremony is that of shekhoing to the spire, the external emblem of the throne. All Burmans must do this at each of the gates, at the foot of the steps, and at intervals in between, according to loyalty, or the supposed friendly or hostile attitude of lookers-on. All the early English ambassadors had to conform to this regulation, notably Cox and Baker, the latter dropping on his knees. After an intermediate stage of taking off their hats, permission was gained to dispense with everything but the removal of shoes and sword. But the court rejoices in the fact that no one can pass through the red postern without bending his head, regulations or no regulations.

No arms whatever can be taken into the palace, not even —perhaps I should say, least even, in view of conspiracies— by the royal princes. Similarly, all umbrellas must be left at the outer gate of the palace, except by members of the royal household, who may carry them to the foot of the steps of the audience hall. Common people must lower them when they pass any of the gates outside. Arrest, or rough handling by the guards, would be the infallible result of non-compliance. Another rule is that you must take no money out of the palace. You may take in as much as you please.

No one in the palace, or indeed in the whole town, must sleep otherwise than with his feet turned outwards from the

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma (Chinese Indians) AP1
Burmese AP4

village therefore remained, and has served to drag out a long suburb beyond the Arakan pagoda as a kind of connecting link. Numbers of later arrivals, however, settled in the royal City of Gems, and the wealthier merchants all eventually moved their headquarters thither, so that his majesty triumphed in the end. The best houses in Mandalay, the only brick ones, in fact, till the British came, are all in the possession of the Chinese and Indian merchants. Burmans had neither the right nor the money to build anything but wooden erections. These latter have, however, the compensating advantage that they stand all but the most violent earthquakes, while the brick houses, even when they are strengthened by an elaborate wooden framework, usually collapse when there is anything like a heavy shock.

But the great majority of the houses are simply wattled huts, with large open spaces in their rear which serve to keep the town airy and well ventilated. According to Burman custom each house has its little shop with the entire stock in trade displayed to the view of the passer-by. As in all Eastern towns, those who occupy themselves with a regular handicraft all flock together. Thus the umbrella-makers and sellers of saddlery live to the south of the palace, vendors of bamboo-work and lacquered boxes to the west, while the potters and miscellaneous goods shops are mostly along the street that leads to Payā Gyi, the Arakan pagoda.

There was no attempt at metalling any of the roads, except in independent times the broad thoroughfare which led up from the steamer ghaut, past the ministers' residences, up to the outskirts of the town, for Mandalay lies two miles away from the river-bank, the idea being that at Amarapura the noise of the foreigners' steamers disturbed the royal repose. The big stones which represented the metalling on this one road were rather a trouble than otherwise, except to the vultures and egrets in the wet weather, when all around was a sea of mud, and the boulders formed an eligible coign of vantage. Elsewhere the streets were cut into huge ruts, and the bullock-carts went along in the hot weather in a pyramid of dust, and in the rains a ploughed field would be smooth going in comparison. But the gaily-painted carriages which always suggest a dog-kennel on

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
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But

175 538 198 there never was any attempt to imitate the Pali language and its literature in the vernacular, and Burma offers no parallel to the controversy among English Renaissance scholars over the merits and demerits of the vernacular.

175 538 The period of Pagan's ascendancy marked the zenith of Burmese greatness and civilization. It was a great centre of trade, and visitors from afar talked of the glory that was Pagan. Its supremacy was unquestioned by the whole of Burma, which had been united into a kingdom for the first time. It even demanded and probably obtained nominal allegiance from the greater part of Indo-China and the governors of the outlying provinces of the Chinese Empire. But the period of Pagan's ascendancy was not a great period in Burmese literature. Her capital looked radiant with its golden temples, her kings were learned and powerful, her troops marched in triumph, but Pagan never forgot that no material thing was real, and everything decayed and perished. Therefore, the scholars were interested only in religious themes, and religious themes seldom offer adequate scope for the development of a great literature. Although the clearness of diction and the artistry of the death-song of the royal tutor, Anantathuria, composed while awaiting execution in 1173, indicate that at least a few must have practised the use of the vernacular for non-religious purposes, the efforts of writers in the vernacular were chiefly directed towards the recording of inscriptions, which are still [172] preserved in countless numbers in the pagodas of Pagan.[1] Many of these inscriptions contain good prose. The earlier inscriptions tend to be bombastic through sheer wealth of learning; the scholars of Pagan could not at once learn to control their use of the newly-acquired scholarship, just as the earlier writers of the Renaissance in England failed to restrict their use of learned words. However, after a few decades, the bombastic style gave place to a simpler and more 175 concise diction. In addition to the narrowness of scope offered by 172 religious themes, there was another reason which prevented Pagan,

538 341 [1] The death-song is one of the greatest poems in the language and is the oldest non-religious piece of literature existing in Burma. A translation is given in G. E. Harvey, op. cit., p. 55, and another in Tin and Luce, *The Glass Palace Chronicle*, p. 139.

G. E. Harvey, op cit. (p. 70) describes the inscriptions as 'richly human and intensely devout', and he ranks (p. 38) some of Kyanzittha's (1084–1112) inscriptions as literature.

[172] *Epigraphia Birmanica*, a Government publication, gives the text of the more important inscriptions with translations.

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

in spite of its greatness in other directions, from being a great period of Burmese literature. The love of beauty, which is the basis of all literature, had adequate satisfaction in the developed art of architecture. The poets of Pagan wrote their poems in bricks, instead of words, and their pagodas are still famous. When one stands on the shore of the Irrawaddy and looks towards the ruins of Pagan, one is reminded of the delicate beauty of an incomplete poem.[1]

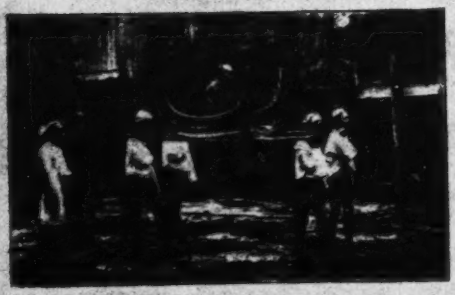
Pagan fell in 1287 as the result of the Tartar onslaught during the time of Kubla Khan, the Scourge of God, and the country broke up into several little States, each attempting to control the others. For the next fifty years, political struggles went on in the capitals, but they failed to disturb the peace of smaller towns and villages. Many who had grown tired of the strife around the thrones flocked to the quiet of the village monasteries in order to find peace. Religion went on undiminished, but the learning connected with it decayed, for the royal patronage was lacking. Architecture also decayed because there was no royal support and because the country had become poor. Men turned to literature for its own sake, and during this period Burmese prose and poetry assumed definite forms with fully developed diction, rhythm, rhyme and style.[2]

[1] Many temples and pagodas of the Pagan period are in an excellent state of preservation and are still in use as places of worship. Scott O'Conner's *Mandalay and Other Cities* contains fine illustrations of the more famous of these religious buildings.

The achievement of the Pagan kings, the 'Temple Builders', is summed up by Harvey thus: 'The legacy of their fleeting sway has enriched posterity for ever. It was they who made the sun-scorched wilderness, the solitary plain of Myingyan, to blossom forth into the architectural magnificence of Pagan. If they produced no nation-builder like Simon de Montfort, no lawgiver like Edward I, they unified Burma for more than two centuries, and that in itself was an achievement. But their role was æsthetic and religious rather than political. To them the world owes in great measure the preservation of Theravada Buddhism, one of the purest faiths mankind has ever known. Brahminism had strangled it in the land of its birth; in Ceylon its existence was threatened again and again; east of Burma it was not yet free from priestly corruptions; but the kings of Burma never wavered, and at Pagan the stricken faith found a city of refuge. Vainglorious tyrants built themselves lasting sepulchres, but none of these men has a tomb. . . . These men's magnificence went to glorify their religion, not to deck the tent wherein they camped during this transitory life.'—*History of Burma*, p. 70.

[2] Ibid., p. 103. Since that time, prose and poetry show continuous development. The full history of Burmese literature still remains unwritten. However, the *Anthology of Burmese Literature*, a Government publication,

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

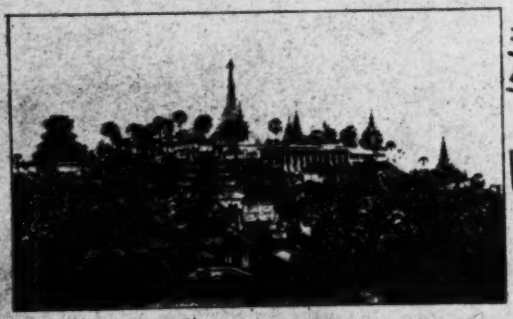


98. AGED YAHAN CARRIED ON YIN.

The majority of the *kyaungs* and buildings of Burma are constructed on piles. The country at large is mountainous. The Burman race monopolises the flat lands in the basin of the upper Irawadi — "the narrows" (*Anyá*)—in the same way as the Shan races do in the sphere of their influence and the Mun (or Taláing) race in the south (Pegu). 346 341 311 [563]

The quasi-aboriginal races occupy the hill-land and mountains. The plains-dweller settles as near as he can to the natural waterways with which Burma is abundantly provided. In the drought the rivers recede to great distances from their flood-level margins. In order to be close to the channels, the houses have to be on high piles. The races of Burma adhere to their practice of pile-building even on elevated sites, such as those of the temples. The Burman wood architecture appears to have developed through the exigencies of pile-building and under the influence, as regards decoration, of an exotic masonry style. The Burman style possesses a naïve charm recalling the art of the "ages of faith" in Western Europe. It has a certain resemblance to the wooden church-building of Norway. The style was in full vigour up to the middle of the nineteenth century. Since that time novelties of type and manufacture have crowded in faster than they could be assimilated into the indigenous arts, on which they are foisted crudely (Nos. 60, 99). [177]

The affinities of Burman art above referred to, to the art of mediæval Europe, are extrinsic only. The "aspiring" character of the florid ornament, the quaint figures in their labyrinths of tracery, recall the crocketed niches and fantastic gargoyles of the 341 531 [346]



99. TEMPLE HILL.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
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60. DECADENT KYAUNG.

Gothic, especially in the richness of the *ensemble*. But the Burman decoration does not strike the eye as an efflorescence of the structure so much as an overlaying of it. The grandest work produces the effect of an elaborate model rather than a monumental achievement. The perspicuity of the play of forces operating in the structure, out of which the poetry of Gothic architecture flows, has a parallel in the Burman boat-building. But the effort which the land architecture incorporates, to interpret a masonry style in wood, was naturally productive of incongruities, despite the fact that the masonry was itself an interpretation of still earlier wood building. The outward incongruities have been mitigated in the unique style in which the genius of Burma has found expression. The stiff and monotonous feather-ornament of the Hindu gable (No. 74) has developed into the Burman flamboyant decoration. The bold finial is the sole element of the original which has been preserved literally (No. 62). The graduated ornament of the *pyatthat*, soaring above the verdure, recalls the proportions of some budding head-of-bloom—a case in point of the theory of the sources of architectural types, in the insensible suggestions of natural objects, expressed by Herbert Spencer. (*Essays*, vol. ii.) Through the Burman treatment types other than architectural, which Burma has borrowed, acquire a new and distinctive interest.

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When a *kyaung*, or any work of public utility, has been undertaken by the people of a village jointly, it is kept in good repair. But when it has been carried out at the cost of an individual—and this applies to most of the public works—the repairs are left to the founder and to his family, who have frequently

61. ORNAMENTATION OF KYAUNG.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
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71. TERRA-COTTA FIGURES AT THADYA PAYA, THATON.

of the Buddha, set against the column which supports the dome or Hindu cone. The later domes are pure vaults without central support. In these ancient temples the conical *zedi* now so typical of Burma forms the finial only, held like a jewel, by four cusps. The lowermost portion of this structure resembles an inverted *thabôit*, the name of the homologous part of the modern *zedi*. Possibly this forms the actual reliquary or is the symbol of the same.

An example of direct imitation of Indian monuments is the *Bawdi Payá*. It takes its name from the *Bo* tree at Buddha Gáya in Bahár, and is a florid reproduction of the *stupa* there. It was built by King Zeyathinka about 1220 A.D.

The temple named after Ánanda, the chief disciple of the Buddha, was built by King Kyansitthu about 1080 A.D. Both the temple (No. 8) and the *thein* and *kyaung* adjoining (Nos. 64, 74) are in full preservation. The gigantic lattice gates of the inner temple are of teak-wood and probably coeval with the masonry.

The most imposing of the ancient monuments and the one which marks the best period of the Pagán architecture is Thappyinnyu Payá, built by King Alaung Sitthu, about 1100 A.D. (No. 73). Its height is two hundred feet or more.

72. BAWDI PAYA, PAGAN.

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In the mural decorations at Pagán the Indian character is as marked as in the buildings themselves. India has evidently

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furnished the subjects of the Burman designer and trained his style (Nos. 272, 94).

The Burman bricklayers had at one time lost the art of arch-building. A

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pointed arch like the Gothic is used in the temples of ancient Pagán (Nos. 75, 76).

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The images of the Buddha (*sindu*) are the principal features of the interior of the ancient temples, the true character of

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
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209. THE HAMADRYAD.

one commonly notices. A great lizard (*put*), weighing twenty to forty pounds, infests hollow trees; it is shot and eaten by the Burmans, and its skin used for sandals. Most of the venomous snakes of India are common to Burma, excepting the small and deadly *krait*. The formidable hamadryad is added, but there are no fully established cases of the pursuit of man which is attributed to this snake. The casualties due to snake-bite are chiefly among the reapers. The gigantic python is not dangerous to man. Scorpions and centipedes are common enough, but their stings and bites are not often serious.

Good clay for pottery is only found in certain localities, and from these the manufactures are sent to great distances by water. Clay almost stone-hard and laterite are pounded with a tilt-hammer, screened, and worked up in certain proportions with water and sand, by treading with the feet. The best and strongest pots for cooking are not turned on the lathe but *patted* into shape by hand. These are but slightly porous and of a hard consistence. The lathe pottery is very porous when not glazed. A salt glaze is used for jars to store oil. For ornamental work, lead glazes, coloured with vitriols, are employed. At the potteries, immense reverberating kilns are built for firing the pots. Smaller kilns are fired all round or are excavated underground on the plan of the lime-kiln. Wood is the fuel used.

210. POTTERY—PATTING THE WARE INTO SHAPE.

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Stone for building is scarce, except in Arakán. Masonry is reserved for the *zedi*. Of late, owing to a fresh impulse from India, masonry has again come into greater use. Everywhere in the inhabited plains one

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
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211. LATHE POTTERY.

comes upon bricks, and on nearly every hill bricks bear evidence that at some time a *zedi* had crowned the top. In the moist region the disintegrating effect of the vegetation is such that frequently no indication remains of the form of the original structure. The use of brick doubtless came in with the early Buddhist architecture exemplified at Pagán. The brick-fields are on the confines of the rice-fields, and of the same character as to soil, a light loam. The work begins in November after the ground has dried. The surface soil is rejected and the earth dug with mattocks a yard or two deep. The clods are soaked in water and trodden into a doughy mass with an admixture of rice husk. The bricks are moulded direct on the ground, which has been smoothed beforehand, and are left to dry in the sun (No. 181). Before stacking the dried bricks, the lower or rough edge is trimmed with a *dá*. The commonest size of brick is 12" × 6" × 1½". A burn consists of ten thousand bricks and sells for about forty-five rupees. In the dry zone, brick has always been used for house-building to some extent, unless when prohibited by the government. In the south, the brick-work is invariably plastered over with *ingade* to prevent the clay mortar from washing out. Now that bricklaying in Pegu has passed into the hands of masons from India, lime-mortar is usual.

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The limestone rocks which are a feature of the Eastern Peninsula, rise abruptly from the plains to heights of one to three thousand feet (No. 107). They are honeycombed with fissures which facilitate quarrying. During the floods, boats can approach and be loaded with the stone. Lime is used for whitewash, plaster, mortar, and for chewing

212. FANCY POTTERY, SHAN.

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25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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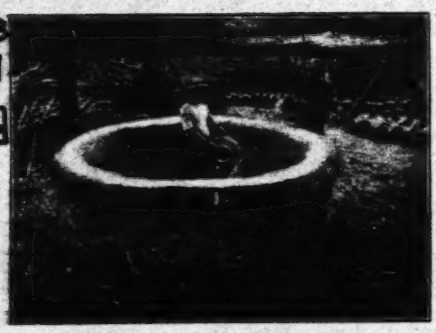
● 341
[323]



213. KILN FOR PATTED WARES.

with betel. The limestone rocks abound in caves, many of which have been incrusted with images, and transformed into temples and shrines (No. 84), but the rock is not hewn. The lime is packed in baskets of leaf and bamboo-wicker, a stone or two in weight; it sells at the kiln for one and a half to two rupees a hundredweight. The tenacity of the Burman lime-plaster is very great. Strength is obtained by liberal use of lime, and in the better class of work by the addition of glue and palm sugar. Hair and fibre are not added. For the first layers, coarse sand is mixed with the lime, for the finishing layers, fine sand. The decoration of the work is only roughly indicated in the masonry. The relief of the ornament is high, and the thickness of the stucco very considerable in parts. The stucco is frequently gilt, on *zedi* and images. The gold-size (*thissi*, p. 101) is applied direct to the plaster, which, however, in time, furnishes a soil for lichen, causing the gold to scale off.

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Although stone is not quarried in sufficient abundance for building except in Arakán, good stone for carving images is found in several places. The most notable of these is Taung-u, on the Irawadi, opposite Pagán. More important than the red sandstone industry of Taung-u is the industry at Sagáing, opposite Ava, on the Irawadi, where a beautiful white marble is quarried. The heavy blocks are hewn in the rough at the quarry and transported to the site of erection to be finished. The subjects are chiefly the conventional images of the Buddha, from a pound in weight to several tons (No. 218).

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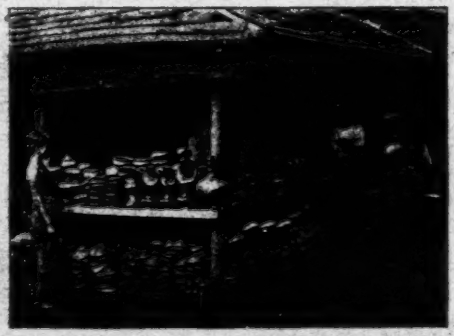

214. POTTERY SHOP.

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The cordage used in

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
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221. UMBRELLA MAKERS.

of the work can be done on a lathe. To prepare the wicker for lacquering, it is first given a "rough-stuffing" of fine clay to fill the interstices. The work is then painted with *thissi*, which penetrates and toughens the clay and binds the fibres of the wicker. When the *thissi* has set, which takes several days, the work is put on the chuck of a bow-lathe and ground smooth with a fibrous stone—a petrifaction-product. Varnishing and grinding are repeated till the surface is smooth, colour being added to the later coats. Then a coat of contrasted colour is given, and when the varnish is about half set, the pattern is chipped with a metal style through the fresh layer to the hard lacquer beneath. After the work has hardened, the patterns are embellished by scoring rings through the layers, with a tool like a carpenter's gouge, so as to bring out the underlying contrasts. The patterns are arabesques and conventionalized figures.* Subject designs are also executed (No. 224). Finally the lacquer is polished with buffs of graduated fineness. A peculiarity of *thissi* is that it sets hardest in a moist atmosphere. Every manufacturer has an underground cellar—a thing almost unknown in Burma—for the wares to harden in. Pagán, the centre of the industry, is at the same time the driest locality of the dry zone. The finest lacquer, which is only made by a few highly-skilled workmen, is so elastic that the lips of a cup may be brought to meet without the ware cracking. As much as twenty-five rupees is paid for a cup of such quality. The ordinary ware has not the tenth part of this elasticity, and sells for one to ten rupees a box. The deep cover of the betel-box is the traveller's ordinary drinking-cup.

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222. LACQUER-WARE MANUFACTURE.

* See the end-papers of the binding of this volume.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
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244. MIXED HILL-CROP OF RICE, SESAMUM, AND TEAK, IN SEPTEMBER (P. 149).

of being nearly all heart-wood, having considerable strength, with moderate hardness and weight, working easily with axe, saw and chisel, taking nails, and above all, not rusting nails or iron in contact with it. It has a serviceable brown colour and an odour by which it may always be distinguished, due to the presence of an oil which repels the attacks of insects, notably of the termites, and which protects it from decay. Teak is in short the prince of eastern woods. At the end of the eighteenth century, teak was already being worked out of the Burma forests and brought to port, where the foreign shippers had established saw-pits for squaring the logs. The steel pit-saws found their way into trade and gave an impetus to wood architecture, of which the ecclesiastical buildings of Burma are the chief examples. Timber-traders started building teak ships in Burma, employing Chinese carpenters. This business has been abandoned, but lighters are still built.

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[501]

245. FLUE OF FACTORY DISUSED TEN YEARS.

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The teak-tree (*tectona grandis*) occurs in patches of the dry mixed forest, the forest namely of which the principal element is a deciduous bamboo, with timber trees of fifty or more deciduous species scattered through it. Of these species about half a dozen produce serviceable timber. The bamboo-stools send up their culms to heights of forty and sixty feet in the course of a few weeks, before their branchlets and leaves appear. By means of this the bamboo has the advantage over all other vegetation. The seedlings of trees have to struggle up under its cover. At intervals of twenty to thirty years the bamboo species flower, to grow again from seed. Then is

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
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302. ROPE-STATION ON THE SALWEEN (KYODAN).

current, a remarkable device is employed. Two ten-foot handspikes, with a shoulder two feet above the point, have mooring-rattans from each end of the raft, one hundred feet long and an inch thick, bent on to them. One of these is sent ashore from the forward end of the raft and worked like a plough in the bank, going deeper as the raft slews round and the tension increases, and so stopping its way by degrees. If the first attempt fails a second is made from the other end of the raft, which is then the forward one. Arrived in port the logs are dragged up the mud-banks by elephants. But when the path is blocked, a powerful elephant sometimes carries a log bodily. The whole of the [463] operations of bringing the timber to market are combined by a timber-broker (forester, *thiggaung*).

322 Teak cuts readily, though it blunts the tools very soon. There is little waste. Sawn planks are displacing bamboo for the better-class houses. Sawyers 313 earn from one-half to one rupee a day. The indigenous carpenter's tools were a small adze (*pègôt*), chisels and gouges (*sauk*), awls (*hun*), and a rough saw (*khwa*), 413 besides *dâ* and axe (*paussein*). The Burman adopted the Chinese plane (*yuk-haw*, "selecting-shave") with the Chinese straddle bench. The English [177] carpenter's rule is also general. When the impulse to good house-building was given by the production of cheap planks, the immigrants from China got 322 the whole of the work. •341 The Burmans have begun to oust them from [563] the heavy carpentering and from the joinery as well. Ordinary Burman carpenters earn ¾ rupee a day, the better workmen 1 to 1¼ rupees a day, compared with the Chinaman's 1½ rupees. The wood-work is left

303. SINKING THE LOGS INTO RAFTS.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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[313]
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264. TIMBER-RAFT.

plain or is oiled with crude petroleum. A wooden house of the modern Burman pattern costs from three hundred rupees upwards; a bamboo house only twenty to sixty.

The Burman turning-lathe is of the usual primitive type; two poppets sliding in a bed, with centres to hold the work, round which a cord passes from the simple treadle-bar to a springy lath or bamboo overhead. But of late, mandril-lathes have been constructed after models in the steam-mill workshops (No. 187). Mechanical construction has great attractions for the Burman, and is stimulated [563] by the high wages of labour. The foremen sawyers at the steam-mills are Burmans, the other hands natives of India. Menders of clocks and sewing-[401] machines are in all the towns. An engine-erecter, who had set up machinery in most countries of Europe and Asia, said he had nowhere met the same natural aptitude for handling machinery as in Burma (*cf.* p. 10).

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The floral wood-carving of Burma is remarkable for its freedom and spontaneity. Rich as the floral tracery is, the animal grotesques are laboured and deficient in fancy. The carving is done in teak-wood when it is meant for fixtures; otherwise, *yamané* is preferred. The tools employed are chisel, gouge, and mallet. The design is traced on the wood with charcoal, gouged out in the rough and finished with sharp fine tools, using the mallet for every stroke. Teak-wood and *yamané* have a coarse grain, in which fine detail cannot be rendered. Small and delicately elaborated figures are carved in sandal-wood [313] and also in ivory. Whole tusks are carved over with figures of the Buddha and are dedicated in the *kyaungs*. In some of these the figures are modelled in a single piece under an

265. SAWING UP THE LOGS.

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

378. THE PALACE GARDENS.

the cause of suffering and death, and the discredit reflected on officialdom by its methods, lead the best elements of the population to shun office, as a touching of pitch. The dearth of ability and character in the governing classes leaves the governed without efficient protection. The religious motive further operates in withholding information about criminals. A pregnant category is that of the "five enemies"—Fire, Water, Robbers, Rulers, Ill-wishers. The governors and deputies who acted as judges heard causes at the *yôn*, an open shed in a public place. But every cause was presented in the first instance at the house of the official, and it is contrary to accepted ideas of politeness to approach a superior empty-handed, even on a mere visit of courtesy. The *pros* and *cons* of the case were understood before the regular hearing. At the hearing, the advocates of the parties (*ashé-ne*) publicly presented their pleas and the evidence was recorded. The Burmese form of oath is to take the *kyanza* in the hands, a book of imprecations which the witness invokes on his head if he should speak falsely. The judge or judges intimated their finding to their clerks (*sayé*), who recorded it in official style and read it out. The punishments awarded to criminals and the condition of prisoners were much like those prevailing in Europe at the time of the Renaissance. Every judgment of importance was registered in the *Hluttaw* or chancellery at the capital, presided over by the four chief ministers (*Wundyi*), through whom all royal commands to the governors of provinces issued. There was no regular system of appeals. The Hindu code of Manú served as a body of law, and statutes were decreed by the kings; but *thazan* (custom) supplied standards of a more practical and stable nature.

379. ROYAL MAID OF HONOUR (APYODAW).

31: Scherman--2 E-4 (no date) 1915 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

/203/ TYPES OF HOUSES IN BURMA AND ASSAM

by

L. Scherman, Munich.

(With one map, 17 illustrations in text and Plates
171 IV-X.)
•341 The traveler coming from India to Burma will, in addition to the change in the racial types, notice the strange architecture of the buildings, their floors resting on piles about one to one and one-half meters above the ground. By this characteristic they contrast sharply with the construction methods of the great cultural zones: India, China and the kindred Tibet, between which Burma, a British Indochina, is wedged. They adhere to that familiar system which is customary farther south in the archipelago and the South Sea Islands. The geographical and anthropological passage by land is through Assam, and here the Tibeto-Burmese mountain people, surrounded by levelling Hinduism, still cling predominantly to the pile dwelling which is found in Burma as the general norm. In the rest of Indochina, e.g. Siam and French Indochina this norm continues, if it has not given way to Chinese influence, which makes itself felt also at Bhamo, at Burma's northeastern border. At Siam's southern tip adjoins the already-mentioned civilization with its pile dwellings, more rightfully called Malayan (1).
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1. cf. the popular survey by F.V. Hellwald, Haus und Hof in ihrer Entwicklung mit Bezug auf die Wohnsitten der Völker /The Development of House and Farm in Relation to the Housing

31: Scherman--3 E-4 (no date) 1915 AP1 Burma
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Practices of the People/ (Leipzig, 1888), pp. 106 ff.: Die Pfahlbauten der Gegenwart /Pile Building Today/. About Oceanic architectural styles, in connection with Indonesia, but without mentioning Indochina, reports the systematical work by Herman Frobenius, Zeitschrift für Bauwesen /Journal of Architecture/ Vol. 49 (1899), pp. 553-580. Ethnologically important clues about the predominant house types in Melanesia are given in connection with his theories about the Indonesian-Melanesian migrations by G. Friederici, Wissenschaftliche Ergebnisse einer amtlichen Forschungsreise nach dem Bismarck-Archipel /Scientific Results of an Official Research Trip to the Bismarck Archipelago/ Vol. 3 (Berlin, 1913), pp. 156 ff.

Burma displays her principle of pile architecture in the humble village hut as well as in the luxurious buildings for secular and religious purposes in so far as they are built in wood, and the palaces of the rulers as well as the monastery buildings for the use of the monks are made of wood. Pagodas and temples, however, and frequently monastery libraries, are made of brick, occasionally of stone, the latter only in ancient times.

We find the "classical" models for these religious buildings at the famous ruin sites of Pagan. These buildings were put up between the eleventh and the thirteenth centuries, the days of splendor of the Empire of Pagan, the golden age of Burma's religious architecture. Here India was responsible for the architecture which had undergone manifold changes through eastern influences. Secular buildings from this era of Pagan have not survived; the wood did not withstand the

341 climate and the insect erosion.

The style of Pagan's stone architecture is still traceable in the form of the wood structures of the monasteries and the palaces of the rulers of the last era of the Burmese Empire, especially in /204/ the characteristic door arches which terminate in horn-like points and the pyramidically rising storey roofs.

341 565

An enormous gulf sets this architecture apart from the ordinary Burmese dwelling. One cannot help marvel that a people who have such strong feeling for proportion and graceful flow of lines as to create these most magnificent buildings for its princes and monks, and covered them with a wealth of imaginative carvings, with gold and glittering glass mosaics, that such a people would live in mean, plain, wooden or bamboo huts with scanty house furnishings, even if they can afford something better.

This glaring incongruity is first of all ex-
[656] plained (2) by the Draconian rules of the old

2. About the general influence on the art of the dwellings cf. H. Schurtz, Urgeschichte der Kultur /Ancient Cultural History/ (Leipzig, 1900), pp. 418 ff.

Burmese class and luxury code. Brick buildings were definitely prohibited--they might have been used as fortifications during revolutions--and it had become second nature to the Burmese that lacquer work /Map--Distribution of House Types--Analyst. --Key: ....Pile dwelling. _____ Ground level dwelling. .....Both types in use./ and gilding, carved door arches and storey roofs should be permitted only on the dwellings of princes and monks who are equal to the former in rank, with restrictions on the houses of other high dignitaries. Even now, after the British
341 rule gave a wider range of freedom to the subjects, following the deposition of the degenerated royal

341 family (in the year 1887), the Burmese rejects the idea of covering his house with princely trimmings in the manner of the occidental upstart. He prefers to adopt European comfort directly. Now the display of greater luxury no longer jeopardizes property and life, as in the days of Burmese despotism when one had to guard against the avarice of princes and powerful officials.

342 576 The Burmese dwelling, the simple hut just as the resplendent palace and monastery, has only one storey. Of course we must disregard innovations which gradually encroach, through occidental influence. The main reason probably lies in the belief of the people that it is undignified to stay under the feet of others. This would be particularly unbecoming for monks; in a modern two storey brick building in Mandalay which had once belonged to a Burmese princess, I saw a separate staircase, specially built for visiting monks which led directly from the entrance over the ground floor into the upper storey.

342 The size and the layout of the house (3)

3. About the construction of the Burmese house: Gazeteer of Upper Burma and the Shan States (Rangoon, 1900/01), Part I, /205/ Vol. 2, pp. 161 ff., M. and B. Ferrars, Burma, 2nd ed. (London, 1901), pp. 56 ff.; Shway Yoe (Scott), "The Burman, His Life and Notions," 3rd ed. (London, 1910), pp. 76 ff. The above-mentioned Gazeteer, a very informative and important work, will always be quoted below as UBG.

varies in accordance with the needs and the /205/ means of the occupants. The average Burmese house (Plate IV, 1) has its entrance from the broad side which faces the street. There, a veranda (zayanta) projects, which is raised only a little above the ground and which usually ex-

The houses were all built on the same pattern, only some being taller, wider and of better quality wood and thatch than others. 342

Facing the street in line, each house had a verandah running all along its face, and one step took you up from this into the main room of the house. As you entered, this room extended right up to the roof which sloped very steeply down to its eaves, but about twelve feet in, where the roof was just high enough, a platform upper storey was built, looking over a balustrade into the main room below. This platform storey ended where the sloping roof again became too low at the back. The back portion reaching to the height of the roof was used for kitchen and washing rooms. By this time, in the row of houses containing ours, the ground had sloped down to the creek, and the kitchen was continued as a bamboo platform raised high above the mud on piles.

Grandmother, who had become among the wealthiest in the village, had made enlargements and adaptations within these lines. Her house was wider, with the clearing up of an adjacent house. It contained four door spaces in its face, each door space being a uniform seven feet in width throughout the village. The main floor was of fine polished teak boards, the part below the platform storey was walled off into a bedroom which was very badly ventilated and lighted, the back portion was cleared of all washing rooms and made into a large airy kitchen about 30 feet square, and the platform behind was extended right over the water's edge because we had bought a mooring site further up. On this bamboo platform two hatches were put as bathrooms, containing commodes in the European style, whereas other households walked to the common latrines in the first clearing beyond the street.

The people of Ye lived chiefly by the produce of their gardens, the richer ones like Grandmother sending out to big towns their durians, coconuts, areca nuts, or fish and oysters from the sea, the poorer ones vending fish and vegetables daily around the town, making thatch roofing out of *dani* (nipah) leaves, acting as boatmen up and down the creek, helping to work the gardens and paddy-fields of other families. 244 226 463

My grandmother's household during these years consisted of herself, two aunts, one widow and one spinster, an uncle next to my father in age, my young Uncle Pyant and various cousins, one, two and three wombs removed from us. My elder uncle, Uncle Thet Hnan, had never been out of Ye; after going through the monastery he had worked in the gardens instead of going to an English-teaching school. It gave us an uncanny feeling to see him so like my father in build and general appearance and so dissimilar from him in speech, thought and habits. He now owned gardens up at Chaung-bya, and had five children all of whom had been brought up in Ye. My three boy cousins had been 592

[1 at Ye - Analyst]

527 The younger children of the families also took the precepts, but it was not considered wrong if they felt too hungry or faint to keep to them. Everyone packed up and went home from the resthouse at about four in the afternoon. I found these duty evenings very long and depressing. There was no dinner, my father and mother told beads all evening, and at night their mattresses were removed and they slept only on mats.

428 • 342 We were now living in Grandfather's old house. Grandfather had left it to the four youngest among his children, and my mother had bought out the shares of the others because she was sentimentally attached to it and could not bear to see it pulled down. To others it had seemed an unwieldy shape taking so much good teak which could have built a compact modern house. My mother set about the task of transforming in into a comfortable domestic family house with a nicely disposed front and back, but it was a difficult task. There was no neat garden plot, no face, no bedrooms, but long stretches of gallery and verandah. We fenced off the well so that the village could continue to use it without infringing our privacy, the old big kitchen was dismantled and a compact kitchen made of one of the store-rooms near the washing platform, the old maternity room was stocked with commodes and made into a lavatory, the powder room was used as box-room. Six of us shared the big bedrooms. The altar, the water-pots and meals continued where they had always been. There was a large expanse of shining floor for visitors to sit on mats, and the head of the long verandah held a few chairs. The stable was cleaned up and given to Apana, now an old and rheumy-eyed man, and the downstairs hall, where a school had been, now held our stocks of rubber.

511 563 775 But still there was always so much space, the house seemed vast and empty, and the life so different from our district government houses with a crowd of servants, young men and dependents of all kinds. We felt the change acutely. My sisters were still children who played with each other and had plenty to eat during their short holidays, but I found the evenings silent and sad with the lifeless echoes which the dim light of the floorboards used to send up. I had been to stay at the house for short periods just before my Grandfather died, when I was about three or four years old. Here, where we washed our faces, we looked across to a house now mysteriously barred with a blank wooden face, but then inhabited by *ta-yok chi-thay-mas*, tiny-footed China-women, fabulous creatures according to my nurses, who, though they were slit-eyed and could curse you in an unknown tongue, could be sent reeling back with one touch of a finger. The ta-yok chi-thay-ma had other macabre qualities also. Her child had a big black patch of hair on its arm because it was the reincarnation of his dead sister. At the death of this

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

882 304 and reminiscences of other ceremonies of the kind that they have witnessed. Usually the gold needle is bent round and left in the wound, but poor people sometimes pass a piece of string through and tie it. This is turned round and passed backwards and forwards daily till the sides heal, and then begins the process of enlarging the hole to receive the na-daung, a big tube an inch long and from half an inch to three-quarters in diameter. This takes a very long time, and is less pleasant even than the first boring. Some do it with a gold or thickly gilt metal plate, which is rolled up and passed through the hole. The elasticity of the metal makes it constantly tend to expand, and so the hole is gradually enlarged. A commoner method, however, is by introducing stems of the kaing, or elephant grass. As many of the little stems of the inner blade as will go through are passed in, and daily their number is added to until a considerable width is attained. When kaing grass is not available, little splints of the thekkè kyaung are made use of. This is the ordinary thatch of the poorer sort of houses, and almost universal in the country districts, but forbidden in the large towns on account of its inflammable character. Then, after a time, the nā-kat is brought into use. This is a curious ear-plug, big at both ends, and smaller in the middle, where the two parts screw into one another. The screw is passed through the lobe of the ear, and the other portion is then twisted on. These nā-kat are gradually increased in size, until at last the orifices are large enough to receive the na-daung, the regular ear-cylinders. These are of various make and material, the latter being formerly regulated by the sumptuary laws in independent territory. The royal family, both males and females, had them of gold, richly set with jewels, often a single large brilliant in front, or a diamond surrounded by a ring of emeralds, while the back was a cluster of rubies. The right to wear these was also extended to the higher ministers and their families. Others wear gold, plain hollow tubes, or with the ends filled up with delicate *repoussé* work. Those who cannot afford this content themselves with solid amber plugs, which, when they are without a flaw, are worth three or four pounds sterling apiece. Finally, the poor content themselves with

882 304 301 [369] [342] 301 565

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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CHAPTER IX

THE HOUSE AND ITS BELONGINGS

It is singular that in a country where the pagodas and temples will compare in stately grandeur and symmetry of form with the sacred edifices of any part of the world, and where the monastic buildings, though only constructed of wood, strike the most casual observer with their shapely beauty and wealth of decoration ; it is singular where there is a taste for such edifices and abundance of the architectural skill necessary to erect them, that the Burman should in the vast majority of cases live in the flimsiest of bamboo huts. The original cause may be found perhaps in the stringent regulations of the Yāzagaing. In native Burma the shape of a man's house was fixed for him by law according to his station in life. All were one-storeyed, save where exceptional royal favour had granted the spire-like roof to a distinguished noble or a feudatory chief. Brick houses were forbidden, from the apprehension that the inhabitants might take it into their heads to turn them into fortifications. Gilding was forbidden to all subjects, and permission to lacquer and paint the pillars of their houses granted to but a very few, and it was expressly laid down that no one should have an arch over his door. This may account for the paltry and even wretched appearance of most villages, but it is undeniable that though nowadays, they are very considerably more substantial, yet a rich man never by any chance thinks of building himself a grand house, and remains firmly by the unpretentious model of his ancestors. This is the more curious, because they will spare no expense to buy gay turbans and bright-coloured pasos for themselves, and costly

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2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

517 silks for their wives. The ordinary explanation is that every one can see what clothes you wear, while few people care to come and spy out what kind of a house you live in, and how you fare. But there can be very little doubt that the real reason is a survival of the idea of the old Yāzagaing, as well as the fact that long years of custom have impressed upon everybody the opinion that there are only two forms of architecture, the secular and the ecclesiastical, and no one, no matter how sure he might be that the Government would take no notice of his ambition, would brave the denunciations of the religious by adding a spire to his house, or even adorning the gable ends with carved pinnacles and flamboyant finials of the monasteries. Consequently the one regular form prevails everywhere.

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342 576 The Burman's dwelling, then, is always shaped more or less like a marquee tent, and never more than one storey high, to avoid the humiliating possibility of the feet of some one being over your head. But the whole house stands on posts, so that the floor is seven or eight feet from the ground. It consists often of only one room, usually, however, of two or more, and to the front of the house there is always a verandah, three or four feet lower than the general level of the house, and as often as not quite open to the street, or the garden, or whatever may be in front and always to the sky. The posts which form the main or central part of the house are usually six in number, and all have their names, such as Uyu, Kya-hngan, Nyaung-yan. The south post, in the main part of the house, the Thabye-taing, is the best known, as being always adorned with leaves and particularly marked as that in the top of which most probably lives the nat-spirit of the house. A dead body, after being swathed, and while waiting for the coffin, is always placed by it.

[551] 353 776 [764]

341 787 A house ought never to be built till the foundations have been thoroughly dug up and shown to a soothsayer. He will determine, from the substances found, whether it is a lucky place to build a house in or not. It stands to reason that the building cannot be commenced till a lucky day and hour have been sought out. There is considerable care to be observed in the selection of the timber. Posts are masculine, feminine, and neuter. Male posts are of equal size at both

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

ends; females are larger at the base; those which swell out in the middle are a-thet ma-shi—without life; taing bilu, ogre's posts are largest at the top. As a general rule it may be taken for granted that if a house is built with neuter posts, its inmates will always be miserable and unlucky; if the posts are ogres, death and disaster will attend; male posts are easy-going and harmless; females, on the contrary, are fortunate and leading to honour. But it may happen that the character of the piece of ground on which the house is built upsets all these generalisations, so that it is necessary to get a wise man's opinion before you get your posts. The Deittôn gives many instructions on the subject, and among other things mentions how a man's fortune may be calculated from the Hle-ga-tit, the side pieces of the steps which lead up to the verandah. The presence or absence of knots, and if the former, their position, determines the luck of the householder. 341 787

Poor people use bamboo instead of wood, and make their walls of mats, woven of the same substance, split up. Occasionally, however, they rise to the dignity of common jungle timber. Richer people make use of the invaluable teak, or of pyinkado (*Xylia dolabriformis*), a wood almost as durable, and equally expensive. White ants will attack neither of these. The walls of such houses are planked. The roof is sometimes composed of small flat tiles, but more commonly of thatch. This consists in most places in the Delta of dani, the leaves of the toddy palm, which are first soaked in salt water, a precaution which prevents insects from destroying them. Up country a species of grass called thekkè is universally used. This style of roofing is very satisfactory in every respect but one. It is cheap, easily put on, reasonably water-tight, but very inflammable, and consequently is not allowed in any of the larger towns in the Province. In the smaller stations, however, it is almost universal, and the consequence is that when one house takes fire, the sparks from it kindle all the others, as a matter of course. Consequently, as an imperative measure of protection, every house is provided with a long hooked bamboo, called a mi-cheit, by means of which to pull off all the thatch as soon as a fire breaks out in the neighbourhood, and in 342 565 342 731 355

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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addition to this a mi-kat stands beside it. This is a broad griddle, or flapper kind of thing, and its object is to beat out the flame which may be caused by a spark lighting on the roof. In addition to this, in many parts of the country, pots full of water are always kept in readiness on the tops of the houses, so that when the hour of danger comes, the householder may douse his roof, and so do the best for himself. In Mandalay, under native rule, some of the pa-gwets, and other outcasts, patrolled the streets all night, to watch for and prevent fires as much as possible.

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Another kind of roofing is wā-kat, a sort of flat tile-like construction, six feet long by two feet broad, made of coarse bamboo matting. Bamboos split in half down the centre, and with the knots smoothed away, are also used. They are placed close together, with the hollow side upwards, extending all the way down from the ridge to the eaves, and over these again are placed others with the rounded side up, the whole presenting rather a curious appearance, but making a very serviceable roof and not nearly so dangerous as the leaf or grass thatching. The leaves of other trees are also occasionally used, but the simplicity and cheapness of the dani roof make it by far the most prevalent in the delta, as grass is elsewhere, notwithstanding its danger. In Rangoon and Maulmein, shingles, that is, small wooden slabs like slates, are being very generally introduced.

In the better class of houses the floors are made of planking, but poorer people have nothing better than a series of whole or split bamboos laid side by side on the cross-beams and tied down with rattans. This is not very pleasant to walk on, and has the further disadvantage of being anything but cleanly, for the spaces between the bamboos offer an irresistible temptation to drop all litter and garbage on to the ground immediately underneath the house, and were it not for the pariah dogs the sanitary condition of the place would soon be very bad.

[565]

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The house is thus simple enough in its character, but the furniture is still more so. Intercourse with the English has indeed brought many Burmans to indulge in English luxuries, and in many houses in Rangoon and the larger district towns, chandeliers, bookcases, pictures, and even

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma (Kachin) AP1
Burmese AP4

Be 231 779

customer has gone his way. It used to be a common thing in the palace, during the late king's reign, to let loose a number of birds for the delectation of foreign worshippers at the golden feet, and the expansion of the royal merit. Ill-natured people said all the birds were recaptured in the next room, and appeared again for the next display of charity; but of that I can say nothing.

Be 342 351

Each house, with its ground, is surrounded by a rude fence more or less substantial according to the character of the district. Where there are many tigers or ill-doers, and especially north of Mandalay, where formerly the Kachins might swoop down any night, this is made very high and strong, and is further rendered effective by a formidable array of sharpened bamboos. Except where the British have taken the matter in hand, the village roads are simply places where the jungle is kept from growing. There is no attempt at metalling; in fact there is no material for the purpose. In some pretentious villages indeed there is a raised path formed of bricks set on edge, and about three feet broad. This is regarded as a public work of great value, and a distinction to the inhabitants of the place. It usually leads to the monastery. In many villages, however, it would be impossible to move about during the rains without some such contrivance. The mud would be too deep, and logs are slippery even to bare feet.

Ba. [563] Be 487

Be 854 352 533

Swinging by a couple of ropes from the roof hangs in the centre of the house a rude basket, made snug with a blanket or some old clothes. This is the baby's cradle, and the mother may often be seen sitting by it crooning and gently swaying it backwards and forwards. Some of the lullabies are very clever. I have tried to give a version of one of the most popular, with as near an approach to the metre as practicable. It is sung to the favourite te-dat air.

Be 539

SEIN-NI LA-YAUNG

Clouds in Heaven,
Bright as levin,
Dyed with rosy diamond's light,
Did the Nine Gems
Stud your white hems,

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

about in the streets or among the tombs. If, however, by his talent and virtue, one procures for himself many benefactors, he may receive from them for his habit the following articles, namely, cotton and silk, or cloth of red (of a Thibetan origin) or yellow wool." 792

Candidate. "As I am instructed so will I perform." [342]

"Every member of the society must dwell in a house built under the shade of lofty trees. But if, owing to your zeal and virtue, you procure for yourself many benefactors who are willing to build for you a better habitation, you may dwell in it. The dwelling may be made of bamboo, wood, or bricks, with roofs adorned with spires of pyramidal or triangular form."

Candidate. "I will duly attend to these instructions."

"It is incumbent upon an elect to use as medicine the urine of a cow or of a black bullock, whereon lime and the juice of a lemon or other sour fruit has been poured. He may also use as medicines articles thrown out of markets, or picked up at the corners of streets. He may accept for medicinal purposes nutmegs or cloves. The following articles also may be used medicinally—butter, cream, and honey."

Candidate. "As I am instructed so will I perform."

The newly initiated yahan is now warned against the four sins, the commission of any one of which would entail the loss of the dignity he has just attained.

The Kammawā-sayā goes on: "Elect, being now admitted into our society, it is no longer lawful for you to indulge in carnal pleasures, whether with yourself or with animals. He who is guilty of such a sin can no longer be numbered among the perfect. Sooner shall the severed head be joined again to the neck, and life restored to the breathless body, than a pyin-sin who has committed fornication recover his lost sanctity. Beware therefore lest you pollute yourself with such a crime." 792

Candidate. "As I am instructed so will I perform."

"Again, it is unlawful and forbidden for an elect to take things that belong to another, or even to covet them, although their value should not exceed a quarter of a tical (about six annas). Whoever sins even to that small amount is thereby

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma (Mon) AP1
Burmese AP4

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First in the list of personal spirits may be considered the kosaung nats, a kind of confusion of ideas between the proper spirit and the butterfly spirit, and representing as it were the genius of each individual, a kind of materialised conscience. They are twelve in number, six good and six bad, six male and six female, and regulate the life and doings of their *protégé* accordingly as the benevolent or the malevolent gain the upper hand.

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Next to these comes the eing saung nat, very often called Min-magayi, the guardian nat of the house. For his comfort the tops of all the posts in the house are covered with a hood of white cotton cloth, for it is in this situation that he usually takes up his abode. In almost every house, at the end of the verandah in front, you will find a water-pot full of pareityé, water over which certain gathas, magic spells, or religious formulæ have been uttered by the astrologer, or the prior of the district. This water, which is replenished once a month, or oftener in cases of danger from disease, or when a member of the family is absent on a journey, is every now and then sprinkled about the house as a protection against bilus and spectres, ogres and tasés. When the water is consecrated in this nyaungye-o, which is of a special shape, something like an overgrown Indian spittoon, there are always a few twigs and leaves of the thabyé tree floating on the top. These are mostly taken out and hung round about the eaves, but occasionally left in the water. The inordinately superstitious sometimes keep a small thabyé bin (the sacred eugenia) growing in a pot in the house, so that its benign influence may keep harm away. Talaing houses may usually be known by the cocoa-nut hanging up at the south side of the building. This is covered with strips and tags of yellow or red cloth, and is offered to Min-magayi, whom they call the king of the nats. Of these spirits (called kaluk in their language) they say there are thirty-seven distinct varieties, but Min-magayi rules them all. These are the "thirty-seven nats of Burma," but whether they were borrowed by the Burmese from the Talaings or not seems at any rate doubtful. At the beginning of the wet season they always wrap up the cocoa-nut afresh, and when the rains are over make new offerings of money, glutinous rice, eggs, jaggari, and fruit, in order that the eing saung nat may

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2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

a definite period, and money is charged for admission; but 545
the idea is an English one, and opposed as it is to ancient custom and the old free attractions elsewhere, meets with barely enough support to keep it going. The giver of the pwè simply constructs a small roofed enclosure for himself, if the pwè is held on open ground, and fits it up with a bedstead covered with mats as a kind of private box, with a few chairs and plentiful mats round about it. To this reserved space he invites a few of his most intimate friends, sending them the ordinary little palm-leaf packet of pickled tea by the hands of his daughters or sisters. All other places in the circle are open to the first comer, and when a pwè is announced, women may be seen early in the afternoon strolling down, with rolls of mats on their heads, to secure good places. Abundance of refreshments and materials for smoking are taken, for it will be sunrise before the play is over. The commonest place for a pwè, however, is in the street opposite to the giver's house. All traffic is [342]
unceremoniously stopped. There is nothing to be done but to hoist up the hinged front wall of your house, or throw open the windows and go out on the verandah, if the construction of the building is more solid, and there you are with the theatre come to your doors. There is no trouble with the stage. A circular space is covered with mats and
it is all ready. This is called the pwè-waing. In the centre 536
is a branch of a tree, or the stem of a plantain palm stuck in the ground, which goes by the name of the pan-bin. Yule and others have endeavoured to discover some forgotten meaning for this centre of action, comparing it with the altar of the old Greek stage, but probably it never had any greater significance than to mark the centre of the arena and prevent the audience from crowding in too much so as to curtail the space. The actors when questioned about it always say that it is there to represent a forest, such as forms part of the scene of action in every play. This of course is merely an answer, and not an explanation. Europeans of an inquiring turn are apt to complain of this Burmese (and Scotch) method of supplying information. Why such a phantom attempt at representing a forest should be made, when no effort aims at portraying the

14: Brant E-5 (1949-50) 1954 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

I

THE VILLAGE SETTING AND THE PEOPLE

Tadagale is a suburban community of Lower Burma, about four and one half miles north of the city center of Rangoon, chief port and national capital of the Union of Burma. To reach the village most readily one travels by automobile northward from the city along Prome Road, a main highway, to the junction with Kokine Road, beyond the city limit, on to which one turns eastward. After a quarter mile or so, one again goes northward on to a bumpy, poorly surfaced road which soon becomes dirt and terminates abruptly, after another quarter mile, at a small bridge. Tadagale means 'small bridge,' and it is after this bridge that the village is named. A few steps walk over the bridge brings one almost to the center of Tadagale. (See map on following page.) 101 361

Tadagale is more or less a 'line' type village, about 3000 yards in length. The domestic dwelling area is constituted by houses and granaries strung along the sides of a main dirt path which is just wide enough for a single bullock cart — or a jeep — to pass without scraping the bushes and trees. This area is heavily shaded from the intense tropical sun by many trees that grow in the household compounds and along the path; palms and banyans are the most prominent types. The houses are rectangular in shape, with low, slanting roofs, and platform-like porches in front. Among the more prosperous families of the village it is not unusual to find houses of plank construction, with roofs of corrugated iron. More frequently, houses are made of bamboo matted sides and palm thatched roofs. Every two or three houses share a well, which is simply an unlined and uncovered hole of perhaps ten to twelve feet in depth. In almost every compound there is a vegetable garden, from which the family supplies itself and realizes some cash income by the sale of any surplus. 361 342

To the east of Tadagale's dwelling area, perhaps five hundred yards distant and running parallel to it, is a railroad line, which begins in Rangoon and terminates at Mingaladon, about five miles north of Tadagale. A small railroad station is located at the eastern terminus of the path on which one finds oneself immediately after crossing the bridge that leads into the village. The villagers do not use the railroad nearly so much as they use buses, which run from Tadagale to Rangoon frequently. 101 496 494

Beyond the railroad line, still farther east, lie the paddy fields, extending out to the winding Pazundaung Creek. This creek begins at the southeastern tip of Rangoon, where the Rangoon and Pegu rivers join, and flows in a twisting course northward to separate Rangoon and the heavily populated area immediately north of the city from the sparsely settled area to the east. 361 133

Tadagale's climate is that of the tropical monsoon belt, with three well-defined seasons. From the end of October to about the end of February is the Dry Season, characterized by the absence of rain, with cool mornings and evenings. The daily maximum temperature is in the 80's and the humidity is moderate. English-speaking Burmese call this season winter; at night it is cool enough to sleep under one light blanket. The Hot Season commences at the beginning of March and lasts until June. Temperatures rise to daily maxima in the middle to high 90's, the earth is parched and cracked, and the loose dirt on the village paths, caught by occasional breezes, forms choking 132

342 514 In U Myaing's house the lavatory is in the kitchen and is walled off with woven KYU (kind of fiber) mat. There is a hole cut open in the board flooring, and the area underneath this opening also is walled off with woven KYU. U Myaing and family did not take their meals in the kitchen but in the house proper.

361 368 346 [872] [364] The PHON-GYI KYAUNG or monastery is located further downstream from the village. It is a two storied brick building comprised of nine rooms, each 6 TAUNG square. Children are not taught here but learn their lessons at the government school. This school, which is on YWA-GYI-HET side, teaches pupils up to the tenth standard. Below the PHON-GYI KYAUNG is the cemetery.

The houses in the village are separated one from the other by eight feet on each side. The rows of houses facing the river have porches on 342 both sides. U Myaing's house is typical of those found in the village - some may be more elaborate, some less. His house had been built only 435 [651] six or seven years, and cost Rs. 3000/- at that time. There are no accounts for each of the separate items and U Myaing does not remember. The land was free and they did not have to pay any revenue on it. [366] Separate from the houses and on the riverside is a huge platform built [252] to process fish including the making of NGAPI. U Myaing had no land that he owned round the house, although he could use the land directly in front of the house for various purposes.

U Myaing describes his house as follows;

342 592 "It is a wooden house, made of wooden posts - a two storied structure. The roof is of slates. Walls are of SHI-NGA-MU wooden boards (boards 8 inches wide and about ½ inch thick) and there are four rooms. Other people have similar houses. It is a LAY-BIN-KIN (a four-tree-house or a house which has four supporting poles across the frame) and all seven of us live in the house. We drop a kitchen from the back and cook there. The kitchen has three windows at the back, with one door leading into the house. We all live together in three rooms. We keep bedrooms. (U Myaing is speaking of a sketch of the house here). This side is for visitors - there is a room for people who come to buy goods. The [366] old mother and the children live in one room and I and my wife in another with the smallest child. We eat in the front part of the house in one room at the foot of the sleeping place. There are nine 6 TAUNG rooms without partitions on each of the two floors. The sides of the house are enclosed with timber planks of IN wood, but the bedrooms are also partitioned off. It is very wide and roomy to live in. The floor is made of teak planks."

It will be noted that most of the living takes place on the downstairs floor where the bedrooms and the porch are located. The alter is also located downstairs 342 [512] [778]

U Myaing explained that the alt r should be upstairs but it was more convenient downstairs. The posts on which the house rests rise a few feet above the ground. In all there are about 15,050 cubic feet enclosed by the house. Of this amount 1450 cubic feet are used for sleeping quarters for the family, 729 cubic feet is devoted to religion in the alter room, and 800 cubic feet is used in the kitchen for preparing food. The rest of the space is for social functions including visitors and relaxation, with some space used for storage.

In Pathma there were no beds and no chairs except for one deck chair which had been handed down to U Myaing from his father. There were however, five small stools about four inches high and measuring about 12" by 6". These stools did not have four legs but instead were made of one flat board hammered onto two boards laid on their ends. They had one four legged stool measuring 2½ feet by 1½ feet and about 8 inches high. This was utilized as a chess board. (U Myaing and three or four others played chess four or five times a month in the afternoons. Their house was the only one in the village to possess a board and chessmen, U Myaing having received it from a cousin.) There was another stool about two feet high and one and a half feet square to hold the KYAUK KAR food carrier. 352 [428] [524] [415]

There were also two round Burmese tables. The smaller one was about three feet in diameter and one foot tall. Ma Aye Myaing could not estimate the diameter of the larger one but she remembered that eight men could eat at a time at this table, and that people who gave charities often came to borrow it for that reason. [426]

There was a three legged stand for holding two water pots. The pots were placed on two horizontal triangles formed one about two feet above the other by the peices of wood holding together the three upright feet of the stand. This stand was made by U Myaing at home.

They also possessed two cupboards bot of which had been handed down to U Myaing by his father. The first one, used for holding clothes, was three TAUNG high, two and one half TAUNG wide and little less than one [428]

Home in Lowis Road Refugee Camp

Since November 1949 U Myaing and his family have been living in the Lowis Road refugee camp, Rangoon. They had stopped at half a dozen places prior to their present abode, but their living had been on very much the same scale. The refugee camp is located about a mile north of the Shwe Dagon Pagoda on a hilly promontory. The area is not far from Tiger Alley (U Wisara Road) and along this road and others nearby, huts have been built up within the last few years, largely by war refugees. The buildings of the camp were earlier used as headquarters and barracks by the People's Volunteer Organisation (P.V.O.). The P.V.O. is an offshoot of the Burmese Patriot's Army following the end of the Second World War. It was originally an army, but after independence was converted into an "organisation" for political purposes. A Yellow Band and a White Band section developed and the White P.V.O.s becoming insurgents.

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The vital statistics of the camp as given by U Khant, the school master are as follows:- 269 families comprised of 856 adults (LU GYI), 211 young people (LU LAT), and 33 infants (NO SO) live in 15 huts . The number of families in each hut ranges from 9 in the smallest to 36 in the largest. The infant category includes those babies who are still breast feeding - up to one year of age. The adult category begins at the age of voting - 18 years. The proportion of the three categories as shown in the totals remains fairly consistent for each of the houses indicating that there are no special age-grade habitations. The refugees come for the most part from the Delta area of Lower Burma, from the districts of Pantanaw and Bassein but they have not organised themselves in their huts according to the district or village from which they come. The assignment of space has been on a pragmatic base according to who arrived at what time. The buildings consisted for the most part of rectangular huts measuring 30 feet by 60 feet with woven split bamboo walls and thatched roofs. When the area was converted into a refugee camp, each family was assigned a certain space which they then partitioned off. A map of the refugee camp area shows a haphazard plan. The only

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[792] 722 361 / 792 361 apparently meaningful locations would be the huts of the PHON-GYIS located on the peripheries of the camp on local promontories.

The new PHON-GYI KYAUNG near the entrance of the camp was built by others, not by the refugees. The one at the back, on the other hand, was built by contributions among the refugees themselves. One PHON-GYI and one small boy reside here. The PHON-Gyi from the new KYAUNG comes for HSOON (food giver to begging monks) once in a while. A third PHON-GYI KYAUNG at the far rear also was in existance before U Myaing's arrival at camp. Here also resides one PHON-GYI and one small boy.

723 362 U Myaing came by himself to camp and took possession of the place he now lives in. The camp-head assigned the place to him. When they first arrived in Rangoon they had to rent a room at HPA-HSA-PA-LE-KWETTHIT (an area of huts arganised by the Anti-facists Peoples Freedom League, the political party now in power) for a period of 2½ months at Rs. 17/8 per month. This was because they did not know of the refugee camp. They learnt of its existence just as their money ran out, and they shifted over.

U Myaing is of opinion that since he is installed in these quarterssno other family will come to put up there, but admits that if they did, he would not have any right to drive them out, since he does not own the place. He is a comparative latecomer to the camp. Other families have been here for nearly two years now, while U Myaing arrived only 10 months ago. The extensions to the eaves of the roof were made by U Myaing. The condition of the camp when he came was very much the same as it is now. Only two additional huts and one PHONGYI KYAUNG have been erected since. He considers that his quarters are slightly better off than those of others in that there is less bustle and confusion in the buildings.

722 342 The quarters assigned to U Myaing are formed by the extension of the eaves of a rectangular house. The house, which measures 60 feet long by 20 feet wide has bamboo matwalls about 10 feet high, is floored with stone paves and has six windows 3 feet square on the long sides. There is a door 3 feet wide at one end. The roof is gabled with a ridge pole from which 8 rafters sixteen feet long are attached. The extensions of the roof consist of thatched leaves on

a bamboo frame extending for about eight feet. The interior of the house contains piles of small boxes in which the bones and ashes of the P.V.O. dead are stored. Consequently no one lives inside. Seven families live under theeaves on three sides of the house along a narrow strip nine feet wide. The area is divided into a number of rooms "6 TAUNG square - the same room size as in the Pathwe house." U Myaing's family occupies 2½ such rooms at the corner of the building. The hard space varies from 8 feet against the wall of the house to less than two feet at the edges of the eaves. A break in the eaves forms an entrance at the corner. Figuring one room to be equivalent to a 6 foot square room 3½ feet high, we arrive at a total of 315 cubic feet of living space for the 2½ rooms. [764] 722 342●

One and a half rooms are covered with a slightly raised bamboo floor on which U Myaing and his family sleep. A space 6' long by 2' wide is used as a work area and for social purposes, but this is not rigorously claimed, since the adjacent family frequently uses it as a storage space. In speaking of the refugee camp quarters U Myaing says:

> "It is very narrow (cramped) here. We eat and sleep in the same place. At Pathwe we kept 2 rooms separately to sleep in. Our house there was very wide and roomy. Here we sleep and cook all in one place." [511]

The sleeping and eating area is separated from the adjacent family by a woven split bamboo partition about 5 feet high; at five feet three inches from the floor, a number of bamboo poles criss-cross to form rafters on which objects are stored.

Here the sleeping mats are rolled up, along with sleeping equipment which consist of U Myaing's wooden pillow, makeshift pillow of rag bundles, 1 holey woolen blanket. One mosquito net used by U Myaing and his wife is also suspended from these rafters. At the far end of the bamboo flooring, there are three baskets. One of these baskets contains the women's clothing; another contains rice. Two clay pots are at the side. The altar consists of a slant board placed on the wall above the sleeping area and equipped with a flower vase. The objects found in the cooking area are: "U" shaped fire area made by 3 bricks touching on edge, bamboo stool for Ma Aye Myaing, hollow bamboo blow tube for starting fire, cooking pots, 352 415 [252]

cloth, small enough to keep mosquitos out. The other kind was made of plain cloth to keep out the smallest insects. The nets are rectangular for a single bed, square for a double. They are suspended over the bed on a wooden framework and tucked under the mattress. Pathme: three were used by the family and two kept in reserve. Each lasted 4 or 5 years. The reserve nets cost Rs. 60/- each, the others Rs. 40/- or 45/- each. Camp: one old one was brought from Pathme, this is used by U Myaing and his wife. The rest of the family have none. Two are desired. 513 [435]

TA-BYET-SEE, broom: The hand broom is used to brush out dust and dirt from the floor of the house. It is about 2 feet long, 2 inches in diameter and consists of bent over bunches of stiff reeds bound at the top by a more flexible reed strip. The one used in camp cost 12 annas in Rangoon. 356 415

Burmese Concepts about the Home.

The following Burmese ideas about the home were secured mainly from Ko Maung Than, my research assistant. 342 183

The Burmese regard the MIN-YAR (home place) with great love, and as the most essential feature of life. The head of a family will frequently admonish: "My young ones let us remain with our nest intact and our eggs uncracked", this is also a common prayer. The ideal is to preserve the family home with necessary repairs in its original form. Wooden (teak) houses are preferred to bamboo. The husband and wife are partners in the ownership of the home which they start at marriage. Indeed, the word for "marriage" MIN-DAUNG-PYU (Home-separately-build) emphasizes the importance of building a home upon starting a family. In villages the mother and children spend almost all of their time in and around the home. Since the Burmese are especially sedentary, short journeys being unusual and infrequent events, the house is the spot where he lives and dies. It is furthermore his "castle" and place of security within which he is "ruler". [592] [591] [484]

Each house is under the direct protection of MIN MAHA-GIRI one of the 37 major nats of Burma. He controls the fortunes of the family and in return is revered. A coconut, the symbol of MIN- 342 776 782

342 MAHA-GIRI, is found in nearly every house (a junior member of a
776 family need revere only the symbol of the senior member of a family).
782 A dried coconut with attachment stems is placed in a basket, the top wrapped with a KAUNG-BONG (Head-wrap) of red and white cloth streamers and the basket hung on a nail to the primary corner post of the house. It must be adjusted correctly, and periodically sprinkled with sandlewood water. An interesting story explains the use of the coconut symbol.

773 MAUNG TIN DE, a blacksmith of great powers had two beautiful sisters who he feared would be coveted by the king of the city in which they lived. He asked them for this reason to remain in seclusion. One day he returned from work to find them gone. He became very angry and pounded his anvil till the city shook and the people suffered from earache. For a while he eluded persuit but was finally caught and burned to death. Afterwards he became a powerful nat called MIN MAHA-GIRI with powers of protecting households. Since the coconut signifies coolness and thirst-quenching it came to be offered to the nat who had died from fire.

MIN MAHA-GIRI is consulted if sickness or other misfortunes visit the family. At such times the head of the family checks the coconut offering to make sure it is in good condition. If not this is remedied for much misfortune could be the result of MIN MAHA-GIRI's displeasure at being neglected. When a journey is contemplated he is also appealed to for protection. A lesser nat TON GIN O is in charge of the kitchen and more specifically the hearth. Ko Maung Than knew little of this
[563] nat since it is of minor importance or not considered in Mon households.

342 The home is very important as a place for socio-religious functions
[788] many ceremonies involving groups of people are observed or in part take place in the house (see below in socio-religious section).
[574] Social visiting is also common and much enjoyed.
Hospitality, related to but differentiated from charity, gains merit for the host. There is a saying that visitors "come only when the home is pleasant."

512 The home, of course, performs a major "function" as a sleeping
805 place, and there are many beliefs and observances in connection with
513 sleep. The evening hours are divided into LU NYAT THET SHIK (children

quiet), the time when the children become quiet, from 7 to 8, 9 to 10 p.m. is known as THATKYI-KAUNG-CHA (oldage-head-drop) when the elders begin to nod; from 11 to midnight and beyond is LUKLIN-PYAN CHAIN (Bachelors'-return-time) when young men complete their carousing and return to sleep. AND (dawn) comes at the second cocks'crowing (first is at mid-night) about 4 o'clock. The KALA-INT (Indians-marching in) hollow wooden drum is struck in the phongyi-kyoungs at this time to awaken the village. The women who prepare breakfast, and the old folks who rise to worship appear at this time - but others may sleep on for an hour or so. 512 805 513

It is obligatory to wash the legs and feet before retiring. In warm weather a mat is preferred for coolness - but in colder and damp weather a mattress is considered necessary for protection. Prayers taking from 2 minutes (most) up to considerably longer are generally said before bed-time. These praise Buddha and include such supplications as "may I be lifted up to heaven soon." Dreams may be good or bad according to the disposition of the mats. Certain dreams have meanings applicable as omens. It is during sleep that the ghost of a recently departed loved one contacts the sleeper and, sometimes, succeeds in luring him away permanently. 513 [515] 782 828 [775]

Analysis of Some Standard in Pathee and in Refugee Camp.

The Pathee home was in nearly every way superior to refugee camp home. Let us examine the nature of this superiority and attempt to see the adjustment which U Myaing made in the refugee camp. The Pathee home was an independent unit as compared to the refugee camp apartment-like home. However we may not assume that U Myaing found this a disadvantage, since living in Pantanaw was "close". The quarters in the one case were separated by half a dozen feet and on the other by a bamboo partition. An important difference is that the Pathee home was owned by U Myaing and he had inalienable rights there, whereas the refugee camp apartment was loaned to him for a short time period. 511 722 342

Only about one-fiftieth of the space was available in the refugee camp (15,000 cubic feet in Pathee, 315 cubic feet in camp.) However, 511 722 361 342

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much of the Pathwe space was not vital in that it was used for social or storage functions only. 2987 cubic feet were used in Pathwe for sleeping, cooking, and religious purposes,-approximately 20% of the total amount of space. However, all of the space in the refugee camp was used for these vital purposes. About 1/10th of the Pathwe space for these functions was available in the camp. In commenting on the differences, U Myaing especially stressed the lack of space and the fact that all functions had to be done in the same enclosure. He did not seem particularly bothered about the lack of space for social functions or visitors.

There seemed to be no difference regarding costs of housing - non-existent in both cases beyond the original investment in Pathwe. Also there is no difference regarding use of land surrounding house. The reduction of space available for the altar from a six taung room to a place on the wall seemed to be regarded lightly. The Pathwe house was undoubtedly healthier with its windows and open space, and this handicap will be further discussed under the heading of health.

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There is considerable difference in the house furnishings of the two places. The quality and the quantity of the objects in the refugee camp are considerably lower. The bric-a-brac (porcelain duck glass elephant, and porpelain water jug) were lost in Pathwe and regretted because of sentimental value. The earthen-ware jars used for storing fish have no use here and are not "desired", but the HNOCK vessels would be useful now. These would cost about Rs. 25/- apiece here. The KYAUK-KAN food carrier is also desired and this would cost Rs. 10/- here. Mosquito nets for Daw Aw Zar and the children would certainly be desirable, but these would cost over Rs.30/- even if made from cheap plain material.

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The tables used in Pathwe are not found in camp since the family sit on the floor on the mats and hold their dishes in their laps, and one stool is used in camp and this by Ma Aye Myaing in preparing the food. Storage containers including cupboards and boxes have been dispensed with and their place taken by baskets in camp. The bedding in camp lacks the comforts of mattress and adequate mosquito nets and pillows. The point must be made however, that U Myaing's family is used to sleeping on hard surfaces and it may not be supposed that the

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or her daughters or sons who are financially well-to-do. U Myaing's sister who lives in Rangoon has given help to the eldest daughter by housing her near her cheroot-rolling job. The pattern of mutual aid among the relatives is strongly developed among the Burmese. "A tree will support a thousand birds" emphasises the importance of the relative who makes good for the rest of the family.

Relationship of Family to Community and State

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A large portion of the Pathwe community were related to U Myaing. Consequently many reciprocal activities fell within the family group. Most of the activities were prescribed by virtue of being a member of the community rather than by kinship ties. Such activities include cooperation in house raisings, funerals, marriage festivals, SHIN PYU ceremonies where the family involved needs help. Unpleasant occasions such as funerals demand everyone's attendance if not financial participation.

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On pleasant occasions the participants are apt to be one's friends and relatives. When someone builds a small house or puts a new thatch roof on, the other villagers come to help. He does not have to pay the workers anything or even feed them. He has only to cook and prepare for them the raw foods and chillies, onions, etc., which each one brings for himself. This statement, however, holds true only when small houses are built. Regular carpenters have to be hired to build the big ones. U Myaing frequently helped to build other people's houses - small houses that could be completed in a day. Help of this nature is offered without asking.

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When a person dies in the village, the villagers all go to the house and certain elders help to bathe and dress the corpse and place it on the bed, where it may be kept anywhere from three to seven days before being taken out and buried. The ground for burial is bought at the ceremony for the price of one pice. Now, in keeping with the general inflation, the price has risen to one anna. The grave is dug by the young men's group. The young men of the village carry the bier, or pull the bullock cart on which the coffin rests, and dig the grave. They also provide the orchestra. For performances on the night of the death and the day after a Burmese orchestra is engaged at the rate of Rs. 50/- to Rs. 100/-. The various visitors who come to condole with

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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12. BABY'S BATH.

CHAPTER II

CHILDHOOD

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13. THE RATTAN CRADLE (PAKET).

THE cradle and the flower-stand are the two things that strike one in every Burman dwelling by the care bestowed on them. The plainest cradle has a turned rail and a carved headpiece (p. 8). The cradle swings by ropes to which the mosquito curtain is tied. The bed is made of a cotton mattress and a few plies of cloth. The infant is swaddled while its mother is lying in, and for a week or two later according to the season of the year. After that it wears only necklets and bangles. The first clothes the child gets are for grand occasions, after it has learned to run about and take care of itself. When the mother has recovered, she takes her babe with her wherever she goes, and if a wood or cane cradle is not handy she slings the infant in a plain hammock of cloth (No. 284). The Burmans do not carry their young children in a sling on the back like the hill people, but on the hip as soon as they can sit up (Nos. 327, 424).
854 When the babe is hardy enough to go without covering, it spends its waking
●342 hours on a smooth mat spread over a springy bamboo floor which somewhat

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

14. BURMAN MOTHER AND INFANT.

tempers Nature's discipline of knocks and bumps, as compared with the bare hard ground of the Indian hut. Nevertheless the young Burman's converse with his environment is unrestricted enough. By the time he is a year old he may be trusted to himself on a flimsy platform many feet off the ground or over the water. There are few things in the way of the child that it may not handle. The very cheroot its mother is smoking is a coveted plaything. The daily bath at the river-side or well has familiarised the child with another element. It may rush out into the first tropical shower and splash to its heart's content with its older playmates in the first tepid puddle. The Burman's regular exclamation of wonder or fear is "mother!"—*amè*.

When the child is a few months old, relatives and friends are assembled and entertained with tea and sweets to witness the ceremony of piercing the ears and giving a name. The Burmans have no patronymics. The name is chosen from a set of current euphemisms proper to the days of the week and their planets, according to the star presiding over the day of birth. The fancy of the parents and the prognostics of the soothsayer unite to decide the choice. Names are single or are compounded from two series (in Arakan from three). Common names, beginning with the "Sunday-son," are Ôn, Kyaw, San, Shwe, Po, Tha, Dun. Men's and women's names are taken from the same sets; only the courtesy-prefixes differ (p. 74). The needle-hole made in the lobe of the ear on the naming-day is expanded by means of plugs and rolls of heat. In the course of a few years the lobe takes a plug one-half to three-quarters

15. MUDLARKS.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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120. CLEANING RICE WITH THE HAND-MILL.

in every town. A basket (*din*, bushel) of cleaned rice (*san*) costs three to four rupees, and lasts a man about a month. The loss of volume in cleaning is about twenty-five per cent., and the cost of the unhusked grain about one-third of that of rice. For cakes and sweets, rice is ground with water in the Indian stone hand-mill. After first soaking, it is passed through the mill repeatedly until it forms a creamy fluid, which is strained and used while fresh. Wheaten bread is a novelty.

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The houses in Burma are mostly built of bamboo. The giant bamboo (*wabô*), a denizen of the evergreen hills, is cultivated in the plains for house-posts and masts and side-buoys of boats. Its culms attain a height of eighty feet and a girth at the butt of two feet. Every bamboo jungle supplies the rest of the material for the house. No tools are needed for bamboo work, but the universal *dâ*—a sabre, trimmer, chopper, according to its proportions (No. 231). With the *dâ* the bamboos are hewn, split open and slit into withes (*hnî*) for lashing. Thin-walled bamboos are opened out into broad planks for the walls of the houses (*tayân*). Stout thick-walled bamboos are shaped into narrow planks for flooring, or the floor is laid of round bamboos laçed down at intervals. Loose planks of wood are becoming general for floors, even in houses built of bamboo (p. 119). Every Burman can handle the *dâ*, but not so expertly as the hill people. The house-posts, floor-girders, and principal frames are frequently of timber, and outlast several relays of the bamboo-work, which decays in a few seasons. The inducement to keep a material clean and neat which has soon to be replaced is not great, and engenders negligent habits. In the better houses, bamboo is only used for the walling and the roof rafters.

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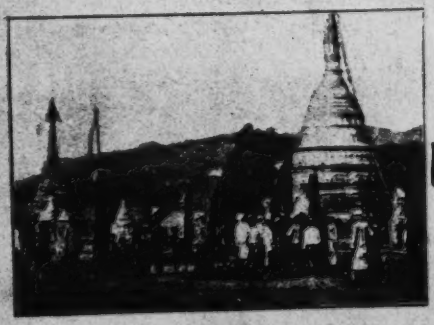
121. WINNOWING GRAIN IN THE WIND.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

132. CUTTING GIANT BAMBOO (WABO).

and the roof-rafters. Straight trees are selected for posts, and are either left plain, or the sapwood is dressed off, or they are dubbed octagonal; the timbers are rough-hewn with the *dâ*. Posts of hard and durable wood (*pyinkadô*) are also squared, and the scantlings for the timbers cut with the saw. A special significance attaches to the posts of the house. It is thought unlucky if birds alight on them before they are roofed in. Sham bows and arrows are set at the heads of the posts to scare them (*hugemmana*). Besides the miniature bow-and-arrow stuck in bazár goods to scare crows, this is the only form in which the long-bow and arrow survive in Burma; in practice, arrows are used with a crossbow (No. 204) and pellets with the plain bow (*le*), and that not extensively. Another curious custom is the one of laying a piece of cloth between the head of the post and the wall-plate as a propitiation to the *nat* of the tree (p. 187). Before the large posts of temples are reared, their heads are hung with offerings, which the workpeople afterwards share among themselves. The front bays of the house have a floor only a few feet off the ground (*kyaunlèing*)—unless where the flood-levels require it to be higher—making a verandah, the common or unenclosed portion of the house, free to strangers. The back bays have a floor about four cubits off the ground or above the lower floor. A bamboo or wooden ladder connects the floors. The upper floor is enclosed all round, and has one or two bays partitioned off. A pent-roof covers the cooking-place and grain-bin, where the rice-pounders and implements are stored as well; or else there is a shed for



133. REARING THE POSTS OF THE WUT.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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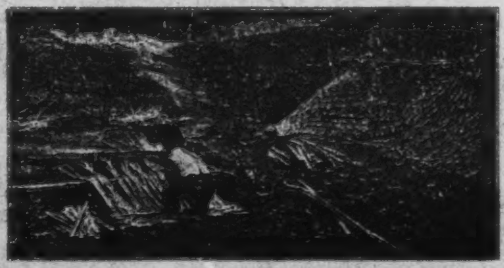
124. LASHING THE ROOF-POLES.

these (No. 16). Frequently the water-stand is a separate erection, opening into one of the lower bays. There are several kinds of roof-thatch, of which the commonest is *thekkè*, a broad-leaved grass, bound on sticks of split bamboo. The leaf of the *danè* palm makes the best thatch. The large leathery leaf of the *in* tree is also used. A roofing material called *wagàt* is made of bamboo shingles, of which strips are held together by three or four wattles, handy for tying to the rafters. This material is less inflammable than *thekkè*. Tiles and modern wooden shingles can only be used on strong roof-frames. Floor-mats of the stoutest kind are [285] plaited of the outer silicious rind of the bamboo (*knt-dyaw*). Common mats are plaited of the inner fibre split into withes, one half to three-quarters of an inch broad, and about one-twentieth in thickness. Finer and more pliable mats are made of the reed *thàbàw*. The finest of all are made of the outer skin of the *thin* plant. *Thimbyu* is the universal sleeping-mat.

286 The cloth used in Burma is now, for the most part, imported, as are also the
283 cotton yarns, both plain and coloured. Nevertheless, the domestic cloth industry continues to flourish in the villages. Native textile cotton (*wà*) is of two varieties, one white, the other dun. The cotton, after being culled from the plants, is seeded between wooden rollers. The fibre, caked together by the rollers, is scutched by flicking it off the string of a bow into a basket, where the fibres disperse again. It is then worked between the palms into flakes convenient for the spinner (*baing-kngin*). The plain spindle, common everywhere in [413] India, is obsolete in [285] Burma where even the hill-people use the wheel (*yiè*). With the exception of the stuff for the



125. PLAITING WALL-MATS.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

With the exception of the stuff for the recluses' robes, cloth is not dyed in the piece, but in the yarn. Dyes used for cotton are also chiefly imported, but the indigenous dyes continue to be used for silk. The Burmans excel in yellows, oranges, deep reds, and rich deep greens, which they harmonise with beautiful effect. Their clear blues and purples are indifferent. Except in a few localities, where weaving is a speciality, the men take no share in the industry beyond constructing the looms. Women spin and dye the yarn and weave the cloth. The lath of the loom (*lekha*) is of graceful outline—often elaborately carved—and is furnished with two ornamented metal pins, with loose metal rings, that jangle at each swing of the beam, and proclaim the industry of the young woman, to whom this business chiefly falls. Hence it comes that the loom is a favourite *rendezvous*. The same applies to other occupations of the girls, such as rice-cleaning, when the suitor will take a turn at the heavy part of the work and lounge while the sifting goes on. Common patterns of cloth are tartans, for which two or three shuttle-spools are required. The plainest cloth woven is at least shot with a colour different to that of the warp. The intricacy of a pattern is denoted by the number of spools. Scroll patterns (*cheik*) in silk are called *hnu-tayâ* (hundred-spool). The warp is a cubit wide and about twenty cubits long, which makes a man's loin-cloth (*pasô*). The piece is doubled and its edges sewn together along one side; the turn of the cloth serves as a bag or wallet, according as the piece is draped; it has no lining. The *pasô* is hitched round the loins and girt long or short, according to fancy, without the help of a belt; but elastic belts are now coming in. The slack is worn in a bunch in front (*hahdungzu*) or is thrown over the shoulder.

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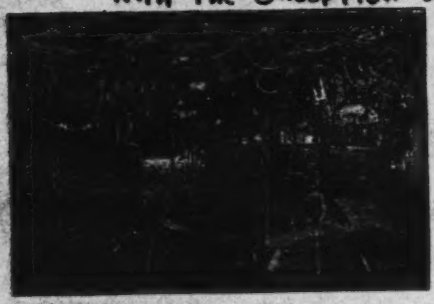
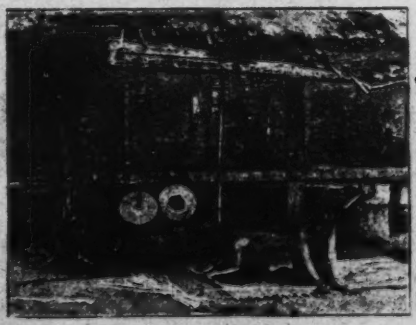


126. BINDING THE THATCH.



127. PLAITING FLOOR-MATS (see p. 66).

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25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 API Burma
Burmese AP4

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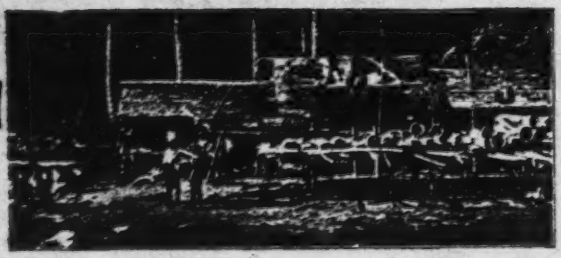

200 SEA-FISHERMEN'S HUTS

to eke their living by. The typical reprobate who is reclaimed in Buddhist legend is the hunter (*máso*). The religious stigma would probably be less severe if the scope of the chase were not so restricted as it is. In the forests of Burma, with their dense cover, forage for herbivores is scarce at certain seasons, so that game cannot multiply extensively. Such game as there is has a wide beat, and is hard to find owing to the vast preponderance of forest land over clearing. For the same reason the game that forages in the cultivation or on its borders has a limited field in Burma. In the plains near the sea there is a closer approach to the conditions of *shikár* in India, and the chase becomes more of a recognised occupation. There are four species of deer: the *sat* (*sámbar* of India), the *dayè* (porcine deer), *dyí* (barking deer, roe), and a beautiful species peculiar to the Eastern Peninsula, the *thamlu* (brow-antlered deer), which has the form and stature of our red deer. *Thamlu* are found in the plains on the coast of Pegu, and again in the north-west of Burma Proper. On dark nights these deer are hunted with the *ut-on*. A lantern is prepared, with three sides dark. The flare is directed towards the deer, which are so dazed by it that they may be approached up to striking distance. The herd is deceived at the same time by the tinkling of cow-bells. Smaller deer, *dayè* and *dyí*, are caught with nets in the plains of the coast. Hunters watch at their haunts for them to break cover and come out into the cane-fields or other cultivation. A stout net, a couple of yards wide, stiffened at intervals with bamboo uprights, is run across the line of retreat, opposite to

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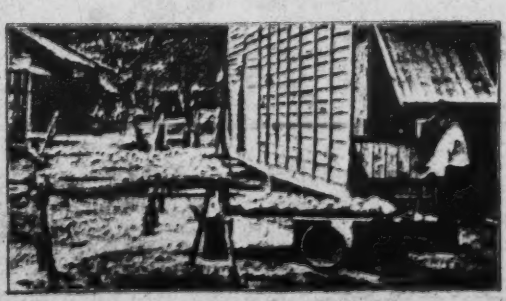

201 POUNDING NGAPI.

31:Scherman--4A E-4 (no date) 1915 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4
Southeast Asia AL1

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[p. 204]

[For description see page 4, category 116.—Analyst]

341 family (in the year 1887), the Burmese rejects the idea of covering his house with princely trimmings in the manner of the occidental upstart. He prefers to adopt European comfort directly. Now the display of greater luxury no longer jeopardizes property and life, as in the days of Burmese despotism when one had to guard against the avarice of princes and powerful officials.

342 576 The Burmese dwelling, the simple hut just as the resplendent palace and monastery, has only one storey. Of course we must disregard innovations which gradually encroach, through occidental influence. The main reason probably lies in the belief of the people that it is undignified to stay under the feet of others. This would be particularly unbecoming for monks; in a modern two storey brick building in Mandalay which had once belonged to a Burmese princess, I saw a separate staircase, specially built for visiting monks which led directly from the entrance over the ground floor into the upper storey.

342 The size and the layout of the house (3)

3. About the construction of the Burmese house: Gazeteer of Upper Burma and the Shan States (Rangoon, 1900/01), Part I, /205/ Vol. 2, pp. 161 ff., M. and B. Ferrars, Burma, 2nd ed. (London, 1901), pp. 56 ff.; Shway Yoe (Scott), "The Burman, His Life and Notions," 3rd ed. (London, 1910), pp. 76 ff. The above-mentioned Gazeteer, a very informative and important work, will always be quoted below as UBG.

varies in accordance with the needs and the /205/ means of the occupants. The average Burmese house (Plate IV, 1) has its entrance from the broad side which faces the street. There, a veranda (zayanta) projects, which is raised only a little above the ground and which usually ex-

342 tends across the entire front. The veranda has its own roof, and can frequently be closed against the outside with portable bamboo mat walls. It serves as an easily accessible place, even for strangers, also as a workroom and shop, and as a favorite gathering place for the family during the daytime. From there, ladders or steps lead to the elevated rear section of the house, where the livingroom, the bedrooms and the kitchen (mibo) are. The latter is usually [343] detached. It opens to the rear, and has its own platform and means of ascent. The cooking stove [354] consists of a flat box (4) filled with sand and

4. Burmese, Shan, and the mountain tribes of Burma and Assam, also the Siamese and Malayans use the flat, sand-filled fireplace; India and China the mud stove. This is probably due to pile dwellings versus level ground architecture.

ashes on which the wood fire is lit. During the dry season the cooking is done preferably in the open, near or under the house. The simple village house has frequently only one inside room. The veranda, especially where the water level during the rainy season makes it mandatory, is frequently found to be an open wide platform of the same height as the rest of the house (1 1/4 to 1 1/2 meters) (Plate IV, 2). The peasant keeps his rice stores either in the kitchen wing, [343] or in small sheds (also on piles) close to the house where the rice containers, the mortars, pestles for the husking, etc. are kept. Under the piles of the house usually stands the weaving loom on which the women and girls (5) work

[562] 5. As to the women who theoretically (in accordance with religious principles) though not in practice, rank

[562] below the man and are not accorded full value as human beings, one does not consider this a degredation, although to be under inhabited floors (see above)[1] would be considered as a disgrace for others.

•342 industriously. Weaving in Burma is still one of the most important home industries. Otherwise the room under the house is used only for storage [231] of household and agricultural implements, and also at night as a stable for buffaloes and cattle if there are no protective roofs provided for them. On top of such roofs the fodder grass is piled up.

A large Burmese house (Plate IV, 3) gives the impression of a composite of several individual buildings (6) standing on a platform. This is

[171] 6. The accounts of P.A. Thompson, Lotus Land (London, 1906), p. 40, and F. Swettenham, British Malaya (London, 1907), p. 151, show that this Burmese house-type with its detached sections, surrounded by a platform, is also customary in the lowlands of Siam and on the Malayan Peninsula. It is also known in Sumatra, according to M. Moszkowski, "Beiträge zur Entwicklungsgeschichte des Wohnhauses in Ostsumatra" /Contributions to the History of the Development of Houses in East Sumatra/, Archiv für Anthropologie /Archive for Anthropology/, Vol. 37, (1910), pp. 11-13, Figure 21.

P. Sarasin in "Über die Entwicklungsgeschichte des griechischen Tempels aus dem Pfahlhause" /History of the Development of the Greek Temple out of the Pile House/, Zeitschrift für Ethnolologie

[1] [see category 116, page 5.— Analyst]

31: Scherman--8 E-4 (no date) 1915 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

/Journal for Ethnology/ 39 (1907)
342 pp. 59 ff. has pointed out what constitutes the difference between the above-mentioned composite buildings and the prehistoric pile dwellings.

due to the fact that every part of the building has its own roof. The roofs of the two major sections run parallel to each other and an eave (ye-ta-yauk) is fitted in between. The front part, which opens directly onto the main veranda, contains the livingroom /Figure 1 - Simplest roof. Burmese house. Stronger roof truss./ and visiting room; in the rear are the bedrooms. The kitchen
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The building material for the rural houses is
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[p. 205]

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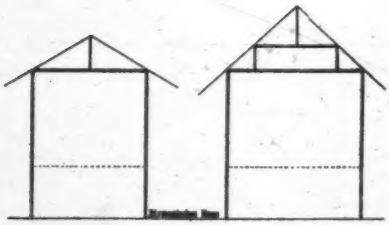

Figure 1

[For description, see page 8, category 116.- Analyst]

342 of the roof ridge. Rafters--thin bamboo poles--
335 are placed over this roof structure (Figure 1). Split and flattened bamboo poles are used for floor boards as well as being joined together to serve as doors. The outer walls and partitions consist of frames (zali) with strong bamboo wickerwork (yaing). The outer walls are frequent-
[353] ly decorated with black and white ornaments (Plate IV, 4); more delicate wickerwork is used for the floor covering. Not one single nail can be found in the entire house. The posts and the strong cross beams are mortised with each other; to fasten the roof rafters and the mat walls, tough green ribbons are cut from bamboo and are made pliable by soaking them in water. The doors have no hinges, but turn in sunken in peg extensions on top and bottom of the door cases (7).

[171] 7. The avoidance of nails through fastening with plant fibers (bamboo, rattan) is the rule for the bamboo house all over Burma and Assam. H. Frobenius, ibid., p. 568, points out the same with regard to the central Oceanic architectural area.

342 The houses in the cities are usually built of
824 wood; the famous teak wood which was selected primarily for monasteries and the palaces of the princes has long since become a costly building material. Therefore even the well-to-do people use it only for the main posts; its resinous oil protects it against attacks from termites. For the better housing constructions iron wood (Xylia dolabriformis, Burmese: pyinkado) which is just as durable, is mostly used. For the simplest roofing material the thekké grass (Saccharum cylindricum and Saccharum spontaneum) is preferred in the entire country, with the exception of lower Burma where palm leaf material is popular. The former is a coarse grass related to the sugar cane. Their stalks are tied fringe-

342 like to the bamboo sticks and together with them
824 bound to the roof rafters (Figure 2). The larger leaves of the Ingyin (Shorea robusta) (8) are

8. According to J.G. Scott, Burma, 2nd ed., (London, 1911), p. 500; other botanical explanations by H.R. Spearman, British Burma Gazeteer 1 (Rangoon 1880), pp. 125 ff., H.J. Wehrli, Zur Wirtschafts- und Siedlungs-Geographie von Ober-Birma /Economic and Settlements Geography of Upper Burma/ (Zurich, 1906), p. 111; Ferrars, ibid., p. 227.

sometimes seen as roofing material, pinned together in rows /207/ with bamboo pins and squeezed with poles against the roof (Figure 3).
342 The grass roofs, particularly during the windy,
[656] dry winter season, are, of course, an extreme fire hazard and are therefore now prohibited for the cities. There--wherever brick or corrugated tin roofs have not been adopted--a roofing material, called "wakat," a shingle, cut from braided bamboo work is used. As a poor protec-
355 tion in case of fire, which frequently burns down whole villages, a wooden hook, attached to a long handle is employed to tear off those parts of the grass roof which have caught fire and a damper, made of bamboo braided material is used to extinguish the sparks. These two utensils can be seen in practically every house (cf. Plate IV, 1 and especially Plate IV, 3); sometimes a number of jugs, filled with water, are seen standing at the ridge of the roof for purposes of fire fighting.

342 The Burmese attributes good and bad luck in
777 all his undertakings to the influence of the in-
787 numerable benign and evil spirits (Nat) who were originally outside the Buddhist creed, and he makes his decisions dependent on omens and oracles

342 of soothsayers (9). Consequently he is naturally
777
787

9. Bedin-saya, derived from Sanskrit, meaning Veda teacher. Judson's Burmese-English Dictionary (Rangoon, 1893), p. 782.

very careful when it comes to the construction of his house. With the aid of the soothsayer the building site must be investigated, the day and hour when to start the construction, and the choice of the timber have to be considered carefully. The shape of the posts, the irregularities of their forms, the knots in the wood where the branches were furnish important clues for the fate of the future occupants. The number of the
342 posts varies in accordance with the size of the
776 house. Usually six posts are erected for the main tract and each post has its own name. One of the posts is considered by most tribes as the seat of the house spirits. In the Burmese house this is the southeastern corner post of the main tract. The body of a deceased person is always
[764] deposited close to it until the coffin arrives. A coconut always hangs there in honor of the Mahagiri-Nat (Min Magayī), the household spirit /Figure 3--Shan house with leaf roof, Southern Shan State of Mongpai (Burmese: Mobye)/ and the coconut must always be replaced when the milk dries up. To avoid bad luck which spirits, liv-
342 ing inside the wood knots, might threaten, the
776 tops of the posts, or at least every third one,
777 are covered with white or red fabric patches; sometimes for good luck, some Thanaka paste (grated rind of Murraya exotica) is smeared on them. Even the clerics do not seem to be immune
346 to the evil influence of these nature spirits,
776 whose origins date back to pre-Buddhistic times,
777 for these protective coverings of the posts can be observed not only at residential dwellings, guest houses, bridges, etc., but also at religi-

31:Scherman--57A E-4 (no date)1915 AP1 Burma

Burmese AP4

[p. 226]

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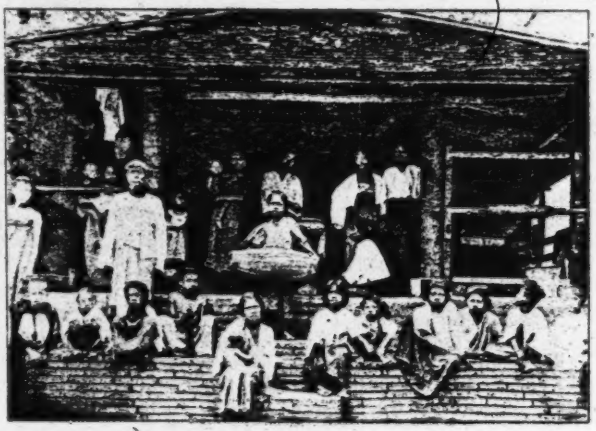

Figure 12

[For description see page 57, category 116.—Analyst]

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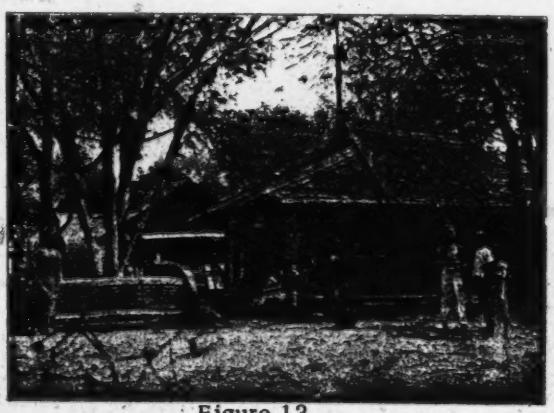

Figure 13

[For description see page 58, category 116.—Analyst]

31: Scherman--74 E-4 (no date) 1915 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4 Southeast Asia AL1 Khasi AR7

K 342 generally used follows from a once ruling law which forbade the Khasi the use of nails for house construction as being "sang," i.e. taboo (78). It remains a question whether the Khasi

78. Gurdon, pp. 30 ff. Cf. above, p. 206, fn. 1.

K [177] house with its curved roof form reflects the building style of the Bengali, who also in other respects influenced the customs of the Khasi (79),

79. To be sure the roof ridge of the Bengal hut is evenly curved toward both sides and the entrance is from the broad side. This roof style is a distinctive architectural theme with temples and tombs of Bengal, as Monmohan Chakravarti in "Bengali Temples and Their General Characteristics" Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal 5 (Calcutta, 1909), p. 160 explains in detail. But whether the relation with the Pallava architecture of South India exists, as conjectured here on p. 147, seems to me very doubtful.

or whether the roof, sloping down in front and projecting broadly over the entrance wall must be considered as a modification of the veranda awning of the pile dwellings.

* * *

B S 342 From the numerous types presented above is it somehow possible to prove a homogenous development? /234/ Without vague hypotheses, in view of the inadequacy of the historical sources of the Indochinese ethnographical groups, a line of direction

31: Scherman--75 E-4 (no date) 1915 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4
Southeast Asia AL1
B S 342

can only be hinted at.

Out of the whole series of pile dwellings, I want to lump together as the main types:

1. The Burmese type, i.e. a) the house with its front and entrance at the broad side from where a veranda projects with roof and side walls which give the impression of being an integral part of the house; behind it, above the ground, on a higher level the family rooms; b) the house, consisting of individual roofed sections, surrounded on two or three sides by an open platform. The joining of the posts and roof beams at a) and b) in accordance with the manner indicated above in Figure 1 (80).

80. According to the classification by Frobenius (cf. above, p. 203, fn. 1) the roof support of the central Oceanic architectural area (Barla-Bauten /Barla Buildings/, ibid., p. 577 and atlas, p. 57) No. 5 and 11 "Seram" would have to be used as a parallel.

2. The house of the Shan and of some of the tribes who live in their vicinity (Palaung, Intha, etc.), with a fan-shaped awning which is joined at both gable sides; at the front gable side a veranda over which one reaches the entrance. Post joints and roof beams as in 1.

3. The house with long straight roof, the ridge and sides of which rest on three rows of posts, and which projects far beyond the entrance wall. In front of the entrance often no veranda but more frequently at the rear, sometimes at both places. The Kachin, Chin, and Assam tribes build in this manner.

All the other forms constitute intermediate steps or hybrid types.

The question, what causes the choice of the

31: Scherman--76 E-4 (no date) 1915 AP1 Burma
Southeast Asia AL1 Burmese AP4

BS 342

pile dwelling or of the ground level house cannot, in my opinion, be decisively answered. One might be justified to think in certain instances of hygienic measures, of protection against animals or hostile attacks, of floods, etc., and it might be very instructive to observe here and there the disappearance of the pile dwelling with rising civilization; but no generally valid rule can be arrived at from all this. Decisive is only the tribal custom--for the dissemination, spread, or suppression of which similar conditions are responsible, as they are in the adoption of other cultural values.

31: Scherman--77 E-4 (no date) 1915 AP1 Burma

Burmese AP4
Shan AP11

PLATES

Plate IV

1.

B 342 361 Street in the Burmese village of Koya, upper Burma (upper Chindwin District).

2.

Burmese house in the village of Thindaw, upper Burma (upper Chindwin District).

3.

B [417] S [342] [361] Burmese house in the village of Yuwa, upper Burma (upper Chindwin District).

4.

House with decorated mat walls. Shan-Burmese mixed style. Village of Pekon, southern Shan State of Mongpai (Burmese: Mobye).

Plate V

1.

S 342 Small Shan house near Lashio, northern Shan State of Hsenwi.

2.

Larger Shan house in Namhkam, northern Shan State of North Hsenwi.

3.

S [264] [291] [415] [516] Shan family having their meal, Namhkam.

S [361]

4.

House of the village headman in Lashio Ywama, northern Shan state of North Hsenwi. Shan-Burmese mixed style.

31:Scherman--80 E-4 (no date)1915 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4
Shan AP11

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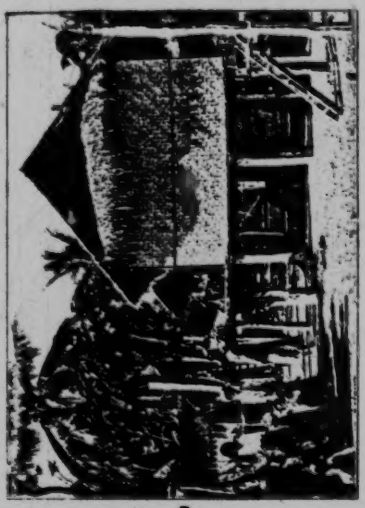

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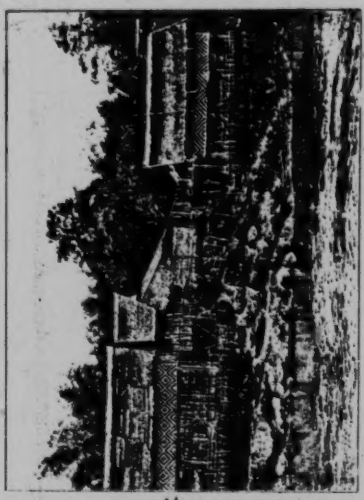

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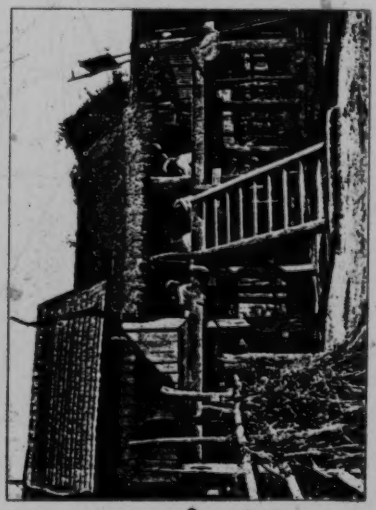

3

Plate IV

[For description see page 77, category 116.
—Analyst]

342 tends across the entire front. The veranda has its own roof, and can frequently be closed against the outside with portable bamboo mat walls. It serves as an easily accessible place, even for strangers, also as a workroom and shop, and as a favorite gathering place for the family during the daytime. From there, ladders or steps lead to the elevated rear section of the house, where the livingroom, the bedrooms and the kitchen (mibo) are. The latter is usually [343] detached. It opens to the rear, and has its own platform and means of ascent. The cooking stove [354] consists of a flat box (4) filled with sand and

4. Burmese, Shan, and the mountain tribes of Burma and Assam, also the Siamese and Malayans use the flat, sand-filled fireplace; India and China the mud stove. This is probably due to pile dwellings versus level ground architecture.

ashes on which the wood fire is lit. During the dry season the cooking is done preferably in the open, near or under the house. The simple village house has frequently only one inside room. The veranda, especially where the water level during the rainy season makes it mandatory, is frequently found to be an open wide platform of the same height as the rest of the house (1 1/4 to 1 1/2 meters) (Plate IV, 2). The peasant keeps his rice stores either in the kitchen wing, [343] or in small sheds (also on piles) close to the house where the rice containers, the mortars, pestles for the husking, etc. are kept. Under the piles of the house usually stands the weaving loom on which the women and girls (5) work

[562] 5. As to the women who theoretically (in accordance with religious principles) though not in practice, rank

31: Scherman--8 E-4 (no date) 1915 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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The building material for the rural houses is
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1: Mi Mi Khaing 1-5 (no date) 1946 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

CHAPTER FOUR

647 565 177. 65 BY the time that I was about four years old my father had become a Subdivisional Officer in the Civil Service, and our family had joined the ranks of what has now come to be known as the *minkadaw* class, an *a-so-ya min* being a government official and *minkadaw* the wife of a *min*. The minkadaws usually referred to were in the great majority the wives of officials of the Burma Civil Service, Class II, and by the time that we were passing through our childhood and adolescent years they already formed a very definite stratum in Burmese society. We children now comparing notes with the children of the minkadaws posted as far apart as Tavoy and Myitkyina can find common characteristics in all the households, from domestic commodities and meal habits to social conventions and standards of wealth. It is as though a new upper middle class has grown up, complete with snobberies, in what was formerly a classless Burmese society, but a class that still keeps itself quite apart from the European gymkhana life of the district towns.

631 647 344 The houses which I can remember, when my father was a Subdivisional Officer in the subdivisional towns of Zigon and Myanaung where he was in charge of the subdivision, or in the divisional headquarters town of Magwe where the whole hierarchy of min from the Commissioner downwards were present, or in the district headquarters town of Maubin where the min ranked down from the Deputy Commissioner and my father was Headquarters Assistant, all bore certain uniform features. They were all wooden, two-storied and large, with a sufficient number of big rooms to have a dining-room and an office room below, a sitting-room above the portico and two big bedrooms, besides little verandahs and odd rooms. They all had a front staircase for common use and one or two ladder-like staircases behind for watermen, sanitation and servants. The kitchen was about 20 yards away, connected by a covered passage, and at the back of the large garden or compound was the *tanya*, a row of rooms for men servants and Indian [251] servants. The garden in front was usually modest owing to frequent changes of occupants, but a minimum amount of flowers for daily vases on the altar had always to be cultivated, and fruit trees were prized highly, guava, mango, marian or citron.

592 357 Unlike most Burmese households we did not have any aunts or other relatives staying with us, but we had our full quota of domestic

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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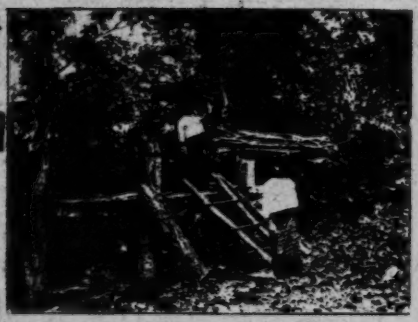

140. FETCHING IN FUEL.

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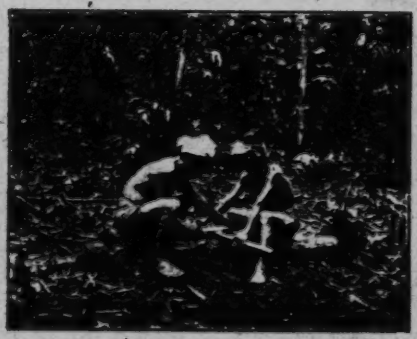
In the villages the passing traveller is invited to join in the meal. Everyone in turn ladles gravy from the bowl on the rice in front of him and mixes and eats it with his fingers. Before and after eating, mouth and fingers are rinsed. After the meal a drink of water is taken. Fruit is eaten after meals and at odd times. The importation of delf crockery and enamelled ware has been going on for a long time.

Betel (*kun*) is taken at all times except at meals, and tobacco is smoked by men, women, and children (No. 21). The betel-box plays the same part in Burman sociality as the snuff-box still does in parts of Europe. The chew of betel is made up of the fresh leaf of the betel-vine (*kun-yuét*, No. 409) smeared with moist slaked lime (*thn*) and folded over slices of the nut of the areca or betel palm. Dried tobacco-leaf, cutch and spices—cinnamon and cloves—are frequently added. "A betel-chewing" is a common phrase for about a quarter of an hour. Old people who have lost their teeth pound up the betel in a small brass mortar (*kun-dyeik*) for chewing. The spittoon (*tuè-gan*) is indispensable.

[805]

The native tea is prepared by hill-tribes of the North. It is either in dry balls the size of a fist (*sin-chi*) or loose (*leppétchauk*), or is pickled (*leppékan*). The dry tea is infused in the Chinese fashion (*leppéyye*, No. 146).



141. GETTING FIRE BY THE NATIVE METHOD.

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[805]
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When the platters have been rinsed after the evening meal and the tables put by—*sabwè-hmauk*—which gives the name to the hour, the day's work is over and the young women smarten themselves up to receive their *beaux*. The chief toilet-requisite is the face-powder (*thanakhà*)—the cream-coloured bark

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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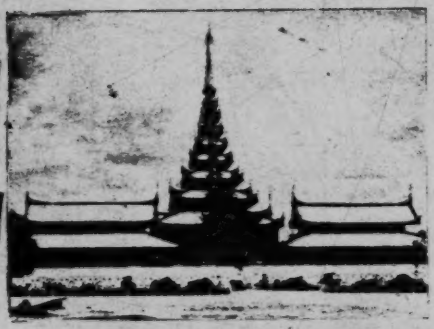
[344]



360. PALACE FRONT AND SPIRE.

The British administration preserves the native official machinery, from the *thadyt* to the *myoôk*, augmenting the numbers so as to reach every part of the area and curtailing the powers. Under native *régime* even *thadyts* might be *dâbaing*. The new *régime* takes account of the village *lûdyts* for the sake of their moral influence; many of them have been invested with power to compose differences up to small amounts, and some of the more prominent are honorary magistrates. Independent spirit is on the increase; the officials have to reckon with a new temper in the people. Nevertheless, in municipal councils the supineness and complaisance of the native members are calculated to stultify the position accorded to them. Road-making and sanitation do not arouse their interest, and the local excise, the matter they long to deal with, is excluded from their jurisdiction (*cf.* p. 157). The *thadyt* personally measures the fields, collects the land-tax and poll-tax from house to house, in such a circle as he can make the circuit of twice a year, and receives commission on the amount. He reports on matters within his circle. As many revenue-circles as a native magistrate can personally control are united into a township, under a *myoôk*, who at the same time supervises the co-ordinate grades of police distributed in the township. He publicly tries criminal and civil cases, under his powers as magistrate, by codes of law and procedure accessible to everybody. These codes form the most valuable models of system, in the vernacular, up to the present. By their help both judges and advocates have trained themselves in law. Five to eight townships, according to facilities for

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631

361. BURMAN PRINCESS.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

644 on such occa-
sions the king appeared in the royal insignia, which otherwise only figure as
[643] emblems of state. The insignia in the illustration are surmounted by a queen's
[346] crown (*sîbôn*). The shape of a king's crown is seen in Nos. 151 and 425. There being but a single palace and thousands of *kyaungs* and temples, the palace
● [344] appears to resemble a *kyaung*. But the converse is the fact; the *kyaung* it is which in virtue of its religious character shares the distinction of the palace. The most recent style adopted by the Burman sovereigns was *Shin-Bayîn*—Lord of Lords. A chief title was *Sinbyû Shin*—Lord of the White Elephant. Every subject prostrated himself in the presence of the king, with face averted from the effulgence of the royal countenance. An official called *thandawzin* used to repeat aloud the words uttered by the king. The ensign betokening the presence of the king and of the chief queen (*mîbayâ*) is the *tîbyû* (p. 101). Two to eight were borne according to the solemnity of the occasion. The chief queens were frequently half-sisters of the kings. For all the royal acts, the lying, rising, eating, speaking, there are euphemisms proper to the occasion; one of the most current of these is *shwepawddaw*—the golden foot. At his demise the sovereign is said to migrate to the abode of *nats* or delectable land; the staff of his *tîbyû* was broken. The paraphernalia of the king's service were elaborate; but in his attitude to the *yahán* he comported himself as an ordinary man. The Royal White Elephant was maintained in great pomp; it ate and drank out of golden vessels and had a retinue for its service. An elephant really white—probably an albino—was captured in 1805, but was pampered so that it died. A second was captured in 1806 which lived for fifty years. Other "white elephants" kept for state have enjoyed their reputation in virtue of possessing certain assumed criteria of the "white" variety, as to the number of the toes, direction of the tail-tuft and other distinctions, without regard to the colour of the skin. Change of capital at the accession of a new sovereign was characteristic of Burman empire, even when there was no change of dynasty or other political convulsion. Events of the latter kind were no doubt the original reasons of such changes. Next to Pagán, Sagáing, on the right bank of the Irawadi, facing the flat and now desolate site of Ava, is the most impressive of the

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[231]

594. CARVED FIGURE OF NAT.

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16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

CHAPTER XII

PRAYER

'What is there that can justify tears and lamentations?'
Saying of the Buddha.

782 [345] DOWN below my house, in a grove of palms near the river, was a little rest-house. It was but a roof and a floor of teak boarding without any walls, and it was plainly built. It might have held, perhaps, twenty people; and here, as I strolled past in the evening when the sun was setting, I would see two or three old men sitting with beads in their hands. They were making their devotions, saying to themselves that the world was all trouble, all weariness, and that there was no rest anywhere except in observing the laws of righteousness. It was very pathetic, I thought, to see them there, saying this over and over again, as they told their beads through their withered fingers, for surely there was no necessity for them to learn it. Has not everyone learnt it, this, the first truth of Buddhism, long before his hair is gray, before his hands are shaking, before his teeth are gone? But there they would sit, evening after evening, thinking of the change

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

of course there were limits to the latitude allowed to him. The neglect of these conventions was supposed to result in disaster to the troupe and the death through diarrhoea of the actor who took the part or cracked the joke, and it would certainly result in the whole troupe being beaten by the audience and then put in prison by the officials. On the whole, the charge of irreligiousness attributed to the actors was not justified, and throughout the years, they had never been known even to attempt to evade the conventions. There were also conventions connected with social decorum. Kissing was not allowed on the stage. Although no penalty, supposed or real, was attached to it, this convention has never been broken. The actors could wear reproductions of all the regalia of a king, except the golden shoes, which only the king himself and princes in the line of succession could wear. The breaking of this rule was supposed to result in the death by diarrhoea of the actor who wore the shoes, but it was not punishable as a crime if they were actually worn on the stage, and it is known to have been broken sometimes. All the conventions, including those connected with spirit-dancing, still exist at the present day.

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During the decadent period the platform stage, the elaborate scenery and curtains were introduced from French and English sources, for French touring companies often performed before the court towards the close of Mindon's reign (1853–78), and from about 1870 English touring companies of actors often visited Rangoon. With the performances of these companies of European actors, the general public had no contact. At the court the king and a few courtiers, out of respect for the French embassy, witnessed presentations of French operettas, but as they did not understand French and the actors could speak no Burmese, the court found the performances boring at times. At Rangoon the English actors presented musical comedies, or more truly, musical shows, to an audience composed entirely of English residents. It must be stated that the touring actors did in no way introduce specimens of the French or English dramas, for what they presented were third-rate musical shows. But they did introduce some examples of western stage-craft, and the Burmese professional actors, ever on the alert for borrowings, copied wholesale the platform stage, the curtain, and the elaborate stage scenery, with the result that, during the decadent period, the Burmese stage came to be a copy of the European stage. At Rangoon a permanent theatre was even built, a thing unknown to

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21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
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536* Burmese drama before, and most of U Ku's plays and *The History of*
177 *Thaton* and *Saw-phay and Saw-may* were produced at that theatre.
345 Admission to a performance was by payment, a practice alien to dramatic performances before the decadent period. The rise of 'matinee idols' resulted in the chief actor, instead of the leader of the orchestra, becoming the head of a troupe of actors. Formerly, a dramatic performance took place during the afternoon or early evening, but now because of the repeated applause for the popular 'idols', a performance lasted throughout the night.

554 I have stated how the prejudice against professional actors increas-
536* ed rather than diminished through the coming of popular actors or
178 actresses and the resulting rivalry between different troupes. But the prejudice was gradually overcome through the efforts of one man, Po Sein, who used to perform with two ex-soldiers standing beside him with rifles. By about 1912, his reputation as a leading actor was firmly established, and from that time onwards he concerned himself with raising the prestige of his profession by destroying the bitterness and the ugliness that had crept into it. By his charm of manner and personality, he soon established himself as the undisputed leader of the profession. His generous gifts to charity and irreproachable conduct soon acquitted the profession from the charge of immorality and irreligiousness. During the Great War he contributed much to the Red Cross Fund. For his services to charity and his profession, he was given a title by the Government in 1919. Such an honour had never been given before to an actor (had such a thing happened under the Burmese kings or even before 1914, the officials would certainly have vehemently protested, taking it as an insult to their class), and the Government's action was the final denial of the old dictum that actors and beggars were outside the pale of good society.

2. The Puppet Show

536* According to common tradition, the Burmese puppet show came
175 into being long before the drama, but as our knowledge of the history of the puppet show before the reign of Bodawpaya (1782–1819) is meagre, perhaps it will be better to consider first the puppet's history from that reign.

[645] It will be remembered that, as stated in Chapter II, Bodawpaya, under whom the court and the 'people's' dramas united together to give rise to a national drama, created a new ministry, that of the stage. The new minister, being a conservative courtier, wanted the drama

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my grandmother who, with her plot of paddy land and her fruit and vegetable gardens, was among the wealthiest in the village, never connected these with her children or those of her friends.

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Grandfather died when quite young, leaving my Paw-Pwa (Grandmother) with four sons and two daughters, of whom my father was the eldest. Like all the boys of the village, my father after eight or nine years of unrestrained childish delights when he could play all day, in the stream and up and down the village streets, stopping only when hungry or tired, wheedling the grown-ups to let him sit up till late at night listening to stories, was sent to the monastery on the outskirts of the village. The word for monastery in Burmese, *kyaung*, is the same as the word used for school, and it was to be taught learning and holiness, obedience and discipline, dexterity in manual and domestic tasks, and to be given a deep spiritual influence to last throughout life, that Grandmother and her friends sent their sons there. The parents whose hearts suffered too much at the thought of inflicting any punishment themselves now handed them over to the monks with the plea that they would teach them to be good and obedient, and chastise them severely if they did not obey.

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The kyaung at Ye, like all kyaungs in Burma, was built in surroundings chosen for their pleasantness. On a slight slope overlooking the stream was a pagoda, the pagoda of the village where the people came on fasting and feast days to kneel on the paved platform around the tapering golden spire and recite the precepts. Down from the platform the steps were lined with shady trees, and to one side of this was the monastery, a wooden building with verandahs and tiered roofs, set in a large garden, containing a few flower beds for offerings at the altars, but chiefly wide shady spaces, great trees including a *nyaung-bin* (a sacred banyan, with huge spreading branches), flowering *gangaw* trees and deep green mango trees. In one corner was a well.

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The monks consisted of the *saya-daw*, the senior monk who acted as head and abbot, about twenty monks who had been formally admitted to the order and were called *upasins*, and a number of novices who were wearing the yellow robe either for a short time, or to be admitted as monks later on. My father and his companions were admitted as *kyaungthas*, scholars. The monks spent their days in the recitation of religious formulæ and teachings, in meditation, in the telling of beads and the teaching of scholars. They did this while observing a strict and simple life, abstaining from solid food after noon, possessing no goods except the essential articles laid down in the monastic rules, observing chastity and poverty. To the people of the village they were the embodiment of good and holiness, living the noblest and most meritorious life a man can live. The people addressed them in conversation as

361 about 300 miles, dividing the valley of the Irrawaddy from that of the
504 Sittang, both rich alluvial valleys, so that Rangoon could stretch out its arms uninterruptedly, by road and rail and water, far up these valleys, and draw down their teak, oil and other products for export.

The actual development had taken advantage of these natural points. Along the river front were several wharves which, dredged and drained carefully, could take vessels up to 8,000 tons. Back from the Strand the city was laid out in three parallel rows, roughly two miles from east to west. Cutting down across these rows to the biggest wharf area was the broad Sule Pagoda Road with the hill of the pagoda forming the natural central circus of the city. In this area of neatly laid out streets were the shops, offices, congested city dwellings, bazaars, narrow shut-in buildings and all the appurtenances of a city; and just where the innermost parallel ended, the railway looped through, flinging one arm up to join Prome on the central Irrawaddy, the other to Mandalay 386 miles away, and, from this arm, a line down to the Tenasserim coast. Beyond the city area the residential areas and suburbs stretched—fringing the Royal Lakes just outside with big houses of rich people; nestling among the wooded hilly Golden Valley round the slopes of the Shwe Dagon Hill, the smallness of this hilly area being drawn out with the meandering of the roads, so that the Burmese named part of it *Wingaba*, a maze, which hid cool retreats like the *Nga Dat Gyi:* Five Levels Pagoda, and a tank of sacred turtles; extending miles in a pleasant garden city of newer rich bungalows till it reached the Victoria Lakes, the University Estate and the airport beyond; taking on a village character in small wooden houses of a Burmese quarter at Kemmendine along which the Rangoon River flowed as a country river; and straggling out in less pleasant poor suburbs to the east along the Pazundaung Creek.

346 Over all this area, the Shwe Dagon Pagoda shone like a golden light. Theinguttara Hill, besides being an echo of the last world, is also the last spur of the Pegu Yomas chain which gradually peters out north of Rangoon. It has been built up to about 150 feet above the surrounding area, and from this platform the Shwe Dagon Pagoda rises, from an octagonal plinth moulded into a lotus bloom turned downwards, tapering into soft encircling rings from which is moulded again a gently swelling plantain bud, the clay merging into more soft undulations which rise to the very summit in the tightest bud of all—the *seinbu*, diamond bud—forming, by a re-echoing of the lotus buds which once sprang up here, a shapely slender spire, tapering to the point of a bud and yet composed of curves and gentle fullness. The whole pagoda was covered with pure gold leaf and its summit was crowned with a delicate *hti*, an umbrella of gold on whose rings were hung gold and silver jewelled bells which

tinkled with every passing breeze. The Shwe Dagon Paya was a beautiful 346
and sacred thing. In the early mornings it gave a radiance to the clear air and the blue sky; in the daylight it shone forth like a blaze of gold, burning and pure; in the evenings it glowed softly as the breeze tinkled its bells, and filled the heart with a gentle sadness which is not grief but a sweet perception of unearthly things; and at night the lights flooded it to stand high and illumined above the dark wooded slopes of the hill. At all times and from all parts of Rangoon it could be seen, calm and sublime, with the same smiling look as is seen on the face of the Buddha, not smiling in the eyes or mouth but in the serene expression of inward calm.

As we landed in Rangoon we saw a great gathering of people waiting 177.
to meet us. Going abroad for years of study is still a rare enough event 57
to be of interest to all relatives and neighbours, so that the people were 873.
assembled not only for an affectionate reunion, but also to observe in 186
what way the stay in England might have corrupted Burmese habits. 582
In the case of a man it is always feared that he may bring back an English wife, and it sometimes happens that a loved child who has been away for five and six years may be greeted with tears and mourning rather than expressions of joy, if he has married an English girl. The tears of mother and sisters are very heartfelt; they express shame at what the neighbours will think, sorrow at the alienation of the man and his children which must inevitably occur, and chagrin at the loss of the rich dowry which might have been procured in the marriage market.

Even when a man does not marry in England, he is strongly scrutinized for undesirable preferences in the matter of marriage arrangements. I remember the night my brother came home. It was his first evening in Burma after nine years of English schooling and University, and it was clear enough that he was neither married nor secretly engaged to an English girl. But my Ma Ma Gyi, my eldest woman cousin who had children as old as we were, subjected him to a searching enquiry. "Set-Set," she said, calling him by his childhood name, "do you think English girls are more attractive than Burmese girls?" My brother who had many English friends but had not noticed any Burmese girls during his few hours in Burma, tried not to answer this question. On being held to it, he said they were different from each other and could not be compared. My cousin said, "But which do *you* like better?" She was getting quite stern by this time, and my mother and we who felt very sorry for my brother were all praying that he would tell a lie, as we held our breath. My brother repeated with much awkwardness that the two were different; so now my cousin took his opinion for granted, and lectured him on the desirability of marrying in an orthodox Burmese manner so that he would prove himself a good son to his mother, a good

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CHAPTER II

SCHOOL DAYS

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I SUPPOSE Englishmen will never get rid of the notion that monastic schools must needs be dull and dismal, that hours of study only alternate with seasons of austerity and rough punishments. The uninhabited, almost deserted, appearance of the Burmese kyoung; its isolated position; the solemn, restful front which it always preserves, no matter how lightened up by profuse gilding and the carved magnificence of its panels and eaves' boards, or how embowered in rich and waving foliage; the austere aspect and slow-paced gait of the mendicants in their sad yellow robes—all these things inevitably encourage the foreigner in the belief that the monotony and the discipline must crush all life and light-heartedness out of the young scholars.

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Nothing, however, can be farther from the actual fact. No Etonian, no old Rugbeian, can look back with greater delight on triumphs on the river or in the football field, than the grown-up Burman does on his early days at the Pôngyi Kyaung. There are no rough games to remember, it is true, no strivings of any kind with members of another institution. Those things do well enough for a cold-country people. The Burman's reminiscences are of a quieter kind. There was the emulation with the chin lôn, the wicker football, to see who could keep it longest in the air by dexterous use of knee, foot, shoulder, thigh, and cheek. How it relieved the body and freshened the mind after hours of poring over little hand-blackboards, covered with cramped words and letters, in the quiet rooms inside. Then there were the games at gônnyinhto, an elementary combination of skittles

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792 [293] dozen or more solemn-visaged monks sitting on their mats and coyly hiding their faces behind these big fans is apt to raise a smile on the face of a foreigner. But there is no doubt that the regulation is well advised. Women are disturbers of tranquil meditation.

792 346 561 When these necessaries have been provided, the candidate proceeds to the appointed building. This is always a thein, a consecrated hall, built of teak, with open sides and the sacred three, five, or seven overlapping and diminishing roofs, not unlike the Albert Memorial in appearance, but much larger at the base. Here the examining body is assembled to the number of ten or twelve, ordinarily, but a minimum of four will suffice if the ceremony is conducted in the jungle. The senior is appointed upyitsi, or president, and a secretary is nominated, whose duty it is to bring forward the candidate and to read the Kammawāsā, the ritual of ordination. This is the most gorgeously ornamented of all the Burmese books. It is written, not in the ordinary round character, but in square letters painted on with a thick black resinous gum, and requires a special education to read it. The leaves are formed either of the ordinary palm-leaf, thickly covered with red lacquer, and profusely ornamented round the border and between the lines with gilded figures of nats and elaborate scroll-work, or in the case of the more sacred monasteries, of the discarded waistcloths of kings. None might wear these pasos after the Great King of Righteousness had tired of them, and many were therefore made use of for this purpose. Portions of them are taken, doubled over, and then covered with numerous coatings of wood-oil and a paste composed of this same thitsi, with finely sifted burnt rice-husks, sawdust, and rice-water, until at last they become firm as a piece of cardboard, but vastly more pliant. Then the sheets are emblazoned, and the text painted on, the whole being enclosed between richly ornamented teak boards. Few more splendid-looking manuscripts can be seen anywhere. Occasionally copies are found engrossed on thin sheets of ivory or copper, but those on the royal pasos, called Wut-lè Kammawāsās, are most highly esteemed. The [195] text is always read in a peculiar way, in a high-pitched, jerky recitative, which is not without a certain impressive effect.

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CHAPTER XIII

THE MONASTERIES

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OUTSIDE every village in Burma, no matter how small, there stands a pôngyi kyaung. There may have been no one wealthy enough, or zealous enough, to build a pagoda, or the proximity of some ancient and eminently famous shrine may have rendered unnecessary a general subscription for such a purpose, but there is always a building for the mendicants. Away from the noise of the people—for the monastery must not have secular houses near it—surrounded by great, well-foliaged trees, tamarinds, mangoes, jacks, cocoa-nut, and areca, and palmyra palms, sâl trees, and the tha-bye-bin, to shield them from the heat and supply them with fruit, the monks' position is well calculated to attract those who are tired of the tumult and bickerings and sorrows of the world. There the pyin-sin pass their time without a care to ruffle the tranquil current of their lives; without trouble as to their food, for a pious and kindly population supplies them far beyond their wants; with no irksome duties, for nothing is required of them in return; with no care but how to get through the day with as little trouble and ennui as possible; seeking nothing but the fulfilment of the Law, and the path to eventual deliverance from the misery of ever-recurring existences; no wonder many novices come to like the ways of the religious house and yearly swell the ranks of the order, so that there are no signs, two thousand five hundred years after the founding of the religion, of any weakening of its strength.

The first beikkus dwelt under the shade of the forest trees, or perhaps in small huts erected there to shelter them

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from the pitiless sun and the raging of the storms. This is the explanation of the circumstance that every Budh is specially connected with some tree, as Shin Gautama with the bawdi-bin, the banyan, under which he attained his full dignity, and the eng-gyin-bin, the *Shorea robusta*, under which he was born and died, and, as we are told, the last Budh of this world cycle, Arimadeya, will receive his Buddhaship under the *Mesua ferrea*. Hence the regard for trees which the Burmans share with so many other nations, ancient and modern, and the fact that a clump of palmyras and tamarinds seen in the distance infallibly suggests a monastery. It is not to be supposed, however, that it was the intention of the Lord Buddha that the sacred order should remain far away from mankind in lonesome huts in the depths of the forest. Very early in his teaching, kings, nobles, and wealthy men vied with one another in erecting spacious and magnificent dwellings for the Budh himself and his disciples. Most noted among these were the Zetawun Monastery, built by the rich man Anatabein, within which the celebrated Mingala Thôt sermon was preached by the Buddha to a pious-minded déwa; the Pôppayôn Kyaung and that of Weluwun built by the wealthy dame Withaka and King Bimbathara of Razagyo, to both of which Shin Gautama frequently retired to spend the rainy season of Lent. These were all magnificently adorned; and it is expressly mentioned that the pious need spare themselves no expense in constructing and adorning such religious buildings, though the inhabitant of the most gorgeous of them dresses in no way differently from the humblest anchorite, and has no more costly utensils.

Ordinarily the monastery is built of teak, though in many places, both in Mandalay and Lower Burma, brick buildings are being erected, notwithstanding the prejudice that exists against them from their greater liability to damage in the case of earthquakes. The shape is always oblong, and the inhabited portion is raised on posts or pillars, some eight or ten feet above the ground. They are, like all the other houses in the country, never more than one story high; for if it is an indignity to a layman to have any one over his head, it is much more so to a member of the

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brotherhood. The space between the ground and the floor of the kyaung is always kept open and is never used except by the school-boys, who have not arrived at notions of personal dignity, and find the locality retired and convenient for games at gôn-nyin-to, and the discussion of forbidden eatables, or subjects of conversation. There are always a few pariah dogs there too, dozing off the surfeit of food they have had from the morning begging-pots, or the offerings at the pagoda. A flight of steps of stone or wood leads up to the verandah, which extends all along the north and south sides, and frequently all round the building. If the steps are of stone, or rather brickwork covered with plaster, they are usually adorned at the foot by propylæa in the shape of two bilus, or a couple of manôt-thiha—curious creatures, half man half lion—usually bold enough in conception, if somewhat rough in execution. Tiers of trefoil heads usually characterise the parapets when they are of mason-work. When the ladder is of wood it is covered with spirited carving in deep relief, representing nats and ogres, dancing figures and grim warriors, with abundant scroll-work as everywhere else throughout the building.

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From the raised floor thus reached, rises the building, with tier upon tier of dark massive roofs, giving the appearance of many stories when there is actually but one, for the reason already mentioned. This style of roofing was allowed only for religious buildings, for the royal palaces, and for the houses of a few high officials who acquired the honour by special patent, and with whom the form and number of roofs was a matter of regulation settled by the sumptuary laws. Under British rule it is practically confined to monastic buildings and the houses of feudatory chiefs. This spire-like style of roof is called pyathat, and properly there are but three kinds: with three super-imposed roofs called yāma, with five roofs called thuba, and with seven, as the royal palace and the most sacred kyaungs, called thuyāma. The ends of the gables are adorned with pinnacles or finials, each with a curious wooden flag at the top and crowned with a hti, gilt and furnished with bells, copper, silver, or gold, the whole being elaborately carved. The triple, quintuple, and septuple roofs of the monastic houses, with their

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elaborate adornments, there is little doubt found their origin in the opportunity which wood gave for the development of ornament in the way of carving. If the wooden monasteries are compared with the strikingly similar wooden churches in Norway—at Hitterdal, for example, or Borgund—we have a proof that nature, under like circumstances, always produces like results from human ingenuity. It may be added that the simple tumulus, which was the original idea of the bell-pagoda, is also found in the Scandinavian *haug*.

The kyaung accommodation is very simple. It consists in the main of a great central hall divided into two portions, one level with the verandah where the scholars are taught, and most of the duties of the monastery carried on, and the other a raised dais, two feet or so above the level of the rest of the building. Seated upon this the yahans are accustomed to receive visitors, and at the back, against the wall, are arranged the images of Buddha, a large one usually standing in the centre on a kind of altar with candles, flowers, praying flags, and other offerings placed before it, and on shelves alongside a number of smaller figures of gold, silver, alabaster, clay or wood, according to the popularity of the kyaung and the faith of the neighbourhood. Close by are placed also the manuscript chests, sadaiks, small shrines, models in wood of monasteries and pagodas, the fans and other religious implements of the pyin-sin and the gifts of the pious, heaped together ordinarily in very careless fashion. The central image is almost invariably placed on the eastern side of the building. There are occasionally dormitories for the monks, but as a rule they sleep in the central hall, where the mats which form their beds may be seen rolled up round the pillow against the wall. In many monasteries there is a special room for the palm-leaf scribes, often detached from the main building, as are the cook-room and the bathing-houses.

The whole area of the extensive compound in which the monastery stands is enclosed by a heavy teak fence with massive squared posts and rails, seven or eight feet high. All within this parawun is sacred ground, and the laity, when they enter, take off their shoes and carry them in their hands. This rule applies to the highest in the land, and when a

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all carefully preserved, along with many other gifts of the home-keeping pious; rolls of yellow cloth, Dutch clocks, betel-nut boxes, spare spittoons, and begging-pots, rugs, and pots of honey. The images of the kyaung, contrary to the usual custom, are placed in a glass case in the centre of the room, instead of at the east end. This situation is due to their value, most of them being of silver or gold, and one or two studded with precious stones.

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The Thiho Taik was certainly one of the neatest and most methodically arranged monasteries to be seen anywhere. Unfortunately it was burnt with many others in the year of the Annexation. There were many more gorgeously decorated, and still more that were larger. The biggest in Burma was probably the Maha Yatana Paungdaw, which stood near the great Arakan Pagoda in the suburbs of Mandalay, and was in great part burnt down in 1879. The building, with its encircling platform, measured 440 feet by 200, and was supported by 404 massive teak trees, none less than two feet in diameter, and the central posts, which upheld the topmost tier of roof, must have been quite eighty feet in height. Near Maulmein, in Lower Burma, there is another kyaung remarkable for the huge girth of its posts.

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The brick monasteries are commonest in the neighbourhood of Mandalay and other old capitals. They are covered with chunam, and in place of having a spire, are themselves built in the form of a pya-that, rising in the shape of rectangular terraces to a considerable height. Round the central hall, which is often divided by a gilt railing across the centre, are a number of cloisters and corridors, which ensure a perpetual cool breeze. Many of these monasteries are adorned with fresco paintings in the hall and in the honeycomb of corridors, representing usually scenes from the Zāts, passages in the life of Shin Gautama, an especially favourite one being the Jataka of Nemi, where the pious prince is represented as a white ghostly figure in a chariot, passing, like the *pius Æneas*, through the dismal abodes of Hell and the six heavens of the nats. Some other representations portray the occupations of daily life, such as feasting, hunting, weaving, and the different nationalities to be seen

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in the country. A very common scene shows the punishment which awaits fishermen in the next existence. The miserable destroyer of animal life is represented as dangling by the tongue on a fish-hook, while demons jerk him into the air, and drop him back into a lake of burning pitch. Many of them have inscriptions below to explain the subject of the picture. Thus in Pagàn :— Be 346 792 531

"When King Ne-bin Min-gyi reigned in Methila over the ten governors, according to the old books, the Thagya Min came from the nat heavens to help him."

"In the Monastery Yatana Shwe-daing, our Lord preached the Patenôn Tagayo, and remained several days."

"Shin Thumeda (Gautama), in the land of Thudawdana, received the Buddhaship under the banyan tree."

"Payā Alaung Theidat (the embryo Budh, Prince Siddartha), the King's son, married 4000 charming Yathe-mya."

"Our Lord rides on the elephant Nalagiri."

And so on in great variety. One also often finds such a notice as this scrawled on the wall: "In order to be prepared and to gain happiness in the seats of men, of nats, and of ne'ban, the rice-pots are set in order, the images are erected, and the paintings on the walls painted."

The monasteries are built, supported, and furnished by the pious, but there are not a few of them that have considerable sums of money laid away, usually under the control of the kappiya-dāyaka, the layman who lives in the kyaung, and provides for the wants of its inmates. A number of the royal fields round about Aungbinle, where the Burmese army assembled to seek victory before entering on a campaign, were set apart for the use of the Royal monastery at Payā Gyi, and the revenues were kept in a huge money-chest, which was always under the care of a guard of soldiers. Much of the money was devoted to the adornment of the adjacent pagoda. None can be spent on embellishing the monastery itself. That would be as great a sin as if a monk should build one for himself, besides that it would be depriving the populace of much opportunity for gaining merit. Be 792 735 423 B4

There are a few monasteries of the Pônnas here and there in the large towns throughout the country. These Be 791 792

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done in order to legally hand over a gift. As the water falls drop by drop on the ground, the pôngyis read out the formulæ, the substance of which is as follows: "Firm in my belief in the three precious things, the Lord, the Law, and the Assembly, I make this offering that I may be freed from all present and future miseries. May all creatures suffering torment in the four states of punishment reach the happy seats of nat-dêwas. May all my relatives, friends, and all men inhabiting this earth and the ten thousand worlds, share in the benefits of this meritorious work. O earth, and ye spirits, guardians of this place, bear me witness to the piety of this gift."

It is worthy of note that it is explicitly stated that the inward dispositions of the giver have nothing to do with the merit resulting from a good work. The merits are strictly proportioned to the degree of sanctity or perfection of him who receives the alms. Hence the glorious release which awaits an otherwise bad man who erects a pagoda.

Zedis are of many shapes and degrees of elaboration, but one common idea may be traced through them all. If you ask a Burman monk the cause of the variations in the form of the payā, he will tell you that the Buddha left no instructions regarding them in the holy books, but had only said that a small mound should be raised over his bones in the form of a heap of rice. Apart from the relation in which the payā stands to the Buddha himself as the representation of the holy one sunk in meditation, the ostensible object is the preservation of relics, and these are to be laid in a shrine, like the lotus-bud of which the zedi is typical, and later by an extending of the lines this got the form of a bell or spire. In the Malla Lingaya Wuttu we are told that the infant Buddha in the womb of Queen Maia resembled a lotus-bud, or a beautiful pagoda, and the conjunction of this idea with the simple original tumulus has undoubtedly led to the typical form as now seen in Burma. The names for various parts of the building all recall the idea of the flower-bud, with its young leaves folded in adoration. Thus the rounded swelling just below the slender spire is called the hnget-pyaw-bu, the banana palm-bud, and on the extreme summit

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Burmese AP4
Lower Burma

at the top of the hti is the seinbu, the diamond-bud, which in not a few poor districts is represented by a soda-water bottle, which combines the resemblance to a flower-bud with the good offices of a lightning conductor. The hnget-pyaw-bu is usually surrounded with lavish adornment of the sacred lotus. The payās that rise up into a plain cone or spire are therefore the nearest to the original tumulus, the top being simply drawn out into a conical point. On the other hand, the bell-like pagodas are only a direct imitation of the lotus-bud, and this has led to the more rounded dome-like forms, sometimes called thabeit hmauk, the inverted begging-pot. This term, however, is applied to the swelling-out round part on every pagoda, and has thence been borrowed to designate special shrines. It has nothing to do with phallic worship as some have imagined, nor is there any idea of the resemblance to a human skull. Such grim reminders of mortality common in Thibetan Buddhism do not commend themselves to the Burman.

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The buildings are all made of crumbling, sun-dried brick, for it is enough to gratify the pious feeling of the moment, and even the long years that the most solidly built stone edifices might last would only be as an evanescent drop in the stream of eternity. Thus the Burman sees no harm in building pagodas of sand, or even cloth and pasteboard, and in the national annals the victory which false shrines won over more substantial erections is a favourite theme. In Lower Burma, the payās are mostly of the simplest pattern, derived from the archetypal rice-heap and the lotus-bud. They are solid pyramidal cones, rising with a gradually diminishing rounded outline, and surmounted by a hti, or "umbrella" spire, a construction resembling the musical instrument called a *chapeau chinois*, formed of concentric rings, lessening to a rod with a small vane called hnget-ma-nā on the top. They are almost without exception erected on more or less elevated platforms. Burma is quite different from other Buddhist countries, where the relics are exhibited on great feast days. The payā is perfectly solid with the exception of the tāpana taik, situated directly under the spire and the hti, and

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Pegu hills attracts at the time of the annual festival in March, pilgrims, not only from the farthest parts of Burma, but from Cambodia, Siam, and Corea. The stately pile stands upon a mound partly natural, partly artificial, which has been cut into two rectangular terraces, one above the other, each side, as is the case with all pagodas, facing one of the cardinal points of the compass. The upper terrace, which has been carefully levelled and paved and repaved by the pious, rises 166 feet from the level of the ground, and is 900 feet long by 685 wide according to English measurement. The ascent was by four flights of brick steps, one opposite the centre of each face, but the western approach has been closed by the fortifications built by the English conqueror to dominate the town and secure the pagoda, where there was so much desperate fighting in the Burmese wars. Ordinarily with other pagodas, the eastern flight is the most holy and therefore the most cared for; but the town of Rangoon lies to the south, and consequently this ascent is the grandest.

At the foot are two gigantic leogryphs, built of brick, covered with plaster and gaudily painted. From them up to the platform, the saung-dan, the long stairs, are covered by a rising series of handsomely-carved teak roofs, supported on huge wood and masonry pillars. The heavy crossbeams and the panelling are in many places embellished with frescoes, representing scenes in the life of the Great Master and his disciples, and with hideously curious representations of the tortures of the wicked in the fiery chambers of hell. The steps themselves are exceedingly primitive and dilapidated. They have been manufactured piece by piece, apparently by ardent seekers after merit. Here and there they are made of broad stone flags from Penang and Bombay, but for great part of the distance they consist of simple sun-dried bricks, worn almost into a slope by the pious feet of myriads of worshippers—bare feet too, for none but Europeans are allowed to mount the steps with boots on. The stairs are wonderfully uncomfortable, not merely because they are so dilapidated, but because they are seemingly constructed with the object of preventing any one from ascending or descending with unseemly haste. They are

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Upper Burma

346 184 there is no means of entering this to view the sacred relics. The addition of spires and the elaboration of the central pyramid are later thoughts, and give hints of the great architectural efforts to be seen in Upper Burma. The peaks of Mount Myinmo are said to have furnished the first notion. In some cases, as at the Shwe San-daw of Prome, the central spire is surrounded at its base by a circle of small gilded temples or zediyan, forming a continuous wall round the pagoda, each containing an image of the Buddha, and suggesting the idea of the Setyawala hills round the world-girding Thamôddaya sea. In almost all the larger payās there are arched wings on each face of the lower platform, serving, as it were, as ante-chapels, and each containing a large Gautama. It is obvious how easily the introduction of these niche chapels led to the halls and aisles of the Pagān temples. Still this elaboration remains only a sign of architectural genius, and not of greater sanctity, for in every case the building itself serves only as a meet place for meditation and praise in thought or words. The great temples of Pagān, with their galleries, transepts, and corridors, have more of the character of churches in the ordinary acceptation of the word, and the Ananda above all, with its echoing vaults and dim religious light, reminds one especially of some great cathedral of the Middle Ages. But the outward magnificence of the Pagān temples does not win for them the reverence which is shown to vastly plainer bell pagodas.

346 Of all the shrines, the Shwe Dagôn Payā, the great pagoda of Rangoon and the most venerable place of worship in all the Indo-Chinese countries, is the finest and the most universally visited. Its peculiar sanctity is due to the fact that it is the only payā, known to Buddhists, which contains actual relics, not only of Shin Gautama, but of the three Budhs who preceded him in this world. In the tāpana taik of the pagoda, along with eight hairs from the head of the Buddha, in the eleventh andrakap of whose cycle we are now living, there exist the ye-thauk-palā, the drinking-cup of Kaukkathan; the tlengan or robe of Gawnagông; and the taungwe or staff of Kathapa. Little wonder then that the glittering gold spire on the last spur of the

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●346 [181] too broad to mount two at a time, and too low They[1] are to suit occidental tastes taken singly. This method of enforcing respect is characteristic of the Burmese nation, and reminds one of the nails which projected through the floors in the Royal Palace at Mandalay.

The stairs debouch on a broad, open, flagged space, which runs all round the pagoda, and is left free for worshippers. From the centre of this springs from an octagonal bi-nat-daw, or plinth, the profusely gilt, solid brick payā. It has a perimeter of 1355 feet, and rises to a height of about 370, or a little higher than St. Paul's Cathedral. On the summit is the hti, the gilt iron-work "umbrella," on each of whose many rings hang multitudes of gold and silver jewelled bells, which tinkle melodiously with every breath of air. This hti was made and presented by Mindôn Min, the second last King of Burma, and was placed on the summit at a cost of not much less than £50,000. It was constructed by voluntary labour; and subscriptions in money and jewels, with which the vane and the uppermost band are richly studded, flowed in from all parts of Burma. The old king, "the convener of the fifth great synod," strove hard to have it placed on the pagoda entirely at his own cost and by his own men; but the British Government rightly and firmly refused, for had this been done it would have been regarded by British Burmans as an acknowledgment of his suzerainty. After considerable correspondence it was handed over at the frontier to native officials and a body of Buddhist elders, by whom it was conveyed to the holy Theinguttara Mount, and there successfully placed in position. The old hti was lowered intact, and now stands on the platform, filled in and gaily painted like a small pagoda or a florid marriage cake, beside a still earlier decoration which it had supplanted.

At the corners of the basement are somewhat Assyrian-like figures of Manôt-thiha, creatures with two bodies and one head, half lion, half man, with huge ears and ruffled crest, and all round about are stone figures of lions displaying an ample show of teeth between their grinning lips. The tale is that long ages ago a king's son who had been abandoned in the forest was found by a lioness and suckled by

[1] [i.e., the stairs of the Shwe Dagôn Payā -- ANALYST]

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her. When the prince grew to man's estate, he left his foster-mother and swam a broad river to escape from her. The tender mother's heart burst when he reached the other side, and she died; and in remembrance of her love, lions' figures are placed at the foot of all pagoda steps, and round the building itself.

The four chapels at the foot of the pagoda are adorned at the sides by colossal figures of the sitting Buddha, and in the farthest recess, in a niche of its own, is a still more goodly figure, the thick gilding darkened in many places by the fumes of thousands of burning tapers and candles. Hundreds of Gautamas, large and small, sitting, standing, and reclining, white and black, of alabaster, sun-dried clay, or the wood of the Pein-nè, the jack tree (*Artocarpus integrifolia*), gilded or plain, surround and are propped up on the larger images. Even the figures in the niches are elaborate carved woodwork, representing figures dancing or fighting, and others flying through the air, or, with head on hand, sunk in meditation; monsters of the woods and hills and streams. High stone altars for the offering of rice and flowers stand before the lions, the offering being made to the whole pagoda and not to them. Under the Manôt-thihas at the corners are niche altars for burnt offerings. On the outer edge of the platform are a host of small zedi-yan, each with its hti; tasaungs, image houses, overflowing with the gifts of generations of pilgrims; figures of the Budh in single, low stone chapels; tagôn-daing, tall posts, flaunting from which are long cylindrical streamers, of bamboo framework, pasted over with paper, depicting scenes in sacred history, and often inscribed with pious invocations from the offerer; others are surrounded by the sacred hentha, the Brahminy Goose (*Phœnicopterus rubra*), the emblem of the Talaings, or the kalawaik, the crane of the Burmese. Interspersed among these on the outer edge of the open platform are multitudes of bells of all sizes. Beside each bell, all of which are hung on stout crossbeams supported by two side posts, lie deer's antlers, and pieces of wood with which the worshipper strikes them as he passes. He strikes the bell and then the ground, to call the sky and the earth as witnesses to his prayers. On the eastern side, covered by a

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346 great wooden shed, hangs one of enormous size, inside which five or six men can stand with ease. It was presented by King Tharrawaddy in 1840, on the occasion of a state visit to Rangoon and the payā. It measures seven feet seven and a half inches across the mouth, fifteen inches in thickness, fourteen feet high, and weighs 94,682 lbs. With a proper hammer it ought to give forth a splendid sound, but the ordinary antlers and posts of wood used fail to do it justice. It is second in size in Burma to the great bell at Mengôn, which, apart from the monster at Moscow, is the largest in the world. There is a long inscription on the Maha Ganda (the great, sweet voice) at Rangoon, recounting the merits gained by the monarch who presented it and the praises of him chanted by the Nats, the guardians of the empire. The bell has a curious history. After the second Burmese war, the English made an attempt to carry it off to Calcutta as a trophy, but by some mishap the Maha Ganda toppled over, and sank to the bottom of the Rangoon river. English engineers made several attempts, but failed to raise it. The Burmans, after some years, begged that the sacred bell might be restored to them, if they could recover it. The petition was granted with a sneer, but they set to work, got it out, and carried it in triumph to the place where it now hangs. This success was ascribed by the thoughtful to supernatural aid, but the common people chuckled in a carnal and exultant manner over the victory, and not without very fair reason, for their appliances were of the most primitive kind.

778 Buddhists fix the date of the erection of the Shwe Dagôn Payā in 588 B.C., but the site must have been sacred for cycles before, since the relics of the three preceding Buddhas were found interred, when the two Talaing brothers, Poo (dove) and Tapaw (plenty), came with their precious eight hairs to the Theinguttara hill. The original payā is said in the palm-leaf history to have been only twenty-seven feet high, and it has attained its present height by being repeatedly cased with an outer covering of bricks
346 several feet in thickness. Every now and again it has been
788 completely regilt. Sinbyu Shin, king of Burma, towards the end of the last century, used his own weight in gold in

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the process. He scaled twelve stone three, a remarkably good weight for a Burman, and the gold used cost over £9000. The last occasion when the whole vast bulk was gilt was in 1871, when King Mindôn sent down his hti. On every feast-day and uboné, however, numbers of the pious clamber up wherever they can and fix on little squares of gold-leaf, packets of which can be bought at the stalls below for a few rupees. The consequence is that every now and again the spire breaks out in a rash of bright patches, which give it a mysterious, rough, uneven appearance on clear moonlight nights. Of late years a great part of the lower portion has been covered with thin plates of gold brought by the pious from all parts of the Buddhist world.

It is difficult to say what the real age of the building is, if, as sceptical Englishmen tell us, we are not to place implicit faith in the palm-leaf record. Trustworthy documents reach no further back than the time of the Peguan Queen Shin-saw-bu, who reigned in the early part of the sixteenth century; but there is every reason to believe that a pagoda existed there long before her time. The shrine has remained unaltered in size or shape since 1564, and probably will never be altered again. At all times and at all distances it looks imposing and sublime, like the religion whose followers have built it.

At the base of the pagoda hill are many monasteries embowered in their groves of palmyra palms and shady trees; and to the south is a small convent of nuns, not far from the zayat which the king of Siam had built for pilgrims from his dominions. Similar rest-houses line the Saung-dan all the way up to the pagoda, and they always have occupants; while at the season of the feast in Tabaung they are crowded to overflowing. Lepers, and cripples, and nuns in their white robes, line the steps, and cry out in piteous tones for alms from the passers-by. Nearer the top and round the platform itself are sellers of candles and coloured tapers, Chinese incense-sticks, and prayer-flags, along with abundance of gold-leaf. Numbers of young girls sit about with flowers, especially of the lotus, and meats of different kinds for offerings. Others —these always enfranchised pagoda slaves—sell toys and

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Down the river there are hundreds of others of every variety and degree of decoration. There is the Naga Yôn Payā, the whole building wrought into the form of a dragon; the huge round-domed Kaung-hmu-daw, and the "king's victory pagoda" at Sagaing, the "golden cock-scratching," on the other side, commemorating a favourite legend of the boundless charity of the Budh. There are glistening white pinnacles, or flashing gold spires, far up the Sagaing hills, with thousands of steps wending wearily up over the steep, rough hill-side, and gazing up to them from the Amarapoora side are great massy temples, frowning over the river with all the stern solidity of a knightly hold. Each has its legend, some tale of bloodshed or piety, some event in Burmese history, or birth-story of the Buddha. 778

Most renowned, however, for its pagodas is Pagān, in many respects the most remarkable religious city in the world. Jerusalem, Rome, Kieff, Benares, none of them can boast the multitude of temples, and the lavishness of design and ornament that make marvellous the deserted capital on the Irrawaddy. Deserted it practically is, for the few flimsy huts that stand by the river are inhabited only by pagoda slaves and men condemned to perpetual beggary. For eight miles along the river-bank and extending to a depth of two miles inland, the whole space is thickly studded with pagodas of all sizes and shapes, and the very ground is so thickly covered with crumbling remnants of vanished shrines, that according to the popular saying you cannot move foot or hand without touching a sacred thing. Some of the zedis are all but perfect. Restored by the pious, they stand out glistening snow-white, only to render more striking the hoary, weather-beaten ruins of their less-cared-for neighbours. Here the bell-shaped, solid pyramid of Lower Burma is rarely seen. The religious structures fully merit the word temple as understood in ordinary language. To quote Yule, who gives a detailed account of the principal shrines in his *Mission to Ava*, there are all kinds: "The bell-shaped pyramid of dead brickwork in all its varieties; the same raised over a square or octagonal cell, containing an image of the Buddha; the bluff, knob-like dome of the Ceylon Dagobats, with the square cap which seems to have characterised

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●346 the most ancient Buddhist *chaityas*, as represented in the sculptures at Sanchi, and in the ancient model pagodas found near Buddhist remains in India; the fantastic bu-payā, or pumpkin pagoda, which seemed rather like a fragment of what we might conceive the architecture of the moon than anything terrestrial, and many variations on these types. But the predominant and characteristic form is that of the cruciform vaulted temple."

778 361 The Irrawaddy just below Pagān widens out like a gigantic lake to over two miles in breadth, and the view of the sacred city from far down the river is particularly fine. Towering above the others rise the great temples of Ananda, Ta-pyi-nyu, and Gawdapalin, like visions of old-world cathedrals strayed into the desert. Round about them gradually rise into view hoary round towers, like a border "peel"; airy minarets as of an underground mosque; apparitions like the pyramids, chiselled into fairy terraced fretwork; huge bulbous mushrooms with slim lanterns on their backs, like the wide studio of a mad architect. There is a memorial line which, placing letters for numbers, declares the sum total of the pagodas to be 9999.

> Hlè win-yo than ta-nyan nyan
> Pagān payā paung.
>
> The cartwheel's creaking strains
> Pass Pagahn's storied fanes.

778 361 172 Probably, however, there are not nearly so many in anything like a complete state. Pagān ceased to be capital in 1284 A.D. The Emperor of China had sent a vast army to avenge the murder of an ambassador. The Burmese king pulled down a thousand arched temples, a thousand smaller ones, and four thousand square temples to strengthen the fortifications. But a prophecy found under one of the desecrated shrines robbed him of his courage, and he fled to the south; and ever since Pagān has remained in its present practically deserted state. The whole ground within the old walls is strewn with bricks and mortar. Some of the zedis are strangled with jungle growth, huge bushes spring from their summits and sides and tear the masonry asunder, and with the vast majority no attempt is made to arrest the ravages

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of time, but Mr. Taw Sein Ko says in his report of 1908: "Numerous terra-cotta tiles have been found in the basements and corridors of several of the pagodas. They illustrate scenes in the *jâtakas* and in the life of the Buddha Gautama. They are of two types. In the Ananda and Shwezigôn the tiles are enamelled green and show Chinese influence. In the Petleik pagoda they are of red baked clay and have South-Indian resemblances. All three shrines belong to the eleventh century A.D. The stone sculptures in the Ananda are fine, and the pose, drapery, and contour are distinctly Indian. In the Sein nyet pagoda, halfway between Myinpagān and Thiyipyitsaya, of the eleventh century, the Chinese influence preponderates. The twin Petleik pagodas are at Thiyipyitsaya." 778 361 172 101

Few, if any, contain actual relics. The cloistered and terraced temples are simply receptacles for huge images of the Buddha and others. The corridors of the Ananda and Gawdapalin are filled with sculptured groups representing events in the life of the Great Master, and figures of eminent disciples and yahanda. In the central recesses, where are the colossal figures of the Buddhas, the light is cunningly admitted from above so as to fall on the calm gilded face, producing a most weird and striking effect. But Pagān would require a monograph itself, and with it should be compared Shwegu, between Mandalay and Bhamaw. That sacred island is a perfect forest of pagodas, and only fails to obtain wider fame because of the existence of Pagān. There are 999 shrines within its limits, and a much larger proportion of these exist intact than is the case with Pagān, though none of them can compare with the magnificence of the Ananda.

The question of the architecture of the Pagān temples, which is so different in style from that found in other parts of Burma, has been fully discussed in Yule's admirable *Mission to Ava*. He omits, however, to notice the fact that Anawrata-saw Min, when he established Buddhism in Pagān, built all the pagodas and temples after the exact model of those then existing in Thatôn, in the same order and of the same size. The town of Thatôn, above Maulmein, was the first settlement of Thawna and Ôttara, the 546 171 172

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346 171 172 missionaries from Central India who introduced the teachings of the Lord Buddha into Burma. There was certainly an ancient Hindu colony there, and its inhabitants may have brought some notions of their architecture with them. But whether this be so or not, Burmans find source for pride in the admitted fact that "there is nothing in India to compare with the classical beauty of some of the smaller temples, or the stupendous architectural majesty of the A'nanda, or the Ta-pyi-nyu."

778 788 538 The following song is taken from a very favourite play, *Sawpé Sawmé*, written by a Pegu dramatist and published in 1880, and gives an idea of the canticles sung at the dedication of pagodas and similar ceremonies. It is set to a very popular air, the Yôddaya Nan-thein Than, "the Siamese Palace Tune," but I have not ventured to try to reproduce the original complicated metre. The sikkè or magistrate in question was U Maung Galé, a younger brother of the late U On, long the only Burmese C.I.E., and once second judge of the Small Cause Court in Rangoon.

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THE GILDING OF THE SHWE MAW-DAW

Far-famed and bright, the Shwe Maw-daw
Is known where'er the Sacred Law
To toiling millions brings the peace,
Bids grief be still and turmoil cease.
Fair glory of Peguan land
Revered on earth's most distant strand,
Not more Dagôn's great golden pile
Hath honour in the Southern Isle,
Where'er beneath the zampu tree
The pious bend the suppliant knee,
Than thou the glorious lotus shrine
High temple of the hairs divine.
As leaps on high the funeral flame
Of some yahan of sainted name,
A beacon light to Neh'ban's rest
And haven sure to men distressed,
So skywards reared, thy shapely spire
Upsprings a pyramid of fire.

The hoar seer's words are now proved true,
Spoke ages since while yet all new

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dewas, and arahats, and having expounded the Law which was to lead them into the noble path of deliverance, descended again by a magnificent ladder composed in separate strips of gold, silver, and precious stones, to the ne'ban kyaung, where he received the usual pious offerings of the people on his arrival, on the day of the full moon of Thadingyut.

To recall this event in the Buddha's life is the object of the feast, and the preparation of the stage often takes considerably over a week, notwithstanding the facility with which bamboo buildings are run up in Burma. A platform is prepared, from twenty to fifty or sixty feet in height, according to the subscriptions and the scale on which it is intended to carry out the performance. Over this is raised a gaily-decorated pya-that, the tower-like spire with seven diminishing roofs, characteristic of sacred buildings, and leading up to it is a sloping way, representing the Saungdan, the path by which Shin Gautama ascended. Sometimes there is a similar sloping descent on the other side, figuring the ladder which led down to the monastery in the neighbourhood of Sampa Thanago, but more often the ascent and descent are compassed on the same slope, which comes to an abrupt end six or eight feet from the ground, on a level platform, covered by an ordinary roof, if it represents merely the earth, or the sacred pya-that if it does duty also for the ne'ban kyaung. Half-way up there is sometimes a covered stage, representing the Ugandaw hill, on which the Lord Buddha found purchase for his final step to the nat-dewa country. On the first day of the feast, usually about eight o'clock at night, the whole scene being lighted up by the brilliant moon, occasionally rather spoilt by smoky torches and the evil-smelling fumes of open crude-oil lamps, the procession begins. The image of the Teacher of the Law, always represented sitting cross-legged, is mounted on a little carriage, fitted to run on a tramway reaching right up to the top, and is dragged up by means of a rope and a windlass. This is done slowly and in a rather jerky fashion, partly because the apparatus does not admit of greater expedition, but principally to prolong the function as much as possible, so that all the people may see it and greater merit may be gained. Surrounding the Buddha is a great company

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that this daily procession does good in two ways: it is good for the monk because he learns humility; it is good for the people because they have thereby offered them a chance of giving a little alms. Even the poorest may be able to give his spoonful of rice. All is accepted. Think not a great gift is more acceptable than a little one. You must judge by the giver's heart. 792 735

At every feast, every rejoicing, the central feature is presents to the monks. If a man put his son into a monastery, if he make merry at a stroke of good fortune, if he wish to celebrate a mark of favour from government, the principal ceremony of the feast will be presents to monks. They must be presents such as the monks can accept; of course, that is understood.

Therefore a man enters a monastery simply for this: to keep his body in health by perfect moderation and careful conduct, and to prepare his soul for heaven by meditation. That is the meaning of it all.

If you see a grove of trees before you on your ride, mangoes and tamarinds in clusters, with palms nodding overhead, and great broad-leaved plantains and flowering shrubs below, you may be sure that there is a monastery, for it is one of the commands to the monks of the Buddha to live under the shade of lofty trees, and this command they always keep. They are most beautiful, many of these monasteries—great buildings of dark-brown teak, weather-stained, with two or three roofs one above the other, and at one end a spire tapering up until it ends in a gilded 'tee.' Many of the monasteries 792 346

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are covered with carving along the façades and up the spires, scroll upon scroll of daintiest design, quaint groups of figures here and there, and on the gateways moulded dragons. All the carvings tell a story taken from the treasure-house of the nation's infancy, quaint tales of genii and fairy and wonderful adventure. Never, I think, do the carvings tell anything of the sacred life or teaching. The Burmese are not fond, as we are, of carving and painting scenes from sacred books. Perhaps they think the subject too holy for the hand of the craftsman, and so, with, as far as I know, but one exception in all Burma—a pagoda built by Indian architects long ago—you will look in vain for any sacred teaching in the carvings. But they are very beautiful, and their colour is so good, the deep rich brown of teak against the light green of the tamarinds, and the great leaves of the plantains all about. Within the monastery it will be all bare. However beautiful the building is without, no relaxation of his rules is allowed to the monk within. All is bare: only a few mats, perhaps, here and there on the plank floor, a hard wooden bed, a box or two of books.

At one end there will be sure to be the image of the teacher, wrought in alabaster. These are always one of three stereotyped designs; they are not works of art at all. The wealth of imagination and desire of beauty that finds its expression in the carved stories in the façades has no place here at all. It would be thought a sacrilege to attempt in any way to alter the time-honoured figures that have come down to us from long ago.

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Over the head of the image there will be a white umbrella, whence we have derived our haloes, and perhaps a lotus blossom in an earthen pot in front. That will be all. There is this very remarkable fact: of all the great names associated with the life of the Buddha, you never see any presentment at all. 778

The Buddha stands alone. Of Maya his mother, of Yathodaya his wife, of Rahoula his son, of his great disciple Thariputra, of his dearest disciple and brother Ananda, you see nothing. There are no saints in Buddhism at all, only the great teacher, he who saw the light. Surely this is a curious thing, that from the time of the prince to now, two thousand four hundred years, no one has arisen to be worthy of mention of record beside him. There is only one man holy to Buddhism—Gaudama the Buddha.

On one side of the monasteries there will be many pagodas, tombs of the Buddha. They are usually solid cones, topped with a gilded 'tee,' and there are many of them. Each man will build one in his lifetime if he can. They are always white. 792 346 778

And so there is much colour about a monastery—the brown of the wood and the white of the pagoda, and tender green of the trees. The ground is always kept clean-swept and beaten and neat. And there is plenty of sound, too—the fairy music of little bells upon the pagoda-tops when the breeze moves, the cooing of the pigeons in the eaves, the voices of the schoolboys. Monastery land is sacred. No life may be taken there, no loud sounds, no noisy merriment, no abuse is permitted anywhere within

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the fence. Monasteries are places of meditation and peace.

Of course, all monasteries are not great and beautiful buildings; many are but huts of bamboo and straw, but little better than the villager's hut. Some villages are so poor that they can afford but little for their holy men. But always there will be trees, always the ground will be swept, always the place will be respected just the same. And as soon as a good crop gives the village a little money, it will build a teak monastery, be sure of that.

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Monasteries are free to all. Any stranger may walk into a monastery and receive shelter. The monks are always hospitable. I have myself lived, perhaps, a quarter of my life in Burma in monasteries, or in the rest-houses attached to them. We break all their laws: we ride and wear boots within the sacred enclosure; our servants kill fowls for our dinners there, where all life is protected; we treat these monks, these who are the honoured of the nation, much in the offhand, unceremonious way that we treat all Orientals; we often openly laugh at their religion. And yet they always receive us; they are often even glad to see us and talk to us. Very, very seldom do you meet with any return in kind for your contempt of their faith and habits. I have heard it said sometimes that some monks stand aloof, that they like to keep to themselves. If they should do so, can you wonder? Would any people, not firmly bound by their religion, put up with it all for a moment? If you went into a Mahommedan mosque in Delhi with your boots on, you would probably be killed. Yet

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

132 year. There are other festivals: of the New Year,
796 in March, with its water-throwing; of each great pagoda at its appointed time; but of all, the festival of the end of Lent is the greatest.

796 Wherever there are great pagodas the people will come in from far and near for the feast. There are many great pagodas in Burma; there is the Arakan pagoda in Mandalay, and there was the Incomparable pagoda, which has been burnt; there are great pagodas at Pegu, at Prome, at many other places; but perhaps the greatest of all is the Shwe Dagon at Rangoon.

778 You see it from far away as you come up the
346 river, steaming in from the open sea, a great tongue of flame before you. It stands on a small conical hill just behind the city of Rangoon, about two miles away from the wharves and shipping in the busy river. The hill has been levelled on the top and paved into a wide platform, to which you ascend by a flight of many steps from the gate below, where stand the dragons. This entrance-way is all roofed over, and the pillars and the ceiling are red and
[712] painted. Here it was that much fighting took place in the early wars, in 1852 especially, and many men, English and Burmese, were killed in storming and defending this strong place. For it had been made a very strong place, this holy place of him who taught that peace was the only good, and the de-
346 fences round about it are standing still. Upon the top of this hill, the flat paved top, stands the pagoda, a great solid tapering cone over three hundred feet high, ending in an iron fretwork spire that glitters with gold and jewels; and the whole pagoda is

16;Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

covered with gold—pure leaf-gold. Down below it 346
is being always renewed by the pious offerings of those who come to pray and spread a little gold-leaf on it; but every now and then it is all regilt, from the top, far away above you, to the golden lions that guard its base. It is a most wonderful sight, this great golden cone, in that marvellous sunlight that bathes its sides like a golden sea. It seems to shake and tremble in the light like a fire. And all about the platform, edging it ere it falls away below, are little shrines, marvels of carven woodwork and red lacquer. They have tapering roofs, one above another, till they, too, end in a golden spire full of little bells with tongues. And as the wind blows the tongues move to and fro, and the air is full of music, so faint, so clear, like 'silver stir of strings in hollow shells.'

In most of these shrines there are statues of the 778
great teacher, cut in white alabaster, glimmering whitely in the lustrous shadows there within; and in one shrine is the great bell. Long ago we tried to take this great bell; we tried to send it home as a war trophy, this bell stolen from their sacred place, but we failed. As it was being put on board a ship, it slipped and fell into the river into the mud, where the fierce tides are ever coming and going. And when all the efforts of our engineers to raise it had failed, the Burmese asked: 'The bell, our bell, is there in the water. You cannot get it up. You have tried and you have failed. If we can get it up, may we have it back to hang in our pagoda as our own again?' And they were told, with a laugh, perhaps, that they might; and so they raised it up

342 In U Myaing's house the lavatory is in the kitchen and is walled off with
514 woven KYU (kind of fiber) mat. There is a hole cut open in the board flooring, and the area underneath this opening also is walled off with woven KYU. U Myaing and family did not take their meals in the kitchen but in the house proper.

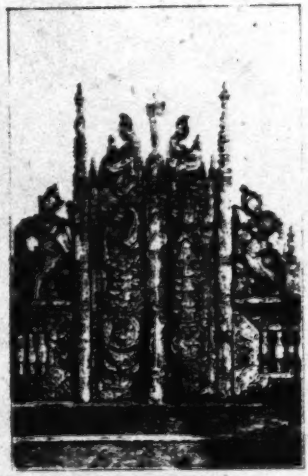
361 The PHON-GYI KYAUNG or monastery is located further downstream
368 from the village. It is a two storied brick building comprised of nine
● 346 rooms, each 6 TAUNG square. Children are not taught here but learn
[872] their lessons at the government school. This school, which is on
[364] THA-GYI-BET side, teaches pupils up to the tenth standard. Below the PHON-GYI KYAUNG is the cemetery.

The houses in the village are separated one from the other by eight feet on each side. The rows of houses facing the river have porches on
342 both sides. U Myaing's house is typical of those found in the village - some may be more elaborate, some less. His house had been built only
435 six or seven years, and cost Rs. 3000/- at that time. There are no
[651] accounts for each of the separate items and U Myaing does not remember. The land was free and they did not have to pay any revenue on it.
[366] Separate from the houses and on the riverside is a huge platform built
[252] to process fish including the making of NGAPI. U Myaing had no land that he owned round the house, although he could use the land directly in front of the house for various purposes.

U Myaing describes his house as follows;

342 "It is a wooden house, made of wooden posts - a two storied
592 structure. The roof is of slates. Walls are of SHI-NGA-MU wooden boards (boards 8 inches wide and about ½ inch thick) and there are four rooms. Other people have similar houses. It is a LAY-BIN-KIN (a four-tree-house or a house which has four supporting poles across the front) and all seven of us live in the house. We drop a kitchen from the back and cook there. The kitchen has three windows at the back, with one door leading into the house. We all live together in three rooms. We keep bedrooms. (U Myaing is speaking of a sketch of the house here). This side is for visitors - there is a room for people who come to buy goods. The
[366] old mother and the children live in one room and I and my wife in another with the smallest child. We eat in the front part of the house in one room at the foot of the sleeping place. There are nine 6 TAUNG rooms without partitions on each of the two floors. The sides of the house are enclosed with timber planks of IN wood, but the bedrooms are also partitioned off. It is very wide and roomy to live in. The floor is made of teak planks."

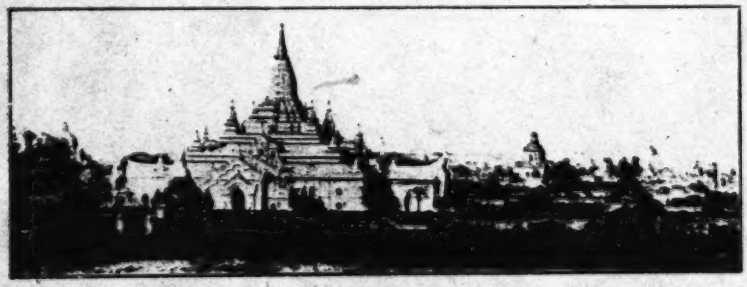
25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4



7. ANCIENT GATE, WITH FIGURES OF THADYA-MIN AND KEINNAYA.

is part of India. The phrase *Indo-China* is also misleading unless in respect of geography. In respect of climate, flora and fauna, *Further India* is not inapplicable. A probable Indo-Aryan admixture exists in the north-east (Arakán). But Burma Proper and Pegu are as distinct from India as Tibet itself.

The original Burman tribes are conjectured to have pushed their way south from the mountains of Tibet. They divided into three principal branches, Arakán (*Rakáing, Yakáing*) on the west, Paung on the east, and Burma (*Bamá*), which attained to the chief position, in the middle, on the northern Irawadi (*E-ya wadi*). Nothing is known of the early history of these nations. But it is certain that in 1000 A.D. Burma was a large and powerful kingdom, with its seat at Pagán. About that time the first historical conquest of the lower Irawadi was effected. From the fact that the country was not permanently subdued it may be inferred that the power of the Mun or Peguan race (later called Taláing) was not greatly inferior to that of the Burman. The Muns, from the affinities of their language, are conjectured to be of Annamitic origin. There is mention of the Pagán kingdom independently of the Burman chronicles, and there is above all the evidence of the ruins of Pagán, probably the mightiest of their kind. They testify to the power of the kingdom and the influence of the



8. ANANDA PAYA, PAGAN.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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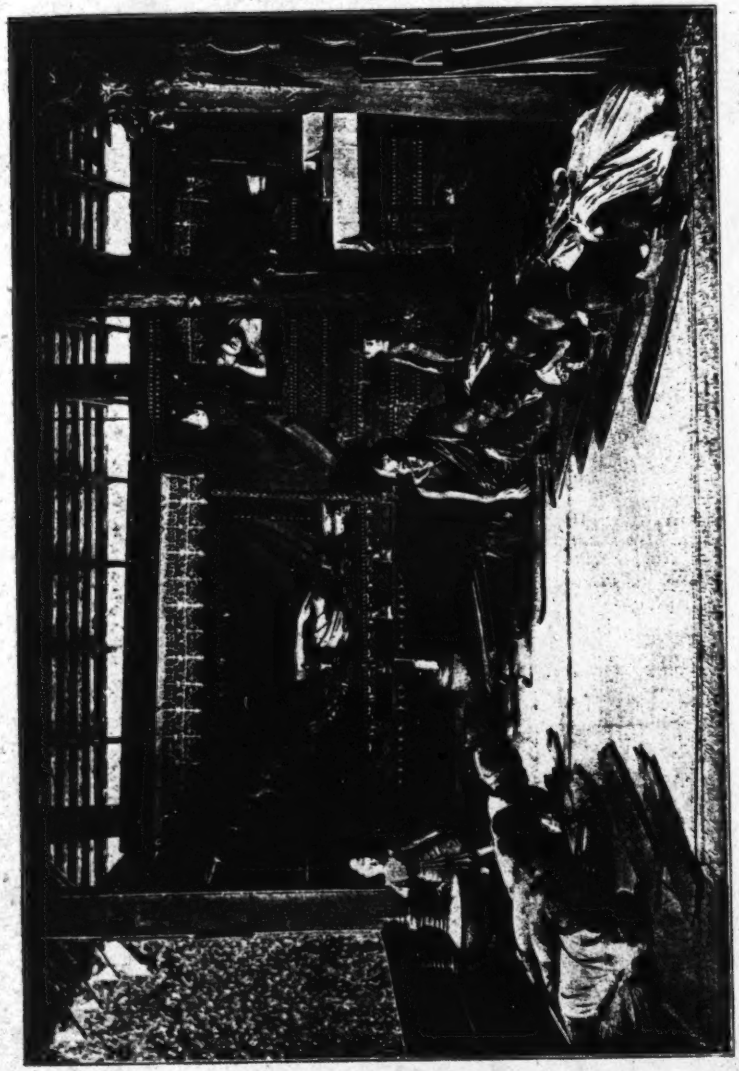

22. INTERIOR OF VILLAGE MONASTIC SCHOOL.

[To face p. 10.

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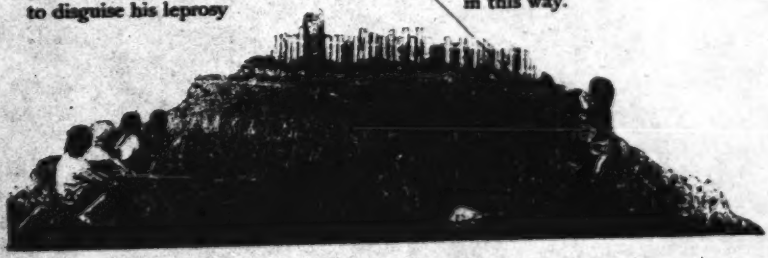
25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

27. VILLAGE LAY SCHOOL.

next to a parent, with a life-long devotion.

Before or after the monastic novitiate, it is the custom for the Burman lads to have themselves tattooed from the waist to the knee (No. 152). Not to submit to this ordeal is to incur the reproach of cowardice. The tattooing is an intricate pattern of animals and tracery. Owing to the extent of surface involved, the process is most painful. It occupies days or weeks, according to the fortitude of the subject, who is drugged with opium for the occasion. The instrument has a handle weighted at the butt, and a long point of bronze, split like a ruling-pen. It is worked with great rapidity. The pigment is a kind of lamp-black of the consistence of ink. It shows bluish black through the brown skin. When a Burman tucks up his loin-cloth, as he always does for work or exercise (*kaddung-chaik*), he looks as if he had black knee-breeches. As plain as the contrast is to the eye, ordinary photographic plates fail to render it. In No. 153 it appears fully. On other parts of the body the men frequently have horoscopes and cabalistic diagrams tattooed with vermilion (*se-ni*, No. 162) for luck and bravado. The Shan practice of letting in gold and silver discs the size of two-penny pieces—beneath the skin—is sometimes imitated by Burmans as a charm against sword-cuts and bullets (*dhbyi*; *thenabbyi*). The Arakanese, who repudiate the custom of *thgwin*, ascribe it to a Burman King, who endeavoured to disguise his leprosy in this way.



28. KITE-FLYING.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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44. ANCIENT THEIN AT PAGAN.

not by age, but by the number of lenten seasons they have belonged to the Assembly. Vigils and restriction of night rest are not practised. The rule of life of the *yahán* is laid down in the *Wini* (*Vinaya Bitaka*), one of the three divisions ("baskets") of the Buddhist scriptures. A *hambawd*, or breviary of scripture, relating to mem-

[212]

bership of the Assembly, illuminated with lacquer on copper or ivory leaves, is read by turns by the five members of the conclave assembled for the reception of the new member. This solemnity is undertaken in the *thein*, a *wut* set apart for the *Thingá* alone. No lay persons enter the precincts, but they may be spectators from a distance. The new *yahán* is called *Upazin*, sojourner recluse, or assistant to the *Upyiza*, or *Phongyi*, *Kindyi* (incumbent) of the monastery. In

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1891 there were 13,613 *phongyi*, 6,668 sojourner *yahán*, and 13,500 probationers in the monasteries of Burma, which numbered 15,371, in a Buddhist population of about seven millions.

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The dedication of the site for building such a *thein* (Pâli *sima*) is preceded by the solemnity of *thein-thamôt*. Ground so dedicated can never be alienated to any other use. In this respect the *thein* is more sacred than the temples in general. After the site has been levelled, it is surrounded with a trench, into which water is led. In the centre a small well is sunk (*ahwin*). The *yahán*, not less than twenty-four in number, assemble on the spot, over which a gay pavilion (*mandat*) has been erected, and wait for the water from the trench to

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percolate to the well. When this occurs, the site is said to have "taken" (*awng*). Otherwise it must be rejected. The *yahán* gather round the well and intone scriptural passages from a

45. YAHAN ASSEMBLED FOR DEDICATION OF THEIN.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

346 *kambawd*. The laity assembled outside the precincts let off rockets and guns
796 in celebration of the event. Finally, the ceremony of *yaticha*, the pouring
778 of water (No. 100), is performed by the grantor of the site—as at every other

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46. ILLUMINATED KAMBAWA.

religious dedication—to signify that the property has been dedicated for ever. The precincts of the *thein* are marked by low boundary pillars, mostly of Sagáing marble, set in the trench, which is then filled in. A different form of *thein* is the *ye-thein*, which is built over the water to effect its isolation.

792 Although the *yahán*, as already stated, may not ask for anything, he may
735 decline what is offered. He signifies this by inverting his *thabéit* (*thabeit-kmàuk*). The action has become a symbol for excommunication. The *yahán* might assemble in the *thein* and perform *thabéit-kmauk* against a layman for
[794] heinous wickedness. His house would be passed by in collecting *sun* and all
[178] offerings tendered by him refused. The practice has become obsolete; it is said to have no warrant in the scriptures, and to be contrary to their spirit.

Where the people are very prosperous and the *yahán* are not many, the collecting of *sun* in the streets has sunk to a formality observed by the novices only, who on return to the monastery empty their *thabéit* to the dogs. But in other circumstances the sojourner *yahán*, novices and scholars live on the *sun*. An ordinance of the Buddha dispenses the *yahán* from collecting his food from house to house if there be pious people who proffer him his sustenance at his abode. The founder of the monastery (*Kyaung-taga*), who nomin-

47. SUN SENT BY THE KYAUNGTAGA.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

[opp. p. 22]

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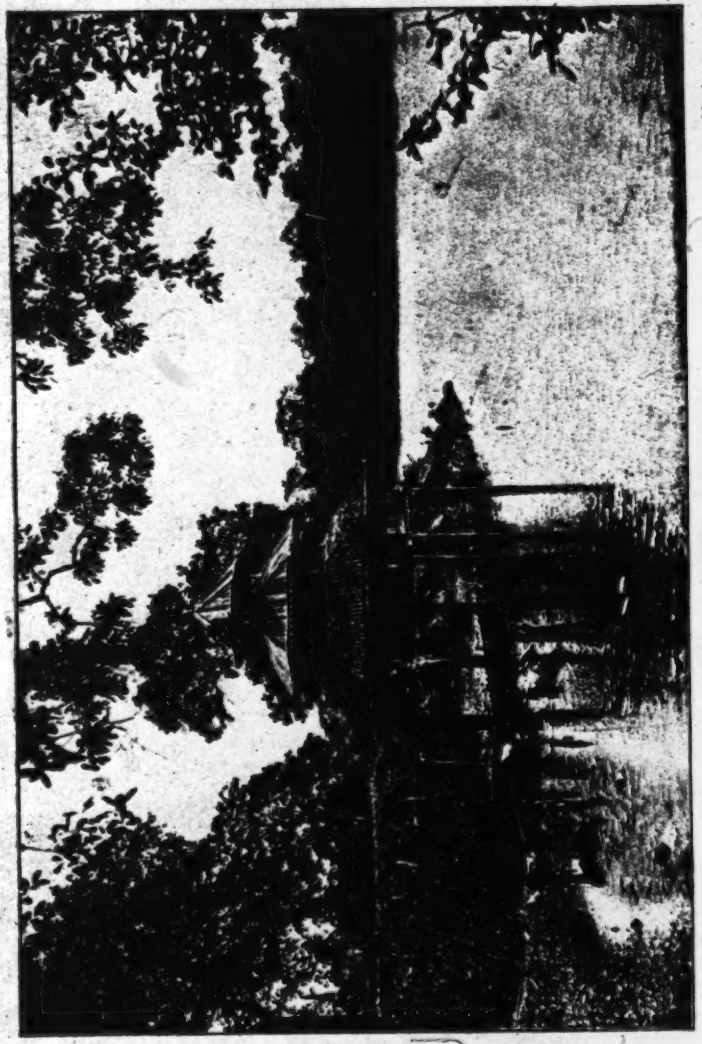

[To face p. 22.

4E. TEMPLE OVER THE WATER—PETHEIN.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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49. FOREST KYAUNG.

ates the incumbent, regularly undertakes the support of the *phúdyí*, and frequently of his sojourner *yahán* as well. The food, which is the best of its kind, is brought every morning by the daughters and young children of the supporter, or, in the case of joint support, by children of the leading families in turn. An ornamented vessel is used, having a tall finial to the cover (*ít*). The supplies are received by the lay scholars

792 or the novices, and by them served to the *yahán*. The principal meal is taken shortly before noon, for no food may be eaten after that hour till the
264 following sunrise. Water may be drunk and betel chewed at any time.
273 Tobacco-smoking is discountenanced, especially in Burma Proper, where the religious views are strictest. Burma furnishes the standard both for scholarship
276 and practice, and trains most of the incumbents of the monasteries of Pegu.
101 Scholars and novices may prepare food at the monastery from raw supplies. These the *yahán* may not even handle. Hired labour (*kappiza dayaka*) may

[464] be attached to the monastery by the supporter for the preparation of food
792 and other services. In some cases
735 lands have been dedicated for the maintenance of monasteries and temples. But the *yahán* have no concern with their administration. Supplies of raiment, chattels and food are dedicated to the use of the recluses

[346] when the distinction of their presence is solicited, especially at *shinlaung* fêtes and funerals. The annual pro-

[796] vision of raiment (*kathín thingán*) is made between the months of *Thadinkyut* and *Tasáungmón*. The offerings of necessaries are supplemented by accessories of every sort —books and writing materials, mats,

50. VILLAGE KYAUNG.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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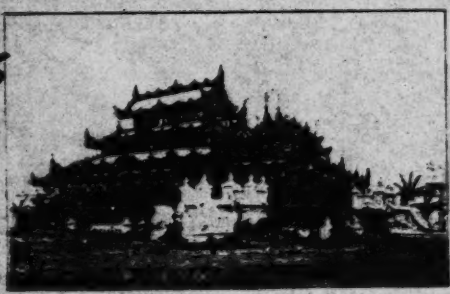

51. KYAUNG AT THE CAPITAL.

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carpets, cushions, handkerchiefs, tables, chairs, betel-boxes and spittoons, glassware and crockery, lamps, chandeliers, clocks, knicknacks and furniture, always to the exclusion of gold and silver. Gilt wares are permissible.

The strict *yahán* should prepare his shelter for himself, in an unfrequented place. But by the dispensation already referred to, he may avail himself of a solitary dwelling proffered for his use, and this is invariably the case. Not merely are these schools numerous, but they are the most spacious, substantial, and ornate edifices in the land. Many of them are of palatial size and appointments. The Burman finds nothing too good or too beautiful for those who subject themselves to the restraint of the recluse. The recluse on his part is conventionally oblivious of the magnificence that surrounds him. It is not for him to deprecate. The religious merit of the work, which furnishes the motive of the founder, is proportioned to the outlay upon it. From the bamboo *kyaung* in the forest costing a hundred rupees or less, individuals spend up to hundreds of thousands on the palatial monasteries of the towns (*cf.* p. 75).

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When the incumbent of a monastery removes or dies, the senior sojourner (*upazín*) may receive his place as *póndyí*. Otherwise an *upazín* is invited from elsewhere, or the *póndyí* of another *kyaung* is prevailed upon to move. The *upazín* who has become *póndyí* defers to his preceptor as before. Every monastery has a titular Pâli appellation, such as *Thila-ekkaya kyaung*, Letter-of-the-Law monastery.

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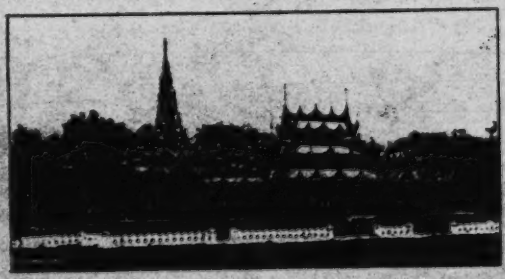
There is no hierarchy in the Assembly of *yahán*. But it commonly happens that a number of monasteries recognise a venerable teacher as referee upon matters of scholarship



52. PALACE KYAUNG.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

[opp. p. 24]

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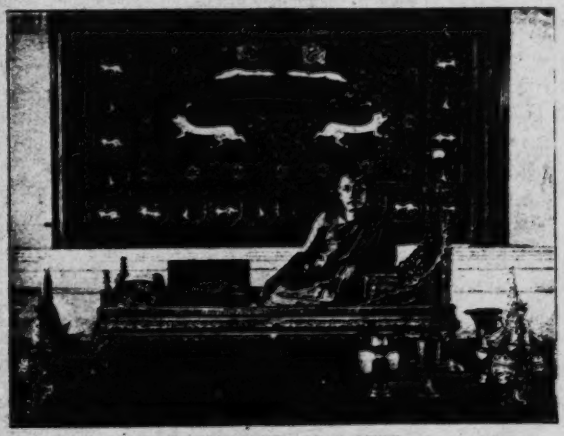
32. SADAW IN HIS STUDY. [To face p. 24.

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

792 and doctrine. Such a group is called *gaing*, and its president *gaing-ôk*, his
779 deputy *gaing-dauk*. In the same way a group recognise a *Saddw—Sayá-daw*, or chief teacher. The whole body again defer to a chief *Saddw*, usually the



54. YAHAN INSTALLED AS PONDYI.

yahán who has been religious instructor to the King during his novitiate, and who is called *Thdthanabding*.

792 In reaction against the comfort with which the laity endow the monasteries,
785 the *yahán* periodically repair to country retreats for ten or twenty days at a time, either singly or in camps of many, for the sake of cultivating primitive use. Here each *yahán* has a dwelling of the narrowest compass and makes shift with the mere chattels ordained in the canon. But the laity, ever ready to minister to the *yahán*, convert these camps into centres of festivity for the

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55. WUSSAUNG CAMP.

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

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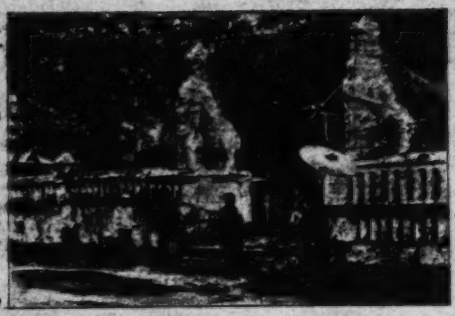

56. YAHAN PASSING THE STREETS.

whole country-side. The camp is laid out in the rice-fields after harvest, in the form of a square, with a pavilion in the middle for the *yahán* to meet and practise confession (*dba-gye*). There are a few *yahán* who do not settle in a *kyaung*, but wander from place to place, in the primitive way, the people providing them with temporary shelter.

The *yahán* make journeys to the seats of learning and the *kyaungs* of their former teachers, and make pilgrimages to shrines. A few travel as far as Ceylon and Buddha Gâya in Bahâr. On such journeys the *yahán* is accompanied by a scholar or attendant deputed by the *kyaungtagá* to carry provisions and money, which the *yahán* may not handle. When not collecting their *sun*, the *yahán* go abroad with attendants and carry umbrellas, or suffer such to be carried over them, and wear sandals. The *yahán* allow themselves to be driven in ox and buffalo carts; but do not drive or mount an animal or avail themselves of horse-draught. They travel by boat, steamer, and rail. Aged *yahán* are carried on a litter (*yin, taw*).

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The *kyaung*, primarily a shelter for the *yahán*, has, in virtue of his occupation, come to be a school. It is at first established on the outskirts of a settlement or at some distance away from it. Secular buildings are not erected within the shadow of a religious building. But the growth of towns brings the houses up to the precincts (*parawún*) of the *kyaung*, which stands within a liberal enclosure, planted with fruit-trees. The *kyaung* as such has no particular style. The superposed roofs and decorated spires (*pyatthat*) of the votive *kyaung* are emblems of secular state, added to confer distinction.

57. YAHAN ON HIS JOURNEY.

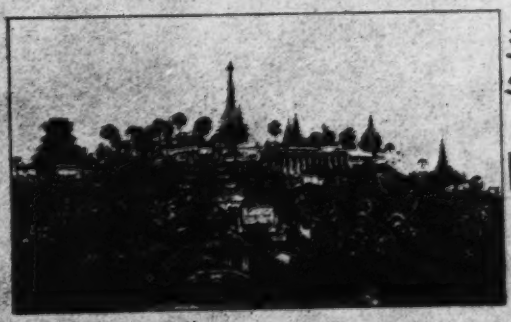
25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

28. AGED YAHAN CARRIED ON VIN.

The majority of the *kyaungs* and buildings of Burma are constructed on piles. The country at large is mountainous. The Burman race monopolises the flat lands in the basin of the upper Irawadi — "the narrows" (*Anyd*)—in the same way as the Shan races do in the sphere of their influence and the Mun (or Taláing) race in the south (Pegu). 346 341 311 [563]

The quasi-aboriginal races occupy the hill-land and mountains. The plains-dweller settles as near as he can to the natural waterways with which Burma is abundantly provided. In the drought the rivers recede to great distances from their flood-level margins. In order to be close to the channels, the houses have to be on high piles. The races of Burma adhere to their practice of pile-building even on elevated sites, such as those of the temples. The Burman wood architecture appears to have developed through the exigencies of pile-building and under the influence, as regards decoration, of an exotic masonry style. The Burman style possesses a naïve charm recalling the art of the "ages of faith" in Western Europe. It has a certain resemblance to the wooden church-building of Norway. The style was in full vigour up to the middle of the nineteenth century. Since that time novelties of type and manufacture have crowded in faster than they could be assimilated into the indigenous arts, on which they are foisted crudely (Nos. 60, 99). [177]

The affinities of Burman art above referred to, to the art of mediæval Europe, are extrinsic only. The "aspiring" character of the florid ornament, the quaint figures in their labyrinths of tracery, recall the crocketed niches and fantastic gargoyles of the



29. TEMPLE HILL.

341 531 [346]

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1931 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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60. DECADENT KYAUNG.

Gothic, especially in the richness of the *ensemble*. But the Burman decoration does not strike the eye as an efflorescence of the structure so much as an overlaying of it. The grandest work produces the effect of an elaborate model rather than a monumental achievement. The perspicuity of the play of forces operating in the structure, out of which the poetry of Gothic architecture flows, has a parallel in the Burman boat-building. But the effort which the land architecture incorporates, to interpret a masonry style in wood, was naturally productive of incongruities, despite the fact that the masonry was itself an interpretation of still earlier wood building. The outward incongruities have been mitigated in the unique style in which the genius of Burma has found expression. The stiff and monotonous feather-ornament of the Hindu gable (No. 74) has developed into the Burman flamboyant decoration. The bold finial is the sole element of the original which has been preserved literally (No. 62). The graduated ornament of the *pyatthat*, soaring above the verdure, recalls the proportions of some budding head-of-bloom—a case in point of the theory of the sources of architectural types, in the insensible suggestions of natural objects, expressed by Herbert Spencer. (*Essays*, vol. ii.) Through the Burman treatment types other than architectural, which Burma has borrowed, acquire a new and distinctive interest.

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When a *kyaung*, or any work of public utility, has been undertaken by the people of a village jointly, it is kept in good repair. But when it has been carried out at the cost of an individual—and this applies to most of the public works—the repairs are left to the founder and to his family, who have frequently

61. ORNAMENTATION OF KYAUNG.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

62. RAVIN ORNAMENT.

exhausted their resources in the building of it. In the moist region the effects of rain and vegetation combine to dilapidate buildings in less than a lifetime. The stone-grey and lichen-covered wood attains the distinction of age before its time. In the dry zone of Burma Proper fires are very frequent. Few examples of wood architecture of over a century old exist anywhere. It is scarcely possible to trace the steps by which the present style developed from the Indian models. 346 735 [132 731]

As distinguished from the *kyaung*, *thein*, and other wood buildings, the *Zedi*, which are such a prominent feature of Burma and Siam, are of masonry. In Arakán they are of hewn stone; elsewhere they are of brick plastered with lime. It is a point of honour with the Buddhists of those countries to crown every eminence with a *zedi*. The chief *zedi* of a place—*Payá-dyt*—is on the highest ground in the vicinity, and is cared for by the public. The subsidiary *zedi*, the *wut*, *tazáung*, and other accessories which cluster around the *Payá-dyt*, are the work of private individuals. Old and new are huddled in chaotic profusion. Many erections are ruinous and disregarded. But so long as a vestige of the original structure, remains, it monopolises the site. The development of the conical *zedi* may be traced, step by step, from the ancient temple. Originally, *zedi* are shrines for relics of the Buddha—the Indian *Stupa*, *tôp*, *dāgaba*, *dagôba*, of which last "pagoda" is a transposition. The vast majority of *zedi* only pretend to symbolize actual shrines. The shrines of reputed relics are 346 778

63. DETAIL OF EAVES AND GABLE

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 API Burma
Burmese AP4

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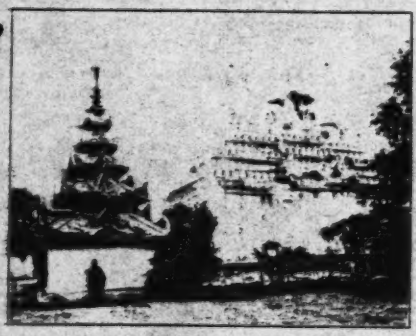

64. ANCIENT THEIN AND MODERN PYATTHAT.

visited by pilgrims from distances of months' journeys. The earliest relics cherished are said to have been the *parĕikaya* of Gawdama Buddha. Symbols of the sacred *thabĕit* are placed about the *zedi*. Later, the remains of the Buddha were venerated. Bones, teeth, and hairs are thus enshrined. Those reputed relics which can be exhibited, such as the teeth (Myohaung in Arakán, Anuradhapúra in Ceylon), are of many times the human proportions. The legend ascribes colossal stature to the Buddha. He did not tread the earth, but floated above it; his alms-bowl did not rest upon his hands, but remained suspended in the air (*cf.* p. 36). In its later form, the *zedi* consists of a pyramidal or polygonal base (*pandt-chi*), with niches (*hlaing-gu*) for images of the Buddha. This part is the rudiment of the original four-square temple. It is represented in all stages of its decrement (Nos. 66, 97). Above the base come tapering courses (*pyissagan*), after these the bell-shaped body (*kaunglaung-bôn*) separated by three mouldings (*kyo-waing*) from the *thabĕit-kmauk* (inverted alms-bowl). Then follow seven heavy bead-rolls (*paung kun-hnilôn*) surmounted by the lotus (*kyá-lan, saláung-bôn*), out of which issues the bulb (*ngapyáw-bû, pein-hné-daung*). The canopy (*tí*, umbrella, No. 232) is a metal construction of graduated bands one above the other, richly embossed and ornamented. To the lower edges of these bands small bells are hung, which have vanes to their clappers to make them tinkle in the wind. The *tí* terminates in a long finial bearing a vane (*hngemmana*) and at the apex a silver orb studded with jewels (*seimbû*). On lesser *zedi* a glass ball or bottle caps the finial. The *tí* is always gilt, the cone generally whitewashed. In wealthy towns the cone of the *Payá-dyí* is gilt from crown to

65. LIMESTONE ROCK ON THE ATARAN.

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

66. SHYAKA-TAIK, THATON.

platform (*tamánthalin*). Unlike the ancient temples with their stairs and corridors, the later *zedi* is a solid mass of brick and earth, plastered over. The summit is inaccessible, except by means of scaffolding (*uyau*, No. 217). *Zedi* are commonly spoken of as *Payá*, in the same way as are the images of the Buddha, for which the distinctive term is *sindu*.

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In addition to the *zedi*, the *thein*, and *kyaung*, there are three other classes of religious edifices, the *tazdung*, *wut*, and *zayát*. All these may be decorated in the palatial style and are mostly of wood. But a public well or a roadside water-stand, the portal of a bridge or a wharf, may likewise be surmounted by the royal *pyatthat* in virtue of the religious distinction which attaches to every work dedicated to public use by private bounty. Nothing adds so much to the picturesqueness of Burma. The temple *zayát* (No. 98) is intended for sojourners in the precincts on duty days. The *wut* differs from the *zayát* in having a dais for images of the Buddha. The *tazdung* is only for the reception of images.

The ancient remains are almost entirely confined to the dry zone of Burma Proper, with the exception of a few in Thatôn and in Arakán. Those at Thatôn, dating from about 1000 A.D., have square bases built of huge laterite blocks in the Indian style. The ornament is deeply hewn into the stone. Above the laterite base is brick and plaster work of later date. Apart from the destructive influence of the climate, and of the rank vegetation the climate favours, a further reason of the scarcity of ancient monuments and inscriptions is the over-building of the shrines, by which the original work is lost to view.

67. SHWE-HMAWDAW PAYA, PEGU.

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Where we say "countless as the

25: Ferrars E-5. (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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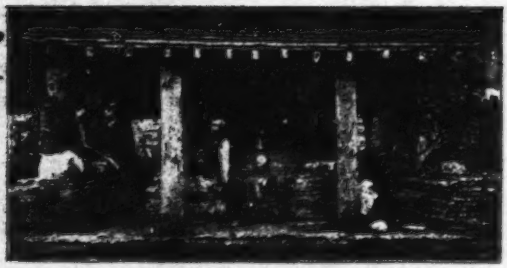

68. WUT WITH IMAGES OF THE BUDDHA.

stars," the Burman says "countless as the temples of Pagán." The remains at Pagán are all ecclesiastical with the exception of the city gates and ramparts (No. 6). The temple enclosures are now ploughed, but no building is cleared nor is any of the old material utilised. The Pagán monuments are of brick laid in clay and generally lime-plastered. Many have been wrecked by treasure-hunters. A few of the principal temples only are kept in repair. Pagán is said to have been exhausted by the temple-building of its kings, who, besides exacting labour from their subjects, must have imported skilled labour. An old saying is "the temple is finished and the country is ruined." The temple remains occupy an area of several thousand acres, in many places with just room for roads between the walls of the enclosures. The style of the Pagán buildings is Indian. It has been suggested that the Hindu type of work and possibly Buddhism itself reached Pagán by way of Annam: the Mun or Peguan race, from whom the Burmans adopted Buddhism, having a language of Annam type. The great ruins at Angkor Wat, two hundred miles east of Bankok, have been compared to the ruins of Pagán. (See *Through the Buffer State*, by Surgeon-Major McGregor, 1896.) Such a route as this would help to account for certain features of Burman architecture foreign to India, the superposed roofs, and everted gable-ends. The Indian types may have reached Burma by this circuit as well as by the direct route.

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69. THADYA PAYA AT THATON.

The ancient temples of Pagán consist of brick corridors, one within the other, with vaulted pent roofs of masonry springing from the outer or lower wall to the inner or higher. The section of the vault is like that of a Gothic flying buttress. In the centre of all are colossal images

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

[opp. p. 32]

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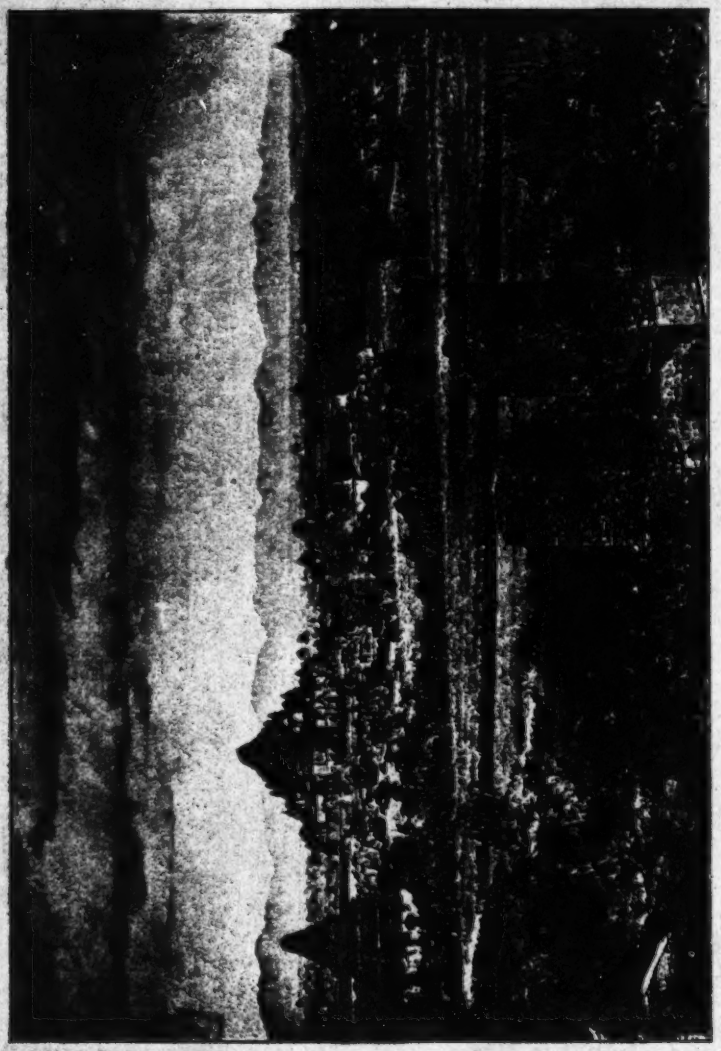

70. RUINS AT PAGAN

[To face p. 32.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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71. TERRA-COTTA FIGURES AT THADYA PAYA, THATON.

of the Buddha, set against the column which supports the dome or Hindu cone. The later domes are pure vaults without central support. In these ancient temples the conical *zedi* now so typical of Burma forms the finial only, held like a jewel, by four cusps. The lowermost portion of this structure resembles an inverted *thabôt*, the name of the homologous part of the modern *zedi*. Possibly this forms the actual reliquary or is the symbol of the same.

An example of direct imitation of Indian monuments is the *Bawdi Payá*. It takes its name from the *Bo* tree at Buddha Gáya in Bahár, and is a florid reproduction of the *stupa* there. It was built by King Zeyathinka about 1220 A.D.

The temple named after Ananda, the chief disciple of the Buddha, was built by King Kyansitthu about 1080 A.D. Both the temple (No. 8) and the *thein* and *kyaung* adjoining (Nos. 64, 74) are in full preservation. The gigantic lattice gates of the inner temple are of teak-wood and probably coeval with the masonry.

The most imposing of the ancient monuments and the one which marks the best period of the Pagán architecture is Thappyinnyu Payá, built by King Alaung Sithu, about 1100 A.D. (No. 73). Its height is two hundred feet or more.

In the mural decorations at Pagán the Indian character is as marked as in the buildings themselves. India has evidently furnished the subjects of the Burman designer and trained his style (Nos. 272, 94).

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The Burman bricklayers had at one time lost the art of arch-building. A pointed arch like the Gothic is used in the temples of ancient Pagán (Nos. 75, 76).

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The images of the Buddha (*sindu*) are the principal features of the interior of the ancient temples, the true character of

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72. BAWDI PAYA, PAGAN.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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77 IMAGE OF THE BUDDHA ENCIRCLED BY FICUS.

(*ht-deitha*), where, after dedication, they cease to be private property. The sole virtue of these symbols lies in the pious intention with which they are dedicated. The figure of the disciple Ānanda is frequently placed in the houses or taken on journeys (No. 316).

Besides the reputed relics of the Buddha, the miraculous foot-prints which legend assigns to him on rocks in Burma and Arakán are venerated (*Chidaw-yé*). Every Burman knows that Gawdama never travelled out of Bahár and was in all respects as other men; the licence of the legend is a poetic one. Models of these foot-prints are placed in the temple precincts. Here conventionality reaches the extreme; the sole is laid out with rule and compass and the surface mapped into diagrams of cabalistic import (No. 450).

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The Buddhist scriptures should be deposited in masonry temples (*Bitaka-taik*, No. 66). These exist in a few places, but in general the scriptures are kept in special chests (*saddik*) in the *kyaungs* (No. 453). The Shan-Tarôk (p. 146) place *saddik* in their houses, and take pride in the volume of manuscripts these contain. The complete Páli text, together with the patristic commentaries and glosses, written on palm-leaf, would occupy a space of perhaps one hundred cubic feet. The text alone would cover about one thousand five hundred quarto pages of pica type. Only a few *kyaungs* possess the complete Tripitaka. Besides the scriptures, other ancient writings are treasured, such as the *kyanza* of cosmogony (see Sangermano), the *Zát* literature—the legendary lives of the Buddha in previous states of existence, embellished with romance of recent date.

78 IMAGE OF THE BUDDHA ON SALIN.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

The tall flag-staff (*tagúndaing*) is the most striking of the temple-accessories. It consists of a decorated spar, sixty to eighty feet high, from which floats a long streamer. The head of the pole is ornamented with a mythical animal, generally the *hintha* (*hanza*, a fantastic figure of the Brahmany duck) or else the *kinnayá*, a monster with the body of a woman in princely array and the wings and legs of a bird. The butt of the *tagúndaing*, instead of being planted in the ground, is frequently set between piles which are carved into figures of the mythical *thadyá* (p. 186, No. 7). The pole is held up by transverse bars passing through it and the piles.

79. TAGUNDAING WITH KEINNAYA.

80. TAGUNDAING WITH HINTHA.

Colossal lions (*chinthé*, No. 56) of the Burmese conventional type guard the temple approaches—monsters differing as much in their way from the prototype as the lions of our own heraldry.

Stands shaped like a *bálin* or throne, on which flowers and fruit are offered, are placed on the temple platforms.

Great bells are hung at every shrine (No. 97). The votary takes the deer-antler off the bar and strikes first the ground and then the bell. This is to call to witness beings both under the earth and above the earth and make them participators in the merit of the act of worship. The Burman bell has noble proportions and is hung by metal clasps of rich design, figuring the mythical dragon (*nagá*, No. 47). The tone of the bells is not rich, owing partly to the form, partly to flaws in casting. The greatest bell in Burma is that cast by the Emperor Bodaw Payá, on the European model, in 1790, for the temple he began at Mingún. It is said to weigh eighty-eight tons. A historic bell

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
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regarded as oneself, they are loved and are succoured, and by such actions the consequences of sin are atoned for. As imperfections are corrected by self-

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99. TEMPLE ZAYAT.

discipline, crimes are expiated by the pains of hell (*nguyi*). For the perception of the great aim, that is, extirpation of desire and all that desire entails, there are given the principles *Anitsa, Dukha, Anatta* (change, trouble, dependence), which

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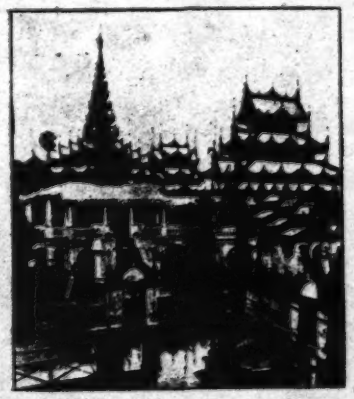

99. DECADENT KYAUNG (p. 99).

the pious ponder as they tell their beads, and which may be paraphrased as the *impermanence* of all things, the *struggle* which the "unpitying rush of changes" involves and the *helplessness* of the event, which is "at the mercy of blind

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
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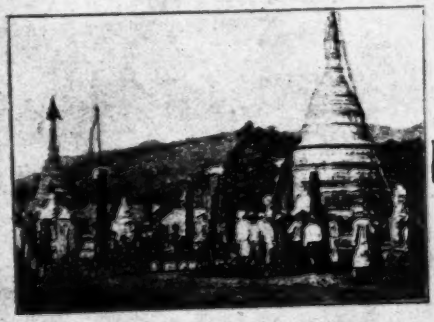
122. CUTTING GIANT BAMBOO (WABO).

and the roof-rafters. Straight trees are selected for posts, and are either left plain, or the sapwood is dressed off, or they are dubbed octagonal; the timbers are rough-hewn with the *dâ*. Posts of hard and durable wood (*pyinkadô*) are also squared, and the scantlings for the timbers cut with the saw. A special significance attaches to the posts of the house. It is thought unlucky if birds alight on them before they are roofed in. Sham bows and arrows are set at the heads of the posts to scare them (*hugemmana*). Besides the miniature bow-and-arrow stuck in bazár goods to scare crows, this is the only form in which the long-bow and arrow survive in Burma; in practice, arrows are used with a crossbow (No. 204) and pellets with the plain bow (*le*), and that not extensively. Another curious custom is the one of laying a piece of cloth between the head of the post and the wall-plate as a propitiation to the *nat* of the tree (p. 187). Before the large posts of temples are reared, their heads are hung with offerings, which the workpeople afterwards share among themselves. The front bays of the house have a floor only a few feet off the ground (*kyanníng*)—unless where the flood-levels require it to be higher—making a verandah, the common or unenclosed portion of the house, free to strangers. The back bays have a floor about four cubits off the ground or above the lower floor. A bamboo or wooden ladder connects the floors. The upper floor is enclosed all round, and has one or two bays partitioned off. A pent-roof covers the cooking-place and grain-bin, where the rice-pounders and implements are stored as well; or else there is a shed for



123. REARING THE POSTS OF THE WUT.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

166. VILLAGE CHEVAUX-DE-FRISE.

away from the company. In a similar spirit of courtesy a rider dismounts and umbrellas are closed. Among acts of discourtesy few are accounted so grave by the Burmans as that of awakening a sleeper. The reluctance to disturb a sleeper is connected with the belief that the spirit (*leippya*) leaves the body during sleep (p. 197). It is looked upon as a weakness to show resentment and temper (*dawtha*, p. 44). A visitor in a house is offered a new mat to sit upon, water to drink, betel to chew, and a spittoon. If it be meal-time he is invited to partake; otherwise he is asked if he has had food, and refreshment is brought. Although the quota of leisure that falls to everyone is greater in Burma than anywhere else, owing to the wide-spread prosperity of the inhabitants, there is perhaps no country in which every man, woman, and child is less exempt from business concern. Thus it happens that after a few commonplaces, conversation inevitably gravitates to business—prices, harvests, prospects. Next in interest come the festival programmes, the local celebrities and their doings. In every house there are scales and weights, and the household is engaged in occasional or regular trade. Accounts in money and kind are current between neighbours. Whatever spare produce remains is exposed for sale.

The villages either have a quick fence of impenetrable thorny bamboo (*myinwa*), or a hedge of cactus and briar, or bamboo *chevaux-de-frise*. In some parts they are open. The old towns (*myo*) had ramparts and stockades (Nos. 6, 371, 387). The highest sites about the village are for the *zedi*, the *Payá-myo* or sacred ground, the next best are for the *kyaung*. Then comes the enclosure of

167. APPROACH TO THE VILLAGE.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

[opp. P.82]

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FIRE IN THE TEMPLE PRECINCTS

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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209. THE HAMADRYAD.

one commonly notices. A great lizard (*put*), weighing twenty to forty pounds, infests hollow trees; it is shot and eaten by the Burmans, and its skin used for sandals. Most of the venomous snakes of India are common to Burma, excepting the small and deadly *krait*. The formidable hamadryad is added, but there are no fully established cases of the pursuit of man which is attributed to this snake. The casualties due to snake-bite are chiefly among the reapers. The gigantic python is not dangerous to man. Scorpions and centipedes are common enough, but their stings and bites are not often serious.

Good clay for pottery is only found in certain localities, and from these the manufactures are sent to great distances by water. Clay almost stone-hard and laterite are pounded with a tilt-hammer, screened, and worked up in certain proportions with water and sand, by treading with the feet. The best and strongest pots for cooking are not turned on the lathe but *patted* into shape by hand. These are but slightly porous and of a hard consistence. The lathe pottery is very porous when not glazed. A salt glaze is used for jars to store oil. For ornamental work, lead glazes, coloured with vitriols, are employed. At the potteries, immense reverberating kilns are built for firing the pots. Smaller kilns are fired all round or are excavated underground on the plan of the lime-kiln. Wood is the fuel used.

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Stone for building is scarce, except in Arakán. Masonry is reserved for the *zedi*. Of late, owing to a fresh impulse from India, masonry has again come into greater use. Everywhere in the inhabited plains one

210. POTTERY—PATTING THE WARE INTO SHAPE.

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

211. LATHE POTTERY.

comes upon bricks, and on nearly every hill bricks bear evidence that at some time a *zedi* had crowned the top. In the moist region the disintegrating effect of the vegetation is such that frequently no indication remains of the form of the original structure. The use of brick doubtless came in with the early Buddhist architecture exemplified at Pagán. The brick-fields are on the confines of the rice-fields, and of the same character as to soil, a light loam. The work begins in November after the ground has dried. The surface soil is rejected and the earth dug with mattocks a yard or two deep. The clods are soaked in water and trodden into a doughy mass with an admixture of rice husk. The bricks are moulded direct on the ground, which has been smoothed beforehand, and are left to dry in the sun (No. 181). Before stacking the dried bricks, the lower or rough edge is trimmed with a *dá*. The commonest size of brick is 12" × 6" × 1½". A burn consists of ten thousand bricks and sells for about forty-five rupees. In the dry zone, brick has always been used for house-building to some extent, unless when prohibited by the government. In the south, the brick-work is invariably plastered over with *ingade* to prevent the clay mortar from washing out. Now that bricklaying in Pegu has passed into the hands of masons from India, lime-mortar is usual.

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The limestone rocks which are a feature of the Eastern Peninsula, rise abruptly from the plains to heights of one to three thousand feet (No. 107). They are honeycombed with fissures which facilitate quarrying. During the floods, boats can approach and be loaded with the stone. Lime is used for whitewash, plaster, mortar, and for chewing

212. FANCY POTTERY, SHAN.

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[463
563
177]
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25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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[435]
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217. PLASTERER'S SCAFFOLD ON ZEDI.

(*Kathi*) excel in this work and form colonies for the industry. Attempts have been made in Europe to imitate the scroll-patterns on the Jacquard loom, as well as to print them. But the imitations fall too far short of the original, which is nearly the same front and back. The best *lun-tayi* silks cost ten to fifteen rupees the square foot, which makes two hundred to three hundred rupees for the *pasi*. Only an inch or two a day can be woven. Italian methods of carding, dyeing, and finishing silk, were introduced by the late King, Mindôn Min, and have helped to develop an important industry in Mandalay. Stripe and tartan patterns are woven in this way, chiefly from China silk. Fine texture and delicate tints are aimed at, rather than rich colour and design. The *pasi* of

[435] twenty cubits, one cubit wide, costs ten to twenty rupees.

293 The Burman umbrella (*ti*) is on the Chinese model—a bamboo frame with

[171] paper cover. The Chinese umbrella has a thin paper cover, the Burman has bast-paper, which outlasts several of the other. But the Chinese umbrellas are cheaper, better waterproofed, and sun-proof. The Burman *ti* is waterproofed by occasional oiling with crude petroleum. A waterproof size made from the fruit of the *ti* is used for fixing the paper to the ribs and the cotton twines that connect them. The red, the

[186] gilt and the white umbrellas are emblems of state. The

[554] first two denote official rank, according to the number assigned. Such umbrellas

[532] have stems of turned wood, six to eight feet long, to allow of the *ti* being borne over the officer on horseback or in his chariot, by attendants on foot (No. 375). The

218. SCULPTURING MARBLE IMAGES.

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

219. ROPE-WALK.

inner side is brightly decorated with floss silks. Gilt umbrellas (*zkwe-dî*) are dedicated in the *kyaung*, but are not actually used. The white umbrella (*tlhyu*) is the emblem of sovereignty. The *tlhyu* is set above the images of the Buddha and above the remains of the *yahán*, who are assumed at their death to enter upon a higher spiritual stage. The metal canopy surmounting the *zedi* is a conventionalised *tî* (No. 232). Of late, European umbrellas have become a staple import of Burma.

293 [283] [186] [179] [346] [177] [439]

Lacquer-ware vessels and utensils—light, durable, and watertight—are made with the help of *thissi*, the exudation of the bark of *Melanorrhœa usitatissima*, a common tree of the *in* forest. The gum blackens to jet on exposure to the air. It dries slower than the "Japan black" of commerce, but is much tougher; it sells for two to three rupees a viss. *Thissi* is applied to wood turnery and bamboo wickerwork, either plain or with pigments, generally with vermilion. The commonest lacquer goods are platters (*byat* and *dounglan*), which are turned of teak or *yamané* wood and given two or three coats of *thissi*. After the platters, the principal article of lacquer-ware is the betel-box (*kun-it*). Coarse lacquering is done everywhere in the dry region, but the betel-box industry is peculiar to Pagán. The advantage of lacquer-ware and of a deep cover for the betel-box, is to keep the green leaf fresh. At first sight it appears incredible that these exact cylindrical boxes with their trays and covers, fitting as if each piece had been turned out of the block, should start from a wicker-work frame. Yet so it is; the models are plaited so true that the rest

322 285

220. HILL-PEOPLE TWISTING ROPE.

[283]

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901. AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

292. CANOPY OF GREAT ZEDI (VI, pp. 30, 101).

thing like a spoke-shave (*daing-dyaik*), for the rough shaping of the blades after forging, to save their files. The blacksmiths make the axes of the country also. The old Burman axe consists of a long-handled wooden mallet with an iron tip like a small spade. The smiths also make spear-heads for the hill-people, iron shoes for ploughs, mattocks and hoes, tires and axles of carts, dee nails for boats, nippers for sugar-cane and betel-nut, and other tools. They do repairs of locks and fire-arms. A special class of iron-work is making *tl* for *zedi*. The tinsmith's trade was unknown in Burma until fifty years ago. In Pegu it is still in Indian hands; but in Mandalay the Burman tinsmiths are unequalled.

Argentiferous galena is found in Burma, but the ore barely repays working for the sake of the lead. The silver used in Burma and most of the gold is imported from China, India, and Europe. A dozen villages in different parts of Burma get a living by sifting the sand of streams which bear gold. A broad thin wooden dish shaped like a flat cone is filled with sand and gravel, and worked at the water-level with a rotary movement, by which the lighter material is driven out centrifugally. The dish is filled and refilled, and after seven or eight hours' work as many grains weight of gold flakes will have accumulated in the depression at the centre. The out-turn of a steady worker is three to five tikals of gold in the season.

293. MOUNTAIN CASCADE.

The stock in trade of the gold and silver worker consists of a bamboo blast, clay crucibles, blowpipe, solder and flux, aquafortis and mercury, hammers, punches and anvils of bronze and iron, wire-plate and beading-plate. Bullion is furnished by the customer, who pays from one half up to the full weight, in

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

644 on such occa-
sions the king appeared in the royal insignia, which otherwise only figure as
[643] emblems of state. The insignia in the illustration are surmounted by a queen's
crown (*sîbbu*). The shape of a king's crown is seen in Nos. 151 and 425. There
[346] being but a single palace and thousands of *kyaungs* and temples, the palace
[344] appears to resemble a *kyaung*. But the converse is the fact; the *kyaung* it
is which in virtue of its religious character shares the
distinction of the palace. The most recent style adopted
by the Burman sovereigns was *Shin-Bayin*—Lord of
Lords. A chief title was *Sinbyû Shin*—Lord of the
White Elephant. Every subject prostrated himself in
the presence of the king, with face averted from the
effulgence of the royal countenance. An official called
thandawzin used to repeat aloud the words uttered by
the king. The ensign betokening the presence of the
king and of the chief queen (*mîbayâ*) is the *tîbyû* (p. 101).
Two to eight were borne according to the solemnity of the
occasion. The chief queens were frequently half-sisters
of the kings. For all the royal acts, the lying, rising,
eating, speaking, there are euphemisms proper to the
occasion; one of the most current of these is *shwepawddaw*
—the golden foot. At his demise the sovereign is said
to migrate to the abode of *nats* or delectable land; the
staff of his *tîbyû* was broken. The paraphernalia of the
king's service were elaborate; but in his attitude to
the *yahán* he comported himself as an ordinary man.
The Royal White Elephant was maintained in great
pomp; it ate and drank out of golden vessels and had
a retinue for its service. An elephant really white—
probably an albino—was captured in 1805, but was
pampered so that it died. A second was captured in
1806 which lived for fifty years. Other "white ele-
phants" kept for state have enjoyed their reputation
in virtue of possessing certain assumed criteria of the
"white" variety, as to the number of the toes, direction
of the tail-tuft and other distinctions, without regard to the colour of the skin.

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384. CARVED FIGURE OF NAT.

644 Change of capital at the accession of a new sovereign was characteristic of
Burman empire, even when there was no change of dynasty or other political
633 convulsion. Events of the latter kind were no doubt the original reasons of
such changes. Next to Pagán, Sagáing, on the right bank of the Irawadi,
facing the flat and now desolate site of Ava, is the most impressive of the

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

388. TEMPLES RAISED BY A MODERN KING (THE KUTHODAW p. 122).

historic centres of Burman dominion. Sagáing was abandoned for the last time in 1776 for a new capital at Amayapôya (*Amarapúra* — Abode of Immortals) half-way between Ava (*Inwa*) and the modern capital Mandálé, which was founded in 1857, after the accession of King Mindôn Min. The most ancient capital is Tagáung, one hundred miles north of Mandalé. Other capitals were Shwebó, Myinzaing, Pannya. The capitals of the Taláing dominion were Thatôn, Pegu, and Prome (*Pye*). Rangoon (*Yangôn*), at the meeting point of five navigable channels, and with anchorage for the largest ships, has out-distanced all competitors since the modern development of commerce.

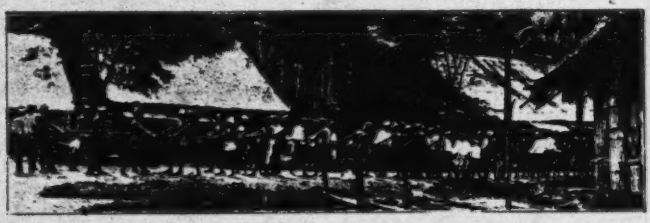
For the history of Burma the only available source is the official chronicle kept by command of the kings—*mahâ-yazawîn*. The first part is occupied with the legendary origin of the race from the cloud-dwellers—*Byammâ* (the Burman form of *Brahma*).* The names and doings of legendary persons follow, and lines of legendary kings. The earliest historical facts which emerge are the founding of Tagáung, and incidents relating to the Buddha and the councils of his church in India. It is believed by Phayre that the *Savanna Bhumi* of ancient Indian books refers to Thatôn, and that under *Chryse Chersonesus* Ptolemy refers to the Eastern Peninsula of Asia. We do not reach a connected history till the founding of Pagán about 100 A.D. From that epoch onwards the history of the peninsula, until the Burman Empire was consolidated and the dynasty of

389. FIGURES OF BYAMMA (EMBROIDERY).

* The name is also written *Myammâ*, but commonly pronounced *Bamâ*, of which "Burma(h)" and "Birma" are corruptions.

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

balloons are sent off, and the rivers are illuminated with rafts carrying lamps which are set adrift. Labyrinths of bamboo are erected round the *zedi*, which entertain the children and especially the hill-people, who pique themselves, not 796



[526]

416. NEW-YEAR TUG-OF-WAR.

without reason, on their sense of locality. These labyrinths are called *Wingabá*, after the mountain maze, to which Prince Wéthandayâ was banished by his father, in the *zát* legend.

Tazáung-mòn is the next festival after *Thadíndyút*; it is kept in Pegu, but not in Burma Proper. At this season Buddhists commemorate the miraculous journey of Gawdama Buddha to the *nat* country after the death of his mother, to impart to her the enlightenment which had come to him on earth, and by means of which he had attained peace. Spires of bamboo-work and tinsel—the *tazáung-daing*—are built twenty to fifty feet high, as symbols of the stair by which Gawdama ascended. These are carried round the place with music, and are finally dedicated at the *zedi* (No. 422). In the months of *Tazáung-mòn* and *Thadíndyút* the *katéin-thingán* are dedicated, and the *mathò-thingán* are woven. The *katéin-thingán* is the annual supply of the primitive *paréi-kaya*, and is of a nominal character, owing to the profusion of offerings at other times. The *mathò-thingán* is a cloth wherewith to deck the images of the Buddha and the *paung* of the *zedi* (Nos. 429, 449). It is the offering of the women who weave it,

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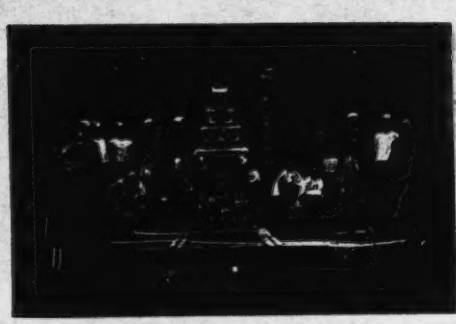
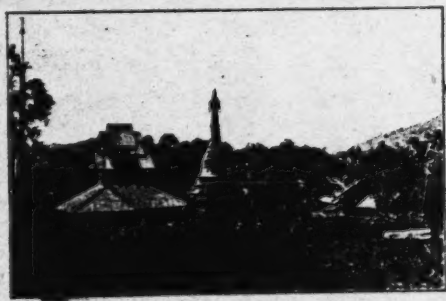
417. BUHLAUNG AT THADINDYUT FESTIVAL.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

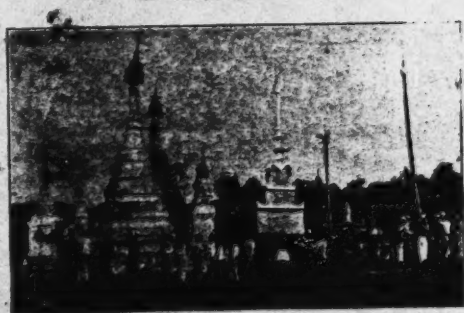
dwellers to whom the Burmans pretend to owe their origin. These ethereal beings are subject to the law of *karma*, and re-birth. They have to attain *nirvâna* like men, through virtue. Under "gods" in the Pali scriptures are to be understood such beings as these. Together with men they form the group *thaddawâ* — rational beings—to whom the message of the Buddha is delivered. (See Stevenson, *Lexicon*, pp. 603, 788.) The higher orders of existence are not to be confounded with the higher religious states, *ayakât*, *ayâttapâ*, which are attained by the "noble path" alone (p. 46). In this fairyland, situated in the *Himawûnta taw* (Himalayas) and its clouds, the poetry of the people centres. (See *The Soul of a People*, Chapter XXI.) As the heavens are indwelt by ethereal beings, so also everything on earth has its presiding genius. The heavenly *genii* are beneficent, the terrestrial ones friendly or malign. The *nats* of the mountains inspire awe, and their protection is invoked against wild beasts and dangers to wayfarers. A *nat* is pro-



420. RIVER ILLUMINATIONS AT THADINDYUT.



421. MAZES AT THADINDYUT.



422. TAZAUNGMON FESTIVAL.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

A nat is pro-

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433. PROPITIATING THE LOCAL NATS (NAKKAZA).

pitiated by offerings at a shrine, almost always in miniature. Only fruit, flowers, and music are offered by Buddhists. A special genius is assigned to the dwelling—*ein-dwin Min Magayi nat*, in whose little shrine a cocoanut is offered. The nut is replaced as the water dries up, which it is assumed the *nat* has drunk. There are *nats* who preside over countries, Û Mindyi and Û Mindyâ for Burma, Û Yindyi for Pegu, Bôdaw and his sons for Thatôn, and other local *nats*. These *nats* are propitiated by such offerings as a crown, or by standing guard before their images, upon undertaking a journey, entering on a race or other contest. The five *nats* of the firmament have a special cult associated with that of the eight planets, with which the Buddha and eight *yahánda* are mixed up. The local *nats* are most commonly propitiated in *pyatho* (December), the harvest month. The visitations of malign spirits are attributed to what the Burmans call unripe (*asêin*) deaths. Such are deaths from lightning-stroke, accidents of all sorts, child-bed, cholera, and whatever is violent and sudden. The normal re-incarnation of the *karma* of such is immature; they haunt localities as ghosts (*tasi*), and seek the bodies of the living for hosts, thereby causing sickness. Slaughter in battle accounts for a plague of this kind, and the one plague entails another.

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Pilgrimages to the great shrines are made in the dry months, especially at times of full moon. The most sacred shrine of the Peninsula and the perennial resort of pilgrims is the *zedi* on the site of the ancient Mun village Dagôn, renamed Yangôn (Rangoon). The legend declares that the original founders of the shrine deposited eight hairs

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434. SHRINE OF THE HOUSE-GENIUS—MIN MAGAYI NAT.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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427. PILGRIMS WITH THEIR BELONGINGS.

1884, and has had to be replaced. The body of the image is encrusted with gold which the pilgrims affix; by a miraculous quality of the image the gold leaf is said to adhere without the usual size. Next in celebrity to this image is the *Shwe-zattaw*, a sacred footprint on the rock, west of Mimbu on the Irawadi (*cf.* p. 36). Only the site of the original footprint on the hill is shown. The rock which bore it clove asunder, according to the legend, in consequence of a profanation. A model of the original occupies a *tazáung* beneath. The fourth great resort of pilgrims is *Kyaittiyo Payá*, which is believed to enshrine two hairs of the Buddha. It is erected on a boulder which overhangs the peak of a mountain three thousand six hundred feet high, looking out on the plains of the Sittaung river. The legend tells how this boulder—which is not a rocking-stone—in days of greater piety used to float free above the summit. There are those who argue that even now a fine thread can be drawn between the boulder and the rock. About one hundred and fifty years ago

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428. SHWE-DAGON PAYA, RANGOON.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

[opp. p. 190]

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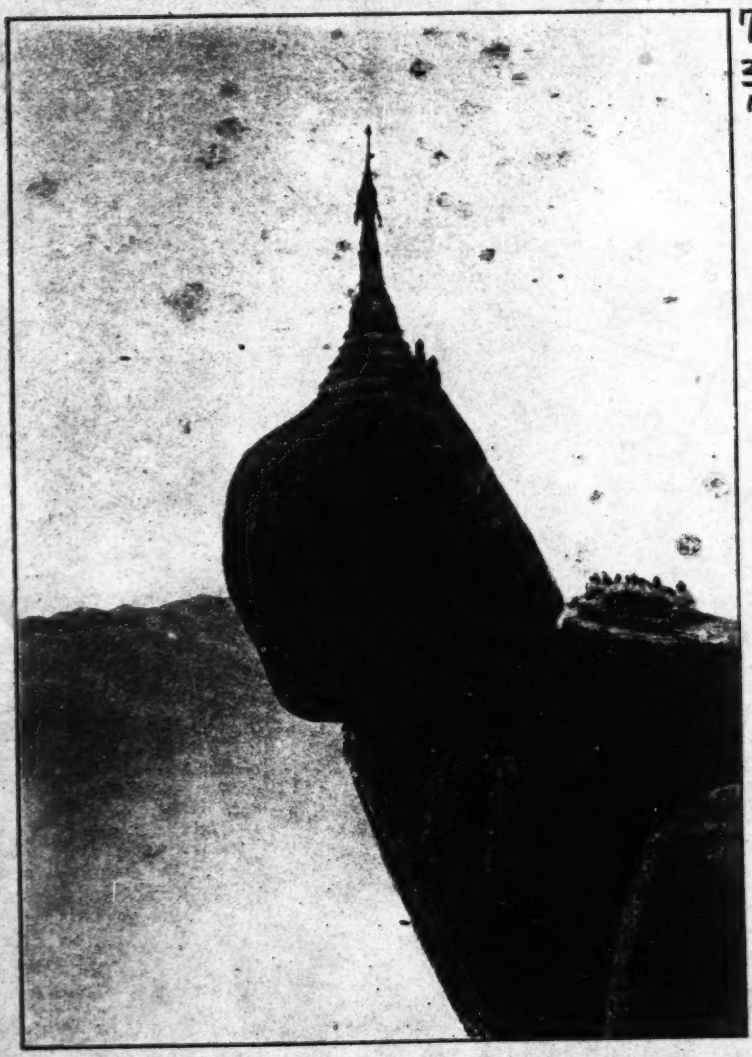

439. KYAITTIYO PAYA. [To face p. 190.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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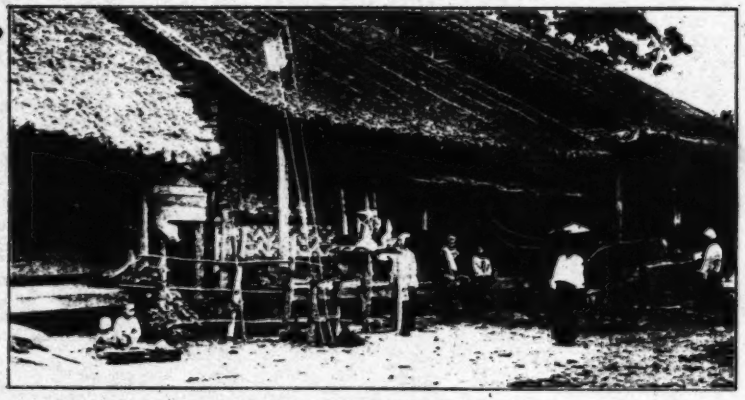

431. DECORATING THE THEBONZEDI p. 127.

CHAPTER IX

AGE AND MORTALITY

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432. A DAUGHTER PRAYING HER PARENTS TO NOBO-SAT.

THE men and women of the tropics age and die sooner than those of temperate climates. One meets reputed centenarians in Burma, but it is rarely that the old people can prove their age, unless they are able to connect their year of birth with some historical event. Ninety years is a very great age for a native of Burma to attain. When parents are past their prime their children pray them to *nobo-sat*, which means that they should be at the children's charge for the remainder of their lives, as the children had first been at their parents'. The turning-point is not marked by any formality, but a child approaching parents on a solemn occasion adopts the gesture of veneration. The aged are not idle; they preserve a great elasticity of mind and interest in things;

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29: Slater M-4 (no date) 1951 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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of the Burman."[24] The most adequate inquiry on the subject to-date is the unpublished thesis by Mr. Spear which I have been privileged to quote. "It must be said," concludes Mr. Spear, "that Buddhism in Burma has kept itself remarkably free from the practice of taking ideas and customs associated with primitive religion in general and Nat worship in particular, and making them its own.... It is Buddhism which is the real religion of the people. It is what they practise in their best moments; it is what they want their children taught.... To be a Burman is to be a Buddhist."[25]

We arrive, then, at the opposite conclusion to that stated by Mr. Lowis. in his Census Report. Instead of saying that 'the Burman has added to his animism just so much Buddhism as suits him,' it is nearer the truth to say that he has added to his Buddhism just so much animism as suits his Buddhism.

Those who judge otherwise generally pay full attention to the strength and vitality of Animism, but they give less than due attention to the greater strength and vitality of organised Buddhism. They fail to note the intimate relation of the Buddhist Monastic Order to the life of the community. To this subject we must now turn, not only to accentuate the fact that Burma is Buddhist Burma, but to observe in sufficient detail the essentially religious context of the hope of Nibbāna.

3. *Monastery and Community*

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A monastery suggests to many minds a cloistered company, shut away behind high walls, or secluded on some remote hillside, as frequently in China. In a sense, the Burmese monks are similarly secluded. The monastic building, with its seven-tiered roof denoting sanctity, is generally found just outside a village, set in a bamboo grove or flanked by shady mango trees. Rising to a tapering umbrella point *(hti)* above the trees, there is a *tsedi* or pagoda,[26] which may be painted white or gold. Smaller pagodas are grouped around. Generally within the monastery building, but sometimes outside, there is an image of the Buddha, and probably several others — but always the same Buddha, Gautama, and

[24] Rev. G. Whitehead, *M.B.B.*, p. 37.

[25] *The Syncretism of Animism and Buddhism in Burma*, p. 80.

[26] *Zedi* or *tsedi*, from the Pali, means the offering place or place of prayer. *Paya*, which has also the latter connotation, is more frequently used for larger *sedis* and other shrines. The *sedi* contains relics. Hence it is nowadays often termed a pagoda (from the Singhalese dhagoba — relic (*dhātu*) shrine. But pagoda is not a Burmese term. Cf. Scott, *The Burman*, Vol. 1, chap. XV, p. 186; Pratt, *The Pilgrimage of Buddhism*, chap. VII, pp. 123ff.

29: Slater M-4 (no date) 1951 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

invariably in the same posture, seated, with one arm across his lap. The whole atmosphere is one of ordered, unhurried peace, whether within the timbered buildings, or within the surrounding compound. 792 346

But the monastery is seldom far away from the village, and this is of set purpose. The Buddhist *Saṃgha* in Burma might well be described as a teaching Order. "Of all charities, charity of learning is the noblest," observes a Buddhist layman,[27] and the monastery dispenses this charity freely. It provides the village school. There the boys learn to read and write. There, moreover, they are tutored in Buddhist lore, with a firm emphasis on ethical requirements. They learn the 'three Jewels' which enjoin reverence for the Buddha, the Law *(Dhamma)*, and the Order, and the five precepts – – not to kill, not to steal, not to lie, not to commit adultery, not to drink intoxicants. In the *Mingalā Thot* or "Song of Great Blessing," which they recite by heart[28], they learn that a wise and good man will seek to store up merit by fulfilling his domestic duties, by giving ample alms, by seeking 'self-knowledge' and by learning from holy men 'as chance affords.' The monastic ideal of utter renunciation, 'from all attachment free', is also indicated and 'Nirvana here' is said to be 'true happiness' leading to the Highest Bliss.[29] They will also learn stories of the Buddha's previous birth from the *Jātakas*, and, above all, the story of the historic Buddha. 792 621 869 871

But attendance at the day school is not their only initiation in the faith. Every Burman boy, at the age of puberty or earlier, is expected to leave home and become a boarder at the monastery for a period which may vary from weeks to years. "A Buddhist who has not been a *koyin* (novice) or donned the yellow robe," remarks a Burmese writer, "is looked upon as one who has missed the most essential (part) of his experience in this world." The village school often appears to be a merry jumble to the outsider, but during this time as a novice "each boy gets individual attention.... There is a wholesome atmosphere of intimacy and understanding between the teacher and the taught." Most of the novices return to secular life, but some remain to become fully ordained monks.[30] 792 857

The *shin-byu* ceremony, or rite of confirmation, which is another essential in the Burmese boy's initiation, generally precedes his entry to 792 881

[27] U Set, "Life in a *Phongyi Kyoung*," *Rangoon Times*, (May 13, 1931).

[28] See Appendix for fuller account of this Song and other Monastic instruction.

[29] "To understand the literature, 'serious' or popular, of Burma we cannot know the Pali Jātaka too well," M. H. Bode, *The Pali Literature of Burma*, chap. v, pp. 81, 82.

[30] U Set, op. cit.; cf. Scott, *The Burman*, Vol. I, chaps. II, III, and IV.

342 of soothsayers (9). Consequently he is naturally
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9. Bedin-saya, derived from Sanskrit, meaning Veda teacher. Judson's Burmese-English Dictionary (Rangoon, 1893), p. 782.

very careful when it comes to the construction of his house. With the aid of the soothsayer the building site must be investigated, the day and hour when to start the construction, and the choice of the timber have to be considered carefully. The shape of the posts, the irregularities of their forms, the knots in the wood where the branches were furnish important clues for the fate of the future occupants. The number of the
342 posts varies in accordance with the size of the
776 house. Usually six posts are erected for the main tract and each post has its own name. One of the posts is considered by most tribes as the seat of the house spirits. In the Burmese house this is the southeastern corner post of the main tract. The body of a deceased person is always
[764] deposited close to it until the coffin arrives. A coconut always hangs there in honor of the Mahagiri-Nat (Min Magayi), the household spirit /Figure 3--Shan house with leaf roof, Southern Shan State of Mongpai (Burmese: Mobye)/ and the coconut must always be replaced when the milk dries up. To avoid bad luck which spirits, liv-
342 ing inside the wood knots, might threaten, the
776 tops of the posts, or at least every third one,
777 are covered with white or red fabric patches; sometimes for good luck, some Thanaka paste (grated rind of Murraya exotica) is smeared on them. Even the clerics do not seem to be immune
346 to the evil influence of these nature spirits,
776 whose origins date back to pre-Buddhistic times,
777 for these protective coverings of the posts can be observed not only at residential dwellings, guest houses, bridges, etc., but also at religi-

346 776 ous buildings, such as monasteries, /208/ monas-
777 tic rest houses and wooden chapels. The bury-
782 ing alive of human sacrifices at the posts of
776 the foundations of the entrances was in old Bur-
mese days considered as an indispensable method of protecting important buildings, such as princely palaces, city gates, bridges, etc. The ghost of the entombed--according to Burmese belief those who have been killed by violence are rooted to the spot where they died--is supposed to watch as a guardian over the building, post, or bridge foundation.

As late as the middle of the past century,
782 more than fifty human beings were buried alive
787 when the foundations for the palace and the city walls of Mandalay were laid. But the protective power of those ghosts was of limited duration. From certain omens it could be predicted that the protection was going to cease, and then it was time to leave the place which was open to disaster. This was the explanation given for the frequent change of residence of the Burmese rulers. The small chapels with their stone images of door guardians at the gates and corners of the walls of the palace area of Mandalay still indicate the locations where these human sacrifices have been buried, though the modern inhabitants will not admit this to a European. At the corners, filled oil jugs were sunk over the buried people; the dwindling of the oil in the containers, which were examined every seven years, foreshadowed an approaching catastrophe in 1880. They tried to avoid this catastrophe with new sacrifices. Nevertheless, it happened. The British occupied the country and the kingdom perished (10).

171 782 10. Primarily, according to Shway Yoe, ibid., pp. 482 ff. It is well known that the burying of live sacrifices at construction foundations is a custom, widespread all over the world,

31:Scherman--57A E-4 (no date)1915 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

[p. 226]

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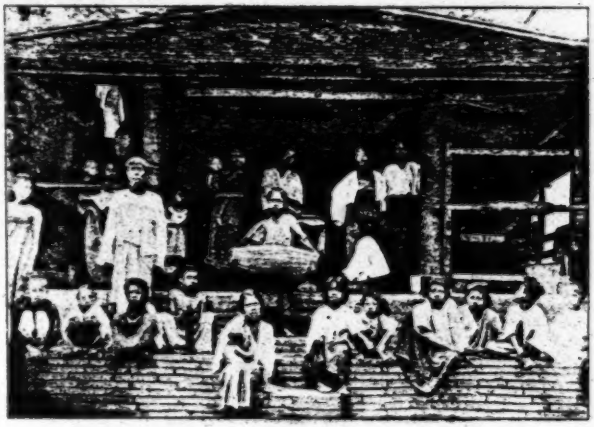

Figure 12

[For description see page 57, category 116. - Analyst]

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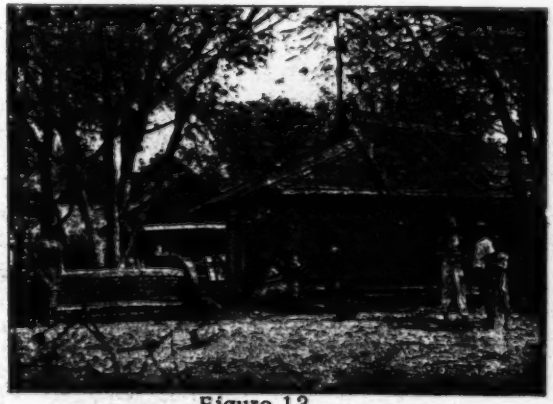

Figure 13

[For description see page 58, category 116. - Analyst]

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

443 density of population, the means of communication, and other matters. But a bazaar within reach there must always be, for it is only there that most articles
443 can be bought. The bazaar is usually held in a
347 public building erected for the purpose, and this may vary from a great market built of brick and iron to a small thatched shed. Sometimes, indeed, there is no building at all, merely a space of beaten ground.

443 The great bazaar in Mandalay is one of the sights
369 of the city. The building in which it is held is the property of the municipality, but is leased out. It is a series of enormous sheds, with iron roofs and beaten earth floor. Each trade has a shed or sheds to itself. There is a place for rice-sellers, for butchers, for vegetable-sellers, for the vendors of silks, of cottons, of sugar and spices, of firewood, of jars, of
[563] fish. The butchers are all natives of India. I have
[562] explained elsewhere why this should be. The firewood-sellers will mostly be men, as will also the large rice-merchants, but nearly all the rest are women.

You will find the sellers of spices, fruit, vegetables, and other such matters seated in long rows, on mats placed upon the ground. Each will have a square of space allotted, perhaps six feet square, and there she will sit with her merchandise in a basket or baskets before her. For each square they will pay the lessee a halfpenny for the day, which is only three hours or so. The time to go is in the morning from six till eight, for that is the busy time. Later on all the stalls will be closed, but in the early morning the market is thronged. Every house-

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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131 Burma possessed no staples of trade to encourage

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5. LANDING-STAGE IN THE TIDAL REGION.

enterprise of the peaceable sort. Left entirely to her own resources, she developed her character in independence. It preserves a large measure of its original freshness and charm.

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Detached though Burma lay from the contact of other civilisation, the seed-corn of a spiritual influence was brought to her shore from afar, and took root and spread until it pervaded her whole life. The one extraneous influence under which she fell proved of a paramount order. But the inspiration of Buddhism was broadly human, not racial. Every people might take its message to heart in their own individual way. The restraints it enjoined and the ideals it held up became the occasions for Burma to unfold her own inmost nature. The abounding treasury of Buddhist legend furnished the subjects to exercise her poetic fancy. In the fifth century, A.D., long after Buddhism had declined at its source in India, and when it only prevailed in Ceylon, its real progress began among the people who were to give it an enduring home. Buddhism is popularly credited with five hundred millions of adherents. But the seven millions of Burma and perhaps a twentieth of that number in Ceylon, together with the half million Jains of India, are the practical Buddhists of the world. With the rest the profession has sunk to an empty name, as in China and Japan, or it is lax, as in Siam, or it is utterly transformed, as in Tibet.

101 The phrase *Further India* gives point to a wide misconception. The surprise of so [172] many persons on finding that the Burmans have no *caste*—to [564] take the commonest instance—betrays the notion that Burma is part of India

6. RUINS OF CITY GATE, PAGAN.

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

773 cross-legged in the fashion in which he is ordinarily represented in the images, became sunk in meditation. The careless maids all through the hot afternoon forgot about their princely charge, until the returning crowds and the setting sun reminded them of their neglect. Then they hurried to the tree and found that the Zampu tha-bye had maintained its shadow in the exact same position all day as it was in when Prince Theidat was first laid down. Notwithstanding the arc the sun had described, the shade had all along hung over the head of the meditating Payā Alaung.

241 796 643 The festival has therefore special reason to be celebrated by the descendants of the solar kings. It was also in every way a most picturesque fête, pleased the people, and offered a valuable opportunity for squeezing money out of them. King Mindôn never omitted it, even when he was grown old and portly, and little able to follow the slow-stepping bullocks. The ceremony took place in the beginning of June, about the time when the south-west monsoon usually breaks in Mandalay. The order went forth that the king would come out on such and such a day, and the people were enjoined to get ready. Not to see him—far from it. 643 349 The right of a cat to look at a king in Mandalay was not well established. The Amein-daw was issued in order that the heads over ten houses, the Sè-eing gaungs, might see that the road in their district was in proper repair, and that the yazamat had not got out of order. The yazamat, or king's fence, was a kind of lattice-paling put up in every street in the walled town, and in any of those in the suburbs through which the king was likely at any time to pass. It was formed of thick diagonal spars made into hurdles, which were lashed to heavy posts sunk in the ground at regular intervals. The whole was whitewashed, and often flower-pots stood on the top of the posts to enliven the structure a little; and it certainly wanted enlivening a good deal. The lattice-fence undoubtedly looked very neat and tidy, as a long straight road lined with Lombardy poplars does; but it became terribly tiresome, when you found all the streets looking exactly the same, with this six-foot-high heavy wood fence standing within a couple of feet or so of

2;Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

the walls of the houses, and shutting out all view of these wooden structures. It had, however, to be kept in constant repair, and the house-reeve has to go round carefully to see that none of the whitewash had been rubbed off, nor any of the transverse bars sprung with the sun. Behind these the entire populace had to stay when the king, or any one of the queens, went out. Woe betide the wretch who was caught outside them when the procession had started. He might consider himself lucky if he escaped with only a belabouring from the fasces of the shrieking lictors. No one was supposed even to look through the little diamond-shaped holes. As a matter of fact they did; but by way of condoning for the offence, they rendered it more difficult by planting flowering shrubs between the bamboo houses and the lattice-work. 643 349

The procession on the route out to the Lèya, the royal acre, to be ploughed, was magnificent. The king was clad in all his robes of state: the paso with the daungyôp, the peacock sacred to royalty; the long silk surcoat, or tunic, so thickly crusted with jewels that its colour could not be seen; the tharapu, the spire-like crown, also a mass of precious stones; the twenty-four strings of the Order of the Salwè across his breast; and over his forehead the gold plate, or frontlet. The great gates in front of the stairs from the Hall of Audience were opened for him. Except the King of the Golden Throne no one might pass through them; there was the low red postern at the side for meaner beings—a shrewd device to make every one bow his head to the palace, whether he liked it or not. His majesty mounted the white elephant, which none save he might ride—for is not the noble creature a king himself? 643 241 796 292

The king mounted the Lord White Elephant at the palace of the latter, to the right of the Hall of Audience; but the princes and ministers, all of whom came to attend the great function in their robes of state, might not enter their howdahs till the stockade of the nandaw had been passed. Then they fell into line in order of precedence, the wuns and wundauks wearing their official mitres—tall red velvet hats, with the top curled back like a nautilus, and the base surrounded with a row of gilt spear-heads. The long 644 796

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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remainder of the rites, and as this comes in from the elders of the surrounding villages and the kappiyadayakas of neighbouring religious houses, the kyaungthagyi of the deceased's monastery sets about erecting an edifice like a thein, a "monastery of the dead." This is a building, more or less substantial, according to the sanctity of the departed, built of teak, and open all round, with the tapering ecclesiastical pya-that rising over it. Hither the coffin, with the sarcophagus, is carried and deposited on a dais in the centre, a slight railing serving to keep off wild animals. Over it a large white umbrella, with a deep paper-lace fringe, is fixed, and round about hang a number of paintings, similar to those on the payaung-bông, some of them, however, representing the favourite subject of the different races of men as known to the artist—the swarthy Hindoo, the oblique-eyed Chinaman, the Kachin with his pig on his back, and the ghastly white-faced Englishman with dog and gun. Others are simply grotesque, and a few horrible, in their delineations of the horrors of hell. Nevertheless, they are all allowed to hang there, for though it is expressly stated that paintings are among the five species of gifts which are not meritorious (dancing is another), the ordinary layman thinks that the painting he gives must certainly be an exception. Here and there in this odd kind of mortuary chapel are also keinnaya, gay tinselled pasteboard figures of men with birds' lower extremities, manôttha keinnaya and nat keinnaya, the latter having the wings and gorgeous aspect of nat-dêwas. Here the body lies in state, and there is a constant stream of pilgrims—some of them from far distant parts of the country—who come to say their religious sentences, make offerings of flowers and fruit as they would at the pagoda, and contribute what they can afford towards the remainder of the ceremony.

792 764 349 [531]

The body remains till the required sum is collected. During that time numbers of festivals are celebrated at the ne'ban kyaung; bands of music play frequently, and the same people often make three or four different offerings. The lying in state usually lasts several months, sometimes considerably over a year, and it is to be noted that a pôngyi byan never takes place during Lent.

764 792 [796]

J:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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At last all the funds are collected. An open space outside the town is cleared of jungle, and in the centre of it is erected the funeral pyre. This is constructed of bamboo matting, pasteboard brightly painted, and covered with the usual tinsel. It is, of course, in the form of the seven-roofed spire, the number of roofs, as some think, representing the number of heavens of nat-dêwas. It is square up to a height of fifteen or twenty feet, where there is a platform, on which is placed a sort of cenotaph, resembling the payaung bông in construction and decoration. Above this towers up, fifty or sixty feet higher, the bamboo canopy. When this is ready, a fortunate day is selected by the elders of the town, for they have the management of the funeral rites, to the exclusion of the brethren of the yellow robe. This is announced all over the country-side by sound of gong, and when the appointed day arrives the people come flocking from every side, each quarter or village bringing its pya-thats and padetha-bins, the former similar in construction to the spire on the funeral pile, the "wishing trees" laden with a-hlu for the surviving brethren of the pôngyi who is to be cremated. The spires are arranged round about the great central one, to be burnt along with it; the padetha-bins are delivered at the kyaung.

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There is always a great gathering round the monastery of the dead, where the sramana has been lying in state. The coffin is taken down with great ceremony, and placed on a strongly built, low four-wheeled car, surmounted by the eternal bamboo spire. Now comes a part of the ceremonial which always seems strangely absurd, not to say indecorous, to foreigners. Two, or sometimes four, stout rattan or coir ropes are fastened to the car, and forthwith all the able-bodied men present commence a frantically contested and uproarious tug-of-war. No sides whatever are selected, or numbers agreed upon. Reinforcements are always ready to back up a side which seems on the point of losing, and prematurely ending the struggle; and when a man loses his wind he leaves go his hold and sits down to have a rest. Sometimes the rope breaks, and then the progress of the funeral has to be suspended till a new one is procured and fastened on, for there is no rule as to a side abiding by its rope. Sometimes the contest goes on for two or three

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
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The tall flag-staff (*tagíndaing*) is the most striking of the temple-accessories. It consists of a decorated spar, sixty to eighty feet high, from which floats a long streamer. The head of the pole is ornamented with a mythical animal, generally the *hintha* (*hanza*, a fantastic figure of the Brahmany duck) or else the *kínnayá*, a monster with the body of a woman in princely array and the wings and legs of a bird. The butt of the *tagíndaing*, instead of being planted in the ground, is frequently set between piles which are carved into figures of the mythical *thadyá* (p. 186, No. 7). The pole is held up by transverse bars passing through it and the piles.

79. TAGUNDAING WITH KINNAYA.

Colossal lions (*chinthé*, No. 56) of the Burmese conventional type guard the temple approaches—monsters differing as much in their way from the prototype as the lions of our own heraldry.

Stands shaped like a *hallin* or throne, on which flowers and fruit are offered, are placed on the temple platforms.

Great bells are hung at every shrine (No. 97). The votary takes the deer-antler off the bar and strikes first the ground and then the bell. This is to call to witness beings both under the earth and above the earth and make them participators in the merit of the act of worship. The Burman bell has noble proportions and is hung by metal clasps of rich design, figuring the mythical dragon (*nagá*, No. 47). The tone of the bells is not rich, owing partly to the form, partly to flaws in casting. The greatest bell in Burma is that cast by the Emperor Bodaw Payá, on the European model, in 1790, for the temple he began at Mingún. It is said to weigh eighty-eight tons. A historic bell

80. TAGUNDAING WITH HINTHA.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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194. FOREST ZAYAT AND WATER-STAND (P. 63).

requirements? To which the *yahán* cordially responds, *pyippa, pyippa, tagádaw*—that I am, my valued supporter! Just as salutations are ordinarily omitted, so thanks are only expressed for special favours. The sense of obligation is conveyed by adopting courteous forms of speech, in which the particle *ba* always figures. The set forms of *please* and *thank you* are thus dispensed with. Where, however, a disparity of age or position exists, every act of the superior becomes by courtesy a boon. A Burman is disconcerted by a simple present, as well as by *bakshish* and payments above the stipulation, which he is particular to make beforehand. But when approaching a superior with a request, the inferior bears an offering of courtesy, generally fruit. The inferior makes *shikó* both on approaching and taking leave. A Burman does not stand, in the presence of his superior, but squats down. When he has occasion to pass close to his superior, he does not walk erect but crouches. By well-bred Burmans the gestures of respect are performed in a very graceful manner. Every Burman, the *yahán* not excepted, on ascending the *kyanneing* of a house, removes his sandals or shoes. As we Westerns respect the *roof* that our host has provided by doffing our head-gear, so Easterns respect the *floor* that is provided—an observance of a practical nature where the floor serves both for seat and table. In an analogous way to our greeting with the hat, the Oriental shows respect by slipping the sandals even outside the house. Still more courteous is the practice of washing the feet before entering a house or *kyaung*. Burmans always contrive to sit so as to hide the soles of the feet or to turn them

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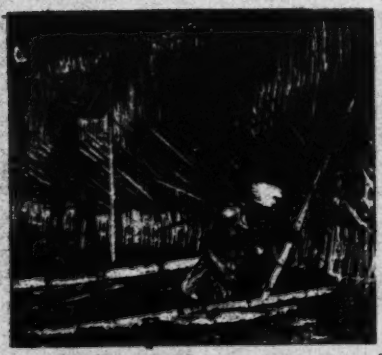
195. RECEIVING A VISITOR.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4



166. VILLAGE CHEVAUX-DE-FRISE.

away from the company. In a similar spirit of courtesy a rider dismounts and umbrellas are closed. Among acts of discourtesy few are accounted so grave by the Burmans as that of awakening a sleeper. The reluctance to disturb a sleeper is connected with the belief that the spirit (*leippya*) leaves the body during sleep (p. 197). It is looked upon as a weakness to show resentment and temper (*dawtha*, p. 44). A visitor in a house is offered a new mat to sit upon, water to drink, betel to chew, and a spittoon. If it be meal-time he is invited to partake; otherwise he is asked if he has had food, and refreshment is brought. Although the quota of leisure that falls to everyone is greater in Burma than anywhere else, owing to the wide-spread prosperity of the inhabitants, there is perhaps no country in which every man, woman, and child is less exempt from business concern. Thus it happens that after a few commonplaces, conversation inevitably gravitates to business—prices, harvests, prospects. Next in interest come the festival programmes, the local celebrities and their doings. In every house there are scales and weights, and the household is engaged in occasional or regular trade. Accounts in money and kind are current between neighbours. Whatever spare produce remains is exposed for sale.

576 [349] [513 775] [152] 574 521 437

The villages either have a quick fence of impenetrable thorny bamboo (*myinwa*), or a hedge of cactus and briar or bamboo *chevaux-de-frise*. In some parts they are open. The old towns (*myó*) had ramparts and stockades (Nos. 6, 371, 387). The highest sites about the village are for the *nats*, the *Payá-myo* or sacred ground, the next best are for the *kyaung*. Then comes the enclosure of

167. APPROACH TO THE VILLAGE.

361 [349] [311] [346]

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 API Burma
Burmese AP4

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376. JUDGE PRESIDING IN COURT (YON).

fixed annual revenue to the treasury, and he retained such excess as he could raise for himself. Even more cynical than the appellation of *myoza*, but nevertheless officially accepted, is that of his deputy, *thwethauttyi*, or bloodsucker. The revenue exactions were variable, and were levied with little regularity; outlying localities escaped altogether. The people of such places were almost without ostensible government. The 3-rupee household tax of 1862 had advanced to 10 Rs. in 1886 (*Thathameda*). There were also special imposts and special exemptions. The original style and address of the king came to be adopted by his deputies, as more high-sounding titles were devised for him. Every officer is now addressed *Payà* and spoken of as *min*, which means ruler, prince. The full style of high officials used to occupy several lines of a document; there were the traditional titles of the office and territory, the prerogatives granted by the king, conspicuous among which were the number of red and gold umbrellas allotted to the rank, and the executive powers, such as *dàbaing*, holder of the sword. The last-named symbol was borne before the officer as arbiter of life. The lower grades of office were, and in many places still are, hereditary, especially that of *thadyt*, the appointed headman who levies the taxes from the people (literally the poor, *sinyètha*). The Burmese correlative of *official* is significant; no matter how wealthy he be, one who holds no office is a "poor" man—at the mercy of the *asbya*. If the rapacity of an official under the old *régime* grew intolerable, he incurred the risk of assassination, without much likelihood of being avenged by the central authority. The religious aversion to be

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377. THE CITY GATE (PYA-GI).

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

175 Aláung Payâ established in 1754, is the involved account of the struggles for mastery of its three imperial races, the Burman, the Mun, and the Shan.* As already stated in the Introduction, the isolation of the valley of the Irawadi from the neighbouring civilisations by great natural barriers, favoured the development of an independent and distinct civilisation. The neutralization of those barriers it is that now exposes Burma to the sudden competition of races inured to worse conditions.

* See Appendix A, CHRONOLOGY.

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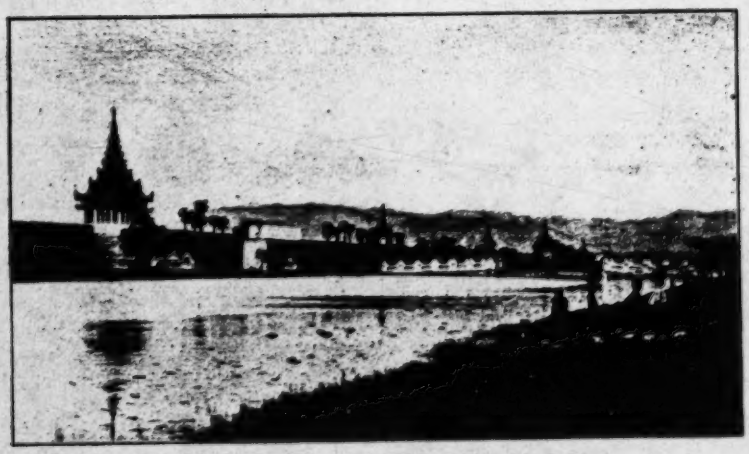

287. THE CITY MOAT.

(18)

CHAPTER FOUR

647 565 177. 65 BY the time that I was about four years old my father had become a Subdivisional Officer in the Civil Service, and our family had joined the ranks of what has now come to be known as the *minkadaw* class, an *a-so-ya min* being a government official and *minkadaw* the wife of a *min*. The minkadaws usually referred to were in the great majority the wives of officials of the Burma Civil Service, Class II, and by the time that we were passing through our childhood and adolescent years they already formed a very definite stratum in Burmese society. We children now comparing notes with the children of the minkadaws posted as far apart as Tavoy and Myitkyina can find common characteristics in all the households, from domestic commodities and meal habits to social conventions and standards of wealth. It is as though a new upper middle class has grown up, complete with snobberies, in what was formerly a classless Burmese society, but a class that still keeps itself quite apart from the European gymkhana life of the district towns.

631 647 344 The houses which I can remember, when my father was a Subdivisional Officer in the subdivisional towns of Zigon and Myanaung where he was in charge of the subdivision, or in the divisional headquarters town of Magwe where the whole hierarchy of min from the Commissioner downwards were present, or in the district headquarters town of Maubin where the min ranked down from the Deputy Commissioner and my father was Headquarters Assistant, all bore certain uniform features. They were all wooden, two-storied and large, with a sufficient number of big rooms to have a dining-room and an office room below, a sitting-room above the portico and two big bedrooms, besides little verandahs and odd rooms. They all had a front staircase for common use and one or two ladder-like staircases behind for watermen, sanitation and servants. The kitchen was about 20 yards away, connected by a covered passage, and at the back of the large garden or compound was the *tanya*, a row of rooms for men servants and Indian [351] servants. The garden in front was usually modest owing to frequent changes of occupants, but a minimum amount of flowers for daily vases on the altar had always to be cultivated, and fruit trees were prized highly, guava, mango, marian or citron.

692 357 Unlike most Burmese households we did not have any aunts or other relatives staying with us, but we had our full quota of domestic

517 along a ledge or parapet, and walked quietly round the pagoda with the paved stones so cool beneath our bare feet, while the grown-ups still prayed silently. As soon as they finished and got up, it was the signal to release our spirits and bound away to the far corner where the servants were already beginning to unpack the pots and arrange three stones around for each fire. We were allowed to cut up onions or chillies until we got bored, and spent the rest of the morning playing games or exploring the country around, coming back to find a meal miraculously cooked, with curries in lacquer dishes and rice in banana leaves. After the meal, mats were spread in the breeziest spot, and we lay down beside the grown-ups who told beads and talked by turns.

517 Garden orchards were another source of deep long whole-day joy.
647 The Burmese *u-yin* is usually translated as orchard, but after seeing
351 English apple and cherry orchards I must translate it more fully. An u-yin is more arboreal and leafy; also one must enjoy it positively, that is, there must be in it a bamboo or light wooden house. In a hot climate an u-yin raises visions of shade; cool dark shade, leaves, only a few flowers unless they are of flowering trees, eating of the fruits and vegetables while there, and lying on a mat in the afternoon breeze. None of the u-so-ya mins could possess u-yins or gardens like this where they were posted, because their stay was so transitory. But the education officer,

that is, the D.I.S. (District Inspector of Schools), whether active or re- 517
tired, was usually more permanent and could dig his toes in more 647
happily. The social relationship was also ideal. Earning less than the 351
other officials, he could yet offer them this rich hospitality of natural pleasures.

When we were in Maubin the D.I.S. was our friend U Taik Wan. 245
He and his family of ten sons and daughters had the u-yin developed to 252
its fullest. He had a low large house where the river took a bend and had fenced in this bed with bamboo stakes and a diving platform. The garden orchard stretched away from the house to a bamboo hut at the far end, with open verandahs under the trees. The speciality of his orchard were his sweet-sour marian trees. The marian is the *bonea Burmanica*, common to Burma and northern Assam, where it forms an ideal appetizer for the heat-drowsy inhabitants. It is sour, of a sharp biting sourness which now makes my mouth water with longing. It is too sour to eat except doused in strong salt sauce or fish paste, salt being our antidote to sourness, in which I differ from the English idea of cooking, for salt combines and merges in with sourness whereas a pound of sugar thrown into a gooseberry tart would still leave it too sour for me. The marian is a small fruit, green when young and orange-yellow when ripe, with a pretty purple seed which has given its name to the Burmese colour "mauve". There is a sweet variety which is not popular. Sometimes, however, a prize tree is found which produces a sweet-sour marian, a sour fruit with its sting taken off. Such a tree should be treated with the greatest care; its fruits must never be salted or pickled as sour fruits are treated, because the "sour" use would communicate itself to the tree by what may be called sympathetic magic. Rather, my mother made jam (with sugar) of these marians, for the improvement of U Taik Wan's tree.

My mother was very punctilious about such things; the girl servants 252
were never allowed to pluck the citron leaves for our salad because a 841
woman in menstruation makes the tender leaves of the citron tree curl 789
up and lose their succulence when she plucks them. U Taik Wan had a row of sweet-sour marian trees which he guarded from flying foxes by throwing a net across one face of them, showing a wall of these creatures hanging head downwards, to passers-by.

Our pyaw-pwè-sas at the Taik Wan's always began with a lot of 526
water-fun. We never used bathing dresses, but adapted our longyis for 291
swimming. This longyi is shaped and wrapped, like the more famous 515
sarong, at the waist normally, but women and girls take it above the bosom when they discard their jackets. This enables all our poorer women to bathe with perfect decorum at public wells and streams.

2;Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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The abundance of land allows every one to have a courtyard of his own. In this the farmer keeps his cart and plough, the fisherman his boat. The buffaloes and oxen of the whole village are usually all together on a pasture-ground kept by some speculative individual, who charges a couple of rupees or so for feeding and looking after them. The care exercised is not very great. Heat and rain kill many of them, where, as is too frequently the case, no shelter is available; foot-and-mouth disease, and other epidemics, carry off great numbers, and finally, they are not at all averse to killing one another. Consequently the vultures are frequently to be seen on the trees round the village pastureland. Besides his implements the house-owner has always in his yard a hand rice-mill. Husking paddy has become, near the big towns, quite a separate trade, and abundance of cleaned rice may be bought in the bazaars, but in the village every family husks its own rice, the grain being kept stored in a small granary in the yard. The milling is done by the women, and there are two processes in the operation. The mill consists of two wooden cylinders about two feet thick, the inner surfaces of both roughened in a simple way by the cutting of radii from their centres, the lines being about a quarter of an inch deep. The upper cylinder has a funnel-shaped hole cut through it, to let the grain down, and is worked backwards and forwards by a long pole loosely fastened in, the rice coming out between the two cylinders, and falling on mats down below. It is winnowed either in the primitive way of throwing it into the air, so that the light husk may be blown away, or, often nowadays in Lower Burma, by a hand-worked pair of fanners, introduced since the English occupation.

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The rice is not yet, however, ready for cooking. The inner pellicle has still to be removed, and this is done in a big wooden mortar. Two varieties are in use, worked either by hand, as an apothecary pounds his drugs, the pestle being very long and heavy; or by foot, when the wooden mortar is sunk in the ground. The pestle in this latter case consists of a short, stumpy piece of wood, let into a long lever near the end. This lever is supported on two uprights at some distance from the mortar, and the machine is worked by the

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma (Kachin) AP1
Burmese AP4

Be 231 779

customer has gone his way. It used to be a common thing in the palace, during the late king's reign, to let loose a number of birds for the delectation of foreign worshippers at the golden feet, and the expansion of the royal merit. Ill-natured people said all the birds were recaptured in the next room, and appeared again for the next display of charity; but of that I can say nothing.

Be 342 351

Each house, with its ground, is surrounded by a rude fence more or less substantial according to the character of the district. Where there are many tigers or ill-doers, and especially north of Mandalay, where formerly the Kachins might swoop down any night, this is made very high and strong, and is further rendered effective by a formidable array of sharpened bamboos. Except where the British have taken the matter in hand, the village roads are simply places where the jungle is kept from growing. There is no attempt at metalling; in fact there is no material for the purpose. In some pretentious villages indeed there is a raised path formed of bricks set on edge, and about three feet broad. This is regarded as a public work of great value, and a distinction to the inhabitants of the place. It usually leads to the monastery. In many villages, however, it would be impossible to move about during the rains without some such contrivance. The mud would be too deep, and logs are slippery even to bare feet.

Ba. [563] Be 487

Be 854 352 533

Swinging by a couple of ropes from the roof hangs in the centre of the house a rude basket, made snug with a blanket or some old clothes. This is the baby's cradle, and the mother may often be seen sitting by it crooning and gently swaying it backwards and forwards. Some of the lullabies are very clever. I have tried to give a version of one of the most popular, with as near an approach to the metre as practicable. It is sung to the favourite te-dat air.

Be 539

SEIN-NI LA-YAUNG

Clouds in Heaven,
Bright as levin,
Dyed with rosy diamond's light,
Did the Nine Gems
Stud your white hems,

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

14. BURMAN MOTHER AND INFANT.

tempers Nature's discipline of knocks and bumps, as compared with the bare hard ground of the Indian hut. Nevertheless the young Burman's converse with his environment is unrestricted enough. By the time he is a year old he may be trusted to himself on a flimsy platform many feet off the ground or over the water. There are few things in the way of the child that it may not handle. The very cheroot its mother is smoking is a coveted plaything. The daily bath at the river-side or well has familiarised the child with another element. It may rush out into the first tropical shower and splash to its heart's content with its older playmates in the first tepid puddle. The Burman's regular exclamation of wonder or fear is "mother!"—*amè*.

854 342 854 356 866 [593 152]

When the child is a few months old, relatives and friends are assembled and entertained with tea and sweets to witness the ceremony of piercing the ears and giving a name. The Burmans have no patronymics. The name is chosen from a set of current euphemisms proper to the days of the week and their planets, according to the star presiding over the day of birth. The fancy of the parents and the prognostics of the soothsayer unite to decide the choice. Names are single or are compounded from two series (in Arakán from three). Common names, beginning with the "Sunday-son," are Ôn, Kyaw, San, Shwe, Po, Tha, Dun. Men's and women's names are taken from the same sets; only the courtesy-prefixes differ (p. 74). The needle-hole made in the lobe of the ear on the naming-day is expanded by means of plugs and rolls of bast. In the course of a few years the lobe takes a plug one-half to three-quarters

852 574 553 [857 351] 301 854 852

15. MUDLARKS.

shops to supply her with goods, but took a special pride in buying each 592
product from the town where the best quality of it was manufactured. 431
She could do this either by my father's being posted within its district, 513
by going there on a pagoda-visiting expedition, or by having relatives 286
posted there; and a survey of all the household possessions I can re- 511
member makes a cross-section of Burmese crafts. All our blankets were Burmese *saungs*, good stoutly woven cotton pieces, about 7 feet long and 4½ feet wide. We had single ones of red, black and yellow stripes which looked very bright and barbaric; they came from the Chin Hills. We used these in the hotter months. During the colder months we used thicker *ok-saungs* which we got from Pakokku; they were 14 feet long and used doubled, with a fringe at both ends. These were woven very strong and white, with bold red stripes on them in pleasing combinations. All these saungs washed more and more beautiful to our childish eyes. My mother had a big collection of them in wooden chests and some of them have lasted 30 years and are still beautiful.

She was also very jealous of her collection of *hpyas*, mats for sleeping 513
or sitting on, woven closely of the fibres of a reed called *thabaw*, or, 285
finer still, of the outer skin of a grass-like plant, the *thin*. These light 352
and flexible mats or *thinbyu* came from Laymyethna, "The Town of 511
Four Faces". They were equally smooth on both sides and had velvet borders piped on, broad at one end and narrower at the other, to distinguish the head end for nobler use, and to be sure of always resting the feet on the same ignoble end. We had them in big sizes for the beds and for afternoon naps on the verandah, and smaller sizes for prayers and for visitors to sit on. My mother kept them in rolls, five or six rolled together according to quality, covered with a cylinder of ticking and stood end up along her dressing-room.

Although we used imported crockery for the table we could not do without Burmese pottery for other purposes. Water-pots and goblets of light pottery from Twante, near Rangoon, were necessary to keep the water cool. There must be special pots for the altar water, for washing [271]
faces, for drinking water (in which pot, however, we kept a sand filter bought from Rangoon), and goblets in all bedrooms. For baths we had big black voluminous jars from Upper Burma, of a less porous pottery with a salt glaze on it, about 30 inches high and wide-mouthed. Smaller ones like these were kept for pickling mangoes and other green fruits. In the kitchen also, the modern aluminium pots 415
would not do for such purposes as cooking acid leaves and fish 252
curry that had tamarind in it; an earthen pot was always used for 511
chimbaung, roselle leaves. Moreover, the *salaungbon*, or cover, of an earthern pot can always be used for baking fish paste, a daily

around that we had meritoriously praised the Lord Buddha, and then touched the earth with the striker to pass the message to the spirits there also. These big bells may weigh up to 25 tons; the bell at Mingun is said to be the second largest in the world. They are all inscribed with lauds and invocations for the welfare of the donor. Gongs of brass are the bells of the town-crier; all announcements are punctuated with the striking of a gong. *Maung le htu tè* is the equivalent of "broadcasting it around the town". Much attention is paid to the melodiousness of gongs for the Burmese have a musical instrument called the *kyi-waing*, which is a circular frame on which graduated gongs are hung and beaten with a knobbed stick to harmonize with the rest of a Burmese orchestra. 326 788 534 [203]

There were numerous other objects for which my mother would never accept a substitute from English shops because they did not cater for our ingrained customs. Soup never tastes right when eaten with a metal spoon—we always used Burmese china spoons bought for about one anna each; rice is not to be stirred with a metal utensil either—the Burmese wooden ladle for this is the *yaung-ma*, the same word as for sister-in-law, the stirrer of trouble. There were, of course, particular places in Burma which supplied particular articles of dress, but I took an interest in this only when I was grown up. 415 412 197

What delights me is to find now that, in the imported things about the house also, all minkadaw households bought a standard type. This was probably due to the enterprise of Messrs. Rowe and Co., a Rangoon firm selling general goods, which established branches in all district towns to provide officers with anything they could not buy in native shops. We all bought Gold Medal camp chairs and camp cots from Rowe's. We bought durwan's kerosene lamps for bedrooms, Storm King and Petromax lamps with incandescent mantles for sitting and dining rooms, we bought crockery which came out in three or four good standard patterns, with an adaptation from the orthodox English dinner service to provide soup and curry dishes suitable for Burmese meals. We got cane furniture made in the local jails, odd chairs and always the half-wood half-cane stores box to serve on tours, and the long basket trays in which my father's files and papers would come home and go to the office every day, on the head of the *chaprassi*. The *hpas*, soft expandable cane boxes in which Burmese people pack their bedding when travelling, were always covered with green canvas from Rowe's. With these hpas, matching the Gold Medal camp cots and chairs, the boxes from the jails, a clerk and two or three girls looking after the children, and a general air of solicitous attention from the people around, no one could mistake an a-so-ya government official's family on its touring travels. 511 442 415 352

CHAPTER SEVEN

805 527 ROUND about the end of January each year, for our lunar dates do not fall on the same calendar dates every year, we celebrated my father's birthday. All Burmese celebrations have a basis of "doing merit" either in feasting people and perhaps fasting oneself, distributing gifts, or inviting monks to preach and others to hear them. An atmosphere of enjoyment is possible in these good works because Burmese people do not believe in divorcing their praying from their merry-making; usually both are carried out in the same room, the pleasure after the holiness; and the donor feels a great satisfaction of spirit as he says; "*A-hmya a-hmya* : Share with all, share with all (the merit from his good deed)." The friends gathered around reply to this "*Tha-du, tha-du :* Well done, well done."

527 On my father's birthday monks were "lifted" or invited to the house •352 for a grand meal. All the Western chairs and tables were moved out of the sitting room; and one end of the room was laid with carpets of red and green rose design, specially kept for such occasions in all Burmese houses. This was for the monks to sit on and facing them the people would sit on mats. Between the monks and people were laid out all the presents for the monastery.

792 192 I was always sad when I saw these presents; to my childish eyes they looked so uninteresting. A monk who renounces worldly goods is allowed to possess only eight articles, three pieces of cloth which form [431] his robes, a begging bowl, a mat, a blade, a needle and a water strainer. Dagas or donators can, therefore, only give these, or other articles necessary to the way of life conforming to their precepts. Such include religious books, mats, candles and matches, brooms, spittoons. These last make very elegant presents, and are a common sight at all distributions of presents, the standard pattern being of white enamel, with a red band around the edge. Children are told of one monastry whose holiness is so high that a spittoon donated to the monks there will echo the name of the donator each time a monk spits into it. With the presents all laid out, the monks walk in in a row, and sit with eyes downcast and legs crossed. My mother and father make obeisance to them and send for us after a few words with the chief monk. We were always nervous and subdued on these occasions; in speaking to a monk a vocabulary of honorifics has to be used, even for "Yes". The hpongyi always made

Z:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

342 addition to this a mi-kat stands beside it. This is a broad
731 griddle, or flapper kind of thing, and its object is to beat out
355 the flame which may be caused by a spark lighting on the roof. In addition to this, in many parts of the country, pots full of water are always kept in readiness on the tops of the houses, so that when the hour of danger comes, the householder may douse his roof, and so do the best for him-
[368] self. In Mandalay, under native rule, some of the pa-gwets, and other outcasts, patrolled the streets all night, to watch for and prevent fires as much as possible.

342 Another kind of roofing is wā-kat, a sort of flat tile-like construction, six feet long by two feet broad, made of coarse bamboo matting. Bamboos split in half down the centre, and with the knots smoothed away, are also used. They are placed close together, with the hollow side upwards, extending all the way down from the ridge to the eaves, and over these again are placed others with the rounded side up, the whole presenting rather a curious appearance, but making a very serviceable roof and not nearly so dangerous as the leaf or grass thatching. The leaves of other trees are also occasionally used, but the simplicity and cheapness of the dani roof make it by far the most prevalent in the delta, as grass is elsewhere, notwithstanding its danger. In Rangoon and Maulmein, shingles, that is, small wooden slabs like slates, are being very generally introduced.

In the better class of houses the floors are made of
[565] planking, but poorer people have nothing better than a series of whole or split bamboos laid side by side on the cross-beams and tied down with rattans. This is not very pleasant to walk on, and has the further disadvantage of being anything but cleanly, for the spaces between the bamboos offer an irresistible temptation to drop all litter and garbage on to the ground immediately underneath the house, and were it not for the pariah dogs the sanitary condition of the place would soon be very bad.

352 The house is thus simple enough in its character, but
177·35 the furniture is still more so. Intercourse with the English
369 has indeed brought many Burmans to indulge in English luxuries, and in many houses in Rangoon and the larger district towns, chandeliers, bookcases, pictures, and even

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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177.35
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statuary are to be seen, besides abundance of chairs and tables, and occasionally bedsteads, while clocks, kerosine lamps, looking-glasses, and lounge chairs are universal. But it is very different in the village houses. There is practically no furniture at all there, for a chair is of no use to a jungle Burman, and without chairs tables are equally useless. Consequently all that is to be seen in a village house is the goodman's box, and a few woven mats and hard bamboo pillows to sleep on. Cots are not used, for one of the Ten Precepts, to be kept on duty-days, is that one must not sleep on a high place. The only furnishings visible are the mats rolled up during the day with the rugs or blankets which serve for bedding. The mats themselves are probably home-made, manufactured from fine strips of bamboo, the best being those with the polished silicious surface outside, which stand any amount of work. Softer, finer articles are made from the skin of the theng, a species of rush, which takes a black dye, and is often worked into patterns, but no one has anything more elaborate, and indeed nothing better could be wished for. A cooler bed could not easily be found. In the country, also, the cooking place during the rains is in the house. During the fine weather culinary operations are carried on in the open air, behind the premises. The cooking range is nothing more than a box, two or three feet square, and six inches deep, filled up with earth or ashes, and on the top of this the wood used as fuel is piled. The cooking utensils and the dining service are equally simple. The former consists of nothing further than two or three earthen pots with lids to them, and a wooden spurtle to stir the contents with. Close at hand is a jar full of water, with a ladle—half a cocoa-nut with a handle through it. These are all the kitchen appliances. In place of table there is a huge round dish of lacquered wood, called a byat. These byats are sometimes as much as three feet and more in diameter, and on them is heaped up in a gigantic pile the rice, while the curry is served in little bowls disposed round about. A young couple have, therefore, no ruinous expenses when they set up house. The inventory of effects necessarily is soon made.

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Outside the house there is not much more to notice.

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma (Kachin) AP1
Burmese AP4

Be 231 779

customer has gone his way. It used to be a common thing in the palace, during the late king's reign, to let loose a number of birds for the delectation of foreign worshippers at the golden feet, and the expansion of the royal merit. Ill-natured people said all the birds were recaptured in the next room, and appeared again for the next display of charity; but of that I can say nothing.

Be 342 351

Each house, with its ground, is surrounded by a rude fence more or less substantial according to the character of the district. Where there are many tigers or ill-doers, and especially north of Mandalay, where formerly the Kachins might swoop down any night, this is made very high and strong, and is further rendered effective by a formidable array of sharpened bamboos. Except where the British have taken the matter in hand, the village roads are simply places where the jungle is kept from growing. There is no attempt at metalling; in fact there is no material for the purpose. In some pretentious villages indeed there is a raised path formed of bricks set on edge, and about three feet broad. This is regarded as a public work of great value, and a distinction to the inhabitants of the place. It usually leads to the monastery. In many villages, however, it would be impossible to move about during the rains without some such contrivance. The mud would be too deep, and logs are slippery even to bare feet.

Ba [563]
Be 487

Be 854 352 533

Swinging by a couple of ropes from the roof hangs in the centre of the house a rude basket, made snug with a blanket or some old clothes. This is the baby's cradle, and the mother may often be seen sitting by it crooning and gently swaying it backwards and forwards. Some of the lullabies are very clever. I have tried to give a version of one of the most popular, with as near an approach to the metre as practicable. It is sung to the favourite te-dat air.

Be 539

SEIN-NI LA-YAUNG

Clouds in Heaven,
Bright as levin,
Dyed with rosy diamond's light,
Did the Nine Gems
Stud your white hems,

It will be noted that most of the living takes place on the downstairs floor where the bedrooms and the porch are located. The alter is also located downstairs 342 [512] [778]

U Myaing explained that the alt r should be upstairs but it was more convenient downstairs. The posts on which the house rests rise a few feet above the ground. In all there are about 15,050 cubic feet enclosed by the house. Of this amount 1450 cubic feet are used for sleeping quarters for the family, 729 cubic feet is devoted to religion in the alter room, and 800 cubic feet is used in the kitchen for preparing food. The rest of the space is for social functions including visitors and relaxation, with some space used for storage.

In Pathau there were no beds and no chairs except for one deck chair which had been handed down to U Myaing from his father. There were however, five small stools about four inches high and measuring about 12" by 6". These stools did not have four legs but instead were made of one flat board hammered onto two boards laid on their ends. They had one four legged stool measuring 2½ feet by 1½ feet and about 8 inches high. This was utilized as a chess board. (U Myaing and three or four others played chess four or five times a month in the afternoons. Their house was the only one in the village to possess a board and chessmen, U Myaing having received it from a cousin.) There was another stool about two feet high and one and a half feet square to hold the KYAUK KAR food carrier. 352 [428] [524] [415]

There were also two round Burmese tables. The smaller one was about three feet in diameter and one foot tall. Ma Aye Myaing could not estimate the diameter of the larger one but she remembered that eight men could eat at a time at this table, and that people who gave charities often came to borrow it for that reason. [426]

There was a three legged stand for holding two water pots. The pots were placed on two horizontal triangles formed one about two feet above the other by the pieces of wood holding together the three upright feet of the stand. This stand was made by U Myaing at home.

They also possessed two cupboards both of which had been handed down to U Myaing by his father. The first one, used for holding clothes, was three TAUNG high, two and one half TAUNG wide and little less than one [428]

●352 TAUNG thick. The door had two leaves to it and one mirror. However, this cupboard had fallen into disuse as a receptacle for clothes, the family preferring to keep their clothing in teak boxes. The other cupboard had no mirror and was used to store crockery in. It measured 2 TAUNG wide, three TAUNGS high and little less than one TAUNG thick.

There were also two huge boxes both of which had been received as a bequest from his father. They were very heavy and needed two people to lift each of them. Each measured one TAUNG and five fingers long, one TAUNG broad, and one TAUNG high. Each had four legs two inches high. They were identical and both were used for clothing.

There was also a round table with four legs about two feet tall and with a diameter of two feet. This U Myaing bought in Rangoon for Rs. 3/8.

[291] [562] [651] A special basket was kept for storing women's HTA-MEINS (outer feminine nether garments). The Burmese do not allow mixture of women's and men's clothing. They had one of these baskets with lid in Pathwe. It was bought in Pantanaw and cost them 12 annas.

353 415 The following bric-a-brac is reported:- a porcelain duck and a porcelain rooster which had been handed down for two or three generations and had been used as a receptacle for trinkets and other small articles; a glass elephant also about a hundred years old with drawers to contain trinkets.

The following items are containers which may be regarded as household furnishings: abetel box about a hundred years old with a diameter [251] of about twelve inches; a clay water jug overlaid with porcelain, also a hundred years old; two huge vessels for HSOON, one costing Rs. 25/- and lasting twenty years, and the other costing Rs. 15/- and lasting 13 years.

[796] These vessels were used when the family went to the KYAUNG to observe the sacred days. On such days HSOON for the whole family would be carried in these vessels. A KYAUK KAR food carrier woven of HNEE, (pith of the fibre used for mat weaving and overlaid with KYAUK KAR) cost Rs. 8/- and was used for about thirteen years. Five huge [251] earthenware jars each 3½ feet in diameter and 3 feet high, and three small jars were used to store fish. Each of the large jars cost Rs. 30/- and the small ones cost Rs. 4/8.

a bamboo frame extending for about eight feet. The interior of the house contains piles of small boxes in which the bones and ashes of the P.V.O. dead are stored. Consequently no one lives inside. Seven families live under theeaves on three sides of the house along a narrow strip nine feet wide. The area is divided into a number of rooms "6 TAUNG square - the same room size as in the Pathee house." U Myaing's family occupies 2½ such rooms at the corner of the building. The head space varies from 8 feet against the wall of the house to less than two feet at the edges of the eaves. A break in the eaves forms an entrance at the corner. Figuring one room to be equivalent to a 6 foot square room 3½ feet high, we arrive at a total of 315 cubic feet of living space for the 2½ rooms. [764] 722 342

One and a half rooms are covered with a slightly raised bamboo floor on which U Myaing and his family sleep. A space 6' long by 2' wide is used as a work area and for social purposes, but this is not rigorously claimed, since the adjacent family frequently uses it as a storage space. In speaking of the refugee camp quarters U Myaing says:

> "It is very narrow (cramped) here. We eat and sleep in the same place. At Pathee we kept 2 rooms separately to sleep in. Our house.there was very wide and roomy. Here we sleep and cook all in one place." [511]

The sleeping and eating area is separated from the adjacent family by a woven split bamboo partition about 5 feet high; at five feet three inches from the floor, a number of bamboo poles criss-cross to form rafters on which objects are stored.

Here the sleeping mats are rolled up, along with sleeping equipment which consist of U Myaing's wooden pillow, makeshift pillow of rag bundles, 1 holey woolen blanket. One mosquito net used by U Myaing and his wife is also suspended from these rafters. At the far end of the bamboo flooring, there are three baskets. One of these baskets contains the women's clothing; another contains rice. Two clay pots are at the side. The altar consists of a slant board placed on the wall above the sleeping area and equipped with a flower vase. The objects found in the cooking area are: "U" shaped fire area made by 3 bricks touching on edge, bamboo stool for Ma Aye Myaing, hollow bamboo blow tube for starting fire, cooking pots, 352 415 [252]

●352 415 513 [455] [152] [435] [285]

mortar and measurers, market basket, condiments stored in cigarette tins and quart bottles. A discussion on these subjects is found under the chapter on Food.

Details were secured on the following household items:

SAUNG (blankets). Both THA-KA-LAT SAUNG (flannel blanket) and GUN SAUNG (Cotton blanket) are actually woolen blankets. (cost Rs. 25/-). Heavy cotton blankets are called CHI SAUNG . (cost Rs.15/-). Both are for individual use. In Pathwe U Myaing had one blanket of each kind which would last 3 or 4 years. In camp he has only the GUN SAUNG or Upper Burma blanket which he used for 2 years then brought from Pathwe . The females of the family had 6 cotton blankets between them (cost Rs. 12/ each). They brought 4 from Pathwe, two are "good ones", and two are "torn ones". The cotton blankets are supposed to last for 2 years according to Ma Aye Myaing. Intense love is indicated by the saying "we will go under one blanket", but double blankets are not known.

HSWE-YAR, (Enjoying place) mattress. It is a thin square cloth sack measuring 4 TAUNG on a side by 4 inches in thickness and stuffed with KAPOK. U Myaing had one at Pathwe which would last 7 or 8 years. It was made at home and valued at Rs. 30/-. Daw Aw Zar and the children shared a double mattress, a gift from her neice, in Pathwe but all sleep on split cane mats only in camp.

(KU DIN; raised wooden beds are rarely used in villages.)

GAUNG-ON, (head-lay) pillow. Pillows are made at home. Two may be made from 3 TAUNG (1½ yards) of cloth. They are cloth sacks filled with cotton and last 3 or 4 years - valued at Rs. 3/8 each. U Myaing had 2, and the females 8 at Pathwe. He used a wooden pillow made of small, raised board, while the females use rag bundles.

HPYAR, Sleeping mats. Two kinds are used; a split TA BAW plant mat and a more finely woven thin plant with over 2 under 2 weave mat. They measure 6 by 3½ feet . The mats lasted two years and were woven at home. 4 to 8 mats were kept on hand at Pathwe; here 4 mats are in use.

AYAR-KIN (sleeping place cover) bed sheet: The bedshee s used in Pathwe measured 6' by 3½' and were made of cotton. Three were used by U Myaing and lasted a year; they cost Rs. 7/- each. Camp: none.

CHIN TAUNG, Mosquito net: One kind was made of fine netted

511 722 361 342 much of the Pathwe space was not vital in that it was used for social or storage functions only. 2987 cubic feet were used in Pathwe for sleeping, cooking, and religious purposes,-approximately 20% of the total amount of space. However, all of the space in the refugee camp was used for these vital purposes. About 1/10th of the Pathwe space for these functions was available in the camp. In commenting on the differences, U Myaing especially stressed the lack of space and the fact that all functions had to be done in the same enclosure. He did not seem particularly bothered about the lack of space for social functions or visitors.

There seemed to be no difference regarding costs of housing - non-existent in both cases beyond the original investment in Pathwe. Also there is no difference regarding use of land surrounding house. The reduction of space available for the alter from a six taung room to a place on the wall seemed to be regarded lightly. The Pathwe house was undoubtedly healthier with its windows and open space, and this handicap will be further discussed under the heading of health.

511 722 352 415 There is considerable difference in the house furnishings of the two places. The quality and the quantity of the objects in the refugee camp are considerably lower. The bric-a-brac (porcelain duck glass elephant, and portelain water jug) were lost in Pathwe and regretted because of sentimental value. The earthen-ware jars used for storing fish have no use here and are not "desired", but the HSOCH vessels would be useful now. These would cost about Rs. 25/- apiece here. The KYAUK-KAR food carrier is also desired and this would cost Rs. 10/- here. Mosquito nets for Daw Aw Zar and the children would certainly be desirable, but these would cost over Rs.30/- even if made from cheap plain material.

[264] The tables used in Pathwe are not found in camp since the family sit on the floor on the mats and hold their dishes in their laps, and one stool is used in camp and this by Ma Aye Myaing in preparing the food. Storage containers including cupboards and boxes have been dispensed with and their place taken by baskets in camp. The bedding in camp lacks the comforts of mattress and adequate mosquito nets and pillows. The point must be made however, that U Myaing's family is [513] used to sleeping on hard surfaces and it may not be supposed that the

quality of their sleep suffers to any appreciable extent. Americans who live in Rangoon suffer far more relatively from lack of "beauty rest" mattresses. 511 722 [513]

As far as the actual physical needs of the family go, the refugee camp situation does not seem to be far below an acceptable level. The Pathee house gave space far above that actually used for physical needs. The answer here would seem to be that social obligations in Pathee were much greater than here and the actual space fulfilled a real need there. Since such a demand is not present in the refugee camp, the lack of this space is not regarded as a privation. In general the refugee camp quarters are a compressed version of the Pathee quarters and do not represent any true innovations. The family has been able to contract the quantity and quality of their needs, but their nature has not been appreciabl· altered. The pattern of "Home" has not been shattered, but has been contracted and its quality somewhat changed. 352 415 [574] 511 178

The town of Pantanaw was recaptured from the insurgents early in the month of December 1950. U Myaing and his family are considering whether or not it would be advisable to return home. It seems that the government has offered to send back those who are willing to return. Government offers them, in addition to passage money, other things such as mosquito netting, or so U Myaing thinks. But they are also hesitant and afraid and would like to remain for some time longer in the peace and security of the refugee camp. However, when the country settles down and things return to normal, they would like to return. They prefer Pantanaw because they find it much easier to earn money there. Here they find it more difficult to find work - and it involves harder labour. Also, the prices here are very high in comparison. 722 669 511 [464] [435]

Cooking and Eating Utensils

Ma Aye Myaing does her work directly in front of the fireplace in a squatting position, often resting on the tiny bamboo stool. A few sticks of firewood, or brush, are placed within the three sided enclosure made of three single bricks on edge. A hollow bamboo tube about 10 inches long and 1½ inches in diameter is periodically used to blow the fire to a hot flame in lieu of a draft. The identifications of the cooking and eating utensils given below were provided by Daw Aw Zar and U Myaing in an interview in which photographs of the objects were used. 415 252 [516] [352] [372]

HTA MIN O (cooking pot): This is an earthenware jar used for cooking vegetables and other foods. It is a round based globular form with outflaring rim. A wide conical shaped lid with flat disc knob for raising goes over the orifice. It is smooth, light tan in colour throughout and about ¼ inch in thickness. It is tempered with sand. A stamped design encircles the widest diameter on the body. This diameter is about 7 inches, height is 4½ inches. One or two are kept on hand (Pathe: several. Camp: one). They cost 5 annas each. This sand tempered, stamped, earthenware appears in the early European contact period (late 1900's) at Syriam (Orr, K.G. "Stratigraphy in Lower Burma" Ms. in preparation.) It is rapidly being discarded in favour of aluminum pots which are not nearly as cheap but do not break Traditionally this pot is used to cook rice. In speaking of its use Daw Aw Zar said: "We keep one or two, to boil vegetables and do other things to eat, seeing that there are seven people we have to cook (i.e. rice) with a big aluminum pot." [172] [178]

MIN O (curry pot): This jar is generally of the same shape as the one described above but is wider at the orifice (8 inches diameter) though about the same height. It is of the same ware type; has a wavy-line stamped design just under the rim. Ordinarilly equipped with a conical lid, this vessel had a flat aluminum lid. This vessel is used to cook curry. It was brought from Pathe, where it was bought at a cost of 6 annas. Number used in Pathe: several, camp: 1. [435]

LAPHET-YE-OH (tea pot): The tea pot is also of tan earthenware and generally of the same ware as the cooking pots, with the exception that the surface was carefully scraped and slightly burnished. The body is globular, with thumb-like spout, and semi-circular clay handle. This pot was brought from Pantanaw, where it had cost 8 annas.

MIN O (food storage jar): Whereas the cooking vessels are moulded by hand with the aid of a paddle, and lack glazing, the storage jars are glazed and have been made on the wheel. These glazed jars also have flat disc bases, and pear-shaped bodies with contracted necks and short, collar-like rims. In every way they appear to be a separate tradition from the cooking ware. The glaze is dark reddish-brown over a hard-baked purple-red core. The interior is thoroughly glazed but the glaze only covers the upper half of the exterior. The reddish-brown glaze is recent, appearing in ceramic collections of the last century in Rangoon (Orr, K.G. "Stratigraphy in Lower Burma", the Monkina Street section) being preceeded by a yellow-black glaze in the early European period at Syriam. [323] [172]

Salt saffron, oils, etc are stored in these jars. The one examined was about 4 inches in height and 5 inches in diameter. It came from Pathe and cost 3 annas. Number in Pathe: several, camp: 3. [251] [435]

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

[854]
[501]

12. BABY'S BATH.

CHAPTER II

CHILDHOOD

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[531]
[352]
[356]

[846]

12. THE RATTAN CRADLE (PAKET).

THE cradle and the flower-stand are the two things that strike one in every Burman dwelling by the care bestowed on them. The plainest cradle has a turned rail and a carved headpiece (p. 8). The cradle swings by ropes to which the mosquito curtain is tied. The bed is made of a cotton mattress and a few plies of cloth. The infant is swaddled while its mother is lying in, and for a week or two later according to the season of the year. After that it wears only necklets and bangles. The first clothes the child gets are for grand occasions, after it has learned to run about and take care of itself. When the mother has recovered, she takes her babe with her wherever she goes, and if a wood or cane cradle is not handy she slings the infant in a plain hammock of cloth (No. 284). The Burmans do not carry their young children in a sling on the back like the hill people, but on the hip as soon as they can sit up (Nos. 327, 424).
854 When the babe is hardy enough to go without covering, it spends its waking
342 hours on a smooth mat spread over a springy bamboo floor which somewhat

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

312 [271] [178 352] [294]

135. SEWING CLOTH.

surface water. In some parts of the country the water is brackish. Shallow tanks with built-up earthen borders are made to store the rain-water for drinking, and, unlike the tanks in India, these are kept free from contamination. There is always a separate stand for the pots of drinking-water, either in the house itself, or within reaching distance, with a roof of its own. The domestic shrine and flower-stand (*nyanng ye-ô zin*) is frequently associated with the water-stand. Apart from the advantage of keeping away the drip the isolation of the water-stand is so marked as to suggest a religious intention—possibly of forgotten animistic import—in addition to the obvious one of a boon to the traveller, in virtue of which the water-stand is frequently decorated in the Buddhistic religious style (No. 158). As already noted, dwelling-houses are not fit places for images of the Buddha, but only temples. In the houses, the Buddha is venerated by keeping his sacred tree green in the flower-vases on the *nyanng ye-ô zin*, which is often richly decorated. The shrine takes its name from the *ficus*, but the plants actually used are such as keep green longest in the shade, especially the aloe (*môt*). The observance has very possibly been transferred from a pre-buddhistic one (No. 157).

372 The native method of getting fire is shown in No. 141. Except in the great plains, there is enough waste land about the settlements, bearing trees and scrub where dry [312] faggots may be collected. Logs of dry timber are dragged in, and firewood for cooking split off as required, or billets are carted in and stored against the rainy season. In the cold season, fires are often [354] made on the ground in front of the houses, for the inmates to sit around. But in general,

136. VILLAGE WELL.

326 or bamboo, iron-bound or tightly whipped to prevent splitting. In the
412 form of a shorter dalwé, with or without a point, it is used as an all-round implement in house-building. With this bamboos are hewn, split open and slit into widths, boards of bamboo or planks are chopped for floor-boards and timbers are hewn for posts. The short, broad-ended *dahmas* are used for heavy chopping and were the general choppers for meat and firewood in our kitchens. The dahma is a stout iron blade faced with steel. Lighter paring knives called *damauks* are also produced. Thus a Burman in a village normally carries a dah of some sort tucked into his waist as he sallies forth perhaps to find some firewood, house-building material or an enemy. The Shan people also had long murderous-looking dagger knives called *damyaungs*.

The iron-workers of Magwe sent us scissors which my mother preferred to stainless steel ones because they could be oiled and sharpened throughout a lifetime, and because they had inscribed on one blade her name and on the other "Health and wealth to you". We got our betel-nut crackers from there also; these had a blade on one arm, to cut as well as crack.

276 Our house, like every Burmese house, kept a betel box always ready
418 for visitors. The box had a top tray with little cups or boxes for the
514 chopped areca nut, orange peel, spice seeds and lime, and a bottom compartment for fresh betel leaves of the betel vine (*piper betle*). A deep cover fitted the whole box. Grown-ups smeared lime on a leaf, wrapped nuts and spices in it and chewed it, spitting out the red juice which is too strong to be swallowed. Betel has an astringent action in the mouth
326 and by promoting the flow of salivary juices it aids digestion. Our betel
412 boxes were of richly carved silver, with embossed designs of elephants,
531 princes riding on horses in the forest, heavenly male and female spirits,
511 all looking very alive. Silver carving is one of our show industries; the silversmiths at Mandalay and Moulmein produce handsome bowls, boxes, dagger handles and various other objects bought by foreigners.
• [553] Burmese people do not have the custom of buying *objets d'arts* for their houses, but the articles of daily use which they like to have of good quality and pleasing designs are the real inspiration of these traditional crafts of Burma. The silver used ranges from rupee fineness up to the pure metal called *baw*. We had silver bowls, *ngway-balas*, of all sizes, smaller ones for drinking, bigger for pouring the bath-water, and enormous ones about twelve inches across for holding gifts to the monks on festival days. Sometimes my mother used these to hold *taik-pan*, the flowers of the honolulu creeper, for the drawing room, but she always preferred a religious use for such noble and valuable objects. I liked all these bowls very much; they had good proportions, round the rim and base was a border of formal scroll

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Chinese

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tells us that the American Indian chief was in a state of great alarm lest his soul might be carried off with his picture. A notion of the same kind appears in the Chinese custom of getting a priest to put in the pupil of the eye, a method which often has rather a ghastly effect when the reverend gentleman is not skilful. Similarly, every Chinese-owned craft, from the sampan to the English-built iron screw steamer, has a couple of eyes painted on its bows, in order that it may see the way. Down in the Straits, and in all places where there are many Chinese, the local steamers, whoever their owners may be, are all endowed with eyes. Were they not so favoured, no Chinaman would travel with them as a passenger, or send any of his goods aboard of them. The Burman is not troubled with any such fantastic notions, and has no objection whatever to sitting for his portrait, only, as King Mindôn said to Yule, they prefer a flattering likeness to an exact one. It is seldom, however, that a Burman has a picture gallery in his house, and the village artist usually confines himself to vivid-coloured sketches for the funeral of a pôngyi, or to be hung round the mandut, where the great people sit to look on at a play. The drawing and the perspective are naturally a little faulty, but the details are usually worked out with very creditable skill.

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Thus wandering about, seeing what his neighbours are doing, with an occasional visit to the monastery to have some edifying talk with the religious, the villager may spend the time very comfortably. Oftenest however, he stays at home, and waits for visitors to drop in and have a little gossip. The goodwife always has a little shop in the lower part of the building. There is hardly a single house in the whole village where something is not offered for sale: a few dried fish, betel-nut, with the fresh green leaves, lime, cardamoms, and cutch, all ready for making up, half a dozen cocoa-nuts, or perhaps some twopenny-ha'penny knives, looking-glasses, coloured tumblers, and paltry Manchester goods, or where there are many girls about the house, a few home-made lungyis and pasos, waist-cloths, woven at odd times in the loom which stands in the yard or in a corner of the verandah of every house. The stock-in-trade is

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Z:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

517 silks for their wives. The ordinary explanation is that every one can see what clothes you wear, while few people care to come and spy out what kind of a house you live in, and how you fare. But there can be very little doubt that the real reason is a survival of the idea of the old Yāzagaing, as well as the fact that long years of custom have impressed upon everybody the opinion that there are only two forms of architecture, the secular and the ecclesiastical, and no one, no matter how sure he might be that the Government would take no notice of his ambition, would brave the denunciations of the religious by adding a spire to his house, or even adorning the gable ends with carved pinnacles and flamboyant finials of the monasteries. Consequently the one regular form prevails everywhere.

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342 576 The Burman's dwelling, then, is always shaped more or less like a marquee tent, and never more than one storey high, to avoid the humiliating possibility of the feet of some one being over your head. But the whole house stands on posts, so that the floor is seven or eight feet from the ground. It consists often of only one room, usually, however, of two or more, and to the front of the house there is always a verandah, three or four feet lower than the general level of the house, and as often as not quite open to the street, or the garden, or whatever may be in front and always to the sky. The posts which form the main or central part of the house are usually six in number, and all have their names, such as Uyu, Kya-hngan, Nyaung-yan. The south post, in the main part of the house, the Thabye-taing, is the best known, as being always adorned with leaves and particularly marked as that in the top of which most probably lives the nat-spirit of the house. A dead body, after being swathed, and while waiting for the coffin, is always placed by it.

[551] 353 776 [764]

341 787 A house ought never to be built till the foundations have been thoroughly dug up and shown to a soothsayer. He will determine, from the substances found, whether it is a lucky place to build a house in or not. It stands to reason that the building cannot be commenced till a lucky day and hour have been sought out. There is considerable care to be observed in the selection of the timber. Posts are masculine, feminine, and neuter. Male posts are of equal size at both

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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curing village, or an unclean fishmonger's in the dog days. Chinese patties of sugar and fat pork, plates full of fried silkworms, maggots from the top of the cocoa-nut tree, salt-pickled ginger and fried garlic, and a variety of other dishes beyond the ken of occidental cookery, abound all down the long tables. Alternating with these, and perhaps more pleasant to look at, are heaps of fruit, oranges, citrons, shaddocks, plantains, with here and there a late durian or two, rivalling the ngapi in its odour, and the brick-red or purple rind that conceals the luscious "snows" of the delicious mangosteen. Plentiful tins of sardines and Reading biscuits, with somewhat muddy-looking Bengali-made lemonade, give evidence of the progress of "civilisation"; and plates of betel with the fresh green leaves of the betel-vine suggest how the morrow's afternoon will be passed in well-filled meditations by the pôngyis of the neighbouring monastery.

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The house itself is decked out on a corresponding scale of magnificence. To the uninitiated foreigner an ordinary Burmese hut presents about as unfavourable raw material for decoration as can well be imagined. Built of rough teak planking, or of split bamboo mats, and raised a few feet off the ground on posts, it resembles a marquee tent in shape and in size (according to the principle of the old Joe Miller story about the stone which was as big as a lump of chalk). On all ordinary occasions there is not a vestige of furniture in it. A row of earthenware pots with water, a couple of wooden boxes, and the rolled-up mats and blankets whereon the household sleep, are the only things to be seen. The sides and ceiling are grimed with the smoke of the fire that cooks the daily meals; the floor stained with smudges of oil and red blotches of betel. Yet this unpromising shanty the Burman transforms into a palace chamber, or stage-like fairy bower. The sides of the house are thrown up towards the street, so that the room assumes the appearance of a verandah. The floor is covered with thick bamboo matting finely woven, over which bright-flowered rugs are spread. The dingy sides of the house are draped with flags and kullagās, elaborate stitched pieces of tapestry, ten or twelve feet long, and reaching down to the ground. White, or

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2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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527 brilliant-coloured chintz, or paper, forms a roof studded with
353 red, blue, or green stars and rosettes of tinsel paper. Great mirrors, swinging and other lamps, statuettes of wood or stucco, candlesticks with glass shades, clocks, German half-crown engravings, and gay Chinese lanterns hang or stand about. The floor is literally covered with silver and gold cups and betel-boxes, of all sizes, from that of a soup-tureen down to a breakfast cup. Some are plain; some of that *repoussé* work at which the Burmese silversmiths are so clever. The great majority of these are of course borrowed from friends (of another street or quarter) or hired for the night from the chetty pawnbrokers. A few chairs and tables stand about for any European visitors who may come, and they are sure of a friendly welcome. At the back of the
527 room in a long line, behind the mirrors and statuettes, sit
292 the girls, decked out in their most expensively embroidered skirts and gayest silk neckerchiefs. They are literally
301 loaded with jewellery. Round their necks and over the bosom hangs the broad network of the dalizan, formed of silver or gold fishes and flowers linked together. The nadaung, the huge gold plugs or circlets in their ears, sparkle with rubies and emeralds. So do the bracelets on their arms and the rings on their fingers. Each girl as she sits is worth many hundred rupees. It is probably for this reason that they are made so inaccessible, seated behind the lamps and lights. If admiring swains could get at them, so could other individuals, whose regard for the jewellery might exceed that for the commandments. The young women may therefore be supposed not to care so much for the Sôndawgyi *fête* as their brothers. Most of the girls are of course daughters of the house. If, however, the householder has not womankind enough, he simply goes into the bazaar and hires as many personable-looking damsels as he may find necessary. They are as much a part of the display as the silver cups and the looking-glasses. A band at one end
527 of the room discourses music fitfully. Occasionally a girl, too young to have attained to the dignity of jewellery, gets up and dances and sings for a while. Musical instruments of different kinds, pattala, hnè, and migyaung, harmonicons, trumpets, and alligator guitars, lie scattered about here and

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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carved with flowers and figures, and adorned with the usual flamboyant pinnacles, supported on massive teak pillars, painted vermilion colour at the base, and gilt higher up. Straight ahead is the great Hall of Audience, a colonnade, or columned arcade, extending along the entire eastern front, and opening directly upon it. At the end of a pillared vista stands the throne, on a dais, reached by five steps from the level of the hall. The top is a cushioned ledge, like the box in a theatre. Just over the throne, and in the centre of the palace, which is the centre of the city, which is the centre of Burma, which is the Turanian "hub" of the world, rises the seven-roofed spire, emblematic of royalty and religion. The princes of the highest rank sit in front to the right of the throne; those of the blood-royal, but not so closely connected, to the left. Then in regular gradation, opposite one another, the wungyi, atwinwuns, wundauks, and the minor officials. On either side of the hall of audience and behind are a number of minor throne-rooms, not rooms in the English sense of the word, but simply open roofed spaces, separated from each other by skirtings of planking, covered with gold-leaf, and supported by a multitude of teak pillars, dyed for the greater part of their height a deep red. Some rooms are almost entirely gilt, others are adorned with wall-paintings, others, again, with the favourite mosaic of bits of mirror and coloured glass, framed in a gilt network. Every room is furnished with one or more stands of arms; there is a rack of sadly ill-cared-for muskets round the throne itself. The palace is, in fact, a gigantic armoury. All the cannon and guns in the country are kept there. Hence it is that when the palace is taken by a usurper, the country is conquered. The abundance of gold-leaf ought to make the effect splendid, but the quantity of alloy there is in the gilding makes it speedily lose its glitter, and the general impression is that of dinginess, if not indeed of actual slip-shod tawdriness. But to be seen at its best the palace should be visited on a great beg-pardon day, when the rough plank floors are covered with gorgeous rugs and carpets, and the halls are filled with officials dressed in all the hues of the rainbow.

644 341 [772] 644 353 [701]

There are a variety of matters to be carefully observed by all who enter, or have anything to do with the palace. 644

352 TAUNG thick. The door had two leaves to it and one mirror. However, this cupboard had fallen into disuse as a receptacle for clothes, the family preferring to keep their clothing in teak boxes. The other cupboard had no mirror and was used to store crockery in. It measured 2 TAUNG wide, three TAUNGS high and little less than one TAUNG thick.

There were also two huge boxes both of which had been received as a bequest from his father. They were very heavy and needed two people to lift each of them. Each measured one TAUNG and five fingers long, one TAUNG broad, and one TAUNG high. Each had four legs two inches high. They were identical and both were used for clothing.

There was also a round table with four legs about two feet tall and with a diameter of two feet. This U Myaing bought in Rangoon for Rs. 3/8.

[291] [562] [651] A special basket was kept for storing women's HTA-MEINS (outer feminine nether garments). The Burmese do not allow mixture of women's and men's clothing. They had one of these baskets with lid in Pathwe. It was bought in Pantanaw and cost them 12 annas.

● 353 415 The following bric-a-brac is reported:-a porcelain duck and a porcelain rooster which had been handed down for two or three generations and had been used as a receptacle for trinkets and other small articles; a glass elephant also about a hundred years old with drawers to contain trinkets.

The following items are containers which may be regarded as household furnishings: betel box about a hundred years old with a diameter [251] of about twelve inches; a clay water jug overlaid with porcelain, also a hundred years old; two huge vessels for HSOON, one costing Rs. 25/- and lasting twenty years, and the other costing Rs. 15/- and lasting 13 years.

[196] These vessels were used when the family went to the KYAUNG to observe the sacred days. On such days HSOON for the whole family would be carried in these vessels. A KYAUK KAR food carrier woven of HNEE, (pith of the fibre used for mat weaving and overlaid with KYAUK KAR) cost Rs. 6/- and was used for about thirteen years. Five huge [251] earthenware jars each 3½ feet in diameter and 3 feet high, and three small jars were used to store fish. Each of the large jars cost Rs. 30/- and the small ones cost Rs. 4/8.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

187. DOMESTIC FLOWER-STAND (NYAUNG-YE-O, pp. 6, 62).

one, no disability of a practical kind exists for her. But it is the aspiration of every woman to transmigrate as a man in the next phase of existence (*karma*, p. 43). As the state of a man is thought a more desirable one, so it is inferred that her life in the previous incarnation has brought the woman's state upon her. How deep and tender is the poetry which the idea of transmigration weaves into the life of the Buddhist may be judged from the example at the close of Chapter XXIII. of *The Soul of a People*. Orphans are adopted by relatives, and in default of such, never fail to find foster-parents. The division of labour between the sexes is the common one of out-door and in-door. Wherever circumstances permit, women are relieved of hardship; the sheltered places in boats and carts belong to the women and children. The great middle zone of commerce is neutral; women embark in wholesale trade, besides transacting the bulk of the retail trade. In certain localities women do the lighter part of the out-door work, and in the poorer districts of the dry zone they share in the heavy labour. Women are accorded precedence among men according to the standing they have acquired by marriage or by their independent efforts. The *Kyaungmá*—the woman who has founded and who supports a school—enjoys a deference on all sides proportioned to the munificence of her gift. Women mix freely among men but are never jostled by them. At great gatherings men and women group apart. The Burman women are smart at repartee, and hold their own in the perpetual banter that goes on between the sexes.

188. WAYSIDE WATER-STAND IN THE CITY (pp. 21, 62).

562 [775] [531 353] [736] [462] [875] [271] [521]

/Journal for Ethnology/ 39 (1907)
342 pp. 59 ff. has pointed out what constitutes the difference between the above-mentioned composite buildings and the prehistoric pile dwellings./

due to the fact that every part of the building has its own roof. The roofs of the two major sections run parallel to each other and an eave (ye-ta-yauk) is fitted in between. The front part, which opens directly onto the main veranda, contains the livingroom /Figure 1 - Simplest roof. Burmese house. Stronger roof truss./ and visiting room; in the rear are the bedrooms. The kitchen
[349] again is detached. At the railing of the veranda, near the livingroom, is usually the stand for the drinking water jugs. Windows are normally only in the front part of the house. At the east wall
353 of the interior of the livingroom is sometimes a very handsomely carved rack (nyaung-ye-o-sin), with a Buddha image, or simply with flower vases in odd /206/ numbers (three or five) which are dedicated to him. They contain fresh leaves of the Nyaung bin (Ficus religiosa), or as a substitute the "Tree of Knowledge," which is sacred to Buddhism, or the hardy, easily obtainable leaves of the aloe plants, etc.

The building material for the rural houses is
342 bamboo. For the main posts and beams (yet-ma)
395 wooden logs are used by anyone who can possibly afford them; otherwise the sturdy canes of the giant bamboo are employed. Strong bamboo poles also furnish the crossbeams (sin) /Figure 2 - Roof covers at the village of Kenghkam, southern Shan State Yawnghwe./ on which the floor at a height of 1 to 1 1/2 meters rests. The main posts, standing in pairs, are joined together at the top by crossbeams; on them, in the center, stands a short beam which serves as a support of the roof ridge. On larger houses an additional beam frame is used and on this stands the support

342 of the roof ridge. Rafters--thin bamboo poles--
335 are placed over this roof structure (Figure 1). Split and flattened bamboo poles are used for floor boards as well as being joined together to serve as doors. The outer walls and partitions consist of frames (zali) with strong bamboo wickerwork (yaing). The outer walls are frequent-
[353] ly decorated with black and white ornaments (Plate IV, 4); more delicate wickerwork is used for the floor covering. Not one single nail can be found in the entire house. The posts and the strong cross beams are mortised with each other; to fasten the roof rafters and the mat walls, tough green ribbons are cut from bamboo and are made pliable by soaking them in water. The doors have no hinges, but turn in sunken in peg extensions on top and bottom of the door cases (7).

[171] 7. The avoidance of nails through fastening with plant fibers (bamboo, rattan) is the rule for the bamboo house all over Burma and Assam. H. Frobenius, ibid., p. 568, points out the same with regard to the central Oceanic architectural area.

The houses in the cities are usually built of
342 wood; the famous teak wood which was selected
824 primarily for monasteries and the palaces of the princes has long since become a costly building material. Therefore even the well-to-do people use it only for the main posts; its resinous oil protects it against attacks from termites. For the better housing constructions iron wood (Xylia dolabriformis, Burmese: pyinkado) which is just as durable, is mostly used. For the simplest roofing material the thekké grass (Saccharum cylindricum and Saccharum spontaneum) is preferred in the entire country, with the exception of lower Burma where palm leaf material is popular. The former is a coarse grass related to the sugar cane. Their stalks are tied fringe-

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
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312 [271] [178 352] [294]

135. SEWING CLOTH.

surface water. In some parts of the country the water is brackish. Shallow tanks with built-up earthen borders are made to store the rain-water for drinking, and, unlike the tanks in India, these are kept free from contamination. There is always a separate stand for the pots of drinking-water, either in the house itself, or within reaching distance, with a roof of its own. The domestic shrine and flower-stand (*nyaung ye-ô zin*) is frequently associated with the water-stand. Apart from the advantage of keeping away the drip the isolation of the water-stand is so marked as to suggest a religious intention—possibly of forgotten animistic import—in addition to the obvious one of a boon to the traveller, in virtue of which the water-stand is frequently decorated in the Buddhistic religious style (No. 158). As already noted, dwelling-houses are not fit places for images of the Buddha, but only temples. In the houses, the Buddha is venerated by keeping his sacred tree green in the flower-vases on the *nyaung ye-ô zin*, which is often richly decorated. The shrine takes its name from the *ficus*, but the plants actually used are such as keep green longest in the shade, especially the aloe (*môt*). The observance has very possibly been transferred from a pre-buddhistic one (No. 157).

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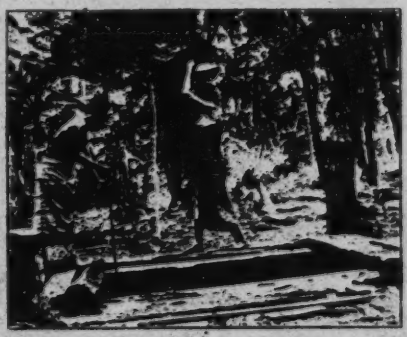

136. VILLAGE WELL.

342 tends across the entire front. The veranda has its own roof, and can frequently be closed against the outside with portable bamboo mat walls. It serves as an easily accessible place, even for strangers, also as a workroom and shop, and as a favorite gathering place for the family during the daytime. From there, ladders or steps lead to the elevated rear section of the house, where the livingroom, the bedrooms and the kitchen (mibo) are. The latter is usually [343] detached. It opens to the rear, and has its own platform and means of ascent. The cooking stove [354] consists of a flat box (4) filled with sand and

4. Burmese, Shan, and the mountain tribes of Burma and Assam, also the Siamese and Malayans use the flat, sand-filled fireplace; India and China the mud stove. This is probably due to pile dwellings versus level ground architecture.

ashes on which the wood fire is lit. During the dry season the cooking is done preferably in the open, near or under the house. The simple village house has frequently only one inside room. The veranda, especially where the water level during the rainy season makes it mandatory, is frequently found to be an open wide platform of the same height as the rest of the house (1 1/4 to 1 1/2 meters) (Plate IV, 2). The peasant keeps his rice stores either in the kitchen wing, [343] or in small sheds (also on piles) close to the house where the rice containers, the mortars, pestles for the husking, etc. are kept. Under the piles of the house usually stands the weaving loom on which the women and girls (5) work

[562] 5. As to the women who theoretically (in accordance with religious principles) though not in practice, rank

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

ends; females are larger at the base; those which swell out in the middle are a-thet ma-shi—without life; taing bilu, ogre's posts are largest at the top. As a general rule it may be taken for granted that if a house is built with neuter posts, its inmates will always be miserable and unlucky; if the posts are ogres, death and disaster will attend; male posts are easy-going and harmless; females, on the contrary, are fortunate and leading to honour. But it may happen that the character of the piece of ground on which the house is built upsets all these generalisations, so that it is necessary to get a wise man's opinion before you get your posts. The Deittôn gives many instructions on the subject, and among other things mentions how a man's fortune may be calculated from the Hle-ga-tit, the side pieces of the steps which lead up to the verandah. The presence or absence of knots, and if the former, their position, determines the luck of the householder. 341 787

Poor people use bamboo instead of wood, and make their walls of mats, woven of the same substance, split up. Occasionally, however, they rise to the dignity of common jungle timber. Richer people make use of the invaluable teak, or of pyinkado (*Xylia dolabriformis*), a wood almost as durable, and equally expensive. White ants will attack neither of these. The walls of such houses are planked. The roof is sometimes composed of small flat tiles, but more commonly of thatch. This consists in most places in the Delta of dani, the leaves of the toddy palm, which are first soaked in salt water, a precaution which prevents insects from destroying them. Up country a species of grass called thekkè is universally used. This style of roofing is very satisfactory in every respect but one. It is cheap, easily put on, reasonably water-tight, but very inflammable, and consequently is not allowed in any of the larger towns in the Province. In the smaller stations, however, it is almost universal, and the consequence is that when one house takes fire, the sparks from it kindle all the others, as a matter of course. Consequently, as an imperative measure of protection, every house is provided with a long hooked bamboo, called a mi-cheit, by means of which to pull off all the thatch as soon as a fire breaks out in the neighbourhood, and in 342 565 342 731 355

Z:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

342 addition to this a mi-kat stands beside it. This is a broad
731 griddle, or flapper kind of thing, and its object is to beat out
● 355 the flame which may be caused by a spark lighting on the roof. In addition to this, in many parts of the country, pots full of water are always kept in readiness on the tops of the houses, so that when the hour of danger comes, the householder may douse his roof, and so do the best for himself. In Mandalay, under native rule, some of the pa-gwets, and other outcasts, patrolled the streets all night, to watch for and prevent fires as much as possible.

[368]

342 Another kind of roofing is wā-kat, a sort of flat tile-like construction, six feet long by two feet broad, made of coarse bamboo matting. Bamboos split in half down the centre, and with the knots smoothed away, are also used. They are placed close together, with the hollow side upwards, extending all the way down from the ridge to the eaves, and over these again are placed others with the rounded side up, the whole presenting rather a curious appearance, but making a very serviceable roof and not nearly so dangerous as the leaf or grass thatching. The leaves of other trees are also occasionally used, but the simplicity and cheapness of the dani roof make it by far the most prevalent in the delta, as grass is elsewhere, notwithstanding its danger. In Rangoon and Maulmein, shingles, that is, small wooden slabs like slates, are being very generally introduced.

In the better class of houses the floors are made of planking, but poorer people have nothing better than a series of whole or split bamboos laid side by side on the cross-beams and tied down with rattans. This is not very pleasant to walk on, and has the further disadvantage of being anything but cleanly, for the spaces between the bamboos offer an irresistible temptation to drop all litter and garbage on to the ground immediately underneath the house, and were it not for the pariah dogs the sanitary condition of the place would soon be very bad.

[565]

352 The house is thus simple enough in its character, but
177·35 the furniture is still more so. Intercourse with the English
369 has indeed brought many Burmans to indulge in English luxuries, and in many houses in Rangoon and the larger district towns, chandeliers, bookcases, pictures, and even

342 824 like to the bamboo sticks and together with them bound to the roof rafters (Figure 2). The larger leaves of the Ingyin (Shorea robusta) (8) are

8. According to J.G. Scott, Burma, 2nd ed., (London, 1911), p. 500; other botanical explanations by H.R. Spearman, British Burma Gazeteer 1 (Rangoon 1880), pp. 125 ff., H.J. Wehrli, Zur Wirtschafts- und Siedlungs-Geographie von Ober-Birma /Economic and Settlements Geography of Upper Burma/ (Zurich, 1906), p. 111; Ferrars, ibid., p. 227.

sometimes seen as roofing material, pinned together in rows /207/ with bamboo pins and squeezed with poles against the roof (Figure 3). 342 [656] The grass roofs, particularly during the windy, dry winter season, are, of course, an extreme fire hazard and are therefore now prohibited for the cities. There--wherever brick or corrugated tin roofs have not been adopted--a roofing material, called "wakat," a shingle, cut from braided bamboo work is used. As a poor protection in case of fire, which frequently burns down 355 whole villages, a wooden hook, attached to a long handle is employed to tear off those parts of the grass roof which have caught fire and a damper, made of bamboo braided material is used to extinguish the sparks. These two utensils can be seen in practically every house (cf. Plate IV, 1 and especially Plate IV, 3); sometimes a number of jugs, filled with water, are seen standing at the ridge of the roof for purposes of fire fighting.

342 777 787 The Burmese attributes good and bad luck in all his undertakings to the influence of the innumerable benign and evil spirits (Nat) who were originally outside the Buddhist creed, and he makes his decisions dependent on omens and oracles

cloth, small enough to keep mosquitos out. The other kind was made of plain cloth to keep out the smallest insects. The nets are rectangular for a single bed, square for a double. They are suspended over the bed on a wooden framework and tucked under the mattress. Pathwe: three were used by the family and two kept in reserve. Each lasted 4 or 5 years. The reserve nets cost Rs. 60/- each, the others Rs. 40/- or 45/- each. Camp: one old one was brought from Pathwe, this is used by U Myaing and his wife. The rest of the family have none. Two are desired. 513 [435]

TA-BYET-SEE, broom: The hand broom is used to brush out dust and dirt from the floor of the house. It is about 2 feet long, 2 inches in diameter and consists of bent over bunches of stiff reeds bound at the top by a more flexible reed strip. The one used in camp cost 12 annas in Rangoon. 3560 415

Burmese Concepts about the Home.

The following Burmese ideas about the home were secured mainly from Ko Maung Than, my research assistant. 342 183

The Burmese regard the KIN-YAR (home place) with great love, and as the most essential feature of life. The head of a family will frequently admonish: "My young ones let us remain with our nest intact and our eggs uncracked", this is also a common prayer. The ideal is to preserve the family home with necessary repairs in its original form. Wooden (teak) houses are preferred to bamboo. The husband and wife are partners in the ownership of the home which they start at marriage. Indeed, the word for "marriage" KIN-DAUNG-PYU (House-separately-build) emphasize the importance of building a home upon starting a family. In villages the mother and children spend almost all of their time in and around the home. Since the Burmese are especially sedentary, short journeys being unusual and infrequent events, the house is the spot where he lives and dies. It is furthermore his "castle" and place of security within which he is "ruler". [592] [591] [484]

Each house is under the direct protection of MIN MAHA-GIRI one of the 37 major nats of Burma. He controls the fortunes of the family and in return is revered. A coconut, the symbol of MIN- 342 776 782

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

562 sing, nor play, nor paint. It must never be forgotten
517 that their civilization is relatively a thousand years behind ours. Accomplishments are part of the polish that a civilization gives, and this they have not yet reached. Accomplishments are also the means to fill up time otherwise unoccupied; but very few Burmese girls have any time on their hands. There is no leisured class, and there are very few girls who have not to help, in one way or another, at the upkeep of the household.

Mr. Rudyard Kipling tells of a young lady who played the banjo. He has been more fortunate than myself, for I have never heard of such a person.
562 They have no accomplishments at all. House-
356 keeping they have not very much of. Houses are small, and households also are small; and there is very little furniture; and as the cooking is all the same, there is not much to learn in that way. I fear, too, that their houses could not compete as models of neatness with any other nation. Tidiness is one of the last gifts of civilization. We now pride ourselves on our order; we forget how very recent an accomplishment it is. To them it will come with the other gifts of age, for it must never be forgotten that they are a very young people—only children, big children—learning very slowly the lessons of experience and knowledge.

792 When they are between eight and fourteen years
561 of age the boys become monks for a time, as every
792 boy must, and they have a great festival at their
[562] entrance into the monastery. Girls do not enter
304 nunneries, but they, too, have a great feast in their
561 honour. They have their ears bored. It is a
562

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

[854]
[501]

12. BABY'S BATH.

CHAPTER II

CHILDHOOD

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[531]
[352]
[356]
[846]

12. THE RATTAN CRADLE (PAKET).

THE cradle and the flower-stand are the two things that strike one in every Burman dwelling by the care bestowed on them. The plainest cradle has a turned rail and a carved headpiece (p. 8). The cradle swings by ropes to which the mosquito curtain is tied. The bed is made of a cotton mattress and a few plies of cloth. The infant is swaddled while its mother is lying in, and for a week or two later according to the season of the year. After that it wears only necklets and bangles. The first clothes the child gets are for grand occasions, after it has learned to run about and take care of itself. When the mother has recovered, she takes her babe with her wherever she goes, and if a wood or cane cradle is not handy she slings the infant in a plain hammock of cloth (No. 284). The Burmans do not carry their young children in a sling on the back like the hill people, but on the hip as soon as they can sit up (Nos. 327, 424).

854 When the babe is hardy enough to go without covering, it spends its waking
342 hours on a smooth mat spread over a springy bamboo floor which somewhat

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 API Burma
Burmese AP4

14. BURMAN MOTHER AND INFANT.

tempers Nature's discipline of knocks and bumps, as compared with the bare hard ground of the Indian hut. Nevertheless the young Burman's converse with his environment is unrestricted enough. By the time he is a year old he may be trusted to himself on a flimsy platform many feet off the ground or over the water. There are few things in the way of the child that it may not handle. The very cheroot its mother is smoking is a coveted plaything. The daily bath at the river-side or well has familiarised the child with another element. It may rush out into the first tropical shower and splash to its heart's content with its older playmates in the first tepid puddle. The Burman's regular exclamation of wonder or fear is "mother!"—*amè*.

854 342 854 3560 866 [593 152]

When the child is a few months old, relatives and friends are assembled and entertained with tea and sweets to witness the ceremony of piercing the ears and giving a name. The Burmans have no patronymics. The name is chosen from a set of current euphemisms proper to the days of the week and their planets, according to the star presiding over the day of birth. The fancy of the parents and the prognostics of the soothsayer unite to decide the choice. Names are single or are compounded from two series (in Arakan from three). Common names, beginning with the "Sunday-son," are On, Kyaw, San, Shwe, Po, Tha, Dun. Men's and women's names are taken from the same sets; only the courtesy-prefixes differ (p. 74). The needle-hole made in the lobe of the ear on the naming-day is expanded by means of plugs and rolls of bast. In the course of a few years the lobe takes a plug one-half to three-quarters

852 574 553 [857 351] 301 854 852

13. MUDLARKS.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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164. FOREST ZAYAT AND WATER-STAND (P. 63).

requirements? To which the *yahán* cordially responds, *gyippa, gyippa, tagádaw*—that I am, my valued supporter! Just as salutations are ordinarily omitted, so thanks are only expressed for special favours. The sense of obligation is conveyed by adopting courteous forms of speech, in which the particle *ba* always figures. The set forms of *please* and *thank you* are thus dispensed with. Where, however, a disparity of age or position exists, every act of the superior becomes [431] by courtesy a boon. A Burman is disconcerted by a simple present, as well as by *bakshish* and payments above the stipulation, which he is particular to make beforehand. But when approaching a superior with a request, the inferior bears an offering of courtesy, generally fruit. The inferior makes *shikhi* both on approaching and taking leave. A Burman does not stand, in the presence of his superior, but squats down. When he has occasion to pass close to his superior, he does not walk erect but crouches. By well-bred Burmans the gestures of respect are performed in a very graceful manner. Every Burman, the *yahán* not excepted, on ascending the *kyaunéing* of a house, removes his [356] sandals or shoes. As we Westerns respect the *roof* that our host has provided by doffing our head-gear, so Easterns respect the *floor* that is provided—an observance of a practical nature where the floor serves both for seat and table. In 576 an analogous way to our greeting with the hat, the Oriental shows respect by slipping the sandals even outside the house. Still more [515] courteous is the practice of washing the feet before entering a house or *kyaung*. Burmans always contrive to sit so as to hide the soles of the feet or to turn them

165. RECEIVING A VISITOR.

1: Mi Mi Khaing 1-5 (no date) 1946 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

CHAPTER FOUR

647 565 177. 65 BY the time that I was about four years old my father had become a Subdivisional Officer in the Civil Service, and our family had joined the ranks of what has now come to be known as the *min-kadaw* class, an *a-so-ya min* being a government official and *minkadaw* the wife of a *min*. The minkadaws usually referred to were in the great majority the wives of officials of the Burma Civil Service, Class II, and by the time that we were passing through our childhood and adolescent years they already formed a very definite stratum in Burmese society. We children now comparing notes with the children of the minkadaws posted as far apart as Tavoy and Myitkyina can find common characteristics in all the households, from domestic commodities and meal habits to social conventions and standards of wealth. It is as though a new upper middle class has grown up, complete with snobberies, in what was formerly a classless Burmese society, but a class that still keeps itself quite apart from the European gymkhana life of the district towns.

631 647 344 The houses which I can remember, when my father was a Subdivisional Officer in the subdivisional towns of Zigon and Myanaung where he was in charge of the subdivision, or in the divisional headquarters town of Magwe where the whole hierarchy of min from the Commissioner downwards were present, or in the district headquarters town of Maubin where the min ranked down from the Deputy Commissioner and my father was Headquarters Assistant, all bore certain uniform features. They were all wooden, two-storied and large, with a sufficient number of big rooms to have a dining-room and an office room below, a sitting-room above the portico and two big bedrooms, besides little verandahs and odd rooms. They all had a front staircase for common use and one or two ladder-like staircases behind for watermen, sanitation and servants. The kitchen was about 20 yards away, connected by a covered passage, and at the back of the large garden or compound was the *tanya*, a row of rooms for men servants and Indian [351] servants. The garden in front was usually modest owing to frequent changes of occupants, but a minimum amount of flowers for daily vases on the altar had always to be cultivated, and fruit trees were prized highly, guava, mango, marian or citron.

692 357 Unlike most Burmese households we did not have any aunts or other relatives staying with us, but we had our full quota of domestic

dependents in whose company we spent most of our childhood. Min- 592
kadaws divide their servants into "downstairs servants" and "upstairs 357
servants". The downstairs variety are the usual domestics—cook, boy, gardener, office boy and so on. The upstairs variety are not referred to as "servants" (*a-say-khan*); they are girls whose work is all done in the rooms upstairs, who sleep there and spend the greatest part of their day in the quarters inhabited by the family. In many cases this system is one of abuse and oppression. The girls may be poor relatives—cousins in the fourth degree perhaps—or they may be bought up from poor parents who, for a sum of Rs. 25 to Rs. 100 down and intermittent gratuities, will allow their children to go into a theoretically better home. These girls come at any age from seven to fourteen years. They are clothed and fed and their *mon-bo* (sweetmeat money) depends entirely on the mistress they chance upon. When they are young they play with the children of the house and when older they sweep and dust the upstairs rooms—rooms on which we walk only barefoot as distinct from the downstairs rooms swept by an Indian sweeper, and on which they use a feather broom instead of wielding a broom of coconut sticks, thus sealing the distinction; they also wash the personal garments of the household, look after the children and all other housemaid duties. They are rarely kept alone; there may be up to four or five according to the household. The relationship with the family is that of feudal serf or poor relation. [601]
They do not call their employers *thakin* and *thakinma* (master and mistress); they address them as Aunt and Uncle-older-than-own-parents; they call the children of the family elder-brother or sister-so-and-so and address all relatives as the children do, but they have no definite salary, no rights and no external connections. It is only in rare cases, however, [584]
that girls reach the age of thirty in an environment not congenial to them; in ideal circumstances it is the duty of the mistress to settle them in an advantageous marriage by the time they are twenty-one or twenty-
two. Failing this, the girls generally manage to elope, for elopements [583]
are frequent and not very scandalous in Burma.

In our childhood, when the family was big with growing children, we had five girls with us at one time. Of these, three were our relatives —two sisters, Ma Ohn Kyi and Ma Mya Shwe, who were third cousins of my father, and Ma Ngwe Yin, a second cousin of my mother. Both their families were far too poor to keep them. We had to pay respect to Ma Ohn Kyi and Ma Ngwe Yin who were both a few years older than me and called us all by our name, but nobody stopped us from bullying the young Mya Shwe and the two unrelated girls as much as we liked. A-Kyi, as we called Ma Ohn Kyi, was always treated as the senior one because my parents considered that she had a good moral character.

592 She was fairly pretty, very quiet and reserved towards us, and enjoyed
357 helping my mother with the babies, supervising the work of the servant girls and valeting my father. Ngwe Yin, who came to us as a very attractive girl with a reputation for being unmanageable even at a young age, always chose the task of taking us for walks in the evenings so that she could put on her nice clothes. She took us wherever she liked, or she sat with us at meal times and let us be as naughty as we wanted while she indulged in repartee with my father's clerks or chauffeur. Mya Shwe was my contemporary and playmate; she went to school while I was in boarding school but cut short her attendances the day I came home, irrespective of differences in our school calendars.

357 When A-Kyi was about nineteen it was announced to us that she
584 was to be married to my father's clerk, Maung Hla Bu. This young man was a favourite of my parents and had been a constant admirer of A-Kyi, helping her to make the beds when my father took the whole family on tours, but awaiting the graciousness of my parents before he dared to ask for her in marriage. My mother gave A-Kyi a small trousseau and a few pieces of jewellery, and they were married shortly before my father got a posting to another station. When a child was born, Mya Shwe, who had outgrown her days as a playmate for me, went to stay with them. Ngwe Yin, the beautiful girl, continued discontentedly for about a year, and then she eloped with a student protégé of my father's. I don't think either of my parents were very shocked at this.

357 My memories of the girls who worked for us are happy enough only
565 because my mother had been brought up in Grandfather's house where everyone was taught to do things for herself; in her character also was a pervading sense of tolerance. In some minkadaws' houses, however, I have seen two girls kneeling with soap and towel outstretched, while the mistress bathed herself. In more cheerful but no less aristocratic-minded households a meal laid ready on the table is the signal for one girl to get under the table and fan the mosquitoes off the legs of the family, and another to play the gramophone right through the meal My gay young uncle San Lin extended the domestic duties of his girls to the learning of modern songs which he liked, and he did his morning dressing to the accompaniment of his servant girls with powder on their faces and jasmine buds in their hair, swinging their feather brooms to the rhythm of modern love songs.

592 A-Kyi and A-Shwe and all the girls we had before and after them
431 bring back memories of the household articles which made with them a
513 background never recovered in our later Rangoon days. My mother,
286 like all minkadaws in the districts, did not depend on a big bazaar and
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CHAPTER FIVE

000 WHEN I was about five years old, my young brother, the third child of the family, died suddenly and created a gap of about seven years between me and the next child. My elder brother and I thus grew up apart from my younger sisters for a good part of our childhood.

• 357 524 Two boys were brought up to play with my brother and help my mother with the garden: I was given Mya Shwe to play with. A-Shwe and I were very attached to each other and liked the same games. Burmese children are not as interested in dolls, balls, animals and other toys of the European child; our treasures were chiefly in the form of seeds which play the same part in Burmese children's games as balls do in Western games. We had *go-nyin*, round flat seeds about two inches wide, from a jungle creeper which grew in my grandmother's garden in Ye. We rolled these along the ground to hit other go-nyins, like ninepins. When the family ate custard apples we collected all the seeds and washed them. These seeds provided us with several games; we scattered them in front of us and tried to flick as many as possible into a hole dug into the ground, or sometimes to flick each seed to touch another, removing one each time it touched until we could clear all the scattered seeds.

524 262 We could do this with tamarind seeds too: these were pretty black shining ones. We could get them from the kitchen but always preferred to take one of the boys on walks to tamarind trees. Hla Aung climbed the tree and brought down a cluster of fruits surrounded by delicate feathery leaves. We took a packet of salt along and ate the acid fruit dipped in salt, against all orders; we shredded the leaves till we got a big pile, wrapped them with the rest of the salt in stout paper, buried it a few inches in the ground and then all took turns at jumping on the spot, shouting: "*Bok-hsi-yay-Hsan, Hsan*: Oh pressed oil, come sprinkle, sprinkle." The moisture from the fresh leaves came out with the stamping and dissolved the salt, making a lovely savoury mess of the crushed leaves which we unearthed after a while and ate greedily. Then A-Shwe and I carried home the seeds to add to our collection.

524 301 *Kha-yay si* also we collected. These are seeds of the *kha-yay*, a tall tree which scatters its ripe fruit on to the ground where they lie until they dry, and shed their flesh and leave the seeds hidden amongst the

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

153. THE CHALLENGE (see p. 177).

the young wife's home, the lad working for her parents. 591
As family comes and other daughters marry, the elder pairs are established in houses of their own. Married people are designated *ein-daung*—householders. Marriage 581
makes no difference in the names and their prefixes. 592
Everyone marries in Burma; the census of 1891 gave 551
1,306,722 husbands to 1,307,292 wives. The same census 162
gave 102 females to 100 males of the Burman (so classed as Buddhist) population. (In Burma prostitution is con- [548]
fined to the large towns.) [524]

A family of seven is considered large. The average number of house-occupants is 5.5. The cost of living of 592
a Burman village household is 100 to 200 Rs. a year. In 511
the towns the well-to-do spend 600 to 1000 Rs. and more, 357
and at the present day keep a servant or two for the 556
rough work, generally natives of India. Such accumulations of wealth as are made by individuals in India and other countries with a plutocracy and a proletariate are not paralleled among the Burmans. Nevertheless individuals amass tens of thousands of rupees, which for the most part they spend on works of religious merit. Monogamy is the received and almost universal practice in Burma. Second-wives are taken by a proportion of the officials and men of wealth. Hence it comes that the Burmans wonder more at the moderation of Europeans than at such license as they indulge. This license is not nearly so great as in India, but it is more open, corresponding to the higher status of the women of Burma, and thus it provokes more scandal in comparison. Unions of this sort among the Burmans are merely by mutual consent. A separate establishment in a different quarter of the town is maintained for the second wife or concubine (*maya-ngè*). Her children are under no disability, but she is not acknowledged by the first, and generally older, wife (*mayaji*), whose husband's love she is said to have stolen.

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154. AN "ORIGINAL."

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1: Mi Mi Khaing I-5 (no date) 1946 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4
Mon AP9

CHAPTER ONE

YE is a small Tenasserim town of great delight to Lower Burmans. Though the houses are congested, bazaars and cinemas unknown, and robberies frequent and armed, the place contains things very dear to all Burmese hearts. Good food to eat and water to play with are found in abundance, amidst surroundings which form a perfect background for an indolent holiday. The Ye creek, muddy and about 50 yards wide at Ye, can be ascended to *chaung hyu* (stream's source), where are gardens with bamboo huts and rich fruits on the trees surrounding, and clear swift water for bathes; or descended to *pinlè ane* (ocean's opening), where oysters and fat seafish are found and where there is a beach with a pagoda on the first stretch of firm high ground and shells along the foreshore. Now a train goes right up to Ye once a day from Moulmein, and a motor boat can take you in two hours to the gardens or the sea. My visiting cousins and sisters read Deedok Magazines and English detective stories brought in their luggage from Rangoon, as they lie on the bamboo platforms above the water, but my grandmother and great aunts, who sit by talking, see the children only as reproductions of my father and his brothers and sisters who were brought up here during the end of the last century, without sight or sound of any world beyond the two sides of the stream, the gardens and the sea.

B 361 M 101 177

Our stock is Mon, a race which came into Burma from Eastern Tibet before the fifth century, by which time they had spread over the Tenasserim coast, founding a kingdom at Thaton. They are known as Talaings, perhaps because Indians from a place called Telingana on the Madras coast came across with elements of learning and religion, and infused their Dravidian blood into our ancestors, so that even today Talaings are darker skinned than their neighbour Shans and Karens.

M 101 142

My grandmother and grandfather spoke Talaing, a dialect distinct from Burmese, and had never been to any other part of Burma; but Ye at the time my father was born (1880) had already been under British administration for fifty-four years, and was not very different from any other village of Lower Burma. There were vague and grand stories of the metropolis of Moulmein and of the growing far-off one of Rangoon and of the exciting new fashions and wealth that accompanied a knowledge of English and a job under the government in the towns, but even

177 484 101 177 B 361

1: Mi Mi Khaing I-5 (no date) 1946 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4
Mon AP9

CHAPTER TWO

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MOULMEIN, Maul-la-Myaing to us, is a fair and prosperous city. It is fair in its descent from the hills behind, in three successive parallel main streets, to the wide Moulmein River, where seagoing ships can sail in, and an island rich in legend lies dark and green in the sunlit water. It had prospered since it was made the military headquarters of Tenasserim in the British annexation of 1826 until, in about 1900, it had over 50,000 inhabitants and a busy rice and teak export trade. Moulmein is fair also becauset he ridges behind are crowned with pagodas, and the hills and rivers contain waterfalls and caves, but to me it is particularly fair like a queen city that rides athwart her domain, because my father and my mother came from the two ends of the natural sphere of Moulmein's influence, Ye and Thaton, each from about 100 miles away, each sent by the family as an adventurous experiment, to meet and contract an understanding in Moulmein.

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My maternal great-grandfather was a Talaing general, and when I look around at my mother's family I cannot think anything else, for they are all most robust, alive and resurgent; whether I take the members who

CHAPTER EIGHT

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MY mother, who had strict ideas about keeping her household a neat family unit of father, mother and children, without dependent aunts and other relatives, had equally strong views about the maintenance of our family ties and traditions, especially as we were now having a Western upbringing in the English schools and not many counteracting lessons at home. Once a year at least, she thought, we should go to have the roots of our beginnings stirred and kept alive. When the younger children were old enough to travel easily, therefore, we went away for each summer vacation.

For her own home, my mother thought a short visit would suffice; the longer visit was paid to my father's family because he could never come with us to see them. In any case, the visits to Thaton were dull for children in those growing up days, all my mother's family like herself had gone into a more worldly life and were settled in their respective professions. The main part of the great house was shut up and empty, and my mother took us there just for a few days to see my aunt, pay a visit to the hpongyi, and to inspect rubber estates which we had just outside Thaton. Then we journeyed on to Ye where my father's family were still living the life he had planned for them when he worked to buy my grandmother her plots of paddy-land.

Our visits to Ye were pure delight. In childhood any change in itself makes a holiday, and the change from our district life to the life at Ye was very great indeed.

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A railway had been built from Moulmein to Ye in 1925; it ended at Ye where passengers travelling further crossed the creek and continued in buses for about 100 miles of mountain road to Tavoy. This was the only overland route to the Tenasserim coast below Ye. We crossed the Martaban-Moulmein ferry in the early morning, ate breakfast with friends while waiting for the connection, and arrived at Ye about 5 in the evening. Ye was by then the headquarters of a township and had a population of about 2,000. It was an extremely congested little town, for the number of its houses and inhabitants had just multiplied without any great changes in its original plan or acreage. The two main streets ran parallel to the creek, and along them the Talaing houses were packed, with only three to four feet of space between every few houses to give access from creek to road and from one road to another.

the last world was dissolved in chaos. On this hill five lotus buds sprang 632
out of the earth; they opened into blossom, and from each flew a sacred 773
bird which bore a sacred yellow robe towards the heavens. These five robes presaged the coming of five Buddhas who would guide the future world along the noble path to Nirvana. After this sign, that former world was destroyed; the present world followed, and the Buddhas appeared as foretold: Kaukathan, Gaunagong, Kathapa and Gautama, who successively attained enlightenment in this world, and whose statues now sit, each fifty feet tall and twenty feet broad, back to back in a great quadrate at the Kyaikpun Pagoda, calm and majestic as the grass grows about them and the rain washes down on their faces, awaiting the arrival of the fifth and last Buddha, after which this world cycle will be destroyed in a universal chaos. As each Buddha saw his enlightenment in this world he left a relic at the Theinguttara Hill, which had foretold his coming and which would now mark his attainment of wisdom—Kaukathan his staff, Gaunagon his water filter, Kathapa a portion of his robe, and Gautama his eight hairs which were enshrined in the first Shwe Dagon Pagoda after many perilous journeys.

But now the importance of Rangoon banishes all that into the realm 177, 36
of our dreams. The beginnings of trade date from about 1760 after 632
King Alaungpaya had won a battle here and called the place *Yangon:* end of strife; but the big foreign port sprang up suddenly after 1852 when the British gained possession of it; the ships coming into its harbour from the oceans grew larger and larger, buildings followed the expanding commerce, roads and railways were built to all parts of Burma, foreigners crowded in and stamped its character, and by 1941 Rangoon had become a cosmopolitan city of over 500,000 inhabitants, more than three times larger than the next largest city in Burma and controlling over 80% of its export trade.

If the Burmese Empire of former days had been a sea-power, the 361 •
development of Rangoon would not have been left to this late day, for 504
its position makes it the obvious port for the whole country, and it had many natural beauties which would have made it a fair metropolis. Twenty-one miles up from the open sea, the Rangoon River gives a broad sweep to the left and allows a frontage of over two miles for ocean shipping to anchor. The river is a continuation of the Hlaing River flowing southwards from about 50 miles north of Rangoon and this, with the Pegu River and the Pazundaung Creek which join its waters opposite Rangoon from the right, made inland water transport also easy. The land giving on to the Rangoon River was open and flat for the layout of a fine city, with, further in, lakes and wooded hillocks, but just north of Rangoon the range of hills known as the Pegu Yomas stretched northwards for

•361 504 about 300 miles, dividing the valley of the Irrawaddy from that of the Sittang, both rich alluvial valleys, so that Rangoon could stretch out its arms uninterruptedly, by road and rail and water, far up these valleys, and draw down their teak, oil and other products for export.

The actual development had taken advantage of these natural points. Along the river front were several wharves which, dredged and drained carefully, could take vessels up to 8,000 tons. Back from the Strand the city was laid out in three parallel rows, roughly two miles from east to west. Cutting down across these rows to the biggest wharf area was the broad Sule Pagoda Road with the hill of the pagoda forming the natural central circus of the city. In this area of neatly laid out streets were the shops, offices, congested city dwellings, bazaars, narrow shut-in buildings and all the appurtenances of a city; and just where the innermost parallel ended, the railway looped through, flinging one arm up to join Prome on the central Irrawaddy, the other to Mandalay 386 miles away, and, from this arm, a line down to the Tenasserim coast. Beyond the city area the residential areas and suburbs stretched—fringing the Royal Lakes just outside with big houses of rich people; nestling among the wooded hilly Golden Valley round the slopes of the Shwe Dagon Hill, the smallness of this hilly area being drawn out with the meandering of the roads, so that the Burmese named part of it *Wingaba*, a maze, which hid cool retreats like the *Nga Dat Gyi:* Five Levels Pagoda, and a tank of sacred turtles; extending miles in a pleasant garden city of newer rich bungalows till it reached the Victoria Lakes, the University Estate and the airport beyond; taking on a village character in small wooden houses of a Burmese quarter at Kemmendine along which the Rangoon River flowed as a country river; and straggling out in less pleasant poor suburbs to the east along the Pazundaung Creek.

346 Over all this area, the Shwe Dagon Pagoda shone like a golden light. Theinguttara Hill, besides being an echo of the last world, is also the last spur of the Pegu Yomas chain which gradually peters out north of Rangoon. It has been built up to about 150 feet above the surrounding area, and from this platform the Shwe Dagon Pagoda rises, from an octagonal plinth moulded into a lotus bloom turned downwards, tapering into soft encircling rings from which is moulded again a gently swelling plantain bud, the clay merging into more soft undulations which rise to the very summit in the tightest bud of all—the *seinbu*, diamond bud—forming, by a re-echoing of the lotus buds which once sprang up here, a shapely slender spire, tapering to the point of a bud and yet composed of curves and gentle fullness. The whole pagoda was covered with pure gold leaf and its summit was crowned with a delicate *hti*, an umbrella of gold on whose rings were hung gold and silver jewelled bells which

voice, "Do you understand the hpongyi's language after being so long as it were one human amongst a thousand monkeys?" 192 186

Chastened and fortified by such injunctions, I was ready to plunge into six months of social life before starting on the serious business of earning a living. Rangoon should have offered plenty of scope for that, according to the rhyme about the first three cities of Burma: "*Moul-a-myaing a-sa, Mandalay sa-ga, Yangon a-kywa:* Moulmein for rich eating, Mandalay for fine speaking, Rangoon for showy vanity." 361 177. 36

The Yangon-thu were grouped in urban or verdant clusters about the city of foreigners. There were two packed streets of the more prosperous trading classes in a western quarter of Rangoon, which the municipal authorities called Edward Street and Oliphant Street, but which to every Burman had always been known as *Kon-zay Dan:* Goods Bazaar Row, and *Shwedaung Dan:* Gold Mountain Row. Here the families lived in tightly packed unpretentious houses and did not possess Western style furniture or cars; they went to the cinema in rickshaws, but the women were loaded with valuable diamond jewellery which put many a minkadaw to shame. In the dusk of the evenings, they sat on wooden platform couches on the pavement outside each house, puffing at cheroots, calling out to neighbours and eating a variety of choice foods from the Burmese, Chinese and Indian restaurant quarter which surrounded them. In the east of the town, separated from this area by rows of Indian and mixed streets, retired Government officers were concentrated in a block. Here the houses were substantial, the sons and daughters attended school and University in cars, and the most eligible civil servants could be obtained in marriage for daughters, but the pensioners were the type who lived in a congested neighbourhood for fear of dacoits in a more open area, and whose womenfolk considered lawns and the drawing-rooms of modern bungalows a poor substitute for the access to cinema, eating houses and bazaars that a crowded part of Rangoon afforded them. Round about the Kokine Lakes and along the main highway to Prome, however, more newly retired Burmans who entertained on chairs, laid rugs on floors and hung pictures on walls in the Western fashion, had built pleasant modern bungalows. To the west of this area, just a stone's throw from the main Prome Road, began the village of Kemmendine with its rows of small wooden houses, each with its front enclosure full of green foliage, an altar-stand jutting out on the east wall, three steps raising the first and only storey a few feet off the ground, and wooden floors with one plank loose in them to allow the dust to be swept below. Kemmendine had its own bazaar, country boats on the river, and children and dogs playing on the street, just like any district town. My *Ko Gyi*, eldest male first cousin, lived there among small traders, clerks and school

361 177. 96 teachers. There were similar colonies of Burmese in the eastern parts of Rangoon—Yegyaw, Bahan, Tamwe and Pazundaung—but none so pleasant as Kemmendine.

When we were young, my mother's stock of household goods bought from their places of manufacture had shown us all the small industries 361 of Burma. Now my sisters appeared to be as determined to do my 438 Rangoon shopping from the most orthodox sources, and I learnt that to 563 fit me out with a new set of Burmese clothes required the services and the varied talents of all communities of the cosmopolitan city. Imported silks, which were bought for longyis in addition to native silks, were the monopoly of merchants from Sind and Bikaner—houses of Ramchandra, Tejumal, Lekraj and others—who had set up windows in the modern Scott Market of Rangoon, and whose salesmanship had flowered in Burma into something vastly different from the nonchalance which they display in their native land. They offered cigarettes to casual buyers who fingered the usual run of silks, supplemented them with sweet coloured drinks from the sherbet stall behind the shops when they went on to more expensive satins, and if they ventured further into fine brocades and laces, dishes of ice-cream appeared as they waited for the material to be cut and measured.

Cotton longyis for day and night wear in the house took us to the western Burmese quarter of Rangoon. Here, in Goods Bazaar Row, the family firm of *U Hsin-Daw Htay*: husband and wife married in business, lived in the upper floor of their house, and stacked the lower floor with hundreds of cotton prints, made in Japan but manufactured with such an eye to Burmese requirements as regards texture, colours, design and width, that these *tha-yet-htè* longyis, as they were called, seemed to most people as Burmese as Bassein umbrellas or Mandalay slippers. All over Burma the women wore these longyis. The transplanters of the paddy, the young servant maids in a-so-ya mins' houses, the girls in Ye and a thousand other villages, women in bazaars and minkadaws themselves, all wore various qualities of bright tha-yet-hte prints bought for 10 annas to Re. 1/4 a longyi length of 1¾ yards. U Hsin and Daw Htay were prosperous; we bought our longyis from them through snobbery, in lots of ten, sitting barefooted on their mat-covered floor, with betel box in front of us, but it was possible to buy tha-yet-hte from the stalls of young Burmese women all along the big Soortee Bazaar and the Scott Market of the Town. These young women form one of Burma's fairest sights.

361 438 In the days of my schooling, when each new term plunged me into the foreign world behind Convent walls, as my mother completed the shopping for it on the last day of each vacation, I gazed back with longing

and envy at these fair creatures who continued work and home in one long pleasant Burmese continuity. They are girls from the ages of sixteen upward. Probably their parents set them up in these stalls, each separated from its neighbour by a stack of cotton bales, six or seven stalls on a long platform. They come there in the mornings, dressed in crisp muslin jackets and bright longyis, their faces powdered with thanakha and the Five B's, flowers in their hair, and fragrant ground bark on their hands and feet. They open up shop and dust with feather brooms while they shout across to each other the news of the previous evening. Then the whole day unfolds, calling out to food sellers and treating their friends to a succession of delicacies, button-holing the young boy who hawks magazines and tuppenny novels, and reclining against a pile of the tha-yet-hte longyis to read these romances, helping each other to fold up the pieces after a troublesome customer has gone, anything but making an earnest business of their profession. They always looked so cool and pretty and indifferent beside the small Indian storekeepers who flanked their platforms and solicited passers-by for patronage. "Oh to be a bazaar girl!" I still thought when I was in the University; "to pass unchaperoned days, reading novels and eating sweets, to have time to be powdered and neatly dressed, and only now and then be disturbed by someone who wants to buy a longyi." 361 438

Our starched white muslin jackets are made out of fine transparent muslin manufactured in England, and sent out in bales of 11 yards with the quality stamped in Burmese characters, and on the jacket a florid illustration of the quality-name—names such as *Nat-thami, Sein ta-hsok, Shwe Pan-gaing, Mè Nyo:* Heavenly Damsel, Cluster of Diamonds, Golden Spray of Flowers, Dusky Maiden—and imported by both Indian and Burmese traders. 294 439 563

The making up of the jackets was the monopoly of Chinese tailors; our *tayok-kalay*, little Chinaman, lived in the crowded quarter of Yegyaw in a barnlike room which was carpenter's shop at one end and tailor's at the other. The tailor's end had a row of shelves along the wall in to which the finished garments and uncut material were shoved, higgledy-piggledy in paper bags on which the merest scribble denoted owner and date of order. In front of this was the counter on which the cutter was at work, and separating it from the carpentery end was a table at which one or two half-clad men always seemed to be eating noodles or reading a Chinese newspaper, of which there were three in Rangoon. In spite of this, the tayok-kalay never confused an order for garments which had to fit so meticulously and always delivered them in a snow-white condition. He charged 9 annas for each fine handsewn garment, and for modern girls managed to cut twelve out of the eleven-yard piece. This 294 563 441 465

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

Down the river there are hundreds of others of every variety and degree of decoration. There is the Naga Yôn Payā, the whole building wrought into the form of a dragon; the huge round-domed Kaung-hmu-daw, and the "king's victory pagoda" at Sagaing, the "golden cock-scratching," on the other side, commemorating a favourite legend of the boundless charity of the Budh. There are glistening white pinnacles, or flashing gold spires, far up the Sagaing hills, with thousands of steps wending wearily up over the steep, rough hill-side, and gazing up to them from the Amarapoora side are great massy temples, frowning over the river with all the stern solidity of a knightly hold. Each has its legend, some tale of bloodshed or piety, some event in Burmese history, or birth-story of the Buddha. 778

Most renowned, however, for its pagodas is Pagān, in many respects the most remarkable religious city in the world. Jerusalem, Rome, Kieff, Benares, none of them can boast the multitude of temples, and the lavishness of design and ornament that make marvellous the deserted capital on the Irrawaddy. Deserted it practically is, for the few flimsy huts that stand by the river are inhabited only by pagoda slaves and men condemned to perpetual beggary. For eight miles along the river-bank and extending to a depth of two miles inland, the whole space is thickly studded with pagodas of all sizes and shapes, and the very ground is so thickly covered with crumbling remnants of vanished shrines, that according to the popular saying you cannot move foot or hand without touching a sacred thing. Some of the zedis are all but perfect. Restored by the pious, they stand out glistening snow-white, only to render more striking the hoary, weather-beaten ruins of their less-cared-for neighbours. Here the bell-shaped, solid pyramid of Lower Burma is rarely seen. The religious structures fully merit the word temple as understood in ordinary language. To quote Yule, who gives a detailed account of the principal shrines in his *Mission to Ava*, there are all kinds: "The bell-shaped pyramid of dead brickwork in all its varieties; the same raised over a square or octagonal cell, containing an image of the Buddha; the bluff, knob-like dome of the Ceylon Dagobats, with the square cap which seems to have characterised

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2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

346 the most ancient Buddhist *chaityas*, as represented in the sculptures at Sanchi, and in the ancient model pagodas found near Buddhist remains in India; the fantastic bu-payā, or pumpkin pagoda, which seemed rather like a fragment of what we might conceive the architecture of the moon than anything terrestrial, and many variations on these types. But the predominant and characteristic form is that of the cruciform vaulted temple."

778 361 The Irrawaddy just below Pagān widens out like a gigantic lake to over two miles in breadth, and the view of the sacred city from far down the river is particularly fine. Towering above the others rise the great temples of Ananda, Ta-pyi-nyu, and Gawdapalin, like visions of old-world cathedrals strayed into the desert. Round about them gradually rise into view hoary round towers, like a border "peel"; airy minarets as of an underground mosque; apparitions like the pyramids, chiselled into fairy terraced fretwork; huge bulbous mushrooms with slim lanterns on their backs, like the wide studio of a mad architect. There is a memorial line which, placing letters for numbers, declares the sum total of the pagodas to be 9999.

> Hlè win-yo than ta-nyan nyan
> Pagān payā paung.
>
> The cartwheel's creaking strains
> Pass Pagahn's storied fanes.

778 361 172 Probably, however, there are not nearly so many in anything like a complete state. Pagān ceased to be capital in 1284 A.D. The Emperor of China had sent a vast army to avenge the murder of an ambassador. The Burmese king pulled down a thousand arched temples, a thousand smaller ones, and four thousand square temples to strengthen the fortifications. But a prophecy found under one of the desecrated shrines robbed him of his courage, and he fled to the south; and ever since Pagān has remained in its present practically deserted state. The whole ground within the old walls is strewn with bricks and mortar. Some of the zedis are strangled with jungle growth, huge bushes spring from their summits and sides and tear the masonry asunder, and with the vast majority no attempt is made to arrest the ravages

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

of time, but Mr. Taw Sein Ko says in his report of 1908: 778
"Numerous terra-cotta tiles have been found in the basements 361
and corridors of several of the pagodas. They illustrate 172
scenes in the *jâtakas* and in the life of the Buddha Gautama. 101
They are of two types. In the Ananda and Shwezigôn the tiles are enamelled green and show Chinese influence. In the Petleik pagoda they are of red baked clay and have South-Indian resemblances. All three shrines belong to the eleventh century A.D. The stone sculptures in the Ananda are fine, and the pose, drapery, and contour are distinctly Indian. In the Sein nyet pagoda, halfway between Myinpagān and Thiyipyitsaya, of the eleventh century, the Chinese influence preponderates. The twin Petleik pagodas are at Thiyipyitsaya."

Few, if any, contain actual relics. The cloistered and terraced temples are simply receptacles for huge images of the Buddha and others. The corridors of the Ananda and Gawdapalin are filled with sculptured groups representing events in the life of the Great Master, and figures of eminent disciples and yahanda. In the central recesses, where are the colossal figures of the Buddhas, the light is cunningly admitted from above so as to fall on the calm gilded face, producing a most weird and striking effect. But Pagān would require a monograph itself, and with it should be compared Shwegu, between Mandalay and Bhamaw. That sacred island is a perfect forest of pagodas, and only fails to obtain wider fame because of the existence of Pagān. There are 999 shrines within its limits, and a much larger proportion of these exist intact than is the case with Pagān, though none of them can compare with the magnificence of the Ananda.

The question of the architecture of the Pagān temples, 546
which is so different in style from that found in other parts 171
of Burma, has been fully discussed in Yule's admirable 172
Mission to Ava. He omits, however, to notice the fact that Anawrata-saw Min, when he established Buddhism in Pagān, built all the pagodas and temples after the exact model of those then existing in Thatôn, in the same order and of the same size. The town of Thatôn, above Maulmein, was the first settlement of Thawna and Ôttara, the

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma (Chinese Shan) AP1
Burmese AP4

Be 796

ninety feet high itself, is surrounded by twenty-four smaller zediyan of a much later date.

Be 796 493

Great crowds of people go out every year from Rangoon, starting early in the morning, so as to avoid the heat, though in February the bracing winds of the cold weather have not altogether gone. Most of the travelling is done in bullock-carts. These conveyances are not nearly so fine as the Mandalay vehicles, but they are neat enough; the pole is elaborately carved at the end, and above all they are roomy, and allow "Jack Burma" and his family to loll about as they please. Bamboos are bent over to form a hood, and over this is thrown a kullagā, a piece of tapestry-work formed of pieces of many-coloured cloth sewn on to a red blanket so as to represent figures; the scenes being usually taken from some well-known play or from the court. They are eight or ten feet long, and four or five broad, affording a capital shelter from the sun, and combining the advantage of being easily moved when there is a breeze, with the still greater merit of looking very gay and bright. The party starts off before daylight, young master Lugalé being left behind to guard the house till the rest come back, and testifying his disapproval of the responsibility of this duty by strenuous howls. The Madrasi sepoy lines are soon passed, and we get out into the undulating country beyond, and pass through the gardens and orchards which abound along the Prome road. The ground here is not suited for rice, and there are large areas covered with mango, jack, ma-yan, a kind of acid plum (which the perverse Englishman persists in calling Mary-Anne), and other fruit-trees, with pine-apples in long rows beneath their shade. The Chinese have great market-gardens here, miracles of neatness, but far from savoury in their odours. They never miss a chance of making money, and accordingly this morning turn over a few pice by selling sugar-cane to the girls, and bamboo pipes of palm-toddy to the men. The Shans, also born gardeners, to whom the fruit-trees mostly belong, are very pious, and join in the pilgrimage with their quaint offering-flags made of slim frameworks of bamboo, woven across in diverse patterns with vari-coloured cotton threads. A little farther on we get beyond the region of the market-gardens, and

Ba 361 137 244 563

Be 796 361

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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pass between monotonous stretches of secondary jungle with no houses to be seen, though behind the strip of tangled bush there are wide expanses of rice-land with little bamboo huts dotted here and there in clusters. But the sun is getting high, and about half-way on the journey old Maung Gyi declares he is hungry, and draws up the cart under a bank in a shady hollow. The bullocks are turned loose, and preparations made for breakfast. The entire house service has been brought with us. It is not very extensive, certainly. A couple of earthen pots with covers, and a flat wooden spoon to stir up the rice or curry; a ladle made of half a cocoa-nut, with a handle in it; a big round flat dish of plain lacquered wood to place the entire feast on when it is ready; and a few bamboo, lacquered cups, without handles, with perhaps a plate or two, complete the list. The provender is equally simple. A heap of plain boiled rice, dried fish, chillies, onions, nga-pi, some salt and oil—that is the sum total. But it is eaten with zest and good appetite, and the little stream furnishes wherewith to wash it down. Then the ladies produce cheroots for the party from the recesses of their bamboo plaited pahs, and light up for everybody if they are good-natured.

Numbers of other carts have come up and stopped or passed on in the meantime, and, hilarious with his breakfast, Maung Gyi challenges neighbour U Hpe to a race; and forthwith the bullocks are brought into a shambling trot, and amidst much prodding with sticks and cries of "Hé noa" and "Tun-n-ng," and other sounds understanded of cattle, a fairly level race is kept up for half a mile or so. Then the carts are pulled up, and their inmates burst into loud talk, having been hitherto precluded from expressing their triumph or chagrin from a fear of biting their tongues off in the jolting, or of being choked with the dust. Notes are compared as to who is coming and who has stayed away, and then fresh acquaintances are sighted in the passing throng; and so with much good humour and pleasant meetings the fourteen-mile journey is safely got over. Arrived at the zayat, the rest-house, which marks the point whence the path to the shrine strikes off from the highway, the cart is turned aside among the low bushes; the oxen

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma (Europeans) Indians) AP1
Burmese AP4

Be 243 452 435

do no harm in Rangoon rice dealings, and would win that respect from the farmer which heavy payments and cunning never will.

Be 243 439 178 256

Rangoon still continues to be the largest rice port in the world. From January to May the river is crowded with shipping—huge iron and steel sailing craft that have been chartered beforehand, and carry off thousands of bags in their capacious holds; and a constant succession of "ditchers," as the steamers passing through the Suez Canal are called, which come "seeking," and seldom have to go away without their full complement of "five parts cargo rice," or "Europe milled." The steamers are displacing the sailing ships, and the shorter passage now makes it possible to carry fully husked rice home without the danger of heating, which was supposed to be avoided by the partly husked "five parts cargo rice." Harbour-masters and river-pilots have a busy time, and gather together many pieces of silver against the later months of the year, when they will have abundant leisure to spend them. Coringi coolies swarm in the town, and their monotonous chant, "Eh-ya-mah-la Tah-ma-lay, Madras Ag-boat Tah-ma-lay," may be heard at any hour of the night or the morning, floating over the river. The British sailor overflows into the town and sings noisy old salt sea-songs round about the Sule pagoda, gets mad drunk on arrack, and not unseldom clears Dalhousie Street with a linked-arm rush, heedless of the red-turbaned guardian of the peace, who keeps out of the way in the meantime, but will break poor drunken Jack's head with his truncheon if he finds him helpless and strayed from his fellow-roysterers.

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Be Ba 361 256 463 563

The Puzundaung Creek, where all the mills are, is as busy as an ant-hill all day long, and all night too, when some of the mills are lighted up with Jablochkoffs or later forms of electric light, and the silvery rays shine ghastly on the black and bronzed mill-workers. Here we have the Madrasi coolies again, making noises, according to their nature, as a kind of assertion that they are doing hard work. The lank Chittagonian firemen, with their aquiline noses, are coated with coal-dust, and divide their time between firing up and having a whiff at the hubble-bubble when Sandy,

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma (Europeans Chinese) AP1
Burmese AP4

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the Scotch engineer, is not looking. There is a cluster of Chinese carpenters, chipping away with their queer thick-headed axes and planes, which, with characteristic perversity, they pull towards them, instead of pushing away as other workmen do. Here is M——, the English "assistant" at the mill, his hat and coat all covered with rice-dust, which hangs in queer fashion on his eyebrows and moustache. He is in high spirits. "We've got twenty-four pair of stones going to-day, more than anybody else in the creek;" and he goes off to see how the Burmese girls are stitching up the rice-bags, a duty of which he is particularly fond, and over which he spends a quite unnecessary amount of time. There is R——'s voice on the other side of the creek. He is storming at some men in the cargo-boat, who have done something wrong—anchored in the wrong place, or not started for the upper mill at Kemendine last night as they ought to have done. R—— has a voice which is the terror of every loitering coolie and dawdling boat-wallah in his employ; and he will be as hoarse as a North Sea pilot by nightfall, and will want a "double-barrelled" whisky and soda to moisten him before dinner. He wants company down to "the Point," and presently comes skimming across in his gig, manned by Chittagonian Kalassies, and we drop down the creek—they call small rivers creeks in the East—to where it joins with the main Rangoon stream. The Pegu river, tapping the country north-east and north of Rangoon, comes in at the same place; and there is a great crowd of paddy-boats here in the early morning. Each firm has its brokers, middlemen who make the purchases from the farmers that come down with their grain. They have been here since daylight, and fly about in their little dug-outs from one seller to another. The great point in a broker seems to be power of lungs and fluency in abuse. The amount of yelling that goes on at "Monkey Point" would silence the bookmakers' ring at Epsom on a Derby day.

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R—— has not come down to this pandemonium for nothing. There are a couple of big ships in, which must be filled, or there will be demurrage to pay, and a "canal-wallah" is expected this afternoon or to-morrow morning; so that the wheels must be kept going their hardest.

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2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

CHAPTER LI

THE PALACE

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THE palace of Mandalay lies in the centre of the four-square city, like the innermost of a series of Chinese carved boxes. The capital is a city within a city. The greater part of the wide plain from the Irrawaddy to the Shan hills, a space of about five miles broad and as many long, down to the Dôtta wadi, the Amarapura river, is laid out in wide roads running at right angles to one another, with abundance of houses of all kinds, from the brick house of the Chinaman, with its cumbrous tiles that bend in the rafters, and the white-plastered, flat-roofed habitation of the Mogul or Surati merchant, to the wood or bamboo dwelling of the Burman. They are not very close together, but there is plenty of space, and every house has its patch of garden, or clump of plantain trees, and its wide court where the buffaloes and the ox-cart can be disposed comfortably. But these only form the suburbs. The Myo, the city proper of Mandalay, is a huge walled square, each face a mile and an eighth long. The mud brick built walls are nearly thirty feet high and about three thick, backed with a heavy mass of earth, but though they would be hard to batter down, there are no guns mounted for their defence on the bastions which rise at intervals of about two hundred yards, each surmounted by an open-sided teak pavilion, carved in the usual gabled, joss-house, spire-like fashion. The crest of the parapet is deeply denticulated, with no other apparent advantage than that of ornament. There are twelve gates to the city, three on each side, but only one bridge to each three over the moat, except on the west, where there are two, one opposite the

2;Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

361 amingala or south-west gate, specially reserved for the passage of funerals. Outside every gate is a post bearing the name and emblem of the gate, the latter being the signs of the zodiac. Sixty feet, or thereabouts, from the walls, runs all round a deep moat, about fifty yards broad, covered in many places with the lotus plant that the Buddhist loves. Here and there upon it float a number of royal craft, state barges, and despatch boats, some of them richly gilded, with the kalawaik, the crane, carved on the stern, others foundered and lying rotting, with their lofty sterns rising high in the air. Covering each gate is a traverse, or crenelated barbican, of the same construction as the walls. Inside, the streets of the city run parallel to the walls. They are wide and fairly well kept wherever the king is likely to pass, but there is no attempt at metalling. Young trees line the sides, and [364] down most of them run little streams of water. There is no attempt at a drainage system, but the town is essentially clean and airy, the pigs and pariah dogs acting as scavengers, and the constant open spaces ensuring ventilation. Right in the centre is the palace, which has two successive en- 644 closures. The outer is a quarter of a mile square, and 341 consists of a high teak palisade, very massive and compact. Within this is a wide open space laid out as an esplanade, inside of which is a brick wall, edged round a great part of the way by the houses of high ministers and court officials. The outer court has four gates, each presided over by a special commander; the north, or water gate, being only available for the royal barges. Except for members of the palace household, there is only admittance to the inner enclosure by the gate on the eastern face. There is a special portal in the centre here, opened only for the king, and none but the Lord of the Golden Throne may use it. All else must enter by the taga-ni, the red postern, a cramped little gateway, which makes the smallest man involuntarily bend his head as he approaches the golden palace. The front of the building is decorated with gilding and tinsel work, which looks well when it is new, but after the rainy seasons would be better not there at all. To the left is the Hlutdaw, the Hall off the Supreme Council, a detached structure, raised some feet off the ground, and perfectly open; the roof, richly

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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announced massacres caused in England, and the whole thing was countermanded and denied. But upwards of a hundred people had been arrested, and some of these, when liberated months afterwards, declared that in the dark nights of terror, when no one ventured about Mandalay streets, people were buried under each of the posts at the twelve gates, as a compromise between the fear of the spirits and the fear that the English troops would cross the frontier. Each of these posts bears an image of an animal from one of the seals of the king, and before the post sits a figure of a bilu, with a thick club, to act as watchman, in case the human guard should go to sleep. As Burman sentries generally sleep sounder than other people, the propitiation of these spirits at any rate was a very imperative precaution. Whether the oil-jars were filled and reburied *alone* is a dark mystery. But the smallpox left Mandalay, and the place is as happy as ever it was, which, however, is not saying much.

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The British town of Mandalay is very different from that described. The Palace stockade has gone, and with it very many of the suites of apartments, notably in the women's quarter. The Hall of Audience for a time was converted into a Tamil Mission chapel; the Hlutdaw into a hideous collection of clerks' offices. This has been changed owing to the indignant protests of English visitors. Most of the Palace Halls are now empty: even the Upper Burma Club has been turned out.

The old City has now become cantonments with a few scattered barracks, officers' quarters, and wide stretches of grass. What formerly constituted the suburbs is now Mandalay town. The former execrable roads are now among the best in Burma. But many of the notable buildings, the elaborate monasteries, and gilt shrines have been burnt. Mandalay is certainly a dwindling town; the only question is how long it will remain the second town in Burma.

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

712 forts Captain Barker of H.M.'s 89th P.V., the best English authority on Upper Burma military matters, said, "without ditch, without flank defence, without expense magazines, without traverses to protect the gunners, they are mere shell-
712 traps for the destruction of the garrison." He might have
361 added that they were without armament, and in 1885 they surrendered without firing a shot. Mandalay itself has naturally a strong position because of its inaccessibility. To the east it is guarded by the Shan mountains and the marshy plains below. Rivers and creeks make the approach from the south difficult. On the north is an impassable morass. On the west of the city are wide-spreading, thickly populated suburbs, and the river-side is defended by a high
701 embankment. But the weakness of Mandalay lay in the
175 worthlessness of the army and the feebleness of its armament. The kingdom of Burma was, in fact, nothing like so powerful as it was a quarter of a century before, when the second Burmese war was ended. When the end came Mandalay fell to a force twenty miles away.

000 *Note.*—It has been brought to the writer's notice that several worthy Frenchmen have been hurt by the references to foreigners in this and in preceding and following chapters. It may therefore be noted here that the count who sold syrups was not the Comte de Trevelec, who was a contemporary of the Marquis de Gallifet at St. Cyr, and that there is no reference to General de Facieu, a popular, picturesque, and notable French gentleman. Neither were Louis Vossion nor Monsieur Fernand d'Avéra thought of when this book was written. Vossion was a stubborn patriot. Monsieur d'Avéra is a genial patriot with a doubt whether France or Upper Burma has the greater claims on him. In any case for fifty years Fernand d'Avéra has been one of the best known and best liked men in Burma.

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

humiliation. As an instance of Burman carelessness in money matters it may be mentioned that when the final instalment was paid, considerably over the sum due was sent to Calcutta. When the overplus was returned, there was great discussion among the Ministers as to what could be the motive of the Indian Government in being so singularly scrupulous. 651

A good many districts were almost entirely exempted from taxes in recognition of special services required of them. The inhabitants of the capital were particularly well off in this respect. They furnished the troops to guard the palace and city. Moreover, it would have been much more difficult to oppress them with impunity, apart from the fact that if they were disaffected it would have offered a premium to rebels. For similar reasons some of the townships about Môtshobo were free from the ngwedaw. It was from this district that Alaungpaya, the founder of the dynasty, came, and insurrectionist princes always made for Môtshobo when they levied war. Several villages on the Irrawaddy, in consideration of supplying the royal gilded boats, manning the royal barges, and passing on Court despatches, were relieved from the family tax. But the petty officials took very good care that they did not grow rich on their immunities. 651 631

All these methods were more or less sanctioned by ancient custom. Modern ingenuity and requirements, however, found out new ways of raising money. The pious ardour of Mindôn led him to spend vast sums on the erection of pagodas and religious buildings of all kinds, as well as on the manufactories, cotton mills, foundries, and powder mills with which he crowded the suburbs of Mandalay, and closed when he got tired of them. All this cost a very great deal of money, which even the exaction of benevolences from wealthy courtiers failed to supply. Consequently Mindôn Min turned merchant and established a great number of royal monopolies. The producers were allowed to sell to none but to him, and he fixed the price which he was prepared to pay. For long, cotton, jaggery, timber, wheat, precious stones, and earth oil could only be had from the royal merchant, and the trade with British Burma was in anything but a satisfactory state. Then in 1867, Colonel 651 177-38 361 651

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

CHAPTER LVIII

MANDALAY AND RANGOON

[This chapter describes these towns as they were in 1881.]

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AMERICANS talk, and with good reason, of the magic growth of their cities. But for mere mushroom growth, Mandalay might compare even with Chicago itself, and if we are to judge of the progress of a commercial place by the fair criterion of business results, Rangoon may hold up its head in confident rivalry with any of the typical American cities. In the middle of last century the site of Mandalay was swampy paddy land and rank jungle. Now an area of five square miles is covered with houses, many of them squalid enough certainly, and with large patches of unused land round about them, but none the less contained within the city limits. Rangoon came into British hands in 1852, and at that time possessed no commerce worthy of the name, indeed it was only known as the place for pilgrims to the Shwe Dagôn pagoda to stay at, and the residence of the Regent of Pegu, as being the guard station on the most accessible mouth of the Irrawaddy. Ten years later, ships entered or cleared from the port having a tonnage of 295,000 tons, and the imports were worth £1,200,000, the exports £1,400,000, and since that date—a year or two after Mandalay had been founded—the tonnage has increased to 1,000,000, the value of the imports to £5,000,000 sterling, and the exports to £4,000,000. In a quarter of a century the commerce of British Burma rose to nearly £20,000,000 sterling. The population has quadrupled; public works are carried on; education is widely disseminated; the administration is carefully managed by British officials; a railway,

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2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma(Chinese)AP1
Burmese AP4

Be 178 [497] [206] [652]

163 miles long, has been made; there are 1300 miles of telegraph lines; stately law courts and other public buildings have sprung up, and so far from the work being a tax on the Indian Imperial Treasury, British Burma has been, after its first few years, more than self-supporting. For a considerable time it has contributed to the Imperial Treasury a clear surplus of a million sterling. The mere figures are in themselves surprising, but they cannot be truly appreciated unless they are read alongside the obvious, undeniable, and acknowledged prosperity and contentment of the native population. Since the annexation of Upper Burma these figures have been roughly multiplied by ten, and there is a steady yearly increase which would be greater if Burma were allowed to make use of her yearly surpluses.

Be 361

As long as there was a king of Burma, Mandalay was a larger town than Rangoon and an infinitely more picturesque one. It still remains by a long way the second town in Burma, but Rangoon has over-passed it in population. While Rangoon has gained, Mandalay has lost, but there seems no reason why it should go on declining.

The mushroom growth of Mandalay was entirely due to an autocratic order, but the number of ancient capitals in the neighbourhood shows that the position is an advantageous one. The astrologers and the king settled the new site between them, and when this was arranged a royal order came out bidding all remove themselves from Amarapura to Mandalay on pain of death in case of refusal. The transference of a bamboo hut is certainly no very great undertaking, and occupies less than a week in the pulling down and setting up. But the hardship was none the less where the people had gardens or fruit-trees growing in their yards. The Chinese alone remained firm. Their houses were of the usual substantial, heavy, Celestial architecture, and, moreover, they had built for themselves an elaborate joss-house, in splendour quite equal to the best in Rangoon. Consequently, they flatly refused to migrate the two or three miles distance to the new capital. The astrologers were as usual for using force, but Mindôn Min had more sense. The Chinamen were almost all British subjects, and moreover their dealings contributed substantially to the revenue. Their

Ba [543] [341]

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma (Chinese Indians) AP1
Burmese AP4

village therefore remained, and has served to drag out a long suburb beyond the Arakan pagoda as a kind of connecting link. Numbers of later arrivals, however, settled in the royal City of Gems, and the wealthier merchants all eventually moved their headquarters thither, so that his majesty triumphed in the end. The best houses in Mandalay, the only brick ones, in fact, till the British came, are all in the possession of the Chinese and Indian merchants. Burmans had neither the right nor the money to build anything but wooden erections. These latter have, however, the compensating advantage that they stand all but the most violent earthquakes, while the brick houses, even when they are strengthened by an elaborate wooden framework, usually collapse when there is anything like a heavy shock.

But the great majority of the houses are simply wattled huts, with large open spaces in their rear which serve to keep the town airy and well ventilated. According to Burman custom each house has its little shop with the entire stock in trade displayed to the view of the passer-by. As in all Eastern towns, those who occupy themselves with a regular handicraft all flock together. Thus the umbrella-makers and sellers of saddlery live to the south of the palace, vendors of bamboo-work and lacquered boxes to the west, while the potters and miscellaneous goods shops are mostly along the street that leads to Payā Gyi, the Arakan pagoda.

There was no attempt at metalling any of the roads, except in independent times the broad thoroughfare which led up from the steamer ghaut, past the ministers' residences, up to the outskirts of the town, for Mandalay lies two miles away from the river-bank, the idea being that at Amarapura the noise of the foreigners' steamers disturbed the royal repose. The big stones which represented the metalling on this one road were rather a trouble than otherwise, except to the vultures and egrets in the wet weather, when all around was a sea of mud, and the boulders formed an eligible coign of vantage. Elsewhere the streets were cut into huge ruts, and the bullock-carts went along in the hot weather in a pyramid of dust, and in the rains a ploughed field would be smooth going in comparison. But the gaily-painted carriages which always suggest a dog-kennel on

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2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

the guard dispersed the people. Next day, an old lady, who claimed to be the owner of the dog, visited the big Englishman and told him she forgave him. He was barely polite.

Burmans had no trouble with the pigs and dogs. They found their own countrymen much more awkward to meet. There was constantly some prince or mingyi passing along the streets, and then the road had to be immediately cleared, and every one knelt humbly till the great man passed. Any delay in clearing the path, or an imagined want of reverence in the shikhoing, met with very summary punishment. Before every dignitary rushed along a posse of half-naked lictors, yelling out to the people to bow down, and hitting round about them with their fasces and dahs. These masterful ruffians particularly loved to insult Englishmen. During Mindôn's reign an edict was published exempting Englishmen from the necessity of getting down on their knees in the mud and dust, but ordaining that they should lift their hats. The letyataung dearly loved to launch torrents of abuse at their victim, and make him dismount from his pony and remove his hat when the prince was half a block distant. In the spring of 1880 an English mercantile man was actually bullied into going down on his knees. But, as a rule, where it was possible, foreigners turned down a by-street, or into one of the waste plots of ground. This method of avoiding the annoyance was not open to a Burman. If he tried to avoid paying due obeisance, he was denounced as a disaffected man and thrown into jail.

But there were plenty of other obstructions to be met with in the streets of the royal city. Each householder was considered, or considered himself, perfectly at liberty to do what he pleased with the section of the road in front of his house. Accordingly, when the spirit moved him, he calmly blocked the thoroughfare by erecting a temporary theatre for the performance of a pwè. The construction of such a mandut did not take very long. A framework of bamboo was run up and covered in on the roof, and one side with bamboo matting, and all was ready; the stage was the street, and the spectators deposited themselves where they found room. After the three or four days' performance, the stage was pulled down, and the thoroughfare was clear again.

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

361 541 During the season a dozen or more of these plays went on in Mandalay on the same night, and the entire population turned out to see them, thus effectually blocking as many streets as there were performances. This might have been awkward for the ordinary wayfarer were it not that he would probably infinitely prefer staying to see the drama to continuing his journey. Great men were not so complaisant. Two of the massacred princes, the Mekkhaya and the Thonsè, seemed to take a special delight, when they were belated on some roistering expedition, in breaking up such plebeian gatherings. They would come sweeping down the street with all their retinue, and the spectators, deafened by the music and engrossed with the action on the stage, would get their first hint of the torrent coming from the vigorous blows dealt all round about them by the howling lictors. Everything would be disorder and alarm for a time, men and women down in the ditch, the stage deserted, and the spectators scattered far and wide. Then, ten minutes later, they would all come back again; there would be a few remarks concerning his Royal Highness—"very often out at unexpected times, and always making his appearance so suddenly," etc. etc.; the bamboo erection would be propped up again, and the actors continued with the scene as if nothing whatever had happened, though the clown, no doubt, made as much fun out of the incident as he dared.

365 625 Going about at night in Mandalay was not much practised. Theatre-goers usually returned home with the rising sun. There were no lamps in the streets, and so every one who had business after dark was required to go about carrying a lantern or beating a drum or gong. If any one ventured abroad without thus marking his movements, he was promptly arrested by the night watch, and once a man was arrested in Mandalay it cost a good deal of money to get free again, no matter how good an account he might be able to give of himself. To save themselves the trouble of being constantly on the look-out as well as to trip up any one who tried to run away, the guardians of the peace had an unpleasant custom of tying ropes across the road an inch or two above the ground, and these were quite as effectual man-traps as have ever been invented.

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

When a fire occurred in the Golden City, it was usually a very big one and burned until it could find no more fuel. There were two reasons for this. The most obvious was, of course, that wood huts, with an inflammable roof like thin grass thatch, caught fire with the slightest spark; and there was nothing in the shape of a fire-engine, even in the palace. The second was very characteristic of a despotism, and vastly more disastrous. Immemorial tradition associated a conflagration with a revolution. When an attempt was to be made to seize the throne, the attention of the people and the soldiery was always diverted by incendiary fires. Therefore when a house took fire the people found nearest to it by the night watchmen were always arrested and made responsible for the catastrophe. As a natural consequence, the moment flames burst out, not only the inmates of the house, but all the neighbours took to their heels and ran, without incommoding themselves with even the smallest portion of their property. A few of the royal troops came down after a time and unroofed a house here and there, and perhaps even pulled down some altogether, but their efforts as amateur firemen were usually of the most feeble and futile description, and the flames went on till there was nothing more to burn. Next day the unhappy burnt-out people came back and made for themselves little hovels of bamboo matting among the charred posts till something better could be run up again. The neighbouring quarters contributed something to support them, or they got their meals at the monasteries, and in a few months all traces of the fire had disappeared, the same rickety huts with the old scanty store of wares rose up again, and the scorched leaves fell off the trees and were replaced by fresh green foliage.

The population of Mandalay was a very queer one. Of the Burmans the great majority were soldiers or hangers-on of the various great men about the court. The residuum was composed of a few honest tradesmen and a vast quantity of bad characters, broken agriculturists, gamblers, thieves from Lower Burma, and outlaws from all parts. The number of yellow-robed yahans was extraordinary. King Mindôn used to give alms to five thousand of them daily. The jars of rice were arranged in long rows on a platform erected

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

specially for the purpose, with mountains of bananas, and trays heaped up with ngapi, curries, and condiments of all kinds. Thibaw Min was not so eager for merit, and actually went the length of driving a couple of thousand of the holy men out of the capital. Still even he gave them periodical feasts, and there were at least ten thousand of the religious in the Golden City and its immediate neighbourhood. Besides these there were numerous other nationalities; the Chinaman, smooth-shaven and prosperous as always, whether gaunt and big-boned from Yün-nan and Szuch'uan, or sleek and sturdy from Rangoon and the Straits, defying the most greedy official to rob him of his profits, and drinking his tea and smoking his opium-pipe with supreme composure and good-humour; the bearded Surati with solemn face and Jewish tricks of trade; the Palaung come down from the north with his bamboo rafts laden with pickled tea; the stalwart Shan with baggy blue or white trousers and tattoo marks down to his ankles, journeying in a long caravan with sword-blades and iron-work, and a cavalcade of mountain ponies; the heavy, easy-going Karen; the lithe, treacherous Kachin, bringing presents perhaps from his village, and on his way down spying out villages easy to raid in a night attack; all these, and a host of others, might be seen any day in the Royal City of Gems. There were not a few white men too, even latterly, when evil times fell upon them, and there were not the pickings that were to be had when Mindôn Min was king. But many of them were there sorely against their inclination. Mandalay had become an asylum for insolvent debtors, runaway soldiers and sailors, and unlucky adventurers from British territory, just as Rangoon used to be for India in the old Burman days. There were numbers of French and Italians in government service, as military instructors and superintendents of the various factories; officers who had been cashiered, or disowned by their families, or were in other ways under a cloud. One Count there was, who constituted the scientific branch of the service in himself, manufactured and sold fruit syrups to the captains of steamers, preserved a pocket-handkerchief with a coronet in the corner, and carried his lands in his finger-nails. The old king was shamefully cheated by a variety of speculators, not a few of them Englishmen.

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

Perhaps it was his own fault. He had a perfect monomania for making cannon, and thought that every white man must have some notion of how they were to be manufactured. Consequently, whenever some fresh wanderer came to the royal city and requested employment, he was brought before the king, and some such dialogue as the following ensued: "What is your name?" "John Smith." "What can you do?" "May it please your majesty, I am a sea-cook." "Can you make a cannon?" Whereupon John Smith, if he was a wise man, would profess his ability to make the attempt at any rate. A lump of metal would be made over to him, and he would chisel and hammer away at it and draw his monthly pay as regularly as he could get it. When results were demanded he would either run away, or boldly ask for a grant of money to enable him to go to Europe to get the requisite tools. If he got it neither tools nor man were ever seen again. Such lack of moral principle was believed by the king to arise from the want of a Buddhist training, and he continued to be imposed upon to the very end. Thibaw still retained some foreigners in his service, but they found it harder to get their pay, and much more of a task to swindle the Government.

Thus Mandalay presented a series of violent contrasts: jewel-studded temples and gilded monasteries standing side by side with wattled hovels penetrated by every wind that blew; the haughty prince preceded by the respited murderer, his lictor; the busy Chinaman next door to the gambling scum of the low country; the astrologer, learned in his mantras, overpersuaded by the glib talk of the Western adventurer; and over all hanging the fear of prison with its nameless horrors, and the knife of the assassin.

In the beginning of the century Rangoon was in much the same condition, except that it was very much smaller, no better in fact than a village with the Governor's house and stockade in the middle of it. Now it has broad smooth roads, beautifully laid out public gardens, abundant street lamps, spacious mercantile offices, mills, schools, jails, hospitals, clubs, and halls. The population forms an even more motley assemblage than is to be found in Mandalay.

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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There are Chinese, Japanese, Malays, Siamese, natives of India of all parts, Bengalis, Madrassis, Panjabis, Parsis, Persians, Suratis, together with Armenians, Jews, English, French, Germans, Italians, Greeks, and all the European nationalities, mixed up with the native races, Burmese, Talaings, Shans, Karens, but they are all kept in order by the strong arm of the law, which is the same for the rich man and the poor.

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The same benefits are now extended to Mandalay, but it is a vastly less interesting place than it used to be. A siding from the railway cuts its way through the city wall; one of the pyathats on the battlements has thrown out corridors to make a somewhat barrack-like Government house; a carriage drive goes round Mandalay hill; the pigs have all been eaten up, and the pariah dogs are poisoned periodically by municipal order. There never were any sludgy sqwudgy creeks, but the roads, which were a passable imitation of them in the rains, are now eminently fitted for exceeding the speed limit. A, B, and C roads testify to the unromantic stolidity of the Military Intelligence Department; electric trams make it easier for the Burman to move to the suburbs and leave the town to the hustling foreigner. There are no agreeable scallywags. There are Cook's tourists instead during the three cool months of the year. The palace, instead of being tawdrily magnificent, smells horribly of bats. It has been declared to be an archæological treasure, though it is only about sixty years old, and has been horribly mishandled by unimaginative secretaries and a Public Works Department oppressed with sealed patterns.

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

about the rains. In Rangoon the annual average rainfall is a hundred inches, but in Maulmein, Akyab, and other towns considerably over twice that amount is registered. In Rangoon, on 3rd November 1879, between one o'clock in the morning and two in the afternoon eleven inches fell. Happily this sort of thing is not usual. 805 132

In Mandalay, time was calculated by means of a water-clock, which stood in the bo-ho, the clock-tower by the eastern gate, where were also the gong and drum on which the watches were sounded by one, two, three, or four alternate blows. The water-clock is a simple enough affair. It consists of nothing more than a large vessel filled with water, in which cups are placed, perforated so that an hour—a Burmese nayi—elapses before they sink to the bottom. It is only at the vernal and autumnal equinoxes that the hours of the day and night are equal. At other times they vary, and the Burmans make a great fuss over their complicated calculations. In July the days are longest with thirty-six hours, the night only lasting twenty-four, while these figures are exactly reversed in January. Any inaccuracy in Burmese computations arises from the loss of the fourth book of Bedin (the Indian Vedas), which was destroyed in the bonfire made by the religious of all fishing-nets, snares, weapons of war, and such writings as are denounced in the sacred books. It was by pecking at the ashes of this volume that the domestic fowls of Burma acquired that astronomical lore which induces them to crow all together at midnight (tha'gaung kyet). 805 34 405

It is only, however, in the capital that the water-clock is found, and in the rest of the country, and especially in all the smaller villages and towns, time is only roughly indicated by a reference to the position of the sun or the moon, or to certain daily occurrences taking place at fixed times, as "in the morning when the sun was a span above the horizon"; or "when the sun was as high as a toddy-palm"; "before the sky was light"; "when the light gets strength" about half-past five; "the earliest cock-crowing time"; "when the monks go a-begging," that is to say, six or seven in the morning, according to the custom of the local monastery; "monks' returning time," usually about eight, but varying, 805

14: Brant E-5 (1949-50) 1954 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

I

THE VILLAGE SETTING AND THE PEOPLE

Tadagale is a suburban community of Lower Burma, about four and one half miles north of the city center of Rangoon, chief port and national capital of the Union of Burma. To reach the village most readily one travels by automobile northward from the city along Prome Road, a main highway, to the junction with Kokine Road, beyond the city limit, on to which one turns eastward. After a quarter mile or so, one again goes northward on to a bumpy, poorly surfaced road which soon becomes dirt and terminates abruptly, after another quarter mile, at a small bridge. Tadagale means 'small bridge,' and it is after this bridge that the village is named. A few steps walk over the bridge brings one almost to the center of Tadagale. (See map on following page.) 101 361

Tadagale is more or less a 'line' type village, about 3000 yards in length. The domestic dwelling area is constituted by houses and granaries strung along the sides of a main dirt path which is just wide enough for a single bullock cart — or a jeep — to pass without scraping the bushes and trees. This area is heavily shaded from the intense tropical sun by many trees that grow in the household compounds and along the path; palms and banyans are the most prominent types. The houses are rectangular in shape, with low, slanting roofs, and platform-like porches in front. Among the more prosperous families of the village it is not unusual to find houses of plank construction, with roofs of corrugated iron. More frequently, houses are made of bamboo matted sides and palm thatched roofs. Every two or three houses share a well, which is simply an unlined and uncovered hole of perhaps ten to twelve feet in depth. In almost every compound there is a vegetable garden, from which the family supplies itself and realizes some cash income by the sale of any surplus. 361 342

To the east of Tadagale's dwelling area, perhaps five hundred yards distant and running parallel to it, is a railroad line, which begins in Rangoon and terminates at Mingaladon, about five miles north of Tadagale. A small railroad station is located at the eastern terminus of the path on which one finds oneself immediately after crossing the bridge that leads into the village. The villagers do not use the railroad nearly so much as they use buses, which run from Tadagale to Rangoon frequently. 101 496 494

Beyond the railroad line, still farther east, lie the paddy fields, extending out to the winding Pazundaung Creek. This creek begins at the southeastern tip of Rangoon, where the Rangoon and Pegu rivers join, and flows in a twisting course northward to separate Rangoon and the heavily populated area immediately north of the city from the sparsely settled area to the east. 361 133

Tadagale's climate is that of the tropical monsoon belt, with three well-defined seasons. From the end of October to about the end of February is the Dry Season, characterized by the absence of rain, with cool mornings and evenings. The daily maximum temperature is in the 80's and the humidity is moderate. English-speaking Burmese call this season winter; at night it is cool enough to sleep under one light blanket. The Hot Season commences at the beginning of March and lasts until June. Temperatures rise to daily maxima in the middle to high 90's, the earth is parched and cracked, and the loose dirt on the village paths, caught by occasional breezes, forms choking 132

14: Brant E-5 (1949-50) 1954 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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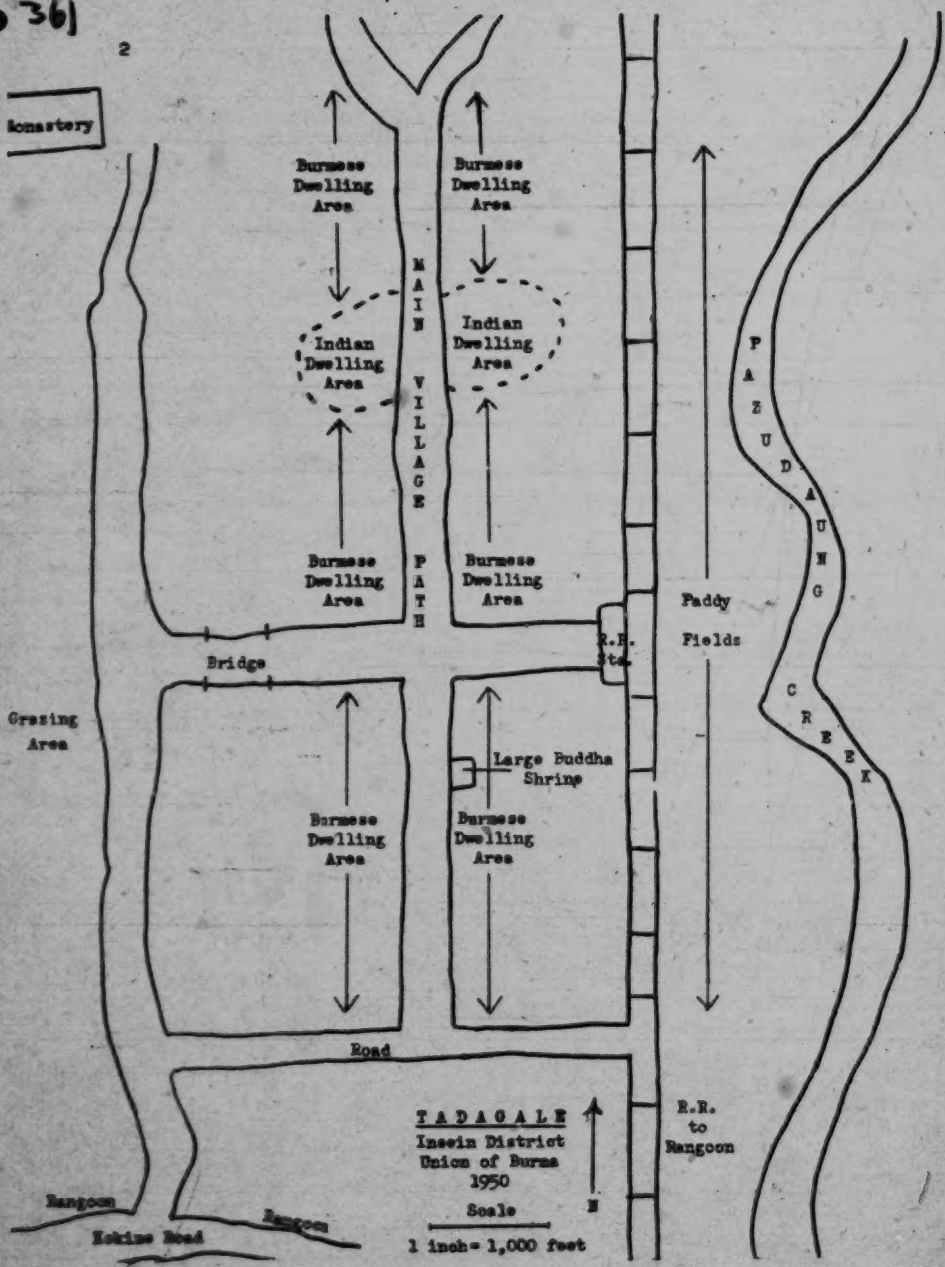

14: Brant E-5 (1949-50) 1954 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

565 basis of invidious distinctions. Persons of means are esteemed more for the
556 socially valued uses to which they may put their money, such as charity, ceremonial activities, and support of the clergy, than for sheer richness or consumption.

Economic Change

178 The changing pattern of Tadagale's economic life may be described from the
101 point of view of shift from a once largely subsistence economy to one based more
433 upon commodity production and exchange. In discussing this shift, the general trends are best indicated if we focus upon Lower Burma rather than upon Tadagale exclusively. It is desirable to make this large area our unit because pertinent data are available for it, whereas historical information specific to the village is somewhat scant and fragmentary. The term "Lower Burma" is an administrative and geographical one. It comprises about 81,000 square miles and a population of some 9 millions, four of the administrative divisions in the highly fertile, deltaic 'rice-bowl' of Burma.

1. Background. The trend from a relatively self-sufficient subsistence
178 economy, with little dependence upon money, to a more commercialized economy
433 coincides with the coming of British colonial rule in Burma. Our historical perspective thus extends over a period of about 150 years. Within this span of time, profound economic change occurred in Lower Burma. Here we cannot give a detailed account of events from decade to decade, but must limit ourselves to a brief consideration of the major trends.

In pre-British Lower Burma, villages consisted of what might be called
175 islands of clearance in a big jungle. In these settlements the Burmese peasants
433 lived by cultivation of paddy and vegetable gardens. Individual small holdings
●361 were the rule, and the size of the plot depended almost entirely upon need. No incentive existed to clear and cultivate land beyond the requirements of household subsistence and taxes, paid in kind, to the representative of the Burmese Crown. Cotton, from the dry zone of central Burma, was spun and woven into cloth, and garments were made in the local community. Housing was of a simple bamboo and thatch type, made of materials available locally. The bullock cart provided transport on the relatively few occasions that it was necessary for the Lower Burma villager to travel distances that could not be walked. Contact between villages was minimized by the expanses of intervening, uncleared jungle country. In Tadagale, for example, one of our oldest informants was able to recall the period of his youth, around 1885, when jungle clearance and settlement was still taking place, bringing Tadagale into closer communication with other communities in the area. Local craftsmen provided the villagers with simple utensils, tools and implements.

When British colonialism took over, money came to dominate over barter.
178 Taxation was ordered to be paid in money. The Burmese cultivator was encouraged
433 to clear the heavy jungle, cultivate more land, sell surpluses of paddy to
436 commercial millers, and spend his money on attractive manufactured goods
456 imported from England, which were on display in the town shops and bazaars. Moneylenders, some of them Burmese, but especially Indians of the moneylending Chettiar caste from Madras, who could enter Burma freely, were at hand to loan money in fairly unlimited amounts to the Burmese peasants. Thus the latter could finance the expansion of their cultivation. Rates of interest charged were unregulated, and commonly ranged from 10% to 35% per year. The Burmese peasant was an easy victim: he was, at first, entirely unsophisticated in money

HOME

Home is Pathwe

Home is the village of Pathwe, Pantanaw Township, Maubin district, Lower Burma. It is located on one of the countless small streams of the Lower Irrawaddy estuary about ninety miles west of Rangoon. The country is a flat alluvium plain dissected by myriads of streams and canals. The monotony of marshy plains is relieved by occasional clumps of trees and tall reeds which flank the streams. The land is a result of depositions of silts from upstream by the Irrawaddy river and its tributaries - a process which is going on today as Lower Burma extends into the bays of Bengal and Martaban. When asked how long his family had lived in the village of Pathwe, U Myaing replied : 131 [101]

"My parents were born here and their parents before them and their's before them - as far back as we can remember." [591]

The village of Pathwe occupies the adjacent banks of three streams at the point where they join.

The larger town of Pantanaw is located some three miles upstream. The section U Myaing lives in is called YWA-GYI-BET (Big-village-side) and is the main residential area of Pathwe. Directly across the stream, which is about 200 feet wide at this point, are YWA-LAY-BET (small-village-side) and PATA-GYI-DAUNT (Big-pagoda-corner). 361

YWA-GYI-BET consists of four rows of houses placed 200 feet apart parallel to the main branch of the stream. The rows consist of about fifty houses each and are separated by brick or earth roads. The brick road is raised about three feet to form a passageway in time of floods. Communal lavatories flank both sides of the village rows and the ones on the side of the river have been located about 60 or 70 feet back from the edge of the river "in order not to pollute the water." The lavatories in the village differ from one another, in that some of them are in the house itself and others are outside by a small passageway connected to the house. The houses with lavatories in them depend on the water to carry away the droppings in the rainy season. [363] 514 364 [312]

342 514 In U Myaing's house the lavatory is in the kitchen and is walled off with woven KYU (kind of fiber) mat. There is a hole cut open in the board flooring, and the area underneath this opening also is walled off with woven KYU. U Myaing and family did not take their meals in the kitchen but in the house proper.

361 368 346 [872] [364] The PHON-GYI KYAUNG or monastery is located further downstream from the village. It is a two storied brick building comprised of nine rooms, each 6 TAUNG square. Children are not taught here but learn their lessons at the government school. This school, which is on YWA-GYI-BET side, teaches pupils up to the tenth standard. Below the PHON-GYI KYAUNG is the cemetery.

The houses in the village are separated one from the other by eight feet on each side. The rows of houses facing the river have porches on both sides. U Myaing's house is typical of those found in the village - some may be more elaborate, some less. His house had been built only six or seven years, and cost Rs. 3000/- at that time. There are no accounts for each of the separate items and U Myaing does not remember. The land was free and they did not have to pay any revenue on it. Separate from the houses and on the riverside is a huge platform built to process fish including the making of NGAPI. U Myaing had no land that he owned round the house, although he could use the land directly in front of the house for various purposes.

342 435 [651] [366] [252]

U Myaing describes his house as follows;

342 592 [366]

"It is a wooden house, made of wooden posts - a two storied structure. The roof is of slates. Walls are of SHI-NGA-MU wooden boards (boards 8 inches wide and about ½ inch thick) and there are four rooms. Other people have similar houses. It is a LAY-BIN-BIN (a four-tree-house or a house which has four supporting poles across the front) and all seven of us live in the house. We drop a kitchen from the back and cook there. The kitchen has three windows at the back, with one door leading into the house. We all live together in three rooms. We keep bedrooms. (U Myaing is speaking of a sketch of the house here). This side is for visitors - there is a room for people who come to buy goods. The old mother and the children live in one room and I and my wife in another with the smallest child. We eat in the front part of the house in one room at the foot of the sleeping place. There are nine 6 TAUNG rooms without partitions on each of the two floors. The sides of the house are enclosed with timber planks of IN wood, but the bedrooms are also partitioned off. It is very wide and roomy to live in. The floor is made of teak planks."

Home in Lewis Road Refugee Camp

Since November 1949 U Myaing and his family have been living in the Lewis Road refugee camp, Rangoon. They had stopped at half a dozen places prior to their present abode, but their living had been on very much the same scale. The refugee camp is located about a mile north of the Shwe Dagon Pagoda on a hilly promontory. The area is not far from Tiger Alley (U Wisara Road) and along this road and others nearby, huts have been built up within the last few years, largely by war refugees. The buildings of the camp were earlier used as headquarters and barracks by the People's Volunteer Organisation (P.V.O.). The P.V.O. is an offshoot of the Burmese Patriot's Army following the end of the Second World War. It was originally an army, but after independence was converted into an "organisation" for political purposes. A Yellow Band and a White Band section developed and the White P.V.O.s becoming insurgents.

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The vital statistics of the camp as given by U Khant, the school master are as follows:- 269 families comprised of 856 adults (LU GYI), 211 young people (LU LAT), and 33 infants (NO SO) live in 15 huts . The number of families in each hut ranges from 9 in the smallest to 36 in the largest. The infant category includes those babies who are still breast feeding - up to one year of age. The adult category begins at the age of voting - 18 years. The proportion of the three categories as shown in the totals remains fairly consistent for each of the houses indicating that there are no special age-grade habitations. The refugees come for the most part from the Delta area of Lower Burma, from the districts of Pantanaw and Bassein but they have not organised themselves in their huts according to the district or village from which they come. The assignment of space has been on a pragmatic basis according to who arrived at what time. The buildings consisted for the most part of rectangular huts measuring 30 feet by 15 feet with woven split bamboo walls and thatched roofs. When the area was converted into a refugee camp, each family was assigned a certain space which they then partitioned off. A map of the refugee camp area shows a haphazard plan. The only

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[792] 722 361 792 361 apparently meaningful locations would be the huts of the PHON-GYIS located on the peripheries of the camp on local promontories.

The new PHON-GYI KYAUNG near the entrance of the camp was built by others, not by the refugees. The one at the back, on the other hand, was built by contributions among the refugees themselves. One PHON-GYI and one small boy reside here. The PHON-Gyi from the new KYAUNG comes for HSOON (food giver to begging monks) once in a while. A third PHON-GYI KYAUNG at the far rear also was in existance before U Myaing's arrival at camp. Here also resides one PHON-GYI and one small boy.

723 362 U Myaing came by himself to camp and took possession of the place he now lives in. The camp-head assigned the place to him. When they first arrived in Rangoon they had to rent a room at HPA-HSA-PA-LI-KWETHIT (an area of huts organised by the Anti-facists Peoples Freedom League, the political party now in power) for a period of 2½ months at Rs. 17/8 per month. This was because they did not know of the refugee camp. They learnt of its existence just as their money ran out, and they shifted over.

U Myaing is of opinion that since he is installed in these quarterssno other family will come to put up there, but admits that if they did, he would not have any right to drive them out, since he does not own the place. He is a comparative latecomer to the camp. Other families have been here for nearly two years now, while U Myaing arrived only 10 months ago. The extensions to the eaves of the roof were made by U Myaing. The condition of the camp when he came was very much the same as it is now. Only two additional huts and one PHONGYI KYAUNG have been erected since. He considers that his quarters are slightly better off than those of others in that there is less bustle and confusion in the buildings.

722 342 The quarters assigned to U Myaing are formed by the extension of the eaves of a rectangular house. The house, which measures 60 feet long by 20 feet wide has bamboo matwalls about 10 feet high, is floored with stone paves and has six windows 3 feet square on the long sides. There is a door 3 feet wide at one end. The roof is gabled with a ridge pole from which 8 rafters sixteen feet long are attached. The extensions of the roof consist of thatched leaves on

quiet), the time when the children become quiet from 7 to 8. 9 to 10 p.m. is known as THATKYI-KAUNG-CHA (oldage-head-drop) when the elders begin to nod; from 11 to midnight and beyond is LUKLIN-PYAN CHAIK (Bachelors'-return-time) when young men complete their carousing and return to sleep. AYO (dawn) comes at the second cocks'crowing (first is at mid-night) about 4 o'clock. The KALA-HET (Indians-marching in) hollow wooden drum is struck in the phongyi-kyaungs at this time to awaken the village. The women who prepare breakfast, and the old folks who rise to worship appear at this time - but others may sleep on for an hour or so. 512 805 513

It is obligatory to wash the legs and feet before retiring. In warm weather a mat is preferred for coolness - but in colder and damp weather a mattress is considered necessary for protection. Prayers taking from 2 minutes (most) up to considerably longer are generally said before bed-time. These praise Buddha and include such supplications as "may I be lifted up to heaven soon." Dreams may be good or bad according to the disposition of the nats. Certain dreams have meanings applicable as omens. It is during sleep that the ghost of a recently departed loved one contacts the sleeper and, sometimes, succeeds in luring him away permanently. 513 [515] 782 828 [775]

Analysis of home standard in Pathaw and in Refugee Camp.

The Pathaw home was in nearly every way superior to refugee camp home. Let us examine the nature of this superiority and attempt to see the adjustment which U Myaing made in the refugee camp. The Pathaw home was an independent unit as compared to the refugee camp apartment-like home. However we may not assume that U Myaing found this a disadvantage, since living in Pantanaw was "close". The quarters in the one case were separated by half a dozen feet and on the other by a bamboo partition. An important difference is that the Pathaw home was owned by U Myaing and he had inalienable rights there, whereas the refugee camp apartment was loaned to him for a short time period. 511 722 342

Only about one fiftieth of the space was available in the refugee camp (15,050 cubic feet in Pathaw, 315 cubic feet in camp.) However, 511 722 361 342

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much of the Pathwe space was not vital in that it was used for social or storage functions only. 2987 cubic feet were used in Pathwe for sleeping, cooking, and religious purposes,-approximately 20% of the total amount of space. However, all of the space in the refugee camp was used for these vital purposes. About 1/10th of the Pathwe space for these functions was available in the camp. In commenting on the differences, U Myaing especially stressed the lack of space and the fact that all functions had to be done in the same enclosure. He did not seem particularly bothered about the lack of space for social functions or visitors.

There seemed to be no difference regarding costs of housing - non-existent in both cases beyond the original investment in Pathwe. Also there is no difference regarding use of land surrounding house. The reduction of space available for the altar from a six taung room to a place on the wall seemed to be regarded lightly. The Pathwe house was undoubtedly healthier with its windows and open space, and this handicap will be further discussed under the heading of health.

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There is considerable difference in the house furnishings of the two places. The quality and the quantity of the objects in the refugee camp are considerably lower. The bric-a-brac (porcelain duck glass elephant, and portelain water jug) were lost in Pathwe and regretted because of sentimental value. The earthen-ware jars used for storing fish have no use here and are not "desired", but the HSOON vessels would be useful now. These would cost about Rs. 25/- apiece here. The KYAUK-KAN food carrier is also desired and this would cost Rs. 10/- here. Mosquito nets for Daw Aw Zar and the children would certainly be desirable, but these would cost over Rs.30/- even if made from cheap plain material.

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The tables used in Pathwe are not found in camp since the family sit on the floor on the mats and hold their dishes in their laps, and one stool is used in camp and this by Ma Aye Myaing in preparing the food. Storage containers including cupboards and boxes have been dispensed with and their place taken by baskets in camp. The bedding in camp lacks the comforts of mattress and adequate mosquito nets and pillows. The point must be made however, that U Myaing's family is

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used to sleeping on hard surfaces and it may not be supposed that the

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

scenes. Still later, the scenes came to be taken from one story only, 796
so that a whole story was given by the pageant. Dresses became 541
quite gorgeous and the scheme elaborate. The pageant now needed 493
organization. Therefore, the village came to be divided into two 361
parts, eastern and western quarters or northern and southern quarters 621
(the village was usually greater in length than breadth, being built along 796
a main road). In larger villages and towns, the division was into four 578
quarters. Each quarter was responsible for the production of a pageant. There was intense rivalry between the quarters to produce the finest pageant; it was usually friendly, but often enmity arose, and many pageants were occasions for free fights. The rivalry further developed the pageant, for new ideas would be introduced by one quarter to outrival the others. Soon the pageant became a play, its scenes coming to life.

The *Nibhatkhin* was the Burmese equivalent of the English miracle 536*
and mystery plays. It was the pageant come to life. With the 796
pageant, the religious processions went along the main streets without stopping, each cart representing a set scene. But with the *Nibhatkhin*, each cart stopped at certain places. The most common of such places were the market-place, the house of the chief administrative officer, and the pagoda where the procession ended. At each of those places, each cart stopped, and the scene came to life. Dialogue and action were used. Therefore, people at the stopping places saw what was in effect a play.

The *Nibhatkhin* was extremely popular, and it lived on until recently, just as many of the English miracle plays continued to be produced right through the Elizabethan period. I saw one in the out-of-the-way town of Pauk as recently as 1916. However, I do not think that *Nibhatkhins* are produced anywhere nowadays. Sometimes one sees a procession on cars and motor lorries as a sort of reminiscence of the *Nibhatkhin*. But such processions are mere shows and lack the essential features of the Burmese miracle plays.

It was for the entertainment of the populace that the *Nibhatkhin* 536*
came into being, and as the Burmese entertainment connotes 522
laughter, soon the element of humour came into the *Nibhatkhin*. At first none of the characters was made humorous, for they all came out of religious stories. And so the clown was introduced. The clown or *Lu-byet* ('the non-serious man') was put into the *Nibhatkhin* as an extra character, an attendant on the prince-hero. He was extremely popular, and soon another clown, an attendant on the princess-heroine,

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

[opp. p.42]

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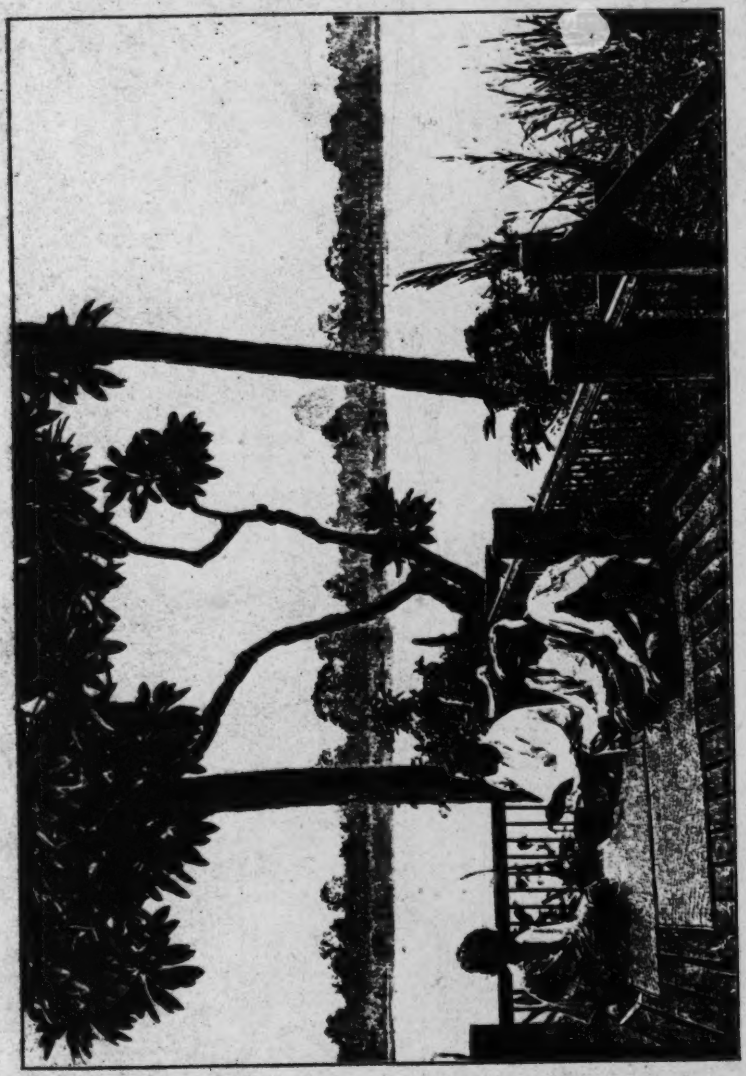
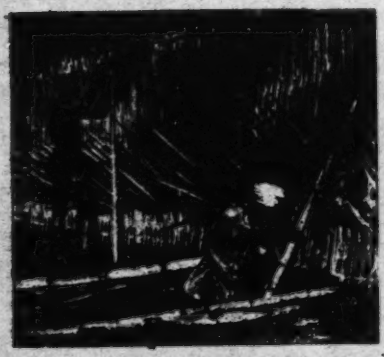


92 ELDERS KEEPING DUTY-DAY.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4



166. VILLAGE CHEVAUX-DE-FRISE.

away from the company. In a similar spirit of courtesy a rider dismounts and umbrellas are closed. Among acts of discourtesy few are accounted so grave by the Burmans as that of awakening a sleeper. The reluctance to disturb a sleeper is connected with the belief that the spirit (*leippya*) leaves the body during sleep (p. 197). It is looked upon as a weakness to show resentment and temper (*dawtha*, p. 44). A visitor in a house is offered a new mat to sit upon, water to drink, betel to chew, and a spittoon. If it be meal-time he is invited to partake; otherwise he is asked if he has had food, and refreshment is brought. Although the quota of leisure that falls to everyone is greater in Burma than anywhere else, owing to the wide-spread prosperity of the inhabitants, there is perhaps no country in which every man, woman, and child is less exempt from business concern. Thus it happens that after a few commonplaces, conversation inevitably gravitates to business—prices, harvests, prospects. Next in interest come the festival programmes, the local celebrities and their doings. In every house there are scales and weights, and the household is engaged in occasional or regular trade. Accounts in money and kind are current between neighbours. Whatever spare produce remains is exposed for sale.

576 [349] [513 775] [152] 574 521 437

The villages either have a quick fence of impenetrable thorny bamboo (*myinwa*), or a hedge of cactus and briar or bamboo *chevaux-de-frise*. In some parts they are open. The old towns (*myó*) had ramparts and stockades (Nos. 6, 371, 387). The highest sites about the village are for the *sadi*, the *Payá-myo* or sacred ground, the next best are for the *kyaung*. Then comes the enclosure of

167. APPROACH TO THE VILLAGE.

361 [349] [311] [346]

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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169. VILLAGE CAUSEWAY IN THE TIDAL REGION.

the village head-man or other functionary, and round about, the houses of the villagers in more or less regular rows. The village streets are broad and in some places the houses are well-spaced, with plots of fruit-trees and vegetable-gardens between and at the back. No care is bestowed on the roads except in a few riverain localities and tidal regions, where embanked roads and brick causeways are necessary. Trees are planted in front of the houses—cocoanut and betel palms, giant bamboo, the evergreens, tamarind, mango, and jack, for their fruit and shade: *gangaw*, *sagâ*, and *padáuk* for their shade and scented flowers; *mèzali*, *zi*, and several *ficus* species. The screw-pine and various ornamental shrubs are cultivated—*tarôssaga* (*frangipani*, No. 92), *sènnaya*, gardenias, and roses. *Palma Christi* (castor-oil plant) is common for hedges. Plants cultivated by Europeans in the tropics—crotons, begonias, caladiums, balsams—are spreading everywhere. Pot-gardening is becoming a feature of the villages and even of the raft-houses and boats.

[487] [245] [177] 247

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Well received as the stranger is by the people of the village, he has to brave the displeasure of the village curs. The dogs are the scavengers of the settlements, together with the crows and the myriads of ants. The termites ("white ants") account for the dry vegetable refuse, but they also invade the dwellings and destroy dry wood, mats, and thatch. Cats attach themselves to houses in the same way as dogs. A peculiarity of the domestic cat of Burma is

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169. VILLAGE RIVER-FRONT.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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173. VILLAGE SCENE IN THE DRY SEASON.

see Appendix E), with a fall of fifty to two hundred inches according to locality, and with shade temperatures of 75 to 88° F. The cool dry season is from November to February (*Nadáw, Pyathô, Tabôdwè*), with rare showers, and shade temperatures ranging from 50 to 80° in the twenty-four hours. The cool season is most pronounced in the inland and northern regions, less so in the south and the neighbourhood of the sea. At elevations of four thousand feet, winter-night frosts occur. The hot months are March and April (*Tabáung, Tagú*), with occasional showers, and shade temperatures of 80–95°, and 90–105°, according to locality, in the course of the day. There is always a considerable fall of temperature at night in Burma. October (*Thadindyut—Tazáungmôn*) frequently has the character of the hot months. The regions which have the lowest temperatures in the cool seasons have the highest in the hot season. But the greater heat of the dry zone is relatively not so trying as is a lesser heat in an atmosphere saturated with moisture, which impedes the cooling of the body by evaporation. As the heat attains its climax, clouds begin to gather. The rains break, often quite abruptly, with violent thunderstorms. Nevertheless, lightning-stroke is uncommon. Hail is very rare. Even before the rains set in, the great rivers Irawadi and Salween begin to swell, owing, as it is believed, to the melting of Himalayan snows in which they have their sources. The high floods of these rivers, however, coincide with the heavy rainfall in Burma. Towards the beginning of July the rivers and tributaries have risen ten to twenty feet, submerging their banks and flooding the low-lands. The Irawadi at Mandalay, where it is about two miles wide, rises thirty

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174. SOUTH-WEST MONSOON CLOUDS.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

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176. VILLAGE ENVIRONS IN THE FLOODS.

feet. The Salween, above the rapids, with a width of a quarter of a mile, rises fifty feet. The high level is maintained, with fluctuations, till September. The water in the main channels is turbid and heavy with yellow silt, but it clears itself in the grass-grown *Kwin*. Many a cart-track of the dry weather becomes a creek passable by deep-laden boats. The whole aspect of the country and mode of life are changed; the villages of the Delta are accessible by water, and many stand in water. At this season the heavy traffic of the country proceeds. In some places the rise is so great and so variable that the people depend on their boats, and every child has a tub of its own (Nos. 159, 161). Such a village is Sanyuè on the Myimmakà (*Myit-ma-kà*), the river that denies its tribute to the great Irawadi, and delivers the waters of the Yôma straight to the sea (see map, and *mômakà*, p. 115).

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The rise of the spring-tides above mean low-water level on the coast of Burma is sixteen to eighteen feet. In certain estuaries of the Martaban Gulf, dangerous bores are produced. In the Delta, which is a network of creeks, and in Arakàn, the facilities afforded for traffic by the tidal currents are unequalled.

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The abatement of the monsoon rains, in the course of September, like the break of the monsoon, is attended with thunderstorms. The surface soon dries and the sub-soil water begins to sink, leaving but little marsh land (*bwet*). As the hot season advances, the trees and bamboos of the dry forest lose their leaves, and the grasses wither, covering the soil with an inflammable layer. In the open, the heavy dews

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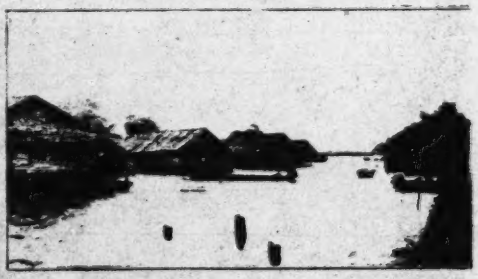

177. VILLAGE SCENE IN THE HIGH FLOOD.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

484 inferior to his own—not penetrating as far as China or India, where he might
485 witness the dire struggle for existence which has disciplined the races about to compete for his soil—the Burman fails to realise how enviable is the lot he

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315. TOWN ENVIRONS IN THE DRY ZONE.

316. CARVED FIGURE OF ANANDA (p. 38).

now enjoys and to recognise the nature of the influences which may effect the decline of his prosperity. Great as are the facilities for travel from the native point of view, to Europeans the discomfort of travel, once off the lines of rail and steamer, is so considerable that few who can avoid it visit the interior.

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317. FERRY STATION.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Shan AP11

[opp. p.142]

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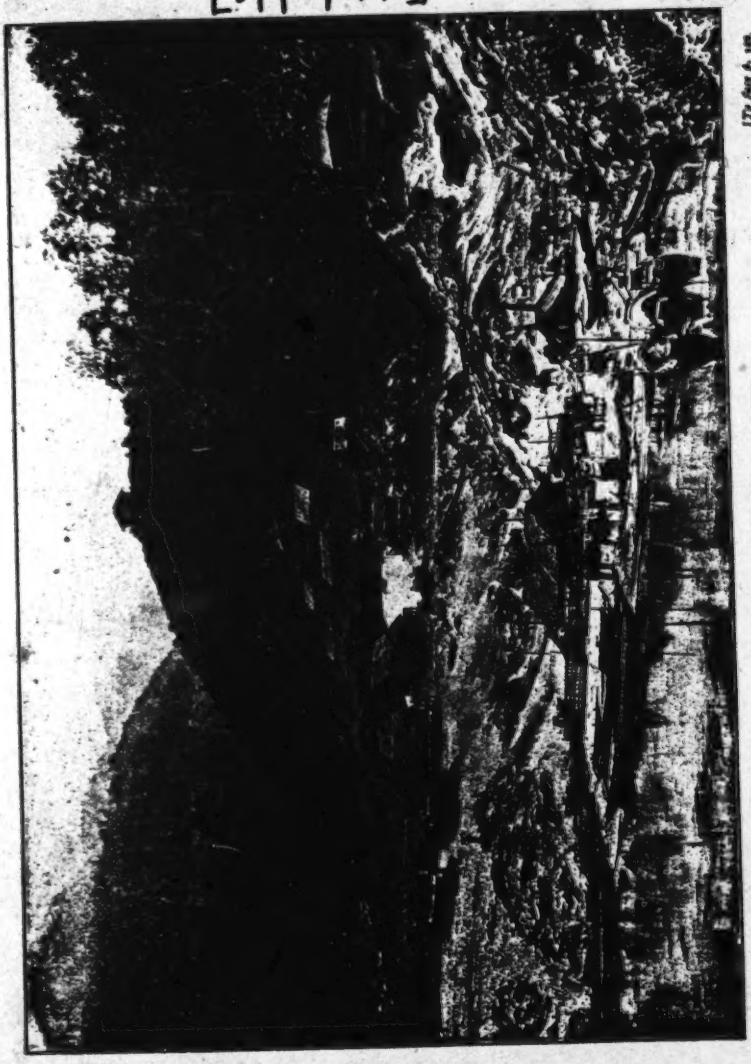

[To face p. 142.

320. SHAN VILLAGE ON THE SALWEEN.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma AP1
Indians
Burmese AP4

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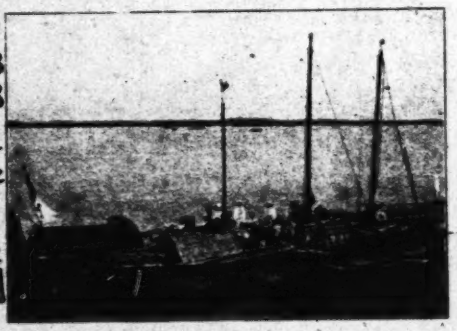
Bse
[501]



365. BRINGING THE PADDY TO THE RICE-MILLS.

of every class and caste, with his foreign connection and longer experience, has an incalculable advantage over the untravelled Burman. Beginning with a lower standard of comfort than the Burman—squatting on the bare soil where the poorest Burman makes a floor, wearing cotton where the other wears silk, and being able to improve his original condition upon half the return that the Burman expects for his work—the Indian immigrant finds land worth his labour which the Burman leaves waste. The influx of races whose religion it is to multiply, without regard to the prospect of subsistence, must speedily result in lowering the scale of life for everyone in Burma—a country of which it may now be said that "a large share of the happiness of each individual is derived from the consciousness of the well-being of other individuals." (Herbert Spencer, *Principles of Ethics*, Vol. I., p. 297.) Commencing by hiring the cheap Indian labour to reap his corn, then to plough and till his fields, the while emulating his neighbours in superfluous works, the Burman is apt to end by becoming the debtor of his servant, and mortgaging to him his lands. It seems to many that there is no escape for the Burman from the Indian flood that now menaces his country. But up to the present no class of Indians has attempted to deal with land subject to the vicissitudes of the Burman riverain soil. It is unlikely that people of less versatility and resource will establish themselves there. In 1879, when the vagaries of the Irawadi had submerged the cultivation on the Panhlaing creek some twelve feet, and the eaves of the houses were under water, the cattle were saved in hasty platforms made in

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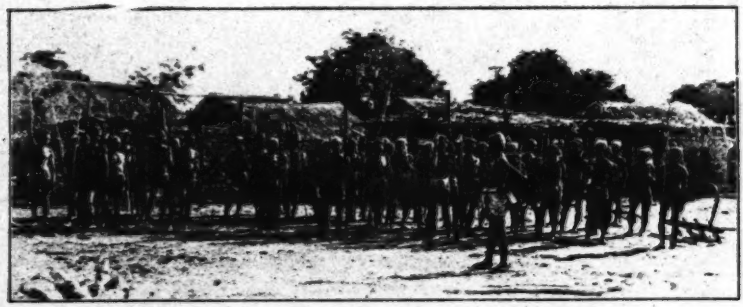
366. FORESHORE AT THE FACTORIES.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4



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370. HEADMAN MUSTERING HIS VILLAGERS.

CHAPTER VII

POLITICAL

WITH alien races planted on his soil and the watchful rivalry of the Taláing to contend with, the Burman had hourly need to guard his camp. Besides the enemies without, and their potential allies within, brigand bands of his own race had to be held in check. The chronic wars of Burman and Taláing (Mun), who were separated by no natural frontier, have left their record in the stockaded villages between Prome and Mimbu, a no-man's-land in which soldiers were impressed to fight, now on this side, now on that, and where, on being disbanded, they continued the plunder by which the armies subsisted in war. The traditions of brigandage and the exploits of noted leaders are remembered, and such enterprises are still a resort of the *vaurions* of a village or country-side when they perceive their chance—*damyá-taik sàdya!* These brigands (*damyá*, gang-robbers, dacoits) lay their plans to surprise a village while the men are away at work or endeavour to create a panic by a night attack and so obtain their booty without risk of an encounter. An occasional gang might

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371. BURMAN OUTPOST STOCKADE.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

175 Aláung Payâ established in 1754, is the involved account of the struggles for mastery of its three imperial races, the Burman, the Mun, and the Shan.* As already stated in the Introduction, the isolation of the valley of the Irawadi from the neighbouring civilisations by great natural barriers, favoured the development of an independent and distinct civilisation. The neutralization of those barriers it is that now exposes Burma to the sudden competition of races inured to worse conditions.

* See Appendix A, CHRONOLOGY.

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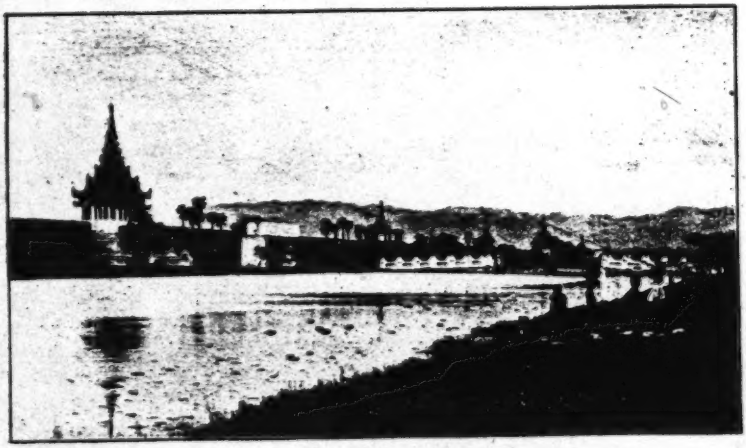

387. THE CITY MOAT.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
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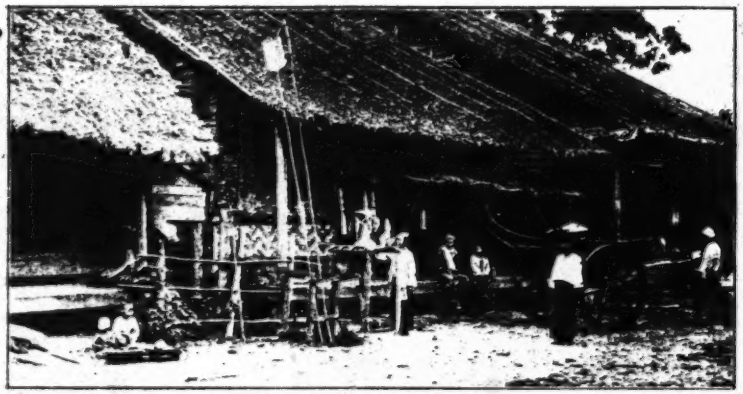

431. DECORATING THE THEBONZEDI p. 127.

CHAPTER IX

AGE AND MORTALITY

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432. A DAUGHTER PRAYING HER PARENTS TO NOBO-SAT.

THE men and women of the tropics age and die sooner than those of temperate climates. One meets reputed centenarians in Burma, but it is rarely that the old people can prove their age, unless they are able to connect their year of birth with some historical event. Ninety years is a very great age for a native of Burma to attain. When parents are past their prime their children pray them to *nobo-sat*, which means that they should be at the children's charge for the remainder of their lives, as the children had first been at their parents'. The turning-point is not marked by any formality, but a child approaching parents on a solemn occasion adopts the gesture of veneration. The aged are not idle; they preserve a great elasticity of mind and interest in things;

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which was not at all unknown in European countries. About it see: R. Andree, Ethnographische Parallelen /Ethnographic Parallels/ (1878), pp. 18 ff.; F.S. Krauss, "Das Bauopfer bei den Südslaven" /Building Sacrifice among the Southern Slavs/, Mitteilungen der anthropologischen Gesellschaft zu Wien /Proceedings of the Vienna Anthropological Society/, Vol. 17 (1887), pp. 16 ff.; W.T. Brigham, The Ancient Hawaiian House (Memoirs B.P. Bishop Museum, Honolulu II, 3), pp. 27 ff.

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In earlier days every Burmese settlement was surrounded by a fortification, cities having stone walls or stockades, the villages impenetrable fences of close rows of thorny bamboo shrubs, prickly cacti, or palisade-like fences of bamboo poles between which pointed bamboo stakes protruded. The latter type of fortification exists today only in the areas where the mountain tribes live, beyond the zone of British administration. Before the British took over, the constant feuds between the individual tribes and the excesses of robbery made it necessary for each village to protect itself like a fort. With the increased safety of travel and property under the British rule this has become more and more unnecessary, although some districts still experience nocturnal robberies. The villages in the Prome District, which has one of the worst criminal records in Burma, are with practically no exfentions enclosed by dense high, thorny hedges which have only narrow entrances.

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The buildings of the Shan (11)--population in

11. Cf. especially L. Milne, Shans at Home (London, 1910), pp. 100 ff.; A.K. Gebauer, "Die nördlichen Schanstaaten und ihre Bewohner" /The Nor-

31: Scherman--77 E-4 (no date) 1915 AP1 Burma

Burmese AP4
Shan AP11

PLATES

Plate IV

1.

B 342 361 Street in the Burmese village of Koya, upper Burma (upper Chindwin District).

2.

Burmese house in the village of Thindaw, upper Burma (upper Chindwin District).

3.

B [417] S [342] [361] Burmese house in the village of Yuwa, upper Burma (upper Chindwin District).

4.

House with decorated mat walls. Shan-Burmese mixed style. Village of Pekon, southern Shan State of Mongpai (Burmese: Mobye).

Plate V

1.

S 342 Small Shan house near Lashio, northern Shan State of Hsenwi.

2.

Larger Shan house in Namhkam, northern Shan State of North Hsenwi.

3.

S [264] [291] [415] [516] Shan family having their meal, Namhkam.

S [361]

4.

House of the village headman in Lashio Ywama, northern Shan state of North Hsenwi. Shan-Burmese mixed style.

31:Scherman--80 E-4 (no date)1915 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4
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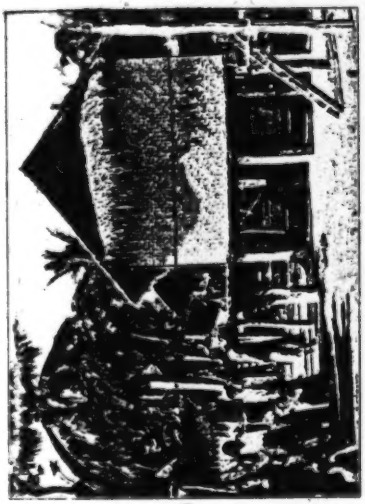

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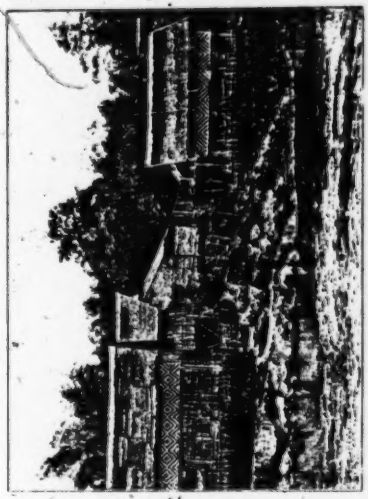

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Plate IV

[For description see page 77, category 116.
—Analyst]

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma (Chinese Indians) AP1
Burmese AP4

village therefore remained, and has served to drag out a long suburb beyond the Arakan pagoda as a kind of connecting link. Numbers of later arrivals, however, settled in the royal City of Gems, and the wealthier merchants all eventually moved their headquarters thither, so that his majesty triumphed in the end. The best houses in Mandalay, the only brick ones, in fact, till the British came, are all in the possession of the Chinese and Indian merchants. Burmans had neither the right nor the money to build anything but wooden erections. These latter have, however, the compensating advantage that they stand all but the most violent earthquakes, while the brick houses, even when they are strengthened by an elaborate wooden framework, usually collapse when there is anything like a heavy shock.

But the great majority of the houses are simply wattled huts, with large open spaces in their rear which serve to keep the town airy and well ventilated. According to Burman custom each house has its little shop with the entire stock in trade displayed to the view of the passer-by. As in all Eastern towns, those who occupy themselves with a regular handicraft all flock together. Thus the umbrella-makers and sellers of saddlery live to the south of the palace, vendors of bamboo-work and lacquered boxes to the west, while the potters and miscellaneous goods shops are mostly along the street that leads to Payā Gyi, the Arakan pagoda.

There was no attempt at metalling any of the roads, except in independent times the broad thoroughfare which led up from the steamer ghaut, past the ministers' residences, up to the outskirts of the town, for Mandalay lies two miles away from the river-bank, the idea being that at Amarapura the noise of the foreigners' steamers disturbed the royal repose. The big stones which represented the metalling on this one road were rather a trouble than otherwise, except to the vultures and egrets in the wet weather, when all around was a sea of mud, and the boulders formed an eligible coign of vantage. Elsewhere the streets were cut into huge ruts, and the bullock-carts went along in the hot weather in a pyramid of dust, and in the rains a ploughed field would be smooth going in comparison. But the gaily-painted carriages which always suggest a dog-kennel on

Home in Lynda Road Refugee Camp

Since November 1949 U Myaing and his family have been living in the Lynda Road refugee camp, Rangoon. They had stopped at half a dozen places prior to their present abode, but their living had been on very much the same scale. The refugee camp is located about a mile north of the Shwe Dagon Pagoda on a hilly promontory. The area is not far from Tiger Alley (U Wisara Road) and along this road and others nearby, huts have been built up within the last few years, largely by war refugees. The buildings of the camp were earlier used as headquarters and barracks by the People's Volunteer Organisation (P.V.O.). The P.V.O. is an offshoot of the Burmese Patriot's Army following the end of the Second World War. It was originally an army, but after independence was converted into an "organisation" for political purposes. A Yellow Band and a White Band section developed and the White P.V.O.s becoming insurgents. 722 361 [669]

The vital statistics of the camp as given by U Khant, the school master are as follows:- 269 families comprised of 856 adults (IN GYI), 211 young people (IN LAT), and 33 infants (NO SO) live in 15 huts . The number of families in each hut ranges from 9 in the smallest to 36 in the largest. The infant category includes those babies who are still breast feeding - up to one year of age. The adult category begins at the age of voting - 18 years. The proportion of the three categories as shown in the totals remains fairly consistent for each of the houses indicating that there are no special age-group abbreviations. The refugees come for the most part from the Delta area of Lower Burma, from the districts of Pantanaw and Bassein but they have not organised themselves in their huts according to the district or village from which they come. The assignment of space has been on a pragmatic base according to who arrived at what time. The buildings consisted for the most part of rectangular huts measuring 35 feet by 60 feet with woven split bamboo walls and thatched roofs. When the area was converted into a refugee camp, each family was assigned a certain space which they then partitioned off. A map of the refugee camp area shows a haphazard plan. The only 722 362 162 [561] 722 361 [342]

[792] 722 361 792 361 apparently meaningful locations would be the huts of the PHON-GYIS located on the peripheries of the camp on local promontories.

The new PHON-GYI KYAUNG near the entrance of the camp was built by others, not by the refugees. The one at the back, on the other hand, was built by contributions among the refugees themselves. One PHON-GYI and one small boy reside here. The PHON-Gyi from the new KYAUNG comes for HSOON (food given to begging monks) once in a while. A third PHON-GYI KYAUNG at the far rear also was in existence before U Myaing's arrival at camp. Here also resides one PHON-GYI and one small boy.

723 362 U Myaing came by himself to camp and took possession of the place he now lives in. The camp-head assigned the place to him. When they first arrived in Rangoon they had to rent a room at HPA-HSA-PA-LI-KWETTHIT (an area of huts organised by the Anti-facists Peoples Freedom League, the political party now in power) for a period of 2½ months at Rs. 17/8 per month. This was because they did not know of the refugee camp. They learnt of its existence just as their money ran out, and they shifted over.

U Myaing is of opinion that since he is installed in these quarters no other family will come to put up there, but admits that if they did, he would not have any right to drive them out, since he does not own the place. He is a comparative latecomer to the camp. Other families have been here for nearly two years now, while U Myaing arrived only 10 months ago. The extensions to the eaves of the roof were made by U Myaing. The condition of the camp when he came was very much the same as it is now. Only two additional huts and one PHONGYI KYAUNG have been erected since. He considers that his quarters are slightly better off than those of others in that there is less bustle and confusion in the buildings.

722 342 The quarters assigned to U Myaing are formed by the extension of the eaves of a rectangular house. The house, which measures 60 feet long by 20 feet wide has bamboo matwalls about 10 feet high, is floored with stone paves and has six windows 3 feet square on the long sides. There is a door 3 feet wide at one end. The roof is gabled with a ridge pole from which 8 rafters sixteen feet long are attached. The extensions of the roof consist of thatched leaves on

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma (Chinese Indians) AP1
Burmese AP4

village therefore remained, and has served to drag out a long suburb beyond the Arakan pagoda as a kind of connecting link. Numbers of later arrivals, however, settled in the royal City of Gems, and the wealthier merchants all eventually moved their headquarters thither, so that his majesty triumphed in the end. The best houses in Mandalay, the only brick ones, in fact, till the British came, are all in the possession of the Chinese and Indian merchants. Burmans had neither the right nor the money to build anything but wooden erections. These latter have, however, the compensating advantage that they stand all but the most violent earthquakes, while the brick houses, even when they are strengthened by an elaborate wooden framework, usually collapse when there is anything like a heavy shock.

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But the great majority of the houses are simply wattled huts, with large open spaces in their rear which serve to keep the town airy and well ventilated. According to Burman custom each house has its little shop with the entire stock in trade displayed to the view of the passer-by. As in all Eastern towns, those who occupy themselves with a regular handicraft all flock together. Thus the umbrella-makers and sellers of saddlery live to the south of the palace, vendors of bamboo-work and lacquered boxes to the west, while the potters and miscellaneous goods shops are mostly along the street that leads to Payā Gyi, the Arakan pagoda.

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There was no attempt at metalling any of the roads, except in independent times the broad thoroughfare which led up from the steamer ghaut, past the ministers' residences, up to the outskirts of the town, for Mandalay lies two miles away from the river-bank, the idea being that at Amarapura the noise of the foreigners' steamers disturbed the royal repose. The big stones which represented the metalling on this one road were rather a trouble than otherwise, except to the vultures and egrets in the wet weather, when all around was a sea of mud, and the boulders formed an eligible coign of vantage. Elsewhere the streets were cut into huge ruts, and the bullock-carts went along in the hot weather in a pyramid of dust, and in the rains a ploughed field would be smooth going in comparison. But the gaily-painted carriages which always suggest a dog-kennel on

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

363 wheels to a European, were strongly built, and the fair dames inside were used to the jolting. It was only when the king or one of the queens went forth that any attempt at road-mending was carried on. Then an ameindaw was issued, Shinbuyin Twet daw mumi, the Golden Majesty, will make a royal progress, and all along the route the house-reeves saw that the rough places were made smooth, and the crooked places straight. Thus the main thoroughfares were kept in a state of fair repair. In other respects, however, Mandalay was vastly
364 superior to all Indian towns. In all the city there is not a
231 drain, but it is equally certain that neither is there a smell. There were no such slums as constantly offend every sense a man has in the Black Town of Madras or the native quarters of Calcutta. This cleanliness was due to the exertions of the great multitudes of swine and dogs. The pigs formed most efficient scavengers during the day-time, and wandered all about in the most independent and ownerless fashion. Charitable people, in search of merit, set out daily meals for them, while all in common threw out their scraps and leavings in the confidence justified by experience that nothing would be left to decay. The great majority of the dogs, equally with the porkers, belonged to nobody in particular, and made themselves comfortable under any house they chose, sleeping nearly all day and howling and fighting all night. These animals were all strenuous adherents of the Old Burman party, and cherished a most fanatic hatred for Europeans. The old boar ran between the legs of the white man or of his pony, in a simulated state of alarm at his faded, ghost-like face, and the pariah dogs let all the town know the progress of a foreigner by their fierce barking and snapping of teeth a yard or so off his calves. The dogs of one street passed him on to the next, so that it was impossible for a wandering Briton to go about the town unobserved. It will not soon be forgotten how the English Assistant Resident had to run for his life from the Mandalay bazaar. He had killed a snarling brute with a quick backward swing of his stick, and the pious life-regarding populace came out upon him armed with billets of firewood and formidable dahs. He managed to keep away from them, but he had a half-mile race of it, and the Residency gates were smashed in by the mob. Then

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

the guard dispersed the people. Next day, an old lady, who claimed to be the owner of the dog, visited the big Englishman and told him she forgave him. He was barely polite.

Burmans had no trouble with the pigs and dogs. They found their own countrymen much more awkward to meet. There was constantly some prince or mingyi passing along the streets, and then the road had to be immediately cleared, and every one knelt humbly till the great man passed. Any delay in clearing the path, or an imagined want of reverence in the shikhoing, met with very summary punishment. Before every dignitary rushed along a posse of half-naked lictors, yelling out to the people to bow down, and hitting round about them with their fasces and dahs. These masterful ruffians particularly loved to insult Englishmen. During Mindôn's reign an edict was published exempting Englishmen from the necessity of getting down on their knees in the mud and dust, but ordaining that they should lift their hats. The letyataung dearly loved to launch torrents of abuse at their victim, and make him dismount from his pony and remove his hat when the prince was half a block distant. In the spring of 1880 an English mercantile man was actually bullied into going down on his knees. But, as a rule, where it was possible, foreigners turned down a by-street, or into one of the waste plots of ground. This method of avoiding the annoyance was not open to a Burman. If he tried to avoid paying due obeisance, he was denounced as a disaffected man and thrown into jail.

But there were plenty of other obstructions to be met with in the streets of the royal city. Each householder was considered, or considered himself, perfectly at liberty to do what he pleased with the section of the road in front of his house. Accordingly, when the spirit moved him, he calmly blocked the thoroughfare by erecting a temporary theatre for the performance of a pwè. The construction of such a mandut did not take very long. A framework of bamboo was run up and covered in on the roof, and one side with bamboo matting, and all was ready; the stage was the street, and the spectators deposited themselves where they found room. After the three or four days' performance, the stage was pulled down, and the thoroughfare was clear again.

HOME

Home in Pathwe

Home is the village of Pathwe, Pantanaw Township, Maubin district, Lower Burma. It is located on one of the countless small streams of the Lower Irrawaddy estuary about ninety miles west of Rangoon. The country is a flat alluvium plain dissected by myriads of streams and canals. The monotony of marshy plains is relieved by occasional clumps of trees and tall reeds which flank the streams. The land is a result of depositions of silts from upstream by the Irrawaddy river and its tributaries - a process which is going on today as Lower Burma extends into the bays of Bengal and Martaban. When asked how long his family had lived in the village of Pathwe, U Myaing replied : 131 [101]

> "My parents were born here and their parents before them and their's before them - as far back as we can remember." [591]

The village of Pathwe occupies the adjacent banks of three streams at the point where they join.

The larger town of Pantanaw is located some three miles upstream. 361 The section U Myaing lives in is called YWA-GYI-BET (Big-village-side) and is the main residential area of Pathwe. Directly across the stream, which is about 200 feet wide at this point, are YWA-LAY-BET (small-village-side) and PAYA-GYI-DAUNT (Big-pagoda-corner).

YWA-GYI-BET consists of four rows of houses placed 200 feet apart parallel to the main branch of the stream. The rows consist of about fifty houses each and are separated by brick or earth roads. The brick road is raised about three feet to form a passageway in time of floods. Communal lavatories flank both sides of the village rows and the ones on the side of the river have been located about 60 or 70 feet back from the edge of the river "in order not to pollute the water." The lavatories in the village differ from one another, in that some of them are in the house itself and others are outside by a small passageway connected to the house. The houses with lavatories in them depend on the water to carry away the droppings in the rainy season. [363] 514 364 [312]

285 they were made by friends. Ma Aye Myaing and Daw Aw Zar appear to
437 specialize in the larger mats such as used for sleeping. Mat making appears to be an occupation which in ordinary times is unimportant but it is relied heavily upon in bad times.

461 The children are put to work around the house and in processing
562 the fish at an early age. Just recently U Myaing's eldest daughter
561 left school to learn a trade. She left one month ago from the fourth
[277] standard, to learn cheroot rolling. In another month's time she will
874 have learnt how. She does not have to pay any fees - neither is she
[294] paid for her help. She lives with her aunt (U Myaing's sister) and has her meals there. Near their house there is also an embroidery shop which is owned by her aunt. At night U Myaing's daughter is taught embroidery and sewing by her aunt. The owner of the cheroot rolling shop is not a relative, but the women who work there are aunts and grand-aunts of the girl. When she has learnt the trade, then she will be paid between two and three rupees a day on piece work basis.

463 At present (May 1951) U Myaing is working as a sweeper in the
● 363 Rangoon Municipality on a monthly wage of Rs. 80/-. There is an over-
512 seer placed over him every day. U Myaing's main job is to keep one street in town clean. He leaves his house at six and arrives at the overseer's by half past six and there a roll-call is taken of about a hundred of them. At seven he begins on his street and stops at about half-eight to go to answer the roll-call (see below for rest of schedule).. He has personal contact only with the overseer, the doctor and the WUNDAUK (official). All three of them go around the town to see if they work hard enough. The WUNDAUK also comes everyday to witness the roll-call. "If we do not do good work we shall be dismissed. Everything is in their hands. But they do so after two or three warnings. We do not possess any rights at all. Sometimes offenders are sent to other streets that require harder labour."

U Myaing's street is located in Myeni-gon, and he has to clean the street of dirt as well as clean the drains on either side.

His daily schedule at present is as follows: He rises at 4, washes his face and cleans his teeth, says his prayers and then has plain tea which Ma Aye Myaing has prepared for him. At six he leaves

And arrives at the overseer's by half six. There he answers the roll-call, after which he leaves for his work location and starts work at 7. At 8. 30 he has a bath and then goes back to answer the roll-call which is called about a quarter to ten. He then returns home for breakfast and a rest. At 12.30 he leaves the house again in time for the roll-call at one o'clock. He starts work at 1. 30 or 2 o'clock and works till ten minutes past 4, at which time he starts back for the evening roll-call. This is taken at a quarter to 5, and he is through for the day. If U Myaing has not bathed in the morning he does so before he returns. When he returns he eats his dinner alone, the others all having eaten already, and after that he works on mats if there are any orders on hand. If there are none he just sits around and spends the evening in general conversation,,sometimes sipping plain tea. After that he says his prayers and retires for the night. His bed time is not fixed. Sometimes he sleeps at 8 or 9, and sometimes works till 11 or 12 in the night if there are mats to weave.

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2;Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

361 amingala or south-west gate, specially reserved for the passage of funerals. Outside every gate is a post bearing the name and emblem of the gate, the latter being the signs of the zodiac. Sixty feet, or thereabouts, from the walls, runs all round a deep moat, about fifty yards broad, covered in many places with the lotus plant that the Buddhist loves. Here and there upon it float a number of royal craft, state barges, and despatch boats, some of them richly gilded, with the kalawaik, the crane, carved on the stern, others foundered and lying rotting, with their lofty sterns rising high in the air. Covering each gate is a traverse, or crenelated barbican, of the same construction as the walls. Inside, the streets of the city run parallel to the walls. They are wide and fairly well kept wherever the king is likely to pass, but there is no attempt at metalling. Young trees line the sides, and [364] down most of them run little streams of water. There is no attempt at a drainage system, but the town is essentially clean and airy, the pigs and pariah dogs acting as scavengers, and the constant open spaces ensuring ventilation. Right in the centre is the palace, which has two successive en-
644 341 closures. The outer is a quarter of a mile square, and consists of a high teak palisade, very massive and compact. Within this is a wide open space laid out as an esplanade, inside of which is a brick wall, edged round a great part of the way by the houses of high ministers and court officials. The outer court has four gates, each presided over by a special commander; the north, or water gate, being only available for the royal barges. Except for members of the palace household, there is only admittance to the inner enclosure by the gate on the eastern face. There is a special portal in the centre here, opened only for the king, and none but the Lord of the Golden Throne may use it. All else must enter by the taga-ni, the red postern, a cramped little gateway, which makes the smallest man involuntarily bend his head as he approaches the golden palace. The front of the building is decorated with gilding and tinsel work, which looks well when it is new, but after the rainy seasons would be better not there at all. To the left is the Hlutdaw, the Hall off the Supreme Council, a detached structure, raised some feet off the ground, and perfectly open; the roof, richly

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

363 wheels to a European, were strongly built, and the fair dames inside were used to the jolting. It was only when the king or one of the queens went forth that any attempt at road-mending was carried on. Then an ameindaw was issued, Shinbuyin Twet daw mumi, the Golden Majesty, will make a royal progress, and all along the route the house-reeves saw that the rough places were made smooth, and the crooked places straight. Thus the main thoroughfares were kept in a state of fair repair. In other respects, however, Mandalay was vastly superior to all Indian towns. In all the city there is not a 364 231 drain, but it is equally certain that neither is there a smell. There were no such slums as constantly offend every sense a man has in the Black Town of Madras or the native quarters of Calcutta. This cleanliness was due to the exertions of the great multitudes of swine and dogs. The pigs formed most efficient scavengers during the day-time, and wandered all about in the most independent and ownerless fashion. Charitable people, in search of merit, set out daily meals for them, while all in common threw out their scraps and leavings in the confidence justified by experience that nothing would be left to decay. The great majority of the dogs, equally with the porkers, belonged to nobody in particular, and made themselves comfortable under any house they chose, sleeping nearly all day and howling and fighting all night. These animals were all strenuous adherents of the Old Burman party, and cherished a most fanatic hatred for Europeans. The old boar ran between the legs of the white man or of his pony, in a simulated state of alarm at his faded, ghost-like face, and the pariah dogs let all the town know the progress of a foreigner by their fierce barking and snapping of teeth a yard or so off his calves. The dogs of one street passed him on to the next, so that it was impossible for a wandering Briton to go about the town unobserved. It will not soon be forgotten how the English Assistant Resident had to run for his life from the Mandalay bazaar. He had killed a snarling brute with a quick backward swing of his stick, and the pious life-regarding populace came out upon him armed with billets of firewood and formidable dahs. He managed to keep away from them, but he had a half-mile race of it, and the Residency gates were smashed in by the mob. Then

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Burmese AP4

the guard dispersed the people. Next day, an old lady, who claimed to be the owner of the dog, visited the big Englishman and told him she forgave him. He was barely polite.

Burmans had no trouble with the pigs and dogs. They found their own countrymen much more awkward to meet. There was constantly some prince or mingyi passing along the streets, and then the road had to be immediately cleared, and every one knelt humbly till the great man passed. Any delay in clearing the path, or an imagined want of reverence in the shikhoing, met with very summary punishment. Before every dignitary rushed along a posse of half-naked lictors, yelling out to the people to bow down, and hitting round about them with their fasces and dahs. These masterful ruffians particularly loved to insult Englishmen. During Mindôn's reign an edict was published exempting Englishmen from the necessity of getting down on their knees in the mud and dust, but ordaining that they should lift their hats. The letyataung dearly loved to launch torrents of abuse at their victim, and make him dismount from his pony and remove his hat when the prince was half a block distant. In the spring of 1880 an English mercantile man was actually bullied into going down on his knees. But, as a rule, where it was possible, foreigners turned down a by-street, or into one of the waste plots of ground. This method of avoiding the annoyance was not open to a Burman. If he tried to avoid paying due obeisance, he was denounced as a disaffected man and thrown into jail.

But there were plenty of other obstructions to be met with in the streets of the royal city. Each householder was considered, or considered himself, perfectly at liberty to do what he pleased with the section of the road in front of his house. Accordingly, when the spirit moved him, he calmly blocked the thoroughfare by erecting a temporary theatre for the performance of a pwè. The construction of such a mandut did not take very long. A framework of bamboo was run up and covered in on the roof, and one side with bamboo matting, and all was ready; the stage was the street, and the spectators deposited themselves where they found room. After the three or four days' performance, the stage was pulled down, and the thoroughfare was clear again.

HOME

Home is Pathwe

Home is the village of Pathwe, Pantanaw Township, Maubin district, Lower Burma. It is located on one of the countless small streams of the Lower Irrawaddy estuary about ninety miles west of Rangoon. The country is a flat alluvium plain dissected by myriads of streams and canals. The monotony of marshy plains is relieved by occasional clumps of trees and tall reeds which flank the streams. The land is a result of depositions of silts from upstream by the Irrawaddy river and its tributaries - a process which is going on today as Lower Burma extends into the bays of Bengal and Martaban. When asked how long his family had lived in the village of Pathwe, U Myaing replied : 131 [101]

> "My parents were born here and their parents before them and their's before them - as far back as we can remember." [591]

The village of Pathwe occupies the adjacent banks of three streams at the point where they join.

The larger town of Pantanaw is located some three miles upstream. The section U Myaing lives in is called YWA-GYI-BET (Big-village-side) and is the main residential area of Pathwe. Directly across the stream, which is about 200 feet wide at this point, are YWA-LAY-BET (small-village-side) and PAYA-GYI-DAUNT (Big-pagoda-corner). 361

YWA-GYI-BET consists of four rows of houses placed 200 feet apart parallel to the main branch of the stream. The rows consist of about fifty houses each and are separated by brick or earth roads. The brick road is raised about three feet to form a passageway in time of floods. Communal lavatories flank both sides of the village rows and the ones on the side of the river have been located about 60 or 70 feet back from the edge of the river "in order not to pollute the water." The lavatories in the village differ from one another, in that some of them are in the house itself and others are outside by a small passageway connected to the house. The houses with lavatories in them depend on the water to carry away the droppings in the rainy season. [363] 514 364 [312]

his lot. It also tends toward a kind of stratification of society where the boundaries, however, are neither sharp nor fast. Each person is comfortably installed in his place and computes, mildly, only with those of his own level. The obligations (as contributions for ceremonies) are in terms of one's ability, and his status is in terms of his virtues. Status is closely correlated with increasing age. This concept motivate the Burmese in the village within "KARMA groups". 181 156 364● 555 [561] [554]

The unusual individual may transcend his family positions in exceptional cases - by marriage or achievement. Achievement by physical force has been a means of mobility in the past - there is the tradition of the strong man leader who comes from humble origins. Mobility by entrepreneur achievement (rice mill owners, traders) has been greatly stimulated with increased western contacts. U Myaing was a sort of entrepreneur in Pathwe. In Rangoon the opportunities are great and some Burmese are successfully embracing this, as yet, somewhat unfamiliar course. The western entrepreneur concept appears to be finding a fertile ground in the traditional "group individualism" of the Burmese. 156 555 557 [177]

<u>The standards or levels of culture</u>: When U Myaing's standard of living plummeted downwards as a refugee he became discontented and unhappy desiring to return to the "plateau" of his former level. At first he could only think of returning to Pathwe to achieve this, but as ~~[illegible]~~ begins to crown his efforts in Rangoon he now feels the beginnings of a sense of achievement. In his refugee situation there was no sense of shame for his reduction - the events contributing to his downfall were beyond his control, and he had lived "as a refugee should" in which his abilities and obligations were balanced. This resulted in an attitude of cheerful patience understandable in terms of the KARMA concept. 511 181 558

The two standards, in Pathwe and camp, represent balanced levels ranging from the "average" Burmese villages situation to close to the minimum. Higher standards than those of Pathwe are seen in the administrative class of Rangoon and other major towns where western influences are strong (car, western furniture and household utensils, westernized house and clothing, etc.). Lower standards may be 511 565 [177]

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

361 541 During the season a dozen or more of these plays went on in Mandalay on the same night, and the entire population turned out to see them, thus effectually blocking as many streets as there were performances. This might have been awkward for the ordinary wayfarer were it not that he would probably infinitely prefer staying to see the drama to continuing his journey. Great men were not so complaisant. Two of the massacred princes, the Mekkhaya and the Thonsè, seemed to take a special delight, when they were belated on some roistering expedition, in breaking up such plebeian gatherings. They would come sweeping down the street with all their retinue, and the spectators, deafened by the music and engrossed with the action on the stage, would get their first hint of the torrent coming from the vigorous blows dealt all round about them by the howling lictors. Everything would be disorder and alarm for a time, men and women down in the ditch, the stage deserted, and the spectators scattered far and wide. Then, ten minutes later, they would all come back again; there would be a few remarks concerning his Royal Highness—"very often out at unexpected times, and always making his appearance so suddenly," etc. etc.; the bamboo erection would be propped up again, and the actors continued with the scene as if nothing whatever had happened, though the clown, no doubt, made as much fun out of the incident as he dared.

● 365 625 Going about at night in Mandalay was not much practised. Theatre-goers usually returned home with the rising sun. There were no lamps in the streets, and so every one who had business after dark was required to go about carrying a lantern or beating a drum or gong. If any one ventured abroad without thus marking his movements, he was promptly arrested by the night watch, and once a man was arrested in Mandalay it cost a good deal of money to get free again, no matter how good an account he might be able to give of himself. To save themselves the trouble of being constantly on the look-out as well as to trip up any one who tried to run away, the guardians of the peace had an unpleasant custom of tying ropes across the road an inch or two above the ground, and these were quite as effectual man-traps as have ever been invented.

342 514 In U Myaing's house the lavatory is in the kitchen and is walled off with woven KIU (kind of fiber) mat. There is a hole cut open in the board flooring, and the area underneath this opening also is walled off with woven KIU. U Myaing and family did not take their meals in the kitchen but in the house proper.

361 368 346 [872] [364] The PHON-GYI KYAUNG or monastery is located further downstream from the village. It is a two storied brick building comprised of nine rooms, each 6 TAUNG square. Children are not taught here but learn their lessons at the government school. This school, which is on THE-GYI-BET side, teaches pupils up to the tenth standard. Below the PHON-GYI KYAUNG is the cemetery.

The houses in the village are separated one from the other by eight feet on each side. The rows of houses facing the river have porches on both sides. U Myaing's house is typical of those found in the village - some may be more elaborate, some less. His house had been built only six or seven years, and cost Rs. 3000/- at that time. There are no accounts for each of the separate items and U Myaing does not remember. The land was free and they did not have to pay any revenue on it. Separate from the houses and on the riverside is a huge platform built to process fish including the making of NGAPI. U Myaing had no land that owned round the house, although he could use the land directly in front of the house for various purposes.

342 435 [651] [366] [252]

U Myaing describes his house as follows;

342 592 [366]

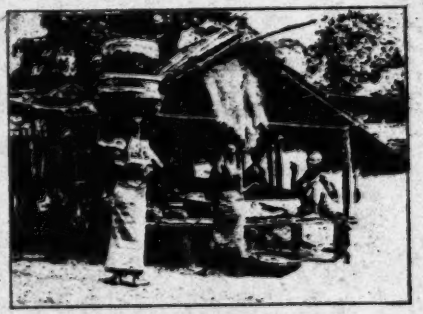
"It is a wooden house, made of wooden posts - a two storied structure. The roof is of slates. Walls are of SHI-NWA-BU wooden boards (boards 8 inches wide and about ½ inch thick) and there are four rooms. Other people have similar houses. It is a LAY-HIN-KIN (a four-tree-house or a house which has four supporting poles across the frame) and all seven of us live in the house. We drop a kitchen from the back and cook there. The kitchen has three windows at the back, with one door leading into the house. We all live together in three rooms. We keep bedrooms. (U Myaing is speaking of a sketch of the house here). This side is for visitors - there is a room for people who come to buy goods. The old mother and the children live in one room and I and my wife in another with the smallest child. We eat in the front part of the house in one room at the foot of the sleeping place. There are nine 6 TAUNG rooms without partitions on each of the two floors. The sides of the house are enclosed with timber planks of IN wood, but the bedrooms are also partitioned off. It is very wide and roomy to live in. The floor is made of teak planks."

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

290. PAKEIKAYA DEALER.

weather sale-booths (*tawzé*), for trade with the hill-people, at central points as far from the towns as canoes can navigate the stream. They sell dried fish and *ngapi*, salt, oil, pease, sugar, spices and tobacco, pottery and crockery, plain and coloured yarns, needles, thread, cloth of every sort, elastic belts, under-vests, matches, tapers and soap, kerosene oil, pencils, pens, ink and paper, playing-cards, beads, spectacles, mirrors and fancy articles from Europe, besides biscuits, sardines, and condensed milk. All these wares are sold in the larger villages as well. Sale-booths are set up at every festival, chiefly for refreshments. But there is nothing corresponding to the fairs of India and the West.

Both men and women smoke tobacco. Children begin at four or five (No. 21). The Burman cheroot (*seleik*) is a roll five to eight inches long and an inch thick, consisting of chopped tobacco-leaf and the pith of the tobacco stem, with a wrapper made of the inner skin of the spathe of the betel palm, or the spathe of maize, or else the leaves of *pauk*, *thanát* or *bambwé*, which are smoothed on a hot stone. The Burman exquisite toys with this cheroot much as the Japanese does with the fan. The fan is not affected by men or women in Burma. Good cheroots are also rolled of plain tobacco-leaf, in the Indian way; they are very strong. Unlike the Shans, Karéns and Chinese, with their pipes, and the natives of India with their hookah, the Burman sticks to the cheroot. Tobacco is grown on the silt banks left dry by the rivers (Nos. 191, 264); but the bulk is imported from the South of India. A delicate "birds-eye" tobacco is prepared by the Karéns and Shans on the North-East; it is shredded green, and does not keep well. At intervals on the main lines of



291. BAZAR SCENE, BURMA PROPER.

Z:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

342 addition to this a mi-kat stands beside it. This is a broad
731 griddle, or flapper kind of thing, and its object is to beat out
355 the flame which may be caused by a spark lighting on the roof. In addition to this, in many parts of the country, pots full of water are always kept in readiness on the tops of the houses, so that when the hour of danger comes, the householder may douse his roof, and so do the best for himself. In Mandalay, under native rule, some of the pa-gwets, and other outcasts, patrolled the streets all night, to watch for and prevent fires as much as possible.

[368]

342 Another kind of roofing is wā-kat, a sort of flat tile-like construction, six feet long by two feet broad, made of coarse bamboo matting. Bamboos split in half down the centre and with the knots smoothed away, are also used. They are placed close together, with the hollow side upwards extending all the way down from the ridge to the eaves, and over these again are placed others with the rounded side up the whole presenting rather a curious appearance, but making a very serviceable roof and not nearly so dangerous as the leaf or grass thatching. The leaves of other trees are also occasionally used, but the simplicity and cheapness of the dani roof make it by far the most prevalent in the delta, as grass is elsewhere, notwithstanding its danger. In Rangoon and Maulmein, shingles, that is, small wooden slabs like slates, are being very generally introduced.

In the better class of houses the floors are made of planking, but poorer people have nothing better than a series of whole or split bamboos laid side by side on the cross beams and tied down with rattans. This is not very pleasant to walk on, and has the further disadvantage of being anything but cleanly, for the spaces between the bamboos offer an irresistible temptation to drop all litter and garbage on to the ground immediately underneath the house, and were it not for the pariah dogs the sanitary condition of the place would soon be very bad.

[565]

352 The house is thus simple enough in its character, but
177.35 the furniture is still more so. Intercourse with the English
369 has indeed brought many Burmans to indulge in English luxuries, and in many houses in Rangoon and the large district towns, chandeliers, bookcases, pictures, and even

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

When a fire occurred in the Golden City, it was usually a very big one and burned until it could find no more fuel. There were two reasons for this. The most obvious was, of course, that wood huts, with an inflammable roof like thin grass thatch, caught fire with the slightest spark; and there was nothing in the shape of a fire-engine, even in the palace. The second was very characteristic of a despotism, and vastly more disastrous. Immemorial tradition associated a conflagration with a revolution. When an attempt was to be made to seize the throne, the attention of the people and the soldiery was always diverted by incendiary fires. Therefore when a house took fire the people found nearest to it by the night watchmen were always arrested and made responsible for the catastrophe. As a natural consequence, the moment flames burst out, not only the inmates of the house, but all the neighbours took to their heels and ran, without incommoding themselves with even the smallest portion of their property. A few of the royal troops came down after a time and unroofed a house here and there, and perhaps even pulled down some altogether, but their efforts as amateur firemen were usually of the most feeble and futile description, and the flames went on till there was nothing more to burn. Next day the unhappy burnt-out people came back and made for themselves little hovels of bamboo matting among the charred posts till something better could be run up again. The neighbouring quarters contributed something to support them, or they got their meals at the monasteries, and in a few months all traces of the fire had disappeared, the same rickety huts with the old scanty store of wares rose up again, and the scorched leaves fell off the trees and were replaced by fresh green foliage.

The population of Mandalay was a very queer one. Of the Burmans the great majority were soldiers or hangers-on of the various great men about the court. The residuum was composed of a few honest tradesmen and a vast quantity of bad characters, broken agriculturists, gamblers, thieves from Lower Burma, and outlaws from all parts. The number of yellow-robed yahans was extraordinary. King Mindôn used to give alms to five thousand of them daily. The jars of rice were arranged in long rows on a platform erected

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514 woven KYU (kind of fiber) mat. There is a hole cut open in the board flooring, and the area underneath this opening also is walled off with woven KYU. U Myaing and family did not take their meals in the kitchen but in the house proper.

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368 from the village. It is a two storied brick building comprised of nine
346 rooms, each 6 TAUNG square. Children are not taught here but learn
[872] their lessons at the government school. This school, which is on
[364] TWE-GYI-BET side, teaches pupils up to the tenth standard. Below the PHON-GYI KYAUNG is the cemetery.

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[252] to process fish including the making of NGAPI. U Myaing had no land that owned round the house, although he could use the land directly in front of the house for various purposes.

U Myaing describes his house as follows;

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592 structure. The roof is of slates. Walls are of SHI-NGA-MU wooden boards (boards 8 inches wide and about ½ inch thick) and there are four rooms. Other people have similar houses. It is a LAY-BIN-KIN (a four-tree-house or a house which has four supporting poles across the front) and all seven of us live in the house. We drop a kitchen from the back and cook there. The kitchen has three windows at the back, with one door leading into the house. We all live together in three rooms. We keep bedrooms. (U Myaing is speaking of a sketch of the house here). This side is for visitors - there is a room for people who come to buy goods. The old mother and the children live in one room and I and my wife in
[366] another with the smallest child. We eat in the front part of the house in one room at the foot of the sleeping place. There are nine 6 TAUNG rooms without partitions on each of the two floors. The sides of the house are enclosed with timber planks of IN wood, but the bedrooms are also partitioned off. It is very wide and roomy to live in. The floor is made of teak planks."

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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178. SCENE IN THE PLAINS AT FLOOD-TIME.

keep the pasture green till March. By April the elephant-grass in the *Kwin* is dry and ready to burn like a prairie. Camp fires and cultivation fires spread, or the stump of a burning cheroot starts the fire, which runs through the *kaing* and the bamboo forest till it is stopped by a broad water-course. In the hot weather the thatch and bamboo of the houses are as dry as tinder, and village fires are frequent. A hook and flapper on long bamboo poles are provided at every house to tear off the thatch and beat out the fire (No. 431). Water-pots are set along the roof-ridges, so that they only need to be overturned. But if a high wind is blowing, the burning thatch is carried across streets and creeks. The people can only save their movables and accept the situation, which they do with characteristic good humour. The religious buildings being more substantial, there is a better chance of extinguishing them when on fire. Religious merit is to be gained by the effort; the whole village turns out with waterpots to quench the flames and slake the embers.

[782]

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179. THE IRAWADI AT PROME (p. 187).

CHAPTER SIX

THE social life which my parents led with other families in the district towns was shared by us and all the other children. Burmese children do not live in a child's world cut off from reality—there is no specially created world for them like that of J. M. Barrie—they are given enough food for their wildest imagination, but this feeds equally the grandmother and nurses who tell them stories. No special children's parties with cakes and games for them are provided; they go everywhere with the grown-ups, on visits, excursions and festivals, they eat and sleep in the same rooms as the elders and hear most of the conversation. One result is to make Burmese children more conscious of family ties and responsibilities, and to prepare them better for any calamities that may befall them in adolescence or any time before they are fully grown up. Yet no one who sees Burmese children can doubt that delight, wonder and pure joy are present in their lives. 857 593

All Burmese social gatherings centre round either religious observances or eating. We are still unsophisticated enough to have the same way of enjoying ourselves whether in city or country, and for that reason these district towns formed such a perfect background for happy days. In the towns that I remember, a river ran through, with sandbanks at edges or in midstream; this, with the monasteries and pagoda precincts a little way out of the busy quarters, private garden orchards and the houses of friends, provided the background for all the social life which my parents had, and is the reason why Burmese people never form social clubs. Most of the officials went to play tennis at the Gymkhana club with European members, but it had no real part in their lives. 517 369 575

When we went on *pyaw-pwè-sas*, happy-eating-gatherings, at pagodas, with two or three other families, the grown-ups, including aunts and dependents of the families, made elaborate food arrangements because the joy of the occasion was to cook on a large-scale in the open air. They took pots, dishes, food and washing apparatus for about twenty people. We started with silent recitation of prayers before the golden spire in the cool morning air, holding silver lilies between folded hands and being so careful not to breathe in the fragrance of the flowers, because my mother taught us that we should not first enjoy the beauty of flowers which are to be offered. When our short prayers were through, we stuck the flowers in a vase or niche at the pagoda base, lighted a row of candles 517

1: Mi Mi Khaing I-5 (no date) 1946 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

days when the themes were from mythology and legend rather than modern streets, thus necessitating flights through the air, chariots in the clouds, magical transformations, magnificences of palaces and celestial gardens lighted by the moon. Now the films go in largely for themes of real life, but unlike Western films, the actors and actresses still do not set the standard for everyday dress and behaviour. A cinema actress, even when playing the part of a girl of most respectable parents, was rendered attractive by touches which in real life were considered by my mother to be suggestive of loose behaviour—her hair was overdecked with flowers, her garments had floral designs, her forehead was bordered with a fringe, and the neck of her jacket fitted loosely. On the screen, however, my mother and aunts watched this enthralled. They liked also the way that love was shown, concentrating on sentimentality rather than sex. There was no kissing or attracting attention to the body, but oh the pining, the sighing, the stamping of feet, the coyness and the moonlight gazing of Burmese cinema heroines. No wonder that aunts who once in a long while accompanied us to an American film, looked all around during the passionate kissing scenes, with scrutiny of our reaction to such displays of what should not be admitted to exist. 546 177. 54

If the Burmese cinema failed to draw the crowd of young English-speaking men and women away from the Hollywood films, Burmese rendering of jazz conquered them completely and gave them no acquaintance with the originals from America and England. There was a body of modern songs in the true Burmese style which, unlike the old classical songs, could be sung with ease by the untrained voice, but despite this Burma did not escape the craze which has grown up in all countries of the Far East for snatching up tunes written in America and England and putting them to words in the native tongue. Still, Burmans of fastidious taste might object to the lack of music in the tunes, rather than to the words of these popular songs, for the Burmese words are never so execrable as the original English compositions; often there is real wit, poetic brevity, and even philosophic comment. The technique was to take the refrain of a Western jazz tune as the repetitive theme, with a slight alteration in the rhythm, and to embroider this extensively with a slapdash quality of Burmese turns of melody. The theme of the Burmese version probably bore no relation to that of the original. For example, the sickly account of a romantic meeting in the Isle of Capri was converted into a satirical skit on the Rangoon fashion of giving garden tea-parties in the English manner. Whereas the Burmese custom at weddings and other celebrations in the country towns was to invite townspeople to a full meal, with the feasting of monks and the distribution of gifts, the Yangonthu had taken to employing the catering services of Western-style restaurants 533 177. 54

574 533 177. 54 569.

to bring chairs, tables, food and attendants for the sum of Re. 1/4 per
533 head. The tune which was written to sing sentimentally of the Isle of
177. Capri now sang, with romping glee, the English names of these delicacies:
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369

Vi-ta-mo, co-co *hnin amyo son myi*
Ham pattie, cream roll *hnin* cold coff-ee,
Columbia *dat pya hnin htè hso myi,*
Plain cake *hnin* Gold Flake *le kyamma wè myi.*
Etc.....

Vitamo, cocoa and all kinds you'll see,
Ham patties, cream rolls and cold coffee
With Columbia record playing merrily,
Plain cake and Gold Flake will I buy for tea.

Expensive things, expensive things of all kinds for eating,
I'll order from a restaurant for this fashion meeting.
Sit up round a table in gathering so hearty,
A very respectable tea-drinking party.

Don't eat of Burmese comestibles,
They are so indigestible.

On the other hand the lilting tune of the Campdown Races was slowed down to sing:

Chit-te thu ko tway hma tha,
Seik pyaw,
Aye da.

Only when you see the loved one,
Heart is happy,
Mind at rest.

369 Compared to dwellers of country towns, Yangonthu not only went
177. to the cinema oftener, but also read a good deal more, probably in the
53 absence of so many happy-eating-gatherings and charity feasts. There
204 were four daily newspapers in Burmese and a few which appeared bi- or
538 tri-weekly. The daily paper provided a lot of reading matter for the average person; a grandaunt of mine made it a daily institution to sit on her verandah with a bottle of lemonade and the *New Light of Burma* whose 24 pages were filled with international news, home politics, articles on the economic development of the country and attacks on abuses prevalent in social life, exhortations to good behaviour to the younger generation, reports of cases of a scandalous nature, just like a popular daily anywhere in the world. But in Burma there was no distinction such as exists between a paper which tries to keep a dignified

177. Villager .. Short story.
53 Are we seeing aright? .. Attack on prolonged nat-festivals at pagodas, as endangering physical and moral welfare of people, including attack on worldly members of monkhood.
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538

541 Horse-racing in Rangoon was a foreign importation, but nevertheless the stadium was always filled, not only with the fashionable section in an
177. enclosure but also with rows of four-anna spectators who had been col-
54 lected from all the streets of the town by the privately-run Burmese buses
• 369 which tore along on race days, with two "spares" (spare-men in addition to the driver) hanging out from the back step and shouting to all they passed: "Race-a-ko, Race-a-ko! Race-course, race-course." But in the country the traditional boat racing was still alive. Boat races were held in every village which had a stream or river, as an annual event after the Lenten season. Long narrow canoes built in the village itself were rowed by twenty-two men and put out in rivalry between quarter and quarter, or between one village and another. At Ye the upper street and lower street put out boats bearing names of prowess or aquatic grace. The cheering and betting raged more furious and wild with the manner of the finish: the winning post was a boat in the centre of the stream, equidistant from the tracks of each boat, and across this was laid a hollow cane sticking about three feet out on either side. Through the hollow was thrust the prize *pan:* flower (of victory), a stick with a flag on each end. The winning crew was to seize this flower before it could be called victorious, and thus a dead-heat often sent both crews tumbling into the water as they wrestled for the prize.

525 Burmans are said to have an irrepressible gambling spirit, even when no money is laid on. A stock example quoted by foreigners of the Burman's readiness with a dah in his hot temper, gives as provocation the anger worked up between two men who sit idly in a tea-shop, and for lack of amusement bet on the number of flies which will settle on the sugar bowl. I prefer the story of two street urchins, who saw two monks walking before them, sedately, with downcast eyes and steady pace, as monks should walk. "Look," says one idle urchin, "there are two hpongyis. You look at the one on the right, I'll watch the one the left. I bet you my hpongyi walks faster than your hpongyi." The monks ignore this, but soon begin to hear: "My holiness is going faster!" "No' mind!" Unobtrusively, each hpongyi tries to walk quicker and yet with dignity. The boys get thoroughly excited now. "*My* holiness!', "No, *my* holiness!" Soon the astonished spectators see two hpongyis

in English : "Maung Sett Khaing and Khin Khin Su, I pronounce you 585
man and wife."

All this was a solemn affair; there were no music, no speeches, no outsiders, and no photographs; but by the end of the ceremony murmurs of the activity in the garden floated in. There, a tea party such as the song recounts was being arranged, with an orchestra, Indian waiters, photographers and young men in bright longyis to usher the guests around. After the tea, the wedding guests went to see not so much the presents which were laid out on tables, but the bridal chamber, fitted with richest trappings, and guarded against male intrusion by a gold thread across the door, to break across which the men must pay in gold. All the guests now streamed into this chamber, the women peering here and there, lifting the coverlet of the bed to see if the traditional blankets of velvet were present, prodding the softness of the mattress, estimating the taste of the bride in the choice of fine linen and lace hangings. The custom is for the pair to spend their first days in this chamber in the house of the bride's family, before they go to live in their own house.

Different though the life in Rangoon was from the days in the dis- [369]
tricts, our Buddhist festivals still came round for social gathering and 796
celebration. Being a big town, however, with electricity, crowded streets and cars, the celebrations tended to stand out more as night celebrations. Pagoda festivals at any of the pagodas in the suburbs drew a procession of cars and buses to the night bazaars, anyeins, and the light points twinkling out of the surrounding blackness. But these twinkling lights were multiplied a thousandfold at the lighting-up festivals of which we had two. Thadingyut, or the release from Lenten sobriety, ushers in the springtime of the year : now may all weddings, shinbyus and ear-borings take place, now may fasting days decrease and the full moons of lighting and harvesting and the new year water-play follow before another Lent; the deluge of the rains has ceased at last, the sky has been washed blue and the air blows cool and gentle. At Thadingyut, all houses light up their verandahs and gardens; streets of houses put up pavilions and offer food and stage shows to all the townspeople who ride along in cars, trams and rickshaws to look at the lights from end to end of the town.

During my last Thadingyut in Burma we had a happier idea. Leaving our house with a nominal number of oil-flame dishes burning, we went in a party of twelve to the hill of the Shwe Dagon, to light there one thousand candles as our magnificent deed of merit. We walked up the western approach, a covered way of pillars and stalls selling fragrant flowers, incense sticks and candles for offering; barefooted up steps which we came to sweep at other times in the belief that this good deed brings the doer beauty of long and black hair in the next existence. From a

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body where it will not be visible. If it is not effectual, there is always open to them the signal afforded by kindly national custom to maidens longing for a mate. They cut off the lappets of hair, the bya-bazan, hanging over the ears, and the significance is the same as the white heather of the language of flowers, "heart for sale." In Rangoon the tattooing of a woman has a special signification, not recognised elsewhere. It means that she wants an Englishman for a husband. Poor thing!

Another very universal kind of tattooing is that with a-hpi se. Almost every schoolboy in the country has a specimen of this on him, for does it not prevent him from feeling the pain when he is caned? No amount of falsified hopes in the experience of friends will persuade him that it may not be effectual in his case, and a flogging is often courted as an immediate test of its efficacy. Pride repels the inquiries of chums as to the results, but the experimenter is usually very well behaved for some time. In the case of older men the a-hpi se acts as a talisman against bullets, sword cuts, and ills of that kind. Allied to this are the thenat hpi, which soldiers and dacoits carry about with them. These are the horns of buffaloes and other animals, which may be plain, but are usually elaborately carved with figures according to fancy. They must be quite solid down to the root. A hollow or flaw of any kind deprives them of their virtue. While the man has such a talisman in his hands he cannot be killed. A monkey is a very favourite image to have carved in this way on a sword or dagger hilt, the reference being to the tale of the Ramayana. Of a similar nature are talismans which are especially used by soldiers and dacoits. These hkaung-beit-set are charmed or consecrated objects let into the flesh under the skin. They are of various kinds. Some are gold, silver, or lead; others curious pebbles, pieces of tortoise-shell, or bits of horn, all of them with incantations of mystic character written on them. Many famed dacoits have long rows and curves of them over the chest, showing in little knobs through the skin. When they get into English prisons, an energetic jailer has been known to cut them out, lest they should be pieces of gold or silver, or perhaps precious stones, with which the turnkeys

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882 304 and reminiscences of other ceremonies of the kind that they have witnessed. Usually the gold needle is bent round and left in the wound, but poor people sometimes pass a piece of string through and tie it. This is turned round and passed backwards and forwards daily till the sides heal, and then begins the process of enlarging the hole to receive the na-daung, a big tube an inch long and from half an inch to three-quarters in diameter. This takes a very long time, and is less pleasant even than the first boring. Some do it with a gold or thickly gilt metal plate, which is rolled up and passed through the hole. The elasticity of the metal makes it constantly tend to expand, and so the hole is gradually enlarged. A commoner method, however, is by introducing stems of the kaing, or elephant grass. As many of the little stems of the inner blade as will go through are passed in, and daily their number is added to until a considerable width is attained. When kaing grass is not available, little splints of the thekkè kyaung are made use of. This is the ordinary thatch of the poorer sort of houses, and almost universal in the country districts, but forbidden in the large towns on account of its inflammable character. Then, after a time, the nā-kat is brought into use. This is a curious ear-plug, big at both ends, and smaller in the middle, where the two parts screw into one another. The screw is passed through the lobe of the ear, and the other portion is then twisted on. These nā-kat are gradually increased in size, until at last the orifices are large enough to receive the na-daung, the regular ear-cylinders. These are of various make and material, the latter being formerly regulated by the sumptuary laws in independent territory. The royal family, both males and females, had them of gold, richly set with jewels, often a single large brilliant in front, or a diamond surrounded by a ring of emeralds, while the back was a cluster of rubies. The right to wear these was also extended to the higher ministers and their families. Others wear gold, plain hollow tubes, or with the ends filled up with delicate *repoussé* work. Those who cannot afford this content themselves with solid amber plugs, which, when they are without a flaw, are worth three or four pounds sterling apiece. Finally, the poor content themselves with

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hollow pipes of glass, coloured in a variety of tints. The shape is somewhat peculiar, a slight irregular concave, if I may be allowed the expression, the front being a little larger in diameter than the back. Some of the princesses wore very costly na-daung, the diamonds, and especially the rubies, for which Burma is celebrated, being exceedingly fine. The men, except those of high rank, very seldom wear them, unless on exceptional feast days. Women ordinarily put them on whenever they go out. Poor people keep the holes open with a roll of paper or cloth. A *chic* damsel very often courts attention by carrying spare cheroots dangling from her lobes. Elder women who subordinate personal appearance to bodily comforts usually do the same thing on a journey. It secures them a smoke whenever they may want it, and the huge green cheroots are not easily carried in the penetralia of the Burmese female dress, while if they were in the travelling box, they might be abstracted by unscrupulous youngsters.

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It is curious to notice how much the custom is falling into disuse in the larger towns with the men. Even among the wealthier classes you seldom see a man wearing a na-daung of the largest size. Those of the thickness of a pencil or a little less are still common, but they too probably will pass out of use shortly. Yet this used to be looked upon as the distinctive mark of Burmese nationality. Probably, nowadays, the tattooing is considered sufficient; while the ear-plugs were certainly inconvenient things, and afforded obvious attractions to robbers. But with the women ear-boring is still universal, and probably will continue so as long as the men go on tattooing, notwithstanding the pain of the process. The na-daung are as characteristic of the Burmese women as the flapping tamein.

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Little presents are exchanged. The *soupirant* brings a gay kerchief with some love-verses written on it, perhaps his own composition, more probably the erotic sighings of the prince in the last play he heard, or cribbed bodily from a song-book for Kālathas (Corinthians, lads of mettle). The girl gives him some green cheroots, rolled by her fair hands, or a brilliant woollen muffler which she has knitted; but there is never any of the kissing and caressing indulged in by more urgent foreign lovers. The girl would look upon any attempts of such a nature as highly indecorous, and no doubt it is quite unsuited to her clothing.

When at last everything has been settled — parents' consent obtained, dowry fixed, and a fortunate day and hour pitched upon — the marriage ceremony comes off in the house of the bride's parents. The ritual is very simple and has nothing whatever of a religious character about it; in fact the celibate pôngyis would be grossly scandalised if they were asked to take any part in it. A great feast is prepared at the expense of the bridegroom or his parents. All the relations, friends, and neighbours are invited, and it is the publicity of the thing that is really the main feature of the ceremony. The old custom that the bride and bridegroom should join their right hands together, palm to palm, in the presence of all the assembled guests, and then should eat rice out of the same dish and feed each other with one or two morsels in turtle-dove fashion, has in many cases died out, and the eating and drinking, the talk of the men in the main room of the house and of the women in the inner apartment, is quite enough to solemnise the union. When the newly-married couple retire into the bridal chamber it is sometimes in the larger towns the custom to shower saffron-coloured rice on them, but this, like the entire seclusion in which the happy pair are supposed to pass the next seven days, is very seldom actually carried out.

In the country villages, however, two ancient customs are still very generally prevalent. The one is to tie a string across the road along which the bridegroom must pass to the house of his intended. He comes in procession with all his friends, carrying the greater portion of the belongings

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585 with which he intends to set up house: a bundle of mats,
369 a long arm-chair, a teak box, mattresses, pillows, besides materials for the feast and presents for the bride. The people who have put up the string — called the gold or silver cord—usually young men intent on a jollification of their own, stop the happy man, and threaten to break the string with a curse on the married couple unless some money is given them. It is simple extortion, and English district officers sometimes forbid it. Nevertheless the speculation is usually successful. I suppose no one feels very niggardly on his marriage day.

585 The other custom is much more singular, more ancient, and infinitely more disagreeable. On the night of the marriage a band of the young bachelors of the place come and shower stones and sticks on the roof of the house where the happy couple are, keeping up sometimes such a sustained battery that the thatch or wooden shingles suffer materially, while the furniture and even the newly-wedded couple occasionally do not escape injury. In Lower Burma the lads are usually bought off with a sum of money, and where the officials do not interfere to prevent it, the custom has degenerated into a system of extortion. Not a few lawsuits have sprung out of such sieges. The money paid in toll to this horseplay goes by the name of ké-bo, and is supposed to be devoted by the receivers to making offerings at the pagoda, but the young men nowadays use it shame-
585 lessly for their own entertainment. In Upper Burma the
114 blackmail is never demanded, and consequently Father San Germano was puzzled to conceive any reason for the extraordinary practice. Captain Forbes seeing the payment to procure relief, believed that extortion was the sole origin as
585 well as object of the performance. But the learned in Bur-
773 mese folk-lore assign it a much higher and more estimable beginning. When, after the world was formed, it was first peopled from the superior heavens of the Byammās, of the nine that remained behind, weighed down by the gross earthly food they had eaten, five gradually became men and four women. When these Byammā-gyi ko-yauk, these nine great ancestors of the Burmese and of all mankind, had gradually degenerated, through the substitution of Pada-

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342 addition to this a mi-kat stands beside it. This is a broad
731 griddle, or flapper kind of thing, and its object is to beat out
355 the flame which may be caused by a spark lighting on the roof. In addition to this, in many parts of the country, pots full of water are always kept in readiness on the tops of the houses, so that when the hour of danger comes, the householder may douse his roof, and so do the best for himself. In Mandalay, under native rule, some of the pa-gwets, [368] and other outcasts, patrolled the streets all night, to watch for and prevent fires as much as possible.

342 Another kind of roofing is wā-kat, a sort of flat tile-like construction, six feet long by two feet broad, made of coarse bamboo matting. Bamboos split in half down the centre, and with the knots smoothed away, are also used. They are placed close together, with the hollow side upwards, extending all the way down from the ridge to the eaves, and over these again are placed others with the rounded side up, the whole presenting rather a curious appearance, but making a very serviceable roof and not nearly so dangerous as the leaf or grass thatching. The leaves of other trees are also occasionally used, but the simplicity and cheapness of the dani roof make it by far the most prevalent in the delta, as grass is elsewhere, notwithstanding its danger. In Rangoon and Maulmein, shingles, that is, small wooden slabs like slates, are being very generally introduced.

In the better class of houses the floors are made of [565] planking, but poorer people have nothing better than a series of whole or split bamboos laid side by side on the cross-beams and tied down with rattans. This is not very pleasant to walk on, and has the further disadvantage of being anything but cleanly, for the spaces between the bamboos offer an irresistible temptation to drop all litter and garbage on to the ground immediately underneath the house, and were it not for the pariah dogs the sanitary condition of the place would soon be very bad.

352 The house is thus simple enough in its character, but
177·35 the furniture is still more so. Intercourse with the English
● 369 has indeed brought many Burmans to indulge in English luxuries, and in many houses in Rangoon and the larger district towns, chandeliers, bookcases, pictures, and even

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statuary are to be seen, besides abundance of chairs and tables, and occasionally bedsteads, while clocks, kerosine lamps, looking-glasses, and lounge chairs are universal. But it is very different in the village houses. There is practically no furniture at all there, for a chair is of no use to a jungle Burman, and without chairs tables are equally useless. Consequently all that is to be seen in a village house is the goodman's box, and a few woven mats and hard bamboo pillows to sleep on. Cots are not used, for one of the Ten Precepts, to be kept on duty-days, is that one must not sleep on a high place. The only furnishings visible are the mats rolled up during the day with the rugs or blankets which serve for bedding. The mats themselves are probably home-made, manufactured from fine strips of bamboo, the best being those with the polished silicious surface outside, which stand any amount of work. Softer, finer articles are made from the skin of the theng, a species of rush, which takes a black dye, and is often worked into patterns, but no one has anything more elaborate, and indeed nothing better could be wished for. A cooler bed could not easily be found. In the country, also, the cooking place during the rains is in the house. During the fine weather culinary operations are carried on in the open air, behind the premises. The cooking range is nothing more than a box, two or three feet square, and six inches deep, filled up with earth or ashes, and on the top of this the wood used as fuel is piled. The cooking utensils and the dining service are equally simple. The former consists of nothing further than two or three earthen pots with lids to them, and a wooden spurtle to stir the contents with. Close at hand is a jar full of water, with a ladle—half a cocoa-nut with a handle through it. These are all the kitchen appliances. In place of table there is a huge round dish of lacquered wood, called a byat. These byats are sometimes as much as three feet and more in diameter, and on them is heaped up in a gigantic pile the rice, while the curry is served in little bowls disposed round about. A young couple have, therefore, no ruinous expenses when they set up house. The inventory of effects necessarily is soon made.

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Outside the house there is not much more to notice.

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792 of the fundamental precepts, and are not so ludicrous as some unbelievers would make out, except for the fact that they are set down so precisely when they might have been left to the imagination.

A monk must not build a monastery for himself without the aid of a benefactor. If his piety and talents are not such as to induce a layman to build a kyaung for him, let him patiently remain in the house into which he was
792 ordained. He must see that the foundations of a monastery
779 are not laid in a place where there are many insects or worms, which would thus be killed.

For a similar reason he must not dig himself, except in a sandy place, where there can be no animal life. Neither must he spit, nor do anything of that kind on green grass, nor in fresh water, nor is he allowed to climb trees. There was a discussion in the Lord Buddha's time as to whether vegetation could be regarded as anywhere in the ladder of existence. Shin Gautama, on being asked, said it could not. Still trees and grass must not be destroyed, for they support
792 life in other creatures. A yahan may not drive in a carriage or ride a pony. He must not travel in the same boat or remain under the same roof with a woman, or even with a female animal. When he walks abroad he must neither walk fast nor dawdle and lounge about the streets. He must allow no woman to wash or clean his robes, nor eat food cooked by female hands, if he can get any other; if a woman offers rice in her hand, he may take but not eat it. He must not look into a brother's thabeit, as suggesting that he does not receive much alms. He must not eat his food to the last mouthful, and must avoid highly-seasoned dishes as tending to heat the blood.

792 In return for their self-denial the pyin-sin are bountifully
554 honoured by the people, from the sovereign on the throne, who vacates his seat for the thā-thanā-baing, to the beggar in the street who prostrates himself in the dust when the yahan passes by. In the country villages all make obeisance when the mendicant passes, and the women kneel down on each side of the road. Such outward marks of respect are
[369] not usual in the larger towns, but there is no lack of veneration, and all make way for the monk when he walks abroad.

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before, however steadily they lay on their mats. The offerings are eaten next morning, and it is greatly to be feared that there are many abstentions from the morning's round of alms-begging. Such dissipation must scatter to the winds any merit acquired by diligent piety and meditation in the long weeks of Lent. It is only to be seen in Rangoon and a few other places where many foreigners congregate. The description is from the "country mouse" point of view.

In country towns, revels of this kind are never seen, and even in Mandalay, though there are festivities in abundance, the monasteries are never invaded in this scandalous way. The difference is that between the primitive Buddhist and the highly sophisticated latitudinarian. A more harmless and decidedly prettier custom is the illumination, called taungpyi pwè, of the pagodas and the town. In Rangoon a very fine effect is produced by hanging the Sule Pagoda, in Fytche Square, all round with Chinese lanterns, from the base up to the top of the thabeit-hmauk, where the body of the shrine begins to narrow into the spire. The rings of coloured light narrowing upwards in a veritable pyramid of fire, produce one of the finest sights of the kind to be seen in the country. The street lamps, however, somewhat handicap the simple means of illumination open to the inhabitants, and to see the illumination of a town at its best one must go to a place where there are no street lamps. There all the pagodas and many of the private houses are lighted up, and the contrast to the ordinary gloom is startling. Candles are placed on posts at intervals of ten paces in every street, and the sè-eing gaungs have very plain-worded instructions as to what will happen to them if any of the lights in front of the ten houses of which they have charge go out. Mandalay Hill at such a time was a fine sight and still is, though it is no more a royal town. The two covered ways which lead up the steep uneven sides to the pagoda and the richly gilt Gautama on the top, look like streams of flame, or fiery serpents from the haunted nat-taung, under the shade of the Shan hills. But the monasteries which cluster close in to the foot of the sacred hill are all as dark and still as on any night in the middle of the Wa. No unseemly orgies are permitted there. In the town, on the

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other hand, all is noise and merriment. Bands of music and dances figure at the corners of all the chief streets, provided by the chief burghers, who take the place formerly occupied by the king himself, or by the ministers under his orders. The capital used to be crowded with umbrella-bearing chiefs and officials, Shan sawbaws, and chieftains of the mountain tribes all come down with their bands of wild followers to do homage to the Lord of the Rising Sun, for the greatest of the kadaw-né, the beg-pardon days, was always immediately after Lent. Having brought their minds into a sedate and tranquil state by the observances of the Wā, it was fitting that men should come and make submission and do obeisance at the golden feet. Mandalay is a very different town now from what it was in royal times, but the old traditions still linger.

At the same season there is an illumination on the river. As soon as it is dark the villagers row out into the middle of the stream and set adrift a multitude of little oil-lamps, each fastened to a little float of bamboo or plantain stems. The lamps are simply little earthenware cups filled with oil, and each supplied with a small piece of cotton for a wick. Thousands of them are sent out by a single village, and the sight from a steamer suddenly rounding a bend and coming upon a bank of these little stars of light afloat on the river is very singular. In the distance it looks like a regular sea of flame, and as there is plenty of oil, on the night of the full moon there is a constant succession of these shoals of twinkling lights floating down the whole length of the Irrawaddy from above Bhamaw to China Buckeer, every village sending its contingent.

This ceremony, called ye-hpaung hmyaw thi, or mi-hpaung hmyaw thi, launching water or fire rafts, is in remembrance of a universally honoured payā-ngè, a lesser divinity called Shin Upago, who lives down at the bottom of the river in a kyi-pya-that, a brazen spire, where he zealously keeps the sacred days. In a former existence he carried off the clothes of a bather, and for this mischievous pleasantry is condemned to remain in his present quarters till Arimadeya, the next Buddha, shall come. Then he will be set free, and entering the thenga will become a

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in the river Neritzara, at a place where more than 100,000 Buddhas had bathed, before obtaining the supreme intelligence. Then he divided the nogana into forty-nine mouthfuls, ate it, and mounted the throne, whereon he sat for forty-nine days tasting no food, and combating Mān Nat, the spirit of death and sin. But ere he lapsed into meditation he threw his golden bowl into the river. It ascended the stream swiftly, floated steadily for a short time, and then sank in a whirlpool far down, leagues beyond the earth into the country of the nagās, where it fell against the golden bowls of the three previous Budhs with a clang that resounded throughout the four worlds, and all things worshipped the present Lord:

> King and high Conqueror! thine hour is come.
> This is the night the ages waited for.

This event in the life of Shin Gautama is commemorated in the Sôndawgyi pwè. Sōnthi is a sacred word set apart to denote the eating of members of the Holy Assembly, and, in remembrance of Thuzata's historic offering, the mendicants are feasted annually by the pious, with a splendour and profusion far exceeding the ordinary alms poured daily with unstinting hand into the begging-bowl. The date of the feast does not exactly correspond with the original event. According to the chronicle, the Lord Buddha attained the first state of ne'ban in the month of Kasôn, about April, whereas the feast of Tawadeintha, with which the Sôndawgyi is always immediately connected, is celebrated after Lent, at the full moon of Ta'saung-môn in November. The festival is essentially one of the town rather than of the country. Except the New Year's Feast, none of the religious celebrations can be really called universal, and the Sôndawgyi perhaps least of all. Villages and small country towns cannot get together the splendour necessary to distinguish the occasion from the ordinary domestic feasts, or even from the daily almsgiving to the mendicants. It is therefore in a large town like Rangoon, where there is a certain amount of money, and a facility for acquiring or borrowing ornaments and frippery, that the festivities are best seen. There the *fête*—the word is more appropriate

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When a fire occurred in the Golden City, it was usually a very big one and burned until it could find no more fuel. There were two reasons for this. The most obvious was, of course, that wood huts, with an inflammable roof like thin grass thatch, caught fire with the slightest spark; and there was nothing in the shape of a fire-engine, even in the palace. The second was very characteristic of a despotism, and vastly more disastrous. Immemorial tradition associated a conflagration with a revolution. When an attempt was to be made to seize the throne, the attention of the people and the soldiery was always diverted by incendiary fires. Therefore when a house took fire the people found nearest to it by the night watchmen were always arrested and made responsible for the catastrophe. As a natural consequence, the moment flames burst out, not only the inmates of the house, but all the neighbours took to their heels and ran, without incommoding themselves with even the smallest portion of their property. A few of the royal troops came down after a time and unroofed a house here and there, and perhaps even pulled down some altogether, but their efforts as amateur firemen were usually of the most feeble and futile description, and the flames went on till there was nothing more to burn. Next day the unhappy burnt-out people came back and made for themselves little hovels of bamboo matting among the charred posts till something better could be run up again. The neighbouring quarters contributed something to support them, or they got their meals at the monasteries, and in a few months all traces of the fire had disappeared, the same rickety huts with the old scanty store of wares rose up again, and the scorched leaves fell off the trees and were replaced by fresh green foliage.

The population of Mandalay was a very queer one. Of the Burmans the great majority were soldiers or hangers-on of the various great men about the court. The residuum was composed of a few honest tradesmen and a vast quantity of bad characters, broken agriculturists, gamblers, thieves from Lower Burma, and outlaws from all parts. The number of yellow-robed yahans was extraordinary. King Mindôn used to give alms to five thousand of them daily. The jars of rice were arranged in long rows on a platform erected

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specially for the purpose, with mountains of bananas, and trays heaped up with ngapi, curries, and condiments of all kinds. Thibaw Min was not so eager for merit, and actually went the length of driving a couple of thousand of the holy men out of the capital. Still even he gave them periodical feasts, and there were at least ten thousand of the religious in the Golden City and its immediate neighbourhood. Besides these there were numerous other nationalities; the Chinaman, smooth-shaven and prosperous as always, whether gaunt and big-boned from Yün-nan and Szuch'uan, or sleek and sturdy from Rangoon and the Straits, defying the most greedy official to rob him of his profits, and drinking his tea and smoking his opium-pipe with supreme composure and good-humour; the bearded Surati with solemn face and Jewish tricks of trade; the Palaung come down from the north with his bamboo rafts laden with pickled tea; the stalwart Shan with baggy blue or white trousers and tattoo marks down to his ankles, journeying in a long caravan with sword-blades and iron-work, and a cavalcade of mountain ponies; the heavy, easy-going Karen; the lithe, treacherous Kachin, bringing presents perhaps from his village, and on his way down spying out villages easy to raid in a night attack; all these, and a host of others, might be seen any day in the Royal City of Gems. There were not a few white men too, even latterly, when evil times fell upon them, and there were not the pickings that were to be had when Mindôn Min was king. But many of them were there sorely against their inclination. Mandalay had become an asylum for insolvent debtors, runaway soldiers and sailors, and unlucky adventurers from British territory, just as Rangoon used to be for India in the old Burman days. There were numbers of French and Italians in government service, as military instructors and superintendents of the various factories; officers who had been cashiered, or disowned by their families, or were in other ways under a cloud. One Count there was, who constituted the scientific branch of the service in himself, manufactured and sold fruit syrups to the captains of steamers, preserved a pocket-handkerchief with a coronet in the corner, and carried his lands in his finger-nails. The old king was shamefully cheated by a variety of speculators, not a few of them Englishmen.

One of the most popular foods of these vendors is mohingha. Rice noodles are made by pounding rice into a flour, mixing it with water, and grinding into a paste between two flat stone slabs. After the excess water has been expressed from this paste, it is pushed through sieves with narrow holes, to form noodles. Once dried, the noodles are cooked and mixed with a curry to make mohingha. 252

A beverage sold regularly by food vendors is molesaun. It is made of sugar, coconut milk and bits of rice noodles, mixed together. The villagers consider this drink very tasty and refreshing. 272

7. Shopkeeping and Middleman Trading. The typical shop in the village consists of nothing more than a few large glass jars containing cigars, matches, candy, soap, and various other articles, set out on the porch in front of a house. The stocks of these are very small and are periodically replenished by purchase in Rangoon. Customers are occasional and sales are very small. 414

Seventeen villagers devote their main activity to what we have called middleman trading. These persons make a living by periodically buying quantities of such goods as second-hand lumber from dismantled dwellings, bamboo, cloth, etc., and selling them in the village and nearby places.

8. Urban Labor. The nineteen individuals listed in Table II as urban laborers are employed in a government medical warehouse in Rangoon. They are unskilled workers who perform such tasks as moving boxes of medical supplies in and out of the establishment and arranging them in the warehouse. These people commute daily between Tadagale and their place of work by bus. 464 369

These are the numerically most significant of the variety of occupations followed by villagers. There are six unemployed persons and fourteen who are not gainfully employed because of old age, ill health, or blindness. The great majority of the married women and unmarried girls are occupied most of the time with domestic housework, looking after small children, and helping with gardening. 463

The whole character of the occupational pattern is shifting and unstable. Individuals move opportunistically from one form of activity to another as circumstances change, in an effort to round out a living. Informants stated that in former times the community was much more agricultural, but that owing to loss of land through indebtedness people had gradually left farming for other occupations. 463 178

Income

In analyzing our data on income, figures for the Indians of Tadagale have been calculated separately. The Indians are occupationally a homogeneous group, all engaged in dairy farming. The range and average of income within this small group is so far above that of the Burmese that a misleading idea of the community's economic structure would be conveyed were the data on the Indians included in a single, overall computation for the village. 434 [563]

The following tables show family incomes.

Puberty and Adolescence. The Burmese view, in the village, is that one is an adult when one becomes physiologically mature. Upon reaching pubescence boys as well as girls are referred to by a term which means 'virgin.' The connotation is that the individual has now entered a period of life in which the dangers of temptation are especially great and in which correspondingly greater precautions are necessary. 881

A girl's first menstruation is believed to cleanse her system; frequently, such phenomena as eruption of the skin or sexually delinquent behavior preceding the first menstrual period are regarded as evidence that the 'blood is trying to flow.' Although the idea of uncleanliness is associated with menstruation, there is no segregation of the girl or any particular fear of contamination. So long as she conducts herself with propriety and modesty a girl is free to move in public at this time. 881 841

Ideally, the attainment of puberty is the time for the girl's ear-piercing ceremony, but in actual practice this often takes place as early as her seventh or eighth year — if it occurs at all. There is a tendency for this ceremony to be omitted in Tadagale. Since it is a feast occasion involving considerable expense to her family, the trend is towards holding a single ceremony, at which several girls who are related will have their ears pierced. The initiate is dressed for this occasion in the traditional garb of the Burmese Court, and also wears a spired-helmet type of head dress. The villagers gather at the family house for the event. An elderly woman rubs an anaesthetic plant substance on the girl's ear lobes and pierces them with gold pins. These pins are left in the ears, bent back. Later, if larger holes are desired, rolled leaves may be inserted. The family presents gifts to the assembled guests; often these are conventionalized tokens, such as inscribed cigars or fans. 852

On the same occasion boys of approximately the same age may be initiated into the Buddhist monkhood. 881

Boys' Initiation. For Burmese boys one of the most important events is initiation as a novice into the Buddhist monkhood. The traditional rite of shinbyu continues to be an important part of Burmese culture, in the urban as well as the rural setting. In the towns and cities, of course, it has been affected by the greater contact with western culture; the procession, for example, is likely to take place in automobiles rather than on horseback and on foot. Nevertheless, city-bred as well as rural Burmese feel it is very important for social as well as religious reasons that their sons be initiated; and everywhere the shinbyu involves large expenditures if not great sacrifices, requires the services of many people for its planning and carrying out, and is the occasion par excellence for joyous celebration as well as religious solemnity. 792 369 177

No two shinbyu ceremonies are the same in detail. The circumstances of the sponsoring families, the physical setting, the idiosyncrasies of individual monks all make for variation. Here we shall indicate the main features of the initiation ceremony as observed in Tadagale. 881 792

The ceremony proper is held on the open-sided ground floor of a wooden building, in the upper portion of which the monks and their pupils live. On the south side of this room is a platform raised about three feet above the ground, on which the monks sit during the proceedings. The room is decorated with various hangings, tapestries, and not curtains; the floor is covered with mats and carpets. Four tables front the platform, on which are placed various

16;Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

Such is a great feast at a great pagoda. 796

But whenever I think of a great feast, whenever the growing autumn moon tells me that the end of Lent is drawing nigh, it is not the great feast of the Shwe Dagon, nor of any other famous pagoda that comes into my mind, but something far different.

It was on a frontier long ago that there was the festival that I remember so well. The country there was very far away from all the big towns; the people were not civilized as those of Mandalay or of Rangoon; the pagoda was a very small one. There was no gilding upon it at all, and no shrines were about it; it stood alone, just a little white plastered pagoda, with a few trees near it, on a bare rice-field. There were a few villages about, dotted here and there in the swamp, and the people of these were all that came to our festival. 796 433 436 369

For long before the villagers were preparing for it, saving a little money here, doing a little extra work there, so that they might be able to have presents ready for the monks, so that they might be able to subscribe to the lights, so that they would have a good dress in which they might appear.

The men did a little more work at the fields, bamboo-cutting in the forest, making baskets in the evening, and the women wove. All had to work very hard to have even a little margin; for there, although food—plain rice—was very cheap, all other things were very expensive. It was so far to bring them, and the roads were so bad. I remember that the only European things to be bought there then were matches and tinned milk, and copper money

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

796 was not known. You paid a rupee, and took the
433 change in rice or other commodities.
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369 The excitement of the great day of the full moon
796 began in the morning, about ten o'clock, with the
735 offerings to the monks. Outside the village gate
262 there was a piece of straight road, dry and open, and on each side of this, in rows, were the people with their gifts; mostly they were eatables. You see that it is very difficult to find any variety of things to give a monk; he is very strictly limited in the things he is allowed to receive. Garments, yellow garments, curtains to partition off corners of the monasteries and keep away the draughts, sacred books and eatables—that is nearly all. But eatables allow a very wide range. A monk may accept and eat any food—not drink, of course—provided he eat but the one big meal a day before noon; and so most of the offerings were eatables. Each donor knelt there upon the road with his or her offerings in a tray in front. There was rice cooked in all sorts of shapes, ordinary rice for eating with curry, and the sweet purple rice, cooked in bamboos and coming out in sticks. There were vegetables, too, of very many kinds, and sugar and cakes and oil and honey, and many other such things. There were a few, very few, books, for they are very hard to get, being all in manuscript; and there were one or two tapestry curtains; but there were heaps of
796 flowers. I remember there was one girl whose
735 whole offering was a few orchid sprays, and a little,
792 very little, heap of common rice. She was so poor; her father and mother were dead, and she was not married. It was all she could give. She sat behind

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

562 her; and as her surroundings change, so will she. What she was a thousand years ago I do not care, what she may be a thousand years hence I do not know; it is of what she is to-day that I have tried to know and write.

858 Children in Burma have, I think, a very good
562 time when they are young. Parentage in Burma
871 has never degenerated into a sort of slavery. It has never been supposed that gaiety and goodness are opposed. And so they grow up little merry naked things, sprawling in the dust of the gardens, sleeping in the sun with their arms round the village
[854] dogs, very sedate, very humorous, very rarely crying. Boys and girls when they are babies grow up together, but with the schooldays comes a division. All the boys go to school at the monastery without the walls, and there learn in noisy fashion their arithmetic, letters, and other useful knowledge. But little girls have nowhere to go. They cannot go to the monasteries, these are for boys alone, and the nunneries are very scarce. For twenty monasteries there is not one nunnery. Women do not seem to care to learn to become nuns as men do to become monks. Why this is so I cannot tell, but there is no doubt of the fact. And so there are no schools for girls as there are for boys, and consequently the girls
● [369] are not well educated as a rule. In great towns there are, of course, regular schools for girls, generally for girls and boys together; but in the villages
562 these very seldom exist. The girls may learn from
212 their mothers how to read and write, but most of
871 them cannot do so. It is an exception in country places to find a girl who can read, as it is to find

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

443 density of population, the means of communication, and other matters. But a bazaar within reach there must always be, for it is only there that most articles
443 can be bought. The bazaar is usually held in a
347 public building erected for the purpose, and this may vary from a great market built of brick and iron to a small thatched shed. Sometimes, indeed, there is no building at all, merely a space of beaten ground.

443 The great bazaar in Mandalay is one of the sights
369 of the city. The building in which it is held is the property of the municipality, but is leased out. It is a series of enormous sheds, with iron roofs and beaten earth floor. Each trade has a shed or sheds to itself. There is a place for rice-sellers, for butchers, for vegetable-sellers, for the vendors of silks, of cottons, of sugar and spices, of firewood, of jars, of
[563] fish. The butchers are all natives of India. I have
[562] explained elsewhere why this should be. The firewood-sellers will mostly be men, as will also the large rice-merchants, but nearly all the rest are women.

You will find the sellers of spices, fruit, vegetables, and other such matters seated in long rows, on mats placed upon the ground. Each will have a square of space allotted, perhaps six feet square, and there she will sit with her merchandise in a basket or baskets before her. For each square they will pay the lessee a halfpenny for the day, which is only three hours or so. The time to go is in the morning from six till eight, for that is the busy time. Later on all the stalls will be closed, but in the early morning the market is thronged. Every house-

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

443 holder is then buying his or her provisions for the
369 day, and the people crowd in thousands round the sellers. Everyone is bargaining and chaffing and laughing, both buyers and sellers; but both are very keen, too, on business.

443 The cloth and silk sellers, the large rice-merchants,
286 and a few other traders, cannot carry on business sitting on a mat, nor can they carry their wares to and fro every day in a basket. For such there are separate buildings or separate aisles, with wooden stalls, on either side of a gangway. The wooden floor of the stalls is raised two to three feet, so that the buyer, standing on the ground, is about on a level with the seller sitting in the stall. The stall will be about eight feet by ten, and each has at the back a strong lock-up cupboard or wardrobe, where the wares are shut at night; but in the day they will be taken out and arranged daintily about the girl-seller. Home-made silks are the staple—silks in checks of pink and white, of yellow and orange, of indigo and dark red. Some are embroidered in silk, in silver, or in gold; some are plain. All are thick and rich, none are glazed, and none are gaudy.
[439] There will also be silks from Bangkok, which are of two colours—purple shot with red, and orange
[286] shot with red, both very beautiful. All the silks are
[291] woven the size of the dress: for men, about twenty-eight feet long and twenty inches broad; and for women, about five feet long and much broader. Thus, there is no cutting off the piece. The anas, too, which are the bottom pieces for a woman's dress, are woven the proper size. There will probably, too, be piles of showy cambric jackets and

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

443 gauzy silk handkerchiefs; but often these are sold
286 at separate stalls.

But prettier than the silks are the sellers, for these are nearly all girls and women, sweet and fresh in their white jackets, with flowers in their hair. And they are all delighted to talk to you and show you their goods, even if you do not buy; and they will take a compliment sedately, as a girl should, and they will probably charge you an extra rupee for it when you come to pay for your purchases. So it is never wise for a man, unless he have a heart of stone,
443 to go marketing for silks. He should always ask a
562 lady friend to go with him and do the bargaining, and he will lose no courtesy thereby, for these women know how to be courteous to fellow-women as well as to fellow-men.

443 In the provincial bazaars it is much the same.
●369 There may be a few travelling merchants from
438 Rangoon or Mandalay, most of whom are men;
442 but nearly all the retailers are women. Indeed, speaking broadly, it may be said that the retail trade of the country is in the hands of the women, and they nearly all trade on their own account. Just as the men farm their own land, the women own their businesses. They are not saleswomen for others, but traders on their own account; and with the exception of the silk and cloth branches of the trade, it does not interfere with home-life. The bazaar lasts but three hours, and a woman has ample time for her home duties when her daily visit to the bazaar is over; she is never kept away all day in shops and factories.

Her home-life is always the centre of her life;

Comparison of Work in Pathwe and Camp

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In his role as a refugee U Myaing is reduced from an expanding position as a fisherman in a cooperative enterprise to a transient labourer. He lives for the day of return to his village, and lacks the desire and know-how to adapt to a successful career in his new environment. His pattern of work as a labourer has not been broken he is simply doing a different kind of work. But it is now unskilled and lacks promise of development. Similarly, his wife's role has not appreciably changed: she continues to make mats as in the village in hard times; works as a coolie as a substitute for her contributions in processing fish. The eldest daughter has adapted to an urban trade that of cigar rolling, but is well within the pattern of juvenile work carried on in the village at this time. If the family remained in Rangoon, the children would of course adapt completely to the urban work pattern - but is seems improbable that the parents would.

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The reduction in income from work can be seen in the following table:

Estimate of Family Average Income per year

Family Work	Income in Pathwe	Income in Camp
Selling Fish Products	1,500	
Mat making	150	600
Cattle Loening	200	
Day Labour		1,032
Miscellaneous (gathering, etc.)	900	
Daughter Ma Yin Shwe		240
Government Help		372
Total	2,750	2,144

The purchasing power of the rupee in Camp is not en toto appreciably different from that of Pathwe. The security of Pathwe work was not so much in the surplus which results, but rather in the guaranteed sources of work. Life was easy and a living to be had for the taking. In camp existence is hand to mouth with no real security. U Myaing expresses this when asked about his knowledge of world affairs: "We don't know whether the world situation has improved or not. We get some of information, but our main worry is work - and how to provide

sufficient food for myself and my family." Yet, it is significant that he[1] manifests no anxiety symtoms, and appears happy and carefree. This suggests that despite the fact that he is presented with insecurity he does not react to it with tensions that have nervous manifestations. The ~~sense of insecurity~~ does not seem to be in his pattern of living, consequently his response is ill-defined.

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The points of difference that U Myaing especially emphasized were:-

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1. A few weeks of intensive work in Pathwe would get him more than a whole year of salary working in Rangoon.

2. His income in Rangoon is stabilized at a low level. In Pathwe he might make 3 or 4 times his average income from fish products in a good year. On bad years he might just break even. But this did not affect his everyday living quality - since his food was for the most part gathered (fish, fruits etc.) or secured from the cattle loan (baskets of rice).

3. If he was sick in Pathwe his standard of living was not threatened. He made his cash in a short time and had ample leisure for resting. In Rangoon if he does not work he does not eat.

4. In Pathwe he usually had a surplus of 1000 to 1500 rupees on hand during a year. To be lent out (free of interest) to friends and relatives or (usually) invested in fish or family accoutrement. Now he lives from hand to mouth. [454]

5. The loss of comfort and ease is severely felt by the adults. In Rangoon he works to stay alive, in Pathwe, to enjoy a full life. [181]

[1 i.e., U Myaing -- ANALYST]

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pagodas and those throughout the country are descendants of the pagoda slaves.

Beggars are rated below the pagodo slaves - but, because of the Buddhist merit associated with giving do well for themselves. The beggars hive in communities on the outskirts of the town often in cemetaries. They are thought to exhume the dead to get the coins placed in the mouth of the deceased to ensure expenses on his journey to heaven. The wood of the coffin is believed to be used in constructing their huts. Professional undertakers or morticians are regarded with horror since they like the beggars, make their living from the dead. The functions of burial are performed gratis by the entire village. A story is currently going round the University dormitories [203] telling of an immensely wealthy Burmese coffin maker in Rangoon who has offered riches to the young man who will marry his beautiful daughter. When the future seems blank the students' friend advises "Hey, why don't you go and marry the coffin maker's daughter?" It seems that the money would scarcely compensate for the social discrimation. The extent to which the occupation classes are rigid in marriage and other social exchanges is an interesting problem.

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A young man is obliged to remain within the occupation class of his family or to rise to greater heights. He is advised at an early [867] age to "be simple, aim high, and tell the truth." When children [857] play at dacoits (thieves) of other "low class" games their parents object to their low aspirations and advise them to play nobles and ministers. One would feel justified in remaining idle rather than accept a position below that of his birth. It is better to accept a clerks job at a low salary than an artisans at a high salary. On the other hand those born into lower status occupation groups tend to be satisfied with their state as a condition of birth. In Rangoon, however, even the hawkers may have ambitions to achieve fame and fortune. The opportunities for social mobility is greater in the towns and cities [367] but difinitely restricted in the villages.

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Apprenticeship to trades begins at the age of 12 to 14 years, and usually lasts for several years. Ordinarily the youth is attached to the shop of a relative where he lives and is payed a subsistence wage while learning. The key to high positions lies in education in

length) draped over one shoulder. The PUNA, part of the scarf, stil draped, is placed on front of the worshipping woman for her head and hands as she bows. The beads, a string about 2 feet long made of black lacquer or of red or white beads about ½ inch in diametre are called SHIK-PA-DEE (count-beads). They are worn about the neck when not in use, and are "counted" by the fingers of one hand. Each bead, thus counted calls to the worshipper's mind a vision of Buddha as she says ARA HAHN (God) in a low voice. While in this dress women do not decorate their hair with flowers or wear jewelry or cosmetiques as such would be unseemly. 792 291 293 [788]

The older men and other religious men (who are gathering alms as members of Buddhist lay societies) wear a loose white robe over a white jacket, white head band, praying bead necklace, and a chocolate coloured scarf draped over one shoulder. The general public must wear their very best clothes for religious festivals but the women do not use cosmetiques. "Rangoon Sabbath" is the term applied to the less strict observations of the town people who may appear with a little THANAKA or other cosmetiques. The marriage dress of the bride is an older form of costume involving use of a long split skirt with cut-flaring jackets. 888 779 575 291 [369] ● [779] [292] [585]

The hair styles are important and denote age and sex. Children of both sexes wear their hair in a knot at the top of the head with a fringe of short hair like a bowl below. The older men's style was long hair knotted on one side in the back of the head; except in villages this has been superceded by the western short crop ranging from a long "Pompador" to short "crew cuts" - the latter being rarer and more modern. Old men wear very short cropped hair or are shaven - as the Pongyis and nuns. Maidens wear their hair in elaborately woven tresses - earlier on top of the head in a disc-shorl - now in chain braids at the back of the head. False switches of hair are commonly used. Flowers are used as decoration on all occasions. The usual style for married ladies is a knot at the back of the head wound around a rectangular comb of wood, (common) tortoise shell, ivory or gold. Older and married women sometimes appear in an ancient ceremonial style consisting of the hair wrapped around a fiber cylinder 302 177 369

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on top of the head. Scented hair oil is used by both sexes on special occasions.

The HTAMEIN is regarded as "unworthy" for a man to touch. A severe insult is for a wife to request her husband to bring her HTAMEIN or to wash it. Drying HTAMEINS in the front of the house is never allowed; and it is strictly forbidden for this garment to touch any pongyi utensils. Parents instruct their boys never to pass under the strings of a line of which HTAMEINS are drying as such is thought to take away the masculine powers, and render the tattooed charms ineffective. Men and women's clothes are washed and stored separately.

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When a son neglects his mother after marriage she will complain with rage that he has not come out of the HTAMEIN and is under the HTAMEIN government of his wife.

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Women usually wear solid black HTAMEINS during menstruation. Boys, in jest, inform one of their companions that he may now become serious when the girl of his choice appears in a black dress for the first time.

Slippers of both sexes are regarded as "dirty" objects and are left outside of the houses. They are strictly prohibited in pagoda enclosures and land. When a girl is angry at a teasing boy (or quarreling with a woman) she will threaten to slap his face with her sandal. This is a double insult since the head is regarded as a particularly sacred part of the body. Barbers must ask permission and apologise for touching the heads of their customers.

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Western clothing has a higher status than Burmese clothing in certain situations and on certain occasions especially where western people are present in suits. However, for most occasions, everyday or special, the Burmese costume is preferred. When abroad the Burmese men usually wear western garb. The wearer of western clothes

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is often open to the taunt that he is "Bo Gyi (term for Englishmen) made in Burma". There is a strong feeling in all cases to be "properly" dressed and not to stand out from the rest of the group. This tendency is stronger in men than women who with their jewels and fine silks attempt to rival each other in a contest for social position.

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Burmese girl students who go abroad almost invariably wear their native costumes.

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the ghost who must then render services as requested. "To rear ghosts is like keeping a cobra in the pocket" indicates the delicate relationship between captive ghost and master. An individual with a grudge against another for real or imaginal offenses will frequently secure the services of an influence master and his "pet ghost". When the victim feels the effects, as in cases of sudden illnesses such as appendicitis, heart trouble, or fainting spells, his family contacts another influence master (upper root type) to, by incantations, cast out the ghost from the victim. This results in a secret contest of magic between the influence masters involved.

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In actual practice no influence masters admit to rearing ghosts and the first-cause aggressor does not indentify himself as such. Influence masters play an important part in differences between affinal families. In this case the mother-in-law constantly competes with her son's wife for the attentions of the son. The mother will notice the lack of attentions, or monetary support of the son and his corresponding infatuation for his wife. She will claim that the wife is exercising magical control (usually through food) on the son. An influence master is applied to in order to control this evil influence by incantations, medicine, candles, and always an ingredient of money. When the wife's family understands what is happening they will also secure the help of another specialist to counteract the influence. The son is thus torn between the two forces. He is at first oblivious to this but later becomes uneasy in mind. If the strain on the son is too severe the mother may give in and the difference resolved on her part - whereupon the son continues in his former course. Often he will berate both groups saying " I am only normal, you are foolish to involve yourselves in a dispute". Sometimes the mother wins and the son thanks her for intervening and saving him. Another common situation is where a wife seeks to control the influence of another woman on her husband (when he philanders). In this case the forces are directed against the woman, who is to blame, and not the man.

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In the town centers the decline in one's fortunes is often blamed on the evil influence of one's rival. It is said that administrative

families in Rangoon have worries of this kind - resolved by arrangements with influence masters - usually undertaken by the wives of the families. Ordinarily, violence is not premediated but spur-of-the-moment actions based on passions. If ill-feeling grows gradually it is best handled through the influence masters. The function of this system in the village is to avoid open conflict that might prove disasterous to the solidarity of the community (as say feuding families in open warfare).

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to 2½. Mangoes in season cost four annas for ten. In camp they have eaten mangoes twice in six months, six for one eating, Re. 1/- for six. 263 435

MAYAN-THEE-ANBE (marian-fruit-ripe: Bouea burmanica, Griff.) are eaten in the afternoons, with salt. Similarly with unripe ones. They are also eaten with rice and NGAPI YE. In Pathee about ten fruits were eaten almost daily when in season. 178

NGA PYAN-THEE (banana-fruit: Musa paradisica, Linn, Sub-sp, sapientum, K. Schum). Bananas are sometimes eaten with rice during the main meals but usually by themselves. In Pathee one bunch a day containing 13 bananas and costing three annas were eaten during four or five times a month. In camp the same bunch costs four annas and bananas are eaten five times a month.

THAGYAR-LON (sugar-ball) or sweets, and CHO-CHIN (sweet-sour) are bought. Ma Aye Myaing has never seen these being made and hence does not know the process of manufacture. The THAGYAR-LON are round sweets also but are shaped like small orange pods and weighing about six to the tical. They are eaten only in camp. The consumption of sweets is limited to the youngest. She gets 8 THAGYAR-LONS a month at one anna for two and two for an eating; and 18 CHO-CHIN a month at an anna for six and six for one eating.

Ma Aye Myaing gave the following data on the period of the year 262

when the foods used by the family are available.

Fish is obtained from the fishery in Pathee from the month of Tawthalin to the month of Pyatho. From the other places in the river, fish was obtained from Tabodwe month to the months of Kason and Nayon. The varieties of fish remain the same in both fishing areas. Shrimps are plentiful in Pyatho month and lobsters in Tasaungmon and Nadaw.

KALA-BE (shell): In common with a great number of peas and beans, KALA BE appears about the month of Tabaung. However, since these are not very perishable, they can be kept in stock for the whole year and made available in any month.

KAYAN-THEE (brinjal): The brinjal plant starts to bear fruit in the month of Pyatho and continues to Kason and Nayon. In Tawthalin and Thadingyut, brinjal fruit was brought to Pathee from other villages from the fields not on the river banks. Here in Rangoon they notice that brinjal fruit is available all year round.

PE-LINBOE-THEE (snake beans) were available during the months of Kason, Nayon, Waso, Wagaung, Tawthalin and Thadingyut.

In Rangoon many of the plants and vegetables that were cultivated only seasonally back in Pathee and the other district villages, are cultivated all the year round. The ready market in Rangoon encourages the districts lying just outside Rangoon to produce whatever plants they can and send them to town. [369]● [241]

PE THEE (beans): these appeared in Pathee for 9 months in the year. The first period is from Tasaungmon to Tagu, and the second from Waso to Thadingyut inclusive. In Rangoon this is available all year round.

BZAN (rice): During the months of Kason and Nayon the paddy grains are sown in the nurseries, and the seedlings are then transplanted to the fields during Waso and Wagaung. In other fields where no transplanting is carried on, the seeds are sown broadcast in Kason and Nayon. There are some species of paddy grain that ripen earlier than the rest. However, from the point of view of the consumer, rice is available all the year round. [243]

NYAUNG-THEE (chillies): The seeds are planted during Waso, Wagaung and Tawthalin and transplanted during Tasaungmon. The chillies

during the months of Waso andWagaung. Mangoes can be preserved in the form of pickle or of salted mangoes. In Rangoon, ripe mangoes can be obtained all year round since some are laid by in cold storage, but they are very expensive out of season and cost about three rupees each. 262 [369] [251]

MAYAN THEE AHNE (ripe marians) appear during the months of Tabaung, Tagu, Kason and Nayon. In Nayon month the output of marian fruit lessens.

Consumption of NGAPI YE: NGAPI YE is available all the year round. In Pantanaw it was eaten every day for both meals of the day. Ten ticals of NGAPI YE lasted the family four meals. In camp it is consumed only occasionally - about four days in the month. Two and one half ticals are taken with each meal and this would add up to twenty ticals for the eight meals in the month.

Consumption of firewood: If all the firewood needed by the family in camp had to be bought, the consumption of firewood per month in the camp would amount to 200 pieces of Kanazoe wood at the rate of Rs. 4/- per 100 pieces. About 3 months ago they found that they did not need to buy any firewood at all as they could gather a sufficient amount of brushwood to serve in its place; but now none of the members of the family remain free to go in search of brushwood and all their requirements have to be bought. 313

In Pantanaw, their needs of firewood for cooking were filled by three huge Koko trees which they owned. This was also supplemented by the wood that they had to buy for processing the fish. Three tons of firewood would last 1½ or 2 months, costing Rs. 25/- per ton. The firewood for cooking did not cost anything beyond the two or three rupees that had to be paid to the person who cut down the branches.

Consumption of PAUK PAUK PYIN: This is not found in Rangoon at all. In Pantanaw it was eaten at charities, particularly the Waso month charity. Each member of the family ate about 10 ticals each, and 40 or 50 ticals were needed for all. This was eaten only once a year and even then not necessarily every year. 262 [796]

KAYE KAYAR is eaten in camp only about once a year. This is the Rangoon equivalent of PAUK PAUK PYIN. KAYE KAYAR is different in having no oil in it. One anna's worth weighs five ticals and six or seven people eat an anna's worth each at one eating.

In Pantanaw bread was sometimes eaten at SHIN PYUS (novitiation ceremonies). MON-HIN-GA was eaten at the beginning of the Buddhist lent, when PAUK PAUK PHIN, MON KYAR YOE and MON SEIN BAUNG were also eaten sometimes. KAUK HNYIN BAUNG was eaten at this time and also at U Myaing's daughter's naming ceremony. GYIN THOKE, LAPHET and tea were served during novitiation ceremonies, and Mandalay HTO MON was eaten during the naming ceremony. Sweet tea was also served during marriage ceremonies. Rice and curries were eaten at some of the bigger festivis. KAUK HNYIN was prepared for almost every ceremony or festival. [796]

In Rangoon, U Myaing had MON HIN GA and sweet tea on the full moon of Tazaungmon from a charity in the THAYET-TAW KYAUNG-TAIK. He also had some MON-HIN-GA not long ago at a head washing ceremony for a child. There are no charities held in the camp enclosure. [796]

621 641 remaining huts. They have lists of the people in their charge. Maung Nyunt and Aung Gyi are under the school-master, who is the most important and influential man of all. These people have to see to the DHANI thatch roof, the bamboo, etc., and if there are any repairs needed they get together, estimate the cost , and then go to the government authorities. U Myaing does not know which office they go to.

621 792 The phongyis resident in the camp do not participate in the secular life of the camp, beyond giving the SILAS and coming occasionally for HSOON. In Pathwe village there were small boys whom they taught - thirty or forty of them, but in camp they do not help to educate the young. People go to these phongyis in camp on holy days, to take the SILAS. They do not even preach to the laity. This U Myaing thinks to be due to the fact that they do not know how to, being themselves refugees from country villages.

796 On the 8th and 15th day of the waxing moon and the 8th and 15th day of the waning moon, the four holy days of the month, Daw Aw Zar goes to the Shwe Dagon to say her prayers. U Myaing cannot do likewise because he has to go to work.

641 621 U Myaing has very little dealing with the government. They do not come for taxes, and in fact even have to provide the refugees with items of food and apparel. The people in the camp are not members of a closely knit organisation. They are made up of workers and families all thrown together by the exigencies of the political situation. The three mentioned above are the only ones in the whole camp. who have charge of the camp welfare. They take the responsibility for disposing of the bucket sewage and the dirt accumulated in and around the camp. They arrange for government sweepers to come for these. There have been no fire drills or any such exercise held in the camp.

●369 541 In Rangoon the family has few entertainments. There was once a government film show screened in the camp, and the other night Ma Khin Myein went with some friends to a nearby pagoda to see a lantern slide show of Buddha's Relics. They have never seen a modern Burmese play or PYZAT. As Daw Aw Zar expressed it, "How can we go and see one when the charge for admission is a rupee [435] for an adult and 8 annas for a child."

782 the well being of his family, for riches and the absence of privation and penury. He desires Nirvana. He prays that all the creatures inhabiting the 36 worlds may be infused with love for each other.

[775] "Even if I change existence, may I be born into a better existence. It would not be a better existence if I were to become a cat or some other animal."

782 776 Daw Aw Zar prays that she may meet with good people and not meet up with enemies; that she may be enabled to meet the high-minded and avoid wicked people. Ma Aye Myaing's prayers are about the same as Daw Aw Zar, but she adds that she may be able to give charities liberally in this and successive existences.

In Pantanaw U Myaing prayed for the same things that he prays for now in camp. There he took life and had to expiate the demerit acquired from taking the lives of fish, with the merit accumulated through charities and other meritorious acts. He took some consolation in the fact that he did not take part personally in the killing itself but only gave directions, and even when, in those years in which he had to buy live fish from the IH workers, the fish poured into his boat died of their own accord and so no blame could be attached to him. He did not beat them to death. He believes that although fishermen have a bad reputation as people who take lives, that does not mean that the one necessarily implies the other. However, he concedes that he may be blamed for directing the killing to take place. He was not sure, and so he goes ahead with his charities.

Observations of Aspects of Life in Rangoon.

●369 776 In Pathae they had pigs killed occasionally for pork but it did not greatly disturb him. The mass slaughter of pigs in Rangoon spalled him as being a very gruesome affair. Fifty to sixty animals were lined up in the slaughter house on the occasion he witnessed such a killing. The slaughterers were Chinese and they took the squealing pigs, despatched them and handed them over to others who dip them in boiling water to clean off the hair, and this happened even if the pigs were not quite dead as yet. U Myaing thinks they must be getting a lot of demerit.

must be getting a lot of demerit.

He then had to say something about the women's clothes in Rangoon. In Pathma the girls did not dare to dress in these fashions. "I do not even dare to look at some of them." In Pathma village there were no such things as girls with short sleeves, etc. Only the girls who had been to town affected them. The majority were HIN-GYIS of thick material. In Rangoon one sometimes has the feeling that one is looking at little dolls".

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U Myaing considers that there is a greater variety of means of earning money here. In Pathma there were only a few ways in which one could earn money and these were almost wholly confined to working fish and paddy and their by products. There was of course frequent interchange of goods with people from other villages inland and with boats from Upper Burma.

U Myaing has been in Rangoon before and had seen the electric tramway and things that the others in the family had not seen before, but even he has seen comparatively little. The others have not seen so many different kinds of automobiles, they have never seen the trains, rickshaws, pony-carts etc.

In the matter of clothing, they find a difference between Pathma and Rangoon even in hair styles and in making up the face. U Myaing thinks that the people in Rangoon have inverted the order of things. According to him, a man can stay undressed except for a longyi and it can remain acceptable, while girls must wear clothing of thick material. This was the case in Pathma, whereas in Rangoon men wear thick clothing and women wear garments made out of sheer material.

The life of Rangoon is beginning to influence girls who come from the villages, and they are beginning to imitate their sisters in town in the use of short sleeved jackets, lipstick and "waves". In Pathma the usual facial make up is to daub the whole face with THANAT-KHA cream and leave it to dry. In Rangoon THANAT-KHA is used only as a powder base. Even Ma Aye Myaing has now a jacket which has sleeves that are elbow long.

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In Rangoon, the men's garments are of better quality. In Pathma during the hot season the men stayed without any shirts on,

369 and women too did the same, and wore their HTAMEINS breast high.
291 Here except for the refugees, he does not see much of this except when
562 people are bathing in the public water hydrants. When it is hot the men wear T shirts and the women wear light garments.

369 U Myaing says that the ordinary city dweller cannot do as much
464 hard labour as the average villager. For example, he cannot carry
461 a bag of rice on his shoulders if suddenly called upon to do so.

The workers from Rangoon are much more acute than the workers from the village. They speak and understand English and Hindustani and so get to know of any possible job long before the others. The villagers do not have these advantages, and so have to join work only later and they are placed to work under them.

563 As far as U Myaing is concerned, there is no racial animosity
464 towards Indians and workers of other races. This is due to the fact that there is no racial discrimination on the part of the employers, the first suitable applicant being given the work.

369 He finds that Rangoon has a much more equable climate than
132 Pathwe. In Rangoon it is not as cold asin Pathwe, where in the cold season it was very cold even though they lived in a proper house and kept all the doors and windows shut. He says that they would not be able in Pathwe to live in an open dwelling like they do at present.

369 Their relatives in Rangoon keep to themselves a great deal.
571 They work on their own and earn on their own. In Rangoon each family
602 has only sufficient for itself. "We cannot help them financially and neither can they help us much. When we go on a visit they can invite us to join in a meal or to partake of sweet tea, but they would not be able to lend us fifty or a hundred rupees. In Pathwe we could lend each other any amount up till a thousand five hundred rupees and that free of interest. These loans also need to be repaid only when it is convenient to the debtor. It would be inconvenient to have to repay a loan while the money was in the form of goods."

159 U Myaings eldest daughter has returned to the camp because the
369 woman who owns the cheroot rolling business has temporarily closed it
602 down and gone to Pantanaw with goods like onions, prawns and textiles. Since the girl is not sufficiently dexterous to find work elsewhere as

as a roller, and as the aunt from whom she is learning embroidery went into confinement quite recently, she has returned home to the camp. When this aunt had her child, Daw Aw Zar had to go and keep her company for a period of twenty days. Ma Aye Myaing made one or two visits to inquire into her progress. The actual delivery was performed not by Daw Aw Zar, but by someone else, a midwife. When Ma Aye Myaing gives birth to her child the other relatives are sure to offer help, especially if she had the baby in her own home. However, there are only about ten families from Pathme in Rangoon and out of that number only two or three will be able to come. There would be no need to ask them to come - they would come of their own accord if they heard the news. At present they live in distant parts of Rangoon town. In Pathme, on an occasion like this everyone comes to ask after the health of the mother and child, even though they may be no relations at all. On the seventh day after birth the house is washed and all visitors to the house are provided with scented water to wash their hair - and it is also sent to those elders who are unble to come. The water is scented with the cream of TAUNG-DAN-GYI, MATHAPTU and KALAMET roots. Enough scented water is provided for about 60 visitors. Most of the visitors are women and girls - very few young men come.

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In Rangoon it is very easy to earn two or three rupees in one day as labourers, while in Pathme even the worker who worked at the IN for a monthly wage was paid only twenty to thirty rupees. But to offset that, the prices in Pathme were very much lower than those in Rangoon. MGAPI workers earn Rs. 10/- a month, and the foreman for the MGAPI workers is paid Rs. 15/- a month. This salary of ten rupees was more than sufficient for buying decent clothing and other necessities. These men had to be fed by their employer. The IN workmen who earned twenty to thirty rupees a month had to find their own food.

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U Myaing has made some friends among his fellow workers in Rangoon and has visited the house of one of them, but even this was not a social visit, as he went there to enquire about their work.

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572 The friendships he[1] has made with other workers do not seem to be
●369 very deep or very lasting. In Pathwe the workers were all friends, and even included his relatives as well. There are not many strangers in Pathwe and even people not connected by blood ties were treated like relatives.

369 "In Rangoon the seller takes a profit on everything we have
426 to buy for food; items like rice, vegetables and fruits. Of course
444 he cannot be blamed, because he has a living to earn too. He gives wage-earners goods on credit, but charges an interest on those goods". In Pathwe U Myaing could get most of the necessary food without having to pay any interest or middleman's profits since he bought straight from the producer. In Rangoon all people who earn monthly wages are the same. They have to take goods on credit. Those who do not earn regular salaries are allowed credit, but they have to undertake to settle accounts by a fixed date.

525 During the TAGU month festival, U Myaing gambled for money.
527 He has gambled to stakes as high as three hundred rupees, but never up to one or two thousand. In Pathwe they had this on the PAYA-GYI-DAUNG side, and U Myaing joined in whenever he came across in other villages a group who were playing while on business. When he was young he gambled away Rs. 700/- while on a trip to KYANGIN. They were all of them on the same boat and he lost that amount at DANUBYU. But by the time they reached YANGOON he had recovered his money. The games they played were poker and HO-HEK.

525 In their village they had people who held fights between game
541 cocks. U Myaing never bred any of these fowls but he has placed bets on them several times, small bets to the value of four or five rupees. There is no special announcement made but word gets around that there is to be a match at such and such a place on such and such a day, and at the appointed time the villagers who are interested all congregate at that spot.

There are bookmakers among the assembled villagers who are willing to take any bets on either side. Cook fighting is carried on during the months of PYATHO and TABAUNG. And even then they have it during only four or five days in the month. U Myaing does not go to every meeting. In the rains the ground is wet for game cock-fighting

1. [i.e., U Myaing -- ANALYST]

The whole family goes to the ANYEIN or marionette shows which are quite rare and sometimes not even seen in a year. If it is held 536
it is held during the months of TAGU, KASON and TAZAUNGMON. In the villages an ANYEIN gives over at about one or two in the morning.

The people from their village also go over to Karen villages 536
when they have puppet shows at cremation ceremonies. Some of the 764
Karens bury their dead and after three or four years they exhume the corpse to burn the bones and store the ashes away. At the ceremony for the cremation of the bones they stage these puppet shows and the members of U Myaing's family go to witness them.

In Pathwe the PYAZAT (stage performance or PWE) has not yet made an appearance. Ma Aye 536
Myaing had seen it in another village where she had to pay an admission charge of four annas. This was the only time she had seen it. On that occasion the show was followed by an enactment of one [779]
of the birth stories of Buddha and this went on till morning.

CHILDREN'S GAMES:

The children used to play several games. One of these was to 524
blind-fold one of their number and set him off in the direction of 857
an iron bar suspended about 25 yards away. The blindfolded boy was given an iron rod and it was his task to try and hit the suspended bar with his rod.

These games were played at a sports meeting organized for children and everyone in the village turned out to watch. Another [621]
item was the candle race where the children were given a lighted candle each and made to run a race. Then there was a cock fighting contest where two girls sat back on their haunches, faced each other and began to swing each knee forward alternatively until one or the other gave up. There was also a needle and thread race, a sack race, a one-legged race and an egg and spoon race. Each of these races were confined to only two contestants at a time.

CONTIN:- A CONTIN is the large flat seed and is used in a game that Burmese children play - U Myaing's children included. There have to be ten players, five a side and each side has to try and hit the seeds belonging to the opposing group according to complicated rules.

In Pathwe the children used to play marbles and not the youths [369]
as is sometimes found in Rangoon. In Pathwe the adults were all

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In Pathwe the adults were all occupied with the question of how to acquire money. The children played at skipping a rope. There is also a game where two children sit facing each other and raise progressively higher and higher barriers with their feet and their hands, while a third child has to jump high enough to clear the obstraction. If he succeeds they raise it slightly higher and so on. If he fails, then it is his turn to provide the barrier with one while the other starts jumping from the lowest level. They also play the games "SALTS" and "HOP-SCOTCH" Then there is a game where about 20 children stand in a circle with faces turned inwards. There is a person left outside who runs round the circle and while running, drops a small bundle of cloth behind someone's back. If that person knows of it he picks up the bundle and chases the first child round the circle and if fleet enough has an opportunity of dealing him several hard whacks before he finds shelter in the vacant place of the person following and it is then the turn of the person with the bundle to make the rounds and drop it behind someone elses back. If a person does not realise that the bundle has been laid down behind him the first person completes another round, and then picks it up himself and chases him around the circle back to his own place.

There is another game which is known as "THE HUGE LIN-MWE SNAKE" where the children form a long line by holding each other's waist from behind. Someone then has to come pretending to sell something and the head of the line makes a purchase. When the seller demands payment he is referred by each child to the one behind him until the leader shouts that he can take the person last in the line in payment if he can catch him. The seller tries to do this while the whole line wriggles and twists in an effort to foil him.

When U Myaing was young he used to play "THE TURTLE AND THE ROOS". They first had to find a person who would play as the "turtle" and to do this they recited the Burmese alphabet starting with the letter "KA" for one person and "KHA" for the second and so on round and round the circle until the letter "A" is reached. The person on whom this letter falls has to be the "turtle". He is placed in a circle with as many stones as there are people in the game.

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These are his "eggs" and it is his duty to guard them while the others cluster around trying to get them away from him without being caught in the attempt. If they are successful in getting all the eggs away they then go and hide them. The "turtle" then has to go and look for eggs while the rest follow her giving encouragement clapping hands and shouting the chant " LEIT U PY UK LO LEIT MA SHAR THU MHIN BYLR MOO ME MOO MEY (Because her eggs are lost the poor female turtle is tearfully looking for them). If the child succeeds in catching any one in an attempt to get an egg away that person becomes the turtle. 527 858

In Pathwe they celebrated the water festival, but they did it in moderation and were satisfied if a person got slightly wet. MON-LET-HSAUNG was given in the village. 527

U Myaing did not save any money in Pathwe. Sometimes he made a great deal of money and sometimes he made nothing at all. Sometimes if he had a lot of money he would loan it out to some one else to be returned in three or four months time if possible. Sometimes these loans continued unsettled for about a year. Only in Rangoon do you have to pay interest. In Pathwe if you did not borrow from chettiars you did not need to pay any interest. U Myaing did not go to the chettiars. He borrowed only from his relatives. There were people who went to raise money from the chettiar money lenders and some of them lost house, cultivation fields etc. because they could not pay the high rate of interest and had the mortgages on their property foreclosed. 454 426 [563]

Analysis of Social and Ceremonial Activities

The refugee camp may be regarded as a new village composed of families who came from villages in the delta similar to Pathwe but placed in an urban setting. The other refugees have the same understandings as to socio-ceremonial activities as U Myaing and the basic 621 722 [369]

621 722 structure of the social and political organization is the same in both places. However, the expectations and obligations of the original village are ill defined perhaps for the reason that the camp families no longer depend so completely on each other for their social and ceremonial activities. In Pathwe, U Myaing and his family were responsible citizens of the village as a whole. In camp, they are merely temporary residents with only the most rudimentary of obligations to their fellow refugees. The basic functions of the camp are carried out by semi-official persons. There is a minimum of feeling of solidarity in the camp where the immediate family is the major functioning unit.

Much has been lost with the passing of the communal activities of the small village. Yet the basic social and ceremonial activities are still carried out in Rangoon. The community has become a large, [181] impersonal one but the values are the same. The activities, as at the gigantic Shwe Dagon pagoda, duplicate those of the village on a grand scale and are hence more stimulating - but the family is no longer in a special status position and are nameless and unknown in their activities. Because of lack of money the activities are greatly curtailed in scope, but also the obligation is less. In this sense the family is "freed" from pressing obligations of the village where, for example, they were expected to contribute relatively large sums to community activities.

621 722 ●369 517 The familiar and beloved flavour of routine village activities is replaced by the excitment of life in the big town. Everything is new and different and while the basic understandings are still encountered the old restrictions of the small community have disappeared. Life in Rangoon is full of possibilities and amusement.

369 555 [465] 000 Recently (during the summer of 1951) U Myaing was promoted from street cleaner to boss of the cleaners of one section. He still gets a salary of Rs. 86/- a month but has the position of an overseer somewhat equivalent in status to the IN overseer's job in Pathwe. There are many opportunities for an honest and intelligent person to rise in Rangoon. In October 1951 U Myaing visited me to take an order for table mats. His samples were much too large and bound with a violent

orange cloth but he remembered my original order and wanted to make these specialty items. I directed him to some friends who I thought would be interested. He was dressed in a new white shirt, colourful new longyi, a brown cloth topee and leather sandals and looked prosperous and contented. Recently, Ma Aye Myaing had presented him with another baby daughter and both were doing well. I asked him when he was going back to Pathaw. "Yes," he said, "as soon as it is safe to return." Even a considerably higher salary would not persuade him to stay in Rangoon. Here "though the eye is rich, the pocket is poor". U Myaing is well on his way to making successful adjustment as an urbanite -- but his heart will probably always remain in the village.

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CONCLUSION

Summary of Data

The data presented above on the changing standard of living of the Burmese fisherman-refugee family may be briefly summarized as follows:

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Home: A change from a large teak wood house personally owned to cramped quarters under the eves of a bamboo hut provided by the refugee camp. This represented a decline to 1/50th of the original home space but only to 1/10th of the original space used for the home vital functions of cooking, eating and sleeping. Home as a spacious area for social activities is replaced by an area used almost exclusively for the vital functions. There are no innovations and the pattern of home is not broken but is greatly contracted close to the minimum requirements.

Work: A change from a position as an overseer of a cooperative fishing organisation with income from cattle and fish products manufacturing to a day labourer. This represented a severe drop in income and prestige but was not outside of the labouring pattern which U Myaing was familiar with from his youth. It is a return to his basic occupation. The "road back" to position and higher income is being taken - at the present writing (November 1951) U Myaing has been raised to coolie boss of a section of street cleaners. Opportunities for rising in Rangoon are good and the future is once more promising.

Clothing: U Myaing is reduced by 72% from his former quantity, and the females of the family by 41%. The social clothing and accoutrement have been sacrificed and the inventory reduced to the garments essential for basic living. Quality of clothing has greatly declined. The process has been one of severe contraction but the pattern has not been broken or innovations substituted.

Health: The health of the family appears to be relatively unimpaired by change. However, the medical data necessary to arrive at a reliable analysis could not be secured. The most we can say is that hygenic conditions have not materially altered in the camp situation, and the family is not aware of any radical changes in health. The proximity of modern medical aid in Rangoon is of course a great advantage in any emergencies of which the family is becoming

511 increasingly cognisant.
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Food: The relative quality of food has remained the same but many expensive items have been discarded. Cheap foods when known previously have been elevated to importance in the camp dict but no previously unknown foods have been accepted - the new trifles which have become popular with the family are close enough in taste to the Pathwe trifles no longer available. Many foods which were secured free in Pathwe now cost money and have been discarded or reduced in quantity. The dict is reduced close to the essentials.

Social and ceremonial activities: The active life in which the family was involved in a small folk community has given way to life in an urban community where the major consideration is gaining a livelihood. But the new life is promising and exciting and retains the basic activities of the village.

Concluding Analysis

121 Some preliminary conclusions can be drawn from this particular set of circumstances; also the data suggests hypothesis of wider application to Burmese culture specifically and human societies generally.

183 Nature of the case: The case is clearly one of reduction in standard of living where the pattern of living remains unbroken. As such, certain deductions concerning the flexibility of the pattern can be drawn. The general situation is a contraction where items were sloughed-off as the pattern approached a minimum situation. The extreme level beyond which the pattern would have broken and/or the family ceased to exist was not reached. Data on such cases would be most valuable in extending this study. For example, I heard of a case supposedly during the Japanese occupation where a girl became too poor to afford a longyi and had to use gunny-sacks for clothing. The story goes that this girl committed suicide. Also, during the war some familiss are reported to have been reduced to eating "only rice and ngapi" - apparently the irreducible condition. Data on families expanding economically would also be necessary to carry this type of study in the other direction. U Myaing's case gives data on the flexibility of the Burmese culture pattern under certain circumstances from a median point of average standard of living, to a point near the minimum standard.

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369 The conditions under which this flexibility was observed were those of a displaced family uprooted from a folk society and replanted in an refuges community within an urban society. As such the case

gives important data on the process of urbanizing villagers - the country people are an important group in the growth of the Burmese section of Rangoon; probably a large section of the present refugee population will stay in the future. 183 369● [178]

The concepts of pattern of living and standard of living: The Burmese pattern of living, or any culture pattern, is a universe of beliefs and practices manifested in acts and artifacts. The analogy of the "Universe" is a useful one in that it recognizes a guiding body of understandings that controls the whole of the society (like "laws" of Universe) while emphasizing the particular understandings that govern the various groups or classes of the society (like the "laws" of the Solar and other systems within the Universe). The "solar systems" are the standard levels of operations forming a comprehensive set of forces within itself. Families, like U Myaing's have a mobility, in the case understudy a forced change, which takes them out of one standard system into another. The adjustments which they undergo reflects the "laws" which control the various standard levels as well as the basic concepts controlling the whole of the society. 121 183

Each belief and practice has a range of expressions which can be defined. The particular expression practiced by a family is the standard or level of a phenomenon capable of expansion or contraction within prescribed limits. The ultimate limits are defined by the total range of expressions for the culture as a whole. But the practical limits for a family are defined by the possibilities of the society segment (community) in which they find themselves. Thus, the range of U Myaing's possibilities of expression are much greater in Rangoon than they were in Pathwe and greatly exceed his original ideas of what was possible. He may, for example, become a highly westernized political leader - although this seems unlikely in terms of his expectations. The westernized, urban spheres of Burmese culture is now opened to the family. [621] [369] [177]

U Myaing is motivated by the basic expectations of the Burmese culture at a level applicable to his situation in terms of the possibilities of his social environment. In Pathwe, he was a fisherman and aspired to those things that fishermen should. In camp, he was at 181 565 555

181 565 555 first a bewildered refugee, but gradually assumed the role of a labourer rising in the ranks. The case indicates the mobility of the Burmese family and shows clearly that it may function successfully outside of the confines of its original social atmosphere.

182 594 621 156 The family in Burmese society: The successful mobility of U Myaing's family indicate that the immediate family is the primary social unit of Burmese society. The Burmese community is then a congregation of immediate families who engage in activities of mutual benefit within the protective framework of the village structure. This interpretation high lights a particular type of individualism which is a family individualism depending on the roles of each [779] member of the family for its full expression. This concept seems tied to the Buddhist idea of individual salvation through acts of merit on the one hand and the exigencies of gaining a livelihood on the other. [474] The family is the basic economic unit and though it will enter cooperative endeavours (like the IN fisheries, or communal nat propitiations), has the ultimate responsibility and capabilities of support- [596] ing itself. The extended family is important, as indeed is the total village social structure, only in so far as it contributes to the maintenance of the individual immediate family of procreation including spouses, offspring and aged parents. The "looseness" of the social structure conversely allows mobility of the immediate families. This analysis indicates that attempts at modernizing of the Burmese people (acculturation) should meet with a minimum of structural obstacles - such as caste, clan and rigid associations might present.

181 156 ●369 555 The Burmese culture pattern and the individual: The village culture pattern is dominated by a series of relatively simple, interrelated ideas held by all. Each individual feels himself temporily occupying a particular situation which is only one of many existences and but an instant in eternity. He is fated to be a member of a particular family with a set of opportunities through life. Life should be pleasant and must be virtuous if future existences are to be pleasant. He must realise as fully as possible the talents and opportunities that come to him through his KARMA situation. In the villages this concept is a great stabilizing force and tends to make an individual content with

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represented by the boat and shack dwellers of Rangoon's water-front as well as the beggar class of the villages.

Future Studies: This study has explored a portion of the Burmese culture pattern seen in dynamic situation of one family's case. It has indicated the importance of the family unit in Burmese society and expressed qualitatively two levels or standards of living. A study of a functioning community to define the interworkings of the family group and other social groups is being carried out at the present time by the Burma Community Research Project of the Department of Anthropology, University of Rangoon. The hypothesis developed in this paper will be further explored and new concepts of Burmese culture and society developed in the village project.

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in spite of its greatness in other directions, from being a great period of Burmese literature. The love of beauty, which is the basis of all literature, had adequate satisfaction in the developed art of architecture. The poets of Pagan wrote their poems in bricks, instead of words, and their pagodas are still famous. When one stands on the shore of the Irrawaddy and looks towards the ruins of Pagan, one is reminded of the delicate beauty of an incomplete poem.[1]

Pagan fell in 1287 as the result of the Tartar onslaught during the time of Kubla Khan, the Scourge of God, and the country broke up into several little States, each attempting to control the others. For the next fifty years, political struggles went on in the capitals, but they failed to disturb the peace of smaller towns and villages. Many who had grown tired of the strife around the thrones flocked to the quiet of the village monasteries in order to find peace. Religion went on undiminished, but the learning connected with it decayed, for the royal patronage was lacking. Architecture also decayed because there was no royal support and because the country had become poor. Men turned to literature for its own sake, and during this period Burmese prose and poetry assumed definite forms with fully developed diction, rhythm, rhyme and style.[2]

[1] Many temples and pagodas of the Pagan period are in an excellent state of preservation and are still in use as places of worship. Scott O'Conner's *Mandalay and Other Cities* contains fine illustrations of the more famous of these religious buildings.

The achievement of the Pagan kings, the 'Temple Builders', is summed up by Harvey thus: 'The legacy of their fleeting sway has enriched posterity for ever. It was they who made the sun-scorched wilderness, the solitary plain of Myingyan, to blossom forth into the architectural magnificence of Pagan. If they produced no nation-builder like Simon de Montfort, no lawgiver like Edward I, they unified Burma for more than two centuries, and that in itself was an achievement. But their role was æsthetic and religious rather than political. To them the world owes in great measure the preservation of Theravada Buddhism, one of the purest faiths mankind has ever known. Brahminism had strangled it in the land of its birth; in Ceylon its existence was threatened again and again; east of Burma it was not yet free from priestly corruptions; but the kings of Burma never wavered, and at Pagan the stricken faith found a city of refuge. Vainglorious tyrants built themselves lasting sepulchres, but none of these men has a tomb. . . . These men's magnificence went to glorify their religion, not to deck the tent wherein they camped during this transitory life.'—*History of Burma*, p. 70.

[2] Ibid., p. 103. Since that time, prose and poetry show continuous development. The full history of Burmese literature still remains unwritten. However, the *Anthology of Burmese Literature*, a Government publication,

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The rise of the *Nibhatkhin* was the result of the rise of the vernacular literature, for then learning had reached the people. But we do not quite know at what time the *Nibhatkhin* first came into being. According to tradition, the custom of holding religious processions and pageants had existed long before 1752, about which time the interlude and the *Hawsa* (a recitation of a story in verse) came into being, but how long before nobody can tell. However, as it must have taken some time for the vernacular literature to take root, I adopt tentatively 1531 to 1752 as the period of the *Nibhatkhin*. 175 536* 538

For the story of the development of the *Nibhatkhin*, I am dependent on tradition alone. The tradition of its development from the pageant is quite logical. Moreover, it is general and not confined to a particular district. I have discussed it with various Burmese scholars and I have made inquiries in far-away villages, and always I find the same tradition. In some out-of-the-way villages, which the influences that affected the drama at the capital had failed to reach, the development of the *Nibhatkhin* from the pageant was within living memory. Until recently, in such villages, one could even see the *Nibhatkhin* in its various stages of development. One village would be presenting a procession, another a pageant, a third would be staging a fully developed *Nibhatkhin*; in all the villages, their particular practice had been the custom for many years, further development having been checked by the introduction of the drama in its more mature stages by touring troupes of professional actors, and it had continued to exist side by side with the performances of strolling players, just as some miracle plays continued to be presented in certain places in England during the heyday of the Elizabethan 173 178 536* [369] ● 127

Under Bayinnaung (1551–81) the whole of Indo-China, the outlying provinces of China, and Manipur owed allegiance to the Burmese king. After his death, the Empire decayed until the ruler of Pegu, who had become independent, defeated the Burmese, and turned Burma into a Talaing Empire in 1752. The Empire was short-lived, for in the same year Alaungpaya rebelled, founded the last Burmese dynasty, and 'Burmanized' the Talaings by force. He and his successors turned Burma into one united kingdom, which with the Shan States, Siam, Manipur, and Assam, formed the Burmese Empire. The period 1752–1819 was the Age of Triumph, a fuller account of which is given in chap. ii. 175

The Burmese lost Assam, Manipur, and the native provinces of Arakan and Tenasserim to the British in 1824. The rest of Lower Burma fell into British hands in 1852. On 1 January 1886 the whole country was proclaimed a province of the Indian Empire.

So the worship of the nats lived on, and with the advance o

795 civilization the spirit dances became elaborate, for though the belief
535 was primitive, the people were no longer so. The dances benefited from the developments that had taken place in Burmese music which, as we have seen, flourished under the patronage of the Pagan kings. New spirits were added, and they were usually those of heroic princes. The dancers were now many, for the mediums turned themselves into dancing and music mistresses. The chief medium of each spirit dressed herself in the special dress of the spirit, but the junior mediums, who were equivalent to the chorus of an English revue, were in the dress of Burmese princesses. It is interesting to note the
[292] origin of this dress. The mediums realized the necessity of dressing
[565] themselves in fine raiment, but as everybody wore clothes of bright colours, the only solution of the problem was to don the dress of the court and official class, which the commoners were forbidden to
[536] wear by law, except during feasts and dances. When drama proper came into being, the hero and the heroine dressed themselves in the court dress, even when they were representing common characters.

3. Miracles and Interludes

175 After the fall of the kingdom of Pagan in A.D. 1257, Burma was
369 the scene of fierce civil wars, but the trouble was mainly in the
726 capitals; in the villages and small towns life went on in its joyous
779 way. Religion continued to spread in spite of the fact that the throne of Pagan was no longer in existence to support it. Learning began
538 to reach the remotest parts of the country, carried far and near by monks. To escape from the aimless strife of the civil wars, men turned towards literature. Money was lacking to compose poems in brick as had been done at Pagan, and men now expressed their love for the religion and their love for the beautiful in writing. The new literature further educated the people and made even stronger the already strong religious fervour. As a result, at village feasts and on days of public rejoicing, the people turned towards their religion for amusement and entertainment. So pageants depicting scenes from the life of the Buddha and from his Birth Stories came into being.

796 Pageants were given on ordinary carts that were in use for all
541 kinds of transport and which are still in use in backward parts of the
493 country at the present day. Each cart carried a group of (amateur) actors standing still and representing a set scene. Originally, no doubt, there were only a few carts representing scenes from different stories. Later, a pageant came to consist of many carts and many

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was prevailing in China and Tibet by about the third century A.D. In any case, the ever-increasing population, alien to Hindu culture, must have acted against the intensity of the Hindu influence. Moreover, Siam was one of the earliest converts from Hinduism to Buddhism which, especially after the great Buddhist missionary, Buddhagosa, who lived in the fifth century, was ousting Brahmanism in Indo-China. At the Siamese court, however, the Hindu tradition was very strong, and remained so even when the king and his courtiers had become Buddhists. 177 174 101

In Siam, as in the neighbouring regions, learning did not reach the people for a long time even though it flourished at the court. The Hindu tradition was not strong enough to prevent the courtiers from creating a native literature. Buddhism prevented the courtiers from looking upon the Hindu learning with a conservatism that would not have allowed imitations. In Cambodia and elsewhere native ideas could never shake off the dominance of Hindu culture, and no native literature could come into being until quite modern times. Moreover, the very fact that the Hindu tradition was strong prevented the survival of Sanskrit literature in those regions, for once the tradition was broken, only chaos resulted. To make it clear, I will take the Java shadow-play. Sanskrit dramatic representation gave rise to the Java shadow-play. Therefore, one would expect Java to preserve a Hindu dramatic literature to herself and to the world. But it failed to do so. The shadow-play of Java is interesting as a special kind of dramatic performance, and not as dramatic literature. The stories that are presented on the shadow-stage in Java are taken mostly from the Hindu epics, but they have very little dramatic structure. Yet originally they must have been developed Sanskrit plays. Of course, to begin with, the Sanskrit shadow-plays themselves were slight in structure, but by no means so crude as the Javanese ones. The Hindu tradition was so strong that once it was destroyed, not only did the Hindu drama in Java decay and disappear, but a native drama in a developed form failed to appear. Stories from Hindu sources as well as stories from native history and mythology are still shown on the Java shadow-stage, but the plays are all formless and crude. In Cambodia, where the Hindu tradition was indeed very strong and lasted much longer, some remnants of the developed Sanskrit drama are preserved, but the tradition was so strong that no native element could enter it. There, up to the present day, a State theatre, with a special minister 177 369 564 538 101

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
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177 of State, presents the *Ramayana*, and less frequently that play which
369 the Burmese calls the *Eenaung*.[1] Both are remnants of Sanskrit plays
564 no doubt introduced by the early Hindu kings. Throughout the
538 centuries, the two plays have been regularly presented with the full
101 patronage of the king and all the splendour at his command. It is almost a ritual. During the intervening centuries, no fresh incentive had come from India, and no new element, no native element, was allowed to enter it; the result was that the Cambodian *Ramayana* soon lost its freshness. Cambodia, therefore, not only has no native drama; it also failed to preserve for posterity good examples of Sanskrit dramatic literature.

101 To return to Siam. Even the courtiers did not look upon the
538 Hindu tradition with too much awe and conservatism. They recog-
[564] nized and retained the vital elements of Hindu culture as far as
536x possible so as not to clash with native and Buddhistic elements. The results of such special circumstances are best seen in Siamese literature. The court encouraged and the courtiers produced romances based on and in imitation of Sanskrit-Hindu romances. Native ideas, native tales, and native mythology were introduced into works modelled on Hindu literary works. In drama, the Siamese did not produce native plays, and they retained the *Ramayana* as a play. But they introduced new ideas and kept alive the old. In dramatic literature, as in all other matters, the Siamese had to reject all that was contrary to Buddhism, and some were retained only after much alteration to suit new needs. A consideration of the Siamese play of *Rama* shows clearly the above facts.

The epic tradition was very strong in India and it prevented Sanskrit drama from rising to still greater heights. In the new Hindu regions of Indo-China and the Malay Archipelago epic tradition was equally strong, if not stronger. In India the Sanskrit drama was shackled by the epic tradition; in the new regions the drama was very probably entirely subordinated to the epic. The dramatic performances in Cambodia, in Siam, in Java, before modern influences came in, were based mostly on the *Mahabharata* or the *Ramayana*. Perhaps it is legitimate to assume that the Sanskrit plays introduced into the new Hindu kingdoms were mostly those based on the epics: mostly, but not all. For the *Eenaung*, which is very probably from Hindu-Sanskrit sources, tells a story unconnected with the two epics.

[1] This is explained in the next section.

29: Slater M-4 (no date) 1951 APl Burma
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Several consequent questions arise. How, for example, can we account for the persistence of this popular heresy, if indeed it be heresy, in view of the fact that the monastic Order is so influential? Heresies, it is true, flourish underground in every religion. But this 'heresy' is very much above ground. Are the monks themselves heretical, or the laity less heretical than they may appear to be?

Partial explanations will at once come to mind. Appeal may be made to the Buddhist emphasis on toleration, and further appeal may be made to the recognised distinction between what is expected of the layman and what is expected of the monk: the layman cannot be required to understand the truth which is only attained through monkish disciplines. These explanations are pertinent. But they are not sufficient.

The further explanation is to be found in certain undertones, certain basic tendencies, certain similarities of approach which influence monks and laity alike. These may be summed up and defined as the Agnostic Emphasis and the Ethical Emphasis. Making these emphases though in different ways, learned bhikkus and simple villagers are in deeper, more effective sympathy than might be supposed if we merely isolate and regard their more explicit and divergent conceptions. In both cases, the resultant outlook is positive rather than negative. Hence the persistence of a lively popular faith which may seem at times to contradict its own basic dogmas.

In the following paragraphs, I shall select those results of my own inquiries which may elucidate this situation. I shall attempt to show how, in Burmese Buddhism, a fundamental agnosticism is derived in part from ethical considerations, and, secondly, how this agnosticism is associated with a positive faith, differently expressed but jointly affirmed by monk and layman, scholar and peasant.

The popular conception of Nibbāna will concern us first. But here there is need for discrimination. Whom have we in mind when we speak of this popular opinion? Burma is a country of villages, and we may conceive some very primitive peasant whose only concern is his rice field, his plough and his oxen. Over against such a simple peasant we may set the scholarly monk. But we must also bear in mind that large, intermediate class, already noted, which includes the more instructed layman and the less instructed monk.

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Nor should we exaggerate the simplicity of the Burmese villager. The Burmese may be a rural community, but they are also a civilised community, schooled and intelligent, very conscious of the difference between their conditions and the conditions of the surrounding, more primitive hill tribes. On the other hand, in seeking to estimate the popular opinion, we must be equally alert against the temptation to

29: Slater M-4 (no date) 1951 AP1 Burma
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identify the majority of the people with the comparatively few sophisticated Burmans to be found in the larger towns. 775* 779* 182 369

With this qualification in mind, we can agree with those observers who represent the popular conception of Nibbāna as a picture of some superheaven, some final sphère of complete happiness. We can also agree that they are right in distinguishing this conception from the ideas of the learned bhikkus. This is what must be said if the issue is pressed to the point of definition. But who exerts this pressure, who requires this definition, who is it that is bold to be explicit? Not the villager himself! It is the outside observer, the scholar impatient to complete his analysis. The villager himself is reserved and hesitant. He is far from attempting any explication. He is much too aware of the fact that for him Nibbāna is a distant prospect, wrapt in mystery. In a vague way he sees Nibbāna as the end of a chequered existence, the beginning of an entirely different and better life, in a vague way he may picture Nibbāna as he pictures the legendary heavens, but always in a vague way. He is never as explicit as the inquisitive inquirer wants him to be.

Nor is this hesitation solely characteristic of the more simple, more inarticulate villager. I recall a conversation with a Buddhist journalist. He was very clear and prompt in most of his answers to my questions. He distinguished lucidly, for example, between prayer and Buddhist meditation. He was convinced that Buddhism allowed no place for belief in God. He emphasised that Buddhists could not be said to believe in 'transmigration' since they rejected any 'soul' theory. But when it came to the question of Nibbāna, he paused. Nibbāna was not annihilation. On that he was clear. What *did* it mean then? Well, it might mean Life — life in contrast, perhaps, to 'mere existence' — but he added quickly that it was impossible to define. Nibbāna was a *mystery*.

This conversation was typical of many others I held with laymen. Typical, too, was the hesitation concerning Nibbāna. In one or two cases I was reminded that the Buddha himself did not consider the subject profitable. The scripture was maybe recalled: the complaint, for example, of the dissatisfied monk that the Buddha had left many questions unsettled, and the Buddha's reply: "Anyone who should say, 'I will not lead the religious life under Buddha until Buddha explains all these points' that man would die before Buddha had ever explained these points to him."[28]

The blind men and the elephant have often been quoted to me. Each blind man touched a different part of the elephant, and each one naturally came to a different conclusion. The man who felt the trunk said it 775* 779* 182

[28] *M.I.* 426.; cf. De La Vallée Poussin, *The Way to Nirvana*, pp. 128, 129.

511 necessity, by pressing the paste flat on the inside of the cover and
415 putting it over the fire; the top knob of the pottery always remains cool
252 enough to be touched by the time the paste is baked. On festival days
415 my mother bought dozens of little earthern dishes, no bigger than an
• 392 English coffee saucer. They were called *hsi-mi-khaut*, oil-flame dishes,
527 in which we burned lights of cotton wick and kerosene, and lined veran-
511 dahs and window-sills with bright fairy lights in the night breeze.

We had stoneware in the house too. The *kyaukpyin* is a flat circular piece of stone for grinding the bark of the *thanakha* (*limoria acidissima*) tree, to use as a cosmetic. It has a canal all around to receive
511 the ground paste. Kyaukpyins can be bought in all varieties and
324 sizes in any bazaar, but my mother always got hers through the headman
412 of Salé village, in Upper Burma, where they use a particularly suitable
303 kind of rock which is durable and yet helps to make the paste smooth. We had some beauties, heavy pieces of about 14 inches across, a square around the circular canal, with carved figures on the corners and the ponderous legs. With the right quality of bark the ground thanakha fell in a smooth golden flow into the canal. Formerly, all women used this cream as the sole substitute for powder, letting it dry on the face and whiten it, but the sophisticated ones now use imported powder as giving a less artificial appearance.

302 Yet even the most ardent Max Factor fans cannot give up thanakha entirely for its great value lies in its astringent properties; it would have great success with European women who use mud-packs, because it acts like a mild and pleasant mud-pack. It also has cooling and refreshing properties, it is fragrant; older women apply it over the entire body after their baths, like talcum powder. My mother says it smooths the skin and, indeed, victims of smallpox who are left with deeply marked faces, have their skins smeared with thick thanakha many times a day, and
303 after a few months there is a definite improvement. The thanakha
512 bark is the most used, but barks of the red and white sandalwood and other trees (*nethapyu, nethani, kalamè, a-hmway*) are more fragrant and used on the body. Bad bark from the bazaar grinds gritty and dries patchily, but special consignments come from Myingyan and Pakokku, cut into six-inch lengths from branches two inches in diameter. A daily task of the girls in each household is to grind thanakha, and the commonest sight is a girl on a verandah with a kyaukpyin, a mug of

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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hours, and there are instances recorded where it was not 792
till the third day that a definite result was arrived at. The 764
explanation is simple enough to a Burman, and it is surprising that it has not hitherto been given by any writer on Burma. It is a work of the greatest possible merit to drag a pôngyi's body to the funeral pyre, and this kutho falls to the share of those who win in the tug-of-war. The late Captain Forbes said that the explanation was that "the conquering village will get the better of their losing rivals in all sports, contests, or other matters during the year." But this is impossible where the winning side may be composed of men from a score of different villages in circles remote from one another. Besides, there are no championship meetings in Burma. It is to be noted also that during the lônswèthi it is usually only the payaung bông that is on the car. The actual coffin is brought down afterwards.

At last the coffin is brought to the pyre and hoisted up to its lofty platform, beneath which is stored a great quantity of combustible material: wood soaked in oil, pitch, and abundance of scented chips. Then nothing remains but to light it. When a layman is burnt, fire is set to the pile by the nearest relations with a box of Bryant and May's matches. But this is much too worldly a method for a member of the Thenga, and even the fire obtained by the [372] friction of a plug in a hollow bamboo—an ingenious amplification of the two dry sticks of a variety of barbarous tribes, common in most monasteries—would fail to satisfy the 764
dignity of a pôngyi. The pyre is lighted by rockets 792
fired from a distance. Scores of these dôn have been 389
prepared weeks beforehand, and many have been carried round triumphantly in procession by the people who have made them, a band of music preceding, and young men and girls dancing and singing of the potency of the powder and the accuracy of the aim which will gain for them the glory of setting fire to the pyre. Each rocket has a figure of some kind, a nat-dêwa, a tiger, a hare, or a bilu attached to it. Some of them are of huge size, constructed of the stems of trees hollowed out and crammed full of combustibles, in which sulphur largely predominates. Many are eight or nine feet long and four or five in circumference, and secured

Cooking and Eating Utensils

Ma Aye Myaing does her work directly in front of the fireplace in a squating position, often resting on the tiny bamboo stool. A few sticks of firewood, or brush, are placed within the three sided enclosure made of three single bricks on edge. A hollow bamboo tube about 10 inches long and 1½ inches in diameter is periodically used to blow the fire to a hot flame in lieu of a draft. The identifications of the cooking and eating utensils given below were provided by Daw Aw Zar and U Myaing in an interview in which photographs of the objects were used. 415 252 [516] [352] [372]

HTA MIN O (cooking pot): This is an earthenware jar used for cooking vegetables and other foods. It is a round based globular form with outflaring rim. A wide conical shaped lid with flat disc knob for raising goes over the orifice. It is smooth, light tan in colour throughout and about ¼ inch in thickness. It is tempered with sand. A stamped design encircles the widest diameter on the body. This diameter is about 7 inches, height is 4½ inches. One or two are kept on hand (Pathme: several. Camp: one). They cost 5 annas each. This sand tempered, stamped, earthenware appears in the early European contact period (late 1500's) at Syriam (Orr, K.G. "Stratigraphy in Lower Burma" Ms. in preparation.) It is rapidly being discarded in favour of aluminum pots which are not nearly as cheap but do not break Traditionally this pot is used to cook rice. In speaking of its use Daw Aw Zar said: "We keep one or two, to boil vegetables and do other things to eat, seeing that there are seven people we have to cook (i.e. rice) with a big aluminum pot." [172] [178]

HIN O (curry pot): This jar is generally of the same shape as the one described above but is wider at the orifice (8 inches diameter) though about the same height. It is of the same ware type; has a wavy-line stamped design just under the rim. Ordinarilly equipped with a conical lid, this vessel had a flat aluminum lid. This vessel is used to cook curry. It was brought from Pathme, where it was bought at a cost of 6 annas. Number used in Pathme: several, camp: 1. [435]

LAPHET YE-GH (tea pot): The tea pot is also of tan earthenware and generally of the same ware as the cooking pots, with the exception that the surface was carefully scraped and slightly burnished. The body is globular, with thumb-like spout, and semi-circular clay handle. This pot was brought from Pantanaw, where it had cost 8 annas. [323]

SIN O (food storage jar): Whereas the cooking vessels are moulded by hand with the aid of a paddle, and lack glazing, the storage jars are glazed and have been made on the wheel. These glazed jars also have flat disc bases, and pear-shaped bodies with contracted necks and short, collar-like rims. In every way they appear to be a separate tradition from the cooking ware. The glaze is dark reddish-brown over a hard-baked purple-red core. The interior is thoroughly glazed but the glaze only covers the upper half of the exterior. The reddish-brown glaze is recent, appearing in ceramic collections of the last century in Rangoon (Orr, K.G. "Stratigraphy in Lower Burma", the Monkine Street section) being preceded by a yellow-black glaze in the early European period at Syriam. [172]

Salt saffron, oils, etc are stored in these jars. The one examined was about 4 inches in height and 5 inches in diameter. It came from Pathme and cost 3 annas. Number in Pathme several, camp: 3. [251] [435]

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 API Burma
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135. SEWING CLOTH.

surface water. In some parts of the country the water is brackish. Shallow tanks with built-up earthen borders are made to store the rain-water for drinking, and, unlike the tanks in India, these are kept free from contamination. There is always a separate stand for the pots of drinking-water, either in the house itself, or within reaching distance, with a roof of its own. The domestic shrine and flower-stand (*nyaung ye-ô zin*) is frequently associated with the water-stand. Apart from the advantage of keeping away the drip the isolation of the water-stand is so marked as to suggest a religious intention—possibly of forgotten animistic import—in addition to the obvious one of a boon to the traveller, in virtue of which the water-stand is frequently decorated in the Buddhistic religious style (No. 158). As already noted, dwelling-houses are not fit places for images of the Buddha, but only temples. In the houses, the Buddha is venerated by keeping his sacred tree green in the flower-vases on the *nyaung ye-ô zin*, which is often richly decorated. The shrine takes its name from the *ficus*, but the plants actually used are such as keep green longest in the shade, especially the aloe (*môt*). The observance has very possibly been transferred from a pre-buddhistic one (No. 157).

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The native method of getting fire is shown in No. 141. Except in the great plains, there is enough waste land about the settlements, bearing trees and scrub where dry faggots may be collected. Logs of dry timber are dragged in, and firewood for cooking split off as required, or billets are carted in and stored against the rainy season. In the cold season, fires are often made on the ground in front of the houses, for the inmates to sit around. But in general,

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136. VILLAGE WELL.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
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137. CARRYING HOME THE WATER-POTS.

fuel is required only for cooking and in manufactures.

Rice is the staple of every meal, except in the dry zone. The millet and sorghum which there take the place of rice are cooked in the same way but need longer boiling. "A rice-boiling" (*ta-ò-dyèt*) is the common phrase for an interval of about twenty minutes. After washing in several waters, rice is put to boil in an earthen pot with enough water to cover it, and boiled till the grains are quite clear. The rice-water is poured off, and the rice is put back on the fire to steam. Rice is cooked fresh for every meal and is eaten hot. A relish is made to eat with the rice, consisting of a watery stew of fresh greens or of pulse. The fat used is sesamum oil (*hnan-zi*). This curry is seasoned with turmeric (*sanwin*), capsicum (*ngayòtthi*—chilli), and either salt-fish or *ngapi* (p. 92). Fresh fish, prawns, or meat are added if available. In default of cultivated vegetables, wild greens of all sorts, bamboo-shoots and sprouting leaves, are used. Pickles of lime and other fruits are used as separate relishes. There are two meals in the day, both of the same nature. The morning meal is eaten at about nine o'clock, the other before dark. Meals are taken by the household in common. The housewife or daughter gets mats ready in the *kyaunding* and places in the centre a *byat*—a large, deep, wooden platter, lacquered red—into which she turns out the cooked rice (*tamin*). In the middle of the rice is set a bowl with the curry and a spoon. The family squat round the *byat*, or if a large household round several.

[263]
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138. STAND FOR THE DRINKING-WATER.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

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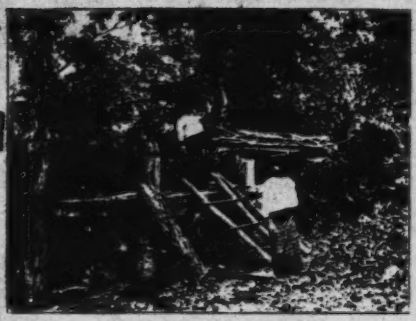

140. FETCHING IN FUEL.

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In the villages the passing traveller is invited to join in the meal. Everyone in turn ladles gravy from the bowl on the rice in front of him and mixes and eats it with his fingers. Before and after eating, mouth and fingers are rinsed. After the meal a drink of water is taken. Fruit is eaten after meals and at odd times. The importation of delf crockery and enamelled ware has been going on for a long time.

Betel (*kun*) is taken at all times except at meals, and tobacco is smoked by men, women, and children (No. 21). The betel-box plays the same part in Burman sociality as the snuff-box still does in parts of Europe. The chew of betel is made up of the fresh leaf of the betel-vine (*kun-yuét*, No. 409) smeared with moist slaked lime (*tôn*) and folded over slices of the nut of the areca or betel palm. Dried tobacco-leaf, cutch and spices—cinnamon and cloves [805] —are frequently added. "A betel-chewing" is a common phrase for about a quarter of an hour. Old people who have lost their teeth pound up the betel in a small brass mortar (*kun-dyeik*) for chewing. The spittoon (*tuć-gan*) is indispensable.

The native tea is prepared by hill-tribes of the North. It is either in dry balls the size of a fist (*sin-chí*) or loose (*leppétchauk*), or is pickled (*leppékkan*). The dry tea is infused in the Chinese fashion (*leppéyye*, No. 146).

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[372]
[805]
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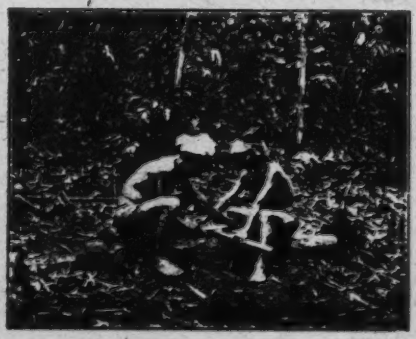
When the platters have been rinsed after the evening meal and the tables put by—*sabwé-hmauk*—which gives the name to the hour, the day's work is over and the young women smarten themselves up to receive their *hmuz*. The chief toilet-requisite is the face-powder (*than-ákkó*)—the cream-coloured bark



141. GETTING FIRE BY THE NATIVE METHOD.

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

These stalls are always crowded with people buying and selling, or looking anxiously at the many pretty wares, unable, perhaps, to buy. The refreshments are usually very simple—rice and curry for supper, and for little refreshments between whiles there are sugar-cakes and vermicelli, and other little cakes. 796 262

The crowd going up and down the steps is like a gorgeous-coloured flood, crested with white foam, flowing between the dragons of the gate; and on the platform the crowd is thicker than ever. All day the festival goes on—the praying, the offering of gifts, the burning of little candles before the shrines—until the sun sets across the open country far beyond in gold and crimson glory. But even then there is no pause, no darkness, for hardly has the sun's last bright shaft faded from the pagoda spire far above, while his streamers are still bright across the west, than there comes in the east a new radiance, so soft, so wonderful, it seems more beautiful than the dying day. Across the misty fields the moon is rising; first a crimson globe hung low among the trees, but rising fast, and as it rises growing whiter. Its light comes flooding down upon the earth, pure silver with very black shadows. Then the night breeze begins to blow, very softly, very gently, and the trees give out their odour to the night, which woos them so much more sweetly than the day, till all the air is heavy with incense. 796

Behold, the pagoda has started into a new glory, for it is all hung about with little lamps, myriads of tiny cressets, and the façades of the shrines are lit up, too. The lamps are put in long rows or in 796 778 373

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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circles, to fit the places they adorn. They are little earthenware jars full of cocoanut oil, with a lip where is the wick. They burn very redly, and throw a red light about the platform, breaking the shadows that the moonlight throws and staining its whiteness.

In the streets, too, there are lamps—the houses are lined with them—and there are little pagodas and ships designed in flame.

All the people come out to see the illuminations, just as they do with us at Christmas to see the shop-windows, and the streets are crowded with people going to and fro, laughing and talking. And there are dramatic entertainments going on, dances and marionette shows, all in the open air. The people are all so happy, they take their pleasure so pleasantly, that it is a delight to see them. You cannot help but be happy, too. The men joke and laugh, and you laugh, too; the children smile at you as they pass, and you must smile, too; can you help it? And to see the girls makes the heart glad within you. There is an infection from the good temper and the gaiety about you that is irresistible, even if you should want to resist it.

796

The festival goes on till very late. The moon is so bright that you forget how late it is, and only remember how beautiful is all around. You are very loath to leave it, and so it is not till the moon itself is falling low down in the same path whither the sun went before her, it is not till the lamps are dying one by one and the children are yawning very sleepily, that the crowd disperses and the pagoda is at rest.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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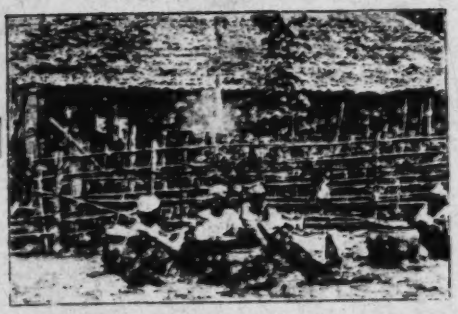

285. PEDLARS.

tain a fire of billets on a special hearth as big as the couch, and placed alongside of it, for five or seven days. The antiseptic property of the smoke may be of value, but the relaxing effect of the artificial heat is believed to be a reason why the Burman women are so much less hardy in this particular than the neighbouring races. The hospital of the Lady Dufferin Fund is helping to spread a more enlightened practice. The ratio of insane in the population is about a quarter of that of Western Europe and America, but is double that of India.

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482

Almost the only dealer who hawks his goods in the street is the seller of oil (*hnanzi*, No. 282). He uses a light spring yoke of the wood of the *zi*-tree, the heavier form of which is seen in No. 283. By its springiness the yoke maintains the load at an even level, thus saving waste of work. As much as a hundredweight is carried for long distances. In merely shifting goods at warehouses, carriers will move two hundredweight. They earn six to twelve annas a day. The only vegetable oil used for burning is the oil or resin of the *ka-nyin* (No. 362). Chips are soaked in the wood-oil and made up into torches (*mîdaing*) with leaves of the pandanus. The oil is obtained by hewing deep recesses into the butts of the trees for it to collect in, and firing these from time to time to induce a fresh flow. In the valley of the Irawadi, the crude earth-oil from the wells at Yenándyaung is burned in open lamps. This is the earliest petroleum known to commerce, under the name "Rangoon oil." In recent years petroleum has also been found in Arakán. The out-turn from the Burma oilwells in 1898–99 was thirty-two million gallons, valued at

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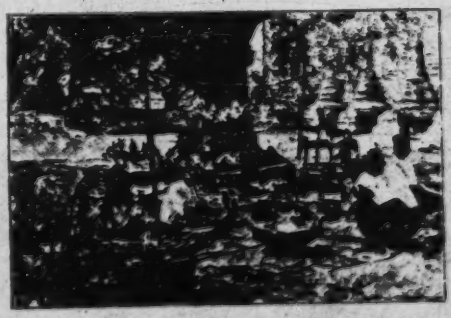

286. TOY AND FLOWER STALLS

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

231 their eggs in the silkworm's back and kill him. In about a month's time the caterpillar is full grown. He is then bundled into a fresh tray, in which there lies, wound about in the form of a spiral, a narrow-plaited bamboo strip. The ripe larvæ are thrown into this with as little ceremony as if they were pebbles. In about a day's time they have spun their cocoons, fastening them to the strips of bamboo. These are torn off and kept in baskets for a day or two, when a pot with water in it is filled with the pupæ, and then set to simmer over a slow wood fire.

283 From a triangle over the pot is suspended a small bamboo reel, and down below, near the pot, is a wooden cylinder. The reeler is usually a girl. She fishes about for a time in the simmering vessel, and, catching a few threads of silk, passes them over the reel and down to the cylinder, to which they are fastened. She then turns the handle of the cylinder, winding on the silk, and at the same time constantly fishing up and fastening on new filaments, which she does by means of a light bamboo double-pronged fork. Not the least trouble is taken to keep the silk clean. Any rubbish that may be floating on the surface of the water is wound on to the cylinder without an attempt being made to disengage it. When all the silk has been got off the cocoons, and wound on to the cylinder, the pupæ are taken out of the water and
[262] fried in oil to furnish a dish for the family dinner. They are not by any means unpleasant, tasting, barring the oil, very much like roasted chestnuts; and indeed the dish is considered a great dainty.

286 The silk-growers mostly sell their silk. A loom is to be
283 found in almost every Burman's house in the country; and
386 in Prome and Shwe-daung, as being close to the place where the silk is produced, great quantities of articles of dress are made for sale. The native-grown silk is only used for every-day clothes of simple patterns, the more elaborate being all
[439] worked from imported Chinese silk. The silk is bought raw, the separate filaments twisted into a thread by means of a wheel, and then made up into hanks; these are boiled in soap and water, and are then ready for the dye. The commonest colours are green, yellow, orange, different shades of red and light blue; black and dark blue are only in

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

favour with the Shans. The dyes are obtained from various jungle seeds, roots, flowers, leaves, and barks; the yellow dye obtained from the wood of the Jack-tree (*Artocarpus integrifolia*) being reserved for the monkish robes. After being dyed, the thread is unwound again. The weaving machine is very much like the old hand-loom still occasionally seen in out-of-the-way parts of England. The operators are almost always young women, and they are very clever at working the treadle and shooting through the shuttle, while talking all the time to village gossips or admiring swains. Some of the tameins, made for the richer women, are extremely intricate in pattern and require between twenty and thirty shuttles. The treadle raises and lowers the alternate threads of the warp. Except the rough dresses and the most complicated in pattern, however, not many native-made clothes are worn now. The townspeople prefer the showy and cheaper imported articles, and, though the Manchester goods are too frequently "doctored" and do not last long, yet this does not trouble the Burman much, for he is fond of a change of dress, and, unless he is very poor, will never wear a paso, except about the house, after it has been washed. All the more elaborate designs are, however, native made. The "dog's tooth" pattern is almost confined to Amarapura or Sagaing court looms, and since the fall of the monarchy is hardly seen at all. The acheit paso or tamein, of a complicated, wavy, sprigged design, which middle-aged Burmans remember as being the cherished object of desire of their young days, is now considered rustic. Young Rangoon will tell you that you may always know a taw-tha (a jungle wallah) at the pagoda feast by his wearing an acheit paso and nothing else except his turban; and although the waist-cloth may cost from 150 to 400 rupees, that does not redeem it in the town-bred youth's eyes.

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386
[562]
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[291]

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

—no doubt owing to the diversion of mind produced by banging away on the top of your roof, and the confidence and hope which the operation induces. Moreover, so much damage is done to the house itself that repairs take some time, which also serves to keep the mind occupied. 000

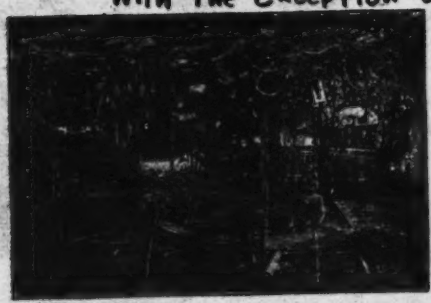
When the thayè tôpthi is over, the people return to their houses, where the pots with their consecrated contents are. The yellow string is unwound from the sticks and divided into lengths. Some people hang it all round the eaves of the house in little bags, others tie pieces of it round the left wrist, more especially those who go about much. At a time when there is cholera about, most of the young men may be seen with these wristlets. A Rangoon clerk detected wearing one colours with annoyance, and says his parents made him put it on. He very probably throws it away, but the same night he will have a fresh piece on. The thread is coloured with dye obtained from the wood of the jack-tree, the same which supplies the colouring matter for the monkish garments. The thabye bin leaves are kept in the pot, or scattered about the house. The tree is particularly highly esteemed by the Burmese. A species of it, the thabu thabye bin (the Malay apple, *Eugenia malaccensis*), is celebrated as the largest tree in the island which lies to the south of Mount Myinmo. Sprigs and leaves of the thabye bin are cut, prayers and supplications for absent friends and relatives offered up before them, and then the twig is thrown into a pot of water. A song has been composed about the tree itself, and is one of the most popular of those that do not belong to the category of love-songs. The jester in a play has always an unfailing draw when, wishing to testify his regard for some one, he declares he has cut down an entire thabye bin and thrown it into the river that his friend may enjoy good health. The joke lies in the contrast between this and the couple of leaves in a small pot used by people ordinarily. 755 751 [386] ● [522]

It might have been expected that contact with English civilisation and doctors would have put an end to the riotous absurdity of the thayè tôpthi; but it has not by any means. In fact the house-beating goes on more vigorously in Rangoon and the larger district towns than elsewhere. This is 757

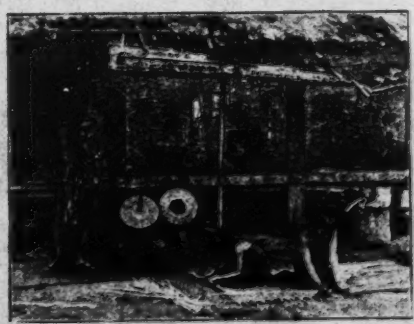
25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

With the exception of the stuff for the recluses' robes, cloth is not dyed in the piece, but in the yarn. Dyes used for cotton are also chiefly imported, but the indigenous dyes continue to be used for silk. The Burmans excel in yellows, oranges, deep reds, and rich deep greens, which they harmonise with beautiful effect. Their clear blues and purples are indifferent. Except in a few localities, where weaving is a speciality, the men take no share in the industry beyond constructing the looms. Women spin and dye the yarn and weave the cloth. The lath of the loom (*lekka*) is of graceful outline—often elaborately carved—and is furnished with two ornamented metal pins, with loose metal rings, that jangle at each swing of the beam, and proclaim the industry of the young woman, to whom this business chiefly falls. Hence it comes that the loom is a favourite *rendezvous*. The same applies to other occupations of the girls, such as rice-cleaning, when the suitor will take a turn at the heavy part of the work and lounge while the sifting goes on. Common patterns of cloth are tartans, for which two or three shuttle-spools are required. The plainest cloth woven is at least shot with a colour different to that of the warp. The intricacy of a pattern is denoted by the number of spools. Scroll patterns (*cheik*) in silk are called *lun-tayd* (hundred-spool). The warp is a cubit wide and about twenty cubits long, which makes a man's loin-cloth (*pasd*). The piece is doubled and its edges sewn together along one side; the turn of the cloth serves as a bag or wallet, according as the piece is draped; it has no lining. The *pasd* is hitched round the loins and girt long or short, according to fancy, without the help of a belt; but elastic belts are now coming in. The slack is worn in a bunch in front (*kabdungza*) or is thrown over the shoulder.

386 286 [792] [342] 286 462 [438] [531] [584] 286



126. BINDING THE THATCH.



127. PLAITING FLOOR-MATS (see p. 66).

286 291 [342]

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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191. BRICK MAKERS (P. 97)

CHAPTER V

TRADES AND PROFESSIONS

463 MOST artizans in the rural settlements are cultivators as well, plying their special trade in the by-season. The [256] home industries continue to be practised in the seaport towns, where certain of them, such as rice-cleaning, are conducted wholesale (No. 184). The largest plant used in [388] the country villages is the oil-mill (*sɛ́zin*). The cooking-[252] oil of Burma is pressed from the seed of sesamum (*hman*), a black grain resembling [402] rape. It is not so delicate as olive oil, but is used for adulterating the latter. Oil-cake is used for fodder. The mill consists of a great mortar made of the 000 trunk of some hard-timbered tree with a pestle of the same. *Hman* is grown as

192. OIL-MILL

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

yahanda, and attain Ne'ban. He is a favourite subject for pictures, which represent him sitting under his brazen roof, or on the stump of a tree, eating out of an alms-bowl, which he carries in his arms. Sometimes he is depicted gazing sideways up to the skies, where he seeks a place that is not polluted by corpses. Such a spot is not to be found on earth, where every stock and stone is but the receptacle of a departed spirit. The notion is like that of the Tibetan monks, who look upon the earth as simply a vast graveyard. They carry human finger-joints strung together for a rosary, eat their food out of a human skull, and instead of horns for trumpets use the bones of a man's forearm. "We are dead," they say, "and dead men have nothing to do with the things of the living."

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[775]

Of a similar character to this illuminating of the pagodas, the town, and the river, is the letting loose of fire-balloons, from the end of Lent to the Tawadeintha festival in Tasaungmôn. The balloons are sometimes very big, but they are simple enough structures. A bamboo framework is covered over with the thick, coarse, home-made paper manufactured from the bark of the mahlaingbin (*Broussonetia papyrifera*), which also supplies the material for the black parabaik note-books. At the bottom, across the open mouth of the balloon, is a little platform, on which pitch is heaped, and with torches attached to it. The balloon is then tethered to the ground. The torches and resinous matter are lighted, and when the strain on the stays is considered sufficient, they are cut, and the balloon goes off. They are dangerous in large towns, and are forbidden there, but the Burman considers that the law applies only to the ground round the town, and dozens are let off every year from spots only a hundred yards or so outside of municipal limits. Not unseldom dôn, rockets, and other kinds of fireworks are attached to them, not by any means tending to make them safer for the houses below. This mi-eing byan, as it is called, is in honour of the Sula-mani payā, a pagoda erected in Tawadeintha, over Mount Myinmo, by the Thagya, king of the Nat-dêwas. When Prince Theidat left his palace, his wife, and forsook all to become a Buddha, he rode as far as the river Anawma and leaped over it on his famous

527
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[389]

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

hours, and there are instances recorded where it was not 792
till the third day that a definite result was arrived at. The 764
explanation is simple enough to a Burman, and it is surprising that it has not hitherto been given by any writer on Burma. It is a work of the greatest possible merit to drag a pôngyi's body to the funeral pyre, and this kutho falls to the share of those who win in the tug-of-war. The late Captain Forbes said that the explanation was that "the conquering village will get the better of their losing rivals in all sports, contests, or other matters during the year." But this is impossible where the winning side may be composed of men from a score of different villages in circles remote from one another. Besides, there are no championship meetings in Burma. It is to be noted also that during the lônswèthi it is usually only the payaung bông that is on the car. The actual coffin is brought down afterwards.

At last the coffin is brought to the pyre and hoisted up to its lofty platform, beneath which is stored a great quantity of combustible material: wood soaked in oil, pitch, and abundance of scented chips. Then nothing remains but to light it. When a layman is burnt, fire is set to the pile by the nearest relations with a box of Bryant and May's matches. But this is much too worldly a method for a member of the Thenga, and even the fire obtained by the [372]
friction of a plug in a hollow bamboo—an ingenious amplification of the two dry sticks of a variety of barbarous tribes, common in most monasteries—would fail to satisfy the 764
dignity of a pôngyi. The pyre is lighted by rockets 792
fired from a distance. Scores of these dôn have been 389
prepared weeks beforehand, and many have been carried round triumphantly in procession by the people who have made them, a band of music preceding, and young men and girls dancing and singing of the potency of the powder and the accuracy of the aim which will gain for them the glory of setting fire to the pyre. Each rocket has a figure of some kind, a nat-dêwa, a tiger, a hare, or a bilu attached to it. Some of them are of huge size, constructed of the stems of trees hollowed out and crammed full of combustibles, in which sulphur largely predominates. Many are eight or nine feet long and four or five in circumference, and secured

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

764 792 389

by iron hoops and rattan lashings. Up in Mandalay some are very much larger. These are let off at the funeral pile from a distance of forty or fifty yards, the largest being mounted on go-carts, and many others guided by a rope fastened to the pya-that, the rocket sliding along by means of twisted cane loops. The great majority fail to have any other effect than making a great splutter and poisoning the air. A few refuse to budge at all; others topple off their carts and fizzle erratically on the grass. A pôngyi byan in the old days was frequently attended with loss of life. Some one, at any rate, of the bigger rockets was sure to fly off at a tangent and plunge into the crowd, where its weight, to say nothing of its fiery belchings, found one or more victims. Even now it is only by the strictest police regulations and a rigorous maintaining of order among the spectators, and system in the pyrotechnists, that like catastrophes do not happen. At last some lucky dôn plunges right into the inflammable materials piled below the bier, and in a few minutes the flames are leaping high above the topmost pinnacle of the spire. Roof after roof falls, setting fire to the offerings placed round the basement. The joints of bamboo explode with a noise like a pistol shot; the crowd cheer each separate occurrence, and when finally the central spire falls with a hiss, a shout rises from the multitude which suggests anything but death and pious observance. But here [761] in the manôtthapyi all is changeful, sad, and unreal, and one more death brings but nearer to the final rest of Ne'ban.

When the last smouldering embers have cooled, the monastic brethren search for any pieces of bones that may remain, and these are carefully gathered up and buried somewhere near the pagoda. Sometimes, in the case of a particularly saintly man, they are pounded down, mixed into a paste with thitsi, and moulded into an image of the Buddha, which is stored up in the monastery. The custom followed in other Buddhist countries of erecting a shrine over the dead is, in accordance with the teachings of Shin Gautama, an honour but rarely accorded in Burma. In the Shan States they are commoner, but are rarely anything more elaborate than a stucco-covered block of bricks, about three feet high and pointed at the top.

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

202. SETTING NETS FOR DEER.

which a second party is in hiding with dogs. At a sign, the dogs are slipped and the deer chased headlong into the nets, where they are caught or cut down before they can get clear. *Nat* and *thamin*, which would clear the net at a bound, are coursed with greyhounds of local breed (*Kamâbi*) when they have ventured far enough into the open. The Burmans have been acquainted with firearms since the fourteenth century of our era. Saltpetre they obtained by percolating with water the droppings of bats accumulated in caves, and boiling down the lye; it was also obtained from certain marshes; sulphur probably came from China. The old flint-lock is still a favourite, because the ammunition is easy to procure. Weapons were bad, and the *nakâ* is a poor marksman; but he manages to approach very near to his quarry. Cross-bows, snares, and traps for game are used by the hill people, in default of firearms. Such venison as is obtained is hurried off to the nearest market town, where it is retailed fresh. If it cannot be thus disposed of, it is cut into strips and sun-dried. Next to deer, the chief quarry is the wild pig. Wild buffaloes ("bison," *pyaung*) frequent the forests. In a few localities a wild ox is found (*saing*). A wild goat lives in some of the rocky limestone hills. The hare and the partridge are common in the open country of the dry zone and the plateau-land of the hills. Peacocks are not uncommon in some localities, but are nowhere so abundant as in India. A silver pheasant (*yit*) is common in the bamboo forests. The great argus occurs in the extreme south. Wild or jungle fowl (*tawe-dyet*) are common in all the dry forests. Decoy-birds are used for snaring these, and also the ring-doves (*dyo*). Ducks,

203. KAMABI DOG

224 [231] 411 389 [262] 224 136 [231]

501 396 His constructive skill with wood has been most successfully expressed in the vehicles for land and water transport—the bullock cart and the canoe. The classic pattern for a Burmese boat is the *laung*, built from a single hollowed-out trunk of the *thingan*, a tough tree growing near the water with a girth of 4—20 feet and a height of 15—75 feet. The trunk is hollowed out into a rough hull, the outside is adzed, circles of holes are bored through for a guide, and the shell is hollowed to a uniform thickness. It is then waterlogged, and fired slowly, the symmetry being carefully tended as the hull opens out with the firing. Planks are built up on the sides to increase capacity. These laungs, of a capacity from 10—40 tons, are the universal canoes of the rivers and creeks of Burma. Poled upstream and rowed downstream, they are ideal in the ease with which they can be bumped against rocks or got off shoals, the thingan hull lasting for 20 or 30 years. The bigger boats which still carry rice and other produce up the Irrawaddy are built up from stout ribs on a style which simulates the solid hull of the laung. These boats carry enormous sails and a crew of about fifteen men. Their bulk-heads are richly carved, and they glide along the great Irrawaddy, stately and calm beside the chugging river-steamers, their prows rising and falling like the heads of some fabulous birds.

493 The Burmese cart is a poem in curves of wood. The floor of the cart gives a slight curving sweep from front to back, the sides exaggerate this in crescents that sweep right up into the air, and the circle of the wheel has good balance and strength behind its symmetry. For the sake of the curves, the root wood of cutch and the curved branches of thingan are specially sought out.

326 Brassware, for which the old centres were at Amarapura and Sagaing 788 in Upper Burma, we were familiar with in bells and gongs. Bells are 534 kept by the Burmese for sacred uses only. The delicate small bells hung high around the spires of pagodas, often of gold and silver, have tongues that are moved by the winds to give a sweet testimony, to all spirits, of the good work of men who built the pagoda and other men who pray below, and give the praying devotee a tinkling reassurance of his merit. The great big bells, however, made of molten copper and tin poured into moulds of clay and wax in pits dug in the earth, have no tongues; but when struck with deer's antlers or a wooden striker they [552] sing a deep note of sweetness. The names given to some famous bells reflect their beauty: *Maha Ganda* (Great Voice), *Mahatti Thadda Ganda* (Great Sweet Sound). All big bells are hung on a cross bar with wooden supports at pagodas, where after recitation of precepts we picked up the striker in turn and struck three times to announce to the spirits

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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295. ROUGH-HEWING THE BOAT-HULL.

ties, especially in the floods. The building of boats is the art that most of all exercised the constructive skill of the people. The type of Burman boat, small and large, is the *laung*. It differs greatly from the ordinary dug-out of the Shans and others, and, if it implies a waste of timber as compared with the built-up craft, it still produces from a given log a hull of more than double the capacity of the dug-out. It bears bumping against rocks and snags better even than the dug-out, because the grain is nowhere cross. The wood preferred for hulls is *thingán*, which is tough and durable, steams well, and grows near the water. A sound straight tree of four to twenty feet girth and fifteen to seventy-five feet length is felled and hewn into a rough cylinder. A narrow groove, about one-tenth of the girth, but not less than six inches wide, is sunk along the flattest aspect of the log for about seven-eighths of the length. The ends are left solid, and the groove is cut down for two-thirds of the thickness of the log. Through this groove the log is hollowed out into a shell having a section like the letter C. The tool used (*kyettaung*) is a solid chisel of several pounds weight, lashed with rattan to a tee-headed handle, made from a branch, which allows of the tool being set at various angles and every part of the interior being reached, while keeping clear of the edges of the groove. Lightened of more than half its mass, the log is dragged to the water and floated to the builder's yard. Here the rough hull is adzed true outside. Circles of holes are bored through, at intervals, for a guide, and the shell is hollowed to a uniform thickness with the *kyettaung* and other special tools. Then the holes are plugged up

296. OPENING OUT THE BOAT-HULL.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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297. BOAT-BUILDER'S YARD (PEGU).

and the hull filled with water. When the wood is waterlogged, the hull is emptied and a slow fire made under its whole length. The edges of the original slot, which now blend into stem and stern and only remain vertical amidships, are gripped by two rows of wooden vee's lashed by green creepers, wet ropes, or iron chains, to long levers that have the bottom of the boat for fulcrum. From the power-ends of the levers, ropes are belayed to two bamboo rails pegged to the ground on each side. As the heat takes effect, and the hull opens out, its symmetry is carefully watched until the originally vertical edges of the slot are horizontal. The beam is now double what it was and the displacement several times greater. The opening out is allowed to go somewhat beyond the intended beam, and recesses are cut for the stout thwarts (*pagán-byin*). These are then put in place, and the shell allowed to close upon them. The levers are left in position till the wood is quite rigid. The capacity of the boat is further increased by building on sides above the solid hull. These consist of long seamless planks, stiffened by mouldings and ribs, and in the case of cargo-boats by an upper tier of thwarts; the join is luted from the outer side with bee-dammar (*pónnyet*). Such boats are built of a capacity of ten to forty tons. The rounded solid hull (*laung-gó*) is the most serviceable for the rivers of Burma, on account of the ease of getting it off shoals; the boat can be worked about in every direction till it wears a

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298. LAUNG-GO POLING AGAINST A RAPID.

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

housewife or her daughter stepping on and off the bar, so as to raise the pestle and let it fall on the rice in the mortar. The rice is very thoroughly cleaned in this way, and Burmans prefer it to that which has passed between the mill-stones of the European factory. The Derbyshire, or composition stones, do their work only too thoroughly, and remove so much of the pellicle as to take away all the flavour, besides that the great heat caused by the steady grinding tends to the same result. Consequently the pleasant refrain of the girls chanting at their work may be heard all over the village after dark, and when a large quantity has to be prepared for some offering to the Sacred Order on a feast-day, the chanted chorus rises and falls round about the homestead often till long past "midnight cock-crow," till the rising of the "red star" warns them to retire to rest, tired, but happy, for such a good work earns great merit. A sesamum oil-press is also frequently found in at least one house in every village. This is equally simple in its construction. It consists of a deep wooden trough, in which the seeds are pressed by a heavy upright timber fixed in a frame. The weight is increased by a long lever, on the end of which a man sits and guides a bullock which goes round in a circle, thus crushing and turning the seed at the same time.

The carts are very strongly built, and are remarkable for the way in which the floor curves upwards towards the back in the same way as the boats do. In Upper Burma formerly the wheels were mostly composed of one solid, roughly-rounded slab of wood, or in some cases of two semicircular slabs joined together, and these are still found, but more and more rarely, in out-of-the-way places in the upper province, though wheels constructed in European fashion with spokes are mostly in use, and Government now prescribes a three-inch tyre on all district roads. Occasionally in the old days to save trouble the carter started with a square wheel, and trusted to time to round it for him. Padauk (*Pterocarpus indicus*) is the wood most valued for this purpose, but it is too expensive for most people. The wheels are never greased, and make hideous shrieking noises as they revolve. This serves to keep away tigers and wild

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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animals generally when a journey is being made for any distance. At night the carts are arranged in a laager with the high backs outwards, and all inside, including even the pariah dogs, are safe from wild animals. The waggoners used to glory in the strident sound of their wheels, which often can be heard miles off in the forest. A wheel with a creak of particular volume and power of penetration is highly prized, and an experienced driver can tell whom he is going to meet or overtake by the groanings of the axles and the key in which they are pitched. Every bullock in addition carries a square metal bell tied under his throat.

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In the yard round about the house there is very often a little garden fenced off in a rough kind of way, but no particular care is taken to keep it neat and free from weeds—no easy matter even for an active gardener in Burma. The favourite plant is always the Bôddha Tharanat (*Canna Indica*, or Indian shot), so named from its seeds, which are used for the beads of the rosary. The flowers are red, or sometimes white. The fable relates that it sprang from the Buddha's blood. His impious and evil-minded brother-in-law and cousin Dewadat, enraged that he was not allowed to have a separate assembly of his own, went to the top of a hill and rolled down a huge stone, intending to destroy the most excellent payā. But the boulder burst into a thousand pieces, and only one little bit bruised Shin Gautama's toe, and drew a few drops of blood, whence sprang the sacred flower. The renowned physician Zewaka healed the great teacher's wound in a single day, and almost immediately afterwards the earth opened and swallowed up the sacrilegious Dewadat. The plants and flowers usually stand demurely in a single row, or perhaps in three or four, like a patch of peas. The *Datura tatula* is almost always found, and among the other mingled vegetables and medicinal plants the *Celosia cristata*, in both its yellow and purple varieties, is a special favourite. But the Burman can scarcely vaunt his success as a flower gardener.

There are always a few domestic animals and pets about the premises. Every family has its dog, which trots about the establishment and makes a terrible to-do whenever a white man appears. The pariahs are magnificent watch-

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

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308. BURMAN CARTWRIGHTS.

ngapi, dried fish, salt and rice, besides imported goods. They bring down the manufactures of the North—cutch, lacquer, images, and *parti-kaya* wares. They have to endure a formidable competition from the river steamers. In its existing form, the boat of Burma presents no near affinity to the boats of neighbouring peoples. The types of architecture which the Burmans borrowed from India they have treated in a distinctive way which gives them independent interest. But the art which culminates in the stately ship of the Irawadi is purely their own achievement. The work derives unity from the noble balance of the masses and life from the spirited sweep of the curves. The severity of line is relieved by plastic incident in the rich carving. The structure itself is patent and not concealed (with the exception noted), and the decoration goes hand in hand with it. Besides their own type of boat, the Shan type (No. 320) has been developed into a large craft for carrying earth-oil in bulk—the *peingdaw*. Two long, partially-hollowed teak logs form the sides of the lower hull, with several thick planks intervening, for the flat bottom. Two planks above these complete the sides, all held together by nails and ribs as in the *laungzát*. There are outrigged bamboo galleries for the crew to row and pole, which allow of the deck-house being carried from end to end, providing accommodation for several families. The rig is the same as in the *laungzát*. In tidal and salt waters, boats have to be beached once a month to bream the bottoms and destroy the teredo. The rest of the woodwork and tackle is protected with earth-oil. The boats of Arakán are on Indian lines. There is

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308. BUFFALO-CART.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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307. TYREING THE WHEEL.

a shallow dug-out bottom with three or four side-planks built up from it. The planks are held together by cane lacing, with a caulking of grass. They are very crank, but are good sea-boats, nevertheless. The only decoration is a rough crocodile's head at the bow. The boat population of Burma in 1891 was nearly 84,000, or about 1·5 per cent. of the whole population—"greatly in excess of the proportion borne to the total by the maritime population of the most maritime nation in the world" (Census report, p. 34). The only sea-going craft are the few score *kattu*, small junks of twenty to sixty tons, manned by five or six Taláings. They venture as far to sea as the Nicobars, where they ship cocoanuts in the fine or north-east monsoon. The rest of the year they lie by. The *kattu* are built at Dawè ("Tavoy"), and cost from one to two thousand rupees. They carry a compass of European make, for use in thick weather; but the navigation is empirical.

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The cart-building exemplifies the Burman love of curves. In Burma Proper the root-wood of *shá* (cutch) is dug out for the sake of the bent timber. In Pegu, curved branches of *thingán* are used for the body. For wheels, solid discs of *kaung-hmu* and other woods were used in Pegu, where timber grows large (No. 306). In the North, the solid wheel is still made up of three pieces, held together by mortices and tenons (Nos. 301, 309). *Padáuk* is the wood preferred for these wheels. They have a very long box for the axle, which is of *pangá* wood; the axle-box is hooped with rattan. Since the introduction of spokes and iron tyres, skill has been concentrated on the wheel; the body of the cart preserves its local type. The Burman has proved the best wheelwright of the East, both

308. PLEASURE-CART, BURMA PROPER.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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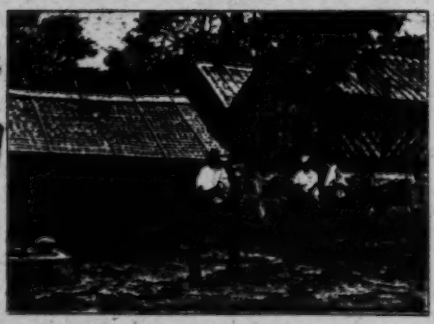

310 BURMAN PONIES.

for heavy wheels and the light spider wheels he uses in pleasure and racing carts. He employs a very long hub to steady the wheel, which is as yet unprovided with turned axles and boxes. *Padauk* and *pyinkadò* wood are used for hubs, with plain iron bushes at the ends. Teak is used for spokes and felloes. The axle is of imported round bar iron, with plain linch-pins; the end of the wooden axle-bed forms the shoulder. The bar-iron for tyres is likewise imported. Imported springs are coming into use for the light carts. European vehicles built by Chinese are used by well-to-do Burmans in the towns; they exemplify to the natives a novel departure in luxury, in which not splendour but comfort is the standard.

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The country roads are merely the tracks made by the carts. As the bullocks travel in the line of the wheels, the road is passable until the ruts are so deep that the axle-bed scrapes the mound in the centre. Then the track is abandoned for one to the right or left. The same thing happens when the road is too heavy or when a tree falls over it. In the rice country the grain is carted across the fields. But in the dry zone a roadway is left between the fences of the fields, as is also the case in the eastern hill-plateaux. A few state roads (*winlau*) following the high ground used to be kept clear, but the only regular road-making was done near to the capital. Cart-tracks do not penetrate the hill districts to any distance.

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The Burman pony is small—eleven to thirteen hands—but is said to have the best constitution and the greatest endurance of any breed. In Pegu, with its damp climate, the breed does not flourish so well as in the North. The ponies exported from Pegu are brought down from the

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311. WAYSIDE REST-HOUSE.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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304. TIMBER-RAFT.

plain or is oiled with crude petroleum. A wooden house of the modern Burman pattern costs from three hundred rupees upwards; a bamboo house only twenty to sixty.

The Burman turning-lathe is of the usual primitive type; two poppets sliding in a bed, with centres to hold the work, round which a cord passes from the simple treadle-bar to a springy lath or bamboo overhead. But of late, mandril-lathes have been constructed after models in the steam-mill workshops (No. 187). Mechanical construction has great attractions for the Burman, and is stimulated by the high wages of labour. The foremen sawyers at the steam-mills are Burmans, the other hands natives of India. Menders of clocks and sewing-machines are in all the towns. An engine-erecter, who had set up machinery in most countries of Europe and Asia, said he had nowhere met the same natural aptitude for handling machinery as in Burma (*cf.* p. 10).

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The floral wood-carving of Burma is remarkable for its freedom and spontaneity. Rich as the floral tracery is, the animal grotesques are laboured and deficient in fancy. The carving is done in teak-wood when it is meant for fixtures; otherwise, *yamanè* is preferred. The tools employed are chisel, gouge, and mallet. The design is traced on the wood with charcoal, gouged out in the rough and finished with sharp fine tools, using the mallet for every stroke. Teak-wood and *yamanè* have a coarse grain, in which fine detail cannot be rendered. Small and delicately elaborated figures are carved in sandal-wood and also in ivory. Whole tusks are carved over with figures of the Buddha and are dedicated in the *kyaungs*. In some of these the figures are modelled in a single piece under an

[313]

305. SAWING UP THE LOGS.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

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191. BRICK MAKERS P. 97

CHAPTER V

TRADES AND PROFESSIONS

463 Most artizans in the rural settlements are cultivators as well, plying their special trade in the by-season. The [256] home industries continue to be practised in the seaport towns, where certain of them, such as rice-cleaning, are conducted wholesale (No. 184). The largest plant used in [388] the country villages is the oil-mill (*sfzdn*). The cooking-[252] oil of Burma is pressed from the seed of sesamum (*hnan*), a black grain resembling [402] rape. It is not so delicate as olive oil, but is used for adulterating the latter. Oil-cake is used for fodder. The mill consists of a great mortar made of the 000 trunk of some hard-timbered tree with a pestle of the same. *Hnan* is grown as

192. OIL-MILL

294 563 441 466 was sweated labour indeed. Possibly he paid the cutter two pice, the seamstress three annas, the button-loop maker two annas, for each garment. We met one of the button-loop makers one evening as she brought a pile of finished garments, a Chinese girl of ten years, with eyes which looked tired from two years of exquisite hemming on the ten button loops of each Burmese jacket, nine jackets each day. When we had got our jackets the tayok-kalay added up our three bills into one on his abacus. There may be many ways of using an [405 903] abacus, but our tayok-kalay's was bafflingly simple. He had each bead on the first rung representing one anna, each on the second one representing four of these, that is four annas; and each on the third rung representing four of these again, that is one rupee, there being sixteen annas in the rupee. When he wanted to add Rs. 5/10 and Rs. 9/11 for example, he represented the first sum on the three rungs above the median bar by drawing down towards it, two beads of the first rung, two of the second and five of the third. Then he represented the second sum on the rungs below the bar by drawing up to it three beads of the first rung, two of the second and nine of the third. He then counted up the sum of all the beads along the bar, pushing back every four beads of the first rung and pulling down one of the second as equivalent, pushing back every four of the second and pulling down one of the third again as its equivalent. All this he did with lightning speed, and, counting finally one bead on the first rung, one on the second and fifteen on the third, he announced Rs. 15/5, a sum which my sisters had arrived at long before by mental arithmetic and had, in vain, been trying to thrust on his notice.

441 563 I needed also a superior quality comb to wind my hair around in a knot at the back of my head, having given away the old one I had as a curiosity in England. My mother took me to the west end of Rangoon where the Chinese community are concentrated in about six or seven streets, mostly narrow streets of three storeyed houses packed closely together, containing valuable ivory and mother-of-pearl inlaid chairs within and jewellery behind safe doors, but bordering deep and dirty drains and congestion in the street. These were houses of rich men who got their money from trading in indigenous products; by long years of industry building up lakhs of money from the supplying of onions, coconuts, potatoes and other dry goods to the retail shops in bazaars. In the Strand running along the south end of these streets and in the broad Latter Street in the centre of the quarter, were the big emporiums of these traders. One of my father's greatest friends U Chein Swan was a Burma Chinese of this description, and we stayed for short periods in his three-storeyed house in 20th Street when we were children. With

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

about the rains. In Rangoon the annual average rainfall is a hundred inches, but in Maulmein, Akyab, and other towns considerably over twice that amount is registered. In Rangoon, on 3rd November 1879, between one o'clock in the morning and two in the afternoon eleven inches fell. Happily this sort of thing is not usual. 805 132

In Mandalay, time was calculated by means of a water-clock, which stood in the bo-ho, the clock-tower by the eastern gate, where were also the gong and drum on which the watches were sounded by one, two, three, or four alternate blows. The water-clock is a simple enough affair. It consists of nothing more than a large vessel filled with water, in which cups are placed, perforated so that an hour—a Burmese nayi—elapses before they sink to the bottom. It is only at the vernal and autumnal equinoxes that the hours of the day and night are equal. At other times they vary, and the Burmans make a great fuss over their complicated calculations. In July the days are longest with thirty-six hours, the night only lasting twenty-four, while these figures are exactly reversed in January. Any inaccuracy in Burmese computations arises from the loss of the fourth book of Bedin (the Indian Vedas), which was destroyed in the bonfire made by the religious of all fishing-nets, snares, weapons of war, and such writings as are denounced in the sacred books. It was by pecking at the ashes of this volume that the domestic fowls of Burma acquired that astronomical lore which induces them to crow all together at midnight (tha'gaung kyet). 805 34 405

It is only, however, in the capital that the water-clock is found, and in the rest of the country, and especially in all the smaller villages and towns, time is only roughly indicated by a reference to the position of the sun or the moon, or to certain daily occurrences taking place at fixed times, as "in the morning when the sun was a span above the horizon"; or "when the sun was as high as a toddy-palm"; "before the sky was light"; "when the light gets strength" about half-past five; "the earliest cock-crowing time"; "when the monks go a-begging," that is to say, six or seven in the morning, according to the custom of the local monastery; "monks' returning time," usually about eight, but varying, 805

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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no god to stand beside him when he fired at the foreign invaders; and when he lay a-dying, with a bullet in his throat, he had no one to open to him the gates of heaven.

And yet he fought—with every possible discouragement he fought, and sometimes he fought well. It has been thrown against him as a reproach that he did not do better. Those who have said this have never thought, never counted up the odds against him, never taken into consideration how often he did well.

Here was a people—a very poor people of peasants—with no leaders, absolutely none; no aristocracy of any kind, no cohesion, no fighting religion. They had for their leaders outlaws and desperadoes, and for arms old flint-lock guns and soft iron swords. Could anything be expected from this except what actually did happen? And yet they often did well, their natural courage overcoming their bad weapons, their passionate desire of freedom giving them the necessary impulse.

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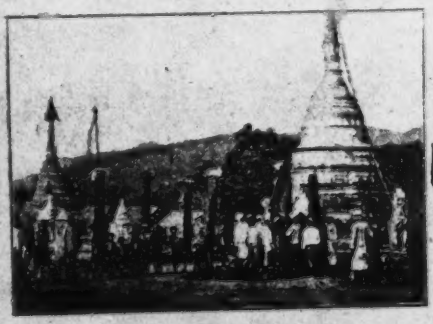
In 1886, as I have said, all Burma was up. Even in the lower country, which we held for so long, insurrection was spreading fast, and troops and military police were being poured in from India.

There is above Mandalay a large trading village—a small town almost—called Shemmaga. It is the river port for a large trade in salt from the inner country, and it was important to hold it. The village lay along the river bank, and about the middle of it, some two hundred yards from the river, rises a small hill. Thus the village was a triangle,

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

122. CUTTING GIANT BAMBOO (WABO).

and the roof-rafters. Straight trees are selected for posts, and are either left plain, or the sapwood is dressed off, or they are dubbed octagonal; the timbers are rough-hewn with the *dâ*. Posts of hard and durable wood (*pyinkadó*) are also squared, and the scantlings for the timbers cut with the saw. A special significance attaches to the posts of the house. It is thought unlucky if birds alight on them before they are roofed in. Sham bows and arrows are set at the heads of the posts to scare them (*hugemmâna*). Besides the miniature bow-and-arrow stuck in bazár goods to scare crows, this is the only form in which the long-bow and arrow survive in Burma; in practice, arrows are used with a crossbow (No. 204) and pellets with the plain bow (*le*), and that not extensively. Another curious custom is the one of laying a piece of cloth between the head of the post and the wall-plate as a propitiation to the *nat* of the tree (p. 187). Before the large posts of temples are reared, their heads are hung with offerings, which the workpeople afterwards share among themselves. The front bays of the house have a floor only a few feet off the ground (*kyanndáng*)—unless where the flood-levels require it to be higher—making a verandah, the common or unenclosed portion of the house, free to strangers. The back bays have a floor about four cubits off the ground or above the lower floor. A bamboo or wooden ladder connects the floors. The upper floor is enclosed all round, and has one or two bays partitioned off. A pent-roof covers the cooking-place and grain-bin, where the rice-pounders and implements are stored as well; or else there is a shed for



123. REARING THE POSTS OF THE WUT.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 API Burma
Burmese AP4

302. SETTING NETS FOR DEER.

which a second party is in hiding with dogs. At a sign, the dogs are slipped and the deer chased headlong into the nets, where they are caught or cut down before they can get clear. *Nat* and *Mamin*, which would clear the net at a bound, are coursed with greyhounds of local breed (*K'amabhi*) when they have ventured far enough into the open. The Burmans have been acquainted with firearms since the fourteenth century of our era. Saltpetre they obtained by percolating with water the droppings of bats accumulated in caves, and boiling down the lye; it was also obtained from certain marshes; sulphur probably came from China. The old flint-lock is still a favourite, because the ammunition is easy to procure. Weapons were bad, and the *mdsi* is a poor marksman; but he manages to approach very near to his quarry. Cross-bows, snares, and traps for game are used by the hill people, in default of firearms. Such venison as is obtained is hurried off to the nearest market town, where it is retailed fresh. If it cannot be thus disposed of, it is cut into strips and sun-dried. Next to deer, the chief quarry is the wild pig. Wild buffaloes ("bison," *pyaung*) frequent the forests. In a few localities a wild ox is found (*saing*). A wild goat lives in some of the rocky limestone hills. The hare and the partridge are common in the open country of the dry zone and the plateau-land of the hills. Peacocks are not uncommon in some localities, but are nowhere so abundant as in India. A silver pheasant (*yit*) is common in the bamboo forests. The great argus occurs in the extreme south. Wild or jungle fowl (*tau-dyet*) are common in all the dry forests. Decoy-birds are used for snaring these, and also the ring-doves (*dyi*). Ducks,

303. KAMABHI DOG

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25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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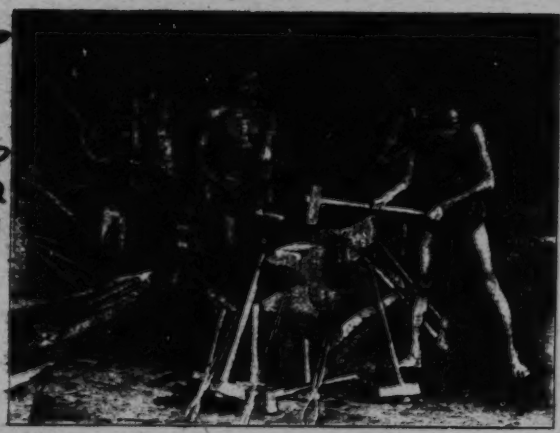

250. BURMAN BLACKSMITH (NEW STYLE).

Burman has copied the leather double-bellows from the steam-mill workshops.

Making *dás* is the blacksmith's principal business. For the uses to which the Burman puts his *dá*, he is not likely to be offered a better implement. The *dá* is a blade twelve to twenty-four inches long, somewhat curved back from the edge, with the weight towards the point, and fixed by a tang into a long handle of cane or bamboo, iron-bound or whipped to prevent splitting. The *dá* must not vibrate in the haft, and is for that reason not riveted through, so that when it works loose it can be driven tight again. Unless when both hands are used, the haft is gripped near the blade. Held in this way, the balance of the *dá* is different to that of any other implement or weapon. It requires knack to use the *dá* effectively. The long, slender, pointed *dá* is the fighting weapon (*dalwè*), and is all of steel, with a cane handle. A shorter *dalwè*, with or without a point, is the universal implement. Short blunt-ended *dás* are used for heavy work (*damá*). These are only faced with steel. A light paring knife is called *damáuk*. There are dagger knives, but they are Shan rather than Burman implements (*dam-yáung*). The Burman and Shan smiths use a steel scraper set in a cross-handle, some-

251. SWORDSMITH.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

292. CANOPY OF GREAT ZEDI (TI, PP. 30, 101).

thing like a spoke-shave (*daing-d'naik*), for the rough shaping of the blades after forging, to save their files. The blacksmiths make the axes of the country also. The old Burman axe consists of a long-handled wooden mallet with an iron tip like a small spade. The smiths also make spear-heads for the hill-people, iron shoes for ploughs, mattocks and hoes, tires and axles of carts, dee nails for boats, nippers for sugar-cane and betel-nut, and other tools. They do repairs of locks and fire-arms. A special class of iron-work is making *ti* for *zedi*. The tinsmith's trade was unknown in Burma until fifty years ago. In Pegu it is still in Indian hands; but in Mandalay the Burman tinsmiths are unequalled.

Argentiferous galena is found in Burma, but the ore barely repays working for the sake of the lead. The silver used in Burma and most of the gold is imported from China, India, and Europe. A dozen villages in different parts of Burma get a living by sifting the sand of streams which bear gold. A broad thin wooden dish shaped like a flat cone is filled with sand and gravel, and worked at the water-level with a rotary movement, by which the lighter material is driven out centrifugally. The dish is filled and refilled, and after seven or eight hours' work as many grains weight of gold flakes will have accumulated in the depression at the centre. The out-turn of a steady worker is three to five tikals of gold in the season.

293. MOUNTAIN CASCADE.

The stock in trade of the gold and silver worker consists of a bamboo blast, clay crucibles, blowpipe, solder and flux, aquafortis and mercury, hammers, punches and anvils of bronze and iron, wire-plate and beading-plate. Bullion is furnished by the customer, who pays from one half up to the full weight, in

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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[623]

372. VILLAGE ELDERS IN CONCLAVE.

disperse as quickly as it was recruited or else it might develop into a band under a regular leader (*Bô*) and become the scourge of the country, rapidly attacking points separated by days' journeys. Against such bands the villagers combine and keep guard; torches are ready for night alarms. But when the brigands are too strong, the villagers have no choice but to enter into league with them and pay blackmail if they would not experience the horrors of barbarous war. At present brigandage is of very sporadic occurrence. Travellers are perfectly safe.

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Throughout Burma every man was liable to serve in war. He would have his own sabre and pike and would be provided with musket and ammunition, but no further accoutrements. Latterly the king's body-guards wore a sort of uniform (No. 9). Cannon are mentioned as early as 1350, and a century later, matchlocks were in use. Cæsar Frederick in 1569 speaks of pikes and arquebuses and good cannon. When disbanded, the soldiers had to surrender their muskets, but numbers were smuggled away, to add to the rigour of the guerilla waged by brigands and the severity of the villagers' retaliation.

[579]

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[701]
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The military leader is called *Bô;* the civil governor or minister of the king, *Wun*, which means a burden or trust. The former might be a young man, the latter but rarely so. Age and influence are almost synonymous in Burma. If the elders—headmen, *lûdyt*—are agreed upon a thing, it is done. The village elders represent the fundamental substratum of government in Burma. They are consulted by the officials on matters affecting the people, whose natural, if unofficial,

373. BURMAN OFFICIAL RECEIVING APPLICANTS.

511 necessity, by pressing the paste flat on the inside of the cover and
415 putting it over the fire; the top knob of the pottery always remains cool
252 enough to be touched by the time the paste is baked. On festival days
415 my mother bought dozens of little earthern dishes, no bigger than an
372 English coffee saucer. They were called *hsi-mi-khaet*, oil-flame dishes,
527 in which we burned lights of cotton wick and kerosene, and lined veran-
511 dahs and window-sills with bright fairy lights in the night breeze.

We had stoneware in the house too. The *kyaukpyin* is a flat cir-
511 cular piece of stone for grinding the bark of the *thanakha* (*limnoria*
324 *acidissima*) tree, to use as a cosmetic. It has a canal all around to receive
412 the ground paste. Kyaukpyins can be bought in all varieties and
303 sizes in any bazaar, but my mother always got hers through the headman of Salé village, in Upper Burma, where they use a particularly suitable kind of rock which is durable and yet helps to make the paste smooth. We had some beauties, heavy pieces of about 14 inches across, a square around the circular canal, with carved figures on the corners and the ponderous legs. With the right quality of bark the ground thanakha fell in a smooth golden flow into the canal. Formerly, all women used this cream as the sole substitute for powder, letting it dry on the face and whiten it, but the sophisticated ones now use imported powder as giving a less artificial appearance.

302 Yet even the most ardent Max Factor fans cannot give up thanakha entirely for its great value lies in its astringent properties; it would have great success with European women who use mud-packs, because it acts like a mild and pleasant mud-pack. It also has cooling and refreshing properties, it is fragrant; older women apply it over the entire body after their baths, like talcum powder. My mother says it smooths the skin and, indeed, victims of smallpox who are left with deeply marked faces, have their skins smeared with thick thanakha many times a day, and
303 after a few months there is a definite improvement. The thanakha
512 bark is the most used, but barks of the red and white sandalwood and other trees (*nethapyu, nethani, kalamè, a-hmway*) are more fragrant and used on the body. Bad bark from the bazaar grinds gritty and dries patchily, but special consignments come from Myingyan and Pakokku, cut into six-inch lengths from branches two inches in diameter. A daily task of the girls in each household is to grind thanakha, and the commonest sight is a girl on a verandah with a kyaukpyin, a mug of

water and a basket of logs; she pours water and grinds unceasingly, bored to tears, and then scoops the paste into separate dishes for use on face, body and legs. 303 512

Our toilet to this day never included imported combs. Even the most frivolous girls in the University prefer Burmese combs. Burmese women, unlike Siamese and modern Chinese and Japanese women, wear 302 412

their hair long without exception, and European combs could never cope with so much work. At one time, the village girls did favour long, bright bakelite combs to wind the hair around in a knot at the back, but the fashion was ridiculed as "aeroplane head-dress" and soon died. Burmese utility combs for general use and for distribution to servants of the household are made of wood and shaped according to use: for combing the hair are those with slightly curved rims, two inches wide and six inches long; for the little girls to stick in front of their knots and for women to form a frame for their formal hairdressing are small ones, almost semi-circular in the curve of the rim; for the women to wind their hair into a knot on less formal occasions are almost straight-backed combs; for dalousing are fine, double-edged combs. My mother chose wooden combs for smoothness and sturdiness and put them at the bottom of the sesamum oil jar until the brittle yellow wood turned a deep rich brown.

These combs, with teeth that bite and rarely break off, can be bought for three annas. We also had ivory and tortoise-shell combs for superior use.

Burmese blacksmiths have been busy since olden days, producing weapons for the hill people, agricultural implements, scissors, nut-crackers and fire-irons, and, above all, blades of all kinds (*dahs*). The dah is the universal implement in Burma. It serves as a fighting weapon in the form of a long *dahat*, a slender pointed steel blade, about 15 inches long, fixed by a tang into a long handle of cane 326 412

326 or bamboo, iron-bound or tightly whipped to prevent splitting. In the
412 form of a shorter dalwé, with or without a point, it is used as an all-round implement in house-building. With this bamboos are hewn, split open and slit into widths, boards of bamboo or planks are chopped for floor-boards and timbers are hewn for posts. The short, broad-ended *dahmas* are used for heavy chopping and were the general choppers for meat and firewood in our kitchens. The dahma is a stout iron blade faced with steel. Lighter paring knives called *damauks* are also produced. Thus a Burman in a village normally carries a dah of some sort tucked into his waist as he sallies forth perhaps to find some firewood, house-building material or an enemy. The Shan people also had long murderous-looking dagger knives called *damyaungs*.

The iron-workers of Magwe sent us scissors which my mother preferred to stainless steel ones because they could be oiled and sharpened throughout a lifetime, and because they had inscribed on one blade her name and on the other "Health and wealth to you". We got our betel-nut crackers from there also; these had a blade on one arm, to cut as well as crack.

276 Our house, like every Burmese house, kept a betel box always ready
415 for visitors. The box had a top tray with little cups or boxes for the
511 chopped areca nut, orange peel, spice seeds and lime, and a bottom compartment for fresh betel leaves of the betel vine (*piper betle*). A deep cover fitted the whole box. Grown-ups smeared lime on a leaf, wrapped nuts and spices in it and chewed it, spitting out the red juice which is too strong to be swallowed. Betel has an astringent action in the mouth
326 and by promoting the flow of salivary juices it aids digestion. Our betel
412 boxes were of richly carved silver, with embossed designs of elephants,
531 princes riding on horses in the forest, heavenly male and female spirits,
511 all looking very alive. Silver carving is one of our show industries; the silversmiths at Mandalay and Moulmein produce handsome bowls, boxes, dagger handles and various other objects bought by foreigners.
[253] Burmese people do not have the custom of buying *objets d'arts* for their houses, but the articles of daily use which they like to have of good quality and pleasing designs are the real inspiration of these traditional crafts of Burma. The silver used ranges from rupee fineness up to the pure metal called *baw*. We had silver bowls, *ngway-balas*, of all sizes, smaller ones for drinking, bigger for pouring the bath-water, and enormous ones about twelve inches across for holding gifts to the monks on festival days. Sometimes my mother used these to hold *taik-pan*, the flowers of the honolulu creeper, for the drawing room, but she always preferred a religious use for such noble and valuable objects. I liked all these bowls very much; they had good proportions, round the rim and base was a border of formal scroll

design and, within this chaste frame, the elephants, princes, trees and *nat* spirits waved and bounded in profusion. At the base of each bowl was a felicitous salutation inscribed on a smooth ground. 326 412 531 511

Lacquer is another industry now turning out cigar and trinket boxes, table mats, bowls and other articles for the modern market, but also continuing to supply all Burmese households with objects for daily use. When my father was stationed at Magwe, we went up the river to Pagan and from there by bullock cart to the village of Nyaung-U where the best Burmese lacquer is made. A frame of bamboo strips woven closely is covered and filled out with a mixture of cow-dung and paddy husk, and given a thick coat of black *thitsi*, wood-oil. Traditional designs are engraved on this when dry, and successive coatings of thitsi mixed with colouring are put on, the bowl being allowed to dry and turned on a lathe to take off the colour not required in the pattern in between each coating. The finished product is polished smooth and so flexible that a bowl can be bent till the opposite sides of its rim touch. We had lacquer boxes, *yun-its*, of great size to hold my father's turbans and my mother's scarves, round ones to hold combs and tresses for my mother's hairdressing, drinking mugs, betel boxes and many others. We had *kyauk-ka*, a more solid lacquer of plain red and black, for food carriers. with plates and cups to match. 322 415 531 [438]

Wood seems part of the fabric of the Burmese craftsman's being. The wealth of the forests which provided teak, pyinkado, ingyin and a host of other woods for lasting structures; the perfect medium they afforded to the chisel, gouge and mallet of the carver, and the traditional forms of architecture which offered vantage points for the display of superb craftsmanship all combined to make wood-carving the most lively of Burmese arts. But wood-carving cannot be seen to advantage in domestic articles; we had carved wooden frames for photographs of monks and of Grandfather, carving on the screen which walled off the altar room, but Burmese carvers in wood had never devoted their talents to the cutting of small articles. Teak and *yamanè*, the two woods usually carved on, have a coarse grain in which fine detail cannot be rendered. Beginning from the days when the tradition was to reserve carving for the wood of sacred structures only—palaces and monasteries—the craftsman had put all his skill into animating the gables and eaves of tiered monastery roofs, palace walls and ceilings, with a riot of living ogres, nats, dancing spirits and birds surrounded by leaves, flowers and scroll work which did not leave an inch bare. 322 314 531

Still, the village craftsman with a talent for work in wood does not lack scope in his rural surroundings. 322

around that we had meritoriously praised the Lord Buddha, and then touched the earth with the striker to pass the message to the spirits there also. These big bells may weigh up to 25 tons; the bell at Mingun is said to be the second largest in the world. They are all inscribed with lauds and invocations for the welfare of the donor. Gongs of brass are the bells of the town-crier; all announcements are punctuated with the striking of a gong. *Maung le htu tè* is the equivalent of "broadcasting it around the town". Much attention is paid to the melodiousness of gongs for the Burmese have a musical instrument called the *kyi-waing*, which is a circular frame on which graduated gongs are hung and beaten with a knobbed stick to harmonize with the rest of a Burmese orchestra.

There were numerous other objects for which my mother would never accept a substitute from English shops because they did not cater for our ingrained customs. Soup never tastes right when eaten with a metal spoon—we always used Burmese china spoons bought for about one anna each; rice is not to be stirred with a metal utensil either—the Burmese wooden ladle for this is the *yaung-ma*, the same word as for sister-in-law, the stirrer of trouble. There were, of course, particular places in Burma which supplied particular articles of dress, but I took an interest in this only when I was grown up.

What delights me is to find now that, in the imported things about the house also, all minkadaw households bought a standard type. This was probably due to the enterprise of Messrs. Rowe and Co., a Rangoon firm selling general goods, which established branches in all district towns to provide officers with anything they could not buy in native shops. We all bought Gold Medal camp chairs and camp cots from Rowe's. We bought durwan's kerosene lamps for bedrooms, Storm King and Petromax lamps with incandescent mantles for sitting and dining rooms, we bought crockery which came out in three or four good standard patterns, with an adaptation from the orthodox English dinner service to provide soup and curry dishes suitable for Burmese meals. We got cane furniture made in the local jails, odd chairs and always the half-wood half-cane stores box to serve on tours, and the long basket trays in which my father's files and papers would come home and go to the office every day, on the head of the *chaprassi*. The *hpas*, soft expandable cane boxes in which Burmese people pack their bedding when travelling, were always covered with green canvas from Rowe's. With these hpas, matching the Gold Medal camp cots and chairs, the boxes from the jails, a clerk and two or three girls looking after the children, and a general air of solicitous attention from the people around, no one could mistake an a-so-ya government official's family on its touring travels.

NGA-YOT-SON (Mortar): The mortar resembles an inverted truncated cone with a loop handle extending from the rim. It is made of the samered-brown glazed ware described above. A teak wood pestle (GYEBWE) is a rounded club about 15 inches long and 2 inches in diameter. Some are ornate with circular bands, but U Myaing's club is plain. It took him about an hour to make. The mortar was purchased here and cost 10 annas. Number of mortars in Pathwe: 1 , Camp: 1 . 415 252 [531]

DAN O (aluminum cooking pot): The aluminum cooking pot is a wide cylindrical form with a flat lid. They are made locally. U Myaing's family had three in camp ranging in size from 10 inches in diameter and 4 inches high to 12 inches in diameter and 5 inches high. The vessels were used for cooking rice and curry. A pot holding 6 LON of rice costs Rs. 6/-. Pathwe number: several, camp: 3. [435]

DAMYIN LON (aluminum pail): One aluminum pail, cylindrical in form with a height of 7 inches and diameter of 6 inches, and wire handle, was used in camp as a container in hauling foods from market and in their preparations. It cost Rs. 2/8 in Rangoon. Pathwe: [435]

Miscellaneous containers: Several beer bottles and circular cigarette tins were used in camp to contain oils and spices.

SHWEH JAIK (Tiffin Carrier): A rectangular lunch box, or tiffin carrier, of aluminum was bought in Rangoon for Rs.3/8, Pathwe: Rs. 12/-.

KYWAY PAGANEYA (China Plates): A single broken china plate was used as a cover for the water jar in camp. This was one of three brought from Pathwe, where they cost Rs. 2/-. This is a special ware which was usually reserved for guests. In Pathwe, the family had enough for family use and guests on special occasions.

THAN PAGANEYA (enamelled iron plates): Two enamelled iron plates of shallow dish and bowl form (about 12 inches in diameter) were used in camp. These cost Rs. 2/- each. Pathwe: 0.

YAUNGMA (stirring spoons): Two spatulate bladed spoons with thin handles 12 inches long were used as stirring spoons in the preparation of food. The iron one was bought in Rangoon and cost 10 annas. The wooden one was made by U Myaing in Pathwe out of teakwood. It took him 2 hours to make it with a small knife.

ZOOWE (eating spoons): Chinese porcelain spoons (KYWAY) and brass spoons (EYEE) were used indiscriminately to dip curry sauce over the rice. The Chinese spoons are boat shaped with high and hollow handles. The brass spoons are similar to European soup spoons The porcelain spoons were preferred aesthetically, but because the children frequently broke them, brass spoons were most commonly used. Cost and frequency: In Pathwe, 60. Camp: 8.
Food is commonly eaten with the fingers in all levels of Burmese society.

DAH (knife): The big knife used in camp for cutting fire-wood and other chopping jobs was about 1½ feet long including an 8 inch wooden handle bound in iron. The steel blade is curved slightly upward, has a square end and is used as a chopper frequently with two hands on the handle. The one in camp was bought "long ago" and cost Rs. 4/-. A small knife with a pointed steel blade was used for whittling and cutting in the preparation of food. Pathwe: 10, most for work in IN. Camp 2. [412] ● [435]

KAYUT (pot rest): A hollow disc woven of soft reeds with a diameter of 6 to 8 inches is used to rest pots on - so that the carbon on their bases will not blacken the surface on which they rest. These are readily made by the women of the family. [285]

PYI DAUNG (Measures): There were two of these containers, used for measuring rice in camp. The iron one had a hole in it, but was retained as a general container. It had been replaced by the wicker

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
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20. TOY CART.

of a savage description. Children have pretty manners; they are respectful to their elders without shyness or cringing.

Children grow up among the implements they will use in after life. Wooden mills for husking rice, tilt-hammers and mortars for pounding, cotton-seeders with geared rollers, spinning-wheels, weaving-looms and other simple machines are in every household; besides agricultural implements, carts and boats, all of which are made or kept in repair by the inmates (*cf.* p. 120). The workshops of artizans of every class are open to view, and the processes are obvious to every passer-by. The interest aroused in children is more diversified than in cold countries with their more secluded life. From mimicking the occupations of adults children learn to take part and soon begin to like a real share in them. Their trade begins with make-believe wares, then come scraps of house and garden produce till it develops into a source of pocket-money and training in business (Nos. 281, 431). The years of tutelage merge into the age of responsibility without abrupt transition. The intelligence which the school-teacher proceeds to build on has insensibly developed under conditions more than commonly favourable, which may help to account for the precocity of Burman school-children under good teaching.

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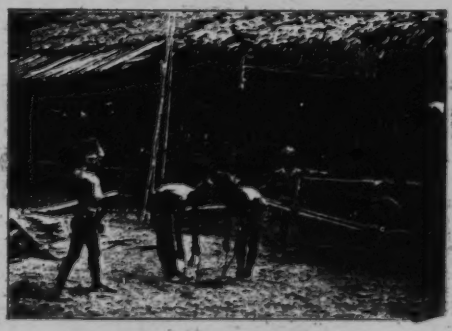
From the ages of eight to ten, boys begin attending the school of the Buddhist monastery (*kyaung*), where they are taught free by the recluse (*pôndyi*) or by his sojourner recluses (*upazin*). The spelling-book is chanted in a chorus led by a senior pupil, and is copied out with a white steatite pencil on a



21. RED-TOPS (DYIN-PAUK).

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

31. SHINLAUNG ARRAYED FOR HIS FETE.

the home of the Buddha. In order to accentuate the renunciation of the world which the lad is making, he is arrayed and attended like a prince and makes a royal progress on horseback or in a chariot to the monastery. Attendants bear gilt umbrellas over him, and a retinue of relatives and friends carry his *parĕikaya* and offerings for the use of the monastery. The *parĕikaya* are the eight chattels, to the possession of which the regular recluse (*yahán*) is restricted. They consist of the *thingán* or monastic yellow robes, *viz.*, the loin-cloth (*thimbáing*), upper cloth (*egasí*), wrapper (*thingán-dyí*), and red girdle (*kabán*); a needle (*at*), wherewith to piece his clothing together, a hard-baked black earthen pot (*thabĕit*) in which to collect the morning dole of food, a filter (*yezít*) to strain the drinking water clear of living things, and a razor (*thindôn-dâ*) to shave the head and face (excepting the eyebrows). The garments are of plain cloth, without any cut, but torn into strips and joined up again (by the donors) in commemoration of the primitive rule of piecing the garments together from rags, as well as to deprive the cloth of value. The cloth is mostly cotton, but silk and wool are also offered. The stuffs are dyed a bright ochre, with chips of Jack-wood. By repeated washings the colour deepens to tan. These varying shades produce a picturesque effect. The recluse customarily also receives sandals to wear, a deer-skin to sit and sleep upon, a broom to sweep his dwelling with, and a large palm-leaf fan, both for a shelter from the sun and a screen from the sight of womankind. The *thabĕit* is slung in a yellow cotton net, and has a lacquerwork stand and cover. In respect of chattels, however, these primitive tokens of privation have sunk to a form. The recluses have many changes of raiment and the use of spacious dwellings

32. SHINLAUNG PAGEANT (BURMA PROPER).

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

243 Under the coarse yellow husk is a shell of bran, and beneath that a delicate white pellicle. The two outer coverings have to be removed and the inner one preserved. "Cargo rice," which forms the bulk of the mill produce, is three parts rice simply husked, and one part paddy. The mixture bears the transport.

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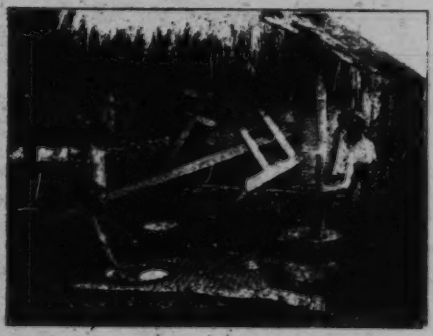
118. TREADING OUT THE GRAIN.

better than white rice. Burmans clean the rice according to daily need. This is done either by simple pounding or by first husking the grain in a wooden mill (*kyeisshu*), and then pounding it to get off the bran. The mortar is of hard wood, with a hard wood pounder as heavy as the arm can wield; or else the pounder is mounted in a tilting-beam for foot-power. Chaff and bran are separately winnowed out with sieves and trays (*sagaw*) of bamboo, and in exposed places by the help of the wind also. For wholesale husking, the native mill is composed of two strong wicker-work cylinders made solid with clay, in which are embedded upright staves of hard wood (Nos. 127, 134). As the mill wears down, the layers of wood keep above the clay like the layers of enamel in a herbivore's tooth, maintaining a rough surface for work. In the early days of the export trade, rice was husked for shipping in this way. The separation of the chaff is done with a machine copied from our farmyard winnower, and now manufactured in every town.



119. CLEANING RICE WITH THE HAND-POUNDER.

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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130. CLEANING RICE WITH THE HAND-MILL.

in every town. A basket (*din*, bushel) of cleaned rice (*san*) costs three to four rupees, and lasts a man about a month. The loss of volume in cleaning is about twenty-five per cent., and the cost of the unhusked grain about one-third of that of rice. For cakes and sweets, rice is ground with water in the Indian stone hand-mill. After first soaking, it is passed through the mill repeatedly until it forms a creamy fluid, which is strained and used while fresh. Wheaten bread is a novelty.

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The houses in Burma are mostly built of bamboo. The giant bamboo (*wabô*), a denizen of the evergreen hills, is cultivated in the plains for house-posts and masts and side-buoys of boats. Its culms attain a height of eighty feet and a girth at the butt of two feet. Every bamboo jungle supplies the rest of the material for the house. No tools are needed for bamboo work, but the universal *dâ*—a sabre, trimmer, chopper, according to its proportions (No. 231). With the *dâ* the bamboos are hewn, split open and slit into withes (*lint*) for lashing. Thin-walled bamboos are opened out into broad planks for the walls of the houses (*taydn*). Stout thick-walled bamboos are shaped into narrow planks for flooring, or the floor is laid of round bamboos laced down at intervals. Loose planks of wood are becoming general for floors, even in houses built of bamboo (p. 119). Every Burman can handle the *dâ*, but not so expertly as the hill people. The house-posts, floor-girders, and principal frames are frequently of timber, and outlast several relays of the bamboo-work, which decays in a few seasons. The inducement to keep a material clean and neat which has soon to be replaced is not great, and engenders negligent habits. In the better houses, bamboo is only used for the walling and the roof rafters.

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131. WINNOWING GRAIN IN THE WIND.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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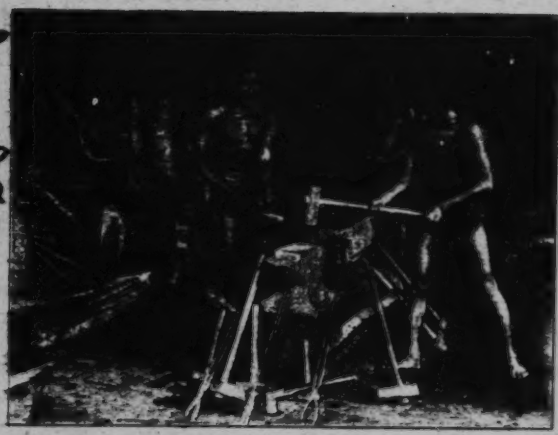

230. BURMAN BLACKSMITH (NEW STYLE).

Burman has copied the leather double-bellows from the steam-mill workshops.

Making *dás* is the blacksmith's principal business. For the uses to which the Burman puts his *dá*, he is not likely to be offered a better implement. The *dá* is a blade twelve to twenty-four inches long, somewhat curved back from the edge, with the weight towards the point, and fixed by a tang into a long handle of cane or bamboo, iron-bound or whipped to prevent splitting. The *dá* must not vibrate in the haft, and is for that reason not riveted through, so that when it works loose it can be driven tight again. Unless when both hands are used, the haft is gripped near the blade. Held in this way, the balance of the *dá* is different to that of any other implement or weapon. It requires knack to use the *dá* effectively. The long, slender, pointed *dá* is the fighting weapon (*dahwè*), and is all of steel, with a cane handle. A shorter *dahwè*, with or without a point, is the universal implement. Short blunt-ended *dás* are used for heavy work (*damá*). These are only faced with steel. A light paring knife is called *damáuk*. There are dagger knives, but they are Shan rather than Burman implements (*damyáung*). The Burman and Shan smiths use a steel scraper set in a cross-handle, some-

231. SWORDSMITH.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

282. CANOPY OF GREAT ZEDI (II, PP. 30, 101).

thing like a spoke-shave (*daing-dyaik*), for the rough shaping of the blades after forging, to save their files. The blacksmiths make the axes of the country also. The old Burman axe consists of a long-handled wooden mallet with an iron tip like a small spade. The smiths also make spear-heads for the hill-people, iron shoes for ploughs, mattocks and hoes, tires and axles of carts, dee nails for boats, nippers for sugar-cane and betel-nut, and other tools. They do repairs of locks and fire-arms. A special class of iron-work is making *tl* for *zadi*. The tinsmith's trade was unknown in Burma until fifty years ago. In Pegu it is still in Indian hands; but in Mandalay the Burman tinsmiths are unequalled.

Argentiferous galena is found in Burma, but the ore barely repays working for the sake of the lead. The silver used in Burma and most of the gold is imported from China, India, and Europe. A dozen villages in different parts of Burma get a living by sifting the sand of streams which bear gold. A broad thin wooden dish shaped like a flat cone is filled with sand and gravel, and worked at the water-level with a rotary movement, by which the lighter material is driven out centrifugally. The dish is filled and refilled, and after seven or eight hours' work as many grains weight of gold flakes will have accumulated in the depression at the centre. The out-turn of a steady worker is three to five tikals of gold in the season.

The stock in trade of the gold and silver worker consists of a bamboo blast, clay crucibles, blowpipe, solder and flux, aquafortis and mercury, hammers, punches and anvils of bronze and iron, wire-plate and beading-plate. Bullion is furnished by the customer, who pays from one half up to the full weight, in

283. MOUNTAIN CASCADE.

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[346]
[177
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[135]
316
[133]
326

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

593
858
861
[524]
868
857
858
412

20. TOY CART.

of a savage description. Children have pretty manners; they are respectful to their elders without shyness or cringing.

Children grow up among the implements they will use in after life. Wooden mills for husking rice, tilt-hammers and mortars for pounding, cotton-seeders with geared rollers, spinning-wheels, weaving-looms and other simple machines are in every household; besides agricultural implements, carts and boats, all of which are made or kept in repair by the inmates (*cf.* p. 120). The workshops of artizans of every class are open to view, and the processes are obvious to every passer-by. The interest aroused in children is more diversified than in cold countries with their more secluded life. From mimicking the occupations of adults children learn to take part and soon begin to like a real share in them. Their trade begins with make-believe wares, then come scraps of house and garden produce till it develops into a source of pocket-money and training in business (Nos. 281, 431). The years of tutelage merge into the age of responsibility without abrupt transition. The intelligence which the school-teacher proceeds to build on has insensibly developed under conditions more than commonly favourable, which may help to account for the precocity of Burman school-children under good teaching.

[153]

871
[524]
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413

From the ages of eight to ten, boys begin attending the school of the Buddhist monastery (*kyaung*), where they are taught free by the recluse (*pôndyi*) or by his sojourner recluses (*upazin*). The spelling-book is chanted in a chorus led by a senior pupil, and is copied out with a white steatite pencil on a

21. PEG-TOPS (DYIN-PAUK).

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

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413
[524]
871
212
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23. MARBLES (GON-HNYIN).

long wooden slate blackened with soot and rice-water (*thumbôn*). The Burmese word-building is exceedingly regular and in the main phonetic (See appendix B). Reading is acquired in one term, without much effort on the part of pupil or teacher. The Burmans have a pure decimal notation in which the bugbears *eleven* and *twelve* are unrepresented. The Burmese *eleven* is literally "onety-one." Children can count up to hundreds before they come to school and can reckon up sums mentally. In arithmetic they are taught the multiplication-table and a few rules of thumb (*bedin*). In addition to the five Buddhist commandments (p. 16) and the objects of contemplation (p. 43), which the children learn in their homes, they chant passages from the Pâli scriptures in the school chorus and get other precepts by rote: such as the category of duties to parents, teachers and elders, *viz.*, reverence, support, mutual affection (*parêik*). They are taught the value of learning as an inalienable possession, together with many precepts from the *Lawkanîti* and *Mingala-thôt*; the conquests of the inner and outer worlds *Atwin-aungdyin*, *Apyin-aungdyin*, the story of the Buddha (see *The Light of Asia*) and the legendary cosmogony.

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869

212 As the result of this Buddhist system of schools, nearly half of the male and about 3 per cent. of the female population can read and write, as compared with 9 and 0·3 per cent. for men and women respectively in Bengal. The

871

524

24. RACING TOY BOATS.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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[346
871]
[577
531]

27. VILLAGE LAY SCHOOL.

next to a parent, with a life-long devotion.

Before or after the monastic novitiate, it is the custom for the Burman lads to have themselves tattooed from the waist to the knee (No. 152). Not to submit to this ordeal is to incur the reproach of cowardice. The tattooing is an intricate pattern of animals and tracery. Owing to the extent of surface involved, the process is most painful. It occupies days or weeks, according to the fortitude of the subject, who is drugged with opium for the occasion. The instrument has a handle weighted at the butt, and a long point of bronze, split like a ruling-pen. It is worked with great rapidity. The pigment is a kind of lamp-black of the consistence of ink. It shows bluish black through the brown skin. When a Burman tucks up his loin-cloth, as he always does for work or exercise (*kaddung-chaik*), he looks as if he had black knee-breeches. As plain as the contrast is to the eye, ordinary photographic plates fail to render it. In No. 153 it appears fully. On other parts of the body the men frequently have horoscopes and cabalistic diagrams tattooed with vermilion (*se-ni*, No. 162) for luck and bravado. The Shan practice of letting in gold and silver discs the size of two-penny pieces—beneath the skin—is sometimes imitated by Burmans as a charm against sword-cuts and bullets (*dabyi*; *thenabbyi*). The Arakanese, who repudiate the custom of *thgwin*, ascribe it to a Burman King, who endeavoured to disguise his leprosy in this way.

[276]
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751
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[609
101]
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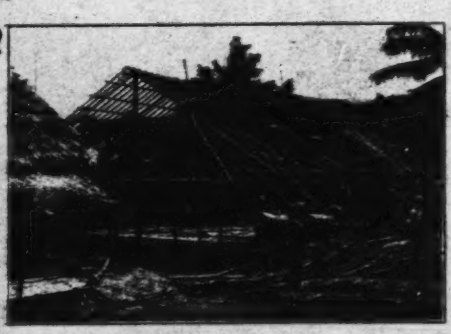
28. KITE-FLYING.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

342



134. LASHING THE ROOF-POLES.

these (No. 16). Frequently the water-stand is a separate erection, opening into one of the lower bays. There are several kinds of roof-thatch, of which the commonest is *thekkè*, a broad-leaved grass, bound on sticks of split bamboo. The leaf of the *danè* palm makes the best thatch. The large leathery leaf of the *in* tree is also used. A roofing material called *wagàt* is made of bamboo shingles, of which strips are held together by three or four wattles, handy for tying to the rafters. This material is less inflammable than *thekkè*. Tiles and modern wooden shingles can only be used on strong roof-frames. Floor-mats of the stoutest kind are plaited of the outer silicious rind of the bamboo (*kwè-dyaw*). Common mats are plaited of the inner fibre split into withes, one half to three-quarters of an inch broad, and about one-twentieth in thickness. Finer and more pliable mats are made of the reed *thabàw*. The finest of all are made of the outer skin of the *thin* plant. *Thimbyu* is the universal sleeping-mat.

[285]

286 The cloth used in Burma is now, for the most part, imported, as are also the cotton yarns, both plain and coloured. Nevertheless, the domestic cloth industry
283 continues to flourish in the villages. Native textile cotton (*wā*) is of two varieties, one white, the other dun. The cotton, after being culled from the plants, is seeded between wooden rollers. The fibre, caked together by the rollers, is scutched by flicking it off the string of a bow into a basket, where the fibres disperse again. It is then worked between the palms into flakes convenient for the spinner (*baing-hngin*). The plain spindle, common everywhere in India, is obsolete in Burma where even the hill-people use the wheel (*yit*). With the exception of the stuff for the

[413]

[285]

135. PLAITING WALL-MATS.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

No kind of wool is indigenous 286
or is spun or woven in 291
Burma. Cæsar Frederick [283
in 1569 mentions woollen 439]
cloth among the goods
brought to Burma, *viâ* Arakán. Web vests for boys and men, of European manufacture, are becoming general. The use of shoes of the European shape is bringing in the use of socks and stockings. The addition of a European shirt under the Burman jacket

130. LAYING OUT THE WARP.

makes up the incongruous kit affected by the modern office clerks. With the [296
increased use of body-linen have come the Indian washermen. The coloured
stuffs are washed by the Burman women. The native dyes wash well, especially 463]
the silk dyes. An alkali-earth (*sappya*) is found in Burma, but soap is of modern
introduction, and is now sold in every bazár. Needles used to be brought to 439
Burma from China, as well as scissors, though the latter are also fashioned in
Burma; at present both are imported from Europe. Burmans work the needle 413 ●
from them, like other Asiatics. The work is pinned to a cushion at the head 286
of a post planted on the work-box. The use of the thimble was unknown until
tailors came over from India, but is now general. The bulk of the tailoring is [177]
in the hands of immigrants from China; but their prejudice against the sewing-
machine is helping to transfer the 463
business to the Burman women. 294
Nearly every well-to-do family in
the towns has its sewing-machine.

At sunrise the women start with their water-pots for the day's supply, and again before they cook the evening meal, which finishes the day's work. On the morning errand they do the most of their washing. In the evening they carry a spare cloth to change for the one they bathe in, which they wash and coil into a pad to put between the head and the water-

131. BURMESE CARVING OF WEAVING-LOOM.

462
[532]
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25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

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262. ROPE-STATION ON THE SALWEEN (KYODAN).

current, a remarkable device is employed. Two ten-foot handspikes, with a shoulder two feet above the point, have mooring-rattans from each end of the raft, one hundred feet long and an inch thick, bent on to them. One of these is sent ashore from the forward end of the raft and worked like a plough in the bank, going deeper as the raft slews round and the tension increases, and so stopping its way by degrees. If the first attempt fails a second is made from the other end of the raft, which is then the forward one. Arrived in port the logs are dragged up the mud-banks by elephants. But when the path is blocked, a powerful elephant sometimes carries a log bodily. The whole of the [463] operations of bringing the timber to market are combined by a timber-broker (forester, *thiggaung*).

322 Teak cuts readily, though it blunts the tools very soon. There is little waste. Sawn planks are displacing bamboo for the better-class houses. Sawyers 313 earn from one-half to one rupee a day. The indigenous carpenter's tools were a small adze (*pègôt*), chisels and gouges (*sauk*), awls (*hun*), and a rough saw (*khwa*), •413 besides *dô* and axe (*paussein*). The Burman adopted the Chinese plane (*yuk-haw*, "selecting-shave") with the Chinese straddle bench. The English [197] carpenter's rule is also general. When the impulse to good house-building was given by the production of cheap planks, the immigrants from China got 322 the whole of the work. 341 The Burmans have begun to oust them from [563] the heavy carpentering and from the joinery as well. Ordinary Burman carpenters earn ¾ rupee a day, the better workmen 1 to 1¼ rupees a day, compared with the Chinaman's 1½ rupees. The wood-work is left

263. BINDING THE LOGS INTO RAFTS.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

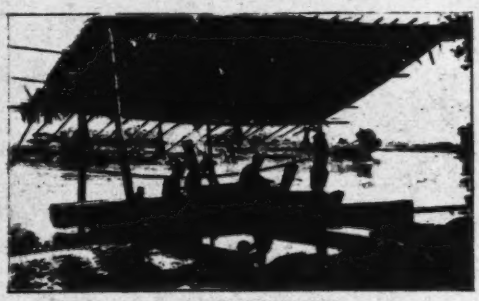
322
341
[313]
322
413

264. TIMBER-RAFT.

plain or is oiled with crude petroleum. A wooden house of the modern Burman pattern costs from three hundred rupees upwards; a bamboo house only twenty to sixty.

The Burman turning-lathe is of the usual primitive type; two poppets sliding in a bed, with centres to hold the work, round which a cord passes from the simple treadle-bar to a springy lath or bamboo overhead. But of late, mandril-lathes have been constructed after models in the steam-mill workshops (No. 187). Mechanical construction has great attractions for the Burman, and is stimulated [563] by the high wages of labour. The foremen sawyers at the steam-mills are Burmans, the other hands natives of India. Menders of clocks and sewing-[401] machines are in all the towns. An engine-erecter, who had set up machinery in most countries of Europe and Asia, said he had nowhere met the same natural aptitude for handling machinery as in Burma (*cf.* p. 10).

322 The floral wood-carving of Burma is remarkable for its freedom and spontaneity. Rich as the floral tracery is, the animal grotesques are laboured
531 and deficient in fancy. The carving is done in teak-wood when it is meant for fixtures; otherwise, *yamanè* is preferred. The tools employed are chisel, gouge, and mallet. The design is traced on the wood with charcoal, gouged out in the rough and finished with sharp fine tools, using the mallet for every stroke. Teak-wood and *yamanè* have a coarse grain, in which fine detail cannot be rendered. Small and delicately elaborated figures are carved in sandal-wood [313] and also in ivory. Whole tusks are carved over with figures of the Buddha and are dedicated in the *kyaungs*. In some of these the figures are modelled in a single piece under an



265. SAWING UP THE LOGS.

shops to supply her with goods, but took a special pride in buying each 592
product from the town where the best quality of it was manufactured. 431
She could do this either by my father's being posted within its district, 513
by going there on a pagoda-visiting expedition, or by having relatives 286
posted there; and a survey of all the household possessions I can re- 511
member makes a cross-section of Burmese crafts. All our blankets were Burmese *saungs*, good stoutly woven cotton pieces, about 7 feet long and 4½ feet wide. We had single ones of red, black and yellow stripes which looked very bright and barbaric; they came from the Chin Hills. We used these in the hotter months. During the colder months we used thicker *ok-saungs* which we got from Pakokku; they were 14 feet long and used doubled, with a fringe at both ends. These were woven very strong and white, with bold red stripes on them in pleasing combinations. All these saungs washed more and more beautiful to our childish eyes. My mother had a big collection of them in wooden chests and some of them have lasted 30 years and are still beautiful.

She was also very jealous of her collection of *hpyas*, mats for sleeping 513
or sitting on, woven closely of the fibres of a reed called *thabaw*, or, 285
finer still, of the outer skin of a grass-like plant, the *thin*. These light 352
and flexible mats or *thinbyu* came from Laymyethna, "The Town of 511
Four Faces". They were equally smooth on both sides and had velvet borders piped on, broad at one end and narrower at the other, to distinguish the head end for nobler use, and to be sure of always resting the feet on the same ignoble end. We had them in big sizes for the beds and for afternoon naps on the verandah, and smaller sizes for prayers and for visitors to sit on. My mother kept them in rolls, five or six rolled together according to quality, covered with a cylinder of ticking and stood end up along her dressing-room.

Although we used imported crockery for the table we could not do without Burmese pottery for other purposes. Water-pots and goblets of light pottery from Twante, near Rangoon, were necessary to keep the water cool. There must be special pots for the altar water, for washing [271]
faces, for drinking water (in which pot, however, we kept a sand filter bought from Rangoon), and goblets in all bedrooms. For baths we had big black voluminous jars from Upper Burma, of a less porous pottery with a salt glaze on it, about 30 inches high and wide-mouthed. Smaller ones like these were kept for pickling mangoes and other green fruits. In the kitchen also, the modern aluminium pots 415
would not do for such purposes as cooking acid leaves and fish 252
curry that had tamarind in it; an earthen pot was always used for 511
chimbaung, roselle leaves. Moreover, the *salaungbon*, or cover, of an earthern pot can always be used for baking fish paste, a daily

511 necessity, by pressing the paste flat on the inside of the cover and
415 putting it over the fire; the top knob of the pottery always remains cool
252 enough to be touched by the time the paste is baked. On festival days
415 my mother bought dozens of little earthern dishes, no bigger than an
372 English coffee saucer. They were called *hsi-mi-khwet*, oil-flame dishes,
527 in which we burned lights of cotton wick and kerosene, and lined veran-
511 dahs and window-sills with bright fairy lights in the night breeze.

We had stoneware in the house too. The *kyaukpyin* is a flat circular piece of stone for grinding the bark of the *thanakha* (*linnoria*
511 *acidissima*) tree, to use as a cosmetic. It has a canal all around to receive
324 the ground paste. Kyaukpyins can be bought in all varieties and
412 sizes in any bazaar, but my mother always got hers through the headman
303 of Salé village, in Upper Burma, where they use a particularly suitable kind of rock which is durable and yet helps to make the paste smooth. We had some beauties, heavy pieces of about 14 inches across, a square around the circular canal, with carved figures on the corners and the ponderous legs. With the right quality of bark the ground thanakha fell in a smooth golden flow into the canal. Formerly, all women used this cream as the sole substitute for powder, letting it dry on the face and whiten it, but the sophisticated ones now use imported powder as giving a less artificial appearance.

302 Yet even the most ardent Max Factor fans cannot give up thanakha entirely for its great value lies in its astringent properties; it would have great success with European women who use mud-packs, because it acts like a mild and pleasant mud-pack. It also has cooling and refreshing properties, it is fragrant; older women apply it over the entire body after their baths, like talcum powder. My mother says it smooths the skin and, indeed, victims of smallpox who are left with deeply marked faces, have their skins smeared with thick thanakha many times a day, and
303 after a few months there is a definite improvement. The thanakha
512 bark is the most used, but barks of the red and white sandalwood and other trees (*nethapyu, nethani, kalamè, a-hmway*) are more fragrant and used on the body. Bad bark from the bazaar grinds gritty and dries patchily, but special consignments come from Myingyan and Pakokku, cut into six-inch lengths from branches two inches in diameter. A daily task of the girls in each household is to grind thanakha, and the commonest sight is a girl on a verandah with a kyaukpyin, a mug of

326 or bamboo, iron-bound or tightly whipped to prevent splitting. In the
412 form of a shorter dalwé, with or without a point, it is used as an all-round implement in house-building. With this bamboos are hewn, split open and slit into widths, boards of bamboo or planks are chopped for floor-boards and timbers are hewn for posts. The short, broad-ended *dahmas* are used for heavy chopping and were the general choppers for meat and firewood in our kitchens. The dahma is a stout iron blade faced with steel. Lighter paring knives called *damauks* are also produced. Thus a Burman in a village normally carries a dah of some sort tucked into his waist as he sallies forth perhaps to find some firewood, house-building material or an enemy. The Shan people also had long murderous-looking dagger knives called *damyaungs*.

The iron-workers of Magwe sent us scissors which my mother preferred to stainless steel ones because they could be oiled and sharpened throughout a lifetime, and because they had inscribed on one blade her name and on the other "Health and wealth to you". We got our betel-nut crackers from there also; these had a blade on one arm, to cut as well as crack.

276 Our house, like every Burmese house, kept a betel box always ready
• 415 for visitors. The box had a top tray with little cups or boxes for the
511 chopped areca nut, orange peel, spice seeds and lime, and a bottom compartment for fresh betel leaves of the betel vine (*piper betle*). A deep cover fitted the whole box. Grown-ups smeared lime on a leaf, wrapped nuts and spices in it and chewed it, spitting out the red juice which is too strong to be swallowed. Betel has an astringent action in the mouth
326 and by promoting the flow of salivary juices it aids digestion. Our betel
412 boxes were of richly carved silver, with embossed designs of elephants,
531 princes riding on horses in the forest, heavenly male and female spirits,
511 all looking very alive. Silver carving is one of our show industries; the silversmiths at Mandalay and Moulmein produce handsome bowls, boxes, dagger handles and various other objects bought by foreigners.
[253] Burmese people do not have the custom of buying *objets d'arts* for their houses, but the articles of daily use which they like to have of good quality and pleasing designs are the real inspiration of these traditional crafts of Burma. The silver used ranges from rupee fineness up to the pure metal called *baw*. We had silver bowls, *ngway-balas*, of all sizes, smaller ones for drinking, bigger for pouring the bath-water, and enormous ones about twelve inches across for holding gifts to the monks on festival days. Sometimes my mother used these to hold *taik-pan*, the flowers of the honolulu creeper, for the drawing room, but she always preferred a religious use for such noble and valuable objects. I liked all these bowls very much; they had good proportions, round the rim and base was a border of formal scroll

design and, within this chaste frame, the elephants, princes, trees and *nat* spirits waved and bounded in profusion. At the base of each bowl was a felicitous salutation inscribed on a smooth ground. 326 412 531 511

Lacquer is another industry now turning out cigar and trinket boxes, table mats, bowls and other articles for the modern market, but also continuing to supply all Burmese households with objects for daily use. When my father was stationed at Magwe, we went up the river to Pagan and from there by bullock cart to the village of Nyaung-U where the best Burmese lacquer is made. A frame of bamboo strips woven closely is covered and filled out with a mixture of cow-dung and paddy husk, and given a thick coat of black *thitsi*, wood-oil. Traditional designs are engraved on this when dry, and successive coatings of thitsi mixed with colouring are put on, the bowl being allowed to dry and turned on a lathe to take off the colour not required in the pattern in between each coating. The finished product is polished smooth and so flexible that a bowl can be bent till the opposite sides of its rim touch. We had lacquer boxes, *yun-its*, of great size to hold my father's turbans and my mother's scarves, round ones to hold combs and tresses for my mother's hairdressing, drinking mugs, betel boxes and many others. We had *kyauk-ka*, a more solid lacquer of plain red and black, for food carriers, with plates and cups to match. 322 415 531 [438]

Wood seems part of the fabric of the Burmese craftsman's being. The wealth of the forests which provided teak, pyinkado, ingyin and a host of other woods for lasting structures; the perfect medium they afforded to the chisel, gouge and mallet of the carver, and the traditional forms of architecture which offered vantage points for the display of superb craftsmanship all combined to make wood-carving the most lively of Burmese arts. But wood-carving cannot be seen to advantage in domestic articles; we had carved wooden frames for photographs of monks and of Grandfather, carving on the screen which walled off the altar room, but Burmese carvers in wood had never devoted their talents to the cutting of small articles. Teak and *yamanè*, the two woods usually carved on, have a coarse grain in which fine detail cannot be rendered. Beginning from the days when the tradition was to reserve carving for the wood of sacred structures only—palaces and monasteries—the craftsman had put all his skill into animating the gables and eaves of tiered monastery roofs, palace walls and ceilings, with a riot of living ogres, nats, dancing spirits and birds surrounded by leaves, flowers and scroll work which did not leave an inch bare. 322 314 531

Still, the village craftsman with a talent for work in wood does not lack scope in his rural surroundings. 322

around that we had meritoriously praised the Lord Buddha, and then touched the earth with the striker to pass the message to the spirits there also. These big bells may weigh up to 25 tons; the bell at Mingun is said to be the second largest in the world. They are all inscribed with lauds and invocations for the welfare of the donor. Gongs of brass are the bells of the town-crier; all announcements are punctuated with the striking of a gong. *Maung le htu tè* is the equivalent of "broadcasting it around the town". Much attention is paid to the melodiousness of gongs for the Burmese have a musical instrument called the *kyi-waing*, which is a circular frame on which graduated gongs are hung and beaten with a knobbed stick to harmonize with the rest of a Burmese orchestra.

There were numerous other objects for which my mother would never accept a substitute from English shops because they did not cater for our ingrained customs. Soup never tastes right when eaten with a metal spoon—we always used Burmese china spoons bought for about one anna each; rice is not to be stirred with a metal utensil either—the Burmese wooden ladle for this is the *yaung-ma*, the same word as for sister-in-law, the stirrer of trouble. There were, of course, particular places in Burma which supplied particular articles of dress, but I took an interest in this only when I was grown up.

What delights me is to find now that, in the imported things about the house also, all minkadaw households bought a standard type. This was probably due to the enterprise of Messrs. Rowe and Co., a Rangoon firm selling general goods, which established branches in all district towns to provide officers with anything they could not buy in native shops. We all bought Gold Medal camp chairs and camp cots from Rowe's. We bought durwan's kerosene lamps for bedrooms, Storm King and Petromax lamps with incandescent mantles for sitting and dining rooms, we bought crockery which came out in three or four good standard patterns, with an adaptation from the orthodox English dinner service to provide soup and curry dishes suitable for Burmese meals. We got cane furniture made in the local jails, odd chairs and always the half-wood half-cane stores box to serve on tours, and the long basket trays in which my father's files and papers would come home and go to the office every day, on the head of the *chaprassi*. The *hpas*, soft expandable cane boxes in which Burmese people pack their bedding when travelling, were always covered with green canvas from Rowe's. With these hpas, matching the Gold Medal camp cots and chairs, the boxes from the jails, a clerk and two or three girls looking after the children, and a general air of solicitous attention from the people around, no one could mistake an a-so-ya government official's family on its touring travels.

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

It rounds a girl's mouth a good deal when she puts it in. 276
In the manufacture of it chopped tobacco leaves and pieces of the stem of the tobacco plant and the pith of the oh'nè, a species of Euphorbia, are the chief ingredients. Very often these are boiled with palm-sugar and allowed to dry before making up. The cover is made of the leaf of the teak-tree, or of a tree called the thanat, the ends being tucked in at the point. A piece of red raw silk fastens it at the end put in the mouth, and some broader pieces of pith are put there to give it stiffness to the lips. [565] The finer kinds, such as were only used in Upper Burma in the palace, are rolled up in the thin white inner coating of the bark of the betel-tree. The cheroot has an ash like a cinder, and usually burns holes in the clothes of an Englishman the first time he tries it. Laid down thoughtlessly on an oily mat, it is a fruitful cause of fires. [562] All Burman ladies are adepts at rolling cheroots, and a dozen or two of them form a common present to favoured swains.

Chewing betel is sometimes carried on simultaneously with smoking, but most people prefer to economise enjoyment, and only chew in the interval between smokes. Chewing is hardly an exact expression, and the use of it frequently leads the experimenting Briton into the unpleasant predicament of having all the interstices between his teeth choked up with little fragments of the nut, which, with their indescribable aromatic flavour, stimulate the flow of saliva for hours afterwards. The Burman splits his nut in half, smears a little slaked lime, usually white, but sometimes tinted pink or salmon coloured, on the betel vine leaf, puts in a little morsel of cutch and tobacco, and then rolls it up and stows away the quid in the side of his mouth, occasionally *squeezing* it a little between his teeth. It is as well to be very cautious with the lime and cutch (the juice of the *Acacia catechu*) the first time you make a trial. The latter especially is very astringent. One variety of the nut, called the Taunggu betel, has effects very much resembling intoxication. Chewing kôn-thi is an unlovely practice. [415] The Burman has none of the delicacy with regard to a spittoon which characterises the American, and these articles require to be of a very considerable size. The monks are perhaps

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statuary are to be seen, besides abundance of chairs and tables, and occasionally bedsteads, while clocks, kerosine lamps, looking-glasses, and lounge chairs are universal. But it is very different in the village houses. There is practically no furniture at all there, for a chair is of no use to a jungle Burman, and without chairs tables are equally useless. Consequently all that is to be seen in a village house is the goodman's box, and a few woven mats and hard bamboo pillows to sleep on. Cots are not used, for one of the Ten Precepts, to be kept on duty-days, is that one must not sleep on a high place. The only furnishings visible are the mats rolled up during the day with the rugs or blankets which serve for bedding. The mats themselves are probably home-made, manufactured from fine strips of bamboo, the best being those with the polished silicious surface outside, which stand any amount of work. Softer, finer articles are made from the skin of the theng, a species of rush, which takes a black dye, and is often worked into patterns, but no one has anything more elaborate, and indeed nothing better could be wished for. A cooler bed could not easily be found. In the country, also, the cooking place during the rains is in the house. During the fine weather culinary operations are carried on in the open air, behind the premises. The cooking range is nothing more than a box, two or three feet square, and six inches deep, filled up with earth or ashes, and on the top of this the wood used as fuel is piled. The cooking utensils and the dining service are equally simple. The former consists of nothing further than two or three earthen pots with lids to them, and a wooden spurtle to stir the contents with. Close at hand is a jar full of water, with a ladle—half a cocoa-nut with a handle through it. These are all the kitchen appliances. In place of table there is a huge round dish of lacquered wood, called a byat. These byats are sometimes as much as three feet and more in diameter, and on them is heaped up in a gigantic pile the rice, while the curry is served in little bowls disposed round about. A young couple have, therefore, no ruinous expenses when they set up house. The inventory of effects necessarily is soon made.

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Outside the house there is not much more to notice.

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every household in the town is occupied in the trade, is there any attempt at regular planting of nurseries. Nevertheless it is plentiful enough, and affords a magnificent spectacle when it is in flower—a huge forest tree covered so thickly with creamy-white blossoms that the leaves cannot be seen. The flowers have a fragrant scent not unlike that of apples, and the needy and practical Burman often makes a very acceptable curry of the buds. In full-grown trees the average height to the first branch is thirty feet, and the ordinary girth six feet from the ground is nine feet. Charcoal-burners have a predilection for the wood, which would not meet with approval in Japan; and it is much used for anchors and tool-helves, being very close and fine-grained. It is too heavy to float when green, but dried it is not particularly weighty. The sap may be collected at all times, except when the fruit is on the trees, from Pyatho to Tabaung—the first three months of the English year. Then it is thin and does not produce such a brilliant polish. The mode of collection is simple enough. Incisions are made in the stem, and the sap trickles into bamboos placed to catch it. When it is to be kept any time there must be a depth of two or three inches of water on the top, otherwise it would dry up and become solid. The water, however, does not improve it. The best varnish, called thi'si ayaungtin, is that which has been just drawn from the tree; the second quality contains twenty-five per cent of water, the inferior as much as fifty.

The articles lacquered are chiefly drinking-cups and betel-boxes, the latter consisting of a cylindrical inner case, in which are fitted two or three trays for holding the lime, betel-vine leaves, cutch, nuts, and other ingredients for betel-chewing, the whole covered by an outer lid reaching to the bottom of the inner case. Ordinary kôn-it, betel-boxes, are three or four inches high and two and a half to three in diameter. Articles of the same shape are made of all sizes up to a couple of feet or more in height, these last being used for holding clothes and women's working materials. The bi-it, ladies' toilet-boxes, are often the most delicate and carefully worked. The actresses always carry splendid specimens about with them to contain their combs, oil, scent,

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the white lead and thana'kha for the complexion, and a few tresses of false hair. Other articles are the pyramidal tamin-sa-ôk, used for carrying food to the monasteries and the pagodas, fashioned somewhat in the style of the sacred spires, of five or seven roofs, and of all sizes from eighteen inches to the huge things, the height of a man, which the king sent under the royal umbrellas to the Arakan pagoda in Mandalay. Byat, platters of all sizes, up to the gigantic circular tray as big as a small table, used for dishing up the family dinner, are always made of wood, like the Japan ware. The people do not think much of them, and they are therefore almost always quite plain, either black or red. There is no inferiority to the Japanese in capacity for sketching fantastic designs. The future may see great developments in this branch of the art, but at present it is practically untouched. It is unfortunate that enterprise so far has taken the form of making "peg" tumblers and cigar-cases instead of developing national forms.

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The process of manufacture is as follows: Little basket-like boxes of the required shape and size are woven of fine bamboo wicker-work, upon round chucks of wood prepared and firmly fixed for the purpose. The bamboos used, which are usually split and cleaned by the women and children, are of different kinds, that called myinwa being the most highly esteemed. Similarly, the yet, or woven basket-work, is of different degrees of excellence, the kyaungleinyet being the finest. Some of the Shans and better workmen at Nyaung-u are celebrated for the delicacy of their work. On this is then evenly applied with the hand (so that the slightest particle of sand or dirt may be at once detected) a coat of the pure wood-oil. This is then put away to dry—not in the sun, which is apt to pucker and blister it, but in a cool airy place. Some careful workmen have often an underground room prepared specially for the purpose. After three days it is quite dry and hard, and is then liberally and evenly covered over with a paste called thayo. This is made in a variety of ways, the commonest being a mixture of finely-sifted teak sawdust, thi'si, and rice-water. But instead of the sawdust, or often mixed with it, finely-ground bone-ash, or paddy-husk burnt and strained through a cloth,

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and the odour of the fruit may be realised by eating a "garlic custard" over a London sewer; others will be no less positive in their perception of blendings of sherry, noyau, delicious custards, and the nectar of the gods, while a somewhat objectionable smell is regarded as doing no more than suggest, or recall, a delightful sensation. I am not aware that any Englishman has been equally enthusiastic with regard to balachong, but there is no doubt that ngapi seinsa ["raw-eaten fish-paste," so called because it is fit for consumption without being cooked] is identical with this much-used substitute for anchovy sauce, and is often brought direct from the Burman bazaar by Madrasi butlers, who declare it has come all the way from Penang, and charge correspondingly. 263 151

Of ngapi there are three main kinds — ngapi gaung, taung-tha ngapi, and ngapi seinsa. Each of these has its special varieties, getting their names from the township where they are prepared, or from the species of fish used in their manufacture. 263

Ngapi gaung, or whole ngapi, is the most prized and the highest in price. That made at the village of Payāgyi, in the Angyi circle, not far from Rangoon, is celebrated from the rocky promontory of Modain, with its golden pagoda, to the barren solitudes of Mogaung, the Burmese Siberia. It may be made from any kind of fish, but the varieties preferred are the nga-ku, an amphibious, slimy fish, found in ponds and ditches wherever there is plenty of mud, and something under a foot and a half in length; and the nga-gyi, a fish very similar in general appearance and size, but called by the English the scorpion-fish, and very much dreaded for the wounds it causes with the pectoral spines. The great object in the preparation is to keep the fish quite whole, not so easy a matter as would at first appear. The process is as follows: A great mass of the fish, some of them only half dead, are thrown together into a big wooden mortar, and a man stands over them and works about with a curious cleaner made of a bamboo, the end of which has been slit and frayed into a kind of stiff brush. By this means it is surprising how soon the fish are scaled, and how effectively it is done. The larger specimens are, however, 252 [415]

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252 almost always cleaned by hand, the shoulder fins and the tail being also removed. They are then thoroughly rubbed with salt and tightly packed in bamboo baskets, each of which is well weighted down. They are thus left for from twelve to twenty-four hours, the superfluous juices of the fish straining out at the bottom. Then they are cautiously taken out one by one, well rubbed with salt again, and laid out on a mat in the sun to dry. On the second day they [415] are equally carefully packed away in huge earthenware jars with abundance of salt between the layers of fish. These jars are then put away—no easy matter with some of them, which might have served to conceal the forty thieves of the *Arabian Nights*—in as shady and cool a place as can be found. Gradually the liquid rises to the surface and evaporates by degrees, leaving a layer of solid salt on the top. Sometimes this fish-brine becomes alive with maggots, when the fish have not been sufficiently pressed, or have not had enough sun. When this occurs the liquid is drawn off the top and more salt is added, but in no case are any of the fish rejected. Usually the fish are ready for the market in a month's time, and will keep as long as may be wanted. They are eaten roasted, or fried somewhat in the same way as the "Bombay ducks," well known to the Anglo-Indian gourmand; sometimes also they are made into curries, the cook taking as great care as the manufacturer to keep them 317 quite whole. The salt used is in many places, such, for example, as the Angyi township, made on the spot. The soil there is strongly impregnated with salt. Water is run through it after the ground has been ploughed. The water is then collected in a tank, whence it is taken to pots, placed over furnaces, and evaporated to dryness, and the salt obtained is piled on sloping boards so that the bittern may run off.

263 252 A specially esteemed variety of the ngapi gaung is that called the nga-tha-lauk, after the fish of the same name, the hilsa, or "Indian salmon," which would be perfect, were it not supplied with bones all through its body, seemingly utterly irresponsible and unconnected with the spine. This handsome fish, silvery, shot with purple and gold, is not scaled, nor are the head, tail, or any of the fins removed.

It will be noted that most of the living takes place on the downstairs floor where the bedrooms and the porch are located. The altar is also located downstairs 342 [512] [778]

U Myaing explained that the alt r should be upstairs but it was more convenient downstairs. The posts on which the house rests rise a few feet above the ground. In all there are about 15,050 cubic feet enclosed by the house. Of this amount 1450 cubic feet are used for sleeping quarters for the family, 729 cubic feet is devoted to religion in the alter room, and 800 cubic feet is used in the kitchen for preparing food. The rest of the space is for social functions including visitors and relaxation, with some space used for storage.

In Pathao there were no beds and no chairs except for one deck chair which had been handed down to U Myaing from his father. There were however, five small stools about four inches high and measuring about 12" by 6". These stools did not have four legs but instead were made of one flat board hammered onto two boards laid on their ends. They had one four legged stool measuring 2½ feet by 1½ feet and about 8 inches high. This was utilised as a chess board. (U Myaing and three or four others played chess four or five times a month in the afternoons. Their house was the only one in the village to possess a board and chessmen, U Myaing having received it from a cousin.) There was another stool about two feet high and one and a half feet square to hold the KYAUK KAR food carrier. 352 [428] [524] [415]

There were also two round Burmese tables. The smaller one was about three feet in diameter and one foot tall. Ma Aye Myaing could not estimate the diameter of the larger one but she remembered that eight men could eat at a time at this table, and that people who gave charities often came to borrow it for that reason. [426]

There was a three legged stand for holding two water pots. The pots were placed on two horizontal triangles formed one about two feet above the other by the peices of wood holding together the three upright feet of the stand. This stand was made by U Myaing at home.

They also possessed two cupboards both of which had been handed down to U Myaing by his father. The first one, used for holding clothes, was three TAUNG high, two and one half TAUNG wide and little less than one [428]

a bamboo frame extending for about eight feet. The interior of the house contains piles of small boxes in which the bones and ashes of the P.V.O. dead are stored. Consequently no one lives inside. Seven families live under theeaves on three sides of the house along a narrow strip nine feet wide. The area is divided into a number of rooms "6 TAUNG square - the same room size as in the Pathwe house." U Myaing's family occupies 2½ such rooms at the corner of the building. The head space varies from 8 feet against the wall of the house to less than two feet at the edges of the eaves. A break in the eaves forms an entrance at the corner. Figuring one room to be equivalent to a 6 foot square room 3½ feet high, we arrive at a total of 315 cubic feet of living space for the 2½ rooms. [764] 722 342

One and a half rooms are covered with a slightly raised bamboo floor on which U Myaing and his family sleep. A space 6' long by 2' wide is used as a work area and for social purposes, but this is not rigorously claimed, since the adjacent family frequently uses it as a storage space. In speaking of the refugee camp quarters U Myaing says:

> "It is very narrow (cramped) here. We eat and sleep in the same place. At Pathwe we kept 2 rooms separately to sleep in. Our house.there was very wide and roomy. Here we sleep and cook all in one place." [511]

The sleeping and eating area is separated from the adjacent family by a woven split bamboo partition about 5 feet high; at five feet three inches from the floor, a number of bamboo poles criss-cross to form rafters on which objects are stored.

Here the sleeping mats are rolled up, along with sleeping equipment which consist of U Myaing's wooden pillow, makeshift pillow of rag bundles, 1 holey woolen blanket. One mosquito net used by U Myaing and his wife is also suspended from these rafters. At the far end of the bamboo flooring, there are three baskets. One of these baskets contains the women's clothing; another contains rice. Two clay pots are at the side. The altar consists of a slant board placed on the wall above the sleeping area and equipped with a flower vase. The objects found in the cooking area are: "U" shaped fire area made by 3 bricks touching on edge, bamboo stool for Ma Aye Myaing, hollow bamboo blow tube for starting fire, cooking pots, 352 415 [252]

352 TAUNG thick. The door had two leaves to it and one mirror. However, this cupboard had fallen into disuse as a receptacle for clothes; the family preferring to keep their clothing in teak boxes. The other cupboard had no mirror and was used to store crockery in. It measured 2 TAUNG wide, three TAUNGS high and little less than one TAUNG thick.

There were also two huge boxes both of which had been received as a bequest from his father. They were very heavy and needed two people to lift each of them. Each measured one TAUNG and five fingers long, one TAUNG broad, and one TAUNG high. Each had four legs two inches high. They were identical and both were used for clothing.

There was also a round table with four legs about two feet tall and with a diameter of two feet. This U Myaing bought in Rangoon for Rs. 3/8.

[291] A special basket was kept for storing women's HTA-MEINS (outer
[562] feminine nether garments). The Burmese do not allow mixture of
[651] women's and men's clothing. They had one of these baskets with lid in Pathwe. It was bought in Pantanaw and cost them 12 annas.

353 The following bric-a-brac is reported:- a porcelain duck and a
●415 porcelain rooster which had been handed down for two or three generations and had been used as a receptacle for trinkets and other small articles; a glass elephant also about a hundred years old with drawers to contain trinkets.

The following items are containers which may be regarded as household furnishings: betel box about a hundred years old with a diameter
[251] of about twelve inches; a clay water jug overlaid with porcelain, also a hundred years old; two huge vessels for HSOON, one costing Rs. 25/- and lasting twenty years, and the other costing Rs. 15/- and lasting 13 years.

[796] These vessels were used when the family went to the KYAUNG to observe the sacred days. On such days HSOON for the whole family would be carried in these vessels. A KYAUK KAR food carrier woven of HMEE, (pith of the fibre used for mat weaving and overlaid with KYAUK KAR) cost Rs. 8/- and was used for about thirteen years. Five huge
[251] earthenware jars each 3½ feet in diameter and 3 feet high, and three small jars were used to store fish. Each of the large jars cost Rs. 30/- and the small ones cost Rs. 4/8.

352 mortar and measurers, market basket, condiments stored in cigarette
415 tins and quart bottles. A discussion on these subjects is found under the chapter on Food.

513 Details were secured on the following household items:

SAUNG (blankets). Both THA-KA-LAT SAUNG (flannel blanket) and GUN
[455] SAUNG (Cotton blanket) are actually woolen blankets. (cost Rs. 25/-). Heavy cotton blankets are called CHI SAUNG . (cost Rs.15/-). Both are for individual use. In Pathwe U Myaing had one blanket of each kind which would last 3 or 4 years. In camp he has only the GUN SAUNG or Upper Burma blanket which he used for 2 years then brought from Pathwe . The females of the family had 6 cotton blankets between them (cost Rs. 12/ each). They brought 4 from Pathwe, two are "good ones", and two are "torn ones". The cotton blankets are supposed to last for 2 years according to Ma Aye Myaing. Intense love is indicated by the
[152] saying "we will go under one blanket", but double blankets are not known.

HMWE-YAR, (Enjoying place) mattress. It is a thin square cloth sack measuring 4 TAUNG on a side by 4 inches in thickness and stuffed with KAPOK. U Myaing had one at Pathwe which would last 7 or 8 years. It was made at home and valued at Rs. 30/-.
[435] Daw Aw Zar and the children shared a double mattress, a gift from her neice, in Pathwe but all sleep on split cane mats only in camp.

(KU DIN; raised wooden beds are rarely used in villages.)

GAUNG-ON, (head-lay) pillow. Pillows are made at home. Two may be made from 3 TAUNG (1½ yards) of cloth. They are cloth sacks filled with cotton and last 3 or 4 years - valued at Rs. 3/8 each. U Myaing had 2, and the females 8 at Pathwe. He used a wooden pillow made of small, raised board, while the females use rag bundles.

HPYAR, Sleeping mats. Two kinds are used; a split TA BAW plant
[285] mat and a more finely woven thin plant with over 2 under 2 weave mat. They measure 6 by 3½ feet . The mats lasted two years and were woven at home. 4 to 8 mats were kept on hand at Pathwe; here 4 mats are in use.

AYAR-KIN (sleeping place cover) bed sheet: The bedsheets used in Pathwe measured 6' by 3½' and were made of cotton. Three were used by U Myaing and lasted a year; they cost Rs. 7/- each. Camp: none.

CHIN TAUNG, Mosquito net: One kind was made of fine netted

cloth, small enough to keep mosquitos out. The other kind was made of plain cloth to keep out the smallest insects. The nets are rectangular for a single bed, square for a double. They are suspended over the bed on a wooden framework and tucked under the mattress. Pathwa: three were used by the family and two kept in reserve. Each lasted 4 or 5 years. The reserve nets cost Rs. 60/- each, the others Rs. 40/- or 45/- each. Camp: one old one was brought from Pathwa, this is used by U Myaing and his wife. The rest of the family have none. Two are desired. 513 [435]

TA-BYEI-SHE, broom: The hand broom is used to brush out dust and dirt from the floor of the house. It is about 2 feet long, 2 inches in diameter and consists of bent over bunches of stiff reeds bound at the top by a more flexible reed strip. The one used in camp cost 12 annas in Rangoon. 356 415

Burmese Concepts about the Home.

The following Burmese ideas about the home were secured mainly from Ko Maung Than, my research assistant. 342 183

The Burmese regard the KIN-YAR (home place) with great love, and as the most essential feature of life. The head of a family will frequently admonish: "My young ones let us remain with our nest intact and our eggs uncracked", this is also a common prayer. The ideal is to preserve the family home with necessary repairs in its original form. Wooden (teak) houses are preferred to bamboo. The husband and wife are partners in the ownership of the home which they start at marriage. Indeed, the word for "marriage" KIN-DAUNG-PHU (Home-separately-build) emphasizes the importance of building a home upon starting a family. In villages the mother and children spend almost all of their time in and around the home. Since the Burmese are especially sedentary, short journeys being unusual and infrequent events, the house is the spot where he lives and dies. It is furthermore his "castle" and place of security within which he is "ruler". [592] [591] [484]

Each house is under the direct protection of MIN MAHA-GIRI one of the 37 major nats of Burma. He controls the fortunes of the family and in return is revered. A coconut, the symbol of MIN- 342 776 782

511 722 361 342

much of the Pathwe space was not vital in that it was used for social or storage functions only. 2987 cubic feet were used in Pathwe for sleeping, cooking, and religious purposes,-approximately 20% of the total amount of space. However, all of the space in the refugee camp was used for these vital purposes. About 1/10th of the Pathwe space for these functions was available in the camp. In commenting on the differences, U Myaing especially stressed the lack of space and the fact that all functions had to be done in the same enclosure. He did not seem particularly bothered about the lack of space for social functions or visitors.

There seemed to be no difference regarding costs of housing - non-existent in both cases beyond the original investment in Pathwe. Also there is no difference regarding use of land surrounding house. The reduction of space available for the altar from a six taung room to a place on the wall seemed to be regarded lightly. The Pathwe house was undoubtedly healthier with its windows and open space, and this handicap will be further discussed under the heading of health.

511 722 352 415

There is considerable difference in the house furnishings of the two places. The quality and the quantity of the objects in the refugee camp are considerably lower. The bric-a-brac (porcelain duck glass elephant, and porcelain water jug) were lost in Pathwe and regretted because of sentimental value. The earthen-ware jars used for storing fish have no use here and are not "desired", but the HSOON vessels would be useful now. These would cost about Rs. 25/- apiece here. The KYAUK-KAR food carrier is also desired and this would cost Rs. 10/- here. Mosquito nets for Daw Aw Zar and the children would certainly be desirable, but these would cost over Rs.30/- even if made from cheap plain material.

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The tables used in Pathwe are not found in camp since the family sit on the floor on the mats and hold their dishes in their laps, and one stool is used in camp and this by Ma Aye Myaing in preparing the food. Storage containers including cupboards and boxes have been dispensed with and their place taken by baskets in camp. The bedding in camp lacks the comforts of mattress and adequate mosquito nets and pillows. The point must be made however, that U Myaing's family is used to sleeping on hard surfaces and it may not be supposed that the

[513]

quality of their sleep suffers to any appreciable extent. Americans who live in Rangoon suffer far more relatively from lack of "beauty rest" mattresses. 511 722 [513]

As far as the actual physical needs of the family go, the refugee camp situation does not seem to be far below an acceptable level. The Pathwe house gave space far above that actually used for physical needs. The answer here would seem to be that social obligations in Pathwe were much greater than here and the actual space fulfilled a real need there. Since such a demand is not present in the refugee camp, the lack of this space is not regarded as a privation. In general the refugee camp quarters are a compressed version of the Pathwe quarters and do not represent any true innovations. The family has been able to contract the quantity and quality of their needs, but their nature has not been appreciably altered. The pattern of "Home" has not been shattered, but has been contracted and its quality somewhat changed. 352 415 [574] 511 178

The town of Pantanaw was recaptured from the insurgents early in the month of December 1950. U Myaing and his family are considering whether or not it would be advisable to return home. It seems that the government has offered to send back those who are willing to return. Government offers them, in addition to passage money, other things such as mosquito netting, or so U Myaing thinks. But they are also hesitant and afraid and would like to remain for some time longer in the peace and security of the refugee camp. However, when the country settles down and things return to normal, they would like to return. They prefer Pantanaw because they find it much easier to earn money there. Here they find it more difficult to find work - and it involves harder labour. Also, the prices here are very high in comparison. 722 669 511 [464] [435]

Cooking and Eating Utensils

Ma Aye Myaing does her work directly in front of the fireplace in a squating position, often resting on the tiny bamboo stool. A few sticks of firewood, or brush, are placed within the three sided enclosure made of three single bricks on edge. A hollow bamboo tube about 10 inches long and 1½ inches in diameter is periodically used to blow the fire to a hot flame in lieu of a draft. The identifications of the cooking and eating utensils given below were provided by Daw Aw Zar and U Myaing in an interview in which photographs of the objects were used. 415 ● 252 [516] [352] [372]

HTA MIN O (cooking pot): This is an earthenware jar used for cooking vegetables and other foods. It is a round based globular form with outflaring rim. A wide conical shaped lid with flat disc knob for raising goes over the orifice. It is smooth, light tan in colour throughout and about ¼ inch in thickness. It is tempered with sand. A stamped design encircles the widest diameter on the body. This diameter is about 7 inches, height is 4½ inches. One or two are kept on hand (Pathus: several. Camp: one). They cost 5 annas each. This sand tempered, stamped, earthenware appears in the early European contact period (late 1500's) at Syriam (Orr, K.G. "Stratigraphy in Lower Burma" Ms. in preparation.) It is rapidly being discarded in favour of aluminum pots which are not nearly as cheap but do not break Traditionally this pot is used to cook rice. In speaking of its use Daw Aw Zar said: "We keep one or two, to boil vegetables and do other things to eat, seeing that there are seven people we have to cook (i.e. rice) with a big aluminum pot." [172] [178]

MIN O (curry pot): This jar is generally of the same shape as the one described above but is wider at the orifice (8 inches diameter) though about the same height. It is of the same ware type; has a wavy-line stamped design just under the rim. Ordinarilly equipped with a conical lid, this vessel had a flat aluminum lid. This vessel is used to cook curry. It was brought from Pathus, where it was bought at a cost of 6 annas. Number used in Pathus: several, camp: 1. [435]

LAPPET YE-OH (tea pot): The tea pot is also of tan earthenware and generally of the same ware as the cooking pots, with the exception that the surface was carefully scraped and slightly burnished. The body is globular, with thumb-like spout, and semi-circular clay handle. This pot was brought from Pantanaw, where it had cost 8 annas.

SIN O (food storage jar): Whereas the cooking vessels are moulded by hand with the aid of a paddle, and lack glazing, the storage jars are glazed and have been made on the wheel. These glazed jars also have flat disc bases, and pear-shaped bodies with contracted necks and short, collar-like rims. In every way they appear to be a separate tradition from the cooking ware. The glaze is dark reddish-brown over a hard-baked purple-red core. The interior is thoroughly glazed but the glaze only covers the upper half of the exterior. The reddish-brown glaze is recent, appearing in ceramic collections of the last century in Rangoon (Orr, K.G. "Stratigraphy in Lower Burma", the Monkina Street section) being preceded by a yellow-black glaze in the early European period at Syriam. [323] [172]

Salt saffron, oils, etc are stored in these jars. The one examined was about 4 inches in height and 5 inches in diameter. It came from Pathus and cost 3 annas. Number in Pathus several, camp: 1. [251] [435]

NGA-YOT-SON (Mortar): The mortar resembles an inverted truncated cone with a loop handle extending from the rim. It is made of the samered-brown glazed ware described above. A teak wood pestle (GYEGWE) is a rounded club about 15 inches long and 2 inches in diameter. Some are ornate with circular bands, but U Myaing's club is plain. It took him about an hour to make. The mortar was purchased here and cost 10 annas. Number of mortars in Pathwe: 1 , Camp: 1 . 415 252 [531]

DAN O (aluminum cooking pots): The aluminum cooking pot is a wide cylindrical form with a flat lid. They are made locally. U Myaing's family had three in camp ranging in size from 10 inches in diameter and 4 inches high to 12 inches in diameter and 5 inches high. The vessels were used for cooking rice and curry. A pot holding 6 LON of rice costs Rs. 6/-. Pathwe number: several, camp: 3. [435]

DAWGYIN LON (aluminum pail): One aluminum pail, cylindrical in form with a height of 7 inches and diameter of 6 inches, and wire handle, was used in camp as a container in hauling foods from market and in their preparations. It cost Rs. 2/8 in Rangoon. Pathwe: [435]

Miscellaneous containers: Several beer bottles and circular cigarette tins were used in camp to contain oils and spices.

SHWEH JAIK (Tiffin Carrier): A rectangular lunch box, or tiffin carrier, of aluminum was bought in Rangoon for Rs.3/8, Pathwe: Rs. 12/-.

KYWAY PAGANHYA (China Plates): A single broken china plate was used as a cover for the water jar in camp. This was one of three brought from Pathwe, where they cost Rs. 2/-. This is a special ware which was usually reserved for guests. In Pathwe, the family had enough for family use and guests on special occasions.

THAN PAGANHYA (enamelled iron plates): Two enamelled iron plates of shallow dish and bowl form (about 12 inches in diameter) were used in camp. These cost Rs. 2/- each. Pathwe: 0.

YAUNGMA (stirring spoons): Two spatulate bladed spoons with thin handles 12 inches long were used as stirring spoons in the preparation of food. The iron one was bought in Rangoon and cost 10 annas. The wooden one was made by U Myaing in Pathwe out of teakwood. It took him 2 hours to make it with a small knife.

ZOONE (eating spoons): Chinese porcelain spoons (KYWAY) and brass spoons (EYEE) were used indiscriminately to dip curry sauce over the rice. The Chinese spoons are boat shaped with high and hollow handles. The brass spoons are similar to European soup spoons The porcelain spoons were preferred aesthetically, but because the children frequently broke them, brass spoons were most commonly used. Cost and frequency: In Pathwe, 60. Camp: 8.
Food is commonly eaten with the fingers in all levels of Burmese society.

DAH (knife): The big knife used in camp for cutting fire-wood and other chopping jobs was about 1½ feet long including an 8 inch wooden handle bound in iron. The steel blade is curved slightly upward, has a square end and is used as a chopper frequently with two hands on the handle. The one in camp was bought "long ago" and cost Rs. 4/-. A small knife with a pointed steel blade was used for whittling and cutting in the preparation of food. Pathwe: 10, most for work in IN. Camp 2. [412] [435]

KAYUT (pot rest): A hollow disc woven of soft reeds with a diameter of 6 to 8 inches is used to rest pots on - so that the carbon on their bases will not blacken the surface on which they rest. These are readily made by the women of the family. [285]

PYI DAING (Measurers): There were two of these containers, used for measuring rice in camp. The iron one had a hole in it, but was retained as a general container. It had been replaced by the wicker

basket PYIDAUNG. Both cost a rupee. One does not seem to be preferred to the other except as getting them allows a bargain to be made. The form is that of a pear shaped body with a square base, measuring about 8 by 8 inches. The basket is constructed in the wicker technique with small, whole reeds. Pathwe: 2. Camp: 1. 415 252 [285]

CHIN DAUNG (storage basket): The form of this basket is a larger version of the measurers. It has, however, an open weave giving a checkered effect to the sides and bottom. It is used to store objects including food. At Pathwe this basket was used in working the INS. The fish were scooped up, and later washed in them. The two used in camp were brought from Pathwe where they cost Rs. 1/4- Camp: 1, Pathwe: 15 for washing fish. 251 415 [435]

Winnowing trays: Shallow baskets about 2½ feet in diameter and 2 inches high were used as shifting and storage trays. The SAGAW has a rounded base; while the SAGAR has a flat base with fiber walls. Both are made of flat, wide-meshed reeds. The trays used in camp came from Pathwe where they cost Rs. 1/4 each. Pathwe: 1. 243 415

ZEE CHIN (Marketing basket): This basket is in the general shape of a cylinder, 1½ feet wide and 8 inches high, with open, flat reed sides and a semi-circular handle across the top. It is used to carry objects from market and to store them in the house. Pathwe: 2, Camp: 1. 415

U Myaing expresses the contrast between the camp equipment and that of Pathwe: "These objects in camp are barely sufficient. We have to live as we are. In our own district we had sufficient to nail in boxes. The extra ones were nailed in boxes and only enough were taken out for the seven people who eat. When visitors come, good ones are brought out. Plates for curry, plates for eating rice. There were various kinds." 415 511 178

Food Items

Ma Aye Myaing gave as complete a set of data on the food consumption of her family as she could. The following data is inclusive for the family of seven, both in Pantanaw and the refugee camp. Ma Aye Myaing decides what dishes to cook for each meal of the day, and she does this without any consultation with U Myaing. She does not ask him what he would like for each meal, although sometimes when he expresses a desire for a certain dish she sees to it that it is prepared. She has a free hand in deciding what to cook for each meal in the day. Definitions of the weights and measures used follow in a glossary. The data is organized under the headings of (1) Main dishes and raw foods, (2) supplementary dishes and TO-ZAYE (vegetables eaten with NGAPI), and (3) trifles. 262 [593] [128]

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and saffron are mixed with the dried and salted mangoes to make mango pickle. This pickle is eaten with rice. The mango is steamed to make it softer and easier to tear apart. THAYET-THEE-THANAT was eaten during three meals a month in Pathwe, where three or four pieces were consumed at each meal. One piece of mango pickle is about 1/6th of one mango. The pickle was made at home from mangoes that were obtained free of charge. The figures for consumption per meal in camp are the same, but here it is eaten more often - once in every two or three days. One anna's worth of mango pickle lasts two meals here.

MAYAN-THEE-THANAT (Marian-fruit-pickle: Bouea burmanica, Griff.): MAYAN THEE-THANAT has not been made once by Ma Aye Myaing. In Pantanaw no one made this, but in camp they have eaten some which they purchase from Indian women who come around selling it. Ma Aye Myaing does not know how Marian pickle can be made. Marian fruit is also eaten as a flavouring ingredient in dishes, after being sliced into halves and dried in the sun. Fish is chopped and washed, mixed with NGAN PYAR YE, pounded chillies, pounded onions, sessamum oil, water and dried marian. The main ingredient i this dish is fish, and the dried marian is just a flavouring agent. It serves as a flavouring in the NGA-CHIN-YE-HIN dish. Marian pickle is not desired by the family.

ZEE-YO (Plum jam: zizyphus jujuba, Lam.): Plum jam is bought from the sellers. It is eaten as a trifle in the daytime. One annas worth of plum jam weighs about 2½ ticals. In Pantanaw also ZEE YO sellers used to come around to the house; it was much cheaper there than Rangoon since one anna would buy 7½ ticals of plum jam. In Pathwe one tea-cup full weighing about 2½ ticals cost an anna and lasted one meal. ZEE-YO was eaten there only once a month. In camp it is eaten four or five times a month but the consumption per eating has dropped to ½ of one teacup, which costs one anna. One Burmese tea-cup is equivalent to about ½ the standard western teacup.

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[415]

THAYET-THEE-HSA-SKIN (mango-fruit-salt-soaked: mangifera indica, Linn): Salted mangoes are eaten with rice as TOZAIA. It is buried in rice and eaten with NGAPI water. To make salted mangoes, wash the required amount of mangoes, mix with salt and place in large earthenware jars. After three days mix salt with water and place on the fire, and then pour the salted water into the jar so that the mangoes inside will be completely submerged. In Pantanaw one salted mango sufficed for one meal, and salted mangoes were eaten once every two or three days. They were salted at home, the cost of making 120 salted mangoes amounting to Rs. 10/- in all. The family has not eaten salted mangoes in camp "even once".

MAYAN-THEE-HSA-SKIN (Marian-fruit-salt-soaked: Bouea burmanica, Griff.): Salted marian is prepared in the same manner as bove. In Pathwe marians were obtained free and salted at home. 1000 marians could be salted for one rupee. Six marians were eaten at each meal, and they were eaten almost every day. Salted marians have not been eaten in camp at all by the family.

NAN-MAT-YO (pineapple jam: ananas sativa, Linn.) has never been made by Ma Aye Myaing. She buys the jam from sellers who come round It can be eaten either by itself or with plain tea in the afternoons. In Pathwe village it was not eaten at all, and in camp they have had it only once, when they ate 5 ticals of jam worth four annas.

THAYET-YO (Mango-jam: mangifera indica, Linn.): It is bought from sellers and usually eaten in the afternoons as a trifle. It has not been eaten at all in camp. In Pantanaw mango jam was made once every year. Mangoes were obtained free and four annas worth of sugar gave ten or fifteen ticals of jam. One teacup was consumed at every eating.

OH-YO (coconut-jam: cocos nucifera, Linn.): Coconut jam has to be bought by pieces. They are usually of hite colour and square in shape. One stick measures 2" by 1½" by ½". They are made by mixing sugar with water andplacing on the fire. Coconut scrapings are added, and when the liquid solidifies the hard coconut jam surface is cut up into separate pieces. OHYO was not eaten in Pathwe. In camp it is

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
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48. FOREST KYAUNG.

ates the incumbent, regularly undertakes the support of the *pôndyl*, and frequently of his sojourner *yahán* as well. The food, which is the best of its kind, is brought every morning by the daughters and young children of the supporter, or, in the case of joint support, by children of the leading families in turn. An ornamented vessel is used, having a tall finial to the cover (*ôt*). The supplies are received by the lay scholars or the novices, and by them served to the *yahán*. The principal meal is taken shortly before noon, for no food may be eaten after that hour till the following sunrise. Water may be drunk and betel chewed at any time. Tobacco-smoking is discountenanced, especially in Burma Proper, where the religious views are strictest. Burma furnishes the standard both for scholarship and practice, and trains most of the incumbents of the monasteries of Pegu. Scholars and novices may prepare food at the monastery from raw supplies. These the *yahán* may not even handle. Hired labour (*kappiza dayaka*) may be attached to the monastery by the supporter for the preparation of food and other services. In some cases lands have been dedicated for the maintenance of monasteries and temples. But the *yahán* have no concern with their administration. Supplies of raiment, chattels and food are dedicated to the use of the recluses when the distinction of their presence is solicited, especially at *shinlaung* fêtes and funerals. The annual provision of raiment (*kathin thingán*) is made between the months of *Thadinkyut* and *Tasaungmôn*. The offerings of necessaries are supplemented by accessories of every sort —books and writing materials, mats,

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[464]
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50. VILLAGE KYAUNG.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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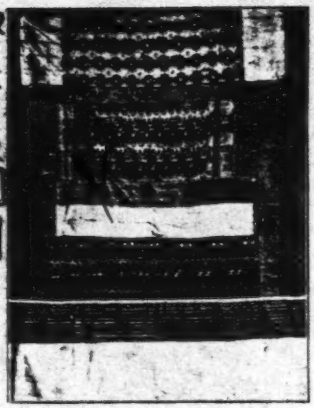

132. BURMESE SILK CLOTH PATTERNS.

pot. The Burmans bathe in the morning or evening, and not in the heat of the day. Men and women bathe in their clothes and at the same places.

Burmans will travel far to a source of good drinking water. It is stored in porous earthen pots with covers, in which it settles and cools over-night. Rain-water is saved for other uses and stored in large glazed jars (*sin-ôi*). A cocoanut ladle is used for dipping the water out, to avoid disturbing the sediment. In the rainy season the river water bears a heavy silt and has to stand for hours. Spring water is scarce owing to the distance of the Burman settlements from the hills. The ordinary sources are rivers, wells, and tanks. In the moist region the subsoil water comes up to, or near the surface during the rains, and in the drought sinks twenty or thirty feet. In the dry zone it is sometimes necessary to dig one hundred feet for water. Wells are generally fenced and protected from return and

133. THE SPRING.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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[312]
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[482]
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[805]

137. CARRYING HOME THE WATER-POTS.

fuel is required only for cooking and in manufactures.

Rice is the staple of every meal, except in the dry zone. The millet and sorghum which there take the place of rice are cooked in the same way but need longer boiling. "A rice-boiling" (*ta-ô-dyét*) is the common phrase for an interval of about twenty minutes. After washing in several waters, rice is put to boil in an earthen pot with enough water to cover it, and boiled till the grains are quite clear. The rice-water is poured off, and the rice is put back on the fire to steam. Rice is cooked fresh for every meal and is eaten hot. A relish is made to eat with the rice, consisting of a watery stew of fresh greens or of pulse. The fat used is sesamum oil (*hnan-zi*). This curry is seasoned with turmeric (*sanwin*), capsicum (*ngayôtthi*—chilli), and either salt-fish or *ngapi* (p. 92). Fresh fish, prawns, or meat are added if available. In default of cultivated vegetables, wild greens of all sorts, bamboo-shoots and sprouting leaves, are used. Pickles of lime and other fruits are used as separate relishes. There are two meals in the day, both of the same nature. The morning meal is eaten at about nine o'clock, the other before dark. Meals are taken by the household in common. The housewife or daughter gets mats ready in the *kyanngîng* and places in the centre a *byat*—a large, deep, wooden platter, lacquered red—into which she turns out the cooked rice (*tamîn*). In the middle of the rice is set a bowl with the curry and a spoon. The family squat round the *byat*, or if a large household round several.

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138. STAND FOR THE DRINKING-WATER.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

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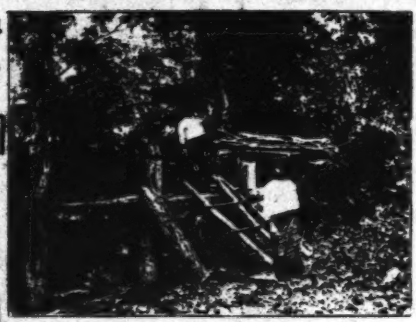

140. FETCHING IN FUEL.

In the villages the passing traveller is invited to join in the meal. Everyone in turn ladles gravy from the bowl on the rice in front of him and mixes and eats it with his fingers. Before and after eating, mouth and fingers are rinsed. After the meal a drink of water is taken. Fruit is eaten after meals and at odd times. The importation of delf crockery and enamelled ware has been going on for a long time.

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•415]
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Betel (*kun*) is taken at all times except at meals, and tobacco is smoked by men, women, and children (No. 21). The betel-box plays the same part in Burman sociality as the snuff-box still does in parts of Europe. The chew of betel is made up of the fresh leaf of the betel-vine (*kun-yuèt*, No. 409) smeared with moist slaked lime (*thn*) and folded over slices of the nut of the areca or betel palm. Dried tobacco-leaf, cutch and spices—cinnamon and cloves —are frequently added. "A betel-chewing" is a common phrase for about a quarter of an hour. Old people who have lost their teeth pound up the betel in a small brass mortar (*kun-dyeik*) for chewing. The spittoon (*tué-gan*) is indispensable.

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The native tea is prepared by hill-tribes of the North. It is either in dry balls the size of a fist (*sin-chi*) or loose (*leppétchauk*), or is pickled (*leppékkan*). The dry tea is infused in the Chinese fashion (*leppéyye*, No. 146).

141. GETTING FIRE BY THE NATIVE METHOD.

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[372]
[805]
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When the platters have been rinsed after the evening meal and the tables put by—*sabaw-hmauk*—which gives the name to the hour, the day's work is over and the young women smarten themselves up to receive their *beinx*. The chief toilet-requisite is the face-powder (*than-dkhi*)—the cream-coloured bark

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 API Burma
Burmese AP4

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[262]
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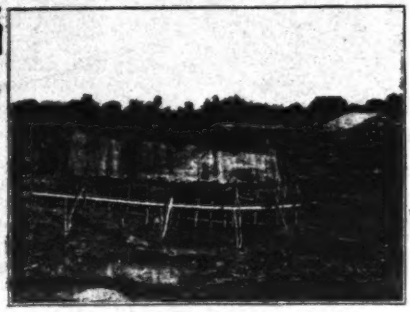

198. SLUICE OF LAGOON FISHERY (IN).

banks. Ducks' and fowls' eggs are also eaten.

Small fry and the bony fish are made into the Peguan condiment *ngapi*—pressed fish. The process is essentially the same as that of anchovy paste manufacture, but is conducted in a much rougher way. The fish after being taken are spread out in the sun and then pounded in a mortar, again sunned and again pounded with about a quarter their weight of salt. Fermentation is not uniformly arrested at the proper stage, so that the product becomes contaminated with putrescence. According as the compound remains moist or dry it is made into balls, moulded into bricks, or stored in jars. *Ngapi* is sent to Burma Proper and the Shan States in enormous quantities. Fresh fish, dried fish, and *ngapi* are much the same in price, one half to one rupee the viss (3.65 lbs.) according to quality. *Ngachin* is a crude and unwholesome pickle made by putting fish to ferment with boiled and salted rice.

258 Salt used to be obtained from sea-water and from brine wells in the interior, before the import of salt began. The manufacture still drags on, as the local salt is better for curing purposes. At spring-tides, sea-water in the estuaries is let into shallow pans like rice-fields, or it is raised with the *Ka-hnwé*. After the brine has been concentrated by evaporation in the heat of the sun, it is boiled down in spherical earthen pots, which are built with clay into a vault over a furnace. Iron cauldrons like those in No. 186 are superseding the earthen pots, and the round cauldron is in its turn being replaced by a flat iron pan.

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●[415]
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The chase, so far from forming the diversion of princes and satraps, remains to the *vauriens* of the villages

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199. SHORE NET

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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221. UMBRELLA MAKING.

of the work can be done on a lathe. To prepare the wicker for lacquering, it is first given a "rough-stuffing" of fine clay to fill the interstices. The work is then painted with *thissi*, which penetrates and toughens the clay and binds the fibres of the wicker. When the *thissi* has set, which takes several days, the work is put on the chuck of a bow-lathe and ground smooth with a fibrous stone—a petrifaction-product. Varnishing and grinding are repeated till the surface is smooth, colour being added to the later coats. Then a coat of contrasted colour is given, and when the varnish is about half set, the pattern is chipped with a metal style through the fresh layer to the hard lacquer beneath. After the work has hardened, the patterns are embellished by scoring rings through the layers, with a tool like a carpenter's gouge, so as to bring out the underlying contrasts. The patterns are arabesques and conventionalized figures.* Subject designs are also executed (No. 224). Finally the lacquer is polished with buffs of graduated fineness. A peculiarity of *thissi* is that it sets hardest in a moist atmosphere. Every manufacturer has an underground cellar—a thing almost unknown in Burma—for the wares to harden in. Pagán, the centre of the industry, is at the same time the driest locality of the dry zone. The finest lacquer, which is only made by a few highly-skilled workmen, is so elastic that the lips of a cup may be brought to meet without the ware cracking. As much as twenty-five rupees is paid for a cup of such quality. The ordinary ware has not the tenth part of this elasticity, and sells for one to ten rupees a box. The deep cover of the betel-box is the traveller's ordinary drinking-cup.

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[435]
[415]

222. LACQUER-WARE MANUFACTURE.

* See the end-papers of the binding of this volume.

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

[opp. p.108]

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SEE SILVER PLATE

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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234. WASHING FOR GOLD.

silver, of the work, for workmanship. The fineness of the gold used is from eighteen to twenty-two and a half carats. Copper is the alloy for gold (four to sixteen *yué* of copper to the *kyat* or tikal). Silver is used of rupee fineness (four *yué* of alloy to the *kyat*) up to pure metal (*bau*). The intermediate fineness of sterling silver is the most usual. Silver is alloyed with copper and with zinc. With the few implements named above, plate for display and ornaments for women's wear are fashioned, of beautiful design and considerable finish. Chasing and *repoussé* ornament are used for the gold and silver plate, filigree and beading for the gold ornaments. Those who can afford it, serve drinking-water to their guests in a large silver bowl (*pald*) holding a gallon or so, with a small *pald* floating on the water. Other objects of luxury are silver lime-boxes, betel-boxes, hafts and scabbards of sabres. Broad zones of *repoussé*-work are relieved by fillets and beadings. The plain vessel having been hammered into shape is filled with a tough lac. This affords a ductile matrix, yielding where the chaser is applied and supporting the relief portions. The first step is to outline the work with a bronze punch, after which the lac is melted out and the metal annealed. Lac is poured in again, and a stage of relief raised. By successive annealings the full relief is obtained.* The figure designs are the signs of the zodiac, episodes from *zat*, and mythical animals. Women frequently carry some thousands of rupees worth of gold in the form

[554

● 415]

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531

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238. VILLAGE SILVERSMITH.

* The figure to the left in No. 237 is Go Tha Ban of Maulmain, the silversmith who designed and executed the tools used for the sides of this volume. The back is from the cover of a *Kambawd*, to the colours of which it corresponds.

31: Scherman--77 E-4 (no date) 1915 AP1 Burma

Burmese AP4
Shan AP11

PLATES

Plate IV

1.

B 342 361 Street in the Burmese village of Koya, upper Burma (upper Chindwin District).

2.

Burmese house in the village of Thindaw, upper Burma (upper Chindwin District).

3.

B [417] S [342] [361] Burmese house in the village of Yuwa, upper Burma (upper Chindwin District).

4.

House with decorated mat walls. Shan-Burmese mixed style. Village of Pekon, southern Shan State of Mongpai (Burmese: Mobye).

Plate V

1.

S 342 Small Shan house near Lashio, northern Shan State of Hsenwi.

2.

Larger Shan house in Namhkam, northern Shan State of North Hsenwi.

3.

S [264] [291] [415] [516] Shan family having their meal, Namhkam.

S [361]

4.

House of the village headman in Lashio Ywama, northern Shan state of North Hsenwi. Shan-Burmese mixed style.

31:Scherman--80 E-4 (no date)1915 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4
Shan AP11

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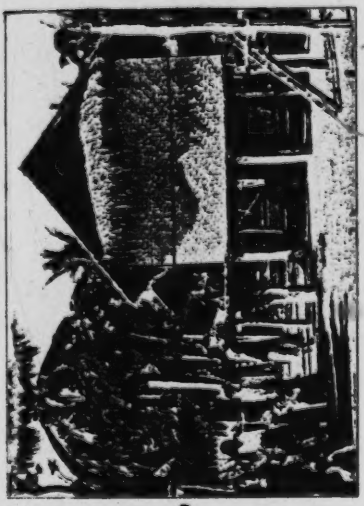

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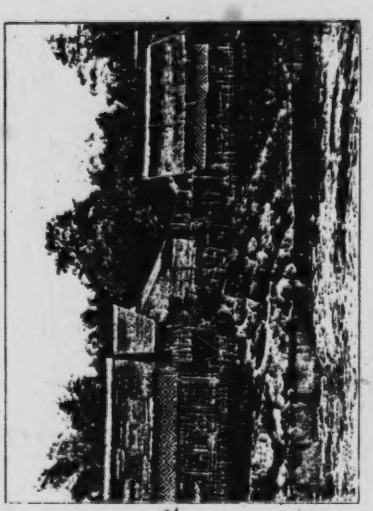

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Plate IV

[For description see page 77, category 116.
—Analyst]

R:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

CHAPTER VII

MARRIAGE

538 581 In the Lawkanidi, the book of proverbs relating to ordinary life, it is said that monks and hermits are beautiful when they are lean; four-footed animals when they are fat; men when they are learned; and women when they are married. This recommendation to the married state is no more needed by Burmese maidens than it is by their sisters in other parts of the world, and they have the further inducement that they enjoy a much freer and happier position than in any other Eastern country, and in some respects are better off even than women in England. All the money and possessions which a girl brings with her on marriage are kept carefully separate for the benefit of her children or heirs, and she carries her property away with her if she is divorced, besides anything she may have added to it in the interim by her own trading or by inheritance. Thus a married Burmese woman is much more independent than any European even in the most advanced states. In the eyes of the Dammathat the old idea of the *patria potestas* prevails indeed, and woman is regarded as a simple chattel, belonging entirely to her parents, and to be disposed of by them without any reference to her personal inclinations; but, as a matter of fact, she may do pretty well as she pleases, may marry the youth on whom she has fixed her affections, and may separate herself from the husband who has offended her, by going before the village elders and stating her case; and if the complaint is just, her request is never refused.

562 428 421 562 584

As yet they have not begun to demand an equal share

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

marriage, which is with most people a ceremony performed in full daylight with all accessories of display, is with the Burmese generally a secret. Two or three friends, perhaps, will be called quietly to the house, and the man and the woman will eat together, and thus become husband and wife. Then they will separate again, and not for several days, or even weeks perhaps, will it be known that they are married; for it is seldom that they can set up house for themselves just at once. Often they will marry and live apart for a time with their parents. Sometimes they will go and live together with the man's parents, but more usually with the girl's mother. Then after a time, when they have by their exertions made a little money, they build a house and go to live there; but sometimes they will live on with the girl's parents for years.

A girl does not change her name when she marries, nor does she wear any sign of marriage, such as a ring. Her name is always the same, and there is nothing to a stranger to denote whether she be married or not, or whose wife she is; and she keeps her property as her own. Marriage does not confer upon the husband any power over his wife's property, either what she brings with her, what she earns, or what she inherits subsequently; it all remains her own, as does his remain his own. But usually property acquired after marriage is held jointly. You will inquire, for instance, who is the owner of this garden, and be told Maung Han, Ma Shwè, the former being the husband's name and the latter the wife's. Both names are used very frequently in business and in legal proceedings, and indeed it is

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

593 usual for both husband and wife to sign all deeds
562 they may have occasion to execute. Nothing more
421 free than a woman's position in the marriage state can be imagined. By law she is absolutely the mistress of her own property and her own self; and if it usually happens that the husband is the head of the house, that is because his nature gives him that position, not any law.

With us marriage means to a girl an utter breaking of her old ties, the beginning of a new life, of new duties, of new responsibilities. She goes out into a new and unknown world, full of strange facts, leaving one dependence for another, the shelter of a father for the shelter of a husband. She has even lost her own name, and becomes known but as the mistress of her husband; her soul is merged in his. But in Burma it is not so at all. She is still herself, still mistress of herself, an equal partner for life.

593 I have said that the Burmese have no ideals, and
885 this is true; but in the Laws of Manu there are laid
671 down some of the requisite qualities for a perfect wife. There are seven kinds of wife, say the Laws of Manu: a wife like a thief, like an enemy, like a master, like a friend, like a sister, like a mother, like a slave. The last four of these are good, but the last is the best, and these are some of her qualities:

'She should fan and soothe her master to sleep, and sit by him near the bed on which he lies. She will fear and watch lest anything should disturb him. Every noise will be a terror to her; the hum of a mosquito as the blast of a trumpet; the fall of a leaf without will sound as loud as thunder. Even she

also used to do this. Sometimes they are able to extract about 5 viss of oil each in one day. 226 463 621

"There are also cultivators in the village. Some of those who work INS also own fields. They rent out the land to tenants. There are altogether 12 people in our village who own cultivation fields. But the biggest landowner does not own lands more extensive than three hundred acres. Some own 40 or 50 acres. Some engage cultivators and work their fields themselves, while others rent out the fields for a certain percentage of the produce. 421 463 621 427

"There were paid workers in the IN. They were paid, not a daily wage, but a monthly salary of Rs. 30/- without food. About 50 of the 80 workers were paid workers, though some of them owned shares as well. In addition to their pay, these paid workers received quite a lot of fish which their families went around selling. They get one or two basket-loads of fish to sell, and in this way make quite a lot of money. 226 463 465

"Fish is not distributed in this manner every day - only when the fish start coming down in great numbers. On these occasions however the workers get about 25 to 30 viss each - that is, by the boatload. Ordinarily they are given just enough for one meal.

"I also own eleven cows; eight for loaning out to cultivators and three for breeding purposes. No milk is drawn for human consumption because that is not the custom in our native place." 231 [272]

One yoke of oxen hired out brought U Myaing 50 baskets of paddy a year. He had 4 yokes. They kept by 100 baskets for home consumption and sold the rest at a rate fluctuating between Rs. 100/- and Rs. 175/- per hundred baskets.

In those years when U Myaing works at INS, he has to confine himself to such work only. During those years when he does not work at INS, he buys the fish from IN workers and process them for sale as NGAGYI, NGA-CHAUK, etc. Each year he uses between four to five thousand fish. When U Myain his co-workers could not get an IN, he had to buy fish and make NGA-CHAUK, (dried fish), NGAPI and NGANPYAR-YE. 226 463 433

On his former visits to Rangoon U Myaing came in a boat loaded with NGAGYI CHAUK (dried NGA GYI) and transferred it to the care of a broker in Rangoon. He then ascended the Shwe Dagon pagoda platform, donated money and water, returned to the broker, and went around the town to places like Mogul Street (the Indian quarter) for meats and ate pillau-rice etc. It took three or four days, and sometimes about ten days for the broker to dispose of his goods and in this time he would go round all the pagodas in Rangoon like the Botataung, Sule, Nga-htut-gyi etc. Once he went to a Chinese hotel known as the KAW-HIN hotel together with some traders from DAWEIYU. They pooled the expenses. The journey home took a day and a night. He took back with him clothes, longyis, KINGYIS, durian fruit, 226 438 484 [778]

243 days and then let in a gentle amount of water to flood the beds—one or two inches now, and more and more as the plants grew taller. In the meantime, vast stretches of beds were being prepared in the same way—plough and harrow and chop the weeds which here had become bigger and rougher with the rains, but would feed the soil better for that reason. When they had finished, all the country-side along the railway line looked like a vast segmented mirror, all the fine mud of the field lying beneath the four inches of water, and not a green weed to be seen. By now the plants in the nursery beds were about 1½—2 feet tall, and it was mid-July. Men plucked the seedlings, tying them swiftly into bundles of about 750. They chopped off the heads to free the plant of leaves which might make the young stalks topple over when they were planted upright. Then men and women stood ankle deep in the main beds and with one deft stroke of the right-hand they planted two or four stalks straight into the soft mud, each group a few inches from the next. It was this long and laborious task which gave the Lower Burman his landscape of endless green fields of rich waving paddy. From now on, these fields had only to be tended with water, neither to be stagnant, flooded, nor too dry. Through the months of September and October the rains diminished, the soil grew drier and the corn ripened from green to yellow. In December it was cut, tied in bundles and sunned for further drying and carried to the threshing floor. Here the bundles were ranged in rows with ears turned inwards, on the hardened surface of mud and dung, and bullocks trod round and round on them, slow and confident that their heavy hoofs would crush the chaff and leave the hard grain whole; and lo! when the mixture of corn and chaff was handed up in baskets to a high platform and tumbled down in a strong wind, the wind blew the chaff and dust away, but the corn fell in a clean heap on the ground below. Thus cultivators, and the weeds, earth, rain, sun, oxen and wind produced our wun-sa; but alas, the bounding broadcast sower, the slim, red-skirted deft-handed transplanters and the loving water-layers of this description are too often merely tenants or hired workers on the land. Owing to various causes, about 48% of the 423 land in Lower Burma belongs to non-agriculturists, chiefly non-resident, and although the money-lending alien and Indian Chettiar had become the chief holders of such lands, the owners of fields among our friends were also absentee landlords in the fullest sense, having little connection with the working of the paddy, except as a source of income.

452 Some of the pensioners got a fat income from money-lending although they would not have liked to admit it. Burmans who need money do not borrow from banks, nor do they have dealings with banks as a rule. It is only in this generation that such a thing as a bank balance is

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1° 910 AP1 Burma AP1
Burmese AP4
Indians

in the country. A very common scene shows the punishment which awaits fishermen in the next existence. The miserable destroyer of animal life is represented as dangling by the tongue on a fish-hook, while demons jerk him into the air, and drop him back into a lake of burning pitch. Many of them have inscriptions below to explain the subject of the picture. Thus in Pagàn :— Be 346 792 531

"When King Ne-bin Min-gyi reigned in Methila over the ten governors, according to the old books, the Thagya Min came from the nat heavens to help him."

"In the Monastery Yatana Shwe-daing, our Lord preached the Patenôn Tagayo, and remained several days."

"Shin Thumeda (Gautama), in the land of Thudawdana, received the Buddhaship under the banyan tree."

"Payā Alaung Theidat (the embryo Budh, Prince Siddartha), the King's son, married 4000 charming Yathe-mya."

"Our Lord rides on the elephant Ṇalagiri."

And so on in great variety. One also often finds such a notice as this scrawled on the wall: "In order to be prepared and to gain happiness in the seats of men, of nats, and of ne'ban, the rice-pots are set in order, the images are erected, and the paintings on the walls painted."

The monasteries are built, supported, and furnished by the pious, but there are not a few of them that have considerable sums of money laid away, usually under the control of the kappiya-dāyaka, the layman who lives in the kyaung, and provides for the wants of its inmates. A number of the royal fields round about Aungbinle, where the Burmese army assembled to seek victory before entering on a campaign, were set apart for the use of the Royal monastery at Payā Gyi, and the revenues were kept in a huge money-chest, which was always under the care of a guard of soldiers. Much of the money was devoted to the adornment of the adjacent pagoda. None can be spent on embellishing the monastery itself. That would be as great a sin as if a monk should build one for himself, besides that it would be depriving the populace of much opportunity for gaining merit. Be 792 735 423

There are a few monasteries of the Pônnas here and there in the large towns throughout the country. These B4 Be 791 792

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

CHAPTER LVII

LAND TENURE

In India the Raja has always been considered the chief proprietor of the soil and the lord paramount over all those who own it or dwell upon it. In Burma precisely the reverse of this system obtained. The king was indeed considered entitled to a share of the produce, and, as a matter of fact, undoubtedly got pretty nearly all of it; but the origin of the land tenure rested on an entirely different foundation. The Burmans go back to the first peopling of the earth and the appointment of the saintly Payālaung to be ruler over them. Mahā Thamada came after the lands had been pretty generally taken up by the people, and therefore the cultivators of the original thalé san had no intention of appointing him supreme landlord, when they chose him to be the source of the Law and of the administration of justice. He acquired a share of the produce of the country only by the free gift of the people, who, to provide revenues for him, of their own accord surrendered a tenth part of all their crops that he might be free to devote himself entirely to the management of the public affairs and the execution of the laws. This right to a tenth of the produce of the soil, and no more, is explicitly laid down in the Indian Buddhist code, the Dhammathat, or laws of Manu. This ancient book, which, by the way, is entirely distinct from the Indian *Institutes of Manu*, enunciates as follows in the sixth chapter: "The king, who is our ruler, must abide by the ten kingly laws. All land which is unclaimed shall be his, but he shall have no right to take all. Such lands as are cultivated by man, or have been previously reclaimed, shall

423 773 [651]
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2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

● 423 remain to the cultivator and his heirs. But he shall have a
671 tenth of the produce of all rice-lands, orchards, and gardens; and all excise and ferry duties, as well as canals and public works, shall belong to him. Through a succession of worlds the first king, the great Mahā Thamada, has established one-tenth to be his portion for ever, and let this be regarded as an everlasting precedent."

According to the Dhammathat there are seven methods by which landed property may be acquired. These are as follows:—1. By gift from the king. This is made only to soldiers and officials. 2. By inheritance. 3. By purchase. 4. By allotment from civil officers. 5. By personal reclaiming from the jungle. 6. By gift. 7. By unchallenged occupation for a period of ten years.

423 The first two titles are called perfect. The remainder
561 are open to question, and may be disputed by any one who can show a prior claim. In actual fact, however, it may be said that the man who reclaims for himself a piece of land out of the jungle becomes by his industry proprietor of the clearing, without reference to local authorities, village elders, or any one at all, and has thereafter an inalienable right to his tenure, with no dues to pay whatever, except the sum the taikthugyi may see fit to assess him at. That worthy's valuation, however, always displayed an enthusiastic belief in the fertility of the soil. The landed proprietor could dispose of it by gift, or he might sell it; otherwise it descended to his heirs and assigns in the order of succession; the whole right and title was essentially vested in the owner and the heirs of his body. The tenure was, therefore, by what lawyers call fee-simple, udal, or allodial right. The estate left by the
[428] original occupier was seldom broken up. The heirs tilled parts of it, or gathered the whole crop in successive years; so that the land did not require to be split up into infinitesimal parts. This practice was rendered all the easier by the thinness of the population. It was open to any one at any time to carve for himself out of the forest a holding of his own, and thus there was no temptation to break up the original family acres. It is singular that under a rule so completely
423 despotic as that of Burma, where every man was the king's slave, and could not cross the borders without his permission,

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

the right of land tenure should always have been so fixed and certain. The fondness with which the people cling to their ancestral lands has something of almost religious fervour in its tenacity. As long as a family remains in the neighbourhood of their inheritance nothing will persuade them to give up their connection with it. In Upper Burma, to the present day, land is never sold as the term would be understood in Europe. The transaction which goes by the name of a sale is, in reality, a kind of mortgaging, or, more exactly, pawning, if such a term can be used with regard to land. 423

The estate passes from one occupant to another for a certain sum of money, and it is clearly understood that if at any time the original owner is in a position to reclaim his property he may do so whether the purchaser likes it or not. Farther than this even, the buyer cannot sell the land to a third party without first obtaining the consent of its former owner. Notwithstanding this feeling, however, it is seldom that a property can be found which has remained for any considerable length of time in the same family. This is owing to the constant rebellions and wars between Peguans and Burmese and Shans, which afflicted the country for five hundred years. All those who were not killed were driven away from their former homes by ruthless invaders or were drafted off to fight for the king. In the short intervals of peace rival governors, in desperation for means to raise the revenues expected from their provinces, would tempt people away from their former homes by the offer of rewards or a reduction of body service. Thus in some cases the proprietors were killed out, in others they left for districts so remote that it was impossible to retain a hold on the ancestral property, however great their attachment to it. As an illustration of the sanctity attaching to ownership of land, the law concerning church lands may be quoted from Buddhaghosha's Parables: "Whoso shall take for himself or for another wutmye, consecrated or glebe-land, shall become a mite, or a white ant upon that sacred ground for the whole of 100,000 cycles." 423 721 175 [773]

The eighteenth of the original eighteen laws given by Manu to the king refers to the partition of property, and an elaboration of this points out sixteen descriptions of children who cannot claim a portion of their parents' property. The 423 428

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4
Upper Burma
Lower Burma

423 distinctions are more minute than is at all necessary or indeed
428 comprehensible. They include all children born out of wed-
848 lock, among whom are reckoned such as are born before the parents have been married ten months; all children that are
[597] purchased, or adopted by any other ceremony than that of abadita or keiktima; and such as "from respect or affection
423 style their guardians father or mother." The settlement of
184 boundary marks was one of the earliest duties of the first ruler. The thale rice became constantly scarcer and scarcer, and it was determined that it would be well to give every person his share and mark it off distinctly. The appointment of persons to execute this duty was the first occasion on which executive officials were found necessary. Manu enumerated twenty-five objects suitable for legal landmarks. These included all natural objects, such as lakes, rivers, ridges, and hills, remarkable large trees and clumps of bamboos; artificial boundaries of an equally permanent character, such as pagodas, shrines for demon-worship, zayats, or rest-houses, stone pillars and sacred posts, wells and cairns; finally such singular distinguishing marks as heads of cattle, chaff, ashes, charcoal, sand, broken earthenware vessels, and men's bones. "Beating the bounds," one would think, must have been very necessary with the younger members of the household in the case of such perishable boundary lines as could be constituted by chaff, or even sand. In Upper Burma the cultivating
[161] population was so sparse that no difficulty was found in the matter of boundaries. In Lower Burma farms are as distinctly marked off as land-surveyors' chains can effect the operation in pointing out the little raised ridges which separate the plots of paddy land from one another. Nevertheless they are hardly such as the South of England farmers would approve.

423 These allodial tenures are the only ones which exist in
[177·92] Burma now. In independent territory there were two other kinds of holding, which were not, however, very numerous or
651 extensive. The first of these were called thugyisa fields, and
622 consisted of certain tracts of land near the town or village set apart for the maintenance of the headman. As that official was anything but a permanency, the tenant for the time being very seldom cultivated them himself, but let them

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

out to farmers, who were required not only to pay him his rent, but as a rule had also to supply the revenue demanded from the owner by the State. There was therefore no very enthusiastic bidding for his lands, but he always got a tenant somehow or other. It would have been a bad day for the village if no one came forward. Every man in the place would have been called upon to work for a certain period on the thugyi's paddy-fields. These have now been merged in the State lands.

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The third class of arable estates consisted of the lands known as bhanda, treasury, or royal fields. These were the private property of the king, and were cultivated ordinarily by the outcast lamaing, crown predial slaves. Sometimes, however, the whole of the farmers in the neighbourhood were summoned by roster to do their one, or three, or five days' work, for which they received no payment; on the contrary, if they tried to escape they were tied up and received a dozen or two according to the humanity of the district governor. Near the capital, where oppression never was so gross as in the outlying provinces, the cultivators of the Lèdawgyi were frequently freed from all taxation but the payment of the family tax, and some even, as in the neighbourhood of Aungbinle, whose revenues were assigned by the king to the great Arakan pagoda, were let off even the ngwedaw. But these *corvées* were very irksome, for the payment of a little money would always ensure the omission of a name from the taikthugyi's list, and the work fell all the harder on the luckless remainder. The whole of the produce of the bhanda lands belonged of course to the king, unless where he had otherwise assigned it. What with revenue paid in kind and the crops of the Lèdawgyi, the king had granaries as vast as those which Joseph built for the king of Egypt. Mindôn Min drew from them to pay his soldiery, varying the monotony from time to time with pieces of rotten Manchester grey shirting. Offerings to the Sacred Order, of whom he daily fed several thousands, also served to keep the storehouses within reasonable bounds. Thibaw Min turned his grain into money with all possible expedition, and the money vanished with equal rapidity. The Lèdaw of course became State land on the Annexation.

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2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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The only analogy to the crown lands in Lower Burma was found in the reservation of forests by the government for the preservation of teak and other valuable trees such as the thit-ka (*Cedreela toona*), thit-kado (*Pentace Burmanica*), and padauk (*Pterocarpus Indicus*), which are absolutely reserved, that is to say, no tree may be felled which has not been girdled by government forest officers, even by those who have bought the right to remove the timber. It is expressly stated that the lessee is in no case allowed to girdle trees on his own account, and the rules are in other respects of the most stringent and Oriental description. No taung-ya, or hill-gardens may be made in the demarcated tracts. A selection of rivers and streams is made which must be kept free from all artificial obstructions, whether for fisheries, irrigation, or other purposes. Unauthorised felling, cutting, marking, killing, or injuring trees of all kinds, shrubs or bamboos, the collection of wood oil, resin, and even leaves, and any interference with the soil or its produce without permission, is made penal. Even the use of existing roads and bridle-paths may, if the forest officer sees fit, be prohibited. In 1882, out of a total area of about 80,000 square miles of teak-producing forests, some 13,000 square miles were thus reserved, but this area has now been ten times exceeded. The Burman, who knows nothing whatever of game laws or edicts against trespassers, is inclined to look upon this stringent reservation of land which the ancient code declares free for all, as something far more despotic than the enforced labour and extortionate demands of national rule. Doubtless time will prove to him that it is a wise precaution to guard from destruction a slow-growing tree like the teak, and when the wandering hunter gets to understand that forest fires are a calamity and not simply an easy method of making a clearing, the State forests will come to be something less like pheasant coverts than they now are.

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Otherwise, waste lands, as in old Upper Burma, are by the law of the Dhammathat open to all-comers. Any one can select for himself a tract of such land at his pleasure, and may clear and cultivate in any way he chooses, paying his tax upon it when the time for the annual assessment of land revenue comes round. In many cases, however, he is allowed

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

to hold his land free from taxes for such a period as may be necessary to bring it into a thorough state of cultivation. In such a case as this he has to apply to the thugyi—the old hereditary officers being retained throughout British Burma—of his circle, if the land does not exceed five acres in extent. If it is above that area, application has to be made to the English Assistant-commissioner, or to the Deputy-commissioner in charge of the district, if the average of the new claim exceeds fifty. The land is then surveyed and a grant is drawn up specifying the term of years during which he shall be free from imposts. This varies according to the kind of jungle which is to be cleared away, and the kind of crops intended to be grown. The exemption is in no case for less than a year. If rice is to be grown, seven years is the longest term of rent-free tenure, but for orchard cultivation it extends to twelve years. In a few cases, where the nature of the ground necessitates, in addition to clearing away the forest growth, the digging of channels for irrigation, and the erection of dams, extension even of this long period is granted. As in France, Norway, Japan, and Switzerland, the farms are all very small, in some cases almost absurdly so. Along the old frontier the holdings averaged only about five acres, in the Rangoon district from sixteen to twenty acres is the ordinary size, but here and there are a few considerably larger. It would, however, be a great mistake to endeavour to introduce larger tenancies. It is entirely against the genius of the people, and the appearance of foreign capitalists could not be otherwise than disastrous. The present mode of cultivation is slovenly enough, and larger farms would most certainly not tend to remedy the defect, which is due in great part to the superabundance of available arable land lying waste. Burma is progressing fast enough as it is. The abundance of rich land, the facility with which rights over it can be acquired, the great demand for rice, and the ever-increasing counter demand for European goods, the fixed, though heavy taxation, the cessation of all irregular and unexpected collections, the absolute personal security enjoyed by all under the English administration: all these benefits have resulted in the trebling of the population of Lower Burma during twenty-six years since the annexation of Pegu;

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25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

133 of the delta of the Irawadi, by which fresh silt-beds are raised to the cultivation
134 level. The town of Thâton, now sixteen miles from the coast and without a sea approach, was, in historic times, a port. Ships came up to Tenaserim in the south, the ancient emporium of trade across the Peninsula to Siam, and to Akauttaung in the north, and probably to Pegu. A mass of precise data on this subject was collected by the late Mr. John Merrifield, who came to the conclusion that Tenaserim had risen fifteen to twenty feet in the course of the last 300 years. In 1900, ten and a half million acres were cultivated in Burma. The rice crop was estimated at three and a half million tons, of which two millions were exported, worth £14,000,000. Fallow lands were estimated at five and a half million acres and arable waste at twenty-four millions, out of a gross area of one hundred and one millions. In 1872 a considerable firm failed over the enterprise of bringing a few thousand acres of reputed arable waste at Kayásu under cultivation; the crops got so much water that they rotted. The area has lain waste ever since. Most of the waste land granted to companies has been resumed, on account of their failure to satisfy the condition of utilising the land. The conditions which render land suitable for wet cultivation are less simple than they appear at the first glance. It is possible that the estimate of the arable waste is much too high.

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108. THE RICE PLANT IN THE EAR.

Where the fields depend on the surface-water for their supply, a margin of fallow has to be left; where they get a deposit of river-silt it is unnecessary. If manure is plentiful it is taken out on the fields. But this is seldom the case because the cattle are so much at large. On the outskirts of the rice-fields, which are dispersed in groups throughout the *kwin*, fallow land may readily relapse into waste. The depopulation of Pegu (Chronology, 1570, 1591–1740) threw great areas out of cultivation. Anyone was free to reclaim waste, and is so still. In Burma Proper, where good land is much scarcer than in Pegu, proprietors are fixed on the soil in many places by royal grants (*tha-myo, bôbabaing*). There were also royal demesne lands leased to tenants.

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In the dry zone of Burma Proper, rice cultivation is impracticable except where rivers flood their margins or where facilities for irrigation exist. Rice

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

For seven days after either kind of funeral, mourning goes on in the house. This means in wealthy houses indiscriminate eating and drinking. Cooking goes on all night, and all day relays of condoling visitors come and eat and enjoy themselves. The yahans also come every morning and receive offerings, and recite a string of Pali sentences. Friends bring contributions towards all this expenditure, but the result of it too often is that the heir finds that not only are all his father's hoarded rupees gone, but he himself has contracted a very considerable burden of debt. Even in the case of poor people, where the feasting is limited to the seventh day, great expense is incurred. The yahans are as necessary then as at the funeral, for the house must be purified, and the evil spirits who may be hanging about, as well as the leip-bya of the deceased, have to be exorcised and driven away. Then the pot containing the bones, if the dead person was burnt, is taken to the graveyard and buried, or sometimes is put into a hole near the pagoda. Superstitious people at burials sometimes affirm that they have caught the "butterfly" of the deceased in a handkerchief, and take this home to the house, where it lies till the seventh day, when it is opened after the discourse of the yahans, and the leip-bya is driven from the house. It can then give no more trouble.

Sometimes a small pagoda is erected over the cremated ashes of a highly respected relative. These are regarded simply as monuments, even when they are over a king, to whom alone of laymen in Native Burma they could be erected. They must not be used as places to offer worship, and that this may be known, the members of the sacred order ordain that such pagodas shall have no hti, no umbrella, on the top. To obviate this it is usual with the builder to dedicate the place to Shin Gautama, and thus at once secure a monument and a hti. Pagodas erected in honour of yahandas, or particularly sainted pôngyis, receive the umbrella of right, and are places very eminently suited for the pious laymen to worship at. Such temple tombs are called ayo sedi, but are not of such frequent erection as they used to be.

In some cases the relations grind down the bones to powder, and mixing this with the wood oil called thitsi,

14: Brant E-5 (1949-50) 1954 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

565 basis of invidious distinctions. Persons of means are esteemed more for the
556 socially valued uses to which they may put their money, such as charity, ceremonial activities, and support of the clergy, than for sheer richness or consumption.

Economic Change

178 The changing pattern of Tadagale's economic life may be described from the
101 point of view of shift from a once largely subsistence economy to one based more upon commodity production and exchange. In discussing this shift, the general
433 trends are best indicated if we focus upon Lower Burma rather than upon Tadagale exclusively. It is desirable to make this large area our unit because pertinent data are available for it, whereas historical information specific to the village is somewhat scant and fragmentary. The term "Lower Burma" is an administrative and geographical one. It comprises about 81,000 square miles and a population of some 9 millions, four of the administrative divisions in the highly fertile, deltaic 'rice-bowl' of Burma.

178 1. Background. The trend from a relatively self-sufficient subsistence
433 economy, with little dependence upon money, to a more commercialized economy coincides with the coming of British colonial rule in Burma. Our historical perspective thus extends over a period of about 150 years. Within this span of time, profound economic change occurred in Lower Burma. Here we cannot give a detailed account of events from decade to decade, but must limit ourselves to a brief consideration of the major trends.

175 In pre-British Lower Burma, villages consisted of what might be called
433 islands of clearance in a big jungle. In these settlements the Burmese peasants
361 lived by cultivation of paddy and vegetable gardens. Individual small holdings were the rule, and the size of the plot depended almost entirely upon need. No incentive existed to clear and cultivate land beyond the requirements of household subsistence and taxes, paid in kind, to the representative of the Burmese Crown. Cotton, from the dry zone of central Burma, was spun and woven into cloth, and garments were made in the local community. Housing was of a simple bamboo and thatch type, made of materials available locally. The bullock cart provided transport on the relatively few occasions that it was necessary for the Lower Burma villager to travel distances that could not be walked. Contact between villages was minimized by the expanses of intervening, uncleared jungle country. In Tadagale, for example, one of our oldest informants was able to recall the period of his youth, around 1885, when jungle clearance and settlement was still taking place, bringing Tadagale into closer communication with other communities in the area. Local craftsmen provided the villagers with simple utensils, tools and implements.

178 When British colonialism took over, money came to dominate over barter.
433 Taxation was ordered to be paid in money. The Burmese cultivator was encouraged
436 to clear the heavy jungle, cultivate more land, sell surpluses of paddy to
456 commercial millers, and spend his money on attractive manufactured goods imported from England, which were on display in the town shops and bazaars. Moneylenders, some of them Burmese, but especially Indians of the moneylending Chettiar caste from Madras, who could enter Burma freely, were at hand to loan money in fairly unlimited amounts to the Burmese peasants. Thus the latter could finance the expansion of their cultivation. Rates of interest charged were unregulated, and commonly ranged from 10% to 35% per year. The Burmese peasant was an easy victim: he was, at first, entirely unsophisticated in money

14: Brant E-5 (1949-50) 1954 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

matters, and cases occurred in which he unwittingly signed away title to his property, thinking he was only signing 'loan papers.' In some cases, Burmese cultivators, encouraged by moneylenders, borrowed sums greater than actually required for crop financing and used the excess for sponsorship of ceremonial activities, dramatic presentations, purchasing imported goods never before needed, and so on. 426

The result of this was the tremendous growth of rural indebtedness and much foreclosure by creditors holding mortgages on the land. By the 1930's, about half the cultivated land of Lower Burma was owned by landlords, largely absentee. The once independent Burmese land holder was converted into a rural tenant, or, in many instances, a landless agricultural laborer. Many tenant farmers, dependent upon rent-racking landlords, worked from harvest to harvest with little to show for their efforts beyond perhaps enough of the crop, after payment of rent, hired help, and debts, to feed their families through the planting and growing seasons. Large numbers left agriculture for other pursuits, such as petty clerical jobs in the towns and itinerant trading in imported goods. In Tadagale, for example, in 1949-50 it was possible to record cases of cultivators in such difficult straits that after paying their help and taxes, they did not have enough paddy left for the family granary to last until the next harvest, and were thus in the position of having to purchase in the market, at inflated prices, the very commodity they produced. 178 426 463

2. The Shift in Tadagale. The economic shift within the village may be summarized in terms of modes of employment, resources, imports and exports. 178

a. Employment. Rice agriculture has been decreasing as the land has passed, over time, into the hands of absentee landlords and independent owner-cultivators have become fewer. The tenant farmers are likewise small in numbers. [243] [427]

The manufacture of clothing has also diminished. Formerly, cotton was spun and woven in the village. Now, clothing is very largely obtained by purchase of imported piece goods in Rangoon and having it finished by city tailors and seamstresses. [244]

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As motor transport has replaced animal transport over the years, the men of Tadagale have been increasingly employed in operating buses. Related to this is the establishment of a repair shop by a motor mechanic to service the buses owned by villagers.

It will be noted that most of the living takes place on the downstairs floor where the bedrooms and the porch are located. The altar is also located downstairs 342 [512] [778]

U Myaing explained that the alt r should be upstairs but it was more convenient downstairs. The posts on which the house rests rise a few feet above the ground. In all there are about 15,050 cubic feet enclosed by the house. Of this amount 1450 cubic feet are used for sleeping quarters for the family, 729 cubic feet is devoted to religion in the altar room, and 800 cubic feet is used in the kitchen for preparing food. The rest of the space is for social functions including visitors and relaxation, with some space used for storage.

In Pathus there were no beds and no chairs except for one deck chair which had been handed down to U Myaing from his father. There were however, five small stools about four inches high and measuring about 12" by 6". These stools did not have four legs but instead were made of one flat board hammered onto two boards laid on their ends. They had one four legged stool measuring 2½ feet by 1½ feet and about 8 inches high. This was utilized as a chess board. (U Myaing and three or four others played chess four or five times a month in the afternoons. Their house was the only one in the village to possess a board and chessmen, U Myaing having received it from a cousin.) There was another stool about two feet high and one and a half feet square to hold the KYAUK KAR food carrier. 352 [428] [524] [415]

There were also two round Burmese tables. The smaller one was about three feet in diameter and one foot tall. Ma Aye Myaing could not estimate the diameter of the larger one but she remembered that eight men could eat at a time at this table, and that people who gave charities often came to borrow it for that reason. [426]

There was a three legged stand for holding two water pots. The pots were placed on two horizontal triangles formed one about two feet above the other by the pieces of wood holding together the three upright feet of the stand. This stand was made by U Myaing at home.

They also possessed two cupboards bot of which had been handed down to U Myaing by his father. The first one, used for holding clothes, was three TAUNG high, two and one half TAUNG wide and little less than one [428]

must ask permission of the parents or Daw Aw Zar when they wish to go to town or anywhere else even when leaving for school. In a special sense the children are "owned" by the parents. Considerate children appreciate the efforts of their parents and take care of them when they become old. If he had a son he would have to make the financial arrangements to "put him through" the novitiation or SHIN PYU ceremony. The corresponding "initiation" ceremony of the girls, that of ear-boring has not been done for the daughters. For the KIN MUN TAT (name giving) or "christaining" of the eldest daughter, U Myaing bought 50 leaves of bread, as well as sugar and coconuts to feed the children of the village. The ceremony cost Rs. 90/- or 100/-. The ceremony for the second and third daughters was celebrated with a black rice preparation called KAUKMYIN-BAUNG (treacle rice steamed). The ingredients consisted of 2 baskets of black rice (costing Rs. 10/-), 8 PYI of beans (costing Rs. 3/10), 2 condensed milk tins of sessamum oil (costing Rs. 1/-), 10 to 15 ticals of salt (costing 2 annas), and 4 coconuts. The family had to evacuate from Pathee before the ceremony of the youngest daughter. U Myaing was made a novice at the age of nine, together with six other young boys. The donors who were bearing the costs of the ceremony decked them out in fine clothes and in the evening, after being taught the stanza asking for the robes, they were made KOYINS. Charities were given . U Myaing remained seven days as a KOYIN. His SHIN PYU or novitiation ceremony costs altogether between Rs. 3000/- and Rs. 4000/- (for the [illegible] boys), because, besides other expenses HTA MEINS were distributed free to all the women guests and PU SOKS to the men. U Myaing's grandfather bore the costs of making 14 boys KOYINS and one into an UPAZIN or monk. The whole village helped to cook the food for the reception. This help was entirely voluntary and the helpers did not wait till requests were made for their help.

In times of financial difficulty U Myaing may borrow money from relations (preferred) or close friends. U Myaing's eldest brother is the first person to apply to - however, he does not have much money so cannot help in this way. But he can be depended on in various other ways. For example, he will help in a fight, or give good advice on where U Myaing might go for a job or to borrow money. A mainstay financially is U Myaing's mother's elder sister (Daw Gyi), Ma Ohn Hyunt,

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426 593 or her daughters or sons who are financially well-to-do. U Myaing's sister who lives in Rangoon has given help to the eldest daughter by housing her near her cheroot-rolling job. The pattern of mutual aid among the relatives is strongly developed among the Burmese. "A tree will support a thousand birds" emphasises the importance of the relative who makes good for the rest of the family.

Relationship of Family to Community and State

602 621 A large portion of the Pathwe community were related to U Myaing. Consequently many reciprocal activities fell within the family group. Most of the activities were prescribed by virtue of being a member of the community rather than by kinship ties. Such activities include cooperation in house raisings, funerals, marriage festivals, SHIN PYU ceremonies where the family involved needs help. Unpleasant occasions such as funerals demand everyone's attendance if not financial participation. 602 621 476 [342] On pleasant occasions the participants are apt to be one's friends and relatives. When someone builds a small house or puts a new thatch roof on, the other villagers come to help. He does not have to pay the workers anything or even feed them. He has only to cook and prepare for them the raw foods and chillies, onions, etc., which each one brings for himself. This statement, however, holds true only when small houses are built. Regular carpenters have to be hired to build the big ones. U Myaing frequently helped to build other people's houses - small houses that could be completed in a day. Help of this nature is offered without asking.

764 621 476 When a person dies in the village, the villagers all go to the house and certain elders help to bathe and dress the corpse and place it on the bed, where it may be kept anywhere from three to seven days before being taken out and buried. The ground for burial is bought at the cemetery for the price of one pice. Now, in keeping with the general inflation, the price has risen to one anna. The grave is dug by the young men's group. The young men of the village carry the bier, or pull the bullock cart on which the coffin rests, and dig the grave. They also provide the orchestra. For performances on the night of the death and the day after a Burmese orchestra is engaged at the rate of Rs. 50/- to Rs. 100/-. The various visitors who come to condole with

572 The friendships he[1] has made with other workers do not seem to be
369 very deep or very lasting. In Pathwe the workers were all friends, and even included his relatives as well. There are not many strangers in Pathwe and even people not connected by blood ties were treated like relatives.

369 "In Rangoon the seller takes a profit on everything we have
●426 to buy for food; items like rice, vegetables and fruits. Of course
444 he cannot be blamed, because he has a living to earn too. He gives wage-earners goods on credit, but charges an interest on those goods." In Pathwe U Myaing could get most of the necessary food without having to pay any interest or middleman's profits since he bought straight from the producer. In Rangoon all people who earn monthly wages are the same. They have to take goods on credit. Those who do not earn regular salaries are allowed credit, but they have to undertake to settle accounts by a fixed date.

525 During the TAGU month festival, U Myaing gambled for money.
527 He has gambled to stakes as high as three hundred rupees, but never up to one or two thousand. In Pathwe they had this on the PAYA-GYI-DAUNG side, and U Myaing joined in whenever he came across in other villages a group who were playing while on business. When he was young he gambled away Rs. 700/- while on a trip to KYANGIN. They were all of them on the same boat and he lost that amount at DANUBYU. But by the time they reached YANGOON he had recovered his money. The games they played were poker and HO-MEE.

525 In their village they had people who held fights between game
541 cocks. U Myaing never bred any of these fowls but he has placed bets on them several times, small bets to the value of four or five rupees. There is no special announcement made but word gets around that there is to be a match at such and such a place on such and such a day, and at the appointed time the villagers who are interested all congregate at that spot.

There are bookmakers among the assembled villagers who are willing to take any bets on either side. Cock fighting is carried on during the months of PYATHO and TABODWE. And even then they have it during only four or five days in the month. U Myaing does not go to every meeting. In the rainy the ground is wet for game cock-fighting

1. [i.e., U Myaing -- ANALYST]

These are his "eggs" and it is his duty to guard them while the others cluster around trying to get them away from him without being caught in the attempt. If they are successful in getting all the eggs away they then go and hide them. The "turtle" then has to go and look for eggs while the rest follow her giving encouragement clapping hands and shouting the chant " LEIT U PY UK LO LEIT MA SHAR THU EHIN BYAR NGO ME NGO MEY (Because her eggs are lost the poor female turtle is tearfully looking for them). If the child succeeds in catching any one in an attempt to get an egg away that person becomes the turtle. 527 858

In Pathwe they celebrated the water festival, but they did it in moderation and were satisfied if a person got slightly wet. MON-LET-HSAUNG was given in the village. 527

U Myaing did not save any money in Pathwe. Sometimes he made a great deal of money and sometimes he made nothing at all. Sometimes if he had a lot of money he would loan it out to some one else to be returned in three or four months time if possible. Sometimes these loans continued unsettled for about a year. Only in Rangoon do you have to pay interest. In Pathwe if you did not borrow from chettiars you did not need to pay any interest. U Myaing did not go to the chettiars. He borrowed only from his relatives. There were people who went to raise money from the chettiar money lenders and some of them lost house, cultivation fields etc. because they could not pay the high rate of interest and had the mortgages on their property foreclosed. 454 426● [563]

Analysis of Social and Ceremonial Activities

The refugee camp may be regarded as a new village composed of families who came from villages in the delta similar to Pathwe but placed in an urban setting. The other refugees have the same understandings as to socio-ceremonial activities as U Myaing and the basic 621 722 [369]

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

At intervals on the main lines of traffic are refreshment-booths, where fruit, sweetmeats, and tea are sold. Meals can be taken in the markets of the towns. In the villages casual travellers enjoy the hospitality of the people. In the afternoon the markets are closed; low tables are set in the roads, where cheroots, fruit, and sweetmeats are sold in the evening. Some of these refreshments are prepared on the spot, such as the *mônlebwè*, a wafer baked in the flame of a fire, in which it rises to an immense size.

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292. CLOTH BAZAR.

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The wholesale trade of Burma is conducted by brokers (*pwèza*) who receive a commission. Wealthy men operate with their own capital, others find investors and money-lenders to advance funds, some form partnerships and small companies to divide profits. Producers frequently bring their grain direct to the mills; but the bulk of the grain is bought up by the native brokers to the order of the exporters, most of whom never visit the interior. The interest on money is one to six per cent. per mensem. What is not hoarded in the form of plate and ornaments is put into trade or is put out to interest. Money-lending is not a special business because everybody practises it. Appalling as is the rate of interest—the measure of risk—such hard bargains are not driven as in India. Debtors when sold up can nowhere make a new start so well as in Burma. Brokers do banking in a small way; but banking has been made a regular branch of business by the Chettis from India (No. 364), who pay as much as one per cent. per month on deposits and charge one and a half per cent. on loans fully secured. European banks and investments with their high security and low rates of interest do not attract Burman capital.

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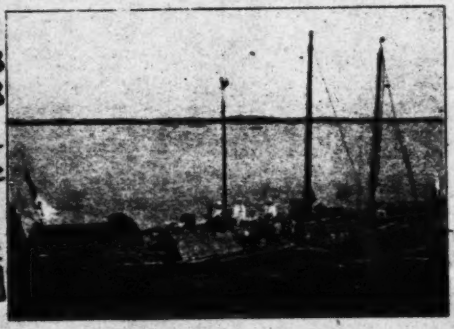
293. NIGHT BAZAR.

505 The carrying business is mainly by water, for which Burma possesses unrivalled facilities, especially in the floods

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma AP1
Indians
Burmese AP4

Ba 167 563 463 Ba Bse 511 Bse [501]



365. BRINGING THE PADDY TO THE RICE-MILLS.

of every class and caste, with his foreign connection and longer experience, has an incalculable advantage over the untravelled Burman. Beginning with a lower standard of comfort than the Burman—squatting on the bare soil where the poorest Burman makes a floor, wearing cotton where the other wears silk, and being able to improve his original condition upon half the return that the Burman expects for his work—the Indian immigrant finds land worth his labour which the Burman leaves waste. The influx of races whose religion it is to multiply, without regard to the prospect of subsistence, must speedily result in lowering the scale of life for everyone in Burma—a country of which it may now be said that "a large share of the happiness of each individual is derived from the consciousness of the well-being of other individuals." (Herbert Spencer, *Principles of Ethics*, Vol. I., p. 297.) Commencing by hiring the cheap Indian labour to reap his corn, then to plough and till his fields, the while emulating his neighbours in superfluous works, the Burman is apt to end by becoming the debtor of his servant, and mortgaging to him his lands. It seems to many that there is no escape for the Burman from the Indian flood that now menaces his country. But up to the present no class of Indians has attempted to deal with land subject to the vicissitudes of the Burman riverain soil. It is unlikely that people of less versatility and resource will establish themselves there. In 1879, when the vagaries of the Irawadi had submerged the cultivation on the Panhlaing creek some twelve feet, and the eaves of the houses were under water, the cattle were saved in hasty platforms made in

Bse [426] Ba Bse 563 241 731 Bse [361]

366. FORESHORE AT THE FACTORIES.

592 sent to stay with us at various times and were sent to schools which taught English, but nothing would persuade them to take any interest in studies. My cousin Nyein Maung, whom I liked very much, could never bear to keep a shirt on, which was why he was always to be found with only a longyi tucked around his loins playing chinlon or helping boatmen with their canoes, when he should have been sitting fully clothed in a class-room.

[601] My young Uncle Pyant, whom we called U-Ngè, small Uncle, had passed his B.A. and his law degree, and returned to Ye in preference to a more modern life in a larger town. He walled off one doorway's space from the main room of the house and filled it with bookcases, a big desk and chairs for visitors. Outside this room my Uncle Pyant put up a sign saying: "*A-htet tan shaynay gyi:* Advocate and Higher Grade Pleader," and within a very short time became the lawyer of the whole village; but so great was his attachment to this consultation-living-room, which had nothing in common with the rest of Ye, that he relinquished all cases whose developing complexities led client and lawyer to a higher court in Moulmein.

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592 Grandmother had gardens about ten miles up the creek from Ye. 244 These contained coconuts, durians and areca nuts grown over about 276 fifty acres for commercial disposal. Around the bungalow in the centre 427 of the garden there grew mangosteen, rambutan, pomeloes and pineapples for eating on a large-scale, clumps of bamboos, a coffee tree, tobacco plants, capsicum, lime and citron trees, lemon grass, and vegetables of all kinds to serve the needs of the bungalow and the household in town. My aunts with one young male relative took turns to live at the garden and help the family that was hired to look after it permanently. It was a dangerous life in these plantations as dacoities were very frequent. [501] The produce was taken down to Ye in a succession of graceful narrow boats shaped out of single tree trunks. The durians and coconuts were [442] sold straight away to traders who travelled between Moulmein and Ye for this purpose. The areca nuts were first dried on a bamboo attic made by an extension of the platform upper storey of the house until it met the back slope of the roof. When they were dried the whole family gathered around in the back kitchen and removed the husks with blunted nutcrackers, leaving the smooth nut to be sold.

244 With the rice from the paddy-land on the opposite bank, fruits, 262 vegetables and spices from the garden, rolling their cheroots with a mix- 226 ture containing tobacco in leaves shed by the areca trees in the garden, 438 and grinding their own coffee berries, my aunts and grandmother only 276 needed to buy a little fish and meat for their daily consumption. This they could not provide themselves owing to the Buddhist law against

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

243 much preparing. It is simply a portion of the field swept clean. It is sufficiently hard from the broiling sun, and a stake is driven into the centre of the circle. Two lines of sheaves are arranged round this, head to head, and the grain is trodden out by slow-moving bullocks in good old lazy fashion. The Christian Biblical precept, not to muzzle the ox that treadeth out the corn, does not fail of observance with the Buddhist farmer. Then the paddy, that is, the unhusked grain, is winnowed. In some places hand-winnowing machines of a simple pattern are used; but ordinarily a far more primitive and easy method, corresponding to the substitution of oxen for threshing-flails, is in use. A man stands on an elevated platform and capsizes baskets of paddy brought from the threshing-floor; the rice falls on a sloping bamboo mat and so to the ground, the wind blowing away a great part of the bits of broken straw, chaff, and light grain. The system may not be very thorough, but it saves an immense amount of trouble, which is the chief consideration. All that now remains to be done is to carry the grain off to the big rice-boat lying in the creek. There it is stowed in bulk; and after a day or two, the farmer makes a start, dropping leisurely down through the network of creeks into one of the main streams, and so making his way to Rangoon, or Bassein, whence he will return in a few weeks with fine Chinese neckerchiefs for his daughters and perhaps a gay Manchester paso or two for himself and his sons—unless, indeed, the Madras money-lender has snapped up all [452] his receipts down in town, or some of the robber-boats that [674] infest the creeks at this time of the year have pounced upon him and carried off everything but the boat and the paddles.

243 Rice-farming would be profitable as well as easy work ● 427 were it not for the reckless squandering of almost all the 433 cultivators. The average rent per acre is under three 435 shillings; the average produce of the land per acre is from eighty to a hundred bushels in the more fertile parts, while elsewhere the yield is from forty to fifty. The selling price of rice per maund (80 lbs.) in Rangoon is between 4s. 6d. 243 and 5s. Agriculturists, therefore, ought to grow rich. But 511 454 they are too fond of gambling and building works of merit

244 Garden cultivation is quite simple. Hand tools, such as steel mattocks, rakes and hoes, which are obtained from Rangoon, are employed to prepare the soil. Cattle or water buffalo excrement is mixed with water to a thin consistency and poured from bamboo-spouted metal buckets over the ground. (The use of human excrement as a fertilizer, common in China and Japan, is not practiced in Burma.) During the monsoon season there is, of course, no problem of irrigation, but during the hot and dry seasons the gardens must be watered frequently. This task is often performed by young boys, who draw water from the wells and apply it to the gardens. The work of picking the matured crops and preparing them for transport to market is commonly done by female members of the household.

243 2. Paddy Cultivation. The principal occupation of forty-three persons is cultivation of paddy. This category is here defined to include individuals who own or rent land on which they cultivate paddy, as distinct from persons who work on a wage basis in the paddy cultivation of others. The latter are referred to in this report as field laborers.

243 162 427 178 Of the thirty-four paddy land holdings on which we have data, twenty-nine are rented and five are owned by the cultivators. All but one of these holdings is under twenty acres. This high ratio of renters to owners, as well as the small number of paddy cultivators relative to the total number of gainfully occupied villagers, is reflective of long-run trends in agriculture in this general area. Rural tenancy has been the outcome, in Lower Burma, of a long period of loss of land ownership to moneylenders, largely absentee, through inability of the cultivators to repay loans taken out at very high rates of interest. As tenancy has grown apace, individual cultivators have become discouraged with their small return for hard work. Accordingly, many have given up paddy cultivation altogether in favor of less arduous and relatively more rewarding occupations. However, this trend may be reversed, for there began in early 1951 actual implementation of the Land Nationalization Act of 1948, which provides for distribution of agricultural land to the cultivators on an individual ownership basis.

243 434 For the great majority of the paddy cultivators of Tadagale it is possible to eke out little more than subsistence from season to season. A few, after paying their hired labor, putting aside seed for the next year's planting, and filling the granary for home use, can realize some cash income by the sale of a small surplus of paddy. If the cultivator with a little surplus can possibly afford it, he holds the paddy until the hot season, when the market price is highest.

243 433 The average yield per acre in Tadagale, based on data for thirty cultivators for the harvest season 1948-49, is 19.8 bushels of paddy. This compares closely with the overall average figures for Burma. According to the Yearbook of Food and Agriculture for 1949 (U.N.-F.A.O.) the average yield per acre for Burma was 20 bushels.

243 437 In late March, the paddy fields of Tadagale are burned over, depositing an ash from any stubble remaining from the previous harvest. Sometime after the New Year celebration (which begins about April 13th and continues several days) the cultivators spread manure over their fields in preparation for the coming planting season. The manure is obtained from the Indian dairy farmers of the village in exchange for paddy stalk.

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As motor transport has replaced animal transport over the years, the men of Tadagale have been increasingly employed in operating buses. Related to this is the establishment of a repair shop by a motor mechanic to service the buses owned by villagers.

If the umbrella falls down it indicates that the spirit has departed and cannot return. The person who performs this ritual must not talk to anyone en route to the cemetery. 764

On the seventh day a ceremony takes place. The monks come to the house to eat and chant prayers. They are given offerings for their own use and a special tray containing white thread. The monks hold the thread, which symbolizes good, while they chant. The people present are seated before the monks, repeating the prayers and precepts after them. The deceased person is supposed to be sitting on the mat prepared for him and benefiting from this ceremony. Then the people are fed, the monks depart, and the influences of death are considered to be banished. The thread is kept in the house. 764 769

Graves are not visited, nor is there any upkeep of the cemetery, for folk belief has it that the tidying of graves will cause more people to die. The dead are commemorated by the meritorious act of feasting the Buddhist monks.

Associations

Bus Union. Owners of buses plying between Tadagale and Rangoon are organized into a union. In terms of its functions, this organization might be more fittingly termed a mutual protective and insurance association. These are to prevent outsiders from infringing on their route and competing with them; payment of damages in case of accidents between members' buses and other vehicles or persons; payment of any costs of litigation that arise in connection with accidents; and maintenance of a repair shop and mechanic in the village. Members of the union pay an initial sum to join, plus monthly dues and a small toll fee for each trip that is made. 441 494

Peasants Union. The Tadagale Peasants Union is a constituent body of the All Burma Peasants Union and operates directly under the Insein Division of the parent organization. Some fifty to sixty households in Tadagale are members. When the head of a family or household joins, the union regards all its members as union members. In theory, meetings are supposed to occur once a month, but in fact take place at irregular intervals, whenever a problem arises that is considered sufficiently important to warrant a meeting. Commonly this is a dispute between members over land. If opinion remains divided after considerable discussion of a dispute or other issue, the union meeting votes by written ballot. 467 427 185

The more long-run aims of the Peasants Union concern rent and taxes of cultivators. Protests and petitions are sent to the government when it is felt taxes are too high. The union was characterized as 'an organization that is against the landlords.' At the time of our research, its aim was to reduce the landowners' share of the produce to one-third from two-thirds. The union also favored land nationalization, under which it was believed rent would be paid in a just amount to the government. Just where the Peasants Union fitted in with existing political party programs and alignments in the country at large it was not, for various reasons, feasible to investigate.

Ceremonial Assistance Groups. For purposes of rendering help at such ceremonies as weddings, funerals and initiations, the villagers are divided into informal groups. These are: men's group; married women's group; and unmarried girls' group. The men's group does the heavier tasks, such as chopping and carrying firewood, erecting ceremonial structures, and preparing 575 476

also used to do this. Sometimes they are able to extract about 5 viss of oil each in one day. 226 463 621

"There are also cultivators in the village. Some of those who work INS also own fields. They rent out the land to tenants. There are altogether 12 people in our village who own cultivation fields. But the biggest landowner does not own lands more extensive than three hundred acres. Some own 40 or 50 acres. Some engage cultivators and work their fields themselves, while others rent out the fields for a certain percentage of the produce. 421 463 621 427

"There were paid workers in the IN. They were paid, not a daily wage, but a monthly salary of Rs. 30/- without food. About 50 of the 80 workers were paid workers, though some of them owned shares as well. In addition to their pay, these paid workers received quite a lot of fish which their families went around selling. They get one or two basket-loads of fish to sell, and in this way make quite a lot of money. 226 463 465

"Fish is not distributed in this manner every day - only when the fish start coming down in great numbers. On these occasions however the workers get about 25 to 30 viss each - that is, by the boatload. Ordinarily they are given just enough for one meal.

"I also own eleven cows; eight for loaning out to cultivators and three for breeding purposes. No milk is drawn for human consumption because that is not the custom in our native place." 231 [272]

One yoke of oxen hired out brought U Myaing 50 baskets of paddy a year. He had 4 yokes. They kept by 100 baskets for home consumption and sold the rest at a rate fluctuating between Rs. 100/- and Rs. 175/- per hundred baskets.

In those years when U Myaing works at INS, he has to confine himself to such work only. During those years when he does not work at INS, he buys the fish from IN workers and process them for sale as NGAGYI, NGA-CHAUK, etc. Each year he uses between four to five thousand fish. When U Myain his co-workers could not get an IN, he had to buy fish and make NGA-CHAUK, (dried fish), NGAPI and NGANPYAR-YE. 226 463 433

On his former visits to Rangoon U Myaing came in a boat loaded with NGAGYI CHAUK (dried NGA GYI) and transferred it to the care of a broker in Rangoon. He then ascended the Shwe Dagon pagoda platform, donated money and water, returned to the broker, and went around the town to places like Mogul Street (the Indian quarter) for meats and ate pillau-rice etc. It took three or four days, and sometimes about ten days for the broker to dispose of his goods and in this time he would go round all the pagodas in Rangoon like the Botataung, Sule, Nga-htut-gyi etc. Once he went to a Chinese hotel known as the MAN-HIN hotel together with some traders from DAGUHIU. They pooled the expenses. The journey home took a day and a night. He took back with him clothes, longyis, KINGYIS, durian fruit, 226 438 484 [778]

527 The younger children of the families also took the precepts, but it was not considered wrong if they felt too hungry or faint to keep to them. Everyone packed up and went home from the resthouse at about four in the afternoon. I found these duty evenings very long and depressing. There was no dinner, my father and mother told beads all evening, and at night their mattresses were removed and they slept only on mats.

•428 342 We were now living in Grandfather's old house. Grandfather had left it to the four youngest among his children, and my mother had bought out the shares of the others because she was sentimentally attached to it and could not bear to see it pulled down. To others it had seemed an unwieldy shape taking so much good teak which could have built a compact modern house. My mother set about the task of transforming in into a comfortable domestic family house with a nicely disposed front and back, but it was a difficult task. There was no neat garden plot, no face, no bedrooms, but long stretches of gallery and verandah. We fenced off the well so that the village could continue to use it without infringing our privacy, the old big kitchen was dismantled and a compact kitchen made of one of the store-rooms near the washing platform, the old maternity room was stocked with commodes and made into a lavatory, the powder room was used as box-room. Six of us shared the big bedrooms. The altar, the water-pots and meals continued where they had always been. There was a large expanse of shining floor for visitors to sit on mats, and the head of the long verandah held a few chairs. The stable was cleaned up and given to Apana, now an old and rheumy-eyed man, and the downstairs hall, where a school had been, now held our stocks of rubber.

511 563 775 But still there was always so much space, the house seemed vast and empty, and the life so different from our district government houses with a crowd of servants, young men and dependents of all kinds. We felt the change acutely. My sisters were still children who played with each other and had plenty to eat during their short holidays, but I found the evenings silent and sad with the lifeless echoes which the dim light of the floorboards used to send up. I had been to stay at the house for short periods just before my Grandfather died, when I was about three or four years old. Here, where we washed our faces, we looked across to a house now mysteriously barred with a blank wooden face, but then inhabited by *ta-yok chi-thay-mas*, tiny-footed China-women, fabulous creatures according to my nurses, who, though they were slit-eyed and could curse you in an unknown tongue, could be sent reeling back with one touch of a finger. The ta-yok chi-thay-ma had other macabre qualities also. Her child had a big black patch of hair on its arm because it was the reincarnation of his dead sister. At the death of this

running with unholy energy and two small boys streaking after them 525
shouting: "My hpongyi! Hey, my hpongyi!"

The showy vanity of Rangoon was seen at its greatest at wedding 585
celebrations where no woman of any standing came without a full load 511
of jewellery, either owned or borrowed for the occasion. For weddings of families like ours hundreds of invitations had always to be sent out owing to the tradition of acknowledging distant relationships and connections. It would be considered rude also not to invite the friends among clerks and traders from every town in which my father had been posted during our growing-up years.

Marriage is a social contract in Burma. To be married one needs 581
no recourse to legal or priestly officers. The *let-htat*, laying of hands 562
one on the other, can be performed in the presence of elders, or a feast can 428
be given to a few people to obtain recognition of the married state. This is done after elopements, for example, when the parents have become reconciled and the young couple is too shy to go through the pantomine of a marriage ceremony. For divorce, also, no legal procedure is necessary, but convention makes divorces rare. Although monogamy is almost universal in Burma, polygamy is not forbidden by the law. A "mistress" of a married man is considered a sort of wife, but the disapproval with which this is regarded is shown in the term applied to her: *ma-ya-nga*, lesser wife. But the liberty operates both ways, and in the rare cases of a woman who runs to a second husband without any agreement having been reached beforehand, she is said to have a *lin-ngè*, lesser husband. The lack of legal safeguards of a woman's position as the only wife is amply compensated for by the rulings of Burmese Buddhist Law as regards her property. She retains sole ownership of whatever property she brings to the marriage, and on the dissolution of the marriage is entitled to half of all the additions of wealth since the marriage. Neither can an irate husband make a will leaving his money to other relatives and strangers. Wills are forbidden by law; children inherit equal shares of the parents' legacy, except in the cases where there are more than four children in the family. Then the eldest takes one-quarter before the rest is divided equally amongst the other children. On the death of one parent the surviving parent still has sole ownership of half the property. The other half is open to division among the children, but it is only a black sheep which will insist on division while one parent is still alive.

When I had been home but a month, my brother appealed to me 584
for help in arranging the matter of his marriage. His difficulty was that he had no wish to marry the various dowried young women with whom my relatives were trying to contract him; he had chosen his own bride but at the same time the stern array of cousins, aunts and uncles in our

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

CHAPTER VII

MARRIAGE

538 581 In the Lawkanidi, the book of proverbs relating to ordinary life, it is said that monks and hermits are beautiful when they are lean; four-footed animals when they are fat; men when they are learned; and women when they are married. This recommendation to the married state is no more needed by Burmese maidens than it is by their sisters in other parts of the world, and they have the further inducement that they enjoy a much freer and happier position than in any other Eastern country, and in some respects are better off even than women in England. All the money and possessions which a girl brings with her on marriage are kept carefully separate for the benefit of her children or heirs, and she carries her property away with her if she is divorced, besides anything she may have added to it in the interim by her own trading or by inheritance. Thus a married Burmese woman is much more independent than any European even in the most advanced states. In the eyes of the Dammathat the old idea of the *patria potestas* prevails indeed, and woman is regarded as a simple chattel, belonging entirely to her parents, and to be disposed of by them without any reference to her personal inclinations; but, as a matter of fact, she may do pretty well as she pleases, may marry the youth on whom she has fixed her affections, and may separate herself from the husband who has offended her, by going before the village elders and stating her case; and if the complaint is just, her request is never refused.

562 428 421 562 584

As yet they have not begun to demand an equal share

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

423 remain to the cultivator and his heirs. But he shall have a
671 tenth of the produce of all rice-lands, orchards, and gardens; and all excise and ferry duties, as well as canals and public works, shall belong to him. Through a succession of worlds the first king, the great Mahā Thamada, has established one-tenth to be his portion for ever, and let this be regarded as an everlasting precedent."

According to the Dhammathat there are seven methods by which landed property may be acquired. These are as follows:—1. By gift from the king. This is made only to soldiers and officials. 2. By inheritance. 3. By purchase. 4. By allotment from civil officers. 5. By personal reclaiming from the jungle. 6. By gift. 7. By unchallenged occupation for a period of ten years.

423 The first two titles are called perfect. The remainder
561 are open to question, and may be disputed by any one who can show a prior claim. In actual fact, however, it may be said that the man who reclaims for himself a piece of land out of the jungle becomes by his industry proprietor of the clearing, without reference to local authorities, village elders, or any one at all, and has thereafter an inalienable right to his tenure, with no dues to pay whatever, except the sum the taikthugyi may see fit to assess him at. That worthy's valuation, however, always displayed an enthusiastic belief in the fertility of the soil. The landed proprietor could dispose of it by gift, or he might sell it; otherwise it descended to his heirs and assigns in the order of succession; the whole right and title was essentially vested in the owner and the heirs of his body. The tenure was, therefore, by what lawyers call fee-simple, udal, or allodial right. The estate left by the
● [428] original occupier was seldom broken up. The heirs tilled parts of it, or gathered the whole crop in successive years; so that the land did not require to be split up into infinitesimal parts. This practice was rendered all the easier by the thinness of the population. It was open to any one at any time to carve for himself out of the forest a holding of his own, and thus there was no temptation to break up the original family acres. It is singular that under a rule so completely
423 despotic as that of Burma, where every man was the king's slave, and could not cross the borders without his permission,

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

the right of land tenure should always have been so fixed and certain. The fondness with which the people cling to their ancestral lands has something of almost religious fervour in its tenacity. As long as a family remains in the neighbourhood of their inheritance nothing will persuade them to give up their connection with it. In Upper Burma, to the present day, land is never sold as the term would be understood in Europe. The transaction which goes by the name of a sale is, in reality, a kind of mortgaging, or, more exactly, pawning, if such a term can be used with regard to land. 423

The estate passes from one occupant to another for a certain sum of money, and it is clearly understood that if at any time the original owner is in a position to reclaim his property he may do so whether the purchaser likes it or not. Farther than this even, the buyer cannot sell the land to a third party without first obtaining the consent of its former owner. Notwithstanding this feeling, however, it is seldom that a property can be found which has remained for any considerable length of time in the same family. This is owing to the constant rebellions and wars between Peguans and Burmese and Shans, which afflicted the country for five hundred years. All those who were not killed were driven away from their former homes by ruthless invaders or were drafted off to fight for the king. In the short intervals of peace rival governors, in desperation for means to raise the revenues expected from their provinces, would tempt people away from their former homes by the offer of rewards or a reduction of body service. Thus in some cases the proprietors were killed out, in others they left for districts so remote that it was impossible to retain a hold on the ancestral property, however great their attachment to it. As an illustration of the sanctity attaching to ownership of land, the law concerning church lands may be quoted from Buddhaghosha's Parables: "Whoso shall take for himself or for another wutmye, consecrated or glebe-land, shall become a mite, or a white ant upon that sacred ground for the whole of 100,000 cycles." 423 721 175 [773]

The eighteenth of the original eighteen laws given by Manu to the king refers to the partition of property, and an elaboration of this points out sixteen descriptions of children who cannot claim a portion of their parents' property. The 423 428

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4
Upper Burma
Lower Burma

423 distinctions are more minute than is at all necessary or indeed
423 comprehensible. They include all children born out of wed-
848 lock, among whom are reckoned such as are born before the parents have been married ten months; all children that are
[597] purchased, or adopted by any other ceremony than that of abadita or keiktima; and such as "from respect or affection
423 style their guardians father or mother." The settlement of
184 boundary marks was one of the earliest duties of the first ruler. The thale rice became constantly scarcer and scarcer, and it was determined that it would be well to give every person his share and mark it off distinctly. The appointment of persons to execute this duty was the first occasion on which executive officials were found necessary. Manu enumerated twenty-five objects suitable for legal landmarks. These included all natural objects, such as lakes, rivers, ridges, and hills, remarkable large trees and clumps of bamboos; artificial boundaries of an equally permanent character, such as pagodas, shrines for demon-worship, zayats, or rest-houses, stone pillars and sacred posts, wells and cairns; finally such singular distinguishing marks as heads of cattle, chaff, ashes, charcoal, sand, broken earthenware vessels, and men's bones. "Beating the bounds," one would think, must have been very necessary with the younger members of the household in the case of such perishable boundary lines as could be constituted by chaff, or even sand. In Upper Burma the cultivating
[161] population was so sparse that no difficulty was found in the matter of boundaries. In Lower Burma farms are as distinctly marked off as land-surveyors' chains can effect the operation in pointing out the little raised ridges which separate the plots of paddy land from one another. Nevertheless they are hardly such as the South of England farmers would approve.

423 These allodial tenures are the only ones which exist in
[177-92] Burma now. In independent territory there were two other
651 kinds of holding, which were not, however, very numerous or
612 extensive. The first of these were called thugyisa fields, and consisted of certain tracts of land near the town or village set apart for the maintenance of the headman. As that official was anything but a permanency, the tenant for the time being very seldom cultivated them himself, but let them

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

points, hardly even in minor points, does the law discriminate against women. 562 779

The law as regards marriage and inheritance and divorce will come each in its own place. It is very much the same both for the man and the woman. 562 671 586

The criminal law was the same for both; I have tried to find any difference, and this is all I have found: A woman's life was less valuable than a man's. The price of the body, as it is called, of a woman was less than that of a man. If a woman were accidentally killed, less compensation had to be paid than for a man. I asked a Burman about this once. 681

'Why is this difference?' I said. 'Why does the law discriminate?'

'It isn't the law,' he said, 'it is a fact. A woman is worth less than a man *in that way*. A maidservant can be hired for less than a manservant, a daughter can claim less than a son. They cannot do so much work; they are not so strong. If they had been worth more, the law would have been the other way; of course they are worth less.'

And so this sole discrimination is a fact, not dogma. It is a fact, no doubt, everywhere. No one would deny it. The pecuniary value of a woman is less than that of a man. As to the soul's value, that is not a question of law, which confines itself to material affairs. But I suppose all laws have been framed out of the necessities of mankind. It was the incessant fighting during the times when our laws grew slowly into shape, the necessity of not allowing the possession of land, and the armed 562 671 428

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

562 wealth that land gave, to fall into the weaker hands
671 of women, that led to our laws of inheritance.
428 Laws then were governed by the necessity of war, of subjecting everything else to the ability to fight. Consequently, as women were not such good fighters as men, they went to the wall. But feudalism never obtained at all in Burma. What fighting they did was far less severe than that of our ancestors, was not the dominant factor in the position, and consequently woman did not suffer.

She has thus been given the inestimable boon of freedom. Freedom from sacerdotal dogma, from secular law, she has always had.

And so, in order to preserve the life of the people, it has never been necessary to pass laws treating woman unfairly as regards inheritance; and as religion has left her free to find her own position, so has the law of the land.

562 And yet the Burman man has a confirmed opinion that he is better than a woman, that men are on the whole superior as a sex to women. 'We may be inferior in some ways,' he will tell you. 'A woman may steal a march on us here and there, but in the long-run the man will always win. Women have no patience.'

I have heard this said over and over again, even by women, that they have less patience than a man. We have often supposed differently. Some Burmans have even supposed that a woman must be reincarnated as a man to gain a step in holiness. I do not mean that they think men are always better than women, but that the best men are far better than the best women, and there are many more of them.

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

was the chain that bound them together. Had it 586
not been for that they would have been divorced 177
long ago; for they had never agreed very well, and both sides had bitter grounds for complaint. They would have been divorced, and both could have gone their own way. But now, what was to be done?

That is one of my memories: this is another.

There was a girl I knew, the daughter of a man 428 ●
who had made some money by trading, and when 562
the father died the property was divided according to law between the girl and her brother. She was a little heiress in her way, owning a garden, where grew many fruit-trees, and a piece of rice land. She had also a share in a little shop which she managed, and she had many gold bracelets and fine diamond earrings. She was much wooed by the young men about there, and at last she married. He was a 586
young man, good-looking, a sergeant of police, and 593
for a time they were very happy. And then trouble came. The husband took to bad ways. The knowledge that he could get money for nothing was too much for him. He drank and he wasted her money, and he neglected his work, and at last he was dismissed from government employ. And his wife got angry with him, and complained of him to the neighbours; and made him worse, though she was at heart a good girl. Quickly he went from bad to worse, until in a very short time, six months, I think, he had spent half her little fortune. Then she began to limit supplies—the husband did no work at all—and in consequence he began to neglect her; they had many quarrels, and her tongue was sharp, and matters got worse and worse until they

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

586 were the talk of the village. All attempts of the
593 headman and elders to restrain him were useless.
[626] He became quarrelsome, and went on from one thing to another, until at last he was suspected of being concerned in a crime. So then when all means had failed to restore her husband to her, when they had drifted far apart and there was nothing before them but trouble, she went to the elders of the village and demanded a divorce. And the elders granted it to her. Her husband objected; he did not want to be divorced. He claimed this, and he claimed that, but it was all of no use. So the tie that had united them was dissolved, as the love had been dissolved long before, and they parted. The man went away to Lower Burma. They tell me he has become a cultivator and has reformed, and is doing well; and the girl is ready to marry again. Half her property is gone, but half remains, and she has still her little business. I think they will both do well. But if they had been chained together, what then?

586 You see that divorce is free. Anyone can obtain
428 it by appearing before the elders of the village and demanding it. A writing of divorcement is made out, and the parties are free. Each retains his or her own property, and that earned during marriage is divided; only that the party claiming the divorce has to leave the house to the other—that is the only penalty, and it is not always enforced, unless the house be joint property.

586 As religion has nothing to do with marriage,
789 neither has it with divorce. Marriage is a status, a partnership, nothing more. But it is all that.

It will be noted that most of the living takes place on the downstairs floor where the bedrooms and the porch are located. The altar is also located downstairs 342 [512] [778]

U Myaing explained that the alt r should be upstairs but it was more convenient downstairs. The posts on which the house rests rise a few feet above the ground. In all there are about 15,050 cubic feet enclosed by the house. Of this amount 1450 cubic feet are used for sleeping quarters for the family, 729 cubic feet is devoted to religion in the altar room, and 800 cubic feet is used in the kitchen for preparing food. The rest of the space is for social functions including visitors and relaxation, with some space used for storage.

In Pathma there were no beds and no chairs except for one deck chair which had been handed down to U Myaing from his father. There were however, five small stools about four inches high and measuring about 12" by 6". These stools did not have four legs but instead were made of one flat board hammered onto two boards laid on their ends. They had one four legged stool measuring 2½ feet by 1½ feet and about 8 inches high. This was utilized as a chess board. (U Myaing and three or four others played chess four or five times a month in the afternoons. Their house was the only one in the village to possess a board and chessmen, U Myaing having received it from a cousin.) There was another stool about two feet high and one and a half feet square to hold the KYAUK KAR food carrier. 352 [428] [524] [415]

There were also two round Burmese tables. The smaller one was about three feet in diameter and one foot tall. Ma Aye Myaing could not estimate the diameter of the larger one but she remembered that eight men could eat at a time at this table, and that people who gave charities often came to borrow it for that reason. [426]

There was a three legged stand for holding two water pots. The pots were placed on two horizontal triangles formed one about two feet above the other by the pieces of wood holding together the three upright feet of the stand. This stand was made by U Myaing at home.

They also possessed two cupboards both of which had been handed down to U Myaing by his father. The first one, used for holding clothes, was three TAUNG high, two and one half TAUNG wide and little less than one [428]

23: Brant & Mi Mi Khaing E, I-5 (1949-1950)1951
AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

593 husband's kinfolk. Post-marital residence is independent and is decided very
[591] largely on the basis of economic opportunity. The wife's opportunities for social intercourse with her family of orientation are, of course, greatest when residence is established in her home village; if, however, a couple from different villages marry and find it most opportune to settle in the husband's community, the
[574] chances are that the wife will maintain contact with her family of orientation by
[582] visits from time to time; such marriages seldom unite persons from villages that are very far apart. The very structural features of bilaterality and absence of extension militate against inequality and male domination.

Burmese culture is frequently remarked for the equality of the sexes, in con-
562 trast to the neighboring cultures of India and China. This status of the sexes
593 seems to be the resultant historically of two patterns of thought. One is an apparently very old, pre-Buddhist emphasis upon equality, involving equal inheri-
[428] tance, equal sharing of the property brought to the marriage, equal division of
[586] property upon divorce, a prominent female role in social and economic life, and an absence of transmission of surnames. The other thought pattern dates from the superimposition of Buddhism upon older Burmese conceptions: whatever
[177] ideas of male superiority exist in Burmese life stem from Buddhist notions of
[775] reincarnation. Although Buddha never expressed himself explicitly on the matter, it is taken for granted that only a male can attain Nirvana, since Gautama Buddha, who attained that state, was a male.

462 In the family household the wife's role includes not only such routine tasks as
592 the preparation of food and serving of meals, keeping the house orderly and clean, and looking after small children; very often it involves control of the family income and the making of all important decisions as to expenditures.

Certain observances and taboos, reflective of deference to males, are expected
593 of the female partner in marriage. She is careful that her lower garments do not
784 touch her husband's bed or his personal belongings; she avoids touching her husband's head. It is believed that the breaking of such taboos may ruin the husband's success and glory, especially his spiritual attainments. These injunctions are followed as a matter of course by Burmese wives and will be broken deliberately only as an act of spite by a woman who wishes to harm or lower her husband for some reason.

593 Despite the various equalitarian aspects of husband-wife relations, there is
837 a tendency towards a double standard of sexual behavior. A husband who has reason to believe that his wife is engaging in extra-marital affairs is very likely
[586] to display violent anger, beat her, and break up the marriage. The wife of a

30: Maung Htin Aung E-4 (no date) 1953 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

671 her own choice. The head of the Burmese family can also give
593 away children under the age of puberty or majority to another
597 family for adoption, but when the child attains the age of puberty or majority, he or she has the option to choose in which family (i.e. his original family or his adoptive family) he
671 will remain. Acquisitions by members of the family accrue
593 to the family, but as in Roman and Hindu laws, certain classes
428 of acquisition by members of the family accrue to the acquirer and not to the family. Gifts from grandparents, from the king, and in certain cases, from strangers, and earnings through exercise of skill in the arts and in astrology, medicine, advocacy, and alchemy accrue to the acquirer. When a member of the family wishes to leave the family, there is no necessity to gain the assistance of a court of law. By mutual consent among the members, he is permitted to leave and he is given his share of the family estate. When the whole family decides to break up also, no formality is required, and by general consent, the family estate is divided between the members according to the rules of law pertaining to the partition of an estate into various shares.

671 One of the main features of Burmese society is the high
562 status of its women. Unlike the situation in Hindu or Chinese society, the Burmese woman has never been a mere chattel at the disposal of the Burmese man. Since prehistoric times Burmese women have enjoyed an equality of status, rank, and opportunity with men. Under the Burmese kings, the women held high office, and served often as headman, chief-
[773] tainess, and queen. In Burmese folktales dealing with strange disputes and wonderful decisions, which are known as Juristic Tales, the judge is a woman, namely Princess Learned-in-the-Law. At the present day, all the learned professions are open to women, and approximately 25 per cent of the students at the University of Rangoon are women.

671 The high status of women in Burmese society is reflected
583 in the Burmese customary law relating to marriage, divorce,
586 and inheritance. In Burmese law, marriage is purely a civil
428

30: Maung Htin Aung E-4 (no date) 1953 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

contract, founded on the consent of the man and woman to 671
openly "eat and live together." Religion has nought to do 583
with the marriage, and no special ceremony is necessary, and 586
therefore in a court of law proof of marriage is not to be 428
found in certificates of documents or evidence of a marriage ceremony, but in the testimony of witnesses that the man and woman lived together as man and wife. No Burmese man or woman can be forced into marriage without his or her consent. After a son has attained the age of puberty, or a daughter the age of majority, even the consent of the parents is no longer necessary. Divorce results without much formality when both the husband and the wife mutually agree to part. Burmese jurists in their writings often describe the husband as the lord of the wife, but that seems to be mere opinion, and they often advise the wife to obey her husband, but it does not mean that their advice is always followed. The wife has a right to divorce her husband without his consent, if he is guilty of cruelty or serious matrimonial misconduct. On divorce, the wife takes a substantial share of the joint estate, and if she should marry again, she remains absolute owner of her estate from her previous marriage, and does not share it with her second husband. But although divorce therefore is comparatively easy, and the wife enjoys an important position in the family, divorces have always been rare, and an atmosphere of cordiality and harmony prevails in the Burmese family.

Burmese women have always possessed full rights of in- 671
heritance. As the husband and wife are the heirs of each other, 562
on the husband's death, the wife inherits a major share of the 428
family estate, and full authority as head of the family if the family decides not to disintegrate and partition the estate. On the death of the surviving parent, the daughters have full rights of inheritance in competition with their brothers. As the Burmese customary law has never recognized a right to dispose of property by will, these rights of inheritance cannot be defeated in any way.

These, then, briefly are the main features of Burmese cus- 000

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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581 584 According to the laws of Menu there are three ways in which a marriage can be brought about :—

1. When the parents of the couple give them to one another.

2. When they come together through the good offices of a go-between, called an aungthwè.

3. When they arrange the matter between themselves.

581 562 429 It is understood, of course, that the two latter forms require at least the passive consent of the father, or, if he is dead, of the guardian, mother, brother, sister, uncle, or whoever it may be; every woman—every young woman at any rate—being necessarily under the protection of somebody. The Dammathat says: "Let the man to whom she is given by her nearest relation be her husband. If the parents or the relations of the girl do not give her away, and she is carried off against their will, even if she has had ten children, they have power to cause her to separate from the man and give her to another; the man has no right to say that she is his wife. Why is this? Because a daughter belongs to her parents?" But, on the other hand, "If a young woman runs off with a young man not approved by her parents, and, having concealed herself for some time, shall return to the village or neighbourhood in which her parents live, and have two or three children, or live there five or ten years with the man after her parents have seen and known of her being there, they shall not have power to cause her to separate from her husband."

581 584 According to the old system, the young man was not considered of age to marry till he was twenty-four or twenty-five. The age of the girl was always a matter of no consequence as long as she had attained to puberty. When a youth wanted to marry he told his parents, and they went to the father and mother of the young woman of his choice. If these had no objections, then the young man kept company with the girl, had the run of the house for two or three years, so that they might get to know one another well, and then, if they were still of one mind, the question of dowry was settled, a fortunate day and hour fixed upon, and the marriage carried out. Nowadays such formalities are almost

592 She was fairly pretty, very quiet and reserved towards us, and enjoyed
357 helping my mother with the babies, supervising the work of the servant girls and valeting my father. Ngwe Yin, who came to us as a very attractive girl with a reputation for being unmanageable even at a young age, always chose the task of taking us for walks in the evenings so that she could put on her nice clothes. She took us wherever she liked, or she sat with us at meal times and let us be as naughty as we wanted while she indulged in repartee with my father's clerks or chauffeur. Mya Shwe was my contemporary and playmate; she went to school while I was in boarding school but cut short her attendances the day I came home, irrespective of differences in our school calendars.

357 When A-Kyi was about nineteen it was announced to us that she
584 was to be married to my father's clerk, Maung Hla Bu. This young man was a favourite of my parents and had been a constant admirer of A-Kyi, helping her to make the beds when my father took the whole family on tours, but awaiting the graciousness of my parents before he dared to ask for her in marriage. My mother gave A-Kyi a small trousseau and a few pieces of jewellery, and they were married shortly before my father got a posting to another station. When a child was born, Mya Shwe, who had outgrown her days as a playmate for me, went to stay with them. Ngwe Yin, the beautiful girl, continued discontentedly for about a year, and then she eloped with a student protégé of my father's. I don't think either of my parents were very shocked at this.

357 My memories of the girls who worked for us are happy enough only
565 because my mother had been brought up in Grandfather's house where everyone was taught to do things for herself; in her character also was a pervading sense of tolerance. In some minkadaws' houses, however, I have seen two girls kneeling with soap and towel outstretched, while the mistress bathed herself. In more cheerful but no less aristocratic-minded households a meal laid ready on the table is the signal for one girl to get under the table and fan the mosquitoes off the legs of the family, and another to play the gramophone right through the meal My gay young uncle San Lin extended the domestic duties of his girls to the learning of modern songs which he liked, and he did his morning dressing to the accompaniment of his servant girls with powder on their faces and jasmine buds in their hair, swinging their feather brooms to the rhythm of modern love songs.

592 A-Kyi and A-Shwe and all the girls we had before and after them
431 bring back memories of the household articles which made with them a
513 background never recovered in our later Rangoon days. My mother,
286 like all minkadaws in the districts, did not depend on a big bazaar and
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shops to supply her with goods, but took a special pride in buying each 592
product from the town where the best quality of it was manufactured. 431
She could do this either by my father's being posted within its district, 513
by going there on a pagoda-visiting expedition, or by having relatives 286
posted there; and a survey of all the household possessions I can re- 511
member makes a cross-section of Burmese crafts. All our blankets were Burmese *saungs*, good stoutly woven cotton pieces, about 7 feet long and 4½ feet wide. We had single ones of red, black and yellow stripes which looked very bright and barbaric; they came from the Chin Hills. We used these in the hotter months. During the colder months we used thicker *ok-saungs* which we got from Pakokku; they were 14 feet long and used doubled, with a fringe at both ends. These were woven very strong and white, with bold red stripes on them in pleasing combinations. All these saungs washed more and more beautiful to our childish eyes. My mother had a big collection of them in wooden chests and some of them have lasted 30 years and are still beautiful.

She was also very jealous of her collection of *hpyas*, mats for sleeping 513
or sitting on, woven closely of the fibres of a reed called *thabaw*, or, 285
finer still, of the outer skin of a grass-like plant, the *thin*. These light 352
and flexible mats or *thinbyu* came from Laymyethna, "The Town of 511
Four Faces". They were equally smooth on both sides and had velvet borders piped on, broad at one end and narrower at the other, to distinguish the head end for nobler use, and to be sure of always resting the feet on the same ignoble end. We had them in big sizes for the beds and for afternoon naps on the verandah, and smaller sizes for prayers and for visitors to sit on. My mother kept them in rolls, five or six rolled together according to quality, covered with a cylinder of ticking and stood end up along her dressing-room.

Although we used imported crockery for the table we could not do without Burmese pottery for other purposes. Water-pots and goblets of light pottery from Twante, near Rangoon, were necessary to keep the water cool. There must be special pots for the altar water, for washing [271]
faces, for drinking water (in which pot, however, we kept a sand filter bought from Rangoon), and goblets in all bedrooms. For baths we had big black voluminous jars from Upper Burma, of a less porous pottery with a salt glaze on it, about 30 inches high and wide-mouthed. Smaller ones like these were kept for pickling mangoes and other green fruits. In the kitchen also, the modern aluminium pots 415
would not do for such purposes as cooking acid leaves and fish 252
curry that had tamarind in it; an earthen pot was always used for 511
chimbaung, roselle leaves. Moreover, the *salaungbon*, or cover, of an earthern pot can always be used for baking fish paste, a daily

CHAPTER SEVEN

805 527 ROUND about the end of January each year, for our lunar dates do not fall on the same calendar dates every year, we celebrated my father's birthday. All Burmese celebrations have a basis of "doing merit" either in feasting people and perhaps fasting oneself, distributing gifts, or inviting monks to preach and others to hear them. An atmosphere of enjoyment is possible in these good works because Burmese people do not believe in divorcing their praying from their merry-making; usually both are carried out in the same room, the pleasure after the holiness; and the donor feels a great satisfaction of spirit as he says; "*A-hmya a-hmya* : Share with all, share with all (the merit from his good deed)." The friends gathered around reply to this "*Tha-du, tha-du :* Well done, well done."

527 352 On my father's birthday monks were "lifted" or invited to the house for a grand meal. All the Western chairs and tables were moved out of the sitting room; and one end of the room was laid with carpets of red and green rose design, specially kept for such occasions in all Burmese houses. This was for the monks to sit on and facing them the people would sit on mats. Between the monks and people were laid out all the presents for the monastery.

792 192 I was always sad when I saw these presents; to my childish eyes they looked so uninteresting. A monk who renounces worldly goods is allowed to possess only eight articles, three pieces of cloth which form •[413] his robes, a begging bowl, a mat, a blade, a needle and a water strainer. Dagas or donators can, therefore, only give these, or other articles necessary to the way of life conforming to their precepts. Such include religious books, mats, candles and matches, brooms, spittoons. These last make very elegant presents, and are a common sight at all distributions of presents, the standard pattern being of white enamel, with a red band around the edge. Children are told of one monastry whose holiness is so high that a spittoon donated to the monks there will echo the name of the donator each time a monk spits into it. With the presents all laid out, the monks walk in in a row, and sit with eyes downcast and legs crossed. My mother and father make obeisance to them and send for us after a few words with the chief monk. We were always nervous and subdued on these occasions; in speaking to a monk a vocabulary of honorifics has to be used, even for "Yes". The hpongyi always made

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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sailors; only where the tar thinks he will be saved from drowning, the Turanian expects to gain the patronage of any great person he may address.

The infant having survived and the mother recovered from her roasting, the next thing to be done is to name the child. This usually happens about a fortnight after the birth. A fortunate day and hour is sought out by some Brahmin astrologer, or a sayā of lesser note, if there is no such dignitary in the neighbourhood. A great feast, as elaborate as the wealth or the ambition and borrowing capacities of the parents admit, is prepared, and all the friends of the family and the neighbours are invited to come. The child's head is usually washed for the first time on this day. The ceremony is therefore called kin-bôn tat thi. A decoction of the pods and bark of the soap acacia (*Acacia rugata*) or kin-bôn is prepared, and with this the midwife washes the infant's head and the guests wash their hands. Most of them bring friendly contributions towards the feast, or perhaps a little money. The mother sits down in the centre of the circle with the infant in her arms, and near her is the father. The company sit gravely smoking and chewing betel for a time, and then some elder, or a near relation of the parents, seems struck with a name, and suggests it aloud. Everybody accepts it on the spot, and falls to discussing the aptness of the name and the accomplishments and virtues of people they have known with that appellation. This is, however, all a pre-arranged thing. The father and mother have settled beforehand what the child is to be called, and have apprised the lu-gyi selected what is to be the result of his cogitations. The midwife then gets a present according to the means of the family, having previously, after the seven days' roasting, received the regulation fee of one pyi, the sixteenth of a basket of husked rice, one mat, and a four anna bit. Then everybody adjourns to the feast, which, with the dessert of le'-pet, salted ginger cut into small strips, ground nuts, fried garlic, the invariable betel apparatus, cheroots, and what not, pass the time till nightfall, when, except in the case of poor people, there is always a pwè which carries on proceedings till the next morning.

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Little presents are exchanged. The *soupirant* brings a gay kerchief with some love-verses written on it, perhaps his own composition, more probably the erotic sighings of the prince in the last play he heard, or cribbed bodily from a song-book for Kālathas (Corinthians, lads of mettle). The girl gives him some green cheroots, rolled by her fair hands, or a brilliant woollen muffler which she has knitted; but there is never any of the kissing and caressing indulged in by more urgent foreign lovers. The girl would look upon any attempts of such a nature as highly indecorous, and no doubt it is quite unsuited to her clothing.

When at last everything has been settled — parents' consent obtained, dowry fixed, and a fortunate day and hour pitched upon — the marriage ceremony comes off in the house of the bride's parents. The ritual is very simple and has nothing whatever of a religious character about it; in fact the celibate pôngyis would be grossly scandalised if they were asked to take any part in it. A great feast is prepared at the expense of the bridegroom or his parents. All the relations, friends, and neighbours are invited, and it is the publicity of the thing that is really the main feature of the ceremony. The old custom that the bride and bridegroom should join their right hands together, palm to palm, in the presence of all the assembled guests, and then should eat rice out of the same dish and feed each other with one or two morsels in turtle-dove fashion, has in many cases died out, and the eating and drinking, the talk of the men in the main room of the house and of the women in the inner apartment, is quite enough to solemnise the union. When the newly-married couple retire into the bridal chamber it is sometimes in the larger towns the custom to shower saffron-coloured rice on them, but this, like the entire seclusion in which the happy pair are supposed to pass the next seven days, is very seldom actually carried out.

In the country villages, however, two ancient customs are still very generally prevalent. The one is to tie a string across the road along which the bridegroom must pass to the house of his intended. He comes in procession with all his friends, carrying the greater portion of the belongings

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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778 done in order to legally hand over a gift. As the water
788 falls drop by drop on the ground, the pôngyis read out
431 the formulæ, the substance of which is as follows: "Firm in my belief in the three precious things, the Lord, the Law, and the Assembly, I make this offering that I may be freed from all present and future miseries. May all creatures suffering torment in the four states of punishment reach the happy seats of nat-dêwas. May all my relatives, friends, and all men inhabiting this earth and the ten thousand worlds, share in the benefits of this meritorious work. O earth, and ye spirits, guardians of this place, bear me witness to the piety of this gift."

778 It is worthy of note that it is explicitly stated that the
735 inward dispositions of the giver have nothing to do with the
775 merit resulting from a good wòrk. The merits are strictly proportioned to the degree of sanctity or perfection of him who receives the alms. Hence the glorious release which awaits an otherwise bad man who erects a pagoda.

778 Zedis are of many shapes and degrees of elaboration,
773 but one common idea may be traced through them all. If
346 you ask a Burman monk the cause of the variations in the form of the payā, he will tell you that the Buddha left no instructions regarding them in the holy books, but had only said that a small mound should be raised over his bones in the form of a heap of rice. Apart from the relation in which the payā stands to the Buddha himself as the representation of the holy one sunk in meditation, the ostensible object is the preservation of relics, and these are to be laid in a shrine, like the lotus-bud of which the zedi is typical, and later by an extending of the lines this got the form of a bell or spire. In the Malla Lingaya Wuttu we are told that the infant Buddha in the womb of Queen Maia resembled a lotus-bud, or a beautiful pagoda, and the conjunction of this idea with the simple original tumulus has undoubtedly led to the typical form as now seen in Burma. The names for various parts of the building all recall the idea of the flower-bud, with its young leaves folded in adoration. Thus the rounded swelling just below the slender spire is called the hnget-pyaw-bu, the banana palm-bud, and on the extreme summit

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and prostrate themselves with humble regard at his magnificent feet. The giving of presents or kadaw—no one can go near the king without a present—is represented as a deprecatory offering to avert deserved punishment for offences.

The whole town is *en fête* on such occasions. The Lord Mayor's show, or the transformation scene in a pantomime, which are the stay-at-home Englishman's idea of supreme magnificence, are as nothing compared to the procession round the moat which encircles the city walls. Mingyis, Atwinwuns, Sawbwas, Myosas; officials and vassals in formidable numbers and with terrible names; each man accompanied and adorned with his utmost possessions in the way of man, beast, gauds, and raiment, file proudly round preparatory to entering the palace. The description of a prince's order of going may suffice to give an idea of the whole. First come the lictors, prancing along with their fasces and hoarse shoutings, yelling to everybody to clear the way, regardless of the fact that the populace is all down on its knees by the side of the road, shikhoing reverentially. They are about half a dozen in number, and to a short-sighted man appear to be stark naked. A closer inspection with a glass, however, reveals the fact that they have some regard for decency, if they have little for anything else. Behind them comes the family band, braying, and clashing, and skirling its loudest. Undisturbed by the din, stalk composedly in the rear half a dozen elephants, the first couple splendid tuskers, in complete war-array, with fighting howdahs on their backs, and brilliant housings trailing to the ground; the second pair with ordinary furnishings, and the others with no further encumbrance than the mahaut on their backs. As near to these as their syces can persuade them to go, caper a number of led horses, harnessed with gay scarlet saddles, and saddle flaps, with tassels of the same colour sweeping the earth. Immediately in their rear is a bright-hued cloud of retainers, armed with guns, spears, and swords, and many carrying fans of all sorts and sizes. Floating over their head like a great red cloud, is the prince's wide satin-fringed umbrella, or perhaps it may be a gold one, if he enjoys his master's favour. Then there is a rabble of

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

562 that await those who do not know. They have their
157 dreams—who shall doubt it?—dreams of him who shall love them, whom they shall love, who shall make life one great glory to them; but their dreams are dreams that can come true. They do not frame to themselves ideals out of their own ignorance and imagine these to be good, but they keep their eyes wide open to the far more beautiful realities that are around them every day. They know that a living lover is greater, and truer, and better than any ideal of a girl's dream. They live in a real world, and they know it is good.

584 In time the lover comes. There is a delightful custom all through Burma, an institution, in fact, called 'courting-time.' It is from nine till ten o'clock, more especially on moonlight nights, those wonderful tropic nights, when the whole world lies in a silver dream, when the little wandering airs that touch your cheek like a caress are heavy with the scent of flowers, and your heart comes into your throat for the very beauty of life.

There is in front of every house a veranda, raised perhaps three feet from the ground, and there the girl will sit in the shadow of the eaves, sometimes with a friend, but usually alone; and her suitors will come and stand by the veranda, and talk softly in little broken sentences, as lovers do. There may be many young men come, one by one, if they mean business, with a friend if it be merely a visit of
584 courtesy. And the girl will receive them all, and
431 will talk to them all; will laugh with a little humorous knowledge of each man's peculiarities; and she may give them cheroots, of her own making;

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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and, for one perhaps, for one, she will light the cheroot herself first, and thus kiss him by proxy.

And is the girl alone? Well, yes. To all intents and purposes she is alone; but there is always someone near, someone within call, for the veranda is free to all. She cannot tell who may come, and some men, as we know, are but wolves in sheep's clothing. Usually marriages are arranged by the parents. Girls are not very different here to elsewhere; they are very biddable, and ready to do what their mothers tell them, ready to believe that it is the best. And so if a lad comes wooing, and can gain the mother's ear, he can usually win the girl's affection, too; but I think there are more exceptions here than elsewhere. Girls are freer; they fall in love of their own accord oftener than elsewhere; they are very impulsive, full of passion. Love is a very serious matter, and they are not trained in self-restraint.

There are very many romances played out every day in the dusk beside the well, in the deep shadows of the palm-groves, in the luminous nights by the river shore—romances that end sometimes well, sometimes in terrible tragedies. For they are a very passionate people; the language is full of little love-songs, songs of a man to a girl, of a girl to a man. 'No girl,' a woman once told me, 'no good, quiet girl would tell a man she loved him first.' It may be so; if this be true, I fear there are many girls here who are not good and quiet. How many romances have I not seen in which the wooing began with the girl, with a little note perhaps, with a flower, with a message sent by someone whom she could

226 428 484 [431] oranges, guava fruit, mangosteen fruit - together worth about forty or fifty rupees. When he arrived at Pathwe this was distributed among the members of his family, and also some relatives and the phongyis. On one such trip he made Rs. 2700/- which he carried back hidden away in a jar of salt.

494 465 U Myaing never came in to Rangoon purely for a visit. Besides bringing down fish, U Myaing also came to Rangoon before the war to buy some motor parts and accessories such as tyres, tubes, etc. which they could not obtain in Pathwe village or in Pantanaw town. At that period in his life U Myaing used to drive a bus between Pathwe and the village on the bank of the river across from Pathwe. There was a cart track for a road, and they used to carry passengers at a rupee per head. In the rains this cart track became impossible and so they traversed this route only from TA-ZAUNG-BON to KASON months. U Myaing worked on this route for three summers. In the rains they shifted operations to the Maubin Ye Le route, which was a 10 mile journey, and occasionally the 10 mile route from Ye Le to HSE-DEING-NAW. He worked at these places for two rainy seasons, from WASO right up till the month of TA-ZAUNG-BON. The bus was owned by his cousin who collected all the earnings for each day. At that time bus drivers were hired at Rs. 45/- a month, plus sweet tea, food, shelter and one packet of cigarettes a day. "In Pathwe all the houses were too large and could accomodate a great many more people than they actually did. This was because each one erected his own building after the example of the other houses in the village. The person who hired the bus driver merely installed him in his home".

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[589] This was when U Myaing was 17 or 18 years old. He was not paid anything, but the family was provided with everything they needed - food, clothes, etc. (U Myaing was still unmarried and the family consisted of two sisters, his mother and himself. (He did not marry till the age of thirty.) Both U Myaing and Daw Aw Zar estimated that the things they received from the bus owner would have amounted to much more than forty five rupees' worth.

[582] [431]

23: Brant & Mi Mi Khaing E, I-5 (1949-1950) 1951
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553 which the family invites the people of the village. In the larger communities a written invitation may be sent, in which the name of the child is announced. The [431] feast occurs in the family house, to which the invited guests bring presents and where they may see the child. The only ritualized feature of this event is the washing of the child's hair, which is always done by an elderly person. This may occur, however, before the arrival of the guests.

Because of the significance and influence attributed to the personal name, it may be changed very readily and informally. If it is felt that ill fortune is in the offing, an announcement may be made in the village of change of one's name.

[551] Childhood nicknames as well as teknonymy are utilized by the Burmese, but not to the exclusion of use of the personal name.

Childhood. Burmese children are generally indulged and their existence is 857 more or less carefree and unencumbered by rigid discipline, apart from early 858 inculcation of respect for elders, until they are of educational age and considered capable of understanding the moral teachings of Buddhism. A male child is valued religiously, for at an early age he will be initiated into the monkhood, [851] remaining from a few days to several years, depending upon family circumstances and needs. The initiation of a son brings great religious merit to his parents.

In the Burmese village children are valued for the economic help they render. This will, of course, vary with family circumstances. But in the ordinary cultivator's family, sons and daughters help from the age of about nine or ten years in tending cattle, getting firewood, and winnowing rice. Children are also looked upon as a kind of social insurance for old age.

[884] *Puberty and Adolescence.* Apart from modern legal ideas concerning the attainment of adulthood, the Burmese view is that one is adult when physiologically mature. Upon reaching pubescence boys as well as girls are referred to by a 881 term meaning "virgin." The connotation is that the individual has now entered a period of life in which the dangers of temptation are especially great and in which corresponding precautions are necessary.

A girl's first menstruation is believed to cleanse her system; frequently, such phenomena as eruption of the skin or sexually delinquent behavior preceding the first menstrual period are regarded as evidence that the "blood is trying to flow." [841] Although the idea of uncleanliness is associated with menstruation, there is no segregation of the girl or particular fear of contamination. So long as she conducts herself with propriety and modesty a girl is free to move in public at this time.

304 881 Ideally, the attainment of puberty is the time for the girl's ear-boring cere-

23: Brant & Mi Mi Khaing E, I-5 (1949-1950)1951
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mony, but in actual practice this often takes place as early as her seventh or eighth year. Since this is a feast occasion involving considerable expense to her family, there is a tendency to hold a single ceremony, at which perhaps a pubescent girl, together with her younger sisters or cousins, will all have their ears bored. On the same occasion male children of approximately the same age may be initiated into the Buddhist monkhood.[5] 304 881

The girl initiate is dressed for the occasion in the traditional garb of the Burmese court, and in addition she wears a spired-helmet type of head dress. The villagers gather at her family's house for the event. An elderly woman rubs an anaesthetic plant substance on the girl's ear lobes and pierces them with gold pins. The pins are left in the ears, bent back. Later, if larger holes are desired, rolled leaves may be inserted. The family presents gifts to the assembled guests; often these are conventionalized tokens, such as inscribed cigars and fans. [292] [278] [431]

Courtship and Marriage. Young people in the villages find ample opportunities to assess each other's manners, physical appearance, and personality in the company of others, at feasts and various gatherings. If a young man and woman are together apart from the company of others it is assumed that sex relations are involved. In fact, such going together is spoken of as "getting married." The Burmese find it hard to conceive of a young unmarried couple associating on a purely friendly, non-sexual basis: such behavior would be regarded as contrary to nature. However, unchaperoned association is disapproved and does not occur very frequently. 584 836

Once a pair have decided they wish to marry, the boy will inform his parents of his desire. They will already know, especially in the smaller villages, of the standing of the girl's family and of her dowry potentialities; in fact, as soon as they have sensed their son's interest in a particular girl they will take steps to acquire this information. They will also ascertain whether acceptance by the girl's family is likely. In a small community the approach may be made directly by the boy's parents. In larger centers a female go-between is more likely to be employed. The boy's parents will be informed by the girl's family that the decision must await the outcome of consultation with an astrologer concerning the compatibility of the birth dates of the prospective bride and groom. If the marriage is found to be an auspicious one—which it will usually be found to be if the girl's parents desire the match—an affirmative answer will be relayed to the boy's parents. The latter will then call upon her parents and in the presence of elders, not necessarily related to either family, formally ask for the girl's hand. 584 [787]

5 Description of the boy's initiation ceremony is being reserved for a separate publication.

23: Brant & Mi Mi Khaing E, I-5 (1949-1950)1951
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groom's bachelor friends take seats to his rear; the matrons of the bride sit directly behind her. 585

Either a Brahmin or a lay elder, arranged for by the bride's mother, officiates. He recites a paean of praise concerning the merits of the bride and groom and the goodness of their families. The bride and groom are each handed a spray of flowers from the offering bowls and they make obeisance to the guardian spirits of their respective households. With a second spray they make obeisance to their parents and elders. Then a small tray containing fruit and rice is placed before them. The person officiating then places a spoonful of this food first to the bridegroom's, then to the bride's lips. As he does this he makes a statement to the effect that this is the auspicious meal and that he hopes blessing may flow from it.

At this point, a happy and fruitfully married couple from among the oldest people in the community step forward to marry the couple. The left hand of the man is placed on top of the right hand of the girl. Water is poured on their hands thus joined and a silk scarf tied over them as the elderly couple recite words to the effect that they are now united. If there is a Brahmin or professional chanter present he arises and intones a chant of praise for long life. The contents of the bowl of puffed rice and silver (or money) are scattered among the audience and everyone scrambles for them. Now the bride and groom rise and are led to the bridal chamber, across the doorway of which is stretched a golden chain. After the bride has entered, anyone who wishes to do so tries to barricade the doorway and demand money of the groom. He is obliged to pay everyone who makes such demands. This money is known as "stone money," from the old custom, still practiced in some cases, of stoning the house of the couple on the wedding night until paid to desist. This behavior, the taunts and demands that are expressed, has an implied bawdiness about it. Once the couple have entered the bridal chamber others have a right to go in to inspect it. When all have left the chamber there is general feasting. In former times wedding feasts were on a large scale, when every guest was given a present. Today, however, the feast partakes more of the nature of a tea party and only a symbolic gift, usually either a cigar or a fan, is given. [431]

Old Age. Old age, in Burmese thought, is the period after one's children are grown, the "third age" of life. Women are definitely considered to be in old age after the menopause. The terms in Burmese for "old lady" and "old man" are synonymous with grandparent terms, both in address and reference. Sometimes "old mother" is used for "old lady." 886

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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Having made her evening toilet the girl takes some light work, such as cotton to roll for the wheel for the hour of *lubyô-hlè*, as the dusk of evening is called, literally, the time of the "bachelors' round." The young men are expected to make short calls only, so as not to keep the old people up late. By "old men's sleeping time," as the hour after the short twilight is called, they must have left, so as to relieve the duenna, who, if not in sight, is always in waiting for the girls to come up into the house for the night. Courtship has quite a language of its own in which the suitor needs to be proficient. Young people of fashion are referred to as *kàla-thá*, *kàla-thamí*—lads and girls "of the period," who cultivate smartness in their speech, bearing and dress. The suitor brings presents of flowers and fruit and ornaments. Oranges, expensively stored one by one, long past the season, are for this sole purpose. Carved

149. TEA (LEPPEYVE).

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147. BELLE AT HER TOILET.

148. VILLAGE BELLE.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

149. THE SUITOR'S VISIT.

work-boxes, loom-laths, mirror-stands are often the lover's handiwork. Not the least of the lover's offerings is poetry. If he be a scholar, he will sing or recite to his mistress verses of his own in praise of her charms. But there are current ditties to the fancy of every one. The imagery which is the main feature of these odes, is borrowed from every source of beauty, blossom and flower, dewdrop and pearl, planet and star. Burmese metre is largely eked out with euphonic particles; at other times the diction is so compressed as to make the sense most difficult for a foreigner to grasp.

Marriages of affection are general. Romantic attachments are frequent in real life, as they are the rule in the play. The frequency of the mere marriage of convenience is not greater in Burma than in England or America. In this respect there is no parallel to the customs of the hill-tribes of Burma, the neighbouring Asiatic civilisations or even the Latin races of Europe. Their mutual qualities, physical, moral, and material, are for the most part known to the parties from childhood. Burmans evince an openness and frankness amounting to joviality, not to be met with in other parts of Asia. They indulge a much freer play of feature and yet greater freedom in the modulation of the voice. The term for betrothal—*sayán-pe*, earnest-money—testifies to the original purchase of the bride. In modern usage, however, the *sayán* is merely a share of the cost of outfit, according to means. It takes the form of a silk *htamein* or a piece of jewellery for the girl, and is brought by the lad when he comes with his parents to ask the consent of the girl's parents to the marriage. Where parents oppose, runaway matches are frequent.

150. MARRIAGE CEREMONY.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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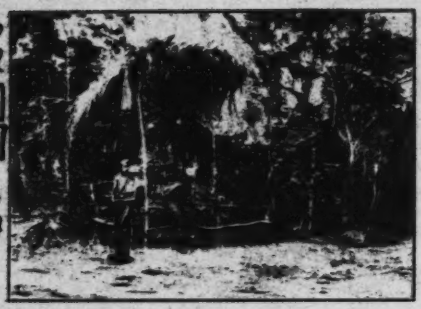

164. FOREST ZAYAT AND WATER-STAND (P. 63).

requirements? To which the *yahán* cordially responds, *pyippa, pyippa, tagádaw*—that I am, my valued supporter! Just as salutations are ordinarily omitted, so thanks are only expressed for special favours. The sense of obligation is conveyed by adopting courteous forms of speech, in which the particle *ba* always figures. The set forms of *please* and *thank you* are thus dispensed with. Where, however, a disparity of age or position exists, every act of the superior becomes by courtesy a boon. A Burman is disconcerted by a simple present, as well as by *bakshish* and payments above the stipulation, which he is particular to make beforehand. But when approaching a superior with a request, the inferior bears an offering of courtesy, generally fruit. The inferior makes *shibô* both on approaching and taking leave. A Burman does not stand, in the presence of his superior, but squats down. When he has occasion to pass close to his superior, he does not walk erect but crouches. By well-bred Burmans the gestures of respect are performed in a very graceful manner. Every Burman, the *yahán* not excepted, on ascending the *kyaunkíng* of a house, removes his sandals or shoes. As we Westerns respect the *roof* that our host has provided by doffing our head-gear, so Easterns respect the *floor* that is provided—an observance of a practical nature where the floor serves both for seat and table. In an analogous way to our greeting with the hat, the Oriental shows respect by slipping the sandals even outside the house. Still more courteous is the practice of washing the feet before entering a house or *kyaung*. Burmans always contrive to sit so as to hide the soles of the feet or to turn them

[431]
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[515]

165. RECEIVING A VISITOR.

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

As yet they have not begun to demand an equal share 562 871

of education with the boys, and the only accomplishments most Burmese girls know are how to dress neatly, do up their hair, and powder their faces. This is the single open implication of their inferiority—except in worship at the pagoda, when every woman will pray that in another existence she may be a man—and it is not likely that female education will make much progress for another generation, the popular idea in Burma being that learning is no use to a girl when she has it, and she may, consequently, as well devote all her spare time to making herself look as pretty as possible. Here and there are a few who are deeply learned in Burmese literature. The young wife of one of the most prominent living Burman pleaders in Rangoon has as good a knowledge of the sacred books and as great a fluency in repeating Pali rituals as any pôngyi in the country. But the great majority of girls only know what they pick up from the conversation of their brothers and the men who come about the house. It is therefore greatly to their credit that they manage not only house affairs, but their husband's business into the bargain. A farmer's wife will carry out the sale of the whole rice crop to the agent of an English rice firm in her husband's absence, and generally strikes a better bargain than he would have made himself. If the village head constable is away, the wife will get together the policemen, stop a fight, arrest the offenders, and send them off to the lock-up all on her own responsibility. The wife sits by, no matter what public business is being transacted, and very often puts in her own opinion quite as a matter of course; in fact, she is virtual master of the house, and henpecked husbands are not by any means uncommon. The last king of Burma, Thibaw Min, was a notable instance. There never was a king of Burma before who remained for three years the husband of one wife. It was not inclination in his case. He had quite a number of *amourettes*; but the sturdy Supayā Lat and her formidable mother soon got the offending damsels out of the way. There is also little doubt that it was Supayā Lat and her mother who suggested the massacre of the Princes and prompted the defiance of the British Government, which brought about the ending of the Burmese monarchy.

[775]

562 [432]

562 581 643 175

[1] [i.e., girls--ANALYST]

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

593 ness. Can there be a more valuable knowledge for
885 anyone than this?
562 In many ways she will act for her husband with
562 vigour and address, and she is not afraid of appear-
593 ing in his name or her own in law courts, for instance,
●432 or in transacting certain kinds of business. She
621 knows that she can do certain business as well as or better than her husband, and she does it. There is nothing more remarkable than the way in which she makes a division of these matters in which she can act for herself, and those in which, if she act at all, it is for her husband.

Thus, as I have said, she will, as regards her own property or her own business, act freely in her own name, and will also frequently act for her husband too. They will both sign deeds, borrow money on joint security, lend money repayable to them jointly. But in public affairs she will never allow her name to appear at all. Not that she does not take a keen interest in such things. She lives in no world apart; all that affects her husband interests her as keenly as it does him. She lives in a world of men and women, and her knowledge of public affairs, and her desire and powers of influencing them, is great. But she learnt long ago that her best way is to act through and by her husband, and that his strength and his name are her bucklers in the fight. Thus women are never openly concerned in any political matters. How strong their feeling is can better be illustrated by a story than in any other way.

175 In 1889 I was stationed far away on the north-
726 west frontier of Burma, in charge of some four
668 thousand square miles of territory which had been

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

[opp. p. 128]

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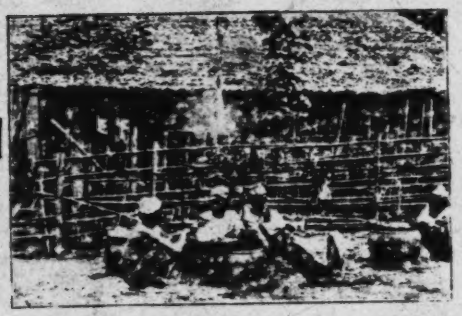
204. BAZAR SCENE, PEGU. [To face p. 128.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

844 [432]



285. PEDLARS.

tain a fire of billets on a special hearth as big as the couch, and placed alongside of it, for five or seven days. The antiseptic property of the smoke may be of value, but the relaxing effect of the artificial heat is believed to be a reason why the Burman women are so much less hardy in this particular than the neighbouring races. The hospital of the Lady Dufferin Fund is helping to spread a [158] more enlightened practice. The ratio of insane in the population is about a quarter of that of Western Europe and America, but is double that of India.

482 [443] 314 Almost the only dealer who hawks his goods in the street is the seller of oil (*hmanzi*, No. 282). He uses a light spring yoke of the wood of the *si*-tree, the heavier form of which is seen in No. 283. By its springiness the yoke maintains the load at an even level, thus saving waste of work. As much as a hundredweight is carried for long distances. In merely shifting goods at warehouses, carriers will move two hundredweight. They earn six to twelve annas a day. The only vegetable oil used for burning is the oil or resin of the *ka-nyin* (No. 362). Chips are soaked in the wood-oil and made up into [373] torches (*mídaing*) with leaves of the pandanus. The oil is obtained by hewing deep recesses into the butts of the trees for it to collect in, and firing these from time to time to induce a fresh flow. In the valley of the Irawadi, the crude earth-oil from the wells at Yenándyaung is burned in open lamps. This is the earliest [432] petroleum known to commerce, under the name "Rangoon oil." In recent years petroleum has also been found in Arakán. The out-turn from the Burma oilwells in 1898–99 was thirty-two million gallons, valued at

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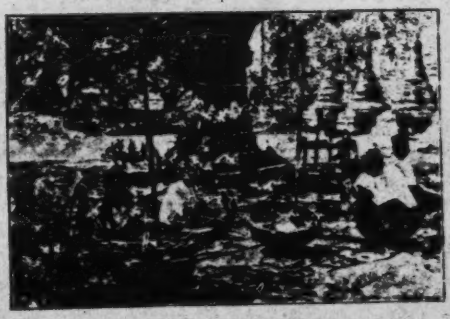

286. TOY AND FLOWER STALLS

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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[322]

287. COUNTRY SALE-DEPOT.

about three million rupees. At present both wood-oil and crude earth-oil are being superseded by kerosene. The crude earth-oil is used for preserving woodwork. But its place is being taken by

438 the residues from the local refineries, now established in Rangoon.* Travelling
443 pedlars hawk the silk goods of Burma Proper and all sorts of fancy nicknacks
782 from the sea-ports to the villages of the interior. The approaches to the temples are favourite resorts of stall-keepers of all sorts of wares, especially of wax-tapers, plain and moulded, gold leaf, coloured paper flags and flowers for the votaries to decorate the shrines with, and toys wherewith to gladden the hearts of children—an act of merit befitting the shrine of religion in this cheerful land. In sad contrast to the gaiety of the booths is the spectacle of the lepers who beg for alms. The prominence of these unfortunates at such places creates a disproportionate impression of their numbers, high as these are (p. 41). The offerings dedicated on the occasions of *Shinláung fêtes*, festivals, and funerals, make the trades of manufacturing and distributing the requisites of the *kyaung* very important ones. The wares collected in the *parôikaya* shop used to be representative of the manufactures of Burma. But of late, imported goods—crockery, glassware, lamps and clocks—have become a regular part of the *kyaung* furniture, and are offered in meaningless profusion. This

[277] has helped to bring the *parôikaya* trade into the hands of foreigners.

288. ROLLING CHEROOTS.

438 Every year, after the floods have subsided, Bur-
443 man dealers establish dry-
563

* See *The Occurrence of Petroleum in Burma*, by Dr. F. Noetling.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

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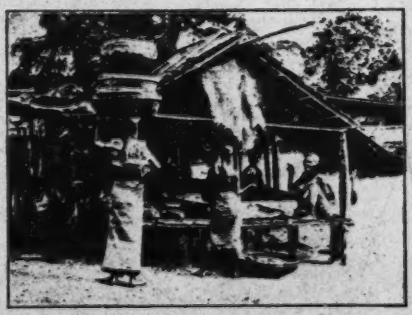
[366] 220. PAREIKAYA DEALER.

weather sale-booths (*tazaw*), for trade with the hill-people, at central points as far from the towns as canoes can navigate the stream. They sell dried fish and *ngapi*, salt, oil, pease, sugar, spices and tobacco, pottery and crockery, plain and coloured yarns, needles, thread, cloth of every sort, elastic belts, under-vests, matches, tapers and soap, kerosene oil, pencils, pens, ink and paper, playing-cards, beads, spectacles, mirrors and fancy articles from Europe, besides biscuits, sardines, and condensed milk. All these wares are sold in the larger villages as well. Sale-booths are set up at every festival, chiefly for refreshments. But there is nothing corresponding to the fairs of India and the West.

276 Both men and women smoke tobacco. Children begin at four or five (No. 21). The Burman cheroot (*seleik*) is a roll five to eight inches long and an inch thick, consisting of chopped tobacco-leaf and the pith of the tobacco stem, with a wrapper made of the inner skin of the spathe of the betel palm, or the spathe of maize, or else the leaves of *pauk*, *thanát* or *bambwè*, which are smoothed on a hot stone. The Burman exquisite toys with this cheroot much as the Japanese does with the fan. The fan is not affected by men or women in Burma. Good cheroots are also rolled of plain tobacco-leaf, in the Indian way; they are very strong. Unlike the Shans, Karéns and Chinese, with their pipes, and the natives of India with their hookah, the Burman sticks to the cheroot. Tobacco is grown on the silt banks [249 439] left dry by the rivers (Nos. 191, 264); but the bulk is imported from the South of India. A delicate "birds-eye" tobacco is prepared by the Karéns and Shans [432] on the North-East; it is shredded green, and does not keep well. OOO At intervals on the main lines of



291. BAZAR SCENE, BURMA PROPER.

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

243 much preparing. It is simply a portion of the field swept clean. It is sufficiently hard from the broiling sun, and a stake is driven into the centre of the circle. Two lines of sheaves are arranged round this, head to head, and the grain is trodden out by slow-moving bullocks in good old lazy fashion. The Christian Biblical precept, not to muzzle the ox that treadeth out the corn, does not fail of observance with the Buddhist farmer. Then the paddy, that is, the unhusked grain, is winnowed. In some places hand-winnowing machines of a simple pattern are used; but ordinarily a far more primitive and easy method, corresponding to the substitution of oxen for threshing-flails, is in use. A man stands on an elevated platform and capsizes baskets of paddy brought from the threshing-floor; the rice falls on a sloping bamboo mat and so to the ground, the wind blowing away a great part of the bits of broken straw, chaff, and light grain. The system may not be very thorough, but it saves an immense amount of trouble, which is the chief consideration. All that now remains to be done is to carry the grain off to the big rice-boat lying in the creek. There it is stowed in bulk; and after a day or two, the farmer makes a start, dropping leisurely down through the network of creeks into one of the main streams, and so making his way to Rangoon, or Bassein, whence he will return in a few weeks with fine Chinese neckerchiefs for his daughters and perhaps a gay Manchester paso or two for himself and his sons—
[452] unless, indeed, the Madras money-lender has snapped up all
[674] his receipts down in town, or some of the robber-boats that infest the creeks at this time of the year have pounced upon him and carried off everything but the boat and the paddles.

243 Rice-farming would be profitable as well as easy work
427 were it not for the reckless squandering of almost all the
● 433 cultivators. The average rent per acre is under three
435 shillings; the average produce of the land per acre is from eighty to a hundred bushels in the more fertile parts, while elsewhere the yield is from forty to fifty. The selling price of rice per maund (80 lbs.) in Rangoon is between 4s. 6d.
243 and 5s. Agriculturists, therefore, ought to grow rich. But
511 they are too fond of gambling and building works of merit
454

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

to accumulate money, and their carelessness results in the constant death of their plough-beasts, so that matters usually remain exactly at the same level if the farmer does not actually get into permanent debt. The Scottish Highlanders have a pious wish, "May the free hand always be full!" If it is not always full in Burma it is consoling to think that it is seldom absolutely empty. Still, when the grandson succeeds he ordinarily finds that there is as little actual money hoarded up about the place as there was when the grandfather Po Gyi spent so many borrowed rupees at his uncle's funeral. 243 454 514

If rice cultivation is easy work in the low country, it is very different with the taung-ya, or hill clearings. Here the dense underwood and forest growth has to be cut down; and the more there is to cut the better the crop, for the soil needs fertilising badly, and all that is cut down is burned. Work is begun about January; everything is felled, bushes and all; and after the fallen logs have dried some time in the sun, the brushwood is heaped up round about them and the whole is set on fire. Some of the logs smoulder for weeks —perhaps till the first rains come. Then the ground is rudely dug up with hoes, and the ashes turned in. Cotton-seed is ordinarily mixed with the rice, which is of a quite different variety from that produced in the plains. It is sown broadcast, and the farmer has thereafter only to keep down the weeds, but this is not by any means a light task. The crop is ready by October, and furnishes little more than enough to support the family or community. The scanty manure provided by the wood-ashes is not sufficient to last more than two or three years; and when the crop is secured the party proceeds on to a new settlement, there to repeat the same laborious process. A very ingenious device for lightening the toil is resorted to where there is much heavy timber. Beginning at the bottom, they slightly cut the lowest trees on the upper side only, gradually increasing the depth of the notch as they advance up the hill, until at the top of the clearing they cut the trees completely through. These fall on the row immediately below them, and by their weight knock it down; and so the felling process is continued down to the bottom. Occasionally a tangle occurs

243 101 241 [243] [433] 241 313

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

655 Fytche, holding out the inducement of increased customs
651 dues from the newly started Irrawaddy Flotilla Company's steamers, persuaded his majesty to give up all the monopolies, except those of earth oil, timber, and precious stones; and to agree to a uniform import and export duty on all other goods and merchandise, passing between British and Burmese territory, of five per cent *ad valorem*. This treaty lapsed in 1877 and was not renewed. Nevertheless, King Mindôn did not renew the monopolies.

When his son came to the throne, he issued, or there was issued for him, a proclamation, stating that he was going to adopt Western forms of government, and expressly announcing that he had no intention of reviving the monopoly system. He was, however, with his wild, extravagant habits, very soon in as great monetary difficulties as his father, and from 1880 began steadily to sell monopolies and give grants of forest land for hard cash payments. The new monopoly buyers, haunted by a fear of British interference, and not by any means assured in their minds as to the stability of Thibaw Min's rule, were anxious to get as much money as they could, and therefore paid only the
● [433] most absurdly low prices for produce. The cultivators, finding all their labour in vain, began consequently in large numbers to give up farming or working in the forests, the consequence of which was a still further shock to the trade with British Burma and an entire inability on the part of the
651 population the following year to pay the house-tax. Besides
525 the monopoly system derived from his predecessors, Thibaw Min also hit on the notion of lotteries for the replenishment of his treasury. The system worked very well for a time, and brought in great quantities of money, but latterly the loose coin of the populace had all been netted, and the lottery source of revenue was pretty nearly worked out. In 1879 and 1880 Mandalay was simply flooded with lottery-offices, each under the superintendence of a minister of high rank. Those who were able to show the king the most money were highest in the royal favour, and consequently the rivalry between these worthies ran very strong. All manner of dodges were tried to entice speculators away from all other offices to the minister's own. The Hpaung-wun,

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

to hold his land free from taxes for such a period as may be necessary to bring it into a thorough state of cultivation. In such a case as this he has to apply to the thugyi—the old hereditary officers being retained throughout British Burma—of his circle, if the land does not exceed five acres in extent. If it is above that area, application has to be made to the English Assistant-commissioner, or to the Deputy-commissioner in charge of the district, if the average of the new claim exceeds fifty. The land is then surveyed and a grant is drawn up specifying the term of years during which he shall be free from imposts. This varies according to the kind of jungle which is to be cleared away, and the kind of crops intended to be grown. The exemption is in no case for less than a year. If rice is to be grown, seven years is the longest term of rent-free tenure, but for orchard cultivation it extends to twelve years. In a few cases, where the nature of the ground necessitates, in addition to clearing away the forest growth, the digging of channels for irrigation, and the erection of dams, extension even of this long period is granted. As in France, Norway, Japan, and Switzerland, the farms are all very small, in some cases almost absurdly so. Along the old frontier the holdings averaged only about five acres, in the Rangoon district from sixteen to twenty acres is the ordinary size, but here and there are a few considerably larger. It would, however, be a great mistake to endeavour to introduce larger tenancies. It is entirely against the genius of the people, and the appearance of foreign capitalists could not be otherwise than disastrous. The present mode of cultivation is slovenly enough, and larger farms would most certainly not tend to remedy the defect, which is due in great part to the superabundance of available arable land lying waste. Burma is progressing fast enough as it is. The abundance of rich land, the facility with which rights over it can be acquired, the great demand for rice, and the ever-increasing counter demand for European goods, the fixed, though heavy taxation, the cessation of all irregular and unexpected collections, the absolute personal security enjoyed by all under the English administration: all these benefits have resulted in the trebling of the population of Lower Burma during twenty-six years since the annexation of Pegu;

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2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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in the more than trebling of the trade—the value of the sea-borne merchandise alone having doubled and reached twelve and a half millions sterling during the ten years previous to 1881—and in the wonderful increase in revenue, which makes Burma the most valuable of all the provinces under the Indian Government. Now that all Burma is one province the increase of revenue and the contribution paid to the Imperial Government; have gone on increasing with a regularity which is almost automatic.

14: Brant E-5 (1949-50) 1954 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

244 Garden cultivation is quite simple. Hand tools, such as steel mattocks, rakes and hoes, which are obtained from Rangoon, are employed to prepare the soil. Cattle or water buffalo excrement is mixed with water to a thin consistency and poured from bamboo-spouted metal buckets over the ground. (The use of human excrement as a fertilizer, common in China and Japan, is not practiced in Burma.) During the monsoon season there is, of course, no problem of irrigation, but during the hot and dry seasons the gardens must be watered frequently. This task is often performed by young boys, who draw water from the wells and apply it to the gardens. The work of picking the matured crops and preparing them for transport to market is commonly done by female members of the household.

243 2. Paddy Cultivation. The principal occupation of forty-three persons is cultivation of paddy. This category is here defined to include individuals who own or rent land on which they cultivate paddy, as distinct from persons who work on a wage basis in the paddy cultivation of others. The latter are referred to in this report as field laborers.

243 162 427 178 Of the thirty-four paddy land holdings on which we have data, twenty-nine are rented and five are owned by the cultivators. All but one of these holdings is under twenty acres. This high ratio of renters to owners, as well as the small number of paddy cultivators relative to the total number of gainfully occupied villagers, is reflective of long-run trends in agriculture in this general area. Rural tenancy has been the outcome, in Lower Burma, of a long period of loss of land ownership to moneylenders, largely absentee, through inability of the cultivators to repay loans taken out at very high rates of interest. As tenancy has grown apace, individual cultivators have become discouraged with their small return for hard work. Accordingly, many have given up paddy cultivation altogether in favor of less arduous and relatively more rewarding occupations. However, this trend may be reversed, for there began in early 1951 actual implementation of the Land Nationalization Act of 1948, which provides for distribution of agricultural land to the cultivators on an individual ownership basis.

243 431 For the great majority of the paddy cultivators of Tadagale it is possible to eke out little more than subsistence from season to season. A few, after paying their hired labor, putting aside seed for the next year's planting, and filling the granary for home use, can realize some cash income by the sale of a small surplus of paddy. If the cultivator with a little surplus can possibly afford it, he holds the paddy until the hot season, when the market price is highest.

243 433 The average yield per acre in Tadagale, based on data for thirty cultivators for the harvest season 1948-49, is 19.8 bushels of paddy. This compares closely with the overall average figures for Burma. According to the Yearbook of Food and Agriculture for 1949 (U.N.-F.A.O.) the average yield per acre [illegible] Burma was 20 bushels.

243 437 In late March, the paddy fields of Tadagale are burned over, depositing an ash from any stubble remaining from the previous harvest. Sometime after the New Year celebration (which begins about April 13th and continues several days) the cultivators spread manure over their fields in preparation for the coming planting season. The manure is obtained from the Indian dairy farmers of the village in exchange for paddy stalk.

14: Brant E-5 (1949-50) 1954 AP1 Burma
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565 basis of invidious distinctions. Persons of means are esteemed more for the
556 socially valued uses to which they may put their money, such as charity, ceremonial activities, and support of the clergy, than for sheer richness or consumption.

Economic Change

178 The changing pattern of Tadagale's economic life may be described from the
101 point of view of shift from a once largely subsistence economy to one based more
●433 upon commodity production and exchange. In discussing this shift, the general trends are best indicated if we focus upon Lower Burma rather than upon Tadagale exclusively. It is desirable to make this large area our unit because pertinent data are available for it, whereas historical information specific to the village is somewhat scant and fragmentary. The term "Lower Burma" is an administrative and geographical one. It comprises about 81,000 square miles and a population of some 9 millions, four of the administrative divisions in the highly fertile, deltaic 'rice-bowl' of Burma.

178 1. Background. The trend from a relatively self-sufficient subsistence
433 economy, with little dependence upon money, to a more commercialized economy coincides with the coming of British colonial rule in Burma. Our historical perspective thus extends over a period of about 150 years. Within this span of time, profound economic change occurred in Lower Burma. Here we cannot give a detailed account of events from decade to decade, but must limit ourselves to a brief consideration of the major trends.

175 In pre-British Lower Burma, villages consisted of what might be called
433 islands of clearance in a big jungle. In these settlements the Burmese peasants
361 lived by cultivation of paddy and vegetable gardens. Individual small holdings were the rule, and the size of the plot depended almost entirely upon need. No incentive existed to clear and cultivate land beyond the requirements of household subsistence and taxes, paid in kind, to the representative of the Burmese Crown. Cotton, from the dry zone of central Burma, was spun and woven into cloth, and garments were made in the local community. Housing was of a simple bamboo and thatch type, made of materials available locally. The bullock cart provided transport on the relatively few occasions that it was necessary for the Lower Burma villager to travel distances that could not be walked. Contact between villages was minimized by the expanses of intervening, uncleared jungle country. In Tadagale, for example, one of our oldest informants was able to recall the period of his youth, around 1885, when jungle clearance and settlement was still taking place, bringing Tadagale into closer communication with other communities in the area. Local craftsmen provided the villagers with simple utensils, tools and implements.

178 When British colonialism took over, money came to dominate over barter.
433 Taxation was ordered to be paid in money. The Burmese cultivator was encouraged
436 to clear the heavy jungle, cultivate more land, sell surpluses of paddy to
756 commercial millers, and spend his money on attractive manufactured goods imported from England, which were on display in the town shops and bazaars. Moneylenders, some of them Burmese, but especially Indians of the moneylending Chettiar caste from Madras, who could enter Burma freely, were at hand to loan money in fairly unlimited amounts to the Burmese peasants. Thus the latter could finance the expansion of their cultivation. Rates of interest charged were unregulated, and commonly ranged from 10% to 35% per year. The Burmese peasant was an easy victim: he was, at first, entirely unsophisticated in money

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An increase has occurred in the number of individuals engaged in small-scale middleman trading. Such manufactured items as candles, mats, jewelery, and books are bought in Rangoon and sold increasingly in the village and nearby.

Wage labor of an unskilled sort has increased. Some villagers have found jobs in a warehouse in Rangoon, others in a mental hospital not far from the village. A very small number have become office and clerical workers.

Unemployment is said to be a new development, although these people are only a few.

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b. Resources. Both cultivated land and grazing land resources have declined. The grazing land is very badly eroded, with little grass left. Fishing resources remain steady; the large Pazundaung Creek at the eastern edge of the village yields as many fish as ever.

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c. Imports. There has been a decrease, as indicated earlier, in the amount of Burma-grown cotton that comes into the village for making of clothing. A variety of miscellaneous food items, such as salt, dried chilis, cigars, cooking oil, betel, potatoes, onions, and various spices are obtained from the outside as much as in the past. Increasingly sought beyond the village are building materials, housewares of all types, clothing, and medicine.

d. Exports. The amount of rice sold has declined, while the sale of cooked foods, fresh vegetables, labor and services has increased.

In 1949-50 the villagers of Tadagale felt that their economic lot had worsened over the preceding several years, owing to the aftermath of World War II and the instability prevailing in Burma. The most pressingly felt needs were for land and the curbing of inflationary high prices, and hope was expressed that the plans of the national government in these and other matters might bring some measure of relief.

16;Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

Such is a great feast at a great pagoda. 796

But whenever I think of a great feast, whenever the growing autumn moon tells me that the end of Lent is drawing nigh, it is not the great feast of the Shwe Dagon, nor of any other famous pagoda that comes into my mind, but something far different.

It was on a frontier long ago that there was the festival that I remember so well. The country there was very far away from all the big towns; the people were not civilized as those of Mandalay or of Rangoon; the pagoda was a very small one. There was no gilding upon it at all, and no shrines were about it; it stood alone, just a little white plastered pagoda, with a few trees near it, on a bare rice-field. There were a few villages about, dotted here and there in the swamp, and the people of these were all that came to our festival. 796 433 436 369

For long before the villagers were preparing for it, saving a little money here, doing a little extra work there, so that they might be able to have presents ready for the monks, so that they might be able to subscribe to the lights, so that they would have a good dress in which they might appear.

The men did a little more work at the fields, bamboo-cutting in the forest, making baskets in the evening, and the women wove. All had to work very hard to have even a little margin; for there, although food—plain rice—was very cheap, all other things were very expensive. It was so far to bring them, and the roads were so bad. I remember that the only European things to be bought there then were matches and tinned milk, and copper money

16;Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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was not known. You paid a rupee, and took the change in rice or other commodities.

The excitement of the great day of the full moon began in the morning, about ten o'clock, with the offerings to the monks. Outside the village gate there was a piece of straight road, dry and open, and on each side of this, in rows, were the people with their gifts; mostly they were eatables. You see that it is very difficult to find any variety of things to give a monk; he is very strictly limited in the things he is allowed to receive. Garments, yellow garments, curtains to partition off corners of the monasteries and keep away the draughts, sacred books and eatables—that is nearly all. But eatables allow a very wide range. A monk may accept and eat any food—not drink, of course—provided he eat but the one big meal a day before noon; and so most of the offerings were eatables. Each donor knelt there upon the road with his or her offerings in a tray in front. There was rice cooked in all sorts of shapes, ordinary rice for eating with curry, and the sweet purple rice, cooked in bamboos and coming out in sticks. There were vegetables, too, of very many kinds, and sugar and cakes and oil and honey, and many other such things. There were a few, very few, books, for they are very hard to get, being all in manuscript; and there were one or two tapestry curtains; but there were heaps of flowers. I remember there was one girl whose whole offering was a few orchid sprays, and a little, very little, heap of common rice. She was so poor; her father and mother were dead, and she was not married. It was all she could give. She sat behind

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also used to do this. Sometimes they are able to extract about 5 viss of oil each in one day. 226 463 621

"There are also cultivators in the village. Some of those who work IRS also own fields. They rent out the land to tenants. There are altogether 12 people in our village who own cultivation fields. But the biggest landowner does not own lands more extensive than three hundred acres. Some own 40 or 50 acres. Some engage cultivators and work their fields themselves, while others rent out the fields for a certain percentage of the produce. 421 463 621 427

"There were paid workers in the IN. They were paid, not a daily wage, but a monthly salary of Rs. 30/- without food. About 50 of the 80 workers were paid workers, though some of them owned shares as well. In addition to their pay, these paid workers received quite a lot of fish which their families went around selling. They get one or two basket-loads of fish to sell, and in this way make quite a lot of money. 226 463 465

"Fish is not distributed in this manner every day - only when the fish start coming down in great numbers. On these occasions however the workers get about 25 to 30 viss each - that is, by the boatload. Ordinarily they are given just enough for one meal.

"I also own eleven cows; eight for loaning out to cultivators and three for breeding purposes. No milk is drawn for human consumption because that is not the custom in our native place." 231 [272]

One yoke of oxen hired out brought U Myaing 50 baskets of paddy a year. He had 4 yokes. They kept by 100 baskets for home consumption and sold the rest at a rate fluctuating between Rs. 100/- and Rs. 175/- per hundred baskets.

In those years when U Myaing works at IRS, he has to confine himself to such work only. During those years when he does not work at IRS, he buys the fish from IN workers and processes them for sale as NGAGYI, NGA-CHAUK, etc. Each year he uses between four to five thousand fish. When U Myaing his co-workers could not get an IN, he had to buy fish and make NGA-CHAUK, (dried fish), NGAPI and NGAMPYAR-YE. 226 463 433

On his former visits to Rangoon U Myaing came in a boat loaded with NGAGYI CHAUK (dried NGA GYI) and transferred it to the care of a broker in Rangoon. He then ascended the Shwe Dagon pagoda platform, donated money and water, returned to the broker, and went around the town to places like Mogul Street (the Indian quarter) for meats and ate pillau-rice etc. It took three or four days, and sometimes about ten days for the broker to dispose of his goods and in this time he would go round all the pagodas in Rangoon like the Botataung, Sule, Kyaik-tiyo-gyi etc. Once he went to a Chinese hotel known as the NAN-HIN hotel together with some traders from DABEIKTU. They pooled the expenses. The journey home took a day and a night. He took back with him clothes, longyis, KINGYIS, durian fruit, 226 438 484 [778]

14: Brant E-5 (1949-50) 1954 AP1 Burma
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244 Garden cultivation is quite simple. Hand tools, such as steel mattocks, rakes and hoes, which are obtained from Rangoon, are employed to prepare the soil. Cattle or water buffalo excrement is mixed with water to a thin consistency and poured from bamboo-spouted metal buckets over the ground. (The use of human excrement as a fertilizer, common in China and Japan, is not practiced in Burma.) During the monsoon season there is, of course, no problem of irrigation, but during the hot and dry seasons the gardens must be watered frequently. This task is often performed by young boys, who draw water from the wells and apply it to the gardens. The work of picking the matured crops and preparing them for transport to market is commonly done by female members of the household.

243 2. Paddy Cultivation. The principal occupation of forty-three persons is cultivation of paddy. This category is here defined to include individuals who own or rent land on which they cultivate paddy, as distinct from persons who work on a wage basis in the paddy cultivation of others. The latter are referred to in this report as field laborers.

243 162 427 178 Of the thirty-four paddy land holdings on which we have data, twenty-nine are rented and five are owned by the cultivators. All but one of these holdings is under twenty acres. This high ratio of renters to owners, as well as the small number of paddy cultivators relative to the total number of gainfully occupied villagers, is reflective of long-run trends in agriculture in this general area. Rural tenancy has been the outcome, in Lower Burma, of a long period of loss of land ownership to moneylenders, largely absentee, through inability of the cultivators to repay loans taken out at very high rates of interest. As tenancy has grown apace, individual cultivators have become discouraged with their small return for hard work. Accordingly, many have given up paddy cultivation altogether in favor of less arduous and relatively more rewarding occupations. However, this trend may be reversed, for there began in early 1951 actual implementation of the Land Nationalization Act of 1948, which provides for distribution of agricultural land to the cultivators on an individual ownership basis.

243 434 For the great majority of the paddy cultivators of Tadagale it is possible to eke out little more than subsistence from season to season. A few, after paying their hired labor, putting aside seed for the next year's planting, and filling the granary for home use, can realize some cash income by the sale of a small surplus of paddy. If the cultivator with a little surplus can possibly afford it, he holds the paddy until the hot season, when the market price is highest.

243 433 The average yield per acre in Tadagale, based on data for thirty cultivators for the harvest season 1948-49, is 19.8 bushels of paddy. This compares closely with the overall average figures for Burma. According to the Yearbook of Food and Agriculture for 1949 (U.N.-F.A.O.) the average yield per acre for Burma was 20 bushels.

243 437 In late March, the paddy fields of Tadagale are burned over, depositing an ash from any stubble remaining from the previous harvest. Sometime after the New Year celebration (which begins about April 13th and continues several days) the cultivators spread manure over their fields in preparation for the coming planting season. The manure is obtained from the Indian dairy farmers of the village in exchange for paddy stalk.

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One of the most popular foods of these vendors is mohingha. Rice noodles are made by pounding rice into a flour, mixing it with water, and grinding into a paste between two flat stone slabs. After the excess water has been expressed from this paste, it is pushed through sieves with narrow holes, to form noodles. Once dried, the noodles are cooked and mixed with a curry to make mohingha. 252

A beverage sold regularly by food vendors is molessaun. It is made of sugar, coconut milk and bits of rice noodles, mixed together. The villagers consider this drink very tasty and refreshing. 272

7. Shopkeeping and Middleman Trading. The typical shop in the village consists of nothing more than a few large glass jars containing cigars, matches, candy, soap, and various other articles, set out on the porch in front of a house. The stocks of these are very small and are periodically replenished by purchase in Rangoon. Customers are occasional and sales are very small. 414

Seventeen villagers devote their main activity to what we have called middleman trading. These persons make a living by periodically buying quantities of such goods as second-hand lumber from dismantled dwellings, bamboo, cloth, etc., and selling them in the village and nearby places.

8. Urban Labor. The nineteen individuals listed in Table II as urban laborers are employed in a government medical warehouse in Rangoon. They are unskilled workers who perform such tasks as moving boxes of medical supplies in and out of the establishment and arranging them in the warehouse. These people commute daily between Tadagale and their place of work by bus. 464 369

These are the numerically most significant of the variety of occupations followed by villagers. There are six unemployed persons and fourteen who are not gainfully employed because of old age, ill health, or blindness. The great majority of the married women and unmarried girls are occupied most of the time with domestic housework, looking after small children, and helping with gardening. 463

The whole character of the occupational pattern is shifting and unstable. Individuals move opportunistically from one form of activity to another as circumstances change, in an effort to round out a living. Informants stated that in former times the community was much more agricultural, but that owing to loss of land through indebtedness people had gradually left farming for other occupations. 463 178

Income

In analyzing our data on income, figures for the Indians of Tadagale have been calculated separately. The Indians are occupationally a homogeneous group, all engaged in dairy farming. The range and average of income within this small group is so far above that of the Burmese that a misleading idea of the community's economic structure would be conveyed were the data on the Indians included in a single, overall computation for the village. 434 [563]

The following tables show family incomes.

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Table III

Family Incomes of Burmese
(In rupees. Rs. 100 = $21)

Income	No. Families
0- 500	42
501-1000	51
1001-1500	26
1501-2000	18
2001-2500	10
2501-3000	6
3001-3500	0
3501-4000	2
4001-4500	1
4501-5000	2
5001-5500	3
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The mean annual family income for the Burmese is Rs. 1186 ($249). The mean annual per capita income is Rs. 259 ($54).

When the family incomes of the Burmese are broken down by the categories of cultivators and non-cultivators, we can make the following comparison.

Table IV

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Family Incomes of Burmese

Income	No. Cultivators	% of Total	No. Non-Cultivators	% of Total
0- 500	6	19	36	28
501-1000	12	38	39	30
1001-1500	5	15	21	16
1501-2000	4	13	14	11
2001-2500	3	9	7	5
2501-3000	2	6	4	3
3001-3500	-	-	-	-
3501-4000	-	-	2	2
4001-4500	-	-	1	1
4501-5000	-	-	2	2
5001-5500	-	-	3	2
	32	100	129	100

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The mean annual family income of cultivators is Rs. 1091 ($229), and the mean annual per capita income is Rs. 203 ($42). For non-cultivators, the comparable figures are Rs. 1210 ($254) and Rs. 276 ($57). However, when we compare median family incomes (a more reliable measure of central tendency for our sample) the apparent advantage of non-cultivators disappears; they receive Rs. 900 as against Rs. 910 for cultivators. The only significant difference in the range of incomes for the two groups is that some 7% of the non-cultivators receive incomes over Rs. 3500 ($735), while no cultivator receives over Rs. 3000. However, the idea is prevalent in the village that cultivation is a relatively unprofitable occupation and that it is possible to realize as much or more income by less arduous types of work. 434 463

The Indians of Tadagale are much more prosperous in terms of income, as shown below. 434 562

Table V

Family Incomes of Indians
(in rupees. Rs 100 = $21)

Income	No. Families
0- 500	0
500-1000	3
1001-1500	1
1501-2000	2
2001-2500	2
2501-3000	3
Over 7000*	4
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(*includes two families of Rs. 7200 each; one of Rs. 8640; and one of Rs. 18,000.)

The mean annual family income for the Indians is Rs. 4030 ($848), and the mean annual per capita income is Rs. 1343 ($281).

Differences in family incomes are not reflected in external status symbols, except in extreme cases. In poor families the type of house is usually bamboo and thatch, while among relatively prosperous families it is more likely to be of plank construction, with perhaps a galvanized iron roof. In the wealthier families the women have more silk longyis for dress occasions. Major differences in economic standing are often shown in the size, elaborateness and expensiveness of ceremonials, such as weddings and boys' initiation ceremonies, and in the contributions made towards the support of the Buddhist monks. 571

In general, however, wealth differences in Tadagale do not seem to provide any clear basis for differential association of persons. Kinship, which cuts across economic lines, is far more important. Although a few families are generally regarded as well off, they do not live apart from the rest of the community either in the spatial or social sense. Wealth does not appear to have any direct correlation with status, rank or privilege, or to form the 565 556

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

243 much preparing. It is simply a portion of the field swept clean. It is sufficiently hard from the broiling sun, and a stake is driven into the centre of the circle. Two lines of sheaves are arranged round this, head to head, and the grain is trodden out by slow-moving bullocks in good old lazy fashion. The Christian Biblical precept, not to muzzle the ox that treadeth out the corn, does not fail of observance with the Buddhist farmer. Then the paddy, that is, the unhusked grain, is winnowed. In some places hand-winnowing machines of a simple pattern are used; but ordinarily a far more primitive and easy method, corresponding to the substitution of oxen for threshing-flails, is in use. A man stands on an elevated platform and capsizes baskets of paddy brought from the threshing-floor; the rice falls on a sloping bamboo mat and so to the ground, the wind blowing away a great part of the bits of broken straw, chaff, and light grain. The system may not be very thorough, but it saves an immense amount of trouble, which is the chief consideration. All that now remains to be done is to carry the grain off to the big rice-boat lying in the creek. There it is stowed in bulk; and after a day or two, the farmer makes a start, dropping leisurely down through the network of creeks into one of the main streams, and so making his way to Rangoon, or Bassein, whence he will return in a few weeks with fine Chinese neckerchiefs for his daughters and perhaps a gay Manchester paso or two for himself and his sons—
[452] unless, indeed, the Madras money-lender has snapped up all
[674] his receipts down in town, or some of the robber-boats that infest the creeks at this time of the year have pounced upon him and carried off everything but the boat and the paddles.

243 427 433 435 Rice-farming would be profitable as well as easy work were it not for the reckless squandering of almost all the cultivators. The average rent per acre is under three shillings; the average produce of the land per acre is from eighty to a hundred bushels in the more fertile parts, while elsewhere the yield is from forty to fifty. The selling price of rice per maund (80 lbs.) in Rangoon is between 4s. 6d.
243 511 454 and 5s. Agriculturists, therefore, ought to grow rich. But they are too fond of gambling and building works of merit

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma (Europeans Indians) AP1
Burmese AP4

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establishment up to its full strength. And so prices rose and rose until they became absurdly high, and no one profited but the hawks that preyed on the simple Burmese cultivators. Then the English merchants held a meeting, and all pledged themselves not to give more than the current market rate for paddy. This seemed a fair enough agreement; but after a while it was found that the boats all gravitated towards one or two firms. A little investigation showed that this was due to the fact that though they paid the ordinary rate, according to the compact, they had a smaller measuring basket than their neighbours. Accordingly every one went on reducing the size of his basket until the system became as ruinously absurd as ever it had been before. Then there was another meeting, at which it was unanimously agreed that this state of affairs would never do, and that it was absolutely necessary to come to some definite understanding. A committee was appointed which, after some deliberation, concluded that, if, in addition to abiding by the market rate, every one were bound to use a basket of a certain fixed size, there would be no chance for unfair speculations. A standard basket was therefore fixed upon; and the competitors were supposed to start fair again. But in no very long time, one firm put a false bottom in the basket, another wedged in a board; and so on, till matters got back to the old way. This state of affairs is hardly creditable to mercantile honour, and it certainly is by no means profitable.

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Independently of this, paddy has gone up in price at an alarming rate of late years. The first heavy rise was in 1877, at the time of the Madras famine. That was also the time of the resolution to have a standard basket. Rice was wanted in any quantity for the famine districts, and millers gave an altogether fabulous price for grain. The game went on merrily, introduced the scandalous "paddy morality," and lasted long enough to make the cultivators think the new prices had come in for good. Far too many Burmese farmers are heavily in debt to the "chetties," the money-lending caste of the Madras coast. The agriculturists have borrowed money to build a pagoda or a monastery; to give a grand feast on the

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occasion of their marriage, or their father's death; to buy a new yoke of oxen in the place of those that have been carried off by disease; to get seed-grain to sow their tracts of paddy land, the last season's gains having been lost in some gambling transaction when they were down in Rangoon. They have got into the chetty's books in some way at any rate; and hapless is the man, Burman or Englishman, who has dealings with the fat, shaven-headed Madras money-lender. He will be charged eight, ten, twelve per cent a month, or even more, before there is an end of the transaction. The chetties, therefore, took a particular interest in the rise of the price of paddy. High prices ensured their being paid; moreover, handling such unwonted sums of money made the ever-careless Burman reckless. He gambled, he gave great feasts, he got deeper and deeper into debt with the money-lenders. Consequently it was desirable that the prices should not go down; and as men of business the chetties understood how that was to be done; they made the Burman farmers hold back their grain. The Rangoon firms were in desperation to meet their contracts, the ships could not be kept waiting; and so prices were maintained at nearly famine rates. This more than anything else brought about the unlucky legerdemain with standard baskets. The appearance of the chetty element in the trade upset everything. They are charming men of business, and know all about bulling and bearing, and all the other civilised expedients of trade. Poor "Jack Burma," listless and good-natured as he is, would never have thought of such things of himself; but he is in the hands of his master. Not a single village in the jungle, however remote, is to be found without its bare-backed money-lender. He hovers round the paddy nursery; he watches the men planting out the handfuls of half-grown rice; he makes the farmer hold back the threshed-out grain till he gives the word: then he fixes the rate and all but takes the money himself.

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The English merchants have struggled against the system, but with small success. They have laid out heavy sums in advances. The farmer is paid for the next year's crop before ever it is sown. This is generally only practi-

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma (Europeans)AP1
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cable with men who have not yet fallen into the clutches of the chetties, and the result has been almost invariably to drive them into the money-lender's arms. The Burmese, it it is to be feared, have not sufficient stability of character. U Myaing or Maung Po never had so much money before in their lives as the advances figure to. They do not know the value of it, and proceed to squander the rupees forthwith; and so, long before the paddy is delivered they are heavily in the usurer's books, and then Maung Po and U Myaing have to do as they are bidden. Moreover, the system in any case could hardly be a safe one. The cultivator might die; there might be a flood or a jungle fire; many things might happen, in fact, to prevent the advance boats from ever reaching the Puzundaung creek. Consequently many English firms have given up the practice, and instead send agents away up the creeks, far into the jungle, to negotiate with the farmers on the spot and try to secure paddy before rivalry has had time to raise the price. But even this expedient does not answer well. The chetties do their best to throw obstacles in the way. It is not without expense, and it impresses the cultivators with a notion of the great demand there is for paddy.

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The telegraph, they say, ruins business. The paddy season opens in February with a price of, say between seventy and eighty rupees a hundred baskets. The merchants declare they will not be forced into materially increasing this rate, and the home firms charter a number of ships. Meanwhile the price of paddy steadily rises, while rice in England steadily goes down; and by the time the vessels discharge their cargo in Liverpool or London, milled rice is not very much dearer in wholesale shops than the raw paddy in the Burmese boats. New mills are constantly being started—which would seem contradictory, were it not that all the firms starting them have business of another kind; teak sawmills, cotton or piece-goods trade, silks for Burmese men and maidens, or jute and grey shirtings for Upper Burma and the hill tribes. Rice will certainly always be wanted, and there is any quantity of it to be had in Burma. A little more of the sterling probity which used to be associated with the name of the English merchant would

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2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma (Europeans) Indians) AP1
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do no harm in Rangoon rice dealings, and would win that respect from the farmer which heavy payments and cunning never will.

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Rangoon still continues to be the largest rice port in the world. From January to May the river is crowded with shipping—huge iron and steel sailing craft that have been chartered beforehand, and carry off thousands of bags in their capacious holds; and a constant succession of "ditchers," as the steamers passing through the Suez Canal are called, which come "seeking," and seldom have to go away without their full complement of "five parts cargo rice," or "Europe milled." The steamers are displacing the sailing ships, and the shorter passage now makes it possible to carry fully husked rice home without the danger of heating, which was supposed to be avoided by the partly husked "five parts cargo rice." Harbour-masters and river-pilots have a busy time, and gather together many pieces of silver against the later months of the year, when they will have abundant leisure to spend them. Coringi coolies swarm in the town, and their monotonous chant, "Eh-ya-mah-la Tah-ma-lay, Madras Ag-boat Tah-ma-lay," may be heard at any hour of the night or the morning, floating over the river. The British sailor overflows into the town and sings noisy old salt sea-songs round about the Sule pagoda, gets mad drunk on arrack, and not unseldom clears Dalhousie Street with a linked-arm rush, heedless of the red-turbaned guardian of the peace, who keeps out of the way in the meantime, but will break poor drunken Jack's head with his truncheon if he finds him helpless and strayed from his fellow-roysterers.

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The Puzundaung Creek, where all the mills are, is as busy as an ant-hill all day long, and all night too, when some of the mills are lighted up with Jablochkoffs or later forms of electric light, and the silvery rays shine ghastly on the black and bronzed mill-workers. Here we have the Madrasi coolies again, making noises, according to their nature, as a kind of assertion that they are doing hard work. The lank Chittagonian firemen, with their aquiline noses, are coated with coal-dust, and divide their time between firing up and having a whiff at the hubble-bubble when Sandy,

342 514 In U Myaing's house the lavatory is in the kitchen and is walled off with woven KYU (kind of fiber) mat. There is a hole cut open in the board flooring, and the area underneath this opening also is walled off with woven KYU. U Myaing and family did not take their meals in the kitchen but in the house proper.

361 368 346 [872] [764] The PHON-GYI KYAUNG or monastery is located further downstream from the village. It is a two storied brick building comprised of nine rooms, each 6 TAUNG square. Children are not taught here but learn their lessons at the government school. This school, which is on YWA-GYI-HET side, teaches pupils up to the tenth standard. Below the PHON-GYI KYAUNG is the cemetery.

The houses in the village are separated one from the other by eight feet on each side. The rows of houses facing the river have porches on both sides. 342 U Myaing's house is typical of those found in the village - some may be more elaborate, some less. His house had been built only 435 [651] six or seven years, and cost Rs. 3000/- at that time. There are no accounts for each of the separate items and U Myaing does not remember. The land was free and they did not have to pay any revenue on it. [366] [252] Separate from the houses and on the riverside is a huge platform built to process fish including the making of NGAPI. U Myaing had no land that he owned round the house, although he could use the land directly in front of the house for various purposes.

U Myaing describes his house as follows;

342 592 "It is a wooden house, made of wooden posts - a two storied structure. The roof is of slates. Walls are of SHI-NYA-MU wooden boards (boards 8 inches wide and about ½ inch thick) and there are four rooms. Other people have similar houses. It is a LAY-HIN-KIN (a four-tree-house or a house which has four supporting poles across the frame) and all seven of us live in the house. We drop a kitchen from the back and cook there. The kitchen has three windows at the back, with one door leading into the house. We all live together in three rooms. We keep bedrooms. (U Myaing is speaking of a sketch of the house here). This side is for visitors - there is a room for people who come to buy goods. The old mother and the children live in one room and I and my wife in [366] another with the smallest child. We eat in the front part of the house in one room at the foot of the sleeping place. There are nine 6 TAUNG rooms without partitions on each of the two floors. The sides of the house are enclosed with timber planks of IN wood, but the bedrooms are also partitioned off. It is very wide and roomy to live in. The floor is made of teak planks."

352 415 513 mortar and measurers, market basket, condiments stored in cigarette tins and quart bottles. A discussion on these subjects is found under the chapter on Food.

Details were secured on the following household items:

SAUNG (blankets). Both THA-KA-LAT SAUNG (flannel blanket) and GUN SAUNG (Cotton blanket) are actually woolen blankets. (cost Rs. 25/-). Heavy cotton blankets are called CHI SAUNG . (cost Rs.15/-). Both are for individual use. In Pathwe U Myaing had one blanket of each kind which would last 3 or 4 years. In camp he has only the GUN SAUNG or Upper Burma blanket which he used for 2 years then brought from Pathwe . The females of the family had 6 cotton blankets between them (cost Rs. 12/ each). They brought 4 from Pathwe, two are "good ones", and two are "torn ones". The cotton blankets are supposed to last for 2 years according to Ma Aye Myaing. Intense love is indicated by the saying "we will go under one blanket", but double blankets are not known.

[455] [152]

HMWE-YAR, (Enjoying place) mattress. It is a thin square cloth sack measuring 4 TAUNG on a side by 4 inches in thickness and stuffed with HAPUK. U Myaing had one at Pathwe which would last 7 or 8 years. It was made at home and valued at Rs. 30/-. Daw Aw Zar and the children shared a double mattress, a gift from her neice, in Pathwe but all sleep on split cane mats only in camp.

[435]

(KU DIN; raised wooden beds are rarely used in villages.)

GAUNG-ON, (head-lay) pillow. Pillows are made at home. Two may be made from 3 TAUNG (1½ yards) of cloth. They are cloth sacks filled with cotton and last 3 or 4 years - valued at Rs. 5/8 each. U Myaing had 2, and the females 8 at Pathwe. He used a wooden pillow made of small, raised board, while the females use rag bundles.

HPYAR, Sleeping mats. Two kinds are used; a split TA BAW plant mat and a more finely woven thin plant with over 2 under 2 weave mat. They measure 6 by 3½ feet . The mats lasted two years and were woven at home. 4 to 8 mats were kept on hand at Pathwe; here 4 mats are in use.

[285]

AYAR-KIN (sleeping place cover) bed sheet: The bedshes s used in Pathwe measured 6' by 3½' and were made of cotton. Three were used by U Myaing and lasted a year; they cost Rs. 7/- each. Camp: none.

CHIN TAUNG, Mosquito net: One kind was made of fine netted

cloth, small enough to keep mosquitos out. The other kind was made of plain cloth to keep out the smallest insects. The nets are rectangular for a single bed, square for a double. They are suspended over the bed on a wooden framework and tucked under the mattress. Pathwe: three were used by the family and two kept in reserve. Each lasted 4 or 5 years. The reserve nets cost Rs. 60/- each, the others Rs. 40/- or 45/- each. Camp: one old one was brought from Pathwe, this is used by U Myaing and his wife. The rest of the family have none. Two are desired. 513 [435]

TA-BIET-SHE, broom: The hand broom is used to brush out dust and dirt from the floor of the house. It is about 2 feet long, 2 inches in diameter and consists of bent over bunches of stiff reeds bound at the top by a more flexible reed strip. The one used in camp cost 12 annas in Rangoon. 336 415

Burmese Concepts about the Home.

The following Burmese ideas about the home were secured mainly from Ko Maung Than, my research assistant. 342 183

The Burmese regard the KIN-YAR (home place) with great love, and as the most essential feature of life. The head of a family will frequently admonish: "My young ones let us remain with our nest intact and our eggs uncracked", this is also a common prayer. The ideal is to preserve the family home with necessary repairs in its original form. Wooden (teak) houses are preferred to bamboo. The husband and wife are partners in the ownership of the home which they start at marriage. Indeed, the word for "marriage" KIN-DAUNG-PYU (Home-separately-build) emphasizes the importance of building a home upon starting a family. In villages the mother and children spend almost all of their time in and around the home. Since the Burmese are especially sedentary, short journeys being unusual and infrequent events, the house is the spot where he lives and dies. It is furthermore his "castle" and place of security within which he is "ruler". [592] [591] [484]

Each house is under the direct protection of MIN MAHA-GIRI one of the 37 major nats of Burma. He controls the fortunes of the family and in return is revered. A coconut, the symbol of MIN- 342 776 782

quality of their sleep suffers to any appreciable extent. Americans who live in Rangoon suffer far more relatively from lack of "beauty rest" mattresses. 511 722 [513]

As far as the actual physical needs of the family go, the refugee camp situation does not seem to be far below an acceptable level. The Pathwe house gave space far above that actually used for physical needs. The answer here would seem to be that social obligations in Pathwe were much greater than here and the actual space fulfilled a real need there. Since such a demand is not present in the refugee camp, the lack of this space is not regarded as a privation. In general the refugee camp quarters are a compressed version of the Pathwe quarters and do not represent any true innovations. The family has been able to contract the quantity and quality of their needs, but their nature has not been appreciably altered. The pattern of "Home" has not been shattered, but has been contracted and its quality somewhat changed. 352 415 [574] 511 178

The town of Pantanaw was recaptured from the insurgents early in the month of December 1950. U Myaing and his family are considering whether or not it would be advisable to return home. It seems that the government has offered to send back those who are willing to return. Government offers them, in addition to passage money, other things such as mosquito netting, or so U Myaing thinks. But they are also hesitant and afraid and would like to remain for some time longer in the peace and security of the refugee camp. However, when the country settles down and things return to normal, they would like to return. They prefer Pantanaw because they find it much easier to earn money there. Here they find it more difficult to find work - and it involves harder labour. Also, the prices here are very high in comparison. 722 669 511 [464] [435]

MOEK

Work in Pathwe

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U Myaing is an IN fisherman and in normal times he is helped by his family in catching and preparing fish. Another source of revenue is also renting out oxen and the making of mats usually relied on only when there is little other work. He regards himself as "one who works INS on a large scale", and on further questioning it appears that he was a sort of foreman working with a group of IN fishermen. About 95 other workers in Pathwe made their living by fishing and fish processing, but there were also some cultivators. In addition there were 9 or 10 in the paddy husking business, 4 or 5 merchants and one gardener. With these few introductory remarks let us examine in some detail the nature of IN fishing.

U Myaing describes the IN fishery of which he was a part as follows:-

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[435]
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"The IN is located upstream about two miles from Pathwe. The trap is remade every year and costs anywhere from Rs. 5000/- to Rs. 10,000/- to make. It takes twenty men about one month to make the trap. First we plant timber poles, after which we put up the IN- strips of bamboo held together by coconut fibre rope, in such a manner as to present a large flat surface. When the IN has been safely put up (across the entire width of the stream) the fish are carried down (by the current) through the SHAW (inclined plane of the sluice) and they are caught at the end. At the deep end the bamboo fence is about 16 taungs high and only a little of the poles remain above water. These poles have to propped up by other timber poles. Then the IN are placed across these poles and tied in position. All the water has to flow along this small channel, and the force of the current washes up the fish (at the end of the SHAW). The poles are hammered down into the earth to a depth of one LAN (one yard) The water passes through the dam, but the fish cannot. The fish cannot swim upstream again because of the force of the water in the narrow sluice, which is only about eight taungs across. The length of the trap is approximately 100 feet whereas the width across the stream is 200 feet. When the floods are high at times the fish do get away. The water spills over and the fish do escape. We catch the remaining fish. When the water increases we have to extend the dam sideways a long way. But the height of the dam cannot be raised. In the dry season those fish which have gone over are left stranded outside the IN by the retreating waters. Some people fish below the dam with nets and fish hooks.

"When the rains come, that is the time they spawn. This time is called NGA-YIT-TET time. At this time the fish group together to go upstream. The better the rains, the better the catch. After these fish have passed, the MEK is closed. The fish spawn at the beginning of the rains after they have collect and passed upstream. At about the month of TAW-THA-LIN (last month of the rains season) the MEK is closed and the fish that come down with the force of the water are picked up. If many fish go upstream - fish that spawn, then we get a good catch. If only few spawning fish go up, we get a bad catch. Even

inches in front. When working in wet areas, the back portion is taken between the legs and tucked into the waist band- resulting in a kind of loin cloth garment. Pathwe: 5 or 6 per year were used, and kept on hand at all times; they cost Rs. 1/8 each in the Pantanaw market. Camp: 4 last a year with 2 or 3 on hand; cost 2 at Rs. 5/- each, 1 at Rs. 3/4. Six are regarded as necessary for one year. 291 435

SHE LONGYI (Silk Longyi):- Pathwe: 4 or 5 were kept on hand, although they were worn out at the rate of about 1 per year. These were bought by U Myaing while in Rangoon on a business trip: HEIT LONGYI (Mergui woven) cost Rs. 18/-; KYANGIN (Kyangin woven) cost the same; BANGKOK (Bangkok woven) cost Rs. 25/-; MANDALAY (Mandalay woven) cost Rs. 5/- or 6/-. Camp: he has none. One or two good ones are required, and these will last about 3 years. 292 435

CHE LONGYI Cotton Shirts: — Cotton shirts may be western or Burmese style. The Burmese shirts lack collars and pockets and utilize a chain of metal studs as buttons. Pathwe: 7 or 8 Burmese style shirts were kept on hand and lasted about 1 year. They were bought in Rangoon and the rest in Pantanaw at Rs. 4/8 per shirt. Camp: one western style khaki shirt is on hand, and he now uses about 2 per year. The one shirt was bought at Thein-gyi-zay (Socrates Bazaar) for Rs. 6/-. Two or three shirts are regarded as necessary for a period of 8 months. 291 435

SHU KAIB (elastic or wear widen) vest:— The vests are western style jackets without arms and buttoning up the midline to a V-shaped neck or the western T shirt. Pathwe: 6 or 7 garments at a cost of Rs. 1/4 per garment. Camp: he has had one T shirt for the past 6 months and it cost him Rs. 2/8 at the Socrates Bazaar. Two garments will suffice a year now.

APAW-LONGYI (over-jacket) Burmese jacket:— The Burmese jacket is made of a light material, often silk. It lacks a collar, is loose fitting and short, falling just over the top of the LONGYI, has wide sleeves to the wrist. There are five evenly spaced strips of cloth tied into knots that function as buttons on the midline. The eyes of the buttons are little loops of cloth strips. The sleeves lack buttons. The garment is usually worn open. It is reversed for dress occasions. Pathwe: U Myaing had two jackets for a period of 8 or 9 years. The flannel ones in Rangoon for Rs. 25/- or Rs. 30/-. A black [292]

"pesca"one cost Rs. 12/8. He has none in Camp.

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GAUNG BAUNG (head bend):— This is a strip of brightly coloured silk about 4 feet long and 8 inches wide which is wrapped tightly about the head. Pastel colours are most common of which a bright pink colour is most frequently seen around Rangoon. It is tied so that the two ends project as "plumes" over the right ear. Now that the traditional Burmese long hair knotted high on the back of the head has given way to western style short hair cuts a light conical wicker basket is used as a base on which the GAUNG BAUNG is wrapped. This is mainly used by those who lack time to tie the cloth around the head. The basket retains the traditional cone-shaped form of the headgear. Pathee: Three silk GAUNG BAUNGS were used per year. These were bought in Rangoon at Rs. 1/12 to Rs. 2/4 each. He has none in camp. This head-dress is used mainly for dress and ceremonial occasions.

LET-KHUE-PU-WA (Hand hold cloth) handkerchiefs:— These are the western cotton square, imported from United Kingdom, Japan or India. Pathee: one dozen were used per year, at a cost of Rs. 4/8. Camp: none.

AE-PWIN-KAN-BAUNG-BU, underwear pants:— These are loose cotton pants coming down to the knees and fastened at the upper end around the waist in the same manner as the LONGYI. They are worn by U Myaing only with silk LONGYIS. Pathee: he kept five on hand, using about 4 a year. They were made at home at a cost of Rs. 1/8 or Rs. 1/12 each. Camp: none, since the silk LONGYI is not used.

Head Towels: (same as towel) when a head wrapping is needed as protection against the heat or cold a cotton towel about 3 feet long and a foot and a half wide is wrapped around in a loose fashion. Pathee: two were used per year; bought in Pantanaw market for Rs. 2/8 or Rs. 3/- per towel. Camp: none.

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SHAN LUE AYIN Shan bags: — This is a shoulder bag commonly called "Shan bag" since the Shan area is a common source. They are made over most of Burma. The bag is a square pouch about a foot and a half on a side made by sewing the sides of a folded piece of printed, or woven cotton. The more ornate have geometric designs

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of many colours. A thin strap about 4 inches wide is attached at the greatest width on both sides and serves to suspend the bag over the shoulder. U Myaing had two in Pathwe, one lasting for 2 or 3 years. They were bought in Rangoon and Pantanaw at prices which are forgotten. Camp: Four were made at home from old pieces of cloth, and are in poor condition. They have been in use for 3 or 4 months, and are thought to be good for only a couple of months more. The larger number in camp is due to the need for hauling goods and food from the distant market in downtown Rangoon. The bags are used by the entire family.

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PYAE HTEE (shiny cotton umbrella) Umbrellas: — The black, cotton cloth, folding umbrella with wooden handle of western type is used. Pathwe: one was owned and lasted 3 or 4 years. Bought at Pantanaw for Rs. 22/-. Camp: none, one is needed and desired.

MAR-AOK-HTOKE (bamboo hat) Topes: — These hats are made of strips of bamboo on the pattern of the British army's cork topee. The technique is similar to that used in making the conical hats of palm leaf and bamboo found commonly throughout Southeast Asia. Pathwe: one was owned; it lasted for two years and was bought in Pathwe for Rs. 10/-. Camp; none. U Myaing believes these are available only in the districts. However, they are seen for sale in the Rangoon bazaar also.

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Razor: — Pathwe: a Gillette brand safety razor and blades were used. 15 blades would last about a year. They were bought in Rangoon for 2 annas each. Camp: a THIN DON DHA (sharp knife) "big razor used for shaving children's heads" is used.

Haircut: — Pathwe: a western style short haircut was secured twice a month for two annas per haircut from the local barber in Pathwe. Camp: U Myaing now goes for slightly over a month between haircuts; they now cost 8 annas in the Rangoon barber shops. He desired his hair cut twice a month.

Cosmetics for the Hair: — The preparation used in Pathwe was sticks of hard white substance scented with various perfumes. They are produced locally of European type. He had one stick per month, costing Rs. 1/4. Camp: none. This item is now "not desired at all".

HEE Comb: Men use a western brand celluloid comb. Pathwe: one costing ten pice or 2 annas was used for more than a year. Camp: none. This item is "not greatly desired". 302 435

SHAY-TOE-PAMAT (Forward-push-shoe) Slippers: Burmese men's slippers consist of leather soles held to the foot by two leather straps. The straps, attached on each side to the sole at the instep converge in an arrow-shape between the big toe. The back is open. Pathwe: three pairs of "airplane" brand sandals were used per year. They were bought in Pantanaw at Rs 1/4 per pair. Camp: He has one pair of rubber strap tyred sandals which last for 4 months. They cost 8 annas per pair in Rangoon. Six or Seven are desired per year, here, since they wear out rapidly on the cement pavements. 291 435

KHEE-PA-MAT (heel-shoe) Wooden Clogs: The soles are wooden, and they are attached to the feet by a single strap of rubber(tyre tube strips) or leather placed across the toes and held to the sole by nails. Pathwe: 3 or 4 pairs were used in one year. They were bought in Pantanaw at 8 annas. Camp: He used one pair per month due to hard wear on pavements and they cost 6 annas for one pair.

MYEE-MHA-THOKE-PU-MAH (Face-rubbing-cloth) Face Towel: This item is made of cotton and measured a few feet square. Pathwe: two were used and lasted about one year. They were bought in Pantanaw at Rs 1/4 each. Camp: one old one was brought from Pathwe but it fell apart about a year ago. None is used now. Two are desired.

KO-THOKE-PU-MAH (Body-rubbing-cloth) Body Towel: Body towels are made of cotton and measure somewhat larger than face towels. One was used for every 3 or 4 months in Pathwe (by the whole family). They cost Rs 2/8/ or 3/- and were bought in Pantanaw. Camp: none. 515 435

PAMWYA-LET-SUT (ruby-hand-put-loop) ruby ring: A finger ring set with a ruby was in U Myiang's possession from the age of 18 to 30. It cost Rs 35/- 301

SE'E LET SUT (gold hand-put loop) Gold ring: A gold finger was used from the age of 14 to the time of evacuation. It cost Rs 17/-

SE'E CHE. THEE (Gold-gap-grip. or button) Gold chain or button: A gold chain with attached gold buttons used to fasten the Burmese 291

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shirt front. It cost Rs 25/-. U Myiang had a set from the age of 14 to 30.

NGWE-LET-THEE (Silver hand button) Silver Cuff links: One pair of plain silver cuff links was used from the age of 14 to the evacuation. These cost 12 annas.

Accoutrement of the Female members of
U Myiang's family

Following are the clothing and accoutrement of Ma Aye Myaing Daw Aw Zar, and the children as given by Ma Aye Myaing. The data was collected by Ma Khin Mamay, Assistant in Anthropology.

PHEE-LONGYI (Cotton Tamein): This is the dress worn by Burmese women. It is a rectangular piece of cloth, cotton or silk extending from the waist to the ankles. At the waist is a black band about 6 inches wide. The colors and patterns are quite varied and usually floral rather than checked as in the case of the men's LON GYI. It is about twice the width of the individual and wrapped in a single fold very tightly, the end being tucked into the waist band. Pathes: Ma Aye Myaing used 10 per year (cost Rs 3/- to 5/-) ; Daw Aw Zar used 3 or 4 for 5 or 8 months (cost Rs 2/8 to 4/-). All were bought in the Pantanaw market. Camp: Ma Aye Myaing used 4 in 6 months (2 cost Rs 4/-, others cost Rs.5/- and 7/-). Daw Aw Zar used two for 6 month (cost Rs.3/8, and 7/-)- The two elder daughters used 6 for 3 or 4 months (2 cost Rs.4/- each, and 2 cost Rs.2/8 each. The remaining 2 were received as gifts from Daw Khin Kyi (Mrs. Aung San who is engaged in child and maternity welfare work). All desired 10 garments per year.

INGYI (Jacket): The Burmese women's jacket is made of muslin, silk, cotton, or nylon, and are usually white (though some pastel shades such as blues and green are now appearing). They have no pattern. The garment has sleeves, fits over the bodice, and comes down to the waist band fitting snuggly. There is no collar. They seldom button down the midline, but rather fasten by ornate buttons (5 in all) in a square pattern. Pathes: Ma Aye Myaing had 7 which lasted for 9 months (cost Rs.4/- each). Daw Aw Zar had 6 lasting one

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year (same price). The two elder daughters had 4 to 6 each lasting 9 to 10 months (cost Rs. 2/8 to 3/-). All were bought in the Pantanaw market. Camp: Ma Aye Myaing has 3 KINGYIS for 8 months (cost from 3/- to 4/- each); Daw Aw Zar has 2 lasting 8 months (same price); the two elder children had 3 each for 6 months (received as gifts). The number which they had in Pathwe are desired.

GAR YUN "Gown" frocks: — These are English style children's garments which may be described as short skirts with attached short sleeved shirt. Pathwe: the two younger daughters had ten between them lasting 10 months. Four frocks were received as gifts from friends in Rangoon, and two from Daw Khin Kyi. Twelve are regarded by Ma Aye Myaing as necessary for one year.

CHAME-KAN (sweat preventer) Bodice: — The bodice is a plain white band which binds the breasts closely. It is an ancient type of brassiere, probably of European (English) origin. Pathwe: Ma Aye Myaing had 5 lasting 10 months (cost Rs. 1/9 to 2/8). Daw Aw Zar had 2 lasting 2 or 3 months each. Cloth was bought at Rs. 2/- per yard and she sewed them herself. These garments were bought from Paya-gyi-daunt on the other bank of Pantanaw. Camp: Ma Aye Myaing has three lasting 7 months; (two cost Rs. 3/- and 2/8, the other was received as a gift. Ma Aye Myaing now feels she needs 6 garments for 1 year; Daw Aw Zar needs 4 for 1 year.

SHIN-MI Underwear: — Only the two elder daughters wear this garment also called "chemise" a kind of petticoat. Pathwe: 8 garments were used between them for 10 months. The cloth was bought at Pantanaw for Rs. 2/- per yard and sewed at home - plain ones with no lace. Camp: only 4 garments were used for 8 months. These were received as gifts from their aunt who sewed them with lace. Six are desired for one year.

Panties (European style): — Only the two younger daughters wear these, with their frocks. Pathwe: 5 garments were used in 8 months, bought at Pantanaw for 8 annas each. Camp: four garments used for an eight-month period. These were sewed at home with cloth received as a gift from Daw Khin Kyi. Four are now regarded as a good supply for one year.

SHE-HYOK-HPA-NUT slippers: — The women's leather slippers are

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are the same as the men's. Pathwe: Ma Aye Myaing and Daw Aw Zar and the three daughters each had one pair which would last for six months. They were bought in Rangoon by U Myaing at Rs. 5/- per pair for the adults and Rs. 3/- per pair for the children. Camp: none.

KON-HPA-NUT Wooden sandals: — Same as Burmese men's type. Pathwe: both ladies had one pair each, used for 3 months and cost 8 annas at Pantanaw. Camp: same quantity and price, but they only last 1 month on the hard pavement. The four daughters had one pair each lasting 2 months in Pathwe, bought in Pantanaw for 4 annas per pair. In camp the children also each have one pair, but they last only 1 month. The Rangoon article costs 4 annas per pair for the 3 younger daughters and 6 annas per pair for the elder daughter.

GAUNG-SI (head-bind) scarf: — A towel was used as a scarf around the head by Ma Aye Myaing and Daw Aw Zar. Each had two lasting one year. They cost Rs. 3/- each in the Pantanaw market. The same two scarfs are in use in camp.

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SYGE KYO' (hanging string) Gold chain with pendant: — In Pathwe the eldest daughter had a golden chain with a locket of a gold coin about the size of an 8 anna bit. The piece of jewelry weighed 1 tical and was worth Rs. 50/-. It was later sold.

SHIN-MA.T-A-TU(Diamond ear sticking false) Ear-plug:— In Pathwe Ma Aye Myaing had one pair of ear plugs set with synthetic diamonds. They were from a goldsmith in Pantanaw for Rs. 35/- . They have now disappeared. Burmese women have their ear lobes pierced when very young. "Plugs" are shafts about 1/8 inch or less in diameter. A socket on the inner side keeps the shaft from slipping out. The end showing is mounted with a decorative element, usually a precious stone.

KYAUK HPTU MA GAT (stone white earring) :— One pair of earring with white stones was bought at Mye-ni-gone for 3 annas and is now used by Ma Aye Myaing. One pair of gold earrings (SHWE MAGAT) belonged to each of the two younger daughters. They were bought for Rs. 30/- each from Pantanaw. They have been sold. The eldest daughter had a pair of synthetic diamond(SHIN MAGAT) bought at Pantanaw for Rs. 20/-, but these have disappeared. Earrings made of a mixture of

gold and copper was made from a button in Pathee and used by the youngest daughter there and at present in camp. 301 435

MYET-CHE-GYIN Silver anklet: — This item is a thin "U" shaped circle of silver worn at the ankle. The youngest daughters had one pair each. They were made by a silversmith in Pantanaw. He received from U Myaing two silver coins which he made into one pair and 3 coins into the other. For his labour he charged Rs. 5/- each. One pair was brought from Pathee and is in use in camp.

THANAKHA Face powder: — For beautifying the complexion Burmese females (all ages) use a cream made from the wood of the THANAKHA tree. The wood is rubbed on a rock slab especially made for the purpose and mixed with water. Several other varieties of wood are used including KAMANET, TAUNG THAN KADO, and MATHAPTU. All the females of the family used this preparation. In Pathee 90 or 100 pieces were received as presents from traders who came from Shwegyin. They rarely had to buy the sticks which were from 8 to 10 inches in length and 1 to 2 inches thick. In Pathee 6 sticks cost 8 annas. For one year they bought THANAKHA four times. Camp: one stick is bought at a time and lasts 3 or 4 days. It costs 3 annas a stick. Daw Aw Zar used the woods MATHAPTU, TAUNGTHAN KADO and KAMANET in Pathee. She would get one piece of each kind weighing 12½ ticals and these would last for one year. They were bought for Rs. 3/- for 20 ticals. She does not use this in camp. 302 435

The western brand "Cuticure" talcum powder MYET-HMAN-CHE (Face smoothener) was used by Ma Aye Myaing and the children in Pathee. The tins bought at Pantanaw for Rs. 3/- per tin would last two months Camp: not used.

SHIN SWE HEE (elephant tusk comb) Ivory comb and MA HEE (bamboo combs) ranging from three to six inches in length, and an inch or inch and a half in width are used by Burmese women. The combs are kept wrapped up in a bun of hair in the back when not in use. Ma Aye Myaing had one ivory comb, bought for Rs. 5/-, in Pathee, but does not have this in camp. Both adult ladies had a bamboo comb apiece in Pathee. These lasted 8 months and cost 8 annas each in Pantanaw. Camp: they have each had a bamboo comb for a year now, costing from 4 to 6 annas.

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KIN GYI THI (Jacket button) Buttons: — Buttons come in matched sets of five for use in fastening the jackets. They are detachable, and range from ½ to ¾ inch in diameter for the most part.

A set of silver buttons were received by the eldest daughter as a present from a medical student, Miss Margaret Gaudoin, 6 months ago in camp. Ma Aye Myaing, her eldest daughter and Daw Aw Zar each had a set of crystal buttons costing in Pathwe Rs. 3/- or 4/- in Japanese currency during the Japanese regime. Daw Aw Zar's set cost 12 annas The children each had a set of green stone buttons costing Rs. 1/- in Pathwe. These items are still in use in camp.

Stone Slab for making Face Powder.

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KYAUK-PYIN: (Stone Slab): — These are circular stone slabs about 1 foot in diameter and 1½ inches thick. Pathwe: three were used by the family. One was received as a present from a friend. One, with a diameter of 14 inches was "100 years old" and handed down to Daw Aw Zar by her mother. The third was bought at Pantanaw for Rs. 4/-. All three were left behind in the move. Camp: one with a diameter of 6 inches was received as a present.

OW HSI (Coconut oil): — The oil of the coconut meat, a yellow, slightly viscous fluid with a characteristic odour is highly prized by the Burmese women as a hair dressing. Pathwe: 20 ticals of oil, costing 8 annas, would be used per month. Camp: a small quantity is occasionally bought lasting 2 days at a time. It is purchased in the refugee camp for 2 annas.

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PATHEIN HYEE (Bassintown umbrella) parasol: — These are made of cloth with bamboo ribs and handle. The cloth is painted with flora and other designs in various bright colours. They are considered "elegant" and used primarily for social sauntering. The town of Bassein is famous as a place of manufacture for parasols. Pathwe: the children had two parasols, lasting 6 months. These were bought in Pantanaw for Rs. 3/- each. Camp: none.

HYEE, umbrella: — Ma Aye Myaing reports that she had an umbrella in Pathwe, the black cloth European kind, for which she paid Rs. 7/- It lasted 8 or 9 months. One was bought in camp, second hand for Rs. 3/- 5 months ago. It is good for 2 months more.

started treatment. The day I started treatment the swelling reached his thumb, and four or five days later it burst. The thumb was placed in antiseptic HPAN YE liquid and smeared with crude petroleum oil and ashes. The name of the boy was Maung Hla Tin of Pathme village. I do not know whether or not they called in practioners. No one came to call me either. I heard of his sickness and went over. He had been suffering for about twenty days before I started to treat him. Not being a practioner, I do not know how to cure other diseases. I know how to cure this disease because it happened to me once and I witnessed the treatment. 753 757

"Some practioners cure the disease in another way - through saffron and white lime. They also have a wooden DAH fashioned out of the wood from a tree which has been struck by lighting. With this DAH they strike at the swelling lightly after which they smear the mixture on. I have no knowledge of where these practioners learn their trade. Burmese cures must be cheap and efficacious. It seems to me that recitations etc. are made to enable the practioner to command a higher fee, since people can and have been cured without any recitations at all. I do not believe in their incantations." [755]

Scabies: MEH (itch). During the Japanese regime, the youngest child had scabies when she was one year old. If the right medicine is given the cure takes only two or three months, and if not, as many years. These sores are moistened itchy skin sores which spread with great rapidity. The Burmese prescription for an ointment to cure scabies includes: sulphur, KYAUK KHA, HNE DAN and copper sulphate. Also THAMAT KHA root and KYAUK KHA are mixed together on a KYAUK PYIN stone slab to make a cream for application. The person affected has to bathe often. The medicine which really effected the cure, however, was M & B 693 (Mayer and Baker sulpha pills.) These cost U Myaing 8 annas for a dozen, and only 9 were necessary to cure the child. Before she was cured, her condition was so bad, and her sores so extensive that people were reluctant to carry the baby. They had to carry it swaddled in many clothes. [435]

Ringworm: PWAY. U Myaing had ringworm once when he was eighteen years old. This happened in Pantanaw, and it took him just three days to cure it. The ringworm whorls were so extensive that U Myaing did not dare to go out and mix with other people. In treatment, U Myaing used a western lotion of which the only distinguishing mark that he remembers is that it was of a "Two snake brand". He followed the directions on the label, bathing the whorls with soap and applying the lotion with a feather. The bottle held about four ounces and cost him Rs. 1/4. [435]

PWAY KHUT MAR (Hair-coming-off-sores): U Myaing had this affliction once in Pantanaw for a period of 15 days. When a hair falls out, the skin in that place reddens and pus accumulates on the leg. The Burmese treatment consists of smearing the affected part with ashes and water mixed together.

Sore eyes: MYET SI MAR (eye sore). Sore eyes have been had by everyone in the family at one time or another. In the last four or five years, each member of the family has been afflicted about once a year. The eye becomes red and inflamed and watery. Tamarind bark is made into a cream and applied. Tamarind leaves are pounded with salt and placed and bandaged on the forehead. The cost of treatment is negligible, since the cure involves the use of about only one anna's worth of salt and the tamarind is obtained free.

Disorders of the Nose: Cough and Cold. AH NE MI (cold-catch) NAR SIN CHAUNG NAU (Mucous Plaudre-cough): All the members of the family get these disorders periodically, that is, about once or twice a year each. Treatment is by smearing balm (Tiger balm or others)

he has seen it work before his very eyes. The flow of blood lessens and stops even while the stanza is being recited. 753 757

Mastitis: _____): Ma Aye Myaing had mastitis on the right breast three months ago at the refugee camp. She felt feverish and had pain all over. On the third day, an English lady, probably a welfare worker, gave her fomentation for three days but it had no effect. On the next day, when an Indian doctor on volunteer service came to the camp, she consulted him. After careful examination he gave her a black ointment to apply to the affected area. She didnot know what ointment it was, but Ma Khin Hmway conjectures that it was Ethyl belladona. In addition to the ointment, he also gave her some white pills. These had to be taken orally twice at a time, three times a day for a period of ten days. After ten days of this combined treatment, Ma Aye Myaing's mastitis was completely cured.

Influenza: TOKE KWEI (crouched position). Ma Aye Myaing tells us that she has had two attacks of influenza in her life time. The first was two years ago, and the second occured last year during the month of TAZAUNG-MON.

_____ AMAR PA HSOT (Sore heart). U Myaing once had an attack of Amar-pa-hsot when he was 35 years of age. This happened in Pantanaw, and was of 15 days duration. In this affliction, a swelling arises, red in colour, which rapidly accumulates pus. When this pustule bursts, new pustules rise at the base of the old swelling. If no medicines are taken, then the sore begins to spread but if treated with the right medicine the sore heals after the first pustule. The Burmese treatment for this disorder is as follows: Dried Hpan-Ga fruit is ground together with the mud from the mud-wasp's burrow, and placed on the sore. This stops the progress of infection within 5 days and effects the cure within another four or five days. The Hpan-Ga fruit costs about two or three annas, and that is about the total expenditure needed. However, if one does not know the cure, and has to consult a practioner, he will charge any amount between Rs. 10/- and Rs. 15/-. [435]

_____ HNYIN. Hnyin is a skin disease which brings out unsightly white patches on the skin. If not treated properly these tend to spread rapidly all over the body. The white patches are irritable and itchy, and very contagious. U Myaing has Hnyin patches on his body at present and has had them for the last three years. No medicines have been taken, because he regards it as a minor affliction.

The data on medicine and health was collected in the company and with the assistance of a medical student Ko Mya Tu who is at present studying in the Final Year M.B.B.S. class in the Rangoon University Medical College, preparatory to taking his final examinations. Ko Mya Tu proved of great help in interrogation and interpretation of data collected, and in diagnosing the nature of the various disorders from such symptoms and treatments as were remembered by the members of U Myaing's family. This technique elicited the information that there has been no case of Venereal Disease, Mental Disorder, Elephantiasis, Night-Blindness, Goiter, Plague, Mange, Enteric, Beri-beri, Hernia, Cholera, Consumption and Disorders of the Ear in U Myaing's family. [124]

FOOD

Eating Routine

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Ma Aye Myaing does the cooking with the help of the eldest daughter. U Myaing never cooks. In our third interview U Myaing prompted his wife what to say, concerning the routine of cooking, indicating that he understood the main outlines of the art:

> "In the morning the fire has to be made so as to cook the rice. After the fire is made the rice is washed and cooked. Then it is HMUT (water drained and rice steamed.) The onions to put in the curry are then sliced, the chillies are pounded vinegar is added and then everything is placed on the fire. This is what you are required to say."

Thus prompted, Ma Aye Myaing gets off to a fast start in giving information of her province.

> "I rise early in the morning, draw water, make the fire, set the tea-pot on, wash the rice, cook it, drain the water away, steam it, pound chillies, chop fish, peel potatoes, slice onions and skin prawns. Sesamum oil is first put in and THUT (small of oil is cured) with onions and chillies in the pan. After this the potatoes are put in - potatoes and prawns. We cook once in the morning at 7 o'clock and once in the evening at 3 o'clock. In the morning there are times when we cook potatoes with prawn, and also times when we cook with vegetables. The evening meal is cooked with fish - it differs. Sometimes also we cook the fish by itself.
>
> "The meals we had to eat in Pantanaw were better of course. Only at times do we find cooking oil and onions etc. for our meals here. Rice has to bought; only at times do we have fish to eat. Sometimes we have to eat with vinegar and chillies (for curry)- sometimes vegetables and prawns."

U Myaing gives some information on the source of food in camp.

[722]

> "The government brings rice, oil and salt once every 7 days - four times a month. Sometimes they do not come four times but only about twice a month. In Pathee where food was concerned, there were fields. We could buy the paddy from the fields very cheaply. We get fish from the INS also."

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There are no great differences between cooking procedure in Pathee and in the refugee camp. The only difference is that, prices being lower in Pathee, there is some difference in the ingredients used and the dishes eaten. For example, fish oil, which can be used in cooking was obtained free of charge. It was so plentiful that the villagers even used it as a lubricant for the rice mill and also as axle grease for their bullock carts.

Cooking and Eating Utensils

Ma Aye Myaing does her work directly in front of the fireplace in a squating position, often resting on the tiny bamboo stool. A few sticks of firewood, or brush, are placed within the three sided enclosure made of three single bricks on edge. A hollow bamboo tube about 10 inches long and 1½ inches in diameter is periodically used to blow the fire to a hot flame in lieu of a draft. The identifications of the cooking and eating utensils given below were provided by Daw Aw Zar and U Myaing in an interview in which photographs of the objects were used. 415 252 [516] [352] [372]

HTA MIN O (cooking pot); This is an earthenware jar used for cooking vegetables and other foods. It is a round based globular form with outflaring rim. A wide conical shaped lid with flat disc knob for raising goes over the orifice. It is smooth, light tan in colour throughout and about ¼ inch in thickness. It is tempered with sand. A stamped design encircles the widest diameter on the body. This diameter is about 7 inches, height is 4½ inches. One or two are kept on hand (Pathwe: several. Camp: one). They cost 5 annas each. This sand tempered, stamped, earthenware appears in the early European contact period (late 1500's) at Syriam (Orr, K.G. "Stratigraphy in Lower Burma" Ms. in preparation.) It is rapidly being discarded in favour of aluminum pots which are not nearly as cheap but do not break Traditionally this pot is used to cook rice. In speaking of its use Daw Aw Zar said: "We keep one or two, to boil vegetables and do other things to eat, seeing that there are seven people we have to cook (i.e. rice) with a big aluminum pot." [172] [178]

HIN O (curry pot): This jar is generally of the same shape as the one described above but is wider at the orifice (8 inches diameter) though about the same height. It is of the same ware type; has a wavy-line stamped design just under the rim. Ordinarilly equipped with a conical lid, this vessel had a flat aluminum lid. This vessel is used to cook curry. It was brought from Pathwe, where it was bought at a cost of 6 annas. Number used in Pathwe: several, camp: 1. [435]

LAPHET YE OH (tea pot): The tea pot is also of tan earthenware and generally of the same ware as the cooking pots, with the exception that the surface was carefully scraped and slightly burnished. The body is globular, with thumb-like spout, and semi-circular clay handle. This pot was brought from Pantanaw, where it had cost 8 annas.

SIN O (food storage jar): Whereas the cooking vessels are moulded by hand with the aid of a peddle, and lack glazing, the storage jars are glazed and have been made on the wheel. These glazed jars also have flat disc bases, and pear-shaped bodies with contracted necks and short, collar-like rims. In every way they appear to be a separate tradition from the cooking ware. The glaze is dark reddish-brown over a hard-baked purple-red core. The interior is thoroughly glazed but the glaze only covers the upper half of the exterior. The reddish-brown glaze is recent, appearing in ceramic collections of the last century in Rangoon (Orr, K.G. "Stratigraphy in Lower Burma", the Monkine Street section) being preceeded by a yellow-black glaze in the early European period at Syrain. [323] [172]

Salt saffron, oils, etc are stored in these jars. The one examined was about 4 inches in height and 5 inches in diameter. It came from Pathwe and cost 3 annas. Number in Pathwe several, camp: 3. [251] [435]

NGA-YOT-SON (Mortar): The mortar resembles an inverted truncated cone with a loop handle extending from the rim. It is made of the smeared-brown glazed ware described above. A teak wood pestle (GYEBME) is a rounded club about 15 inches long and 2 inches in diameter. Some are ornate with circular bands, but U Myaing's club is plain. It took him about an hour to make. The mortar was purchased here and cost 10 annas. Number of mortars in Pathwe: 1 , Camp: 1 . 415 252 [531]

DAN O (aluminum cooking pots): The aluminum cooking pot is a wide cylindrical form with a flat lid. They are made locally. U Myaing's family had three in camp ranging in size from 10 inches in diameter and 4 inches high to 12 inches in diameter and 5 inches high. The vessels were used for cooking rice and curry. A pot holding 6 LON of rice costs Rs. 6/-. Pathwe number: several, camp: 3. [435]

DANYIN LON (aluminum pail): One aluminum pail, cylindrical in form with a height of 7 inches and diameter of 6 inches, and wire handle, was used in camp as a container in hauling foods from market and in their preparations. It cost Rs. 2/8 in Rangoon. Pathwe: [435]

Miscellaneous containers: Several beer bottles and circular cigarette tins were used in camp to contain oils and spices.

SHWEH JAIK (Tiffin Carrier): A rectangular lunch box, or tiffin carrier, of aluminum was bought in Rangoon for Rs.3/8, Pathwe: Rs. 12/-.

KYWAY PAGANEYA (China Plates): A single broken china plate was used as a cover for the water jar in camp. This was one of three brought from Pathwe, where they cost Rs. 2/-. This is a special ware which was usually reserved for guests. In Pathwe, the family had enough for family use and guests on special occasions.

THAW PAGANEYA (enamelled iron plates): Two enamelled iron plates of shallow dish and bowl form (about 12 inches in diameter) were used in camp. These cost Rs. 2/- each. Pathwe: 0.

YAMEYA (stirring spoons): Two spatulate bladed spoons with thin handles 12 inches long were used as stirring spoons in the preparation of food. The iron one was bought in Rangoon and cost 10 annas. The wooden one was made by U Myaing in Pathwe out of teakwood. It took him 2 hours to make it with a small knife.

ZOOME (eating spoons): Chinese porcelain spoons (KYWAY) and brass spoons (EYEE) were used indiscriminately to dip curry sauce over the rice. The Chinese spoons are boat shaped with high and hollow handles. The brass spoons are similar to European soup spoons The porcelain spoons were preferred aesthetically, but because the children frequently broke them, brass spoons were most commonly used. Cost and frequency: In Pathwe, 60. Camp: 8.
Food is commonly eaten with the fingers in all levels of Burmese society.

DAH (knife): The big knife used in camp for cutting fire-wood and other chopping jobs was about 1½ feet long including an 8 inch wooden handle bound in iron. The steel blade is curved slightly upward, has a square end and is used as a chopper frequently with two hands on the handle. The one in camp was bought "long ago" and cost Rs. 4/-. A small knife with a pointed steel blade was used for whittling and cutting in the preparation of food. Pathwe: 10, most for work in IN. Camp 2. [412] [435]

KAYUK (pot rest): A hollow disc woven of soft reeds with a diameter of 6 to 8 inches is used to rest pots on - so that the carbon on their bases will not blacken the surface on which they rest. These are readily made by the women of the family. [285]

PYI DAUNG (Measures): There are two of these containers, used for measuring rice in camp. The iron one had a hole in it, but was retained as a general container. It had been replaced by the wicker

basket PYIDAUNG. Both cost a rupee. One does not seem to be preferred to the other except as getting them allows a bargain to be made. The form is that of a pear shaped body with a square base, measuring about 8 by 8 inches. The basket is constructed in the wicker technique with small, whole reeds. Pathme: 2. Camp: 1. 415 252 [285]

CHIN DAUNG (storage basket): The form of this basket is a larger version of the measurers. It has, however, an open weave giving a checkered effect to the sides and bottom. It is used to store objects including food. At Pathme this basket was used in working the INS. The fish were scooped up, and later washed in them. The two used in camp were brought from Pathme where they cost Rs. 1/4- Camp: 1, Pathme: 15 for washing fish. 251 415 [435]

Winnowing trays: Shallow baskets about 2½ feet in diameter and 2 inches high were used as shifting and storage trays. The SAGAW has a rounded base; whole the SAGAR has a flat base with fiber walls. Both are made of flat, wide-meshed reeds. The trays used in camp came from Pathme where they cost Rs. 1/4 each. Pathme: 1. 243 415

YEE CHIN (Marketing basket): This basket is in the general shape of a cylinder, 1½ feet wide and 8 inches high, with open, flat reed sides and a semi-circular handle across the top. It is used to carry objects from market and to store them in the house. Pathme: 2, Camp: 1. 415

U Myaing expresses the contrast between the camp equipment and that of Pathme: "These objects in camp are barely sufficient. We have to live as we are. In our own district we had sufficient to pail in boxes. The extra ones were nailed in boxes and only enough were taken out for the seven people who eat. When visitors come, good ones are brought out. Plates for curry, plates for eating rice. There were various kinds." 415 511 178

Food Items

Ma Aye Myaing gave as complete a set of data on the food consumption of her family as she could. The following data is inclusive for the family of seven, both in Pantanaw and the refugee camp. Ma Aye Myaing decides what dishes to cook for each meal of the day, and she does this without any consultation with U Myaing. She does not ask him what he would like for each meal, although sometimes when he expresses a desire for a certain dish she sees to it that it is prepared. She has a free hand in deciding what to cook for each meal in the day. Definitions of the weights and measures used follow in a glossary. The data is organized under the headings of (1) Main dishes and raw foods, (2) supplementary dishes and TO-ZAYE (vegetables eaten with NGAPE), and (3) trifles. 262 [593] [128]

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The dishes are briefly described and their contents identified, the amount consumed per unit of time, the source and cost of the food in Pantanaw is compared with the situation in Lands Road camp. These figures are reduced to quantity and cost per month in table Page 99. for ready comparison.

NGA (Fish): In Pantanaw fish was eaten every other day. Ma Aye Myaing cooked the fish in the form of four separate dishes, alternately about once in two days for one dish. Fish was obtained free sometimes, as in THADINGYUT and TAZAUNGMON months, when U Myaing used to work in the INS. The price of fish at that time was about Re. 1/- per viss. The first dish NGA-CHIN-YE-HIN (fish-sour-liquid-curry) is prepared with tamarind or dried marian fruit, water, salt NGAPE water, chillies and onions. The second dish NGA-ACHOUK-CHET (fish-dry-cooked) is fish salted and fried with pounded chillies and onions. The third dish NGA-HSI-BYAN (fish-oily-cooked) is fish mixed with pounded chillies and onions dehydrated. The fourth dish is fish cooked with vegetables after being mixed with pounded chillies and onions and water, salt, NGAPI water and some oil are added. Fish is also sometimes used in preparing NGA-HSAN-BYOKE (fish boiled in rice) but a lesser amount (25 ticals) is needed than in the case of the other four dishes, where 50 ticals of fish are needed. Rice boiled with fish is eaten sometimes for several days in succession and sometimes about only once in two weeks in Pathme. In the refugee camp fish is eaten only about four times a month when 12½ ticals are consumed at one eating. The fish are bought in MYINIGON market at Rs. 3/-per viss.

PAZUN (prawns): Prawns are prepared in two ways. The first dish which is called PAZUN HSI HMAY or "prawns stirred in oil" dish is prepared by first skinning the prawns, mixing with salt, adding sliced onions, some oil and NGAPI water or NGAN-PYAR-YE (fish juice) and frying. In the second dish, the prawns are skinned, and peeled potatoes, water, some oil, onions, NGAPI water and some vegetable like MYIT (bamboo shoots) or CHIN BAUNG (Rosemary) are added. Thirty ticals of prawns were consumed at one meal - fifty ticals for both meals of the day. Prawns were eaten once every two or three days at Pantanaw, where they were bought at the rate of 12 annas or a rupee per viss, and sometimes obtained free from searching the INS. In camp the amount consumed is 15 ticals, and this dish is eaten almost every other day. Prawns are bought in MYINIGON market at Rs. 2/8 per viss.

KALA-BE (Indian-dhall):(Dhall: Cicer, Cicera stictinum. Linn.) KALA BE are small yellow peas. Some of them have reddish brown skins. They are prepared in two ways by Ma Aye Myaing. One method is by preparing them in water BEHIN (dhall-curry). The dhall is boiled and pounded: sliced onions, fish juice and sesamum oil are added, additional water is poured in, and the mixture is placed on the fire. The other dish KALA BE GYAW (Dhall fried) is prepared by boiling and pounding dhall and then frying it in oil which has first been placed on fire and cured with sliced onion. Twenty five ticals of dhall at a rupee per viss are consumed at one meal, and dhall was eaten once every six or seven days in Pantanaw. In the camp 25 ticals at Rs. 1/8 per viss are consumed at every meal, and dhall is eaten here sometimes daily, sometimes once in two days.

KYET (chicken): Chicken is prepared by Ma Aye Myaing in either one of THREE WAYS. In the first dish "chicken with water", the chicken is cooked with chillies, onions, oil water and fish juice. This is prepared about twice in every eight times chicken curry is cooked. In the second dish KYET-THA-HSI-BYAN (chicken-flesh-oily cooked) or chicken cooked with oil, the same ingredients are used as above with the sole difference that very little water is poured in. This is a preferred manner of cooking and is eaten about six times out of every eight times chicken curry is prepared. The third dish KYET-THA-HSAN-BYOKE (chicken-flesh-rice-boiled) or chicken boiled with rice, is very seldom eaten - only about twice a year. In Pantanaw they used to have

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a whole fowl weighing about 50 to 60 ticals for every meal with chicken. These foods were bred at home, but were sometimes bought at Rs. 1/8 per viss. They used to have chicken curry three or four times a month, two meals every day that they ate chicken back in Pantanaw, whereas they have not had this dish even once in the past two years.

BE (duck): Duck can be prepared in the same way as the three dishes for chicken i.e. with water (eaten twice in every eight times duck curry is used), with oil (eaten about six times in eight times duck curry is used), and boiled in rice (eaten only about twice a year.) Roast duck is also very seldom eaten i.e. only about twice a year. In Pantanaw duck curry was eaten during eight meals a month. Fifty ticals were consumed at each meal. The ducks were bred at home, but were sometimes purchased for Rs. 2/- per viss. They have not had a single meal with duck curry in the pastwo years

AME-THA (beef): Beef is cooked by Ma Aye Myaing only in one way - as AME-THA-HSU-SYAW or beef cooked in oil. This was eaten for about eight meals in the month. At each meal the family consumed 50 ticals at a rupee per viss. They have not had beef for the past two years.

WET-THA (pork): Pork is cooked in two ways - with water and with oil. These dishes are cooked according to the same recipe as for chicken with water and chicken with oil. Pork cooked in water is eaten four times while pork with oil is eaten six times, in every ten times that the family has pork for meals. Back in Pantanaw they ate pork during ten meals a month, consuming in one month 25 ticals at Rs. 2/8 per viss when bought in the village. In the camp pork is eaten about twice a month. 25 ticals at Rs. 4/- per viss are consumed in one meal. In addition to the other two dishes, pork can also be eaten in the form of soup made out of pig's head (pig's head weighs about 3 to 4 viss) or pig's trotter (including a lot of flesh from the shoulder, weighs 60 to 70 ticals), WET-GAUNG-HSU-SYOKE (pig-head-soup-boiled) or WET-CHE-DAUK-HSU-SYOKE (pig-trotters-soup-boiled) as a supplementary dish. This was cooked only back in Pathwe village where people used to kill pigs for sale. In the two years that U Myaing's family have been in the refugee camp they have not had a single meal of pork soup, whereas they were used to having it four or five times a month. A head cost a rupee, and each trotter cost two or three annas. One head is large enough to provide three or four families enough soup for two meals when shared. The other alternative is to have one trotter for each meal.

BE-U (duck's eggs): These were eaten three or four times a month back in Pantanaw, and is another food which the family has not had for the past two years. Eggs cost a rupee a dozen and five eggs were consumed at each meal. They were eaten in three forms BE-U-GYAW (fried) BE U SYOKE (boiled), and BE U SYOKE HIN (cooked with water). Boiled eggs are eaten very seldom, i.e. not even once a month. For ducks' eggs cooked with water, the recipe is the same as for chicken cooked in water, except that the eggs have to be boiled and peeled previous to cooking. This dish was eaten about once in every four times. BE U GYAW or fried duck eggs was liked better and eaten three times in every four.

KA YAN-THEE (Brinjal fruit: Solanum Melongena, Linn.): Brinjal fruit are purple in colour and have various sizes ranging from about an inch in the small KAYAN KYUT-THEE (brinjal-small-fruit) variety to about eight inches long in the larger ones. In the manner of preparation known as KAL-N-THEE-O-GAT(brinjal-fruit-pot-stick) they are fried with dried prawns in oil that has been cured with sliced onions. Five brinjals, costing between two and four annas were eaten at one meal in Pantanaw. This dish was eaten once every three or four days, the brinjals being purchased from Pantanaw market or from other villagers. In camp six brinjals costing four to six annas for six fruits in the KYEMYINDAW market are needed for one meal. This is eaten once in two or three days.

PE LINBAW THEE (bean-snake-fruit) Snake Gourd: Trichosanthes Anguina, Linn.) are cooked in the same way as brinjals. They were grown at home in Pantanaw and eaten about once every two or three days.

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Two of these gourds were sufficient for one meal. In the refugee camp this curry dish is prepared once in three days. Three gourds, together costing four or five annas were used for every meal. Snake gourds are long and white in colour. They are about one TAUNG or one TAUNG and one span in length and usually have a diameter between 1½" and 2½".

PE THEE (Beans: Vigna Catiang, Walp. Var sinensis.): PE THEE beans are one quarter inch to one third inch in diameter, and are about one TAUNG long. They are cooked in the same way as brinjal. 25 beans, together costing about four annas were eaten at every meal. This dish was cooked about thrice a month in Pantanaw, and between three and five times a month here in camp. PE THEE beans have to be bought in MYENIGOON market at the rate of 5 annas for 25 beans.

HSAN (Rice: Oriza Sativa, Linn.): Rice is the staple food of the Burmese. It is eaten after it has been boiled and steamed. In Pantanaw five condensed milk tins of rice were consumed in one meal, ten in two meals. At that time the two younger children were too young to eat much. There were two main meals a day. U Myaing bought paddy and had it husked at the rice mill whenever it was needed. It had to be bought at the rate of Rs. 150/- per hundred baskets. One basket is equivalent to 16 PYIS, each of which takes 8 condensed milk tins. The husking charges came to Rs. 10/- for hundred baskets. One hundred baskets of paddy yeilds fifty baskets of rice at three and one fifth rupees per basket. This comes up to three and one fifth annas per PYI or 1/16th of one basket. The market price at Pantanaw (if bought in the open market) was 5 annas per PYI of rice. In the refugee camp, 11 condensed milk tins of rice are consumed every day. The rice has to be bought in MYENIGOON market at 12 annas per PYI. Until about three months ago rice was distributed once every two or three weeks by the government. The amount allotted to U Myaing's family as a whole for one week was 8 PYI and 6 condensed milk tins. This was insufficient, and Ma Aye Myaing explained that although they had for some time previous to that been given enough to feed the whole family, by then the government had reduced the total allotted by the amount of rice one adult would consume.

NGA-YOTE-THEE-ACHAUK (chilly-fruit-dry Chillies: Capsicum Frutescens, Linn.) Pounded chillies which have previously been dried constitute an ingredient in almost every dish that the Burmese people prepare for food. The same may be said of onions. Ma Aye Myaing informs us that back in Pantanaw the chillies consumption for one month was one viss at eight annas for ten ticals, or five rupees per viss. In the camp two one anna packets of dried chillies are used each day. One packet of chillies in Camp contains only 4 or 5, each 1½" long by 1" diameter. Ma Aye Myaing could not estimate the number of ticals in the packet, but a visitor who lives in the camp says that the packets contain only four or five chillies each. These packets have to be purchased at the MYENIGOON market.

KYET THUN onions:(Allium cepa, Linn.) One viss of onions lasted ten days back in Pantanaw market at Rs. 1/- per viss. In the camp the figures for consumption are the same, but the price in MYENIGOON market is eight annas per viss.

AR LU Potatoes:(Solanum tuberosum, Linn) One viss of onions laste ten days back in Pantanaw and fifty ticals lasted only for one dish, which they gave away as HSOON four or five times a month, having one third of a viss for each meal. The price of potatoes in Myenigon market is 10 or 12 annas per viss.

NGA salt:(Sodium chloride:) There was no need to buy any salt for cooking purposes back in Pantanaw. The family used to work a great deal with salt in making NGAPI for the market, and as the cooking need of salt were taken from this supply the daily consumption was not note In camp, however, they have to buy salt at the rate of one anna per ten ticals, which amount will last them for four days. In camp salt is used at every meal, but at Pathaw fish juice was used to fulfil most of the functions of salt. Salt was used there by the family only in preparing fish to be fried.

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PAZUN-CHAUK (prawns-dried): Both in Pantanaw and in camp ten ticals of dried prawns lasts about five or six days. The price per viss, however, was Rs. 1/- in Pantanaw, while it is Rs. 1/4 in Myenigon market.

NGAN PYAR YE (fish juice): Fish juice , a viscous liquid, red in colour and salt to the taste is another of the cooking ingredients very widely used in Burmese homes and kitchens. Three large kerosene tins each with a capacity of thirteen viss hold the yearly consumption of NGAN PYAR YE of U Myaing's family in Pantanaw. This item does not involve any special cost since it is nothing but juice which drips from the fish which has been fermenting in the process of NGAPI making. Ma Aye Myaing's family made NGAPI every year. Here in camp, however, the fish juice has to be bought at Rs. 2/8 per viss, and is bought either from Myenigon market or from intinerant sellers. Back in Pathwe it took 5 ticals of NGANPYAR YE to cook a meal while in the camp two ticals are made to suffice. NGAPI YE is light in colour and salt in taste. It is more viscous than NGANPYAR YE and contains some small pieces of fish as well.

NWAN-HSI (Sessamum oil: sessamum indicum, D.E.): Sessamum oil is used every day. In Pantanaw ten ticals of sessamum oil lasts three meals while in camp one tical of oil is used to cook one meal. The price of ten ticals in Pantanaw was 12 annas and in the refugee camp is 8 annas.

KYAN TAGAR (Cane jaggery: sacchhrum officinarum, L.): Two and a half ticals of cane jaggery at each eating were consumed twice a month in Pantanaw. In camp 2½ ticals last one eating and cane sugar jaggery costs two annas for five ticals here as against four annas in Pantanaw.

Supplementary Dishes and TOZAYA

Following are the dishes and ingredients that are usually served as a supplementary dish or as "TOZAYA", leaves of vegetables that are eaten with NGAPI water or fish juice.

BU-THEE (Bottle gourd: Lagenaria vulgaris, ser.): Gourd fruit was eaten three or four times month in Pantanaw. One gourd fruit varies in size from about 1½ feet by 1 foot to 1 foot by 8 inches. For each meal one slice measuring ½ feet by two inches was cooked, one such slice of gourd fruit costing an anna. In the camp half of this amount is prepared for a meal once or twice a month. A slice of gourd fruit measuring half of the Pantanaw amount costs 2 annas in the Myenigon market. The method of preparation for gourd fruit is as follows: Peel, wash and slice the fruit into small pieces. Cook with skinned prawns, NGAN-YAR YE, onions, sessamum oil and water. This is known as BU-THEE-KYAW-CHET and is eaten with rice.

DAN DA LUN-THEE (Drumstick fruit: moringa pterygosperma, Gaertn): One DAN DA LUN fruit measures about 3/4 " in diameter and about 1' long This fruit is prepared by cutting open the stalk, scraping out the inside with a spoon, and then cooking in CHIN YE fashion (as a sour dish) either with prawns or with fish, with tamarind as the sour ingredient, fish juice chillies, and sessamum oil. It is eaten with rice. This fruit was not eaten in Pathwe. In camp it is eaten during two meals in the month. Each meal requires 25 fruit costing 12 annas for 10.

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YONPADE-THEE (Lady's finger, Hibiscus esculentus, Linn.): One fruit is about 3/4 " in diameter and 4" long. In Pantanaw 10 lady's fingers costing one anna for ten were eaten at every meal. There were about four meals in the month where YONPADE THEE was cooked for curry. It is made into a soup, to be consumed with the main meals of the day. Fish have to be boiled and the bones removed from them. Then they have to be mixed with fish juice and water and place on the fire until it starts to boil, when the fruit has to be put in. The children pour this soup straight onto their bowls, whereas the adults drink this soup from the spoon in the soup bowl. The price of this fruit in camp is 10 for two annas. 10 fruit are consumed here at every meal, but they have cooked this dish only three times in the past year.

KAZUN THET (Rabbit green: Ipomaea aquatica, Forsk.): KAZUN THET leaf was eaten during five meals a month back in Pantanaw. One bundle would suffice for a meal and was obtained free from the fields One bundle holds about 25 leaves in one bundle here. It may be prepared as a CHIN YE (sour liquid dish) with fish and NGANPYAR YE and tamarind, onions and water. The leaves have to be cut up and washed, mixed thoroughly with the ingredients mentioned above and placed on the fire. This dish can be poured onto the rice or it can be taken in the same way as soup. The leaves and the fish are eaten together with handfuls of rice. The inclusion of the tamarind makes the dish a CHINYE-HIN. In the refugee camp three bundles of these leaves, costing altogether two annas, are made to last three meals. This dish is eaten during ten meals in the month.

KYAUNG-SHAR-THEE (cat-tongue-fruit) Oroxylum indicum, vent): One KYAUNG SHAR THEE is about 1½' long by 3" wide by 3/4" thick. One fruit was eaten for one meal both in Pantanaw and in camp. This dish was prepared in Pantanaw once in every two or three days while here it was eaten only once last year. This fruit sells in Pantanaw at two for three annas as against two annas each in Rangoon. KYAUNG SHAR THEE is prepared in the following way: First the fruit has to be sliced and washed and then cooked with dried fish, oil onions and NGANYAR YE. No water or chin is put in. This is KYAUNG-SHAR THEE-KYAW-CHET (cat-tongue-fruit-sweet-cooked) and is eaten after burying in handfulls of rice.

DA NYIN-THEE (Pithecolobium Labatum, Benth.): One DA NYIN-THEE is about 1" to 1½" in diameter and ½" to 1" thick. This small fruit eaten with NGAPI appeared ten for one meal, and almost every day when in season. The ten cost four annas. In Rangoon they are used less frequently - for 5 meals per month and ten fruit per meal. The price here is three or four annas for ten. This cheap food was "eaten whenever desired." This fruit is used as TOZAYA after it is either boiled or baked.

THAYET-THET (Mango leaf: Mangifera indica, Linn.): The mango leaf is eaten as TOZAYA. The leaf, about 2" to 5" long, 3/4" to one and three quarters inch wide, and 1/8th inch thick, is washed. A piece is then broken off, placed on a rice mound, ngapi oil is poured over, more rice is added, and the concoction is ready to go. The leaf does not need to be boiled. In Pathee the leaf is used for three meals per month and consisted of 5 leaves for each meal. It was free, and gathered from the tree. The leaf has not been eaten once in camp.

MAYAW-THEE (Marian fruit: Bouea Burmanica, Griff): One marian fruit is about ½ to one and three quarter inch long and 1" in diameter. Marian fruit, eaten raw or salted was gathered free in Pathee and eaten six meals per month, six fruit per meal. In camp it was eaten two meals per month, six fruit per meal. In camp it was eaten two meals per month six per meal at the cost of one anna for six. It is eaten after being pounded with burnt chilli, dried prawns and mixed with NGAPI water.

NU-BOKE-THET (thorn-smelling-leaf: Acacia pennata.): These leaves were eaten five sprigs a meal three meals a month in Pathee.

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They are not eaten at all in the camp. One bundle of these leaves cost an anna in Pantanaw. They are eaten as TOZAYA with NGAPI water. They do not need to be boiled but can be eaten as they are after being washed. For one eating about 45 leaves are needed.

SHWE-PAYON-THEE, (Golden pumpkin: Cucurbita pepo, R.C.): In Pathwe this fruit was eaten about three or four times a month. One fruit lasted for three meals and costs four annas. It has not been eaten in camp and is not greatly desired. SHWE-PAYON-THEE is cooked with dried fish. The fruit is very large and has to be chopped into pieces and added. Sessamum oil has to be cured with onions, and then the mixture is added to it. NGAN PYAR YE is an ingredient, but not chillies. This dish is eaten after mixing thoroughly with rice or after burying small pieces in small mounds of rice.

THANGA-THEE (Cucumber: Cucumis sativus, Linn.): Eaten two or three times a month in Pathwe, one fruit measuring about one foot by two inches cost two annas and lasted a meal. It is eaten four or five times a month in camp, but the fruit here measures two inches by eight inches and cost two annas. One fruit is used for one meal. Cucumber can be eaten in two ways - either as a pickle or as a dish. To make pickle dried prawns have to be pounded, cucumber scraped into small slivers, sessamum oil has to be cured with onions and poured onto the cucumber and prawns. Some fish juice and pounded dried chillies are added. This preparation is eaten buried in handfuls of rice. To make the dish, the prawns are skinned and the cucumber peeled. The cucumber is then sliced and mixed with the prawns. Then sessamum oil is cured with the sliced onions, and the mixture of prawns and cucumber is placed in the oil. Some fish juice and little water are also added. This is known as cooking in the KYAW-CHET manner. Food cooked in this way can be either poured onto the rice, or the liquid may be taken as soup and the pieces buried in rice and eaten.

HMO MA DO (Water fern leaves, Marsilea Minuta):
These were obtained free from the fields. One small bundle consisting of about eight were eaten about four times a year in Pathwe. This has been e ten only once since the family's arrival in camp. One bundle costs one anna. It is eaten as TOZAYA with NGAPI. It cannot be made into a dish. It does not need to be prepared in any way, except for washing with water and removing the roots.

HMO (Mushrooms of many varieties): Mushrooms were eaten three times a month in Pathwe using 50 ticals for one meal. They cost two rupees a viss. Not eaten in camp. Mushrooms are cooked with prawns. The prawns are skinned and mixed with cured sessamum oil, onions and fish juice, and a little water is added. This is a KYAW CHET (fried-cooked). Mushrooms cooked in this way are eaten with handfuls of rice.

KAW BI DOKE (Cabbage: Brassica oleracea, Linn., sub-species capitata): One cabbage about seven inches in diameter was eaten at two meals per month costing six annas in Pathwe. In camp the vegetable is eaten two or three times a month, 25 ticals at a cost of three annas per meal. This is eaten with prawns. The cabbage is sliced, sessamum oil cured with onions, fish juice added, and the cabbage fried. This is also eaten either mixed with rice or buried in rice.

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KA BAW (crab: Crustacean, Potamon sayanum): Crab has not been eaten by the family at all. It was not eaten because in Pantanaw the crabs were very small and quite unlike the big ones that can be obtained in Rangoon. Owing to this factor they do not know how to cook or to otherwise prepare crabs for food, and ow in the camp, even though crabs are available, they do not inquire into the price of crabs. Ma Aye Myaing still does not know how to cook crabs for a meal.

BUNYUNT (tender sprouts of bottle gourd: Lagenaria vulgaris Ser): BU NYUNT soup, consisting of five sprouts costing one anna boiled in water was made four to six times a month in Pathwe. In Rangoon one bundle consisting of two sprouts cost one anna. Two bundles were used for one meal, but eaten only three times during the last year.

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DANDALUN-YWET (leaves of drumstick tree: Moringa pterygosperma, Gtn): A soup is made of this leaf. Fish is boiled and its bones removed; the small leaves are taken from the branch and washed. The prepared fish and NGAN PYAR YE are boiled, and when the water boils over the DANDALUN leaf is added. The adults drink this soup from the spoon in the saucer, while the children pour it onto their plates.

MAGYIK YWET (Tamarind leaves: tamarindus indicus, Linn): These small leaves were eaten five times a month, five ticals at a meal. They were gathered free from trees around the village. They have not been eaten once in Rangoon because they have not seen the tamarind on sale anywhere. Tamarind leaves can be prepared in two ways: either as a pickle or as a soup. To prepare the soup boil some fish and add NGAN PYAR YE. When the fish boils over wash some tamarind and add to the mixture. This gives a tamarind soup. For a pickle take either dried prawns or dried fish and pound in the pestle; take some tamarind leaves and mix with salt; put in the dried prawns (or dried fish), sliced onions, and also some sesamum oil, and mix thoroughly. It is eaten buried in handfuls of rice.

KYAR-YO (lotus stalk: Nymphea lotus, Linn): The lotus stalk boiled or fried, was eaten three times a month, five for one meal. It was gathered free in Pathwe. One lotus bundle holds two straws. It is not eaten in camp. NGAN PYAR YE is added, the lotus stalk is peeled, and added to the water when it boils over. Adults drink this soup straight from the spoon in the soup saucer.

SAR LAY CHI DAUK (
One Sar-lay-chi-douk bundle measures 1½" in diameter. It has not been eaten in camp but was used for two meals a month in Pathwe. The market price was one anna for one bundle an inch and a half in diameter, but the family usually secured it free. SANLAY-CHI DAUK are small sprouts. Then they are ready for TOZAYA to be eaten with NGAPI water. There is no need to boil them before using them as TOZAYA.

ON SHI YWET (leaves of Beel fruit: Aegle marmelos, Corr): This leaf, eaten raw, was used in three meals a month. One bundle of four to eight leaves was used for each meal, and cost one anna. At camp it was not eaten once. ON SHI YWET are small leaves which are either circular or slightly elongated in shape. One bundle contains 4 to 8 leaves. They are eaten as TOZAYA with NGAPI. Two and a half ticals of this leaf are bought for each meal although they may or may not eat that amount.

SHAUK-THEE-LET-THOKE (citrus fruit-hand-prepared) (preparation of lemon: Citrus medica Linn. var.-acida): This citric fruit is eaten raw - either alone or intermixed with NGAPI and other ingredients. To prepare the lemon as LET THOKE take one lemon, peel it and add pounded green chillies and sliced onions. Then mix the whole thoroughly with powder of dried prawns, fish juice and salt. Eat with handfuls of rice.

HSALUT-YWET (salad leaves: leaves of lettuce: Lactuca sativa, Linn.): Lettuce leaves are fried and eaten. They are sliced in sesamum oil cured with onions and eaten with rice. The family did not eat this at all in Pantanaw, while in the camp it is eaten for three meals in the month. Two sprouts at one anna apiece are used for each meal.

MON LAR-YWET (leaves of carrot: daucus carota, Linn.): One MON LAR leaf bundle holds four or five leaves. These leaves are prepared as a CHIN YE with fish, chillies, onions, sesamum and tamarind fruit, dilute in water. The liquid curry is poured onto the rice while the leaves are buried in rice and eaten. This was eaten three meals a month back in Pathwe. One bundle costing one anna and holding six sprouts lasted for one meal. It has not been eaten once here.

TAMAR YWET (Neem leaves: Azadichata indica.A.Juss): One TAMAR leaf bundle holds four or five leaves. These leaves are eaten with NGAPI water as a TOZAYA. They are prepared by singeing in the fire. These leaves were not eaten in Pathwe. In camp they are eaten during two meals a month, one bundle costing an anna being consumed at each

meal.

TAMAR-CHIN (pickled leaves of neem: azadirachta indica, A. Juss): These are specially prepared neem leaves that have been made sour. They are bought from sellers and need no further preparation for eating. For one anna, four to six small stems may be obtained. They were eaten as TOZAYA with NGAPI and rice. They are not eaten here at all, but in Pantanaw the family used to eat it once a month, buying the pickle from boots that come from Upper Burma.

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HPAN-GA-THEE (Fruit of Terminalia chebula, Linn.): One HPAN GA fruit measures about 1½" by 1" in diameter. This fruit is eaten with NGAPI as TOZAYA. It is eaten raw. A piece of the small fruit (which is about one to one and a half inches long) is bitten off, and placed on a handful or rice. A spoonful of rice is then poured on it, and some more rice is used to cover it, after which the whole handful is conveyed to the mouth. This fruit was not eaten in Pathwe. Here it is eaten during four meals in the month. One anna buys ten and ten fruits last one meal.

PEIN NE-THEE (Jack fruit: Artocarpus integrifolia, L): One Jack fruit is one foot to one and three quarters feet in length and six inches to 1 foot in thickness. This big fruit contains between 25 and 40 small fruit inside, and it is these small fruit that have to be eaten. It is eaten as a TOZAYA in its raw and tender stage. While the fruit is still small it is taken from the tree and boiled. Then it is cut up into slices and eaten with NGAPI YE. It was eaten about four times a year in Pathwe where one fruit lasted three eatings and cost twelve annas. In camp one fruit lasts two eatings. None were eaten last year; three this year. The seed of the Jack fruit is occasionally boiled and eaten with salt and sesamum oil during the daytime. Even when seeds themselves are purchased they are quite cheap, the cost being only an anna for one condensed milk tin of Jack fruit seeds. Boiled Jack fruit seeds were eaten three times a month in Pathwe, where one condensed milk tin full was prepared for each eating. In camp, six seeds costing one anna for the six are eaten at a time, for three times a month when in season.

PAZUN-NGABAUNG-GYAW (prawn-fish mixed-fried. Prawns fried in meal): To make PAZUN-NGABAUNG-GYAW, pound some rice into a flour, remove the heads from some prawns and mix both with salt and water. Place some oil on the fire until it is ready, and then make small flat pieces of the prepared meal and slide into the oil. In a short time the pieces are ready for consumption. The PAZUN NGABAUNG GYAW sold in the streets are about 2½ inches in diameter and contain about 10 small prawns, but those made at home are usually much larger. They are eaten with rice by this family, although this is not absolutely necessary. In Pathwe, the prawns and fish oil were obtained free from the INS. This was eaten during six meals a month. At one eating four or five pieces, each containing about ten prawns, were consumed. It has been eaten only once in the camp. Four pieces, costing an anna each were eaten then.

NGA NGABAUNG GYAW (fish-mix-fried. Fish fried in meal) is prepared in the same way as PAZUN-NGABAUNG GYAW (prawns fried in meal). Rice is pounded into a flour and mixed with the fish and a small amount of water. Oil is placed on the fire and when ready, the prepared meal and fish are shaped into small flat pieces and placed in the oil. The fried product is then eaten with rice. It may also be eaten by itself as a trifle. NGA NGABAUNG GYAW was not eaten at all in Pathwe. In camp it is eaten four or five times a month. One piece costs one anna and three pieces are consumed every time it is eaten.

THAYEE-THEE-THANAT (Mango-fruit-pickle: mangifera indica, Linn.): Mango pickle is made in the following manner:- The mango fruit are cut in halves and kept overnight in salt water. In the morning they are laid out in the sun to dry. This drying goes on for three or four days and then they are again mixed with salt water and after that steamed in a steam cooker (PAUNG GYAUNG). After this the mangoes are pressed and stored in a small SIN O or earthenware jar. When it is required for eating, large red onions and garlic, sesamum oil, NGAN PYAR YE

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and saffron are mixed with the dried and salted mangoes to make mango pickle. This pickle is eaten with rice. The mango is steamed to make it softer and easier to tear apart. THAYET-THEE-THANAT was eaten during three meals a month in Pathwe, where three or four pieces were consumed at each meal. One piece of mango pickle is about 1/6th of one mango. The pickle was made at home from mangoes that were obtained free of charge. The figures for consumption per meal in camp are the same, but here it is eaten more often - once in every two or three days. One anna's worth of mango pickle lasts two meals here.

MAYAN-THEE-THANAT (Marian-fruit-pickle: Bouea burmanica, Griff.): MAYAN THEE-THANAT has not been made once by Ma Aye Myaing. In Pantanaw no one made this, but in camp they have eaten some which they purchase from Indian women who came around selling it. Ma Aye Myaing does not know how Marian pickle can be made. Marian fruit is also eaten as a flavouring ingredient in dishes, after being sliced into halves and dried in the sun. Fish is chopped and washed, mixed with NGAN PYAR YE, pounded chillies, pounded onions, sessamum oil, water and dried marian. The main ingredient i this dish is fish, and the dried marian is just a flavouring agent. It serves as a flavouring in the NGA-CHIN-YE-HIN dish. Marian pickle is not desired by the family.

ZEE-YO (Plum jam: zizyphus jujuba, Lam.): Plum jam is bought from the sellers. It is eaten as a trifle in the daytime. One annas worth of plum jam weighs about 2½ ticals. In Pantanaw also ZEE YO sellers used to come around to the house; it was much cheaper there than Rangoon since one anna would buy 7½ ticals of plum jam. In Pathwe one tea-cup full weighing about 2½ ticals cost an anna and lasted one meal. ZEE-YO was eaten there only once a month. In camp it is eaten four or five times a month but the consumption per eating has dropped to ½ of one teacup, which costs one anna. One Burmese tea-cup is equivalent to about ½ the standard western teacup.

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THAYET-THEE-HSA-SEIN (mango-fruit-salt-soaked: mangifera indica, Linn): Salted mangoes are eaten with rice as TOZAIA. It is buried in rice and eaten with NGAPI water. To make salted mangoes, wash the required amount of mangoes, mix with salt and place in large earthen-ware jars. After three days mix salt with water and place on the fire, and then pour the salted water into the jar so that the mangoes inside will be completely submerged. In Pantanaw one salted mango sufficed for one meal, and salted mangoes were eaten once every two or three days. They were salted at home, the cost of making 120 salted mangoes amounting to Rs. 10/- in all. The family has not eaten salted mangoes in camp "even once".

MAYAN-THEE-HSA-SEIN (Marian-fruit-salt-soaked: Bouea burmanica, Griff.): Salted marian is prepared in the same manner as bove. In Pathwe marians were obtained free and salted at home. 1000 marians could be salted for one rupee. Six marians were eaten at each meal, and they were eaten almost every day. Salted marians have not been eaten in camp at all by the family.

NAN-MAT-YO (pineapple jam: ananas sativa, Linn.) has never been made by Ma Aye Myaing. She buys the jam from sellers who come round It can be eaten either by itself or with plain tea in the afternoons. In Pathwe village it was not eaten at all, and in camp they have had it only once, when they ate 5 ticals of jam worth four annas.

THAYET-YO (Mango-jam: mangifera indica, Linn.): It is bought from sellers and usually eaten in the afternoons as a trifle. It has not been eaten at all in camp. In Pantanaw mango jam was made once every year. Mangoes were obtained free and four annas worth of sugar gave ten or fifteen ticals of jam. One teacup was consumed at every eating.

OH-YO (coconut-jam: cocos nucifera, Linn.): Coconut jam has to be bought by pieces. They are usually of hite colour and square in shape. One stick measures 2" by 1½" by ½". They are made by mixing sugar with water and placing on the fire. Coconut scrapings are added, and when the liquid solidifies the hard coconut jam surface is cut up into separate pieces. OHYO was not eaten in Pathwe. In camp it is

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eaten once a month. Three or four sticks, each costing one anna, are consumed at each eating.

BAMBRIL PHET CHAUK (Burmese-tea-dry: Camellia theifera, Griff.): Burmese tea leaves are made into a beverage by simply sprinkling a few leaves in a pot of boiling water. The same leaves can be used to brew two or three pots of plain tea at each occasion of drinking. Burmese plain tea is taken either by itself or together with cane jaggery. Two or three pinches of tea-leaves, each pinch about the size of a betel nut, are necessary for one pot of plain tea both in Pantanaw and in camp. In both places the family drinks two pots a day, but a rupee buys 12½ ticals of tea here as against only 10 ticals in Pathwe.

PEIN U (Yara tuber: colocasia antiquorum, Schott): This fruit is cooked as a dish. It is peeled, prawns are skinned and mixed with NGANPYAR YE; sessamum oil is cured with onions, water is added, and the whole thing is then cooked. This is a KYAW-CHET dish and has to be eaten with rice. PEIN U has not been eaten once in camp but in Pathwe was eaten during four meals a month. Thirty ticals, costing three annas, were used at each meal.

KAZUN U (Sweet potato: Ipomea Batatas, Poir) is boiled and eaten with salt and sessamum oil. In Pathwe fifty ticals were eaten at one meal. One meal was eaten with KAZUN U every three days. One viss cost six annas in their village. In camp fifty ticals are consumed at each meal, but the price is ten annas for a viss. They have had this dish only once since their arrival at camp.

TRIFLES

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"Trifles" are tid-bits eaten at the end of the meal or between meals. They are usually sweet foods as cakes and candy. The distinction between trifles and some supplementary dishes is not clear and they fall into either catagory depending on the use of the occasion.

MON YAR-YOE (cake-lotus stalk) is a small elongated trifle, measuring 4½" in diameter, ½ inch in thickness and 5 ticals in weight. One condensed milk tin of treacle rice (KAUK HNYIN) and one condensed milk tin of ordinary white rice are ground together and then mixed with water and made into eliptical balls. These balls are then boiled and eaten with jaggery water and scraped coconuts. They are sold @ one anna each. This trifle was not sold in Pathwe. It is eaten three times a month in camp by the four children who have one each. One MON-KYAR-YOE costs one anna here.

MON-LETKAUK (cake-bangle) is made by grinding together some KAUK-HNYIN and some rice and then frying. In shape the trifle is sometimes long and sometimes is made in the form of whorls. It has to be fried in oil and eaten with jaggery liquid. It was eaten once a month in Pathwe but has not been eaten once in camp. This is in part due to the absence of sellers.

MON-OT-KALAY (cake-cover-small) are small circular trifles with a diameter of about two inches and measuring one inch in the thickest part of the trifle. These trifles are all of one size and are made by first grinding ordinary white rice, then adding some sugar and some coconut scrapeings and then being placed in the special oven for MON-OT-KALAY. This special oven is made of clay and contains several small declivities which give the shape of MON OT KALAY trifles to the prepared meal that is poured in after these moulds have been wiped with oil to prevent the meal from sticking to them. This trifle had

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never been seen by the family in Pathwe. In Rangoon, eight of these are sufficient for one eating. U Myaing's family ate MON OT KALAY five times in two months during their stay at the A.F.F.F.L. area. Eight trifles cost two annas.

MON-SALIN DAUNG is made by grinding flour from poor quality rice, mixing with jaggery, and frying in oil. In shape it is circular, with its thickness varying from about ½ inch at the circumference to about one inch and slightly over in the centre. The trifle is about three and one half inches in diameter. It is eaten as it is. MON SALIN DAUNG was not eaten at all in Pathwe. In camp the four children eat it four times a month at one anna each.

GYIN-THOKE. Preparation of ginger with sessamum oil, common salt: onion, garlic and sessamum seeds etc. (Ginger: gingiber officinale; Rose: Sessamum oil sessamum indicum, D.C.; common salt: sodium chloride onion: allium cepa Linn; garlic: allivium sativum, Linn; sessamum seed: sessamum indicum. D.C.) GYIN-THOKE is a trifle and is consumed between meals. One packet weighs 2½ ticals. In U Myaing's family it is eaten only by the three adults. In Pathwe they ate it only at festivals, which gave them four or five eatings in the year. In the refugee camp, it is eaten five times a month, and two packets, each costing two annas are eaten at a time.

AR PON (open-mounting) is a trifle which has to be bought by Ma Aye Myaing when they wish to eat it. It is usually eaten in the mornings and in between meals. It is made in the following manner: first, rice flour is mixed with water and liquid jaggery, then several deep pans are placed on the fire and hot coals placed on their improvised lids; when the pans are hot enugh they are wiped with a rag soaked in sessamum oil in readiness for the prepared mixture. The meal is then taken up in small cups and poured into each pan, after which the pan is taken up andwith one deft circular movement the meal is spread out over the walls of the pan. Then the lids are replaced and between the two fires the trifle is ready within two or three minutes. The AR PON has to be scooped out of the pan with a flat iron ladle. In appearance it is a concave trifle, very thin and slightly brown at the sides, and thick and white at the centre of the declivity. It measures 6½ inches in diameter. It has to be eaten either with sugar or with a solution of sugar and coconut milk. Only the four children eat AR PON. In Pathwe they used to eat it every day. They ate one each, and it cost U Myaing four annas for the four of them. Here in the camp, the family has not had this trifle once yet.

MON-LAR-U-GYAW (Carrot root fried: daucus carota. Linn.): It is prepared with prawns in sessamum oil that has been cured with onions. MON LAR fruit can also be eaten as a TOZAYA with NGAPI after being boiled. It is generally an oblong shaped bulb about 4½ inches long and 2" to 2½" diameter in the thickest part. It can be cooked alternatively as a CHIN YE dish with fish, tamarind, chillies, onions, sessamum, and NGANYAR YE. This fruit has not been eaten here at all, but in Pathwe willage was eaten three times a month. Five fruits weighing about thirty ticals and costing two annas for the five, were needed for one meal.

THIN BAW THEE (ship-fruit. Papaiya fruit: carica papaya. Linn.): Papaiya fruit is cooked as a CHIN YE with the same ingredients as above. It has not been eaten once here. In Pathwe it was eaten four times a month. Each eating required one fruit weighing thirty ticals and costing 2 annas.

SAR LAY-CHI-GYAW (sparrow-feces-fried). These vermicelli circular plates made from gram flour and fried in oil were unknown to U Myaing's family back in Pathwe. They have eaten it in camp, but only after buying from sellers. They have never seen it being made. This is a trifle which consists of long thin strands of meal fried to a yellow crispness. It is eaten here almost every day, costs an anna apiece and five are eaten at a time.

KYAI (sugar cane: saccharum officinarium, Linn.) is eaten as it is.

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In Rangoon one small piece slightly over a span long costs an anna, whereas a stalk four TAUNGS long cost only three annas. It is eaten in the afternoons. In Pathwe sugar cane was bought in sufficient quantity for all members of the family, (a whole stalk for one eating, and eaten about six times in the month) but here only the children eat sugar cane and then only occasionally.

KYET THUN-GYAW (onion-fried; Allium cepa, Linn): Fried onions are eaten either alone or with rice. The onion strips are bought at one anna apiece in Rangoon. They measure between 2" and 3" in diameter. In Pathwe it was never prepared, and they had never eaten it before their arrival in Rangoon. They knew that onions could be prepared in this way to be eaten as a trifle but they had never tried it themselves. One of the main reasons being the relatively high price of onions back in Pathwe. When it is eaten with the main meals, small pieces are torn off and buried in handfuls of rice then eaten. This trifle ordinarily measures about 4" in diameter and costs an anna each. It is prepared by frying flat pieces of a mixture prepared of rice flour and sliced onions. The trifles are eaten thrice a month in here by the family. They do not eat till satisfied, three or four pieces being made to suffice for one eating. These are shared giving each member less than one each.

MALAKAR-THEE (Guava fruit: Psidum Guyava, Linn) is eaten as it is. It has to be bought in camp at the rate of one anna each if the fruit is big and two for an anna if they are small. In Pathwe guava fruit cost an anna for one small fruit. There were some guava trees in the village, but the fruit was meant for home consumption and not for sale, and consequently Ma Aye Myaing and family get guava fruit only when sellers from other villages came over. In Pathwe it was eaten six times a month, while in camp it is eaten almost every day when in season. Five fruits were taken at one meal in Pathwe while in camp the figure has risen to 12 per meal.

PAUK PAUK HSOTE (puffed grains with jaggery of Lower Burma) is prepared in the following way: a pan full of fine sand is placed on the fire and kept there till the sand grows burning hot. Grains of KAUK HNYIN paddy are taken and mixed and stirred in the sand until the the heat bursts the grains open. Then the sand is sifted out, and the burst grains are mixed with jaggery and rolled into balls about 3½" in diameter. These round balls are eaten in the afternoons. PAUK PAUK HSOTE was eaten three times a month in Pathwe. Three Burmese teacups full at one anna a teacup, were needed for each eating. This trifle is not eaten at all in camp.

KAYE KAYA (puffed grains with jaggery of Upper Burma: Oriza sativa, Linn) has not been eaten by U Myaing's family. In camp it is too expensive and back in Pathwe there was no one who made KAYE KAYA. However, Ma Aye Myaing knows the procedure for making it. According to her, this trifle is made by bursting fine powder, and mixing thoroughly with jaggery, Lukutate jam, (DAWIN YO) dorian-jam, and coconut scrapings. The finished product is not sliced up into ready made pieces, but instead is sold according to weight. In Pathwe village there was no KAYE KAYA, but another trifle, very similar to it, known as PAUK PAUK PYIN was widely consumed. To make this trifle, KAUK HNYIN paddy has to be burst, pounded into a powder, mixed with lukutate jam, coconut scrapings water, grape jam (THABYET YO) grape jam, and sesamum. The whole mixture is then placed on the fire and stirred. About half an hour after stirring, it is placed in a shallow receptacle, and when it cools, it is cut up into pieces to give to the phongyis as HSOON or to feed visitors.

WAR MAT-THEE (pineapple fruit, Ananas sativa, Linn) is bought by the whole fruit, skinned, washed, and eaten with salt, or with NGAPI water. However, it is more often eaten by itself as a trifle. Pineapple was not eaten back in Pathwe. In camp it is eaten about four times a month when in season. One fruit, costing 2 annas, is consumed at one eating.

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PE MYINT (bean-root, tuberous roots of Goa-bean: Pachyrhizus angulatus, Rich) has not been eaten once since arriving at camp. This is because they do not want it. In Pathwe they used to buy these beans, boil and skin them and eat with salt and sessamum oil. PE MYINT was obtained free because Ma Aye Myaing's mother worked at gardening back in Pathwe.

PALAW PIN-N (Palaw-Penang Tapioca tuberous roots, Manihot utilissima, Pohl) had to be bought if desired, both in Pantanaw and in camp. In appearance they are long thick tubers which are white in colour and measure 12 to 14 inches long, with a diameter of about 2 inches. After it has been boiled it is eaten as a trifle with salt and sessamum oil. In Pathwe 50 ticals were consumed at one eating, at six annas a viss. It was eaten seven times a month. In the refugee camp it is eaten twice a month and then only by Ma Aye Myaing. She buys ten ticals for two annas from sellers who come to the camp.

MON-HIN-GA (cake-curry-bitter. vermicelli made from rice flour and eaten with curry) is another food which has to be bought for consumption both in Pantanaw and in the camp. It is eaten both in the early morning and in the daytime. In Pantanaw it was sold at the rate of 4 annas per 12 ticals - which was sufficient for one person. In camp it is eaten only individually, mainly by U Myaing. In Pantanaw it was usually prepared at home for all the family, and that required 50 ticals for each eating. It was eaten four times a month in Pantanaw and is eaten 5 times a month here. MON HIN GA sellers come to the camp.

KUK HYIN-BUNG (steamed treacle rice: Oriza sativa, Linn) has to be bought and is usually eaten in this family in the early morning. The rice is soaked in water and steamed on the fire for about one hour. Should it become too hard, water is poured in, and the KUKHYIN stirred with a ladle. It is eaten with a mixture of coconut and sessamum and rice that has been pounded together. If for the whole family four condensed milk tins of treacle rice are prepared, usually two or three times a month when in Pathwe. One anna bought 7½ ticals. However, this trifle is mainly eaten by the youngest daughter and in camp she alone consumes five ticals every day. Sellers of this trifle come to the camp.

BEIN-MON (wheel-cake) A sweet prepared from rice flour, in the form of a circular cake stuffed with jaggery and baked. It is bought from sellers, who cut the trifle into pieces with a pair of large scissors. Each of these small pieces when sold in camp weigh 2½ ticals and is sold for one anna. In appearance the trifle is brown and porous and bears some resemblance to a flat circular sponge. It is made by pounding poor quality rice into a flour and mixing with jaggery liquid and then frying in a flat pan with a lid on which hot coals are placed. Before putting the lid on, some sessamum seeds are sprinkled on the surface of the mixture. The trifle is ready in about five minutes. The whole BEIN MON weighs about 50 to 60 ticals and measures about "two fingers thick" and fourteen inches in diameter. The four children are the main consumers. In Pathwe they ate this three times a month and in camp twice a month. Four pieces are eaten in both places at one eating, and the price of an anna each is also the same, but whereas one piece in camp weighs 2½ ticals, those in Pathwe weigh 5 ticals each.

PE-GYAN (gram-fried: Cicer arietinum Linn) Grams fried in meal cost one anna each both in Pantanaw and in camp. Each measures about 3½" in diameter, and weighs 5 ticals. Rice of poor quality is pounded into a flour together with KUK HYIN rice. The flour is then mixed with boiled PE LUN beans and fried. Some salt has to be added. This trifle also is mainly consumed by the children. In both Pathwe and the refugee camp four pieces at an anna each were eaten at a time, three or four times a month in Pantanaw, two or three times a month in camp.

MON PYIT SALET (A sweet prepared from wheat flour and jaggery baked in frying pans. Triticum vulgare, Vill.) is made by mixing flour of coarse rice with liquid jaggery and then frying. Some sessamum seeds are sprinkled onto the trifle before it is fried. It is eaten either in the early morning or in the afternoon - never with meals. The figures for consumption of MON PYIT SALET are exactly the same as for those of PE GYAN.

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MON KYO-LEIN (cake-string-mingle): A sweet prepared from rice flour, fried and soaked in sugar solution, as its name signifies, is a trifle which looks like a twisted rope. It is bought, and each piece weighs about 2½ ticals. It is made of flour of coarse rice and KAUK MYIN, fried and then dipped in a sugar solution. The sugar sticks to the trifle and solidifies there. With the exception of U Myaing, the whole family eats this trifle. In both places, 6 were consumed at one anna each, five times a month in Pathwe, four times a month in camp.

MON SHIN-BAUNG (cake-rice-steam). Steam-cooked rice eaten with coconut scrapings and jaggery is made by sifting rice flour through a strainer, mixing it with water, and steaming it in a PAUNG GYAUNG (steam cooker). It is eaten in the mornings and in the afternoons. Only the four children eat this trifle; five ticals to each child both in Pantanaw and camp. The price is also the same in both places - one anna for five ticals, but whereas it was eaten ten times a month in Pathwe, it has been eaten by the family only twice since their arrival at camp.

MON-ON HMAUK (cake-brain). A sweet, soft preparation like pudding made from rice flour and sugar or jaggery is a trifle about two inches thick and 3½ to 4 inches long. The recipe for it is quite simple - take some rice flour and make a stew, mix with water and boil until it solidifies. Cut up into required sizes and eat with coconut milk and sugar. This is not eaten in the camp but in Pathwe they used to have it twice a month - six annas worth - for each eating.

MON-PHET-HTOKE (cake-leaf-wrap) This is a sweet prepared from soft rice paste covering jaggery or dorian. The procedure for making MON PHET HTOKE is as follows: KAUK MYIN rice is first soaked in water and then ground. The water is then strained away, and the rice flour again kneaded with water. Small amounts of the rice weighing about 5 ticals each are then taken, coconut scrapings and jaggery are buried in them, and they are then wrapped in plantain leaves boiled for about one hour. Eat after unwrapping the plantain leaves. This article was not eaten at all by the family when in Pathwe. In camp it is eaten three times a month by all except U Myaing. Six pieces, each costing an anna, are consumed at one eating.

HLAMYET-CHAUNG (jaggery-stick: prepared from sugar cane, Saccharum officinarum, Linn.) They are made by placing some jaggery and water on the fire. The jaggery melts in the heat and when it completely liquifies, it is poured out into a receptacle containing water. During the interval in which the jaggery is still warm enough to be pliable, and cool enough to permit of handling, it is drawn out into long flat sticks and cut up into pieces. One piece measures 5" long, 1" wide and ¼ to ½ " thick, and three are sold for one anna. This is another trifle that was not found in Pantanaw. In camp the three youngest children eat this about ten times a month. Six pieces, at an anna for three pieces, are eaten at a time.

PE-GYI-HLAW (Baked long beans: Dolichos lablab, Linn. var lignosus, Prain.) These beans are soaked in water and laid out in the sun to dry. When they have been dried to a certain extent they are taken in and fried in a pan containing a very large amount of salt. In Pantanaw everyone in the family ate baked beans, but here consumption is mainly confined to the children. In Pathwe 12½ ticals at 4 annas for 12½. were eaten by the family five times a month, while in camp the children have 2½ ticals or one anna's worth at each eating. They have it eight times in the month.

MYE SE (ground nut: Arachis hypogaea, Linn.) is usually bought and eaten in between meals. In Pathwe twelve and one half ticals of ground nuts cost four annas. This lasted the family for a day, and they ate ground nuts four days in the month. In camp they eat this only occasionally, buying the nuts from the shop in the camp. Each person buys one anna's worth or ½ tical of peeled ground nuts for one eating.

PATTANI (baked pea seeds: pisum arvense, Linn.) is not eaten here very often, only twice in the past two years and in Pantanaw it was not

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eaten at all. This was because there were no sellers of PATTANI in the village.

PE-BYOTE (pea-boiled: pisum arvense, Linn.) The peas are soaked in water and left there until they sprout, when they are taken out and boiled in water together with a small amount of soda. It is eaten with salt and sessamum oil. The figures for consumption of PE BYOTE are the same both for Pantanaw and for camp. Twelve and one half ticals, worth two annas, are eaten every morning by the family.

THAR GU (Sago: Arenga s charifera, Labill.) is mixed with water and placed on the fire and left there until the little white specks in the sago seeds have disappeared. Then, liquid jaggery and scraped coconuts and salt are added. After this the THAR GU is ready for eating. THAR GU was eaten twice a month in Pathwe from sellers. In camp they have had it five times since their arrival. They had six saucers at each eating in both places, but each saucer cost two annas here as against one anna in Pantanaw.

MON-LET HSAUNG (cake-hand-more). This is a sweet prepared from rice paste fried in oil in small drops and then put into either sugar solution or in jaggery solution. To make this, rice is soaked in water and then ground, and then the water wrung out. It is then laid out in the sun to dry, after which it is again mixed with water and put on the fire to expand. This forces the rice through a tin which has small holes bored in the bottom, so that small pieces of boiled rice either round or elongated in shape are obtained. When these are mixed with jaggery liquid, sugar and coconut milk the MON LET HSAUNG is ready for drinking. This is usually taken in the dry season and mainly by the four children. Four cups are taken at a time in both places. The cups are of the same capacity but the drink was consumed five times a month in Pathwe and only three times a month in camp.

MON-LETT PYAR (cake-butterfly). This is a blue or purple coloured sweet prepared from rice flour and jaggery or sugar. Ma Aye Myaing is not acquainted with the procedure for making this trifle. She describes this as 4½" long and measuring four fingers across. It weighs 2½ ticals, and contains peas and jaggery mixed together. It is bought at the rate of two for an anna. Four are consumed at each eating and there are six meals a month of this trifle. It was not eaten in Pathwe.

BU-THEE-GYAW (Gourd-fruit-fried). This is fried gourd with gram flour or wheat flour used as a binding material and flavoured with ginger. The fruit is washed, peeled, sliced and fried with rice flour. It is not eaten by the family here but in Pathwe sellers used to come and sell this trifle at the rate of five for four annas. Seven of these pieces each three inches long and containing five slices were consumed at each eating. This was eaten during four meals in the month. (Gourd: lagenaria vulgaris, ser. Gram: cicer arietinum, Linn. Ginger; Zingiver officinale, Rose. Musa paradisiaca, Linn. Sub-sp. sapientum. K. Schum.)

NG PYAW-GYAW (plain tains-fried) Fried plantains are prepared in the same manner, with the exception that the bananas are sometimes fried without being sliced into smaller pieces. In Pantanaw the family consumed in a day one bunch of bananas holding 13 fruit and costing three annas for the bunch. It was eaten four or five times a month. In camp one bunch of thirteen is eaten in a day, five days in the month, and costs four annas for the bunch.

KHE-THEE (Plum, zizyphus Jujuba, Lam.) are eaten after washing. They are eaten during the day, with salt. In Pathwe 2 condensed milk tins of plum were eaten at a time. It was eaten four times a month. The family does not eat plum here.

THAYET-THEE-AHNE (mango-fruit-ripe: mangifera indica, Linn) are also eaten frequently with rice and NGAPI YE. Unripe mangoes are also eaten in this way. In Pantanaw they were eaten five times a month, 10 for one eating. The size of a mango varies from 4" long

to 2½". Mangoes in season cost four annas for ten. In camp they have eaten mangoes twice in six months, six for one eating, Re. 1/- for six. 263

MAYAN-THEE-AHME (marian-fruit-ripe: Bouea burmanica, Griff.) are eaten in the afternoons, with salt. Similarly with unripe ones. They are also eaten with rice and NGAPI YE. In Pathwe about ten fruits were eaten almost daily when in season. 435 178

NGA PYAW-THEE (banana-fruit: Musa paradisica, Linn, Sub-sp, sapientum, K. Schum). Bananas are sometimes eaten with rice during the main meals but usually by themselves. In Pathwe one bunch a day containing 13 bananas and costing three annas were eaten during four or five times a month. In camp the same bunch costs four annas and bananas are eaten five times a month.

THAGYAR-LON (sugar-ball) or sweets, and CHO-CHIN (sweet-sour) are bought. Ma Aye Myaing has never seen these being made and hence does not know the process of manufacture. The THAGYAR-LON are round sweets also but are shaped like small orange pods and weighing about six to the tical. They are eaten only in camp. The consumption of sweets is limited to the youngest. She gets 8 THAGYAR-LONS a month at one anna for two and two for an eating; and 18 CHO-CHIN a month at an anna for six and six for one eating.

Ma Aye Myaing gave the following data on the period of the year when the foods used by the family are available. 262

Fish is obtained from the fishery in Pathwe from the month of Tawthalin to the month of Pyatho. From the other places in the river, fish was obtained from Tabodwe month to the months of Kason and Nayon. The varieties of fish remain the same in both fishing areas. Shrimps are plentiful in Pyatho month and lobsters in Tasaungmon and Nadaw.

KALA-BE (shell): In common with a great number of peas and beans, KALA BE appears about the month of Tabaung. However, since these are not very perishable, they can be kept in stock for the whole year and made available in any month.

LAYAN-THEE (brinjal): The brinjal plant starts to bear fruit in the month of Pyatho and continues to Kason and Nayon. In Tawthalin and Thadingyut, brinjal fruit was brought to Pathwe from other villages from the fields not on the river banks. Here in Rangoon they notice that brinjal fruit is available all year round.

PE-LINGME-THEE (snake beans) were available during the months of Kason, Nayon, Waso, Wagaung, Tawthalin and Thadingyut.

In Rangoon many of the plants and vegetables that were cultivated only seasonally back in Pathwe and the other district villages, are cultivated all the year round. The ready market in Rangoon encourages the districts lying just outside Rangoon to produce whatever plants they can and send them to town. [369] [241]

PE THEE (beans): these appeared in Pathwe for 9 months in the year. The first period is from Tasaungmon to Tagu, and the second from Waso to Thadingyut inclusive. In Rangoon this is available all year round.

HSAN (rice): During the months of Kason and Nayon the paddy grains are sown in the nurseries, and the seedlings are then transplanted to the fields during Waso and Wagaung. In other fields where no transplanting is carried on, the seeds are sown broadcast in Kason and Nayon. There are some species of paddy grain that ripen earlier than the rest. However, from the point of view of the consumer, rice is available all the year round. [243]

NGAYOK-THEE (chillies): The seeds are planted during Waso, Wagaung and Tawthalin and transplanted during Tasaungmon. The chillies

621 remaining huts. They have lists of the people in their charge.
641 Maung Nyunt and Aung Gyi are under the school-master, who is the most important and influential man of all. These people have to see to the DHANI thatch roof, the bamboo, etc., and if there are any repairs needed they get together, estimate the cost , and then go to the government authorities. U Myaing does not know which office they go to.

621 The phongyis resident in the camp do not participate in the
792 secular life of the camp, beyond giving the SILAS and coming occasionally for HSOON. In Pathwe village there were small boys whom they taught - thirty or forty of them, but in camp they do not help to educate the young. People go to these phongyis in camp on holy days, to take the SILAS. They do not even preach to the laity. This U Myaing thinks to be due to the fact that they do not know how to, being themselves refugees from country villages.

796 On the 8th and 15th day of the waxing moon and the 8th and 15th day of the waning moon, the four holy days of the month, Daw Aw Zar goes to the Shwe Dagon to say her prayers. U Myaing cannot do likewise because he has to go to work.

641 U Myaing has very little dealing with the government. They do
621 not come for taxes, and in fact even have to provide the refugees with items of food and apparel. The people in the camp are not members of a closely knit organisation. They are made up of workers and families all thrown together by the exigencies of the political situation. The three mentioned above are the only ones in the whole camp. who have charge of the camp welfare. They take the responsibility for disposing of the bucket sewage and the dirt accumulated in and around the camp. They arrange for government sweepers to come for these. There have been no fire drills or any such exercise held in the camp.

369 In Rangoon the family has few entertainments. There was once
541 a government film show screened in the camp, and the other night Ma Khin Nyein went with some friends to a nearby pagoda to see a lantern slide show of Buddha's Relics. They have never seen a modern Burmese play or PWEZAT. As Daw Aw Zar expressed it, "How can we go and see one when the charge for admission is a rupee [435] for an adult and 8 annas for a child."

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20. CLEANING RICE WITH THE HAND-MILL.

in every town. A basket (*din*, bushel) of cleaned rice (*san*) costs three to four rupees, and lasts a man about a month. The loss of volume in cleaning is about twenty-five per cent., and the cost of the unhusked grain about one-third of that of rice. For cakes and sweets, rice is ground with water in the Indian stone hand-mill. After first soaking, it is passed through the mill repeatedly until it forms a creamy fluid, which is strained and used while fresh. Wheaten bread is a novelty.

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The houses in Burma are mostly built of bamboo. The giant bamboo (*wabó*), a denizen of the evergreen hills, is cultivated in the plains for house-posts and masts and side-buoys of boats. Its culms attain a height of eighty feet and a girth at the butt of two feet. Every bamboo jungle supplies the rest of the material for the house. No tools are needed for bamboo work, but the universal *dá*—a sabre, trimmer, chopper, according to its proportions (No. 231). With the *dá* the bamboos are hewn, split open and slit into withes (*hní*) for lashing. Thin-walled bamboos are opened out into broad planks for the walls of the houses (*tayán*). Stout thick-walled bamboos are shaped into narrow planks for flooring, or the floor is laid of round bamboos laçed down at intervals. Loose planks of wood are becoming general for floors, even in houses built of bamboo (p. 119). Every Burman can handle the *dá*, but not so expertly as the hill people. The house-posts, floor-girders, and principal frames are frequently of timber, and outlast several relays of the bamboo-work, which decays in a few seasons. The inducement to keep a material clean and neat which has soon to be replaced is not great, and engenders negligent habits. In the better houses, bamboo is only used for the walling and the roof rafters.

[313]
[412]
[243]

231. WINNOWING GRAIN IN THE WIND.

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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[435]
[346]
[177
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217. PLASTERER'S SCAFFOLD ON ZEDI.

(*Kathé*) excel in this work and form colonies for the industry. Attempts have been made in Europe to imitate the scroll-patterns on the Jacquard loom, as well as to print them. But the imitations fall too far short of the original, which is nearly the same front and back. The best *lun-tayé* silks cost ten to fifteen rupees the square foot, which makes two hundred to three hundred rupees for the *pasé*. Only an inch or two a day can be woven. Italian methods of carding, dyeing, and finishing silk, were introduced by the late King, Mindôn Min, and have helped to develop an important industry in Mandalay. Stripe and tartan patterns are woven in this way, chiefly from China silk. Fine texture and delicate tints are aimed at, rather than rich colour and design. The *pasé* of

[435] twenty cubits, one cubit wide, costs ten to twenty rupees.

293 The Burman umbrella (*tî*) is on the Chinese model—a bamboo frame with
[171] paper cover. The Chinese umbrella has a thin paper cover, the Burman has bast-paper, which outlasts several of the other. But the Chinese umbrellas are cheaper, better waterproofed, and sun-proof. The Burman *tî* is waterproofed by occasional oiling with crude petroleum. A waterproof size made from the fruit of the *tî* is used for fixing the paper to the ribs and the cotton twines that connect them. The red, the
[186] gilt and the white umbrellas are emblems of state. The
[554] first two denote official rank, according to the number assigned. Such umbrellas
[532] have stems of turned wood, six to eight feet long, to allow of the *tî* being borne over the officer on horseback or in his chariot, by attendants on foot (No. 375). The

218. SCULPTURING MARBLE IMAGES.

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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[293]

221. UMBRELLA MAKERS.

of the work can be done on a lathe. To prepare the wicker for lacquering, it is first given a "rough-stuffing" of fine clay to fill the interstices. The work is then painted with *thissi*, which penetrates and toughens the clay and binds the fibres of the wicker. When the *thissi* has set, which takes several days, the work is put on the chuck of a bow-lathe and ground smooth with a fibrous stone—a petrifaction-product. Varnishing and grinding are repeated till the surface is smooth, colour being added to the later coats. Then a coat of contrasted colour is given, and when the varnish is about half set, the pattern is chipped with a metal style through the fresh layer to the hard lacquer beneath. After the work has hardened, the patterns are embellished by scoring rings through the layers, with a tool like a carpenter's gouge, so as to bring out the underlying contrasts. The patterns are arabesques and conventionalized figures.* Subject designs are also executed (No. 224). Finally the lacquer is polished with buffs of graduated fineness. A peculiarity of *thissi* is that it sets hardest in a moist atmosphere. Every manufacturer has an underground cellar—a thing almost unknown in Burma—for the wares to harden in. Pagán, the centre of the industry, is at the same time the driest locality of the dry zone. The finest lacquer, which is only made by a few highly-skilled workmen, is so elastic that the lips of a cup may be brought to meet without the ware cracking. As much as twenty-five rupees is paid for a cup of such quality. The ordinary ware has not the tenth part of this elasticity, and sells for one to ten rupees a box. The deep cover of the betel-box is the traveller's ordinary drinking-cup.

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222. LACQUER-WARE MANUFACTURE.

* See the end-papers of the binding of this volume.

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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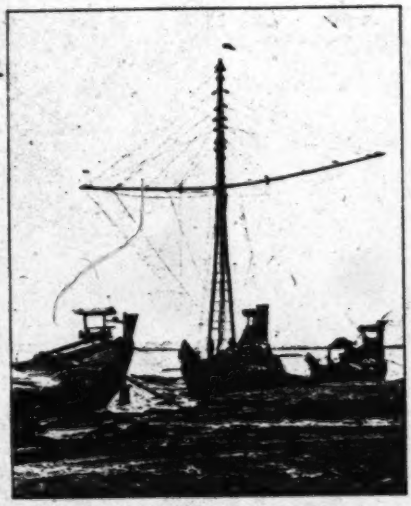

300. LAUNG-ZAT POLING UP-STREAM.

channel in the sand or mud. But it cannot sail near the wind, and it makes great leeway. Only a square-sail is carried. The prow of the boat is solid and the bulk-head above is ornamented with carving. The still more ornamented poop has to be built up in the large boats, to get the full sweep of curve that is obtained in a single piece in the canoe (*laung*). The boat has a good deal of buoyancy even when full of water. The *laung-gô* is rather crank, a defect which is obviated by the use of bamboo side-buoys (*baw-wa*, No. 176). *Thingân* hulls last twenty to thirty years; the canoe is used up to the last stump. When past repair, it is sawn asunder and boards nailed across the sound pieces. A tub of

[857] this kind is a treasure to a child (No. 161). The anchor (*kyank*) used to be a wood fork weighted with stone; the European pattern is now general. The *laung-gô* is rowed with the stream only, by three or four sweep-oars; it is poled up-stream. The boatman thrusts his pole from the hollow above the collar-bone. Thus the hands are free to hold the body down to the rail, and every muscle is called into service. No. 289 shows the "tiger" style of poling, No. 298 the "scorpion" style. The

[463] crew of the *laung-gô* consists of three to five men; they get their food and a stipulated sum for the trip, which comes to twelve to sixteen annas per

501 working day. Cargo

● 435 boats cost from 1,000 to 3,000 rupees, chiefly for the solid hull.

301. LAUNG-ZAT LOADING.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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302. SHIPPING-PORT ON THE IRAWADI.

Canoes cost from twenty to one hundred rupees. Since ship-building was started, boats of greater dimensions than could be built solid—eighty to one hundred tons—have been built of teak on the carvel method (*zat-hle*). But the lines of the *laung-gô* are rigidly adhered to. A hull exactly simulating the solid hull is built with stout ribs and sheathing; then the sides are added—a most remarkable example of conservatism of type. These two classes of boats carry most of the rice to port. In Burma Proper, where timber does not attain such size as in the moist region, canoes only are made on the *laung-gô* plan; the larger boats have always been built up. In these the *laung-gô* type is also simulated, but not so closely (*laung-zát*, Nos. 294, 300). The narrow bottom is flat and is fixed to the side-planks of the lower hull by ribs. The planks are two to three inches thick and ten to twelve inches broad; they are held together by nails driven obliquely from recesses near the seams, which are luted with dammar, and are strengthened with ribs. The upper side-planks are attached as in the *laung-gô*. Poop and prow are strengthened by iron dee-nails along the seams. The capacity of such boats ranges from twenty to one hundred and fifty tons, and they cost from 500 to 5,000 rupees. The crew consists of from five to twenty men. They only sail before the wind and carry an immense

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expanse of sail, to stem the current of the Irawadi, which runs four to five knots in the rains. The course of the river and the prevailing wind are in their favour. During the rains these craft make two trips, north and south, and lie by in the dry weather. They convey the produce of Pegu to Burma Proper,—

303. BURMAN SEA-GOING CRAFT (KATTU).

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

APPENDIX D.

STATISTICAL.

AREA.

131

Burma Proper and Pegu (excluding Shan States, 61,000 sq. m.) square miles	158,322 =	101,326,122 acres.
Area cropped, 1900		10,556,104 acres.

161

POPULATION IN 1901 (including Shan States, 1,228,460)	9,221,161
Mean annual birth-rate per 1,000	37·34
" death " "	28·16

162

DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION IN 1891.

Burmans and Talaings { males, 3,030,797; females, 3,098,385 }	6,129,182
(Increase since 1881, 22½ per cent.)	
Shans	206,794
Karéns	633,657
Chins	95,571
Chimpáws (Kachin ? more)	2,209
Chinese	37,407
Natives of India	432,639
Europeans (including 4000 troops)	12,491
Eurasians	6,978
Others	167,134
Total, census of 1891	7,722,053

FISCAL.

178 In 1796 the special impost of 33·3 tikals of fine silver per house took three years to collect,
651 and produced the equivalent of about nine million rupees. The purchasing-power of money has declined 50 to 60 per cent. since that time, apart from depreciation of silver.

435 In 1900 the gross revenue of Burma was 70,400,000 rupees, of which Pegu contributed 63 per cent. The expenditure was forty-three millions. Out of the surplus there was a balance of Rs. 24,700,000 of Imperial revenue over expenditure. The incidence of direct taxation (land and capitation taxes, which produce about one-half of the revenue) is four rupees per head of population; which, with an average of 5·5 inhabitants, comes to twenty-two rupees per house.

CRIMINAL, AVERAGES 1894–8.

674

Convictions for offences against life (including attempted murder and culpable homicide, 40 per cent.)	244
" " hurt	2,691
" " rape	76
" " robbery	654
" " theft	8,681

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

787 houses, for the niche shrines, if there are more than one at
792 the pagoda, are always at the four cardinal points, and if there
778 is only one, as is usual at small pagodas, it is to the East.
823

The sadā is carefully kept by the parents until the child
787 is old enough to take care of it himself, and thenceforward it
768 is guarded as the most valuable possession the person has. No matter how often the name is changed the new one is never put in the sadā, so that this certificate cannot be trusted to implicitly for a man's name. Some of them are very beautifully engraved and ornamented, but they are naturally not often to be seen. I only know of two in England at the present time (1881), one of which is my own and the other belonging to a travelling Burman. When a man dies, the sadā is either destroyed or preserved as a memento by the family. A great many sadās were found and carried off as curiosities during the Third Burmese War. There is one at Abbotsford.

787 A curious instance of the firm belief of the nation in the
436 reasonableness of the conviction that the planet under which
643 one is born influences the fates and actions of one's life, is
177 the fact that royalty ordained that the coins and measures used by traders should bear the emblem of the monarch's birthday. Thus for example all the gold coins used in Upper Burma bazaars during the penultimate reign had the figure of a lion on them, Mindôn Min having been born on a Tuesday. The few remaining from previous reigns bearing other symbols were rigidly kept out of the sight of Burmese officials. The Convenor of the Fifth Great Synod, though probably the mildest and best sovereign Burma ever had, would certainly have stood no trifling in matters of this kind, which, if not amounting actually to a part of the religion, were at any rate very intimately connected with it. His son Thibaw Min, however, notoriously indifferent to religion, if a stronger word might not even be admissible, let the old weights remain in use, and probably called it the march of civilisation.

852 The naming and the construction of the sadā being
951 finished, the principal events in the youthful Burman's life
[291] are over, and the children run about in as happy a state of nudity as the respectability of the family permits; and boys and girls steal grandmamma's cheroot, and potter about

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

822
[436]

and constitutions shattered with the red fumes of the heated mercury. Sometimes, however, men who have lost their possessions in attempting to make gold, fall upon the notion of repairing their fortunes by making money—coining as it is called in ordinary parlance. Luckily, few have the skill requisite for this smashing business; and the counterfeit coin put about is such as should hardly deceive any man who has ever seen a genuine piece of money before.

Naturally with so many people experimenting, there are always rumours of the discovery having been made. Indeed, methods are known by which the great object can be attained—with proper care and the selection of a favourable hour. One of these is quite infallible, and is so regarded even by those who have tried it many times without success. If there has been any failure it is because of some miscalculation in selecting a lucky moment from the sada, the horoscope which every one possesses; or because some unavoidable hitch in the operations allowed the propitious hour to pass. That there is any doubt about the feasibility of the process no one dreams of hinting. Have not skilled sayās exhibited the metal—undoubted gold—which they have made?

This method is as follows. On the slopes of Kyaikhtiyo, the hill on which, perched on a gigantic boulder, stands the famed pagoda of that name, grows a peculiar kind of tree, the stem of which is flattened out in a singular way, so that it gets the name of se nga-pè, from a flat flounder-like fish called nga-pè. This tree is cut down, and the trunk is chopped into little pieces, which are then squeezed in as effectual a way as the limited machineries in a Burman's household can do it. The chips are pressed between two stones; or the bullock-cart is passed over them; or the good man of the house puts his teak box on the top of them, and summons the family to sit upon it. Any way, the chips must be well squeezed; many failures are due to remissness in this respect. The chips are next thrown into a long crucible, half filled with mercury, and the mixture is subjected to the heat of a roaring wood fire. By this simple process, the sayās have obtained pure gold—a little mixed with ashes, if there has been too much of

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

36 Parama nu-myu	=	one a-nu-myu, visible particles of dust, such as the motes dancing in the sunbeam.
36 Anu-myu	=	one ka-nyit-che, a gross particle, such as the dust which falls from the style, when a scribe writes on a palm-leaf.
7 Ka-nyit-che	=	one than ôk-kaung, a louse's head.
7 Than ôk-kaung	=	one môn-nyin se, a mustard seed.
3 Môn-nyin se	=	one hnan se, a grain of sesamum.
4 Hnan se	=	one san se, a grain of rice.
4 San se	=	one hkyin ywe, a seed of the *Abrus precatorius.*
2 Hkyin ywe	=	one ywegyi, a seed of the *Adenanthera pavorina.*
4 Ywegyi	=	one pè.
2 Pè	=	one mu.
2 Mu	=	one mat.
4 Mat	=	one kyat.
5 Kyat	=	one bo.
20 Bo	=	beittha, a viss, 3.652 lbs. avoirdupois.
4 Beittha	=	one tula.
4000 Tula	=	one tapông, or tasu.

The only weights in ordinary use are the mu, mat, ngamu (or hkwè), half a kyat, and the kyat. The standard weights are usually formed with a figure of the sacred hantha on them, or sometimes with the animal representing the royal birthday. [531]

Formerly the Burmese had no stamped coinage, and the silver and gold used, mixed in greater or less amount with alloy, which necessitated the calling in of an assayer for every transaction, was always dealt out by weight. King Mindôn struck gold coins stamped with the lion and the peacock, silver and copper with the royal peacock, and lead with the hare. The lead coins were simply blobs of metal like a spherical bullet squeezed out of shape. One might examine thousands of them and never see a hare. Mandalay [175]

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

436 rupees, though the same size as those of the Indian Government, were not in favour in Rangoon. They usually ran to fourteen annas, so that there was a loss of two annas on each. The gold coins were practically not in circulation at all. Englishmen bought them as curiosities in the bazaar and got cheated if they did not carefully ring every one. The smaller ones, struck from the same die as the silver two-anna bit, were principally used by the king to fill silver cups presented to distinguished visitors.

Being derived from the measures of weight, the coins have received the same names. The rupee is kyat, sometimes also called ding-ga, that is, a circular piece of metal, whether a coin or a medal, and the sub-multiples go by the names of the smaller weights: pè is one anna; mu, two annas; mat, four annas; nga-mu, eight annas; thôn-mat, twelve annas; kyat-mu-din, fourteen annas, literally a rupee less two annas; one piece is ti'-bya.

454 The Burmans have no bankers. In native times there were exceedingly few who would have anything to lodge with such a personage. Those who have superabundant coin almost always disperse it in giving a kyi-gyin pwè, or in building a pagoda, a monastery, digging a tank, or some such work of merit. Whatever money there may remain over is turned into use or display in the shape of fat oxen, and silver and gold cups and jewellery. These are pleasant things to look at and easily convertible into money when necessary. Burmans detest hoarding. A miser is threatened with as terrible a hereafter as a parricide. The portion of both is in awidzi, the lowest hell.

181 454 All this sort of thing shows a very unbusiness-like, certainly a very uncommercial spirit, but it is at least open to argument that the Burman is philosophically right. He cares little for the troubles of the world and the manifold questions of the day which distract the more highly cultured nations. His eyes are fixed uninterruptedly on the dark mysteries which surround our beginning, our end, and every moment of our life. The earth is only a camping-ground, in which it does not repay the trouble to establish one's self firmly and comfortably. The rich man carries his gold and silver, the poor his last handful of rice,

14: Brant E-5 (1949-50) 1954 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

When the monsoon rains become heavy and steady in late June or early July the fields are plowed with a succession of bullock-drawn implements. The first is a single-toothed harrow, followed by a six-toothed plow. Finally, the soil is gone over with a seven-bladed revolving share. If the ground is not yet sufficiently churned up, a harrow with a large number of teeth may be used. 243

A few days before the planting time the paddy seed is soaked and placed in a wooden cask, the top of which is packed with hay and cow dung. This promotes germination of the seed.

The seed is broadcast sown.* The sower begins at the outermost edge of the field and works his way towards the center, walking in increasingly smaller circles. Beginning at six o'clock in the morning and working until four o'clock in the afternoon, with an interval at mid-morning for his meal and again in the early afternoon for a nap, a sower can cover ten acres in a day. It requires one basket of seed (ca. 48 lbs.) to sow one acre. It is said by villagers that when one is experienced at broadcasting of paddy seeds, regular rows of plants result. 243 512

During the period of about seven days required for the sown seeds to sprout, the cultivators weed the fields, block off water channels, and build up the embankments between fields. About forty days after sowing, when the plants have reached a height of several inches, some necessary thinning is done. Two inches is regarded as the optimum space between plants. Where they are growing closer together some are pulled up and re-planted in thinner areas. 243

Once sowing and thinning has been completed, in mid- to late August, there is little work for the cultivators until harvest time in December, except for frequent visits to the fields to make sure that the water is sufficient and evenly distributed.

At the harvest season, the cultivator and his hired field laborers work in teams of two. One team cuts the paddy about eighteen inches from the top with small hand sickles. These tools are made of good steel blades, obtained in the Rangoon bazaars, which are affixed to handles of buffalo horn. The paddy cutters are followed by another team, which cuts the paddy stalk close to the ground. In the case of hired field laborers doing this work, the prevailing wage is 12 to 16 rupees (ca. $2.50 to $3.50) per acre for paddy cutters, and twenty rupees (ca. $4.00) per acre for stalk cutters. The higher wage for the latter type of work is paid because it is considered harder. Sometimes such field laborers are remunerated in paddy rather than in monetary wages. 243 465 436

The cut paddy is gathered into small piles, about an armful around, which are left in the fields a few days to dry. Then they are bound as sheaves and transported in bullock carts to a cleared area nearer the domestic area, which serves as a threshing floor. 243

Threshing is accomplished by leading bullocks, yoked together and muzzled to prevent their eating the grain, over the paddy sheaves. The bullocks are

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* This method is not common in Burma. One cultivator, when queried concerning the reason for this method, stated: "The land here is not fertile, and though the transplantation method would give a higher yield, the added labor cost would not justify it." [24B]

243 led around in circular fashion until the grain is thoroughly separated from the stalks. A pronged hoe is then drawn over the stalks to further the separation, after which the bullocks further stamp upon them. When the grain appears to be full separated from the stalks it is swept up into large heaps, while the stalks are put aside for use as cattle fodder.

Winnowing apparatus consists of a tripod of bamboo poles, from the top of which is suspended a plaited round tray of wide weave. Basketsful of grain are handed up to a man who stands on a platform, often an old barrel or a chair, and empties them on to the tray. As he shakes the tray the grain falls through to the ground, while any chaff is carried away by the wind.

The paddy for household use may then be allowed to dry further before being sent by boat down Pazundaung Creek to be milled. In a few households the paddy for home consumption is husked by a foot-operated pounding device, or by a large, hand-operated mortar and pestle. If there is any surplus, beyond the requirements of home consumption, seed, payment of laborers and debts, it is sold to nearby millers who come to purchase it.

494 3. Bus Operation. Forty-four men of the community are principally occupied as bus drivers or fare-collectors. The latter are known as 'spares' in the local terminology. Because of the total destruction of public transportation facilities during World War II in Rangoon and the surrounding area, large numbers of surplus military vehicles have been converted into buses. These buses are owned individually or by small groups of partners. The Tadagale men who engage in bus operation ply between the village, which is a terminus, and Rangoon. Their vehicles are, for the most part, in poor repair, and breakdowns along the route are not uncommon. No regular time schedule is followed; rather, they begin a trip when fully loaded, which is to
● [436] say extremely tightly packed with passengers. By carrying maximum loads, and by charging a fare of 6 annas (ca. 8 cents), the bus operators are able to make a profit, despite the high cost of fuel (ca. 47 cents per Imperial gallon) and of repairs.

464 4. Field Labor. Thirty-eight villagers make their livings mainly by field labor. During the planting and harvesting seasons they work steadily for cultivators, either in Tadagale or in nearby communities. They are paid in kind or in cash, seldom in combination. During the growing season, August to November, and again, between the end of the harvest and the beginning of the planting season, these people must depend on other temporary jobs to round out their livings.

234 5. Dairy Farming. This occupation is carried on exclusively by the small
563 group of Indians in Tadagale, who possess herds of water buffalo and cattle.
443 Fresh milk is taken daily by bus, in large metal containers, to Rangoon, where it is sold for cash, mostly to Muslim restaurants. The Burmese inhabitants of Tadagale make but slight use of milk and there is virtually no market for it in the village.

265 6. Selling of Prepared Foods. The preparation and itinerant selling of certain Burmese foods supports twenty persons, of whom many are women. Because of the Burmese habit of informal, occasional eating between the two regular daily meals, food sellers do a considerable business. They are invariably present at the pwes, outdoor dramatic presentations staged during holidays and on other festive occasions.

565 basis of invidious distinctions. Persons of means are esteemed more for the
556 socially valued uses to which they may put their money, such as charity, ceremonial activities, and support of the clergy, than for sheer richness or consumption.

Economic Change

178 The changing pattern of Tadagale's economic life may be described from the
101 point of view of shift from a once largely subsistence economy to one based more
433 upon commodity production and exchange. In discussing this shift, the general trends are best indicated if we focus upon Lower Burma rather than upon Tadagale exclusively. It is desirable to make this large area our unit because pertinent data are available for it, whereas historical information specific to the village is somewhat scant and fragmentary. The term "Lower Burma" is an administrative and geographical one. It comprises about 81,000 square miles and a population of some 9 millions, four of the administrative divisions in the highly fertile, deltaic 'rice-bowl' of Burma.

178 1. Background. The trend from a relatively self-sufficient subsistence
433 economy, with little dependence upon money, to a more commercialized economy coincides with the coming of British colonial rule in Burma. Our historical perspective thus extends over a period of about 150 years. Within this span of time, profound economic change occurred in Lower Burma. Here we cannot give a detailed account of events from decade to decade, but must limit ourselves to a brief consideration of the major trends.

175 In pre-British Lower Burma, villages consisted of what might be called
433 islands of clearance in a big jungle. In these settlements the Burmese peasants
361 lived by cultivation of paddy and vegetable gardens. Individual small holdings were the rule, and the size of the plot depended almost entirely upon need. No incentive existed to clear and cultivate land beyond the requirements of household subsistence and taxes, paid in kind, to the representative of the Burmese Crown. Cotton, from the dry zone of central Burma, was spun and woven into cloth, and garments were made in the local community. Housing was of a simple bamboo and thatch type, made of materials available locally. The bullock cart provided transport on the relatively few occasions that it was necessary for the Lower Burma villager to travel distances that could not be walked. Contact between villages was minimized by the expanses of intervening, uncleared jungle country. In Tadagale, for example, one of our oldest informants was able to recall the period of his youth, around 1885, when jungle clearance and settlement was still taking place, bringing Tadagale into closer communication with other communities in the area. Local craftsmen provided the villagers with simple utensils, tools and implements.

178 When British colonialism took over, money came to dominate over barter.
433 Taxation was ordered to be paid in money. The Burmese cultivator was encouraged
436 to clear the heavy jungle, cultivate more land, sell surpluses of paddy to
426 commercial millers, and spend his money on attractive manufactured goods imported from England, which were on display in the town shops and bazaars. Moneylenders, some of them Burmese, but especially Indians of the moneylending Chettiar caste from Madras, who could enter Burma freely, were at hand to loan money in fairly unlimited amounts to the Burmese peasants. Thus the latter could finance the expansion of their cultivation. Rates of interest charged were unregulated, and commonly ranged from 10% to 35% per year. The Burmese peasant was an easy victim: he was, at first, entirely unsophisticated in money

16;Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

Such is a great feast at a great pagoda. 796

But whenever I think of a great feast, whenever the growing autumn moon tells me that the end of Lent is drawing nigh, it is not the great feast of the Shwe Dagon, nor of any other famous pagoda that comes into my mind, but something far different.

It was on a frontier long ago that there was the festival that I remember so well. The country there was very far away from all the big towns; the people were not civilized as those of Mandalay or of Rangoon; the pagoda was a very small one. There was no gilding upon it at all, and no shrines were about it; it stood alone, just a little white plastered pagoda, with a few trees near it, on a bare rice-field. There were a few villages about, dotted here and there in the swamp, and the people of these were all that came to our festival. 796 433 436 369

For long before the villagers were preparing for it, saving a little money here, doing a little extra work there, so that they might be able to have presents ready for the monks, so that they might be able to subscribe to the lights, so that they would have a good dress in which they might appear.

The men did a little more work at the fields, bamboo-cutting in the forest, making baskets in the evening, and the women wove. All had to work very hard to have even a little margin; for there, although food—plain rice—was very cheap, all other things were very expensive. It was so far to bring them, and the roads were so bad. I remember that the only European things to be bought there then were matches and tinned milk, and copper money

16;Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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was not known. You paid a rupee, and took the change in rice or other commodities.

The excitement of the great day of the full moon began in the morning, about ten o'clock, with the offerings to the monks. Outside the village gate there was a piece of straight road, dry and open, and on each side of this, in rows, were the people with their gifts; mostly they were eatables. You see that it is very difficult to find any variety of things to give a monk; he is very strictly limited in the things he is allowed to receive. Garments, yellow garments, curtains to partition off corners of the monasteries and keep away the draughts, sacred books and eatables—that is nearly all. But eatables allow a very wide range. A monk may accept and eat any food—not drink, of course—provided he eat but the one big meal a day before noon; and so most of the offerings were eatables. Each donor knelt there upon the road with his or her offerings in a tray in front. There was rice cooked in all sorts of shapes, ordinary rice for eating with curry, and the sweet purple rice, cooked in bamboos and coming out in sticks. There were vegetables, too, of very many kinds, and sugar and cakes and oil and honey, and many other such things. There were a few, very few, books, for they are very hard to get, being all in manuscript; and there were one or two tapestry curtains; but there were heaps of flowers. I remember there was one girl whose whole offering was a few orchid sprays, and a little, very little, heap of common rice. She was so poor; her father and mother were dead, and she was not married. It was all she could give. She sat behind

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122 for their cooperation in making the study possible.

128 The material is presented here as a collection of field notes from which certain preliminary observations and conclusions may be drawn. A final intensive analysis with the advantages of comparative data must await adequate reference facilities not available at the present time. The notes form part of a collection of Anthropological data on Burmese culture and society being amassed by the Burma Community Research Project under the sponsorship of the Union of Burma Government Mass Education Council.

128 Notes on Presentation:

1. Burmese words are captilized.

2. The spelling of the Burmese words is not truly "phonetical" (which would necessitate the use of an international phonetic alphabet) but is the way the Burmese ordinarily convert their sounds into English spelling. The Burmese phonetic system and true sounds of many of the words given here may be had in William S. Cornyn "Spoken Burmese" 1945-46 (Holt).

3. Wherever meaningful the actual translatick of words follow in parenthesis.

4. Space and time measurements and costs are usually given as recorded from the informant in Burmese terms. The glossary gives the western equivalents.

● [436] 5. The units of money used are rupees (21 American cents) and annas (1/16th of the rupee) written as in this example: Rs. (rupees) 10/8 with the diagnal line separating the rupees from the annas. When no annas - a dash (-) is used.

GLOSSARY

Measurements: 104 804

LET MAH (finger-major) 1st thumb joint, 1 inch.
TA TAUNG (one-tip of finger to elbow) - 1½ feet.
TA LAN (one-distance from finger tips with arms spread to side) about 6 feet.
TA BU (one-tin) condensed milk tin a cylinder 3" high and 2.8" in diameter.
TA BYEE (one-medium basket) 8 BU.
TA DIN (one-big basket) 16 BYEE.

Months: The Burmese calendar for 1951-52 is as follows: 805

TA GU - 7th April - 5th May.
KA SON - 6th May - 4th June.
NA YON - 5th June - 3rd July.
WA SO - 4th July - 2nd August.
WA GAUNG - 3rd August - 31st August.
TAW THA LIN - 1st September - 30th September.
THA DIN GYUT - 1st October - 29th October.
TA ZAUNG MON - 30th October - 28th November.
NA DAW - 29th November - 27th December.
PHYAR THO - 28th December - 27th January.
TA BO DWE - 28th January - 27th February.
TA BAUNG - 28th February - 29th March.

Coinage: 436

Pice (Indian), PI SON (Burmese) - ¼ anna.
Anna (Indian), PEH (Burmese) - 1/16th rupee.
Ripee (Indian), CHYAT (Burmese) - 21 American cents.

Weights: 804

Tical - (Indian); BHYAT (Burmese, rupee) 1/100th of a viss.
Viss - (Indian); PE THI (Burmese, viss) - 3.65 pounds.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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227. TOWN SILVERSMITH.

of plain gold bangles (*lek-kauk*), and their ear-plugs consist of a roll of sheet-gold coiled to the thickness of a finger. The Burmans admire a red-yellow gold with dull surface. They enhance the effect by a red colouring of the interstices of the work, in the same way as the Chinese do. Neck ornaments (*bayè*) are of several kinds. The commonest one used to be the thick roll of gold filigree, worn in front of the neck. This is now replaced by *bayè* of several chains, for the most part jewelled. On the breast is worn the broad *dalizán*, also formerly of filigree, but now of jewels and pearls. Strings of real and imitation pearls are worn; and jewelled pins and gold or jewelled combs in the hair. Rings are worn on the fingers and gold filigree buttons of the Chinese type on the jackets. The last two are the only ornaments now used by men. Anklets are worn by children.

[562]

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Gold and silver coinage on a European model was adopted by the kings of Burma about the middle of the nineteenth century—the "peacock" coins, struck from dies engraved in Paris. Rough coins of lead used to circulate. The coins shown in No. 238 are those of Arakán kings from 1500 to 1750 A.D., from the collection of the late Mr. C. H. White. Before the introduction of coinage,

238. SILVER COINS OF THE ARAKAN KINGS.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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[326]

239. GOLD-BEATERS.

circulates in Burma is three times the value of the lowest Indian coin. Notes have no circulation as yet among the Burmans, although they now bear their figures of value in Burmese.

316 Rubies and sapphires (*kyanmyat*) are separated from the
306 sand and gravel of certain localities, notably Mogôk, in the same way as gold is. Hard gems are cut with gem-dust on a horizontal wheel driven by a fly-
[822] wheel and treadle in a regular lathe-stand. Rock-crystal is cut in this way and also on a hone. Jade is found at Mogaung and is exported to China. Amber is found at Bamáw.

306 Gold-leaf is used in enormous quantities for gilding *zedi* and images. Only pure gold is employed. The paper for separating the gold-leaf in the book in

gold and silver bullion were used for exchange, as they still are in the Shan States. Chinese gold is current in the form of foil with the market stamp of fineness. It can be conveniently cut with scissors and weighed. Travellers often carry their bullion in this form. Silver is used by the Shans in the form of ingots which have to be hewn and assayed when making a purchase. The standard for commodities, wages and rent is silver, the fluctuation being referred to the gold. The lowest coin that

240. ALCHEMISTS.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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The *ein* (basket) is the unit by which grain is sold. It used to vary locally, but is now standardised to the British imperial bushel. Liquids are sold by weight, not by capacity.

A bushel of rice in the husk weighs 46 lbs.
" " cleaned " 60 "

Weight.

		Grains.	Grammes.
2 *hinyus* (seed of *Abrus precatorius*)	= 1 *yuddyi*	3·99	0·53
4 *yuddyi*	= 1 *pidyi* (sixteenth)	15·98	1·06
2 *pidyi*	= 1 *mudyi* (eighth)	31·96	2·12
2 *mudyi* (2½ *mugali*)	= 1 *mat* (quarter)	63·91	4·24
4 *mat*, or 8 *mudyi*, or 10 *mugali*	= 1 *kyat* (tikal)	255·64	16·96
		lbs.	Kilo.
100 *kyat*	= 1 *baitha* (viss)	3·652	1·696
10 *baitha*	= 1 *kwet* (*kwettari*)	36·52	
20 "	= 2 *kwet* (*kwetmazi*)		
100 "	= *achkin tayd*	365·2	

455. HINTHA-SHAPED WEIGHT OF BRASS.

Money.

			Grains.	Grammes.
(copper)	3 pie* (*paisa*)	= 1 pice (*tabyd*).		
	12 pie	= 1 anna (*hi*, sixteenth).		
(silver)	2 annas	= 1 *su* (two-anna piece, eighth)	22·5	1·43
	4 annas or 2 *su*	= 1 *mat* (four-anna piece, quarter)	45	
	8 annas or 2 *mat*	= ½ rupee (*ngdmu*, 5 *mugali*)	90	
	16 annas or 4 *mat*	= 1 rupee (*kyat*)	180	11·5

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Although the rupee is called *kyat*, it weighs only a tola and not a tikal, which latter is the *kyat* used in weighing goods. The tola is the Indian postal unit of weight.

* Single pie do not circulate in Burma.

14: Brant E-5 (1949-50) 1954 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

244 Garden cultivation is quite simple. Hand tools, such as steel mattocks, rakes and hoes, which are obtained from Rangoon, are employed to prepare the soil. Cattle or water buffalo excrement is mixed with water to a thin consistency and poured from bamboo-spouted metal buckets over the ground. (The use of human excrement as a fertilizer, common in China and Japan, is not practiced in Burma.) During the monsoon season there is, of course, no problem of irrigation, but during the hot and dry seasons the gardens must be watered frequently. This task is often performed by young boys, who draw water from the wells and apply it to the gardens. The work of picking the matured crops and preparing them for transport to market is commonly done by female members of the household.

243 2. Paddy Cultivation. The principal occupation of forty-three persons is cultivation of paddy. This category is here defined to include individuals who own or rent land on which they cultivate paddy, as distinct from persons who work on a wage basis in the paddy cultivation of others. The latter are referred to in this report as field laborers.

243 162 427 178 Of the thirty-four paddy land holdings on which we have data, twenty-nine are rented and five are owned by the cultivators. All but one of these holdings is under twenty acres. This high ratio of renters to owners, as well as the small number of paddy cultivators relative to the total number of gainfully occupied villagers, is reflective of long-run trends in agriculture in this general area. Rural tenancy has been the outcome, in Lower Burma, of a long period of loss of land ownership to moneylenders, largely absentee, through inability of the cultivators to repay loans taken out at very high rates of interest. As tenancy has grown apace, individual cultivators have become discouraged with their small return for hard work. Accordingly, many have given up paddy cultivation altogether in favor of less arduous and relatively more rewarding occupations. However, this trend may be reversed, for there began in early 1951 actual implementation of the Land Nationalization Act of 1948, which provides for distribution of agricultural land to the cultivators on an individual ownership basis.

243 434 For the great majority of the paddy cultivators of Tadagale it is possible to eke out little more than subsistence from season to season. A few, after paying their hired labor, putting aside seed for the next year's planting, and filling the granary for home use, can realize some cash income by the sale of a small surplus of paddy. If the cultivator with a little surplus can possibly afford it, he holds the paddy until the hot season, when the market price is highest.

243 433 The average yield per acre in Tadagale, based on data for thirty cultivators for the harvest season 1948-49, is 19.8 bushels of paddy. This compares closely with the overall average figures for Burma. According to the Yearbook of Food and Agriculture for 1949 (U.N.-F.A.O.) the average yield per acre for Burma was 20 bushels.

243 437 In late March, the paddy fields of Tadagale are burned over, depositing an ash from any stubble remaining from the previous harvest. Sometime after the New Year celebration (which begins about April 13th and continues several days) the cultivators spread manure over their fields in preparation for the coming planting season. The manure is obtained from the Indian dairy farmers of the village in exchange for paddy stalk.

The daily work schedule of U Myaing while he was working as a fish processor (2 months in a year) was as follows:- 512 461 264

He rose at four or five in the morning said his prayers, drank plain tea, had boiled beans, fried fish and rice left over from the previous day's evening meal. After that he went to collect fish, bring it to the bank and start work on it. He rested from 11 o'clock to 2 o'clock. At two he resumed work till about five when he would be finished for the day, Sometimes he would sleep at the work place after returning home for his evening meal.

Work in the Refugee Camp.

Shortly after arriving at the Camp U Myaing worked in Sulian Park near the Kokine market where a factory for spinning and weaving cloth was being set up. The contractor was Chinese, and he engaged between 30 to 35 labourers every day. These labourers were unskilled and they were employed in levelling the ground and laying the foundation of the factory. Most of the labourers were Indians - there being only two Burmans, U Myaing and Ma Aye Myaing got Rs. 2/-. The working hours stretched from eight in the morning to 12 noon, with a break of one hour at 12. At one o'clock they resumed work and continued until five in the evening. In the mornings they had to go to the factory by themselves, and this took them about a half hour walk. Sometimes they were sent home in a truck in the evenings. U Myaing had to enquire each day at various places for a chance to work. He was not always successful. 722 461 464 331

It was not usual for Ma Aye Myaing to come along like this to work as a labourer. This was the first time she did so. Ma Aye Myaing said that in future she would accompany U Myaing whenever there are prospects of such work. They knew that women worked in this way, but had not known that such work was available. [562]

As a matter of fact, I met U Myaing through the mats which were made in his camp. We got dinner place mats through him. These are rectangular 1½ feet by 2 feet mats of finelywoven split cane in an over 2 - under 2 pattern. They cost Rs. 2/8 each. U Myaing arranged for the making of these mats and collected the money for them, but 285 437.

285 they were made by friends. Ma Aye Myaing and Daw Aw Zar appear to
437 specialize in the larger mats such as used for sleeping. Mat making appears to be an occupation which in ordinary times is unimportant but it is relied heavily upon in bad times.

461 The children are put to work around the house and in processing
562 the fish at an early age. Just recently U Myaing's eldest daughter
561 left school to learn a trade. She left one month ago from the fourth
[277] standard, to learn cheroot rolling. In another month's time she will
874 have learnt how. She does not have to pay any fees - neither is she
[294] paid for her help. She lives with her aunt (U Myaing's sister) and has her meals there. Near their house there is also an embroidery shop which is owned by her aunt. At night U Myaing's daughter is taught embroidery and sewing by her aunt. The owner of the cheroot rolling shop is not a relative, but the women who work there are aunts and grand-aunts of the girl. When she has learnt the trade, then she will be paid between two and three rupees a day on piece work basis.

463 At present (May 1951) U Myaing is working as a sweeper in the
363 Rangoon Municipality on a monthly wage of Rs. 80/-. There is an over-
512 seer placed over him every day. U Myaing's main job is to keep one street in town clean. He leaves his house at six and arrives at the overseer's by half past six and there a roll-call is taken of about a hundred of them. At seven he begins on his street and stops at about half-eight to go to answer the roll-call (see below for rest of schedule). He has personal contact only with the overseer, the docter and the WUNDAUK (official). All three of them go around the town to see if they work hard enough. The WUNDAUK also comes everyday to witness the roll-call. "If we do not do good work we shall be dismissed. Everything is in their hands. But they do so after two or three warnings. We do not possess any rights at all. Sometimes offenders are sent to other streets that require harder labour."

U Myaing's street is located in Myeni-gon, and he has to clean the street of dirt as well as clean the drains on either side.

His daily schedule at present is as follows: He rises at 4, washes his face and cleans his teeth, says his prayers and then has plain tea which Ma Aye Myaing has prepared for him. At six he leaves

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

166. VILLAGE CHEVAUX-DE-FRISE.

away from the company. In a similar spirit of courtesy a rider dismounts and umbrellas are closed. Among acts of discourtesy few are accounted so grave by the Burmans as that of awakening a sleeper. The reluctance to disturb a sleeper is connected with the belief that the spirit (*leippya*) leaves the body during sleep (p. 197). It is looked upon as a weakness to show resentment and temper (*dawtha*, p. 44). A visitor in a house is offered a new mat to sit upon, water to drink, betel to chew, and a spittoon. If it be meal-time he is invited to partake; otherwise he is asked if he has had food, and refreshment is brought. Although the quota of leisure that falls to everyone is greater in Burma than anywhere else, owing to the wide-spread prosperity of the inhabitants, there is perhaps no country in which every man, woman, and child is less exempt from business concern. Thus it happens that after a few commonplaces, conversation inevitably gravitates to business—prices, harvests, prospects. Next in interest come the festival programmes, the local celebrities and their doings. In every house there are scales and weights, and the household is engaged in occasional or regular trade. Accounts in money and kind are current between neighbours. Whatever spare produce remains is exposed for sale.

The villages either have a quick fence of impenetrable thorny bamboo (*myinwa*), or a hedge of cactus and briar, or bamboo *chevaux-de-frise*. In some parts they are open. The old towns (*myó*) had ramparts and stockades (Nos. 6, 371, 387). The highest sites about the village are for the *nat*, the *Payá-saye* or sacred ground, the next best are for the *kyaung*. Then comes the enclosure of

167. APPROACH TO THE VILLAGE.

1: Mi Mi Khaing
438

AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

[For information on regional manufacturing specialities and on the consequent inter-regional trade, see category 116, pp. 21-27 and pp. 144 ff.]

design and, within this chaste frame, the elephants, princes, trees and *nat* spirits waved and bounded in profusion. At the base of each bowl was a felicitous salutation inscribed on a smooth ground. 326 412 531 511

Lacquer is another industry now turning out cigar and trinket boxes, table mats, bowls and other articles for the modern market, but also continuing to supply all Burmese households with objects for daily use. When my father was stationed at Magwe, we went up the river to Pagan and from there by bullock cart to the village of Nyaung-U where the best Burmese lacquer is made. A frame of bamboo strips woven closely is covered and filled out with a mixture of cow-dung and paddy husk, and given a thick coat of black *thitsi*, wood-oil. Traditional designs are engraved on this when dry, and successive coatings of thitsi mixed with colouring are put on, the bowl being allowed to dry and turned on a lathe to take off the colour not required in the pattern in between each coating. The finished product is polished smooth and so flexible that a bowl can be bent till the opposite sides of its rim touch. We had lacquer boxes, *yun-its*, of great size to hold my father's turbans and my mother's scarves, round ones to hold combs and tresses for my mother's hairdressing, drinking mugs, betel boxes and many others. We had *kyauk-ka*, a more solid lacquer of plain red and black, for food carriers, with plates and cups to match. 322 415 531 [438]

Wood seems part of the fabric of the Burmese craftsman's being. The wealth of the forests which provided teak, pyinkado, ingyin and a host of other woods for lasting structures; the perfect medium they afforded to the chisel, gouge and mallet of the carver, and the traditional forms of architecture which offered vantage points for the display of superb craftsmanship all combined to make wood-carving the most lively of Burmese arts. But wood-carving cannot be seen to advantage in domestic articles; we had carved wooden frames for photographs of monks and of Grandfather, carving on the screen which walled off the altar room, but Burmese carvers in wood had never devoted their talents to the cutting of small articles. Teak and *yamanè*, the two woods usually carved on, have a coarse grain in which fine detail cannot be rendered. Beginning from the days when the tradition was to reserve carving for the wood of sacred structures only—palaces and monasteries—the craftsman had put all his skill into animating the gables and eaves of tiered monastery roofs, palace walls and ceilings, with a riot of living ogres, nats, dancing spirits and birds surrounded by leaves, flowers and scrollwork which did not leave an inch bare. 322 314 531

Still, the village craftsman with a talent for work in wood does not lack scope in his rural surroundings. 322

592 sent to stay with us at various times and were sent to schools which taught English, but nothing would persuade them to take any interest in studies. My cousin Nyein Maung, whom I liked very much, could never bear to keep a shirt on, which was why he was always to be found with only a longyi tucked around his loins playing chinlon or helping boatmen with their canoes, when he should have been sitting fully clothed in a class-room.

[601] My young Uncle Pyant, whom we called U-Ngè, small Uncle, had
693 passed his B.A. and his law degree, and returned to Ye in preference to a more modern life in a larger town. He walled off one doorway's space
177 from the main room of the house and filled it with bookcases, a big desk
164 and chairs for visitors. Outside this room my Uncle Pyant put up a sign saying: "*A-htet tan shaynay gyi:* Advocate and Higher Grade Pleader," and within a very short time became the lawyer of the whole village; but so great was his attachment to this consultation-living-room, which had nothing in common with the rest of Ye, that he relinquished all cases whose developing complexities led client and lawyer to a higher court in Moulmein.

592 Grandmother had gardens about ten miles up the creek from Ye.
244 These contained coconuts, durians and areca nuts grown over about
276 fifty acres for commercial disposal. Around the bungalow in the centre
427 of the garden there grew mangosteen, rambutan, pomeloes and pineapples for eating on a large-scale, clumps of bamboos, a coffee tree, tobacco plants, capsicum, lime and citron trees, lemon grass, and vegetables of all kinds to serve the needs of the bungalow and the household in town. My aunts with one young male relative took turns to live at the garden and help the family that was hired to look after it permanently. It was a dangerous life in these plantations as dacoities were very frequent.
[501] The produce was taken down to Ye in a succession of graceful narrow boats shaped out of single tree trunks. The durians and coconuts were
[442] sold straight away to traders who travelled between Moulmein and Ye for this purpose. The areca nuts were first dried on a bamboo attic made by an extension of the platform upper storey of the house until it met the back slope of the roof. When they were dried the whole family gathered around in the back kitchen and removed the husks with blunted nutcrackers, leaving the smooth nut to be sold.

244 With the rice from the paddy-land on the opposite bank, fruits,
262 vegetables and spices from the garden, rolling their cheroots with a mix-
226 ture containing tobacco in leaves shed by the areca trees in the garden,
438 and grinding their own coffee berries, my aunts and grandmother only
276 needed to buy a little fish and meat for their daily consumption. This they could not provide themselves owing to the Buddhist law against

taking life. Only the hardened ones of the village, *ta-nga-thès*, drew 244
and netted in the wealth of fish around Ye, and the theoretical condem- 262
nation in which their profession was held absolved all good Buddhists
from any sin in eating the fruits of their labours. My aunts bought vast 226
quantities of fish for salting and drying. This cured fish supplied our 438
yearly needs as well as theirs. They also bought prawns to press into a paste called *ngapi*, in this case *seinsa* ngapi, which forms the basis of all our flavouring and condiments. As soon as the ta-nga-thè came up with his boatloads of prawns they were spread out on rough bamboo mats and sunned on the big platform behind the house. When they were fairly dried, my aunts, with a helper or two from the village, mashed up the prawns by hand, throwing in vast quantities of salt as they worked. The mess was left in the sun for a few days, being stirred every now and again. By this time it had turned into a grey-black paste, more or less smooth, smelling most pungent and rotten to foreigners but *hmway-dè*, fragrant, to us, and tasting like a concentrate of anchovy. This paste is stored in small glazed earthenware jars. It is used to flavour all meat and vegetables dishes, or is fried or pounded with other ingredients to provide condiments for the meal. The Tenasserim coast is the chief source of seinsa ngapi in Burma, the big towns of Tavoy and Mergui supplying towns in Upper Burma as well. The large amounts of salt needed come from the valuable salt fields in this area which produce about 6,000 tons annually.

It can be imagined what excitement a holiday at Ye caused us 528
in our growing years, and even my mother's admonitions that we were 177.
to behave in accordance with strict Burmese ideas which prevailed at 55
Ye rather than the un-Burmese habits acquired at school did not dampen 593
our excitement. We were then at English-speaking schools where we had adopted the habit of calling each other by name. The eldest of my young sisters Mya Mya, is seven years younger than I am, but when she went to school I had only two sisters left who called me respectfully, *Ma-Ma Gyi*, elder sister, and by the time the youngest was at school there was no Ma Ma Gyi left in the family. The tradition of the younger ones fetching and carrying for the elder had also sadly deteriorated.

At meals, my mother had not kept up the custom of helping the 593
eldest person present with a portion of every dish before it was open to 177.
the rest of the company. Before we went to Ye, therefore, my mother 57
gathered us around her and told us how we were to behave so as to give our grandmother and aunts great pleasure in our visit and no rude shocks. "Now don't forget, *the-mi-to*, my daughters, you will all three call your sister Big-Elder-Sister; you, Pusu, are to call Mya Mya Middle-Elder-Sister, and Aye Little-Elder-Sister. In fact you should

249 kept a manager and his family in the bungalow of each plantation, and a
311 staff of eight or nine tappers. Once a week we drove out there on a
439 picnic inspection; my father and mother gazed with pride on the rows of neat trees, walked right round to see that clearings were maintained and that the trees looked right, peered into the cups of rich white latex, administered rebukes and instructions and inspected the books, visited the smoking house and saw the brown smoked sheets with GK stamped on them, after the traditional Burmese way of married business—G for Gyi, my mother, and K for Kaing, my father—and then we all returned home. Chinese traders came to the house and while chewing betel they talked about quantities and prices of the stock we had. Then the stacked sheets came from the plantation in the two bullock carts which we kept there, and the traders came and took them away and paid us in cash. Business was something so foreign to what we had always seen our parents doing, and this all seemed so simple, that we always felt they were surely being cheated.

245 Some of the other pensioners did not believe in dabbling with com-
• 438 modities that depended on a world market. Even the way in which we grew rubber went too much into the world of specialized commerce
262 which might have pitfalls for a retired civil servant. A friend of my father's grew large gardens of *da-nyin*, a tree of the laburnum species. The fruit of this tree rivals the durian for its nauseating effect on foreign sensibilities. It does not exude a smell as the durian does, until you eat it, but after eating it the smell comes out in breath, sweat and all other excretions. But it is one of our favourite foods. It is a small flat circular fruit of a hard and smooth consistency, enclosed in a shell which prises open in neat halves like an oyster shell. The texture and taste are delicious. We boil or bake it as a vegetable for fish sauce, we salt it in big jars as a pickle, we beat it and make it swim in coconut milk and eat it as a sweet, we bury it and make it sprout into a more pungent form called *da-nyin wet*. The main point is that it is eaten in vast quantities. It also contains substances which are good for diabetics, and families buy it literally in hundreds. No world depression interferes with the demand for *da-nyin thi*, and though the sale price is low, overhead charges are almost nil.

243 Other families in Thaton got their extra income from paddy-land.
438 Although the rice for which Burma is so famous today did not enter
556 world markets till the latter half of the last century, the possession of
262 *lè*, fields, which is synonymous with paddy-fields, is a well established form of wealth. Our part of Burma is particularly rich in fields. Nearly all the 3,500,000 tons of rice which is exported annually from Burma comes from Lower Burma, where Tenasserim Division ranks among the

three most productive areas, and Thaton district takes first place in 243
Tenasserim. But rice is more than the chief export crop of the country 438
to us. It is our *wun-sa*, food for the womb, our staple food; and we have 556
depended so much on it that we pay it reverence, almost. When we 262
were young, A-Kyi and our nurses never allowed us to tread on any rice
that had been spilt; rice was like a master and human beings its servants,
they said. The phrase for "I was not born yesterday" is "I grew [181]
up eating rice", and in the same way excessive stupidity excites wonder
that the person nourished on rice can be so stupid. Through years of
journeying on trains, bullock carts, and river steamers, we have seen the
peaceful green fields, the dry reaped corn, the golden grain heaped on
small canoes before milling. Though we did not know the toil and
the uncertain hopes of the cultivators, we followed the growth of the
life-giving grain through all its stages, seeing the first sproutings in one
place in one year, the ripe and mature crop in another, and the thriving
young stalks of a later generation in another place and time.

Our fields seemed perpetually marked into small beds by ridges six 243
inches high. Lying empty during the first months of the year, these
beds grew parched and baked by April and May. With the first blessed
showers of the monsoon about mid-May, however, one, two, three, four
or more inches of rain fell on the beds within about ten days, and softened the hard crust. Men went to work about the end of the month, and with harrow and plough they chopped and churned up the earth, cutting and burying weeds, refining the rough, and making the stiff clay soil pliant until a soft fine mud was produced. In the meantime, the seeds had been soaked in water in deep layers between banana leaves, to make them sprout and become more receptive of the soil's richness. These were brought out in baskets, and young men and women wearing wide bamboo hats in the heavy showers, walked about scattering them, using up to ten basketfuls in one acre. They allowed the seeds to lie for a few

the sameik by using an uncoiled dry and slightly wavy tress to offer a wanton contrast to the smooth severe cylinder. In the absence of permanent waving, and with the straightness of the Burmese hair, I admired the enterprise of a Rangoon family who subsidized, with supplies of coconut oil, the Indian gardener next door, an Oriya coming from a race with wavy raven locks, until his tresses grew to the requisite length and they bought them for binding into a sameik. This sameik is discarded after marriage, but in the case of a girl who does not get married early, it continues in a more restrained form, a *sameik-kwin*, when it is tucked back into the bottom of the cylinder to form a loop. Shortly after the age of twenty-five, she discards it altogether and makes just a sadone like a married woman. Kyi-Kyi's sadone was broad and low; after she had finished the rest of her toilet she tied her hair by drawing a thread backwards from her forehead so that stray hairs were tucked into the sadone, and the same with the upswept hair at the back. She also carried the Burmese powder puff in her luggage though I never saw her use it. These, which we also still use as the best means of applying Max Factor powder, were scraps of old cotton vests, about ten inches square, which had been soaked and washed in thanakha, thus avoiding the horrible newness of the unused modern powder puff.

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My aunt's clothes were also aggressively her own. This was noticeable especially with her going-out clothes, for which she would never have any imported materials. She declared that imported silks, crêpe-de-chines and the like, could not be washed and beaten clean like the Burmese silks and cottons. Neither did they produce suitable colours and designs for elderly spinster ladies like her—they were either gay and skittish, or of a soberness that depressed without pleasing one. What she loved most were the *ya-khaing* longyis, silks and cottons woven in Arakan, in small check patterns, but so stout that you soaked them and beat them hard before the first wearing, and then washed them again and again until you had a pliant closely-woven fabric whose colour and freshness lasted a lifetime. One of my sisters, whom my aunt pressed to wear a ya-khaing longyi in preference to a crêpe-de-chine piece whose bright butterflies had appealed to her sixteen-year-old fancy, stated that no doubt if she slept in the ya-khaing longyi every night for seven years, it would just be at its best for her to wear when she reached the age of twenty-five. For more dressy occasions, my aunt wore *zin-mè* silks, the design of which was reputed to come from Chiengmai in Siam, and in imitation of which Burmese weavers now produce zin-mè longyis in dull red and green geometrical designs, like old lacquer colours. Kyi-Kyi sometimes wore *Bangauk* longyis also, said to come truly from Bangkok, but more often woven in Burma in imitation of the characteristic twist

291 438 296 177. 29 291

291 in the weave. These were produced in smoky blues, ambers and dull greens so beloved of elderly Burmese ladies.

286 438 Silk weaving is one of the old industries of Burma, but the yarn is mostly imported, for the rearing of silkworms, like fishing, is a form of taking life. Fortunately, around Prome on the central Irrawaddy, there live a tribe of hill people called Yabeins who are animists and may safely cultivate the *po-sa*, worm food mulberry tree. The silk from here is coarse, but is used for the weaving of the most elaborately patterned silks called *cheik*. These valuable pieces are used for wedding skirts and ceremonial wear. Few people possess more than one cheik skirt; the great number of spools—a hundred or more—necessary to produce the intricate patterns in minute waves of blended colours makes the prices vary from Rs. 40/- to Rs. 400/- per piece, a high price compared to the present imported silks. All the weaving is done by handlooms, rectangular frames about five feet long, holding the warp threads of four yards in length and 40 to 45 inches in width, operated by girls sitting on high stools, raising the alternate threads by a foot-pedal, and banging the pushboard against the woven threads each time they throw the spool across by pulling on a cord, producing eventually an *ok*, a book, a piece for two skirts folded flat and stiff like a book.

With imported yarns dyed with native vegetable dyes, the weavers at Mandalay, Amarapura, Prome and Shwedaung, Kyangin, Tavoy, Kindat and the Yaw valley produced silks of exquisite pinks, blue-greys, gold and amber, strong reds and purples, dull dirty greens, all from the sunset skies, water-vegetation, birds and trees, never fading: *pan-nu, kho, mi-go, hpet-hpu, ma-yan, pazun-hsi, payin, kyet-thway, yay-hnyi, a-sein-bok*: tender flowers, dove, smoke, leaf-bud, marian seed, prawn oil, amber, cock's blood, slime-moss, rotten vegetation. Plain colours, checks, stripes and geometrical designs all cost only Rs. 3/- or Rs. 5/- or, perhaps, Rs. 10/- per piece and could be washed forever. No wonder Kyi-Kyi did not understand why we bought imported silks. She did not understand the desire for novelty, for frivolity of birds, giant flowers or sprouting fruit such as are never seen on land or sea.

264 This is for the fresh bazaar, most families storing rice, saltfish and
511 ngapi, and sesamum oil for cooking, by the month or longer periods.

The rice is cooked to result in clean and separate grains. The usual
252 method is to put it on the fire with cold water, using judgment as to the
262 amount of grain and water for the pot. A person who cannot "cut his coat according to his cloth" is "*ko-oh hnin ko hsan ma-tan bè :* his grain and pot do not accord". When, after coming to the boil, the rice is cooked but not yet soft, it is drained by decanting; the water is kept aside for starching the jackets of the women in the daily wash, and the pot is put back on to coals or half off a fire, with the lid left open to let the steam escape and complete the cooking of the rice. It is shaken once or twice during this process, but there is no harm done if a bad servant forgets to do this or puts the pot back on a strong fire, for then the burnt rice is scraped up in a cake (*gyo*) and is eaten, dipped in oil and salt, by the children with great relish.

The soup is always clear. The great majority of soups are plain hingyos, with a stock of fish, prawn or dried prawn; flavoured with ngapi, beaten garlic or onion. It is made fresh for each soup, and when it comes to the boil, green vegetables are thrown in and left just long enough to wear down the tough cellulose. The vegetables are never overcooked. Throwing in the vegetables is called *hingyo hkut-tè*, ladling out the soup, and the green things for ladling are numerous indeed. Of leaves, the tamarind, the sorrel, the drumstick (*moringa pterygosperma*), the *kinmun*, the calabash, the mustard, various types of spinach, are only some. Some particular leaves, stalks or fruits require adaptations in the soup they ladle; for example, green chillies with the sorrel, pepper corns with the calabash; and the neem and *mezali* leaves are so bitter that they must be rubbed in salt and cooked three times before they can be eaten. All leaves used for soup have a distinct and delicate flavour. If the soup were strained after the leaves had been boiled in it a few minutes, one could still identify the taste. Richer soups are made with stock of meat—pig's trotters, chicken or duck—and are ladled with dried mushrooms, dried flowers or vermicelli strands, transparent and fair as the lotus.

263 The ngapi, condiment, dish has several standard forms. "Ngapi"
• [438] is the general term applied to any of its forms. Usually it comes to the housewife as seinsa ngapi, from Tenasserim, such as is made by my aunts in Ye, or from Yandoon in the Delta region. This high-smelling, strongly flavoured paste is stored in glazed earthen jars and flavours almost all dishes or is cooked into its own palatable forms. It is fried with chillies and pounded dried prawns into a crisp brownness, in which form Europeans like it as a toast spread which they call *balachaung*. It

361 teachers. There were similar colonies of Burmese in the eastern parts
177. of Rangoon—Yegyaw, Bahan, Tamwe and Pazundaung—but none so
96 pleasant as Kemmendine.

When we were young, my mother's stock of household goods bought from their places of manufacture had shown us all the small industries
361 of Burma. Now my sisters appeared to be as determined to do my
• 438 Rangoon shopping from the most orthodox sources, and I learnt that to
563 fit me out with a new set of Burmese clothes required the services and the varied talents of all communities of the cosmopolitan city. Imported silks, which were bought for longyis in addition to native silks, were the monopoly of merchants from Sind and Bikaner—houses of Ramchandra, Tejumal, Lekraj and others—who had set up windows in the modern Scott Market of Rangoon, and whose salesmanship had flowered in Burma into something vastly different from the nonchalance which they display in their native land. They offered cigarettes to casual buyers who fingered the usual run of silks, supplemented them with sweet coloured drinks from the sherbet stall behind the shops when they went on to more expensive satins, and if they ventured further into fine brocades and laces, dishes of ice-cream appeared as they waited for the material to be cut and measured.

Cotton longyis for day and night wear in the house took us to the western Burmese quarter of Rangoon. Here, in Goods Bazaar Row, the family firm of *U Hsin-Daw Htay:* husband and wife married in business, lived in the upper floor of their house, and stacked the lower floor with hundreds of cotton prints, made in Japan but manufactured with such an eye to Burmese requirements as regards texture, colours, design and width, that these *tha-yet-htè* longyis, as they were called, seemed to most people as Burmese as Bassein umbrellas or Mandalay slippers. All over Burma the women wore these longyis. The transplanters of the paddy, the young servant maids in a-so-ya mins' houses, the girls in Ye and a thousand other villages, women in bazaars and minkadaws themselves, all wore various qualities of bright tha-yet-hte prints bought for 10 annas to Re. 1/4 a longyi length of 1¾ yards. U Hsin and Daw Htay were prosperous; we bought our longyis from them through snobbery, in lots of ten, sitting barefooted on their mat-covered floor, with betel box in front of us, but it was possible to buy tha-yet-hte from the stalls of young Burmese women all along the big Soortee Bazaar and the Scott Market of the Town. These young women form one of Burma's fairest sights.

361 In the days of my schooling, when each new term plunged me into
438 the foreign world behind Convent walls, as my mother completed the shopping for it on the last day of each vacation, I gazed back with longing

and envy at these fair creatures who continued work and home in one long pleasant Burmese continuity. They are girls from the ages of sixteen upward. Probably their parents set them up in these stalls, each separated from its neighbour by a stack of cotton bales, six or seven stalls on a long platform. They come there in the mornings, dressed in crisp muslin jackets and bright longyis, their faces powdered with thanakha and the Five B's, flowers in their hair, and fragrant ground bark on their hands and feet. They open up shop and dust with feather brooms while they shout across to each other the news of the previous evening. Then the whole day unfolds, calling out to food sellers and treating their friends to a succession of delicacies, button-holing the young boy who hawks magazines and tuppenny novels, and reclining against a pile of the tha-yet-hte longyis to read these romances, helping each other to fold up the pieces after a troublesome customer has gone, anything but making an earnest business of their profession. They always looked so cool and pretty and indifferent beside the small Indian storekeepers who flanked their platforms and solicited passers-by for patronage. "Oh to be a bazaar girl!" I still thought when I was in the University; "to pass unchaperoned days, reading novels and eating sweets, to have time to be powdered and neatly dressed, and only now and then be disturbed by someone who wants to buy a longyi." 361 438

Our starched white muslin jackets are made out of fine transparent muslin manufactured in England, and sent out in bales of 11 yards with the quality stamped in Burmese characters, and on the jacket a florid illustration of the quality-name—names such as *Nat-thami, Sein ta-hsok, Shwe Pan-gaing, Mè Nyo:* Heavenly Damsel, Cluster of Diamonds, Golden Spray of Flowers, Dusky Maiden—and imported by both Indian and Burmese traders. 294 439 563

The making up of the jackets was the monopoly of Chinese tailors; our *tayok-kalay*, little Chinaman, lived in the crowded quarter of Yegyaw in a barnlike room which was carpenter's shop at one end and tailor's at the other. The tailor's end had a row of shelves along the wall in to which the finished garments and uncut material were shoved, higgledy-piggledy in paper bags on which the merest scribble denoted owner and date of order. In front of this was the counter on which the cutter was at work, and separating it from the carpentery end was a table at which one or two half-clad men always seemed to be eating noodles or reading a Chinese newspaper, of which there were three in Rangoon. In spite of this, the tayok-kalay never confused an order for garments which had to fit so meticulously and always delivered them in a snow-white condition. He charged 9 annas for each fine handsewn garment, and for modern girls managed to cut twelve out of the eleven-yard piece. This 294 563 441 465

441 563 semi-precious stones, or gold dust, all cut with many tiny facets. We once had in our house a heavy glass vase, imported by an English firm, of a dull bluish-black colour. One day a wind mercifully blew the vase on to the floor where it broke into a hundred pieces. My cousin gathered up the pieces and the next time she went to Mandalay her button cutter fashioned them into several sets of round sparkling buttons catching the light and showing now black, now grey, now blue, one set of which I wear to this day. These and the velvet slippers which are universally worn were sold in the market by young Burmese women sitting opposite [438 565] the tha-yet-htè longyi sellers. The slippers also came from Mandalay, and in the days of the last Burmese king, the common people were forbidden to wear them; they were reserved for royal use alone.

265 563 At last my sisters considered that I was suitably dressed as the elder sister of such fashionable young ladies as they had now grown into, and equipped to attend any social function of the town. Although Burmese people love gathering to eat and drink, hotels and restaurants did not exist in Rangoon society. Both the Western restaurants where people danced and drank alcoholic drinks, and the leading Chinese restaurants where the dolled-up Chinese waitresses served the male customers with playful attentions, were out of bounds for Burmese women, and therefore not greatly frequented by Burmese men either, except in the case of the Chinese hotels as a carousal. Night bazaars were, however, eminently respectable, all Rangoon families being addicted to the habit of eating out as a supper after their dinner at home. They drove in cars to the pavement stalls of Chinatown, Moghul Street and Yegyaw; at Burmese stalls they got out and squatted on the benches provided, while the seller served them from the cooking pot beside her; at Indian and Chinese shops they had a plank thrust through to rest on the doors of the car, and ate sitting there. After eating rich Mohammedan food or delicious Chinese dishes, they drove a few streets further on to eat in the same fashion at an ice-cream or sherbet stall. It was a good life indeed.

546 177. 54 We usually did this after the cinema. While we went to see American films, my mother and her friends invariably went to a Burmese film. There were four Burmese cinema halls in Rangoon, whose box offices were always besieged, but in spite of this the cinema industry in Burma was not a thriving one. Actors and actresses were poor and suffered a social stigma. About twenty-five feature films were produced in Rangoon each year, both sound and silent, by companies whose prosperity never lasted more than a few years. They could often be seen filming their outdoor scenes round the Royal Lakes, the University Estate and the fields around Mingaladon, using studios only for indoor scenes. In pite of this, the effects aimed at were ambitious, especially in the earlier

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma (Hill Peoples Europeans) AP1
Burmese AP4

where some sturdy tree refuses to fall, and the clearing it away becomes a matter of very considerable danger. This taung-ya system is very wasteful as well as laborious, and annually draws down upon itself the denunciations of the English forest officers. But the hill-tribes who adopt it are too few to support themselves in any other way. They were long ago driven out of the plains by the Burmans, and now cling to their old nomadic life with a degree of obstinacy which Government officials, in a variety of ways, have found is not to be tempted by any tale of the present security and plenty of the low country, or even of the valleys among the hills. Rice, therefore, continues to be produced with the minimum and the maximum of labour; but none of the hill rice ever finds its way out of the country, and seldom even down to the plains.

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The rice season, as far as the English merchant is concerned, commences in January and ends about May; but though this is pre-eminently the "busy season," there are purchases made in greater or less quantities all the year round. The relations between the great English rice firms and the simple jungle cultivators have not always been of a very elevating character, and it can hardly be denied that the fault lies wholly at the door of the foreigner. Missionaries in Burma are wont to mourn that their teachings are often rendered wholly nugatory by the want of scruple, and it might almost be said of honour, displayed by the great Rangoon rice firms. The good padres teach their proselytes that Christians are all honest and truthful. The ingenuous lads enter as clerks in a rice-mill and discover that Englishmen scarcely differ from the "poor heathen," except in being more lordly in the way of doing the thing.

Ba Be. 243 438 563

Years ago, when there were not nearly so many mills as there are now, and not a quarter so many ships in the harbour during the rice season, things went on pretty equably. One day one firm would give a rupee or so more per hundred baskets, and the next day it would be another. But soon the mills began to increase in number and more ships came, and it was harder to get paddy. Then rival firms began to bid against each other. There was demurrage before their eyes, and it was terribly expensive work keeping the mill

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2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma (Europeans Chinese) AP1
Burmese AP4

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the Scotch engineer, is not looking. There is a cluster of Chinese carpenters, chipping away with their queer thick-headed axes and planes, which, with characteristic perversity, they pull towards them, instead of pushing away as other workmen do. Here is M——, the English "assistant" at the mill, his hat and coat all covered with rice-dust, which hangs in queer fashion on his eyebrows and moustache. He is in high spirits. "We've got twenty-four pair of stones going to-day, more than anybody else in the creek;" and he goes off to see how the Burmese girls are stitching up the rice-bags, a duty of which he is particularly fond, and over which he spends a quite unnecessary amount of time. There is R——'s voice on the other side of the creek. He is storming at some men in the cargo-boat, who have done something wrong—anchored in the wrong place, or not started for the upper mill at Kemendine last night as they ought to have done. R—— has a voice which is the terror of every loitering coolie and dawdling boat-wallah in his employ; and he will be as hoarse as a North Sea pilot by nightfall, and will want a "double-barrelled" whisky and soda to moisten him before dinner. He wants company down to "the Point," and presently comes skimming across in his gig, manned by Chittagonian Kalassies, and we drop down the creek—they call small rivers creeks in the East—to where it joins with the main Rangoon stream. The Pegu river, tapping the country north-east and north of Rangoon, comes in at the same place; and there is a great crowd of paddy-boats here in the early morning. Each firm has its brokers, middlemen who make the purchases from the farmers that come down with their grain. They have been here since daylight, and fly about in their little dug-outs from one seller to another. The great point in a broker seems to be power of lungs and fluency in abuse. The amount of yelling that goes on at "Monkey Point" would silence the bookmakers' ring at Epsom on a Derby day.

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R—— has not come down to this pandemonium for nothing. There are a couple of big ships in, which must be filled, or there will be demurrage to pay, and a "canal-wallah" is expected this afternoon or to-morrow morning; so that the wheels must be kept going their hardest.

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2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

000 related by some foreigners of the burial of the fish in the earth for periods varying from a week to a year (!) are due either to a guileless nature or a too powerful imagination. The soil of Burma needs no manure.

263 252 The fish most sought after for damin ngapi are those belonging to the family of cat- and dog-fish, from the circumstance that they have no scales, and therefore make a smoother compound. Some of these attain a huge size, the tame dog-fish at Thihadaw, above Mandalay, being quite five feet long, and blessed with mouths that would take in a leg of mutton. Many of them also have the peculiarity of breathing air, rising to the surface of the water and opening their mouths for the purpose; while, when the inland pools dry up after the rains are past, they are capable of making long journeys overland.

Seinsa ngapi is made entirely from prawns, and comes chiefly from the Tenasserim coast, Beit (the English Mergui) and Tavoy being the centres of its manufacture. The prawns are spread out on mats in the sun as soon as caught and left there till they are fairly well dried. Then they are mashed up by hand, abundance of salt being added, and are stirred up several times a day regularly for three days, lying out in the sun all the time. After that, the paste is ready for use, and is packed in small jars. Properly, seinsa is that made from the prawns exposed immediately after being caught. When some hours elapse before they are spread out to dry, the resulting ngapi is called yetpyán; and if a whole day elapses before the exposure, yet-ôk. The greater the delay, the more powerful the smell and the more piquant the flavour—a fact for Englishmen to remember when they take balachong. Ket ngapi is simply a variety made of large prawns, which are heavily pressed in baskets called ket, before they are put out in the sun to dry. They are then pounded with salt and pressed again, after which they are ready for consumption, either as they are or after frying.

263 438 Notwithstanding the open disfavour with which the English regard ngapi, the Burmese hold by it as the most savoury and necessary portion of their dinner, and vast quantities are exported to Upper Burma, where the manufacture, owing to the smaller fisheries, is not equal to the

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

demand. The indignation which a crusade against the condiment by a young civil officer with more zeal than discretion caused in 1880, will not soon be forgotten. Cholera was rather bad in Yandun, one of the great places for ngapi, and the Assistant Commissioner, convinced that the heavy smells must be the cause of it, issued an order forbidding the manufacture of the fish-paste, or its sale in the public markets, as well as that other cherished but strong-smelling dainty, prawn-head oil. The result was an avalanche of petitions to the Chief Commissioner, and something very like open riot in the town. Equanimity was not restored till the too energetic official was removed to another station, and the lugyis pointed exultantly to the fact that as soon as they began to make up arrears in the way of ngapi consumption, cholera left the place. Nevertheless, Yandun is not a charming place of residence to a man with a sensitive nose.

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Fishermen are promised terrible punishments in a future life for the number of lives they take, but popular sympathy finds a loophole of escape for them. They do not actually kill the fish. These are merely put out on the bank to dry, after their long soaking in the river, and if they are foolish and ill-judged enough to die while undergoing the process, it is their own fault. Nevertheless, some strict people hold by the doctrine of the Manichæans, who asserted that the soul of the farmer migrated into herbs so that it might be cut down and thrashed out. The baker becomes bread and is eaten. The killer of a deer becomes a deer; of a fish, a fish; and so on. But nevertheless, if all the fishermen became monks one day, the next would see some of the pious trying their hands with the cast-net.

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2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

536 who cannot stay over the night, or when a local feast, limited in its time, occurs. The great and legitimate season is the night, and frequently a play, especially a puppet play, extends over six or seven successive nights. The majority of the audience stay the whole time, from seven or eight o'clock at night till sunrise. It is not, however, to be supposed that they hear it all through. Abundance of mats and rugs are brought, and not a few, after listening till midnight or thereabouts, calmly curl themselves up to sleep, and slumber away for two or three hours, heedless of the braying of the horns and the crash of the cymbals only a few yards off. Then they wake up and fall in with the progress of the piece with as keen interest as if they had
263 heard every word of it. Most of the young people, however, prime themselves with the anti-soporific le'hpet, "pickled tea," as the English call it, and bid defiance to drowsiness. This condiment is as regular a crown to a Burmese dinner as cheese is to an English one, and with the same idea, possibly erroneous in both cases, that it promotes digestion.
[563] It is almost exclusively produced in Taungbaing, in the
● [438] Shan country, by a hill tribe called Rumai, better known by the Burmese name of Palaungs. The Burmese mix with it salt, garlic, and assafœtida, douse it in oil, and add a few grains of millet seed. The leaves forming the basis are the leaves of an actual tree as distinguished from the bushes of China and Assam. Hooker called it *Elæodendron orientale*, while Anderson asserted that it was really *E. persicum*. Of late years Assam planters have bought Taungbaing seed for their gardens. One of the grievances which Englishmen have when they attend a pwè is that they are always induced by their host to take pickled tea, and perceive in it nothing but the overpowering horrors of the assafœtida. Pwès and assafœtida are therefore associated with one another to the detriment of both.

533 Few foreigners can detect one tune from another, or the recitative from any one of them. Consequently most declare there is only one tune, or no tune at all, according to the capacity of generosity in them. The same thing has been said by an inappreciative Burman of the "vipers" of the Royal Scots Fusiliers. He admired the conscientiousness

14: Brant E-5 (1949-50) 1954 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

II

MAKING A LIVING

Occupations

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The occupational pattern in Tadagale is a highly diversified one. There are thirty-eight principal gainful occupations in which a total of 341 individuals are engaged. A large proportion of these people have secondary and even tertiary pursuits at which they spend part of their time in order to round out a living. The following table shows the outstanding principal occupations in order of frequency.

Table II

Principal Occupations of Villagers

Occupation	No.
Gardener	52
Bus operator (driver, spare)	44
Paddy cultivator	43
Field laborer	38
Dairy farmer	26
Prepared foods seller	20
Urban laborer	19
Trader (middleman)	17
Shopkeeper	15

Some of the other principal occupations, of lesser frequency, are carpenter, fisherman, casual laborer, cowherd, woodcutter, and seamstress.

1. Gardening. The leading mode of making a living is truck gardening. The gardens are located on small patches of ground adjoining dwellings, and range in size from tiny plots up to perhaps 3000 square feet. They are cultivated intensively, four crops a year being usual, and six crops not unknown. The crops include gourds, cucumbers, mustard, cabbage, cauliflower, lettuce, radishes and spinach. 244

For all households, the garden supplies the family with the many vegetables that form an indispensable part of the various Burmese curries. Many gardens produce a surplus which is sold in nearby town bazaars or in the larger markets of Rangoon. The trend has been for gardening to become increasingly important as a source of income in recent years, particularly during the period of disturbed conditions in Burma. These conditions have seriously impeded the normal flow of fresh vegetables and fruits to Rangoon from more distant points; thus the people of Tadagale have been provided with an opportunity to secure high prices for almost all the vegetables they can supply. 244 178 443 438

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An increase has occurred in the number of individuals engaged in small-scale middleman trading. Such manufactured items as candles, mats, jewelery, and books are bought in Rangoon and sold increasingly in the village and nearby.

Wage labor of an unskilled sort has increased. Some villagers have found jobs in a warehouse in Rangoon, others in a mental hospital not far from the village. A very small number have become office and clerical workers.

Unemployment is said to be a new development, although these people are only a few.

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b. Resources. Both cultivated land and grazing land resources have declined. The grazing land is very badly eroded, with little grass left. Fishing resources remain steady; the large Parumdaung Creek at the eastern edge of the village yields as many fish as ever.

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c. Imports. There has been a decrease, as indicated earlier, in the amount of Burma-grown cotton that comes into the village for making of clothing. A variety of miscellaneous food items, such as salt, dried chilis, cigars, cooking oil, betel, potatoes, onions, and various spices are obtained from the outside as much as in the past. Increasingly sought beyond the village are building materials, housewares of all types, clothing, and medicine.

d. Exports. The amount of rice sold has declined, while the sale of cooked foods, fresh vegetables, labor and services has increased.

In 1949-50 the villagers of Tadagale felt that their economic lot had worsened over the preceding several years, owing to the aftermath of World War II and the instability prevailing in Burma. The most pressingly felt needs were for land and the curbing of inflationary high prices, and hope was expressed that the plans of the national government in these and other matters might bring some measure of relief.

16;Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

In two or three attempts that he made to oppose the troops he was signally worsted, so he was obliged to change his tactics. He decided to boycott the enemy. No Burman was to accept service under him, to give him information or supplies, to be his guide, or to assist him in any way. This rule Maung Yaing made generally known, and he announced his intention of enforcing it with rigour. And he did so. There was a head man of a village near Shemmaga whom he executed because he had acted as guide to a body of troops, and he cut off all supplies from the interior, lying on the roads, and stopping all men from entering Shemmaga. He further issued a notice that the inhabitants of Shemmaga itself should leave the town. They could not move the garrison, therefore the people must move themselves. No assistance must be given to the enemy. The villagers of Shemmaga, mostly small traders in salt and rice, were naturally averse to leaving. This trade was their only means of livelihood, the houses their only homes, and they did not like the idea of going out into the unknown country behind. Moreover, the exaction by Maung Yaing of money and supplies for his men fell most heavily on the wealthier men, and on the whole they were not sorry to have the English garrison in the town, so that they could trade in peace. Some few left, but most did not, and though they collected money, and sent it to Maung Yaing, they at the same time told the English officer in command of Maung Yaing's threats, and begged that great care should be taken of the town, for Maung Yaing was very angry. When he found he could not cause the

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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443 gauzy silk handkerchiefs; but often these are sold
286 at separate stalls.

But prettier than the silks are the sellers, for these are nearly all girls and women, sweet and fresh in their white jackets, with flowers in their hair. And they are all delighted to talk to you and show you their goods, even if you do not buy; and they will take a compliment sedately, as a girl should, and they will probably charge you an extra rupee for it when you come to pay for your purchases. So it is never wise for a man, unless he have a heart of stone,
443 to go marketing for silks. He should always ask a
562 lady friend to go with him and do the bargaining, and he will lose no courtesy thereby, for these women know how to be courteous to fellow-women as well as to fellow-men.

443 In the provincial bazaars it is much the same.
369 There may be a few travelling merchants from
438 Rangoon or Mandalay, most of whom are men;
442 but nearly all the retailers are women. Indeed, speaking broadly, it may be said that the retail trade of the country is in the hands of the women, and they nearly all trade on their own account. Just as the men farm their own land, the women own their businesses. They are not saleswomen for others, but traders on their own account; and with the exception of the silk and cloth branches of the trade, it does not interfere with home-life. The bazaar lasts but three hours, and a woman has ample time for her home duties when her daily visit to the bazaar is over; she is never kept away all day in shops and factories.

Her home-life is always the centre of her life;

if there are many fish, if the water is bad they may die off - and do not come down to the HEE. When the water is good we get many fish. When the water is bad it is called YE-HAR-DE (the water is hurt). When the water is bad they die off on their own and become putrid on this side; they do not come down. When the water is bad it stops the coming down of fish even more effectively than if a YIN barrier were put up (further upstream.) They do not come down to the mouth of the HEE. 226 221 132

"There are 80 or 100 fishermen working at the CHAUNG-MA-GYI IN where I work. Thirty of these are from YWA-GYI-SAT and they are the only IN workers there, although there are 7 other INS in the neighbourhood. They work for 6 months out of the year. During the month of TAGU when the fish is sold, we start on the YIN and work through the months of KASON, NAYON, NAZO, WAGAUNG, TAWTHALIN and in TAWTHALIN we place it in the IN. Water comes down and with it the fish, and we end up about the month of PYATHO. In the hot season we catch the remaining fish and after the hot season the INS are again auctioned by the Government. 226

"Night and day the fish are coming down and they have to be gathered up in wicker baskets and poured into tubs. They are coming down all the time. We have no special work time; both night and day. That is why there have to be so many workers. We have watches. If this person watches this night, that person watches the next night and another person the next night. They have to stay till morning. The person who has watched up till morning is given a turn (to rest) and another person placed there for the next night. The fishermen works for a day and a night. Then shifts are changed. The man who works from the afternoon is given a rest in the morning. There are shifts of eight to nine men at a time. These nine men are changed after a day and a night. They rest for a day and a night. 226 461

"Some of the more common fish are:- Nga Thaing, Nga Gyin, Nga Gyaung, Nga Myit Chin, Nga Dan, Nga Myin Yin; small fish are plentiful, Nga Khamma, Nga Hpare Aung, Nga Bat, Nga Khu, Nga Gyi; you get a lot. During one shift, (one day and one night) 2000 fish may come down, 3000 fish may come, or there may be 500, or there may be only 100. You cannot say for sure. At the end of the SHAW the fish are scooped up with kerosene tins and poured into the boat with wicker baskets. After that they are taken home. We take both big and small fish. The big ones are caught by hand and kept alive in big tubs, and it is the small fish that are scooped up with kerosene tins. We take all the fish that are stranded at the sluice end. The tiny fish escape through the YIN. Some larger fish also escape if the YIN cracks are wide.

"The large fish are kept alive and sent to the Rangoon markets and to various towns. They usually stay alive this way. When the distance is great they are placed in ice and sent. The other fish are dried or made into fish paste or NGAPI. In making Ngapi, the heads are first cut off. The scales are removed by wrapping the fish in gunny-bags and stamping with the feet after the bag has been placed in a tub. After that they are washed and salt is put in. After mixing thoroughly with salt they are pressed into jars. Those who want to pound their fish into NGAPI DAUNG (pounded ngapi) leave their fish to become putrid and then pound them. Those who want to keep them raw (AMEIN) do not. 226 438 263

Ma Aye Myaing describes the preparation of ngapi as follows:-

"The fish have to be chopped and placed in water; after the scales are removed, the fishes are chopped and placed in water for a night. In the morning the putrid fish are taken out, mixed with salt and laid out to dry. In the evening they are again mixed with salt and pounded. You pound the fish today, lay 251 263

it out to dry in the sun throughout the next day, then pound again and store in jars. The total process takes two days." 251

U Myaing continues his explanation of the IN fishery:- 263

"The fishery is worked on a co-operative basis. We contribute equal sums of money. If one puts up Rs. 100/- all put up Rs.100/-; if Rs.1000/- all put up Rs.1000/- each. We group together and work. Rights to the site of the fishery must be secured from the government by auction. We have to make an initial payment of about Rs. 1000/- or Rs. 2000/- and in bidding among ourselves the price increases to eight thousand, nine thousand, ten thousand, twelve thousand. The original price was three thousand rupees. This is the cost of the Deputy Commissioner's auction. There were many bidders at the auction for the IN. Four, five, six. For example if I give a thousand rupees you offer two thousand, he gives three, four, five thousand ..... When it comes to the hand of the successful bidder the price has increased. The money for the fishery rights have to be paid in later (after the fishing has begun). For example if I pay in a thousand rupees this month, I pay a thousand the next month and the next, in several instalments. This is in addition to the amount we sink into the actual working of the business. (Cost of constructing the IN and equipment). 226 474 463

"The fishermen do not get paid a salary. They have shares. Accounts are kept of how much fish is caught, how much sold, and only after the IN has been worked to the end of the season is everything cleared up. Each fisherman gets only one share, and the profits are equally divided. We have to pay equal amounts of money for the IN and the money we get from the IN is the same for each of us. We all group and work together. There are some INS where one takes the lead and engages all the men and works it for himself. What he gets he keeps for himself. He pays the wages. In selling, we discuss the matter among ourselves and then sell. The four or five elders get together and if they decide to sell this kind of fish for this price, it is sold.

"As one of the elders, I go alone and bid at the auctioning in the Deputy Commissioner's office. I also supervise the actual fishing saying to the other fishermen - "Do this, and this and this." I have a list of what things they need and have to go and buy these things for them. I have to buy poles, I have to buy YIN bamboo, I have to buy all the implements which are to be used. I have to collect money, and buy all the implements used in the IN. I have to keep accounts for this. I get a bit more money (than the other fishermen) by making goods (from the profits of manufacture). You see, I also make dried Ngapi fish and Ngapi-daung. I buy the fish from them and process it. I have not worked at INS all my life. I worked for about ten years at the time when the British king reigned. When the Japanese came I worked at INS no longer."(He then bought fish and sold the preparations.) [656] 226 463 621

U Myaing gives the following supplementary information:

" There are ten leaders or foremen in the village, each of them taking charge of about seven or eight men. In all there are about eighty workers in the three sub-villages of Pathee working with me at our IN. About thirty or forty of these live in INS-GYI-BEY on our side of the river. These are men working at our IN only. There are also workers living in the village who work in the six other INS of the neighbourhood. About a hundred of the two hundred families in INS-GYI-BEY work INS. The rest process the fish, dry it, make ngapi etc., and to do this they have to buy the fish from the IN workers. Afterwards they sell to buyers who come from Upper Burma. Or sometimes they go upcountry in boats and steamers to sell the produce. Some people who are not IN workers go to the INS and help to extract fish oil. Fish like Nga-Nyare-daung yeild about one viss of oil to every 10 viss of fish. The fish are cut open with a knife and the fat collected. The women come and help without payment and take home oil for themselves when they go back. The women of my household also used to do this. [438] [562]

also need to do this. Sometimes they are able to extract about 5 viss of oil each in one day. 226 463 621

"There are also cultivators in the village. Some of those who work INS also own fields. They rent out the land to tenants. There are altogether 12 people in our village who own cultivation fields. But the biggest landowner does not own lands more extensive than three hundred acres. Some own 40 or 50 acres. Some engage cultivators and work their fields themselves, while others rent out the fields for a certain percentage of the produce. 421 463 621 427

"There were paid workers in the IN. They were paid, not a daily wage, but a monthly salary of Rs. 30/- without food. About 50 of the 80 workers were paid workers, though some of them owned shares as well. In addition to their pay, these paid workers received quite a lot of fish which their families went around selling. They get one or two basket-loads of fish to sell, and in this way make quite a lot of money. 226 463 465

"Fish is not distributed in this manner every day - only when the fish start coming down in great numbers. On these occasions however the workers get about 25 to 30 viss each - that is, by the boatload. Ordinarily they are given just enough for one meal.

"I also own eleven cows; eight for loaning out to cultivators and three for breeding purposes. No milk is drawn for human consumption because that is not the custom in our native place." 231 [272]

One yoke of oxen hired out brought U Myaing 50 baskets of paddy a year. He had 4 yokes. They kept by 100 baskets for home consumption and sold the rest at a rate fluctuating between Rs. 100/- and Rs. 175/- per hundred baskets.

In those years when U Myaing works at INS, he has to confine himself to such work only. During those years when he does not work at INS, he buys the fish from IN workers and process them for sale as NGAGYI, NGA-CHAUK, etc. Each year he uses between four to five thousand fish. When U Myain his co-workers could not get an IN, he had to buy fish and make NGA-CHAUK, (dried fish), NGAPI and NGANYAR-IE. 226 463 433

On his former visits to Rangoon U Myaing came in a boat loaded with NGAGYI CHAUK (dried NGA GYI) and transferred it to the care of a broker in Rangoon. He then ascended the Shwe Dagon pagoda platform, donated money and water, returned to the broker, and went around the town to places like Mogul Street (the Indian quarter) for meats and ate pillau-rice etc. It took three or four days, and sometimes about ten days for the broker to dispose of his goods and in this time he would go round all the pagodas in Rangoon like the Botataung, Sule, Nga-htat-gyi etc. Once he went to a Chinese hotel known as the HAN-HIN hotel together with some traders from DAGUTU. They pooled the expenses. The journey home took a day and a night. He took back with him clothes, longyis, KINGYIS, durian fruit, 226 438● 484 [778]

226 oranges, guava fruit, mangosteen fruit - together worth about forty
438 or fifty rupees. When he arrived at Pathwe this was distributed among
484 the members of his family, and also some relatives and the phongyis.
[431] On one such trip he made Rs. 2700/- which he carried back hidden away in a jar of salt.

494 U Myaing never came in to Rangoon purely for a visit. Besides
465 bringing down fish, U Myaing also came to Rangoon before the war to buy some motor parts and accessories such as tyres, tubes, etc. which they could not obtain in Pathwe village or in Pantanaw town. At that period in his life U Myaing used to drive a bus between Pathwe and the village on the bank of the river across from Pathwe. There was a cart track for a road, and they used to carry passengers at a rupee per head. In the rains this cart track became impossible and so they traversed this route only from TA-ZAUNG-BON to KASON months. U Myaing worked on this route for three summers. In the rains they shifted operations to the Maubin Ye Le route, which was a 10 mile journey, and occasionally the 10 mile route from Ye Le to HSE-DAING-
[491] MAW. He worked at these places for two rainy seasons, from WAZO right up till the month of TA-ZAUNG-BON. The bus was owned by his cousin who collected all the earnings for each day. At that time bus drivers were hired at Rs. 45/- a month, plus sweet tea, food, shelter and one packet of cigarettes a day. "In Pathwe all the houses were too large and could accomodate a great many more people than they actually did. This was because each one erected his own building after the example of the other houses in the village. The person who hired the bus driver merely installed him in his home".

[589] This was when U Myaing was 17 or 18 years old. He was not paid anything, but the family was provided with everything they needed - food, clothes, etc. (U Myaing was still unmarried and the family
[582] consisted of two sisters, his mother and himself. (He did not marry
[431] till the age of thirty.) Both U Myaing and Daw Aw Zar estimated that the things they received from the bus owner would have amounted to much more than forty five rupees' worth.

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KIN GYI THI (Jacket button) Buttons: — Buttons come in matched sets of five for use in fastening the jackets. They are detachable, and range from ½ to ¾ inch in diameter for the most part.

A set of silver buttons were received by the eldest daughter as a present from a medical student, Miss Margaret Gaudoin, 6 months ago in camp. Ma Aye Myaing, her eldest daughter and Daw Aw Zar each had a set of crystal buttons costing in Pathwe Rs. 3/- or 4/- in Japanese currency during the Japanese regime. Daw Aw Zar's set cost 12 annas The children each had a set of green stone buttons costing Rs. 1/- in Pathwe. These items are still in use in camp.

Stone Slab for making Face Powder.

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KYAUK-PYIN: (Stone Slab): — These are circular stone slabs about 1 foot in diameter and 1½ inches thick. Pathwe: three were used by the family. One was received as a present from a friend. One, with a diameter of 14 inches was "100 years old" and handed down to Daw Aw Zar by her mother. The third was bought at Pantanaw for Rs. 4/-. All three were left behind in the move. Camp: one with a diameter of 6 inches was received as a present.

OW HSI (Coconut oil): — The oil of the coconut meat, a yellow, slightly viscous fluid with a characteristic odour is highly prized by the Burmese women as a hair dressing. Pathwe: 20 ticals of oil, costing 8 annas, would be used per month. Camp: a small quantity is occasionally bought lasting 2 days at a time. It is purchased in the refugee camp for 2 annas.

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PATHEIN HYEE (Bassein-town umbrella) parasol: — These are made of cloth with bamboo ribs and handle. The cloth is painted with flora and other designs in various bright colours. They are considered "elegant" and used primarily for social sauntering. The town of Bassein is famous as a place of manufacture for parasols. Pathwe: the children had two parasols, lasting 6 months. These were bought in Pantanaw for Rs. 3/- each. Camp: none.

[438]

HYEE, umbrella: — Ma Aye Myaing reports that she had an umbrella in Pathwe, the black cloth European kind, for which she paid Rs. 7/- It lasted 8 or 9 months. One was bought in camp, second hand for Rs. 3/- 5 months ago. It is good for 2 months more.

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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[438]

108. PLOUGHING IN THE DRY ZONE.

is a luxury in that region, and a part of the requirement is imported from Pegu. Crops of sorghum and millet (*pyaung*, *lu*), sesamum (*hnan*) and various pulses (*pè*), as well as cotton (*wū*), are obtained on the better sort of soil, during the light rains, from July to September. The dry soil is too hard for ploughing even when moistened by such rain as falls. It is scraped up with harrows instead. Four oxen are yoked abreast and the driver rides on the beam of the harrow to give it weight.

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The wet or staple cultivation of the whole country begins between June and August, as soon as the grass-sod which has formed on the rice-fields in the by-season—and which has served for pasture in the interval—has got thoroughly water-logged. The soil is then turned, about six inches deep, with a wooden plough (*tè*, Nos. 102, 119) bearing a shoe of bronze or iron. Where elephants are available, a large *tôn* is used which does the work of four ploughs. The clods left by the plough are broken fine, and the wet soil worked into slush by herds of buffaloes driven round and round in the fields. If there are not enough cattle, the plough-clods are worked down with harrows drawn by buffaloes or oxen (No. 325). A rotary implement is coming into use to prepare the clods for the harrow (No. 168). There is very little open grass-land in the moist region. Unless the scrub which springs up is cut, the land soon relapses into jungle.

[136]

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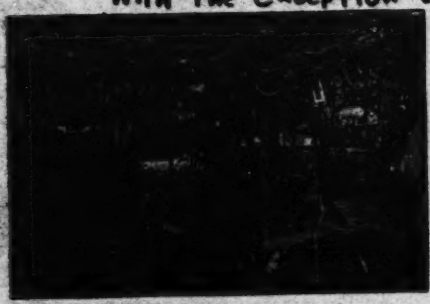
For the above operations cattle are needful to the cultivator, though he makes little use of the manure and does not use the milk at all. The cattle are only used for draught, and very little care is bestowed on breeding. Oxen

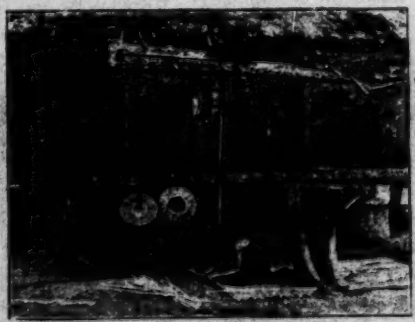
109. ELEPHANT PLOUGH.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

With the exception of the stuff for the 386
recluses' robes, cloth is not dyed 286
in the piece, but in the yarn. [792]
Dyes used for cotton are also chiefly imported, but the indigenous dyes continue to be [342]
used for silk. The Burmans excel in yellows, oranges, deep reds, and rich deep greens, which they harmonise with beautiful effect. Their clear blues and purples are indifferent. 286
Except in a few localities, where weaving is a speciality, the men 462
take no share in the industry [438]
beyond constructing the looms. Women spin and dye the yarn and weave the cloth. The lath of the loom (*lokha*) is of graceful outline—often elaborately [531]
carved—and is furnished with two ornamented metal pins, with loose metal rings, that jangle at each swing of the beam, and proclaim the industry of the young [584]
woman, to whom this business chiefly falls. Hence it comes that the loom is a favourite *rendezvous*. The same applies to other occupations of the girls, such as rice-cleaning, when the suitor will take a turn at the heavy part of the work and lounge while the sifting goes on. Common patterns of cloth are tartans, 286
for which two or three shuttle-spools are required. The plainest cloth woven is at least shot with a colour different to that of the warp. The intricacy of a pattern is denoted by the number of spools. Scroll patterns (*cheik*) in silk are called *hsu-tayé* (hundred-spool). The warp is a cubit wide and about twenty cubits long, which makes a man's loin-cloth (*pasé*). The piece is doubled and its edges sewn together along one side; the turn of the cloth serves as a bag or wallet, according as the piece is draped; it has no lining. The *pasé* is hitched round the loins and girt long or short, according to fancy, without the help of a belt; but elastic belts are now coming in. The slack is worn in a bunch in front (*kabdungzu*) or is thrown over the shoulder.



126. BINDING THE THATCH.



127. PLAITING FLOOR-MATS (see p. 66).

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[342]

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

169. FRUIT-STALL IN JULY (TENASERIM)

the villages. They demand little or no care. Fruit-trees on which proper care is bestowed are the custard-apple, orange, mangosteen and durian, the first of these in the dry region, the latter three in the moist south. The durian (*duyin*) requires about the same expenditure of labour before it bears as the cocoanut; but the fruit is prized above all others. Its cultivation has been so much extended of late that average durians in the season cost only about double the price of green cocoanuts. Thirty years ago both durian and mangosteen used to cost two and three times as much as now. The limits of durian and mangosteen are 17° N. and 95° E. Only a small part of the habitat of both trees is included in Burma. Oranges, like most fruit trees in Burma, are grown from seed. The custard-apple is planted on terraced hillsides. It gives to the Irawadi at Prome a character which recalls the vineyards of the Rhine. *The* fruit of Burma, however, as of the tropics at large, is the plantain or banana (*hngeppyaw-tht*). Many varieties are cultivated, some of them very delicate. The plantain is propagated from suckers; after fruiting in the second year, the plant dies. The papaya (*thimbaw-tht*, Nos. 407, 435) was introduced over sixty years ago and has spread everywhere. Of sweet fruits there remain the pine-apple, which is cultivated in the light shade of the orchards of jack, and the water-melon, grown in vegetable gardens together with cucumbers and vegetable marrows. The walnut and the chestnut flourish in the north. The vine bears there also, but is not extensively cultivated. Other nuts are the cashew kernel and the ground-nut (*myo-ht*); both have to be roasted. The kernels of

170. ROD NET (PAITTABUN)

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[227]

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 API Burma
Burmese AP4

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[323]

213. KILN FOR PATTED WARES.

with betel. The limestone rocks abound in caves, many of which have been incrusted with images, and transformed into temples and shrines (No. 84), but the rock is not hewn. The lime is packed in baskets of leaf and bamboo-wicker, a stone or two in weight; it sells at the kiln for one and a half to two rupees a hundredweight. The tenacity of the Burman lime-plaster is very great. Strength is obtained by liberal use of lime, and in the better class of work by the addition of glue and palm sugar. Hair and fibre are not added. For the first layers, coarse sand is mixed with the lime, for the finishing layers, fine sand. The decoration of the work is only roughly indicated in the masonry. The relief of the ornament is high, and the thickness of the stucco very considerable in parts. The stucco is frequently gilt, on *zedi* and images. The gold-size (*thissi*, p. 101) is applied direct to the plaster, which, however, in time, furnishes a soil for lichen, causing the gold to scale off.

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Although stone is not quarried in sufficient abundance for building except in Arakán, good stone for carving images is found in several places. The most notable of these is Taung-u, on the Irawadi, opposite Pagán. More important than the red sandstone industry of Taung-u is the industry at Sagáing, opposite Ava, on the Irawadi, where a beautiful white marble is quarried. The heavy blocks are hewn in the rough at the quarry and transported to the site of erection to be finished. The subjects are chiefly the conventional images of the Buddha, from a pound in weight to several tons (No. 218).

[323
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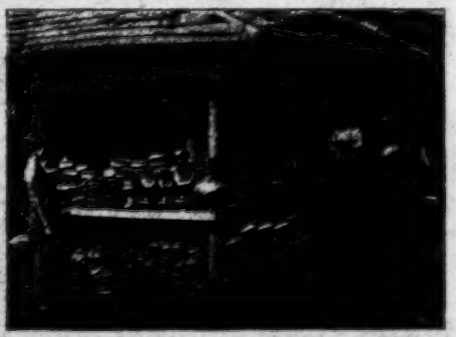

214. POTTERY SHOP.

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The cordage used in

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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[432]

[322]

287. COUNTRY SALE-DEPOT.

about three million rupees. At present both wood-oil and crude earth-oil are being superseded by kerosene. The crude earth-oil is used for preserving woodwork. But its place is being taken by

438 443 782 the residues from the local refineries, now established in Rangoon.* Travelling pedlars hawk the silk goods of Burma Proper and all sorts of fancy nicknacks from the sea-ports to the villages of the interior. The approaches to the temples are favourite resorts of stall-keepers of all sorts of wares, especially of wax-tapers, plain and moulded, gold leaf, coloured paper flags and flowers for the votaries to decorate the shrines with, and toys wherewith to gladden the hearts of children—an act of merit befitting the shrine of religion in this cheerful land. In sad contrast to the gaiety of the booths is the spectacle of the lepers who beg for alms. The prominence of these unfortunates at such places creates a disproportionate impression of their numbers, high as these are (p. 41). The offerings dedicated on the occasions of *Shinldung fêtes*, festivals, and funerals, make the trades of manufacturing and distributing the requisites of the *kyaung* very important ones. The wares collected in the *parôikaya* shop used to be representative of the manufactures of Burma. But of late, imported goods—crockery, glassware, lamps and clocks—have become a regular part of the *kyaung* furniture, and are offered in meaningless profusion. This has helped to bring the *parôikaya* trade into the hands of foreigners.

[277]

288. ROLLING CHEROOTS.

438 443 563 Every year, after the floods have subsided, Burman dealers establish dry-

* See *The Occurrence of Petroleum in Burma*, by Dr. F. Noetling.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

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290. PAREIKAYA DEALER.

[366]

weather sale-booths (*tawzá*), for trade with the hill-people, at central points as far from the towns as canoes can navigate the stream. They sell dried fish and *ngapí*, salt, oil, pease, sugar, spices and tobacco, pottery and crockery, plain and coloured yarns, needles, thread, cloth of every sort, elastic belts, under-vests, matches, tapers and soap, kerosene oil, pencils, pens, ink and paper, playing-cards, beads, spectacles, mirrors and fancy articles from Europe, besides biscuits, sardines, and condensed milk. All these wares are sold in the larger villages as well. Sale-booths are set up at every festival, chiefly for refreshments. But there is nothing corresponding to the fairs of India and the West.

276

Both men and women smoke tobacco. Children begin at four or five (No. 21). The Burman cheroot (*seleik*) is a roll five to eight inches long and an inch thick, consisting of chopped tobacco-leaf and the pith of the tobacco stem, with a wrapper made of the inner skin of the spathe of the betel palm, or the spathe of maize, or else the leaves of *pauk*, *thanát* or *bambaw*, which are smoothed on a hot stone. The Burman exquisite toys with this cheroot much as the Japanese does with the fan. The fan is not affected by men or women in Burma. Good cheroots are also rolled of plain tobacco-leaf, in the Indian way; they are very strong. Unlike the Shans, Karéns and Chinese, with their pipes, and the natives of India with their hookah, the Burman sticks to the cheroot. Tobacco is grown on the silt banks left dry by the rivers (Nos. 191, 264); but the bulk is imported from the South of India. A delicate "birds-eye" tobacco is prepared by the Karéns and Shans on the North-East; it is shredded green, and does not keep well. At intervals on the main lines of

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291. BAZAR SCENE, BURMA PROPER.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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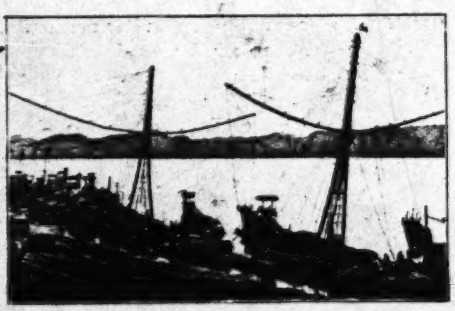

302. SHIPPING-PORT ON THE IRAWADI.

Canoes cost from twenty to one hundred rupees. Since ship-building was started, boats of greater dimensions than could be built solid—eighty to one hundred tons—have been built of teak on the carvel method (*zat-hle*). But the lines of the *laung-gô* are rigidly adhered to. A hull exactly simulating the solid hull is built with stout ribs and sheathing; then the sides are added—a most remarkable example of conservatism of type. These two classes of boats carry most of the rice to port. In Burma Proper, where timber does not attain such size as in the moist region, canoes only are made on the *laung-gô* plan; the larger boats have always been built up. In these the *laung-gô* type is also simulated, but not so closely (*laung-zát*, Nos. 294, 300). The narrow bottom is flat and is fixed to the side-planks of the lower hull by ribs. The planks are two to three inches thick and ten to twelve inches broad; they are held together by nails driven obliquely from recesses near the seams, which are luted with dammar, and are strengthened with ribs. The upper side-planks are attached as in the *laung-gô*. Poop and prow are strengthened by iron dee-nails along the seams. The capacity of such boats ranges from twenty to one hundred and fifty tons, and they cost from 500 to 5,000 rupees. The crew consists of from five to twenty men. They only sail before the wind and carry an immense expanse of sail, to stem the current of the Irawadi, which runs four to five knots in the rains. The course of the river and the prevailing wind are in their favour. During the rains these craft make two trips, north and south, and lie by in the dry weather. They convey the produce of Pegu to Burma Proper,—

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303. BURMAN SEA-GOING CRAFT (KATTU).

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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305. BURMAN CARTWRIGHTS.

ngapi, dried fish, salt and rice, besides imported goods. They bring down the manufactures of the North—cutch, lacquer, images, and *parti-kaya* wares. They have to endure a formidable competition from the river steamers. In its existing form, the boat of Burma presents no near affinity to the boats of neighbouring peoples. The types of architecture which the Burmans borrowed from India they have treated in a distinctive way which gives them independent interest. But the art which culminates in the stately ship of the Irawadi is purely their own achievement. The work derives unity from the noble balance of the masses and life from the spirited sweep of the curves. The severity of line is relieved by plastic incident in the rich carving. The structure itself is patent and not concealed (with the exception noted), and the decoration goes hand in hand with it. Besides their own type of boat, the Shan type (No. 320) has been developed into a large craft for carrying earth-oil in bulk—the *peingdw*. Two long, partially-hollowed teak logs form the sides of the lower hull, with several thick planks intervening, for the flat bottom. Two planks above these complete the sides, all held together by nails and ribs as in the *laungzát*. There are outrigged bamboo galleries for the crew to row and pole, which allow of the deck-house being carried from end to end, providing accommodation for several families. The rig is the same as in the *laungzát*. In tidal and salt waters, boats have to be beached once a month to bream the bottoms and destroy the teredo. The rest of the woodwork and tackle is protected with earth-oil. The boats of Arakán are on Indian lines. There is

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306. BUFFALO-CART.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma AP1
Indians
Burmese AP4

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trees. All that the villagers asked for (and of course got) was exemption from land-tax. Another hopeful feature is that the Burman is not devoid of the quality of self-criticism. With the Indian retail trader comes also the wholesale merchant—Persian, Parsi, Súrati, Chetti and Bania. And the Burmans at large accept the situation, never dreaming that by travelling abroad and seeing for themselves how other nations manage and how they fare, they might learn to conduct their own business, and help to save Burma from sinking to the level of proletariate countries. Natives of India and China have learned so much in their capacities of assistants to European merchants that they are getting the retail trade in European goods to themselves. Even as importers, with their agents in Europe, they are making themselves independent of the European merchant in the East. The European spheres of activity on which Burmans

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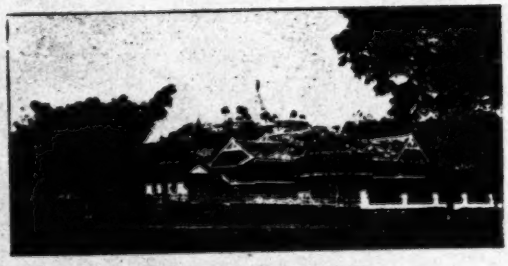

568. EUROPEAN TYPE OF HOUSE.

have entered are saw-mill enterprise and the profession of advocacy, in which latter they have attained a high standing.

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To the Burman, the native of India is the foreigner *par excellence*—*Kalá*—and shares the disrepute that a stay-at-home people commonly accord to the foreigner, especially when he is a needy one. To them he is the dog that eats the crumbs which fall from his table ("*Kwe-Kalá!*"). While the Chinaman, despite his uncouthness and uncanny parasitic trade, is considered an eligible man, *Kalá-mayá*—nigger's-wife—is a term of reproach. The *Kalá* half-breeds are called *Zerbádi*. They appear to possess fewer good qualities than either of the pure races. The Euro-Burman half-breeds are called *Baylnyi*—(Feringhi, the Indian equivalent of Frank) explained by the Burmans as *Bayin-dyi* (adherent of) the Great Prince (the Pope).

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Europeans are the only remaining foreigners whom the Burmans encounter, excepting a few Armenians, Jews and Malays. Armenians were beginning to play

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

385. TEMPLES RAISED BY A MODERN KING (THE KUTHODAW p. 122).

historic centres of Burman dominion. Sagáing was abandoned for the last time in 1776 for a new capital at Amayapôya (*Amarapúra* — Abode of Immortals) half-way between Ava (*Inwa*) and the modern capital Mandálé, which was founded in 1857, after the accession of King Mindôn Min. The most ancient capital is Tagáung, one hundred miles north of Mandalé. Other capitals were Shwebô, Myinzaing, Pannya. The capitals of the Taláing dominion were Thatôn, Pegu, and Prome (*Pye*). Rangoon (*Yangôn*), at the meeting point of five navigable channels, and with anchorage for the largest ships, has out-distanced all competitors since the modern development of commerce.

For the history of Burma the only available source is the official chronicle kept by command of the kings—*mahá-yazawín*. The first part is occupied with the legendary origin of the race from the cloud-dwellers—*Byammá* (the Burman form of *Brahma*).* The names and doings of legendary persons follow, and lines of legendary kings. The earliest historical facts which emerge are the founding of Tagáung, and incidents relating to the Buddha and the councils of his church in India. It is believed by Phayre that the *Savanna Bhumi* of ancient Indian books refers to Thatôn, and that under *Chryse Chersonesus* Ptolemy refers to the Eastern Peninsula of Asia. We do not reach a connected history till the founding of Pagán about 100 A.D. From that epoch onwards the history of the peninsula, until the Burman Empire was consolidated and the dynasty of

386. FIGURES OF BYAMMA (EMBROIDERY).

* The name is also written *Myammá*, but commonly pronounced *Bamá*, of which "Burma(h)" and "Birma" are corruptions.

Burmese King thereupon went down with an army which succeeded in carrying off King, Clergy and Scriptures from the unfortunate city of Thaton. King Manuha of Thaton languished on a throne seat of bare stone in Pagan, but the religion thrived and blossomed into the grandeur of the thousand pagodas and temples of Pagan, so that even today Burmans can see the white majesty of the Ananda and rejoice in the way their kings received and enshrined their faith. With king and religion transplanted, Thaton fell into a decline, and soon lost her trade also, for the sea coast extended and left Thaton a dry inland town. However, [133] it never lost its reputation as the old seat of religion; its rich geographical features also remained—a soil which can grow rice, fruits and plantations of other crops in abundance; its easy access to the big towns of Moulmein and Rangoon; the Martaban Hills which were ranged behind the town, and over which waterfalls tumbled down to cross the red laterite roads as streams of clear water.

Most pensioners, by the time they retired, had already established some form of livelihood other than the drawing of their pension. My father owned two rubber plantations just outside Thaton, each about 110 acres. Burma is not one of the chief rubber producing areas of the world, but the country round Tenasserim is suitable for rubber-growing and produced the greater part of what was, in 1939, a total of over 22,000,000 lbs. Thaton district contained about 15,628 acres of rubber, between big planters and many small plantations like ours.

My parents started our estates in the form of clearings which they planted with the help of my grandfather in about 1910, before my father became a myook, and were in time to reap the riches of the great boom in the post-war years, when they were selling rubber at Rs. 2/- per lb. and my father bought a motor boat and my mother many diamonds. As a Government servant my father was not allowed to work at any trade, so he handed over the possession of the estates to my mother's sister, our Kyi-Kyi Lon, who all her spinster life has devoted herself to my mother and to us. She worked the estates for us and, in the awful years of the slump that followed, we quite forgot indeed that we owned any such things as rubber plantations, for the only connection which my father ever had with them, the receipt of money from Kyi-Kyi, disappeared completely. In 1935, however, when my father retired, the market for rubber had just begun to stir into being, the Burma Rubber Committee allowed planters like us an annual quota of about 20,000 lbs or two-thirds of our production, which we hoped to sell at roughly as. 7 per lb, and my father was free to work them again. He had no technical knowledge and the minimum amount of business acumen, and I never ceased to wonder how money could come to us in this haphazard way. We

249 kept a manager and his family in the bungalow of each plantation, and a
311 staff of eight or nine tappers. Once a week we drove out there on a
• 439 picnic inspection; my father and mother gazed with pride on the rows of neat trees, walked right round to see that clearings were maintained and that the trees looked right, peered into the cups of rich white latex, administered rebukes and instructions and inspected the books, visited the smoking house and saw the brown smoked sheets with GK stamped on them, after the traditional Burmese way of married business—G for Gyi, my mother, and K for Kaing, my father—and then we all returned home. Chinese traders came to the house and while chewing betel they talked about quantities and prices of the stock we had. Then the stacked sheets came from the plantation in the two bullock carts which we kept there, and the traders came and took them away and paid us in cash. Business was something so foreign to what we had always seen our parents doing, and this all seemed so simple, that we always felt they were surely being cheated.

245 Some of the other pensioners did not believe in dabbling with com-
438 modities that depended on a world market. Even the way in which we grew rubber went too much into the world of specialized commerce
262 which might have pitfalls for a retired civil servant. A friend of my father's grew large gardens of *da-nyin*, a tree of the laburnum species. The fruit of this tree rivals the durian for its nauseating effect on foreign sensibilities. It does not exude a smell as the durian does, until you eat it, but after eating it the smell comes out in breath, sweat and all other excretions. But it is one of our favourite foods. It is a small flat circular fruit of a hard and smooth consistency, enclosed in a shell which prises open in neat halves like an oyster shell. The texture and taste are delicious. We boil or bake it as a vegetable for fish sauce, we salt it in big jars as a pickle, we beat it and make it swim in coconut milk and eat it as a sweet, we bury it and make it sprout into a more pungent form called *da-nyin wet*. The main point is that it is eaten in vast quantities. It also contains substances which are good for diabetics, and families buy it literally in hundreds. No world depression interferes with the demand for *da-nyin thi*, and though the sale price is low, overhead charges are almost nil.

243 Other families in Thaton got their extra income from paddy-land.
438 Although the rice for which Burma is so famous today did not enter
556 world markets till the latter half of the last century, the possession of
262 *lè*, fields, which is synonymous with paddy-fields, is a well established form of wealth. Our part of Burma is particularly rich in fields. Nearly all the 3,500,000 tons of rice which is exported annually from Burma comes from Lower Burma, where Tenasserim Division ranks among the

and envy at these fair creatures who continued work and home in one long pleasant Burmese continuity. They are girls from the ages of sixteen upward. Probably their parents set them up in these stalls, each separated from its neighbour by a stack of cotton bales, six or seven stalls on a long platform. They come there in the mornings, dressed in crisp muslin jackets and bright longyis, their faces powdered with thanakha and the Five B's, flowers in their hair, and fragrant ground bark on their hands and feet. They open up shop and dust with feather brooms while they shout across to each other the news of the previous evening. Then the whole day unfolds, calling out to food sellers and treating their friends to a succession of delicacies, button-holing the young boy who hawks magazines and tuppenny novels, and reclining against a pile of the tha-yet-hte longyis to read these romances, helping each other to fold up the pieces after a troublesome customer has gone, anything but making an earnest business of their profession. They always looked so cool and pretty and indifferent beside the small Indian storekeepers who flanked their platforms and solicited passers-by for patronage. "Oh to be a bazaar girl!" I still thought when I was in the University; "to pass unchaperoned days, reading novels and eating sweets, to have time to be powdered and neatly dressed, and only now and then be disturbed by someone who wants to buy a longyi." 361. 438

Our starched white muslin jackets are made out of fine transparent muslin manufactured in England, and sent out in bales of 11 yards with the quality stamped in Burmese characters, and on the jacket a florid illustration of the quality-name—names such as *Nat-thami, Sein ta-hsok, Shwe Pan-gaing, Mè Nyo:* Heavenly Damsel, Cluster of Diamonds, Golden Spray of Flowers, Dusky Maiden—and imported by both Indian and Burmese traders. 294 439. 563

The making up of the jackets was the monopoly of Chinese tailors; our *tayok-kalay*, little Chinaman, lived in the crowded quarter of Yegyaw in a barnlike room which was carpenter's shop at one end and tailor's at the other. The tailor's end had a row of shelves along the wall in to which the finished garments and uncut material were shoved, higgledy-piggledy in paper bags on which the merest scribble denoted owner and date of order. In front of this was the counter on which the cutter was at work, and separating it from the carpentery end was a table at which one or two half-clad men always seemed to be eating noodles or reading a Chinese newspaper, of which there were three in Rangoon. In spite of this, the tayok-kalay never confused an order for garments which had to fit so meticulously and always delivered them in a snow-white condition. He charged 9 annas for each fine handsewn garment, and for modern girls managed to cut twelve out of the eleven-yard piece. This 294 563 441 465

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma (Europeans Indians) AP1
Burmese AP4

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establishment up to its full strength. And so prices rose and rose until they became absurdly high, and no one profited but the hawks that preyed on the simple Burmese cultivators. Then the English merchants held a meeting, and all pledged themselves not to give more than the current market rate for paddy. This seemed a fair enough agreement; but after a while it was found that the boats all gravitated towards one or two firms. A little investigation showed that this was due to the fact that though they paid the ordinary rate, according to the compact, they had a smaller measuring basket than their neighbours. Accordingly every one went on reducing the size of his basket until the system became as ruinously absurd as ever it had been before. Then there was another meeting, at which it was unanimously agreed that this state of affairs would never do, and that it was absolutely necessary to come to some definite understanding. A committee was appointed which, after some deliberation, concluded that, if, in addition to abiding by the market rate, every one were bound to use a basket of a certain fixed size, there would be no chance for unfair speculations. A standard basket was therefore fixed upon; and the competitors were supposed to start fair again. But in no very long time, one firm put a false bottom in the basket, another wedged in a board; and so on, till matters got back to the old way. This state of affairs is hardly creditable to mercantile honour, and it certainly is by no means profitable.

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Independently of this, paddy has gone up in price at an alarming rate of late years. The first heavy rise was in 1877, at the time of the Madras famine. That was also the time of the resolution to have a standard basket. Rice was wanted in any quantity for the famine districts, and millers gave an altogether fabulous price for grain. The game went on merrily, introduced the scandalous "paddy morality," and lasted long enough to make the cultivators think the new prices had come in for good. Far too many Burmese farmers are heavily in debt to the "chetties," the money-lending caste of the Madras coast. The agriculturists have borrowed money to build a pagoda or a monastery; to give a grand feast on the

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2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma (Europeans) Indians) AP1
Burmese AP4

Be 243 452 435 do no harm in Rangoon rice dealings, and would win that respect from the farmer which heavy payments and cunning never will.

Be 243 439 178 256 Rangoon still continues to be the largest rice port in the world. From January to May the river is crowded with shipping—huge iron and steel sailing craft that have been chartered beforehand, and carry off thousands of bags in their capacious holds; and a constant succession of "ditchers," as the steamers passing through the Suez Canal are called, which come "seeking," and seldom have to go away without their full complement of "five parts cargo rice," or "Europe milled." The steamers are displacing the sailing ships, and the shorter passage now makes it possible to carry fully husked rice home without the danger of heating, which was supposed to be avoided by the partly husked "five parts cargo rice." Harbour-masters and river-pilots have a busy time, and gather together many Be 82 439 463 563 pieces of silver against the later months of the year, when they will have abundant leisure to spend them. Coringi coolies swarm in the town, and their monotonous chant, "Eh-ya-mah-la Tah-ma-lay, Madras Ag-boat Tah-ma-lay," may be heard at any hour of the night or the morning, floating over the river. The British sailor overflows into the town and sings noisy old salt sea-songs round about the Sule pagoda, gets mad drunk on arrack, and not unseldom clears Dalhousie Street with a linked-arm rush, heedless of the red-turbaned guardian of the peace, who keeps out of the way in the meantime, but will break poor drunken Jack's head with his truncheon if he finds him helpless and strayed Be 82 361 256 463 563 from his fellow-roysterers.

The Puzundaung Creek, where all the mills are, is as busy as an ant-hill all day long, and all night too, when some of the mills are lighted up with Jablochkoffs or later forms of electric light, and the silvery rays shine ghastly on the black and bronzed mill-workers. Here we have the Madrasi coolies again, making noises, according to their nature, as a kind of assertion that they are doing hard work. The lank Chittagonian firemen, with their aquiline noses, are coated with coal-dust, and divide their time between firing up and having a whiff at the hubble-bubble when Sandy,

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

boat. R—— is in luck this morning. We have hardly gone a hundred yards when the "Mah Hlah" comes puffing round the point behind us, with a boat on either side, and three towing astern. 256 442 455

And now we have got back to the mill. The Burmans are discharging their paddy, which is stowed in bulk, into a big cargo boat. The regulation basket is in use, and we do not peer too inquisitively into the bottom of it. The owner of the boat is perched on the lofty carved stern of his craft, and placidly smokes a great cheroot. Presently he will come down and make his way to the office, where he will get a great pile of rupees to carry off, tied in the end of his paso. The greater number of them will probably find their way into the hands of the oily chetty, who is squatting on the bank there. The rest our hleshin will most likely gamble away. 000

Meanwhile, a long string of coolies is carrying the paddy from the lighter into the godown, a gigantic shed, where there is already a mountain of grain. We skirt round it, and go to the other side. There a few hundred more coolies are running off with more baskets to the mill. The paddy is thrown into huge receptacles on the basement, winnowed, carried up in lifts to the top of the house, three stories high, where it is first of all passed over a long sieve. Here the stalks, leaves, stones, and stumps of cheroots are separated from the grain, which is then passed between two revolving stones, just sufficiently wide apart to grind off the outer husk without breaking the seed. Then it is rewinnowed in fanners, and passed over finer sieves, where the broken grains fall through, while the part-cleaned rice goes on to fresh stones. It is found that perfectly clean rice will not stand the long sea voyage, and the grain as it is sent in the sailing ship has still the inner pellicle, and is mixed with about twenty per cent of unhusked rice. This is what is technically known as "five parts cargo rice," or simply "cargo rice." Since so many steamers have begun to go through the Suez Canal, the amount of "white rice" milled in the province has been steadily increasing. Rice of a specially fine quality, with a glaze on the surface, is manufactured for Italy. Clouds of rice-dust float all over the mill, and settle every- 256 256 439 178 256

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

231 their eggs in the silkworm's back and kill him. In about a month's time the caterpillar is full grown. He is then bundled into a fresh tray, in which there lies, wound about in the form of a spiral, a narrow-plaited bamboo strip. The ripe larvæ are thrown into this with as little ceremony as if they were pebbles. In about a day's time they have spun their cocoons, fastening them to the strips of bamboo. These are torn off and kept in baskets for a day or two, when a pot with water in it is filled with the pupæ, and then set to simmer over a slow wood fire.

283 From a triangle over the pot is suspended a small bamboo reel, and down below, near the pot, is a wooden cylinder. The reeler is usually a girl. She fishes about for a time in the simmering vessel, and, catching a few threads of silk, passes them over the reel and down to the cylinder, to which they are fastened. She then turns the handle of the cylinder, winding on the silk, and at the same time constantly fishing up and fastening on new filaments, which she does by means of a light bamboo double-pronged fork. Not the least trouble is taken to keep the silk clean. Any rubbish that may be floating on the surface of the water is wound on to the cylinder without an attempt being made to disengage it. When all the silk has been got off the cocoons, and wound on to the cylinder, the pupæ are taken out of the water and [262] fried in oil to furnish a dish for the family dinner. They are not by any means unpleasant, tasting, barring the oil, very much like roasted chestnuts; and indeed the dish is considered a great dainty.

286 The silk-growers mostly sell their silk. A loom is to be 293 found in almost every Burman's house in the country; and 386 in Prome and Shwe-daung, as being close to the place where the silk is produced, great quantities of articles of dress are made for sale. The native-grown silk is only used for every-day clothes of simple patterns, the more elaborate being all [439] worked from imported Chinese silk. The silk is bought raw, the separate filaments twisted into a thread by means of a wheel, and then made up into hanks; these are boiled in soap and water, and are then ready for the dye. The commonest colours are green, yellow, orange, different shades of red and light blue; black and dark blue are only in

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

favour with the Shans. The dyes are obtained from various jungle seeds, roots, flowers, leaves, and barks; the yellow dye obtained from the wood of the Jack-tree (*Artocarpus integrifolia*) being reserved for the monkish robes. After being dyed, the thread is unwound again. The weaving machine is very much like the old hand-loom still occasionally seen in out-of-the-way parts of England. The operators are almost always young women, and they are very clever at working the treadle and shooting through the shuttle, while talking all the time to village gossips or admiring swains. Some of the tameins, made for the richer women, are extremely intricate in pattern and require between twenty and thirty shuttles. The treadle raises and lowers the alternate threads of the warp. Except the rough dresses and the most complicated in pattern, however, not many native-made clothes are worn now. The townspeople prefer the showy and cheaper imported articles, and, though the Manchester goods are too frequently "doctored" and do not last long, yet this does not trouble the Burman much, for he is fond of a change of dress, and, unless he is very poor, will never wear a paso, except about the house, after it has been washed. All the more elaborate designs are, however, native made. The "dog's tooth" pattern is almost confined to Amarapura or Sagaing court looms, and since the fall of the monarchy is hardly seen at all. The acheit paso or tamein, of a complicated, wavy, sprigged design, which middle-aged Burmans remember as being the cherished object of desire of their young days, is now considered rustic. Young Rangoon will tell you that you may always know a taw-tha (a jungle wallah) at the pagoda feast by his wearing an acheit paso and nothing else except his turban; and although the waist-cloth may cost from 150 to 400 rupees, that does not redeem it in the town-bred youth's eyes.

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2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

to hold his land free from taxes for such a period as may be necessary to bring it into a thorough state of cultivation. In such a case as this he has to apply to the thugyi—the old hereditary officers being retained throughout British Burma—of his circle, if the land does not exceed five acres in extent. If it is above that area, application has to be made to the English Assistant-commissioner, or to the Deputy-commissioner in charge of the district, if the average of the new claim exceeds fifty. The land is then surveyed and a grant is drawn up specifying the term of years during which he shall be free from imposts. This varies according to the kind of jungle which is to be cleared away, and the kind of crops intended to be grown. The exemption is in no case for less than a year. If rice is to be grown, seven years is the longest term of rent-free tenure, but for orchard cultivation it extends to twelve years. In a few cases, where the nature of the ground necessitates, in addition to clearing away the forest growth, the digging of channels for irrigation, and the erection of dams, extension even of this long period is granted. As in France, Norway, Japan, and Switzerland, the farms are all very small, in some cases almost absurdly so. Along the old frontier the holdings averaged only about five acres, in the Rangoon district from sixteen to twenty acres is the ordinary size, but here and there are a few considerably larger. It would, however, be a great mistake to endeavour to introduce larger tenancies. It is entirely against the genius of the people, and the appearance of foreign capitalists could not be otherwise than disastrous. The present mode of cultivation is slovenly enough, and larger farms would most certainly not tend to remedy the defect, which is due in great part to the superabundance of available arable land lying waste. Burma is progressing fast enough as it is. The abundance of rich land, the facility with which rights over it can be acquired, the great demand for rice, and the ever-increasing counter demand for European goods, the fixed, though heavy taxation, the cessation of all irregular and unexpected collections, the absolute personal security enjoyed by all under the English administration: all these benefits have resulted in the trebling of the population of Lower Burma during twenty-six years since the annexation of Pegu;

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2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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in the more than trebling of the trade—the value of the sea-borne merchandise alone having doubled and reached twelve and a half millions sterling during the ten years previous to 1881—and in the wonderful increase in revenue, which makes Burma the most valuable of all the provinces under the Indian Government. Now that all Burma is one province the increase of revenue and the contribution paid to the Imperial Government have gone on increasing with a regularity which is almost automatic.

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

CHAPTER LVIII

MANDALAY AND RANGOON

[This chapter describes these towns as they were in 1881.]

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AMERICANS talk, and with good reason, of the magic growth of their cities. But for mere mushroom growth, Mandalay might compare even with Chicago itself, and if we are to judge of the progress of a commercial place by the fair criterion of business results, Rangoon may hold up its head in confident rivalry with any of the typical American cities. In the middle of last century the site of Mandalay was swampy paddy land and rank jungle. Now an area of five square miles is covered with houses, many of them squalid enough certainly, and with large patches of unused land round about them, but none the less contained within the city limits. Rangoon came into British hands in 1852, and at that time possessed no commerce worthy of the name, indeed it was only known as the place for pilgrims to the Shwe Dagôn pagoda to stay at, and the residence of the Regent of Pegu, as being the guard station on the most accessible mouth of the Irrawaddy. Ten years later, ships entered or cleared from the port having a tonnage of 295,000 tons, and the imports were worth £1,200,000, the exports £1,400,000, and since that date—a year or two after Mandalay had been founded—the tonnage has increased to 1,000,000, the value of the imports to £5,000,000 sterling, and the exports to £4,000,000. In a quarter of a century the commerce of British Burma rose to nearly £20,000,000 sterling. The population has quadrupled; public works are carried on; education is widely disseminated; the administration is carefully managed by British officials; a railway,

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16;Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

443 369 holder is then buying his or her provisions for the day, and the people crowd in thousands round the sellers. Everyone is bargaining and chaffing and laughing, both buyers and sellers; but both are very keen, too, on business.

443 286 The cloth and silk sellers, the large rice-merchants, and a few other traders, cannot carry on business sitting on a mat, nor can they carry their wares to and fro every day in a basket. For such there are separate buildings or separate aisles, with wooden stalls, on either side of a gangway. The wooden floor of the stalls is raised two to three feet, so that the buyer, standing on the ground, is about on a level with the seller sitting in the stall. The stall will be about eight feet by ten, and each has at the back a strong lock-up cupboard or wardrobe, where the wares are shut at night; but in the day they will be taken out and arranged daintily about the girl-seller. Home-made silks are the staple—silks in checks of pink and white, of yellow and orange, of indigo and dark red. Some are embroidered in silk, in silver, or in gold; some are plain. All are thick and rich, none are glazed, and none are gaudy. [439] There will also be silks from Bangkok, which are of two colours—purple shot with red, and orange [286] shot with red, both very beautiful. All the silks are [291] woven the size of the dress: for men, about twenty-eight feet long and twenty inches broad; and for women, about five feet long and much broader. Thus, there is no cutting off the piece. The anas, too, which are the bottom pieces for a woman's dress, are woven the proper size. There will probably, too, be piles of showy cambric jackets and

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

have been celebrated year after year; at least since the reintroduction of Buddhism in 1056, and at least since March, 638, when an early king of Pagan, Popa Sawrahan (613–40), drew up the present Burmese era, the dawn of every Burmese new year has been the occasion for mirthful water-throwing.[1] 527 796 [805]

Buddhism had been introduced into the country through commercial relations with India long before the foundation of the kingdom of Pagan, but from the beginning it was only at second-hand and therefore feeble. The real religion of the Burmese before the reintroduction of Buddhism in 1056 was animistic, and they worshipped various spirits, known as *nats*. There were mediums, mostly women, who danced to please the spirits, and as the spirits were supposed to enter into the bodies of the mediums, sometimes it was believed that the spirits, and not the mediums, were actually dancing. Sometimes the medium herself actually believed that a spirit had taken control of her body, but usually she only pretended that a spirit had entered her, and gave an exhibition of acting. As the medium of each particular *nat* dressed herself in appropriate clothes, the spirit dances were essentially dramatic.[2] When Buddhism, in one of its purest forms, was introduced under Anawrahta, the great king realized the impossibility of attracting people suddenly to the new faith; so he compromised by recognizing the *nats* as Buddhist spirits and giving them shrines in his Shwezigôn Pagoda as its guardian spirits. When asked the reason, Anawrahta replied: 'Men will not come suddenly to the new faith. Let them come for their old gods, and they will gradually be won over.'[3] 177 439 771 791 [462] [535]

So the worship of the *nats* lived on, and with the advance of

[1] Shway-Yoe (Sir George Scott) in *The Burman: His Life and Notions*, and Fielding Hall in *The Soul of a People* give detailed accounts of the feasts and life in the villages. However, as far as I have been able to find out, the Tazaungmôn celebrations have never been described in any English work. [114]

[2] These dances are still performed on spirit-feast days at Taungbyôn (near Mandalay), a small town given up to spirit worship since the days of Pagan's greatness and perhaps even before.

The belief in, as distinct from the worship of, spirits is not alien to Buddhism.

The chief works on the subject are: Sir R. C. Temple, *The Thirty-Seven Nats*; Grant Brown, 'The Taungbyon Festival' in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, 1915; the same author's 'The Pre-Buddhist Religion of the Burmese' in *Folk-Lore*, 1921; and G. E. Harvey, *History of Burma*. [113]

[3] G. E. Harvey, op. cit., p. 33.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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131 Burma possessed no staples of trade to encourage

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2 LANDING-STAGE IN THE TIDAL REGION.

enterprise of the peaceable sort. Left entirely to her own resources, she developed her character in independence. It preserves a large measure of its original freshness and charm.

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Detached though Burma lay from the contact of other civilisation, the seed-corn of a spiritual influence was brought to her shore from afar, and took root and spread until it pervaded her whole life. The one extraneous influence under which she fell proved of a paramount order. But the inspiration of Buddhism was broadly human, not racial. Every people might take its message to heart in their own individual way. The restraints it enjoined and the ideals it held up became the occasions for Burma to unfold her own inmost nature. The abounding treasury of Buddhist legend furnished the subjects to exercise her poetic fancy. In the fifth century, A.D., long after Buddhism had declined at its source in India, and when it only prevailed in Ceylon, its real progress began among the people who were to give it an enduring home. Buddhism is popularly credited with five hundred millions of adherents. But the seven millions of Burma and perhaps a twentieth of that number in Ceylon, together with the half million Jains of India, are the practical Buddhists of the world. With the rest the profession has sunk to an empty name, as in China and Japan, or it is lax, as in Siam, or it is utterly transformed, as in Tibet.

101 The phrase *Further India* gives point to a wide misconception. The surprise of so [172] many persons on finding that the Burmans have no *caste*—to [564] take the commonest instance—betrays the notion that Burma is part of India

6 RUINS OF CITY GATE, PAGAN.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

104. OUTLOOK OVER MIXED FORMS OF CULTIVATION.

the vagaries of the rivers. A good season is one in which a large proportion of the fields have water enough for an early start and in which the rainfall is steady, not leaving the surface to dry up by a long break in the rain nor deluging the soil at other times. All the alluvial land of favourable elevation and quality is laid out in level rice-fields. Where the rainfall is ample—fifty inches and upwards—portions of the diluvial land with tenacious soil can be utilised in the same way by merely saving the surface-water. In regions of lighter rainfall, in a few favoured localities, such land is brought under rice by help of irrigation and if need be by terracing as well. The rice-fields are bordered by low turfy balks (*kazin*) about a cubit high, to keep in the water. These regular rice-lands form less than one-tenth of the gross area of the country. The rest is mainly irreclaimable, chiefly mountain, waste. The waste areas of the alluvial plains (*kwin*) are flooded from three to ten feet deep in the rains. They are clothed with elephant-grass (*kaing*) studded, through with silk-cotton trees and a few other species. The lowest levels in the *kwin* form shallow lagoons (*in*, No. 103) which dry up in the hot season. Dry-season crops—sugar-cane (which is also grown on the wet system), maize, lentils, and vegetables for a limited market—are obtained in the *kaing*.

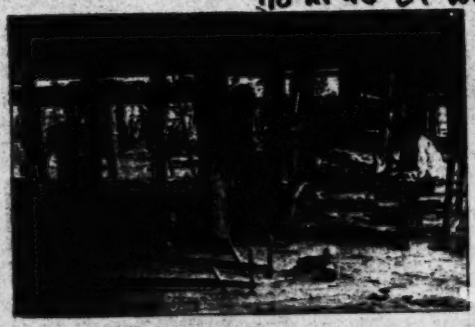
105. HILL-PEOPLE MAKING THEIR CULTIVATION CLEARING (p. 149).

Burma has become the rice-mart of the world. Since the development of this trade the price of the staple export has more than quadrupled, producing in the lower country a prosperity which has no parallel in respect of its equal diffusion. It is believed that this development of the wealth of Pegu has been favoured by the upheaval

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

No kind of wool is indigenous or is spun or woven in Burma. Cæsar Frederick in 1569 mentions woollen cloth among the goods brought to Burma, *viâ* Arakán. Web vests for boys and men, of European manufacture, are becoming general. The use of shoes of the European shape is bringing in the use of socks and stockings. The addition of a European shirt under the Burman jacket makes up the incongruous kit affected by the modern office clerks. With the increased use of body-linen have come the Indian washermen. The coloured stuffs are washed by the Burman women. The native dyes wash well, especially the silk dyes. An alkali-earth (*sappya*) is found in Burma, but soap is of modern introduction, and is now sold in every bazár. Needles used to be brought to Burma from China, as well as scissors, though the latter are also fashioned in Burma; at present both are imported from Europe. Burmans work the needle from them, like other Asiatics. The work is pinned to a cushion at the head of a post planted on the work-box. The use of the thimble was unknown until tailors came over from India, but is now general. The bulk of the tailoring is in the hands of immigrants from China; but their prejudice against the sewing-machine is helping to transfer the business to the Burman women. Nearly every well-to-do family in the towns has its sewing-machine.

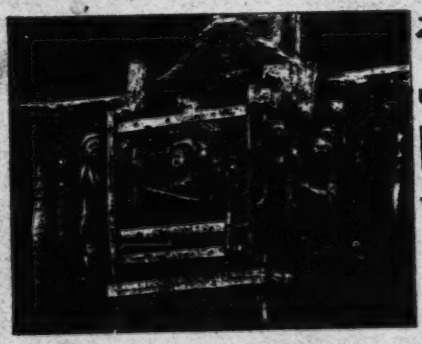
286 291 [283 439] [296 463] 439 413 286 [177] 463 294



130. LAYING OUT THE WARP.

At sunrise the women start with their water-pots for the day's supply, and again before they cook the evening meal, which finishes the day's work. On the morning errand they do the most of their washing. In the evening they carry a spare cloth to change for the one they bathe in, which they wash and coil into a pad to put between the head and the water-

462 [532] 512 515



131. BURMESE CARVING OF WEAVING-LOOM.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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[231]
[439]
[563
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207. BRINGING IN ROE-DEER (DYI).

then the bathing-places have to be staked in. Wild elephants make a road dangerous at times. Elephants are captured by pit-falls. Decoys are also used in various ways; small animals are detached from the herd by their means and then kept going until they are worn out, and can be tethered and hobbled for taming. The breaking in is accomplished by pinning the elephant between trees or stout posts where it cannot lie down, keeping it underfed, and giving food as the reward of docility. Young elephants born in captivity—as occasionally happens—are broken in, in the same way, about the sixth year, when half grown. The stock is replenished from Siam, where the wild herds are larger, and the business of catching is more developed, and where also elephants breed more frequently in captivity. The elephant-breakers and trainers are Shans, and the words of command Shan. Rhinoceroses (*kyan*) may be found about the sources of streams in the evergreen hills; occasional tracks are seen. A tapir occurs in the forests of Tenaserim. Wild dogs (*canis rutilans*) occur in a few localities. There is no wolf, fox, or hyæna, and no jackal east of Arakán. There is a larger and a smaller black bear (*tawam*), very rarely encountered, and not aggressive. There are several species of wild cat (*tazedyinng*) large and small, and a few species of weasel. A small porcupine is found (*pyu*). The huge bamboo-rat (*pwe*) is dug out of its burrow by the hill people. There are many tribes of monkeys and gibbons; the weird cry of the latter is the characteristic sound of the evergreen forest. Squirrels are the only wild animals

208. MEASURING THE PANTHER.

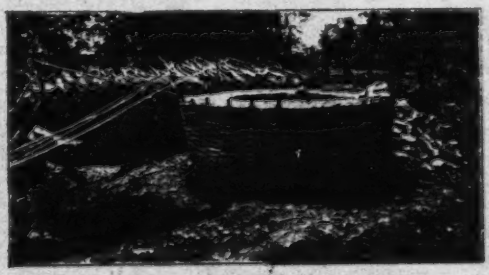
25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

The cordage used in 283

215. LIMESTONE ROCKS.

Burma is twisted from the bast of the *shaw* tree (*sterculia* varieties). For guys, stays, and standing rigging of boats, rattan is employed. Split rattan is used for strong ties, and withes of split bamboo (*lnú*) for common ties. The *shaw* rope is three and four stranded, and is twisted with native gear very like that of our own rope-walks. A long and even four-stranded rope is made by three men. This furnishes a good example of mechanical advancement, when compared with the method of the hill-people, who require six men to twist a much shorter rope of the same number of strands (Nos. 219–20). Shaw rope is smooth, but has not the flexibility of cocoanut-fibre and manila-fibre ropes, which are now imported. Fine cotton yarn is twisted into cord for making nets. A coarse jute fibre (*paissan*) is also twisted for net-making. [171] [439]

Silk-culture is under the ban of Buddhism for the same reason as fishery. 288 The greater part of the silk yarn used is brought from China, but a good 231 deal is produced locally by the *Zabèin* or *Yabèin*, a people speaking Burmese and resembling the Burmans in most respects, but despised by the latter. [179] They are settled along the foot of the Pegu Yôma hill-range, on its eastern and western slopes, where they make clearings in the forest (*taungya*) and plant the 554 mulberry. They prepare a yellow silk yarn which, coarse and knotty as it is, is 463] preferred for the best class of Burman silk cloths (*lontayá*, No. 132). The raw silk fetches thirty-five to forty rupees a viss. It is a perfect washing silk in all its dyes and wears a lifetime. In a few localities, silk-weaving is a special industry practised by men as well as women. Settlers from Manipúr



216. LIMEKILN.

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25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

219. ROPE-WALK.

inner side is brightly decorated with floss silks. Gilt umbrellas (*shwe-di*) are dedicated in the *kyaung*, but are not actually used. The white umbrella (*thbyu*) is the emblem of sovereignty. The *thbyu* is set above the images of the Buddha and above the remains of the *yahán*, who are assumed at their death to enter upon a higher spiritual stage. The metal canopy surmounting the *zedi* is a conventionalised *tt* (No. 232). Of late, European umbrellas have become a staple import of Burma.

293 [283] [186] [179] [346] [177] 439

Lacquer-ware vessels and utensils—light, durable, and watertight—are made with the help of *thissi*, the exudation of the bark of *Melanorrhœa usitatissima*, a common tree of the *in* forest. The gum blackens to jet on exposure to the air. It dries slower than the "Japan black" of commerce, but is much tougher; it sells for two to three rupees a viss. *Thissi* is applied to wood turnery and bamboo wickerwork, either plain or with pigments, generally with vermilion. The commonest lacquer goods are platters (*byat* and *daunglan*), which are turned of teak or *yamané* wood and given two or three coats of *thissi*. After the platters, the principal article of lacquer-ware is the betel-box (*kun-it*). Coarse lacquering is done everywhere in the dry region, but the betel-box industry is peculiar to Pagán. The advantage of lacquer-ware and of a deep cover for the betel-box, is to keep the green leaf fresh At first sight it appears incredible that these exact cylindrical boxes with their trays and covers, fitting as if each piece had been turned out of the block, should start from a wicker-work frame. Yet so it is; the models are plaited so true that the rest

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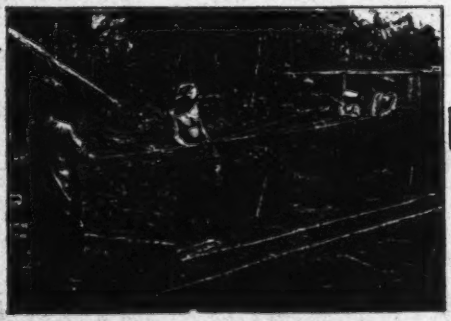

220. HILL-PEOPLE TWISTING ROPE.

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25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

233. SCORING SHINS ON LACQUER-WARE.

Thissi also forms the vehicle of a putty, with which mosaic of many-coloured mirror-glass is cemented together. This is used for the thrones and other appointments of the palaces, temples, and *kyaung*. Whole ceilings and walls are ornamented in this way (*thayé*). The mosaic is set off with gilt mouldings. The work, though often tawdry, is sometimes rich and impressive, both as to design and colour (*Frontispiece*). 531 [322]

Foot-gear used to be of the nature of luxury in Burma. In houses and boats people always go barefoot. But in many parts of the dry zone the thorny weeds make sandals a necessity. The common material is raw buffalo-hide, covered on top with woollen cloth and having cloth-covered straps. The straps come from the sides, near the hollow of the foot, and arch over to the spot where the toe-post of the Indian patten is set. Tanned leather slippers of European shape made by Chinese are now ousting the Burman sandal and wood patten. 295

Most of the well-known metals are found in Burma. Before the importation of pig, bar, and sheet metals, and of metal manufactures from the West began, Lawá settlers from Zimmè (Chiengmai, *Tyin-mai*) practised the smelting of iron, copper, tin, zinc, and lead. These industries have disappeared. Metal goods used to come in from the Shan States and China, but the principal manufacture was carried on by Burmans and Talaings. Even at present, the only heavy metal goods imported are iron cauldrons, anvils, sledge-hammers, and vices—besides machinery. Saws, files, chisels, augers, hinges and locks, nails and screws, dies and taps, pocket-knives and fancy metal goods, are imported. Bells for the temple precincts were, until recently, the heaviest castings made; but of late a 325 [439]

234. ETCHED DESIGN ON LACQUER (HNGEP-PYITTAUNG). [531 322]

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

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[366] 290. PAREIKAYA DEALER.

weather sale-booths (*tawzá*), for trade with the hill-people, at central points as far from the towns as canoes can navigate the stream. They sell dried fish and *ngapí*, salt, oil, pease, sugar, spices and tobacco, pottery and crockery, plain and coloured yarns, needles, thread, cloth of every sort, elastic belts, under-vests, matches, tapers and soap, kerosene oil, pencils, pens, ink and paper, playing-cards, beads, spectacles, mirrors and fancy articles from Europe, besides biscuits, sardines, and condensed milk. All these wares are sold in the larger villages as well. Sale-booths are set up at every festival, chiefly for refreshments. But there is nothing corresponding to the fairs of India and the West.

276 Both men and women smoke tobacco. Children begin at four or five (No. 21). The Burman cheroot (*seleik*) is a roll five to eight inches long and an inch thick, consisting of chopped tobacco-leaf and the pith of the tobacco stem, with a wrapper made of the inner skin of the spathe of the betel palm, or the spathe of maize, or else the leaves of *pauk*, *thanát* or *bambwé*, which are smoothed on a hot stone. The Burman exquisite toys with this cheroot much as the Japanese does with the fan. The fan is not affected by men or women in Burma. Good cheroots are also rolled of plain tobacco-leaf, in the Indian way; they are very strong. Unlike the Shans, Karéns and Chinese, with their pipes, and the natives of India with their hookah, the Burman sticks to the cheroot. Tobacco is grown on the silt banks left dry by the rivers (Nos. 191, 264); but the bulk is imported from the South of India. A delicate "birds-eye" tobacco is prepared by the Karéns and Shans on the North-East; it is shredded green, and does not keep well. At intervals on the main lines of

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291. BAZAR SCENE, BURMA PROPER.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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[531]

[162]

307. TYREING THE WHEEL.

a shallow dug-out bottom with three or four side-planks built up from it. The planks are held together by cane lacing, with a caulking of grass. They are very crank, but are good sea-boats, nevertheless. The only decoration is a rough crocodile's head at the bow. The boat population of Burma in 1891 was nearly 84,000, or about 1·5 per cent. of the whole population—"greatly in excess of the proportion borne to the total by the maritime population of the most maritime nation in the world" (Census report, p. 34). The only sea-going craft are the few score *kattu*, small junks of twenty to sixty tons, manned by five or six Taláings. They venture as far to sea as the Nicobars, where they ship cocoanuts in the fine or north-east monsoon. The rest of the year they lie by. The *kattu* are built at Dawè ("Tavoy"), and cost from one to two thousand rupees. They carry a compass of European make, for use in thick weather; but the navigation is empirical.

[463]

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The cart-building exemplifies the Burman love of curves. In Burma Proper the root-wood of *shè* (cutch) is dug out for the sake of the bent timber. In Pegu, curved branches of *thingán* are used for the body. For wheels, solid discs of *kaung-hnu* and other woods were used in Pegu, where timber grows large (No. 306). In the North, the solid wheel is still made up of three pieces, held together by mortices and tenons (Nos. 301, 309). *Padáuk* is the wood preferred for these wheels. They have a very long box for the axle, which is of *pangá* wood; the axle-box is hooped with rattan. Since the introduction of spokes and iron tyres, skill has been concentrated on the wheel; the body of the cart preserves its local type. The Burman has proved the best wheelwright of the East, both

308. PLEASURE-CART, BURMA PROPER.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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COMMERCIAL.

Values of the staple items of the sea-borne trade of 1899, to and from all countries, in lakhs of rupees :

IMPORTS.

Apparel (including haberdashery, excluding hosiery)	30·13
Candles	1·94
Cards, playing	2·00
Cases and rattans	1·17
Clocks and watches	1·18
Coal	25·70
Cotton yarn	61·57
" piece goods	146·68
" handkerchiefs & shawls	26·43
" thread (including hosiery ?)	7·15
Drugs (incl. opium by the Government 14·4, pp. 156–7)	50·89
Dyes	17·10
Earthenware and porcelain	6·12
Glass (incl. beads and bottles)	6·92
Jute (gunny-bags)	50·50
Leather (excl. boots and shoes)	2·41
Liquors	32·11
Machinery	16·01
Matches (safety only)	8·22
Metals:	
brass	4·34
copper	2·84
iron (incl. hardware)	42·07
lead	0·25
steel	3·24
tin (incl. tin-plate ?)	1·30
zinc	10·60
Oils (kerosene)	54·25
Paints and colours	1·90
Paper	3·00
Provisions (see p. 131)	98·42
Salt	12·28
Seeds	20·84
Silk: yarn	14·16
" manufactured	39·43
Spices and Betel nut	48·04
Sugar	31·56
Tobacco, unmanufactured	54·24
Tobacco, manufactured	0·64
Treasure	73·36
Umbrellas	8·73
Woollen goods	20·31
" shawls	3·28
Miscellaneous	111·64
Total Imports	1154·95

EXPORTS.

Caoutchouc, raw	11·37
Cotton, raw	26·36
Cutch	22·74
Drugs	7·77
Fruit and vegetables	3·90
Hides, raw	16·01
Horns	0·73
Ivory	0·59
Jade	6·15
Jewellery	0·35
Jewels (rubies and pearls, excl. postal)	0·34
Lac	1·32
Tin	14·27
Oils, paraffin, wax	8·33
" other	43·24
Rice: in husk	20·94
" husked, "cargo rice"	1119·87
Rice bran, "meal"	27·79
Sesamum seed	0·05
Spices	9·92
Timber, teak	71·25
" other	3·32
Tobacco, unmanufactured	1·33
" manufactured	1·70
Treasure	68·11
Miscellaneous	51·10
Total Exports	1538·85

DEVELOPMENT OF SEA-BORNE TRADE.

Years	1811	1825	1830	1840	1854
Number of ships	20	56	140	..	..
Tonnage	..	5,400	..	82,000	86,000
Value of exports, Rs.	..	Coasting trade with Calcutta	..	..	300,000
Value of imports, Rs.	..	..	..	..	..

Years	1866	1876	1883	1893	1899
Number of ships	..	..	..	2,500	3,129
Tonnage	..	..	..	1,300,000	2,060,737
Value of exports, Rs.	23,140,620	55,166,540	87,202,560	114,058,201	153,885,920
Value of imports, Rs.	25,553,830	47,094,040	73,134,510	98,504,075	115,495,150

and envy at these fair creatures who continued work and home in one long pleasant Burmese continuity. They are girls from the ages of sixteen upward. Probably their parents set them up in these stalls, each separated from its neighbour by a stack of cotton bales, six or seven stalls on a long platform. They come there in the mornings, dressed in crisp muslin jackets and bright longyis, their faces powdered with thanakha and the Five B's, flowers in their hair, and fragrant ground bark on their hands and feet. They open up shop and dust with feather brooms while they shout across to each other the news of the previous evening. Then the whole day unfolds, calling out to food sellers and treating their friends to a succession of delicacies, button-holing the young boy who hawks magazines and tuppenny novels, and reclining against a pile of the tha-yet-hte longyis to read these romances, helping each other to fold up the pieces after a troublesome customer has gone, anything but making an earnest business of their profession. They always looked so cool and pretty and indifferent beside the small Indian storekeepers who flanked their platforms and solicited passers-by for patronage. "Oh to be a bazaar girl!" I still thought when I was in the University; "to pass unchaperoned days, reading novels and eating sweets, to have time to be powdered and neatly dressed, and only now and then be disturbed by someone who wants to buy a longyi." 361 438

Our starched white muslin jackets are made out of fine transparent muslin manufactured in England, and sent out in bales of 11 yards with the quality stamped in Burmese characters, and on the jacket a florid illustration of the quality-name—names such as *Nat-thami, Sein ta-hsok, Shwe Pan-gaing, Mè Nyo:* Heavenly Damsel, Cluster of Diamonds, Golden Spray of Flowers, Dusky Maiden—and imported by both Indian and Burmese traders. 294 439 563

The making up of the jackets was the monopoly of Chinese tailors; our *tayok-kalay*, little Chinaman, lived in the crowded quarter of Yegyaw in a barnlike room which was carpenter's shop at one end and tailor's at the other. The tailor's end had a row of shelves along the wall in to which the finished garments and uncut material were shoved, higgledy-piggledy in paper bags on which the merest scribble denoted owner and date of order. In front of this was the counter on which the cutter was at work, and separating it from the carpentery end was a table at which one or two half-clad men always seemed to be eating noodles or reading a Chinese newspaper, of which there were three in Rangoon. In spite of this, the tayok-kalay never confused an order for garments which had to fit so meticulously and always delivered them in a snow-white condition. He charged 9 annas for each fine handsewn garment, and for modern girls managed to cut twelve out of the eleven-yard piece. This 294 563 441 465

294 563 • 441 466 was sweated labour indeed. Possibly he paid the cutter two pice, the seamstress three annas, the button-loop maker two annas, for each garment. We met one of the button-loop makers one evening as she brought a pile of finished garments, a Chinese girl of ten years, with eyes which looked tired from two years of exquisite hemming on the ten button loops of each Burmese jacket, nine jackets each day. When we had got our jackets the tayok-kalay added up our three bills into one on his abacus. There may be many ways of using an [405 803] abacus, but our tayok-kalay's was bafflingly simple. He had each bead on the first rung representing one anna, each on the second one representing four of these, that is four annas; and each on the third rung representing four of these again, that is one rupee, there being sixteen annas in the rupee. When he wanted to add Rs. 5/10 and Rs. 9/11 for example, he represented the first sum on the three rungs above the median bar by drawing down towards it, two beads of the first rung, two of the second and five of the third. Then he represented the second sum on the rungs below the bar by drawing up to it three beads of the first rung, two of the second and nine of the third. He then counted up the sum of all the beads along the bar, pushing back every four beads of the first rung and pulling down one of the second as equivalent, pushing back every four of the second and pulling down one of the third again as its equivalent. All this he did with lightning speed, and, counting finally one bead on the first rung, one on the second and fifteen on the third, he announced Rs. 15/5, a sum which my sisters had arrived at long before by mental arithmetic and had, in vain, been trying to thrust on his notice.

441 563 I needed also a superior quality comb to wind my hair around in a knot at the back of my head, having given away the old one I had as a curiosity in England. My mother took me to the west end of Rangoon where the Chinese community are concentrated in about six or seven streets, mostly narrow streets of three storeyed houses packed closely together, containing valuable ivory and mother-of-pearl inlaid chairs within and jewellery behind safe doors, but bordering deep and dirty drains and congestion in the street. These were houses of rich men who got their money from trading in indigenous products; by long years of industry building up lakhs of money from the supplying of onions, coconuts, potatoes and other dry goods to the retail shops in bazaars. In the Strand running along the south end of these streets and in the broad Latter Street in the centre of the quarter, were the big emporiums of these traders. One of my father's greatest friends U Chein-Swan was a Burma Chinese of this description, and we stayed for short periods in his three-storeyed house in 20th Street when we were children. With

1: Mi Mi Khaing I-5 (no date) 1946 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4
Indians
Chinese

great hospitality they gave our family one floor to put up in whenever we came; they were ten times richer than we, but I never decided whether my days there were more filled with shrinking or with enjoyment. The trays of a myriad red and yellow cakes which were spread before our eyes fascinated me while I was in terror that I would slip into the muddy drain beside which the cake-seller set his tray; the opalescent lights of the mother-of-pearl chairs felt cool and smooth as I stroked them until I suddenly turned and met the stare from the Confucian gentlemen on the wall, with trailing moustaches and Chinese eyes; and the wonder which I felt at the beauty of U Chein Swan's fair daughters with their sparkling diamonds round neck and wrists was tinged with horror at what my nurses made of an orthodox Chinese marriage—the uncanny music, they said, the heavy clothes, and the wedding meal would be followed by the bride belonging forever to the clan of her husband. 1441 563

In search of a comb, however, we went to more humble streets where my mother knew the Sino-Burmese comb sellers. The lady of the house came running out of the kitchen as soon as she heard us, set fruit and cool drinks before us and gossiped while she sent for the virgin sheets of tortoise shell. We held them to the light, and picked out the particular area which had the prettiest markings; discussed the shape and size and thickness of the comb and the best arrangement for the honey and brown markings. All this my mother wanted her to do for Rs. 5/- but the lady laughed and wheedled her for six rupees because, she said, sailors had had to go as far as Java to get some of her shells.

Although gold work is still given to Burmese goldsmiths in preference to any other, the trade in diamonds is not in Burmese hands. Rangoon dwellers went to buy their diamonds at Moghul Street where a whole row of Hindu jewellers set up shop fronts and interiors in which high-powered electric bulbs, mirrors upon mirrors, technicolour photographs of the heads of the houses and of Hindu gods, all combined to make an unutterably gaudy display. Still, we took off our slippers on the threshold of these shops, and talked with great respect to the *Babugyi*, who faced us across a velvet padded counter on the floor.

Now I only needed buttons to hold the loops of my jackets together. Except for the occasions when diamond buttons or gold filigree-work buttons are worn, the ordinary Burmese woman wears coloured buttons of cut glass or stone to match her longyi. For the poorest classes, glass buttons imported from Czechoslovakia could be bought at 2 or 3 annas a set of five, complete with glass rings to slip into the loops But these were indeed glassy and did not last long. In Mandalay were the expert Burmese cutters, who for anything from six annas to Rs. 5 produced buttons of every description, plain, speckled, striped; of glass,

441 563 semi-precious stones, or gold dust, all cut with many tiny facets. We once had in our house a heavy glass vase, imported by an English firm, of a dull bluish-black colour. One day a wind mercifully blew the vase on to the floor where it broke into a hundred pieces. My cousin gathered up the pieces and the next time she went to Mandalay her button cutter fashioned them into several sets of round sparkling buttons catching the light and showing now black, now grey, now blue, one set of which I wear to this day. These and the velvet slippers which are universally worn were sold in the market by young Burmese women sitting opposite the tha-yet-htè longyi sellers. The slippers also came from Mandalay, and in the days of the last Burmese king, the common people were forbidden to wear them; they were reserved for royal use alone.

[438 565]

265 563 At last my sisters considered that I was suitably dressed as the elder sister of such fashionable young ladies as they had now grown into, and equipped to attend any social function of the town. Although Burmese people love gathering to eat and drink, hotels and restaurants did not exist in Rangoon society. Both the Western restaurants where people danced and drank alcoholic drinks, and the leading Chinese restaurants where the dolled-up Chinese waitresses served the male customers with playful attentions, were out of bounds for Burmese women, and therefore not greatly frequented by Burmese men either, except in the case of the Chinese hotels as a carousal. Night bazaars were, however, eminently respectable, all Rangoon families being addicted to the habit of eating out as a supper after their dinner at home. They drove in cars to the pavement stalls of Chinatown, Moghul Street and Yegyaw; at Burmese stalls they got out and squatted on the benches provided, while the seller served them from the cooking pot beside her; at Indian and Chinese shops they had a plank thrust through to rest on the doors of the car, and ate sitting there. After eating rich Mohammedan food or delicious Chinese dishes, they drove a few streets further on to eat in the same fashion at an ice-cream or sherbet stall. It was a good life indeed.

546 177. 54 We usually did this after the cinema. While we went to see American films, my mother and her friends invariably went to a Burmese film. There were four Burmese cinema halls in Rangoon, whose box offices were always besieged, but in spite of this the cinema industry in Burma was not a thriving one. Actors and actresses were poor and suffered a social stigma. About twenty-five feature films were produced in Rangoon each year, both sound and silent, by companies whose prosperity never lasted more than a few years. They could often be seen filming their outdoor scenes round the Royal Lakes, the University Estate and the fields around Mingaladon, using studios only for indoor scenes. In pite of this, the effects aimed at were ambitious, especially in the earlier

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma (Europeans)AP1
Burmese AP4

cable with men who have not yet fallen into the clutches of the chetties, and the result has been almost invariably to drive them into the money-lender's arms. The Burmese, it it is to be feared, have not sufficient stability of character. U Myaing or Maung Po never had so much money before in their lives as the advances figure to. They do not know the value of it, and proceed to squander the rupees forthwith; and so, long before the paddy is delivered they are heavily in the usurer's books, and then Maung Po and U Myaing have to do as they are bidden. Moreover, the system in any case could hardly be a safe one. The cultivator might die; there might be a flood or a jungle fire; many things might happen, in fact, to prevent the advance boats from ever reaching the Puzundaung creek. Consequently many English firms have given up the practice, and instead send agents away up the creeks, far into the jungle, to negotiate with the farmers on the spot and try to secure paddy before rivalry has had time to raise the price. But even this expedient does not answer well. The chetties do their best to throw obstacles in the way. It is not without expense, and it impresses the cultivators with a notion of the great demand there is for paddy.

Be 452 243 442

The telegraph, they say, ruins business. The paddy season opens in February with a price of, say between seventy and eighty rupees a hundred baskets. The merchants declare they will not be forced into materially increasing this rate, and the home-firms charter a number of ships. Meanwhile the price of paddy steadily rises, while rice in England steadily goes down; and by the time the vessels discharge their cargo in Liverpool or London, milled rice is not very much dearer in wholesale shops than the raw paddy in the Burmese boats. New mills are constantly being started—which would seem contradictory, were it not that all the firms starting them have business of another kind; teak sawmills, cotton or piece-goods trade, silks for Burmese men and maidens, or jute and grey shirtings for Upper Burma and the hill tribes. Rice will certainly always be wanted, and there is any quantity of it to be had in Burma. A little more of the sterling probity which used to be associated with the name of the English merchant would

Be Ba 243 452 435

Be Ba [256] [441]

If the umbrella falls down it indicates that the spirit has departed and cannot return. The person who performs this ritual must not talk to anyone en route to the cemetery. 764

On the seventh day a ceremony takes place. The monks come to the house to eat and chant prayers. They are given offerings for their own use and a special tray containing white thread. The monks hold the thread, which symbolizes good, while they chant. The people present are seated before the monks, repeating the prayers and precepts after them. The deceased person is supposed to be sitting on the mat prepared for him and benefiting from this ceremony. Then the people are fed, the monks depart, and the influences of death are considered to be banished. The thread is kept in the house. 764 769

Graves are not visited, nor is there any upkeep of the cemetery, for folk belief has it that the tidying of graves will cause more people to die. The dead are commemorated by the meritorious act of feasting the Buddhist monks.

Associations

Bus Union. Owners of buses plying between Tadagale and Rangoon are organized into a union. In terms of its functions, this organization might be more fittingly termed a mutual protective and insurance association. These are to prevent outsiders from infringing on their route and competing with them; payment of damages in case of accidents between members' buses and other vehicles or persons; payment of any costs of litigation that arise in connection with accidents; and maintenance of a repair shop and mechanic in the village. Members of the union pay an initial sum to join, plus monthly dues and a small toll fee for each trip that is made. 441 494

Peasants Union. The Tadagale Peasants Union is a constituent body of the All Burma Peasants Union and operates directly under the Insein Division of the parent organization. Some fifty to sixty households in Tadagale are members. When the head of a family or household joins, the union regards all its members as union members. In theory, meetings are supposed to occur once a month, but in fact take place at irregular intervals, whenever a problem arises that is considered sufficiently important to warrant a meeting. Commonly this is a dispute between members over land. If opinion remains divided after considerable discussion of a dispute or other issue, the union meeting votes by written ballot. 467 427 185

The more long-run aims of the Peasants Union concern rent and taxes of cultivators. Protests and petitions are sent to the government when it is felt taxes are too high. The union was characterized as 'an organization that is against the landlords.' At the time of our research, its aim was to reduce the landowners' share of the produce to one-third from two-thirds. The union also favored land nationalization, under which it was believed rent would be paid in a just amount to the government. Just where the Peasants Union fitted in with existing political party programs and alignments in the country at large it was not, for various reasons, feasible to investigate.

Ceremonial Assistance Groups. For purposes of rendering help at such ceremonies as weddings, funerals and initiations, the villagers are divided into informal groups. These are: men's group; married women's group; and unmarried girls' group. The men's group does the heavier tasks, such as chopping and carrying firewood, erecting ceremonial structures, and preparing 575 476

592 sent to stay with us at various times and were sent to schools which taught English, but nothing would persuade them to take any interest in studies. My cousin Nyein Maung, whom I liked very much, could never bear to keep a shirt on, which was why he was always to be found with only a longyi tucked around his loins playing chinlon or helping boatmen with their canoes, when he should have been sitting fully clothed in a class-room.

[601] My young Uncle Pyant, whom we called U-Ngè, small Uncle, had
693 passed his B.A. and his law degree, and returned to Ye in preference to
177 a more modern life in a larger town. He walled off one doorway's space
.64 from the main room of the house and filled it with bookcases, a big desk and chairs for visitors. Outside this room my Uncle Pyant put up a sign saying: "*A-htet-tan shaynay gyi:* Advocate and Higher Grade Pleader," and within a very short time became the lawyer of the whole village; but so great was his attachment to this consultation-living-room, which had nothing in common with the rest of Ye, that he relinquished all cases whose developing complexities led client and lawyer to a higher court in Moulmein.

592 Grandmother had gardens about ten miles up the creek from Ye.
244 These contained coconuts, durians and areca nuts grown over about
276 fifty acres for commercial disposal. Around the bungalow in the centre
427 of the garden there grew mangosteen, rambutan, pomeloes and pineapples for eating on a large-scale, clumps of bamboos, a coffee tree, tobacco plants, capsicum, lime and citron trees, lemon grass, and vegetables of all kinds to serve the needs of the bungalow and the household in town. My aunts with one young male relative took turns to live at the garden and help the family that was hired to look after it permanently. It was a dangerous life in these plantations as dacoities were very frequent.

[501] The produce was taken down to Ye in a succession of graceful narrow boats shaped out of single tree trunks. The durians and coconuts were
[442] sold straight away to traders who travelled between Moulmein and Ye for this purpose. The areca nuts were first dried on a bamboo attic made by an extension of the platform upper storey of the house until it met the back slope of the roof. When they were dried the whole family gathered around in the back kitchen and removed the husks with blunted nutcrackers, leaving the smooth nut to be sold.

244 With the rice from the paddy-land on the opposite bank, fruits,
262 vegetables and spices from the garden, rolling their cheroots with a mix-
226 ture containing tobacco in leaves shed by the areca trees in the garden,
438 and grinding their own coffee berries, my aunts and grandmother only
276 needed to buy a little fish and meat for their daily consumption. This they could not provide themselves owing to the Buddhist law against

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma (511 Peoples Campaigns) AP1
Burmese AP4

where some sturdy tree refuses to fall, and the clearing it away becomes a matter of very considerable danger. This taung-ya system is very wasteful as well as laborious, and annually draws down upon itself the denunciations of the English forest officers. But the hill-tribes who adopt it are too few to support themselves in any other way. They were long ago driven out of the plains by the Burmans, and now cling to their old nomadic life with a degree of obstinacy which Government officials, in a variety of ways, have found is not to be tempted by any tale of the present security and plenty of the low country, or even of the valleys among the hills. Rice, therefore, continues to be produced with the minimum and the maximum of labour; but none of the hill rice ever finds its way out of the country, and seldom even down to the plains.

The rice season, as far as the English merchant is concerned, commences in January and ends about May; but though this is pre-eminently the "busy season," there are purchases made in greater or less quantities all the year round. The relations between the great English rice firms and the simple jungle cultivators have not always been of a very elevating character, and it can hardly be denied that the fault lies wholly at the door of the foreigner. Missionaries in Burma are wont to mourn that their teachings are often rendered wholly nugatory by the want of scruple, and it might almost be said of honour, displayed by the great Rangoon rice firms. The good padres teach their proselytes that Christians are all honest and truthful. The ingenuous lads enter as clerks in a rice-mill and discover that Englishmen scarcely differ from the "poor heathen," except in being more lordly in the way of doing the thing.

Years ago, when there were not nearly so many mills as there are now, and not a quarter so many ships in the harbour during the rice season, things went on pretty equably. One day one firm would give a rupee or so more per hundred baskets, and the next day it would be another. But soon the mills began to increase in number and more ships came, and it was harder to get paddy. Then rival firms began to bid against each other. There was demurrage before their eyes, and it was terribly expensive work keeping the mill

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma (Europeans Burmans) AP1
Burmese AP4

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establishment up to its full strength. And so prices rose and rose until they became absurdly high, and no one profited but the hawks that preyed on the simple Burmese cultivators. Then the English merchants held a meeting, and all pledged themselves not to give more than the current market rate for paddy. This seemed a fair enough agreement; but after a while it was found that the boats all gravitated towards one or two firms. A little investigation showed that this was due to the fact that though they paid the ordinary rate, according to the compact, they had a smaller measuring basket than their neighbours. Accordingly every one went on reducing the size of his basket until the system became as ruinously absurd as ever it had been before. Then there was another meeting, at which it was unanimously agreed that this state of affairs would never do, and that it was absolutely necessary to come to some definite understanding. A committee was appointed which, after some deliberation, concluded that, if, in addition to abiding by the market rate, every one were bound to use a basket of a certain fixed size, there would be no chance for unfair speculations. A standard basket was therefore fixed upon; and the competitors were supposed to start fair again. But in no very long time, one firm put a false bottom in the basket, another wedged in a board; and so on, till matters got back to the old way. This state of affairs is hardly creditable to mercantile honour, and it certainly is by no means profitable.

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Independently of this, paddy has gone up in price at an alarming rate of late years. The first heavy rise was in 1877, at the time of the Madras famine. That was also the time of the resolution to have a standard basket. Rice was wanted in any quantity for the famine districts, and millers gave an altogether fabulous price for grain. The game went on merrily, introduced the scandalous "paddy morality," and lasted long enough to make the cultivators think the new prices had come in for good. Far too many Burmese farmers are heavily in debt to the "chetties," the money-lending caste of the Madras coast. The agriculturists have borrowed money to build a pagoda or a monastery; to give a grand feast on the

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2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma(Indians)AP1
Burmese AP4

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occasion of their marriage, or their father's death; to buy a new yoke of oxen in the place of those that have been carried off by disease; to get seed-grain to sow their tracts of paddy land, the last season's gains having been lost in some gambling transaction when they were down in Rangoon. They have got into the chetty's books in some way at any rate; and hapless is the man, Burman or Englishman, who has dealings with the fat, shaven-headed Madras money-lender. He will be charged eight, ten, twelve per cent a month, or even more, before there is an end of the transaction. The chetties, therefore, took a particular interest in the rise of the price of paddy. High prices ensured their being paid; moreover, handling such unwonted sums of money made the ever-careless Burman reckless. He gambled, he gave great feasts, he got deeper and deeper into debt with the money-lenders. Consequently it was desirable that the prices should not go down; and as men of business the chetties understood how that was to be done; they made the Burman farmers hold back their grain. The Rangoon firms were in desperation to meet their contracts, the ships could not be kept waiting; and so prices were maintained at nearly famine rates. This more than anything else brought about the unlucky legerdemain with standard baskets. The appearance of the chetty element in the trade upset everything. They are charming men of business, and know all about bulling and bearing, and all the other civilised expedients of trade. Poor "Jack Burma," listless and good-natured as he is, would never have thought of such things of himself; but he is in the hands of his master. Not a single village in the jungle, however remote, is to be found without its bare-backed money-lender. He hovers round the paddy nursery; he watches the men planting out the handfuls of half-grown rice; he makes the farmer hold back the threshed-out grain till he gives the word: then he fixes the rate and all but takes the money himself.

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The English merchants have struggled against the system, but with small success. They have laid out heavy sums in advances. The farmer is paid for the next year's crop before ever it is sown. This is generally only practi-

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma (Europeans)AP1
Burmese AP4

Be 452 243 442

cable with men who have not yet fallen into the clutches of the chetties, and the result has been almost invariably to drive them into the money-lender's arms. The Burmese, it it is to be feared, have not sufficient stability of character. U Myaing or Maung Po never had so much money before in their lives as the advances figure to. They do not know the value of it, and proceed to squander the rupees forthwith; and so, long before the paddy is delivered they are heavily in the usurer's books, and then Maung Po and U Myaing have to do as they are bidden. Moreover, the system in any case could hardly be a safe one. The cultivator might die; there might be a flood or a jungle fire; many things might happen, in fact, to prevent the advance boats from ever reaching the Puzundaung creek. Consequently many English firms have given up the practice, and instead send agents away up the creeks, far into the jungle, to negotiate with the farmers on the spot and try to secure paddy before rivalry has had time to raise the price. But even this expedient does not answer well. The chetties do their best to throw obstacles in the way. It is not without expense, and it impresses the cultivators with a notion of the great demand there is for paddy.

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Be Ba [256] [441]

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma (Europeans Chinese) AP1
Burmese AP4

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the Scotch engineer, is not looking. There is a cluster of Chinese carpenters, chipping away with their queer thick-headed axes and planes, which, with characteristic perversity, they pull towards them, instead of pushing away as other workmen do. Here is M——, the English "assistant" at the mill, his hat and coat all covered with rice-dust, which hangs in queer fashion on his eyebrows and moustache. He is in high spirits. "We've got twenty-four pair of stones going to-day, more than anybody else in the creek;" and he goes off to see how the Burmese girls are stitching up the rice-bags, a duty of which he is particularly fond, and over which he spends a quite unnecessary amount of time. There is R——'s voice on the other side of the creek. He is storming at some men in the cargo-boat, who have done something wrong—anchored in the wrong place, or not started for the upper mill at Kemendine last night as they ought to have done. R—— has a voice which is the terror of every loitering coolie and dawdling boat-wallah in his employ; and he will be as hoarse as a North Sea pilot by nightfall, and will want a "double-barrelled" whisky and soda to moisten him before dinner. He wants company down to "the Point," and presently comes skimming across in his gig, manned by Chittagonian Kalassies, and we drop down the creek—they call small rivers creeks in the East—to where it joins with the main Rangoon stream. The Pegu river, tapping the country north-east and north of Rangoon, comes in at the same place; and there is a great crowd of paddy-boats here in the early morning. Each firm has its brokers, middlemen who make the purchases from the farmers that come down with their grain. They have been here since daylight, and fly about in their little dug-outs from one seller to another. The great point in a broker seems to be power of lungs and fluency in abuse. The amount of yelling that goes on at "Monkey Point" would silence the bookmakers' ring at Epsom on a Derby day.

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R—— has not come down to this pandemonium for nothing. There are a couple of big ships in, which must be filled, or there will be demurrage to pay, and a "canal-wallah" is expected this afternoon or to-morrow morning; so that the wheels must be kept going their hardest.

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2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 APl Burma
Burmese APl

000 Accordingly, we paddle about here and there, and whenever we come across the little canoe flying the flag that marks R——'s brokers, sundry signs pass, which result in three great paddy-boats mounting the red flag too. They presently weigh anchor, and drop up to the mill. R—— is a smart man of business, and is very scornful about the representatives of several other firms, who lounge on the bank, smoking cheroots, and throwing sticks into the water for their dogs to fetch out. It is not directly a matter of money that is in question. The cultivators know pretty well what they are about, though you might not think it when you hear a man refuse ninety-two rupees a hundred baskets, and afterwards settle with a broker for eighty-eight. Those passes with the finger on the nose meant a good deal more than appeared. Another brick in the bottom of the basket, a three-inch batten wedged in somewhere, was the significance of that wink which sent the broker off in such a hurry.

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000 At last it is over. There are no more boats to be had; and we are not sorry to turn back, for the sun throws its beams fiercely back from the water in a way that gets below the broadest solah hat. R—— is in great glee: "Thirteen boats, by George! Next best to the Imperial Firm; and then there's the launch to come back." The Imperial Firm is the biggest concern in Rangoon, and has sometimes as much as a lakh out for "advance boats," *i.e.* money paid to cultivators before the rice has been planted out from the nurseries, or perhaps even before it has been sown at all. The launch about which R—— is so solicitous went away last night far up the Pegu River to intercept boats coming down with paddy for sale. There are sometimes great bargains to be made in this way. The boatmen have come a long distance, and are tired with paddling. The tide is making strong when the steam-launch comes up. There is the welcome prospect of an end to their labours, and above all there are no outbidding rivals to interfere. R—— instituted the system, and for a day or two had the game all to himself; but now the other firms have got wind of it, and there are sometimes famous races for a big boat, which must somewhat astonish the simple jungle wallāhs, and certainly do not reduce the demands of the hleshin, the owner of the

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2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

boat. R—— is in luck this morning. We have hardly gone a hundred yards when the "Mah Hlah" comes puffing round the point behind us, with a boat on either side, and three towing astern. 256 442 455

And now we have got back to the mill. The Burmans are discharging their paddy, which is stowed in bulk, into a big cargo boat. The regulation basket is in use, and we do not peer too inquisitively into the bottom of it. The owner of the boat is perched on the lofty carved stern of his craft, and placidly smokes a great cheroot. Presently he will come down and make his way to the office, where he will get a great pile of rupees to carry off, tied in the end of his paso. The greater number of them will probably find their way into the hands of the oily chetty, who is squatting on the bank there. The rest our hleshin will most likely gamble away. .000

Meanwhile, a long string of coolies is carrying the paddy from the lighter into the godown, a gigantic shed, where there is already a mountain of grain. We skirt round it, and go to the other side. There a few hundred more coolies are running off with more baskets to the mill. The paddy is thrown into huge receptacles on the basement, winnowed, carried up in lifts to the top of the house, three stories high, where it is first of all passed over a long sieve. Here the stalks, leaves, stones, and stumps of cheroots are separated from the grain, which is then passed between two revolving stones, just sufficiently wide apart to grind off the outer husk without breaking the seed. Then it is rewinnowed in fanners, and passed over finer sieves, where the broken grains fall through, while the part-cleaned rice goes on to fresh stones. It is found that perfectly clean rice will not stand the long sea voyage, and the grain as it is sent in the sailing ship has still the inner pellicle, and is mixed with about twenty per cent of unhusked rice. This is what is technically known as "five parts cargo rice," or simply "cargo rice." Since so many steamers have begun to go through the Suez Canal, the amount of "white rice" milled in the province has been steadily increasing. Rice of a specially fine quality, with a glaze on the surface, is manufactured for Italy. Clouds of rice-dust float all over the mill, and settle every- 256 256 439 178 256

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

nearly every house there will be a loom, where the wife or daughter weaves for herself or for sale. But many men weave also, and the finest silks are all woven by men. I once asked a woman why they did not weave the best silks, instead of leaving them all to the men. 462 286

'Men do them better,' she said, with a laugh. 'I tried once, but I cannot manage that embroidery.'

They also work in the fields—light work, such as weeding and planting. The heavy work, such as ploughing, is done by men. They also work on the roads carrying things, as all Oriental women do. It is curious that women carry always on their heads, men always on their shoulders. I do not know why. 462 241 482

But the great occupation of women is petty trading. I have already said that there are few large merchants among the Burmese. Nearly all the retail trade is small, most of it is very small indeed, and practically the whole of it is in the hands of the women. 462 444

Women do not often succeed in any wholesale trade. They have not, I think, a wide enough grasp of affairs for that. Their views are always somewhat limited; they are too penny-wise and pound-foolish for big businesses. The small retail trade, gaining a penny here and a penny there, just suits them, and they have almost made it a close profession. [442]

This trade is almost exclusively done in bazaars. In every town there is a bazaar, from six till ten each morning. When there is no town near, the bazaar will be held on one day at one village and on another at a neighbouring one. It depends on the 443 [805]

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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But prettier than the silks are the sellers, for these are nearly all girls and women, sweet and fresh in their white jackets, with flowers in their hair. And they are all delighted to talk to you and show you their goods, even if you do not buy; and they will take a compliment sedately, as a girl should, and they will probably charge you an extra rupee for it when you come to pay for your purchases. So it is never wise for a man, unless he have a heart of stone,
443 to go marketing for silks. He should always ask a
562 lady friend to go with him and do the bargaining, and he will lose no courtesy thereby, for these women know how to be courteous to fellow-women as well as to fellow-men.

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438 Rangoon or Mandalay, most of whom are men;
442 but nearly all the retailers are women. Indeed, speaking broadly, it may be said that the retail trade of the country is in the hands of the women, and they nearly all trade on their own account. Just as the men farm their own land, the women own their businesses. They are not saleswomen for others, but traders on their own account; and with the exception of the silk and cloth branches of the trade, it does not interfere with home-life. The bazaar lasts but three hours, and a woman has ample time for her home duties when her daily visit to the bazaar is over; she is never kept away all day in shops and factories.

Her home-life is always the centre of her life;

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

At intervals on the main lines of

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[262]

292. CLOTH BAZAR.

traffic are refreshment-booths, where fruit, sweetmeats, and tea are sold. Meals can be taken in the markets of the towns. In the villages casual travellers enjoy the hospitality of the people. In the afternoon the markets are closed; low tables are set in the roads, where cheroots, fruit, and sweetmeats are sold in the evening. Some of these refreshments are prepared on the spot, such as the *mônlebwè*, a wafer baked in the flame of a fire, in which it rises to an immense size.

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The wholesale trade of Burma is conducted by brokers (*pwèza*) who receive a commission. Wealthy men operate with their own capital, others find investors and money-lenders to advance funds, some form partnerships and small companies to divide profits. Producers frequently bring their grain direct to the mills; but the bulk of the grain is bought up by the native brokers to the order of the exporters, most of whom never visit the interior. The interest on money is one to six per cent. per mensem. What is not hoarded in the form of plate and ornaments is put into trade or is put out to interest. Money-lending is not a special business because everybody practises it. Appalling as is the rate of interest—the measure of risk—such hard bargains are not driven as in India. Debtors when sold up can nowhere make a new start so well as in Burma. Brokers do banking in a small way; but banking has been made a regular branch of business by the Chettis from India (No. 364), who pay as much as one per cent. per month on deposits and charge one and a half per cent. on loans fully secured. European banks and investments with their high security and low rates of interest do not attract Burman capital.

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293. NIGHT BAZAR.

505 The carrying business is mainly by water, for which Burma possesses unrivalled facilities, especially in the floods

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

Not only has every day its special character and its fixed
805 letters, but there is also a particular animal assigned to
825 symbolise it, and red or yellow wax candles are made in
782 the forms of these animals to be offered at the Pagoda by the
[527] pious. Each worshipper offers the creature-candle representing his birthday, or that of any particular friend or relation whom he wishes well. In this way Monday is represented by a tiger; Tuesday, by a lion; Wednesday, by an elephant with tusks; Yahu, by an elephant without tusks; Thursday, by a rat; Friday, by a guinea-pig; Saturday, by a nagā or dragon; Sunday, by a kalôn, the fabulous half-beast, half-bird, which guards one of the terraces of Mount Myinmo (Meru), the centre of the universe.

782 Little candles of this kind are to be had at any of the
443 stalls which cluster about the steps and the base of every pagoda in the country, and they are as freely offered as flowers, and fruits, and gold-leaf.

551 It will be seen that there is no such thing as a surname
553 among the Burmese. A man may have a dozen sons not one of whom has the same name as his father. Maung, literally "brother," has come to stand practically for "Mister." Po and Shwe and Ba may be applied to any one without regard to his birthday, Shwe implying usually politeness or affection. Nga, used in the English law-courts and by pompous native officials generally, implies superiority claimed by the speaker or writer. Ko denotes friendship, or superior age and dignity in the person addressed. Maung Shwe Than might call himself indifferently—Maung Than, Po Than, Ba Than, Ko Than, Nga Than, or Shwe Than, and might add Maung to any one of these. As a matter of fact most Burmans chop about their name a good deal during their lives. He may begin by being called Lugale Ngè, "Little Wee Man." When he grows up a little the family probably get to call him Lugale Gyi, "Big Little Man." Later, when he begins to think of his appearance and look after the girls—and they begin that sort of thing very early in Burma—he probably calls himself Maung Lugale or Shwe Lugale, "Mr. Littleman," or "Mr. Boy," or "Golden Boy." There are a variety of other changes possible and likely. Finally, when he reaches the age of thirty-five or forty he either readopts the original Ngè and calls himself

14: Brant E-5 (1949-50) 1954 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

II

MAKING A LIVING

Occupations

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The occupational pattern in Tadagale is a highly diversified one. There are thirty-eight principal gainful occupations in which a total of 341 individuals are engaged. A large proportion of these people have secondary and even tertiary pursuits at which they spend part of their time in order to round out a living. The following table shows the outstanding principal occupations in order of frequency.

Table II

Principal Occupations of Villagers

Occupation	No.
Gardener	52
Bus operator (driver, spare)	44
Paddy cultivator	43
Field laborer	38
Dairy farmer	26
Prepared foods seller	20
Urban laborer	19
Trader (middleman)	17
Shopkeeper	15

Some of the other principal occupations, of lesser frequency, are carpenter, fisherman, casual laborer, cowherd, woodcutter, and seamstress.

1. Gardening. The leading mode of making a living is truck gardening. The gardens are located on small patches of ground adjoining dwellings, and range in size from tiny plots up to perhaps 3000 square feet. They are cultivated intensively, four crops a year being usual, and six crops not unknown. The crops include gourds, cucumbers, mustard, cabbage, cauliflower, lettuce, radishes and spinach. 244

For all households, the garden supplies the family with the many vegetables that form an indispensable part of the various Burmese curries. Many gardens produce a surplus which is sold in nearby town bazaars or in the larger markets of Rangoon. The trend has been for gardening to become increasingly important as a source of income in recent years, particularly during the period of disturbed conditions in Burma. These conditions have seriously impeded the normal flow of fresh vegetables and fruits to Rangoon from more distant points; thus the people of Tadagale have been provided with an opportunity to secure high prices for almost all the vegetables they can supply. 244 178 443 438

14: Brant E-5 (1949-50) 1954 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

243 led around in circular fashion until the grain is thoroughly separated from the stalks. A pronged hoe is then drawn over the stalks to further the separation, after which the bullocks further stamp upon them. When the grain appears to be full separated from the stalks it is swept up into large heaps, while the stalks are put aside for use as cattle fodder.

Winnowing apparatus consists of a tripod of bamboo poles, from the top of which is suspended a plaited round tray of wide weave. Basketsful of grain are handed up to a man who stands on a platform, often an old barrel or a chair, and empties them on to the tray. As he shakes the tray the grain falls through to the ground, while any chaff is carried away by the wind.

The paddy for household use may then be allowed to dry further before being sent by boat down Pazundaung Creek to be milled. In a few households the paddy for home consumption is husked by a foot-operated pounding device, or by a large, hand-operated mortar and pestle. If there is any surplus, beyond the requirements of home consumption, seed, payment of laborers and debts, it is sold to nearby millers who come to purchase it.

494 3. Bus Operation. Forty-four men of the community are principally occupied as bus drivers or fare-collectors. The latter are known as 'spares' in the local terminology. Because of the total destruction of public transportation facilities during World War II in Rangoon and the surrounding area, large numbers of surplus military vehicles have been converted into buses. These buses are owned individually or by small groups of partners. The Tadagale men who engage in bus operation ply between the village, which is a terminus, and Rangoon. Their vehicles are, for the most part, in poor repair, and breakdowns along the route are not uncommon. No regular time schedule is followed; rather, they begin a trip when fully loaded, which is to say extremely tightly packed with passengers. By carrying maximum loads, and by charging a fare of 6 annas (ca. 8 cents), the bus operators are able to make a profit, despite the high cost of fuel (ca. 47 cents per Imperial gallon) and of repairs.

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464 4. Field Labor. Thirty-eight villagers make their livings mainly by field labor. During the planting and harvesting seasons they work steadily for cultivators, either in Tadagale or in nearby communities. They are paid in kind or in cash, seldom in combination. During the growing season, August to November, and again, between the end of the harvest and the beginning of the planting season, these people must depend on other temporary jobs to round out their livings.

234 563 ● 443 5. Dairy Farming. This occupation is carried on exclusively by the small group of Indians in Tadagale, who possess herds of water buffalo and cattle. Fresh milk is taken daily by bus, in large metal containers, to Rangoon, where it is sold for cash, mostly to Muslim restaurants. The Burmese inhabitants of Tadagale make but slight use of milk and there is virtually no market for it in the village.

265 6. Selling of Prepared Foods. The preparation and itinerant selling of certain Burmese foods supports twenty persons, of whom many are women. Because of the Burmese habit of informal, occasional eating between the two regular daily meals, food sellers do a considerable business. They are invariably present at the pwes, outdoor dramatic presentations staged during holidays and on other festive occasions.

16;Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

443 density of population, the means of communication, and other matters. But a bazaar within reach there must always be, for it is only there that most articles
443 can be bought. The bazaar is usually held in a
347 public building erected for the purpose, and this may vary from a great market built of brick and iron to a small thatched shed. Sometimes, indeed, there is no building at all, merely a space of beaten ground.

443 The great bazaar in Mandalay is one of the sights
369 of the city. The building in which it is held is the property of the municipality, but is leased out. It is a series of enormous sheds, with iron roofs and beaten earth floor. Each trade has a shed or sheds to itself. There is a place for rice-sellers, for butchers, for vegetable-sellers, for the vendors of silks, of cottons, of sugar and spices, of firewood, of jars, of
[563] fish. The butchers are all natives of India. I have
[562] explained elsewhere why this should be. The firewood-sellers will mostly be men, as will also the large rice-merchants, but nearly all the rest are women.

You will find the sellers of spices, fruit, vegetables, and other such matters seated in long rows, on mats placed upon the ground. Each will have a square of space allotted, perhaps six feet square, and there she will sit with her merchandise in a basket or baskets before her. For each square they will pay the lessee a halfpenny for the day, which is only three hours or so. The time to go is in the morning from six till eight, for that is the busy time. Later on all the stalls will be closed, but in the early morning the market is thronged. Every house-

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

443 369 holder is then buying his or her provisions for the day, and the people crowd in thousands round the sellers. Everyone is bargaining and chaffing and laughing, both buyers and sellers; but both are very keen, too, on business.

443 286 The cloth and silk sellers, the large rice-merchants, and a few other traders, cannot carry on business sitting on a mat, nor can they carry their wares to and fro every day in a basket. For such there are separate buildings or separate aisles, with wooden stalls, on either side of a gangway. The wooden floor of the stalls is raised two to three feet, so that the buyer, standing on the ground, is about on a level with the seller sitting in the stall. The stall will be about eight feet by ten, and each has at the back a strong lock-up cupboard or wardrobe, where the wares are shut at night; but in the day they will be taken out and arranged daintily about the girl-seller. Home-made silks are the staple—silks in checks of pink and white, of yellow and orange, of indigo and dark red. Some are embroidered in silk, in silver, or in gold; some are plain. All are thick and rich, none are glazed, and none are gaudy. [439] There will also be silks from Bangkok, which are of two colours—purple shot with red, and orange [286] shot with red, both very beautiful. All the silks are [291] woven the size of the dress: for men, about twenty-eight feet long and twenty inches broad; and for women, about five feet long and much broader. Thus, there is no cutting off the piece. The anas, too, which are the bottom pieces for a woman's dress, are woven the proper size. There will probably, too, be piles of showy cambric jackets and

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

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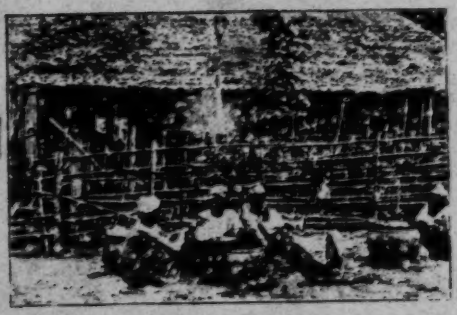
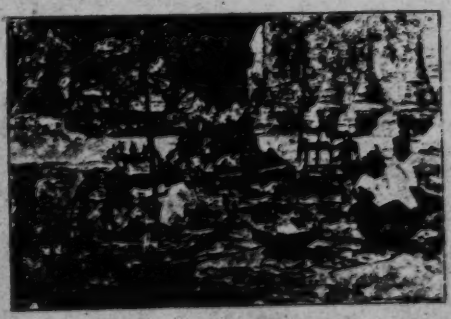


282. PEDLARS.

tain a fire of billets on a special hearth as big as the couch, and placed alongside of it, for five or seven days. The antiseptic property of the smoke may be of value, but the relaxing effect of the artificial heat is believed to be a reason why the Burman women are so much less hardy in this particular than the neighbouring races. The hospital of the Lady Dufferin Fund is helping to spread a [158] more enlightened practice. The ratio of insane in the population is about a quarter of that of Western Europe and America, but is double that of India.

482 Almost the only dealer who hawks his goods in the street is the seller [443] of oil (*hmanzi*, No. 282). He uses a light spring yoke of the wood of the *zi*-tree, the heavier form of which is seen in No. 283. By its springiness the 314 yoke maintains the load at an even level, thus saving waste of work. As much as a hundredweight is carried for long distances. In merely shifting goods at warehouses, carriers will move two hundredweight. They earn six to twelve annas a day. The only vegetable oil used for burning is the oil or resin of the *ka-nyin* (No. 362). Chips are soaked in the wood-oil and made up into [373] torches (*mldaing*) with leaves of the pandanus. The oil is obtained by hewing deep recesses into the butts of the trees for it to collect in, and firing these from time to time to induce a fresh

315 flow. In the valley of the Irawadi, the crude earth-oil from the wells at Yenándyaung is burned in open lamps. This is the earliest [432] petroleum known to commerce, under the name "Rangoon oil." In recent years petroleum has also been found in Arakán. The out-turn from the Burma oilwells in 1898–99 was thirty-two million gallons, valued at



283. TOY AND FLOWER STALLS

25: Ferrars .E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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287. COUNTRY SALE-DEPOT.

about three million rupees. At present both wood-oil and crude earth-oil are being superseded by kerosene. The crude earth-oil is used for preserving woodwork. But its place is being taken by the residues from the local refineries, now established in Rangoon.* Travelling pedlars hawk the silk goods of Burma Proper and all sorts of fancy nicknacks from the sea-ports to the villages of the interior. The approaches to the temples are favourite resorts of stall-keepers of all sorts of wares, especially of wax-tapers, plain and moulded, gold leaf, coloured paper flags and flowers for the votaries to decorate the shrines with, and toys wherewith to gladden the hearts of children—an act of merit befitting the shrine of religion in this cheerful land. In sad contrast to the gaiety of the booths is the spectacle of the lepers who beg for alms. The prominence of these unfortunates at such places creates a disproportionate impression of their numbers, high as these are (p. 41). The offerings dedicated on the occasions of *Shinláung fêtes*, festivals, and funerals, make the trades of manufacturing and distributing the requisites of the *kyaung* very important ones. The wares collected in the *parêikaya* shop used to be representative of the manufactures of Burma. But of late, imported goods—crockery, glassware, lamps and clocks—have become a regular part of the *kyaung* furniture, and are offered in meaningless profusion. This has helped to bring the *parêikaya* trade into the hands of foreigners.

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288. ROLLING CHEROOTS.

Every year, after the floods have subsided, Burman dealers establish dry-

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* See *The Occurrence of Petroleum in Burma*, by Dr. F. Noetling.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
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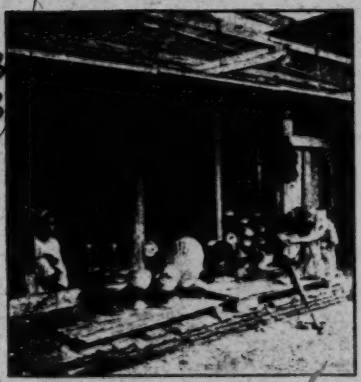

[366] 290. PAREIKAYA DEALER.

weather sale-booths (*tawza*), for trade with the hill-people, at central points as far from the towns as canoes can navigate the stream. They sell dried fish and *ngapi*, salt, oil, pease, sugar, spices and tobacco, pottery and crockery, plain and coloured yarns, needles, thread, cloth of every sort, elastic belts, under-vests, matches, tapers and soap, kerosene oil, pencils, pens, ink and paper, playing-cards, beads, spectacles, mirrors and fancy articles from Europe, besides biscuits, sardines, and condensed milk. All these wares are sold in the larger villages as well. Sale-booths are set up at every festival, chiefly for refreshments. But there is nothing corresponding to the fairs of India and the West.

276 Both men and women smoke tobacco. Children begin at four or five (No. 21). The Burman cheroot (*seleik*) is a roll five to eight inches long and an inch thick, consisting of chopped tobacco-leaf and the pith of the tobacco stem, with a wrapper made of the inner skin of the spathe of the betel palm, or the spathe of maize, or else the leaves of *pauk*, *thanát* or *bambwé*, which are smoothed on a hot stone. The Burman exquisite toys with this cheroot much as the Japanese does with the fan. The fan is not affected by men or women in Burma. Good cheroots are also rolled of plain tobacco-leaf, in the Indian way; they are very strong. Unlike the Shans, Karéns and Chinese, with their pipes, and the natives of India with their hookah, the Burman sticks to the cheroot. Tobacco is grown on the silt banks left dry by the rivers (Nos. 191, 264); but the bulk is imported from the South of India. A delicate "birds-eye" tobacco is prepared by the Karéns and Shans on the North-East; it is shredded green, and does not keep well. At intervals on the main lines of

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291. BAZAR SCENE, BURMA PROPER.

around that we had meritoriously praised the Lord Buddha, and then touched the earth with the striker to pass the message to the spirits there also. These big bells may weigh up to 25 tons; the bell at Mingun is said to be the second largest in the world. They are all inscribed with lauds and invocations for the welfare of the donor. Gongs of brass are the bells of the town-crier; all announcements are punctuated with the striking of a gong. *Maung le htu tè* is the equivalent of "broadcasting it around the town". Much attention is paid to the melodiousness of gongs for the Burmese have a musical instrument called the *kyi-waing*, which is a circular frame on which graduated gongs are hung and beaten with a knobbed stick to harmonize with the rest of a Burmese orchestra.

There were numerous other objects for which my mother would never accept a substitute from English shops because they did not cater for our ingrained customs. Soup never tastes right when eaten with a metal spoon—we always used Burmese china spoons bought for about one anna each; rice is not to be stirred with a metal utensil either—the Burmese wooden ladle for this is the *yaung-ma*, the same word as for sister-in-law, the stirrer of trouble. There were, of course, particular places in Burma which supplied particular articles of dress, but I took an interest in this only when I was grown up.

What delights me is to find now that, in the imported things about the house also, all minkadaw households bought a standard type. This was probably due to the enterprise of Messrs. Rowe and Co., a Rangoon firm selling general goods, which established branches in all district towns to provide officers with anything they could not buy in native shops. We all bought Gold Medal camp chairs and camp cots from Rowe's. We bought durwan's kerosene lamps for bedrooms, Storm King and Petromax lamps with incandescent mantles for sitting and dining rooms, we bought crockery which came out in three or four good standard patterns, with an adaptation from the orthodox English dinner service to provide soup and curry dishes suitable for Burmese meals. We got cane furniture made in the local jails, odd chairs and always the half-wood half-cane stores box to serve on tours, and the long basket trays in which my father's files and papers would come home and go to the office every day, on the head of the *chaprassi*. The *hpas*, soft expandable cane boxes in which Burmese people pack their bedding when travelling, were always covered with green canvas from Rowe's. With these hpas, matching the Gold Medal camp cots and chairs, the boxes from the jails, a clerk and two or three girls looking after the children, and a general air of solicitous attention from the people around, no one could mistake an a-so-ya government official's family on its touring travels.

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4
Upper Burma
Lower Burma

entirely dispensed with. If the parents of both houses are agreeable, the contracting parties get married with most ardent lover-like rapidity. The age, too, has become very much younger. Most lads get married when they are eighteen or nineteen; thirteen or fourteen is a common age for the girls. Runaway marriages are common enough, and though the parents may be angry, they are usually too easy-going and indolent to take any energetic action in the matter, and let the couple find out their mistake and come and ask for pardon and a house to live in, which is seldom refused. Occasionally in Lower Burma a stern father demands that they shall be separated until the lad has got a situation for himself, but this is ordinarily little more than a mere form of speech. In Upper Burma, where food is scarce and working hands more valuable, the husband is brought to the girl's parents' house and made to do his share towards supporting the household.

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The preliminary courting is naturally conducted in the old fashion, best known to those who have had experience of their own in such matters. The parties meet at pwès, the girl perhaps selling cheroots, fried garlic, le'pet, and what not, and therefore being readily accessible to any swain. It must not be supposed that keeping a stall is regarded as anything derogatory. Numbers of perfectly well-to-do women set them up regularly; some even have daily work in the bazaars, and very often a girl commences occupations of the kind with the view of attracting the young men and securing a husband. Then there are meetings at pagoda feasts, in the zayats and at friends' houses, so that there are plenty of chances of introduction to eligible swains, even without calling in the assistance of the aungthwè. This functionary makes it a regular occupation to know all the attractions, physical and sordid, of all the young women in the place, and for a small consideration, or sometimes merely for love of his trade, brings young couples together and arranges places of meeting for them. He is, of course, most useful where an impecunious youth aspires to the hand of a rich merchant's or high official's daughter. He manages an introduction in a roundabout way to avoid arousing suspicions, praises his client's appearance and

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma AP1
Burmese AP4
Chinese

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tells us that the American Indian chief was in a state of great alarm lest his soul might be carried off with his picture. A notion of the same kind appears in the Chinese custom of getting a priest to put in the pupil of the eye, a method which often has rather a ghastly effect when the reverend gentleman is not skilful. Similarly, every Chinese-owned craft, from the sampan to the English-built iron screw steamer, has a couple of eyes painted on its bows, in order that it may see the way. Down in the Straits, and in all places where there are many Chinese, the local steamers, whoever their owners may be, are all endowed with eyes. Were they not so favoured, no Chinaman would travel with them as a passenger, or send any of his goods aboard of them. The Burman is not troubled with any such fantastic notions, and has no objection whatever to sitting for his portrait, only, as King Mindôn said to Yule, they prefer a flattering likeness to an exact one. It is seldom, however, that a Burman has a picture gallery in his house, and the village artist usually confines himself to vivid-coloured sketches for the funeral of a pôngyi, or to be hung round the mandut, where the great people sit to look on at a play. The drawing and the perspective are naturally a little faulty, but the details are usually worked out with very creditable skill.

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Thus wandering about, seeing what his neighbours are doing, with an occasional visit to the monastery to have some edifying talk with the religious, the villager may spend the time very comfortably. Oftenest however, he stays at home, and waits for visitors to drop in and have a little gossip. The goodwife always has a little shop in the lower part of the building. There is hardly a single house in the whole village where something is not offered for sale: a few dried fish, betel-nut, with the fresh green leaves, lime, cardamoms, and cutch, all ready for making up, half a dozen cocoa-nuts, or perhaps some twopenny-ha'penny knives, looking-glasses, coloured tumblers, and paltry Manchester goods, or where there are many girls about the house, a few home-made lungyis and pasos, waist-cloths, woven at odd times in the loom which stands in the yard or in a corner of the verandah of every house. The stock-in-trade is

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2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

intended more as an excuse for people to enter the house and have a talk than with any idea of making a profit. Whatever money is drawn is regarded as a kind of pin-money for the mistress of the establishment. When the ladies of the household are in earnest about trading, they start a stall in the bazaar, and very good hands they are at driving a bargain. A more regrettable trait is the forcible character of their language when they are annoyed. But this, unhappily, is a characteristic of the fair sex all the world over, whether in trade or out of it. Certain it is that the *dames de la halle* and the Billingsgate fishwives would require all their powers of voice and vituperation to silence a bazaar maiden when she sets her mind to it.

There are as a general thing two meals only in the day: breakfast at about eight in the morning, and dinner at five in the afternoon. There is no difference in the *menu* of the two meals. The staple article of food is plain boiled rice, which is piled up in a heap on a huge platter, round about which the household arrange themselves, sitting, like pit-men, on their heels. The curry which is taken with it is placed in little bowls, and each one of the party has his own plate, and helps himself. Knives are unnecessary; spoons and forks and celestial chopsticks are unknown, except in the houses of a few Government officials and traders in Rangoon, who have had some experience of English society. Very few are able to afford curries of meat or fish, besides that there are not always unscrupulous people ready to disregard the law against taking life, and the material is therefore not always available. Ordinarily the curry consists of a soup, or thin concoction of vegetables, in which chillies and onions figure largely. The other ingredients are very various. Young shoots of bamboo are very delicate in their flavour, if not overpowered by too much garlic. Wild asparagus, the succulent stems of a number of aquatic plants and fleshy arums are constantly used, and may be seen exposed for sale in every bazaar. Tamarind leaves and those of the mango-tree are used by the very poor. The former have a somewhat acrid taste, the latter are curiously aromatic. Along with the curry, which has always a large amount of oil and salt in it, there are a variety of condiments, notably the

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

231 more fortunate than his Malay congener in possessing a tail, but asserts relationship with that animal in the possession of a horny hook, with this difference, that the hard excrescence is at the end of a tail of fair dimensions instead of being humbly situated on the rump, as is the case with the Straits tabby.

235 There are always some tame villatic fowl about the house. If the householder does not aspire to the ownership of a taik-kyet, a regular game cock, bred for the purpose, he has at least a kyet-hpa, an ordinary cock of combative instincts, and backs him against his neighbour's when occasion offers, through the absence of the constable, by chance, or by the influence of pecuniary profit acting on a sporting disposition. A cock that declines to fight under any circumstances is called a kyet nyaung-gan, and stands in great danger of dying suddenly and being converted into curry. Hens are regarded with indifference except in view of similar possibilities, for their eggs are of no use. A fowl may be killed by accident by a stick thrown at random, but the germ of life in an egg cannot die unless it is boiled or goes rotten. In the former case the boiler incurs mortal danger from breaking one of the Five Precepts; in the latter the egg
223 is undesirable. In small villages almost every one keeps a tè-gyet, a decoy cock, for luring the wild jungle-fowl. The fore-doomed hunter kills the game, and the pious owner of the decoy bird gets a good dinner. Similarly tè-gyo, pigeons, are bred specially as lures, and so are partridges. Ordinary pigeons, occasionally used for the same purpose, go by the
231 name of gyo ta-nyin. Caged birds are not very common as
779 pets, though every here and there one comes across a hill
444 Mina, who has acquired a fair knowledge of the vernacular, and astonishes passers-by with the unceremonious way in which he hails them. But the Buddhist religion condemns keeping animals in confinement. So much is this the case that in Mandalay, and here and there in other places, there are men who make a regular living by catching birds and selling them to the pious, that they may gain merit by setting them free. Crafty birdcatchers are able so far to disable the bird, without doing it any material or visible harm, that they can catch it again immediately after their tender-hearted customer has gone his way.

14: Brant E-5 (1949-50) 1954 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

One of the most popular foods of these vendors is mohingha. Rice noodles are made by pounding rice into a flour, mixing it with water, and grinding into a paste between two flat stone slabs. After the excess water has been expressed from this paste, it is pushed through sieves with narrow holes, to form noodles. Once dried, the noodles are cooked and mixed with a curry to make mohingha. 252

A beverage sold regularly by food vendors is molessaun. It is made of sugar, coconut milk and bits of rice noodles, mixed together. The villagers consider this drink very tasty and refreshing. 272

7. Shopkeeping and Middleman Trading. The typical shop in the village consists of nothing more than a few large glass jars containing cigars, matches, candy, soap, and various other articles, set out on the porch in front of a house. The stocks of these are very small and are periodically replenished by purchase in Rangoon. Customers are occasional and sales are very small. 414

Seventeen villagers devote their main activity to what we have called middleman trading. These persons make a living by periodically buying quantities of such goods as second-hand lumber from dismantled dwellings, bamboo, cloth, etc., and selling them in the village and nearby places.

8. Urban Labor. The nineteen individuals listed in Table II as urban laborers are employed in a government medical warehouse in Rangoon. They are unskilled workers who perform such tasks as moving boxes of medical supplies in and out of the establishment and arranging them in the warehouse. These people commute daily between Tadagale and their place of work by bus. 464 369

These are the numerically most significant of the variety of occupations followed by villagers. There are six unemployed persons and fourteen who are not gainfully employed because of old age, ill health, or blindness. The great majority of the married women and unmarried girls are occupied most of the time with domestic housework, looking after small children, and helping with gardening. 463

The whole character of the occupational pattern is shifting and unstable. Individuals move opportunistically from one form of activity to another as circumstances change, in an effort to round out a living. Informants stated that in former times the community was much more agricultural, but that owing to loss of land through indebtedness people had gradually left farming for other occupations. 463 178

Income

In analyzing our data on income, figures for the Indians of Tadagale have been calculated separately. The Indians are occupationally a homogeneous group, all engaged in dairy farming. The range and average of income within this small group is so far above that of the Burmese that a misleading idea of the community's economic structure would be conveyed were the data on the Indians included in a single, overall computation for the village. 434 [563]

The following tables show family incomes.

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

796 And, '*My mother!* what a lot of sweet rice! Who
735 gave that? Oh, I see old U Hman.' 'I wonder
792 what's in that tin box?' remarked one as he passed my biscuits. 'I hope it's coming to our monastery, any way.'

Thus the monks passed, paying no sort of attention, while the people knelt to them; and when the procession reached the end of the line of offerings, it went on without stopping, across the fields, the monks of each monastery going to their own place; and the givers of presents rose up and followed them, each carrying his or her gifts. And so they went across the fields till each little procession was lost to sight.

796 That was all the ceremony for the day, but at dusk the illuminations began. The little pagoda in the fields was lighted up nearly to its top with concentric rings of lamps till it blazed like a pyramid of flame, seen far across the night. All the people came there, and placed little offerings of flowers at the foot of the pagoda, or added each his candle to the big illumination.

The house of the headman of the village was lit up with a few rows of lamps, and all the monasteries, too, were lit. There were no restaurants—every-
● [444] one was at home, you see—but there were one or two little stalls, at which you could buy a cheroot, or even perhaps a cup of vermicelli; and there was
796 a dance. It was only the village girls who had
535 been taught, partly by their own mothers, partly by an old man, who knew something of the business. They did not dance very well, perhaps; they were none of them very beautiful; but what matter?

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

nearly every house there will be a loom, where the wife or daughter weaves for herself or for sale. But many men weave also, and the finest silks are all woven by men. I once asked a woman why they did not weave the best silks, instead of leaving them all to the men. 462 286

'Men do them better,' she said, with a laugh. 'I tried once, but I cannot manage that embroidery.'

They also work in the fields—light work, such as weeding and planting. The heavy work, such as ploughing, is done by men. They also work on the roads carrying things, as all Oriental women do. It is curious that women carry always on their heads, men always on their shoulders. I do not know why. 462 241 482

But the great occupation of women is petty trading. I have already said that there are few large merchants among the Burmese. Nearly all the retail trade is small, most of it is very small indeed, and practically the whole of it is in the hands of the women. 462 444

Women do not often succeed in any wholesale trade. They have not, I think, a wide enough grasp of affairs for that. Their views are always somewhat limited; they are too penny-wise and pound-foolish for big businesses. The small retail trade, gaining a penny here and a penny there, just suits them, and they have almost made it a close profession. [442]

This trade is almost exclusively done in bazaars. In every town there is a bazaar, from six till ten each morning. When there is no town near, the bazaar will be held on one day at one village and on another at a neighbouring one. It depends on the 443 [805]

572 The friendships he[1] has made with other workers do not seem to be
369 very deep or very lasting. In Pathwe the workers were all friends, and even included his relatives as well. There are not many strangers in Pathwe and even people not connected by blood ties were treated like relatives.

369 "In Rangoon the seller takes a profit on everything we have
426 to buy for food; items like rice, vegetables and fruits. Of course
●444 he cannot be blamed, because he has a living to earn too. He gives wage-earners goods on credit, but charges an interest on those goods". In Pathwe U Myaing could get most of the necessary food without having to pay any interest or middleman's profits since he bought straight from the producer. In Rangoon all people who earn monthly wages are the same. They have to take goods on credit. Those who do not earn regular salaries are allowed credit, but they have to undertake to settle accounts by a fixed date.

525 During the TAGU month festival, U Myaing gambled for money.
527 He has gambled to stakes as high as three hundred rupees, but never up to one or two thousand. In Pathwe they had this on the PAIA-GYI-DAUNG side, and U Myaing joined in whenever he came across in other villages a group who were playing while on business. When he was young he gambled away Rs. 700/- while on a trip to KYANGIN. They were all of them on the same boat and he lost that amount at DANUBYU. But by the time they reached TANDOON he had recovered his money. The games they played were poker and HO-MEE.

525 In their village they had people who held fights between game
541 cocks. U Myaing never bred any of these fowls but he has placed bets on them several times, small bets to the value of four or five rupees. There is no special announcement made but word gets around that there is to be a match at such and such a place on such and such a day, and at the appointed time the villagers who are interested all congregate at that spot.

There are bookmakers among the assembled villagers who are willing to take any bets on either side. Cock fighting is carried on during the months of PYATHO and TAWNGMONE. And even then they have it during only four or five days in the month. U Myaing does not go to every meeting. In the rainy the ground is wet for game cock-fighting

1 [i.e., U Myaing -- ANALYST]

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

Myowun, the lord high admiral, and lord mayor's establishment was generally admitted to be the largest and best, and it was certainly he who first began to try and allure the people. He secured the old custom-house buildings for his office, and enclosed a wide expanse round about it with a strong bamboo fence. Porous pots of deliciously cool drinking water, each pot supplied with a number of tin mugs, were arranged on stands all round the sides. The antisoporific letpet, the gigantic, but soothing, green cheroot, and the good betel lay in great heaps on the tables everywhere, and vanished with extraordinary rapidity. A dozen or more punkahs were hung up and worked by coolies, so as to calm the brains and cool the heated faces of excited clients. Later on, when other wuns and letthondaw copied his methods, the resourceful Hpaungwun added bands of music, dancing girls, and even regular dramatic performances, kept up perpetually, to the other attractions of his place of business. Some managers strove to get the better of their neighbours by giving the people unlimited supplies of palm-toddy, in the hope that the heady liquor might induce them to risk their last coins. Others hit upon the device of returning one pice—about one farthing—on each ticket taken. Others again, desperate at the thought of being unable to render a good account to their royal master, engaged gangs of bullies, who went about threatening people with violence or false accusations in the law-courts if any but their master were patronised, while the Zegyodaw Myowun, U Tha O, in virtue of his official position as keeper of the markets, sent his subordinates to the Chinese gambling-house keepers, and forced them to subscribe periodically for fifty tickets at a couple of rupees each, if they hoped to retain their gambling licenses. Fired by his example, the Yaw Shwedaik and Taingda atwinwuns also made use of their court influence to draw subscribers. Brokers and traders of all nationalities who had business with the palace were put down for a couple of hundred tickets or so, on pain of losing their contracts. One of the wundouks was advanced and heedless enough to select the Dhammayôn, a place of worship and prayer, for his lottery-office. All the old lines were upset. Drawings were held whenever the

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2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

651 lists were filled up, no matter whether it was an uboné,
525 or a more sacred feast, and, as a consequence, the minds
446 of the people were kept in a state of perpetual unhealthy excitement.

651 Neither buyers nor sellers were to be seen in the bazaar.
525 Cultivators sold off their farming stock and implements, and
178 launched all their money into the state lotteries. Fathers
[562] sold their daughters, and husbands their wives, to have a final try for fortune, until the lottery managers issued a notice that they would give no more tickets in exchange for women. To fill up the totals faster, and draw in every available coin, twenty, or even more, people were allowed to club together to buy a single ticket. Business was entirely suspended, and all the people hovered about the lottery-offices, longing for the drawing, while cleaned-out speculators prowled about day and night, watching for an opportunity to thieve and rob. How it was that the plundered people did not rise against the government, or at least against the lottery managers, is a mystery, but they did not. The suburbs of Mandalay were filled for a time with ruined gamblers, until the soldiery were employed to drive them farther afield, when many made their way to the frontier, and recouped themselves by raids on British Burma villages. Eventually money failed, or the people were disillusionised, and the lottery-offices, though several remained open, drove but a very slight
651 trade. Then Thibaw Min had to resort to other measures
655 to meet his expenditure, and from July 1881 began disposing of monopolies right and left. Having finished the export monopolies, he commenced with those on imports. The British trade with Upper Burma was being steadily ruined, and the war which ended in the extinction of the kingdom of Burma was made inevitable.

243 days and then let in a gentle amount of water to flood the beds—one or two inches now, and more and more as the plants grew taller. In the meantime, vast stretches of beds were being prepared in the same way—plough and harrow and chop the weeds which here had become bigger and rougher with the rains, but would feed the soil better for that reason. When they had finished, all the country-side along the railway line looked like a vast segmented mirror, all the fine mud of the field lying beneath the four inches of water, and not a green weed to be seen. By now the plants in the nursery beds were about 1½—2 feet tall, and it was mid-July. Men plucked the seedlings, tying them swiftly into bundles of about 750. They chopped off the heads to free the plant of leaves which might make the young stalks topple over when they were planted upright. Then men and women stood ankle deep in the main beds and with one deft stroke of the right-hand they planted two or four stalks straight into the soft mud, each group a few inches from the next. It was this long and laborious task which gave the Lower Burman his landscape of endless green fields of rich waving paddy. From now on, these fields had only to be tended with water, neither to be stagnant, flooded, nor too dry. Through the months of September and October the rains diminished, the soil grew drier and the corn ripened from green to yellow. In December it was cut, tied in bundles and sunned for further drying and carried to the threshing floor. Here the bundles were ranged in rows with ears turned inwards, on the hardened surface of mud and dung, and bullocks trod round and round on them, slow and confident that their heavy hoofs would crush the chaff and leave the hard grain whole; and lol when the mixture of corn and chaff was handed up in baskets to a high platform and tumbled down in a strong wind, the wind blew the chaff and dust away, but the corn fell in a clean heap on the ground below. Thus cultivators, and the weeds, earth, rain, sun, oxen and wind produced our wun-sa; but alas, the bounding broadcast sower, the slim, red-skirted deft-handed transplanters and the loving water-layers of this description are too often merely tenants or hired workers on the land. Owing to various causes, about 48% of the
423 land in Lower Burma belongs to non-agriculturists, chiefly non-resident, and although the money-lending alien and Indian Chettiar had become the chief holders of such lands, the owners of fields among our friends were also absentee landlords in the fullest sense, having little connection with the working of the paddy, except as a source of income.

452 Some of the pensioners got a fat income from money-lending although they would not have liked to admit it. Burmans who need money do not borrow from banks, nor do they have dealings with banks as a rule. It is only in this generation that such a thing as a bank balance is

becoming common. Borrowing money is always such a shameful thing 452
to Burmans that highly usurious rates prevail. The minimum rate of these private money-lenders is Re. 1/8 per Rs. 100/- per month, *i.e.* 18% per annum.

But this emphasis on money-making during the retirement period 181
was not pure avariciousness. It was connected with the ability to dis- 593
charge the duties of a parent and a good Buddhist during one's last years, to have sufficient means to settle children in a good marriage, which is one of the duties laid down for a good parent, and to make many donations towards pagodas, resthouses and monasteries, all as a foundation for a rebirth into a better existence.

For men like my father, this last period of their lives was a soft and 887
gentle immersion in the atmosphere which pervaded their childhood in 177
the monastery, and which had been banished into a memory with the years of English education, government posts, courts and litigation, and the rearing of children whose future must be bound up with the obtaining of better government posts.

During these years, my father continued his daily prayers before 887
the altar, but they were short and he said them softly, his feet were shod 788
with shoes and socks, his tourings took him to headmen's houses more often than to monasteries, his evenings were spent in playing tennis in- 593
stead of chinlon, and drinking lime-juice instead of coconut water, and his houses of the regulation pattern were filled with cane furniture made 177, 88
by convicts in jails. What a far cry from the dim light on wooden floors and pillars, the steady chorus of young monks at prayers. My father, who during his working years had encouraged us to eat, laugh and be merry in each present moment, now dismayed us with a sudden conviction of the vanity of all worldly things, towns, society, dress and ornament. We woke up at dawn to the sound of his prayers, and on [741]
most mornings he walked out of the town to the hills where the monasteries and resthouses were gathered; he walked barefoot again with great enjoyment in those quiet grounds, turned aside to supervise the building of a *thein*, a house for the ordination and meditation of monks, which he had persuaded a more wealthy friend to endow. He no longer showered on us de luxe editions of Western encyclopaedias and the collected works of Dickens and Scott as he used to, but bought richly carved book cases and sacred books for the monasteries in Thaton. We no longer ate our meals on chairs, sitting up at a table, but at a low round table on the polished floor. My father sat cross legged, but he could not go back to eating with his fingers, he still used a spoon and fork. At nights we fell asleep to the sound of his prayers and it was like a benediction. Buddhist prayers in Burma consist of two parts: the first is a

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909) 1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

243 much preparing. It is simply a portion of the field swept clean. It is sufficiently hard from the broiling sun, and a stake is driven into the centre of the circle. Two lines of sheaves are arranged round this, head to head, and the grain is trodden out by slow-moving bullocks in good old lazy fashion. The Christian Biblical precept, not to muzzle the ox that treadeth out the corn, does not fail of observance with the Buddhist farmer. Then the paddy, that is, the unhusked grain, is winnowed. In some places hand-winnowing machines of a simple pattern are used; but ordinarily a far more primitive and easy method, corresponding to the substitution of oxen for threshing-flails, is in use. A man stands on an elevated platform and capsizes baskets of paddy brought from the threshing-floor; the rice falls on a sloping bamboo mat and so to the ground, the wind blowing away a great part of the bits of broken straw, chaff, and light grain. The system may not be very thorough, but it saves an immense amount of trouble, which is the chief consideration. All that now remains to be done is to carry the grain off to the big rice-boat lying in the creek. There it is stowed in bulk; and after a day or two, the farmer makes a start, dropping leisurely down through the network of creeks into one of the main streams, and so making his way to Rangoon, or Bassein, whence he will return in a few weeks with fine Chinese neckerchiefs for his daughters and perhaps a gay Manchester paso or two for himself and his sons—unless, indeed, the Madras money-lender has snapped up all his receipts down in town, or some of the robber-boats that infest the creeks at this time of the year have pounced upon him and carried off everything but the boat and the paddles.

[452] [674]

243 427 433 435 Rice-farming would be profitable as well as easy work were it not for the reckless squandering of almost all the cultivators. The average rent per acre is under three shillings; the average produce of the land per acre is from eighty to a hundred bushels in the more fertile parts, while elsewhere the yield is from forty to fifty. The selling price of rice per maund (80 lbs.) in Rangoon is between 4s. 6d. and 5s. Agriculturists, therefore, ought to grow rich. But they are too fond of gambling and building works of merit

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2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma (Europeans Indians) AP1
Burmese AP4

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establishment up to its full strength. And so prices rose and rose until they became absurdly high, and no one profited but the hawks that preyed on the simple Burmese cultivators. Then the English merchants held a meeting, and all pledged themselves not to give more than the current market rate for paddy. This seemed a fair enough agreement; but after a while it was found that the boats all gravitated towards one or two firms. A little investigation showed that this was due to the fact that though they paid the ordinary rate, according to the compact, they had a smaller measuring basket than their neighbours. Accordingly every one went on reducing the size of his basket until the system became as ruinously absurd as ever it had been before. Then there was another meeting, at which it was unanimously agreed that this state of affairs would never do, and that it was absolutely necessary to come to some definite understanding. A committee was appointed which, after some deliberation, concluded that, if, in addition to abiding by the market rate, every one were bound to use a basket of a certain fixed size, there would be no chance for unfair speculations. A standard basket was therefore fixed upon; and the competitors were supposed to start fair again. But in no very long time, one firm put a false bottom in the basket, another wedged in a board; and so on, till matters got back to the old way. This state of affairs is hardly creditable to mercantile honour, and it certainly is by no means profitable.

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Independently of this, paddy has gone up in price at an alarming rate of late years. The first heavy rise was in 1877, at the time of the Madras famine. That was also the time of the resolution to have a standard basket. Rice was wanted in any quantity for the famine districts, and millers gave an altogether fabulous price for grain. The game went on merrily, introduced the scandalous "paddy morality," and lasted long enough to make the cultivators think the new prices had come in for good. Far too many Burmese farmers are heavily in debt to the "chetties," the money-lending caste of the Madras coast. The agriculturists have borrowed money to build a pagoda or a monastery; to give a grand feast on the

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2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma(Indians)AP1
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occasion of their marriage, or their father's death; to buy a new yoke of oxen in the place of those that have been carried off by disease; to get seed-grain to sow their tracts of paddy land, the last season's gains having been lost in some gambling transaction when they were down in Rangoon. They have got into the chetty's books in some way at any rate; and hapless is the man, Burman or Englishman, who has dealings with the fat, shaven-headed Madras money-lender. He will be charged eight, ten, twelve per cent a month, or even more, before there is an end of the transaction. The chetties, therefore, took a particular interest in the rise of the price of paddy. High prices ensured their being paid; moreover, handling such unwonted sums of money made the ever-careless Burman reckless. He gambled, he gave great feasts, he got deeper and deeper into debt with the money-lenders. Consequently it was desirable that the prices should not go down; and as men of business the chetties understood how that was to be done; they made the Burman farmers hold back their grain. The Rangoon firms were in desperation to meet their contracts, the ships could not be kept waiting; and so prices were maintained at nearly famine rates. This more than anything else brought about the unlucky legerdemain with standard baskets. The appearance of the chetty element in the trade upset everything. They are charming men of business, and know all about bulling and bearing, and all the other civilised expedients of trade. Poor "Jack Burma," listless and good-natured as he is, would never have thought of such things of himself; but he is in the hands of his master. Not a single village in the jungle, however remote, is to be found without its bare-backed money-lender. He hovers round the paddy nursery; he watches the men planting out the handfuls of half-grown rice; he makes the farmer hold back the threshed-out grain till he gives the word: then he fixes the rate and all but takes the money himself.

The English merchants have struggled against the system, but with small success. They have laid out heavy sums in advances. The farmer is paid for the next year's crop before ever it is sown. This is generally only practi-

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma (Europeans)AP1
Burmese AP4

cable with men who have not yet fallen into the clutches of the chetties, and the result has been almost invariably to drive them into the money-lender's arms. The Burmese, it it is to be feared, have not sufficient stability of character. U Myaing or Maung Po never had so much money before in their lives as the advances figure to. They do not know the value of it, and proceed to squander the rupees forthwith; and so, long before the paddy is delivered they are heavily in the usurer's books, and then Maung Po and U Myaing have to do as they are bidden. Moreover, the system in any case could hardly be a safe one. The cultivator might die; there might be a flood or a jungle fire; many things might happen, in fact, to prevent the advance boats from ever reaching the Puzundaung creek. Consequently many English firms have given up the practice, and instead send agents away up the creeks, far into the jungle, to negotiate with the farmers on the spot and try to secure paddy before rivalry has had time to raise the price. But even this expedient does not answer well. The chetties do their best to throw obstacles in the way. It is not without expense, and it impresses the cultivators with a notion of the great demand there is for paddy.

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The telegraph, they say, ruins business. The paddy season opens in February with a price of, say between seventy and eighty rupees a hundred baskets. The merchants declare they will not be forced into materially increasing this rate, and the home firms charter a number of ships. Meanwhile the price of paddy steadily rises, while rice in England steadily goes down; and by the time the vessels discharge their cargo in Liverpool or London, milled rice is not very much dearer in wholesale shops than the raw paddy in the Burmese boats. New mills are constantly being started—which would seem contradictory, were it not that all the firms starting them have business of another kind; teak sawmills, cotton or piece-goods trade, silks for Burmese men and maidens, or jute and grey shirtings for Upper Burma and the hill tribes. Rice will certainly always be wanted, and there is any quantity of it to be had in Burma. A little more of the sterling probity which used to be associated with the name of the English merchant would

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Burmese AP4

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do no harm in Rangoon rice dealings, and would win that respect from the farmer which heavy payments and cunning never will.

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Rangoon still continues to be the largest rice port in the world. From January to May the river is crowded with shipping—huge iron and steel sailing craft that have been chartered beforehand, and carry off thousands of bags in their capacious holds; and a constant succession of "ditchers," as the steamers passing through the Suez Canal are called, which come "seeking," and seldom have to go away without their full complement of "five parts cargo rice," or "Europe milled." The steamers are displacing the sailing ships, and the shorter passage now makes it possible to carry fully husked rice home without the danger of heating, which was supposed to be avoided by the partly husked "five parts cargo rice." Harbour-masters and river-pilots have a busy time, and gather together many pieces of silver against the later months of the year, when they will have abundant leisure to spend them. Coringi coolies swarm in the town, and their monotonous chant, "Eh-ya-mah-la Tah-ma-lay, Madras Ag-boat Tah-ma-lay," may be heard at any hour of the night or the morning, floating over the river. The British sailor overflows into the town and sings noisy old salt sea-songs round about the Sule pagoda, gets mad drunk on arrack, and not unseldom clears Dalhousie Street with a linked-arm rush, heedless of the red-turbaned guardian of the peace, who keeps out of the way in the meantime, but will break poor drunken Jack's head with his truncheon if he finds him helpless and strayed from his fellow-roysterers.

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The Puzundaung Creek, where all the mills are, is as busy as an ant-hill all day long, and all night too, when some of the mills are lighted up with Jablochkoffs or later forms of electric light, and the silvery rays shine ghastly on the black and bronzed mill-workers. Here we have the Madrasi coolies again, making noises, according to their nature, as a kind of assertion that they are doing hard work. The lank Chittagonian firemen, with their aquiline noses, are coated with coal-dust, and divide their time between firing up and having a whiff at the hubble-bubble when Sandy,

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

243 much preparing. It is simply a portion of the field swept clean. It is sufficiently hard from the broiling sun, and a stake is driven into the centre of the circle. Two lines of sheaves are arranged round this, head to head, and the grain is trodden out by slow-moving bullocks in good old lazy fashion. The Christian Biblical precept, not to muzzle the ox that treadeth out the corn, does not fail of observance with the Buddhist farmer. Then the paddy, that is, the unhusked grain, is winnowed. In some places hand-winnowing machines of a simple pattern are used; but ordinarily a far more primitive and easy method, corresponding to the substitution of oxen for threshing-flails, is in use. A man stands on an elevated platform and capsizes baskets of paddy brought from the threshing-floor; the rice falls on a sloping bamboo mat and so to the ground, the wind blowing away a great part of the bits of broken straw, chaff, and light grain. The system may not be very thorough, but it saves an immense amount of trouble, which is the chief consideration. All that now remains to be done is to carry the grain off to the big rice-boat lying in the creek. There it is stowed in bulk; and after a day or two, the farmer makes a start, dropping leisurely down through the network of creeks into one of the main streams, and so making his way to Rangoon, or Bassein, whence he will return in a few weeks with fine Chinese neckerchiefs for his daughters and perhaps a gay Manchester paso or two for himself and his sons—
[452] unless, indeed, the Madras money-lender has snapped up all
[674] his receipts down in town, or some of the robber-boats that infest the creeks at this time of the year have pounced upon him and carried off everything but the boat and the paddles.

243 Rice-farming would be profitable as well as easy work
427 were it not for the reckless squandering of almost all the
433 cultivators. The average rent per acre is under three
435 shillings; the average produce of the land per acre is from eighty to a hundred bushels in the more fertile parts, while elsewhere the yield is from forty to fifty. The selling price of rice per maund (80 lbs.) in Rangoon is between 4s. 6d.
243 and 5s. Agriculturists, therefore, ought to grow rich. But
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454 they are too fond of gambling and building works of merit

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

to accumulate money, and their carelessness results in the constant death of their plough-beasts, so that matters usually remain exactly at the same level if the farmer does not actually get into permanent debt. The Scottish Highlanders have a pious wish, "May the free hand always be full!" If it is not always full in Burma it is consoling to think that it is seldom absolutely empty. Still, when the grandson succeeds he ordinarily finds that there is as little actual money hoarded up about the place as there was when the grandfather Po Gyi spent so many borrowed rupees at his uncle's funeral. 243 454 511

If rice cultivation is easy work in the low country, it is very different with the taung-ya, or hill clearings. Here the dense underwood and forest growth has to be cut down; and the more there is to cut the better the crop, for the soil needs fertilising badly, and all that is cut down is burned. Work is begun about January; everything is felled, bushes and all; and after the fallen logs have dried some time in the sun, the brushwood is heaped up round about them and the whole is set on fire. Some of the logs smoulder for weeks —perhaps till the first rains come. Then the ground is rudely dug up with hoes, and the ashes turned in. Cotton-seed is ordinarily mixed with the rice, which is of a quite different variety from that produced in the plains. It is sown broadcast, and the farmer has thereafter only to keep down the weeds, but this is not by any means a light task. The crop is ready by October, and furnishes little more than enough to support the family or community. The scanty manure provided by the wood-ashes is not sufficient to last more than two or three years; and when the crop is secured the party proceeds on to a new settlement, there to repeat the same laborious process. A very ingenious device for lightening the toil is resorted to where there is much heavy timber. Beginning at the bottom, they slightly cut the lowest trees on the upper side only, gradually increasing the depth of the notch as they advance up the hill, until at the top of the clearing they cut the trees completely through. These fall on the row immediately below them, and by their weight knock it down; and so the felling process is continued down to the bottom. Occasionally a tangle occurs

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436 rupees, though the same size as those of the Indian Government, were not in favour in Rangoon. They usually ran to fourteen annas, so that there was a loss of two annas on each. The gold coins were practically not in circulation at all. Englishmen bought them as curiosities in the bazaar and got cheated if they did not carefully ring every one. The smaller ones, struck from the same die as the silver two-anna bit, were principally used by the king to fill silver cups presented to distinguished visitors.

Being derived from the measures of weight, the coins have received the same names. The rupee is kyat, sometimes also called ding-ga, that is, a circular piece of metal, whether a coin or a medal, and the sub-multiples go by the names of the smaller weights: pè is one anna; mu, two annas; mat, four annas; nga-mu, eight annas; thôn-mat, twelve annas; kyat-mu-din, fourteen annas, literally a rupee less two annas; one piece is ti'-bya.

454 The Burmans have no bankers. In native times there were exceedingly few who would have anything to lodge with such a personage. Those who have superabundant coin almost always disperse it in giving a kyi-gyin pwè, or in building a pagoda, a monastery, digging a tank, or some such work of merit. Whatever money there may remain over is turned into use or display in the shape of fat oxen, and silver and gold cups and jewellery. These are pleasant things to look at and easily convertible into money when necessary. Burmans detest hoarding. A miser is threatened with as terrible a hereafter as a parricide. The portion of both is in awidzi, the lowest hell.

181 454 All this sort of thing shows a very unbusiness-like, certainly a very uncommercial spirit, but it is at least open to argument that the Burman is philosophically right. He cares little for the troubles of the world and the manifold questions of the day which distract the more highly cultured nations. His eyes are fixed uninterruptedly on the dark mysteries which surround our beginning, our end, and every moment of our life. The earth is only a camping-ground, in which it does not repay the trouble to establish one's self firmly and comfortably. The rich man carries his gold and silver, the poor his last handful of rice,

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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to the pagoda, and deposits it there at usurer's interest for his future home beyond. Let the black coolie of India talk all day and dream all night of his filthy pice; let the greasy Chetty money-lender gloat over his bloated money-bags; let the English merchant delight in all the refined luxuries wealth can bring him: the Burman is content if he has enough to eat and remain a free man, happy if he accumulates sufficient to build a work of merit, or give a free festival to his less fortunate brethren. Who shall say he is not wise?

sufficient food for myself and my family." Yet, it is significant that he[1] manifests no anxiety symtoms, and appears happy and carefree. This suggests that despite the fact that he is presented with insecurity he does not react to it with tensions that have nervous manifestations. The sense of insecurity does not seem to be in his pattern of living, consequently his response is ill-defined. 465 722 369 464 [152]

The points of difference that U Myaing especially emphasized were:- 511 178

1. A few weeks of intensive work in Pathwe would get him more than a whole year of salary working in Rangoon. 461

2. His income in Rangoon is established at a low level. In Pathwe he might make 3 or 4 times his average income from fish products in a good year. On bad years he might just break even. But this did not affect his everyday living quality - since his food was for the most part gathered (fish, fruits etc.) or secured from the cattle loan (baskets of rice). 458

3. If he was sick in Pathwe his standard of living was not threatened. He made his cash in a short time and had ample leisure for resting. In Rangoon if he does not work he does not eat.

4. In Pathwe he usually had a surplus of 1000 to 1500 rupees on hand during a year. To be lent out (free of interest) to friends and relatives or (usually) invested in fish or family accoutrement. Now he lives from hand to mouth. [454] ●

5. The loss of comfort and ease is severely felt by the adults. In Rangoon he works to stay alive, in Pathwe, to enjoy a full life. [181]

[1 i.e., U Myaing -- ANALYST]

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The key to high positions lies in education in

the high schools and Universities. Family support is necessary for this and the student is constantly aware of his obligation to succeed for their benefit. "One tree can support a thousand birds" illustrate the dependency of the relatives on the successful individual.

In order to succeed one needs each of these three qualities: KAMMA (fate or luck), NYAN (intelligence), and WIRIYA(industriousness The failure of any one can cause the lack of success. Ordinarily, however, KAMMA is blamed in cases of failure - and the other two credited for success. The concept of KAMMA includes merit and demerit compiled in all previous existences. Because of this convenient excuse the true causes of failure are seldom analysed by the individual and he does not have a sense of personal blame or shame. Also social condemnation does not fall heavily on the unsuccessful who has tried and failed. However, one should finish what he starts or not attempt it, "once you start climbing the pole you must reach the top". The individual may not achieve fame or fortune but he is expected to maintain his birth position. His relatives, who suffer shame if he does not, help him. A major contribution of the individual is an advantagous marriage within or above his occupational group.

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What does one strive for, by work, in the Burmese society? Not subsistence, for food is ordinarily cheap and easily attained in the villages. Clothing, shelter and the other necessities of life are also not the objective. The subsistence pattern is simple and essentially homogeneous throughout the village.

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The ordinary head of a household thinks of three major benefits to be gained from wealth. The first and most immediate are jewels to adorn the women of the family. The status of the family is reflected in public by the bangles, necklaces and earrings worn by the ladies. Diamonds are most prized and the size is important. However, most important is that each female be provided with "a set" of jewelry. The wife of the middle and upper status group particularly will prod the husband until he provides these necessities. The women's clothing and also the husbands and his son's must also be the finest they can afford.

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The second urge for wealth arises out of the desire for old age security. Hence gold coins are saved (hidden) against the day when

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the husband is too old to work. Aged parents are invariably respected but those who can still support themselves are "worshipped". Parents do not rely on their sons who have their own families to support but feel that their daughters will always "bring them a cup of curry".

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The third urge is to have wealth to donate to the Buddhist church. This is regarded as a sound investment since it not only brings a most satisfying honour especially in old age (to be a "pagoda giver") but also counts as merit credited to the individual's account in eternity.

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Competition is keenly felt between individuals and families of the same occupation group or adjacent groups but not between the lower and upper classes. An exception is where family traditional land has changed hands - and hard feelings may persist. A carpenter's family does not envy and covet the riches of a government official's family. His lot is due to KARMA and even if he wished to attain such fortune it would be beyond his abilities. More important, it is not expected of him. So the carpenter is content with cheap jewelry for his women and an occasional gold coin - but the pattern is the same as for the upper class. However among the individuals and families of an occupation level there is much rivalry for the benefits wealth can bring. It is a point of pride to have the largest diamonds at a social function, and to give the biggest pagoda. Wives brag that their husbands "prevent the hairs of their hands from singeing" - that they have servants to cook. Rank and recognition are based on these considerations.

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The women of the family exert powerful influence in financial matters and are respected for their sound judgement. Women's occupations include cigar manufacturing, pottery making, and especially shop keeping.

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The beginning of an enterprise is conditioned by the wisdom of the ancients and especially the date and place which are given by formula in the Burmese calendar. There are THE-NAZA (day king of) "fortunate days" and PYAD-THADA "unlucky days". For example the calendar announces that Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays of a particular month are fortunate days to begin enterprises, and other days either unfortunate or neutral. Rangoon sophisticates (but never villagers) tell such stories as this: Two phongyis travelled by boat; the first boarded the boat on a fortunate day to begin travelling. The next day the boat came to the second phongyi's village. This was an unfortunate

These are his "eggs" and it is his duty to guard them while the others cluster around trying to get them away from him without being caught in the attempt. If they are successful in getting all the eggs away they then go and hide them. The "turtle" then has to go and look for eggs while the rest follow her giving encouragement clapping hands and shouting the chant " LEIT U PY UK LO LEIT MA SHAR THU KHIN HYAR NOO ME NOO MEY (Because her eggs are lost the poor female turtle is tearfully looking for them). If the child succeeds in catching any one in an attempt to get an egg away that person becomes the turtle. 527 858

In Pathwe they celebrated the water festival, but they did it in moderation and were satisfied if a person got slightly wet. MON-LET-HSAUNG was given in the village. 527

U Myaing did not save any money in Pathwe. Sometimes he made a great deal of money and sometimes he made nothing at all. Sometimes if he had a lot of money he would loan it out to some one else to be returned in three or four months time if possible. Sometimes these loans continued unsettled for about a year. Only in Rangoon do you have to pay interest. In Pathwe if you did not borrow from chettiars you did not need to pay any interest. U Myaing did not go to the chettiars. He borrowed only from his relatives. There were people who went to raise money from the chettiar money lenders and some of them lost house, cultivation fields etc. because they could not pay the high rate of interest and had the mortgages on their property foreclosed. 454● 426 [563]

Analysis of Social and Ceremonial Activities

The refugee camp may be regarded as a new village composed of families who came from villages in the delta similar to Pathwe but placed in an urban setting. The other refugees have the same understandings as to socio-ceremonial activities as U Myaing and the basic 621 722 [369]

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

000 Accordingly, we paddle about here and there, and whenever we come across the little canoe flying the flag that marks R——'s brokers, sundry signs pass, which result in three great paddy-boats mounting the red flag too. They presently weigh anchor, and drop up to the mill. R—— is a smart man of business, and is very scornful about the representatives of several other firms, who lounge on the bank, smoking cheroots, and throwing sticks into the water for their dogs to
442 fetch out. It is not directly a matter of money that is in
256 question. The cultivators know pretty well what they are about, though you might not think it when you hear a man refuse ninety-two rupees a hundred baskets, and afterwards settle with a broker for eighty-eight. Those passes with the finger on the nose meant a good deal more than appeared. Another brick in the bottom of the basket, a three-inch batten wedged in somewhere, was the significance of that wink which sent the broker off in such a hurry.

000 At last it is over. There are no more boats to be had; and we are not sorry to turn back, for the sun throws its beams fiercely back from the water in a way that gets below the broadest solah hat. R—— is in great glee: "Thirteen boats, by George! Next best to the Imperial Firm; and
256 then there's the launch to come back." The Imperial Firm
442 is the biggest concern in Rangoon, and has sometimes as
455 much as a lakh out for "advance boats," *i.e.* money paid to cultivators before the rice has been planted out from the nurseries, or perhaps even before it has been sown at all. The launch about which R—— is so solicitous went away last night far up the Pegu River to intercept boats coming down with paddy for sale. There are sometimes great bargains to be made in this way. The boatmen have come a long distance, and are tired with paddling. The tide is making strong when the steam-launch comes up. There is the welcome prospect of an end to their labours, and above all there are no outbidding rivals to interfere. R—— instituted the system, and for a day or two had the game all to himself; but now the other firms have got wind of it, and there are sometimes famous races for a big boat, which must somewhat astonish the simple jungle wallâhs, and certainly do not reduce the demands of the hleshin, the owner of the

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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boat. R—— is in luck this morning. We have hardly gone a hundred yards when the "Mah Hlah" comes puffing round the point behind us, with a boat on either side, and three towing astern. 256 442 455

And now we have got back to the mill. The Burmans are discharging their paddy, which is stowed in bulk, into a big cargo boat. The regulation basket is in use, and we do not peer too inquisitively into the bottom of it. The owner of the boat is perched on the lofty carved stern of his craft, and placidly smokes a great cheroot. Presently he will come down and make his way to the office, where he will get a great pile of rupees to carry off, tied in the end of his paso. The greater number of them will probably find their way into the hands of the oily chetty, who is squatting on the bank there. The rest our hleshin will most likely gamble away. 000

Meanwhile, a long string of coolies is carrying the paddy from the lighter into the godown, a gigantic shed where there is already a mountain of grain. We skirt round it, and go to the other side. There a few hundred more coolies are running off with more baskets to the mill. The paddy is thrown into huge receptacles on the basement, winnowed, carried up in lifts to the top of the house, three stories high, where it is first of all passed over a long sieve. Here the stalks, leaves, stones, and stumps of cheroots are separated from the grain, which is then passed between two revolving stones, just sufficiently wide apart to grind off the outer husk without breaking the seed. Then it is rewinnowed in fanners, and passed over finer sieves, where the broken grains fall through, while the part-cleaned rice goes on to fresh stones. It is found that perfectly clean rice will not stand the long sea voyage, and the grain as it is sent in the sailing ship has still the inner pellicle, and is mixed with about twenty per cent of unhusked rice. This is what is technically known as "five parts cargo rice," or simply "cargo rice." Since so many steamers have begun to go through the Suez Canal, the amount of "white rice" milled in the province has been steadily increasing. Rice of a specially fine quality, with a glaze on the surface, is manufactured for Italy. Clouds of rice-dust float all over the mill, and settle every- 256 256 439 178 256

352 mortar and measurers, market basket, condiments stored in cigarette
415 tins and quart bottles. A discussion on these subjects is found
under the chapter on Food.

513 Details were secured on the following household items:

SAUNG (blankets). Both THA-KA-LAT SAUNG (flannel blanket) and GUN
●[455] SAUNG (Cotton blanket) are actually woolen blankets. (cost Rs. 25/-). Heavy
cotton blankets are called CHI SAUNG . (cost Rs.15/-). Both are for
individual use. In Pathwe U Myaing had one blanket of each kind
which would last 3 or 4 years. In camp he has only the GUN SAUNG or Upper Burma
blanket which he used for 2 years then brought from Pathwe . The
females of the family had 6 cotton blankets between them (cost Rs. 12/
each). They brought 4 from Pathwe, two are "good ones", and two
are "torn ones". The cotton blankets are supposed to last for 2
years according to Ma Aye Myaing. Intense love is indicated by the
[152] saying "we will go under one blanket", but double blankets are not
known.

HMWE-YAR, (Enjoying place) mattress. It is a thin square
cloth sack measuring 4 TAUNG on a side by 4 inches in thickness and
stuffed with KAPOK. U Myaing had one at Pathwe which would last 7
or 8 years. It was made at home and valued at Rs. 30/-. Daw Aw Zar
[435] and the children shared a double mattress, a gift from her neice,
in Pathwe but all sleep on split cane mats only in camp.

(KU DIN; raised wooden beds are rarely used in villages.)

GAUNG-ON, (head-lay) pillow. Pillows are made at home. Two
may be made from 3 TAUNG (1½ yards) of cloth. They are cloth sacks
filled with cotton and last 3 or 4 years - valued at Rs. 3/8 each.
U Myaing had 2, and the females 8 at Pathwe. He used a wooden
pillow made of small, raised board, while the females use rag bundles.

HPYAR, Sleeping mats. Two kinds are used; a split TA BAW plant
[285] mat and a more finely woven thin plant with over 2 under 2 weave mat.
They measure 6 by 3½ feet . The mats lasted two years and were woven
at home. 4 to 8 mats were kept on hand at Pathwe; here 4 mats are
in use.

AYAR-KIN (sleeping place cover) bed sheet: The bedsheet s used
in Pathwe measured 6' by 3½' and were made of cotton. Three were
used by U Myaing and lasted a year; they cost Rs. 7/- each. Camp:
none.

CHIN TAUNG, Mosquito net: One kind was made of fine netted

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that he[1] manifests no anxiety systems, and appears happy and carefree. 722 369
This suggests that despite the fact that he is presented with 464
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2. His income in Rangoon is stabilised at a low level. In Pathwe he might make 3 or 4 times his average income from fish products in a good year. On bad years he might just break even. But this did not affect his everyday living quality - since his food was for the most part gathered (fish, fruits etc.) or secured from the cattle loan (baskets of rice). 458

3. If he was sick in Pathwe his standard of living was not threatened. He made his cash in a short time and had ample leisure for resting. In Rangoon if he does not work he does not eat.

4. In Pathwe he usually had a surplus of 1000 to 1500 rupees on hand during a year. To be lent out (free of interest) to friends and relatives or (usually) invested in fish or family accoutrement. Now he lives from hand to mouth. [454]

5. The loss of comfort and ease is severely felt by the adults. In Rangoon he works to stay alive, in Pathwe, to enjoy a full life. [181]

[1 i.e., U Myaing -- ANALYST]

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

CHAPTER VIII

DOMESTIC LIFE

THE Burman is the most calm and contented of mortals. He does not want to grow rich. When he does make a large sum of money, he spends it all on some pious work, and rejoices in the thought that this will meet with its reward in his next existence. If he never amasses enough to build any great public work, at any rate he subscribes what he can, and is generous in almsgiving. A bountiful soil will not let its children starve; and so the Burman jogs on through a cheerful existence, troubled by no anxious cares, and free from all the temptations of ambition. His daily round is simple enough. In the morning, after his bath, he loiters about, talking to the neighbours till breakfast time, or perhaps strolls out to the corner of his paddy field, and indulges in a contemplative smoke. After breakfast he probably dozes through the heat of the day, and when the shadows begin to get long, saunters about again. A semblance of regular labour appears when the paddy is being sown or the grain reaped, but even then no one is in the least inclined to disturb himself for the sake of rapid work. It is sufficient that you are always certain in Burma what kind of weather you are going to have. "Another hot day," or "another wet day," is quite as much a matter of course as the rising of the sun itself, and there is therefore no need to hurry operations in case of a change. The evenings are spent ordinarily at a pwè during the fine season, or in amicable converse over a cheroot at a friend's house in the rains. Variety comes occasionally in the shape of a jolting, hilarious journey to a distant pagoda feast, or a trip

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2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma A P1
Burmese AP4
Upper Burma
Lower Burma
Europeans

Be 461 down the river in the big rice-boat to one of the great milling
Be 461 towns. And so an uneventful life passes away: the greatest
181 ambition to see the village boat successful at the Thadingyut
races, and the village champion cock or buffalo triumphant
over all others; the greatest desire to live peaceably with
all men and observe the Ten Precepts; the greatest excite-
ment the occasional visit of the English district officer, or the
suspicion of a witch in that lonely house down by the spirit's
Be 181 pool on the creek. In Upper Burma formerly this quiet
184 was more apt to be disturbed by the summoning of levies
674 to serve in some special raid against audacious dacoits, or to
653 make a demonstration against reiving mountaineers. If the
myo-wun was a pious man, calls for enforced labour at
digging tanks, building pagodas and monasteries, rest-houses
and tazaungs, were likely to keep the villager a great deal
Ba 177 more occupied than he cared for. There can be no doubt
668 in any patriotic Burman's mind that the state of the people,
661 regularly taxed though they be, under British rule, is
infinitely happier than it was under their king, and all but
the officials and their hangers-on longed for the day when
the English flag was to float over all the land as far as
Mogaung. There could be no hope for the country, where,
even under a kindly king like Mindôn, ill-conditioned
governors oppressed the populace with absolute impunity.
Complaints were made, but his majesty could not venture
to leave his palace for any great distance to inquire for him-
self, and gold easily dulled the senses of the highest minister
round the golden throne. It is little wonder then that the
people, kept perpetually in the lowest depths of poverty,
were, if not actually dying out, certainly not increasing in
numbers. There was nothing which so much indicated the
popular feeling, and at the same time so irritated the Burmese
Government, as the unceasing stream of emigrants to Lower
Be 181 Burma.

Nevertheless, even in Independent territory the Burman
731 preserved his light heart and buoyant disposition. No
calamity is so overwhelming as to make him despond. Some
years ago a large fire occurred in Mandalay, and spread
with such terrible rapidity that the inhabitants of a whole
quarter were unable to save anything but the clothes they

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

wore. Some of them went the next day to the English missionary chaplain, and told him of the misfortune that had befallen them, and how so completely were they rendered destitute that they had been indebted to the charity of the inhabitants of the monastery for a breakfast that morning. The clergyman promised to do what he could for them, and the same evening went along to view the site of the fire. What was his astonishment to find that the burnt-out victims had rigged up a rude stage among the charred stumps of their house-posts, and in default of a house to sleep in, were prepared to spend the night listening to the love-making of the princes and princesses, and laughing at the caustic witticisms of the clown, not a few of the jokes being inspired by the blackened surroundings. Such defiance of all the ills of fate is very characteristic, and would seem to a Burman mind the most natural thing to do under the circumstances, since it afforded both distraction and amusement.

If any one has escaped the curse of Adam it is the Burman. He does not need to earn his bread with the sweat of his brow, and riches having no attraction for him, when his patch of paddy land has been reaped, his only concern is how to pass the time, and that is no very difficult matter, where he has plenty of cheroots and betel-nut. He can stroll along to neighbour Maung Gyi's, whose son has a knack for wood-carving, and watch him as he deftly cuts out a piece of elaborate scroll-work for the roof of a neighbouring monastery, or finishes off the grim features of a bilu for the English Inspector of Police. Next door the sayā is engaged on a painting, the representation of some palace scene, or of some well-known event in the life of the Lord Buddha. Burmese artists do not, as a rule, paint likenesses, though they are by no means unsuccessful when they make the attempt. Any one but a high official would probably consider it a mark of great presumption and conceit to hang up a picture of himself in his house. There is, however, none of the objection to portrait painting which is so common with some other nations. For example, the Mohammedans will not suffer likenesses to be drawn for fear they should command a soul on the Day of Judgment, and so some actual human being might come to be left out in the cold. Catlin

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

housewife or her daughter stepping on and off the bar, so as to raise the pestle and let it fall on the rice in the mortar. The rice is very thoroughly cleaned in this way, and Burmans prefer it to that which has passed between the mill-stones of the European factory. The Derbyshire, or composition stones, do their work only too thoroughly, and remove so much of the pellicle as to take away all the flavour, besides that the great heat caused by the steady grinding tends to the same result. Consequently the pleasant refrain of the girls chanting at their work may be heard all over the village after dark, and when a large quantity has to be prepared for some offering to the Sacred Order on a feast-day, the chanted chorus rises and falls round about the homestead often till long past "midnight cock-crow," till the rising of the "red star" warns them to retire to rest, tired, but happy, for such a good work earns great merit. A sesamum oil-press is also frequently found in at least one house in every village. This is equally simple in its construction. It consists of a deep wooden trough, in which the seeds are pressed by a heavy upright timber fixed in a frame. The weight is increased by a long lever, on the end of which a man sits and guides a bullock which goes round in a circle, thus crushing and turning the seed at the same time.

The carts are very strongly built, and are remarkable for the way in which the floor curves upwards towards the back in the same way as the boats do. In Upper Burma formerly the wheels were mostly composed of one solid, roughly-rounded slab of wood, or in some cases of two semicircular slabs joined together, and these are still found, but more and more rarely, in out-of-the-way places in the upper province, though wheels constructed in European fashion with spokes are mostly in use, and Government now prescribes a three-inch tyre on all district roads. Occasionally in the old days to save trouble the carter started with a square wheel, and trusted to time to round it for him. Padauk (*Pterocarpus indicus*) is the wood most valued for this purpose, but it is too expensive for most people. The wheels are never greased, and make hideous shrieking noises as they revolve. This serves to keep away tigers and wild

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

CHAPTER XXXIX

LUCKY AND UNLUCKY DAYS

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It has come to be considered an axiom that the Burmese are irredeemably lazy. Some authors who have written about the country ascribe a very great number of additional bad qualities to them; others are more favourable; but all are unanimous in the declaration that they are lazy. The reverend missioner, Father San Germano, who was almost the first European to write a definite account of Burma, is the most unkind critic of all. He gathered together a great deal of information about the country during his long residence, but the opinion he formed of the people would be crushing were it not so strongly at variance with that expressed by a Christian priest who has been still longer in Burma, and whose knowledge of everything connected with it yields to none, the late Bishop Bigandet. But it is as well to see ourselves as others see us. The good father says: "The Burmese are distinguished for that timidity and servility which is the characteristic of slaves. . . . There is no contempt, oppression, or injustice they will not exercise towards their fellow-men when they can assure themselves of the protection of government. They are thus vile and abject in adversity, but arrogant and presumptuous in prosperity. There is no one amongst them, however mean, who does not aim at the dignity of mandarin (minister)." But the chief characteristic of the Burmese "is an incorrigible idleness. Instead of employing their time in improving their possessions, they prefer to give themselves up to an indolent repose; to spend the day in talking, smoking, and chewing betel, or else to become the satellites of some powerful

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Burmese AP4

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mandarin. The same hatred of labour leads to an excessive love of cunning, and also to thieving, to which they are much addicted. . . . It would seem that it is impossible for this people to tell the truth; nay, a person who ventures to do it is called a fool, a good kind of man, but not fitted for managing his affairs." Still the padre has a little good to say of them: "Besides giving daily alms to their talapoins, they all lay by something to be applied to some sort of public benefit. They are very fond of thus signalising their generosity, and will often deprive themselves of comforts to have the pleasure of being benefactors to the public." This is an unlovely picture. But the good father was apparently very unfortunate in his acquaintances.

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It is pleasant after this to turn to a soldier's opinion. Major Grant Allen says: "Unlike the generality of Asiatics, the Burmese are not a fawning race. They are cheerful, and singularly alive to the ridiculous; buoyant, elastic, soon recovering from personal or domestic disaster. Free from the prejudices of caste or creed, they readily fraternise with strangers, and at all times frankly yield to the superiority of the European. . . . Indifferent to the shedding of blood on the part of their rulers, yet not individually cruel; temperate, abstemious, and hardy, but idle, with neither fixedness of purpose nor perseverance. Discipline, or any continued employment, becomes most irksome to them, yet they are not devoid of a certain degree of enterprise."

This is a much better certificate, but still we are accused of laziness. Let us now turn to the last and the best authority on the subject (from an English point of view), Colonel Horace Browne, at one time Commissioner of Pegu, and always very popular with the Burmese. The Burman, he says, "displays much spasmodic energy and general laziness, much love of feasts and shows, much disregard of the sacredness of human life, and much tenderness for the lives of inferior members of the animal kingdom, much arrogance and inconsiderateness when placed in high position, and last, though not least, much general truthfulness, and, amongst unsophisticated villagers, the very unoriental trait of being unable to tell a specious falsehood."

The hauteur complained of towards strangers is princi-

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

pally due to the fact that the stranger is not a Buddhist, and has not as a boy been admitted into a monastery. To a Burman such a man is no better than a buffalo or a dog. In those of low degree this feeling shows itself in pitying kindness, in those in high positions in arrogance and insulting rudeness. 181 114

The unpleasant allegations of Father San Germano may be considered cancelled by the advocacy of the two military gentlemen, but there remains the united charge of unwarrantable laziness. Let us see what can be said for the defence on this point.

It may be taken for granted that the whole human race is more or less hampered by a dislike for work when there is no necessity for doing it. In addition to sharing this weakness, the Burman is fettered by a multiplicity of fortunate and unfortunate days. When he is born, his sadā, or horoscope, is cast, detailing minutely the moment at which he appeared, and the influence the presiding constellation has over him personally; and this sadā must be carefully examined before anything can be done. But beyond this there are a great variety of unlucky days which more or less concern everybody, and have to be avoided if a man is to hope for success in his enterprise or his journey. To enlist the sympathy of maritime England, I will begin with the superstition about Friday: 181 461 ● 777

> Thaukkya ye gyaung
> Ma thwa kaung.
>
> On Friday boats sailing
> Cause weeping and wailing.

On the contrary, if you begin the study of a subject on Friday you will become an authority on it. Thursday is also a good day; but if you commence on Tuesday or Saturday you will soon die. Saturday is a bad day for everything, especially for fires—a fact which the Fire Brigade would probably corroborate. But doubtless it is somewhat irritating for an Englishman when he wants to commence a journey, and has everything ready except the bullocks for the cart, to find that he cannot persuade his servants to buy or engage them till Sunday, because such a proceeding would

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

hopelessly lazy and averse to steady labour. The fact that men are always to be got eventually is no argument against the general belief in the theory, for the English persuade people to all manner of iniquity. Staunch members of the Order of the Yellow Robe will tell you that the brandy-drinkers and the opium-eaters (whom the English Thathanaing, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and other good people believe to be so very numerous in Burma) are very frequently proselytes, and, at any rate, have been much influenced by the white foreigners. And probably every officer in the Commission who has at length got together a band of men to journey towards the nagā's jaws will bear out the assertion that they must have been a bad lot, and drank raw spirits and chewed opium enough to gladden the heart of an anti-opium society man in search of a frightful example.

It may be asserted that the unlucky days were invented as an excuse for laziness; but the prevalence of the system with regard to other matters disproves this. For example, the blind god is supposed to laugh at barriers of rank and time and space; but most Burmans have a profound belief in the yan-pet linga—the rhyme of hostile pairs, referred to in the chapter on marriage. Again, in forming a partnership for purposes of trade, or the like, a due regard must be paid to birthdays. Lucky combinations are as follows:—Sunday and Friday, Tuesday and Thursday, Saturday and Wednesday, Monday and Yahu.

When you get a Burman on his lucky day, he will display an amount of "spasmodic energy" which has surprised many travellers into calling him hard-working. The boatmen on the Irrawaddy and the Sittang often row six, eight, and even ten hours at a stretch, on no more solid food than cold boiled rice, with a fragment or two of salt fish or curried vegetables. But that is when it is their "kingly day." Try them on a pyatthada day, and they will not even drift with the stream.

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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if he does but remember the first two precepts, he is on the right path.

He does do this. Happiness is the aim he seeks. Work and power and money are but the means by which he will arrive at the leisure to teach his own soul. First the body, then the spirit; but with us it is surely first the body, and then the body again.

He often watches us with surprise. He sees us work and work and work; he sees us grow old quickly, and our minds get weary; he sees our sympathies grow very narrow, our ideas bent into one groove, our whole souls destroyed for a little money, a little fame, a little promotion, till we go home, and do not know what to do with ourselves, because we have no work and no sympathy with anything; and at last we die, and take down with us our souls—souls fit for nothing but to be driven for ever with a goad behind and a golden fruit in front.

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But do not suppose that the Burmese are idle. Such a nation of workers was never known. Every man works, every woman works, every child works. Life is not an easy thing, but a hard, and there is a great deal of work to be done. There is not an idle man or woman in all Burma. The class of those who live on other men's labour is unknown. I do not think the Burman would care for such a life, for a certain amount of work is good, he knows. A little work he likes; a good deal of work he does, because he is obliged often to do so to earn even the little he requires. And that is the end. He is a free man, never a slave to other men, nor to himself.

if there are many fish, if the water is bad they may die off - and do not come down to the HSE. When the water is good we get many fish. When the water is bad it is called YE-MAR-DE (the water is hurt). When the water is bad they die off on their own and become putrid on this side; they do not come down. When the water is bad it stops the coming down of fish even more effectively than if a YIN barrier were put up (further upstream.) They do not come down to the mouth of the HSE. 226 221 132

"There are 80 or 100 fishermen working at the CHAUNG-MA-GYI IN where I work. Thirty of these are from INA-GYI-HAT and they are the only IN workers there, although there are 7 other INS in the neighbourhood. They work for 6 months out of the year. During the month of TAGU when the fish is sold, we start on the YIN and work through the months of KASON, NAYON, NAZO, WAGAUNG, TAWTHALIN and in TAWTHALINwe place it in the IN. Water comes down and with it the fish, and we end upabout the month of PYATHO. In the hot season we catch the remaining fish and after the hot season the INS are again auctioned by the Government. 226

"Night and day the fish are coming down and they have to be gathered up in wicker baskets and poured into tubs. They are coming down all the time. We have no special work time; both night and day. That is why there have to be so many workers. We have watches. If this person watches this night, that person watches the next night and another person the next night. They have to stay till morning. The person who has watched up till morning is given a turn (to rest) and another person placed there for the next night. The fisherman works for a day and a night. Then shifts are changed. The man who works from the afternoon is given a rest in the morning. There are shifts of eight to nine men at a time. These nine men are changed after a day and a night. They rest for a day and a night. 226 461

"Some of the more common fish are:- Nga Thaing, Nga Gyin, Nga Gyaing, Nga Myit Chin, Nga Dan, Nga Myin Yin; small fish are plentiful, Nga Khonne, Nga Hpare Aung, Nga Bat, Nga Khu, Nga Gyi; you get a lot. During one shift, (one day and one night) 2000 fish may come down, 3000 fish may come, or there may be 500, or there may be only 100. You cannot say for sure. At the end of the SHAW the fish are scooped up with kerosene tins and poured into the boat with wicker baskets. After that they are taken home. We take both big and small fish. The big ones are caught by hand and kept alive in big tubs, and it is the small fish that are scooped up with kerosene tins. We take all the fish that are stranded at the sluice end. The tiny fish escape through the YIN. Some larger fish also escape if the YIN cracks are wide.

"The large fish are kept alive and sent to the Rangoon markets and to various towns. They usually stay alive this way. When the distance is great they are placed in ice and sent. The other fish are dried or made into fish paste or NGAPI. In making Ngapi, the heads are first cut off. The scales are removed by wrapping the fish in gunny-bags and stamping with the feet after the bag has been placed in a tub. After that they are washed and salt is put in. After mixing thoroughly with salt they are pressed into jars. Those who want to pound their fish into NGAPI DAUNG (pounded ngapi) leave their fish to become putrid and then pound them. Those who want to keep them raw (ASHIN) do not. 226 438 263

Mr Aye Myaing describes the preparation of ngapi as follows:-

"The fish have to be chopped and placed in water; after the scales are removed, the fishes are chopped and placed in water for a night. In the morning the putrid fish are taken out, mixed with salt and laid out to dry. In the evening they are again mixed with salt and pounded. You pound the fish today, lay 251 263

The daily work schedule of U Myaing while he was working as a fish processor (2 months in a year) was as follows:- 512 461 264

He rose at four or five in the morning said his prayers, drank plain tea, had boiled beans, fried fish and rice left over from the previous day's evening meal. After that he went to collect fish, bring it to the bank and start work on it. He rested from 11 o'clock to 2 o'clock. At two he resumed work till about five when he would be finished for the day. Sometimes he would sleep at the work place after returning home for his evening meal.

Work in the Refugee Camp.

Shortly after arriving at the Camp U Myaing worked in Sulim Park near the Kokine market where a factory for spinning and weaving cloth was being set up. The contractor was Chinese, and he engaged between 30 to 35 labourers every day. These labourers were unskilled and they were employed in levelling the ground and laying the foundation of the factory. Most of the labourers were Indians - there being only two Burmans, U Myaing and Ma Aye Myaing got Rs. 2/-. The working hours stretched from eight in the morning to 12 noon, with a break of one hour at 12. At one o'clock they resumed work and continued until five in the evening. In the mornings they had to go to the factory by themselves, and this took them about a half hour walk. Sometimes they were sent home in a truck in the evenings. U Myaing had to enquire each day at various places for a chance to work. He was not always successful. 722 461 464 331

It was not usual for Ma Aye Myaing to come along like this to work as a labourer. This was the first time she did so. Ma Aye Myaing said that in future she would accompany U Myaing whenever there are prospects of such work. They knew that women worked in this way, but had not known that such work was available. [562]

As a matter of fact, I met U Myaing through the mats which were made in his camp. We got dinner place mats through him. These are rectangular 1½ feet by 2 feet mats of finely woven split cane in an over 2 - under 2 pattern. They cost Rs. 2/8 each. U Myaing arranged for the making of these mats and collected the money for them, but 285 437

285 they were made by friends. Ma Aye Myaing and Daw Aw Zar appear to
H37 specialize in the larger mats such as used for sleeping. Mat making appears to be an occupation which in ordinary times is unimportant but it is relied heavily upon in bad times.

461 The children are put to work around the house and in processing
562 the fish at an early age. Just recently U Myaing's eldest daughter
561 left school to learn a trade. She left one month ago from the fourth
[277] standard, to learn cheroot rolling. In another month's time she will
874 have learnt how. She does not have to pay any fees - neither is she
[294] paid for her help. She lives with her aunt (U Myaing's sister) and has her meals there. Near their house there is also an embroidery shop which is owned by her aunt. At night U Myaing's daughter is taught embroidery and sewing by her aunt. The owner of the cheroot rolling shop is not a relative, but the women who work there are aunts and grand-aunts of the girl. When she has learnt the trade, then she will be paid between two and three rupees a day on piece work basis.

463 At present (May 1951) U Myaing is working as a sweeper in the
363 Rangoon Municipality on a monthly wage of Rs. 80/-. There is an over-
512 seer placed over him every day. U Myaing's main job is to keep one street in town clean. He leaves his house at six and arrives at the overseer's by half past six and there a roll-call is taken of about a hundred of them. At seven he begins on his street and stops at about half-eight to go to answer the roll-call (see below for rest of schedule). He has personal contact only with the overseer, the docter and the WUNDAUK (official). All three of them go around the town to see if they work hard enough. The WUNDAUK also comes everyday to witness the roll-call. "If we do not do good work we shall be dismissed. Everything is in their hands. But they do so after two or three warnings. We do not possess any rights at all. Sometimes offenders are sent to other streets that require harder labour."

U Myaing's street is located in Myeni-gon, and he has to clean the street of dirt as well as clean the drains on either side.

His daily schedule at present is as follows: He rises at 4, washes his face and cleans his teeth, says his prayers and then has plain tea which Ma Aye Myaing has prepared for him. At six he leaves

sufficient food for myself and my family." Yet, it is significant 465
that he[1] manifests no anxiety symtoms, and appears happy and carefree. 722 369
This suggests that despite the fact that he is presented with 464
insecurity he does not react to it with tensions that have nervous
manifestations. The sense of insecurity does not seem to be in his [152]
pattern of living, consequently his response is ill-defined.

The points of difference that U Myaing especially emphasized 511
were:- 178

1. A few weeks of intensive work in Pathwe would get him more than a whole year of salary working in Rangoon. 461

2. His income in Rangoon is estabilized at a low level. In Pathwe he might make 3 or 4 times his average income from fish products in a good year. On bad years he might just break even. But this did not affect his everyday living quality - since his food was for the most part gathered (fish, fruits etc.) or secured from the cattle loan (baskets of rice). 458

3. If he was sick in Pathwe his standard of living was not threatened. He made his cash in a short time and had ample leisure for resting. In Rangoon if he does not work he does not eat.

4. In Pathwe he usually had a surplus of 1000 to 1500 rupees on hand during a year. To be lent out (free of interest) to friends and relatives or (usually) invested in fish or family accoutrement. Now he lives from hand to mouth. [454]

5. The loss of comfort and ease is severely felt by the adults. In Rangoon he works to stay alive, in Pathwe, to enjoy a full life. [181]

[1 i.e., U Myaing -- ANALYST]

General Attitudes of the Burmese toward Work.

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Rank and status in the Burmese Village is determined to a large extent on the basis of occupation - with the factor of wealth where applicable taking precedence over occupation. The highest rank is accorded to the Buddhist monks who exert the ultimate influence. Government officials including the township officers, the THU GYI (headman) and elders, and the schoolmaster occupy the second rank. The large land owners (of this group the rice-mill owners rate highest) rank next. Below these are the tradesmen - the paddy dealers, shop keepers and small holdings farmers who comprise the bulk of the population. Professional artisans such as carpenters, blacksmiths, gold and silver smiths occupy a lower position. However, it is common for the small holdings farmers to practice a secondary occupation such as pottery making.

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Fishermen and hunters are looked down on by the rest of the community because they offend Buddhist precepts by taking life. In this class also are those who raise animals (cows, poultry, pigs) for food, smugglers and brewers. Fishermen, particularly those such as U Myaing who operate IN fisheries often become wealthy, but the stigma of the source of this wealth is remembered by the community. A story is told of a rich fisherman who came to cover the Shwe Dagon Pagoda in Rangoon with gold plate. Unfortunately, he had sinned so much by taking the lives of fish that he could not see the pagoda. In a rage he returned to his IN to cover its posts with the gold. Because of the stigma attached to fishing those who make their living in this way tend to live together in their own communities. Thus Pathme, U Myaing's village is primarily a fisherman's community.

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In the days of the Burmese kings, wealthy men and nobles (THAKIN) would assign people under their command to serve as pagoda slaves. Their names were engraved in stone and their descendants for all eternity assigned to this position. The duties were light - consisting mainly of sweeping the platforms and carrying for the images, but the social position was next to the lowest. It is believed that the flower vendors on the platform of the Rangoon

pagodas and those throughout the country are descendants of the pagoda slaves.

Beggars are rated below the pagoda slaves - but, because of the Buddhist merit associated with giving do well for themselves. The beggars live in communities on the outskirts of the town often in cemetaries. They are thought to exhume the dead to get the coins placed in the mouth of the deceased to ensure expenses on his journey to heaven. The wood of the coffin is believed to be used in constructing their huts. Professional undertakers or morticians are regarded with horror since they like the beggars, make their living from the dead. The functions of burial are performed gratis by the entire village. A story is currently going round the University dormitories telling of an immensely wealthy Burmese coffin maker in Rangoon who has offered riches to the young man who will marry his beautiful daughter. When the future seems blank the students' friend advises "Hey, why don't you go and marry the coffin maker's daughter?" It seems that the money would scarcely compensate for the social discrimation. The extent to which the occupation classes are rigid in marriage and other social exchanges is an interesting problem.

A young man is obliged to remain within the occupation class of his family or to rise to greater heights. He is advised at an early age to "be simple, aim high, and tell the truth." When children play at daccits (thieves) of other "low class" games their parents object to their low aspirations and advise them to play nobles and ministers. One would feel justified in remaining idle rather than accept a position below that of his birth. It is better to accept a clerks job at a low salary than an artisans at a high salary. On the other hand those born into lower status occupation groups tend to be satisfied with their state as a condition of birth. In Rangoon, however, even the hawkers may have ambitions to achieve fame and fortune. The opportunities for social mobility is greater in the towns and cities but difinitely restricted in the villages.

Apprenticeship to trades begins at the age of 12 to 14 years, and usually lasts for several years. Ordinarily the youth is attached to the shop of a relative where he lives and is payed a subsistence wage while learning. The key to high positions lies in education in

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The key to high positions lies in education in the high schools and Universities. Family support is necessary for this and the student is constantly aware of his obligation to succeed for their benefit. "One tree can support a thousand birds" illustrate the dependency of the relatives on the successful individual.

In order to succeed one needs each of these three qualities: KAMMA (fate or luck), WYAN (intelligence), and WIRIYA(industriousness The failure of any one can cause the lack of success. Ordinarily, however, KAMMA is blamed in cases of failure - and the other two credited for success. The concept of KAMMA includes merit and demerit compiled in all previous existences. Because of this convenient excuse the true causes of failure are seldom analysed by the individual and he does not have a sense of personal blame or shame. Also social condemnation does not fall heavily on the unsuccessful who has tried and failed. However, one should finish what he starts or not attempt it, "once you start climbing the pole you must reach the top". The individual may not achieve fame or fortune but he is expected to maintain his birth position. His relatives, who suffer shame if he does not, help him. A major contribution of the individual is an advantagous marriage within or above his occupational group.

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What does one strive for, by work, in the Burmese society? Not subsistence, for food is ordinarily cheap and easily attained in the villages. Clothing, shelter and the other necessities of life are also not the objective. The subsistence pattern is simple and essentially homogeneous throughout the village.

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The ordinary head of a household thinks of three major benefits to be gained from wealth. The first and most immediate are jewels to adorn the women of the family. The status of the family is reflected in public by the bangles, necklaces and earrings worn by the ladies. Diamonds are most prized and the size is important. However, most important is that each female be provided with "a set" of jewelry. The wife of the middle and upper status group particularly will prod the husband until he provides these necessities. The women's clothing and also the husbands and his son's must also be the finest they can afford.

461 554 454 888

The second urge for wealth arises out of the desire for old age security. Hence gold coins are saved (hidden) against the day when

the husband is too old to work. Aged parents are invariably respected but those who can still support themselves are "worshipped". Parents do not rely on their sons who have their own families to support but feel that their daughters will always "bring them a cup of curry". 461 554 454 888

The third urge is to have wealth to donate to the Buddhist church. This is regarded as a sound investment since it not only brings a most satisfying honour especially in old age (to be a "pagoda giver") but also counts as merit credited to the individual's account in eternity. 461 554 735 775

Competition is keenly felt between individuals and families of the same occupation group or adjacent groups but not between the lower and upper classes. An exception is where family traditional land has changed hands - and hard feelings may persist. A carpenter's family does not envy and covet the riches of a government official's family. His lot is due to KAMMA and even if he wished to attain such fortune it would be beyond his abilities. More important, it is not expected of him. So the carpenter is content with cheap jewelry for his women and an occasional gold coin - but the pattern is the same as for the upper class. However among the individuals and families of an occupation level there is much rivalry for the benefits wealth can bring. It is a point of pride to have the largest diamonds at a social function, and to give the biggest pagoda. Wives brag that their husbands "prevent the heirs of their hands from singeing" - that they have servants to cook. Rank and recognition are based on these considerations. 565 477 554 461

The women of the family exert powerful influence in financial matters and are respected for their sound judgment. Women's occupations include cigar manufacturing, pottery making, and especially shop keeping. 461 562 463

The beginning of an enterprise is conditioned by the wisdom of the ancients and especially the date and place which are given by formula in the Burmese calendar. There are YEI-NAZA (day king of) "fortunate days" and PYAD-THADA "unlucky days". For example the calendar announces that Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays of a particular month are fortunate days to begin enterprises, and other days either unfortunate or neutral. Rangoon sophisticates (but never villagers) tell such stories as this: Two phongyis travelled by boat; the first boarded the boat on a fortunate day to begin travelling. The next day the boat came to the second phongyi's village. This was an unfortunate 777 461

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777 day on the calendar but the second phongyi decided to embark anyway. Both phongyis were lost when the boat sank that day.

554 The revered position of phongyis is open to all regardless of
792 birth or position. It is felt that some take up the robe because they
178 are unsuccessful in life, or wish an "easy living" - but perhaps this
626 attitude is one of modern sophisticates. Certainly the dominant position of the brotherhood is unchallenged. Occasionally differences arise between the headman and the phongyis of a village. But the phongyis invariably prevail. Offending laymen can be "deprived the gate of heaven" by phongyis refusing to accept HSOON, alms, from th This is called inverting the begging bowl THA-BEIT-MAUK-TAI (Begging
[468] bowl-upturn) and is the current phrase for any sort of a "strike".

792 Some unprincipalled phongyis have sought to enrich themselves by
356 accepting gifts of land or other property, or by selling gifts for
[735] money to traders. When they leave the brotherhood and become laymen again this property become theirs. Such occurences appear to be rare and are controlled by stipulations of the givers. For example a donor would hesitate to give paddy land to a suspected phongyi but might agree to giving the crops while retaining title.

554 The government or administrative class is looked up to with
647 great respect - in part a carry over from the days of royalty, in part
641 an attitude towards power and influence. However, while the villager today may not know the details of the new constitution he knows there is a "code" wherein he can secure impartial justice.

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The concept of KAMMA (fate) is important only in determining the general well-being of the individual, as seen in Daw Aw Zar's belief that her general good health was due to a morally-lived previous existence. "It is like a shadow". Some specific situations like being born blind is attributed to one's KAMMA - in this case the person had been a notorious fighter of cocks in the previous existence; cocks being frequently blinded in the fights.

Each person is regarded as subject to some special disorder or weakness such as being especially subject to colds or headaches, or stomach troubles. Collectively these are referred to as "age-group" weaknesses. (MIYAT - girls' weakness; DULAH - boys' weaknesses.) But this is due to childhood illnesses and neglect of early troubles rather than KAMMA. Persons with the weaknesses noted above avoid cucumbers (a "cold" vegetable), or hot foods including liquor (these cause greater heat to rise to the head), or green or raw vegetables (hard to digest). The choice of the correct diet to suit one's particular condition is important.

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Bodily exercise is a prime consideration for health. Callisthenics or sports for this purpose are unknown or unrecognized and by " healthful exercise " is meant everyday work activities. Regular daily motion is regarded as necessary for health, and a purgative is taken regularly once a month. The idea is to " clean out disease ". Purgatives are taken first in most sicknesses. This is followed by drinking preparations in hot water to induce perspiration along with woolen blankets. The colour of the urine is checked "daily" since a too yellow colour indicates an unhealthy condition. If so - one must drink additional quantities of water and coconut water. "Urine takes the place of perspiration in cold weather". Over-working and lack of sleep also lead to unhealthiness. The ideal sleep period is from 8 p.m. to 6 a.m. with a nap thrown in from 12 to 2 after "breakfast".

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Too much worrying SAYTAUNGLOKEIN (mind-beating-because-body-crush) leads to sickness. This is a common problem for mothers who worry about their children's futures. It results in THEKEIN-PYEKEN (small black bitter (gall)-disorder) where the gall fluid is

369 and women too did the same, and wore their HTAMEINS breast high.
291 Here except for the refugees, he does not see much of this except when
562 people are bathing in the public water hydrants. When it is hot the men wear T shirts and the women wear light garments.

369 U Myaing says that the ordinary city dweller cannot do as much
464 hard labour as the average villager. For example, he cannot carry
461 a bag of rice on his shoulders if suddenly called upon to do so.

The workers from Rangoon are much more acute than the workers from the village. They speak and understand English and Hindustani and so get to know of any possible job long before the others. The villagers do not have these advantages, and so have to join work only later and they are placed to work under them.

563 As far as U Myaing is concerned, there is no racial animosity
464 towards Indians and workers of other races. This is due to the fact that there is no racial discrimination on the part of the employers, the first suitable applicant being given the work.

369 He finds that Rangoon has a much more equable climate than
132 Pathwe. In Rangoon it is not as cold as in Pathwe, where in the cold season it was very cold even though they lived in a proper house and kept all the doors and windows shut. He says that they would not be able in Pathwe to live in an open dwelling like they do at present.

369 Their relatives in Rangoon keep to themselves a great deal.
571 They work on their own and earn on their own. In Rangoon each family
602 has only sufficient for itself. We cannot help them financially and neither can they help us much. When we go on a visit they can invite us to join in a meal or to partake of sweet tea, but they would not be able to lend us fifty or a hundred rupees. In Pathwe we could lend each other any amount up till a thousand five hundred rupees and that free of interest. These loans also need to be repaid only when it is convenient to the debtor. It would be inconvenient to have to repay a loan while the money was in the form of goods."

159 U Myaings eldest daughter has returned to the camp because the
369 woman who owns the charoot rolling business has temporarily closed it
602 down and gone to Pantanaw with goods like onions, prawns and textiles. Since the girl is not sufficiently dexterous to find work elsewhere as

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In Pathwe the adults were all occupied with the question of how to acquire money. The children played at skipping a rope. There is also a game where two children sit facing each other and raise progressively higher and higher barriers with their feet and their hands, while a third child has to jump high enough to clear the obstraction. If he succeeds they raise it slightly higher and so on. If he fails, then it is his turn to provide the barrier with one while the other starts jumping from the lowest level. They also play the games "SALTS" and "HOP-SCOTCH" Then there is a game where about 20 children stand in a circle with faces turned inwards. There is a person left outside who runs round the circle and while running, drops a small bundle of cloth behind someone's back. If that person knows of it he picks up the bundle and chases the first child round the circle and if fleet enough has an opportunity of dealing him several hard whacks before he finds shelter in the vacant place of the person following and it is then the turn of the person with the bundle to make the rounds and drop it behind someone elses back. If a person does not realise that the bundle has been laid down behind him the first person completes another round, and then picks it up himself and chases him around the circle back to his own place.

There is another game which is known as "THE HUGE LIN-NME SNAKE" where the children form a long line by holding each other's waist from behind. Someone then has to come pretending to sell something and the head of the line makes a purchase. When the seller demands payment he is referred by each child to the one behind him until the leader shouts that he can take the person last in the line in payment if he can catch him. The seller tries to do this while the whole line wriggles and twists in an effort to foil him.

When U Myaing was young he used to play "THE TURTLE AND THE HOOP". They first had to find a person who would play as the "turtle" and to do this they recited the Burmese alphabet starting with the letter "KA" for one person and "KHA" for the second and so on round and round the circle until the letter "A" is reached. The person on whom this letter falls has to be the "turtle". He is placed in a circle with as many stones as there are people in the game.

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25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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115. WATER SCOOP (KA-HNWE).

for fodder, the corn is cut close to the ground, having first been laid by pressing it down with bamboos, which makes it easier. For reaping, the villagers co-operate. But in the plains of the delta, where cultivation has extended so greatly, there is not labour enough on the spot to reap the crop. Harvest labourers come down from Burma Proper and also large numbers from the south of India (p. 159). In the plains reapers get their two meals and a quarter of a bushel of grain a day or the equivalent in money (p. 56). In the hills a reaper gets a bushel a day for his labour. The common wages of daily labour are about half a rupee in Pegu, and a quarter less in Burma Proper. Before 1850, when the export trade began, wages were only half as much.

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The sheaves are left to dry for a day in the sun and then gathered into garbs. These are piled on a dry field into a circular heap some three feet high, and broad enough for a herd of buffaloes to tramp round upon and tread the grain off the ear, to which it is attached by a slender petiole. Another way is to pile the garbs in a high crescent-shaped heap, round the central space of which four to six head of cattle are made to travel abreast and tread the garbs which are cast down from above. The grain keeps best in the husk and is stored in bins of bamboo wattle smeared with clay (*sabaji*, Nos. 119, 120).

The covering of the rice-grain is a strong adherent husk like that of barley, but mostly without any beard. Rice in the husk is called *Sabd* (Engl. paddy).

116. CUTTING THE CROP IN THE GREAT PLAIN.

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

175 acting for her husband, and she would not have been
622 pleased that her name should appear.
562 'A good wife,' I said to Saw Ka.

'Like many,' he answered.

462 But in her own line she has no objection to publicity. I have said that nearly all women work, and that is so. Married or unmarried, from the age of sixteen or seventeen, almost every woman has some occupation besides her own duties. In the higher classes she will have property of her own to manage; in the lower classes she will have some trade. I cannot find that in Burma there have ever been certain occupations told off for women in which they may work, and others tabooed to them. As there is no caste for the men, so there is none for the women. They have been free to try their hands at anything they thought they could excel in, without any fear of public opinion. But nevertheless, as is inevitable, it has been found that there are certain trades in which women can compete successfully with men, and certain others in which they cannot. And these are not quite the same as in the West. We usually consider sewing to be a feminine
462 occupation. In Burma, there being no elaborately
294 cut and trimmed garments, the amount of sewing done is small, but that is usually done by men. Women often own and use small hand-machines, but the treadles are always used by men only. As I am writing, my Burmese orderly is sitting in the garden sewing his jacket. He is usually sewing when not sent on messages. He seems to sew very well.

Weaving is usually done by women. Under

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

nearly every house there will be a loom, where the wife or daughter weaves for herself or for sale. But many men weave also, and the finest silks are all woven by men. I once asked a woman why they did not weave the best silks, instead of leaving them all to the men. 462 286

'Men do them better,' she said, with a laugh. 'I tried once, but I cannot manage that embroidery.'

They also work in the fields—light work, such as weeding and planting. The heavy work, such as ploughing, is done by men. They also work on the roads carrying things, as all Oriental women do. It is curious that women carry always on their heads, men always on their shoulders. I do not know why. 462 241 482

But the great occupation of women is petty trading. I have already said that there are few large merchants among the Burmese. Nearly all the retail trade is small, most of it is very small indeed, and practically the whole of it is in the hands of the women. 462 444

Women do not often succeed in any wholesale trade. They have not, I think, a wide enough grasp of affairs for that. Their views are always somewhat limited; they are too penny-wise and pound-foolish for big businesses. The small retail trade, gaining a penny here and a penny there, just suits them, and they have almost made it a close profession. [442]

This trade is almost exclusively done in bazaars. In every town there is a bazaar, from six till ten each morning. When there is no town near, the bazaar will be held on one day at one village and on another at a neighbouring one. It depends on the 443 [805]

1e Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

462 Her home-life is always the centre of her life

she could not neglect it for any other: it would seem to her a losing of the greater in the less. But the effect of this custom of nearly every woman having a little business of her own has a great influence on her life. It broadens her views, it teaches her things she could not learn in the narrow circle of home duties; it gives her that tolerance and understanding which so forcibly strikes everyone who knows her. It teaches her to know her own strength and weakness, and how to make the best of each. Above all, by showing her the real life about her, and how much beauty there is everywhere, to those whose eyes are not shut by conventions, it saves her from that dreary, weary pessimism that seeks its relief in fancied idealism, in art, in literature, and in religion, and which is the curse of so many of her sisters in other lands.

562 Yet, with all their freedom, Burmese women are very particular in their conduct. Do not imagine that young girls are allowed, or allow themselves, to go about alone except on very frequented roads. I suppose there are certain limits in all countries to the freedom a woman allows herself, that is to say, if she is wise. For she knows that she cannot always trust herself; she knows that she is weak sometimes, and she protects herself accordingly. She is timid, with a delightful timidity that fears, because it half understands; she is brave, with the bravery of a girl who knows that as long as she keeps within certain limits she is safe. Do not suppose that they ever do, or ever can, allow themselves that freedom of action that men have; it is an impossibility. Girls are very carefully looked after

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

have been celebrated year after year, at least since the reintroduction of Buddhism in 1056, and at least since March, 638, when an early king of Pagan, Popa Sawrahan (613–40), drew up the present Burmese era, the dawn of every Burmese new year has been the occasion for mirthful water-throwing.[1] 527 796 [805]

Buddhism had been introduced into the country through commercial relations with India long before the foundation of the kingdom of Pagan, but from the beginning it was only at second-hand and therefore feeble. The real religion of the Burmese before the reintroduction of Buddhism in 1056 was animistic, and they worshipped various spirits, known as *nats*. There were mediums, mostly women, who danced to please the spirits, and as the spirits were supposed to enter into the bodies of the mediums, sometimes it was believed that the spirits, and not the mediums, were actually dancing. Sometimes the medium herself actually believed that a spirit had taken control of her body, but usually she only pretended that a spirit had entered her, and gave an exhibition of acting. As the medium of each particular *nat* dressed herself in appropriate clothes, the spirit dances were essentially dramatic.[2] When Buddhism, in one of its purest forms, was introduced under Anawrahta, the great king realized the impossibility of attracting people suddenly to the new faith; so he compromised by recognizing the *nats* as Buddhist spirits and giving them shrines in his Shwezigôn Pagoda as its guardian spirits. When asked the reason, Anawrahta replied: 'Men will not come suddenly to the new faith. Let them come for their old gods, and they will gradually be won over.'[3] 177 439 771 791 [462] [535]

So the worship of the *nats* lived on, and with the advance of

[1] Shway-Yoe (Sir George Scott) in *The Burman: His Life and Notions*, and Fielding Hall in *The Soul of a People* give detailed accounts of the feasts and life in the villages. However, as far as I have been able to find out, the Tazaungmôn celebrations have never been described in any English work. [114]

[2] These dances are still performed on spirit-feast days at Taungbyôn (near Mandalay), a small town given up to spirit worship since the days of Pagan's greatness and perhaps even before.

The belief in, as distinct from the worship of, spirits is not alien to Buddhism.

The chief works on the subject are: Sir R. C. Temple, *The Thirty-Seven Nats*; Grant Brown, 'The Taungbyon Festival' in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, 1915; the same author's 'The Pre-Buddhist Religion of the Burmese' in *Folk-Lore*, 1921; and G. E. Harvey, *History of Burma*. [113]

[3] G. E. Harvey, op. cit., p. 33.

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

However, the Burmese equivalent of the English interlude came into being all the same. It developed out of the equivalent of the English miracle play, but indirectly. The chance of developing the drama was seized by professional actors. To break away from the tradition and the conservatism, persons outside the pale of 'good' society were needed. Spirit dancers were such persons. They worshipped the *nats*[1] and most people looked upon them with fear as being in touch with sinister and unnatural forces. They were outside the religion, and their drunken dances—drunken from wine and ecstacy—were outside the popular conception of moral behaviour. Therefore the new professional actors were drawn from the ranks of the spirit mediums. However, those who took to the new profession were malcontents and failures in their original profession. The increase in the number of the spirit dancers had caused the mediums to form themselves into a fraternity, the entry to which was closely guarded. The economic attractions of spirit dancing tempted people who had no faith in the spirits to become mediums. These factors caused discontent and disunion among the mediums, and within and without the fraternity pseudo-mediums came into being. The advance of education had robbed the *nats* of many worshippers, but most people continued to patronize spirit dancing for mere love of music and dancing. The result was the rise of a class of professional entertainers who danced and sang and played on musical instruments. The new dancers pretended to be mediums and semi-mediums, but their dancing was unconnected with any spirit feast. The rise of this professional dancing was doubtless gradual and must have preceded the *Nibhatkhin*. As early as about the year 1400, two princes and their attendants, when turned out of their palace, earned their living as wandering minstrels and professional dancers, pretending to be spirit worshippers.[2] Because of the very fact that the new dancers were malcontents and failures in their original

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[1] The objects of the spirit worship are the thirty-seven *nats*, all of whom are more or less of evil character; but there are in addition to these many good *nats* who have little to do with human affairs. [776]

[2] One prince became King Minkaung (1401–22), the other, his brother, helping him to gain the throne. An attendant became King Mohnyinthadot (1427–40), and the others ministers (G. E. Harvey, op. cit., p. 96). [175]

The new dancers were mostly men. Men mediums were secondary to women mediums, and perhaps that was one of the reasons for the discontent among the mediums, and also the reason why the men took to wandering all over the country as dancers. [462]

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

536* part, although there was no stage convention preventing women from
534 taking it up as a vocation. The head of the orchestra was also the
462 head of the troupe. He was the most learned and experienced
463 member, and he was responsible for the organization and financial outlay, paying more or less fixed wages to the others, and taking the profits himself. When engaged for a performance, the troupe was paid by public subscription or by some philanthropic person, usually an official, and therefore no charge for admission was made, all being
[565] welcome to it. The Burmese actors as a class, unlike their Elizabethan counterparts who could endow a College of God's Gift or buy a coat-of-arms, were poor. But they never starved, for even the poorest villages would welcome and feed them on their wanderings all over the country. The troupe was one large family, and the children of the members accompanied it. In spite of the prejudice against them and their poverty, the actors loved their art, and enjoyed the performances themselves.

536* There were many conventions connected with the stage, and they can be divided into two classes: those imposed on the actors by themselves, and those imposed by the fear of becoming unpopular with the audience.

795 The actors never forgot that they were originally spirit-dancers,
536* and therefore they had conventions by which they showed their indebtedness to spirit worship. Before the performance offerings of food were made to the thirty-seven *nats*. As a curtain-raiser, there was a performance by a dancer or chorus of dancers. Each wore a red
[533] cloth round the head—the sign of a spirit worshipper. Singing invocations to the *nats* and dancing the appropriate dances, they asked for protection by the spirits, while the orchestra played a bar from each
[751] of the thirty-seven *nat* tunes. It was supposed that if this convention was broken, disaster would befall the troupe, the performance would prove a failure, and the actors would become mad; but often these conventions had been known to be broken, accidentally or otherwise.

536* The actors were looked upon as irreligious and immoral, and on
463 the slightest excuse, they were in danger of being considered profane.
554 Therefore, as has been stated, they took over the conventions from the *Nibhatkhin*. The Buddha was never impersonated, and an *arahat*
[779] or saint only when absolutely necessary, and then by an able and 'serious' actor, who had to keep a fast that day. Not even a mild joke was to be made against the Buddha or an *arahat*, although even monks and the religion itself could be the butt of a clown's wit. But

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
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without ever knowing or caring for the European drama itself, the Burmese may have borrowed their puppets and puppet stage-craft, without ever caring for the shadow drama itself. Such borrowings were possible although the shadow drama itself never reached Burma, for Burmese trading or raiding expeditions were in continuous contact with Siam, and to a lesser extent with Malaya and the East Indies. 536* 101 177

1. (*a*) The Burmese puppets are worked in delicate detail, and are similar in this and other respects to the Javanese and Siamese figures.

(*b*) But the Burmese puppets are worked by strings, whereas most other eastern puppets are moved by sticks from below. However, some puppets of India and China are stringed.

2. (*a*) The Burmese puppet show-men make offerings to the spirits before a performance. Such offerings are also made in Java before the presentation of a shadow play.

(*b*) But, although the offerings are not made particularly to the thirty-seven *nats*, it may be that the puppet show-men, who consider their calling to be just a branch of the acting profession, are only following the custom of the living actors.

3. (*a*) The puppet show begins with dances by animals, which are perhaps reminiscent of the Javanese 'fantastic vine' with birds and monkeys on it. A monkey appears among the Burmese puppets. [825]

(*b*) But Burmese folk feasts occasioned mimicry of animals, and that practice may have influenced the puppet show. Moreover, the Burmese animal puppets consist, in addition to the monkey, of the tiger, the elephant, and the horse. The *zawgyee* has no counterpart in the Javanese show, and the Burmese show has no bird puppets.

4. (*a*) Burmese women are not admitted to membership of a puppet troupe, and are not allowed to step on the puppet stage, even when no actual performance is in progress. Is this reminiscent of the Java show, where women are not allowed to see the actual puppets perform? [462]

(*b*) But the practice may have been only an attempt by men to reserve the profession for themselves.

5. (*a*) An appropriate tune to identify a new animal puppet is played in Burma. This is perhaps akin to the Javanese practice of identifying a new figure that has entered by the orchestra playing a special tune. [533]

(*b*) But the practice of identifying a new scene (which is almost the same as identifying a new figure) by an appropriate tune has always existed in the performances of living actors, and the puppet show-men may have borrowed it.

23: Brant & Mi Mi Khaing E, I-5 (1949-1950)1951
AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

593 husband's kinfolk. Post-marital residence is independent and is decided very
[591] largely on the basis of economic opportunity. The wife's opportunities for social intercourse with her family of orientation are, of course, greatest when residence is established in her home village; if, however, a couple from different villages marry and find it most opportune to settle in the husband's community, the
[574] chances are that the wife will maintain contact with her family of orientation by
[582] visits from time to time; such marriages seldom unite persons from villages that are very far apart. The very structural features of bilaterality and absence of extension militate against inequality and male domination.

Burmese culture is frequently remarked for the equality of the sexes, in con-
562 trast to the neighboring cultures of India and China. This status of the sexes
593 seems to be the resultant historically of two patterns of thought. One is an apparently very old, pre-Buddhist emphasis upon equality, involving equal inheri-
[428] tance, equal sharing of the property brought to the marriage, equal division of
[586] property upon divorce, a prominent female role in social and economic life, and an absence of transmission of surnames. The other thought pattern dates from the superimposition of Buddhism upon older Burmese conceptions: whatever
[177] ideas of male superiority exist in Burmese life stem from Buddhist notions of
[775] reincarnation. Although Buddha never expressed himself explicitly on the matter, it is taken for granted that only a male can attain Nirvana, since Gautama Buddha, who attained that state, was a male.

●462 In the family household the wife's role includes not only such routine tasks as
592 the preparation of food and serving of meals, keeping the house orderly and clean, and looking after small children; very often it involves control of the family income and the making of all important decisions as to expenditures.

Certain observances and taboos, reflective of deference to males, are expected
593 of the female partner in marriage. She is careful that her lower garments do not
784 touch her husband's bed or his personal belongings; she avoids touching her husband's head. It is believed that the breaking of such taboos may ruin the husband's success and glory, especially his spiritual attainments. These injunctions are followed as a matter of course by Burmese wives and will be broken deliberately only as an act of spite by a woman who wishes to harm or lower her husband for some reason.

593 Despite the various equalitarian aspects of husband-wife relations, there is
837 a tendency towards a double standard of sexual behavior. A husband who has reason to believe that his wife is engaging in extra-marital affairs is very likely
[586] to display violent anger, beat her, and break up the marriage. The wife of a

23: Brant & Mi Mi Khaing E, I-5 (1949-1950)1951
AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

philandering husband, on the other hand, will usually do no more than display 593
hurt feelings for a brief period; rarely will she separate from her husband, es- [837]
pecially if they have children.

Siblings. It is the duty of the younger to show deference to the elder. This pertains to the order of serving food, fetching and carrying of things, and even the arrangement of sleeping mats or beds—a younger sibling never should sleep with his feet extended toward an elder sibling. Upon the death of a parent, the eldest sibling of the same sex assumes that parent's socio-economic role in the [768]
family.

Father–Daughter. Consistent with the age principle, it is a daughter's duty to be obedient and to wait upon her father. Once an unmarried daughter passes the age of puberty, the father is expected to lead a circumspect and moral life more than ever before. Any deviant sexual behavior or drunkenness on his part reflects [581]
upon the daughter and detracts from her marital chances.

Mother–Son. Although a son owes obedience to his mother, her claim upon him in this regard is tempered by the fact that in Burmese Buddhist thinking, being the mother of a son is itself considered the greatest event of a woman's life and represents the achievement of full existence as a female human being. The relationship is a close and indulgent one. The mother is regarded as more important by the son than his wife; in fact, a son will choose his wife with a great [581]
deal of regard for his mother's opinions and wishes.

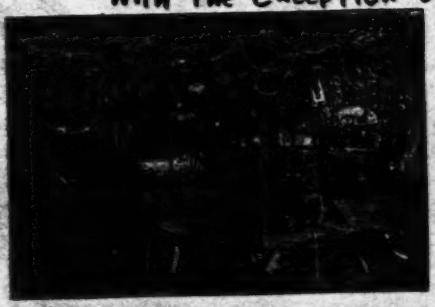
Mother–Daughter. The mother is the female child's early teacher. It is con- 593
sidered most important for the daughter to learn prayers, how to prepare the 868
daily food offering for the household altar, and how to change the flowers on the 462
altar. These things are taught almost from the time the child starts learning language. Other household duties in which the mother instructs her daughter vary considerably with the economic status of the family: in poor families some assistance with tending the animals and winnowing the rice crop is part of the girl's work from about the age of ten. Daughters are expected to show filial respect and deference equally to the mother and father.

Father–Son. The father occupies the role of disciplinarian in the family. 593
Disciplining of sons may include physical punishment, though such measures to 861
obtain conformity are not resorted to readily by the Burmese. Prior to adolescence, boys are taught prayers and good habits by their mothers, with the father remaining more or less in the background and interfering only when disciplinary action may be required of him. After a son passes adolescence the father becomes important as his mentor.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

With the exception of the stuff for the recluses' robes, cloth is not dyed in the piece, but in the yarn. Dyes used for cotton are also chiefly imported, but the indigenous dyes continue to be used for silk. The Burmans excel in yellows, oranges, deep reds, and rich deep greens, which they harmonise with beautiful effect. Their clear blues and purples are indifferent. Except in a few localities, where weaving is a speciality, the men take no share in the industry beyond constructing the looms. Women spin and dye the yarn and weave the cloth. The lath of the loom (*lekka*) is of graceful outline—often elaborately carved—and is furnished with two ornamented metal pips, with loose metal rings, that jangle at each swing of the beam, and proclaim the industry of the young woman, to whom this business chiefly falls. Hence it comes that the loom is a favourite *rendezvous*. The same applies to other occupations of the girls, such as rice-cleaning, when the suitor will take a turn at the heavy part of the work and lounge while the sifting goes on. Common patterns of cloth are tartans, for which two or three shuttle-spools are required. The plainest cloth woven is at least shot with a colour different to that of the warp. The intricacy of a pattern is denoted by the number of spools. Scroll patterns (*cheik*) in silk are called *lun-tayd* (hundred-spool). The warp, is a cubit wide and about twenty cubits long, which makes a man's loin-cloth (*paso*). The piece is doubled and its edges sewn together along one side; the turn of the cloth serves as a bag or wallet, according as the piece is draped; it has no lining. The *paso* is hitched round the loins and girt long or short, according to fancy, without the help of a belt; but elastic belts are now coming in. The slack is worn in a bunch in front (*kabdungsu*) or is thrown over the shoulder.

386 286 [792] [342] 286 462 [438] [531] [584] 286



126. BINDING THE THATCH.

127. PLAITING FLOOR-MATS (see p. 66).

286 291 [342]

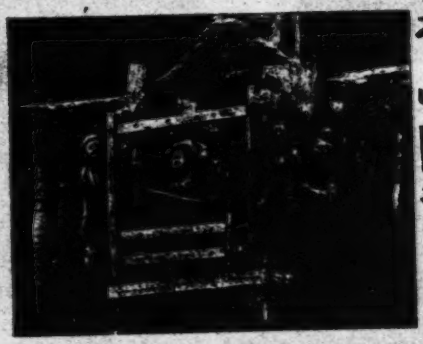
25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

No kind of wool is indigenous 286

130. LAYING OUT THE WARP.

or is spun or woven in 291
Burma. Cæsar Frederick [283
in 1569 mentions woollen 439]
cloth among the goods
brought to Burma, *viâ* Arakán. Web vests for boys and men, of European manufacture, are becoming general. The use of shoes of the European shape is bringing in the use of socks and stockings. The addition of a European shirt under the Burman jacket makes up the incongruous kit affected by the modern office clerks. With the [296
increased use of body-linen have come the Indian washermen. The coloured 463]
stuffs are washed by the Burman women. The native dyes wash well, especially the silk dyes. An alkali-earth (*sappyo*) is found in Burma, but soap is of modern introduction, and is now sold in every bazár. Needles used to be brought to 439
Burma from China, as well as scissors, though the latter are also fashioned in 413
Burma; at present both are imported from Europe. Burmans work the needle 286
from them, like other Asiatics. The work is pinned to a cushion at the head [177]
of a post planted on the work-box. The use of the thimble was unknown until tailors came over from India, but is now general. The bulk of the tailoring is in the hands of immigrants from China; but their prejudice against the sewing-machine is helping to transfer the business to the Burman women. Nearly every well-to-do family in the towns has its sewing-machine. 463 294

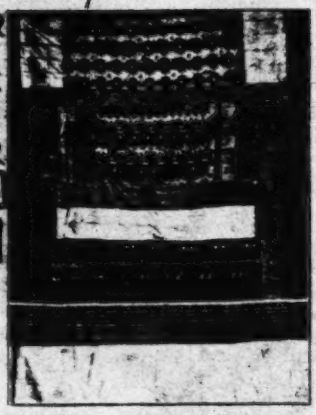
At sunrise the women start with their water-pots for the day's supply, and again before they cook the evening meal, which finishes the day's work. On the morning errand they do the most of their washing. In the evening they carry a spare cloth to change for the one they bathe in, which they wash and coil into a pad to put between the head and the water- 462 [532] 512 515



131. BURMESE CARVING OF WEAVING-LOOM.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

462
512
515
312
[286]
[415]



132. BURMESE SILK CLOTH PATTERNS.

pot. The Burmans bathe in the morning or evening, and not in the heat of the day. Men and women bathe in their clothes and at the same places.

Burmans will travel far to a source of good drinking water. It is stored in porous earthen pots with covers, in which it settles and cools over-night. Rain-water is saved for other uses and stored in large glazed jars (*sin-ó*). A cocoanut ladle is used for dipping the water out, to avoid disturbing the sediment. In the rainy season the river water bears a heavy silt and has to stand for hours. Spring water is scarce owing to the distance of the Burman settlements from the hills. The ordinary sources are rivers, wells, and tanks. In the moist region the subsoil water comes up to, or near the surface during the rains, and in the drought sinks twenty or thirty feet. In the dry zone it is sometimes necessary to dig one hundred feet for water. Wells are generally fenced and protected from return and

133. THE SPRING.

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

157. DOMESTIC FLOWER-STAND (NYAUNG-YE-O, pp. 6, 63).

one, no disability of a practical kind exists for her. But it is the aspiration of every woman to transmigrate as a man in the next phase of existence (*kawa*, p. 43). As the state of a man is thought a more desirable one, so it is inferred that her life in the previous incarnation has brought the woman's state upon her. How deep and tender is the poetry which the idea of transmigration weaves into the life of the Buddhist may be judged from the example at the close of Chapter XXIII. of *The Soul of a People*. Orphans are adopted by relatives, and in default of such, never fail to find foster-parents. The division of labour between the sexes is the common one of out-door and in-door. Wherever circumstances permit, women are relieved of hardship; the sheltered places in boats and carts belong to the women and children. The great middle zone of commerce is neutral; women embark in wholesale trade, besides transacting the bulk of the retail trade. In certain localities women do the lighter part of the out-door work, and in the poorer districts of the dry zone they share in the heavy labour. Women are accorded precedence among men according to the standing they have acquired by marriage or by their independent efforts. The *Kyaungzaw*—the woman who has founded and who supports a school—enjoys a deference on all sides proportioned to the munificence of her gift. Women mix freely among men but are never jostled by them. At great gatherings men and women group apart. The Burman women are smart at repartee, and hold their own in the perpetual banter that goes on between the sexes.

158. WAYSIDE WATER-STAND IN THE CITY (pp. 21, 63).

The houses were all built on the same pattern, only some being taller, wider and of better quality wood and thatch than others. 342

Facing the street in line, each house had a verandah running all along its face, and one step took you up from this into the main room of the house. As you entered, this room extended right up to the roof which sloped very steeply down to its eaves, but about twelve feet in, where the roof was just high enough, a platform upper storey was built, looking over a balustrade into the main room below. This platform storey ended where the sloping roof again became too low at the back. The back portion reaching to the height of the roof was used for kitchen and washing rooms. By this time, in the row of houses containing ours, the ground had sloped down to the creek, and the kitchen was continued as a bamboo platform raised high above the mud on piles.

Grandmother, who had become among the wealthiest in the village, had made enlargements and adaptations within these lines. Her house was wider, with the clearing up of an adjacent house. It contained four door spaces in its face, each door space being a uniform seven feet in width throughout the village. The main floor was of fine polished teak boards, the part below the platform storey was walled off into a bedroom which was very badly ventilated and lighted, the back portion was cleared of all washing rooms and made into a large airy kitchen about 30 feet square, and the platform behind was extended right over the water's edge because we had bought a mooring site further up. On this bamboo platform two hatches were put as bathrooms, containing commodes in the European style, whereas other households walked to the common latrines in the first clearing beyond the street.

The people of Ye lived chiefly by the produce of their gardens, the richer ones like Grandmother sending out to big towns their durians, coconuts, areca nuts, or fish and oysters from the sea, the poorer ones vending fish and vegetables daily around the town, making thatch roofing out of *dani* (nipah) leaves, acting as boatmen up and down the creek, helping to work the gardens and paddy-fields of other families. 244 226 463

My grandmother's household during these years consisted of herself, two aunts, one widow and one spinster, an uncle next to my father in age, my young Uncle Pyant and various cousins, one, two and three wombs removed from us. My elder uncle, Uncle Thet Hnan, had never been out of Ye; after going through the monastery he had worked in the gardens instead of going to an English-teaching school. It gave us an uncanny feeling to see him so like my father in build and general appearance and so dissimilar from him in speech, thought and habits. He now owned gardens up at Chaung-bya, and had five children all of whom had been brought up in Ye. My three boy cousins had been 592

[1 at Ye- ~ Analyst]

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma (Europeans) Indians) AP1
Burmese AP4

Be 243 452 435

do no harm in Rangoon rice dealings, and would win that respect from the farmer which heavy payments and cunning never will.

Be 243 439 178 256

Rangoon still continues to be the largest rice port in the world. From January to May the river is crowded with shipping—huge iron and steel sailing craft that have been chartered beforehand, and carry off thousands of bags in their capacious holds; and a constant succession of "ditchers," as the steamers passing through the Suez Canal are called, which come "seeking," and seldom have to go away without their full complement of "five parts cargo rice," or "Europe milled." The steamers are displacing the sailing ships, and the shorter passage now makes it possible to carry fully husked rice home without the danger of heating, which was supposed to be avoided by the partly husked "five parts cargo rice." Harbour-masters and river-pilots have a busy time, and gather together many pieces of silver against the later months of the year, when they will have abundant leisure to spend them. Coringi coolies swarm in the town, and their monotonous chant, "Eh-ya-mah-la Tah-ma-lay, Madras Ag-boat Tah-ma-lay," may be heard at any hour of the night or the morning, floating over the river. The British sailor overflows into the town and sings noisy old salt sea-songs round about the Sule pagoda, gets mad drunk on arrack, and not unseldom clears Dalhousie Street with a linked-arm rush, heedless of the red-turbaned guardian of the peace, who keeps out of the way in the meantime, but will break poor drunken Jack's head with his truncheon if he finds him helpless and strayed from his fellow-roysterers.

Be Ba 439 463 563

Be Ba 361 256 463 563

The Pazundaung Creek, where all the mills are, is as busy as an ant-hill all day long, and all night too, when some of the mills are lighted up with Jablochkoffs or later forms of electric light, and the silvery rays shine ghastly on the black and bronzed mill-workers. Here we have the Madrasi coolies again, making noises, according to their nature, as a kind of assertion that they are doing hard work. The lank Chittagonian firemen, with their aquiline noses, are coated with coal-dust, and divide their time between firing up and having a whiff at the hubble-bubble when Sandy,

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma (Europeans Chinese) AP1
Burmese AP4

Be
Ba

the Scotch engineer, is not looking. There is a cluster of Chinese carpenters, chipping away with their queer thick-headed axes and planes, which, with characteristic perversity, they pull towards them, instead of pushing away as other workmen do. Here is M——, the English "assistant" at the mill, his hat and coat all covered with rice-dust, which hangs in queer fashion on his eyebrows and moustache. He is in high spirits. "We've got twenty-four pair of stones going to-day, more than anybody else in the creek;" and he goes off to see how the Burmese girls are stitching up the rice-bags, a duty of which he is particularly fond, and over which he spends a quite unnecessary amount of time. There is R——'s voice on the other side of the creek. He is storming at some men in the cargo-boat, who have done something wrong—anchored in the wrong place, or not started for the upper mill at Kemendine last night as they ought to have done. R—— has a voice which is the terror of every loitering coolie and dawdling boat-wallah in his employ; and he will be as hoarse as a North Sea pilot by nightfall, and will want a "double-barrelled" whisky and soda to moisten him before dinner. He wants company down to "the Point," and presently comes skimming across in his gig, manned by Chittagonian Kalassies, and we drop down the creek—they call small rivers creeks in the East—to where it joins with the main Rangoon stream. The Pegu river, tapping the country north-east and north of Rangoon, comes in at the same place; and there is a great crowd of paddy-boats here in the early morning. Each firm has its brokers, middlemen who make the purchases from the farmers that come down with their grain. They have been here since daylight, and fly about in their little dug-outs from one seller to another. The great point in a broker seems to be power of lungs and fluency in abuse. The amount of yelling that goes on at "Monkey Point" would silence the bookmakers' ring at Epsom on a Derby day.

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R—— has not come down to this pandemonium for nothing. There are a couple of big ships in, which must be filled, or there will be demurrage to pay, and a "canal-wallah" is expected this afternoon or to-morrow morning; so that the wheels must be kept going their hardest.

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2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

chorus in the usual way. The song treats in a rambling way of the past history of the village, its ancient glories and heroes; its victories in boat-races, boxing matches, or mains of cocks. Interpolated are catch phrases for the guidance of the dancers. At a certain word all spring to their feet; they sway to the right, to the left; white handkerchiefs are drawn from the belt and waved to the measure of the refrain, peeled white wands replace them; they pirouette simultaneously, they troop round in procession in movements resembling figures in the Lancers or the Haymakers, the time varying with the measure of the song, dying away in plaintive sounds almost to quiescence, and then suddenly rising to excited movement of every limb as the words tell of a let-pwè, in which some local hero of the fancy did glorious deeds, or a fight long years ago when the village spearmen carried the day. Then the measure changes again, the alterations in time being always heralded by some such refrain as to yein daw tha, le maung yo wa, a kind of warning hung out after the manner of the first word of a military command. Occasionally, a yein troupe which has acquired particular skill and renown travels about the country on special invitation. Rangoon is often supplied with its "country dances" in this way, the townspeople not having the time, or being too numerous to form a good company for themselves. But they very rarely become regular professionals in the same way as the play actors do; they never perform ostensibly to gain a living, and the dances always occur on some fête day, whether in their own place or in the village to which they have been invited. Their instructor always receives a sum of money to recompense him for his trouble and to pay for the expenses of his troupe. Yein pwès are performed ordinarily in private houses or on a public platform, when it is a religious or special festival. A yein is a favourite way of greeting a great man, or an English official on his arrival in a village. It is not so expensive as a zat pwè, is more quickly arranged, allows the sons and daughters of the chief people to distinguish themselves, and lasts just as long as the person it is intended to honour pleases.

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533
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[463]

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma (Chinese Indians) AP1
Burmese AP4

village therefore remained, and has served to drag out a long suburb beyond the Arakan pagoda as a kind of connecting link. Numbers of later arrivals, however, settled in the royal City of Gems, and the wealthier merchants all eventually moved their headquarters thither, so that his majesty triumphed in the end. The best houses in Mandalay, the only brick ones, in fact, till the British came, are all in the possession of the Chinese and Indian merchants. Burmans had neither the right nor the money to build anything but wooden erections. These latter have, however, the compensating advantage that they stand all but the most violent earthquakes, while the brick houses, even when they are strengthened by an elaborate wooden framework, usually collapse when there is anything like a heavy shock.

But the great majority of the houses are simply wattled huts, with large open spaces in their rear which serve to keep the town airy and well ventilated. According to Burman custom each house has its little shop with the entire stock in trade displayed to the view of the passer-by. As in all Eastern towns, those who occupy themselves with a regular handicraft all flock together. Thus the umbrella-makers and sellers of saddlery live to the south of the palace, vendors of bamboo-work and lacquered boxes to the west, while the potters and miscellaneous goods shops are mostly along the street that leads to Payā Gyi, the Arakan pagoda.

There was no attempt at metalling any of the roads, except in independent times the broad thoroughfare which led up from the steamer ghaut, past the ministers' residences, up to the outskirts of the town, for Mandalay lies two miles away from the river-bank, the idea being that at Amarapura the noise of the foreigners' steamers disturbed the royal repose. The big stones which represented the metalling on this one road were rather a trouble than otherwise, except to the vultures and egrets in the wet weather, when all around was a sea of mud, and the boulders formed an eligible coign of vantage. Elsewhere the streets were cut into huge ruts, and the bullock-carts went along in the hot weather in a pyramid of dust, and in the rains a ploughed field would be smooth going in comparison. But the gaily-painted carriages which always suggest a dog-kennel on

14: Brant E-5 (1949-50) 1954 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

II

MAKING A LIVING

Occupations

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The occupational pattern in Tadagale is a highly diversified one. There are thirty-eight principal gainful occupations in which a total of 341 individuals are engaged. A large proportion of these people have secondary and even tertiary pursuits at which they spend part of their time in order to round out a living. The following table shows the outstanding principal occupations in order of frequency.

Table II

Principal Occupations of Villagers

Occupation	No.
Gardener	52
Bus operator (driver, spare)	44
Paddy cultivator	43
Field laborer	38
Dairy farmer	26
Prepared foods seller	20
Urban laborer	19
Trader (middleman)	17
Shopkeeper	15

Some of the other principal occupations, of lesser frequency, are carpenter, fisherman, casual laborer, cowherd, woodcutter, and seamstress.

1. Gardening. The leading mode of making a living is truck gardening. The gardens are located on small patches of ground adjoining dwellings, and range in size from tiny plots up to perhaps 3000 square feet. They are cultivated intensively, four crops a year being usual, and six crops not unknown. The crops include gourds, cucumbers, mustard, cabbage, cauliflower, lettuce, radishes and spinach. 244

For all households, the garden supplies the family with the many vegetables that form an indispensable part of the various Burmese curries. Many gardens produce a surplus which is sold in nearby town bazaars or in the larger markets of Rangoon. The trend has been for gardening to become increasingly important as a source of income in recent years, particularly during the period of disturbed conditions in Burma. These conditions have seriously impeded the normal flow of fresh vegetables and fruits to Rangoon from more distant points; thus the people of Tadagale have been provided with an opportunity to secure high prices for almost all the vegetables they can supply. 244 178 443 438

14: Brant E-5 (1949-50) 1954 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

One of the most popular foods of these vendors is mohingha. Rice noodles are made by pounding rice into a flour, mixing it with water, and grinding into a paste between two flat stone slabs. After the excess water has been expressed from this paste, it is pushed through sieves with narrow holes, to form noodles. Once dried, the noodles are cooked and mixed with a curry to make mohingha. 252

A beverage sold regularly by food vendors is molesaun. It is made of sugar, coconut milk and bits of rice noodles, mixed together. The villagers consider this drink very tasty and refreshing. 272

7. Shopkeeping and Middleman Trading. The typical shop in the village consists of nothing more than a few large glass jars containing cigars, matches, candy, soap, and various other articles, set out on the porch in front of a house. The stocks of these are very small and are periodically replenished by purchase in Rangoon. Customers are occasional and sales are very small. 414

Seventeen villagers devote their main activity to what we have called middleman trading. These persons make a living by periodically buying quantities of such goods as second-hand lumber from dismantled dwellings, bamboo, cloth, etc., and selling them in the village and nearby places.

8. Urban Labor. The nineteen individuals listed in Table II as urban laborers are employed in a government medical warehouse in Rangoon. They are unskilled workers who perform such tasks as moving boxes of medical supplies in and out of the establishment and arranging them in the warehouse. These people commute daily between Tadagale and their place of work by bus. 464 369

These are the numerically most significant of the variety of occupations followed by villagers. There are six unemployed persons and fourteen who are not gainfully employed because of old age, ill health, or blindness. The great majority of the married women and unmarried girls are occupied most of the time with domestic housework, looking after small children, and helping with gardening. 463

The whole character of the occupational pattern is shifting and unstable. Individuals move opportunistically from one form of activity to another as circumstances change, in an effort to round out a living. Informants stated that in former times the community was much more agricultural, but that owing to loss of land through indebtedness people had gradually left farming for other occupations. 463 178

Income

In analysing our data on income, figures for the Indians of Tadagale have been calculated separately. The Indians are occupationally a homogeneous group, all engaged in dairy farming. The range and average of income within this small group is so far above that of the Burmese that a misleading idea of the community's economic structure would be conveyed were the data on the Indians included in a single, overall computation for the village. 434 [563]

The following tables show family incomes.

14: Brant E-5 (1949-50) 1954 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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Table III

Family Incomes of Burmese

(In rupees. Rs. 100 = $21)

Income	No. Families
0- 500	42
501-1000	51
1001-1500	26
1501-2000	18
2001-2500	10
2501-3000	6
3001-3500	0
3501-4000	2
4001-4500	1
4501-5000	2
5001-5500	3
	161

The mean annual family income for the Burmese is Rs. 1186 ($249). The mean annual per capita income is Rs. 259 ($54).

When the family incomes of the Burmese are broken down by the categories of cultivators and non-cultivators, we can make the following comparison.

Table IV

434
463

Family Incomes of Burmese

Income	No. Cultivators	% of Total	No. Non-Cultivators	% of Total
0- 500	6	19	36	28
501-1000	12	38	39	30
1001-1500	5	15	21	16
1501-2000	4	13	14	11
2001-2500	3	9	7	5
2501-3000	2	6	4	3
3001-3500	-	-	-	-
3501-4000	-	-	2	2
4001-4500	-	-	1	1
4501-5000	-	-	2	2
5001-5500	-	-	3	2
	32	100	129	100

The mean annual family income of cultivators is Rs. 1091 ($229), and the mean annual per capita income is Rs. 203 ($42). For non-cultivators, the comparable figures are Rs. 1210 ($254) and Rs. 276 ($57). However, when we compare median family incomes (a more reliable measure of central tendency for our sample) the apparent advantage of non-cultivators disappears; they receive Rs. 900 as against Rs. 910 for cultivators. The only significant difference in the range of incomes for the two groups is that some 7% of the non-cultivators receive incomes over Rs. 3500 ($735), while no cultivator receives over Rs. 3000. However, the idea is prevalent in the village that cultivation is a relatively unprofitable occupation and that it is possible to realize as much or more income by less arduous types of work. 434 463

The Indians of Tadagale are much more prosperous in terms of income, as shown below. 434 562

Table V

Family Incomes of Indians
(in rupees. Rs 100 = $21)

Income	No. Families
0- 500	0
500-1000	3
1001-1500	1
1501-2000	2
2001-2500	2
2501-3000	3
Over 7000*	4
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(*includes two families of Rs. 7200 each; one of Rs. 8640; and one of Rs. 18,000.)

The mean annual family income for the Indians is Rs. 4030 ($848), and the mean annual per capita income is Rs. 1343 ($281).

Differences in family incomes are not reflected in external status symbols, except in extreme cases. In poor families the type of house is usually bamboo and thatch, while among relatively prosperous families it is more likely to be of plank construction, with perhaps a galvanized iron roof. In the wealthier families the women have more silk longyis for dress occasions. Major differences in economic standing are often shown in the size, elaborateness and expensiveness of ceremonials, such as weddings and boys' initiation ceremonies, and in the contributions made towards the support of the Buddhist monks. 571

In general, however, wealth differences in Tadagale do not seem to provide any clear basis for differential association of persons. Kinship, which cuts across economic lines, is far more important. Although a few families are generally regarded as well off, they do not live apart from the rest of the community either in the spatial or social sense. Wealth does not appear to have any direct correlation with status, rank or privilege, or to form the 565 556

matters, and cases occurred in which he unwittingly signed away title to his 426
property, thinking he was only signing 'loan papers.' In some cases, Burmese cultivators, encouraged by moneylenders, borrowed sums greater than actually required for crop financing and used the excess for sponsorship of ceremonial activities, dramatic presentations, purchasing imported goods never before needed, and so on.

The result of this was the tremendous growth of rural indebtedness and 178
much foreclosure by creditors holding mortgages on the land. By the 1930's, 426
about half the cultivated land of Lower Burma was owned by landlords, largely absentee. The once independent Burmese land holder was converted into a rural 463
tenant, or, in many instances, a landless agricultural laborer. Many tenant farmers, dependent upon rent-racking landlords, worked from harvest to harvest with little to show for their efforts beyond perhaps enough of the crop, after payment of rent, hired help, and debts, to feed their families through the planting and growing seasons. Large numbers left agriculture for other pursuits, such as petty clerical jobs in the towns and itinerant trading in imported goods. In Tadagale, for example, in 1949-50 it was possible to record cases of cultivators in such difficult straits that after paying their help and taxes, they did not have enough paddy left for the family granary to last until the next harvest, and were thus in the position of having to purchase in the market, at inflated prices, the very commodity they produced.

2. The Shift in Tadagale. The economic shift within the village may be 178
summarized in terms of modes of employment, resources, imports and exports.

a. Employment. Rice agriculture has been decreasing as the land has [243]
passed, over time, into the hands of absentee landlords and independent owner- [427]
cultivators have become fewer. The tenant farmers are likewise small in numbers.

The manufacture of clothing has also diminished. Formerly, cotton [294]
was spun and woven in the village. Now, clothing is very largely obtained by purchase of imported piece goods in Rangoon and having it finished by city tailors and seamstresses.

Oil pressing as an occupation has disappeared. The one remaining [249]
presser of oil seeds recently abandoned this work because of the difficulty and high cost of obtaining sesamum seeds from central Burma.

In a few occupations there seems to have been no notable change. 178
These are carpentry and work in bamboo and thatch, which keep a few people 463
occupied; itinerant selling of prepared foods; shopkeeping; and medical practice (indigenous medicine).

Several occupations are new or increasing in the village. Agricultural wage labor has increased as more people have been unable to secure a living as tenant farmers and have gone to work for others in and near the village. Vegetable gardening, always important because of the nearby Rangoon markets, has become a leading occupation, especially since the beginning of the insurrections in 1948 which reduced the supply of fresh vegetables from the north.

As motor transport has replaced animal transport over the years, the men of Tadagale have been increasingly employed in operating buses. Related to this is the establishment of a repair shop by a motor mechanic to service the buses owned by villagers.

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An increase has occurred in the number of individuals engaged in small-scale middleman trading. Such manufactured items as candles, mats, jewelery, and books are bought in Rangoon and sold increasingly in the village and nearby.

Wage labor of an unskilled sort has increased. Some villagers have found jobs in a warehouse in Rangoon, others in a mental hospital not far from the village. A very small number have become office and clerical workers.

Unemployment is said to be a new development, although these people are only a few.

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b. Resources. Both cultivated land and grazing land resources have declined. The grazing land is very badly eroded, with little grass left. Fishing resources remain steady; the large Pazundaung Creek at the eastern edge of the village yields as many fish as ever.

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c. Imports. There has been a decrease, as indicated earlier, in the amount of Burma-grown cotton that comes into the village for making of clothing. A variety of miscellaneous food items, such as salt, dried chilis, cigars, cooking oil, betel, potatoes, onions, and various spices are obtained from the outside as much as in the past. Increasingly sought beyond the village are building materials, housewares of all types, clothing, and medicine.

d. Exports. The amount of rice sold has declined, while the sale of cooked foods, fresh vegetables, labor and services has increased.

In 1949-50 the villagers of Tadagale felt that their economic lot had worsened over the preceding several years, owing to the aftermath of World War II and the instability prevailing in Burma. The most pressingly felt needs were for land and the curbing of inflationary high prices, and hope was expressed that the plans of the national government in these and other matters might bring some measure of relief.

563 within the past two or three decades. In almost every way, they form a
463 village within the village. They are spatially clustered together, apart from
184 the Burmese. Their living is earned by dairying; milk from their cattle and
[262] water buffaloes is sold in Rangoon, for cash, to Muslim restaurants. Since the Burmese do not consume milk, the Indian dairymen find no market for their product in the community. The only economic relationship between the two groups consists of some exchange of Burmese paddy stalk, when the harvest is over, for animal manure. The Indians use the paddy stalk as fodder for their animals, while the Burmese use animal manure to some extent for their not very fertile garden and rice lands.

563 The Indians being Hindus, the Burmese Buddhists, the two groups have no
571 basis for common participation in religious or ceremonial life. Nor is there
556 more than a negligible tendency towards intermarriage; our census showed two cases.

As shown by our figures on income, the Indians as a group are far more prosperous than the Burmese. Although the Burmese seem to realize this, they tend to phrase the matter not so much in terms of greater wealth of the Indians as in terms of how little the Indian spends of his income. To the average Burmese of the village, the Indian is something of a lesser breed who lives on next to nothing and so grows rich.

563 Throughout the course of research in Tadagale, an effort was made from time to time to study intergroup feelings and attitudes, but this was a subject on which informants who were quite ready to discuss almost any other matter were loath to speak. The Burmese seemed to know little (or at least so professed) about the ways of the Indians; the Indians were very tight-lipped concerning the Burmese.

175 It was towards the close of our work in Tadagale that certain events
669 occurred which brought out, in sharp focus, the nature of Burmese-Indian relations
674 and attitudes, and completely broke the silence maintained earlier. At this point, however, some digression is necessary to provide a background for understanding what took place.

In 1949-50, the internal disturbances which have beset Burma since the end of World War II were at their height. During this time the maintenance of law and order sank to a very low point; robbery, armed and unarmed, was rampant. Tadagale was robbed three times within the preceding year, according to informants. On such occasions, bandits entered the village, fired their guns into the air to frighten the defenseless villagers, and then proceeded to tie up some villagers and remove their money and other valuables. Anyone who resisted was beaten. According to villagers, the police, located about half a mile away, could not be depended upon for protection or for action once a crime occurred, for the bandits were better organized and armed than the police, making the latter extremely reluctant to take any action.

674 Some early evidences of distrust between Indians and Burmese appeared
563 about the middle of our research period, when an Indian dairyman stated that he
175 was convinced that the bandits who periodically invaded Tadagale had Burmese collaborators in the village. He based his belief on the fact that the bandits seemed always to find their way directly to the homes of the more prosperous inhabitants, which knowledge, he claimed, could be gotten only from villagers.

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

a boy who cannot. If there were more nunneries, there would be more education among the women; here is cause and effect. But there are not, so the little girls work instead. While their brothers are in the monasteries, the girls are learning to weave and herd cattle, drawing water, and collecting firewood. They begin very young at this work, but it is very light; they are never overworked, and so it does them no harm usually, but good.

The daughters of better-class people, such as merchants, and clerks, and advocates, do not, of course, work at field labour. They usually learn to read and write at home, and they weave, and many will draw water. For to draw water is to go to the well, and the well is the great meeting-place of the village. As they fill their jars they lean over the curb and talk, and it is here that is told the latest news, the latest flirtation, the little scandal of the place. Very few men or boys come for water; carrying is not their duty, and there is a proper place for flirtation. So the girls have the well almost to themselves.

Almost every girl can weave. In many houses there are looms where the girls weave their dresses and those of their parents; and many girls have stalls in the bazaar. Of this I will speak later. Other duties are the husking of rice and the making of cheroots. Of course, in richer households there will be servants to do all this; but even in them the daughter will frequently weave either for herself or her parents. Almost every girl will do something, if only to pass the time.

They have no accomplishments. They do not

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

262 and these were sold occasionally. It is ten years
779 since King Thibaw was overthrown, and there is now no law against the sale of beef. And yet, as I have said, no respectable Burman will even now kill or sell beef. The law was founded on the beliefs of the people, and though the law is dead, the beliefs remain.

It is true that the taking of life is against
231 Buddhist commands. No life at all may be taken
779 by him who adheres to Buddhistic teaching. Neither for sport, nor for revenge, nor for food, may any animal be deprived of the breath that is in it. And this is a command wonderfully well kept. There are a few exceptions, but they are known and accepted as breaches of the law, for the law itself knows no exceptions. Fish, as I have said, can be obtained almost everywhere. They are caught in great quantities in the river, and are sold in most bazaars, either fresh or salted. It is one of the staple foods of the Burmese. But although they
[463] will eat fish, they despise the fisherman. Not so
[554] much, perhaps, as if he killed other living things, but still, the fisherman is an outcast from decent society. He will have to suffer great and terrible punishment before he can be cleansed from the sins that he daily commits. Notwithstanding this, there are many fishermen in Burma.

A fish is a very cold-blooded beast. One must be very hard up for something to love to have any affection to spare upon fishes. They cannot be, or at all events they never are, domesticated, and most of them are not beautiful. I am not aware that they have ever been known to display any

MEK

Work in Pathwe

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U Myaing is an IN fisherman and in normal times he is helped by his family in catching and preparing fish. Another source of revenue is also renting out oxen and the making of mats usually relied on only when there is little other work. He regards himself as "one who works INS on a large scale", and on further questioning it appears that he was a sort of foreman working with a group of IN fishermen. About 95 other workers in Pathwe made their living by fishing and fish processing, but there were also some cultivators. In addition there were 9 or 10 in the paddy husking business, 4 or 5 merchants and one gardener. With these few introductory remarks let us examine in some detail the nature of IN fishing.

U Myaing describes the IN fishery of which he was a part as follows:-

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"The IN is located upstream about two miles from Pathwe. The trap is remade every year and costs anywhere from Rs. 5000/- to Rs. 10,000/- to make. It takes twenty men about one month to make the trap. First we plant timber poles, after which we put up the YIN- strips of bamboo held together by coconut fibre rope, in such a manner as to present a large flat surface. When the YIN has been safely put up (across the entire width of the stream) the fish are carried down (by the current) through the SHAW (inclined plane of the sluice) and they are caught at the end. At the deep end the bamboo fence is about 16 taungs high and only a little of the poles remain above water. These poles have to propped up by other timber poles. Then the YIN are placed across these poles and tied in position. All the water has to flow along this small channel, and the force of the current washes up the fish (at the end of the SHAW). The poles are hammered down into the earth to a depth of one LAN (one yard) The water passes through the dam, but the fish cannot. The fish cannot swim upstream again because of the force of the water in the narrow sluice, which is only about eight taungs across. The length of the trap is approximately 100 feet whereas the width across the stream is 200 feet. When the floods are high at times the fish do get away. The water spills over and the fish do escape. We catch the remaining fish. When the water increases we have to extend the dam sideways a long way. But the height of the dam cannot be raised. In the dry season those fish which have gone over are left stranded outside the IN by the retreating waters. Some people fish below the dam with nets and fish hooks.

"When the rains come, that is the time they spawn. This time is called NGA-YIT-TET time. At this time the fish group together to go upstream. The better the rains, the better the catch. After these fish have passed, the MEK is closed. The fish spawn at the beginning of the rains after they have collect and passed upstream. At about the month of TAW-THA-LIN (last month of the rains season) the MEK is closed and the fish that come down with the force of the water are picked up. If many fish go upstream - fish that spawn, then we get a good catch. If only few spawning fish go up, we get a bad catch. Even

it out to dry in the sun throughout the next day, then pound again and store in jars. The total process takes two days." 251

U Myaing continues his explanation of the IN fishery:- 263

"The fishery is worked on a co-operative basis. We contribute equal sums of money. If one puts up Rs. 100/- all put up Rs.100/-; if Rs.1000/- all put up Rs.1000/- each. We group together and work. Rights to the site of the fishery must be secured from the government by auction. We have to make an initial payment of about Rs. 1000/- or Rs. 2000/- and in bidding among ourselves the price increases to eight thousand, nine thousand, ten thousand, twelve thousand. The original price was three thousand rupees. This is the cost of the Deputy Commissioner's auction. There were many bidders at the auction for the IN. Four, five, six. For example if I give a thousand rupees you offer two thousand, he gives three, four, five thousand ..... When it comes to the hand of the successful bidder the price has increased. The money for the fishery rights have to be paid in later (after the fishing has begun). For example if I pay in a thousand rupees this month, I pay a thousand the next month and the next, in several instalments. This is in addition to the amount we sink into the actual working of the business. (Cost of constructing the IN and equipment). 226 474 463

"The fishermen do not get paid a salary. They have shares. Accounts are kept of how much fish is caught, how much sold, and only after the IN has been worked to the end of the season is everything cleared up. Each fisherman gets only one share, and the profits are equally divided. We have to pay equal amounts of money for the IN and the money we get from the IN is the same for each of us. We all group and work together. There are some INS where one takes the lead and engages all the men and works it for himself. What he gets he keeps for himself. He pays the wages. In selling, we discuss the matter among ourselves and then sell. The four or five elders get together and if they decide to sell this kind of fish for this price, it is sold.

"As one of the elders, I go alone and bid at the auctioning in the Deputy Commissioner's office. I also supervise the actual fishing saying to the other fishermen - "Do this, and this and this." I have a list of what things they need and have to go and buy these things for them. I have to buy poles, I have to buy YIN bamboo, I have to buy all the implements which are to be used. I have to collect money, and buy all the implements used in the IN. I have to keep accounts for this. I get a bit more money (than the other fishermen) by making goods (from the profits of manufacture). You see, I also make dried Nga-gyi fish and Ngapi-daung. I buy the fish from them and process it. I have not worked at INS all my life. I worked for about ten years at the time when the British king reigned. When the Japanese came I worked at INS no longer."(He then bought fish and sold the preparations.) [656] 226 463 621

U Myaing gives the following supplementary information:

" There are ten leaders or foremen in the village, each of them taking charge of about seven or eight men. In all there are about eighty workers in the three sub-villages of Pathe working with me at our IN. About thirty or forty of these live in INE-GYI-BET on our side of the river. These are men working at our IN only. There are also workers living in the village who work in the six other INS of the neighbourhood. About a hundred of the two hundred families in INE-GYI-BET work INS. The rest process the fish, dry it, make ngapi etc., and to do this they have to buy the fish from the IN workers. Afterwards they sell to buyers who come from Upper Burma. Or sometimes they go upcountry in boats and steamers to sell the produce. Some people who are not IN workers go to the INS and help to extract fish oil. Fish like Nga-Hpare-daung yeild about one viss of oil to every 10 viss of fish. The fish are cut open with a knife and the fat collected. The women come and help without payment and take home oil for themselves when they go back. The women of my household also used to do this. [438] [562]

also used to do this. Sometimes they are able to extract about 5 viss of oil each in one day. 226 463 621

"There are also cultivators in the village. Some of those who work INS also own fields. They rent out the land to tenants. There are altogether 12 people in our village who own cultivation fields. But the biggest landowner does not own lands more extensive than three hundred acres. Some own 40 or 50 acres. Some engage cultivators and work their fields themselves, while others rent out the fields for a certain percentage of the produce. 421 463 621 427

"There were paid workers in the IN. They were paid, not a daily wage, but a monthly salary of Rs. 30/- without food. About 50 of the 80 workers were paid workers, though some of them owned shares as well. In addition to their pay, these paid workers received quite a lot of fish which their families went around selling. They get one or two basket-loads of fish to sell, and in this way make quite a lot of money. 226 463 465

"Fish is not distributed in this manner every day - only when the fish start coming down in great numbers. On these occasions however the workers get about 25 to 30 viss each - that is, by the boatload. Ordinarily they are given just enough for one meal.

"I also own eleven cows; eight for loaning out to cultivators and three for breeding purposes. No milk is drawn for human consumption because that is not the custom in our native place." 231 [272]

One yoke of oxen hired out brought U Myaing 50 baskets of paddy a year. He had 4 yokes. They kept by 100 baskets for home consumption and sold the rest at a rate fluctuating between Rs. 100/- and Rs. 175/- per hundred baskets.

In those years when U Myaing works at INS, he has to confine himself to such work only. During those years when he does not work at INS, he buys the fish from IN workers and process them for sale as NGAGYI, NGA-CHAUK, etc. Each year he uses between four to five thousand fish. When U Myain his co-workers could not get an IN, he had to buy fish and make NGA-CHAUK, (dried fish), NGAPI and NGANPYAR-YE. 226 463 433

On his former visits to Rangoon U Myaing came in a boat loaded with NGAGYI CHAUK (dried NGA GYI) and transferred it to the care of a broker in Rangoon. He then ascended the Shwe Dagon pagoda platform, donated money and water, returned to the broker, and went around the town to places like Mogul Street (the Indian quarter) for meats and ate pillau-rice etc. It took three or four days, and sometimes about ten days for the broker to dispose of his goods and in this time he would go round all the pagodas in Rangoon like the Botataung, Sule, Nga-htat-gyi etc. Once he went to a Chinese hotel known as the NAN-HIN hotel together with some traders from DAGUTU. They pooled the expenses. The journey home took a day and a night. He took back with him clothes, longyis, KINGYIS, durian fruit, 226 438 484 [778]

285 they make made by friends. Ma Aye Myaing and Daw Aw Zar appear to
437 specialize in the larger mats such as used for sleeping. Mat making appears to be an occupation which in ordinary times is unimportant but it is relied heavily upon in bad times.

461 The children are put to work around the house and in processing
562 the fish at an early age. Just recently U Myaing's eldest daughter
561 left school to learn a trade. She left one month ago from the fourth
[277] standard, to learn cheroot rolling. In another month's time she will
874 have learnt how. She does not have to pay any fees - neither is she paid for her help. She lives with her aunt (U Myaing's sister) and
[294] has her meals there. Near their house there is also an embroidery shop which is owned by her aunt. At night U Myaing's daughter is taught embroidery and sewing by her aunt. The owner of the cheroot rolling shop is not a relative, but the women who work there are aunts and grand-aunts of the girl. When she has learnt the trade, then she will be paid between two and three rupees a day on piece work basis.

463 At present (May 1951) U Myaing is working as a sweeper in the
363 Rangoon Municipality on a monthly wage of Rs. 80/-. There is an over-
512 seer placed over him every day. U Myaing's main job is to keep one street in town clean. He leaves his house at six and arrives at the overseer's by half past six and there a roll-call is taken of about a hundred of them. At seven he begins on his street and stops at about half-eight to go to answer the roll-call (see below for rest of schedule).. He has personal contact only with the overseer, the doctor and the WUNDAUK (official). All three of them go around the town to see if they work hard enough. The WUNDAUK also comes everyday to witness the roll-call. "If we do not do good work we shall be dismissed. Everything is in their hands. But they do so after two or three warnings. We do not possess any rights at all. Sometimes offenders are sent to other streets that require harder labour."

U Myaing's street is located in Myeni-gon, and he has to clean the street of dirt as well as clean the drains on either side.

His daily schedule at present is as follows: He rises at 4, washes his face and cleans his teeth, says his prayers and then has plain tea which Ma Aye Myaing has prepared for him. At six he leaves

And arrives at the overseer's by half six. There he answers the roll-call, after which he leaves for his work location and starts work at 7. At 8. 30 he has a bath and then goes back to answer the roll-call which is called about a quarter to ten. He then returns home for breakfast and a rest. At 12.30 he leaves the house again in time for the roll-call at one o'clock. He starts work at 1. 30 or 2 o'clock and works till ten minutes past 4, at which time he starts back for the evening roll-call. This is taken at a quarter to 5, and he is through for the day. If U Myaing has not bathed in the morning he does so before he returns. When he returns he eats his dinner alone, the others all having eaten already, and after that he works on mats if there are any orders on hand. If there are none he just sits around and spends the evening in general conversation, sometimes sipping plain tea. After that he says his prayers and retires for the night. His bed time is not fixed. Sometimes he sleeps at 8 or 9, and sometimes works till 11 or 12 in the night if there are mats to weave.

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Comparison of Work in Pathwe and Camp

In his role as a refugee U Myaing is reduced from an expanding position as a fisherman in a cooperative enterprise to a transient labourer. He lives for the day of return to his village, and lacks the desire and know-how to adapt to a successful career in his new environment. His pattern of work as a labourer has not been broken he is simply doing a different kind of work. But it is now unskilled and lacks promise of development. Similarly, his wife's role has not appreciably changed: she continues to make mats as in the village in hard times; works as a coolie as a substitute for her contributions in processing fish. The eldest daughter has adapted to an urban trade that of cigar rolling, but is well within the pattern of juvenile work carried on in the village at this time. If the family remained in Rangoon, the children would of course adapt completely to the urban work pattern - but is seems improbable that the parents would.

The reduction in income from work can be seen in the following table:

Estimate of Family Average Income per year

Family Work	Income in Pathwe	Income in Camp
Selling Fish Products	1,500	
Mat making	150	600
Cattle Loaning	200	
Day Labour		1,032
Miscellaneous (gathering, etc.)	900	
Daughter Ma Yin Shwe		240
Government Help		372
Total	2,750	2,144

The purchasing power of the rupee in Camp is not ~~en toto~~ appreciably different from that of Pathwe. The security of Pathwe work was not so much in the surplus which results, but rather in the guaranteed sources of work. Life was easy and a living to be had for the taking. In camp existence is hand to mouth with no real security. U Myaing expresses this when asked about his knowledge of world affairs: "We don't know whether the world situation has improved or not. We get some of information, but our main worry is work - and how to provide

General Attitudes of the Burmese toward Work.

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Rank and status in the Burmese Village is determined to a large extent on the basis of occupation - with the factor of wealth where applicable taking precedence over occupation. The highest rank is accorded to the Buddhist monks who exert the ultimate influence. Government officials including the township officers, the THU GYI (headman) and elders, and the schoolmaster occupy the second rank. The large land owners (of this group the rice-mill owners rate highest) rank next. Below these are the tradesmen - the paddy dealers, shop keepers and small holdings farmers who comprise the bulk of the population. Professional artisans such as carpenters, blacksmiths, gold and silver smiths occupy a lower position. However, it is common for the small holdings farmers to practice a secondary occupation such as pottery making.

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Fishermen and hunters are looked down on by the rest of the community because they offend Buddhist precepts by taking life. In this class also are those who raise animals (cows, poultry, pigs) for food, smugglers and brewers. Fishermen, particularly those such as U Myaing who operate IN fisheries often become wealthy, but the stigma of the source of this wealth is remembered by the community.

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A story is told of a rich fisherman who came to cover the Shwe Dagon Pagoda in Rangoon with gold plate. Unfortunately, he had sinned so much by taking the lives of fish that he could not see the pagoda. In a rage he returned to his IN to cover its posts with the gold. Because of the stigma attached to fishing those who make their living in this way tend to live together in their own communities. Thus Pathma, U Myaing's village is primarily a fisherman's community.

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In the days of the Burmese kings, wealthy men and nobles (THAKIN) would assign people under their command to serve as pagoda slaves. Their names were engraved in stone and their descendants for all eternity assigned to this position. The duties were light - consisting mainly of sweeping the platforms and carrying for the images, but the social position was next to the lowest. It is believed that the flower vendors on the platform of the Rangoon

the husband is too old to work. Aged parents are invariably respected 461
but those who can still support themselves are "worshipped". Parents 554
do not rely on their sons who have their own families to support but feel 454
that their daughters will always "bring them a cup of curry". 888

The third urge is to have wealth to donate to the Buddhist church. 461
This is regarded as a sound investment since it not only brings a most 554
satisfying honour especially in old age (to be a "pagoda giver") but 735
also counts as merit credited to the individual's account in eternity. 775

Competition is keenly felt between individuals and families of 565
the same occupation group or adjacent groups but not between the lower 477
and upper classes. An exception is where family traditional land has 554
changed hands - and hard feelings may persist. A carpenter's family 461
does not envy and covet the riches of a government official's family.
His lot is due to KARMA and even if he wished to attain such fortune it
would be beyond his abilities. More important, it is not expected of
him. So the carpenter is content with cheap jewelry for his women and
an occasional gold coin - but the pattern is the same as for the upper
class. However among the individuals and families of an occupation
level there is much rivalry for the benefits wealth can bring. It is
a point of pride to have the largest diamonds at a social function,
and to give the biggest pagoda. Wives brag that their husbands "prevent
the heirs of their hands from singeing" - that they have servants to
cook. Rank and recognition are based on these considerations.

The women of the family exert powerful influence in financial matters 461
and are respected for their sound judgement. Women's occupations include 562
cigar manufacturing, pottery making, and especially shop keeping. 463

The beginning of an enterprise is conditioned by the wisdom of 777
the ancients and especially the date and place which are given by 461
formula in the Burmese calendar. There are YET-NAYA (day king of)
"fortunate days" and PYAD-KHADA "unlucky days". For example the
calendar announces that Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays of a particular
month are fortunate days to begin enterprises, and other days either
unfortunate or neutral. Rangoon sophisticates (but never villagers)
tell such stories as this: Two phongyis travelled by boat; the first
boarded the boat on a fortunate day to begin travelling. The next day
the boat came to the second phongyi's village. This was an unfortunate

776 of the villagers. The head-nat, the guardian of the village, replies
753 with accusations that "the whole village has forgotten me", boasts of
688 his powers to punish and is finally mollified. In Rangoon there are
672 professional nat-givers who parade the streets with a cart bearing the
782 image of "the conqueror of the salty waters" (special nat of entrepre-
[463] neurs). For a few annas he will make offerings to the nat and relcive the busy townspeople of this task.

776 The arrangement is a mutual one where the people enjoy freedom
782 from oppressions in return for certain concessions. This phenomenon closely parallels the traditional relationship between the rulers and the ruled in Burma. In a real sense the nat concept serves the function of allowing the Burmese a sense of control over catastrophic forces which do not fall into any other system (as secular, political, [177] personal relationships, cosmology.). It is this system of controls that the western scientific system most immediately competes with. The administrative and entrepreneur class of Burmese especially in Rangoon say they "Do not believe" in nats. But it is usual for most individuals no matter what their western background to apply to nats in cases of ill fortune "just in case".

775 THAYEH (Ghosts) generally are a group of supernatural spirits closely related to nats in their origins but with a different set of properties. These are "recently" deceased individuals whose crimes and sins while on earth or manner of death condemn them to an eternity of wandering and mischief-making. Actually, each person becomes a ghost at death but is ordinarily released from earth at the moment of the interment of the corpse for judgement in heaven. Those who die of [761] "raw death" become ghosts. These include: death in childbirth, by wild animals (especially tigers), instant deaths by dahs as in warfare, or by hanging. In Maung Maung Than's village a prominent ghost is U Ne Gyi (Mr. Blacky) a very sinful fellow who lived 50 or 60 years ago in the village. His complexion is quite black and horribly distorted. He inhabits a banyan tree and specializes in causing infant illness. Offerings of rice at the tree pacifies him. Ghosts are forces for evil only - evil of the more irritating and less important kind.

751 Older people wear red and white coloured strings about their necks as a protection against ghost evils. It is very common to wear a LET-PWET

(arm-tie) charm consisting of a small metal tube bound about the upper arm or neck and containing an inscription written by a pongyi on silver or aluminum foil. Once a year, after new years (in March), a PAYA-YUDA (prayer-recite) ceremony is held. At this time pongyis recite the precepts of Buddha for the benefit of the ghosts - who "become hot and run away". Younger people, especially children, are susceptible to being possessed by ghosts. At this time they "throw fits" and are uncontrolable. Under the supervision of a pongyi the ghost is cast out by means of threats and beatings administered to the person of the possessed one. Beatings are severe and continuous often lasting an hour, until the ghost says he is "afraid" and departs. The possessed one, thus cured, does not later complain of rough treatment since this is borne by the invading ghost. Perhaps this relates to the less formulated, "nameless horrors" of unseen and unaccountable forces that cause otherwise unexplainable events - which concept pervades much of western thought to this day. 751 775 792 755

A major difference between nats and ghosts is that ghosts cause only harm while nats are ordinarily beneficial in the manner described above. Ghosts may also be controlled for evil purposes against individuals in a variety of black magic. The specialists in black magic are PAH-YOH-GA-SAYA (influence-masters) of black magic or "lower root", (hell-evil), who administer the evil influence. - "upper root" (heaven) masters combat the "lower root evil" Witches also have personal magic powers that allow them to cause harm to an individual by introducing foreign matter such as lumps of meat, hair balls, into the body of the victim. It is never known for sure who the witches are but old women of peculiar habits, and especially of the fishermen's group, are suspected. Such individuals are considered generally malivalent and special precautions are needed to avoid offending them. The influence masters, however, are well known and receive gift-fees for performing services either of causing or controlling black magic influences. Both groups, but especially the influence masters of the lower root control ghosts for their purposes. 775 776 789 791 [463]

A major means of securing control of a ghost or "ghost-rearing" is to get the finger bone of a recently deceased person who died a "raw death". Incantations said over the bone insures the obedience of 775 789

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

The orchestra, in the intervals between scenes, played a tune appropriate to the next scene: a royal march for a throne-room scene, a 'battle tune' for a martial scene, a 'woodland tune' for a forest scene, and so on. The tunes were so well known that the audience recognized them at once. The orchestra also played in the middle of a scene, when certain actions could not be satisfactorily represented, as in *Parpahein*, scene 7, where the brothers were supposed to be climbing the palace-walls, and in *Paduma*, scene 4, where the hero was presumed to be swimming in the river to rescue the criminal. The costumes of the actors were picturesque, but not more gorgeous than those of the Elizabethans. They wore appropriate court dresses. The king in full regalia when holding an audience, the ministers in their velvet gowns, the princes and princesses in gold and jewels appeared striking, but except for the material which was silk, the dresses were not expensive, for the seeming gold and jewels were all imitation. Masks were worn for special purposes. Ogre, *naga*-dragon, *galôn*-bird, had masks of their own, which the actors representing them wore. When an ogress was supposed to have assumed human form, the actress representing her raised the mask on to the forehead, making the face visible. A soldier on horseback or on an elephant was represented simply by an actor in uniform holding a dummy horse's head or elephant's head. Actors taking the part of gods wore shining dress, which was traditionally believed to be worn by all gods. The dresses were not the creations of actors. The court dresses of course were copied from those actually worn at court, but the dresses of gods and other spirits and the masks were copies from the stone images which had adorned the platforms of pagodas even before the rise of Pagan in the eleventh century. Perhaps it is not irrelevant to mention that Burmese dramatic performances, in spite of the dependence on the music of the orchestra, were not like masques, for the stage scenery was not elaborate. In this connexion, it should be mentioned that the Burmese actors used the mask purely for the purpose of representing certain characters, and masked dancing was unknown.[1]

536* 534 [292]

An acting troupe consisted of actors proper and members of the orchestra. Women were freely admitted to the troupe, but they were all actresses. Playing in the orchestra was deemed to be a man's

536* 534 463

[1] In Siam, even at the present day, the king has special dancers who perform in masks. Masked dancing, for religious purposes, is also known in Tibet.

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

536* 534 462 463 part, although there was no stage convention preventing women from taking it up as a vocation. The head of the orchestra was also the head of the troupe. He was the most learned and experienced member, and he was responsible for the organization and financial outlay, paying more or less fixed wages to the others, and taking the profits himself. When engaged for a performance, the troupe was paid by public subscription or by some philanthropic person, usually an official, and therefore no charge for admission was made, all being [565] welcome to it. The Burmese actors as a class, unlike their Elizabethan counterparts who could endow a College of God's Gift or buy a coat-of-arms, were poor. But they never starved, for even the poorest villages would welcome and feed them on their wanderings all over the country. The troupe was one large family, and the children of the members accompanied it. In spite of the prejudice against them and their poverty, the actors loved their art, and enjoyed the performances themselves.

536* There were many conventions connected with the stage, and they can be divided into two classes: those imposed on the actors by themselves, and those imposed by the fear of becoming unpopular with the audience.

795 536* The actors never forgot that they were originally spirit-dancers, and therefore they had conventions by which they showed their indebtedness to spirit worship. Before the performance offerings of food were made to the thirty-seven *nats*. As a curtain-raiser, there was a performance by a dancer or chorus of dancers. Each wore a red [533] cloth round the head—the sign of a spirit worshipper. Singing invocations to the *nats* and dancing the appropriate dances, they asked for protection by the spirits, while the orchestra played a bar from each [751] of the thirty-seven *nat* tunes. It was supposed that if this convention was broken, disaster would befall the troupe, the performance would prove a failure, and the actors would become mad; but often these conventions had been known to be broken, accidentally or otherwise.

536* 463 554 The actors were looked upon as irreligious and immoral, and on the slightest excuse, they were in danger of being considered profane. Therefore, as has been stated, they took over the conventions from the *Nibhatkhin*. The Buddha was never impersonated, and an *arahat* [779] or saint only when absolutely necessary, and then by an able and 'serious' actor, who had to keep a fast that day. Not even a mild joke was to be made against the Buddha or an *arahat*, although even monks and the religion itself could be the butt of a clown's wit. But

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

of course there were limits to the latitude allowed to him. The neglect of these conventions was supposed to result in disaster to the troupe and the death through diarrhoea of the actor who took the part or cracked the joke, and it would certainly result in the whole troupe being beaten by the audience and then put in prison by the officials. On the whole, the charge of irreligiousness attributed to the actors was not justified, and throughout the years, they had never been known even to attempt to evade the conventions. There were also conventions connected with social decorum. Kissing was not allowed on the stage. Although no penalty, supposed or real, was attached to it, this convention has never been broken. The actors could wear reproductions of all the regalia of a king, except the golden shoes, which only the king himself and princes in the line of succession could wear. The breaking of this rule was supposed to result in the death by diarrhoea of the actor who wore the shoes, but it was not punishable as a crime if they were actually worn on the stage, and it is known to have been broken sometimes. All the conventions, including those connected with spirit-dancing, still exist at the present day.

536 * 463 ● 554 536 * 577 [643] 626

During the decadent period the platform stage, the elaborate scenery and curtains were introduced from French and English sources, for French touring companies often performed before the court towards the close of Mindon's reign (1853–78), and from about 1870 English touring companies of actors often visited Rangoon. With the performances of these companies of European actors, the general public had no contact. At the court the king and a few courtiers, out of respect for the French embassy, witnessed presentations of French operettas, but as they did not understand French and the actors could speak no Burmese, the court found the performances boring at times. At Rangoon the English actors presented musical comedies, or more truly, musical shows, to an audience composed entirely of English residents. It must be stated that the touring actors did in no way introduce specimens of the French or English dramas, for what they presented were third-rate musical shows. But they did introduce some examples of western stage-craft, and the Burmese professional actors, ever on the alert for borrowings, copied wholesale the platform stage, the curtain, and the elaborate stage scenery, with the result that, during the decadent period, the Burmese stage came to be a copy of the European stage. At Rangoon a permanent theatre was even built, a thing unknown to

536 * 177 345

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

175 the same. Therefore after the minister's innovation, the puppet
536* show was actually a combination of two different things, the old puppet show as seen in the animal puppets coming out to dance, and the new puppet play. To many people it must have seemed that the minister did not really introduce any new thing, but only lengthened and made more elaborate that part of the show devoted to the prince
[101] and princess. It should be remembered that the Burmese had no puppet drama. In India, in Java, in Siam, in Bali, and in Turkey, there was an actual puppet drama, but in Burma the puppet show was entirely dependent for its plays on the drama of living actors. The minister imposed two restrictions on the puppet show.
[656] First, the plays presented by puppets must either be founded on the *Jatakas*, or on the great events in the nation's history. Second, the dress, manners, and customs of the king and his court presented on the puppet stage should be correct in every detail.

536* The innovations of the able minister resulted in the rise of a new
463 class of puppet show-men. They were mostly drawn from the ranks of the professional actors, but they were of proved ability and experience, and had to serve at least some months of apprenticeship. The show-men were never looked down upon, and the living actors themselves held them in respect. The puppet show-men were very conservative. State control ended with the death of the minister, perhaps because his successors were not so able; but the show-men kept their stage exactly the same as it was in the time of the minister, except that they presented the plays of U Kyin U, most of which were founded neither on the *Jatakas* nor on historical events. During the decadent period, the puppets stuck to the 'old' plays, and introduced no innovations either in stage-craft or in dramatic
536* technique. The annexation by the British in 1886 was disastrous
178 to the puppet show, for, unlike the living actors, the puppets were almost totally dependent on court patronage. When the country became peaceful again by about 1885, the puppet show-men made gallant attempts to revive their shows, and all over Burma they gave performances. But the show belonged to a dead past, and the conservatism of the show-men would not allow the introduction of anything new. The old show-men died out, and there were not many new-comers, for the profession demanded a term of apprenticeship and its conservatism did not suit the young men, products of the changed conditions. The result was that the puppet troupes gradually disappeared. In 1921, when a puppet performance was given at

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

No kind of wool is indigenous 286 or is spun or woven in 291 Burma. Cæsar Frederick [283 in 1569 mentions woollen 439] cloth among the goods brought to Burma, *viâ* Arakán. Web vests for boys and men, of European manufacture, are becoming general. The use of shoes of the European shape is bringing in the use of socks and stockings. The addition of a European shirt under the Burman jacket makes up the incongruous kit affected by the modern office clerks. With the [296 increased use of body-linen have come the Indian washermen. The coloured 463] stuffs are washed by the Burman women. The native dyes wash well, especially the silk dyes. An alkali-earth (*sappya*) is found in Burma, but soap is of modern introduction, and is now sold in every bazár. Needles used to be brought to 439 Burma from China, as well as scissors, though the latter are also fashioned in 413 Burma; at present both are imported from Europe. Burmans work the needle from them, like other Asiatics. The work is pinned to a cushion at the head 286 of a post planted on the work-box. The use of the thimble was unknown until [177] tailors came over from India, but is now general. The bulk of the tailoring is in the hands of immigrants from China; but their prejudice against the sewing-machine is helping to transfer the 463 business to the Burman women. 294 Nearly every well-to-do family in the towns has its sewing-machine.

130. LAYING OUT THE WARP.

At sunrise the women start with their water-pots for the day's supply, and again before they cook the evening meal, which finishes the day's work. On the morning errand they do the most of their washing. In the evening they carry a spare cloth to change for the one they bathe in, which they wash and coil into a pad to put between the head and the water- 462 [532] 512 515

131. BURMESE CARVING OF WEAVING-LOOM.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 API Burma
Burmese AP4

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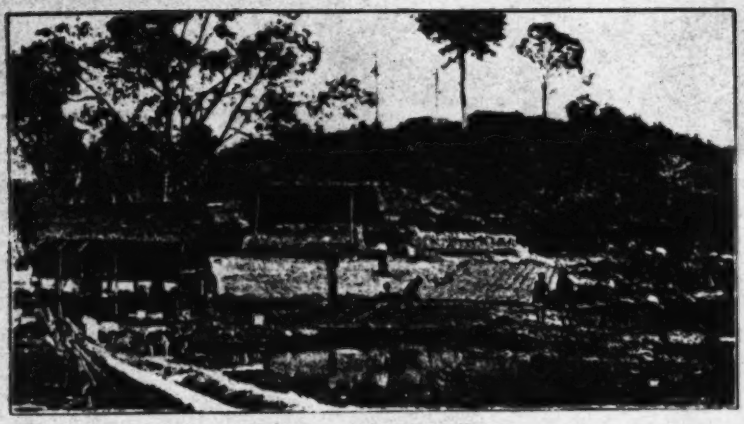

191 BRICK MAKERS (P. 92)

CHAPTER V

TRADES AND PROFESSIONS

463 MOST artizans in the rural settlements are cultivators as well, plying their special trade in the by-season. The [256] home industries continue to be practised in the seaport towns, where certain of them, such as rice-cleaning, are conducted wholesale (No. 184). The largest plant used in [388] the country villages is the oil-mill (*sizôn*). The cooking-oil of Burma is pressed from [252] the seed of sesamum (*hman*), a black grain resembling [402] rape. It is not so delicate as olive oil, but is used for adulterating the latter. Oil-cake is used for fodder. The mill consists of a great mortar made of the 000 trunk of some hard-timbered tree with a pestle of the same. *Hman* is grown as

192 OIL-MILL

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

211. LATHE POTTERY.

comes upon bricks, and on nearly every hill bricks bear evidence that at some time a *zedi* had crowned the top. In the moist region the disintegrating effect of the vegetation is such that frequently no indication remains of the form of the original structure. The use of brick doubtless came in with the early Buddhist architecture exemplified at Pagán. The brick-fields are on the confines of the rice-fields, and of the same character as to soil, a light loam. The work begins in November after the ground has dried. The surface soil is rejected and the earth dug with mattocks a yard or two deep. The clods are soaked in water and trodden into a doughy mass with an admixture of rice husk. The bricks are moulded direct on the ground, which has been smoothed beforehand, and are left to dry in the sun (No. 181). Before stacking the dried bricks, the lower or rough edge is trimmed with a *dá*. The commonest size of brick is 12" × 6" × 1½". A burn consists of ten thousand bricks and sells for about forty-five rupees. In the dry zone, brick has always been used for house-building to some extent, unless when prohibited by the government. In the south, the brick-work is invariably plastered over with *ingade* to prevent the clay mortar from washing out. Now that bricklaying in Pegu has passed into the hands of masons from India, lime-mortar is usual.

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The limestone rocks which are a feature of the Eastern Peninsula, rise abruptly from the plains to heights of one to three thousand feet (No. 107). They are honeycombed with fissures which facilitate quarrying. During the floods, boats can approach and be loaded with the stone. Lime is used for whitewash, plaster, mortar, and for chewing

212. FANCY POTTERY, SHAN

[323]
[463 ●
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177]
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341

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

The cordage used in 283

215. LIMESTONE ROCKS.

Burma is twisted from the bast of the *shaw* tree (*sterculia* varieties). For guys, stays, and standing rigging of boats, rattan is employed. Split rattan is used for strong ties, and withes of split bamboo (*hnî*) for common ties. The *shaw* rope is three and four stranded, and is twisted with native gear very like that of our own rope-walks. A long and even four-stranded rope is made by three men. This furnishes a good example of mechanical advancement, when compared with the method of the hill-people, who require six men to twist a much shorter rope of the same number of strands (Nos. 219–20). Shaw rope is smooth, but has not the flexibility of cocoanut-fibre and manila-fibre ropes, which are now imported. Fine cotton yarn is twisted into cord for making nets. A coarse jute fibre (*paissan*) is also twisted for net-making. [171] [439]

Silk-culture is under the ban of Buddhism for the same reason as fishery. 288 The greater part of the silk yarn used is brought from China, but a good 231 deal is produced locally by the *Zablin* or *Yablin*, a people speaking Burmese and resembling the Burmans in most respects, but despised by the latter. [779] They are settled along the foot of the Pegu Yôma hill-range, on its eastern and western slopes, where they make clearings in the forest (*taungya*) and plant the 554 mulberry. They prepare a yellow silk yarn which, coarse and knotty as it is, is 463] preferred for the best class of Burman silk cloths (*luntayâ*, No. 132). The raw silk fetches thirty-five to forty rupees a viss. It is a perfect washing silk in all its dyes and wears a lifetime. In a few localities, silk-weaving is a special industry practised by men as well as women. Settlers from Manipûr

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216. LIMEKILN.

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

[opp. p. 118]

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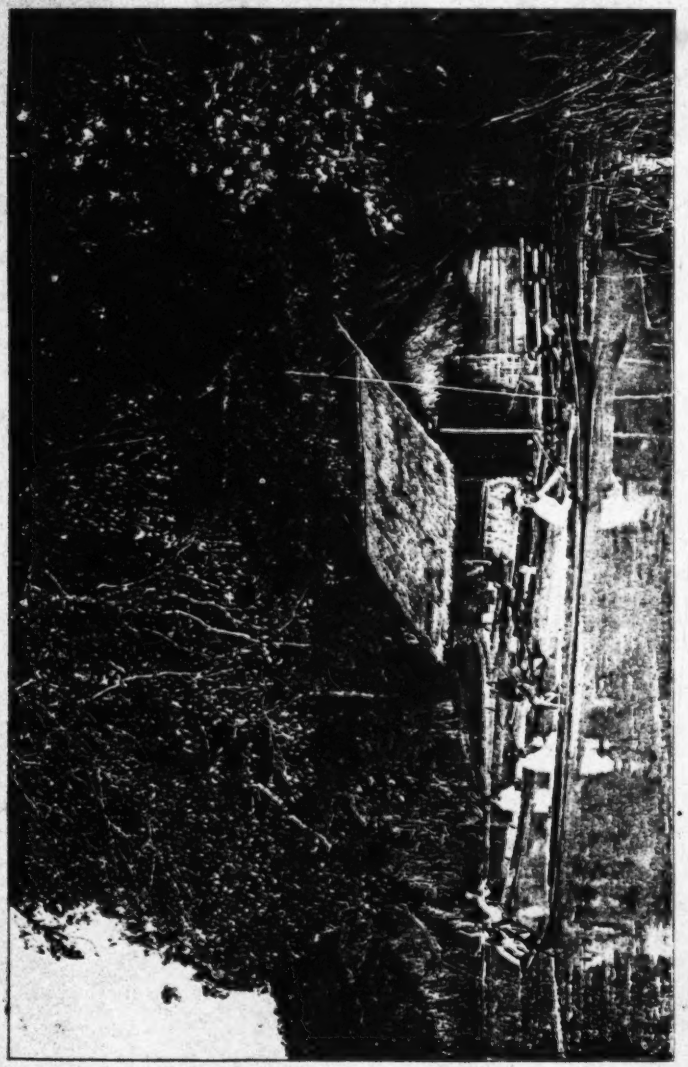

281 TIMBER-SALVER'S HUT.

(To face p. 118)

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 API Burma
Burmese AP4

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262. ROPE-STATION ON THE SALWEEN (KYODAN).

current, a remarkable device is employed. Two ten-foot handspikes, with a shoulder two feet above the point, have mooring-rattans from each end of the raft, one hundred feet long and an inch thick, bent on to them. One of these is sent ashore from the forward end of the raft and worked like a plough in the bank, going deeper as the raft slews round and the tension increases, and so stopping its way by degrees. If the first attempt fails a second is made from the other end of the raft, which is then the forward one. Arrived in port the logs are dragged up the mud-banks by elephants. But when the path is blocked, a powerful elephant sometimes carries a log bodily. The whole of the operations of bringing the timber to market are combined by a timber-broker (forester, *thiggaung*). [463]

322 Teak cuts readily, though it blunts the tools very soon. There is little waste. Sawn planks are displacing bamboo for the better-class houses. Sawyers 313 earn from one-half to one rupee a day. The indigenous carpenter's tools were a 413 small adze (*pègôt*), chisels and gouges (*sauk*), awls (*hun*), and a rough saw (*khwa*), besides *dâ* and axe (*paussein*). The Burman adopted the Chinese plane (*yuè-haw*, "selecting-shave") with the Chinese straddle bench. The English [197] carpenter's rule is also general. When the impulse to good house-building was given by the production of cheap planks, the immigrants from China got 322 the whole of the work. 341 The Burmans have begun to oust them from [563] the heavy carpentering and from the joinery as well. Ordinary Burman carpenters earn ¾ rupee a day, the better workmen 1 to 1¼ rupees a day, compared with the Chinaman's 1½ rupees. The wood-work is left

263. BINDING THE LOGS INTO RAFTS.

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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788
[322]

268. BURMAN WOOD-CARVER.

engraved on 729 marble slabs, 4 feet by 3 feet. These, set under as many stucco canopies, are known as the *Kûthodaw* or *Law-kama-yazin* — the royal work of merit (No. 385). They constitute the most important of the King's religious foundations. A number of years were spent by a committee of learned *yahán* in editing the text. Certain portions have since been transferred to type, and in time the whole of this text will be available in print. The development of the round Burmese character out of the square Pâli was favoured by the nature of the material used for writing on—the leaf of the *pe* palm. The fan-leaf is split into its segments, which are piled, and dried under pressure. Then they are trimmed even, and punched with holes to file them by. The leaf is ruled with turmeric, and the writing is done with a sharp steel style, which scratches through the hard epidermis to the spongy layer underneath; both sides are written on. The transverse strokes tear the fibre more, and leave a plainer mark, which leads to a minimising of longitudinal strokes. When the writing is complete, the wooden covers are lacquered, the edges of the leaves gilt, and their faces oiled with crude brown petroleum, which both preserves the material and brings out the writing. The oiling is repeated from time to time. The leaves become dark and friable in fifty years, and the writing hard to decipher. Manuscripts over two hundred years old are scarce. Copyists are paid one rupee per *inga* of ten leaves, the work of a day or two, according to their expertness. Until rag-paper began to be imported, the paper in use was

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[463]

270. CARVED SCENE FROM ZAT.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

Dealers, with the exception of 1164

276. THE LORD OF HELL RECEIVES HIS STEWARD'S ACCOUNT OF THE PAINS INFLICTED ON SINNERS (p. 121).

The dealer in medicine, who is at the same time the physician, do not receive the title *sayá*—teacher, doctor—which is accorded to every master workman. The physician (*séthama sayá*) makes no charge for his advice, but only for his medicines. There is, however, a school of doctors who oppose the use of drugs, and rely upon the regulation of diet and on shampooing; they make their charge for the latter operation. Ague (intermittent fever, *pyá-na*) is the commonest complaint in Burma, which no one escapes. The remittent form of malarial fever is also common. Attacks may be light and pass away of themselves, or they may be severe and protracted. Malaria is the chief cause of mortality. The common treatment is to encourage sweating. Aperients are not resorted to if it can be helped, as the Burmese drugs are drastic. In severe cases the head is shaved. Quinine was at one time making its way in the bazárs; but soon adulteration began to be practised, and it lost repute. The scheme of selling the Government quinine at the post offices may be effectual in rehabilitating the medicine. Santonin worm-tablets likewise had a great reputation until adulteration began. Rheumatism is common in Burma. It is treated by shampooing (*a-khúik*), which in this complaint is most efficacious. *A-khúik* is a kneading of the muscles and nervous plexuses; massage, in the sense of rubbing, is not practised. The expert shampooers possess an empirical knowledge of the interdependences in the nervo-muscular system which is remarkable. An attack of lumbago, which would cripple one for days, is cured in half an hour. Vapour baths, over the water of hot springs, are also resorted to. Heart-burn and colic are common ailments.

[463] [554] 759 757

277. BURMAN APOTHECARY.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

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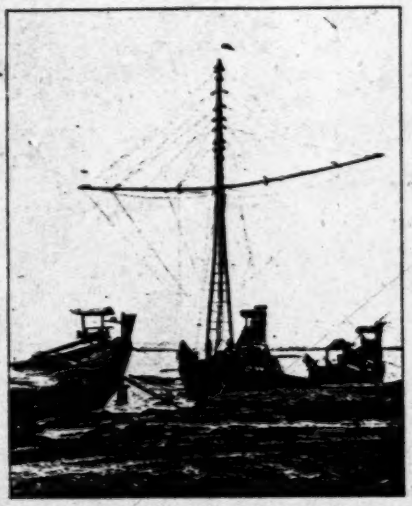

500. LAUNG-ZAT POLING UP-STREAM.

channel in the sand or mud. But it cannot sail near the wind, and it makes great leeway. Only a square-sail is carried. The prow of the boat is solid and the bulk-head above is ornamented with carving. The still more ornamented poop has to be built up in the large boats, to get the full sweep of curve that is obtained in a single piece in the canoe (*laung*). The boat has a good deal of buoyancy even when full of water. The *laung-gô* is rather crank, a defect which is obviated by the use of bamboo side-buoys (*baw-wa*, No. 176). *Thingán* hulls last twenty to thirty years; the canoe is used up to the last stump. When past repair, it is sawn asunder and boards nailed across the sound pieces. A tub of

[857] this kind is a treasure to a child (No. 161). The anchor (*kyauk*) used to be a wood fork weighted with stone; the European pattern is now general. The *laung-gô* is rowed with the stream only, by three or four sweep-oars; it is poled up-stream. The boatman thrusts his pole from the hollow above the collar-bone. Thus the hands are free to hold the body down to the rail, and every muscle is called into service. No. 289 shows the "tiger" style of poling, No. 298 the "scorpion" style. The

● [463] crew of the *laung-gô* consists of three to five men; they get their food and a stipulated sum for the trip, which comes to twelve to sixteen annas per

501 working day. Cargo

435 boats cost from 1,000 to 3,000 rupees, chiefly for the solid hull.

501. LAUNG-ZAT LOADING.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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[398]

[531]

[162]

307. TYREING THE WHEEL.

a shallow dug-out bottom with three or four side-planks built up from it. The planks are held together by cane lacing, with a caulking of grass. They are very crank, but are good sea-boats, nevertheless. The only decoration is a rough crocodile's head at the bow. The boat population of Burma in 1891 was nearly 84,000, or about 1·5 per cent. of the whole population—"greatly in excess of the proportion borne to the total by the maritime population of the most maritime nation in the world" (Census report, p. 34). The only sea-going craft are the few score *kattu*, small junks of twenty to sixty tons, manned by five or six Taláings. They venture as far to sea as the Nicobars, where they ship cocoanuts in the fine or north-east monsoon. The rest of the year they lie by. The *kattu* are built at Dawè ("Tavoy"), and cost from one to two thousand rupees. They carry a compass of European make, for use in thick weather; but the navigation is empirical.

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The cart-building exemplifies the Burman love of curves. In Burma Proper the root-wood of *shâ* (cutch) is dug out for the sake of the bent timber. In Pegu, curved branches of *thingán* are used for the body. For wheels, solid discs of *kaung-hmu* and other woods were used in Pegu, where timber grows large (No. 306). In the North, the solid wheel is still made up of three pieces, held together by mortices and tenons (Nos. 301, 309). *Padáuk* is the wood preferred for these wheels. They have a very long box for the axle, which is of *pauga* wood; the axle-box is hooped with rattan. Since the introduction of spokes and iron tyres, skill has been concentrated on the wheel; the body of the cart preserves its local type. The Burman has proved the best wheelwright of the East, both

308. PLEASURE-CART, BURMA PROPER.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 API Burma API
Indians
Burmese AP4

Ba Bse 241 731 563

trees. All that the villagers asked for (and of course got) was exemption from land-tax. Another hopeful feature is that the Burman is not devoid of the quality of self-criticism. With the Indian retail trader comes also the wholesale merchant—Persian, Parsi, Súrati, Chetti and Bania. And the Burmans at large accept the situation, never dreaming that by travelling abroad and seeing for themselves how other nations manage and how they fare, they might learn to conduct their own business, and help to save Burma from sinking to the level of proletariate countries. Natives of India and China have learned so much in their capacities of assistants to European merchants that they are getting the retail trade in European goods to themselves. Even as importers, with their agents in Europe, they are making themselves independent of the European merchant in the East. The European spheres of activity on which Burmans

Ba Bse 463 [177] 563 438

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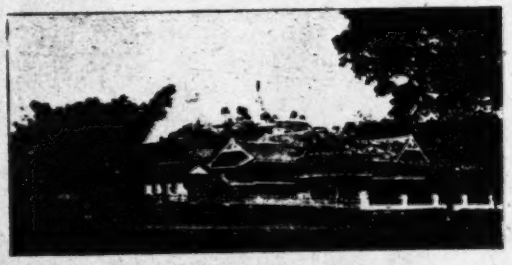

388. EUROPEAN TYPE OF HOUSE.

have entered are saw-mill enterprise and the profession of advocacy, in which latter they have attained a high standing.

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To the Burman, the native of India is the foreigner *par excellence*—*Kalá*—and shares the disrepute that a stay-at-home people commonly accord to the foreigner, especially when he is a needy one. To them he is the dog that eats the crumbs which fall from his table ("*Kwe-Kalá!*"). While the Chinaman, despite his uncouthness and uncanny parasitic trade, is considered an eligible man, *Kalá-mayá*—nigger's-wife—is a term of reproach. The *Kalá* half-breeds are called *Zerbádi*. They appear to possess fewer good qualities than either of the pure races. The Euro-Burman half-breeds are called *Baylnjí*—(Feringhi, the Indian equivalent of Frank) explained by the Burmans as *Baylu-dyí* (adherent of) the Great Prince (the Pope).

Ba Bse 563

Europeans are the only remaining foreigners whom the Burmans encounter, excepting a few Armenians, Jews and Malays. Armenians were beginning to play

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4
Upper Burma
Lower Burma

entirely dispensed with. If the parents of both houses are agreeable, the contracting parties get married with most ardent lover-like rapidity. The age, too, has become very much younger. Most lads get married when they are eighteen or nineteen; thirteen or fourteen is a common age for the girls. Runaway marriages are common enough, and though the parents may be angry, they are usually too easy-going and indolent to take any energetic action in the matter, and let the couple find out their mistake and come and ask for pardon and a house to live in, which is seldom refused. Occasionally in Lower Burma a stern father demands that they shall be separated until the lad has got a situation for himself, but this is ordinarily little more than a mere form of speech. In Upper Burma, where food is scarce and working hands more valuable, the husband is brought to the girl's parents' house and made to do his share towards supporting the household.

The preliminary courting is naturally conducted in the old fashion, best known to those who have had experience of their own in such matters. The parties meet at pwès, the girl perhaps selling cheroots, fried garlic, le'pet, and what not, and therefore being readily accessible to any swain. It must not be supposed that keeping a stall is regarded as anything derogatory. Numbers of perfectly well-to-do women set them up regularly; some even have daily work in the bazaars, and very often a girl commences occupations of the kind with the view of attracting the young men and securing a husband. Then there are meetings at pagoda feasts, in the zayats and at friends' houses, so that there are plenty of chances of introduction to eligible swains, even without calling in the assistance of the aungthwè. This functionary makes it a regular occupation to know all the attractions, physical and sordid, of all the young women in the place, and for a small consideration, or sometimes merely for love of his trade, brings young couples together and arranges places of meeting for them. He is, of course, most useful where an impecunious youth aspires to the hand of a rich merchant's or high official's daughter. He manages an introduction in a roundabout way to avoid coming suspicions, praises his client's appearance and

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

footpaths, and with a huge green cheroot in his mouth, leisurely contemplates the operation. Everything is now in the hands of nature, and the agriculturist may lounge round his farm in peace till November; unless, indeed, excessive rain floods the ground and rots the crop, when a new planting out has to be gone through. The harvesting near Rangoon is entirely done by men from Upper Burma, or even by Indian coolies. They work for very little, and it saves the farmer a good deal of time and dignity to get all the cutting done for him. Accordingly, from October till December the steamers down the Irrawaddy used to be crowded with King Thibaw's subjects, all of whom had to leave behind them with their Myo-sa, or his delegate the Myo-wun, who vicariously "ate" the township between them, a pledge either of property or of some member of their family, that they would return to their country again. When they got back, very little of their hard-earned gains escaped the voracity of the royal officials. Now they come down by train, and after a trip or two learn enough to keep their money from enterprising fellow-countrymen. These anyathas, as they are called, behave remarkably well in British territory, notwithstanding the assertions of the rural police, who, being unable to detect dacoits, declare that these are all Upper Burmans who have come down for the harvest. They are really, however, mostly simple, quiet people, who are kept very much in awe by the bluster and town-knowledge of the down-country farmers, and work away zealously with their queer sickles, looking like the ordinary English article worn to half its original size by long use. It is worthy of notice that the grain is not mown close to the ground as in Europe. Except where there is a market for straw, very little more than the ears are cut off, and the straw burnt in the hot weather of March and April supplies a scarcely-needed fertilising to the soil. The reapers usually receive their payment from the farmer in grain, but they naturally convert this into money, or more portable goods, before they start off home again.

It does not take long to cut the crop, and then the corn is brought in to the homestead, commonly on rude sledges, more seldom in carts. The threshing-floor does not take

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243 led around in circular fashion until the grain is thoroughly separated from the stalks. A pronged hoe is then drawn over the stalks to further the separation, after which the bullocks further stamp upon them. When the grain appears to be full separated from the stalks it is swept up into large heaps, while the stalks are put aside for use as cattle fodder.

Winnowing apparatus consists of a tripod of bamboo poles, from the top of which is suspended a plaited round tray of wide weave. Basketsful of grain are handed up to a man who stands on a platform, often an old barrel or a chair, and empties them on to the tray. As he shakes the tray the grain falls through to the ground, while any chaff is carried away by the wind.

The paddy for household use may then be allowed to dry further before being sent by boat down Pazundaung Creek to be milled. In a few households the paddy for home consumption is husked by a foot-operated pounding device, or by a large, hand-operated mortar and pestle. If there is any surplus, beyond the requirements of home consumption, seed, payment of laborers and debts, it is sold to nearby millers who come to purchase it.

494 3. Bus Operation. Forty-four men of the community are principally occupied as bus drivers or fare-collectors. The latter are known as 'spares' in the local terminology. Because of the total destruction of public transportation facilities during World War II in Rangoon and the surrounding area, large numbers of surplus military vehicles have been converted into buses. These buses are owned individually or by small groups of partners. The Tadagale men who engage in bus operation ply between the village, which is a terminus, and Rangoon. Their vehicles are, for the most part, in poor repair, and breakdowns along the route are not uncommon. No regular time schedule is followed; rather, they begin a trip when fully loaded, which is to say extremely tightly packed with passengers. By carrying maximum loads, and [436] by charging a fare of 6 annas (ca. 8 cents), the bus operators are able to make a profit, despite the high cost of fuel (ca. 47 cents per Imperial gallon) and of repairs.

• 464 4. Field Labor. Thirty-eight villagers make their livings mainly by field labor. During the planting and harvesting seasons they work steadily for cultivators, either in Tadagale or in nearby communities. They are paid in kind or in cash, seldom in combination. During the growing season, August to November, and again, between the end of the harvest and the beginning of the planting season, these people must depend on other temporary jobs to round out their livings.

234 5. Dairy Farming. This occupation is carried on exclusively by the small
563 group of Indians in Tadagale, who possess herds of water buffalo and cattle.
443 Fresh milk is taken daily by bus, in large metal containers, to Rangoon, where it is sold for cash, mostly to Muslim restaurants. The Burmese inhabitants of Tadagale make but slight use of milk and there is virtually no market for it in the village.

6. Selling of Prepared Foods. The preparation and itinerant selling of certain Burmese foods supports twenty persons, of whom many are women. Because
265 of the Burmese habit of informal, occasional eating between the two regular daily meals, food sellers do a considerable business. They are invariably present at the pwes, outdoor dramatic presentations staged during holidays and on other festive occasions.

14: Brant E-5 (1949-50) 1954 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

One of the most popular foods of these vendors is mohingha. Rice noodles are made by pounding rice into a flour, mixing it with water, and grinding into a paste between two flat stone slabs. After the excess water has been expressed from this paste, it is pushed through sieves with narrow holes, to form noodles. Once dried, the noodles are cooked and mixed with a curry to make mohingha. 252

A beverage sold regularly by food vendors is molesaun. It is made of sugar, coconut milk and bits of rice noodles, mixed together. The villagers consider this drink very tasty and refreshing. 272

7. Shopkeeping and Middleman Trading. The typical shop in the village consists of nothing more than a few large glass jars containing cigars, matches, candy, soap, and various other articles, set out on the porch in front of a house. The stocks of these are very small and are periodically replenished by purchase in Rangoon. Customers are occasional and sales are very small. 414

Seventeen villagers devote their main activity to what we have called middleman trading. These persons make a living by periodically buying quantities of such goods as second-hand lumber from dismantled dwellings, bamboo, cloth, etc., and selling them in the village and nearby places.

8. Urban Labor. The nineteen individuals listed in Table II as urban laborers are employed in a government medical warehouse in Rangoon. They are unskilled workers who perform such tasks as moving boxes of medical supplies in and out of the establishment and arranging them in the warehouse. These people commute daily between Tadagale and their place of work by bus. 464 369

These are the numerically most significant of the variety of occupations followed by villagers. There are six unemployed persons and fourteen who are not gainfully employed because of old age, ill health, or blindness. The great majority of the married women and unmarried girls are occupied most of the time with domestic housework, looking after small children, and helping with gardening. 463

The whole character of the occupational pattern is shifting and unstable. Individuals move opportunistically from one form of activity to another as circumstances change, in an effort to round out a living. Informants stated that in former times the community was much more agricultural, but that owing to loss of land through indebtedness people had gradually left farming for other occupations. 463 178

Income

In analysing our data on income, figures for the Indians of Tadagale have been calculated separately. The Indians are occupationally a homogeneous group, all engaged in dairy farming. The range and average of income within this small group is so far above that of the Burmese that a misleading idea of the community's economic structure would be conveyed were the data on the Indians included in a single, overall computation for the village. 434 [563]

The following tables show family incomes.

quality of their sleep suffers to any appreciable extent. Americans who live in Rangoon suffer far more relatively from lack of "beauty rest" mattresses. 511 722 [513]

As far as the actual physical needs of the family go, the refugee camp situation does not seem to be far below an acceptable level. The Pathee house gave space far above that actually used for physical needs. The answer here would seem to be that social obligations in Pathee were much greater than here and the actual space fulfilled a real need there. Since such a demand is not present in the refugee camp, the lack of this space is not regarded as a privation. In general the refugee camp quarters are a compressed version of the Pathee quarters and do not represent any true innovations. The family has been able to contract the quantity and quality of their needs, but their nature has not been appreciabl altered. The pattern of "Home" has not been shattered, but has been contracted and its quality somewhat changed. 352 415 [574] 511 178

The town of Pantanaw was recaptured from the insurgents early in the month of December 1950. U Myaing and his family are considering whether or not it would be advisable to return home. It seems that the government has offered to send back those who are willing to return. Government offers them, in addition to passage money, other things such as mosquito netting, or so U Myaing thinks. But they are also hesitant and afraid and would like to remain for some time longer in the peace and security of the refugee camp. However, when the country settles down and things return to normal, they would like to return. They prefer Pantanaw because they find it much easier to earn money there. Here they find it more difficult to find work - and it involves harder labour. Also, the prices here are very high in comparison. 722 669 511 [464] [435]

The daily work schedule of U Myaing while he was working as a fish processor (2 months in a year) was as follows:- 512 461 264

He rose at four or five in the morning said his prayers, drank plain tea, had boiled beans, fried fish and rice left over from the previous day's evening meal. After that he went to collect fish, bring it to the bank and start work on it. He rested from 11 o'clock to 2 o'clock. At two he resumed work till about five when he would be finished for the day. Sometimes he would sleep at the work place after returning home for his evening meal.

Work in the Refugee Camp.

Shortly after arriving at the Camp U Myaing worked in Sulim Park near the Kokine market where a factory for spinning and weaving cloth was being set up. The contractor was Chinese, and he engaged between 30 to 35 labourers every day. These labourers were unskilled and they were employed in levelling the ground and laying the foundation of the factory. Most of the labourers were Indians - there being only two Burmans, U Myaing and Ma Aye Myaing got Rs. 2/-. The working hours stretched from eight in the morning to 12 noon, with a break of one hour at 12. At one o'clock they resumed work and continued until five in the evening. In the mornings they had to go to the factory by themselves, and this took them about a half hour walk. Sometimes they were sent home in a truck in the evenings. U Myaing had to enquire each day at various places for a chance to work. He was not always successful. 722 461 464 331

It was not usual for Ma Aye Myaing to come along like this to work as a labourer. This was the first time she did so. Ma Aye Myaing said that in future she would accompany U Myaing whenever there are prospects of such work. They knew that women worked in this way, but had not known that such work was available. [562]

As a matter of fact, I met U Myaing through the mats which were made in his camp. We got dinner place mats through him. These are rectangular 1½ feet by 2 feet mats of finelywoven split cane in an over 2 - under 2 pattern. They cost Rs. 2/8 each. U Myaing arranged for the making of these mats and collected the money for them, but 285 437

Comparison of Work in Pathwe and Camp

In his role as a refugee U Myaing is reduced from an expanding position as a fisherman in a cooperative enterprise to a transient labourer. He lives for the day of return to his village, and lacks the desire and know-how to adapt to a successful career in his new environment. His pattern of work as a labourer has not been broken he is simply doing a different kind of work. But it is now unskilled and lacks promise of development. Similarly, his wife's role has not appreciably changed: she continues to make mats as in the village in hard times; works as a coolie as a substitute for her contributions in processing fish. The eldest daughter has adapted to an urban trade that of cigar rolling, but is well within the pattern of juvenile work carried on in the village at this time. If the family remained in Rangoon, the children would of course adapt completely to the urban work pattern - but is seems improbable that the parents would.

The reduction in income from work can be seen in the following table:

Estimate of Family Average Income per year

Family Work	Income in Pathwe	Income in Camp
Selling Fish Products	1,500	
Mat making	150	600
Cattle Loaning	200	
Day Labour		1,032
Miscellaneous (gathering, etc.)	900	
Daughter Ma Yin Shwe		240
Government Help		372
Total	2,750	2,144

The purchasing power of the rupee in Camp is not quite appreciably different from that of Pathwe. The security of Pathwe work was not so much in the surplus which results, but rather in the guaranteed sources of work. Life was easy and a living to be had for the taking. In camp existence is hand to mouth with no real security. U Myaing expresses this when asked about his knowledge of world affairs. "We don't know whether the world situation has improved or not. We get bits of information, but our main worry is work - and how to provide

sufficient food for myself and my family." Yet, it is significant 465
that he[1] manifests no anxiety symtoms, and appears happy and carefree. 722
This suggests that despite the fact that he is presented with 369
insecurity he does not react to it with tensions that have nervous 464 ●
manifestations. The sense of insecurity does not seem to be in his [152]
pattern of living, consequently his response is ill-defined.

The points of difference that U Myaing especially emphasized 511
were:- 178

1. A few weeks of intensive work in Pathwe would get him more than a whole year of salary working in Rangoon. 461

2. His income in Rangoon is estabilised at a low level. In Pathwe he might make 3 or 4 times his average income from fish products in a good year. On bad years he might just break even. But this did not affect his everyday living quality - since his food was for the most part gathered (fish, fruits etc.) or secured from the cattle loan (baskets of rice). 458

3. If he was sick in Pathwe his standard of living was not threatened. He made his cash in a short time and had ample leisure for resting. In Rangoon if he does not work he does not eat.

4. In Pathwe he usually had a surplus of 1000 to 1500 rupees on hand during a year. To be lent out (free of interest) to friends and relatives or (usually) invested in fish or family accoutrement. Now he lives from hand to mouth. [454]

5. The loss of comfort and ease is severely felt by the adults. In Rangoon he works to stay alive, in Pathwe, to enjoy a full life. [181]

[1 i.e., U Myaing -- ANALYST]

369 and women too did the same, and wore their HTAMEINS breast high.
291 Here except for the refugees, he does not see much of this except when
562 people are bathing in the public water hydrants. When it is hot the men wear T shirts and the women wear light garments.

369 U Myaing says that the ordinary city dweller cannot do as much
464 hard labour as the average villager. For example, he cannot carry
461 a bag of rice on his shoulders if suddenly called upon to do so.

The workers from Rangoon are much more acute than the workers from the village. They speak and understand English and Hindustani and so get to know of any possible job long before the others. The villagers do not have these advantages, and so have to join work only later and they are placed to work under them.

563 As far as U Myaing is concerned, there is no racial animosity
464 towards Indians and workers of other races. This is due to the fact that there is no racial discrimination on the part of the employers, the first suitable applicant being given the work.

369 He finds that Rangoon has a much more equable climate than
132 Pathwe. In Rangoon it is not as cold as in Pathwe, where in the cold season it was very cold even though they lived in a proper house and kept all the doors and windows shut. He says that they would not be able in Pathwe to live in an open dwelling like they do at present.

369 Their relatives in Rangoon keep to themselves a great deal.
571 They work on their own and earn on their own. In Rangoon each family
602 has only sufficient for itself. "We cannot help them financially and neither can they help us much. When we go on a visit they can invite us to join in a meal or to partake of sweet tea, but they would not be able to lend us fifty or a hundred rupees. In Pathwe we could lend each other any amount up till a thousand five hundred rupees and that free of interest. These loans also need to be repaid only when it is convenient to the debtor. It would be inconvenient to have to repay a loan while the money was in the form of goods."

159 U Myaings eldest daughter has returned to the camp because the
369 woman who owns the cheroot rolling business has temporarily closed it
602 down and gone to Pantanaw with goods like onions, prawns and textiles. Since the girl is not sufficiently dexterous to find work elsewhere as

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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[415]

49. FOREST KYAUNG.

ates the incumbent, regularly undertakes the support of the *pôndyl*, and frequently of his sojourner *yahán* as well. The food, which is the best of its kind, is brought every morning by the daughters and young children of the supporter, or, in the case of joint support, by children of the leading families in turn. An ornamented vessel is used, having a tall finial to the cover (*ôt*). The supplies are received by the lay scholars

792 or the novices, and by them served to the *yahán*. The principal meal is
264 taken shortly before noon, for no food may be eaten after that hour till the
273 following sunrise. Water may be drunk and betel chewed at any time.
276 Tobacco-smoking is discountenanced, especially in Burma Proper, where the
101 religious views are strictest. Burma furnishes the standard both for scholarship and practice, and trains most of the incumbents of the monasteries of Pegu. Scholars and novices may prepare food at the monastery from raw supplies. These the *yahán* may not even handle. Hired labour (*kappiza dayaka*) may

● [464] be attached to the monastery by the
792 supporter for the preparation of food
735 and other services. In some cases lands have been dedicated for the maintenance of monasteries and temples. But the *yahán* have no concern with their administration. Supplies of raiment, chattels and food are dedicated to the use of the recluses

[346] when the distinction of their presence is solicited, especially at *shinlaung* fêtes and funerals. The annual pro-

[796] vision of raiment (*kathin thingán*) is made between the months of *Thadingyut* and *Tasaungmôn*. The offerings of necessaries are supplemented by accessories of every sort —books and writing materials, mats,

50. VILLAGE KYAUNG.

and envy at these fair creatures who continued work and home in one long pleasant Burmese continuity. They are girls from the ages of sixteen upward. Probably their parents set them up in these stalls, each separated from its neighbour by a stack of cotton bales, six or seven stalls on a long platform. They come there in the mornings, dressed in crisp muslin jackets and bright longyis, their faces powdered with thanakha and the Five B's, flowers in their hair, and fragrant ground bark on their hands and feet. They open up shop and dust with feather brooms while they shout across to each other the news of the previous evening. Then the whole day unfolds, calling out to food sellers and treating their friends to a succession of delicacies, button-holing the young boy who hawks magazines and tuppenny novels, and reclining against a pile of the tha-yet-hte longyis to read these romances, helping each other to fold up the pieces after a troublesome customer has gone, anything but making an earnest business of their profession. They always looked so cool and pretty and indifferent beside the small Indian storekeepers who flanked their platforms and solicited passers-by for patronage. "Oh to be a bazaar girl!" I still thought when I was in the University; "to pass unchaperoned days, reading novels and eating sweets, to have time to be powdered and neatly dressed, and only now and then be disturbed by someone who wants to buy a longyi." 361 438

Our starched white muslin jackets are made out of fine transparent muslin manufactured in England, and sent out in bales of 11 yards with the quality stamped in Burmese characters, and on the jacket a florid illustration of the quality-name—names such as *Nat-thami, Sein ta-hsok, Shwe Pan-gaing, Mè Nyo:* Heavenly Damsel, Cluster of Diamonds, Golden Spray of Flowers, Dusky Maiden—and imported by both Indian and Burmese traders. 294 439 563

The making up of the jackets was the monopoly of Chinese tailors; our *tayok-kalay*, little Chinaman, lived in the crowded quarter of Yegyaw in a barnlike room which was carpenter's shop at one end and tailor's at the other. The tailor's end had a row of shelves along the wall in to which the finished garments and uncut material were shoved, higgledy-piggledy in paper bags on which the merest scribble denoted owner and date of order. In front of this was the counter on which the cutter was at work, and separating it from the carpentery end was a table at which one or two half-clad men always seemed to be eating noodles or reading a Chinese newspaper, of which there were three in Rangoon. In spite of this, the tayok-kalay never confused an order for garments which had to fit so meticulously and always delivered them in a snow-white condition. He charged 9 annas for each fine handsewn garment, and for modern girls managed to cut twelve out of the eleven-yard piece. This 294 563 441 465

294 was sweated labour indeed. Possibly he paid the cutter two pice, the
563 seamstress three annas, the button-loop maker two annas, for each
441 garment. We met one of the button-loop makers one evening as she
• 466 brought a pile of finished garments, a Chinese girl of ten years, with eyes which looked tired from two years of exquisite hemming on the ten button loops of each Burmese jacket, nine jackets each day. When we had got our jackets the tayok-kalay added up our three bills into one on his abacus. There may be many ways of using an
[405 abacus, but our tayok-kalay's was bafflingly simple. He had each
803] bead on the first rung representing one anna, each on the second one representing four of these, that is four annas; and each on the third rung representing four of these again, that is one rupee, there being sixteen annas in the rupee. When he wanted to add Rs. 5/10 and Rs. 9/11 for example, he represented the first sum on the three rungs above the median bar by drawing down towards it, two beads of the first rung, two of the second and five of the third. Then he represented the second sum on the rungs below the bar by drawing up to it three beads of the first rung, two of the second and nine of the third. He then counted up the sum of all the beads along the bar, pushing back every four beads of the first rung and pulling down one of the second as equivalent, pushing back every four of the second and pulling down one of the third again as its equivalent. All this he did with lightning speed, and, counting finally one bead on the first rung, one on the second and fifteen on the third, he announced Rs. 15/5, a sum which my sisters had arrived at long before by mental arithmetic and had, in vain, been trying to thrust on his notice.

441 I needed also a superior quality comb to wind my hair around in a
563 knot at the back of my head, having given away the old one I had as a curiosity in England. My mother took me to the west end of Rangoon where the Chinese community are concentrated in about six or seven streets, mostly narrow streets of three storeyed houses packed closely together, containing valuable ivory and mother-of-pearl inlaid chairs within and jewellery behind safe doors, but bordering deep and dirty drains and congestion in the street. These were houses of rich men who got their money from trading in indigenous products; by long years of industry building up lakhs of money from the supplying of onions, coconuts, potatoes and other dry goods to the retail shops in bazaars. In the Strand running along the south end of these streets and in the broad Latter Street in the centre of the quarter, were the big emporiums of these traders. One of my father's greatest friends U Chein Swan was a Burma Chinese of this description, and we stayed for short periods in his three-storeyed house in 20th Street when we were children. With

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

footpaths, and with a huge green cheroot in his mouth, leisurely contemplates the operation. Everything is now in the hands of nature, and the agriculturist may lounge round his farm in peace till November; unless, indeed, excessive rain floods the ground and rots the crop, when a new planting out has to be gone through. The harvesting near Rangoon is entirely done by men from Upper Burma, or even by Indian coolies. They work for very little, and it saves the farmer a good deal of time and dignity to get all the cutting done for him. Accordingly, from October till December the steamers down the Irrawaddy used to be crowded with King Thibaw's subjects, all of whom had to leave behind them with their Myo-sa, or his delegate the Myo-wun, who vicariously "ate" the township between them, a pledge either of property or of some member of their family, that they would return to their country again. When they got back, very little of their hard-earned gains escaped the voracity of the royal officials. Now they come down by train, and after a trip or two learn enough to keep their money from enterprising fellow-countrymen. These anyathas, as they are called, behave remarkably well in British territory, notwithstanding the assertions of the rural police, who, being unable to detect dacoits, declare that these are all Upper Burmans who have come down for the harvest. They are really, however, mostly simple, quiet people, who are kept very much in awe by the bluster and town-knowledge of the down-country farmers, and work away zealously with their queer sickles, looking like the ordinary English article worn to half its original size by long use. It is worthy of notice that the grain is not mown close to the ground as in Europe. Except where there is a market for straw, very little more than the ears are cut off, and the straw burnt in the hot weather of March and April supplies a scarcely-needed fertilising to the soil. The reapers usually receive their payment from the farmer in grain, but they naturally convert this into money, or more portable goods, before they start off home again.

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English rule and civilisation, but in one sense it is true. In Upper Burma every one is taught in the monasteries, and having no other relief from Pali doxologies, becomes saturated with the phraseology and ideas of the zāts. Thus, from the theatrical point of view, the Mandalay youth starts with a distinct advantage over the Lower Burman who potters away in lay and elementary Government schools over addition and multiplication and the sterilities of the First Reader. To qualify for the first ranks, therefore, the ambitious Peguer starts for the Royal City of Gems, practises as much as he can there, and watches the most celebrated players. Then, after a time, he obtains an engagement, and turns up in Rangoon as a quasi anya tha. The stage managers, usually old actors who have made some money and are inclined to take their ease, go up to Mandalay during the rains, when comparatively little is doing, the wet, combined with the four months of Lent, making pwès few and far between. There they cast about and get together a company, entering into a written engagement with the actors, male and female, for the season, which lasts about seven months, from Ta'saungmôn to Nayôn (roughly, November to May). The manager makes all arrangements, and usually takes up his headquarters in some town or large village whence he can easily move to the surrounding places where the company may be wanted. The salaries paid are very good. A first-class prince or princess commands from 800 to 1000 rupees for the season. A good lubyet, or jester, will get five or six hundred. After these come the actors who take such parts as the king or the maids of honour. The dancers, that is to say, those who simply dance and do no more, get about sixty rupees; the saingthama, the musicians, receive forty. The company have not more than two or three rehearsals together before they commence their tour, but this does not matter much, because every one knows his part well, and the cue is not a matter of supreme importance. The zat-ôk (the manager) draws all the money from the performances. As much as 450 rupees have been paid for a two-night performance. This, however, was exceptional, and it was a marionette play with the great Maung Tha Byaw in the prince's part. Very few people

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14: Brant E-5 (1949-50) 1954 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

When the monsoon rains become heavy and steady in late June or early July the fields are plowed with a succession of bullock-drawn implements. The first is a single-toothed harrow, followed by a six-toothed plow. Finally, the soil is gone over with a seven-bladed revolving share. If the ground is not yet sufficiently churned up, a harrow with a large number of teeth may be used. 243

A few days before the planting time the paddy seed is soaked and placed in a wooden cask, the top of which is packed with hay and cow dung. This promotes germination of the seed.

The seed is broadcast sown.* The sower begins at the outermost edge of the field and works his way towards the center, walking in increasingly smaller circles. Beginning at six o'clock in the morning and working until four o'clock in the afternoon, with an interval at mid-morning for his meal and again in the early afternoon for a nap, a sower can cover ten acres in a day. It requires one basket of seed (ca. 48 lbs.) to sow one acre. It is said by villagers that when one is experienced at broadcasting of paddy seeds, regular rows of plants result. 243 512

During the period of about seven days required for the sown seeds to sprout, the cultivators weed the fields, block off water channels, and build up the embankments between fields. About forty days after sowing, when the plants have reached a height of several inches, some necessary thinning is done. Two inches is regarded as the optimum space between plants. Where they are growing closer together some are pulled up and re-planted in thinner areas. 243

Once sowing and thinning has been completed, in mid- to late August, there is little work for the cultivators until harvest time in December, except for frequent visits to the fields to make sure that the water is sufficient and evenly distributed.

At the harvest season, the cultivator and his hired field laborers work in teams of two. One team cuts the paddy about eighteen inches from the top with small hand sickles. These tools are made of good steel blades, obtained in the Rangoon bazaars, which are affixed to handles of buffalo horn. The paddy cutters are followed by another team, which cuts the paddy stalk close to the ground. In the case of hired field laborers doing this work, the prevailing wage is 12 to 16 rupees (ca. $2.50 to $3.50) per acre for paddy cutters, and twenty rupees (ca. $4.00) per acre for stalk cutters. The higher wage for the latter type of work is paid because it is considered harder. Sometimes such field laborers are remunerated in paddy rather than in monetary wages. 243 465 436

The cut paddy is gathered into small piles, about an armful around, which are left in the fields a few days to dry. Then they are bound as sheaves and transported in bullock carts to a cleared area nearer the domestic area, which serves as a threshing floor. 243

Threshing is accomplished by leading bullocks, yoked together and muzzled to prevent their eating the grain, over the paddy sheaves. The bullocks are

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* This method is not common in Burma. One cultivator, when queried concerning the reason for this method, stated: "The land here is not fertile, and though the transplantation method would give a higher yield, the added labor cost would not justify it." [24B]

also used to do this. Sometimes they are able to extract about 5 viss of oil each in one day. 226 463 621

"There are also cultivators in the village. Some of those who work INS also own fields. They rent out the land to tenants. There are altogether 12 people in our village who own cultivation fields. But the biggest landowner does not own lands more extensive than three hundred acres. Some own 40 or 50 acres. Some engage cultivators and work their fields themselves, while others rent out the fields for a certain percentage of the produce. 421 463 621 427

"There were paid workers in the IN. They were paid, not a daily wage, but a monthly salary of Rs. 30/- without food. About 50 of the 80 workers were paid workers, though some of them owned shares as well. In addition to their pay, these paid workers received quite a lot of fish which their families went around selling. They get one or two basket-loads of fish to sell, and in this way make quite a lot of money. 226 463 465

"Fish is not distributed in this manner every day - only when the fish start coming down in great numbers. On these occasions however the workers get about 25 to 30 viss each - that is, by the boatload. Ordinarily they are given just enough for one meal.

"I also own eleven cows; eight for loaning out to cultivators and three for breeding purposes. No milk is drawn for human consumption because that is not the custom in our native place." 231 [272]

One yoke of oxen hired out brought U Myaing 50 baskets of paddy a year. He had 4 yokes. They kept by 100 baskets for home consumption and sold the rest at a rate fluctuating between Rs. 100/- and Rs. 175/- per hundred baskets.

In those years when U Myaing works at INS, he has to confine himself to such work only. During those years when he does not work at INS, he buys the fish from IN workers and process them for sale as NGAGYI, NGA-CHAUK, etc. Each year he uses between four to five thousand fish. When U Myain his co-workers could not get an IN, he had to buy fish and make NGA-CHAUK, (dried fish), NGAPI and NGANPYAR-YE. 226 463 433

On his former visits to Rangoon U Myaing came in a boat loaded with NGAGYI CHAUK (dried NGA GYI) and transferred it to the care of a broker in Rangoon. He then ascended the Shwe Dagon pagoda platform, donated money and water, returned to the broker, and went around the town to places like Mogul Street (the Indian quarter) for meats and ate pillau-rice etc. It took three or four days, and sometimes about ten days for the broker to dispose of his goods and in this time he would go round all the pagodas in Rangoon like the Botataung, Sule, Nga-hsint-gyi etc. Once he went to a Chinese hotel known as the NAN-HIN hotel together with some traders from DABUHTU. They pooled the expenses. The journey home took a day and a night. He took back with him clothes, longyis, KINGYIS, durian fruit, 226 438 484 [778]

226 oranges, guava fruit, mangosteen fruit - together worth about forty
438 or fifty rupees. When he arrived at Pathwe this was distributed among
484 the members of his family, and also some relatives and the phongyis.
[431] On one such trip he made Rs. 2700/- which he carried back hidden away in a jar of salt.

494 U Myaing never came in to Rangoon purely for a visit. Besides
465 bringing down fish, U Myaing also came to Rangoon before the war to buy some motor parts and accessories such as tyres, tubes, etc. which they could not obtain in Pathwe village or in Pantanaw town. At that period in his life U Myaing used to drive a bus between Pathwe and the village on the bank of the river across from Pathwe. There was a cart track for a road, and they used to carry passengers at a rupee per head. In the rains this cart track became impossible and so they traversed this route only from TA-ZAUNG-BON to KASON months. U Myaing worked on this route for three summers. In the rains they shifted operations to the Maubin Ye Le route, which was a 10 mile journey, and occasionally the 10 mile route from Ye Le to HSE-DAING-
[491] MAW. He worked at these places for two rainy seasons, from WASO right up till the month of TA-ZAUNG-BON. The bus was owned by his cousin who collected all the earnings for each day. At that time bus drivers were hired at Rs. 45/- a month, plus sweet tea, food, shelter and one packet of cigarettes a day. "In Pathwe all the houses were too large and could accomodate a great many more people than they actually did. This was because each one erected his own building after the example of the other houses in the village. The person who hired the bus driver merely installed him in his home".

[589] This was when U Myaing was 17 or 18 years old. He was not paid anything, but the family was provided with everything they needed - food, clothes, etc. (U Myaing was still unmarried and the family
[582] consisted of two sisters, his mother and himself. (He did not marry
[431] till the age of thirty.) Both U Myaing and Daw Aw Zar estimated that the things they received from the bus owner would have amounted to much more than forty five rupees' worth.

Comparison of Work in Pathwe and Camp

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In his role as a refugee U Myaing is reduced from an expanding position as a fisherman in a cooperative enterprise to a transient labourer. He lives for the day of return to his village, and lacks the desire and know-how to adapt to a successful career in his new environment. His pattern of work as a labourer has not been broken he is simply doing a different kind of work. But it is now unskilled and lacks promise of development. Similarly, his wife's role has not appreciably changed: she continues to make mats as in the village in hard times; works as a coolie as a substitute for her contributions in processing fish. The eldest daughter has adapted to an urban trade that of cigar rolling, but is well within the pattern of juvenile work carried on in the village at this time. If the family remained in Rangoon, the children would of course adapt completely to the urban work pattern - but is seems improbable that the parents would.

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The reduction in income from work can be seen in the following table:

Estimate of Family Average Income per year

Family Work	Income in Pathwe	Income in Camp
Selling Fish Products	1,500	
Mat making	150	600
Cattle Loaning	200	
Day Labour		1,032
Miscellaneous (gathering, etc.)	900	
Daughter Ma Tin Shwe		240
Government Help		372
Total	2,750	2,144

The purchasing power of the rupee in Camp is not ex toto appreciably different from that of Pathwe. The security of Pathwe work was not so much in the surplus which results, but rather in the guaranteed sources of work. Life was easy and a living to be had for the taking. In camp existence is hand to mouth with no real security. U Myaing expresses this when asked about his knowledge of world affairs. "We don't know whether the world situation has improved or not. We get some of information, but our main worry is work - and how to provide

sufficient food for myself and my family." Yet, it is significant 465 ●
that he[1] manifests no anxiety symtoms, and appears happy and carefree. 722 369
This suggests that despite the fact that he is presented with 464
insecurity he does not react to it with tensions that have nervous
manifestations. The ~~sense of insecurity~~ does not seem to be in his [152]
pattern of living, consequently his response is ill-defined.

The points of difference that U Myaing especially emphasized 511
were:- 178

1. A few weeks of intensive work in Pathwe would get him more than a whole year of salary working in Rangoon. 461 458

2. His income in Rangoon is establilized at a low level. In Pathwe he might make 3 or 4 times his average income from fish products in a good year. On bad years he might just break even. But this did not affect his everyday living quality - since his food was for the most part gathered (fish, fruits etc.) or secured from the cattle loan (baskets of rice).

3. If he was sick in Pathwe his standard of living was not threatened. He made his cash in a short time and had ample leisure for resting. In Rangoon if he does not work he does not eat.

4. In Pathwe he usually had a surplus of 1000 to 1500 rupees on hand during a year. To be lent out (free of interest) to friends and relatives or (usually) invested in fish or family accoutrement. How he lives from hand to mouth. [454]

5. The loss of comfort and ease is severely felt by the adults. In Rangoon he works to stay alive, in Pathwe, to enjoy a full life. [181]

[1 i.e., U Myaing -- ANALYST]

as a roller, and as the aunt from whom she is learning embroidery went into confinement quite recently, she has returned home to the camp. When this aunt had her child, Daw Aw Zar had to go and keep her company for a period of twenty days. Ma Aye Myaing made one or two visits to inquire into her progress. The actual delivery was performed not by Daw Aw Zar, but by someone else, a midwife. When Ma Aye Myaing gives birth to her child the other relatives are sure to offer help, especially if she had the baby in her own home. However, there are only about ten families from Pathwe in Rangoon and out of that number only two or three will be able to come. There would be no need to ask them to come - they would come of their own accord if they heard the news. At present they live in distant parts of Rangoon town. In Pathwe, on an occasion like this everyone comes to ask after the health of the mother and child, even though they may be no relations at all. On the seventh day after birth the house is washed and all visitors to the house are provided with scented water to wash their hair - and it is also sent to those elders who are unble to come. The water is scented with the cream of TAUNG-DAN-GYI, MATHAPYU and KALAMET roots. Enough scented water is provided for about 60 visitors. Most of the visitors are women and girls - very few young men come.

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In Rangoon it is very easy to earn two or three rupees in one day as labourers, while in Pathwe even the worker who worked at the INS for a monthly wage was paid only twenty to thirty rupees. But to offset that, the prices in Pathwe were very much lower than those in Rangoon. NGAPI workers earn Rs. 10/- a month, and the foreman for the NGAPI workers is paid Rs. 15/- a month. This salary of ten rupees was more than sufficient for buying decent clothing and other necessities. These men had to be fed by their employer. The IN workmen who earned twenty to thirty rupees a month had to find their own food.

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U Myaing has made some friends among his fellow workers in Rangoon and has visited the house of 200 of them, but even this was not a social visit, as he went there to enquire about their work.

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621 structure of the social and political organization is the same in
722 both places. However, the expectations and obligations of the original village are ill defined perhaps for the reason that the camp families no longer depend so completely on each other for their social and ceremonial activities. In Pathae, U Myaing and his family were responsible citizens of the village as a whole. In camp, they are merely temporary residents with only the most rudimentary of obligations to their fellow refugees. The basic functions of the camp are carried out by semi-official persons. There is a minimum of feeling of solidarity in the camp where the immediate family is the major functioning unit.

Much has been lost with the passing of the communal activities of the small village. Yet the basic social and ceremonial activities
[181] are still carried out in Rangoon. The community has become a large, impersonal one but the values are the same. The activities, as at the gigantic Shwe Dagon pagoda, duplicate those of the village on a grand scale and are hence more stimulating - but the family is no longer in a special status position and are nameless and unknown in their activities. Because of lack of money the activities are greatly curtailed in scope, but also the obligation is less. In this sense the family is "freed" from pressing obligations of the village where, for example, they were expected to contribute relatively large sums to community activities.

621 The familiar and beloved flavour of routine village activities
722 is replaced by the excitement of life in the big town. Everything is
369 new and different and while the basic understandings are still
517 encountered the old restrictions of the small community have disappeared. Life in Rangoon is full of possibilities and amusement.

369 Recently (during the summer of 1951) U Myaing was promoted from
555 street cleaner to boss of the cleaners of one section. He still gets a salary of Rs. 86/- a month but has the position of an overseer somewhat equivalent in status to the IN overseer's job in Pathae.
[145] There are many opportunities for an honest and intelligent person to rise
000 in Rangoon. In October 1951 U Myaing visited me to take an order for table mats. His samples were much too large and bound with a violent

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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115. WATER SCOOP (KA-HNWE).

for fodder, the corn is cut close to the ground, having first been laid by pressing it down with bamboos, which makes it easier. For reaping, the villagers co-operate. But in the plains of the delta, where cultivation has extended so greatly, there is not labour enough on the spot to reap the crop. Harvest labourers come down from Burma Proper and also large numbers from the south of India (p. 159). In the plains reapers get their two meals and a quarter of a bushel of grain a day or the equivalent in money (p. 56). In the hills a reaper gets a bushel a day for his labour. The common wages of daily labour are about half a rupee in Pegu, and a quarter less in Burma Proper. Before 1850, when the export trade began, wages were only half as much.

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The sheaves are left to dry for a day in the sun and then gathered into garbs. These are piled on a dry field into a circular heap some three feet high, and broad enough for a herd of buffaloes to tramp round upon and tread the grain off the ear, to which it is attached by a slender petiole. Another way is to pile the garbs in a high crescent-shaped heap, round the central space of which four to six head of cattle are made to travel abreast and tread the garbs which are cast down from above. The grain keeps best in the husk and is stored in bins of bamboo wattle smeared with clay (*sabaji*, Nos. 119, 120).

The covering of the rice-grain is a strong adherent husk like that of barley, but mostly without any beard. Rice in the husk is called *Sahl* (Engl. paddy).

116. CUTTING THE CROP IN THE GREAT PLAIN.

30: Maung Htin Aung E-4 (no date) 1953 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

Although the kingdoms of Prome and Thaton probably based their wealth on trade and commerce, and the kingdom of Pagan based its power and wealth on commerce, the Burmese have been simple agriculturists throughout their history, and therefore Burmese customary law of contract and torts dealt with the business of agriculture, such as water-rights, land-rights, hire of cattle, carts, and implements, and with the relations between employers and laborers. As has been stated before, the Burmese law of contract and tort is no longer valid, and although the Burmese still remain agriculturalists, their business of agriculture is no longer simple as in the days before the British annexation. Nonetheless, some of the rules of law in contract and torts are still of interest. For example, let us consider the law relating to payment of wages to laborers. The Burmese law did not give emphasis to that part of the wages which was to be in the form of money. But it specifically laid down that (1) in the case of an agricultural laborer, he was to receive, in addition to wages in money, a suit of clothes at the end of each "season"—i.e., the "growing season" and the "reaping season," and (2) in the case of a nonagricultural laborer, he was to receive, throughout the period of his employment and in addition to wages in money, "regular meals of rice and curry." For the agricultural laborer, who had his own store of paddy, clothing was of great consequence, and to the nonagricultural laborer food was of great consequence. Thus the Burmese law ensured that the fluctuation either in the general level of wages or in the value of money should not adversely effect either the laborer or his employer. Moreover, as both the laborer and the employer wore the same homespun clothes and ate the same food, the arrangement was fair to both parties. With regard to professional services rendered also, the Burmese law attempted to be fair to both parties, as could be seen from the following rules of law regarding physicians and lawyers:

If a physician has been called for fee to attend to a sick person, but the sick person recovers or dies before the physician reaches

If the umbrella falls down it indicates that the spirit has departed and cannot return. The person who performs this ritual must not talk to anyone en route to the cemetery. 764

On the seventh day a ceremony takes place. The monks come to the house to eat and chant prayers. They are given offerings for their own use and a special tray containing white thread. The monks hold the thread, which symbolizes good, while they chant. The people present are seated before the monks, repeating the prayers and precepts after them. The deceased person is supposed to be sitting on the mat prepared for him and benefiting from this ceremony. Then the people are fed, the monks depart, and the influences of death are considered to be banished. The thread is kept in the house. 764 769

Graves are not visited, nor is there any upkeep of the cemetery, for folk belief has it that the tidying of graves will cause more people to die. The dead are commemorated by the meritorious act of feasting the Buddhist monks.

Associations

Bus Union. Owners of buses plying between Tadagale and Rangoon are organized into a union. In terms of its functions, this organization might be more fittingly termed a mutual protective and insurance association. These are to prevent outsiders from infringing on their route and competing with them; payment of damages in case of accidents between members' buses and other vehicles or persons; payment of any costs of litigation that arise in connection with accidents; and maintenance of a repair shop and mechanic in the village. Members of the union pay an initial sum to join, plus monthly dues and a small toll fee for each trip that is made. 441 494

Peasants Union. The Tadagale Peasants Union is a constituent body of the All Burma Peasants Union and operates directly under the Insein Division of the parent organization. Some fifty to sixty households in Tadagale are members. When the head of a family or household joins, the union regards all its members as union members. In theory, meetings are supposed to occur once a month, but in fact take place at irregular intervals, whenever a problem arises that is considered sufficiently important to warrant a meeting. Commonly this is a dispute between members over land. If opinion remains divided after considerable discussion of a dispute or other issue, the union meeting votes by written ballot. 467 427 185

The more long-run aims of the Peasants Union concern rent and taxes of cultivators. Protests and petitions are sent to the government when it is felt taxes are too high. The union was characterized as 'an organization that is against the landlords.' At the time of our research, its aim was to reduce the landowners' share of the produce to one-third from two-thirds. The union also favored land nationalization, under which it was believed rent would be paid in a just amount to the government. Just where the Peasants Union fitted in with existing political party programs and alignments in the country at large it was not, for various reasons, feasible to investigate.

Ceremonial Assistance Groups. For purposes of rendering help at such ceremonies as weddings, funerals and initiations, the villagers are divided into informal groups. These are: men's group; married women's group; and unmarried girls' group. The men's group does the heavier tasks, such as chopping and carrying firewood, erecting ceremonial structures, and preparing 575 476

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pagodas and those throughout the country are descendants of the pagoda slaves.

Beggars are rated below the pagoda slaves - but, because of the Buddhist merit associated with giving do well for themselves. The beggars live in communities on the outskirts of the town often in cemetaries. They are thought to exhume the dead to get the coins placed in the mouth of the deceased to ensure expenses on his journey to heaven. The wood of the coffin is believed to be used in constructing their huts. Professional undertakers or morticians are regarded with horror since they like the beggars, make their living from the dead. The functions of burial are performed gratis by the entire village. A story is currently going round the University dormitories [203] telling of an immensely wealthy Burmese coffin maker in Rangoon who has offered riches to the young man who will marry his beautiful daughter. When the future seems blank the students' friend advises "Hey, why don't you go and marry the coffin maker's daughter?" It seems that the money would scarcely compensate for the social discrimation. The extent to which the occupation classes are rigid in marriage and other social exchanges is an interesting problem.

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A young man is obliged to remain within the occupation class of his family or to rise to greater heights. He is advised at an early [867] age to "be simple, aim high, and tell the truth." When children [857] play at dacoits (thieves) of other "low class" games their parents object to their low aspirations and advise them to play nobles and ministers. One would feel justified in remaining idle rather than accept a position below that of his birth. It is better to accept a clerks job at a low salary than an artisans at a high salary. On the other hand those born into lower status occupation groups tend to be satisfied with their state as a condition of birth. In Rangoon, however, even the hawkers may have ambitions to achieve fame and fortune. The opportunities for social mobility is greater in the towns and cities [367] but difinitely restricted in the villages.

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Apprenticeship to trades begins at the age of 12 to 14 years, and usually lasts for several years. Ordinarily the youth is attached to the shop of a relative where he lives and is payed a subsistence wage while learning. The key to high positions lies in education in

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777 day on the calendar but the second phongyi decided to embark anyway. Both phongyis were lost when the boat sank that day.

554 The revered position of phongyis is open to all regardless of
792 birth or position. It is felt that some take up the robe because they
178 are unsuccessful in life, or wish an "easy living" - but perhaps this
626 attitude is one of modern sophisticates. Certainly the dominant position of the brotherhood is unchallenged. Occasionally differences arise between the headman and the phongyis of a village. But the phongyis invariably prevail. Offending laymen can be "deprived the gate of heaven" by phongyis refusing to accept HSOON, alms, from th This is called inverting the begging bowl THA-BEIT-MAUK-TAI (Begging
●[468] bowl-upturn) and is the current phrase for any sort of a "strike".

792 Some unprincipalled phongyis have sought to enrich themselves by
556 accepting gifts of land or other property, or by selling gifts for
[135] money to traders. When they leave the brotherhood and become laymen again this property become theirs. Such occurences appear to be rare and are controlled by stipulations of the givers. For example a donor would hesitate to give paddy land to a suspected phongyi but might agree to giving the crops while retaining title.

554 The government or administrative class is looked up to with
647 great respect - in part a carry over from the days of royalty, in part
641 an attitude towards power and influence. However, while the villager today may not know the details of the new constitution he knows there is a "code" wherein he can secure impartial justice.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

At intervals on the main lines of

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392. CLOTH BAZAR.

traffic are refreshment-booths, where fruit, sweetmeats, and tea are sold. Meals can be taken in the markets of the towns. In the villages casual travellers enjoy the hospitality of the people. In the afternoon the markets are closed; low tables are set in the roads, where cheroots, fruit, and sweetmeats are sold in the evening. Some of these refreshments are prepared on the spot, such as the *mònlebwè*, a wafer baked in the flame of a fire, in which it rises to an immense size.

The wholesale trade of Burma is conducted by brokers (*pwèza*) who receive a commission. Wealthy men operate with their own capital, others find investors and money-lenders to advance funds, some form partnerships and small companies to divide profits. Producers frequently bring their grain direct to the mills; but the bulk of the grain is bought up by the native brokers to the order of the exporters, most of whom never visit the interior. The interest on money is one to six per cent. per mensem. What is not hoarded in the form of plate and ornaments is put into trade or is put out to interest. Money-lending is not a special business because everybody practises it. Appalling as is the rate of interest—the measure of risk—such hard bargains are not driven as in India. Debtors when sold up can nowhere make a new start so well as in Burma. Brokers do banking in a small way; but banking has been made a regular branch of business by the Chettis from India (No. 364), who pay as much as one per cent. per month on deposits and charge one and a half per cent. on loans fully secured. European banks and investments with their high security and low rates of interest do not attract Burman capital.

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393. NIGHT BAZAR.

505 The carrying business is mainly by water, for which Burma possesses unrivalled facilities, especially in the floods

it out to dry in the sun throughout the next day, then pound again and store in jars. The total process takes two days." 251

U Myaing continues his explanation of the IN fishery:- 263

"The fishery is worked on a co-operative basis. We contribute equal sums of money. If one puts up Rs. 100/- all put up Rs.100/-; if Rs.1000/- all put up Rs.1000/- each. We group together and work. Rights to the site of the fishery must be secured from the government by auction. We have to make an initial payment of about Rs. 1000/- or Rs. 2000/- and in bidding among ourselves the price increases to eight thousand, nine thousand, ten thousand, twelve thousand. The original price was three thousand rupees. This is the cost of the Deputy Commissioner's auction. There were many bidders at the auction for the IN. Four, five, six. For example if I give a thousand rupees you offer two thousand, he gives three, four, five thousand ..... When it comes to the hand of the successful bidder the price has increased. The money for the fishery rights have to be paid in later (after the fishing has begun). For example if I pay in a thousand rupees this month, I pay a thousand the next month and the next, in several instalments. This is in addition to the amount we sink into the actual working of the business. (Cost of constructing the IN and equipment). 226 474 463

"The fishermen do not get paid a salary. They have shares. Accounts are kept of how much fish is caught, how much sold, and only after the IN has been worked to the end of the season is everything cleared up. Each fisherman gets only one share, and the profits are equally divided. We have to pay equal amounts of money for the IN and the money we get from the IN is the same for each of us. We all group and work together. There are some INS where one takes the lead and engages all the men and works it for himself. What he gets he keeps for himself. He pays the wages. In selling, we discuss the matter among ourselves and then sell. The four or five elders get together and if they decide to sell this kind of fish for this price, it is sold.

"As one of the elders, I go alone and bid at the auctioning in the Deputy Commissioner's office. I also supervise the actual fishing saying to the other fishermen - "Do this, and this and this." I have a list of what things they need and have to go and buy these things for them. I have to buy poles, I have to buy IN bamboo, I have to buy all the implements which are to be used. I have to collect money, and buy all the implements used in the IN. I have to keep accounts for this. I get a bit more money (than the other fishermen) by making goods (from the profits of manufacture). You see, I also make dried Nga-gyi fish and Ngapi-daung. I buy the fish from them and process it. I have not worked at INS all my life. I worked for about ten years at the time when the British king reigned. When the Japanese came I worked at INS no longer."(He then bought fish and sold the preparations.) [656] 226 463 621

U Myaing gives the following supplementary information:

" There are ten leaders or foremen in the village, each of them taking charge of about seven or eight men. In all there are about eighty workers in the three sub-villages of Pathine working with me at our IN. About thirty or forty of these live in INN-GYI-BET on our side of the river. These are men working at our IN only. There are also workers living in the village who work in the six other INS of the neighbourhood. About a hundred of the two hundred families in INN-GYI-BET work INS. The rest produce the fish, dry it, make ngapi etc., and to do this they have to buy the fish from the IN workers. Afterwards they sell to buyers who come from Upper-Burma. Or sometimes they go upcountry in boats and steamers to sell the produce. Some people who are not IN workers go to the INS and help to extract fish oil. Fish like Nga-Pare-Aung yeild about one viss of oil to every 10 viss of fish. The fish are cut open with a knife and the fat collected. The women come and help without payment and take home oil for themselves when they go back. The women of my household also used to do this. [438] [562]

181 first a bewildered refugee, but gradually assumed the role of a
565 labourer rising in the ranks. The case indicates the mobility of the
555 Burmese family and shows clearly that it may function successfully outside of the confines of its original social atmosphere.

182 The family in Burmese society: The successful mobility of
594 U Myaing's family indicate that the immediate family is the primary
621 social unit of Burmese society. The Burmese community is then a
156 congregation of immediate families who engage in activities of mutual benefit within the protective framework of the village structure. This interpretation high lights a particular type of individualism which is a familiy individualism depending on the roles of each
[779] member of the family for its full expression. This concept seems tied to the Buddhist idea of individual salvation through acts of merit on the one hand and the exigencies of gaining a livelihood on the other.
●[474] The family is the basic economic unit and though it will enter cooperative endeavours (like the IN fisheries, or communal net propitiations), has the ultimate responsibility and capabilities of support-
[596] ing itself. The extended family is important, as indeed is the total village social structure, only in so far as it contributes to the maintenance of the individual immediate family of procreation including spouses, offspring and aged parents. The "looseness" of the social structure conversely allows mobility of the immediate families. This analysis indicates that attempts at modernising of the Burmese people (acculturation) should meet with a minimum of structural obstacles - such as caste, clan and rigid associations might present.

181 The Burmese culture pattern and the individual: The village culture
156 pattern is dominated by a series of relatively simple, interrelated
369 ideas held by all. Each individual feels himself temporily occupying a
555 particular situation which is only one of many existences and but an instant in eternity. He is fated to be a member of a particular family with a set of opportunities through life. Life should be pleasant and must be virtuous if future existences are to be pleasant. He must realise as fully as possible the talents and opportunities that come to him through his KAMMA situation. In the villages this concept is a great stabilising force and tends to make an individual content with

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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764 carried off by the grave-diggers. None but an outcast would venture to do such a thing.

By this time, or, if the death occurred at night, in the early morning, the band has arrived, and commences to play dirges in front of the house. The Sula-gandi monks greatly disapprove of this practice, as savouring of ostentation, and their followers therefore often dispense with the band, as do many Burmans in the large English towns. But otherwise the band is always engaged, and plays on steadily till the funeral takes place. Almost invariably, too, one or more of [793] the yahans from the monastery come along and stay in the house, their presence being invaluable in keeping away evil spirits, who might otherwise loiter about the place. The monk may or may not deliver a discourse, just as he sees fit. The body is then put into the coffin, which is a very flimsy kind of affair, ordinarily made of let-pan (*Bombax malabaricum*), a very light and porous kind of wood not unlike deal, or sometimes of eng tree (*Dipterocarpus tuberculatus*). This is fastened down roughly with any kind of nails that come to hand. A number of the relatives and friends now come to condole and lend their assistance in making and ornamenting the bier and hearse, most of them bringing presents of money or food with them. A few years ago a very [476] meritorious society called Upathaka was started in Rangoon, the object of which was to provide decent and honourable burial for all members. The actual society did not last very long, but it served to show that the old feeling of mutual help still existed. At no time, however, have the Burmans been backward in this meitswe a-paung a-paw, which is one of the thirty-eight points insisted on in the Mingala-thut, the most favourite sermon of the Lord Buddha's. Friends and neighbours troop in with presents of a few pice, baskets of rice, meat, fruit, tobacco, betel, and material for decorating the bier, so that a man who in his lifetime never had a rupee to bless himself with, receives in Lower Burma a funeral grand enough to bring everybody connected with it under the scope of the sumptuary laws, if it were held in King Thibaw's territory.

The body is kept a longer or shorter time according to the station of the deceased. If he was rich, the preparation

If the umbrella falls down it indicates that the spirit has departed and cannot return. The person who performs this ritual must not talk to anyone en route to the cemetery. 764

On the seventh day a ceremony takes place. The monks come to the house to eat and chant prayers. They are given offerings for their own use and a special tray containing white thread. The monks hold the thread, which symbolizes good, while they chant. The people present are seated before the monks, repeating the prayers and precepts after them. The deceased person is supposed to be sitting on the mat prepared for him and benefiting from this ceremony. Then the people are fed, the monks depart, and the influences of death are considered to be banished. The thread is kept in the house. 764 769

Graves are not visited, nor is there any upkeep of the cemetery, for folk belief has it that the tidying of graves will cause more people to die. The dead are commemorated by the meritorious act of feasting the Buddhist monks.

Associations

Bus Union. Owners of buses plying between Tadagale and Rangoon are organized into a union. In terms of its functions, this organization might be more fittingly termed a mutual protective and insurance association. These are to prevent outsiders from infringing on their route and competing with them; payment of damages in case of accidents between members' buses and other vehicles or persons; payment of any costs of litigation that arise in connection with accidents; and maintenance of a repair shop and mechanic in the village. Members of the union pay an initial sum to join, plus monthly dues and a small toll fee for each trip that is made. 441 494

Peasants Union. The Tadagale Peasants Union is a constituent body of the All Burma Peasants Union and operates directly under the Insein Division of the parent organization. Some fifty to sixty households in Tadagale are members. When the head of a family or household joins, the union regards all its members as union members. In theory, meetings are supposed to occur once a month, but in fact take place at irregular intervals, whenever a problem arises that is considered sufficiently important to warrant a meeting. Commonly this is a dispute between members over land. If opinion remains divided after considerable discussion of a dispute or other issue, the union meeting votes by written ballot. 467 427 185

The more long-run aims of the Peasants Union concern rent and taxes of cultivators. Protests and petitions are sent to the government when it is felt taxes are too high. The union was characterized as 'an organization that is against the landlords.' At the time of our research, its aim was to reduce the landowners' share of the produce to one-third from two-thirds. The union also favored land nationalization, under which it was believed rent would be paid in a just amount to the government. Just where the Peasants Union fitted in with existing political party programs and alignments in the country at large it was not, for various reasons, feasible to investigate.

Ceremonial Assistance Groups. For purposes of rendering help at such ceremonies as weddings, funerals and initiations, the villagers are divided into informal groups. These are: men's group; married women's group; and unmarried girls' group. The men's group does the heavier tasks, such as chopping and carrying firewood, erecting ceremonial structures, and preparing 575 476

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large amounts of food. The married women prepare food, serve, and entertain the guests, while the unmarried girls assist them. If a ceremony involves a procession, the unmarried girls bear the gifts which are invariably taken to the monks on such occasions.

These 'groups' are so informal and loosely organized that in the strict sociological sense they should not be so designated; rather, they are simply the conventional lines along which cooperation takes place and labor is divided, in a spirit of mutual aid, whenever a family sponsors a ceremony -- an occasion involving much work. Each is willing to help, for when his own family sponsors an event, similar assistance will be expected and forthcoming.

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Education. In addition to the Buddhist monastic schools, to be discussed in the next chapter, there is a small secular school in the village. This is operated on a voluntary basis by a middle-aged schoolmaster, a widower, who migrated, together with his daughter, to Tadagale two years ago. It is his hope that eventually the school will be incorporated into the regular school system, as compulsory education is gradually extended to the country. The school is financed wholly by voluntary contributions. The village headman personally contributes ten rupees per month, his brother gives a like amount, and the Bus Union donates five rupees. From this income of twenty-five rupees per month ($5.25) the schoolmaster pays five rupees for his house rent and provides blackboard chalk and his own books and pencils. On what remains, plus a little profit he derives from maintaining a small shop in his house, he must support his daughter and himself. But he is confident that once compulsory education is extended to Tadagale, his sacrificial efforts of the present will be rewarded by a regular appointment at Rs. 100 per month, an expanded program of instruction, and perhaps the services of an assistant. For the present he operates the school without any responsibilities to superiors, devising his own curriculum and teaching according to his own methods. The schoolmaster was himself once a student at a normal school in Moulmein.

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About eighty children attend the school with varying degrees of regularity. The average daily attendance is about sixty. The schoolmaster feels that many more children of school-age living in the community should attend, but finds that parents are reluctant to send their children. Some feel they are needed for household and field labor; others prefer what they regard as the stricter environment of the monastic school, with its great emphasis upon religion and correct conduct. The schoolmaster deplores the ignorance and negative attitudes of villagers concerning education, and their unwillingness to contribute financially to the maintenance of his school.

Instruction is given in five grades or 'standards' as they are called in Burma. These are termed 1B, 1A, 2, 3, and 4.

Standard 1B is equivalent to the kindergarten of the pre-World War II schools. The schoolmaster has divided the class into two sections, one for the children of seven to eight years who already can read to some extent, the other for the younger ones of four to six who cannot. According to the rules of the government schools six years is the minimum school age, but the schoolmaster in Tadagale is not bound by such regulations. He teaches these two groups of kindergarteners according to their own levels and at the pace which he thinks appropriate. They learn the alphabet and simple numbers at first, later moving on to reading and spelling. No regular allocation of time to different subjects is possible, since the schoolmaster must teach this and four other classes without any assistance.

426 or her daughters or sons who are financially well-to-do. U Myaing's
593 sister who lives in Rangoon has given help to the eldest daughter by housing her near her cheroot-rolling job. The pattern of mutual aid among the relatives is strongly developed among the Burmese. "A tree will support a thousand birds" emphasises the importance of the relative who makes good for the rest of the family.

Relationship of Family to Community and State

602 A large portion of the Pathwe community were related to U Myaing.
621 Consequently many reciprocal activities fell within the family group. Most of the activities were prescribed by virtue of being a member of the community rather than by kinship ties. Such activities include cooperation in house raisings, funerals, marriage festivals, SHIN PYU ceremonies where the family involved needs help. Unpleasant occasions such as funerals demand everyone's attendance if not financial participation.
602 On pleasant occasions the participants are apt to be one's friends and
621 relatives. When someone builds a small house or puts a new thatch
•476 roof on, the other villagers come to help. He does not have to pay
[342] the workers anything or even feed them. He has only to cook and prepare for them the raw foods and chillies, onions, etc., which each one brings for himself. This statement, however, holds true only when small houses are built. Regular carpenters have to be hired to build the big ones. U Myaing frequently helped to build other people's houses - small houses that could be completed in a day. Help of this nature is offered without asking.

764 When a person dies in the village, the villagers all go to the
621 house and certain elders help to bathe and dress the corpse and place
476 it on the bed, where it may be kept anywhere from three to seven days before being taken out and buried. The ground for burial is bought at the ceremony for the price of one pice. Now, in keeping with the general inflation, the price has risen to one anna. The grave is dug by the young men's group. The young men of the village carry the bier, or pull the bullock cart on which the coffin rests, and dig the grave. They also provide the orchestra. For performances on the night of the death and the day after a Burmese orchestra is engaged at the rate of Rs. 50/- to Rs. 100/-. The various visitors who come to condole with

the bereaved bring with them gifts of money and in this way seek to help them to defray the funeral expenses of which the funeral feast held 7 days after the death is most expensive. Sometimes these visitors are so generous that the householder does not need to contribute anything at all. Some people, however, prefer to reserve the right to pay for burial expenses of someone in the family, and put out an announcement requesting neighbours to refrain from making monetary contributions. 764 621 476

The community activities in the refugee camp are mainly of an economic nature - discussed in the section on "Work". The solidarity of the village is lacking and the feelings of obligation and responsibility beyond the basic economic ones are absent. 621 722

In Pathee there are ethnic groups other than the Burmese. There are a few Karens, Indians of Madrasi affiliation, as well as a few Chinese who run stores. The attitude of the family toward these other groups are reflected in the following interview: (Note: the concept of "religion" is used here as meaning "general way of life." 621 563 186

Q. "Does U Pyaing know about other religions such as Christianity and Hinduism? If so, what is his attitude towards them.

A. "I don't understand them well. We are with our own religion. We are country folk. We understand our religion only. We don't understand other religions.

Q. "What is your attitude towards other racial groups living in the village?

A. "I don't hold any positive attitude. I harbour no evil thoughts. We hold them to be the same as we are.

Q. "Would you like to go back to live among the Karens you spoke of just now?

A. (D.A.Z.) "Of course not. Lots of Burmese were left behind. We wouldn't dare to live among the Karens."
(U.M.) "Some people do not dare to live among the Karens, but we do."
(D.A.Z.) U.M.)"We don't have enemies."
(D.A.Z.) "There are Karens who are friendly with us."
(U.M.) "Say that we lived together. We lived together."
(D.A.Z.)"Though we have no enemies we feel afraid. In the present turmoil and confusion people no longer know each other."

Q. " Do the Karens differ from you in religion?"

A. (U.M.) "Our religions do not differ. The religion of Karens in our place and our religion do not differ. It is Buddhism."

phongyis have to draw lots for these. 796

There are thirty days during which the KAHTEIN ceremony can be held - from the full moon of Thadingyut to the full moon of Tazaungmon When the phongyis have been given HSOON, the ceremony is over. But preparations have to be made four or five days ahead for building the equipment, for cooking the food, for rehearsing the play to be put up by the youngmen, etc. 735

The Tagu month festival is a religious festival and is celebrated in their village at the HSU TAUNG PYE pagoda. Collections are taken, and people donate from Rs. 2/- or Rs. 5/- right up to Rs. 300/- each. A BAT troupe is engaged for the occasion, and they are paid at the rate of Rs. 150/- or Rs. 200/- a night for six or seven nights. This festival takes place on the full moon of the month of Tagu. Beginning from the eve of the full moon, people start coming to the pagoda bringing gifts of fruit, PAUK PAUK HSOTE trifle, toffees, bread, cheroots, betel boxes GYIN THOKE trifle, etc., and these people have to be fed too. U Myaing donated between forty and sixty rupees; while people who are rich donate between three hundred and four hundred rupees. (U Myaing's village of Pathwe is divided by a fork in the river into three sub-villages, and when collections are taken they are only confined to one's own side of the river.) Enough food is prepared to feed three or four thousand people. Butter is bought by the kerosene tin, ripe bananas, fried fish, pork, etc., and the guests are fed till everyone is satisfied. About twenty baskets of rice have to be boiled by about forty to fifty people.

The guests are fed in three rest houses, each holding fifty people at a time. Even so, there are so many guests that some people have to return home without having eaten anything at all, and even though a lot of food still remain. The guests who come are both Karens and Burmans, and when they come they sometimes bring along cows or horses which have decorations and gifts hung on them. Anyone who so desires can go and hang his gift on to the animal as well.

Everyone contributes his or her labour. It is not good to hold back. When there is a festival or a ceremony in the KLAUNG, all the families lock up their houses and go over to help. Even fish coming down to the IN are not picked up til the festival is over. Everyone helps in getting up festivals. Burmans and Karens all come to help at some household which intends to give charity on a grand scale. [476]

U Myaing's Shifting Relationship to Buddhism 779

In an interview U Myaing was questioned as to his relationship to Buddhism as a "taker of lives" (fisherman). His sense of guilt in Pantanaw where he fished and relief from this in the camp is given below verbatim from the interview.

42. Q. Would you tell U Myaing that I as a foreigner understand very little about Buddhism but I've heard that the fisherman who take lives of the fish are regarded unfavourably. Ask him if this is true.
A. (U.M.) There are the 5 KAMS (commandments - Pali: KAMMA - to do). Thou shalt not take the life of others. Thou shalt not wrong the wife and off-spring of another. Abstain from intoxicants and from stealing the property of others. We have to observe these. The Buddha has preached it.
Q. Isn't U Myaing, in working the IN, taking the lives of the fish?
A. Yes, I am taking the lives of the fish. I have to do it to get food - to make a living.
Q. But you do not wish to take life?

the husband is too old to work. Aged parents are invariably respected but those who can still support themselves are "worshipped". Parents do not rely on their sons who have their own families to support but feel that their daughters will always "bring them a cup of curry". 461 554 454 888 461

The third urge is to have wealth to donate to the Buddhist church. This is regarded as a sound investment since it not only brings a most satisfying honour especially in old age (to be a "pagoda giver") but also counts as merit credited to the individual's account in eternity. 554 735 775

Competition is keenly felt between individuals and families of the same occupation group or adjacent groups but not between the lower and upper classes. An exception is where family traditional land has changed hands - and hard feelings may persist. A carpenter's family does not envy and covet the riches of a government official's family. His lot is due to KARMA and even if he wished to attain such fortune it would be beyond his abilities. More important, it is not expected of him. So the carpenter is content with cheap jewelry for his women and an occasional gold coin - but the pattern is the same as for the upper class. However among the individuals and families of an occupation level there is much rivalry for the benefits wealth can bring. It is a point of pride to have the largest diamonds at a social function, and to give the biggest pagoda. Wives brag that their husbands "prevent the hairs of their hands from singeing" - that they have servants to cook. Rank and recognition are based on these considerations. 565 477 554 461

The women of the family exert powerful influence in financial matters and are respected for their sound judgment. Women's occupations include cigar manufacturing, pottery making, and especially shop keeping. 461 562 463

The beginning of an enterprise is conditioned by the wisdom of the ancients and especially the date and place which are given by formula in the Burmese calendar. There are HNI-NAYA (day king of) "fortunate days" and PYAD-THADA "unlucky days". For example the calendar announces that Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays of a particular month are fortunate days to begin enterprises, and other days either unfortunate or neutral. Rangoon sophisticates (but never villagers) tell such stories as this: Two phongyis travelled by boat; the first boarded the boat on a fortunate day to begin travelling. The next day the boat came to the second phongyi's village. This was an unfortunate 777 461

A village of 2000 persons may have 10 or more doctors. The more successful "move up" to the towns and cities. Most of the medicines are herbs and chemicals including roots, leaves, fruits, berries, salt, and sulphur. Many of the herbs are imported from India. Parts of animals such as crocodile skin, pig and horse droppings are used less frequently. The doctor must be a moral man of good character or the medicine will not be effective. He uses the right index finger "medical finger" to stir the concoctions. The family of the sick person may either prepare the medicine themselves from the doctor's directions or take him's on special preparations. Many cures are effected by regulating diet, and in most cases this plays an important part in the cure. The knowledge which the SAY-SAYA must command is extensive including not only the medical wisdom of the ages but also the peculiarities of the patient and above all the relationship of the seasons (weather conditions) to the case.

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If one doctor fails to cure, another may be called in after dismissing the first. A keen feeling of rivalry exists between the various doctors and there are no cooperative consultations. Although each prides himself on a specialty the secrets of which he jealously guards he feels qualified also to handle any other medical problems. "If two are of the same thoughts, they are enemies" emphasizes the general attitude of competition seen in many other phases of Burmese life. The Burmese doctors are invariably applied to for help first. If this does not succeed modern midicinal facilities are sought. If modern medicine fails it is greatly derided. Maung Maung Than's aunt was ill for a long time and, after consulting many Burmese specialists she was taken to the Rangoon Mission Hospital where her case was diagnosed as advanced breast cancer beyond cure. His uncle, though not a medical man, is recognised as a last resort specialist who when the patient is beyond any other help administers lime juice (ordinarily fatal where fever is involved) in a "do or die" treatment. He is warned off when he appears at a sick house for the risk often does not pay off.

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Illness is frequently caused by supernatural spirits acting either independently or as agents for "black magic" specialists.

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2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

wound round the body, kilt fashion, tucked in with a twist in front, and the portion which remains, gathered up and allowed to hang in folds from the waist, or thrown jauntily over the shoulder. The body is covered with a short white cotton jacket, over which another of dark or coloured cloth is often worn. Elderly people, and the wealthy of all ages, when they are paying a visit of ceremony or going to worship at the pagoda, wear a taing-mathein, a long white coat, open in front except at the throat, where it is tied, and reaching almost to the knees. Round the head a flowered silk handkerchief is loosely wound as a turban. The old wear a simple narrow fillet of white book-muslin round the temples and showing the hair. This is called a pawlôn.

The woman's tamein is a simple piece of cotton or silk, almost square, four feet and a half long by about five broad, and woven in two pieces of different patterns. This is wound tightly over the bosom, and fastened with a simple twist of the ends. The opening being in front, the symmetry of the thigh is displayed in walking, but a peculiar outward jerk of the heels which the girls acquire prevents any suggestion of immodesty. The loose cotton jacket is unhappily not so well contrived to display their charms. Over the shoulders is thrown a bright silk handkerchief, the same as that used by the men for turbans. Nothing is worn on the head except flowers twisted into the hair. Dressed in their best, the family sally forth in search of amusement. If it is a pwè, they will not get home till very late, possibly not till daybreak, when the yellow line of monks issuing forth on their matutinal tour may meet them at the monastery gate. A country dance naturally does not last nearly so long, though it is kept up much longer than most people would care to dance a hornpipe or even a minuet. But a still more favourite form of amusement is the entertainment of a sā-haw sayā, a kind of reciter or improvisatore. He is paid to come to a house, and the company invited are asked to choose a subject for him, some of the favourite zāts, or an incident in history, sacred or secular. Many of them, like the cyclic poets, repeat from memory, but there are others who invent their smooth verses as they go on chanting. They may perform in a house, or in a mandut

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16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

nearly every house there will be a loom, where the wife or daughter weaves for herself or for sale. But many men weave also, and the finest silks are all woven by men. I once asked a woman why they did not weave the best silks, instead of leaving them all to the men. 462 286

'Men do them better,' she said, with a laugh. 'I tried once, but I cannot manage that embroidery.'

They also work in the fields—light work, such as weeding and planting. The heavy work, such as ploughing, is done by men. They also work on the roads carrying things, as all Oriental women do. It is curious that women carry always on their heads, men always on their shoulders. I do not know why. 462 241 482

But the great occupation of women is petty trading. I have already said that there are few large merchants among the Burmese. Nearly all the retail trade is small, most of it is very small indeed, and practically the whole of it is in the hands of the women. 462 444

Women do not often succeed in any wholesale trade. They have not, I think, a wide enough grasp of affairs for that. Their views are always somewhat limited; they are too penny-wise and pound-foolish for big businesses. The small retail trade, gaining a penny here and a penny there, just suits them, and they have almost made it a close profession. [442]

This trade is almost exclusively done in bazaars. In every town there is a bazaar, from six till ten each morning. When there is no town near, the bazaar will be held on one day at one village and on another at a neighbouring one. It depends on the 443 [805]

"pucca"one cost Rs. 12/8. He has none in Camp. 291 435

GAUNG BAUNG (head band):— This is a strip of brightly coloured silk about 4 feet long and 8 inches wide which is wrapped tightly about the head. Pastel colours are most common of which a bright pink colour is most frequently seen around Rangoon. It is tied so that the two ends project as "plumes" over the right ear. Now that the traditional Burmese long hair knotted high on the back of the head has given way to western style short hair cuts a light conical wicker basket is used as a base on which the GAUNG BAUNG is wrapped. This is mainly used by those who lack time to tie the cloth around the head. The basket retains the traditional cone-shaped form of the headgear. Pathee: Three silk GAUNG BAUNGS were used per year. These were bought in Rangoon at Rs. 1/12 to Rs. 2/4 each. He has none in camp. This head-dress is used mainly for dress and ceremonial occasions.

LET-KYEE-PU-SA (Hand hold cloth) handkerchiefs:— These are the western cotton square, imported from United Kingdom, Japan or India. Pathee: one dozen were used per year, at a cost of Rs. 4/8. Camp: none.

AH-THUN-KAN-BAUNG-BI, underwear pants:— These are loose cotton pants coming down to the knees and fastened at the upper end around the waist in the same manner as the LONGYI. They are worn by U Myaing only with silk LONGYIS. Pathee: he kept five on hand, using about 4 a year. They were made at home at a cost of Rs. 1/8 or Rs. 1/12 each. Camp: none, since the silk LONGYI is not used.

Head Towels: (same as towel) When a head wrapping is needed as protection against the heat or cold a cotton towel about 3 feet long and a foot and a half wide is wrapped around in a loose fashion. Pathee: two were used per year; bought in Pantanaw marked for Rs. 2/8 or Rs. 3/- per towel. Camp: none.

SHAN LWE ATHE Shan bags: — This is a shoulder bag commonly called "Shan bag" since the Shan area is a common source. They are made over most of Burma. The bag is a square pouch about a foot and a half on a side made by sewing the sides of a folded piece of printed, or woven cotton. The more ornate have geometric designs 293 435 482

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of many colours. A thin strap about 4 inches wide is attached at the greatest width on both sides and serves to suspend the bag over the shoulder. U Myaing had two in Pathwe, one lasting for 2 or 3 years. They were bought in Rangoon and Pantanaw at prices which are forgotten. Camp: Four were made at home from old pieces of cloth, and are in poor condition. They have been in use for 3 or 4 months, and are thought to be good for only a couple of months more. The larger number in camp is due to the need for hauling goods and food from the distant market in downtown Rangoon. The bags are used by the entire family.

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PWE HIKE (shiny cotton umbrella) Umbrellas: — The Black, cotton cloth, folding umbrella with wooden handle of western type is used. Pathwe: one was owned and lasted 3 or 4 years. Bought at Pantanaw for Rs. 22/-. Camp: none, one is needed and desired.

MAR-AON-HTOKE (bamboo hat) Topes: — These hats are made of strips of bamboo on the pattern of the British army's cork topes. The technique is similar to that used in making the conical hats of palm leaf and bamboo found commonly throughout Southeast Asia. Pathwe: one was owned; it lasted for two years and was bought in Pathwe for Rs. 10/-. Camp; none. U Myaing believes these are available only in the districts. However, they are seen for sale in the Rangoon bazaar also.

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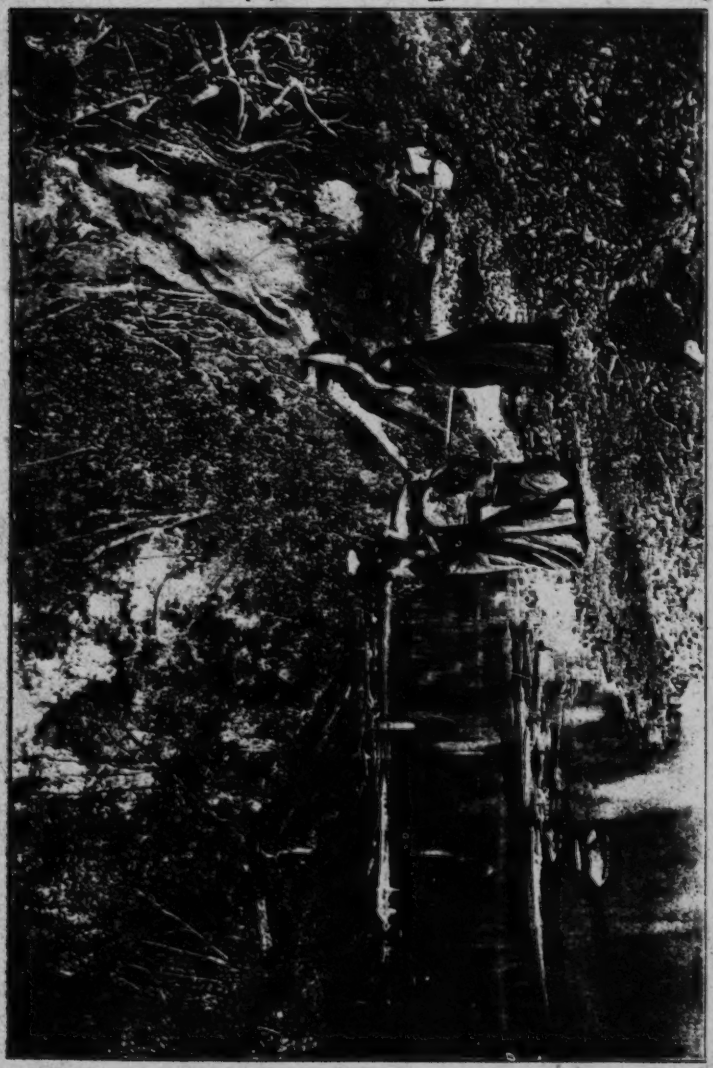
Razor: — Pathwe: a Gillette brand safety razor and blades were used. 15 blades would last about a year. They were bought in Rangoon for 2 annas each. Camp: a THIN DON DHA (sharp knife) "big razor used for shaving children's heads" is used.

Haircut: — Pathwe: a western style short haircut was secured twice a month for two annas per haircut from the local barber in Pathwe. Camp: U Myaing now goes for slightly over a month between haircuts; they now cost 8 annas in the Rangoon barber shops. He desired his hair cut twice a month.

Cosmetics for the Hair: — The preparation used in Pathwe was sticks of hard white substance scented with various perfumes. They are produced locally of European type. He had one stick per month, costing Rs. 1/4. Camp: none. This item is now "not desired at all".

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 API Burma
Burmese AP4

[opp. p. 62]



134. FETCHING WATER AT THE STREAM. [Vo fier A. co.

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25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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[805]

137. CARRYING HOME THE WATER-POTS.

fuel is required only for cooking and in manufactures.

Rice is the staple of every meal, except in the dry zone. The millet and sorghum which there take the place of rice are cooked in the same way but need longer boiling. "A rice-boiling" (*ta-ô-dyét*) is the common phrase for an interval of about twenty minutes. After washing in several waters, rice is put to boil in an earthen pot with enough water to cover it and boiled till the grains are quite clear. The rice-water is poured off, and the rice is put back on the fire to steam. Rice is cooked fresh for every meal and is eaten hot. A relish is made to eat with the rice, consisting of a watery stew of fresh greens or of pulse. The fat used is sesamum oil (*hman-zi*). This curry is seasoned with turmeric (*sanzin*), capsicum (*ngayôtthi*—chilli), and either salt-fish or *ngapi* (p. 92). Fresh fish, prawns, or meat are added if available. In default of cultivated vegetables, wild greens of all sorts, bamboo-shoots and sprouting leaves, are used. Pickles of lime and other fruits are used as separate relishes. There are two meals in the day, both of the same nature. The morning meal is eaten at about nine o'clock, the other before dark. Meals are taken by the household in common. The housewife or daughter gets mats ready in the *kyaunding* and places in the centre a *byat*—a large, deep, wooden platter, lacquered red—into which she turns out the cooked rice (*tamin*). In the middle of the rice is set a bowl with the curry and a spoon. The family squat round the *byat*, or if a large household round several.

[2163]
2164
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[271]

138. STAND FOR THE DRINKING-WATER.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

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[782]

282. PREPARING TAWTHALIN OFFERINGS (p. 188).

at the temples in the same spirit. *Thèbônzali* are erected on the day of a sick person's planet, and decorated with flags according to the years of age. Here Buddhism, which knows of no vicarious merit (or demerit), is tainted by a survival of animism (p. 188). The merit of the act is intended to cancel the demerit of some troubled spirit which is seeking to possess the body of the sufferer. Offerings are likewise set apart for the troubled spirit in the forest, to divert him from the sick person. When an epidemic of cholera occurs, the whole village sets up a din at sunset with bamboo sticks, to frighten the demons away. But many minds are averse to such superstitions, and they seek for natural explanations. They ascribe disease to states of the blood, to "heats" and "vapours." The cooling qualities of nitre are extolled for the one, and the cordial effects of spice for the other. Dietetic questions interest everybody, and everyone has his or her pet nostrum. Very little operative surgery is attempted as compared with India and China—merely the opening of abscesses and setting of bones. Hare-lip and cleft palate, and the cognate deformities, appear to be frequent. The dressings applied to wounds and sores are chiefly turmeric, slaked lime, *nhu*-leaves. Successful lithotomies and other major operations, and the boon of chloroform, have spread the fame of western surgery in a vastly wider circle than it can reach itself. The sick are tenderly nursed by the Burmans, and never abandoned in panic fear as happens in epidemics among the hill-tribes. There are few greater sources of religious merit than ministering to the sick. During the puerperium, the Burman custom is to main-

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283. BURMAN CARRIER.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

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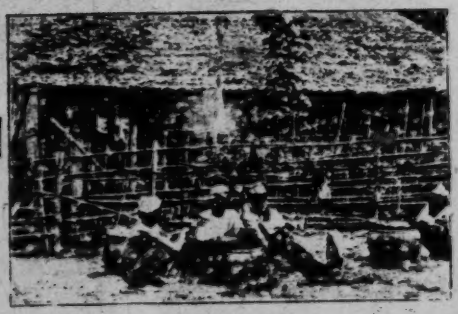

285. PEDLARS.

tain a fire of billets on a special hearth as big as the couch, and placed alongside of it, for five or seven days. The antiseptic property of the smoke may be of value, but the relaxing effect of the artificial heat is believed to be a reason why the Burman women are so much less hardy in this particular than the neighbouring races. The hospital of the Lady Dufferin Fund is helping to spread a more enlightened practice. The ratio of insane in the population is about a quarter of that of Western Europe and America, but is double that of India.

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[443]

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Almost the only dealer who hawks his goods in the street is the seller of oil (*hnanzi*, No. 282). He uses a light spring yoke of the wood of the *zi*-tree, the heavier form of which is seen in No. 283. By its springiness the yoke maintains the load at an even level, thus saving waste of work. As much as a hundredweight is carried for long distances. In merely shifting goods at warehouses, carriers will move two hundredweight. They earn six to twelve annas a day. The only vegetable oil used for burning is the oil or resin of the *ka-nyin* (No. 362). Chips are soaked in the wood-oil and made up into torches (*mídaing*) with leaves of the pandanus. The oil is obtained by hewing deep recesses into the butts of the trees for it to collect in, and firing these from time to time to induce a fresh flow. In the valley of the Irawadi, the crude earth-oil from the wells at Yenándyaung is burned in open lamps. This is the earliest petroleum known to commerce, under the name "Rangoon oil." In recent years petroleum has also been found in Arakán. The out-turn from the Burma oilwells in 1898–99 was thirty-two million gallons, valued at

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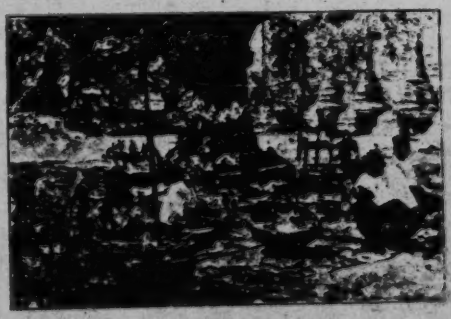

286. TOY AND FLOWER STALLS.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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427. PILGRIMS WITH THEIR BELONGINGS.

1884, and has had to be replaced. The body of the image is encrusted with gold which the pilgrims affix; by a miraculous quality of the image the gold leaf is said to adhere without the usual size. Next in celebrity to this image is the *Shwe-zettaw*, a sacred footprint on the rock, west of Mimbu on the Irawadi (*cf.* p. 36). Only the site of the original footprint on the hill is shown. The rock which bore it clove asunder, according to the legend, in consequence of a profanation. A model of the original occupies a *tazáung* beneath. The fourth great resort of pilgrims is *Kyaittyo Payá*, which is believed to enshrine two hairs of the Buddha. It is erected on a boulder which overhangs the peak of a mountain three thousand six hundred feet high, looking out on the plains of the Sittaung river. The legend tells how this boulder—which is not a rocking-stone—in days of greater piety used to float free above the summit. There are those who argue that even now a fine thread can be drawn between the boulder and the rock. About one hundred and fifty years ago

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[346]

428. SHWE-DAGON PAYA, RANGOON.

872 to go home because Grandmother would have sent him back for a double
792 beating, so he hitched up his longyi, tied his shirt round his head and
861 swam across the stream. One of the huts on the other bank belonged to a woman who had always been very fond of him because she believed
[775] him to be a reincarnation of her brother who had died in childhood; Burmese Buddhists believe that one goes through many existences on this earth, and sometimes children are born who have not yet forgotten their previous existence by the time they can talk; they adopt habits uncannily like those of the departed member who, the fond and grieving relatives hope, has returned to them in the guise of this new child; they say "My bed", "My clothes" to the possessions of the dead person, especially if eggs are not included in their diet, the belief being that eggs cause them to forget. When we were very young, the fame of a wonder child, who could recite the most learned religious passages untaught, spread throughout Burma, and my parents travelled to hear him; he had been a monk in his past existence and could remember.

792 My father's case was no outstanding one like this; he had just re-
561 sembled the lady's brother in looks and gesture, and a few childish utterances helped out by her belief had endeared my father to her as having been *winsa* (come in and inhabited) by her brother. The good and fond lady received the boy with open arms, agreed that he was getting too old for the monastery, and promised to go over and plead with my grandmother to take him out now and hasten his initiation ceremony into the priesthood. This was achieved and my father went back to his mother's house and prepared for the *shinbyu* as the ceremony was called.

● 484 The manner of his exit from the monastery, however, had made
177 him restless. During the short period he was free, he could go where
874 he willed, and in this way he often met traders who came and went between Ye and Tavoy, a seaport town about 100 miles away, to which passenger and cargo ships from Moulmein made regular trips. One day he was at the house on the opposite bank when a boy he used to know as a toddler returned from Tavoy after a trip to Moulmein. This boy could speak a few words of English. Moreover, he wore his hair in a *boha-dauk* (a Westerner's crop) and seemed to think my father a jungle boy. All the restlessness in my father flowed over then, because up to now he had always felt himself clever and ahead of other boys. He worried Grandmother to let him go to Moulmein and learn English, and and get a job with the government which would bring them hundreds of rupees each month. Other families who considered that Grandmother had clever sons agreed that this would be a good idea; though none of them had been to Moulmein and my father was still a boy, it would not be so daring an adventure as it sounded, because there was some one

among our relations in the village who had Anglo-Burman connections in Moulmein. These would put my father in school and look after him. 484 177 874

So after his shinbyu and his spell in the monastery, my father set off down the ye creek to catch a sailing boat of trader friends who, in their sailing ships called *kattu*, ventured as far as the Nicobar Islands and could sail to Moulmein in about seven days. His head was now shopped, and my grandmother had put a ruby ring on his finger; he was 16 years old, which was a very late age to start English schooling and pass it in time to get a good civil service job, but everyone at home thought he would do it easily for he had been the brightest boy in the monastery school.

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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animals generally when a journey is being made for any distance. At night the carts are arranged in a laager with the high backs outwards, and all inside, including even the pariah dogs, are safe from wild animals. The waggoners used to glory in the strident sound of their wheels, which often can be heard miles off in the forest. A wheel with a creak of particular volume and power of penetration is highly prized, and an experienced driver can tell whom he is going to meet or overtake by the groanings of the axles and the key in which they are pitched. Every bullock in addition carries a square metal bell tied under his throat.

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In the yard round about the house there is very often a little garden fenced off in a rough kind of way, but no particular care is taken to keep it neat and free from weeds—no easy matter even for an active gardener in Burma. The favourite plant is always the Bôddha Tharanat (*Canna Indica*, or Indian shot), so named from its seeds, which are used for the beads of the rosary. The flowers are red, or sometimes white. The fable relates that it sprang from the Buddha's blood. His impious and evil-minded brother-in-law and cousin Dewádat, enraged that he was not allowed to have a separate assembly of his own, went to the top of a hill and rolled down a huge stone, intending to destroy the most excellent payā. But the boulder burst into a thousand pieces, and only one little bit bruised Shin Gautama's toe, and drew a few drops of blood, whence sprang the sacred flower. The renowned physician Zewaka healed the great teacher's wound in a single day, and almost immediately afterwards the earth opened and swallowed up the sacrilegious Dewadat. The plants and flowers usually stand demurely in a single row, or perhaps in three or four, like a patch of peas. The *Datura tatula* is almost always found, and among the other mingled vegetables and medicinal plants the *Celosia cristata*, in both its yellow and purple varieties, is a special favourite. But the Burman can scarcely vaunt his success as a flower gardener.

There are always a few domestic animals and pets about the premises. Every family has its dog, which trots about the establishment and makes a terrible to-do whenever a white man appears. The pariahs are magnificent watch-

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

women are found to make the ascent, especially at the Zwè-kabin, the precipitous "Duke of York's nose," some forty miles up the Sittang river from Maulmein, where the Englishman is lost in amazement as to how they ever got the bricks and ironwork up the rocks to construct the pagoda and the hti. Yet thousands of people scramble up at the time of the annual feast, and the pagoda is as well adorned with offerings as any in the flat lands down by the sea, where a rise of a few feet in the ocean would put hundreds of square miles under water.

Every district pagoda has its special feast and all are well attended, for even though the locality may be thinly populated there are always to be found visitors from other places round about; partly as a kind of neighbourly courtesy, partly because there is always some fun in the shape of a travelling troupe, or a marionette play, at a pagoda feast, and chiefly, there can be no denying, from a feeling of genuine piety and a real desire to acquire merit. Pagoda feasts enable a Burman to see the world, as far as it can be seen in his native land. Without the periodical festivals he would only stop chewing betel in the wattled bothy where he was born to go out and smoke a cheroot round his patch of paddy land, and speculate on the time when the Rangoon or Bassein broker would come up to buy his crop from him. Most of the district Burmans would never see the Englishman and his doings were it not for the annual pilgrimage to Rangoon to worship at the Shwe Dagôn. During the rest of the year, unless he lives in the headquarters of an assistant commissionership, all he sees of the British occupation is a stray visit from a young official out shooting, or the chance appearance of an inspector of police in search of a criminal.

Similarly very few Burmans, except those attracted by business to the capital, would ever visit Mandalay were it not for the great "Arakan pagoda." The Mahā Myat Muni Payā is rendered especially sacred by the sitting image of Shin Gautama there preserved, and is on this account regarded by Upper Burmans as not inferior in sanctity to the Shwe Dagôn itself. The huge brass image, twelve feet in height, was brought over the hills from Akyab in the year

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

CHAPTER XIII

FESTIVALS

'The law is sweet, filling the soul with joy.'
Saying of the Buddha.

796 THE three months of the rains, from the full moon
132 of July to the full moon of October, is the Buddhist
484 Lent. It was during these months that the Buddha
241 would retire to some monastery and cease from travelling and teaching for a time. The custom was far older even than that—so old that we do not know how it arose. Its origin is lost in the mists of far-away time. But whatever the beginning may have been, it fits in very well with the habits of the people; for in the rains travelling is not easy. The roads are very bad, covered even with water, often deep in mud; and the rest-houses, with open sides, are not very comfortable with the rain drifting in. Even if there were no custom of Lent, there would be but little travelling then. People would stay at home, both because of the discomfort of moving, and because there is much work then at
132 the village. For this is the time to plough, this is
241 the time to sow; on the villagers' exertions in these

cloth, small enough to keep mosquitos out. The other kind was made of plain cloth to keep out the smallest insects. The nets are rectangular for a single bed, square for a double. They are suspended over the bed on a wooden framework and tucked under the mattress. Pathee: three were used by the family and two kept in reserve. Each lasted 4 or 5 years. The reserve nets cost Rs. 60/- each, the others Rs. 40/- or 45/- each. Camp: one old one was brought from Pathee, this is used by U Myaing and his wife. The rest of the family have none. Two are desired. 513 [435]

TA-BYET-SHE, broom: The hand broom is used to brush out dust and dirt from the floor of the house. It is about 2 feet long, 2 inches in diameter and consists of bent over branches of stiff reeds bound at the top by a more flexible reed strip. The one used in camp cost 12 annas in Rangoon. 356 415

Burmese Concepts about the Home.

The following Burmese ideas about the home were secured mainly from Ko Myaing Than, my research assistant. 342 183

The Burmese regard the MIN-YAR (home place) with great love, and as the most essential feature of life. The head of a family will frequently admonish: "My young ones let us remain with our nest intact and our eggs uncracked", this is also a common prayer. The ideal is to preserve the family home with necessary repairs in its original form. Wooden (teak) houses are preferred to bamboo. The husband and wife are partners in the ownership of the home which they start at marriage. Indeed, the word for "marriage" MIN-DAUNG-PIU (Home-separately-build) emphasizes the importance of building a home upon starting a family. In villages the mother and children spend almost all of their time in and around the home. Since the Burmese are especially sedentary, short journeys being unusual and infrequent events, the house is the spot where he lives and dies. It is furthermore his "castle" and place of security within which he is "ruler". [592] [591] [484]

Each house is under the direct protection of MIN MAHA-GIRI one of the 37 major nats of Burma. He controls the fortunes of the family and in return is revered. A coconut, the symbol of MIN- 342 776 782

also used to do this. Sometimes they are able to extract about 5 viss of oil each in one day. 226 463 621

"There are also cultivators in the village. Some of those who work INS also own fields. They rent out the land to tenants. There are altogether 12 people in our village who own cultivation fields. But the biggest landowner does not own lands more extensive than three hundred acres. Some own 40 or 50 acres. Some engage cultivators and work their fields themselves, while others rent out the fields for a certain percentage of the produce. 421 463 621 427

"There were paid workers in the IN. They were paid, not a daily wage, but a monthly salary of Rs. 30/- without food. About 50 of the 80 workers were paid workers, though some of them owned shares as well. In addition to their pay, these paid workers received quite a lot of fish which their families went around selling. They get one or two basket-loads of fish to sell, and in this way make quite a lot of money. 226 463 465

"Fish is not distributed in this manner every day - only when the fish start coming down in great numbers. On these occasions however the workers get about 25 to 30 viss each - that is, by the boatload. Ordinarily they are given just enough for one meal.

"I also own eleven cows; eight for loaning out to cultivators and three for breeding purposes. No milk is drawn for human consumption because that is not the custom in our native place." 231 [272]

One yoke of oxen hired out brought U Myaing 50 baskets of paddy a year. He had 4 yokes. They kept by 100 baskets for home consumption and sold the rest at a rate fluctuating between Rs. 100/- and Rs. 175/- per hundred baskets.

In those years when U Myaing works at INS, he has to confine himself to such work only. During those years when he does not work at INS, he buys the fish from IN workers and process them for sale as NGAGYI, NGA-CHAUK, etc. Each year he uses between four to five thousand fish. When U Myaing his co-workers could not get an IN, he had to buy fish and make NGA-CHAUK, (dried fish), NGAPI and NGANPYAR-YE. 226 463 433

On his former visits to Rangoon U Myaing came in a boat loaded with NGAGYI CHAUK (dried NGA GYI) and transferred it to the care of a broker in Rangoon. He then ascended the Shwe Dagon pagoda platform, donated money and water, returned to the broker, and went around the town to places like Mogul Street (the Indian quarter) for meats and ate pillaw-rice etc. It took three or four days, and sometimes about ten days for the broker to dispose of his goods and in this time he would go round all the pagodas in Rangoon like the Botataung, Sule, Nga-htut-gyi etc. Once he went to a Chinese hotel known as the NAN-HIN hotel together with some traders from DAGUTU. They pooled the expenses. The journey home took a day and a night. He took back with him clothes, longyis, KINGYIS, durian fruit, 226 438 484 [778]

226 438 484 [431] oranges, guava fruit, mangosteen fruit - together worth about forty or fifty rupees. When he arrived at Pathwe this was distributed among the members of his family, and also some relatives and the phongyis. On one such trip he made Rs. 2700/- which he carried back hidden away in a jar of salt.

494 465 U Myaing never came in to Rangoon purely for a visit. Besides bringing down fish, U Myaing also came to Rangoon before the war to buy some motor parts and accessories such as tyres, tubes, etc. which they could not obtain in Pathwe village or in Pantanaw town. At that period in his life U Myaing used to drive a bus between Pathwe and the village on the bank of the river across from Pathwe. There was a cart track for a road, and they used to carry passengers at a rupee per head. In the rains this cart track became impossible and so they traversed this route only from TA-ZAUNG-BON to KASON months. U Myaing worked on this route for three summers. In the rains they shifted operations to the Maubin Ye Le route, which was a 10 mile journey, and occasionally the 10 mile route from Ye Le to HSE-DAING-MAW. He worked at these places for two rainy seasons, from WASO right up till the month of TA-ZAUNG-BON. The bus was owned by his cousin who collected all the earnings for each day. At that time bus drivers were hired at Rs. 45/- a month, plus sweet tea, food, shelter and one packet of cigarettes a day. "In Pathwe all the houses were too large and could accomodate a great many more people than they actually did. This was because each one erected his own building after the example of the other houses in the village. The person who hired the bus driver merely installed him in his home".

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[589] This was when U Myaing was 17 or 18 years old. He was not paid anything, but the family was provided with everything they needed - food, clothes, etc. (U Myaing was still unmarried and the family consisted of two sisters, his mother and himself. (He did not marry till the age of thirty.) Both U Myaing and Daw Aw Zar estimated that the things they received from the bus owner would have amounted to much more than forty five rupees' worth.

[582] [431]

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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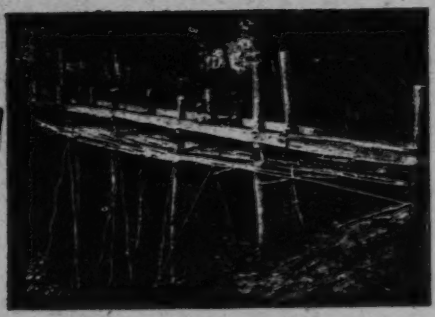

312. COUNTRY BRIDGE.

Shan hills, where alone breeding is a regular business. The Shan pony is stouter than the Burman, but not so hardy. The Burmans train their ponies to amble at a forced pace by sawing the bit as they urge them on; the ponies' mouths become hard in consequence. Ponies used to be worth twenty to fifty rupees, but now, many times more. Arab stud-horses have recently been introduced by the British Government. Ponies were used for riding only, doubtless owing to the want of roads and vehicles good enough for quick draught. There is little or no leather about the Burman saddle and accoutrements. The seat is a thick pad stuffed with cotton, with a hollow to leave the backbone free. The girth and stirrup holders are cotton web, the bridle and crupper are of thick cotton rope, plaited over with red cotton yarn; the stirrups are of brass, the plain bit is iron (No. 228). The Burmans hog their ponies' manes, but they admire a long natural tail. Very few animals are left entire.

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Travel is made easy in Burma. There are rest-houses (*zaydi*) for travellers at every town and village and at every stage on the road. Both these and the needful foot-bridges (*tadi*) are provided from religious motives. The foot-traveller will get a lift on his way by cart or boat, and will take an oar or a hand at a job in return; those who can afford it pay their way. The Burman is a poor linguist, and is wholly engrossed with the language and ways of his own people. The aliens on his soil and the neighbouring races meet the Burman half way, saving him the need of learning languages and adopting from him their notions of culture and fashion. Encountering, as he does, within the limits of his travels, a material welfare little

313. ROYAL BRIDGE.

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

484 inferior to his own—not penetrating as far as China or India, where he might
485 witness the dire struggle for existence which has disciplined the races about to compete for his soil—the Burman fails to realise how enviable is the lot he

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[133 361]

315. TOWN ENVIRONS IN THE DRY ZONE.

316. CARVED FIGURE OF ANANDA (p. 35).

now enjoys and to recognise the nature of the influences which may effect the decline of his prosperity. Great as are the facilities for travel from the native point of view, to Europeans the discomfort of travel, once off the lines of rail and steamer, is so considerable that few who can avoid it visit the interior.

[505 493]

317. FERRY STATION.

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

565 and where each villager retires some time in his
741 life to learn the great wisdom. He will dig a well or build a bridge, or make a rest-house. And if the sum be very small indeed, then he will build, perhaps, a little house—a tiny little house—to hold two or three jars of water for travellers to drink. And he will keep the jars full of water, and put a little cocoanut-shell to act as cup.

741 The amount spent thus every year in charity is
742 enormous. The country is full of pagodas; you see them on every peak, on every ridge along the river. They stand there as do the castles of the robber barons on the Rhine, only with what another meaning! Near villages and towns there are clusters of them, great and small. The great pagoda in Rangoon is as tall as St. Paul's; I have seen many a one not three feet high—the offering of some poor old man to the Great Name, and everywhere there are monasteries. Every village has one, at least; most have two or three. A large village will have many. More would be built if there was anyone to live in them, so anxious is each man to do something for the monks. As it is, more are built than there is actual need for.

741 There are rest-houses everywhere. Far away
485 in the dense forests by the mountain-side you will find them, built in some little hollow by the road-side by someone who remembered his fellow-traveller. You cannot go five miles along any road without finding them. In villages they can be counted by tens, in towns by fifties. There are far more than are required.

In Burmese times such roads and bridges as

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

were made were made in the same way by private 741
charity. Nowadays, the British Government takes 485
that in hand, and consequently there is probably more money for rest-house building than is required. As time goes on, the charity will flow into other lines, no doubt, in addition. They will build and endow hospitals, they will devote money to higher education, they will spend money in many ways, not in what we usually call charity, for that they already do, nor in missions, as whatever missions they may send out will cost nothing. Holy men are those vowed to extreme poverty. But as their civilization (*their* civilization, not any imposed from outside) progresses, they will find out new wants for the rich to supply, and they will supply them. That is a mere question of material progress.

The inclination to charity is very strong. The 741
Burmans give in charity far more in proportion to their wealth than any other people. It is extraordinary how much they give, and you must remember that all of this is quite voluntary. With, I think, two or three exceptions, such as gilding the Shwe Dagon pagoda, collections are never made for any purpose. There is no committee of appeal, no organized collection. It is all given straight from the giver's heart. It is a very marvellous thing.

I remember long ago, shortly after I had come 565
to Burma, I was staying with a friend in Toungoo, and I went with him to the house of a Burman contractor. We had been out riding, and as we returned my friend said he wished to see the contractor about some business, and so we rode to his

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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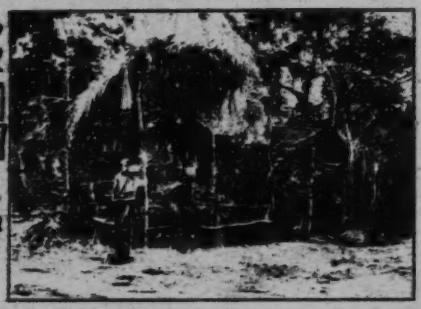

164. FOREST ZAYAT AND WATER-STAND (P. 63)

requirements? To which the *yahán* cordially responds, *pyippa, pyippa, tagádaw*—that I am, my valued supporter! Just as salutations are ordinarily omitted, so thanks are only expressed for special favours. The sense of obligation is conveyed by adopting courteous forms of speech, in which the particle *ba* always figures. The set forms of *please* and *thank you* are thus dispensed with. Where, however, a disparity of age or position exists, every act of the superior becomes by courtesy a boon. A Burman is disconcerted by a simple present, as well as by *bakshish* and payments above the stipulation, which he is particular to make beforehand. But when approaching a superior with a request, the inferior bears an offering of courtesy, generally fruit. The inferior makes *shikó* both on approaching and taking leave. A Burman does not stand, in the presence of his superior, but squats down. When he has occasion to pass close to his superior, he does not walk erect but crouches. By well-bred Burmans the gestures of respect are performed in a very graceful manner. Every Burman, the *yahán* not excepted, on ascending the *kyanníng* of a house, removes his sandals or shoes. As we Westerns respect the *roof* that our host has provided by doffing our head-gear, so Easterns respect the *floor* that is provided—an observance of a practical nature where the floor serves both for seat and table. In an analogous way to our greeting with the hat, the Oriental shows respect by slipping the sandals even outside the house. Still more courteous is the practice of washing the feet before entering a house or *kyaung*. Burmans always contrive to sit so as to hide the soles of the feet or to turn them

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165. RECEIVING A VISITOR.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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292. CLOTH BAZAR.

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At intervals on the main lines of traffic are refreshment-booths, where fruit, sweetmeats, and tea are sold. Meals can be taken in the markets of the towns. In the villages casual travellers enjoy the hospitality of the people. In the afternoon the markets are closed; low tables are set in the roads, where cheroots, fruit, and sweetmeats are sold in the evening. Some of these refreshments are prepared on the spot, such as the *mônlebwè*, a wafer baked in the flame of a fire, in which it rises to an immense size.

The wholesale trade of Burma is conducted by brokers (*pwèza*) who receive a commission. Wealthy men operate with their own capital, others find investors and money-lenders to advance funds, some form partnerships and small companies to divide profits. Producers frequently bring their grain direct to the mills; but the bulk of the grain is bought up by the native brokers to the order of the exporters, most of whom never visit the interior. The interest on money is one to six per cent. per mensem. What is not hoarded in the form of plate and ornaments is put into trade or is put out to interest. Money-lending is not a special business because everybody practises it. Appalling as is the rate of interest—the measure of risk—such hard bargains are not driven as in India. Debtors when sold up can nowhere make a new start so well as in Burma. Brokers do banking in a small way; but banking has been made a regular branch of business by the Chettis from India (No. 364), who pay as much as one per cent. per month on deposits and charge one and a half per cent. on loans fully secured. European banks and investments with their high security and low rates of interest do not attract Burman capital.

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293. NIGHT BAZAR.

505 The carrying business is mainly by water, for which Burma possesses unrivalled facilities, especially in the floods

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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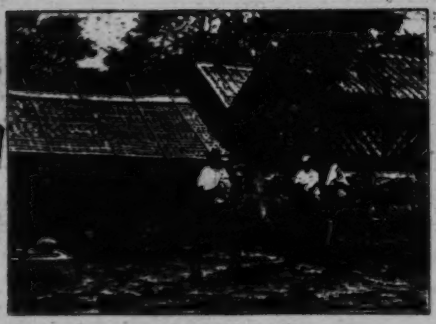

310 BURMAN PONIES.

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311. WAYSIDE REST-HOUSE.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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312. COUNTRY BRIDGE.

Shan hills, where alone breeding is a regular business. The Shan pony is stouter than the Burman, but not so hardy. The Burmans train their ponies to amble at a forced pace by sawing the bit as they urge them on; the ponies' mouths become hard in consequence. Ponies used to be worth twenty to fifty rupees, but now, many times more. Arab stud-horses have recently been introduced by the British Government. Ponies were used for riding only, doubtless owing to the want of roads and vehicles good enough for quick draught. There is little or no leather about the Burman saddle and accoutrements. The seat is a thick pad stuffed with cotton, with a hollow to leave the backbone free. The girth and stirrup holders are cotton web, the bridle and crupper are of thick cotton rope, plaited over with red cotton yarn; the stirrups are of brass, the plain bit is iron (No. 228). The Burmans hog their ponies' manes, but they admire a long natural tail. Very few animals are left entire.

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Travel is made easy in Burma. There are rest-houses (*zayát*) for travellers at every town and village and at every stage on the road. Both these and the needful foot-bridges (*tadá*) are provided from religious motives. The foot-traveller will get a lift on his way by cart or boat, and will take an oar or a hand at a job in return; those who can afford it pay their way. The Burman is a poor linguist, and is wholly engrossed with the language and ways of his own people. The aliens on his soil and the neighbouring races meet the Burman half way, saving him the need of learning languages and adopting from him their notions of culture and fashion. Encountering, as he does, within the limits of his travels, a material welfare little

313. ROYAL BRIDGE.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

484 inferior to his own—not penetrating as far as China or India, where he might
485 witness the dire struggle for existence which has disciplined the races about to compete for his soil—the Burman fails to realise how enviable is the lot he

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315. TOWN ENVIRONS IN THE DRY ZONE.

316. CARVED FIGURE OF ANANDA (p. 98).

now enjoys and to recognise the nature of the influences which may effect the decline of his prosperity. Great as are the facilities for travel from the native point of view, to Europeans the discomfort of travel, once off the lines of rail and steamer, is so considerable that few who can avoid it visit the interior.

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317. FERRY STATION.

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma (Kachin) AP1
Burmese AP4

Be 231 779

customer has gone his way. It used to be a common thing in the palace, during the late king's reign, to let loose a number of birds for the delectation of foreign worshippers at the golden feet, and the expansion of the royal merit. Ill-natured people said all the birds were recaptured in the next room, and appeared again for the next display of charity; but of that I can say nothing.

Be 342 351

Each house, with its ground, is surrounded by a rude fence more or less substantial according to the character of the district. Where there are many tigers or ill-doers, and especially north of Mandalay, where formerly the Kachins might swoop down any night, this is made very high and strong, and is further rendered effective by a formidable array of sharpened bamboos. Except where the British have taken the matter in hand, the village roads are simply places where the jungle is kept from growing. There is no attempt at metalling; in fact there is no material for the purpose. In some pretentious villages indeed there is a raised path formed of bricks set on edge, and about three feet broad. This is regarded as a public work of great value, and a distinction to the inhabitants of the place. It usually leads to the monastery. In many villages, however, it would be impossible to move about during the rains without some such contrivance. The mud would be too deep, and logs are slippery even to bare feet.

Ba. [563]
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Swinging by a couple of ropes from the roof hangs in the centre of the house a rude basket, made snug with a blanket or some old clothes. This is the baby's cradle, and the mother may often be seen sitting by it crooning and gently swaying it backwards and forwards. Some of the lullabies are very clever. I have tried to give a version of one of the most popular, with as near an approach to the metre as practicable. It is sung to the favourite te-dat air.

Be 539

SEIN-NI LA-YAUNG

Clouds in Heaven,
Bright as levin,
Dyed with rosy diamond's light,
Did the Nine Gems
Stud your white hems,

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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168. VILLAGE CAUSEWAY IN THE TIDAL REGION.

the village head-man or other functionary, and round about, the houses of the villagers in more or less regular rows. The village streets are broad and in some places the houses are well-spaced, with plots of fruit-trees and vegetable-gardens between and at the back. No care is bestowed on the roads except in a few riverain localities and tidal regions, where embanked roads and brick causeways are necessary. Trees are planted in front of the houses—cocoanut and betel palms, giant bamboo, the evergreens, tamarind, mango, and jack, for their fruit and shade: *gangaw*, *sagâ*, and *padâuk* for their shade and scented flowers: *mèzali*, *zi*, and several *ficus* species. The screw-pine and various ornamental shrubs are cultivated—*taròssaga* (*frangipani*, No. 92), *sènnaya*, gardenias, and roses. *Palma Christi* (castor-oil plant) is common for hedges. Plants cultivated by Europeans in the tropics—crotons, begonias, caladiums, balsams—are spreading everywhere. Pot-gardening is becoming a feature of the villages and even of the raft-houses and boats.

[487] [245] [177] 247

Well received as the stranger is by the people of the village, he has to brave the displeasure of the village curs. The dogs are the scavengers of the settlements, together with the crows and the myriads of ants. The termites ("white ants") account for the dry vegetable refuse, but they also invade the dwellings and destroy dry wood, mats, and thatch. Cats attach themselves to houses in the same way as dogs. A peculiarity of the domestic cat of Burma is

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169. VILLAGE RIVER-FRONT.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

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176. VILLAGE ENVIRONS IN THE FLOODS.

feet. The Salween, above the rapids, with a width of a quarter of a mile, rises fifty feet. The high level is maintained, with fluctuations, till September. The water in the main channels is turbid and heavy with yellow silt, but it clears itself in the grass-grown *Kwin*. Many a cart-track of the dry weather becomes a creek passable by deep-laden boats. The whole aspect of the country [487] and mode of life are changed; the villages of the Delta are accessible by water, and many stand in water. At this season the heavy traffic of the [501] country proceeds. In some places the rise is so great and so variable that the people depend on their boats, and every child has a tub of its own (Nos. 159, 161). Such a village is Sanyuè on the Myimmakâ (*Myit-ma-kâ*), the river that denies its tribute to the great Irawadi, and delivers the waters of the Yôma straight to the sea (see map, and *mômakâ*, p. 115).

The rise of the spring-tides above mean low-water level on the coast of Burma is sixteen to eighteen feet. In certain estuaries of the Martaban Gulf, dangerous bores are produced. In the Delta, which is a network of creeks, and in Arakân, the facilities afforded for traffic by the tidal currents are unequalled.

132 The abatement of the monsoon rains, in the course of September, like the break of the monsoon, is attended with thunderstorms. The surface soon dries and the sub-soil water [361] begins to sink, leaving but little marsh land (*kwet*). As the hot season advances, the trees and bamboos of the dry forest lose their leaves, and the grasses wither, covering the soil with an inflammable layer. In the open, the heavy dews

177. VILLAGE SCENE IN THE HIGH FLOOD.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

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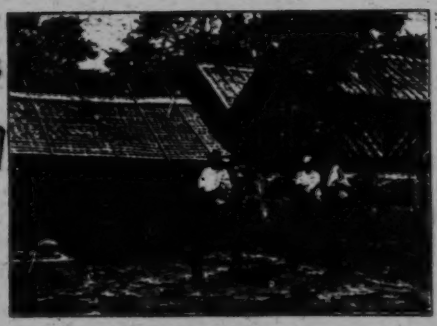

310 BURMAN PONIES

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311. WAYSIDE REST-HOUSE.

1: Mi Mi Khaing 1-5 (no date) 1946 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

CHAPTER EIGHT

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MY mother, who had strict ideas about keeping her household a neat family unit of father, mother and children, without dependent aunts and other relatives, had equally strong views about the maintenance of our family ties and traditions, especially as we were now having a Western upbringing in the English schools and not many counteracting lessons at home. Once a year at least, she thought, we should go to have the roots of our beginnings stirred and kept alive. When the younger children were old enough to travel easily, therefore, we went away for each summer vacation.

For her own home, my mother thought a short visit would suffice; the longer visit was paid to my father's family because he could never come with us to see them. In any case, the visits to Thaton were dull for children in those growing up days, all my mother's family like herself had gone into a more worldly life and were settled in their respective professions. The main part of the great house was shut up and empty, and my mother took us there just for a few days to see my aunt, pay a visit to the hpongyi, and to inspect rubber estates which we had just outside Thaton. Then we journeyed on to Ye where my father's family were still living the life he had planned for them when he worked to buy my grandmother her plots of paddy-land.

Our visits to Ye were pure delight. In childhood any change in itself makes a holiday, and the change from our district life to the life at Ye was very great indeed.

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A railway had been built from Moulmein to Ye in 1925; it ended at Ye where passengers travelling further crossed the creek and continued in buses for about 100 miles of mountain road to Tavoy. This was the only overland route to the Tenasserim coast below Ye. We crossed the Martaban-Moulmein ferry in the early morning, ate breakfast with friends while waiting for the connection, and arrived at Ye about 5 in the evening. Ye was by then the headquarters of a township and had a population of about 2,000. It was an extremely congested little town, for the number of its houses and inhabitants had just multiplied without any great changes in its original plan or acreage. The two main streets ran parallel to the creek, and along them the Talaing houses were packed, with only three to four feet of space between every few houses to give access from creek to road and from one road to another.

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1893 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

231 aboriginal wild pony as to be incapable of very much training. But they are willing; they will go for ever, and are very strong, and they have admirable constitutions and tempers. You could not make a Burman ill-use his pony if you tried, and I fancy that to break these little half-wild ponies to go in cabs in crowded streets requires severe treatment. At least, I never knew but one hackney-carriage driver either in Rangoon or Mandalay who was a Burman, and he very soon gave it up. He said that the work was too heavy either for a pony or a man. I think, perhaps, it was for the safety of the public that he resigned, for his ponies were the very reverse of meek—which a native of India says a hackney-carriage pony should be—and he drove entirely by the light of Nature.

563 231 493 So all the drivers of gharries, as we call them, are natives of India or half-breeds, and it is amongst them that the work of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals principally lies. While I was in Rangoon I tried a number of cases of over-driving, of using ponies with sore withers and the like. I never tried a Burman. Even in Rangoon, which has become almost Indianized, his natural humanity never left the Burman. As far as Burmans are concerned, the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals need not exist. They are kinder to their animals than even the members of the Society could be. Instances occur every day; here is one of the most striking that I remember.

489 There is a town in Burma where there are some troops stationed, and which is the headquarters of the civil administration of the district. It is, or was

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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then, some distance from a railway-station, and it was necessary to make some arrangement for the carriage of the mails to and from the town and station. The Post-office called for tenders, and at length it was arranged through the civil authorities that a coach should run once a day each way to carry the mails and passengers. A native of India agreed to take the contract—for Burmans seldom or never care to take them—and he was to comply with certain conditions and receive a certain subsidy.

There was a great deal of traffic between the town and station, and it was supposed that the passenger traffic would pay the contractor well, apart from his mail subsidy. For Burmans are always free with their money, and the road was long and hot and dusty. I often passed that coach as I rode. I noticed that the ponies were poor, very poor, and were driven a little hard, but I saw no reason for interference. It did not seem to me that any cruelty was committed, nor that the ponies were actually unfit to be driven. I noticed that the driver used his whip a good deal, but then some ponies require the whip. I never thought much about it, as I always rode my own ponies, and they always shied at the coach, but I should have noticed if there had been anything remarkable. Towards the end of the year it became necessary to renew the contract, and the contractor was approached on the subject. He said he was willing to continue the contract for another year if the mail subsidy was largely increased. He said he had lost money on that year's working. When asked how he could possibly have lost considering the large number of people who were always

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

489 passing up and down, he said that they did not ride in his coach. Only the European soldiers and a few natives of India came with him. Officers had their own ponies and rode, and the Burmans either hired a bullock-cart or walked. They hardly ever came in his coach, but he could not say what the reason might be.

489 So an inquiry was made, and the Burmese were
231 asked why they did not ride on the coach. Were the fares too high?—was it uncomfortable? But no, it was for neither of these reasons that they left the coach to the soldiers and natives of India. It was because of the ponies. No Burman would care to ride behind ponies who were treated as these ponies were—half fed, overdriven, whipped. It was a misery to see them; it was twice a misery to drive behind them. 'Poor beasts!' they said; 'you can see their ribs, and when they come to the end of a stage they are fit to fall down and die. They should be turned out to graze.

The opinion was universal. The Burmans preferred to spend twice or thrice the money and hire a bullock-cart and go slowly, while the coach flashed past them in a whirl of dust, or they preferred to walk. Many and many times have I seen the road-side rest-houses full of travellers halting for a few minutes' rest. They walked while the coach came by empty; and nearly all of them could have afforded the fare. It was a very striking instance of what pure kind-heartedness will do, for there would have been no religious command broken by going in the
231 coach. It was the pure influence of compassion towards the beasts and refusal to be a party to such

726 oranges, guava fruit, mangosteen fruit - together worth about forty
438 or fifty rupees. When he arrived at Pathwe this was distributed among
484 the members of his family, and also some relatives and the phongyis.
[431] On one such trip he made Rs. 2700/- which he carried back hidden away in a jar of salt.

494 U Myaing never came in to Rangoon purely for a visit. Besides
465 bringing down fish, U Myaing also came to Rangoon before the war to buy some motor parts and accessories such as tyres, tubes, etc. which they could not obtain in Pathwe village or in Pantanaw town. At that period in his life U Myaing used to drive a bus between Pathwe and the village on the bank of the river across from Pathwe. There was a cart track for a road, and they used to carry passengers at a rupee per head. In the rains this cart track became impossible and so they traversed this route only from TA-ZAUNG-BON to KASON months. U Myaing worked on this route for three summers. In the rains they shifted operations to the Maubin Ye Le route, which was a 10 mile journey, and occasionally the 10 mile route from Ye Le to HSE-DEING-
●[491] MAW. He worked at these places for two rainy seasons, from WAZO right up till the month of TA-ZAUNG-BON. The bus was owned by his cousin who collected all the earnings for each day. At that time bus drivers were hired at Rs. 45/- a month, plus sweet tea, food, shelter and one packet of cigarettes a day. "In Pathwe all the houses were too large and could accomodate a great many more people than they actually did. This was because each one erected his own building after the example of the other houses in the village. The person who hired the bus driver merely installed him in his home".

[589] This was when U Myaing was 17 or 18 years old. He was not paid anything, but the family was provided with everything they needed - food, clothes, etc. (U Myaing was still unmarried and the family
[582] consisted of two sisters, his mother and himself. (He did not marry
[431] till the age of thirty.) Both U Myaing and Daw Aw Zar estimated that the things they received from the bus owner would have amounted to much more than forty five rupees' worth.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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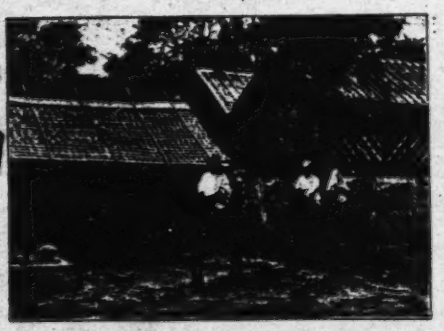

310 BURMAN PONIES.

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The Burman pony is small—eleven to thirteen hands—but is said to have the best constitution and the greatest endurance of any breed. In Pegu, with its damp climate, the breed does not flourish so well as in the North. The ponies exported from Pegu are brought down from the

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311. WAYSIDE REST-HOUSE.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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[491]

312. COUNTRY BRIDGE.

Shan hills, where alone breeding is a regular business. The Shan pony is stouter than the Burman, but not so hardy. The Burmans train their ponies to amble at a forced pace by sawing the bit as they urge them on; the ponies' mouths become hard in consequence. Ponies used to be worth twenty to fifty rupees, but now, many times more. Arab stud-horses have recently been introduced by the British Government. Ponies were used for riding only, doubtless owing to the want of roads and vehicles good enough for quick draught. There is little or no leather about the Burman saddle and accoutrements. The seat is a thick pad stuffed with cotton, with a hollow to leave the backbone free. The girth and stirrup holders are cotton web, the bridle and crupper are of thick cotton rope, plaited over with red cotton yarn; the stirrups are of brass, the plain bit is iron (No. 228). The Burmans hog their ponies' manes, but they admire a long natural tail. Very few animals are left entire.

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313. ROYAL BRIDGE.

?:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

the umbrella-bearer, or, perhaps, two or three of them if the officer had attained such distinction. 701 714

The actual civilian commander of the regiment seldom came out to the review, so that there were comparatively few gold umbrellas, but the red and green military sun-shades, with deep fringes, added perhaps more to the brilliance of the array, considered simply as a spectacle. Behind the hti-bearers came the minor officers, mounted on ponies, with the ordinary Burmese scarlet cloth saddle and tassels sweeping over the animal's flanks. Each of these minor chiefs also had his umbrella borne over his head, and a score or two of spear-men guarded the flanks of the cavalcade. Mingled up among them was a confused crowd of cheroot-bearers, spittoon-holders, betel-box carriers, and similar functionaries such as accompany a Burmese grandee wherever he goes. Behind this motley assemblage came the regimental colours. These were bifurcated red pennants, burgees bearing the number of the battalion, and leogryphs, lions, dogs, dragons, and similar distinguishing emblems for the different regiments. The standard was not very ponderous, but occasionally the bearer—he was not an officer—got tired of carrying it over his shoulder and lowered it to the trail without seeming to injure any one's sense of congruity. He was followed by the band, or a portion of it, for the musicians were scattered in twos and threes all over the regiment, usually at the head of a company, but not by any means necessarily so. Burmese music is ordinarily far from soft and gentle. At a play the trumpets blare, and the gongs, cymbals, and clappers clash and jingle and rattle in truly inspiriting fashion. But no such spirit-stirring strains are considered necessary to rouse martial ardour. A military bandsman required no preliminary education. All he had to do was to tap, tap away in the most stolid and monotonous fashion on a kyinaung. This is a brass or bell-metal gong, about the size of a dessert plate with a small round boss in the centre. The sound is sweet, and they are pitched in different keys, but a low-country Burman is at a loss to divine their precise use. The sound does not travel far, and they are not beaten in any fixed time, besides that the ahmudan would not step to it if they were; so that if it were not for the dignity

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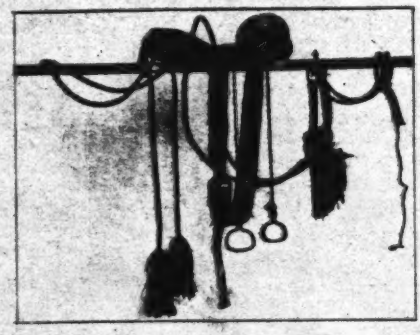
25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4



228. BURMAN HORSE-FURNITURE.

gongs (*maung*, No. 322) have very sonorous qualities. Copper and brass utensils are not used by the Burmans for cooking, but brass is used for fruit-platters, water-cups and bowls, betel-boxes and spittoons, mortars, scales and weights, cow-bells, and furniture for horse and bullock harness. 325 [492]

The import of iron and steel began centuries ago, nevertheless blades of Shan steel and manufacture are still accounted the best. With the exception of Shan settlers, the Burmans were the only blacksmiths of the country till the Chinese blacksmiths arrived. The hill-people depended for their chief implement and their weapons upon the dominant races. The Burman forge is the same as the Shan, on a bigger scale. The hearth is at the ground-level, with a pit in front, to enable the smith to stand up to his work if needful. He does most of it sitting on a peculiar round-backed seat to the right of the blast. The anvil is like a hammer-head, set upright in a block of wood. There is a trough shaped like a canoe for quenching the work and the tools. The hammers are from one to five pounds, the pincers of the universal pattern. There are the ordinary punches and sets. The blast is on the plan of the bamboo blast in No. 235, but has large cylinders of palm trunks in which pistons, packed with feathers, are worked alternately. The Chinese blacksmith had already adopted the European anvil and heavy sledge-hammer for forging iron axles and tyres, anchors and grapnels. These the Burman has adopted in turn. The bench-vice is also universal. The Chinaman adheres to his horizontal wooden box-blast, fitted with valves like a double-action pump, whereas the [563] 326

229. BURMAN BLACKSMITH (OLD STYLE). [177]

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

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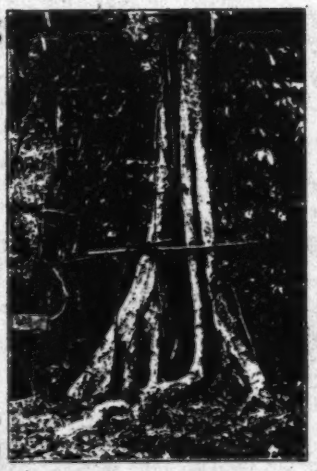

257. FELLING THE TREE.

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sound is felled much higher. As timber gets scarce, the woodmen are glad to work out the stem-pieces left in this way, maybe fifty years before. If felled green, the teak throws out powerful suckers from the stool which grow six to ten feet in a season and get clear of the forest fires. In sixty years they produce marketable timber. After felling, the trees are cut into suitable logs for dragging. The latter is the most arduous part of the business. From the stump to the nearest floating-stream may be a mile or two of heavy country. The teak to be worked out of the forests is too sparsely distributed for roads or machinery to pay. Elephant power is the most valuable adjunct for the work. The rainy season, when brooks and streams are full, the ground moist and slippery, and the weather cool for the animals to work, is the time chosen for dragging. The corners of the log are cut away at one end, and a drag-hole made for the elephant chain and the subsequent raft-ties, at each end. The dragging-paths get worn into troughs in which water lodges and facilitates the work. Every brook on the way is utilized, for though too scanty to float the log, it lightens the labour. The elephants are worked a few hours in the morning and a few in the evening and turned loose at other times, with the fore-feet hobbled, to forage for themselves. The Karéns keep their elephants in excellent condition; such casualties as they have are due to anthrax, which spreads from the buffaloes, and to other epidemics. In the timber-yards at the seaports, on the other hand, in spite of grain and green feeding and great care, the animals are worn out in a few years. Elephants are heavy enough for

258. DRAGGING THE LOG.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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259. PUSHING THE LOGS OFF THE SHOALS (AUNG).

timber-work at eighteen years, and are at their prime from thirty to sixty. Females and tuskless males (*haing*) are worth one thousand to two thousand rupees; tuskers from one thousand five hundred to four thousand. Tuskers are of use for manœuvring the logs in the shallow streams and getting them off shoals. The logs are

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not launched into the main stream or river until the last freshets of the season have gone down, for fear of the timber becoming unmanageable. The logs are allowed to drift singly as far as the deep water, where they are stopped by a boom, for sorting and rafting to port. On the Irawadi and Sittaung, the main water-course is available for rafting, but on the Salween, only the last sixty miles below the rapids. The Salween tears its rugged course through the limestone mountains which occupy the centre of the Eastern Peninsula, traversing some ten degrees of latitude and tapping teak localities on a good part of its way. Deep tranquil stretches alternate with furious rapids, the violence of which may be judged from the fact that teak logs are often shivered in splinters. The foresters stamp the timber all over with their property-marks. They have to bide their time until the logs reach the rope-station or boom (*kyodán*) and can be sorted. In the south-west monsoon the logs have to be salved one by one by men in canoes. The deep-water raft consists of five to ten tiers of as many logs each, securely bound with rattan by the drag-holes to cross-poles, and linked with the same material. The raft is manned by four or five men, and is often several weeks on its journey. It may not have to bring up until it reaches tidal waters, when it is easily moored. But where the raft has to be stopped against the full force of a three to five knot

260. LAUNCHING NEAPED LOGS.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

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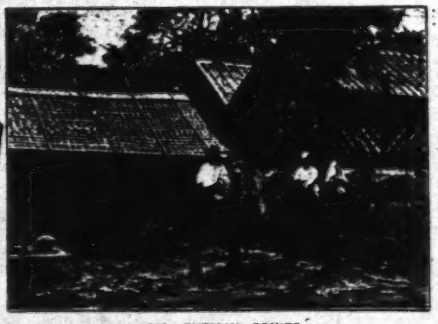
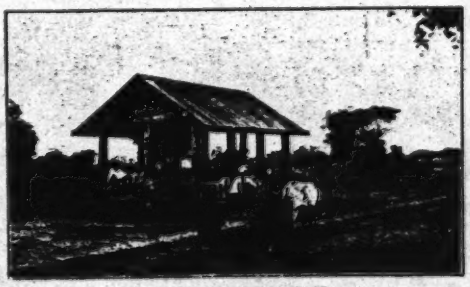


310 BURMAN PONIES.

for heavy wheels and the light spider wheels he uses in pleasure and racing carts. He employs a very long hub to steady the wheel, which is as yet unprovided with turned axles and boxes. *Padauk* and *pyinkadô* wood are used for hubs, with plain iron bushes at the ends. Teak is used for spokes and felloes. The axle is of imported round bar iron, with plain linch-pins; the end of the wooden axle-bed forms the shoulder. The bar-iron for tyres is likewise imported. Imported springs [177] are coming into use for the light carts. European vehicles built by Chinese are used by well-to-do Burmans in the towns; they exemplify to the natives a novel departure in luxury, in which not splendour but comfort is the standard.

491 The country roads are merely the tracks made by the carts. As the bullocks travel in the line of the wheels, the road is passable until the ruts 487 are so deep that the axle-bed scrapes the mound in the centre. Then the track is abandoned for one to the right or left. The same thing happens when the road is too heavy or when a tree falls over it. In the rice country the grain is carted across the fields. But in the dry zone a roadway is left between the fences of the fields, as is also the case in the eastern hill-plateaux. A few state roads (*minlan*) following the high ground used to be kept clear, but the only regular road-making was done near to the capital. Cart-tracks do not penetrate the hill districts to any distance.

231 The Burman pony is small—eleven to thirteen 492 hands—but is said to have the best constitution and [485] the greatest endurance of any breed. In Pegu, with [101] its damp climate, the breed does not flourish so well as in the North. The ponies exported from Pegu are brought down from the



311. WAYSIDE REST-HOUSE.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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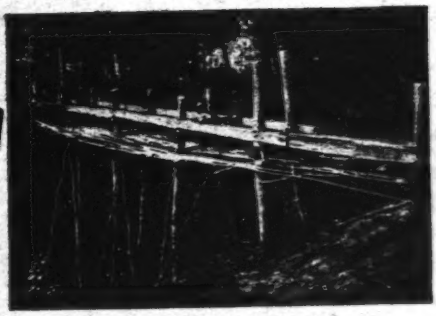

312. COUNTRY BRIDGE.

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313. ROYAL BRIDGE.

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

[OPP. P.140]

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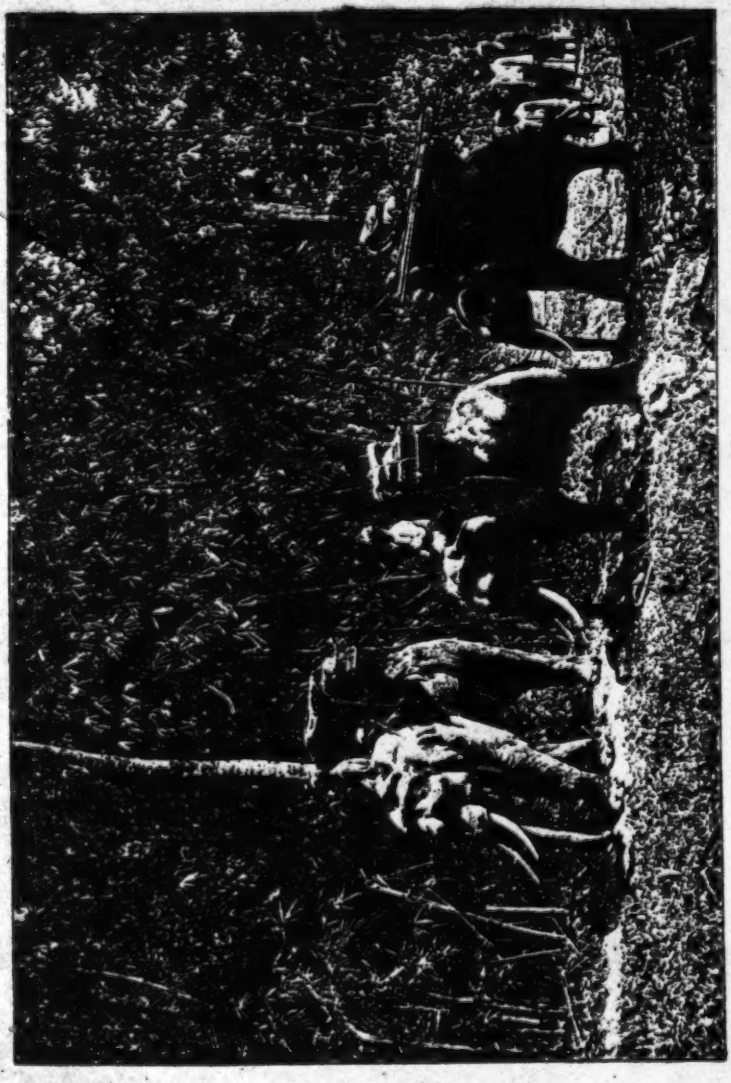

814. TRAVELLING WITH ELEPHANTS.

[To face p. 140.]

501 His constructive skill with wood has been most successfully ex-
396 pressed in the vehicles for land and water transport—the bullock cart and the canoe. The classic pattern for a Burmese boat is the *laung*, built from a single hollowed-out trunk of the *thingan*, a tough tree growing near the water with a girth of 4—20 feet and a height of 15—75 feet. The trunk is hollowed out into a rough hull, the outside is adzed, circles of holes are bored through for a guide, and the shell is hollowed to a uniform thickness. It is then waterlogged, and fired slowly, the symmetry being carefully tended as the hull opens out with the firing. Planks are built up on the sides to increase capacity. These laungs, of a capacity from 10—40 tons, are the universal canoes of the rivers and creeks of Burma. Poled upstream and rowed downstream, they are ideal in the ease with which they can be bumped against rocks or got off shoals, the thingan hull lasting for 20 or 30 years. The bigger boats which still carry rice and other produce up the Irrawaddy are built up from stout ribs on a style which simulates the solid hull of the laung. These boats carry enormous sails and a crew of about fifteen men. Their bulk-heads are richly carved, and they glide along the great Irrawaddy, stately and calm beside the chugging river-steamers, their prows rising and falling like the heads of some fabulous birds.

• 493 The Burmese cart is a poem in curves of wood. The floor of the cart gives a slight curving sweep from front to back, the sides exaggerate this in crescents that sweep right up into the air, and the circle of the wheel has good balance and strength behind its symmetry. For the sake of the curves, the root wood of cutch and the curved branches of thingan are specially sought out.

326 Brassware, for which the old centres were at Amarapura and Sagaing
788 in Upper Burma, we were familiar with in bells and gongs. Bells are
534 kept by the Burmese for sacred uses only. The delicate small bells hung high around the spires of pagodas, often of gold and silver, have tongues that are moved by the winds to give a sweet testimony, to all spirits, of the good work of men who built the pagoda and other men who pray below, and give the praying devotee a tinkling reassurance of his merit. The great big bells, however, made of molten copper and tin poured into moulds of clay and wax in pits dug in the earth, have no tongues; but when struck with deer's antlers or a wooden striker they
[552] sing a deep note of sweetness. The names given to some famous bells reflect their beauty: *Maha Ganda* (Great Voice), *Mahatti Thadda Ganda* (Great Sweet Sound). All big bells are hung on a cross bar with wooden supports at pagodas, where after recitation of precepts we picked up the striker in turn and struck three times to announce to the spirits

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

housewife or her daughter stepping on and off the bar, so as to raise the pestle and let it fall on the rice in the mortar. The rice is very thoroughly cleaned in this way, and Burmans prefer it to that which has passed between the mill-stones of the European factory. The Derbyshire, or composition stones, do their work only too thoroughly, and remove so much of the pellicle as to take away all the flavour, besides that the great heat caused by the steady grinding tends to the same result. Consequently the pleasant refrain of the girls chanting at their work may be heard all over the village after dark, and when a large quantity has to be prepared for some offering to the Sacred Order on a feast-day, the chanted chorus rises and falls round about the homestead often till long past "midnight cock-crow," till the rising of the "red star" warns them to retire to rest, tired, but happy, for such a good work earns great merit. A sesamum oil-press is also frequently found in at least one house in every village. This is equally simple in its construction. It consists of a deep wooden trough, in which the seeds are pressed by a heavy upright timber fixed in a frame. The weight is increased by a long lever, on the end of which a man sits and guides a bullock which goes round in a circle, thus crushing and turning the seed at the same time.

The carts are very strongly built, and are remarkable for the way in which the floor curves upwards towards the back in the same way as the boats do. In Upper Burma formerly the wheels were mostly composed of one solid, roughly-rounded slab of wood, or in some cases of two semicircular slabs joined together, and these are still found, but more and more rarely, in out-of-the-way places in the upper province, though wheels constructed in European fashion with spokes are mostly in use, and Government now prescribes a three-inch tyre on all district roads. Occasionally in the old days to save trouble the carter started with a square wheel, and trusted to time to round it for him. Padauk (*Pterocarpus indicus*) is the wood most valued for this purpose, but it is too expensive for most people. The wheels are never greased, and make hideous shrieking noises as they revolve. This serves to keep away tigers and wild

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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[484]

animals generally when a journey is being made for any distance. At night the carts are arranged in a laager with the high backs outwards, and all inside, including even the pariah dogs, are safe from wild animals. The waggoners used to glory in the strident sound of their wheels, which often can be heard miles off in the forest. A wheel with a creak of particular volume and power of penetration is highly prized, and an experienced driver can tell whom he is going to meet or overtake by the groanings of the axles and the key in which they are pitched. Every bullock in addition carries a square metal bell tied under his throat.

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In the yard round about the house there is very often a little garden fenced off in a rough kind of way, but no particular care is taken to keep it neat and free from weeds—no easy matter even for an active gardener in Burma. The favourite plant is always the Bôddha Tharanat (*Canna Indica*, or Indian shot), so named from its seeds, which are used for the beads of the rosary. The flowers are red, or sometimes white. The fable relates that it sprang from the Buddha's blood. His impious and evil-minded brother-in-law and cousin Dewadat, enraged that he was not allowed to have a separate assembly of his own, went to the top of a hill and rolled down a huge stone, intending to destroy the most excellent payā. But the boulder burst into a thousand pieces, and only one little bit bruised Shin Gautama's toe, and drew a few drops of blood, whence sprang the sacred flower. The renowned physician Zewaka healed the great teacher's wound in a single day, and almost immediately afterwards the earth opened and swallowed up the sacrilegious Dewadat. The plants and flowers usually stand demurely in a single row, or perhaps in three or four, like a patch of peas. The *Datura tatula* is almost always found, and among the other mingled vegetables and medicinal plants the *Celosia cristata*, in both its yellow and purple varieties, is a special favourite. But the Burman can scarcely vaunt his success as a flower gardener.

There are always a few domestic animals and pets about the premises. Every family has its dog, which trots about the establishment and makes a terrible to-do whenever a white man appears. The pariahs are magnificent watch-

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma (Chinese Shan) AP1
Burmese AP4

Be 796

ninety feet high itself, is surrounded by twenty-four smaller zediyan of a much later date.

Be 796 493

Great crowds of people go out every year from Rangoon, starting early in the morning, so as to avoid the heat, though in February the bracing winds of the cold weather have not altogether gone. Most of the travelling is done in bullock-carts. These conveyances are not nearly so fine as the Mandalay vehicles, but they are neat enough; the pole is elaborately carved at the end, and above all they are roomy, and allow "Jack Burma" and his family to loll about as they please. Bamboos are bent over to form a hood, and over this is thrown a kullagā, a piece of tapestry-work formed of pieces of many-coloured cloth sewn on to a red blanket so as to represent figures; the scenes being usually taken from some well-known play or from the court. They are eight or ten feet long, and four or five broad, affording a capital shelter from the sun, and combining the advantage of being easily moved when there is a breeze, with the still greater merit of looking very gay and bright. The party starts off before daylight, young master Lugalé being left behind to guard the house till the rest come back, and testifying his disapproval of the responsibility of this duty by strenuous howls. The Madrasi sepoy lines are soon passed, and we get out into the undulating country beyond, and pass through the gardens and orchards which abound along the Prome road. The ground here is not suited for rice, and there are large areas covered with mango, jack, ma-yan, a kind of acid plum (which the perverse Englishman persists in calling Mary-Anne), and other fruit-trees, with pine-apples in long rows beneath their shade. The Chinese have great market-gardens here, miracles of neatness, but far from savoury in their odours. They never miss a chance of making money, and accordingly this morning turn over a few pice by selling sugar-cane to the girls, and bamboo pipes of palm-toddy to the men. The Shans, also born gardeners, to whom the fruit-trees mostly belong, are very pious, and join in the pilgrimage with their quaint offering-flags made of slim frameworks of bamboo, woven across in diverse patterns with vari-coloured cotton threads. A little farther on we get beyond the region of the market-gardens, and

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2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

the big rake once up and down the rain-sodden field—and then stops; for he is portly, and short of breath now. The ministers, no matter how fat they are, have to go on ploughing as long as the Arbiter of Existence chooses to look on. At last he declares that enough has been done, and preparations are made to go back again. He doffs his royal robes, for the tharapu, with its spire and jewelled ear-flappets, is burdensome, and the long surcoat, with its thousands of precious stones, is said to weigh about a hundred pounds. The Lord White Elephant is relieved too. He stalks back unencumbered, with his household of thirty retainers fussing about him with fans and swaying umbrellas. 241 796 614

The king gets into an open car, something like what Roman racing chariots are represented to have been. It is of course adorned as richly as everything else, and is drawn not by ponies or bullocks, but by men, eight of them pulling at each of the flexible shafts. The object is to prevent any one, the driver for example, sitting higher than the king. The English carriages presented at various times to different Burmese monarchs met with little approval. At first it was thought that the king was to sit on the box; but then it was found that with this arrangement there was nothing for it but that the driver should run by the side and therefore maintain a constant erect attitude in the presence of royalty. When it was found that the king was supposed to sit inside, with the driver two or three feet above him, a burst of indignation suggested that it was an insidious plot to put an insult on the majesty of the lord of the umbrella-bearing chiefs. For a time the vehicles were put away as lumber; but an ingenious handicraftsman adorned them with pyathats—five-roofed ecclesiastical or royal spires. They were now, when drawn by men, suitable for royal occupation; but unfortunately the solid teak-wood spires made them top-heavy, and especially unstable on rough Mandalay roads. They therefore degenerated into paraphernalia for exhibition on a kadaw day, or gauds for a procession at Tawadeintha feast time. 643 493

The king consequently returns on his low, gilt, native-made carriage, reclining on a mattress placed on the floor. He is now dressed in the ordinary national way, with a light 643

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1893 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

231 aboriginal wild pony as to be incapable of very much training. But they are willing; they will go for ever, and are very strong, and they have admirable constitutions and tempers. You could not make a Burman ill-use his pony if you tried, and I fancy that to break these little half-wild ponies to go in cabs in crowded streets requires severe treatment. At least, I never knew but one hackney-carriage driver either in Rangoon or Mandalay who was a Burman, and he very soon gave it up. He said that the work was too heavy either for a pony or a man. I think, perhaps, it was for the safety of the public that he resigned, for his ponies were the very reverse of meek—which a native of India says a hackney-carriage pony should be—and he drove entirely by the light of Nature.

583 231 493 So all the drivers of gharries, as we call them, are natives of India or half-breeds, and it is amongst them that the work of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals principally lies. While I was in Rangoon I tried a number of cases of over-driving, or using ponies with sore withers and the like. I never tried a Burman. Even in Rangoon, which has become almost Indianized, his natural humanity never left the Burman. As far as Burmans are concerned, the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals need not exist. They are kinder to their animals than even the members of the Society could be. Instances occur every day; here is one of the most striking that I remember.

489 There is a town in Burma where there are some troops stationed, and which is the headquarters of the civil administration of the district. It is, or was

So the worship of the nats lived on, and with the advance of
795 civilization the spirit dances became elaborate, for though the belief
535 was primitive, the people were no longer so. The dances benefited from the developments that had taken place in Burmese music which, as we have seen, flourished under the patronage of the Pagan kings. New spirits were added, and they were usually those of heroic princes. The dancers were now many, for the mediums turned themselves into dancing and music mistresses. The chief medium of each spirit dressed herself in the special dress of the spirit, but the junior mediums, who were equivalent to the chorus of an English revue, were in the dress of Burmese princesses. It is interesting to note the
[292] origin of this dress. The mediums realized the necessity of dressing
[565] themselves in fine raiment, but as everybody wore clothes of bright colours, the only solution of the problem was to don the dress of the court and official class, which the commoners were forbidden to
[536] wear by law, except during feasts and dances. When drama proper came into being, the hero and the heroine dressed themselves in the court dress, even when they were representing common characters.

3. Miracles and Interludes

175 After the fall of the kingdom of Pagan in A.D. 1257, Burma was
369 the scene of fierce civil wars, but the trouble was mainly in the
726 capitals; in the villages and small towns life went on in its joyous
779 way. Religion continued to spread in spite of the fact that the throne of Pagan was no longer in existence to support it. Learning began
538 to reach the remotest parts of the country, carried far and near by monks. To escape from the aimless strife of the civil wars, men turned towards literature. Money was lacking to compose poems in brick as had been done at Pagan, and men now expressed their love for the religion and their love for the beautiful in writing. The new literature further educated the people and made even stronger the already strong religious fervour. As a result, at village feasts and on days of public rejoicing, the people turned towards their religion for amusement and entertainment. So pageants depicting scenes from the life of the Buddha and from his Birth Stories came into being.

796 Pageants were given on ordinary carts that were in use for all
541 kinds of transport and which are still in use in backward parts of the
493 country at the present day. Each cart carried a group of (amateur) actors standing still and representing a set scene. Originally, no doubt, there were only a few carts representing scenes from different stories. Later, a pageant came to consist of many carts and many

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

scenes. Still later, the scenes came to be taken from one story only, 796
so that a whole story was given by the pageant. Dresses became 541
quite gorgeous and the scheme elaborate. The pageant now needed 493
organization. Therefore, the village came to be divided into two 361
parts, eastern and western quarters or northern and southern quarters 621
(the village was usually greater in length than breadth, being built along 796
a main road). In larger villages and towns, the division was into four 578
quarters. Each quarter was responsible for the production of a pageant. There was intense rivalry between the quarters to produce the finest pageant; it was usually friendly, but often enmity arose, and many pageants were occasions for free fights. The rivalry further developed the pageant, for new ideas would be introduced by one quarter to outrival the others. Soon the pageant became a play, its scenes coming to life.

The *Nibhatkhin* was the Burmese equivalent of the English miracle 536*
and mystery plays. It was the pageant come to life. With the 796
pageant, the religious processions went along the main streets without stopping, each cart representing a set scene. But with the *Nibhatkhin*, each cart stopped at certain places. The most common of such places were the market-place, the house of the chief administrative officer, and the pagoda where the procession ended. At each of those places, each cart stopped, and the scene came to life. Dialogue and action were used. Therefore, people at the stopping places saw what was in effect a play.

The *Nibhatkhin* was extremely popular, and it lived on until recently, just as many of the English miracle plays continued to be produced right through the Elizabethan period. I saw one in the out-of-the-way town of Pauk as recently as 1916. However, I do not think that *Nibhatkhins* are produced anywhere nowadays. Sometimes one sees a procession on cars and motor lorries as a sort of reminiscence of the *Nibhatkhin*. But such processions are mere shows and lack the essential features of the Burmese miracle plays.

It was for the entertainment of the populace that the *Nibhatkhin* 536*
came into being, and as the Burmese entertainment connotes 522
laughter, soon the element of humour came into the *Nibhatkhin*. At first none of the characters was made humorous, for they all came out of religious stories. And so the clown was introduced. The clown or *Lu-byet* ('the non-serious man') was put into the *Nibhatkhin* as an extra character, an attendant on the prince-hero. He was extremely popular, and soon another clown, an attendant on the princess-heroine,

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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29. NOVICES MAKING THE ROUND FOR DAILY FOOD (P. 18).

CHAPTER III

ADOLESCENCE

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30. THAMI-U ARRAYED FOR HER FETE.

BETWEEN the ages of ten and sixteen Burman lads enter upon the monastic novitiate, an occasion celebrated with a brilliant fête. The adoption of a religious life by girls is much less general, even for the short time it is embraced by the youths; and when it is adopted, there is no ceremony. But a holiday answering to that of the boy's novitiate is held in honour of the girl, especially when she is the first-born child—*thami-u*. In her case the ear-boring ceremony, if not the piercing itself, is deferred to the age of ten or twelve. The child, equipped in royal attire, or an imitation of it, and wearing a queen's crown (*sibôn*), is the centre of a great gathering of relatives and friends, who are entertained with music and plays.

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The lad who has prepared to renounce the world for a season, or it may be for life, is called *shinláung*. The *shinláung* festivals usher in the religious or lenten season—*wô*, June to September—the season of rain in Bahár,

p. 14

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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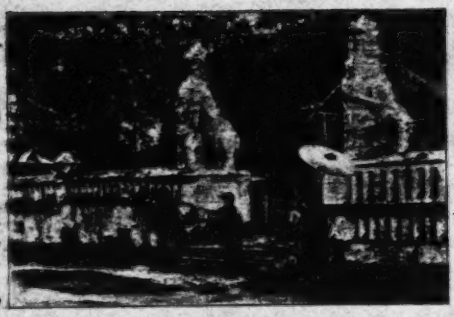

56. YAHAN PASSING THE STREETS.

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whole country-side. The camp is laid out in the rice-fields after harvest, in the form of a square, with a pavilion in the middle for the *yahán* to meet and practise confession (*dhe-pyc*). There are a few *yahán* who do not settle in a *kyaung*, but wander from place to place, in the primitive way, the people providing them with temporary shelter.

The *yahán* make journeys to the seats of learning and the *kyaungs* of their former teachers, and make pilgrimages to shrines. A few travel as far as Ceylon and Buddha Gáya in Bahár. On such journeys the *yahán* is accompanied by a scholar or attendant deputed by the *kyaungtagá* to carry provisions and money, which the *yahán* may not handle. When not collecting their *sun*, the *yahán* go abroad with attendants and carry umbrellas, or suffer such to be carried over them, and wear sandals. The *yahán* allow themselves to be driven in ox and buffalo carts; but do not drive or mount an animal or avail themselves of horse-draught. They travel by boat, steamer, and rail. Aged *yahán* are carried on a litter (*yin, waw*).

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The *kyaung*, primarily a shelter for the *yahán*, has, in virtue of his occupation, come to be a school. It is at first established on the outskirts of a settlement or at some distance away from it. Secular buildings are not erected within the shadow of a religious building. But the growth of towns brings the houses up to the precincts (*parawún*) of the *kyaung*, which stands within a liberal enclosure, planted with fruit-trees. The *kyaung* as such has no particular style. The superposed roofs and decorated spires (*pyatthat*) of the votive *kyaung* are emblems of secular state, added to confer distinction.

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57. YAHAN ON HIS JOURNEY.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

000 said to have *stolen*. The vast majority of couples go through life faithfully
586 and helpfully. The best influences of regular family life are developed. The dissolutions of marriage which take place are chiefly on account of incompati-

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155. PLEASURE PARTY BY BOAT.

bility. Sometimes the husband and wife merely drift apart. Such a separation, when of long standing, is accepted and the parties are free to marry again. In acute and irreconcilable differences the parties apply to the elders of the place for divorce. It becomes the elders' duty to make three efforts to dissuade the couple from their purpose. Failing in these, they pronounce separation (*kwâ byi*). Pickled tea is eaten, as in the case of the marriage. The boys of the union go with the father, the girls with the mother. Common goods are divided equally; her dower and the proceeds of her independent trade and investments are at the woman's own disposal from first to last. When she can manage—as she often contrives to do—the mother keeps and provides for all her children, but they retain a lien on the father's support. There is no
562 woman so well able to shift for herself as the woman of Burma. Her independent status would seem to be the corollary of her independent ability
[517 to manage by herself.
493] Nowhere else is the wife more prized; nowhere is woman better able to make terms with man. Although under the Hindu code of Manú which the Burmans nominally follow, the status of woman is only the Indian

156. PLEASURE PARTY BY CART.

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

[opp. p. 136]

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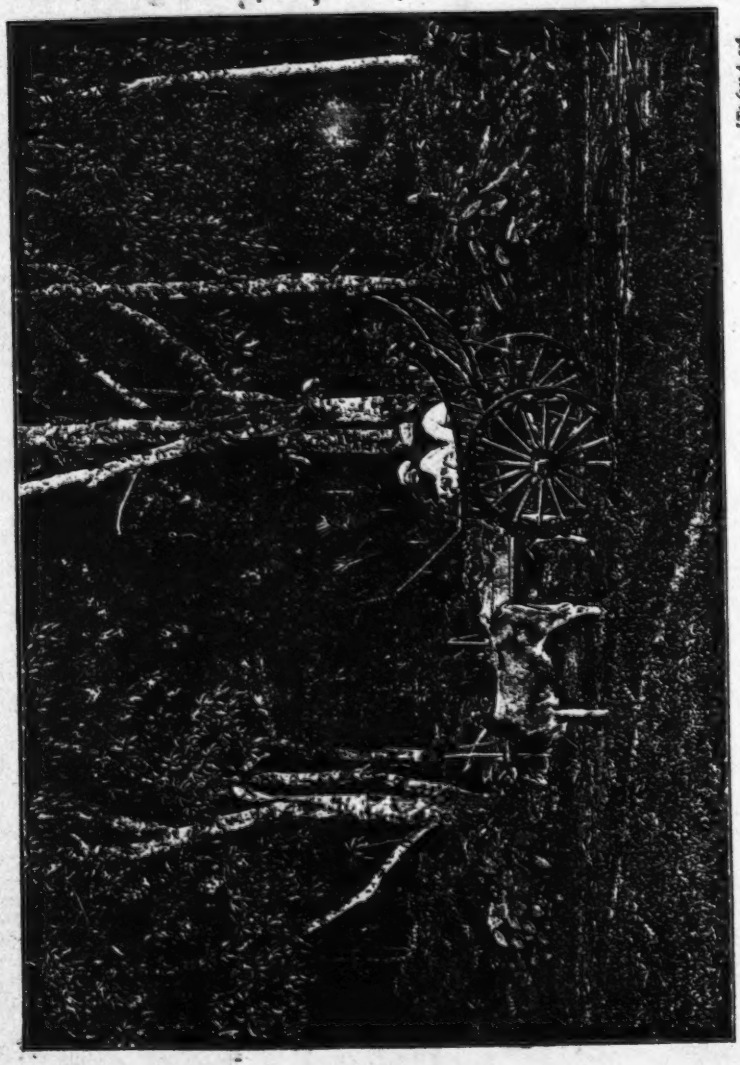

204. BULLOCK-CART, PEGU.

[To face p. 136.]

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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302. BURMAN CARTWRIGHTS.

ngapi, dried fish, salt and rice, besides imported goods. They bring down the manufactures of the North—cutch, lacquer, images, and *partikaya* wares. They have to endure a formidable competition from the river steamers. In its existing form, the boat of Burma presents no near affinity to the boats of neighbouring peoples. The types of architecture which the Burmans borrowed from India they have treated in a distinctive way which gives them independent interest. But the art which culminates in the stately ship of the Irawadi is purely their own achievement. The work derives unity from the noble balance of the masses and life from the spirited sweep of the curves. The severity of line is relieved by plastic incident in the rich carving. The structure itself is patent and not concealed (with the exception noted), and the decoration goes hand in hand with it. Besides their own type of boat, the Shan type (No. 320) has been developed into a large craft for carrying earth-oil in bulk—the *peingdaw*. Two long, partially-hollowed teak logs form the sides of the lower hull, with several thick planks intervening, for the flat bottom. Two planks above these complete the sides, all held together by nails and ribs as in the *laungzát*. There are outrigged bamboo galleries for the crew to row and pole, which allow of the deck-house being carried from end to end, providing accommodation for several families. The rig is the same as in the *laungzát*. In tidal and salt waters, boats have to be beached once a month to bream the bottoms and destroy the teredo. The rest of the woodwork and tackle is protected with earth-oil. The boats of Arakán are on Indian lines. There is

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303. BUFFALO-CART.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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307. TYREING THE WHEEL.

a shallow dug-out bottom with three or four side-planks built up from it. The planks are held together by cane lacing, with a caulking of grass. They are very crank, but are good sea-boats, nevertheless. The only decoration is a rough crocodile's head at the bow. The boat population of Burma in 1891 was nearly 84,000, or about 1·5 per cent. of the whole population—"greatly in excess of the proportion borne to the total by the maritime population of the most maritime nation in the world" (Census report, p. 34). The only sea-going craft are the few score *kattu*, small junks of twenty to sixty tons, manned by five or six Taláings. They venture as far to sea as the Nicobars, where they trap cocoanuts in the fine or north-east monsoon. The rest of the year they lie by. The *kattu* are built at Dawè ("Tavoy"), and cost from one to two thousand rupees. They carry a compass of European make, for use in thick weather; but the navigation is empirical.

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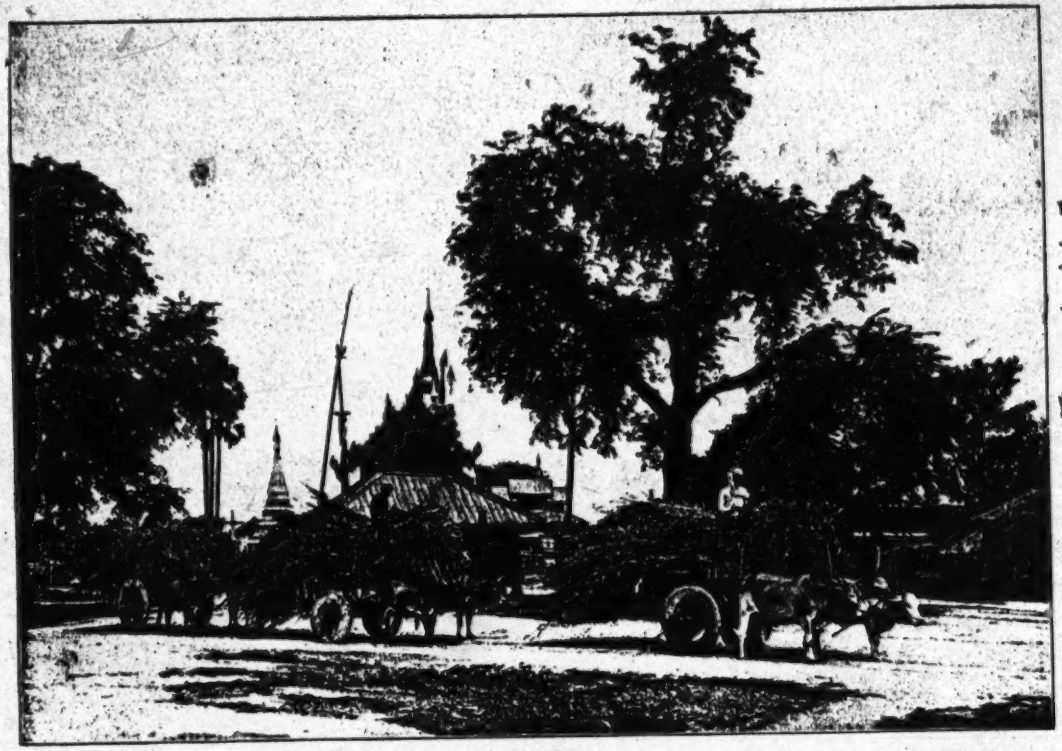
The cart-building exemplifies the Burman love of curves. In Burma Proper the root-wood of *shá* (cutch) is dug out for the sake of the bent timber. In Pegu, curved branches of *thingán* are used for the body. For wheels, solid discs of *kaung-hmu* and other woods were used in Pegu, where timber grows large (No. 306). In the North, the solid wheel is still made up of three pieces, held together by mortices and tenons (Nos. 301, 309). *Padáuk* is the wood preferred for these wheels. They have a very long box for the axle, which is of *pangá* wood; the axle-box is hooped with rattan. Since the introduction of spokes and iron tyres, skill has been concentrated on the wheel; the body of the cart preserves its local type. The Burman has proved the best wheelwright of the East, both

308. PLEASURE-CART, BURMA PROPER.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 API Burma
Burmese AP4

[opp. p. 138]



509. BULLOCK-CARTS, BURMA PROPER.

[To face p. 138.

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25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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310 BURMAN PONIES.

for heavy wheels and the light spider wheels he uses in pleasure and racing-carts. He employs a very long hub to steady the wheel, which is as yet unprovided with turned axles and boxes. *Paddauk* and *pyinkadò* wood are used for hubs, with plain iron bushes at the ends. Teak is used for spokes and felloes. The axle is of imported round bar iron, with plain linch-pins; the end of the wooden axle-bed forms the shoulder. The bar-iron for tyres is likewise imported. Imported springs are coming into use for the light carts. European vehicles built by Chinese are used by well-to-do Burmans in the towns; they exemplify to the natives a novel departure in luxury, in which not splendour but comfort is the standard.

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The country roads are merely the tracks made by the carts. As the bullocks travel in the line of the wheels, the road is passable until the ruts are so deep that the axle-bed scrapes the mound in the centre. Then the track is abandoned for one to the right or left. The same thing happens when the road is too heavy or when a tree falls over it. In the rice country the grain is carted across the fields. But in the dry zone a roadway is left between the fences of the fields, as is also the case in the eastern hill-plateaux. A few state roads (*minlan*) following the high ground used to be kept clear, but the only regular road-making was done near to the capital. Cart-tracks do not penetrate the hill districts to any distance.

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The Burman pony is small—eleven to thirteen hands—but is said to have the best constitution and the greatest endurance of any breed. In Pegu, with its damp climate, the breed does not flourish so well as in the North. The ponies exported from Pegu are brought down from the

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311. WAYSIDE REST-HOUSE.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

484 inferior to his own—not penetrating as far as China or India, where he might
485 witness the dire struggle for existence which has disciplined the races about to compete for his soil—the Burman fails to realise how enviable is the lot he

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315. TOWN ENVIRONS IN THE DRY ZONE.

316. CARVED FIGURE OF ANANDA (p. 85).

now enjoys and to recognise the nature of the influences which may effect the decline of his prosperity. Great as are the facilities for travel from the native point of view, to Europeans the discomfort of travel, once off the lines of rail and steamer, is so considerable that few who can avoid it visit the interior.

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317. FERRY STATION.

University, which was embodied in 1920 from two colleges which had been affiliated to Calcutta University, now consisted of four constituent colleges—University College, Judson College, Teachers' Training College and Medical College. Of these, the Teachers' Training College led a self-sufficient collegiate life of its own, with its normal school, its Anglo-Vernacular high school and its graduate students. Judson College which was an American missionary college contained a very large percentage of Karens and Christians. Medical College was situated a good distance away from the University estate, and in any case students did not enter its buildings until their third year. For the great majority of Burman Buddhists, therefore, the University meant University College with its strength of about 200 women and 800 men students. 873

The buildings of the college were laid out on a garden estate of the University, about four miles out of Rangoon. There were brick and wood residential halls grouped in units, great blocks of teaching buildings in a series of rectangular arms from a main block, a University Convocation Hall in the form of a massive square structure laid heavily at the head of a fine central drive, a narrower and lofty University Library building, a Union Hall, a gymnasium with bright dancing murals on its outside walls, and later a Buddhist Congregational Hall with the traditional tiered roofs in concrete. Opposite was Judson College in the same style, but with the scale greatly contracted. The whole arrangement was set out with stretches of grassy lawns, gardens, great trees and the thousand smaller trees, which had been planted when the estate was first laid, and residential houses for the staff; and bordering all were the Kokine Lakes, extensive stretches of water with pretty banks and wooded islands. The University estate could have been developed into a self-sufficient garden city for it had already a post office, a bookshop and a small hospital of its own, and a servants' village stretched out till it joined the Teachers' Training College not far away. Although the blocks of modern structures could have been built in a more Burmese style, there was enough romance in these surroundings for those of us who had come from English schools. The Convocation Hall was guarded by two giant bronze gryphons squatting on slabs of concrete, in the way that lion gryphons guard all our pagodas. The names of the residential halls were the names of ancient capitals of Burma—Prome, Tagaung, Pagan and Ava; Pegu, Thaton, Sagaing and Inya. The bus service connecting the University with Rangoon town was marked with the naga—the dragon of our mythology and a noble beneficent creature. It was the most elevated of the Rangoon Electric Tramway's attempts at symbols for the illiterate users of buses—an aeroplane for Mingaladon 873 494 212

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where the airport of Rangoon was situated, a horse's head for the suburb of Insein where wild horses used to graze before the area was cleared and built up, a prawn for the suburb of Pasundaung which name means "Mountain of Prawns" and a naga for the *Tegatho*, the Taxila of learning.

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Burmese girls and boys came to this University from the age of sixteen upwards. They studied English and Burmese and a combination of three other subjects for two years, reducible to one for more promising students, and then took an Intermediate Arts or Science examination. After this, a small percentage read an Honours Course for three years, and the great majority took a B.A. or a B.Sc. with a combination of three subjects. There were facilities for an M.A. course, a Law Degree, and an Engineering Degree in a special Engineering College endowed by the Burma Oil Company. For graduates who wished to return to cram for a competitive examination for one of the government services, there was a useful system of minor tutorship posts which, originally paying Rs. 120/- per month, had been split up into two or three posts paying Rs. 40/- to Rs. 60/- for about four to six hours of work per week. This enabled students to have an extra year or two of preparation without any support from home, because boarding fees in any of the halls amounted to Rs. 24/- only. Indeed for the richer classes of Burmese people, life at the University was one of the cheapest ways of passing years in pleasant surroundings, and only the existing rules prevented some from continuing their adolescence into their late thirties. One of my cousins who showed such promise that he matriculated at fifteen, became a rowing man with much money to spend after he joined the University and spent altogether fifteen years as an undergraduate, dodging from one college to another, alternating the arts and the sciences as a reason for his long stay. My uncle Kyaw Din, who carried off the prize of the year in his Intermediate examination, subsequently spent seven years getting his B.A. because he was the best footballer of his day.

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Although there were students here and there who were buried in books either from a love of learning or from being the only breadwinner of a family, my remembrance of University College, Rangoon, is of a great mass of boys and girls who tried to get a passable degree round examination time, but were otherwise submerged in a flood of love and dramatic entertainment. The various associations of arts and sciences, religious and racial fraternities, were more social than intellectual in their activities, but in the Union there was no lack of exciting and impassioned discussions. Here it was that Thakin Nu, Foreign Minister during the Japanese occupation, and Major-General Aung San, leader of the Burmese National Army, harangued us as junior students. Here there was such fierce heartburning about agrarian troubles, labour strikes at the

14: Brant E-5 (1949-50) 1954 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

I

THE VILLAGE SETTING AND THE PEOPLE

Tadagale is a suburban community of Lower Burma, about four and one half miles north of the city center of Rangoon, chief port and national capital of the Union of Burma. To reach the village most readily one travels by automobile northward from the city along Prome Road, a main highway, to the junction with Kokine Road, beyond the city limit, on to which one turns eastward. After a quarter mile or so, one again goes northward on to a bumpy, poorly surfaced road which soon becomes dirt and terminates abruptly, after another quarter mile, at a small bridge. Tadagale means 'small bridge,' and it is after this bridge that the village is named. A few steps walk over the bridge brings one almost to the center of Tadagale. (See map on following page.) 101 361

Tadagale is more or less a 'line' type village, about 3000 yards in length. The domestic dwelling area is constituted by houses and granaries strung along the sides of a main dirt path which is just wide enough for a single bullock cart — or a jeep — to pass without scraping the bushes and trees. This area is heavily shaded from the intense tropical sun by many trees that grow in the household compounds and along the path; palms and banyans are the most prominent types. The houses are rectangular in shape, with low, slanting roofs, and platform-like porches in front. Among the more prosperous families of the village it is not unusual to find houses of plank construction, with roofs of corrugated iron. More frequently, houses are made of bamboo matted sides and palm thatched roofs. Every two or three houses share a well, which is simply an unlined and uncovered hole of perhaps ten to twelve feet in depth. In almost every compound there is a vegetable garden, from which the family supplies itself and realizes some cash income by the sale of any surplus. 361 342

To the east of Tadagale's dwelling area, perhaps five hundred yards distant and running parallel to it, is a railroad line, which begins in Rangoon and terminates at Mingaladon, about five miles north of Tadagale. A small railroad station is located at the eastern terminus of the path on which one finds oneself immediately after crossing the bridge that leads into the village. The villagers do not use the railroad nearly so much as they use buses, which run from Tadagale to Rangoon frequently. 101 496 494

Beyond the railroad line, still farther east, lie the paddy fields, extending out to the winding Pazundaung Creek. This creek begins at the southeastern tip of Rangoon, where the Rangoon and Pegu rivers join, and flows in a twisting course northward to separate Rangoon and the heavily populated area immediately north of the city from the sparsely settled area to the east. 361 133

Tadagale's climate is that of the tropical monsoon belt, with three well-defined seasons. From the end of October to about the end of February is the Dry Season, characterized by the absence of rain, with cool mornings and evenings. The daily maximum temperature is in the 80's and the humidity is moderate. English-speaking Burmese call this season winter; at night it is cool enough to sleep under one light blanket. The Hot Season commences at the beginning of March and lasts until June. Temperatures rise to daily maxima in the middle to high 90's, the earth is parched and cracked, and the loose dirt on the village paths, caught by occasional breezes, forms choking 132

243 led around in circular fashion until the grain is thoroughly separated from the stalks. A pronged hoe is then drawn over the stalks to further the separation, after which the bullocks further stamp upon them. When the grain appears to be full separated from the stalks it is swept up into large heaps, while the stalks are put aside for use as cattle fodder.

Winnowing apparatus consists of a tripod of bamboo poles, from the top of which is suspended a plaited round tray of wide weave. Basketsful of grain are handed up to a man who stands on a platform, often an old barrel or a chair, and empties them on to the tray. As he shakes the tray the grain falls through to the ground, while any chaff is carried away by the wind.

The paddy for household use may then be allowed to dry further before being sent by boat down Pazundaung Creek to be milled. In a few households the paddy for home consumption is husked by a foot-operated pounding device, or by a large, hand-operated mortar and pestle. If there is any surplus, beyond the requirements of home consumption, seed, payment of laborers and debts, it is sold to nearby millers who come to purchase it.

● 494 3. Bus Operation. Forty-four men of the community are principally occupied as bus drivers or fare-collectors. The latter are known as 'spares' in the local terminology. Because of the total destruction of public transportation facilities during World War II in Rangoon and the surrounding area, large numbers of surplus military vehicles have been converted into buses. These buses are owned individually or by small groups of partners. The Tadagale men who engage in bus operation ply between the village, which is a terminus, and Rangoon. Their vehicles are, for the most part, in poor repair, and breakdowns along the route are not uncommon. No regular time schedule is followed; rather, they begin a trip when fully loaded, which is to
[436] say extremely tightly packed with passengers. By carrying maximum loads, and by charging a fare of 6 annas (ca. 8 cents), the bus operators are able to make a profit, despite the high cost of fuel (ca. 47 cents per Imperial gallon) and of repairs.

464 4. Field Labor. Thirty-eight villagers make their livings mainly by field labor. During the planting and harvesting seasons they work steadily for cultivators, either in Tadagale or in nearby communities. They are paid in kind or in cash, seldom in combination. During the growing season, August to November, and again, between the end of the harvest and the beginning of the planting season, these people must depend on other temporary jobs to round out their livings.

234 5. Dairy Farming. This occupation is carried on exclusively by the small
563 group of Indians in Tadagale, who possess herds of water buffalo and cattle.
443 Fresh milk is taken daily by bus, in large metal containers, to Rangoon, where it is sold for cash, mostly to Muslim restaurants. The Burmese inhabitants of Tadagale make but slight use of milk and there is virtually no market for it in the village.

265 6. Selling of Prepared Foods. The preparation and itinerant selling of certain Burmese foods supports twenty persons, of whom many are women. Because of the Burmese habit of informal, occasional eating between the two regular daily meals, food sellers do a considerable business. They are invariably present at the pwe, outdoor dramatic presentations staged during holidays and on other festive occasions.

If the umbrella falls down it indicates that the spirit has departed and cannot return. The person who performs this ritual must not talk to anyone en route to the cemetery. 764

On the seventh day a ceremony takes place. The monks come to the house to eat and chant prayers. They are given offerings for their own use and a special tray containing white thread. The monks hold the thread, which symbolizes good, while they chant. The people present are seated before the monks, repeating the prayers and precepts after them. The deceased person is supposed to be sitting on the mat prepared for him and benefiting from this ceremony. Then the people are fed, the monks depart, and the influences of death are considered to be banished. The thread is kept in the house. 764 769

Graves are not visited, nor is there any upkeep of the cemetery, for folk belief has it that the tidying of graves will cause more people to die. The dead are commemorated by the meritorious act of feasting the Buddhist monks.

Associations

Bus Union. Owners of buses plying between Tadagale and Rangoon are organized into a union. In terms of its functions, this organization might be more fittingly termed a mutual protective and insurance association. These are to prevent outsiders from infringing on their route and competing with them; payment of damages in case of accidents between members' buses and other vehicles or persons; payment of any costs of litigation that arise in connection with accidents; and maintenance of a repair shop and mechanic in the village. Members of the union pay an initial sum to join, plus monthly dues and a small toll fee for each trip that is made. 441 444

Peasants Union. The Tadagale Peasants Union is a constituent body of the All Burma Peasants Union and operates directly under the Insein Division of the parent organization. Some fifty to sixty households in Tadagale are members. When the head of a family or household joins, the union regards all its members as union members. In theory, meetings are supposed to occur once a month, but in fact take place at irregular intervals, whenever a problem arises that is considered sufficiently important to warrant a meeting. Commonly this is a dispute between members over land. If opinion remains divided after considerable discussion of a dispute or other issue, the union meeting votes by written ballot. 467 427 185

The more long-run aims of the Peasants Union concern rent and taxes of cultivators. Protests and petitions are sent to the government when it is felt taxes are too high. The union was characterized as 'an organization that is against the landlords.' At the time of our research, its aim was to reduce the landowners' share of the produce to one-third from two-thirds. The union also favored land nationalization, under which it was believed rent would be paid in a just amount to the government. Just where the Peasants Union fitted in with existing political party programs and alignments in the country at large it was not, for various reasons, feasible to investigate.

Ceremonial Assistance Groups. For purposes of rendering help at such ceremonies as weddings, funerals and initiations, the villagers are divided into informal groups. These are: men's group; married women's group; and unmarried girls' group. The men's group does the heavier tasks, such as chopping and carrying firewood, erecting ceremonial structures, and preparing 575 476

726 438 484 [431] oranges, guava fruit, mangosteen fruit - together worth about forty or fifty rupees. When he arrived at Pathwe this was distributed among the members of his family, and also some relatives and the phongyis. On one such trip he made Rs. 2700/- which he carried back hidden away in a jar of salt.

●494 465 U Myaing never came in to Rangoon purely for a visit. Besides bringing down fish, U Myaing also came to Rangoon before the war to buy some motor parts and accessories such as tyres, tubes, etc. which they could not obtain in Pathwe village or in Pantanaw town. At that period in his life U Myaing used to drive a bus between Pathwe and the village on the bank of the river across from Pathwe. There was a cart track for a road, and they used to carry passengers at a rupee per head. In the rains this cart track became impossible and so they traversed this route only from TA-ZAUNG-BON to KASON months. U Myaing worked on this route for three summers. In the rains they shifted operations to the Maubin Ye Le route, which was a 10 mile journey, and occasionally the 10 mile route from Ye Le to HSE-DAUNG-MAW. [491] He worked at these places for two rainy seasons, from WASO right up till the month of TA-ZAUNG-BON. The bus was owned by his cousin who collected all the earnings for each day. At that time bus drivers were hired at Rs. 45/- a month, plus sweet tea, food, shelter and one packet of cigarettes a day. "In Pathwe all the houses were too large and could accomodate a great many more people than they actually did. This was because each one erected his own building after the example of the other houses in the village. The person who hired the bus driver merely installed him in his home".

[589] This was when U Myaing was 17 or 18 years old. He was not paid anything, but the family was provided with everything they needed - food, clothes, etc. (U Myaing was still unmarried and the family [582] consisted of two sisters, his mother and himself. (He did not marry [431] till the age of thirty.) Both U Myaing and Daw Aw Zar estimated that the things they received from the bus owner would have amounted to much more than forty five rupees' worth.

14: Brant E-5 (1949-50) 1954 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

I

THE VILLAGE SETTING AND THE PEOPLE

Tadagale is a suburban community of Lower Burma, about four and one half miles north of the city center of Rangoon, chief port and national capital of the Union of Burma. To reach the village most readily one travels by automobile northward from the city along Prome Road, a main highway, to the junction with Kokine Road, beyond the city limit, on to which one turns eastward. After a quarter mile or so, one again goes northward on to a bumpy, poorly surfaced road which soon becomes dirt and terminates abruptly, after another quarter mile, at a small bridge. Tadagale means 'small bridge,' and it is after this bridge that the village is named. A few steps walk over the bridge brings one almost to the center of Tadagale. (See map on following page.) 101 361

Tadagale is more or less a 'line' type village, about 3000 yards in length. The domestic dwelling area is constituted by houses and granaries strung along the sides of a main dirt path which is just wide enough for a single bullock cart — or a jeep — to pass without scraping the bushes and trees. This area is heavily shaded from the intense tropical sun by many trees that grow in the household compounds and along the path; palms and banyans are the most prominent types. The houses are rectangular in shape, with low, slanting roofs, and platform-like porches in front. Among the more prosperous families of the village it is not unusual to find houses of plank construction, with roofs of corrugated iron. More frequently, houses are made of bamboo matted sides and palm thatched roofs. Every two or three houses share a well, which is simply an unlined and uncovered hole of perhaps ten to twelve feet in depth. In almost every compound there is a vegetable garden, from which the family supplies itself and realizes some cash income by the sale of any surplus. 361 342

To the east of Tadagale's dwelling area, perhaps five hundred yards distant and running parallel to it, is a railroad line, which begins in Rangoon and terminates at Mingaladon, about five miles north of Tadagale. A small railroad station is located at the eastern terminus of the path on which one finds oneself immediately after crossing the bridge that leads into the village. The villagers do not use the railroad nearly so much as they use buses, which run from Tadagale to Rangoon frequently. 101 496 494

Beyond the railroad line, still farther east, lie the paddy fields, extending out to the winding Pasundaung Creek. This creek begins at the southeastern tip of Rangoon, where the Rangoon and Pegu rivers join, and flows in a twisting course northward to separate Rangoon and the heavily populated area immediately north of the city from the sparsely settled area to the east. 361 133

Tadagale's climate is that of the tropical monsoon belt, with three well-defined seasons. From the end of October to about the end of February is the Dry Season, characterized by the absence of rain, with cool mornings and evenings. The daily maximum temperature is in the 80's and the humidity is moderate. English-speaking Burmese call this season winter; at night it is cool enough to sleep under one light blanket. The Hot Season commences at the beginning of March and lasts until June. Temperatures rise to daily maxima in the middle to high 90's, the earth is parched and cracked, and the loose dirt on the village paths, caught by occasional breezes, forms choking 132

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

CHAPTER LVIII

MANDALAY AND RANGOON

[This chapter describes these towns as they were in 1881.]

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AMERICANS talk, and with good reason, of the magic growth of their cities. But for mere mushroom growth, Mandalay might compare even with Chicago itself, and if we are to judge of the progress of a commercial place by the fair criterion of business results, Rangoon may hold up its head in confident rivalry with any of the typical American cities. In the middle of last century the site of Mandalay was swampy paddy land and rank jungle. Now an area of five square miles is covered with houses, many of them squalid enough certainly, and with large patches of unused land round about them, but none the less contained within the city limits. Rangoon came into British hands in 1852, and at that time possessed no commerce worthy of the name, indeed it was only known as the place for pilgrims to the Shwe Dagôn pagoda to stay at, and the residence of the Regent of Pegu, as being the guard station on the most accessible mouth of the Irrawaddy. Ten years later, ships entered or cleared from the port having a tonnage of 295,000 tons, and the imports were worth £1,200,000, the exports £1,400,000, and since that date—a year or two after Mandalay had been founded—the tonnage has increased to 1,000,000, the value of the imports to £5,000,000 sterling, and the exports to £4,000,000. In a quarter of a century the commerce of British Burma rose to nearly £20,000,000 sterling. The population has quadrupled; public works are carried on; education is widely disseminated; the administration is carefully managed by British officials; a railway,

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[161]
[871]
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2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma (Chinese) AP1
Burmese AP4

Be 178 [497] [206] [652]

163 miles long, has been made; there are 1300 miles of telegraph lines; stately law courts and other public buildings have sprung up, and so far from the work being a tax on the Indian Imperial Treasury, British Burma has been, after its first few years, more than self-supporting. For a considerable time it has contributed to the Imperial Treasury a clear surplus of a million sterling. The mere figures are in themselves surprising, but they cannot be truly appreciated unless they are read alongside the obvious, undeniable, and acknowledged prosperity and contentment of the native population. Since the annexation of Upper Burma these figures have been roughly multiplied by ten, and there is a steady yearly increase which would be greater if Burma were allowed to make use of her yearly surpluses.

Be 361

As long as there was a king of Burma, Mandalay was a larger town than Rangoon and an infinitely more picturesque one. It still remains by a long way the second town in Burma, but Rangoon has over-passed it in population. While Rangoon has gained, Mandalay has lost, but there seems no reason why it should go on declining.

The mushroom growth of Mandalay was entirely due to an autocratic order, but the number of ancient capitals in the neighbourhood shows that the position is an advantageous one. The astrologers and the king settled the new site between them, and when this was arranged a royal order came out bidding all remove themselves from Amarapura to Mandalay on pain of death in case of refusal. The transference of a bamboo hut is certainly no very great undertaking, and occupies less than a week in the pulling down and setting up. But the hardship was none the less where the people had gardens, or fruit-trees growing in their yards. The Chinese alone remained firm. Their houses were of the usual substantial, heavy, Celestial architecture, and, moreover, they had built for themselves an elaborate joss-house, in splendour quite equal to the best in Rangoon. Consequently, they flatly refused to migrate the two or three miles distance to the new capital. The astrologers were as usual for using force, but Mindôn Min had more sense. The Chinamen were almost all British subjects, and moreover their dealings contributed substantially to the revenue. Their

Ba [513] [341]

501 396 His constructive skill with wood has been most successfully expressed in the vehicles for land and water transport—the bullock cart and the canoe. The classic pattern for a Burmese boat is the *laung*, built from a single hollowed-out trunk of the *thingan*, a tough tree growing near the water with a girth of 4—20 feet and a height of 15—75 feet. The trunk is hollowed out into a rough hull, the outside is adzed, circles of holes are bored through for a guide, and the shell is hollowed to a uniform thickness. It is then waterlogged, and fired slowly, the symmetry being carefully tended as the hull opens out with the firing. Planks are built up on the sides to increase capacity. These laungs, of a capacity from 10—40 tons, are the universal canoes of the rivers and creeks of Burma. Poled upstream and rowed downstream, they are ideal in the ease with which they can be bumped against rocks or got off shoals, the thingan hull lasting for 20 or 30 years. The bigger boats which still carry rice and other produce up the Irrawaddy are built up from stout ribs on a style which simulates the solid hull of the laung. These boats carry enormous sails and a crew of about fifteen men. Their bulk-heads are richly carved, and they glide along the great Irrawaddy, stately and calm beside the chugging river-steamers, their prows rising and falling like the heads of some fabulous birds.

493 The Burmese cart is a poem in curves of wood. The floor of the cart gives a slight curving sweep from front to back, the sides exaggerate this in crescents that sweep right up into the air, and the circle of the wheel has good balance and strength behind its symmetry. For the sake of the curves, the root wood of cutch and the curved branches of thingan are specially sought out.

326 788 534 Brassware, for which the old centres were at Amarapura and Sagaing in Upper Burma, we were familiar with in bells and gongs. Bells are kept by the Burmese for sacred uses only. The delicate small bells hung high around the spires of pagodas, often of gold and silver, have tongues that are moved by the winds to give a sweet testimony, to all spirits, of the good work of men who built the pagoda and other men who pray below, and give the praying devotee a tinkling reassurance of his merit. The great big bells, however, made of molten copper and tin poured into moulds of clay and wax in pits dug in the earth, have no tongues; but when struck with deer's antlers or a wooden striker they [552] sing a deep note of sweetness. The names given to some famous bells reflect their beauty: *Maha Ganda* (Great Voice), *Mahatti Thadda Ganda* (Great Sweet Sound). All big bells are hung on a cross bar with wooden supports at pagodas, where after recitation of precepts we picked up the striker in turn and struck three times to announce to the spirits

592 sent to stay with us at various times and were sent to schools which taught English, but nothing would persuade them to take any interest in studies. My cousin Nyein Maung, whom I liked very much, could never bear to keep a shirt on, which was why he was always to be found with only a longyi tucked around his loins playing chinlon or helping boatmen with their canoes, when he should have been sitting fully clothed in a class-room.

[601] My young Uncle Pyant, whom we called U-Ngè, small Uncle, had
693 passed his B.A. and his law degree, and returned to Ye in preference to
177 a more modern life in a larger town. He walled off one doorway's space
164 from the main room of the house and filled it with bookcases, a big desk and chairs for visitors. Outside this room my Uncle Pyant put up a sign saying: "*A-htet tan shaynay gyi:* Advocate and Higher Grade Pleader," and within a very short time became the lawyer of the whole village; but so great was his attachment to this consultation-living-room, which had nothing in common with the rest of Ye, that he relinquished all cases whose developing complexities led client and lawyer to a higher court in Moulmein.

592 Grandmother had gardens about ten miles up the creek from Ye.
244 These contained coconuts, durians and areca nuts grown over about
276 fifty acres for commercial disposal. Around the bungalow in the centre
427 of the garden there grew mangosteen, rambutan, pomeloes and pineapples for eating on a large-scale, clumps of bamboos, a coffee tree, tobacco plants, capsicum, lime and citron trees, lemon grass, and vegetables of all kinds to serve the needs of the bungalow and the household in town. My aunts with one young male relative took turns to live at the garden and help the family that was hired to look after it permanently. It was a dangerous life in these plantations as dacoities were very frequent.
[501] The produce was taken down to Ye in a succession of graceful narrow boats shaped out of single tree trunks. The durians and coconuts were
[447] sold straight away to traders who travelled between Moulmein and Ye for this purpose. The areca nuts were first dried on a bamboo attic made by an extension of the platform upper storey of the house until it met the back slope of the roof. When they were dried the whole family gathered around in the back kitchen and removed the husks with blunted nutcrackers, leaving the smooth nut to be sold.

244 With the rice from the paddy-land on the opposite bank, fruits,
262 vegetables and spices from the garden, rolling their cheroots with a mix-
226 ture containing tobacco in leaves shed by the areca trees in the garden,
438 and grinding their own coffee berries, my aunts and grandmother only
276 needed to buy a little fish and meat for their daily consumption. This they could not provide themselves owing to the Buddhist law against

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

CHAPTER XXV

A HARVEST FEAST

ONE of the pleasantest and most social of Burmese country festivals is the ceremony which goes by the name of Tamanè Hto-thi. It occurs in the month of Ta'saungmôn, or of Na'daw, when the harvest is over and the first of the new rice piled up in a heap near the farmer's house, or perhaps stowed away in the capacious bottom of the hnaw, the big rice-boat, with its stern rising ten or fifteen feet above the surface of the water, and ready to start for Rangoon whenever its owner shall have hit upon a lucky day for commencing the voyage. In order to acquire a store of merit as well towards the next existence as towards the journey immediately in view; to back up the verdict of the astrologer from the horoscope with the good wishes of the holy men of the monastery; and, above all, to have a feast such as generally comes in somewhere in all Burmese religious proceedings, the cultivator resolves to give away twenty baskets or so of rice in alms and presents to the yellow-robed monks and his neighbours. A special kind of rice is always used on these occasions. Englishmen generally are unaware probably that there are a great number of varieties of rice, and that they differ very much in their flavour. Most people imagine that all rice has the same taste (no taste, they would probably say); and distinguish in a rough material way between Patna rice, which is very small, and Rangoon rice, which is considerably larger in the grain, and finally Carolina rice, which is bigger than any of them. A Rangoon merchant would go a little farther, and say that there are two varieties—the nga-sein, which he likes best and gets most of, and the nga-kyauk, which comes in more sparingly. But beyond these—

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2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

526 and to lay their last rupee or not on their champions according as their judgment or loyalty bids them. Not a man of them will back the enemy's boat. If they have not supreme confidence in the superiority of their representatives, they simply refrain from staking all they possess. But in all the vast crowd there is not a man who has not a money interest of some kind in the race. There is U Ôn, the district magistrate, in the "grand stand"—a primitive erection run up in half an hour with some sticks and bamboo matting; he is a Thônkwa man by birth himself, but nothing will persuade him to back the fishing village against the subdivision over which he now rules. Why, he has practically built and furnished all the money for the Daungsatpyan himself. The water-craft which he learnt in his native place has only prompted him to hang with greater loving care over the lines of the boat when it was building, and Ba Tu, his eldest son, wields the steering paddle in the Peacock, the pride of Myanaung. Now the old gentleman—he pulled a good oar himself twenty years ago for the very town he now longs to beat—moves about uneasily, gets up and sits down, winds and unwinds his white pawlôn, and can hardly refrain from shouting out, for the Peacock is just passing, and Ba Tu gives a yell and flourishes his paddle, and there is
[201] a great shout of "Yauk-kya!" from the Myanaung partisans. Yauk-kya, or yauk-kya ba-tha, means simply "man" or "man, the son of his father," but it is a defiant challenge, or an inspiriting cheer to the Burmese. They are a fine, strong-looking lot, the Myanaung crew, perhaps a little too fleshy, and therefore possibly deficient in staying power, but all young, and worked up to a state of nearly frantic enthusiasm by the presence of their sweethearts and the momentous duty that rests upon them. Their weather-beaten old trainer paddles alongside of them in a little canoe, and begs them to be calm at the beginning and not rush themselves out at the start. The boat is a beauty, and does
● 501 credit to the old magistrate in the sweeping curves of its lines. Low and as light as skilled hands can make it, it draws only a few inches of water, and does not rise much more than a foot above the surface. So thin are the sides that the boat is tourniquetted together with twisted wire

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

and bamboo, and the seats themselves serve more to stiffen it and prevent a wrench from doing any harm, than as conveniences for the paddlers. There are twenty-four of a crew all told, and the boat is fifty feet long. It is painted all black, save at the bow, where there is a brilliant representation of the peacock, from which it takes its name. At the end they come with a great spurt, shouting and bending to each stroke, and another great yell rises from the bank to assure them of the approval of their townsmen.

A length or two behind them comes the Thônkwa boat, paddling along composedly to the time of their celebrated rowing song, a mysterious, gusty air that has suggestions of the swirl of the river eddies and the rustle of the wind in the tall kaing-grass that lines their native creeks, in its varying measure. It comes over the water gently enough now, but many is the time it has swelled like a hurricane-blast and left the opposing boat foolishly as if it were at anchor. The Thônkwa crew are as different as possible in appearance from their robust young rivals. There is probably not a man under thirty among them, but there is not a superfluous ounce in all the wiry twenty-four. Every thew is tough as whip-cord, with long struggles against the rush of the current in the flooded creeks; every face and arm and shoulder is deep brown with exposure to the wind and the sun, for not a man among them but is a fisherman, and thinks nothing of the wild squalls that sweep over the delta and ruffle the swift current into a dangerous surge. No wonder they have an unbeaten record; and U Ôn fidgets about uneasily when the famous pè-nin of the Thônkwa boat salutes him obsequiously as the boat sweeps up.

No one knows how old Ko Kya-gyi is. His withered face and shrunken body suggest that it is time he was giving up fishing and endeavouring by assiduous piety to get his balance of kan somewhat more on the right side towards another existence, but he is tough as buffalo hide still, and no man in all Burma has a greater name than the ever-victorious Thônkwa steersman. None like him to keep a boat straight in the conflicting eddies that have thrown out many an apparently conquering boat; none like him to gauge the strength of his crew and spurt just at the right

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

the great rivers again. The surest way of putting an end to "roping" and false rowing with the object of mere money gain, is to reintroduce the old honest, enthusiastic rivalry. Where every rower feels that the name of his village depends upon the prowess of his arm, there will be no "sugaring" and ignobly waiting, in Sheffield handicap fashion, to "have their heads loose." 526 177·52

All the races in the low country are rowed in hlaw hle, or hlaw laung, that is to say, in paddle-boats. Up country there are frequently contests in hkap hle, "pull-away boats," rowed with oars, but even there the national paddle predominates. It may be mentioned that the coast men are by far the better rowers. In the Mandalay October races in 1881, a scratch Bassein boat challenged all comers, and was victorious in every match. 526 184

There are a variety of boats, mostly, however, made on the same model, of which the launggo is the type. This is simply a canoe hollowed out of the trunk of a tree, the sides of which are drawn out by charring and inserting wedges; then the boat-builder chips out the centre. The laungsat is only a little larger and more commodious, plank sides being added to the solid keel, if it may be so called. The huge hnaw, or rice-boats, are made in the same fashion. 501 ●

Of a different style are the pein-gaw, huge, ungainly, barge-like things, used principally at Yenangyaung for carrying oil. Along the sides, projecting over the beams of the boat, and reaching aft to the house raised on the quarter-deck, are tagin, a sort of platform for the polers to walk backwards and forwards on. Pihn-gaw keep mostly in shallow water, so that their ungainly weight may be moved along by poles, which is much quicker and less laborious work than rowing.

Barring exceptionally fine racing-boats, the hlawkadaw, or hlawga, the king's despatch boats, were the finest specimens of boat-building. They were gilt all over, even to the kat-tat, or paddles, and the stern rose high up in the air for the accommodation of the steerer. The express boats, or hpaungpaw, had usually a representation of the kalawaik, the carrying bird of Vishnu and national emblem of the Burmese, on the bows, and had often as many as sixty [531]

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

● 501 paddlers. Down stream they went faster than a steamer; but they are never seen nowadays.

526 In the Rangoon Boat Club regattas on the Royal Lakes, a British four usually rows a Burmese ten to fourteen paddle-boat. Honours are fairly easy with perhaps a balance in favour of the paddlers, who always get off at practically top speed.

The Intha leg rowers of the Yawnghwe Lake in the Southern Shan States, when they row in their own boats, seem likely always to beat even the best picked Burman crews.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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12. BABY'S BATH.

CHAPTER II

CHILDHOOD

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13. THE RATTAN CRADLE (PAKET).

THE cradle and the flower-stand are the two things that strike one in every Burman dwelling by the care bestowed on them. The plainest cradle has a turned rail and a carved headpiece (p. 8). The cradle swings by ropes to which the mosquito curtain is tied. The bed is made of a cotton mattress and a few plies of cloth. The infant is swaddled while its mother is lying in, and for a week or two later according to the season of the year. After that it wears only necklets and bangles. The first clothes the child gets are for grand occasions, after it has learned to run about and take care of itself. When the mother has recovered, she takes her babe with her wherever she goes, and if a wood or cane cradle is not handy she slings the infant in a plain hammock of cloth (No. 284). The Burmans do not carry their young children in a sling on the back like the hill people, but on the hip as soon as they can sit up (Nos. 327, 424).
854 When the babe is hardy enough to go without covering, it spends its waking
342 hours on a smooth mat spread over a springy bamboo floor which somewhat

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1931 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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60. DECADENT KYAUNG.

Gothic, especially in the richness of the *ensemble*. But the Burman decoration does not strike the eye as an efflorescence of the structure so much as an overlaying of it. The grandest work produces the effect of an elaborate model rather than a monumental achievement. The perspicuity of the play of forces operating in the structure, out of which the poetry of Gothic architecture flows, has a parallel in the Burman boat-building. But the effort which the land architecture incorporates, to interpret a masonry style in wood, was naturally productive of incongruities, despite the fact that the masonry was itself an interpretation of still earlier wood building. The outward incongruities have been mitigated in the unique style in which the genius of Burma has found expression. The stiff and monotonous feather-ornament of the Hindu gable (No. 74) has developed into the Burman flamboyant decoration. The bold finial is the sole element of the original which has been preserved literally (No. 62). The graduated ornament of the *pyatthat*, soaring above the verdure, recalls the proportions of some budding head-of-bloom—a case in point of the theory of the sources of architectural types, in the insensible suggestions of natural objects, expressed by Herbert Spencer. (*Essays*, vol. ii.) Through the Burman treatment types other than architectural, which Burma has borrowed, acquire a new and distinctive interest.

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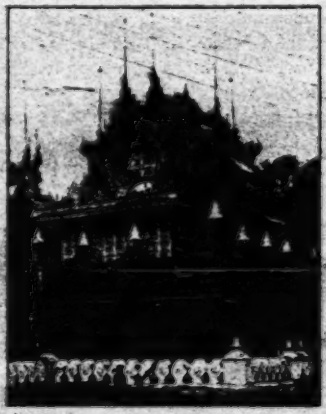
When a *kyaung*, or any work of public utility, has been undertaken by the people of a village jointly, it is kept in good repair. But when it has been carried out at the cost of an individual—and this applies to most of the public works—the repairs are left to the founder and to his family, who have frequently



61. ORNAMENTATION OF KYAUNG.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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178. VILLAGE ENVIRONS IN THE FLOODS.

feet. The Salween, above the rapids, with a width of a quarter of a mile, rises fifty feet. The high level is maintained, with fluctuations, till September. The water in the main channels is turbid and heavy with yellow silt, but it clears itself in the grass-grown *Kwin*. Many a cart-track of the dry weather becomes a creek passable by deep-laden boats. The whole aspect of the country and mode of life are changed; the villages of the Delta are accessible by water, and many stand in water. At this season the heavy traffic of the country proceeds. In some places the rise is so great and so variable that the people depend on their boats, and every child has a tub of its own (Nos. 159, 161). Such a village is Sanyuè on the Myimmakà (*Myit-ma-kà*), the river that denies its tribute to the great Irawadi, and delivers the waters of the Yôma straight to the sea (see map, and *mômakà*, p. 115).

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The rise of the spring-tides above mean low-water level on the coast of Burma is sixteen to eighteen feet. In certain estuaries of the Martaban Gulf, dangerous bores are produced. In the Delta, which is a network of creeks, and in Arakan, the facilities afforded for traffic by the tidal currents are unequalled.

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The abatement of the monsoon rains, in the course of September, like the break of the monsoon, is attended with thunderstorms. The surface soon dries and the sub-soil water begins to sink, leaving but little marsh land (*kwet*). As the hot season advances, the trees and bamboos of the dry forest lose their leaves, and the grasses wither, covering the soil with an inflammable layer. In the open, the heavy dews

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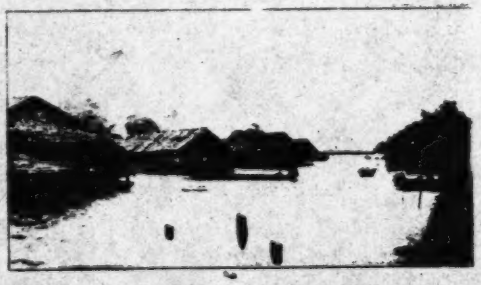

177. VILLAGE SCENE IN THE HIGH FLOOD.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

[opp. p.90]

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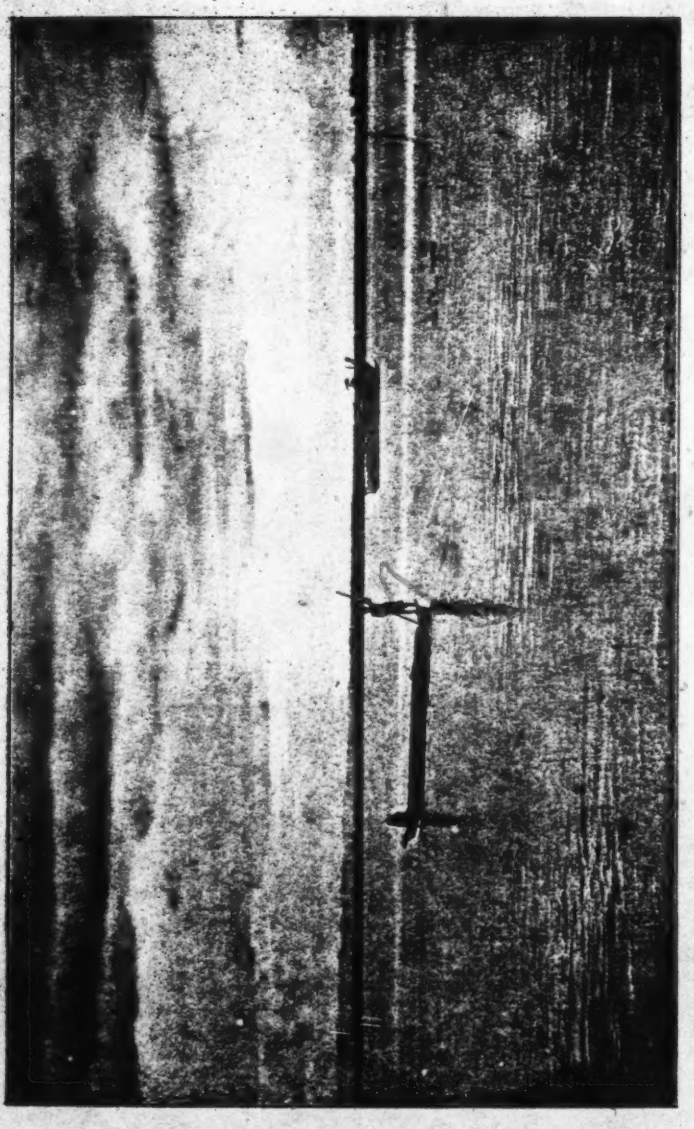

107. THE IRAWADI AT NYAUNG-U.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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344. MIXED HILL-CROP OF RICE, SESAMUM, AND TEAK, IN SEPTEMBER (p. 149).

of being nearly all heart-wood, having considerable strength, with moderate hardness and weight, working easily with axe, saw and chisel, taking nails, and above all, not rusting nails or iron in contact with it. It has a serviceable brown colour and an odour by which it may always be distinguished, due to the presence of an oil which repels the attacks of insects, notably of the termites, and which protects it from decay. Teak is in short the prince of eastern woods. At the end of the eighteenth century, teak was already being worked out of the Burma forests and brought to port, where the foreign shippers had established saw-pits for squaring the logs. The steel pit-saws found their way into trade and gave an impetus to wood architecture, of which the ecclesiastical buildings of Burma are the chief examples. Timber-traders started building teak ships in Burma, employing Chinese carpenters. This business has been abandoned, but lighters are still built.

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341]
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345. FLUE OF FACTORY DISUSED TEN YEARS.

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The teak-tree (*tectona grandis*) occurs in patches of the dry mixed forest, the forest namely of which the principal element is a deciduous bamboo, with timber trees of fifty or more deciduous species scattered through it. Of these species about half a dozen produce serviceable timber. The bamboo-stools send up their culms to heights of forty and sixty feet in the course of a few weeks, before their branchlets and leaves appear. By means of this the bamboo has the advantage over all other vegetation. The seedlings of trees have to struggle up under its cover. At intervals of twenty to thirty years the bamboo species flower, to grow again from seed. Then is

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

[opp. p.130]

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282. LAUNG-GO POLING UP-STREAM.

[To face p. 130.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 API Burma
Burmese AP4

[opp. p. 132]

294. LAUNGZAT SAILING UP-STREAM. [To face p. 132.

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25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

396

297. BOAT-BUILDER'S YARD (PEGU).

and the hull filled with water. When the wood is waterlogged, the hull is emptied and a slow fire made under its whole length. The edges of the original slot, which now blend into stem and stern and only remain vertical amidships, are gripped by two rows of wooden vee's lashed by green creepers, wet ropes, or iron chains, to long levers that have the bottom of the boat for fulcrum. From the power-ends of the levers, ropes are belayed to two bamboo rails pegged to the ground on each side. As the heat takes effect, and the hull opens out, its symmetry is carefully watched until the originally vertical edges of the slot are horizontal. The beam is now double what it was and the displacement several times greater. The opening out is allowed to go somewhat beyond the intended beam, and recesses are cut for the stout thwarts (*pagán-byin*). These are then put in place, and the shell allowed to close upon them. The levers are left in position till the wood is quite rigid. The capacity of the boat is further increased by building on sides above the solid hull. These consist of long seamless planks, stiffened by mouldings and ribs, and in the case of cargo-boats by an upper tier of thwarts; the join is luted from the outer side with bee-dammar (*púnnyet*). Such boats
501 are built of a capacity of ten to forty tons. The rounded solid hull (*laung-gó*) is
502 the most serviceable for the rivers of Burma, on account of the ease of getting it off shoals; the boat can be worked about in every direction till it wears a

298. LAUNG-GO POLING AGAINST A RAPID.

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

[opp. p. 134]

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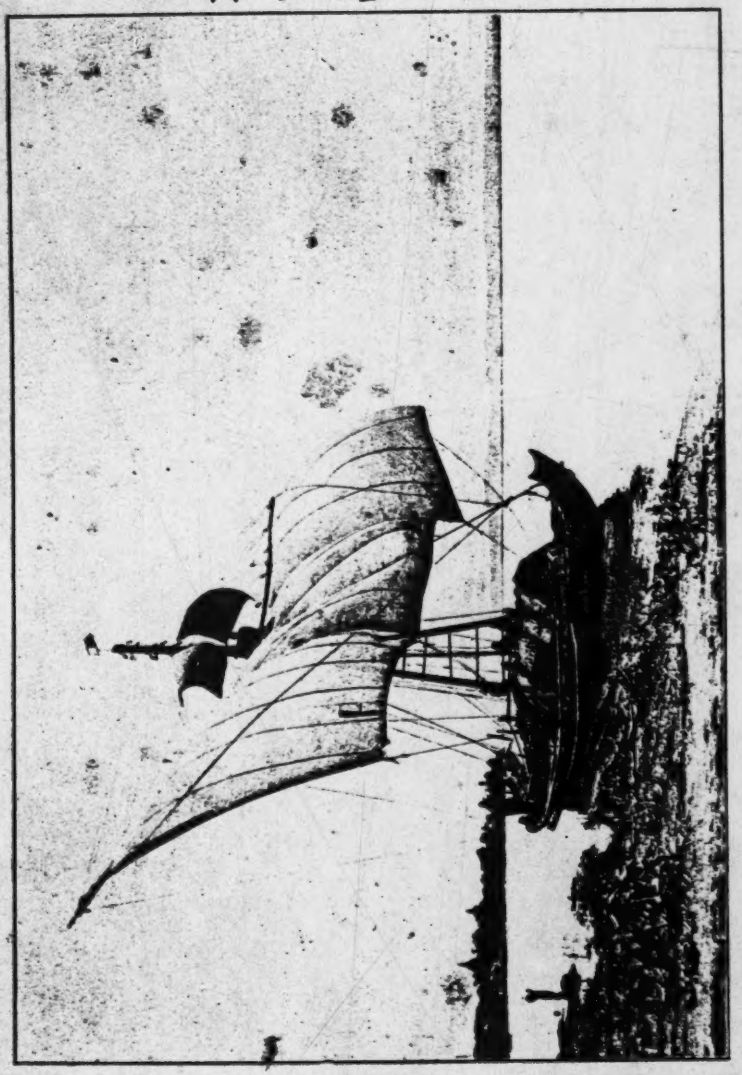

299. PEINGAW SAILING UP-STREAM

[To face p. 134]

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

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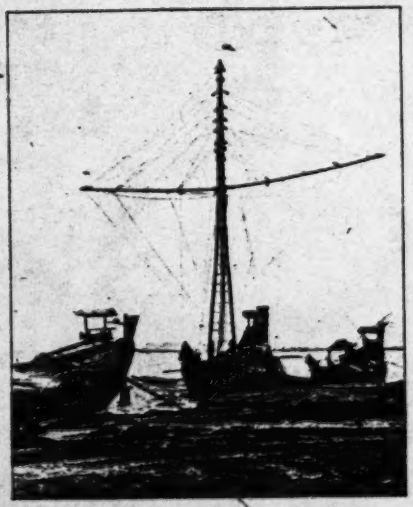

300. LAUNG-ZAT POLING UP-STREAM.

channel in the sand or mud. But it cannot sail near the wind, and it makes great leeway. Only a square-sail is carried. The prow of the boat is solid and the bulk-head above is ornamented with carving. The still more ornamented poop has to be built up in the large boats, to get the full sweep of curve that is obtained in a single piece in the canoe (*laung*). The boat has a good deal of buoyancy even when full of water. The *laung-gô* is rather crank, a defect which is obviated by the use of bamboo side-buoys (*baw-wa*, No. 176). *Thingán* hulls last twenty to thirty years; the canoe is used up to the last stump. When past repair, it is sawn asunder and boards nailed across the sound pieces. A tub of

[857] this kind is a treasure to a child (No. 161). The anchor (*kyauk*) used to be a wood fork weighted with stone; the European pattern is now general. The *laung-gô* is rowed with the stream only, by three or four sweep-oars; it is poled up-stream. The boatman thrusts his pole from the hollow above the collar-bone. Thus the hands are free to hold the body down to the rail, and every muscle is called into service. No. 289 shows the "tiger" style of poling, No. 298 the "scorpion" style. The

[463] crew of the *laung-gô* consists of three to five men; they get their food and a stipulated sum for the trip, which comes to twelve to sixteen annas per

501 working day. Cargo

435 boats cost from 1,000 to 3,000 rupees, chiefly for the solid hull.

301. LAUNG-ZAT LOADING.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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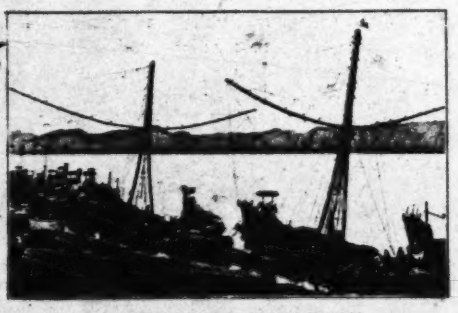

502. SHIPPING-PORT ON THE IRAWADI.

Canoes cost from twenty to one hundred rupees. Since ship-building was started, boats of greater dimensions than could be built solid—eighty to one hundred tons—have been built of teak on the carvel method (*sat-hle*). But the lines of the *laung-gô* are rigidly adhered to. A hull exactly simulating the solid hull is built with stout ribs and sheathing; then the sides are added—a most remarkable example of conservatism of type. These two classes of boats carry most of the rice to port. In Burma Proper, where timber does not attain such size as in the moist region, canoes only are made on the *laung-gô* plan; the larger boats have always been built up. In these the *laung-gô* type is also simulated, but not so closely (*laung-zát*, Nos. 294, 300). The narrow bottom is flat and is fixed to the side-planks of the lower hull by ribs. The planks are two to three inches thick and ten to twelve inches broad; they are held together by nails driven obliquely from recesses near the seams, which are luted with dammar, and are strengthened with ribs. The upper side-planks are attached as in the *laung-gô*. Poop and prow are strengthened by iron dee-nails along the seams. The capacity of such boats ranges from twenty to one hundred and fifty tons, and they cost from 500 to 5,000 rupees. The crew consists of from five to twenty men. They only sail before the wind and carry an immense expanse of sail, to stem the current of the Irawadi, which runs four to five knots in the rains. The course of the river and the prevailing wind are in their favour. During the rains these craft make two trips, north and south, and lie by in the dry weather. They convey the produce of Pegu to Burma Proper,—

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503. BURMAN SEA-GOING CRAFT (KATTU).

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

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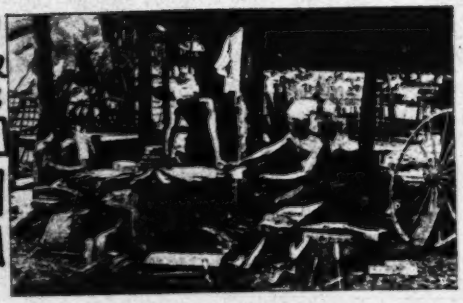
[505]
[171]



308. BURMAN CARTWRIGHTS.

ngapi, dried fish, salt and rice, besides imported goods. They bring down the manufactures of the North—cutch, lacquer, images, and *parti-kaya* wares. They have to endure a formidable competition from the river steamers. In its existing form, the boat of Burma presents no near affinity to the boats of neighbouring peoples. The types of architecture which the Burmans borrowed from India they have treated in a distinctive way which gives them independent interest. But the art which culminates in the stately ship of the Irawadi is purely their own achievement. The work derives unity from the noble balance of the masses and life from the spirited sweep of the curves. The severity of line is relieved by plastic incident in the rich carving. The structure itself is patent and not concealed (with the exception noted), and the decoration goes hand in hand with it. Besides their own type of boat, the Shan type (No. 320) [505 has been developed into a large craft for carrying earth-oil in bulk—the *peingdaw*. 315] Two long, partially-hollowed teak logs form the sides of the lower hull, with several thick planks intervening, for the flat bottom. Two planks above these complete the sides, all held together by nails and ribs as in the *laungzát*. There are outrigged bamboo galleries for the crew to row and pole, which allow of the deck-house being carried from end to end, providing accommodation for several families. The rig is the same as in the *laungzát*. In tidal and salt waters, boats have to be [493] beached once a month to bream the bottoms and destroy the teredo. The rest of the woodwork and tackle is protected with earth-oil. 501 The boats of Arakán are [177] on Indian lines. There is

308. BUFFALO-CART.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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[531]

[162]

307. TYREING THE WHEEL.

a shallow dug-out bottom with three or four side-planks built up from it. The planks are held together by cane lacing, with a caulking of grass. They are very crank, but are good sea-boats, nevertheless. The only decoration is a rough crocodile's head at the bow. The boat population of Burma in 1891 was nearly 84,000, or about 1·5 per cent. of the whole population—"greatly in excess of the proportion borne to the total by the maritime population of the most maritime nation in the world" (Census report, p. 34). The only sea-going craft are the few score *kattu*, small junks of twenty to sixty tons, manned by five or six Taláings. They venture as far to sea as the Nicobars, where they ship cocoanuts in the fine or north-east monsoon. The rest of the year they lie by. The *kattu* are built at Dawè ("Tavoy"), and cost from one to two thousand rupees. They carry a compass of European make, for use in thick weather; but the navigation is empirical.

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The cart-building exemplifies the Burman love of curves. In Burma Proper the root-wood of *shè* (cutch) is dug out for the sake of the bent timber. In Pegu, curved branches of *thingán* are used for the body. For wheels, solid discs of *kaung-hmu* and other woods were used in Pegu, where timber grows large (No. 306). In the North, the solid wheel is still made up of three pieces, held together by mortices and tenons (Nos. 301, 309). *Padauk* is the wood preferred for these wheels. They have a very long box for the axle, which is of *pangá* wood; the axle-box is hooped with rattan. Since the introduction of spokes and iron tyres, skill has been concentrated on the wheel; the body of the cart preserves its local type. The Burman has proved the best wheelwright of the East, both

309. PLEASURE-CART, BURMA PROPER.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma AP1
Indians
Burmese AP4

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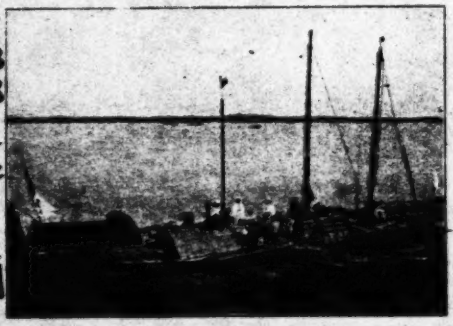
[501]



365. BRINGING THE PADDY TO THE RICE-MILLS.

of every class and caste, with his foreign connection and longer experience, has an incalculable advantage over the untravelled Burman. Beginning with a lower standard of comfort than the Burman—squatting on the bare soil where the poorest Burman makes a floor, wearing cotton where the other wears silk, and being able to improve his original condition upon half the return that the Burman expects for his work—the Indian immigrant finds land worth his labour which the Burman leaves waste. The influx of races whose religion it is to multiply, without regard to the prospect of subsistence, must speedily result in lowering the scale of life for everyone in Burma—a country of which it may now be said that "a large share of the happiness of each individual is derived from the consciousness of the well-being of other individuals." (Herbert Spencer, *Principles of Ethics*, Vol. I., p. 297.) Commencing by hiring the cheap Indian labour to reap his corn, then to plough and till his fields, the while emulating his neighbours in superfluous works, the Burman is apt to end by becoming the debtor of his servant, and mortgaging to him his lands. It seems to many that there is no escape for the Burman from the Indian flood that now menaces his country. But up to the present no class of Indians has attempted to deal with land subject to the vicissitudes of the Burman riverain soil. It is unlikely that people of less versatility and resource will establish themselves there. In 1879, when the vagaries of the Irawadi had submerged the cultivation on the Panhlaing creek some twelve feet, and the eaves of the houses were under water, the cattle were saved in hasty platforms made in

Bse
[426]
Ba
Bse
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Bse
[361]

366. FORESHORE AT THE FACTORIES.

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

396

297. BOAT-BUILDER'S YARD (PEGU).

and the hull filled with water. When the wood is waterlogged, the hull is emptied and a slow fire made under its whole length. The edges of the original slot, which now blend into stem and stern and only remain vertical amidships, are gripped by two rows of wooden vee's lashed by green creepers, wet ropes, or iron chains, to long levers that have the bottom of the boat for fulcrum. From the power-ends of the levers, ropes are belayed to two bamboo rails pegged to the ground on each side. As the heat takes effect, and the hull opens out, its symmetry is carefully watched until the originally vertical edges of the slot are horizontal. The beam is now double what it was and the displacement several times greater. The opening out is allowed to go somewhat beyond the intended beam, and recesses are cut for the stout thwarts (*pagán-byin*). These are then put in place, and the shell allowed to close upon them. The levers are left in position till the wood is quite rigid. The capacity of the boat is further increased by building on sides above the solid hull. These consist of long seamless planks, stiffened by mouldings and ribs, and in the case of cargo-boats by an upper tier of thwarts; the join is luted from the outer side with bee-dammar (*púnnyet*). Such boats are built of a capacity of ten to forty tons. The rounded solid hull (*laung-gó*) is the most serviceable for the rivers of Burma, on account of the ease of getting it off shoals; the boat can be worked about in every direction till it wears a

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25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

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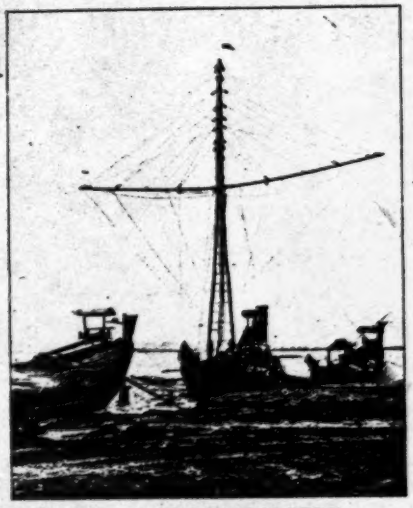

300. LAUNG-ZAT POLING UP-STREAM.

channel in the sand or mud. But it cannot sail near the wind, and it makes great leeway. Only a square-sail is carried. The prow of the boat is solid and the bulk-head above is ornamented with carving. The still more ornamented poop has to be built up in the large boats, to get the full sweep of curve that is obtained in a single piece in the canoe (*laung*). The boat has a good deal of buoyancy even when full of water. The *laung-gô* is rather crank, a defect which is obviated by the use of bamboo side-buoys (*baw-wa*, No. 176). *Thingán* hulls last twenty to thirty years; the canoe is used up to the last stump. When past repair, it is sawn asunder and boards nailed across the sound pieces. A tub of

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Burmese AP4

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303. BURMAN SEA-GOING CRAFT (KATTU).

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

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308. BURMAN CARTWRIGHTS.

ngapi, dried fish, salt and rice, besides imported goods. They bring down the manufactures of the North—cutch, lacquer, images, and *partikaya* wares. They have to endure a formidable competition from the river steamers. In its existing form, the boat of Burma presents no near affinity to the boats of neighbouring peoples. The types of architecture which the Burmans borrowed from India they have treated in a distinctive way which gives them independent interest. But the art which culminates in the stately ship of the Irawadi is purely their own achievement. The work derives unity from the noble balance of the masses and life from the spirited sweep of the curves. The severity of line is relieved by plastic incident in the rich carving. The structure itself is patent and not concealed (with the exception noted), and the decoration goes hand in hand with it. Besides their own type of boat, the Shan type (No. 320) has been developed into a large craft for carrying earth-oil in bulk—the *peingdw*. Two long, partially-hollowed teak logs form the sides of the lower hull, with several thick planks intervening, for the flat bottom. Two planks above these complete the sides, all held together by nails and ribs as in the *laungzát*. There are outrigged bamboo galleries for the crew to row and pole, which allow of the deck-house being carried from end to end, providing accommodation for several families. The rig is the same as in the *laungzát*. In tidal and salt waters, boats have to be beached once a month to bream the bottoms and destroy the teredo. The rest of the woodwork and tackle is protected with earth-oil. The boats of Arakán are on Indian lines. There is

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315]
[493]
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[177]

309. BUFFALO-GAIT.

the last world was dissolved in chaos. On this hill five lotus buds sprang 632
out of the earth; they opened into blossom, and from each flew a sacred 773
bird which bore a sacred yellow robe towards the heavens. These five robes presaged the coming of five Buddhas who would guide the future world along the noble path to Nirvana. After this sign, that former world was destroyed; the present world followed, and the Buddhas appeared as foretold: Kaukathan, Gaunagong, Kathapa and Gautama, who successively attained enlightenment in this world, and whose statues now sit, each fifty feet tall and twenty feet broad, back to back in a great quadrate at the Kyaikpun Pagoda, calm and majestic as the grass grows about them and the rain washes down on their faces, awaiting the arrival of the fifth and last Buddha, after which this world cycle will be destroyed in a universal chaos. As each Buddha saw his enlightenment in this world he left a relic at the Theinguttara Hill, which had foretold his coming and which would now mark his attainment of wisdom—Kaukathan his staff, Gaunagon his water filter, Kathapa a portion of his robe, and Gautama his eight hairs which were enshrined in the first Shwe Dagon Pagoda after many perilous journeys.

But now the importance of Rangoon banishes all that into the realm 177, 36
of our dreams. The beginnings of trade date from about 1760 after 632
King Alaungpaya had won a battle here and called the place *Yangon:* end of strife; but the big foreign port sprang up suddenly after 1852 when the British gained possession of it; the ships coming into its harbour from the oceans grew larger and larger, buildings followed the expanding commerce, roads and railways were built to all parts of Burma, foreigners crowded in and stamped its character, and by 1941 Rangoon had become a cosmopolitan city of over 500,000 inhabitants, more than three times larger than the next largest city in Burma and controlling over 80% of its export trade.

If the Burmese Empire of former days had been a sea-power, the 361
development of Rangoon would not have been left to this late day, for 504
its position makes it the obvious port for the whole country, and it had many natural beauties which would have made it a fair metropolis. Twenty-one miles up from the open sea, the Rangoon River gives a broad sweep to the left and allows a frontage of over two miles for ocean shipping to anchor. The river is a continuation of the Hlaing River flowing southwards from about 50 miles north of Rangoon and this, with the Pegu River and the Pazundaung Creek which join its waters opposite Rangoon from the right, made inland water transport also easy. The land giving on to the Rangoon River was open and flat for the layout of a fine city, with, further in, lakes and wooded hillocks, but just north of Rangoon the range of hills known as the Pegu Yomas stretched northwards for

361 about 300 miles, dividing the valley of the Irrawaddy from that of the
504 Sittang, both rich alluvial valleys, so that Rangoon could stretch out its arms uninterruptedly, by road and rail and water, far up these valleys, and draw down their teak, oil and other products for export.

The actual development had taken advantage of these natural points. Along the river front were several wharves which, dredged and drained carefully, could take vessels up to 8,000 tons. Back from the Strand the city was laid out in three parallel rows, roughly two miles from east to west. Cutting down across these rows to the biggest wharf area was the broad Sule Pagoda Road with the hill of the pagoda forming the natural central circus of the city. In this area of neatly laid out streets were the shops, offices, congested city dwellings, bazaars, narrow shut-in buildings and all the appurtenances of a city; and just where the innermost parallel ended, the railway looped through, flinging one arm up to join Prome on the central Irrawaddy, the other to Mandalay 386 miles away, and, from this arm, a line down to the Tenasserim coast. Beyond the city area the residential areas and suburbs stretched—fringing the Royal Lakes just outside with big houses of rich people; nestling among the wooded hilly Golden Valley round the slopes of the Shwe Dagon Hill, the smallness of this hilly area being drawn out with the meandering of the roads, so that the Burmese named part of it *Wingaba*, a maze, which hid cool retreats like the *Nga Dat Gyi:* Five Levels Pagoda, and a tank of sacred turtles; extending miles in a pleasant garden city of newer rich bungalows till it reached the Victoria Lakes, the University Estate and the airport beyond; taking on a village character in small wooden houses of a Burmese quarter at Kemmendine along which the Rangoon River flowed as a country river; and straggling out in less pleasant poor suburbs to the east along the Pazundaung Creek.

346 Over all this area, the Shwe Dagon Pagoda shone like a golden light. Theinguttara Hill, besides being an echo of the last world, is also the last spur of the Pegu Yomas chain which gradually peters out north of Rangoon. It has been built up to about 150 feet above the surrounding area, and from this platform the Shwe Dagon Pagoda rises, from an octagonal plinth moulded into a lotus bloom turned downwards, tapering into soft encircling rings from which is moulded again a gently swelling plantain bud, the clay merging into more soft undulations which rise to the very summit in the tightest bud of all—the *seinbu*, diamond bud—forming, by a re-echoing of the lotus buds which once sprang up here, a shapely slender spire, tapering to the point of a bud and yet composed of curves and gentle fullness. The whole pagoda was covered with pure gold leaf and its summit was crowned with a delicate *hti*, an umbrella of gold on whose rings were hung gold and silver jewelled bells which

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma AP1
Burmese AP4

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a *rôle* under the kings of Burma, who farmed out customs and taxes to them. Symes, writing in 1800, mentions that there were then one hundred Europeans in Rangoon. With the exception of a few merchants and masters of ships, the European standard at that time was not a good one. At present the authority of the handful of British in Burma ramifies into the old native channels of government by which the mass of the population is reached.

Bse
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[illegible]. HARBOUR SCENE.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

000 said to have *stolen*. The vast majority of couples go through life faithfully
586 and helpfully. The best influences of regular family life are developed. The dissolutions of marriage which take place are chiefly on account of incompati-

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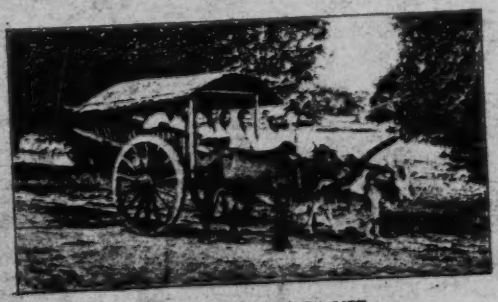
155. PLEASURE PARTY BY BOAT.

bility. Sometimes the husband and wife merely drift apart. Such a separation, when of long standing, is accepted and the parties are free to marry again. In acute and irreconcilable differences the parties apply to the elders of the place for divorce. It becomes the elders' duty to make three efforts to dissuade the couple from their purpose. Failing in these, they pronounce separation (*kwd byl*). Pickled tea is eaten, as in the case of the marriage. The boys of the union go with the father, the girls with the mother. Common goods are divided equally; her dower and the proceeds of her independent trade and investments are at the woman's own disposal from first to last. When she can manage—as she often contrives to do—the mother keeps and provides for all her children, but they retain a lien on the father's support. There is no
562 woman so well able to shift for herself as the woman of Burma. Her independent status would seem to be the corollary of her independent ability
[517 to manage by herself.
493] Nowhere else is the wife more prized; nowhere is woman better able to make terms with man. Although under the Hindu code of Manú which the Burmans nominally follow, the status of woman is only the Indian



156. PLEASURE PARTY BY CART.

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

[opp. p.130]

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[To face p. 130.

283. LAUNG-GO POLING UP-STREAM.

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

At intervals on the main lines of traffic are refreshment-booths, where fruit, sweetmeats, and tea are sold. Meals can be taken in the markets of the towns. In the villages casual travellers enjoy the hospitality of the people. In the afternoon the markets are closed; low tables are set in the roads, where cheroots, fruit, and sweetmeats are sold in the evening. Some of these refreshments are prepared on the spot, such as the *mônlebwè*, a wafer baked in the flame of a fire, in which it rises to an immense size.

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292. CLOTH BAZAR.

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The wholesale trade of Burma is conducted by brokers (*pwèza*) who receive a commission. Wealthy men operate with their own capital, others find investors and money-lenders to advance funds, some form partnerships and small companies to divide profits. Producers frequently bring their grain direct to the mills; but the bulk of the grain is bought up by the native brokers to the order of the exporters, most of whom never visit the interior. The interest on money is one to six per cent. per mensem. What is not hoarded in the form of plate and ornaments is put into trade or is put out to interest. Money-lending is not a special business because everybody practises it. Appalling as is the rate of interest—the measure of risk—such hard bargains are not driven as in India. Debtors when sold up can nowhere make a new start so well as in Burma. Brokers do banking in a small way; but banking has been made a regular branch of business by the Chettis from India (No. 364), who pay as much as one per cent. per month on deposits and charge one and a half per cent. on loans fully secured. European banks and investments with their high security and low rates of interest do not attract Burman capital.

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293. NIGHT BAZAR.

505 The carrying business is mainly by water, for which Burma possesses unrivalled facilities, especially in the floods

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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308. BURMAN CARTWRIGHTS.

ngapi, dried fish, salt and rice, besides imported goods. They bring down the manufactures of the North—cutch, lacquer, images, and *partikaya* wares. They have to endure a formidable competition from the river steamers. In its existing form, the boat of Burma presents no near affinity to the boats of neighbouring peoples. The types of architecture which the Burmans borrowed from India they have treated in a distinctive way which gives them independent interest. But the art which culminates in the stately ship of the Irawadi is purely their own achievement. The work derives unity from the noble balance of the masses and life from the spirited sweep of the curves. The severity of line is relieved by plastic incident in the rich carving. The structure itself is patent and not concealed (with the exception noted), and the decoration goes hand in hand with it. Besides their own type of boat, the Shan type (No. 320) has been developed into a large craft for carrying earth-oil in bulk—the *peingdaw*. Two long, partially-hollowed teak logs form the sides of the lower hull, with several thick planks intervening, for the flat bottom. Two planks above these complete the sides, all held together by nails and ribs as in the *laungzát*. There are outrigged bamboo galleries for the crew to row and pole, which allow of the deck-house being carried from end to end, providing accommodation for several families. The rig is the same as in the *laungzát*. In tidal and salt waters, boats have to be beached once a month to bream the bottoms and destroy the teredo. The rest of the woodwork and tackle is protected with earth-oil. The boats of Arakán are on Indian lines. There is

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308. BUFFALO-CART.

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

484 inferior to his own—not penetrating as far as China or India, where he might
485 witness the dire struggle for existence which has disciplined the races about to compete for his soil—the Burman fails to realise how enviable is the lot he

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315. TOWN ENVIRONS IN THE DRY ZONE.

316. CARVED FIGURE OF ANANDA (p. 95).

now enjoys and to recognise the nature of the influences which may effect the decline of his prosperity. Great as are the facilities for travel from the native point of view, to Europeans the discomfort of travel, once off the lines of rail and steamer, is so considerable that few who can avoid it visit the interior.

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317. FERRY STATION.

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

yahanda, and attain Ne'ban. He is a favourite subject for pictures, which represent him sitting under his brazen roof, or on the stump of a tree, eating out of an alms-bowl, which he carries in his arms. Sometimes he is depicted gazing sideways up to the skies, where he seeks a place that is not polluted by corpses. Such a spot is not to be found on earth, where every stock and stone is but the receptacle of a departed spirit. The notion is like that of the Tibetan monks, who look upon the earth as simply a vast graveyard. They carry human finger-joints strung together for a rosary, eat their food out of a human skull, and instead of horns for trumpets use the bones of a man's forearm. "We are dead," they say, "and dead men have nothing to do with the things of the living."

Of a similar character to this illuminating of the pagodas, the town, and the river, is the letting loose of fire-balloons, from the end of Lent to the Tawadeintha festival in Tasaungmôn. The balloons are sometimes very big, but they are simple enough structures. A bamboo framework is covered over with the thick, coarse, home-made paper manufactured from the bark of the mahlaingbin (*Broussonetia papyrifera*), which also supplies the material for the black parabaik note-books. At the bottom, across the open mouth of the balloon, is a little platform, on which pitch is heaped, and with torches attached to it. The balloon is then tethered to the ground. The torches and resinous matter are lighted, and when the strain on the stays is considered sufficient, they are cut, and the balloon goes off. They are dangerous in large towns, and are forbidden there, but the Burman considers that the law applies only to the ground round the town, and dozens are let off every year from spots only a hundred yards or so outside of municipal limits. Not unseldom dôn, rockets, and other kinds of fireworks are attached to them, not by any means tending to make them safer for the houses below. This mi-eing byan, as it is called, is in honour of the Sula-mani payā, a pagoda erected in Tawadeintha, over Mount Myinmo, by the Thagya, king of the Nat-dêwas. When Prince Theidat left his palace, his wife, and forsook all to become a Buddha, he rode as far as the river Anawma and leaped over it on his famous

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

527 steed Kantika. Then he drew his sword, cut off his long
506 hair and threw it into the air, where it remained suspended, till the Tha-gya-min carried it off in a basket and had his Sula-mani shrine built over it. Hence the offering of fire-balloons.

527 Thus offerings are made on earth, water, and in the air. The whole month, from the full moon which ends Lent till the feast commemorative of the nogāna alms of Thuzata, is distinguished by specially abundant ahlu to the pagodas and to the beikku. A peculiarly pretty offering is that called a pan-taing, a pyramid somewhat like a pya-that, entirely composed of flowers in wreaths and nosegays, which is conducted with much dancing and sounds of music, to be laid before the great image. Fantastic tin shrines and lanterns made to hold big, two-inch thick candles, often plaited of long tapers made of different coloured wax, are presented, and along with these, huge monkish fans, each adorned round the edge with tags of gold-leaf and little pictures; big muslin dragons distended on hoops and long streamers to be hung from the poles surmounted with the sacred hentha, or the kalawaik, are also frequent. It is also customary at this season to make the monks large offerings of honey—pya-ye hlu-thi. This can hardly be called a separate festival, but as the honey is only given in these months, it affords sufficient cause for the exhibition of plays and energetic dancing on the way to the monastery.

776 All these religious observances, sufficiently mixed up
527 with secular enjoyment, are accompanied by other occupations which cannot be said to have anything directly to do with religion. Such is the preparation of the boats, and the practice for the races, which always take place in Thadingyut. They must wait, however, till Lent is over; and the racing boats are almost always kept under the abodes of the yahans, so that even here there is ground for the assertion that all great public feasts in Burma are connected with religion. But the Burmans are very far from being sad worshippers, and any one who has been in the country in the months of October and November would be inclined to assert that the whole round of existence in Burma is made up of junketings and pleasure-parties.

592 She was fairly pretty, very quiet and reserved towards us, and enjoyed
357 helping my mother with the babies, supervising the work of the servant girls and valeting my father. Ngwe Yin, who came to us as a very attractive girl with a reputation for being unmanageable even at a young age, always chose the task of taking us for walks in the evenings so that she could put on her nice clothes. She took us wherever she liked, or she sat with us at meal times and let us be as naughty as we wanted while she indulged in repartee with my father's clerks or chauffeur. Mya Shwe was my contemporary and playmate; she went to school while I was in boarding school but cut short her attendances the day I came home, irrespective of differences in our school calendars.

357 When A-Kyi was about nineteen it was announced to us that she
584 was to be married to my father's clerk, Maung Hla Bu. This young man was a favourite of my parents and had been a constant admirer of A-Kyi, helping her to make the beds when my father took the whole family on tours, but awaiting the graciousness of my parents before he dared to ask for her in marriage. My mother gave A-Kyi a small trousseau and a few pieces of jewellery, and they were married shortly before my father got a posting to another station. When a child was born, Mya Shwe, who had outgrown her days as a playmate for me, went to stay with them. Ngwe Yin, the beautiful girl, continued discontentedly for about a year, and then she eloped with a student protégé of my father's. I don't think either of my parents were very shocked at this.

357 My memories of the girls who worked for us are happy enough only
565 because my mother had been brought up in Grandfather's house where everyone was taught to do things for herself; in her character also was a pervading sense of tolerance. In some minkadaws' houses, however, I have seen two girls kneeling with soap and towel outstretched, while the mistress bathed herself. In more cheerful but no less aristocratic-minded households a meal laid ready on the table is the signal for one girl to get under the table and fan the mosquitoes off the legs of the family, and another to play the gramophone right through the meal My gay young uncle San Lin extended the domestic duties of his girls to the learning of modern songs which he liked, and he did his morning dressing to the accompaniment of his servant girls with powder on their faces and jasmine buds in their hair, swinging their feather brooms to the rhythm of modern love songs.

592 A-Kyi and A-Shwe and all the girls we had before and after them
431 bring back memories of the household articles which made with them a
513 background never recovered in our later Rangoon days. My mother,
286 like all minkadaws in the districts, did not depend on a big bazaar and
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shops to supply her with goods, but took a special pride in buying each 592
product from the town where the best quality of it was manufactured. 431
She could do this either by my father's being posted within its district, 513
by going there on a pagoda-visiting expedition, or by having relatives 286
posted there; and a survey of all the household possessions I can re- 511
member makes a cross-section of Burmese crafts. All our blankets were Burmese *saungs*, good stoutly woven cotton pieces, about 7 feet long and 4½ feet wide. We had single ones of red, black and yellow stripes which looked very bright and barbaric; they came from the Chin Hills. We used these in the hotter months. During the colder months we used thicker *ok-saungs* which we got from Pakokku; they were 14 feet long and used doubled, with a fringe at both ends. These were woven very strong and white, with bold red stripes on them in pleasing combinations. All these saungs washed more and more beautiful to our childish eyes. My mother had a big collection of them in wooden chests and some of them have lasted 30 years and are still beautiful.

She was also very jealous of her collection of *hpyas*, mats for sleeping 513
or sitting on, woven closely of the fibres of a reed called *thabaw*, or, 285
finer still, of the outer skin of a grass-like plant, the *thin*. These light 352
and flexible mats or *thinbyu* came from Laymyethna, "The Town of 511
Four Faces". They were equally smooth on both sides and had velvet borders piped on, broad at one end and narrower at the other, to distinguish the head end for nobler use, and to be sure of always resting the feet on the same ignoble end. We had them in big sizes for the beds and for afternoon naps on the verandah, and smaller sizes for prayers and for visitors to sit on. My mother kept them in rolls, five or six rolled together according to quality, covered with a cylinder of ticking and stood end up along her dressing-room.

Although we used imported crockery for the table we could not do without Burmese pottery for other purposes. Water-pots and goblets of light pottery from Twante, near Rangoon, were necessary to keep the water cool. There must be special pots for the altar water, for washing [271]
faces, for drinking water (in which pot, however, we kept a sand filter bought from Rangoon), and goblets in all bedrooms. For baths we had big black voluminous jars from Upper Burma, of a less porous pottery with a salt glaze on it, about 30 inches high and wide-mouthed. Smaller ones like these were kept for pickling mangoes and other green fruits. In the kitchen also, the modern aluminium pots 415
would not do for such purposes as cooking acid leaves and fish 252
curry that had tamarind in it; an earthen pot was always used for 511
chimbaung, roselle leaves. Moreover, the *salaungbon*, or cover, of an earthern pot can always be used for baking fish paste, a daily

511 necessity, by pressing the paste flat on the inside of the cover and
415 putting it over the fire; the top knob of the pottery always remains cool
252 enough to be touched by the time the paste is baked. On festival days
415 my mother bought dozens of little earthern dishes, no bigger than an
392 English coffee saucer. They were called *hsi-mi-khwet*, oil-flame dishes,
527 in which we burned lights of cotton wick and kerosene, and lined veran-
511 dahs and window-sills with bright fairy lights in the night breeze.

We had stoneware in the house too. The *kyaukpyin* is a flat circular piece of stone for grinding the bark of the *thanakha* (*linnoria*
511 *acidissima*) tree, to use as a cosmetic. It has a canal all around to receive
324 the ground paste. Kyaukpyins can be bought in all varieties and
412 sizes in any bazaar, but my mother always got hers through the headman
303 of Salé village, in Upper Burma, where they use a particularly suitable kind of rock which is durable and yet helps to make the paste smooth. We had some beauties, heavy pieces of about 14 inches across, a square around the circular canal, with carved figures on the corners and the ponderous legs. With the right quality of bark the ground thanakha fell in a smooth golden flow into the canal. Formerly, all women used this cream as the sole substitute for powder, letting it dry on the face and whiten it, but the sophisticated ones now use imported powder as giving a less artificial appearance.

302 Yet even the most ardent Max Factor fans cannot give up thanakha entirely for its great value lies in its astringent properties; it would have great success with European women who use mud-packs, because it acts like a mild and pleasant mud-pack. It also has cooling and refreshing properties, it is fragrant; older women apply it over the entire body after their baths, like talcum powder. My mother says it smooths the skin and, indeed, victims of smallpox who are left with deeply marked faces, have their skins smeared with thick thanakha many times a day, and
303 after a few months there is a definite improvement. The thanakha
512 bark is the most used, but barks of the red and white sandalwood and other trees (*nethapyu, nethani, kalamè, a-hmway*) are more fragrant and used on the body. Bad bark from the bazaar grinds gritty and dries patchily, but special consignments come from Myingyan and Pakokku, cut into six-inch lengths from branches two inches in diameter. A daily task of the girls in each household is to grind thanakha, and the commonest sight is a girl on a verandah with a kyaukpyin, a mug of

326 or bamboo, iron-bound or tightly whipped to prevent splitting. In the
412 form of a shorter dalwé, with or without a point, it is used as an all-round implement in house-building. With this bamboos are hewn, split open and slit into widths, boards of bamboo or planks are chopped for floor-boards and timbers are hewn for posts. The short, broad-ended *dahmas* are used for heavy chopping and were the general choppers for meat and firewood in our kitchens. The dahma is a stout iron blade faced with steel. Lighter paring knives called *damauks* are also produced. Thus a Burman in a village normally carries a dah of some sort tucked into his waist as he sallies forth perhaps to find some firewood, house-building material or an enemy. The Shan people also had long murderous-looking dagger knives called *damyaungs*.

The iron-workers of Magwe sent us scissors which my mother preferred to stainless steel ones because they could be oiled and sharpened throughout a lifetime, and because they had inscribed on one blade her name and on the other "Health and wealth to you". We got our betel-nut crackers from there also; these had a blade on one arm, to cut as well as crack.

276 Our house, like every Burmese house, kept a betel box always ready
415 for visitors. The box had a top tray with little cups or boxes for the
511 chopped areca nut, orange peel, spice seeds and lime, and a bottom compartment for fresh betel leaves of the betel vine (*piper betle*). A deep cover fitted the whole box. Grown-ups smeared lime on a leaf, wrapped nuts and spices in it and chewed it, spitting out the red juice which is too strong to be swallowed. Betel has an astringent action in the mouth
326 and by promoting the flow of salivary juices it aids digestion. Our betel
412 boxes were of richly carved silver, with embossed designs of elephants,
531 princes riding on horses in the forest, heavenly male and female spirits,
511 all looking very alive. Silver carving is one of our show industries; the silversmiths at Mandalay and Moulmein produce handsome bowls, boxes, dagger handles and various other objects bought by foreigners.
[353] Burmese people do not have the custom of buying *objets d'arts* for their houses, but the articles of daily use which they like to have of good quality and pleasing designs are the real inspiration of these traditional crafts of Burma. The silver used ranges from rupee fineness up to the pure metal called *baw*. We had silver bowls, *ngway-balas*, of all sizes, smaller ones for drinking, bigger for pouring the bath-water, and enormous ones about twelve inches across for holding gifts to the monks on festival days. Sometimes my mother used these to hold *taik-pan*, the flowers of the honolulu creeper, for the drawing room, but she always preferred a religious use for such noble and valuable objects. I liked all these bowls very much; they had good proportions, round the rim and base was a border of formal scroll

design and, within this chaste frame, the elephants, princes, trees and *nat* spirits waved and bounded in profusion. At the base of each bowl was a felicitous salutation inscribed on a smooth ground. 326 412 531 511

Lacquer is another industry now turning out cigar and trinket boxes, table mats, bowls and other articles for the modern market, but also continuing to supply all Burmese households with objects for daily use. When my father was stationed at Magwe, we went up the river to Pagan and from there by bullock cart to the village of Nyaung-U where the best Burmese lacquer is made. A frame of bamboo strips woven closely is covered and filled out with a mixture of cow-dung and paddy husk, and given a thick coat of black *thitsi*, wood-oil. Traditional designs are engraved on this when dry, and successive coatings of thitsi mixed with colouring are put on, the bowl being allowed to dry and turned on a lathe to take off the colour not required in the pattern in between each coating. The finished product is polished smooth and so flexible that a bowl can be bent till the opposite sides of its rim touch. We had lacquer boxes, *yun-its*, of great size to hold my father's turbans and my mother's scarves, round ones to hold combs and tresses for my mother's hairdressing, drinking mugs, betel boxes and many others. We had *kyauk-ka*, a more solid lacquer of plain red and black, for food carriers. with plates and cups to match. 322 415 531 [438]

Wood seems part of the fabric of the Burmese craftsman's being. The wealth of the forests which provided teak, pyinkado, ingyin and a host of other woods for lasting structures; the perfect medium they afforded to the chisel, gouge and mallet of the carver, and the traditional forms of architecture which offered vantage points for the display of superb craftsmanship all combined to make wood-carving the most lively of Burmese arts. But wood-carving cannot be seen to advantage in domestic articles; we had carved wooden frames for photographs of monks and of Grandfather, carving on the screen which walled off the altar room, but Burmese carvers in wood had never devoted their talents to the cutting of small articles. Teak and *yamanè*, the two woods usually carved on, have a coarse grain in which fine detail cannot be rendered. Beginning from the days when the tradition was to reserve carving for the wood of sacred structures only—palaces and monasteries—the craftsman had put all his skill into animating the gables and eaves of tiered monastery roofs, palace walls and ceilings, with a riot of living ogres, nats, dancing spirits and birds surrounded by leaves, flowers and scroll work which did not leave an inch bare. 322 314 531

Still, the village craftsman with a talent for work in wood does not lack scope in his rural surroundings. 322

around that we had meritoriously praised the Lord Buddha, and then touched the earth with the striker to pass the message to the spirits there also. These big bells may weigh up to 25 tons; the bell at Mingun is said to be the second largest in the world. They are all inscribed with lauds and invocations for the welfare of the donor. Gongs of brass are the bells of the town-crier; all announcements are punctuated with the striking of a gong. *Maung le htu tè* is the equivalent of "broadcasting it around the town". Much attention is paid to the melodiousness of gongs for the Burmese have a musical instrument called the *kyi-waing*, which is a circular frame on which graduated gongs are hung and beaten with a knobbed stick to harmonize with the rest of a Burmese orchestra.

There were numerous other objects for which my mother would never accept a substitute from English shops because they did not cater for our ingrained customs. Soup never tastes right when eaten with a metal spoon—we always used Burmese china spoons bought for about one anna each; rice is not to be stirred with a metal utensil either—the Burmese wooden ladle for this is the *yaung-ma*, the same word as for sister-in-law, the stirrer of trouble. There were, of course, particular places in Burma which supplied particular articles of dress, but I took an interest in this only when I was grown up.

What delights me is to find now that, in the imported things about the house also, all minkadaw households bought a standard type. This was probably due to the enterprise of Messrs. Rowe and Co., a Rangoon firm selling general goods, which established branches in all district towns to provide officers with anything they could not buy in native shops. We all bought Gold Medal camp chairs and camp cots from Rowe's. We bought durwan's kerosene lamps for bedrooms, Storm King and Petromax lamps with incandescent mantles for sitting and dining rooms, we bought crockery which came out in three or four good standard patterns, with an adaptation from the orthodox English dinner service to provide soup and curry dishes suitable for Burmese meals. We got cane furniture made in the local jails, odd chairs and always the half-wood half-cane stores box to serve on tours, and the long basket trays in which my father's files and papers would come home and go to the office every day, on the head of the *chaprassi*. The *hpas*, soft expandable cane boxes in which Burmese people pack their bedding when travelling, were always covered with green canvas from Rowe's. With these hpas, matching the Gold Medal camp cots and chairs, the boxes from the jails, a clerk and two or three girls looking after the children, and a general air of solicitous attention from the people around, no one could mistake an a-so-ya government official's family on its touring travels.

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Officer have appeared as higher sources of authority which are present not far away, and the village headman has lost much of his standing as elder person responsible for law and order, retaining chiefly his position as tax-collector. This is to the loss of village administration.

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As a-so-ya mins, men like my father had more power and prestige than they had money. The salary of a B.C.S. II Officer, which ranged from Rs. 300/- to Rs. 900/-, was enough to ensure easy living and a certain amount of saving for old age, but in the place of the expensive carpets, glass, silver, uniformed servants and tinned foods which we saw in English officials' houses, they had to spend what might seem to foreigners a disproportionate amount on two items: jewellery for the women and financial help to relatives. Jewellery is not a vanity for a Burmese woman but an article of dress, worn both day and night, in varying degrees according to whether she is working or out on pleasure. The word for jewellery does not include any description of gems, but is *let-wut let-sa*: wear for the arms and such. When servant girls enter a household the humblest of them is given a gold chain to hang around her neck or a bangle for her wrist. Thus among the classes who have any money to spare beyond that for mere sustenance, from the more affluent cultivators, the small traders and shopkeepers and clerks, to "rich" landowners, mill-owners and government officials, a great amount of money is spent on jewellery. Not to have any would be an unbearable shame.

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A complete set of jewellery for a well-dressed woman comprises the following articles, all worn together when attending shinbyus, ear-boring and marriage ceremonies, official functions and numerous other occasions. For the hair a *sado*, a hairpin with a single large diamond on the end; a comb with teeth of gold and a row of diamonds set closely along the back of the rim; a *sein-pan gaing*, a gold hairpin with a cluster of flowers to hang and dangle, set with diamonds. These articles have the gold parts embedded in the knot of hair and only show the diamonds. Round the neck are worn the *lè-gat*, a narrow gold collar set widely with diamonds, fitting like a vice; below this a double row of small pearls tied tightly behind with red tassels; the *lè-ton* "trembling necklace"—a "choker" necklace—sitting so that little chains set with diamonds hang from it all round the neck and tremble; a chain with a diamond locket below this. In the ears are worn single diamond studs. On the jacket five diamond buttons, attached to gold rings set with diamonds, fasten the button loops. On the wrists and hands diamond bracelets and as many rings as possessed, of rubies, emeralds and sapphires set with diamonds are worn. A young girl also wears hollow anklets of gold round her ankles. In addition to the above, the richer minkadaws and wives of big traders possess corresponding pieces of rubies, emeralds and

301 sapphires to wear in the house or on informal occasions. No wonder a man groans when his wife bears him four daughters to be provided with jewellery.

135 Although Burma possesses no diamond mines, it has undoubtedly
301 been a gem country from early times. The regalia of the Burmese court displayed at the South Kensington Museum in London, encrusted
• 511 and coruscant with rubies set one against the other, row upon row, must be seen to get an idea of how rich in gems was the small kingdom of Burma. Its rubies, sapphires and jade are unrivalled in the world. Jade has been worked since the 13th century, but unlike the transparent gem stones, it has not been highly prized by the Burmese people who call it, merely, *kyauksein*, green-rock. Almost all is sent to China, in valuable quantity and quality, from the tract round the Kachin Hills in Northern Burma, near the town of Mogaung, where, as "the magic powers of heaven and earth are ever combined to form perfect results; so the pure essences of hill and water became solidified into precious jade."

If jade is green-rock, the ruby is red-rock, but it is also *badamya*, gem, jewel, possession of highest worth. The ruby mines at Mogok have given the world the Burma ruby, famous amongst these rare precious stones which vary from deep crimson or purple to pale rose. Here also are found precious sapphires; the two lying in crystalline beds flashed with mica and embedded also with garnets and spinels of all colours, which the poorer people can use for their let-wut let-sa, set in silver, if they cannot buy gold, from the silver mines at Bawdwin about 50 miles away. An ordinary family like ours, with children for whom an expensive modern education is provided, possesses only the "utility" pieces for each member of the family, *i.e.*, the buttons, chains, bangles, rings and ear studs; and a hairpin and comb for the eldest, but this is considered as being poor in let-wut let-sa for a family of our standing. It can be imagined then what good housewives Burmese women have to be. A relative of mine who began petty trading as a young girl, was wearing in her middle age diamond rings, one of which held a single stone with the base a little over half an inch in diameter. But this can be done with less self-denial than it sounds, because all Burmese people have the same foods and ways of enjoyment, and a man does not develop more expensive habits or likings when he grows richer.

602 The financial help given to relatives is a part of our family system. It is difficult for nations whose sons go out to work in foreign lands and whose boarding houses contain old fathers and mothers waited on by paid labour, to realize the strong family unity that still exists among nations like the Burmese. Even the naming of relationships knits them together: cousins become "brother-one-womb-removed"; my father's

527 The younger children of the families also took the precepts, but it was not considered wrong if they felt too hungry or faint to keep to them. Everyone packed up and went home from the resthouse at about four in the afternoon. I found these duty evenings very long and depressing. There was no dinner, my father and mother told beads all evening, and at night their mattresses were removed and they slept only on mats.

428 342 We were now living in Grandfather's old house. Grandfather had left it to the four youngest among his children, and my mother had bought out the shares of the others because she was sentimentally attached to it and could not bear to see it pulled down. To others it had seemed an unwieldy shape taking so much good teak which could have built a compact modern house. My mother set about the task of transforming in into a comfortable domestic family house with a nicely disposed front and back, but it was a difficult task. There was no neat garden plot, no face, no bedrooms, but long stretches of gallery and verandah. We fenced off the well so that the village could continue to use it without infringing our privacy, the old big kitchen was dismantled and a compact kitchen made of one of the store-rooms near the washing platform, the old maternity room was stocked with commodes and made into a lavatory, the powder room was used as box-room. Six of us shared the big bedrooms. The altar, the water-pots and meals continued where they had always been. There was a large expanse of shining floor for visitors to sit on mats, and the head of the long verandah held a few chairs. The stable was cleaned up and given to Apana, now an old and rheumy-eyed man, and the downstairs hall, where a school had been, now held our stocks of rubber.

•511 563 775 But still there was always so much space, the house seemed vast and empty, and the life so different from our district government houses with a crowd of servants, young men and dependents of all kinds. We felt the change acutely. My sisters were still children who played with each other and had plenty to eat during their short holidays, but I found the evenings silent and sad with the lifeless echoes which the dim light of the floorboards used to send up. I had been to stay at the house for short periods just before my Grandfather died, when I was about three or four years old. Here, where we washed our faces, we looked across to a house now mysteriously barred with a blank wooden face, but then inhabited by *ta-yok chi-thay-mas*, tiny-footed China-women, fabulous creatures according to my nurses, who, though they were slit-eyed and could curse you in an unknown tongue, could be sent reeling back with one touch of a finger. The ta-yok chi-thay-ma had other macabre qualities also. Her child had a big black patch of hair on its arm because it was the reincarnation of his dead sister. At the death of this

1: Mi Mi Khaing I-5 (no date) 1946 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4
Chinese

previous child, the ta-yok chi-thay-ma had frantically grabbed a piece of charcoal and had smudged the arm of the dying child, saying: "If I get this child back in my next labour, may I know her by this mark." Down below the arum bushes grew close and dark against the fence. They had frightened us, like green snakes that must not be touched, because the leaves made your tongue itch with an intangible and incurable itch although the roots were made into delicious soups. In Grandfather's bedroom was a window looking into the maternity chamber, still padlocked with a lock whose key had been lost nearly twenty years ago, and a patch of light wood nailed over the hole which a robber had made with the point of his damyaung. From the maternity chamber, also, an aunt had thrown a basin of washing water to splash on an uncle sitting below, with whom she had quarrelled and whose hpon would be lowered by the ignobility of the woman's labour. For my mother the house must have had sharp memories, but she never spoke of them while there because my father became ill shortly after. This oppressed her spirits, and made her think only with sorrow of her dead mother and father, her brothers and sisters, so many now dead and the rest scattered far and never returning after the death of Grandfather.

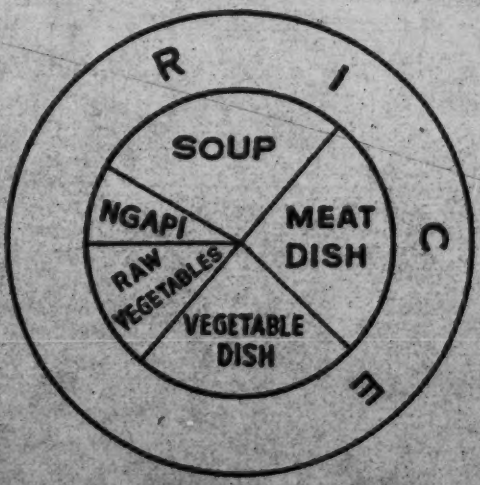
511 563 775 [137] [562]

1: Mi Mi Khaing 1-5 (no date) 1946 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

CHAPTER ELEVEN

IF my aunt's character and speech were full of sharpnesses with which she jabbed at people, they will all be forgiven her for the sensuous delights which she provided for one and all with her qualities as a cook and an expert on foods. She was such a wonderful cook, she used to be asked to supervise at *a-hlus*, the mass cooking for free feasting of clergy and townspeople. She regarded the feasting of others as her one indulgence in life. In all other respects she economized and denied her tastes like all Burmese spinster ladies, but in the matter of food she considered that we did not live lavishly or plenteously enough. She knew the rarest tit-bits, the physiological effects of eating any particular food, the properties of leaves, the times of year when the most ordinary foods had the greatest beneficent influence. 252 589

The field of Burmese food is a rich territory, and so little explored by foreigners who will normally hear only of the ngapi, rice and salad leaves of the poorest people, that I am tempted to write a whole chapter on it, as dedication to my Kyi-Kyi Lon. The composition of the average plain Burmese meal is: boiled white rice; the *hingyo* or soup; the ngapi or condiment dish; the *to-sa-ya*, "dipper", or raw green vegetable dish which may be classed as a naked salad; the dressed or cooked vegetable dish; and the *hin*, the "curry" of meat or fish to provide the gravy. Roughly, the importance and quantity of each dish may be shown thus, diagramatically: 264 511



If any visitors are expected there may be one or two other dishes, but this is the standard meal and is enjoyed by all classes of people except the poorest; a-so-ya mins, rich men, clerks and petty traders all eat the same, more or less. For a family of four or five persons two such meals can be provided daily at a cost of about Re. 1/- or Re. 1/4 in an average district town or village.

264 This is for the fresh bazaar, most families storing rice, saltfish and
• 511 ngapi, and sesamum oil for cooking, by the month or longer periods.

The rice is cooked to result in clean and separate grains. The usual
252 method is to put it on the fire with cold water, using judgment as to the
262 amount of grain and water for the pot. A person who cannot "cut his coat according to his cloth" is "*ko-oh hnin ko hsan ma-tan bè :* his grain and pot do not accord". When, after coming to the boil, the rice is cooked but not yet soft, it is drained by decanting; the water is kept aside for starching the jackets of the women in the daily wash, and the pot is put back on to coals or half off a fire, with the lid left open to let the steam escape and complete the cooking of the rice. It is shaken once or twice during this process, but there is no harm done if a bad servant forgets to do this or puts the pot back on a strong fire, for then the burnt rice is scraped up in a cake (*gyo*) and is eaten, dipped in oil and salt, by the children with great relish.

The soup is always clear. The great majority of soups are plain hingyos, with a stock of fish, prawn or dried prawn; flavoured with ngapi, beaten garlic or onion. It is made fresh for each soup, and when it comes to the boil, green vegetables are thrown in and left just long enough to wear down the tough cellulose. The vegetables are never overcooked. Throwing in the vegetables is called *hingyo hkut-tè*, ladling out the soup, and the green things for ladling are numerous indeed. Of leaves, the tamarind, the sorrel, the drumstick (*moringa pterygosperma*), the *kinmun*, the calabash, the mustard, various types of spinach, are only some. Some particular leaves, stalks or fruits require adaptations in the soup they ladle; for example, green chillies with the sorrel, pepper corns with the calabash; and the neem and *mezali* leaves are so bitter that they must be rubbed in salt and cooked three times before they can be eaten. All leaves used for soup have a distinct and delicate flavour. If the soup were strained after the leaves had been boiled in it a few minutes, one could still identify the taste. Richer soups are made with stock of meat—pig's trotters, chicken or duck—and are ladled with dried mushrooms, dried flowers or vermicelli strands, transparent and fair as the lotus.

263 The ngapi, condiment, dish has several standard forms. "Ngapi"
[438] is the general term applied to any of its forms. Usually it comes to the housewife as seinsa ngapi, from Tenasserim, such as is made by my aunts in Ye, or from Yandoon in the Delta region. This high-smelling, strongly flavoured paste is stored in glazed earthen jars and flavours almost all dishes or is cooked into its own palatable forms. It is fried with chillies and pounded dried prawns into a crisp brownness, in which form Europeans like it as a toast spread which they call *balachaung*. It

running with unholy energy and two small boys streaking after them 525
shouting: "My hpongyi! Hey, my hpongyi!"

The showy vanity of Rangoon was seen at its greatest at wedding 585
celebrations where no woman of any standing came without a full load 511
of jewellery, either owned or borrowed for the occasion. For weddings of families like ours hundreds of invitations had always to be sent out owing to the tradition of acknowledging distant relationships and connections. It would be considered rude also not to invite the friends among clerks and traders from every town in which my father had been posted during our growing-up years.

Marriage is a social contract in Burma. To be married one needs 581
no recourse to legal or priestly officers. The *let-htat*, laying of hands 562
one on the other, can be performed in the presence of elders, or a feast can 428
be given to a few people to obtain recognition of the married state. This is done after elopements, for example, when the parents have become reconciled and the young couple is too shy to go through the pantomine of a marriage ceremony. For divorce, also, no legal procedure is necessary, but convention makes divorces rare. Although monogamy is almost universal in Burma, polygamy is not forbidden by the law. A "mistress" of a married man is considered a sort of wife, but the disapproval with which this is regarded is shown in the term applied to her: *ma-ya-nga*, lesser wife. But the liberty operates both ways, and in the rare cases of a woman who runs to a second husband without any agreement having been reached beforehand, she is said to have a *lin-ngè*, lesser husband. The lack of legal safeguards of a woman's position as the only wife is amply compensated for by the rulings of Burmese Buddhist Law as regards her property. She retains sole ownership of whatever property she brings to the marriage, and on the dissolution of the marriage is entitled to half of all the additions of wealth since the marriage. Neither can an irate husband make a will leaving his money to other relatives and strangers. Wills are forbidden by law; children inherit equal shares of the parents' legacy, except in the cases where there are more than four children in the family. Then the eldest takes one-quarter before the rest is divided equally amongst the other children. On the death of one parent the surviving parent still has sole ownership of half the property. The other half is open to division among the children, but it is only a black sheep which will insist on division while one parent is still alive.

When I had been home but a month, my brother appealed to me 584
for help in arranging the matter of his marriage. His difficulty was that he had no wish to marry the various dowried young women with whom my relatives were trying to contract him; he had chosen his own bride but at the same time the stern array of cousins, aunts and uncles in our

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

243 much preparing. It is simply a portion of the field swept clean. It is sufficiently hard from the broiling sun, and a stake is driven into the centre of the circle. Two lines of sheaves are arranged round this, head to head, and the grain is trodden out by slow-moving bullocks in good old lazy fashion. The Christian Biblical precept, not to muzzle the ox that treadeth out the corn, does not fail of observance with the Buddhist farmer. Then the paddy, that is, the unhusked grain, is winnowed. In some places hand-winnowing machines of a simple pattern are used; but ordinarily a far more primitive and easy method, corresponding to the substitution of oxen for threshing-flails, is in use. A man stands on an elevated platform and capsizes baskets of paddy brought from the threshing-floor; the rice falls on a sloping bamboo mat and so to the ground, the wind blowing away a great part of the bits of broken straw, chaff, and light grain. The system may not be very thorough, but it saves an immense amount of trouble, which is the chief consideration. All that now remains to be done is to carry the grain off to the big rice-boat lying in the creek. There it is stowed in bulk; and after a day or two, the farmer makes a start, dropping leisurely down through the network of creeks into one of the main streams, and so making his way to Rangoon, or Bassein, whence he will return in a few weeks with fine Chinese neckerchiefs for his daughters and perhaps a gay Manchester paso or two for himself and his sons—
[452] unless, indeed, the Madras money-lender has snapped up all
[674] his receipts down in town, or some of the robber-boats that infest the creeks at this time of the year have pounced upon him and carried off everything but the boat and the paddles.

243 427 433 435 Rice-farming would be profitable as well as easy work were it not for the reckless squandering of almost all the cultivators. The average rent per acre is under three shillings; the average produce of the land per acre is from eighty to a hundred bushels in the more fertile parts, while elsewhere the yield is from forty to fifty. The selling price of rice per maund (80 lbs.) in Rangoon is between 4s. 6d.
243 511 454 and 5s. Agriculturists, therefore, ought to grow rich. But they are too fond of gambling and building works of merit

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

to accumulate money, and their carelessness results in the constant death of their plough-beasts, so that matters usually remain exactly at the same level if the farmer does not actually get into permanent debt. The Scottish Highlanders have a pious wish, "May the free hand always be full!" If it is not always full in Burma it is consoling to think that it is seldom absolutely empty. Still, when the grandson succeeds he ordinarily finds that there is as little actual money hoarded up about the place as there was when the grandfather Po Gyi spent so many borrowed rupees at his uncle's funeral. 243 454 511

If rice cultivation is easy work in the low country, it is very different with the taung-ya, or hill clearings. Here the dense underwood and forest growth has to be cut down; and the more there is to cut the better the crop, for the soil needs fertilising badly, and all that is cut down is burned. Work is begun about January; everything is felled, bushes and all; and after the fallen logs have dried some time in the sun, the brushwood is heaped up round about them and the whole is set on fire. Some of the logs smoulder for weeks —perhaps till the first rains come. Then the ground is rudely dug up with hoes, and the ashes turned in. Cotton-seed is ordinarily mixed with the rice, which is of a quite different variety from that produced in the plains. It is sown broadcast, and the farmer has thereafter only to keep down the weeds, but this is not by any means a light task. The crop is ready by October, and furnishes little more than enough to support the family or community. The scanty manure provided by the wood-ashes is not sufficient to last more than two or three years; and when the crop is secured the party proceeds on to a new settlement, there to repeat the same laborious process. A very ingenious device for lightening the toil is resorted to where there is much heavy timber. Beginning at the bottom, they slightly cut the lowest trees on the upper side only, gradually increasing the depth of the notch as they advance up the hill, until at the top of the clearing they cut the trees completely through. These fall on the row immediately below them, and by their weight knock it down; and so the felling process is continued down to the bottom. Occasionally a tangle occurs 243 101 241 [243] [433] 241 313

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma (Europeans Indians) AP1
Burmese AP4

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establishment up to its full strength. And so prices rose and rose until they became absurdly high, and no one profited but the hawks that preyed on the simple Burmese cultivators. Then the English merchants held a meeting, and all pledged themselves not to give more than the current market rate for paddy. This seemed a fair enough agreement; but after a while it was found that the boats all gravitated towards one or two firms. A little investigation showed that this was due to the fact that though they paid the ordinary rate, according to the compact, they had a smaller measuring basket than their neighbours. Accordingly every one went on reducing the size of his basket until the system became as ruinously absurd as ever it had been before. Then there was another meeting, at which it was unanimously agreed that this state of affairs would never do, and that it was absolutely necessary to come to some definite understanding. A committee was appointed which, after some deliberation, concluded that, if, in addition to abiding by the market rate, every one were bound to use a basket of a certain fixed size, there would be no chance for unfair speculations. A standard basket was therefore fixed upon; and the competitors were supposed to start fair again. But in no very long time, one firm put a false bottom in the basket, another wedged in a board; and so on, till matters got back to the old way. This state of affairs is hardly creditable to mercantile honour, and it certainly is by no means profitable.

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Independently of this, paddy has gone up in price at an alarming rate of late years. The first heavy rise was in 1877, at the time of the Madras famine. That was also the time of the resolution to have a standard basket. Rice was wanted in any quantity for the famine districts, and millers gave an altogether fabulous price for grain. The game went on merrily, introduced the scandalous "paddy morality," and lasted long enough to make the cultivators think the new prices had come in for good. Far too many Burmese farmers are heavily in debt to the "chetties," the money-lending caste of the Madras coast. The agriculturists have borrowed money to build a pagoda or a monastery; to give a grand feast on the

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2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma(Indians)AP1
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occasion of their marriage, or their father's death; to buy a new yoke of oxen in the place of those that have been carried off by disease; to get seed-grain to sow their tracts of paddy land, the last season's gains having been lost in some gambling transaction when they were down in Rangoon. They have got into the chetty's books in some way at any rate; and hapless is the man, Burman or Englishman, who has dealings with the fat, shaven-headed Madras money-lender. He will be charged eight, ten, twelve per cent a month, or even more, before there is an end of the transaction. The chetties, therefore, took a particular interest in the rise of the price of paddy. High prices ensured their being paid; moreover, handling such unwonted sums of money made the ever-careless Burman reckless. He gambled, he gave great feasts, he got deeper and deeper into debt with the money-lenders. Consequently it was desirable that the prices should not go down; and as men of business the chetties understood how that was to be done; they made the Burman farmers hold back their grain. The Rangoon firms were in desperation to meet their contracts, the ships could not be kept waiting; and so prices were maintained at nearly famine rates. This more than anything else brought about the unlucky legerdemain with standard baskets. The appearance of the chetty element in the trade upset everything. They are charming men of business, and know all about bulling and bearing, and all the other civilised expedients of trade. Poor "Jack Burma," listless and good-natured as he is, would never have thought of such things of himself; but he is in the hands of his master. Not a single village in the jungle, however remote, is to be found without its bare-backed money-lender. He hovers round the paddy nursery; he watches the men planting out the handfuls of half-grown rice; he makes the farmer hold back the threshed-out grain till he gives the word: then he fixes the rate and all but takes the money himself.

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The English merchants have struggled against the system, but with small success. They have laid out heavy sums in advances. The farmer is paid for the next year's crop before ever it is sown. This is generally only practi-

The mean annual family income of cultivators is Rs. 1091 ($229), and the mean annual per capita income is Rs. 203 ($42). For non-cultivators, the comparable figures are Rs. 1210 ($254) and Rs. 276 ($57). However, when we compare median family incomes (a more reliable measure of central tendency for our sample) the apparent advantage of non-cultivators disappears; they receive Rs. 900 as against Rs. 910 for cultivators. The only significant difference in the range of incomes for the two groups is that some 7% of the non-cultivators receive incomes over Rs. 3500 ($735), while no cultivator receives over Rs. 3000. However, the idea is prevalent in the village that cultivation is a relatively unprofitable occupation and that it is possible to realize as much or more income by less arduous types of work. 434 463

The Indians of Tadagale are much more prosperous in terms of income, as shown below. 434 562

Table V

Family Incomes of Indians
(in rupees. Rs 100 = $21)

Income	No. Families
0- 500	0
500-1000	3
1001-1500	1
1501-2000	2
2001-2500	2
2501-3000	3
Over 7000*	4
	15

(*includes two families of Rs. 7200 each; one of Rs. 8640; and one of Rs. 18,000.)

The mean annual family income for the Indians is Rs. 4030 ($848), and the mean annual per capita income is Rs. 1343 ($281).

Differences in family incomes are not reflected in external status symbols, except in extreme cases. In poor families the type of house is usually bamboo and thatch, while among relatively prosperous families it is more likely to be of plank construction, with perhaps a galvanized iron roof. In the wealthier families the women have more silk longyis for dress occasions. Major differences in economic standing are often shown in the size, elaborateness and expensiveness of ceremonials, such as weddings and boys' initiation ceremonies, and in the contributions made towards the support of the Buddhist monks. 571

In general, however, wealth differences in Tadagale do not seem to provide any clear basis for differential association of persons. Kinship, which cuts across economic lines, is far more important. Although a few families are generally regarded as well off, they do not live apart from the rest of the community either in the spatial or social sense. Wealth does not appear to have any direct correlation with status, rank or privilege, or to form the 565 556

14: Brant E-5 (1949-50) 1954 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4
Indians
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563 within the past two or three decades. In almost every way, they form a
463 village within the village. They are spatially clustered together, apart from
184 the Burmese. Their living is earned by dairying; milk from their cattle and
water buffaloes is sold in Rangoon, for cash, to Muslim restaurants. Since the
Burmese do not consume milk, the Indian dairymen find no market for their
[262] product in the community. The only economic relationship between the two
groups consists of some exchange of Burmese paddy stalk, when the harvest is
over, for animal manure. The Indians use the paddy stalk as fodder for their
animals, while the Burmese use animal manure to some extent for their not
very fertile garden and rice lands.

563 The Indians being Hindus, the Burmese Buddhists, the two groups have no
basis for common participation in religious or ceremonial life. Nor is there
● 571 more than a negligible tendency towards intermarriage; our census showed two cases.
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As shown by our figures on income, the Indians as a group are far more prosperous than the Burmese. Although the Burmese seem to realize this, they tend to phrase the matter not so much in terms of greater wealth of the Indians as in terms of how little the Indian spends of his income. To the average Burmese of the village, the Indian is something of a lesser breed who lives on next to nothing and so grows rich.

563 Throughout the course of research in Tadagale, an effort was made from
time to time to study intergroup feelings and attitudes, but this was a subject
on which informants who were quite ready to discuss almost any other matter
were loath to speak. The Burmese seemed to know little (or at least so professed)
about the ways of the Indians; the Indians were very tight-lipped concerning the
Burmese.

175 It was towards the close of our work in Tadagale that certain events
669 occurred which brought out, in sharp focus, the nature of Burmese-Indian relations
and attitudes, and completely broke the silence maintained earlier. At this
point, however, some digression is necessary to provide a background for under-
674 standing what took place.

In 1949-50, the internal disturbances which have beset Burma since the end of World War II were at their height. During this time the maintenance of law and order sank to a very low point; robbery, armed and unarmed, was rampant. Tadagale was robbed three times within the preceding year, according to informants. On such occasions, bandits entered the village, fired their guns into the air to frighten the defenseless villagers, and then proceeded to tie up some villagers and remove their money and other valuables. Anyone who resisted was beaten. According to villagers, the police, located about half a mile away, could not be depended upon for protection or for action once a crime occurred, for the bandits were better organized and armed than the police, making the latter extremely reluctant to take any action.

Some early evidences of distrust between Indians and Burmese appeared
674 about the middle of our research period, when an Indian dairyman stated that he
563 was convinced that the bandits who periodically invaded Tadagale had Burmese
collaborators in the village. He based his belief on the fact that the bandits
175 seemed always to find their way directly to the homes of the more prosperous
inhabitants, which knowledge, he claimed, could be gotten only from villagers.

a bamboo frame extending for about eight feet. The interior of the house contains piles of small boxes in which the bones and ashes of the P.V.O. dead are stored. Consequently no one lives inside. Seven families live under theeaves on three sides of the house along a narrow strip nine feet wide. The area is divided into a number of rooms "6 TAUNG square - the same room size as in the Pathwe house." U Myaing's family occupies 2½ such rooms at the corner of the building. The head space varies from 8 feet against the wall of the house to less than two feet at the edges of the eaves. A break in the eaves forms an entrance at the corner. Figuring one room to be equivalent to a 6 foot square room 3½ feet high, we arrive at a total of 315 cubic feet of living space for the 2½ rooms. [764] 722 342

One and a half rooms are covered with a slightly raised bamboo floor on which U Myaing and his family sleep. A space 6' long by 2' wide is used as a work area and for social purposes, but this is not rigorously claimed, since the adjacent family frequently uses it as a storage space. In speaking of the refugee camp quarters U Myaing says:

> "It is very narrow (cramped) here. We eat and sleep in the same place. At Pathwe we kept 2 rooms separately to sleep in. Our house.there was very wide and roomy. Here we sleep and cook all in one place." [511]

The sleeping and eating area is separated from the adjacent family by a woven split bamboo partition about 5 feet high; at five feet three inches from the floor, a number of bamboo poles criss-cross to form rafters on which objects are stored.

Here the sleeping mats are rolled up, along with sleeping equipment which consist of U Myaing's wooden pillow, makeshift pillow of rag bundles, 1 holey woolen blanket. One mosquito net used by U Myaing and his wife is also suspended from these rafters. At the far end of the bamboo flooring, there are three baskets. One of these baskets contains the women's clothing; another contains rice. Two clay pots are at the side. The altar consists of a slant board placed on the wall above the sleeping area and equipped with a flower vase. The objects found in the cooking area are: "U" shaped fire area made by 3 bricks touching on edge, bamboo stool for Ma Aye Myaing, hollow bamboo blow tube for starting fire, cooking pots, 352 415 [252]

quiet), the time when the children become quiet from 7 to 8. 9 to 10 p.m. is known as THATKYI-KAUNG-CHA (oldage-head-drop) when the elders begin to nod; from 11 to midnight and beyond is LUKLIN-PYAN CHAIN (Bachelors'-return-time) when young men complete their carousing and return to sleep. AYO (dawn) comes at the second cocks'crowing (first is at mid-night) about 4 o'clock. The KALA-DET (Indians-marching in) hollow wooden drum is struck in the phongyi-kyaungs at this time to awaken the village. The women who prepare breakfast, and the old folks who rise to worship appear at this time - but others may sleep on for an hour or so. 512 805 513

It is obligatory to wash the legs and feet before retiring. In warm weather a mat is preferred for coolness - but in colder and damp weather a mattress is considered necessary for protection. Prayers taking from 2 minutes (most) up to considerably longer are generally said before bed-time. These praise Buddha and include such supplications as "may I be lifted up to heaven soon." Dreams may be good or bad according to the disposition of the mate. Certain dreams have meanings applicable as omens. It is during sleep that the ghost of a recently departed loved one contacts the sleeper and, sometimes, succeeds in luring him away permanently. 513 [515] 782 828 [775]

Analysis of home standard in Pathwe and in Refugee Camp.

The Pathwe home was in nearly every way superior to refugee camp home. Let us examine the nature of this superiority and attempt to see the adjustment which U Myaing made in the refugee camp. The Pathwe home was an independent unit as compared to the refugee camp apartment-like home. However we may not assume that U Myaing found this a disadvantage, since living in Pantanaw was "close". The quarters in the one case were separated by half a dozen feet and on the other by a bamboo partition. An important difference is that the Pathwe home was owned by U Myaing and he had inalienable rights there, whereas the refugee camp apartment was loaned to him for a short time period. 511 722 342

Only about one fiftieth of the space was available in the refugee camp (15,050 cubic feet in Pathwe, 315 cubic feet in camp.) However, 511 722 361 342

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much of the Pathwe space was not vital in that it was used for social or storage functions only. 2987 cubic feet were used in Pathwe for sleeping, cooking, and religious purposes,-approximately 20% of the total amount of space. However, all of the space in the refugee camp was used for these vital purposes. About 1/10th of the Pathwe space for these functions was available in the camp. In commenting on the differences, U Myaing especially stressed the lack of space and the fact that all functions had to be done in the same enclosure. He did not seem particularly bothered about the lack of space for social functions or visitors.

There seemed to be no difference regarding costs of housing - non-existent in both cases beyond the original investment in Pathwe. Also there is no difference regarding use of land surrounding house. The reduction of space available for the altar from a six taung room to a place on the wall seemed to be regarded lightly. The Pathwe house was undoubtedly healthier with its windows and open space, and this handicap will be further discussed under the heading of health.

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There is considerable difference in the house furnishings of the two places. The quality and the quantity of the objects in the refugee camp are considerably lower. The bric-a-brac (porcelain duck glass elephant, and porcelain water jug) were lost in Pathwe and regretted because of sentimental value. The earthen-ware jars used for storing fish have no use here and are not "desired", but the HNOCK vessels would be useful now. These would cost about Rs. 25/- apiece here. The KYAUK-KAR food carrier is also desired and this would cost Rs. 10/- here. Mosquito nets for Daw Aw Zar and the children would certainly be desirable, but these would cost over Rs.30/- even if made from cheap plain material.

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The tables used in Pathwe are not found in camp since the family sit on the floor on the mats and hold their dishes in their laps, and one stool is used in camp and this by Ma Aye Myaing in preparing the food. Storage containers including cupboards and boxes have been dispensed with and their place taken by baskets in camp. The bedding in camp lacks the comforts of mattress and adequate mosquito nets and pillows. The point must be made however, that U Myaing's family is

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used to sleeping on hard surfaces and it may not be supposed that the

quality of their sleep suffers to any appreciable extent. Americans who live in Rangoon suffer far more relatively from lack of "beauty rest" mattresses. 511 722 [513]

As far as the actual physical needs of the family go, the refugee camp situation does not seem to be far below an acceptable level. The Pathwe house gave space far above that actually used for physical needs. The answer here would seem to be that social obligations in Pathwe were much greater than here and the actual space fulfilled a real need there. Since such a demand is not present in the refugee camp, the lack of this space is not regarded as a privation. In general the refugee camp quarters are a compressed version of the Pathwe quarters and do not represent any true innovations. The family has been able to contract the quantity and quality of their needs, but their nature has not been appreciably altered. The pattern of "Home" has not been shattered, but has been contracted and its quality somewhat changed. 352 415 [574] 511 178

The town of Pantanaw was recaptured from the insurgents early in the month of December 1950. U Myaing and his family are considering whether or not it would be advisable to return home. It seems that the government has offered to send back those who are willing to return. Government offers them, in addition to passage money, other things such as mosquito netting, or so U Myaing thinks. But they are also hesitant and afraid and would like to remain for some time longer in the peace and security of the refugee camp. However, when the country settles down and things return to normal, they would like to return. They prefer Pantanaw because they find it much easier to earn money there. Here they find it more difficult to find work - and it involves harder labour. Also, the prices here are very high in comparison. 722 669 511 [464] [435]

sufficient food for myself and my family." Yet, it is significant that he[1] manifests no anxiety symtoms, and appears happy and carefree. This suggests that despite the fact that he is presented with insecurity he does not react to it with tensions that have nervous manifestations. The ~~sense of insecurity~~ does not seem to be in his pattern of living, consequently his response is ill-defined.

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The points of difference that U Myaing especially emphasized were:-

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1. A few weeks of intensive work in Pathwe would get him more than a whole year of salary working in Rangoon.

2. His income in Rangoon is stabilized at a low level. In Pathwe he might make 3 or 4 times his average income from fish products in a good year. On bad years he might just break even. But this did not affect his everyday living quality - since his food was for the most part gathered (fish, fruits etc.) or secured from the cattle loan (baskets of rice).

3. If he was sick in Pathwe his standard of living was not threatened. He made his cash in a short time and had ample leisure for resting. In Rangoon if he does not work he does not eat.

4. In Pathwe he usually had a surplus of 1000 to 1500 rupees on hand during a year. To be lent out (free of interest) to friends and relatives or (usually) invested in fish or family accoutrement. Now he lives from hand to mouth. [454]

5. The loss of comfort and ease is severely felt by the adults. In Rangoon he works to stay alive, in Pathwe, to enjoy a full life. [181]

[1 i.e., U Myaing -- ANALYST]

TABLE

Quantity of clothes and personal items on hand and consumed by U Myaing's family in Pathee and camp.*

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Item	Consumer	On hand and quantity consumed per year. Pathee	Camp.
Cotton Longyis	U Myaing	5 or 6	(2 or 3) 4
Silk Longyis	"	(4 or 5) 1	0
Cotton Shirts	"	7 or 8	(1) 2
Vests	"	6 or 7	(1) 2
Burmese jackets	"	(2) .25	0
Headbands	"	3	0
Hankerchiefs	"	12	0
Underwear pants	"	(5) 4	0
Head Towels	"	2	0
Umbrellas	"	(1) .25	0
Bamboo hats (topees)	"	(1) .5	0
Razor, Gillette brand	"	(1)	0
Safety razor blades	"	(12) 15	0
Big razors	"	(1)	Same
Haircuts	"	24	12
Cosmetiques for hair, sticks.	"	12	0
Celluloid combs	"	1	0
Slippers, "Al plane" pairs	"	3	0

*When there are two figures, the amount on hand is placed in parentheseises. If the same item is used in both places the word "same" is used in camp column.

Cloth Table 1.(b)

Item	Consumer	Pathwa	Cann.
Sandals, slippers pairs	U Myaing.	3	(1) 3
Wooden clogs, pairs	"	3 or 4	(1) 12
Face towels	"	2	0
Body towels	"	(1) 4	0
Ruby ring	"	(1)	0
Gold ring	"	(1)	0
Gold chain and buttons for fastening shirts	"	(1)	0
Silver cuff links	"	(1)	0
Cotton Tamein	Ma Aye Myaing	10	(4) 8
"	Daw Aw Zar	(3 or 4) 6 or 8	(2) 4
"	Two elder daughters	(10) 15	(6) 18
Jackets	Ma Aye Myaing	(7) 9	(3) 4
"	Daw Aw Zar	6	(2) 3
"	Two elder daughters, each	(4 to 6) 6	(3) 6
Frocks	2 younger daughters, together	(10) 12	(6) 8
Bodices	Ma Aye Myaing	(5) 6	(3) 5
"	Daw Aw Zar	(2) 8	(2) 3.5
Underwear	Two elder daughters, together.	(8) 9.5	(4) 6
Panties	2 younger daughters, together.	(5) 7.5	(4) 6
Slippers, leather, pairs	all females, each	1	0
Sandals, wooden, pairs	Ma Aye Myaing and Daw Aw Zar, each	(1) 4	(1) 12
"	The four daughters, each	(1) 4	(1) 12

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Cloth Table 1. (c)

Item	Consumer	Pathwe	Camp
Scarf	Ma Aye Myaing and Daw Aw Zar	2	Same
Gold chain with pendant	Eldest Daughter	(1)	0
Ear-plugs with synthetic diamonds	Ma Aye Myaing	(1)	0
"	Eldest Daughter	(1)	0
Ear plugs with white stones	Ma Aye Myaing	0	(2)
Gold earrings	2 younger daughters, each	(1)	0
Copper and gold earrings	Youngest daughter	(1)	Same
Silver anklet, pair	2 youngest daughters, together	(2)	Same (1)
Face powder, sticks of sandal wood	All females	(80 to 100) 24	(1) 64
Cuticura brand, talcum powder, tins	Ma Aye Myaing and her children	(2) 12	0
Face powder, sticks of other woods	Daw Aw Zar	3	0
Ivory comb	Ma Aye Myaing	(1)	0
Bamboo comb	Ma Aye Myaing and Daw Aw Zar, each	(1) 1.3	(1) 1.3
Silver buttons, set	Ma Aye Myaing	0	(1)
Crystal buttons, set	Daw Aw Zar, Ma Aye Myaing and eldest daughter, each	(1)	Same
Green stone buttons, set	Eldest daughter	(1)	Same
Stone slab for making face powder	All females	(3)	(1)
Coconut oil for hair, ticals	All females	(20) 120	"small quantity" "few days"
Parasol	Children	(2) 4	0
Umbrella	Ma Aye Myaing	(1) 1.3	0

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Analysis of wearing a parel used by U Myaing's family.

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Fifty three items of wearing apparel and personal accoutrement were recorded. These are divided into three large catagories:

(1) Objects used in Pathwe but not in camp.
(2) Objects used in camp but not in Pathwe.
(3) Objects used in both localities.

Twenty nine items used in Pathwe were not used in camp. 55% of the Pathwe complex had been discontinued for a variety of reasons. The bulk of the objects were not replaced due to lack of funds. Many items such as umbrellas, towels, leather sandals were needed and desired. Some objects, such as man's jackets, headbands, silk longyis and associated underwear pants, men's bamboo hats, men's hair dressing comb, jewelry and parasols are recognised as luxury items. Both the ceremonial and social occasions in which such luxuries assumed the proportions of necessities had diminished or disappeared so that the desire for them is no longer as strong. This is reflected in the statements that some of the luxuries were no longer desired (hair dressing) or that smaller quantities (silk longyis) would be adequate.

It is interesting to note that whereas both U Myaing and the ladies had the same number of items in Pathwe (26 respectively) - in camp U Myaing has only 7 items or 28% of the Pathwe complex. The ladies, however, have 16 items or 59% of the Pathwe complex. This data suggests that the women's standards are less flexible than the men's. In order to be respectable the women have to have certain items. Whereas, U Myaing's demand depends more on his immediate situation. If this is so, then it follows that the men's standard might expand more rapidly under opulent conditions - with sets of special socio-ceremonial garb (headband, silk longyi, jacket, jewelry including western items(Gillette razor, topee, western jackets and shirts).

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[183]

Only three objects were used in camp but not in Pathwe. The rubber-tyred wooden sandals are simply new varieties of an old form used in Pathwe - a cheap and popular urban form due to abundance of tyre-rubber following the war. The earrings with white stones and set of silver buttons are also substitute varieties, not innovations.

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The silver button set, however is a sort of windfall, resulting from the family's contact with more opulent urban standards.

Thirty nine percent of the total complex, 21 items, were used in the two localities. These fall into the catagories of: (1) items taken from Pathwe, and (2) items secured to replace those used in Pathwe.

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Only 6 items or 11% of the complex survived from Pathwe days. These were big razor, scarf, copper and gold earrings, silver anklets, crystal and blue stone button sets. The razor took on the new function of shaving U Myaing in addition to the heads of the children but this was a pre-gillette-razor-stage function.

One item, ladies bamboo combs, was used in exactly the same frequency in both locales. It is easy to understand why this low frequency, cheap and durable object was unaffected by the change in the standard of living. Either the quantity on hand or amount consumed varied in the other cases. In a few instances the comp frequency was higher: the elder daughters used more cotton TAMEINS (though less are kept on hand) - a reflection of their greater social activities as elder children in an urban situation; 2 or 3 times as many wooden sandals are used in comp because: (1) these are the cheapest footwear, and (2) they wear out more rapidly on the Rangoon pavement than on the Pathwe mud-walks. The other items showed marked reduction in quantity, ranging from ⅓ to ½. Qualitatively the reduction is not so easily measured. However, most of the items cost less than in Pathwe. With inflation and an urban market, the qualities must have fallen below those of Pathwe for the most part.

In conclusion: over half of the personal accoutrement complex of Pathwe was discontinued, with the greater sacrifice falling to U Myaing. These items become part of an inactive cultubal inventory to be recovered when and if the family again resume their former standard of living.

FOOD

Eating Routine

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Ma Aye Myaing does the cooking with the help of the eldest daughter. U Myaing never cooks. In our third interview U Myaing prompted his wife what to say, concerning the routine of cooking, indicating that he understood the main outlines of the art:

> "In the morning the fire has to be made so as to cook the rice. After the fire is made the rice is washed and cooked. Then it is HNUT (water drained and rice steamed.) The onions to put in the curry are then sliced, the chillies are pounded vinegar is added and then everything is placed on the fire. This is what you are required to say."

Thus prompted, Ma Aye Myaing gets off to a fast start in giving information of her province.

> "I rise early in the morning, draw water, make the fire, set the tea-pot on, wash the rice, cook it, drain the water away, steam it, pound chillies, chop fish, peel potatoes, slice onions and skin prawns. Sesamum oil is first put in and THUT (smell of oil is cured) with onions and chillies in the pan. After this the potatoes are put in - potatoes and prawns. We cook once in the morning at 7 o'clock and once in the evening at 3 o'clock. In the morning there are times when we cook potatoes with prawn, and also times when we cook with vegetables. The evening meal is cooked with fish - it differs. Sometimes also we cook the fish by itself.
>
> "The meals we had to eat in Pantanaw were better of course. Only at times do we find cooking oil and onions etc. for our meals here. Rice has to bought; only at times do we have fish to eat. Sometimes we have to eat with vinegar and chillies (for curry)- sometimes vegetables and prawns."

U Myaing gives some information on the source of food in camp.

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> "The government brings rice, oil and salt once every 7 days - four times a month. Sometimes they do not come four times but only about twice a month. In Pathwe where food was concerned, there were fields. We could buy the paddy from the fields very cheaply. We get fish from the IRS also."

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There are no great differences between cooking procedure in Pathwe and in the refugee camp. The only difference is that, prices being lower in Pathwe, there is some difference in the ingredients used and the dishes eaten. For example, fish oil, which can be used in cooking was obtained free of charge. It was so plentiful that the villagers even used it as a lubricant for the rice mill and also as axle grease for their bullock carts.

basket PYIDAUNG. Both cost a rupee. One does not seem to be preferred to the other except as getting them allows a bargain to be made. The form is that of a pear shaped body with a square base, measuring about 8 by 8 inches. The basket is constructed in the wicker technique with small, whole reeds. Pathee: 2. Camp: 1. 415 252 [285]

CHIN DAUNG (storage basket): The form of this basket is a larger version of the measurers. It has, however, an open weave giving a checkered effect to the sides and bottom. It is used to store objects including food. At Pathee this basket was used in working the INS. The fish were scooped up, and later washed in them. The two used in camp were brought from Pathee where they cost Rs. 1/4- Camp: 1, Pathee: 15 for washing fish. 251 415 [435]

Winnowing trays: Shallow baskets about 2½ feet in diameter and 2 inches high were used as shifting and storage trays. The SAGAW has a rounded base; while the SAGAE has a flat base with fiber walls. Both are made of flat, wide-meshed reeds. The trays used in camp came from Pathee where they cost Rs. 1/4 each. Pathee: 1. 243 415

THE CHIN (Marketing basket): This basket is in the general shape of a cylinder, ½ feet wide and 8 inches high, with open, flat reed sides and a semi-circular handle across the top. It is used to carry objects from market and to store them in the house. Pathee: 2, Camp: 1. 415

U Myaing expresses the contrast between the camp equipment and that of Pathee: "These objects in camp are barely sufficient. We have to live as we are. In our own district we had sufficient to pull in boxes. The entire cases were nailed in boxes and only enough were taken out for the seven people who ate. When visitors come, good ones are brought out. Plates for curry, plates for eating rice. There were various kinds." 415 511 178

Food Items

Ma Aye Myaing gave as complete a set of data on the food consumption of her family as she could. The following data is inclusive for the family of seven, both in Pantanaw and the refugee camp. Ma Aye Myaing decides what dishes to cook for each meal of the day, and she does this without any consultation with U Myaing. She does not ask him what he would like for each meal, although sometimes when he expresses a desire for a certain dish she sees to it that it is prepared. She has a free hand in deciding what to cook for each meal in the day. Reflections of the weights and measures used follows in a glossary. The data is organized under the headings of (1) Main dishes and raw foods, (2) supplementary dishes and TO-KAYE (vegetables eaten with NGAPI), and (3) trifles. 262 [593] [128]

as a roller, and as the aunt from whom she is learning embroidery went into confinement quite recently, she has returned home to the camp. When this aunt had her child, Daw Aw Zar had to go and keep her company for a period of twenty days. Ma Aye Myaing made one or two visits to inquire into her progress. The actual delivery was performed not by Daw Aw Zar, but by someone else, a midwife. When Ma Aye Myaing gives birth to her child the other relatives are sure to offer help, especially if she had the baby in her own home. However, there are only about ten families from Pathee in Rangoon and out of that number only two or three will be able to come. There would be no need to ask them to come - they would come of their own accord if they heard the news. At present they live in distant parts of Rangoon town. In Pathee, on an occasion like this everyone comes to ask after the health of the mother and child, even though they may be no relations at all. On the seventh day after birth the house is washed and all visitors to the house are provided with scented water to wash their hair - and it is also sent to those elders who are unble to come. The water is scented with the cream of TAUNG-DAN-GYI, MATHAPYU and KALAMET roots. Enough scented water is provided for about 60 visitors. Most of the visitors are women and girls - very few young men come.

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In Rangoon it is very easy to earn two or three rupees in one day as labourers, while in Pathee even the worker who worked at the IRE for a monthly wage was paid only twenty to thirty rupees. But to offset that, the prices in Pathee were very much lower than those in Rangoon. MEAPI workers earn Rs. 10/- a month, and the foreman for the MEAPI workers is paid Rs. 15/- a month. This salary of ten rupees was more than sufficient for buying decent clothing and other necessities. These men had to be fed by their employer. The IR workmen who earned twenty to thirty rupees a month had to find their own food.

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U Myaing has made some friends among his fellow workers in Rangoon and has visited the house of one of them, but even this was not a social visit, as he went there to enquire about their work.

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orange cloth but he remembered my original order and wanted to make these specialty items. I directed him to some friends who I thought would be interested. He was dressed in a new white shirt, colourful new longyi, a brown cloth topee and leather sandals and looked prosperous and contented. Recently, Ma Aye Myaing had presented him with another baby daughter and both were doing well. I asked him when he was going back to Pathma. "Yes," he said, "as soon as it is safe to return." Even a considerably higher salary would not persuade him to stay in Rangoon. Here "though the eye is rich, the pocket is poor". U Kyain is well on his way to making a successful adjustment as an urbanite — but his heart will probably always remain in the village.

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CONCLUSION

Summary of Data

The data presented above on the changing standard of living of the Burmese fisherman-refugee family may be briefly summarized as follows:

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Home: A change from a large teak wood house personally owned to cramped quarters under the eves of a bamboo hut provided by the refugee camp. This represented a decline to 1/50th of the original home space but only to 1/10th of the original space used for the home vital functions of cooking, eating and sleeping. Home as a spacious area for social activities is replaced by an area used almost exclusively for the vital functions. There are no innovations and the pattern of home is not broken but is greatly contracted close to the minimum requirements.

Work: A change from a position as an overseer of a cooperative fishing organisation with income from cattle and fish products manufacturing to a day labourer. This represented a severe drop in income and prestige but was not outside of the labouring pattern which U Myaing was familiar with from his youth. It is a return to his basic occupation. The "road back" to position and higher income is being taken - at the present writing (November 1951) U Myaing has been raised to coolie boss of a section of street cleaners. Opportunities for rising in Rangoon are good and the future is once more promising.

Clothing: U Myaing is reduced by 72% from his former quantity, and the females of the family by 41%. The social clothing and accoutrement have been sacrificed and the inventory reduced to the garments essential for basic living. Quality of clothing has greatly declined. The process has been one of severe contraction but the pattern has not been broken or innovations substituted.

Health: The health of the family appears to be relatively unimpaired by change. However, the medical data necessary to arrive at a reliable analysis could not be secured. The most we can say is that hygenic conditions have not materially altered in the camp situation, and the family is not aware of any radical changes in health. The proximity of modern medical aid in Rangoon is of course a great advantage in any emergencies of which the family is becoming

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increasingly cognizant.

Food: The relative quality of food has remained the same but many expensive items have been discarded. Cheap foods when known previously have been elevated to importance in the camp diet but no previously unknown foods have been accepted - the new trifles which have become popular with the family are close enough in taste to the Pathwe trifles no longer available. Many foods which were secured free in Pathwe now cost money and have been discarded or reduced in quantity. The diet is reduced close to the essentials.

Social and ceremonial activities: The active life in which the family was involved in a small folk community has given way to life in an urban community where the major consideration is gaining a livelihood. But the new life is promising and exciting and retains the basic activities of the village.

Concluding Analysis

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Some preliminary conclusions can be drawn from this particular set of circumstances; also the data suggests hypothesis of wider application to Burmese culture specifically and human societies generally.

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Nature of the case: The case is clearly one of reduction in standard of living where the pattern of living remains unbroken. As such, certain deductions concerning the flexibility of the pattern can be drawn. The general situation is a contraction where items were sloughed-off as the pattern approached a minimum situation. The extreme level beyond which the pattern would have broken and/or the family ceased to exist was not reached. Data on such cases would be most valuable in extending this study. For example, I heard of a case supposedly during the Japanese occupation where a girl became too poor to afford a longyi and had to use gunny-sacks for clothing. The story goes that this girl committed suicide. Also, during the war some families are reported to have been reduced to eating "only rice and ngapi" - apparently the irreducible condition. Data on families expanding economically would also be necessary to carry this type of study in the other direction. U Myaing's case gives data on the flexibility of the Burmese culture pattern under certain circumstances from a median point of average standard of living, to a point near the minimum standard.

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The conditions under which this flexibility was observed were those of a displaced family uprooted from a folk society and replanted in an refugee community within an urban society. As such the case

his lot. It also tends toward a kind of stratification of society where the boundaries, however, are neither sharp nor fast. Each person is comfortably installed in his place and competes, mildly, only with those of his own level. The obligations (as contributions for ceremonies) are in terms of one's ability, and his status is in terms of his virtues. Status is closely correlated with increasing age. This concept motivate the Burmese in the village within "KARMA groups". 181 156 364 555 [561] [554]

The unusual individual may transcend his family positions in exceptional cases - by marriage or achievement. Achievement by physical force has been a means of mobility in the past - there is the tradition of the strong man leader who comes from humble origins. Mobility by entrepreneur achievement (rice mill owners; traders) has been greatly stimulated with increased western contacts. U Myaing was a sort of entrepreneur in Pathwe. In Rangoon the opportunities are great and some Burmese are successfully embracing this, as yet, somewhat unfamiliar course. The western entrepreneur concept appears to be finding a fertile ground in the traditional "group individualism" of the Burmese. 156 555 557 [177]

<u>The standards or levels of culture</u>: When U Myaing's standard of living plummeted downwards as a refugee he became discontented and unhappy desiring to return to the "plateau" of his former level. At first he could only think of returning to Pathwe to achieve this, but as [illegible] begins to crown his efforts in Rangoon he now feels the beginnings of a sense of achievement. In his refugee situation there was no sense of shame for his reduction - the events contributing to his downfall were beyond his control, and he had lived "as a refugee should" in which his abilities and obligations were balanced. This resulted in an attitude of cheerful patience understandable in terms of the KARMA concept. 511● 181 558

The two standards, in Pathwe and camp, represent balanced levels ranging from the "average" Burmese village situation to close to the minimum. Higher standards than those of Pathwe are seen in the administrative class of Rangoon and other major towns where western influences are strong (car, western furniture and household utensils, westernised house and clothing, etc.). Lower standards may be 511 565 [177]

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represented by the boat and shack dwellers of Rangoon's water-front as well as the beggar class of the villages.

Future Studies: This study has explored a portion of the Burmese culture pattern seen in dynamic situation of one family's case. It has indicated the importance of the family unit in Burmese society and expressed qualitatively two levels or standards of living. A study of a functioning community to define the interworkings of the family group and other social groups is being carried out at the present time by the Burma Community Research Project of the Department of Anthropology, University of Rangoon. The hypothesis developed in this paper will be further explored and new concepts of Burmese culture and society developed in the village project.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

153. THE CHALLENGE
(see p. 177).

the young wife's home, the lad working for her parents. 591
As family comes and other daughters marry, the elder pairs are established in houses of their own. Married people are designated *ein-daung*—householders. Marriage 581
makes no difference in the names and their prefixes. 592
Everyone marries in Burma; the census of 1891 gave 551
1,306,722 husbands to 1,307,292 wives. The same census 162
gave 102 females to 100 males of the Burman (so classed [548]
as Buddhist) population. (In Burma prostitution is con- [524]
fined to the large towns.)

A family of seven is considered large. The average 592
number of house-occupants is 5.5. The cost of living of 511
a Burman village household is 100 to 200 Rs. a year. In 357
the towns the well-to-do spend 600 to 1000 Rs. and more, 556
and at the present day keep a servant or two for the rough work, generally natives of India. Such accumulations of wealth as are made by individuals in India and other countries with a plutocracy and a proletariate are not paralleled among the Burmans. Nevertheless individuals amass tens of thousands of rupees, which for the most part they spend on works of religious merit. Monogamy is the received and almost universal practice in Burma. Second-wives are taken by a proportion of the officials and men of wealth. Hence it comes that the Burmans wonder more at the moderation of Europeans than at such license as they indulge. This license is not nearly so great as in India, but it is more open, corresponding to the higher status of the women of Burma, and thus it provokes more scandal in comparison. Unions of this sort among the Burmans are merely by mutual consent. A separate establishment in a different quarter of the town is maintained for the second wife or concubine (*maya-ngè*). Her children are under no disability, but she is not acknowledged by the first, and generally older, wife (*mayaji*), whose husband's love she is said to have stolen.

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154. AN "ORIGINAL"

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma AP1
Indians
Burmese AP4

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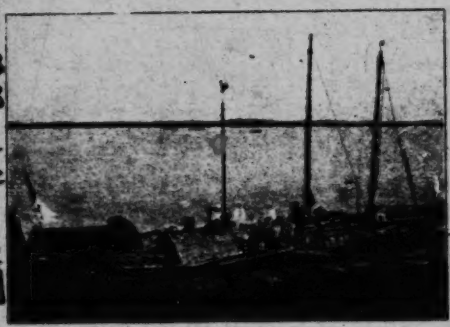
Ba Bse ●511
Bse [501]



385. BRINGING THE PADDY TO THE RICE-MILLS.

ot every class and caste, with his foreign connection and longer experience, has an incalculable advantage over the untravelled Burman. Beginning with a lower standard of comfort than the Burman—squatting on the bare soil where the poorest Burman makes a floor, wearing cotton where the other wears silk, and being able to improve his original condition upon half the return that the Burman expects for his work—the Indian immigrant finds land worth his labour which the Burman leaves waste. The influx of races whose religion it is to multiply, without regard to the prospect of subsistence, must speedily result in lowering the scale of life for everyone in Burma—a country of which it may now be said that "a large share of the happiness of each individual is derived from the consciousness of the well-being of other individuals." (Herbert Spencer, *Principles of Ethics*, Vol. I., p. 297.) Commencing by hiring the cheap Indian labour to reap his corn, then to plough and till his fields, the while emulating his neighbours in superfluous works, the Burman is apt to end by becoming the debtor of his servant, and mortgaging to him his lands. It seems to many that there is no escape for the Burman from the Indian flood that now menaces his country. But up to the present no class of Indians has attempted to deal with land subject to the vicissitudes of the Burman riverain soil. It is unlikely that people of less versatility and resource will establish themselves there. In 1879, when the vagaries of the Irawadi had submerged the cultivation on the Panhlaing creek some twelve feet, and the eaves of the houses were under water, the cattle were saved in hasty platforms made in

Bse [426]
Ba Bse 563 241 731
Bse [361]

386. FORESHORE AT THE FACTORIES.

511 necessity, by pressing the paste flat on the inside of the cover and
415 putting it over the fire; the top knob of the pottery always remains cool
252 enough to be touched by the time the paste is baked. On festival days
415 my mother bought dozens of little earthern dishes, no bigger than an
372 English coffee saucer. They were called *hai-mi-khnet*, oil-flame dishes,
527 in which we burned lights of cotton wick and kerosene, and lined veran-
511 dahs and window-sills with bright fairy lights in the night breeze.

We had stoneware in the house too. The *kyaukpyin* is a flat circular piece of stone for grinding the bark of the *thanakha* (*linnoria*
511 *acidissima*) tree, to use as a cosmetic. It has a canal all around to receive
324 the ground paste. Kyaukpyins can be bought in all varieties and
412 sizes in any bazaar, but my mother always got hers through the headman
303 of Salé village, in Upper Burma, where they use a particularly suitable kind of rock which is durable and yet helps to make the paste smooth. We had some beauties, heavy pieces of about 14 inches across, a square around the circular canal, with carved figures on the corners and the ponderous legs. With the right quality of bark the ground thanakha fell in a smooth golden flow into the canal. Formerly, all women used this cream as the sole substitute for powder, letting it dry on the face and whiten it, but the sophisticated ones now use imported powder as giving a less artificial appearance.

302 Yet even the most ardent Max Factor fans cannot give up thanakha entirely for its great value lies in its astringent properties; it would have great success with European women who use mud-packs, because it acts like a mild and pleasant mud-pack. It also has cooling and refreshing properties, it is fragrant; older women apply it over the entire body after their baths, like talcum powder. My mother says it smooths the skin and, indeed, victims of smallpox who are left with deeply marked faces, have their skins smeared with thick thanakha many times a day, and
303 after a few months there is a definite improvement. The thanakha
512 bark is the most used, but barks of the red and white sandalwood and other trees (*nethapyu, nethani, kalamè, a-hmway*) are more fragrant and used on the body. Bad bark from the bazaar grinds gritty and dries patchily, but special consignments come from Myingyan and Pakokku, cut into six-inch lengths from branches two inches in diameter. A daily task of the girls in each household is to grind thanakha, and the commonest sight is a girl on a verandah with a kyaukpyin, a mug of

water and a basket of logs; she pours water and grinds unceasingly, bored to tears, and then scoops the paste into separate dishes for use on face, body and legs. 303 512

Our toilet to this day never included imported combs. Even the most frivolous girls in the University prefer Burmese combs. Burmese women, unlike Siamese and modern Chinese and Japanese women, wear their hair long without exception, and European combs could never cope with so much work. At one time, the village girls did favour long, bright bakelite combs to wind the hair around in a knot at the back, but the fashion was ridiculed as "aeroplane head-dress" and soon died. Burmese utility combs for general use and for distribution to servants of the household are made of wood and shaped according to use: for combing the hair are those with slightly curved rims, two inches wide and six inches long; for the little girls to stick in front of their knots and for women to form a frame for their formal hairdressing are small ones, almost semi-circular in the curve of the rim; for the women to wind their hair into a knot on less formal occasions are almost straight-backed combs; for delousing are fine, double-edged combs. My mother chose wooden combs for smoothness and stoutness and put them at the bottom of the sesamum oil jar until the brittle yellow wood turned a deep rich brown. These combs, with teeth that bite and rarely break off, can be bought for three annas. We also had ivory and tortoise-shell combs for superior use. 302 412

Burmese blacksmiths have been busy since olden days, producing weapons for the hill people, agricultural implements, scissors, nut-crackers and fire-irons, and, above all, blades of all kinds (*dahs*). The dah is the universal implement in Burma. It serves as a fighting weapon in the form of a long *dahgi*, a slender pointed steel blade, about 15 inches long, fixed by a tang into a long handle of cane 326 412

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

CHAPTER VIII

DOMESTIC LIFE

THE Burman is the most calm and contented of mortals. He does not want to grow rich. When he does make a large sum of money, he spends it all on some pious work, and rejoices in the thought that this will meet with its reward in his next existence. If he never amasses enough to build any great public work, at any rate he subscribes what he can, and is generous in almsgiving. A bountiful soil will not let its children starve; and so the Burman jogs on through a cheerful existence, troubled by no anxious cares, and free from all the temptations of ambition. His daily round is simple enough. In the morning, after his bath, he loiters about, talking to the neighbours till breakfast time, or perhaps strolls out to the corner of his paddy field, and indulges in a contemplative smoke. After breakfast he probably dozes through the heat of the day, and when the shadows begin to get long, saunters about again. A semblance of regular labour appears when the paddy is being sown or the grain reaped, but even then no one is in the least inclined to disturb himself for the sake of rapid work. It is sufficient that you are always certain in Burma what kind of weather you are going to have. "Another hot day," or "another wet day," is quite as much a matter of course as the rising of the sun itself, and there is therefore no need to hurry operations in case of a change. The evenings are spent ordinarily at a pwè during the fine season, or in amicable converse over a cheroot at a friend's house in the rains. Variety comes occasionally in the shape of a jolting, hilarious journey to a distant pagoda feast, or a trip

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14: Brant E-5 (1949-50) 1954 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

When the monsoon rains become heavy and steady in late June or early July the fields are plowed with a succession of bullock-drawn implements. The first is a single-toothed harrow, followed by a six-toothed plow. Finally, the soil is gone over with a seven-bladed revolving share. If the ground is not yet sufficiently churned up, a harrow with a large number of teeth may be used. 243

A few days before the planting time the paddy seed is soaked and placed in a wooden cask, the top of which is packed with hay and cow dung. This promotes germination of the seed.

The seed is broadcast sown.* The sower begins at the outermost edge of the field and works his way towards the center, walking in increasingly smaller circles. Beginning at six o'clock in the morning and working until four o'clock in the afternoon, with an interval at mid-morning for his meal and again in the early afternoon for a nap, a sower can cover ten acres in a day. It requires one basket of seed (ca. 48 lbs.) to sow one acre. It is said by villagers that when one is experienced at broadcasting of paddy seeds, regular rows of plants result. 243 512

During the period of about seven days required for the sown seeds to sprout, the cultivators weed the fields, block off water channels, and build up the embankments between fields. About forty days after sowing, when the plants have reached a height of several inches, some necessary thinning is done. Two inches is regarded as the optimum space between plants. Where they are growing closer together some are pulled up and re-planted in thinner areas. 243

Once sowing and thinning has been completed, in mid- to late August, there is little work for the cultivators until harvest time in December, except for frequent visits to the fields to make sure that the water is sufficient and evenly distributed.

At the harvest season, the cultivator and his hired field laborers work in teams of two. One team cuts the paddy about eighteen inches from the top with small hand sickles. These tools are made of good steel blades, obtained in the Rangoon bazaars, which are affixed to handles of buffalo horn. The paddy cutters are followed by another team, which cuts the paddy stalk close to the ground. In the case of hired field laborers doing this work, the prevailing wage is 12 to 16 rupees (ca. $2.50 to $3.50) per acre for paddy cutters, and twenty rupees (ca. $4.00) per acre for stalk cutters. The higher wage for the latter type of work is paid because it is considered harder. Sometimes such field laborers are remunerated in paddy rather than in monetary wages. 243 465 436

The cut paddy is gathered into small piles, about an armful around, which are left in the fields a few days to dry. Then they are bound as sheaves and transported in bullock carts to a cleared area nearer the domestic area, which serves as a threshing floor. 243

Threshing is accomplished by leading bullocks, yoked together and muzzled to prevent their eating the grain, over the paddy sheaves. The bullocks are

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* This method is not common in Burma. One cultivator, when queried concerning the reason for this method, stated: "The land here is not fertile, and though the transplantation method would give a higher yield, the added labor cost would not justify it." [2B]

It will be noted that most of the living takes place on the downstairs floor where the bedrooms and the porch are located. The alter is also located downstairs 342 [512] [778]

U Myaing explained that the alt r should be upstairs but it was more convenient downstairs. The posts on which the house rests rise a few feet above the ground. In all there are about 1[illegible]050 cubic feet enclosed by the house. Of this amount 1450 cubic feet are used for sleeping quarters for the family, 729 cubic feet is devoted to religion in the alter room, and 800 cubic feet is used in the kitchen for preparing food. The rest of the space is for social functions including visitors and relaxation, with some space used for storage.

In Pathma there were no beds and no chairs except for one deck chair which had been handed down to U Myaing from his father. There were however, five small stools about four inches high and measuring about 12" by 6". These stools did not have four legs but instead were made of one flat board hammered onto two boards laid on their ends. They had one four legged stool measuring 2½ feet by 1½ feet and about 8 inches high. This was utilized as a chess board. (U Myaing and three or four others played chess four or five times a month in the afternoons. Their house was the only one in the village to possess a board and chessmen, U Myaing having received it from a cousin.) There was another stool about two feet high and one and a half feet square to hold the KYAUK KAR food carrier. 352 [428] [524] [415]

There were also two round Burmese tables. The smaller one was about three feet in diameter and one foot tall. Ma Aye Myaing could not estimate the diameter of the larger one but she remembered that eight men could eat at a time at this table, and that people who gave charities often came to borrow it for that reason. [426]

There was a three legged stand for holding two water pots. The pots were placed on two horizontal triangles formed one about two feet above the other by the pieces of wood holding together the three upright feet of the stand. This stand was made by U Myaing at home.

They also possessed two cupboards both of which had been handed down to U Myaing by his father. The first one, used for holding clothes, was three TAUNG high, two and one half TAUNG wide and little less than one [428]

342 MAHA-GIRI, is found in nearly every house (a junior member of a
776 family need revere only the symbol of the senior member of a family).
782 A dried coconut with attachment stems is placed in a basket, the top wrapped with a KAUNG-BONG (Head-wrap) of red and white cloth streamers and the basket hung on a nail to the primary corner post of the house. It must be adjusted correctly, and periodically sprinkled with sandlewood water. An interesting story explains the use of the coconut symbol.

773 MAUNG TIN DE, a blacksmith of great powers had two beautiful sisters who he feared would be coveted by the king of the city in which they lived. He asked them for this reason to remain in seclusion. One day he returned from work to find them gone. He became very angry and pounded his anvil till the city shook and the people suffered from earache. For a while he eluded persuit but was finally caught and burned to death. Afterwards he became a powerful nat called MIN MAHA-GIRI with powers of protecting households. Since the coconut signifies coolness and thirst-quenching it came to be offered to the nat who had died from fire.

MIN MAHA-GIRI is consulted if sickness or other misfortunes visit the family. At such times the head of the family checks the coconut offering to make sure it is in good condition. If not this is remedied for much misfortune could be the result of MIN MAHA-GIRI's displeasure at being neglected. When a journey is contemplated he is also appealed to for protection. A lesser nat YON GIN O is in charge of the kitchen
[563] and more specifically the hearth. Ko Maung Than knew little of this nat since it is of minor importance or not considered in Mon households.

342 The home is very important as a place for socio-religious functions
[788] many ceremonies involving groups of people are observed or in part
[574] take place in the house (see below in socio-religious section). Social visiting is also common and much enjoyed. Hospitality, related to but differentiated from charity, gains merit for the host. There is a saying that visitors "come only when the home is pleasant."

●512 The home, of course, performs a major "function" as a sleeping
805 place, and there are many beliefs and observances in connection with
513 sleep. The evening hours are divided into LU NYAT THET SEIK (children

quiet), the time when the children become quiet, from 7 to 8. 9 to 10 p.m. is known as THAYKYI-KAUNG-CHA (oldage-head-drop) when the elders begin to nod; from 11 to midnight and beyond is LUKLUN-PYAN CHAIN (Bachelors'-return-time) when young men complete their carousing and return to sleep. AYO (dawn) comes at the second cocks'crowing (first is at mid-night) about 4 o'clock. The KALA-DET (Indians-marching in) hollow wooden drum is struck in the phongyi-kyaungs at this time to awaken the village. The women who prepare breakfast, and the old folks who rise to worship appear at this time - but others may sleep on for an hour or so. 512 805 513

It is obligatory to wash the legs and feet before retiring. In warm weather a mat is preferred for coolness - but in colder and damp weather a mattress is considered necessary for protection. Prayers taking from 2 minutes (most) up to considerably longer are generally said before bed-time. These praise Buddha and include such supplications as "may I be lifted up to heaven again." Dreams may be good or bad according to the disposition of the mate. Certain dreams have meanings applicable as omens. It is during sleep that the ghost of a recently departed loved one contacts the sleeper and, sometimes, succeeds in luring him away permanently. 513 [515] 782 828 [775]

Analysis of home standard in Pathwe and in Refugee Camp.

The Pathwe home was in nearly every way superior to refugee camp home. Let us examine the nature of this superiority and attempt to see the adjustment which U Myaing made in the refugee camp. The Pathwe home was an independent unit as compared to the refugee camp apartment-like home. However we may not assume that U Myaing found this a disadvantage, since living in Pantanaw was "close". The quarters in the one case were separated by half a dozen feet and on the other by a bamboo partition. An important difference is that the Pathwe home was owned by U Myaing and he had inalienable rights there, whereas the refugee camp apartment was loaned to him for a short time period. 511 722 342

Only about one fiftieth of the space was available in the refugee camp (15,050 cubic feet in Pathwe, 315 cubic feet in camp.) However, 511 722 361 342

The daily work schedule of U Myaing while he was working as a fish processor (2 months in a year) was as follows:- 512● 461 264

He rose at four or five in the morning said his prayers, drank plain tea, had boiled beans, fried fish and rice left over from the previous day's evening meal. After that he went to collect fish, bring it to the bank and start work on it. He rested from 11 o'clock to 2 o'clock. At two he resumed work till about five when he would be finished for the day. Sometimes he would sleep at the work place after returning home for his evening meal.

Work in the Refugee Camp.

Shortly after arriving at the Camp U Myaing worked in Sulian Park near the Kokine market where a factory for spinning and weaving cloth was being set up. The contractor was Chinese, and he engaged between 30 to 35 labourers every day. These labourers were unskilled and they were employed in levelling the ground and laying the foundation of the factory. Most of the labourers were Indians - there being only two Burmans, U Myaing and Ma Aye Myaing got Rs. 2/-. The working hours stretched from eight in the morning to 12 noon, with a break of one hour at 12. At one o'clock they resumed work and continued until five in the evening. In the mornings they had to go to the factory by themselves, and this took them about a half hour walk. Sometimes they were sent home in a truck in the evenings. U Myaing had to enquire each day at various places for a chance to work. He was not always successful. 722 461 464 331

It was not usual for Ma Aye Myaing to come along like this to work as a labourer. This was the first time she did so. Ma Aye Myaing said that in future she would accompany U Myaing whenever there are prospects of such work. They knew that women worked in this way, but had not known that such work was available. [562]

As a matter of fact, I met U Myaing through the mats which were made in his camp. We got dinner place mats through him. These are rectangular 1½ feet by 2 feet mats of finelywoven split cane in an over 2 - under 2 pattern. They cost Rs. 2/8 each. U Myaing arranged for the making of these mats and collected the money for them, but 285 437

285 they were made by friends. Ma Aye Myaing and Daw Aw Zar appear to
437 specialize in the larger mats such as used for sleeping. Mat making appears to be an occupation which in ordinary times is unimportant but it is relied heavily upon in bad times.

461 The children are put to work around the house and in processing
562 the fish at an early age. Just recently U Myaing's eldest daughter
561 left school to learn a trade. She left one month ago from the fourth
[277] standard, to learn cheroot rolling. In another month's time she will
874 have learnt how. She does not have to pay any fees - neither is she
[294] paid for her help. She lives with her aunt (U Myaing's sister) and has her meals there. Near their house there is also an embroidery shop which is owned by her aunt. At night U Myaing's daughter is taught embroidery and sewing by her aunt. The owner of the cheroot rolling shop is not a relative, but the women who work there are aunts and grand-aunts of the girl. When she has learnt the trade, then she will be paid between two and three rupees a day on piece work basis.

463 At present (May 1951) U Myaing is working as a sweeper in the
363 Rangoon Municipality on a monthly wage of Rs. 80/-. There is an over-
512 seer placed over him every day. U Myaing's main job is to keep one street in town clean. He leaves his house at six and arrives at the overseer's by half past six and there a roll-call is taken of about a hundred of them. At seven he begins on his street and stops at about half-eight to go to answer the roll-call (see below for rest of schedule). He has personal contact only with the overseer, the doctor and the WUNDAUK (official). All three of them go around the town to see if they work hard enough. The WUNDAUK also comes everyday to witness the roll-call. "If we do not do good work we shall be dismissed. Everything is in their hands. But they do so after two or three warnings. We do not possess any rights at all. Sometimes offenders are sent to other streets that require harder labour."

U Myaing's street is located in Myeni-gon, and he has to clean the street of dirt as well as clean the drains on either side.

His daily schedule at present is as follows: He rises at 4, washes his face and cleans his teeth, says his prayers and then has plain tea which Ma Aye Myaing has prepared for him. At six he leaves

And arrives at the overseer's by half six. There he answers the roll-call, after which he leaves for his work location and starts work at 7. At 8. 30 he has a bath and then goes back to answer the roll-call which is called about a quarter to ten. He then returns home for breakfast and a rest. At 12.30 he leaves the house again in time for the roll-call at one o'clock. He starts work at 1. 30 or 2 o'clock and works till ten minutes past 4, at which time he starts back for the evening roll-call. This is taken at a quarter to 5, and he is through for the day. If U Myaing has not bathed in the morning he does so before he returns. When he returns he eats his dinner alone, the others all having eaten already, and after that he works on mats if there are any orders on hand. If there are none he just sits around and spends the evening in general conversation, sometimes sipping plain tea. After that he says his prayers and retires for the night. His bed time is not fixed. Sometimes he sleeps at 8 or 9, and sometimes works till 11 or 12 in the night if there are mats to weave.

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FOOD

Eating Routine

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Ma Aye Myaing does the cooking with the help of the eldest daughter. U Myaing never cooks. In our third interview U Myaing prompted his wife what to say, concerning the routine of cooking, indicating that he understood the main outlines of the art:

> "In the morning the fire has to be made so as to cook the rice. After the fire is made the rice is washed and cooked. Then it is HNUT (water drained and rice steamed.) The onions to put in the curry are then sliced, the chillies are pounded vinegar is added and then everything is placed on the fire. This is what you are required to say."

Thus prompted, Ma Aye Myaing gets off to a fast start in giving information of her province.

> "I rise early in the morning, draw water, make the fire, set the tea-pot on, wash the rice, cook it, drain the water away, steam it, pound chillies, chop fish, peel potatoes, slice onions and skin prawns. Sesamum oil is first put in and THUT (smell of oil is cured) with onions and chillies in the pan. After this the potatoes are put in - potatoes and prawns. We cook once in the morning at 7 o'clock and once in the evening at 3 o'clock. In the morning there are times when we cook potatoes with prawn, and also times when we cook with vegetables. The evening meal is cooked with fish - it differs. Sometimes also we cook the fish by itself.
>
> "The meals we had to eat in Pantanaw were better of course. Only at times do we find cooking oil and onions etc. for our meals here. Rice has to bought; only at times do we have fish to eat. Sometimes we have to eat with vinegar and chillies (for curry)- sometimes vegetables and prawns."

U Myaing gives some information on the source of food in camp.

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> "The government brings rice, oil and salt once every 7 days - four times a month. Sometimes they do not come four times but only about twice a month. In Pathwe where food was concerned, there were fields. We could buy the paddy from the fields very cheaply. We get fish from the IRS also."

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There are no great differences between cooking procedure in Pathwe and in the refugee camp. The only difference is that, prices being lower in Pathwe, there is some difference in the ingredients used and the dishes eaten. For example, fish oil, which can be used in cooking was obtained free of charge. It was so plentiful that the villagers even used it as a lubricant for the rice mill and also as axle grease for their bullock carts.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

39. PAINTING OF SHINLAUNG FETE.

The constituted daily routine of the monastery takes no account of recreation. In practice there is a wide margin of leisure. But the wearer of the yellow robe is not seen at play. Arithmetical puzzles are the nearest approach to a game. On the other hand, the cheerfulness of the race suffers no restraint. There is decorum, without austerity or sanctimony. The severest penance laid upon the novice is temporary relegation to the secular state (*lein-byan*) for such faults as lying, theft, or killing anything. Cruelty to an animal is punished with caning.

The *yahán* exercise no exclusive function beyond that of admitting candidates to the novitiate and the full membership of their Assembly. The affairs of the Buddhist Church are initiated and conducted by the laity. The recluses merely add, by their presence, to the religious distinction of an occasion. At the shrine the recluse is like any other pilgrim; he never is a ministrant or priest. Neither is there any altar. The only material objects to which sanctity pertains are the relics of the Buddha. The members of the Assembly know no distinctions of men, racial or social. As regards the temporal power, of whatever origin, the recluse should be absolutely passive, neither contravening the laws nor invoking them when he suffers wrong. The recluse neither denounces nor harbours the criminal, a neutral attitude of which criminals are not slow to take advantage.

When admitted to full membership of the Assembly instituted by the Buddha (*Thingá*, Pâli *Sangha*), the novice becomes *Yahán* (*Yahán-daw*, *Rahán*, *Arahan*), which signifies *perfected*, one advanced a stage

40. GOYIN RECEIVING HIGHER INSTRUCTION

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

No kind of wool is indigenous 286 or is spun or woven in 291 Burma. Cæsar Frederick [283 in 1569 mentions woollen 439] cloth among the goods brought to Burma, *vid* Arakán. Web vests for boys and men, of European manufacture, are becoming general. The use of shoes of the European shape is bringing in the use of socks and stockings. The addition of a European shirt under the Burman jacket

THE LATHER CUT THE WARP.

cankers up the incongruous kit affected by the modern office clerks. With the [296 increased use of body-linen have come the Indian washermen. The coloured 463] cloth are washed by the Burmans women. The native dyes wash well, especially the silk dyes. An alkali-earth (*ngyyu*) is found in Burma, but soap is of modern 439 introduction, and is now sold in every bazár. Needles used to be brought to Burma from China, as well as scissors, though the latter are also fashioned in 413 Burma; at present both are imported from Europe. Burmans work the needle from them, like other Asiatics. The work is pinned to a cushion at the head 286 of a post planted on the work-box. The use of the thimble was unknown until [177 tailors came over from India, but is now general. The bulk of the tailoring is in the hands of immigrants from China; but their prejudice against the sewing-machine is helping to transfer the business to the Burmese women. Nearly every well-to-do family in the town has its sewing-machine. 463 294

At sunrise the women start with their water-pots for the day's supply, and again before they cook the evening meal, which finishes the day's work. On the morning errand they do the most of their washing. In the evening they carry a spare cloth to change for the one they bathe in, which they wash and coil into a pad to put between the head and the water- 462 [532] 512 515

191. BURMESE CARVING OF WEAVING-LOOM.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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132. BURMESE SILK CLOTH PATTERNS.

pot. The Burmans bathe in the morning or evening, and not in the heat of the day. Men and women bathe in their clothes and at the same places.

Burmans will travel far to a source of good drinking water. It is stored in porous earthen pots with covers, in which it settles and cools over-night. Rain-water is saved for other uses and stored in large glazed jars (*sin-ôl*). A cocoanut ladle is used for dipping the water out, to avoid disturbing the sediment. In the rainy season the river water bears a heavy silt and has to stand for hours. Spring water is scarce owing to the distance of the Burman settlements from the hills. The ordinary sources are rivers, wells, and tanks. In the moist region the subsoil water comes up to, or near the surface during the rains, and in the drought sinks twenty or thirty feet. In the dry zone it is sometimes necessary to dig one hundred feet for water. Wells are generally fenced and protected from return and

133. THE SPRING.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

Having made her evening toilet

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146. TEA (LEPPEYYE).

the girl takes some light work, such as cotton to roll for the wheel for the hour of *Inbyô-hlè*, as the dusk of evening is called, literally, the time of the "bachelors' round." The young men are expected to make short calls only, so as not to keep the old people up late. By "old men's sleeping time," as the hour after the short twilight is called, they must have left, so as to relieve the duenna, who, if not in sight, is always in waiting for the girls to come up into the house for the night. Courtship has quite a language of its own in which the suitor needs to be proficient. Young people of fashion are referred to as *kâla-thâ*, *kâla-thamî*—lads and girls "of the period," who cultivate smartness in their speech, bearing and dress. The suitor brings presents of flowers and fruit and ornaments. Oranges, expensively stored one by one, long past the season, are for this sole purpose.. Carved

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147. BELLE AT HER TOILET.

148. VILLAGE BELLE.

592 She was fairly pretty, very quiet and reserved towards us, and enjoyed
357 helping my mother with the babies, supervising the work of the servant girls and valeting my father. Ngwe Yin, who came to us as a very attractive girl with a reputation for being unmanageable even at a young age, always chose the task of taking us for walks in the evenings so that she could put on her nice clothes. She took us wherever she liked, or she sat with us at meal times and let us be as naughty as we wanted while she indulged in repartee with my father's clerks or chauffeur. Mya Shwe was my contemporary and playmate; she went to school while I was in boarding school but cut short her attendances the day I came home, irrespective of differences in our school calendars.

357 When A-Kyi was about nineteen it was announced to us that she
584 was to be married to my father's clerk, Maung Hla Bu. This young man was a favourite of my parents and had been a constant admirer of A-Kyi, helping her to make the beds when my father took the whole family on tours, but awaiting the graciousness of my parents before he dared to ask for her in marriage. My mother gave A-Kyi a small trousseau and a few pieces of jewellery, and they were married shortly before my father got a posting to another station. When a child was born, Mya Shwe, who had outgrown her days as a playmate for me, went to stay with them. Ngwe Yin, the beautiful girl, continued discontentedly for about a year, and then she eloped with a student protégé of my father's. I don't think either of my parents were very shocked at this.

357 My memories of the girls who worked for us are happy enough only
565 because my mother had been brought up in Grandfather's house where everyone was taught to do things for herself; in her character also was a pervading sense of tolerance. In some minkadaws' houses, however, I have seen two girls kneeling with soap and towel outstretched, while the mistress bathed herself. In more cheerful but no less aristocratic-minded households a meal laid ready on the table is the signal for one girl to get under the table and fan the mosquitoes off the legs of the family, and another to play the gramophone right through the meal My gay young uncle San Lin extended the domestic duties of his girls to the learning of modern songs which he liked, and he did his morning dressing to the accompaniment of his servant girls with powder on their faces and jasmine buds in their hair, swinging their feather brooms to the rhythm of modern love songs.-

592 A-Kyi and A-Shwe and all the girls we had before and after them
431 bring back memories of the household articles which made with them a
• 513 background never recovered in our later Rangoon days. My mother,
286 like all minkadaws in the districts, did not depend on a big bazaar and
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shops to supply her with goods, but took a special pride in buying each 592
product from the town where the best quality of it was manufactured. 431
She could do this either by my father's being posted within its district, 513
by going there on a pagoda-visiting expedition, or by having relatives 286
posted there; and a survey of all the household possessions I can re- 511
member makes a cross-section of Burmese crafts. All our blankets were Burmese *saungs*, good stoutly woven cotton pieces, about 7 feet long and 4½ feet wide. We had single ones of red, black and yellow stripes which looked very bright and barbaric; they came from the Chin Hills. We used these in the hotter months. During the colder months we used thicker *ok-saungs* which we got from Pakokku; they were 14 feet long and used doubled, with a fringe at both ends. These were woven very strong and white, with bold red stripes on them in pleasing combinations. All these saungs washed more and more beautiful to our childish eyes. My mother had a big collection of them in wooden chests and some of them have lasted 30 years and are still beautiful.

She was also very jealous of her collection of *hpyas*, mats for sleeping 513
or sitting on, woven closely of the fibres of a reed called *thabaw*, or, 285
finer still, of the outer skin of a grass-like plant, the *thin*. These light 352
and flexible mats or *thinbyu* came from Laymyethna, "The Town of 511
Four Faces". They were equally smooth on both sides and had velvet borders piped on, broad at one end and narrower at the other, to distinguish the head end for nobler use, and to be sure of always resting the feet on the same ignoble end. We had them in big sizes for the beds and for afternoon naps on the verandah, and smaller sizes for prayers and for visitors to sit on. My mother kept them in rolls, five or six rolled together according to quality, covered with a cylinder of ticking and stood end up along her dressing-room.

Although we used imported crockery for the table we could not do without Burmese pottery for other purposes. Water-pots and goblets of light pottery from Twante, near Rangoon, were necessary to keep the water cool. There must be special pots for the altar water, for washing [271] faces, for drinking water (in which pot, however, we kept a sand filter bought from Rangoon), and goblets in all bedrooms. For baths we had big black voluminous jars from Upper Burma, of a less porous pottery with a salt glaze on it, about 30 inches high and wide-mouthed. Smaller ones like these were kept for pickling mangoes and other green fruits. In the kitchen also, the modern aluminium pots 415
would not do for such purposes as cooking acid leaves and fish 252
curry that had tamarind in it; an earthen pot was always used for 511
chimbaung, roselle leaves. Moreover, the *salaungbon*, or cover, of an earthern pot can always be used for baking fish paste, a daily

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mortar and measurers, market basket, condiments stored in cigarette tins and quart bottles. A discussion on these subjects is found under the chapter on Food.

Details were secured on the following household items:

[455] SAUNG (blankets). Both THA-KA-LAT SAUNG (flannel blanket) and GUN SAUNG (Cotton blanket) are actually woolen blankets. (cost Rs. 25/-). Heavy cotton blankets are called CHI SAUNG . (cost Rs.15/-). Both are for individual use. In Pathwe U Myaing had one blanket of each kind which would last 3 or 4 years. In camp he has only the GUN SAUNG or Upper Burma blanket which he used for 2 years then brought from Pathwe . The females of the family had 6 cotton blankets between them (cost Rs. 12/ each). They brought 4 from Pathwe, two are "good ones", and two are "torn ones". The cotton blankets are supposed to last for 2 years according to Ma Aye Myaing. Intense love is indicated by the

[152] saying "we will go under one blanket", but double blankets are not known.

HMME-YAR, (Enjoying place) mattress. It is a thin square cloth sack measuring 4 TAUNG on a side by 4 inches in thickness and stuffed with MAPOK. U Myaing had one at Pathwe which would last 7 or 8 years. It was made at home and valued at Rs. 30/-. Daw Aw Zar

[435] and the children shared a double mattress, a gift from her neice, in Pathwe but all sleep on split cane mats only in camp.

(KU DIN; raised wooden beds are rarely used in villages.)

GAUNG-ON, (head-lay) pillow. Pillows are made at home. Two may be made from 3 TAUNG (1½ yards) of cloth. They are cloth sacks filled with cotton and last 3 or 4 years - valued at Rs. 3/8 each. U Myaing had 2, and the females 8 at Pathwe. He used a wooden pillow made of small, raised board, while the females use rag bundles.

HPYAR, Sleeping mats. Two kinds are used; a split TA BAW plant

[285] mat and a more finely woven thin plant with over 2 under 2 weave mat. They measure 6 by 3½ feet . The mats lasted two years and were woven at home. 4 to 8 mats were kept on hand at Pathwe; here 4 mats are in use.

AYAR-KIN (sleeping place cover) bed sheet: The bedsheets used in Pathwe measured 6' by 3½' and were made of cotton. Three were used by U Myaing and lasted a year; they cost Rs. 7/- each. Camp: none.

CHIN TAUNG, Mosquito net: One kind was made of fine netted

cloth, small enough to keep mosquitos out. The other kind was made of plain cloth to keep out the smallest insects. The nets are rectangular for a single bed, square for a double. They are suspended over the bed on a wooden framework and tucked under the mattress. Pathwa: three were used by the family and two kept in reserve. Each lasted 4 or 5 years. The reserve nets cost Rs. 60/- each, the others Rs. 40/- or 45/- each. Camp: one old one was brought from Pathwa; this is used by U Myaing and his wife. The rest of the family have none. Two are desired.

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TA-BYET-SEE, broom: The hand broom is used to brush out dust and dirt from the floor of the house. It is about 2 feet long, 2 inches in diameter and consists of bent over bunches of stiff reeds bound at the top by a more flexible reed strip. The one used in camp cost 12 annas in Rangoon.

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Burmese Concepts about the Home.

The following Burmese ideas about the home were secured mainly from Ko Maung Than, my research assistant.

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The Burmese regard the MIN-YAR (home place) with great love, and as the most essential feature of life. The head of a family will frequently admonish: "My young ones let us remain with our nest intact and our eggs uncracked", this is also a common prayer. The ideal is to preserve the family home with necessary repairs in its original form. Wooden (teak) houses are preferred to bamboo. The husband and wife are partners in the ownership of the home which they start at marriage. Indeed, the word for "marriage" MIN-DAUNG-PYU (Home-separately-build) emphasize the importance of building a home upon starting a family. In villages the mother and children spend almost all of their time in and around the home. Since the Burmese are especially sedentary, short journeys being unusual and infrequent events, the house is the spot where he lives and dies. It is furthermore his "castle" and place of security within which he is "ruler".

[592] [591] [484]

Each house is under the direct protection of MIN MAHA-GIRI one of the 37 major nats of Burma. He controls the fortunes of the family and in return is revered. A coconut, the symbol of MIN-

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342 MAHA-GIRI, is found in nearly every house (a junior member of a
776 family need revere only the symbol of the senior member of a family).
782 A dried coconut with attachment stems is placed in a basket, the top wrapped with a KAUNG-BONG (Head-wrap) of red and white cloth streamers and the basket hung on a nail to the primary corner post of the house. It must be adjusted correctly, and periodically sprinkled with sandlewood water. An interesting story explains the use of the coconut symbol.

773 MAUNG TIN DE, a blacksmith of great powers had two beautiful sisters who he feared would be coveted by the king of the city in which they lived. He asked them for this reason to remain in seclusion. One day he returned from work to find them gone. He became very angry and pounded his anvil till the city shook and the people suffered from earache. For a while he eluded persuit but was finally caught and burned to death. Afterwards he became a powerful nat called MIN MAHA-GIRI with powers of protecting households. Since the coconut signifies coolness and thirst-quenching it came to be offered to the nat who had died from fire.

MIN MAHA-GIRI is consulted if sickness or other misfortunes visit the family. At such times the head of the family checks the coconut offering to make sure it is in good condition. If not this is remedied for much misfortune could be the result of MIN MAHA-GIRI's displeasure at being neglected. When a journey is contemplated he is also appealed to for protection. A lesser nat TON GIN O is in charge of the kitchen and more specifically the hearth. Ko Maung Than knew little of this
[563] nat since it is of minor importance or not considered in Mon households.

342 The home is very important as a place for socio-religious functions
[788] many ceremonies involving groups of people are observed or in part
[574] take place in the house (see below in socio-religious section). Social visiting is also common and much enjoyed. Hospitality, related to but differentiated from charity, gains merit for the host. There is a saying that visitors "come only when the home is pleasant."

512 The home, of course, performs a major "function" as a sleeping
805 place, and there are many beleifs and observances in connection with
● 513 sleep. The evening hours are divided into LU NYAT THET SEIK (children

quiet), the time when the children become quiet from 7 to 8. 9 to 10 p.m. is known as THATKYI-KAUNG-CHA (oldage-head-drop) when the elders begin to nod; from 11 to midnight and beyond is LUKLIN-PYAN CHAIN (Bachelors'-return-time) when young men complete their carousing and return to sleep. AYO (dawn) comes at the second cocks'crowing (first is at mid-night) about 4 o'clock. The KALA-DET (Indians-marching in) hollow wooden drum is strick in the phongyi-kyaungs at this time to awaken the village. The women who prepare breakfast, and the old folks who rise to worship appear at this time - but others may sleep on for an hour or so. 512 805 513

It is obligatory to wash the legs and feet before retiring. In warm weather a mat is preferred for coolness - but in colder and damp weather a mosquito is considered necessary for protection. Prayers taking from 2 minutes (most) up to considerably longer are generally said before bed-time. These praise Buddha and include such supplications as "may I be lifted up to heaven soon." Dreams may be good or bad according to the disposition of the nats. Certain dreams have meanings applicable as omens. It is during sleep that the ghost of a recently departed loved one contacts the sleeper and, sometimes, succeeds in luring him away permanently. 513 [515] 782 828 [775]

Analysis of home standard in Pathee and in Refugee Camp.

The Pathee home was in nearly every way superior to refugee camp home. Let us examine the nature of this superiority and attempt to see the adjustment which U Myaing made in the refugee camp. The Pathee home was an independent unit as compared to the refugee camp apartment-like home. However we may not assume that U Myaing found this a disadvantage, since living in Pantanaw was "close". The quarters in the one case were separated by half a dozen feet and on the other by a bamboo partition. An important difference is that the Pathee home was owned by U Myaing and he had inalienable rights there, whereas the refugee camp apartment was loaned to him for a short time period. 511 722 342

Only about one fiftieth of the space was available in the refugee camp (15,000 cubic feet in Pathee, 315 cubic feet in camp.) However, 511 722 361 342

511 722 361 342

much of the Pathwe space was not vital in that it was used for social or storage functions only. 2987 cubic feet were used in Pathwe for sleeping, cooking, and religious purposes,-approximately 20% of the total amount of space. However, all of the space in the refugee camp was used for these vital purposes. About 1/10th of the Pathwe space for these functions was available in the camp. In commenting on the differences, U Myaing especially stressed the lack of space and the fact that all functions had to be done in the same enclosure. He did not seem particularly bothered about the lack of space for social functions or visitors.

There seemed to be no difference regarding costs of housing - non-existent in both cases beyond the original investment in Pathwe. Also there is no difference regarding use of land surrounding house. The reduction of space available for the altar from a six tsung rotu to a place on the wall seemed to be regarded lightly. The Pathwe house was undoubtedly healthier with its windows and open space, and this handicap will be further discussed under the heading of health.

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There is considerable difference in the house furnishings of the two places. The quality and the quantity of the objects in the refugee camp are considerably lower. The bric-a-brac (porcelain duck glass elephant, and porcelain water jug) were lost in Pathwe and regretted because of sentimental value. The earthen-ware jars used for storing fish have no use here and are not "desired", but the HSOON vessels would be useful now. These would cost about Rs. 25/- apiece here. The KYAUK-KAN food carrier is also desired and this would cost Rs. 10/- here. Mosquito nets for Daw Aw Zar and the children would certainly be desirable, but these would cost over Rs.30/- even if made from cheap plain material.

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The tables used in Pathwe are not found in camp since the family sit on the floor on the mats and hold their dishes in their laps, and one stool is used in camp and this by Mr. Aye Myaing in preparing the food. Storage containers including cupboards and boxes have been dispensed with and their place taken by baskets in camp. The bedding in camp lacks the comforts of mattress and adequate mosquito nets and pillows. The point must be made however, that U Myaing's family is used to sleeping on hard surfaces and it may not be supposed that the

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quality of their sleep suffers to any appreciable extent. Americans who live in Rangoon suffer far more relatively from lack of "beauty rest" mattresses. 511 722 [513]

As far as the actual physical needs of the family go, the refugee camp situation does not seem to be far below an acceptable level. The Pathwe house gave space far above that actually used for physical needs. The answer here would seem to be that social obligations in Pathwe were much greater than here and the actual space fulfilled a real need there. Since such a demand is not present in the refugee camp, the lack of this space is not regarded as a privation. In general the refugee camp quarters are a compressed version of the Pathwe quarters and do not represent any true innovations. The family has been able to contract the quantity and quality of their needs, but their nature has not been appreciabl- altered. The pattern of "Home" has not been shattered, but has been contracted and its quality somewhat changed. 352 415 [574] 511 178

The town of Pantanaw was recaptured from the insurgents early in the month of December 1950. U Myaing and his family are considering whether or not it would be advisable to return home. It seems that the government has offered to send back those who are willing to return. Government offers them, in addition to passage money, other things such as mosquito netting, or so U Myaing thinks. But they are also hesitant and afraid and would like to remain for some time longer in the peace and security of the refugee camp. However, when the country settles down and things return to normal, they would like to return. They prefer Pantanaw because they find it much easier to earn money there. Here they find it more difficult to find work - and it involves harder labour. Also, the prices here are very high in comparison. 722 669 511 [464] [435]

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The concept of KARMA (fate) is important only in determining the general well-being of the individual, as seen in Daw Aw Zar's belief that her general good health was due to a morally-lived previous existence. "It is like a shadow". Some specific situations like being born blind is attributed to ones KARMA - in this case the person had been a notorious fighter of cocks in the previous existence; cocks being frequently blinded in the fights.

Each person is regarded as subject to some special disorder or weakness such as being especially subject to colds or headaches, or stomach troubles. Collectively these are referred to as "age-group" weaknesses. (MIYAT - girls' weakness; DULAH - boys' weaknesses.) But this is due to childhood illnesses and neglect of early troubles rather than KARMA. Persons with the weaknesses noted above avoid cucumbers (a "cold" vegetable), or hot foods including liquor (these cause greater heat to rise to the head), or green or raw vegetables (hard to digest). The choice of the correct diet to suit one's particular condition is important.

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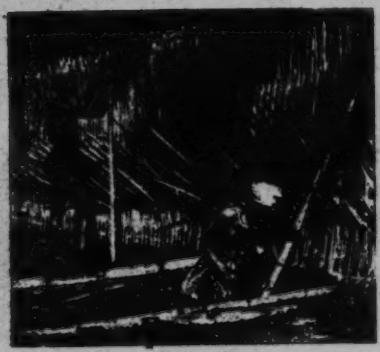
Too much worrying SAY TAUNG LO MOYEN (mind-beating-because-body-crush) leads to sickness. This is a common problem for mothers who worry about their children's futures. It results in THEHJEI-PYEKEN (small black bitter (gall)-disorder) where the gall fluid is

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4



186. VILLAGE CHEVAUX-DE-FRISE.

away from the company. In a similar spirit of courtesy a rider dismounts and umbrellas are closed. Among acts of discourtesy few are accounted so grave by the Burmans as that of awakening a sleeper. The reluctance to disturb a sleeper is connected with the belief that the spirit (*leippya*) leaves the body during sleep (p. 197). It is looked upon as a weakness to show resentment and temper (*dawtha*, p. 44). A visitor in a house is offered a new mat to sit upon, water to drink, betel to chew, and a spittoon. If it be meal-time he is invited to partake; otherwise he is asked if he has had food, and refreshment is brought. Although the quota of leisure that falls to everyone is greater in Burma than anywhere else, owing to the wide-spread prosperity of the inhabitants, there is perhaps no country in which every man, woman, and child is less exempt from business concern. Thus it happens that after a few commonplaces, conversation inevitably gravitates to business—prices, harvests, prospects. Next in interest come the festival programmes, the local celebrities and their doings. In every house there are scales and weights, and the household is engaged in occasional or regular trade. Accounts in money and kind are current between neighbours. Whatever spare produce remains is exposed for sale.

576 [349] [513] 775] [152] 574 521 437

The villages either have a quick fence of impenetrable thorny bamboo (*myinwa*), or a hedge of cactus and briar, or bamboo *chevaux-de-frise*. In some parts they are open. The old towns (*myó*) had ramparts and stockades (Nos. 6, 371, 387). The highest sites about the village are for the *zedi*, the *Payá-mye* or sacred ground, the next best are for the *kyaung*. Then comes the enclosure of

187. APPROACH TO THE VILLAGE.

361 [349] [311] [346]

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

the monks are perhaps

276 792 the most persistent chewers of the good betel. Smoking is prohibited, but nothing is said against betel, and it is considered a great stimulator of the meditative faculties. The lime used very speedily corrodes and destroys the teeth, and then the old pôngyi has to make the scholars crush up the nuts so that they may not hurt his toothless gums. It is a common belief that no one can speak Burmese well till he chews betel. Demosthenes is said to have put pebbles in his mouth when he was practising oratory.

517 515 302 Alternate smoking, chewing, and conversation serve to pass the day, and after dinner, when the sun goes down, our villager has a bath down by the well to freshen him up. The water is drawn up in a bucket and simply poured over the body. Soap is never used, and particular care is taken not to wet the hair. The head washing is a special ceremony, to be gone through only occasionally, and then with circumspection. Dandies, as a rule, put a solution of rice and water on their hair every day to make it grow long, and cocoanut oil is also very generally used. Both sexes are proud of the length of their hair, and it is not uncommon to see it reaching below the knee and down to the ankles. The men wear it in a yaung or knot on the top of the head, while the sadôn of the women is at the back of the head. Both men and women are in the habit of adding to its size by interweaving false tresses, which are easily got, seeing that everybody has black hair, and that some young member of the family is constantly getting his locks cut off on his entry into the monastery. There is no more sense of shame in using false hair than there is in improving the appearance by wearing fine clothes. At his bath it is usual for a pious [751] person to repeat a Pali charm over the first bucket of water, which is then slowly poured over the body. The object of this is to guard against sickness.

517 514 291 After bathing, the Burman, if he is young, usually puts on his fine clothes, for except in the rainy season there is sure to be a dramatic performance, or a yein dance by the village lads and lasses, or an entertainment of some kind going on at some house in the village. The dress is very simple and picturesque. The paso is a long silk cloth, fifteen cubits long and about two and a half wide. It is

HOME

Home is Pathwe

Home is the village of Pathwe, Pantanaw Township, Maubin district, Lower Burma. It is located on one of the countless small streams of the Lower Irrawaddy estuary about ninety miles west of Rangoon. The country is a flat alluvium plain dissected by myriads of streams and canals. The monotony of marshy plains is relieved by occasional clumps of trees and tall reeds which flank the streams. The land is a result of depositions of silts from upstream by the Irrawaddy river and its tributaries - a process which is going on today as Lower Burma extends into the bays of Bengal and Martaban. When asked how long his family had lived in the village of Pathwe, U Myaing replied : 131 [101]

> "My parents were born here and their parents before them and their's before them - as far back as we can remember." [591]

The village of Pathwe occupies the adjacent banks of three streams at the point where they join.

The larger town of Pantanaw is located some three miles upstream. The section U Myaing lives in is called YWA-GYI-BET (Big-village-side) and is the main residential area of Pathwe. Directly across the stream, which is about 200 feet wide at this point, are YWA-LAY-BET (small-village-side) and PAYA-GYI-DAUNT (Big-pagoda-corner). 361

YWA-GYI-BET consists of four rows of houses placed 200 feet apart parallel to the main branch of the stream. The rows consist of about fifty houses each and are separated by brick or earth roads. The brick road is raised about three feet to form a passageway in time of floods. Communal lavatories flank both sides of the village rows and the ones on the side of the river have been located about 60 or 70 feet back from the edge of the river "in order not to pollute the water." The lavatories in the village differ from one another, in that some of them are in the house itself and others are outside by a small passageway connected to the house. The houses with lavatories in them depend on the water to carry away the droppings in the rainy season. [363] 514 364 [312]

342 In U Myaing's house the lavatory is in the kitchen and is walled off with
●514 woven KYU (kind of fiber) mat. There is a hole cut open in the board flooring, and the area underneath this opening also is walled off with woven KYU. U Myaing and family did not take their meals in the kitchen but in the house proper.

361 The PHON-GYI KYAUNG or monastery is located further downstream
368 from the village. It is a two storied brick building comprised of nine
346 rooms, each 6 TAUNG square. Children are not taught here but learn
[572] their lessons at the government school. This school, which is on
[764] THA-GYI-BET side, teaches pupils up to the tenth standard. Below the PHON-GYI KYAUNG is the cemetery.

The houses in the village are separated one from the other by eight feet on each side. The rows of houses facing the river have porches on
342 both sides. U Myaing's house is typical of those found in the village - some may be more elaborate, some less. His house had been built only
435 six or seven years, and cost Rs. 3000/- at that time. There are no
[651] accounts for each of the separate items and U Myaing does not remember. The land was free and they did not have to pay any revenue on it.
[366] Separate from the houses and on the riverside is a huge platform built
[252] to process fish including the making of NGAPI. U Myaing had no land that owned round the house, although he could use the land directly in front of the house for various purposes.

U Myaing describes his house as follows;

342 "It is a wooden house, made of wooden posts - a two storied structure. The roof is of slates. Walls are of SHI-NGA-BU wooden
592 boards (boards 8 inches wide and about ½ inch thick) and there are four rooms. Other people have similar houses. It is a LAY-BIN-BIN (a four-tree-house or a house which has four supporting poles across the front) and all seven of us live in the house. We drop a kitchen from the back and cook there. The kitchen has three windows at the back, with one door leading into the house. We all live together in three rooms. We keep bedrooms. (U Myaing is speaking of a sketch of the house here). This side is for visitors - there is a room for people who come to buy goods. The
[366] old mother and the children live in one room and I and my wife in another with the smallest child. We eat in the front part of the house in one room at the foot of the sleeping place. There are nine 6 TAUNG rooms without partitions on each of the two floors. The sides of the house are enclosed with timber planks of IN wood, but the bedrooms are also partitioned off. It is very wide and roomy to live in. The floor is made of teak planks."

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777 the general well-being of the individual, as seen in Daw Aw Zar's
262 belief that her general good health was due to a morally-lived previous existence. "It is like a shadow". Some specific situations like being born blind is attributed to ones KARMA - in this case the person had been a notorious fighter of cocks in the previous existence; cocks being frequently blinded in the fights.

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that is, the D.I.S. (District Inspector of Schools), whether active or re- 517
tired, was usually more permanent and could dig his toes in more 647
happily. The social relationship was also ideal. Earning less than the 351
other officials, he could yet offer them this rich hospitality of natural pleasures.

When we were in Maubin the D.I.S. was our friend U Taik Wan. 245
He and his family of ten sons and daughters had the u-yin developed to 252
its fullest. He had a low large house where the river took a bend and had fenced in this bed with bamboo stakes and a diving platform. The garden orchard stretched away from the house to a bamboo hut at the far end, with open verandahs under the trees. The speciality of his orchard were his sweet-sour marian trees. The marian is the *bonea Burmanica*, common to Burma and northern Assam, where it forms an ideal appetizer for the heat-drowsy inhabitants. It is sour, of a sharp biting sourness which now makes my mouth water with longing. It is too sour to eat except doused in strong salt sauce or fish paste, salt being our antidote to sourness, in which I differ from the English idea of cooking, for salt combines and merges in with sourness whereas a pound of sugar thrown into a gooseberry tart would still leave it too sour for me. The marian is a small fruit, green when young and orange-yellow when ripe, with a pretty purple seed which has given its name to the Burmese colour "mauve". There is a sweet variety which is not popular. Sometimes, however, a prize tree is found which produces a sweet-sour marian, a sour fruit with its sting taken off. Such a tree should be treated with the greatest care; its fruits must never be salted or pickled as sour fruits are treated, because the "sour" use would communicate itself to the tree by what may be called sympathetic magic. Rather, my mother made jam (with sugar) of these marians, for the improvement of U Taik Wan's tree.

My mother was very punctilious about such things; the girl servants 252
were never allowed to pluck the citron leaves for our salad because a 841
woman in menstruation makes the tender leaves of the citron tree curl
up and lose their succulence when she plucks them. U Taik Wan had 789
a row of sweet-sour marian trees which he guarded from flying foxes by throwing a net across one face of them, showing a wall of these creatures hanging head downwards, to passers-by.

Our pyaw-pwè-sas at the Taik Wan's always began with a lot of 526
water-fun. We never used bathing dresses, but adapted our longyis for 291
swimming. This longyi is shaped and wrapped, like the more famous 515
sarong, at the waist normally, but women and girls take it above the bosom when they discard their jackets. This enables all our poorer women to bathe with perfect decorum at public wells and streams.

526 After the bath a dry longyi is slipped on over the wet one which is then
291 washed clean straight away. The poorest, who do not always possess a
•515 spare longyi, sometimes let themselves into a stream gradually, lifting the longyi higher as they go in, and when the water is bosom-high they keep the garment on their head, letting it down again as they emerge. Our use for the adaptability of the longyi was to stand on a diving platform with it opened wide at the bottom, jump feet first and let the air rush in, nicking the longyi in at the ankles as we struck the water. This

makes you land with a balloon which floats you for a minute or two like those swollen celluloid ducks in babies' tubs. My friend Tin Tin Thoung was just like a swan on these occasions; she was not pretty normally, being very thin and angular, but she had a long and graceful neck, and when she floated on the water, gliding along with her neck rising out of her big round longyi, she looked like a beautiful swan to me.
[262] After bathing, the Taik Wans' mother had basketfuls of Indian corn, the tender ones boiled and the tougher ones roasted, and dishes of the peeled marians doused in fish sauce awaiting us.

981 Besides these social visits there were special festivals that came with
585 the months, and occasions common to every family's history—the ear-boring of the girl, the initiation into the priesthood of the boy, and marriages of grown-up children—which had to be celebrated in traditional forms. Most minkadaws preferred to hold marriage ceremonies in Rangoon, Moulmein or Mandalay to have as much fashion and show as possible, but the ear-boring (*nadwin*) and initiation into priesthood (*shinbyu*) find a better background in country towns. Nadwin is the coming of age of a girl, not for marriage, but for the initiation into the pleasant vanities of a woman's life. It is fine enough to sit with a rich

796 was a ceremonial washing of the King's hair at the New Year, called the *tha-gyan daw gyi*. The water was always brought from the clear springs of *Gaung-se kyun*, the island lying dark and green in the Moulmein river. The island had a special sanctity because it was believed to [823] hang suspended from the heavens by an invisible cord. When the island passed into British territory after the first Burmese war, however, the waters of Gaung-se kyun were no longer used for this sacred purpose, and substitute clear water was got from the Irrawaddy.

•515 796 Burmese people wash their hair with the alkaline juices of the bark of a tree known as *tha-yaw*, combined with the seeds of the *accacia concina*. The bark, which is stored in a dried condition, is soaked for a few hours before washing, the accacia seeds are boiled in their pods until they are soft and are then crushed into the tha-yaw water. The result is a slippery mixture which we still use in preference to modern shampoos on the market. The provision of this in basins, and of clear water in big jars on our bamboo platform, was considered a meritorious act on New Year's eve. About twenty people came, bringing towels and a change of clothing. They washed their hair and bathed on the bamboo platform over the creek. The ladies put thanakha thickly on their cheeks and gave children blobs where the "roses" of English children's cheeks are, and we all sat on the edge of the platform, hair floating free in the breeze, and watched the sun go down. At night we helped to put the ground bark into little cups and stuck tha-byay leaves in the pots and went to bed full of pleasant anticipations. Tha-gya Min usually arrived about midnight, when Uncle Pyant got out his revolver and fired a salute to announce his arrival to the village. My male cousins stayed up to pour the water pots away, but we slept right through this actual arrival.

796 Early next morning we woke up to find big tubs of water placed on the front verandah. Uncle Pyant gave each child a piston for squirting water, and there was terrific excitement as we chased about the house to greet each other with the first pouring of water. Our maids and dependents always affected great terror at the immodesty of being bathed by great splashes from my male cousins; they shrieked and clambered up ladders in a most unladylike fashion and tried to barricade themselves from the drenching. In the street, too, fun had begun already. Children of about eight years and below were all stripped naked and let loose with their pistons and tubs of water to run and soak each passer-by.

But in the kitchens of the houses aunts and mothers were busy dishing out the morning meal to be sent up to the *zayat* where grandmothers keeping the fast would eat only this one meal of the day. My cousin Ma Aye Shwe and the dependent girls put on their brightest clothes of washable materials and set the trays on their heads. All the

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

the monks are perhaps

276 the most persistent chewers of the good betel. Smoking is
792 prohibited, but nothing is said against betel, and it is considered a great stimulator of the meditative faculties. The lime used very speedily corrodes and destroys the teeth, and then the old póngyi has to make the scholars crush up the nuts so that they may not hurt his toothless gums. It is a common belief that no one can speak Burmese well till he chews betel. Demosthenes is said to have put pebbles in his mouth when he was practising oratory.

517 Alternate smoking, chewing, and conversation serve to
515 pass the day, and after dinner, when the sun goes down, our
302 villager has a bath down by the well to freshen him up. The water is drawn up in a bucket and simply poured over the body. Soap is never used, and particular care is taken not to wet the hair. The head washing is a special ceremony, to be gone through only occasionally, and then with circumspection. Dandies, as a rule, put a solution of rice and water on their hair every day to make it grow long, and cocoanut oil is also very generally used. Both sexes are proud of the length of their hair, and it is not uncommon to see it reaching below the knee and down to the ankles. The men wear it in a yaung or knot on the top of the head, while the sadôn of the women is at the back of the head. Both men and women are in the habit of adding to its size by interweaving false tresses, which are easily got, seeing that everybody has black hair, and that some young member of the family is constantly getting his locks cut off on his entry into the monastery. There is no more sense of shame in using false hair than there is in improving the appearance
[751] by wearing fine clothes. At his bath it is usual for a pious person to repeat a Pali charm over the first bucket of water, which is then slowly poured over the body. The object of this is to guard against sickness.

517 After bathing, the Burman, if he is young, usually puts
514 on his fine clothes, for except in the rainy season there is
291 sure to be a dramatic performance, or a yein dance by the village lads and lasses, or an entertainment of some kind going on at some house in the village. The dress is very simple and picturesque. The paso is a long silk cloth, fifteen cubits long and about two and a half wide. It is

quiet), the time when the children become quiet from 7 to 8. 9 to 10 p.m. is known as THATKYI-KAUNG-CHA (oldage-head-drop) when the elders begin to nod; from 11 to midnight and beyond is LUKLIN-PYAN CHAIN (Bachelors'-return-time) when young men complete their carousing and return to sleep. AYO (dawn) comes at the second cocks'crowing (first is at mid-night) about 4 o'clock. The KALA-DET (Indians-marching in) hollow wooden drum is struck in the phongyi-kyaungs at this time to awaken the village. The women who prepare breakfast, and the old folks who rise to worship appear at this time - but others may sleep on for an hour or so. 512 805 513

It is obligatory to wash the legs and feet before retiring. In warm weather a mat is preferred for coolness - but in colder and damp weather a mattress is considered necessary for protection. Prayers taking from 2 minutes (most) up to considerably longer are generally said before bed-time. These praise Buddha and include such supplications as "may I be lifted up to heaven soon." Dreams may be good or bad according to the disposition of the mate. Certain dreams have meanings applicable as omens. It is during sleep that the ghost of a recently departed loved one contacts the sleeper and, sometimes, succeeds in luring him away permanently. 513 [515] 782 828 [775]

Analysis of home standard in Pathwe and in Refugee Camp.

The Pathwe home was in nearly every way superior to refugee camp home. Let us examine the nature of this superiority and attempt to see the adjustment which U Myaing made in the refugee camp. The Pathwe home was an independent unit as compared to the refugee camp apartment-like home. However we may not assume that U Myaing found this a disadvantage, since living in Pantanaw was "close". The quarters in the one case were separated by half a dozen feet and on the other by a bamboo partition. An important difference is that the Pathwe home was owned by U Myaing and he had inalienable rights there, whereas the refugee camp apartment was loaned to him for a short time period. 511 722 342

Only about one fiftieth of the space was available in the refugee camp (15,000 cubic feet in Pathwe, 315 cubic feet in camp.) However, 511 722 361 342

DEE Comb: Men use a western brand celluloid comb. Pathwo: one costing ten pice or 2 annas was used for more than a year. Camp: none. This item is "not greatly desired". 302 435

SHAY-TOE-PAMAT (Forward-push-shoe) Slippers: Burmese men's slippers consist of leather soles held to the foot by two leather straps. The straps, attached on each side to the sole at the instep converge in an arrow-shape between the big toe. The back is open. Pathwo: three pairs of "airplane" brand sandals were used per year. They were bought in Pantanaw at Rs 1/4 per pair. Camp: He has one pair of rubber strap tyred sandals which last for 4 months. They cost 8 annas per pair in Rangoon. Six or Seven are desired per year, here, since they wear out rapidly on the cement pavements. 291 435

KONE-PA-MAT (heel-shoe) Wooden Clogs: The soles are wooden, and they are attached to the feet by a single strap of rubber(tyre tube strips) or leather placed across the toes and held to the sole by nails. Pathwo: 3 or 4 pairs were used in one year. They were bought in Pantanaw at 8 annas. Camp: He used one pair per month due to hard wear on pavements and they cost 6 annas for one pair.

MYET-MHA-THOKE-PU-MHA (Face-rubbing-cloth) Face Towel: This item is made of cotton and measured a few feet square. Pathwo: two were used and lasted about one year. They were bought in Pantanaw at Rs 1/4 each. Camp: one old one was brought from Pathwo but it fell apart about a year ago. None is used now. Two are desired.

KO-THOKE-PU-MHA (Body-rubbing-cloth) Body Towel: Body towels are made of cotton and measure somewhat larger than face towels. One was used for every 3 or 4 months in Pathwo (by the whole family). They cost Rs 2/8/ or 3/- and were bought in Pantanaw. Camp: none. 515 435

PADAMYA-LET-SUT (Ruby-hand-put-loop) ruby ring: A finger ring set with a ruby was in U Myiang's possession from the age of 18 to 30. It cost Rs 35/- 301

SE E LET SUT (gold hand-put loop) Gold ring: A gold finger was used from the age of 14 to the time of evacuation. It cost Rs 17/-

SE E CHL. THEE (Gold-gap-pin or button) Gold chain or button: A gold chain with attached gold buttons used to fasten the Burmese 291

Menopause: MEE YAT THWAY SONE (Woman Disorder-Blood End). 886
Daw Aw Zar reached her climacteric at the age of 50. She did not suffer from menopause symptoms, as she had taken the following 757
preventative measures: she ha. eaten boiled duck eggs three at a time, and very frequently. Kyauk-Hpayon fruit jam was eaten all the time (since 25 ticals of jam can be offered on the altar and can then be eaten to last for 10 days. Phalaung-taung-hmwe root is thinly sliced, mixed with 25 ticals of palm jaggery, 6 pice worth of the 5 kinds of Hsa-mon seeds, and some salt, brewed together and taken. Also, each about two fingers small, were boiled and eaten with rice. Daw Aw Zar ate all these things until the age of 60.

Smallpox: (Preventatives). The Burmese preventative measure 757
for smallpox consists in rubbing the whole body in horse sweat and drinking mare's milk. The liver of the python is mixed with water and taken internally. Python flesh is also eaten and python skin is burnt and the ash mixed with jaggery (palm sugar) and made into pills to be taken orally. This is quite effective, and even if smallpox does come on later, it only does so in a mild form, as in the case of two of U Myaing's children who had only about 15 pustules each. U Myaing applied the preventatives. He tells us that practioners can shift the location of pustules. A pustule about to appear on the eyes of a child can be shifted elsewhere by using the tongue of the mother.

Medical injections-Vaccination and Cholera. Back in Pantanaw the English vaccinator came around only once in about three years, and consequently the children have been vaccinated only once in their lives. This, however is a service which is rendered free of charge. The youngest child has been vaccinated once here. The same remarks hold true for cholera injections also, except that every one in the family including the adults, have had only one inoculation each in their whole lives.

Cleanliness. For bathing, U Myaing's family uses the hydrant 515●
in the camp twice a day. The soap which is used for washing clothes 2%
is also used on the body. In Pantanaw the river was used twice a day, and they had special soap for the body. In the camp clothes are washed every day because of their small number. In one month, the family uses up thirty cakes of soap each worth 2 annas, for bathing and washing. Teeth are cared for by cleaning them every morning with either salt or charcoal. This is true both of Pantanaw. and refugee camp. It involves no special cost. In Pantanaw, the water used was water from the stream. This water was very clear, but it was also filtered before being used. In the refugee camp here the water is very clear and is used as it comes from the hydrant

Warts: KATO. The cure for warts is to kill the mother wart by 757
prodding it with some sharp instrument or pinching it away slowly.

An important factor in the health of the family has been the 753
supernatural. Daw Aw Zar was completely serious in informing us 775
that the reason she was in good health at 72 years of age was that she had been good in a previous existence. This idea is apparently tied to the concept of merit acquisition in which the deeds of the present existence add to or subtract from the well being of the future existence. U Myaing states it in this manner:

"The good in this life is because of the meritorious acts in the previous existence."

recognised as over-stimulated by anxieties. "Don't talk my gall into disorder" is a common reaction to calamity tales. 158 753

The weather is important is maintaining health. Changeable weather as during the late part of the Monsoon season is generally unhealthy and gives rise to pulmonary disorders. One should provide head protection (through covering or shade from umbrella) from the sun's rays - which cause headaches by melting the brain. Colds come from getting wet in the rain resulting from the lack of sufficient bodily heat. MYEH HNGWE (earth-vapour) which rises as a steam in the early morning or after sudden rains is unhealthful in causing sore eyes and other inflamations. The"steam of the body" healthfully goes out in ordinary bathing and adds to one's comfort. Heat is a key factor in health and sickness being readily discerned as causes of local or general infection. The additional concept of "like producing like" helps explain the above beliefs. 753 132

The odor of AH HNYAW (fried-food) is especially dangerous to babies and persons in a weakened condition. When frying, which will create extensive fumes, is to be undertaken the cook must give warning to the neighbourhood so that susceptible ones can be protected. Such persons take refuge behind the thick, cloth mosquito nets. Many heated arguments take place in our servants' quarters when the Indian fried food fumes carry over to the Burmese apartments. It is observed that this danger applies peculiarly to the Burmese - Chinese are also exempt since they are seen to cook with babies strapped on their backs. [252] [186]

Parts of the body are cared for with special ingredients. The eyes are cleaned with pure water or coconut water. Oil is frequently dropped into the ears through a feather quill. The mouth and teeth are cleaned with salt. Bitter foods keep keep the stomach fit. 515● 751

Babies up to 1 year are fed on mother's milk or cow's milk. After one, rice chewed by the mother "to make it digestible" is added with some dried fish. After two, the child can chew its own rice, have a little meat, but no hot condiments. After five the child eats the same foods as the adults but is not allowed sour foods as this will "lessen the weight". After 16 or 17, this restriction is 853 561 262

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

No kind of wool is indigenous 286 or is spun or woven in 291 Burma. Cæsar Frederick [283 in 1569 mentions woollen 439] cloth among the goods brought to Burma, *vid* Arakán. Web vests for boys and men, of European manufacture, are becoming general. The use of shoes of the European shape is bringing in the use of socks and stockings. The addition of a European shirt under the Burman jacket

130. LAYING OUT THE WARP.

makes up the incongruous kit affected by the modern office clerks. With the [296 increased use of body-linen have come the Indian washermen. The coloured 463] stuffs are washed by the Burman women. The native dyes wash well, especially the silk dyes. An alkali-earth (*suppya*) is found in Burma, but soap is of modern introduction, and is now sold in every bazár. Needles used to be brought to 439 Burma from China, as well as scissors, though the latter are also fashioned in Burma; at present both are imported from Europe. Burmans work the needle 413 from them, like other Asiatics. The work is pinned to a cushion at the head 286 of a post planted on the work-box. The use of the thimble was unknown until [177] tailors came over from India, but is now general. The bulk of the tailoring is in the hands of immigrants from China; but their prejudice against the sewing-463 machine is helping to transfer the 294 business to the Burman women. Nearly every well-to-do family in the towns has its sewing-machine.

At sunrise the women start with their water-pots for the day's supply, and again before they cook the evening meal, which finishes the day's work. On the morning errand they do the most of their washing. In the evening they carry a spare cloth to change for the one they bathe in, which they wash and coil into a pad to put between the head and the water-

131. BURMESE CARVING OF WEAVING-LOOM.

462 [532] 512 515

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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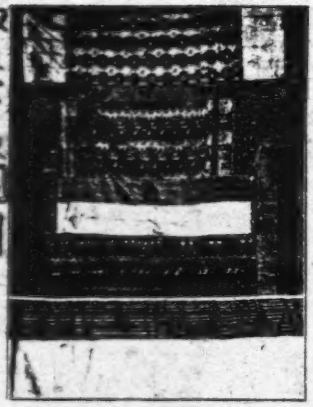


132. BURMESE SILK CLOTH PATTERNS.

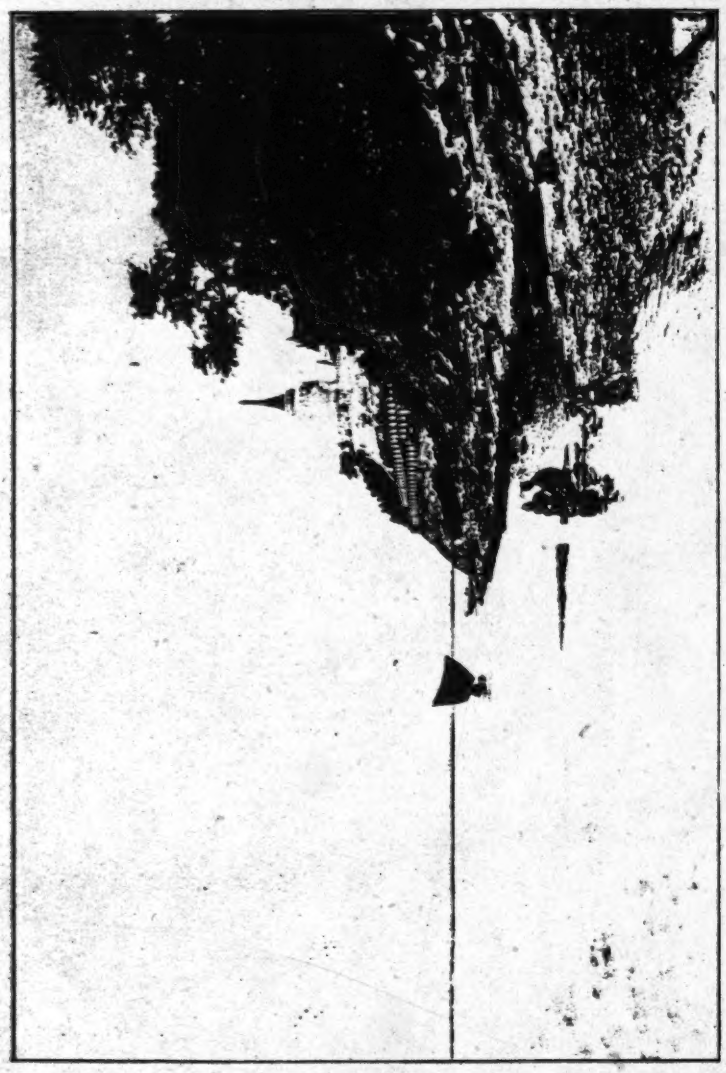
pot. The Burmans bathe in the morning or evening, and not in the heat of the day. Men and women bathe in their clothes and at the same places.

Burmans will travel far to a source of good drinking water. It is stored in porous earthen pots with covers, in which it settles and cools over-night. Rain-water is saved for other uses and stored in large glazed jars (*sin-ê*). A cocoanut ladle is used for dipping the water out, to avoid disturbing the sediment. In the rainy season the river water bears a heavy silt and has to stand for hours. Spring water is scarce owing to the distance of the Burman settlements from the hills. The ordinary sources are rivers, wells, and tanks. In the moist region the subsoil water comes up to, or near the surface during the rains, and in the drought sinks twenty or thirty feet. In the dry zone it is sometimes necessary to dig one hundred feet for water. Wells are generally fenced and protected from return and

133. THE SPRING.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

[opp. p. 64]



[To face p. 64.

189. BATHING-PLACE ON THE RIVER-BANK (PAGAN, JULY).

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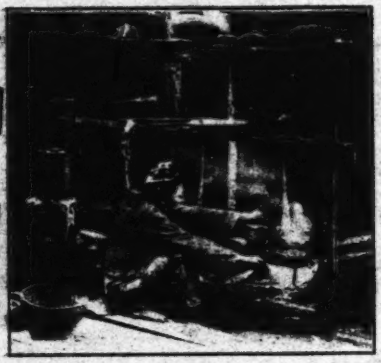
25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

302 [252] •[515] [178]



142. THE COOKING-PLACE.

of a tree of the dry zone, ground into a paste with water on a special stone. It is perfumed by grinding sandal-wood with it. The paste is smeared on the face and left to dry, after which the excess is rubbed off. For great occasions the paste is left on over-night. But ordinarily the face is "freshed" with water (*myo-hna-thit*) on rising in the morning. The Burmans admire white teeth and polish them with charcoal on a soft stick. The old style of women's hair-dress was like the early *chignon* fashion of about 1867 in Europe. The *sadôn* in this form is seen in Nos. 30, 381. About 1880 a new fashion was set by the palace, which now prevails. Tresses of false hair are much used by the women. Flowers in the hair and jewellery complete the toilet, which, like that of the actors in the *pwè*, is performed in view of everyone. The men's toilet consists in combing their long hair (No. 127). They take pride in the size of their top-knot (*yaung*) and rarely eke it out with false hair in the way the women do. The heavy knot works loose, so that combing and knotting up go on perpetually. The hair of both sexes is coarse and straight and jet black. Children's hair gets foxy from alternate exposure to rain and sun. The hair is smoothed with cocoanut oil and washed with soap-nut once or twice a month. At other times the Burmans are concerned to avoid wetting their hair. The native wooden combs are coarse, but the Chinese tooth comb is beginning to serve a useful purpose. Burmans turn grey at forty to fifty years of age and are white at sixty to seventy. Baldness is rare. Aged men still wear their little top-knot. The men's faces are smooth, many

[515] [264] 145 302

143. THE FAMILY MEAL (OLD STYLE).

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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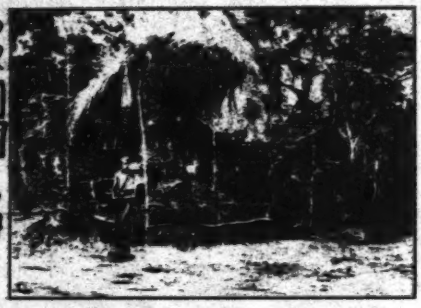

164. FOREST ZAYAT AND WATER-STAND (P. 63).

requirements? To which the *yahán* cordially responds, *pyippa, pyippa, tagádaw*—that I am, my valued supporter! Just as salutations are ordinarily omitted, so thanks are only expressed for special favours. The sense of obligation is conveyed by adopting courteous forms of speech, in which the particle *ba* always figures. The set forms of *please* and *thank you* are thus dispensed with. Where, however, a disparity of age or position exists, every act of the superior becomes [431] by courtesy a boon. A Burman is disconcerted by a simple present, as well as by *bakshish* and payments above the stipulation, which he is particular to make beforehand. But when approaching a superior with a request, the inferior bears an offering of courtesy, generally fruit. The inferior makes *shibó* both on approaching and taking leave. A Burman does not stand, in the presence of his superior, but squats down. When he has occasion to pass close to his superior, he does not walk erect but crouches. By well-bred Burmans the gestures of respect are performed in a very graceful manner. Every Burman, the *yahán* not excepted, on ascending the *kyanníng* of a house, removes his [356] sandals or shoes. As we Westerns respect the *roof* that our host has provided by doffing our head-gear, so Easterns respect the *floor* that is provided—an observance of a practical nature where the floor serves both for seat and table. In 576 an analogous way to our greeting with the hat, the Oriental shows respect by slipping the sandals even outside the house. Still more [515] courteous is the practice of washing the feet before entering a house or *kyaung*. Burmans always contrive to sit so as to hide the soles of the feet or to turn them

165. RECEIVING A VISITOR.

Cooking and Eating Utensils

Ma Aye Myaing does her work directly in front of the fireplace in a squating position, often resting on the tiny bamboo stool. A few sticks of firewood, or brush, are placed within the three sided enclosure made of three single bricks on edge. A hollow bamboo tube about 10 inches long and 1½ inches in diameter is periodically used to blow the fire to a hot flame in lieu of a draft. The identifications of the cooking and eating utensils given below were provided by Daw Aw Zar and U Myaing in an interview in which photographs of the objects were used. 415 252 [516] [352] [372]

HTA MIN O (cooking pot): This is an earthenware jar used for cooking vegetables and other foods. It is a round based globular form with outflaring rim. A wide conical shaped lid with flat disc knob for raising goes over the orifice. It is smooth, light tan in colour throughout and about ¼ inch in thickness. It is tempered with sand. A stamped design encircles the widest diameter on the body. This diameter is about 7 inches, height is 4½ inches. One or two are kept on hand (Pathma: several. Camp: one). They cost 5 annas each. This sand tempered, stamped, earthenware appears in the early European contact period (late 1500's) at Syriam (Orr, K.G. "Stratigraphy in Lower Burma" Ms. in preparation.) It is rapidly being discarded in favour of aluminum pots which are not nearly as cheap but do not break. Traditionally this pot is used to cook rice. In speaking of its use Daw Aw Zar said: "We keep one or two, to boil vegetables and do other things to eat, seeing that there are seven people we have to cook (i.e. rice) with a big aluminum pot." [172] [178]

HIN O (curry pot): This jar is generally of the same shape as the one described above but is wider at the orifice (8 inches diameter) though about the same height. It is of the same ware type; has a wavy-line stamped design just under the rim. Ordinarily equipped with a conical lid, this vessel had a flat aluminum lid. This vessel is used to cook curry. It was brought from Pathma, where it was bought at a cost of 6 annas. Number used in Pathma: several, camp: 1. [435]

LAPHET YE OH (tea pot): The tea pot is also of tan earthenware and generally of the same ware as the cooking pots, with the exception that the surface was carefully scraped and slightly burnished. The body is globular, with thumb-like spout, and semi-circular clay handle. This pot was brought from Pantanaw, where it had cost 8 annas.

SIN O (food storage jar): Whereas the cooking vessels are moulded by hand with the aid of a paddle, and lack glazing, the storage jars are glazed and have been made on the wheel. These glazed jars also have flat disc bases, and pear-shaped bodies with contracted necks and short, collar-like rims. In every way they appear to be a separate tradition from the cooking ware. The glaze is dark reddish-brown over a hard-baked purple-red core. The interior is thoroughly glazed but the glaze only covers the upper half of the exterior. The reddish-brown glaze is recent, appearing in ceramic collections of the last century in Rangoon (Orr, K.G. "Stratigraphy in Lower Burma", the Monkina Street section) being preceded by a yellow-black glaze in the early European period at Syriam. [323] [172]

Salt saffron, oils, etc are stored in these jars. The one examined was about 4 inches in height and 5 inches in diameter. It came from Pathma and cost 3 annas. Number in Pathma several, camp: 1. [251] [435]

23: Brant & Mi Mi Khaing E, I-5 (1949-1950)1951
AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

38. yauccá Husband (referential).
39. mù Husband's younger brother; husband's younger sister's husband. 601
40. khɛ̂ʔóu Elder sister's husband; husband's elder brother; husband's elder sister's husband.
41. yaummà Husband's sister; husband's brother's wife.

As may readily be seen by inspection of the charts, this kinship system reflects clearly the bilateral family structure, with an absence of terminological differentiation on the basis of the sex of the connecting relative. The other outstanding characteristic is the recognition of relative age at many points. For each generation a distinct set of terms is used. On ego's generation all cousins are merged with siblings; the terms are differentiated, however, according to relative age. In the first ascending generation, it will be noted, parents' siblings are terminologically distinguished according to degree of age relative to the parent. In the first descending generation, however, the factor of age loses significance; sex is the sole differentiating factor, apart from distinguishing terms for ego's own children. On successive descending generations sex distinction is absent and all relatives of a single generation are subsumed under a single kinship term.

Behaviorally as well as terminologically, relative age is the all-important hub 561 upon which the wheel of Burmese social life revolves. Deference to one's elders 602 is reflected in such customs as carrying things for them, refraining from sitting with one's head higher than those of elders, and avoiding postures in which the [516] feet are extended towards such persons.

Beyond such matters of etiquette, the importance of age is even more fundamentally demonstrated in the showing of obeisance to one's elders. This is done on all the important ceremonial occasions. Four such occasions are regarded as [792] obligatory times for paying one's respects. These are the beginning and the end of the Buddhist "Lent"—a period of about three months, roughly from mid-July to mid-October—the New Year, and the harvest. Respect is paid to all of one's elders in the parental generation and above. A visit is made at which an offering, valuable or symbolic, is brought and the elder's blessings are received.

SOCIAL RELATIONS OF KIN

Husband–Wife. The household is normally composed of husband and wife 593 and their offspring. It is a bilateral, limited type of family structure, contrasting [592] markedly with the patrilineal extended Chinese family and joint family of India. [594] Unlike the position of the wife in the Chinese and Indian family systems, that of the Burmese wife is not one of an outsider living in a group dominated by her

[Text continues on page 442]

1: Mi Mi Khaing I-5 (no date) 1946 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

CHAPTER SIX

THE social life which my parents led with other families in the district towns was shared by us and all the other children. Burmese children do not live in a child's world cut off from reality—there is no specially created world for them like that of J. M. Barrie—they are given enough food for their wildest imagination, but this feeds equally the grandmother and nurses who tell them stories. No special children's parties with cakes and games for them are provided; they go everywhere with the grown-ups, on visits, excursions and festivals, they eat and sleep in the same rooms as the elders and hear most of the conversation. One result is to make Burmese children more conscious of family ties and responsibilities, and to prepare them better for any calamities that may befall them in adolescence or any time before they are fully grown up. Yet no one who sees Burmese children can doubt that delight, wonder and pure joy are present in their lives. 857 593

All Burmese social gatherings centre round either religious observances or eating. We are still unsophisticated enough to have the same way of enjoying ourselves whether in city or country, and for that reason these district towns formed such a perfect background for happy days. In the towns that I remember, a river ran through, with sandbanks at edges or in midstream; this, with the monasteries and pagoda precincts a little way out of the busy quarters, private garden orchards and the houses of friends, provided the background for all the social life which my parents had, and is the reason why Burmese people never form social clubs. Most of the officials went to play tennis at the Gymkhana club with European members, but it had no real part in their lives. 517 369 575

When we went on *pyaw-pwè-sas*, happy-eating-gatherings, at pagodas, with two or three other families, the grown-ups, including aunts and dependents of the families, made elaborate food arrangements because the joy of the occasion was to cook on a large-scale in the open air. They took pots, dishes, food and washing apparatus for about twenty people. We started with silent recitation of prayers before the golden spire in the cool morning air, holding silver lilies between folded hands and being so careful not to breathe in the fragrance of the flowers, because my mother taught us that we should not first enjoy the beauty of flowers which are to be offered. When our short prayers were through, we stuck the flowers in a vase or niche at the pagoda base, lighted a row of candles 517

517 along a ledge or parapet, and walked quietly round the pagoda with the paved stones so cool beneath our bare feet, while the grown-ups still prayed silently. As soon as they finished and got up, it was the signal to release our spirits and bound away to the far corner where the servants were already beginning to unpack the pots and arrange three stones around for each fire. We were allowed to cut up onions or chillies until we got bored, and spent the rest of the morning playing games or exploring the country around, coming back to find a meal miraculously cooked, with curries in lacquer dishes and rice in banana leaves. After the meal, mats were spread in the breeziest spot, and we lay down beside the grown-ups who told beads and talked by turns.

517 Garden orchards were another source of deep long whole-day joy.
647 The Burmese *u-yin* is usually translated as orchard, but after seeing
351 English apple and cherry orchards I must translate it more fully. An u-yin is more arboreal and leafy; also one must enjoy it positively, that is, there must be in it a bamboo or light wooden house. In a hot climate an u-yin raises visions of shade; cool dark shade, leaves, only a few flowers unless they are of flowering trees, eating of the fruits and vegetables while there, and lying on a mat in the afternoon breeze. None of the a-so-ya mins could possess u-yins or gardens like this where they were posted, because their stay was so transitory. But the education officer,

that is, the D.I.S. (District Inspector of Schools), whether active or re- 517
tired, was usually more permanent and could dig his toes in more 647
happily. The social relationship was also ideal. Earning less than the 351
other officials, he could yet offer them this rich hospitality of natural pleasures.

When we were in Maubin the D.I.S. was our friend U Taik Wan. 245
He and his family of ten sons and daughters had the u-yin developed to 252
its fullest. He had a low large house where the river took a bend and had fenced in this bed with bamboo stakes and a diving platform. The garden orchard stretched away from the house to a bamboo hut at the far end, with open verandahs under the trees. The speciality of his orchard were his sweet-sour marian trees. The marian is the *bonea Burmanica*, common to Burma and northern Assam, where it forms an ideal appetizer for the heat-drowsy inhabitants. It is sour, of a sharp biting sourness which now makes my mouth water with longing. It is too sour to eat except doused in strong salt sauce or fish paste, salt being our antidote to sourness, in which I differ from the English idea of cooking, for salt combines and merges in with sourness whereas a pound of sugar thrown into a gooseberry tart would still leave it too sour for me. The marian is a small fruit, green when young and orange-yellow when ripe, with a pretty purple seed which has given its name to the Burmese colour "mauve". There is a sweet variety which is not popular. Sometimes, however, a prize tree is found which produces a sweet-sour marian, a sour fruit with its sting taken off. Such a tree should be treated with the greatest care; its fruits must never be salted or pickled as sour fruits are treated, because the "sour" use would communicate itself to the tree by what may be called sympathetic magic. Rather, my mother made jam (with sugar) of these marians, for the improvement of U Taik Wan's tree.

My mother was very punctilious about such things; the girl servants 252
were never allowed to pluck the citron leaves for our salad because a 841
woman in menstruation makes the tender leaves of the citron tree curl 1789
up and lose their succulence when she plucks them. U Taik Wan had a row of sweet-sour marian trees which he guarded from flying foxes by throwing a net across one face of them, showing a wall of these creatures hanging head downwards, to passers-by.

Our pyaw-pwè-sas at the Taik Wan's always began with a lot of 526
water-fun. We never used bathing dresses, but adapted our longyis for 291
swimming. This longyi is shaped and wrapped, like the more famous 515
sarong, at the waist normally, but women and girls take it above the bosom when they discard their jackets. This enables all our poorer women to bathe with perfect decorum at public wells and streams.

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

wore. Some of them went the next day to the English missionary chaplain, and told him of the misfortune that had befallen them, and how so completely were they rendered destitute that they had been indebted to the charity of the inhabitants of the monastery for a breakfast that morning. The clergyman promised to do what he could for them, and the same evening went along to view the site of the fire. What was his astonishment to find that the burnt-out victims had rigged up a rude stage among the charred stumps of their house-posts, and in default of a house to sleep in, were prepared to spend the night listening to the love-making of the princes and princesses, and laughing at the caustic witticisms of the clown, not a few of the jokes being inspired by the blackened surroundings. Such defiance of all the ills of fate is very characteristic, and would seem to a Burman mind the most natural thing to do under the circumstances, since it afforded both distraction and amusement.

If any one has escaped the curse of Adam it is the Burman. He does not need to earn his bread with the sweat of his brow, and riches having no attraction for him, when his patch of paddy land has been reaped, his only concern is how to pass the time, and that is no very difficult matter, where he has plenty of cheroots and betel-nut. He can stroll along to neighbour Maung Gyi's, whose son has a knack for wood-carving, and watch him as he deftly cuts out a piece of elaborate scroll-work for the roof of a neighbouring monastery, or finishes off the grim features of a bilu for the English Inspector of Police. Next door the sayā is engaged on a painting, the representation of some palace scene, or of some well-known event in the life of the Lord Buddha. Burmese artists do not, as a rule, paint likenesses, though they are by no means unsuccessful when they make the attempt. Any one but a high official would probably consider it a mark of great presumption and conceit to hang up a picture of himself in his house. There is, however, none of the objection to portrait painting which is so common with some other nations. For example, the Mohammedans will not suffer likenesses to be drawn for fear they should demand a soul on the Day of Judgment, and so some actual human being might come to be left out in the cold. Catlin

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma AP1
Burmese AP4
Chinese

Be 532 BeBa [532] [774]

tells us that the American Indian chief was in a state of great alarm lest his soul might be carried off with his picture. A notion of the same kind appears in the Chinese custom of getting a priest to put in the pupil of the eye, a method which often has rather a ghastly effect when the reverend gentleman is not skilful. Similarly, every Chinese-owned craft, from the sampan to the English-built iron screw steamer, has a couple of eyes painted on its bows, in order that it may see the way. Down in the Straits, and in all places where there are many Chinese, the local steamers, whoever their owners may be, are all endowed with eyes. Were they not so favoured, no Chinaman would travel with them as a passenger, or send any of his goods aboard of them. The Burman is not troubled with any such fantastic notions, and has no objection whatever to sitting for his portrait, only, as King Mindôn said to Yule, they prefer a flattering likeness to an exact one. It is seldom, however, that a Burman has a picture gallery in his house, and the village artist usually confines himself to vivid-coloured sketches for the funeral of a pôngyi, or to be hung round the mandut, where the great people sit to look on at a play. The drawing and the perspective are naturally a little faulty, but the details are usually worked out with very creditable skill.

Be 532 353

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Thus wandering about, seeing what his neighbours are doing, with an occasional visit to the mônastery to have some edifying talk with the religious, the villager may spend the time very comfortably. Oftenest however, he stays at home, and waits for visitors to drop in and have a little gossip. The goodwife always has a little shop in the lower part of the building. There is hardly a single house in the whole village where something is not offered for sale: a few dried fish, betel-nut, with the fresh green leaves, lime, cardamoms, and cutch, all ready for making up, half a dozen cocoa-nuts, or perhaps some twopenny-ha'penny knives, looking-glasses, coloured tumblers, and paltry Manchester goods, or where there are many girls about the house, a few home-made lungyis and pasos, waist-cloths, woven at odd times in the loom which stands in the yard or in a corner of the verandah of every house. The stock-in-trade is

592 444 562 [286]

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

the monks are perhaps

276 792 the most persistent chewers of the good betel. Smoking is prohibited, but nothing is said against betel, and it is considered a great stimulator of the meditative faculties. The lime used very speedily corrodes and destroys the teeth, and then the old pôngyi has to make the scholars crush up the nuts so that they may not hurt his toothless gums. It is a common belief that no one can speak Burmese well till he chews betel. Demosthenes is said to have put pebbles in his mouth when he was practising oratory.

517 515 302 Alternate smoking, chewing, and conversation serve to pass the day, and after dinner, when the sun goes down, our villager has a bath down by the well to freshen him up. The water is drawn up in a bucket and simply poured over the body. Soap is never used, and particular care is taken not to wet the hair. The head washing is a special ceremony, to be gone through only occasionally, and then with circumspection. Dandies, as a rule, put a solution of rice and water on their hair every day to make it grow long, and cocoanut oil is also very generally used. Both sexes are proud of the length of their hair, and it is not uncommon to see it reaching below the knee and down to the ankles. The men wear it in a yaung or knot on the top of the head, while the sadôn of the women is at the back of the head. Both men and women are in the habit of adding to its size by interweaving false tresses, which are easily got, seeing that everybody has black hair, and that some young member of the family is constantly getting his locks cut off on his entry into the monastery. There is no more sense of shame in using false hair than there is in improving the appearance by wearing fine clothes. At his bath it is usual for a pious [751] person to repeat a Pali charm over the first bucket of water, which is then slowly poured over the body. The object of this is to guard against sickness.

517 514 291 After bathing, the Burman, if he is young, usually puts on his fine clothes, for except in the rainy season there is sure to be a dramatic performance, or a yein dance by the village lads and lasses, or an entertainment of some kind going on at some house in the village. The dress is very simple and picturesque. The paso is a long silk cloth, fifteen cubits long and about two and a half wide. It is

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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wound round the body, kilt fashion, tucked in with a twist in front, and the portion which remains, gathered up and allowed to hang in folds from the waist, or thrown jauntily over the shoulder. The body is covered with a short white cotton jacket, over which another of dark or coloured cloth is often worn. Elderly people, and the wealthy of all ages, when they are paying a visit of ceremony or going to worship at the pagoda, wear a taing-mathein, a long white coat, open in front except at the throat, where it is tied, and reaching almost to the knees. Round the head a flowered silk handkerchief is loosely wound as a turban. The old wear a simple narrow fillet of white book-muslin round the temples and showing the hair. This is called a pawlôn. 291

The woman's tamein is a simple piece of cotton or silk, almost square, four feet and a half long by about five broad, and woven in two pieces of different patterns. This is wound tightly over the bosom, and fastened with a simple twist of the ends. The opening being in front, the symmetry of the thigh is displayed in walking, but a peculiar outward jerk of the heels which the girls acquire prevents any suggestion of immodesty. The loose cotton jacket is unhappily not so well contrived to display their charms. Over the shoulders is thrown a bright silk handkerchief, the same as that used by the men for turbans. Nothing is worn on the head except flowers twisted into the hair. Dressed in their best, the family sally forth in search of amusement. If it is a pwè, they will not get home till very late, possibly not till daybreak, when the yellow line of monks issuing forth on their matutinal tour may meet them at the monastery gate. A country dance naturally does not last nearly so long, though it is kept up much longer than most people would care to dance a hornpipe or even a minuet. But a still more favourite form of amusement is the entertainment of a sā-haw sayā, a kind of reciter or improvisatore. He is paid to come to a house, and the company invited are asked to choose a subject for him, some of the favourite zāts, or an incident in history, sacred or secular. Many of them, like the cyclic poets, repeat from memory, but there are others who invent their smooth verses as they go on chanting. They may perform in a house, or in a mandut

[481] 517 538

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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pg 75

CHAPTER IX

THE HOUSE AND ITS BELONGINGS

It is singular that in a country where the pagodas and temples will compare in stately grandeur and symmetry of form with the sacred edifices of any part of the world, and where the monastic buildings, though only constructed of wood, strike the most casual observer with their shapely beauty and wealth of decoration; it is singular where there is a taste for such edifices and abundance of the architectural skill necessary to erect them, that the Burman should in the vast majority of cases live in the flimsiest of bamboo huts. The original cause may be found perhaps in the stringent regulations of the Yāzagaing. In native Burma the shape of a man's house was fixed for him by law according to his station in life. All were one-storeyed, save where exceptional royal favour had granted the spire-like roof to a distinguished noble or a feudatory chief. Brick houses were forbidden, from the apprehension that the inhabitants might take it into their heads to turn them into fortifications. Gilding was forbidden to all subjects, and permission to lacquer and paint the pillars of their houses granted to but a very few, and it was expressly laid down that no one should have an arch over his door. This may account for the paltry and even wretched appearance of most villages, but it is undeniable that though nowadays, they are very considerably more substantial, yet a rich man never by any chance thinks of building himself a grand house, and remains firmly by the unpretentious model of his ancestors. This is the more curious, because they will spare no expense to buy gay turbans and bright-coloured pasos for themselves, and costly

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2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

517 silks for their wives. The ordinary explanation is that every one can see what clothes you wear, while few people care to come and spy out what kind of a house you live in, and how you fare. But there can be very little doubt that the real reason is a survival of the idea of the old Yāzagaing, as well as the fact that long years of custom have impressed upon everybody the opinion that there are only two forms of architecture, the secular and the ecclesiastical, and no one, no matter how sure he might be that the Government would take no notice of his ambition, would brave the denunciations of the religious by adding a spire to his house, or even adorning the gable ends with carved pinnacles and flamboyant finials of the monasteries. Consequently the one regular form prevails everywhere.

565 342 641

342 576 The Burman's dwelling, then, is always shaped more or less like a marquee tent, and never more than one storey high, to avoid the humiliating possibility of the feet of some one being over your head. But the whole house stands on posts, so that the floor is seven or eight feet from the ground. It consists often of only one room, usually, however, of two or more, and to the front of the house there is always a verandah, three or four feet lower than the general level of the house, and as often as not quite open to the street, or the garden, or whatever may be in front and always to the sky. The posts which form the main or central part of the house are usually six in number, and all have their names, such as Uyu, Kya-hngan, Nyaung-yan. The south post, in the main part of the house, the Thabye-taing, is the best known, as being always adorned with leaves and particularly marked as that in the top of which most probably lives the nat-spirit of the house. A dead body, after being swathed, and while waiting for the coffin, is always placed by it.

[551] 353 776 [764]

341 787 A house ought never to be built till the foundations have been thoroughly dug up and shown to a soothsayer. He will determine, from the substances found, whether it is a lucky place to build a house in or not. It stands to reason that the building cannot be commenced till a lucky day and hour have been sought out. There is considerable care to be observed in the selection of the timber. Posts are masculine, feminine, and neuter. Male posts are of equal size at both

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

541 [177·54] Buffalo fights, which used to be great festivals in the Tenasserim province, especially round about Amherst and Tavoy, have, under the influence of the British Government, almost totally died out. Each village used to have its champion, songs were composed in its honour, and special guards appointed to look after it, and the conqueror brought as much honour to the village as a personal victory of the inhabitants would have done. But they were nearly as brutal exhibitions as Spanish bull-fights, and only a little less dangerous.

224 ●517 Field sports are barred to all but professional hunters by the religious objection to taking animal life, though when a Burman does enter upon the pursuit, he is always an enthusiastic and skilful sportsman and generally a clever shot.

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

565 or a rest-house may also receive the title of 'well-
553 builder,' and so on, but such titles are rarely used in common speech. Even the builder of a long shed for water-jars may call himself after it if he likes, but it is only big builders who receive any title from their fellows. But the satisfaction to the man himself, the knowledge that he has done a good deed, is much the same, I think.

741 A Burman's wants are very few, such wants as
181 money can supply—a little house, a sufficiency of
517 plain food, a cotton dress for weekdays, and a silk one for holidays, and that is nearly all.

You see, they are still a very young people. Many wants will come, perhaps, later on, but just now their desires are easily satisfied.

The Burman does not care for a big house, for there are always the great trees and the open spaces by the village. It is far pleasanter to sit out of doors than indoors. He does not care for books. He has what is better than many books—the life of his people all about him, and he has the eyes to see it and the heart to understand it. He cares not to see with other men's eyes, but with his own; he cares not to read other men's thoughts, but to think his own, for a love of books only comes to him who is shut always from the world by ill-health, by poverty, by circumstance. When we are poor and miserable, we like to read of those who are happier. When we are shut in towns, we love to read of the beauties of the hills. When we have no love in our hearts, we like to read of those who have. Few men who think their own thoughts care much to read the thoughts of others, for a man's

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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own thoughts are worth more to him than all the thoughts of all the world besides. That a man should think, that is a great thing. No great thinkers are at the same time great readers. And he who can live his life, what cares he for reading of the lives of other people? To have loved once is more than to have read all the poets that ever sang. So a Burman thinks. To see the moon rise on the river as you float along, while the boat rocks to and fro and someone talks to you, is not that better than any tale?

So a Burman lives his life, and he asks a great deal from it. He wants fresh air and sunshine, and the great thoughts that come to you in the forest. He wants love and companionship, the voice of friends, the low laugh of women, the delight of children. He wants his life to be a full one, and he wants leisure to teach his heart to enjoy all these things; for he knows that you must learn to enjoy yourself, that it does not always come naturally, that to be happy and good-natured and open-hearted requires an education. To learn to sympathize with your neighbours, to laugh with them and cry with them, you must not shut yourself away and work. His religion tells him that the first of all gifts is sympathy; it is the first step towards wisdom, and he holds it true. After that, all shall be added to you. He believes that happiness is the first of all things.

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We think differently. We are content with cheerless days, with an absence of love, of beauty, of all that is valuable to the heart, if we can but put away a little money, if we can enlarge our business,

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

if we can make a bigger figure in the world. Nay, we go beyond this: we believe that work, that drudgery, is a beautiful thing in itself, that perpetual toil and effort is admirable. 000

This we do because we do not know what to do with our leisure, because we do not know for what to seek, because we cannot enjoy. And so we go back to work, to feverish effort, because we cannot think, and see, and understand. 'Work is a means to leisure,' Aristotle told us long ago, and leisure, adds the Burman, is needed that you may compose your own soul. Work, no doubt, is a necessity, too, but not excess of it.

The necessary thing to a man is not gold, nor position, nor power, but simply his own soul. Nothing is worth anything to him compared with that, for while a man lives, what is the good of all these things if he have no leisure to enjoy them? And when he dies, shall they go down into the void with him? No; but a man's own soul shall go with and be with him for ever.

Like all men, a Burman's ideas of this world are dominated by his religion. His religion says to him, 'Consider your own soul, that is the main thing.' His religion says to him, 'The aim of every man should be happiness.' These are the fundamental parts of his belief; these he learns from his childhood: they are born in him. He looks at all the world by their light. Later on, when he grows older, his religion says to him, 'And happiness is only to be found by renouncing the whole world.' This is a hard teaching. This comes to him slowly, or all Buddhists would be monks; but, meanwhile, 517 779

16 Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

517 if he does but remember the first two precepts, he is
779 on the right path.

He does do this. Happiness is the aim he seeks. Work and power and money are but the means by which he will arrive at the leisure to teach his own soul. First the body, then the spirit; but with us it is surely first the body, and then the body again.

He often watches us with surprise. He sees us work and work and work; he sees us grow old quickly, and our minds get weary; he sees our sympathies grow very narrow, our ideas bent into one groove, our whole souls destroyed for a little money, a little fame, a little promotion, till we go home, and do not know what to do with ourselves, because we have no work and no sympathy with anything; and at last we die, and take down with us our souls—souls fit for nothing but to be driven for ever with a goad behind and a golden fruit in front.

461 But do not suppose that the Burmese are idle. Such a nation of workers was never known. Every man works, every woman works, every child works. Life is not an easy thing, but a hard, and there is a great deal of work to be done. There is not an idle man or woman in all Burma. The class of those who live on other men's labour is unknown. I do not think the Burman would care for such a life, for a certain amount of work is good, he knows. A little work he likes; a good deal of work he does, because he is obliged often to do so to earn even the little he requires. And that is the end. He is a free man, never a slave to other men, nor to himself.

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

562 sing, nor play, nor paint. It must never be forgotten
517 that their civilization is relatively a thousand years behind ours. Accomplishments are part of the polish that a civilization gives, and this they have not yet reached. Accomplishments are also the means to fill up time otherwise unoccupied; but very few Burmese girls have any time on their hands. There is no leisured class, and there are very few girls who have not to help, in one way or another, at the upkeep of the household.

Mr. Rudyard Kipling tells of a young lady who played the banjo. He has been more fortunate than myself, for I have never heard of such a person.
562 They have no accomplishments at all. House-
356 keeping they have not very much of. Houses are small, and households also are small; and there is very little furniture; and as the cooking is all the same, there is not much to learn in that way. I fear, too, that their houses could not compete as models of neatness with any other nation. Tidiness is one of the last gifts of civilization. We now pride ourselves on our order; we forget how very recent an accomplishment it is. To them it will come with the other gifts of age, for it must never be forgotten that they are a very young people—only children, big children—learning very slowly the lessons of experience and knowledge.

792 When they are between eight and fourteen years
561 of age the boys become monks for a time, as every
792 boy must, and they have a great festival at their
[562] entrance into the monastery. Girls do not enter
304 nunneries, but they, too, have a great feast in their
561 honour. They have their ears bored. It is a
562

being involved in bets. For this purpose special rowers are trained and fed by one or another of the big betters. These men are so strong and skilful that they can drive a boat carrying fifty to sixty baskets of paddy clear over a raft of a hundred bamboos tied together. A stop watch is used to time performances and a match may be arranged with another village. A rower by the name of NGA THIT once won over three thousand rupees for their village. U Myaing's share was three or four rupees. Some people in the village do not bet at all, others bet about forty to fifty rupees. 526 [525]

THE GREASED POLE: The greased pole is an amusement set up during the month of TAZAUNGMON for the KAHTEIN festival and the month of KASON for the NYAUNG-YE-THUN-BWE festival. On these occasions, besides other festivities a huge thick bamboo pole is made smooth at the joints and set upright. Then a bowl of greasy liquid such as THAYAW water (shampoo) or lard is perched towards the top of the pole in such a manner as to send the greasy liquid coursing down the pole with every slight shake it is given. On the top of the pole are placed several prizes such as items of clothing. After this people are free to get the prizes if they can. They get on one another's shoulders to reach the top. Sometimes they are successful and sometimes all of them come tumbling down. U Myaing tried this when he was young. At one KASON festival U Myaing and three others tried to reach the top by co-operating with each other but they were unsuccessful. Others try all sorts of ways such as daubing the body with mud etc.

In the village there are few entertainments, so that even if two bullocks start to fight in the fields, someone yells out the news and everyone comes out to watch. However, special matches are not arranged in their locality. [517]

There was not much of social visiting back in Pathwa. Most of the visits were on business and the host proffered things such as prepared dried fish and other trifles. The talk centers around NGAPI and NGA-CHAUK. There are no visits made just because he is feeling dull and bored, although there are some people in the village who do so. 574 521

The whole family goes to the ANYEIN or marionette shows

621 structure of the social and political organization is the same in
722 both places. However, the expectations and obligations of the original village are ill defined perhaps for the reason that the camp families no longer depend so completely on each other for their social and ceremonial activities. In Pathwe, U Myaing and his family were responsible citizens of the village as a whole. In camp, they are merely temporary residents with only the most rudimentary of obligations to their fellow refugees. The basic functions of the camp are carried out by semi-official persons. There is a minimum of feeling of solidarity in the camp where the immediate family is the major functioning unit.

Much has been lost with the passing of the communal activities of the small village. Yet the basic social and ceremonial activities
[181] are still carried out in Rangoon. The community has become a large, impersonal one but the values are the same. The activities, as at the gigantic Shwe Dagon pagoda, duplicate those of the village on a grand scale and are hence more stimulating - but the family is no longer in a special status position and are nameless and unknown in their activities. Because of lack of money the activities are greatly curtailed in scope, but also the obligation is less. In this sense the family is "freed" from pressing obligations of the village where, for example, they were expected to contribute relatively large sums to community activities.

621 The familiar and beloved flavour of routine village activities
722 is replaced by the excitement of life in the big town. Everything is
369 new and different and while the basic understandings are still
●517 encountered the old restrictions of the small community have disappeared. Life in Rangoon is full of possibilities and amusement.

369 Recently (during the summer of 1951) U Myaing was promoted from
555 street cleaner to boss of the cleaners of one section. He still gets a salary of Rs. 86/- a month but has the position of an overseer somewhat equivalent in status to the IN overseer's job in Pathwe. There
[145] are many opportunities for an honest and intelligent person to rise
000 in Rangoon. In October 1951 U Myaing visited me to take an order for table mats. His samples were much too large and bound with a violent

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

000 said to have *stolen*. The vast majority of couples go through life faithfully
586 and helpfully. The best influences of regular family life are developed. The dissolutions of marriage which take place are chiefly on account of incompati-

[517
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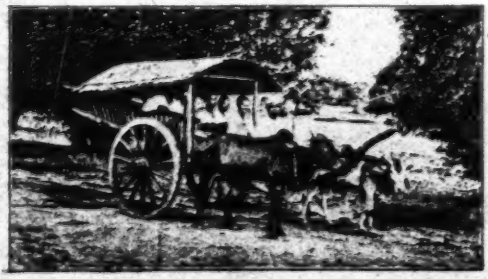
155. PLEASURE PARTY BY BOAT.

bility. Sometimes the husband and wife merely drift apart. Such a separation, when of long standing, is accepted and the parties are free to marry again. In acute and irreconcilable differences the parties apply to the elders of the place for divorce. It becomes the elders' duty to make three efforts to dissuade the couple from their purpose. Failing in these, they pronounce separation (*kwá byí*). Pickled tea is eaten, as in the case of the marriage. The boys of the union go with the father, the girls with the mother. Common goods are divided equally; her dower and the proceeds of her independent trade and investments are at the woman's own disposal from first to last. When she can manage—as she often contrives to do—the mother keeps and provides for all her children, but they retain a lien on the father's support. There is no
562 woman so well able to shift for herself as the woman of Burma. Her independent status would seem to be the corollary of her independent ability
[517 to manage by herself.
493] Nowhere else is the wife more prized; nowhere is woman better able to make terms with man. Although under the Hindu code of Manú which the Burmans nominally follow, the status of woman is only the Indian



156. PLEASURE PARTY BY CART.

1: Mi Mi Khaing I-5 (no date) 1946 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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long recitation of precepts and lauds, mostly in Pali and not intelligible to the casual ear. The second part, the *hsu-taung*, is the asking for blessings in a formula which asks: "May (my mother) be blessed. May (a married couple) have long life together." My father worked through a list of all his and my mother's relations and connections. Going down in order of seniority he fitted them all into a rhythm and we came to know the place of each in this melodious chant. When we were young we sometimes waited with bated breath for the turn of a relation who had just quarrelled with my parents, but my father never omitted to ask for blessings on him. We loved this part of our parents' prayers. Uncles, first and second cousins whom we did not see for long stretches

of time, were kep familiar in this way. Relationships were prefixed to each name; births, deaths and marriages were registered, the infant cousins added, the newly-dead aunts omitted, and the new niece-at-law joined in a long and happy life to her husband. We loved especially our own place in the litany—my sisters, because they were given their full and correct names by which they were never called, and I, because I was an exception, called even in this formal litany by the affectionate name my parents had for me. "*Tha Maung Sett Kaing*," my father, would chant, "*Tha Maung Sett Kaing, Tha-mi Mamie, Tha-mi Ma Mya Thin, Tha-mi Ma Hin Aye, Tha-mi Ma Myat Kyi:* Son Succeeding and Lasting, Daughter Mamie, Daughter Fragrant Emerald, Daughter Cool as the Dew, Daughter Noble and Clear."

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Most of the pensioners lived a similar life to my father's at this time. It was indicative of the contentment of their retired existence that they

never talked about the business of their past working days when they 887
met. Sometimes they showed a fleeting interest in news of the postings 521
of friends still in service, but even the official matters of Thaton district
itself did not enter into their discussions. They talked of charity dona- [822]
tions, of the respective monasteries which they endowed and attended, and
of formulæ of *eggaya-hto*, alchemy, or the search for the philosopher's
stone which will turn all metals to gold. Most Burmans get interested
in eggaya-hto during their later years, even if few now practise it.

This alchemy, which has no place among the true teachings of 822
Buddhism, has to be done under auspicious astrological influences and is 792
usually carried on in secret. Burman Buddhists condemn the use of it 779
when it is carried on for *lawba*, greed for riches, but others justify the
process as a means of concentrating the mental faculties. The common
stories tell of hermits in the forests, who by their ascetic life and con-
centrated meditation have more powers over the forces of nature, as
being well versed in the processes of alchemy. When such a hermit
achieves the extreme concentration of mind on his task he is successful—
the philosopher's stone is discovered, the body of the hermit then dis-
appears in the dissolving of matter, and his spirit is free to live unham-
pered by the body, till the arrival of the next Buddha on the earth. Most
Burmese women, however, although they believe that this happens in
the case of hermits, object very strongly to the practice of alchemy on
the part of their menfolk, owing to the money and energy that is wasted
on seeking out new and expensive formulæ once the craze has got hold
of a man. All experiments are started with mercury which is melted
with other minerals, animal or vegetable substances which derive their
magical properties partly from their inaccessibility, partly from being
treated with prescribed rites. My father had no intention of taking up
alchemy and impoverishing us, but he too was very interested to hear of
the success and failure of various methods. These discussions must
have been kept well anchored to reality by the other chief topic of dis-
cussion—the families of the pensioners.

The five duties of a parent towards his children include the settling 593
of the child in a good marriage. By the time the a-so-ya mins retire, 584
their sons and daughters have reached a marriageable age. The sons 554
are in the process of winning a good position in one of the government 177.
services and their daughters have been dressed with an adequate 58
amount of jewellery. The marriage market, which had no existence in 565
former Burmese society and which still is unheard of in Ye, and among
the poorer people, is now a very concrete institution among the educated
and modern classes. The rise of the minkadaw class and of higher paid
Class I government officials has been mainly responsible for this. More

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

are recorded with enthusiasm and delighted precision of detail; and when an hour or so has been passed in this way, a little more rice-husking is done, and the girls set to work getting ready the onions and sesamum seed, and slicing up the cocoa-nut kernels. This sort of thing goes on all the night through. There is half an hour's work, and then an hour of singing and story-telling and gossip; about the great Shinbinthalyaung, the gigantic recumbent image of Shin Gautama dug up lately near Pegu; of the two min-laungs, the embryo kings, who have been revealed there, and the third one, who is foretold by the old theit-sa, the prophecy which declares that he will restore the ancient Talaing kings and revive religion; of the new hti which is being set up on the pagoda of the lotus tank, and its exceeding splendour, each single one of the concentric rings having been assigned as a particular favour to one out of many competing districts. Then there is a discussion as to the new fashion of turbans, the one plain colour with worked flowers on it, which has supplemented the old thinner style with more braid-like patterns; and the present rage for waist-cloths with many-coloured stripes in place of the old wavy and dog's-tooth fashion. Then the girls are rallied about the method in which they dress their hair—all of them in the style just declared treasonable in the upper country. Queen Supayalat has hit upon some particular set, or plaiting of her tresses, which she thinks becomes her very well, and a royal order has come out making it penal for any meaner damsels to adopt the same method. Consequently all the maidens from Taungoo to Kyauk-Hpyu and the A-eng Pass to Malawun have made up after the queenly model and flatter themselves that it is *chic*. There are always ghost stories at these gatherings, tales about the three farmer brothers that were killed just after harvest time three years ago, and now haunt the dense patch of swampy jungle down by the creek as nat seins, and sometimes scare the fishermen out of a night's work by the violent agitation of the tree-tops on a still night; and then there is that old hag in the lone house at the far end of the village, who is certainly a witch; it must have been she who gave the old sikkè the tet, poor old man, and he a payā-tagā too, founder

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2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

527 of the pagoda on the slope of the "Brother and Sister Hill";
●521 and there is little Ma Mi; the old beldam looked at her over
[754] the fence on the fifth of last waning, and the poor thing lost her sweetheart before the change of the moon, and had all her fine false hair stolen only three days ago: proof enough that of the *jettatura*.

527 It is long past midnight, when all the cocks of the village crow together, deriving their knowledge of the exact time from the diet of burnt astrological books, pecked at by their ancestors long ago, when the objection to cabalistic works was much more violent than it is nowadays; and sometimes daylight is coming in, and the sound of the morning chant steals over from the monastery, when the party breaks up and all go home. The kauk hnyin has been all husked, and, mixed up with the other ingredients, is simmering away over the fire. Every one has a virtuous consciousness of having gained considerable kutho in addition to having spent a very agreeable time. Few go to sleep. They have eaten too much le'hpet for that, and in an hour or two some of them will be wanted again to take the tamanè round. That is done about eight o'clock in the case of the monks. The farmer himself and his family carry it to the monastery in the spire-shaped lacquer-box, and having paid the usual reverence, deposit it before the superior, who looks on calmly without a word of thanks, or even the semblance of a recognition, but says before they go, that if they keep the Ten Precepts and live virtuously, they will escape the Four States of Punishment and be delivered from the Five Enemies. Then the "supporters" wheel on the right, and depart home to make up the portions for all their friends and neighbours. These are usually taken round by the girls, who go in bevies of three or four, dressed in their finest clothes and with flowers in their hair, and deliver the dainty with compliments, and injunctions to eat it immediately. By six o'clock in the evening, when the sonorous wooden bell of the monastery is summoning in all the scholars, the entire village is asleep; and they do not get up very early next morning. Nobody in the whole place has been drunk; and if there is an opium-eater in the village, he was not asked to the feast and had none of the tamanè.

16;Fielding Hall G-8 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

a boy who cannot. If there were more nunneries, there would be more education among the women; here is cause and effect. But there are not, so the little girls work instead. While their brothers are in the monasteries, the girls are learning to weave and herd cattle, drawing water, and collecting firewood. They begin very young at this work, but it is very light; they are never overworked, and so it does them no harm usually, but good.

The daughters of better-class people, such as merchants, and clerks, and advocates, do not, of course, work at field labour. They usually learn to read and write at home, and they weave, and many will draw water. For to draw water is to go to the well, and the well is the great meeting-place of the village. As they fill their jars they lean over the curb and talk, and it is here that is told the latest news, the latest flirtation, the little scandal of the place. Very few men or boys come for water; carrying is not their duty, and there is a proper place for flirtation. So the girls have the well almost to themselves.

Almost every girl can weave. In many houses there are looms where the girls weave their dresses and those of their parents; and many girls have stalls in the bazaar. Of this I will speak later. Other duties are the husking of rice and the making of cheroots. Of course, in richer households there will be servants to do all this; but even in them the daughter will frequently weave either for herself or her parents. Almost every girl will do something, if only to pass the time.

They have no accomplishments. They do not

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

This tolerance, this inclination to let each man go his own way, is conspicuous even down to the little events of life. It is very marked, even in conversation, how little criticism is indulged in towards each other, how there is an absolute absence of desire to proselytize each other in any way. 'It is his way,' they will say, with a laugh, of any peculiar act of any person; 'it is his way. What does it matter to us?' Of all the lovable qualities of the Burmese, and they are many, there are none greater than these—their light-heartedness and their tolerance. 571 [521]

A Burman will always assume that you know your own business, and will leave you alone to do it. How great a boon this is I think we hardly can understand, for we have none of it. And he carries it to an extent that sometimes surprises us.

Suppose you are walking along a road and there is a broken bridge on the way, a bridge that you might fall through. No one will try and prevent you going. Any Burman who saw you go will, if he think at all about it, give you the credit for knowing what you are about. It will not enter into his head to go out of his way to give you advice about that bridge. If you ask him he will help you all he can, but he will not volunteer; and so if you depend on volunteered advice, you may fall through the bridge and break your neck, perhaps.

At first this sort of thing seems to us to spring from laziness or from discourtesy. It is just the reverse of this latter; it is excess of courtesy that assumes you to be aware of what you are about, and capable of judging properly.

You may get yourself into all sorts of trouble,

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

775 at the officer's disposal, and he and his men settled down for the night.

792 After dinner a fire was built on the ground, and the officer went and sat by it and talked to the 521 headman of the village and the monk. First they talked of the dacoits and of crops, unfailing subjects of interest, and gradually they drifted from one subject to another till the Englishman remarked about the monastery, that it was a very large and fine one for such a small secluded village to have built. The monastery was of the best and straightest teak, and must, he thought, have taken a very long time and a great deal of labour to build, for the teak must have been brought from very far away; and in explanation he was told a curious story.

792 It appeared that in the old days there used to be only a bamboo and grass monastery there, such a monastery as most jungle villages have; and the then monk was distressed at the smallness of his abode and the little accommodation there was for his school—a monastery is always a school. So one rainy reason he planted with great care a number of teak seedlings round about, and he watered them and cared for them. 'When they are grown up,' he would say, 'these teak-trees shall provide timber for a new and proper building; and I will myself return in another life, and with those trees will I build a monastery more worthy than this.' Teak-trees take a hundred years to reach a mature size, and while the trees were still but saplings the monk died, and another monk taught in his stead. And so it went on, and the years went by, and from time to time new monasteries of bamboo were built and

BOAT RACES: There are different kinds of boat races - e.g. in some one single rower is pitted against another. In others the boats carry three rowers each and in yet others six to eight rowers on each side. If the crafts differ in weight the lighter one is made heavier to equalise the two. The race is held between two contestants only. These race meetings are held towards the rains during the months of WASO, WAGAUNG, TAWTHALIN and THADINGYUT. In the hot season the water in the river subsides and makes it not very suitable for boat racing. During these four months, boat races are held once every three or four days and sometimes for several days in succession. The people who participate as contestants have an added interest in the outcome of the match as they also bet coconuts or money against their opponent. This is a direct transaction and not carried out through a bookmaker. It is more in the nature of a personal wager between the two. In the case of the races where there are six to seven rowers in each boat, the stakes reach three or four hundred rupees. 526 [525]

U Myaing rowed in one of these boat races when he was a young man. On that occasion he was awarded a draw. The boat that wins two successive runs wins the match. If not they are made to compete up to a total of four runs. If each of the boats alternately reach the winning post first for a total of four, then the match is declared a draw. At each of these boat races, about a thousand people attend and watch the proceedings from three o'clock to five or six in the evening. When the wager between the contestants takes the form of coconuts, cheroots, etc., the winner invites the loser and others to come and share his winnings after he has cooked the coconuts into coconut-rice, etc. [525]

Sports are held in some years towards the beginning of the cold season sometimes when there are big charities being held. There are individual races between paired men and between paired ponies. There are about 900 to a thousand spectators, and these races are held on the same principles as that of the boat races with the same rules for selection of winners and placing of bets.

These races sometimes take the form of a contest between two villages. These are big affairs with two to three thousand rupees [521]

being involved in bets. For this purpose special rowers are trained and fed by one or another of the big betters. These men are so strong and skilful that they can drive a boat carrying fifty to sixty baskets of paddy clear over a raft of a hundred bamboos tied together. A stop watch is used to time performances and a match may be arranged with another village. A rower by the name of NGA THIT once won over three thousand rupees for their village. U Myaing's share was three or four rupees. Some people in the village do not bet at all, others bet about forty to fifty rupees. 526 [525]

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25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

187. DOMESTIC FLOWER-STAND (MYAUNG-YE-O, pp. 6, 63).

one, no disability of a practical kind exists for her. But it is the aspiration of every woman to transmigrate as a man in the next phase of existence (*bawa*, p. 43). As the state of a man is thought a more desirable one, so it is inferred that her life in the previous incarnation has brought the woman's state upon her. How deep and tender is the poetry which the idea of transmigration weaves into the life of the Buddhist may be judged from the example at the close of Chapter XXIII. of *The Soul of a People*. Orphans are adopted by relatives, and in default of such, never fail to find foster-parents. The division of labour between the sexes is the common one of out-door and in-door. Wherever circumstances permit, women are relieved of hardship; the sheltered places in boats and carts belong to the women and children. The great middle zone of commerce is neutral; women embark in wholesale trade, besides transacting the bulk of the retail trade. In certain localities women do the lighter part of the out-door work, and in the poorer districts of the dry zone they share in the heavy labour. Women are accorded precedence among men according to the standing they have acquired by marriage or by their independent efforts. The *Kyaungamd*—the woman who has founded and who supports a school—enjoys a deference on all sides proportioned to the munificence of her gift. Women mix freely among men but are never jostled by them. At great gatherings men and women group apart. The Burman women are smart at repartee, and hold their own in the perpetual banter that goes on between the sexes.

188. WAYSIDE WATER-STAND IN THE CITY (pp. 31, 63).

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

166. VILLAGE CHEVAUX-DE-FRISE.

away from the company. In a similar spirit of courtesy a rider dismounts and umbrellas are closed. Among acts of discourtesy few are accounted so grave by the Burmans as that of awakening a sleeper. The reluctance to disturb a sleeper is connected with the belief that the spirit (*leippya*) leaves the body during sleep (p. 197). It is looked upon as a weakness to show resentment and temper (*dawtha*, p. 44). A visitor in a house is offered a new mat to sit upon, water to drink, betel to chew, and a spittoon. If it be meal-time he is invited to partake; otherwise he is asked if he has had food, and refreshment is brought. Although the quota of leisure that falls to everyone is greater in Burma than anywhere else, owing to the wide-spread prosperity of the inhabitants, there is perhaps no country in which every man, woman, and child is less exempt from business concern. Thus it happens that after a few commonplaces, conversation inevitably gravitates to business—prices, harvests, prospects. Next in interest come the festival programmes, the local celebrities and their doings. In every house there are scales and weights, and the household is engaged in occasional or regular trade. Accounts in money and kind are current between neighbours. Whatever spare produce remains is exposed for sale.

The villages either have a quick fence of impenetrable thorny bamboo (*myinwa*), or a hedge of cactus and briar, or bamboo *chevaux-de-frise*. In some parts they are open. The old towns (*myó*) had ramparts and stockades (Nos. 6, 371, 387). The highest sites about the village are for the *zedi*, the *Payá-mye* or sacred ground, the next best are for the *kyaung*. Then comes the enclosure of

167. APPROACH TO THE VILLAGE.

faces and flowing hair, fair until they had enticed young men into the 776
treasure dens when they would suddenly turn into old women. There 857
were also *ta-says* who haunted human beings, *son-ma* witches who disguised themselves until they were ready to eat you, and *belus*, ogres which thrived on human beings. Far from the careful nurturing which is given to modern children of the West in attempts to prevent fears of the dark and loneliness, in Thanatpin I could have pointed out the actual tree in which the old witch lived, and when it grew dark both my nurse and I would shiver together in each other's arms at the thought of it.

Nor were the funny stories of the right type for Western children, 522
though they made us roar with delight. There were two brothers who wanted to make their grandmother beautiful, and bathed her in the hottest water they could produce; the water was boiling and the grandmother emerged clean and fair and rigid, and the two grandsons dressed her up and propped her in the doorway for all to admire. There was also the monkey who from his perch in a tree above the bazaar shouted: "Whoever eats of the fruit of this tree will have fragrant gases in his body." One poor human fool believed him, and ate, and went around hawking his ware of fragrant gases. He came to the court of the king, who caused seven layers of curtains to shroud the chamber for fear any of the fragrance would be lost when the experiment was carried out. We laughed to tears at the account of the poor fool's discomfiture.

When we were to be given any medicines or had any pain, however, 757
both my father and mother waited on us. We did not use Western medicines in the house. We always had stocks of various kinds of *yet-sa*, a linctus powder with digestive qualities containing liquorice and herbs in a salt base. The taste is pleasant to all Burmese people who eat it at the slightest provocation; excess of it causes no harm. There is a popular brand on the market called *lay-myo shit-sè*, 80 kinds of wind, but in addition to this, each family gets a specially prepared type from their family monk. My father, who was interested in herbal medicine, collected recipes and my mother compounded them at home. We ate yet-sa whenever we had a slight stomach ache or when my mother considered that the food had been too rich. For a general tonic my father got from the monk a honey mixture with special powers, partly owing to the holiness of the monk, and we ate a tiny spoonful of this each night after prayers. For coughs and sore throats we had pills, called *hpongyi-bo-sha-na*, from Moulmein. They were made of pepper, capsicum, liquorice and salt, and acted by stimulating the salivary and throat juices. All these medicines had a pleasant taste and we liked eating them, but when we had a fever we were given *ngan-say*, a black powder of herbs and salt, which was mixed with hot water and

old man with rhetorical leanings and included things because they formed 753
a nice rhyme, and, indeed, she was not far from the truth. Our mono- 787
syllabic language is a heavenly gift to us with its endless scope for the [522]
most unrestrained punning and rhyming; the pun in Burmese is not execrable humour but a stepping stone for flights of fancy. What my sister was not allowed to eat were the three most precious foods as proverbalised in: *a-thi-hma tha-yet; a-ywet hma la-hpet; a-tha hma wet:* among fruits the *tha-yet*, among leaves the *la-hpet*, among flesh the *wet: tha-yet, la-hpet* and *wet* being the mango, the pickled tea-leaf and the pig's flesh respectively, and open to question as being really the prize specimens of their class, but certainly rhyming happily.

My parents were so good to us; they never scolded, beat or punished 593
us that I can remember. Perhaps they had both had so much discipline 554
in their own youths; I can remember the day we were told to answer them "Father" and "Mother" when they called us, instead of *Paya* as we had done formerly. Paya is the term of extreme respect and humility, sometimes adopted by children to parents, always by servants to their superiors, by subordinates to senior officials, and by all to royalty and the clergy. It is also the suffix to honorific titles. Its true and ancient use had associations of reverence only, but it has taken on a more subservient hue with the advent of government and foreign officials.

But whether we answered Paya or Father, my mother's guiding 593
influence led us to look on my father with awe, even though he was the 857
parent who clowned with us at home. We were always bathed and 538
dressed before he came home, waiting for him. As soon as he entered the gate we raced down the drive to carry his umbrella, took him upstairs and scrambled to take his shoes off as soon as we could get him seated. His shoes, suspenders and socks were removed by combined efforts, my father pretending great helplessness all the while. We went for walks while my parents went to play tennis, but retuned in time to carry their racquets upstairs and remove my father's shoes again. After dinner my mother and we lay on mats while my father sat in an easy chair and pretended to get his nursery rhymes all wrong, until we taught him:

A-hpo gyi oh, hka kon kon,	Old man so bent and grey,
Ma thay ba hnin ohn	Do not die as yet we pray.
Naung hnit-kha ta-saung-mon	Till next December try to tarry
Pwè kyi ba ohn.	And watch the actors play and marry.

Or the voracious cat who ate everything:

Kyaung-gyi yè tè mi tan to	Oh you big and short tailed cat.
A-hai ko sa ba lo	Swallowing the lean
A-tha ko myo.	And eating the fat.

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according to the universal rule in Burmese entertainment that the best bit is worth waiting for and must be reserved to the last.

All this while, the dancing girl—the minthami—is a most delightful creature, fascinating by the combination of wanton behaviour with the stiff and formal dress which makes a flat and angular doll of her, being open to the most lewd jokes by the clowns while she protests a chaste morality in reply to their quips. She hits the clowns with her fan, claps her hands and stamps her feet, plays with her scarf and rearranges her dress with great care, disregarding the audience altogether, asks for a cigarette or a drink of water when she wants it, gets a Burmese powder puff passed to her after an energetic dance and the clowns to fan her with mock earnestness and many jokes about her sweating, lets her eye rove among the audience until it has lighted on the football or

rowing hero of the hour, and gets teased with him throughout the evening. These dancing girls considered it a feather in their cap to be known as a favourite of the University students, and many of them adopted titles conferred on them for successful performances at the colleges. Academic titles were invested with glamour through being in Pali or in English—*Weiksa Mè, Uni-barsity Mya Than Kyi, Tegatho Thein Tin, Colleik Sein*: Graduate Damsel, University Mya Than Kyi, Taxila Thein Tin and College Sein, a zat dancer of more status.

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The jokes of the clowns were mostly based on pornographic punning, in their sallies with the dancer, in descriptions of current events such as

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elections, pagoda festivals, the football match which has just been won, or an Indian film which is being advertised, and on mispronunciations of English words to give them a bawdy meaning. In fact, they were amusing in the way of good music hall gags, but in an anyein the clowns needed more native wit and quickness, for not only did they extemporize by quips at the audience, exercising their fancy at a dog that howled or a foreigner sitting in the back rows, but the audience itself was free to join in and challenge their sharpness. 545 522

The songs sung, however, were not vulgar songs; they were pretty or serious and were mostly written specially in honour of the occasion. No matter what the reason for the staging of the anyein, the song-writers did not find accurate description an impediment to their poetic fancy, fitting details of the time, place and sponsors to rhyme and rhythm. When an Anglo-Burman student and I won State scholarships in 1937, Inya Hall, the residential hall for women, held an anyein, and the song of the evening had a refrain which repeated: *"Mi Mi yè, Kathleen yè, Ah-kya bwè:* Oh Mi Mi, Oh Kathleen, how much to be admired and emulated!" Unfortunately, by the time I returned home the tune had been fitted to more popular words and I never learnt the original version, but I do remember the song written as an accompaniment for the dance of Ma Ohn, a talented student from Mandalay, who took part as representative performer of the University in an entertainment given for the funds of the National Girls' School. The words show the characteristic happy mixture of song and description: 545 539

Yatanadon Man Shwe Myo thu,
Thabaw kaung hnin say-da-na hpyu
Varsity nan myi yu
Kyaung-gyi colleik thu.
A-hok ko bin thabaw tu,
Ta-gè ko bin manaw hpyu
Myoma kyaung a-hlu
Waing wun ka-pa-ku.
Yandon ngway ko say-da-na hta ya
Way-bya myat kyi hpyu
Amyo thami Boddha ba-tha
Taing ee ee sa hpyu
Aung lan ta lu lu
Nameik kaung thabaw hmat yu,
Myoma kyaung a twet—hsaung ywet lo ku
hsaung ywet lo ka
Pyo pyo Ohn ko Shwe Daing Nyun ga thachin you pay lè thu.

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Dweller of Mandalay, City of Jewels,
With a generous heart
To come and take part
As student of our greatest schools.
Indeed so willing
So glad to be filling
Our need for the cause of the National School.
With mind so kind towards the fund
For Buddhist girls, our country's dower,
As this succeeds our plans shall flower.
She comes to dance for the National School,
She comes to dance,
She comes to dance,
Young lady Ohn, sweet, single, pretty,
For whom Shwe Daing Nyun has written this ditty.

873 522 We laughed loud and long at the jokes of our most popular pair of clowns—a thin shrivelled man called Hnyat-Gyi ("great nut-cracker")

and a big well-fed man called Dambouk ("pillau rice")—on the occasions when we could hear them, but during the intervals our daily companions at the University did not allow us to miss them very much. The average Burman spends much time and thought, comparatively speaking, on making puns and spoonerisms, fashioning riddles and conceits to spice or flower his normal speech, and both the native wit and the monosyllabic language ensure a roaring success. It was the commonest thing to pass a crowd of students sitting or standing around having a

verbal contest, and to hear at intervals a cheering and clapping as they 873
shouted "Point! Point!" which English word they had adopted for 522
applauding a telling thrust. This interest in wit enabled our lecturers to enliven their discourses with spontaneous humour rather than to draw upon a perennial stock of jokes. There were both serious and frivolous uses of this privilege. We had two serious old Burmese lecturers —Saya Lin and Saya Pwa—who belonged to my grandfather's world, [576]
coming to lecture every day in the purest Burmese but never noticing the existence of the modern college, its young inhabitants or other branches of learning. They were regarded with so much veneration that no student ever answered the now universally adopted English "Present" to their roll-call but replied: "*Shi ba tè, Saya:* I am here, please, Master."

At one time Saya Lin's junior Bachelor classes contained a girl student who was admired by a young man called Maung Chan Tha (which name means "Prosperity"). Maung Chan Tha had passed his junior Bachelor year and was in a senior class, but he attended the junior class daily in order to have a back view of his loved one whom he did not dare to address. This dumb worship occasioned a daily distraction among the embarrassed girl and her companions and a lot of ribald comments from the back benches. Saya Lin continued oblivious of all this until one day the term, "*paw-rana saga:* descriptive old usage", occurred in his text. "Now, shall I explain to you what *paw-rana saga* is?" said Saya Lin. "It is the other name for an object or an animal, which must describe its qualities. We have the pig, which in paw-rana may be termed *to-pwa*: prolific increase; and then we have the ox. The ox", said the old man with a fierce denouncing arm pointed at the offending swain, "may be termed Prosperity—*Chan Tha*!" At which a hundred lusty throats yelled "Point! Point!" and the discomfited Maung Chan Tha fled, never to attend a junior class again.

When the strikers of 1936 attacked the moral influence of a young member of the staff, one of the 18 serious charges they formally laid to his account was his habit of punning with the names of young lady students in too playful a manner. Among his students were two pretty sisters whose names, A-si and A-yi, could mean respectively, "in a row" and "smiling", a Christian girl called Margaret who was serious enough but whose name pronounced in Burmese scanned and rhymed with a word denoting excessive frivolity, and a noisy Chinese girl called Ma Ngan Chu. Said the poetic lecturer in illustrating various points:

Myet-lon galay ga ta-kyi-kyi	Little eyes, clear, beguiling,
Thwa galay ga a-si a-yi.	Little teeth, *seried, smiling.*
Kalet tet-tet	Coquette, coquette,
Mar-ga-ret.	*Margaret.*

873 Or, in less complimentary vain :

• 522 *Hsu Hsu pu pu*
Ma Ngan Chu.

Boisterous shrew
Ma Ngan Chu.

522 538 But only in a novel can justice be done to the sustained humour, precision and allusiveness of colloquial speech. Proverbs may be a pointer, however, and the following, a few of the hundreds familiarly used by the normal Burman, are typical of the condensation of thought, the concrete nature of the allusions, and the witty rhyming usually present.

Kala ma-naing, *Ya-kaing mè.*	Can't get the better of the Indian, So the Arakanese is black.	Venting your wrath on a scapegoat.
Paya lè pu yin *Leiku lè tu yin.*	While worshipping at pagoda, Digging for turtle's eggs too.	Kill two birds with one stone.
Khat taing ngan-de *Pago hsa.*	O Pegu salt That flavours every ladleful.	The ubiquitous person.
Hsin pa-sat *Hnan-pet.*	Pelting the elephant's mouth With sesame seeds.	Five loaves and two fishes.
Kala taik *Kya win kaik.*	Into Indian building Tiger enters and bites.	Bedlam.
Mi-gyaung min *Yay gin pya.*	Showing the crocodile King The water tracks.	Teach Grandmother to suck eggs.
Thay yin myay gyi *Nay yin shway hti.*	Die, the earth ; Stay, the gold umbrella.	Do or die. Be corpse or King.
Taung hma a-kut *Meinma hma a-wut.*	As border to basket So dress to a woman.	
Shin bayin tahka htwet *Pe-gyi ta-lay kyet.*	One appearance of a King, One boatload of broad-beans can be cooked.	Person who is always late in appearing dressed.

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545 Zawtagômma melodrama, which the old sayā at Pegu has just brought out, and which is having a tremendous run all through the low country. The song is about the Saddan mere, the lake of the Lord White Elephant, where golden lotuses flower perpetually, where the gorgeous yin-dwin bird sails on the silvery waters, great butterflies flap about with painted wings and sip the nectar of the fabled jasmine, and peacocks stalk proudly on the jewelled margin, while around
● 522 roam elephants white, red, and black in happy security. The singer has hardly finished when the lu-byet, the village jester, breaks in with a travesty of the whole thing, mocking at the tremolos and the lofty style, and taking off the peculiarities of the singer. He went out to a lake too, and launched a canoe on it, but he was capsized by a huge creature that came up from below; and then he found that he had got into a slimy buffalo wallow, out of which he only escaped after great peril from the horns of its three outraged owners, who butted him under the surface many times; and at last, when he crawled out, he was so brown and dirty that some passers-by took him for a hermit, and gave him some rotten
522 plantains in alms. Before the "prince" has time to show
593 any bad temper, a girl commences a coquettish ditty, somewhat after the fashion of the English "Paddle my own canoe," about a poor wife whose husband comes home and storms and growls and abuses because there is no rice ready cooked, softens down when he has crammed himself with curry and rice, but breaks out into grumbling again at night because his wife cries and will not go to sleep. Such tyranny the young lady declares she will never expose herself to, or
533 at any rate "she'll be no submissive wife." Then there are a
832 few love-songs, wherein the girls are compared with the maids of the palace in Mandalay, and the Mandalay girls generally (who are *ex officio* pretty) with the daughters of nats, with Madi, the model wife of Wethandaya (the prince who in his next existence became the Lord Buddha), with flowers and stars and gems, and whatever similes lovers all the world over are in the habit of making. The swaying of the body as they walk, the turning in of the elbows, the fragrant powder on their cheeks and necks, and a few other items which would not commend themselves to a Western admirer,

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tribute must be as gratifying as the loudest stamping of feet and whistling on fingers of a London theatre. In fact a Burman might perhaps be justified in doubting the enthusiasm and admiration which finds vent in whistling. 536

The acting as a whole cannot be said to be satisfactory. The circumstances are against it. Who could "lose himself in his part" in the centre of a crowd of people all smoking and often talking? Moreover the subjects treated are so romantic and remote from ordinary worldly events that no one can be expected to realise them. Finally, who could keep it up for ten hours at a stretch? Nevertheless, individual passages are occasionally wonderfully well done. The piteous wailings and desolation of the princess; the majesty of the king; the grim savagery of the demon, are often very effectively delineated, while the clowns are almost invariably exceedingly clever. They are chosen for their ready wit, many of the jokes being extempore, as well as for their power of facial contortion. Caricatures of the performances of the other actors and comic songs form their chief stock-in-trade, and the text of the play is very far from being adhered to. It is an undoubted fact, if scarcely complimentary, that the clown has much more to do in the play and is very much broader in his jokes when Englishmen are present than when there is a purely national audience. The prolongation of the comic parts is due to a courteous desire to please the visitors, buffooneries being much more readily understood than high dramatic art, while the coarseness is unfortunately due to the same impression which makes a Burman always produce brandy and beer for the refreshment of a white man, the idea namely that that is what he likes best. None of the higher class troupes, more especially those from Upper Burma, will, however, condescend to this sort of thing. 522 ● 522 186

The company formerly was always made up in Mandalay, or said it was. There are other troupes, but it is usually taken for granted that they cannot be better than second-rate. The delta Burman is firmly persuaded that "far birds have fair feathers." In their humble phraseology they say, "In the Low Country we are not up in the humanities." This is not exactly complimentary to longer 536 184 177

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ing two birds with one stone." Maung Tha Byaw said he was going to worship at the Shwe Dagôn pagoda. He gave a performance or two, and made several (Burmese) fortunes. Hence the saying—

Payā lè pu yin
Leip u lè tu yin.

You go and worship and dig turtles' eggs.

Turtles' eggs for prayer
Reward the pious player.

Maung Tha Byaw was not only a good singer, but himself wrote very good songs, and was particularly clever at coining in phrases the wisdom of many with the wit of one. No other "prince" has ever attained to his fame. Best known among the clowns was Shwe Lôt Gyi, who had the knack of making local jokes wherever he happened to be, and took the fullest advantage of the scope which the language afforded him in the way of punning. Just after the railway from Rangoon to Prome was opened, Shwe Lôt Gyi was performing in a piece where the prince and his servant, the clown, wander away into the forest and fall into a state of great destitution. The prince bewails his sad fate in a dolorous tedat (a tune appropriate to such lamentations), and finishes by asking what they are to do. The lubyet replied, "The English have just opened a railway here. You go and trespass on it, and I'll lay information against you and get the reward." The idea showed considerable acuteness in a man who had never seen a railway before.

Among the "princesses" many youths have been noted for the sweetness of their voice. The two best were Maung Tha Zan and, running him very close, Maung Mu, both of them, like Tha Byaw and the clown, Mandalay men. The accuracy with which they imitated the female voice was wonderful, the more so as every song abounds with trills and turns which would expose the least roughness. Neither in the recitative, the tremulous erotics, nor the doleful wailings of the maiden for her absent lover, would the stranger ever suspect the performer's sex.

The plays are performed during the day only in a few and exceptional cases, such as the arrival of a great man,

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—no doubt owing to the diversion of mind produced by banging away on the top of your roof, and the confidence and hope which the operation induces. Moreover, so much damage is done to the house itself that repairs take some time, which also serves to keep the mind occupied.

When the thayè tôpthi is over, the people return to their houses, where the pots with their consecrated contents are. The yellow string is unwound from the sticks and divided into lengths. Some people hang it all round the eaves of the house in little bags, others tie pieces of it round the left wrist, more especially those who go about much. At a time when there is cholera about, most of the young men may be seen with these wristlets. A Rangoon clerk detected wearing one colours with annoyance, and says his parents made him put it on. He very probably throws it away, but the same night he will have a fresh piece on. The thread is coloured with dye obtained from the wood of the jack-tree, the same which supplies the colouring matter for the monkish garments. The thabye bin leaves are kept in the pot, or scattered about the house. The tree is particularly highly esteemed by the Burmese. A species of it, the thabu thabye bin (the Malay apple, *Eugenia malaccensis*), is celebrated as the largest tree in the island which lies to the south of Mount Myinmo. Sprigs and leaves of the thabye bin are cut, prayers and supplications for absent friends and relatives offered up before them, and then the twig is thrown into a pot of water. A song has been composed about the tree itself, and is one of the most popular of those that do not belong to the category of love-songs. The jester in a play has always an unfailing draw when, wishing to testify his regard for some one, he declares he has cut down an entire thabye bin and thrown it into the river that his friend may enjoy good health. The joke lies in the contrast between this and the couple of leaves in a small pot used by people ordinarily.

It might have been expected that contact with English civilisation and doctors would have put an end to the riotous absurdity of the thayè tôpthi; but it has not by any means. In fact the house-beating goes on more vigorously in Rangoon and the larger district towns than elsewhere. This is

881 792 objects used in the ceremony. The largest table is covered with a lace cloth and on it stands an alabaster statue of the Buddha in a carved and decorated case. Before the figure of the Buddha are offerings of flowers, water, a candle bananas and coconuts, placed in a special bowl. There is also a dish of puffed rice, a carved gilt bowl, and three new bowls, the latter for the initiates. Each of the bowls contains some of the traditional articles required for a monk: beads, water cups, needle and thread, a straight razor. The carved, gilt begging bowl symbolizes the type used by the Buddha when he was on earth. The second table contains offerings of bananas and coconuts for the monks, and richly decorated gilt trays symbolic of the kind used in the days of the Burmese kings but now only for purposes of decoration. These will be carried by young girls in the procession. The third table contains robes and other gifts for the several monks who are invited to the ceremony. On the fourth table are mats and pillows for the initiates to use. They will be presented to the monks as gifts afterwards.

The elaborate preparations for the ceremony begin on the morning of the preceding day. Young girls go from house to house to borrow betelnut boxes, mats and carpets. In the afternoon a five piece orchestra, hired for the occasion, arrives at the place of the ceremony. It consists of two large drums, a small drum, a wind instrument, a xylophone, and cymbals. Now an elder makes 534 offerings to the spirits (nats). Bananas, a coconut and a lighted candle are placed on a tray. The elder holds the tray and recites invocations to the good and the evil spirits. The evil spirits are implored not to harass any person who participates in the ceremony, because it is a work of merit; the good spirits are reminded of the meritorious nature of the ceremony and asked to watch over and protect the proceedings. As the spirits are so addressed he swings the tray towards each member of the orchestra in turn, sometimes three, sometimes nine, and sometimes twelve times. The orchestra continues to play intermittently throughout the afternoon, evening, and into the night. Early in the evening the young men of the village come to the monastery with their own musical instruments -- mandolins, guitars, and violins -- and sing and dance into the early morning hours. The orchestra group remains at the monastery all night.

About midnight, a group of men who are responsible for cooking the food 252 set to work at this task. Women do not normally cook meals for an occasion as large as this; it is felt that the quantities of food required and the amount of labor involved is too much for them to manage. Around three hundred people are expected at a large shinbyu in the village. The cooks, about a dozen middle-aged men, sit around the fire they have lighted in a clearing a short distance [522] from the monastery, drink tea, smoke, and make jokes. One man is introduced to the group as the 'all-Burma curry-cooking expert'; another is called 'No. 1 soup cook'; a third is dubbed 'best rice cook of the village.' During the night they prepare large quantities of boiled rice, pork curry, sour bean sprouts, fried fish paste, and a vegetable soup.

[292] Early on the morning of the day for the ceremony, the initiates are dressed by friends of their families. After a bath, thanakha, an astringent-like paste made from ground tree bark and water, is applied to their faces. Then they don silk longyis and thin, white muslin jackets, beneath which they wear cotton vests. The longyi is very ornate, made of heavy silk, and is seamless. Gold chains and necklace, bracelets and rings are put on. The head dress is a fine silk cloth, wound round the head, and decorated with garlands of flowers.

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scenes. Still later, the scenes came to be taken from one story only, so that a whole story was given by the pageant. Dresses became quite gorgeous and the scheme elaborate. The pageant now needed organization. Therefore, the village came to be divided into two parts, eastern and western quarters or northern and southern quarters (the village was usually greater in length than breadth, being built along a main road). In larger villages and towns, the division was into four quarters. Each quarter was responsible for the production of a pageant. There was intense rivalry between the quarters to produce the finest pageant; it was usually friendly, but often enmity arose, and many pageants were occasions for free fights. The rivalry further developed the pageant, for new ideas would be introduced by one quarter to outrival the others. Soon the pageant became a play, its scenes coming to life.

The *Nibhatkhin* was the Burmese equivalent of the English miracle and mystery plays. It was the pageant come to life. With the pageant, the religious processions went along the main streets without stopping, each cart representing a set scene. But with the *Nibhatkhin*, each cart stopped at certain places. The most common of such places were the market-place, the house of the chief administrative officer, and the pagoda where the procession ended. At each of those places, each cart stopped, and the scene came to life. Dialogue and action were used. Therefore, people at the stopping places saw what was in effect a play.

The *Nibhatkhin* was extremely popular, and it lived on until recently, just as many of the English miracle plays continued to be produced right through the Elizabethan period. I saw one in the out-of-the-way town of Pauk as recently as 1916. However, I do not think that *Nibhatkhins* are produced anywhere nowadays. Sometimes one sees a procession on cars and motor lorries as a sort of reminiscence of the *Nibhatkhin*. But such processions are mere shows and lack the essential features of the Burmese miracle plays.

It was for the entertainment of the populace that the *Nibhatkhin* came into being, and as the Burmese entertainment connotes laughter, soon the element of humour came into the *Nibhatkhin*. At first none of the characters was made humorous, for they all came out of religious stories. And so the clown was introduced. The clown or *Lu-byet* ('the non-serious man') was put into the *Nibhatkhin* as an extra character, an attendant on the prince-hero. He was extremely popular, and soon another clown, an attendant on the princess-heroine,

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536* 522 was introduced. The clowns were usually males, though later a female clown-attendant of the princess occasionally appeared. The clown was so popular that he continued to appear as an extra character even when the plays of the great dramatists came to be produced later. He was essentially outside the play. He made up his own part, he invented his own dialogue, and made up his jokes as the play moved along. However, even with the *Nibhatkhin*, he was not allowed to interfere with the movement of the play and its story. He played and joked at the beginning of the first scene when the actual story had not begun, he gave sometimes an outline of the story and its sources, and he gave information regarding the production of the [516] procession and the play. He was the most privileged person among the actors, for he alone could without offence laugh at, and satirize, all things and all persons.

536* 796 522 178 However, the clown was essentially unconnected with the actual story, and soon the actual characters came to be burlesqued. As the devil in the English miracle plays, the villain of the *Nibhatkhin* (in the Birth Stories, the villain was a previous incarnation of Devadat who repeatedly tried to harm the Buddha) became a humorous and popular character. The Burmese love of humour and gentle satire would have turned the whole *Nibhatkhin* into pure farce had not a convention arisen with regard to the presentation of religious characters. The Buddha was never to be represented on the stage. Stories about him up to the time he actually attained Buddhahood could be presented, but no one should impersonate him when he had become the Buddha. It was soon followed by another convention that the character of an *arahat* (saint) should not be presented unless it was absolutely necessary, and then only when the part was to be taken by an able and 'serious' actor, who must be actually keeping a fast on the day and night the *Nibhatkhin* was being presented. As a person keeping a fast has to behave in a dignified manner, that convention prevented the part from being turned into a humorous one.

With all these developments, people did not forget that the *Nibhatkhin* was essentially a religious show presented in connexion with religious festivals, and therefore further development was impossible. The conservatism of the village, the dislike of the amateur actors to be in any way profane or thought to be so, the restricted scope of the stories and the characters, all prevented any further development of the religious drama as such.

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536* 178 791 554 profession of mediums, they could break away also from the tradition and conservatism of the spirit worshippers. They were outside the religion and outside the spirit worship. They were fettered by nothing. They were the only persons who could develop new ideas with regard to the *Nibhatkhin*. And they were the first to realize the possibilities of the new entertainment. Soon they had developed it into the Burmese equivalent of the English interlude.

536* 178 522 The professional dancers became actors. People were no longer satisfied with mere dancing and singing, for the *Nibhatkhin* had given them some taste of the dramatic scene. Therefore the dancers in the middle of their entertainment paused and gave a little scene, or rather a one-act play. The male dancer became the hero, the female dancer the heroine, and the other two or three dancers became minor characters. The clown had been long before borrowed from the *Nibhatkhin*, and he became a mimic-dancer attending on the others. For two reasons the scene was always the forest. First, it did not need much stage scenery, as the branch of a tree would be enough to indicate that the action was supposed to be taking place in a forest. Second, the journey through a forest by the hero and heroine made it possible for human beings and fairies, demons and gods, princes and commoners to meet and take part in various adventures and mis-adventures. Thus the Burmese interlude came into being.

536* 744 Perhaps it is not illogical to wonder whether there was an intermediary stage of development, whether there were plays comparable to the English morality plays, bridging the gap between the *Nibhatkhin* on the one hand and the Burmese interlude on the other. It is of course impossible to be certain with regard to the question, for no Burmese miracle play or interlude has come down to us in writing. I have said[1] that there are oral accounts regarding the *Nibhatkhin* and that entertainment which I have termed the interlude, and also written accounts regarding the latter. But there is absolutely no mention in those accounts of anything which could be termed the Burmese morality play. Yet, I venture to think that there must have been plays comparable to the English moralities. If it should be presumed that the interlude developed directly out of the *Nibhatkhin*, there would be a big gap between the two. I think that the professional actors first gave semi-religious plays in imitation of the *Nibhatkhin*. I think also that there were also plays actually dealing with abstract notions of morality and religion which formed the

[1] Introduction, pp. 7–10.

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
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popularity of the heroic *Rama* and the coming of national victories undermined their influence, until U Awbatha came with his *Jatakas*. U Kyin U improves the art of portraying character. His interest in, and his mastery of, the portrayal of dramatic character we have already considered in the sections dealing individually with his plays; but I wish to consider here the question of the absence of developed female characters in his plays. His plays have many women in them, but except for Parpahein's mother, they are undeveloped. The princesses in *Daywagonban* are just pretty dolls. In *Mahaw*, when Mahaw's men go round the city threatening to pull down houses on the plea that improvements have to be made to make the city fit for the coming of their king, a lady-in-waiting of the queen-mother comes out and scolds their leader; she is very realistic and full of life and fiery temper, but we have only that glimpse of her. In *Daywagonban*, the ogre-princess, she who steals the little prince, begins well, but just as we are becoming interested in her, she changes into a mere doll. Even Parpahein's mother is unsatisfactory in the fact that we see too little of her. When we remember that there are such living male characters as Mahaw, Kaywut, Parpahein, Athumbain, it is surprising that there is not one female character comparable to them. I can offer no explanation. Myawaddi had already portrayed quite interesting female characters, and one would have expected U Kyin U to take some hint from him. And there was no difficulty in getting suitable actresses to take the parts, for from the very beginning women took equal rank and importance with men in Burmese dramatic productions; there was no need to dress up boys as women to take female parts as was done on the Elizabethan stage.

Comic characters are also absent from U Kyin U's work. The comic spirit was strong in the *Nibhatkhin* and also in most, if not all, interludes. The villain as chief comic character was the hall-mark of the interlude, and even in the court plays comic figures were many; the demon-king in *Rama* was a very popular comic character, and there is a gentle satirical vein in Myawaddi. That comic element U Kyin U rejects not completely, but almost. The dialogue between the leader of Mahaw's men and the lady-in-waiting is humorous, and there is some element of humour in the sneers and jeers of the ministers of the court of the two princesses, at Daywagonban's embassy asking for the elder princess. The ogre-princess, in her first few words, reminds one of the comic villainess of the interlude and of the demon-king's sister in the popular adaptations of the *Rama*

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
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536* 522 play. In *Parpahein* the speech of a minister in which he tries to hide his fear for his own safety under a cloak of religious-mindedness has some element of satiric humour. But these are all the instances of the comic spirit in his plays. I can offer no explanation of this almost complete absence of the comic element. Perhaps U Kyin U thought that the introduction of comic scenes would spoil the artistry and unity of his plays; perhaps he found the drama in danger of being swamped by the comic element if there were to be no checks against it. I do not know.

536* The actors and the audience were fond of heroics and scenes of 'blood and thunder', with the result that the interlude was becoming heroic. *Rama* was heroic, and the fiery speeches of Rama and the demon-king were extremely popular and were imitated in the interludes. The feat of strength where the bow was bent by Rama, the fight between the monkey-princes, the battle between Rama's forces and those of the demon-king, the killing of the latter by the god-given bow—held the audience breathless. The influence of Myawaddi counteracted, though rather feebly, the element of heroics, but the national victories increased the appetite of the people for scenes of mighty deeds and glorious victories. The return to the *Jataka* checked the heroic element, but we find traces of it in U Kyin U. Mahaw, Kaywut, Daywagonban, and Parpahein indulge in bombastic and fiery speeches. The execution of Athumbain and the raid on the palace by Parpahein's rebel army savour of the heroic interlude. The wounding of Daywagonban's brother by the god-given bow, the fight between the *naga*-dragon and the *galôn*-bird, the scenes where the two princesses and the hermit are shown bound and dangling from the gallows ready to be executed later, the thunder and lightning sent by the king of the gods to warn Daywagonban—all these are echoes from the blood-and-thunder interlude. In fact one might call *Daywagonban* a series of heroic interludes.[1] However, U Kyin U is very much

[1] *Daywagonban* also shows some traces of the influence of *Rama* on the interlude, apart from the heroic element. The scene where the princes demand the elder sister is reminiscent of the scene where the hand of Sita in marriage was sought by Rama and other princes. The love of Daywagonban for the princess is a counterpart to the love of the demon-king for Sita. The stealing of the princess and the god-given bow are direct borrowings from *Rama*. As has been stated, the ogre-princess reminds one of the demon-king's sister, who was changed into a comic villainess in popular adaptations of the court play.

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

Mahaw, where the leader of Mahaw's men and a woman attendant on the queen-mother quarrelled and argued and hurled insults at each other. It is likely that that realistic and humorous scene taught U Pon Nya something. As he was very famous as a writer of humorous satires against various types of people, humorous satire naturally comes into some of his plays. In *Waythandaya* the roguish but rather charming hermits who lived on the credulity of simple villagers are well satirized. In *Kawthala* the goatherd is a typical countryman of U Pon Nya's time, good-natured, humorous, indulging in ribald jokes, easygoing, yet at the back of it all, having a shrewd common sense and the utmost loyalty. U Pon Nya has often been criticized for the coarse jokes of his goatherd, but his love of realism and his interest in all types of human character, make him portray the goatherd as he was in real life. It will be out of place to dwell on the humour, satire, and realism of U Pon Nya in his non-dramatic works, but as they are echoed in his plays, perhaps it is essential to give some idea of what he is like in his other works: he is there comparable to Chaucer of the *Canterbury Tales* and the goatherd is but an example of his many creations who are akin to the miller and his quarrelsome companions. The humour of U Pon Nya is said to detract from the artistic unity of his plays. Doubtless, humour is dangerous in Burmese drama, in view of the actor's and the audience's love of laughter, often uncontrolled. U Kyin U did not indulge in humorous scenes or characters, though the interlude had been given to broad humour, perhaps because he thought that the artistry and seriousness of the drama were in danger of being lost in cheap farce. And in the decadent period the uncontrolled use of humour does destroy the artistry of the plays. But U Pon Nya keeps his humour under control, and often through it he increases the artistry of his plays *Kawthala* has no unity, but the fault is not with the goatherd; in fact, one of the chief reasons why that play is at all interesting, is the existence of that character. In *Waythandaya* the humorous first scene has no direct connexion with the main action, but it stands as a contrast to the second scene, where pathos is the chief note. Again in the third scene U Pon Nya uses humour, but he keeps it under control so as to prevent it from interfering with the events connected with the main action. The failure by the decadent dramatists, who imitate his humorous scenes, encouraged to do so by their great popularity with the audience, to equal or even approach anywhere near U Pon Nya, emphasizes his greatness as a humorist. His humour is

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comedy, not farce, and it appeals to the intellect, often helping to portray character, or to satirize the fads and fashions of the time.

With all his romantic tendencies, U Kyin U was a striver after perfection of form in his plays, and U Pon Nya follows him in that respect. U Kyin U aimed at a logical and clear unfolding of the plot. In the section dealing with *The Water-seller* I have shown how U Pon Nya, in striving to conform with this doctrine of U Kyin U was led on to something approximating to the observance of the three 'unities'. Of course, U Kyin U also did not know anything of western drama, but perhaps it will be interesting to consider how far his plays fitted in with the western theory of 'unities'. The unity of action would seem to be the main aim in U Kyin U's plays, for without it the logical unfolding of the plot was not possible. With regard to the unity of place, he did not limit his play to one, but he kept the places of action as few as possible. The forest and the palace were the places of action in *Daywagonban* and *Parpahein*; the action moved from one part of the forest to another, or from one part of the palace to another, but it never left the forest and the palace. In *Mahaw*, the places of action were the two cities. With regard to the unity of time, he did not limit himself to any fixed time, but as the clear unfolding of the plot made it necessary that there should be no gaps of time between the scenes, and very little should happen off-stage, the time of the plays limited itself to a few days. In *Daywagonban*, he had some difficulty as to the time. Sixteen years elapsed between the first scene where the young prince was stolen, and the second scene where he was shown as the adopted son of the ogress. And between that scene and the next, there was an interval of a few months, in which Daywagonban had to be educated by the hermit. After that, the action moved on rapidly and without a gap, except where the princess was put into the dungeon for seven days, but that gap was slightly bridged by the fight between the *naga* and the *galôn*, and the meeting of the hermit and his betrothed, which events happened while the princess was being imprisoned by Daywagonban. In *Parpahein*, the most mature and artistic of his plays, the unity of time was much better achieved. The action lasted from the morning of one day, through the next, until the dawning of the third day, and there were no gaps, most of the time being accounted for before the eyes of the audience. In *Mahaw*, though the actual time was not ascertainable, U Kyin U succeeded in producing the illusion of an action lasting for a few

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
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is, forgetting the god's warning, and as a result, she becomes a statue. 536*
The god, through his supernatural vision, again sees what is happening, and coming at once, he throws some water on the statue, and Saw-may comes to life again. She is made senior queen.

The last scene is the bedchamber of Saw-phay and Saw-may. They sing to each other and fall asleep. Then the girl wakes up and sings a sorrowful song to herself, bewailing that, although her lover is restored to her, she has to share him with another queen.

This play is undoubtedly the most artistic of all the decadent plays. It tells a coherent story, and there is no glaring attempt at sensationalism, nor are there scenes comparable to the execution scenes of *The History of Thaton* and of the 'Baboon Play'. It is free from blood and horror and too much pathos. And perhaps the story is more logical and more natural because it is the story of lovers and not of brother and sister.

Saw-phay and Saw-may has an effect of artistic completeness which no other play of the period possesses. The action moves logically and smoothly, unhampered by unnecessary scenes or unconnected incidents. The dramatist concentrates on creating an atmosphere of light romance and nothing else, and that atmosphere is sustained throughout the play, unbroken by scenes giving an impression of suspense and horror.

Two scenes need special mention. The scene where Hopeful [522] ●
discourses on the cuckoo is perhaps the best comic scene in Burmese drama. The humour is free from coarseness, a fault of which other dramatists including the great U Pon Nya are guilty. And it is something new in dramatic technique, for although irony has been used before for other purposes, this is the first occasion where it is used purely for comic effect. The audience, knowing that the cuckoo's cry is a signal, laughs with Hopeful, who, in spite of his serious tone and demeanour, is enjoying himself at the expense of the old man. But Hopeful himself is also the victim of the laughter, for he does not realize that the signal is not for the elopement of Saw-may and Hopeful, but of Saw-may and Saw-phay. The last scene of the play is the least artistic, for it savours of sentimentalism and striving after sensational effect. The logical ending of the play, because of its atmosphere of light romance, should be a happy one. When the heroine is brought back to life and made the senior queen, all seems well, for it would not be fair to the State or to the other queen, if the hero were to abdicate or divorce her so that the heroine should be his

21: Htin Aung E-5 (cz. 1930) 1337 AP1 Burma
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536* plays, the doctrine of logical and clear unfolding of plot perishes, for there is no plot to unfold.

536* 152 The decadent dramatists try to appeal not to the mind but to the senses, and naturally we find in their plays glaring attempts at sentimentality and sensationalism. Tears occur often and in great abundance on the slightest excuse. Even in the quite artistic 'Baboon Play', sentimentality is the chief fault, and the hero appears weak and unattractive, for he does nothing but cry, trying to protect his sister not by manly action but by tears. One reason why *Saw-phay and Saw-may* appears so far above other plays of the period is in its freedom from sentimental pathos until the last scene. When the heroine and hero are parted, they cry, but they appear sincere in their sorrow, and the play ends quite happily. In most other plays of the period, the hero and heroine are made to undergo misfortune after misfortune, so as to give them ample opportunity to sing pathetic songs. The sentimentality is heightened by sensationalism, for the more unusual and terrible the suffering of hero or heroine the greater is the pathos. When a queen is executed, she has to be slowly beaten. When a hero is put to death, he has to be trodden on by elephants. When a princess is banished, the orders for her exile have to be announced when she is in travail. For, in the decadent drama, swift and sudden death or misfortune seems out of place, and the agony has to be long drawn out and unusual in order to increase the desired effect. Even in the 'Baboon Play', written by the most learned of the decadent dramatists, we find ample use of blood and horror. The First Part of *Saw-phay and Saw-may* is the one play of the period which is free from horror. In *Tin-tin and Khin-khin*, the last scene where the heroine dies dancing, ill and mad, is typically decadent. Madness, leprosy, incest, and a woman in travail are favourite subjects. Dead bodies are popular, and in one play, a scene occurs where the hero is shown roasting and eating his new-born heir.[1]

536* 592 Comic scenes occur in the decadent plays, as dramatic relief from scenes of horror and pathos. The humour is good humour, and in many ways it is an advance even on U Pon Nya. Lewd references are very rare. There is some satire, but it is without bitterness. All the comic characters are lovable in their own way. The comedy is one of 'humours', and we have admirably drawn portraits of a nagging wife and a cynical bricklaying philosopher in *The History of*

[1] *When Father Eats His Son*, by an unknown author.

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
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Thaton, and the bragging hunter in the 'Baboon Play'. Hopeful is an artistically drawn character, and the cuckoo scene is delightful. Other decadent dramatists, though inferior in other respects to the authors of the three plays that I have considered in detail, equal them in comic scenes. The chief fault of the decadent dramatists lies in their inability to portray character, for their 'serious' characters are lifeless; but their comic ones are satisfactory, because although these lack depth, the 'humours' are well shown. 536 ✳ 522 ●

In lyrical beauty the decadent dramatists achieve some distinction. The quality of their verse, especially in songs, is uniformly high. It has a note of tenderness and wistfulness. It will not be out of place perhaps to consider here the verse of Burmese drama. The interlude was mostly in verse, for the actors were primarily singers, and perhaps because of the influence of the *Hawsa* which was a story in verse. The comic characters in the interlude seem to have used prose. The verse was of the variety called the 'four-syllabled line'. Burmese verse depends on rhyme, the number of syllables in each line, and the number of lines. In the 'four-syllabled line' verse, however, the number of lines is not fixed, and therefore a passage can be of any length, provided it has only one rhyme scheme. Each line has four syllables (as Burmese is monosyllabic, each syllable usually means a word). The first line contains a syllable which rhymes with those contained in the second and third lines. But the third, if it is a 'key' line, will contain another syllable which rhymes with the fourth and fifth lines, or fifth and sixth lines. The following diagram will perhaps make it clear: 536 ✳ 538

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– – – a
– – a –
– a – b  'key' line
– a – –
– – b –
– b – –
– – b –
– b – c  'key' line
– – c –
– c – –
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The 'key' line with two rhymes need not occur at regular intervals. Although the first 'key' line in a passage usually occurs before the sixth line, it is quite common for the next 'key' line to occur as late as the sixteenth line. It will be seen that the purpose of the

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
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APPENDIX II

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MAHAW[1]

By U Kyin U

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U Kyin U differs greatly from U Pon Nya in that he does not encourage the comic spirit in the drama. The following scene, the most humorous in his plays, is one of the rare attempts to raise a laugh among the audience.

Enter Mahaw's men and start to pull down the mansion of the queen-mother.

Enter in haste a maid-of-honour.

MAID. Rude rascal, rough rogue, man as stupid as an ox, criminal destined to have his body pierced with repeated punishment! What do you think you are doing? You are trying to imitate the insect who rushed at the candle-flame, bold through blindness. Now, don't be short-sighted, don't be stupid! This is the abode of the queen-mother, do you not know? Can you not see that it is built of glass and inlaid with jewels and gilded with gold? You dirty-looking fellow, you coarsely-clad man, what do you mean by coming here armed with stick and sword, trying to pull our house down? This mansion is not yours, not your business. Now, now, do not stand there jumping with fury, with your dirty and faded-looking body quaking with anger, do not look at me with a bold and angry-looking face. I do not wish to quarrel with you. To tell you the truth, I cannot, for I am a maid-of-honour and therefore miles above you. Go away, man, go away!

MAN. What! Mistress Furious, you do look proud and hurt standing there, looking at me with sorrow and anger! Your tongue is as sharp as a dagger, and your words are as big as mountains. You are as shameless as a prostitute. Now, now, do not come and disturb me at my work. I am preparing the city for the royal visit. I represent the king, I have his authority. Why are you

[1] This play has been considered on pp. 57–61.

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
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standing there? Do you think you can pierce my body with your look? You do look a sight! Your forehead is too wide, your hair-knot is too small, and your body is too thin. You seem to be a bit disturbed, you are looking anxious. Have you lost your husband and can you not find him?

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MAID. Vain man, hard man, fellow whose stupidity is boundless and limitless, uncouth stranger from another city! I do not care whose authority you have, which king you represent. You are a foolish stranger from an uncivilized and backward country. My mistress, the queen-mother, will send you to the king, and then, poor, poor, ignorant countryman, you will be seized, tied with ropes, kicked, beaten, and put into prison. My friend, go away, go away, otherwise your luck will not be so beautiful.

MAN. You talk too much, my ugly, frowning woman. Your words do not fit your action. If you are so powerful, why are you standing there so helplessly? Your words are empty, your pride is great but founded on nothing, your anger can do me no harm. Do not stand there threatening me, glaring at me! Do you not know who I am? I am the leader of wise Mahaw's men, I am the captain of his guard. Minister Mahaw, the great Mahaw, the famous Mahaw. Go back, go away, do not put a lighted match to a mountain of gunpowder. Do you want to suffer grief and pain?

MAID. Fountain-head of rudeness, barbarian, wild man! A ghost is a frightful, evil, ugly being. But you are uglier than a ghost. In fact, you look like a ghost whose face has been made more villainous-looking through being blackened with soot. Hay, Mister Poverty-stricken-ghost! You are what we call a *berla* in Pali. It means a very foolish person. I am a palace-born, a dainty court-maiden. I am not a mad dog, so do not stand there with a stick, attempting to chase me away. You are indeed very insulting. Oh, I shall not argue with you any more, Captain Stupid-as-an-ox. I am going at once to our beloved mistress, the queen-mother. You wait and watch what happens.

MAN. Go on, go and tell, run and report, Mistress Cold-as-diamond-cold, you will soon be shivering with fright, mortification, disappointment, suffering. You are uncouth, uncultured, unlearned. I shall soon pound you into little bits as a cook pounds the paddy. I am the trusted slave of Mahaw, the great Mahaw, the good Mahaw, the renowned Mahaw. I am his faithful captain, gallant leader of his men. And if you want trouble, if you want some painful punishment

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
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536* that will make your eyes open wide with suffering, just say some more insulting words. You are rude, country woman.

539* MAID. You are like the thief who, on entering a house at night and finding the owner sleeping peacefully inside, shouts, 'Help, help, I find a stranger here!' Man, you smell of the wilderness, even your voice is rough and rude. The world is indeed a strange place when there are men like you who can accuse a palace-born of being uncultured. Madman, foolish man, stupid man, your hour has come, your face will soon be distorted with heavy punishment as a wicked criminal. I go to fetch my mistress. [*Exit.*]

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

83. DAUTCHA YATHE.

Burma by pilgrims. Dried and gilt leaves are also brought as relics. The seeds of the tropical *ficus* species germinate in the fork of some other tree or in a cranny of masonry and flourish in such mould as they find. The roots develop thick bands which dislodge the masonry, but, interlacing in all directions, hold the loose material together while the tree lives; or else, when the host is another tree, strangle it and take its place (Nos. 77, 245, 321). 788 824

The *yahán* are not the only religious celibates of Burma. Several other classes follow this way of life, observing many or few rules, according to their own choice. Nearest to the *yahán* are the *yathé*. They depend chiefly on alms, but cultivate gardens for themselves. Their appeal for alms is mute, they accept them in money as well as in kind, and they lay up a store for actual needs. They take food in the forenoon only. The *yathé*, who are few in number, live in forest caves or in derelict shrines, and shift for themselves, singly or in small colonies. The majority study, though they do not teach; some are illiterate. They receive a certain deference from the laity, and themselves defer to the *yahán*. The *yathé* are the subject of harmless satire and burlesque in the plays; the *yahán* never. The robe is like that of the *yahán*, but dyed tan instead of yellow. *Yathé* mostly shave the head, but there is a class who wear the hair long. Certain of them use a headgear called *dautcha*, which forms a receptacle for an image of the Buddha. Some are addicted to mild forms of occultism such as alchemy (p. 111) and devising cabalistic diagrams for charms and tattoo-marks. These practices are under the ban of Buddhism. Pretensions to occult powers, such as have 792

84. CAVE-SHRINE NEAR MAULMAIN.

[522] [301] [788] [291] 789 792

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
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390. THE BURMAN BALLET (HAN-PWE).

date in the most fantastic way. The course of love is interrupted by all manner of vicissitudes — some grotesque, others of genuine pathos, to which the sentiment of the music is exquisitely adapted. The modulation of the vocal expression is much more subtle and intense than the expression of the features. Gesture is restricted to the conventional postures of the dance. The street or other open space is swept clear for the performance and laid with mats in the centre. A pavilion roof of bamboo is erected and covered with mats or thatch to keep off the sun by day and the dew by night; it is open at the sides. A space, twenty to thirty feet wide, is kept for the actors and musicians. The masks which will be worn in certain parts are hung out. Actors and actresses make up in public. There is a water-jar for the common use of actors and audience; both light their cheroots at the same lamps or torches. The spectators squat round the actors' circle, women and children in front, men standing behind. For the marionettes or *yotthé* a stage is erected. The entertainment goes on all night, frequently several nights in succession. The action of the play is slow, the dialogue is sung and spun out, with interludes of dancing and posturing, to the accompaniment of the music. There are breaks of spoken dialogue when the music stops, and the clowns indulge in banter, and set conundrums. The topical allusions are of a pungent description; the spice of coarseness is on a par with the taste of our Elizabethan public. [195 The slightness of the dis- ● 522] tinctions of words makes the resources of *double entendre* especially rich, most of all when a foreigner, preferably from Europe, is brought on the scene. Peals of laughter proclaim these interludes from afar.

391. THE BURMAN BALLET (HAN-PWE).

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CHAPTER FIVE

000 WHEN I was about five years old, my young brother, the third child of the family, died suddenly and created a gap of about seven years between me and the next child. My elder brother and I thus grew up apart from my younger sisters for a good part of our childhood.

357 Two boys were brought up to play with my brother and help my
• 524 mother with the garden: I was given Mya Shwe to play with. A-Shwe and I were very attached to each other and liked the same games. Burmese children are not as interested in dolls, balls, animals and other toys of the European child; our treasures were chiefly in the form of seeds which play the same part in Burmese children's games as balls do in Western games. We had *go-nyin*, round flat seeds about two inches wide, from a jungle creeper which grew in my grandmother's garden in Ye. We rolled these along the ground to hit other go-nyins, like ninepins. When the family ate custard apples we collected all the seeds and washed them. These seeds provided us with several games; we scattered them in front of us and tried to flick as many as possible into a hole dug into the ground, or sometimes to flick each seed to touch another, removing one each time it touched until we could clear all the scattered seeds.

524 We could do this with tamarind seeds too: these were pretty black
262 shining ones. We could get them from the kitchen but always preferred to take one of the boys on walks to tamarind trees. Hla Aung climbed the tree and brought down a cluster of fruits surrounded by delicate feathery leaves. We took a packet of salt along and ate the acid fruit dipped in salt, against all orders; we shredded the leaves till we got a big pile, wrapped them with the rest of the salt in stout paper, buried it a few inches in the ground and then all took turns at jumping on the spot, shouting: "*Bok-hsi-yay-Hsan, Hsan*: Oh pressed oil, come sprinkle, sprinkle." The moisture from the fresh leaves came out with the stamping and dissolved the salt, making a lovely savoury mess of the crushed leaves which we unearthed after a while and ate greedily. Then A-Shwe and I carried home the seeds to add to our collection.

524 *Kha-yay si* also we collected. These are seeds of the *kha-yay*, a
301 tall tree which scatters its ripe fruit on to the ground where they lie until they dry, and shed their flesh and leave the seeds hidden amongst the

grass and leaves for us to find. But expeditions to the kha-yay trees were approved of because the tree also scatters pretty white starry flowers of a delicate fragrance; the beautiful ladies in my dreams always wore *kha yay pan* in their hair. A-Kyi took us on these walks; we collected seeds, and the flowers we deposited in cane sieve trays; when we got home we helped her to thread them in garlands, the first for the altar, next for my mother's hair and the rest for A-Kyi and the girls. Our tiniest seeds were the *yway si*, seeds of the *adenanthera* tree, bright red and black seeds about the size of an orange pip. Goldsmiths use them as their lowest unit of weight, ninety-six of these seeds forming one tola. They were very difficult to find and I used to pun and call them *ma-yway si* (cannot pick seeds), but it was exciting to turn over a leaf and see the seed suddenly, like a bright ladybird asleep.

My brother was very scornful about our girlish *sètauk-tè*, seed flicking games, but sometimes when Hla Aung and Hla Maung were working he would join in the *son-la ma-la* game, guessing whether a pile of seeds was *son*, a pair, that is even; or *ma*, female, that is odd. We could play this to gamble our privileges or possessions on the strength of guessing right. I always annoyed my brother at this game; when it came to my turn to pose the question I would take as great a pile as my two hands could cover because I loved counting. My father told me I was mathematical, and so I had counted everything I could; I knew the number of steps leading up to every pagoda we had visited, how many matches there were in a box, how many holes the lattice work round our house contained, and now I counted hundreds of custard apple seeds while my brother tried his best not to hit me, to swallow his impatience to see whether he had guessed right or wrong. He himself hated to count.

On moonlight nights my mother gave permission for A-Kyi and the other girls to play with us in the company of the male servants and clerks. We played *bi-yaung-tan*, the comb seller, in which we formed a long row one behind the other to form the teeth of a comb, and after a long altercation between the head of the row—the seller—and the catcher, the latter tried to catch the end person on the row. Or we drew lines of white lime on the red gravel road outside and played *htok-si-tan*, in teams, one team "keeping" the lines and the other dashing through until a member got trapped by the keepers. I can still see the long line of the human comb waving sinuously as the players ran to and fro, and the straight white lines of the htok-si-tan, as patterns in the flood of moonlight. They were invariably broken by a bout of "cock-fighting" to exhaust everyone's legs and lungs and spirits before bed.

The Burmese representation of a cock walk is to sit on the haunches, and then slide each foot forward and sideways while in that position, in

• 524 imitation of the webbed feet of a fowl. Done in quick tempo it becomes an acrobatic or a dancer's feat to sitters on chairs, but Burmans do it easily. We broke up into two teams and put out a prize cock in turn. The two cocks face each other and shuffle out their legs slowly to the rhythm of the accompanying verse: a slow and measured beat at first, then a sudden quickening with the acceleration of the rhythm, until at the crow given by the teams both go all out, quicker and quicker until one is exhaused and falls out vanquished. This is what we sang in chorus:

Kyet Hpa ta nyin	Two cocks, a fine pair
Taw go win	Walk in the forest dare
Maung Yin la, lay hnin pyit.	Comes Maung Yin and shoots with bow.
Ma pyit ba hnin,	O Maung Yin, don't shoot so,
Maung Yin yè	Styes will on your eyelids grow.*
Kyet-tet su tat tè.	
Bè beka su su	On the left eye, one two!
Nya beko su su	On the right eye, one two!
Khut laik gya so thu-ngè-gyin!	Come my friend then let us fight it!
Aw-ee-ee-uu!	Cock-a-doodle doo!
Nga do kyet hpa naing naing	Our cock will win it, win it!
Thu do kyet hpa shon shon.	Their cock will finish, finish!

Some of the games included forfeits, but the forfeits were of a broad comicality, dragging the victim by the ear, or if it happened to be one of the younger servants, rubbing soot on his face. Robbing stones from under the care of a guardian keeping watch over them within a circle was stealing the eggs from a mother tortoise; the postless figure in General Post was a *khway-yu*, mad dog; blind man's buff was *bok-ta-lon tauktè*, a tucktoo with a buff.

776 We spent a lot of time with A-Kyi and the men about the house.
357 It was they who filled our world with bogies and spirits who were no less real to them than they were to us. We were warned not to be too greedy, or we would turn into *peik-tas* in the next existence, great tall spirits with voracious appetites and mouths the size of a needle's eye, or others with mouths like yawning caverns wide enough to swallow a pig, but no stomachs to receive the food. We were told that miserly and avaricious people would never be parted from their possessions which would follow them into their next existence, when they would be *ok-ta-sauk*, pictured for us as assuming the guise of fair girls with thanakha on their

[753] *There is a belief that styes are retribution for the killing of a cock.

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CHAPTER II

SCHOOL DAYS

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I SUPPOSE Englishmen will never get rid of the notion that monastic schools must needs be dull and dismal, that hours of study only alternate with seasons of austerity and rough punishments. The uninhabited, almost deserted, appearance of the Burmese kyoung; its isolated position; the solemn, restful front which it always preserves, no matter how lightened up by profuse gilding and the carved magnificence of its panels and eaves' boards, or how embowered in rich and waving foliage; the austere aspect and slow-paced gait of the mendicants in their sad yellow robes—all these things inevitably encourage the foreigner in the belief that the monotony and the discipline must crush all life and light-heartedness out of the young scholars.

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Nothing, however, can be farther from the actual fact. No Etonian, no old Rugbeian, can look back with greater delight on triumphs on the river or in the football field, than the grown-up Burman does on his early days at the Pôngyi Kyaung. There are no rough games to remember, it is true, no strivings of any kind with members of another institution. Those things do well enough for a cold-country people. The Burman's reminiscences are of a quieter kind. There was the emulation with the chin lôn, the wicker football, to see who could keep it longest in the air by dexterous use of knee, foot, shoulder, thigh, and cheek. How it relieved the body and freshened the mind after hours of poring over little hand-blackboards, covered with cramped words and letters, in the quiet rooms inside. Then there were the games at gônnyinhto, an elementary combination of skittles

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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and ninepins, played with the big flat seeds of a jungle creeper. Pleasant they were under the shade of the great mango and pipul trees and the lofty cocoa-nut and palmyra palms, and exciting were the games, so that the customary stillness of the place was rudely broken upon by disputing voices, till a monk would come out and bring all back to work again as a penance. Then during the work there was the fun of the writing hour, when everybody had to write out maxims and prayers on his little parabaik with a clumsy pointed steatite pencil. There were always some stiff-fingered big pupils who could not manage to write their copy neatly or correctly, and as punishment had to take the good writers on their backs and march ruefully up and down the long schoolroom during pleasure. Sometimes they were thrashed, but the other punishment was the more dreaded. Then there was the schoolmaster monk, who would tell fairy stories of the other three great islands which lie in the sea round about Myinmo mountain; of the half-moon-faced western islanders, and the wondrous tree that bore everything eatable one could wish for and delivered it ready cooked; the joys of the six heavens of the Nats and the grisly horrors of Nga-yè, with its fearful ages of fantastic punishments. Every now and again travelling necromancers and hmaw sayās would spend a night or two at the monastery, and in recompense for the little delicacies and odds and ends of food which good-natured neophytes would get for them, used to tell stories of witchery and marvel. Sometimes there would be a sā-haw ā, a kind of cyclic poet, who knew half the zats in the language by heart, and would recite a little just for practice. Or a tattooing sayā would come round and mark some particularly favoured youth with a quaint figure. Discussion as to its meaning and probable virtues would be carried on in the shadowy evenings for months afterwards. Varieties of this kind recur to the old Burman as he thinks of the school days long ago, and he sighs with as much conviction as any European that there are no days so happy as the school days.

English rule has disturbed old customs a good deal in the province, but even now we may say that, as an invari-

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CHAPTER XXXVII

CHESS

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I DO not say that the Burmese invented chess, either for the world or themselves. As latter-day English dramatists "adapt" from the French, so Burmese play-writers steal from the Hindoos, and possibly the game of chess was got in the same way. But there is a considerable diversity in one respect. The plays are rendered into Burmese with a stupid fidelity. The sayās do not even take the trouble of altering the names of men and places, and the only difference in the pieces is that the lubyets, and occasionally even the actors of higher parts, introduce "gag" of a comic and local description to satisfy the national demand for fun and frolic, and to carry down the prosiness of the staid Hindoo. Chess may have been taken over in a similar way, and altered after the same fashion. I remember once, indeed, hearing an enthusiastic player in Rangoon claim the invention of the game for an ancient Talaing queen. She was passionately fond of her lord; he was equally fond of fighting; and to keep him by her, and at the same time out of the dangers of the wars, she invented the game of chess. The story has a certain pathos about it, and it would be pleasant to believe it true; but I never came across any other Burman who had ever heard the story, and am afraid the old sitduyin player was romancing. But if the Burmans did take the first notion from India, they have greatly altered the game, and not less improved than altered it.

It is generally believed that it is to the Hindoos that the world owes this most purely intellectual of games. Sir William Jones was quite positive on the point, and quotes

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from the Bhawishya Puran. This seems all the more mysterious when he proceeds: "The beautiful simplicity and extreme perfection of the game, as it is commonly played in Europe and Asia, convinces me that it was invented by one effort of some great genius; not completed by gradual improvements, but formed, to use the phrase of Italian writers, by the first intention." But the European game is as different from the old Hindoo as the Burmese is from either. The Sanskrit name was cha-tur-anga—literally, the four members of an army: elephants, horses, chariots, and foot-soldiers. But the Hindoo game had four armies on the board; yellow and black against green and red. Each army had a corner of the board to itself, and there were usually four players. One of the allied armies on either side attacked the immediately opposed force in flank, and therefore had an immense advantage at the start. Moreover, the allies were never sure of one another. It was allowed, and even recommended, to indulge in treachery. The black king might, in the heat of battle, attack and depose his yellow friend, uniting the two armies under himself against the green and red foe. However consonant this might be with the national character, it can hardly be claimed as a special beauty in the game. A ship, or boat, also figured somewhat mysteriously in the warfare. Moreover, the rule that the piece to be moved was determined by a throw of the dice, by still further complicating the game, virtually ruined all scientific play, and robbed it of more than half of its interest as an exercise of purely intellectual skill. When a cinque was thrown, the king or a pawn had to be moved; when a quarte, the elephant; a trois, the horse; a deux, the boat. With such a method it was impossible to forecast the game—or, in fact, to work on any leading idea at all. Nevertheless, the Hindoo game is undoubtedly very ancient, and has certainly the oldest history of any known form of chess. It is alluded to in the most ancient law-books. The wife of Ravan, King of Lunka (Ceylon), is said to have invented it to amuse her spouse with the image of field war while his capital was besieged, 5000 years ago, by Rama, with his wild hordes of barbarian mountaineers, derisively called monkeys, or satyrs, in the great Indian epic. The Hindoo

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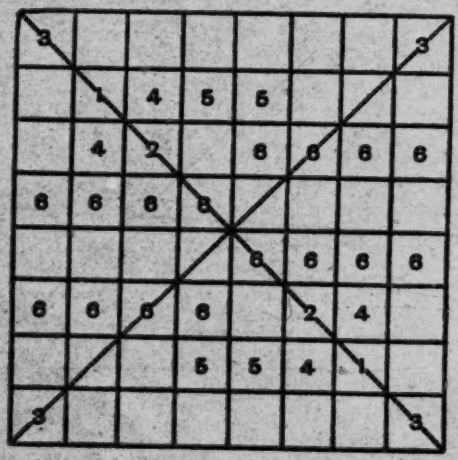
game, then, if it really be the first idea, has been no less altered by us than by the Burmans, as well as by the Persians. 524 171

The Burmese arrangement of the pieces differs entirely from the Hindoo, though we may, perhaps, imagine a reminiscence of the four armies in the arrangement of the pawns. The pieces are as follows :— 524

1. Min = one king.
2. Sikkè = one lieutenant-general.
3. Yittā = two war-chariots.
4. Sin = two elephants.
5. Myin = two horsemen.
6. Nè = eight pawns, or foot-soldiers.



The king has the same moves as in the English game, but cannot "castle." Sikkè can move diagonally in advance, or retrograde one square at a time. The yittās have the same power as the English castle or rook. The sins have five moves, one square at a time—one direct forward, two diagonally forward, and two diagonally backwards. An elephant cannot walk straight backwards, nor can he go sideways. The myins have precisely the same power as the English knight. The pawns act in the same way as in the English game, except that in the initial move they can only advance one square. They may become sikkè, in the event of that piece being taken, by advancing to the diagonal line which stretches across the board. When, however, the pawn replaces the dead leader, he is not allowed to remain on the square where he gained the distinction. He must be placed as one of the eight surrounding checks, at the player's option, and therefore often falls a victim to his new-gained eminence.

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● 524 From the Q.'s pawn to the Q.'s R.'s pawn, the nè are placed on the third square. From the K.'s pawn to the K.'s R.'s pawn, they are placed on the fourth square in direct *échelon*. The first move, therefore, takes a pawn. The pieces may be arranged behind the pawns according to fancy or judgment. The formation represented in the figure is considered the best among Rangoon players.

Either player, however, may adopt another line of battle. He may strengthen either wing, or expose the king, according as he estimates his opponent's abilities, or the peculiarities of his play. In some respects this may be done in such a way as to be tantamount to giving a piece to an inferior player. The pawns, however, never vary in position. The board is a huge thing like an enlarged foot-stool, or a tea-table with rudimentary legs, the players squatting on mats. There is always heavy betting on the games; and when a famous player comes in from the district or over from Maulmein to measure strength with the Rangoon cracks, the excitement is wonderful, and often furnishes occasion for free fights, such as the Burmese, in their sturdy, hot-blooded way, delight in as much as any schoolboy or devotee of town-and-gown rows.

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The Burmese game, as well in the names and powers of the pieces as in the liberty of individual arrangement, is thus, it will be allowed, much more like a real battle than any other recognised form. The elephant is particularly well calculated for defending the king where he is most vulnerable.

War-chariots are decidedly more appropriate to active warfare than castles. Indeed the Briton must acknowledge that the English nomenclature is bad. There was a time certainly when bishops used to buckle on their armour, and charge across the field of fight; but their disestablishment in that way came about long before the day of Mr. Miall. Boadiceas and Shan amazon leaders are too rare nowadays to have queens careering about the board as a regular thing, dealing slaughter for their less nimble spouses. The Burmese general has powers sufficient to elevate him above his men, and is yet not so loftily supreme as the mail-clad knights of romance; while if he is laid low, it is not too violent a change

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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for the gallant foot-soldier who may win the marshal's bâton. On the whole, the Burmese game is undeniably a good one; far superior to the Hindoo, or the Persian, though possibly not requiring the skill and calculation of the European form. 524 ●

It may perhaps be said that the Burmese would be more likely to get their game from their Mongolian relations than from the Hindoos. This is historically improbable, and a comparison of the games bears out the belief. The Chinese, as usual, claim for themselves priority in the discovery of the game. Unfortunately, however, they fix a date when it was invented, and this is long after the time when the Aryan game is first spoken of. Three hundred and seventy years after Confucius (B.C. 174), Hung Ko-chi sent a warlike expedition into the Shensi country, under a mandarin called Hem Sing. After one successful campaign, the troops went into winter quarters. Shensi lies in the north-west, and the weather was very cold; and the soldiers thought of their families, and wanted to go home. Hem Sing, who was a great military genius, invented the game of chess to occupy their minds and foster their military ardour. The soldiers were so delighted with it that they forgot the inclemency of the weather, and their wives and children at home, in the excitement of the new game. So the winter passed away, and in the spring-time Hem Sing took the field again and conquered the entire province, in consequence of which Hung Ko-chi assumed the title of Emperor, and chess was held in the greatest reverence ever after. So says the book of Chinese Annals. 524 171

The Chinese game is a very odd one. The pieces are played, not on the squares, but on the lines. I should have mentioned before that in none of the Eastern games are the squares differently coloured. Midway between the opposed forces flows a river. The king on either side is shut up inside a fortress, out of which he cannot move, but can shift about from one side to the other as much as he pleases. On either side of the fortress are two princes, his sons, who are equally bound to stick to the side assigned to them. There are a couple of elephants in either army, which, however, being very heavy, cannot cross the slender plank-bridge thrown over the stream for the passage of the other troops.

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They therefore remain on the defensive. There are also pieces called pau—bombardiers or rocket-men—with curious powers. They can move the whole length of the board, in the fashion of the castle. If an adversary's piece intervenes, they can take the pawn or piece immediately behind it, but cannot kill direct. Students of the Persian game will be reminded of the power of their elephant. It will be seen from this cursory description that the Burmans can hardly owe their game to the Chinese. Shin Gautama sent us Buddhism from "the Middle Country";[1] it is possible that the game of chess came from India also. But if so, while Burmese Buddhism has hardly changed at all, and remains much more like the original teachings of the Master than the faiths of Ceylon, Nepaul, and Thibet, the game of chess has been greatly altered, and I think I may venture to say vastly improved.

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[1] Myizimadetha, not the "Middle Kingdom" of the Chinese.

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CHAPTER XXXVIII

GAMES

A VERY favourite game with Burmans of all ages is the gônnyinto pwè. The name is very suggestive. Gôn or hkôn means to jump, and nyin is to deny or bluster, and there is no doubt of the fitness of the implication. A more noisy and contentious game, not even omitting the uproariousness of the English enormities known as grab or pit, it would be difficult to find. Most writers on Burma have passed over gônnyin[illegible]ing lightly, as a simple, harmless, children's game. It would be well if it were only that, though the monks at the pôngyi kyaung often sally forth in great wrath (most dangerous for their future state), and armed with a stout bamboo, to put a stop to the clamorous disputes of the schoolboys over their seeds. But the police officers would tell a very different tale. Grown-up men play also, the quarrels sometimes end in assault and murder, and always in reckless gambling. Beinshu, opium-eaters, who with all respectable Burmans stand for types of iniquity, a kind of epitome of vice, often have as much as two or three hundred rupees on a single game, and the results of unrestrained gambling are best known to civilised people who frequent Monte Carlo. Consequently the police keep a sharp eye on grown-up gônnyinto players, and if a party is caught, they are all punished heavily for gambling, the daing, or keeper of the ground, being fined heaviest of all. For there are regular alleys kept for the purpose, the daing, or proprietor, carefully smoothing the ground, moistening it delicately in the hot weather, and keeping it from getting sodden during the monsoon. He charges his customers a small fee for the right to play, usually an anna in the rupee,

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keeps a supply of seeds ready, and acts as umpire in cases of doubt, or when a tie has to be played off.

The game is played with the seeds of a huge creeper, the *Entada Pursætha*, whose pods are five feet long and six inches broad, and the beans are large flat things, about an inch in diameter, and shaped like a lily or lotus leaf, or the flattened-out gizzard of a fowl. They are made to stand on the stalk side, flat face foremost, a little more than a diameter apart in a long row, and the object of the player is, as in bowls and ninepins, to knock down as many as possible. The players use seeds called do, exactly similar to those they aim at, or occasionally iron rings, and the distance from which they do so is agreed upon beforehand, but is never less than five or six yards. The do is spun away in crossbow fashion from the forefinger of the left hand, drawn back by the thumb and finger of the right. As the seeds aimed at are all in a line, there is plenty of room for skill in the way of putting a heavy bias on, as well as in the by no means easy matter of preventing the bean from jumping up and missing altogether. Some old players have a wonderful knack of getting a strong parabolic curve on, which succeeds in levelling a great part of the line. The difficulty of the thing cannot be realised till one has made an attempt one's self, and the result of a few experiments is usually greatly to raise the estimation of gônnyinto as a game of skill.

There are a great many ways of playing it. First, it may be premised that the ordinary value of a seed is two annas, about threepence—that at any rate is the price usually charged by the daing, who always has a great supply of them. Having got his seeds, the player puts down as many as he pleases in the row, five perhaps or ten. There is usually a preliminary dispute about some one who has not put down so many as the others, yet claims an equal chance of winning in the game. These quarrels, after having been noisily fought for a quarter of an hour or so, are referred to the decision of the ground keeper, who settles the matter off-hand, seldom knocking a man out as long as he is sure that he has no more seeds to stake. Then it has to be settled who is to have first shot, naturally among good players a very considerable advantage. This is settled by a preliminary

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tournament for the best of one or three shots, the players following one another in the order of their success in the trial. Then it is settled how the game is to be played. Sometimes it is the obvious, elementary way of each man taking the seeds he knocks down, sometimes it resolves itself into a contest for everything staked, the man who knocks down most taking all the seeds. There are of course numerous bets, but they are more frequently disposed in backing one player against another than in selecting a single individual as the probable eventual winner.

This method, however, of endeavouring to knock down the greatest number of seeds, which is of course the commonest with children, is not so much affected by grown-up gamblers as other elaborations of the game. A favourite form is that called ngalet ngalôn, where the object is, in five shots to knock down five seeds, neither more nor less. This is not so easy as it might seem, for the seeds are not like marbles, and it is hardly less difficult to make them go perfectly straight than it is to put on the proper "side." Most men try to knock down all five at their first attempt, and then let their remaining seeds go anyhow. Veterans, however, declare that the safest way is to knock down the fifth from the end of the line with your first shot. It then lies as a kind of barrier to prevent the other four, when knocked down, from rolling about and upsetting more than the proper number. The seeds when hit hard certainly have very eccentric methods of spinning and wobbling about. If there are ties, the men of course play off, and the winner takes the whole pool, if the collection of seeds may be so called. The best play is almost always seen in these ngalet ngalôn contests. The children's form, that of knocking down the greatest number in one or three shots, is called pwet-tha, and is certainly the commonest, except with the avowed gamblers. There are besides these two main forms many other variations occasionally introduced, the commonest being daungpyit and pedan. In the former the seeds are placed in the usual line, but all except the centre are lying on their sides. The players stand much farther away, and the object is to hit the seed standing up. Any one who does so carries off all. If one of those lying down is hit, the seeds from it

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524 to the extremity of the line are taken. In pedan the seeds are placed in a big circle. Some one seed, either at one of the sides or at the back, is fixed upon to be hit. Any one who does so takes all, but if any other seed is knocked over you have to pay forfeit, and add one to the circle. This is, perhaps, the most outrageously noisy form of all, and, like the daungpyit, is very seldom played by any but children.

The daing or ground keeper's services are constantly being called for. A long-armed man is accused of delivering too far forward; some one has got an exceptionally big do to aim with; one of the seeds knocked over does not fall down flat, but leans up against another; somebody hits a seed already knocked down by somebody else, and by means of it manages to level some of those left standing, though his own seed never touches them; cases of this kind are always cropping up and being referred to the umpire amidst boisterous statements and precedents referred to by everybody present, for the betting spectators are often more deeply interested in the matter than the actual players. Then the police burst in and carry them all off to the lock-up, and they are duly fined for gambling, and English residents who look upon gônnyinto as only an elementary kind of marbles are astonished that people should get themselves into trouble for such a trifle. But for all that, gônnyinto, in its way, requires quite as much skill as either bowls or curling, and judgment and delicacy of touch are quite as essential as in billiards.

526 Curiously enough, taking gônnyinto for mere childishness, most foreigners look upon "Burmese football" as a game. This is certainly not the case in so far as a "game" is a striving between one or more competitors for supremacy. There are of course different degrees of proficiency, but one man cannot be pitted directly against another to see who is the better player, as you do with two lawn tennis or racket players. Primarily chinlôn, as it is called, is simply designed to exercise the body, to restore elasticity to the back and limbs cramped by sitting, reading, or writing, or even by playing chess or gônnyinto. The ball is composed of wicker-work, strips of rattan interwoven in bands so as to leave a number of pentagonal holes, and is about four

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526 any more than dancing the Highland Fling can, for judgment as to superiority in either case must be a mere matter of personal opinion, and cannot be governed by hard and fast rules.

These are practically the only outdoor national games. Boxing is a very common institution, but there is no ordinary practice in the evenings, and when a let-pwè comes off it is a regular ceremony more resembling what would be called in Europe a match, or a tournament, than a game. A good deal of agility and skill is shown, leaps into the air, and kicks with the bare feet, and violent upward knocks with the knee finding a place which would not be allowed by the "fancy." The first drawing of blood decides a contest, however slight the injury may be. But boxing is not common now. Among the Karens near Maulmein it is still regularly [571] kept up, and no young man would be successful in his courting unless he had taken part on some occasion or other at a let-pwè. In Rangoon nowadays contests are of regular occurrence at feast times, but the displays are in sheds and entry money is charged. Elsewhere they are not often seen, [562] and the rule that no women shall be present is always rigorously kept.

● 524 What may be called indoor games are numerous and various. There is a game very much like the English one known as Fox and Geese. There are three big tigers, and eleven or sometimes twelve little ones. It is called legwet kya, and the object is for the big tigers to hunt down on a draught board and eat the little ones. If, however, the cubs can corner the big ones, and prevent them from taking a leap, the latter have to succumb—starve to death in fact. Another game called pasit, or chwe pyitthi, or ansa pyitthi is a steeplechase kind of arrangement, and is a favourite with children and simple country people. It is played on a board shaped and divided like that in the figure.

Cowries are used instead of dice, and the object is to complete the tour of the board as fast as possible, and to take as many opponents as you can on the way. Thus if there were two playing, the first thrower would enter at *a*, and having reached *b*, would continue from *a* to *c*, from *c* to *d*, and so on. The second would commence at *a* also, but

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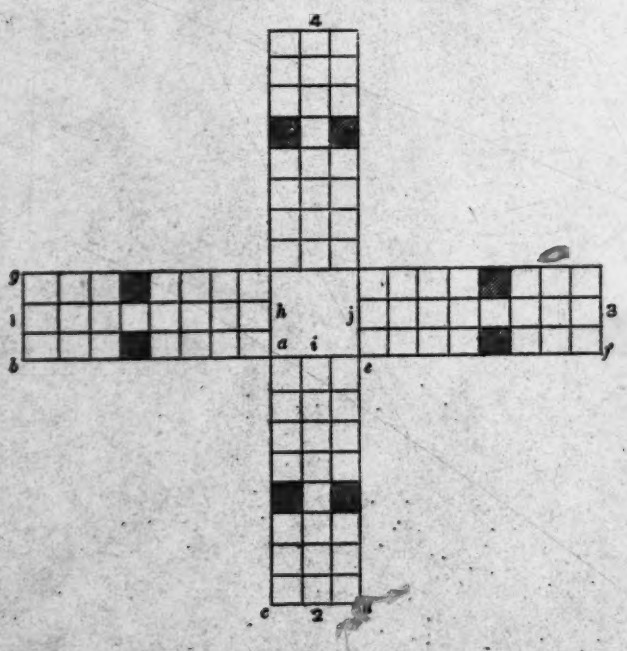
proceed first to *c*, thence to *d*, and so on. A third would start from *e* towards *f*, and a fourth in the remaining arm.

The method is as follows. Six cowries (chwe) are taken in the hand and thrown into a plate or cup; if one falls upside down it is called sè, and counts ten; two, called pa, scores two; three, thôn, is the same in value; four, le, equals four; five upside down, called taseit, scores twenty-five. When



all are on their backs, it is called baya, and counts twelve. When all six fall on their faces, chauk, and the value six.

You have three throws to start with, and can only enter with a ten or a twenty-five; after entering you can have only one throw at a time. If you are lucky enough, you may enter two or even three racers, but if you throw three tens running, or three twenty-fives consecutively, the hand is lost to you, you cannot enter even one. If you overtake an opponent and come on to the same square with him, you kill him and he has to go back to the starting-post, but only if you fall on the same square, and not if he is on one of the shaded squares, called poh or kyah, which are coloured

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524 red or green on the board. In this latter case you lose your throw. The game is won by returning home first. Thus the first player having rounded *g*, comes down the middle course and finishes at *h*; the second player at *i*; the third at *j*, and so on. Any number can play, and if there are four, or more, and even numbers, partnerships are formed. When three or more play, it is called mèthida.

525 The game is simple and harmless enough, and as there is little chance of gambling over it, pasit is but little in favour with people in the big towns. Tônbu lein, cheating with the weight of the lime used in betel-nut chewing, is much more to their taste. This lime, a little of which is smeared on the leaf of the betel-vine that wraps round the nut, is, if of fine quality, often sold by its weight in rupees. Two confederates arrange a speculation together. One of them picks out an eligible-looking bumpkin in the street, some rice-farmer, who has come in with his boat-load of paddy; or a raftsman, who has brought down a lot of teak logs; or a pious man come to worship at the pagoda. He gets into conversation with the intended victim—asks him for a light for his cheroot, perhaps, and brings round the talk to tônbu. Then he says he has got a fine sample of it, and draws a packet out of his pocket. The unsuspecting taw-tha admires it and is asked how much he thinks there is. He guesses three rupees weight. The speculator happens, singularly enough, to have a little pair of scales in the folds of his waistcloth. The lime is duly weighed, and the countryman proves to be right—Burmans have a natural faculty for estimating by the eye. The scales and the lime are put away, when up comes the confederate, who has been loitering about at a distance. He pretends to recognise a friend in our farmer, with his old-fashioned zig-zag paso and red-tanned face. After explanations he asks who his friend—the man with the tônbu—is. The latter immediately introduces himself, produces his lime again, and asks the newcomer how much he thinks there is. He says right off, "Two rupees weight"; our taw-tha breaks in, "No there isn't." "Bet you a-seit (a quarter century, twenty-five rupees) there is." All Burmans love gambling, and the farmer straightway tables his pieces, thinking he has got rather a "soft" thing.

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

The scales come into use again, and the lime weighs two rupees—it is another packet. That night the two rascals are drunk together, and the farmer makes an offering to the nats, persuaded that there is something supernatural in the matter. 525

Pitch and toss is common enough in Rangoon now, as is also the three-card trick, introductions of Western industry. Pitch and toss is called myauk pan—myauk is the lion and unicorn on the old "Jan Kumpani's" coin, while the pan, the "flower," is the laurel wreath on the other side. Two rupees or pice are spun, and the bystanders call. One says two tails, and if they turn up, he wins double his stake; similarly if he is equally fortunate as to his guess of two heads. If he hedges with a head and tail, he only wins what he laid. The "tossing shilling," and the "lucky penny," of Box and Cox, one of which had no head and the other two, are not by any means novelties in the Pabèdan and other disreputable streets in Rangoon. 524

Another sleight-of-hand trick at which the town loafers are very skilful and are constantly deluding the unwary, is a performance called kyotothi, tilting at the string. A narrow strip of hide is doubled across, and the doubled end being in the centre, it is wound round and round in a complicated way. Then one of the bystanders is asked to place either his finger or a stick into the centre. The thong is then unwound, and if the man has his finger in the doubled-up end he wins, otherwise the manipulator gathers up the money. It is obvious that manual dexterity may do a great deal in a venture of this kind, and the operator usually makes a good thing of it.

Cock-fighting is also a favourite pastime, and though forbidden by the authorities, is still carried on more or less openly in country villages and quiet streets in the towns. Thibaw's uncle, the deposed Pagăn Min, who died of small-pox in 1880, was so fond of the practice that he went by the name of the cock-fighting king. In sporting villages pretty nearly every house has its kyet-hpa, or its taik-kyet, the latter, splendid-looking birds, being bred specially for their pluck in fighting. 541

Buffalo fights, which used to be great festivals in the

It will be noted that most of the living takes place on the downstairs floor where the bedrooms and the porch are located. The alter is also located downstairs 342 [512] [778]

U Myaing explained that the alt r should be upstairs but it was more convenient downstairs. The posts on which the house rests rise a few feet above the ground. In all there are about 15,050 cubic feet enclosed by the house. Of this amount 1450 cubic feet are used for sleeping quarters for the family, 729 cubic feet is devoted to religion in the alter room, and 800 cubic feet is used in the kitchen for preparing food. The rest of the space is for social functions including visitors and relaxation, with some space used for storage.

In Puthau there were no beds and no chairs except for one deck chair which had been handed down to U Myaing from his father. There were however, five small stools about four inches high and measuring about 12" by 6". These stools did not have four legs but instead were made of one flat board hammered onto two boards laid on their ends. They had one four legged stool measuring 2½ feet by 1½ feet and about 8 inches high. This was utilized as a chess board. (U Myaing and three or four others played chess four or five times a month in the afternoons. Their house was the only one in the village to possess a board and chessmen, U Myaing having received it from a cousin.) There was another stool about two feet high and one and a half feet square to hold the KYAUK KAR food carrier. 352 [428] [524] [415]

There were also two round Burmese tables. The smaller one was about three feet in diameter and one foot tall. Ma Aye Myaing could not estimate the diameter of the larger one but she remembered that eight men could eat at a time at this table, and that people who gave charities often came to borrow it for that reason. [426]

There was a three legged stand for holding two water pots. The pots were placed on two horizontal triangles formed one about two feet above the other by the peices of wood holding together the three upright feet of the stand. This stand was made by U Myaing at home.

They also possessed two cupboards both of which had been handed down to U Myaing by his father. The first one, used for holding clothes, was three TAUNG high, two and one half TAUNG wide and little less than one [428]

The whole family goes to the ANYEIN or marionette shows which are quite rare and sometimes not even seen in a year. If it is held. 536
this held during the months of TAGU, KASON and TAZAUNGMON. In the villages an ANYEIN gives over at about one or two in the morning.

The people from their village also go over to Karen villages 536
when they have puppet shows at cremation ceremonies. Some of the 764
Karens bury their dead and after three or four years they exhume the corpse to burn the bones and store the ashes away. At the ceremony for the cremation of the bones they stage these puppet shows and the members of U Myaing's family go to witness them.

In Pathwe the PYAE\T (stage performance or PWE) has not yet made an appearance. Ma Aye 536
Myaing had seen it in another village where she had to pay an admission charge of four annas. This was the only time she had seen it. On that occasion the show was followed by an enactment of one [779]
of the birth stories of Buddha and this went on till morning.

CHILDREN'S GAMES:

The children used to play several games. One of these was to 524
blind-fold one of their number and set him off in the direction of 857
an iron bar suspended about 25 yards away. The blindfolded boy was given an iron rod and it was his task to try and hit the suspended bar with his rod.

These games were played at a sports meeting organized for children and everyone in the village turned out to watch. Another [621]
item was the candle race where the children were given a lighted candle each and made to run a race. Then there was a cock fighting contest where two girls sat back on their haunches, faced each other and began to swing each knee forward alternatively until one or the other gave up. There was also a needle and thread race, a sack race, a one-legged race and an egg and spoon race. Each of these races were confined to only two contestants at a time.

GONYIN:- A GONYIN is the large flat seed and is used in a game that Burmese children play - U Myaing's children included. There have to be ten players, five a side and each side has to try and hit the seeds belonging to the opposing group according to complicated rules.

In Pathwe the children used to play marbles and not the youths [369]
as is sometimes found in Rangoon. In Pathwe the adults were all

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In Pathwe the adults were all occupied with the question of how to acquire money. The children played at skipping a rope. There is also a game where two children sit facing each other and raise progressively higher and higher barriers with their feet and their hands, while a third child has to jump high enough to clear the obstriction. If he succeeds they raise it slightly higher and so on. If he fails, then it is his turn to provide the barrier with one while the other starts jumping from the lowest level. They also play the games "SAILS" and "HOP-SCOTCH" Then there is a game where about 20 children stand in a circle with faces turned inwards. There is a person left outside who runs round the circle and while running, drops a small bundle of cloth behind someone's back. If that person knows of it he picks up the bundle and chases the first child round the circle and if fleet enough has an opportunity of dealing him several hard whacks before he finds shelter in the vacant place of the person following and it is then the turn of the person with the bundle to make the rounds and drop it behind someone elses back. If a person does not realise that the bundle has been laid down behind him the first person completes another round, and then picks it up himself and chases him around the circle back to his own place.

There is another game which is known as "THE HUGE LIN-NME SNAKE" where the children form a long line by holding each other's waist from behind. Someone then has to come pretending to sell something and the head of the line makes a purchase. When the seller demands payment he is referred by each child to the one behind him until the leader shouts that he can take the person last in the line in payment if he can catch him. The seller tries to do this while the whole line wriggles and twists in an effort to foil him.

When U Myaing was young he used to play "THE TURTLE AND THE HOOP". They first had to find a person who would play as the "turtle" and to do this they recited the Burmese alphabet starting with the letter "KA" for one person and "KHA" for the second and so on round and round the circle until the letter "A" is reached. The person on whom this letter falls has to be the "turtle". He is placed in a circle with as many stones as there are people in the game.

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25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
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[868]

16. THE FIRST STEP.

of an inch thick. This custom is on the decline, and the ears of boys are not so generally pierced as they used to be. The *naddung* or women's ear-plug of gold is being replaced by the *nagét* with its slender stem (No. 241). With eldest-born girls the fête is frequently deferred until they are twelve or fourteen, and is then celebrated with all the more splendour (p. 14).

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Burman children are not weaned until the second or third year. Nevertheless they begin to receive solid food as soon as they will take it. The illusion prevails that the earlier they do so the stronger they will be. It is a chief source of infant sickness and mortality, and of the smallness of the families reared. A curious feature of Burman sociality is the promiscuous suckling of infants in the circle of relatives and friends.

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Children's heads are shaved in more or less fanciful ways up to the ages of ten or twelve, after which the hair is allowed to grow long.

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The road-fronts of the houses are always peopled with children. Children are equals and are free to roam through the neighbours' houses and plots, where they are kindly noticed. Adults take interest in their games, and make kites and reels, boats, carts and other simple toys for them.

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17. THE WOODEN CRADLE (SAUNGBAN).

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

18. YOUNG CHILDREN'S TOYS.

Manufactured toys are the most noticeable wares in the sale-booths. A universal toy is the seed from the giant pod of the *dô* creeper (No. 251). Like marbles with us, the seeds—*gôn-hnyin*—are the prizes of the game. In Sangermano's time (1783–1806) these games used to be played by adults. A characteristic boys' game is *sttôppyit* (No. 25). Lots are cast for riders and horses. A ball or bundle is thrown from rider to rider till a player misses the catch, when all the riders dismount and scramble with the horses for the ball. The one who secures it becomes or remains a rider as the case may be. Boys run races for their own sport and that of their elders, and race their toy boats. They fight duels with their kites, each flier seeking to saw through his opponent's kite-line, for which purpose a length of string has been roughened with sand or pounded glass. The peg-top is a favourite toy. That it is indigenous is proved by certain proverbial sayings. Burman boys are more like our own and take to European games more kindly than other Asiatics (*cf.* p. 69). The toy of the day is the tricycle, which parents will pinch themselves to provide for their children, and which the happy possessors of will make the common property of all their playmates. Where children awaken such genuine interest, punishment is rarely called for and is never

19. GAMES IN THE WATER.

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25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
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30. TOY CART.

of a savage description. Children have pretty manners; they are respectful to their elders without shyness or cringing.

Children grow up among the implements they will use in after life. Wooden mills for husking rice, tilt-hammers and mortars for pounding, cotton-seeders with geared rollers, spinning-wheels, weaving-looms and other simple machines are in every household; besides agricultural implements, carts and boats, all of which are made or kept in repair by the inmates (*cf.* p. 120). The workshops of artizans of every class are open to view, and the processes are obvious to every passer-by. The interest aroused in children is more diversified than in cold countries with their more secluded life. From mimicking the occupations of adults children learn to take part and soon begin to like a real share in them. Their trade begins with make-believe wares, then come scraps of house and garden produce till it develops into a source of pocket-money and training in business (Nos. 281, 431). The years of tutelage merge into the age of responsibility without abrupt transition. The intelligence which the school-teacher proceeds [153] to build on has insensibly developed under conditions more than commonly favourable, which may help to account for the precocity of Burman school-children under good teaching.

871 From the ages of eight to ten, boys begin attending [524] the school of the Buddhist monastery (*kyaung*), where 876 they are taught free by the 413 recluse (*phongyi*) or by his sojourner recluses (*upazin*). The spelling-book is chanted in a chorus led by a senior pupil, and is copied out with a white steatite pencil on a

31. FEB-TOPS (SYNI-PAING).

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 API Burma
Burmese AP4

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23. MARBLES (GON-HNYIN).

long wooden slate blackened with soot and rice-water (*thim-bôn*). The Burmese word-building is exceedingly regular and in the main phonetic (See appendix B). Reading is acquired in one term, without much effort on the part of pupil or teacher. The Burmans have a pure decimal notation in which the bugbears *eleven* and *twelve* are unrepresented. The Burmese *eleven* is literally "onety-one." Children can count up to hundreds before they come to school and can reckon up sums mentally. In arithmetic they are taught the multiplication-table and a few rules of thumb (*bedin*). In addition to the five Buddhist commandments (p. 16) and the objects of contemplation (p. 43), which the children learn in their homes, they chant passages from the Pâli scriptures in the school chorus and get other precepts by rote: such as the category of duties to parents, teachers and elders, *viz.*, reverence, support, mutual affection (*parêik*). They are taught the value of learning as an inalienable possession, together with many precepts from the *Lawkanîti* and *Mingala-thôt*; the conquests of the inner and outer worlds *Atwin-aungdyin*, *Apyin-aungdyin*, the story of the Buddha (see *The Light of Asia*) and the legendary cosmogony.

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As the result of this Buddhist system of schools, nearly half of the male and about 3 per cent. of the female population can read and write, as compared with 9 and 0·3 per cent. for men and women respectively in Bengal. The

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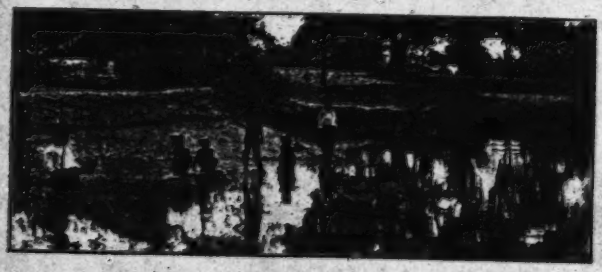

24. RACING TOY BOATS.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
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25. GAME OF SITOPPYIT.

Burman average stands midway between those of Ireland and Austria on the one hand, and Italy and Spain on the other. (Report of the Census of 1891.)

The boys at the monastery-school (*kyaung-tha*) do the domestic work—sweep the floors and enclosures, attend upon the recluses, and help in collecting the daily food. Some scholars live at the *kyaung*, others have the morning meal there, others again have their meals at home. The recluse exacts no deference from his scholar, but nevertheless receives from all lay persons a spontaneous homage identical with that accorded to royal personages. In the *kyaung* the lads acquire the good breeding of their country, for it is among the recluses that the élite of the race is to be sought. In the stage next to be described, the lad completes this training, by himself sharing in the deference paid to the yellow robe, which he assumes for a season as novice. The monastery-schools are open all the year, but have a large attendance only in the rainy season or *wá*.

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Besides the monastic public schools there are private schools kept by laymen and occasionally also by women, in which girls as well as boys are taught. The subjects and methods are the same, but more time is given to arithmetic. The rules of thumb of the Indian *bodin* are being superseded by modern arithmetic, by help of the vernacular manual prepared by the missionary Stilson. A small fee is paid the lay teacher in money or in kind. Out of hours, the lay-school pupils are of use at their homes, minding their little brothers and sisters.

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The training begun in youth is never broken off. Study is a chief occupation of middle and advanced age. The teacher—*sayá*—clerical or lay, is reverenced,

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26. CYCLE RACE.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

next to a parent, with a life-long devotion.

Before or after the monastic novitiate, it is the custom for the Burman lads to have themselves tattooed from the waist to the knee (No. 152). Not to submit to this ordeal is to incur the reproach of cowardice. The tattooing is an intricate pattern of animals and tracery. Owing to the extent of surface involved, the process is most painful. It occupies days or weeks, according to the fortitude of the subject, who is drugged with opium for the occasion. The instrument has a handle weighted at the butt, and a long point of bronze, split like a ruling-pen. It is worked with great rapidity. The pigment is a kind of lamp-black of the consistence of ink. It shows bluish black through the brown skin. When a Burman tucks up his lois-cloth, as he always does for work or exercise (*kaddung-chaik*), he looks as if he had black knee-breeches. As plain as the contrast is to the eye, ordinary photographic plates fail to render it. In No. 153 it appears fully. On other parts of the body the men frequently have horoscopes and cabalistic diagrams tattooed with vermilion (*so-ut*, No. 162) for luck and bravado. The Shan practice of letting in gold and silver discs the size of two-penny pieces—beneath the skin—is sometimes imitated by Burmans as a charm against sword-cuts and bullets (*dhbyi*; *thwabbyi*). The Arakanese, who repudiate the custom of *tigwin*, ascribe it to a Burman King, who endeavoured to disguise his leprosy in this way.

27. VILLAGE LAY SCHOOL.

28. KITE-FLYING.

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25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
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29. PAINTING OF SHINLAUNG PETE.

The constituted daily routine of the monastery takes no account of recreation. In practice there is a wide margin of leisure. But the wearer of the yellow robe is not seen at play. Arithmetical puzzles are the nearest approach to a game. On the other hand, the cheerfulness of the race suffers no restraint. There is decorum, without austerity or sanctimony. The severest penance laid upon the novice is temporary relegation to the secular state (*lein-byan*) for such faults as lying, theft, or killing anything. Cruelty to an animal is punished with caning.

792 512 524 577 [689]

The *yahdu* exercise no exclusive function beyond that of admitting candidates to the novitiate and the full membership of their Assembly. The affairs of the Buddhist Church are initiated and conducted by the laity. The recluses merely add, by their presence, to the religious distinction of an occasion. At the shrine the recluse is like any other pilgrim; he never is a ministrant or priest. Neither is there any altar. The only material objects to which sanctity pertains are the relics of the Buddha. The members of the Assembly know no distinctions of men, racial or social. As regards the temporal power, of whatever origin, the recluse should be absolutely passive, neither contravening the laws nor invoking them when he suffers wrong. The recluse neither denounces nor harbours the criminal, a neutral attitude of which criminals are not slow to take advantage.

792 794 778 554 [674]

When admitted to full membership of the Assembly instituted by the Buddha (*Thingé*, Pâli *Sangha*), the novice becomes *Yahdu* (*Yahdu-daw*, *Rahân*, *Arahan*), which signifies *perfected*, one advanced a stage

30. BOYS RECEIVING INDIRECT INSTRUCTION

792 [871]

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 API Burma
Burmese AP4

153. THE CHALLENGE
(*see* p. 177).

the young wife's home, the lad working for her parents. 591
As family comes and other daughters marry, the elder pairs are established in houses of their own. Married people are designated *ein-daung*—householders. Marriage 581
makes no difference in the names and their prefixes. 597
Everyone marries in Burma; the census of 1891 gave 551
1,306,722 husbands to 1,307,292 wives. The same census 162
gave 102 females to 100 males of the Burman (so classed [548]
as Buddhist) population. (In Burma prostitution is confined to the large towns.) [524]

A family of seven is considered large. The average 592
number of house-occupants is 5.5. The cost of living of 511
a Burman village household is 100 to 200 Rs. a year. In 357
the towns the well-to-do spend 600 to 1000 Rs. and more, 556
and at the present day keep a servant or two for the rough work, generally natives of India. Such accumulations of wealth as are made by individuals in India and other countries with a plutocracy and a proletariate are not paralleled among the Burmans. Nevertheless individuals amass tens of thousands of rupees, which for the most part they spend on works of religious merit. Monogamy is the received and almost universal practice in Burma. Second-wives are taken by a proportion of the officials and men of wealth. Hence it comes that the Burmans wonder more at the moderation of Europeans than at such license as they indulge. This license is not nearly so great as in India, but it is more open, corresponding to the higher status of the women of Burma, and thus it provokes more scandal in comparison. Unions of this sort among the Burmans are merely by mutual consent. A separate establishment in a different quarter of the town is maintained for the second wife or concubine (*maya-ngè*). Her children are under no disability, but she is not acknowledged by the first, and generally older, wife (*mayaji*), whose husband's love she is said to have stolen.

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154. AN "ORIGINAL."

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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159. CHILDREN AT THE RIVER SIDE (p. 91).

Every stranger, man or woman, is addressed *K'mbyâ*—sir, madam. There is a courteous address for nearly every relation in life. Children, in speaking to their parents, grandparents, uncles, and aunts, say *Shin* and *Daw*—lord, lady; wife to husband, *Shin*; husband to wife, *Byo*, *Bya*—terms of endearment; younger brother or sister to elder, *Go*, *Maung-dyí*; elder brother to younger *Maung*; brothers to sisters, *Ma*. *Maung* and *Ma* (brother and sister) have become the ordinary prefixes to names, answering to our Mr., Mrs., Miss. These are used even by parents to their grown-up children. To inferiors and in disparagement, the plain *nga*, *mè*, *mi* are used. Middle-aged men are given the address *Go*, and old men that of *Û* (uncle), which is also the prefix to the *bwè* of the *yahán*. Great regard is conveyed by the address *Sayâ*—teacher, master. The honorific word for wife is *gadáw*, thus—*sayâ-gadáw*, *min-gadáw*. To royalty the addresses were *Gôdaw*—re[illegible] self; *Ashin-Payâ*—lord of lords; *Pôn-daw-dyí*—of great glory. These titles came to be used for ministers and governors, as more euphemistic ones were devised for the kings. The same addresses are accorded by courtesy to the *yahán*, who on their part address the layman as *Tagâ*, *Tagôdaw*—supporter, great founder. The layman refers to himself as *tabyí-daw*—the honoured disciple. In other relations of life, other periphrases are used for the pronouns of the first and second persons. The plain *I* and *you* — *ngâ*, *nin* — are only used in disparagement. Thus the current phrase for *I* is *tyumbh*—the humble servant. (For women, *tyunma*.) In addressing superiors, the phrase is *tyundáw*, *Payâ-tyundáw*

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160. CHINLON GAME, APPLIQUE WORK (p. 179).

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 · APl Burma
Burmese AP4

161. CHILDREN'S TUBS AT FLOOD-TIME (p. 61)

—the slave, his lordship's humble servant. There are special honorific terms for the coming and going, eating and sleeping of royalty and of the *yahán*. The most coveted titles or appellations are those of *kyaung-tagá*, *Payá-tagá* — founder of a school, founder of a temple. The first of these is given by courtesy to persons of venerable age. The great increase of prosperity has given a corresponding impetus to the founding of such works, so that the *tagá* are more numerous than ever before. The private foundations are on a scale of unprecedented magnificence. At no period has Buddhism shone throughout the land in such resplendence as now. Personal titles and badges (*sahcé*, No. 31) used to be given by the kings. Small dignities and offices have been hereditary in many places. Nevertheless, no aristocracy has developed. One of these titles was *Thakin* (master, lord), now assumed by all Europeans in the same way as "*sahib*" in India. Despite the punctilio in address, greetings are unusual between equals. After absence, a mere "Here you are again" and an inquiry about health—*ma-e-lá?* At departure, "I'm off," "You're going"—*thwa dawmé*. There is nothing answering to the established *salám* or to our "Good day," "Good-bye." The verbal salutation to the *yahán*, after obeisance, is *Gôdaw-mya tháppáyá pyippa-e lá*—is your Grace duly provided with the canonical

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162. CARVING OF CHINLON PLAYER (pp. 18, 179)

163. THE PADYA SHRINE (p. 188)

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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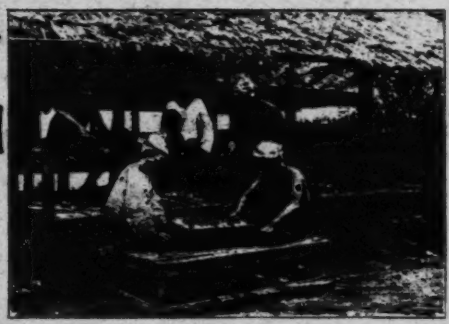

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403. CHESS.

Slashing cocoanuts (*ônkôt*) is a favourite sport in the North. A green cocoanut is balanced on the top of another, and has to be severed in two across the fibre at a blow of the sabre. This requires both power and knack. The villagers bet on who will sever the greatest number without a miss.

Cock-fighting is condemned by the popular religion, together with everything that causes pain or inflames the passions. Nevertheless, the people are greatly addicted to it; they bet heavily on their birds. A large long-legged fowl of the Shanghai type is bred for fighting. The Taláings in the South are fond of making bulls fight, especially bull buffaloes.

526 The every-day outdoor sport of Burma is the *chinlôn* game. A light springy ball is made of five interlacing circles of split rattan, four or five in a tier, with large open interspaces. The object is to keep the ball up, and the only rule is that the ball may not be touched with the hand. The nearest player advances to meet it, and if he be a tyro, he is content to kick the ball up; there are no turns. A good player will send the ball into the air again and again with decreasing force till he allows it to alight in the hollow of his shoulder. Thence he lets it roll down the back of the arm and jerks it off at the elbow to catch it on the knee, and, changing his foot like a flash, strikes the ball high from the back, with the opposite sole, for another player to vary the performance in as original a way as he can (Nos. 160, 162). The game implies a perfect command of every muscle. Players are not at their best till twenty-five or thirty. There can be no winning in this game, which is played for the pure love of skill.

[524]

404. DOMINOES.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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405. PASIT GAME.

Chess, dominoes, *pasit*, and cards, are the intellectual games. Chess (*sippayin* — 'war-lord') was probably introduced from China in ancient times. It differs in some points from the game played in Europe, but agrees with that played by Chinese settlers in Burma. The pieces are *King*, *General* (in lieu of our Queen), two *Elephants* (in lieu of our Bishops), two *Horsemen*, two *Chariots* (in lieu of our Castles or Rooks), and eight *Soldiers*. The *King* moves as in our game. The *General* moves one square at a time diagonally, the *Elephant* moves as the General, plus one square forwards, the *Horseman* moves as our Knight, the *Chariot* moves as our Rook, the *Soldiers* move as our Pawns. The pieces are set up very differently to ours :—

Chariots at Rook sqrs.		Horsemen at QB and KKt3 sqrs.	
King	„ K2.	Elephants	„ KB3 and Q2 „
General	„ K3.	Soldiers	„ {K's 4, 4th / Q's 4,3rd} „

Like other definite contests, the game of chess is played for money, unless at funeral gatherings, where games are played to pass the time, without stakes. The Burmese dominoes (*thôm-bônpè*) are made of black wood, with brass nails for points. They are held like cards, and are played down in the same way, not set as dominoes are with us. Pasteboard cards (*pè*) from Europe are common, and are to be found in every sale depôt. The staid elders alone of lay people take no part in any sort of gambling. Venial as gambling is looked upon in general, *card-player* (*pè-cha*) is a term of disparage-

406. ANDALON GAMBLING.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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408. CHINESE DICE (NIDAUNG).

ment associated with sot (*ayet-thauk*), next after which is *beinza*—opium-eater. Women do not often play chess or cards; they have a game called *pasit* (beetle-fight), somewhat resembling back-gammon.

Games of pure hazard are in great favour, especially at festival times. Chinese and Shan settlers start gambling-dens for the dissolute youth, with Chinese dice (*Nidaung*, *Angalôn*, No. 406), and the thirty-six animal lottery (*tí*, *thônzè-chaukkaung kazá*), symbols intelligible to every nation and the meanest capacity. For *angalôn* there is a paper or cloth with compartments for six different figures of animals on which money is staked, corresponding to similar figures on a wooden cube, which is shaken in a box.

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The showmen in Burma are the conjuror and the snake-charmer. The Burman juggler (*myet-hlè sayá*) makes no pretence of occult powers, not even to children. His name implies that his movements "elude the eye;" but his legerdemain does not attain to the art of the Indian and Chinese jugglers. The snake-charmer, on the other hand (*âlambè sayá*), pretends to be protected by magic. He is tattooed all over with snakes; he has slits at the side of his tongue which he shows, and in other ways he plays upon credulity. It has been alleged that the snake-men inoculate themselves with the venom, but this is not authenticated, though it is known from the experiments of Calmette and Fraser that immunity can be produced in this way. The cobra (*mwyehauk*) is exhibited, but only when the hamadryad (*nganbôk*), a much larger species of the same family, cannot be procured (p. 96). The snakes are exhibited in their natural

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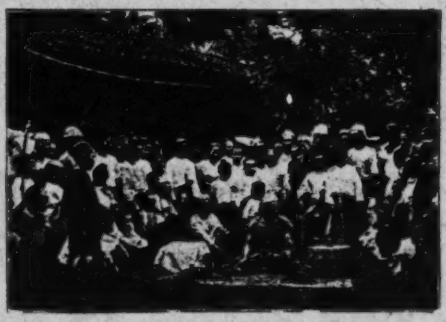

409. BURMAN JUGGLER.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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418. SUNLAUNG AT THADINDYUT FESTIVAL.

and, in order to possess its proper value, should be completed in a day and a night. This is the only approach to a vigil. The texture is loose, and broad bands of tinsel are shot through to make up the woof faster.

Tawthalín is a minor festival, falling in Lent, and observed only in Pegu. The *Tawthalín* offerings are distinguished by being in thousands, one thousand little cakes, one thousand plantains, and so on (No. 282). The number one thousand is said to be symbolical [801] of the thousand *gâta* or stanzas of the *Wéthandayâ zat*, the legend of Gawdama Buddha's last incarnation but one, closely prefiguring the final incarnation.

782 The above are the Buddhist festivals, which are celebrated by the whole population together, with all the *éclat* they can give them. The only other 776 recurring observances of a religious character have nothing to do with Buddhism, and are rejected by all earnest and enlightened Buddhists. These observances, if not furtively conducted, as is often the case, are kept by individuals only, or by households at a time; they have sufficient in common with the *nat* worship of the hill tribes, to show what the original Burman and Taláing worship may have been. Unlike the Karén, who knows only of evil *nats*, the Burman has both good and evil spirits. The former belong 776 to the land of the *zat* ro- 772 mance, the latter are chiefly the survival of the primitive 775 paganism. In the Burman cosmogony, *nat-yua* is the delectable land to which, by a courtesy analogous to the German "*hoch-*" and "*höchst-* [643] *selig*," the kings are said to migrate at their demise. [524] A higher order than *nat* is *thadyâ* and *thadyâ-min*, and above these the highest order of being, *byammâ*, the cloud-

419. FIRE-BALLOONS AT THADINDYUT.

177. Villager .. Short story.
53 Are we seeing aright? .. Attack on prolonged nat-festivals at pagodas, as endangering physical and moral welfare of people, including attack on worldly members of monkhood.
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541 Horse-racing in Rangoon was a foreign importation, but nevertheless the stadium was always filled, not only with the fashionable section in an
177. enclosure but also with rows of four-anna spectators who had been col-
54 lected from all the streets of the town by the privately-run Burmese buses
369 which tore along on race days, with two "spares" (spare-men in addition to the driver) hanging out from the back step and shouting to all they passed: "Race-a-ko, Race-a-ko! Race-course, race-course." But in the country the traditional boat racing was still alive. Boat races were held in every village which had a stream or river, as an annual event after the Lenten season. Long narrow canoes built in the village itself were rowed by twenty-two men and put out in rivalry between quarter and quarter, or between one village and another. At Ye the upper street and lower street put out boats bearing names of prowess or aquatic grace. The cheering and betting raged more furious and wild with the manner of the finish: the winning post was a boat in the centre of the stream, equidistant from the tracks of each boat, and across this was laid a hollow cane sticking about three feet out on either side. Through the hollow was thrust the prize *pan:* flower (of victory), a stick with a flag on each end. The winning crew was to seize this flower before it could be called victorious, and thus a dead-heat often sent both crews tumbling into the water as they wrestled for the prize.

•525 Burmans are said to have an irrepressible gambling spirit, even when no money is laid on. A stock example quoted by foreigners of the Burman's readiness with a dah in his hot temper, gives as provocation the anger worked up between two men who sit idly in a tea-shop, and for lack of amusement bet on the number of flies which will settle on the sugar bowl. I prefer the story of two street urchins, who saw two monks walking before them, sedately, with downcast eyes and steady pace, as monks should walk. "Look," says one idle urchin, "there are two hpongyis. You look at the one on the right, I'll watch the one the left. I bet you my hpongyi walks faster than your hpongyi." The monks ignore this, but soon begin to hear: "My holiness is going faster!" "No' mind!" Unobtrusively, each hpongyi tries to walk quicker and yet with dignity. The boys get thoroughly excited now. "*My* holiness!". "No, *my* holiness!" Soon the astonished spectators see two hpongyis

running with unholy energy and two small boys streaking after them 525
shouting: "My hpongyi! Hey, my hpongyi!"

The showy vanity of Rangoon was seen at its greatest at wedding 585
celebrations where no woman of any standing came without a full load 511
of jewellery, either owned or borrowed for the occasion. For weddings of families like ours hundreds of invitations had always to be sent out owing to the tradition of acknowledging distant relationships and connections. It would be considered rude also not to invite the friends among clerks and traders from every town in which my father had been posted during our growing-up years.

Marriage is a social contract in Burma. To be married one needs 581
no recourse to legal or priestly officers. The *let-htat*, laying of hands 562
one on the other, can be performed in the presence of elders, or a feast can 428
be given to a few people to obtain recognition of the married state. This is done after elopements, for example, when the parents have become reconciled and the young couple is too shy to go through the pantomine of a marriage ceremony. For divorce, also, no legal procedure is necessary, but convention makes divorces rare. Although monogamy is almost universal in Burma, polygamy is not forbidden by the law. A "mistress" of a married man is considered a sort of wife, but the disapproval with which this is regarded is shown in the term applied to her: *ma-ya-nga*, lesser wife. But the liberty operates both ways, and in the rare cases of a woman who runs to a second husband without any agreement having been reached beforehand, she is said to have a *lin-ngè*, lesser husband. The lack of legal safeguards of a woman's position as the only wife is amply compensated for by the rulings of Burmese Buddhist Law as regards her property. She retains sole ownership of whatever property she brings to the marriage, and on the dissolution of the marriage is entitled to half of all the additions of wealth since the marriage. Neither can an irate husband make a will leaving his money to other relatives and strangers. Wills are forbidden by law; children inherit equal shares of the parents' legacy, except in the cases where there are more than four children in the family. Then the eldest takes one-quarter before the rest is divided equally amongst the other children. On the death of one parent the surviving parent still has sole ownership of half the property. The other half is open to division among the children, but it is only a black sheep which will insist on division while one parent is still alive.

When I had been home but a month, my brother appealed to me 584
for help in arranging the matter of his marriage. His difficulty was that he had no wish to marry the various dowried young women with whom my relatives were trying to contract him; he had chosen his own bride but at the same time the stern array of cousins, aunts and uncles in our

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

boat is called—to make sure that his man will have his proper amount of cane to grasp at. Then both boats get under the bank to avoid the force of the current, and paddle leisurely up to the starting-point, a mile or a mile and a half up the river. 526

The din and bustle on the bank now become greater than ever. Every one is talking and stating his views as to the result of the race, and nobody is listening to him. Betting goes on freely, and the chink of rupees is heard perpetually. It is announced that the sporting English extra [525] assistant-commissioner from the divisional town has given as his opinion that "the fishermen" will win ; they are in better condition and cooler-headed than their opponents, and will win at the finish. There is a minute's dejection at this, and then it is all effaced by the discovery that the Chinese storekeepers have put their "bottom dollars" on the home boat. That is good news, for the Tayôk is a good judge of anything that can be bettered about, and it is very seldom that he drops money. So the talk goes on till the last coin is staked. Welshers have not yet been introduced into Burma, and there is now nothing to be done but relieve one's feelings in talk, and puff furiously at big cheroots, with an occasional rush into the water to see how far the boats have got up. Old U Ôn tries to talk to the young Englishman, but it is no use, he can't keep either his mind or his eyes off the boat, and the Ayebaing improves the occasion by attempting a flirtation with the daughter of the house. But he might as well talk to the winds. She is far more excited than her father, and would be dancing about if it were not for the restraint of her old nurse, who is too blear-eyed and rheumatic to be anything but ill-natured. 000

But at last there is a hush and every eye is turned up the river. The boats are turning, and come drifting down to the starting-place. There is a minute or two of backing and fussing about so as to get the boats straight and the bows level, and then, with a loud shout, they are off to a start by mutual consent. A roar of pent-up excitement comes from the crowd all the way down the banks to the grand stand and then swings back again like a wave on the flat sea-sand. Served by their magnificent boat and their

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

527 the plays, of which there are three or four, while some unwearied spirits can only find relief for their exultant triumph in yein dances and irresponsible performances of their own. [273] Till dawn of day the revelry goes on, but there is nothing like drunkenness. It is exceedingly seldom that you see a drunken Burman out of Rangoon, where they claim to be Europeanised. For a couple of days the excitement lasts, and then the strangers wend their way homewards, and the township calms down to its usual quiet. But for years the great event will be talked of at the local feasts, and the Yein choruses of three or four generations will tell of the gallant struggle when the Daungsatpyan beat the Thônpanhla and broke the long supremacy of the Thônkwa rowers.

177.52 526 It is a great pity that these old contests are not kept up with the spirit that used to characterise them. In 1877 the then Chief Commissioner of British Burma, Mr. Rivers Thompson, believing that they led to unrestrained and dangerous gambling, issued an order forbidding all government officials to have anything to do with them, and advising that great races should be discouraged as much as possible. This policy was continued by Mr. Aitchison (late Sir Charles), and there seemed some danger that the art of making fine racing-boats would be lost, while all the fun and jollity of the old ye-pwè, kôn-pwè, land and water sports, were put an end to, without any decrease in the amount of 525 [101] gambling. The habit is as engrained with the Burman as with the Chinaman, and if there are no boat-races to bet on there are lots of other things, from pony matches to gônnyin-to, on which sporting votaries might stake their money. 526 177.52 There were still local matches between adjacent villages held, but they were but a sorry imitation of the old festivals, and have unfortunately led to the unpleasant speculations of the West being introduced. "Barneyings," in-and-out rowing, and all the unlovely customs of Western professionalism have sprung up as a consequence of the degradation of the old manly sport. Sir Charles Bernard, who was an ardent athlete himself, did a good deal towards reviving boat-racing. Sports have been held on the Great Royal Lake at Rangoon, it may be hoped only as a preliminary measure to the encouragement of longer contests on

1:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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524 From the Q.'s pawn to the Q.'s R.'s pawn, the nè are placed on the third square. From the K.'s pawn to the K.'s R.'s pawn, they are placed on the fourth square in direct *échelon*. The first move, therefore, takes a pawn. The pieces may be arranged behind the pawns according to fancy or judgment. The formation represented in the figure is considered the best among Rangoon players.

Either player, however, may adopt another line of battle. He may strengthen either wing, or expose the king, according as he estimates his opponent's abilities, or the peculiarities of his play. In some respects this may be done in such a way as to be tantamount to giving a piece to an inferior player. The pawns, however, never vary in position. The board is a huge thing like an enlarged foot-stool, or a tea-table with rudimentary legs, the players squatting on mats. There is always heavy betting on the games; and when a famous player comes in from the district or over from Maulmein to measure strength with the Rangoon cracks, the excitement is wonderful, and often furnishes occasion for free fights, such as the Burmese, in their sturdy, hot-blooded way, delight in as much as any schoolboy or devotee of town-and-gown rows.

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The Burmese game, as well in the names and powers of the pieces as in the liberty of individual arrangement, is thus, it will be allowed, much more like a real battle than any other recognised form. The elephant is particularly well calculated for defending the king where he is most vulnerable.

War-chariots are decidedly more appropriate to active warfare than castles. Indeed the Briton must acknowledge that the English nomenclature is bad. There was a time certainly when bishops used to buckle on their armour, and charge across the field of fight; but their disestablishment in that way came about long before the day of Mr. Miall. Boadiceas and Shan amazon leaders are too rare nowadays to have queens careering about the board as a regular thing, dealing slaughter for their less nimble spouses. The Burmese general has powers sufficient to elevate him above his men, and is yet not so loftily supreme as the mail-clad knights of romance; while if he is laid low, it is not too violent a change

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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CHAPTER XXXVIII

GAMES

A VERY favourite game with Burmans of all ages is the gônnyinto pwè. The name is very suggestive. Gôn or hkôn means to jump, and nyin is to deny or bluster, and there is no doubt of the fitness of the implication. A more noisy and contentious game, not even omitting the uproariousness of the English enormities known as grab or pit, it would be difficult to find. Most writers on Burma have passed over gônnyinwaing lightly, as a simple, harmless, children's game. It would be well if it were only that, though the monks at the pôngyi kyaung often sally forth in great wrath (most dangerous for their future state), and armed with a stout bamboo, to put a stop to the clamorous disputes of the schoolboys over their seeds. But the police officers would tell a very different tale. Grown-up men play also, the quarrels sometimes end in assault and murder, and always in reckless gambling. Beinshu, opium-eaters, who with all respectable Burmans stand for types of iniquity, a kind of epitome of vice, often have as much as two or three hundred rupees on a single game, and the results of unrestrained gambling are best known to civilised people who frequent Monte Carlo. Consequently the police keep a sharp eye on grown-up gônnyinto players, and if a party is caught, they are all punished heavily for gambling, the daing, or keeper of the ground, being fined heaviest of all. For there are regular alleys kept for the purpose, the daing, or proprietor, carefully smoothing the ground, moistening it delicately in the hot weather, and keeping it from getting sodden during the monsoon. He charges his customers a small fee for the right to play, usually an anna in the rupee,

:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

524 red or green on the board. In this latter case you lose your throw. The game is won by returning home first. Thus the first player having rounded *g*, comes down the middle course and finishes at *h*; the second player at *i*; the third at *j*, and so on. Any number can play, and if there are four, or more, and even numbers, partnerships are formed. When three or more play, it is called mèthida.

525 The game is simple and harmless enough, and as there is little chance of gambling over it, pasit is but little in favour with people in the big towns. Tônbu lein, cheating with the weight of the lime used in betel-nut chewing, is much more to their taste. This lime, a little of which is smeared on the leaf of the betel-vine that wraps round the nut, is, if of fine quality, often sold by its weight in rupees. Two confederates arrange a speculation together. One of them picks out an eligible-looking bumpkin in the street, some rice-farmer, who has come in with his boat-load of paddy; or a raftsman, who has brought down a lot of teak logs; or a pious man come to worship at the pagoda. He gets into conversation with the intended victim—asks him for a light for his cheroot, perhaps, and brings round the talk to tônbu. Then he says he has got a fine sample of it, and draws a packet out of his pocket. The unsuspecting taw-tha admires it and is asked how much he thinks there is. He guesses three rupees weight. The speculator happens, singularly enough, to have a little pair of scales in the folds of his waistcloth. The lime is duly weighed, and the countryman proves to be right—Burmans have a natural faculty for estimating by the eye. The scales and the lime are put away, when up comes the confederate, who has been loitering about at a distance. He pretends to recognise a friend in our farmer, with his old-fashioned zig-zag paso and red-tanned face. After explanations he asks who his friend—the man with the tônbu—is. The latter immediately introduces himself, produces his lime again, and asks the newcomer how much he thinks there is. He says right off, "Two rupees weight"; our taw-tha breaks in, "No there isn't." "Bet you a-seit (a quarter century, twenty-five rupees) there is." All Burmans love gambling, and the farmer straightway tables his pieces, thinking he has got rather a "soft" thing.

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

The scales come into use again, and the lime weighs two rupees—it is another packet. That night the two rascals are drunk together, and the farmer makes an offering to the nats, persuaded that there is something supernatural in the matter. 525

Pitch and toss is common enough in Rangoon now, as is also the three-card trick, introductions of Western industry. Pitch and toss is called myauk pan—myauk is the lion and unicorn on the old "Jan Kumpani's" coin, while the pan, the "flower," is the laurel wreath on the other side. Two rupees or pice are spun, and the bystanders call. One says two tails, and if they turn up, he wins double his stake; similarly if he is equally fortunate as to his guess of two heads. If he hedges with a head and tail, he only wins what he laid. The "tossing shilling," and the "lucky penny," of Box and Cox, one of which had no head and the other two, are not by any means novelties in the Pabèdan and other disreputable streets in Rangoon. 524

Another sleight-of-hand trick at which the town loafers are very skilful and are constantly deluding the unwary, is a performance called kyotothi, tilting at the string. A narrow strip of hide is doubled across, and the doubled end being in the centre, it is wound round and round in a complicated way. Then one of the bystanders is asked to place either his finger or a stick into the centre. The thong is then unwound, and if the man has his finger in the doubled-up end he wins, otherwise the manipulator gathers up the money. It is obvious that manual dexterity may do a great deal in a venture of this kind, and the operator usually makes a good thing of it.

Cock-fighting is also a favourite pastime, and though forbidden by the authorities, is still carried on more or less openly in country villages and quiet streets in the towns. Thibaw's uncle, the deposed Pagān Min, who died of small-pox in 1880, was so fond of the practice that he went by the name of the cock-fighting king. In sporting villages pretty nearly every house has its kyet-hpa, or its taik-kyet, the latter, splendid-looking birds, being bred specially for their pluck in fighting. 541

Buffalo fights, which used to be great festivals in the

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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655 Fytche, holding out the inducement of increased customs
651 dues from the newly started Irrawaddy Flotilla Company's steamers, persuaded his majesty to give up all the monopolies, except those of earth oil, timber, and precious stones; and to agree to a uniform import and export duty on all other goods and merchandise, passing between British and Burmese territory, of five per cent *ad valorem*. This treaty lapsed in 1877 and was not renewed. Nevertheless, King Mindôn did not renew the monopolies.

When his son came to the throne, he issued, or there was issued for him, a proclamation, stating that he was going to adopt Western forms of government, and expressly announcing that he had no intention of reviving the monopoly system. He was, however, with his wild, extravagant habits, very soon in as great monetary difficulties as his father, and from 1880 began steadily to sell monopolies and give grants of forest land for hard cash payments. The new monopoly buyers, haunted by a fear of British interference, and not by any means assured in their minds as to the stability of Thibaw Min's rule, were anxious to get as much money as they could, and therefore paid only the
[1433] most absurdly low prices for produce. The cultivators, finding all their labour in vain, began consequently in large numbers to give up farming or working in the forests, the consequence of which was a still further shock to the trade with British Burma and an entire inability on the part of the
651 population the following year to pay the house-tax. Besides
● 525 the monopoly system derived from his predecessors, Thibaw Min also hit on the notion of lotteries for the replenishment of his treasury. The system worked very well for a time, and brought in great quantities of money, but latterly the loose coin of the populace had all been netted, and the lottery source of revenue was pretty nearly worked out. In 1879 and 1880 Mandalay was simply flooded with lottery-offices, each under the superintendence of a minister of high rank. Those who were able to show the king the most money were highest in the royal favour, and consequently the rivalry between these worthies ran very strong. All manner of dodges were tried to entice speculators away from all other offices to the minister's own. The Hpaung-wun,

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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Myowun, the lord high admiral, and lord mayor's establishment was generally admitted to be the largest and best, and it was certainly he who first began to try and allure the people. He secured the old custom-house buildings for his office, and enclosed a wide expanse round about it with a strong bamboo fence. Porous pots of deliciously cool drinking water, each pot supplied with a number of tin mugs, were arranged on stands all round the sides. The antisoporific letpet, the gigantic, but soothing, green cheroot, and the good betel lay in great heaps on the tables everywhere, and vanished with extraordinary rapidity. A dozen or more punkahs were hung up and worked by coolies, so as to calm the brains and cool the heated faces of excited clients. Later on, when other wuns and letthondaw copied his methods, the resourceful Hpaungwun added bands of music, dancing girls, and even regular dramatic performances, kept up perpetually, to the other attractions of his place of business. Some managers strove to get the better of their neighbours by giving the people unlimited supplies of palm-toddy, in the hope that the heady liquor might induce them to risk their last coins. Others hit upon the device of returning one pice—about one farthing—on each ticket taken. Others again, desperate at the thought of being unable to render a good account to their royal master, engaged gangs of bullies, who went about threatening people with violence or false accusations in the law-courts if any but their master were patronised, while the Zegyodaw Myowun, U Tha O, in virtue of his official position as keeper of the markets, sent his subordinates to the Chinese gambling-house keepers, and forced them to subscribe periodically for fifty tickets at a couple of rupees each, if they hoped to retain their gambling licenses. Fired by his example, the Yaw Shwedaik and Taingda atwinwuns also made use of their court influence to draw subscribers. Brokers and traders of all nationalities who had business with the palace were put down for a couple of hundred tickets or so, on pain of losing their contracts. One of the wundouks was advanced and heedless enough to select the Dhammayôn, a place of worship and prayer, for his lottery-office. All the old lines were upset. Drawings were held whenever the

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2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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651 lists were filled up, no matter whether it was an uboné,
525 or a more sacred feast, and, as a consequence, the minds
446 of the people were kept in a state of perpetual unhealthy excitement.

651 Neither buyers nor sellers were to be seen in the bazaar.
525 Cultivators sold off their farming stock and implements, and
178 launched all their money into the state lotteries. Fathers
[562] sold their daughters, and husbands their wives, to have a final try for fortune, until the lottery managers issued a notice that they would give no more tickets in exchange for women. To fill up the totals faster, and draw in every available coin, twenty, or even more, people were allowed to club together to buy a single ticket. Business was entirely suspended, and all the people hovered about the lottery-offices, longing for the drawing, while cleaned-out speculators prowled about day and night, watching for an opportunity to thieve and rob. How it was that the plundered people did not rise against the government, or at least against the lottery managers, is a mystery, but they did not. The suburbs of Mandalay were filled for a time with ruined gamblers, until the soldiery were employed to drive them farther afield, when many made their way to the frontier, and recouped themselves by raids on British Burma villages. Eventually money failed, or the people were disillusionised, and the lottery-offices, though several remained open, drove but a very slight
651 trade. Then Thibaw Min had to resort to other measures
665 to meet his expenditure, and from July 1881 began disposing of monopolies right and left. Having finished the export monopolies, he commenced with those on imports. The British trade with Upper Burma was being steadily ruined, and the war which ended in the extinction of the kingdom of Burma was made inevitable.

763 Death and Funeral Observances. The decline of the human body is regarded simply as part of the inevitable course of nature. When this occurs, the soul must leave. The butterfly is the symbol of life; when one dies, 'the butterfly leaves the body.'

When death approaches, valuables, such as jewelery, are removed from the person and the death-bed, because people are reluctant to use anything with which a person dies. These things are given to the monastery. A relative chants as the person is dying, to fix his mind upon the truths of Buddhism and to divert it from worldly goods and ties of kinship.

764 As soon as death occurs, everyone present cries and wails. Sometime before rigor mortis sets in, relatives bathe the corpse, using a new water pot for this purpose, and pouring the water over the body from foot to head, the opposite direction from that practiced by the living. If the water pot must be refilled at all, this must be done an odd number of times. The pot is then put outside the house, upside down, and anyone outside the family of the deceased may take it. Then another filled pot is placed underneath the bed of the corpse. His hair is dried and spread out, hanging loose. His jacket is put on backwards; his longyi is tucked in or tied at the back instead of the front. The two large toes are tied together, as are the thumbs; the arms are folded on the breast; and the body is covered with a white sheet. Money may also be placed in the mouth. This practice is sometimes attributed to the practice of earlier times when, it is said, bodies were simply abandoned; the belief is that then the deceased had to walk to the cemetery, where the grave-digger buried him and took the coins from his mouth in payment.

The corpse must be watched at night; groups take turns at this duty. It is said that the night watch is kept to prevent malevolent spirits from stealing the body. An impending funeral may be the occasion for a pwe, an outdoor theatrical presentation, and gambling games. In such event, the proceeds from the gambling will go to the bereaved family to help them. The corpse, in a coffin, will be placed on a bier nearby the scene of the pwe. It is said that thus he does not become lonely. [525]

Burial occurs as soon as the relatives can conveniently gather together. While the body lies in state there is open house for those who wish to come to pay their last respects. When ready for burial, the body is placed in a wooden coffin, and a sheet is placed over the coffin. The water pot, taken from beneath the bed, is carried behind the coffin as it is taken out. Water is sprinkled on the floor until the party is out of the house, at which point the pot is broken. The body is carried feet first towards the cemetery. As it is lowered into the grave, the relatives kneel and make obeisance. On the return trip from the cemetery one member of the party is required to carry the sheet and to refrain from looking back.

By the time the funeral party reaches the house the bed has been cleared away for disposal. A white cloth is spread on a mat in one corner of the room. The person bearing the cloth says, as if talking to the deceased, 'There is your seat.'

On the sixth day after death, the person who placed the white cloth for the deceased to sit on, carries a paper umbrella to the cemetery and sticks it into the grave, saying, 'I have come to call you for tomorrow's ceremony.' If the umbrella remains upright it means the deceased will return as requested.

for an adult and 8 annas for a child."

In camp U Myaing does not play cards very much except when at funerals to pass the night away. His total stakes on such occasions are only about eight annas or a rupee. He has never been to the races, and he never goes about town for fun. He does not go visiting much except when on business. When he does go, he visits Hla Shin, his first cousin who lives in HSIN-MIN-KWET-THIT, and his cousin Ma Sein Maing who lives in Ahlone. In Rangoon there are about 40,000 to 60,000 refugees from Pantanaw district. Sometimes he visits other people whom he knew at the village. However, in a single year his purely social visits to people outside of the camp totals only three visits - one visit each to three houses.

Dr. Orr, Dr. Sheppard, Mr. Shaw and Mr. Musgrave are the only white men he has met. He does not know any other Americans or Englishmen.

U Myaing has not gone to the pagoda once in the present month. During the past month, when he was working at the Jubilee Hall, he used to cross the pagoda platform twice a day going to and coming from his work. In the last year he donated some money at the Shwe Dagon. He gave 2 annas on three occasions four annas on 6 occasions, and once, when he drew his monthly pay, he donated a rupee. Apart from these, he donated money 6 or 7 times during the first one or two months of their arrival, during the time when he was going around selling mats. He gave altogether three or four rupees in these six or seven times.

Only Daw Aw Zar regularly goes to the pagoda solely for the sake of worship and prayer. Ma Aye Myaing has been there about five times on three occasions, but, they were while she was on her way elsewhere, and only once or twice purely for worship. Her total offerings amount to only about a rupee. Daw Aw Zar remarked that they would not have had the opportunity of praying at this great pagoda if they were still in Pantanaw. Daw Aw Zar gives offerings of flowers, money, candles and incense, and goes up the pagoda frequently.

In his worship, U Myaing recites the 5 SILAS. He prays for

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572 The friendships he[1] has made with other workers do not seem to be
369 very deep or very lasting. In Pathwe the workers were all friends, and even included his relatives as well. There are not many strangers in Pathwe and even people not connected by blood ties were treated like relatives.

369 "In Rangoon the seller takes a profit on everything we have
426 to buy for food; items like rice, vegetables and fruits. Of course
444 he cannot be blamed, because he has a living to earn too. He gives wage-earners goods on credit, but charges an interest on those goods! In Pathwe U Myaing could get most of the necessary food without having to pay any interest or middleman's profits since he bought straight from the producer. In Rangoon all people who earn monthly wages are the same. They have to take goods on credit. Those who do not earn regular salaries are allowed credit, but they have to undertake to settle accounts by a fixed date.

●525 During the TAGU month festival, U Myaing gambled for money.
527 He has gambled to stakes as high as three hundred rupees, but never up to one or two thousand. In Pathwe they had this on the PAYA-GYI-DAUNG side, and U Myaing joined in whenever he came across in other villages a group who were playing while on business. When he was young he gambled away Rs. 700/- while on a trip to KYANGIN. They were all of them on the same boat and he lost that amount at DANUBYU. But by the time they reached YANGOON he had recovered his money. The games they played were poker and HO-HEE.

525 In their village they had people who held fights between game
541 cocks. U Myaing never bred any of these fowls but he has placed bets on them several times, small bets to the value of four or five rupees. There is no special announcement made but word gets around that there is to be a match at such and such a place on such and such a day, and at the appointed time the villagers who are interested all congregate at that spot.

There are bookmakers among the assembled villagers who are willing to take any bets on either side. Cock fighting is carried on during the months of PYATHO and TABOUNG. And even then they have it during only four or five days in the month. U Myaing does not go to every meeting. In the prime the ground is set for game cock-fighting

[1] [i.e., U Myaing -- ANALYST]

BOAT RACES: There are different kinds of boat races - e.g. in some one single rower is pitted against another. In others the boats carry three rowers each and in yet others six to eight rowers on each side. If the crafts differ in weight the lighter one is made heavier to equalise the two. The race is held between two contestants only. These race meetings are held towards the rains during the months of WASO, WAGAUNG, TAWTHALIN and THADINGYUT. In the hot season the water in the river subsides and makes it not very suitable for boat racing. During these four months, boat races are held once every three or four days and sometimes for several days in succession. The people who participate as contestants have an added interest in the outcome of the match as they also bet coconuts or money against their opponent. This is a direct transaction and not carried out through a bookmaker. It is more in the nature of a personal wager between the two. In the case of the races where there are six to seven rowers in each boat, the stakes reach three or four hundred rupees. 526 [525]

U Myaing rowed in one of these boat races when he was a young man. On that occasion he was awarded a draw. The boat that wins two successive runs wins the match. If not they are made to compete up to a total of four runs. If each of the boats alternately reach the winning post first for a total of four, then the match is declared a draw. At each of these boat races, about a thousand people attend and watch the proceedings from three o'clock to five or six in the evening. When the wager between the contestants takes the form of coconuts, cheroots, etc., the winner invites the loser and others to come and share his winnings after he has cooked the coconuts into coconut-rice, etc. [525]

Sports are held in some years towards the beginning of the cold season sometimes when there are big charities being held. There are individual races between paired men and between paired ponies. There are about 500 to a thousand spectators, and these races are held on the same principles as that of the boat races with the same rules for selection of winners and placing of bets.

These races sometimes take the form of a contest between two villages. These are big affairs with two to three thousand rupees [521]

being involved in bets. For this purpose special rowers are trained and fed by one or another of the big betters. These men are so strong and skilful that they can drive a boat carrying fifty to sixty baskets of paddy clear over a raft of a hundred bamboos tied together. A stop watch is used to time performances and a match may be arranged with another village. A rower by the name of NGA THIT once won over three thousand rupees for their village. U Myaing's share was three or four rupees. Some people in the village do not bet at all, others bet about forty to fifty rupees. 526 [525]

THE GREASED POLE: The greased pole is an amusement set up during the month of TAZAUNGMON for the KAHTEIN festival and the month of KASON for the NYAUNG-YE-THUN-EWE festival. On these occasions, besides other festivities a huge thick bamboo pole is made smooth at the joints and set upright. Then a bowl of greasy liquid such as THAYAW water (shampoo) or lard is perched towards the top of the pole in such a manner as to send the greasy liquid coursing down the pole with every slight shake it is given. On the top of the pole are placed several prizes such as items of clothing. After this people are free to get the prizes if they can. They get on one another's shoulders to reach the top. Sometimes they are successful and sometimes all of them come tumbling down. U Myaing tried this when he was young. At one KASON festival U Myaing and three others tried to reach the top by co-operating with each other but they were unsuccessful. Others try all sorts of ways such as dumping the body with mud etc.

In the village there are few entertainments, so that even if two bullocks start to fight in the fields, someone yells out the news and everyone comes out to watch. However, special matches are not arranged in their locality. [517]

There was not much of social visiting back in Pathea. Most of the visits were on business and the host proffered things such as prepared dried fish and other trifles. The talk centers around NGAPI and NGA-CHAUK. There are no visits made just because he is feeling dull and bored, although there are some people in the village who do so. 574 521

The whole family goes to the ANYEIN or marionette shows

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

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298. BULLOCK RACING.

in the ring and slaps his arm (*lemmdung-kat*) to the exclamation of *yáuk-kyá! báthá!*—man that you are and son of a man! (No. 153). When some one steps into the ring to take up the challenge, the pair are conducted by seconds to the judges, who decide if they are fairly matched; they then stand aside to await their turn. Every kind of attack is fair except pulling hair and biting; a cap is tied on the head to keep the long hair from coming loose. The first trace of blood betokens defeat, but matches are very frequently drawn. This may be the reason why there is no betting. Powerful seconds are on the alert to separate the combatants if they show temper. But the absence of temper, despite the severity of the contest, is its conspicuous feature. The frank dispositions of Burman and Taláing appear to rare advantage. The high spirits of the victor overflow in chivalrous deprecation of his prowess—"the merest fluke in the world!" That among such a people the sense of personal honour is keen goes without saying. Abuse is not so cheap as in India. The *vendetta* is unknown. Fatal quarrels occasionally arise from jealousy; the old national justice put the law into the hand of a betrayed husband.

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Pony-racing is the sport of the North, as boat-racing is that of Pegu with its network of channels. The races are run in heats of twos, like all races in Burma. There are small stakes for the owners, but betting is the soul of the sport. In this the women freely participate. The course is flat, half

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299. THE BOAT-RACE GOAL (PAN).

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

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[562]

408. CHINESE DICE (NIDAUNG).

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ment associated with sot (*ayet-thauk*), next after which is *beinza*—opium-eater. Women do not often play chess or cards; they have a game called *pasit* (beetle-fight), somewhat resembling back-gammon.

Games of pure hazard are in great favour, especially at festival times. Chinese and Shan settlers start gambling-dens for the dissolute youth, with Chinese dice (*Nidaung*, *Angalôn*, No. 406), and the thirty-six animal lottery (*tl*, *thônzè-chaukkaung kazâ*), symbols intelligible to every nation and the meanest capacity. For *angalôn* there is a paper or cloth with compartments for six different figures of animals on which money is staked, corresponding to similar figures on a wooden cube, which is shaken in a box.

541 The showmen in Burma are the conjuror and the snake-charmer. The Burman juggler (*myet-hlè sayâ*) makes no pretence of occult powers, not even to children. His name implies that his movements "elude the eye;" but his legerdemain does not attain to the art of the Indian and Chinese jugglers. The snake-charmer, on the other hand (*âlambè sayâ*), pretends to be protected by magic. He is tattooed all over with snakes; he has slits at the side of his tongue which he shows, and in other ways he plays upon credulity. It has been alleged that the snake-men inoculate themselves with the venom, but this is not authenticated, though it is known from the experiments of Calmette and Fraser that immunity can be produced in this way. The cobra (*mwye-hauk*) is exhibited, but only when the hamadryad (*ngan-bôk*), a much larger species of the same family, cannot be procured (p. 96). The snakes are exhibited in their natural

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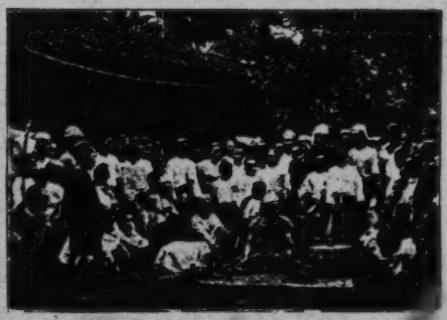

409. BURMAN JUGGLER.

have chosen industry and renown, or those others who have concentrated on hard living and the enjoyment of the pleasures of life, they all seem so ebullient, so much Lower Burman and not of the court of Mandalay. M 563 156

My grandfather was a pleader by profession, but by reputation much more—he was a classical scholar, famed for his fiery temper, his forthrightness and the stern discipline he imposed on all his children, grandchildren, dependents and anyone else who was given into his charge. He was also known for sudden progressive and even radical courses of action while expressing most reactionary views. My mother says he was a great man. My aunts loved to tell of his mental prowess, of how he never learnt English, never spoke it, but always as he did his pleading in court he could understand everything that was said around him in English; my mother also told us of how beautiful he looked on a horse; and when he was playing *chinlon*, which is a light cane ball to be kept in the air by tossing with legs, shoulders or any part of one's body that agility can devise, his short strong body, bare except for the longyi tucked about his loins, with tattoo marks in a blue-ringed pattern from waist to knee, and his long thick hair in a knot on the crown of his head, all looked more fair, more *manly* than the cropped hair, the shoes and socks and collars of the present punier generation. 554 693 B [526] B [304] B [302]

Grandfather started his family in a village just outside Moulmein, but a fire burnt down the house when my mother was still very young, and he decided to bring his family to Thaton and set up a practice there. He chose a site outside the town proper. It was then surrounded by muddy fields and, knowing Thaton at present with its 220 inches of rain a year, I can sympathize with my aunt Kyi-Kyi-Lon, who is said to have rolled herself on the ground with rage at beholding such a prospect. 00

The house which Grandfather built still stands today. There are not many houses left in Burma which reflect so well the type of comfort which a well-to-do family provided for in those days, or which have been built with so much regard to the customs of daily life and occasional festivities, and so little regard for appearance. Grandfather enclosed M 342 565 351

that is, the D.I.S. (District Inspector of Schools), whether active or re- 517
tired, was usually more permanent and could dig his toes in more 647
happily. The social relationship was also ideal. Earning less than the 351
other officials, he could yet offer them this rich hospitality of natural pleasures.

When we were in Maubin the D.I.S. was our friend U Taik Wan. 245
He and his family of ten sons and daughters had the u-yin developed to 252
its fullest. He had a low large house where the river took a bend and had fenced in this bed with bamboo stakes and a diving platform. The garden orchard stretched away from the house to a bamboo hut at the far end, with open verandahs under the trees. The speciality of his orchard were his sweet-sour marian trees. The marian is the *Ionea Burmanica*, common to Burma and northern Assam, where it forms an ideal appetizer for the heat-drowsy inhabitants. It is sour, of a sharp biting sourness which now makes my mouth water with longing. It is too sour to eat except doused in strong salt sauce or fish paste, salt being our antidote to sourness, in which I differ from the English idea of cooking, for salt combines and merges in with sourness whereas a pound of sugar thrown into a gooseberry tart would still leave it too sour for me. The marian is a small fruit, green when young and orange-yellow when ripe, with a pretty purple seed which has given its name to the Burmese colour "mauve". There is a sweet variety which is not popular. Sometimes, however, a prize tree is found which produces a sweet-sour marian, a sour fruit with its sting taken off. Such a tree should be treated with the greatest care; its fruits must never be salted or pickled as sour fruits are treated, because the "sour" use would communicate itself to the tree by what may be called sympathetic magic. Rather, my mother made jam (with sugar) of these marians, for the improvement of U Taik Wan's tree.

My mother was very punctilious about such things; the girl servants 252
were never allowed to pluck the citron leaves for our salad because a 841
woman in menstruation makes the tender leaves of the citron tree curl 789
up and lose their succulence when she plucks them. U Taik Wan had a row of sweet-sour marian trees which he guarded from flying foxes by throwing a net across one face of them, showing a wall of these creatures hanging head downwards, to passers-by.

Our pyaw-pwè-sas at the Taik Wan's always began with a lot of 526
water-fun. We never used bathing dresses, but adapted our longyis for 291
swimming. This longyi is shaped and wrapped, like the more famous 515
sarong, at the waist normally, but women and girls take it above the bosom when they discard their jackets. This enables all our poorer women to bathe with perfect decorum at public wells and streams.

526 After the bath a dry longyi is slipped on over the wet one which is then
291 washed clean straight away. The poorest, who do not always possess a
515 spare longyi, sometimes let themselves into a stream gradually, lifting the longyi higher as they go in, and when the water is bosom-high they keep the garment on their head, letting it down again as they emerge. Our use for the adaptability of the longyi was to stand on a diving platform with it opened wide at the bottom, jump feet first and let the air rush in, nicking the longyi in at the ankles as we struck the water. This

makes you land with a balloon which floats you for a minute or two like those swollen celluloid ducks in babies' tubs. My friend Tin Tin Thoung was just like a swan on these occasions; she was not pretty normally, being very thin and angular, but she had a long and graceful neck, and when she floated on the water, gliding along with her neck rising out of her big round longyi, she looked like a beautiful swan to me.
[262] After bathing, the Taik Wans' mother had basketfuls of Indian corn, the tender ones boiled and the tougher ones roasted, and dishes of the peeled marians doused in fish sauce awaiting us.

881 Besides these social visits there were special festivals that came with
585 the months, and occasions common to every family's history—the ear-boring of the girl, the initiation into the priesthood of the boy, and marriages of grown-up children—which had to be celebrated in traditional forms. Most minkadaws preferred to hold marriage ceremonies in Rangoon, Moulmein or Mandalay to have as much fashion and show as possible, but the ear-boring (*nadwin*) and initiation into priesthood (*shinbyu*) find a better background in country towns. Nadwin is the coming of age of a girl, not for marriage, but for the initiation into the pleasant vanities of a woman's life. It is fine enough to sit with a rich

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

CHAPTER XXXVI

A BOAT-RACE

● 526 It is four o'clock in the afternoon, and the sun is still beating down fiercely on the mile and a half broad stretch of water which extends far above and below Myanaung. But the whole population of the town, and excited family parties from a score of villages round about, are gathered on the banks of the Irrawaddy, and bustle about regardless of the heat. Girls with flowers in their hair, and the brightest of dainty silk handkerchiefs floating over their dazzling white jackets; their costly skirts trailing on the half-muddy, half-dusty grass, and the long loops of their dalizan necklaces swinging about on their bosoms, hurry hither and thither with unwonted activity, regardless of the detriment to the fragrant yellow cosmetic on their cheeks and necks, and heedless of the occasional remonstrances of the guardian duennas, hardly less excited than themselves. Young men, ordinarily scrupulous as to the jaunty set of their flowered turbans, and the carefully-arranged folds of their hundred or two-hundred rupee waistcloths, now rush backwards and forwards, apparently aimlessly, their gaung-baungs twisted on anyhow, or hanging loose round their necks, and the cherished paso girded up tightly round their loins, reckless of creases; while they have not a word to say, or even a glance to throw, at the fairest of the country's daughters. Staid old men are gathered together in knots, all talking together at the pitch of their voices, and jingling bags of rupees in one another's faces; every now and then one group rushing off to another and swelling loud talk into shouting, in a fashion of which you would not have believed the

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

phlegmatic old gentlemen capable, if you had seen them three days ago. Everywhere is bustle and excitement and anticipation. Even the township policemen have lost their ordinary official swagger, and are engaged in eager converse with individuals who, in ordinary times, command their attention in quite a different way. 526

There is very good reason for it. The full moon of Thadingyut is past; it is well on in October, and it is the time of the boat-races. For weeks past the Myanaung boat has been spurting up and down the long straight reach, or having a heavy training paddle to Akauktaung and back again, and now at last the great day has come. Myanaung has challenged Thônkwa, hitherto the unconquered champions of all the low country, and the race, in best-and-best boats, is to come off this afternoon. The down-river men with their boat, and pretty nearly the entire body of their fellow-villagers, arrived last night, and none except the privileged have seen anything of them yet, to enable them to judge whether they are in as fine form as they were last year when they rowed the Bassein boat to a standstill. No wonder there is excitement, for Myanaung is but a young subdivision, sprung up since the English occupation, with no speciality for paddlers, and Thônkwa cherishes a name for prowess on the river from far back in the old Burmese days.

But suddenly there is a lull in the buzz of talk, and every eye is directed up the river. The boats have started for the preliminary row over the course. It is necessary to propitiate the guardian spirits of the river, and the votive offerings are therefore to be made. At the stem of each boat crouches a man holding with outstretched arms a bunch of plantains, some cooked rice, flowers, and betel, for the soothing of the water-kelpie. This precaution must on no account be omitted. Who knows what disaster might not otherwise happen? The flouted nat might upset the craft with a flip of his finger, or cling to the keelson of the boat and tire to nothing the sinews of the brawniest arms. Therefore goodly alms are given, so that all may rest with the prowess of the rival crews. This breather serves also another purpose. It enables the spectators to have a final view of the antagonists, 526 782 526

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

● 526 and to lay their last rupee or not on their champions according as their judgment or loyalty bids them. Not a man of them will back the enemy's boat. If they have not supreme confidence in the superiority of their representatives, they simply refrain from staking all they possess. But in all the vast crowd there is not a man who has not a money interest of some kind in the race. There is U Ôn, the district magistrate, in the "grand stand"—a primitive erection run up in half an hour with some sticks and bamboo matting; he is a Thônkwa man by birth himself, but nothing will persuade him to back the fishing village against the subdivision over which he now rules. Why, he has practically built and furnished all the money for the Daungsatpyan himself. The water-craft which he learnt in his native place has only prompted him to hang with greater loving care over the lines of the boat when it was building, and Ba Tu, his eldest son, wields the steering paddle in the Peacock, the pride of Myanaung. Now the old gentleman—he pulled a good oar himself twenty years ago for the very town he now longs to beat—moves about uneasily, gets up and sits down, winds and unwinds his white pawlôn, and can hardly refrain from shouting out, for the Peacock is just passing, and Ba Tu gives a yell and flourishes his paddle, and there is
[201] a great shout of "Yauk-kya!" from the Myanaung partisans. Yauk-kya, or yauk-kya ba-tha, means simply "man" or "man, the son of his father," but it is a defiant challenge, or an inspiriting cheer to the Burmese. They are a fine, strong-looking lot, the Myanaung crew, perhaps a little too fleshy, and therefore possibly deficient in staying power, but all young, and worked up to a state of nearly frantic enthusiasm by the presence of their sweethearts and the momentous duty that rests upon them. Their weather-beaten old trainer paddles alongside of them in a little canoe, and begs them to be calm at the beginning and not rush
501 themselves out at the start. The boat is a beauty, and does credit to the old magistrate in the sweeping curves of its lines. Low and as light as skilled hands can make it, it draws only a few inches of water, and does not rise much more than a foot above the surface. So thin are the sides that the boat is tourniquetted together with twisted wire

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

000 moment! From start to finish he has all his wits about him, and the stem of the boat is full on the winning-post all the time. Four years ago, when the Hlaing men seemed to be carrying all before them, it was Kya-gyi's generalship that won the day. Therefore the Myanaung magistrate is a little disconcerted at the homage paid him by his old rowing mentor, but none the less he puts on another hundred rupees with a Thônkwa lugyi who comes up at the moment. The Thônkwa men come with a bit of pace just at the finish too, and with a he-la, lu-la, yauk-kya, ba-tha, hé, dash past the winning-post.

● 526 This winning-post is not such as is used in English boat-racing. A boat is moored right out in the current with its head to the stream. At right angles to its length a long hollow bamboo stretches across the bows, and through this is passed a rattan, the end projecting an inch or two beyond the mouth of the tube at both sides. The contesting boats have each their own side and keep their own water, and the bow-paddler rises and snatches at this pan as the boat whisks past. It thus becomes a sign and proof of victory and is planted in the bows of the winner. Not a little skill is wanted on the part of both the man at the bow and the man at the stern. The former has to be sure in the eye and quick of hand, and the latter must take especial care to bring the boat past at the proper distance. It is not so very simple a matter to pull out the long cane at the terrific pace with which the boats come up, and the pan must be carried off to ensure the verdict. Sometimes both men seize it at once, and then they are almost certainly swept out of the boat, and as a rule both lose the rattan. Then it is a thaye pwè, a dead heat. But if one has the pluck and presence of mind to stick to it, then his boat has won.

Now the offerings have been made and the boats turned round, no very easy matter in the swift current with their great length. But it is effected dexterously enough. The Myanaung boat paddles up to the winning-post and young Aung Zan tries the pan to see that it runs smoothly in the [552] bamboo, and Ko Kya-gyi swings in the stern of the Thônpânhla—the Three Fair Flowers, as the Thônkwa

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boat is called—to make sure that his man will have his proper amount of cane to grasp at. Then both boats get under the bank to avoid the force of the current, and paddle leisurely up to the starting-point, a mile or a mile and a half up the river. 526

The din and bustle on the bank now become greater than ever. Every one is talking and stating his views as to the result of the race, and nobody is listening to him. Betting goes on freely, and the chink of rupees is heard perpetually. It is announced that the sporting English extra [525] assistant-commissioner from the divisional town has given as his opinion that "the fishermen" will win ; they are in better condition and cooler-headed than their opponents, and will win at the finish. There is a minute's dejection at this, and then it is all effaced by the discovery that the Chinese storekeepers have put their "bottom dollars" on the home boat. That is good news, for the Tayôk is a good judge of anything that can be betted about, and it is very seldom that he drops money. So the talk goes on till the last coin is staked. Welshers have not yet been introduced into Burma, and there is now nothing to be done but relieve one's feelings in talk, and puff furiously at big cheroots, with an occasional rush into the water to see how far the boats have got up. Old U Ôn tries to talk to the young Englishman, but it is 000 no use, he can't keep either his mind or his eyes off the boat, and the Ayebaing improves the occasion by attempting a flirtation with the daughter of the house. But he might as well talk to the winds. She is far more excited than her father, and would be dancing about if it were not for the restraint of her old nurse, who is too blear-eyed and rheumatic to be anything but ill-natured.

But at last there is a hush and every eye is turned up the river. The boats are turning, and come drifting down to the starting-place. There is a minute or two of backing and fussing about so as to get the boats straight and the bows level, and then, with a loud shout, they are off to a start by mutual consent. A roar of pent-up excitement comes from the crowd all the way down the banks to the grand stand and then swings back again like a wave on the flat sea-sand. Served by their magnificent boat and their

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the pan; the Thônkwa bow felt the scratch of it on his palm as it disappeared through the tube 000

The scene that follows is beyond description. The victorious crew spring up to dance, but the relief is inadequate. They can only escape frenzy by plunging into the river. U Ôn tucks up his waistcloth and dances round in mad delight till his stiff old legs will bear him no longer. Pompous old lugyis caper and plunge and shout; younger men can only relieve their feelings by flinging themselves in the pools on the bank and rolling about wildly in the mud; girls, who at ordinary times would hardly dare to raise their eyes to look about them, dance and shout in ecstasy, and their married guardians join in the rout. Bands from a dozen villages round about strike up, but the professional dancers who came to perform in honour of the victors are fain to look on while their intended audience go through unpremeditated figures. It always seems marvellous how the people ever get gravity of demeanour again after a great boat-race.

The contest is technically not over yet. It is a hle-pyaung lu-pyaung, that is to say, the crews have now to change boats. The Thônkwa men take the Daungsatpyan, and the home crew man the Three Fair Flowers. But to all intents and purposes the victory has been won, and the home representatives are the conquerors. The two boats paddle up again, and the fishermen go right away and win with the most consummate ease. This sets money matters on a more comfortable footing, but the Myanaung people are not a whit disconcerted. They won the real race, that in which each crew rowed in its own boat, and they receive the arguments of the Thônkwa contingent with the most self-satisfied composure. The record of the champions has been broken, and the veteran Ko Kya-gyi has at last sat in a losing boat. 526

A general adjournment is made back to the town. The country people have all come in their bullock waggons, and these are drawn up in comfortable places under the trees. The victorious crew go in procession up and down the main street, preceded by bands and every one in the place who can dance. Feasting is general, and then all move off to 527

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527 the plays, of which there are three or four, while some unwearied spirits can only find relief for their exultant triumph in yein dances and irresponsible performances of their own. [273] Till dawn of day the revelry goes on, but there is nothing like drunkenness. It is exceedingly seldom that you see a drunken Burman out of Rangoon, where they claim to be Europeanised. For a couple of days the excitement lasts, and then the strangers wend their way homewards, and the township calms down to its usual quiet. But for years the great event will be talked of at the local feasts, and the Yein choruses of three or four generations will tell of the gallant struggle when the Daungsatpyan beat the Thônpanhla and broke the long supremacy of the Thônkwa rowers.

177.52 526 It is a great pity that these old contests are not kept up with the spirit that used to characterise them. In 1877 the then Chief Commissioner of British Burma, Mr. Rivers Thompson, believing that they led to unrestrained and dangerous gambling, issued an order forbidding all government officials to have anything to do with them, and advising that great races should be discouraged as much as possible. This policy was continued by Mr. Aitchison (late Sir Charles), and there seemed some danger that the art of making fine racing-boats would be lost, while all the fun and jollity of the old ye-pwè, kôn-pwè, land and water sports, were put an end to, without any decrease in the amount of 525 [101] gambling. The habit is as engrained with the Burman as with the Chinaman, and if there are no boat-races to bet on there are lots of other things, from pony matches to gônnyin-to, on which sporting votaries might stake their money. 526 There were still local matches between adjacent villages held, but they were but a sorry imitation of the old festivals, and 177.52 have unfortunately led to the unpleasant speculations of the West being introduced. "Barneyings," in-and-out rowing, and all the unlovely customs of Western professionalism have sprung up as a consequence of the degradation of the old manly sport. Sir Charles Bernard, who was an ardent athlete himself, did a good deal towards reviving boat-racing. Sports have been held on the Great Royal Lake at Rangoon, it may be hoped only as a preliminary measure to the encouragement of longer contests on

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the great rivers again. The surest way of putting an end to "roping" and false rowing with the object of mere money gain, is to reintroduce the old honest, enthusiastic rivalry. Where every rower feels that the name of his village depends upon the prowess of his arm, there will be no "sugaring" and ignobly waiting, in Sheffield handicap fashion, to "have their heads loose."

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All the races in the low country are rowed in hlaw hle, or hlaw laung, that is to say, in paddle-boats. Up country there are frequently contests in hkap hle, "pull-away boats," rowed with oars, but even there the national paddle predominates. It may be mentioned that the coast men are by far the better rowers. In the Mandalay October races in 1881, a scratch Bassein boat challenged all comers, and was victorious in every match.

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There are a variety of boats, mostly, however, made on the same model, of which the laúnggo is the type. This is simply a canoe hollowed out of the trunk of a tree, the sides of which are drawn out by charring and inserting wedges; then the boat-builder chips out the centre. The laungsat is only a little larger and more commodious, plank sides being added to the solid keel, if it may be so called. The huge hnaw, or rice-boats, are made in the same fashion.

Of a different style are the pein-gaw, huge, ungainly, barge-like things, used principally at Yenangyaung for carrying oil. Along the sides, projecting over the beams of the boat, and reaching aft to the house raised on the quarter-deck, are tagin, a sort of platform for the polers to walk backwards and forwards on. Pihn-gaw keep mostly in shallow water, so that their ungainly weight may be moved along by poles, which is much quicker and less laborious work than rowing.

Barring exceptionally fine racing-boats, the hlawkadaw, or hlawga, the king's despatch boats, were the finest specimens of boat-building. They were gilt all over, even to the kat-tat, or paddles, and the stern rose high up in the air for the accommodation of the steerer. The express boats, or hpaungpaw, had usually a representation of the kalawaik, the carrying bird of Vishnu and national emblem of the Burmese, on the bows, and had often as many as sixty

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501 paddlers. Down stream they went faster than a steamer; but they are never seen nowadays.

526 In the Rangoon Boat Club regattas on the Royal Lakes, a British four usually rows a Burmese ten to fourteen paddle-boat. Honours are fairly easy with perhaps a balance in favour of the paddlers, who always get off at practically top speed.

The Intha leg rowers of the Yawnghwe Lake in the Southern Shan States, when they row in their own boats, seem likely always to beat even the best picked Burman crews.

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524 to the extremity of the line are taken. In pedan the seeds are placed in a big circle. Some one seed, either at one of the sides or at the back, is fixed upon to be hit. Any one who does so takes all, but if any other seed is knocked over you have to pay forfeit, and add one to the circle. This is, perhaps, the most outrageously noisy form of all, and, like the daungpyit, is very seldom played by any but children.

The daing or ground keeper's services are constantly being called for. A long-armed man is accused of delivering too far forward; some one has got an exceptionally big do to aim with; one of the seeds knocked over does not fall down flat, but leans up against another; somebody hits a seed already knocked down by somebody else, and by means of it manages to level some of those left standing, though his own seed never touches them; cases of this kind are always cropping up and being referred to the umpire amidst boisterous statements and precedents referred to by everybody present, for the betting spectators are often more deeply interested in the matter than the actual players. Then the police burst in and carry them all off to the lock-up, and they are duly fined for gambling, and English residents who look upon gônnyinto as only an elementary kind of marbles are astonished that people should get themselves into trouble for such a trifle. But for all that, gônnyinto, in its way, requires quite as much skill as either bowls or curling, and judgment and delicacy of touch are quite as essential as in billiards.

● 526 Curiously enough, taking gônnyinto for mere childishness, most foreigners look upon "Burmese football" as a game. This is certainly not the case in so far as a "game" is a striving between one or more competitors for supremacy. There are of course different degrees of proficiency, but one man cannot be pitted directly against another to see who is the better player, as you do with two lawn tennis or racket players. Primarily chinlôn, as it is called, is simply designed to exercise the body, to restore elasticity to the back and limbs cramped by sitting, reading, or writing, or even by playing chess or gônnyinto. The ball is composed of wicker-work, strips of rattan interwoven in bands so as to leave a number of pentagonal holes, and is about four

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inches, or a little less, in diameter. It is extremely light, and the object is to keep the ball as long as possible in the air without touching it with the hands. Thus a single individual may play it all by himself, or there may be a circle of players who catch the ball as it comes round their way, keep it up as long as they can, until an ill-judged stroke sends it away from them to somebody else, who proceeds in a similar manner. To play it of course the feet must be without shoes and the waistcloth is tucked up close round the middle, so that the legs may be quite free. It is worth while watching a good player. He starts the ball on his knee, knocking it up, and standing on one leg all the time, or perhaps rapidly changing the knee. Suddenly he sends it up high, catches it with a back stroke with the heel, repeated perhaps several times. Then he receives it on the knee again, gradually and gently reduces the force with which he strikes it, lets it slip down to the instep, and jerks it back and forwards between the top of the foot and the knee for a time. Then from the knee he sends it into the air again, clips it between his cheek and his shoulder; then lets it run down the side to be caught up with a side stroke of the foot, or behind to be sent up by the heel, or forwards to be caught again by the knee. The last is the most difficult, because if hit too soon with the top of the thigh, the ball simply flies outwards, and cannot be saved from falling to the ground, while even in catching it with the knee, care must be taken to hit it gently. Another very difficult manœuvre is to jump into the air, catch the ball between the feet and jerk it up again before reaching the ground. Nasty tumbles are the usual result of first attempts. A good player will keep the ball up until his strength gives way, and most Burmans, if they are not ambitious to attempt difficult strokes, can keep the chinlôn up a very fair time. But it is not easy all the same. No part of the arm must be used, and using the toes is also barred, though in any case, with them a stroke would almost inevitably prove a failure. Still though spectators may stand and look on, and the players may try to give one another difficult strokes, the skill displayed in negotiating which is always applauded, yet chinlôn cannot be called a game,

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526 any more than dancing the Highland Fling can, for judgment as to superiority in either case must be a mere matter of personal opinion, and cannot be governed by hard and fast rules.

These are practically the only outdoor national games. Boxing is a very common institution, but there is no ordinary practice in the evenings, and when a let-pwè comes off it is a regular ceremony more resembling what would be called in Europe a match, or a tournament, than a game. A good deal of agility and skill is shown, leaps into the air, and kicks with the bare feet, and violent upward knocks with the knee finding a place which would not be allowed by the "fancy." The first drawing of blood decides a contest, however slight the injury may be. But boxing is not common now. Among the Karens near Maulmein it is still regularly [577] kept up, and no young man would be successful in his courting unless he had taken part on some occasion or other at a let-pwè. In Rangoon nowadays contests are of regular occurrence at feast times, but the displays are in sheds and entry money is charged. Elsewhere they are not often seen, [562] and the rule that no women shall be present is always rigorously kept.

524 What may be called indoor games are numerous and various. There is a game very much like the English one known as Fox and Geese. There are three big tigers, and eleven or sometimes twelve little ones. It is called legwet kya, and the object is for the big tigers to hunt down on a draught board and eat the little ones. If, however, the cubs can corner the big ones, and prevent them from taking a leap, the latter have to succumb—starve to death in fact. Another game called pasit, or chwe pyitthi, or ansa pyitthi is a steeplechase kind of arrangement, and is a favourite with children and simple country people. It is played on a board shaped and divided like that in the figure.

Cowries are used instead of dice, and the object is to complete the tour of the board as fast as possible, and to take as many opponents as you can on the way. Thus if there were two playing, the first thrower would enter at *a*, and having reached *b*, would continue from *a* to *c*, from *c* to *d*, and so on. The second would commence at *a* also, but

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The concept of KARMA (fate) is important only in determining the general well-being of the individual, as seen in Daw Aw Zar's belief that her general good health was due to a morally-lived previous existence. "It is like a shadow". Some specific situations like being born blind is attributed to ones KARMA - in this case the person had been a notorious fighter of cocks in the previous existence; cocks being frequently blinded in the fights.

Each person is regarded as subject to some special disorder or weakness such as being especially subject to colds or headaches, or stomach troubles. Collectively these are referred to as "age-group" weaknesses. (MIYAT - girls' weakness; DULAH - boys' weaknesses.) But this is due to childhood illnesses and neglect of early troubles rather than KARMA. Persons with the weaknesses noted above avoid cucumbers (a "cold" vegetable), or hot foods including liquor (these cause greater heat to rise to the head), or green or raw vegetables (hard to digest). The choice of the correct diet to suit one's particular condition is important.

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Bodily exercise is a prime consideration for health. Callisthenics or sports for this purpose are unknown or unrecognized and by " healthful exercise " is meant everyday work activities. Regular daily motion is regarded as necessary for health, and a purgative is taken regularly once a month. The idea is to " clean out disease ". Purgatives are taken first in most sicknesses. This is followed by drinking preparations in hot water to induce perspiration along with woolen blankets. The colour of the urine is checked "daily" since a too yellow colour indicates an unhealthy condition. If so - one must drink additional quantities of water and coconut water. "Urine takes the place of perspiration in cold weather". Over-working and lack of sleep also lead to unhealthiness. The ideal
[513] sleep period is from 8 p.m. to 6 a.m. with a nap thrown in from 12 to 2 after "breakfast".

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Too much worrying SAYTAUNGLOMOJEN (mind-beating-because-body-crush) leads to sickness. This is a common problem for mothers who worry about their children's futures. It results in THEMJEN-PYEKEN (small black bitter (gall)-disorder) where the gall fluid is

BOAT RACES: There are different kinds of boat races - e.g. in some one single rower is pitted against another. In others the boats carry three rowers each and in yet others six to eight rowers on each side. If the crafts differ in weight the lighter one is made heavier to equalise the two. The race is held between two contestants only. These race meetings are held towards the rains during the months of WAGO, WAGAUNG, TAWTHALIN and THADINGYUT. In the hot season the water in the river subsides and makes it not very suitable for boat racing. During these four months, boat races are held once every three or four days and sometimes for several days in succession. The people who participate as contestants have an added interest in the outcome of the match as they also bet coconuts or money against their opponent. This is a direct transaction and not carried out through a bookmaker. It is more in the nature of a personal wager between the two. In the case of the races where there are six to seven rowers in each boat, the stakes reach three or four hundred rupees. 526● [525]

U Myaing rowed in one of these boat races when he was a young man. On that occasion he was awarded a draw. The boat that wins two successive runs wins the match. If not they are made to compete up to a total of four runs. If each of the boats alternately reach the winning post first for a total of four, then the match is declared a draw. At each of these boat races, about a thousand people attend and watch the proceedings from three o'clock to five or six in the evening. When the wager between the contestants takes the form of coconuts, cheroots, etc., the winner invites the loser and others to come and share his winnings after he has cooked the coconuts into coconut-rice, etc. [525]

Sports are held in some years towards the beginning of the cold season sometimes when there are big charities being held. There are individual races between paired men and between paired ponies. There are about 900 to a thousand spectators, and these races are held on the same principles as that of the boat races with the same rules for selection of winners and placing of bets.

These races sometimes take the form of a contest between two villages. These are big affairs with two to three thousand rupees [521]

being involved in bets. For this purpose special rowers are trained and fed by one or another of the big betters. These men are so strong and skilful that they can drive a boat carrying fifty to sixty baskets of paddy clear over a raft of a hundred bamboos tied together. A stop watch is used to time performances and a match may be arranged with another village. A rower by the name of NGA THIT once won over three thousand rupees for their village. U Myaing's share was three or four rupees. Some people in the village do not bet at all, others bet about forty to fifty rupees. 526 [525]

THE GREASED POLE: The greased pole is an amusement set up during the month of TAZAUNGMON for the KAHTEIN festival and the month of KASON for the NYAUNG-YE-THUN-EWE festival. On these occasions, besides other festivities a huge thick bamboo pole is made smooth at the joints and set upright. Then a bowl of greasy liquid such as THAYAW water (shampoo) or lard is perched towards the top of the pole in such a manner as to send the greasy liquid coursing down the pole with every slight shake it is given. On the top of the pole are placed several prizes such as items of clothing. After this people are free to get the prizes if they can. They get on one another's shoulders to reach the top. Sometimes they are successful and sometimes all of them come tumbling down. U Myaing tried this when he was young. At one KASON festival U Myaing and three others tried to reach the top by co-operating with each other but they were unsuccessful. Others try all sorts of ways such as daubing the body with mud etc.

In the village there are few entertainments, so that even if two bullocks start to fight in the fields, someone yells out the news and everyone comes out to watch. However, special matches are not arranged in their locality. [517]

There was not much of social visiting back in Pathee. Most of the visits were on business and the host proffered things such as prepared dried fish and other trifles. The talk centers around NGAPI and NGA-CHAUK. There are no visits made just because he is feeling dull and bored, although there are some people in the village who do so. 574 521

The whole family goes to the ANYEIN or marionette show

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
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000 534 Herbert Spencer, *The Origin and Function of Music.*) The simplest Burman instruments are the harp (*saung*) and the dulcimer (*patala*). The harp has a boat-shaped body of wood, with a skin stretched over it for sounding-board. The thirteen strings are of silk, strengthened with varnish. The staves of the *patala* are of dry bamboo (No. 454). These two instruments are not loud; they

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395. BOYS' BOXING-MATCH.

are used to accompany the voice, as we use a harp or guitar, and also by themselves. The loud band (*saing-dî*), which gives so much character to the *pwè*, is composed of clarions, gongs and drums. The clarion (*hnè*) is a loud and strident instrument, the effect of which is enhanced by the second clarion. These are supported by gamuts of tuned gongs (18) and drums (22) in circles (*kyî-waing* and *saing-waing*). There are two tenor drums and a bass drum (*bôndyî*). Time is accentuated by cymbals and clappers. The tone of the gongs is so round and bright that it may be mistaken for a piano; the flourishes played on the *kyî-waing* would imply considerable execution in a pianist. Drums are struck with the fingers, gongs with padded sticks.

526 Boxing-matches are the simplest of the contests which, after plays and pageants, form the chief popular diversions. The spectators sit and stand in a wide circle. At one side is a raised platform for the judges. No women are present. The challenger executes a defiant dance

396. PONY-RACING.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
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398. BULLOCK RACING.

in the ring and slaps his arm (*lemmdung-kat*) to the exclamation of *yánk-kyâ! bâthâ!*—man that you are and son of a man! (No. 153). When some one steps into the ring to take up the challenge, the pair are conducted by seconds to the judges, who decide if they are fairly matched; they then stand aside to await their turn. Every kind of attack is fair except pulling hair and biting; a cap is tied on the head to keep the long hair from coming loose. The first trace of blood betokens defeat, but matches are very frequently drawn. This may be the reason why there is no betting. Powerful seconds are on the alert to separate the combatants if they show temper. But the absence of temper, despite the severity of the contest, is its conspicuous feature. The frank dispositions of Burman and Taláing appear to rare advantage. The high spirits of the victor overflow in chivalrous deprecation of his prowess—"the merest fluke in the world!" That among such a people the sense of personal honour is keen goes without saying. Abuse is not so cheap as in India. The *vendetta* is unknown. Fatal quarrels occasionally arise from jealousy; the old national justice put the law into the hand of a betrayed husband.

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Pony-racing is the sport of the North, as boat-racing is that of Pegu with its network of channels. The races are run in heats of twos, like all races in Burma. There are small stakes for the owners, but betting is the soul of the sport. In this the women freely participate. The course is flat, half

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399. THE BOAT-RACE GOAL (PAN).

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
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526 a mile to a mile. Popular diversions, common to Burmans and Europeans, are the race meetings, with their kindred accompaniments.

The boat-races are held at the *Thadin-dyut* festival (p. 184). Racing-canoes are forty to sixty feet long and only wide enough for one man; they are lacquered inside and out (No. 430). The canoe is paddled by a crew of eight to twenty.

[541]

400. COCK-FIGHTING.

Competing crews generally belong to different villages, which causes excitement to run high and heavy wagers to be laid. The goal is a boat moored in the river, athwart of which is fixed a long bamboo (*pan*).[2] Through the hollow of the latter runs a loose rattan, projecting a hand-breadth at each end. The bow-hands make a dash for this rattan, and the boat that secures it is the winner. Burmans are excellent swimmers, which they need to be for these races, as the canoes are commonly swamped at the goal; but they have no swimming contests.

541 Bullock racing is a favourite sport in parts of southern Pegu. Some trouble is taken with breeding the animals and training them to trot fast. In the race they go at a gallop over a course of about half a mile.

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401. CHINLON GAME.

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 API Burma
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[OPP. P. 178]

402. SLASHING COCOA-NUTS.

[To face p. 178.

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403. CHESS.

Slashing cocoanuts (*ôukbôt*) is a favourite sport in the North. A green cocoanut is balanced on the top of another, and has to be severed in two across the fibre at a blow of the sabre. This requires both power and knack. The villagers bet on who will sever the greatest number without a miss.

Cock-fighting is condemned by the popular religion, together with everything that causes pain or inflames the passions. Nevertheless, the people are greatly addicted to it; they bet heavily on their birds. A large long-legged fowl of the Shanghai type is bred for fighting. The Taláings in the South are fond of making bulls fight, especially bull buffaloes.

526 The every-day outdoor sport of Burma is the *chinlôn* game. A light springy ball is made of five interlacing circles of split rattan, four or five in a tier, with large open interspaces. The object is to keep the ball up, and the only rule is that the ball may not be touched with the hand. The nearest player advances to meet it, and if he be a tyro, he is content to kick the ball up; there are no turns. A good player will send the ball into the air again and again with decreasing force till he allows it to alight in the hollow of his shoulder. Thence he lets it roll down the back of the arm and jerks it off at the elbow to catch it on the knee, and, changing his foot like a flash, strikes the ball high from the back, with the opposite sole, for another player to vary the performance in as original a way as he can (Nos. 160, 162). The game implies a perfect command of every muscle. Players are not at their best till twenty-five or thirty. There can be no winning in this game, which is played for the pure love of skill.

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404. DOMINOES.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
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[OPP. P.180]

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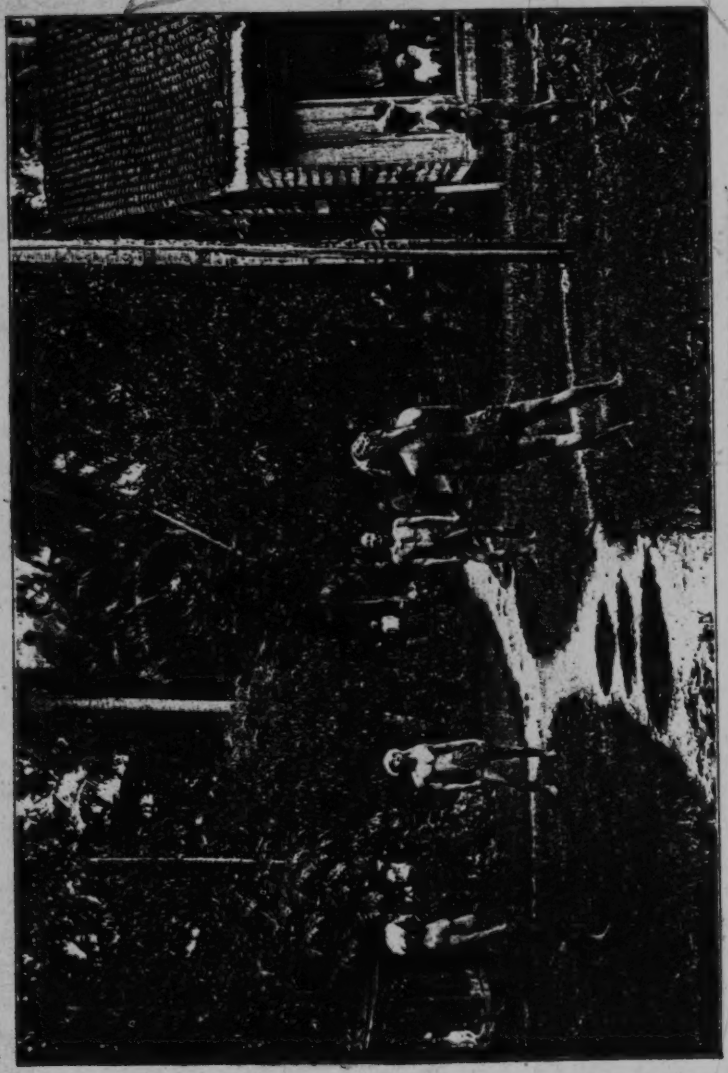

[To face p. 180.

407. CHINLON GAME.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

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[526]
[241]
[821]

414. WATER-THROWING AT NEW-YEAR.

Party feeling, which often runs high between the quarters of a village, with their rival *kyaung* and *zedi*, finds an outlet at *Tagú* in the tug-of-war (*lun-swè*). As the superstitious whistle for the wind, so do they expect to tug in the monsoon by this means, at the season when everything is panting for rain.

After *Tagú*, the next festival season is *Wàzò*—in June—the commencement of the Buddhist Lent. This season is signalised by the *Shinláung fêtes*, described in Chapter III. During Lent there is no regular festival.

The great festival of *Thadìndyút* celebrates the close of Lent. It falls in October, when the rains are generally over, and is the one for which the most extensive preparations are made. Every festival is signalised by the offerings made to the *yahán*. But now they are literally "poured" in profusion, as the word implies (*sun-láung*). *Yazamá*—paths fenced with bamboo trellis, such as those prepared for the progress of royalty—are got ready along the chief thoroughfare. Through these on the morning of the great day the *yahán* defile in endless procession. As many as a thousand *yahán* may be invited to receive the *Thadìndyút* offerings in a large town. The offerings are poured into the alms-bowls by the laity; scholars are stationed at intervals to relieve the *yahán* of their loads of offerings. After the *yahán* come *pôthudaw* and *mèthilá*. Both ends of the *yazamá* are decorated with arches of bamboo and tinsel. About these are grouped life-size figures of mythical import—dragons to guard the entrance, princes and princesses of the *nats* to take part in the honour done to the *Thingá* (No. 151). In the evenings fire-

[792
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415. KANBOM PROCESSION AT NEW-YEAR.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

balloons are sent off, and the rivers are illuminated with rafts carrying lamps which are set adrift. Labyrinths of bamboo are erected round the *zedi*, which entertain the children and especially the hill-people, who pique themselves, not 796

[526]

416. NEW-YEAR TUG-OF-WAR.

without reason, on their sense of locality. These labyrinths are called *Wingabá*, after the mountain maze, to which Prince Wéthandayâ was banished by his father, in the *zát* legend.

Tazáung-mòn is the next festival after *Thadíndyút*; it is kept in Pegu, but not in Burma Proper. At this season Buddhists commemorate the miraculous journey of Gawdama Buddha to the *nat* country after the death of his mother, to impart to her the enlightenment which had come to him on earth, and by means of which he had attained peace. Spires of bamboo-work and tinsel—the *tazáung-daing*—are built twenty to fifty feet high, as symbols of the stair by which Gawdama ascended. These are carried round the place with music, and are finally dedicated at the *zedi* (No. 422). In the months of *Tazáung-mòn* and *Thadíndyút* the *katín-thingán* are dedicated, and the *mathò-thingán* are woven. The *katín-thingán* is the annual supply of the primitive *parékaya*, and is of a nominal character, owing to the profusion of offerings at other times. The *mathò-thingán* is a cloth wherewith to deck the images of the Buddha and the *paung* of the *zedi* (Nos. 429, 449). It is the offering of the women who weave it,

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[778]

417. SUNLAUNG AT THADINDYUT FESTIVAL.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

788 a Karén from this neighbourhood was taken prisoner in the wars and carried
173 to Ava, where he eventually became *yahán*. One night he dreamt that in the cavity of a rock, on a hill near his home, were two hairs of the Buddha which had been deposited by Ôttara and Sawnasé, the missionary *yahán* who brought Buddhism to Pegu; they died and attained *pari-nirvana* at this place, and were buried at the foot of the hill. The Karén was allowed to travel to the spot, where he found what he had seen in his dream; a *zedi* was built there, which is now a famous resort of pilgrims—*Kôthena yôn* (No. 280).

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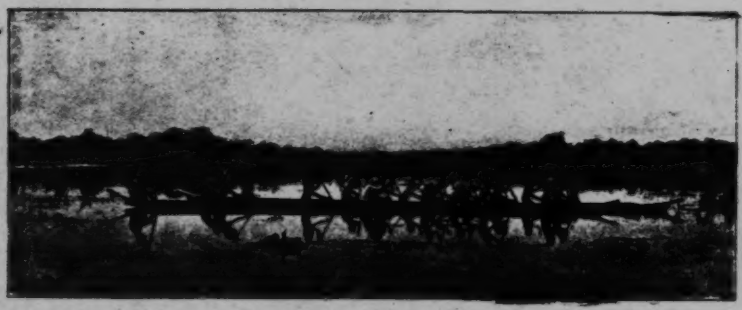

430. CANOES RACING (p. 178).

511 necessity, by pressing the paste flat on the inside of the cover and
415 putting it over the fire; the top knob of the pottery always remains cool
252 enough to be touched by the time the paste is baked. On festival days
415 my mother bought dozens of little earthern dishes, no bigger than an
392 English coffee saucer. They were called *hsi-mi-khwet*, oil-flame dishes,
•527 in which we burned lights of cotton wick and kerosene, and lined veran-
511 dahs and window-sills with bright fairy lights in the night breeze.

We had stoneware in the house too. The *kyaukpyin* is a flat circular piece of stone for grinding the bark of the *thanakha* (*linnoria*
511 *acidissima*) tree, to use as a cosmetic. It has a canal all around to receive
324 the ground paste. Kyaukpyins can be bought in all varieties and
412 sizes in any bazaar, but my mother always got hers through the headman
303 of Salé village, in Upper Burma, where they use a particularly suitable kind of rock which is durable and yet helps to make the paste smooth. We had some beauties, heavy pieces of about 14 inches across, a square around the circular canal, with carved figures on the corners and the ponderous legs. With the right quality of bark the ground thanakha fell in a smooth golden flow into the canal. Formerly, all women used this cream as the sole substitute for powder, letting it dry on the face and whiten it, but the sophisticated ones now use imported powder as giving a less artificial appearance.

302 Yet even the most ardent Max Factor fans cannot give up thanakha entirely for its great value lies in its astringent properties; it would have great success with European women who use mud-packs, because it acts like a mild and pleasant mud-pack. It also has cooling and refreshing properties, it is fragrant; older women apply it over the entire body after their baths, like talcum powder. My mother says it smooths the skin and, indeed, victims of smallpox who are left with deeply marked faces, have their skins smeared with thick thanakha many times a day, and
303 after a few months there is a definite improvement. The thanakha
512 bark is the most used, but barks of the red and white sandalwood and other trees (*nethapyu, nethani, kalamè, a-hmway*) are more fragrant and used on the body. Bad bark from the bazaar grinds gritty and dries patchily, but special consignments come from Myingyan and Pakokku, cut into six-inch lengths from branches two inches in diameter. A daily task of the girls in each household is to grind thanakha, and the commonest sight is a girl on a verandah with a kyaukpyin, a mug of

1: Mi Mi Khaing I-5 (no date) 1946 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

CHAPTER SEVEN

805 527 ROUND about the end of January each year, for our lunar dates do not fall on the same calendar dates every year, we celebrated my father's birthday. All Burmese celebrations have a basis of "doing merit" either in feasting people and perhaps fasting oneself, distributing gifts, or inviting monks to preach and others to hear them. An atmosphere of enjoyment is possible in these good works because Burmese people do not believe in divorcing their praying from their merry-making; usually both are carried out in the same room, the pleasure after the holiness; and the donor feels a great satisfaction of spirit as he says; "*A-hmya a-hmya* : Share with all, share with all (the merit from his good deed)." The friends gathered around reply to this "*Tha-du, tha-du :* Well done, well done."

527 352 On my father's birthday monks were "lifted" or invited to the house for a grand meal. All the Western chairs and tables were moved out of the sitting room; and one end of the room was laid with carpets of red and green rose design, specially kept for such occasions in all Burmese houses. This was for the monks to sit on and facing them the people would sit on mats. Between the monks and people were laid out all the presents for the monastery.

792 192 [413] I was always sad when I saw these presents; to my childish eyes they looked so uninteresting. A monk who renounces worldly goods is allowed to possess only eight articles, three pieces of cloth which form his robes, a begging bowl, a mat, a blade, a needle and a water strainer. Dagas or donators can, therefore, only give these, or other articles necessary to the way of life conforming to their precepts. Such include religious books, mats, candles and matches, brooms, spittoons. These last make very elegant presents, and are a common sight at all distributions of presents, the standard pattern being of white enamel, with a red band around the edge. Children are told of one monastry whose holiness is so high that a spittoon donated to the monks there will echo the name of the donator each time a monk spits into it. With the presents all laid out, the monks walk in in a row, and sit with eyes downcast and legs crossed. My mother and father make obeisance to them and send for us after a few words with the chief monk. We were always nervous and subdued on these occasions; in speaking to a monk a vocabulary of honorifics has to be used, even for "Yes". The hpongyi always made

792 and Grandfather called my cousin Ko Lu Pe to read it. My cousin had
871 been at a government school for some years and though he could read
177. and write English with some ease, he stuck at the word "circumcise".
87 "What!" exploded Grandfather, "five years learning English, and you can't even read a telegram. This education is quite useless." Whereupon he took the grandchildren and his two young sons out of their schools until his wrath subsided and they quietly started attendance again. It is a popular stage joke also, the B.A. who returns to his village and is asked in good faith by the hpongyi to mend a villager's watch that has gone wrong. The graduate confesses that he cannot mend it. The monk is horrified: "What, passed B.A. and cannot mend a watch?"

527 So now on my father's birthday the monks ask jokingly and kindly
792 about our school subjects. Their meal is laid out on a low round table,
574 and consists of all the good things my mother can think of, for they have only one main meal in the day. Rice and meat and vegetable dishes are followed by fruit, sweet milky coffee, sweet English cakes. The monastery boys are given their meal outside; the monks, after eating, rise and go, and the boys follow them bearing away the gifts for the monastery. At once there is a general shuffling into more relaxed positions, conversation swells out, we start to scamper around and help to wheel in more round tables. Then everybody eats, and my father feels a deep sense of well-being.

805 Our lunar calendar has twelve months in its year, beginning the new year about the middle of April with the month of *Tagu*. Each month contains the twenty-nine to thirty days of the moon's cycle, but the dates are numbered with only 15 numbers—15 waxing days starting from the crescent of the new moon: *la-hsan ta-yet, la-hsan hna-yet*, new moon first day, second day and so on, until the 15th and full moon day, *la-pyit nay*: after which come the waning days, *la-hsot*. With this system, we are 12 or 13 days short of the 365 each year, and hence every second year there occurs a double month of *Waso*, in July and August, which month also starts our Lent. Lent lasts the three months of the monsoon, until *Thadingyut*, in October, when we see it out with lights, feasting and
796 much merriment. For the observance of festivals such as New Year
262 and Thadingyut we usually visited relatives, but certain other observances came round each year to us in our own home.

Such is *htamanè-hto*, the making of a comestible known as *htamanè* in vast quantities, for distribution on the first full moon after the harvest. On the full moon night of *Tabodwè* in January-February, the villagers sit up all night in big parties of men and women singing and joking as they make all preparations for the cooking that is to take place by dawn. The basis of htamanè is a glutinous rice called *kaukhnyin*, always

face from bringing something off, money is paid in advance, rush tactics 593
are employed to prevent the man returning from abroad from marrying
the sweetheart of his college days, and in some cases even magic is resor- 584
ted to, though in secret. This black magic, especially, involves some 554
very undignified actions. A younger cousin of mine once warned his 177-
mother: "Please, Mother, never try to sell me like a bullock, or worse 58
still to arrange a marriage for my sister. I will not help you to jump [789]
thrice on eggshells or throw ten viss of fish into a well at dead of night
under instructions from a soothsayer."

Although marriages were constantly being arranged among our [585]
circle of friends in Thaton, I was not allowed to attend weddings as a 527
young unmarried girl. What we did attend regularly with the grown-
ups were the *u-bok-nay*, the duty day gatherings every week in the
resthouses among the hills. On these days Buddhists who choose to
observe the day, obey eight or ten precepts instead of five. Amongst
these ten are the abstaining from food after mid-day, absence of ornament
and cosmetics in dress, meditation and prayer, and absence of a high
couch in sleep. In Thaton the observance of this day was made the
weekly social event with the same combination of material enjoyment
and religious piety that characterizes all Burmese functions as described
previously. Each family went to the hills early in the morning with
mats, betel boxes and a well-cooked meal. The girls wore all the [556]
jewellery they had because we had not yet taken the precepts, and this
was a good chance of showing that a family did not lack wealth. We
met in the resthouses, to one of which a monk came to intone the pre-
cepts. These we repeated in chorus after him; then the elders talked
and chewed betel, and at about 10-30 the whole party went to bathe in
the pools made by the waterfalls down the hills. We went back to find
the pooled dishes of four or five families laid out in a rich feast. We
stuffed ourselves with this. The law states that food should not be eaten
after noon, and the law was always obeyed in the letter if not in the spirit.

One maiden lady in Rangoon who kept duty days regularly ate till 785
as near noon as she possibly could. She usually finished her meal with
fruit, and if she was eating a banana when noon struck with a loud bang 527
from the cannon at the Shwe Dagon Pagoda, "Haw!" she would ex-
claim, and in would go the whole length of the banana into her mouth.
After noon, tea and coffee are not allowed either but aerated waters,
which look so much like water, are sanctioned. When my husband was
a novice monk in the monastery, they were allowed medicinal pro-
ducts also after noon, and the hungry young novices often made a [278]
delicious soup of garlic (a digestive) fried in butter (medicinal compo-
nent), and water poured on to the fragrant compound.

•527 The younger children of the families also took the precepts, but it was not considered wrong if they felt too hungry or faint to keep to them. Everyone packed up and went home from the resthouse at about four in the afternoon. I found these duty evenings very long and depressing. There was no dinner, my father and mother told beads all evening, and at night their mattresses were removed and they slept only on mats.

428 342 We were now living in Grandfather's old house. Grandfather had left it to the four youngest among his children, and my mother had bought out the shares of the others because she was sentimentally attached to it and could not bear to see it pulled down. To others it had seemed an unwieldy shape taking so much good teak which could have built a compact modern house. My mother set about the task of transforming in into a comfortable domestic family house with a nicely disposed front and back, but it was a difficult task. There was no neat garden plot, no face, no bedrooms, but long stretches of gallery and verandah. We fenced off the well so that the village could continue to use it without infringing our privacy, the old big kitchen was dismantled and a compact kitchen made of one of the store-rooms near the washing platform, the old maternity room was stocked with commodes and made into a lavatory, the powder room was used as box-room. Six of us shared the big bedrooms. The altar, the water-pots and meals continued where they had always been. There was a large expanse of shining floor for visitors to sit on mats, and the head of the long verandah held a few chairs. The stable was cleaned up and given to Apana, now an old and rheumy-eyed man, and the downstairs hall, where a school had been, now held our stocks of rubber.

511 563 775 But still there was always so much space, the house seemed vast and empty, and the life so different from our district government houses with a crowd of servants, young men and dependents of all kinds. We felt the change acutely. My sisters were still children who played with each other and had plenty to eat during their short holidays, but I found the evenings silent and sad with the lifeless echoes which the dim light of the floorboards used to send up. I had been to stay at the house for short periods just before my Grandfather died, when I was about three or four years old. Here, where we washed our faces, we looked across to a house now mysteriously barred with a blank wooden face, but then inhabited by *ta-yok chi-thay-mas*, tiny-footed China-women, fabulous creatures according to my nurses, who, though they were slit-eyed and could curse you in an unknown tongue, could be sent reeling back with one touch of a finger. The ta-yok chi-thay-ma had other macabre qualities also. Her child had a big black patch of hair on its arm because it was the reincarnation of his dead sister. At the death of this

262 tha-yay-sa we used to eat, some of them not since we were children—and excitement and salivation and comfort in each other's company mount as one after another throws in a fresh contribution to the list, bringing back with sharp delight some half-forgotten taste from a childhood paradise. The names of our sweetmeats are all descriptive of something, their appearance, consistency, composition, or associations which they have, so that the mere recitation of them gives one delight. Sweets which are in balls: *Mon-pein-nè-si, mon-lon-yay-paw, mon-longyi, kalapè-so:* cake jackseeds, cake-balls floating, big cake-ball, cake-weegram-balls. Those that are in round wafer shapes: *mon-pyissa-lè, mon-hsi-kyaw, bein-mon, mon-lè-bway:* worthless cake, fried-in-oil cake, wheel cake, whirlwind cake, which can be crushed into a mouthful from a circumference of about fifteen inches. Those that come as noodly bits of flour or grain, lathered or drowned in coconut juices: *mon-laing-daung, mon-lok-saung, mon-hsan:* cake in stick pieces, cake made by covering, cake sprinkled. Those rich cakes of flour, nuts and raisins which are cut in diamond shapes from slabs twenty inches in diameter: *hsa-nwin ma-kin, kyauk-chaw, pa-thein halawa, mon-kywè-thè* or *mon-ka-lame:* cake-not-free-from-turmeric, cake-smooth-as-marble, Bassein cake, cake-buffaloes'-liver or cake-black-Indian, so black and glossy is it. Or those that come in shapes of things: *mon-leit-pya, mon-let-kauk, bi-mon, daung-kwa-mon:* cake-butterfly, cake-bangle, comb cake, peacock's hoof cake. These sweets range through all consistencies from compressed cake form to almost liquid jelly; their ingredients are from sources as widely apart as the fruit of the palmyra palm and the groundnut. Most of them are freshly made, and women and men sellers walk around with them during the hours between breakfast and dinner, from about 11 a.m. to 5 p.m.

262 •527 Sometimes a child sees a miracle when all these delights are gathered before its eyes and ready only for the asking. This is at a *Neibban Zay*, a Nirvana Bazaar, a paradise on earth to the child. Kyi-Kyi once took me and my small sister to a Neibban Zay when the rest of the family were away. In the absence of my mother's more sophisticated tastes, Kyi-Kyi smeared thanakha all over Pusu's body, dressed her only in a petticoat and wooden slippers so that she should keep as cool as possible and led her by the hand to Nirvana. Three streets of householders were giving a free feast to the town; each house had a stall before it and was serving a different mon from the next. Children wandered up and down, stopping before the sweet they liked best, stuffing themselves to their heart's content, because the Neibban Zay was being given as a work of merit and grown-ups would not interfere with the distribution of charity. Never shall I forget my Pusu walking up that street, her neck

1: Mi Mi Khaing I-5 (no date) 1946 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

craned and her eyes round with wonder and appetite, her thanakha legs sticking out brown and chalky from under her white petticoat. 262 527

Hand in hand with the keen delight in the tastes of food goes our interest in the physiological effects of foods. Thus medicine and food are closely allied, and the good health of a normally constituted person is maintained with very little reliance on bottled tonics, even among modern townspeople. For this reason, too, Burmese people often eat foods which are not altogether good for them but the taste of which they like, and they rely on the counteracting effect of the antidote food which is usually contained in the recipe. "Neutralization is more epicurean than prevention." Just as the cooling mangosteen is eaten after the heating durian, the pickled tea-leaf which contracts the menstrual flow of women is eaten with ginger, which, shredded and pickled in lemon juice and salt, can be eaten in large amounts to have a counteracting effect. Cucumber also causes *lay-hto-tè*, the wind-to-pierce in the body, but citron is *lay-naing-tè*, conquers wind. Citron leaves and cucumber are often seen on the some to-sa-ya plate. Mushrooms which have a toxic effect are cooked with the water-greens called *ga-zun-ywet*, which not only counteract the poison but also provide a neutralizing 262 827

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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The name given thus[1] appears to be entirely a matter of choice; but this is not so. The consonants of the language are divided into groups which are assigned to the days of the week, Sunday having all the vowels to itself. With all respectable families it is an invariable rule that the child's name must begin with one of the letters belonging to the day on which it was born, but within these limits any name may be chosen. As an immediate consequence it follows that a Burman has a birthday every week, a frequency of recurrence which renders the event monotonous, and precludes the friendly amenities of western nations on such occasions.

[527]

The letters of the alphabet are apportioned to the days of the week in the following rough rhyme, which every Burman child can repeat with as much certainty as the English one will display in the recitation of Little Jack Horner:—

Ka, kha, ga, gha, nga, Taninla.
Sa, hsa, za, zha, nya, Ainga.
Ta, hta, da, dha, na, Sane.
Pa, hpa, ba, bha, ma, Kya-thabade.
La, wa, Boddahu.
Ya, ya (the Pali and Arakanese ra), Yahu.
Tha, ha, Thauk-kya.
A, Taninganwe.

That is to say, children born on Monday have for the initial letter of their names, K, Kh, G, Gh, or Ng; for example—Maung, Ngwe Khaing, Mr. Silver Sprig; Maung Gauk, Mr. Crooked; Ma Kwe Yo, Miss or Mrs. Dog's Bone; Ma Khin, Miss or Mrs. Lovable. It will be noticed that in Miss Dog's Bone's names the initial letters of the two words do not agree as to the day. This often occurs, and the first name (Maung and Ma being merely honorary additions) always denotes the birthday. The better class families avoid such a mixing, however, as far as possible.

Tuesday's children have the choice of S or S aspirated (practically the same), Z, Zh, and Ny. For example:—Maung San Nyun, Mr. Beyond Comparison; Maung Po Sin, Mr. Grandfather Elephant; Ma So, Miss or Mrs. Naughty.

[1] [Cf. category 553, p. 3 -- ANALYST]

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

Not only has every day its special character and its fixed
805 letters, but there is also a particular animal assigned to
825 symbolise it, and red or yellow wax candles are made in
782 the forms of these animals to be offered at the Pagoda by the
[527] pious. Each worshipper offers the creature-candle representing his birthday, or that of any particular friend or relation whom he wishes well. In this way Monday is represented by a tiger; Tuesday, by a lion; Wednesday, by an elephant with tusks; Yahu, by an elephant without tusks; Thursday, by a rat; Friday, by a guinea-pig; Saturday, by a nagā or dragon; Sunday, by a kalôn, the fabulous half-beast, half-bird, which guards one of the terraces of Mount Myinmo (Meru), the centre of the universe.

782 Little candles of this kind are to be had at any of the
443 stalls which cluster about the steps and the base of every pagoda in the country, and they are as freely offered as flowers, and fruits, and gold-leaf.

551 It will be seen that there is no such thing as a surname
553 among the Burmese. A man may have a dozen sons not one of whom has the same name as his father. Maung, literally "brother," has come to stand practically for "Mister." Po and Shwe and Ba may be applied to any one without regard to his birthday, Shwe implying usually politeness or affection. Nga, used in the English law-courts and by pompous native officials generally, implies superiority claimed by the speaker or writer. Ko denotes friendship, or superior age and dignity in the person addressed. Maung Shwe Than might call himself indifferently—Maung Than, Po Than, Ba Than, Ko Than, Nga Than, or Shwe Than, and might add Maung to any one of these. As a matter of fact most Burmans chop about their name a good deal during their lives. He may begin by being called Lugale Ngè, "Little Wee Man." When he grows up a little the family probably get to call him Lugale Gyi, "Big Little Man." Later, when he begins to think of his appearance and look after the girls—and they begin that sort of thing very early in Burma—he probably calls himself Maung Lugale or Shwe Lugale, "Mr. Littleman," or "Mr. Boy," or "Golden Boy." There are a variety of other changes possible and likely. Finally, when he reaches the age of thirty-five or forty he either readopts the original Ngè and calls himself

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

325 copper and tin are melted together in small open-air furnaces round about, and the crucibles are carried in little wicker baskets. Large bells usually are made in a pit dug in the ground. The metal images of the Buddha for the pagodas are cast in a similar way. When the mass has cooled, the outside is polished, and any flaws there may be are patched up. Then the inscription is chiselled on, and the bell is solemnly dedicated.

325 The casting is made quite as much a ceremony as it used
● 527 to be in the Middle Ages in Europe. The whole district gathers to see the operation. Songs are sung, and bands clash and play while the actual casting is going on, and sometimes the vast multitude is wrought up to such a state of enthusiasm that women and children throw in their necklaces, and gold and silver rings and bangles. Traces of these are to be seen in the inside of many bells, in the shape of whitish or yellowish streaks. The workmen sometimes, in the case of large bells, try to strengthen them by twisting iron chains round the inner mould in the midst of the bees'-wax. Such a chain cable is distinctly to be seen in the great ninety-ton Mengôn bell. Since the "Great Monarch" of Moscow became a chapel, this is actually the biggest bell in the world.

788 The shape of Burmese bells is not handsome. They
534 come straight down to the mouth like a barrel—not expanding at the rim, like those of European make, but their tone is very sweet. In Burma bells are entirely reserved for pagodas. A Burman never has a bell in his house; and it would, in fact, be no use to him there if he had it. Englishmen do not use them either, so that throughout the whole country the bell is only used for sacred purposes.

000 The following is a translation of the inscription on the bell numbered 15219 in the Indian section of the South Kensington Museum:—

"The Victor, the All-gracious" [referring to Gautama, the Lord Buddha].

"The gist of the discourse on worship, as it appears in the beginning of the Dhamma-set, is as follows:—One must give goods in alms; one must preach the Law: these two things are good deeds both for this world and for the next;

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

CHAPTER XIX

A PAGODA FEAST

A PAGODA feast in Burma is one of the most frequent, as well as one of the most picturesque sights in the country. Each shrine has its own special sacred day; and the annual celebration of it is made the occasion of a general picnic, the congregation of people, from all parts of the surrounding districts, being bent no less on pleasure than on pious observances. Reverence for the shrines of various saints in different parts of Europe gave rise to the great fairs which were general until the end of last century, and survive even now in out-of-the-way places. Doubtless, if the Burmese were a commercial people, and cared for the putting together of pieces of silver, these gatherings might degenerate into occasions of barter and bickerings of trade—just as, if they were a practical people, their zat-pwè might blossom into something of a more real character, as the old mystery and morality plays gave birth to the modern drama of Europe. But the Burmese do not care for any of these things; and the pagoda festivals retain therefore the character they have always had, of ostensible religious assemblies. Still their most obvious characteristic to the ordinary public mind is very different. Youths and girls look forward to them as seasons of mirth and flirtation: long nights at the open-air theatre, feastings and perpetual amusements, the pleasanter because lasting no more than a couple of days. Elderly people have no less liking for them. They meet their old friends, and receive and recount the gossip of half a dozen districts; and there is always a succession of new acquaintances. It is a joyous holiday; and it is sanctified by the

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2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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527 thought that the few hours spent at the payā gather up stores of kutho, not less certainly profitable than the social delights of the "duty day" are pleasurable.

796 101 The greatest of all the pagoda feasts is, of course, that of the Shwe Dagôn in Rangoon, with its pilgrims, not only from the farthest parts of Burma and far-away Shan hills, but also from over the seas, from Siam and Cambodia and the Corea. But the vastness of the gathering and the proximity of the great town spoil the national character of the festival, and introduce too many elements of nineteenth-century civilisation in the shape of merry-go-rounds and hack carriages. A "jungle" feast is not only more characteristic, but more appreciated in its way by both town and country folk.

796 There are three old Talaing pagodas near Rangoon, Kyaik-ka-san, Kyaik-ka-lo, and Kyaik-waing, whose annual duty days are looked forward to with pleasure by all the people round about. The feasts all occur in the month of Tabodwè, corresponding to our February or March. I have a suspicion that, were the proper date adhered to, all three would have the same uboné; but such a lavish squandering of the good a popular religion provides for us would hardly meet with lay approval, even if advocated by the most holy of hermits. Accordingly the three pagoda days occur at intervals of a week, without reference to the crescent or waning moon; and latterly, with singular convenience for Burmans occupied in business in Rangoon, [177-79] have usually been fixed for Sunday; so that English merchants are not troubled with the sudden ailments of their clerks at this season so much as used formerly to be the case. The Kyaik-ka-san is probably the most sacred of the three; containing as it does a tooth and bone of the forehead of Shin Gautama, brought to Rangoon by a yahanda, a blameless mendicant, over whose remains in Rangoon a huge thein-gyi, or ceremonial building, has been erected. Kyaik-ka-lo is, however, seemingly the more popular. It stands on the summit of a little hill about fourteen miles north of Rangoon, and is built of laterite blocks, now faced with bricks covered with plaster. The shrine was built in the second century before Christ, and,

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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CHAPTER XXI

THE END OF LENT

THE end of the Wā, or the full moon of Thadin-gyut, is always the occasion of a regular carnival of enjoyment, which in Rangoon has latterly shown a tendency to degenerate into uproarious saturnalia. The dismal season of the rains and of Lent, when there were no pwès anywhere, no feasts, no courting to be done wherever the parents were at all strict, no amusement of any kind to be had, except the somewhat tame diversion of a gossip with kindred spirits at the pagoda on the duty days—all this has passed away. Plays, ahlu pwè and kyi-gyin pwè, are to be seen in every quarter; young brothers who have just finished their three months as novitiants in the monastery and have come out into the world again are wild with excitement at their regained freedom, and infect their sisters with enthusiasm for gaiety of all sorts; the town is illuminated, feasting goes on everywhere, and the street plays are so crowded that you cannot secure a decent place unless you come down early in the afternoon, or at any rate before nightfall. 527

But all public festivals in Burma are religious in their character, and the rejoicings at wā-gyut are not less so than those at wā-win, when every one was preparing for the austerities of Lent, instead of the relaxations of the coming cold months. Accordingly the merry season is ushered in with a great feasting of the monks. This sôn-daw-gyi pwè is not so extensive, properly speaking, as the legitimate festival of that name a month later at the time of the Tawadeintha feast, and as a matter of fact is much more modest in its character in the small towns and villages.

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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But in Rangoon it has assumed in recent years a form which gives a great deal of offence to all the more serious people, and is especially condemned by the austere Sulagandis. Instead of having the offerings displayed in their houses and giving them to the yahans when they come round in the grey of the morning, the new fashion with the inhabitants of Rangoon is to carry all the alms to the monastery overnight, set them up in goodly array, there and then hold receptions, sing songs, dance, play musical instruments, and generally turn the quiet monastery into the semblance of an uproarious "penny gaff." This objectionable innovation has gradually arisen out of the practice of a few of the more pious old people who at the end of Lent used to go in the evenings with ahlu for the pyinsin, listen to some pious discourses, or the recitation of some sacred zāt, and then return betimes to bed. But now the frivolous find monks not less carnal-minded than themselves. Subscriptions are raised for weeks beforehand to make a grand display. One of the yahans is asked to grant the zayat near his house for the occasion. Some of the monks of the Thayet-daw kyaung in Godwin Road, which is the chief sinner in this respect, are even so shameless as actually to go touting about for people to take their zayats, or at times even part of the monastery itself.

Then at nightfall, on the full moon, the people begin to troop in. Those who have taken the management of the almsgiving are there before. We enter by one of the little wooden bridges, and come across a pya-that, a presentation spire, immediately, glittering bright in the moonlight and the glaring torches which are gathered thick farther on among the pôngyis' dwelling-places and the mango-trees from which the monastery takes its name. The spire has just been deposited, and the band has barely stopped the music which sounds so strange within the sacred parawun. But there is more coming that will be a far greater shock to up-country notions of religious propriety. The first place we come to is a zayat, and Maung Maung, the dispenser of hospitality, recognises us and calls us up. All his female friends are arranged in a row at the back, dressed in their finest, and before them, just as at the Tasaungmôn alms-

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma (Europeans) AP1
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feast, are heaped up piles of fruits, savoury curries, cakes, biscuits, and sweetmeats of all kinds, intended for the monks; while scattered about are great *repoussé* silver bowls full of sherbet, gold and silver cups, lamps, mirrors, and all the familiar adornments, fit enough for a private house, but singularly out of place where a gay piece of tapestry hung up barely conceals the image at the eastern side of the rest-house. Maung Maung offers us some lemonade, and we light cheroots, exchange a few compliments with the ladies, and pass on, just as a noisy half-dozen of young Englishmen from one of the mercantile houses come scrambling up the ladder-like steps. It would be well if these gentlemen would remember that each of the houses is to all intents and purposes a private assembly for the night, and that, though the host always welcomes them, he understands English, and does not by any means relish the mocking comments which are lavished on everything, and still less is inclined to approve of the criticisms passed on the ladies. But then there are so few Englishmen in Burma who understand the very shortest sentence in the language that they may be pardoned if they mistake for a promiscuous saturnalia what is nominally a religious ceremony. We leave them joking with Maung Maung and the hostess, as she offers them some beer—beer in a monastery! But then it is known that Englishmen will be there, and the Burman's notion is that an Englishman only leaves off drinking beer when he drinks brandy, so this last indignity is not objected to by the yahans.

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Farther on we come to the place we are specially in search of. The master of ceremonies here is our friend Maung Po Si, a Patama Byan, a certificated theologian and long resident in Mandalay, qualified, therefore, to be a yahan himself, and from his previous experiences, one would think, not at all likely to countenance such open contempt of the provisions of the Wini, which treatise his success in the above-mentioned "theological tripos" implies that he knows by heart. But "Mr. Grandfather Oil" is very emphatically in the world of kāma; he is far from having beaten down the passions, and his place is the most startlingly secular of them all. He has got the kyaung of a myizzi mati, a pôngyi who has been ten Lents in the Order, and

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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ought therefore to scorn such desecration for any purpose whatever, and certainly should not be tempted by the offer of a feast for his palate. But the fact remains that not only has he given up the front part of his kyaung, all but the elevated dais on the eastern side, where the images stand and visitors are received, but there is actually a play going on, trumpets braying, drums beating, and the bamboo clappers sounding high over all. It is a zāt, a birth-story certainly, but that does not make it any less a sin for the pôngyi to be so near, and with all those thirty pretty girls looking on too. The monk is behind the curtain which shuts off the undesecrated part of the building, it is true, but he can hardly be asleep with all that music, surely, and it is a crime for a member of the Order to listen to music. Yet who is to condemn him to penance when the prior's house is very little better? In some of the kyaungs, indeed, the younger yahans take very little trouble to conceal the fact that they are looking through the chinks of the slight hangings which cut off their sleeping-places from the noisy throng on the other side. The Englishmen, when they come round, push aside the kalagas to see what is behind, stumble over the peeping postulants, and scare the conscience-stricken "ascetics" almost out of their senses, under the impression that it is a bilu who has been enabled to gain access, and is going to devour them incontinently. Nevertheless there is no check in the revelry. It goes on until far into the night, and increases in noise the later it gets. The liquor [273] which has been brought for expected visiting foreigners cannot be left behind in the kyaungs; they are not low enough for that yet. Consequently, the laymen must drink it. The result is that as time goes on there are quarrels and fights; and in this very Thayet-daw kyaung in the Thadingyut of 1879 a man was stabbed and died within the limits of the parawun. Little wonder that the strict Sulagandis are gaining over many of the more respectable inhabitants of Rangoon, for even this horror has not diminished the popularity of the wāgyut alms-feast.

The noise and hubbub go on till far into the morning, and when at last the people go, the monks may be supposed to have a little rest, for they can hardly have slept much

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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before, however steadily they lay on their mats. The offerings are eaten next morning, and it is greatly to be feared that there are many abstentions from the morning's round of alms-begging. Such dissipation must scatter to the winds any merit acquired by diligent piety and meditation in the long weeks of Lent. It is only to be seen in Rangoon and a few other places where many foreigners congregate. The description is from the "country mouse" point of view.

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In country towns, revels of this kind are never seen, and even in Mandalay, though there are festivities in abundance, the monasteries are never invaded in this scandalous way. The difference is that between the primitive Buddhist and the highly sophisticated latitudinarian. A more harmless and decidedly prettier custom is the illumination, called taungpyi pwè, of the pagodas and the town. In Rangoon a very fine effect is produced by hanging the Sule Pagoda, in Fytche Square, all round with Chinese lanterns, from the base up to the top of the thabeit-hmauk, where the body of the shrine begins to narrow into the spire. The rings of coloured light narrowing upwards in a veritable pyramid of fire, produce one of the finest sights of the kind to be seen in the country. The street lamps, however, somewhat handicap the simple means of illumination open to the inhabitants, and to see the illumination of a town at its best one must go to a place where there are no street lamps. There all the pagodas and many of the private houses are lighted up, and the contrast to the ordinary gloom is startling. Candles are placed on posts at intervals of ten paces in every street, and the sè-eing gaungs have very plain-worded instructions as to what will happen to them if any of the lights in front of the ten houses of which they have charge go out. Mandalay Hill at such a time was a fine sight and still is, though it is no more a royal town. The two covered ways which lead up the steep uneven sides to the pagoda and the richly gilt Gautama on the top, look like streams of flame, or fiery serpents from the haunted nat-taung, under the shade of the Shan hills. But the monasteries which cluster close in to the foot of the sacred hill are all as dark and still as on any night in the middle of the Wa. No unseemly orgies are permitted there. In the town, on the

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other hand, all is noise and merriment. Bands of music and dances figure at the corners of all the chief streets, provided by the chief burghers, who take the place formerly occupied by the king himself, or by the ministers under his orders. The capital used to be crowded with umbrella-bearing chiefs and officials, Shan sawbaws, and chieftains of the mountain tribes all come down with their bands of wild followers to do homage to the Lord of the Rising Sun, for the greatest of the kadaw-né, the beg-pardon days, was always immediately after Lent. Having brought their minds into a sedate and tranquil state by the observances of the Wā, it was fitting that men should come and make submission and do obeisance at the golden feet. Mandalay is a very different town now from what it was in royal times, but the old traditions still linger.

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At the same season there is an illumination on the river. As soon as it is dark the villagers row out into the middle of the stream and set adrift a multitude of little oil-lamps, each fastened to a little float of bamboo or plantain stems. The lamps are simply little earthenware cups filled with oil, and each supplied with a small piece of cotton for a wick. Thousands of them are sent out by a single village, and the sight from a steamer suddenly rounding a bend and coming upon a bank of these little stars of light afloat on the river is very singular. In the distance it looks like a regular sea of flame, and as there is plenty of oil, on the night of the full moon there is a constant succession of these shoals of twinkling lights floating down the whole length of the Irrawaddy from above Bhamaw to China Backeer, every village sending its contingent.

This ceremony, called ye-hpaung hmyaw thi, or mi-hpaung hmyaw thi, launching water or fire rafts, is in remembrance of a universally honoured payā-ngè, a lesser divinity called Shin Upago, who lives down at the bottom of the river in a kyi-pya-that, a brazen spire, where he zealously keeps the sacred days. In a former existence he carried off the clothes of a bather, and for this mischievous pleasantry is condemned to remain in his present quarters till Arimadeya, the next Buddha, shall come. Then he will be set free, and entering the thenga will become a

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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yahanda, and attain Ne'ban. He is a favourite subject for pictures, which represent him sitting under his brazen roof, or on the stump of a tree, eating out of an alms-bowl, which he carries in his arms. Sometimes he is depicted gazing sideways up to the skies, where he seeks a place that is not polluted by corpses. Such a spot is not to be found on earth, where every stock and stone is but the receptacle of a departed spirit. The notion is like that of the Tibetan monks, who look upon the earth as simply a vast graveyard. They carry human finger-joints strung together for a rosary, eat their food out of a human skull, and instead of horns for trumpets use the bones of a man's forearm. "We are dead," they say, "and dead men have nothing to do with the things of the living."

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Of a similar character to this illuminating of the pagodas, the town, and the river, is the letting loose of fire-balloons, from the end of Lent to the Tawadeintha festival in Tasaungmôn. The balloons are sometimes very big, but they are simple enough structures. A bamboo framework is covered over with the thick, coarse, home-made paper manufactured from the bark of the mahlaingbin (*Broussonetia papyrifera*), which also supplies the material for the black parabaik note-books. At the bottom, across the open mouth of the balloon, is a little platform, on which pitch is heaped, and with torches attached to it. The balloon is then tethered to the ground. The torches and resinous matter are lighted, and when the strain on the stays is considered sufficient, they are cut, and the balloon goes off. They are dangerous in large towns, and are forbidden there, but the Burman considers that the law applies only to the ground round the town, and dozens are let off every year from spots only a hundred yards or so outside of municipal limits. Not unseldom dôn, rockets, and other kinds of fireworks are attached to them, not by any means tending to make them safer for the houses below. This mi-eing byan, as it is called, is in honour of the Sula-mani payā, a pagoda erected in Tawadeintha, over Mount Myinmo, by the Thagya, king of the Nat-dêwas. When Prince Theidat left his palace, his wife, and forsook all to become a Buddha, he rode as far as the river Anawma and leaped over it on his famous

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527 506 steed Kantika. Then he drew his sword, cut off his long hair and threw it into the air, where it remained suspended, till the Tha-gya-min carried it off in a basket and had his Sula-mani shrine built over it. Hence the offering of fire-balloons.

527 Thus offerings are made on earth, water, and in the air. The whole month, from the full moon which ends Lent till the feast commemorative of the nogāna alms of Thuzata, is distinguished by specially abundant ahlu to the pagodas and to the beikku. A peculiarly pretty offering is that called a pan-taing, a pyramid somewhat like a pya-that, entirely composed of flowers in wreaths and nosegays, which is conducted with much dancing and sounds of music, to be laid before the great image. Fantastic tin shrines and lanterns made to hold big, two-inch thick candles, often plaited of long tapers made of different coloured wax, are presented, and along with these, huge monkish fans, each adorned round the edge with tags of gold-leaf and little pictures; big muslin dragons distended on hoops and long streamers to be hung from the poles surmounted with the sacred hentha, or the kalawaik, are also frequent. It is also customary at this season to make the monks large offerings of honey—pya-ye hlu-thi. This can hardly be called a separate festival, but as the honey is only given in these months, it affords sufficient cause for the exhibition of plays and energetic dancing on the way to the monastery.

776 527 All these religious observances, sufficiently mixed up with secular enjoyment, are accompanied by other occupations which cannot be said to have anything directly to do with religion. Such is the preparation of the boats, and the practice for the races, which always take place in Thadin-gyut. They must wait, however, till Lent is over; and the racing boats are almost always kept under the abodes of the yahans, so that even here there is ground for the assertion that all great public feasts in Burma are connected with religion. But the Burmans are very far from being sad worshippers, and any one who has been in the country in the months of October and November would be inclined to assert that the whole round of existence in Burma is made up of junketings and pleasure-parties.

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When there is a boat-race, the opposing crews have a preliminary row over the course with offerings placed on the prow for the nat who guards that stretch of the river. And so on through numberless examples. Some nats achieve fame, and are known far and wide by special appellations. Such is Maung In Gyi, a spirit who is feared in all the district round Rangoon, and away eastward and northward as far as Pegu. He lives in the water, and causes death. A special festival is celebrated in his honour, or rather in deprecation, in the month of Waso, the same in which Lent begins. Others more especially known in Upper Burma are Byindôn, Shwe Pyin-Gyi and his brother, and a drunkard nat called Maung Min Gyaw, to whom great quantities of rice spirit are offered. Uyingyi is a spirit universally known among the Talaings. The chief spirit of a district usually goes by the name of A-shin Gyi, the great lord, or, among the Talaings, Okkaya. Then there are generic names; there is the Hmin nat who lives in woods, and shakes those he meets so that they go mad. There is the Upaka, who flies about in the clouds to spy out men whom he may snap up. There is the Akakaso who lives in the tops of trees, Shekkaso who lives in the trunk, and Bumaso who is content with a dwelling in the roots. The presence of spirits or witches in trees may always be ascertained by the quivering and trembling of the leaves when all around are still. 776 782

The Talaings, and many of the Burmans in the Irrawaddy delta, have a regular nat-feast just before harvesting begins. The figure of a woman is fashioned out of straw, and a tamein, kerchief, and other portions of female dress placed along with it in a bullock cart. Great quantities of kauk-hnyin, "sticky rice," are heaped up, and the whole driven in procession round the ripe paddy fields. The figure is then set up in the place where the paddy is to be stored, and the offerings are usually swept away by the boys of the place, whose appetites overcome their fear of the nats, Bumadi, the guardian of the earth, and Nagyi, the guardian of the grain, to propitiate whom the feast is held. 776 527 782 101

There is a theory that persons who are executed or meet a violent death become nats and haunt the place where they 776 769

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linen jacket and a slender pawlôn (a fillet of book-muslin wound round the head), showing the thin white hair tied up in a little knot on the top of the head. The chief ministers are round about, fanning him assiduously; and he is in extreme good-humour, chaffing the Kin Wungyi, the astute prime minister, on the way he let his bullocks straggle away at random and the difficulties he got into in trying to turn them at the end of the field; while the stout old Naingangya Wun-dauk is rallied about the absurd state of heat he was brought into by his exertions. Possibly, if a venturesome and inquisitive subject were to be seen now, the king might pardon him for his rude gaping. But nobody knows in what temper the king is, and the silence is as death-like as when the party moved out. As soon, however, as the great procession has passed and has wound its way into the palace, the hitherto deserted streets are crowded again. Pwès begin with startling suddenness at every corner. Bands strike up; long lines of candles illuminate the streets at nightfall; rockets are let off, fire-balloons ascend, and everything is given up to rejoicing; for the lèdawgyi has been graciously ploughed, and the Lètwin mingala is a presage of abundant crops.

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It is needless to say that the persons mentioned are now all dead and that the British Government does not maintain the Lètwin mingala. The spectacle of the Lieutenant-Governor balancing himself on a harrow with the Commissioner of the Northern Division and the Judicial Commissioner for Upper Burma as acolytes, or rivals, would not be impressive. A striking spectacle has gone and cannot be revived.

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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CHAPTER XXV

A HARVEST FEAST

ONE of the pleasantest and most social of Burmese country festivals is the ceremony which goes by the name of Tamanè Hto-thi. It occurs in the month of Ta'saungmôn, or of Na'daw, when the harvest is over and the first of the new rice piled up in a heap near the farmer's house, or perhaps stowed away in the capacious bottom of the hnaw, the big rice-boat, with its stern rising ten or fifteen feet above the surface of the water, and ready to start for Rangoon whenever its owner shall have hit upon a lucky day for commencing the voyage. In order to acquire a store of merit as well towards the next existence as towards the journey immediately in view; to back up the verdict of the astrologer from the horoscope with the good wishes of the holy men of the monastery; and, above all, to have a feast such as generally comes in somewhere in all Burmese religious proceedings, the cultivator resolves to give away twenty baskets or so of rice in alms and presents to the yellow-robed monks and his neighbours. A special kind of rice is always used on these occasions. Englishmen generally are unaware probably that there are a great number of varieties of rice, and that they differ very much in their flavour. Most people imagine that all rice has the same taste (no taste, they would probably say); and distinguish in a rough material way between Patna rice, which is very small, and Rangoon rice, which is considerably larger in the grain, and finally Carolina rice, which is bigger than any of them. A Rangoon merchant would go a little farther, and say that there are two varieties—the nga-sein, which he likes best and gets most of, and the nga-kyauk, which comes in more sparingly. But beyond these—

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243 and they are not the varieties most in favour with the Burmese for their own consumption—there are at least thirty different kinds. There is the byat sabā, the "tray" rice, which is considered the best, but, like most of the other sorts, will not stand the rough treatment of the steam mill-stones, and breaks in pieces. Then there is the myi-she, which has a long awn, and the myi-tôn, which has no awn at all; the taung-pyan, "winged rice," and the nga-chywè, "buffalo grain"; and so on through a long list, ending up with "black rice," which is not by any means bad eating. But of
● 527 all the kinds, kauk-hnyin, "sticky rice," is the variety always
262 used at the harvest feast. It is mixed with thin sliced cocoa-nut, sesamum seeds, ginger, onions, and pepper, all stirred together and well boiled; and the resulting mess is called tamanè. The rice is well named. It is very emphatically sticky, and even when taken alone is not very easily digested; but when it comes in the form of tamanè, the result is usually a widespread attack of colic throughout the village. This, however, comes after the festival, when the fun is all over, and does not concern us in any way.

574 When the farmer has made up his mind as to the day
527 on which he is going to have the feast—a date which, of
[787] course, cannot be settled without consulting the wise men of the village and much pondering over the palm-leaf horoscope —he sends out a few boys with a number of packets of "pickled tea" to all the young men in the place, requesting them to be good enough to eat it and to come without fail that night to his homestead in order to help him to husk his rice for the tamanè hto-thi. A few girls are also asked to come; and they bring their friends for the sake of company, and the mothers follow for the sake of propriety. Thus there is quite a large assemblage at the farmer's when night falls and the business is to commence. There is a good deal of preliminary tea-drinking and smoking of cheroots and chewing of betel and le'hpet, and a great deal of laughing and talking. The girls profess to be astonished to find so many young men there; they had not imagined their host was meditating such extensive preparations, and thought there would be nobody there but his own and his wife's younger brothers. That is exactly what they will say next week

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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when they attend a similar assemblage at Htun Aung's house at the other end of the village. 574 527

But after an hour or so they settle down to do a little work. The young men—kālathas, they call themselves—"Corinthians, lads of mettle"—have brought with them a number of wooden mortars, with a heavy pestle working on a lever; and these they set up and commence to husk the rice. The process is very simple. A few handfuls of the paddy are thrown into the mortar, the workers step off and on the lever which raises and lets fall the solid wooden pestle, and the husk is every now and then blown out and the grain stirred up a little. The Burmans infinitely prefer rice husked in the national way to that which is sent out from the European steam-mills. The big Derbyshire or composite stones do their work only too effectually; they take off not only the hard shell, but also the inner cuticle of the grain, which contains the chief flavour; and, moreover, the heat which the steady grinding induces, scorches out a great deal of what taste remains. Therefore at every house there is to be found the primitive national apparatus in which the girls of the household every morning or evening prepare the rice for the day's consumption. But to-night they are relieved from such hard work. The village youths for once in a way exert themselves; and all the girls have to do is to wash out a few dishes and prepare the bamboo-lacquered platters, the pyramidal ôk, in which the tamanè is to be carried to the yahans and the pagoda to-morrow, and get ready the palm-leaves in which less exalted people will receive their modicum of the stew. The whole actual work might be finished in little over an hour, but that is the intention neither of the giver of alms nor of the assembled young men and maidens. They have come much more for merriment than for merit. Else why that great pile of le'hpet? For the condiment is an anti-soporific, and if you take enough of it, you will be able to see all through a forty-eight hours' play, and give your friends an outline of the plot before you lapse into a slumber lasting twice round the clock. 527 527 252 527 263

Accordingly, after a quarter of an hour's work, the "prince" of the local amateur dramatic company jumps off his perch, and commences the "White Dove" song from the 545

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are recorded with enthusiasm and delighted precision of detail; and when an hour or so has been passed in this way, a little more rice-husking is done, and the girls set to work getting ready the onions and sesamum seed, and slicing up the cocoa-nut kernels. This sort of thing goes on all the night through. There is half an hour's work, and then an hour of singing and story-telling and gossip; about the great Shinbinthalyaung, the gigantic recumbent image of Shin Gautama dug up lately near Pegu; of the two min-laungs, the embryo kings, who have been revealed there, and the third one, who is foretold by the old theit-sa, the prophecy which declares that he will restore the ancient Talaing kings and revive religion; of the new hti which is being set up on the pagoda of the lotus tank, and its exceeding splendour, each single one of the concentric rings having been assigned as a particular favour to one out of many competing districts. Then there is a discussion as to the new fashion of turbans, the one plain colour with worked flowers on it, which has supplemented the old thinner style with more braid-like patterns; and the present rage for waist-cloths with many-coloured stripes in place of the old wavy and dog's-tooth fashion. Then the girls are rallied about the method in which they dress their hair—all of them in the style just declared treasonable in the upper country. Queen Supayalat has hit upon some particular set, or plaiting of her tresses, which she thinks becomes her very well, and a royal order has come out making it penal for any meaner damsels to adopt the same method. Consequently all the maidens from Taungoo to Kyauk-Hpyu and the A-eng Pass to Malawun have made up after the queenly model and flatter themselves that it is *chic*. There are always ghost stories at these gatherings, tales about the three farmer brothers that were killed just after harvest time three years ago, and now haunt the dense patch of swampy jungle down by the creek as nat seins, and sometimes scare the fishermen out of a night's work by the violent agitation of the tree-tops on a still night; and then there is that old hag in the lone house at the far end of the village, who is certainly a witch; it must have been she who gave the old sikkè the tet, poor old man, and he a payā-tagā too, founder

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527 of the pagoda on the slope of the "Brother and Sister Hill";
521 and there is little Ma Mi; the old beldam looked at her over
[754] the fence on the fifth of last waning, and the poor thing lost her sweetheart before the change of the moon, and had all her fine false hair stolen only three days ago: proof enough that of the *jettatura*.

527 It is long past midnight, when all the cocks of the village crow together, deriving their knowledge of the exact time from the diet of burnt astrological books, pecked at by their ancestors long ago, when the objection to cabalistic works was much more violent than it is nowadays; and sometimes daylight is coming in, and the sound of the morning chant steals over from the monastery, when the party breaks up and all go home. The kauk hnyin has been all husked, and, mixed up with the other ingredients, is simmering away over the fire. Every one has a virtuous consciousness of having gained considerable kutho in addition to having spent a very agreeable time. Few go to sleep. They have eaten too much le'hpet for that, and in an hour or two some of them will be wanted again to take the tamanè round. That is done about eight o'clock in the case of the monks. The farmer himself and his family carry it to the monastery in the spire-shaped lacquer-box, and having paid the usual reverence, deposit it before the superior, who looks on calmly without a word of thanks, or even the semblance of a recognition, but says before they go, that if they keep the Ten Precepts and live virtuously, they will escape the Four States of Punishment and be delivered from the Five Enemies. Then the "supporters" wheel on the right, and depart home to make up the portions for all their friends and neighbours. These are usually taken round by the girls, who go in bevies of three or four, dressed in their finest clothes and with flowers in their hair, and deliver the dainty with compliments, and injunctions to eat it immediately. By six o'clock in the evening, when the sonorous wooden bell of the monastery is summoning in all the scholars, the entire village is asleep; and they do not get up very early next morning. Nobody in the whole place has been drunk; and if there is an opium-eater in the village, he was not asked to the feast and had none of the tamanè.

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in the river Neritzara, at a place where more than 100,000 Buddhas had bathed, before obtaining the supreme intelligence. Then he divided the nogana into forty-nine mouthfuls, ate it, and mounted the throne, whereon he sat for forty-nine days tasting no food, and combating Mān Nat, the spirit of death and sin. But ere he lapsed into meditation he threw his golden bowl into the river. It ascended the stream swiftly, floated steadily for a short time, and then sank in a whirlpool far down, leagues beyond the earth into the country of the nagās, where it fell against the golden bowls of the three previous Budhs with a clang that resounded throughout the four worlds, and all things worshipped the present Lord: 773 779

> King and high Conqueror! thine hour is come.
> This is the night the ages waited for.

This event in the life of Shin Gautama is commemorated in the Sôndawgyi pwè. Sōnthi is a sacred word set apart to denote the eating of members of the Holy Assembly, and, in remembrance of Thuzata's historic offering, the mendicants are feasted annually by the pious, with a splendour and profusion far exceeding the ordinary alms poured daily with unstinting hand into the begging-bowl. The date of the feast does not exactly correspond with the original event. According to the chronicle, the Lord Buddha attained the first state of ne'ban in the month of Kasôn, about April, whereas the feast of Tawadeintha, with which the Sôndawgyi is always immediately connected, is celebrated after Lent, at the full moon of Ta'saung-môn in November. The festival is essentially one of the town rather than of the country. Except the New Year's Feast, none of the religious celebrations can be really called universal, and the Sôndawgyi perhaps least of all. Villages and small country towns cannot get together the splendour necessary to distinguish the occasion from the ordinary domestic feasts, or even from the daily almsgiving to the mendicants. It is therefore in a large town like Rangoon, where there is a certain amount of money, and a facility for acquiring or borrowing ornaments and frippery, that the festivities are best seen. There the *fête*—the word is more appropriate 796 796 369 [184] 527

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527 than any implying more of a religious character—assumes the appearance of a gigantic reception, or *conversazione*. Streets and quarters of the town make up a common purse for general decorations and the erection of stages for hired troupes of actors, in addition to individual effort. The dates are arranged beforehand so that no two streets shall make their effort on the same night, and so lessen the enjoyment of the public, or draw away from the expected number of spectators. A committee is elected, or appoints itself, and having got as much money as possible, hires the best available dancers and actors for the zat pwè, if possible a puppet troupe also, and in addition, as many unattached mummers and clowns as can be got, whose business it is to dance up and down the street in the guise of dragons, snakes, nagās, and demons of all sorts, and amuse such of the visitors as cannot get near enough to see the set play, or prefer walking about talking to their acquaintances. Bands are engaged in profusion, flower-garlanded arches erected at the ends of the street and at intervals along its length, and gay Chinese lanterns hung up everywhere. Complimentary packets of le'hpet, pickled tea, serving as invitations, are sent out in profusion, but the non-receipt of one of these does not deter anybody, and all comers of whatever nationality are welcome.

735 262 Nowadays the monks are wont to complain that the presents customarily made them at the Tawadeintha feast are not nearly so valuable, or even so satisfactory, as they used to be. But it is different with the Sôndawgyi *fête*. There the emblems of the archetypal nogana are all edible and of the most sumptuous kind. In every house the offerings for the ascetics are set out for display all night long and make a goodly show, if the process can hardly be supposed to improve them for consumption. Mountains of cooked rice send out spurs of beef and pork, with flat lands of dried fish and outlying peaks of roasted ducks and fowls, the legs with their claws and the neck with the head and beak being extended as if they had been drawn out tight to exhibit their greatest length. Ngapi, fish paste, in all its malodorous varieties of ngapigaung, seinsa, dhamin, nga-thalauk, abounds, and loads the air with suggestions of a fish-

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curing village, or an unclean fishmonger's in the dog days. Chinese patties of sugar and fat pork, plates full of fried silkworms, maggots from the top of the cocoa-nut tree, salt-pickled ginger and fried garlic, and a variety of other dishes beyond the ken of occidental cookery, abound all down the long tables. Alternating with these, and perhaps more pleasant to look at, are heaps of fruit, oranges, citrons, shaddocks, plantains, with here and there a late durian or two, rivalling the ngapi in its odour, and the brick-red or purple rind that conceals the luscious "snows" of the delicious mangosteen. Plentiful tins of sardines and Reading biscuits, with somewhat muddy-looking Bengali-made lemonade, give evidence of the progress of "civilisation"; and plates of betel with the fresh green leaves of the betel-vine suggest how the morrow's afternoon will be passed in well-filled meditations by the pôngyis of the neighbouring monastery.

The house itself is decked out on a corresponding scale of magnificence. To the uninitiated foreigner an ordinary Burmese hut presents about as unfavourable raw material for decoration as can well be imagined. Built of rough teak planking, or of split bamboo mats, and raised a few feet off the ground on posts, it resembles a marquee tent in shape and in size (according to the principle of the old Joe Miller story about the stone which was as big as a lump of chalk). On all ordinary occasions there is not a vestige of furniture in it. A row of earthenware pots with water, a couple of wooden boxes, and the rolled-up mats and blankets whereon the household sleep, are the only things to be seen. The sides and ceiling are grimed with the smoke of the fire that cooks the daily meals; the floor stained with smudges of oil and red blotches of betel. Yet this unpromising shanty the Burman transforms into a palace chamber, or stage-like fairy bower. The sides of the house are thrown up towards the street, so that the room assumes the appearance of a verandah. The floor is covered with thick bamboo matting finely woven, over which bright-flowered rugs are spread. The dingy sides of the house are draped with flags and kullagâs, elaborate stitched pieces of tapestry, ten or twelve feet long, and reaching down to the ground. White, or

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●527 brilliant-coloured chintz, or paper, forms a roof studded with
353 red, blue, or green stars and rosettes of tinsel paper. Great mirrors, swinging and other lamps, statuettes of wood or stucco, candlesticks with glass shades, clocks, German half-crown engravings, and gay Chinese lanterns hang or stand about. The floor is literally covered with silver and gold cups and betel-boxes, of all sizes, from that of a soup-tureen down to a breakfast cup. Some are plain; some of that *repoussé* work at which the Burmese silversmiths are so clever. The great majority of these are of course borrowed from friends (of another street or quarter) or hired for the night from the chetty pawnbrokers. A few chairs and tables stand about for any European visitors who may come, and they are sure of a friendly welcome. At the back of the
527 room in a long line, behind the mirrors and statuettes, sit
292 the girls, decked out in their most expensively embroidered skirts and gayest silk neckerchiefs. They are literally
301 loaded with jewellery. Round their necks and over the bosom hangs the broad network of the dalizan, formed of silver or gold fishes and flowers linked together. The nadaung, the huge gold plugs or circlets in their ears, sparkle with rubies and emeralds. So do the bracelets on their arms and the rings on their fingers. Each girl as she sits is worth many hundred rupees. It is probably for this reason that they are made so inaccessible, seated behind the lamps and lights. If admiring swains could get at them, so could other individuals, whose regard for the jewellery might exceed that for the commandments. The young women may therefore be supposed not to care so much for the Sôndawgyi *fête* as their brothers. Most of the girls are of course daughters of the house. If, however, the householder has not womankind enough, he simply goes into the bazaar and hires as many personable-looking damsels as he may find necessary. They are as much a part of the display as the silver cups and the looking-glasses. A band at one end
527 of the room discourses music fitfully. Occasionally a girl, too young to have attained to the dignity of jewellery, gets up and dances and sings for a while. Musical instruments of different kinds, pattala, hnè, and migyaung, harmonicons, trumpets, and alligator guitars, lie scattered about here and

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there for the amusement of skilled visitors, and there is always somebody thrumming or tootling away on them.

The whole scene is an unceasing round of laughter and gaiety. The host and hostess and a few old women bustle about and receive the visitors, point out the most noteworthy parts of the display, have a few words of conversation, and offer refreshments. The guest drinks a cup of singularly washy and saccharine tea or lemonade, smokes a big green cheroot, or chews a fid of betel, compliments the owner of the house, declares he never saw so much magnificence in his life, and departs to go through the same performance in the next house. Englishmen are always welcome. Seats are brought for them; the master of the house sits by while they are under his roof, explains everything to the best of his ability, and produces the inevitable bottle of brandy or beer, without which no European is supposed to be able to endure existence. The reception begins at eight, or half-past, and lasts for an hour and a half or so. Then every one who is coming has arrived, and has gone the round of his friends, so that the domestic display is pretty well over. The gorgeously-arrayed females gather up their skirts, and go off home under a guard of their male relatives, and having put off the greater part of their jewellery, come back, each with a huge green cheroot in her mouth, to see the play and join in the fun. A few of the older people remain indoors, steadily chewing betel, comparing notes as to past displays, and speculating as to whether any other street in the town will be able to surpass the display of Eighteenth Street. Not a few placidly go to sleep, notwithstanding the din without, the strident sounds of the band, the shouts at the buffoonery of the clown, and the confused chatter of thousands of voices. Outside there is no slackening in the jollity. From the lofty stage representing the second heaven of the nats, portions of the Law are declaimed; the celestial beings deliver themselves of suggagyi, lordly sentiments, revellings in exuberant verbosity, all night long, and the constantly-shifting audience never thins away. Farther up the street a huge pasteboard demon is gambolling unwieldily, half-a-dozen dancers twirling and twisting vigorously within a foot or two of its great tusked jaws. At intervals some of the youths of the street,

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or some of the visitors, worked into a state of excitement by the music, dance enthusiastically in an unattached kind of fashion for a few minutes, and then suddenly break off with a laugh. Some of the young men spend most of the time flitting about the extemporised stalls, tasting at one place fish jelly, at another queer salads, having a violent flavour of garlic; here smoking a cheroot, there chewing a packet of pickled tea, and flirting in turn with all the girl vendors, who look very coquettish with the red or white flowers in their glossy black hair, and the fragrant, yellow thanaka toning down their complexion. Not in the least shy they are, and quite ready to bandy Oriental compliments with new acquaintances. It is with many of the younger folks the pleasantest part of the feast—and is not the old duenna sitting behind—what matter though she is asleep—to play propriety? And so the merriment goes on all night, fit occupation provided for all: sleep or high moral declaimings, combined with the clown's comedy, for the elderly; abundance to eat, and a surfeit of gossip for the lazy and middle-aged; and indiscriminate love-making and dancing and noise for the young. At length, with dawn of day, which in those low latitudes corresponds with the rising of the sun, the ascetics come round in grave yellow procession, their hands clasped round the thabeit, their eyes downca The bowls are filled, the rest of the feast is carried humbly to the monastery by the donors, and the Eighteenth Street Sôndawgyi pwè is over. The celebrators sleep all day; the state of digestion of the monks is not a matter for discussion; and those visitors who have got new ideas from what they saw last night, lose no time in making use of them for the better glorification of their own *fête*, which comes off a few days later.

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is far away, and there will be no rain for months. Another day or two will suffice to bake and split into long fissures the bottom of the puddle, wherein are yet hundreds of animate things, from the whiskered mud-fish to the lordly hilsa, the salmon of India. Then the seekers after merit come out, bearing with them big chatties, huge earthenware jars, the size of some of which makes the story of *Ali Baba and the Forty Thieves* seem very much more credible. Girls and boys, old men and old women, go tramping about in the soft slush, capturing the fish and dropping them into the jars of water. Great laughter there is over the wild plunges and flounderings of the boys, the little screams and "a-mè lele, a-mè le-taw" of the girls as they step upon a fish, which whizzes away with a suddenness that is apt to disturb the equilibrium, or slip with one leg slowly but irremediably into a hole—perhaps a last year's buffalo-wallow—out of which they are only extricated after much teasing and tickling by the boys. Then there is the stalking and driving of a great nga-gyi into a corner, whence with a flop and a muddy dash he escapes into the middle again, amidst a chorus of the inevitable amè! ("mother") which springs to a Burman's lips on all possible and unexpected occasions. There is the caution to be observed in seizing the stinging mud-fish, the gingerliness with which, when he is caught, the waving whiskers are avoided; especially the control over yourself to be maintained if he does sting you, lest you should spoil all your chance of merit in a moment of irritation, by doing him an injury. Sometimes the fish are caught in nets; but this reckless wastefulness in the matter of combining merit with merriment is not very favourably viewed by the neighbourhood.

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At last the fish are all caught and crowded together in the sin-o—the water-jars. There is, perhaps, a considerable pause before they are liberated. The nga-hlut pwè usually occurs a little after the carnival of the water feast, when everybody is doused with water; and if the fish have been rescued from their danger some time before that, they have to wait in their uncomfortable quarters all the longer. The *fête* seems to be celebrated with more enthusiasm in Maulmein than in any other large town in Lower Burma.

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In Rangoon the spruce merchants' clerks are apt to sneer at it as a "jungle feast," and rather laugh at the gatherings on the banks of the "Great Royal Lake." But in Maulmein it is different. There everybody enters into the spirit of the thing with religious fervour. A great procession is formed, and winds its way along the long snake-like up-and-down street that constitutes the great part of the town. At the head comes a band of young men dancing—some with their faces whitened with chalk, others grimed with soot; some extravagantly dressed as princes and ogres, others scantily arrayed in a tucked-up waist-cloth—capering and prancing along with the waving of hands and fantastic pacings characteristic of the national dancing. Behind them, in a bullock cart, is the band, the huge saing-waing, the circular frame with its octaves of drums, on which the performer, smoking a big green cheroot all the while, thumps away with great vigour and in excellent time, accompanied by some trumpets, a flute or two, and a young fellow with a noisy bamboo clapper. Then there is an indiscriminate crowd of well-dressed, excited people, carrying huge umbrellas, white and gold; big spires; young fellows on hobby-horses; men with long bamboos, gilt from butt to tip, looking like fishing-rods, with which one might bob for whales. Mingled with these are the carts carrying the jars of fish. In the middle is a great long platform on wheels, supporting a pasteboard and bamboo and painted mat model of a steamboat. The captain, in a gold-bordered cap, occupies the greater part of the ship forward, and yells orders to the man at the helm, who ports and starboards with surprising rapidity and impartiality. The chief engineer divides his time between stoking up the smouldering cigar-stump and the cotton which supplies the smoke from the funnel, and whistling violently on his fingers. A man stands at the side, heaving the lead (a joint of bamboo stuffed with cotton). It seems to be "And a half, nine," when some one is hit on the head, and "tin bām milla ne"—three fathoms and no bottom—when the lead fails to touch anybody. A lady in English dress, with her face brought to the proper colour with chalk, represents the passengers. This performer is of course a boy, and usually affords most

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amusement to both native and English spectators. The fun goes on all the way with jokes at the expense both of the performers and the lookers-on, and shouts and roars of laughter at every new buffoonery. At last they reach the spot on the river-bank selected for freeing the fish, and after a few pious formulæ have been recited, the contents of the jars are capsized into the water. Many of the fish are already dead, and not a few are so sickly that there is little chance of their escaping being eaten by cannibal brethren; but this does not disturb the equanimity of any one. A great kaunghmu has been done, much merit has been gained, and there has been great fun over it. The motley procession wends its way back again, and everybody goes at nightfall to see the great kyi-gyin pwè given by some public-spirited and drama-loving quarter or street in the town.

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CHAPTER XXXV

THE NEW YEAR'S FEAST

ALTHOUGH religious festivals and *fêtes* are so abundant in Burma, it is undoubtedly true that none of them are universally observed in all parts of the country, except the New Year's Feast. In localities where the people are exceptionally pious, the end of Lent may be more carefully observed than elsewhere, some devoting themselves especially to pious observances, others to the more worldly ceremonies of the sôndawgyi feast. The Tawadeintha festival is an annual observance in some districts, in others it practically passes over unnoticed. Similarly with all the minor *fêtes*. But it is not so with the thi'gyan pwè. All over Burma, from the smallest jungle hamlet to the crowded streets of Rangoon and the straggling suburbs of Mandalay, the New Year is ushered in with the old formalities, and with perennial enthusiasm. Not an hour is cut off from the allotted number of days, and every item of the old practice is carried out with the same vigour.

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For this reason the "Water Feast," as it is called by Englishmen, has forced itself on the attention of the most careless observer, and every one who has written about Burma devotes a greater or less amount of space to a description of the good-humoured merriment with which the New Year is introduced. I do not propose, therefore, to do more than allude to the lesser known formalities observed on the occasion.

The month Tagoo, the first of the Burman year, occurs in the spring, and New Year's Day is in the earlier half of April. But it does not fall annually on the same day. It

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in itself, but serves as a most satisfactory corroboration of the truth of the events prognosticated by the movements and surroundings of the tha-gyā king. The conclusions are all carefully noted down in the thi'gyan sa, and great piles of these are carefully preserved in the archives of the monkish library, seldom to be looked at again.

Besides the events which are to happen in the coming year the astrologers are also able to determine whether the tha-gyā min will remain three days or four days upon earth. If he stays three days it is called a matulè year, if four, tawtulè, and the water-throwing is carried on a corresponding time.

All these points are settled some time beforehand, so that every one in the remotest part of the country may have due notice, and then information is sent to the heads of monasteries, and the chief districts, and all is made ready to receive his nat-majesty with proper honours. When at last the day comes round, all are on the watch, and when the wise men give the signal, tha-gyā min kyabyi, the king has come down, a cannon is fired off, and forthwith all the people come out of doors with pots full of water, the mouths of the jars filled up with fresh green leaves and twigs of the sacred tha-bye tree. A formal prayer is said, and the water is poured out on the ground, and all are happy. Many years ago an event happened which singularly impressed true believers in the royal city. Just when expectation was at its highest and all ears were strained in expectation of the roar of the cannon, there was a terrific thunderclap, which made all the town quiver, and demonstrated the accuracy of the pônnas' calculations. There was no more thunder that night, and the ranks of the pious received great increase during the ensuing week. In country towns and villages every one who has a gun rushes out into the street at the appointed hour and fires it off. Most wonderful blunderbusses and old flintlocks and ancient rusty horse-pistols make their appearance, warranted to make a noise, but capable of little more. After this ceremony is over a few go to bed,—for the descent is usually made at midnight,—but the majority sit up and talk.

With the earliest glimmer of light all rise, and taking

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pots full of fresh clean water, carry them off to the monastery to present them to the monks—not to throw over them, such liberties are never taken with the brethren. After having made their kadaw, "begged pardon with water," to the sacred order, they set off to the pagoda and there commence the yethôn pwè, the washing of the images. It is not to be supposed that these really require cleansing any more than the recluses do, but it renders them myatta-thappè, an expression not to be rendered by many words in English. It combines all the meanings of cleanliness, beauty, stateliness, proper position, majesty, and repose; and the laving with water is merely a recognition of this fact. The work is usually done by women, and they reverently clamber up and capsize their silver and earthenware goblets of water over the placid features. There are scores of them at work, and the ceremony is soon finished. Then all set off home again, and the jovial part of the festivities begin. All along the road are urchins with squirts and syringes, made of tin and bamboo, with which they have been furtively practising for the last few days, and their experience develops itself in extreme accuracy in catching you with a stream of water in the ear. Young men and girls salute one another mostly with cups and goblets of water, and stifled screams and shouts of merriment rise everywhere. Before breakfast every one is soaked, but no one changes, for it is fine warm weather. and there is lots more water to come.

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During the day there is a regular going round to pay the compliments of the season. It was a great kadaw day in the palace at Mandalay, and all the nobles and officials went to "beg-pardon," and worship at the golden feet—not with water, however. Similarly inferiors pay their respects to their superiors and masters, children to their parents, scholars to their teachers, and juniors generally to seniors There is water everywhere, more especially on those parts of your dress which cling most uncomfortably to you. The girls are the most enthusiastic in the matter, and as they generally go in bands and have a copious reservoir in the shape of big jars along with them, the unprotected male is routed in no time. Some zealous people go down to the river or creek, wade into the water knee-deep, and splash

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water at one another till they are tired and the thing begins to seem monotonous. No one escapes; in fact no one would care to get through the three days with dry clothes, for the wetting is considered a compliment. A clerk comes up to his master, shikhos to him, and gravely pours the contents of a silver cup down the back of his neck, saying ye-kadaw mi, "I will do homage to you with water." A polite but less humble form of speech is ye-laung-thi, to "pour" water over; while equals, and the young people generally, yepetthi, "splash" one another with the utmost vigour. It is to be observed that dirty water is never used. The barbaric innovation of squirts is a sign of decadence.

Foreigners do not object to the custom, except perhaps some of the more pompous and stolid natives of India, whose minds are incapable of appreciating a joke in any form whatever. The rollicking Chinaman takes it up with the utmost zeal, and sets about the thing in the most business-like way. The last time I was in Maulmein one of the storekeepers in the main street had rigged up a garden hydrant in front of his house and connected it with the well. A coolie was engaged to work it all day, and a continuous jet of water, sufficient to put out a small conflagration, streamed from the nozzle the entire duration of the feast. Not only was Boon Tek enabled to drench everybody, but he advertised his machines and made a good thing of it.

But the Chinaman was exceeded in zeal by a young Englishman in Prome, not many years ago. He was a Government official, and there were two friends dining with him. A note came round to him from a neighbour in the next street saying that the yepetthi girls were out and would be round his way shortly. So he forthwith made preparations. The Madrasi "boys" got a huge bath tub on to the verandah, and tin pannikins were placed handy, and the dinner proceeded. But unfortunately there was no one put to watch for the arrival of the girls, and the first notice of their appearance was a well-directed stream of water in the nearest man's shirt-front. To sally forth was the work of an instant, but it was found that the tub was in the possession of the enemy, and only served to eke out the abundant

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supply they had brought with them in big silver bowls. The three Englishmen were soaked through at the first discharge. But the Assistant Commissioner was not to be discomfited so easily. He rushed through a perfect cascade, and seizing the first damsel he came across, incontinently plunged her in the bathing-tub and soused her under. This filled the rest with dismay, and they forthwith took to their heels and ran, followed as speedily as her clinging garments would permit by the offended beauty who had been so unceremoniously treated. The occurrence was rather unfortunate, for the girls were all daughters of some of the principal Burmans in the town, and it is a very grave impropriety for a man to lay hands on a woman even in joke; how much more to duck her in a wash-tub and wet all her hair! That young official had no more compliments paid him at New Year's time, to his own loudly expressed regret.

The most ludicrous story I have heard on the subject of the water-feast may serve as a warning to Englishmen who arrive in Burma in April. The victim reached Rangoon on the second day of the water-feast, and having no Indian outfit got himself up in a tall hat, frock-coat, and the rest, to go and present a letter of introduction. After much trouble and irritation, caused by the meanderings of his ghari-wallah, not by any means alleviated by the heat—for the sun is usually at its hottest in April—he arrived at the desired house, and proceeded upstairs. On the verandah he found three or four Burmese girls, who forthwith asked permission to throw water on him. He naturally supposed they were asking whether he wanted to see the master of the house, and nodded violently. Whereupon they capsized their bowls of water over him, including the hat in the libation. The astonished man took it to be a custom of the country to cool down over-heated foreigners, but thought the inclusion of his hat an unnecessary detail. Just then the owner of the house appeared, having retired previously to get some money to buy himself off a ducking, and having been informed of the state of affairs, burst into a fit of such violent laughter at the griff's notion of the ceremony as roused in the latter a wrath so fiery that it almost dried him again.

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A special feature of the New Year's Feast was the formal washing of the king's head, called thi'gyan daw gyi. It is not to be supposed that his majesty washed his head only once a year, or that it is at any time an operation to be lightly undertaken, any more than it is by the humblest of his subjects. But at other times the ceremony was called hkaung-se mingala or thi'gyan daw hkaw, and was not attended with so great solemnity as characterised the function at the opening of a new year. Formerly the water for the purpose was annually brought up from Hkaung-se Gyun (Head-washing Island), a little rocky islet situated on the river opposite Maulmein. Hkaung-se Gyun is fabled to hang, with its little cluster of pagodas and monasteries, by an invisible cord from the heavens, and has therefore long enjoyed a special sanctity, not by any means reduced by the springs of clear bubbling water found on its limited surface. Therefore for long it supplied all the water for the royal head-washing. Latterly, however, it was abandoned, and with this there is a curious history connected. After the war of 1826, it was settled in a general way between the commissioners that the river Salween should form the boundary between Burma and the newly-acquired British province of Tenasserim. But later a question arose as to the ownership of the islands, and especially of the rich rice-growing Bilu-gyun, north and south of which the three rivers flow into the sea. After much fruitless palavering it was determined to leave the decision to chance. A couple of cocoa-nuts were tied together and taken some distance up the Salween and thrown into the water in the middle of the river. They went down bobbing gaily till they came to the place where the conflicting currents of the Gyaing and the Attaran come in, and there they twirled and twisted about in an aggravating way until at last an eddy caught them, and, carrying them past the old town of Martaban, decided for the Dayè outlet, through which they were swept away to sea. Thus the "Ogre's Isle" became British territory, and with it the little Hkaung-se Gyun. Nevertheless for many years water was still carried up to Mandalay for the thi'gyan daw gyi, till at last Pegu was annexed to the British crown. Then it seemed undignified to carry the sacred water, not

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527 302 643 only from the stranger's land, but so many miles through alien waters, and so it was necessary to seek for another place. Where could a better be found than the mighty Irrawaddy itself? Accordingly from then on till there ceased to be a king of Burma, the necessary amount was drawn from the centre of the river by the Ye-kyi-wun, a minister specially appointed for that purpose.

527 177 As in so many other cases the amenities of the thi'gyan pwè have led to the extorting of money. In the good old days, and in the country districts still, it was the practice for benevolent people to keep open house, and give food and dainties to all passers-by, with tea and flavoured drinks, cheroots and betel for those that preferred them. To lighten the expense, contributions, called kèbo, were invited from friends and neighbours, and out of this has sprung the system of blackmail prevalent in Rangoon. A bevy of girls go into an Englishman's house and sprinkle him with lavender-water, or the moss-rose bouquet, so much in favour with Burmese belles. After a little badinage, they produce plain water, and threaten further operations unless something is given them. This they usually get, and if Englishmen complain of shameless extortion it is their own fault. The fair speculators are not such as any respectable girl would care to be seen with, and the prettinesses with scents are no more national than the scents are themselves. A provincial beauty would infinitely prefer a good honest ducking with vulgar water to the mawkish sentimentality of *eau de Cologne*. Some of the results of superior civilisation are very undesirable.

805 527 On the final day of the feast a gun is fired at noon to signalise the ascent of the thi'gya min to his happy realms again, and then all is over. The squirts are laid by for another year; clothes are hung up to dry, and nothing remains but to wait and see whether the pônnas are more successful than usual in their prognostications for the year.

805 527 773 The origin of the custom is no doubt the rain-making, described by Professor J. G. Frazer in *The Golden Bough*, but the Burmese explain it by a legend. The thi'gya min had a bet with a rival and the loser lost his head. This could not be allowed to be defiled by touching the ground, so it was caught by a daughter of Natdewas. Seven of them take it

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in turn to hold the head, and when the head passes from one goddess to another the New Year begins. The head is burning hot, and has to be cooled with pouring on of water. This is recalled by the splashing of one's neighbour with water at the New Year time.

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the pan; the Thônkwa bow felt the scratch of it on his palm as it disappeared through the tube 000

The scene that follows is beyond description. The victorious crew spring up to dance, but the relief is inadequate. They can only escape frenzy by plunging into the river. U Ôn tucks up his waistcloth and dances round in mad delight till his stiff old legs will bear him no longer. Pompous old lugyis caper and plunge and shout; younger men can only relieve their feelings by flinging themselves in the pools on the bank and rolling about wildly in the mud; girls, who at ordinary times would hardly dare to raise their eyes to look about them, dance and shout in ecstasy, and their married guardians join in the rout. Bands from a dozen villages round about strike up, but the professional dancers who came to perform in honour of the victors are fain to look on while their intended audience go through unpremeditated figures. It always seems marvellous how the people ever get gravity of demeanour again after a great boat-race.

The contest is technically not over yet. It is a hle-pyaung lu-pyaung, that is to say, the crews have now to change boats. The Thônkwa men take the Daungsatpyan, and the home crew man the Three Fair Flowers. But to all intents and purposes the victory has been won, and the home representatives are the conquerors. The two boats paddle up again, and the fishermen go right away and win with the most consummate ease. This sets money matters on a more comfortable footing, but the Myanaung people are not a whit disconcerted. They won the real race, that in which each crew rowed in its own boat, and they receive the arguments of the Thônkwa contingent with the most self-satisfied composure. The record of the champions has been broken, and the veteran Ko Kya-gyi has at last sat in a losing boat. 526

A general adjournment is made back to the town. The country people have all come in their bullock waggons, and these are drawn up in comfortable places under the trees. The victorious crew go in procession up and down the main street, preceded by bands and every one in the place who can dance. Feasting is general, and then all move off to 527

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527 the plays, of which there are three or four, while some unwearied spirits can only find relief for their exultant triumph in yein dances and irresponsible performances of their own. [273] Till dawn of day the revelry goes on, but there is nothing like drunkenness. It is exceedingly seldom that you see a drunken Burman out of Rangoon, where they claim to be Europeanised. For a couple of days the excitement lasts, and then the strangers wend their way homewards, and the township calms down to its usual quiet. But for years the great event will be talked of at the local feasts, and the Yein choruses of three or four generations will tell of the gallant struggle when the Daungsatpyan beat the Thônpanhla and broke the long supremacy of the Thônkwa rowers.

177.52 526 It is a great pity that these old contests are not kept up with the spirit that used to characterise them. In 1877 the then Chief Commissioner of British Burma, Mr. Rivers Thompson, believing that they led to unrestrained and dangerous gambling, issued an order forbidding all government officials to have anything to do with them, and advising that great races should be discouraged as much as possible. This policy was continued by Mr. Aitchison (late Sir Charles), and there seemed some danger that the art of making fine racing-boats would be lost, while all the fun and jollity of the old ye-pwè, kôn-pwè, land and water sports, were put an end to, without any decrease in the amount of 525 gambling. The habit is as engrained with the Burman as [101] with the Chinaman, and if there are no boat-races to bet on there are lots of other things, from pony matches to gônnyin-to, on which sporting votaries might stake their money. 526 There were still local matches between adjacent villages held, but they were but a sorry imitation of the old festivals, and 177.52 have unfortunately led to the unpleasant speculations of the West being introduced. "Barneyings," in-and-out rowing, and all the unlovely customs of Western professionalism have sprung up as a consequence of the degradation of the old manly sport. Sir Charles Bernard, who was an ardent athlete himself, did a good deal towards reviving boat-racing. Sports have been held on the Great Royal Lake at Rangoon, it may be hoped only as a preliminary measure to the encouragement of longer contests on

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to worship. These are the eighth day of the waxing of the moon, full moon day, the eighth day of the waning moon, and a day during the transition to the new moon. The second and fourth of these are considered especially sacred. On these duty days all work in the village ceases and the public school is closed. The people go, usually in family groups, to the monastery. There they say prayers before the images of the Buddha and present gifts to the monks. For a good many, a large portion of the day, after the visit to the monastery, is passed in social visiting and in generally relaxing. For the more devout, usually the elderly people, the duty days are more serious; they abstain from food and drink after midday until the following sunrise, spending the day in silent meditation and prayer. 796 [887]

Ceremonies

Thingyan, the New Year. Throughout the year a number of the Burmese religious festivals are celebrated in Tadagale. We may begin with the New Year festival, which occurs in April, beginning on or about April 13th, according to the determination made by astrologers.

Traditionally, the New Year festival calls for visiting the pagodas and monasteries and washing the images of the Buddha, after which one calls upon his elders and sprinkles them gently with scented water from a silver bowl. The young men of the village go from house to house, dancing and singing to the accompaniment of an orchestra. At each house they sprinkle water on the elders and ask them to call out the young girls. The girls are likewise sprinkled with water by means of a flower carried in the bowls.

In Tadagale today, many of the traditional customs of the New Year are still observed. Preparatory to the holiday, houses are swept and compounds cleared of all refuse. Everything is made clean and orderly. The images of the Buddha are washed, elders are called upon, sprinkled with water, and wished well. But, as in many parts of the country, the New Year festival has tended to take on a rather secularized character in modern times. Water sprinkling has become water throwing; groups of people, especially youngsters, go into the towns in carts or trucks, armed with buckets of water which they throw at passers-by. The name 'Water Festival' which has been given to the New Year celebration is singularly appropriate, since water-throwing and associated hilarity has overshadowed the sacred significance of the occasion. Some villagers go into Rangoon for the celebration, where everyone engages in dousing everyone he encounters (monks excepted), utilizing every means from buckets to large hoses attached to city water hydrants. These activities are in contrast with the traditionally serious, sacred character of the New Year as conceived by older villagers. The schoolmaster of the community, a middle-aged man with many years of religious training, spoke of the New Year: 796 178 527

> Thingyan is the New Year festival, but the villagers do not know the significance of the festival. They know only that it is a feast day and a holiday and a day for having fun. In reality there should be no frivolity on New Year's day; it is a day on which one should fast and pray, for one is now one year older and therefore nearer death. One should meditate on the futility of frivolity as compared with the blessedness of deeds of merit.

Waso, the Buddhist Lent. In July, on the full moon day of the month of Waso, there begins a sacred period of some three months, corresponding closely 796 785

572 The friendships he[1] has made with other workers do not seem to be
369 very deep or very lasting. In Pathwe the workers were all friends, and even included his relatives as well. There are not many strangers in Pathwe and even people not connected by blood ties were treated like relatives.

369 "In Rangoon the seller takes a profit on everything we have
426 to buy for food; items like rice, vegetables and fruits. Of course
444 he cannot be blamed, because he has a living to earn too. He gives wage-earners goods on credit, but charges an interest on those goods." In Pathwe U Myaing could get most of the necessary food without having to pay any interest or middleman's profits since he bought straight from the producer. In Rangoon all people who earn monthly wages are the same. They have to take goods on credit. Those who do not earn regular salaries are allowed credit, but they have to undertake to settle accounts by a fixed date.

525 During the TAGU month festival, U Myaing gambled for money.
●527 He has gambled to stakes as high as three hundred rupees, but never up to one or two thousand. In Pathwe they had this on the PAYA-GYI-DAUNG side, and U Myaing joined in whenever he came across in other villages a group who were playing while on business. When he was young he gambled away Rs. 700/- while on a trip to KYAUKIN. They were all of them on the same boat and he lost that amount at DANUBYU. But by the time they reached YANGOON he had recovered his money. The games they played were poker and HO-HEK.

525 In their village they had people who held fights between game
541 cocks. U Myaing never bred any of these fowls but he has placed bets on them several times, small bets to the value of four or five rupees. There is no special announcement made but word gets around that there is to be a match at such and such a place on such and such a day, and at the appointed time the villagers who are interested all congregate at that spot.

There are bookmakers among the assembled villagers who are willing to take any bets on either side. Cock fighting is carried on during the months of PYATHO and TABOUNG. And even then they have it during only four or five days in the month. U Myaing does not go to every meeting. In the spring the ground is wet for game cock-fighting

1. [i.e., U Myaing -- ANALYST]

These are his "eggs" and it is his duty to guard them while the others cluster around trying to get them away from him without being caught in the attempt. If they are successful in getting all the eggs away they then go and hide them. The "turtle" then has to go and look for eggs while the rest follow her giving encouragement clapping hands and shouting the chant " LEIT U PY UK LO LEIT MA SHAR THU KHIN BYAR NOO NE NOO NEY (Because her eggs are lost the poor female turtle is tearfully looking for them). If the child succeeds in catching any one in an attempt to get an egg away that person becomes the turtle. 527 858

In Pathwe they celebrated the water festival, but they did it in moderation and were satisfied if a person got slightly wet. MEN-LEY-HSAUNG was given in the village. 527

U Myaing did not save any money in Pathwe. Sometimes he made a great deal of money and sometimes he made nothing at all. Sometimes if he had a lot of money he would loan it out to some one else to be returned in three or four months time if possible. Sometimes these loans continued unsettled for about a year. Only in Rangoon do you have to pay interest. In Pathwe if you did not borrow from chettiars you did not need to pay any interest. U Myaing did not go to the chettiars. He borrowed only from his relatives. There were people who went to raise money from the chettiar money lenders and some of them lost house, cultivation fields etc. because they could not pay the high rate of interest and had the mortgages on their property foreclosed. 454 426 [563]

Analysis of Social and Ceremonial Activities

The refugee camp may be regarded as a new village composed of families who came from villages in the delta similar to Pathwe but placed in an urban setting. The other refugees have the same understandings as to socio-ceremonial activities as U Myaing and the basic 621 722 [369]

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2. Folk Feasts and Spirit Dances

According to legend, the Sanskrit drama was created in the Silver Age to cheer up the people, who were no longer happy as they were in the Golden Age; the Japanese drama was first used by the gods to beguile the sun-goddess to reappear; and the Chinese drama came into being as the result of the Emperor Yuen Tsaung ordering, in the eighth century after Christ, a group of children to be trained to sing the various deeds of the great national heroes before his consort, in appreciation of her love for him.[1] The Burmese, however, have no such legends, and the origins of their drama were in the religious *Nibbathkhin*. But before considering those Burmese miracle plays, perhaps it will not be out of place to give an account of the various folk feasts and spirit dances, which have in them elements essentially dramatic, and which gave some idea of the dramatic to the people and paved a way for the coming of the religious pageants and plays.

Folk feasts can be divided into two classes, those directly connected with Buddhism and those which are not. The Buddhist feasts occur on fixed dates and are celebrated all over the country. Of those, two are especially interesting, the feast of the Full Moon of the month of Tazaungmôn (which occurs in November) and the feast of the New Year (in April). Though the Full Moon of Tazaungmôn is an important Buddhist festival now, it is extremely probable that it was an important feast-day even before the introduction of Buddhism.[2] Special celebrations connected with the date have two distinct elements, the element of mimicry and the element of foolery. On that day, in the villages men dress themselves as animals, wearing appropriate masks, and dance through the village. The animal most commonly imitated is a sort of unicorn known to myth only. The desire to mimic animals probably came before the desire to mimic spirits, and I think the mimicry of animals, such as that we see in these celebrations, was the earliest attempt at the dramatic by the Burmese. Probably the mimicry of animals by men resulted in the presentation of animal puppet shows. In a Burmese puppet show, before the play begins, different animals come out one by

[1] A. B. Keith, *The Sanskrit Drama*; F. A. Lombard, *Japanese Drama*; A. E. Zucker, *Chinese Theatre*.

[2] Some Buddhist festivals in Burma probably are of pre-Buddhist origins (cf. the English Christmas which has many elements derived from pre-Christian times). At least the special celebrations of Tazaungmôn described here are almost certainly pre-Buddhist.

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527 one, and each gives a special dance of its own.[1] At night, as part of the
796 celebrations, there is a feast of fools. Young men and boys roam the
536 village, throwing *zibyu* fruits at houses and stealing things, which will
174 be found in the centre of the village the next morning: the objects of the good-natured theft are mostly articles that would provoke laughter—such as a lady's under-skirt; or those which would cause temporary inconvenience in the morning—such as cooking utensils, steps from stairs, or a piece from the roof. The Feast of the New Year is one of mirth and foolery. It is known as the Water Festival because on that occasion, every Burman takes a delight in throwing water at his neighbour and getting soaked himself as the result of the other's counter-attack. The men derive great enjoyment from drenching the women, who in their turn are not slow to have their revenge. Young men group themselves and dance joyously along the streets, at times being chased by bands of elderly maiden ladies who lie in wait to catch the ringleaders. When caught, the youths are lightly bound with silken cords and their faces are blackened with soot. Then they are made to perform a monkey dance before being granted their release. The spirit of fun apparent in these Burmese feasts of foolery is akin to that which moved the young clerks of the *Parlement* of Paris and the members of the Inns of Court in London to stage their Feasts of Fools in medieval times.[2]

527 As the villagers lead a communal life and every joy and sorrow of a villager is shared by all others, a joyful event is celebrated by a
[561] public feast. Marriage, birth, the admission of a son to his novitiate (for every Burmese boy enters priesthood for at least a week), and the piercing of the ear of a daughter are occasions for mirth and jollity. At these feasts they sing and dance and mimic, groups of villagers vie with each other for new methods of giving entertainment, and there
[241] is keen rivalry between youths and maidens. The most mirthful feast of all is the Harvest Feast in February, when the paddy has been reaped, and the village is ready to enjoy a well-earned rest of four after a working period of eight months.

527 These folk feasts are of great antiquity, though, because of the
796 essentially unchanging life in the villages, they continue to exist even at the present day. The Tazaungmôn and other Buddhist feasts

[1] The puppet show is described in a later chapter.

[2] Cf. E. K. Chambers, *The Medieval Stage*, chap. xiii, 'The Feast of Fools'; also E. Welsford, *The Court Masque*, p. 2.

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have been celebrated year after year; at least since the reintroduction of Buddhism in 1056, and at least since March, 638, when an early king of Pagan, Popa Sawrahan (613–40), drew up the present Burmese era, the dawn of every Burmese new year has been the occasion for mirthful water-throwing.[1] 527 796 [805]

Buddhism had been introduced into the country through commercial relations with India long before the foundation of the kingdom of Pagan, but from the beginning it was only at second-hand and therefore feeble. The real religion of the Burmese before the reintroduction of Buddhism in 1056 was animistic, and they worshipped various spirits, known as *nats*. There were mediums, mostly women, who danced to please the spirits, and as the spirits were supposed to enter into the bodies of the mediums, sometimes it was believed that the spirits, and not the mediums, were actually dancing. Sometimes the medium herself actually believed that a spirit had taken control of her body, but usually she only pretended that a spirit had entered her, and gave an exhibition of acting. As the medium of each particular *nat* dressed herself in appropriate clothes, the spirit dances were essentially dramatic.[2] When Buddhism, in one of its purest forms, was introduced under Anawrahta, the great king realized the impossibility of attracting people suddenly to the new faith; so he compromised by recognizing the *nats* as Buddhist spirits and giving them shrines in his Shwezigôn Pagoda as its guardian spirits. When asked the reason, Anawrahta replied: 'Men will not come suddenly to the new faith. Let them come for their old gods, and they will gradually be won over.'[3] 177 439 771 791 [462] [535]

So the worship of the *nats* lived on, and with the advance of

[1] Shway-Yoe (Sir George Scott) in *The Burman: His Life and Notions*, and Fielding Hall in *The Soul of a People* give detailed accounts of the feasts and life in the villages. However, as far as I have been able to find out, the Tazaungmôn celebrations have never been described in any English work. [114]

[2] These dances are still performed on spirit-feast days at Taungbyôn (near Mandalay), a small town given up to spirit worship since the days of Pagan's greatness and perhaps even before.

The belief in, as distinct from the worship of, spirits is not alien to Buddhism.

The chief works on the subject are: Sir R. C. Temple, *The Thirty-Seven Nats*; Grant Brown, 'The Taungbyon Festival' in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, 1915; the same author's 'The Pre-Buddhist Religion of the Burmese' in *Folk-Lore*, 1921; and G. E. Harvey, *History of Burma*. [113]

[3] G. E. Harvey, op. cit., p. 33.

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410. THE CHARMER APPROACHING THE SNAKE.

state; the fascination of the show is the danger. But as soon as the snake is unmolested it glides away harmlessly; no one feels any apprehension from its proximity, the moment the showman ceases to tease the snake. A cobra is easy to find, but it may take months to discover a hamadryad. The creature is tracked by the trail it leaves in the sand of a dry stream or the dust of a road to the place where it is watching its eggs. At this time, if ever, the snake is aggressive. But like the rest of the cobra family, its movements are comparatively slow; the charmer's hand is quicker, the snake is captured and consigned to the basket before it can strike. After that it is handled with impunity. There is no sort of training; the charmers say that the snake may be shown the same day that it is caught. When the snake is set at large, it appears to be bluffed by the performer, and made to execute feints of attack corresponding to the feints of the charmer, who keeps time to music, and so creates the impression that the snake is swaying—"dancing"—to the sound. The snakes are difficult to feed and keep in condition. They are let go after a month or two, in the hope of catching them again; the charmer vows to release the snake after a definite term, and has a superstition that if he keeps faith the snake will not hurt him.

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The Burmese festivals have been described as being confined to a single one, which begins in April and goes on to the following March. But that is an exaggeration. There are two regular carnivals of a week or ten days each, and several others of a couple of days' duration, besides occasional festivities to celebrate the completion of *zedi* and temples,—and last, but not least, the

411. THE HAMADRYAD CAPTURED.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 API Burma
Burmese AP4

412. SNAKE-CHARMER'S PERFORMANCE.

cremation of the *yahán*. Burmese New-Year—moon-change at *Tagú*—falls in April, as the sun enters the sign of Aries. The calendar has been regulated on the Brahman model with intercalary days and months (Appendix E). New-Year marks the greatest crisis in the seasons; the heat has reached its climax, to drop abruptly at the break of the south-west monsoon. Now is the time of drought; many of the wells are empty, and water has to be fetched from a distance. There is no greater luxury than abundance of water at this season; water is the most seasonable offering, and great supplies are stored in the jars at the *kyaungs*. In a symbolic spirit, water is poured over the images of the Buddha. But the great feature of the New-Year festival is the burlesque of these libations. In the true spirit of the carnival, the women douse the men, and the men douse the women, all regardless of their festal attire. The young women in particular wait in ambush for the gallants, perhaps to be caught in a second ambush by some urchin. The liberty of water-throwing lasts for the days of *akyó*, *akyá*, *akyát*, and *atét*, the stages of the journey which a *thadyá* makes from heaven to earth to see the works of men if they be good. The legend is probably derived from the Hindu myth of the rain-god Indra, to whom water is offered at the season of his expected descent. A religious feature of the festival is the ransom of cattle. An animal kept for slaughter by the Indian Musulman butcher is borrowed and gaily decked out, with its horns gilded. It is led round the village or quarter of the town, followed by a festive throng, and contributions are gathered until the price of the animal is made up, when it is set free at the *kyaung* to be an evidence of goodwill to all things living.

413. NEW-YEAR FETE (PAYA-YE-CHO).

CHAPTER EIGHT

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MY mother, who had strict ideas about keeping her household a neat family unit of father, mother and children, without dependent aunts and other relatives, had equally strong views about the maintenance of our family ties and traditions, especially as we were now having a Western upbringing in the English schools and not many counteracting lessons at home. Once a year at least, she thought, we should go to have the roots of our beginnings stirred and kept alive. When the younger children were old enough to travel easily, therefore, we went away for each summer vacation.

For her own home, my mother thought a short visit would suffice; the longer visit was paid to my father's family because he could never come with us to see them. In any case, the visits to Thaton were dull for children in those growing up days, all my mother's family like herself had gone into a more worldly life and were settled in their respective professions. The main part of the great house was shut up and empty, and my mother took us there just for a few days to see my aunt, pay a visit to the hpongyi, and to inspect rubber estates which we had just outside Thaton. Then we journeyed on to Ye where my father's family were still living the life he had planned for them when he worked to buy my grandmother her plots of paddy-land.

Our visits to Ye were pure delight. In childhood any change in itself makes a holiday, and the change from our district life to the life at Ye was very great indeed.

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A railway had been built from Moulmein to Ye in 1925; it ended at Ye where passengers travelling further crossed the creek and continued in buses for about 100 miles of mountain road to Tavoy. This was the only overland route to the Tenasserim coast below Ye. We crossed the Martaban-Moulmein ferry in the early morning, ate breakfast with friends while waiting for the connection, and arrived at Ye about 5 in the evening. Ye was by then the headquarters of a township and had a population of about 2,000. It was an extremely congested little town, for the number of its houses and inhabitants had just multiplied without any great changes in its original plan or acreage. The two main streets ran parallel to the creek, and along them the Talaing houses were packed, with only three to four feet of space between every few houses to give access from creek to road and from one road to another.

taking life. Only the hardened ones of the village, *ta-nga-thès*, drew 244
and netted in the wealth of fish around Ye, and the theoretical condem- 262
nation in which their profession was held absolved all good Buddhists 226
from any sin in eating the fruits of their labours. My aunts bought vast 438
quantities of fish for salting and drying. This cured fish supplied our yearly needs as well as theirs. They also bought prawns to press into a paste called *ngapi*, in this case *seinsa* ngapi, which forms the basis of all our flavouring and condiments. As soon as the ta-nga-thè came up with his boatloads of prawns they were spread out on rough bamboo mats and sunned on the big platform behind the house. When they were fairly dried, my aunts, with a helper or two from the village, mashed up the prawns by hand, throwing in vast quantities of salt as they worked. The mess was left in the sun for a few days, being stirred every now and again. By this time it had turned into a grey-black paste, more or less smooth, smelling most pungent and rotten to foreigners but *hmway-dè*, fragrant, to us, and tasting like a concentrate of anchovy. This paste is stored in small glazed earthenware jars. It is used to flavour all meat and vegetables dishes, or is fried or pounded with other ingredients to provide condiments for the meal. The Tenasserim coast is the chief source of seinsa ngapi in Burma, the big towns of Tavoy and Mergui supplying towns in Upper Burma as well. The large amounts of salt needed come from the valuable salt fields in this area which produce about 6,000 tons annually.

It can be imagined what excitement a holiday at Ye caused us 528
in our growing years, and even my mother's admonitions that we were 177.
to behave in accordance with strict Burmese ideas which prevailed at 55
Ye rather than the un-Burmese habits acquired at school did not dampen 593
our excitement. We were then at English-speaking schools where we had adopted the habit of calling each other by name. The eldest of my young sisters Mya Mya, is seven years younger than I am, but when she went to school I had only two sisters left who called me respectfully, *Ma-Ma Gyi*, elder sister, and by the time the youngest was at school there was no Ma Ma Gyi left in the family. The tradition of the younger ones fetching and carrying for the elder had also sadly deteriorated.

At meals, my mother had not kept up the custom of helping the 593
eldest person present with a portion of every dish before it was open to 177.
the rest of the company. Before we went to Ye, therefore, my mother 57
gathered us around her and told us how we were to behave so as to give our grandmother and aunts great pleasure in our visit and no rude shocks. "Now don't forget, *the-mi-to*, my daughters, you will all three call your sister Big-Elder-Sister; you, Pusu, are to call Mya Mya Middle-Elder-Sister, and Aye Little-Elder-Sister. In fact you should

593 always do so, at home and everywhere else, but mother understands
177. that you make habits easily at your English school. Never walk into
57 the house with your slippers on, as you do in the downstairs room here. When you eat with your grandmother and aunts, don't touch anything until your aunts have put a little of it into Grandmother's plate. And try not to talk to one another in English." All the way in the train my sisters would fling themselves at me and shout, "Big Elder Sister, Big Big Elder Sister."

• 528 We went to Ye during our summer holidays which were the longest
592 in the school year and allowed us three weeks with my father and a
264 month at Ye. It also enabled us to pay obeisance to our grandmother at the New Year, and to celebrate this loveliest of festivals in its most fitting surroundings. My Uncle San Lin usually sent his wife and our four small cousins at the same time, so that for one month in the year at least Grandmother could feel that the world of big towns and English civilization had not robbed her of any family affection. Sleeping and eating arrangements for the gathering of twenty odd people were no problems for the simple large-scale economy of the household. My mother had a bed, and beside it my Aunt Khin and all the children slept on thinbyus laid side by side on the platform upper storey. Meals were eaten in successive rounds at a low table on the kitchen floor, not served as separate sittings, but by calling more diners as places were vacated, and filling each dish that diminished from the stove near-by.

529 Half of our visit to Ye was spent at the garden where we were
177 surrounded by rich fruits and could bathe in the clear swift water that rushed through islands of reeds. We walked and rode in bullock carts,

for miles, to visit other gardens owned by Grandmother's friends—old men and women who lived there all the time, and who chuckled with delight to see us, for to them we were not ourselves, not ordinary

children such as were playing about them. We were ready-made reproductions sent back by my father and Uncle San Lin who disappeared into an unknown world many years ago. At house after house, and at the same houses year after year, we sat in a row on the benches they kept on the verandahs of all houses, eight children awkward and restrained, while the old people peered and chuckled at us: "Yes, that is San Lin, all right—but there is Htwa Yin's nose; look at this expression, it is Maung Chit Kaing himself—oh but look here, here is the image of Maung Pyant, yes, exactly Maung Pyant, hullo you little Pyant, oh, look at her." This was my poor sister Mya Mya whose face seemed to be the quintessence of the features of my father and all his brothers and sisters. My sister Aye and I, who had the good fortune to take after my mother's family, were noticed very little during these visits, but my poor little Mya Mya sat there solemn and unhappy, thrusting her face out until even to us she looked comically like the forty-year-old aunts and uncles. 528 177 827

When I think back on eating the fruits of Grandmother's garden, they seem to have the quality of some heavenly ambrosia about them. They were all such luscious fruits. For example, the durian, the fruit which foreigners describe as smelling most foul, usually had in Rangoon only a thin layer of the precious golden flesh around the seeds. In this garden we ate only *shwe-dinga* durians, gold-sovereign durians, whose flesh was so soft and full that a gold coin could be stood on edge on the seed and be buried in it. Moreover, the eating of durians in excess was usually discouraged anywhere else, because of the heating qualities of the fruit, but here they grew beside the cooling mangosteen, which we always ate after the durian. This delicious fruit never travels successfully; even from district to district it gets bruised and stained. The mangosteen tree was most exciting to me as a child. It was full of dark foliage and the distilled nectar of the snow-white fruit seemed to be enclosed in bitterness and fraught with dangers, for the thick skin which contains tannin was bitter, its stain was indelible and to be kept carefully away from our clothes, and the fruit itself was said to be poisonous when eaten with sugar. This was owing to the belief that the sap of the rind made a toxic combination with sugar. Even the coconuts in Ye had a succulence about them. They were so abundant in the garden that we discarded all the fruit in which the meat had hardened beyond the *zun-chit*, the "spoon-scrape", stage when the flesh was of such tenderness that it could be scraped up with a spoon as a transparent jelly, to be put into the drink of coconut water. We were encouraged to drink this because it was said to make the heat "kick" and come out of the system. The grains of the pomeloes also were swollen 245 262 824

326 or bamboo, iron-bound or tightly whipped to prevent splitting. In the
412 form of a shorter dalwé, with or without a point, it is used as an all-round implement in house-building. With this bamboos are hewn, split open and slit into widths, boards of bamboo or planks are chopped for floor-boards and timbers are hewn for posts. The short, broad-ended *dahmas* are used for heavy chopping and were the general choppers for meat and firewood in our kitchens. The dahma is a stout iron blade faced with steel. Lighter paring knives called *damauks* are also produced. Thus a Burman in a village normally carries a dah of some sort tucked into his waist as he sallies forth perhaps to find some firewood, house-building material or an enemy. The Shan people also had long murderous-looking dagger knives called *damyaungs*.

The iron-workers of Magwe sent us scissors which my mother preferred to stainless steel ones because they could be oiled and sharpened throughout a lifetime, and because they had inscribed on one blade her name and on the other "Health and wealth to you". We got our betel-nut crackers from there also; these had a blade on one arm, to cut as well as crack.

276 Our house, like every Burmese house, kept a betel box always ready
415 for visitors. The box had a top tray with little cups or boxes for the
511 chopped areca nut, orange peel, spice seeds and lime, and a bottom compartment for fresh betel leaves of the betel vine (*piper betle*). A deep cover fitted the whole box. Grown-ups smeared lime on a leaf, wrapped nuts and spices in it and chewed it, spitting out the red juice which is too strong to be swallowed. Betel has an astringent action in the mouth
326 and by promoting the flow of salivary juices it aids digestion. Our betel
412 boxes were of richly carved silver, with embossed designs of elephants,
531 princes riding on horses in the forest, heavenly male and female spirits,
511 all looking very alive. Silver carving is one of our show industries; the silversmiths at Mandalay and Moulmein produce handsome bowls, boxes, dagger handles and various other objects bought by foreigners.
[353] Burmese people do not have the custom of buying *objets d'arts* for their houses, but the articles of daily use which they like to have of good quality and pleasing designs are the real inspiration of these traditional crafts of Burma. The silver used ranges from rupee fineness up to the pure metal called *baw*. We had silver bowls, *ngway-balas*, of all sizes, smaller ones for drinking, bigger for pouring the bath-water, and enormous ones about twelve inches across for holding gifts to the monks on festival days. Sometimes my mother used these to hold *taik-pan*, the flowers of the honolulu creeper, for the drawing room, but she always preferred a religious use for such noble and valuable objects. I liked all these bowls very much; they had good proportions, round the rim and base was a border of formal scroll

design and, within this chaste frame, the elephants, princes, trees and *nat* spirits waved and bounded in profusion. At the base of each bowl was a felicitous salutation inscribed on a smooth ground. 326 412 531 511

Lacquer is another industry now turning out cigar and trinket boxes, table mats, bowls and other articles for the modern market, but also continuing to supply all Burmese households with objects for daily use. When my father was stationed at Magwe, we went up the river to Pagan and from there by bullock cart to the village of Nyaung-U where the best Burmese lacquer is made. A frame of bamboo strips woven closely is covered and filled out with a mixture of cow-dung and paddy husk, and given a thick coat of black *thitsi*, wood-oil. Traditional designs are engraved on this when dry, and successive coatings of thitsi mixed with colouring are put on, the bowl being allowed to dry and turned on a lathe to take off the colour not required in the pattern in between each coating. The finished product is polished smooth and so flexible that a bowl can be bent till the opposite sides of its rim touch. We had lacquer boxes, *yun-its*, of great size to hold my father's turbans and my mother's scarves, round ones to hold combs and tresses for my mother's hairdressing, drinking mugs, betel boxes and many others. We had *kyauk-ka*, a more solid lacquer of plain red and black, for food carriers, with plates and cups to match. 322 415 531 [438]

Wood seems part of the fabric of the Burmese craftsman's being. The wealth of the forests which provided teak, pyinkado, ingyin and a host of other woods for lasting structures; the perfect medium they afforded to the chisel, gouge and mallet of the carver, and the traditional forms of architecture which offered vantage points for the display of superb craftsmanship all combined to make wood-carving the most lively of Burmese arts. But wood-carving cannot be seen to advantage in domestic articles; we had carved wooden frames for photographs of monks and of Grandfather, carving on the screen which walled off the altar room, but Burmese carvers in wood had never devoted their talents to the cutting of small articles. Teak and *yamanè*, the two woods usually carved on, have a coarse grain in which fine detail cannot be rendered. Beginning from the days when the tradition was to reserve carving for the wood of sacred structures only—palaces and monasteries—the craftsman had put all his skill into animating the gables and eaves of tiered monastery roofs, palace walls and ceilings, with a riot of living ogres, nats, dancing spirits and birds surrounded by leaves, flowers and scroll work which did not leave an inch bare. 322 314 531

Still, the village craftsman with a talent for work in wood does not lack scope in his rural surroundings. 322

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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places such as the tender inside parts of the thigh and at the joints of the knee, it needs more stoicism than most youths can command, to endure it without relieving the mind in speech. Therefore it is common to put the boy under the influence of opium while it is being done, though some parents will not allow this, for cases have occurred where the youth has died of an over-dose. For the same reason it is very seldom that more than three or four figures are done at a time. The part swells up a good deal, and there is danger of fever; besides that a few days afterwards the itchiness which supervenes is almost as intolerable as the first tattooing, while if the skin is broken by scratching there is not only a nasty sore, but the figure is spoilt. You not uncommonly hear of cases where the whole surface was finished at one sitting, but you only hear of them because it is unusual, and because the youth is proud of it.

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The instrument used is a pricker about two feet long, weighted at the top with a brass figure, sometimes plain, but in the case of good sayās, always carved more or less elaborately in the figure of a bird, a nat, or a bilu. The yat, or style part, is solid, with a round, sharp point, split up into four by long slits at right angles to each other, which serve to hold the colouring matter. This style is about four inches long and fits into a hollow pipe, which again joins it to the weighted end. Thus the length required for free work is gained without too great weight, except where it is wanted. The tattooer catches the pricker with his right hand, and guides the point with a rest formed by the forefinger and thumb of his left, the hand resting firmly on the person's body. The dye used is lampblack, the best being that obtained by the burning of sessamum oil, and this is mixed with water as it is wanted. Good sayās always sketch the outline of the figure roughly on the skin with an ordinary camel's-hair brush, and then the pattern is executed with a series of punctures close together, forming what afterwards fades into a rough line. Skilful men are very quick at it. I have had fifteen figures done in little over half an hour. But then, Sayā Chein is a celebrated man.

The figures tattooed are those of all kinds of animals, tigers, cats, monkeys, and elephants being the commonest,

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4
Shan AP11

while nats, bilus, and compound animals called tiger-bilus are also frequent. Each representation is surrounded by a roughly oval tracery of a variety of letters of the alphabet, which form a curious and remarkably effective frame. Thus each animal has a setting of its own. Vacant spaces are filled up in a similar way, and the top and bottom are finished off with a scolloped line. Sometimes these letters are asserted to have a cabalistic meaning, but ordinarily no greater virtue is claimed for them than that of beauty. Mystic squares and ladder-step triangles of serious import are often added in vacant spaces, but all the more important and valid charms are reserved for other parts of the body and for special execution, usually too in vermilion. The old style, and that which prevails still in jungle districts, was to cover every available piece of skin with tracery, so that the figures became blurred and indistinct, and on a dark skin grown old were practically not visible without careful examination, which, considering the portion of the body, was embarrassing to both parties. The newer style, and that specially affected by those with a white skin, is to sacrifice mass of colour to distinctness of outline. The best sayās carry about sample-books with them containing clever drawings, from which the aspirant may select the patterns he likes best, and mark their relative positions before he takes the opium. But tigers, cats, monkeys, and bilus always predominate. To fill up space, and for greater certainty, the name of the animal is often added in the figure, after the style of juvenile art on slates, or with a piece of chalk on blank hoardings.

B 304 531

The Shans tattoo even more extensively than the Burmans. The figures are carried down well over the calf of the leg and above the navel, while from the upper line tattooed rays run up to the chest and at the back, after the fashion of a rising sun, almost to the nape of the neck. Sometimes the retainers of the Sawbwas, or Shan chiefs, had every part of the body except the palms of the hands and the soles of the feet tattooed. Even the face was covered with the dark-blue markings. Mostly all the men who tattoo charms and cabalistic figures are Shans. They claim and are allowed a special skill in such matters, and as

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2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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S they mutter spells and incomprehensible incantations over
B the "medicine," are looked up to with profound belief and a
305 very considerable deal of awe.
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The tattooing on the loins and legs is universal with all
B Burmans, and nothing more is ordinarily required; but there
304 are very few who have not charms of some kind tattooed on
531 the arms, back, chest, or even on the top of the head, which is shaved for the purpose. These figures are of all kinds—lizards, birds, mystic words and squares, rings, images of the Buddha, and sometimes merely a few scattered dots, the latter especially on the face, between the eyes, over the ears, or on the chin. The colouring matter is almost always vermilion, with drugs and solutions, according to requirement, mingled with it. The blue dye from the lampblack never disappears, but the red colour of the vermilion gradually fades away and vanishes. Nevertheless figures of this kind, more or less distinct, are to be found on Burmans of all ages, so great is the national superstition. Even the town
B youths, whose limbs are smooth and "unbreeched" as a
[132] girl's, are never without some charms of this kind, if it is only the a-nu se, which enables a man to gain the woman he loves. This "drug of tenderness" is composed of vermilion mixed with a variety of herbs and curious things, prominent
B among which is the bruised, dry skin of the tauktè, the
[125] trout-spotted gekko, whose sonorous cry and fidelity to the
[101] house where he establishes himself and brings luck, are well known to all who have visited Burma or Siam. It is very sparingly used, a few round spots arranged in the shape of a triangle being of sufficient virtue to ensure the object aimed at. The commonest place for them is between the eyes,
B but occasionally the se sayā recommends the lips, or even
305 the tongue, and his advice is always followed. This is the
562 only tattooing which women ever have executed on them,
832 and there are not many of them who have it done. The patient is usually a love-sick maiden who is afraid the object of her affection will escape from her, or a girl whom rolling years warn that she must be quick if she would not be condemned to remain an a-pyo heing, an old maid. Except in very desperate cases, however, they always manage to persuade the operator to place the charm on some part of the

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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body where it will not be visible. If it is not effectual, there is always open to them the signal afforded by kindly national custom to maidens longing for a mate. They cut off the lappets of hair, the bya-bazan, hanging over the ears, and the significance is the same as the white heather of the language of flowers, "heart for sale." In Rangoon the tattooing of a woman has a special signification, not recognised elsewhere. It means that she wants an Englishman for a husband. Poor thing! 305 562 832 [563] [369]

Another very universal kind of tattooing is that with a-hpi se. Almost every schoolboy in the country has a specimen of this on him, for does it not prevent him from feeling the pain when he is caned? No amount of falsified hopes in the experience of friends will persuade him that it may not be effectual in his case, and a flogging is often courted as an immediate test of its efficacy. Pride repels the inquiries of chums as to the results, but the experimenter is usually very well behaved for some time. In the case of older men the a-hpi se acts as a talisman against bullets, sword cuts, and ills of that kind. Allied to this are the thenat hpi, which soldiers and dacoits carry about with them. These are the horns of buffaloes and other animals, which may be plain, but are usually elaborately carved with figures according to fancy. They must be quite solid down to the root. A hollow or flaw of any kind deprives them of their virtue. While the man has such a talisman in his hands he cannot be killed. A monkey is a very favourite image to have carved in this way on a sword or dagger hilt, the reference being to the tale of the Ramayana. Of a similar nature are talismans which are especially used by soldiers and dacoits. These hkaung-beit-set are charmed or consecrated objects let into the flesh under the skin. They are of various kinds. Some are gold, silver, or lead; others curious pebbles, pieces of tortoise-shell, or bits of horn, all of them with incantations of mystic character written on them. Many famed dacoits have long rows and curves of them over the chest, showing in little knobs through the skin. When they get into English prisons, an energetic jailer has been known to cut them out, lest they should be pieces of gold or silver, or perhaps precious stones, with which the turnkeys

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2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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wore. Some of them went the next day to the English missionary chaplain, and told him of the misfortune that had befallen them, and how so completely were they rendered destitute that they had been indebted to the charity of the inhabitants of the monastery for a breakfast that morning. The clergyman promised to do what he could for them, and the same evening went along to view the site of the fire. What was his astonishment to find that the burnt-out victims had rigged up a rude stage among the charred stumps of their house-posts, and in default of a house to sleep in, were prepared to spend the night listening to the love-making of the princes and princesses, and laughing at the caustic witticisms of the clown, not a few of the jokes being inspired by the blackened surroundings. Such defiance of all the ills of fate is very characteristic, and would seem to a Burman mind the most natural thing to do under the circumstances, since it afforded both distraction and amusement.

If any one has escaped the curse of Adam it is the Burman. He does not need to earn his bread with the sweat of his brow, and riches having no attraction for him, when his patch of paddy land has been reaped, his only concern is how to pass the time, and that is no very difficult matter, where he has plenty of cheroots and betel-nut. He can stroll along to neighbour Maung Gyi's, whose son has a knack for wood-carving, and watch him as he deftly cuts out a piece of elaborate scroll-work for the roof of a neighbouring monastery, or finishes off the grim features of a bilu for the English Inspector of Police. Next door the sayā is engaged on a painting, the representation of some palace scene, or of some well-known event in the life of the Lord Buddha. Burmese artists do not, as a rule, paint likenesses, though they are by no means unsuccessful when they make the attempt. Any one but a high official would probably consider it a mark of great presumption and conceit to hang up a picture of himself in his house. There is, however, none of the objection to portrait painting which is so common with some other nations. For example, the Mohammedans will not suffer likenesses to be drawn for fear they should demand a soul on the Day of Judgment, and so some actual human being might come to be left out in the cold. Catlin

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792 [293] dozen or more solemn-visaged monks sitting on their mats and coyly hiding their faces behind these big fans is apt to raise a smile on the face of a foreigner. But there is no doubt that the regulation is well advised. Women are disturbers of tranquil meditation.

792 346 561 When these necessaries have been provided, the candidate proceeds to the appointed building. This is always a thein, a consecrated hall, built of teak, with open sides and the sacred three, five, or seven overlapping and diminishing roofs, not unlike the Albert Memorial in appearance, but much larger at the base. Here the examining body is assembled to the number of ten or twelve, ordinarily, but a minimum of four will suffice if the ceremony is conducted in the jungle. The senior is appointed upyitsi, or president, and a secretary is nominated, whose duty it is to bring forward the candidate and to read the Kammawāsā, the ritual of ordination. This is the most gorgeously ornamented of all the Burmese books. It is written, not in the ordinary round character, but in square letters painted on with a thick black resinous gum, and requires a special education to read it. The leaves are formed either of the ordinary palm-leaf, thickly covered with red lacquer, and profusely ornamented round the border and between the lines with gilded figures of nats and elaborate scroll-work, or in the case of the more sacred monasteries, of the discarded waistcloths of kings. None might wear these pasos after the Great King of Righteousness had tired of them, and many were therefore made use of for this purpose. Portions of them are taken, doubled over, and then covered with numerous coatings of wood-oil and a paste composed of this same thitsi, with finely sifted burnt rice-husks, sawdust, and rice-water, until at last they become firm as a piece of cardboard, but vastly more pliant. Then the sheets are emblazoned, and the text painted on, the whole being enclosed between richly ornamented teak boards. Few more splendid-looking manuscripts can be seen anywhere. Occasionally copies are found engrossed on thin sheets of ivory or copper, but those on the royal pasos, called Wut-lè Kammawāsās, are most highly esteemed. The [195] text is always read in a peculiar way, in a high-pitched, jerky recitative, which is not without a certain impressive effect.

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2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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brotherhood. The space between the ground and the floor of the kyaung is always kept open and is never used except by the school-boys, who have not arrived at notions of personal dignity, and find the locality retired and convenient for games at gôn-nyin-to, and the discussion of forbidden eatables, or subjects of conversation. There are always a few pariah dogs there too, dozing off the surfeit of food they have had from the morning begging-pots, or the offerings at the pagoda. A flight of steps of stone or wood leads up to the verandah, which extends all along the north and south sides, and frequently all round the building. If the steps are of stone, or rather brickwork covered with plaster, they are usually adorned at the foot by propylæa in the shape of two bilus, or a couple of manôt-thiha—curious creatures, half man half lion—usually bold enough in conception, if somewhat rough in execution. Tiers of trefoil heads usually characterise the parapets when they are of mason-work. When the ladder is of wood it is covered with spirited carving in deep relief, representing nats and ogres, dancing figures and grim warriors, with abundant scroll-work as everywhere else throughout the building.

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From the raised floor thus reached, rises the building, with tier upon tier of dark massive roofs, giving the appearance of many stories when there is actually but one, for the reason already mentioned. This style of roofing was allowed only for religious buildings, for the royal palaces, and for the houses of a few high officials who acquired the honour by special patent, and with whom the form and number of roofs was a matter of regulation settled by the sumptuary laws. Under British rule it is practically confined to monastic buildings and the houses of feudatory chiefs. This spire-like style of roof is called pyathat, and properly there are but three kinds: with three super-imposed roofs called yāma, with five roofs called thuba, and with seven, as the royal palace and the most sacred kyaungs, called thuyāma. The ends of the gables are adorned with pinnacles or finials, each with a curious wooden flag at the top and crowned with a hti, gilt and furnished with bells, copper, silver, or gold, the whole being elaborately carved. The triple, quintuple, and septuple roofs of the monastic houses, with their

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elaborate adornments, there is little doubt found their origin in the opportunity which wood gave for the development of ornament in the way of carving. If the wooden monasteries are compared with the strikingly similar wooden churches in Norway—at Hitterdal, for example, or Borgund—we have a proof that nature, under like circumstances, always produces like results from human ingenuity. It may be added that the simple tumulus, which was the original idea of the bell-pagoda, is also found in the Scandinavian *haug*. 346 531

The kyaung accommodation is very simple. It consists in the main of a great central hall divided into two portions, one level with the verandah where the scholars are taught, and most of the duties of the monastery carried on, and the other a raised dais, two feet or so above the level of the rest of the building. Seated upon this the yahans are accustomed to receive visitors, and at the back, against the wall, are arranged the images of Buddha, a large one usually standing in the centre on a kind of altar with candles, flowers, praying flags, and other offerings placed before it, and on shelves alongside a number of smaller figures of gold, silver, alabaster, clay or wood, according to the popularity of the kyaung and the faith of the neighbourhood. Close by are placed also the manuscript chests, sadaiks, small shrines, models in wood of monasteries and pagodas, the fans and other religious implements of the pyin-sin and the gifts of the pious, heaped together ordinarily in very careless fashion. The central image is almost invariably placed on the eastern side of the building. There are occasionally dormitories for the monks, but as a rule they sleep in the central hall, where the mats which form their beds may be seen rolled up round the pillow against the wall. In many monasteries there is a special room for the palm-leaf scribes, often detached from the main building, as are the cook-room and the bathing-houses. 792 346

The whole area of the extensive compound in which the monastery stands is enclosed by a heavy teak fence with massive squared posts and rails, seven or eight feet high. All within this parawun is sacred ground, and the laity, when they enter, take off their shoes and carry them in their hands. This rule applies to the highest in the land, and when a 792 576

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sin, and especially to protect the pigeons, which usually flock about the monastic trees. Not many people in England would think of going to shoot in a churchyard.

The majority of kyaungs in the jungle and in the smaller towns are plain teak wood, or brick and lime structures, with more or less ornate carving and moulding, and interior decorations; but to see the really gorgeous ecclesiastical buildings one must journey to Mandalay. There the Kyaung-daw-gyi, the Royal Monastery, is the most striking collection of edifices of their kind to be seen in the world. At the foot of Mandalay Hill, just outside the eastern gate of the city, it extends over an area of a good many acres. Every building in it is magnificent; every inch carved with the ingenuity of a Chinese toy; the whole ablaze with gold-leaf and a mosaic of fragments of looking-glass, embedded in a resinous gum, while the zinc roofs glisten like silver in the sun, and the golden bells on the gable spires tinkle melodiously with every breeze. The huge posts are gilt all over, or covered with a red lacquer; the eaves and gables represent all kinds of fantastic and grotesque figures. The interior is no less elaborate, the panels of wall and ceiling are some carved, some diapered with the mosaic mirror work, glistening like polished metal with a rough gold mesh net thrown over it. The wood-carving is particularly fine; the effect in some places, where the birds, pecking, taking wing, alighting, and in every other variety of attitude, are so cut as to appear to underlie the profuse flower tracery, being especially clever. The amount of gilding, spread thickly over every part of the kyaung, alone represents many hundred pounds. Singular from its plain unadorned appearance is the high, brown teak-wood tower in one corner, to which the Sadaw-gyi and his monks occasionally withdraw, to devote themselves to contemplation and the task of learning to know themselves and the khandas, as well as the Seit and the Seikdathit. For this withdrawal from their gorgeous surroundings, to indulge in abstract thought, they have the example and precept of the Lord Buddha himself, who, even when he reposed as a babe on the bosom of his aunt Gautami, gave himself over to contemplation.

The whole of the flat land between Mandalay Hill and

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the city walls was formerly covered with monasteries, each of them standing separate and enclosed within its own parawun, and almost all presided over by a sadaw, a monk of the highest rank. They were thus entirely independent of each other. One of the most interesting for Englishmen is the Thiho Taik, the "Ceylon Monastery," presided over by Lingayāmā, a sadaw who was in great favour with Mindôn Min, the last king but one. The term taik is always applied to a "bishop's monastery," as implying that his is the chief of a number of kyaungs, all under his care, and in which he makes occasional sojourns. The Thiho Taik is peculiar for its trim appearance. It is very new; the under part of all the buildings is of brick; the compound is kept scrupulously clean; there is not a single large tree in it, and the parawun is a neat sawn-wood fence, instead of being, as is the case almost everywhere else, composed simply of huge stems of trees placed side by side in the ground. The sadaw himself is a very enlightened man. He has been several times to Rangoon to worship at the Great Pagoda, and to decide on questions in dispute. He has, in his library, copies of the English Scriptures in the Burmese version of Judson, and has read them through. Numbers of American Baptists' tracts, and the sacred books of other religions, have also a place in his manuscript chests. These are all deposited in a separate building standing in the middle of the enclosure, and used for no other purpose, except that the scribes sit here making copies of borrowed MSS., or setting down notes of the learned bishop himself. The palm-leaf book is still universal, and the work of making up a volume is therefore very laborious; for the most practised manipulator cannot, with his agate style and light strip of palmyra-leaf, exceed the speed of an English boy who has just got over the preliminary difficulties of pot-hooks and hangers. The letters scratched on the leaf are made more distinct by the application of crude earth-oil. This serves to darken the writing, as well as to preserve the book. The regular scribes are always laymen, and it is a matter of very considerable unpleasantness to the cenobites, that the cleverest of them are very often uncommonly bad livers, spending all their gains in libations of "Old Tom," or little

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balls of opium. These vagaries are, however, frequently winked at, for a copyist who can write neatly and with accuracy is far from being common. 212

The Thiho Taik library is a model in its way. It is nearly the best monastic collection in Mandalay, and is certainly far better arranged than any other. The sadaiks, or manuscript boxes, are arranged in three rows, one over the other; the thôts and zāts—the sermons and birth-stories—of the Lord Buddha below; above them the Cinghalese commentaries and exegeses; and on the top shelf Burmese translations and the explanations of various learned sadaws. Each chest contains a large number of different books, every separate collection of leaves being enclosed between wooden boards, some plain, some carved in high relief, with figures of déwas and demons. Round this is wrapped a kabalwè, a square piece of cloth with inwoven scenes from the sacred books, or portions of the Law, and the formulæ used at the pagoda. Most of these are of silk, very often with narrow slips of bamboo worked in so as to give stiffness to the whole. Instead of this, or sometimes in addition, is used the sā-si-gyo, a riband, about two fingers' breadth, and upwards of a yard in length. This is knitted or crocheted in a peculiarly close fashion, which puzzles English ladies. On it is worked the name of the owner, his titles and distinctions, and whatever other aspirations he chooses to add. They are very neat, and quite easy to read, an advantage which does not always characterise Berlin wool work. The king's grants of forest land, monopolies, and the like, were usually executed in this way. 792 217 [212] [531]

All the boxes are kept carefully locked, and the door is barred at night, for such a library represents years of labour, and could only with the greatest difficulty be replaced. It is only in Mandalay that libraries of any value are to be found. In Lower Burma the majority of the kyaungs do not even possess a complete copy of the three parts of the Bitaghat, the Buddhist Bible, and some few have nothing beyond a copy of the Kammawāsā, and perhaps a Malla Lingaya Wuttu, a life of the Lord Buddha, or something of the kind. Many others have, no doubt, valuable collections, but the monks are ignorant, they cannot read the books [184]

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all carefully preserved, along with many other gifts of the home-keeping pious; rolls of yellow cloth, Dutch clocks, betel-nut boxes, spare spittoons, and begging-pots, rugs, and pots of honey. The images of the kyaung, contrary to the usual custom, are placed in a glass case in the centre of the room, instead of at the east end. This situation is due to their value, most of them being of silver or gold, and one or two studded with precious stones.

The Thiho Taik was certainly one of the neatest and most methodically arranged monasteries to be seen anywhere. Unfortunately it was burnt with many others in the year of the Annexation. There were many more gorgeously decorated, and still more that were larger. The biggest in Burma was probably the Maha Yatana Paungdaw, which stood near the great Arakan Pagoda in the suburbs of Mandalay, and was in great part burnt down in 1879. The building, with its encircling platform, measured 440 feet by 200, and was supported by 404 massive teak trees, none less than two feet in diameter, and the central posts, which upheld the topmost tier of roof, must have been quite eighty feet in height. Near Maulmein, in Lower Burma, there is another kyaung remarkable for the huge girth of its posts.

The brick monasteries are commonest in the neighbourhood of Mandalay and other old capitals. They are covered with chunam, and in place of having a spire, are themselves built in the form of a pya-that, rising in the shape of rectangular terraces to a considerable height. Round the central hall, which is often divided by a gilt railing across the centre, are a number of cloisters and corridors, which ensure a perpetual cool breeze. Many of these monasteries are adorned with fresco paintings in the hall and in the honeycomb of corridors, representing usually scenes from the Zats, passages in the life of Shin Gautama, an especially favourite one being the Jataka of Nemi, where the pious prince is represented as a white ghostly figure in a chariot, passing, like the *pius Æneas*, through the dismal abodes of hell and the six heavens of the nats. Some other representations portray the occupations of daily life, such as feasting, hunting, weaving, and the different nationalities to be seen

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Indians

in the country. A very common scene shows the punishment which awaits fishermen in the next existence. The miserable destroyer of animal life is represented as dangling by the tongue on a fish-hook, while demons jerk him into the air, and drop him back into a lake of burning pitch. Many of them have inscriptions below to explain the subject of the picture. Thus in Pagàn:— Be 346 792 531

"When King Ne-bin Min-gyi reigned in Methila over the ten governors, according to the old books, the Thagya Min came from the nat heavens to help him."

"In the Monastery Yatana Shwe-daing, our Lord preached the Patenôn Tagayo, and remained several days."

"Shin Thumeda (Gautama), in the land of Thudawdana, received the Buddhaship under the banyan tree."

"Payā Alaung Theidat (the embryo Budh, Prince Siddartha), the King's son, married 4000 charming Yathe-mya."

"Our Lord rides on the elephant Nalagiri."

And so on in great variety. One also often finds such a notice as this scrawled on the wall: "In order to be prepared and to gain happiness in the seats of men, of nats, and of ne'ban, the rice-pots are set in order, the images are erected, and the paintings on the walls painted."

The monasteries are built, supported, and furnished by the pious, but there are not a few of them that have considerable sums of money laid away, usually under the control of the kappiya-dāyaka, the layman who lives in the kyaung, and provides for the wants of its inmates. A number of the royal fields round about Aungbinle, where the Burmese army assembled to seek victory before entering on a campaign, were set apart for the use of the Royal monastery at Payā Gyi, and the revenues were kept in a huge money-chest, which was always under the care of a guard of soldiers. Much of the money was devoted to the adornment of the adjacent pagoda. None can be spent on embellishing the monastery itself. That would be as great a sin as if a monk should build one for himself, besides that it would be depriving the populace of much opportunity for gaining merit. Be 792 735 423

There are a few monasteries of the Pônnas here and there in the large towns throughout the country. These Ba Be 791 792

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is kneaded in. In the coarse, common articles for every-day use, tempered clay and some other materials are often used; but this being thicker and less putty-like, is apt to scale and come off in flakes, especially if at all roughly used. This thayo is allowed to dry quite hard, and the box is then fastened to a rude lathe, which is turned with one hand, while the other is employed in polishing the box. This smoothing-down is effected with sifted ashes, or sometimes with a piece of silicious bamboo, which is as good as fine sand-paper. When this is done the box is ready for a fresh coat, which almost invariably consists of a mixture of finely-powdered bone-ashes and thi'si. This, after drying, is polished in the same way as before. We have now a box of a brilliant glossy black, in itself very pretty and fit for use anywhere. But this is only the end of the first stage; none but the byat and common wooden platters are left in this state. 285 322

The ground colour of the great majority of the boxes and cups is red; but some of the black wood-oil is required to rise through it and define the pattern. This is effected in a most ingenious way. The black box is put on the lathe again and turned round, while the lines and spots, and the form of the black pattern generally, is sketched on with a sut, or split stile, charged with thi'si. The drawer has no guide but his eye. There is no preliminary mapping out, yet a practised hand will never make a mistake and spoil a box. The fresh thi'si thus put on stands up above the general level of the surface. The whole box is now covered with red paint; and when this is dry the box is put on the lathe again, and the operator turns it round and rubs it steadily with ashes. By this means the red paint is removed where the lines of thi'si rise above the general surface, and the black pattern stands out clearly on the red ground. A quaint chequer-work is also always produced, where the slightly projecting edges of the bamboo wicker-work raise the black wood-oil through the vermilion layer. Still, however, it is not finished. No box is complete without three colours; and this last shade is applied in an equally simple and effective way. The desired pattern is incised with a graving-tool called a kauk—often nothing 531

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531 more elaborate than a pin firmly tied to a piece of stick. Then the whole box is coated over with the new colour, and this is in its turn polished off on the lathe till nothing remains but the lines of the engraved pattern. If another colour is required, a similar process is gone through.

531 285 322 When the design is complete, a clear varnish of another vegetable oil, called shansi, with a dash of thi'si in it, is applied all over as a last touch, unless indeed a very high polish is required. This is effected by rubbing gently with the powdered petrified wood found so useful in imparting a gloss to the alabaster images. The patterns are none of them very intricate, and are handed down as heirlooms from father to son, so that the same family will have all its ware made on a few clearly-defined models, and there is no fear of "spoiling a set." The invention does not as yet soar beyond scroll-work and line-figures of infinite variety; but should a foreign demand spring up there would be no lack of skill to meet it; just as the Rangoon tattooers have taken to copying pictures out of the *Graphic* on English sailors' breasts.

The supreme test of excellence in the manufacture is when the sides will bend in till they touch without cracking the varnish or breaking the wicker-work. Connoisseurs can discriminate between Shan, Nyaung-u, and the ware of other places, by the shadow thrown on the inside (which is varnished plain red or black), when the cup or circular box is held at an angle of forty-five. Three colours only are used besides the black groundwork; but variety is produced by graduating their intensity of shade. They are red, green, and yellow. Red is prepared from finely-ground vermilion mixed with shansi. The Nyaung-u people prefer a vermilion called hinthapadi ywè, prepared by themselves, to that procured from China and used elsewhere. The home-made stuff seems to be much brighter in tint. Myeni, red ochre, is used only with the coarsest work. For yellow, yellow orpiment is ground down and washed several times until a pure, impalpable powder remains. This is mixed with a pellucid gum, and when required for use, worked up with shansi. Green is obtained by adding finely-ground indigo to the yellow orpiment until the required tint is

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obtained. Red and yellow are, however, always the predominating colours. 531 285 322

The thi'si is turned to a variety of other uses besides the manufacture of lacquer-work; applied to wood, or to marble and clay images, it enables them readily to take on gilding. It is used as a waterproof varnish to all the umbrellas in the country, and makes them as impervious to rain as if they were made of wood, while it protects the palm-leaf against the rays of the sun, which otherwise would burn it as brittle as an egg-shell. All the racing and war-boats in Burma are painted with it, and the best caulking in the world could not make them more water-tight. Finally, boiled down thick it furnishes the material for delineating the square heavy characters of the sacred kammawa-sa, the ritual for the admission of brethren to the sacred order. 531 249

The oil is usually put in the sun for a short time before being used, and it is at first of a light brown colour, soon darkening into a brilliant black. It seems to be of a particularly mordant character, and raises huge blisters on the hands of some people, leaving marks of the ashy-white colour suggestive of leprosy. Hence strangers suspected of being afflicted with the terrible malady always declare they are thi'si workers; and many people avoid these latter, in case they might find they had been holding communication with an outcast. A lotion composed of fine teak-wood saw-dust, mixed with a little water, is used as a cure for blains. Many of the workmen periodically swallow small doses of the wood-oil, under the impression that it acts as a preventive. The capriciousness with which the varnish acts, leaving some men quite unharmed and punishing others severely, has given rise to a proverb in Nyaung-u:— [753] [757]

> Thi'si is a witness
> To a burgher's fitness;
> If bad, he's marked an outcast;
> If good, not long can doubt last.

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and bamboo, and the seats themselves serve more to stiffen it and prevent a wrench from doing any harm, than as conveniences for the paddlers. There are twenty-four of a crew all told, and the boat is fifty feet long. It is painted all black, save at the bow, where there is a brilliant representation of the peacock, from which it takes its name. At the end they come with a great spurt, shouting and bending to each stroke, and another great yell rises from the bank to assure them of the approval of their townsmen.

A length or two behind them comes the Thônkwa boat, paddling along composedly to the time of their celebrated rowing song, a mysterious, gusty air that has suggestions of the swirl of the river eddies and the rustle of the wind in the tall kaing-grass that lines their native creeks, in its varying measure. It comes over the water gently enough now, but many is the time it has swelled like a hurricane-blast and left the opposing boat foolishly as if it were at anchor. The Thônkwa crew are as different as possible in appearance from their robust young rivals. There is probably not a man under thirty among them, but there is not a superfluous ounce in all the wiry twenty-four. Every thew is tough as whip-cord, with long struggles against the rush of the current in the flooded creeks; every face and arm and shoulder is deep brown with exposure to the wind and the sun, for not a man among them but is a fisherman, and thinks nothing of the wild squalls that sweep over the delta and ruffle the swift current into a dangerous surge. No wonder they have an unbeaten record; and U Ôn fidgets about uneasily when the famous pè-nin of the Thônkwa boat salutes him obsequiously as the boat sweeps up.

No one knows how old Ko Kya-gyi is. His withered face and shrunken body suggest that it is time he was giving up fishing and endeavouring by assiduous piety to get his balance of kan somewhat more on the right side towards another existence, but he is tough as buffalo hide still, and no man in all Burma has a greater name than the ever-victorious Thônkwa steersman. None like him to keep a boat straight in the conflicting eddies that have thrown out many an apparently conquering boat; none like him to gauge the strength of his crew and spurt just at the right

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the great rivers again. The surest way of putting an end to "roping" and false rowing with the object of mere money gain, is to reintroduce the old honest, enthusiastic rivalry. Where every rower feels that the name of his village depends upon the prowess of his arm, there will be no "sugaring" and ignobly waiting, in Sheffield handicap fashion, to "have their heads loose." 526 177·52

All the races in the low country are rowed in hlaw hle, or hlaw laung, that is to say, in paddle-boats. Up country there are frequently contests in hkap hle, "pull-away boats," rowed with oars, but even there the national paddle predominates. It may be mentioned that the coast men are by far the better rowers. In the Mandalay October races in 1881, a scratch Bassein boat challenged all comers, and was victorious in every match. 526 184

There are a variety of boats, mostly, however, made on the same model, of which the launggo is the type. This is simply a canoe hollowed out of the trunk of a tree, the sides of which are drawn out by charring and inserting wedges; then the boat-builder chips out the centre. The laungsat is only a little larger and more commodious, plank sides being added to the solid keel, if it may be so called. The huge hnaw, or rice-boats, are made in the same fashion. 501

Of a different style are the pein-gaw, huge, ungainly, barge-like things, used principally at Yenangyaung for carrying oil. Along the sides, projecting over the beams of the boat, and reaching aft to the house raised on the quarter-deck, are tagin, a sort of platform for the polers to walk backwards and forwards on. Pihn-gaw keep mostly in shallow water, so that their ungainly weight may be moved along by poles, which is much quicker and less laborious work than rowing.

Barring exceptionally fine racing-boats, the hlawkadaw, or hlawga, the king's despatch boats, were the finest specimens of boat-building. They were gilt all over, even to the kat-tat, or paddles, and the stern rose high up in the air for the accommodation of the steerer. The express boats, or hpaungpaw, had usually a representation of the kalawaik, the carrying bird of Vishnu and national emblem of the Burmese, on the bows, and had often as many as sixty [531]

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36 Parama nu-myu	=	one a-nu-myu, visible particles of dust, such as the motes dancing in the sunbeam.
36 Anu-myu	=	one ka-nyit-che, a gross particle, such as the dust which falls from the style, when a scribe writes on a palm-leaf.
7 Ka-nyit-che	=	one than ôk-kaung, a louse's head.
7 Than ôk-kaung	=	one môn-nyin se, a mustard seed.
3 Môn-nyin se	=	one hnan se, a grain of sesamum.
4 Hnan se	=	one san se, a grain of rice.
4 San se	=	one hkyin ywe, a seed of the *Abrus precatorius.*
2 Hkyin ywe	=	one ywegyi, a seed of the *Adenanthera pavorina.*
4 Ywegyi	=	one pè.
2 Pè	=	one mu.
2 Mu	=	one mat.
4 Mat	=	one kyat.
5 Kyat	=	one bo.
20 Bo	=	beittha, a viss, 3.652 lbs. avoirdupois.
4 Beittha	=	one tula.
4000 Tula	=	one tapông, or tasu.

The only weights in ordinary use are the mu, mat, ngamu (or hkwè), half a kyat, and the kyat. The standard weights are usually formed with a figure of the sacred hantha on them, or sometimes with the animal representing the royal birthday. [531]

Formerly the Burmese had no stamped coinage, and the silver and gold used, mixed in greater or less amount with alloy, which necessitated the calling in of an assayer for every transaction, was always dealt out by weight. King Mindôn struck gold coins stamped with the lion and the peacock, silver and copper with the royal peacock, and lead with the hare. The lead coins were simply blobs of metal like a spherical bullet squeezed out of shape. One might examine thousands of them and never see a hare. Mandalay

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varnished over with wood oil, so that every particle of the corpse may, if necessary, be covered with gold leaf, and this, except in very poor neighbourhoods, is always done. Where there is not money enough, the yellow sacred garments are wrapped round the corpse instead. The arms are always folded on the chest. The body is then placed in the coffin. This is not, as is the case with laymen, made of planks, but of a single log roughly hollowed out, and with a very substantial lid. This lid is not fastened down for a considerable time, and occasionally a bamboo pipe leads from the coffin into the ground to assist in drying up the embalmed body. The fastening down of the cover is sometimes rather an unpleasant spectacle. Many of the old pôngyis keep logs in their monasteries to serve for their coffins, and these, when hollowed out, are not always a satisfactory fit. Bishop Bigandet tells of a horrible sight he witnessed, when the lid had to be crushed on with wedges and the blows of a heavy mallet. The majority of aged yahans are, however, so shrivelled and shrunken before they die, that such an occurrence, which, it must not be supposed, is any less dreadful to a Burman than it is to an Englishman, could only happen very rarely, and then probably would not be carried out in the way which so justly shocked the good bishop.

The inner coffin is then, like the body, varnished with thitsi, and gilt all over. For it is prepared an outer casket called a payaung-bông, which is as magnificent as the skill of the local artificers and the liberality of the "benefactors" permit. This sarcophagus is often very large, and is richly gilt and painted in the panels, which are fringed with the usual mosaic of bits of mirror, coloured glass, and zinc. The paintings naturally represent religious subjects, usually scenes from the life of Shin Gautama; his famous meetings with the old man, the sick, the dead, and the monk; his departure at night from the magnificent court of King Thudawdana; his ascent to Tawadeintha, and the like. Rearing itself over the top of the sarcophagus is usually the figure of a nagā, recalling the pious dragon chief that sheltered the Lord Buddha from a flood of rain by coiling seven times round his body and expanding its hood as a covering.

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Meanwhile, money is being steadily collected for the

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remainder of the rites, and as this comes in from the elders of the surrounding villages and the kappiyadayakas of neighbouring religious houses, the kyaungthagyi of the deceased's monastery sets about erecting an edifice like a thein, a "monastery of the dead." This is a building, more or less substantial, according to the sanctity of the departed, built of teak, and open all round, with the tapering ecclesiastical pya-that rising over it. Hither the coffin, with the sarcophagus, is carried and deposited on a dais in the centre, a slight railing serving to keep off wild animals. Over it a large white umbrella, with a deep paper-lace fringe, is fixed, and round about hang a number of paintings, similar to those on the payaung-bông, some of them, however, representing the favourite subject of the different races of men as known to the artist—the swarthy Hindoo, the oblique-eyed Chinaman, the Kachin with his pig on his back, and the ghastly white-faced Englishman with dog and gun. Others are simply grotesque, and a few horrible, in their delineations of the horrors of hell. Nevertheless, they are all allowed to hang there, for though it is expressly stated that paintings are among the five species of gifts which are not meritorious (dancing is another), the ordinary layman thinks that the painting he gives must certainly be an exception. Here and there in this odd kind of mortuary chapel are also keinnaya, gay tinselled pasteboard figures of men with birds' lower extremities, manôttha keinnaya and nat keinnaya, the latter having the wings and gorgeous aspect of nat-dêwas. Here the body lies in state, and there is a constant stream of pilgrims—some of them from far distant parts of the country—who come to say their religious sentences, make offerings of flowers and fruit as they would at the pagoda, and contribute what they can afford towards the remainder of the ceremony.

The body remains till the required sum is collected. During that time numbers of festivals are celebrated at the ne'ban kyaung; bands of music play frequently, and the same people often make three or four different offerings. The lying in state usually lasts several months, sometimes considerably over a year, and it is to be noted that a pôngyi byan never takes place during Lent.

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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are covered with carving along the façades and up the spires, scroll upon scroll of daintiest design, quaint groups of figures here and there, and on the gateways moulded dragons. All the carvings tell a story taken from the treasure-house of the nation's infancy, quaint tales of genii and fairy and wonderful adventure. Never, I think, do the carvings tell anything of the sacred life or teaching. The Burmese are not fond, as we are, of carving and painting scenes from sacred books. Perhaps they think the subject too holy for the hand of the craftsman, and so, with, as far as I know, but one exception in all Burma—a pagoda built by Indian architects long ago—you will look in vain for any sacred teaching in the carvings. But they are very beautiful, and their colour is so good, the deep rich brown of teak against the light green of the tamarinds, and the great leaves of the plantains all about. Within the monastery it will be all bare. However beautiful the building is without, no relaxation of his rules is allowed to the monk within. All is bare: only a few mats, perhaps, here and there on the plank floor, a hard wooden bed, a box or two of books.

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At one end there will be sure to be the image of the teacher, wrought in alabaster. These are always one of three stereotyped designs; they are not works of art at all. The wealth of imagination and desire of beauty that finds its expression in the carved stories in the façades has no place here at all. It would be thought a sacrilege to attempt in any way to alter the time-honoured figures that have come down to us from long ago.

MGA-KUT-SON (Mortar): The mortar resembles an inverted truncated cone with a loop handle extending from the rim. It is made of the smeared-brown glazed ware described above. A teak wood pestle (GYEBUK) is a rounded club about 15 inches long and 2 inches in diameter. Some are ornate with circular bands, but U Myaing's club is plain. It took him about an hour to make. The mortar was purchased here and cost 10 annas. Number of mortars in Pathwe 1 , Camp: 1 . 415 252 [531]

DAN O (aluminum cooking pots): The aluminum cooking pot is a wide cylindrical form with a flat lid. They are made locally. U Myaing's family had three in camp ranging in size from 10 inches in diameter and 4 inches high to 12 inches in diameter and 5 inches high. The vessels were used for cooking rice and curry. A pot holding 6 LOE of rice costs Rs. 4/-. Pathwe number: several, camp: 3. [435]

DANYIN LOE (aluminum pail): One aluminum pail, cylindrical in form with a height of 7 inches and diameter of 6 inches, and wire handle, was used in camp as a container in hauling foods from market and in their preparations. It cost Rs. 2/8 in Rangoon. Pathwe: [435]

Miscellaneous containers: Several beer bottles and circular cigarette tins were used in camp to contain oils and spices.

SHAN JAIK (Tiffin Carrier): A rectangular lunch box, or tiffin carrier, of aluminum was bought in Rangoon for Rs.3/8, Pathwe: Rs. 12/-.

KYMY PAGANETA (China Plates): A single broken china plate was used as a cover for the water jar in camp. This was one of three brought from Pathwe, where they cost Rs. 2/-. This is a special ware which was usually reserved for guests. In Pathwe, the family had enough for family use and guests on special occasions.

THAN PAGANETA (enamelled iron plates): Two enamelled iron plates of shallow dish and bowl form (about 12 inches in diameter) were used in camp. These cost Rs. 2/- each. Pathwe: 0.

YAUNGMA (stirring spoons): Two spatulate bladed spoons with thin handles 12 inches long were used as stirring spoons in the preparation of food. The iron one was bought in Rangoon and cost 10 annas. The wooden one was made by U Myaing in Pathwe out of teakwood. It took him 2 hours to make it with a small knife.

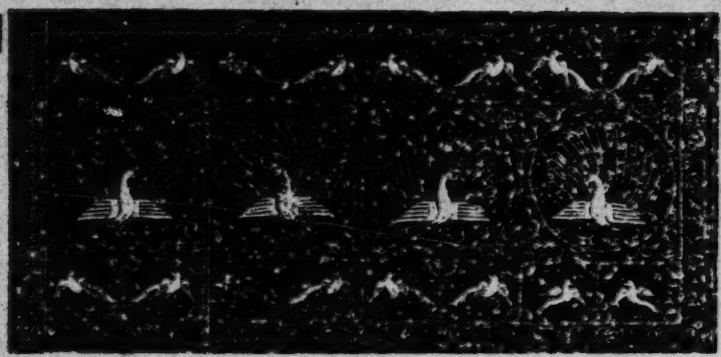
SOONE (eating spoons): Chinese porcelain spoons (KYMAY) and brass spoons (EYEK) were used indiscriminately to dip curry sauce over the rice. The Chinese spoons are boat shaped with high and hollow handles. The brass spoons are similar to European soup spoons. The porcelain spoons were preferred aesthetically, but because the children frequently broke them, brass spoons were most commonly used. Cost and frequency: In Pathwe, 60. Camp: 6.
Food is commonly eaten with the fingers in all levels of Burmese society.

DAW (knife): The big knife used in camp for cutting fire-wood and other chopping jobs was about 1½ feet long including an 8 inch wooden handle bound in iron. The steel blade is curved slightly upward, has a square end and is used as a chopper frequently with two hands on the handle. The one in camp was bought "long ago" and cost Rs. 4/-. A small knife with a pointed steel blade was used for whittling and cutting in the preparation of food. Pathwe: 10, most for work in IN. Camp 2. [412] [435]

KAYEN (pot rest): A hollow disc woven of soft reeds with a diameter of 6 to 8 inches is used to rest pots on - so that the carbon on their bases will not blacken the surface on which they rest. These are readily made by the women of the family. [285]

PYI DAING (Measures): There were two of these containers, used for measuring rice in camp. The iron one had a hole in it, but was retained as a general container. It had been replaced by the wicker

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4



2. BURMAN GOLD-EMBROIDERED SCREEN (KALAGÂ).

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25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
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failed to form a conception of the power of nations beyond the sea. The Burmans had no intelligence branch in the shape of a sea-borne trade of their own. So they provoked a trial of strength, and after a struggle, which they made a long and well-nigh desperate one for their well-equipped opponents, succumbed. Burman empire was over, the ancient kingdom only remained. The people had learned the lesson, but not so their rulers, who suffered affairs to come to a thrice-repeated crisis. (See CHRONOLOGY, 1825, 1852, 1885.)

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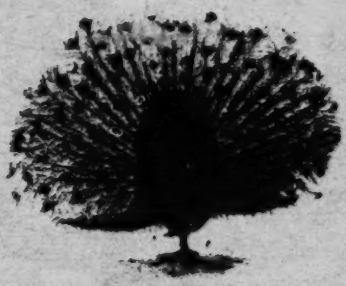

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11. THE NATIONAL EMBLEM OF BURMA.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
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12. BABY'S BATH.

CHAPTER II

CHILDHOOD

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13. THE RATTAN CRADLE (PAKET).

THE cradle and the flower-stand are the two things that strike one in every Burman dwelling by the care bestowed on them. The plainest cradle has a turned rail and a carved headpiece (p. 8). The cradle swings by ropes to which the mosquito curtain is tied. The bed is made of a cotton mattress and a few plies of cloth. The infant is swaddled while its mother is lying in, and for a week or two later according to the season of the year. After that it wears only necklets and bangles. The first clothes the child gets are for grand occasions, after it has learned to run about and take care of itself. When the mother has recovered, she takes her babe with her wherever she goes, and if a wood or cane cradle is not handy she slings the infant in a plain hammock of cloth (No. 284). The Burmans do not carry their young children in a sling on the back like the hill people, but on the hip as soon as they can sit up (Nos. 327, 424).
854 When the babe is hardy enough to go without covering, it spends its waking
342 hours on a smooth mat spread over a springy bamboo floor which somewhat

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

next to a parent, with a life-long devotion.

Before or after the monastic novitiate, it is the custom for the Burman lads to have themselves tattooed from the waist to the knee (No. 152). Not to submit to this ordeal is to incur the reproach of cowardice. The tattooing is an intricate pattern of animals and tracery. Owing to the extent of surface involved, the process is most painful. It occupies days or weeks, according to the fortitude of the subject, who is drugged with opium for the occasion. The instrument has a handle weighted at the butt, and a long point of bronze, split like a ruling-pen. It is worked with great rapidity. The pigment is a kind of lamp-black of the consistence of ink. It shows bluish black through the brown skin. When a Burman tucks up his loin-cloth, as he always does for work or exercise (*kaddung-chaik*), he looks as if he had black knee-breeches. As plain as the contrast is to the eye, ordinary photographic plates fail to render it. In No. 153 it appears fully. On other parts of the body the men frequently have horoscopes and cabalistic diagrams tattooed with vermilion (*se-ni*, No. 162) for luck and bravado. The Shan practice of letting in gold and silver discs the size of two-penny pieces—beneath the skin—is sometimes imitated by Burmans as a charm against sword-cuts and bullets (*dâbyi*; *themabbyi*). The Arakanese, who repudiate the custom of *thgwin*, ascribe it to a Burman King, who endeavoured to disguise his leprosy in this way.

27. VILLAGE LAY SCHOOL.

28. KITE-FLYING.

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

28. AGED YAHAN CARVED ON YIN.

The majority of the *kyaungs* and buildings of Burma are constructed on piles. The country at large is mountainous. The Burman race monopolises the flat lands in the basin of the upper Irawadi — "the narrows" (*Anyá*)—in the same way as the Shan races do in the sphere of their influence and the Mun (or Taláing) race in the south (Pegu). The quasi-aboriginal races occupy the hill-land and mountains. The plains-dweller settles as near as he can to the natural waterways with which Burma is abundantly provided. In the drought the rivers recede to great distances from their flood-level margins. In order to be close to the channels, the houses have to be on high piles. The races of Burma adhere to their practice of pile-building even on elevated sites, such as those of the temples. The Burman wood architecture appears to have developed through the exigencies of pile-building and under the influence, as regards decoration, of an exotic masonry style. The Burman style possesses a naïve charm recalling the art of the "ages of faith" in Western Europe. It has a certain resemblance to the wooden church-building of Norway. The style was in full vigour up to the middle of the nineteenth century. Since that time novelties of type and manufacture have crowded in faster than they could be assimilated into the indigenous arts, on which they are foisted crudely (Nos. 60, 99).

The affinities of Burman art above referred to, to the art of mediæval Europe, are extrinsic only. The "aspiring" character of the florid ornament, the quaint figures in their labyrinths of tracery, recall the crocketed niches and fantastic gargoyles of the

29. TEMPLE HILL.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1931 AP1 Burma
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60. DECADENT KYAUNG.

Gothic, especially in the richness of the *ensemble*. But the Burman decoration does not strike the eye as an efflorescence of the structure so much as an overlaying of it. The grandest work produces the effect of an elaborate model rather than a monumental achievement. The perspicuity of the play of forces operating in the structure, out of which the poetry of Gothic architecture flows, has a parallel in the Burman boat-building. But the effort which the land architecture incorporates, to interpret a masonry style in wood, was naturally productive of incongruities, despite the fact that the masonry was itself an interpretation of still earlier wood building. The outward incongruities have been mitigated in the unique style in which the genius of Burma has found expression. The stiff and monotonous feather-ornament of the Hindu gable (No. 74) has developed into the Burman flamboyant decoration. The bold finial is the sole element of the original which has been preserved literally (No. 62). The graduated ornament of the *pyatthat*, soaring above the verdure, recalls the proportions of some budding head-of-bloom—a case in point of the theory of the sources of architectural types, in the insensible suggestions of natural objects, expressed by Herbert Spencer. (*Essays*, vol. ii.) Through the Burman treatment types other than architectural, which Burma has borrowed, acquire a new and distinctive interest.

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When a *kyaung*, or any work of public utility, has been undertaken by the people of a village jointly, it is kept in good repair. But when it has been carried out at the cost of an individual—and this applies to most of the public works—the repairs are left to the founder and to his family, who have frequently

61. ORNAMENTATION OF KYAUNG.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
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[788]

81. SYMBOL OF MYIMMO-DAUNG.

of the Burman type is the one cast for the Shwe-Dagôn Payâ by the Emperor Sinbyu Shin in 1775, which weighs forty-one tons.

According to the Burman cosmogony the world consists of four great islands, North, South, East and West, surrounded by the ocean. Burma and the known countries are situated in the south island. In the centre of all rises Mount Meru (*Myimmo-daung*). This centre of the universe is symbolized by a conventional tower provided with niches or caverns for mythical inhabitants of every sort, *Nat*, *Zawdyl* (sorcerers), *Bilu* (ogres), monsters half human and half brute, and dragons (No. 392). The symbol of *Myimmo-daung*, made of bamboo, with paper and tinsel, is a feature of various festivals. In substantial masonry it is a frequent adjunct of the temples.

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The *Bo* tree (*Bawdi-bin*), together with the rest of the *ficus* family, is sacred to the Hindu. The *Bo* is a variety of the *pipal* (*ficus religiosa*), a deciduous *ficus* with long copper-coloured acumina to the leaves. It is sacred to the Buddhists because it was while resting under the shade of a *Bo* tree at Gáya in Bahár, 600 years before Christ, that Gawdama realised the vanity of the ceremonial and ascetic systems, resisted temptation, and attained to supreme enlightenment, which, as Buddha, it became his mission to impart to mankind. "The *Bo* tree is to Buddhists what the Cross is to Christians" (Bigandet). The original *Mahá-bodi* was piously tended while Buddhism flourished in India, and trees propagated from it were planted by Buddhist pilgrims. Such a tree is the historical *Bo* tree at Anurádhapúra in Ceylon, planted in 245 B.C. and still flourishing. Young plants cultivated from this tree are brought home to

82. BAWDI TREE.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
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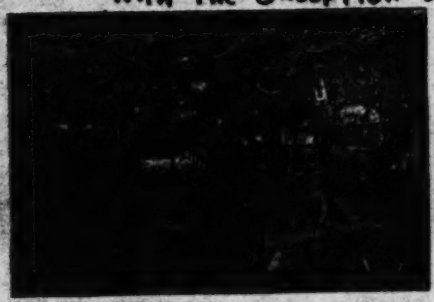
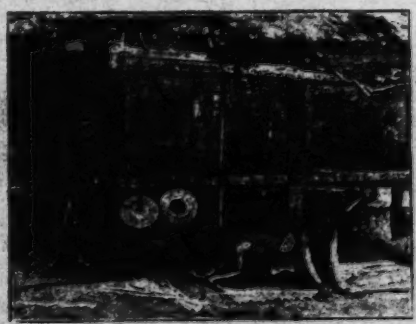
With the exception of the stuff for the 386
recluses' robes, cloth is not dyed 286
in the piece, but in the yarn. [792]
Dyes used for cotton are also chiefly imported, but the indigenous dyes continue to be [342]
used for silk. The Burmans excel in yellows, oranges, deep reds, and rich deep greens, which they harmonise with beautiful effect. Their clear blues and purples are indifferent.
Except in a few localities, where 286
weaving is a speciality, the men 462
take no share in the industry [438]
beyond constructing the looms. Women spin and dye the yarn and weave the cloth. The lath of the loom (*lekha*) is of graceful outline—often elaborately carved—and is furnished with two ornamented metal pins, with loose metal rings, [591] that jangle at each swing of the beam, and proclaim the industry of the young woman, to whom this business chiefly falls. Hence it comes that the loom is a [584] favourite *rendezvous*. The same applies to other occupations of the girls, such as rice-cleaning, when the suitor will take a turn at the heavy part of the work and lounge while the sifting goes on. Common patterns of cloth are tartans, 286
for which two or three shuttle-spools are required. The plainest cloth woven is at least shot with a colour different to that of the warp. The intricacy of a pattern is denoted by the number of spools. Scroll patterns (*cheik*) in silk are called *lun-tayk* (hundred-spool). The warp is a cubit wide and about twenty cubits long, which makes a man's loin-cloth (*pasé*). The piece is doubled and its edges sewn together along one side; the turn of the cloth serves as a bag or wallet, according as the piece is draped; it has no lining. The *pasé* is hitched round the loins and girt long or short, according to fancy, without the help of a belt; but elastic belts are now coming in. The slack is worn in a bunch in front (*kalbungan*) or is thrown over the shoulder.



128. SHOWING THE THATCH.



127. PLAITING FLOOR-MATS (see p. 66).

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25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
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157. DOMESTIC FLOWER-STAND (MYAUNG-YE-O, PP. 9, 63).

one, no disability of a practical kind exists for her. But it is the aspiration of every woman to transmigrate as a man in the next phase of existence (*hawa*, p. 43). As the state of a man is thought a more desirable one, so it is inferred that her life in the previous incarnation has brought the woman's state upon her. How deep and tender is the poetry which the idea of transmigration weaves into the life of the Buddhist may be judged from the example at the close of Chapter XXIII. of *The Soul of a People*. Orphans are adopted by relatives, and in default of such, never fail to find foster-parents. The division of labour between the sexes is the common one of out-door and in-door. Wherever circumstances permit, women are relieved of hardship; the sheltered places in boats and carts belong to the women and children. The great middle zone of commerce is neutral; women embark in wholesale trade, besides transacting the bulk of the retail trade. In certain localities women do the lighter part of the out-door work, and in the poorer districts of the dry zone they share in the heavy labour. Women are accorded precedence among men according to the standing they have acquired by marriage or by their independent efforts. The *Kyaungsaw*—the woman who has founded and who supports a school—enjoys a deference on all sides proportioned to the munificence of her gift. Women mix freely among men but are never jostled by them. At great gatherings men and women group apart. The Burman women are smart at repartee, and hold their own in the perpetual banter that goes on between the sexes.

158. WAYSIDE WATER-STAND IN THE CITY (PP. 21, 69).

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[857]
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159. CHILDREN AT THE RIVER SIDE (p. 91).

Every stranger, man or woman, is addressed *K'mbyâ*—sir, madam. There is a courteous address for nearly every relation in life. Children, in speaking to their parents, grandparents, uncles, and aunts, say *Shin* and *Daw*—lord, lady; wife to husband, *Shin*; husband to wife, *Bya*, *Bya*—terms of endearment; younger brother or sister to elder, *Go*, *Maung-dyî*; elder brother to younger *Maung*; brothers to sisters, *Ma*. *Maung* and *Ma* (brother and sister) have become the ordinary prefixes to names, answering to our Mr., Mrs., Miss. These are used even by parents to their grown-up children. To inferiors and in disparagement, the plain *nga*, *mè*, *mi* are used. Middle-aged men are given the address *Go*, and old men that of *Û* (uncle), which is also the prefix to the *bwè* of the *yahán*. Great regard is conveyed by the address *Sayâ*—teacher, master. The honorific word for wife is *gadáw*, thus—*sayâ-gadáw*, *min-gadáw*. To royalty the addresses were *Gôdaw*—[illegible] self; *Ashin-Payâ*—lord of lords; *Pôu-daw-dyî*—of great glory. These titles came to be used for ministers and governors, as more euphemistic ones were devised for the kings. The same addresses are accorded by courtesy to the *yahán*, who on their part address the layman as *Tagâ*, *Tagâdaw*—supporter, great founder. The layman refers to himself as *tabyî-daw*—the honoured disciple. In other relations of life, other periphrases are used for the pronouns of the first and second persons. The plain *I* and *you* — *ngâ*, *nin* — are only used in disparagement. Thus the current phrase for *I* is *tyumôk*—the humble servant. (For women, *tyumma*.) In addressing superiors, the phrase is *tyumdáw*, *Payâ-tyumdáw*

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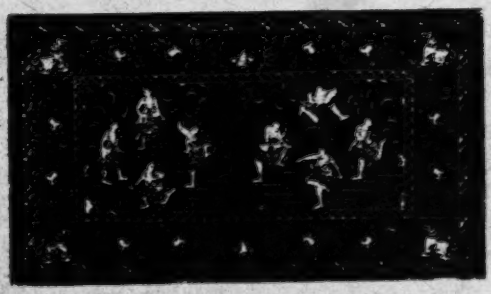

160. CHINLON GAME—APPLIQUE WORK (p. 179).

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221. UMBRELLA MAKERS.

of the work can be done on a lathe. To prepare the wicker for lacquering, it is first given a "rough-stuffing" of fine clay to fill the interstices. The work is then painted with *thissi*, which penetrates and toughens the clay and binds the fibres of the wicker. When the *thissi* has set, which takes several days, the work is put on the chuck of a bow-lathe and ground smooth with a fibrous stone—a petrifaction-product. Varnishing and grinding are repeated till the surface is smooth, colour being added to the later coats. Then a coat of contrasted colour is given, and when the varnish is about half set, the pattern is chipped with a metal style through the fresh layer to the hard lacquer beneath. After the work has hardened, the patterns are embellished by scoring rings through the layers, with a tool like a carpenter's gouge, so as to bring out the underlying contrasts. The patterns are arabesques and conventionalized figures.* Subject designs are also executed (No. 224). Finally the lacquer is polished with buffs of graduated fineness. A peculiarity of *thissi* is that it sets hardest in a moist atmosphere. Every manufacturer has an underground cellar—a thing almost unknown in Burma—for the wares to harden in. Pagán, the centre of the industry, is at the same time the driest locality of the dry zone. The finest lacquer, which is only made by a few highly-skilled workmen, is so elastic that the lips of a cup may be brought to meet without the ware cracking. As much as twenty-five rupees is paid for a cup of such quality. The ordinary ware has not the tenth part of this elasticity, and sells for one to ten rupees a box. The deep cover of the betel-box is the traveller's ordinary drinking-cup.

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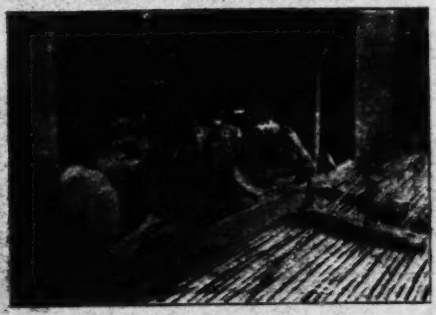
222. LACQUER-WARE MANUFACTURE.

* See the end-papers of the binding of this volume.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 API Burma
Burmese AP4

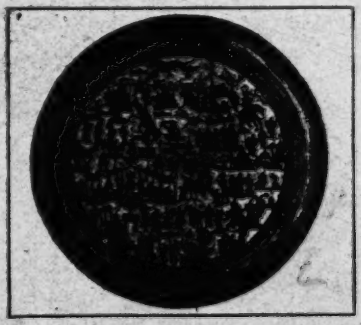


223. SCORING DESIGN ON LACQUER-WARE.

Thissi also forms the vehicle of a putty, with which mosaic of many-coloured mirror-glass is cemented together. This is used for the thrones and other appointments of the palaces, temples, and *kyaung*. Whole ceilings and walls are ornamented in this way (*thayô*). The mosaic is set off with gilt mouldings. The work, though often tawdry, is sometimes rich and impressive, both as to design and colour (*Frontispiece*). 531 [322]

Foot-gear used to be of the nature of luxury in Burma. In houses and boats people always go barefoot. But in many parts of the dry zone the thorny weeds make sandals a necessity. The common material is raw buffalo-hide, covered on top with woollen cloth and having cloth-covered straps. The straps come from the sides, near the hollow of the foot, and arch over to the spot where the toe-post of the Indian patten is set. Tanned leather slippers of European shape made by Chinese are now ousting the Burman sandal and wood patten. 295

Most of the well-known metals are found in Burma. Before the importation of pig, bar, and sheet metals, and of metal manufactures from the West began, Lawá settlers from Zimmè (Chiengmai, *Tyin-mai*) practised the smelting of iron, copper, tin, zinc, and lead. These industries have disappeared. Metal goods used to come in from the Shan States and China, but the principal manufacture was carried on by Burmans and Talaings. Even at present, the only heavy metal goods imported are iron cauldrons, anvils, sledge-hammers, and vices—besides machinery. Saws, files, chisels, augers, hinges and locks, nails and screws, dies and taps, pocket-knives and fancy metal goods, are imported. Bells for the temple precincts were, until recently, the heaviest castings made, but of late a 325 [439]



224. ETCHED DESIGN ON LACQUER (HNGEP-PYITTAUNG).

[531 322]

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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234. WASHING FOR GOLD.

silver, of the work, for workmanship. The fineness of the gold used is from eighteen to twenty-two and a half carats. Copper is the alloy for gold (four to sixteen *yué* of copper to the *kyat* or tikal). Silver is used of rupee fineness (four *yué* of alloy to the *kyat*) up to pure metal (*baw*). The intermediate fineness of sterling silver is the most usual. Silver is alloyed with copper and with zinc. With the few implements named above, plate for display and ornaments for women's wear are fashioned, of beautiful design and considerable finish. Chasing and *repoussé* ornament are used for the gold and silver plate, filigree and beading for the gold ornaments. Those who can afford it, serve drinking-water to their guests in a large silver bowl (*paldi*) holding a gallon or so, with a small *paldi* floating on the water. Other objects of luxury are silver lime-boxes, betel-boxes, hafts and scabbards of sabres. Broad zones of *repoussé*-work are relieved by fillets and beadings. The plain vessel having been hammered into shape is filled with a tough lac. This affords a ductile matrix, yielding where the chaser is applied and supporting the relief portions. The first step is to outline the work with a bronze punch, after which the lac is melted out and the metal annealed. Lac is poured in again, and a stage of relief raised. By successive annealings the full relief is obtained.* The figure designs are the signs of the zodiac, episodes from *zat*, and mythical animals. Women frequently carry some thousands of rupees worth of gold in the form

[554
415]
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235. VILLAGE SILVERSMITH.

* The figure to the left in No. 237 is Go Tha Ban of Maulmain, the silversmith who designed and executed the tools used for the sides of this volume. The back is from the cover of a *Kambawd*, to the colours of which it corresponds.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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[313]
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264. TIMBER-RAFT.

plain or is oiled with crude petroleum. A wooden house of the modern Burman pattern costs from three hundred rupees upwards; a bamboo house only twenty to sixty.

The Burman turning-lathe is of the usual primitive type; two poppets sliding in a bed, with centres to hold the work, round which a cord passes from the simple treadle-bar to a springy lath or bamboo overhead. But of late, mandril-lathes have been constructed after models in the steam-mill workshops (No. 187). Mechanical construction has great attractions for the Burman, and is stimulated [563] by the high wages of labour. The foremen sawyers at the steam-mills are Burmans, the other hands natives of India. Menders of clocks and sewing-[401] machines are in all the towns. An engine-erecter, who had set up machinery in most countries of Europe and Asia, said he had nowhere met the same natural aptitude for handling machinery as in Burma (*cf.* p. 10).

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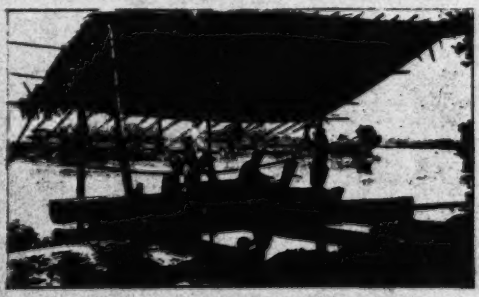
The floral wood-carving of Burma is remarkable for its freedom and spontaneity. Rich as the floral tracery is, the animal grotesques are laboured and deficient in fancy. The carving is done in teak-wood when it is meant for fixtures; otherwise, *yamané* is preferred. The tools employed are chisel, gouge, and mallet. The design is traced on the wood with charcoal, gouged out in the rough and finished with sharp fine tools, using the mallet for every stroke. Teak-wood and *yamané* have a coarse grain, in which fine detail cannot be rendered. Small and delicately elaborated figures are carved in sandal-wood [313] and also in ivory. Whole tusks are carved over with figures of the Buddha and are dedicated in the *kyaungs*. In some of these the figures are modelled in a single piece under an



265. SAWING UP THE LOGS.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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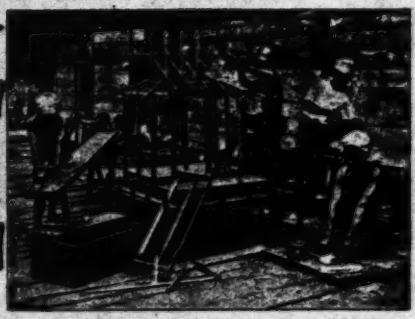

287. BURMAN CARPENTERS.

arbour of tracery, which entirely encloses them. Ivory hafts and scabbards of daggers and sabres are ornamented in the same way. The ivory carving is not polished.

The conventional flat design, painting and embroidery exhibit affinities to the Indian decoration of the ancient temples (Nos. 94, 272). The anachronisms and other naiveties of our mediæval designers are paralleled in modern Burma; witness the introduction of British officers with their field-glasses in the design of the Prince of Pagán destroying the monster at Hngeppyittaung (No. 224). The medium used for painting is a coarse tempera. From
197] the labels attached to European goods, many of which are excellent in design and colour, lessons in colouring and perspective have been learned. From photographs, ideas of accuracy have been gathered, and from illustrated newspapers, ideas of composition. Neither carver nor designer ever uses a model. The painter of No. 433 confessed that he had not seen the place himself; he had it described to him. In pure design without colour, the *shwezawô* work is the best. It is a kind of drawing in lacquer, which appears black on a gold ground (No. 96). Of late the Burmans have attempted cuts on type-metal for illustrations of books (No. 276). They are executed with chisel and punch; the graver is unknown.

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788
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Ancient inscriptions are rare in Burma, although the *thamdaing*, or depository for slabs recording the circumstances of religious foundations, is a recognised institution. In many of the *thamdaing* at Pagán may be seen the ancient *Pâli* square character, of which the Burmese round character is a development. The square character is preserved in the *hambawô* (No. 46). The late King Mindôn Min caused the whole of the Pâli text of the Tripitaka to be

288. BURMAN TURNER.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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269. BURMAN WOOD-CARVER.

engraved on 729 marble slabs, 4 feet by 3 feet. These, set under as many stucco canopies, are known as the *Kûthodaw* or *Law-kama-yazin* — the royal work of merit (No. 385). They constitute the most important of the King's religious foundations. A number of years were spent by a committee of learned *yahán* in editing the text. Certain portions have since been transferred to type, and in time the whole of this text will be available in print. The development of the round Burmese character out of the square Pâli was favoured by the nature of the material used for writing on—the leaf of the *pe* palm. The fan-leaf is split into its segments, which are piled, and dried under pressure. Then they are trimmed even, and punched with holes to file them by. The leaf is ruled with turmeric, and the writing is done with a sharp steel style, which scratches through the hard epidermis to the spongy layer underneath; both sides are written on. The transverse strokes tear the fibre more, and leave a plainer mark, which leads to a minimising of longitudinal strokes. When the writing is complete, the wooden covers are lacquered, the edges of the leaves gilt, and their faces oiled with crude brown petroleum, which both preserves the material and brings out the writing. The oiling is repeated from time to time. The leaves become dark and friable in fifty years, and the writing hard to decipher. Manuscripts over two hundred years old are scarce. Copyists are paid one rupee per *inga* of ten leaves, the work of a day or two, according to their expertness. Until rag-paper began to be imported, the paper in use was

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[531]
[463]

270. CARVED SCENE FROM ZAT.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
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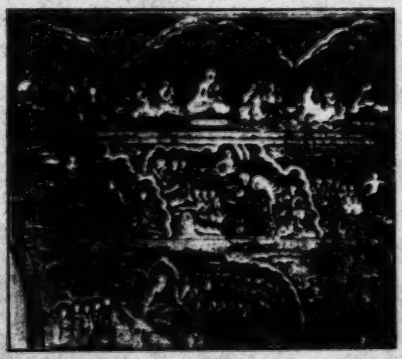
that made from the inner bark-layer of the *sekku-bin*, the same that the umbrellas are covered with (*ye-sekku*). The tree is common in the mountains 212

271. BURMAN PAINTER AT WORK.



272. MURAL DECORATION IN AN ANCIENT THEIN.

[531]

273. CARVED ELEPHANT-TUSK.

on the eastern border. The bast is frayed out in water and the pulp spread on muslin trays to dry. It is soft and strong, but uneven. It was used for writing on, in its natural cream colour, with a reed pen and Chinese ink, and

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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307. TYRING THE WHEEL.

a shallow dug-out bottom with three or four side-planks built up from it. The planks are held together by cane lacing, with a caulking of grass. They are very crank, but are good sea-boats, nevertheless. The only decoration is a rough crocodile's head at the bow. The boat population of Burma in 1891 was nearly 84,000, or about 1·5 per cent. of the whole population—"greatly in excess of the proportion borne to the total by the maritime population of the most maritime nation in the world" (Census report, p. 34). The only sea-going craft are the few score *kattu*, small junks of twenty to sixty tons, manned by five or six Taláings. They venture as far to sea as the Nicobars, where they ship cocoanuts in the fine or north-east monsoon. The rest of the year they lie by. The *kattu* are built at Dawè ("Tavoy"), and cost from one to two thousand rupees. They carry a compass of European make, for use in thick weather; but the navigation is empirical.

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The cart-building exemplifies the Burman love of curves. In Burma Proper the root-wood of *shá* (cutch) is dug out for the sake of the bent timber. In Pegu, curved branches of *thingán* are used for the body. For wheels, solid discs of *kaung-hmu* and other woods were used in Pegu, where timber grows large (No. 306). In the North, the solid wheel is still made up of three pieces, held together by mortices and tenons (Nos. 301, 309). *Padáuk* is the wood preferred for these wheels. They have a very long box for the axle, which is of *pangá* wood; the axle-box is hooped with rattan. Since the introduction of spokes and iron tyres, skill has been concentrated on the wheel; the body of the cart preserves its local type. The Burman has proved the best wheelwright of the East, both

308. PLEASURE-CART, BURMA PROPER.

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

395. TEMPLES RAISED BY A MODERN KING (THE KUTHODAW p. 122).

historic centres of Burman dominion. Sagáing was abandoned for the last time in 1776 for a new capital at Amayapôya (*Amarapúra* — Abode of Immortals) half-way between Ava (*Inwa*) and the modern capital Mandálé, which was founded in 1857, after the accession of King Mindôn Min. The most ancient capital is Tagáung, one hundred miles north of Mandalé. Other capitals were Shwebô, Myinzaing, Pannya. The capitals of the Talaing dominion were Thatôn, Pegu, and Prome (*Pye*). Rangoon (*Yangôn*), at the meeting point of five navigable channels, and with anchorage for the largest ships, has out-distanced all competitors since the modern development of commerce.

For the history of Burma the only available source is the official chronicle kept by command of the kings—*mahá-yazawín*. The first part is occupied with the legendary origin of the race from the cloud-dwellers—*Byammá* (the Burman form of *Brahma*).* The names and doings of legendary persons follow, and lines of legendary kings. The earliest historical facts which emerge are the founding of Tagáung, and incidents relating to the Buddha and the councils of his church in India. It is believed by Phayre that the *Savanna Bhumi* of ancient Indian books refers to Thatôn, and that under *Chryse Chersonesus* Ptolemy refers to the Eastern Peninsula of Asia. We do not reach a connected history till the founding of Pagán about 100 A.D. From that epoch onwards the history of the peninsula, until the Burman Empire was consolidated and the dynasty of

396. FIGURES OF BYAMMA (EMBROIDERY).

* The name is also written *Myammá*, but commonly pronounced *Bamá*, of which "Burma(h)" and "Birma" are corruptions.

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

wore. Some of them went the next day to the English missionary chaplain, and told him of the misfortune that had befallen them, and how so completely were they rendered destitute that they had been indebted to the charity of the inhabitants of the monastery for a breakfast that morning. The clergyman promised to do what he could for them, and the same evening went along to view the site of the fire. What was his astonishment to find that the burnt-out victims had rigged up a rude stage among the charred stumps of their house-posts, and in default of a house to sleep in, were prepared to spend the night listening to the love-making of the princes and princesses, and laughing at the caustic witticisms of the clown, not a few of the jokes being inspired by the blackened surroundings. Such defiance of all the ills of fate is very characteristic, and would seem to a Burman mind the most natural thing to do under the circumstances, since it afforded both distraction and amusement.

If any one has escaped the curse of Adam it is the Burman. He does not need to earn his bread with the sweat of his brow, and riches having no attraction for him, when his patch of paddy land has been reaped, his only concern is how to pass the time, and that is no very difficult matter, where he has plenty of cheroots and betel-nut. He can stroll along to neighbour Maung Gyi's, whose son has a knack for wood-carving, and watch him as he deftly cuts out a piece of elaborate scroll-work for the roof of a neighbouring monastery, or finishes off the grim features of a bilu for the English Inspector of Police. Next door the sayā is engaged on a painting, the representation of some palace scene, or of some well-known event in the life of the Lord Buddha. Burmese artists do not, as a rule, paint likenesses, though they are by no means unsuccessful when they make the attempt. Any one but a high official would probably consider it a mark of great presumption and conceit to hang up a picture of himself in his house. There is, however, none of the objection to portrait painting which is so common with some other nations. For example, the Mohammedans will not suffer likenesses to be drawn for fear they should demand a soul on the Day of Judgment, and so some actual human being might come to be left out in the cold. Catlin

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma AP1
Burmese AP4
Chinese

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tells us that the American Indian chief was in a state of great alarm lest his soul might be carried off with his picture. A notion of the same kind appears in the Chinese custom of getting a priest to put in the pupil of the eye, a method which often has rather a ghastly effect when the reverend gentleman is not skilful. Similarly, every Chinese-owned craft, from the sampan to the English-built iron screw steamer, has a couple of eyes painted on its bows, in order that it may see the way. Down in the Straits, and in all places where there are many Chinese, the local steamers, whoever their owners may be, are all endowed with eyes. Were they not so favoured, no Chinaman would travel with them as a passenger, or send any of his goods aboard of them. The Burman is not troubled with any such fantastic notions, and has no objection whatever to sitting for his portrait, only, as King Mindôn said to Yule, they prefer a flattering likeness to an exact one. It is seldom, however, that a Burman has a picture gallery in his house, and the village artist usually confines himself to vivid-coloured sketches for the funeral of a pôngyi, or to be hung round the mandut, where the great people sit to look on at a play. The drawing and the perspective are naturally a little faulty, but the details are usually worked out with very creditable skill.

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Thus wandering about, seeing what his neighbours are doing, with an occasional visit to the monastery to have some edifying talk with the religious, the villager may spend the time very comfortably. Oftenest however, he stays at home, and waits for visitors to drop in and have a little gossip. The goodwife always has a little shop in the lower part of the building. There is hardly a single house in the whole village where something is not offered for sale: a few dried fish, betel-nut, with the fresh green leaves, lime, cardamoms, and cutch, all ready for making up, half a dozen cocoa-nuts, or perhaps some twopenny-ha'penny knives, looking-glasses, coloured tumblers, and paltry Manchester goods, or where there are many girls about the house, a few home-made lungyis and pasos, waist-cloths, woven at odd times in the loom which stands in the yard or in a corner of the verandah of every house. The stock-in-trade is

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[286]

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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The casting of a brass image is a public festival, and the scene of general rejoicing. The people gather from miles round about, and there are plays and feastings for several nights, whether the Buddha is presented by an individual or by public subscription. The whole assemblage takes an interest in the proceedings, and rejoices in proportion to the success of the casting, which is effected in the same way as with bells. When the image is finished and ready to be dedicated, a great procession is formed; a band of music and dancers go at the head; the most wealthy men deem it an honour to be allowed to bear a hand in carrying the statue; men, women, and children from all the surrounding country, dressed in their gayest clothes, follow on foot or in brightly decorated bullock-carts to the bottom of the pagoda steps. Then the Buddha is carried up and solemnly deposited in the allotted place, myatta-thappè, in religious phraseology, a term not to be rendered without many words in English. It includes all the meanings of seemliness, dignity, beauty, splendour, and awe-compelling majesty. The ritual of the monks at the consecration of an image is, as in the case of the dedication of a pagoda, vague, and decided by individual opinion. Such a formal presentation service is called Nekaza, and is declared by the Sulagandi sect to be superfluous. The lineaments of the Budh are worthy of honour wherever seen, at the pagoda or in the workman's shop.

778
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The figures of Shin Gautama are not in themselves by any means handsome as works of art. The national skill in wood-carving is well known, and the little wooden lay figures made at Henzada and other places are remarkably clever in their variety of expression. None of this skill appears in the religious images. The modeller or sculptor is held fast by ancient custom. He must make his image of a particular pattern and with the recognised expression. The object is to portray the death of all human passions and earthly feelings. The calm, eternal sleep-like smile symbolises the attainment of ne'ban, the cessation of being, the end of the cycles of transincorporation of souls. This is all that is intended to be represented, and it is held out as a hope to the struggling sinner among earthly miseries.

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

The model to be followed would be worthless did the face express the hopes and fears and pleasures of wretched mortality. 778 532

The following triumphal song is taken from the same play of Sawpé Sawmé as the chant in celebration of the gilding of the Pegu pagoda, and is set to the same Yoddaya nan-thein than. The Mahā Myat Muni is the "Arakan Pagoda" in Mandalay. 778 796

ON THE IMAGE PRESENTED BY THE PEGU INSPECTOR TO THE MAHĀ MYAT-MUNI 539

Fair springs the sun at dawning
  From out the forest's green,
The nine gems on his nat-front
  Shine gloriously at e'en.

The rainbow weaves nat-raiment,
  Sweet is the lily's breath,
The malla flower is winsome,
  That weeps the Saddan's [1] death.

But fairer is the image
  That Hanthawadi sends,
Amid its gold and silver
  The pearl with ruby blends.

The maiden from her finger
  Drew off her jewelled rings,
The men brought costly diamonds
  And wealth of precious things,

And as 'mid shouts and clangour
  The flames leapt red as gold
All joyous cast their treasures
  Into the hissing mould.

So high hath Buddha honour
  In Hanthawadi's soil,
So gladly seek believers
  Release from earthly toil.

[1] The Saddan is the White Elephant, the last incarnation of Shin Gautama before he was conceived in Queen Maia's womb.

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

536 devoted to scenes at court, and is adorned with a throne, golden umbrellas, and other royal insignia. The other extremity represents, with artfully-arranged twigs and tufts of grass, the jungle and forests to which, during some part of every play, the prince and princess are sure to have to fly. The puppets, which are frequently as much as two or three feet high, are always gorgeously and expensively dressed. [532] The larger ones are all cut in wood, and the carver's skill often turns out very clever presentments of rugged-faced old men and exuberantly jovial lubyets. Most of the zāts, which deal greatly with the supernatural and fabulous, are only represented as yôkthe pwès. No amount of technical skill could represent in the public streets an athurein, a creature (destined incalculable ages hence to be a Budh) whose height is a few thousand miles, and who produces eclipses in his play by taking the sun or moon in his fingers or between his toes.

536 536 776

536 Curious as it may seem, the puppet players often acquire a far more really personal reputation than the legitimate actors. The zatthama mostly get a name for dancing as much as for anything else. The Yindaw Ma Le, who came from a village near Meiktila in Upper Burma, indeed, was equally celebrated for her voice and her graceful movements, but the yokthethama become renowned for dramatic fervour, for tender passion, for dry wit, just as thoroughly and personally as if they actually appeared before the audience. Except the *prima donna* just alluded to (now dead) there are few professionals celebrated on the stage who are not far better known as first-class marionette players. These per- [562] formers are all men and boys. None of the female parts are ever taken by women. Maung Tha Byaw was unequalled in "prince's" parts. He was recognised as Thabinwun; every stage-manager, every zat-ôk in the country received his word as law. No tenor with a *voce fenomenale*, no bird-voiced Patti, was more sought after nor received with greater honours. His name became a proverb in the mouths of people who never heard him. "Tha Byaw Hé," a Mergui man will say when he makes a marvellous haul of fish or gets a super-excellent cheroot. A journey of his to Rangoon produced a popular saw, corresponding to the English "kill-

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
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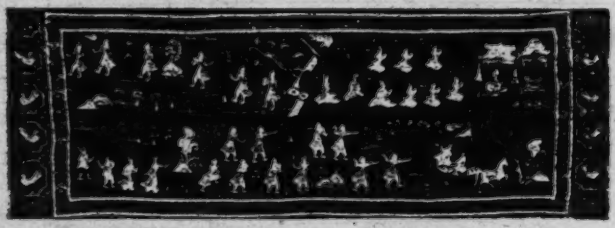
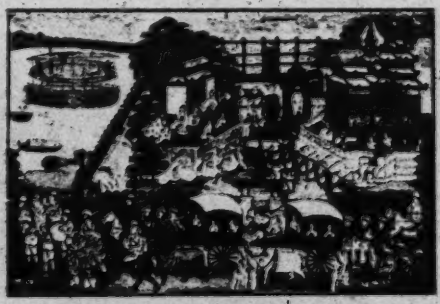
175 religion which actuated the kings to build temples on such a scale. In 1300 A.D. the power of the Pagán kingdom had spent itself, in a great degree [779] owing, as the Burmans believe, to the drain of the temple-building. But the force of the religion was unabated. Burma fell a prey to Shan invaders, who snatched the dominion for nearly two hundred years but failed to consolidate

[532 726]



9. BURMAN GENERAL GOING OUT TO WAR (APPLIQUE WORK).

it, splitting up into principalities like those of their native hills. The weakness of Burma allowed the Mun power to develop. The sixteenth century saw the rise of Pegu and the establishment of a shifting empire over Burma. Exhausted by wars, Pegu in turn declined and lay at the mercy of Siam (*Yôdayâ*) when Paung (*Taung-ngu*) came to the rescue. In the seventeenth century the Paung-Peguan dynasty brought the Mun empire to its zenith, from which it waned in the eighteenth. Towards the middle of the latter century the Burmans under Aláung Payâ rose against the Mun garrisons, overthrew Pegu and finally established the empire of Burma. Arakán was incorporated; Siam was subjugated and made tributary for a time. The empire directed its ambition to the west. Manipúr was overrun [175 and the Arakanese pretensions 726 in Chittagong were revived, 532] which produced friction with the British power in India. Burman dominion had been a career of unbroken conquest in the memory of the then generation; the nation believed itself invincible. In the elation of their prowess at home they



10. BURMAN PICTURE OF THE FALL OF MANDALAY.

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 API Burma
Burmese AP4

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[532]

71. TERRA-COTTA FIGURES AT THADYA PAYA, THATON.

of the Buddha, set against the column which supports the dome or Hindu cone. The later domes are pure vaults without central support. In these ancient temples the conical *zedi* now so typical of Burma forms the finial only, held like a jewel, by four cusps. The lowermost portion of this structure resembles an inverted *thabôt*, the name of the homologous part of the modern *zedi*. Possibly this forms the actual reliquary or is the symbol of the same.

An example of direct imitation of Indian monuments is the *Bawdi Payá*. It takes its name from the *Bo* tree at Buddha Gáya in Bahár, and is a florid reproduction of the *stupa* there. It was built by King Zeyathinka about 1220 A.D.

The temple named after Ananda, the chief disciple of the Buddha, was built by King Kyansitthu about 1080 A.D. Both the temple (No. 8) and the *thein* and *kyaung* adjoining (Nos. 64, 74) are in full preservation. The gigantic lattice gates of the inner temple are of teak-wood and probably coeval with the masonry.

The most imposing of the ancient monuments and the one which marks the best period of the Pagán architecture is Thappyinnyu Payá, built by King Alaung Sitthu, about 1100 A.D. (No. 73). Its height is two hundred feet or more.

In the mural decorations at Pagán the Indian character is as marked as in the buildings themselves. India has evidently furnished the subjects of the Burman designer and trained his style (Nos. 272, 94).

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[177]

The Burman bricklayers had at one time lost the art of arch-building. A pointed arch like the Gothic is used in the temples of ancient Pagán (Nos. 75, 76).

[341]

The images of the Buddha (*sindu*) are the principal features of the interior of the ancient temples, the true character of

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72. BAWDI PAYA, PAGAN.

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
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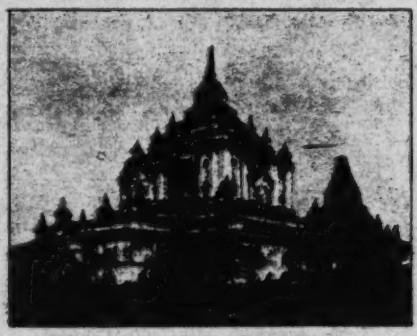
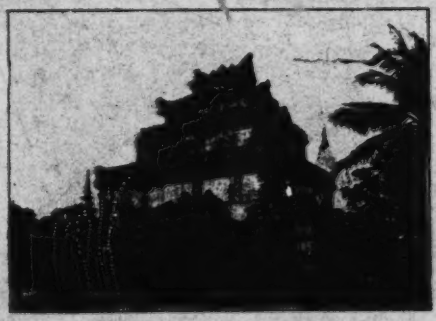
which is the same as that of the *zedi*. The images are of sandstone in Arakán, where, moreover, the Hindu caste-mark between the brows (*tika*) is not omitted



73. THAPPINHYU PAYA, PAGAN.

as it commonly is in Burma. In Burma Proper and Pegu good stone is scarce, and the large immovable images are built of brick and plaster and finished in fine white lime. Movable images, up to several tons weight, are hewn in the marble of Sagáing, the freestone of Taung-u (opposite Pagán), and are cast in brass. Lighter images are made of wood or of lacquer (*man-Payá*). The



74. KYAUNG AT ANANDA PAYA.

postures are the cross-legged, seated in contemplation (*tinbyingwe*), the erect posture (*mayyattaw*), preaching or receiving alms, and the reclining posture

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

78. EXAMPLE OF NEYED VAULT AT PAGAN.

(*kyaung-daw*). In the sitting figure the garb is either the array of the prince before he became the Buddha or his subsequent garb of recluse. In the standing and reclining images the garb is always that of the recluse. The mound on the head represents the residue of hair, as cut off with his sword by the prince when he fled from the palace. According to the legend the hair grew no more. The pose of the conventional figure is the Indian one with its rigid symmetry. The fingers and toes are parallel and of equal length. The lobe of the ear reaches to the shoulder. Of late, under the stimulus of western art-products, the figure is beginning to be realistically treated, especially in the drapery, which is now modelled into natural folds in relief, instead of being conventionally mapped on the flat. Builders vie with each other in the size they give the figure. The recumbent images attain a length of fifty cubits. The image is set on a throne (*ballin*) which is a conventionalised lotus in form, and is surmounted by floral tracery which symbolizes the sacred *Bo* tree. Images of the Buddha are reverently handled and are spoken of in honorific terms—*the sacred countenance, the venerable form*. There may be no bargaining about the purchase (*puzaw*) from the maker. The images are only placed in the temples or on the image-da' 1 the *kyaung*

78. MODERN FALSE ARCH, AMAYAPOYA.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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77 IMAGE OF THE BUDDHA ENCIRCLED BY FICUS.

(*bt-deitha*), where, after dedication, they cease to be private property. The sole virtue of these symbols lies in the pious intention with which they are dedicated. The figure of the disciple Ānanda is frequently placed in the houses or taken on journeys (No. 316).

Besides the reputed relics of the Buddha, the miraculous foot-prints which legend assigns to him on rocks in Burma and Arakán are venerated (*Chidaw-yá*). Every Burman knows that Gawdama never travelled out of Bahár and was in all respects as other men; the licence of the legend is a poetic one. Models of these foot-prints are placed in the temple precincts. Here conventionality reaches the extreme; the sole is laid out with rule and compass and the surface mapped into diagrams of cabalistic import (No. 450).

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The Buddhist scriptures should be deposited in masonry temples (*Bitaka-taik*, No. 66). These exist in a few places, but in general the scriptures are kept in special chests (*sadáik*) in the *kyaungs* (No. 453). The Shan-Tarôk (p. 146) place *sadáik* in their houses, and take pride in the volume of manuscripts these contain. The complete Páli text, together with the patristic commentaries and glosses, written on palm-leaf, would occupy a space of perhaps one hundred cubic feet. The text alone would cover about one thousand five hundred quarto pages of pica type. Only a few *kyaungs* possess the complete Tripitaka. Besides the scriptures, other ancient writings are treasured, such as the *kyauza* of cosmogony (see Sangermano), the *Zát* literature—the legendary lives of the Buddha in previous states of existence, embellished with romance of recent date.

78 IMAGE OF THE BUDDHA ON BALIN.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

The tall flag-staff (*tagíndaing*) is the most striking of the temple-accessories. It consists of a decorated spar, sixty to eighty feet high, from which floats a long streamer. The head of the pole is ornamented with a mythical animal, generally the *hintha* (*hanza*, a fantastic figure of the Brahmany duck) or else the *kínnayá*, a monster with the body of a woman in princely array and the wings and legs of a bird. The butt of the *tagíndaing*, instead of being planted in the ground, is frequently set between piles which are carved into figures of the mythical *thadyá* (p. 186, No. 7). The pole is held up by transverse bars passing through it and the piles.

79. TAGUNDAING WITH KEINNAYA.

Colossal lions (*chinthé*, No. 56) of the Burmese conventional type guard the temple approaches—monsters differing as much in their way from the prototype as the lions of our own heraldry.

Stands shaped like a *balín* or throne, on which flowers and fruit are offered, are placed on the temple platforms.

Great bells are hung at every shrine (No. 97). The votary takes the deer-antler off the bar and strikes first the ground and then the bell. This is to call to witness beings both under the earth and above the earth and make them participators in the merit of the act of worship. The Burman bell has noble proportions and is hung by metal clasps of rich design, figuring the mythical dragon (*nagá*, No. 47). The tone of the bells is not rich, owing partly to the form, partly to flaws in casting. The greatest bell in Burma is that cast by the Emperor Bodaw Payá, on the European model, in 1790, for the temple he began at Mingún. It is said to weigh eighty-eight tons. A historic bell

80. TAGUNDAING WITH HINTHA.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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93. FAMILY OF A BURMAN NOTABLE AT THE SHRINE.

and fruit, gold-leaf laid on the image and its throne. No southern—that is, primitive Buddhist (see Rhys Davids, *Buddhism*)—lodges petitions with an image, as is the practice in countries where Buddhism is choked by fresh growth of the pagan ideas which it had arisen against. The Tibetan expedients are unheard of. Certain Buddhists in Burma, called *Paramát*, dispense with images. The mechanical aid to contemplation is the string of one hundred and eight beads (*badí*). Even the Buddhism of the common herd is no mere veneer, covering a substratum of the ancient animism (p. 186). The precepts of Buddhism are household words. The ideas and language of the race are pervaded by it. The personal aspect just described does not so engross the votary that he misses the doctrine of the Master. At the shrine the worshipper dwells on the *three gems* (*tharanagôn thômba*)—the BUDDHA, the LAW, the ASSEMBLY, and the other categories of the scheme. The BUDDHA (the Sage) was the supremely-enlightened one, filled with compassion for the subjects of *karma*, who extended to the universe the enlightenment that was the means of his own emancipation. The LAW (*Tayá*, *Tayamá*, Sanskr. *Dharma*, Pâli *Damma*).—By an impersonal cosmic process, sin works suffering and virtue effects deliverance. Re-incarnation is the legacy of sin and continues until the merit (*kûtho*), accumulated in successive
775 births (*bazva*), outweighs the demerit (*akûtho*). Transmigration does not involve
779 transference of personality with consciousness of preceding states, but the

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94. MODERN RELIGIOUS SUBJECT.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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95. FAMILY OF A BURMAN NOTABLE LEAVING THE SHRINE.

continuity of an individual moral account (*Kan*, Pâli *Kamma*, Sanskr. *Karma*); although the Buddha enlightened his disciples about the previous identities of himself, of many other individuals and even lower creatures. Reincarnation provides the scope for atoning the injustices of individual lives, without debarring the salvation of any. The slowness of the process by which vast results are achieved conforms to the analogy of nature, which does not create, but evolves. The doctrine of *kan* is, in fact, an adumbration of the principle of persistence of force. But instead of regarding the results of actions in a given phase of existence as being separately dissipated, as modern science would imply, they are thought of as combined to form the starting-points of fresh phases of individual existence, until final equilibrium is attained (*Nirvâna*). As a flame results from the concurrence of given antecedent conditions, continues to burn while they are maintained, and is extinguished upon their dispersion, yet not without bequeathing results of its own, so it is with sentiency, which continually becomes the source of fresh desires, of temptation, sin, and consequent suffering. For the avoidance of sin, the five cardinal precepts are given, and precept within precept up to the minute rule of life of the *yahân*. At the root of all evil lies *Ta-hnâ* (Sanskr. *trishna*, thirst, concupiscence). From this fundamental evil [532] proceed the forms *Lawba*, *Dawtha*, *Mawha* (greed, passion, ignorance), in the abstract, absence of *contentment*, absence of *self-control*, absence of *enlightenment*. With the extinction of selfish desire, virtuous conduct ensues, others are

96. THADYA PRINCE AND PRINCESS DOING HOMAGE TO THE BUDDHA IN A PREVIOUS INCARNATION—WETHANDAYA (SHWEZAWA WORK p. 121).

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

No kind of wool is indigenous 286 or is spun or woven in 291 Burma. Cæsar Frederick [283 in 1569 mentions woollen 439] cloth among the goods brought to Burma, *viâ* Arakán. Web vests for boys and men, of European manufacture, are becoming general. The use of shoes of the European shape is bringing in the use of socks and stockings. The addition of a European shirt under the Burman jacket makes up the incongruous kit affected by the modern office clerks. With the [296 increased use of body-linen have come the Indian washermen. The coloured 463] stuffs are washed by the Burman women. The native dyes wash well, especially the silk dyes. An alkali-earth (*aggye*) is found in Burma, but soap is of modern introduction, and is now sold in every bazár. Needles used to be brought to 439 Burma from China, as well as scissors, though the latter are also fashioned in 413 Burma; at present both are imported from Europe. Burmans work the needle from them, like other Asiatics. The work is pinned to a cushion at the head 286 of a post planted on the work-box. The use of the thimble was unknown until [177] tailors came over from India, but is now general. The bulk of the tailoring is in the hands of immigrants from China; but their prejudice against the sewing-machine is helping to transfer the business to the Burman women. Nearly every well-to-do family in the towns has its sewing-machine. 463 294

130. LAYING OUT THE WARP.

At sunrise the women start with their water-pots for the day's supply, and again before they cook the evening meal, which finishes the day's work. On the morning errand they do the most of their washing. In the evening they carry a spare cloth to change for the one they bathe in, which they wash and coil into a pad to put between the head and the water- 462 [532] • 512 515

131. BURMESE CARVING OF WEAVING-LOOM.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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213. KILN FOR PATTED WARES.

with betel. The limestone rocks abound in caves, many of which have been incrusted with images, and transformed into temples and shrines (No. 84), but the rock is not hewn. The lime is packed in baskets of leaf and bamboo-wicker, a stone or two in weight; it sells at the kiln for one and a half to two rupees a hundredweight. The tenacity of the Burman lime-plaster is very great. Strength is obtained by liberal use of lime, and in the better class of work by the addition of glue and palm sugar. Hair and fibre are not added. For the first layers, coarse sand is mixed with the lime, for the finishing layers, fine sand. The decoration of the work is only roughly indicated in the masonry. The relief of the ornament is high, and the thickness of the stucco very considerable in parts. The stucco is frequently gilt, on *zedi* and images. The gold-size (*thissi*, p. 101) is applied direct to the plaster, which, however, in time, furnishes a soil for lichen, causing the gold to scale off.

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Although stone is not quarried in sufficient abundance for building except in Arakán, good stone for carving images is found in several places. The most notable of these is Taung-u, on the Irawadi, opposite Pagán. More important than the red sandstone industry of Taung-u is the industry at Sagáing, opposite Ava, on the Irawadi, where a beautiful white marble is quarried. The heavy blocks are hewn in the rough at the quarry and transported to the site of erection to be finished. The subjects are chiefly the conventional images of the Buddha, from a pound in weight to several tons (No. 218).

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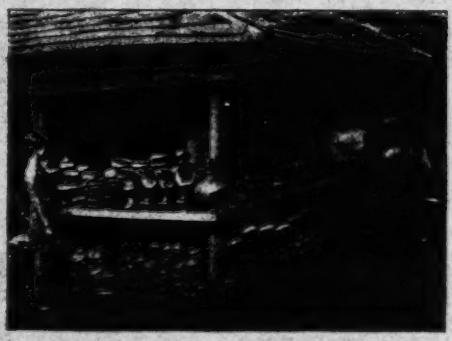

214. POTTERY SHOP.

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The cordage used in

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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[346]
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217. PLASTERER'S SCAFFOLD ON ZEDI.

(*Kathi*) excel in this work and form colonies for the industry. Attempts have been made in Europe to imitate the scroll-patterns on the Jacquard loom, as well as to print them. But the imitations fall too far short of the original, which is nearly the same front and back. The best *lun-tayā* silks cost ten to fifteen rupees the square foot, which makes two hundred to three hundred rupees for the *pasō*. Only an inch or two a day can be woven. Italian methods of carding, dyeing, and finishing silk, were introduced by the late King, Mindôn Min, and have helped to develop an important industry in Mandalay. Stripe and tartan patterns are woven in this way, chiefly from China silk. Fine texture and delicate tints are aimed at, rather than rich colour and design. The *pasō* of

[435] twenty cubits, one cubit wide, costs ten to twenty rupees.

The Burman umbrella (*tī*) is on the Chinese model—a bamboo frame with

293 paper cover. The Chinese umbrella has a thin paper cover, the Burman has

[171] bast-paper, which outlasts several of the other. But the Chinese umbrellas are cheaper, better waterproofed, and sun-proof. The Burman *tī* is waterproofed by occasional oiling with crude petroleum. A waterproof size made from the fruit of the *tī* is used for fixing the paper to the ribs and the cotton twines that connect them. The red, the

[186] gilt and the white umbrellas are emblems of state. The

[554] first two denote official rank, according to the number assigned. Such umbrellas

[532] have stems of turned wood, six to eight feet long, to allow of the *tī* being borne over the officer on horseback or in his chariot, by attendants on foot (No. 375). The

218. SCULPTURING MARBLE IMAGES.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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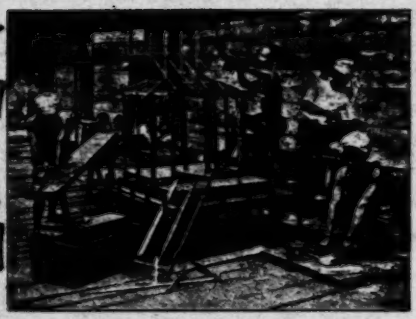

267. BURMAN CARPENTERS.

arbour of tracery, which entirely encloses them. Ivory hafts and scabbards of daggers and sabres are ornamented in the same way. The ivory carving is not polished.

The conventional flat design, painting and embroidery exhibit affinities to the Indian decoration of the ancient temples (Nos. 94, 272). The anachronisms and other naiveties of our mediæval designers are paralleled in modern Burma; witness the introduction of British officers with their field-glasses in the design of the Prince of Pagán destroying the monster at Hngep-pyittaung (No. 224). The medium used for painting is a coarse tempera. From the labels attached to European goods, many of which are excellent in design and colour, lessons in colouring and perspective have been learned. From photographs, ideas of accuracy have been gathered, and from illustrated news-papers, ideas of composition. Neither carver nor designer ever uses a model. The painter of No. 433 confessed that he had not seen the place himself; he had it described to him. In pure design without colour, the *shwezawô* work is the best. It is a kind of drawing in lacquer, which appears black on a gold ground (No. 96). Of late the Burmans have attempted cuts on type-metal for illustrations of books (No. 276). They are executed with chisel and punch; the graver is unknown.

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Ancient inscriptions are rare in Burma, although the *thamdaing*, or depository for slabs recording the circumstances of religious foundations, is a recognised institution. In many of the *thamdaing* at Pagán may be seen the ancient *Pâli* square character, of which the Burmese round character is a development. The square character is preserved in the *kambawô* (No. 46). The late King Mindôn Min caused the whole of the Pâli text of the Tripitaka to be

268. BURMAN TURNER.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

484 inferior to his own—not penetrating as far as China or India, where he might
485 witness the dire struggle for existence which has disciplined the races about to compete for his soil—the Burman fails to realise how enviable is the lot he

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315. TOWN ENVIRONS IN THE DRY ZONE.

316. CARVED FIGURE OF ANANDA (p. 35).

now enjoys and to recognise the nature of the influences which may effect the decline of his prosperity. Great as are the facilities for travel from the native point of view, to Europeans the discomfort of travel, once off the lines of rail and steamer, is so considerable that few who can avoid it visit the interior.

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493]

317. FERRY STATION.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

644 On such occa-
sions the king appeared in the royal insignia, which otherwise only figure as
[643] emblems of state. The insignia in the illustration are surmounted by a queen's
crown (*sîbôn*). The shape of a king's crown is seen in Nos. 151 and 425. There
[346] being but a single palace and thousands of *kyaungs* and temples, the palace
[344] appears to resemble a *kyaung*. But the converse is the fact; the *kyaung* it
is which in virtue of its religious character shares the
643 distinction of the palace. The most recent style adopted
by the Burman sovereigns was *Shin-Bayîn*—Lord of
Lords. A chief title was *Sinbyû Shin*—Lord of the
White Elephant. Every subject prostrated himself in
the presence of the king, with face averted from the
effulgence of the royal countenance. An official called
thandawzîn used to repeat aloud the words uttered by
the king. The ensign betokening the presence of the
[776] king and of the chief queen (*mîbayâ*) is the *tîbyû* (p. 101).
[532] Two to eight were borne according to the solemnity of the
occasion. The chief queens were frequently half-sisters
[588] of the kings. For all the royal acts, the lying, rising,
eating, speaking, there are euphemisms proper to the
occasion; one of the most current of these is *shwepawôdaw*
—the golden foot. At his demise the sovereign is said
to migrate to the abode of *nats* or delectable land; the
staff of his *tîbyû* was broken. The paraphernalia of the
king's service were elaborate; but in his attitude to
the *yahân* he comported himself as an ordinary man.
The Royal White Elephant was maintained in great
pomp; it ate and drank out of golden vessels and had
[231] a retinue for its service. An elephant really white—
probably an albino—was captured in 1805, but was
pampered so that it died. A second was captured in
1806 which lived for fifty years. Other "white ele-
phants" kept for state have enjoyed their reputation
in virtue of possessing certain assumed criteria of the
"white" variety, as to the number of the toes, direction
of the tail-tuft and other distinctions, without regard to the colour of the skin.
644 Change of capital at the accession of a new sovereign was characteristic of
Burman empire, even when there was no change of dynasty or other political
633 convulsion. Events of the latter kind were no doubt the original reasons of
such changes. Next to Pagán, Sagaing, on the right bank of the Irawadi,
facing the flat and now desolate site of Ava, is the most impressive of the

884. CARVED FIGURE OF NAT.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

433. PAINTING OF KYAITTIYO PILGRIMAGE.

they study their religious books, occupy themselves with their grandchildren, teach them and tell them stories, and make toys for them. They do the light repairs of the house and gear, and when they are too old to go on pilgrimages with the others, they keep the house and tell their beads alone. The veteran can still halt to the shrine on duty-days. Every old man is by courtesy *ludyi*, and every old woman *amèdyi*. The old people wear plainer clothing than the young, and, according to old Burman fashion, less of it. The human dignity of the aged is of a kind that apparel cannot add to. Steeped in the spirit of Buddhism, the aged never yield to anger. Wanting neither for necessaries nor honour, the pathos of their serene old age is purely that of years. A peaceful end is their lot. (See *The Soul of a People*, p. 330.)

And now our Burman is equipped for the final stage. To the dead of whatever degree royal honours are accorded. The body is spoken of as *alaung*, "that which is about to be," to be something of a higher nature, namely, as the dead are spoken of in German as "blessed." The corpse is laid under a white or royal canopy, upon a temporary bier, for one or several days. The body is swathed in grave-clothes, the thumbs and great toes tied together with strips of white cotton cloth, and in the mouth of a lay person is put a gold or silver piece for *kadôga*—ferry-hire. While the body is lying in state, the catafalque (*dalâ*) is being prepared for carrying the bier to the cemetery. The *dalâ* is a tall erection of bamboo and paper, ending in a royal *pyatthat*, gay with colours and tinsel. The corpse is laid in a coffin similarly decorated, which is placed in or over the sarcophagus-shaped part of the *dalâ*. Above the coffin

434. HOME DEVOTIONS OF THE AGED.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

B.C.

175 150. Legendary visit of Gawdama to Arakán (?) The *Mahâ-myammuni* image modelled from the Buddha, and cast by King Sandathuria.

60. The Buddhist canon reduced to writing by Vattâgâmini.

A.D.

65. The Buddhist Scriptures brought to China.

82. New era of Pyu King Thamúndayít. (Lasts till 638.)

104. The Muns destroy Thayékittaya. King Thamúndayít driven north, where he establishes New Pagán. Eighteen reigns follow.

128. Rise of Magadu in Martaban (*Môttama*).

400. The missionary *yahán* Buddhagôsha from Ceylon brings the Buddhist scriptures to Pegu and reforms the religious practice (see Phayre, p. 31).

449. MAHA-MYAMMUNI IMAGE.

410. Chinese Buddhist pilgrim Fa Hian visits Ceylon.

450. Burma invaded by Shan Chinese (*Tarôk*—Tartar?).

518. Chinese Buddhist pilgrim Chun Yun visits Ceylon.

552. Buddhism introduced into Japan.

629. Chinese Buddhist pilgrim Hiouen Sung visits Ceylon; remained till 648.

638. Era and dynasty of King Pupasaw—the present era.
Accession of King Pyinbya, to whom nine of the temples at Pagán are ascribed.
Siam (*Yôdayâ*) converted to Buddhism.

[532] 800. Irruption of Shans into Burma. (Date earlier? Pressure of Chinese on the N.E. the probable cause, Phayre, p. 12.) King Saw Yahán introduced *nagâ* worship.

1017. Accession of King Anáwyata Minsaw the Great. Abolishes *nagâ* worship. Builds temples at Pagán. Invades China to procure the Buddhist scriptures and sacred tooth-relic. A model of the relic procured and deposited in the *Shwezigôn Payâ*, Nyaung-û. Invades Arakán and endeavours to take the *Mahâ-myammuni* image. Invades Pegu, captures Thatôn and brings away the Buddhist scriptures to Pagán. Takes Tenaserim from Siam.

1085. Southern provinces rebel, but are re-subjugated. King Kyansitthu of Pagán builds *Anauda Payâ* and *Shwe Ku Payâ*. Establishes relations with the Buddhists of Ceylon. Repairs the shrines at Boddhagâya through the agency of the King of Arakán.

1160. King Kyansitthu of Pagán murdered by his son after reigning seventy-five years.

1167. Accession of King Narapati Sitthu the Great. Empire established over all the kingdoms except Arakán. Embassy sent to the King of Ceylon, who deputes five *yahán* to teach Buddhism in Burma.

1204. Burma invaded from India. Burman sovereign deposed—*Kalâ-hyâ min*. Cambodia and Arayamana invaded from Ceylon.

1284. Burma invaded by China and tribute demanded. King Narashihepade driven south and pursued to Tarôk-hmaw before Prome, whence he fled to Pathein—*Tarôk-pyo-min* Pagán referred to by Marco Polo as the capital of a great kingdom.

1300. Burma invaded by Shans. King Kyawrwa of Pagán made a recluse. China interferes

25: Ferrars E-5 (c. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

A.D.

175 1767. The Chinese invade Burma with 50,000 men. Their army is repulsed and destroyed.

1769. The Chinese invade Burma and are repulsed again. Their soldiers permitted to return disarmed.

1771. Siam throws off the Burman yoke and recovers Tenaserim. A force is despatched against Siam, of which the Talâing brigade mutinies and invests Rangoon. Failing to take the place they retreat to Martaban.

1774. An expedition is sent against Martaban, consisting of 20,000 men and twenty-four guns, which reduces the place.

1775. The Emperor Sinbyu Shin visits Rangoon. Judicial murder of the last Peguan Emperor Binnya Dala. The *Shwe Dagôn Payâ* is built over, to its present dimensions, and decorated with a magnificent *tî*. Siam invaded again, without effect. Manipur overrun again.

[532]

481. COPPER MASK DISCOVERED IN THE FOUNDATIONS OF MAHA-MYAMMUNI, 1784.

1776. Emperor Sinbyu Shin succeeded by his son Singu Min. Capital changed to Sagâing.

1781. Emperor Singu Min dies. Succeeded by Maung Maung, son of Emperor Naungdawdyî, contrary to the will of Alâung Payâ, under which his own third son Maung Waing was designated. Maung Waing captures the palace, murders his nephew, and assumes the empire under the title of Bôdaw Payâ (also called Badôn Min, Sinbyu-myâ Shin, and Mantayâ-dyî). Commits fearful atrocities against his opponents at Paunga, where he destroys the whole of the inhabitants, *yahdu* included. Capital changed from Sagâing to Amayapôya (Abode of Immortals).

1782. Rebellion of the Talâings in Rangoon suppressed. Surgeon W. Hunter visits Burma.

1783. Father Sangermano lands in Burma. (Remained till 1806. See his work *The Burmese Empire*.)

1784. Arakân invaded and subdued.
The *Mahâ-myammuni* image brought to Amayapôya (*cf.* B.C. 150 and A.D. 1017).
Arakanese take refuge in British Chittagong and from thence harass the Burmans.

1785. Expedition made against Junkseylon, without success.

1786. Siam invaded without success.

1787. Invasion from Siam repulsed.

1790. Tenaserim recaptured from Siam.

1795. Punitive expedition sent against the Arakanese refugees in Chittagong.

1795. Captain Michael Symes (see his work) sent on a mission to the Emperor of Burma by the Governor-General of India. Burma contends for an envoy from the King of England, on the precedent of the envoy (Lord Macartney) sent to the empire of China. Efforts to negotiate a commercial treaty unsuccessful. Subsequent envoys—Captain Cox, 1803, Lieut. Canning, 1811.

1803. The Amayapôya *gaing* of Burman *yahdu* in Ceylon, protests against the intrusion of caste ideas in the *Thingâ* there.

1811. The filibuster Chin Byan overruns Arakân from the base of British Chittagong.

days when the themes were from mythology and legend rather than modern streets, thus necessitating flights through the air, chariots in the clouds, magical transformations, magnificences of palaces and celestial gardens lighted by the moon. Now the films go in largely for themes of real life, but unlike Western films, the actors and actresses still do not set the standard for everyday dress and behaviour. A cinema actress, even when playing the part of a girl of most respectable parents, was rendered attractive by touches which in real life were considered by my mother to be suggestive of loose behaviour—her hair was overdecked with flowers, her garments had floral designs, her forehead was bordered with a fringe, and the neck of her jacket fitted loosely. On the screen, however, my mother and aunts watched this enthralled. They liked also the way that love was shown, concentrating on sentimentality rather than sex. There was no kissing or attracting attention to the body, but oh the pining, the sighing, the stamping of feet, the coyness and the moonlight gazing of Burmese cinema heroines. No wonder that aunts who once in a long while accompanied us to an American film, looked all around during the passionate kissing scenes, with scrutiny of our reaction to such displays of what should not be admitted to exist. 546 177. 54

If the Burmese cinema failed to draw the crowd of young English-speaking men and women away from the Hollywood films, Burmese rendering of jazz conquered them completely and gave them no acquaintance with the originals from America and England. There was a body of modern songs in the true Burmese style which, unlike the old classical songs, could be sung with ease by the untrained voice, but despite this Burma did not escape the craze which has grown up in all countries of the Far East for snatching up tunes written in America and England and putting them to words in the native tongue. Still, Burmans of fastidious taste might object to the lack of music in the tunes, rather than to the words of these popular songs, for the Burmese words are never so execrable as the original English compositions; often there is real wit, poetic brevity, and even philosophic comment. The technique was to take the refrain of a Western jazz tune as the repetitive theme, with a slight alteration in the rhythm, and to embroider this extensively with a slapdash quality of Burmese turns of melody. The theme of the Burmese version probably bore no relation to that of the original. For example, the sickly account of a romantic meeting in the Isle of Capri was converted into a satirical skit on the Rangoon fashion of giving garden tea-parties in the English manner. Whereas the Burmese custom at weddings and other celebrations in the country towns was to invite townspeople to a full meal, with the feasting of monks and the distribution of gifts, the Yangonthu had taken to employing the catering services of Western-style restaurants 533 177. 54

574 533 177. 54 569

to bring chairs, tables, food and attendants for the sum of Re. 1/4 per
533 head. The tune which was written to sing sentimentally of the Isle of
177. Capri now sang, with romping glee, the English names of these delicacies:
54
369

Vi-ta-mo, co-co *hnin amyo son myi*
Ham pattie, cream roll *hnin* cold coff-ee,
Columbia *dat pya hnin htè hso myi,*
Plain cake *hnin* Gold Flake *le kyamma wè myi.*
Etc.....

Vitamo, cocoa and all kinds you'll see,
Ham patties, cream rolls and cold coffee
With Columbia record playing merrily,
Plain cake and Gold Flake will I buy for tea.

Expensive things, expensive things of all kinds for eating,
I'll order from a restaurant for this fashion meeting.
Sit up round a table in gathering so hearty,
A very respectable tea-drinking party.

Don't eat of Burmese comestibles,
They are so indigestible.

On the other hand the lilting tune of the Campdown Races was slowed down to sing:

Chit-te thu ko tway hma tha,
Seik pyaw,
Aye da.

Only when you see the loved one,
Heart is happy,
Mind at rest.

369 Compared to dwellers of country towns, Yangonthu not only went
177. to the cinema oftener, but also read a good deal more, probably in the
53 absence of so many happy-eating-gatherings and charity feasts. There
204 were four daily newspapers in Burmese and a few which appeared bi- or
538 tri-weekly. The daily paper provided a lot of reading matter for the average person; a grandaunt of mine made it a daily institution to sit on her verandah with a bottle of lemonade and the *New Light of Burma* whose 24 pages were filled with international news, home politics, articles on the economic development of the country and attacks on abuses prevalent in social life, exhortations to good behaviour to the younger generation, reports of cases of a scandalous nature, just like a popular daily anywhere in the world. But in Burma there was no distinction such as exists between a paper which tries to keep a dignified

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma (Kachin) AP1
Burmese AP4

Be 231 779

customer has gone his way. It used to be a common thing in the palace, during the late king's reign, to let loose a number of birds for the delectation of foreign worshippers at the golden feet, and the expansion of the royal merit. Ill-natured people said all the birds were recaptured in the next room, and appeared again for the next display of charity; but of that I can say nothing.

Be 342 351

Each house, with its ground, is surrounded by a rude fence more or less substantial according to the character of the district. Where there are many tigers or ill-doers, and especially north of Mandalay, where formerly the Kachins might swoop down any night, this is made very high and strong, and is further rendered effective by a formidable array of sharpened bamboos. Except where the British have taken the matter in hand, the village roads are simply places where the jungle is kept from growing. There is no attempt at metalling; in fact there is no material for the purpose. In some pretentious villages indeed there is a raised path formed of bricks set on edge, and about three feet broad. This is regarded as a public work of great value, and a distinction to the inhabitants of the place. It usually leads to the monastery. In many villages, however, it would be impossible to move about during the rains without some such contrivance. The mud would be too deep, and logs are slippery even to bare feet.

Ba [563]
Be 487

Be 854 352 533

Swinging by a couple of ropes from the roof hangs in the centre of the house a rude basket, made snug with a blanket or some old clothes. This is the baby's cradle, and the mother may often be seen sitting by it crooning and gently swaying it backwards and forwards. Some of the lullabies are very clever. I have tried to give a version of one of the most popular, with as near an approach to the metre as practicable. It is sung to the favourite te-dat air.

Be 539

SEIN-NI LA-YAUNG

Clouds in Heaven,
Bright as levin,
Dyed with rosy diamond's light,
Did the Nine Gems
Stud your white hems,

Z:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

545 Zawtagômma melodrama, which the old sayā at Pegu has just brought out, and which is having a tremendous run all through the low country. The song is about the Saddan mere, the lake of the Lord White Elephant, where golden lotuses flower perpetually, where the gorgeous yin-dwin bird sails on the silvery waters, great butterflies flap about with painted wings and sip the nectar of the fabled jasmine, and peacocks stalk proudly on the jewelled margin, while around
522 roam elephants white, red, and black in happy security. The singer has hardly finished when the lu-byet, the village jester, breaks in with a travesty of the whole thing, mocking at the tremolos and the lofty style, and taking off the peculiarities of the singer. He went out to a lake too, and launched a canoe on it, but he was capsized by a huge creature that came up from below; and then he found that he had got into a slimy buffalo wallow, out of which he only escaped after great peril from the horns of its three outraged owners, who butted him under the surface many times; and at last, when he crawled out, he was so brown and dirty that some passers-by took him for a hermit, and gave him some rotten
522 plantains in alms. Before the "prince" has time to show
593 any bad temper, a girl commences a coquettish ditty, somewhat after the fashion of the English "Paddle my own canoe," about a poor wife whose husband comes home and storms and growls and abuses because there is no rice ready cooked, softens down when he has crammed himself with curry and rice, but breaks out into grumbling again at night because his wife cries and will not go to sleep. Such tyranny the young lady declares she will never expose herself to, or
533 at any rate "she'll be no submissive wife." Then there are a
832 few love-songs, wherein the girls are compared with the maids of the palace in Mandalay, and the Mandalay girls generally (who are *ex officio* pretty) with the daughters of nats, with Madi, the model wife of Wethandaya (the prince who in his next existence became the Lord Buddha), with flowers and stars and gems, and whatever similes lovers all the world over are in the habit of making. The swaying of the body as they walk, the turning in of the elbows, the fragrant powder on their cheeks and necks, and a few other items which would not commend themselves to a Western admirer,

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

are recorded with enthusiasm and delighted precision of detail; and when an hour or so has been passed in this way, a little more rice-husking is done, and the girls set to work getting ready the onions and sesamum seed, and slicing up the cocoa-nut kernels. This sort of thing goes on all the night through. There is half an hour's work, and then an hour of singing and story-telling and gossip; about the great Shinbinthalyaung, the gigantic recumbent image of Shin Gautama dug up lately near Pegu; of the two min-haungs, the embryo kings, who have been revealed there, and the third one, who is foretold by the old theit-sa, the prophecy which declares that he will restore the ancient Talaing kings and revive religion; of the new hti which is being set up on the pagoda of the lotus tank, and its exceeding splendour, each single one of the concentric rings having been assigned as a particular favour to one out of many competing districts. Then there is a discussion as to the new fashion of turbans, the one plain colour with worked flowers on it, which has supplemented the old thinner style with more braid-like patterns; and the present rage for waist-cloths with many-coloured stripes in place of the old wavy and dog's-tooth fashion. Then the girls are rallied about the method in which they dress their hair—all of them in the style just declared treasonable in the upper country. Queen Supayalat has hit upon some particular set, or plaiting of her tresses, which she thinks becomes her very well, and a royal order has come out making it penal for any meaner damsels to adopt the same method. Consequently all the maidens from Taungoo to Kyauk-Hpyu and the A-eng Pass to Malawun have made up after the queenly model and flatter themselves that it is *chic*. There are always ghost stories at these gatherings, tales about the three farmer brothers that were killed just after harvest time three years ago, and now haunt the dense patch of swampy jungle down by the creek as nat seins, and sometimes scare the fishermen out of a night's work by the violent agitation of the tree-tops on a still night; and then there is that old hag in the lone house at the far end of the village, who is certainly a witch; it must have been she who gave the old sikkè the tet, poor old man, and he a payā-tagā too, founder

533 832 527 521 [291] [775] [754]

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

ing two birds with one stone." Maung Tha Byaw said he was going to worship at the Shwe Dagôn pagoda. He gave a performance or two, and made several (Burmese) fortunes. Hence the saying— 536 538

Payā lè pu yin
Leip u lè tu yin.

You go and worship and dig turtles' eggs.

Turtles' eggs for prayer
Reward the pious player.

Maung Tha Byaw was not only a good singer, but himself wrote very good songs, and was particularly clever at coining in phrases the wisdom of many with the wit of one. No other "prince" has ever attained to his fame. Best known among the clowns was Shwe Lôt Gyi, who had the knack of making local jokes wherever he happened to be, and took the fullest advantage of the scope which the language afforded him in the way of punning. Just after the railway from Rangoon to Prome was opened, Shwe Lôt Gyi was performing in a piece where the prince and his servant, the clown, wander away into the forest and fall into a state of great destitution. The prince bewails his sad fate in a dolorous tedat (a tune appropriate to such lamentations), and finishes by asking what they are to do. The lubyet replied, "The English have just opened a railway here. You go and trespass on it, and I'll lay information against you and get the reward." The idea showed considerable acuteness in a man who had never seen a railway before. 522 [533]

Among the "princesses" many youths have been noted for the sweetness of their voice. The two best were Maung Tha Zan and, running him very close, Maung Mu, both of them, like Tha Byaw and the clown, Mandalay men. The accuracy with which they imitated the female voice was wonderful, the more so as every song abounds with trills and turns which would expose the least roughness. Neither in the recitative, the tremulous erotics, nor the doleful wailings of the maiden for her absent lover, would the stranger ever suspect the performer's sex. 536 533 562

The plays are performed during the day only in a few and exceptional cases, such as the arrival of a great man, 536

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

536 who cannot stay over the night, or when a local feast, limited in its time, occurs. The great and legitimate season is the night, and frequently a play, especially a puppet play, extends over six or seven successive nights. The majority of the audience stay the whole time, from seven or eight o'clock at night till sunrise. It is not, however, to be supposed that they hear it all through. Abundance of mats and rugs are brought, and not a few, after listening till midnight or thereabouts, calmly curl themselves up to sleep, and slumber away for two or three hours, heedless of the braying of the horns and the crash of the cymbals only a few yards off. Then they wake up and fall in with the progress of the piece with as keen interest as if they had
263 heard every word of it. Most of the young people, however, prime themselves with the anti-soporific le'hpet, "pickled tea," as the English call it, and bid defiance to drowsiness. This condiment is as regular a crown to a Burmese dinner as cheese is to an English one, and with the same idea, possibly erroneous: in both cases, that it promotes digestion.
[563] It is almost exclusively produced in Taungbaing, in the
[438] Shan country, by a hill tribe called Rumai, better known by the Burmese name of Palaungs. The Burmese mix with it salt, garlic, and assafœtida, douse it in oil, and add a few grains of millet seed. The leaves forming the basis are the leaves of an actual tree, as distinguished from the bushes of China and Assam. Hooker called it *Elæodendron orientale*, while Anderson asserted that it was really *E. persicum*. Of late years Assam planters have bought Taungbaing seed for their gardens. One of the grievances which Englishmen have when they attend a pwè is that they are always induced by their host to take pickled tea, and perceive in it nothing but the overpowering horrors of the assafœtida. Pwès and assafœtida are therefore associated with one another to the detriment of both.

● 533 Few foreigners can detect one tune from another, or the recitative from any one of them. Consequently most declare there is only one tune, or no tune at all, according to the capacity of generosity in them. The same thing has been said by an inappreciative Burman of the "vipers" of the Royal Scots Fusiliers. He admired the conscientiousness

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

and pertinacity with which they defied the mosquitoes under the shade of the trees, and droned away on their pipes all through a tight-tunicked and perspiring Rangoon afternoon garden party, as the observant Burman imagined, at one endless tune. The national music is not written down, and each actor has a variation of his own, but the smallest girl in the audience would detect a kayāthan from a dobatthan with as much readiness as any English boy would distinguish "Drops o' Brandy" from the "Old Hundred"! But there are some people who do not like the Italian opera, and even say so. 533

The following short outline of the *Zawtagômma pyazat* will give an idea of the style of the more popular drama, as distinguished from the purely religious birth-story. The writer was an old player himself. He lived at Pegu, and the *Zawtagômma* was perhaps his most successful effort. The text has been published at one of the vernacular presses in Rangoon, and the sketch given is a translation of the Zatlan, the "path of the play," prefixed by the editor. "In the country of Pyinyawwada, of which Yazôtta was the sovereign, the name of the Southern Queen was Thunemadewi, and that of the Northern Queen Thukethidewi. The Queen of the Southern Palace was about to bear a child, and the king issued an order that her majesty of the North should attend on her. This was very irritating to the Northern Queen, and she resolved to ruin Thunemadewi, and for that purpose conspired with Shin Gwe Ni, the midwife. As soon as the child was born it was to be killed, and set afloat on the river in an earthen pot, and the *accoucheuse* was to say the Head Queen had been delivered of a still-born baby. A twin son and daughter were born, and Shin Gwe Ni put each of them in a jar and launched them on the river, and went and told the king that they were still-born. Yazôtta, the king, was very angry, and punished his consort by setting her to dig the ground and carry water for the palace. The Queen of the North was promoted to be Head Queen, and her daughter, Pyinsarupa, was made tabin-daing (*i.e.* she was set apart as wife for the next king, and not allowed to marry). 536 539 [643] [582]

"With regard to the bodies of the prince and princess,

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Burmese AP4

536 her go. Everything happened as he had foretold. She met
539 the prince and he followed her advice. They returned to the Pyinyawwada country, and all was happy."

536 The above is the merest outline of the story. The piece is very long, and there is abundance of incident. The prince's servant, and usually also the two holy men, do the comic part of the business, but this is always so purely personal a matter that the printed text can give no real notion of what actually is said. It serves merely to point out the lines which the lubyet must follow in his impersonation. The stage books, written on palm-leaf, contain but very few detailed speeches, and merely indicate the story, and throw out hints to the actors. The following is one of the songs sung by the prince in his wanderings through the
● 533 forest in quest of Palèthwè. It is written to the tune of the "Chase in the Tawmawyôn Forest," that in which the king
[775] goes to hunt in the epic of the Ramayana. The wut or wutdaw referred to is the penalty of suffering the same punishment, or death, which has in a former existence been wrongfully or needlessly inflicted on others. Thus the great minister, Widuya, spoken of, who was an avatar of the Lord Buddha, had in a previous life dragged a frog by the leg so that it died. Hence he is dragged at the tail of the fierce Nat's horse until he dies himself. The prince fears that some such evil destiny is working itself out on him. The jingle of the rhythm is intended. The whole play is of the "raging rocks and shivering shocks" pattern.

539

FATE

The wind breathes chill
Across the rill
That cuts the forest track;
The haze to mist
Whitens, I wist,
And I am lost, alack.

The branches spread
Dull green and red
Flat o'er the sullen stream;
Comes through the gloom
The gibbon's boom,
And shrill the parrot's scream.

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535 the most promising of the youth of both sexes are taken in charge by a skilled sayā, who trains them assiduously
535 together until they have attained perfection. Even in these
562 dances the sexes do not mingle. There are meimma yein and yaukya yein, the former usually eschewing complex movements, and sitting in rows on the ground, richly decked with bracelets, and dalizan necklaces falling over their silken vests or tight-fitting lace bodices. The dancing consists of the usual pirouetting, or perhaps it ought to be called winding, on both feet, with much serpentine movements of the arms and the head. The loosening of the elbow-joint is greatly practised by Burmese girls with a view to these performances, and also under the impression that it is elegant in itself. From early years the arm is so manipulated that the forearm can be bent back so as to form a curve outwards, and this accomplishment is steadily exhibited on all occasions in public by a belle who has acquired it. Very often the meimma yein is performed by a body of girls, who succeed one another in successive groups. All are seated at first. The chorus is led by a woman, who herself does not dance, and is usually the instructress of the troupe. She begins in a low recitative gradually swelling until at last the first group rise and go through a stately performance. They are succeeded by the next row, who are more lively in their movements, and so on to the last, who are usually young girls, and are much more rapid and varied in their figures than their elder predecessors. Finally, all join in some complicated evolutions, and finish up seated in some pre-arranged figure. But as a rule the meimma yeins, though pretty enough as a mere spectacle, have not sufficient action to redeem them from the accusation of tiresome sameness brought against individual dancing, and they are always so discreet that they might be performed by Sunday-school teachers.

535 In the men's dances it is different. At the commence-
562 ment all are seated, four or five in the front row, and forming
533 a column of perhaps ten or more rows. The conductor gives the sign and all bow down with closed hands raised to the forehead in salutation to the great man in whose honour the dance is given. Then they begin singing in

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chorus in the usual way. The song treats in a rambling way of the past history of the village, its ancient glories and heroes; its victories in boat-races, boxing matches, or mains of cocks. Interpolated are catch phrases for the guidance of the dancers. At a certain word all spring to their feet; they sway to the right, to the left; white handkerchiefs are drawn from the belt and waved to the measure of the refrain, peeled white wands replace them; they pirouette simultaneously, they troop round in procession in movements resembling figures in the Lancers or the Haymakers, the time varying with the measure of the song, dying away in plaintive sounds almost to quiescence, and then suddenly rising to excited movement of every limb as the words tell of a let-pwè, in which some local hero of the fancy did glorious deeds, or a fight long years ago when the village spearmen carried the day. Then the measure changes again, the alterations in time being always heralded by some such refrain as to yein daw tha, le maung yo wa, a kind of warning hung out after the manner of the first word of a military command. Occasionally, a yein troupe which has acquired particular skill and renown travels about the country on special invitation. Rangoon is often supplied with its "country dances" in this way, the townspeople not having the time, or being too numerous to form a good company for themselves. But they very rarely become regular professionals in the same way as the play actors do; they never perform ostensibly to gain a living, and the dances always occur on some fête day, whether in their own place or in the village to which they have been invited. Their instructor always receives a sum of money to recompense him for his trouble and to pay for the expenses of his troupe. Yein pwès are performed ordinarily in private houses or on a public platform, when it is a religious or special festival. A yein is a favourite way of greeting a great man, or an English official on his arrival in a village. It is not so expensive as a zat pwè, is more quickly arranged, allows the sons and daughters of the chief people to distinguish themselves, and lasts just as long as the person it is intended to honour pleases.

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Burmese AP4

CHAPTER XXXI

MUSIC AND SONGS

533

THERE are no teachers of music or singing in Burma, and there are no written scores. A musician commences his career by diligently listening to the performance of a good band. By and by he enters the village orchestra as a clapper player, and so learns the time and the peculiarities of various tunes, just as actors rise from the posturing and choruses of the children's and country yein pwès to the full dignity of dramatic performers. As a natural consequence there are occasionally variations, and indeed every pulwè, or flute-player, has his own particular mannerisms, but these are never so great as to materially alter the character of the air, and such tunes as the tedat, apudaik, lôngyin, and so forth, which occur in every zāt, are as familiar to everybody as "God save the King" and "Auld Lang Syne" are to an Englishman. Nevertheless it is very difficult for a foreigner to catch the air, and I have not been able to get an English score of any of the really old national tunes. The melody given later on was taken down from the playing of a well-known pwè leader in Maulmein, and has been harmonised for the town brass band by Mr. W. G. St. Clair, formerly of that place, to whom I am indebted for the score. So true is it to the air that many wealthy Burmans have the band to play at domestic festivals, funerals, and the like, and are satisfied to have the one tune played over and over again a score of times. But the kayāthan is of modern origin, and, as Burmans always say, in the English style, though Englishmen will persist in saying that there is nothing English about it. It has somewhat absurdly been adopted by the

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2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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British army as "The Burmese National Anthem." It makes not at all a bad quick march, but it is about as appropriate for a national anthem as "Champagne Charlie is my name." In the acknowledged national airs it is very difficult to get a definite rhythm, the music being apparently, at any rate to all but experts, a mere succession of recitative, more or less Wagnerian in its style.

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The instruments of a full Burmese band always include the following, whether the occasion is the orchestra for a play, the music for a dance, for a wedding, an ear-boring ceremony, or a funeral. A saing-waing, an elaborately carved, circular, wooden frame, painted in parts, standing between two and three feet high, and five feet or more in diameter. Round the inside of this are hung drums of graduated sizes, which are struck with the hands of the performer, who sits in the middle. The alternate dry and saturated state of the atmosphere renders constant tuning necessary, and this is effected by tightening the drum-heads, and also by smearing on with the fingers a paste made of burnt rice husk. The music produced is rather thin in itself, but by no means unpleasing. Similar to it in construction, but not standing so high, is the kyi-waing, the only difference being that graduated gongs take the place of the drums. The gongs are of course beaten with a knobbed stick, and not with the hand. These ponderous instruments can only be carried about in a cart, and their owner keeps perpetual guard over them, sitting in the centre, cheroot in mouth, for they cost a very considerable sum of money. Fair specimens of both the drum and the gong-harmonicon may be seen in the South Kensington Museum. In addition to these, there are in every band two or three hnè, trumpets or clarionets, with a broad bell-shaped mouth, which is movable and ordinarily but loosely attached. The noise of these is always very prominent, and is not relished by people who do not care for the bagpipes. There is also a similar number of pulwè, or pyue, a rude kind of flute. The best pulwè-player is always the leader of the band. Then there are ya-gwin, big cymbals, and than-lwin, little cymbals, and the patma, a long drum like the tom-tom of India and beaten with the hand in the same way. Finally there are the wa le'kôt, each formed of

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

are used to strike them with. The notes produced are surprisingly clear and melodious. 534

Fiddles may often be heard played with greater or less skill, especially on the pagoda steps by blind and deformed beggars, but the instrument is not national, and is never, or but rarely, found where Europeans have not penetrated. The same may be said of the young Burmans who play in Rangoon on the concertina and the English fife and piccolo. It is flattering to national pride to notice with what accuracy and rapidity they pick up English airs. 171.53

But except at funerals and other solemn occasions instrumental music is looked upon not so much as a means of enjoyment in itself as an accompaniment to the human voice, and mere orchestral concerts would never draw the crowds which a single good singer can always command. The recitative character of the music is always more evident in the singing than in the instruments, and each "prince" or "princess" has individual peculiarities in the way of trills and staccatos introduced into the legitimate air. As the young musician learns by hanging about the band, so a vocalist follows an acknowledged great singer about and imitates his style, or at any rate learns the tunes and the words. The latter are, however, very immaterial, for the language itself is so pliant that it is easy to express the ideas in rhythm as you go on. Maung Tha Byaw, the great singer of his day, always made his songs as he sung them, and this was so well known that whenever he appeared, whether in a regular play or only to sing a few airs, there were always thirty or forty reporters sitting round to take down his words in their parabaik. This peculiarity of the Thabinwun occasionally got him into trouble. A somewhat incomprehensible piece of palace etiquette rendered it treasonable to sing a thanzan, a new song, before the king. Maung Tha Byaw several times, whether through too great laziness to learn the words, or from the force of habit, transgressed this rule, and was several times ordered out to execution. But he sang to the taunghmu and the pagwet, and these grim customers, the gaoler and the executioner, unable to resist the melody of this latter-day Orpheus, hid him away and exhibited some less talented 533 [644]

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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533 person's body in evidence of having carried out their orders. Then when the next palace concert came on, the king—his late majesty—would grow tired of the ordinary vocalists and regret that the great improvisatore was gone. Whereupon Maung Tha Byaw would promptly come forth and sing his sweetest. He was killed in this way several times, but in the end died a natural death, about the same time as his contemporary Yindaw Ma Le.

533 554 The honours he received were quite on a par with European estimation of musical talent. He had a patent to carry a golden umbrella, and, as Thabinwun, had magisterial powers to punish those who offended him or refused to obey his edicts. Two lictors went before him to clear the way, a white cloth being tied round their fasces as a distinctive mark. When he performed in a play a low yaza mat, or royal fence, extended across the front of the stage, and at the ends were planted his golden hti and a banana-tree. The latter distinction was also granted to Maung Tha Zan and Maung Mu, singers only inferior to the Thabinwun himself.

533 177.53 538 If the tunes are not easily reduced to regular rules, the difficulty with the metres is not less. There exist, indeed, written laws ordaining the number of feet to the verse, but they are as lightly regarded as is consistent with their recognition at all. Much more precision is indeed expected in the old tunes than in those of modern date, but even with them song-writers of the present time allow themselves considerable freedom. The original linga are all very short. Thus the pyo has but four syllables; kabya, four; yatu, six and four; luta, four; yagan, six and four; ègyin, four, five, and six; hmawlôn, four and six; paikzôn, four; legyo, four; sagyin, four, five, and six; and so forth. In the thanzan, or new tunes, however, the compass of the lines often approaches the portentous length of some of Walt Whitman's *Leaves of Grass*. Such modern tunes are the kayāthan (so-called English), dobatthan, nabethan, nanthein yodaya (Siamese), and pyigyithan (Chinese). Such composi-

533 538 tions as the lôngyin and ngogyin cannot be designated otherwise than as musical prose, with occasional fits of metre, prompted by their dolorous character. They are the

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threnodies and the laments of *divorcées*, unhappily all too common (in plays and song-books). Such, too, are the saungbasa, the ardent epistles of separated sweethearts. 533 538

The question of rhyme is even more puzzling. Some compositions not intended to be sung, such as notably the sèhnityathi bwè, songs about the twelve months of the year, giving an account of their characteristics, the pwès that take place in them, and so on, are written with regular final rhymes, while the other laws of prosody, shi'-lôn tabaik, kolôn tabaik, and so forth, are fairly strictly observed. But in the songs of the plays and such-like productions, rhyme runs absolute riot, so that it is quite common for every word in a line to rhyme with the corresponding word in the second verse of the couplet.

Thus in the kayāthan, translated below, there are abundance of lines like the following:—

Thuza lo lo
Muya po po.

Or—

Ma yo le hnan kyauk
A-po le tan lauk.

Or in the Tedat—

Ta ko dè pa
Ma so bè hma
A ngo thè hla.

Such rhymes occur in an abundance that makes them the most prominent characteristic of the verse, but it is impossible to reproduce them except in another monosyllabic language. English, of all others, offers the greatest difficulties to the translator.

I have done what is possible to reproduce the following kayāthan, "The Sound of the Trumpet,"[1] as nearly as possible in the varying metre of the original. Those who are best able to judge of the success of the attempt will be the most lenient in their criticism. I may mention that the tune was originally composed to the words of a song in honour of the accession of King Thibaw, but words on all manner of subjects have been written to it since.

[1] [see category 539, pp. 322-323 -- ANALYST] -Y

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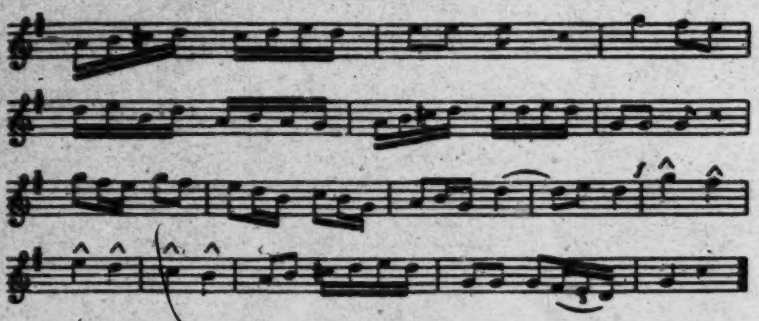

Next to the "Sound of the Trumpet" the Dobatthan is probably the most popular air, and is certainly the next most familiar to the English ear. It may be called the refrain-song, and is remarkable for the long dwelling and trilling on the last note of each stanza. The do is the seed with which aim is taken in the game of gônnyinhto, and pat, or bat, is to twist or spin. The metre here is not so complicated :— 533 539

SERENADE

Love united,
Troth so fondly plighted,
Love's light with life first lighted.
Sigh, my dear,
In me here,
Long with fear,
Now thou'rt near;
Long and sigh, my dear.

Flew the storm-cloud,
Rose and shrieked the winds loud
Came I yet and lowly bowed.
Cold as lead
Here I sped,
For love dead
Bent my head,
Lonesome for love dead.

The thein-nats play,
See through wild rain I stray,
Drenched, but sad from thee away:
Sad and lone.
Sweet, my own,
Be not stone,
Hear me moan,
Sweet love, hear my moan.

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ment as possible, to stimulate the thein-nats to exert themselves also. A lônswèthi sometimes continues for nearly an hour without definite result. 773 789

The "painted cheeks," or "fragrant cheeks," so frequently mentioned in all these love-songs, refers to the thana'kha, a sweet-scented, straw-coloured powder made from the bark and roots of the *Murraya paniculata*, a flowering shrub of the citron species. Some girls, and especially some actresses, have particular recipes for making up the cosmetic into a moist paste. It is applied with the finger, and a good deal of skill is exhibited in putting on the requisite amount. Unpractised hands usually smear on far too much, and it is as unsightly as a badly whitewashed outhouse. On others it is barely visible. All girls use it, and not a few town dandies. 303 533

The following may be regarded as somewhat of an approach to the European *vers de société*. I have not attempted to imitate the original metre:— 539

THE CIGAR-MAIDEN OF MADEYA, NEAR MANDALAY

Thy cheroots, so deftly fingered,
Famous are in Burma's land,
Many a chief has fondly lingered,
Watched the maiden's nimble hand.

Madeya, I'd spare to sing thee
For cheroots and dainty maids,
For their crispness doth but bring thee
Sorrow from the palace blades.

By the throne's great gilded grandeur
Sits the prince, cheroot in hand,
And behind him little Ma Nyo,
Pearl of all the village band.

Burnt up all my love and sighing,
Like the ash of his cigar;
Hopes dispelled and idly flying,
Like the smoke he puffs afar.

Thy cheroots so deftly fingered,
Madeya are silver-white,
But the prince that came and lingered,
Stole away the hamlet's light.

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the umbrella-bearer, or, perhaps, two or three of them if the officer had attained such distinction. 701 714

The actual civilian commander of the regiment seldom came out to the review, so that there were comparatively few gold umbrellas, but the red and green military sun-shades, with deep fringes, added perhaps more to the brilliance of the array, considered simply as a spectacle. Behind the hti-bearers came the minor officers, mounted on ponies, with the ordinary Burmese scarlet cloth saddle and tassels sweeping [492] over the animal's flanks. Each of these minor chiefs also had his umbrella borne over his head, and a score or two of spear-men guarded the flanks of the cavalcade. Mingled up among them was a confused crowd of cheroot-bearers, spittoon-holders, betel-box carriers, and similar functionaries such as accompany a Burmese grandee wherever he goes. Behind this motley assemblage came the regimental colours. These were bifurcated red pennants, burgees bearing the number of the battalion, and leogryphs, lions, dogs, dragons, and similar distinguishing emblems for the different regiments. The standard was not very ponderous, but occasionally the bearer—he was not an officer—got tired of carrying it over his shoulder and lowered it to the trail without seeming to injure any one's sense of congruity. He was followed by 704 the band, or a portion of it, for the musicians were scattered 533 in twos and threes all over the regiment, usually at the head of a company, but not by any means necessarily so. Burmese music is ordinarily far from soft and gentle. At a play the trumpets blare, and the gongs, cymbals, and clappers clash and jingle and rattle in truly inspiriting fashion. But no such spirit-stirring strains are considered necessary to rouse martial ardour. A military bandsman required no preliminary education. All he had to do was to tap, tap away in the most stolid and monotonous fashion on a kyinaung. This is a brass or bell-metal gong, about the size of a dessert plate with a small round boss in the centre. The sound is sweet, and they are pitched in different keys, but a low-country Burman is at a loss to divine their precise use. The sound does not travel far, and they are not beaten in any fixed time, besides that the ahmudan would not step to it if they were; so that if it were not for the dignity

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704 of the thing, there might just as well have been no band at all.
533 But there they were, and they jingled away and stopped and began again in the most casual and independent possible way.

704 After all this came at last the ahmudan, King Thibaw's
714 army of "immortals" in full array. They most assuredly had not a martial appearance, and there was not a semblance of discipline among them. It was just possible to make out that they were marching in column. Here and there was a ragged resemblance to an alignment of fours, achieved for a few minutes apparently more by chance than anything else. The soldiers were very gorgeous. Peony roses and sunflowers were as nothing to them. All had red tunics, but the facings, which were broad, were different in each regiment. Some were yellow, some green, some blue, some nondescript, and the effect on the red ground was not always pleasing. The trousers were very various. Blue, with a broad yellow stripe down the side, or occasionally for the sake of variety down the front or the back, green and red, yellow and maroon, scarlet and brown, were a few of the combinations. On their heads were worn helmets with burnished spikes, and a small metal dragon in front. These helmets do not suit at all with long hair. The topknot of a good many is so large that the *pickelhaube* balances on it, and wobbles about in undignified fashion.

The majority, however, found that the most satisfactory way of avoiding this was to put the helmet on the back of the head, which imparted to them a dissipated appearance, which was far from martial-looking. Not a few found the difference in weight between their ordinary silk turban and a papier-mâché or plaited wicker helmet more than they could bear, and solved the difficulty by carrying their headpiece on the end of their carbines. This met with no remonstrance or opposition on the part of the non-commissioned officers, who, armed with spears, marched at irregular intervals along the flanks of the column. The soldiers had no belts, and therefore no scabbards, and proceeded with bayonets fixed. The Fourth Regiment, commanded by the young Kachin before alluded to, had a habit, whether for the sake of distinction, or as signifying that they were prepared at any moment to give cold steel, of sloping arms in an eccentric way. Grasping

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764 heavy punishment under Burman rule. Latterly some
525 laymen in Rangoon have even been bold enough to glorify the
178 funerals of their relatives with keinnaya, figures of men or women with bird-like feet and lower extremities. These spangled toys, which are commonly to be seen in all monasteries, are properly only used at the last ceremonies of a member of the sacred order. But when some men are bold enough even to flaunt the royal white umbrella, it is hardly to be expected that the distinctive honours of the yahans would be respected.

764 The procession having been formed, a start is made.
[735] At the head come the alms intended for the monks and for the poor, some carried by men, some by women, the sexes going in separate lines. After this come the pyin-sin, never in any very great numbers, unless the a-hlu be particularly bountiful. Following them comes the band, and often a troop of singers. These are always hired for the purpose, and their callousness is as little to be cast up against Burman natural affection as the unlovable doings of the mutes at an English funeral. Close upon the musicians comes the bier carried by six or eight young men. Then in a general crowd follow the relations, friends, and neighbours, all on foot. Many passers-by, total strangers, join in the procession from motives of piety. Here and there the men carrying the bier stop and dance in a curious fantastic way to the measures of
[633] the dirge of the singers. The funeral *miserere*s are usually the composition of an improvisatore in the chorus, and deal with the life and death and good actions of the deceased. A measure called maung pyaung is the most generally used.

Occasionally there is a tug-of-war with a rope as at a pôngyi's funeral, one side exclaiming, "We must bury our dead"; the other, "You shall not take away my friend." As a matter of necessity the former party must conquer, but they sometimes have to get recruits from the crowd before they can manage it.

764 It is a matter of regulation that a funeral should never
823 go to the north or to the east. The graveyard is usually to the west of the village, and the dead should all be carried out of a walled town by a gate reserved for this purpose. In Mandalay this a-mingala tagā was that to the south-west,

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present, were superintending the carrying off of the 108 (representing the number of divisions in the foot of the Lord Buddha, and the beads on the rosary) heaps of alms piled up in great mountains in a long shed to the east of the mausoleum. This was the last of the pious king, Maung Lun, Mindôn Min, the Convener of the Fifth Great Synod.

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The following is the substance of a funeral dirge sung in Mandalay by a Rangoon man whose wife had died in the royal city:—

Gone, gone art thou, sweet wife; gone far away,
Fair still and charmful, stretched on thy cold bier,
As erst thou wert upon that joyous day
When first I wed thee; gladsome brought thee here,
And joyed to think that thou wert mine. . Ah me!
The butterfly's silk wings are shred; no more,
Ne'er more to rest upon thy head, Mah Meit—
Sweet name for wife: "affectionate." Deplore
Her death ye nats that rule forests and streams,
The hills and vales, and greater ye who guard
The sacred law, the holy shrines, the beams
Of silent moon, and sunlight baking hard
The hot-scorched earth, not scorched more and seared
Than is the parchment of my tortured heart.
Nay, bear with me, good neighbours. Be not feared.
I am not mad. The nat-so hath no part
Of me or mine. The spaewife sure hath said it.

Ay, thou wert mine when last I trod the earth,
Ere yet, all sinful, I wast born as man,
And yet again, in yet another birth,
I'll claim thee; when mayhap a happier kan,
A fairer sum of merit, hardly won,
Will lead us on, linked-armed, to linked death,
That so progressing, joyful we may run
Through all life's changes, and with single breath,
Through heavens and zin and rupa, we may bound
To Ne'ban, blissful home of rest. So mote it be.

Alas, thou wert from Hanthawaddy's plains,
And were we there, where thou so fain hadst stayed,
A stately pomp had honoured thy remains,
In silk and velvet wound, with gilded shade
Of wide umbrella's pride, and regal spire
Had towered to the skies, all seemly draped
With flowing cloths and princesses' attire,
Such as now thou dost wear, from earth escaped

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To heavens of nats. Yea, and of fretted gold 533
With mirror-work inlaid had been this case, 539
The last sad dwelling of thy earthly mould;
But here it may not be, not in this place.

In Mamye's soil the stranger finds a tomb
As poor as doth the meanest in the land.
The trumpet's wailing note, the drum's low boom
May not be heard; all callous as the strand
That threats the sailor on a stormy night,
The law stands fast and bids the mourner pass
With smothered moan; and hurry from its sight
The alien clay. Far from thy home, alas!
Thy dirge e'en waxeth faint. Oh, Awgata,
The Lord, the Law, the Order, the Three Gems,
I bow me low. Grant me the holy calm.

[Pg. 602 is blank]

3: Khin Zaw 1-5 (no date) 1940 AP1 Burma
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BURMESE MUSIC.

(A Preliminary Enquiry).

"Just at the moment, when western civilisation is beginning to realise that oriental music is something better than the barbaric noise it has long thought it to be, the oriental nations are in grave danger of losing interest in it, and as it has been conveyed from generation to generation not by the arts of writing and printing, but orally, so soon as that interest is gone the art itself, unless special measures are taken, will have entirely evaporated—that is, will be forever un-recoverable. One would wish East and West to study one another's music, whilst pursuing independent courses in their own, but that seems to be impossible." 000

PERCY A. SCHOLES,
Oxford Companion to Music, p. 672,
O. U. P. 1938.

Part I. Classics, Legend and History.

Burmese music is a virgin field for research. Nobody can bewail this virginity more than myself. To help me there does not seem to exist a single western work on Burmese music though there are such classics as Fox Strangways' on Indian and J. H. Levis' on Chinese music. Many writers on Burma have passed remarks, kind or humorous, on Burmese music. But few have attempted a technical study of it. Nothing Burmese escaped the notice of Sir James George Scott of course. But I know of only two who left some technical remarks on Burmese music: Paul Edmonds, the author of *Peacocks and Pagodas*; and P. A. Mariano, in an appendix on Burmese music to that most lovingly produced book *Burma* by Max and Bertha Ferrars. I shall discuss the observations of both by and by[1]. I draw attention to this paucity of reference material to prove that I cannot be well informed and therefore cannot speak with authority on the subject. 114 533

It is fitting to begin with a translation of what has already been written on Burmese music in the Burmese language. If it is unscientific it is at least what the Burmese have to say about it. And I shall be lacking in veneration for the Burmese classics if I neglect the following extracts. They are published in U San Win's admirable effort to preserve Burmese classical tunes in his specially invented system of notation, entitled *Burmese Music Notes* Book No. 1. ကျွန်တော့် ရှေးက အတီးတန်းနှင့် ဒီးဝိုင်းတို့ကိုပင် ဝင်း I must draw public attention to this and a second book which came out recently; because, in spite of their naivety in the technique of notation, they nevertheless mark the beginnings of a systematisation of Burmese music by a Burmese lover of music. It is a labour of love; and

1. In 1939 appeared *Die Musik Birmas* by Kurt Reinhard. But it is an ethnological work on the mass of Burma and what recognizable Burmese music there is in it is taken from Mariano.

114 very considerable the labour must have been. Experts in western
●533 notation who may be disposed to smile at the *Burmese Music Notes* will realise notwithstanding that here at last are the authentic classical tunes of the Burmese put on record in black and white, ready, and if desired, easy enough to be transcribed into western notation after a perusal of this article and its supplement 'The writing of Burmese music.'

534 In the second book of U San Win is appended most valuable
114 and authentic information on the fundamentals of Burmese music, such as, the tuning of the Burmese harp (ဘောင်းတောတ်), its history; the tuning of the drum-circle (နှစ်ဆိုင်း); the gong-circle (ကြေးဝိုင်းဆိုင်း); the ခ *Hnè* (Burmese oboe), big and small; and the succession of Burmese keys. The word 'key' will arouse sudden interest. It will become very interesting indeed in due course. To begin with the classics:—

533 "*Preface* :—From the beginning of the world, during the sovereignty of the
773 first President King the five principal sounds of bass, string, percussion, wind and clapper, had been employed in music in ceremonies of sprinkling the holy water all over the world.

"Three hundred years before Buddha's Enlightenment, when, to avoid the enmity of Pañcala Rajā, the Sakya kings of Kapilavatthu, Devadaha and Koliya left the middle regions (Majjhimadesa) and founded the Tagaung kingdom of Saṅkassarattha, the same five kinds of instruments were wont to supply music for auspicious Royal occasions and entertainments.

"Also, during the life-time of Lord Buddha, according to *Sakkapañha Sutta*, deva Pañcasikhā, the wearer of five top-knots, renowned the Lord in song playing the seven times seven (49) melodic figures of *ita pluta* on his celestial harp, which was said to be three-quarters of a *yojana* (*i.e.*, about 2¼ miles)[1] in length, called Bhūta-pandu-vīṇā.

"The Buddhist anchorite Nārada of the middle regions compiled the treatise *Naradasikhā* from musicology as known to all learned ones from the beginning. In it was mentioned the same seven times seven (49) melodic figures (*tāna*) and three times seven (21) modes (*mucchanā*) which are mentioned in *Sakkapañha Sutta*.

"In the chronicle of Buddha are descriptions of how, when he was seated on the invincible throne Aparājita the devas came and paid homage with musical instruments; and how, on the occasion of His departure from their abode, Tāvatiṁsa to visit Saṅkassa Nagara, they followed in His wake proclaiming His excellence in music and song.

"After the death of Lord Buddha, too, in the history of the middle regions, the Buddhist nobility and gentry practised music on various instruments, classifying and utilising various kinds of sounds.

"In the history of our Buddhist country of Burma, music and musical instruments existed throughout the successive kingdoms of Tagaung, Srikhettara, Pagan, Myinsaing, Sagaing, Pinya, Ava, Konbaung, Amarapūra, down to Ratnapūra Mandalay.

1. Authorities differ on the exact measurement of *Yojanā*.

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BURMESE MUSIC.

"Among all the kings of Burma, there was one King Thālun, during whose reign (1629-1648 A.D.) Minister U Aye compiled a treatise on Burmese music called *Naraḷkha*[1] နရဠကခ in which were included the 37 ritual songs. Later, in the reign of Bodawpaya (1782-1819 A.D.) this treatise was revised and enlarged by Myawadiwungyi U Sa. It was known to be printed in the royal press within the city in Mandalay. Apart from this no other Burmese work on Burmese music has been known to exist for all the fifty years and more after the British annexation (1885 A.D.). 533 773

"Because of this paucity of printed record, it was thought that music existed only in western countries and not in Burma. Not so. There is evidence in Buddhist literature that music has flourished in this country for a long time. Unfortunately, the theory and practice of music have not been put into writing. Instead, they were handed down from father to son by word of mouth and by hand-on-hand instruction, so that, human memory was the only repository of Burmese music.....

"*Appendix—vide* Abhidhāna Nissaya: The music which Pañcasikhā (the wearer of five top-knots) made on his three-quarter-*yojana* long celestial harp Bheluva is composed of 7 (ground tones) *Svara*, 3 *Grāmas*, 21 *Mūrchanas* and 49 *tānas*, the total effect of which is known as *Sramaṇḍala*.

"Bulls produce the Usabha tone; horses, the Dhevata; peacocks, the Çaḍya; goats, Gandhāra; cranes, Majjhima; cuckoos Pañcama; and elephants Nisāda.

Grāmas are three: Çaḍya, Majjhima and Sādhāraṇa.

Therefore the above scale of seven tones played in three different positions, raised, lowered, or natural, produces the 21 varieties of sounds, which according to U Ba Choe in ဗမာသံ(၇)ပါး ဗဏ္ဍာန်း is the reason why twenty one is the number of drums in a drum-circle ခိုင်းခိုင်း, gongs in a gong-circle ကြိုးဆင်ခိုင်း and pieces of bamboo or iron in the ဗတ္တလာ *pattalar* the Burmese relative of the xylophone or the glockenspiel. 533 171

The above classical terms are explained authoritatively by Fox Strangways[2]: 533

GRĀMA (ဂါမ) the name has been applied specifically only to three scales—the Sa-grāma, our major with a sharpened Sixth; Ma-grāma, *our major C-c, but intended presumably to be used as an F-f scale*[3] with a sharpened Sixth; and the Ga-grāma, possibly intermediate between the two, long obsolete.

1. None of the works on music mentioned are available nowadays. U San Win has seen *Naraḷkha* နရဠကခ in pambaik form and informed me that he would try to trace the whereabouts of the present owner in response to my suggestion that this valuable document should find its final resting place in the University Library. In an article on the 7 tones ဗမာသံ(၇)ပါးအကြောင်း in စာပေတော် Vol. 1, No. 3, 1936, U Ba Choe mentioned two more works *Nāṭyaśāstra* နာဋျသာတ္တ and *Māghathā* မာဃဌာ of which only the former, a Sanskrit classic attributed to Bharata, is mentioned in the list of Sanskrit works on music in Fox Strangways' *Music of Hindostan*.

2. Music of Hindostan, p. 106 *et seq.* It should be noted however that these terms, in spite of their Burmese association, apply, so far as Fox Strangways is concerned, to the music of Hindostan.

3. The italics are mine. This statement seems to apply to the Burmese scale of *Hnyinlone* ဘင်းတုံ C-c, which has puzzled me for a long time because that class of songs ကြိုးကွဲကပ်ခြင်းနှင့် *Kyat, Bat Thachinyan*, which I am sure have F as their tonic, are said to be played in the C-c scale. These words made me feel less puzzled. However, there are more puzzles to come concerning the Burmese scale.

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● 533 MURCHANĀ (ᨾᨾᨿᨶᨶᨿᨶ) means primarily the 'swelling of sound' and seems to have been applied originally to high and low pitch and to have meant the rise and fall of the voice in song. Then it came to have the technical sense of (1) a rise and fall from and to a particular note of a specific scale, and in this sense is accurately translated by 'mode'. But since the note on which they started was the most important and was generally ornamented with a grace note, *murchhana* (Hindustani) has come to mean (2) grace note as applied to a particular Rāg. In the old sense of the word the 'mode' consisted of seven notes, *i. e.* two tetrachords, so that *mūrchhana* may (3) be held also to translate the Greek harmonia (heptachord).

RĀGA (ᨿᨶᨶᨶ

BURMESE MUSIC.

As identified by U San Win on addendum to page 11, Burmese Music Notes, Book I.

Table I. 391

Comparative Table of seven classical tones, assuming C is Doh.

	Sanskrit	Pāli	Animal Symbols	Terminology of the Burmese Harp	Ditto of the Burmese Band	
C	Çadja	ဆဇ	peacock	ဒုရက Dūraka	ဖ-ပေါက်အောက်ပြန် Chaukpauk aukpyan	A
D	Rshabha	ဥသဘ	bull	ပြည်ဆောင်ပြန် Pyélawbyan	သံလတ်အောက်ပြန် Thanlat aukpyan	G
E	Gāndhāra	ဂန္ဓာရ	goat	မြင့်ဆိုင်း Myintsaing	ငါးပေါက်သံထီး Ngapauk thanhti	E
F	Madhyama	မဇ္ဈိမ	crane	ပုလဲ Pulè	သံဖားတောင်း ဆင်ကြိုး Thanphyartayaw *or* Hsitkyih	B
G	Pañcama	ပဉ္စမ	cuckoo	အောက်ပြန် Aukpyan	ဆင်ကြိုးအောက်ပြန်ဓားပတ် Hsitkyih aukpyan *or* Lépauk	F
A	Dhaivata	ဓေဝတ	horse	ခြောက်သွယ်ညွှန် Chaukthwenyunt	သံကြတ် Thankyat	D
B	Nishāda	နိသာဒ	elephant	ညွှင်းလုံး Hnyinlone	သံရီး ၇-သံရီ Thanyoh *or* khunra'hanchi	C

As identified by Fox Strangways on page 108, Music of Hindustan.

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533 VĀDI, SAMVĀDI, ANUVĀDI and VIVĀDI (Translated 'sonant' 'consonant' 'assonant' 'dissonant') [illegible] are survivals of a theory of consonance (*Samvaditva* [illegible]) now forgotten. *Samvādī* definitely means the consonance of Fourth and Fifth, as we should say 'Perfect consonance' *Vādī* is the note to which it is so related. *Vivādī* is applied by Bharata to the semitone. He speaks (verse 24) of notes being *vivādī* to one another when they are at the distance of twenty *çrutis*. This is the same thing as two *çrutis* (22-20) which reading actually appears in another manuscript. *Anuvādī* is the name for 'all other relations which are not *vādī*, *samvādī* or *vivādī*. These three relations belong to the tetrachord, and presumably *anuvādī* does too. Current tradition makes *anuvādī* the major Third. But Bharata says 'all other' (*çesha*), as if more than one relationship was *anuvādī*. If it is possible to suppose that in the term *anuvādī* he included the major and minor tones (which together make up the major Third) all the determining elements of Bharata's scale would be accounted for.

Fox Strangways has a chapter on legend and history too. I shall quote the legends in which the same well-known names recur.

533 713 "Once upon a time the great anchorite Nārada thought within himself he had mastered the whole art and science of music. To curb his pride the all-knowing Vishnu took him to visit the abode of the gods. They entered a spacious building the inmates of which were numerous men and women, who were all weeping over their broken limbs. Vishnu stopped short and enquired of them the reason for their lamentation. They answered that they were the Rāgs, and Raginis of music, created by Mahādeva; but as one anchorite of the name of Nārada, ignorant of the true knowledge of music and unskilful in performance, had sung them recklessly, their features were distorted and their limbs broken, and that unless Mahādeva or some other discreet and skilful person would sing them properly, there was slender hope of their ever being restored to their former state of body. Nārada, ashamed, kneeled down before Vishnu and asked to be forgiven."

"With Nārada, the R'shi who first 'heard' the laws of music, are associated Tumburu, the first singer, and Bharata, the first to draw up rules for the drama, of which music formed a large part. Of Tumburu it is said that he increased the scale in which the *Sāmaveda* was chanted from five notes to six or seven. The treatise which purports to record the doctrine of Nārada, the *Nāradaçikshā* [illegible] is probably of late date (1000 A.D. ?) and gives no clue whatever to the achievement of the Nārada of legend. The treatise which bears the name of Bharata, the *Nāṭyaçāstra*, is similarly an eponym. One or other of these three names appears probably in every book on music that has been written, and the existence of the authors is held, though in complete absence of any specific doctrine attributed to them, as a pious belief..."

534 713 Among the Burmans the instrument of Guttila of the famous legend is a harp. Apparently it is a *vīnā*, according to Fox Strangways, "To the *vīnā*, the national instrument, there are so many references both direct and allusive, that it is difficult to choose. Perhaps one story, from the Jatakas, will be enough:

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A feeble musician, Musila (ဗုဒ္ဓိ) of Ujjeni, whose music on the *vina* was 'like scratching on a mat,' came to learn of Guttila (ဂုတ္တိ) of Benares (the Bodhisatta). Guttila's parents when they heard him said "Shoo! Shoo! the rats are gnawing the *vina* to pieces'. Guttila who, as Bodhisatta, was 'skilled in discerning from the lineaments of the body' said 'Go my son, this art is not for you.' But Musila got his way; and Guttila, the Bodhisatta who did not stint his knowledge, at last pronounced his pupil perfect. Musila pressed to be taken into the king's service. This was done; but the king awarded Guttila twice as much as his pupil. Musila protested, and forced matters to a contest, of which proclamation was made to tuck of drum. The Bodhisatta reflected that he was old, and that 'if he beats me, death in the wood is better than the shame which will be my portion.' So to the woods he went; but 'kept returning through fear of death, and going back to the wood for fear of shame,' so that 'the grass died as he walked and his feet wore away a path.' In his trouble Sakka, the king of gods, appeared. Guttila was to break, in the contest, one string after another. beginning at the 'beestring' and the music should be as good as before. 'Then you shall go on playing with nothing but the body; and from the ends of the broken strings the sound shall go forth and fill all the land of Benares for the space of twelve leagues.' All happened as was foretold, and the scholar, beaten out of the field, was stoned and torn in pieces by the populace..." 533 773

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So far the classics: Yet it appears that in the music itself there is as much evidence (if not more) of Chinese and Siamese influence as there is of ancient Indian influence in literature. I hope these influences will receive the attention of researchers in Burmese history. 533 171

As far as I am aware the Chinese influence seems to be the oldest. An unspoilt Burmese ear will catch Chinese cadences in any extemporization on the black keys of the piano in the truly old Burmese style. But that is no evidence. I quote J. Kunst[1].

"....This being granted, Prof. von Hornbostel has made a very important discovery, that the scales of very different civilisations and peoples are derived from this ancient Chinese cycle of blown fifths. All these scales are composed of a series of notes, ordinarily 5 or 7, which follow each other in the cycle in some kind of regular fashion.

1. *De l'Origine des Echelles Musicales Javano-Balinaises.* Conférence faite le 7 janvier 1938 à l'Institut Colonial d'Amsterdam. *In* Journal of the Siam Society, Vol. XXIII, pt., pp. 115-118. Translated by G. [114]

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533 171 On learning this remarkable fact, one will feel no doubt inclined to say: 'Quite so, but since the cycle is formed in a logical fashion by the application of the phenomenon of harmonics, is it not possible that the construction might also have been discovered elsewhere than in China, quite independently; in other words is it not possible that it may have a multiple origin?'

No doubt that would not be impossible in itself. But what is hardly believable is that not only should the structure of these scales be founded everywhere on the cycle of the blown fifths, but that all should start from the same fundamental note, that of the *houang tchoung* of 732 vibrations; which brings us back to the same conclusion that, not only the relative structure of the scale, but also the absolute pitch of the notes is the same in all cases considered. This circumstance eliminates the hypothesis of a series of coincidences: One is certainly dealing here with intercourse between people and people. For all we know, this intercourse may apply to the musical scales of prehistoric China, of Siam, of Burma, of Cambodia, to those of the African xylophones, of the pan-pipes of the Incas, to those of certain Melanesian, Polynesian and present-day Brazilian tribes. And it is intercourse of the same kind which one must concede, by virtue of the same arguments, to explain the Javano-Balinese scales, as we believe we have demonstrated by means of a number of measurements of sounds *De Toonkunst van Bali* II, Figures I-V and VII-XIX. It has been proved that the influence of the Chinese metrological basis, corresponding to the *houang tchong*—230 mm.—was used or is still used, everywhere independently of musical instruments and scales, in an enormous territory, stretching from Europe on the one side to South America on the other. Von Hornbostel, *Ueber einige Panpeifen aus Nordwest-brasilien* (*in* Th-Koch. Grunberg, *Zwei jahre unter den Indianern*), 1910; *id.*, *Ueber ein akustisches Kriterium fus Kulturzusammenhange* (*in* the *Zeitschrift fur Ethnologie*, 1911, p. 601 sqq.); *id.*, A brief summary of the theory of the blown fifths (*in Anthropos*, Vol. XIV/XV, p. 569-570), 1919-20; *id.*, An article treating with the metrical norm in the *Pater Schmidt Festschrift*, which will very soon appear. Recently appeared under the title *Die Masnorm als Kulturgeschichtliches Forschungsmittel.*

I hope those who are interested will be able to go farther into the matter with the works mentioned. I feel personally very much inclined to believe that the Burmese scale, whatever it may be now, was at the beginning founded on a pentatonic basis not very much different from the *kung*, *shang cho*, *tze*, *yui* of the ancient Chinese musicologists.

533 175 At this point I must draw the distinction between Burmese music as we know it and music which once existed in Burma now lost to us. Of the former the earliest mention was in connection with Mintra Shwehti's investment of Salin *circa* 1539 A.D. Of the latter the earliest mention was in the reign of Emperor Tê-tsung in 802 A. D. Mr. G. H. Luce says:

"In 791 K'o-lo-feng's successor, I-mou-hsün, attacked the Mang tribes. At the request of Wei Kao, the Chinese governor of Hsi-ch'uan, he sent a troupe of musicians, including Pyu, which appeared at the T'ang court in 800. This led the Pyu king, Yung-ch'iang or K'un-mo-chang, to send in 801-2 a formal embassy to China *via* Nan-chao; it included his younger brother (or son)

Sunandana, lord of the city of Sri, and also 35 musicians. Chinese texts give many details of the mission, and the *Hsin-t'ang-shu* in particular has a long description of Pyu music."[1] 533 175

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Yung-ch'iang also sent his younger brother, master of the city of Hsi-li-i, Shu-nan-t'o, to bring an offering of the music of their country. When they reached Ch'êng-tu, Wei Kao made a collection of their tunes, and considering their dances and musical instruments to be of unusual interest, he made pictures of them to send to Court. They have twenty-two instruments, made of eight different substances, to wit, metal, shell, string, bamboo, gourd, leather, ivory and horn: of metal, 2; of shell, 1; of string, 7; of bamboo, 2; of gourd, 2; of leather, 2; of ivory 1; and of horn, 2. They have four bells shaped like those of the Kucha players, three inches in circumference, with clappers fastened by leather. They sound them in time with the tune. They have two iron clappers, three inches and a half long, and two inches and a half wide, flat in front, but with leather handles at the back. These and the bells are decorated profusely with steamers of brocade. There are four conch-shells, the largest capable of holding about 1 pint (shêng). There are two flat harps; one is 10 ft. long and its belly is 7 inches wide. It has a phoenix-head with neck 2 ft. 5 in. long. The front is decorated with snake-skin. There are 14 strings. The tuning-pegs are on the neck, facing outwards towards the phoenix-head. The other flat harp has "branching pegs." 534 175

There are two lizard-head zithers. One of them is wholly in the shape of a lizard. It is 4 ft. long, and has four legs; the belly is hollowed out. The back and the front are decorated with lizard skin as far as the shoulder, which turns upward like that of the Chinese lute *Ch'in*. It is 7 in. broad; the belly is 8 in. broad, and the tail a foot or more long. On the roller in the empty space there is fixed a barrier upon which are stretched nine strings on each side, attached to eighteen pegs. The front of the other zither is decorated with various-coloured flowers; or as an alternative, covered with snake-skin. There is a dragon-head lute (*p'i-p'a*) which resembles those used by the people of Kucha, but the neck is more than 2 ft. 6 in. long, and the belly 6 in. broad. The dragons' head face each other. There are three tuning pegs and three bridges, with strings to correspond. Two of the pegs are on the neck and one on the throat. It has a cover shaped like a lion. There is also a cloud-head guitar shaped like the foregoing; but the face is decorated with snake-skin and the whole surface with ivory bolts. The head is shaped like clouds. On the top of the pegs are flowers shaped like the ideogram [illegible]. The three strings, the cover

1. In "Burma down to the fall of Pagan" B.R.S.J. Vol. XXIX, pt. 3, 1939.

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inches above and four below (?). The belly is nowhere larger than the top. It is made with three layers of snake-skin tied on with blue ropes. When they put it down, they do not keep the drum-skin tied on. The sides are painted with pictures of P'iao musicians holding mouth-organs and drums. There are four small drums like our waist-drums in shape, 5 in. long, only 3½ in. broad at the head, stretched with snake-skin. They have ivory nails and other ornaments; they have no handles and are shaken to mark the beat of the music. The "introducers" hold them. There is an ivory mouth-organ, made by piercing a gourd right through. It is lacquered; then two elephant tusks are put in instead of bamboo pipes. Both tusks play the note *ku-hsien*. There is a three horn mouth-organ, also made by piercing a gourd and lacquering it over; it is fitted with three bull's horns, playing one of them *ku-hsien*, the other two *nan-lü*. The horns are sharpened at the bottom and stuck through the gourd. The handle and mouth-piece are both straight. There is a two-horn mouth-organ of similar construction, *ku-hsien*. The gourd-part is ornamented with coloured designs. 534 175

The names of their twelve tunes are:— 533 175

(i) "Buddha's Seal." In P'iao it is called *mu-t'o-mi*. The natives and Indians sing this song when they minister to the king.

(ii) "Praise of the *sāla* flower." In P'iao it is called *lung-mang-ti*. The natives make clothes of this flower, thinking that it purifies their bodies.

(iii) "The white dove." In P'iao it is called *ta-tu*. They admire the way in which the bird flies or stops, according to its fancy.

(iv) "The white crane's rambles." In P'iao it is called *su-man-ti-li*. It says that when it soars it touches the sky and when it walks, it steps sedately.

(v) "The fighting goat's victory." In P'iao it is called *lai-nai*. Once there was a man who saw two goats fighting on the sea-shore; the stronger thereafter saw the weaker one enter the mountains. The people of the time called it *lai-nai*, which means "the pomp of victory."

(vi) "The dragon-headed single lute." In P'iao it is called *mi-ssü-mi*. It has one string, but all the five notes complete: which signifies that a king of kings by his single virtue nourishes ten thousand countries.

(vii) "*Jhana* concentration." In P'iao it is called *ch't-lan-shih*. It tells how one who quits the world, becomes solitary and quiet.

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The above seven songs, when sung or danced, all follow the *huang-chung-shang* mode.

(viii) "Sweet Sugarcane King." In P'iao it is called *o-ssŭ-lüo*. It says that Buddhists are as sweet as sugarcane, the flavour of which pleases everyone.

(ix) "Peacock King." In P'iao it is called *t'ao-t'ai*. It tells of the brilliance of its plumage.

(x) "The wild goose." It says that, flying or standing, these birds are always in pairs : so comrades must all forgather.

(xi) "Banquet Music." It is called in P'iao *lung-ts'ung-wang-mo*. It says that tunes of peace are excellent for banquets and meeting together.

(xii) "Washing care away." It is also called "the reed-organ dance." In P'iao it is called *hu-na*. It says that from tune to tune one washes away one's cares and anxieties and this song takes one's fancy.

The above seven tunes are in one or other of the scales of *huang-chung* ; one is in *huang-chung shang* (the *i-yüeh* mode); one in *lin-chung shang* (the *hsiao-chih* mode).

The musicians all wear K'un-lun dress, covering their loins with red cotton cloth (*tieh-chao-hsia*) which they call *jung-man*. They wear *chao-hsia* across their shoulders; on their legs and arms they have golden, jewel-studded bracelets ; they wear golden head-dresses and ear-rings. They use a string or sash to thread flowers in order to make a headdress. They use two hair-retainers decorated with down. Before the dance begins the "introducers" come forward and explain its meaning. The dance-movements follow the music. The number of dancers used is 2, 4, 6, 8 or 10. They all wear jewelled caps. When the tune is over, they bow. Their songs were translated at fifth hand.

The Emperor Tê Tsung made Shu-nan-t'o an Officer of the Stables *t'ai-p'u-ch'ing*), and sent him home. T'ang Tz'u, Governor of K'ai-chou, made an "Eulogy upon the event of the P'iao offering music," which he laid before the Throne.

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One wishes that all this had not been lost so completely. Siamese influence is of course much more recent. There were two conquests of Ayudhya (ရိုးရား *Yodaya*); the 1st by Bayinnaung (1551-81 A.D.) and the second by Hsinbyushin (1763-76 A.D). The latter was the more important because the conqueror not only brought back enormous numbers of prisoners of war but managed to hold Siam in subjection for a few years. Mr. Stewart, writing on the Burmese stage[1] remarked "Entertainers of all sorts were

1. Journal of the Royal Society of Arts, Vol. LXXXVII. No. 4516. The Burmese Stage

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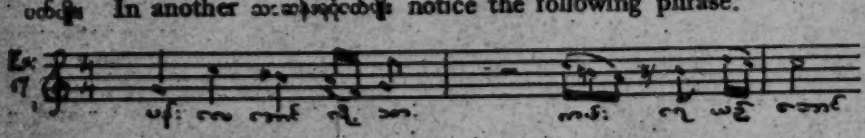
deported from the conquered country to Burma, and these included actors capable of performing dramas, of which the prime favourite in Siam was the Rāma play.." He restricted himself to the stage only. What was true of the entertainers was true also of artists, craftsmen, musicians, sculptors, even games and confectionery. It was at that time that our cultural store-house was filled with Siamese loot. And at that time there lived a remarkable adaptor, creator and preserver of music, in the person of Myawadi-wungyi U Sa (1766-1853 A.D.) whose incredibly long life was filled with literary, dramatic and musical activity. There does not seem to be any kind of song which he has not written. Popular belief attributes to him no less than 200 *patpyos* ပတ်ဗျိုး alone.[1] All the *patpyos* in *Enoung Zat* are his. Our most famous *Htumachana thachingan* ထုမရုဏ်းသံချင်းဒီ is his. Our present harp with 13 strings instead of 7 was also his. Our *Yodaya* ယိုးဒယား songs owe their establishment as a principal section in our classical repertoire entirely to the tireless adaptation into Burmese of every kind of *Yodaya* song he and his collaborator ဝန်ကြီးမင်းသား could lay hands on. If the second conquest of Ayudhya was the single event, U Sa was the single person responsible for the energising of the body of our music by a liberal infusion of Siamese blood. Not content with adapting Siamese melodies, U Sa is reputed to have adapted certain slow measures of Christian sacred music ဘုရင်ရှိခိုးသော်ကြီ which he heard from early Roman Catholic missionaries in the beginning of his ဆရာသုံးယောက်ခန့် ပတ်ဗျိုး In another သားဆန်းရုံပတ်ဗျိုး notice the following phrase:



He was already experimenting with the Western Leading-note. The first B at ဆောင် is the flattish Burmese seventh, whereas the B's in the following bar at ထမ်း and ဝေ are really the Western Leading-notes only a semi-tone distant from the Tonic. It is impossible to be certain, but it is highly probable that it was then that an advance from the pentatonic basis was achieved. For even as late as Bodawpaya (1782-1819 A.D.) according to the great harpist U Phoo Gaung, U Sa himself was still playing on a harp with only 7 strings, until his royal master asked him if he could not do better than that, when he fashioned the harp as we know it, with 13 strings and a gamut of nearly 3 octaves.[2]

Under the circumstances mentioned above it is inevitable that the Siamese scale too came to Burma, to stay. The question is whether the Burmese adopted the Siamese scale or adapted it to

1. *In* U Nu's ဘဝတစ်ခုမှတ်တမ်း Sun Mag. July 1959.

2. Although there are only 13 strings, the intermediate notes are obtained by 'stopping' the open strings with the tip of the fore-finger of the left hand.

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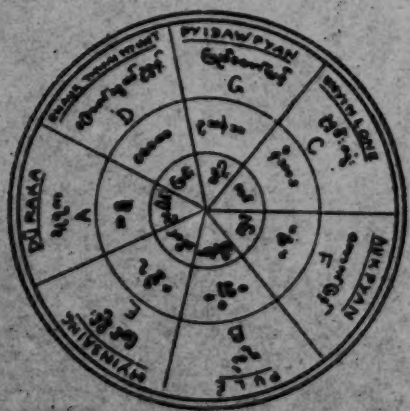
their needs. The only clues that can lead to an answer to this question exist in the chart *La Planche-I* appended to J. Kunst's article. The measurements of the Siamese scale were taken from Stumpf's *'Tonsystem und Musik der Siamesen'* p. 137; and the measurements of the Burmese scale, presumably the only scientific measurements ever taken, were from Von Hornbostel's *Ueber ein akustisches kriterium für Kulturzusammenhänge*, p. 613. The Siamese scale attracted also the attention of Prof. F. Max Mayer of the Missouri University, who, in his article *Musician's Arithmetic*[1] seemed fully convinced that the Siamese equal tempered 7-tone-scale and the Javanese equal tempered 5-tone-scale with the western chromatic scale were the only equal tempered scales in the world. Kunst, however, refuted that theory towards the end of his article in the Journal of the Siam Society:—

> "Sometimes it seems as though they meant to create an equigraded scale (5 x 240 C.), but most of the scales measured had one degree greater than the others. [Kunst's *De Toonkunst van Bali*, Vol. II, tables II, IV and V] in conformity with the hypothesis propounded above.
>
> "Furthermore, the famous tonal plan of the *saiet* is based—and the Slendro too—on the particular position in the scale of intervals having different dimensions, in other words: an equigraded scale (of which one uses all the tones in one and the same composition, as always with the *Slendro*), is, if I am not mistaken, incompatible with the pure nature of Javanese melody."

That disposed of the theory of the Javanese equal tempered 5-tone scale. Unfortunately, Kunst did not deal with the Siamese scale at all beyond supplying the measurements. And of these measurements, those of the Burmese scale by Hornbostel certainly look as though it was an equal tempered 7-tone scale. There was no sign of the existing sharpened Fourth.

Diagram 1.



Diagrams of changes of key prescribed by the classics go right round the octave in a succession of underfifths without such means as the black keys of the piano [*See* Diagram 1]. Indeed U Ba Choe mentioned, in his [illegible] one song (long forgotten), a *kyoh* [illegible] which modulates (?) into all the 7 keys.[2]

1. University of Missouri Studies, Vol. IV, 1929.
2. U Ba Choe has rediscovered it, and when we investigated its changes of key on the piano, we found that it went the round of 12 keys; C—F—B flat—so on, back to C major.

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If ever true modulation into all the 7 keys were possible, it must have been at the time of U Sa, employing some such scale as Hornbostel's *echelle birmane*. Was the Burmese scale pentatonic in origin? Did it adapt itself to an equal tempered seven-tone scale from Siam towards the end of the 18th century? Did the intervals then become less and less equal until they nearly approximated to the Chinese scale of Mr. K. C. Hsiao, presently to be quoted, with an indeterminate Fourth and Seventh? How did this indeterminate Fourth and Seventh come about? These are questions to be settled by future more competent research. I shall however quote the very significant remarks of K. C. Hsiao on the present day Chinese scale.[1]

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"....The true cause seems to lie in the incorrect intonation of modern Chinese instruments, incorrect in the sense that the intonation has deviated from the theoretical intention of the scale construction.

Let us take up the keyless flute and find out what sort of scale it produces. This flute is virtually the standard pitch pipe[2] of the Chinese ensemble..... By careful experiment it has been found that the fourth and the seventh of the scale thereon are both "neutral," that is, the fourth is neither a half-tone above the third as in the European diatonic major scale, nor a full tone above it as in the theoretical Chinese heptatonic scale, but is just about mid-way between the third and the fifth, and the seventh is similarly mid-way between the sixth and the octave. It becomes at once clear why Chinese instruments sound impersonal or neutral or out of tune .....

The true reason for the incorrect intonation of the existing Chinese instruments cannot be stated with absolute certainty. The most probable reason is this: During the Yuan dynasty both the neutral and sharp F were used.....But the production of both these chromatic tones could not be done on the flute except with the assistance of special key devices unknown to the Chinese instrument makers or with boring the second and fifth holes counting from the lower end, larger than the rest. It was possible at that time when both f and f-sharp were in use to bore the holes on the Chinese flute so as to enable the player to produce the notes when desired by a definite system of fingering such as now used by western fife players. But with the coming of the Ming dynasty, this whole system transgressing the pentatonic scale was officially abolished.

Musicians then and therefore did not have to bother at all about producing f and f-sharp, and following the law of supply and demand, the flute makers undertook to make flutes that could not produce either f or f-sharp accurately, *but had more uniformity and symmetry in their appearance by boring all the finger holes of the same size and with a minimum variation of distances from each other*[3].....If a player who had bought the flute cared to produce all the tones on the instrument, what he got was naturally a scale with neutral fourth and seventh, agreeing neither with the European diatonic (with the perfect), nor the Chinese heptatonic scale (with the augmented fourth). The same thing was then applied to the playing of stringed instruments.....to be in tune with the wind instruments.

1. *Chinese scale theories*. Appendix 6 to *The Musician's Arithmetic* by Prof. Max Meyer in the University of Missouri Studies, Vol. IV, 1929. pp. 113-6.

2. Like the Burmese oboe ḃ (hnè)

3. See Diagrams 2 and 3 of the Burmese oboe ḃ (hnè) and tables 3 and 6.

Opposite Page 400)

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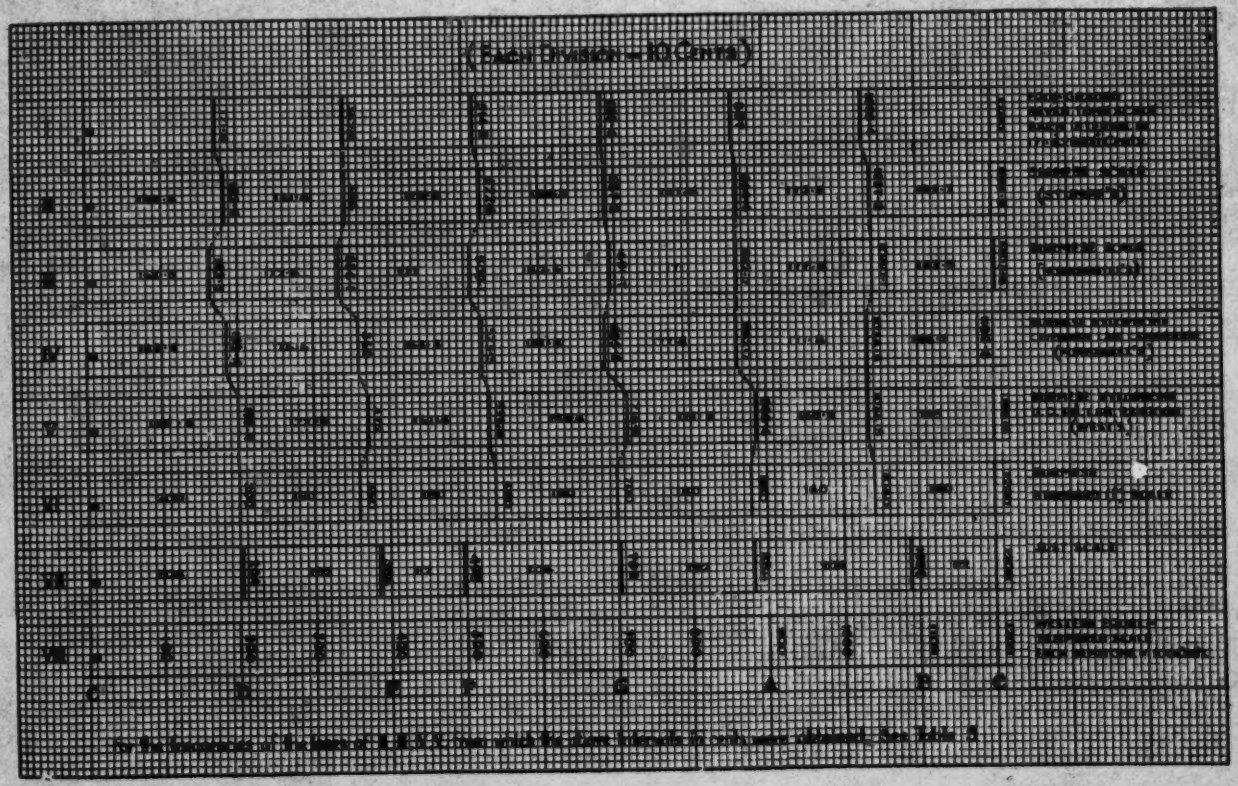
CHART SHOWING THE PROBABLE EVOLUTION OF THE BURMESE SCALE



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....Nowadays in certain localities of China, the performance of music has come to be looked down on as a menial and unscholarly vocation.... although this aversion is not universal in China, music has been intellectually neglected for a long time. As a result music has become unmusical in China. And this in turn has increased the contempt in which it is held by the educated classes. It is a vicious circle.".....

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I would not have allowed myself to be thus catapulted into the problem of the Burmese scale were it not so necessary to emphasise the very sharp line of demarcation between classical evidence and musical evidence. Too long have we taken shelter behind the façade of ancient Indian culture.

[114]

With regard to the most important real evidence of the written records, what have we to rely on ? Only one MS in *parabeik* form—[illegible] *Naralikha*. U San Win himself pointed out that no other Burmese work on Burmese music had ever been known to exist. Until one has seen that *parabeik* one would be foolish to talk about the Burmese scale with any conviction. The best that can be done is to proceed from the known to the unknown and talk of clues rather than discoveries.

If it were possible, a scientific survey of the principal Burmese musical instruments should establish the one Burmese scale which is common to the whole country, or rather to which all the scales all over the country approximate. Everything about us is approximate. Our tunes, having no notation, are always at variance. Western people talk of our lack of method. Yet....

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"The elements of tone and rhythm have been combined and recombined, and have left the theory a tangled mass of forgotten systems and the practice an ineradicable instinct. The veneration for the past because of its remoteness, the mental attitude which looks away from the categories of time and space and turns its attention upon the essence of the thing itself, the faith which links the present closely with the time when the gods walked the earth and still points to the visible imprints of their feet—all these have united to personify every element of their music, and piously to preserve names and attitudes which have long lost their meaning; so that much of the theory is clear only to those who can read myth. Nor on the practical side has extemporization, as it is understood, been learned in a day, nor even in the life-time of any individual.....But it is age-long practice rather than memory which has placed at the command of the best singers that inexhaustible wealth of variation with which they make a melody their own, that gift of improvisation which takes on an epic quality, as all crafts do that are handed down from father to son. To walk on the Old Trunk Road is, it has been said, to step into a chapter of Genesis; and in the same way we catch, in these immemorial cadences, the very spirit of the rhapsodists of Homer. Their music is old, but with an age like the eternal youth of Greece, not with a second childhood like the stereotyped formulas of the Troubadours."[1]

1. Fox Strangways' Introduction to *Music of Hindostan*.

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PART II.

Science and the Burmese Scale.

Technique.

Speculations and Suggestions.

The following tables were made possible by Professor West and his Staff in the Physics department of University College, who measured the *pattalars*, *hnès* (oboes) and the *palwé* (bamboo pipe) in their laboratory. Having measured the frequencies of each tone on the sonometre the intervals between each tone were calculated in cents, the octave having the value of 1200 cents. 533 534

Formula: 3986.314 (log 423—log 385) *i.e.* To find the interval in cents between Frequencies 423 and 385—

2.6263	3.6006	
2.5855	2.6107	
0.0408	2.2113	Antilog 162.7 cents.

Table 5

FREQUENCY FIGURES

(from which the intervals in Cents were calculated.)

Siamese Scale (Stumpf's).		Burmese Scale (Hornbostel's).	Burmese Xylophone (Furnivall's).	Burmese Xylophone (West's).
D¹	(846)	672	946·9	1048
T	(770)	611·6	870·2	952·6
L	697	552	787·5	875·6
S	629	500	710·9	792·9
F	572	450	647·4	713·2
M	516	408	589·1	649·8
R	470	(369·25)	532	588
D	423	(336)	478·6	524

(Figures in brackets are obtained by multiplication or division of the original figures by 2.)

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Table 2.

COMPARATIVE TABLE OF INTERVALS IN CENTS. (C=Doh)

	Frequency Ratios.	Just Intonation	Meantone		Equal Temperament		Hornbostel's *echelle birmane*		West's Measurements of Burmese *Pattalat*			Comparative Intervals between each note		Siamese Scale
		Intervals Cents.	Intervals Cents.	Errors Cents.	Intervals Cents.	Errors Cents.	Intervals Cents.	Errors Cents.	Intervals Cents.	Errors Cents.		Hornbostel	West	Cents.
												Cents.	Cents.	Stumpf
C	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	C	163·5	199·4	182·6
D	9:8	204	193	11	200	4	163·5	40·5	199·4	4·6	D	172·6	172·6	161·4
E	5:4	386	386	0	400	14	336·1	49·9	372	14	E	175	161·4	178·6
F	4:3	498	503	5	500	2	509·1	11·1	533·4	35·4	F	182·6	183·4	164·6
G	3:2	702	697	5	700	2	691·7	10·3	716·8	14·8	G	171	171·8	177·4
A	5:3	884	890	6	900	16	862·7	21·3	888·6	4·6	A	177·4	145·9	172·6
B	15:8	1088	1083	5	1100	12	1040·1	47·9	1034·5	53·5	B	162·5	165	162·7
C	2:1	1200	1200	0	1200	0	1203·6	3·6	1199·5	·5	C			

Figures in these columns are corrected figures. In *Siam* Vol. 2, p. 195, W. A. Graham says "The Siamese gamut consists of seven equal intervals each of which is exactly 1 5/7 semitones . . ." *See* folding Chart.

BURMESE MUSIC.

Table 3.

Table of actual figures.

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Pulut
Burmese
Bamboo-pipe
(Ring-stopped).
Measurements in inches.

Total length ..	9¼
Mouth end to languette	2¼
" " to tone-hole	3¾
" " to thumb-hole	5
" " to top hole (Upper F)..	4¼
Distance between each of the seven holes ..	¾
Diameter of the pipe ..	9/16
Diameter of the smallest top hole ..	3/16
from which the holes gradually increase in diameter to the largest bottom hole (Lower F) ..	5/16

Intervals in cents	Frequency
	433·7
173·4	
	383·7
183·4	
	354·2
230·4	
	310
157·9	
	283
142·6	
	260·6
134	
	241·2
192·2	
	215·9

Pattalar
Burmese
Xylophone
(Bamboo)

	Frequency	Intervals in cents.
c1	1195	
		165·4
b	1086	
		183
a	977	
		173
g	884	
		155·9
f	808	
		190·1
e	724	
		147·1
d	665	
		163·5
c	605	
		171·4
B	548	
		162·3
A	499	
		175
G	451	
		115·2
F	422	
		181·3
E	380	
		162·3
D	346	
		247·2
C	300	
		254·3
B1	259	
		96 07
A1	245	
		109·6
G1	230	
		198·9
F1	205	
		131·5
E1	190	
		162·7
D1	173	
		251·4
C1	147	

(C = Doh)

533 534 How all the notes of the Burmese gamut behave will be seen from a glance at the table of actual figures. Table 3.

Originally, Table 2 was constructed from figures obtained by measuring the bamboo *pattalar*, whose actual figures are given in Table 3. Later, after measuring the brass *pattalar* the more correct figures were substituted in the columns of Table 2.

[For the time being I must let the figures speak for themselves making only one comment, that F[1] is indubitably sharper than F-natural, B flatter than B-natural, and G most nearly correct. It should be remembered that my *pattalar* may be anything but a perfect specimen.]

Long after the foregoing paragraph was written, at the instance of Mr. Furnivall, who pointed out the deficiencies of the bamboo *pattalar*, and who supplied the frequencies of the notes of his own *pattalar*, further efforts were made to obtain the measurements of the modern Burmese scale both on a *pattalar* and on the most characteristic Burmese wind-instrument, the *hnè*, *i. e.* an oboe. The *pattalar* (of brass) was carefully tuned by a professional Burmese musician and then measured together with the *hnès* in Dr. West's laboratory in the University of Rangoon. Mr. Furnivall's *pattalar* was measured in the Cavendish Laboratory, Cambridge. This is an older instrument than the brass *pattalar*, on which the scale is the scale of the present day. The Burmese scale of Hornbostel is still older, the source from which its measurement was obtained being "Zeitschrift für Ethnologie" jaarg. 1911, blz. 601 vv. The oldest of all available measurements is the Siamese scale of Stumpf from "Beitrage zur Akustik und Musikwissenschaft" Bd. III, 1901.

533 Thus, calculating from the given frequencies, the intervals in cents of all the scales have been plotted on graph-paper putting them in chronological order with the hypothetical equi-distant seven tone scale on top, and the just scale and the western tempered scale at the bottom for comparison. The result is a chart showing the probable evolution of the Burmese scale after its advance from the pentatonic basis. *See* folding chart.

Whereas the present western scale moved away from the Just Intonation *via* Mean Tone to its final drastic Equal Temperament into twelve semi-tones, the Burmese scale seems to have moved away from equi-graded seven tones to its present almost diatonic appearance. Being unchromatic it has to make one fixed scale perform the function of at least three so that modulation may be possible to some extent. Table 7 shows to what extent that is possible.

1. Here and elsewhere, except where otherwise indicated by the context, the names of notes merely indicate the relative position in the scale and have no reference to absolute pitch. Thus F here is Fah.

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Table 7

Showing the size of the intervals of the Standard (?) Burmese Scale with the tonic, dominant, subdominant and leading note as Doh. 5330

D 200 R 160 M 180 F 160 S 180 L 160 T 160 D.

Just Scale.		Tonic.	Dominant.	Subdominant.	Leading Note.
1200	D1	1200	1200	1200	1200
1088	T	1040	1040	1020	1040
884	L	880	860	860	860
702	S	700	700	660	700
498	F	540	500	500	520
386	M	360	340	340	360
204	R	200	180	160	160
0	D	0	0	0	0

There are errors of as much as 40 cents *i.e.* nearly a quarter tone. But then, Science has never come to the help of Burmese music. Writing has never helped to put Burmese music on printed record. An exact Burmese scale has never existed. Ear alone, and memory are its guardians. And the present enquiry will have come just in time if the standard (?) scale plotted on the chart with the hope of putting the Burmese scale on an exact scientific basis is found to be of any use.

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Table 6.

The scale of the Burmese oboes *hnè-gyi* and *hnè-galé* compared to the standard (?) Burmese scale.

Hnè-gyi Frequency.	Intervals.		*Hnè-galé* Frequency.	Intervals.		Standard (?) Intervals.	
			F1 889·2				
				185·8			
			M1 798·7				
				190·5			
			R1 715·5				
				161·4			
D1 572·8		1200	D1 651·8		1200	D1 1200	
	179·7			161·8			160
T 516·7		1020·3	T 593·6		1038·2	T 1040	
	159·1			186·2			160
L 471		861·2	L 533·1		852	L 880	
	179·8			179·8			180
S 424·5		681·4	S 480·6		672·2	S 700	
	140·3			134·4			160
F 391·5		541·1	F 444·6		537·8	F 540	
	178·2			186·2			180
M 353·2		362·9	(399·3)		351·6	M 360	
	199·4			189·8			160
R 314·8		163·5	(357·8)		161·8	R 200	
	163·5			161·8			200
D 286·4		0	(325·9)		0	D 0	

(Figures in brackets are obtained by multiplication or division of the original figures by 2).

The above table shows how the scale of Burmese wind-instruments disagrees with that of the *pattalars*. The finger-holes on Burmese oboes (*hnè*) have that "uniformity and symmetry in their appearance" which K. C. Hsiao deprecates. (*See* diagrams 2 and 3). He says that in China the resultant impersonal scale was applied to the playing of stringed instruments *to be in tune with wind-instruments*. Happily for the Burmese scale the measurements of the *hnès* and the *pattalars* do NOT agree—yet.

That is a hopeful sign that the impersonal scale, which is no more than the result of a lazy way of boring finger-holes on wind-instruments, has not yet usurped the true Burmese scale. This is the time to instruct the makers of Burmese wind-instruments to bore their finger-holes more faithfully to the Burmese scale and with less *uniformity and symmetry in appearance*. Either that, or adopt the diatonic scale entirely with all its advantages. 534 171

Actually it has been the Burmese oboists who have been keeping in tune with the other Burmese instruments by means of their wonderful expertness in lipping and blowing their inadequately bored instruments. To them a precision instrument like a modern European oboe with its mechanical keys is merely an impediment. The reed on their own instruments is everything, the system of holes a mere convenience. It is amazing how their *hnès* speak not from the bell but from the staple, and how they speak! My *saya* can obtain all the notes of the chromatic scale on his *hnè* following my western oboe note by note. 533 534

Diagrams 2 and 3 will show the different arrangements of the scale on *hnè-gyi* (big oboe) and *hnè-galé* (little oboe), the former beginning and ending with the tonic and the latter with the subdominant. That does not mean that we have tenor oboes, alto oboes, transposing oboes and so on. The arrangement is purely for convenience. The middle one of the finger-holes being the most convenient place for the most frequently fingered predominating note, on the *hnè-gyi*, which plays those tunes with the subdominant predominating, that note is placed in the middle. On the *hnè-galé*, which plays those tunes with the tonic predominating, the tonic is placed in the middle. The theory of the "predominating note" will be developed in the course of this article.

Diagram 2 (Hnè-gyi)

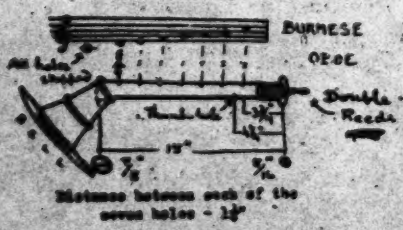
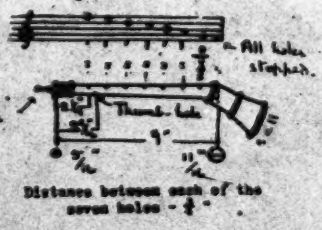


Diagram 3 (Hnè-galé)



The bell of this brass is hung loosely by means of cords. It is of no acoustic value and is often dispensed with. Hnè-gyi is used for grand style songs in the subdominant mode; and Hnè-galé for songs in the ordinary key of the approximate diatonic major scale. All the holes in both instruments are of the same size.

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533 [114]

Now comes the time to discuss the technical remarks of Mr. Paul Edmonds and Mr. P. A. Mariano mentioned at the beginning of this article. In Chap. VII of his *Peacocks and Pagodas* (Routledge, 1924) Paul Edmonds says:

> Hla Tin having fixed up his mandolin proceeded to play me a tune. The tune, he said, was the introduction to the "baw lè," and the "baw lè" is the tune to which all songs of a sad and plaintive character are commonly sung—though there is nothing about the tune that sounds sad to the western ears[1]. The short introduction was in two parts, the lower being a kind of rough counterpoint[2]. It is played at the beginning, between every verse, and at the end. I wrote it down on paper in western notation after several repetitions, (*See* Example 4), and upon examining the upper part, or tune, was interested to find that it was apparently in the pentatonic scale. I then successfully transcribed the "baw lè" tune proper, (*See* Example 6), but this was, I found, approximately in our ordinary major scale, and it was difficult to say for certain whether or not the tune had originally been pentatonic[3].

Paul Edmonds also examined the xylophone (*pattalar*), the drum-circle (*saingwaing*), and the gong-circle (*kyi-waing*) and said:

> The pattala, which seemed to be in the key of C, had an eight-note scale; but at first I was puzzled to classify it, since in the upper octave the note B was nearer to B-flat than to B-natural, whereas in the lower octave it was the other way about. How to account for an approximate B-flat in one octave and an approximate B-natural in the octave in the same instrument was a problem[4]. The note F in both octaves was indeterminate. It seemed to be about midway between F and F-sharp[5].
>
> This first suggested to me what I now believe to be the true explanation, which is that the pentatonic scale is the foundation and that notes have been roughly inserted in the two gaps between E and G and between A and C in order to make the scale approximate to the Western major scale. I was not sure of this at that time, but subsequent investigations confirmed it.

I wish Paul Edmonds had left a full account of his investigations. It would be a real service not only to future research but also to Burmese music. While heartily agreeing with him that the pentatonic scale was the foundation of the Burmese scale, I hesitate

---

1. No wonder. Hla Tin has spoilt the plaintive part of the tune with a variation: (*See* Example 7) the last beat of the third bar leading down to the tonic in the beginning of the bar following. These five notes are characteristic of the *baw-lè* cadence, and of the original Burmese tonality. Harmonically, they form the arpeggio of the tonic major chord with added sixth like the arpeggio ending to Grieg's *To the Spring* in F-sharp major.

2. P.E. apparently here refers to Hla Tin's thumb work. When playing the mandolin a Burman does not use the plectrum. Forefinger and thumb are employed, the latter to strike an occasional lower octave or the Fourth or the Fifth, or to help the forefinger along with the melody. The result perhaps often sounds like rough counterpoint. But the tune was certainly not in two parts. The division is of labour, not thematic.

[118] [119] 3. It could not be. *Baulè* is a very much later invention attributed to Hlaing-Hteik-Khaung-Tin (1835 1875 A.D.) an excellent summary of whose life translated by Nyi Nyi from the excellent series of short biographies of famous Burmese authoresses by Ma Ma Gyi, appeared in the *World of Books* Nos. 136-137. U Thein Han (Zaw Gyi) points out the germ of the *baw-lè* tune in the concluding part of a *patpyo* "ya-gon-myaing-gyar" attributed by some to Myawadiwungyi and by others to Hlaing-Hteik-Khaung-Tin's own mother Ma Mya Gale.

4. I would blame its maker. My *pattalar* reveals just the opposite.

5. It is still there.

to believe that the two notes he mentioned had been inserted in the way he mentioned. Hornbostel's *echelle birmane* stands in the way. Much more seems to have happened to the Burmese scale than the insertion mentioned by Paul Edmonds. To continue: 533 ●

> The tuning of the gongs, as I rather anticipated, was similar to the tuning of the pattala... ..The drum-circle, however, was tuned, I was excited to find, in the pentatonic scale; there was no F and no B, with the exception of an F in the top octave of all. (*See* Examples 1, 2, 3). My discovery of the pentatonic tuning of the drum-circle fairly convinced me that the pentatonic scale is, as I had already begun to suspect, the foundation of Burmese music. And when I came to re-examine the two tunes which I had thought showed no signs of pentatonic origin, I found one significant point which I had previously overlooked— all the cadences were pentatonic, and there was no cadence in which the leading-note B appeared as the penultimate note.

Examples 1, 2, and 3 will show that Paul Edmonds' tuning of the drum-circle does not agree with U San Win's. But that will be because the modern drum-circle has had added to it three more drums. And perhaps it has also become sophisticated, as oriental ears have unconsciously become with the western diatonic major scale. In the beginning the drum-circle was not even a circle. It was a semi-circle, called ကျွန်းစိုင်း (*ta-chan-saing*) half-moon-band, the tuning of which could not be but pentatonic, to supply the ground notes of the tunes. The most characteristic (*the first violin*), among Burmese musical instruments is the *hnè*, Burmese oboe, whose limitless flexibility of tone has now been overwhelmed by the blustering gusto of the completed drum-circle. (*See* Diagrams 2 and 3). Although only one octave is shown in the diagrams, notes of the octave above are easily obtained by lipping and overblowing. Actual blowing of the *hnè* in diagram 3 side by side with the modern oboe (new philharmonic pitch) shows that the lowest note of the *hnè* corresponds to the lowest A of the oboe, and the *hnè*'s highest practicable note corresponds to the oboe's highest E, *i.e.* third line above the treble stave. The natural scale of the *hnè* is D pitched one octave higher. 533 177

The *bawlè* Paul Edmonds heard might not have had any cadence which was not pentatonic. Nowadays it has too many things. Worse offenders than Hla Tin have with their variations, *fioritura* and *bravura* twisted its characteristic cadence out of all recognition. But there certainly are any amount of pentatonic cadences in Burmese music. In fact, an improvization strictly on the black keys of the piano sounds more Burmese than many a modern Burmese song.

His statement that the Burmese band, owing to the fixed scale of the gong-circle, always played in one key, C major—approximately, is very significant, though the reason, as will be seen later, 533

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533 may be other than "the fixed scale of the gong-circle." The absence of semitones or accidentals convinced him that modulation into other keys was impossible. On the other hand Mariano decided that there *was* modulation into other keys. If the original scale was not an approximate affair, and the keys into which modulation occurred were also not approximate, then of course no modulation would be possible without semitones or accidentals or equi-distant intervals. It is now Mr. Mariano's turn. I draw attention at this point to the classical diagram of modulation, or rather, the rotation of the position of *aṃca*[1] and to the examples of the tuning of some Burmese musical instruments, with acknowledgments both to U Ba Choe and U San Win. [*See* diagrams 1, 2, 3, 4].

Diagram 4.

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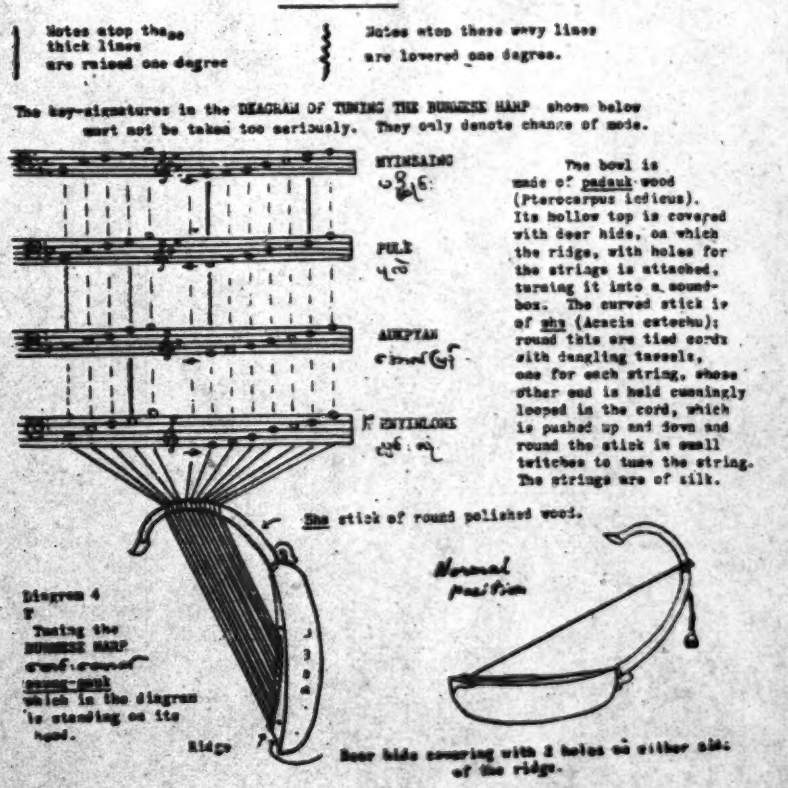

1. This word *aṃca* will be explained in the later pages.

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(412 a)

PLATE I

Tuning of the Burmese Saung Gauing (Bronze drums) according to Paul Edmonds. Total 18 drums.

Dito according to U Sein Win. Vol of Khyaung-Khwe-ché tuning

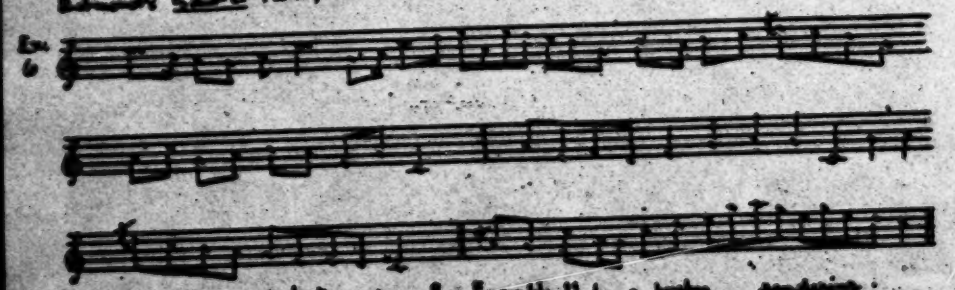
Dito. Dito. as used in Thein-Gi-Khin tuning

Pattala organs: (Bamboo Xylophone) and Kyauzaing (Bronze gong-circle) are tuned semitones, the former starting approximately of the second and the latter at the fourth degree of the bass clef.

Edmond's notation of Introduction (1 i.e. Interlude) to song and Bon-Ti.

The original from Atwe (Interlude. Mariano calls it symphony)

Edmonds Bon-Ti tune, unbarred and without time-signature.



For combination with the bass above. See Example 11 for a proper rendering.

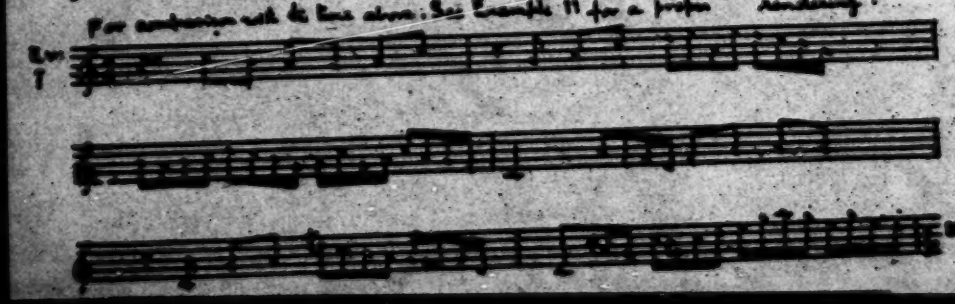


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PLATE II

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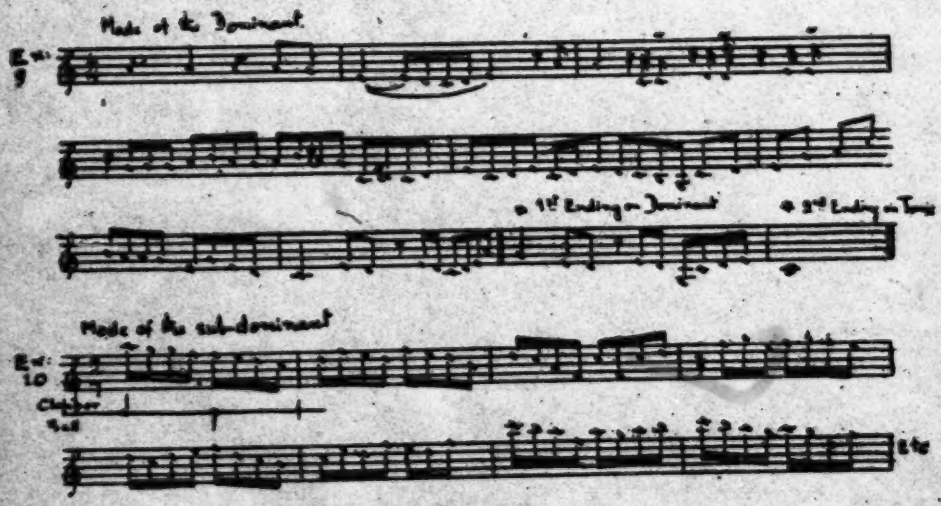

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PLATE III

Example 11.

Baw-li

Song with instrumental accompaniment

Adagio (♩ = 92) Clapton & bell as in Example 5.

Slowing down at the end

Voice

Instr.

Sighing fall. Dim.

Ex. Same Complete score of song for sitting down

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PLATE IV

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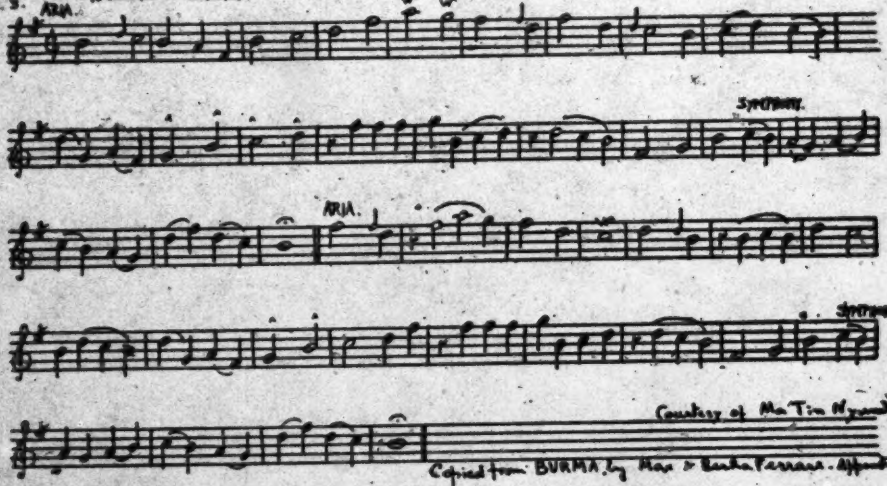
Mariano's notation of Nanthein-Yodaya. Example 11 a

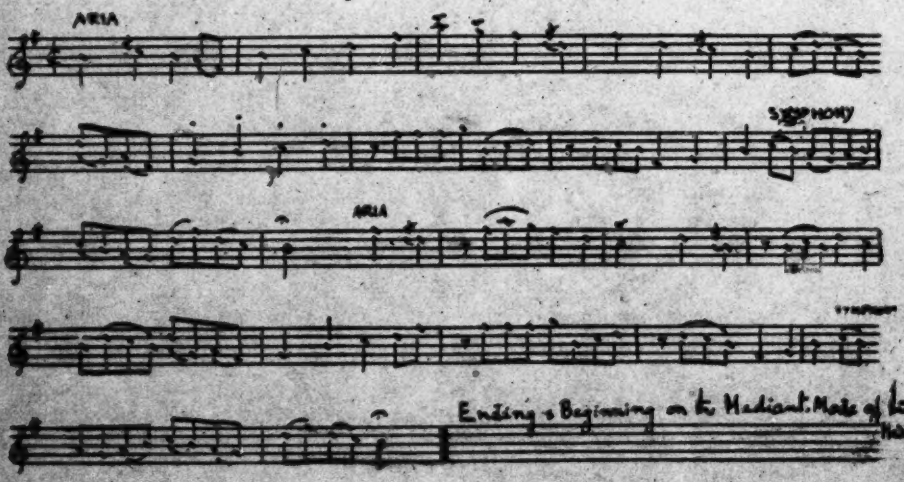
No. 3. ARIA. Moderate tempo.



Courtesy of Ma Tin Nyunt.

Copied from BURMA by Mar & Bertha Ferrars. Appendix.

Ditto. Different barring



Ending & Beginning on the Mediant. Made of the Mediant?

●533 [114] In appendix C to *Burma* by Max and Bertha Ferrars (Low, Marston, 1900) Mr. Mariano says :

> The fundamental pitch-note of Burmese music corresponds to our A-natural. Three kinds of scales are used. The first is the Doric scale consisting of the first, second, fifth, sixth and eighth intervals of the diatonic scale...

In example 7, I have drawn attention to the last beat of the third bar, which, with the first note in the bar following formed the C - E - G - A - C cadence so familiar to our ears. Unless Mr. Mariano meant the third instead of the second interval mentioned above, I am ignorant of the Doric scale he spoke of. In fact I have floundered among the Greek scales and the ecclesiastical modes of Europe in the hope of finding a short-cut to an explanation of the unchromatic Burmese scale. I fight shy of comparing the Burmese scale with the old modes of the West.

Mariano :

> The second is the Burmese diatonic scale, in which however, the Seventh is tuned flat by about a quarter tone. There are no flats or sharps in the Burmese gamut. Nevertheless changes of keys are not infrequent in their melodies. These invariably proceed from the tonic to the sub-dominant but without the introduction of the seventh flat, as there is no regular system of counterpoint. Here the advantage of tuning the Seventh somewhat flat is apparent, for it does duty as the Fourth interval of the new key. A change from the tonic to the dominant also sometimes takes place.

Mr. Mariano does not mention if it does so without the fourth sharp. Yet so it does by the help of the half-sharp Fourth which does duty as the Seventh of the new key. Mariano :

> The third scale is a kind of minor; it consists of the same notes as the major diatonic scale but it begins and ends with the third interval..

533 536 This scale is strictly speaking only a mode, the modes of the mediant (*see* Example 11*a*). There seems to be also the modes of the dominant and the sub-dominant (*See* Examples 9 and 10). Oddly enough the E-mode, which Mr. Mariano describes as a kind of minor[1], is commonly used in the happy lovemaking scenes [illegible] *hnitpathwa* in *pwès* where the Prince and the Princess dance and sing in this E-mode till, after about two hours, troth, has been plighted and, in the final bar of the last song, the voice without stopping at the temporary keynote E holds it for a moment and then slides *via* D down to the real old tonic C; this descent being the signal that the scene has ended. Mr. Stewart describes the scene better :

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1. "The Greek mode beginning with E was supposed to have manly and vigorous qualities."—R. T. White in *Music and its Story*.

533 536 The real hero and heroine—again a Prince and Princess—then come on, and with the aids of clowns in attendance on them, go through a stock scene which is known as "the plighting of the troth." In this a few words may be said about the plot, but it is soon forgotten and the scene consists of alternate or simultaneous singing or dancing, the Prince ardent, the Princess coy or perhaps provoking a pretty quarrel, with frequent interjections by the clowns designed to vary the entertainment and to give the Prince and Princess time to recover their wind. During this scene all the performers have been addressing each other by their real names, stimulating the orchestra to greater efforts, and occasionally making speeches to the audience. About two o'clock, after two hours of really hard work, somebody remembers that they had started with the intention of acting a play, and, with a few words as to the plot, the scene closes.[1]

533 I doubt if discussion on Burmese changes of key, and modulation can ever be closed. My notes on the quotations from Mr. Mariano leave only one *bona-fide* key, the peculiar diatonic major key with indeterminate Fourth and Seventh both of which made it possible to change into approximate key of F and an approximate key of G. In the classical diagram of the circle of keys is set the prescribed circular succession of keys in under-fifths which (on the diagram) are identified with C F B E A D G C, but which, according to western musical theory, can only be C F B-flat E-flat A-flat D-flat G-flat C-flat, which is not by any means a circle.

Moreover, both U San Win and U Ba Choe state that nowadays only four keys are in use:—

C—ရှင်းဆဲ *Hnyinlone* for the oldest and grandest class of songs. ကြီး ဆုံး သီချင်းခန့်

F*—ဆောက်ပြုန် *Aukpyan* for songs not so old and grand, and ritual songs ဝတ်ပြုမှု ကောဇာတတ်သီး ကောဇာတွေ့ကတင်း etc.

B*—ပုလဲ *Pulè* for Siamese, Talaing, *Bawlè* and new songs. မိုးယောင်း တရိုင်း ဆောလမ်း ရေးသစ်သီချင်း

E*—ဗျင်းရိုး *Myinsaing* for *Taydat* (sonnet-like songs) and *Dainthan* တေးထပ်း ရှစ်ထပ်ဆင်ပေါ်ရှိ ရိုးသား

*Presumably

It is hard indeed to settle out of hand such questions of fundamental importance as keys and modes and modulation, especially when a western language and terminology have been found to be inadequate to represent the musical phenomena of the East. (*See* Fox Strangways on the translation of RAGA on page 4 of this article.) One does not make pronouncements on one's own responsibility knowing very well that the proper thing to

1. *The Burmese Stage*, in the Journal of the Royal Society of Arts. Vol. LXXXVII No. 4516.

be done is a thorough examination of the whole question by a conclave of experts who combine a knowledge of Burmese music with a knowledge of western musical theory. The matter is now extremely urgent. Burmese music seems to be dying out. Perhaps I may be permitted to leave about some threads which will lead future more competent research to their final unravelling. I only hope that the urgency will be recognised and early efforts made to begin a proper study of the music of the country. 533●

I have reduced Mr. Mariano's three kinds of scales into one *bona-fide* key—the peculiar major diatonic scale with indeterminate Fourth and Seventh within which there are changes—of key? of mode? I shall not say at present.

With the classical circle of keys I shall deal later.

The four keys still extant, as set out by U Ba Choe and U San Win are presumably the keys of C, F, B, E, in which different prescribed classes of Burmese songs must be played or sung, and in the prescribed order. It would not do to play a *yodaya* or a *bawlè* in immediate succession to a *kyoh* A song from the *patpyo* class must be the next to follow. Otherwise the new song will jar on the ear. All this is perfectly true. The puzzle is this: **When discussing the laws of Burmese music does the word 'key' in its strictly technical sense apply?** I have met with many difficulties because I have so far been using this word with its strict musical denotations to represent a musical phenomenon which may be, so far as I know, represented by either one or all of the following three:— 533 [101]

1. Actual change of key.

2. Change of mode.

3. Change of 'tessitura'.

Again 'tessitura' is not quite right for the Sanskrit word *aṃça* Hearken to Fox Strangways, "What gives its peculiar flavour to a melody..is the position of *aṃça*. Round it, and round its consonant or correlative (*saṃvadi*)—a note at the distance of a Fourth or a Fifth from it[1]—are grouped the phrases of the song. They derive their meaning, their point, from their relation to it. It is easy to see that the character of a phrase would completely alter according as the *aṃça*, the salient note of the scale, were made the salient note of the phrase, or not. The *aṃça* may be any place in the scale not excluding the keynote or drone-note. The first section of the

1. In Burmese music, more often a Fourth than a Fifth.

● 533 tune usually circles round the *amça* and the second round its consonant. Aesthetic effect of a high or low *amça* is quite different, and in this respect the *amça* and all that it implies may be compared with what we know as *tessitura*, though that is rather a 'range of notes,' whereas the *amça* is a single note. Over against *amça* stands the drone-note, or keynote. **These two notes divide between them the function of our tonic."**[1]

I shall leave it at that. The last sentence is significant not only because it may lead to a solution of our whole problem, but because it reminds me repeatedly of what my Burmese *saya* said to me once about the playing of the *patpyo* ပတ်ဖျိုး In these songs the tune seems to circle continually round the dominant and almost end with the dominant but that the main song *must* be followed by a postlude သဖြန် (*thaphyan*)[2] in free time which is the means of effecting a return to the tonic. I asked him if the *patpyo* ပတ်ဖျိုး was not in the key of G, and why was I not using F-sharp instead of F-natural ? He said that it was not in the key of G ; the tune only kept hovering round G ; and it had to come back to the keynote C. "သံပုန်ခဲ့ ဖြိုတော်င်း ရတယ်။ ပေါင်းဖိုလှ ဆင်းမှန်တယ် " That was why a *thaphyan* post-lude must invariably follow a *patpyo* ပတ်ဖျိုး That was also why the Prince, at the end of the plighting of the troth scene, did not end the last song with the mediant but held it for a moment in order to return to the old tonic C. Now, were the dominant and tonic of the *patpyo*, and the mediant and tonic of the troth-plighting songs " dividing between themselves the function of the tonic ? " Was a similar thing happening when the *Hnyinlone* ညှင်းလုံး class of songs were being played ? The key was C-c, but the sub-dominant F often seemed to be the tonic. Were C and F also dividing between themselves the function of the tonic ? Can it be that in reality the key is only one in every case, an approximate diatonic major ; only the position of the *amça* is changed; and the terms *Hnyinlone* ညှင်းလုံး, *Aukpyan* ဓားတန်ဖြန်, *Pulè* ဌလဲ, *Myinsaing* မြည့်ုင်း apply not to four different keys but to the four different methods of tuning the Burmese harp for the sake of convenience in playing the four different classes of songs; and therefore are not to be identified with the keys of C, F, B, E, but rather with the four different positions of the *amça* in the four classes, *viz.*, *kyoh*, *patpyo*, *yodaya*, *tédat*, ကြီး ပတ်ဖျိုး ထိုးရသား တေးထပ် ?[3]

I will leave these questions to be answered more authoritatively. I did carry out one experiment.

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1. *Music of Hindustan* Chap. XII.

2. သဖြန် is a corruption of သံ *than* (sound, or note) and ဖြန် *phyan* (unravel) *i.e.* restore the function of the tonic to the tonic proper.

3. *Amça* can then be translated as " the predominating *Degree* of the scale."

Burmese pianists, who do not want to be bothered with the black keys of the piano have their piano tuned, as they say, 'in the Burmese way' *i.e.* with B flattened and F sharpened by about a quarter tone, and E very slightly flattened. 5330

Then, they play all their songs with C as the keynote, but always in obedience to the prescribed order of the classes of songs. I used to think that it was because that method of tuning enabled them to modulate from C to G or F and back again without using F-sharp or B-flat. That was only partly true. They tuned their pianos in their own way not only for the sake of modulation but to make their own songs still sound Burmese in their ears. Everybody, including Fox Strangways, realises that western keyed instruments spell disaster to oriental music. The tuning of the piano in 'the Burmese way,' seems to be a desperate effort on the part of Burmese pianists to preserve the tonality peculiar to their songs.

The experiment was to watch a Burmese pianist playing on my piano (which is not tuned in the Burmese way) a representative song from each class of songs in the prescribed order of succession, to see whether she did or did not play all the four songs in one and the same key *i.e.* of the approximate C major. She did. I asked her if she always played all Burmese songs with C as the tonic on other pianos? Yes, except on pianos tuned in the Burmese way with D as the tonic[1] In table 4 are tentative identifications of the keys used.

There is no doubt whatever that something like modulation occurs frequently not only in changing from one class of songs to another but in one and the same song also. The question is: *is* it change of key? The peculiar nature of our scale, the fact that it is no longer equal-tempered, and our lack of a chromatic scale, forbids us the use of that word in its strictly technical sense. Then, shall we call it change of *aṃça*? That is a Sanskrit word. Perhaps there is a Burmese word for it in the �cos *Naralékha*. Where is the *Naralékha*?

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1. That is in order to raise the pitch. And also perhaps because the Burmese players of string instruments have the tonic on the open third or D-string. Most Burmese violinists and mandolinists tune the four strings A-D-A-D instead of G-D-A-E. The latter even remove from their instruments the frets for what are known as the 'black' notes of the chromatic scale; to them they are unnecessary. In the tuning of the drum-circle (*Saing-waing*) and the harp (*Saunggauk*) it will be noticed that there does not seem to be any change of key, the changes being only of the degrees of the scale. *See* Examples 2 and 3, and Diagram 4.

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Tentative identification of Burmese keys.

Table 4.

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Key.	Amça.	Class of songs.	Harp Terms.
C	F.	ကြီး ဘွဲ့ သီချင်းခန်း *Kyoh, Bwè, Thachingan*	*Hwyin lone.* ညှင်းလုံး
	G	ပတ်ပျိုး လောကနှင်ကဲ့ ထေးထွယ်ကဲ့ *Patpyo etc.*	*Aukpyan.* အောက်ပြန်
	E	သမ္ဘာထားကမ္ဘာ ကမ္ဘာ *Troth plighting, etc.*	
	?	တလိုင်းသံ ယိုးဝယား ဒေးသံ *Yodayah, etc.*	ပုလဲ *Pulè*
with	F sharp	ဘောလယ်ကား သမ္ဘန်ကောလယ်ကား *baw-lè*	
F	with B flat	တေးသမ်ား ရှမ်ဆယ်ပေါ်ကား *Tedat, etc.*	ဗဒ္ဓ ရှင်ကား *Myint Saing*
	B natural	ဆယ်ဆယ်ရောင်ပြာ ဖန်းသံ also ဘောလယ်ကား *I. ainthan,* also *Baw-lè*	

BURMESE MUSIC.

As for the classical cycle of keys, diagrams of which appeared both in U Ba Choe's article and U San Win's book 2, both U Ba Choe and U San Win quote authoritative verses from classical literature (*Nātakaratanakosa* နာဋကရတနကောသ) but regret that not all the keys mentioned are in use in this decadent age. With due reverence for the classics I shall assign these verses like Ruskin's works on art and Pater's, to literature. It is becoming increasingly difficult to fit classical theory with the actual music. Whereas our classical literature came *en masse* from ancient India along with Buddhism many hundred years ago our music seems to have come from the east. Indeed one class of songs *yodaya* ယိုးဒယား came *en masse* from Siam less than two centuries ago. Music is the last thing that could have come with Buddhism. It seems to have developed quite independently of classical literature. In fact Burmese poetry *linga* လင်္ဂ *alankara*) is quite distinct from Burmese song (*thachin* သချင်း) and from both stands massive and remote the Buddhist literature of the *tripitaka* in the Pali language. 533 178 101 [779] [538]

What seems to have happened is that while the elegant royalty and courtesans in the palace were delighting in the intricacies of Burmese versification with liberal infusion of both the Pali language and the Buddhist philosophy, music in its robust form was having its origins in animistic ritual (နတ်ပွဲ), in the village when somebody was giving alms and in the paddy-fields when the transplanting of the seedlings were in progress. For the former we have *Byaw*[1] (ဗျော) stick-struck drum songs, and for the latter we have *Bonshay* (ဘုံဆေ) long-drum or *kauksaik* (ကောက်ရိုက်) transplanting songs. *Kyoh* (ကြိုး) that most ancient class of Burmese songs also must have been in the beginning a labour chant for concerted action that germinated in ancient row boats, grew into a boat-song, and then developed for royal ears into its present high order of melodic and literary grandeur (*vide* the royal barge songs: ကောင်ဆိုက်ကြိုး when the barge makes port, ကောင်ဝင်ကြိုး when the barge is being towed out by rowers in open boats, ကောင်ထောကြိုး when the barge is underway[2]. The cadences of these still recall the rhythmic flash of wet oars in the sun. Thus Burmese music had as its sponsor the rustic festivals and the occupation of the hewers of wood and drawers of water, and not the Church as 533 178

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1. ကရေးကရားတိုးရာပွဲနှင့်ရောပေါ်တ 'A dancer's life (or dancing) begins with a tray of lamana offerings (or *pad* marked by a central fire-bowl stand of plantain trunk) in a *byaw* music party. Till 1698 A. D. when the 8th king of the Nyaungyan dynasty ဇေယျာ *Sané Min* came to the throne there existed only intoned poems ရိုး ရေးတွဲ; but no real Burmese music. ကောင်ဝင်ကြိုးတမ်း by U Nu. Sun Magazine, 1938.

2. U Ba Choe told me that this was not true. This class of songs used to be played as accompaniment in the playing of the Burmese harp, when the pupil first learnt to pluck simultaneously certain strings (ကြိုး *Kyoh*). For a full explanation of it see ကောင်ကောဝ္ဘောတွဲ by U San Win.

●533 178 [179] in Europe. Indeed the Buddhist religion so frowns upon music that it was practised rather shamefacedly and its dèvotees are often called *Phet-khwet-sā* (Eaters out of leaves), *i.e.* vagabonds. Even so recently as last year a learned old Burmese gentleman loth to depart this life without imparting all of his Burmese learning concluded a series of Burmese articles on Burmese music and dancing with an apology for having at all indulged in such frivolities.

533 181 178 565 177 Music found in the irrepressible gaiety of the Burmese people a fertile soil and it let its roots deep into the soil, and soon from occupational songs music developed into an art-form which finally invaded the towns, the capital and the royal palace. There it received fresh impetus from a system of competitive patronage in which the king himself joined with his own band. There also, apparently it received its classical nomenclature. Names which sound imposing enough—[illegible] etc. *Svara*, *Mūrchana*, *Grāma*, *Çruti* etc.—but meant for quite different things, must have been borrowed in their entirety for the sake of their classical origin, so that the names were not in accordance with what they stood for, even as the Greek names, by which the western ecclesiastical modes were distinguished, were not in accordance with those of the ancient Greek octave system from which the names were taken. Thus it seems Burmese musical theory in the classical manner is a grafted dignity which dignifies but does not apply. Indeed it seems yet to be written.

533 However, to go on with Mariano: "Pure Burmese melodies are beautiful in themselves. But on account of the preponderance of grace-notes (mordente, acciaccatura, appoggiatura) Europeans find it difficult to catch Burmese tunes.". This is very true, but not true enough. Ornament in Burmese music does something more than preponderate. They themselves are an inherent part of the tunes. That is why when a Burmese song is taken down by a western musican and reproduced, the ornaments having been unappreciated and eschewed the 'tune' that remains no longer sounds Burmese. Fox Strangways explains succinctly:

> "We think of grace-notes as something which may but need not be added to the note, not as something actually inherent in it. If cultivated for their own sake or used at all in excess they are regarded by us as meretricious.....Indian 'grace' is different in kind. There never is the least suggestion of anything having been 'added' to the note which is graced. The note with the grace makes one utterance. The object of grace is, of course, to add importance to the particular note, but there are such varying degrees in which this may be done

13: Khin Zaw I-5 (no date) 1940 ~~AP1 Burma~~
Burmese AP4

that the whole system of *ga nak*, the general term for the thing becomes an elaborate vehicle of light and shade. It brings the notes of a melody, as surely as the various light and shade of a picture brings the contours of the face, from the flat into the round; which again is precisely what harmony does for them, by assigning to the successive notes varying degrees of consonance. There is an obvious reason for grace-notes wherever there is no harmony. For a melody is a sentence with important 'words' and unimportant, and grace-notes and harmonic texture are the only two things that can always be applied to enhance this importance. For stress and quantity, which serve this purpose in verse, are not so well adapted to music. Stress, which is additional volume, is difficult to achieve with low notes; and quantity, which is additional duration, alters the melody itself, imposing on ~~it~~ from without something which should come from within." 533

Although Burmese 'grace' may not be so elaborate or systematised as the Indian *gamak*, much of the above quotation equally applies to Burmese music. Much will have to be pointed out in notation when I deal with the problem of the 'writing' of Burmese music[1]. Mr. Mariano concluded: "It is a matter for great regret that the beautiful music which the Burmans unquestionably possess is being forgotten. The modern tendency is to imitate European and Indian themes, and the time is not distant when genuine Burmese music will be a thing of the past." 533 101

He wrote that 40 years ago. Nowadays, the gramophone record business has encouraged wholesale filching of jazz tunes, first divested of harmony and then re-dressed in an imitation of it, with Burmese words making ungainly efforts to step along side by side with the wholly unsuitable western tunes. Shades of Mariano! 533 178

It is a matter for rejoicing that a state school of fine-arts has come into being. How much more rejoicing there would be in the hearts of lovers of true Burmese music if the government, instead of merely opening a class for teaching how to play certain musical instruments, had seized upon the means of saving real Burmese music from oblivion. The implacability of business so far as gramophone records are concerned, the rapid deterioration of public taste pandered to by radio and gramophone, the invasion [207] [296]

1. A full treatment of Burmese grace with classified examples in staff-notation will require a separate chapter in the manner of the chapter on Ornamentation in Arnold Dolmetsch's *Interpretation of the music of 17th and 18th centuries*. For the present see specimens in the complete violin part of *Bur-12*.

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of western instruments and instrumentation, the ephemeral catchiness of jazz tunes—who, but the government can save Burmese music from the combined assault of these powerful forces?

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True Burmese music nowadays resides only in the memory of old Burmese musicians. And they are now too old. Their music should be recorded. They should be organised into a state orchestra and paid to broadcast selections from the classics at least twice a week. Their instruments should be measured and a standard pitch and a standard scale should be fixed and one complete set of Burmese musical instruments should be maintained and kept correctly in tune for purposes of research. The notation of the authentic ground patterns of Burmese classical songs should be undertaken. As an urgent preliminary measure U San Win should be subsidised to carry out his notation of the classics in his own style so that important classical tunes may be preserved for future more scientific notation and instrumentation. Above all, organised research into the theory of Burmese music should be instituted at once with suitable equipment and aid[1].

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1. I am glad to add that the Government has responded generously to the application of the Burma Research Society for a grant towards the recording of a representative selection of Burmese classical songs, verse-forms, and drum music, for the gramophone. U Ba Choe labouring mightily, twenty-three recordings have just been completed at a total cost of Rs. 6,250. A further grant has just been made by the Government to enable the Burma Research Society to send me on an errand collecting Burmese folksongs, if the University Authorities will sanction me leave. There is much yet to be done.

BURMESE MUSIC.

Part III

Notes on Time.

There remains the question of Burmese musical time. Both Mr. Mariano and Paul Edmonds wrote with enthusiasm on the strictness with which Burmese musicians kept time. Very few among Burmans do not know how to keep the tiny bell (*si* ꩜) and clapper (*wah* ꩜) going correctly when music is playing. A foot or a hand of listeners and players alike may often be seen beating time. That may be partly because we as a race find it impossible to hear music with stolid immobility. Partly, however, it is because our language is not accentual but tonal.....

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Rhythm in a language such as English is largely dependent upon differences of emphasis or accent upon the syllables in a word, and the words in a sentence. Differences of emphasis or accent do occur in Burmese, but not to the same extent; consequently emphasis or accent is not used very much, if at all, in the composition of Burmese verse.

Burmese verse depends rather upon the schematic arrangement of words with certain sounds recurring at fixed points. That is, Burmese verse has rhyme, but it has little or no accentual rhythm. On the other hand timing, especially such as depends upon the number of syllables pronounced in a given period and caesuras that mark the period are of greater importance in Burmese than in English. In Burmese singing the caesuras are even more important than the sets of syllables or words in each measure. *See*, the rests on the first beat of measures 1 to 8 (Example 11 Voice)[1].

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The singer keeps time with a pair of tiny bells (*si* ꩜) and a small clapper (*wa* ꩜) in his hand. The 'clap' coincides with each of the rests mentioned till the final note of the section when it coincides with the tonic.

Simple duple or simple quadruple is the usual time. In the duple the bell (O) and the clapper (X) go alternately. In the quadruple there is a rest (—) on one or the other of the middle beats.

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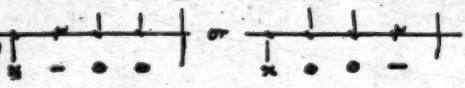
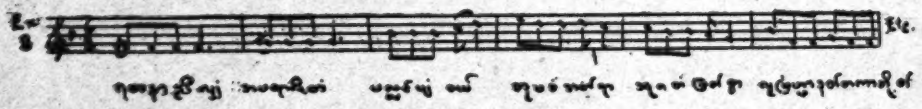
1. Had Mariano known the significance of these rests, which often marked the beginning of bars, he would have discovered six such rests in his own notation of Nanthein-yodaya in bars 13, 15, 23, 27, 33 and 35. Make two of his bars equal one, and halve the value of all his notes, and all becomes right. In barring, I often found that western musicians mistakenly listened for the accented note. Accented notes in Burmese music do not mark the beginnings of bars. They are merely emphasised or underlined notes. The caesuras are what should have been looked for. The Burmese equivalent of the strong beat at the beginning of bars is the beat, or rather the 'clap' of the clapper. *See* Example 11a.

533 Thus: Ex: 18



No great importance is attached to the variation. In one and the same piece of music the quadruple may sometimes change into the duple, or become faster or slower in accordance with the needs of the particular piece of music. But never must a musican get out of rhythmic time[1].

533 788 562 [178] So far as I am aware compound time does not seem to be used at all in music, though I detect signs of it in the congregational chanting of certain quasi-religious verses which used to be the rage among young Burmese ladies when Myawadi Phongyi was at the height of his singular career about 18 years ago.



I give in example 8 what I can remember of the verses I used to chant as the only boy among a sort of choir of young ladies. This particular verse pays homage to Buddha. But young ladies used to pay homage to his reverence too, kneeling down and singing his praise and wishing him long-life etc. Had I not been a sort of pitch-pipe I would have been as little tolerated in that beauty chorus as a bee in a bouquet.

533 Example 11 (ဆောင်းပါး *Baw-lè*) illustrates how the vocal part weaves in and out of (ဆင်ကြားမှုတ်) the instrumental part. Having no regular system of harmony or counterpoint the instrumental accompaniment to Burmese songs means something entirely different from what it means in the west. The instrument accompanies the voice with variations of the same tune liberally embellished. After each section the instrument plays a bar of interlude (ဆောင်) either to emphasise the close by repetition, or to link it with the next section. In Example 11, so far as the voice is concerned, the section ends with its last note (the tonic in bar 9). But the instrument postpones this final tonic for yet another bar playing the interlude which too ends on that tonic.

---

1. He is not *dead* in time like players of dance music. He keeps in time because he *feels* in time. One thinks of *Tempo Rubato*, but for its implication of virtuosity.

The 'instrument' may be any instrument. A melodic instrument will serve the purpose of notation better; for it will need only a single stave and thus provide a clearer and parallel reading. Anyway, a bass clef and a treble clef for Burmese instruments requiring two-handed playing will only mislead the reader. (*See* Example 12). As I have pointed out, the division into left-hand and right-hand is only of labour, not of melody and bass. A western notation of Burmese music will therefore be read horizontally, not from bottom to top. 533

Lastly it will be noticed that although the key is C-major, the Fourth (F) is generally sharp in this tune. It may be thought that F-sharp is used in order to approximate this note to the half-sharp F of the Burmese musical instruments. Not so. When playing other Burmese songs in C-major it is not found so often imperative that F-sharp be used instead of F-natural. If there *is* a second Burmese scale, such a scale as Mr. Mariano suspects to be a sort of minor, I believe this scale with the sharpened Fourth to be it. In the key of C with F-sharp the *bawlè* ဘောလည် is played. In the key of F with B-natural the *dain-than* ဒိန်းသံ is played. It remains to be discovered what other tunes are played in this interesting scale, a natural product of 7 pipes standing in hemiolic sequence of perfect fifths: C. G. D. A. E. B. F-sharp forming the diatonic octave C. D. E. F-sharp G. A. B.

The quaver rest in bar 8 of Example 11, vocal part is noteworthy. This rest is of supreme importance in the *bawlè*. Without this rest there can be no strategic in-breath at this point; without that in-breath there can be no sighing-out of the last notes of each section; without such sighing-out the *bawlè* ဘောလည်, which after all is a tuneful plaint, will be plaintive no longer, *bawlè* no longer. With that sigh this article ends.

I wish here to thank Ma Tin Nyun, L.T.C.L., whose teaching of music was so painstaking and sympathetic of my special needs that the lessons became a musical co-operation between East and West (such as Percy A. Scholes wished). And so the foundations were laid on which this article is a first attempt at solid building. 000

13: Khin Zaw I-5 (no date) 1940 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

JOUR. BURMA RESEARCH SOC. XXX, III, 1940.

THE WRITING OF BURMESE MUSIC.

533 The first question is should it be written at all? I am of opinion that for singing, for the voice, it will require a certain amount of temerity to note Burmese music. Fox Strangways says :—

> "It seems to us curious to draw a picture of a tune; but those who do so think not of a tune but of a mode. They conceive the tune as going in a general, not a particular direction. When a peasant sings a folk-song with six variations, he speaks of them as six 'ways' of singing it. And if you then sing him a seventh variation he accepts it, provided it is in the same mode (ဒီးလွတ်). Notation, therefore, would only hamper the unlimited power to vary. It would also be useless, because the songs are handed down and valued as being 'so-and-so's' songs, with, of course, all his idiosyncrasies and mannerisms, which could not possibly be noted.
>
> Grace, as a singer understands it, is the continuous flow of the voice round the graced note; and this is quite indefinable by notation which is confined to tones and semitones. Harmony, for which that notation is devised, abolishes mode; for, it in its prime, largely depended on minute difference in the 'size' of third, sixth, and other intervals. Mode depended also on certain points of rest, namely, on the pentatonic notes. Harmony can deal with these, certainly, and in doing so it takes on a colouring which has often a fascination; but it also defines what the singer left undefined; and thereby removes a certain wistfulness and charm. If there are any who doubt that charm, it is probably because they have not heard folk-song in its native haunts. Being itself a perfectly sincere thing, its charm does not survive publicity, nor the treatment of the song as something quaint, still less as something to be exploited. Folk-song is like a hedgerow flower, which when plucked, withers more quickly than one from a garden. If we were to get at its real beauty we must do with it what the singer himself has done—we must sing it all through and many times. Its merit comes from its having run the gauntlet of the best kind of criticism, that of the singers themselves. It has always been judged by results. If it did not move these singers, they either altered it or dropped it. It is, and can only be, the work of time."

That passage refers to the Indian folk-song, but applies to some extent to Burmese singing as well. In any performance of Burmese chamber music you will notice that the singer wields the time-marking clapper and bell (ဓ). That is not because the

13: Khin Zaw I-5 (no date) 1940 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

singer is the only person who has both hands free. It is because the singer is the most important person, who directs the progress of the song, controls its tempo, and decides its fate. There is no conductor in Burmese music. The singer fulfils some of the functions of a conductor. All the players must hearken to the 'clap' of the singer's clapper and go fast or slow as the 'claps' command. Restrict those claps either by metronome or notation and Burmese music is destroyed. The singer must not be note-bound nor time-bound. That is why the ꩜ (bell) and clapper are in the hands of the singer, whose 'claps' mark the first beat of every bar; all other players hearken to those claps. Therefore I am of opinion that the singer's part should not be notated. Let him or her still enjoy absolute freedom, his or her taste being the only master, and the criterion by which a musical performance shall be judged. 533

As there is no harmony, there is no three-part, four-part, quintet, sextet and so on. In fact strictly logically speaking Burmese music for instruments need not be written on more than a single stave. For instruments such as violin, pipe or *hnè* ꩜ (Burmese equivalent of oboe) it is simple enough, provided that the prospective writer of Burmese music knows not only all the resources of staff-notation but also the laws of Burmese musical time. It is not so simple however in writing for such instruments as piano or *pattalar* which require left-hand and right-hand parts. Pardon my use of the word 'part' here in its non-technical sense. The problem is to write for the left-hand and right-hand in double staves and yet show clearly that it does not mean melody and base nor two melodies; that the two parts are really one part, the division being only of labour not thematic; that both staves together make one utterance of one melody only.

Example 12 shows the melody separated into two parts—the right-hand part in the G Clef and the left-hand part in the F Clef. As the melody bestrides the two staves gaps are left inevitably in both staves. And these gaps are filled by a liberal use of rests—rests which do not mean that there is a rest in the music, but which are 'stop-gaps,' and therefore illogical. But *see* also Example 13. These rests can become tyranically omnipresent so that the melody is lost in a maze of rests. The next three examples show the evolution of a page of piano music for a Burmese song called [illegible]

Example 14 is a specimen received from an amateur musician, whose attempt at writing Burmese music is in the manner of the previous example. Because of the more intricate time-values the rests here are getting out of hand. The melody is well-nigh indistinguishable. A strictly logical representation of it would

533 resemble Example 15. But the music is still inconvenient to play from. The obvious suggestion is to put the time-strokes between the two staves. This suggestion came from a piano score of Debussy's " Jardine sous la pluie."

Debussy had different reasons, of course, for writing in that manner, the extended chords perhaps, his melody being picked out by added stems to the notes of the melody. In Example 16 however it is just the opposite. The whole thing being melody, only those notes not essential to the melody are given added stems. These added stems are also employed to give certain notes their full value. Since there can be no question of 'parts', this, the only possible method of writing Burmese music for the piano, seems the less objectionable.

As for Ornament, specimens are given written out in full in the complete notation of *Sein-chu-kya-nyaung Baulɔ̀* for the violin.

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(Opposite page 428)
428 a

PLATE V

Example 12

Pattala music for comparison with Example 13, in the manner of using rests.

533

R.H.

L.H.

Etc.

Example 13

8.

pp una corda (ad lib.)

poco rit.

pp a tempo

poco rit.

pp a tempo

poco rit.

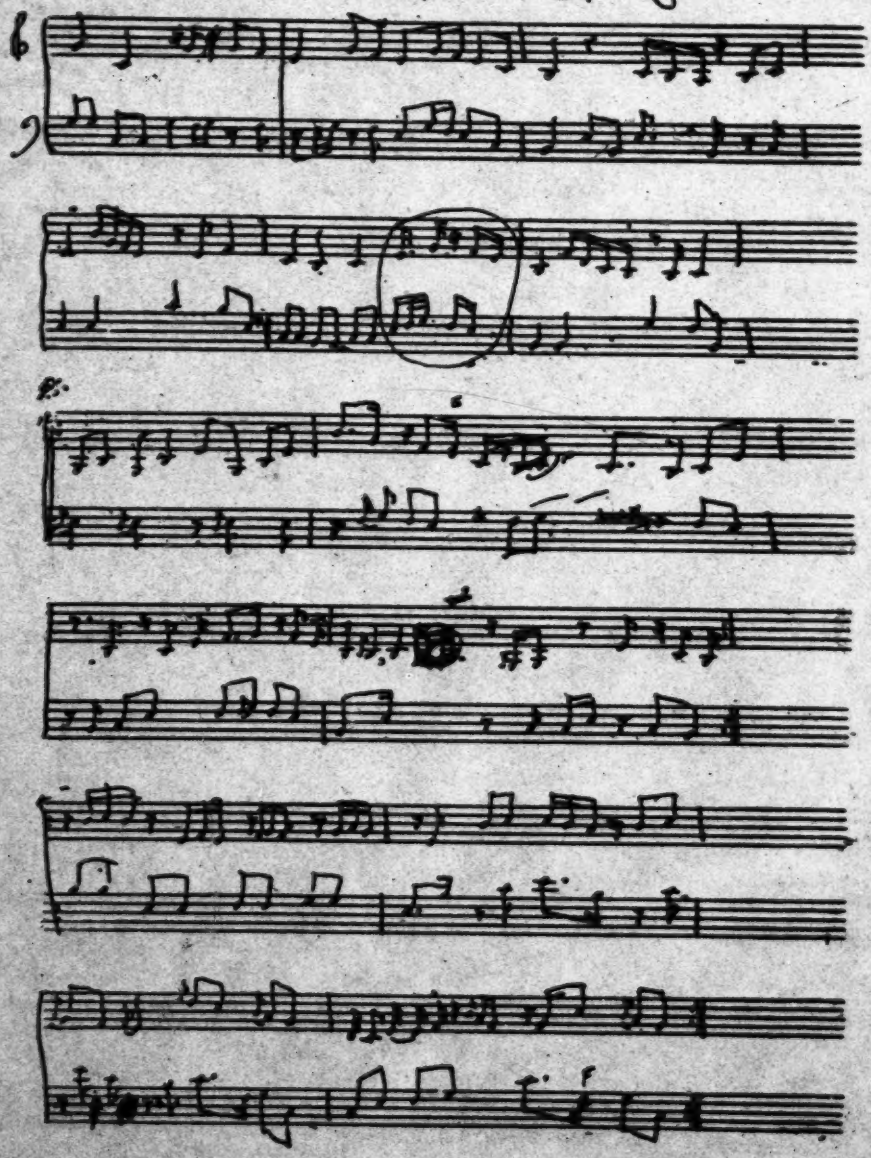
mf a tempo

13: Khin Zaw 1-5 (no date) 1940 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

(428 b)

PLATE VI

●533 Example-14 ကျွန်း: ကျွန်း: သီပေါ်: ကြွက်: ဖိုင် from Co Thant.



13: Khin Zaw I-5 (no date) 1940 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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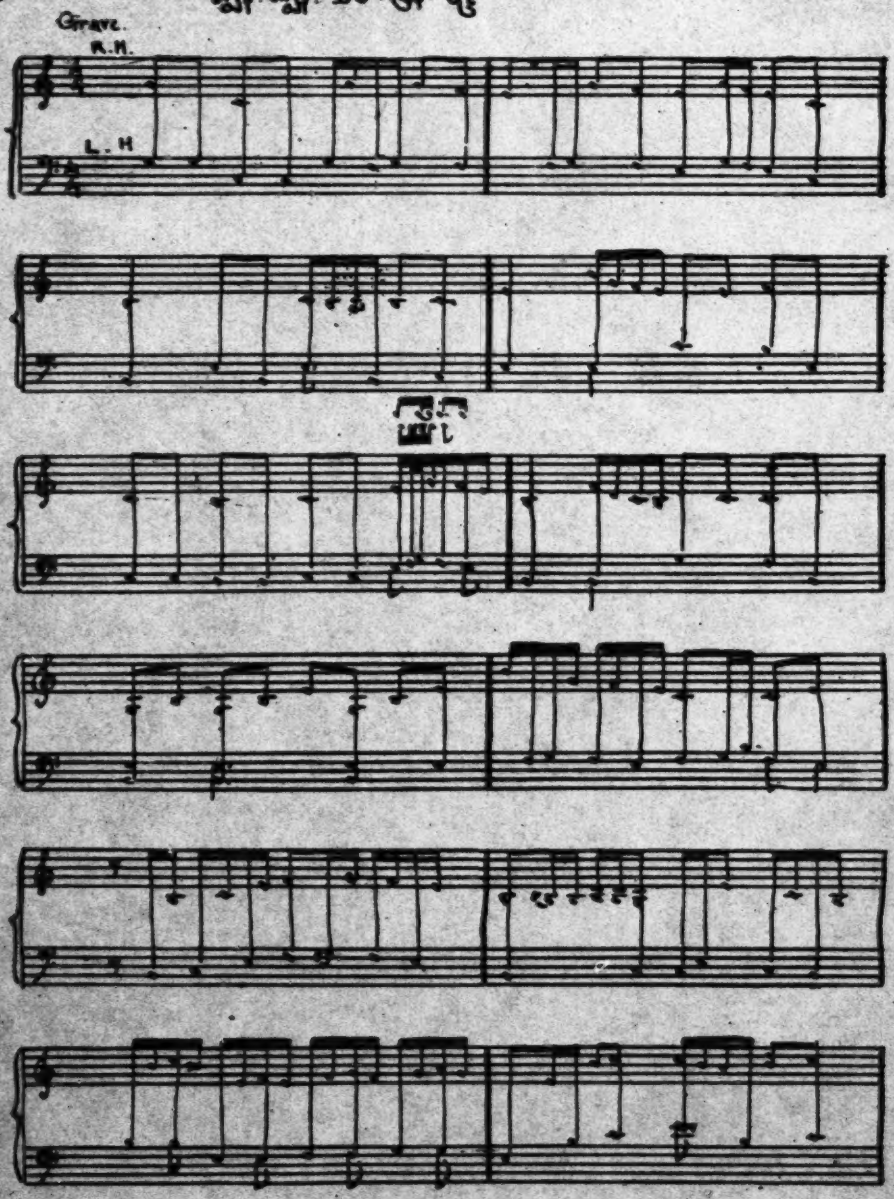
PLATE VII

●533 Example 15



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Burmese AP4

(428d)

PLATE VIII

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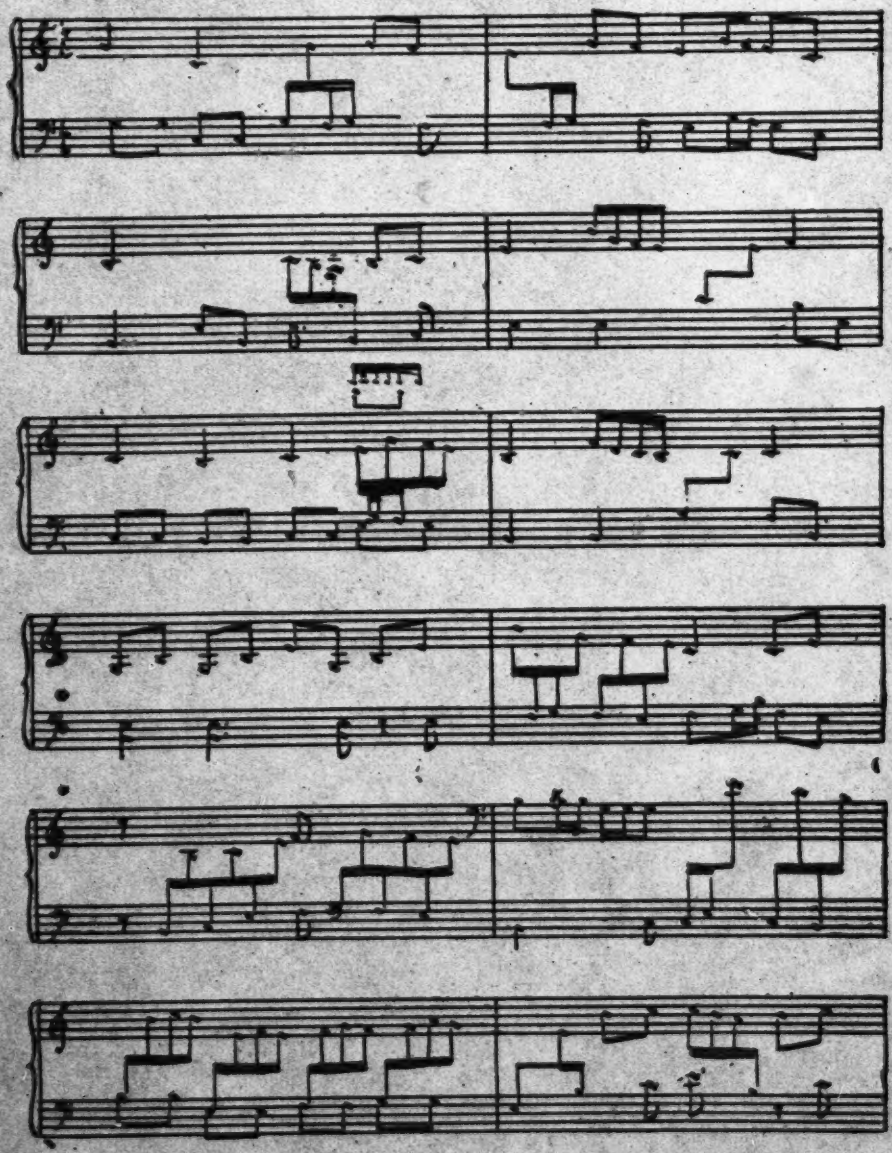
Grave

Example 16



NOTES ON PLAYING THE BURMESE CLASSICAL SONGS FROM STAFF-NOTATION.

533 The following four songs represent only four of the principal classes of Burmese classical song. *Pātpyo*, *Yodaya* and *Talaing* remain, not to mention the minor classes. The ambition of the present contributor is to leave at least one each of all the classes as well as folk-songs in staff-notation before either he or the songs disappear. Time, means, and opportunities are at present insufficient.

Before actually playing these specimens the following points will perhaps be useful:—

(1) Mannerism has to be firmly suppressed lest it should lend a western air to these oriental tunes. In order to avoid misleading the player attempt has been made to write out in full most of the ornaments. Trill has been introduced with misgivings. It is so rare in Burmese music. So is the pizzicato in the opening bars of the first song. The turns on the other hand are ubiquitous. But there are several kinds of turns as will be seen. Phrase-marks are given tentatively. It will be best to play as written without accent or style.

(2) The piano is not playing an accompaniment to the violin. Both should be equally prominent. The two together make one utterance of the same theme. Both will follow the singer, if there is one. The vocal part has to be entirely omitted because only a Burmese singer who has slaved at learning to sing by imitation and repetition will know how to sing such songs. If the piano sounds empty it must be remembered that not only do we have no chords but also U San Win has reduced the measures to the bare bones of simplicity. Any Burmese pianist will introduce any amount of personal *fioritura*, which is the reason why it is so difficult to decide which version of a classical song is the authentic one.

(3) The use of the Sustaining Pedal when playing Burmese music is highly objectionable. Oriental tunes are conceived in a single melodic line and the undue sustaining of notes never meant to blend together can only lead to confusion. The piano can be played loudly without the use of the "Loud Pedal" which after all is meant for higher purposes than mere loudness.

(4) It is not necessary to procure a bell and clapper. Snapping of the fingers will do for the bell and tapping for the clapper. But one person should be snapping and tapping right through a song except where time is *ad libitum*. If there can be no such person, a player must tap with one foot the 'claps' which

13: Khin Zaw I-5 (no date) 1940 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

533 fall on the first beat of the bars as written. There is no accent in the music. The 'clap' is the accent. In four-pulse measures one of the beats is a silence, as already pointed out in the article. It will go tap-silence-snap-snap; or tap-snap-snap-silence, according to preference.

(5) The violin parts may be taken by an oboe without hesitation. In fact they have been tried on both the violin and the oboe, and the latter seems even more suitable precisely because the western violin technique is as unsuitable as it seems ineradicable. On the oboe, of course notes lower than B below middle C will have to be played one octave higher. There are only a few.

(6) Performers who are not conversant with Burmese classical music are requested to start the second song ဝမ်းတေးတွင် at bar 11, marked "Var." because *tempo rubato* or *ad libitum* is customary at the beginning and end of most Burmese songs, and only Burmese musicians will know just how much liberty is to be taken with musical time. For the same reason the third song may be ended with the first note of the 56th. bar, immediately behind D. S. playing the postlude, if desired, as a coda.

(7) Western instruments like the piano and the oboe being keyed instruments and the Burmese scale being what it is, no amount of notation and annotation can reproduce the tonality peculiar to Burmese music. We will always find the result ဝဲ၏ *wè dai*—*i.e.* guilty of foreign accent. However, this point has been dealt with in the article.

(8) The fourth song is a complete rendering of the famous *baw-lè* ဘိုးလေးတေးကွေး without the piano part. It is an example of elaborate ornamentation and variation. For the sake of fidelity this and the preceding specimens in staff-notation have not been *arranged* in any way, although it would be possible to arrange them in such a way that ears unattuned to Burmese music could be tolerant to them, and yet they would in no way be deprived of their Burmese individuality—if one had sufficient time, means and opportunity.

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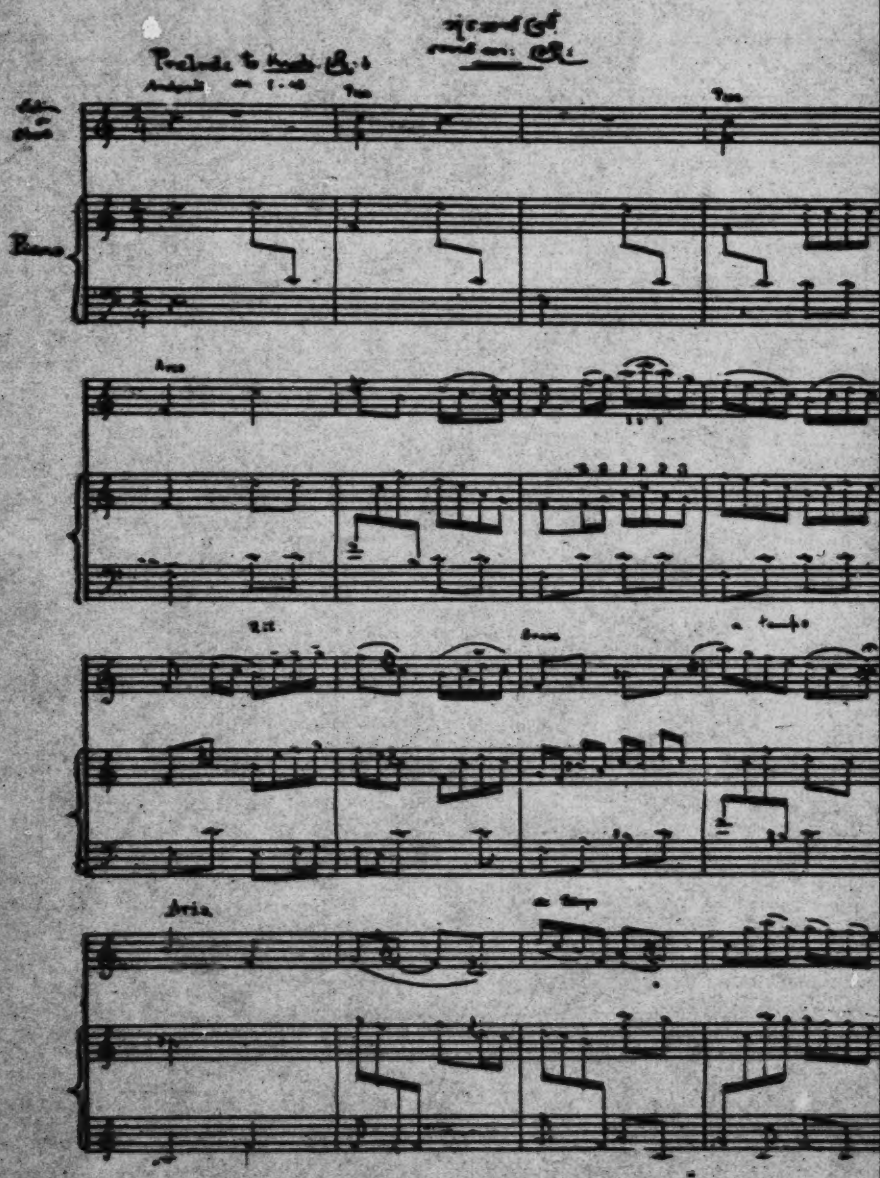

[Sample of Texts - rest omitted -- Analyst]

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

I have seen and heard so much of this love of women and of its tragedies. Perhaps it is that to us it is usually the tragedies that are best remembered. Happiness is void of incident. And this love may be, after all, a good thing. But I do not know. Sometimes I think they would be happier if they could love less, if they could take love more quietly, more as a matter of course, as something that has to be gone through, as part of a life's training; not as a thing that swallows up all life and death and eternity in one passion. 000

In Burmese the love-songs are in a short, sweet rhythm, full of quaint conceits and word-music. I cannot put them into English verse, or give the flow of the originals in a translation. It always seems to me that Don Quixote was right when he said that a translation was like the wrong side of an embroidered cloth, giving the design without the beauty. But even in the plain, rough outline of a translation there is beauty here, I think: 584 533

From a Man to a Girl

The moon wooed the lotus in the night, the lotus was wooed by the moon, and my sweetheart is their child. The blossom opened in the night, and she came forth; the petals moved, and she was born. 584 539

She is more beautiful than any blossom; her face is as delicate as the dusk; her hair is as night falling over the hills; her skin is as bright as the diamond. She is very full of health, no sickness can come near her.

When the wind blows I am afraid, when the

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

CHAPTER I

THE ORIGINS OF BURMESE DRAMA

1. Burmese Music and Dancing

I have said that no Burmese drama is to be found before the eighteenth century. The origins of that drama are to be found in the remote past of Burma's own national development, rather than in foreign importations or influence.

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533 ●
[177]

No doubt, Burmese music and dancing arose out of primitive religious rituals as in other countries. Society developed, civilization expanded, and contact with the Hindus and Chinese gave new ideas, but the native element always dominated, and the music and dancing remained, as indeed they still remain, essentially Burmese. In A.D. 800 when the Hindu expansion overseas was an accomplished fact, when the Hindu and Chinese civilizations had come into contact with each other, and when the rest of Indo-China had been drawn into the influence of those civilizations, Burmese music and dancing remained independent. In 800–2, when some parts of Upper Burma were under the nominal suzerainty of Nanchao (then a semi-independent State, now Yunnan), two Burmese deputations accompanied Nanchao missions to the Court of the Chinese Emperor, and the Burmese 'sang songs containing Sanskrit words and went through spelling dances, lining up in a pattern which read "Nanchao sends holy music!"'[1] The Imperial Secretary has left us a poem describing the occasion. The following is an extract:

> Music from the land of P'iao, music from the land of P'iao,[2]
> Brought hither from the great ocean's south-west corner
> Yung Ch'iang's son, Shunant'o.
> Has come with an offering of southern tunes to fête the New Year.
> Our Emperor has taken his seat in the courtyard of the palace.
> He does not press his cap strings to his ears, he is listening to you!

[1] G. E. Harvey, *History of Burma*, p. 14.

[2] The land of P'iao was the name by which Burma was known to the Chinese until the tenth century (ibid., p. 11).

21: Htin Aung . E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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At the first blast of the jewelled shell, their matted locks grow crisp.
At one blow from their copper gong their painted limbs leap.
Pearl streams glitter as they twist, as though the stars were shaken in the sky
Flowery crowns nod and whirl, with the motion of dragon or snake.[1]

The music and the dance were strange enough and pleasing enough for the Emperor to bestow minor honorary offices at the court on the leaders of the deputation. Burmese music and dancing continued to develop, and at least the music reached great artistic heights in the kingdom of Pagan, for the kings were its patrons; Alaungsithu, king from 1112 to 1167, was himself an accomplished musician, and introduced new notes and tunes. With all its developments, the music remained so national that when the great Anawrahta (1044–77) led a raiding expedition into Bengal and wanted to leave a sign that he had been there, he set up, not stone pillars as was the practice of most eastern kings of the period, but stone images of Burmese musicians. And when Alaungsithu, his grandson, later raided Bengal, he found them; and men say that the stone musicians played tunes as if they were alive, to the great delight of the homesick king.[2]

[101] Music and dancing could develop on their own without being overwhelmed by an already developed drama, as the Burmese did not know of the great Indian epics, the *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana*, or the Sanskrit drama and its kinsman the puppet show, although Java and the rest of Indo-China, through their Hindu colonists and kings, had definitely adopted the Indian epics and the drama as their own by about the sixth or seventh century. This absence of Hindu influence on Burmese music and dancing explains why the Burmese are the only civilized nation in the Far East who do not possess the fighting dance—the dance essentially connected with the great Indian epics.[3]

[1] The extract is taken from G. E. Harvey, op. cit., p. 14.

[2] Harvey, pp. 30 and 48; Tin and Luce, *The Glass Palace Chronicle*, p. 114. Alaungsithu was a great warrior and traveller.

[3] A fuller account of the Sanskrit drama and the epics is given in chap. ii.

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

644 They themselves took part in the production of *Rama*, though it seems
536* that most of the actors at the Siamese court were professional; but once the play had been well established in its new home, only professional actors took part in the actual presentation, for the prejudice against the actors and the acting profession was strong: 'actors and
● [533] beggars, eaters of food thrown away as waste.' Though the play was reproduced faithfully with all its dramatic qualities, the courtiers were more interested in the songs, which were new both in tune and in form. The *Rama* play at once enriched Burmese music and verse-forms. But the court did not at once realize that a new art had come. The Burmese equivalent of the English word 'play' was still uncoined. They called *Rama* a *zat*, a derivative from *Jataka*. *Zat* had by then come to mean a story; it could mean any story, though to distinguish it from a Birth Story, *hto-zat* (made-up *zat*) was used to denote a non-*Jataka* story. However, *zat* did not include fables or moral tales or legends and fairy tales. The Burmese interlude was without a name, and the courtiers realized the world of difference that lay between the *Nibhatkhin* and the Siamese entertainment. Therefore, the courtiers just called *Rama* a *zat*; the name suggested itself as they believed the *Rama* story to be a *Jataka* story.
536* However, when *Aindarwuntha*, the companion play to *Rama* at
178 the Siamese court, was later introduced to the Burmese court, the courtiers coined the term *nan-dwin zat* or 'palace-story', for that play had nothing to do with the *Jatakas*, and a new name was needed. When the *Rama* play reached the people, they thought it to be a specimen of the native *Nibhatkhin* or *Jataka*-shown-as-pageant and called it *Rama-khin* or *Rama*-shown-as-pageant. It was only when the native interlude had been moulded into a more developed art through the influence of the Burmese court drama that the term *pya-zat* (the equivalent of the English 'play') was introduced. It is of course impossible to ascertain when and by whom the word was first coined, but by U Kyin U's days, *pya-zat* or 'shown-story' had passed into general use.

To return to the court. The play was presented with Siamese (which were very similar to the Cambodian) dresses and costumes;
644 it was a faithful reproduction of the Siamese model. The introduction
536* of Burmese elements into the play through the professional actors was prevented by the tradition of rigid faithfulness to the Siamese model. The Siamese courtier-captives of course discouraged any interference with the form of their entertainment, which they took to

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

courtier later won fresh fame as a statesman and judge, becoming known to history as the Minister Myawaddi.[1] 644

As has been stated, there was at the Siamese court a companion play to *Rama*. It was known as *Aindarwuntha*. There was also a Siamese court romance of the same name and dealing with the same theme. Aindarwuntha was a prince-soldier, and he had two sets of adventures, one amorous and the other martial. Myawaddi was one of those who broke away from the tradition that the Siamese models at the Burmese court must be preserved without any substantial change. He did not want to have his hands tied through this tradition, and so he did not translate the play, *Aindarwuntha*, but translated instead the court romance. Then he dramatized the romance, and called his new play, not *Aindarwuntha* but *Eenaung*.[2] In *Eenaung*, Myawaddi rejects the heroic adventures and tells only of the hero-prince's romantic intrigues. 175 536* 538 177 536* 538

The play is far too long. The *Rama* play was long, too, and it took two or three days to present it entire. The court had all the leisure in the world. *Rama*, if translated, would require about 400 of these pages. *Eenaung* is longer; it would be about 600 pages. The play was written more to be read than acted, and as far as is known, it was never presented entire. Only some scenes were acted. The play on the whole is disjointed; it is merely a collection of scenes, connected only through the personality of the prince. As the adventures are purely amorous, there is no action at all. We are told occasionally that the prince has gone on a journey or that he has achieved a conquest, but the scene is always the palace. Following the Siamese style, music and song are important elements in the play, but dances and fine dresses are absent. It is not a masque. 536* [533]

The merit of the play lies in its language, dialogue, and characterization. It is the language of the court, refined and elegant as that of *Rama*. But a certain element of simplicity is in it, and it is not too rich in words or in imagery, so that the common people could understand and appreciate it; in short, the usual clear style of the author, which is the hall-mark of his other writings, is also found in this play. In dialogue, the play retains the freshness and liveliness of the *Rama* play. In characterization, the play is a great advance on *Rama* 536* 195

[1] An account of his career is given in G. E. Harvey, op. cit., p. 296.

[2] The play *Aindarwuntha* or *Eenaung* has been mentioned earlier in this chapter, on pp. 36 and 44–5.

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
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With all its faults, the play achieves what it sets out to do. It tries to compromise between the tradition of dramatic scholarship on the one hand, and the demands of the audience and the desires of the acting profession on the other. To make the compromise possible, Saya Yaw has to evolve a new interpretation of the old doctrine that the essence of dramatic technique was the logical and clear unfolding of the plot.[1] The great achievement of this play is in the way the songs and dances are knit into it. The characters sing only when they are very happy or sad, and special dances are brought into the play in a masterly way; the Shan dance is introduced through the incidents connected with the Shan merchants, and a *nat*-spirit dance through the device of making the sister such a spirit after death. The ending of the play must have satisfied both the audience and the actors. It was sentimental, pathetic, and strange enough for the decadent audience, and it afforded an opportunity for the actors to show some spirit-dancing—the basis of their profession. The lyrics and the poetical language of the play satisfied the scholar-dramatists and brought back the drama definitely to the old tradition.[2]

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3. *The Baboon Brother and Sister*

The History of Thaton was immensely popular, and it was produced repeatedly all over Lower Burma, and even troubled Upper Burma saw it performed sometimes. Within a few weeks of publication, 15,000 copies of the play in book form were sold. The figure was gigantic for those days, and the people were astounded. In spite of the fact that he was now looked upon as the greatest among contemporary dramatists, Saya Yaw wrote no other play. In fact, although there is ample evidence in the play that he was intimately connected with the drama and the acting profession, the *History* is the only dramatic work he ever composed. Many imitations of the successful play were put on the stage and published, but they were unworthy of their model, and the appetite of the public for the drama remained unsatisfied until U Ku composed *The Baboon Brother and Sister*.

[214]

U Ku was an able musician and song-writer. He had been connected with the drama long before *The Baboon Brother and Sister* (his first play), for he had been adviser to many acting troupes as he was a noted student of dramatic theory and practice. He wrote and

[1] This new conception of dramatic technique is considered in detail in s. 5.
[2] An extract from this play is given in appendix x.

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
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536* 534 462 463 part, although there was no stage convention preventing women from taking it up as a vocation. The head of the orchestra was also the head of the troupe. He was the most learned and experienced member, and he was responsible for the organization and financial outlay, paying more or less fixed wages to the others, and taking the profits himself. When engaged for a performance, the troupe was paid by public subscription or by some philanthropic person, usually an official, and therefore no charge for admission was made, all being [565] welcome to it. The Burmese actors as a class, unlike their Elizabethan counterparts who could endow a College of God's Gift or buy a coat-of-arms, were poor. But they never starved, for even the poorest villages would welcome and feed them on their wanderings all over the country. The troupe was one large family, and the children of the members accompanied it. In spite of the prejudice against them and their poverty, the actors loved their art, and enjoyed the performances themselves.

536* There were many conventions connected with the stage, and they can be divided into two classes: those imposed on the actors by themselves, and those imposed by the fear of becoming unpopular with the audience.

795 536* The actors never forgot that they were originally spirit-dancers, and therefore they had conventions by which they showed their indebtedness to spirit worship. Before the performance offerings of food were made to the thirty-seven *nats*. As a curtain-raiser, there was a performance by a dancer or chorus of dancers. Each wore a red cloth round the head—the sign of a spirit worshipper. Singing [533] invocations to the *nats* and dancing the appropriate dances, they asked for protection by the spirits, while the orchestra played a bar from each of the thirty-seven *nat* tunes. It was supposed that if this convention [751] was broken, disaster would befall the troupe, the performance would prove a failure, and the actors would become mad; but often these conventions had been known to be broken, accidentally or otherwise.

536* 463 554 The actors were looked upon as irreligious and immoral, and on the slightest excuse, they were in danger of being considered profane. Therefore, as has been stated, they took over the conventions from the *Nibhatkhin*. The Buddha was never impersonated, and an *arahat* [779] or saint only when absolutely necessary, and then by an able and 'serious' actor, who had to keep a fast that day. Not even a mild joke was to be made against the Buddha or an *arahat*, although even monks and the religion itself could be the butt of a clown's wit. But

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
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without ever knowing or caring for the European drama itself, the Burmese may have borrowed their puppets and puppet stage-craft, without ever caring for the shadow drama itself. Such borrowings were possible although the shadow drama itself never reached Burma, for Burmese trading or raiding expeditions were in continuous contact with Siam, and to a lesser extent with Malaya and the East Indies. 536 * 101 177

1. (*a*) The Burmese puppets are worked in delicate detail, and are similar in this and other respects to the Javanese and Siamese figures.

(*b*) But the Burmese puppets are worked by strings, whereas most other eastern puppets are moved by sticks from below. However, some puppets of India and China are stringed.

2. (*a*) The Burmese puppet show-men make offerings to the spirits before a performance. Such offerings are also made in Java before the presentation of a shadow play.

(*b*) But, although the offerings are not made particularly to the thirty-seven *nats*, it may be that the puppet show-men, who consider their calling to be just a branch of the acting profession, are only following the custom of the living actors.

3. (*a*) The puppet show begins with dances by animals, which are perhaps reminiscent of the Javanese 'fantastic vine' with birds and monkeys on it. A monkey appears among the Burmese puppets. [825]

(*b*) But Burmese folk feasts occasioned mimicry of animals, and that practice may have influenced the puppet show. Moreover, the Burmese animal puppets consist, in addition to the monkey, of the tiger, the elephant, and the horse. The *zawgyee* has no counterpart in the Javanese show, and the Burmese show has no bird puppets.

4. (*a*) Burmese women are not admitted to membership of a puppet troupe, and are not allowed to step on the puppet stage, even when no actual performance is in progress. Is this reminiscent of the Java show, where women are not allowed to see the actual puppets perform? [462]

(*b*) But the practice may have been only an attempt by men to reserve the profession for themselves.

5. (*a*) An appropriate tune to identify a new animal puppet is played in Burma. This is perhaps akin to the Javanese practice of identifying a new figure that has entered by the orchestra playing a special tune. [533]

(*b*) But the practice of identifying a new scene (which is almost the same as identifying a new figure) by an appropriate tune has always existed in the performances of living actors, and the puppet show-men may have borrowed it.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

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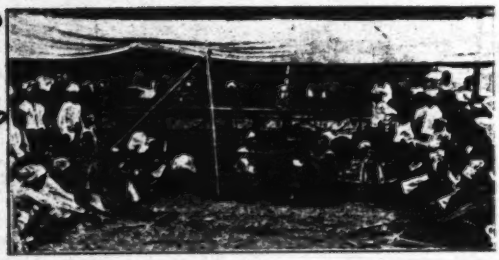

393. MARIONETTE PLAY.

foreigner, preferably from Europe, is brought on the scene. Peals of laughter proclaim these interludes from afar. The troupe of four to eight actors and actresses are paid thirty to sixty rupees a night, according to their celebrity and the distance they come. The cost of the whole entertainment, which everybody is free to attend, is defrayed by the household that gives the *pwè*. Occasions for *pwè* are *shinláung fêtes* and other domestic events, such as the completion of a new house, or the dedication of a *kyaung*. At general festivals, subscription *pwè* are organised and are free to every one. The actors of the *zappwè* are professional, but in the *hanpwè* or *yein-pwè*, the performers are amateurs; this is already implied by the large number of performers. One or two dozen young girls of ten to fifteen years go through the postures of the Burman dance in time to music, all dressed uniformly as princesses or in some other fancy costume. This entertainment is given by day; it is the most beautiful sight in the country. The simultaneity of the movements even to the tip of a finger, is as perfect as in the best-trained ballet. In the *yotthé-pwè* the marionettes are made to perform wonderful evolutions by means of their strings.

533 Burmese music is probably the most highly developed of any except that of Europe. There is no musical notation. The subject deserves to be studied thoroughly by [536] help of the phonograph; the phonograph records prepared for this work were unfortunately all broken in transit, but through the courtesy of Mr. P. A. Mariano it has been possible to append a score which faithfully reproduces the music (Appendix C). In Burmese music, just as in Shan, the character of the language is markedly reflected. (See Herbert Spencer, The Origin and Function of Music.)

394. MARIONETTE PRINCESS.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

194 pronounce the article differently in deliberate and in rapid utterance. *Ka* in duplication becomes *ko-ga*, *pa* becomes *pa-ba*, *ta* becomes *ta-da*. Burmese words used within the English text have been inflected in the English way only when they have some currency in English, such as *Shan*, *Shans*. A further difference is made by the rising tone corresponding to the rising modulation of English speech in asking a question, and the falling one in answering. The former has a parallel in the Swedish; the pronunciation of the Burmese *sutthild* recalls that of the Swedish Upsalá. On the other hand our interrogative modulation of voice has no signification in Burmese. The question is formed by the use of the interrogative particles, *lá*, *ló*. There are three quantities. *Wá* means bamboo; *sú* means cotton; *sa* means stout. Only the most salient of these distinctions have been embodied in the transliteration. Besides quantity, emphasis (stress) plays an important part. For instance, *pála* means cardamom; *pálá* means a bowl. Where the stress lies on a diphthong, the accent has been placed on the first vowel, for typographical reasons. The accent ' is used to express emphasis in the case of vowels which are stressed but are not long. The pronunciation of Burmese depends a great deal on the correct intervals or "rests." These are partly indicated by the conjoining of the syllables, the hyphening and the separation. For instance *Sinbyú-mya Shin* forms a single phrase, but the syllables have not all the same degree of cohesion. The hyphen has to be used in many cases where there is no rest, to simplify the reading and to preserve the right associations of consonants, such as in *Pón-hnú*, *ka-nyin*. Finally the cadence of speech is most distinctive. The intervals
[533] favoured in Burmese music and the tones on which the phrases begin and end indicate certain of its features (Appendix C).

APPENDIX C.

NOTE ON BURMESE MUSIC, BY MR. P. A. MARIANO.

533 THE fundamental pitch-note of Burmese music corresponds to our A-natural. Three kinds of scales are used. The first is the Doric scale consisting of the 1st, 2nd, 5th, 6th, and 8th intervals of the diatonic scale. The second is the diatonic scale; in the Burmese diatonic scale, however, the 7th is tuned flat by about a quarter tone. An instrument tuned in this way may sound out of tune to a good European ear, but most ears will scarcely perceive the difference. There are no flats or sharps in the Burmese gamut. Nevertheless, changes of key are not infrequent in their melodies. These invariably proceed from the tonic to the sub-dominant, but without the introduction of the 7th flat, as there is no regular system of counterpoint. Here the advantage of tuning the 7th somewhat flat is apparent, for it does duty as the 4th interval of the new key. A change from tonic to dominant sometimes also takes place. The third scale is a kind of minor; it consists of the same notes as the major diatonic scale, but it begins and ends with the third interval. Strict time is observed; two-four is the usual time.

Pure Burmese melodies are beautiful in themselves. But on account of the preponderance of grace-notes (*mordente*, *accaciatura*, *appoggiatura*) Europeans find it difficult to catch Burmese tunes. Not being able to eliminate the grace-notes from the simple theme, they do not appreciate genuine airs so much as they do the medley of catches of European and Indian music which is becoming the fashion. The "*Kayá-thas*" now played by the regimental bands as the Burmese National Anthem, is an example of this kind. It is made up of bits of bugle-calls (*Kayá*=bugle) and snatches of a polka.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
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The Burmans do not appreciate singing in a low pitch. They do not admire men's voices in the baritone or the bass. A-natural is considered the standard pitch for men's and D-natural for women's voices. The higher the tenor the more it is admired. Their ideal singer is a tenor approaching a contralto. On the other hand a soprano voice is less admired than a contralto. The propensity is to cultivate high voices in the men and low voices in the women. The professional singers are true artists and are able to command the feelings of their hearers. The *ngè-dyin than*—weeping song—invariably brings tears to the eyes of the hearers. The love songs are full of pathos. An indispensable scene in all the operas is the separation and meeting again of the lovers. It is the most interesting part of the play and is eagerly awaited by the play-goers. 533

The best songs are sung in these scenes and the best talents of the performers called into play. The Burman is readily excited by music; the dancing songs never fail to set his hands and legs going. There is a style of martial music played at boxing-matches, races, and grand tugs-of-war which excites the Burmans to action. The performance of a complete Burmese band is a study in itself. Considering that the musicians play without a score, the harmony and strict time they observe are truly wonderful. [534]

484. THE BURMESE HARP AND DULCIMER (p. 178).

A few specimens of genuine Burmese music are appended (pp. 216-220). No. 1 is a song in the major scale, with harp accompaniment. The first twenty bars constitute the usual prelude to music of this kind. The tendency of the Burmese musician is to repeat the vocal part as an interlude, with all the variations and embellishments he can add. The last four bars are also usually played as a symphony at the end of each verse. The prelude and symphony are not peculiar to this song but are played with all songs of the same description. No. 2 is a specimen of another style, more suited for an orchestra. Nos. 3 and 4 are examples in the minor scale. Both are very ancient. No. 3 is called *Naw-thein yôdaya*. It used to be played on the entrance of the king to the Audience Hall and is the true national anthem of the Burmans. Its beauty and grandeur need no comment. No. 4 is a popular lullaby.

It is a matter for great regret that the beautiful music which the Burmans unquestionably possess is being forgotten. The modern tendency is to imitate European and Indian themes, and the time is not distant when genuine Burmese music will be a thing of the past. [177 178]

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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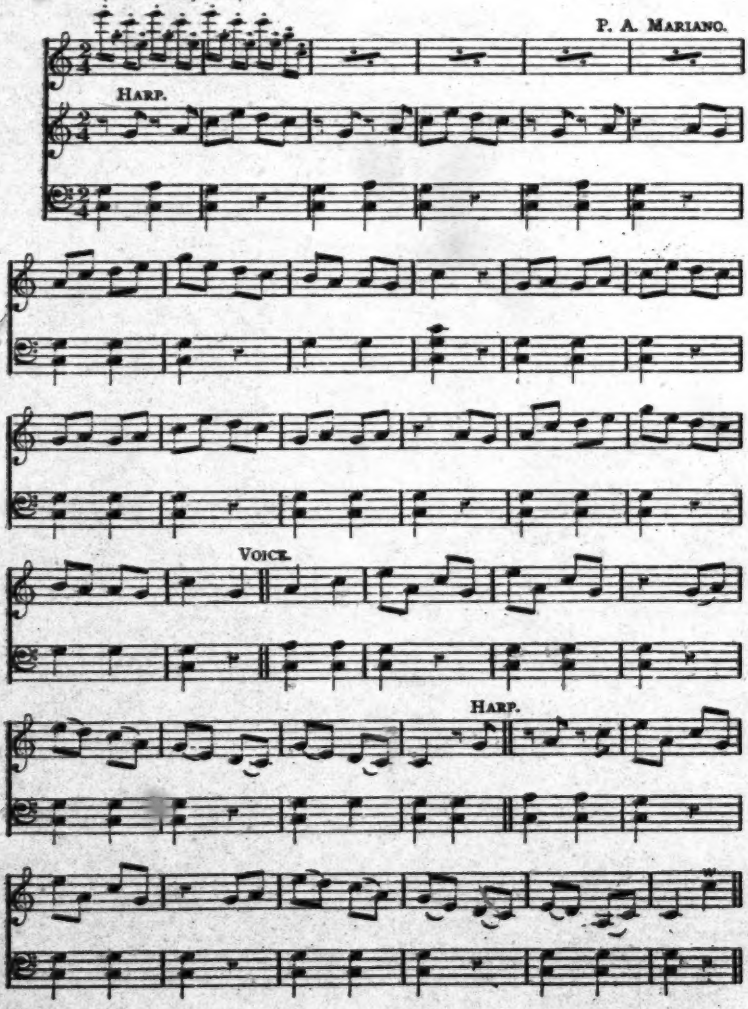
No. 1. *Andante cantabile.*
(Dulcimer, etc.)

P. A. Mariano.



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Burmese AP4

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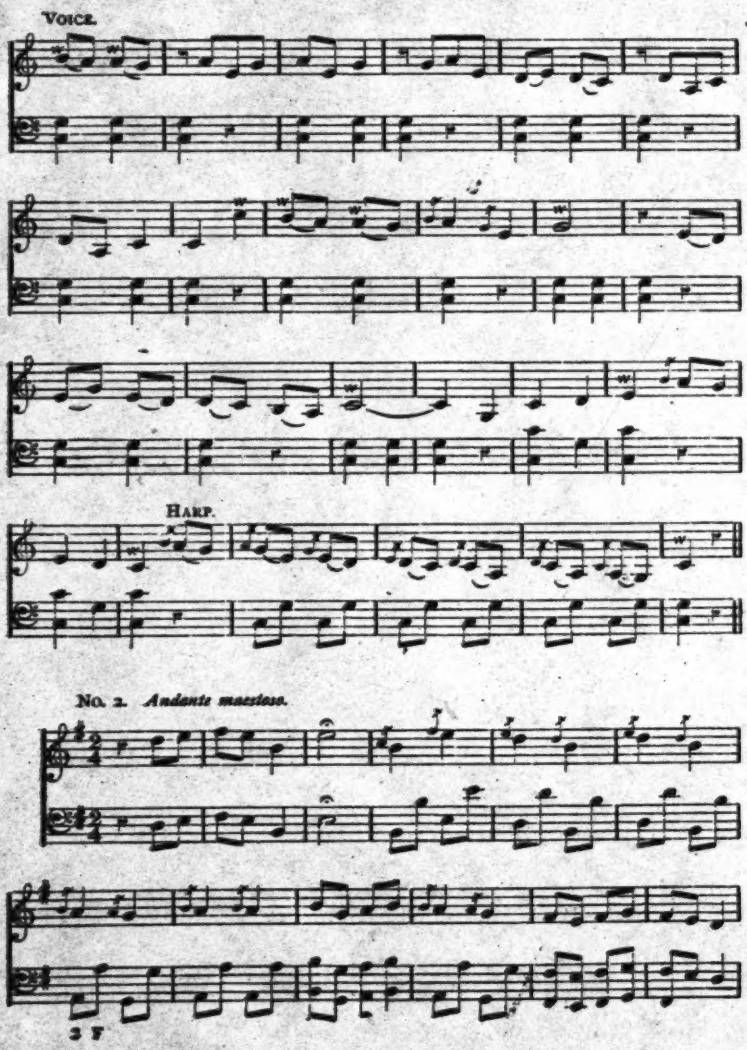

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

BURMA

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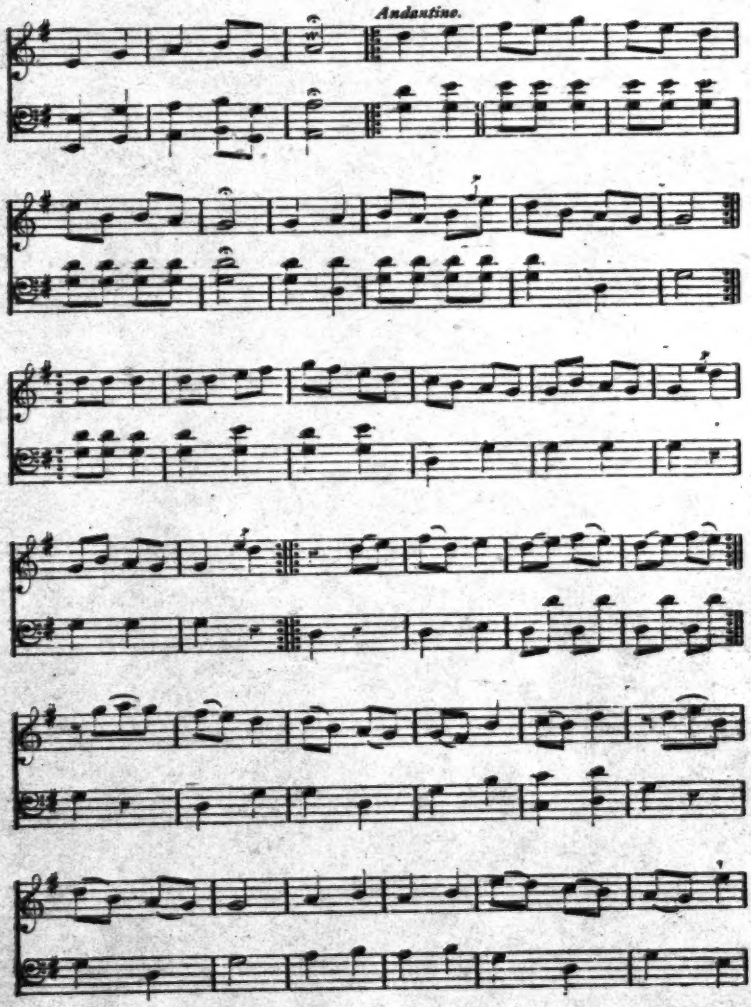
Andantino.



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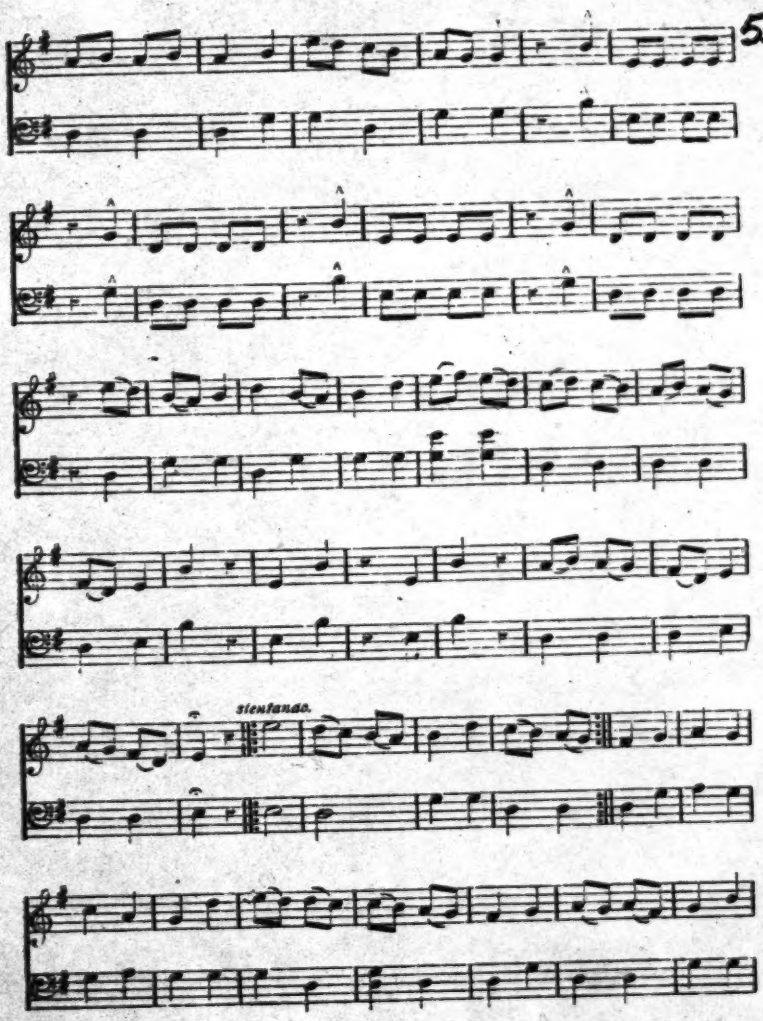

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Burmese AP4

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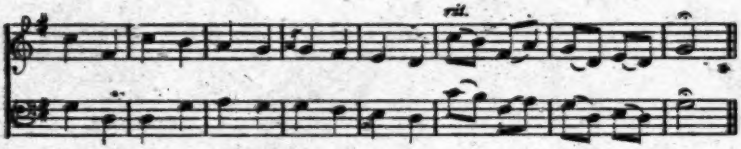
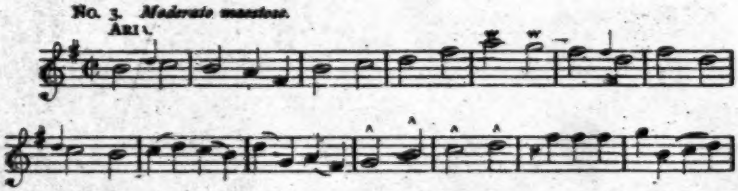
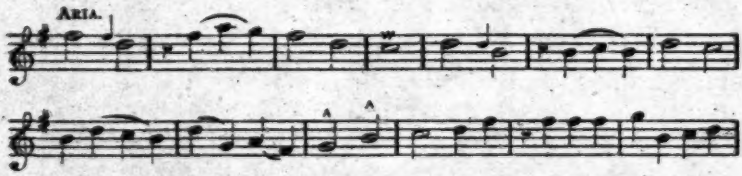
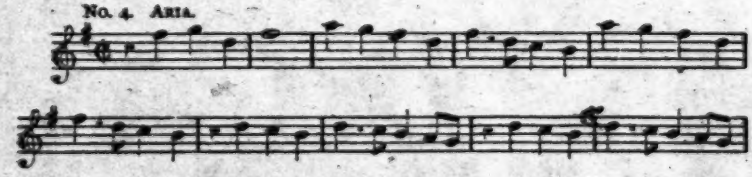


No. 3. *Moderato mestoso.*





No. 4. ARIA.



501 His constructive skill with wood has been most successfully ex-
396 pressed in the vehicles for land and water transport—the bullock cart and the canoe. The classic pattern for a Burmese boat is the *laung*, built from a single hollowed-out trunk of the *thingan*, a tough tree growing near the water with a girth of 4—20 feet and a height of 15—75 feet. The trunk is hollowed out into a rough hull, the outside is adzed, circles of holes are bored through for a guide, and the shell is hollowed to a uniform thickness. It is then waterlogged, and fired slowly, the symmetry being carefully tended as the hull opens out with the firing. Planks are built up on the sides to increase capacity. These laungs, of a capacity from 10—40 tons, are the universal canoes of the rivers and creeks of Burma. Poled upstream and rowed downstream, they are ideal in the ease with which they can be bumped against rocks or got off shoals, the thingan hull lasting for 20 or 30 years. The bigger boats which still carry rice and other produce up the Irrawaddy are built up from stout ribs on a style which simulates the solid hull of the laung. These boats carry enormous sails and a crew of about fifteen men. Their bulk-heads are richly carved, and they glide along the great Irrawaddy, stately and calm beside the chugging river-steamers, their prows rising and falling like the heads of some fabulous birds.

493 The Burmese cart is a poem in curves of wood. The floor of the cart gives a slight curving sweep from front to back, the sides exaggerate this in crescents that sweep right up into the air, and the circle of the wheel has good balance and strength behind its symmetry. For the sake of the curves, the root wood of cutch and the curved branches of thingan are specially sought out.

326 Brassware, for which the old centres were at Amarapura and Sagaing
788 in Upper Burma, we were familiar with in bells and gongs. Bells are
534 kept by the Burmese for sacred uses only. The delicate small bells hung high around the spires of pagodas, often of gold and silver, have tongues that are moved by the winds to give a sweet testimony, to all spirits, of the good work of men who built the pagoda and other men who pray below, and give the praying devotee a tinkling reassurance of his merit. The great big bells, however, made of molten copper and tin poured into moulds of clay and wax in pits dug in the earth, have no tongues; but when struck with deer's antlers or a wooden striker they
[552] sing a deep note of sweetness. The names given to some famous bells reflect their beauty: *Maha Ganda* (Great Voice), *Mahatti Thadda Ganda* (Great Sweet Sound). All big bells are hung on a cross bar with wooden supports at pagodas, where after recitation of precepts we picked up the striker in turn and struck three times to announce to the spirits

around that we had meritoriously praised the Lord Buddha, and then touched the earth with the striker to pass the message to the spirits there also. These big bells may weigh up to 25 tons; the bell at Mingun is said to be the second largest in the world. They are all inscribed with lauds and invocations for the welfare of the donor. Gongs of brass are the bells of the town-crier; all announcements are punctuated with the striking of a gong. *Maung le htu tè* is the equivalent of "broadcasting it around the town". Much attention is paid to the melodiousness of gongs for the Burmese have a musical instrument called the *kyi-waing*, which is a circular frame on which graduated gongs are hung and beaten with a knobbed stick to harmonize with the rest of a Burmese orchestra.

There were numerous other objects for which my mother would never accept a substitute from English shops because they did not cater for our ingrained customs. Soup never tastes right when eaten with a metal spoon—we always used Burmese china spoons bought for about one anna each; rice is not to be stirred with a metal utensil either—the Burmese wooden ladle for this is the *yaung-ma*, the same word as for sister-in-law, the stirrer of trouble. There were, of course, particular places in Burma which supplied particular articles of dress, but I took an interest in this only when I was grown up.

What delights me is to find now that, in the imported things about the house also, all minkadaw households bought a standard type. This was probably due to the enterprise of Messrs. Rowe and Co., a Rangoon firm selling general goods, which established branches in all district towns to provide officers with anything they could not buy in native shops. We all bought Gold Medal camp chairs and camp cots from Rowe's. We bought durwan's kerosene lamps for bedrooms, Storm King and Petromax lamps with incandescent mantles for sitting and dining rooms, we bought crockery which came out in three or four good standard patterns, with an adaptation from the orthodox English dinner service to provide soup and curry dishes suitable for Burmese meals. We got cane furniture made in the local jails, odd chairs and always the half-wood half-cane stores box to serve on tours, and the long basket trays in which my father's files and papers would come home and go to the office every day, on the head of the *chaprassi*. The *hpas*, soft expandable cane boxes in which Burmese people pack their bedding when travelling, were always covered with green canvas from Rowe's. With these hpas, matching the Gold Medal camp cots and chairs, the boxes from the jails, a clerk and two or three girls looking after the children, and a general air of solicitous attention from the people around, no one could mistake an a-so-ya government official's family on its touring travels.

873 We could not stage these shows at the University owing to the length of
536 them and the difficulty of procuring a company. We saw them often in childhood when there were two great companies touring the districts. Pa Sein and Sein Gaden came with their companies to the district towns; they hired the local hall, and then charged their audiences by mat-space. Buyers of spaces came earlier in the day and laid down their thinbyus over the rough bamboo mats provided. At night the whole family, including grandmothers and young children, arrived with pillows, fans, goblets of drinking water and things to eat, and squatted and reclined each on its own mat. Vendors of pickled tea and jujube plums, both of which have the effect of keeping one awake, walked in and sold their packets without a license, but just as an overflow from the row of food stalls that had sprung up in the lane leading to the hall.

545 At the University, however, we always staged *anyein-pwès*, and not
873 these night-long zat-pwès. An anyein is a much handier, more compact sort of entertainment. The troupe consists of two clowns, one chief dancing girl and two subsidiary ones, and a band of musicians. Such a troupe can be hired for about Rs. 40/-. No seats are ever bought for an anyein; people hire them to celebrate weddings, shinbyus and other happy events. They perform on a rough open-air stage, and the show is free to all who wish to flock to see it. The poorest beggars may perch themselves on neighbouring trees and fences to enjoy the four-or five-hour programme of songs, dances and jokes.

545 When an anyein was held at University College, we entered the
534 grounds at about 7 p.m. and found the stage with its rear occupied by the orchestra tuning instruments and practising snatches of the airs; in the
[182] centre a basinful of offerings to propitiate the nat-spirits so that the entertainment will be a success; and at the opposite corners of the front of the stage the two clowns squatting, watching the audience enter and uttering declamations about the occasion of the entertainment; but as yet in a very desultory fashion, while they scratched their heads, cleaned their ears and chewed betel, because nobody was ready to pay full attention. Very shortly, however, the orchestra came to life in a harmonious concert. Within the circular frames of two big harmonicums, about two to three feet high and four to five feet in diameter, sat the master players. The *kyi-waing* master was surrounded by a row of graduated gongs strung along the inside of the harmonicum, which he struck with a knobbed stick in quick melody. The *saing-waing* master produced a thinner strain from his graduated drums which he struck with the flat of his fingers. Between the two sat a *hnè* player, blowing loudly his clarionet which had a wide bell-shaped mouth; the *pulway* master played lively dancing notes on his flute; a gentle looking youth

kept rhythm with a pair of brass cymbals; and an energetic youngster 545
banged his split bamboo clapper in the same syncopation. At intervals
could be heard the patala player who struck melodiously with two bam- 534
boo sticks on thin slats of bamboo laid side by side on the strings of a long narrow box which dipped in the centre and ascended at the ends.

While the orchestra thus practised and played and the clowns talked half-heartedly and the people streamed in, one of the subsidiary dancing girls was carrying out her toilet at the left rear of the stage, with a mirror propped against a box and in full view of the audience. The dancer's dress is an adaptation of the formal Burmese court dress, the adaptations being in the direction of making it more coquettish and frivolous. The basque of the tight-fitting silk jacket is stiffened with bamboo wire in the seams and beans to make it curve up like wings from waist and hips; the unseamed skirt which is folded over tightly and pinned down on one side with only a knee-high slit to allow dancing movements is held in place by a belt with a big ornate buckle, whereas a woman of dignified movements should be able to keep her longyi up with only a deft twist—hence the expression "*htamein ma-naing, pawa ma-naing:* no mastery of skirt, no mastery of scarf" as a description of a slovenly woman; the hair is in a cylindrical woman's sadone with a floating side-tress, but part of it also hangs down in a fringe all around after the fashion of a girl in her early teens, and the whole cylinder is covered with sprigs of flowers; the face is painted chalk white by the addition of a cosmetic containing lead to the thanakha, the favourite brand being called in Burmese "*B Nga Lon:* Five B's", with the parenthetic explanation in English: "Burma Brand Burmese Belle's Beautifier"; a gauzy scarf and a fan set off the young dancing lady, but, unfortunately, her small and lively feet are encased in white cotton socks in order to provide a whiter effect than the Five B's can do.

By the time her toilet is done, the audience is already seated, the 545
clowns are getting bored and begin to shout for her with mock honorifics. The dancer comes out with a wooden face and lackadaisical air, makes obeisance to the audience and to the beneficiaries of offerings, and then sits with her knees tucked under her, presenting to the crowd a winged back of perfect indifference. The clowns now launch into a description of her person, talents and reputation with mock rhapsodies and many bawdy puns. Then they formally call on her to dance and, just as the audience begins to grow a bit restive, the girl rises, turns around and gives one quick short dance. From now on the programme can go ahead with a swing. Jokes, antics, songs, dances and repartee follow in fast succession, with the orchestra accompanying. After an hour the next girl takes the stage, followed at about 10 p.m. by the chief dancer,

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

CHAPTER XVIII

BELLS

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"THIS Bell is made by Koo-na-lin-gala, the priest—and weight 600 viss. No one body design to destroy this Bell. Maulmein, March 30th, 1855. He who destroyed to this Bell, they must be in the great Heell, and unable to coming out."

This inscription runs round the rim of the great bell at the Kyaik-than-lan pagoda at Maulmein. It is hardly a fiftieth part of the Maha Ganda at Rangoon, which, in turn, is a great deal smaller than the huge monster at Mengôn, near Mandalay; but it is noticeable as being the only bell in Burma, as far as I am aware, which has an English inscription on it. The circumstance is scarcely to be considered in the light of a compliment, for the bell has not the character of exceptional sanctity, and there is a lengthy Pali inscription on the upper part giving further particulars, and commending the pious donors to the safe keeping of the 5000 nats who guard the faith, the tutelary nats of the universe, the nats of the earth, the air, the forest, and the city; but there is nothing whatever in the shape of menaces to such as may have evil designs on the bell. Koo-na-lin-gala, the priest, however, no doubt thought this English addition very necessary and by no means unwarranted; for only two years before, after the conclusion of the second Burmese war, in 1853, the British troops had tried to carry off the sacred Shwe Dagôn bell, and had gone the length of getting it on board of a ship. Unfortunately the vessel turned over, and Maha Ganda, the "great sweet voice," was capsized into the mud at the bottom of the Rangoon river.

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The good mendicant, therefore, who superintended the casting of the bell for the Maulmein payā doubtless thought that none but the utmost terrors would serve to scare off the sacrilegious Briton, and therefore it is with punishment in awidzi, the lowest of the eight chambers of hell, ordinarily reserved for parricides, assaulters of an ascetic, and railers at the Buddha, that all who meditate harm to the Kyaik-than-lan bell are threatened. The fiery monk may rest happy. The bell has hung unmolested from the big crossbar, resting on its two huge teak uprights, and will doubtless long remain safe on the somewhat cramped platform at the end of the Taungnyo range.

The love of bells in Burma is somewhat remarkable. Every large pagoda has some dozens of them, of all sizes, hanging round the skirts of the zedi, the image-houses, and sacred posts. One or two were put up with the central shrine itself; others have been added at various times by the religious. Most of them have long Pali inscriptions on them recording the praises of the Lord and the aspirations of the giver. Here and there are a few with Burmese dedications, presented by poor, simple jungle people, the monks in whose district did not know Pali, or had the grace to say they were not learned enough to write an original composition in that language. Every Burman has learned a certain number of Pali formulæ to enable him to worship at the pagoda, but few even of the most renowned sadaws have anything like a thorough knowledge of the sacred language. Hence, when there is a modest monk in the kyaung, the simple cultivators have to fall back on their own vernacular, and produce plaintive appeals like the following:—

"This bell was moulded with great care and much expense, and is humbly offered by Maung San Ya, of the hamlet of Nga-pe-u, in the township of Maubin, and Mama Gyi, his wife, who seek refuge in the boundless mercy of the pitiful Buddha, in the majesty of the eternal Law, and in the example of the venerable Assembly of the Perfect, the three gems. They visit the precious things faithfully on the appointed days. Applaud, ye pious! They humbly strive to gain for themselves merit. May the good nats who guard the forest and the field look smilingly on them and

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protect the poor man's crops. May the nats who dwell in the air and the earth defend from evil creatures the two fat bullocks which plough the fields. May the guardian nats of the house and the city keep from harm Chit U, their son, and little Ma Mi, their darling daughter. And may the merit of this offering be shared with their children and with all living beings. May the excellent Lord pity them, the good spirits smile on them, the holy assembly receive them. So shall Maung San Ya and Mama Gyi gain much merit and rejoice in presenting this bell. Weight, seventy-five viss."

Such dedications are found here and there, but they are not common, for half the honour of presenting the bell is lost if the common crowd can read what is written on it; and doubtless Maung Chit U, when he has been to an English school, and has got a place under Government, or in an English merchant's office, will be rather ashamed of the quaint humility of his father's offering.

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The bells are not intended to summon worshippers to their devotions. There is no necessity for such a call where there is no formal service. Every man is responsible to himself only for his religious state; no one else has anything directly to do with him, or can give him help. The monks themselves display but little concern in the spiritual state of the laity. If a man is to attain a favourable change in a succeeding existence, it must be by his own exertions. He knows the regular duty-days, and on these and on the special feast-days he goes to gain kutho for himself and better his chance towards a new transincorporation. If he is a fond man, he parcels out the merit acquired by his devotions among those members of his family or friends who have not been to the pagoda. The use of the bells is to direct attention to the fact of the lauds of the Buddha having been recited. The worshipper, when he has finished, goes to one of the bells and strikes it three times, to bring to the notice of the guardian spirits and the four worlds what he has been doing. There are always a number of deer's antlers and billets of wood lying near the bell for this purpose. None of them have clappers, and metal is not used to strike them. There is no objection whatever to a non-Buddhist striking

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the bell; it is indeed rather a kindly action, for the more clangour there is the more likely the nats are to observe the devotions going on. After the bell itself has been struck it is proper to strike the ground, so that the spirits of the earth may know as well as the guardians of the air. Most of the bells have a fine tone, and a flick with the finger is sufficient to cause a vibration through the whole twenty-five tons of metal in Maha Ganda. What sound the Mengôn bell, second only in size to that presented by the Empress Catherine to Moscow, is capable of producing, will never, probably, be known, for the supports have given way, and half of the rim rests on the ground. But, as Colonel Yule says, it would have at any time required a battering-ram to bring out its music. It has, since the annexation, been hung by the enterprise of the Irrawaddy Flotilla Company.

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Besides those suspended round the precincts of the payā, the hti, or umbrella, on the top of the edifice, is always hung with a multitude of bells. Those on the more sacred shrines are very often entirely gold or silver. Several on the Shwe Dagôn are of gold, studded with precious stones, and are worth many hundred pounds sterling apiece. These, of course, are furnished with tongues, and the slightest breeze causes a constant harmonious tinkling, dear to the worshipper's heart. The object of these bells is identical with that of those below on the platform—to attract the attention of the good spirits in Tawa-deintha, and other abodes of the nat-déwas on Mount Myinmo.

Though the bells are very well moulded, the mode of casting them is of the most primitive possible character. A mould of clay is formed to represent the inside. This is covered with bees'-wax to the proposed thickness of the metal, and over this again is placed a heavy layer of clay, mixed with chopped paddy straw. Through this outer covering there are a number of funnel holes in parallel rings at distances of six or nine inches, and through these the molten metal is poured in, melting and taking the place of the bees'-wax, which flows out at the bottom. Straws inserted through the clay let out the air and steam. Thus the bell is formed in a series of rings one above the other. The

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325 copper and tin are melted together in small open-air furnaces round about, and the crucibles are carried in little wicker baskets. Large bells usually are made in a pit dug in the ground. The metal images of the Buddha for the pagodas are cast in a similar way. When the mass has cooled, the outside is polished, and any flaws there may be are patched up. Then the inscription is chiselled on, and the bell is solemnly dedicated.

325 527 The casting is made quite as much a ceremony as it used to be in the Middle Ages in Europe. The whole district gathers to see the operation. Songs are sung, and bands clash and play while the actual casting is going on, and sometimes the vast multitude is wrought up to such a state of enthusiasm that women and children throw in their necklaces, and gold and silver rings and bangles. Traces of these are to be seen in the inside of many bells, in the shape of whitish or yellowish streaks. The workmen sometimes, in the case of large bells, try to strengthen them by twisting iron chains round the inner mould in the midst of the bees'-wax. Such a chain cable is distinctly to be seen in the great ninety-ton Mengôn bell. Since the "Great Monarch" of Moscow became a chapel, this is actually the biggest bell in the world.

788 534 The shape of Burmese bells is not handsome. They come straight down to the mouth like a barrel—not expanding at the rim, like those of European make, but their tone is very sweet. In Burma bells are entirely reserved for pagodas. A Burman never has a bell in his house; and it would, in fact, be no use to him there if he had it. Englishmen do not use them either, so that throughout the whole country the bell is only used for sacred purposes.

000 The following is a translation of the inscription on the bell numbered 15219 in the Indian section of the South Kensington Museum:—

"The Victor, the All-gracious" [referring to Gautama, the Lord Buddha].

"The gist of the discourse on worship, as it appears in the beginning of the Dhamma-set, is as follows:—One must give goods in alms; one must preach the Law: these two things are good deeds both for this world and for the next;

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With the really devout, a worship day always commences on the previous evening, that of the apeitné, or day of preparation. In most country villages, and occasionally even in the larger district towns, where there is more dissipation than devoutness, a few old men, as a voluntary work of merit, go round about the place beating the kyizi, the triangular gong, used only for this and similar religious purposes. The instrument is suspended by a string to a stick carried over the shoulder, and as the sounds vibrate, rise and fall, quicken and die away with the winding and unwinding of the cord, those who intend to keep the duty day well make ready for a start to the pagoda. Mats, sleeping-rugs, blankets, and eatables are gathered together; and the whole family, with the exception of a couple of the children and an old woman or so perhaps, left behind to look after the house, set off in a body, preceded in some cases by a kyizi of their own, struck at intervals by the head of the family, who slings it on a bamboo, to the other end of which, as a kind of equipoise, is fastened a lamp. The purpose of this ceremony of striking the gong is to announce to the four worlds the good work on which the party is engaged. They make their way to one of the numerous zayats, erected round the pagoda for the accommodation of pious people. If the family be a wealthy one they have probably such an open-sided, floored shed of their own, erected for the general use, but virtually reserved for themselves when required. If they have not, or if the shrine is small and the rest-houses few, they put up in one of the general zayats, where they can always find a quiet corner to settle in. There they sleep, or, what is better, tell their beads and meditate.

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Some time before daylight the food intended for the yahans is cooked, and when the sun rises a message is sent to the monastery that everything is ready. The alms have been put together in a heap in the middle of the zayat, in front of the permanent platform on which the mendicants take their station after they have arrived in a long procession of Indian file. In the meantime numbers of other more comfort-seeking laymen, who have slept at home, come trooping in from the town, also bringing offerings for the pagoda, and food for themselves and the pyinsin. When a

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British army as "The Burmese National Anthem." It makes not at all a bad quick march, but it is about as appropriate for a national anthem as "Champagne Charlie is my name." In the acknowledged national airs it is very difficult to get a definite rhythm, the music being apparently, at any rate to all but experts, a mere succession of recitative, more or less Wagnerian in its style.

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The instruments of a full Burmese band always include the following, whether the occasion is the orchestra for a play, the music for a dance, for a wedding, an ear-boring ceremony, or a funeral. A saing-waing, an elaborately carved, circular, wooden frame, painted in parts, standing between two and three feet high, and five feet or more in diameter. Round the inside of this are hung drums of graduated sizes, which are struck with the hands of the performer, who sits in the middle. The alternate dry and saturated state of the atmosphere renders constant tuning necessary, and this is effected by tightening the drum-heads, and also by smearing on with the fingers a paste made of burnt rice husk. The music produced is rather thin in itself, but by no means unpleasing. Similar to it in construction, but not standing so high, is the kyi-waing, the only difference being that graduated gongs take the place of the drums. The gongs are of course beaten with a knobbed stick, and not with the hand. These ponderous instruments can only be carried about in a cart, and their owner keeps perpetual guard over them, sitting in the centre, cheroot in mouth, for they cost a very considerable sum of money. Fair specimens of both the drum and the gong-harmonicon may be seen in the South Kensington Museum. In addition to these, there are in every band two or three hnè, trumpets or clarionets, with a broad bell-shaped mouth, which is movable and ordinarily but loosely attached. The noise of these is always very prominent, and is not relished by people who do not care for the bagpipes. There is also a similar number of pulwè, or pyue, a rude kind of flute. The best pulwè-player is always the leader of the band. Then there are ya-gwin, big cymbals, and than-lwin, little cymbals, and the patma, a long drum like the tom-tom of India and beaten with the hand in the same way. Finally there are the wa le'kôt, each formed of

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a length of bamboo, extending to five feet occasionally, and split down the centre. These castanets are always in the hands of the most recently joined, and therefore most zealous, members of the band, and are clapped together with an energy which usually makes them unduly prominent. The above instruments serve to constitute a full band.

Besides these, however, there are several other musical instruments used by themselves, and learners—even those who are members of an orchestral band—usually avail themselves of the aid of a teacher to acquire accuracy and delicacy of touch, especially in the case of the harp. The saung consists of thirteen silken strings stretched on a boat-shaped wooden case, with a long, curved handle. The Burman boat, low at the bows, rises to a very considerable height at the stern, and is so like a harp frame that there is a stock story of a country peasant, for the first time in Mandalay, believing that the gilded royal boats in the moat were gigantic harps being seasoned for use in the palace. The sounding-board is formed of thick buffalo-hide, and the instrument is tuned by pushing the strings up or down the curved handle, and so tightening or loosening them. Only the young men play, and the accomplishment is not very common. The handle rests on the left arm and the right hand touches the strings, while the singer plays his own accompaniment. A similar instrument is the migyaung, the crocodile, a sort of guitar with three strings, stretched over a hollow sounding-board, shaped like that uninviting saurian. It is somewhat too primitive, however, to be popular, except with sentimental people. Finally there is the pattala, or bamboo harmonicon, as some call it. This instrument has always evoked approval from even the most fastidious of foreigners, as a singular instance of sweetness of sound produced from most unpromising materials. It consists of a carved and painted box, long and narrow and with high rising ends. From each of the corners of these sides are suspended strings, which hang down in a parabolic curve over the low centre of the box, and to these strings are attached flat strips of bamboo, placed at close intervals. Their tone is regulated by the more or less complete thinning out of the centre of the under side, and little sticks

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are used to strike them with. The notes produced are surprisingly clear and melodious. 534

Fiddles may often be heard played with greater or less skill, especially on the pagoda steps by blind and deformed beggars, but the instrument is not national, and is never, or but rarely, found where Europeans have not penetrated. The same may be said of the young Burmans who play in Rangoon on the concertina and the English fife and piccolo. It is flattering to national pride to notice with what accuracy and rapidity they pick up English airs. 177.53

But except at funerals and other solemn occasions instrumental music is looked upon not so much as a means of enjoyment in itself as an accompaniment to the human voice, and mere orchestral concerts would never draw the crowds which a single good singer can always command. The recitative character of the music is always more evident in the singing than in the instruments, and each "prince" or "princess" has individual peculiarities in the way of trills and staccatos introduced into the legitimate air. As the young musician learns by hanging about the band, so a vocalist follows an acknowledged great singer about and imitates his style, or at any rate learns the tunes and the words. The latter are, however, very immaterial, for the language itself is so pliant that it is easy to express the ideas in rhythm as you go on. Maung Tha Byaw, the great singer of his day, always made his songs as he sung them, and this was so well known that whenever he appeared, whether in a regular play or only to sing a few airs, there were always thirty or forty reporters sitting round to take down his words in their parabaik. This peculiarity of the Thabinwun occasionally got him into trouble. A somewhat incomprehensible piece of palace etiquette rendered it treasonable to sing a thanzan, a new song, before the king. Maung Tha Byaw several times, whether through too great laziness to learn the words, or from the force of habit, transgressed this rule, and was several times ordered out to execution. But he sang to the taunghmu and the pagwet, and these grim customers, the gaoler and the executioner, unable to resist the melody of this latter-day Orpheus, hid him away and exhibited some less talented 533 [644]

114 533 very considerable the labour must have been. Experts in western notation who may be disposed to smile at the *Burmese Music Notes* will realise notwithstanding that here at last are the authentic classical tunes of the Burmese put on record in black and white, ready, and if desired, easy enough to be transcribed into western notation after a perusal of this article and its supplement 'The writing of Burmese music.'

●534 114 In the second book of U San Win is appended most valuable and authentic information on the fundamentals of Burmese music, such as, the tuning of the Burmese harp (ဘေဒီးဘောင်), its history; the tuning of the drum-circle (စည်းဝိုင်း); the gong-circle (ခေါင်းလုံးဝိုင်း); the ʒ *Hnè* (Burmese oboe), big and small; and the succession of Burmese keys. The word 'key' will arouse sudden interest. It will become very interesting indeed in due course. To begin with the classics:—

533 773 "*Preface*:—From the beginning of the world, during the sovereignty of the first President King, the five principal sounds of bass, string, percussion, wind and clapper, had been employed in music in ceremonies of sprinkling the holy water all over the world.

"Three hundred years before Buddha's Enlightenment, when, to avoid the enmity of Pañcala Rajā, the Sakya kings of Kapilavatthu, Devadaha and Koliya left the middle regions (Majjhimadesa) and founded the Tagaung kingdom of Sankassaratha, the same five kinds of instruments were wont to supply music for auspicious Royal occasions and entertainments.

"Also, during the life-time of Lord Buddha, according to *Sakkapañha Sutta*, deva Pañcasikha, the wearer of five top-knots, renowned the Lord in song playing the seven times seven (49) melodic figures of *vita pluta* on his celestial harp, which was said to be three-quarters of a *yojana* (*i.e.*, about 2¼ miles)[1] in length, called Beluva-pandu-vina.

"The Buddhist anchorite Nārada of the middle regions compiled the treatise *Naradasikha* from musicology as known to all learned ones from the beginning. In it was mentioned the same seven times seven (49) melodic figures (*tāna*) and three times seven (21) modes (*mucchanā*) which are mentioned in *Sakkapañha Sutta*.

"In the chronicle of Buddha are descriptions of how, when he was seated on the invincible throne Aparājita the devas came and paid homage with musical instruments; and how, on the occasion of His departure from their abode, Tavatimsa to visit Sankassa Nagara, they followed in His wake proclaiming His excellence in music and song.

"After the death of Lord Buddha, too, in the history of the middle regions, the Buddhist nobility and gentry practised music on various instruments, classifying and utilising various kinds of sounds.

"In the history of our Buddhist country of Burma, music and musical instruments existed throughout the successive kingdoms of Tagaung, Srikhettara, Pagan, Myinsaing, Sagaing, Pinya, Ava, Konbaung, Amarapūra, down to Ratnapura Mandalay.

1. Authorities differ on the exact measurement of *Yojanā*.

533 VĀDĪ, SAMVĀDĪ, ANUVĀDĪ and VIVĀDĪ (Translated 'sonant' 'consonant' 'assonant' 'dissonant') are survivals of a theory of consonance (*Samvaditva*) now forgotten. *Samvādī* definitely means the consonance of Fourth and Fifth, as we should say 'Perfect consonance' *Vādī* is the note to which it is so related. *Vivādī* is applied by Bharata to the semitone. He speaks (verse 24) of notes being *vivādī* to one another when they are at the distance of twenty *çrutis*. This is the same thing as two *çrutis* (22-20) which reading actually appears in another manuscript. *Anuvādī* is the name for 'all other relations which are not *vādī*, *samvādī* or *vivādī*. These three relations belong to the tetrachord, and presumably *anuvādī* does too. Current tradition makes *anuvādī* the major Third. But Bharata says 'all other' (*çesha*), as if more than one relationship was *anuvādī*. If it is possible to suppose that in the term *anuvādī* he included the major and minor tones (which together make up the major Third) all the determining elements of Bharata's scale would be accounted for.

Fox Strangways has a chapter on legend and history too. I shall quote the legends in which the same well-known names recur.

533 773 "Once upon a time the great anchorite Nārada thought within himself he had mastered the whole art and science of music. To curb his pride the all-knowing Vishnu took him to visit the abode of the gods. They entered a spacious building the inmates of which were numerous men and women, who were all weeping over their broken limbs. Vishnu stopped short and enquired of them the reason for their lamentation. They answered that they were the Rāgs, and Raginis of music, created by Mahādeva; but as one anchorite of the name of Nārada, ignorant of the true knowledge of music and unskilful in performance, had sung them recklessly, their features were distorted and their limbs broken, and that unless Mahādeva or some other discreet and skilful person would sing them properly, there was slender hope of their ever being restored to their former state of body. Nārada, ashamed, kneeled down before Vishnu and asked to be forgiven."

"With Nārada, the R'shi who first 'heard' the laws of music, are associated Tumburu, the first singer, and Bharata, the first to draw up rules for the drama, of which music formed a large part. Of Tumburu it is said that he increased the scale in which the *Sāmavedā* was chanted from five notes to six or seven. The treatise which purports to record the doctrine of Nārada, the *Nāradaçikshā* is probably of late date (1000 A D. ?) and gives no clue whatever to the achievement of the Nārada of legend. The treatise which bears the name of Bharata, the *Nāṭyaçastra*, is similarly an eponym. One or other of these three names appears probably in every book on music that has been written, and the existence of the authors is held, though in complete absence of any specific doctrine attributed to them, as a pious belief.."

534 773 Among the Burmans the instrument of Guttila of the famous legend is a harp. Apparently it is a *vīnā*, according to Fox Strangways, "To the *vīnā*, the national instrument, there are so many references both direct and allusive, that it is difficult to choose. Perhaps one story, from the Jatakas, will be enough:

Sunandana, lord of the city of Sri, and also 35 musicians. Chinese texts give many details of the mission, and the *Hsin-t'ang-hsu* in particular has a long description of Pyu music."[1] 533 175

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Yung-ch'iang also sent his younger brother, master of the city of Hsi-li-i, Shu-nan-t'o, to bring an offering of the music of their country. When they reached Ch'êng-tu, Wei Kao made a collection of their tunes, and considering their dances and musical instruments to be of unusual interest, he made pictures of them to send to Court. They have twenty-two instruments, made of eight different substances, to wit, metal, shell, string, bamboo, gourd, leather, ivory and horn: of metal, 2; of shell, 1; of string, 7; of bamboo, 2; of gourd, 2; of leather, 2; of ivory 1; and of horn, 2. They have four bells shaped like those of the Kucha players, three inches in circumference, with clappers fastened by leather. They sound them in time with the tune. They have two iron clappers, three inches and a half long, and two inches and a half wide, flat in front, but with leather handles at the back. These and the bells are decorated profusely with steamers of brocade. There are four conch-shells, the largest capable of holding about 1 pint (shêng). There are two flat harps; one is 10 ft. long and its belly is 7 inches wide. It has a phoenix-head with neck 2 ft. 5 in. long. The front is decorated with snake-skin. There are 14 strings. The tuning-pegs are on the neck, facing outwards towards the phoenix-head. The other flat harp has "branching pegs." 534 175

There are two lizard-head zithers. One of them is wholly in the shape of a lizard. It is 4 ft. long, and has four legs; the belly is hollowed out. The back and the front are decorated with lizard skin as far as the shoulder, which turns upward like that of the Chinese lute *Ch'in*. It is 7 in. broad; the belly is 8 in. broad, and the tail a foot or more long. On the roller in the empty space there is fixed a barrier upon which are stretched nine strings on each side, attached to eighteen pegs. The front of the other zither is decorated with various-coloured flowers; or as an alternative, covered with snake-skin. There is a dragon-head lute (*p'i-p'a*) which resembles those used by the people of Kucha, but the neck is more than 2 ft. 6 in. long, and the belly 6 in. broad. The dragons' head face each other. There are three tuning pegs and three bridges, with strings to correspond. Two of the pegs are on the neck and one on the throat. It has a cover shaped like a lion. There is also a cloud-head guitar shaped like the foregoing; but the face is decorated with snake-skin and the whole surface with ivory bolts. The head is shaped like clouds. On the top of the pegs are flowers shaped like the ideogram . The three strings, the cover

1. In "Burma down to the fall of Pagan" B.R.S.J. Vol. XXIX, pt. 3, 1939.

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and the handle (?) are all decorated with snake-skin. The plectrum is carved. It is ornamented like this for dancing in the K'un-lun style. There are two large gourd-lutes, covered with half-gourds all painted and patterned. On the top are added bronze bowls. The lute itself is of bamboo, with snake patterns across the top. It is 3 feet long; its head is bent as though it were making a bow, and is 2 inches long. The belly is tied with cords that go through the bowl and reach the bottom of the gourd. It would hold about 2 pints (*shêng*) of liquid. The big string plays *t'ai-ts'ou*; the next, *ku hsien*. There is a one-stringed gourd-lute made of speckled bamboo. It is not decorated, but a snake's head is carved in the wood. The string is stretched without a tuning-peg, being tied to the neck. There are four bridges, as in the Kucha guitar. The string plays *t'ai-ts'ou*. There are two kinds of small gourd-lute shaped like the big ones, 2 ft. long. The big string plays *nan-lü*,, the next *ying-chung*. There are two transverse flutes, one about a foot long. When tested by our *lü*, it is completely out of tune; but when one adds a waxen lion's head over the real head and makes six holes with an ivory tusk, it gives the notes of the *huang-chung-shang* mode, and a full succession of semitones can be played on it. There is another flute to which one adds an elephant's head and it at once plays a scale corresponding to that described in the Flute Treatise *Ti p'u* of Hsün Hsü. Moreover it corresponds with the pitch of bells of the "high second" category. There are two double flutes, 2 ft. 8 in. long, separated by a joint. To left and right of the joint are vent holes. The two parts are hollowed out to the right proportions (?). The left side plays *t'ai-ts'ou*. The three holes at the end of the pipe play *ku-hsien-jui-jin*, and *i-tsê*. The other plays *lin-chung*, while, the holes at the end play *nan-lü*, *yingchung* and *ta-lü*. If one carries one's finger to a hole underneath, it makes the *t'ai-ts'ou* of the octave above. The two hollowed furrows and seven holes enable one to play the scales of *huang-chung* and *lin-chung*.

There are two big gourd mouth-organs with 16 pipes, 8 on each side. It is shaped like a phoenix' wings. The largest pipe measures 4 ft. 8½ in., and the rest are of various sizes in proportion, as in an ordinary *shêng*. The pipes are also made to look like phoenix' wings. The tongue [*i.e. vibrating "reed"*] is made of bamboo which pierces the gourd right through. In high antiquity the instruments were all of wood and varnish. Afterwards metal was used instead for making the tongue (*huang*), and no instruments were any longer made of gourd. The old style survives only in the P'iao country.

They also have two small gourd mouth-organs similar in construction to the big ones. They play the notes of the mode *lin-chung-shang*. There are two three-sided drums shaped like wine-jars, about 2 ft. high, with broad bottoms and pointed tops, seven

13: Khin Zaw I-5 (no date) 1940 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

inches above and four below (?). The belly is nowhere larger than the top. It is made with three layers of snake-skin tied on with blue ropes. When they put it down, they do not keep the drum-skin tied on. The sides are painted with pictures of P'iao musicians holding mouth-organs and drums. There are four small drums like our waist-drums in shape, 5 in. long, only 3½ in. broad at the head, stretched with snake-skin. They have ivory nails and other ornaments; they have no handles and are shaken to mark the beat of the music. The "introducers" hold them. There is an ivory mouth-organ, made by piercing a gourd right through. It is lacquered; then two elephant tusks are put in instead of bamboo pipes. Both tusks play the note *ku-hsien*. There is a three horn mouth-organ, also made by piercing a gourd and lacquering it over; it is fitted with three bull's horns, playing one of them *ku-hsien*, the other two *nan-lü*. The horns are sharpened at the bottom and stuck through the gourd. The handle and mouth-piece are both straight. There is a two-horn mouth-organ of similar construction, *ku-hsien*. The gourd-part is ornamented with coloured designs. 534 175

The names of their twelve tunes are:— 533 175

(i) "Buddha's Seal." In P'iao it is called *mu-t'o-mi*. The natives and Indians sing this song when they minister to the king.

(ii) "Praise of the *sāla* flower." In P'iao it is called *lung-mang-ti*. The natives make clothes of this flower, thinking that it purifies their bodies.

(iii) "The white dove." In P'iao it is called *ta-tu*. They admire the way in which the bird flies or stops, according to its fancy.

(iv) "The white crane's rambles." In P'iao it is called *su-man-ti-li*. It says that when it soars it touches the sky and when it walks, it steps sedately.

(v) "The fighting goat's victory." In P'iao it is called *lai-nai*. Once there was a man who saw two goats fighting on the sea-shore; the stronger thereafter saw the weaker one enter the mountains. The people of the time called it *lai-nai*, which means "the pomp of victory."

(vi) "The dragon-headed single lute." In P'iao it is called *mi-ssü-mi*. It has one string, but all the five notes complete: which signifies that a king of kings by his single virtue nourishes ten thousand countries.

(vii) "*Jhana* concentration." In P'iao it is called *ch'i-lan-shih*. It tells how one who quits the world, becomes solitary and quiet.

BURMESE MUSIC.

PART II.

Science and the Burmese Scale.

Technique.

Speculations and Suggestions.

The following tables were made possible by Professor West and his Staff in the Physics department of University College, who measured the *pattalars*, *hnès* (oboes) and the *pakwé* (bamboo pipe) in their laboratory. Having measured the frequencies of each tone on the sonometre the intervals between each tone were calculated in cents, the octave having the value of 1200 cents. 533 534

Formula : 3986.314 (log 423—log 385) *i.e.* To find the interval in cents between Frequencies 423 and 385—

2.6263	3.6006		
2.5855	2.6107		
0.0408	2.2113	Antilog	162.7 cents.

Table 5

FREQUENCY FIGURES

(from which the intervals in Cents were calculated.)

Siamese Scale (Stumpf's).		Burmese Scale (Hornbostel's).	Burmese Xylophone (Furnivall's).	Burmese Xylophone (West's).
D^1	(846)	672	946·9	1048
T	(770)	611·6	870·2	952·6
L	697	552	787·5	875·6
S	629	500	710·9	792·9
F	572	450	647·4	713·2
M	516	408	589·1	649·8
R	470	(369·25)	532	588
D	423	(336)	478·6	524

(Figures in brackets are obtained by multiplication or division of the original figures by 2.)

533 How all the notes of the Burmese gamut behave will be seen
534 from a glance at the table of actual figures. Table 3.

Originally, Table 2 was constructed from figures obtained by measuring the bamboo *pattalar*, whose actual figures are given in Table 3. Later, after measuring the brass *pattalar* the more correct figures were substituted in the columns of Table 2.

[For the time being I must let the figures speak for themselves making only one comment, that F[1] is indubitably sharper than F-natural, B flatter than B-natural, and G most nearly correct. It should be remembered that my *pattalar* may be anything but a perfect specimen.]

Long after the foregoing paragraph was written, at the instance of Mr. Furnivall, who pointed out the deficiencies of the bamboo *pattalar*, and who supplied the frequencies of the notes of his own *pattalar*, further efforts were made to obtain the measurements of the modern Burmese scale both on a *pattalar* and on the most characteristic Burmese wind-instrument, the *hnè*, *i. e.* an oboe. The *pattalar* (of brass) was carefully tuned by a professional Burmese musician and then measured together with the *hnès* in Dr. West's laboratory in the University of Rangoon. Mr. Furnivall's *pattalar* was measured in the Cavendish Laboratory, Cambridge. This is an older instrument than the brass *pattalar*, on which the scale is the scale of the present day. The Burmese scale of Hornbostel is still older, the source from which its measurement was obtained being "Zeitschrift für Ethnologie" jaarg. 1911, blz. 601 vv. The oldest of all available measurements is the Siamese scale of Stumpf from "Beitrage zur Akustik und Musikwissenschaft" Bd. III, 1901.

533 Thus, calculating from the given frequencies, the intervals in cents of all the scales have been plotted on graph-paper putting them in chronological order with the hypothetical equi-distant seven tone scale on top, and the just scale and the western tempered scale at the bottom for comparison. The result is a chart showing the probable evolution of the Burmese scale after its advance from the pentatonic basis. *See* folding chart.

Whereas the present western scale moved away from the Just Intonation *via* Mean Tone to its final drastic Equal Temperament into twelve semi-tones, the Burmese scale seems to have moved away from equi-graded seven tones to its present almost diatonic appearance. Being unchromatic it has to make one fixed scale perform the function of at least three so that modulation may be possible to some extent. Table 7 shows to what extent that is possible.

1. Here and elsewhere, except where otherwise indicated by the context, the names of notes merely indicate the relative position in the scale and have no reference to absolute pitch. Thus F here is Fah.

13: Khin Zaw I-5 (no date) 1940 AP1 Burma
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Table 6.

Th: scale of the Burmese oboes *hnè-gyi* and *hnè-galé* compared to the standard (?) Burmese scale.

Hnè-gyi Frequency.	Intervals.	*Hnè-galé* Frequency.	Intervals.	Standard (?) Frequency.	Intervals.
		F1 889·2			
			185·8		
		M1 798·7			
			190·5		
		R1 715·5			
			161·4		
D1 572·8		D1 651·8		D1 1200	
	179·7		161·8		160
T 516·7		T 593·6		T 1040	
	159·1		186·2		160
L 471		L 533·1		L 880	
	179·8		179·8		180
S 424·5		S 480·6		S 700	
	140·3		134·4		160
F 391·5		F 444·6		F 540	
	178·2		186·2		180
M 353·2		(399·3)		M 360	
	199·4		189·8		160
R 314·8		(357·8)		R 200	
	163·5		161·8		200
D 286·4		(325·9)		D 0	
	0		0		

(Figures in brackets are obtained by multiplication or division of the original figures by 2).

The above table shows how the scale of Burmese wind-instruments disagrees with that of the *pattalars*. The finger-holes on Burmese oboes (*hnè*) have that "uniformity and symmetry in their appearance" which K. C. Hsiao deprecates. (*See* diagrams 2 and 3). He says that in China the resultant impersonal scale was applied to the playing of stringed instruments *to be in tune with wind-instruments*. Happily for the Burmese scale the measurements of the *hnès* and the *pattalars* do NOT agree—yet.

That is a hopeful sign that the impersonal scale, which is no more than the result of a lazy way of boring finger-holes on wind-instruments, has not yet usurped the true Burmese scale. This is the time to instruct the makers of Burmese wind-instruments to bore their finger-holes more faithfully to the Burmese scale and with less *uniformity and symmetry in appearance*. Either that, or adopt the diatonic scale entirely with all its advantages. 534 171

Actually it has been the Burmese oboists who have been keeping in tune with the other Burmese instruments by means of their wonderful expertness in lipping and blowing their inadequately bored instruments. To them a precision instrument like a modern European oboe with its mechanical keys is merely an impediment. The reed on their own instruments is everything, the system of holes a mere convenience. It is amazing how their *hnès* speak not from the bell but from the staple, and how they speak! My *saya* can obtain all the notes of the chromatic scale on his *hnè* following my western oboe note by note. 533 534

Diagrams 2 and 3 will show the different arrangements of the scale on *hnè-gyi* (big oboe) and *hnè-galé* (little oboe), the former beginning and ending with the tonic and the latter with the subdominant. That does not mean that we have tenor oboes, alto oboes, transposing oboes and so on. The arrangement is purely for convenience. The middle one of the finger-holes being the most convenient place for the most frequently fingered predominating note, on the *hnè-gyi*, which plays those tunes with the subdominant predominating, that note is placed in the middle. On the *hnè-galé*, which plays those tunes with the tonic predominating, the tonic is placed in the middle. The theory of the "predominating note" will be developed in the course of this article.

Diagram 2

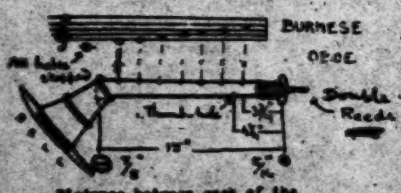
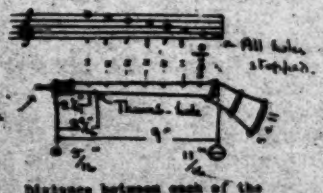


Diagram 3



The bell of this brass is hung loosely by means of cords. It is of no acoustic value and is often dispensed with. [illegible] *hnè-gyi* is used for grand style songs in the subdominant mode; and [illegible] *hnè-galé* for songs in the ordinary key of the approximate diatonic major scale. All the holes in both instruments are of the same size.

533 may be other than "the fixed scale of the gong-circle." The absence of semitones or accidentals convinced him that modulation into other keys was impossible. On the other hand Mariano decided that there *was* modulation into other keys. If the original scale was not an approximate affair, and the keys into which modulation occurred were also not approximate, then of course no modulation would be possible without semitones or accidentals or equi-distant intervals. It is now Mr. Mariano's turn. I draw attention at this point to the classical diagram of modulation, or rather, the rotation of the position of *aṃca*[1] and to the examples of the tuning of some Burmese musical instruments, with acknowledgments both to U Ba Choe and U San Win. [*See* diagrams 1, 2, 3, 4].

Diagram 4.

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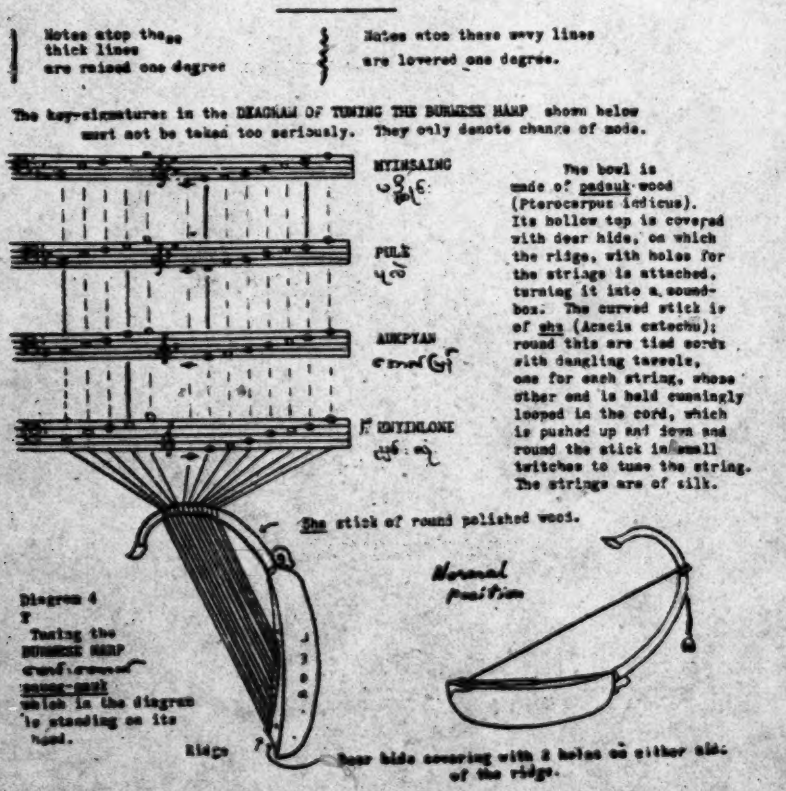

1. This word *aṃca* will be explained in the later pages.

13: Khin Zaw I-5 (no date) 1940 AP1 Burma
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(412 2)

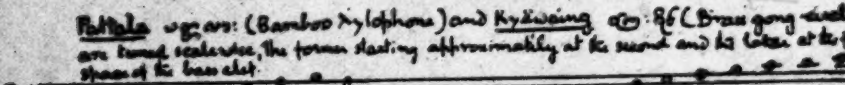
PLATE I

Tuning of the Burmese Saing Waing (Drum Circle) according to Paul Edmonds. Total 18 drums.

Dito according to the Sandin. Total 19 Khwaing-thin-chi tuning

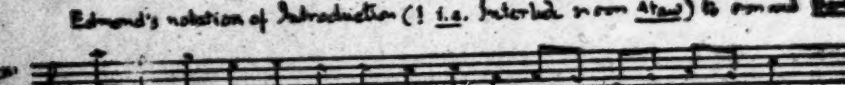
Total 21 drums

Dito. Dito. so and so Thin-lat-thin tuning



Fourth and Ninth drums are tuned 1 degree higher. The sixth drum also 1½ higher.

Pattala ugyan: (Bamboo xylophone) and Kyiwaing ugyan (Brass gong circle) are tuned scalewise, the former starting approximately at the second and its letter at the fourth space of the bass clef.



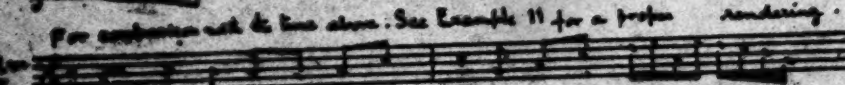
Edmond's notation of Introduction (i.e. Interlude from Atwe) to Pyan-ta.

No bars & no time-signature.

The correct from Atwe (Interlude. Mariano calls it symphony)

Etc.

Edmonds Pyan-ta tune, unbarred and without time-signature.



For ornamentation see the tune above. See Example 11 for a proper rendering.

14: Brant E-5 (1949-50) 1954 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

881 objects used in the ceremony. The largest table is covered with a lace cloth
792 and on it stands an alabaster statue of the Buddha in a carved and decorated case. Before the figure of the Buddha are offerings of flowers, water, a candle, bananas and coconuts, placed in a special bowl. There is also a dish of puffed rice, a carved gilt bowl, and three new bowls, the latter for the initiates. Each of the bowls contains some of the traditional articles required for a monk: beads, water cups, needle and thread, a straight razor. The carved, gilt begging bowl symbolizes the type used by the Buddha when he was on earth. The second table contains offerings of bananas and coconuts for the monks, and richly decorated gilt trays symbolic of the kind used in the days of the Burmese kings but now only for purposes of decoration. These will be carried by young girls in the procession. The third table contains robes and other gifts for the several monks who are invited to the ceremony. On the fourth table are mats and pillows for the initiates to use. They will be presented to the monks as gifts afterwards.

The elaborate preparations for the ceremony begin on the morning of the preceding day. Young girls go from house to house to borrow betelnut boxes, mats and carpets. In the afternoon a five piece orchestra, hired for the occasion, arrives at the place of the ceremony. It consists of two large drums,
0534 a small drum, a wind instrument, a xylophone, and cymbals. Now an elder makes offerings to the spirits (nats). Bananas, a coconut and a lighted candle are placed on a tray. The elder holds the tray and recites invocations to the good and the evil spirits. The evil spirits are implored not to harass any person who participates in the ceremony, because it is a work of merit; the good spirits are reminded of the meritorious nature of the ceremony and asked to watch over and protect the proceedings. As the spirits are so addressed he swings the tray towards each member of the orchestra in turn, sometimes three, sometimes nine, and sometimes twelve times. The orchestra continues to play intermittently throughout the afternoon, evening, and into the night. Early in the evening the young men of the village come to the monastery with their own musical instruments -- mandolins, guitars, and violins -- and sing and dance into the early morning hours. The orchestra group remains at the monastery all night.

About midnight, a group of men who are responsible for cooking the food
252 set to work at this task. Women do not normally cook meals for an occasion as large as this; it is felt that the quantities of food required and the amount of labor involved is too much for them to manage. Around three hundred people are expected at a large shinbyu in the village. The cooks, about a dozen middle-
[522] aged men, sit around the fire they have lighted in a clearing a short distance from the monastery, drink tea, smoke, and make jokes. One man is introduced to the group as the 'all-Burma curry-cooking expert'; another is called 'No. 1 soup cook'; a third is dubbed 'best rice cook of the village.' During the night they prepare large quantities of boiled rice, pork curry, sour bean sprouts, fried fish paste, and a vegetable soup.

Early on the morning of the day for the ceremony, the initiates are
[291] dressed by friends of their families. After a bath, thanakha, an astringent-like paste made from ground tree bark and water, is applied to their faces. Then they don silk longyis and thin, white muslin jackets, beneath which they wear cotton vests. The longyi is very ornate, made of heavy silk, and is seamless. Gold chains and necklace, bracelets and rings are put on. The head dress is a fine silk cloth, wound round the head, and decorated with garlands of flowers.

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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CHAPTER VII

BURMESE DRAMATIC PRACTICE

1. The Actors

536* 537 As Burmese plays were presented to the public by two different classes of performers, actors and puppets, it is necessary to consider each class separately.

Before the decadent period and the arrival of European influences a raised platform as stage was never used by the actors. Their 'stage' was an open space in the centre of the orchestra, around which the audience sat. Both the performers and the audience stood or sat on mats laid on the ground. In rare instances, a low fence of bamboo marked the space on which the play was to be enacted. At court or at the houses of officials, it was slightly different. There, from a special apartment, the floor of which was raised about two or three feet from the ground, the nobility looked down on the actors, behind whom were the members of the orchestra, and behind the orchestra, the audience sat. There was neither curtain nor green-room, and the actors got ready and waited for their parts sitting among the members of the orchestra, in full view of the audience.

The stage scenery consisted of only a tree branch to represent a forest, and a property box to represent the throne. The imagination of the audience had to supplement the inadequate stage scenery. The poetical language and the orchestra helped the audience to visualize the scene. The translations given below in the appendixes will make it clear how artistic the descriptions of scenery in the plays are. To take an example off-hand, the alchemist's description of the forest in the closing scene of *Parpahein* is indeed beautiful.[1]

[1] Cf. The Elizabethan drama. 'The Elizabethan drama, being without scenery and elaborate stage apparatus, made its appeal to the mind rather than to the eye, and used language as the main instrument by which the imagination of its audience was aroused and satisfied. This familiar fact goes far to explain the essential intellectual character of the Elizabethan drama, and the wonderful literary power of the great dramatists.'—*Cambridge History of English Literature*, vol. VI, p. 328.

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

The orchestra, in the intervals between scenes, played a tune appropriate to the next scene: a royal march for a throne-room scene, a 'battle tune' for a martial scene, a 'woodland tune' for a forest scene, and so on. The tunes were so well known that the audience recognized them at once. The orchestra also played in the middle of a scene, when certain actions could not be satisfactorily represented, as in *Parpahein*, scene 7, where the brothers were supposed to be climbing the palace-walls, and in *Paduma*, scene 4, where the hero was presumed to be swimming in the river to rescue the criminal. The costumes of the actors were picturesque, but not more gorgeous than those of the Elizabethans. They wore appropriate court dresses. The king in full regalia when holding an audience, the ministers in their velvet gowns, the princes and princesses in gold and jewels appeared striking, but except for the material which was silk, the dresses were not expensive, for the seeming gold and jewels were all imitation. Masks were worn for special purposes. Ogre, *naga*-dragon, *galôn*-bird, had masks of their own, which the actors representing them wore. When an ogress was supposed to have assumed human form, the actress representing her raised the mask on to the forehead, making the face visible. A soldier on horseback or on an elephant was represented simply by an actor in uniform holding a dummy horse's head or elephant's head. Actors taking the part of gods wore shining dress, which was traditionally believed to be worn by all gods. The dresses were not the creations of actors. The court dresses of course were copied from those actually worn at court, but the dresses of gods and other spirits and the masks were copies from the stone images which had adorned the platforms of pagodas even before the rise of Pagan in the eleventh century. Perhaps it is not irrelevant to mention that Burmese dramatic performances, in spite of the dependence on the music of the orchestra, were not like masques, for the stage scenery was not elaborate. In this connexion, it should be mentioned that the Burmese actors used the mask purely for the purpose of representing certain characters, and masked dancing was unknown.[1]

An acting troupe consisted of actors proper and members of the orchestra. Women were freely admitted to the troupe, but they were all actresses. Playing in the orchestra was deemed to be a man's

[1] In Siam, even at the present day, the king has special dancers who perform in masks. Masked dancing, for religious purposes, is also known in Tibet.

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

536* 534 462 463 part, although there was no stage convention preventing women from taking it up as a vocation. The head of the orchestra was also the head of the troupe. He was the most learned and experienced member, and he was responsible for the organization and financial outlay, paying more or less fixed wages to the others, and taking the profits himself. When engaged for a performance, the troupe was paid by public subscription or by some philanthropic person, usually an official, and therefore no charge for admission was made, all being [565] welcome to it. The Burmese actors as a class, unlike their Elizabethan counterparts who could endow a College of God's Gift or buy a coat-of-arms, were poor. But they never starved, for even the poorest villages would welcome and feed them on their wanderings all over the country. The troupe was one large family, and the children of the members accompanied it. In spite of the prejudice against them and their poverty, the actors loved their art, and enjoyed the performances themselves.

536* There were many conventions connected with the stage, and they can be divided into two classes: those imposed on the actors by themselves, and those imposed by the fear of becoming unpopular with the audience.

795 536* The actors never forgot that they were originally spirit-dancers, and therefore they had conventions by which they showed their indebtedness to spirit worship. Before the performance offerings of food were made to the thirty-seven *nats*. As a curtain-raiser, there was a performance by a dancer or chorus of dancers. Each wore a red [533] cloth round the head—the sign of a spirit worshipper. Singing invocations to the *nats* and dancing the appropriate dances, they asked for protection by the spirits, while the orchestra played a bar from each [751] of the thirty-seven *nat* tunes. It was supposed that if this convention was broken, disaster would befall the troupe, the performance would prove a failure, and the actors would become mad; but often these conventions had been known to be broken, accidentally or otherwise.

536* 463 554 The actors were looked upon as irreligious and immoral, and on the slightest excuse, they were in danger of being considered profane. Therefore, as has been stated, they took over the conventions from the *Nibhatkhin*. The Buddha was never impersonated, and an *arahat* [779] or saint only when absolutely necessary, and then by an able and 'serious' actor, who had to keep a fast that day. Not even a mild joke was to be made against the Buddha or an *arahat*, although even monks and the religion itself could be the butt of a clown's wit. But

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

to be under the direct control of the state. But as living actors were now past such control, he turned his attention towards puppets, which were in great demand by the people. He realized the possibilities of puppets in the newly arisen national drama. The puppet show, which was then entirely independent of the drama and the living actors, started with different animals coming out one by one, and each gave a special dance to a particular tune of its own, played by the orchestra, then a *zawgyee*[1] appeared and danced, and finally, a prince and princess came out, made love, sang and danced. The puppets were from 2½ to 3 feet in height, and were worked by strings. As stage, there was a raised platform, with a black curtain, behind which the show-men stood and manipulated the puppets. The men's hands were visible, but as the platform was about four feet high and the audience had to look up, the hands did not distinctly come into the line of vision. The platform was about twenty feet in length, and the width of the part in front of the curtain was about four feet.

536 * 175 [534] ●

The minister put the puppet show under direct state patronage and control. Under him the puppet show became similar to an ordinary dramatic presentation except that puppets performed instead of living actors. The use of puppets to act the play of course caused the introduction of new puppets, but it also rendered the *zawgyee* and animal puppets unnecessary; yet they were retained all

536 * 175 [656]

[1] *Zawgyee* is the Burmese term for an alchemist. It is a derivative of the Indian word *yogi* but the Burmese alchemist has little in common with the Indian ascetic. It is an example of how names of Pali and semi-Buddhist origin were applied to already-existing native ideas.

789 822 [198]

A man (but not a woman) becomes a *zawgyee* when he has introduced into his body the right metal-compounds. To obtain those compounds, he has to experiment on metals with quicksilver or iron. In the first case, he becomes a 'quicksilver *zawgyee*' and in the second, an 'iron *zawgyee*', but both have the same powers. A *zawgyee* lives for millions of years, and can travel in the air, in water, or under the earth, for his body has reached the state when it is beyond the ordinary laws of nature. A halfway stage in the experiments is reached when a 'stone of live metal' (equivalent to the medieval 'philosopher's stone') is obtained. A person in actual possession of the stone can fly in the air and travel under the earth, but his powers are entirely dependent on the stone, i.e. his body is still an ordinary human body. The stone turns lead into silver and brass into gold. It will be seen that a Burman striving to become a *zawgyee* has much in common with the medieval European alchemist.

The beliefs connected with the *zawgyee* are still widely current. For a detailed account of Burmese alchemy, see the writer's 'Alchemy and Alchemists in Burma' in *Folk-Lore*, December 1933.

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21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

Pegu, many English officials asked to be my father's guests, for although they had been some years in Burma and heard so much of the puppet show, they had never been able to find one. In 1929, on inquiry, I found that there was not one puppet troupe in Lower Burma, though there were two in Upper Burma; of these, only one was giving performances occasionally, the members of the other being content to earn their living by some other means. 536* 178

Before considering the probable history of the puppet show before the time of Bodawpaya, it is necessary to give an account of the puppet-shadow show of the east. The home of the puppet show was India. Pischel in *The Home of the Puppet Stage* even contends that the Sanskrit shadow drama preceded the drama proper, but that theory is not accepted by Dr Keith and other scholars. From India, with Hindu expansion overseas, the puppet-shadow show spread, together with the epics and the drama, to Malaya and the East Indies. In Java it found a permanent home, and there shadow drama is still very popular. From Java it spread to Siam and other countries of Indo-China, to Persia, Turkey, Arabia and Japan. Perhaps it even spread to Europe; at least the English Punch is a direct descendant of the Turkish puppet Karageuz, who himself was a descendant of the Sanskrit puppet Vidusaka. To give an idea of the puppet-shadow show, I will give a description of a Java shadow performance. 536* 101

As 'stage' there is a huge curtain with a light behind it. The puppets are put between the light and the curtain, on which their shadows are thrown. 'The light shines through the transparent material of which his (the puppet's) many-coloured garments are made. His shadow on the curtain glows with such bright hues within the framework of dark shells that he looks like a figure in stained glass. . . . In the middle of the huge curtain is seen a fantastic vine with interlacing branches. Monkeys and birds climb on it, and beneath it two grim guards stand watch. When the play begins, the strange shadow tree vanishes. The stage manager is the *Dalang*. He sits on a mat and gives the play.[1] Back of him is the orchestra to accompany the explanations of the *Dalang*. Whenever a new figure enters the orchestra plays. The men in the audience are allowed to sit on the right of the *Dalang* and see the actual puppets perform, and the children sit at the *Dalang's* left hand. But the women are not permitted to see the real puppets act. They see only the shadows on the [534] [562]

[1] i.e. he recites the words of the play.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
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The tall flag-staff (*tagindaing*) is the most striking of the temple-accessories. It consists of a decorated spar, sixty to eighty feet high, from which floats a long streamer. The head of the pole is ornamented with a mythical animal, generally the *hintha* (*hanza*, a fantastic figure of the Brahmany duck) or else the *kinnayá*, a monster with the body of a woman in princely array and the wings and legs of a bird. The butt of the *tagindaing*, instead of being planted in the ground, is frequently set between piles which are carved into figures of the mythical *thadyá* (p. 186, No. 7). The pole is held up by transverse bars passing through it and the piles.

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79. TAGUNDAING WITH KEINNAYA.

80. TAGUNDAING WITH HINTHA.

Colossal lions (*chinthé*, No. 56) of the Burmese conventional type guard the temple approaches—monsters differing as much in their way from the prototype as the lions of our own heraldry.

Stands shaped like a *ballin* or throne, on which flowers and fruit are offered, are placed on the temple platforms.

Great bells are hung at every shrine (No. 97). The votary takes the deer-antler off the bar and strikes first the ground and then the bell. This is to call to witness beings both under the earth and above the earth and make them participators in the merit of the act of worship. The Burman bell has noble proportions and is hung by metal clasps of rich design, figuring the mythical dragon (*nagá*, No. 47). The tone of the bells is not rich, owing partly to the form, partly to flaws in casting. The greatest bell in Burma is that cast by the Emperor Bodaw Payá, on the European model, in 1790, for the temple he began at Mingún. It is said to weigh eighty-eight tons. A historic bell

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25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
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81. SYMBOL OF MYIMMO-DAUNG.

of the Burman type is the one cast for the Shwe-Dagôn Payâ by the Emperor Sinbyu Shin in 1773, which weighs forty-one tons.

According to the Burman cosmogony the world consists of four great islands, North, South, East and West, surrounded by the ocean. Burma and the known countries are situated in the south island. In the centre of all rises Mount Meru (*Myimmo-daung*). This centre of the universe is symbolized by a conventional tower provided with niches or caverns for mythical inhabitants of every sort, *Nat*, *Zawdyi* (sorcerers), *Bilu* (ogres), monsters half human and half brute, and dragons (No. 392). The symbol of *Myimmo-daung*, made of bamboo, with paper and tinsel, is a feature of various festivals. In substantial masonry it is a frequent adjunct of the temples.

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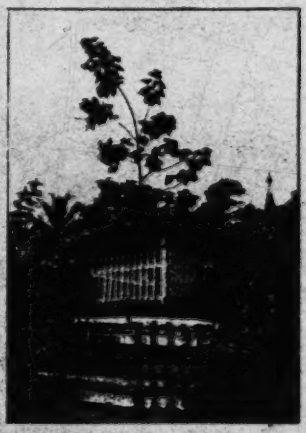
[773]

The *Bo* tree (*Bawdi-bin*), together with the rest of the *ficus* family, is sacred to the Hindu. The *Bo* is a variety of the *pipal* (*ficus religiosa*), a deciduous *ficus* with long copper-coloured acumina to the leaves. It is sacred to the Buddhists because it was while resting under the shade of a *Bo* tree at Gáya in Bahár, 600 years before Christ, that Gawdama realised the vanity of the ceremonial and ascetic systems, resisted temptation, and attained to supreme enlightenment, which, as Buddha, it became his mission to impart to mankind. "The *Bo* tree is to Buddhists what the Cross is to Christians" (Bigandet). The original *Mahâ-bodi* was piously tended while Buddhism flourished in India, and trees propagated from it were planted by Buddhist pilgrims. Such a tree is the historical *Bo* tree at Anurâdhapûra in Ceylon, planted in 245 B.C. and still flourishing. Young plants cultivated from this tree are brought home to



82. BAWDI TREE.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

000 Herbert Spencer, *The Origin and Function of Music.*) The simplest Burman
●534 instruments are the harp (*saung*) and the dulcimer (*patala*). The harp has a boat-shaped body of wood, with a skin stretched over it for sounding-board. The thirteen strings are of silk, strengthened with varnish. The staves of the *patala* are of dry bamboo (No. 454). These two instruments are not loud; they

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395. BOYS' BOXING-MATCH.

are used to accompany the voice, as we use a harp or guitar, and also by themselves. The loud band (*saing-dî*), which gives so much character to the *pwè*, is composed of clarions, gongs and drums. The clarion (*hnè*) is a loud and strident instrument, the effect of which is enhanced by the second clarion. These are supported by gamuts of tuned gongs (18) and drums (22) in circles (*kyî-waing* and *saing-waing*). There are two tenor drums and a bass drum (*bôndyî*). Time is accentuated by cymbals and clappers. The tone of the gongs is so round and bright that it may be mistaken for a piano; the flourishes played on the *kyî-waing* would imply considerable execution in a pianist. Drums are struck with the fingers, gongs with padded sticks.

526 Boxing-matches are the simplest of the contests which, after plays and pageants, form the chief popular diversions. The spectators sit and stand in a wide circle. At one side is a raised platform for the judges. No women are present. The challenger executes a defiant dance

396. PONY-RACING.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
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The Burmans do not appreciate singing in a low pitch. They do not admire men's voices in the baritone or the bass. A-natural is considered the standard pitch for men's and D-natural for women's voices. The higher the tenor the more it is admired. Their ideal singer is a tenor approaching a contralto. On the other hand a soprano voice is less admired than a contralto. The propensity is to cultivate high voices in the men and low voices in the women. The professional singers are true artists and are able to command the feelings of their hearers. The *ngè-dyin thaw*—weeping song—invariably brings tears to the eyes of the hearers. The love songs are full of pathos. An indispensable scene in all the operas is the separation and meeting again of the lovers. It is the most interesting part of the play and is eagerly awaited by the play-goers. The best songs are sung in these scenes and the best talents of the performers called into play. The Burman is readily excited by music; the dancing songs never fail to set his hands and legs going. There is a style of martial music played at boxing-matches, races, and grand tugs-of-war which excites the Burmans to action. The performance of a complete Burmese band is a study in itself. Considering that the musicians play without a score, the harmony and strict time they observe are truly wonderful.

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454. THE BURMESE HARP AND DULCIMER (p. 178).

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A few specimens of genuine Burmese music are appended (pp. 216–220). No. 1 is a song in the major scale, with harp accompaniment. The first twenty bars constitute the usual prelude to music of this kind. The tendency of the Burmese musician is to repeat the vocal part as an interlude, with all the variations and embellishments he can add. The last four bars are also usually played as a symphony at the end of each verse. The prelude and symphony are not peculiar to this song but are played with all songs of the same description. No. 2 is a specimen of another style, more suited for an orchestra. Nos. 3 and 4 are examples in the minor scale. Both are very ancient. No. 3 is called *Naw-thein ybdaya*. It used to be played on the entrance of the king to the Audience Hall and is the true national anthem of the Burmans. Its beauty and grandeur need no comment. No. 4 is a popular lullaby.

It is a matter for great regret that the beautiful music which the Burmans unquestionably possess is being forgotten. The modern tendency is to imitate European and Indian themes, and the time is not distant when genuine Burmese music will be a thing of the past.

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CHAPTER XXX

DANCING

● 535 DANCING, though an accomplishment in which every Burmese man or woman is more or less proficient, is, as elsewhere in the East, never carried on simply for personal amusement. That custom, together with the elaboration of the two sexes dancing in couples, is entirely a Western invention. If a great man wants dancing he hires people to do it for him. If indeed he becomes greatly excited at a boat-race, a buffalo fight, or a religious procession on its way through the town to the pagoda, he may tuck up his paso tightly round his thighs and caper away till his bare legs tire, but he does so ordinarily with a ludicrously solemn aspect, as if the performance were a part of his official duties, and to be got through with as much stately dignity as the dispensing of justice from the magisterial bench. It is a concession to the excitability of his nature, and he would be very much offended if next day, when he had calmed down to his ordinary composed demeanour, an Englishman were to compliment him on the agility he displayed, or the complexity of his evolutions on the previous day.

With the young people it is different, but only to a certain extent. Most of them, if they have any aptitude that way, practise dancing for the sake of the applause and admiration it may get for them when they perform in a village procession, at the initiation of a young friend into a monastery, or at one of the great religious feasts, such as Tawadein-tha, or even at a funeral. But as a general rule no lessons are taken other than watching noted performers. The ambitious usually confine themselves to practise in out-

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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of-the-way places by themselves, trusting to natural ability and good ear to help them in the harmonious movement of head, limbs, and body, to the sound of the music. The women who dance as professionals in the plays have to go through a very rigorous course, not that there are any complicated steps to be learnt, but that they may acquire the pliancy of body necessary for the indiarubber contortions into which they have to writhe their bodies.

There are therefore no distinctions of dances, according to regular varieties of movements. These are pretty well regulated both by professionals and amateurs according to individual fancy. If such a thing as an "encore" existed in Burma, it would probably puzzle the dancer to repeat the step exactly as it has been gone through before. This of course refers to individual dancing, and does not by any means apply to the yein pwès, where a carefully-trained troupe goes through pre-arranged movements with well-drilled precision. There may be said to be really only two kinds of dancing: individual, or it might almost be called irresponsible dancing, such as is seen in the plays and at various religious or social ceremonies; and the yein pwès, the figure, or "country" dances, where much practice and working together is imperatively necessary. A zatôk, or theatre manager, will tell you that there are four or perhaps five kinds; the dancing of the zat pwè, the regular drama; that of the yāma zat (the Ramayana), which is of a much wilder and more energetic character; the dancing of the anyeinthama, the trained companies of ballet-dancers, who perform in the palace before the king and princes to the sound of the pattala, the harp, or the flute. These are simply glorified yeins, and the *danseuses* are often most gorgeously dressed with gilded pyramidal crowns, and wings on their legs. Fourthly, there is the bônshe pwè, a performance of much the same kind, except that it is gone through to the music of the instrument of that name, a long kettle-drum-like thing, much the same as the tom-tom of India. This latter variety is considered old-fashioned, and is not often seen now, notwithstanding that it is called Byaw, after the great Thabinwun, who was particularly fond of it. The fifth style of dancing, according to the player's idea, is the performance

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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● 535 of the ordinary domestic youth on festive occasions, when he prances about like an extremely self-conscious turkey-cock in the style that suits his capabilities best.

There are a great variety of names for special dances, but in all there is the same waving of hands and weaving of paces. The hands, fingers, elbows, and shoulders are twisted about as if they were circular-jointed; the legs are doubled up and extended in the same fantastic and tentacular fashion, while the body seems to wind and bend in any direction with equal facility. Europeans as a rule find nothing to admire in the dancing except the marvellous sensitiveness to time, and the extreme tension in which every muscle of the body is constantly kept. The solemnity of face is paralleled by the expression of the waltzer who is convinced that he is becoming giddy.

535 562 Little though the dancing of the men resembles European saltation, that of the girls is still farther from active motion and definitive figures. This is no doubt in great part due to the Burmese female dress. The tamein is simply a square cloth folded round the body and tucked in so that the opening is down the front. This necessitates some adroitness even in walking, and renders all active motions incompatible with modesty. When they dance the skirt is sewn or pinned down the front, so that the girl is, as it were, in a narrow bag, reaching down to her feet and trailing about on the ground in an eighteen-inch or two-foot train. Even thus hampered their dances are much more animated than those of the Indian nautch girls, but still do not go greatly beyond posturing. Nevertheless, the natural and graceful attitudes into which they throw the body, and the cleverness with which they manœuvre their hands and arms, so different from European awkwardness with these members, is not without a charm. It is quite a common thing to see a girl bend over backwards till her lips touch the mat upon which she stands, and pick up from the ground rupees thrown there by the spectators. In Mandalay I have seen a performer double up all her members, head and all, into a space represented by the length of her trunk, and compact enough to be put into an ordinary-sized portmantean.

The zatthamā, the professional actresses, usually dance

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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to their own singing and often improvise with wonderful cleverness, when performing before a celebrity, or any one whom it is especially desired to honour. Many of them acquire a reputation that extends all over the country, and are often sought for in vain by the wealthiest play-goers. Chief among them was the Yindaw Ma Le, the "Mandalay Diva," who was known to every English official or man of importance who visited Mandalay during the twenty years before the annexation. Unlike most Eastern women, she kept remarkably well, and though her voice failed latterly, she made up as well as she did nearly twenty years before, when she sang in Amarapoora, the City of the Immortals. There were few Englishmen who saw her perform before Lord Mayo in Rangoon—she was sent down specially from Mandalay by King Mindôn for that purpose—who could have believed that she was then close on forty. The want of a national court no doubt prevents any other dancer from taking the place which she has left for ever.

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An accomplishment greatly affected by the coryphées is the extraordinary faculty of moving local muscles, the remainder of the body being perfectly quiet. Many of the men, especially the clowns of the piece, can do the same thing, but it is usually brought in by them only as a mockery of the lady. She will extend the arms alternately and cause the muscles to rise and fall and twitch so vigorously that it may be seen yards off. Similarly the bosom heaves as if violently agitated by passion or exertion, while the face remains perfectly impassive.

These displays are all, however, comparatively uninteresting to foreigners. The posturing and waving of hands, however graceful and supple, become tiresome, and the more so the oftener they are seen. But it is different with the yein pwè, the choral dances, which are very often executed by amateurs, and imply considerable skill and long practice under competent instructors. The *coup d'œil* is very attractive, and the effect of the different groupings quite as good as anything to be seen in the incidental ballet of the European stage, while the brilliance of the dresses and the ebbing and flowing chorus of the dancers add to the picturesqueness of the whole. The yein flourishes most in small villages, where

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2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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535 the most promising of the youth of both sexes are taken in charge by a skilled sayā, who trains them assiduously together until they have attained perfection. Even in these dances the sexes do not mingle. There are meimma yein and yaukya yein, the former usually eschewing complex movements, and sitting in rows on the ground, richly decked with bracelets, and dalizan necklaces falling over their silken vests or tight-fitting lace bodices. The dancing consists of the usual pirouetting, or perhaps it ought to be called winding, on both feet, with much serpentine movements of the arms and the head. The loosening of the elbow-joint is greatly practised by Burmese girls with a view to these performances, and also under the impression that it is elegant in itself. From early years the arm is so manipulated that the forearm can be bent back so as to form a curve outwards, and this accomplishment is steadily exhibited on all occasions in public by a belle who has acquired it. Very often the meimma yein is performed by a body of girls, who succeed one another in successive groups. All are seated at first. The chorus is led by a woman, who herself does not dance, and is usually the instructress of the troupe. She begins in a low recitative gradually swelling until at last the first group rise and go through a stately performance. They are succeeded by the next row, who are more lively in their movements, and so on to the last, who are usually young girls, and are much more rapid and varied in their figures than their elder predecessors. Finally, all join in some complicated evolutions, and finish up seated in some pre-arranged figure. But as a rule the meimma yeins, though pretty enough as a mere spectacle, have not sufficient action to redeem them from the accusation of tiresome sameness brought against individual dancing, and they are always so discreet that they might be performed by Sunday-school teachers.

535 562 533 In the men's dances it is different. At the commencement all are seated, four or five in the front row, and forming a column of perhaps ten or more rows. The conductor gives the sign and all bow down with closed hands raised to the forehead in salutation to the great man in whose honour the dance is given. Then they begin singing in

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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chorus in the usual way. The song treats in a rambling way of the past history of the village, its ancient glories and heroes; its victories in boat-races, boxing matches, or mains of cocks. Interpolated are catch phrases for the guidance of the dancers. At a certain word all spring to their feet; they sway to the right, to the left; white handkerchiefs are drawn from the belt and waved to the measure of the refrain, peeled white wands replace them; they pirouette simultaneously, they troop round in procession in movements resembling figures in the Lancers or the Haymakers, the time varying with the measure of the song, dying away in plaintive sounds almost to quiescence, and then suddenly rising to excited movement of every limb as the words tell of a let-pwè, in which some local hero of the fancy did glorious deeds, or a fight long years ago when the village spearmen carried the day. Then the measure changes again, the alterations in time being always heralded by some such refrain as to yein daw tha, le maung yo wa, a kind of warning hung out after the manner of the first word of a military command. Occasionally, a yein troupe which has acquired particular skill and renown travels about the country on special invitation. Rangoon is often supplied with its "country dances" in this way, the townspeople not having the time, or being too numerous to form a good company for themselves. But they very rarely become regular professionals in the same way as the play actors do; they never perform ostensibly to gain a living, and the dances always occur on some fête day, whether in their own place or in the village to which they have been invited. Their instructor always receives a sum of money to recompense him for his trouble and to pay for the expenses of his troupe. Yein pwès are performed ordinarily in private houses or on a public platform, when it is a religious or special festival. A yein is a favourite way of greeting a great man, or an English official on his arrival in a village. It is not so expensive as a zat pwè, is more quickly arranged, allows the sons and daughters of the chief people to distinguish themselves, and lasts just as long as the person it is intended to honour pleases.

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16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

796 And, '*My mother!* what a lot of sweet rice! Who
735 gave that? Oh, I see old U Hman.' 'I wonder
792 what's in that tin box?' remarked one as he passed my biscuits. 'I hope it's coming to our monastery, any way.'

Thus the monks passed, paying no sort of attention, while the people knelt to them; and when the procession reached the end of the line of offerings, it went on without stopping, across the fields, the monks of each monastery going to their own place; and the givers of presents rose up and followed them, each carrying his or her gifts. And so they went across the fields till each little procession was lost to sight.

796 That was all the ceremony for the day, but at dusk the illuminations began. The little pagoda in the fields was lighted up nearly to its top with concentric rings of lamps till it blazed like a pyramid of flame, seen far across the night. All the people came there, and placed little offerings of flowers at the foot of the pagoda, or added each his candle to the big illumination.

The house of the headman of the village was lit up with a few rows of lamps, and all the monasteries, too, were lit. There were no restaurants—every-
[444] one was at home, you see—but there were one or two little stalls, at which you could buy a cheroot, or even perhaps a cup of vermicelli; and there was
796 a dance. It was only the village girls who had
535 been taught, partly by their own mothers, partly by an old man, who knew something of the business. They did not dance very well, perhaps; they were none of them very beautiful; but what matter?

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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We knew them all; they were our neighbours, the kinswomen of half the village; everyone liked to see them dance, to hear them sing; they were all young, and are not all young girls pretty? And amongst the audience were there not the girls' relations, their sisters, their lovers? would not that alone make the girls dance well, make the audience enthusiastic? And so, what with the illuminations, and the chat and laughter of friends, and the dance, we kept it up till very late; and we all went to bed happy and well pleased with each other, well pleased with ourselves. Can you imagine a more successful end than that?

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To write about these festivals is so pleasant, it brings back so many delightful memories, that I could go on writing for long and long. But there is no use in doing so, as they are all very much alike, with little local differences depending on the enterprise of the inhabitants and the situation of the place. There might be boat-races, perhaps, on a festival day, or pony-races, or boxing. I have seen all these, if not at the festival at the end of Lent, at other festivals. I remember once I was going up the river on a festival night by the full moon, and we saw point after point crowned with lights upon the pagodas; and as we came near the great city we saw a new glory; for there was a boat anchored in mid-stream, and from this boat there dropped a stream of fire; myriads of little lamps burned on tiny rafts that drifted down the river in a golden band. There were every now and then bigger rafts, with figures made in light—boats and pagodas and monasteries. The lights heaved with

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21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

CHAPTER I

THE ORIGINS OF BURMESE DRAMA

1. Burmese Music and Dancing

I have said that no Burmese drama is to be found before the eighteenth century. The origins of that drama are to be found in the remote past of Burma's own national development, rather than in foreign importations or influence.

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No doubt, Burmese music and dancing arose out of primitive religious rituals as in other countries. Society developed, civilization expanded, and contact with the Hindus and Chinese gave new ideas, but the native element always dominated, and the music and dancing remained, as indeed they still remain, essentially Burmese. In A.D. 800 when the Hindu expansion overseas was an accomplished fact, when the Hindu and Chinese civilizations had come into contact with each other, and when the rest of Indo-China had been drawn into the influence of those civilizations, Burmese music and dancing remained independent. In 800–2, when some parts of Upper Burma were under the nominal suzerainty of Nanchao (then a semi-independent State, now Yunnan), two Burmese deputations accompanied Nanchao missions to the Court of the Chinese Emperor, and the Burmese 'sang songs containing Sanskrit words and went through spelling dances, lining up in a pattern which read "Nanchao sends holy music!"'[1] The Imperial Secretary has left us a poem describing the occasion. The following is an extract:

Music from the land of P'iao, music from the land of P'iao,[2]
Brought hither from the great ocean's south-west corner
  Yung Ch'iang's son, Shunant'o.
Has come with an offering of southern tunes to fête the New Year.
Our Emperor has taken his seat in the courtyard of the palace.
He does not press his cap strings to his ears, he is listening to you!

[1] G. E. Harvey, *History of Burma*, p. 14.

[2] The land of P'iao was the name by which Burma was known to the Chinese until the tenth century (ibid., p. 11).

21: Htin Aung . E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

175 At the first blast of the jewelled shell, their matted locks grow crisp.
533 At one blow from their copper gong their painted limbs leap.
535 Pearl streams glitter as they twist, as though the stars were shaken in the sky
Flowery crowns nod and whirl, with the motion of dragon or snake.[1]

The music and the dance were strange enough and pleasing enough for the Emperor to bestow minor honorary offices at the court on the leaders of the deputation. Burmese music and dancing continued to develop, and at least the music reached great artistic heights in the kingdom of Pagan, for the kings were its patrons; Alaungsithu, king from 1112 to 1167, was himself an accomplished musician, and introduced new notes and tunes. With all its developments, the music remained so national that when the great Anawrahta (1044–77) led a raiding expedition into Bengal and wanted to leave a sign that he had been there, he set up, not stone pillars as was the practice of most eastern kings of the period, but stone images of Burmese musicians. And when Alaungsithu, his grandson, later raided Bengal, he found them; and men say that the stone musicians played tunes as if they were alive, to the great delight of the homesick king.[2]

[101] Music and dancing could develop on their own without being overwhelmed by an already developed drama, as the Burmese did not know of the great Indian epics, the *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana*, or the Sanskrit drama and its kinsman the puppet show, although Java and the rest of Indo-China, through their Hindu colonists and kings, had definitely adopted the Indian epics and the drama as their own by about the sixth or seventh century. This absence of Hindu influence on Burmese music and dancing explains why the Burmese are the only civilized nation in the Far East who do not possess the fighting dance—the dance essentially connected with the great Indian epics.[3]

[1] The extract is taken from G. E. Harvey, op. cit., p. 14.

[2] Harvey, pp. 30 and 48; Tin and Luce, *The Glass Palace Chronicle*, p. 114. Alaungsithu was a great warrior and traveller.

[3] A fuller account of the Sanskrit drama and the epics is given in chap. ii.

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
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have been celebrated year after year, at least since the reintroduction of Buddhism in 1056, and at least since March, 638, when an early king of Pagan, Popa Sawrahan (613–40), drew up the present Burmese era, the dawn of every Burmese new year has been the occasion for mirthful water-throwing.[1]

Buddhism had been introduced into the country through commercial relations with India long before the foundation of the kingdom of Pagan, but from the beginning it was only at second-hand and therefore feeble. The real religion of the Burmese before the reintroduction of Buddhism in 1056 was animistic, and they worshipped various spirits, known as *nats*. There were mediums, mostly women, who danced to please the spirits, and as the spirits were supposed to enter into the bodies of the mediums, sometimes it was believed that the spirits, and not the mediums, were actually dancing. Sometimes the medium herself actually believed that a spirit had taken control of her body, but usually she only pretended that a spirit had entered her, and gave an exhibition of acting. As the medium of each particular *nat* dressed herself in appropriate clothes, the spirit dances were essentially dramatic.[2] When Buddhism, in one of its purest forms, was introduced under Anawrahta, the great king realized the impossibility of attracting people suddenly to the new faith; so he compromised by recognizing the *nats* as Buddhist spirits and giving them shrines in his Shwezigôn Pagoda as its guardian spirits. When asked the reason, Anawrahta replied: 'Men will not come suddenly to the new faith. Let them come for their old gods, and they will gradually be won over.'[3]

So the worship of the *nats* lived on, and with the advance of

[1] Shway-Yoe (Sir George Scott) in *The Burman: His Life and Notions*, and Fielding Hall in *The Soul of a People* give detailed accounts of the feasts and life in the villages. However, as far as I have been able to find out, the Tazaungmôn celebrations have never been described in any English work.

[2] These dances are still performed on spirit-feast days at Taungbyôn (near Mandalay), a small town given up to spirit worship since the days of Pagan's greatness and perhaps even before.

The belief in, as distinct from the worship of, spirits is not alien to Buddhism.

The chief works on the subject are: Sir R. C. Temple, *The Thirty-Seven Nats*; Grant Brown, 'The Taungbyon Festival' in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, 1915; the same author's 'The Pre-Buddhist Religion of the Burmese' in *Folk-Lore*, 1921; and G. E. Harvey, *History of Burma*.

[3] G. E. Harvey, op. cit., p. 33.

So the worship of the nats lived on, and with the advance o
795 civilization the spirit dances became elaborate, for though the belief
535 was primitive, the people were no longer so. The dances benefited from the developments that had taken place in Burmese music which, as we have seen, flourished under the patronage of the Pagan kings. New spirits were added, and they were usually those of heroic princes. The dancers were now many, for the mediums turned themselves into dancing and music mistresses. The chief medium of each spirit dressed herself in the special dress of the spirit, but the junior mediums, who were equivalent to the chorus of an English revue, were in the dress of Burmese princesses. It is interesting to note the
[292] origin of this dress. The mediums realized the necessity of dressing
[565] themselves in fine raiment, but as everybody wore clothes of bright colours, the only solution of the problem was to don the dress of the court and official class, which the commoners were forbidden to
[530] wear by law, except during feasts and dances. When drama proper came into being, the hero and the heroine dressed themselves in the court dress, even when they were representing common characters.

3. Miracles and Interludes

175 After the fall of the kingdom of Pagan in A.D. 1257, Burma was
369 the scene of fierce civil wars, but the trouble was mainly in the
726 capitals; in the villages and small towns life went on in its joyous
779 way. Religion continued to spread in spite of the fact that the throne of Pagan was no longer in existence to support it. Learning began
538 to reach the remotest parts of the country, carried far and near by monks. To escape from the aimless strife of the civil wars, men turned towards literature. Money was lacking to compose poems in brick as had been done at Pagan, and men now expressed their love for the religion and their love for the beautiful in writing. The new literature further educated the people and made even stronger the already strong religious fervour. As a result, at village feasts and on days of public rejoicing, the people turned towards their religion for amusement and entertainment. So pageants depicting scenes from the life of the Buddha and from his Birth Stories came into being.

796 Pageants were given on ordinary carts that were in use for all
541 kinds of transport and which are still in use in backward parts of the
493 country at the present day. Each cart carried a group of (amateur) actors standing still and representing a set scene. Originally, no doubt, there were only a few carts representing scenes from different stories. Later, a pageant came to consist of many carts and many

21: Htin Aung B-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
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CHAPTER V

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THE DECADENT PERIOD

1. The Drama from 1866 to 1877

The years that followed the Myingun rebellion and the execution of U Pon Nya were years of distress and discontent. The rebellion had taken its toll of able men, and the king was left alone to rule a country, discontented especially for economic reasons. Lower Burma was being developed by the British, and the resulting increase in commerce with the west was changing the existing economic conditions in both Lower and Upper Burma. Naturally, the period of transition was one of distress and discontent. The English and French were rivals in their desire to gain control of Burmese trade relations, and the Burmese played on the rivalry by bargaining, making secret treaties, and asking exorbitant prices for favours granted, thereby denying economic stability to the country. The king was without advisers and a dying man, and as the eternal question of succession—the bane of Burmese politics—was improbable of solution, the English and French struggled for influence, and consequently, the palace was one mass of intrigue. Corruption was rife in the kingdom, administration was neglected, the judges took bribes, and robbers roamed the country at will. Amidst such adverse conditions, the drama could not flourish, and though the plays of U Pon Nya were still acted, studied and imitated, no dramatist of even moderate ability appeared.

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We have seen that from the beginning, song and dance were the main items of entertainment on the stage. Even when the Siamese plays were being presented at court and influencing the drama all over the country, the song and dance were still important, first, because of the earlier tradition, second, because the professional actors were in reality singers and dancers, and third, because the song was of great importance in the *Rama* play. However, with the coming of developed plays, the dance was eliminated, although the song continually remained. In U Kyin U's plays the dance did not

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21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
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536* 535 appear at all, and the song had lost its importance to such an extent that only one scene in all his plays had songs, which was in *Daysagaban*, where the hermit and the two princesses spoke to each other in songs. Though U Pon Nya was a great writer of songs, not one appeared in his plays. These great dramatists, through their brilliance, made the audience interested in the play alone, and the professional actors had no choice but to follow the dictates of the famous playwrights. After U Pon Nya, through lack of interest in true drama and because there were no able dramatists, the drama fell again into the hands of the professional actors, who had always considered themselves dancers and singers. They continued to present the great plays and their imitations, but only as frameworks for their songs and dances. We shall see later that after the final flicker of the drama during the years 1877–86 it perished in the hands of the actors with their interest in song and dance.

536* 541 178 [171] The people themselves wanted song and dance. They wanted an entertainment pleasing to the eye and the ear, without taxing the brain. They wanted an escape from the realities of life, because they were weary of the present and anxious for the future, as they knew not what dreadful events the next few months would bring. They wanted new dances and new tunes, and they applauded elaborate dresses and brilliantly staged scenes; and the actors could give them what they wanted as, through the influence of English and French touring companies, the stage scenery and devices had developed by leaps and bounds.[1] They demanded both laughter and tears, but as they desired the drama to appeal only to their senses and not to the intellect, what they really wished for and received were farce and sentimental pathos. The spirit of the audience had changed since the days of the great dramatists. The drama came into being in the age of triumph, when the attitude of the audience towards life was one of serenity and optimism. During U Kyin U's time, disaster, in the shape of the loss of provinces to the British, had overtaken the country, but there seemed to be a promise of better times, and therefore the spirit of the nation was still serene. When U Pon Nya wrote his plays, more provinces had been lost to the British, but again there was a promise of better times, and the spirit of the audience remained calm and serene. But after U Pon Nya, the spirit was one of despair and anxiety.

[1] The development of the stage is considered in detail in chap. vii.

1; Mi Mi Khaing I-5 (no date) 1946 AP1 Burma
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for that. It surged up amongst all the back benches of the lecture rooms and flowed into the corridors where the poor stricken couples blushed and spoke in whispers in spite of the applause of all passers-by. It flowed along the shores of the Inya Lake on whose banks the girls walked in groups of two or three after their evening bath and toilet, and the youths walked in other bands until they met and spoke to the girls. Particularly on the fine evenings of the first monsoon or the first cool dry weather after the deluge had spent itself, the shores of Inya Lake presented a scene of the greatest human felicity. All that was sweet in life seemed to be collected there—youth and pretty faces, fine Burmese silks and newly washed hair, anticipations of joyful meetings, the clear calm water and the brilliant evening sky, the islands in the distance and the bands of young men singing sad songs by the water's edge.

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Dramatic entertainment was very rich at the University. It was rarely that the students themselves performed in musical concerts or stage dancing, but troupes of actors were hired to give performances at all celebrations of sports victories, scholastic successes, farewells to popular tutors who had got into government service, or celebrations of religious festivals. The traditional Burmese stage-play is the *zat-pwè*, the staging of one of a few well-known stories, based mainly on the Jatakas which are stories showing incarnations of the Buddha in his various existences on this earth. Such were the *Wethandaya Zat*, the *Mahaw Zat*, of U Kyin U, the stories of Buddha's life as Prince Wethandaya and as Mahaw, son of a rich nobleman. Written in this form all zats, whether based on the Jatakas or not, contained episodes to provide King and Minister scenes, doleful partings and the weeping dirge of the heroine, scenes of clowning, of sorcerers and heavenly spirits and, highlight of all, the happy meeting scene of the Prince-Hero and the Princess-Heroine, when they sing and dance and joke with the attendant characters, singly and together, for a whole hour or two maybe, while they and the audience forget the thread of the story in the wonderful agile dancing of the hero, his feet falling as softly and as lightly as a kitten's paws but with all the speed, the unexpected turns, the beauty of body and of costume, which make the male zat dancer the essence of the national gaiety. In our time, the old zat plays are treated much as the miracle plays of Elizabethan England probably were—the plot is there, but each company of actors uses the play to hold its own songs, dances and comic lines. The zat lasts for hours, all the night through until sunrise, but the form of it is such that the audience sees it as episodes against a known background of plot, and can thus eat, talk or even doze during the tedious connecting scenes and sit up in enthralled silence for the first appearance of the hero, the duet dances, the songs of the heroine.

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873 We could not stage these shows at the University owing to the length of
536 them and the difficulty of procuring a company. We saw them often in childhood when there were two great companies touring the districts. Po Sein and Sein Gadon came with their companies to the district towns; they hired the local hall, and then charged their audiences by mat-space. Buyers of spaces came earlier in the day and laid down their thinbyus over the rough bamboo mats provided. At night the whole family, including grandmothers and young children, arrived with pillows, fans, goblets of drinking water and things to eat, and squatted and reclined each on its own mat. Vendors of pickled tea and jujube plums, both of which have the effect of keeping one awake, walked in and sold their packets without a license, but just as an overflow from the row of food stalls that had sprung up in the lane leading to the hall.

545 At the University, however, we always staged *anyein-pwès*, and not
873 these night-long zat-pwès. An anyein is a much handier, more compact sort of entertainment. The troupe consists of two clowns, one chief dancing girl and two subsidiary ones, and a band of musicians. Such a troupe can be hired for about Rs. 40/-. No seats are ever bought for an anyein; people hire them to celebrate weddings, shinbyus and other happy events. They perform on a rough open-air stage, and the show is free to all who wish to flock to see it. The poorest beggars may perch themselves on neighbouring trees and fences to enjoy the four-or five-hour programme of songs, dances and jokes.

545 When an anyein was held at University College, we entered the
534 grounds at about 7 p.m. and found the stage with its rear occupied by the orchestra tuning instruments and practising snatches of the airs; in the
[782] centre a basinful of offerings to propitiate the nat-spirits so that the entertainment will be a success; and at the opposite corners of the front of the stage the two clowns squatting, watching the audience enter and uttering declamations about the occasion of the entertainment; but as yet in a very desultory fashion, while they scratched their heads, cleaned their ears and chewed betel, because nobody was ready to pay full attention. Very shortly, however, the orchestra came to life in a harmonious concert. Within the circular frames of two big harmonicums, about two to three feet high and four to five feet in diameter, sat the master players. The *kyi-waing* master was surrounded by a row of graduated gongs strung along the inside of the harmonicum, which he struck with a knobbed stick in quick melody. The *saing-waing* master produced a thinner strain from his graduated drums which he struck with the flat of his fingers. Between the two sat a *hnè* player, blowing loudly his clarionet which had a wide bell-shaped mouth; the *pulway* master played lively dancing notes on his flute; a gentle looking youth

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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a definite period, and money is charged for admission; but the idea is an English one, and opposed as it is to ancient custom and the old free attractions elsewhere, meets with barely enough support to keep it going. The giver of the pwè simply constructs a small roofed enclosure for himself, if the pwè is held on open ground, and fits it up with a bedstead covered with mats as a kind of private box, with a few chairs and plentiful mats round about it. To this reserved space he invites a few of his most intimate friends, sending them the ordinary little palm-leaf packet of pickled tea by the hands of his daughters or sisters. All other places in the circle are open to the first comer, and when a pwè is announced, women may be seen early in the afternoon strolling down, with rolls of mats on their heads, to secure good places. Abundance of refreshments and materials for smoking are taken, for it will be sunrise before the play is over. The commonest place for a pwè, however, is in the street opposite to the giver's house. All traffic is unceremoniously stopped. There is nothing to be done but to hoist up the hinged front wall of your house, or throw open the windows and go out on the verandah, if the construction of the building is more solid, and there you are with the theatre come to your doors. There is no trouble with the stage. A circular space is covered with mats and it is all ready. This is called the pwè-waing. In the centre is a branch of a tree, or the stem of a plantain palm stuck in the ground, which goes by the name of the pan-bin. Yule and others have endeavoured to discover some forgotten meaning for this centre of action, comparing it with the altar of the old Greek stage, but probably it never had any greater significance than to mark the centre of the arena and prevent the audience from crowding in too much so as to curtail the space. The actors when questioned about it always say that it is there to represent a forest, such as forms part of the scene of action in every play. This of course is merely an answer, and not an explanation. Europeans of an inquiring turn are apt to complain of this Burmese (and Scotch) method of supplying information. Why such a phantom attempt at representing a forest should be made, when no effort aims at portraying the

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● 536 palace which is of equally regular appearance in all zāts, is not by any means evident. The property box of the company indeed serves as a throne, but this is an accident, and if there is no property box, there is no throne. The people take up positions long before the performance commences, and no doubt the pan-bin serves no deeper purpose than to indicate to intending spectators where the action will take place, and where therefore they may deposit their mats without being turned out later for being in the way. Further than the central tree and the mats nothing is required till the play begins. Then round about the pan-bin are arranged, as footlights, a number of small earthen-pots filled with petroleum, usually the thick black crude oil brought from the wells at Yenangyaung. Bits of rag or cotton seed are used for wicks, and the cups are replenished by the actors as occasion may require during the progress of the play. They are freely used throughout by both performers and audience as a means of obtaining lights for their cheroots. It is somewhat trying to the dramatic sense when the princess of the piece after a prolonged ngo-gyin, a dolorous wailing for her sad fortunes, driven from her love and strayed far in the jungle through devious paths to the immediate neighbourhood of bilus, ogres, ghouls, and horrid creeping things, when thus forsaken and finishing off with the sense of an impending danger, she proceeds to light a great green cheroot and placidly blow great clouds till her turn comes again. No less startling is it, when in the middle of a sonorous declamation from the king a half-naked youngster scuttles across the stage to get a light and scrambles back again. Englishmen, not understanding the progress of the play, notice these things more than anything else, and get an impression that the whole thing is ludicrous and unreal. This is very far from being the case. When the Yindaw Ma Le, the Mandalay *prima donna*, sang, or when the famous puppet player, Maung Tha Byaw, is performing, there is not a sound, the whole great crowd—and it must not be forgotten that the performance is in the open air—is hushed to its farthest limits, and not till the passage is finished does the usual buzz and chatter begin again. Those who have heard it will acknowledge that this spontaneous

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tribute must be as gratifying as the loudest stamping of feet and whistling on fingers of a London theatre. In fact a Burman might perhaps be justified in doubting the enthusiasm and admiration which finds vent in whistling. 536

The acting as a whole cannot be said to be satisfactory. The circumstances are against it. Who could "lose himself in his part" in the centre of a crowd of people all smoking and often talking? Moreover the subjects treated are so romantic and remote from ordinary worldly events that no one can be expected to realise them. Finally, who could keep it up for ten hours at a stretch? Nevertheless, individual passages are occasionally wonderfully well done. The piteous wailings and desolation of the princess; the majesty of the king; the grim savagery of the demon, are often very effectively delineated, while the clowns are almost invariably exceedingly clever. They are chosen for their ready wit, many of the jokes being extempore, as well as for their power of facial contortion. Caricatures of the performances of the other actors and comic songs form their chief stock-in-trade, and the text of the play is very far from being adhered to. It is an undoubted fact, if scarcely complimentary, that the clown has much more to do in the play and is very much broader in his jokes when Englishmen are present than when there is a purely national audience. The prolongation of the comic parts is due to a courteous desire to please the visitors, buffooneries being much more readily understood than high dramatic art, while the coarseness is unfortunately due to the same impression which makes a Burman always produce brandy and beer for the refreshment of a white man, the idea namely that that is what he likes best. None of the higher class troupes, more especially those from Upper Burma, will, however, condescend to this sort of thing. 522 522 186

The company formerly was always made up in Mandalay, or said it was. There are other troupes, but it is usually taken for granted that they cannot be better than second-rate. The delta Burman is firmly persuaded that "far birds have fair feathers." In their humble phraseology they say, "In the Low Country we are not up in the humanities." This is not exactly complimentary to longer 536 184 177

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English rule and civilisation, but in one sense it is true. In Upper Burma every one is taught in the monasteries, and having no other relief from Pali doxologies, becomes saturated with the phraseology and ideas of the zāts. Thus, from the theatrical point of view, the Mandalay youth starts with a distinct advantage over the Lower Burman who potters away in lay and elementary Government schools over addition and multiplication and the sterilities of the First Reader. To qualify for the first ranks, therefore, the ambitious Peguer starts for the Royal City of Gems, practises as much as he can there, and watches the most celebrated players. Then, after a time, he obtains an engagement, and turns up in Rangoon as a quasi anya tha. The stage managers, usually old actors who have made some money and are inclined to take their ease, go up to Mandalay during the rains, when comparatively little is doing, the wet, combined with the four months of Lent, making pwès few and far between. There they cast about and get together a company, entering into a written engagement with the actors, male and female, for the season, which lasts about seven months, from Ta'saungmôn to Nayôn (roughly, November to May). The manager makes all arrangements, and usually takes up his headquarters in some town or large village whence he can easily move to the surrounding places where the company may be wanted. The salaries paid are very good. A first-class prince or princess commands from 800 to 1000 rupees for the season. A good lubyet, or jester, will get five or six hundred. After these come the actors who take such parts as the king or the maids of honour. The dancers, that is to say, those who simply dance and do no more, get about sixty rupees; the saingthama, the musicians, receive forty. The company have not more than two or three rehearsals together before they commence their tour, but this does not matter much, because every one knows his part well, and the cue is not a matter of supreme importance. The zat-ôk (the manager) draws all the money from the performances. As much as 450 rupees have been paid for a two-night performance. This, however, was exceptional, and it was a marionette play with the great Maung Tha Byaw in the prince's part. Very few people

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could afford so much as this. The best engagements are those known as ahlu pwè, given by a rich man in celebration of some religious festival, or to commemorate some event in his family, such as the donning by his son of the yellow robes of the monastery. The elders of the village, or the custodians of the pagoda, often collect money for the performance of some of the religious zāts, depicting avatars of the Lord Buddha. Then there are subscription pwès, where some energetic lover of the drama suggests the propriety of a play to the inhabitants of the village, or of a street in the town. He goes round gathering subscriptions, and then negotiates with the zat-ôk for as many nights as the manager is inclined to give for the money. This system has unfortunately led to abuses. Sharp individuals have discovered the possibility of collecting three or four hundred rupees among the people, paying the manager two hundred out of this, and keeping the rest for themselves. The dodge has been too often tried in Rangoon, but in the smaller towns it is still practicable, and is far too often carried out. Besides these performances by accredited companies, there are others called kyigyin pwè, given by professionals anxious to make a name for themselves, and for this purpose giving gratuitous exhibitions. These are naturally very uneven from the difficulty of getting a complete company together. But in all cases the vast majority of the spectators pay nothing at all. The guests invited by packets of le'hpet usually contribute a rupee or two towards the expenses of their host, but otherwise the entire cost is defrayed by him.

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The pwè is begun by the arrival of the band, which, with characteristic Burmese disregard of the value of time, ordinarily comes upon the scene several hours before the actual commencement of operations. They occupy one side of the stage, and tune up their saing and play away vigorously while the people gather. The zatthama and zatthamā, the male and female artistes, drop in casually along with the spectators. Each is ordinarily accompanied by a servant to carry their dresses and help them in robing. All of them, women as well as men, make their preparations in full view of everybody. Each lady has a toilette-box with all the necessaries for making up. Many are the hints the village

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maidens receive in the way of touching up eyebrows, artfully swelling out the sadôn with false locks of hair, intertwining the raven tresses with red and white fragrant flowers, toning the complexion with thana'ka, and so on. The young men look on critically while the princess scans herself in the little hand-mirror and tranquilly completes the touching-up and other feminine mysteries so little dreamed of by ordinary European swains. No one has the slightest appearance of recognising the ludicrousness of the thing, or of deprecating the exposure of little female wiles and vanities. The zat-thamā wears her acting skirt indeed when she arrives, but everything else—the tight-fitting lace jacket, the stiff brocaded wings, the jewellery, the pagoda-like crown—is put on by the side of the stage at the bamboo rack which supports the masks and necessary changes of dress. The audience either looks on with stolid earnestness, or takes no notice whatever.

Finally, having smoked all through the toilette, the princess and the maids of honour quietly seat themselves—squat would be more accurate, but does not sound nice—at the edge of the pwè-waing, and continue to smoke till everything is ready and their call comes. Then they simply stand up and are on the stage immediately. They do not cease smoking then, except during a long song. The men are equally calm. The king chews betel and salivates copiously between observations or speeches, but in so doing he can
545 only be said to be the more realistic. Incidental ballets are introduced to relieve the monotony of the dialogue, and the maids of honour and the clowns perform wonderful feats of winding themselves about as if they had no bones, picking up coins with the mouth bent back to the ground, doubling themselves up so that the toes touch the forehead, and so on.

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Sometimes there are great fights at these pwès. A young man has got surly because there is such a crowd that he can see nothing of what is going on, and runs up against another equally inclined to quarrel for the same reason. Or perhaps he is angry because some one has supplanted him in a flirtation with one of the girls who have established a temporary bazaar in the outskirts of the crowd. Or there may be a dispute as to the ownership of a mat. There are a few loud words; a woman's voice joins in. Next minute

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the two are smashing away at one another with their long hair streaming over their faces and down their shoulders. Friends join in, and almost before you can realise what has happened, the actors disappear, the women and children run off home, and the street is filled with an excited crowd of men swaying backwards and forwards, and fighting promiscuously. For this reason pwès are now never allowed in towns without permission from the civil authority, and numbers of policemen are always at hand to nip any riot in the bud. With the same object performances are only allowed in large towns about the time of the full moon, when there is abundance of light, in case the street lamps should be put out. The worst row of the kind I ever saw, however, was started by two of the Burman policemen themselves. They quarrelled about the merits of two apyodaws, talented *danseuses*, and the crowd, relishing the absurdity of the thing, backed up the quarrel with such energy that broken heads were plentiful and a ward in the infirmary was filled.

Foreigners very often make the mistake of taking the performances of children's companies to be actual zāt plays. Even Captain Forbes, usually so accurate, falls into this error in speaking of a representation of the Wethandaya zāt. This must simply have been a yein, an adaptation of the great drama for performance by the little choral dancers. For people who do not understand Burmese well—among whom, of course, the late Captain Forbes was certainly not to be included—the mistake is very easy. They are far prettier to look at, and much preferable in every way to the actual text of the birth-story, mainly because they are not so dismally drawn out, and can ordinarily be got through in an evening.

The dramas are all founded on the tales which Shin Gautama told of five hundred and ten of his previous existences, or on events in the lives of kings and heroes in India. None of them are original. The story in every instance is taken from the Hindoo, the adapter in most cases not even taking the trouble to nationalise the names of places and characters. It is only in the extemporising of the clown that anything really characteristic comes out. The Hindoo sense of humour is vastly inferior to the

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Burmese. The term zāt or, still more so, wuttu (*i.e.* a real story) is properly applied only to the religious plays, the five hundred and ten Jatakas. The work of fiction not necessarily religious is called a Pyazat, an *acting* play. Thus you speak of the Utena Wuttu (given in part by Yule), but of the Zawta Gômma Pyazat.

Ten of the religious dramas stand out prominently from the others. These are called the Zatgyi Sèbwè, and are designed to show how the Lord Buddha in turn overcame all the deadly sins. They are named: (1) *Temi*, (2) *Zanecka*, (3) *Thuwunnashan*, (4) *Nemi*, (5) *Mahawthata*, (6) *Buyidat*, (7) *Sanda Gônimia*, (8) *Nayidda*, (9) *Widuya*, and (10) *Wethandaya*. Several of them are very interesting. The *Wethandaya* is probably best known on account of the real pathos of the story and the beauty of the composition. It illustrates the boundless pity of a Budh. The prince—Gautama's last incarnation on earth previous to his appearance as Prince Siddartha or Theidat—gives away everything he possesses, even to his wife and children. The Nemi and Buyida zāts, or wuttus as they are called indifferently, are also very popular on account of the particulars they give of the nga-yè, the great hell, and the country of the nagās, fabulous creatures, like the kraken, that sleep deep down below, far beyond the ken of mortal man. The similarities between Norse mythology and Buddhist cosmogonies have often been noticed, and the legend of the kraken or nagā is not the least singular.

Of the other more secular plays, U Hpo Nya is the most celebrated recent author. He was killed in King Mindôn's reign by the Tabè Mintha, one of the most brutal of the royal princes, and for whose son's head King Thibaw twice paid a thousand rupees. The young man, however, lived long after King Thibaw himself had gone. His father's victim, U Hpo Nya, was particularly celebrated for the sweetness and melody of the songs introduced in his pieces, these songs, of course, being practically original. No one before or since is equal to him in this respect. The *Wizaya Zat* is probably his masterpiece, and forms one of the stock-in-trade of every company in the country. Maung Hpe, the son of a former wungyi, or minister of state in Mandalay, is

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another popular and voluminous writer. An ever favourite play is the *Ramazat*, the fight of the monkeys and the men in Ceylon. It was performed by a palace troupe specially sent down to Rangoon by King Mindôn on the occasion of the proclamation of Queen Victoria as Empress in India. Everything was of the best possible kind; the royal drum and cymbal harmonicons, the trumpets, the flutes, even the bamboo clappers, were of an excellence never before known in Rangoon. The players were famous wherever Burmese was spoken, and the play lasted five nights. The general opinion was that it called forth more admiration of King Mindôn than loyalty for the Empress among the delta people.

All that has been said of the zāt pwès, those in which men and women act, applies with equal force to the yôkthe, or marionette pwès. It is well known that the Burmese esteem these more highly than what Englishmen would call the legitimate drama. The action in the puppet-shows is much more complicated than on the plain mat stage, the dialogue is very much more refined, and there are none of the *lâches* perpetrated by individual zatthama striving for effect. Especially there is never, even with the provocation of a number of Englishmen present, the least semblance of coarseness. Further, supernatural beings, nats and bilus, elephants, dragons, ships, thrones, and properties of all sorts can be introduced which are impracticable on the limited arena of the mat platform. The elocutionary powers of the performers behind the curtain, the verve and passion of the songs, the accuracy and melody of the recitative, to command success must be at least as good, if not better, than the best of what is met with in the pwè-waing. Added to this there is the manual skill implied in moving the strings attached to the heads, limbs, and joints of the puppets, which are often exceedingly cleverly manipulated. The national preference for the marionette play is therefore not entirely without justification.

The action takes place on a raised bamboo platform some thirty feet long, the puppets performing on the stage in front of a curtain which screens the manipulators down the whole length of the erection. One end of the stage is

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● 536 devoted to scenes at court, and is adorned with a throne, golden umbrellas, and other royal insignia. The other extremity represents, with artfully-arranged twigs and tufts of grass, the jungle and forests to which, during some part of every play, the prince and princess are sure to have to fly. The puppets, which are frequently as much as two or three feet high, are always gorgeously and expensively dressed. [532] The larger ones are all cut in wood, and the carver's skill often turns out very clever presentments of rugged-faced old men and exuberantly jovial lubyets. Most of the zāts, 536 776 which deal greatly with the supernatural and fabulous, are only represented as yôkthe pwès. No amount of technical skill could represent in the public streets an athurein, a creature (destined incalculable ages hence to be a Budh) whose height is a few thousand miles, and who produces eclipses in his play by taking the sun or moon in his fingers or between his toes.

536 Curious as it may seem, the puppet players often acquire a far more really personal reputation than the legitimate actors. The zatthama mostly get a name for dancing as much as for anything else. The Yindaw Ma Le, who came from a village near Meiktila in Upper Burma, indeed, was equally celebrated for her voice and her graceful movements, but the yokthethama become renowned for dramatic fervour, for tender passion, for dry wit, just as thoroughly and personally as if they actually appeared before the audience. Except the *prima donna* just alluded to (now dead) there are few professionals celebrated on the stage who are not far better known as first-class marionette players. These performers [562] are all men and boys. None of the female parts are ever taken by women. Maung Tha Byaw was unequalled in "prince's" parts. He was recognised as Thabinwun; every stage-manager, every zat-ôk in the country received his word as law. No tenor with a *voce fenomenale*, no bird-voiced Patti, was more sought after nor received with greater honours. His name became a proverb in the mouths of people who never heard him. "Tha Byaw Hé," a Mergui man will say when he makes a marvellous haul of fish or gets a super-excellent cheroot. A journey of his to Rangoon produced a popular saw, corresponding to the English "kill-

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ing two birds with one stone." Maung Tha Byaw said he was going to worship at the Shwe Dagôn pagoda. He gave a performance or two, and made several (Burmese) fortunes. Hence the saying—

Payā lè pu yin
Leip u lè tu yin.

You go and worship and dig turtles' eggs.

Turtles' eggs for prayer
Reward the pious player.

Maung Tha Byaw was not only a good singer, but himself wrote very good songs, and was particularly clever at coining in phrases the wisdom of many with the wit of one. No other "prince" has ever attained to his fame. Best known among the clowns was Shwe Lôt Gyi, who had the knack of making local jokes wherever he happened to be, and took the fullest advantage of the scope which the language afforded him in the way of punning. Just after the railway from Rangoon to Prome was opened, Shwe Lôt Gyi was performing in a piece where the prince and his servant, the clown, wander away into the forest and fall into a state of great destitution. The prince bewails his sad fate in a dolorous tedat (a tune appropriate to such lamentations), and finishes by asking what they are to do. The lubyet replied, "The English have just opened a railway here. You go and trespass on it, and I'll lay information against you and get the reward." The idea showed considerable acuteness in a man who had never seen a railway before.

Among the "princesses" many youths have been noted for the sweetness of their voice. The two best were Maung Tha Zan and, running him very close, Maung Mu, both of them, like Tha Byaw and the clown, Mandalay men. The accuracy with which they imitated the female voice was wonderful, the more so as every song abounds with trills and turns which would expose the least roughness. Neither in the recitative, the tremulous erotics, nor the doleful wailings of the maiden for her absent lover, would the stranger ever suspect the performer's sex.

The plays are performed during the day only in a few and exceptional cases, such as the arrival of a great man,

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536 who cannot stay over the night, or when a local feast, limited in its time, occurs. The great and legitimate season is the night, and frequently a play, especially a puppet play, extends over six or seven successive nights. The majority of the audience stay the whole time, from seven or eight o'clock at night till sunrise. It is not, however, to be supposed that they hear it all through. Abundance of mats and rugs are brought, and not a few, after listening till midnight or thereabouts, calmly curl themselves up to sleep, and slumber away for two or three hours, heedless of the braying of the horns and the crash of the cymbals only a few yards off. Then they wake up and fall in with the progress of the piece with as keen interest as if they had
263 heard every word of it. Most of the young people, however, prime themselves with the anti-soporific le'hpet, "pickled tea," as the English call it, and bid defiance to drowsiness. This condiment is as regular a crown to a Burmese dinner as cheese is to an English one, and with the same idea, possibly erroneous in both cases, that it promotes digestion.
[563] It is almost exclusively produced in Taungbaing, in the
[438] Shan country, by a hill tribe called Rumai, better known by the Burmese name of Palaungs. The Burmese mix with it salt, garlic, and assafœtida, douse it in oil, and add a few grains of millet seed. The leaves forming the basis are the leaves of an actual tree as distinguished from the bushes of China and Assam. Hooker called it *Elæodendron orientale*, while Anderson asserted that it was really *E. persicum*. Of late years Assam planters have bought Taungbaing seed for their gardens. One of the grievances which Englishmen have when they attend a pwè is that they are always induced by their host to take pickled tea, and perceive in it nothing but the overpowering horrors of the assafœtida. Pwès and assafœtida are therefore associated with one another to the detriment of both.

533 Few foreigners can detect one tune from another, or the recitative from any one of them. Consequently most declare there is only one tune, or no tune at all, according to the capacity of generosity in them. The same thing has been said by an inappreciative Burman of the "vipers" of the Royal Scots Fusiliers. He admired the conscientiousness

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and pertinacity with which they defied the mosquitoes under 533
the shade of the trees, and droned away on their pipes all through a tight-tunicked and perspiring Rangoon afternoon garden party, as the observant Burman imagined, at one endless tune. The national music is not written down, and each actor has a variation of his own, but the smallest girl in the audience would detect a kayāthan from a dobatthan with as much readiness as any English boy would distinguish "Drops o' Brandy" from the "Old Hundred"! But there are some people who do not like the Italian opera, and even say so.

The following short outline of the *Zawtagômma pyazat* 536
will give an idea of the style of the more popular drama, as 539
distinguished from the purely religious birth-story. The writer was an old player himself. He lived at Pegu, and the *Zawtagômma* was perhaps his most successful effort. The text has been published at one of the vernacular presses in Rangoon, and the sketch given is a translation of the Zatlan, the "path of the play," prefixed by the editor. "In the country of Pyinyawwada, of which Yazôtta was the sovereign, the name of the Southern Queen was Thunemadewi, and that of the Northern Queen Thukethidewi. The Queen of the Southern Palace was about to bear a child, and the king issued an order that her majesty of the North should attend on her. This was very irritating to the Northern Queen, and she resolved to ruin Thunemadewi, and for that purpose conspired with Shin Gwe Ni, the midwife. As soon as the child was born it was to be killed, and set afloat on the river in an earthen pot, and the *accoucheuse* was to say the Head Queen had been delivered of a still-born baby. A twin son and daughter were born, and Shin Gwe Ni put each of them in a jar and launched them on the river, and went and told the king that they were still-born. Yazôtta, the king, was very angry, and punished his consort by setting her to dig the ground and carry water for the palace. The [643]
Queen of the North was promoted to be Head Queen, and [582]
her daughter, Pyinsarupa, was made tabin-daing (*i.e.* she was set apart as wife for the next king, and not allowed to marry).

"With regard to the bodies of the prince and princess.

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the prince was carried down the Yamuna river and the Thuwuna nagā swallowed the body, and the spirit of the prince entered into the ruby that hung in the necklace of the dragon. Not long after the nagā became nervous and uncomfortable in his mind, and proceeded to the monastery of the recluse Bedaseinda, in the Thiriwunna forest. There he went to keep the ten holy precepts. As soon as the ya-theit saw the necklace with the ruby in it, he knew by his bedin that the spirit of a young prince was enclosed there. He therefore represented to the dragon that it was unseemly to wear precious things when he was observing the injunctions of the law. The nagā therefore gave him the necklace in alms, and having kept the ten precepts the prescribed number of days, returned to his own place. When the prince was born anew from the ruby, the ya-theit gave him the name of Zawtagômma, and explained to him all that had happened in the prince's last existence.

"The princess's body was carried away into the Southern Ocean, and there the fish kegga-thitha, whose head is shaped like a sceptre, ate her up. The spirit of the princess entered a pearl in the fish's head and dwelt there. A violent hurricane came on, and the fish was carried up into the sky and fell down inside the enclosure of the recluse Bedaseinda. When the ya-theit cast eyes on the pearl, he knew that a princess was in it, and he gave this pearl, called the myissa, to the Zawtagômma prince. From the precious stone was born in seven days the princess, and she got the name of Palèthwè. The ya-theit knew from his mystic books that in the former existence they had been brother and sister, and told them all about it.

"When they grew up he told them they were to go back to the old king and queen's capital in the Pyinyawwada country, and on their way they were to make offerings and give the pearl to the Gyo nat. But the prince forgot all about the Meittu Gyo, and the spirit therefore became very angry with him. While they were travelling on, the nat separated them by means of magnets, which attracted the iron in their bones, and drew them away to the devils on either side, to right and to left, who held the magnets.

"Meanwhile, in the Pyinyawwada country, Zawtagômma's

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father and mother, and his stepmother, the former Northern Queen, had all of them gone to the country of nat-dêwas (*i.e.* died), and there was no king to rule over the land. The Pyinsarupa princess, therefore (who had been kept single to marry the new king), according to ancient custom, sent out the pôtthwin yattā (a chariot which has no driver, and stops where the horses will), and it hurried away from the palace and came and stopped beside the sleeping Zawtagômma. When he woke he entered the chariot, and the horses returned straight to the capital. The prince then ascended the throne and married Pyinsarupa.

"In the meantime, the princess who was born from the pearl came to the house of a pônna and his wife, and was delivered of a child there. One day she covered the baby with an emerald green neckerchief, and laid it on the bank of a lake while she went into the water to bathe. But a bird, called kemayekka, swooped down from the skies and carried off the green scarf, baby and all. Then it flew to the palace of Zawtagômma and circled round in the air above it. The prince shot at it with a bow, and it fell down and died, and vomited up the green scarf, and the baby, still alive. As soon as Zawtagômma saw the infant and the neckerchief, he knew that they were Palèthwè's, and clasping the child in his arms, he set out to find the princess, and wandered far and wide.

"Palèthwè herself, as soon as she had obtained permission from the pônna, set off in search of the prince and her child. The Brahmin priest, with the aid of his mantras, made her assume the appearance of a man, and despatched her to seek Zawtagômma in the disguise of a harp-player. He also instructed her that she would meet the prince on the way, but she was not to reveal herself to him: she was to explain how it was that the two had been separated by the Meittu Gyo nat, and say that she had met Palèthwè, and that the princess had gone to Pyinyawwada; Zawtagômma himself was to take the counsel of the Bedin wise men, and return to his own country, where he must offer sacrifices to the ten gyo nats, whereupon he would meet the princess Palèthwè, the wife he so tenderly loved. All these instructions the pônna gave to the princess, and then let

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536 her go. Everything happened as he had foretold. She met
539 the prince and he followed her advice. They returned to the Pyinyawwada country, and all was happy."

536 The above is the merest outline of the story. The piece is very long, and there is abundance of incident. The prince's servant, and usually also the two holy men, do the comic part of the business, but this is always so purely personal a matter that the printed text can give no real notion of what actually is said. It serves merely to point out the lines which the lubyet must follow in his impersonation. The stage books, written on palm-leaf, contain but very few detailed speeches, and merely indicate the story, and throw out hints to the actors. The following is one of the songs sung by the prince in his wanderings through the
533 forest in quest of Palèthwè. It is written to the tune of the "Chase in the Tawmawyôn Forest," that in which the king
[775] goes to hunt in the epic of the Ramayana. The wut or wutdaw referred to is the penalty of suffering the same punishment, or death, which has in a former existence been wrongfully or needlessly inflicted on others. Thus the great minister, Widuya, spoken of, who was an avatar of the Lord Buddha, had in a previous life dragged a frog by the leg so that it died. Hence he is dragged at the tail of the fierce Nat's horse until he dies himself. The prince fears that some such evil destiny is working itself out on him. The jingle of the rhythm is intended. The whole play is of the "raging rocks and shivering shocks" pattern.

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FATE

The wind breathes chill
Across the rill
That cuts the forest track;
The haze to mist
Whitens, I wist,
And I am lost, alack.

The branches spread
Dull green and red
Flat o'er the sullen stream;
Comes through the gloom
The gibbon's boom,
And shrill the parrot's scream.

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Now list ye well
What then befell,
And quit your scoffing mood.

Straight to the cave,
Where crouched the knave,
He walks with gentle mien;
Himself bestows
The tusks' white snows
For Thubadda, the Queen.

Ah, cruel Wut,
Why strayed my foot
Unto this hateful spot?
See low I bow
To earth my brow;
Be mine less awesome lot.

Here erewhile trod
The embryo god,
Now all is dull and blear;
O'er land and sea
I seek for thee,
My Princess, even here.

By lonesome lake,
Through forest brake,
I'll track each rumour's breath;
Where roams the bear,
By fierce beast's lair,
I'll seek thee e'en past death.

But, 'gainst the Wut's
Fierce power what boots
To strive with eager zeal?
. . . . .
Peace, doubting heart,
No fate can part
True lovers fond and leal.

As an illustration of a purely religious play may be given the *Nemi Zat*, one of the Ten Great Birth Stories. It is occasionally represented as a yôkthe, or marionette play, but it is rather expensive to put it on the stage well. It was "preached" in the monastery of Meggadawun, during the stay of Shin Gautama in Methila, of which country he remembered to have been king in a previous existence. The following is the story in brief:—

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platforms to observe the ceremonies of the holy day, when a great wonder happened. While the full moon shone high and clear in the heavens, there appeared through the clouds a glowing light in the east, so that all the people cried aloud in astonishment that two moons had arisen in the sky at the same time. But as the light gradually neared and neared, it became evident that it was a nat-chariot with the young Déwa inside. Matali advanced to the prince and invited him to enter the car and proceed to the realms of the blessed. Nemi stepped in without fear, and when he was told by the charioteer that there were two ways open to him, of which one led through the horrors of Nga-yè, and the other through the Elysian fields, he at once desired to visit both. First they went down to the eight vast burning chambers, and saw the pains of the damned in the fiery gloom of hell, and then they ascended and viewed the pure delights of bright paradise. After Nemi had met in audience the highest king of Nats, he returned to earth to give to his subjects a true account of what fate would befall them after death, according as they followed the path of virtue or of vice.

After many peaceful and honoured years, when Nemi at last saw his hair begin to grow grey, he, like his predecessors, entered the state of Yahanda and abdicated the royal power. The same venerable custom was followed by his son Thalarazana, the last of the roll of kings, who, when old age began to snow upon them, devoted themselves to the holy order in the town of Yathemyo (Kappilavastu).

It is evident that such a play as this, though it offers plenty of incident, is for this very reason the more difficult to put on the stage, and can hardly be satisfactorily produced at all except as a marionette play. No zāt furnishes more subjects to the Burman artist than that of Nemi, and pagoda corridors all over the country are decorated with the scenes in hell, which are much more easily pictured to the mind and the eye than the pure joys of heaven.

BURMESE MUSIC.

533 [114] In appendix C to *Burma* by Max and Bertha Ferrars (Low, Marston, 1900) Mr. Mariano says:

> The fundamental pitch-note of Burmese music corresponds to our A-natural. Three kinds of scales are used. The first is the Doric scale consisting of the first, second, fifth, sixth, and eighth intervals of the diatonic scale...

In example 7, I have drawn attention to the last beat of the third bar, which, with the first note in the bar following, formed the C - E - G - A - C cadence so familiar to our ears. Unless Mr. Mariano meant the third instead of the second interval mentioned above, I am ignorant of the Doric scale he spoke of. In fact I have floundered among the Greek scales and the ecclesiastical modes of Europe in the hope of finding a short-cut to an explanation of the unchromatic Burmese scale. I fight shy of comparing the Burmese scale with the old modes of the West.

Mariano:

> The second is the Burmese diatonic scale, in which however, the Seventh is tuned flat by about a quarter tone. There are no flats or sharps in the Burmese gamut. Nevertheless changes of keys are not infrequent in their melodies. These invariably proceed from the tonic to the sub-dominant but without the introduction of the seventh flat, as there is no regular system of counterpoint. Here the advantage of tuning the Seventh somewhat flat is apparent, for it does duty as the Fourth interval of the new key. A change from the tonic to the dominant also sometimes takes place.

Mr. Mariano does not mention if it does so without the fourth sharp. Yet so it does by the help of the half-sharp Fourth which does duty as the Seventh of the new key. Mariano:

> The third scale is a kind of minor; it consists of the same notes as the major diatonic scale but it begins and ends with the third interval..

533 ●536 This scale is strictly speaking only a mode, the modes of the mediant (*see* Example 11*a*). There seems to be also the modes of the dominant and the sub-dominant (*See* Examples 9 and 10). Oddly enough the E-mode, which Mr. Mariano describes as a kind of minor[1], is commonly used in the happy lovemaking scenes [illegible] *hnitpathwa* in *pwès* where the Prince and the Princess dance and sing in this E-mode till, after about two hours, troth, has been plighted and, in the final bar of the last song, the voice without stopping at the temporary keynote E holds it for a moment and then slides *via* D down to the real old tonic C; this descent being the signal that the scene has ended. Mr. Stewart describes the scene better:

1. "The Greek mode beginning with E was supposed to have manly and vigorous qualities."—R. T. White in *Music and its Story*.

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533 536 The real hero and heroine—again a Prince and Princess—then come on, and with the aids of clowns in attendance on them, go through a stock scene which is known as "the plighting of the troth." In this a few words may be said about the plot, but it is soon forgotten and the scene consists of alternate or simultaneous singing or dancing, the Prince ardent, the Princess coy or perhaps provoking a pretty quarrel, with frequent interjections by the clowns designed to vary the entertainment and to give the Prince and Princess time to recover their wind. During this scene all the performers have been addressing each other by their real names, stimulating the orchestra to greater efforts, and occasionally making speeches to the audience. About two o'clock, after two hours of really hard work, somebody remembers that they had started with the intention of acting a play, and, with a few words as to the plot, the scene closes.[1]

533 I doubt if discussion on Burmese changes of key, and modulation can ever be closed. My notes on the quotations from Mr. Mariano leave only one *bona-fide* key, the peculiar diatonic major key with indeterminate Fourth and Seventh both of which made it possible to change into approximate key of F and an approximate key of G. In the classical diagram of the circle of keys is set the prescribed circular succession of keys in under-fifths which (on the diagram) are identified with C F B E A D G C, but which, according to western musical theory, can only be C F B-flat E-flat A-flat D-flat G-flat C-flat, which is not by any means a circle.

Moreover, both U San Win and U Ba Choe state that nowadays only four keys are in use:—

C—ရှင်းဆဲ *Hnyinlone* for the oldest and grandest class of songs. ကြီး ဘွဲ့ သီချင်းခန့်

F*—အောက်ပြန် *Aukpyan* for songs not so old and grand, and ritual songs ထမ်ချီး လောကဇာတ်သီး ကေးလွှမ်ကင်း etc.

B*—ပုလဲ *Pulè* for Siamese, Talaing, *Bawlè* and new songs. ယိုးယားး တရိုင်း ဘောလယ်း ရေးသစ်နန်းများ

E*—ဝင်ဆိုင်း *Myinsaing* for *Taydat* (sonnet-like songs) and *Dainthan* ကေးသင်း ရှစ်ဆယ်ပေါ်း ဒိန်းသံ

*Presumably

It is hard indeed to settle out of hand such questions of fundamental importance as keys and modes and modulation, especially when a western language and terminology have been found to be inadequate to represent the musical phenomena of the East. (*See* Fox Strangways on the translation of RAGA on page 4 of this article.) One does not make pronouncements on one's own responsibility knowing very well that the proper thing to

1. *The Burmese Stage*, in the Journal of the Royal Society of Arts. Vol. LXXXVII No. 4516.

The whole family goes to the ANYEIN or marionette shows which are quite rare and sometimes not even seen in a year. If it is held, 536
this held during the months of TAGU, KASON and TAZAUNGMON. In the villages an ANYEIN gives over at about one or two in the morning.

The people from their village also go over to Karen villages 536
when they have puppet shows at cremation ceremonies. Some of the 764
Karens bury their dead and after three or four years they exhume the corpse to burn the bones and store the ashes away. At the ceremony for the cremation of the bones they stage these puppet shows and the members of U Myaing's family go to witness them.

In Pathwe the PYAZ\T (stage performance or PWE) has not yet made an appearance. Ma Aye 536-
Myaing had seen it in another village where she had to pay an admission charge of four annas. This was the only time she had seen it. On that occasion the show was followed by an enactment of one [779]
of the birth stories of Buddha and this went on till morning.

CHILDREN'S GAMES:

The children used to play several games. One of these was to 524
blind-fold one of their number and set him off in the direction of 857
an iron bar suspended about 25 yards away. The blindfolded boy was given an iron rod and it was his task to try and hit the suspended bar with his rod.

These games were played at a sports meeting organized for children and everyone in the village turned out to watch. Another [621]
item was the candle race where the children were given a lighted candle each and made to run a race. Then there was a cock fighting contest where two girls sat back on their haunches, faced each other and began to swing each knee forward alternatively until one or the other gave up. There was also a needle and thread race, a sack race, a one-legged race and an egg and spoon race. Each of these races were confined to only two contestants at a time.

GONYIN:- A GONYIN is the large flat seed and is used in a game that Burmese children play - U Myaing's children included. There have to be ten players, five a side and each side has to try and hit the seeds belonging to the opposing group according to complicated rules.

In Pathwe the children used to play marbles and not the youths [369]
as is sometimes found in Rangoon. In Pathwe the adults were all

21: Htin Aung

AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

536, 539

[For information on the Burmese drama, and for translations and abstracts of various Burmese plays, see category 116, pp. 6-251.]

Burmese AP4

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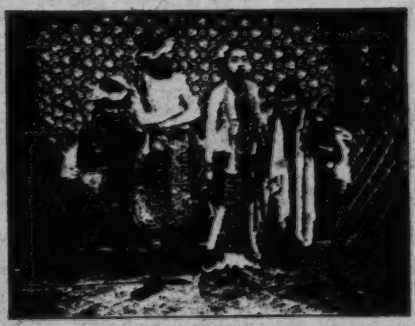
388. THE BURMESE DRAMA (ZAPPWÉ) AND BAND.

CHAPTER VIII

PAGEANTS AND FROLICS

PLAY-ACTING (*pwè*) is the great entertainment of Burma. The palace is the invariable scene, and its inmates the characters. The *pwè* is the readiest illustration of the ways of royalty, the traditions of which it adheres to more tenaciously than did royalty itself. Hero and heroine are prince and princess, and their retinue courtiers. The countryman figures as jester or clown. The king is consistently idealised, and his deputies travestied. The name *pwè* is applied to any kind of festivity; the distinctive term for play-acting is *zappwè*. The play may be produced by men and women actors or marionettes (*pôtthé*). *Zât* signifies the history of an incarnation of the Buddha; in various of his births he is a prince, as, for instance, in Wéthandayâ, the most popular and poetical of the *Zât*, which has been translated into English by Mr. L. A. Goss. The legend, or an episode from the same, furnishes the thread on which the romance of the play is strung. The central interest is the love of prince and princess; the stories are brought up to



389. THE CHARACTERS IN THE PLAY.

p.173

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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390. THE BURMAN BALLET (HAN-PWE).

date in the most fantastic way. The course of love is interrupted by all manner of vicissitudes — some grotesque, others of genuine pathos, which the sentiment of the music is exquisitely adapted. The modulation of the vocal expression is much more subtle and intense than the expression of the features. Gesture is restricted to the conventional postures of the dance. The street or other open space is swept clear for the performance and laid with mats in the centre. A pavilion roof of bamboo is erected and covered with mats or thatch to keep off the sun by day and the dew by night; it is open at the sides. A space, twenty to thirty feet wide, is kept for the actors and musicians. The masks which will be worn in certain parts are hung out. Actors and actresses make up in public. There is a water-jar for the common use of actors and audience; both light their cheroots at the same lamps or torches. The spectators squat round the actors' circle, women and children in front, men standing behind. For the marionettes or *yotthé* a stage is erected. The entertainment goes on all night, frequently several nights in succession. The action of the play is slow, the dialogue is sung and spun out, with interludes of dancing and posturing, to the accompaniment of the music. There are breaks of spoken dialogue when the music stops, and the clowns indulge in banter, and set conundrums. The topical allusions are of a pungent description; the spice of coarseness is on a par with the taste of our Elizabethan public. [195 522] The slightness of the distinctions of words makes the resources of *double entendre* especially rich, most of all when a

391. THE BURMAN BALLET (HAN-PWE).

foreigner, preferably from Europe, is brought on the scene. Peals of laughter proclaim these interludes from afar.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

[OPP. P.174]

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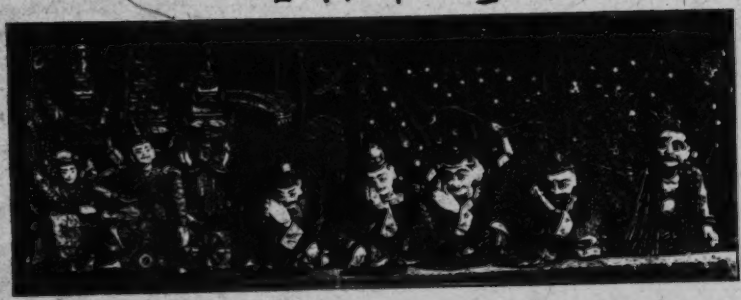
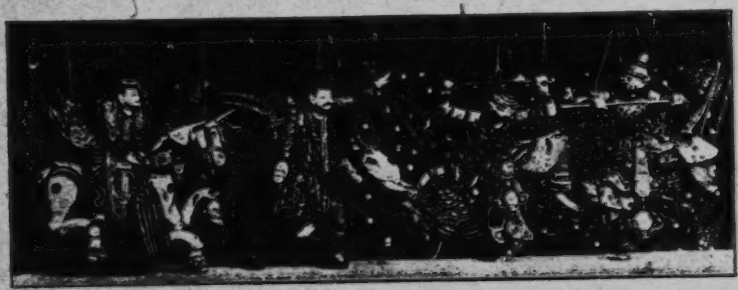
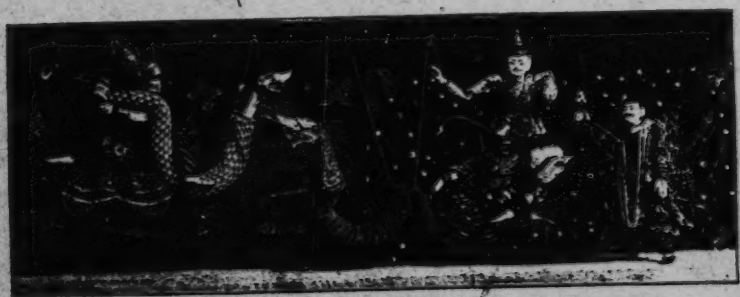


The King, Queen, Ministers and the Court Fool. The King decrees the banishment of the Prince; the jester indulges in caustic asides.



The Prince and his attendant travel through the forest, where they meet with all manner of adventures and are beset by ogres (left).



The ogres bring dragons (nagh) to attack the Prince, who is saved by the interposition of the genii (right) of the forest.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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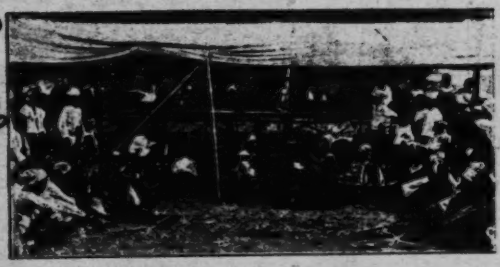

393. MARIONETTE PLAY.

foreigner, preferably from Europe, is brought on the scene. Peals of laughter proclaim these interludes from afar. The troupe of four to eight actors and actresses are paid thirty to sixty rupees a night, according to their celebrity and the distance they come. The cost of the whole entertainment, which everybody is free to attend, is defrayed by the household that gives the *pwè*. Occasions for *pwè* are *shinlâung fêtes* and other domestic events, such as the completion of a new house, or the dedication of a *kyaung*. At general festivals, subscription *pwè* are organised and are free to every one. The actors of the *zappwè* are professional, but in the *hanpwè* or *yein-pwè*, the performers are amateurs; this is already implied by the large number of performers. One or two dozen young girls of ten to fifteen years go through the postures of the Burman dance in time to music, all dressed uniformly as princesses or in some other fancy costume. This entertainment is given by day; it is the most beautiful sight in the country. The simultaneity of the movements even to the tip of a finger. is as perfect as in the best-trained ballet. In the *yotthè-pwè* the marionettes are made to perform wonderful evolutions by means of their strings.

394. MARIONETTE PRINCESS.

533 Burmese music is probably the most highly developed of any except that of Europe. There is no musical notation. The subject deserves to be studied thoroughly by [536] help of the phonograph; the phonograph records prepared for this work were unfortunately all broken in transit, but through the courtesy of Mr. P. A. Mariano it has been possible to append a score which faithfully reproduces the music (Appendix C). In Burmese music, just as in Shan, the character of the language is markedly reflected. (See Herbert Spencer, The Origin and Function of Music.)

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

[opp. p. 176]

Continued from No. 392.

536

Arrived with the King, to whose court he is banished, the Prince refuses to be solaced for the loss of his Princess.

The Prince in despair quits the court and sojourns with a hermit (yathé), *who directs him to the abode of a powerful magician* (nawdyi) *to break the spell of the King's displeasure.*

The sorcerer by his magic brings the Princess to the Prince, upon which the pair return home, to be received with honour.

[*To face p.* 176.

1: Mi Mi Khaing I-5 (no date) 1946 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

old man with rhetorical leanings and included things because they formed 753
a nice rhyme, and, indeed, she was not far from the truth. Our mono- 787
syllabic language is a heavenly gift to us with its endless scope for the [522]
most unrestrained punning and rhyming; the pun in Burmese is not execrable humour but a stepping stone for flights of fancy. What my sister was not allowed to eat were the three most precious foods as proverbalised in: *a-thi-hma tha-yet; a-ywet hma la-hpet; a-tha hma wet:* among fruits the *tha-yet*, among leaves the *la-hpet*, among flesh the *wet: tha-yet, la-hpet* and *wet* being the mango, the pickled tea-leaf and the pig's flesh respectively, and open to question as being really the prize specimens of their class, but certainly rhyming happily.

My parents were so good to us; they never scolded, beat or punished 593
us that I can remember. Perhaps they had both had so much discipline 554
in their own youths; I can remember the day we were told to answer them "Father" and "Mother" when they called us, instead of *Paya* as we had done formerly. Paya is the term of extreme respect and humility, sometimes adopted by children to parents, always by servants to their superiors, by subordinates to senior officials, and by all to royalty and the clergy. It is also the suffix to honorific titles. Its true and ancient use had associations of reverence only, but it has taken on a more subservient hue with the advent of government and foreign officials.

But whether we answered Paya or Father, my mother's guiding 593
influence led us to look on my father with awe, even though he was the 857
parent who clowned with us at home. We were always bathed and 538
dressed before he came home, waiting for him. As soon as he entered the gate we raced down the drive to carry his umbrella, took him upstairs and scrambled to take his shoes off as soon as we could get him seated. His shoes, suspenders and socks were removed by combined efforts, my father pretending great helplessness all the while. We went for walks while my parents went to play tennis, but returned in time to carry their racquets upstairs and remove my father's shoes again. After dinner my mother and we lay on mats while my father sat in an easy chair and pretended to get his nursery rhymes all wrong, until we taught him:

A-hpo gyi oh, hka kon kon,	Old man so bent and grey,
Ma thay ba hnin ohn	Do not die as yet we pray.
Naung hnit-kha ta-saung-mon	Till next December try to tarry
Pwè kyi ba ohn.	And watch the actors play and marry.

Or the voracious cat who ate everything:

Kyaung-gyi yè tè mi tan to	Oh you big and short tailed cat.
A-hai ko sa ba lo	Swallowing the lean
A-tha ko ngo.	And eating the fat.

873 Or, in less complimentary vain :

522 *Hsu Hsu pu pu* Boisterous shrew
Ma Ngan Chu. *Ma Ngan Chu.*

522 But only in a novel can justice be done to the sustained humour,
• 538 precision and allusiveness of colloquial speech. Proverbs may be a pointer, however, and the following, a few of the hundreds familiarly used by the normal Burman, are typical of the condensation of thought, the concrete nature of the allusions, and the witty rhyming usually present.

Kala ma-naing, *Ya-kaing mè.*	Can't get the better of the Indian, So the Arakanese is black.	Venting your wrath on a scapegoat.
Paya lè pu yin *Leiku lè tu yin.*	While worshipping at pagoda, Digging for turtle's eggs too.	Kill two birds with one stone.
Khat taing ngan-de *Pago hsa.*	O Pegu salt That flavours every ladleful.	The ubiquitous person.
Hsin pa-sat *Hnan-pet.*	Pelting the elephant's mouth With sesame seeds.	Five loaves and two fishes.
Kala taik *Kya win kaik.*	Into Indian building Tiger enters and bites.	Bedlam.
Mi-gyaung min *Yay gin pya.*	Showing the crocodile King The water tracks.	Teach Grandmother to suck eggs.
Thay yin myay gyi *Nay yin shway hti.*	Die, the earth ; Stay, the gold umbrella.	Do or die. Be corpse or King.
Taung hma a-kut *Meinma hma a-wut.*	As border to basket So dress to a woman.	
Shin bayin tahka htwet *Pe-gyi ta-lay kyet.*	One appearance of a King, One boatload of broad-beans can be cooked.	Person who is always late in appearing dressed.

to bring chairs, tables, food and attendants for the sum of Re. 1/4 per
533 head. The tune which was written to sing sentimentally of the Isle of
177. Capri now sang, with romping glee, the English names of these delicacies:
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Vi-ta-mo, co-co *hnin amyo son myi*
Ham pattie, cream roll *hnin* cold coff-ee,
Columbia *dat pya hnin htè hso myi*,
Plain cake *hnin* Gold Flake *le kyamma wè myi*.
Etc.....

Vitamo, cocoa and all kinds you'll see,
Ham patties, cream rolls and cold coffee
With Columbia record playing merrily,
Plain cake and Gold Flake will I buy for tea.

Expensive things, expensive things of all kinds for eating,
I'll order from a restaurant for this fashion meeting.
Sit up round a table in gathering so hearty,
A very respectable tea-drinking party.

Don't eat of Burmese comestibles,
They are so indigestible.

On the other hand the lilting tune of the Campdown Races was slowed down to sing:

Chit-te thu ko tway hma tha,
Seik pyaw,
Aye da.

Only when you see the loved one,
Heart is happy,
Mind at rest.

369 Compared to dwellers of country towns, Yangonthu not only went
177. to the cinema oftener, but also read a good deal more, probably in the
53 absence of so many happy-eating-gatherings and charity feasts. There
204 were four daily newspapers in Burmese and a few which appeared bi- or
538 tri-weekly. The daily paper provided a lot of reading matter for the average person; a grandaunt of mine made it a daily institution to sit on her verandah with a bottle of lemonade and the *New Light of Burma* whose 24 pages were filled with international news, home politics, articles on the economic development of the country and attacks on abuses prevalent in social life, exhortations to good behaviour to the younger generation, reports of cases of a scandalous nature, just like a popular daily anywhere in the world. But in Burma there was no distinction such as exists between a paper which tries to keep a dignified

face, like the London *Times*, and papers which make sensational interest their strong point. Similarly, poetry and clear prose were not the monopoly of a class of intellectuals, although certain periodicals such as the *World of Books* endeavoured to contain only literary excellences; wit and vivid description could be present in the tuppenny novels. These two anna novels were largely drug-like and pornographic in nature. There was a great trade in them, about 30,000 being sold annually in Rangoon. Mobile circulating libraries functioned in the person of hawker boys who went round to houses, selling them at two annas each, returning the next week to buy the used copies back for one anna and selling a fresh lot. They also brought monthly magazines containing articles on a fairly wide variety of subjects. The following is a sample of the contents of one such popular magazine—costing 8 annas and read by all who read the tuppenny novels—*Kyi-Pwa-Yay*, PROGRESS-PROSPERITY, for September 1941.

177.
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Title	Description
Don't fear war	.. Wars are in the natural order of things, and we must not fear them but be ready to encounter them.
The Myook	.. Comic Verse.
Love and Vanity	.. Translation of English story with a moral.
Inscriptions of Pagan Period	.. Descriptive account of inscriptions in Pagan.
Win on Every Throw	.. Short story, set in gaming houses of Chinese quarter of Rangoon.
The True Burman	.. Instalment of series on muscular development.
Two Blossoms	.. Short story of a doctor's family in country town.
Impermanence of States and Races	.. Warning that the Burmese race may die out with wholesale settling of foreigners.
Biggest of their Kind	.. Information tit-bits.
Miss Fiery Temper	.. Love story of a bazaar girl.
Tour in Arakan	.. Factual and humourous account of visit to Arakan.

177. Villager .. Short story.
53 Are we seeing aright? .. Attack on prolonged nat-festivals at pagodas, as endangering physical and moral welfare of people, including attack on worldly members of monkhood.
204
•538

541 Horse-racing in Rangoon was a foreign importation, but nevertheless
177. the stadium was always filled, not only with the fashionable section in an
54 enclosure but also with rows of four-anna spectators who had been col-
369 lected from all the streets of the town by the privately-run Burmese buses which tore along on race days, with two "spares" (spare-men in addition to the driver) hanging out from the back step and shouting to all they passed: "Race-a-ko, Race-a-ko! Race-course, race-course." But in the country the traditional boat racing was still alive. Boat races were held in every village which had a stream of river, as an annual event after the Lenten season. Long narrow canoes built in the village itself were rowed by twenty-two men and put out in rivalry between quarter and quarter, or between one village and another. At Ye the upper street and lower street put out boats bearing names of prowess or aquatic grace. The cheering and betting raged more furious and wild with the manner of the finish: the winning post was a boat in the centre of the stream, equidistant from the tracks of each boat, and across this was laid a hollow cane sticking about three feet out on either side. Through the hollow was thrust the prize *pan*: flower (of victory), a stick with a flag on each end. The winning crew was to seize this flower before it could be called victorious, and thus a dead-heat often sent both crews tumbling into the water as they wrestled for the prize.

525 Burmans are said to have an irrepressible gambling spirit, even when no money is laid on. A stock example quoted by foreigners of the Burman's readiness with a dah in his hot temper, gives as provocation the anger worked up between two men who sit idly in a tea-shop, and for lack of amusement bet on the number of flies which will settle on the sugar bowl. I prefer the story of two street urchins, who saw two monks walking before them, sedately, with downcast eyes and steady pace, as monks should walk. "Look," says one idle urchin, "there are two hpongyis. You look at the one on the right, I'll watch the one the left. I bet you my hpongyi walks faster than your hpongyi." The monks ignore this, but soon begin to hear: "My holiness is going faster!" "No' mine!" Unobtrusively, each hpongyi tries to walk quicker and yet with dignity. The boys get thoroughly excited now. "*My* holiness!", "No, *my* holiness!" Soon the astonished spectators see two hpongyis

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

CHAPTER VII

MARRIAGE

538 581 In the Lawkanidi, the book of proverbs relating to ordinary life, it is said that monks and hermits are beautiful when they are lean; four-footed animals when they are fat; men when they are learned; and women when they are married. This recommendation to the married state is no more needed by Burmese maidens than it is by their sisters in other parts of the world, and they have the further inducement that they enjoy a much freer and happier position than in any other Eastern country, and in some respects are better off even than women in England. All the money and possessions which a girl brings with her on marriage are kept carefully separate for the benefit of her children or heirs, and she carries her property away with her if she is divorced, besides anything she may have added to it in the interim by her own trading or by inheritance. Thus a married Burmese woman is much more independent than any European even in the most advanced states. In the eyes of the Dammathat the old idea of the *patria potestas* prevails indeed, and woman is regarded as a simple chattel, belonging entirely to her parents, and to be disposed of by them without any reference to her personal inclinations; but, as a matter of fact, she may do pretty well as she pleases, may marry the youth on whom she has fixed her affections, and may separate herself from the husband who has offended her, by going before the village elders and stating her case; and if the complaint is just, her request is never refused.

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As yet they have not begun to demand an equal share

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

Little presents are exchanged. The *soupirant* brings a gay kerchief with some love-verses written on it, perhaps his own composition, more probably the erotic sighings of the prince in the last play he heard, or cribbed bodily from a song-book for Kālathas (Corinthians, lads of mettle). The girl gives him some green cheroots, rolled by her fair hands, or a brilliant woollen muffler which she has knitted; but there is never any of the kissing and caressing indulged in by more urgent foreign lovers. The girl would look upon any attempts of such a nature as highly indecorous, and no doubt it is quite unsuited to her clothing.

When at last everything has been settled — parents' consent obtained, dowry fixed, and a fortunate day and hour pitched upon — the marriage ceremony comes off in the house of the bride's parents. The ritual is very simple and has nothing whatever of a religious character about it; in fact the celibate pôngyis would be grossly scandalised if they were asked to take any part in it. A great feast is prepared at the expense of the bridegroom or his parents. All the relations, friends, and neighbours are invited, and it is the publicity of the thing that is really the main feature of the ceremony. The old custom that the bride and bridegroom should join their right hands together, palm to palm, in the presence of all the assembled guests, and then should eat rice out of the same dish and feed each other with one or two morsels in turtle-dove fashion, has in many cases died out, and the eating and drinking, the talk of the men in the main room of the house and of the women in the inner apartment, is quite enough to solemnise the union. When the newly-married couple retire into the bridal chamber it is sometimes in the larger towns the custom to shower saffron-coloured rice on them, but this, like the entire seclusion in which the happy pair are supposed to pass the next seven days, is very seldom actually carried out.

In the country villages, however, two ancient customs are still very generally prevalent. The one is to tie a string across the road along which the bridegroom must pass to the house of his intended. He comes in procession with all his friends, carrying the greater portion of the belongings

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

wound round the body, kilt fashion, tucked in with a twist in front, and the portion which remains, gathered up and allowed to hang in folds from the waist, or thrown jauntily over the shoulder. The body is covered with a short white cotton jacket, over which another of dark or coloured cloth is often worn. Elderly people, and the wealthy of all ages, when they are paying a visit of ceremony or going to worship at the pagoda, wear a taing-mathein, a long white coat, open in front except at the throat, where it is tied, and reaching almost to the knees. Round the head a flowered silk handkerchief is loosely wound as a turban. The old wear a simple narrow fillet of white book-muslin round the temples and showing the hair. This is called a pawlôn. 291

The woman's tamein is a simple piece of cotton or silk, almost square, four feet and a half long by about five broad, and woven in two pieces of different patterns. This is wound tightly over the bosom, and fastened with a simple twist of the ends. The opening being in front, the symmetry of the thigh is displayed in walking, but a peculiar outward jerk of the heels which the girls acquire prevents any suggestion of immodesty. The loose cotton jacket is unhappily not so well contrived to display their charms. Over the shoulders is thrown a bright silk handkerchief, the same as that used by the men for turbans. Nothing is worn on the head except flowers twisted into the hair. Dressed in their best, the family sally forth in search of amusement. If it is a pwè, they will not get home till very late, possibly not till daybreak, when the yellow line of monks issuing forth on their matutinal tour may meet them at the monastery gate. A country dance naturally does not last nearly so long, though it is kept up much longer than most people would care to dance a hornpipe or even a minuet. But a still more favourite form of amusement is the entertainment of a sā-haw sayā, a kind of reciter or improvisatore. He is paid to come to a house, and the company invited are asked to choose a subject for him, some of the favourite zāts, or an incident in history, sacred or secular. Many of them, like the cyclic poets, repeat from memory, but there are others who invent their smooth verses as they go on chanting. They may perform in a house, or in a mandut [481] 517 538

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

538 specially run up for the occasion, or even in the open street. When a well-known sā-haw sayā is going to recite the Wethandaya or the Zanekka Zāts, or when he tells how the Lord Buddha left his father's palace to wear the yellow robe, or how he ascended to Tawadeintha, a dramatic performance is often completely deserted, and the actors have no option but to follow the populace and listen to the improvisatore themselves. One of the best of the Burmese dramatic writers, U Po Mya, was also particularly celebrated as a sā-haw sayā. He could repeat his own drama, the Wizaya Zāt, from end to end, but had also a particular facility in improvising.

181 His night's amusement over, the Burman goes home to sound sleep on his Danubyu mat or a coarser one if he has not got that, and rises to spend another day of the same kind. He cares nothing for the assertion that he leads an aimless, lazy life. He has enough to live upon, and the writings of all the philosophers say that wealth only brings new cares.

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

there are gradations: the one mighty seat is divided into eight great holds, arranged one below the other, all with punishments so terrible that none can be said to exceed any other in hideousness. The names of all the eight great chambers, from Theinzo above to Awizi the nethermost hell, are given, but a detailed catalogue is unnecessary. Each great hell is surrounded by sixteen inferior places of torture called Ôtthad-daret. From west to east the flames stream through all the mighty space and pass through on the other side to a distance of a thousand yuzanas, and from east to west the same. From north to south, from Nadir to Pole, and Pole to Nadir, it is the same, and yet the torments of this heat are but a tithe of the gruesome tortures the sinner must suffer. The life of the Déwas in Tawadeintha is reckoned at sixteen million human years. That period is but as a day and night in Kālathôt, the second hell. Thirty such days and nights make a month, twelve months one year; and the wicked in the Kālathôt hell must pass one thousand such horrible years. The Nats in Tôt-thita live five hundred and seventy-six million years, which is but as one revolving sun and moon to the tenants of Yawruwa. Of such appalling days they must make up a tale of four thousand agonising years. The miserable wretches in Awizi work out the evil of their sins only in the space of an Andrakap, a period so vast that the mind cannot grasp it. As if these punishments were not sufficient to scare the weak and ignorant from sin, it has been revealed what other tortures await the damned. In one of the Ten Great Sacred Mystery Plays it is related how a pious prince was shown the horrors of hell. The terrible pictures of the sixth book of the *Æneid*, the awful imaginings of Dante's poem, are outdone by the flesh-creeping minuteness of the Nemi Zāt. The prince saw men devoured by five-headed dogs, by famished vultures, by loathsome crows, the flesh being renewed as fast as the foul creatures tore it away; he saw others crushed beneath the weight of vast white-hot mountains, stretched on fiery bars and cut up with burning knives and flaming saws, their hearts slowly scratched and pierced with fiery needles, flame entering at the mouth and licking up the vitals, fiends all about, hacking, hewing, stabbing,

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[538]

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

346 171 172 missionaries from Central India who introduced the teachings of the Lord Buddha into Burma. There was certainly an ancient Hindu colony there, and its inhabitants may have brought some notions of their architecture with them. But whether this be so or not, Burmans find source for pride in the admitted fact that "there is nothing in India to compare with the classical beauty of some of the smaller temples, or the stupendous architectural majesty of the A'nanda, or the Ta-pyi-nyu."

778 788 538 The following song is taken from a very favourite play, *Sawpé Sawmé*, written by a Pegu dramatist and published in 1880, and gives an idea of the canticles sung at the dedication of pagodas and similar ceremonies. It is set to a very popular air, the Yôddaya Nan-thein Than, "the Siamese Palace Tune," but I have not ventured to try to reproduce the original complicated metre. The sikkè or magistrate in question was U Maung Galé, a younger brother of the late U On, long the only Burmese C.I.E., and once second judge of the Small Cause Court in Rangoon.

539

THE GILDING OF THE SHWE MAW-DAW

Far-famed and bright, the Shwe Maw-daw
Is known where'er the Sacred Law
To toiling millions brings the peace,
Bids grief be still and turmoil cease.
Fair glory of Peguan land
Revered on earth's most distant strand,
Not more Dagôn's great golden pile
Hath honour in the Southern Isle,
Where'er beneath the zampu tree
The pious bend the suppliant knee,
Than thou the glorious lotus shrine
High temple of the hairs divine.
As leaps on high the funeral flame
Of some yahan of sainted name,
A beacon light to Neh'ban's rest
And haven sure to men distressed,
So skywards reared, thy shapely spire
Upsprings a pyramid of fire.

The hoar seer's words are now proved true,
Spoke ages since while yet all new

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ing two birds with one stone." Maung Tha Byaw said he was going to worship at the Shwe Dagôn pagoda. He gave a performance or two, and made several (Burmese) fortunes. Hence the saying—

> Payā lè pu yin
> Leip u lè tu yin.
> You go and worship and dig turtles' eggs.
> Turtles' eggs for prayer
> Reward the pious player.

Maung Tha Byaw was not only a good singer, but himself wrote very good songs, and was particularly clever at coining in phrases the wisdom of many with the wit of one. No other "prince" has ever attained to his fame. Best known among the clowns was Shwe Lôt Gyi, who had the knack of making local jokes wherever he happened to be, and took the fullest advantage of the scope which the language afforded him in the way of punning. Just after the railway from Rangoon to Prome was opened, Shwe Lôt Gyi was performing in a piece where the prince and his servant, the clown, wander away into the forest and fall into a state of great destitution. The prince bewails his sad fate in a dolorous tedat (a tune appropriate to such lamentations), and finishes by asking what they are to do. The lubyet replied, "The English have just opened a railway here. You go and trespass on it, and I'll lay information against you and get the reward." The idea showed considerable acuteness in a man who had never seen a railway before.

Among the "princesses" many youths have been noted for the sweetness of their voice. The two best were Maung Tha Zan and, running him very close, Maung Mu, both of them, like Tha Byaw and the clown, Mandalay men. The accuracy with which they imitated the female voice was wonderful, the more so as every song abounds with trills and turns which would expose the least roughness. Neither in the recitative, the tremulous erotics, nor the doleful wailings of the maiden for her absent lover, would the stranger ever suspect the performer's sex.

The plays are performed during the day only in a few and exceptional cases, such as the arrival of a great man,

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533 person's body in evidence of having carried out their orders. Then when the next palace concert came on, the king—his late majesty—would grow tired of the ordinary vocalists and regret that the great improvisatore was gone. Whereupon Maung Tha Byaw would promptly come forth and sing his sweetest. He was killed in this way several times, but in the end died a natural death, about the same time as his contemporary Yindaw Ma Le.

533 554 The honours he received were quite on a par with European estimation of musical talent. He had a patent to carry a golden umbrella, and, as Thabinwun, had magisterial powers to punish those who offended him or refused to obey his edicts. Two lictors went before him to clear the way, a white cloth being tied round their fasces as a distinctive mark. When he performed in a play a low yaza mat, or royal fence, extended across the front of the stage, and at the ends were planted his golden hti and a banana-tree. The latter distinction was also granted to Maung Tha Zan and Maung Mu, singers only inferior to the Thabinwun himself.

533 177.53 538 If the tunes are not easily reduced to regular rules, the difficulty with the metres is not less. There exist, indeed, written laws ordaining the number of feet to the verse, but they are as lightly regarded as is consistent with their recognition at all. Much more precision is indeed expected in the old tunes than in those of modern date, but even with them song-writers of the present time allow themselves considerable freedom. The original linga are all very short. Thus the pyo has but four syllables; kabya, four; yatu, six and four; luta, four; yagan, six and four; ègyin, four, five, and six; hmawlôn, four and six; paikzôn, four; legyo, four; sagyin, four, five, and six; and so forth. In the thanzan, or new tunes, however, the compass of the lines often approaches the portentous length of some of Walt Whitman's *Leaves of Grass*. Such modern tunes are the kayathan (so-called English), dobatthan, nabethan, nanthein yodaya (Siamese), and pyigyithan (Chinese). Such composi-
533 538 tions as the lôngyin and ngogyin cannot be designated otherwise than as musical prose, with occasional fits of metre, prompted by their dolorous character. They are the

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threnodies and the laments of *divorcées*, unhappily all too common (in plays and song-books). Such, too, are the saungbasa, the ardent epistles of separated sweethearts. 533 538

The question of rhyme is even more puzzling. Some compositions not intended to be sung, such as notably the shinityathi bwè, songs about the twelve months of the year, giving an account of their characteristics, the pwès that take place in them, and so on, are written with regular final rhymes, while the other laws of prosody, shi'-lôn tabaik, kolôn tabaik, and so forth, are fairly strictly observed. But in the songs of the plays and such-like productions, rhyme runs absolute riot, so that it is quite common for every word in a line to rhyme with the corresponding word in the second verse of the couplet.

Thus in the kayāthan, translated below, there are abundance of lines like the following :—

Thuza lo lo
Muya po po.

Or—

Ma yo le hnan kyauk
A-po le tan lauk.

Or in the Tedat—

Ta ko dè pa
Ma so bè hma
A ngo thè hla.

Such rhymes occur in an abundance that makes them the most prominent characteristic of the verse, but it is impossible to reproduce them except in another monosyllabic language. English, of all others, offers the greatest difficulties to the translator.

I have done what is possible to reproduce the following kayāthan, "The Sound of the Trumpet,"[1] as nearly as possible in the varying metre of the original. Those who are best able to judge of the success of the attempt will be the most lenient in their criticism. I may mention that the tune was originally composed to the words of a song in honour of the accession of King Thibaw, but words on all manner of subjects have been written to it since.

[1] [see category 539, pp. 322-323 -- ANALYST] -Y

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796 of worshippers from all the higher seats of the universe, earthly kings in royal dress, the white umbrella borne over their heads, and ministers and pages at hand with trailing robes and gorgeous peacock fans; nat-dêwas and their rulers in rainbow hues, with wings on arm and thigh; byammās from the thoughtful realms of the upper sky; a glittering throng, all uniting in praise to the Saviour of the World, the chant rising and falling on the night air as they slowly ascend. As a general thing it takes quite an hour to get up. There are many doxologies to be sung, and the performers, all laymen from the town, have paid many rupees for their dresses and want as many people to see their grandeur as possible. Technically, on the first night the image should go no farther than the Ugandaw hill, but, as already said, this half-way house very often does not exist at all, and even when it does there is usually no more than half an hour's halt, and then the procession goes on to Tawadeintha, the spire-covered platform on the summit. There the gay throng gather round the image in the attitude of adoration, and a man with a powerful voice stands behind it and declaims the sermon written down in the sacred books as having been preached on the occasion. The subject is filial piety. "I, the great Sramana, the mightiest of all beings, the teacher of ne'ban and the Law; I, the all-powerful, who by my preaching can lead my mother into the path of salvation and the final deliverance; I, who know all things and have beat down the passions under my feet; even I, with all this can but repay the debt due to one of the breasts that suckled me. What then can man offer in love and gratitude to the mother who nourished him at her breast?"

The sermon takes very much less time than the ascent. [538] There is a Burmese proverb—

> Sa nahtaung thaw
> Taye pyaw.
>
> When the pôngyi preaches
> No harm the sleeper reaches;

that is to say, no great evil can befall you when you are assisting, in presence of body, if in no other way, at the

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A state envelope was a very curious affair. It was nothing else but two large elephant's tusks. Half-way up they were hollow, and on the mouth there was a heavy gold cover. The tusks were mounted in different parts with gold of no mean thickness. The letter of the lord of the Golden Throne was deposited inside, and borne to its destination with the flourish of trumpets and the braying of drums. The majesty of the Burmese king would have suffered if he had forwarded a communication to the Viceroy in a cover which cost anything under a couple of hundred pounds sterling. In similar fashion the reports of subordinate officials were written with steatite pencils on coarse black paper, and this was rolled up and put in a hollow joint of bamboo. The whole was then enveloped in cloth and sealed with a peacock seal. Communications of this kind were sometimes received by English officials on the British Burma frontier.

The following are a few proverbs:—

If you want to go fast, go the old road.

Wisdom guards life; no one can escape bad luck. The man gifted with wisdom is never left in peace.

Every bird is handsome compared with the vulture.

A mountain is climbed by degrees; property acquired by degrees; wisdom learnt by degrees.

Have regard for a whole family of rats, instead of for one cat.

The more you know, the more luck you have.

A short boat is hard to steer; a dwarf is quick in the temper.

If a cock ruffles up his feathers, it is easy to pluck him. If a man gets angry he is done for.

Constant cutting dulls the knife; constant talking dulls the wits.

A pot half full of water is hard to carry (on the head, of course; because the water sways from side to side); the less a man knows, the harder he is to argue with.

A cow that can give no milk will kick. An ignorant man is to be feared for his ignorance.

If there is much paddy (unhusked rice) in the bowl, it is hard to eat. If there is much talking it is hard to understand.

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Don't speak like a mountain, it is so easy to fall off.

Eat little, stomach slender; eat much, stomach-ache.

Beware of a man's shadow (*i.e.* his relations) and a bee's sting.

A coward tiger growls; a coward human howls.

The well-born are fair of speech; the low-born crooked.

A slave's son is a stupid son.

If a great man flatters you, be afraid.

A great man's sword is never blunt.

There are three chances in a nagā's stare; there is but one in a king's. (That is to say, you may escape from the dragon, but if the king is angry with you, speedy death is all you can expect.)

Kyet-go a-yo,
Lu-go a-myo.

Blood always tells; literally, you know a game-cock from his bones, a man from his family.

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BURMESE MUSIC.

As for the classical cycle of keys, diagrams of which appeared both in U Ba Choe's article and U San Win's book 2, both U Ba Choe and U San Win quote authoritative verses from classical literature (*Natakaratanakosa* နဋကရတနကောသကျမ်း) but regret that not all the keys mentioned are in use in this decadent age. With due reverence for the classics I shall assign these verses like Ruskin's works on art and Pater's, to literature. It is becoming increasingly difficult to fit classical theory with the actual music. Whereas our classical literature came *en masse* from ancient India along with Buddhism many hundred years ago our music seems to have come from the east. Indeed one class of songs *yodaya* ယိုးဒယား came *en masse* from Siam less than two centuries ago. Music is the last thing that could have come with Buddhism. It seems to have developed quite independently of classical literature. In fact Burmese poetry *linga* (လင်္ဂ *alankara*) is quite distinct from Burmese song (*thachin* သချင်း) and from both stands massive and remote the Buddhist literature of the *tripitaka* in the Pali language. 533 178 101 [779] [538]

What seems to have happened is that while the elegant royalty and courtesans in the palace were delighting in the intricacies of Burmese versification with liberal infusion of both the Pali language and the Buddhist philosophy, music in its robust form was having its origins in animistic ritual (နတ်), in the village when somebody was giving alms and in the paddy-fields when the transplanting of the seedlings were in progress. For the former we have *Byaw*[1] (ဗျော) stick-struck drum songs, and for the latter we have *Bonshay* (ဘုံရှေ) long-drum or *kauksaik* (ကောက်ရိုက်) transplanting songs. *Kyoh* (ကြိုး) that most ancient class of Burmese songs also must have been in the beginning a labour chant for concerted action that germinated in ancient row boats, grew into a boat-song, and then developed for royal ears into its present high order of melodic and literary grandeur (*vide* the royal barge songs: ဆောင်ဆိုကြိုး when the barge makes port, ဆောင်ငင်ကြိုး when the barge is being towed out by rowers in open boats, ဆောင်ထောကြိုး when the barge is underway [2]. The cadences of these still recall the rhythmic flash of wet oars in the sun. Thus Burmese music had as its sponsor the rustic festivals and the occupation of the hewers of wood and drawers of water, and not the Church as 533 178

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1. ဘရေးဆရာ့ဘဝတွဲနှင့်ရောထိတ 'A dancer's life (or dancing) begins with a tray of banana offerings (or *pad* marked by a central fire-bowl stand of plantain trunk) in a *byaw* music party. Till 1698 A. D. when the 8th king of the Nyaungyan dynasty ဧရာဝင် *Sand Min* came to the throne there existed only intoned poems ရိုး ဇော်ကျမ်း but no real Burmese music. ဘောင်ဝန်ဖွင်ထပ်ပေး by U Nu. Sun Magazine, 1938.

2. U Ba Choe told me that this was not true. This class of songs used to be played as exercises in the playing of the Burmese harp, when the pupil first learnt to pluck simultaneously certain strings (ကြိုး *Kyoh*). For a full explanation of it see ဆောင်ထောကျွတ်ကျမ်း by U San Win.

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BURMESE MUSIC.

Part III

Notes on Time.

There remains the question of Burmese musical time. Both Mr. Mariano and Paul Edmonds wrote with enthusiasm on the strictness with which Burmese musicians kept time. Very few among Burmans do not know how to keep the tiny bell (*si* θɪ) and clapper (*wah* ʍɑʔɪ) going correctly when music is playing. A foot or a hand of listeners and players alike may often be seen beating time. That may be partly because we as a race find it impossible to hear music with stolid immobility. Partly, however, it is because our language is not accentual but tonal..... 533 194

Rhythm in a language such as English is largely dependent upon differences of emphasis or accent upon the syllables in a word, and the words in a sentence. Differences of emphasis or accent do occur in Burmese, but not to the same extent; consequently emphasis or accent is not used very much, if at all, in the composition of Burmese verse.

Burmese verse depends rather upon the schematic arrangement of words with certain sounds recurring at fixed points. That is, Burmese verse has rhyme, but it has little or no accentual rhythm. On the other hand timing, especially such as depends upon the number of syllables pronounced in a given period and caesuras that mark the period are of greater importance in Burmese than in English. In Burmese singing the caesuras are even more important than the sets of syllables or words in each measure. *See*, the rests on the first beat of measures 1 to 8 (Example 11 Voice)[1]. 194 538 533

The singer keeps time with a pair of tiny bells (*si* θɪ) and a small clapper (*wa* ʍɑʔɪ) in his hand. The 'clap' coincides with each of the rests mentioned till the final note of the section when it coincides with the tonic.

Simple duple or simple quadruple is the usual time. In the duple the bell (O) and the clapper (X) go alternately. In the quadruple there is a rest (—) on one or the other of the middle beats. 533

1. Had Mariano known the significance of these rests, which often marked the beginning of bars, he would have discovered six such rests in his own notation of Nanthain-yodaya in bars 13, 15, 23, 27, 33 and 35. Make two of his bars equal one, and halve the value of all his notes, and all becomes right. In barring, I often found that western musicians mistakenly listened for the accented note. Accented notes in Burmese music do not mark the beginnings of bars. They are merely emphasised or underlined notes. The caesuras are what should have been looked for. The Burmese equivalent of the strong beat at the beginning of bars is the beat, or rather the 'clap' of the clapper. *See* Example 11*a*.

General Attitudes of the Burmese toward Work.

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Rank and status in the Burmese Village is determined to a large extent on the basis of occupation - with the factor of wealth where applicable taking precedence over occupation. The highest rank is accorded to the Buddhist monks who exert the ultimate influence. Government officials including the township officers, the THU GYI (headman) and elders, and the schoolmaster occupy the second rank. The large land owners (of this group the rice-mill owners rate highest) rank next. Below these are the tradesmen - the paddy dealers, shop keepers and small holdings farmers who comprise the bulk of the population. Professional artisans such as carpenters, blacksmiths, gold and silver smiths occupy a lower position. However, it is common for the small holdings farmers to practice a secondary occupation such as pottery making.

[126] [224] [179]

Fishermen and hunters are looked down on by the rest of the community because they offend Buddhist precepts by taking life. In this class also are those who raise animals (cows, poultry, pigs) for food, smugglers and brewers. Fishermen, particularly those such as U Myaing who operate IN fisheries often become wealthy, but the stigma of the source of this wealth is remembered by the community. A story is told of a rich fisherman who came to cover the Shwe Dagon Pagoda in Rangoon with gold plate. Unfortunately, he had sinned so much by taking the lives of fish that he could not see the pagoda. In a rage he returned to his IN to cover its posts with the gold. Because of the stigma attached to fishing those who make their living in this way tend to live together in their own communities. Thus Pathan, U Myaing's village is primarily a fisherman's community.

● [538]

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In the days of the Burmese kings, wealthy men and nobles (THAKIN) would assign people under their command to serve as pagoda slaves. Their names were engraved in stone and their descendants for all eternity assigned to this position. The duties were light - consisting mainly of sweeping the platforms and carrying for the images, but the social position was next to the lowest. It is believed that the flower vendors on the platform of the Rangoon

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The key to 26 high positions lies in education in the high schools and Universities. Family support is necessary for this and the student is constantly aware of his obligation to succeed for their benefit. "One tree can support a thousand birds" illustrate the dependency of the relatives on the successful individual.

In order to succeed one needs each of these three qualities: KARMA (fate or luck), NYAN (intelligence), and WIRIYA(industriousness The failure of any one can cause the lack of success. Ordinarily, however, KARMA is blamed in cases of failure - and the other two credited for success. The concept of KARMA includes merit and demerit compiled in all previous existences. Because of this convenient excuse the true causes of failure are seldom analysed by the individual and he does not have a sense of personal blame or shame. Also social condemnation does not fall heavily on the unsuccessful who has tried and failed. However, one should finish what he starts or not attempt it, "once you start climbing the pole you must reach the top". The individual may not achieve fame or fortune but he is expected to maintain his birth position. His relatives, who suffer shame if he does not, help him. A major contribution of the individual is an advantagous marriage within or above his occupational group.

[583]

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What does one strive for, by work, in the Burmese society? Not subsistence, for food is ordinarily cheap and easily attained in the villages. Clothing, shelter and the other necessities of life are also not the objective. The subsistence pattern is simple and essentially homogeneous throughout the village.

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The ordinary head of a household thinks of three major benefits to be gained from wealth. The first and most immediate are jewels to adorn the women of the family. The status of the family is reflected in public by the bangles, necklaces and earrings worn by the ladies. Diamonds are most prized and the size is important. However, most important is that each female be provided with "a set" of jewelry. The wife of the middle and upper status group particularly will prod the husband until he provides these necessities. The women's clothing and also the husbands and his son's must also be the finest they can afford.

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The second urge for wealth arises out of the desire for old age security. Hence gold coins are saved (hidden) against the day when

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of Hindu traders from South India. After the introduction of Buddhism into South India by Asoka in 261 B.C., the traders began to bring Buddhist elements to Thaton. With the establishment in the third or fourth century after Christ of the Hindu kingdoms in Java and Sumatra, Thaton became an important trading centre, and with the rise of a great Buddhist centre at Conjeveram in Madras in the fifth century, the Talaings began to receive religious writings in Pali. From that time onwards, learning was definitely established in the kingdom, and, as a result, a Talaing literature came into being. Anawrahta was interested in Pali only, and therefore when he destroyed the city, he burnt all the manuscripts except those in Pali.[1]

175 101 [779] [177]

The writing and learning that were thus introduced into Pagan took root at once. Prose and poetry as embodied in the language of the court and in songs had been in existence long before, though unwritten, and now the new learning turned them into written forms and began to develop them. Pali was studied everywhere, and in the newly-built temples with their crowded monastic life, works in Pali on religion, on Pali grammar and prosody, and on the legal code of Manu came to be produced.[2] Translations were also made, and soon Pagan became famous throughout India for its Pali scholarship. But

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[1] The Burmese language belongs to the Tibeto-Burmese group, whereas the Talaing belongs to the Mon-Khmar group. In spite of Anawrahta's conquest and in spite of the fact that racially they were cousins, the Talaings became completely merged with the Burmese only in the eighteenth century. The probability of the Sanskrit drama reaching the Talaings is considered in chap. ii.

[197] [101]

[2] G. E. Harvey, op. cit., pp. 59, 70.

The most famous for literary activity was the *Kyauku Ohmmin* temple. Though built perhaps even before Anawrahta, when a corrupted form of Buddhism was prevalent, it is still in an excellent condition (Harvey, p. 17).

The code of Manu was compiled originally in Sanskrit, during the period 200 B.C.–A.D. 200. Since that time it has been one of the chief sources of Hindu law (J. D. Mayne, *Hindu Law*). The Burmese received it in a Talaing-Pali version in which the sacerdotal element had been done away with. That explains why, although Manu is one of the chief sources also of Burmese Buddhist law, it has little in common with Hindu law. The existence of the code as the chief source of Talaing law (Harvey, op. cit., p. 111) raises again the question, how far were the Talaing writings under the influence of Sanskrit and its literature? We shall never know. When Anawrahta destroyed Talaing institutions and historical and literary works, he intended that all knowledge of the past greatness of the Talaings should pass into oblivion so as to smooth his way towards unifying Burma into one single State.

[671]

Pali has been, since 1044, the classical language of Burma.

[198]

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175 538 198 there never was any attempt to imitate the Pali language and its literature in the vernacular, and Burma offers no parallel to the controversy among English Renaissance scholars over the merits and demerits of the vernacular.

175 538 The period of Pagan's ascendancy marked the zenith of Burmese greatness and civilization. It was a great centre of trade, and visitors from afar talked of the glory that was Pagan. Its supremacy was unquestioned by the whole of Burma, which had been united into a kingdom for the first time. It even demanded and probably obtained nominal allegiance from the greater part of Indo-China and the governors of the outlying provinces of the Chinese Empire. But the period of Pagan's ascendancy was not a great period in Burmese literature. Her capital looked radiant with its golden temples, her kings were learned and powerful, her troops marched in triumph, but Pagan never forgot that no material thing was real, and everything decayed and perished. Therefore, the scholars were interested only in religious themes, and religious themes seldom offer adequate scope for the development of a great literature. Although the clearness of diction and the artistry of the death-song of the royal tutor, Anantathuria, composed while awaiting execution in 1173, indicate that at least a few must have practised the use of the vernacular for non-religious purposes, the efforts of writers in the vernacular were chiefly directed towards the recording of inscriptions, which are still [172] preserved in countless numbers in the pagodas of Pagan.[1] Many of these inscriptions contain good prose. The earlier inscriptions tend to be bombastic through sheer wealth of learning; the scholars of Pagan could not at once learn to control their use of the newly-acquired scholarship, just as the earlier writers of the Renaissance in England failed to restrict their use of learned words. However, after a few decades, the bombastic style gave place to a simpler and more 175 concise diction. In addition to the narrowness of scope offered by 172 religious themes, there was another reason which prevented Pagan,

538 341 [1] The death-song is one of the greatest poems in the language and is the oldest non-religious piece of literature existing in Burma. A translation is given in G. E. Harvey, op. cit., p. 55, and another in Tin and Luce, *The Glass Palace Chronicle*, p. 139.

G. E. Harvey, op cit. (p. 70) describes the inscriptions as 'richly human and intensely devout', and he ranks (p. 38) some of Kyanzittha's (1084–1112) inscriptions as literature.

[172] *Epigraphia Birmanica*, a Government publication, gives the text of the more important inscriptions with translations.

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in spite of its greatness in other directions, from being a great period of Burmese literature. The love of beauty, which is the basis of all literature, had adequate satisfaction in the developed art of architecture. The poets of Pagan wrote their poems in bricks, instead of words, and their pagodas are still famous. When one stands on the shore of the Irrawaddy and looks towards the ruins of Pagan, one is reminded of the delicate beauty of an incomplete poem.[1]

Pagan fell in 1287 as the result of the Tartar onslaught during the time of Kubla Khan, the Scourge of God, and the country broke up into several little States, each attempting to control the others. For the next fifty years, political struggles went on in the capitals, but they failed to disturb the peace of smaller towns and villages. Many who had grown tired of the strife around the thrones flocked to the quiet of the village monasteries in order to find peace. Religion went on undiminished, but the learning connected with it decayed, for the royal patronage was lacking. Architecture also decayed because there was no royal support and because the country had become poor. Men turned to literature for its own sake, and during this period Burmese prose and poetry assumed definite forms with fully developed diction, rhythm, rhyme and style.[2]

[1] Many temples and pagodas of the Pagan period are in an excellent state of preservation and are still in use as places of worship. Scott O'Conner's *Mandalay and Other Cities* contains fine illustrations of the more famous of these religious buildings.

The achievement of the Pagan kings, the 'Temple Builders', is summed up by Harvey thus: 'The legacy of their fleeting sway has enriched posterity for ever. It was they who made the sun-scorched wilderness, the solitary plain of Myingyan, to blossom forth into the architectural magnificence of Pagan. If they produced no nation-builder like Simon de Montfort, no lawgiver like Edward I, they unified Burma for more than two centuries, and that in itself was an achievement. But their role was æsthetic and religious rather than political. To them the world owes in great measure the preservation of Theravada Buddhism, one of the purest faiths mankind has ever known. Brahminism had strangled it in the land of its birth; in Ceylon its existence was threatened again and again; east of Burma it was not yet free from priestly corruptions; but the kings of Burma never wavered, and at Pagan the stricken faith found a city of refuge. Vainglorious tyrants built themselves lasting sepulchres, but none of these men has a tomb. . . . These men's magnificence went to glorify their religion, not to deck the tent wherein they camped during this transitory life.'—*History of Burma*, p. 70.

[2] Ibid., p. 103. Since that time, prose and poetry show continuous development. The full history of Burmese literature still remains unwritten. However, the *Anthology of Burmese Literature*, a Government publication,

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176 Though prose and poetry had thus assumed definite forms by
538 about the fourteenth, or early fifteenth century, the drama was un-
536 known until very much later. The first real Burmese drama appeared, though it had its origins some decades earlier, only towards the close of the eighteenth century, and during the next hundred years it developed and then decayed. Burmese dramatic literature developed in a historical sequence and in a way essentially similar to that of the Elizabethan drama. But why the similarity? Is it accident? Is it because of the similarity in the geographical isolation of the two countries? Or, is there a definite way in which all dramas have to develop in natural sequence?

2. Sources of Information

178 The history of Burmese drama can be divided into six stages.
536 First, there is the age of the *Nibhatkhin*, comparable to the English miracle play, ending about 1752. Second, we have, from 1752 to 1819, the period of the interlude[1] (comparable to the English morality and interlude) and the court drama. Third, we have the period of the dramatist, U Kyin U, 1819 to 1853. Fourth, we have the period of the poet, U Pon Nya, 1853 to 1878. Fifth, there is the period of decadence, 1878 to 1886. Sixth, we have the time from
[634] 1886 to the present day. As dates are in many cases uncertain in
[805] determining the periods I am taking the reigns of various kings. As the drama depended much on the court and the victories and defeats of the king, perhaps I am justified in so doing. In any case, if a date is wrong, it is wrong by not more than two or three years.

175 The time before 1752 is the most difficult period as far as re-
538 search is concerned. The centuries that followed the fall of Pagan—
536 the time of internal wars, 1287 to 1531—saw the rise of a vernacular literature, which is found existing in the Empire of 1531 to 1752.[2]

[114] arranges its extracts in more or less chronological order, and therefore gives a
[538] good idea of the development. The subject is outside the scope of this work but I mention it to show how late the first appearance of Burmese drama was
[178] as compared with other branches of Burmese literature.

[1] The term 'interlude' is explained in chap. i.

175 [2] Perhaps it will not be out of place to give a short summary of the history. The various small States into which the country broke up after 1287 gave place, after some fifty years of incessant strife, to Ava, the kingdom of the Burmese, and Pegu, that of the Talaings. The small principality of Toungoo under Ava rebelled and conquered the whole of Burma in 1531.

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The rise of the *Nibhatkhin* was the result of the rise of the vernacular literature, for then learning had reached the people. But we do not quite know at what time the *Nibhatkhin* first came into being. According to tradition, the custom of holding religious processions and pageants had existed long before 1752, about which time the interlude and the *Hawsa* (a recitation of a story in verse) came into being, but how long before nobody can tell. However, as it must have taken some time for the vernacular literature to take root, I adopt tentatively 1531 to 1752 as the period of the *Nibhatkhin*. 175 536* 538

For the story of the development of the *Nibhatkhin*, I am dependent on tradition alone. The tradition of its development from the pageant is quite logical. Moreover, it is general and not confined to a particular district. I have discussed it with various Burmese scholars and I have made inquiries in far-away villages, and always I find the same tradition. In some out-of-the-way villages, which the influences that affected the drama at the capital had failed to reach, the development of the *Nibhatkhin* from the pageant was within living memory. Until recently, in such villages, one could even see the *Nibhatkhin* in its various stages of development. One village would be presenting a procession, another a pageant, a third would be staging a fully developed *Nibhatkhin*; in all the villages, their particular practice had been the custom for many years, further development having been checked by the introduction of the drama in its more mature stages by touring troupes of professional actors, and it had continued to exist side by side with the performances of strolling players, just as some miracle plays continued to be presented in certain places in England during the heyday of the Elizabethan 173 178 536* [369] 127

Under Bayinnaung (1551–81) the whole of Indo-China, the outlying provinces of China, and Manipur owed allegiance to the Burmese king. After his death, the Empire decayed until the ruler of Pegu, who had become independent, defeated the Burmese, and turned Burma into a Talaing Empire in 1752. The Empire was short-lived, for in the same year Alaungpaya rebelled, founded the last Burmese dynasty, and 'Burmanized' the Talaings by force. He and his successors turned Burma into one united kingdom, which with the Shan States, Siam, Manipur, and Assam, formed the Burmese Empire. The period 1752–1819 was the Age of Triumph, a fuller account of which is given in chap. ii. 175

The Burmese lost Assam, Manipur, and the native provinces of Arakan and Tenasserim to the British in 1824. The rest of Lower Burma fell into British hands in 1852. On 1 January 1886 the whole country was proclaimed a province of the Indian Empire.

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647 accounts regarding it. Apart from the notes gathered by my father, I
175 base my information on the accounts given to me orally by my grand-
536* mother and grand-aunts who actually saw the interludes performed.

127 In support of the oral tradition regarding the nature of the
175 interlude, there are some echoes of it in the plays of U Kyin U. He
536* developed the interlude into a proper play, but the change was not a sudden one, and in his plays we find echoes of the interlude in its various stages. His plays are considered in detail in another chapter. There are also contemporary references to the interlude. Even from an English pen we have an account. Colonel Yule in 1855 saw an entertainment midway between the interlude and the developed plays of U Kyin U.[1]

644 The period of the court plays offers an easier task for research.
536* The *Rama* play from Siam is preserved, with adaptations, it is true,
[177] but with notes on the original when a change was made in the pre-
538 served version.[2] The other Siamese play of *Eenaung* has come down to us. The poem *Rama-yagan* which Burmanized the *Rama* story has also come down. Accounts of the performances of the court plays and the recitation of the poem at court are many and well known. From the time when they were first composed down to the present day, the works of these court poets and dramatists have been studied and read. The influence of these works on the interlude is suggested, not only by the 'internal evidence' in U Kyin U's plays, but also by the editorial prefaces to the works in their various editions.

[114] Though only three plays of U Kyin U exist at the present day as far as is known, the period is quite easy of research, because references and notes regarding him occur in various records of the court and the nobility, and because the Burma Research Society has published new editions of two of his plays; and though the prefaces to them are short and no attempt is made to make a complete study, suggestions for further study and research are made by the editors.

175 The period of U Pon Nya offers the easiest task, as compared with
536* other periods, so far as research is concerned. All his plays are

[1] H. Yule, *A Narrative of the Mission sent by the Governor-General of India to the Court of Ava in 1855*. His description of the dramatic entertainment he saw is considered again in the next chapter in connexion with Sir William Ridgeway's theory of the development of the Burmese drama.

[2] There is a copy of the *Rama* play in the British Museum. It is wrongly catalogued as by U Ku, who was only the editor. All these plays and the poem have been printed again and again, and are easily obtainable in Burma.

So the worship of the nats lived on, and with the advance o
795 civilization the spirit dances became elaborate, for though the belief
535 was primitive, the people were no longer so. The dances benefited from the developments that had taken place in Burmese music which, as we have seen, flourished under the patronage of the Pagan kings. New spirits were added, and they were usually those of heroic princes. The dancers were now many, for the mediums turned themselves into dancing and music mistresses. The chief medium of each spirit dressed herself in the special dress of the spirit, but the junior mediums, who were equivalent to the chorus of án English revue, were in the dress of Burmese princesses. It is interesting to note the
[292] origin of this dress. The mediums realized the necessity of dressing
[565] themselves in fine raiment, but as everybody wore clothes of bright colours, the only solution of the problem was to don the dress of the court and official class, which the commoners were forbidden to
[536] wear by law, except during feasts and dances. When drama proper came into being, the hero and the heroine dressed themselves in the court dress, even when they were representing common characters.

3. Miracles and Interludes

175 After the fall of the kingdom of Pagan in A.D. 1257, Burma was
369 the scene of fierce civil wars, but the trouble was mainly in the capitals; in the villages and small towns life went on in its joyous
726 way. Religion continued to spread in spite of the fact that the throne
779 of Pagan was no longer in existence to support it. Learning began
538 to reach the remotest parts of the country, carried far and near by monks. To escape from the aimless strife of the civil wars, men turned towards literature. Money was lacking to compose poems in brick as had been done at Pagan, and men now expressed their love for the religion and their love for the beautiful in writing. The new literature further educated the people and made even stronger the already strong religious fervour. As a result, at village feasts and on days of public rejoicing, the people turned towards their religion for amusement and entertainment. So pageants depicting scenes from the life of the Buddha and from his Birth Stories came into being.

796 Pageants were given on ordinary carts that were in use for all
541 kinds of transport and which are still in use in backward parts of the
493 country at the present day. Each cart carried a group of (amateur) actors standing still and representing a set scene. Originally, no doubt, there were only a few carts representing scenes from different stories. Later, a pageant came to consist of many carts and many

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subject of the English morality plays. Again and again we find 536* writers writing and actors saying in the prologue or epilogue that a 744 play represents but life in its various stages; as man begins in laughter and ends in misery and death, a play begins with the happiness of the hero and heroine, and then goes on to tell of their misery and parting. To the conservative Burmese Buddhist, professional acting was a sin, [779] and to get over the difficulty, the idea came into being that the play was only a species of preaching the religion. The existence of that idea perhaps supports my theory that there actually were plays dealing with morals which would favour the rise of such an idea. Perhaps the strongest evidence that there was a morality stage in the history of the development of Burmese drama is the existence of a popular play which has never been printed, but which is still sometimes acted. The play has no title. A rich miser marries a young wife and soon dies. The wife at once remarries. The miser now in Hell sues the wife and the new husband before the court of the governor of Hell, for the restitution of the property he had so patiently gathered and hoarded. There is a trial, and after hearing the arguments of both sides, the judge decides in favour of the young couple. The play ends with the judge moralizing on the emptiness and transitory nature of human riches. The play is quite crude and short, so that when presented today the actors have to lengthen the play to make it last the night. There is very little action, and the king of later dramas is absent. The names of the characters are general and abstract; Mister Miserly, Mistress Wife, Master New Husband, and Death (who takes the old husband to Hell).

The interlude was extremely popular, and at the court, at the houses 536* of officials (the Burmese had no hereditary nobility, and the officials [565] were the nobles) and at public feasts and festivals the interlude was presented. The importance of the interlude in the development of Burmese drama is great, but the importance of the professional actors who first presented the interlude in the development of the acting profession and stage conventions is even greater. The fact that the [554] original members of the profession were outside the social pale caused all actors and actresses to be looked down upon; that fact explains why in an essentially democratic society it was said with contempt that 'beggars and actors, they are the eaters of food thrown away as waste'.[1] [538]

[1] The stage conventions and the acting profession are described in detail in chap. vii.

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536* While the interlude was developing, the drama, another form of
178 entertainment, was also becoming rapidly popular. The *Hawsa* or the
773 dramatic reading and recital of a Birth Story in verse was becoming
538 the fashion. The *Hawsa* was in dialogue form, and the reciter changed his voice and used dramatic gestures. As I have said, one cannot be certain of many things regarding the interlude, but it seems exceedingly probable that the early interludes were not literary. The actors were unlettered, unpractised in verse composition and only knew the *Jataka* Birth Stories from translations. The *Hawsa*, on the other hand, was a literary work. It was in verse. The reciter was an accomplished verse-writer if not a poet, and when reciting pieces he himself had not written, he invariably put in additions and modifications. He knew Pali and therefore could read the *Jatakas* in the original. Whilst the actor was looked upon as nothing more than a beggar, the reciter was greatly respected. This will perhaps explain why the *Hawsa*, and not the interlude, has come down to us in writing.[1] With all the differences, however, the reciter and the actor were akin to each other, and both contributed much to the rise of the developed play, just as both the dramatic recitations of the epic *Ramayana*, and the open-air performances of its scenes contributed much to the rise of the developed Sanskrit play in India.

536* There is no special term for that entertainment which I have called the interlude. The name *Pya-zat*, which means a play, is vaguely applied to it in common with developed plays, but it is certain that the term came into use only about the time of U Kyin U to denote developed plays. Therefore, I have ventured to name it the interlude, partly because of its similarity to the English interlude, but mainly because it was given in the middle of, or at least subsidiary to, the main entertainment of dancing.

[175] The interlude and the *Hawsa* were at the height of their popularity in 1767 when Siam was conquered. The results of the conquest are considered in Chapter II.

4. Sir William Ridgeway's Theory of the Origins and Development of Burmese Drama

536* Sir William Ridgeway, in *The Dramas and Dramatic Dances of*
114 *Non-European Races*, considers that the dramas and dramatic dances of those races support his theory regarding Greek tragedy, that it arose

[1] Some specimens of the *Hawsa* are given in the *Anthology of Burmese Literature*.

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tunes played by the orchestra. The chorus was first introduced for two reasons: the audience liked a dance, and the actors did not forget that their original calling was that of mediums. 536* 795

2. According to Ridgeway, the second stage of the drama was reached when the 'true dramatic element borrowed from the Indian historical plays of Rama, presented by the puppet players' had entered Burmese drama. The weak points in this theory will be apparent when the further history of the drama is considered in later chapters. The 'true dramatic element' was already in the *Nibhatkhin*, or at least in the interlude; the Indian *Ramayana* coming by way of Siam did influence Burmese drama, but this was possible only because there was already a native drama to absorb this foreign influence. Nor were the *Rama* plays presented at first by puppet players. When the translations and adaptations of the Siamese *Ramayana* were being first presented at court, puppet plays were unknown. Ridgeway puts forward some opinions regarding the Burmese puppet show also, but they will be considered in Chapter VII. 536* 178 177 538 ●

3. According to Ridgeway, the third stage of Burmese drama was reached when there appeared plays 'based on the Indian models, but finding their themes in the national history and mythology, intermixed with Buddhistic elements, and performed by puppets and living actors.' It is true that after the introduction of the Siamese *Rama* play to the Burmese court, plays of the type described appeared, but the plays were by no means modelled on the *Rama* play. The Siamese play gave rise to a native court drama which influenced the interlude and prepared the way for the first great Burmese dramatist, U Kyin U. And the 'Buddhistic elements' which entered the drama have a history of their own. All these points are considered in later chapters.

On the nature and achievements of Burmese drama, Ridgeway says: 'The Burmese drama has not remained crystallized as a piece of religious ritual. On the contrary, it has made distinct steps towards the true drama which Thepis in Greece and the forerunners of Marlowe and Shakespeare in England detached from the sacred shrines and lifted into a distinct artistic form. Yet it has not advanced beyond the lyrical stage, consisting of dancing, singing and instruments of music, the undulation of the vocal expression being much more subtle and intense than the expression of features, whilst gesture is restricted to the conventional gestures of the dance. The usual scene is the palace, its inmates the characters, and the drama 536* 114

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CHAPTER II

THE RISE OF A COURT DRAMA IN BURMA

1. The *Ramayana* of Valmiki

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Before considering the influence of the Siamese *Rama* play on Burmese drama, perhaps it will not be out of place to attempt to give an account of the great Indian epic, the *Ramayana*, in which the Siamese play had its sources.

The *Ramayana* is one of the two Hindu epics, the other being the *Mahabharata*. The *Ramayana* as a completed poem is the older of the two, though the kernel of the *Mahabharata* may have been older. Very probably the legend of Rama existed long before Valmiki composed the poem, to which later poets made large additions; the original composition and the main additions belong to the period 400 B.C. The epic contains two separate stories, the court intrigues of Ayodhya and the exile of Rama to the forest; the capture of Sita by Ravana and the resulting war with the demon king. The first story was probably in existence as a Buddhist Birth Story—the *Dasaratha Jataka*—when the poem came into being.[1]

538

The poem is divided into seven books. The first book in its present shape, which reveals additions to the original, tells of the manner in which the poem came to be composed by Valmiki, of the Hindu gods, the divine origin of the prince Rama, and his winning of Sita as bride by bending a strong bow which none other could bend. In the second book we read that Rama was going to be consecrated heir, but the junior queen, Kaikeyi, the mother of Bharata, reminded the king that he had promised two boons to her for nursing him when he was lying ill. She demanded firstly the choice of her own son, Bharata, as heir, and secondly the exile of Rama. The doting king was in great distress and tried to argue with the queen, but it was in vain, and the promise had to be kept. Rama acquiesced, and

[1] Dr A. B. Keith has kindly pointed out to me that many scholars doubt whether the *Dasaratha Jataka* could be so old, and, therefore, the general opinion would seem to regard it as being later than the poem.

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was ordered to the forest as an exile. His consort, Sita, and his brother, Lakshmana, begged to accompany him into exile. So the three left the city, followed by a wailing crowd who wanted to share the exile, but they succeeded in getting away from the people and reached the forest. The king died soon after of a broken heart, and Bharata followed Rama to the forest, refusing to take the throne as long as the rightful heir was living. Rama, however, had promised his father to live fourteen years in exile, and therefore he refused to take the throne. Bharata asked for a symbol with which to rule in his name, and Rama gave his shoes, which Bharata, on his return to the city, faithfully put on the throne, and he ruled in Rama's name. The third book deals with the two princes and the princess who entered a thicker part of the forest where demons dwelt. The demons were troubling the hermits who performed their austerities in the forest. Now the king of the demons, Ravana, had divine powers, which had been granted to him by Brahma, the chief god, for services rendered, but as he had been abusing the divine gift, Rama's chief mission was to destroy the demon king. It happened that the demon's sister, Surpanakha, fell in love with Rama. He refused her advances and suggested that she should approach Lakshmana, the younger brother, as he was unmarried. The demon princess then tried to attract the brother, but he suggested that she should ask Rama to take her as his second queen. The sole result of these efforts and her attack on Sita was the cutting-off of the demon princess's nose by the younger brother, who was impulsive by nature. The angry princess went back to her brother, the demon king who, however, was not eager to fight Rama and risk his life and throne. The sister succeeded in winning him over only when she mentioned the loveliness of Sita. The demon king sent his forces under the great warrior, Khara, who was worthy to be Rama's opponent. There was a great and bloody fight, from which Rama emerged victorious. The demon king's sister then thought of a plan to which the king agreed. The latter disguised himself as a hermit, and his follower, Maricha, assumed the form of a golden deer and passed by the place where Rama and his companions dwelt. Sita wanted the deer, and Rama was pressed to give chase to it. Rama left, charging his brother with the careful guardianship of Sita. The deer was shot, but as he lay dying he imitated Rama's voice and shouted: 'Lakshmana, help!' Sita heard the words and taunted Lakshmana until he went to his brother's help, full of evil forebodings. In his absence, the demon king approached the

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place in the guise of a hermit, and the princess, not suspecting him, invited him to come in. The hermit began to praise her beauty, and then showed his true form. Sita refused his advances, but was put forcibly on the demon's flying chariot and driven away. The King of the Vultures, friend of Rama, gave chase, but after a fierce battle, he was slain by the demon. Rama and his brother soon discovered their loss and went in search of Sita. They met another demon, and there resulted another battle. The demon was slain, but his spirit advised Rama to seek the help of the monkey king, Sugriva. The fourth book tells how the two brothers met Sugriva, who informed them that he had been deprived of his throne by his brother, the usurping Bali, who had also taken his wife. Rama, as Sugriva's ally, joined in a battle for the throne in which the usurper was killed. The queen bewailed the death of her hero, but she soon took her first husband back again, without giving much thought to the memory of Bali. The fifth book tells us how Hanuman, the wise minister of Sugriva, went as a spy to the demon kingdom and succeeded in learning Sita's whereabouts. The sixth book tells of the great battle between Rama with his monkey allies and the demons. Their king was slain by Rama, and Sita was then restored to him. Rama, however, behaved in a heartless manner. He told her that her long captivity in the kingdom of the demon had made her impure; he had waged the war merely to vindicate his honour and not because he wanted her back. Now Sita had always refused the advances of the demon king, who had been afraid to win her by force. But Rama thought otherwise, and Sita was in sore distress. Her innocence and purity had never been in any way tarnished, and the fact was now proved by a divine miracle—her successful emergence from an ordeal by fire. So Rama was satisfied, and he returned with Sita to his own capital where they were crowned. The seventh book, very probably an addition, tells of the further adventures of Sita. Her innocence was doubted, notwithstanding the divine miracle, by most of her people, who believed her to have been the consort of the demon king. They blamed Rama for taking her back. As a result of this agitation, Sita was again exiled for some years. During her exile her twin sons were born. At last, again by divine miracle and help, her purity was proved to the satisfaction of the people. They made ready to welcome her back to her city, but she was received into the bosom of the earth goddess.

On this great national epic were founded many plays. For

On this great national epic were founded many plays. For
538 example, the thirteen Trivandrum plays commonly attributed to the
536* authorship of Bhasa contain two based on the *Ramayana*. The date of the plays is generally accepted as the second or third century after Christ.

2. The Siamese Court Play of *Rama*

177 From about the third century after Christ, the great Hindu expan-
175 sion overseas began in earnest, and as a result many Hindu kingdoms
101 were founded in Indo-China, Malaya, Java, and the surrounding regions. Before that time, very probably there was at least some intercourse between India and those regions, and may be Buddhism was not unknown in the regions mentioned. But by the third century A.D. Buddhism had completely disappeared in them, except for very faint traces remaining in Burma. In India itself, Buddhism was on the wane and Brahmanism was in the ascendant. Therefore when the merchants of Northern India spread a new culture in Indo-China and
[538] the surrounding regions, the culture was distinctly Hindu. The Indians took with them their religious epics, the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata*. Though both came to be very well known, the former was perhaps the more popular, probably because it was more finished artistically. Sanskrit plays were also no doubt introduced. The Hindu influence reached its height about the fourth and fifth centuries—in the third century Bhasa was composing his plays, and Kalidasa, the greatest of Hindu-Sanskrit dramatists lived about the year 400. Hindu poems and romances must also have been brought into the newly-founded kingdoms and trading centres.

177 The intensity of the new influence varied in the regions. Burma
101 was nearest and directly on the route from India. But probably
174 there was already a strong native civilization, and Hindu culture failed to take root. Along the coast, however, at Thaton, there was quite a strong outpost of Hindu culture, but even there the Hindu influence was quite negligible compared with regions farther east. In Cambodia the new culture was especially favoured, and in Java, Sumatra and the Malay peninsula, it took deep root. In Siam, however, the intensity was much less. In the narrow circle of the court the Hindu influence was strong, but the people were quite untouched by it. The chief reason was very probably the continuous, peaceful invasion by people from the north, the Shans, or at least the forefathers of the modern Shans. According to some scholars, they were Buddhists, which is not unlikely as Buddhism, in a modified form,

[i.e., the Ramayana -- ANALYST]

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was prevailing in China and Tibet by about the third century A.D. In any case, the ever-increasing population, alien to Hindu culture, must have acted against the intensity of the Hindu influence. Moreover, Siam was one of the earliest converts from Hinduism to Buddhism which, especially after the great Buddhist missionary, Buddhagosa, who lived in the fifth century, was ousting Brahmanism in Indo-China. At the Siamese court, however, the Hindu tradition was very strong, and remained so even when the king and his courtiers had become Buddhists. 177 174 101

In Siam, as in the neighbouring regions, learning did not reach the people for a long time even though it flourished at the court. The Hindu tradition was not strong enough to prevent the courtiers from creating a native literature. Buddhism prevented the courtiers from looking upon the Hindu learning with a conservatism that would not have allowed imitations. In Cambodia and elsewhere native ideas could never shake off the dominance of Hindu culture, and no native literature could come into being until quite modern times. Moreover, the very fact that the Hindu tradition was strong prevented the survival of Sanskrit literature in those regions, for once the tradition was broken, only chaos resulted. To make it clear, I will take the Java shadow-play. Sanskrit dramatic representation gave rise to the Java shadow-play. Therefore, one would expect Java to preserve a Hindu dramatic literature to herself and to the world. But it failed to do so. The shadow-play of Java is interesting as a special kind of dramatic performance, and not as dramatic literature. The stories that are presented on the shadow-stage in Java are taken mostly from the Hindu epics, but they have very little dramatic structure. Yet originally they must have been developed Sanskrit plays. Of course, to begin with, the Sanskrit shadow-plays themselves were slight in structure, but by no means so crude as the Javanese ones. The Hindu tradition was so strong that once it was destroyed, not only did the Hindu drama in Java decay and disappear, but a native drama in a developed form failed to appear. Stories from Hindu sources as well as stories from native history and mythology are still shown on the Java shadow-stage, but the plays are all formless and crude. In Cambodia, where the Hindu tradition was indeed very strong and lasted much longer, some remnants of the developed Sanskrit drama are preserved, but the tradition was so strong that no native element could enter it. There, up to the present day, a State theatre, with a special minister 177 369 564 538 101

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177 of State, presents the *Ramayana*, and less frequently that play which
369 the Burmese calls the *Eenaung*.[1] Both are remnants of Sanskrit plays
564 no doubt introduced by the early Hindu kings. Throughout the
538 centuries, the two plays have been regularly presented with the full
101 patronage of the king and all the splendour at his command. It is almost a ritual. During the intervening centuries, no fresh incentive had come from India, and no new element, no native element, was allowed to enter it; the result was that the Cambodian *Ramayana* soon lost its freshness. Cambodia, therefore, not only has no native drama; it also failed to preserve for posterity good examples of Sanskrit dramatic literature.

101 To return to Siam. Even the courtiers did not look upon the
538 Hindu tradition with too much awe and conservatism. They recog-
[564] nized and retained the vital elements of Hindu culture as far as
536* possible so as not to clash with native and Buddhistic elements. The results of such special circumstances are best seen in Siamese literature. The court encouraged and the courtiers produced romances based on and in imitation of Sanskrit-Hindu romances. Native ideas, native tales, and native mythology were introduced into works modelled on Hindu literary works. In drama, the Siamese did not produce native plays, and they retained the *Ramayana* as a play. But they introduced new ideas and kept alive the old. In dramatic literature, as in all other matters, the Siamese had to reject all that was contrary to Buddhism, and some were retained only after much alteration to suit new needs. A consideration of the Siamese play of *Rama* shows clearly the above facts.

The epic tradition was very strong in India and it prevented Sanskrit drama from rising to still greater heights. In the new Hindu regions of Indo-China and the Malay Archipelago epic tradition was equally strong, if not stronger. In India the Sanskrit drama was shackled by the epic tradition; in the new regions the drama was very probably entirely subordinated to the epic. The dramatic performances in Cambodia, in Siam, in Java, before modern influences came in, were based mostly on the *Mahabharata* or the *Ramayana*. Perhaps it is legitimate to assume that the Sanskrit plays introduced into the new Hindu kingdoms were mostly those based on the epics: mostly, but not all. For the *Eenaung*, which is very probably from Hindu-Sanskrit sources, tells a story unconnected with the two epics.

[1] This is explained in the next section.

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The *Ramayana* was probably the more popular; it is likely then that plays based on that epic were more numerous. The Siamese *Rama* play seems to prove the above facts. 101 536* 538

The Siamese *Rama* play is based on the epic. But much had to be altered, much had to be rejected. Rama was taken to be a Future-Buddha; this alteration suggested itself, no doubt, by the existence of the Birth Story, the *Dasaratha Jataka* which must have been known in Siam after Buddhism had taken root (and which, as already stated, probably existed before the epic). Rama was destined to be a Buddha soon, otherwise he was an ordinary mortal; he was of no divine birth, and all the supernatural help he had was his magic bow. In the original, the supernatural was connected with the Hindu religion and Hindu gods. The Siamese had to reject all those; the supernatural in the Siamese play became just simple magic or help by the Siamese equivalent of the Burmese *nats* who are supposed to help or hinder human beings just as ordinary mortals help or hinder each other; the Hindu gods of the epic were religious, whereas the Siamese supernatural beings in their play were quite independent of religion in their acts and behaviour. In the Hindu epic, the gods were behind the scenes, planning the destiny of mortals, but such a conception was entirely rejected by the Siamese. Therefore, whereas the Hindu *Ramayana* was a religious epic, the Siamese play became merely a dramatized *Jataka* Birth Story.

The Siamese play of *Rama*, dramatizing the epic, was influenced also by the Sanskrit plays themselves founded on the epic. Whether non-Rama Sanskrit plays had any direct influence is uncertain; it would be natural to suppose that they might have had some influence, but it was probably very slight. The play as a whole lacks unity and dramatic structure, but taken separately, each scene is quite dramatic. That dramatic element was doubtless borrowed from the finished Sanskrit plays. The character of the villain, the demon king, was borrowed direct from the Sanskrit *Rama* plays. In the epic, he was a worthy rival of the hero in many ways, but in the Siamese play he became merely a boastful villain, who could never rival the hero. The summing up of the character of the demon king in the plays of the great Sanskrit dramatist, Bhasa, by Dr Keith—that he 'was nothing more than a *miles gloriosus* if not comic'—can be applied to the Siamese demon. The Sanskrit drama aimed at producing sentiment, but it would not allow a division of sentiment. As Dr Keith says: 'It would not allow the enemy of the hero to rival him

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101 in any degree; nothing is more striking than the failure to realize the
536* possibility of a great dramatic creation presented by the character of
● 539 Ravana as the rival of Rama for Sita's love. Ravana varies in the hands of the dramatists, but all tend to reduce him to the status of a boastful and rather stupid villain, who is inferior at every point to his rival.' Therefore, it can be safely assumed that the Siamese Ravana stepped straight out of the Sanskrit drama.

However, the interest was more in the epic than in the plays founded on the epic. The Siamese aimed at presenting the epic scene by scene. In the Sanskrit plays, the whole story was not given, only some scenes being taken, as there were limits to the length of a Sanskrit play. A knowledge of the story was assumed in the audience. As a result, in the Sanskrit plays, we have description rather than action. But it was different with the Siamese. The audience as a whole, composed not only of courtiers, but also of common people who were often admitted to a State or palace performance, did not know the story so well as a Hindu audience. Therefore, action rather than description was given in the presentation of the story. The Siamese play came to have many elements comparable to those existing in the Indian open-air performance of the epic, the *Rama Lila*, where the whole epic is presented scene by scene (the *Rama Lila*, though still performed at the present day in India, is very ancient). But the Siamese play is much more developed drama, for there is good dramatic construction in the individual scenes. The Siamese had also to modify the story because they wanted to make the action presentable on the stage. Therefore, they rejected the fight with the vulture king, and they made Ravana much more like an ordinary human being. The demon king was allowed to have ten heads (they could be represented by a series of masks on the head); but he was no longer a very tall giant. All the demons were turned into ordinary mortals as far as stature was concerned. In a *Rama Lila* performance, the battle between the demons and Rama is presented by means of tall, grotesque figures made of wood and paper. In the Siamese performance, as in the Sanskrit plays, living actors took the parts of the demons. The *Rama Lila* is primitive and crude; the Siamese play, thanks to the influence of the Sanskrit drama and native genius, became quite developed artistically. Though following the epic, the Siamese play, unlike the *Rama Lila*, was not bound to follow it blindly.

These points, and also some others, will perhaps be made clearer

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by a consideration of the story of the Sinmoee play. It begins with Rama's father holding court, and information regarding the sons of the king, etc. is given by way of introduction. Then the scene shifts to Sita's court where Rama wins her after beating all other princely suitors by his strength and prowess with the bow. The princess is brought to Rama's palace, and the king calls his ministers and announces his intention of appointing Rama as heir. The junior queen enters and asks for the fulfilment of a boon promised to her by the king when she nursed him back to health. She now asks for the appointment of her own son, Bharata, as heir. The king tries to protest, but the queen remains stubborn. Rama comes and begs his father to keep the promise. So the younger son is appointed. The king, however, suggests to Rama that he should go into exile, pointing out the danger to the State and to Rama himself if he remains in the country. Rama agrees to leave the kingdom for fourteen years, and begs his father to look after Sita, who, however, refuses to stay behind. Lakshmana, the younger brother of Rama, begs leave to accompany his brother. Rama argues with Sita and his brother to make them stay behind, but it is in vain. So the three bid farewell to the king, and amidst the wailing of the courtiers, they leave. It will be noticed that the queen does not ask that Rama should be exiled, as in the epic. In the next scene, a Malay king, monarch of a neighbouring kingdom, is holding court, when a messenger enters and announces the arrival of two princes and a princess, attended by only two or three retainers. The king gives orders for them to be invited, and on learning the identity of the strangers and the reason of their journey, the king offers his throne to Rama, who, however, refuses to accept it. The king then begs Rama to rest a few days, to which request the latter agrees. In the next scene, the ministers in Rama's palace are begging Bharata to take the throne, but he refuses to do so as long as Rama is alive. In the next scene, a messenger is refused admission to the palace of the Malay king by an attendant of Rama, who has been appointed to guard the palace gates. Blinded by conceit, the guard brags to the messenger and a humorous conversation follows until the guard recognizes the messenger as an attendant on Bharata, who is announced as waiting at the city gates. In the next scene, Rama refuses to return to his kingdom until the promised fourteen years have elapsed, and Bharata sadly returns home with Rama's sandals. Rama bids farewell to the Malay king, and amidst the homage and wailing of the court, Rama,

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Sita and Lakshmana leave for the forest. The Malay king is a Siamese invention. Though the Burmese translation terms him the Malay king, it is difficult to say where the kingdom was supposed to be as the Burmese call not only Malays but Cambodians and Javanese 'Malay'. There are three explanations of the introduction of the Malay king's court into the play. First, it is probably an acknowledgement of the indebtedness of the Siamese to the neighbouring regions for the story of Rama. Second, the Siamese wanted to lay the scene of the story as near Siam as possible. Third, the Siamese play is essentially a court play, dealing with court-inmates, and with scenes mostly laid at court; the court of the Malay king gives yet another court scene. The next scene is the court of the demon king and we understand that the forest is his domain. In this scene, the sister of the demon king tries to make love to the two brothers but she is not successful. It is not a comic scene as in the *Rama Lila*, and no nose is cut off. She returns to her brother, who at first refuses to interfere with Rama, but agrees to do so when he learns that Sita is with Rama. We are told that the demon king had been an unsuccessful applicant for the hand of Sita before her marriage. The sister turns herself into a doe and Rama is pressed to give chase to it by Sita. Rama, full of evil forebodings, marks on the ground a circle around Sita, praying that no evil being should enter the circle. The doe is shot and as she lies dying, she shouts: 'Lakshmana, help!' Sita begs Lakshmana to go to Rama's help, in spite of the strict command given to him not to leave Sita's side. The demon king now appears, but he cannot enter the magic circle. He is in the guise of a hermit, and as he preaches and begs for food, Sita gradually comes out of the circle. He makes advances, but is unsuccessful. He then seizes Sita and flies away in his flying carriage. The death of the demon king's sister is moving and strikes in a note of pathos, for she dies by the hand of the one she loves. The incident of the magic circle is very dramatic, and the idea of such a circle is borrowed from folklore common both to the Siamese and the Burmese. Rama and his brother then go in search of Sita, and after much wandering, they fall asleep in each other's arms under a tree. Sugriva, the deposed king of the monkeys, is on the tree, and in a soliloquy, he admires the love for each other of the brothers, and regrets that his own brother should be so heartless. He drops a tear which falls on the sleeping princes, who are awakened by it. Rama aims an arrow at the monkey, who begs for mercy and tells

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his tale. This meeting of Rama and the monkey king is more dramatic than that described in the epic. In the epic, a spirit advises Rama to seek the monkey king, whereas in the Siamese play the meeeting is accidental and more plausible. Rama agrees to help Sugriva. The next scene is again a court scene—the court of the usurping monkey-brother. A battle follows soon after, in which the usurper is killed, to the great sorrow of his queen, who, however, returns to the arms of her first and rightful husband. Sugriva then sends Hanumat as a spy to the demon king. Hanumat succeeds in learning Sita's whereabouts and then opens the gates of the demon city for Rama and his army of monkeys to enter. There is a great fight and the demon king is slain. Rama refuses to take back Sita, who, however, proves her purity by an ordeal by fire. They are crowned king and queen on their return to Rama's own city. The happy ending was perhaps just to please the happy throng who witnessed the play in holiday mood, or perhaps it was borrowed from Sanskrit plays. The Sanskrit dramatist aimed at harmony in every way, and to him, a happy ending was the only ending possible; virtue must be rewarded and lovers must be united. In the Sanskrit plays based on the epic, Sita is always restored to Rama, thereby rejecting the more artistic separation after vindication. The Siamese play and the Sanskrit plays were the productions of courts where polygamy prevailed and women had very little say in the matter. If Rama took back Sita, all was well. The court could not see, or refused to see, that Rama did not deserve Sita after all; after various sufferings, after her faithfulness to Rama, after a captivity against her will, Rama was cruel enough to denounce her as impure.

Though the Siamese *Rama* had many characteristics of a proper play, it had many elements of the kind which we find in the Elizabethan masque. The actors and actresses wore gorgeous dress. Though the majority of the performers were professionals, many lords and ladies probably took part often, for at the Burmese court exiled members of the Siamese nobility took part in the earlier presentations of the play, but it may be that they had to do so as teachers of the new art of court dramatic performance. Music and song were essentially connected with the play, and all the characters danced. There was no scenery, and change of scene was denoted (apart from references in the dialogue) either by the characters leaving the stage, or when some of the characters were supposed to be going on a journey, the actual journey was bridged over by the orchestra playing while the characters

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101 walked up and down the stage—a dramatic practice which was taken
536* from the Siamese and used on the Burmese stage. The language was
the language of the court, artificial, but not so removed from reality as
● 538 to prevent it from being understood by the lowest classes. The
play was mostly in verse. The prose was poetic and elegant except in
comic scenes.

[175] When the Burmese conquered Siam in 1767, they were able to take the play back with them for various reasons. The play was to both nations a *Jataka* story. The manners and the language of the Siamese court, as depicted in the play, were similar in many ways to those of the Burmese court. The mythology was common to both nations. The play was easy of reproduction at the Burmese court because of the many characteristics common to both countries, and because the captive and exiled members of the Siamese nobility at the Burmese court were ready and willing to help not only because they were anxious to teach the new art to their conquerors, but also because they missed an entertainment to which they had been accustomed for generations.

3. The *Rama* Play at the Burmese Court

175 The age that followed the conquest of Siam in 1767 was one of
669 triumph. In 1752 the Burmese Empire had been destroyed by the
727 Talaings, and the conquerors were ruthlessly putting into practice
their policy of stopping the continual war between Burmese and Talaing by exterminating the Burmese as a race. In the same year, however, a humble villager arose, rallied the Burmese around him, with the result that five years later the mighty Talaing Empire was destroyed and the Talaings as a race disappeared from Burma. The obscure villager became the great Alaungpaya, founder of the famous dynasty that bore his name. He tried to conquer Siam, but died when victory was in sight. His son, Hainbyushin, carried on the war, and continued the extension of the Empire. Manipur was soon conquered, and in 1767 Siam was completely crushed and its capital destroyed. The Siamese court was taken captive to the Burmese capital. The weary army was given no rest, however, for the Chinese had invaded Burma. From 1765 to 1769, the Chinese carried on a serious campaign against Burma. There were four distinct invasions, but each was repulsed. In 1769, the Chinese defeat was complete. Of that age of triumph, Harvey says:

The victory [against the Chinese], coming as it did on top of a

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generation of continual warfare which might well have exhausted the race, shows that the exploits of Alaungpaya were no mere flash in the pan, but were broad-based on the energy of the race as a whole. . . . The chronicles for the period are verbose and pompous, but it is impossible to read them without being struck with their fierce pride.[1] 175 669 727

It was during this age of triumph, after the Chinese invaders had been sent back defeated and people could breathe again without anxiety, that the Siamese *Rama* was produced at the Burmese court for the first time. [536]*

The court of Ava, then the capital of Burma, was in many ways comparable to the court of Elizabeth after the victory over Spain. Glory and wealth and splendour surrounded the king and his courtiers. Masters in the arts of war, they were also masters in the arts of peace. Almost everyone was learned, and the ablest soldiers and statesmen were also the foremost poets. Queens and ladies-in-waiting vied with princes and lords in the study and practice of learning and literature. Experts in the study of Pali, Sanskrit, and Buddhistic lore, keen students of foreign institutions and literatures, they were essentially Burmese, and enriched their own language and literature with borrowings from all sources. The period 1770 to 1824, the date of the first British conquest, that period of triumph, may easily be termed the age of translations, so keen were the people for knowledge from all sources. Siamese romances, Pali *Jatakas*, Chinese histories, Siamese and Cambodian chronicles, a history of Portugal, a Sanskrit work on sexual science—this list made at random shows clearly the range and variety of the translations. The court led the people in the pursuit of learning and literature. The courtiers were learned, the king was a patron of learning, and at the court the captives and hostages numbered among them great scholars and poets from conquered States. After the toils of war, men turned towards learning for rest and recreation. Men gloried in their country and studied their own literature, history, and institutions, and that study naturally led to the study of those of other countries. Almost everyone studied and almost everyone wrote. The age of triumph was an age of learning.[2] 644 536* 538 175

The Siamese court plays appealed to the imagination of the court. The Siamese captives longed for their native entertainment. 644 536*

[1] *History of Burma*, p. 258.

[2] Some account of the learned atmosphere of the court and of its more famous translators and poets is given by G. E. Harvey, op. cit., pp. 249 and 250.

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536* 261 gesture passed on to the Burmese reproduction of the play. The rigid tradition soon called forth protests, if not in actual words, then in deeds. If the *Rama* play could not be changed to meet Burmese tastes, other plays would have to be invented. As a result, a native court drama came into being.[1]

4. The Burmese Court Drama

536* 175 644 538 It was during the reign of Hsinbyushin under whom the victories against the Siamese and the Chinese had been won, that the *Rama* play was first presented at court. He was succeeded by Singu, who was king from 1776 to 1782. Singu could appreciate and compose good poetry when sober, but such occasions were rare. All the same, the learned atmosphere of the court was maintained, for his queen, the daughter of the famous commander-in-chief who defeated the Siamese and the Chinese invaders, was an accomplished poet herself, and she ever encouraged the continued presentation of the Siamese *Rama* at court. Singu was followed by Bodawpaya (1782–1811), who was one of the strongest despots that ever sat on the Burmese throne. But his despotism was of the enlightened kind, and under his patronage, the learned atmosphere of the court remained unimpaired. The earlier half of his reign saw the rise of a Burmese court drama.

Some time about the year 1783, a young courtier came to the forefront of scholastic circles at the court. This young man, who was a typical product of the age of learning, which was also the age of triumph, had distinguished himself in various campaigns when he began his literary career by composing songs modelled on those of the Siamese *Rama*. He was essentially a scholar, learning and experimenting, and he was an accomplished student of literature, both [185] Burmese and foreign. But in spite of his great learning, he kept his own writings free from too rich an imagery and too bombastic a language; his Burmese was simple and pure. He wrote in the language of the court but without artificiality, so that his songs were not only admired at court, but understood and sung by the common people. After making his name as a song-writer, he produced various literary works of all kinds and thus enhanced his reputation, until he reached the zenith of his literary career in about the year 1785, when he composed and produced the first Burmese court play. This young

[1] Extracts from the *Ramayana*, *The Statue Play* attributed to Bhum, and the Siamese-Burmese *Rama* play are given in appendix i.

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courtier later won fresh fame as a statesman and judge, becoming known to history as the Minister Myawaddi.[1]

As has been stated, there was at the Siamese court a companion play to *Rama*. It was known as *Aindarwuntha*. There was also a Siamese court romance of the same name and dealing with the same theme. Aindarwuntha was a prince-soldier, and he had two sets of adventures, one amorous and the other martial. Myawaddi was one of those who broke away from the tradition that the Siamese models at the Burmese court must be preserved without any substantial change. He did not want to have his hands tied through this tradition, and so he did not translate the play, *Aindarwuntha*, but translated instead the court romance. Then he dramatized the romance, and called his new play, not *Aindarwuntha* but *Eenaung*.[2] In *Eenaung*, Myawaddi rejects the heroic adventures and tells only of the hero-prince's romantic intrigues.

The play is far too long. The *Rama* play was long, too, and it took two or three days to present it entire. The court had all the leisure in the world. *Rama*, if translated, would require about 400 of these pages. *Eenaung* is longer; it would be about 600 pages. The play was written more to be read than acted, and as far as is known, it was never presented entire. Only some scenes were acted. The play on the whole is disjointed; it is merely a collection of scenes, connected only through the personality of the prince. As the adventures are purely amorous, there is no action at all. We are told occasionally that the prince has gone on a journey or that he has achieved a conquest, but the scene is always the palace. Following the Siamese style, music and song are important elements in the play, but dances and fine dresses are absent. It is not a masque.

The merit of the play lies in its language, dialogue, and characterization. It is the language of the court, refined and elegant as that of *Rama*. But a certain element of simplicity is in it, and it is not too rich in words or in imagery, so that the common people could understand and appreciate it; in short, the usual clear style of the author, which is the hall-mark of his other writings, is also found in this play. In dialogue, the play retains the freshness and liveliness of the *Rama* play. In characterization, the play is a great advance on *Rama*

[1] An account of his career is given in G. E. Harvey, op. cit., p. 296.

[2] The play *Aindarwuntha* or *Eenaung* has been mentioned earlier in this chapter, on pp. 36 and 44–5.

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who put themselves under the patronage and protection of some noble lord in Elizabethan England.

Though the various plays presented at court were performed all over the country in little towns and little courts, the *Rama* play alone reached the remotest corners of the country, and it alone took root in the hearts of the people. What they wanted was action, and of the court plays, only *Rama* could satisfy the desire for action. The original Siamese version had been dead for some time even at court, and what the people saw were adaptations, which contained elements borrowed from the *Nibhatkhin* and the interlude. The story was shortened, many of the palace-scenes cut out, romantic love-scenes between Rama and Sita put in, and the demon king became a comic villain, whom everyone laughed at and liked. The villain as a popular comic character was borrowed straight from the *Nibhathkhin* and the interlude, where the Burmese equivalent of the devil in the English miracle plays, kept the audience in roars of laughter.

There was another important reason why the *Rama* play was so popular, and why the play became more and more Burmese. Under King Singu, while the court contented itself with the Siamese version, a poet outside the court circle broke completely away from the Siamese tradition and recast the story in a purely native form. U Toe, who became famous among the people under Singu and who was given official rewards and recognition under Bodawpaya, was termed the 'Great Master of the *Yagan*'. The *Yagan* is a romance in verse. It probably developed out of the *Hanta*, a dramatic recitation of a story, but in the *Yagan* the dramatic element is subordinated to poetic description. The most famous of U Toe's *Yagans* was the *Rama-yagan*. In the history of Burmese poetry it enjoys a very important place. It is famous for the clearness and beauty of the language, for beautifully coined words and for richness in imagery. He may be termed the Burmese 'poet's poet' because his language inspired other poets to imitate his style. The *Rama-yagan* was studied by his courtier-contemporaries although he was outside the court; and imitations of his style are found in the works of Burmese authors, including U Pon Nya and authors of the present day.[1]

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[1] An admirable account (in Burmese) of the importance of the *Rama-yagan* in Burmese literature and its influence on U Pon Nya is given in U Po Kya's *The Water-seller's Play of U Pon Nya*, a textbook of the Council of National Education.

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However, what concerns us here is his treatment of the story. He does not treat the story as an epic but as a romance. He follows the Siamese version as far as the main incidents of the story are concerned, but his scenes and characters are Burmese, and the life reflected in the poem is the life of the Burmese people in his day. For example, he describes in detail the various festivities on the occasion of Rama's marriage to Sita, and the scene U Toe describes must have been common in the life of the people: 536* 538● 178

From the dawning of the day, music and dancing did not stop, and silence was banished for long. Acrobats climbed poles, jumped through loops, balanced themselves on ropes, and people threw up their swords in the air and caught them in their hands again, so pleased they were. Drums said, 'Bain, bain, bain!' and the master of drums shouted, 'We are the makers of noise'. Dancers danced and drums played so loud that every person who had a good arm raised it in a dance. Noise, laughter, shouting, music, the feast was an occasion for shows wondrous and entertaining. [539]*

The love-scenes between Rama and Sita are no doubt taken from the life of many a Burmese man and maid. In portraying his characters, U Toe makes them more human and nearer to the life of the people. They are princes and princesses, but they are shown to have all the passion and sorrow and laughter of ordinary persons. In describing the characters, he uses terms applicable to the common people, and not to ladies and lords. In describing Sita, he calls her *lonma-galay* or 'little maid', a colloquial term used among the people and not at the court:

Her voice was clear and bell-like, as lovely to hear as music. She could use a crying tone, begging tone, musical tone. Oh, my hand is shaking with desire to imitate her voice on my harp. Little maid, little girl, how beautiful you were! [539]*

Throughout the poem there is an undercurrent of gentle satire and humour.

The poem of U Toe was read throughout the country and prepared and taught the people to appreciate the *Rama* play. It taught the professional actors to put more life, more realism into the play. The result was the rise of a national drama, where the elements of the *Nibhathkhin*, the interlude, and the court drama were combined and mixed. Everywhere there were theatrical shows, and the actors and dramatists struggled and experimented. It is unfortunate that none of the plays of those dramatists that entertained the people has come down to us. As they were experimental and unfinished, no one

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536* thought of writing them down and preserving them. But there are
538 accounts describing the dramatic performances of the period, and in
178 the dramatic works of U Kyin U we find echoes of those early plays.[1] Therefore, we at least know that a national drama came into being towards the end of Bodawpaya's reign. It is interesting to note that the rise of a real national drama coincided with fresh conquests by the Burmese. Arakan and Assam fell into Burmese hands under this king.

538 With the rise of a more realistic national drama, the artificial
178 drama of the court must naturally decay. Already the court drama
644 itself was becoming less artificial, as we have seen, even in the hands of the court dramatists. But their plays, though far more realistic than the translation of the *Rama* play, were still artificial. Adaptations of *Rama* performed at the court were the beginnings of the decay. The decay was furthered by the popularity of U Toe's poem at Bodawpaya's court. It was read again and again by the author before the king. From such readings the court no doubt gradually went over to the national and more realistic drama, and it is perhaps legitimate to assume that plays presented at court in the closing years of the reign were mostly people's plays. The ascension of Bagyidaw to the throne in 1819 on the death of his royal grandfather destroyed finally the court drama, for his queen was of low origin, coarse, uneducated; and learned lords and ladies, poets and scholars, shunned the court. And it was in Bagyidaw's reign that the age of triumph ended with the annexation in 1824 of two of the three maritime provinces of Burma by the British. Under his descendant Mindon, who became king in 1853, the learned atmosphere of the court was fully restored, and U Pon Nya wrote his plays and produced them at court. But as his plays did not differ much from, and were dependent on, the people's drama of his day, he did not in any way revive that special court drama which entertained the Minister Myawaddi and his fellow-courtiers.

[1] The indebtedness of U Kyin U to his precursors is considered in the next chapter.

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536* of the interlude were religious feast days, and out of respect for those
779 occasions, the story had to be religious. Moreover, the interlude had
178 to contend with the *Hawsa* or dramatic recitation by one person of a
story, which was a rival in popularity; and all *Hawsas* were based on
[538] religious stories. However, the most important reason why the
interlude had to depend again on the *Jatakas* for its stories was the
great popularity of the works of U Awbatha.

538 Shin U Awbatha was a monk who lived during the reigns of
178 Bodawpaya (1782–1819) and Bagyidaw (1819–37). He was a product
195 of the age of learning. Famed for his piety, religious learning, and
[192] knowledge of Sanskrit and Pali, he chose, like his contemporaries, to
write in Burmese, and he enriched Burmese prose. The prose before
him had been much neglected. The scholars were more interested in
verse. When they did write prose, they never succeeded in forgetting
that they were essentially verse-writers, and they used rhymed,
balanced, and measured phrases. They used too rich an imagery.
They broke into verse when they wanted to express any intensity of
feeling. Often they introduced Pali words into their writings when
there were more suitable Burmese ones. Burmese prose before U
Awbatha was in the same position as English prose before Dryden.
U Awbatha introduced a prose which was expressive and clear, simple
yet effective. It was used to convey varieties of feelings and emotions,
but it was always kept restrained and was never allowed to lose its
[871] clearness. His works are still well known and popular. The
importance of U Awbatha to Burmese language and literature can be
judged from the fact that from the junior forms to the Honours
course in Burmese at Rangoon University, his books are textbooks.[1]

538 There are hundreds of Birth Stories, but the most important
178 are the *Ten Big Jatakas*. They are much longer than the rest.
U Awbatha wrote Burmese prose versions of the eight longest
of those. He followed closely the Pali originals as far as the incidents
of the stories were concerned, but he portrayed character in detail,
and made the characters more lifelike and therefore more interesting.
The story was very well retold, but he was equally masterful in the
portrayal of character and in his understanding of human psychology.

He wrote his first *Jataka* in 1785 when Burmese arms were flashing victorious in Assam and Manipur, but vainglorious references to contemporary events found no place in his works. In the peaceful

[1] A short account of U Awbatha is given in G. E. Harvey, op. cit., p. 269.

Zi: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

atmosphere of a secluded monastery on the outskirts of the little town of Minbu, were the works composed. U Awbatha concerned himself, not with fleeting victories and events, but with the essential characteristics and emotions of human beings. Therefore, at the present day when few remember the victors and victories of the age of triumph, all read and enjoy the works of the learned monk. Though his first *Jataka* was composed in 1785, his works did not reach the height of their popularity until about 1800 when the interlude had been influenced by the court plays. The popularity of the *Jataka* stories of U Awbatha made the precursors of U Kyin U go back to the Birth Stories for inspiration. Though many such stories were presented on the stage, the interludes of the period dealt mostly with the eight made popular by the monk. Apart from the fact that the public probably demanded interludes based on these, the various scenes and characters in U Awbatha's works were good material for dramatization. Moreover, the fact that the stories were well known to the audience made it possible for the dramatists to take only the central events of the stories, leaving out minor and less dramatic scenes. Through that knowledge, too, dramatic irony resulted. 538 178

Though U Awbatha never had any interest in the drama of his day, he indirectly saved Burmese drama from sinking into mere bombastic and rhetorical dramatic performances. The national victories and the resulting increase of martial spirit could easily have caused Burmese drama to fall away from the promising beginnings and early development through the influence of *Rama* and the court plays; Burmese plays could easily have become similar to the military plays of China, in which heroes and villains did nothing but fight, and one glorious victory followed another, to the worst Elizabethan chronicle plays and to the worst heroic plays of the Restoration. U Awbatha's works taught the interlude to concern itself more with the portrayal and study of character and to keep the presentation of heroic deeds and vainglorious speeches under control. He came in time. The *Rama* play favoured rhetorical rants and heroic deeds. The Minister Myawaddi did much to create an interest in the study of character and to put the drama nearer to real life. But *Rama* was so popular, and the national victories continued to come one after another so rapidly that the minister's influence on the interlude was being undermined. We have no example of the interlude of the period, but from stage tradition, contemporary references, and the echoes of it in the plays of U Kyin U, we can 536* 538 178

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

536* guess that the interlude was rapidly becoming heroic when the popu-
538 larity of U Awbatha's works showed it the way to better things.
178 The return of the interlude to the fold of the *Jataka* did in no way make the drama suffer. The range was not narrowed, because the Birth Stories were numerous and they were concerned with all classes of society and all classes of events. The *Jataka* was a developed art. Some of the stories existed in India long before the time of the Buddha and therefore they were artistically finished through retelling by generation after generation. In short, the *Jataka* was an artistic and finished short story. It was religious and it concerned itself with a moral, but the moral suggested itself and was not pointed out; the artistic qualities of the *Jataka* did not suffer because it was never pointedly didactic. Moreover, a *Jataka* contained always some interpretation of life, a view of life from a different standpoint. Therefore the interlude gained by returning to the Birth Stories for its themes.[1]

2. The Life of U Kyin U

536* The existing accounts regarding the life of U Kyin U are very meagre. Even those were obtained only through painstaking research by the learned editors of the Burma Research Society's editions of his two plays, *Parpahein* and *Daywagonban*.

U Kyin U lived during the reigns of Bagyidaw (1819–37) Tharrawaddy (1837–46) and Pagan (1846–53). The exact dates of his life and writings are not known. He was a native of the little town of Sinbaungwe, but he migrated to the capital where he wrote his works, returning to his native town when he had retired from active literary and dramatic life. He was learned and knew Pali, Burmese literature, Burmese history and probably Siamese; at least he knew the Siamese court drama well. He probably first won fame as a writer of songs and speeches for characters on the stage, and in later life a collection of these was published. After he had thus won fame, he probably either set up a troupe of actors of his own or was engaged by such a troupe as its official dramatist; in any case, he was connected with the acting profession and the stage, and he wrote his plays in outline only, many scenes being left to be filled in later when the plays were being presented, very probably under his direction; his plays were merely stage copies and were not intended to be read. He won fame as dramatist

[113] [1] For this section, I am greatly indebted to my sister's M.A. thesis at Rangoon University, entitled *The Jatakas in Burma*.

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
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CHAPTER IV

76

U PON NYA

1. The Life of U Pon Nya

536* 644 792 538 U Pon Nya was born about the year 1807. His father was a minor nobleman at the court of Prince Tharrawaddy, a younger brother of King Bagyidaw (who lost the war against the British), and the young boy was brought up under the patronage of the prince. He was a precocious child and was placed under the tutorship of the most learned monk of the day. The prince rebelled against his brother and became king in 1837. U Pon Nya, in the meantime, had become a monk. During the rebellion, his father fell fighting for the prince, and the new king wanted U Pon Nya to take his father's office, but the future dramatist preferred to remain a monk. King Tharrawaddy continued to consider himself as godfather to U Pon Nya, who therefore was in constant contact with the court. On the death of that king, his son Pagan ascended the throne, and U Pon Nya left the capital for the little town of Salè, where he began to compose literary essays in about 1847. His essays and lyrics became immensely popular, and he came to be known all over the country as the 'Master of Salè', by which name he is more commonly referred to. In 1850 he became a layman again, and was appointed a court poet at the court of Prince Kanaung, a brother of the reigning king, Pagan. In 1851 Burma went to war again with the British and lost some more territory. Prince Kanaung and his other brother, Mindon, rebelled against the half-mad king. Mindon became the new king and made peace with the British. Kanaung became the crown prince, and U Pon Nya his official poet. He was then already recognized by the nation as the foremost poet, scholar and essayist of the day. He wrote astrological works and [787] won further fame as an astrologer. He believed that he was liable to die on the scaffold and asked for a proclamation by the king exempting him from punishment by death; otherwise he begged to leave the court for the monastery. The required proclamation was made.

Zi: Hla Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

Thaton, and the bragging hunter in the 'Baboon Play'. Hopeful is an 536 *
artistically drawn character, and the cuckoo scene is delightful. Other 522
decadent dramatists, though inferior in other respects to the authors of the three plays that I have considered in detail, equal them in comic scenes. The chief fault of the decadent dramatists lies in their inability to portray character, for their 'serious' characters are lifeless; but their comic ones are satisfactory, because although these lack depth, the 'humours' are well shown.

In lyrical beauty the decadent dramatists achieve some distinction. 536 *
The quality of their verse, especially in songs, is uniformly high. It 538
has a note of tenderness and wistfulness. It will not be out of place perhaps to consider here the verse of Burmese drama. The interlude was mostly in verse, for the actors were primarily singers, and perhaps because of the influence of the *Hanza* which was a story in verse. The comic characters in the interlude seem to have used prose. The verse was of the variety called the 'four-syllabled line'. Burmese verse depends on rhyme, the number of syllables in each line, and the number of lines. In the 'four-syllabled line' verse, however, the number of lines is not fixed, and therefore a passage can be of any length, provided it has only one rhyme scheme. Each line has four syllables (as Burmese is monosyllabic, each syllable usually means a word). The first line contains a syllable which rhymes with those contained in the second and third lines. But the third, if it is a 'key' line, will contain another syllable which rhymes with the fourth and fifth lines, or fifth and sixth lines. The following diagram will perhaps make it clear:

– – – a
– – a –
– a – b 'key' line
– a – –
– – b –
– b – –
– – b –
– b – c 'key' line
– – c –
– c – –

The 'key' line with two rhymes need not occur at regular intervals. Although the first 'key' line in a passage usually occurs before the sixth line, it is quite common for the next 'key' line to occur as late as the sixteenth line. It will be seen that the purpose of the

53 53 'key' lines is to link the various rhymes of the whole passage. This rhyme scheme is the basis of the 'four-syllabled' variety of verse, but more elaborate schemes are used, especially in U Pon Nya's *Paduma*. The translations of the Siamese plays were mostly in prose, except in songs, which of course were in all varieties of verse. The verse of the interlude was formless and experimental, and U Kyin U is credited with giving form and strength to it. He did not use any prose, for there was no need to do so as he wrote no comic scenes, which the audience of the day would naturally expect to be in prose. For his verse he used the 'four-syllabled' variety, but he introduced variations into it. Sometimes he used a slightly elaborate rhyme scheme, and often he used five or six syllables in one line, thus relieving the monotony that naturally occurred in long speeches. The artistic quality of U Kyin U's verse was its strength, and one may well call it 'U Kyin U's mighty line'. He treated specially of heroes and heroic deeds, and the verse suited his plays. U Pon Nya retained the 'four-syllabled' verse, but he took great liberties with the number of syllables, and often he made his lines contain seven or eight syllables. He was also very fond of using a line containing only three syllables. He used elaborate rhyme schemes, pleasing to the ear, with a musical effect comparable to that in Spenser's *Epithalamion* and *Prothalamion*. The following scheme, taken from the speech of Paduma's princess in which she makes love to the criminal, will perhaps give an idea of the elaborateness:

–	–	–	a			
–	–	a	–			
–	a	–	b			
–	–	–	c			
c	–	b				
–	b	–	d			
–	–	–	a			
–	–	a	a			
a	a	-	d	–	–	
–	d	–	–	e	–	–
e	–	f				
f	–	b	–	x	y	z
–	–	g	a			
g	a	a	a			
–	a	–	–	x	y	z

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

U Pon Nya had many comic scenes which were mostly in prose, but not always. He was so fond of rhyme that he often used it in his prose. As his verse often had seven or eight syllables in one line, and as his prose contained rhymes, sometimes it was difficult to say whether a passage was in prose or in verse. *The Water-seller* was mostly in that half-prose, half-verse style. The decadent dramatists retain the four-syllabled verse, but following U Pon Nya, they use variations. Their songs, however, are in all varieties of verse. Whether in song or in dialogue, they attempt to convey not strength, but pathos and tenderness. Their prose, in contrast, is very bare and therefore suited to their comic scenes. The history of the style of verse in Burmese drama may perhaps be made clear by a reference to the Elizabethan drama. U Kyin U was a Marlowe, U Pon Nya a Shakespeare, and the decadent dramatists are Fords.

536 * 538 ●

Because of the great similarities, one is tempted to compare the decadent Burmese drama with the decadent Elizabethan drama. In both there is the same love of pathos, sentimentality, and horror. To take examples off-hand, Ford's *'Tis Pity She's a Whore* and our 'Baboon Play' touch on incestuous love in order to arouse both pity and horror, and the execution scenes in *The History of Thaton* and the 'Baboon Play' are comparable to the assassination scenes in Webster. The love of spectacle is common to both decadent dramas. We even find in the Burmese decadent drama a sentimental attitude towards kingship and royalty comparable to the attitude of some characters in Beaumont and Fletcher's *The Maid's Tragedy*. The similarities are so evident that one wonders whether there is a similarity too between the causes of the decadence, whether the chief cause of the decadence in Burmese drama was because it had spent itself out in the hands of U Pon Nya and his contemporaries in the same way as the Elizabethan drama could be considered to have exhausted itself in the hands of Shakespeare and his contemporaries. But, as far as it is known, the age of U Pon Nya is not comparable to the age of Shakespeare, for Burmese drama, even during U Pon Nya's time, did not equal the Elizabethan drama in spontaneity or intensity. In spite of the fact that there were many imitators during his lifetime, U Pon Nya is the one dramatist of his period that we now remember, which seems to show that there was no outburst of national dramatic energy. And he was not a Shakespeare, and had by no means exhausted the possibilities of the drama when he was executed. Moreover, Burmese decadent drama is

536 * 178

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
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dawn broke and the audience dispersed to work, at the most only the first half of the play had been shown. 536 *

The continued contact with the outside world further elaborated the stage scenery. The great development was in the lighting. Even during the decadent period, the stage was lit only by feeble oil lamps, but now powerful battery and arc lamps were used. Coloured lights played on the dancing actors and actresses, to the great delight of the audience. The developments in stage technique which would have been beneficial had the drama been alive, were wasted in the hands of the actors. 536* 177

The people themselves neglected the 'old' plays. U Kyin U and U Pon Nya seemed to belong to the dim past and even the decadent plays which flourished but five years previously seemed to be far away, for much had happened in the intervening years. Scholars continued to read and study the plays of the two great masters but they were read more for their prose and poetry than for their dramatic merit. The reason why the 'old' drama was so completely forgotten is not far to seek. It was because of the popularity of the novel. When the Siamese drama was introduced into Burma, the Siamese court romances were introduced along with it, and for a time, at court, they rivalled the plays. The Burmese court dramatists wrote many imitations of the romances, and thus the Burmese novel was born. But, as the drama increased in popularity, the novel was soon forgotten. Again, when the court drama had lost its freshness, the Birth Stories of U Awbatha, which were in many ways novels, became popular, but the coming of U Kyin U regained for the drama its popularity, and checked any further development of the novel. The later history of the novel I do not profess to have studied—the subject is outside the scope of this thesis, and no one has as yet written on it—but I think that after the annexation of Upper Burma, by which time many Lower Burmans had been educated in English schools, English and English translations of European novels began to influence the Burmese novel. In about 1889 or 1890, there appeared the famous *Maung Yin Maung and Ma Mai Ma*, a brilliant adaptation into Burmese, by an unknown author, of an English translation of *The Count of Monte Cristo* by Dumas. And from that time onwards until 1919 when the English short story began to be imitated in Burmese, the novel was extremely popular and satisfied the people's interest in character and incident that had developed the drama. As has been stated, the non-existence of the throne prevented the rise of a new drama, but it was the 536* 538 ● 178

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

536* popularity of the novel which discouraged the people from reading
538 the once-famous plays and caused the 'dead' drama to be for-
178 gotten.

536* Yet the dramatic performances were popular everywhere, and in the circumstances, 'matinee idols' adored by their admirers soon appeared. These popular actors and actresses were admired purely for their dancing and singing. The result was to put the play yet further into the background. When a performance started, the audience clamoured for their favourite actor or actress, and during scenes in which he or she did not appear, it went to sleep. Three of these popular 'stars' became exceptionally famous; Aungbala, Sein Kadon, and Po Sein.[1] When Aungbala died in 1910, his funeral at Mandalay was similar in nature and incident to that of Rudolph Valentino, the cinema actor. These three led famous troupes of their own and toured the country, which on the whole tended to lower even further the dramatic performances in artistic value. For example, Sein Kadon danced with little electric bulbs all over his dress, and Po Sein had two English ex-soldiers with rifles standing motionless on each side of the stage whenever he appeared. There is no denying that there had been threats against his life by supporters of rival troupes, but I do not think that the rifles were quite necessary. In any case, the fact that he was guarded by two live English ex-soldiers impressed the audience, increased his prestige, and enhanced the theatrical effect. Such 'playing to the gallery' by the actors further prevented the possibility of any revival of
[554] scholarly interest in the dramatic performance. Moreover, as rival supporters spread tales of immorality and bad conduct among those actors whom they did not favour, the prejudice against the profession increased in intensity among the more conservative Burmese. And by about 1900, the performances could claim at the most only a distant relationship with the drama of U Kyin U and U Pon Nya.

2. The English Drama in Burma

536* If we put the Sanskrit, Elizabethan, and Burmese dramas side by
101 side, we find that the Elizabethan and Burmese have much in common, both differing greatly from the Sanskrit.[2] Of the Sanskrit drama Dr A. B. Keith says:

[1] Po Sein was decorated later by the Government. See chap. viii.

[2] Apart, of course, from the fact that the Sanskrit drama is classical in language and in age.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

18. YOUNG CHILDREN'S TOYS.

Manufactured toys are the most noticeable wares in the sale-booths. A universal toy is the seed from the giant pod of the *dô* creeper (No. 251). Like marbles with us, the seeds—*gôn-hnyin*—are the prizes of the game. In Sangermano's time (1783–1806) these games used to be played by adults. A characteristic boys' game is *sîtôppyit* (No. 25). Lots are cast for riders and horses. A ball or bundle is thrown from rider to rider till a player misses the catch, when all the riders dismount and scramble with the horses for the ball. The one who secures it becomes or remains a rider as the case may be. Boys run races for their own sport and that of their elders, and race their toy boats. They fight duels with their kites, each flier seeking to saw through his opponent's kite-line, for which purpose a length of string has been roughened with sand or pounded glass. The peg-top is a favourite toy. That it is indigenous is proved by certain proverbial sayings. Burman boys are more like our own and take to European games more kindly than other Asiatics (*cf.* p. 69). The toy of the day is the tricycle, which parents will pinch themselves to provide for their children, and which the happy possessors of will make the common property of all their playmates. Where children awaken such genuine interest, punishment is rarely called for and is never

19. GAMES IN THE WATER.

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25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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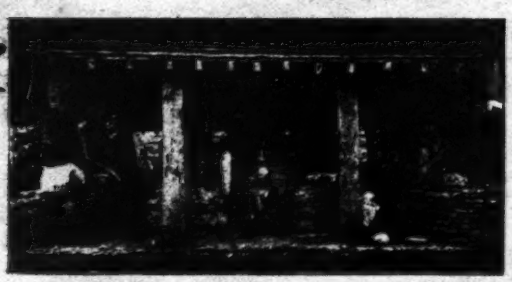

68. WUT WITH IMAGES OF THE BUDDHA.

stars," the Burman says "countless as the temples of Pagán." The remains at Pagán are all ecclesiastical with the exception of the city gates and ramparts (No. 6). The temple enclosures are now ploughed, but no building is cleared nor is any of the old material utilised. The Pagán monuments are of brick laid in clay and generally lime-plastered. Many have been wrecked by treasure-hunters. A few of the principal temples only are kept in repair. Pagán is said to have been exhausted by the temple-building of its kings, who, besides exacting labour from their subjects, must have imported skilled labour. An old saying is "the temple is finished and the country is ruined." The temple remains occupy an area of several thousand acres, in many places with just room for roads between the walls of the enclosures. The style of the Pagán buildings is Indian. It has been suggested that the Hindu type of work and possibly Buddhism itself reached Pagán by way of Annam: the Mun or Peguan race, from whom the Burmans adopted Buddhism, having a language of Annam type. The great ruins at Angkor Wat, two hundred miles east of Bankok, have been compared to the ruins of Pagán. (See *Through the Buffer State*, by Surgeon-Major McGregor, 1896.) Such a route as this would help to account for certain features of Burman architecture foreign to India, the superposed roofs, and everted gable-ends. The Indian types may have reached Burma by this circuit as well as by the direct route.

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69. THADYA PAYA AT THATON.

The ancient temples of Pagán consist of brick corridors, one within the other, with vaulted pent roofs of masonry springing from the outer or lower wall to the inner or higher. The section of the vault is like that of a Gothic flying buttress. In the centre of all are colossal images

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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77 IMAGE OF THE BUDDHA ENCIRCLED BY FICUS.

(*ôt-deitha*), where, after dedication, they cease to be private property. The sole virtue of these symbols lies in the pious intention with which they are dedicated. The figure of the disciple Ānanda is frequently placed in the houses or taken on journeys (No. 316).

Besides the reputed relics of the Buddha, the miraculous foot-prints which legend assigns to him on rocks in Burma and Arakán are venerated (*Chidaw-yá*). Every Burman knows that Gawdama never travelled out of Bahár and was in all respects as other men; the licence of the legend is a poetic one. Models of these foot-prints are placed in the temple precincts. Here conventionality reaches the extreme; the sole is laid out with rule and compass and the surface mapped into diagrams of cabalistic import (No. 450).

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346
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The Buddhist scriptures should be deposited in masonry temples (*Bitaka-taik*, No. 66). These exist in a few places, but in general the scriptures are kept in special chests (*sadáik*) in the *kyaungs* (No. 453). The Shan-Tarôk (p. 146) place *sadáik* in their houses, and take pride in the volume of manuscripts these contain. The complete Páli text, together with the patristic commentaries and glosses, written on palm-leaf, would occupy a space of perhaps one hundred cubic feet. The text alone would cover about one thousand five hundred quarto pages of pica type. Only a few *kyaungs* possess the complete Tripitaka. Besides the scriptures, other ancient writings are treasured, such as the *kyauza* of cosmogony (see Sangermano), the *Zát* literature—the legendary lives of the Buddha in previous states of existence, embellished with romance of recent date.

78 IMAGE OF THE BUDDHA ON BALIN.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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883
[805]
[271]

146. TEA (LEPPEYVE).

Having made her evening toilet the girl takes some light work, such as cotton to roll for the wheel for the hour of *lubyô-hlè*, as the dusk of evening is called, literally, the time of the "bachelors' round." The young men are expected to make short calls only, so as not to keep the old people up late. By "old men's sleeping time," as the hour after the short twilight is called, they must have left, so as to relieve the duenna, who, if not in sight, is always in waiting for the girls to come up into the house for the night. Courtship has quite a language of its own in which the suitor needs to be proficient. Young people of fashion are referred to as *kàlo-thá*, *kàlo-thamî*—lads and girls "of the period," who cultivate smartness in their speech, bearing and dress. The suitor brings presents of flowers and fruit and ornaments. Oranges, expensively stored one by one, long past the season, are for this sole purpose. Carved

883
[198]
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302

147. BELLE AT HER TOILET.

148. VILLAGE BELLE.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

149. THE SUITOR'S VISIT.

work-boxes, loom-laths, mirror-stands are often the lover's handiwork. Not the least of the lover's offerings is poetry. If he be a scholar, he will sing or recite to his mistress verses of his own in praise of her charms. But there are current ditties to the fancy of every one. The imagery which is the main feature of these odes, is borrowed from every source of beauty, blossom and flower, dewdrop and pearl, planet and star. Burmese metre is largely eked out with euphonic particles; at other times the diction is so compressed as to make the sense most difficult for a foreigner to grasp. 883 431 538

Marriages of affection are general. Romantic attachments are frequent in real life, as they are the rule in the play. The frequency of the mere marriage of convenience is not greater in Burma than in England or America. In this respect there is no parallel to the customs of the hill-tribes of Burma, the neighbouring Asiatic civilisations or even the Latin races of Europe. Their mutual qualities, physical, moral, and material, are for the most part known to the parties from childhood. Burmans evince an openness and frankness amounting to joviality, not to be met with in other parts of Asia. They indulge a much freer play of feature and yet greater freedom in the modulation of the voice. The term for betrothal—*sayán-pe*, earnest-money—testifies to the original purchase of the bride. In modern usage, however, the *sayán* is merely a share of the cost of outfit, according to means. It takes the form of a silk *htamáin* or a piece of jewellery for the girl, and is brought by the lad when he comes with his parents to ask the consent of the girl's parents to the marriage. Where parents oppose, runaway matches are frequent. 581 152 584 581

150. MARRIAGE CEREMONY.

[585]

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4
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212 still is used by the Shans for their sacred MSS. The Burmans use the paper chiefly in the form of stiff tablets (*parabèik*), blackened, like the *thimbôn*, for writing on with a steatite pencil. Burmese type was cut (No. 452) and the first
213 printing-plant set up in Burma by the American Baptist Mission. At present
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[212]
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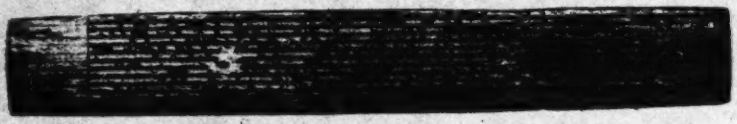

274. PALM-LEAF MS.

871 there are a number of printing establishments owned by Burmans, from which
198 quite a literature of their religious works has issued. At first the Buddhists of Burma considered print not good enough for the scripture canon. Modernised
203 legends of the Buddha in his previous incarnations (*zat*) are beginning to form the foundation of a romance-literature of indigenous type. Newspapers have not yet taken a firm hold, even in the large towns; but news travels very fast in the ordinary way, especially news about the prices of goods. This western art has not contributed to the spread of western knowledge in the way that might be expected. The Yaw Mindyi, a minister of the late King Mindôn Min, made a most praiseworthy effort to popularise western ideas in a series of MS. treatises. A native undertaking upon a grand scale—nothing less than a Burmese encyclopædia—was on foot in the sixties, but fell through for want of organised support. In Japan, an analogous enterprise was successful. What applies to concerted action in matters like the above, applies equally to political combination. Few Burmans, even after years of schooling, learn enough to read an English newspaper with
[212] profit. To this day there is no Burmese manual for the study of English. The scholars learn only enough of the language to procure them employment as accountants and copyists. Similarly, there are few English who can understand a Burmese newspaper.

273. COPYIST AT WORK.

000 Dealers, with the exception of the

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

The terseness of the language appears in its proverbs. 195

For instance, *Kaw-hle khale phu ma-ti*—"The dog-flea may jump but it raises no dust." Seven syllables as compared with the ten of the almost monosyllabic English. In the above sentence the order of ideas is much the same as our own. But as a rule the order is the opposite. "Fetch hither water to quench the fire" is *mi thappo ye yugè*, literally, "fire to quench, water fetch hither." The ideas are expressed in order of their practical importance. The checked mutes of the Burmese language give it an abruptness which is reflected in the *staccato* of the Burmese music. But Burmese possesses sonorous qualities also, for instance, *Shwe Sandaw Payè, Shwe Zigôn Payè.* [538] 194

The sounds of the letters used in this work for transliterating Burmese words are as follows:— 194

Vowel-sounds.

a, e, i, o, u,	as in Italian	
ì	"	English *bell* (but long in quantity)
ai	" "	*aisle*
au	" "	*cow*
aw	" "	*caw*
ei	" "	*eight*
Consonants	"	English, including the *th*, omitting *f, v,* and *z*.

Few Burmans can pronounce *r*, and generally substitute *y* for it in the Pâli words. All final consonants are mute. They are not wholly suppressed as they are in French, but are merely checked in pronunciation. The Burmese for *demon* is written *nat* in this work, because it is too inconvenient to indicate the checked mute by such a form as *nat'*. The final *n* should, strictly speaking, be always followed by a *g* or a suggestion of *g*, thus *dagông* or *dagôn'* instead of *dagôn*. But to write it in this way is inconvenient in many of the combinations. This should accordingly be borne in mind. The combinative changes on the other hand which consonants undergo in certain positions have been incorporated in the spelling and not left to the reader to form. Instead of the current form *sit-hayôn* (chess), which correctly renders the Burmese spelling of the word, the form *sipphayôn* is used, which renders the actual pronunciation. The letter *h* combined with *y* has a varying force according to its position. Thus *hya* is pronounced just as written, but in the duplicated form *hya-hya*, the pronunciation is *tya-dya*. There are a few exceptions such as *hah-hyi* (scissors) pronounced as spelled. When the *h* is aspirated, its combination with *y* gives *tsh* (English *ch*) and *dzh* (English *j*). *Kyaung* (a monastery) is pronounced as written. In the compound *taw-kyaung* it is pronounced *taw-chaung* (a forest monastery). But when it is the aspirated *k*, *taw-'kyaung* makes *taw-chaung* (a forest stream). The modulation of the voice differentiates it further, thus *taw-chaung*, with the second syllable rounded up sharply (wild cat). In deliberate utterance certain of these modifications disappear again; just as we

[778]

488. BADAIK (p. 33).

1: Mi Mi Khaing I-5 (no date) 1946 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4
Mon AP9

M
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chair, with a betel box and spittoon on one side of him, and his favourite and most learned grandchild, my cousin Lu Pe now Superintendent of Archæology, reading the scriptures to him, he could sit in the shadow of his solid teak house, with a row of mango trees before him, the townspeople using his well of clean good water, the road through his garden which was open at the hottest hours of the day for all wayfarers and sellers to find a short and shady route across, his garden with flowers for altar and vegetables for kitchen, and stray trees which are an asset in any garden —the *gwe* tree whose fruits were sweeter and larger than the ordinary, the *dandalun* with pods to curry and leaves for soup, the *ywetyo* with its leprous looking fruit which are for the connoisseur and to be eaten as cure for coughs. How blessed for my grandfather at the end of his days to have attained such peaceful comfort and to feel that he had passed on religion, literature, discipline of mind and body to the generation of his grandchildren.

B
181
539

To dwell in a pleasant spot, to have done good deeds in former births,
To have set oneself in the right path,—this is the greatest blessing.
Much learning and much science, and a discipline well learned,
Yea, and a pleasant utterance,—this is the greatest blessing.

(From the *Mingala-thot-pyo* : Song of Blessing.)

593 Or of far-off Meiktila Lake where the water stretches seven miles ong:
857
539

Meiktila kan-daw auk ka	From the waters of Meiktila Lake
Hpa kauk hkè ba	Pick up a frog for me.
Hpa pa yin ta gaung pay ba	Poor little frog,
Myet lon ga kyaung taung taung hnin,	Eyes big agog, And body so thin and wee.
Hpa gaung ga thay.	

Or the jumping nonsensical rhyme about Gyat-Aye who got beaten by her mother and wept in a dark corner and started a train of kaleidoscopic events, for every time a line ended with a clanging rhythm it suggested a rhyming word to shout out and continue its own associations, and when you got back to a rhyme for Gyat-Aye, you had to start all over again, and poor Gyat-Aye got beaten and cried as long as children's voices held out.

Gyat-Aye	Gyat-Aye
Thu amay yaik lo	Beat by her mother so,
Hmaung maik hma ngo	Cries in dark corner "Oh",
Ko Lu Byo	Young bachelor Ko
Hta-yan pauk ka	Through hole in the mantel
Chay-dauk ko swè,	Pulls at her ankle
Twè-lè !	Dangle !
Twè-le yè	Dangling yet wait awhile,
Nay ba ohn	The rain clouds pile,
Mo tway ka chon	The heavens clang,
Mok lon !	Meringue !
Mok lon yè sekku kat pa lo	Meringue with paper stuck below
Kya ka-lat hnin hsun-daw tin	Offer at altar in lacquer bowl,
Pa-lin paw ka myauk kalay,	From throne seat the monkey gay
Hsin chi lo pyay	Runs down and off with it away !
Gyat-Aye !	Gyat-Aye !

593 Before going to bed, A-Kyi or Ngwe Yin took us in to say our
782 prayers in chorus. We then *shikkoed* our parents, that is, made obeisance to them by folding hands and bowing till our foreheads and outstretched palms touched the ground, first to my father, then to my mother, and they said in turn each night: "*Pongyi-ba-say, thetshay-ba-say meba hnin-o-aung-min-aung paung-ya-ba-say :* May your holiness be great and your life long, may you be united with your parents even until the attainment of old age."

elections, pagoda festivals, the football match which has just been won, or an Indian film which is being advertised, and on mispronunciations of English words to give them a bawdy meaning. In fact, they were amusing in the way of good music hall gags, but in an anyein the clowns needed more native wit and quickness, for not only did they extemporize by quips at the audience, exercising their fancy at a dog that howled or a foreigner sitting in the back rows, but the audience itself was free to join in and challenge their sharpness. 545 522

The songs sung, however, were not vulgar songs; they were pretty or serious and were mostly written specially in honour of the occasion. No matter what the reason for the staging of the anyein, the song-writers did not find accurate description an impediment to their poetic fancy, fitting details of the time, place and sponsors to rhyme and rhythm. When an Anglo-Burman student and I won State scholarships in 1937, Inya Hall, the residential hall for women, held an anyein, and the song of the evening had a refrain which repeated: *"Mi Mi yè, Kathleen yè, Ah-kya bwè:* Oh Mi Mi, Oh Kathleen, how much to be admired and emulated!" Unfortunately, by the time I returned home the tune had been fitted to more popular words and I never learnt the original version, but I do remember the song written as an accompaniment for the dance of Ma Ohn, a talented student from Mandalay, who took part as representative performer of the University in an entertainment given for the funds of the National Girls' School. The words show the characteristic happy mixture of song and description: 545 539

Yatanadon Man Shwe Myo thu,
Thabaw kaung hnin say-da-na hpyu
Varsity nan myi yu
Kyaung-gyi colleik thu.
A-hok ko bin thabaw tu,
Ta-gè ko bin manaw hpyu
Myoma kyaung a-hlu
Waing wun ka-pa-ku.
Yandon ngway ko say-da-na hta ya
Way-bya myat kyi hpyu
Ampo thami Boddha ba-tha
Taing ee ee sa hpyu
Aung lan ta lu lu
Nameik kaung thabaw hmat yu,
Myoma kyaung a twet—hsaung ywet lo ku
hsaung ywet lo ku
Pyo ngo Ohn ko Shwe Daing Nyun ga thachin yay pay th dha

1: Mi Mi Khaing 1-5 (no date) 1946 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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Dweller of Mandalay, City of Jewels,
With a generous heart
To come and take part
As student of our greatest schools.
Indeed so willing
So glad to be filling
Our need for the cause of the National School.
With mind so kind towards the fund
For Buddhist girls, our country's dower,
As this succeeds our plans shall flower.
She comes to dance for the National School,
She comes to dance,
She comes to dance,
Young lady Ohn, sweet, single, pretty,
For whom Shwe Daing Nyun has written this ditty.

873 522 We laughed loud and long at the jokes of our most popular pair of clowns—a thin shrivelled man called Hnyat-Gyi ("great nut-cracker")

and a big well-fed man called Dambouk ("pillau rice")—on the occasions when we could hear them, but during the intervals our daily companions at the University did not allow us to miss them very much. The average Burman spends much time and thought, comparatively speaking, on making puns and spoonerisms, fashioning riddles and conceits to spice or flower his normal speech, and both the native wit and the monosyllabic language ensure a roaring success. It was the commonest thing to pass a crowd of students sitting or standing around having a

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma (Kachin) AP1
Burmese AP4

Be 231 779

customer has gone his way. It used to be a common thing in the palace, during the late king's reign, to let loose a number of birds for the delectation of foreign worshippers at the golden feet, and the expansion of the royal merit. Ill-natured people said all the birds were recaptured in the next room, and appeared again for the next display of charity; but of that I can say nothing.

Be 342 351

Each house, with its ground, is surrounded by a rude fence more or less substantial according to the character of the district. Where there are many tigers or ill-doers, and especially north of Mandalay, where formerly the Kachins might swoop down any night, this is made very high and strong, and is further rendered effective by a formidable array of sharpened bamboos. Except where the British have taken the matter in hand, the village roads are simply places where the jungle is kept from growing. There is no attempt at metalling; in fact there is no material for the purpose. In some pretentious villages indeed there is a raised path formed of bricks set on edge, and about three feet broad. This is regarded as a public work of great value, and a distinction to the inhabitants of the place. It usually leads to the monastery. In many villages, however, it would be impossible to move about during the rains without some such contrivance. The mud would be too deep, and logs are slippery even to bare feet.

Ba [563]
Be 487

Be 854 352 533

Swinging by a couple of ropes from the roof hangs in the centre of the house a rude basket, made snug with a blanket or some old clothes. This is the baby's cradle, and the mother may often be seen sitting by it crooning and gently swaying it backwards and forwards. Some of the lullabies are very clever. I have tried to give a version of one of the most popular, with as near an approach to the metre as practicable. It is sung to the favourite te-dat air.

Be 539

SEIN-NI LA-YAUNG

Clouds in Heaven,
Bright as levin,
Dyed with rosy diamond's light,
Did the Nine Gems
Stud your white hems,

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Burmese AP4

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Silver moonbeams
Cast their chill gleams,
But to make black darkness vanish,
Sweet sleep from my babe's eyes banish?
Fairies wiled him,
Dreams beguiled him,
In his cradle wrapped so snugly,
Cradle carved with nayas[1] ugly,
Carved with Nats and Kings and Princes,
Every splendour that evinces
Royal state and princely usance.
There he slept, when what a nuisance!
Comes the light
To affright
And scare him back to home from elfin land.

Sweet, my babe, your father's coming,
Rest and hear the songs I'm humming;
He will come and gently tend you,
Rock your cot and safe defend you;
Mother's setting out his dinner—
Oh, you naughty little sinner!
What a yell from such a wee thing,
Couldn't be worse if you were teething.
My sweet round mass of gold,
Now please do what you're told.
Be quiet and good,
As nice boys should.
Oh, you plaguy, nasty brat!
I must call the great big cat,
He will come and squeeze and bite,
Scratch and eat you up outright.
Puss, puss, puss, you great big pussy!
Here's a boy so nice and juicy,
Let the mice have one night's pleasure,
You shall eat him at your leisure.

Nasty, naughty, noisy baby,
If the cat won't, Nats will maybe
Come and pinch and punch and rend you.
If they do I won't defend you.
Oh, now please,
Do not tease.
Do be good,
As babies should,
Just one tiny little while;
Try to sleep, or try to smile.

[1] A naya is a dragon with four legs. The word used here, myat è yin-wè, is specially reserved for royal cradles. The plebeian article is called pa-hket. Throughout, the language is of the most honorific character.

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Burmese AP4

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My prince, my sweet gold blood, my son,
Ordained a regal race to run,
Listen to your mother's coaxing,
Listen to the song good folks sing.
When little boys
Make such a noise,
Comes the brownie
On wings downy,
Comes the wood sprite
In the dark night,
Witch and warlock,
Mere and tor-folk,
Kelpie, nikker,
Quick and quicker,
Gobble all bad babies up.

Mercy, what an awful squall!
Don't you love mamma at all?
Where's your father? Fie, for shame!
He could quiet you if he came.
But he won't; he lolls and smokes,
With the neighbours cracks his jokes.
He's just as bad as you, tā-te,[1]
Plagues poor mamma and stays away.
Now I tell you
This to quell you,
Both shall rue it.
Thus I'll do it,
Neither shall have any dinner;
You no sweet milk,
He no meat ilk,
You'll be good when you are thinner.

The King alone you dread on earth,
The wise man said it at your birth,
Said that all the stars would love you,
None on earth should be above you;
But I'm sure that in the palace
Princes never shriek for malice.
Now I'll sing the eighty ditties,[2]
Known in all the royal cities,
Lullabies so soft and drowsy
E'en the Nat-so could not rouse ye.
Hush, my babe, my prince, my treasure,
List the poppy's slumbrous measure.

[1] Tā-te, according to the consent of the Burmese nursery literature, is the typical bad boy.
[2] "The eighty ditties," a very old and well-known palace lullaby.

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

346 171 172 missionaries from Central India who introduced the teachings of the Lord Buddha into Burma. There was certainly an ancient Hindu colony there, and its inhabitants may have brought some notions of their architecture with them. But whether this be so or not, Burmans find source for pride in the admitted fact that "there is nothing in India to compare with the classical beauty of some of the smaller temples, or the stupendous architectural majesty of the A'nanda, or the Ta-pyi-nyu."

778 788 538 The following song is taken from a very favourite play, *Sawpé Sawmé*, written by a Pegu dramatist and published in 1880, and gives an idea of the canticles sung at the dedication of pagodas and similar ceremonies. It is set to a very popular air, the Yôddaya Nan-thein Than, "the Siamese Palace Tune," but I have not ventured to try to reproduce the original complicated metre. The sikkè or magistrate in question was U Maung Galé, a younger brother of the late U On, long the only Burmese C.I.E., and once second judge of the Small Cause Court in Rangoon.

539

THE GILDING OF THE SHWE MAW-DAW

Far-famed and bright, the Shwe Maw-daw
Is known where'er the Sacred Law
To toiling millions brings the peace,
Bids grief be still and turmoil cease.
Fair glory of Peguan land
Revered on earth's most distant strand,
Not more Dagôn's great golden pile
Hath honour in the Southern Isle,
Where'er beneath the zampu tree
The pious bend the suppliant knee,
Than thou the glorious lotus shrine
High temple of the hairs divine.
As leaps on high the funeral flame
Of some yahan of sainted name,
A beacon light to Neb'ban's rest
And haven sure to men distressed,
So skywards reared, thy shapely spire
Upsprings a pyramid of fire.

The hoar seer's words are now proved true,
Spoke ages since while yet all new

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

539●

The callow world in earnest youth
Revered the Buddha's law of truth,
Ere yet the wiles of lust and wrath
Beguiled men from the Noble Path,
And ignorance of sins, the worst
With which the race of man is cursed:
When white men reign
Thy glories wane,
Yet blaze again
While yet they reign.

High honour to our Sikkè Min,
Who purged away the stain of sin.
Now radiant as a mass of gold,
The temple glitters as of old;
Ten thousand districts chant his name,
The Sekya systems vaunt his fame,
High winner of the holy rest.
Thrice is the benefactor blessed.
For him the last of lives is run
The ferry past and Ne'ban won.
Great guerdon gains such gift as this,
A sainted name, eternal bliss,
On earth renown will live for aye,
Beyond ne'er more to breathe a sigh.
Whenas the sacred work was wrought
The Tha-gya Min came down unsought,
Sweet music breathed from angel bands
And Déwas sped the workers' hands,
A nimbus shone around the spire
And gleamed each gem with holy fire,
As though on high in lucent coil
The sacred hair did grace the toil,
And once again in hermit guise
The Buddha Prince blessed the emprise.

Hast seen the lotus-bud in prayer
Fold fervent leaves; with odours rare
Invoke the Buddha's gracious power
To save mankind in danger's hour?
Hast seen the pôngyi's garb of peace,
The golden robe, strong to release
The suppliant from endless strife,
Unceasing change, the pains of life?
So prayerful stands the holy fane,
So new-born gleams in golden grain;
And calmly sleep the hairs divine,
Meet relic for so fair a shrine;
And hither on the holy day
From far and near men wend their way

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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And kneeling pray that they may gain
Release from fitful change and pain.
Ah, Saviour Buddha, hear them call
And grant the long, last life to all.

High striving to the upper air,
Great convent of the Sacred Hair,
Thou'st stood upon the foreland's brow
From misty ages e'en till now.
The Budh himself, with his own mouth,
Stood on this hill, and, looking south,
Foretold that on this spot should stand
A fane far-famed in farthest land;
And hither came the brethren twain
And reared with stone of precious vein
A lordly pile and gilt it o'er
And many a monarch added store,
Till last of all our Sikkè came
And joined to theirs a pious name.
From youngest years till hoarest hours,
Peguans all, great fame is ours;
Two Henthas dwelt here, male and mate,
Ten thousand kings kept regal state,
And ever till the kalpas end
Will pious pilgrims hither wend.
Ah, Sikkè, great reward is thine,
Thy fame doth last while lasts the shrine
And ere the shrine falls, falls the world.

778
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Pegu was the capital of the Talaing kingdom of Hanthawadi. Shin Gautama foretold that it would be founded in the 1116th year of his religion, and gave two of his hairs to two brothers, Mahā Thala and Sula Thala, to enshrine on the Thudathana Myinthila Hill. A pagoda fifty cubits high was erected over them, and this was the original of the Shwe Maw (or Hmaw) -daw Payā.

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

The model to be followed would be worthless did the face express the hopes and fears and pleasures of wretched mortality. 778 532

The following triumphal song is taken from the same play of Sawpé Sawmé as the chant in celebration of the gilding of the Pegu pagoda, and is set to the same Yoddaya nan-thein than. The Mahā Myat Muni is the "Arakan Pagoda" in Mandalay. 778 796

ON THE IMAGE PRESENTED BY THE PEGU INSPECTOR TO THE MAHĀ MYAT-MUNI 539

Fair springs the sun at dawning
From out the forest's green,
The nine gems on his nat-front
Shine gloriously at e'en.

The rainbow weaves nat-raiment,
Sweet is the lily's breath,
The malla flower is winsome,
That weeps the Saddan's[1] death.

But fairer is the image
That Hanthawadi sends,
Amid its gold and silver
The pearl with ruby blends.

The maiden from her finger
Drew off her jewelled rings,
The men brought costly diamonds
And wealth of precious things,

And as 'mid shouts and clangour
The flames leapt red as gold
All joyous cast their treasures
Into the hissing mould.

So high hath Buddha honour
In Hanthawadi's soil,
So gladly seek believers
Release from earthly toil.

[1] The Saddan is the White Elephant, the last incarnation of Shin Gautama before he was conceived in Queen Maia's womb.

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

●539

First great Sandathuriya[1]
  The Master's features wrought,
He sought the Budh's permisson,
  Nor failed in what he sought.

And I, the poor Inspector,
  Fired by as holy zeal,
Present a copied image
  And trust for equal weal.

That 'tis a precious alms-gift
  Great prodigies attest,
The Buddha's six-fold glory
  Gleams nightly on its crest,

And whenas it was casting
  Byammās and nats untold
Came down and cast rich offerings
  Into the holy mould.

Yea, myriads of all creatures
  From every earthly seat
Rejoicing cast their alms-gifts
  Before the Buddha's feet.

With close-clasped hands men bowed them,
  With fervent minds they prayed,
That Buddha some great token
  Might grant them for their aid.

Then from the lordly image,
  Aglow with brilliant light,
There streamed both fire and water
  Upon their dazzled sight,

And diamond rays and ruby,
  The Six great Glories blaze,
The Buddha's Nine great Splendours
  Blind their adoring gaze.

[1] The King Sandathuriya, while the Buddha was yet alive, obtained his permission to make a statue of him. This image is the great twelve-foot high brass Tinmyinkwe, now the chief centre of worship in the Mahā Myat-muni shrine.

Z:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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There's many a goodly image
In Mahā Myat-muni,
But Mamyay[1] shall be aged
Ere it a fairer see.

And I, the poor Inspector,
May lay me down in peace,
For when this life is ended
Existences shall cease.

It is a very usual practice at the casting of bells and images for the onlookers to throw gold and silver articles of jewellery into the ladles of melted ore. 778 325

[1] Mamyay is a common poetical contraction for Mandalay. Man is also frequently used. [103]

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

and pertinacity with which they defied the mosquitoes under the shade of the trees, and droned away on their pipes all through a tight-tunicked and perspiring Rangoon afternoon garden party, as the observant Burman imagined, at one endless tune. The national music is not written down, and each actor has a variation of his own, but the smallest girl in the audience would detect a kayāthan from a dobatthan with as much readiness as any English boy would distinguish "Drops o' Brandy" from the "Old Hundred"! But there are some people who do not like the Italian opera, and even say so. 533

The following short outline of the *Zawtagômma pyazat* will give an idea of the style of the more popular drama, as distinguished from the purely religious birth-story. The writer was an old player himself. He lived at Pegu, and the *Zawtagômma* was perhaps his most successful effort. The text has been published at one of the vernacular presses in Rangoon, and the sketch given is a translation of the Zatlan, the "path of the play," prefixed by the editor. "In the country of Pyinyawwada, of which Yazôtta was the sovereign, the name of the Southern Queen was Thunemadewi, and that of the Northern Queen Thukethidewi. The Queen of the Southern Palace was about to bear a child, and the king issued an order that her majesty of the North should attend on her. This was very irritating to the Northern Queen, and she resolved to ruin Thunemadewi, and for that purpose conspired with Shin Gwe Ni, the midwife. As soon as the child was born it was to be killed, and set afloat on the river in an earthen pot, and the *accoucheuse* was to say the Head Queen had been delivered of a still-born baby. A twin son and daughter were born, and Shin Gwe Ni put each of them in a jar and launched them on the river, and went and told the king that they were still-born. Yazôtta, the king, was very angry, and punished his consort by setting her to dig the ground and carry water for the palace. The Queen of the North was promoted to be Head Queen, and her daughter, Pyinsarupa, was made tabin-daing (*i.e.* she was set apart as wife for the next king, and not allowed to marry). 536 539 [643] [582]

"With regard to the bodies of the prince and princess,

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

536 the prince was carried down the Yamuna river and the
539 Thuwuna nagā swallowed the body, and the spirit of the prince entered into the ruby that hung in the necklace of the dragon. Not long after the nagā became nervous and uncomfortable in his mind, and proceeded to the monastery of the recluse Bedaseinda, in the Thiriwunna forest. There he went to keep the ten holy precepts. As soon as the ya-theit saw the necklace with the ruby in it, he knew by his bedin that the spirit of a young prince was enclosed there. He therefore represented to the dragon that it was unseemly to wear precious things when he was observing the injunctions of the law. The nagā therefore gave him the necklace in alms, and having kept the ten precepts the prescribed number of days, returned to his own place. When the prince was born anew from the ruby, the ya-theit gave him the name of Zawtagômma, and explained to him all that had happened in the prince's last existence.

"The princess's body was carried away into the Southern Ocean, and there the fish kegga-thitha, whose head is shaped like a sceptre, ate her up. The spirit of the princess entered a pearl in the fish's head and dwelt there. A violent hurricane came on, and the fish was carried up into the sky and fell down inside the enclosure of the recluse Bedaseinda. When the ya-theit cast eyes on the pearl, he knew that a princess was in it, and he gave this pearl, called the myissa, to the Zawtagômma prince. From the precious stone was born in seven days the princess, and she got the name of Palèthwe. The ya-theit knew from his mystic books that in the former existence they had been brother and sister, and told them all about it.

"When they grew up he told them they were to go back to the old king and queen's capital in the Pyinyawwada country, and on their way they were to make offerings and give the pearl to the Gyo nat. But the prince forgot all about the Meittu Gyo, and the spirit therefore became very angry with him. While they were travelling on, the nat separated them by means of magnets, which attracted the iron in their bones, and drew them away to the devils on either side, to right and to left, who held the magnets.

"Meanwhile, in the Pyinyawwada country, Zawtagômma's

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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father and mother, and his stepmother, the former Northern Queen, had all of them gone to the country of nat-dêwas (*i.e.* died), and there was no king to rule over the land. The Pyinsarupa princess, therefore (who had been kept single to marry the new king), according to ancient custom, sent out the pôtthwin yattā (a chariot which has no driver, and stops where the horses will), and it hurried away from the palace and came and stopped beside the sleeping Zawtagômma. When he woke he entered the chariot, and the horses returned straight to the capital. The prince then ascended the throne and married Pyinsarupa.

"In the meantime, the princess who was born from the pearl came to the house of a pônna and his wife, and was delivered of a child there. One day she covered the baby with an emerald green neckerchief, and laid it on the bank of a lake while she went into the water to bathe. But a bird, called kemayekka, swooped down from the skies and carried off the green scarf, baby and all. Then it flew to the palace of Zawtagômma and circled round in the air above it. The prince shot at it with a bow, and it fell down and died, and vomited up the green scarf, and the baby, still alive. As soon as Zawtagômma saw the infant and the neckerchief, he knew that they were Palèthwè's, and clasping the child in his arms, he set out to find the princess, and wandered far and wide.

"Palèthwè herself, as soon as she had obtained permission from the pônna, set off in search of the prince and her child. The Brahmin priest, with the aid of his mantras, made her assume the appearance of a man, and despatched her to seek Zawtagômma in the disguise of a harp-player. He also instructed her that she would meet the prince on the way, but she was not to reveal herself to him: she was to explain how it was that the two had been separated by the Meittu Gyo nat, and say that she had met Palèthwè, and that the princess had gone to Pyinyawwada; Zawtagômma himself was to take the counsel of the Bedin wise men, and return to his own country, where he must offer sacrifices to the ten gyo nats, whereupon he would meet the princess Palèthwè, the wife he so tenderly loved. All these instructions the pônna gave to the princess, and then let

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536 her go. Everything happened as he had foretold. She met
539 the prince and he followed her advice. They returned to the Pyinyawwada country, and all was happy."

536 The above is the merest outline of the story. The piece is very long, and there is abundance of incident. The prince's servant, and usually also the two holy men, do the comic part of the business, but this is always so purely personal a matter that the printed text can give no real notion of what actually is said. It serves merely to point out the lines which the lubyet must follow in his impersonation. The stage books, written on palm-leaf, contain but very few detailed speeches, and merely indicate the story, and throw out hints to the actors. The following is one of the songs sung by the prince in his wanderings through the
533 forest in quest of Palèthwè. It is written to the tune of the "Chase in the Tawmawyôn Forest," that in which the king
[775] goes to hunt in the epic of the Ramayana. The wut or wutdaw referred to is the penalty of suffering the same punishment, or death, which has in a former existence been wrongfully or needlessly inflicted on others. Thus the great minister, Widuya, spoken of, who was an avatar of the Lord Buddha, had in a previous life dragged a frog by the leg so that it died. Hence he is dragged at the tail of the fierce Nat's horse until he dies himself. The prince fears that some such evil destiny is working itself out on him. The jingle of the rhythm is intended. The whole play is of the "raging rocks and shivering shocks" pattern.

539

FATE

The wind breathes chill
Across the rill
That cuts the forest track;
The haze to mist
Whitens, I wist,
And I am lost, alack.

The branches spread
Dull green and red
Flat o'er the sullen stream;
Comes through the gloom
The gibbon's boom,
And shrill the parrot's scream.

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Ah, sad the scene;
But yet, I ween,
A sadder wight am I;
The thuyaung seed[1]
Gives lovers rede,
But sears my tortured eye.

Ah, cruel spite,
Ah, cursed night,
That tore my Queen away;
More comfort here,
In jungle drear,
Than in the golden day.

The fog's death-cloud
Hangs like a shroud
Upon the shagg'd hillside;
The tall trees mope,
The wild beasts grope,
Nor know what may betide.

Yet the great sun
Needs cast but one
Fierce eye upon the gloom;
The mists all rise,
Mix with the skies,
And rainbows deck his loom.

Ah, wretched wight,
Such omen bright
Gleams not upon my fate;
Nor faint, nor bright,
Hope's golden light
Lends me no heart to wait.

The story old
Of Nat so bold
Creeps o'er my harassed thought;
Haply this hill
He treadeth still,
And here that horror wrought.

In warlike guise,
With wings on thighs,
He scales where eagles flag;

[1] The fruit of the thuyaung bin, a kind of half shrub, half tree, has a curious resemblance to the figure of a woman, and *soupirants* are wont to detect fancied [illegible]eness to the object of their affections, and deduce favourable omens from the [illegible]covery.

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His magic steed
Hath such great speed
The lightnings seem to lag.

Ah, fateful law,
Ruthless Wutdaw,
Widuya, art thou feared?
From life long past,
Thy sin at last
Eftsoons must dree its weird.

Nor soon, nor late
With calm, cold gait
The Wut relentless tracks;
Nor prayer, nor fees
Will bring release,
'Tis blood for blood it lacks.

Thy limbs fast tied
The Nat doth ride
O'er gorge and cliff and plain;
At his horse heels
Dragged, no faint steals
O'er thee to spare one pain.

Though blood forth gushed
And brain was crushed,
Thy heart was panting still;
Lingered thy breath,
Nor came glad death
Till ye twain reached this hill.

The fiend sprang down,
And from its crown
He hurled thee many a rod,
With eldritch glee
He hurled e'en thee
The great embryo god.

So the old Wut
With stealthy foot
Nor pity e'er evinces:
So must some crime
From ancient time
Have robbed me of my princess.

Methinks 'twas here,
This place so drear,
That great Widuya died;

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Here or elsewhere,
With praise and prayer
I seek him for my guide.

Ah, still the Wut
Its baleful fruit
Doth bring before mine eyes.
See, bright and clear,
The Saddan mere
And round the mountains rise.

Like jangled chime,
Or tangled rhyme,
The piteous tale is told;
The Saddan Min[1]
By death solves sin
Committed once of old.

Thrice wretched she,
By destiny
Marked out the blow to guide;
She, then as Queen
Thubadda seen
Had erewhile been his bride.

But beauty's curse
Hath made her nurse
Greed most akin to hate;
The milk-white tusk
She sought to busk
With glories six her state.

Then her behest
She hath addressed
To Thawnôtto, the hind;
Fell hunter that,
As Dewadat
Hath felon deeds designed.

[1] The Saddan Min is the Celestial White Elephant, an avatar of the Buddha Gautama. Hence it is that white elephants are so revered and regarded as the symbol of universal sovereignty. Thubadda had been the Saddan's queen in a previous existence. She repents, dies of sorrow, when she hears of the Lord White Elephant's end, and afterwards, in consequence, becomes a Yabanda in the time of the revealing of the Buddha. Mêbadda is the actual consort of the Saddan. She became, in after existence, Yathawdaya, the wife of Prince Theidat, before he left the palace and devoted himself to acquiring the Supreme Wisdom. Thawnôtto, the hunter, became the wicked Dewadat, cousin and brother-in-law of the Lord Buddha, and now languishes in Awidzi, suffering punishment for his attempt on the life of Shin Gautama.

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Then he with guile
His purpose vile
With yellow robe conceals;
The Monkish garb
Hides the sharp barb,
Nor aught of sin reveals.

And when he nears
The silver mere's
Fair jewel-studded edge;
Then like a snake,
Through baleful brake,
He parts the golden sedge.

His arrows' tip
With poison drip,
He rears his cobra head;
The bowstring twanged,
The dart deep-fanged
Its course too well had sped.

Thy heart is cleft,
Thy life is reft,
Now, reel'st thou, milk-white King;
The woodland hushed,
And darkness brushed
O'er earth its sooty wing.

The silent moon
Doth fright the noon,
And Death e'en breath restrains;
Save one wild scream
Might check the stream
Of blood in murder's veins.

Mèbadda, Queen,
The deed had seen,
She caught him e'er he fell;
Would staunch the flood
Of red heart's blood
That fiercely forth doth well.

Ah me, 'tis vain,
Wild with heart-pain
Forth flies the frenzied wife
To seek for foes,
Or mayhap those
Might save the Saddan's life.

Ye who doubt truth,
The boundless ruth
Of the all-pitying Budh;

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Now list ye well
What then befell,
And quit your scoffing mood.

Straight to the cave,
Where crouched the knave,
He walks with gentle mien;
Himself bestows
The tusks' white snows
For Thubadda, the Queen.

Ah, cruel Wut,
Why strayed my foot
Unto this hateful spot?
See low I bow
To earth my brow;
Be mine less awesome lot.

Here erewhile trod
The embryo god,
Now all is dull and blear;
O'er land and sea
I seek for thee,
My Princess, even here.

By lonesome lake,
Through forest brake,
I'll track each rumour's breath;
Where roams the bear,
By fierce beast's lair,
I'll seek thee e'en past death.

But, 'gainst the Wut's
Fierce power what boots
To strive with eager zeal?
. . . . .
Peace, doubting heart,
No fate can part
True lovers fond and leal.

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775

As an illustration of a purely religious play may be given the *Nemi Zat*, one of the Ten Great Birth Stories. It is occasionally represented as a yôkthe, or marionette play, but it is rather expensive to put it on the stage well. It was "preached" in the monastery of Meggadawun, during the stay of Shin Gautama in Mèthila, of which country he remembered to have been king in a previous existence. The following is the story in brief:—

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In old times the King Mingadeva ruled over the country, and for many years was entirely given up to pleasure and worldly passions, till one day his barber showed him a grey hair—"a flag of the king of death," as it is commonly called in Burmese—which he had found on the royal head. The king was struck with this *memento mori*, and immediately saw yawning before his eyes the abyss of mortality. The vision scared him, and he gave up the gay raiment and idle pleasures of earthly glory and wandered into the desert to end his life as a hermit. His self-denying piety gained for him on his death elevation to the seats of the Byammās, and all the 82,000 princes who succeeded him on the throne of Mèthila followed the example of their ancestor and retired into hermits' cells when they felt their end approaching. Mingadeva, from his blissful superior seat, followed with earnest solicitude the fortunes of his dynasty, and when at length he saw that it was drawing near its close, he returned once more to earth. He was conceived in the womb of the then Queen of Mèthila, and was born of her, and received the name of Prince Nemi. From his earliest years, as the pônnas discerned from his horoscope, his mind was firmly and unwaveringly directed to the prescriptions of religion and to pious observances. Once when he felt a doubt in his mind as to whether the outward giving of alms or inward self-contemplation was the more meritorious, the Tha-gyā King himself came down and instructed him that abundant charity would indeed secure him a new birth in the heavens of Nat-dêwas, but that only the cultivation of the mind could ensure a rise to the blessed regions of the Byammās. The Dêwa King was so attracted by the religious spirit and piety of the young prince that on his return he spoke of it with admiring delight to his subject Nats. Their curiosity was excited by the account of such distinguished qualities in a man, and they begged the Tha-gyā Min to procure for them the acquaintance of so holy a personage. Accordingly the king gave orders to a young Dêwa named Matali to descend to the earth and invite the young prince to a visit to the nat-heavens.

It was the day of the full moon, and all the inhabitants of Mèthila were assembled in the streets and on the pagoda

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platforms to observe the ceremonies of the holy day, when a great wonder happened. While the full moon shone high and clear in the heavens, there appeared through the clouds a glowing light in the east, so that all the people cried aloud in astonishment that two moons had arisen in the sky at the same time. But as the light gradually neared and neared, it became evident that it was a nat-chariot with the young Déwa inside. Matali advanced to the prince and invited him to enter the car and proceed to the realms of the blessed. Nemi stepped in without fear, and when he was told by the charioteer that there were two ways open to him, of which one led through the horrors of Nga-yè, and the other through the Elysian fields, he at once desired to visit both. First they went down to the eight vast burning chambers, and saw the pains of the damned in the fiery gloom of hell, and then they ascended and viewed the pure delights of bright paradise. After Nemi had met in audience the highest king of Nats, he returned to earth to give to his subjects a true account of what fate would befall them after death, according as they followed the path of virtue or of vice.

After many peaceful and honoured years, when Nemi at last saw his hair begin to grow grey, he, like his predecessors, entered the state of Yahanda and abdicated the royal power. The same venerable custom was followed by his son Thalaranana, the last of the roll of kings, who, when old age began to snow upon them, devoted themselves to the holy order in the town of Yathemyo (Kappilavastu).

It is evident that such a play as this, though it offers plenty of incident, is for this very reason the more difficult to put on the stage, and can hardly be satisfactorily produced at all except as a marionette play. No zāt furnishes more subjects to the Burman artist than that of Nemi, and pagoda corridors all over the country are decorated with the scenes in hell, which are much more easily pictured to the mind and the eye than the pure joys of heaven.

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RANGOON MAIDENS

O, the girls of Rangoon town,
They are fairies who've come down
From seats of nats, beyond the skies, sure here their likes are none,
And the fragrance on their cheek,
Gad, it makes a man feel weak,
And their hair so black and glossy with jet wavelets in the sun.
Ye maidens fair,
With graces rare,
Your faces and your ways they are a pair;
Nat-maidens are renowned,
But to say this I am bound—
If you were mixed
We should be fixed,
For who could tell the fairy from the fair?
You're so slender
And so tender,
You are like Wethandaya's queen,
And when Barani is seen,
Who goddess is of flowers on the green,
Men say,
'Amè!
Such a likeness, I am sure, ne'er was seen.'
Ah, when we meet by chance,
My heart's all in a dance,
You're so dangerously, murderously fair.
The diamond ear-ring's light
Like a meteor glows at night,
With the lightning of the hair-pin in the midnight gloom of hair.

The Southern Queen,
The right-hand Queen,
She who sits supreme, alone
By the monarch on the throne,
She the greatest of the Four;
List, sweet maids whom I adore,
Dark-skinned or fair,
Slim, *dthonmaire*,
She has robes, a kingdom's joy,
That two hundred looms employ;
But the silken flowers you wear,
You may dare with her compare,
Rangoon maids.
With gay kerchief o'er the bosom,
With sweet swaying of the shoulder,
Without art
Ye inflict on one of two some
Wounds that love will hardly solder
In the heart.

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O that curve in the round arm! 539
It has wrought men grievous harm.
Like the sylphs when they're at play,
Like the maids of Mandalay,
Without display
In every day
Quiet dresses they
Are busked and gay
As the daughters of the palace, as the maidens of the skies
In their natural, their usual array.

O! could I but sing what I think,
My heart would no more on the brink
Of despairing love struggle and sink,
Ye maidens to heavens the link;
Each passer-by
Who casts his eye
Upon the buxom Hanthawaddy girls,
Though he be sage,
His feelings wage
Fierce war within his brain-pan till it whirls.

Dewa daughters, fair, fair,
Rosebud fairies, ware, ware,
Born men's hearts to snare, spare,
Can I paint your ways,
Better sound your praise,
In verse
That's terse
Than thus: You're fair as any maid in Mandalay.

Barani is a daughter of nats, corresponding very much to the classical Flora. [832]

Madi, the spouse of Prince Wethandaya, is always regarded as the model wife. [593]

Amè! "mother!" is the invariable exclamation of all Burmans on all possible occasions of astonishment, anger, doubt, or delight. [201]

The name Hanthawaddy, properly applied to the whole province, is, in songs, usually employed to designate Rangoon, for rhythmical more than any other reason, just as Mamye, or Mye, or Man stands for Mandalay. [195]

"Rosebud fairies," called bôngyo, are daughters of nats, who having stayed in the country of the dêwas for a thousand years, are obliged to come down to the seat of man again. 539 773

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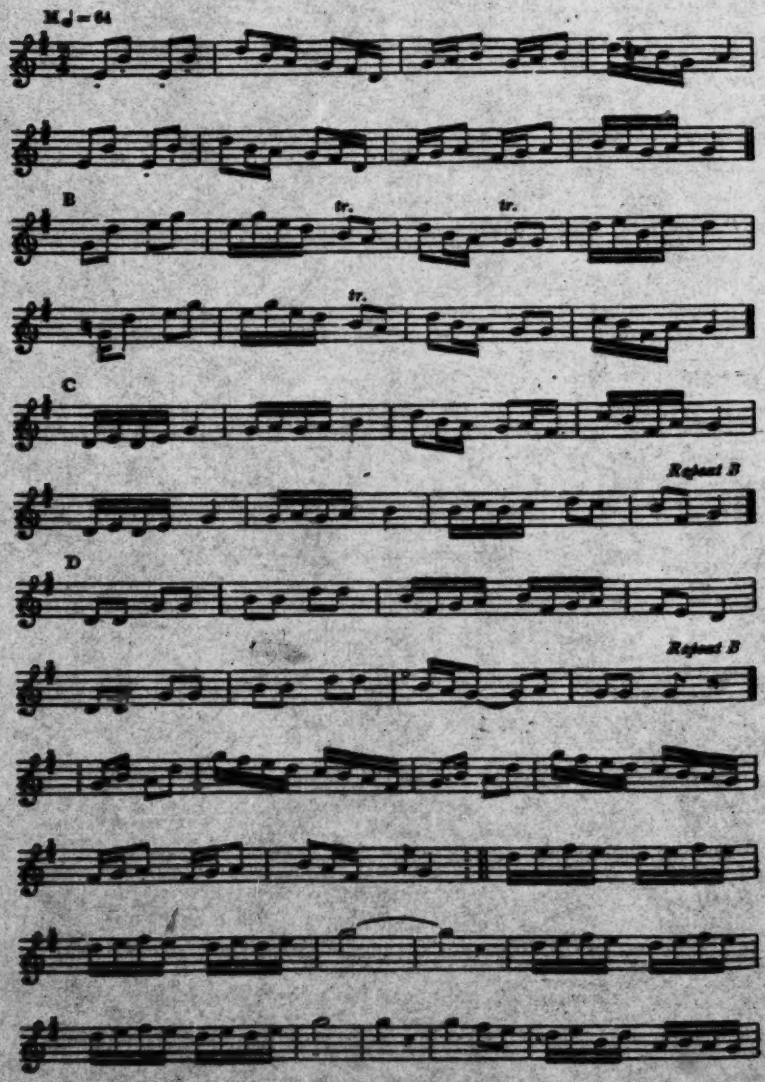
They are born from roses. Such charming houris apparently particularly affect Rangoon.

The following is the score as written down by Mr. St. Clair, now and for many years, editor of the *Singapore Free Press* :—

KAYA-THAN



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Next to the "Sound of the Trumpet" the Dobatthan is probably the most popular air, and is certainly the next most familiar to the English ear. It may be called the refrain-song, and is remarkable for the long dwelling and trilling on the last note of each stanza. The do is the seed with which aim is taken in the game of gônnyinhto, and pat, or bat, is to twist or spin. The metre here is not so complicated :— 533 539

SERENADE

Love united,
Troth so fondly plighted,
Love's light with life first lighted.
Sigh, my dear,
In me here,
Long with fear,
Now thou'rt near;
Long and sigh, my dear.

Flew the storm-cloud,
Rose and shrieked the winds loud
Came I yet and lowly bowed.
Cold as lead
Here I sped,
For love dead
Bent my head,
Lonesome for love dead.

The thein-nats play,
See through wild rain I stray,
Drenched, but sad from thee away:
Sad and lone.
Sweet, my own,
Be not stone,
Hear me moan,
Sweet love, hear my moan.

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Love, the cloud-rack,
Flashed blue gleams of hope back,
Broke and furled its fringes black;
Here I wait
At thy gate;
Open straight,
Be not late,
Hot with hope I wait.

My pet is fair
With flowers twined in her hair,
Kerchief gold-meshed like a snare,
Like a net
Fairly set
Hearts to get,
Sweet my pet,
Mine lies in that net.

Courtly story
Tells of queenly glory:
My queen's as fair and more, aye.
Eyebrow tint,
Just a glint,
Slightest hint
Of art in 't,
Eyebrow's pencilled tint.

Painted cheeks sweet,
Nosegay where all scents meet,
See, I throw me at thy feet.
There is none
To be won,
No not one
'Neath the sun,
Like my love there's none.

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The thein-nats are certain spirits, or superior beings, who preside over the showers. It rains whenever they come out of their houses (the stars), to sport about and have mimic fights in the air. The thunder and the lightning are the clashing and shining of the celestial arms. When the sun is in the house of the goat it is very hot, and the thein-nats do not come out. To arouse them from their lethargy, if the rains are long of coming, it is a common custom in country places to have a lônswéthi, a tug-of-war. A chain or a stout cable is got, and the villagers divide themselves into two parties, and pull and shout and get up as much excite-

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ment as possible, to stimulate the thein-nats to exert themselves also. A lônswèthi sometimes continues for nearly an hour without definite result. 773 789

The "painted cheeks," or "fragrant cheeks," so frequently mentioned in all these love-songs, refers to the thana'kha, a sweet-scented, straw-coloured powder made from the bark and roots of the *Murraya paniculata*, a flowering shrub of the citron species. Some girls, and especially some actresses, have particular recipes for making up the cosmetic into a moist paste. It is applied with the finger, and a good deal of skill is exhibited in putting on the requisite amount. Unpractised hands usually smear on far too much, and it is as unsightly as a badly whitewashed outhouse. On others it is barely visible. All girls use it, and not a few town dandies. 303

The following may be regarded as somewhat of an approach to the European *vers de société*. I have not attempted to imitate the original metre:— 533

THE CIGAR-MAIDEN OF MADEYA, NEAR MANDALAY 539

Thy cheroots, so deftly fingered,
Famous are in Burma's land,
Many a chief has fondly lingered,
Watched the maiden's nimble hand.

Madeya, I'd spare to sing thee
For cheroots and dainty maids,
For their crispness doth but bring thee
Sorrow from the palace blades.

By the throne's great gilded grandeur
Sits the prince, cheroot in hand,
And behind him little Ma Nyo,
Pearl of all the village band.

Burnt up all my love and sighing,
Like the ash of his cigar;
Hopes dispelled and idly flying,
Like the smoke he puffs afar.

Thy cheroots so deftly fingered,
Madeya are silver-white,
But the prince that came and lingered,
Stole away the hamlet's light.

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terrific in their denunciations, in little receptacles fixed high up in trees.

With the view of guarding thoughtless or reckless people against themselves there were certain classes enumerated who should not under any circumstances be allowed to take the oath, or to appear as witnesses. These were:—1. Those who do not believe in the merit of good works. 2. Such people as trade with the goods of others. 3. Parties interested in the case, as well as their relations, friends, and enemies. 4. Great talkers. 5. Sick persons. 6. Old men. 7. Children. 8. Overbearing men. 9. Public singers. 10. Actresses. 11. Women of ill fame. 12. Goldsmiths. 13. Painters. 14. Blacksmiths. 15. Cobblers. 16. Asthmatic persons. 17. Low people. 18. Gluttons. 19. Gamblers. 20. Hot-tempered people. 21. Doctors. 22. Thieves. 23. Pregnant women. 24. Hermaphrodites, a by no means uncommon class in Burma. If, however, both parties to the suit gave their consent, some of these classes might be allowed to give testimony. Another curious old provision was that when one of the litigants produced a witness, he himself was not required to take the oath, while contrariwise, if he swore on the book, it was not imperative that he should call witnesses.

[143]

The Book of the Oath is not quite fixed in its length, nor in the number of the imprecations which it threatens against false witnesses. Some copies are much more diffuse than others. It is always written on palm-leaf, in the ordinary character, and these in English courts are kept wrapped up in the ecclesiastical kabbalwè, usually sewn for greater convenience. The commonest version is as follows:—

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I will speak the truth. If I should be influenced by the laws of demerits, namely, passion, folly, anger, false opinion, immodesty, pride, scepticism, hard-heartedness, then may all these calamities attend me and my relations, wherever we may be, by land or by water, travelling or remaining quietly at home. May the nats who guard the sacred heavens, the athura nats and all other giants, the nats who guard the three Baskets of the Sacred Law, delivered by the most excellent Boddha, and all the other holy writings and sermons; may the nats, the guardians of the sacred relics

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the holy hairs, the teeth, the jawbone, the frontal bone, and all the other relics; the keepers and warders of countless shrines, all golden and made famous by sacred memories; the protectors of the images and figures of the supreme Buddha; may the nats who guard the sacred mount and all the hills of the Southern Island; the nats who watch and ward the mighty rivers, the lesser streams, the lakes, the torrents, cataracts, and whirlpools; the nats who preside over the vast forests and the single trees; the nats of the sun, the moon, the stars, and meteors, the clouds, winds, mists, and exhalations; may the nagā and the galôn, hideous dragons, and cruel birds, all bilus, ogres, demons, warlocks, all the evils that come from without the body; may all these spirits and ill things unite to slay me and mine, to the utmost limits of kinship, if I speak not the truth.

When I and my relations are on land, let all the hideous land creatures, tigers, bilus, elephants, male and female, demons and giants, buffaloes, poisonous serpents, the cobra, and the hamadryad, the scorpion, and the centipede; may they all seize, bite, crush, strangle, and devour us; may the earth open and swallow us up; a thunderbolt from heaven descend and annihilate us, if I speak not the truth.

When we travel by water may our boats sink and be shattered by storms; may crocodiles, writhing snakes, and ravenous fishes kill and devour us, that we suddenly die, perish, and come to utter destruction, if I speak not the truth.

May the five calamities occasioned by fire, water, thieves, governors and enemies oppress us; may we be subject to all the maladies of the body; may we be as fools and idiots, afflicted with madness and leprosy, with all kinds of loathsome disease and evils that deform the body, with itch, scurvy, ulcers, deafness, blindness, dysentery, the plague, and all manner of mental and corporal miseries; may we incur the hatred and punishments of judges and rulers; may we be for ever separated from our forefathers, children, and relations, throughout all succeeding worlds; may fire destroy our goods; lances, swords, arrows, and knives, and all sorts of weapons cut and pierce and maim our bodies; may I die instantly, vomiting up clotted, black blood before the assembled people, if I speak not the truth.

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Moreover, if I speak not the truth, may I and all my family after death be instantly cast into the abyss of hell, there to wander for a cycle of worlds through the eight great hells, and all the smaller ones, suffering from all the torments of these places; and when at length I shall emerge thence, may I become a pyeitta, or a thurakè, and thereafter some hideous animal, passing through all the wretchedness of the four states of punishment. Finally, when after innumerable worlds I shall at length once more become man, may I be the slave of other men a hundred and a thousand times, if I speak not now the truth.

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But if I speak truth, may I and all my relations escape the three calamities, the four states of punishment, and the five enemies; may all the ills in the body and all that are without the body keep far away; may our wealth, honour, and estimation ever increase, and when we die may we attain the happiness of men and dewas, and speedily entering on the noble path, reach the cloudless peace of Ne'ban.

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A desire to avoid denouncing on themselves all these fearsome penalties led in the old times to a good deal of trying by ordeal, a form of decision which still prevails extensively in country districts, and occasionally was made use of even in Mandalay. The forms used are those familiar in old times in other parts of the world, such as eating consecrated rice, like the first English *corsnaed*, plunging the finger wrapped in a thin palm-leaf into melted tin; immersing accuser and accused in water to see who would remain longest below and prove his innocence or guilt. The yahans are usually present on these occasions, and recite certain formulæ beforehand, a great concourse of people assembling to see the test. The opposing parties wade into the river, or into a tank, up to the chest and then duck under, a couple of men holding a board over their heads to keep them down. The one that comes up first is cast in the case. Another form common at the pagodas is for both parties to resort thither, when the monks again recite the precepts and sundry other phrases. Then equal parts of wax are carefully weighed out, and from these candles are made for plaintiff and defendant. They are lighted simultaneously, and the holder of the candle which first burns out

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CHAPTER LXI

SELECTIONS FROM THE LITERATURE

THE following is taken from the Mahā Yazawin :—

The Queen Shin-saw-bu

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In Ava there lived a very learned pôngyi called Bamè-soda, and a rich man in the capital gave him his son Dhamma-sedi to bring up and instruct. This youth was possessed of very wonderful powers, due to virtues which he had exercised in previous existences. By means of these powers he brought to life one day a fowl which had been roasted and placed on the platter before his teacher. From this circumstance, to the present day, the place where the fowl scratched and sought its food is called Shwe Gyet-yet (the more popular legend assigns a different reason). On the same day it happened that a young hunter appeared in the monastery and begged the holy brother to teach him wisdom. As a present he had brought with him a roasted hare. He lifted the cover off the basket and the hare sprang up alive and healthy immediately and ran away. The pôngyi was very much struck at these two miracles, all the more because they happened on the same day, and he took the two highly gifted youths for his only scholars and taught them all he knew in the way of scholarship and mystic lore. Both were very zealous in their studies, but Dhamma-sedi learnt one letter more than his fellow-student.

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Engwa-min, Thihathu, the Burman king, levied war upon the King of Rangoon, Bya-ngya-yan, and having defeated him, carried off his sister Saw Bomi. The young lady, who now got the name of Shin-saw-bu, agreed to

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share his throne on the condition that she should be allowed to institute religious ceremonies to remind her of the holy pagoda of her own Talaing town. Captivated by her charms, the king consented, and recommended to her notice, as being the most likely to give her aid, the two most highly honoured pôngyis of the capital, Dhamma-sedi and Dhamma-bāla, the ex-hunter. The wily princess managed to arrange a love intrigue with the two yahans, and by their aid succeeded in escaping to Rangoon, where in no very great time she was placed on the throne, and built a golden monastery for the two holy men to live in. Out of gratitude she wished to raise one of her two friends to share the throne with her, but the choice was a hard matter, for they were both equally well favoured, and no man could say which was the more learned. She resolved therefore to put their wit to the test and to abide by the issue.

The two holy men were summoned to her audience-chamber, where before her throne were placed two alms-bowls: one perfectly empty and plain, but decorated with the royal insignia; the other more elaborately worked and full of the choicest delicacies. The rivals were bidden to place themselves, according to their liking, by the one or the other. Dhamma-bāla chose the juncates, but the wiser Dhamma-sedi walked straight to the royal thabeit. The latter therefore received the hand of the queen after he had left the order.

Dhamma-bāla was full of wrath and envy, and forthwith created countless armies by reciting powerful bedin linga over a bowl full of rice, every grain of which grew into a soldier. But Dhamma-sedi was skilful in the same arts, and by virtue of the additional letter which he had learned was able always to overcome the machinations of his opponent, so that at last Dhamma-balā saw himself overcome at all points, and took to flight to save his life. But he had not thrown off his long monkish robes, and his feet got entangled in them, and he fell and was overtaken by his pursuers, who killed him at a place where now the village Thengan Nyôn stands, "the spot where the yellow robe betrayed." The queen only reigned three years, but in that time she greatly enlarged and beautified the pagodas of Shwe Dagôn at Rangoon and Shwe Hmaw Daw at

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Pegu. Dhamma-sedi reigned after her gloriously and highly honoured for thirty-one years.

The main points of this bit of Mahā Yaza-win history are correct. Shin-saw-bu was carried off in A.D. 1439 and did escape from Ava to be placed on the Peguan throne. Rangoon cantonments are to this day known among the Burmese as Shin-saw-bu Myo. King Dhamma-sedi was celebrated for his wisdom and for his intercourse with foreign powers. He received embassies from China, Siam, and Ceylon. He was also certainly originally a monk; his magic arts are another thing. His death is placed in A.D. 1491. The slight suggestion of the casket scene in the *Merchant of Venice* will be noticed.

The following is a favourite fable:—

Why Ants are found everywhere

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All the animals of the forest came to the lion-king to pay him homage. The little ant came with the rest to bow down before the king of beasts, but the noblemen drove it away with scorn. When the king of the ants heard of it he was very angry, and sent a worm to creep into the ear of the lion and torment him. The lion roared aloud with pain, and all the animals came running from every side to offer their services and fight the enemy, wherever or whoever he might be. But none of them could do any real good. They could not get at the worm. At last, after many humble embassies, the king of the ants was prevailed upon to send one of his subjects, who crept into the lion's ear and pulled out the worm. Since that time the ants have enjoyed the privilege of living everywhere and in any country, while the other animals had all of them their special places assigned at the division of the earth.

The following, the fourteenth decision of the Princess Thudhammasari, is considered a legal precedent as well as the inculcation of a moral principle:—

The Dog, the Cat, and the Ichneumon

In the time of the Buddha Gawnagông, four pupils, a prince, a young noble, a rich man's son, and a poor man's

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son, received their education together in the country of Tekkatho. When they had finished their course they asked their teacher what was the value of learning. The sayā replied as follows:—Long ago there dwelt in the land of Gahapatiwetha four wealthy men who were great friends, and each sought to further his friends' plans as much as possible. At last one of them died and left an only son. The widow said to him, "My dear son, my husband, your father, Maung Ba is dead, and you take his place and succeed to all the property; but you are still very young. It would be well, therefore, if you went to your father's three friends to acquire learning and prudence from them." With that she gave him three hundred rupees and sent him off with a company of servants.

On the way they met a man leading a dog. "Hallo! you there," said the boy, "will you sell that dog?" "If you want to buy him," replied the stranger, "you must give me a hundred rupees." The youth paid the money and sent the dog back to his mother. She took it for granted that her late husband's three friends had approved of the purchase, and fed the dog and took great care of it.

Another day, after he had eaten his noontide meal, he met a man carrying a cat, and called out, "I say, you sir, will you sell that cat?" "Yes," said the man, "for a hundred rupees." The money was paid, and the cat sent back to his mother as before. She thought that this cat must have been recommended by the three merchants as a purchase, and took as great care of the cat as of the dog.

Another day, after his dinner, he came upon a man with an ichneumon in his arms, and wanted to buy it also. The man agreed to part with it like the others for a hundred rupees. The rich man's son paid the money and sent it back home. The mother, still under the same impression, looked after it as carefully as the dog and the cat.

Now the dog and the cat were domestic animals, and she kept them about the house without any concern, but the ichneumon was a wild creature, and she was in such a state about it that she wasted away. One day when the monk from the monastery came round on his usual alms'-begging tour, to receive his dole of rice, he noticed her

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● 539 appearance and said, "Dear me, my good supportress, how thin you have grown." The rich man's widow replied, "Yes, the reason is this: I gave my son three hundred rupees, and sent him off to his father's three old friends to learn business habits, and one day he sends me a dog, the next a cat, and then again an ichneumon; and he gave a hundred rupees apiece for them. Now I don't mind about the dog and the cat, for they are house animals, and I get on very well with them; but the ichneumon is a jungle-beast, and the mere sight of it frightens me so that my body and limbs and eyes are all pining away." The yahan advised her to turn the creature loose in the jungle. It is wrong to disregard the counsel of one's teachers or one's parents, and so she set the ichneumon free, not, however, without giving it some food well soused in oil to keep it alive till it was able to look out for itself.

When the ichneumon got into the forest he fell a-thinking: the rich man's son gave a hundred rupees for me, and since I came into his possession I have been well looked after and fed, and better than all, I have now got my liberty again. I must repay him the debt of gratitude I owe. Then he found in a pool in the forest a ruby ring, and carried it off to the rich man's son, and said: "This is no common ring, it possesses the power of gratifying every wish of its owner. Put it on your finger, therefore, and be sure you do not allow any one else to wear it." Thereupon he went off to the jungle again.

The rich man's son wished, and during the night a great palace with a pya-that rose up before his house. The king of the country, with all his subjects, came to see the sight, and the king gave him his daughter in marriage. Soon after this the princess's spiritual teacher came to see if he could spy out her husband's charm. He looked everywhere, but he could see nothing but the ring. He therefore came to see the princess by herself, when the prince had gone out, and after making a great number of pretty speeches to her, asked if she was sure of her husband's love. "What a stupid question," said she; "he is only a rich man's son, and I am the daughter of a king." "Oh! if he is so very fond of you then, you have probably been allowed to wear his ring,"

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insinuated the pônna sadaw. "If I have not," returned she, "I would like to know who should?" Then the reverend gentleman went away.

A day or two afterwards, the princess asked her husband to let her put on his ring. He was very fond of her, and so he took it off and let her have it, but told her on no account to show it to any one, but to wear it constantly on her finger. The pônna came again another day when the rich man's son was out, and began talking in his usual smooth-tongued way. The princess said: "I have got that ring you were speaking about the other day." "Have you?" said he; "where is it?" "On my finger," she said, and showed it. He begged her to take it off and let him examine it, and her nurse, who was also present, at last prevailed on her to gratify the sadaw's wishes, and so at last she drew it off and handed it to him. As soon as he got it, he slipped it on his finger, changed himself into a crow, and flew away to the middle of the Thamôddaya ocean, whither no one could follow him, and there he stayed under a seven-roofed spire.

When her husband came back and heard what the pônna had done, he said to the princess: "You showed the ring, though I expressly told you not to do so, and now it is in the middle of the great Thamôddaya sea, and we shall never be able to get it back again." He then remained sunk in a deep melancholy.

One day a bevy of the daughters of the nat-dewas came to bathe in a pond grown over with water-lilies, not far from the house where the rich man's son was born. They took off their necklaces and jewellery and laid them down on the bank. The cat found them there, caught them up, and ran off and hid them. The houri maidens came to the cat and begged her to return their necklaces, saying they were only fit for nat-dewas and not for mortal men. The cat replied, "If I do, will you promise to make me a road to the place where the pônna sadaw is living under his pya-that in the middle of the Thamôddaya sea? That is the only condition on which I will give them back." So the daughters of nats made the road, and the cat crept stealthily along till she reached the spire, where she found

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539 the pônna asleep, with the ring on his finger. She pulled it off and brought it back to her master as a return for his kindness, saying, "You paid a very large sum for me, and have fed and treated me well ever since." The sadaw, for his part, fell into the sea and was drowned, while the rich man's son, having now regained his talisman, had every wish of his heart gratified.

Some time afterwards a band of five hundred robbers came to kill the rich man's son and carry off his ring. The dog saw what their purpose was, and flew straight at the leader of the band, and bit him to death and dropped his body down a well. The other robbers were so frightened that they ran away. Next day the dog said to his master, "I did not get any sleep last night; I had hard work to do," and then he told how the robbers had come to slay his master and pillage the place, and how he had killed their leader, and so frightened the rest away. He finished by saying, "Now I have made some return for your kindness to me. I have been enabled to save your life and property." "Aha!" answered the rich man's son, "everybody called me a fool for giving a hundred rupees for you who are only an animal, but I owe all my fortune to three animals, each of which I purchased for that sum." Then he went away into the jungle and brought back the ichneumon and kept him in his house.

Now the ichneumon, the dog, and the cat, each of them asserted that he had a right to eat before the others. The ichneumon, because he first gave the ring to his master; the cat, because when the gift was lost she had taken the necklaces of the dewa daughters, and so by getting a road made for her, had recovered the ring and thus restored her master's fortunes; the dog, because, when five hundred robbers came to strip the rich man's son of what the others had given him, and to take his life, he killed their leader and dropped him into the well, whereupon the rest of the band ran away; "and thus," said the dog, "I am the preserver, not only of our master's property, but also of his life."

At length they agreed to leave the arbitration of their dispute to the decision of Princess Thudhammasari, the

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daughter of King Dhammarit, who reigned at Maadarit in the kingdom of Kambawsa. She dwelt in the palace of a Tabindaing (the princess who remains single to be married to the next king), and was well versed in the Ten Laws (1. To make religious offerings. 2. To keep the commandments. 3. To be charitable. 4. To be upright. 5. To be mild and gentle. 6. Not to give way to anger. 7. To be strict in observing all the religious ceremonies. 8. Not to oppress any one. 9. To exercise self-restraint. 10. Not to be familiar with inferiors); and learned in the civil as well as the criminal code. The fame of her wisdom had spread to the eight quarters of the world, so that the most eminent men from every country came to her for judgment.

The three animals therefore came before the princess, and the ichneumon opened the case as follows: "A certain rich man's son paid a hundred rupees for me, fed me and housed me well, and set me free in the forest. Having regard for his kindnesses, I gave him a ruby ring, by means of which he obtained a palace with a royal spire, which sprang out of the earth; therefore I am entitled to take precedence and to eat before the dog and the cat." The cat then followed, and recounted how the pônna had carried off the ring which the ichneumon had given her master, and how she had got it back again, and so had renewed all his fortunes. Then the dog stated his case, saying, "When robbers came to take from our master the ring which the ichneumon had given him, and which, when it was lost, was restored to him by the cat, I killed the leader of the band and then they all fled. Therefore I preserved not only my master's property, but also his life, and therefore I ought to have precedence over the other two."

When they had finished their arguments, Princess Thadhammasari pronounced her decision as follows: "The dog, in addition to saving his master's treasures, prolonged his life also; therefore he is entitled to the first place amongst you; but, of a truth, there are none among animals who so well understand how to repay a debt of gratitude as you three do."

Thus ends the story of the dog, the cat, and the

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539 ichneumon, from which you may learn, that although man is superior to all animals, yet kindness shown to them will always meet with its reward.

539 The following sermon of the Lord Buddha is the chief favourite with the Burmese. In its present form it is said to have been handed down by the favourite disciple, Ananda, who heard it from the lips of Shin Gautama himself. The Mingala-thut is one of the first books the young scholar gets into his hands after he has learnt the ordinary formulæ of worship. There are few Burmans, even in these later days, who cannot repeat the Pali text from end to end.

Mingala-thut, the Buddhist Beatitudes, or Chapter of Blessings

539 Praise be to Buddha the holy, the all-wise.

When the adorable and most excellent Buddha dwelt in the great monastery of Zetawun, built by the rich man Anātabein, in the country of Thawatti, there came to him a déwa at the hour of midnight, when the whole building was illuminated by the effulgence which streamed from his body. The déwa placed himself neither too far nor too near, neither to the right nor to the left, but in the proper spot, and after bowing low in humble obeisance, thus addressed the Buddha:

"Most adorable and excellent Buddha, during twelve long years, many déwas and men, desirous of reaching to the holiness of Ne'ban, have striven to discover what things are blessed, but they still remain in ignorance. Do thou therefore instruct us in those matters which are most blessed."

The Adorable replied:—

"Thou son of déwas, to shun the company of the foolish; to pay homage to the learned; to worship what ought to be worshipped; these are blessed things. Déwa, mark them well.

"Thou son of déwas, to dwell among good men; to have with one's self the conciousness of good deeds done in a former state of existence; to guard well all one's

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actions; these are blessed things. Déwa, mark them well.

"Thou son of déwas, to hear and see much in order to acquire knowledge; to study all science that leads not to sin; to make use of proper language; to acquire a knowledge of propriety of behaviour (from the Wini); these are blessed things. Déwa, mark them well.

"Thou son of déwas, to treat parents with tenderness and affection; to nourish well one's wife and children; to perform no action under the influence of sinful temptation; these are blessed things. Déwa, mark them well.

"Thou son of déwas, to make offerings and give abundant alms; to act in accordance with the precepts of the law and of virtue; to assist relatives and friends; to perform virtuous actions; these are blessed things. Déwa, mark them well.

"Thou son of déwas, to avoid sin, to be most instant and strenuous in such avoiding; to abstain from spirituous liquor; to remember always the principle of accumulation of merit; these are blessed things. Déwa, mark them well.

"Thou son of déwas, to pay respect to all those who are worthy of regard; to be ever humble; to be ever contented; to be grateful for favours received; to listen to the preaching of the sacred law at the proper times; these are blessed things. Déwa, mark them well.

"Thou son of déwas, to be patient and endure suffering; to rejoice in edifying discourse; to visit the holy men when occasion serves; to converse on religious subjects; these are blessed things. Déwa, mark them well.

"Thou son of déwas, to practise religious austerities; to continue firm in the sublime truth; to study always to act in the most virtuous way; to keep the eyes firmly fixed on the attainment of Ne'ban; these are blessed things. Déwa, mark them well.

"Thou son of déwas, to be unmoved; to be of tranquil mind; to be exempt from passion; to be perfectly composed and fearless amid all earthly dangers; these are blessed things. Déwa, mark them well.

"O déwa, whoso possesses and observes these thirty-eight blessings shall never be overcome, and shall find

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happiness in all things. Déwa, mark thou them well, so shalt thou enjoy the peace of the Ariyas."

Thus the adorable Buddha replied.

Of this sermon the venerable Bishop Bigandet writes:—"Within a narrow compass, the Buddha has condensed an abridgment of almost all moral virtues. The first portion of these precepts contains injunctions to shun all that may prove an impediment to the practice of good works. The second part inculcates the necessity of regulating one's mind and intention for a regular discharge of the duties incumbent on each man in his separate station. Then follows a recommendation to bestow assistance on parents, relatives, and all men in general. Next to that we find recommended the virtues of humility, resignation, gratitude, and patience. After this, the preacher insists on the necessity of studying the law, visiting the religious, conversing on religious subjects. When this is done the hearer is commanded to study with great attention the four great truths, and keep his mind's eye ever fixed on the happy state of Ne'ban, which, though as yet distant, ought never to be lost sight of. Thus prepared, the hearer must be bent upon acquiring the qualifications befitting the true sage. Like the one mentioned by the Latin poet, who would remain firm, fearless, and unmoved, even in the midst of the ruins of the crumbling universe, the Buddhist sage must ever remain calm, composed, and unshaken among all the vicissitudes of life. There is again clearly pointed out the final end to be arrived at, viz. that of perfect mental stability. This state is the foreshadowing of that of Ne'ban."

Prefixed to every Burmese work is the phrase "Na-maw-tatha bagawa-daw araha-daw thamma thamôddatha," which has the same significance as the A.M.D.G. of the Jesuits —"Praise be to Bagawa (the Buddha as the displayer of the six glories), the holy, the all-wise."

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present, were superintending the carrying off of the 108 (representing the number of divisions in the foot of the Lord Buddha, and the beads on the rosary) heaps of alms piled up in great mountains in a long shed to the east of the mausoleum. This was the last of the pious king, Maung Lun, Mindôn Min, the Convener of the Fifth Great Synod.

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The following is the substance of a funeral dirge sung in Mandalay by a Rangoon man whose wife had died in the royal city:—

Gone, gone art thou, sweet wife; gone far away,
Fair still and charmful, stretched on thy cold bier,
As erst thou wert upon that joyous day
When first I wed thee; gladsome brought thee here,
And joyed to think that thou wert mine. Ah me!
The butterfly's silk wings are shred; no more,
Ne'er more to rest upon thy head, Mah Meit—
Sweet name for wife: "affectionate." Deplore
Her death ye nats that rule forests and streams,
The hills and vales, and greater ye who guard
The sacred law, the holy shrines, the beams
Of silent moon, and sunlight baking hard
The hot-scorched earth, not scorchèd more and seared
Than is the parchment of my tortured heart.
Nay, bear with me, good neighbours. Be not feared.
I am not mad. The nat-so hath no part
Of me or mine. The spaewife sure hath said it.

Ay, thou wert mine when last I trod the earth,
Ere yet, all sinful, I was born as man,
And yet again, in yet another birth,
I'll claim thee; when mayhap a happier kan,
A fairer sum of merit, hardly won,
Will lead us on, linked-armed, to linkèd death,
That so progressing, joyful we may run
Through all life's changes, and with single breath,
Through heavens and zân and rupa, we may bound
To Ne'ban, blissful home of rest. So mote it be.

Alas, thou wert from Hanthawaddy's plains,
And were we there, where thou so fain hadst stayed,
A stately pomp had honoured thy remains,
In silk and velvet wound, with gilded shade
Of wide umbrella's pride, and regal spire
Had towered to the skies, all seemly draped
With flowing cloths and princesses' attire,
Such as now thou dost wear, from earth escaped

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To heavens of nats. Yea, and of fretted gold 533
With mirror-work inlaid had been this case, 539
The last sad dwelling of thy earthly mould;
But here it may not be, not in this place.

In Mamye's soil the stranger finds a tomb
As poor as doth the meanest in the land.
The trumpet's wailing note, the drum's low boom
May not be heard; all callous as the strand
That threats the sailor on a stormy night,
The law stands fast and bids the mourner pass
With smothered moan; and hurry from its sight
The alien clay. Far from thy home, alas!
Thy dirge e'en waxeth faint. Oh, Awgata,
The Lord, the Law, the Order, the Three Gems,
I bow me low. Grant me the holy calm.

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642 their own eyes, and made as much money as they
631 could, while they could. They collected the taxes and as much more as they could get; they administered the laws of Manu in civil and criminal affairs, except when tempted to deviate therefrom by good reasons; they carried out orders received from Mandalay, when these orders fell in with their own desires, or when they considered that disobedi-
[641] ence might be dangerous. It is a Burmese proverb
[539] that officials are one of the five great enemies of mankind, and there was, I think (at all events in the latter days of the kingdom), good reason to remember it. And yet these officials were not bad men in themselves; on the contrary, many of them were men of good purpose, of natural honesty, of right principles. In a well-organized system they would have done well, but the system was rotten to the core.

642 It may be asked why the Burmese people remained quiet under such a rule as this; why they did not rise and destroy it, raising a new one in its place; how it was that such a state of corruption lasted for a year, let alone for many years.

And the answer is this: However bad the government may have been, it had the qualities of its defects. If it did not do much to help the people, it did little to hinder them. To a great extent it left them alone to manage their own affairs in their own way. Burma in those days was like a great untended garden, full of weeds, full of flowers too, each plant striving after its own way, gradually evolving into higher forms. Now sometimes it seems to me to be like an old Dutch garden, with

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I have seen and heard so much of this love of women and of its tragedies. Perhaps it is that to us it is usually the tragedies that are best remembered. Happiness is void of incident. And this love may be, after all, a good thing. But I do not know. Sometimes I think they would be happier if they could love less, if they could take love more quietly, more as a matter of course, as something that has to be gone through, as part of a life's training; not as a thing that swallows up all life and death and eternity in one passion. 000

In Burmese the love-songs are in a short, sweet rhythm, full of quaint conceits and word-music. I cannot put them into English verse, or give the flow of the originals in a translation. It always seems to me that Don Quixote was right when he said that a translation was like the wrong side of an embroidered cloth, giving the design without the beauty. But even in the plain, rough outline of a translation there is beauty here, I think: 584 533

From a Man to a Girl

The moon wooed the lotus in the night, the lotus was wooed by the moon, and my sweetheart is their child. The blossom opened in the night, and she came forth; the petals moved, and she was born. 584 539

She is more beautiful than any blossom; her face is as delicate as the dusk; her hair is as night falling over the hills; her skin is as bright as the diamond. She is very full of health, no sickness can come near her.

When the wind blows I am afraid, when the

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breezes move I fear. I fear lest the south wind take her, I tremble lest the breath of evening woo her from me—so light is she, so graceful.

Her dress is of gold, even of silk and gold, and her bracelets are of fine gold. She hath precious stones in her ears, but her eyes, what jewels can compare unto them?

She is proud, my mistress; she is very proud, and all men are afraid of her. She is so beautiful and so proud that all men fear her.

In the whole world there is none anywhere that can compare unto her.

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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776 lives near the great hill can tell you that, for it all happened not so long ago. How long exactly no one can say, but not so long that the details of the story have become at all clouded by the mists of time.

776 539 They were brother and sister, these Popa Nats, and they had lived away up North. The brother was a blacksmith, and he was a very strong man. He was the strongest man in all the country; the blow of his hammer on the anvil made the earth tremble, and his forge was as the mouth of hell. No one was so much feared and so much sought after as he. And as he was strong, so his sister was beautiful beyond all the maidens of the time. Their father and mother were dead, and there was no one but those two, the brother and sister, so they loved each other dearly, and thought of no one else. The brother brought home no wife to his house by the forge. He wanted no one while he had his sister there, and when lovers came wooing to her, singing amorous songs in the amber dusk, she would have nothing to do with them. So they lived there together, he growing stronger and she more beautiful every day, till at last a change came.

The old king died, and a new king came to the throne, and orders were sent about to all the governors of provinces and other officials that the most beautiful maidens were to be sent down to the Golden City to be wives to the great king. So the governor of that country sent for the blacksmith and his sister to his palace, and told them there what orders he had received, and asked the blacksmith to give his sister that she might be sent as

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queen to the king. We are not told what arguments the governor used to gain his point, but only this, that when he failed, he sent the girl in unto his wife, and there she was persuaded to go. There must have been something very tempting, to one who was but a village girl, in the prospect of being even one of the lesser queens, of living in the palace, the centre of the world. So she consented at last, and her brother consented, and the girl was sent down under fitting escort to find favour in the eyes of her king. But the blacksmith refused to go. It was no good the governor saying such a great man as he must come to high honour in the Golden City, it was useless for the girl to beg and pray him to come with her—he always refused. So she sailed away down the great river, and the blacksmith returned to his forge.

As the governor had said, the girl was acceptable in the king's sight, and she was made at last one of the principal queens, and of all she had most power over the king. They say she was most beautiful, that her presence was as soothing as shade after heat, that her form was as graceful as a young tree, and the palms of her hands were like lotus blossoms. She had enemies, of course. Most of the other queens were her enemies, and tried to do her harm. But it was useless telling tales of her to the king, for the king never believed; and she walked so wisely and so well, that she never fell into any snare. But still the plots never ceased.

There was one day when she was sitting alone in the garden pavilion, with the trees making moving shadows all about her, that the king came to her.

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They talked for a time, and the king began to speak to her of her life before she came to the palace, a thing he had never done before. But he seemed to know all about it, nevertheless, and he spoke to her of her brother, and said that he, the king, had heard how no man was so strong as this blacksmith, the brother of the queen. The queen said it was true, and she talked on and on and praised her brother, and babbled of the days of her childhood, when he carried her on his great shoulder, and threw her into the air, catching her again. She was delighted to talk of all these things, and in her pleasure she forgot her discretion, and said that her brother was wise as well as strong, and that all the people loved him. Never was there such a man as he. The king did not seem very pleased with it all, but he said only that the blacksmith was a great man, and that the queen must write to him to come down to the city, that the king might see him of whom there was such great report.

Then the king got up and went away, and the queen began to doubt; and the more she thought the more she feared she had not been acting wisely in talking as she did, for it is not wise to praise anyone to a king. She went away to her own room to consider, and to try if she could hear of any reason why the king should act as he had done, and desire her brother to come to him to the city; and she found out that it was all a plot of her enemies. Herself they had failed to injure, so they were now plotting against her through her brother. They had gone to the king, and filled his ear with

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slanderous reports. They had said that the queen's brother was the strongest man in all the kingdom. 'He was cunning, too,' they said, 'and very popular among all the people; and he was so puffed up with pride, now that his sister was a queen, that there was nothing he did not think he could do.' They represented to the king how dangerous such a man was in a kingdom, that it would be quite easy for him to raise such rebellion as the king could hardly put down, and that he was just the man to do such a thing. Nay, it was indeed proved that he must be disloyally plotting something, or he would have come down with his sister to the city when she came. But now many months had passed, and he never came. Clearly he was not to be trusted. Any other man whose sister was a queen would have come and lived in the palace, and served the king and become a minister, instead of staying up there and pretending to be a blacksmith.

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The king's mind had been much disturbed by this, for it seemed to him that it must be in part true; and he went to the queen, as I have said, and his suspicions had not been lulled by what she told him, so he had ordered her to write to her brother to come down to the palace.

The queen was terrified when she saw what a mistake she had made, and how she had fallen into the trap of her enemies; but she hoped that the king would forget, and she determined that she would send no order to her brother to come. But the next day the king came back to the subject, and asked her if she had yet sent the letter, and she said 'No!' The king was very angry at this

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disobedience to his orders, and he asked her how it came that she had not done as he had commanded, and sent a letter to her brother to call him to the palace.

Then the queen fell at the king's feet and told him all her fears that her brother was sent for only to be imprisoned or executed, and she begged and prayed the king to leave him in peace up there in his village. She assured the king that he was loyal and good, and would do no evil.

The king was rather abashed that his design had been discovered, but he was firm in his purpose. He assured the queen that the blacksmith should come to no harm, but rather good; and he ordered the queen to obey him, threatening her that if she refused he would be sure that she was disloyal also, and there would be no alternative but to send and arrest the blacksmith by force, and punish her, the queen, too. Then the queen said that if the king swore to her that her brother should come to no harm, she would write as ordered. *And the king swore.*

So the queen wrote to her brother, and adjured him by his love to her to come down to the Golden City. She said she had dire need of him, and she told him that the king had sworn that no harm should come to him.

The letter was sent off by a king's messenger. In due time the blacksmith arrived, and he was immediately seized and thrown into prison to await his trial.

When the queen saw that she had been deceived, she was in despair. She tried by every way, by

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tears and entreaties and caresses, to move the king, but all without avail. Then she tried by plotting and bribery to gain her brother's release, but it was all in vain. The day for trial came quickly, and the blacksmith was tried, and he was condemned and sentenced to be burnt alive by the river on the following day.

On the evening of the day of trial the queen sent a message to the king to come to her; and when the king came reluctantly, fearing a renewal of entreaties, expecting a woman made of tears and sobs, full of grief, he found instead that the queen had dried her eyes and dressed herself still more beautifully than ever, till she seemed to the king the very pearl among women. And she told the king that he was right, and she was wrong. She said, putting her arms about him and caressing him, that she had discovered that it was true that her brother had been plotting against the king, and therefore his death was necessary. It was terrible, she said, to find that her brother, whom she had always held as a pattern, was no better than a traitor; but it was even so, and her king was the wisest of all kings to find it out.

The king was delighted to find his queen in this mood, and he soothed her and talked to her kindly and sweetly, for he really loved her, though he had given in to bad advice about the brother. And when the king's suspicions were lulled, the queen said to him that she had now but one request to make, and that was that she might have permission to go down with her maids to the river-shore in the early morning, and see herself the execution of her

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traitor brother. The king, who would now have granted her anything—anything she asked, except just that one thing, the life of her brother—gave permission; and then the queen said that she was tired and wished to rest after all the trouble of the last few days, and would the king leave her. So the king left her to herself, and went away to his own chambers.

Very early in the morning, ere the crimson flush upon the mountains had faded in the light of day, a vast crowd was gathered below the city, by the shore of the great river. Very many thousands were there, of many countries and peoples, crowding down to see a man die, to see a traitor burnt to death for his sins, for there is nothing men like so much as to see another man die.

Upon a little headland jutting out into the river the pyre was raised, with brushwood and straw, to burn quickly, and an iron post in the middle to which the man was to be chained. At one side was a place reserved, and presently down from the palace in a long procession came the queen and her train of ladies to the place kept for her. Guards were put all about to prevent the people crowding; and then came the soldiers, and in the midst of them the blacksmith; and amid many cries of 'Traitor, traitor!' and shouts of derision, he was bound to the iron post within the wood and the straw, and the guards fell back.

The queen sat and watched it all, and said never a word. Fire was put to the pyre, and it crept rapidly up in long red tongues with coils of black

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smoke. It went very quickly, for the wood was very dry, and a light breeze came laughing up the river and helped it. The flames played about the man chained there in the midst, and he made never a sign; only he looked steadily across at the purple mountain where his home lay, and it was clear that in a few more moments he would be dead. There was a deep silence everywhere.

Then of a sudden, before anyone knew, before a hand could be held out to hinder her, the queen rose from her seat and ran to the pyre. In a moment she was there and had thrown herself into the flames, and with her arms about her brother's neck she turned and faced the myriad eyes that glared upon them—the queen, in all the glory of her beauty, glittering with gems, and the man with great shackled bare limbs, dressed in a few rags, his muscles already twisted with the agony of the fire. A great cry of horror came from the people, and there was the movement of guards and officers rushing to stop the fire; but it was all of no use. A great flash of red flames came out of the logs, folding these twain like an imperial cloak, a whirl of sparks towered into the air, and when one could see again the woman and her brother were no longer there. They were dead and burnt, and the bodies mingled with the ashes of the fire. She had cost her brother his life, and she went with him into death.

Some days after this a strange report was brought to the palace. By the landing-place near the spot where the fire had been was a great fig-tree. It

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was so near to the landing-place, and was such a magnificent tree, that travellers coming from the boats, or waiting for a boat to arrive, would rest in numbers under its shade. But the report said that something had happened there. To travellers sleeping beneath the tree at night it was stated that two Nats had appeared, very large and very beautiful, a man Nat and a woman Nat, and had frightened them very much indeed. Noises were heard in the tree, voices and cries, and a strange terror came upon those who approached it. Nay, it was even said that men had been struck by unseen hands and severely hurt, and others, it was said, had disappeared. Children who went to play under the tree were never seen again: the Nats took them, and their parents sought for them in vain. So the landing-place was deserted, and a petition was brought to the king, and the king gave orders that the tree should be hewn down. So the tree was cut down, and its trunk was thrown into the river; it floated away out of sight, and nothing happened to the men who cut the tree, though they were deadly afraid.

The tree floated down for days, until at last it stranded near a landing-place that led to a large town, where the governor of these parts lived; and at this landing-place the portents that had frightened the people at the great city reappeared and terrified the travellers here too, and they petitioned the governor.

The governor sought out a great monk, a very holy man learned in these matters, and sent him to inquire, and the monk came down to the tree and

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spoke. He said that if any Nats lived in the tree, they should speak to him and tell him what they wanted. 'It is not fit,' he said, 'for great Nats to terrify the poor villagers at the landing-place. Let the Nats speak and say what they require. All that they want shall be given.' And the Nats spake and said that they wanted a place to live in where they could be at peace, and the monk answered for the governor that all his land was at their disposal. 'Let the Nats choose,' he said; 'all the country is before them.' So the Nats chose, and said that they would have Popa Mountain, and the monk agreed. 776 539

The Nats then left the tree and went away, far away inland, to the great Popa Mountain, and took up their abode there, and all the people there feared and reverenced them, and even made to their honour two statues with golden heads and set them up on the mountain.

This is the story of the Popa Nats, the greatest Nats of all the country of Burma, the guardian spirits of the mysterious mountain. The golden heads of the statues are now in one of our treasuries, put there for safe custody during the troubles, though it is doubtful if even then anyone would have dared to steal them, so greatly are the Nats feared. And the hunters and the travellers there must offer to the Nats little offerings, if they would be safe in these forests, and even the young man must obtain permission from the Nats before he marry. [782]

I think these stories that I have told, stories selected from very many that I have heard, will show what sort of spirits these are that the Burmese 776

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CHAPTER XXI

DEATH, THE DELIVERER

'The end of my life is near at hand; seven days hence, like a man who rids himself of a heavy load, I shall be free from the burden of my body.'—*Death of the Buddha.*

539 THERE is a song well known to all the Burmese, the words of which are taken from the sacred writings. It is called the story of Ma Pa Da, and it was first told to me by a Burmese monk, long ago, when I was away on the frontier.

It runs like this:

In the time of the Buddha, in the city of Thawatti, there was a certain rich man, a merchant, who had many slaves. Slaves in those days, and, indeed, generally throughout the East, were held very differently to slaves in Europe. They were part of the family, and were not saleable without good reason, and there was a law applicable to them. They were not *hors de la loi*, like the slaves of which we have conception. There are many cases quoted of sisters being slaves to sisters, and of brothers to brothers, quoted not for the purpose of saying that this was an uncommon occurrence, but merely of showing points of law in such cases.

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One day in the market the merchant bought another slave, a young man, handsome and well mannered, and took him to his house, and kept him there with his family and the other slaves. The young man was earnest and careful in his work, and the merchant approved of him, and his fellow-slaves liked him. But Ma Pa Da, the merchant's daughter, fell in love with him. The slave was much troubled at this, and he did his best to avoid her; but he was a slave and under orders, and what could he do? When she would come to him secretly and make love to him, and say, 'Let us flee together, for we love each other,' he would refuse, saying that he was a slave, and the merchant would be very angry. He said he could not do such a thing. And yet when the girl said, 'Let us flee, for we love each other,' he knew that it was true, and that he loved her as she loved him; and it was only his honour to his master that held him from doing as she asked.

But because his heart was not of iron, and there are few men that can resist when a woman comes and woos them, he at last gave way; and they fled away one night, the girl and the slave, taking with them her jewels and some money. They travelled rapidly and in great fear, and did not rest till they came to a city far away where the merchant would never, they thought, think of searching for them.

Here, in this city where no one knew of their history, they lived in great happiness, husband and wife, trading with the money they had with them.

And in time a little child was born to them.

About two or three years after this it became

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necessary for the husband to take a journey, and he started forth with his wife and child. The journey was a very long one, and they were unduly delayed; and so it happened that while still in the forest the wife fell ill, and could not go on any further. So the husband built a hut of branches and leaves, and there, in the solitude of the forest, was born to them another little son.

The mother recovered rapidly, and in a little time she was well enough to go on. They were to start next morning on their way again; and in the evening the husband went out, as was his custom, to cut firewood, for the nights were cold and damp.

Ma Pa Da waited and waited for him, but he never came back.

The sun set and the dark rose out of the ground, and the forest became full of whispers, but he never came. All night she watched and waited, caring for her little ones, fearful to leave them alone, till at last the gray light came down, down from the sky to the branches, and from the branches to the ground, and she could see her way. Then, with her new-born babe in her arms and the elder little fellow trotting by her side, she went out to search for her husband. Soon enough she found him, not far off, stiff and cold beside his half-cut bundle of firewood. A snake had bitten him on the ankle, and he was dead.

So Ma Pa Da was alone in the great forest, but a girl still, with two little children to care for.

But she was brave, despite her trouble, and she determined to go on and gain some village. She took her baby in her arms and the little one by the hand, and started on her journey.

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And for a time all went well, till at last she came to a stream. It was not very deep, but it was too deep for the little boy to wade, for it came up to his neck, and his mother was not strong enough to carry both at once. So, after considering for a time, she told the elder boy to wait. She would cross and put the baby on the far side, and return for him.

'Be good,' she said; 'be good, and stay here quietly till I come back'; and the boy promised.

The stream was deeper and swifter than she thought; but she went with great care and gained the far side, and put the baby under a tree a little distance from the bank, to lie there while she went for the other boy. Then, after a few minutes' rest, she went back.

She had got to the centre of the stream, and her little boy had come down to the margin to be ready for her, when she heard a rush and a cry from the side she had just left; and, looking round, she saw with terror a great eagle sweep down upon the baby, and carry it off in its claws. She turned round and waved her arms and cried out to the eagle, 'He! he!' hoping it would be frightened and drop the baby. But it cared nothing for her cries or threats, and swept on with long curves over the forest trees, away out of sight.

Then the mother turned to gain the bank once more, and suddenly she missed her son who had been waiting for her. He had seen his mother wave her arms; he had heard her shout, and he thought she was calling him to come to her. So the brave little man walked down into the water,

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539 and the black current carried him off his feet at once. He was gone, drowned in the deep water below the ford, tossing on the waves towards the sea.

No one can write of the despair of the girl when she threw herself under a tree in the forest. The song says it was very terrible.

At last she said to herself, 'I will get up now and return to my father in Thawatti; he is all I have left. Though I have forsaken him all these years, yet now that my husband and his children are dead, my father will take me back again. Surely he will have pity on me, for I am much to be pitied.'

So she went on, and at length, after many days, she came to the gates of the great city where her father lived.

At the entering of the gates she met a large company of people, mourners, returning from a funeral, and she spoke to them and asked them:

'Who is it that you have been burying to-day so grandly with so many mourners?'

And the people answered her, and told her who it was. And when she heard, she fell down upon the road as one dead; for it was her father and mother who had died yesterday, and it was their funeral train that she saw. They were all dead now, husband and sons and father and mother; in all the world she was quite alone.

So she went mad, for her trouble was more than she could bear. She threw off all her clothes, and let down her long hair and wrapped it about her naked body, and walked about raving.

At last she came to where the Buddha was teach-

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ing, seated under a fig-tree. She came up to the Buddha, and told him of her losses, and how she had no one left; and she demanded of the Buddha that he should restore to her those that she had lost. And the Buddha had great compassion upon her, and tried to console her. 539

'All die,' he said; 'it comes to everyone, king and peasant, animal and man. Only through many deaths can we obtain the Great Peace. All this sorrow,' he said, 'is of the earth. All this is passion which we must get rid of, and forget before we reach heaven. Be comforted, my daughter, and turn to the holy life. All suffer as you do. It is part of our very existence here, sorrow and trouble without any end.' 539 779 761

But she would not be comforted, but demanded her dead of the Buddha. Then, because he saw it was no use talking to her, that her ears were deaf with grief, and her eyes blinded with tears, he said to her that he would restore to her those who were dead.

'You must go,' he said, 'my daughter, and get some mustard-seed, a pinch of mustard-seed, and I can bring back their lives. Only you must get this seed from the garden of him near whom death has never come. Get this, and all will be well.'

So the woman went forth with a light heart. It was so simple, only a pinch of mustard-seed, and mustard grew in every garden. She would get the seed and be back very quickly, and then the Lord Buddha would give her back those she loved who had died. She clothed herself again and tied up her hair, and went cheerfully and asked at the first

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539 house, 'Give me a pinch of mustard-seed,' and it was
771 given readily. So with her treasure in her hand she
761 was going forth back to the Buddha full of delight, when she remembered.

'Has ever anyone died in your household?' she asked, looking round wistfully.

The man answered 'Yes,' that death had been with them but recently. Who could this woman be, he thought, to ask such a question? And the woman went forth, the seed dropping from her careless fingers, for it was of no value. So she would try again and again, but it was always the same. Death had taken his tribute from all. Father or mother, son or brother, daughter or wife, there was always a gap somewhere, a vacant place beside the meal. From house to house throughout the city she went, till at last the new hope faded away, and she learned from the world, what she had not believed from the Buddha, that death and life are one.

[772] So she returned, and she became a nun, poor soul! taking on her the two hundred and twenty-seven vows, which are so hard to keep that nowadays nuns keep but five of them.[1]

779 This is the teaching of the Buddha, that death is
761 inevitable; this is the consolation he offers, that all men must know death; no one can escape death;

[772] [1] These five vows are:

1. Not to take life.
2. To be honest.
3. To tell the truth.
4. To abstain from intoxicants.
5. Chastity.

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CHAPTER XXIII

THE FOREST OF TIME

'The gate of that forest was Death.'

THERE was a great forest. It was full of giant trees that grew so high and were so thick overhead that the sunshine could not get down below. And there were huge creepers that ran from tree to tree climbing there, and throwing down great loops of rope. Under the trees, growing along the ground, were smaller creepers full of thorns, that tore the wayfarer and barred his progress. The forest, too, was full of snakes that crept along the ground, so like in their gray and yellow skins to the earth they travelled on that the traveller trod upon them unawares and was bitten; and some so beautiful with coral red and golden bars that men would pick them up as some dainty jewel till the snake turned upon them.

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Here and there in this forest were little glades wherein there were flowers. Beautiful flowers they were, with deep white cups and broad glossy leaves hiding the purple fruit; and some had scarlet blossoms that nodded to and fro like drowsy men,

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and there were long festoons of white stars. The air there was heavy with their scent. But they were all full of thorns, only you could not see the thorns till after you had plucked the blossom.

This wood was pierced by roads. Many were very broad, leading through the forest in divers ways, some of them stopping now and then in the glades, others avoiding them more or less, but none of them were straight. Always, if you followed them, they bent and bent until after much travelling you were where you began; and the broader the road, the softer the turf beneath it, the sweeter the glades that lined it, the quicker did it turn.

One road there was that went straight, but it was far from the others. It led among the rocks and cliffs that bounded one side of the valley. It was very rough, very far from all the glades in the lowlands. No flowers grew beside it, there was no moss or grass upon it, only hard sharp rocks. It was very narrow, bordered with precipices.

There were many lights in this wood, lights that flamed out like sunsets and died, lights that came like lightning in the night and were gone. This wood was never quite dark, it was so full of these lights that flickered aimlessly.

There were men in this wood who wandered to and fro. The wood was full of them.

They did not know whither they went; they did not know whither they wished to go. Only this they knew, that they could never keep still; for the keeper of this wood was Time. He was armed with a keen whip, and kept driving them on and on; there was no rest.

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Many of these when they first came loved the wood. The glades, they said, were very beautiful, the flowers very sweet. And so they wandered down the broad roads into the glades, and tried to lie upon the moss and love the flowers; but Time would not let them. Just for a few moments they could have peace, and then they must on and on. But they did not care. 'The forest is full of glades,' they said; 'if we cannot live in one, we can find another.' And so they went on finding others and others, and each one pleased them less.

Some few there were who did not go to the glades at all. 'They are very beautiful,' they said, 'but these roads that pass through them, whither do they lead? Round and round and round again. There is no peace there. Time rules in those glades, Time with his whip and goad, and there is no peace. What we want is rest. And those lights,' they said, 'they are wandering lights, like the summer lightning far down in the South, moving hither and thither. We care not for such lights. Our light is firm and clear. What we desire is peace; we do not care to wander for ever round this forest, to see for ever those shifting lights.'

And so they would not go down the winding roads, but essayed the path upon the cliffs. 'It is narrow,' they said, 'it has no flowers, it is full of rocks, but it is straight. It will lead us somewhere, not round and round and round again—it will take us somewhere. And there is a light,' they said, 'before us, the light of a star. It is very small now, but it is always steady; it never flickers or wanes.

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It is the star of Truth. Under that star we shall find that which we seek.'

And so they went upon their road, toiling upon the rocks, falling now and then, bleeding with wounds from the sharp points, sore-footed, but strong-hearted. And ever as they went they were farther and farther from the forest, farther and farther from the glades and the flowers with deadly scents; they heard less and less the crack of the whip of Time falling upon the wanderers' shoulders.

The star grew nearer and nearer, the light grew greater and greater, the false lights died behind them, until at last they came out of the forest, and there they found the lake that washes away all desire under the sun of Truth.

They had won their way. Time and Life and Fight and Struggle were behind them, could not follow them, as they came, weary and footsore, into the Great Peace.

And of those who were left behind, of those who stayed in the glades to gather the deadly flowers, to be driven ever forward by the whip of Time—what of them? Surely they will learn. The kindly whip of Time is behind: he will never let them rest in such a deadly forest; they must go ever forward; and as they go they grow more and more weary, the glades are more and more distasteful, the heavy-scented blossoms more and more repulsive. They will find out the thorns too. At first they forgot the thorns in the flowers. 'The blossoms are beautiful,' they said; 'what care we for the thorns? Nay, the thorns are good. It is a pleasure to fight with them.' What would the forest be without its thorns?

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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If we could gather the flowers and find no thorns, we should not care for them. The more the thorns, the more valuable the blossoms.'

So they said, and they gathered the blossoms, and they faded. But the thorns did not fade; they were ever there. The more blossoms a man had gathered, the more thorns he had to wear, and Time was ever behind him. They wanted to rest in the glades, but Time willed it ever they must go forward; no going back, no rest, ever and ever on. So they grew very weary.

'These flowers,' they said at last, 'are always the same. We are tired of them; their smell is heavy; they are dead. This forest is full of thorns only. How shall we escape from it? Ever as we go round and round we hate the flowers more, we feel the thorns more acutely. We must escape! We are sick of Time and his whip, our feet are very, very weary, our eyes are dazzled and dim. We, too, would seek the Peace. We laughed at those before who went along the rocky path; we did not want peace; but now it seems to us the most beautiful thing in the world. Will Time never cease to drive us on and on? Will these lights *never* cease to flash to and fro?'

And so each man at last turns to the straight road. He will find out. Every man will find out at last that the forest is hateful, that the flowers are deadly, that the thorns are terrible; every man will learn to fear Time.

And then, when the longing for peace has come, he will go to the straight way and find it; no man will remain in the forest for ever. He will learn

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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When he is very, very weary, when his feet are full of thorns, and his back scarred with the lashes of Time—great, kindly Time, the schoolmaster of the world—he will learn.

Not till he has learnt will he desire to enter into the straight road.

But in the end all men will come.

This is a Burman allegory of Buddhism. It was told me long ago. I trust I have not spoilt it in the retelling.

THE END

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21: Htin Aung

AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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[For information on the Burmese drama, and for translations and abstracts of various Burmese plays, see category 116, pp. 6-251.]

29: Slater M-4 (no date) 1951 AP1 Burma
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779* doctrine of annihilation from his own reading of the Buddhist literature
775* available to him and the exposition of a few, more instructed Buddhists? The latter would seem to be the case, for he speaks of 'Buddhist doctors' [792] rather than 'Burmese doctors,' he refers specifically to a treatise he has translated and says that the monks in general "have no ardour for study." "I have met with a great number of laymen who were incomparably better informed."[21]

779* Yet the existence of many lax and ignorant monks — a circumstance
775* which Bigandet attributes to the relaxation of that centralised discipline
792 which had hitherto sustained the Order — does not mean that there were no devoted and zealous scholars at the same time. From other records we know that there were, and the Bishop himself refers to them. It is possible that they assisted him in his studies. He mentions visits to dignitaries. But it is also possible that some of these more able monks were amongst those who told him that a 'perfected being ... retains his individuality in Neibban' though unable to explain this condition further.

Later observers confirm Bishop Bigandet's conclusion that, in popular opinion, Nibbāna did not mean annihilation. It is a mystery, observes Sir George Scott, but it is not a "nothing." "Matter-of-fact Western heretics are mistaken when they conclude that the common illustration of the dying flame means annihilation." He cites an interesting funeral dirge, sung in Mandalay:

[539]

> Gone, gone art thou, sweet wife; gone far away ...
> And yet again, in yet another birth,
> I'll claim thee; when mayhap a happier *kan*,
> A fairer sum of merit, hardly won,
> Will lead us on, linked-armed, to linked death,
> That so progressing, joyful we may run
> Through all life's changes, and with single breath,
> Through heavens and *zaks* and *rupa*, we may bound
> To neh'ban, blissful home of rest.[22]

779* In his popular, but well-informed accounts of Burmese life, Fielding
775* Hall also emphasises this positive belief. "It is a hard teaching, this of the Buddha ... that when life goes out, this thing which we call "I" goes out with it.... To the Burmese villager that is not so. He cannot grasp, he cannot endure that it should be so."[23] In a later book, Fielding Hall suggests that there is, indeed, no reason why the Burmese villager should

[21] *Ibid.*, Vol. II, footnote, p. 98, p. 252, p. 315.

[22] *The Burman, His Life and Notions* (1882), Vol. I, chap. XI, p. 125ff.; Vol. II, chap. XXXV, pp. 351, 352.

[23] *The Soul of a People*, chap. XXI, pp. 288, 289; chap. XXII, pp. 290, 291.

29: Slater M-4 (no date) 1951 APl Burma
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CHAPTER IV

THE PARADOX OF BUDDHISM

1. *"At the End of the World"*

A certain monk indulged in philosophical speculations, though this was against the teaching of the Buddha. The monk wanted to know where the world ended. He therefore left the Buddha and set out on a journey through the skies, questioning the gods of the different heavens, one after another. He questioned the gods who are called the Servants of the Four Kings. "Where does the world end?" But they replied, "Ask the Four Kings." When he came to the Four Kings, however, they replied, "Ask the Thirty Three Gods."

539 773

Finally the monk came to the gods who are called the Servants of Brahmā.

"No," they replied to his question, "we ourselves do not know where the world ends. But ask Brahmā — the Great Brahmā, The Supreme One, the Mighty One, the All-seeing One, the Creator, the Father of all that are and are to be. He will know."

As they spoke, Brahmā himself appeared.

The monk put his question.

"I am the Great Brahmā," he answered, "the Supreme One, the Mighty One, the Father of all that are and are to be."

"I do not ask you, friend," said the monk, "whether you are indeed all that you now say. What I want to find out is where the world ends, where the four great elements cease, leaving no trace behind."

The great Brahmā hastily took the monk by the arm, and led him aside.

"Monk," he confessed, "I do not myself know where the world ends. But I did not want these gods who are my servants to hear me say so. Therefore I gave no answer in their presence. They think I know everything. But I do not know where the world ends. You had better go back to Buddha and ask him. Accept whatever answer he may give."[1]

000

We venture to extend this parable from the scriptures. We can imagine the monk explaining that the Buddha will not discuss such questions; he does not speak plainly enough about Nibbāna.

[1] D. i, 215ff. (cf Rhys Davids, *Dialogues of the Buddha*, Part I, pp. 280ff.; cf. Warren, *Buddhism in Translations*, p. 308).

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The night fell. The fig tree showered red petals on the yellow robe of the future Buddha seated at its feet. Lost in meditation, knowing that the hour of his enlightenment was approaching, Gotama remained immobile. In the first watch of the night he acquired the knowledge of previous existence. Then he attained the divine outlook; finally, before the dawn, he penetrated the secret of Dependent Origination. And at that moment the universe was shaken to its very depths."[6] 775* 779* 539

Then the Buddha, surrounded by glory and homage, spake these words:

> Through birth and rebirth's endless round,
> Seeking in vain, I hastened on,
> To find who framed this edifice.
> What misery! — birth incessantly!
>
> O builder! I've discovered thee!
> This fabric thou shalt ne'er rebuild!
> Thy rafters all are broken now,
> And pointed roof demolished lies!
> This mind has demolition reached,
> And seen the last of all desire![7]

Whatever else this famous enigmatic verse may mean, at least it is an exclamation of relief and triumph. The Truth now is known, the Way discovered. 775* 779*

The consequent gospel is proclaimed at Benares, and historians agree that the text of this 'sermon' enshrines an authentic, original utterance.

It is the proclamation of a Middle Way avoiding two extremes — the extreme of sensuality and the extreme of self-mortification. But it is also the proclamation of a Goal, the promise of release, emancipation, deliverance. There would have been no gospel in announcing a new discipline unless this new discipline held the assurance of something better and different as its goal. And this goal is in fact twice emphasised in the short passage. "Now this very midway course, well understood by man so gone, making vision, making knowledge, leads on to peace, to wisdom, to enlightenment, to Nibbāna."[8]

Without a Nibbāna, Buddhism would not be a gospel — a point emphasised in the *Udāna*: "There is, bhikkus, that wherein is no birth, which is not the result of becoming, which is unmade, unconditioned.

[6] d'Eyparmon, *Les paradoxes du Bouddhisme*, Part I, chap. II, p. 82.

[7] Translation: H. C. Warren, *Buddhism in Translations*, 6th issue, chap. I, section 8, p. 83.

[8] Cf. Mrs. Rhys Davids, *Religion*, p. 55.

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APPENDIX

NOTE A

BURMESE *NAT* LEGENDS

I

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How the Burmese regard the *Nats* is illustrated by an account of the story and cultus of U Yin Gyi, described as 'a national god of the Burmans of Lower Burma.' Written by a Burmese writer, Maung Tha Kin, this account was published in the *Journal of the Burma Research Society*, Vol. XIV, Part 1, April 1924.

The writer observes that U Yin Gyi is 'quite a young god' compared with the Thirty Seven gods of Upper Burma, but 'he has pushed his way up so pluckily that in Lower Burma at least he has practically superseded these spiritual princes.'

The story goes, according to one version of the legend, that U Yin Gyi was once a young Burmese lumberman in the service of a timber merchant. He was also a very skilful player on the Burmese harp. Timber, hewn and collected in 'enchanted forests,' and formed into log rafts, was brought down the rivers to the town of Dalla. The fairies in the forests were so enchanted by the young musician that on one occasion they clung to the raft and prevented its voyage downstream. The perplexed timber merchant realised that some member of his crew was wanted by the spirit world. Lots were cast and three times the lot went to U Yin Gyi. He was therefore seized, securely bound and thrown overboard.

After this death by drowning and "his birth as a god, U Yin Gyi committed many acts of depredations in the districts... In consequence, U Yin Gyi was given a place in the pantheon of national gods by the frightened populace and regularly propitiated.... The propitiation is done by an offering of vegetarian diet."

Pictured as a cruel, capricious despot riding a ferocious tiger, this angry god was held responsible for diseases and 'accidents that no doctor could cure.' Since the beginning of the present century, however, the people have noticed a change in his behaviour. "He is now believed to have taken to religion, to keep sabbath and to lead the life of a saintly god," observes Maung Tha Kin; "but the people still entertain the belief that his council or assembly of under-gods still do continue to help or harass the people at will as of yore."

The god's new interest in religion does not, however, prevent him showing favour to evil-doers. At least, these evil-doers still expect his help, for it

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is observed that no organised theft, robbery or dacoity is ever committed in Lower Burma without having made offerings to U Yin Gyi and without invoking his aid for protection from arrest and capture. Those who premeditate such a crime mark a 'circular fence' on the ground, using a stick or pouring water to mark the boundary. They remain within the fence until a meal has been cooked and an offering made to the god. "Neither spitting nor answering the call of nature within that period is permitted. Even if unintentionally any of these rules is transgressed by any one of the party, the plan hatched is abandoned." Gamblers and speculators also invoke the help of the *Nat*.

Despite the opposition of some of the monks, public festivals in honour of this *Nat* are maintained. In these festivals U Yin Gyi shares the honours with another *Nat*, Koe Myo Yin, to whom he seems to owe allegiance. The writer describes one of these festivals.

Facing each other at a cross road are two miniature palaces of bamboo and paper. In one of these palaces U Yin Gyi is pictured as a youthful musician, flanked by two ghostly lieutenants.

During the festival there is a play, when the *Nats* are represented by human actors. First they are reverently invited to attend the festival and accept the offerings of food made to them. Then the *Nat*, Koe Myo Yin, comes majestically to the front of the stage, followed by U Yin Gyi. A dialogue follows in which U Yin Gyi is enjoined by his overlord to take due care of the people and protect them from danger and epidemic. U Yin Gyi emphasises his assurances that he will do so by summoning his army of undergods. Then the two Nats depart, "leaving the undergods to partake of the offerings made to them to their hearts content. The undergods, with dishevelled hair, dressed uncouthly in rags, painted with hideous hues and holding divers kinds of mock weapons of warfare, would make a sudden rush from all sides into the midst of the crowd, go to the altars and literally devour the *kauk hnyin* rice and other eatables. Thereafter they would give a merry devil dance, making weird noises and sounds for some time; and depart — bringing the festival aprubptly to an end."

In this account we may note the suggestion that the chief *Nats*, though still capricious, are no longer objects of dread but can be expected to be benevolent, if duly honoured. We may also note the opposition of the more zealous monks to this cultus.

It is interesting to compare this description of a modern *Nat* cultus with stories belonging to an earlier period, told in *The Chronicle of the City of Tagaung*,[1] stories of palace intrigues which show the mingling of legend, Buddhist piety and animistic belief. King Thambawka, it is related, "regarded not the law of truth, he heeded not nor revered the Three Gems"[2] ... nor recked he aught of virtue, piety or holiness, scorned the

[1] *J.B.R.S.*, Vol. XI, Part I (1921), pp. 29ff. (translated by Pe Maung Tin and G. H. Luce; cf. their Introd. to *The Glass Palace Chronicle of the Kings of Burma*).

[2] The Three Gems, i.e., the Buddha, the Dhamma, the Sangha.

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practice of meditation, learning and love. Therefore because he forgot the law of truth, his glory and dominion waned; his queen broke faith with him, and took her pleasure with the Naga king, by whom she conceived." Her sons were born blind because "the breath of the Nagas had come upon them."[3]

The king soon died, and his successors only survived for brief periods. The Naga king from the spirit world is held responsible for their death. 'Twisting his way into the hollow of the palace post, the Naga prince came to the world of men and reigned seven years with the queen.'

A youth 'from a Brahmin village' resolved to end this state of affairs and seize the kingdom. He prepared himself by religious observance. 'He bathed his body and cleansed it; bowed down and did obeissance, worshipping the Three Gems, his great grandparents, grandfather, grandmother, mother and father, the spirits who keep watch over the great religion, the spirits who keep watch over cities and border villages. . . ."

On his way to the capital, halting at a village 'where of old the coming Buddhas sported and made merry,' the youth is encouraged by the god, Sakra, who 'with his fairy horse and fairy raiment went ahead with the prince in human guise.' Thus assisted, the youth invades the royal town, takes possession and is married to the Queen. Warned by Sakra to be watchful, the youth questions the Queen about the deaths of the previous kings. The Queen then confesses her intrigues with the Naga prince and helps him in a plot to seize the Naga, who is slain by the youthful and zealous conqueror.

NOTE B

BUDDHIST RELIGIOUS EDUCATION IN BURMA

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The chief lessons taught in the monastic schools in Burma are the following:

I. *The Three Jewels:*

I take refuge in the Buddha,
I take refuge in the Dhamma
I take refuge in the Sangha.

II. *The Five Precepts:*

Not to kill
Not to steal
Not to lie
Not to commit adultery
Not to drink strong drink.

[3] Nagas are "fabulous creatures that sleep deep down below:" cf. Scott, *The Burmese*, Vol. I, chap. XXIX, p. 361.

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III. *The Mingalā Thot:* The Song of Great Blessing. (*Mahāmaṅgala Sutta: Sutta Nipāta* II. 4).

"Thus have I heard:

Once when the Blessed One was at Jetavana in Anathapindika's Park, as night came on, a beautiful *Nat*[1] drew near, lighting up the whole place with his presence. He greeted the Blessed One, and then standing on one side addressed him in this verse:

"What many men and deities
Desiring Bliss, have sought to find – –
Come tell me, Master, what it is
That brings most blessing to mankind."

To whom the Sage made answer:

"To quit the fools, to court the wise,
This is the highest Paradise:

"To pay respect where it is due,
So shall true blessing wait on you:

"Seek a fit place and there remain,
And strive self-knowledge to attain:

"If in past lives you've stored up merit
The fruits thereof you'll now inherit:

"Let wisdom skill and discipline
And gracious kindly words be thine:

"Tend parents, cherish wife and child,
Pursue a blameless life and mild.

"Live thou devout, give ample alms,
Protect thy kin from life's alarms;

"Do good, shun ill and ever shrink
From snare of spirituous drink:

"So do thou persevere in good.
This is the true Beatitude:

"Be humble, with thy lot content,
Grateful and ever reverent.

[1] I have here used the Burmese term, *Nat* instead of *deva*. Fausböll translates "deity" in S.B.E., Vol. X (Sutta Nipāta) p. 42.

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"Study the law of righteousness,
This is the path that leads to Bliss.

"Patience, kind speech, as chance affords,
With holy men, religious words:

"The noble truths, austerity,
Nirvana here, and chastity.
This is true happiness.

"To live from all attachment free,
From sorrow and impurity,
This is the true security,
This is the Highest Bliss."

"The Mingala-thoht," says Sir George Scott, "is one of the first books the young scholar gets into his hands after he has learnt the ordinary formulae of worship. There are few Burmans ... who cannot repeat the Pali text from end to end."[1]

"Side by side with the Pali, they learn the Burmese text."[2] A Burmese version quoted by Father Sangermano begins each verse, "O Nat!" e.g., "O Nat! know that to keep far from the company of the ignorant," etc.[4]

The version given above is quoted from the Appendix to *Modern Buddhism in Burma* (Purser and Saunders), pp. 95, 96. The metric form recalls the sing-song repetition of the young *koyins* as they commit the Song to memory.

See also F L Woodward's translation in *Some Sayings of the Buddha*, Oxford University Press, ("The World's Classics") which brings out the refrain to each verse (not given above): "Theirs is the greatest blessing."

Bishop Bigandet added the following footnote to his version: "Within a narrow compass, Buddha has condensed an abridgment of almost all moral virtues."[5]

III

SONG OF EIGHT VICTORIES

Stories and songs in honour of the Buddha also form part of Monastic education for the laity, especially this medieval poem, probably composed in Siam. Scenes from the poem are depicted on pagoda platforms.

[1] *The Burmese*, Vol. II, p. 318.
[2] M.B.B., p. 12.
[4] *The Burmese Empire*, chap. XIV, p. 130.
[5] *Op. cit.* Vol. I, p. 122.

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The first stanza refers to the legend of Māra, King of Death and Lord of Hell, who is said to have opposed Gautama's passage to Nibbāna.

"By liberality did he
The Sage attain to victory,
Such was his chosen armoury!
Māra, by all his host attended,
With thousand flashing swords defended,
On his war-elephant so proudly seated,
In panoply of steel the Sage defeated.
Be yours his glorious victory
And yours its ample blessing be!"

The second stanza celebrates an encounter with a demon who used to devour children:

"By patience and tranquility
(Such was his chosen panoply)
The Sage achieved the victory.
Alavaka, the demon dread,
The livelong night he combated,
With heart of brass redoubtable,
Fiercer than Māra, lord of hell.
Be yours his glorious victory
And yours its ample blessing be."

The third stanza refers to the last of the murderous attempts of Devadutta, the cousin and would-be supplanter of the Buddha. It is told that the Buddha's compassion had such an effect on the elephant Nalagiri that the brute fell before him and removed the dust from the Buddha's feet.

"By the waters of his pity
He won the glorious victory
O'er Elephant Nalagiri!
As the dreadful thunder crashing,
As the lurid lightning flashing,
As the jungle-fire encroaching,
He beheld the brute approaching.
Be yours his glorious victory
And yours its ample blessing be!"

The fourth stanza relates an encounter with a robber; the fifth concerns a victory over slander as to Gautama's chastity; the sixth recounts his triumph over a false teacher; and the seventh points a moral by describing the victory attained by Moggallāna, one of Gautama's chief followers:

"His pupil too by magic might
Did aid him in the heroic fight...."

The eighth stanza refers to the Arahat's power to assume other forms and pass through the air unseen.

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The poem therefore emphasises three lessons:

1. The honor due to the Buddha.
2. The blessing brought by the Buddha.
3. A challenge to the pupil to follow the Buddha's moral example.

The stanzas here quoted are from the version given by Purser and Saunders, M.B.B., pp. 99ff.

V.

THE NEMI ZAT

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Zat is the Burmese for Jātaka (Buddhist Birth Story). Of these the Nemi, Temi, Zeneka and Wethandaya Zats are especially popular, and form part of the Burmese child's education.

Reference has already been made in the text to the Wethanday Zat (Story of Prince Wessantara) which commends a prince who was willing to give away a kingdom, chariot, children and even his wife in his zeal for his own salvation.

The following is an extract from the Burmese version of the Nemi Zat given by Bishop Bigandet. As will be seen, it sets out the pains of hell and the blessings of heaven. The Burmese are not the only people who have considered such stories suitable to encourage young children in the right path!

The Buddha explains how he was, in a former existence, the ruler of the country of Mitila. As such, from a tender age he "displayed the most liberal and pious dispositions in making abundant alms and fervently observing all the religious practices. All the inhabitants of that kingdom followed his example.... During those happy times, hell seemed to have become quite unnecessary...

"On a certain day Nemi appeared to be most anxious to know which was the most excellent practice, the bestowing of alms, or the observance of the precepts." The King of the *Nat* realm himself came down from his glorious seat to give the answer, and, on his return, he eulogised King Nemi so strongly that the other *Nats* wished to see this virtuous prince. Accordingly a young *Nat*, named Matali, was commanded to escort the king to the *Nat* realm.

Stepping into the carriage sent for him, the king "abandoned himself to the guidance of his heavenly guide."

"Two roads are now opened before us," said Matali, "the one through the dismal dungeons, where the wicked are consigned to undergo punishment for their offences, and the other through the blissful seats, where the good are enjoying the rewards allotted to them for their virtues. Which of the two do you wish to follow?"

The prince said he wished to visit both places.

Matali answered in a mild tone of voice that his request should be complied with.

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The celestial guide directed his rapid course through the regions of desolation, where dwells an eternal horror. The first object they met with was a broad and deep river... glowing like a flame.... On the banks of that river stand the infernal ministers.... wounding, piercing the unfortunate wretches who try to get out of that horrible and burning water.....

"What are the crimes," asked the terrified prince, "that have committed the unfortunate inhabitants of this place to undergo such unheard-of sufferings?"

"They are," replied Matali, "the persecutors of the weak, the heartless oppressors of the poor etc."

At another hell, Matali explains, "These suffer for having done no good to their fellow-creatures, for preventing others to do some, and for having borne envy to their neighbours."

After visiting other hells and receiving similar explanations, "Nemi was suddenly brought over to the beautiful, smiling and blissful seats of the blessed. He soon descried the celebrated palace made of diamonds.... In that palace Biranee occupied a splendid apartment; she was then lying on a soft sofa, surrounded by more than a thousand beauties.

"What good works," asked Nemi, "has Biranee practised to deserve such a magnificent reward?"

Matali replied, "This daughter of *Nats* was formerly a slave in the house of a pounha. She was always very attentive to all the duties of her position, and at the same time regularly observed the precepts of the law. On a certain day her mistress, who was wont to feed eight Rahans (monks) daily, fell into a fit of anger, and said that she was unable to bear any longer the fatigue attending the maintenance of these religious. But the young slave, full of religious zeal, took upon herself the labour of feeding the Rahans. For this good and meritorious work she is enjoying the happiness of her present position."

After visiting other heavens and receiving other similar explanations, Nemi was introduced to the presence of the chief of the *Nats*.

On his return to his kigdom he told his people what he had seen "and concluded by exhorting his people to be liberal in bestowing alms, that they might hereafter be admitted to share in the enjoyment of the Nats' happiness.

---from Bishop Bigandet, *Op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 153ff.

(From the context it seems clear that the Bishop had not himself seen any copy of the Jatakas. He says that he has heard that there is such a book in Ceylon and makes a conjecture about its contents.)

NOTE C.

AN-ATTĀ DOCTRINE, NIBBĀNA AND INDIVIDUAL SURVIVAL

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The Buddhist denial of the soul or ego seems to the average non-Buddhist inconsistent with the belief in individual survival after death which belief in Nibbāna seems to imply. But intelligent Buddhists are equally bewilder-

177. Villager .. Short story.
53 Are we seeing aright? .. Attack on prolonged nat-festivals at pagodas, as endangering physical and moral welfare of people, including attack on worldly members of monkhood.
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• 541 Horse-racing in Rangoon was a foreign importation, but nevertheless the stadium was always filled, not only with the fashionable section in an
177. enclosure but also with rows of four-anna spectators who had been col-
54 lected from all the streets of the town by the privately-run Burmese buses
369 which tore along on race days, with two "spares" (spare-men in addition to the driver) hanging out from the back step and shouting to all they passed: "Race-a-ko, Race-a-ko! Race-course, race-course." But in the country the traditional boat racing was still alive. Boat races were held in every village which had a stream or river, as an annual event after the Lenten season. Long narrow canoes built in the village itself were rowed by twenty-two men and put out in rivalry between quarter and quarter, or between one village and another. At Ye the upper street and lower street put out boats bearing names of prowess or aquatic grace. The cheering and betting raged more furious and wild with the manner of the finish: the winning post was a boat in the centre of the stream, equidistant from the tracks of each boat, and across this was laid a hollow cane sticking about three feet out on either side. Through the hollow was thrust the prize *pan:* flower (of victory), a stick with a flag on each end. The winning crew was to seize this flower before it could be called victorious, and thus a dead-heat often sent both crews tumbling into the water as they wrestled for the prize.

525 Burmans are said to have an irrepressible gambling spirit, even when no money is laid on. A stock example quoted by foreigners of the Burman's readiness with a dah in his hot temper, gives as provocation the anger worked up between two men who sit idly in a tea-shop, and for lack of amusement bet on the number of flies which will settle on the sugar bowl. I prefer the story of two street urchins, who saw two monks walking before them, sedately, with downcast eyes and steady pace, as monks should walk. "Look," says one idle urchin, "there are two hpongyis. You look at the one on the right, I'll watch the one the left. I bet you my hpongyi walks faster than your hpongyi." The monks ignore this, but soon begin to hear: "My holiness is going faster!" "No' mind!" Unobtrusively, each hpongyi tries to walk quicker and yet with dignity. The boys get thoroughly excited now. "*My* holiness!', "No, *my* holiness!" Soon the astonished spectators see two hpongyis

Z:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma (Karen) AP1
Burmese AP4

Be 231

dogs with their uninflectional, agglutinative barking. They sleep most of the day, and at night gather together in bands and do their best to make up for the want of jackals in Burma. There is always a huge band of unattached dogs about the village, for Buddhism does not permit of the drowning of superfluous puppies, and these manage to lead a fairly well-fed life between stealing and devouring the offerings at the pagoda, and the superabundant charity received by the monks in their morning begging rounds. It is a mystery how they managed formerly to exist in Mandalay and Upper Burma generally; there were such constantly increasing hordes of them. Nowadays the Assistant Commissioner periodically issues an edict, and poisoned meat and the policemen's truncheons thin out their numbers very thoroughly for a month or two. The house-dog often perishes with his Bohemian acquaintances, and there is much lamentation among the younger members of the household, but there is no difficulty in getting a successor, grown up or otherwise. The ordinary pariah has a greater turn for agility than pluck, and the young civilian's English bull-dog would probably kill more of them, when he is on a tour to the outlying villages with his master, than he actually does, if he was as smart on his legs as he is with his jaws. The pariah is almost as noisy and quarrelsome as a Madrasi, but any fights there are result as harmlessly as a French duel. Nevertheless some of the Karen trained hunting dogs will fasten on to a tiger, or a leopard, or the even more dangerous wild boar, with the greatest determination. So esteemed are they that the sporting owner usually receives an official message to keep his dogs in safety when the half-yearly poisoners are about. Still though buffalo fights and mains of cocks have been common in Burma time out of mind, the pariah has never been called upon to develop pugnacious instincts.

Ba [224]

Be [541]

The harmless, necessary cat is not so abundant. There are, however, few villages without one or two of them. What becomes of the kittens is a mystery. Perhaps they go wild and take to the woods. Perhaps the pariah eats them when their mother is out foraging. At any rate the fact remains that they increase but very slowly. The Burman cat is

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

The scales come into use again, and the lime weighs two rupees—it is another packet. That night the two rascals are drunk together, and the farmer makes an offering to the nats, persuaded that there is something supernatural in the matter. 525

Pitch and toss is common enough in Rangoon now, as is also the three-card trick, introductions of Western industry. Pitch and toss is called myauk pan—myauk is the lion and unicorn on the old "Jan Kumpani's" coin, while the pan, the "flower," is the laurel wreath on the other side. Two rupees or pice are spun, and the bystanders call. One says two tails, and if they turn up, he wins double his stake; similarly if he is equally fortunate as to his guess of two heads. If he hedges with a head and tail, he only wins what he laid. The "tossing shilling," and the "lucky penny," of Box and Cox, one of which had no head and the other two, are not by any means novelties in the Pabèdan and other disreputable streets in Rangoon. 524

Another sleight-of-hand trick at which the town loafers are very skilful and are constantly deluding the unwary, is a performance called kyotothi, tilting at the string. A narrow strip of hide is doubled across, and the doubled end being in the centre, it is wound round and round in a complicated way. Then one of the bystanders is asked to place either his finger or a stick into the centre. The thong is then unwound, and if the man has his finger in the doubled-up end he wins, otherwise the manipulator gathers up the money. It is obvious that manual dexterity may do a great deal in a venture of this kind, and the operator usually makes a good thing of it.

Cock-fighting is also a favourite pastime, and though forbidden by the authorities, is still carried on more or less openly in country villages and quiet streets in the towns. Thibaw's uncle, the deposed Pagān Min, who died of small-pox in 1880, was so fond of the practice that he went by the name of the cock-fighting king. In sporting villages pretty nearly every house has its kyet-hpa, or its taik-kyet, the latter, splendid-looking birds, being bred specially for their pluck in fighting. 541

Buffalo fights, which used to be great festivals in the

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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Buffalo fights, which used to be great festivals in the Tenasserim province, especially round about Amherst and Tavoy, have, under the influence of the British Government, almost totally died out. Each village used to have its champion, songs were composed in its honour, and special guards appointed to look after it, and the conqueror brought as much honour to the village as a personal victory of the inhabitants would have done. But they were nearly as brutal exhibitions as Spanish bull-fights, and only a little less dangerous.

224 517

Field sports are barred to all but professional hunters by the religious objection to taking animal life, though when a Burman does enter upon the pursuit, he is always an enthusiastic and skilful sportsman and generally a clever shot.

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

the guard dispersed the people. Next day, an old lady, who claimed to be the owner of the dog, visited the big Englishman and told him she forgave him. He was barely polite. 364 231

Burmans had no trouble with the pigs and dogs. They found their own countrymen much more awkward to meet. There was constantly some prince or mingyi passing along the streets, and then the road had to be immediately cleared, and every one knelt humbly till the great man passed. Any delay in clearing the path, or an imagined want of reverence in the shikhoing, met with very summary punishment. Before every dignitary rushed along a posse of half-naked lictors, yelling out to the people to bow down, and hitting round about them with their fasces and dahs. These masterful ruffians particularly loved to insult Englishmen. During Mindôn's reign an edict was published exempting Englishmen from the necessity of getting down on their knees in the mud and dust, but ordaining that they should lift their hats. The letyataung dearly loved to launch torrents of abuse at their victim, and make him dismount from his pony and remove his hat when the prince was half a block distant. In the spring of 1880 an English mercantile man was actually bullied into going down on his knees. But, as a rule, where it was possible, foreigners turned down a by-street, or into one of the waste plots of ground. This method of avoiding the annoyance was not open to a Burman. If he tried to avoid paying due obeisance, he was denounced as a disaffected man and thrown into jail. 363 576 565

But there were plenty of other obstructions to be met with in the streets of the royal city. Each householder was considered, or considered himself, perfectly at liberty to do what he pleased with the section of the road in front of his house. Accordingly, when the spirit moved him, he calmly blocked the thoroughfare by erecting a temporary theatre for the performance of a pwè. The construction of such a mandut did not take very long. A framework of bamboo was run up and covered in on the roof, and one side with bamboo matting, and all was ready; the stage was the street, and the spectators deposited themselves where they found room. After the three or four days' performance, the stage was pulled down, and the thoroughfare was clear again. 361 541

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

361 541 During the season a dozen or more of these plays went on in Mandalay on the same night, and the entire population turned out to see them, thus effectually blocking as many streets as there were performances. This might have been awkward for the ordinary wayfarer were it not that he would probably infinitely prefer staying to see the drama to continuing his journey. Great men were not so complaisant. Two of the massacred princes, the Mekkhaya and the Thonsè, seemed to take a special delight, when they were belated on some roistering expedition, in breaking up such plebeian gatherings. They would come sweeping down the street with all their retinue, and the spectators, deafened by the music and engrossed with the action on the stage, would get their first hint of the torrent coming from the vigorous blows dealt all round about them by the howling lictors. Everything would be disorder and alarm for a time, men and women down in the ditch, the stage deserted, and the spectators scattered far and wide. Then, ten minutes later, they would all come back again; there would be a few remarks concerning his Royal Highness—"very often out at unexpected times, and always making his appearance so suddenly," etc. etc.; the bamboo erection would be propped up again, and the actors continued with the scene as if nothing whatever had happened, though the clown, no doubt, made as much fun out of the incident as he dared.

365 625 Going about at night in Mandalay was not much practised. Theatre-goers usually returned home with the rising sun. There were no lamps in the streets, and so every one who had business after dark was required to go about carrying a lantern or beating a drum or gong. If any one ventured abroad without thus marking his movements, he was promptly arrested by the night watch, and once a man was arrested in Mandalay it cost a good deal of money to get free again, no matter how good an account he might be able to give of himself. To save themselves the trouble of being constantly on the look-out as well as to trip up any one who tried to run away, the guardians of the peace had an unpleasant custom of tying ropes across the road an inch or two above the ground, and these were quite as effectual man-traps as have ever been invented.

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remaining huts. They have lists of the people in their charge. Maung Nyunt and Aung Gyi are under the school-master, who is the most important and influential man of all. These people have to see to the DHANI thatch roof, the bamboo, etc., and if there are any repairs needed they get together, estimate the cost , and then go to the government authorities. U Myaing does not know which office they go to.

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The phongyis resident in the camp do not participate in the secular life of the camp, beyond giving the SILAS and coming occasionally for HSOON. In Pathwe village there were small boys whom they taught - thirty or forty of them, but in camp they do not help to educate the young. People go to these phongyis in camp on holy days, to take the SILAS. They do not even preach to the laity. This U Myaing thinks to be due to the fact that they do not know how to, being themselves refugees from country villages.

796

On the 8th and 15th day of the waxing moon and the 8th and 15th day of the waning moon, the four holy days of the month, Daw Aw Zar goes to the Shwe Dagon to say her prayers. U Myaing cannot do likewise because he has to go to work.

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U Myaing has very little dealing with the government. They do not come for taxes, and in fact even have to provide the refugees with items of food and apparel. The people in the camp are not members of a closely knit organisation. They are made up of workers and families all thrown together by the exigencies of the political situation. The three mentioned above are the only ones in the whole camp who have charge of the camp welfare. They take the responsibility for disposing of the bucket sewage and the dirt accumulated in and around the camp. They arrange for government sweepers to come for these. There have been no fire drills or any such exercise held in the camp.

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In Rangoon the family has few entertainments. There was once a government film show screened in the camp, and the other night Ma Khin Nyein went with some friends to a nearby pagoda to see a lantern slide show of Buddha's Relics. They have never seen a modern Burmese play or PYZAT. As Daw Aw Zar expressed it, "How can we go and see one when the charge for admission is a rupee

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for an adult and 8 annas for a child."

572 The friendships he[1] has made with other workers do not seem to be
369 very deep or very lasting. In Pathwe the workers were all friends, and even included his relatives as well. There are not many strangers in Pathwe and even people not connected by blood ties were treated like relatives.

369 "In Rangoon the seller takes a profit on everything we have
426 to buy for food; items like rice, vegetables and fruits. Of course
444 he cannot be blamed, because he has a living to earn too. He gives wage-earners goods on credit, but charges an interest on those goods" In Pathwe U Myaing could get most of the necessary food without having to pay any interest or middleman's profits since he bought straight from the producer. In Rangoon all people who earn monthly wages are the same. They have to take goods on credit. Those who do not earn regular salaries are allowed credit, but they have to undertake to settle accounts by a fixed date.

525 During the TAGU month festival, U Myaing gambled for money.
527 He has gambled to stakes as high as three hundred rupees, but never up to one or two thousand. In Pathwe they had this on the PAYA-GYI-DAUNG side, and U Myaing joined in whenever he came across in other villages a group who were playing while on business. When he was young he gambled away Rs. 700/- while on a trip to KYAUKGIN. They were all of them on the same boat and he lost that amount at DAHUBYU. But by the time they reached YANGOON he had recovered his money. The games they played were poker and HO-HEE.

525 In their village they had people who held fights between game
●541 cocks. U Myaing never bred any of these fowls but he has placed bets on them several times, small bets to the value of four or five rupees. There is no special announcement made but word gets around that there is to be a match at such and such a place on such and such a day, and at the appointed time the villagers who are interested all congregate at that spot.

There are bookmakers among the assembled villagers who are willing to take any bets on either side. Cock fighting is carried on during the months of PYATHO and TABAUNG. And even then they have it during only four or five days in the month. U Myaing does not go to every meeting. In the rainy the ground is wet for game cock-fighting

1 [i.e., U Myaing -- ANALYST]

So the worship of the nats lived on, and with the advance of
795 civilization the spirit dances became elaborate, for though the belief
535 was primitive, the people were no longer so. The dances benefited from the developments that had taken place in Burmese music which, as we have seen, flourished under the patronage of the Pagan kings. New spirits were added, and they were usually those of heroic princes. The dancers were now many, for the mediums turned themselves into dancing and music mistresses. The chief medium of each spirit dressed herself in the special dress of the spirit, but the junior mediums, who were equivalent to the chorus of an English revue, were in the dress of Burmese princesses. It is interesting to note the
[292] origin of this dress. The mediums realized the necessity of dressing
[565] themselves in fine raiment, but as everybody wore clothes of bright colours, the only solution of the problem was to don the dress of the court and official class, which the commoners were forbidden to
[536] wear by law, except during feasts and dances. When drama proper came into being, the hero and the heroine dressed themselves in the court dress, even when they were representing common characters.

3. Miracles and Interludes

175 After the fall of the kingdom of Pagan in A.D. 1257, Burma was
369 the scene of fierce civil wars, but the trouble was mainly in the
726 capitals; in the villages and small towns life went on in its joyous
779 way. Religion continued to spread in spite of the fact that the throne of Pagan was no longer in existence to support it. Learning began
538 to reach the remotest parts of the country, carried far and near by monks. To escape from the aimless strife of the civil wars, men turned towards literature. Money was lacking to compose poems in brick as had been done at Pagan, and men now expressed their love for the religion and their love for the beautiful in writing. The new literature further educated the people and made even stronger the already strong religious fervour. As a result, at village feasts and on days of public rejoicing, the people turned towards their religion for amusement and entertainment. So pageants depicting scenes from the life of the Buddha and from his Birth Stories came into being.

796 Pageants were given on ordinary carts that were in use for all
541 kinds of transport and which are still in use in backward parts of the
493 country at the present day. Each cart carried a group of (amateur) actors standing still and representing a set scene. Originally, no doubt, there were only a few carts representing scenes from different stories. Later, a pageant came to consist of many carts and many

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

scenes. Still later, the scenes came to be taken from one story only, so that a whole story was given by the pageant. Dresses became quite gorgeous and the scheme elaborate. The pageant now needed organization. Therefore, the village came to be divided into two parts, eastern and western quarters or northern and southern quarters (the village was usually greater in length than breadth, being built along a main road). In larger villages and towns, the division was into four quarters. Each quarter was responsible for the production of a pageant. There was intense rivalry between the quarters to produce the finest pageant; it was usually friendly, but often enmity arose, and many pageants were occasions for free fights. The rivalry further developed the pageant, for new ideas would be introduced by one quarter to outrival the others. Soon the pageant became a play, its scenes coming to life.

The *Nibhatkhin* was the Burmese equivalent of the English miracle and mystery plays. It was the pageant come to life. With the pageant, the religious processions went along the main streets without stopping, each cart representing a set scene. But with the *Nibhatkhin*, each cart stopped at certain places. The most common of such places were the market-place, the house of the chief administrative officer, and the pagoda where the procession ended. At each of those places, each cart stopped, and the scene came to life. Dialogue and action were used. Therefore, people at the stopping places saw what was in effect a play.

The *Nibhatkhin* was extremely popular, and it lived on until recently, just as many of the English miracle plays continued to be produced right through the Elizabethan period. I saw one in the out-of-the-way town of Pauk as recently as 1916. However, I do not think that *Nibhatkhins* are produced anywhere nowadays. Sometimes one sees a procession on cars and motor lorries as a sort of reminiscence of the *Nibhatkhin*. But such processions are mere shows and lack the essential features of the Burmese miracle plays.

It was for the entertainment of the populace that the *Nibhatkhin* came into being, and as the Burmese entertainment connotes laughter, soon the element of humour came into the *Nibhatkhin*. At first none of the characters was made humorous, for they all came out of religious stories. And so the clown was introduced. The clown or *Lu-byet* ('the non-serious man') was put into the *Nibhatkhin* as an extra character, an attendant on the prince-hero. He was extremely popular, and soon another clown, an attendant on the princess-heroine,

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

536* 535 appear at all, and the song had lost its importance to such an extent that only one scene in all his plays had songs, which was in *Dayuwgonban*, where the hermit and the two princesses spoke to each other in songs. Though U Pon Nya was a great writer of songs, not one appeared in his plays. These great dramatists, through their brilliance, made the audience interested in the play alone, and the professional actors had no choice but to follow the dictates of the famous playwrights. After U Pon Nya, through lack of interest in true drama and because there were no able dramatists, the drama fell again into the hands of the professional actors, who had always considered themselves dancers and singers. They continued to present the great plays and their imitations, but only as frameworks for their songs and dances. We shall see later that after the final flicker of the drama during the years 1877–86 it perished in the hands of the actors with their interest in song and dance.

536* 541 178 [171] The people themselves wanted song and dance. They wanted an entertainment pleasing to the eye and the ear, without taxing the brain. They wanted an escape from the realities of life, because they were weary of the present and anxious for the future, as they knew not what dreadful events the next few months would bring. They wanted new dances and new tunes, and they applauded elaborate dresses and brilliantly staged scenes; and the actors could give them what they wanted as, through the influence of English and French touring companies, the stage scenery and devices had developed by leaps and bounds.[1] They demanded both laughter and tears, but as they desired the drama to appeal only to their senses and not to the intellect, what they really wished for and received were farce and sentimental pathos. The spirit of the audience had changed since the days of the great dramatists. The drama came into being in the age of triumph, when the attitude of the audience towards life was one of serenity and optimism. During U Kyin U's time, disaster, in the shape of the loss of provinces to the British, had overtaken the country, but there seemed to be a promise of better times, and therefore the spirit of the nation was still serene. When U Pon Nya wrote his plays, more provinces had been lost to the British, but again there was a promise of better times, and the spirit of the audience remained calm and serene. But after U Pon Nya, the spirit was one of despair and anxiety.

[1] The development of the stage is considered in detail in chap. vii.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

526 a mile to a mile. Popular diversions, common to Burmans and Europeans, are the race meetings, with their kindred accompaniments.

The boat-races are held at the *Thadin-dyut* festival (p. 184). Racing-canoes are forty to sixty feet long and only wide enough for one man; they are lacquered inside and out (No. 430). The canoe is paddled by a crew of eight to twenty.

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400. COCK-FIGHTING.

Competing crews generally belong to different villages, which causes excitement to run high and heavy wagers to be laid. The goal is a boat moored in the river, athwart of which is fixed a long bamboo (*pan*). Through the hollow of the latter runs a loose rattan, projecting a hand-breadth at each end. The bow-hands make a dash for this rattan, and the boat that secures it is the winner. Burmans are excellent swimmers, which they need to be for these races, as the canoes are commonly swamped at the goal; but they have no swimming contests.

541 Bullock racing is a favourite sport in parts of southern Pegu. Some trouble is taken with breeding the animals and training them to trot fast. In the race they go at a gallop over a course of about half a mile.

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401. CHINLON GAME.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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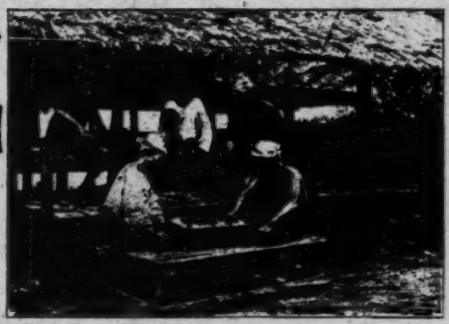

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403. CHESS.

Slashing cocoanuts (*ônkôt*) is a favourite sport in the North. A green cocoanut is balanced on the top of another, and has to be severed in two across the fibre at a blow of the sabre. This requires both power and knack. The villagers bet on who will sever the greatest number without a miss.

Cock-fighting is condemned by the popular religion, together with everything that causes pain or inflames the passions. Nevertheless, the people are greatly addicted to it; they bet heavily on their birds. A large long-legged fowl of the Shanghai type is bred for fighting. The Talaings in the South are fond of making bulls fight, especially bull buffaloes.

526 The every-day outdoor sport of Burma is the *chinlôn* game. A light springy ball is made of five interlacing circles of split rattan, four or five in a tier, with large open interspaces. The object is to keep the ball up, and the only rule is that the ball may not be touched with the hand. The nearest player advances to meet it, and if he be a tyro, he is content to kick the ball up; there are no turns. A good player will send the ball into the air again and again with decreasing force till he allows it to alight in the hollow of his shoulder. Thence he lets it roll down the back of the arm and jerks it off at the elbow to catch it on the knee, and, changing his foot like a flash, strikes the ball high from the back, with the opposite sole, for another player to vary the performance in as original a way as he can (Nos. 160, 162). The game implies a perfect command of every muscle. Players are not at their best till twenty-five or thirty. There can be no winning in this game, which is played for the pure love of skill.

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404. DOMINOES.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 . APl Burma
Burmese AP4

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408. CHINESE DICE (NIDAUNG).

ment associated with sot (*myet-thauk*), next after which is *beinza*—opium-eater. Women do not often play chess or cards; they have a game called *pasit* (beetle-fight), somewhat resembling backgammon.

Games of pure hazard are in great favour, especially at festival times. Chinese and Shan settlers start gambling-dens for the dissolute youth, with Chinese dice (*Nidaung*, *Angalôn*, No. 406), and the thirty-six animal lottery (*tî*, *thônzè-chaukkaung kazâ*), symbols intelligible to every nation and the meanest capacity. For *angalôn* there is a paper or cloth with compartments for six different figures of animals on which money is staked, corresponding to similar figures on a wooden cube, which is shaken in a box.

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The showmen in Burma are the conjuror and the snake-charmer. The Burman juggler (*myet-hlè sayâ*) makes no pretence of occult powers, not even to children. His name implies that his movements "elude the eye;" but his legerdemain does not attain to the art of the Indian and Chinese jugglers. The snake-charmer, on the other hand (*âlambè sayâ*), pretends to be protected by magic. He is tattooed all over with snakes; he has slits at the side of his tongue which he shows, and in other ways he plays upon credulity. It has been alleged that the snake-men inoculate themselves with the venom, but this is not authenticated, though it is known from the experiments of Calmette and Fraser that immunity can be produced in this way. The cobra (*mwyehauk*) is exhibited, but only when the hamadryad (*ngan-bôk*), a much larger species of the same family, cannot be procured (p. 96). The snakes are exhibited in their natural

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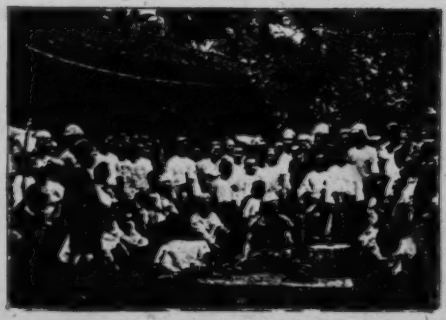

409. BURMAN JUGGLER.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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410. THE CHARMER APPROACHING THE SNAKE.

state; the fascination of the show is the danger. But as soon as the snake is unmolested it glides away harmlessly; no one feels any apprehension from its proximity, the moment the showman ceases to tease the snake. A cobra is easy to find, but it may take months to discover a hamadryad. The creature is tracked by the trail it leaves in the sand of a dry stream or the dust of a road to the place where it is watching its eggs. At this time, if ever, the snake is aggressive. But like the rest of the cobra family, its movements are comparatively slow; the charmer's hand is quicker, the snake is captured and consigned to the basket before it can strike. After that it is handled with impunity. There is no sort of training; the charmers say that the snake may be shown the same day that it is caught. When the snake is set at large, it appears to be bluffed by the performer, and made to execute feints of attack corresponding to the feints of the charmer, who keeps time to music, and so creates the impression that the snake is swaying—"dancing"—to the sound. The snakes are difficult to feed and keep in condition. They are let go after a month or two, in the hope of catching them again; the charmer vows to release the snake after a definite term, and has a superstition that if he keeps faith the snake will not hurt him.

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The Burmese festivals have been described as being confined to a single one, which begins in April and goes on to the following March. But that is an exaggeration. There are two regular carnivals of a week or ten days each, and several others of a couple of days' duration, besides occasional festivities to celebrate the completion of *zeds* and temples,—and last, but not least, the

411. THE HAMADRYAD CAPTURED.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

412. SNAKE-CHARMER'S PERFORMANCE.

cremation of the *yahán*. Burmese New-Year—moon-change at *Tagú*—falls in April, as the sun enters the sign of Aries. The calendar has been regulated on the Brahman model with intercalary days and months (Appendix E). New-Year marks the greatest crisis in the seasons; the heat has reached its climax, to drop abruptly at the break of the south-west monsoon. Now is the time of drought; many of the wells are empty, and water has to be fetched from a distance. There is no greater luxury than abundance of water at this season; water is the most seasonable offering, and great supplies are stored in the jars at the *kyaungs*. In a symbolic spirit, water is poured over the images of the Buddha. But the great feature of the New-Year festival is the burlesque of these libations. In the true spirit of the carnival, the women douse the men, and the men douse the women, all regardless of their festal attire. The young women in particular wait in ambush for the gallants, perhaps to be caught in a second ambush by some urchin. The liberty of water-throwing lasts for the days of *akyô*, *akyá*, *akyát*, and *atét*, the stages of the journey which a *thadyá* makes from heaven to earth to see the works of men if they be good. The legend is probably derived from the Hindu myth of the rain-god Indra, to whom water is offered at the season of his expected descent. A religious feature of the festival is the ransom of cattle. An animal kept for slaughter by the Indian Musulman butcher is borrowed and gaily decked out, with its horns gilded. It is led round the village or quarter of the town, followed by a festive throng, and contributions are gathered until the price of the animal is made up, when it is set free at the *kyaung* to be an evidence of goodwill to all things living.

413. NEW-YEAR FETE (PAYA-YE-CHO).

873 We could not stage these shows at the University owing to the length of
536 them and the difficulty of procuring a company. We saw them often in childhood when there were two great companies touring the districts. Po Sein and Sein Gadon came with their companies to the district towns; they hired the local hall, and then charged their audiences by mat-space. Buyers of spaces came earlier in the day and laid down their thinbyus over the rough bamboo mats provided. At night the whole family, including grandmothers and young children, arrived with pillows, fans, goblets of drinking water and things to eat, and squatted and reclined each on its own mat. Vendors of pickled tea and jujube plums, both of which have the effect of keeping one awake, walked in and sold their packets without a license, but just as an overflow from the row of food stalls that had sprung up in the lane leading to the hall.

• 545 At the University, however, we always staged *anyein-pwès*, and not
873 these night-long zat-pwès. An anyein is a much handier, more compact sort of entertainment. The troupe consists of two clowns, one chief dancing girl and two subsidiary ones, and a band of musicians. Such a troupe can be hired for about Rs. 40/-. No seats are ever bought for an anyein; people hire them to celebrate weddings, shinbyus and other happy events. They perform on a rough open-air stage, and the show is free to all who wish to flock to see it. The poorest beggars may perch themselves on neighbouring trees and fences to enjoy the four-or five-hour programme of songs, dances and jokes.

545 When an anyein was held at University College, we entered the
534 grounds at about 7 p.m. and found the stage with its rear occupied by the orchestra tuning instruments and practising snatches of the airs; in the
[782] centre a basinful of offerings to propitiate the nat-spirits so that the entertainment will be a success; and at the opposite corners of the front of the stage the two clowns squatting, watching the audience enter and uttering declamations about the occasion of the entertainment; but as yet in a very desultory fashion, while they scratched their heads, cleaned their ears and chewed betel, because nobody was ready to pay full attention. Very shortly, however, the orchestra came to life in a harmonious concert. Within the circular frames of two big harmonicums, about two to three feet high and four to five feet in diameter, sat the master players. The *kyi-waing* master was surrounded by a row of graduated gongs strung along the inside of the harmonicum, which he struck with a knobbed stick in quick melody. The *saing-waing* master produced a thinner strain from his graduated drums which he struck with the flat of his fingers. Between the two sat a *hnè* player, blowing loudly his clarionet which had a wide bell-shaped mouth; the *pulwaу* master played lively dancing notes on his flute; a gentle looking youth

kept rhythm with a pair of brass cymbals; and an energetic youngster banged his split bamboo clapper in the same syncopation. At intervals could be heard the patala player who struck melodiously with two bamboo sticks on thin slats of bamboo laid side by side on the strings of a long narrow box which dipped in the centre and ascended at the ends. 545 534

While the orchestra thus practised and played and the clowns talked half-heartedly and the people streamed in, one of the subsidiary dancing girls was carrying out her toilet at the left rear of the stage, with a mirror propped against a box and in full view of the audience. The dancer's dress is an adaptation of the formal Burmese court dress, the adaptations being in the direction of making it more coquettish and frivolous. The basque of the tight-fitting silk jacket is stiffened with bamboo wire in the seams and hems to make it curve up like wings from waist and hips; the unseamed skirt which is folded over tightly and pinned down on one side with only a knee-high slit to allow dancing movements is held in place by a belt with a big ornate buckle, whereas a woman of dignified movements should be able to keep her longyi up with only a deft twist—hence the expression "*htamein ma-naing, pasa ma-naing:* no mastery of skirt, no mastery of scarf" as a description of a slovenly woman; the hair is in a cylindrical woman's sadone with a floating side-tress, but part of it also hangs down in a fringe all around after the fashion of a girl in her early teens, and the whole cylinder is covered with sprigs of flowers; the face is painted chalk white by the addition of a cosmetic containing lead to the thanakha, the favourite brand being called in Burmese "*B Nga Lon:* Five B's", with the parenthetic explanation in English: "Burma Brand Burmese Belle's Beautifier"; a gauzy scarf and a fan set off the young dancing lady, but, unfortunately, her small and lively feet are encased in white cotton socks in order to provide a whiter effect than the Five B's can do.

By the time her toilet is done, the audience is already seated, the clowns are getting bored and begin to shout for her with mock honorifics. The dancer comes out with a wooden face and lackadaisical air, makes obeisance to the audience and to the basinful of offerings, and then sits with her knees tucked under her, presenting to the crowd a winged back of perfect indifference. The clowns now launch into a description of her person, talents and reputation with mock rhapsodies and many bawdy puns. Then they formally call on her to dance and, just as the audience begins to grow a bit restive, the girl rises, turns around and gives one quick short dance. From now on the programme can go ahead with a swing. Jokes, antics, songs, dances and repartee follow in fast succession, with the orchestra accompanying. After an hour the next girl takes the stage, followed at about 10 p.m. by the chief dancer, 545

1: Mi Mi Khaing I-5 (no date) 1946 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

• 545 according to the universal rule in Burmese entertainment that the best hit is worth waiting for and must be reserved to the last.

All this while, the dancing girl—the minthami—is a most delightful creature, fascinating by the combination of wanton behaviour with the stiff and formal dress which makes a flat and angular doll of her, being open to the most lewd jokes by the clowns while she protests a chaste morality in reply to their quips. She hits the clowns with her fan, claps her hands and stamps her feet, plays with her scarf and rearranges her dress with great care, disregarding the audience altogether, asks for a cigarette or a drink of water when she wants it, gets a Burmese powder puff passed to her after an energetic dance and the clowns to fan her with mock earnestness and many jokes about her sweating, lets her eye rove among the audience until it has lighted on the football or

rowing hero of the hour, and gets teased with him throughout the evening. These dancing girls considered it a feather in their cap to be known as a favourite of the University students, and many of them adopted titles conferred on them for successful performances at the colleges. Academic titles were invested with glamour through being in Pāli or in English—*Weiksa Mè, Uni-barsity Mya Than Kyi, Tegatho Thein Tin, Colleik Sein*: Graduate Damsel, University Mya Than Kyi, Taxila Thein Tin and College Sein, a zat dancer of more status.

545 522 The jokes of the clowns were mostly based on pornographic punning, in their sallies with the dancer, in descriptions of current events such as

elections, pagoda festivals, the football match which has just been won, or an Indian film which is being advertised, and on mispronunciations of English words to give them a bawdy meaning. In fact, they were amusing in the way of good music hall gags, but in an anyein the clowns needed more native wit and quickness, for not only did they extemporize by quips at the audience, exercising their fancy at a dog that howled or a foreigner sitting in the back rows, but the audience itself was free to join in and challenge their sharpness. 545 522

The songs sung, however, were not vulgar songs; they were pretty or serious and were mostly written specially in honour of the occasion. No matter what the reason for the staging of the anyein, the song-writers did not find accurate description an impediment to their poetic fancy, fitting details of the time, place and sponsors to rhyme and rhythm. When an Anglo-Burman student and I won State scholarships in 1937, Inya Hall, the residential hall for women, held an anyein, and the song of the evening had a refrain which repeated: *"Mi Mi yè, Kathleen yè, Ah-kya buè:* Oh Mi Mi, Oh Kathleen, how much to be admired and emulated!" Unfortunately, by the time I returned home the tune had been fitted to more popular words and I never learnt the original version, but I do remember the song written as an accompaniment for the dance of Ma Ohn, a talented student from Mandalay, who took part as representative performer of the University in an entertainment given for the funds of the National Girls' School. The words show the characteristic happy mixture of song and description: 545 539

Yatanadon Man Shwe Myo thu,
Thabaw kaung hnin say-da-na hpyu
Varsity nan myi yu
Kyaung-gyi colleik thu.
A-hok ko bin thabaw tu,
Ta-gè ko bin manaw hpyu
Myoma kyaung a-hlu
Waing wun ka-pa-ku.
Yanden ngway ko say-da-ra hta ya
Way-bya myat kyi hpyu
Asayo thami Boddha ba-tha
Taing ee ee sa hpyu
Aung lan ta lu lu
Nameik kaung thabaw hmat yu,
Myoma kyaung a twet—hsaung yoet lo ku
hsaung yoet lo ku
Pyo pya Ohn ko Shwe Daing Nyun ga thachin yay pay tè thu.

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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are cast off and tethered up, the mats and bedding spread out below the cart in readiness against bed-time. Then our party breaks up to seek friends in the crowd; the girls taking off their travelling-dress and putting on their finest tameins, an operation which it would puzzle English women to do in public with equally scanty raiment and equal modesty. But they do it deftly; and, after touching up their complexion with a little fragrant thana'kha, are off, followed shortly by their brothers, who, in the absence of a looking-glass, have some difficulty in winding on their turbans to their liking. However, that is eventually done, and the remaining hours of daylight are spent in pleasant talk with friends, and wanderings through the shrub-growth and tall grass which cover the spur, at the end of which is the pagoda. The little tank, a brick-built pond, which lies at the foot of the hollow, falling away from the monastery, is a great rendezvous, and many of the older people climb the slope to have some talk with the abbot. 796

At nightfall there is a general gathering in the cleared space where the stage for the puppet-play is erected. The monks of the kyaung are not Sulagandis, and do not prohibit the acting of a play so near to the sacred precincts. Besides, it is the Wethandaya Wuttu, one of the ten greatest birth-stories; and there is a troupe of famous manipulators from Rangoon. The marionette play is more esteemed by the people than the legitimate drama, and it is more suited to the neighbourhood of the relic-shrine. Nevertheless, a zat-pwè, got up by the amateur actors and actresses of the village of San-gyi-wa, a mile back on the road, is also well patronised, so that all tastes are consulted. 796 545

The people sit round about in a dense crowd, smoking and chewing betel, many of the young men strolling about and flirting in the impromptu bazaar which some business-like girls have started. This goes on till daylight, the audience alternately sleeping and looking on and applauding. At early dawn, the offerings are made to the yahans, and all crowd to the shrine to recite their sentences in praise of the Lord Buddha. After breakfast there is more gossip and conversation with friends. A few of the old people listen to the reading and expounding of the Law by 796

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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when they attend a similar assemblage at Htun Aung's house at the other end of the village. 574 527

But after an hour or so they settle down to do a little work. The young men—kālathas, they call themselves—"Corinthians, lads of mettle"—have brought with them a number of wooden mortars, with a heavy pestle working on a lever; and these they set up and commence to husk the rice. The process is very simple. A few handfuls of the paddy are thrown into the mortar, the workers step off and on the lever which raises and lets fall the solid wooden pestle, and the husk is every now and then blown out and the grain stirred up a little. The Burmans infinitely prefer rice husked in the national way to that which is sent out from the European steam-mills. The big Derbyshire or composite stones do their work only too effectually; they take off not only the hard shell, but also the inner cuticle of the grain, which contains the chief flavour; and, moreover, the heat which the steady grinding induces, scorches out a great deal of what taste remains. Therefore at every house there is to be found the primitive national apparatus in which the girls of the household every morning or evening prepare the rice for the day's consumption. But to-night they are relieved from such hard work. The village youths for once in a way exert themselves; and all the girls have to do is to wash out a few dishes and prepare the bamboo-lacquered platters, the pyramidal ôk, in which the tamanè is to be carried to the yahans and the pagoda to-morrow, and get ready the palm-leaves in which less exalted people will receive their modicum of the stew. The whole actual work might be finished in little over an hour, but that is the intention neither of the giver of alms nor of the assembled young men and maidens. They have come much more for merriment than for merit. Else why that great pile of le'hpet? For the condiment is an anti-soporific, and if you take enough of it, you will be able to see all through a forty-eight hours' play, and give your friends an outline of the plot before you lapse into a slumber lasting twice round the clock. 527 252 527 263

Accordingly, after a quarter of an hour's work, the "prince" of the local amateur dramatic company jumps off his perch, and commences the "White Dove" song from the 545

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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●545 Zawtagômma melodrama, which the old sayā at Pegu has just brought out, and which is having a tremendous run all through the low country. The song is about the Saddan mere, the lake of the Lord White Elephant, where golden lotuses flower perpetually, where the gorgeous yin-dwin bird sails on the silvery waters, great butterflies flap about with painted wings and sip the nectar of the fabled jasmine, and peacocks stalk proudly on the jewelled margin, while around
522 roam elephants white, red, and black in happy security. The singer has hardly finished when the lu-byet, the village jester, breaks in with a travesty of the whole thing, mocking at the tremolos and the lofty style, and taking off the peculiarities of the singer. He went out to a lake too, and launched a canoe on it, but he was capsized by a huge creature that came up from below; and then he found that he had got into a slimy buffalo wallow, out of which he only escaped after great peril from the horns of its three outraged owners, who butted him under the surface many times; and at last, when he crawled out, he was so brown and dirty that some passers-by took him for a hermit, and gave him some rotten
522 plantains in alms. Before the "prince" has time to show
593 any bad temper, a girl commences a coquettish ditty, somewhat after the fashion of the English "Paddle my own canoe," about a poor wife whose husband comes home and storms and growls and abuses because there is no rice ready cooked, softens down when he has crammed himself with curry and rice, but breaks out into grumbling again at night because his wife cries and will not go to sleep. Such tyranny the young lady declares she will never expose herself to, or
533 at any rate "she'll be no submissive wife." Then there are a
832 few love-songs, wherein the girls are compared with the maids of the palace in Mandalay, and the Mandalay girls generally (who are *ex officio* pretty) with the daughters of nats, with Madi, the model wife of Wethandaya (the prince who in his next existence became the Lord Buddha), with flowers and stars and gems, and whatever similes lovers all the world over are in the habit of making. The swaying of the body as they walk, the turning in of the elbows, the fragrant powder on their cheeks and necks, and a few other items which would not commend themselves to a Western admirer,

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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CHAPTER XXIX

PLAYS

● 545 THERE is no nation on the face of the earth so fond of theatrical representations as the Burmese. Probably there is not a man, otherwise than a cripple, in the country who has not at some period of his life been himself an actor, either in the drama or in a marionette show; if not in either of these, certainly in a chorus dance. It would be wrong to say that there is no other amusement in the country, but it is indisputable that every other amusement ends up with a dramatic performance. When a Burman is born there is a pwè; when he is named there is a pwè; when a girl's ears are bored; when the youth enters the monastery; when he comes out again; when he marries; when he divorces; when he makes a lucky speculation; when he sets up a water-pot; builds a bridge; digs a tank; establishes a monastery; dedicates a pagoda, or accomplishes any other work of merit; when there is a boat or horse race; a buffalo or cock fight; a boxing match, or the letting loose of a fire-balloon; a great haul of fish, or the building of a new house; when the nurseries are sown down, or the rice garnered in; whenever in fact anything at all is done, there is a theatrical representation. Finally, there is a pwè, as grand as his friends can make it, when the Burman dies.

The plays are always given in the open air, and any one that pleases may come and look at them, and stay as long as he likes without paying, or being expected to pay, a single pice towards the expense of the performance. A large shed has indeed been erected in Rangoon, nightly performances take place, regular troupes are engaged fo-

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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a definite period, and money is charged for admission; but 545 ●
the idea is an English one, and opposed as it is to ancient custom and the old free attractions elsewhere, meets with barely enough support to keep it going. The giver of the pwè simply constructs a small roofed enclosure for himself, if the pwè is held on open ground, and fits it up with a bedstead covered with mats as a kind of private box, with a few chairs and plentiful mats round about it. To this reserved space he invites a few of his most intimate friends, sending them the ordinary little palm-leaf packet of pickled tea by the hands of his daughters or sisters. All other places in the circle are open to the first comer, and when a pwè is announced, women may be seen early in the afternoon strolling down, with rolls of mats on their heads, to secure good places. Abundance of refreshments and materials for smoking are taken, for it will be sunrise before the play is over. The commonest place for a pwè, however, is in the street opposite to the giver's house. All traffic is [342]
unceremoniously stopped. There is nothing to be done but to hoist up the hinged front wall of your house, or throw open the windows and go out on the verandah, if the construction of the building is more solid, and there you are with the theatre come to your doors. There is no trouble with the stage. A circular space is covered with mats and
it is all ready. This is called the pwè-waing. In the centre 536
is a branch of a tree, or the stem of a plantain palm stuck in the ground, which goes by the name of the pan-bin. Yule and others have endeavoured to discover some forgotten meaning for this centre of action, comparing it with the altar of the old Greek stage, but probably it never had any greater significance than to mark the centre of the arena and prevent the audience from crowding in too much so as to curtail the space. The actors when questioned about it always say that it is there to represent a forest, such as forms part of the scene of action in every play. This of course is merely an answer, and not an explanation. Europeans of an inquiring turn are apt to complain of this Burmese (and Scotch) method of supplying information. Why such a phantom attempt at representing a forest should be made, when no effort aims at portraying the

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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English rule and civilisation, but in one sense it is true. In Upper Burma every one is taught in the monasteries, and having no other relief from Pali doxologies, becomes saturated with the phraseology and ideas of the zāts. Thus, from the theatrical point of view, the Mandalay youth starts with a distinct advantage over the Lower Burman who potters away in lay and elementary Government schools over addition and multiplication and the sterilities of the First Reader. To qualify for the first ranks, therefore, the ambitious Peguer starts for the Royal City of Gems, practises as much as he can there, and watches the most celebrated players. Then, after a time, he obtains an engagement, and turns up in Rangoon as a quasi anya tha. The stage managers, usually old actors who have made some money and are inclined to take their ease, go up to Mandalay during the rains, when comparatively little is doing, the wet, combined with the four months of Lent, making pwès few and far between. There they cast about and get together a company, entering into a written engagement with the actors, male and female, for the season, which lasts about seven months, from Ta'saungmôn to Nayôn (roughly, November to May). The manager makes all arrangements, and usually takes up his headquarters in some town or large village whence he can easily move to the surrounding places where the company may be wanted. The salaries paid are very good. A first-class prince or princess commands from 800 to 1000 rupees for the season. A good lubyet, or jester, will get five or six hundred. After these come the actors who take such parts as the king or the maids of honour. The dancers, that is to say, those who simply dance and do no more, get about sixty rupees; the saingthama, the musicians, receive forty. The company have not more than two or three rehearsals together before they commence their tour, but this does not matter much, because every one knows his part well, and the cue is not a matter of supreme importance. The zat-ôk (the manager) draws all the money from the performances. As much as 450 rupees have been paid for a two-night performance. This, however, was exceptional, and it was a marionette play with the great Maung Tha Byaw in the prince's part. Very few people

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2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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could afford so much as this. The best engagements are those known as ahlu pwè, given by a rich man in celebration of some religious festival, or to commemorate some event in his family, such as the donning by his son of the yellow robes of the monastery. The elders of the village, or the custodians of the pagoda, often collect money for the performance of some of the religious zāts, depicting avatars of the Lord Buddha. Then there are subscription pwès, where some energetic lover of the drama suggests the propriety of a play to the inhabitants of the village, or of a street in the town. He goes round gathering subscriptions, and then negotiates with the zat-ôk for as many nights as the manager is inclined to give for the money. This system has unfortunately led to abuses. Sharp individuals have discovered the possibility of collecting three or four hundred rupees among the people, paying the manager two hundred out of this, and keeping the rest for themselves. The dodge has been too often tried in Rangoon, but in the smaller towns it is still practicable, and is far too often carried out. Besides these performances by accredited companies, there are others called kyigyin pwè, given by professionals anxious to make a name for themselves, and for this purpose giving gratuitous exhibitions. These are naturally very uneven from the difficulty of getting a complete company together. But in all cases the vast majority of the spectators pay nothing at all. The guests invited by packets of le'hpet usually contribute a rupee or two towards the expenses of their host, but otherwise the entire cost is defrayed by him.

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The pwè is begun by the arrival of the band, which, with characteristic Burmese disregard of the value of time, ordinarily comes upon the scene several hours before the actual commencement of operations. They occupy one side of the stage, and tune up their saing and play away vigorously while the people gather. The zatthama and zatthamā, the male and female artistes, drop in casually along with the spectators. Each is ordinarily accompanied by a servant to carry their dresses and help them in robing. All of them, women as well as men, make their preparations in full view of everybody. Each lady has a toilette-box with all the necessaries for making up. Many are the hints the village

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maidens receive in the way of touching up eyebrows, artfully swelling out the sadôn with false locks of hair, intertwining the raven tresses with red and white fragrant flowers, toning the complexion with thana'ka, and so on. The young men look on critically while the princess scans herself in the little hand-mirror and tranquilly completes the touching-up and other feminine mysteries so little dreamed of by ordinary European swains. No one has the slightest appearance of recognising the ludicrousness of the thing, or of deprecating the exposure of little female wiles and vanities. The zat-thamā wears her acting skirt indeed when she arrives, but everything else—the tight-fitting lace jacket, the stiff brocaded wings, the jewellery, the pagoda-like crown—is put on by the side of the stage at the bamboo rack which supports the masks and necessary changes of dress. The audience either looks on with stolid earnestness, or takes no notice whatever.

Finally, having smoked all through the toilette, the princess and the maids of honour quietly seat themselves—squat would be more accurate, but does not sound nice—at the edge of the pwè-waing, and continue to smoke till everything is ready and their call comes. Then they simply stand up and are on the stage immediately. They do not cease smoking then, except during a long song. The men are equally calm. The king chews betel and salivates copiously between observations or speeches, but in so doing he can only be said to be the more realistic. Incidental ballets are introduced to relieve the monotony of the dialogue, and the maids of honour and the clowns perform wonderful feats of winding themselves about as if they had no bones, picking up coins with the mouth bent back to the ground, doubling themselves up so that the toes touch the forehead, and so on.

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Sometimes there are great fights at these pwès. A young man has got surly because there is such a crowd that he can see nothing of what is going on, and runs up against another equally inclined to quarrel for the same reason. Or perhaps he is angry because some one has supplanted him in a flirtation with one of the girls who have established a temporary bazaar in the outskirts of the crowd. Or there may be a dispute as to the ownership of a mat. There are a few loud words; a woman's voice joins in. Next minute

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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the two are smashing away at one another with their long hair streaming over their faces and down their shoulders. Friends join in, and almost before you can realise what has happened, the actors disappear, the women and children run off home, and the street is filled with an excited crowd of men swaying backwards and forwards, and fighting promiscuously. For this reason pwès are now never allowed in towns without permission from the civil authority, and numbers of policemen are always at hand to nip any riot in the bud. With the same object performances are only allowed in large towns about the time of the full moon, when there is abundance of light, in case the street lamps should be put out. The worst row of the kind I ever saw, however, was started by two of the Burman policemen themselves. They quarrelled about the merits of two apyodaws, talented *danseuses*, and the crowd, relishing the absurdity of the thing, backed up the quarrel with such energy that broken heads were plentiful and a ward in the infirmary was filled.

Foreigners very often make the mistake of taking the performances of children's companies to be actual zāt plays. Even Captain Forbes, usually so accurate, falls into this error in speaking of a representation of the Wethandaya zāt. This must simply have been a yein, an adaptation of the great drama for performance by the little choral dancers. For people who do not understand Burmese well—among whom, of course, the late Captain Forbes was certainly not to be included—the mistake is very easy. They are far prettier to look at, and much preferable in every way to the actual text of the birth-story, mainly because they are not so dismally drawn out, and can ordinarily be got through in an evening.

The dramas are all founded on the tales which Shin Gautama told of five hundred and ten of his previous existences, or on events in the lives of kings and heroes in India. None of them are original. The story in every instance is taken from the Hindoo, the adapter in most cases not even taking the trouble to nationalise the names of places and characters. It is only in the extemporising of the clown that anything really characteristic comes out. The Hindoo sense of humour is vastly inferior to the

29: Slater M-4 (no date) 1951 AP1 Burma
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Old men will retire to the monastery to end their days there, and younger men, in poverty or other distress, will flee the world for a time. The hospitality of the monks has sometimes been more charitable than discriminate, a circumstances which has brought some monasteries into disrepute, for these temporary inhabitants are allowed to wear the yellow robe, and some are criminals, sheltering from justice. Father Sangermano reports the rescue of prisoners condemned to death. "In thus saving the lives of criminals, (the monks) believe that, as their law forbids them to kill, it must be meritorious to preserve the lives of others."[34] 792 737 672

The monastery is the social centre of the village. Buddhism in Burma is gaily attired, a religion of festival. Frequently there will be an open-air performance in the moonlight, when a birth-story of the Buddha is dramatized. All this spirited, colourful life gathers around the monastery. 792 621 [545]

But perhaps the Order's most valuable service to the community is the function fulfilled by the monk as *counsellor*. A group of villagers may gather for a special instruction, others may attend when the monks assemble for devotions, but the monastery is not regarded as a preaching centre or as a place of public worship. In modern times, crowds have flocked to hear the Monyin Sayadaw. Generally, however, the approach in this respect is individual. It is as the individual adviser of each villager that the monk's influence is most strongly felt. 626 793

In many and tangible ways, therefore, the monastery serves the community, but it is probable that the villager himself reveres the monk more for services which are intangible and may not appear so valuable to sceptical observers. Early in the morning, the monk, attended by *koyins*, will go the round of the faithful, receiving their offerings of rice in his begging bowl.[35] For the monk himself it is an exercise in humility, for the villager it is one of the chief means of increasing that *kutho* or worthiness which ensures him happiness in this life and the next.[36] 792 735 782

Most of all, however, it is those very aspects of the monk's vocation which distinguish him from the rest of the community, setting him apart, for which the monk is chiefly esteemed. It is because the greater part of his life is spent in spiritual exercises which the villagers do *not* share, that they value him most. The monastery stands for a Way of utter renun- 792 *779

[34] *The Burmese Empire*, 3d. Edition, ed. J. Jardine, (London, 1895), chap. xv, p. 122.

[35] Thus *bhikku or bhikpu*, usually translated monk, means, literally, mendicant. Strictly speaking, a *bhikku* is not a monk; cf. Rhys Davids, *Dialogues of the Buddha*, Part II (S.B.B.), p. 81, footnote.

[36] *Kutho* is frequently translated 'merit.' But 'worthiness' is more accurate.

441 563 semi-precious stones, or gold dust, all cut with many tiny facets. We once had in our house a heavy glass vase, imported by an English firm, of a dull bluish-black colour. One day a wind mercifully blew the vase on to the floor where it broke into a hundred pieces. My cousin gathered up the pieces and the next time she went to Mandalay her button cutter fashioned them into several sets of round sparkling buttons catching the light and showing now black, now grey, now blue, one set of which I wear to this day. These and the velvet slippers which are universally worn were sold in the market by young Burmese women sitting opposite the tha-yet-htè longyi sellers. The slippers also came from Mandalay, and in the days of the last Burmese king, the common people were forbidden to wear them; they were reserved for royal use alone.

[438 565]

265 563 At last my sisters considered that I was suitably dressed as the elder sister of such fashionable young ladies as they had now grown into, and equipped to attend any social function of the town. Although Burmese people love gathering to eat and drink, hotels and restaurants did not exist in Rangoon society. Both the Western restaurants where people danced and drank alcoholic drinks, and the leading Chinese restaurants where the dolled-up Chinese waitresses served the male customers with playful attentions, were out of bounds for Burmese women, and therefore not greatly frequented by Burmese men either, except in the case of the Chinese hotels as a carousal. Night bazaars were, however, eminently respectable, all Rangoon families being addicted to the habit of eating out as a supper after their dinner at home. They drove in cars to the pavement stalls of Chinatown, Moghul Street and Yegyaw; at Burmese stalls they got out and squatted on the benches provided, while the seller served them from the cooking pot beside her; at Indian and Chinese shops they had a plank thrust through to rest on the doors of the car, and ate sitting there. After eating rich Mohammedan food or delicious Chinese dishes, they drove a few streets further on to eat in the same fashion at an ice-cream or sherbet stall. It was a good life indeed.

546 177. 54 We usually did this after the cinema. While we went to see American films, my mother and her friends invariably went to a Burmese film. There were four Burmese cinema halls in Rangoon, whose box offices were always besieged, but in spite of this the cinema industry in Burma was not a thriving one. Actors and actresses were poor and suffered a social stigma. About twenty-five feature films were produced in Rangoon each year, both sound and silent, by companies whose prosperity never lasted more than a few years. They could often be seen filming their outdoor scenes round the Royal Lakes, the University Estate and the fields around Mingaladon, using studios only for indoor scenes. In pite of this, the effects aimed at were ambitious, especially in the earlier

days when the themes were from mythology and legend rather than modern streets, thus necessitating flights through the air, chariots in the clouds, magical transformations, magnificences of palaces and celestial gardens lighted by the moon. Now the films go in largely for themes of real life, but unlike Western films, the actors and actresses still do not set the standard for everyday dress and behaviour. A cinema actress, even when playing the part of a girl of most respectable parents, was rendered attractive by touches which in real life were considered by my mother to be suggestive of loose behaviour—her hair was overdecked with flowers, her garments had floral designs, her forehead was bordered with a fringe, and the neck of her jacket fitted loosely. On the screen, however, my mother and aunts watched this enthralled. They liked also the way that love was shown, concentrating on sentimentality rather than sex. There was no kissing or attracting attention to the body, but oh the pining, the sighing, the stamping of feet, the coyness and the moonlight gazing of Burmese cinema heroines. No wonder that aunts who once in a long while accompanied us to an American film, looked all around during the passionate kissing scenes, with scrutiny of our reaction to such displays of what should not be admitted to exist. 546 177. 54

If the Burmese cinema failed to draw the crowd of young English-speaking men and women away from the Hollywood films, Burmese rendering of jazz conquered them completely and gave them no acquaintance with the originals from America and England. There was a body of modern songs in the true Burmese style which, unlike the old classical songs, could be sung with ease by the untrained voice, but despite this Burma did not escape the craze which has grown up in all countries of the Far East for snatching up tunes written in America and England and putting them to words in the native tongue. Still, Burmans of fastidious taste might object to the lack of music in the tunes, rather than to the words of these popular songs, for the Burmese words are never so execrable as the original English compositions; often there is real wit, poetic brevity, and even philosophic comment. The technique was to take the refrain of a Western jazz tune as the repetitive theme, with a slight alteration in the rhythm, and to embroider this extensively with a slapdash quality of Burmese turns of melody. The theme of the Burmese version probably bore no relation to that of the original. For example, the sickly account of a romantic meeting in the Isle of Capri was converted into a satirical skit on the Rangoon fashion of giving garden tea-parties in the English manner. Whereas the Burmese custom at weddings and other celebrations in the country towns was to invite townspeople to a full meal, with the feasting of monks and the distribution of gifts, the Yangonthu had taken to employing the catering services of Western-style restaurants 533 177. 54

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25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

153. THE CHALLENGE (see p. 177).

the young wife's home, the lad working for her parents. 591 As family comes and other daughters marry, the elder pairs are established in houses of their own. Married people are designated *ein-daung*—householders. Marriage 581 makes no difference in the names and their prefixes. 592 Everyone marries in Burma; the census of 1891 gave 551 1,306,722 husbands to 1,307,292 wives. The same census 162 gave 102 females to 100 males of the Burman (so classed [548] as Buddhist) population. (In Burma prostitution is confined to the large towns.) [524]

A family of seven is considered large. The average 592 number of house-occupants is 5.5. The cost of living of a Burman village household is 100 to 200 Rs. a year. In 511 the towns the well-to-do spend 600 to 1000 Rs. and more; 357 and at the present day keep a servant or two for the 556 rough work, generally natives of India. Such accumulations of wealth as are made by individuals in India and other countries with a plutocracy and a proletariate are not paralleled among the Burmans. Nevertheless individuals amass tens of thousands of rupees, which for the most part they spend on works of religious merit. Monogamy is the received and almost universal practice in Burma. Second-wives are taken by a proportion of the officials and men of wealth. Hence it comes that the Burmans wonder more at the moderation of Europeans than at such license as they indulge. This license is not nearly so great as in India, but it is more open, corresponding to the higher status of the women of Burma, and thus it provokes more scandal in comparison. Unions of this sort among the Burmans are merely by mutual consent. A separate establishment in a different quarter of the town is maintained for the second wife or concubine (*maya-ngè*). Her children are under no disability, but she is not acknowledged by the first, and generally older, wife (*mayaji*), whose husband's love she is said to have stolen.

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154. AN "ORIGINAL."

Such schools, both for boys and girls, were set up in the big towns, Rangoon, Mandalay, Moulmein, Maymyo, Toungoo, etc. Most of them were mission or religious schools, aided by the government and by the diocese or a religious mission.

Very few Burmans at that time sent daughters to such schools, though sons were sent commonly enough, and the distinctions made against the stray natives who entered the rolls began from the moment of entry. The diocesan schools insisted on our adopting English Christian and surnames, from an aversion to including heathen names on their registers. Burman Buddhist were thus transformed into orthodox Christian names: Sir Htoon Aung Gyaw and his brothers became a family of Thompsons, Sir Paw Tun was happily converted into Potter, and my brother U Sett Kaing, with less relevance, became Robert Downs. Thus many distinguished Burmans spent years under these assumed names. The Roman Catholic schools were kinder. They merely required us to adopt a system of first name and surname, which does not exist among Burmans, and wished us to pick a Christian first name so that the nuns could pronounce it easily. Thus we got Kathleen Maung, Grace Nee, Sarah Tin Gyi, the daughters of U Maung Maung, U Nee and U Tin Gyi. My own name Mi Mi Khaing was brought into line as Mamie Kaing.

We went to a Roman Catholic convent where the nuns made no attacks on Buddhism and no attempts to proselytise us—despite which I became attracted to their religion for a few years—but with sincere conviction and fervour they condemned everything else in us that was different from the great mass of Anglo-Burmans who filled the school. A good proportion of these children were the children of Englishmen who, not having entered into a legal marriage with the Burmese mothers, had now left mother and child with a sum of money which the kind nuns stretched to cover as much schooling as was possible. These and other Anglo-Burman children were encouraged to swank over us with childish cruelty about our darker skins, flat noses, and uncurling hair. They did this to such an extent that many of us in our minority and our helpless misery, branded our distinguished parents as being "half Burmese and half English", in order to gain their good opinion. We were told that Burmese food was stinking, that the use of oil for the hair was dirty and insanitary, and when young sisters ran after their elder ones calling Ma Ma, Elder Sister, all the children hooted with laughter. No wonder that my sister Mya Mya during her first weeks at school would sit by the gate, evening after evening, singing mournfully:

May May yay-ay
La pa taw
Kyi-gan ta-maw maw.

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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The name given thus[1] appears to be entirely a matter of choice; but this is not so. The consonants of the language are divided into groups which are assigned to the days of the week, Sunday having all the vowels to itself. With all respectable families it is an invariable rule that the child's name must begin with one of the letters belonging to the day on which it was born, but within these limits any name may be chosen. As an immediate consequence it follows that a Burman has a birthday every week, a frequency of recurrence which renders the event monotonous, and precludes the friendly amenities of western nations on such occasions.

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The letters of the alphabet are apportioned to the days of the week in the following rough rhyme, which every Burman child can repeat with as much certainty as the English one will display in the recitation of Little Jack Horner:—

Ka, kha, ga, gha, nga, Taninla.
Sa, hsa, za, zha, nya, Ainga.
Ta, hta, da, dha, na, Sané.
Pa, hpa, ba, bha, ma, Kya-thabadé.
La, wa, Boddahu.
Ya, ya (the Pali and Arakanese ra), Yahu.
Tha, ha, Thauk-kya.
A, Taninganwé.

That is to say, children born on Monday have for the initial letter of their names, K, Kh, G, Gh, or Ng; for example—Maung, Ngwe Khaing, Mr. Silver Sprig; Maung Gauk, Mr. Crooked; Ma Kwe Yo, Miss or Mrs. Dog's Bone; Ma Khin, Miss or Mrs. Lovable. It will be noticed that in Miss Dog's Bone's names the initial letters of the two words do not agree as to the day. This often occurs, and the first name (Maung and Ma being merely honorary additions) always denotes the birthday. The better class families avoid such a mixing, however, as far as possible.

Tuesday's children have the choice of S or S aspirated (practically the same), Z, Zh, and Ny. For example:—Maung San Nyun, Mr. Beyond Comparison; Maung Po Sin, Mr. Grandfather Elephant; Ma So, Miss or Mrs. Naughty.

[1] [Cf. category 553, p. 3 -- ANALYST]

Z:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

Those born on Saturday have T, Ht, D, Dh, and N. The aspirated and unaspirated letters have to most Englishmen precisely the same sound, though a practised ear detects the difference immediately. Examples are:—Maung Ba Tu, Mr. Like His Father; Ma Ne Htun, Miss or Mrs. Sunshine; Maung Du Wun, Mr. Pole Star; Mi Nu, Miss Tender.

Those born on Thursday select from P, Hp, B, Hb, and M. For example:—U Po Mya, Old Grandfather Emerald; Maung Bo Gale, Mr. Little Officer; Ma Hmwe, Miss or Mrs. Fragrant; Mi Meit, Miss Affection.

Wednesday has L and W. Examples:—Maung Ho, Mr. Yonder; Ma Waing Hla, Miss or Mrs. All-Round Pretty; Ma Hein, Miss or Mrs. Growler.

From noon till midnight on Wednesday is represented as a special day, or, at any rate, under a special constellation called Yahu, and those born between those hours have the alternative of the two Y's, one of which is sounded R in Pali and by the Arakanese. Examples are:—Maung Yo, Mr. Honesty; Ma Yôn, Miss or Mrs. Rabbit, U Yauk, Old Individual. [194] [184]

Friday has Th and H. Examples:—Maung Than, Mr. Million; Maung Thet She, Mr. Long Life; Ma Thin, Miss or Mrs. Learned; Mè Thaw, (old) Mrs. Noisy.

A is the only letter assigned to Sunday, but the combination with it of the symbol of any other vowel changes it to the sound of that vowel. For example:—Maung Ôn, Mr. Cocoa-nut; Maung At Ni, Mr. Red Needle; Ma E, Miss Cold; Ma Eing Saung, Mrs. Housekeeper; U O, Old Pot.

A common popular belief is, that, according to the day of the week (or rather the constellation representing that day) on which a man is born, so will his character be. Thus a man's name discloses his probable characteristics to the superstitious. 828 551 787

A man born on Monday will be jealous; on Tuesday, honest; on Wednesday, short-tempered, but soon calm again, the characteristic being intensified under Yahu; on Thursday, mild; on Friday, talkative; on Saturday, hot-tempered and quarrelsome; on Sunday, parsimonious.

Not only has every day its special character and its fixed

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

Not only has every day its special character and its fine letters, but there is also a particular animal assigned to symbolise it, and red or yellow wax candles are made in the forms of these animals to be offered at the Pagoda by the pious. Each worshipper offers the creature-candle representing his birthday, or that of any particular friend or relation whom he wishes well. In this way Monday is represented by a tiger; Tuesday, by a lion; Wednesday, by an elephant with tusks; Yahu, by an elephant without tusks; Thursday, by a rat; Friday, by a guinea-pig; Saturday, by a nagā or dragon; Sunday, by a kalôn, the fabulous half-beast, half-bird, which guards one of the terraces of Mount Myinmo (Meru), the centre of the universe.

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Little candles of this kind are to be had at any of the stalls which cluster about the steps and the base of every pagoda in the country, and they are as freely offered as flowers, and fruits, and gold-leaf.

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It will be seen that there is no such thing as a surname among the Burmese. A man may have a dozen sons not one of whom has the same name as his father. Maung, literally "brother," has come to stand practically for "Mister." Po and Shwe and Ba may be applied to any one without regard to his birthday, Shwe implying usually politeness or affection. Nga, used in the English law-courts and by pompous native officials generally, implies superiority claimed by the speaker or writer. Ko denotes friendship, or superior age and dignity in the person addressed. Maung Shwe Than might call himself indifferently—Maung Than, Po Than, Ba Than, Ko Than, Nga Than, or Shwe Than, and might add Maung to any one of these. As a matter of fact most Burmans chop about their name a good deal during their lives. He may begin by being called Lugale Ngè, "Little Wee Man." When he grows up a little the family probably get to call him Lugale Gyi, "Big Little Man." Later, when he begins to think of his appearance and look after the girls—and they begin that sort of thing very early in Burma—he probably calls himself Maung Lugale or Shwe Lugale, "Mr. Littleman," or "Mr. Boy," or "Golden Boy." There are a variety of other changes possible and likely. Finally, when he reaches the age of thirty-five or forty he either readopts the original Ngè and calls himself

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2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

U Ngè, "Old Small" or "Old Wee"; or takes U Lugale instead, "Old Boy." To this additions may be made according to fancy. Indeed the possible forms of any given Burmese name would supply a very fair sum in permutations and combinations. 551 553

There is a similar freedom with the women's names. Every woman married or unmarried may be called Ma. When she becomes elderly Mè is very often used. Mi implies youth in the person addressed, or affection on the part of the speaker. A young husband or lover usually calls his lady love Mi Mi. She addresses him as Maung, "brother," or familiarly as Taw, or Shin. Ba in Lower Burma is a polite form. In Upper Burma, especially in the Palace, Maung Maung, or Tin Tin, or Teit Tin (prostrating the forehead, Kowtowing) are used in a courteous way. It is considered hardly civil in any case to use the bare name; the office held, or some particular alms given by the person addressed, supplies the easiest equivalent; otherwise some friendly form is employed in speaking. Kin-le is used similarly in familiar fashion or in a friendly way to those of lesser rank. Thus a prince would use it in addressing an A-pyo-daw, a maid of honour. 554

Sometimes when a boy grows up he does not like the name his parents gave him. He can then change it by a very simple process. He makes up a number of packets of le'-pet and sends round a friend to deliver them to all his acquaintances and relations. The messenger goes to the head of the house and says: "I have come from Maung Shwe Pyin (Mr. Golden Stupid). He is not to be called by that name any more. When you invite him call him Maung Hkyaw Hpe (Mr. Celebrated Father). Be good enough to eat this pickled tea," and then he goes on to the next house. It is not imperative that the letters of the birthday should be adhered to, but it is usually done. Women very seldom change names. It looks too much like a broad hint that they are growing up and have some notion of themselves, or that they have a mind of their own, which might prove irksome to possible husbands. 553

A careful note is made of the exact hour of birth with the object of drawing up the sadā or certificate of birth 787

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

CHAPTER III

BUDDHIST BAPTISM

THE term baptism as applied to a youth who enters a monastery in the state of probation (called shin) is not, as many people think, a mere idle analogy borrowed from the Christian faith. The novice actually and formally receives a new name to mark his accession to the full dignity of humanity. The great majority of shins, or ko-yins, are little boys of twelve or a little older, but occasionally a man secludes himself from the world at an advanced age. Till a Buddhist has entered the fraternity he cannot claim to be more than a mere animal. He has a lu nāmé, it is true, a worldly name, but so might any ox, or horse, or elephant. It is not till he has subjected himself to the discipline of the kyaung that he can reap the fruits of a holy past and look forward to a more glorious future.

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> The devils in the underworlds wear out
> Deeds that were wicked in an age gone by.

Man has less innocence than the animals, and cannot, like them, progress by merely omitting to sin. He may make golden stairways of his weaknesses indeed, but before he can do so he must abandon the world, if it is only for twenty-four hours. Then he becomes an upathaka, a believer, and towards another life will hold the gain as well as answer for the loss in the present one, death casting up the debit or credit.

[912]

> Higher than Indra's ye may lift your lot,
> And sink it lower than the worm or gnat.

In recognition of this new-gained power the novice drops

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2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

517 silks for their wives. The ordinary explanation is that every one can see what clothes you wear, while few people care to come and spy out what kind of a house you live in, and how you fare. But there can be very little doubt that the real reason is a survival of the idea of the old Yāzagaing, as well as the fact that long years of custom have impressed upon everybody the opinion that there are only two forms of architecture, the secular and the ecclesiastical, and no one, no matter how sure he might be that the Government would take no notice of his ambition, would brave the denunciations of the religious by adding a spire to his house, or even adorning the gable ends with carved pinnacles and flamboyant finials of the monasteries. Consequently the one regular form prevails everywhere.

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342 576 The Burman's dwelling, then, is always shaped more or less like a marquee tent, and never more than one storey high, to avoid the humiliating possibility of the feet of some one being over your head. But the whole house stands on posts, so that the floor is seven or eight feet from the ground. It consists often of only one room, usually, however, of two or more, and to the front of the house there is always a verandah, three or four feet lower than the general level of the house, and as often as not quite open to the street, or the garden, or whatever may be in front and always to the sky. The posts which form the main or central part of the house are usually six in number, and all have their names, such as Uyu, Kya-hngan, Nyaung-yan. The south post, in the main part of the house, the Thabye-taing, is the best known, as being always adorned with leaves and particularly marked as that in the top of which most probably lives the nat-spirit of the house. A dead body, after being swathed, and while waiting for the coffin, is always placed by it.

[551] 353 776 [764]

341 787 A house ought never to be built till the foundations have been thoroughly dug up and shown to a soothsayer. He will determine, from the substances found, whether it is a lucky place to build a house in or not. It stands to reason that the building cannot be commenced till a lucky day and hour have been sought out. There is considerable care to be observed in the selection of the timber. Posts are masculine, feminine, and neuter. Male posts are of equal size at both

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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The ceremony of excommunication, thabeit hmauk (literally, inverting the alms-bowl), is sufficiently solemn. The monks gather in a circle round the culprit, and the latter part of the Kammawā, that which is read to drive sickness and evil spirits out of a town, is gravely recited by the abbot, the surrounding brethren responding at the end of each sentence. When it is finished, his yellow robes are taken off him, his alms-bowl is turned mouth downwards, and he is hurried out of the monastery limits. His condition is pitiable. No one may speak to him; no monk will take alms from him; he can neither buy nor sell; he is not allowed even to draw water from a well, or drink from the jars at a wayside zayat. He is as much an outcast as any pagoda slave, and grievous is the penance he must go through before he is once more received into the society even of laymen. It occasionally happens when there is much evil living in a district, or if the people are lax in their religious observances, that the brethren of the kyaung put the neighbourhood under a ban by inverting their alms-bowls, and refusing to go out begging. There is no greater proof of the power of the assembly than the rapidity with which this effects its purpose. The most careless are brought to a sense of their sinfulness in a few days. Such excommunication is, however, more and more rare.

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Before the death of the Lord Buddha, the yahans all addressed one another as awutthaw; but after he had attained the ne'ban of khan-das under the eng-gyin-bin (*Shorea robusta*), a recognition of relative rank was instituted. The inferiors, we are told, called the more advanced in the order, bante, while the juniors were addressed in their turn, by their proper name, or that of their family. In Burma, however, this regulation prevails only to a very slight extent. With the mendicants, as with the royalty, and indeed with the populace at large, it is considered uncivil to mention a person's name in conversation, and his rank, or the kyaung he belongs to, is used instead, or perhaps only the designation of his sacred profession. The laity indiscriminately address all wearers of the yellow robe as payā (lord).

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Similarly the "punishment of Brahma," recommended by the great master to be employed against weaker brethren, is

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From infancy an attempt is made to mold the child's features. The ears are pulled outward and the bridge of the nose is pulled upward to prevent a flat nose. A protuberant, prominent forehead is disliked; to prevent it, people play at bumping foreheads with the child. To elongate its neck the child is held under the chin when lifted up from its bath. After being dressed its limbs are pulled straight and it is wrapped around, to insure straight growth. A baby girl's nipples are squeezed to prevent her having a large bosom.

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Naming. It is believed that one's name can influence the course of life events; therefore the name of a child is chosen with care. Burmese personal names normally consist of monosyllables which are chosen in a rather complex manner. The thirty-three characters of the alphabet are traditionally divided into seven groups, each group corresponding to a given day of the week. The first syllable in a personal name begins with a letter which belongs to the group of letters assigned to the particular day of the week on which the child was born. Another syllable begins with a letter belonging to a day that is considered congenial to the day of birth. There is a tendency for the villagers to follow these rules only for the first syllable of the name. The terms in the name stand for qualities of character, physical beauty, various gems, wealth or prosperity. Boys' names usually denote strength, success or brilliance; while grace, beauty, tenderness and various precious stones are the most common meanings of girls' names. A son is never named syllable for syllable after his father, for this is considered disrespectful and an obstruction to each other's prosperity. There is also a tendency to avoid naming children after deceased relatives. Terms indicating large numbers, such as million, sometimes appear in the names of both sexes.

The name of the child is conferred rather informally by means of a feast to which the family invites relatives and friends in the village. Sometimes written invitations are sent on which the name of the child is announced. The feast takes place at home, where the invited guests bring gifts and may see the child. The only ritualized feature of this event is the washing of the child's hair, always done by an elderly person. This may occur, however, before the arrival of the guests.

Because of the significance and influence attributed to the personal name, it may be changed very readily and informally. If it is felt that ill fortune is in the offing, an announcement may be made in the village of the change of one's name.

Childhood nicknames as well as teknonymy are used in the village, but not to the exclusion of use of the personal name.

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Childhood. The children in Tadagale are generally indulged and their existence is more or less carefree, unencumbered by rigid discipline -- apart from inculcation of respect for elders -- until they are of educational age and considered capable of understanding the moral teachings of Buddhism. A male child is valued religiously, for at an early age he will be initiated into the monkhood as a novice. This brings great religious merit to his parents.

Children are valued for the economic help they render. This varies, of course, with family circumstances. But in the ordinary family of Tadagale, sons and daughters help from the age of nine or ten in tending cattle, getting firewood, and winnowing rice. Children are also looked upon as a kind of social insurance for old age.

14: Brant E-5 (1949-50) 1954 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

The orchestra plays as the initiates depart for the adjoining building to change into ordinary clothes, eat their last meal of the day, and bathe. Some guests now leave; borrowed articles, such as plates, cups and mats are gathered up for return to their owners, and eventually the orchestra departs. 881 796 792

The initiates return to the front of the building in which the ceremony took place. They sit on mats for the shaving of their heads. Two women hold a long piece of white cloth before them to catch the hair as several men proceed to wet their heads and shave them clean with straight razors. [302]

Once more the boys leave to bathe, then return and are seated before the chief monk. Their robes held in their hands before them, they recite prayers, give their robes to the monk, and ask him to dress them properly in the monkish garb.

Their robes donned, they squat before the monk and recite additional prayers, now following very carefully the special intonation appropriate to monks. The ceremony proper is complete. [195]

The following morning, early, a few relatives and close friends go to the monastery. The monks, including the novices, are offered food by them. A monk recites the Five-Fold Path, and then the ceremony of pouring water drop by drop is performed. Names are given the initiates -- special monastic names which they will bear only for the duration of their novitiate. [551]

In former times, and still today in the very remote villages of Burma, an initiate might spend many months, possibly several years, in the monkhood. Sometimes a boy would remain a monk for life. Today in Tadagale, as almost everywhere, initiates spend only a token period of about one week in the monkhood. During this time, they live the austere existence of the order, rising very early, spending long periods in prayer recitals, and abstaining from food after noon until the following morning. The short period of life as a novice is strongly in contrast with the easy-going, carefree childhood days that precede it. Some boys approach the time of their shinbyu with feelings of trepidation, and all are glad when the period spent in the monastery is over and they can return to the much less stern discipline of their parents. 881 792 178

Courtship and Marriage. Young people in the village find ample opportunities to assess each other's manners, physical appearance, and personality, in the company of others at feasts and various gatherings. If a young man and woman are together apart from the company of others, people assume that sex relations are involved. In fact, such going together is spoken of as 'getting married.' Villagers find it hard to conceive of a young unmarried couple associating on a purely friendly, non-sexual basis; such behavior is regarded as contrary to nature. But however much it occurs, unchaperoned association is not approved, much less encouraged. 584 831

Once a pair have decided they want to marry, the boy will inform his parents of his desire. They will already know, in a relatively small village such as Tadagale, something of the standing of the girl's family and of her dowry potentialities; in fact, as soon as they have sensed their son's interest in a particular girl, they will take steps to acquire this information. They will also ascertain whether acceptance by the girl's family is likely. Sometimes the approach to the girl's family is made directly; in other instances a female go-between will be employed. The latter is more likely when the girl's family 584

173 drama. In 1916 I saw a *Nibbatbin* at the obscure town of Pauk.
178 For this period, I am greatly indebted to the notes made by my
536 father. They are the results of inquiries and researches spread over
12 a period of forty or fifty years. I realize that to many European scholars the section on the *Nibbatbin* must appear conjectural in its dependence on tradition. My plea is that at present there is nothing else to depend on.[1]

With regard to the interlude, I am on surer ground. Again I
15 depend much on tradition, but it is now tradition supported by
536 evidence. Besides the general and common tradition, there is the
[191] tradition of the spirit mediums and actors, and, as I shall explain, the
12 tradition of my own family.
617

Professional tradition of the mediums and actors is more reliable
[191] than common tradition because the two professions, especially the former, are closed fraternities, and as written records were never in use, they handed down the facts regarding the nature and history of their callings by word of mouth. To them oral tradition was as strong as written records. Moreover, their oral tradition can be checked by the stage conventions which exist at the present day. The various stage conventions are considered in Chapter VII.

The tradition in my family[2] begins from about the year 1800. About that time, an officer[3] in the victorious army of King Bodawpaya

[1] Even Harvey, who wrote his *History of Burma* at Exeter College,
[114] Oxford, often accepts oral tradition supported by no other evidence as substantially correct (*History of Burma*, pp. 33, 41, 211, 252, 267, 299). In two instances, pp. 33 and 41, the tradition cited dates back to the eleventh century A.D.

[2] My father is U Pein, District Magistrate, Burma Commission, now retired. In Burma, historical researches and inquiries are often made by administrative officials, as their duties carry them all over the country and to the remotest villages. Messrs Harvey, Stewart, Furnivall—great names in the Burma Research Society—are all officials belonging to the Burma Commission.

[3] He was Maha Minhla Mindin Raza.

I have to cite in this section the full names and official positions of some members of my family because:

1. As the Burmese use no surnames, my name alone would not convey
[551] anything regarding their identity.

2. The service record of the family may perhaps be construed as evidence in favour of the reliability of its tradition. G. E. Harvey, op. cit., p. 310 where he rejects Fuhrer's statement regarding an inscription because the 'precious slab has never been produced, and in view of Fuhrer's service record its production is essential.'

23: Brant & Mi Mi Khaing E, I-5 (1949-1950)1951
AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

A very close connection is believed to exist between mother and child during 853
the nursing period. Certain observances are necessary. For example, the mother 262
must not eat tomatoes at this time, for they may appear in the baby's stools;
for the same reason, she must abstain from green vegetables. Any falling out of
her hair during the nursing period is said to be caused by bubbles blown into [827]
her by the nursing baby. To prevent the milk supply from drying up, the nursing
mother avoids fruits of astringent quality, such as pomegranates and buds of the
banyan. She must also take care not to allow milk to fall on the floor and dry.

The Burmese baby is weaned very gradually, beginning at the age of nine 862
months to a year in most cases. This is facilitated by the mother's application of
some bitter substance to her breasts.

From infancy an attempt is made to mold the child's features. The ears are 856
pulled outward and the bridge of the nose is pulled upward, to prevent a flat 826
nose. A protuberant, prominent forehead is disliked; to prevent it people play
at bumping foreheads with the child. To elongate its neck the child is held
under the chin when lifted up from its bath. After being dressed its limbs are
pulled straight and it is wrapped around, to insure straight growth. A baby girl's
nipples are squeezed to prevent her having a large bosom.

Naming. The Burmese believe that one's name can influence the course of 551
events in life; therefore the name of a child is chosen with care. Burmese personal
names consist of monosyllables that are selected in a rather intricate manner.
The thirty-three characters of the alphabet are traditionally divided into seven
groups, each corresponding to a day of the week. The first syllable in a personal
name begins with a letter belonging to the group of letters assigned to the par-
ticular day of the week on which the child was born. Another syllable begins
with a letter belonging to a day that is considered congenial to the day of birth.
In the urban centers the tendency nowadays is to follow these rules only for the
first term in the name. The syllables of the name stand for qualities of character,
physical beauty, various gems, wealth or prosperity. Boys' names usually denote
strength, success or brilliance, while grace, beauty, tenderness, and various
precious stones are the most common meanings of girls' names. A son is never
named syllable for syllable after his father, for this is considered disrespectful
and an obstruction to each other's prosperity. There is also a tendency to avoid
naming children after deceased relatives. Terms indicating large numbers, such as
million, *lakh* (one hundred thousand), sometimes appear in the names of both
sexes. An interesting contemporary example is the comic strip heroine of a leading
Rangoon daily newspaper, Than Than, literally "Million Million."

The name of the child is rather informally conferred by means of a feast to 553

23: Brant & Mi Mi Khaing E, I-5 (1949-1950)1951
AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

553 which the family invites the people of the village. In the larger communities a written invitation may be sent, in which the name of the child is announced. The [431] feast occurs in the family house, to which the invited guests bring presents and where they may see the child. The only ritualized feature of this event is the washing of the child's hair, which is always done by an elderly person. This may occur, however, before the arrival of the guests.

Because of the significance and influence attributed to the personal name, it may be changed very readily and informally. If it is felt that ill fortune is in the offing, an announcement may be made in the village of change of one's name.

● [551] Childhood nicknames as well as teknonymy are utilized by the Burmese, but not to the exclusion of use of the personal name.

Childhood. Burmese children are generally indulged and their existence is 857 more or less carefree and unencumbered by rigid discipline, apart from early 858 inculcation of respect for elders, until they are of educational age and considered capable of understanding the moral teachings of Buddhism. A male child is valued religiously, for at an early age he will be initiated into the monkhood, [851] remaining from a few days to several years, depending upon family circumstances and needs. The initiation of a son brings great religious merit to his parents.

In the Burmese village children are valued for the economic help they render. This will, of course, vary with family circumstances. But in the ordinary cultivator's family, sons and daughters help from the age of about nine or ten years in tending cattle, getting firewood, and winnowing rice. Children are also looked upon as a kind of social insurance for old age.

[884] *Puberty and Adolescence.* Apart from modern legal ideas concerning the attainment of adulthood, the Burmese view is that one is adult when physiologically mature. Upon reaching pubescence boys as well as girls are referred to by a 881 term meaning "virgin." The connotation is that the individual has now entered a period of life in which the dangers of temptation are especially great and in which corresponding precautions are necessary.

A girl's first menstruation is believed to cleanse her system; frequently, such phenomena as eruption of the skin or sexually delinquent behavior preceding the first menstrual period are regarded as evidence that the "blood is trying to flow." [841] Although the idea of uncleanliness is associated with menstruation, there is no segregation of the girl or particular fear of contamination. So long as she conducts herself with propriety and modesty a girl is free to move in public at this time.

304 881 Ideally, the attainment of puberty is the time for the girl's ear-boring cere-

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

153. THE CHALLENGE (see p. 177).

the young wife's home, the lad working for her parents. As family comes and other daughters marry, the elder pairs are established in houses of their own. Married people are designated *ein-daung*—householders. Marriage makes no difference in the names and their prefixes. Everyone marries in Burma; the census of 1891 gave 1,306,722 husbands to 1,307,292 wives. The same census gave 102 females to 100 males of the Burman (so classed as Buddhist) population. (In Burma prostitution is confined to the large towns.)

A family of seven is considered large. The average number of house-occupants is 5.5. The cost of living of a Burman village household is 100 to 200 Rs. a year. In the towns the well-to-do spend 600 to 1000 Rs. and more, and at the present day keep a servant or two for the rough work, generally natives of India. Such accumulations of wealth as are made by individuals in India and other countries with a plutocracy and a proletariate are not paralleled among the Burmans. Nevertheless individuals amass tens of thousands of rupees, which for the most part they spend on works of religious merit. Monogamy is the received and almost universal practice in Burma. Second-wives are taken by a proportion of the officials and men of wealth. Hence it comes that the Burmans wonder more at the moderation of Europeans than at such license as they indulge. This license is not nearly so great as in India, but it is more open, corresponding to the higher status of the women of Burma, and thus it provokes more scandal in comparison. Unions of this sort among the Burmans are merely by mutual consent. A separate establishment in a different quarter of the town is maintained for the second wife or concubine (*maya-ngè*). Her children are under no disability, but she is not acknowledged by the first, and generally older, wife (*mayaji*), whose husband's love she is said to have stolen.

154. AN "ORIGINAL."

501 His constructive skill with wood has been most successfully ex-
396 pressed in the vehicles for land and water transport—the bullock cart and the canoe. The classic pattern for a Burmese boat is the *laung*, built from a single hollowed-out trunk of the *thingan*, a tough tree growing near the water with a girth of 4—20 feet and a height of 15—75 feet. The trunk is hollowed out into a rough hull, the outside is adzed, circles of holes are bored through for a guide, and the shell is hollowed to a uniform thickness. It is then waterlogged, and fired slowly, the symmetry being carefully tended as the hull opens out with the firing. Planks are built up on the sides to increase capacity. These laungs, of a capacity from 10—40 tons, are the universal canoes of the rivers and creeks of Burma. Poled upstream and rowed downstream, they are ideal in the ease with which they can be bumped against rocks or got off shoals, the thingan hull lasting for 20 or 30 years. The bigger boats which still carry rice and other produce up the Irrawaddy are built up from stout ribs on a style which simulates the solid hull of the laung. These boats carry enormous sails and a crew of about fifteen men. Their bulk-heads are richly carved, and they glide along the great Irrawaddy, stately and calm beside the chugging river-steamers, their prows rising and falling like the heads of some fabulous birds.

493 The Burmese cart is a poem in curves of wood. The floor of the cart gives a slight curving sweep from front to back, the sides exaggerate this in crescents that sweep right up into the air, and the circle of the wheel has good balance and strength behind its symmetry. For the sake of the curves, the root wood of cutch and the curved branches of thingan are specially sought out.

326 Brassware, for which the old centres were at Amarapura and Sagaing
788 in Upper Burma, we were familiar with in bells and gongs. Bells are
534 kept by the Burmese for sacred uses only. The delicate small bells hung high around the spires of pagodas, often of gold and silver, have tongues that are moved by the winds to give a sweet testimony, to all spirits, of the good work of men who built the pagoda and other men who pray below, and give the praying devotee a tinkling reassurance of his merit. The great big bells, however, made of molten copper and tin poured into moulds of clay and wax in pits dug in the earth, have no tongues; but when struck with deer's antlers or a wooden striker they
• [552] sing a deep note of sweetness. The names given to some famous bells reflect their beauty: *Maha Ganda* (Great Voice), *Mahatti Thadda Ganda* (Great Sweet Sound). All big bells are hung on a cross bar with wooden supports at pagodas, where after recitation of precepts we picked up the striker in turn and struck three times to announce to the spirits

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

000 moment! From start to finish he has all his wits about him, and the stem of the boat is full on the winning-post all the time. Four years ago, when the Hlaing men seemed to be carrying all before them, it was Kya-gyi's generalship that won the day. Therefore the Myanaung magistrate is a little disconcerted at the homage paid him by his old rowing mentor, but none the less he puts on another hundred rupees with a Thônkwa lugyi who comes up at the moment. The Thônkwa men come with a bit of pace just at the finish too, and with a he-la, lu-la, yauk-kya, ba-tha, hé, dash past the winning-post.

526 This winning-post is not such as is used in English boat-racing. A boat is moored right out in the current with its head to the stream. At right angles to its length a long hollow bamboo stretches across the bows, and through this is passed a rattan, the end projecting an inch or two beyond the mouth of the tube at both sides. The contesting boats have each their own side and keep their own water, and the bow-paddler rises and snatches at this pan as the boat whisks past. It thus becomes a sign and proof of victory and is planted in the bows of the winner. Not a little skill is wanted on the part of both the man at the bow and the man at the stern. The former has to be sure in the eye and quick of hand, and the latter must take especial care to bring the boat past at the proper distance. It is not so very simple a matter to pull out the long cane at the terrific pace with which the boats come up, and the pan must be carried off to ensure the verdict. Sometimes both men seize it at once, and then they are almost certainly swept out of the boat, and as a rule both lose the rattan. Then it is a thaye pwè, a dead heat. But if one has the pluck and presence of mind to stick to it, then his boat has won.

Now the offerings have been made and the boats turned round, no very easy matter in the swift current with their great length. But it is effected dexterously enough. The Myanaung boat paddles up to the winning-post and young Aung Zan tries the pan to see that it runs smoothly in the
● 552] bamboo, and Ko Kya-gyi swings in the stern of the Thônpânhla—the Three Fair Flowers, as the Thônkwa

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

836* plays, the doctrine of logical and clear unfolding of plot perishes, for there is no plot to unfold.

536* 152 The decadent dramatists try to appeal not to the mind but to the senses, and naturally we find in their plays glaring attempts at sentimentality and sensationalism. Tears occur often and in great abundance on the slightest excuse. Even in the quite artistic 'Baboon Play', sentimentality is the chief fault, and the hero appears weak and unattractive, for he does nothing but cry, trying to protect his sister not by manly action but by tears. One reason why *Saw-phay and Saw-may* appears so far above other plays of the period is in its freedom from sentimental pathos until the last scene. When the heroine and hero are parted, they cry, but they appear sincere in their sorrow, and the play ends quite happily. In most other plays of the period, the hero and heroine are made to undergo misfortune after misfortune, so as to give them ample opportunity to sing pathetic songs. The sentimentality is heightened by sensationalism, for the more unusual and terrible the suffering of hero or heroine the greater is the pathos. When a queen is executed, she has to be slowly beaten. When a hero is put to death, he has to be trodden on by elephants. When a princess is banished, the orders for her exile have to be announced when she is in travail. For, in the decadent drama, swift and sudden death or misfortune seems out of place, and the agony has to be long drawn out and unusual in order to increase the desired effect. Even in the 'Baboon Play', written by the most learned of the decadent dramatists, we find ample use of blood and horror. The First Part of *Saw-phay and Saw-may* is the one play of the period which is free from horror. In *Tin-tin and Khin-khin*, the last scene where the heroine dies dancing, ill and mad, is typically decadent. Madness, leprosy, incest, and a woman in travail are favourite subjects. Dead bodies are popular, and in one play, a scene occurs where the hero is shown roasting and eating his new-born heir.[1]

536* 552 Comic scenes occur in the decadent plays, as dramatic relief from scenes of horror and pathos. The humour is good humour, and in many ways it is an advance even on U Pon Nya. Lewd references are very rare. There is some satire, but it is without bitterness. All the comic characters are lovable in their own way. The comedy is one of 'humours', and we have admirably drawn portraits of a nagging wife and a cynical bricklaying philosopher in *The History of*

[1] *When Father Ears His Son*, by an unknown author.

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

sailors; only where the tar thinks he will be saved from drowning, the Turanian expects to gain the patronage of any great person he may address.

The infant having survived and the mother recovered from her roasting, the next thing to be done is to name the child. This usually happens about a fortnight after the birth. A fortunate day and hour is sought out by some Brahmin astrologer, or a sayā of lesser note, if there is no such dignitary in the neighbourhood. A great feast, as elaborate as the wealth or the ambition and borrowing capacities of the parents admit, is prepared, and all the friends of the family and the neighbours are invited to come. The child's head is usually washed for the first time on this day. The ceremony is therefore called kin-bôn tat thi. A decoction of the pods and bark of the soap acacia (*Acacia rugata*) or kin-bôn is prepared, and with this the midwife washes the infant's head and the guests wash their hands. Most of them bring friendly contributions towards the feast, or perhaps a little money. The mother sits down in the centre of the circle with the infant in her arms, and near her is the father. The company sit gravely smoking and chewing betel for a time, and then some elder, or a near relation of the parents, seems struck with a name, and suggests it aloud. Everybody accepts it on the spot, and falls to discussing the aptness of the name and the accomplishments and virtues of people they have known with that appellation. This is, however, all a pre-arranged thing. The father and mother have settled beforehand what the child is to be called, and have apprised the lu-gyi selected what is to be the result of his cogitations. The midwife then gets a present according to the means of the family, having previously, after the seven days' roasting, received the regulation fee of one pyi, the sixteenth of a basket of husked rice, one mat, and a four anna bit. Then everybody adjourns to the feast, which, with the dessert of le'-pet, salted ginger cut into small strips, ground nuts, fried garlic, the invariable betel apparatus, cheroots, and what not, pass the time till nightfall, when, except in the case of poor people, there is always a pwè which carries on proceedings till the next morning.

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2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

Not only has every day its special character and its fixed letters, but there is also a particular animal assigned to symbolise it, and red or yellow wax candles are made in the forms of these animals to be offered at the Pagoda by the pious. Each worshipper offers the creature-candle representing his birthday, or that of any particular friend or relation whom he wishes well. In this way Monday is represented by a tiger; Tuesday, by a lion; Wednesday, by an elephant with tusks; Yahu, by an elephant without tusks; Thursday, by a rat; Friday, by a guinea-pig; Saturday, by a nagā or dragon; Sunday, by a kalôn, the fabulous half-beast, half-bird, which guards one of the terraces of Mount Myinmo (Meru), the centre of the universe.

Little candles of this kind are to be had at any of the stalls which cluster about the steps and the base of every pagoda in the country, and they are as freely offered as flowers, and fruits, and gold-leaf.

It will be seen that there is no such thing as a surname among the Burmese. A man may have a dozen sons not one of whom has the same name as his father. Maung, literally "brother," has come to stand practically for "Mister." Po and Shwe and Ba may be applied to any one without regard to his birthday, Shwe implying usually politeness or affection. Nga, used in the English law-courts and by pompous native officials generally, implies superiority claimed by the speaker or writer. Ko denotes friendship, or superior age and dignity in the person addressed. Maung Shwe Than might call himself indifferently—Maung Than, Po Than, Ba Than, Ko Than, Nga Than, or Shwe Than, and might add Maung to any one of these. As a matter of fact most Burmans chop about their name a good deal during their lives. He may begin by being called Lugale Ngè, "Little Wee Man." When he grows up a little the family probably get to call him Lugale Gyi, "Big Little Man." Later, when he begins to think of his appearance and look after the girls—and they begin that sort of thing very early in Burma—he probably calls himself Maung Lugale or Shwe Lugale, "Mr. Littleman," or "Mr. Boy," or "Golden Boy." There are a variety of other changes possible and likely. Finally, when he reaches the age of thirty-five or forty he either readopts the original Ngè and calls himself

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

U Ngè, "Old Small" or "Old Wee"; or takes U Lugale instead, "Old Boy." To this additions may be made according to fancy. Indeed the possible forms of any given Burmese name would supply a very fair sum in permutations and combinations. 551 553

There is a similar freedom with the women's names. Every woman married or unmarried may be called Ma. When she becomes elderly Mè is very often used. Mi implies youth in the person addressed, or affection on the part of the speaker. A young husband or lover usually calls his lady love Mi Mi. She addresses him as Maung, "brother," or familiarly as Taw, or Shin. Ba in Lower Burma is a polite form. In Upper Burma, especially in the Palace, Maung Maung, or Tin Tin, or Teit Tin (prostrating the forehead, Kowtowing) are used in a courteous way. It is considered hardly civil in any case to use the bare name; the office held, or some particular alms given by the person addressed, supplies the easiest equivalent; otherwise some friendly form is employed in speaking. Kin-le is used similarly in familiar fashion or in a friendly way to those of lesser rank. Thus a prince would use it in addressing an A-pyo-daw, a maid of honour. 554

Sometimes when a boy grows up he does not like the name his parents gave him. He can then change it by a very simple process. He makes up a number of packets of le'-pet and sends round a friend to deliver them to all his acquaintances and relations. The messenger goes to the head of the house and says: "I have come from Maung Shwe Pyin (Mr. Golden Stupid). He is not to be called by that name any more. When you invite him call him Maung Hkyaw Hpe (Mr. Celebrated Father). Be good enough to eat this pickled tea," and then he goes on to the next house. It is not imperative that the letters of the birthday should be adhered to, but it is usually done. Women very seldom change names. It looks too much like a broad hint that they are growing up and have some notion of themselves, or that they have a mind of their own, which might prove irksome to possible husbands. 553

A careful note is made of the exact hour of birth with the object of drawing up the sadā or certificate of birth 787

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4
Lower Burma

792 In recognition of this new-gained power the novice drops
553 his secular name and receives a bwè, an honorific title, to
775 mark that it is now open to him to escape from suffering.
561 The name lapses when he returns to the world again, but it is sufficient that he has once borne it. He may now add to his kan, merit, and gain for himself a glorious new life by good works.

[198] This is what is meant by calling the ceremony a baptism. The bwè are almost invariably Pali, or Burmanised Pali names, and follow the same rules with regard to initial letters as the lu nāmé. Thus a Maung Po Myat, born on Thursday, might take the name of Pyinya-Zawta, while the bwè of a Sunday child, Maung An, would be Adesa. This religious or Buddhist (on the analogy of Christian) name is, of course, retained by the regular members of the monastery, and a monk is never addressed by any other when a name is used at all. When he becomes old a U is added, as U Adesa, but it must not be forgotten that
[576] the use of a person's name in addressing him is considered very far from being polite in Burma, especially to one of rank and dignity such as a mendicant. On the other hand, one who has returned to the world never uses the bwè, not even when he accomplishes some great religious work such as the foundation of a pagoda, which according to a comforting belief ensures passage to Ne'ban after death.

The entry into the monastic order is therefore certainly the most important event in the life of a Burman, since only under the robe of the recluse and in the abandonment of the world can he completely fulfil the law and hope to find the way to eventual deliverance from the misery of ever-recur-
[796] ring existences. The popular time for the ceremony is just at the beginning of Wā, the Buddhist Lent, which lasts from July to October, roughly speaking. Strict Buddhists make their sons stay throughout the whole Wā. During that season feasts, though they do occur, are very much discountenanced, and dramatic performances are energetically denounced by the religious.

792 According to the letter of the law the intending proba-
561 tioners should have reached the age of fifteen, but this
184 regulation has almost entirely lapsed in Lower Burma,
177-84 among other reasons chiefly because that is just the most

14: Brant E-5 (1949-50) 1954 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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From infancy an attempt is made to mold the child's features. The ears are pulled outward and the bridge of the nose is pulled upward to prevent a flat nose. A protuberant, prominent forehead is disliked; to prevent it, people play at bumping foreheads with the child. To elongate its neck the child is held under the chin when lifted up from its bath. After being dressed its limbs are pulled straight and it is wrapped around, to insure straight growth. A baby girl's nipples are squeezed to prevent her having a large bosom.

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The name of the child is conferred rather informally by means of a feast to which the family invites relatives and friends in the village. Sometimes written invitations are sent on which the name of the child is announced. The feast takes place at home, where the invited guests bring gifts and may see the child. The only ritualized feature of this event is the washing of the child's hair, always done by an elderly person. This may occur, however, before the arrival of the guests.

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Children are valued for the economic help they render. This varies, of course, with family circumstances. But in the ordinary family of Tadagale, sons and daughters help from the age of nine or ten in tending cattle, getting firewood, and winnowing rice. Children are also looked upon as a kind of social insurance for old age.

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

565 house. He came out and asked us in, and we dismounted and went up the stairs into the veranda, and sat down. It was a little house built of wood, with three rooms. Behind was a little kitchen and a stable. The whole may have cost a thousand rupees. As my friend and the Burman talked of their business, I observed the furniture. There was very little; three or four chairs, two tables and a big box were all I could see. Inside, no doubt, were a few beds and more chairs. While we sat the wife and daughter came out and gave us cheroots, and I talked to them in my very limited Burmese till my friend was ready. Then we went away.

565 741 That contractor, so my friend told me as we went home, made probably a profit of six or seven thousand rupees a year. He spent on himself about a thousand of this; the rest went in charity. The great new monastery school, with the marvellous carved façade, just to the south of the town, was his, the new rest-house on the mountain road far up in the hills was his. He supported many monks, he gave largely to the gilding of the pagoda. If a theatrical company came that way, he subscribed freely. Soon he thought he would retire from contracting altogether, for he had enough to live on quietly for the rest of his life.

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565 553 His action is no exception, but the rule. You will find that every well-to-do man has built his pagoda or his monastery, and is called 'school-builder' or 'pagoda-builder.' These are the only titles the Burman knows, and they always are given most scrupulously. The builder of a bridge, a well,

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

565 or a rest-house may also receive the title of 'well-
553 builder,' and so on, but such titles are rarely used in common speech. Even the builder of a long shed for water-jars may call himself after it if he likes, but it is only big builders who receive any title from their fellows. But the satisfaction to the man himself, the knowledge that he has done a good deed, is much the same, I think.

741 A Burman's wants are very few, such wants as
181 money can supply—a little house, a sufficiency of
517 plain food, a cotton dress for weekdays, and a silk one for holidays, and that is nearly all.

You see, they are still a very young people. Many wants will come, perhaps, later on, but just now their desires are easily satisfied.

The Burman does not care for a big house, for there are always the great trees and the open spaces by the village. It is far pleasanter to sit out of doors than indoors. He does not care for books. He has what is better than many books—the life of his people all about him, and he has the eyes to see it and the heart to understand it. He cares not to see with other men's eyes, but with his own; he cares not to read other men's thoughts, but to think his own, for a love of books only comes to him who is shut always from the world by ill-health, by poverty, by circumstance. When we are poor and miserable, we like to read of those who are happier. When we are shut in towns, we love to read of the beauties of the hills. When we have no love in our hearts, we like to read of those who have. Few men who think their own thoughts care much to read the thoughts of others, for a man's

23: Brant & Mi Mi Khaing E, I-5 (1949-1950)1951
AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

A very close connection is believed to exist between mother and child during 853
the nursing period. Certain observances are necessary. For example, the mother 262
must not eat tomatoes at this time, for they may appear in the baby's stools;
for the same reason, she must abstain from green vegetables. Any falling out of
her hair during the nursing period is said to be caused by bubbles blown into [827]
her by the nursing baby. To prevent the milk supply from drying up, the nursing
mother avoids fruits of astringent quality, such as pomegranates and buds of the
banyan. She must also take care not to allow milk to fall on the floor and dry.

The Burmese baby is weaned very gradually, beginning at the age of nine 862
months to a year in most cases. This is facilitated by the mother's application of
some bitter substance to her breasts.

From infancy an attempt is made to mold the child's features. The ears are 856
pulled outward and the bridge of the nose is pulled upward, to prevent a flat 826
nose. A protuberant, prominent forehead is disliked; to prevent it people play
at bumping foreheads with the child. To elongate its neck the child is held
under the chin when lifted up from its bath. After being dressed its limbs are
pulled straight and it is wrapped around, to insure straight growth. A baby girl's
nipples are squeezed to prevent her having a large bosom.

Naming. The Burmese believe that one's name can influence the course of 551
events in life; therefore the name of a child is chosen with care. Burmese personal
names consist of monosyllables that are selected in a rather intricate manner.
The thirty-three characters of the alphabet are traditionally divided into seven
groups, each corresponding to a day of the week. The first syllable in a personal
name begins with a letter belonging to the group of letters assigned to the par-
ticular day of the week on which the child was born. Another syllable begins
with a letter belonging to a day that is considered congenial to the day of birth.
In the urban centers the tendency nowadays is to follow these rules only for the
first term in the name. The syllables of the name stand for qualities of character,
physical beauty, various gems, wealth or prosperity. Boys' names usually denote
strength, success or brilliance, while grace, beauty, tenderness, and various
precious stones are the most common meanings of girls' names. A son is never
named syllable for syllable after his father, for this is considered disrespectful
and an obstruction to each other's prosperity. There is also a tendency to avoid
naming children after deceased relatives. Terms indicating large numbers, such as
million, *lakh* (one hundred thousand), sometimes appear in the names of both
sexes. An interesting contemporary example is the comic strip heroine of a leading
Rangoon daily newspaper, Than Than, literally "Million Million."

The name of the child is rather informally conferred by means of a feast to 553

23: Brant & Mi Mi Khaing E, I-5 (1949-1950)1951
AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

553 which the family invites the people of the village. In the larger communities a written invitation may be sent, in which the name of the child is announced. The [431] feast occurs in the family house, to which the invited guests bring presents and where they may see the child. The only ritualized feature of this event is the washing of the child's hair, which is always done by an elderly person. This may occur, however, before the arrival of the guests.

Because of the significance and influence attributed to the personal name, it may be changed very readily and informally. If it is felt that ill fortune is in the offing, an announcement may be made in the village of change of one's name.

[551] Childhood nicknames as well as teknonymy are utilized by the Burmese, but not to the exclusion of use of the personal name.

Childhood. Burmese children are generally indulged and their existence is 857 more or less carefree and unencumbered by rigid discipline, apart from early 858 inculcation of respect for elders, until they are of educational age and considered capable of understanding the moral teachings of Buddhism. A male child is valued religiously, for at an early age he will be initiated into the monkhood, [851] remaining from a few days to several years, depending upon family circumstances and needs. The initiation of a son brings great religious merit to his parents.

In the Burmese village children are valued for the economic help they render. This will, of course, vary with family circumstances. But in the ordinary cultivator's family, sons and daughters help from the age of about nine or ten years in tending cattle, getting firewood, and winnowing rice. Children are also looked upon as a kind of social insurance for old age.

[884] *Puberty and Adolescence.* Apart from modern legal ideas concerning the attainment of adulthood, the Burmese view is that one is adult when physiologically mature. Upon reaching pubescence boys as well as girls are referred to by a 881 term meaning "virgin." The connotation is that the individual has now entered a period of life in which the dangers of temptation are especially great and in which corresponding precautions are necessary.

A girl's first menstruation is believed to cleanse her system; frequently, such phenomena as eruption of the skin or sexually delinquent behavior preceding the first menstrual period are regarded as evidence that the "blood is trying to flow." [841] Although the idea of uncleanliness is associated with menstruation, there is no segregation of the girl or particular fear of contamination. So long as she conducts herself with propriety and modesty a girl is free to move in public at this time.

304 881 Ideally, the attainment of puberty is the time for the girl's ear-boring cere-

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

14. BURMAN MOTHER AND INFANT.

tempers Nature's discipline of knocks and bumps, as compared with the bare hard ground of the Indian hut. Nevertheless the young Burman's converse with his environment is unrestricted enough. By the time he is a year old he may be trusted to himself on a flimsy platform many feet off the ground or over the water. There are few things in the way of the child that it may not handle. The very cheroot its mother is smoking is a coveted plaything. The daily bath at the river-side or well has familiarised the child with another element. It may rush out into the first tropical shower and splash to its heart's content with its older playmates in the first tepid puddle. The Burman's regular exclamation of wonder or fear is "mother!"—*amè*.

When the child is a few months old, relatives and friends are assembled and entertained with tea and sweets to witness the ceremony of piercing the ears and giving a name. The Burmans have no patronymics. The name is chosen from a set of current euphemisms proper to the days of the week and their planets, according to the star presiding over the day of birth. The fancy of the parents and the prognostics of the soothsayer unite to decide the choice. Names are single or are compounded from two series (in Arakán from three). Common names, beginning with the "Sunday-son," are Ôn, Kyaw, San, Shwe, Po, Tha, Dun. Men's and women's names are taken from the same sets; only the courtesy-prefixes differ (p. 74). The needle-hole made in the lobe of the ear on the naming-day is expanded by means of plugs and rolls of bast. In the course of a few years the lobe takes a plug one-half to three-quarters

15. MUDLARKS.

25; Fetrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

25. SHINLAUNG PRAYING FOR ACCEPTANCE (PEGU).

attendance upon his preceptor, to contemplation and sober study. His preceptor receives voluntary confession of faults, without questioning, prescribes penances, and is to his disciple as a parent. Having acquiesced in the rule of life, the candidate is admonished to divest himself of worldly state and personal adornment, and after that to renew his prayer for admission. 858 792

The *shinldung* then retires to be divested of his grandeur. His long hair—the pride of the Burman—is cut close to the roots with scissors and preserved by his female relatives. His head is shaved by a male relative. The same day, or later, after bathing, the candidate will present himself clad in a plain loin-cloth, offering his robes and the rest of the *parikhara* for acceptance as before. The recluse will now accept the robes on behalf of the Assembly, and deliver them to the candidate, who retires to robe himself. Invested with the *thingán*, he returns as accepted probationer, to make obeisance (*shikô*) to his instructor. The novice takes no vow and owes no formal obedience. Like the full member of the Assembly, he is always free to abandon the religious rule of life (*hu-twôt*—to become a layman again). The *goyin* (*maung-yin*, Pâli *samanera*, "*chinthaman!*") or "gentle-brother," as the novice is designated, discontinues the use of his secular name, in lieu of which he receives from his preceptor a Pâli title (*hnî*), chosen in the same way as the secular name from one of seven sets. Thus Maung Shwe Ni, Brother Golden-red, becomes Ô Âlawka, Sage Above-the-world. [302] [291] [553]

26. SHINLAUNG PRAYING FOR ACCEPTANCE (BURMA).

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The whole male population of the village are free of the monastery. The recluse and his novices have withdrawn from participation in

old man with rhetorical leanings and included things because they formed 753
a nice rhyme, and, indeed, she was not far from the truth. Our mono- 787
syllabic language is a heavenly gift to us with its endless scope for the [522]
most unrestrained punning and rhyming; the pun in Burmese is not execrable humour but a stepping stone for flights of fancy. What my sister was not allowed to eat were the three most precious foods as proverbalised in: *a-thi-hma tha-yet; a-gwet hma la-hpet; a-tha hma wet:* among fruits the *tha-yet*, among leaves the *la-hpet*, among flesh the *wet: tha-yet, la-hpet* and *wet* being the mango, the pickled tea-leaf and the pig's flesh respectively, and open to question as being really the prize specimens of their class, but certainly rhyming happily.

My parents were so good to us; they never scolded, beat or punished 593
us that I can remember. Perhaps they had both had so much discipline 354
in their own youths; I can remember the day we were told to answer them "Father" and "Mother" when they called us, instead of *Paya* as we had done formerly. Paya is the term of extreme respect and humility, sometimes adopted by children to parents, always by servants to their superiors, by subordinates to senior officials, and by all to royalty and the clergy. It is also the suffix to honorific titles. Its true and ancient use had associations of reverence only, but it has taken on a more subservient hue with the advent of government and foreign officials.

But whether we answered Paya or Father, my mother's guiding 593
influence led us to look on my father with awe, even though he was the 857
parent who clowned with us at home. We were always bathed and 538
dressed before he came home, waiting for him. As soon as he entered the gate we raced down the drive to carry his umbrella, took him upstairs and scrambled to take his shoes off as soon as we could get him seated. His shoes, suspenders and socks were removed by combined efforts, my father pretending great helplessness all the while. We went for walks while my parents went to play tennis, but retuned in time to carry their racquets upstairs and remove my father's shoes again. After dinner my mother and we lay on mats while my father sat in an easy chair and pretended to get his nursery rhymes all wrong, until we taught him:

A-hpo gyi oh, hka kon kon,	Old man so bent and grey,
Ma thay ba hnin ohn	Do not die as yet we pray.
Naung hnit-kha ta-saung-mon	Till next December try to tarry
Pwè kyi ba ohn.	And watch the actors play and marry.

Or the voracious cat who ate everything:

Kyaung-gyi yè tè mi tan to	Oh you big and short tailed cat.
A-hai ko sa ba lo	Swallowing the lean
A-tha ko myo.	And eating the fat.

1: Mi Mi Khaing I-5 (no date) 1946 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4
Mon AP9

CHAPTER NINE

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MEN of my father's generation followed a definite pattern in the stages of their lives. They passed their infancy and early childhood playing around their mother's knee, but as soon as they were capable of receiving spiritual influence and training, the atmosphere of the monastery and the men of religion enwrapt them. Thus their spiritual life began at the monastery. After they left it they spent many stages in the world of offices and money-earning, but none of them could be reconciled to this as the final stage of their lives. They hoped to leave this when they were fifty or soon after, and go back full circle to spending the twilight in the atmosphere of religion, before they went out finally in childish decay to another and better existence. The retirement from the civil service was therefore a very important point in my father's life. The English term "pensioner" has come to be incorporated into popular Burmese usage, as *pin-sin tha-ma*, so full of meaning is it. Most men at this time look about for a town which will ensure easy living and performance of meritorious deeds, in which to settle down. We went back to Thaton because of our family connections, but, as it happened, Thaton was also the most noted town in Burma for the settling of pin-sin tha-mas; it was indeed the pensioner's paradise.

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Thaton is a very old town. From the fifth to the tenth century A.D. it flourished as the centre of a Buddhist kingdom of Talaings, while the greater Burmese capital at Pagan was still without the true faith. There the Burmese King and the people were under the sway of a body of monks called the Aris, whose hypnotic influence was exercised through the practice of ritualistic observances contrary to the teachings of the Buddha and of which they set themselves to be the high priests. To this capital came a Buddhist monk from Thaton called Shin Arahan. He came into the presence of the King with his staff and a simple robe and the stamp of an ascetic life on his face, but also with the serene assurance that a monk's life ennobled any man beyond all other men, for he went up to the throne of the King and sat upon it. King Anawrahta asked, "What is the true teaching of this holy religion, and where can one get its Books?" Shin Arahan then told the King of the Buddhist kingdom of Thaton and the sacred scriptures which were there. The King of Pagan sent messengers to Thaton for copies of the scriptures, but the proud King at Thaton would not yield them. The

never talked about the business of their past working days when they met. Sometimes they showed a fleeting interest in news of the postings of friends still in service, but even the official matters of Thaton district itself did not enter into their discussions. They talked of charity donations, of the respective monasteries which they endowed and attended, and of formulæ of *eggaya-hto*, alchemy, or the search for the philosopher's stone which will turn all metals to gold. Most Burmans get interested in eggaya-hto during their later years, even if few now practise it. 887 521 [822]

This alchemy, which has no place among the true teachings of Buddhism, has to be done under auspicious astrological influences and is usually carried on in secret. Burman Buddhists condemn the use of it when it is carried on for *lawba*, greed for riches, but others justify the process as a means of concentrating the mental faculties. The common stories tell of hermits in the forests, who by their ascetic life and concentrated meditation have more powers over the forces of nature, as being well versed in the processes of alchemy. When such a hermit achieves the extreme concentration of mind on his task he is successful—the philosopher's stone is discovered, the body of the hermit then disappears in the dissolving of matter, and his spirit is free to live unhampered by the body, till the arrival of the next Buddha on the earth. Most Burmese women, however, although they believe that this happens in the case of hermits, object very strongly to the practice of alchemy on the part of their menfolk, owing to the money and energy that is wasted on seeking out new and expensive formulæ once the craze has got hold of a man. All experiments are started with mercury which is melted with other minerals, animal or vegetable substances which derive their magical properties partly from their inaccessibility, partly from being treated with prescribed rites. My father had no intention of taking up alchemy and impoverishing us, but he too was very interested to hear of the success and failure of various methods. These discussions must have been kept well anchored to reality by the other chief topic of discussion—the families of the pensioners. 822 792 779

The five duties of a parent towards his children include the settling of the child in a good marriage. By the time the a-so-ya mins retire, their sons and daughters have reached a marriageable age. The sons are in the process of winning a good position in one of the government services and their daughters have been dressed with an adequate amount of jewellery. The marriage market, which had no existence in former Burmese society and which still is unheard of in Ye, and among the poorer people, is now a very concrete institution among the educated and modern classes. The rise of the minkadaw class and of higher paid Class I government officials has been mainly responsible for this. More 593 584 554 177. 58 565

593 and more within recent years, the higher government services have come
584 to be associated not only with "face", but with *gon*, prestige, and *ausa*,
authority, which together make up a *myet-hna-gyi*, big face, in Burma.
• 554 Mothers of daughters want their daughters to have gon and ausa and be
177. big of face as the wife of the senior government officer in a town, and
58 mothers of sons want to get the most for themselves and their other
565 children out of having such a golden goose. They want a girl with wealth, a meek nature, good looks, religious piety and education, more or less in this order. So that the imperfect daughter-in-law may lack the last named qualities rather than the first. Wealth means not merely money, property or jewels, but an absence of younger brothers and sisters or other potential dependents, this being a very important factor in our closely-knit family system. A relative of mine who had just seen his son enter a top service, showed my father his comprehensive table of the marriageable girls of Burma, under headings of family connections, amount and form of property, potential dependents, physical and moral qualities of the girl. My father should have been keenly interested as the father of a son who was studying in England with success, and, indeed, when my brother returned, he might have fetched us about Rs. 30,000 had he desired, so far have we progressed beyond the Burmese traditions of the man's family asking for the hand of the girl with presents of money and jewellery.

It may be asked, what of the men who are thus bartered? Burmans are very greatly attached to their mothers; few can resist a mother's tears, and the tears in these cases are genuinely of grief, because the mother sees this marriage as a faithful discharge of one of her five duties. The five duties of a child towards its parent, on the other hand, include the support of father and mother, and in making this marriage the man sees the best way of providing comfort to his parents in their old age. For the girls also, an arranged marriage is not necessarily a joyless thing. Girls who are educated as we have been, in spite of reading Western romances, are brought up to believe that a girl will grow to love her husband who is good to her. *Tha-na*, pity, compassion, and *chit*, affection-love, are very close in Burmese; the usual way for a wife to address her husband is *Maung*, the same word as younger brother, or *Ko Ko*, elder brother; some husbands address their wives as *nyi-ma-lay*, little sister. And, in fact, in most cases the results do bear out the wisdom of this attitude towards marriage; so that to most Burmans it is the "free" Western marriages which so often appear ill-assorted and lead to divorces. Still, it cannot be denied that much undignified haggling and manœuvring go on nowadays, in the efforts to obtain the best match for sons and daughters. *Aung-thwès*, go-betweens, get a lot of

face from bringing something off, money is paid in advance, rush tactics 593
are employed to prevent the man returning from abroad from marrying
the sweetheart of his college days, and in some cases even magic is resor- 584
ted to, though in secret. This black magic, especially, involves some 554
very undignified actions. A younger cousin of mine once warned his 177-
mother: "Please, Mother, never try to sell me like a bullock, or worse 58
still to arrange a marriage for my sister. I will not help you to jump
thrice on eggshells or throw ten viss of fish into a well at dead of night [789]
under instructions from a soothsayer."

Although marriages were constantly being arranged among our [585]
circle of friends in Thaton, I was not allowed to attend weddings as a 527
young unmarried girl. What we did attend regularly with the grown-ups were the *u-bok-nay*, the duty day gatherings every week in the resthouses among the hills. On these days Buddhists who choose to observe the day, obey eight or ten precepts instead of five. Amongst these ten are the abstaining from food after mid-day, absence of ornament and cosmetics in dress, meditation and prayer, and absence of a high couch in sleep. In Thaton the observance of this day was made the weekly social event with the same combination of material enjoyment and religious piety that characterizes all Burmese functions as described previously. Each family went to the hills early in the morning with mats, betel boxes and a well-cooked meal. The girls wore all the [556]
jewellery they had because we had not yet taken the precepts, and this was a good chance of showing that a family did not lack wealth. We met in the resthouses, to one of which a monk came to intone the precepts. These we repeated in chorus after him; then the elders talked and chewed betel, and at about 10-30 the whole party went to bathe in the pools made by the waterfalls down the hills. We went back to find the pooled dishes of four or five families laid out in a rich feast. We stuffed ourselves with this. The law states that food should not be eaten after noon, and the law was always obeyed in the letter if not in the spirit.

One maiden lady in Rangoon who kept duty days regularly ate till 785
as near noon as she possibly could. She usually finished her meal with
fruit, and if she was eating a banana when noon struck with a loud bang 527
from the cannon at the Shwe Dagon Pagoda, "Hawl" she would exclaim, and in would go the whole length of the banana into her mouth. After noon, tea and coffee are not allowed either but aerated waters, which look so much like water, are sanctioned. When my husband was a novice monk in the monastery, they were allowed medicinal products also after noon, and the hungry young novices often made a [278]
delicious soup of garlic (a digestive) fried in butter (medicinal component), and water poured on to the fragrant compound.

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

U Ngè, "Old Small" or "Old Wee"; or takes U Lugale instead, "Old Boy." To this additions may be made according to fancy. Indeed the possible forms of any given Burmese name would supply a very fair sum in permutations and combinations. 551 553

There is a similar freedom with the women's names. Every woman married or unmarried may be called Ma. When she becomes elderly Mè is very often used. Mi implies youth in the person addressed, or affection on the part of the speaker. A young husband or lover usually calls his lady love Mi Mi. She addresses him as Maung, "brother," or familiarly as Taw, or Shin. Ba in Lower Burma is a polite form. In Upper Burma, especially in the Palace, Maung Maung, or Tin Tin, or Teit Tin (prostrating the forehead, Kowtowing) are used in a courteous way. It is considered hardly civil in any case to use the bare name; the office held, or some particular alms given by the person addressed, supplies the easiest equivalent; otherwise some friendly form is employed in speaking. Kin-le is used similarly in familiar fashion or in a friendly way to those of lesser rank. Thus a prince would use it in addressing an A-pyo-daw, a maid of honour. 554 ●

Sometimes when a boy grows up he does not like the name his parents gave him. He can then change it by a very simple process. He makes up a number of packets of le'-pet and sends round a friend to deliver them to all his acquaintances and relations. The messenger goes to the head of the house and says: "I have come from Maung Shwe Pyin (Mr. Golden Stupid). He is not to be called by that name any more. When you invite him call him Maung Hkyaw Hpe (Mr. Celebrated Father). Be good enough to eat this pickled tea," and then he goes on to the next house. It is not imperative that the letters of the birthday should be adhered to, but it is usually done. Women very seldom change names. It looks too much like a broad hint that they are growing up and have some notion of themselves, or that they have a mind of their own, which might prove irksome to possible husbands. 553

A careful note is made of the exact hour of birth with the object of drawing up the sadā or certificate of birth 787

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4
Lower Burma

important age for the boy to be learning English and arithmetic, with a view to getting situations under Government or in English merchants' offices. Therefore in the vast majority of cases shin-pyu thi takes place at the age of twelve, or perhaps even a year earlier. 792 561 184 177.84

If the boy has been a scholar in the monastery beforehand, he is sure to be already prepared in all that is required of him. If not, he gets a few hasty lessons in the duties that will be incumbent on him. He must address a full member of the order in such and such language; he must walk decorously through the streets, keeping his eyes fixed on the ground six feet before him, and on no account gaze round him, no matter what exciting events may be going on; he must wear his thingan and du-gut in the prescribed fashion; he must eat with dignity and circumspection, and so on. All these details are set forth in most minute fashion in a code. When he has mastered the most essential portions, and has also given proof of an acquaintance with the ordinary forms of worship, all is ready. His horoscope now comes into requisition, and a bedinsayā or Ponna is called in to determine a lucky day and hour from the sadā. When this has been settled, three or four girls, the intending koyin-gale's sisters, or friends of the family, dress themselves up in their finest silks and jewels—often borrowing a large quantity of the latter—and go round the town, announcing to all relatives, friends, and neighbours when the induction will take place, and inviting them to the feast, presenting the little packet of le'-pet usual on such occasions. Almost all of these send some little present, either of money or victuals, to aid in the feast and make it as grand as possible. Not unseldom, if somebody else's son is also going to enter the kyaung and the town is not very large, the two join forces, while occasionally as many as half a dozen unite, especially if the families are not well off. 792 872 [516] [292] 792 561 [787] 796 [292]

On the appointed day the young neophyte dresses in his finest clothes, and loads himself with all the family gold chains and jewellery, and as much more as he can borrow for the occasion. He then mounts a pony or gets into a richly decorated car. Shaded by gold umbrellas, allowed formerly on this occasion only in Upper Burma, except to those who had got a special patent for them from the sovereign... [292] [554]

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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respect paid to him by the king was paid, not as to the head of the religion, but as to the personal teacher. The Burman in his prayers, or rather his meditations for the good of others, prays for his teacher before his parents. The five pleasant things in the world are: the shade of trees, the shade of parents, the shade of teachers, the shade of princes, the shade of the Buddha.

It is this republican tendency of Buddhism that gives it such a wonderful hold on the people. Rank does not confer on the mendicant greater honour, or release him from any of his obligations. The most learned and famous Sadaw must go forth every morning to beg his daily food. If he is very aged and decrepit he may be excused to some extent, but every now and again he must totter forth to preserve the letter of the law and show a proper example of humility. His dress is the same as that of the most recently admitted ko-yin, and in the eyes of the world he holds honour, not because he controls the affairs of the assembly, but because he is so close to the verge of Ne'ban. This feeling extends beyond the order into ordinary life. The religion brings all men down to the same level. The poor man may be a king of nats in the next life; the wealthy sinner may frizzle in the awful pains of hell. There is no difference between man and man but that which is established by superiority in virtue; and hence it is that the state of women among Buddhists is so very much higher than it is among Oriental peoples, who do not hold by that faith. The Burmese woman enjoys many rights which her European sister is even now clamouring for.

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We have seen that the whole male population of Burma enters the monastery, and that the great majority leave after a very short stay. Some, however, grow fond of the monastic ways, and remain to study and qualify themselves to be mendicants. In becoming pyin-sin they do not acquire any new spiritual power, nor do they constitute themselves directly teachers of the people. In a religious system, which acknowledges no supreme Deity, it is impossible for any one to intercede with a Creator whose existence is denied, in behalf of a man who can only attain to a higher state by his own pious life and earnest self-denial. The

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792 of the fundamental precepts, and are not so ludicrous as some unbelievers would make out, except for the fact that they are set down so precisely when they might have been left to the imagination.

A monk must not build a monastery for himself without the aid of a benefactor. If his piety and talents are not such as to induce a layman to build a kyaung for him, let him patiently remain in the house into which he was ordained. He must see that the foundations of a monastery are not laid in a place where there are many insects or worms, which would thus be killed.

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For a similar reason he must not dig himself, except in a sandy place, where there can be no animal life. Neither must he spit, nor do anything of that kind on green grass, nor in fresh water, nor is he allowed to climb trees. There was a discussion in the Lord Buddha's time as to whether vegetation could be regarded as anywhere in the ladder of existence. Shin Gautama, on being asked, said it could not. Still trees and grass must not be destroyed, for they support life in other creatures. A yahan may not drive in a carriage or ride a pony. He must not travel in the same boat or remain under the same roof with a woman, or even with a female animal. When he walks abroad he must neither walk fast nor dawdle and lounge about the streets. He must allow no woman to wash or clean his robes, nor eat food cooked by female hands, if he can get any other; if a woman offers rice in her hand, he may take but not eat it. He must not look into a brother's thabeit, as suggesting that he does not receive much alms. He must not eat his food to the last mouthful, and must avoid highly-seasoned dishes as tending to heat the blood.

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In return for their self-denial the pyin-sin are bountifully honoured by the people, from the sovereign on the throne, who vacates his seat for the thā-thanā-baing, to the beggar in the street who prostrates himself in the dust when the yahan passes by. In the country villages all make obeisance when the mendicant passes, and the women kneel down on each side of the road. Such outward marks of respect are not usual in the larger towns, but there is no lack of veneration, and all make way for the monk when he walks abroad.

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The oldest layman assumes the title of disciple to the last inducted pyin-sin, and, with clasped hands, addresses him as payā, the highest title the language affords. The monk's commonest actions, walking, eating, sleeping, are referred to in honorific language, different from that which would be used of a layman, or even of the king, performing the same thing. The highest officials bow down before them, and impose upon themselves the greatest sacrifices, both of time and money, to build splendid kyaungs for them, and minister to their wants. Finally, the monk's person is sacred and inviolable. Nothing he does can subject him to the civil law. He bears the title of Thagiwin Mintha, Thagiwin Prince, as the heir of the scion of Kapilawut, and receiver of his inheritance.

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CHAPTER XXVI

SILK-GROWING

REARING silkworms, though a very profitable occupation, is not looked upon with any favour in Burma. To get the silk the pupa must be killed; and the taking of life in any form is an impiety always looked upon with great horror by all good Buddhists. Silk-growers are classed together with professional hunters and fishermen. The Four States of Punishment yawn for them, and their portion will be in the lowest abyss of the lowest hell. Still there are colonies of silk-growers in various parts of the country; but they live apart from the rest of the inhabitants as a rule, and often have entire villages to themselves. Colonel Horace Browne who, more than any other Englishman took an interest in the ways and occupations of the districts under his charge, states that the cultivators near Prome, where more silk is produced than in any part of Burma, are nearly all Yabeins —a race of the same stock as the Burmese, but despised by them independently of their crime in the way of habitually taking animal life. So much has the cultivation of silk become identified with them, that to Burman ears the term Yabein is virtually synonymous with that of silk-grower. They usually live on the hillsides, occupying themselves like the poorer Burmans and Karens, with taung-ya cultivation; burning the forests on the slopes and sowing the ground thus enriched with the wood ashes, with rice, cotton, or oil-seed. The system is viewed with very little approval by the government officials, for the taung-ya soil, hardly exhausted by the single crop raised off it, immediately produces a dense shrub-growth of no use to anybody, certainly not to the foresters.

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533 person's body in evidence of having carried out their orders. Then when the next palace concert came on, the king—his late majesty—would grow tired of the ordinary vocalists and regret that the great improvisatore was gone. Whereupon Maung Tha Byaw would promptly come forth and sing his sweetest. He was killed in this way several times, but in the end died a natural death, about the same time as his contemporary Yindaw Ma Le.

533 554 The honours he received were quite on a par with European estimation of musical talent. He had a patent to carry a golden umbrella, and, as Thabinwun, had magisterial powers to punish those who offended him or refused to obey his edicts. Two lictors went before him to clear the way, a white cloth being tied round their fasces as a distinctive mark. When he performed in a play a low yaza mat, or royal fence, extended across the front of the stage, and at the ends were planted his golden hti and a banana-tree. The latter distinction was also granted to Maung Tha Zan and Maung Mu, singers only inferior to the Thabinwun himself.

533 177.53 538 If the tunes are not easily reduced to regular rules, the difficulty with the metres is not less. There exist, indeed, written laws ordaining the number of feet to the verse, but they are as lightly regarded as is consistent with their recognition at all. Much more precision is indeed expected in the old tunes than in those of modern date, but even with them song-writers of the present time allow themselves considerable freedom. The original linga are all very short. Thus the pyo has but four syllables; kabya, four; yatu, six and four; luta, four; yagan, six and four; ègyin, four, five, and six; hmawlôn, four and six; paikzôn, four; legyo, four; sagyin, four, five, and six; and so forth. In the thanzan, or new tunes, however, the compass of the lines often approaches the portentous length of some of Walt Whitman's *Leaves of Grass*. Such modern tunes are the kayāthan (so-called English), dobatthan, nabethan, nanthein yodaya (Siamese), and pyigyithan (Chinese). Such composi-
533 538 tions as the lôngyin and ngogyin cannot be designated otherwise than as musical prose, with occasional fits of metre, prompted by their dolorous character. They are the

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These personal examples furnished by the teacher of neh'ban and the Law himself have only served to emphasise what is seen on the admission of every new member to the holy assembly. One of the articles with which, in addition to his dress and begging-bowl, every postulant must provide himself, is a strainer, without using which he must drink no water. The object is, of course, to prevent him from destroying life in the shape of the small animalcula to be found in water. Some zealous and scientific proselytiser endeavoured, by the use of microscopes, to persuade the people that this was of no avail, seeing that even in the strained water there was abundance of animal life; but a council decided that, provided the water had been filtered, if the ascetic could detect nothing living with his unaided eyes he was at liberty to drink the water without incurring blood-guiltiness. The attacks of science on Buddhism failed as completely as the efforts of most missionaries.

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The mingled pity and dislike with which professional hunters and fishermen, whose occupation implies the regular taking of life, are viewed by Buddhists, is well known, and makes itself evident in the fact that the villains in most plays are hunters. Fishermen are perhaps not so much decried—possibly on account of the plea brought forward on their behalf, that the fish die of themselves, being taken out of the water, and not through any direct action of their captors. It is in connection with fish, however, that one of the most curious national works of merit takes place annually—furnishing, like all Burmese festivals, occasion for much fun and frolic.

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The violence of the rain during the five or six months of the south-west monsoon floods the country. Not only do the rivers, which in many places rise regularly as much as thirty or forty feet above their hot-weather level—not only do they overflow their banks, and make wide seas of the neighbouring flat lands, but great lakes spring up everywhere. These are gradually stocked with fish of all kinds, most of which, by the sudden fall of the water, are cut off from all chance of retreat to the large rivers, where alone there is safety. Steadily the water goes down, the hot sun sucks up the pools, till at last the end seems to be come. The river

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CHAPTER XLV

SLAVES AND OUTCASTS

It is a work of the greatest possible merit to build a pagoda, and the founder, prefixing Payātaga to his signature, for the rest of his life is looked upon as certain to pass into ne'ban on the completion of this his present existence. Similarly a man acquires great kutho by repairing portions of one of the old national shrines, putting up a new umbrella on the summit, setting the steps that lead up to the platform in order, or even by simply gilding afresh a few square feet on a feast day. By doing any one of these things a man sets his balance of kan on the right side and gains the good opinion of his neighbours. It is, therefore, not unnatural that all foreigners should be struck with the fact that the regular servitors of the places of worship, those who sweep the platform, carry off dead leaves, broken branches, and litter generally, and keep the place in order, are not only slaves, but are regarded as outcasts with whom the rest of the community will have no dealings and whose society is contaminating. Not only is the original parakyun a slave for life, for no one, not even a king, can liberate him or provide a substitute in his place, but his descendants, till the cycle of Shin Gautama's religion shall have come to an end and all the relics shall vanish from the earth, all his children throughout the thousands of years that have to elapse, are fixed and settled slaves of the pagoda from their birth, and any one marrying a pagoda slave, even unwittingly, becomes himself, with all the children he may have had by a previous life, irremediably a parakyun. The reason no doubt lies in the conviction of the existence of original sin. It is desirable

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CHAPTER LII

THE LORD WHITE ELEPHANT

THE importance attached to the possession of a white elephant is traceable to the Buddhist system. The form in which Gautama Buddha entered the womb of Queen Maya to be born upon earth for the last time to "teach the Law and give the millions peace" was that of a white elephant. The Saddan, or celestial elephant, was an avatar of his many existences previously. The Saddan is gifted with special endowments, and is one of the seven precious things the possession of which marks the Sekyawadé, the Mahā Chakra Vartti Raja, "the great wheel-turning king," the holy and universal sovereign—a ruler who appears in once a cycle, at the time when the waxing and waning term of human life has reached its maximum of an athinkaya (a huge period represented by a unit and 164 cyphers) in duration. Thus the possession of an undoubted white elephant stands as a sign and symbol of universal sovereignty; and every Burmese king longed for the capture of such a treasure during his reign as a token that his legitimate royalty is recognised by the unseen powers. The great river of Burma, the Irrawaddy, is named from Airawata, the elephant of Indra, a sufficient assertion of the proper dwelling-place of all his successors. Hence the reverence of the Hindoos for the animal, and their not infrequent pilgrimages to Mandalay to see the royal creature and have a darsun, or interview of worship, with him.

All the elephants in the country, whether wild or tame, belonged to the king: whoever captured one had to give him up to the king, and he granted permission to the princes and to a few of the higher dignitaries to use them. The

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lucky discoverer of a white elephant was made a mingyi, and was exempted from taxes and burdens of every kind for the rest of his life. Red and spotted elephants were also held in great esteem.

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White crows, rats, mice, and hares are common and easily distinguished; but it is different with a white elephant. He is not to be considered as snow-white: very far from it. All the white elephants now existing in Siam and Burma are of a light mouse colour, somewhat of the same tint as the pale freckles to be found on the trunk of almost every ordinary elephant. This light grey is uniform all over, the spots on the trunk being white. The depth of the colour, however, varies greatly; and there are often blemishes in the shape of darker patches which would seem to ruin an otherwise eligible candidate's claims. It has been therefore found necessary to determine some infallible test points, which will demonstrate the right of the animal to his title. Determining white elephants is quite a science, and there is a very considerable literature on the subject. The Burmese skilled men fix upon two of these tests as superior to all others. One is that the elephant shall have five toe-nails on his hind feet instead of four. This is a good way of making certain, but occasionally there are indubitably black elephants which have the sacred number of toes. These [775] are white elephants debased by sin, labouring under the evil kan of previous existences, and therefore ineligible for the honours accorded to the real animal. The other test is considered perfectly decisive, no matter what the precise tint of the skin may be. It is this: if you pour water upon a "white" elephant he turns red, while a black elephant only becomes blacker than ever. This is the final test always resorted to in Mandalay. A swarthy specimen who had twenty toe-nails and turned red when he was washed would be forthwith installed in all the honours and emoluments of the Sinbyudaw, no matter what scoffers might say about his colour. Such a creature was the last Lord White Elephant in Mandalay. He would not have been recognised as an albino by any except those who are learned in the science and well versed in the voluminous and puzzling minutiæ of the question. To most people he seemed an impostor, for

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643 flung the spear at one or two of his father's trusted advisers; but it is not recorded that he ever actually killed anybody with his own hands. In fact, he got on fairly well with his ministers, having drilled the seniors into complete submission to his wishes, and appointed among the younger members those 645 who were most of his own way of thinking. The most 554 characteristic man in the Cabinet was the Hlethin Atwinwun, better known as the Hpaungwun. He was only of the second official grade, but none of the four wunmingyis had any real power. They dated from the last reign, and were practically over-ridden by the younger party. The king did, it is true, marry the daughter of the Kampat Mingyi, but that stolid old gentleman was always remarkable for his disinclination to do anything at all, and was not at all likely to exert himself unduly for the sake of precarious preeminence. Therefore the ex-Mayor of Mandalay, in conjunction with the Yanaung prince, a favourite of the Queen Supayalat's, and one or two others of the young Burman party, became the most representative ministers.

The Atwinwun wore the dragon tattooed on the nape of his neck. Fourteen years before he was a slave, and in position little better than a coolie. His rise from this rank might have been a credit to him if it had been effected by his own powers. But he rose by a mere accident, and carried all the tendencies of his original position with him. In 1866, when two of King Thibaw's half-brothers, the Myingun and Myingundaing princes, rose in rebellion against their father, the late king, the Hpaungwun — he seems more familiar under his old title—was one of the guards in the palace. After the rebels had killed their uncle, "the War Prince," they made for the Summer Palace, where the king was at the time along with Colonel Sladen, the British Resident. The Summer Palace is a small building outside the stockade of the actual nandaw, and it was foreseen that his majesty would make immediately for the eastern gate, which is quite close at hand. A man was therefore stationed there with orders to kill King Mindôn whenever he made his appearance. All happened as had been surmised with one slight exception. Royal blood in Mandalay never went outside the palace on its own legs, and when his majesty

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reached the gate he promptly jumped on the intending regicide's back and bade him carry him over the esplanade. The man was so overcome by the royal presence, or so slavishly accustomed to do what he was ordered, that he obeyed. When they were safe within the inner stockade he stooped down to let the king dismount, and his sword fell from the folds of his waistcloth. None but the king may carry arms within the nandaw, and the Hpaungwun, grasping the situation, snatched up the sword and cut the man's head off. Mindôn Min, with a curious regard for this mixture of barbarity and rapidity of action, made the coolie a subordinate official on the spot, and since then the Hpaungwun has gone on distinguishing himself as on this occasion. He was promoted successively through the grades of slipper-bearer, tea-server, and betel-box holder to that of the Governor of the Royal Rafts or Barges (Hpaungwun), and Mayor of Mandalay (Myowun), which latter steps he gained through his activity in the palace massacres —loyalty and energy his patent called it. King Thibaw found in the prompt and ruthless wun a willing and enthusiastic helper in the murder of the princes and princesses. Naturally he was one of the king's firmest supporters, for Thibaw's fall meant his own certain death. His squat figure and vulturine face made him the most easily recognised of the court circle, and he repaid the aversion of Englishmen with a most demonstrative hatred. Perhaps this was because his features, and especially his nose, suggested a European among his forebears. As Hlethin Atwinwun, or Minister of the Interior, he had supreme command over all the lower fluviatile provinces, and had a large military force at his command. He escaped punishment and became a trader after the annexation.

Equally high in the king's favour, and not less fierce in their denunciation of the English, were the Taingda Atwinwun and the Yenangyaung, also of the same second grade. They, too, were prominent in the massacres, and were reputed to drink curaçoa in tumblers. If they really did, it would account for a great deal. Both were slaves of the young Thibaw prince when he was a boy in the English Missionary school, and followed his fortunes into the Royal

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Monastery. As chiefs of the Letthôndaw, the Royal Page Bodyguard, they had the opportunity which won their rank. A daughter of the Taingda married the Hpaungwun, and the Atwinwun in consequence gave occasional dinners to the European and quasi-European dwellers in Mandalay. The guests were, as a rule, not in a position to brave his anger by a refusal, and had to endure most elaborate indignities at his hands. All the most humiliating formalities of the palace had to be observed towards the young minister, and the *menu* was said, by the victims, to be the worst of them all. In regard to this, it must be remembered that it took a very great deal to hurt the dignity of some Mandalay Europeans, and also that they were as fickle as any mob.

These three atwinwuns were the most powerful ministers, and had greater influence with the king than any of their technical superiors. The four wungyis were, with the exception of the Upathi, of very little account with any one. The Laungshwe Mingyi had been for long nearly bed-ridden, and was not able to appear even at Mindôn's funeral. The other three had all been in Europe, but the most that can be said of the Kampat Mingyi is that he became the king's father-in-law, while the Yaw was absent for nearly two years on an expedition against the Shan mountaineers. He effected nothing warlike, and rumour said that he was so fully occupied in keeping the troops from dispersing to their homes that he had no time to fight. The fourth, however, was a remarkable man. The Upathi, better known as the Kinwunmingyi, had been very prominent for years, and he lived for twenty years after the annexation as a pensioner of the British Government. He used to be commonly spoken of as the premier on English analogy, but there was really no such dignitary known in Burma, and the Kinwungyi's substantive appointment was simply that of foreign secretary. He was twice to Europe on embassies, and his naturally acute mind was thus enlarged in its views. Had it not been for his great command over the public feeling, and his influence even over King Thibaw, there would certainly have been war between Burma and Great Britain in 1879. The foreign secretary was the representative of order and it was a bad thing for the

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country when he was almost entirely driven from power, if not from office. He was a master of oriental craft, and tided through all the intrigues against him. He held a document from the late king, granting him immunity from all kinds of death. The list is a very frightful one, and ranges from vulgar, obvious beheading to the refined cruelty of throwing on a spread-eagled victim a nest of the fierce red ants known as kāgyin, whose mandibles drive a man raving mad in little over a quarter of an hour. But the palm-leaf patent would have been of little avail without a head that was well able to take care of itself. Like many of the older and better ministers, the Upathi Mingyi came from the cloister to office. On Mindôn's accession to the throne, he at once appointed the Pakhan Mingyi from a monastery to be an atwinwun, and in no very great time to the supreme rank of mingyi, a skipping of the lower grades which was very unusual, as was also the circumstance that the new minister married one of King Tharrawaddy's widows. The Kin Wungyi was in the Pakhan's monastery, shared his rise, and when the patron, who never lost the bilious, monkish look, and the cold, stiff pôngyi's manner, obtained the deliverance, succeeded him as mingyi. Had he been permitted, the foreign secretary would have made Burma a very different country from what it was.

The Upathi was certainly a superior man, and compiled some valuable digests of Burmese law after his retirement in Rangoon, but undoubtedly the most singular of the Mandalay court officials was the Pangyet Wun. He was a polished gentleman, spoke English fairly and French and Italian fluently, and had considerably more than a veneer of civilisation. As a boy he was at school in Calcutta, and having been well grounded there, proceeded to France. There he took his degree at the Panthéon, obtained a diploma in the Central Imperial School of Arts and Manufactures in Paris, and was altogether nearly twelve years in Europe. Notwithstanding his reminiscences of Mabille and the Champs Elysées, however, he accommodated himself very well to circumstances. When the young man returned to Mandalay, King Mindôn had a long talk with him, and finally said: "And these foreigners, then, have

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they in any of their cities buildings such as adorn our Royal City of Gems?" Alas! your majesty," he replied, "the luckless people have not the magnificent teak; how, then, can they hope to raise anything comparable to the meanest of your palaces?" This courtier-like caution never deserted the Pangyet Wun. He never meddled with politics, and was content with his governorship of the glass manufactories, which meant anything or nothing, and commanded a nominal salary. But none of the ministers had any salary from King Thibaw, so that the cultured sinecurist was not worse off than his fellows. He consorted a good deal with foreigners, but averted suspicion by saying that it was merely to keep up his knowledge of their languages. No doubt he might have had a much higher post, but he had enough money, and did not care to run the risk of trying for more. That was also his view during the crisis and after the annexation.

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CHAPTER LXIII

A PÔNGYI BYAN

THE veneration and respect which meet the yahan all through his life are extended to his remains when he dies, or rather when he leaves this world. The monk does not "die" as a common layman does, he does not even, like the king, "ascend to the nat-déwas' village." The holy man in his last existence must have been holy in order to have accumulated the sum of merits which enabled him upon earth to remain steadfast in the sacred order. When he passes away, he "returns" to the highest heavens of nats, or to the meditative states of zān, or perhaps even to the pure and immaterial realms of arupa. Therefore a mendicant's funeral is called a pôngyi byan —the return of the great glory. Even a junior member is burnt with great solemnity and state; but when a distinguished brother dies, one famous for his learning, his austerity, or the great number of Lents he has spent in the cloister, the obsequies swell into a ceremonial which attracts people from all parts of the country. 792 764 554

As soon as life leaves the body, the corpse is carefully washed in the usual way by the dead pôngyi's chief supporters and some of the monastic scholars. Then the intestines are taken out and buried in a quiet corner of the monastery grounds, or near the pagoda. The cavity of the stomach is then filled up with hot ashes, sawdust, a few spices, and whatever other available substances may be presumed likely to dry up the humours, and then the skin is sewed together again. A layer of wax is sometimes spread all over the body, but more often it is simply tightly swathed in white cloth from head to foot. This linen cloth is then 792 764

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

Can anyone ever tell when the influence of a monk has been other than for pity or mercy? Surely they believe their religion? I did not know how people could believe till I saw them. 792 779

Martyrdom—what is martyrdom, what is death, for your religion, compared to living within its commands? Death is easy; life it is that is difficult. Men have died for many things: love and hate, and religion and science, for patriotism and avarice, for self-conceit and sheer vanity, for all sorts of things, of value and of no value. Death proves nothing. Even a coward can die well. But a pure life is the outcome only of the purest religion, of the greatest belief, of the most magnificent courage. Those who can live like this can die, too, if need be—have done so often and often; that is but a little matter indeed. No Buddhist would consider that as a very great thing beside a holy life.

There is another difference between us. We think a good death hallows an evil life; no Buddhist would hear of this for a moment.

The reverence in which a monk—ay, even the monk to-day who was but an ordinary man yesterday—is held by the people is very great. All those who address him do so kneeling. Even the king himself was lower than a monk, took a lower seat than a monk in the palace. He is addressed as 'Lord,' and those who address him are his disciples. Poor as he is, living on daily charity, without any power or authority of any kind, the greatest in the land would dismount and yield the road that he should pass. Such is the people's reverence for a holy life. Never was such voluntary homage 792 554 198

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

792 yielded to any as to these monks. There is a
●554 special language for them, the ordinary language
198 of life being too low to be applied to their actions.
They do not sleep or eat or walk as do other men.

792 It seems strange to us, coming from our land where poverty is an offence, where the receipt of alms is a degradation, where the ideal is power, to see here all this reversed. The monks are the poorest of the poor, they are dependent on the people for their daily bread; for although lands may be given to a monastery—as a matter of fact, very few have any at all, and those only a few palm-trees—they have no power at all, either temporal or eternal; they are not very learned, and yet they are the most honoured of all people. Without any of the attributes which in our experience gather the love and honour of mankind, they are honoured above all men.

The Burman demands from the monk no assistance in heavenly affairs, no interference in worldly, only this, that he should live as becomes a follower of the great teacher. And because he does so live the Burman reverences him beyond all others. The king is feared, the wise man admired, perhaps envied, the rich man is respected, but the monk is honoured and loved. There is no one beside him in the heart of the people. If you would know what a Burman would be, see what a monk is: that is his ideal. But it is a very difficult ideal. The Burman is very fond of life, very full of life, delighting in the joy of existence, brimming over with vitality, with humour, with merriment. They are a young people, in the full flush of early nationhood. To them of all

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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586 'I did not know,' she said; 'I was hot-tempered. I was foolish. But now I know. Ah! the house is so lonely! I have but two ears, I have but two eyes, and the house is so large.'

But the husband refused again.

'What is done, is done. Marriage is not to be taken off and put on like a jacket. I have made up my mind.'

[762] Then he went away, and after a little the woman went away too. She went straight to the big, lonely house, and there she hanged herself.

You see, she loved him all the time, but did not know till too late.

Men do not often apply for divorce except for very good cause, and with their minds fully made up to obtain it. They do obtain it, of course.

586 177 647 With this facility for divorce, it is remarkable how uncommon it is. In the villages and amongst respectable Burmans in all classes of life it is a great exception to divorce or to be divorced. The only class amongst whom it is at all common is the class of hangers-on to our Administration, the clerks and policemen, and so on. I fear there is little that is good to be said of many of them. It is terrible to see how demoralizing our contact is to all sorts and conditions of men. To be attached to our Administration is almost a stigma of disreputableness. I remember remarking once to a headman that a certain official seemed to be quite regardless of public opinion in his life, and asked him if the villagers did not condemn him. And the headman [554] answered with surprise: 'But he is an official'; as if officials were quite *super grammaticam* of morals.

16;Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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262 779 and these were sold occasionally. It is ten years since King Thibaw was overthrown, and there is now no law against the sale of beef. And yet, as I have said, no respectable Burman will even now kill or sell beef. The law was founded on the beliefs of the people, and though the law is dead, the beliefs remain.

231 779 It is true that the taking of life is against Buddhist commands. No life at all may be taken by him who adheres to Buddhistic teaching. Neither for sport, nor for revenge, nor for food, may any animal be deprived of the breath that is in it. And this is a command wonderfully well kept. There are a few exceptions, but they are known and accepted as breaches of the law, for the law itself knows no exceptions. Fish, as I have said, can be obtained almost everywhere. They are caught in great quantities in the river, and are sold in most bazaars, either fresh or salted. It is one of the staple foods of the Burmese. But although they [443] will eat fish, they despise the fisherman. Not so [554] much, perhaps, as if he killed other living things, but still, the fisherman is an outcast from decent society. He will have to suffer great and terrible punishment before he can be cleansed from the sins that he daily commits. Notwithstanding this, there are many fishermen in Burma.

A fish is a very cold-blooded beast. One must be very hard up for something to love to have any affection to spare upon fishes. They cannot be, or at all events they never are, domesticated, and most of them are not beautiful. I am not aware that they have ever been known to display any

General Attitudes of the Burmese toward Work.

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Rank and status in the Burmese Village is determined to a large extent on the basis of occupation - with the factor of wealth where applicable taking precedence over occupation. The highest rank is accorded to the Buddhist monks who exert the ultimate influence. Government officials including the township officers, the THU GYI (headman) and elders, and the schoolmaster occupy the second rank. The large land owners (of this group the rice-mill owners rate highest) rank next. Below these are the tradesmen - the paddy dealers, shop keepers and small holdings farmers who comprise the bulk of the population. Professional artisans such as carpenters, blacksmiths, gold and silver smiths occupy a lower position. However, it is common for the small holdings farmers to practice a secondary occupation such as pottery making.

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Fishermen and hunters are looked down on by the rest of the community because they offend Buddhist precepts by taking life. In this class also are those who raise animals (cows, poultry, pigs) for food, smugglers and brewers. Fishermen, particularly those such as U Myaing who operate IN fisheries often become wealthy, but the stigma of the source of this wealth is remembered by the community.

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A story is told of a rich fisherman who came to cover the Shwe Dagon Pagoda in Rangoon with gold plate. Unfortunately, he had sinned so much by taking the lives of fish that he could not see the pagoda. In a rage he returned to his IN to cover its posts with the gold. Because of the stigma attached to fishing those who make their living in this way tend to live together in their own communities. Thus Pathae, U Myaing's village is primarily a fisherman's community.

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In the days of the Burmese kings, wealthy man and nobles (THAKIN) would assign people under their command to serve as pagoda slaves. Their names were engraved in stone and their descendants for all eternity assigned to this position. The duties were light - consisting mainly of sweeping the platforms and carrying for the images, but the social position was next to the lowest. It is believed that the flower vendors on the platform of the Rangoon

pagodas and those throughout the country are descendants of the pagoda slaves.

Beggars are rated below the pagoda slaves - but, because of the Buddhist merit associated with giving do well for themselves. The beggars live in communities on the outskirts of the town often in cemetaries. They are thought to exhume the dead to get the coins placed in the mouth of the deceased to ensure expenses on his journey to heaven. The wood of the coffin is believed to be used in constructing their huts. Professional undertakers or morticians are regarded with horror since they like the beggars, make their living from the dead. The functions of burial are performed gratis by the entire village. A story is currently going round the University dormitories telling of an immensely wealthy Burmese coffin maker in Rangoon who has offered riches to the young man who will marry his beautiful daughter. When the future seems blank the students' friend advises "Hey, why don't you go and marry the coffin maker's daughter?" It seems that the money would scarcely compensate for the social discrimation. The extent to which the occupation classes are rigid in marriage and other social exchanges is an interesting problem.

A young man is obliged to remain within the occupation class of his family or to rise to greater heights. He is advised at an early age to "be simple, aim high, and tell the truth." When children play at dacoits (thieves) of other "low class" games their parents object to their low aspirations and advise them to play nobles and ministers. One would feel justified in remaining idle rather than accept a position below that of his birth. It is better to accept a clerks job at a low salary than an artisans at a high salary. On the other hand those born into lower status occupation groups tend to be satisfied with their state as a condition of birth. In Rangoon, however, even the hawkers may have ambitions to achieve fame and fortune. The opportunities for social mobility is greater in the towns and cities but difinitely restricted in the villages.

Apprenticeship to trades begins at the age of 12 to 14 years, and usually lasts for several years. Ordinarily the youth is attached to the shop of a relative where he lives and is payed a subsistence wage while learning. The key to high positions lies in education in

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461 The key to high positions lies in education in
555 the high schools and Universities. Family support is necessary for
873 this and the student is constantly aware of his obligation to succeed
602 for their benefit. "One tree can support a thousand birds" illustrate
[538] the dependency of the relatives on the successful individual.

555 In order to succeed one needs each of these three qualities:
777 KAMMA (fate or luck), NYAN (intelligence), and WIRIYA(industriousness
152 The failure of any one can cause the lack of success. Ordinarily,
602 however, KAMMA is blamed in cases of failure - and the other two credited for success. The concept of KAMMA includes merit and demerit compiled in all previous existences. Because of this convenient excuse the true causes of failure are seldom analysed by the individual and he does not have a sense of personal blame or shame. Also social condemnation does not fall heavily on the unsuccessful who has tried and failed. However, one should finish what he starts or not attempt it, "once you start climbing the pole you must reach the top". The individual may not achieve fame or fortune but he is expected to maintain his birth position. His relatives, who suffer shame if he does not, help him. A major contribution of the individual is an
[583] advantagous marriage within or above his occupational group.

556 What does one strive for, by work, in the Burmese society? Not
•554 subsistence, for food is ordinarily cheap and easily attained in the
461 villages. Clothing, shelter and the other necessities of life are also not the objective. The subsistence pattern is simple and essentially homogeneous throughout the village.

554 The ordinary head of a household thinks of three major benefits
301 to be gained from wealth. The first and most immediate are jewels to
461 adorn the women of the family. The status of the family is reflected in public by the bangles, necklaces and earrings worn by the ladies. Diamonds are most prized and the size is important. However, most important is that each female be provided with "a set" of jewelry. The wife of the middle and upper status group particularly will prod the husband until he provides these necessities. The women's clothing and also the husbands and his son's must also be the finest they can afford.

461 The second urge for wealth arises out of the desire for old age
554 security. Hence gold coins are saved (hidden) against the day when
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the husband is too old to work. Aged parents are invariably respected but those who can still support themselves are "worshipped". Parents do not rely on their sons who have their own families to support but feel that their daughters will always "bring them a cup of curry".

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The third urge is to have wealth to donate to the Buddhist church. This is regarded as a sound investment since it not only brings a most satisfying honour especially in old age (to be a "pagoda giver") but also counts as merit credited to the individual's account in eternity.

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Competition is keenly felt between individuals and families of the same occupation group or adjacent groups but not between the lower and upper classes. An exception is where family traditional land has changed hands - and hard feelings may persist. A carpenter's family does not envy and covet the riches of a government official's family. His lot is due to KARMA and even if he wished to attain such fortune it would be beyond his abilities. More important, it is not expected of him. So the carpenter is content with cheap jewelry for his women and an occasional gold coin - but the pattern is the same as for the upper class. However among the individuals and families of an occupation level there is much rivalry for the benefits wealth can bring. It is a point of pride to have the largest diamonds at a social function, and to give the biggest pagoda. Wives brag that their husbands "prevent the hairs of their hands from singeing" - that they have servants to cook. Rank and recognition are based on these considerations.

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The women of the family exert powerful influence in financial matters and are respected for their sound judgement. Women's occupations include cigar manufacturing, pottery making, and especially shop keeping.

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The beginning of an enterprise is conditioned by the wisdom of the ancients and especially the date and place which are given by formula in the Burmese calendar. There are NEI-RAZA (day king of) "fortunate days" and PYAD-THADA "unlucky days". For example the calendar announces that Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays of a particular month are fortunate days to begin enterprises, and other days either unfortunate or neutral. Rangoon sophisticates (but never villagers) tell such stories as this: Two phongyis travelled by boat; the first boarded the boat on a fortunate day to begin travelling. The next day the boat came to the second phongyi's village. This was an unfortunate

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777 day on the calendar but the second phongyi decided to embark anyway. Both phongyis were lost when the boat sank that day.

●554 The revered position of phongyis is open to all regardless of
792 birth or position. It is felt that some take up the robe because the
178 are unsuccessful in life, or wish an "easy living" - but perhaps this
626 attitude is one of modern sophisticates. Certainly the dominant position of the brotherhood is unchallenged. Occasionally differences arise between the headman and the phongyis of a village. But the phongyis invariably prevail. Offending laymen can be "deprived the gate of heaven" by phongyis refusing to accept HSOON, alms, from th This is called inverting the begging bowl THA-BEIT-MAUK-TAI (Begging
[468] bowl-upturn) and is the current phrase for any sort of a "strike".

792 Some unprincipalled phongyis have sought to enrich themselves by
556 accepting gifts of land or other property, or by selling gifts for money to traders. When they leave the brotherhood and become laymen
[735] again this property become theirs. Such occurences appear to be rare and are controlled by stipulations of the givers. For example a donor would hesitate to give paddy land to a suspected phongyi but might agree to giving the crops while retaining title.

554 The government or administrative class is looked up to with
647 great respect - in part a carry over from the days of royalty, in part
641 an attitude towards power and influence. However, while the villager today may not know the details of the new constitution he knows there is a "code" wherein he can secure impartial justice.

General Burmese Attitudes about and Usages of
Personal Accoutrement.

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"LU-BMAR-AR-MOOT-TAING-BMAR-AR-COOT" — "People must have decent dress just as a basket must have a rim" expresses the basic attitude of the Burmese towards personal accoutrement. By "decent" is meant fitting and proper to a person's station in life and the occasion. Most important, the garments must be clean and maintained in a state of repair. The cotton objects are cleaned by whacking on rock slabs at a water source; the silk garments are aired in the sun and shaken and when absolutely necessary washed - this removes the crispness for which they are valued. Recently dry cleaning establishments have operated in Rangoon. But these are quite expensive and used extensively only by the wealthy. "If one has only one shirt it must be white (i.e. clean)".

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Perhaps the most important means of asserting status is by personal accoutrement. The value of jewels, fine silks for the women of the family has been mentioned above. The Burmese have a low opinion of the person who does not dress up to his station. But are also scornful of those who dress above their qualifications. For example, a man who wears the religious all white costume inappropriately is called CHAUN-THU-DAW (cat-goodman) or pretender. The story is told of a cat who always faced the sun with open jaws. When visiting rats asked why he replied that the rays of the sun nourished him. Yet the last of the visiting rats invariably disappeared into the cat's paw. A war-time atrocity story records the sad tale of a Burmese maiden who was too poor to afford a decent longyi and therefore was forced to commit suicide.

The variety of different longyis worn also indicate status. It is said that some wealthy Rangoon ladies buy a new silk longyi for each social occasion - and rapidly discard them when slightly soiled. In the main, however, the Burmese "pay great respect to their clothes" and boast rather of wearing clothes that are years old - thus indicating the high quality of the cloth. Young girls frequently have Mandalay silk longyis handed down to them by their grandmothers. Success is indicated by the constant increase in quality and quantity

of clothes. The old people take care to save the torn garments for use in wiping the hands after meals, for handling hot pots on the stove and the like. 291 554 181

There are three classes of clothing (1) working clothes (2) festive dress, and (3) religious dress. The working clothes consist of the cheaper and less ornate fabrics and are mainly of cotton. The men usually bind the longyi around the loins by looping the shirt in a band between the legs. Htamein (women's longyi) waist band is secured under the armpits when bathing. 291 292

While walking in the rain the longyis are also raised to prevent them from becoming wet. Festive dress involves the best which one has, usually silks and are worn on the Sabbath days and at special social occasions as the SHIN BYA and other ceremonies. Religious dress is worn constantly by Pongyis (orange robes), nuns (peach coloured) and frequently by old men (white) and old women (light chocolate coloured). On Sabbath days the particularly religious individuals of all ages, especially those belonging to Buddhist lay societies, wear religious dress. 291 779 [575]

The term LONGYI means "lower apparel" and is applied to both men's (PUSO) and women's (HTAMEIN). The men's festive longyi TAUNG-SHAY-PUSO (taung measurement- twenty-puso) worn frequently in the past and now reserved for special occasions was a double silk PUSO 8 yards long. A special method of securing this garment about the waist results in GABON ZA ("Sticking out piece") a fold which protrudes 6 or more inches in the midline - only, however, when the silk is crisp and stiff (new and/or finest heavy quality). This is regarded as a very manly garment. Two styles of APAW KINGYI (over jacket) men's jacket are worn. The "Peking" type meeting at the mid-line is most common. A "Cantonese" type buttons over like the women's jacket at the side. 291 292

Formerly every young man had tattooed thighs, extending in a solid band of decoration from a few inches above the knees to the hips. The motifs were frequently nat symbols. The main purpose was to display manliness and courage since the process of tatooing, done with a 3 pronged fork dipped in pigment was extremely painful. 304 562 178

302 on top of the head. Scented hair oil is used by both sexes on
177 special occasions.
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291 The HTAMEIN is regarded as "unworthy" for a man to touch. A
562 severe insult is for a wife to request her husband to bring her
183 HTAMEIN or to wash it. Drying HTAMEINS in the front of the house is never allowed; and it is strictly forbidden for this garment to touch any pongyi utensils. Parents instruct their boys never to pass under the strings of a line of which HTAMEINS are drying as such is thought to take away the masculine powers, and render the tattooed charms ineffective. Men and women's clothes are washed and stored separately.

[593] When a son neglects his mother after marriage she will complain with rage that he has not come out of the HTAMEIN and is under the HTAMEIN government of his wife.

291 Women usually wear solid black HTAMEINS during menstruation.
841 Boys, in jest, inform one of their companions that he may now become serious when the girl of his choice appears in a black dress for the first time.

Slippers of both sexes are regarded as "dirty" objects and are left outside of the houses. They are strictly prohibited in pagoda enclosures and land. When a girl is angry at a teasing boy (or quarreling with a woman) she will threaten to slap his face with her sandal. This is a double insult since the head is regarded as a particularly sacred part of the body. Barbers must ask permission and apologise for touching the heads of their customers.

291 Western clothing has a higher status than Burmese clothing in
177 certain situations and on certain occasions especially where western
●554 people are present in suits. However, for most occasions, everyday or special, the Burmese costume is preferred. When abroad the Burmese men usually wear western garb. The wearer of western clothes

[186] is often open to the taunt that he is "Bo Gyi (term for Englishmen) made in Burma". There is a strong feeling in all cases to be "properly" dressed and not to stand out from the rest of the group. This tendency is stronger in men than women who with their jewels and fine silks attempt to rival each other in a contest for social posi-

[562] tion. Burmese girl students who go abroad almost invariably wear their native costumes.

his lot. It also tends toward a kind of stratification of society where the boundaries, however, are neither sharp nor fast. Each person is comfortably installed in his place and competes, mildly, only with those of his own level. The obligations (as contributions for ceremonies) are in terms of one's ability, and his status is in terms of his virtues. Status is closely correlated with increasing age. This concept motivate the Burmese in the village within "KARMA groups". 181 156 364 555 [561] [554]

The unusual individual may transcend his family positions in exceptional cases - by marriage or achievement. Achievement by physical force has been a means of mobility in the past - there is the tradition of the strong man leader who comes from humble origins. Mobility by entrepreneur achievement (rice mill owners; traders) has been greatly stimulated with increased western contacts. U Myaing was a sort of entrepreneur in Pathwe. In Rangoon the opportunities are great and some Burmese are successfully embracing this, as yet, somewhat unfamiliar course. The western entrepreneur concept appears to be finding a fertile ground in the traditional "group individualism" of the Burmese. 156 555 557 [177]

<u>The standards or levels of culture</u>: When U Myaing's standard of living plummeted downwards as a refugee he became discontented and unhappy desiring to return to the "plateau" of his former level. At first he could only think of returning to Pathwe to achieve this, but as [illegible] begins to crown his efforts in Rangoon he now feels the beginnings of a sense of achievement. In his refugee situation there was no sense of shame for his reduction - the events contributing to his downfall were beyond his control, and he had lived "as a refugee should" in which his abilities and obligations were balanced. This resulted in an attitude of cheerful patience understandable in terms of the KARMA concept. 511 181 558

The two standards, in Pathwe and camp, represent balanced levels ranging from the "average" Burmese villages situation to close to the minimum. Higher standards than those of Pathwe are seen in the administrative class of Rangoon and other major towns where western influences are strong (car, western furniture and household utensils, modernized house and clothing, etc.). Lower standards may be 511 565 [177]

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However, the Burmese equivalent of the English interlude came into being all the same. It developed out of the equivalent of the English miracle play, but indirectly. The chance of developing the drama was seized by professional actors. To break away from the tradition and the conservatism, persons outside the pale of 'good' society were needed. Spirit dancers were such persons. They worshipped the *nats*[1] and most people looked upon them with fear as being in touch with sinister and unnatural forces. They were outside the religion, and their drunken dances—drunken from wine and ecstacy—were outside the popular conception of moral behaviour. Therefore the new professional actors were drawn from the ranks of the spirit mediums. However, those who took to the new profession were malcontents and failures in their original profession. The increase in the number of the spirit dancers had caused the mediums to form themselves into a fraternity, the entry to which was closely guarded. The economic attractions of spirit dancing tempted people who had no faith in the spirits to become mediums. These factors caused discontent and disunion among the mediums, and within and without the fraternity pseudo-mediums came into being. The advance of education had robbed the *nats* of many worshippers, but most people continued to patronize spirit dancing for mere love of music and dancing. The result was the rise of a class of professional entertainers who danced and sang and played on musical instruments. The new dancers pretended to be mediums and semi-mediums, but their dancing was unconnected with any spirit feast. The rise of this professional dancing was doubtless gradual and must have preceded the *Nibhathkhin*. As early as about the year 1400, two princes and their attendants, when turned out of their palace, earned their living as wandering minstrels and professional dancers, pretending to be spirit worshippers.[2] Because of the very fact that the new dancers were malcontents and failures in their original

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[1] The objects of the spirit worship are the thirty-seven *nats*, all of whom are more or less of evil character; but there are in addition to these many good *nats* who have little to do with human affairs. [176]

[2] One prince became King Minkaung (1401–22), the other, his brother, helping him to gain the throne. An attendant became King Mohnyinthadot (1427–40), and the others ministers (G. E. Harvey, op. cit., p. 96). [175]

The new dancers were mostly men. Men mediums were secondary to women mediums, and perhaps that was one of the reasons for the discontent among the mediums, and also the reason why the men took to wandering all over the country as dancers. [162]

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
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536* 178 791 554 profession of mediums, they could break away also from the tradition and conservatism of the spirit worshippers. They were outside the religion and outside the spirit worship. They were fettered by nothing. They were the only persons who could develop new ideas with regard to the *Nibhatkhin*. And they were the first to realize the possibilities of the new entertainment. Soon they had developed it into the Burmese equivalent of the English interlude.

536* 178 522 The professional dancers became actors. People were no longer satisfied with mere dancing and singing, for the *Nibhatkhin* had given them some taste of the dramatic scene. Therefore the dancers in the middle of their entertainment paused and gave a little scene, or rather a one-act play. The male dancer became the hero, the female dancer the heroine, and the other two or three dancers became minor characters. The clown had been long before borrowed from the *Nibhatkhin*, and he became a mimic-dancer attending on the others. For two reasons the scene was always the forest. First, it did not need much stage scenery, as the branch of a tree would be enough to indicate that the action was supposed to be taking place in a forest. Second, the journey through a forest by the hero and heroine made it possible for human beings and fairies, demons and gods, princes and commoners to meet and take part in various adventures and mis-adventures. Thus the Burmese interlude came into being.

536* 744 Perhaps it is not illogical to wonder whether there was an intermediary stage of development, whether there were plays comparable to the English morality plays, bridging the gap between the *Nibhatkhin* on the one hand and the Burmese interlude on the other. It is of course impossible to be certain with regard to the question, for no Burmese miracle play or interlude has come down to us in writing. I have said[1] that there are oral accounts regarding the *Nibhatkhin* and that entertainment which I have termed the interlude, and also written accounts regarding the latter. But there is absolutely no mention in those accounts of anything which could be termed the Burmese morality play. Yet, I venture to think that there must have been plays comparable to the English moralities. If it should be presumed that the interlude developed directly out of the *Nibhatkhin*, there would be a big gap between the two. I think that the professional actors first gave semi-religious plays in imitation of the *Nibhatkhin*. I think also that there were also plays actually dealing with abstract notions of morality and religion which formed the

[1] Introduction, pp. 7–10.

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subject of the English morality plays. Again and again we find writers writing and actors saying in the prologue or epilogue that a play represents but life in its various stages; as man begins in laughter and ends in misery and death, a play begins with the happiness of the hero and heroine, and then goes on to tell of their misery and parting. To the conservative Burmese Buddhist, professional acting was a sin, and to get over the difficulty, the idea came into being that the play was only a species of preaching the religion. The existence of that idea perhaps supports my theory that there actually were plays dealing with morals which would favour the rise of such an idea. Perhaps the strongest evidence that there was a morality stage in the history of the development of Burmese drama is the existence of a popular play which has never been printed, but which is still sometimes acted. The play has no title. A rich miser marries a young wife and soon dies. The wife at once remarries. The miser now in Hell sues the wife and the new husband before the court of the governor of Hell, for the restitution of the property he had so patiently gathered and hoarded. There is a trial, and after hearing the arguments of both sides, the judge decides in favour of the young couple. The play ends with the judge moralizing on the emptiness and transitory nature of human riches. The play is quite crude and short, so that when presented today the actors have to lengthen the play to make it last the night. There is very little action, and the king of later dramas is absent. The names of the characters are general and abstract; Mister Miserly, Mistress Wife, Master New Husband, and Death (who takes the old husband to Hell).

The interlude was extremely popular, and at the court, at the houses of officials (the Burmese had no hereditary nobility, and the officials were the nobles) and at public feasts and festivals the interlude was presented. The importance of the interlude in the development of Burmese drama is great, but the importance of the professional actors who first presented the interlude in the development of the acting profession and stage conventions is even greater. The fact that the original members of the profession were outside the social pale caused all actors and actresses to be looked down upon; that fact explains why in an essentially democratic society it was said with contempt that 'beggars and actors, they are the eaters of food thrown away as waste'.[1]

[1] The stage conventions and the acting profession are described in detail in chap. vii.

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popularity of the novel which discouraged the people from reading the once-famous plays and caused the 'dead' drama to be forgotten.

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Yet the dramatic performances were popular everywhere, and in the circumstances, 'matinee idols' adored by their admirers soon appeared. These popular actors and actresses were admired purely for their dancing and singing. The result was to put the play yet further into the background. When a performance started, the audience clamoured for their favourite actor or actress, and during scenes in which he or she did not appear, it went to sleep. Three of these popular 'stars' became exceptionally famous; Aungbala, Sein Kadon, and Po Sein.[1] When Aungbala died in 1910, his funeral at Mandalay was similar in nature and incident to that of Rudolph Valentino, the cinema actor. These three led famous troupes of their own and toured the country, which on the whole tended to lower even further the dramatic performances in artistic value. For example, Sein Kadon danced with little electric bulbs all over his dress, and Po Sein had two English ex-soldiers with rifles standing motionless on each side of the stage whenever he appeared. There is no denying that there had been threats against his life by supporters of rival troupes, but I do not think that the rifles were quite necessary. In any case, the fact that he was guarded by two live English ex-soldiers impressed the audience, increased his prestige, and enhanced the theatrical effect. Such 'playing to the gallery' by the actors further prevented the possibility of any revival of [554] scholarly interest in the dramatic performance. Moreover, as rival supporters spread tales of immorality and bad conduct among those actors whom they did not favour, the prejudice against the profession increased in intensity among the more conservative Burmese. And by about 1900, the performances could claim at the most only a distant relationship with the drama of U Kyin U and U Pon Nya.

2. The English Drama in Burma

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If we put the Sanskrit, Elizabethan, and Burmese dramas side by side, we find that the Elizabethan and Burmese have much in common, both differing greatly from the Sanskrit.[2] Of the Sanskrit drama Dr A. B. Keith says:

[1] Po Sein was decorated later by the Government. See chap. viii.

[2] Apart, of course, from the fact that the Sanskrit drama is classical in language and in age.

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536* part, although there was no stage convention preventing women from
534 taking it up as a vocation. The head of the orchestra was also the
462 head of the troupe. He was the most learned and experienced
463 member, and he was responsible for the organization and financial outlay, paying more or less fixed wages to the others, and taking the profits himself. When engaged for a performance, the troupe was paid by public subscription or by some philanthropic person, usually an official, and therefore no charge for admission was made, all being
[565] welcome to it. The Burmese actors as a class, unlike their Elizabethan counterparts who could endow a College of God's Gift or buy a coat-of-arms, were poor. But they never starved, for even the poorest villages would welcome and feed them on their wanderings all over the country. The troupe was one large family, and the children of the members accompanied it. In spite of the prejudice against them and their poverty, the actors loved their art, and enjoyed the performances themselves.

536* There were many conventions connected with the stage, and they can be divided into two classes: those imposed on the actors by themselves, and those imposed by the fear of becoming unpopular with the audience.

795 The actors never forgot that they were originally spirit-dancers,
536* and therefore they had conventions by which they showed their indebtedness to spirit worship. Before the performance offerings of food were made to the thirty-seven *nats*. As a curtain-raiser, there was a performance by a dancer or chorus of dancers. Each wore a red
[533] cloth round the head—the sign of a spirit worshipper. Singing invocations to the *nats* and dancing the appropriate dances, they asked for protection by the spirits, while the orchestra played a bar from each
[751] of the thirty-seven *nat* tunes. It was supposed that if this convention was broken, disaster would befall the troupe, the performance would prove a failure, and the actors would become mad; but often these conventions had been known to be broken, accidentally or otherwise.

536* The actors were looked upon as irreligious and immoral, and on
463 the slightest excuse, they were in danger of being considered profane.
554 Therefore, as has been stated, they took over the conventions from
[779] the *Nibhathkin*. The Buddha was never impersonated, and an *arahat* or saint only when absolutely necessary, and then by an able and 'serious' actor, who had to keep a fast that day. Not even a mild joke was to be made against the Buddha or an *arahat*, although even monks and the religion itself could be the butt of a clown's wit. But

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
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of course there were limits to the latitude allowed to him. The neglect of these conventions was supposed to result in disaster to the troupe and the death through diarrhoea of the actor who took the part or cracked the joke, and it would certainly result in the whole troupe being beaten by the audience and then put in prison by the officials. On the whole, the charge of irreligiousness attributed to the actors was not justified, and throughout the years, they had never been known even to attempt to evade the conventions. There were also conventions connected with social decorum. Kissing was not allowed on the stage. Although no penalty, supposed or real, was attached to it, this convention has never been broken. The actors could wear reproductions of all the regalia of a king, except the golden shoes, which only the king himself and princes in the line of succession could wear. The breaking of this rule was supposed to result in the death by diarrhoea of the actor who wore the shoes, but it was not punishable as a crime if they were actually worn on the stage, and it is known to have been broken sometimes. All the conventions, including those connected with spirit-dancing, still exist at the present day.

536 * 463 554 ● 536 * 577 [643] 626

During the decadent period the platform stage, the elaborate scenery and curtains were introduced from French and English sources, for French touring companies often performed before the court towards the close of Mindon's reign (1853–78), and from about 1870 English touring companies of actors often visited Rangoon. With the performances of these companies of European actors, the general public had no contact. At the court the king and a few courtiers, out of respect for the French embassy, witnessed presentations of French operettas, but as they did not understand French and the actors could speak no Burmese, the court found the performances boring at times. At Rangoon the English actors presented musical comedies, or more truly, musical shows, to an audience composed entirely of English residents. It must be stated that the touring actors did in no way introduce specimens of the French or English dramas, for what they presented were third-rate musical shows. But they did introduce some examples of western stage-craft, and the Burmese professional actors, ever on the alert for borrowings, copied wholesale the platform stage, the curtain, and the elaborate stage scenery, with the result that, during the decadent period, the Burmese stage came to be a copy of the European stage. At Rangoon a permanent theatre was even built, a thing unknown to

536 * 177 345

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
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536* Burmese drama before, and most of U Ku's plays and *The History of*
177 *Thaton* and *Saw-phay and Saw-may* were produced at that theatre.
345 Admission to a performance was by payment, a practice alien to dramatic performances before the decadent period. The rise of 'matinee idols' resulted in the chief actor, instead of the leader of the orchestra, becoming the head of a troupe of actors. Formerly, a dramatic performance took place during the afternoon or early evening, but now because of the repeated applause for the popular 'idols', a performance lasted throughout the night.

● 554 I have stated how the prejudice against professional actors increas-
536* ed rather than diminished through the coming of popular actors or
178 actresses and the resulting rivalry between different troupes. But the prejudice was gradually overcome through the efforts of one man, Po Sein, who used to perform with two ex-soldiers standing beside him with rifles. By about 1912, his reputation as a leading actor was firmly established, and from that time onwards he concerned himself with raising the prestige of his profession by destroying the bitterness and the ugliness that had crept into it. By his charm of manner and personality, he soon established himself as the undisputed leader of the profession. His generous gifts to charity and irreproachable conduct soon acquitted the profession from the charge of immorality and irreligiousness. During the Great War he contributed much to the Red Cross Fund. For his services to charity and his profession, he was given a title by the Government in 1919. Such an honour had never been given before to an actor (had such a thing happened under the Burmese kings or even before 1914, the officials would certainly have vehemently protested, taking it as an insult to their class), and the Government's action was the final denial of the old dictum that actors and beggars were outside the pale of good society.

2. The Puppet Show

536* According to common tradition, the Burmese puppet show came
175 into being long before the drama, but as our knowledge of the history of the puppet show before the reign of Bodawpaya (1782–1819) is meagre, perhaps it will be better to consider first the puppet's history from that reign.

[645] It will be remembered that, as stated in Chapter II, Bodawpaya, under whom the court and the 'people's' dramas united together to give rise to a national drama, created a new ministry, that of the stage. The new minister, being a conservative courtier, wanted the drama

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
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39. PAINTING OF SHINLAUNG FETE.

The constituted daily routine of the monastery takes no account of recreation. In practice there is a wide margin of leisure. But the wearer of the yellow robe is not seen at play. Arithmetical puzzles are the nearest approach to a game. On the other hand, the cheerfulness of the race suffers no restraint. There is decorum, without austerity or sanctimony. The severest penance laid upon the novice is temporary relegation to the secular state (*lein-byan*) for such faults as lying, theft, or killing anything. Cruelty to an animal is punished with caning.

The *yahán* exercise no exclusive function beyond that of admitting candidates to the novitiate and the full membership of their Assembly. The affairs of the Buddhist Church are initiated and conducted by the laity. The recluses merely add, by their presence, to the religious distinction of an occasion. At the shrine the recluse is like any other pilgrim; he never is a ministrant or priest. Neither is there any altar. The only material objects to which sanctity pertains are the relics of the Buddha. The members of the Assembly know no distinctions of men, racial or social. As regards the temporal power, of whatever origin, the recluse should be absolutely passive, neither contravening the laws nor invoking them when he suffers wrong. The recluse neither denounces nor harbours the criminal, a neutral attitude of which criminals are not slow to take advantage.

When admitted to full membership of the Assembly instituted by the Buddha (*Thingá*, Pâli *Sangha*), the novice becomes *Yahán* (*Yahán-daw*, *Rahán*, *Arahan*), which signifies *perfected*, one advanced a stage

40. BOYIN RECEIVING HIGHER INSTRUCTION

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
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41. YAHAN ON THE ROUND FOR SUN.

towards the higher spiritual condition of *Ayahát* and *Ayáttapô*. The primitive appellation is *Beikku* (Pâli *Bikku*), one dependent on alms. The spiritual state preceding *Yahán*, that of the man so imbued with the spirit of the Buddha's teaching as to desire membership of his Assembly, is called *Thawtapan*. The candidate for full membership must possess the qualifications for the degree of *goyín*, in addition to a knowledge of the rule of life of the *yahán* and a modicum of religious learning. Most *yahán* are *ngè-byu*—pure from youth—that is, have passed direct from their youthful novitiate to full membership. Men of any condition may be received, and at any age above twenty, if free from debt and other ties, but must undergo a fresh probation. Over and above the precepts observed by
792 the *goyín*, the *yahán* observes one hundred detailed injunctions. He must not
785 merely respect life, but also the means to life. He may not wantonly injure a blade of grass. Cleanliness is particularly enjoined. A notable injunction is not
779 to lay up any store of food. He must not use a raised sleeping-place, though by day he reclines on the couches presented to the monastery. The *yahán* sweeps his dwelling, draws water, washes his clothing, and so forth, when there are not *goyín* or lay-disciples to perform these services for him. Otherwise his occupations are only those of teaching, study, and contemplation. In Lent the
[796] *yahán* remains indoors from sunset to sunrise. At this season he also frequently selects a forest retreat for contemplation in the early morning hours (*wuznaung*).
792 The *yahán* practises confession to his
● 554 brethren of the Assembly, all of whom are equals, but who defer to one another, according to seniority, which is reckoned

42. BUDDHIST RECLUSE.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
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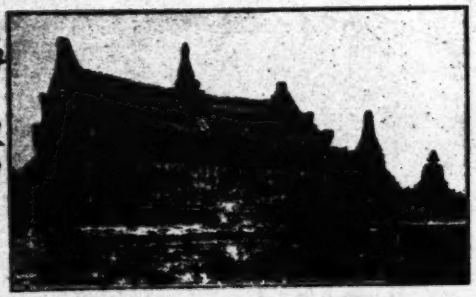

44. ANCIENT THEIN AT PAGAN.

not by age, but by the number of lenten seasons they have belonged to the Assembly. Vigils and restriction of night rest are not practised. The rule of life of the *yahán* is laid down in the *Wini* (*Vinaya Bitaka*), one of the three divisions ("baskets") of the Buddhist scriptures. A *kambawd*, or breviary of scripture, relating to membership of the Assembly, illuminated with lacquer on copper or ivory leaves, is read by turns by the five members of the conclave assembled for the reception of the new member. This solemnity is undertaken in the *thein*, a *wut* set apart for the *Thingá* alone. No lay persons enter the precincts, but they may be spectators from a distance. The new *yahán* is called *Upasín*, sojourner recluse, or assistant to the *Upyiza*, or *Pôndyi*, *Kindyi* (incumbent) of the monastery. In 1891 there were 13,613 *pôndyi*, 6,668 sojourner *yahán*, and 13,500 probationers in the monasteries of Burma, which numbered 15,371, in a Buddhist population of about seven millions.

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The dedication of the site for building such a *thein* (Pâli *sima*) is preceded by the solemnity of *thein-thambi*. Ground so dedicated can never be alienated to any other use. In this respect the *thein* is more sacred than the temples in general. After the site has been levelled, it is surrounded with a trench, into which water is led. In the centre a small well is sunk (*alé-dwin*). The *yahán*, not less than twenty-four in number, assemble on the spot, over which a gay pavilion (*mandat*) has been erected, and wait for the water from the trench to percolate to the well. When this occurs, the site is said to have "taken" (*aung*). Otherwise it must be rejected. The *yahán* gather round the well and intone scriptural passages from a

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45. YAHAN ASSEMBLED FOR DEDICATION OF THEIN.

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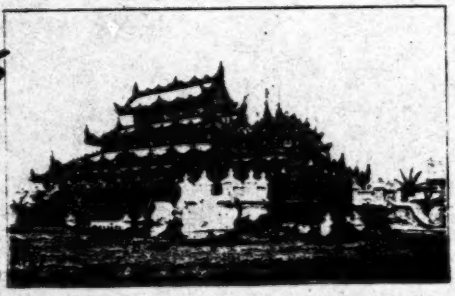

51. KYAUNG AT THE CAPITAL.

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carpets, cushions, handkerchiefs, tables, chairs, betel-boxes and spittoons, glass-ware and crockery, lamps, chandeliers, clocks, knicknacks and furniture, always to the exclusion of gold and silver. Gilt wares are permissible.

The strict *yahán* should prepare his shelter for himself, in an unfrequented place. But by the dispensation already referred to, he may avail himself of a solitary dwelling proffered for his use, and this is invariably the case. Not merely are these schools numerous, but they are the most spacious, substantial, and ornate edifices in the land. Many of them are of palatial size and appointments. The Burman finds nothing too good or too beautiful for those who subject themselves to the restraint of the recluse. The recluse on his part is conventionally oblivious of the magnificence that surrounds him. It is not for him to deprecate. The religious merit of the work, which furnishes the motive of the founder, is proportioned to the outlay upon it. From the bamboo *kyaung* in the forest costing a hundred rupees or less, individuals spend up to hundreds of thousands on the palatial monasteries of the towns (*cf.* p. 75).

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When the incumbent of a monastery removes or dies, the senior sojourner (*upazín*) may receive his place as *pôndyí*. Otherwise an *upazín* is invited from elsewhere, or the *pôndyí* of another *kyaung* is prevailed upon to move. The *upazín* who has become *pôndyí* defers to his preceptor as before. Every monastery has a titular Pâli appellation, such as *Thila-ekkaya kyaung*, Letter-of-the-Law monastery.

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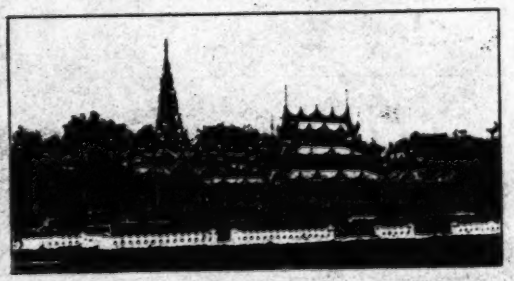
There is no hierarchy in the Assembly of *yahán*. But it commonly happens that a number of monasteries recognise a venerable teacher as referee upon matters of scholarship



52. PALACE KYAUNG

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
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159. CHILDREN AT THE RIVER SIDE (p. 81).

Every stranger, man or woman, is addressed *K'mbyâ*—sir, madam. There is a courteous address for nearly every relation in life. Children, in speaking to their parents, grandparents, uncles, and aunts, say *Shin* and *Daw*—lord, lady; wife to husband, *Shin;* husband to wife, *Byo, Bya*—terms of endearment; younger brother or sister to elder, *Go, Maung-dyt;* elder brother to younger *Maung;* brothers to sisters, *Ma. Maung* and *Ma* (brother and sister) have become the ordinary prefixes to names, answering to our Mr., Mrs., Miss. These are used even by parents to their grown-up children. To inferiors and in disparagement, the plain *nga, mè, mi* are used. Middle-aged men are given the address *Go*, and old men that of *Û* (uncle), which is also the prefix to the *bwè* of the *yahán*. Great regard is conveyed by the address *Sayâ*—teacher, master. The honorific word for wife is *gadáw*, thus—*sayâ-gadáw, min-gadáw*. To royalty the addresses were *Gôdaw*—[illegible] self; *Ashin-Payâ*—lord of lords; *Pôn-daw-dyt*—of great glory. These titles came to be used for ministers and governors, as more euphemistic ones were devised for the kings. The same addresses are accorded by courtesy to the *yahán*, who on their part address the layman as *Tagâ, Tagâdaw*—supporter, great founder. The layman refers to himself as *tabyt-daw*—the honoured disciple. In other relations of life, other periphrases are used for the pronouns of the first and second persons. The plain *I* and *you*—*ngâ, nin*—are only used in disparagement. Thus the current phrase for *I* is *tyumbk*—the humble servant. (For women, *tyunma.*) In addressing superiors, the phrase is *tyundáw, Payâ-tyundáw*

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160. CHINLON GAME—APPLIQUÉ WORK (p. 179).

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161. CHILDREN'S TUBS AT FLOOD-TIME (p. 81).

—the slave, his lordship's humble servant. There are special honorific terms for the coming and going, eating and sleeping of royalty and of the *yahán*. The most coveted titles or appellations are those of *kyaung-tagá*, *Payá-tagá* — founder of a school, founder of a temple. The first of these is given by courtesy to persons of venerable age. The great increase of prosperity has given a corresponding impetus to the founding of such works, so that the *tagá* are more numerous than ever before. The private foundations are on a scale of unprecedented magnificence. At no period has Buddhism shone throughout the land in such resplendence as now. Personal titles and badges (*sahwé*, No. 31) used to be given by the kings. Small dignities and offices have been hereditary in many places. Nevertheless, no aristocracy has developed. One of these titles was *Thakin* (master, lord), now assumed by all Europeans in the same way as "*sahib*" in India. Despite the punctilio in address, greetings are unusual between equals. After absence, a mere "Here you are again" and an inquiry about health—*ma-lá?* At departure, "I'm off," "You're going"—*thwa dawmè*. There is nothing answering to the established *salám* or to our "Good day," "Good-bye." The verbal salutation to the *yahán*, after obeisance, is *Gôdaw-mya thappáyá pyippa-e lá*—is your Grace duly provided with the canonical

162. CARVING OF CHINLON PLAYER (p. 18, 179).

163. THE PABYA SHRINE (p. 189).

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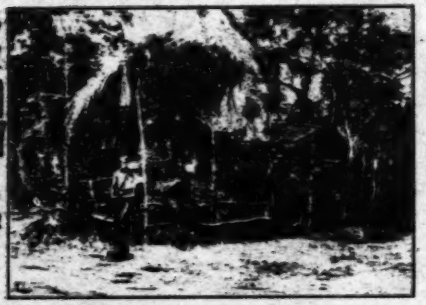

164. FOREST ZAYAT AND WATER-STAND (P. 63).

requirements? To which the *yahán* cordially responds, *pyippa, pyippa, tagádaw*—that I am, my valued supporter! Just as salutations are ordinarily omitted, so thanks are only expressed for special favours. The sense of obligation is conveyed by adopting courteous forms of speech, in which the particle *ha* always figures. The set forms of *please* and *thank you* are thus dispensed with. Where, however, a disparity of age or position exists, every act of the superior becomes by courtesy a boon. A Burman is disconcerted by a simple present, as well as by *bakshish* and payments above the stipulation, which he is particular to make beforehand. But when approaching a superior with a request, the inferior bears an offering of courtesy, generally fruit. The inferior makes *shibò* both on approaching and taking leave. A Burman does not stand, in the presence of his superior, but squats down. When he has occasion to pass close to his superior, he does not walk erect but crouches. By well-bred Burmans the gestures of respect are performed in a very graceful manner. Every Burman, the *yahán* not excepted, on ascending the *kyaunting* of a house, removes his sandals or shoes. As we Westerns respect the *roof* that our host has provided by doffing our head-gear, so Easterns respect the *floor* that is provided—an observance of a practical nature where the floor serves both for seat and table. In an analogous way to our greeting with the hat, the Oriental shows respect by slipping the sandals even outside the house. Still more courteous is the practice of washing the feet before entering a house or *kyaung*. Burmans always contrive to sit so as to hide the soles of the feet or to turn them

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165. RECEIVING A VISITOR.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
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The cordage used in 283

215. LIMESTONE ROCKS.

Burma is twisted from the bast of the *shaw* tree (*sterculia* varieties). For guys, stays, and standing rigging of boats, rattan is employed. Split rattan is used for strong ties, and withes of split bamboo (*hnî*) for common ties. The *shaw* rope is three and four stranded, and is twisted with native gear very like that of our own rope-walks. A long and even four-stranded rope is made by three men. This furnishes a good example of mechanical advancement, when compared with the method of the hill-people, who require six men to twist a much shorter rope of the same number of strands (Nos. 219–20). Shaw rope is smooth, but has not the flexibility of cocoanut-fibre and manila-fibre ropes, which are now imported. Fine cotton yarn is twisted into cord for making nets. A coarse jute fibre (*paissan*) is also twisted for net-making. [171] [439]

Silk-culture is under the ban of Buddhism for the same reason as fishery. 288
The greater part of the silk yarn used is brought from China, but a good 231
deal is produced locally by the *Zabîn* or *Yabîn*, a people speaking Burmese [779]
and resembling the Burmans in most respects, but despised by the latter.
They are settled along the foot of the Pegu Yôma hill-range, on its eastern and 554
western slopes, where they make clearings in the forest (*taungya*) and plant the 463]
mulberry. They prepare a yellow silk yarn which, coarse and knotty as it is, is preferred for the best class of Burman silk cloths (*luntayâ*, No. 132). The raw silk fetches thirty-five to forty rupees a viss. It is a perfect washing silk in all its dyes and wears a lifetime. In a few localities, silk-weaving is a special industry practised by men as well as women. Settlers from Manipûr

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216. LIME-KILN.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
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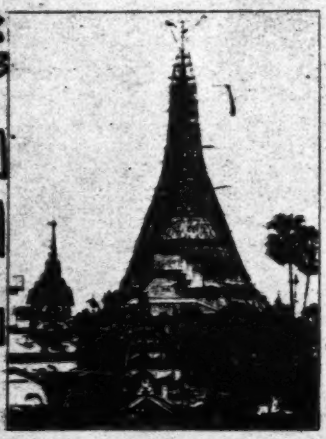

217. PLASTERER'S SCAFFOLD ON ZEDI.

(*Kathé*) excel in this work and form colonies for the industry. Attempts have been made in Europe to imitate the scroll-patterns on the Jacquard loom, as well as to print them. But the imitations fall too far short of the original, which is nearly the same front and back. The best *lun-tayé* silks cost ten to fifteen rupees the square foot, which makes two hundred to three hundred rupees for the *pasó*. Only an inch or two a day can be woven. Italian methods of carding, dyeing, and finishing silk, were introduced by the late King, Mindôn Min, and have helped to develop an important industry in Mandalay. Stripe and tartan patterns are woven in this way, chiefly from China silk. Fine texture and delicate tints are aimed at, rather than rich colour and design. The *pasó* of

[435] twenty cubits, one cubit wide, costs ten to twenty rupees.

293 The Burman umbrella (*tí*) is on the Chinese model—a bamboo frame with
[171] paper cover. The Chinese umbrella has a thin paper cover, the Burman has bast-paper, which outlasts several of the other. But the Chinese umbrellas are cheaper, better waterproofed, and sun-proof. The Burman *tí* is waterproofed by occasional oiling with crude petroleum. A waterproof size made from the fruit of the *tí* is used for fixing the paper to the ribs and the cotton twines that connect them. The red, the
[186] gilt and the white umbrellas are emblems of state. The
[564] first two denote official rank, according to the number assigned. Such umbrellas
[532] have stems of turned wood, six to eight feet long, to allow of the *tí* being borne over the officer on horseback or in his chariot, by attendants on foot (No. 375). The

218. SCULPTURING MARBLE IMAGES.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
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234. WASHING FOR GOLD.

silver, of the work, for workmanship. The fineness of the gold used is from eighteen to twenty-two and a half carats. Copper is the alloy for gold (four to sixteen *yué* of copper to the *kyat* or tikal). Silver is used of rupee fineness (four *yué* of alloy to the *kyat*) up to pure metal (*baw*). The intermediate fineness of sterling silver is the most usual. Silver is alloyed with copper and with zinc. With the few implements named above, plate for display and ornaments for women's wear are fashioned, of beautiful design and considerable finish. Chasing and *repoussé* ornament are used for the gold and silver plate, filigree and beading for the gold ornaments. Those who can afford it, serve drinking-water to their guests in a large silver bowl (*pald*) holding a gallon or so, with a small *pald* floating on the water. Other objects of luxury are silver lime-boxes, betel-boxes, hafts and scabbards of sabres. Broad zones of *repoussé*-work are relieved by fillets and beadings. The plain vessel having been hammered into shape is filled with a tough lac. This affords a ductile matrix, yielding where the chaser is applied and supporting the relief portions. The first step is to outline the work with a bronze punch, after which the lac is melted out and the metal annealed. Lac is poured in again, and a stage of relief raised. By successive annealings the full relief is obtained.* The figure designs are the signs of the zodiac, episodes from *zat*, and mythical animals. Women frequently carry some thousands of rupees worth of gold in the form

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238. VILLAGE SILVERSMITH.

* The figure to the left in No. 237 is Go Tha Ban of Maulmain, the silversmith who designed and executed the tools used for the sides of this volume. The back is from the cover of a *Kambawza*, to the colours of which it corresponds.

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
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Dealers, with the exception of 1164

276. THE LORD OF HELL RECEIVES HIS STEWARD'S ACCOUNT OF THE PAINS INFLICTED ON SINNERS (p. 121).

The dealer in medicine, who is at the same time the physician, do not receive the title *sayá*—teacher, doctor—which is accorded to every master workman. The physician (*sithama sayá*) makes no charge for his advice, but only for his medicines. There is, however, a school of doctors who oppose the use of drugs, and rely upon the regulation of diet and on shampooing; they make their charge for the latter operation. Ague (intermittent fever, *pyá-na*) is the commonest complaint in Burma, which no one escapes. The remittent form of malarial fever is also common. Attacks may be light and pass away of themselves, or they may be severe and protracted. Malaria is the chief cause of mortality. The common treatment is to encourage sweating. Aperients are not resorted to if it can be helped, as the Burmese drugs are drastic. In severe cases the head is shaved. Quinine was at one time making its way in the bazárs; but soon adulteration began to be practised, and it lost repute. The scheme of selling the Government quinine at the post offices may be effectual in rehabilitating the medicine. Santonin worm-tablets likewise had a great reputation until adulteration began. Rheumatism is common in Burma. It is treated by shampooing (*a-khík*), which in this complaint is most efficacious. *A-khík* is a kneading of the muscles and nervous plexuses; massage, in the sense of rubbing, is not practised. The expert shampooers possess an empirical knowledge of the interdependences in the nervo-muscular system which is remarkable. An attack of lumbago, which would cripple one for days, is cured in half an hour. Vapour baths, over the water of hot springs, are also resorted to. Heart-burn and colic are common ailments.

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277. BURMAN APOTHECARY.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
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376. JUDGE PRESIDING IN COURT (YON).

fixed annual revenue to the treasury, and he retained such excess as he could raise for himself. Even more cynical than the appellation of *myoza*, but nevertheless officially accepted, is that of his deputy, *thwethauttyi*, or bloodsucker. The revenue exactions were variable, and were levied with little regularity; outlying localities escaped altogether. The people of such places were almost without ostensible government. The 3-rupee household tax of 1862 had advanced to 10 Rs. in 1886 (*Thathameda*). There were also special imposts and special exemptions. The original style and address of the king came to be adopted by his deputies, as more high-sounding titles were devised for him. Every officer is now addressed *Payà* and spoken of as *min*, which means ruler, prince. The full style of high officials used to occupy several lines of a document; there were the traditional titles of the office and territory, the prerogatives granted by the king, conspicuous among which were the number of red and gold umbrellas allotted to the rank, and the executive powers, such as *dàbaing*, holder of the sword. The last-named symbol was borne before the officer as arbiter of life. The lower grades of office were, and in many places still are, hereditary, especially that of *thadyt*, the appointed headman who levies the taxes from the people (literally the poor, *sinyètha*). The Burmese correlative of *official* is significant; no matter how wealthy he be, one who holds no office is a "poor" man—at the mercy of the *asòya*. If the rapacity of an official under the old *régime* grew intolerable, he incurred the risk of assassination, without much likelihood of being avenged by the central authority. The religious aversion to be

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377. THE CITY GATE (PYA-O).

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 API Burma
Burmese AP4

378. THE PALACE GARDENS.

the cause of suffering and death, and the discredit reflected on officialdom by its methods, lead the best elements of the population to shun office, as a touching of pitch. The dearth of ability and character in the governing classes leaves the governed without efficient protection. The religious motive further operates in withholding information about criminals. A pregnant category is that of the "five enemies"—Fire, Water, Robbers, Rulers, Ill-wishers. The governors and deputies who acted as judges heard causes at the *ydn*, an open shed in a public place. But every cause was presented in the first instance at the house of the official, and it is contrary to accepted ideas of politeness to approach a superior empty-handed, even on a mere visit of courtesy. The *pros* and *cons* of the case were understood before the regular hearing. At the hearing, the advocates of the parties (*ashé-ne*) publicly presented their pleas and the evidence was recorded. The Burmese form of oath is to take the *kyanza* in the hands, a book of imprecations which the witness invokes on his head if he should speak falsely. The judge or judges intimated their finding to their clerks (*sayé*), who recorded it in official style and read it out. The punishments awarded to criminals and the condition of prisoners were much like those prevailing in Europe at the time of the Renaissance. Every judgment of importance was registered in the *Hluttaw* or chancellery at the capital, presided over by the four chief ministers (*Wundyt*), through whom all royal commands to the governors of provinces issued. There was no regular system of appeals. The Hindu code of Manú served as a body of law, and statutes were decreed by the kings; but *thazan* (custom) supplied standards of a more practical and stable nature.

379. ROYAL MAID OF HONOUR (APYODAW).

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pagodas and those throughout the country are descendants of the pagoda slaves.

Beggars are rated below the pagoda slaves - but, because of the Buddhist merit associated with giving do well for themselves. The beggars live in communities on the outskirts of the town often in cemetaries. They are thought to exhume the dead to get the coins placed in the mouth of the deceased to ensure expenses on his journey to heaven. The wood of the coffin is believed to be used in constructing their huts. Professional undertakers or morticians are regarded with horror since they like the beggars, make their living from the dead. The functions of burial are performed gratis by the entire village. A story is currently going round the University dormitories [203] telling of an immensely wealthy Burmese coffin maker in Rangoon who has offered riches to the young man who will marry his beautiful daughter. When the future seems blank the students' friend advises "Hey, why don't you go and marry the coffin maker's daughter?" It seems that the money would scarcely compensate for the social discrimation. The extent to which the occupation classes are rigid in marriage and other social exchanges is an interesting problem.

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A young man is obliged to remain within the occupation class of his family or to rise to greater heights. He is advised at an early [867] age to "be simple, aim high, and tell the truth." When children [857] play at dacoits (thieves) or other "low class" games their parents object to their low aspirations and advise them to play nobles and ministers. One would feel justified in remaining idle rather than accept a position below that of his birth. It is better to accept a clerks job at a low salary than an artisans at a high salary. On the other hand those born into lower status occupation groups tend to be satisfied with their state as a condition of birth. In Rangoon, however, even the hawkers may have ambitions to achieve fame and fortune. The opportunities for social mobility is greater in the towns and cities [367] but difinitely restricted in the villages.

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Apprenticeship to trades begins at the age of 12 to 14 years, and usually lasts for several years. Ordinarily the youth is attached to the shop of a relative where he lives and is payed a subsistence wage while learning. The key to high positions lies in education in

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The key to high positions lies in education in
the high schools and Universities. Family support is necessary for this and the student is constantly aware of his obligation to succeed for their benefit. "One tree can support a thousand birds" illustrate the dependency of the relatives on the successful individual.

In order to succeed one needs each of these three qualities: KAMMA (fate or luck), NYAN (intelligence), and WIRIYA(industriousness The failure of any one can cause the lack of success. Ordinarily, however, KAMMA is blamed in cases of failure - and the other two credited for success. The concept of KAMMA includes merit and demerit compiled in all previous existences. Because of this convenient excuse the true causes of failure are seldom analysed by the individual and he does not have a sense of personal blame or shame. Also social condemnation does not fall heavily on the unsuccessful who has tried and failed. However, one should finish what he starts or not attempt it, "once you start climbing the pole you must reach the top". The individual may not achieve fame or fortune but he is expected to maintain his birth position. His relatives, who suffer shame if he does not, help him. A major contribution of the individual is an advantagous marriage within or above his occupational group.

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What does one strive for, by work, in the Burmese society? Not subsistence, for food is ordinarily cheap and easily attained in the villages. Clothing, shelter and the other necessities of life are also not the objective. The subsistence pattern is simple and essentially homogeneous throughout the village.

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The ordinary head of a household thinks of three major benefits to be gained from wealth. The first and most immediate are jewels to adorn the women of the family. The status of the family is reflected in public by the bangles, necklaces and earrings worn by the ladies. Diamonds are most prized and the size is important. However, most important is that each female be provided with "a set" of jewelry. The wife of the middle and upper status group particularly will prod the husband until he provides these necessities. The woman's clothing and also the husbands and his son's must also be the finest they can afford.

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The second urge for wealth arises out of the desire for old age security. Hence gold coins are saved (hidden) against the day when

621 structure of the social and political organization is the same in
722 both places. However, the expectations and obligations of the original village are ill defined perhaps for the reason that the camp families no longer depend so completely on each other for their social and ceremonial activities. In Pathwe, U Myaing and his family were responsible citizens of the village as a whole. In camp, they are merely temporary residents with only the most rudimentary of obligations to their fellow refugees. The basic functions of the camp are carried out by semi-official persons. There is a minimum of feeling of solidarity in the camp where the immediate family is the major functioning unit.

Much has been lost with the passing of the communal activities of the small village. Yet the basic social and ceremonial activities
[181] are still carried out in Rangoon. The community has become a large, impersonal one but the values are the same. The activities, as at the gigantic Shwe Dagon pagoda, duplicate those of the village on a grand scale and are hence more stimulating - but the family is no longer in a special status position and are nameless and unknown in their activities. Because of lack of money the activities are greatly curtailed in scope, but also the obligation is less. In this sense the family is "freed" from pressing obligations of the village where, for example, they were expected to contribute relatively large sums to community activities.

621 The familiar and beloved flavour of routine village activities
722 is replaced by the excitement of life in the big town. Everything is
369 new and different and while the basic understandings are still
517 encountered the old restrictions of the small community have disappeared. Life in Rangoon is full of possibilities and amusement.

369 Recently (during the summer of 1951) U Myaing was promoted from
●555 street cleaner to boss of the cleaners of one section. He still gets
[465] a salary of Rs. 86/- a month but has the position of an overseer somewhat equivalent in status to the IN overseer's job in Pathwe. There
000 are many opportunities for an honest and intelligent person to rise in Rangoon. In October 1951 U Myaing visited me to take an order for table mats. His samples were much too large and bound with a violent

gives important data on the process of urbanizing villagers - the country people are an important group in the growth of the Burmese section of Rangoon; probably a large section of the present refugee population will stay in the future. 183 369 [178]

The concepts of pattern of living and standard of living: The Burmese pattern of living, or any culture pattern, is a universe of beliefs and practices manifested in acts and artifacts. The analogy of the "Universe" is a useful one in that it recognizes a guiding body of understandings that controls the whole of the society (like "laws" of Universe) while emphasizing the particular understandings that govern the various groups or classes of the society (like the "laws" of the Solar and other systems within the Universe). The "solar systems" are the standard levels of operations forming a comprehensive set of forces within itself. Families, like U Myaing's have a mobility, in the case understudy a forced change, which takes them out of one standard system into another. The adjustments which they undergo reflects the "laws" which control the various standard levels as well as the basic concepts controlling the whole of the society. 121 183

Each belief and practice has a range of expressions which can be defined. The particular expression practiced by a family is the standard or level of a phenomenon capable of expansion or contraction within prescribed limits. The ultimate limits are defined by the total range of expressions for the culture as a whole. But the practical limits for a family are defined by the possibilities of the society segment (community) in which they find themselves. Thus, the range of U Myaing's possibilities of expression are much greater in Rangoon than they were in Pathwe and greatly exceed his original ideas of what was possible. He may, for example, become a highly westernized political leader - although this seems unlikely in terms of his expectations. The westernized, urban spheres of Burmese culture is now opened to the family. [621] [369] [177]

U Myaing is motivated by the basic expectations of the Burmese culture at a level applicable to his situation in terms of the possibilities of his social environment. In Pathwe, he was a fisherman and aspired to those things that fishermen should. In camp, he was at 181 565 555

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first a bewildered refugee, but gradually assumed the role of a labourer rising in the ranks. The case indicates the mobility of the Burmese family and shows clearly that it may function successfully outside of the confines of its original social atmosphere.

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The family in Burmese society: The successful mobility of U Myaing's family indicate that the immediate family is the primary social unit of Burmese society. The Burmese community is then a congregation of immediate families who engage in activities of mutual benefit within the protective framework of the village structure. This interpretation high lights a particular type of individualism which is a familiy individualism depending on the roles of each

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member of the family for its full expression. This concept seems tied to the Buddhist idea of individual salvation through acts of merit on the one hand and the exigencies of gaining a livelihood on the other.

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The family is the basic economic unit and though it will enter cooperative endeavours (like the IN fisheries, or communal net propitiations), has the ultimate responsibility and capabilities of supporting itself.

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The extended family is important, as indeed is the total village social structure, only in so far as it contributes to the maintenance of the individual immediate family of procreation including spouses, offspring and aged parents. The "looseness" of the social structure conversely allows mobility of the immediate families. This analysis indicates that attempts at modernizing of the Burmese people (acculturation) should meet with a minimum of structural obstacles - such as caste, clan and rigid associations might present.

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The Burmese culture pattern and the individual: The village culture pattern is dominated by a series of relatively simple, interrelated ideas held by all. Each individual feels himself temporily occupying a particular situation which is only one of many existences and but an instant in eternity. He is fated to be a member of a particular family with a set of opportunities through life. Life should be pleasant and must be virtuous if future existences are to be pleasant. He must realise as fully as possible the talents and opportunities that come to him through his KARMA situation. In the villages this concept is a great stabilizing force and tends to make an individual content with

his lot. It also tends toward a kind of stratification of society where the boundaries, however, are neither sharp nor fast. Each person is comfortably installed in his place and competes, mildly, only with those of his own level. The obligations (as contributions for ceremonies) are in terms of one's ability, and his status is in terms of his virtues. Status is closely correlated with increasing age. This concept motivate the Burmese in the village within "KARMA groups". 181 156 364 555● [561] [554]

The unusual individual may transcend his family positions in exceptional cases - by marriage or achievement. Achievement by physical force has been a means of mobility in the past - there is the tradition of the strong man leader who comes from humble origins. Mobility by entrepreneur achievement (rice mill owners, traders) has been greatly stimulated with increased western contacts. U Myaing was a sort of entrepreneur in Pathwe. In Rangoon the opportunities are great and some Burmese are successfully embracing this, as yet, somewhat unfamiliar course. The western entrepreneur concept appears to be finding a fertile ground in the traditional "group individualism" of the Burmese. 156 555 557 [177]

<u>The standards or levels of culture</u>: When U Myaing's standard of living plummeted downwards as a refugee he became discontented and unhappy desiring to return to the "plateau" of his former level. At first he could only think of returning to Pathwe to achieve this, but as ~~[illegible]~~ begins to crown his efforts in Rangoon he now feels the beginnings of a sense of achievement. In his refugee situation there was no sense of shame for his reduction - the events contributing to his downfall were beyond his control, and he had lived "as a refugee should" in which his abilities and obligations were balanced. This resulted in an attitude of cheerful patience understandable in terms of the KARMA concept. 511 181 558

The two standards, in Pathwe and camp, represent balanced levels ranging from the "average" Burmese villages situation to close to the minimum. Higher standards than those of Pathwe are seen in the administrative class of Rangoon and other major towns where western influences are strong (car, western furniture and household utensils, westernized house and clothing, etc.). Lower standards may be 511 565 [177]

29: Slater M-4 (no date) 1951 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

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and self-control — but not yet!"[21] The average Burman has not renounced the world, he has not accepted the monastic discipline; and he knows it. Therefore he also knows that he cannot expect to share the greater understanding of those who *have* renounced the world.

Theoretically, maybe, even a layman may attain enlightenment.[22] But a wise instructor has likened the situation of the layman, exposed to the temptations of the world, to that of the traveller who was confronted by a tiger; the distractions and assaults of the world are tigerish.[23] The man who is in earnest will flee them. Even the monk, it is true, is not immune from these assaults. But the monk has a better chance. It is, then, the common view that if you really mean business, really mean to expedite progress towards Nibbāna, the obvious, sensible course is to join the Order. Those who have done so, those especially who have made some progress in the monastic life, the learned bhikkus, pursuing the hard disciplines of meditation, such may discern the distant shore of Nibbāna, such may hope to reach that shore, earlier than later: but not the householder, the man occupied by field or plough, wife or child. 'Undoubtedly every orthodox Buddhist hopes to obtain Nibbāna one day; but the monastic life is generally considered an essential condition for entry on the path to Nibbāna.'[24] It is only when one has followed this path some way that one can expect to know whither the path leads — if then. For the layman it is necessarily a distant prospect and a vague, mysterious concept. He is not worthy. He has not entered on the path which leads to 'the state of him who is worthy.' Therefore the layman is not presumptuous. This is a subject to be left to the learned bhikkus, partly because they are learned, partly because they are bhikkus. The two recognitions are associated, recognition of the expert, recognition of the better man, for the Burman knows that the monastic discipline is a mental discipline, enjoining study and meditation, but he also knows that the necessary, prior condition is moral.

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He knows, too, that the learned bhikkus themselves are hesitant on this subject. Not even they, notwithstanding their qualifications, can pretend to full knowledge. To them also, Nibbāna is ultimately a mystery. The *very* learned bhikkus perhaps, the most devoted, can just discern

[21] St Augustine, *Confessions* VIII. 7.

[22] *A. III*, 451 mentions twenty one laymen-Arahats; cf. Rhys Davids, *Dialogues of the Buddha*, Part I, p. 63, footnote.

[23] Bigandet, "The Seven Ways to Neibban," *op. cit.* Vol. 2, p. 236.

[24] de la Vallée Poussin, *Nirvana*, chap. I, p. 3: "Sans doute tout bouddhiste orthodoxe espère obtenir un jour le Nirvana; mais la vie monastique est généralement considérée une condition essentielle de l'entrée dans le chemin du Nirvana."

249 kept a manager and his family in the bungalow of each plantation, and a
311 staff of eight or nine tappers. Once a week we drove out there on a
439 picnic inspection; my father and mother gazed with pride on the rows of neat trees, walked right round to see that clearings were maintained and that the trees looked right, peered into the cups of rich white latex, administered rebukes and instructions and inspected the books, visited the smoking house and saw the brown smoked sheets with GK stamped on them, after the traditional Burmese way of married business—G for Gyi, my mother, and K for Kaing, my father—and then we all returned home. Chinese traders came to the house and while chewing betel they talked about quantities and prices of the stock we had. Then the stacked sheets came from the plantation in the two bullock carts which we kept there, and the traders came and took them away and paid us in cash. Business was something so foreign to what we had always seen our parents doing, and this all seemed so simple, that we always felt they were surely being cheated.

245 Some of the other pensioners did not believe in dabbling with com-
438 modities that depended on a world market. Even the way in which we grew rubber went too much into the world of specialized commerce
262 which might have pitfalls for a retired civil servant. A friend of my father's grew large gardens of *da-nyin*, a tree of the laburnum species. The fruit of this tree rivals the durian for its nauseating effect on foreign sensibilities. It does not exude a smell as the durian does, until you eat it, but after eating it the smell comes out in breath, sweat and all other excretions. But it is one of our favourite foods. It is a small flat circular fruit of a hard and smooth consistency, enclosed in a shell which prises open in neat halves like an oyster shell. The texture and taste are delicious. We boil or bake it as a vegetable for fish sauce, we salt it in big jars as a pickle, we beat it and make it swim in coconut milk and eat it as a sweet, we bury it and make it sprout into a more pungent form called *da-nyin wet*. The main point is that it is eaten in vast quantities. It also contains substances which are good for diabetics, and families buy it literally in hundreds. No world depression interferes with the demand for *da-nyin thi*, and though the sale price is low, overhead charges are almost nil.

243 Other families in Thaton got their extra income from paddy-land.
438 Although the rice for which Burma is so famous today did not enter
556 world markets till the latter half of the last century, the possession of
262 *lè*, fields, which is synonymous with paddy-fields, is a well established form of wealth. Our part of Burma is particularly rich in fields. Nearly all the 3,500,000 tons of rice which is exported annually from Burma comes from Lower Burma, where Tenasserim Division ranks among the

three most productive areas, and Thaton district takes first place in 243
Tenasserim. But rice is more than the chief export crop of the country 438
to us. It is our *wun-sa*, food for the womb, our staple food; and we have 556
depended so much on it that we pay it reverence, almost. When we 262
were young, A-Kyi and our nurses never allowed us to tread on any rice
that had been spilt; rice was like a master and human beings its servants,
they said. The phrase for "I was not born yesterday" is "I grew [181]
up eating rice", and in the same way excessive stupidity excites wonder
that the person nourished on rice can be so stupid. Through years of
journeying on trains, bullock carts, and river steamers, we have seen the
peaceful green fields, the dry reaped corn, the golden grain heaped on
small canoes before milling. Though we did not know the toil and
the uncertain hopes of the cultivators, we followed the growth of the
life-giving grain through all its stages, seeing the first sproutings in one
place in one year, the ripe and mature crop in another, and the thriving
young stalks of a later generation in another place and time.

Our fields seemed perpetually marked into small beds by ridges six 243
inches high. Lying empty during the first months of the year, these
beds grew parched and baked by April and May. With the first blessed
showers of the monsoon about mid-May, however, one, two, three, four
or more inches of rain fell on the beds within about ten days, and softened the hard crust. Men went to work about the end of the month, and with harrow and plough they chopped and churned up the earth, cutting and burying weeds, refining the rough, and making the stiff clay soil pliant until a soft fine mud was produced. In the meantime, the seeds had been soaked in water in deep layers between banana leaves, to make them sprout and become more receptive of the soil's richness. These were brought out in baskets, and young men and women wearing wide bamboo hats in the heavy showers, walked about scattering them, using up to ten basketfuls in one acre. They allowed the seeds to lie for a few

face from bringing something off, money is paid in advance, rush tactics 593
are employed to prevent the man returning from abroad from marrying
the sweetheart of his college days, and in some cases even magic is resor- 584
ted to, though in secret. This black magic, especially, involves some 554
very undignified actions. A younger cousin of mine once warned his 177-
mother: "Please, Mother, never try to sell me like a bullock, or worse 58
still to arrange a marriage for my sister. I will not help you to jump
thrice on eggshells or throw ten viss of fish into a well at dead of night [789]
under instructions from a soothsayer."

Although marriages were constantly being arranged among our [585]
circle of friends in Thaton, I was not allowed to attend weddings as a 527
young unmarried girl. What we did attend regularly with the grown-ups were the *u-bok-nay*, the duty day gatherings every week in the resthouses among the hills. On these days Buddhists who choose to observe the day, obey eight or ten precepts instead of five. Amongst these ten are the abstaining from food after mid-day, absence of ornament and cosmetics in dress, meditation and prayer, and absence of a high couch in sleep. In Thaton the observance of this day was made the weekly social event with the same combination of material enjoyment and religious piety that characterizes all Burmese functions as described previously. Each family went to the hills early in the morning with mats, betel boxes and a well-cooked meal. The girls wore all the
jewellery they had because we had not yet taken the precepts, and this [556]
was a good chance of showing that a family did not lack wealth. We met in the resthouses, to one of which a monk came to intone the precepts. These we repeated in chorus after him; then the elders talked and chewed betel, and at about 10-30 the whole party went to bathe in the pools made by the waterfalls down the hills. We went back to find the pooled dishes of four or five families laid out in a rich feast. We stuffed ourselves with this. The law states that food should not be eaten after noon, and the law was always obeyed in the letter if not in the spirit.

One maiden lady in Rangoon who kept duty days regularly ate till 785
as near noon as she possibly could. She usually finished her meal with
fruit, and if she was eating a banana when noon struck with a loud bang 527
from the cannon at the Shwe Dagon Pagoda, "Haw!" she would exclaim, and in would go the whole length of the banana into her mouth. After noon, tea and coffee are not allowed either but aerated waters, which look so much like water, are sanctioned. When my husband was a novice monk in the monastery, they were allowed medicinal products also after noon, and the hungry young novices often made a [278]
delicious soup of garlic (a digestive) fried in butter (medicinal component), and water poured on to the fragrant compound.

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

could afford so much as this. The best engagements are those known as ahlu pwè, given by a rich man in celebration of some religious festival, or to commemorate some event in his family, such as the donning by his son of the yellow robes of the monastery. The elders of the village, or the custodians of the pagoda, often collect money for the performance of some of the religious zāts, depicting avatars of the Lord Buddha. Then there are subscription pwès, where some energetic lover of the drama suggests the propriety of a play to the inhabitants of the village, or of a street in the town. He goes round gathering subscriptions, and then negotiates with the zat-ôk for as many nights as the manager is inclined to give for the money. This system has unfortunately led to abuses. Sharp individuals have discovered the possibility of collecting three or four hundred rupees among the people, paying the manager two hundred out of this, and keeping the rest for themselves. The dodge has been too often tried in Rangoon, but in the smaller towns it is still practicable, and is far too often carried out. Besides these performances by accredited companies, there are others called kyigyin pwè, given by professionals anxious to make a name for themselves, and for this purpose giving gratuitous exhibitions. These are naturally very uneven from the difficulty of getting a complete company together. But in all cases the vast majority of the spectators pay nothing at all. The guests invited by packets of le'hpet usually contribute a rupee or two towards the expenses of their host, but otherwise the entire cost is defrayed by him.

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The pwè is begun by the arrival of the band, which, with characteristic Burmese disregard of the value of time, ordinarily comes upon the scene several hours before the actual commencement of operations. They occupy one side of the stage, and tune up their saing and play away vigorously while the people gather. The zatthama and zatthamā, the male and female artistes, drop in casually along with the spectators. Each is ordinarily accompanied by a servant to carry their dresses and help them in robing. All of them, women as well as men, make their preparations in full view of everybody. Each lady has a toilette-box with all the necessaries for making up. Many are the hints the village

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The mean annual family income of cultivators is Rs. 1091 ($229), and the mean annual per capita income is Rs. 203 ($42). For non-cultivators, the comparable figures are Rs. 1210 ($254) and Rs. 276 ($57). However, when we compare median family incomes (a more reliable measure of central tendency for our sample) the apparent advantage of non-cultivators disappears; they receive Rs. 900 as against Rs. 910 for cultivators. The only significant difference in the range of incomes for the two groups is that some 7% of the non-cultivators receive incomes over Rs. 3500 ($735), while no cultivator receives over Rs. 3000. However, the idea is prevalent in the village that cultivation is a relatively unprofitable occupation and that it is possible to realize as much or more income by less arduous types of work. 434 463

The Indians of Tadagale are much more prosperous in terms of income, as shown below. 434 562

Table V

Family Incomes of Indians
(in rupees. Rs 100 = $21)

Income	No. Families
0- 500	0
500-1000	3
1001-1500	1
1501-2000	2
2001-2500	2
2501-3000	3
Over 7000*	4
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(*includes two families of Rs. 7200 each; one of Rs. 8640; and one of Rs. 18,000.)

The mean annual family income for the Indians is Rs. 4030 ($848), and the mean annual per capita income is Rs. 1343 ($281).

Differences in family incomes are not reflected in external status symbols, except in extreme cases. In poor families the type of house is usually bamboo and thatch, while among relatively prosperous families it is more likely to be of plank construction, with perhaps a galvanized iron roof. In the wealthier families the women have more silk longyis for dress occasions. Major differences in economic standing are often shown in the size, elaborateness and expensiveness of ceremonials, such as weddings and boys' initiation ceremonies, and in the contributions made towards the support of the Buddhist monks. 571

In general, however, wealth differences in Tadagale do not seem to provide any clear basis for differential association of persons. Kinship, which cuts across economic lines, is far more important. Although a few families are generally regarded as well off, they do not live apart from the rest of the community either in the spatial or social sense. Wealth does not appear to have any direct correlation with status, rank or privilege, or to form the 565 556

14: Brant E-5 (1949-50) 1954 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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basis of invidious distinctions. Persons of means are esteemed more for the socially valued uses to which they may put their money, such as charity, ceremonial activities, and support of the clergy, than for sheer richness or consumption.

Economic Change

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The changing pattern of Tadagale's economic life may be described from the point of view of shift from a once largely subsistence economy to one based more upon commodity production and exchange. In discussing this shift, the general trends are best indicated if we focus upon Lower Burma rather than upon Tadagale exclusively. It is desirable to make this large area our unit because pertinent data are available for it, whereas historical information specific to the village is somewhat scant and fragmentary. The term "Lower Burma" is an administrative and geographical one. It comprises about 81,000 square miles and a population of some 9 millions, four of the administrative divisions in the highly fertile, deltaic 'rice-bowl' of Burma.

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1. Background. The trend from a relatively self-sufficient subsistence economy, with little dependence upon money, to a more commercialized economy coincides with the coming of British colonial rule in Burma. Our historical perspective thus extends over a period of about 150 years. Within this span of time, profound economic change occurred in Lower Burma. Here we cannot give a detailed account of events from decade to decade, but must limit ourselves to a brief consideration of the major trends.

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In pre-British Lower Burma, villages consisted of what might be called islands of clearance in a big jungle. In these settlements the Burmese peasants lived by cultivation of paddy and vegetable gardens. Individual small holdings were the rule, and the size of the plot depended almost entirely upon need. No incentive existed to clear and cultivate land beyond the requirements of household subsistence and taxes, paid in kind, to the representative of the Burmese Crown. Cotton, from the dry zone of central Burma, was spun and woven into cloth, and garments were made in the local community. Housing was of a simple bamboo and thatch type, made of materials available locally. The bullock cart provided transport on the relatively few occasions that it was necessary for the Lower Burma villager to travel distances that could not be walked. Contact between villages was minimized by the expanses of intervening, uncleared jungle country. In Tadagale, for example, one of our oldest informants was able to recall the period of his youth, around 1885, when jungle clearance and settlement was still taking place, bringing Tadagale into closer communication with other communities in the area. Local craftsmen provided the villagers with simple utensils, tools and implements.

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When British colonialism took over, money came to dominate over barter. Taxation was ordered to be paid in money. The Burmese cultivator was encouraged to clear the heavy jungle, cultivate more land, sell surpluses of paddy to commercial millers, and spend his money on attractive manufactured goods imported from England, which were on display in the town shops and bazaars. Moneylenders, some of them Burmese, but especially Indians of the moneylending Chettiar caste from Madras, who could enter Burma freely, were at hand to loan money in fairly unlimited amounts to the Burmese peasants. Thus the latter could finance the expansion of their cultivation. Rates of interest charged were unregulated, and commonly ranged from 10% to 35% per year. The Burmese peasant was an easy victim: he was, at first, entirely unsophisticated in money

563 within the past two or three decades. In almost every way, they form a
463 village within the village. They are spatially clustered together, apart from
184 the Burmese. Their living is earned by dairying; milk from their cattle and
water buffaloes is sold in Rangoon, for cash, to Muslim restaurants. Since the
Burmese do not consume milk, the Indian dairymen find no market for their
[262] product in the community. The only economic relationship between the two
groups consists of some exchange of Burmese paddy stalk, when the harvest is
over, for animal manure. The Indians use the paddy stalk as fodder for their
animals, while the Burmese use animal manure to some extent for their not
very fertile garden and rice lands.

563 The Indians being Hindus, the Burmese Buddhists, the two groups have no
571 basis for common participation in religious or ceremonial life. Nor is there
556 more than a negligible tendency towards intermarriage; our census showed two cases.

As shown by our figures on income, the Indians as a group are far more prosperous than the Burmese. Although the Burmese seem to realize this, they tend to phrase the matter not so much in terms of greater wealth of the Indians as in terms of how little the Indian spends of his income. To the average Burmese of the village, the Indian is something of a lesser breed who lives on next to nothing and so grows rich.

563 Throughout the course of research in Tadagale, an effort was made from time to time to study intergroup feelings and attitudes, but this was a subject on which informants who were quite ready to discuss almost any other matter were loath to speak. The Burmese seemed to know little (or at least so professed) about the ways of the Indians; the Indians were very tight-lipped concerning the Burmese.

175 It was towards the close of our work in Tadagale that certain events
669 occurred which brought out, in sharp focus, the nature of Burmese-Indian relations
674 and attitudes, and completely broke the silence maintained earlier. At this point, however, some digression is necessary to provide a background for understanding what took place.

In 1949-50, the internal disturbances which have beset Burma since the end of World War II were at their height. During this time the maintenance of law and order sank to a very low point; robbery, armed and unarmed, was rampant. Tadagale was robbed three times within the preceding year, according to informants. On such occasions, bandits entered the village, fired their guns into the air to frighten the defenseless villagers, and then proceeded to tie up some villagers and remove their money and other valuables. Anyone who resisted was beaten. According to villagers, the police, located about half a mile away, could not be depended upon for protection or for action once a crime occurred, for the bandits were better organized and armed than the police, making the latter extremely reluctant to take any action.

674 Some early evidences of distrust between Indians and Burmese appeared
563 about the middle of our research period, when an Indian dairyman stated that he
175 was convinced that the bandits who periodically invaded Tadagale had Burmese collaborators in the village. He based his belief on the fact that the bandits seemed always to find their way directly to the homes of the more prosperous inhabitants, which knowledge, he claimed, could be gotten only from villagers.

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

than the feeling of exclusiveness. He abominates secrecy, mystery. His religion, his women, himself, are free; there are no dark places in his life where the light cannot come. He is ready that everything should be known, that all men should be his brothers. 565 181

And so all the people are on the same level. Richer and poorer there are, of course, but there are no very rich; there is none so poor that he cannot get plenty to eat and drink. All eat much the same food, all dress much alike. The amusements of all are the same, for entertainments are always free. So the Burman does not care to be rich. It is not in his nature to desire wealth, it is not in his nature to care to keep it when it comes to him. Beyond a sufficiency for his daily needs money has not much value. He does not care to add field to field or coin to coin; the mere fact that he has money causes him no pleasure. Money is worth to him what it will buy. With us, when we have made a little money we keep it to be a nest-egg to make more from. Not so a Burman: he will spend it. And after his own little wants are satisfied, after he has bought himself a new silk, after he has given his wife a gold bangle, after he has called all his village together and entertained them with a dramatic entertainment — sometimes even before all this—he will spend the rest on charity. 556

He will build a pagoda to the honour of the great teacher, where men may go to meditate on the great laws of existence. He will build a monastery school where the village lads are taught, 556 741

461 555 873 602 [538]

The key to high positions lies in education in the high schools and Universities. Family support is necessary for this and the student is constantly aware of his obligation to succeed for their benefit. "One tree can support a thousand birds" illustrate the dependency of the relatives on the successful individual.

555 777 152 602

In order to succeed one needs each of these three qualities: KAMMA (fate or luck), NYAN (intelligence), and WIRIYA(industriousness The failure of any one can cause the lack of success. Ordinarily, however, KAMMA is blamed in cases of failure - and the other two credited for success. The concept of KAMMA includes merit and demerit compiled in all previous existences. Because of this convenient excuse the true causes of failure are seldom analysed by the individual and he does not have a sense of personal blame or shame. Also social condemnation does not fall heavily on the unsuccessful who has tried and failed. However, one should finish what he starts or not attempt it, "once you start climbing the pole you must reach the top". The individual may not achieve fame or fortune but he is expected to maintain his birth position. His relatives, who suffer shame if he does not, help him. A major contribution of the individual is an advantagous marriage within or above his occupational group. [583]

●556 554 461

What does one strive for, by work, in the Burmese society? Not subsistence, for food is ordinarily cheap and easily attained in the villages. Clothing, shelter and the other necessities of life are also not the objective. The subsistence pattern is simple and essentially homogeneous throughout the village.

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The ordinary head of a household thinks of three major bemefits to be gained from wealth. The first and most immediate are jewels to adorn the women of the family. The status of the family is reflected in public by the bangles, necklaces and earrings worn by the ladies. Diamonds are most prized and the size is important. However, most important is that each female be provided with "a set" of jewelry. The wife of the middle and upper status group particularly will prod the husband until he provides these necessities. The women's clothing and also the husbands and his son's must also be the finest they can afford.

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The second urge for wealth arises out of the desire for old age security. Hence gold coins are saved (hidden) against the day when

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day on the calendar but the second phongyi decided to embark anyway. Both phongyis were lost when the boat sank that day.

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The revered position of phongyis is open to all regardless of birth or position. It is felt that some take up the robe because they are unsuccessful in life, or wish an "easy living" - but perhaps this attitude is one of modern sophisticates. Certainly the dominant position of the brotherhood is unchallenged. Occasionally differences arise between the headman and the phongyis of a village. But the phongyis invariably prevail. Offending laymen can be "deprived the gate of heaven" by phongyis refusing to accept HSOON, alms, from them. This is called inverting the begging bowl THA-BEIT-MAUK-TAI (Begging bowl-upturn) and is the current phrase for any sort of a "strike".

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Some unprincipalled phongyis have sought to enrich themselves by accepting gifts of land or other property, or by selling gifts for money to traders. When they leave the brotherhood and become laymen again this property become theirs. Such occurences appear to be rare and are controlled by stipulations of the givers. For example a donor would hesitate to give paddy land to a suspected phongyi but might agree to giving the crops while retaining title.

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The government or administrative class is looked up to with great respect - in part a carry over from the days of royalty, in part an attitude towards power and influence. However, while the villager today may not know the details of the new constitution he knows there is a "code" wherein he can secure impartial justice.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 API Burma
Burmese AP4

153. THE CHALLENGE (see p. 177).

the young wife's home, the lad working for her parents. 591
As family comes and other daughters marry, the elder pairs are established in houses of their own. Married people are designated *ein-daung*—householders. Marriage 581
makes no difference in the names and their prefixes. 592
Everyone marries in Burma; the census of 1891 gave 551
1,306,722 husbands to 1,307,292 wives. The same census 162
gave 102 females to 100 males of the Burman (so classed [548]
as Buddhist) population. (In Burma prostitution is confined to the large towns.) [524]

A family of seven is considered large. The average 592
number of house-occupants is 5.5. The cost of living of 511
a Burman village household is 100 to 200 Rs. a year. In 357
the towns the well-to-do spend 600 to 1000 Rs. and more, 556
and at the present day keep a servant or two for the rough work, generally natives of India. Such accumulations of wealth as are made by individuals in India and other countries with a plutocracy and a proletariate are not paralleled among the Burmans. Nevertheless individuals amass tens of thousands of rupees, which for the most part they spend on works of religious merit. Monogamy is the received and almost universal practice in Burma. Second-wives are taken by a proportion of the officials and men of wealth. Hence it comes that the Burmans wonder more at the moderation of Europeans than at such license as they indulge. This license is not nearly so great as in India, but it is more open, corresponding to the higher status of the women of Burma, and thus it provokes more scandal in comparison. Unions of this sort among the Burmans are merely by mutual consent. A separate establishment in a different quarter of the town is maintained for the second wife or concubine (*maya-ngè*). Her children are under no disability, but she is not acknowledged by the first, and generally older, wife (*mayaji*), whose husband's love she is said to have stolen.

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154. AN "ORIGINAL."

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his lot. It also tends toward a kind of stratification of society where the boundaries, however, are neither sharp nor fast. Each person is comfortably installed in his place and competes, mildly, only with those of his own level. The obligations (as contributions for ceremonies) are in terms of one's ability, and his status is in terms of his virtues. Status is closely correlated with increasing age. This concept motivate the Burmese in the village within "KARMA groups". 181 156 364 555 [561] [554]

The unusual individual may transcend his family positions in exceptional cases - by marriage or achievement. Achievement by physical force has been a means of mobility in the past - there is the tradition of the strong man leader who comes from humble origins. Mobility by entrepreneur achievement (rice mill owners; traders) has been greatly stimulated with increased western contacts. U Myaing was a sort of entrepreneur in Pathwe. In Rangoon the opportunities are great and some Burmese are successfully embracing this, as yet, somewhat unfamiliar course. The western entrepreneur concept appears to be finding a fertile ground in the traditional "group individualism" of the Burmese. 156 555 557● [177]

<u>The standards or levels of culture</u>: When U Myaing's standard of living plummeted downwards as a refugee he became discontented and unhappy desiring to return to the "plateau" of his former level. At first he could only think of returning to Pathwe to achieve this, but as success begins to crown his efforts in Rangoon he now feels the beginnings of a sense of achievement. In his refugee situation there was no sense of shame for his reduction - the events contributing to his downfall were beyond his control, and he had lived "as a refugee should" in which his abilities and obligations were balanced. This resulted in an attitude of cheerful patience understandable in terms of the KARMA concept. 511 181 558

The two standards, in Pathwe and camp, represent balanced levels ranging from the "average" Burmese villages situation to close to the minimum. Higher standards than those of Pathwe are seen in the administrative class of Rangoon and other major towns where western influences are strong (car, western furniture and household utensils, westernised house and clothing, etc.). Lower standards may be 511 565 [177]

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1: Mi Mi Khaing I-5 (no date) 1946 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

872 next to their friends, crouched over their work and started to shout out
859 whatever passage was being committed to memory. My father's chuckling
876 was at being able to remember how his voice was lustier than his rival's as he rested on his elbows and knees, and rocked backwards and forwards in rhythm to his chanting, with his legs going as high as he dared, giving surreptitious kicks and nudges to upset the balance of his similarly rocking rival, shouting out the passages all wrong when the supervising monk was at the other end of the room and could not distinguish his voice in the general din, so as to cause his rival to laugh and be reprimanded.

But these shortcomings of the schoolroom were punished with only a comical severity. During the play hour the lazy boys were made to cross their hands across their breasts and pull at each ear with the fingers of the opposite hand; in this position they were made to sit and stand, sit and stand, while one of the good boys, usually joined by a crowd of others, sang in rhythmic chorus: "*Hta-Htaing, Hta-Htaing*: Rise-sit, rise-sit." Or if the supervising monk was in a playful mood he made these bad boys each take a good boy on his back and race them up and down the garden. Shortcomings of a moral nature were not regarded as such a joke, however; disobedience and dishonesty were punished with severe beatings, in accordance with the injunction given to the monks by the fond parents when they

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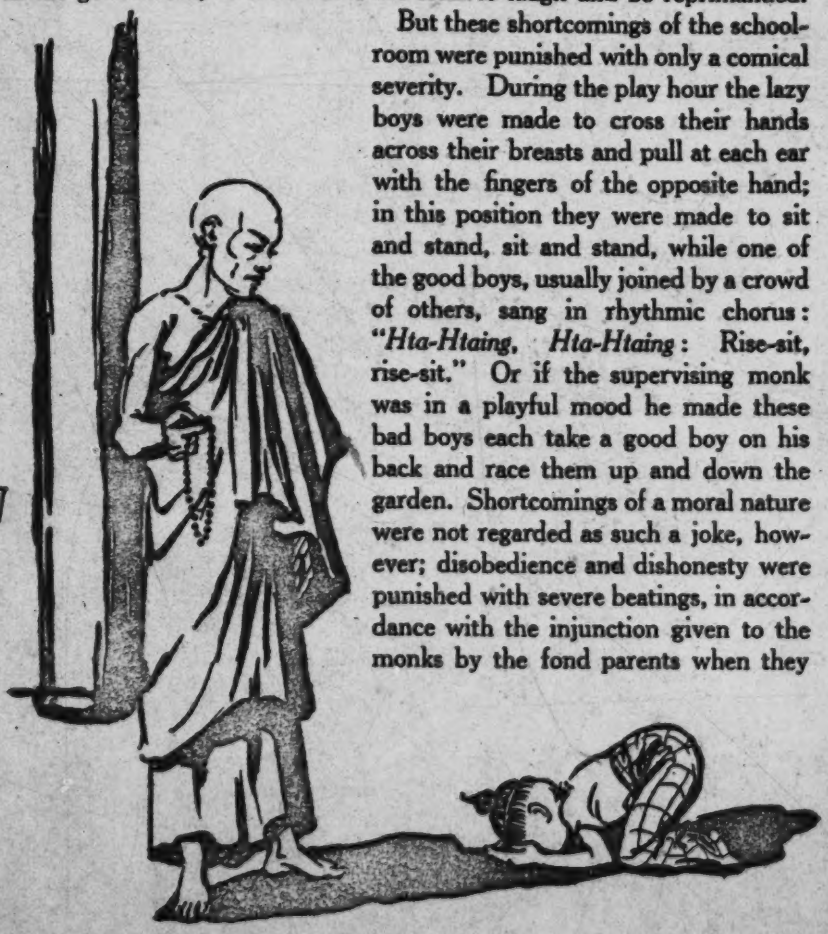

handed their children over: "*So yin na na yaik pa:* If he is naughty please beat him hard."

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●561 My father spent about five years like this. The hair of his top-knot
792 grew longer year by year and it was nearing the time when he should cut

it off, offer it to his mother as a tress for her hair-dressing, and have his head shaved and be initiated into the monkhood amidst feasting and rejoicing. This initiation, which every Buddhist boy went through in order to attain his true manhood by wearing the yellow robe, would last only a week or a month, or as long as my father felt the urge to remain in the monastery; for ever if he liked, in which case he would be formally received as an upasin. It was expected, however, that he would leave after a few months and help Grandmother and the aunts with looking after the paddy and the gardens. A rain of accidents upset all these schemes. 872 561 792

When my father was about 14 he was already among the oldest boys in the kyauug, his learning was high and his conduct exemplary. The monks gave him the task of guarding the meat-safe where all the stores of sweetmeats given to the monastery were kept, as well as delicious titbits like the roe of *nga-tha-lauk* fish, and the rich red oil of the heads of lobsters, which were kept over for the meals of the monks on following days. These wire-netted cupboards are called "cat-houses" in Burmese, because they are meant to guard the food from depredations of cats, and they serve the purpose very well, but they could never guard against the appetites of little boys; for my father, even as I knew him in later years, loved people to eat good things and would always soften and allow his companions to have a bit just here and there. He was often scolded for it, but was so well-behaved otherwise that the post was not taken from him. Just at this time, however, a supervising monk with very decided ideas of discipline was given charge of the boys; all the faults of disobedience, telling of falsehoods, running off to the village at forbidden hours and such like, were stored up till the end of the month. Then, on punishment day, the monk would gather a pile of sticks beside him, and all the boys with faults in a row before him, and go through beating them, one stick to one boy until it broke. One month my father was included in this row because the inroads on the meat-safe stores had increased in spite of constant warnings. Being a big boy he was left to the end of the row, and could watch the zealous monk methodically working through the boys and the sticks. What we know of my father and physical pain is that my mother was once scolded very severely the only time in her life that she beat any of us, and that he himself, when about to take nasty medicine or a vaccination, would go through a series of shiverings and comical protests, some of which I am sure were quite genuine. My poor father then watched the pile of sticks diminishing, and when there were but three sticks left and three boys between him and the untiring monk he suddenly took to his heels and fled, right out of the monastery grounds, down the pagoda hill and down to the creek. He did not dare 872 792 861

872 to go home because Grandmother would have sent him back for a double
792 beating, so he hitched up his longyi, tied his shirt round his head and
861 swam across the stream. One of the huts on the other bank belonged to a woman who had always been very fond of him because she believed
[775] him to be a reincarnation of her brother who had died in childhood; Burmese Buddhists believe that one goes through many existences on this earth, and sometimes children are born who have not yet forgotten their previous existence by the time they can talk; they adopt habits uncannily like those of the departed member who, the fond and grieving relatives hope, has returned to them in the guise of this new child; they say "My bed", "My clothes" to the possessions of the dead person, especially if eggs are not included in their diet, the belief being that eggs cause them to forget. When we were very young, the fame of a wonder child, who could recite the most learned religious passages untaught, spread throughout Burma, and my parents travelled to hear him; he had been a monk in his past existence and could remember.

792 My father's case was no outstanding one like this; he had just re-
561 sembled the lady's brother in looks and gesture, and a few childish utterances helped out by her belief had endeared my father to her as having been *winsa* (come in and inhabited) by her brother. The good and fond lady received the boy with open arms, agreed that he was getting too old for the monastery, and promised to go over and plead with my grandmother to take him out now and hasten his initiation ceremony into the priesthood. This was achieved and my father went back to his mother's house and prepared for the *shinbyu* as the ceremony was called.

484 The manner of his exit from the monastery, however, had made
177 him restless. During the short period he was free, he could go where
874 he willed, and in this way he often met traders who came and went between Ye and Tavoy, a seaport town about 100 miles away, to which passenger and cargo ships from Moulmein made regular trips. One day he was at the house on the opposite bank when a boy he used to know as a toddler returned from Tavoy after a trip to Moulmein. This boy could speak a few words of English. Moreover, he wore his hair in a *boha-dauk* (a Westerner's crop) and seemed to think my father a jungle boy. All the restlessness in my father flowed over then, because up to now he had always felt himself clever and ahead of other boys. He worried Grandmother to let him go to Moulmein and learn English, and and get a job with the government which would bring them hundreds of rupees each month. Other families who considered that Grandmother had clever sons agreed that this would be a good idea; though none of them had been to Moulmein and my father was still a boy, it would not be so daring an adventure as it sounded, because there was some one

the sameik by using an unoiled dry and slightly wavy tress to offer a wanton contrast to the smooth severe cylinder. In the absence of permanent waving, and with the straightness of the Burmese hair, I admired the enterprise of a Rangoon family who subsidized, with supplies of coconut oil, the Indian gardener next door, an Oriya coming from a race with wavy raven locks, until his tresses grew to the requisite length and they bought them for binding into a sameik. This sameik is discarded after marriage, but in the case of a girl who does not get married early, it continues in a more restrained form, a *sameik-kwin*, when it is tucked back into the bottom of the cylinder to form a loop. Shortly after the age of twenty-five, she discards it altogether and makes just a sadone like a married woman. Kyi-Kyi's sadone was broad and low; after she had finished the rest of her toilet she tied her hair by drawing a thread backwards from her forehead so that stray hairs were tucked into the sadone, and the same with the upswept hair at the back. She also carried the Burmese powder puff in her luggage though I never saw her use it. These, which we also still use as the best means of applying Max Factor powder, were scraps of old cotton vests, about ten inches square, which had been soaked and washed in thanakha, thus avoiding the horrible newness of the unused modern powder puff.

My aunt's clothes were also aggressively her own. This was noticeable especially with her going-out clothes, for which she would never have any imported materials. She declared that imported silks, crêpe-de-chines and the like, could not be washed and beaten clean like the Burmese silks and cottons. Neither did they produce suitable colours and designs for elderly spinster ladies like her—they were either gay and skittish, or of a soberness that depressed without pleasing one. What she loved most were the *ya-khaing* longyis, silks and cottons woven in Arakan, in small check patterns, but so stout that you soaked them and beat them hard before the first wearing, and then washed them again and again until you had a pliant closely-woven fabric whose colour and freshness lasted a lifetime. One of my sisters, whom my aunt pressed to wear a ya-khaing longyi in preference to a crêpe-de-chine piece whose bright butterflies had appealed to her sixteen-year-old fancy, stated that no doubt if she slept in the ya-khaing longyi every night for seven years, it would just be at its best for her to wear when she reached the age of twenty-five. For more dressy occasions, my aunt wore *zin-mè* silks, the design of which was reputed to come from Chiengmai in Siam, and in imitation of which Burmese weavers now produce zin-mè longyis in dull red and green geometrical designs, like old lacquer colours. Kyi-Kyi sometimes wore *Bangauk* longyis also, said to come truly from Bangkok, but more often woven in Burma in imitation of the characteristic twist

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

871 able rule, when a boy has reached the age of eight or nine years he goes as a matter of course to the Pôngyi Kyaung. 871 It is open to all alike—to the poor fisherman's son as well 212 as to the scion of princely blood—for no one pays anything, 792 and it is not carefully considered who it is that fills the ● 561 monkish begging pots in the daily round. Thus every Buddhist boy in the country is taught to read and write, and in this respect at least there are but very few illiterate Burmans. This primary education must by no means be confounded with entry into the monastery as a koyin-gale, or novice. Strictly speaking, this ceremony ought not to take place before the age of fifteen, and the earlier sojourn is only a preparation for it. The younger pupils may become boarders in the monastic building if they choose, but they do not assume the yellow robe, which marks them, for however short a time it may be worn, as members of the Assembly of the Perfect. They wear their ordinary clothes and retain their secular name.

As soon as the boy enters the monastery he is set down 816 in the big schoolroom beside all the other boys, and receives 812 a roughly-made black wooden slate. On this are written a few of the letters, perhaps the whole of the alphabet. A little explanation starts him off, and for the next few days he is engaged in shouting out their sounds at the top of his voice. Nobody minds him, for all the other scholars are similarly engaged in hallooing, and the monks derive a sense of comfort and a virtuous consciousness of doing good from the noise. It is as soothing as the sound of his mill-wheels to the miller, or the roar of traffic to the cockney. If a boy stops shouting, it is a sign that he has stopped working—and if he is not meditating mischief, it is probable that he is about to go to sleep, and he is corrected accordingly. The method is an admirable one for keeping the boys occupied—much more so than civilised Western methods—though I fear a council of English head-masters would scout the idea. The casual foreign observer who goes about taking notes, like Grose or the "Rampant M.P.," passes the ecclesiastical school, and in amazement at the seeming uproar within, declares that monastery schools are hopelessly badly conducted, and without the semblance of discipline. As a

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

177.87

There is a percentage of thirty-five in the "middle standard" (Government Education Department). What matters if the successful halt and stumble in the pareit-gyi? There are two boys who have a chance in the Calcutta University Matriculation Examinations. It is a matter of indifference that the thingyo is as unknown to them as it is to any poor foreigner. Nevertheless, notwithstanding their shortcomings in this respect, there are but few even of these young Burmans who have not become members of the society, if only for long enough to get their heads shaved and be invested with the yellow dress. Still in these latter years there are a few who have never gone through even this slight ceremony, and the number may be expected annually to increase as Western habits spread more widely over the country. Not till the monastic schools begin to be deserted will the Christian missionary find that his labours have had any effect on the vital energies of the ancient faith of the Buddha. That day is still far off. As yet the government and vernacular lay schools have had very little effect in reducing the number of scholars who go daily to study in the dim-lighted schoolrooms of the monastery. Not even in Rangoon have the monks to call for scholars; they flock there abundantly of their own accord.

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2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

CHAPTER III

BUDDHIST BAPTISM

THE term baptism as applied to a youth who enters a monastery in the state of probation (called shin) is not, as many people think, a mere idle analogy borrowed from the Christian faith. The novice actually and formally receives a new name to mark his accession to the full dignity of humanity. The great majority of shins, or ko-yins, are little boys of twelve or a little older, but occasionally a man secludes himself from the world at an advanced age. Till a Buddhist has entered the fraternity he cannot claim to be more than a mere animal. He has a lu nāmé, it is true, a worldly name, but so might any ox, or horse, or elephant. It is not till he has subjected himself to the discipline of the kyaung that he can reap the fruits of a holy past and look forward to a more glorious future.

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> The devils in the underworlds wear out
> Deeds that were wicked in an age gone by.

Man has less innocence than the animals, and cannot, like them, progress by merely omitting to sin. He may make golden stairways of his weaknesses indeed, but before he can do so he must abandon the world, if it is only for twenty-four hours. Then he becomes an upathaka, a believer, and towards another life will hold the gain as well as answer for the loss in the present one, death casting up the debit or credit.

[812]

> Higher than Indra's ye may lift your lot,
> And sink it lower than the worm or gnat.

In recognition of this new-gained power the novice drops

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2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4
Lower Burma

792 553 775 561 In recognition of this new-gained power the novice drops his secular name and receives a bwè, an honorific title, to mark that it is now open to him to escape from suffering. The name lapses when he returns to the world again, but it is sufficient that he has once borne it. He may now add to his kan, merit, and gain for himself a glorious new life by good works.

[198] This is what is meant by calling the ceremony a baptism. The bwè are almost invariably Pali, or Burmanised Pali names, and follow the same rules with regard to initial letters as the lu nāmé. Thus a Maung Po Myat, born on Thursday, might take the name of Pyinya-Zawta, while the bwè of a Sunday child, Maung An, would be Adesa. This religious or Buddhist (on the analogy of Christian) name is, of course, retained by the regular members of the monastery, and a monk is never addressed by any other when a name is used at all. When he becomes old a U is added, as U Adesa, but it must not be forgotten that [576] the use of a person's name in addressing him is considered very far from being polite in Burma, especially to one of rank and dignity such as a mendicant. On the other hand, one who has returned to the world never uses the bwè, not even when he accomplishes some great religious work such as the foundation of a pagoda, which according to a comforting belief ensures passage to Ne'ban after death.

The entry into the monastic order is therefore certainly the most important event in the life of a Burman, since only under the robe of the recluse and in the abandonment of the world can he completely fulfil the law and hope to find the way to eventual deliverance from the misery of ever-recur- [796] ring existences. The popular time for the ceremony is just at the beginning of Wā, the Buddhist Lent, which lasts from July to October, roughly speaking. Strict Buddhists make their sons stay throughout the whole Wā. During that season feasts, though they do occur, are very much discountenanced, and dramatic performances are energetically denounced by the religious.

792 561 184 177.84 According to the letter of the law the intending probationers should have reached the age of fifteen, but this regulation has almost entirely lapsed in Lower Burma, among other reasons chiefly because that is just the most

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important age for the boy to be learning English and arithmetic, with a view to getting situations under Government or in English merchants' offices. Therefore in the vast majority of cases shin-pyu thi takes place at the age of twelve, or perhaps even a year earlier. 792 561 184 177.84

If the boy has been a scholar in the monastery beforehand, he is sure to be already prepared in all that is required of him. If not, he gets a few hasty lessons in the duties that will be incumbent on him. He must address a full member of the order in such and such language; he must walk decorously through the streets, keeping his eyes fixed on the ground six feet before him, and on no account gaze round him, no matter what exciting events may be going on; he must wear his thingan and du-gut in the prescribed fashion; he must eat with dignity and circumspection, and so on. All these details are set forth in most minute fashion in a code. When he has mastered the most essential portions, and has also given proof of an acquaintance with the ordinary forms of worship, all is ready. His horoscope now comes into requisition, and a bedinsayā or Ponna is called in to determine a lucky day and hour from the sadā. When this has been settled, three or four girls, the intending koyin-gale's sisters, or friends of the family, dress themselves up in their finest silks and jewels—often borrowing a large quantity of the latter—and go round the town, announcing to all relatives, friends, and neighbours when the induction will take place, and inviting them to the feast, presenting the little packet of le'-pet usual on such occasions. Almost all of these send some little present, either of money or victuals, to aid in the feast and make it as grand as possible. Not unseldom, if somebody else's son is also going to enter the kyaung and the town is not very large, the two join forces, while occasionally as many as half a dozen unite, especially if the families are not well off. 792 872 [516] [292] 792 561 [787] 796 [292]

On the appointed day the young neophyte dresses in his finest clothes, and loads himself with all the family gold chains and jewellery, and as much more as he can borrow for the occasion. He then mounts a pony or gets into a richly decorated car. Shaded by gold umbrellas, allowed formerly on this occasion only in Upper Burma, except to those who had got a special patent for them from the sovereign... [292] [554]

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had got a special patent for them from the sovereign, he passes at a foot-pace through the village. A band of music goes before; all his friends and relatives crowd round him decked in their gayest; the young men dancing and singing vigorously; the girls laughing and smiling, with powdered faces and brilliant dresses. Thus he goes in succession to the houses of his relations and of all the local officials, to do them the obeisance due from a younger member of the family, and to bid them farewell. They in turn contribute money towards the expense of the band, and the solace of the supernumeraries. This triumphant march is meant to symbolise the maung-shin's abandonment of the follies of this world, and to recall Prince Theidat's last splendid appearance in Kapilawut, amidst a crowd of rejoicing clansmen and subjects, just previous to his abandonment of family and kingdom to become a homeless mendicant ascetic, and to obtain the Buddhaship under the bawdi tree. When the round of visits has been duly carried out, the procession turns back to the parents' house, where in the meantime the final preparations for the induction and subsequent feast have been concluded. The head of the kyaung to which the young postulants are to be admitted, together with several of his brother monks, are seated at the back of the room on a raised dais, in front of which are ranged the presents intended for the mendicants—heaps of fruit, cooked food, mats, yellow cloth, and so on. The "Talapoins" seated in a row carefully hold up the large lotus-leaf-shaped fans before their faces to shut out from view the female portion of the assemblage. Never is the command to the holy community not to look on woman more necessary and more arduous to observe than at a shin-pyu pwè. Burma's fairest daughters are assembled, bright in rainbow skirts and neckerchiefs, drowsy-scented flowers in the jetty tresses, jewellery flashing on the bosom, the fingers, and ears, the fragrance of thana'ka lingering over the smiling faces. Terrible trial it is for the young monk, if any such there be in the gaing ôk's following, and more imperative the concentration of the mind on the Payeit Gyi and other portions of the sacred writ which are loudly chanted as the postulants return, and the assembly shikhoes to the pon-

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gyis, and settles down to observe the proceedings. The boy throws off all his fine clothes and jewellery, and binds a piece of white cloth round his loins. Then his long hair is cut off close to the head. Often the locks are as much as three or four feet long, and are carefully preserved by the mother or sister, the latter often making them up into ta-su, the tails of hair twisted in with her own to increase the size of her sa-dôn—the knot of hair she wears at the back of her head. When the hair has been cut, the head is carefully shaved, the boy holding it over a cloth held by some of his relations. After this the head is washed in the usual way with a decoction of the seeds and bark of the kin-bôn thi, and rubbed well with saffron. A bath is then taken, and once more he puts on the bright paso, and repairs to the presence of the monks. Near at hand the parents have set ready the thingan, belt, ko-wut, and other yellow robes, the begging-pot and other requisites of the shin. The boy comes forward, prostrates himself three times, raises his hands joined in reverence, and begs, in a Pali formula got up by heart, to be admitted to the Holy Assembly as a neophyte, that he may walk steadily in the path of perfection, enjoy the advantages which result therefrom, and finally attain to the blessed state of Ne'ban. The kyaung po-go with his own hands gives him the garments; he is duly robed; the thabeit is hung round his neck by the strap, and then it is announced formally that he is a member of the monastery. He falls in among the other novices who have come with the mendicants. The abbot perhaps exhorts the assemblage for a short time, and then rising while all the people do obeisance, walks off slowly to the monastery, whither the newly-appointed ko-yins follow him, not unlikely helping to carry the presents which have been given at their induction.

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The feast at the parents' house begins immediately, and of course ends in a pwè, which lasts till dawn. Sometimes, though this is very seldom the case even in Rangoon, the young probationer comes back again the same night and assumes the lay dress. This *pro forma* observance of the ceremony of baptism is, however, vehemently opposed by all the monks who are worth anything. A few boys

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remain only twenty-four hours in the yellow dress, long enough to enable them to go once at least round the village begging from door to door in the train of the yahans. This, naturally, is very little better than leaving the kyaung immediately. It is considered hardly decent for the shin to leave under seven days of professed membership of the community. Some stay longer—a fortnight, a month, or two months; but all the more earnest believers insist that their sons shall remain at least one Wā, throughout the four months of Lent, in the rainy season. The best course for a fervent Buddhist, who nevertheless does not feel himself, adapted for a monkish life, is to stay over three Wās, one Lent for his father, one for his mother, and one for himself. It is on account of the importance of the Wā to the shin-pyu that most inductions take place at the beginning of that season. Yahans count their seniority by the number of Lents they have spent in the kyaung. A mendicant of twenty Wās must shekho to one of twenty-five, and so on. An individual who has left the holy community to re-enter the world is called a lu-twet, a runaway. On the other hand, a man who has been married, and has afterwards entered the monastery, goes by the name of taw-twet, one who has fled from the jungle of the world. The most revered yahans are those who have held steadfastly by the blameless, austere life of the fraternity since the time when they were first admitted as koyin-gale. Such are called ngè-byu, white, or stainless from youth, and if they attain to advanced age are always sure of a most splendid ceremonial funeral, whether they have been celebrated for piety and learning or not.

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If the shin-pyu stays on in the kyaung, he continues the same course of studies as he began as a scholar. If he has not already learnt the Payeit Gyi and the Paya Shikho, Pali sermons and forms of worship, or the Mingala Thut, the "Buddhist Beatitudes," he applies himself to them now. The most advanced pore over the metaphysical mysteries of the Abidhamma Konit-gyan, the seven books of the most difficult part of the Bitaghat. These, with the Thingyo and Thadda, afford ample room for consideration to the longest life. The modern system of shortened sojourn in the

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religious are merely initiated into a higher stage, and become members of an order in which every individual is aiming at a greater degree of sanctity. The doors of the kyaung are always open as well to those who wish to enter as to those who wish to leave it. The longest stayer has the greatest honour. A visitor monk, who has the greater number of wās, who has passed many lenten seasons in his yellow robe, will be shikho'd to, will receive the homage of the head of the monastery, even if he be a gaing-ôk, and the stranger but a simple pôngyi. 792 771

In his ordination, therefore, the pyin-sin takes upon himself no burden in the shape of a cure of souls. He is not a priest like the Christian minister, who undertakes to guide others to salvation. He has no trouble for his food; a pious and kindly population supplies him far beyond his requirements, and expects no service in return for this support. He has no sermons to prepare; it is not expected that he will preach the law, and when of his own accord he occasionally does give an exposition, it is not any feeble excogitation of his own, but the thoughts and words of the Great Master himself, or of the highest and noblest of the men of old, that he delivers. His natural rest is never broken in upon by calls to administer consolation and comfort to the sick and the dying. Even his leisure is seldom interrupted to be present at the last rites for the dead. He is not a minister of religion, and all he has to do is to seek his own deliverance and salvation. All that is compulsory on him is the observance of continence, poverty, and humility, with tenderness to all living things, abstraction from the world, and a strict observance of a number of moral precepts, all tending to inculcate these things. It is curious perhaps, therefore, that greater numbers do not don the yellow robe. As it is, however, there is no lack of them.

Previous to admission the postulant must have reached the age of twenty years and have obtained his parents' permission. The origin of this stipulation dates from the earliest times. When Gautama attained the Buddhaship his half-brother Nanda was next heir, and was about to be proclaimed Crown Prince when he was persuaded to become yahan. Thereupon Thudaw-dana, the king, obtained a 792 561

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promise from the Buddha that ever after none should put on the celibate robe without his parents' consent. The candidate must also give proof of a sufficient knowledge of the Pareit-gyi, the Padiseit, the three Bitaghats, and the like. When it is understood that he has given satisfaction in these subjects, his friends provide for him the complete equipment of a mendicant, the sacred eight utensils which a pyin-sin cannot do without. These are:—

[292] 1. The dugôt, a piece of yellow cloth of rectangular shape, folded many times and worn over the left shoulder, with the ends hanging down behind and before.

2. The kowut, a piece of cloth worn round the loins and reaching to the ankles.

3. The thinbaing, a square-shaped cloth, yellow like the others, thrown cloak-fashion over the chest and shoulders, and coming down as far as the knees.

[293] 4. The thabeit, or begging-pot, worn suspended round the neck by a cord. It is shaped like a large circular soup-tureen with a rounded bottom, and has no lid. This must be carried round every morning to receive the alms of the pious.

5. The kaban, a leathern girdle used for binding on the kowut.

6. The pèkot, a short-handled axe used for splitting firewood and the like.

7. An at, or needle.

8. A yesit, a strainer, or water dipper, an apparatus for filtering the water which he drinks, so that he may not, even unwittingly, take animal life.

To these pareik-kaya shit-ba, these sacred eight utensils, is usually added an awana or yap, a lotus-leaf-shaped fan, made from a single palm frond, with an edging of bamboo or light wood, and furnished with a handle fashioned like the letter S. The leaf used is that of the Talapat palm, hence the name of Talapoins given to the members of the brotherhood by the early Portuguese adventurers in Burma. Every mendicant must have this fan with him when he goes to an assemblage where there are likely to be women present, in order that he may be thus able to shut himself off from any temptation to carnal thoughts. The sight of half a

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792 [293] dozen or more solemn-visaged monks sitting on their mats and coyly hiding their faces behind these big fans is apt to raise a smile on the face of a foreigner. But there is no doubt that the regulation is well advised. Women are disturbers of tranquil meditation.

792 346 561 When these necessaries have been provided, the candidate proceeds to the appointed building. This is always a thein, a consecrated hall, built of teak, with open sides and the sacred three, five, or seven overlapping and diminishing roofs, not unlike the Albert Memorial in appearance, but much larger at the base. Here the examining body is assembled to the number of ten or twelve, ordinarily, but a minimum of four will suffice if the ceremony is conducted in the jungle. The senior is appointed upyitsi, or president, and a secretary is nominated, whose duty it is to bring forward the candidate and to read the Kammawāsā, the ritual of ordination. This is the most gorgeously ornamented of all the Burmese books. It is written, not in the ordinary round character, but in square letters painted on with a thick black resinous gum, and requires a special education to read it. The leaves are formed either of the ordinary palm-leaf, thickly covered with red lacquer, and profusely ornamented round the border and between the lines with gilded figures of nats and elaborate scroll-work, or in the case of the more sacred monasteries, of the discarded waistcloths of kings. None might wear these pasos after the Great King of Righteousness had tired of them, and many were therefore made use of for this purpose. Portions of them are taken, doubled over, and then covered with numerous coatings of wood-oil and a paste composed of this same thitsi, with finely sifted burnt rice-husks, sawdust, and rice-water, until at last they become firm as a piece of cardboard, but vastly more pliant. Then the sheets are emblazoned, and the text painted on, the whole being enclosed between richly ornamented teak boards. Few more splendid-looking manuscripts can be seen anywhere. Occasionally copies are found engrossed on thin sheets of ivory or copper, but those on the royal pasos, called Wut-lè Kammawāsās, are most highly esteemed. The [195] text is always read in a peculiar way, in a high-pitched, jerky recitative, which is not without a certain impressive effect.

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The following detailed account of the ceremony of initiation is taken from the second volume of Bishop Bigandet's *Life of Gautama*, the bulk of it being a translation of the Kammawāsā :—

As soon as the pyin-sin have taken their places, the Kammawā-sayā (the secretary) introduces the novitiant duly clothed and bearing the necessary utensils. The candidate kneels down, and, with his hands raised to his forehead and his body bent, repeats three times :

"Venerable president, I acknowledge you to be my upyitsi."

The assistant, addressing himself to the candidate, says :

"Dost thou acknowledge this to be thy father, and these thy sacred vestments ?"

The candidate audibly answers "Yes," and then withdraws to a distance of twelve cubits from the assembled fathers, whom the Kammawā-sayā addresses as follows :

"Venerable upyitsi, and you, brethren, here assembled, listen to my words. The candidate who now stands in a humble posture before you solicits from the upyitsi the favour of being honoured with the dignity of pyin-sin. If it appears to you that everything is properly arranged and disposed for this purpose, I will duly admonish him."

Then turning to the candidate he says :

"O candidate, be attentive to my words, and beware lest on this solemn occasion thou utterest an untruth, or concealest aught from our knowledge. Learn that there are certain incapacities and defects which render a person unfit for admission into our order. Moreover, when before the assembly thou art interrogated respecting such defects, thou art to answer truly and declare what incapacities thou mayest labour under. Now this is not the time to remain silent and decline thy head ; every member of the assembly has a right to interrogate thee at his pleasure, and it is thy bounden duty to return an answer to all his questions.

"Candidate ! Art thou affected with leprosy or any such odious malady ? Hast thou scrofula or any similar complaint ? Dost thou suffer from asthma or cough ? Art thou affected with those complaints which arise from a

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corrupted blood? Art thou afflicted by madness or other ills caused by giants, witches, or the evil spirits of the forests or mountains?".

To each question the candidate answers—

"From such complaints and bodily disorders I am free."

The examination continues:

"Art thou a man?"

"I am."

"Art thou a true and legitimate son?"

"I am."

"Art thou involved in debts?"

"I am not."

"Art thou the bondman and underling of some great man?"

"I am not."

"Have thy parents given their consent to thy ordination?"

"They have."

"Hast thou reached the age of twenty years?"

"I have."

"Are thy vestments and sacred begging-bowl prepared?"

"They are."

"Candidate, what is thy name?"

"Wago (a vile and unworthy being)."

"What is the name of thy master?"

"His name is upyitsi."

The assistant then turns to the assembled yahans and says:

"Venerable upyitsi, and ye assembled brethren, be pleased to listen to my words. I have duly admonished this candidate who seeks from you admission to our order. Does the present moment appear to you a meet and a fit one for his admission? If so, I will order him to approach."

The fathers remaining silent, the assistant instructs the postulant to go close to the assembly and to ask that he may be received. The candidate approaches the assembly, and sitting before them in a respectful attitude, resting on his heels, raises his joined hands and says three times, "I beg, O fathers of this assembly, to be admitted as yahan. Have pity on me, take me from my present state of a layman, which is one of sin and imperfection, advance me to that of yahan, which is one of virtue and perfection."

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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The assistant then addresses the council and says:

"O ye fathers here assembled, hear my words. This candidate, humbly prostrated before you, begs of the upyitsi to be admitted among us; he is free from all defects, corporeal infirmities, and mental incapacities that would otherwise debar him from entering our holy state; he is provided with the patta and holy vestments, and he has duly asked the assembly in the name of the upyitsi for permission to be admitted. Now, therefore, let the assembled fathers complete his ordination. To whomsoever this seems good let him keep silence; whosoever thinks otherwise, let him declare that the candidate is unworthy of admission."

This he repeats thrice, and then continues:

"Since then none of the fathers object, but all are silent, which is a sign that all have consented, so therefore let it be done. Let this candidate pass out of the state of sin and imperfection into the perfect state of a yahan, and thus, by the consent of the upyitsi and all the fathers, let him be received."

The fathers must note down under what shade, on what day, at what hour, and in what season the candidate has been received.

The reader of the Kammawā, addressing the candidate, continues:

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"Let the candidate attend to the following account of the duties which are incumbent upon him, and to the faults which he must carefully avoid:—

"It is the duty of each member of our brotherhood to beg for his food with labour and with the exertion of the muscles of his feet, and through the whole course of his life he must gain his subsistence by the labour of his feet (he must not work with his hands, nor beg with his tongue). He is allowed to make use of all things that are offered to him in particular, or to the society in general, that are usually presented in banquets, that are sent by letter, and that are given on the new and full moon and at festivals. O candidate, all these things you may use for your food."

Candidate. "Sir, I understand what you tell me."

"It is a part of the duty of a member of our society to wear, through humility, yellow clothes made of rags thrown

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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423 remain to the cultivator and his heirs. But he shall have a
671 tenth of the produce of all rice-lands, orchards, and gardens; and all excise and ferry duties, as well as canals and public works, shall belong to him. Through a succession of worlds the first king, the great Mahā Thamada, has established one-tenth to be his portion for ever, and let this be regarded as an everlasting precedent."

According to the Dhammathat there are seven methods by which landed property may be acquired. These are as follows:—1. By gift from the king. This is made only to soldiers and officials. 2. By inheritance. 3. By purchase. 4. By allotment from civil officers. 5. By personal reclaiming from the jungle. 6. By gift. 7. By unchallenged occupation for a period of ten years.

423 The first two titles are called perfect. The remainder
●561 are open to question, and may be disputed by any one who can show a prior claim. In actual fact, however, it may be said that the man who reclaims for himself a piece of land out of the jungle becomes by his industry proprietor of the clearing, without reference to local authorities, village elders, or any one at all, and has thereafter an inalienable right to his tenure, with no dues to pay whatever, except the sum the taikthugyi may see fit to assess him at. That worthy's valuation, however, always displayed an enthusiastic belief in the fertility of the soil. The landed proprietor could dispose of it by gift, or he might sell it; otherwise it descended to his heirs and assigns in the order of succession; the whole right and title was essentially vested in the owner and the heirs of his body. The tenure was, therefore, by what lawyers call fee-simple, udal, or allodial right. The estate left by the
[428] original occupier was seldom broken up. The heirs tilled parts of it, or gathered the whole crop in successive years; so that the land did not require to be split up into infinitesimal parts. This practice was rendered all the easier by the thinness of the population. It was open to any one at any time to carve for himself out of the forest a holding of his own, and thus there was no temptation to break up the original family acres. It is singular that under a rule so completely
423 despotic as that of Burma, where every man was the king's slave, and could not cross the borders without his permission,

14: Brant E-5 (1949-50) 1954 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

III

SOCIAL GROUPS AND RELATIONS

In this section we describe the patterns of kinship and interpersonal relations, the beliefs and customs pertaining to the life cycle of the individual associations, and intergroup relations.*

Kinship

The kinship system reflects very clearly the bilateral family structure in the absence of terminological differentiation on the basis of the sex of the connecting relative. The other outstanding characteristic is the recognition at many points of relative age. For each generation a distinct set of kinship terms is employed. On the speaker's (ego's) generation, all cousins are merged with siblings, the terms being differentiated, however, according to relative age. In the first ascending generation, the parents' siblings are differentiated according to the degree of age relative to the parent. In the first descending generation the factor of relative age loses significance; sex is the sole basis of differentiation of kinship terms, except for separate terms to distinguish the speaker's own children from others. On successive descending generations sex distinction is absent and all relatives of a given generation are subsumed under a single kinship term.

Relative age is the all-important hub upon which the wheel of village social life revolves. Deference to one's elders is reflected in such customs as carrying objects for them, refraining from sitting with one's head higher than those of elders, and avoiding postures in which the feet are extended towards such persons.

Beyond such matters of etiquette, the importance of age is even more fundamentally demonstrated in the showing of obeisance to one's elders. This is done on all the important ceremonial occasions. Four such occasions are regarded as obligatory times for paying one's respects. These are the beginning and the end of Wasc (sometimes called the Buddhist 'Lent'), a period of about three months, roughly from mid-July to mid-October; the New Year; and the harvest. Respect is paid to all of one's elders in the parental generation and above. A visit is made at which an offering, valuable or symbolic, is brought and the elder's blessings are received.

Interpersonal Relations

Husband and Wife. The household is normally composed of husband and wife and their offspring. It is a bilateral, limited type of family structure, contrasting markedly with the patrilineal extended Chinese family and the joint family of India. Unlike the position of the wife in the traditional Chinese and Indian family systems, that of the Burmese wife is not one of an outsider living in a group dominated by her husband's relatives. Where a married couple reside is a matter of choice and is decided very largely on the basis of economic opportunity. When there is such opportunity in the village for an outsider who marries a girl of Tadagale, he is urged to establish their residence there, but there is no particular pressure or feeling about the

*The material on kinship and the life cycle, with certain changes, was published under the title "Burmese Kinship and the Life Cycle: an Outline" in Southwestern Journal of Anthropology, vol 7, no 4, 1951, pp. 437-454. The reader interested in the technical details of the kinship terms and a diagrammatic presentation of the kinship system is referred to that article. The author wishes to express his thanks to Mi Mi Khaing for valuable assistance in the compilation and analysis of the material on this aspect of the culture.

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

562 sing, nor play, nor paint. It must never be forgotten
517 that their civilization is relatively a thousand years behind ours. Accomplishments are part of the polish that a civilization gives, and this they have not yet reached. Accomplishments are also the means to fill up time otherwise unoccupied; but very few Burmese girls have any time on their hands. There is no leisured class, and there are very few girls who have not to help, in one way or another, at the upkeep of the household.

Mr. Rudyard Kipling tells of a young lady who played the banjo. He has been more fortunate than myself, for I have never heard of such a person.
562 They have no accomplishments at all. House-
356 keeping they have not very much of. Houses are small, and households also are small; and there is very little furniture; and as the cooking is all the same, there is not much to learn in that way. I fear, too, that their houses could not compete as models of neatness with any other nation. Tidiness is one of the last gifts of civilization. We now pride ourselves on our order; we forget how very recent an accomplishment it is. To them it will come with the other gifts of age, for it must never be forgotten that they are a very young people—only children, big children—learning very slowly the lessons of experience and knowledge.

792 When they are between eight and fourteen years
561 of age the boys become monks for a time, as every
792 boy must, and they have a great festival at their
[562] entrance into the monastery. Girls do not enter
304 nunneries, but they, too, have a great feast in their
561 honour. They have their ears bored. It is a
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16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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304 festival for a girl of great importance, this ear-
561 boring, and, according to the wealth of the parents,
562 it is accompanied by pwès and other rejoicings.

A little girl, the daughter of a shopkeeper here in this town, had her ears bored the other day, and there were great rejoicings. There was a pwè open to all for three nights, and there were great quantities of food, and sweets, and many presents given away, and on the last night the river was illuminated. There was a boat anchored in mid-stream, and from this were launched myriads of tiny rafts, each with a little lamp on board. The lamps gleamed bright with golden light as they drifted on the bosom of the great water, a moving line of living fire. There were little boats, too, with the outlines marked with lamps, and there were pagodas and miniature houses all floating, floating down the river, till, in far distance by the promontory, the lamps flickered out one by one, and the river fell asleep again.

'There is only one great festival in a girl's life,' a woman told me. 'We try to make it as good as we can. Boys have many festivals, girls have but one. It is only just that it should be good.'

562 And so they grow up very quiet, very sedate,
157 looking on the world about them with very clear eyes. It is strange, talking to Burmese girls, to see how much they know and understand of the world about them. It is to them no great mystery, full of unimaginable good and evil, but a world that they are learning to understand, and where good and evil are never unmixed. Men are to them neither angels nor devils, but just men, and so the world does not hold for them the disappointments, the disillusionings

Home in Lewis Road Refugee Camp

Since November 1949 U Myaing and his family have been living in the Lewis Road refugee camp, Rangoon. They had stopped at half a dozen places prior to their present abode, but their living had been on very much the same scale. The refugee camp is located about a mile north of the Shwe Dagon Pagoda on a hilly promontory. The area is not far from Tiger Alley (U Wisara Road) and along this road and others nearby, huts have been built up within the last few years, largely by war refugees. The buildings of the camp were earlier used as headquarters and barracks by the People's Volunteer Organisation (P.V.O.). The P.V.O. is an offshoot of the Burmese Patriot's Army following the end of the Second World War. It was originally an army, but after independence was converted into an "organisation" for political purposes. A Yellow Band and a White Band section developed, and the White P.V.O.s becoming insurgents. 722 361 [669]

The vital statistics of the camp as given by U Khant, the school master are as follows:- 269 families comprised of 856 adults (LU GYI), 211 young people (LU LAT), and 33 infants (NO SO) live in 15 huts . The number of families in each hut ranges from 9 in the smallest to 36 in the largest. The infant category includes those babies who are still breast feeding - up to one year of age. The adult category begins at the age of voting - 18 years. The proportion of the three categories as shown in the totals remains fairly consistent for each of the houses indicating that there are no special age-grade substitutions. The refugees come for the most part from the Delta area of Lower Burma, from the districts of Pantanaw and Bassein but they have not organised themselves in their huts according to the district or village from which they come. The assignment of space has been on a pragmatic base according to who arrived at what time. The buildings consisted for the most part of rectangular huts measuring 30 feet by 10 feet with woven split bamboo walls and thatched roofs. When the area was converted into a refugee camp, each family was assigned a certain space which they then partitioned off. A map of the refugee camp area shows a haphazard plan. The only 722 362 162 [561] 722 361 [342]

285 they were made by friends. Ma Aye Myaing and Daw Aw Zar appear to
437 specialize in the larger mats such as used for sleeping. Mat making appears to be an occupation which in ordinary times is unimportant but it is relied heavily upon in bad times.

461 The children are put to work around the house and in processing
562 the fish at an early age. Just recently U Myaing's eldest daughter
561 left school to learn a trade. She left one month ago from the fourth
[277] standard, to learn cheroot rolling. In another month's time she will
874 have learnt how. She does not have to pay any fees - neither is she
[294] paid for her help. She lives with her aunt (U Myaing's sister) and has her meals there. Near their house there is also an embroidery shop which is owned by her aunt. At night U Myaing's daughter is taught embroidery and sewing by her aunt. The owner of the cheroot rolling shop is not a relative, but the women who work there are aunts and grand-aunts of the girl. When she has learnt the trade, then she will be paid between two and three rupees a day on piece work basis.

463 At present (May 1951) U Myaing is working as a sweeper in the
363 Rangoon Municipality on a monthly wage of Rs. 80/-. There is an over-
512 seer placed over him every day. U Myaing's main job is to keep one street in town clean. He leaves his house at six and arrives at the overseer's by half past six and there a roll-call is taken of about a hundred of them. At seven he begins on his street and stops at about half-eight to go to answer the roll-call (see below for rest of schedule). He has personal contact only with the overseer, the doctor and the WUNDAUK (official). All three of them go around the town to see if they work hard enough. The WUNDAUK also comes everyday to witness the roll-call. "If we do not do good work we shall be dismissed. Everything is in their hands. But they do so after two or three warnings. We do not possess any rights at all. Sometimes offenders are sent to other streets that require harder labour."

U Myaing's street is located in Myeni-gun, and he has to clean the street of dirt as well as clean the drains on either side.

His daily schedule at present is as follows: He rises at 4, washes his face and cleans his teeth, says his prayers and then has plain tea which Ma Aye Myaing has prepared for him. At six he leaves

recognised as over-stimulated by anxieties. "Don't talk my gall into disorder" is a common reaction to calamity tales. 158 753

The weather is important is maintaining health. Changeable weather as during the late part of the Monsoon season is generally unhealthy and gives rise to pulmonary disorders. One should provide head protection (through covering or shade from umbrella) from the sun's rays - which cause headaches by melting the brain. Colds come from getting wet in the rain resulting from the lack of sufficient bodily heat. MYEH HNGNE (earth-vapour) which rises as a steam in the early morning or after sudden rains is unhealthful in causing sore eyes and other inflamations. The "steam of the body" healthfully goes out in ordinary bathing and adds to one's comfort. Heat is a key factor in health and sickness being readily discerned as causes of local or general infection. The additional concept of "like producing like" helps explain the above beliefs. 753 132

The odor of AH HNYAW (fried food) is especially dangerous to babies and persons in a weakened condition. When frying, which will create extensive fumes, is to be undertaken the cook must give warning to the neighbourhood so that susceptible ones can be protected. Such persons take refuge behind the thick, cloth mosquito nets. Many heated arguments take place in our servants' quarters when the Indian fried food fumes carry over to the Burmese apartments. It is observed that this danger applies peculiarly to the Burmese - Chinese are also exempt since they are seen to cook with babies strapped on their backs. [252] [186]

Parts of the body are cared for with special ingredients. The eyes are cleaned with pure water or coconut water. Oil is frequently dropped into the ears through a feather quill. The mouth and teeth are cleaned with salt. Bitter foods keep keep the stomach fit. 515 751

Babies up to 1 year are fed on mother's milk or cow's milk. After one, rice chewed by the mother "to make it digestible" is added with some dried fish. After two, the child can chew its own rice, have a little meat, but no hot condiments. After five the child eats the same foods as the adults but is not allowed sour foods as this will "lessen the weight". After 16 or 17, this restriction is 853 561 262

561 removed. Old folks habitually like bitter foods - especially tea
262 leaves. Eating prepared foods left over night is strictly prohibited as a cause of illnesses. Curry must be eaten while it is hot. (There are no apparent reasons - just observation from eating spoiled
[757] foods). Boiled rice and fried dry fish comprises the standard sick diet in addition to other foods especially prescribed for the care or
177 for giving vigour. It is interesting to note that English foods such
757 as tinned biscuits ("Golden Puff biscuits") or milk preparations
262 ("Hollicks") are preferred for the sick diet by those who can afford them. The "strong" tastes of these foods give strength to the sick person. Lately, western medicines have been recognized as powerful. U Myaing's experiences above show the means by which this idea is established. However, the Burmese doctor is relied on even by families of the administrative class in Rangoon.

759 When a case of sickness seems beyond response to normal treatments, and it has been diagnosed as of a natural cause, the SAY SAYA (medicine-master) is called in. "Foot-hire" at a stiff rate of Rs.5/- for the first visit and 2 or 3 rupees for succeeding visits is paid for this service."Say-saya, we place the case in your hands" is entoned, to which the doctor replies "If our faith coincides (i.e. patients and doctors) then we will be successful - otherwise we cannot go against Karma". The doctor notes the symptoms, feels forehead for fever, inquires of colour of urine and the course of the
[198] disorder. He then chants in verse the diagnosis as "eyes yellow, action irregular, forehead moist - (giving nature of sickness)". The treatment also follows in verse form as a rigid formula prescribing medicines and diet. The doctor is a specialist in one or more types of medicine which he has concocted such as "blood purifying medicines","fever medicine", "purgative medicine", and he will have
[755] been called in because of this specialty. Charmed water is frequently given. Here verse formula is said over a cup of water to give it power.

SAY SAYA are trained when young men as apprentices to older doctors. The training includes memorizing many books giving diagnosis and formulas for curing as well as learning the master's arts.

his lot. It also tends toward a kind of stratification of society where the boundaries, however, are neither sharp nor fast. Each person is comfortably installed in his place and competes, mildly, only with those of his own level. The obligations (as contributions for ceremonies) are in terms of one's ability, and his status is in terms of his virtues. Status is closely correlated with increasing age. This concept motivate the Burmese in the village within "KARMA groups". 181 156 364 555 [561] [554]

The unusual individual may transcend his family positions in exceptional cases - by marriage or achievement. Achievement by physical force has been a means of mobility in the past - there is the tradition of the strong man leader who comes from humble origins. Mobility by entrepreneur achievement (rice mill owners; traders) has been greatly stimulated with increased western contacts. U Myaing was a sort of entrepreneur in Pathwe. In Rangoon the opportunities are great and some Burmese are successfully embracing this, as yet, somewhat unfamiliar course. The western entrepreneur concept appears to be finding a fertile ground in the traditional "group individualism" of the Burmese. 156 555 557 [177]

<u>The standards or levels of culture</u>: When U Myaing's standard of living plummeted downwards as a refugee he became discontented and unhappy desiring to return to the "plateau" of his former level. At first he could only think of returning to Pathwe to achieve this, but as [illegible] begins to crown his efforts in Rangoon he now feels the beginnings of a sense of achievement. In his refugee situation there was no sense of shame for his reduction - the events contributing to his downfall were beyond his control, and he had lived "as a refugee should" in which his abilities and obligations were balanced. This resulted in an attitude of cheerful patience understandable in terms of the KARMA concept. 511 181 558

The two standards, in Pathwe and camp, represent balanced levels ranging from the "average" Burmese villages situation to close to the minimum. Higher standards than those of Pathwe are seen in the administrative class of Rangoon and other major towns where western influences are strong (car, western furniture and household utensils, westernised house and clothing, etc.). Lower standards may be 511 565 [177]

21: Htin Aung · E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

527 one, and each gives a special dance of its own.[1] At night, as part of the
796 celebrations, there is a feast of fools. Young men and boys roam the
530 village, throwing *zibyu* fruits at houses and stealing things, which will
174 be found in the centre of the village the next morning: the objects of the good-natured theft are mostly articles that would provoke laughter—such as a lady's under-skirt; or those which would cause temporary inconvenience in the morning—such as cooking utensils, steps from stairs, or a piece from the roof. The Feast of the New Year is one of mirth and foolery. It is known as the Water Festival because on that occasion, every Burman takes a delight in throwing water at his neighbour and getting soaked himself as the result of the other's counter-attack. The men derive great enjoyment from drenching the women, who in their turn are not slow to have their revenge. Young men group themselves and dance joyously along the streets, at times being chased by bands of elderly maiden ladies who lie in wait to catch the ringleaders. When caught, the youths are lightly bound with silken cords and their faces are blackened with soot. Then they are made to perform a monkey dance before being granted their release. The spirit of fun apparent in these Burmese feasts of foolery is akin to that which moved the young clerks of the *Parlement* of Paris and the members of the Inns of Court in London to stage their Feasts of Fools in medieval times.[2]

527 As the villagers lead a communal life and every joy and sorrow of a villager is shared by all others, a joyful event is celebrated by a
[561] public feast. Marriage, birth, the admission of a son to his novitiate (for every Burmese boy enters priesthood for at least a week), and the piercing of the ear of a daughter are occasions for mirth and jollity. At these feasts they sing and dance and mimic, groups of villagers vie with each other for new methods of giving entertainment, and there
[241] is keen rivalry between youths and maidens. The most mirthful feast of all is the Harvest Feast in February, when the paddy has been reaped, and the village is ready to enjoy a well-earned rest of four after a working period of eight months.

527 These folk feasts are of great antiquity, though, because of the
796 essentially unchanging life in the villages, they continue to exist even at the present day. The Tazaungmôn and other Buddhist feasts

[1] The puppet show is described in a later chapter.

[2] Cf. E. K. Chambers, *The Medieval Stage*, chap. xiii, 'The Feast of Fools'; also E. Welsford, *The Court Masque*, p. 2.

23: Brant & Mi Mi Khaing E, I-5 (1949-1950)1951
AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

38. yauccá Husband (referential).
39. mù Husband's younger brother; husband's younger sister's husband. 601
40. khê'óu Elder sister's husband; husband's elder brother; husband's elder sister's husband.
41. yaummà Husband's sister; husband's brother's wife.

As may readily be seen by inspection of the charts, this kinship system reflects clearly the bilateral family structure, with an absence of terminological differentiation on the basis of the sex of the connecting relative. The other outstanding characteristic is the recognition of relative age at many points. For each generation a distinct set of terms is used. On ego's generation all cousins are merged with siblings; the terms are differentiated, however, according to relative age. In the first ascending generation, it will be noted, parents' siblings are terminologically distinguished according to degree of age relative to the parent. In the first descending generation, however, the factor of age loses significance; sex is the sole differentiating factor, apart from distinguishing terms for ego's own children. On successive descending generations sex distinction is absent and all relatives of a single generation are subsumed under a single kinship term.

Behaviorally as well as terminologically, relative age is the all-important hub upon which the wheel of Burmese social life revolves. Deference to one's elders is reflected in such customs as carrying things for them, refraining from sitting with one's head higher than those of elders, and avoiding postures in which the feet are extended towards such persons. 561 602 [516]

Beyond such matters of etiquette, the importance of age is even more fundamentally demonstrated in the showing of obeisance to one's elders. This is done on all the important ceremonial occasions. Four such occasions are regarded as obligatory times for paying one's respects. These are the beginning and the end of the Buddhist "Lent"—a period of about three months, roughly from mid-July to mid-October—the New Year, and the harvest. Respect is paid to all of one's elders in the parental generation and above. A visit is made at which an offering, valuable or symbolic, is brought and the elder's blessings are received.

SOCIAL RELATIONS OF KIN

Husband–Wife. The household is normally composed of husband and wife and their offspring. It is a bilateral, limited type of family structure, contrasting markedly with the patrilineal extended Chinese family and joint family of India. Unlike the position of the wife in the Chinese and Indian family systems, that of the Burmese wife is not one of an outsider living in a group dominated by her 593 [592] [594]

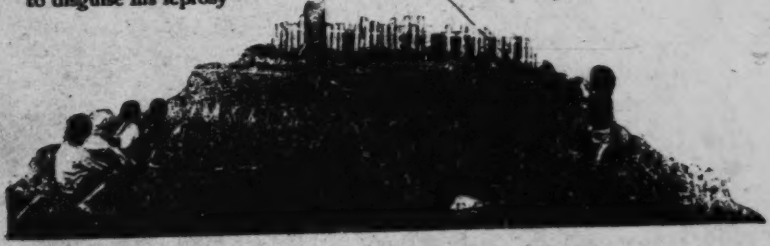
[Text continues on page 442]

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

next to a parent, with a life-long devotion.

Before or after the monastic novitiate, it is the custom for the Burman lads to have themselves tattooed from the waist to the knee (No. 152). Not to submit to this ordeal is to incur the reproach of cowardice. The tattooing is an intricate pattern of animals and tracery. Owing to the extent of surface involved, the process is most painful. It occupies days or weeks, according to the fortitude of the subject, who is drugged with opium for the occasion. The instrument has a handle weighted at the butt, and a long point of bronze, split like a ruling-pen. It is worked with great rapidity. The pigment is a kind of lamp-black of the consistence of ink. It shows bluish black through the brown skin. When a Burman tucks up his loin-cloth, as he always does for work or exercise (*kaddung-chaik*), he looks as if he had black knee-breeches. As plain as the contrast is to the eye, ordinary photographic plates fail to render it. In No. 153 it appears fully. On other parts of the body the men frequently have horoscopes and cabalistic diagrams tattooed with vermilion (*se-ut*, No. 162) for luck and bravado. The Shan practice of letting in gold and silver discs the size of two-penny pieces—beneath the skin—is sometimes imitated by Burmans as a charm against sword-cuts and bullets (*dâbyi*; *thenabbyi*). The Arakanese, who repudiate the custom of *thgwin*, ascribe it to a Burman King, who endeavoured to disguise his leprosy in this way.

27. VILLAGE LAY SCHOOL.



28. KITE-FLYING.

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25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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[623]

372. VILLAGE ELDERS IN CONCLAVE.

disperse as quickly as it was recruited or else it might develop into a band under a regular leader (*Bô*) and become the scourge of the country, rapidly attacking points separated by days' journeys. Against such bands the villagers combine and keep guard; torches are ready for night alarms. But when the brigands are too strong, the villagers have no choice but to enter into league with them and pay blackmail if they would not experience the horrors of barbarous war. At present brigandage is of very sporadic occurrence. Travellers are perfectly safe.

175 702 411

Throughout Burma every man was liable to serve in war. He would have his own sabre and pike and would be provided with musket and ammunition, but no further accoutrements. Latterly the king's body-guards wore a sort of uniform (No. 9). Cannon are mentioned as early as 1350, and a century later, matchlocks were in use. Cæsar Frederick in 1569 speaks of pikes and arquebuses and good cannon. When disbanded, the soldiers had to surrender their muskets, but numbers were smuggled away, to add to the rigour of the guerilla waged by brigands and the severity of the villagers' retaliation.

[579]

[645] [701] [561] 622

The military leader is called *Bô*; the civil governor or minister of the king, *Wun*, which means a burden or trust. The former might be a young man, the latter but rarely so. Age and influence are almost synonymous in Burma. If the elders—headmen, *lôdyi*—are agreed upon a thing, it is done. The village elders represent the fundamental substratum of government in Burma. They are consulted by the officials on matters affecting the people, whose natural, if unofficial,

373. BURMAN OFFICIAL RECEIVING APPLICANTS.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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443. PONDYIBYAN.

seers. If the idea be to conjure up the utmost possible contrast to the life of the man who is being honoured, the object could not be more completely attained. When the bier has reached the cemetery, the coffin is not set on a pyre like that of the layman, but is burned in the catafalque, for which purpose the latter has been filled with combustibles. The fire is not lighted in the common way; it is kindled from a distance by means of rockets. These are contributed by different villages or quarters of the town. Each of them backs their rocket for the honour of starting the fire. In Burma Proper the great rockets are sent through the air, guided by rattans to the catafalque. But it is one thing to reach and another to kindle. The Taláing rockets, with the trunks of hard trees, hooped with iron, for barrels, and mounted on stout carriages, are merely aimed at the catafalque. It frequently happens that none of them hits the mark; then the fire is kindled by hand. But the rocket that went nearest has won the day; great sums of money change hands, and as they return home, some people's spirits are higher than ever, while everybody else puts the best face upon it. *Tè pondyi-byan kaung-dè*—it was a glorious *pondyi-byan*, and the *kyaungtagè* will be congratulated upon it as long as he lives. It is as though feelings held in life-long repression had regained the field and were asserting their sway over the passive embodiment of the restraining power. Extremes meet; and herein the secret may lie of the spell Buddhism exerts over Burma, in her serious mood.

446. CINERARIUM OF KING MINDON MIN.

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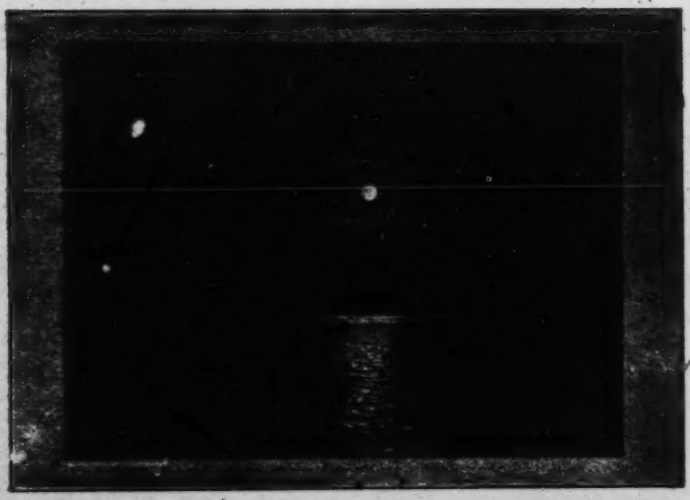
The Burmans are wont to mark the course of life into five stages—first to get strength, then to get knowledge, then

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

561 family, then substance, then *Kôtha*. First the free and happy child living a life of nature. Then the schoolboy and student opening the stores of traditional wisdom. Then the gallant, absorbed in arts of pleasing; the escapade of marriage as the event frequently proves; the coming of family and settling down to work. Then the staid man of substance, precise in expression, versed in ancient lore and heard in the councils of the village conclave. Lastly, his ambitions satisfied, founder or co-founder of temple or school, he relinquishes his work to his children, and spends the evening of life in kindly intercourse, in study and devotion to his religion.



447. VALE1

CHAPTER THREE

MY mother, as I have said, was the fair young jewel of her father's eye; and my grandfather had flashes of the most radical behaviour. Though he refused to learn English and this irreligious language was never spoken in his house, he suddenly decided to send my mother to learn English, not just as a second language, nor even to spend a few years at a totally English-speaking school—for an accomplishment, as a few other Burmese girls of the time did—but to study seriously until she passed the High School Standard of a European Code school which did all its teaching in English. My mother was thus the first Burmese Buddhist woman to pass the High School Examination in the European Code, and today she can speak faultless English though she never uses it unless necessary, and can even read some of the books of Virginia Woolf, although she does not like them. She and her two young brothers were sent to Moulmein; they stayed at the house of my eldest uncle who had settled there, and my mother attended an American Baptist Mission School. This was just before 1900. 177 871 562

My father, in the meantime, had arrived in Moulmein at the same time as my mother. The world had opened for him suddenly. After the strict and simple life of the monastery he found himself a smart young man with a Western crop and a collared shirt and outer jacket. He carefully put away his mother's ring to be put on again only on his visits back to Ye; he found a big and busy town to range in and no anxious mother waiting at home. I think it was during these years that my father got his love of all the sweet pleasures of life. A non-smoker and a teetotaller, he was one of the most spontaneously happy people. He loved food and many friends, to see young people happy and free from discipline, to spend all his resources in order to create happiness around him; he glorified the ability to think and work quickly and leave the maximum time for eating and laughing. 000

Particularly in this, Moulmein appealed to him. Having grown up in the monastic system of education by memorizing, he was bewildered at a system which prescribed a whole year of full-day studies for five or six thin text-books. As soon as he could read and understand he committed all his year's text-books to memory within a month, and could not conceive that there was anything else to be learnt unless they prescribed dull books to be memorized. During school hours he wrote an Arith- 177, 87 876

177. metic book for an old man called Samuel who produced a series of swot
87 books on various subjects, beautifully tabulated books with questions
876 and answers, invaluable for examinations and used even in my day when we and our school teachers whisked them out of sight of Education Inspectors who came on the prowl for just such unprogressive methods of education. He also went across to the American Mission School where quite often the teachers were more Christian and painstaking than brilliant, to help old Teacher Nellie with Geometry riders, and in this way he met my mother.

873 My parents could not get married as soon as they left school. My
593 father had first to go to the University, which consisted then of Rangoon
● 562 College, affiliated to Calcutta University, and then he felt he must work
582 to buy my grandmother a big enough plot of paddy land so that her two youngest sons would not need to look after her in Ye, but could come into the world like my father. He now felt that they should not be denied the wonderful opportunities which he had found. My father did go to College, but had passed only his F. A. (corresponding to Intermediate) when he heard that my mother was now going out to teach in a school at Thaton, and that she was having to put on a European gown and hat in order to be less conspicuous, because at that time no Burmese Buddhist ladies went out to work. My father left his studies at once and got a job in the same school to look after her, and it was only after some months of persuasion by Grandfather and my mother that he consented to leave and look for a better paid position.

647 He managed to obtain a myookship in the Government Service,
177. which is a junior administrative post but considered a very good job for
65 Burmans in those days. In this job he could save enough to buy Grand-
582 mother her paddy land, after which he and my mother would get married. But my father with his good looks, his teetotaller habits, and his myookship, was considered a desirable son-in-law by many people, and other parents were not like Grandfather; they would try to engage the young man's affections for their daughters. I am sure my mother spent the next three years in some anxiety, as she heard stories of the young myook's gay and happy life in such far-off towns as Toungoo and Shwegyin. But one day the children dashed up to her with a telegram; she opened it and read *Gyi will you marry me.* My mother, who has never shown any excitement as far as I can remember, got up very quietly and went to her chest of drawers. She took out ten annas in change, and wired back *Yes.*

584 Soon after this my father arrived amidst great excitement on the part of my mother's family and a pretence of complete ignorance on Grandfather's part. My aunts expected an explosion from him when

and full dress on a cushion, the centre of the crowd of people who have been invited for feasting, to have the ears pierced with a gold pin and after this always to wear diamond ear-rings, but the ceremony has no deeper significance than that the parent feels he has done the best for his daughter at this stage of her life. The shinbyu, however, is much more than a social event. It has a religious meaning of the fullest beauty. 881 585

Although the women of Burma figure as actively and have the same rights as men in the fields of business, property, and professions of the modern world, we always keep alive in us the religious feeling that we are "below" mankind. It is not so much a feeling that women are a lower race as that a man has the nobility of manhood in him. We call it *hpon*, the glory, the holiness of a man, and we respect this not with subservience but with the same feelings as we respect monks and parents. A wife does not throw her longyi across her husband's bed, she does not touch any of his possessions with her feet in carelessness, she uses a separate mug for her bathwater. A bad wife who does not respect her husband's manhood does him the greatest harm, for a man cannot prosper if his hpon is hampered; indeed, some women who indulge in black magic deliberately *hpon-nein* their husbands, that is, lower his hpon by carelessly wielding brooms above his head, throwing women's longyis on his pillow, thus making him subordinate, and believing that this makes the wife's will prevail over the husband's. But such a man can never make progress in his career. 562 784 789

It is the Buddhist belief that the attainment of a perfect life is as a man, as shown in Gautama Buddha's life as Prince Siddhartha. Prince Siddhartha was the son of King Suddhodana, who surrounded his son with all the luxury and splendour that his kingdom on the slopes of the Himalayas could offer. To prevent his son from renouncing his princely life for one of poverty and meditation he kept all sights of sorrow, sickness and decay hidden from him. He found him a perfect wife, beautiful, meek and affectionate, who bore him a son; but the prince in his excursions to a park in the city came across a decrepit old man, a sick old man and a corpse, which sights made him sad at the thought of human misery in this world. The next time, however, he saw a hermit which suggested that peace of mind was achievable by renunciation of the vanities of the world. On the night that his son was born, Prince Siddhartha made the Great Renunciation and left everything to go into solitude and find out the cause of misery, and the means of its removal. The Dhammapada says of the world: 779

> Come! behold this world which is like a decked royal chariot, wherein the foolish immerse themselves; but for the wise there is no attachment.

1: Mi Mi Khaing I-5 (no date) 1946 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4
Chinese

previous child, the ta-yok chi-thay-ma had frantically grabbed a piece of charcoal and had smudged the arm of the dying child, saying: "If I get this child back in my next labour, may I know her by this mark." Down below the arum bushes grew close and dark against the fence. They had frightened us, like green snakes that must not be touched, because the leaves made your tongue itch with an intangible and incurable itch although the roots were made into delicious soups. In Grandfather's bedroom was a window looking into the maternity chamber, still padlocked with a lock whose key had been lost nearly twenty years ago, and a patch of light wood nailed over the hole which a robber had made with the point of his damyaung. From the maternity chamber, also, an aunt had thrown a basin of washing water to splash on an uncle sitting below, with whom she had quarrelled and whose hpon would be lowered by the ignobility of the woman's labour. For my mother the house must have had sharp memories, but she never spoke of them while there because my father became ill shortly after. This oppressed her spirits, and made her think only with sorrow of her dead mother and father, her brothers and sisters, so many now dead and the rest scattered far and never returning after the death of Grandfather.

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Yenangyaung oilfields, support of Ministers, and the indifference of the less worthy sections of University staff and students towards the nationalist movement. 873 668

The crowning event of my years there was the great strike of 1936 when about 600 students got into buses just before the final examinations and encamped themselves on the slopes of the Shwe Dagon Pagoda hill, with much sympathy and material support from the public, the men returning every morning to picket the black-leg examination candidates by lying across all exits and entrances—a completely successful technique, for it is an unthinkable insult to a Buddhist male to have his body trodden on, and no Burman, or Burma Indian or Chinese for that matter, will dare to inflict such an insult. Some of the strikers felt, after the rallying speeches in the Union, that they were striking to evict an immoral member of the staff who had the support of the Principal whom they considered an autocrat; others knew that definite demands had been put forward for the amendment of the University Act, the ultimate result of which would be to make this Principal more accountable to Burmese political leaders; a great majority felt a wave of unnameable exaltation as they stormed hall after hall for recruits, ringing bells and shouting, "Come on, sisters, the day of freedom has arrived at last!" and almost all banged and cheered as they drove away, on the roofs, the steps and the wheels of the buses, at the thought of no examinations that year, and the exciting days of picketing ahead. But it was a tragic and unhappy time for some who did not have money to waste on another year before graduation and who trusted that the authorities would succeed in holding the examinations, or for others who did not join out of personal loyalties of the moment and who had friends and brothers with impassioned convictions on the other side. I shall always remember the face of my friend Ko Ohn, as he refused to let a doctor into Inya Hall to attend to a sick non-striker, his good face so full of distress and his longyi all smudged with the melted tarmac of the road in which he had been lying under the hot March sun. "Please, we must do it," he said; "I am so thirsty and my head is aching, but we must do it for our country." [577]

One of the reasons for the focussing of public interest on the University students was the great interest taken in the development of the young women there. The male students, like the public, were not interested in them only for reasons of courtship or companionship, but took a keen objective interest in them. It has been said of Burma that she has no feminist movements because none have been necessary; the women have always had all the rights they wanted. But it goes further than that. Burmese men take a sincere pride in the achievements of a woman who can successfully invade spheres outside her domestic tasks. 873 562 178

1: Mi Mi Khaing I-5 (no date) 1946 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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Far from the medical and legal professions presenting a closed phalanx to the first women seeking to enter, Burmans love to introduce their distinguished women as "the first lady doctor" and "the first lady barrister". On the other hand they demand that on no account shall a woman take on mannish and immodest behaviour and outlook with her new abilities. Allowances will be made, if necessary, for weaker constitutions, extra time spent on the making of a formal sadone hair style before attending work, or for soft voices.

Hence, in University College, where there was a generation of adolescent girls, some of whom had never before been to Rangoon from their district schools, the greatest interest was taken in their line of development—their scholastic success, their interest in or indifference to politics and nationalism, the degree of their response to Westernizing influences, their clothes and their morals—and yet the most censorious interest was not to be taken as personal or malicious. It was concern for the future of Burmese womanhood, we were told. Thus no woman student had any private life or anonymity. Whatever characteristics she possessed were taken up by a few who were interested in those particular qualities and then received the attentions of the great body of men students who only wanted something to sharpen their wit on. The height of this interfering concern, on the part of young men, for the moral welfare of young women was reached in 1940 when a petition was seriously put up to the Principal of University College, by a number of students, that certain young women be ordered to shorten the shoulder straps of the ornamental bodices worn under the transparent jackets. So sincere was their solicitude that the Principal felt constrained to refer the matter to the Warden of the Women's Hall for action.

But the young men were not stinting in approval either, even though the majority expressed it in loud good-natured chaff. In fact, for a keen interest in politics, for wit, for exquisite coyness or a proud beauty, the girls in University College were in as much limelight as can surround a rugger hero at an English University. And indeed, the word "hero" was used for them because the word "heroine" could not be shouted in Burmese euphony. Hence, if a report had gone abroad that a girl had swum the 2,000 yards of the cross-lake track, or had harangued a group of young men for bad manners, or was coming to a lecture with her hair in an informal knot at the back of her head instead of a formal sadone, she was greeted on entrance by a hundred odd youths stamping and cheering and jeering and all shouting, "Hero! Hero!"

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No wonder there was love everywhere. Even in modern Rangoon an unmarried young man and woman could not be seen without the presence of a third person, but sentimental love flourished all the more

for that. It surged up amongst all the back benches of the lecture rooms 873
and flowed into the corridors where the poor stricken couples blushed 568
and spoke in whispers in spite of the applause of all passers-by. It 883
flowed along the shores of the Inya Lake on whose banks the girls walked in groups of two or three after their evening bath and toilet, and the youths walked in other bands until they met and spoke to the girls. Particularly on the fine evenings of the first monsoon or the first cool dry weather after the deluge had spent itself, the shores of Inya Lake presented a scene of the greatest human felicity. All that was sweet in life seemed to be collected there—youth and pretty faces, fine Burmese silks and newly washed hair, anticipations of joyful meetings, the clear calm water and the brilliant evening sky, the islands in the distance and the bands of young men singing sad songs by the water's edge.

Dramatic entertainment was very rich at the University. It was 873
rarely that the students themselves performed in musical concerts or 536
stage dancing, but troupes of actors were hired to give performances at all celebrations of sports victories, scholastic successes, farewells to popular tutors who had got into government service, or celebrations of religious festivals. The traditional Burmese stage-play is the *zat-pwè*, the staging of one of a few well-known stories, based mainly on the Jatakas which are stories showing incarnations of the Buddha in his various existences on this earth. Such were the *Wethandaya Zat*, the *Mahaw Zat*, of U Kyin U, the stories of Buddha's life as Prince Wethandaya and as Mahaw, son of a rich nobleman. Written in this form all zats, whether based on the Jatakas or not, contained episodes to provide King and Minister scenes, doleful partings and the weeping dirge of the heroine, scenes of clowning, of sorcerers and heavenly spirits and, highlight of all, the happy meeting scene of the Prince-Hero and the Princess-Heroine, when they sing and dance and joke with the attendant characters, singly and together, for a whole hour or two maybe, while they and the audience forget the thread of the story in the wonderful agile dancing of the hero, his feet falling as softly and as lightly as a kitten's paws but with all the speed, the unexpected turns, the beauty of body and of costume, which make the male zat dancer the essence of the national gaiety. In our time, the old zat plays are treated much as the miracle plays of Elizabethan England probably were—the plot is there, but each company of actors uses the play to hold its own songs, dances and comic lines. The zat lasts for hours, all the night through until sunrise, but the form of it is such that the audience sees it as episodes against a known background of plot, and can thus eat, talk or even doze during the tedious connecting scenes and sit up in enthralled silence for the first appearance of the hero, the duet dances, the songs of the heroine.

running with unholy energy and two small boys streaking after them 525
shouting: "My hpongyi! Hey, my hpongyi!"

The showy vanity of Rangoon was seen at its greatest at wedding 585
celebrations where no woman of any standing came without a full load 511
of jewellery, either owned or borrowed for the occasion. For weddings of families like ours hundreds of invitations had always to be sent out owing to the tradition of acknowledging distant relationships and connections. It would be considered rude also not to invite the friends among clerks and traders from every town in which my father had been posted during our growing-up years.

Marriage is a social contract in Burma. To be married one needs 581
no recourse to legal or priestly officers. The *let-htat*, laying of hands 562
one on the other, can be performed in the presence of elders, or a feast can 428
be given to a few people to obtain recognition of the married state. This is done after elopements, for example, when the parents have become reconciled and the young couple is too shy to go through the pantomine of a marriage ceremony. For divorce, also, no legal procedure is necessary, but convention makes divorces rare. Although monogamy is almost universal in Burma, polygamy is not forbidden by the law. A "mistress" of a married man is considered a sort of wife, but the disapproval with which this is regarded is shown in the term applied to her: *ma-ya-nga*, lesser wife. But the liberty operates both ways, and in the rare cases of a woman who runs to a second husband without any agreement having been reached beforehand, she is said to have a *lin-ngè*, lesser husband. The lack of legal safeguards of a woman's position as the only wife is amply compensated for by the rulings of Burmese Buddhist Law as regards her property. She retains sole ownership of whatever property she brings to the marriage, and on the dissolution of the marriage is entitled to half of all the additions of wealth since the marriage. Neither can an irate husband make a will leaving his money to other relatives and strangers. Wills are forbidden by law; children inherit equal shares of the parents' legacy, except in the cases where there are more than four children in the family. Then the eldest takes one-quarter before the rest is divided equally amongst the other children. On the death of one parent the surviving parent still has sole ownership of half the property. The other half is open to division among the children, but it is only a black sheep which will insist on division while one parent is still alive.

When I had been home but a month, my brother appealed to me 584
for help in arranging the matter of his marriage. His difficulty was that he had no wish to marry the various dowried young women with whom my relatives were trying to contract him; he had chosen his own bride but at the same time the stern array of cousins, aunts and uncles in our

forced to shed them piece by piece, with the bitter realization that they could not be saved. But war raged like a forest fire which creeps to the farthest corner; like a deluge which rises to the highest hills, for people went northwards and northwards, and still found no sanctuary. 722

Another thing that filled us with wretchedness was the feeling that all the activity of a normal life would cease. The people who thought reasonably in the face of the quick Japanese onrush, that the British would probably have to get out but would prepare, perhaps in India, and be able to return one day, expected to spend the next few years in quiet and hiding from danger. The average person just felt vaguely stunned, that now there would be a negation of all social and economic endeavour; he could not visualize any quick restoration of even a shell of the machinery of normal life which was so alarmingly disappearing before his eyes. Symbolic of this was the emptying of schools and colleges in Rangoon within the day on which the news of Pearl Harbour came through. I shall never forget the effect on my young sisters and their friends. They cried with grief as their parents came to take them home, parting them from friends, sweethearts, all companions of youth, books and the outside world, at best to go into the jungle and live as though they had never known a world looking towards Europe.

I was twenty-five when war broke out, and caught me up, in late February 1942, in a compulsory sea evacuation carried out by the military authorities. I felt as though my heart would break against this awful machine which had suddenly made us so unimportant, and which did not care that I was a Burman amidst the crowd of foreign women it was evacuating, taking me from mother and sisters to whom I could not get news or explanation of my desertion. 000

As we left Inya Hall with lights ablaze, fires full on, store-rooms thrown wide open and waiting for the invader, a vast and inexpressible sadness settled upon me. Dawn had not yet broken, and only the glare from Kemmendine fires still lighted the sky. How sad, how black and empty each familiar house-face looked, with shut eyes and shuttered doors. It was Goodbye indeed, for though the flames are dying now, we shrink from contemplating the charred desolation that we must see on our return.

But it would have been Goodbye in any case for another, happier reason; for I had just met my husband who would have carried me off to a different world in the farthermost corner of Burma, the Kengtung State of Shans, in a land of mountains, narrow valleys and pine trees, where simple people with rosy cheeks cultivate the hillsides and address the ruling family as "Heavenly", where women are not heard, but seen in meekness to obey and fear their husbands. That is another story. 563 562

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4
Shan AP 11

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they mutter spells and incomprehensible incantations over the "medicine," are looked up to with profound belief and a very considerable deal of awe.

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The tattooing on the loins and legs is universal with all Burmans, and nothing more is ordinarily required; but there are very few who have not charms of some kind tattooed on the arms, back, chest, or even on the top of the head, which is shaved for the purpose. These figures are of all kinds—lizards, birds, mystic words and squares, rings, images of the Buddha, and sometimes merely a few scattered dots, the latter especially on the face, between the eyes, over the ears, or on the chin. The colouring matter is almost always vermilion, with drugs and solutions, according to requirement, mingled with it. The blue dye from the lampblack never disappears, but the red colour of the vermilion gradually fades away and vanishes. Nevertheless figures of this kind, more or less distinct, are to be found on Burmans of all ages, so great is the national superstition. Even the town youths, whose limbs are smooth and "unbreeched" as a girl's, are never without some charms of this kind, if it is only the a-nu se, which enables a man to gain the woman he loves. This "drug of tenderness" is composed of vermilion mixed with a variety of herbs and curious things, prominent among which is the bruised, dry skin of the tauktè, the trout-spotted gekko, whose sonorous cry and fidelity to the house where he establishes himself and brings luck, are well known to all who have visited Burma or Siam. It is very sparingly used, a few round spots arranged in the shape of a triangle being of sufficient virtue to ensure the object aimed at. The commonest place for them is between the eyes, but occasionally the se sayā recommends the lips, or even the tongue, and his advice is always followed. This is the only tattooing which women ever have executed on them, and there are not many of them who have it done. The patient is usually a love-sick maiden who is afraid the object of her affection will escape from her, or a girl whom rolling years warn that she must be quick if she would not be condemned to remain an a-pyo heing, an old maid. Except in very desperate cases, however, they always manage to persuade the operator to place the charm on some part of the

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2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

body where it will not be visible. If it is not effectual, there is always open to them the signal afforded by kindly national custom to maidens longing for a mate. They cut off the lappets of hair, the bya-bazan, hanging over the ears, and the significance is the same as the white heather of the language of flowers, "heart for sale." In Rangoon the tattooing of a woman has a special signification, not recognised elsewhere. It means that she wants an Englishman for a husband. Poor thing!

Another very universal kind of tattooing is that with a-hpi se. Almost every schoolboy in the country has a specimen of this on him, for does it not prevent him from feeling the pain when he is caned? No amount of falsified hopes in the experience of friends will persuade him that it may not be effectual in his case, and a flogging is often courted as an immediate test of its efficacy. Pride repels the inquiries of chums as to the results, but the experimenter is usually very well behaved for some time. In the case of older men the a-hpi se acts as a talisman against bullets, sword cuts, and ills of that kind. Allied to this are the thenat hpi, which soldiers and dacoits carry about with them. These are the horns of buffaloes and other animals, which may be plain, but are usually elaborately carved with figures according to fancy. They must be quite solid down to the root. A hollow or flaw of any kind deprives them of their virtue. While the man has such a talisman in his hands he cannot be killed. A monkey is a very favourite image to have carved in this way on a sword or dagger hilt, the reference being to the tale of the Ramayana. Of a similar nature are talismans which are especially used by soldiers and dacoits. These hkaung-beit-set are charmed or consecrated objects let into the flesh under the skin. They are of various kinds. Some are gold, silver, or lead; others curious pebbles, pieces of tortoise-shell, or bits of horn, all of them with incantations of mystic character written on them. Many famed dacoits have long rows and curves of them over the chest, showing in little knobs through the skin. When they get into English prisons, an energetic jailer has been known to cut them out, lest they should be pieces of gold or silver, or perhaps precious stones, with which the turnkeys

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

CHAPTER IV

EAR-BORING

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THE first great event in a Burmese girl's life is the nā-twin mingala, the boring of her ears. She is not out of the doll stage till that happens. She may have toddled after her mother to the market with a basket of fruit on her head, long before the ear-boring, but that ceremony is as much an epoch to her as putting on the yellow robe, or getting his legs tattooed, is to her brother. Ever afterwards she will look upon every male as a possible lover. No more taking alternate whiffs at a big green cheroot with little Maung Po; no more teasing Po Shan to let her have a taste of those fine nettè mangoes his father has got down from Mandalay; no more dawdling about the streets by herself, watching the small boys playing with the round gôn nyin seeds, or having a hurried glimpse of the puppet play, while she is supposed to be at home looking after the house with her little brother. When she walks out now it will be with her mother, or an aunt, or married sister, as a chaperone; and if she goes to the play it will be in formal procession, and with all her finest clothes on. Nothing like getting the ears bored to set a girl thinking about the wave of the hair that falls down in lappets by her ears, or the best recipe for the fragrant straw-coloured thanaka, with which she tints her face and charms half the senses of the gallants. It even alters her walk. She sets about practising the coquettish sway of the body in walking, which is considered so attractive, and which a philosophical matter-of-fact Darwinian would probably declare was first of all due to an involuntary throwing out of the heel with each step to keep the folds of the dress

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2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

modestly closed in front, and to prevent the dainty slipper, just covering her toes and no more, from slipping off the foot. However that may be, it is an accomplishment indispensable to a Burmese belle. She takes as much pains over it as she does with her jetty tresses. In a word, the nā-twin mingala transforms the girl into a woman, just as much as admission to a monastery makes the boy a man. It is her baptism, and is the distinctive mark of her race. Most of the men get their ears bored too, but the ceremony is not so solemn with them, and latterly is not so universal, at any rate not in the towns on the coast.

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The ceremony takes place at the age of twelve or thirteen, just when the girl has attained puberty in fact. Her sadā is submitted to a soothsayer, that a fortunate day and hour may be chosen, and that being fixed, a great feast is prepared, and all the friends of the family and the relations are invited. An invitation to an ear-boring feast is a very urgent matter. No one can refuse without a very good excuse, and serious business is often postponed to the demands of such a ceremony. Everybody comes early, and sits down in any place he can find round about the front part and sides of the room, the girl, with all her female relatives about her, reclining on a mat at the back. The bedin sayā stalks about gazing at a mysterious strip of palm-leaf, or apparently wrapped in deep thought. Beside him is the professional ear-borer. He carries the needles, which are almost always pure gold, and even in the case of the poorest, never of any baser metal than silver. Rich people very often have them set at the ends with precious stones. At last the soothsayer gives the sign that the favourable moment has arrived. The ear-borer moves up immediately and passes the needles through the lobe of the ear, sometimes using a cork as they do in England, but more often letting them pass between two of his fingers. The girl, who has been worked up into a high state of excitement and terror by all the preparations, usually struggles and shrieks as hard as she can, but the women round about hold her down, and the band of music in the street outside strikes up a rapid movement and drowns her lamentations, while all the visitors burst into a flood of talk

881 304 [145] [787]

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

hollow pipes of glass, coloured in a variety of tints. The shape is somewhat peculiar, a slight irregular concave, if I may be allowed the expression, the front being a little larger in diameter than the back. Some of the princesses wore very costly na-daung, the diamonds, and especially the rubies, for which Burma is celebrated, being exceedingly fine. The men, except those of high rank, very seldom wear them, unless on exceptional feast days. Women ordinarily put them on whenever they go out. Poor people keep the holes open with a roll of paper or cloth. A *chic* damsel very often courts attention by carrying spare cheroots dangling from her lobes. Elder women who subordinate personal appearance to bodily comforts usually do the same thing on a journey. It secures them a smoke whenever they may want it, and the huge green cheroots are not easily carried in the penetralia of the Burmese female dress, while if they were in the travelling box, they might be abstracted by unscrupulous youngsters.

It is curious to notice how much the custom is falling into disuse in the larger towns with the men. Even among the wealthier classes you seldom see a man wearing a na-daung of the largest size. Those of the thickness of a pencil or a little less are still common, but they too probably will pass out of use shortly. Yet this used to be looked upon as the distinctive mark of Burmese nationality. Probably, nowadays, the tattooing is considered sufficient; while the ear-plugs were certainly inconvenient things, and afforded obvious attractions to robbers. But with the women ear-boring is still universal, and probably will continue so as long as the men go on tattooing, notwithstanding the pain of the process. The na-daung are as characteristic of the Burmese women as the flapping tamein.

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

CHAPTER VII

MARRIAGE

538 581 In the Lawkanidi, the book of proverbs relating to ordinary life, it is said that monks and hermits are beautiful when they are lean; four-footed animals when they are fat; men when they are learned; and women when they are married. This recommendation to the married state is no more needed by Burmese maidens than it is by their sisters in other parts of the world, and they have the further inducement that they enjoy a much freer and happier position than in any other Eastern country, and in some respects are better off even than women in England. All the money and possessions which a girl brings with her on marriage are kept carefully separate for the benefit of her children or heirs, and she carries her property away with her if she is divorced, besides anything she may have added to it in the interim by her own trading or by inheritance. Thus a married Burmese woman is much more independent than any European even in the most advanced states. In the eyes of the Dammathat the old idea of the *patria potestas* prevails indeed, and woman is regarded as a simple chattel, belonging entirely to her parents, and to be disposed of by them without any reference to her personal inclinations; but, as a matter of fact, she may do pretty well as she pleases, may marry the youth on whom she has fixed her affections, and may separate herself from the husband who has offended her, by going before the village elders and stating her case; and if the complaint is just, her request is never refused.

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As yet they have not begun to demand an equal share

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

As yet they have not begun to demand an equal share of education with the boys, and the only accomplishments most Burmese girls know are how to dress neatly, do up their hair, and powder their faces. This is the single open implication of their inferiority—except in worship at the pagoda, when every woman will pray that in another existence she may be a man—and it is not likely that female education will make much progress for another generation, the popular idea in Burma being that learning is no use to a girl when she has it, and she may, consequently, as well devote all her spare time to making herself look as pretty as possible. Here and there are a few who are deeply learned in Burmese literature. The young wife of one of the most prominent living Burman pleaders in Rangoon has as good a knowledge of the sacred books and as great a fluency in repeating Pali rituals as any pôngyi in the country. But the great majority of girls only know what they pick up from the conversation of their brothers and the men who come about the house. It is therefore greatly to their credit that they manage not only house affairs, but their husband's business into the bargain. A farmer's wife will carry out the sale of the whole rice crop to the agent of an English rice firm in her husband's absence, and generally strikes a better bargain than he would have made himself. If the village head constable is away, the wife will get together the policemen, stop a fight, arrest the offenders, and send them off to the lock-up all on her own responsibility. The wife sits by, no matter what public business is being transacted, and very often puts in her own opinion quite as a matter of course; in fact, she is virtual master of the house, and henpecked husbands are not by any means uncommon. The last king of Burma, Thibaw Min, was a notable instance. There never was a king of Burma before who remained for three years the husband of one wife. It was not inclination in his case. He had quite a number of *amourettes*; but the sturdy Supayā Lat and her formidable mother soon got the offending damsels out of the way. There is also little doubt that it was Supayā Lat and her mother who suggested the massacre of the Princes and prompted the defiance of the British Government, which brought about the ending of the Burmese monarchy.

562 871 [775] 562 [432] 562 581 643 175

[1] [i.e., girls--ANALYST]

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

581 584 According to the laws of Menu there are three ways in which a marriage can be brought about :—

1. When the parents of the couple give them to one another.

2. When they come together through the good offices of a go-between, called an aungthwè.

3. When they arrange the matter between themselves.

581 562 429 It is understood, of course, that the two latter forms require at least the passive consent of the father, or, if he is dead, of the guardian, mother, brother, sister, uncle, or whoever it may be; every woman—every young woman at any rate—being necessarily under the protection of somebody. The Dammathat says: "Let the man to whom she is given by her nearest relation be her husband. If the parents or the relations of the girl do not give her away, and she is carried off against their will, even if she has had ten children, they have power to cause her to separate from the man and give her to another; the man has no right to say that she is his wife. Why is this? Because a daughter belongs to her parents?" But, on the other hand, "If a young woman runs off with a young man not approved by her parents, and, having concealed herself for some time, shall return to the village or neighbourhood in which her parents live, and have two or three children, or live there five or ten years with the man after her parents have seen and known of her being there, they shall not have power to cause her to separate from her husband."

581 584 According to the old system, the young man was not considered of age to marry till he was twenty-four or twenty-five. The age of the girl was always a matter of no consequence as long as she had attained to puberty. When a youth wanted to marry he told his parents, and they went to the father and mother of the young woman of his choice. If these had no objections, then the young man kept company with the girl, had the run of the house for two or three years, so that they might get to know one another well, and then, if they were still of one mind, the question of dowry was settled, a fortunate day and hour fixed upon, and the marriage carried out. Nowadays such formalities are almost

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4
Upper Burma
Lower Burma

entirely dispensed with. If the parents of both houses are agreeable, the contracting parties get married with most ardent lover-like rapidity. The age, too, has become very much younger. Most lads get married when they are eighteen or nineteen; thirteen or fourteen is a common age for the girls. Runaway marriages are common enough, and though the parents may be angry, they are usually too easy-going and indolent to take any energetic action in the matter, and let the couple find out their mistake and come and ask for pardon and a house to live in, which is seldom refused. Occasionally in Lower Burma a stern father demands that they shall be separated until the lad has got a situation for himself, but this is ordinarily little more than a mere form of speech. In Upper Burma, where food is scarce and working hands more valuable, the husband is brought to the girl's parents' house and made to do his share towards supporting the household.

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The preliminary courting is naturally conducted in the old fashion, best known to those who have had experience of their own in such matters. The parties meet at pwès, the girl perhaps selling cheroots, fried garlic, le'pet, and what not, and therefore being readily accessible to any swain. It must not be supposed that keeping a stall is regarded as anything derogatory. Numbers of perfectly well-to-do women set them up regularly; some even have daily work in the bazaars, and very often a girl commences occupations of the kind with the view of attracting the young men and securing a husband. Then there are meetings at pagoda feasts, in the zayats and at friends' houses, so that there are plenty of chances of introduction to eligible swains, even without calling in the assistance of the aungthwè. This functionary makes it a regular occupation to know all the attractions, physical and sordid, of all the young women in the place, and for a small consideration, or sometimes merely for love of his trade, brings young couples together and arranges places of meeting for them. He is, of course, most useful where an impecunious youth aspires to the hand of a rich merchant's or high official's daughter. He manages an introduction in a roundabout way to avoid arousing suspicions, praises his client's appearance and

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584 abilities, contrives a series of unexpected meetings, and does everything, in fact, to further the project. There are regular practitioners in the business, and others who dabble in it for want of something to do and from sheer love of scheming.

Courting, whether authorised by the parents or not, is very seldom carried on in daylight. So much is this the case that the phrase Lu-byo hlè thi achein, "Courting time," is commonly used in ordinary conversation to designate nine o'clock at night, or a little before or after. The time may be due to the fact that occupation, or the heat, prevent it during the day, but there is an old saw which may account for it, to the effect that in the morning women are cross [828] and peevish; in the middle of the day they are testy and [562] quarrelsome; but at night they are sweet and amiable. Authorised courtship, if the term is not too unromantic, is always carried on at this time, and preparations for it are duly made by the girls. A couple of hours after nightfall the lover, with a friend or two, makes his appearance near the house and dawdles up and down till he finds the old people have gone to bed, or retired from the scene. Then he goes up the steps along with his supporters and finds the girl alone, or with a companion or two, dressed in her best, with flowers in her hair, powder on her cheeks and neck, and generally prepared for conquest. The old people are never present, though they can hear everything, and the mother, as I am credibly informed, pauk-kyi thi, has a convenient chink in the bamboo walls through which she can survey operations and prevent too ardent love-making. Interviews vary in length, and the nature of the conversation may be best left to the imagination. If one of the accompanying young men has also an appointment that evening he naturally endeavours to curtail his friend's philandering as much as possible, in order that he himself may have the more time in another place to press his suit. Even in clandestine flirtations the courting is always effected in a formal way like this. Meetings in lover's loans, or *à quatre yeux*, would ruin a girl's character immediately. Her own mother would be the first to put the worst construction on such doings.

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Burman is always very kind to his wife, while every girl is taught from her earliest years to look with the highest respect upon man as man, and to defer in all things to his judgment, though she is far more free than the Indian wife. The Burman consults with his partner in all his affairs, public and private, and often is entirely guided by her. She keeps the shop that is to be found in almost every house in the country towns, and usually makes far more money than the goodman himself. It is a simple matter to blame the Burmese for easy marriage customs, but the system speedily puts an end to unhappy and ill-assorted unions, and illegitimate children are exceedingly rare. Finally, unless there is good known cause for a separation the divorced parties are not by any means looked upon with a favourable eye. The man who enters a monastery to get rid of a wife goes by the contemptuous name of taw-twet "jungle runaway," for the rest of his life, while the ta-ku-lat, the *divorcée*, is a perennial subject of joke to the jester in the play:—

> She that's neither maid, married, nor widow,
> Fits all men as a pot does it's lid, O.

That is to say, a divorced woman needs small wooing. Such a woman will not hesitate to cut off the bya-bazan, the lappets of hair that fall down over the ears, the last resource of the despairing and unwilling celibate.

The literature of marriage is not inconsiderable. The tattooing ceremonies, a-nu se, love-philtres, charms, and what not, are referred to elsewhere. There remain a number of singular matters to be taken note of by those who would be happy in married life. Thus the girls are told how they may ascertain a man's character by the colour of his heart's blood—though how they are to ascertain this colour without injury to the subject of inquiry is not mentioned. A lustful man's blood is dark red; a cross, quarrelsome man's is so dark as almost to be black; a lazy man's like elephant's water; a rough-speaking man's like boiled peas: a charitable man's like the flower of the mahā hlega, a species of bauhinia; while a learned man's heart's blood is beautiful as the ruby.

Similarly useless knowledge is the statement that an

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tells us that the American Indian chief was in a state of great alarm lest his soul might be carried off with his picture. A notion of the same kind appears in the Chinese custom of getting a priest to put in the pupil of the eye, a method which often has rather a ghastly effect when the reverend gentleman is not skilful. Similarly, every Chinese-owned craft, from the sampan to the English-built iron screw steamer, has a couple of eyes painted on its bows, in order that it may see the way. Down in the Straits, and in all places where there are many Chinese, the local steamers, whoever their owners may be, are all endowed with eyes. Were they not so favoured, no Chinaman would travel with them as a passenger, or send any of his goods aboard of them. The Burman is not troubled with any such fantastic notions, and has no objection whatever to sitting for his portrait, only, as King Mindôn said to Yule, they prefer a flattering likeness to an exact one. It is seldom, however, that a Burman has a picture gallery in his house, and the village artist usually confines himself to vivid-coloured sketches for the funeral of a pôngyi, or to be hung round the mandut, where the great people sit to look on at a play. The drawing and the perspective are naturally a little faulty, but the details are usually worked out with very creditable skill.

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Thus wandering about, seeing what his neighbours are doing, with an occasional visit to the monastery to have some edifying talk with the religious, the villager may spend the time very comfortably. Oftenest however, he stays at home, and waits for visitors to drop in and have a little gossip. The goodwife always has a little shop in the lower part of the building. There is hardly a single house in the whole village where something is not offered for sale: a few dried fish, betel-nut, with the fresh green leaves, lime, cardamoms, and cutch, all ready for making up, half a dozen cocoa-nuts, or perhaps some twopenny-ha'penny knives, looking-glasses, coloured tumblers, and paltry Manchester goods, or where there are many girls about the house, a few home-made lungyis and pasos, waist-cloths, woven at odd times in the loom which stands in the yard or in a corner of the verandah of every house. The stock-in-trade is

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intended more as an excuse for people to enter the house and have a talk than with any idea of making a profit. Whatever money is drawn is regarded as a kind of pin-money for the mistress of the establishment. When the ladies of the household are in earnest about trading, they start a stall in the bazaar, and very good hands they are at driving a bargain. A more regrettable trait is the forcible character of their language when they are annoyed. But this, unhappily, is a characteristic of the fair sex all the world over, whether in trade or out of it. Certain it is that the *dames de la halle* and the Billingsgate fishwives would require all their powers of voice and vituperation to silence a bazaar maiden when she sets her mind to it.

There are as a general thing two meals only in the day: breakfast at about eight in the morning, and dinner at five in the afternoon. There is no difference in the *menu* of the two meals. The staple article of food is plain boiled rice, which is piled up in a heap on a huge platter, round about which the household arrange themselves, sitting, like pit-men, on their heels. The curry which is taken with it is placed in little bowls, and each one of the party has his own plate, and helps himself. Knives are unnecessary; spoons and forks and celestial chopsticks are unknown, except in the houses of a few Government officials and traders in Rangoon, who have had some experience of English society. Very few are able to afford curries of meat or fish, besides that there are not always unscrupulous people ready to disregard the law against taking life, and the material is therefore not always available. Ordinarily the curry consists of a soup, or thin concoction of vegetables, in which chillies and onions figure largely. The other ingredients are very various. Young shoots of bamboo are very delicate in their flavour, if not overpowered by too much garlic. Wild asparagus, the succulent stems of a number of aquatic plants and fleshy arums are constantly used, and may be seen exposed for sale in every bazaar. Tamarind leaves and those of the mango-tree are used by the very poor. The former have a somewhat acrid taste, the latter are curiously aromatic. Along with the curry, which has always a large amount of oil and salt in it, there are a variety of condiments, notably the

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It rounds a girl's mouth a good deal when she puts it in. In the manufacture of it chopped tobacco leaves and pieces of the stem of the tobacco plant and the pith of the oh'nè, a species of Euphorbia, are the chief ingredients. Very often these are boiled with palm-sugar and allowed to dry before making up. The cover is made of the leaf of the teak-tree, or of a tree called the thanat, the ends being tucked in at the point. A piece of red raw silk fastens it at the end put in the mouth, and some broader pieces of pith are put there to give it stiffness to the lips. The finer kinds, such as were only used in Upper Burma in the palace, are rolled up in the thin white inner coating of the bark of the betel-tree. The cheroot has an ash like a cinder, and usually burns holes in the clothes of an Englishman the first time he tries it. Laid down thoughtlessly on an oily mat, it is a fruitful cause of fires. All Burman ladies are adepts at rolling cheroots, and a dozen or two of them form a common present to favoured swains.

Chewing betel is sometimes carried on simultaneously with smoking, but most people prefer to economise enjoyment, and only chew in the interval between smokes. Chewing is hardly an exact expression, and the use of it frequently leads the experimenting Briton into the unpleasant predicament of having all the interstices between his teeth choked up with little fragments of the nut, which, with their indescribable aromatic flavour, stimulate the flow of saliva for hours afterwards. The Burman splits his nut in half, smears a little slaked lime, usually white, but sometimes tinted pink or salmon coloured, on the betel vine leaf, puts in a little morsel of cutch and tobacco, and then rolls it up and stows away the quid in the side of his mouth, occasionally *squeezing* it a little between his teeth. It is as well to be very cautious with the lime and cutch (the juice of the *Acacia catechu*) the first time you make a trial. The latter especially is very astringent. One variety of the nut, called the Taunggu betel, has effects very much resembling intoxication. Chewing kôn-thi is an unlovely practice. The Burman has none of the delicacy with regard to a spittoon which characterises the American, and these articles require to be of a very considerable size. The monks are perhaps

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792 554 779 respect paid to him by the king was paid, not as to the head of the religion, but as to the personal teacher. The Burman in his prayers, or rather his meditations for the good of others, prays for his teacher before his parents. The five pleasant things in the world are: the shade of trees, the shade of parents, the shade of teachers, the shade of princes, the shade of the Buddha.

It is this republican tendency of Buddhism that gives it such a wonderful hold on the people. Rank does not confer on the mendicant greater honour, or release him from any of his obligations. The most learned and famous Sadaw must go forth every morning to beg his daily food. If he is very aged and decrepit he may be excused to some extent, but every now and again he must totter forth to preserve the letter of the law and show a proper example of humility. His dress is the same as that of the most recently admitted ko-yin, and in the eyes of the world he holds honour, not because he controls the affairs of the assembly, but because he is so close to the verge of Ne'ban. This feeling extends beyond the order into ordinary life. The religion brings all men down to the same level. The poor man may be a king of nats in the next life; the wealthy sinner may frizzle in the awful pains of hell. There is no difference between man and man but that which is established by superiority in virtue; [562] and hence it is that the state of women among Buddhists is so very much higher than it is among Oriental peoples, who do not hold by that faith. The Burmese woman enjoys many rights which her European sister is even now clamouring for.

792 771 We have seen that the whole male population of Burma enters the monastery, and that the great majority leave after a very short stay. Some, however, grow fond of the monastic ways, and remain to study and qualify themselves to be mendicants. In becoming pyin-sin they do not acquire any new spiritual power, nor do they constitute themselves directly teachers of the people. In a religious system, which acknowledges no supreme Deity, it is impossible for any one to intercede with a Creator whose existence is denied, in behalf of a man who can only attain to a higher state by his own pious life and earnest self-denial. The

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favour with the Shans. The dyes are obtained from various jungle seeds, roots, flowers, leaves, and barks; the yellow dye obtained from the wood of the Jack-tree (*Artocarpus integrifolia*) being reserved for the monkish robes. After being dyed, the thread is unwound again. The weaving machine is very much like the old hand-loom still occasionally seen in out-of-the-way parts of England. The operators are almost always young women, and they are very clever at working the treadle and shooting through the shuttle, while talking all the time to village gossips or admiring swains. Some of the tameins, made for the richer women, are extremely intricate in pattern and require between twenty and thirty shuttles. The treadle raises and lowers the alternate threads of the warp. Except the rough dresses and the most complicated in pattern, however, not many native-made clothes are worn now. The townspeople prefer the showy and cheaper imported articles, and, though the Manchester goods are too frequently "doctored" and do not last long, yet this does not trouble the Burman much, for he is fond of a change of dress, and, unless he is very poor, will never wear a paso, except about the house, after it has been washed. All the more elaborate designs are, however, native made. The "dog's tooth" pattern is almost confined to Amarapura or Sagaing court looms, and since the fall of the monarchy is hardly seen at all. The acheit paso or tamein, of a complicated, wavy, sprigged design, which middle-aged Burmans remember as being the cherished object of desire of their young days, is now considered rustic. Young Rangoon will tell you that you may always know a taw-tha (a jungle wallah) at the pagoda feast by his wearing an acheit paso and nothing else except his turban; and although the waist-cloth may cost from 150 to 400 rupees, that does not redeem it in the town-bred youth's eyes.

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536 devoted to scenes at court, and is adorned with a throne, golden umbrellas, and other royal insignia. The other extremity represents, with artfully-arranged twigs and tufts of grass, the jungle and forests to which, during some part of every play, the prince and princess are sure to have to fly. The puppets, which are frequently as much as two or three feet high, are always gorgeously and expensively dressed. [532] The larger ones are all cut in wood, and the carver's skill often turns out very clever presentments of rugged-faced old men and exuberantly jovial lubyets. Most of the zāts, 536 776 which deal greatly with the supernatural and fabulous, are only represented as yôkthe pwès. No amount of technical skill could represent in the public streets an athurein, a creature (destined incalculable ages hence to be a Budh) whose height is a few thousand miles, and who produces eclipses in his play by taking the sun or moon in his fingers or between his toes.

536 Curious as it may seem, the puppet players often acquire a far more really personal reputation than the legitimate actors. The zatthama mostly get a name for dancing as much as for anything else. The Yindaw Ma Le, who came from a village near Meiktila in Upper Burma, indeed, was equally celebrated for her voice and her graceful movements, but the yokthethama become renowned for dramatic fervour, for tender passion, for dry wit, just as thoroughly and personally as if they actually appeared before the audience. Except the *prima donna* just alluded to (now dead) there are few professionals celebrated on the stage who are not far better known as first-class marionette players. These per- [562] formers are all men and boys. None of the female parts are ever taken by women. Maung Tha Byaw was unequalled in "prince's" parts. He was recognised as Thabinwun; every stage-manager, every zat-ôk in the country received his word as law. No tenor with a *voce fenomenale*, no bird-voiced Patti, was more sought after nor received with greater honours. His name became a proverb in the mouths of people who never heard him. "Tha Byaw Hé," a Mergui man will say when he makes a marvellous haul of fish or gets a super-excellent cheroot. A journey of his to Rangoon produced a popular saw, corresponding to the English "kill-

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ing two birds with one stone." Maung Tha Byaw said he was going to worship at the Shwe Dagôn pagoda. He gave a performance or two, and made several (Burmese) fortunes. Hence the saying— 536 538

> Payā lè pu yin
> Leip u lè tu yin.
>
> You go and worship and dig turtles' eggs.
>
> Turtles' eggs for prayer
> Reward the pious player.

Maung Tha Byaw was not only a good singer, but himself wrote very good songs, and was particularly clever at coining in phrases the wisdom of many with the wit of one. No other "prince" has ever attained to his fame. Best known among the clowns was Shwe Lôt Gyi, who had the knack of making local jokes wherever he happened to be, and took the fullest advantage of the scope which the language afforded him in the way of punning. Just after the railway from Rangoon to Prome was opened, Shwe Lôt Gyi was performing in a piece where the prince and his servant, the clown, wander away into the forest and fall into a state of great destitution. The prince bewails his sad fate in a dolorous tedat (a tune appropriate to such lamentations), and finishes by asking what they are to do. The lubyet replied, "The English have just opened a railway here. You go and trespass on it, and I'll lay information against you and get the reward." The idea showed considerable acuteness in a man who had never seen a railway before. 522 [533]

Among the "princesses" many youths have been noted for the sweetness of their voice. The two best were Maung Tha Zan and, running him very close, Maung Mu, both of them, like Tha Byaw and the clown, Mandalay men. The accuracy with which they imitated the female voice was wonderful, the more so as every song abounds with trills and turns which would expose the least roughness. Neither in the recitative, the tremulous erotics, nor the doleful wailings of the maiden for her absent lover, would the stranger ever suspect the performer's sex. 536 533 562

The plays are performed during the day only in a few and exceptional cases, such as the arrival of a great man, 536

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535 of the ordinary domestic youth on festive occasions, when he prances about like an extremely self-conscious turkey-cock in the style that suits his capabilities best.

There are a great variety of names for special dances, but in all there is the same waving of hands and weaving of paces. The hands, fingers, elbows, and shoulders are twisted about as if they were circular-jointed; the legs are doubled up and extended in the same fantastic and tentacular fashion, while the body seems to wind and bend in any direction with equal facility. Europeans as a rule find nothing to admire in the dancing except the marvellous sensitiveness to time, and the extreme tension in which every muscle of the body is constantly kept. The solemnity of face is paralleled by the expression of the waltzer who is convinced that he is becoming giddy.

535 Little though the dancing of the men resembles European
562 saltation, that of the girls is still farther from active motion and definitive figures. This is no doubt in great part due to the Burmese female dress. The tamein is simply a square cloth folded round the body and tucked in so that the opening is down the front. This necessitates some adroitness even in walking, and renders all active motions incompatible with modesty. When they dance the skirt is sewn or pinned down the front, so that the girl is, as it were, in a narrow bag, reaching down to her feet and trailing about on the ground in an eighteen-inch or two-foot train. Even thus hampered their dances are much more animated than those of the Indian nautch girls, but still do not go greatly beyond posturing. Nevertheless, the natural and graceful attitudes into which they throw the body, and the cleverness with which they manœuvre their hands and arms, so different from European awkwardness with these members, is not without a charm. It is quite a common thing to see a girl bend over backwards till her lips touch the mat upon which she stands, and pick up from the ground rupees thrown there by the spectators. In Mandalay I have seen a performer double up all her members, head and all, into a space represented by the length of her trunk, and compact enough to be put into an ordinary-sized portmanteau.

The zatthamā, the professional actresses, usually dance

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to their own singing and often improvise with wonderful cleverness, when performing before a celebrity, or any one whom it is especially desired to honour. Many of them acquire a reputation that extends all over the country, and are often sought for in vain by the wealthiest play-goers. Chief among them was the Yindaw Ma Le, the "Mandalay Diva," who was known to every English official or man of importance who visited Mandalay during the twenty years before the annexation. Unlike most Eastern women, she kept remarkably well, and though her voice failed latterly, she made up as well as she did nearly twenty years before, when she sang in Amarapoora, the City of the Immortals. There were few Englishmen who saw her perform before Lord Mayo in Rangoon—she was sent down specially from Mandalay by King Mindôn for that purpose—who could have believed that she was then close on forty. The want of a national court no doubt prevents any other dancer from taking the place which she has left for ever.

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An accomplishment greatly affected by the coryphées is the extraordinary faculty of moving local muscles, the remainder of the body being perfectly quiet. Many of the men, especially the clowns of the piece, can do the same thing, but it is usually brought in by them only as a mockery of the lady. She will extend the arms alternately and cause the muscles to rise and fall and twitch so vigorously that it may be seen yards off. Similarly the bosom heaves as if violently agitated by passion or exertion, while the face remains perfectly impassive.

These displays are all, however, comparatively uninteresting to foreigners. The posturing and waving of hands, however graceful and supple, become tiresome, and the more so the oftener they are seen. But it is different with the yein pwè, the choral dances, which are very often executed by amateurs, and imply considerable skill and long practice under competent instructors. The *coup d'œil* is very attractive, and the effect of the different groupings quite as good as anything to be seen in the incidental ballet of the European stage, while the brilliance of the dresses and the ebbing and flowing chorus of the dancers add to the picturesqueness of the whole. The yein flourishes most in small villages, where

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535 the most promising of the youth of both sexes are taken in charge by a skilled sayā, who trains them assiduously
535 together until they have attained perfection. Even in these
● 562 dances the sexes do not mingle. There are meimma yein and yaukya yein, the former usually eschewing complex movements, and sitting in rows on the ground, richly decked with bracelets, and dalizan necklaces falling over their silken vests or tight-fitting lace bodices. The dancing consists of the usual pirouetting, or perhaps it ought to be called winding, on both feet, with much serpentine movements of the arms and the head. The loosening of the elbow-joint is greatly practised by Burmese girls with a view to these performances, and also under the impression that it is elegant in itself. From early years the arm is so manipulated that the forearm can be bent back so as to form a curve outwards, and this accomplishment is steadily exhibited on all occasions in public by a belle who has acquired it. Very often the meimma yein is performed by a body of girls, who succeed one another in successive groups. All are seated at first. The chorus is led by a woman, who herself does not dance, and is usually the instructress of the troupe. She begins in a low recitative gradually swelling until at last the first group rise and go through a stately performance. They are succeeded by the next row, who are more lively in their movements, and so on to the last, who are usually young girls, and are much more rapid and varied in their figures than their elder predecessors. Finally, all join in some complicated evolutions, and finish up seated in some pre-arranged figure. But as a rule the meimma yeins, though pretty enough as a mere spectacle, have not sufficient action to redeem them from the accusation of tiresome sameness brought against individual dancing, and they are always so discreet that they might be performed by Sunday-school teachers.

535 In the men's dances it is different. At the commence-
562 ment all are seated, four or five in the front row, and forming
533 a column of perhaps ten or more rows. The conductor gives the sign and all bow down with closed hands raised to the forehead in salutation to the great man in whose honour the dance is given. Then they begin singing in

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chorus in the usual way. The song treats in a rambling way of the past history of the village, its ancient glories and heroes; its victories in boat-races, boxing matches, or mains of cocks. Interpolated are catch phrases for the guidance of the dancers. At a certain word all spring to their feet; they sway to the right, to the left; white handkerchiefs are drawn from the belt and waved to the measure of the refrain, peeled white wands replace them; they pirouette simultaneously, they troop round in procession in movements resembling figures in the Lancers or the Haymakers, the time varying with the measure of the song, dying away in plaintive sounds almost to quiescence, and then suddenly rising to excited movement of every limb as the words tell of a let-pwè, in which some local hero of the fancy did glorious deeds, or a fight long years ago when the village spearmen carried the day. Then the measure changes again, the alterations in time being always heralded by some such refrain as to yein daw tha, le maung yo wa, a kind of warning hung out after the manner of the first word of a military command. Occasionally, a yein troupe which has acquired particular skill and renown travels about the country on special invitation. Rangoon is often supplied with its "country dances" in this way, the townspeople not having the time, or being too numerous to form a good company for themselves. But they very rarely become regular professionals in the same way as the play actors do; they never perform ostensibly to gain a living, and the dances always occur on some fête day, whether in their own place or in the village to which they have been invited. Their instructor always receives a sum of money to recompense him for his trouble and to pay for the expenses of his troupe. Yein pwès are performed ordinarily in private houses or on a public platform, when it is a religious or special festival. A yein is a favourite way of greeting a great man, or an English official on his arrival in a village. It is not so expensive as a zat pwè, is more quickly arranged, allows the sons and daughters of the chief people to distinguish themselves, and lasts just as long as the person it is intended to honour pleases.

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526 any more than dancing the Highland Fling can, for judgment as to superiority in either case must be a mere matter of personal opinion, and cannot be governed by hard and fast rules.

These are practically the only outdoor national games. Boxing is a very common institution, but there is no ordinary practice in the evenings, and when a let-pwè comes off it is a regular ceremony more resembling what would be called in Europe a match, or a tournament, than a game. A good deal of agility and skill is shown, leaps into the air, and kicks with the bare feet, and violent upward knocks with the knee finding a place which would not be allowed by the "fancy." The first drawing of blood decides a contest, however slight the injury may be. But boxing is not common now. Among the Karens near Maulmein it is still regularly [571] kept up, and no young man would be successful in his courting unless he had taken part on some occasion or other at a let-pwè. In Rangoon nowadays contests are of regular occurrence at feast times, but the displays are in sheds and entry money is charged. Elsewhere they are not often seen, [562] and the rule that no women shall be present is always rigorously kept.

524 What may be called indoor games are numerous and various. There is a game very much like the English one known as Fox and Geese. There are three big tigers, and eleven or sometimes twelve little ones. It is called legwet kya, and the object is for the big tigers to hunt down on a draught board and eat the little ones. If, however, the cubs can corner the big ones, and prevent them from taking a leap, the latter have to succumb—starve to death in fact. Another game called pasit, or chwe pyitthi, or ansa pyitthi is a steeplechase kind of arrangement, and is a favourite with children and simple country people. It is played on a board shaped and divided like that in the figure.

Cowries are used instead of dice, and the object is to complete the tour of the board as fast as possible, and to take as many opponents as you can on the way. Thus if there were two playing, the first thrower would enter at *a*, and having reached *b*, would continue from *a* to *c*, from *c* to *d*, and so on. The second would commence at *a* also, but

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are stuck into him, red pepper is forced into his eyes, and the louder he shrieks and groans the better pleased are his friends and relations, for it is the witch, or the natso, that is suffering, and not the sick man at all. If this treatment does not kill or cure him, a final effort is made. A middle-aged woman, sometimes a member of the family, dresses herself up in a fantastic way, and assumes the name of "wife of the evil spirit." A shed is erected for the occasion just outside the house. Music is brought, and the woman begins to dance, slowly at first, and then gradually more and more furiously, until at length she works herself into a regular frenzy or ecstasy. Then it is supposed that the demon has passed out of the sick man into her, and that whatever answers she now gives to questions are the utterances of the demon. Consequently, whatever she directs is implicitly carried out. The instructions usually resolve themselves into offerings to be placed outside for the evil spirit at nightfall. If this fails, then the witch doctors and medicine doctors unite in declaring that the nat is too strong for them, and abandon their patient. Occasionally, if he is of a very strong constitution, he revives after that. Such performances are limited to remote jungle places nowadays. Thus, however, the provinces of the physician and the necromancer run into one another, and it is difficult to say where science ends and magic begins.

[562]

Shampooing is almost always employed in every disease, in addition to the prescriptions of the doctor; and here, at any rate, we have real skill. The shampooers are almost always women, though most men know a little about it too. A professional has a most wonderful knowledge of all the tendons and muscles in the human body, and follows them up with a light pressure of the fingers that affords a relief in the case of rheumatism and stiffness from exhaustion, which is simply incredible to all but those who have experienced it.

789
931

In addition to their other work, the hmaw sayās are very much resorted to for love philtres and potions by both sexes. They have always an answer pat if the prescription fails: it is due to the opposition of the eingsaung nat, the guardian spirit of the house; or the applicant has made a mistake as to the date of birth of the object of his affection

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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651 lists were filled up, no matter whether it was an uboné,
525 or a more sacred feast, and, as a consequence, the minds
446 of the people were kept in a state of perpetual unhealthy excitement.

651 Neither buyers nor sellers were to be seen in the bazaar.
525 Cultivators sold off their farming stock and implements, and
178 launched all their money into the state lotteries. Fathers
[562] sold their daughters, and husbands their wives, to have a final try for fortune, until the lottery managers issued a notice that they would give no more tickets in exchange for women. To fill up the totals faster, and draw in every available coin, twenty, or even more, people were allowed to club together to buy a single ticket. Business was entirely suspended, and all the people hovered about the lottery-offices, longing for the drawing, while cleaned-out speculators prowled about day and night, watching for an opportunity to thieve and rob. How it was that the plundered people did not rise against the government, or at least against the lottery managers, is a mystery, but they did not. The suburbs of Mandalay were filled for a time with ruined gamblers, until the soldiery were employed to drive them farther afield, when many made their way to the frontier, and recouped themselves by raids on British Burma villages. Eventually money failed, or the people were disillusionised, and the lottery-offices, though several remained open, drove but a very slight
651 trade. Then Thibaw Min had to resort to other measures
655 to meet his expenditure, and from July 1881 began disposing of monopolies right and left. Having finished the export monopolies, he commenced with those on imports. The British trade with Upper Burma was being steadily ruined, and the war which ended in the extinction of the kingdom of Burma was made inevitable.

533 Thus: Ex: 18 Bell (ခေါ်) Clapper (ခေါ်) or

No great importance is attached to the variation. In one and the same piece of music the quadruple may sometimes change into the duple, or become faster or slower in accordance with the needs of the particular piece of music. But never must a musican get out of rhythmic time[1].

533 So far as I am aware compound time does not seem to be
788 used at all in music, though I detect signs of it in the congregational
●562 chanting of certain quasi-religious verses which used to be the rage
[178] among young Burmese ladies when Myawadi Phongyi was at the height of his singular career about 18 years ago.

Ex. 8 Etc.

I give in example 8 what I can remember of the verses I used to chant as the only boy among a sort of choir of young ladies. This particular verse pays homage to Buddha. But young ladies used to pay homage to his reverence too, kneeling down and singing his praise and wishing him long-life etc. Had I not been a sort of pitch-pipe I would have been as little tolerated in that beauty chorus as a bee in a bouquet.

533 Example 11 (ဘောလေ *Baw-lè*) illustrates how the vocal part weaves in and out of (ဆင်ဆောင်) the instrumental part. Having no regular system of harmony or counterpoint the instrumental accompaniment to Burmese songs means something entirely different from what it means in the west. The instrument accompanies the voice with variations of the same tune liberally embellished. After each section the instrument plays a bar of interlude (ဆောင်) either to emphasise the close by repetition, or to link it with the next section. In Example 11, so far as the voice is concerned, the section ends with its last note (the tonic in bar 9). But the instrument postpones this final tonic for yet another bar playing the interlude which too ends on that tonic.

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1. He is not *dead* in time like players of dance music. He keeps in time because he *feels* in time. One thinks of *Tempo Rubato*, but for its implication of virtuosity.

591 101 matter. The wife's opportunities for social intercourse with her family of orientation are, of course, greatest when residence is established in her home village; if, however, a couple from different villages marry and find it most opportune to settle in the husband's community, the chances are that the wife will maintain contact with her family of orientation by visits from time to time. 582 People from Tadagale seldom marry individuals from villages that are very distant. The structural features of bilaterality and absence of extension militate against inequality and male domination in the family.

562 Burmese culture is frequently remarked for the equality of the sexes, in contrast to the neighboring cultures of India and China. This status of the sexes seems to be the historic resultant of two patterns of thought. One is the apparently very old, pre-Buddhist emphasis upon equality, involving equal inheritance, equal sharing of the property brought to the marriage, equal division of property in the event of divorce, a prominent female role in social and economic life, and the absence of transmission of surnames. The other thought pattern dates from the superimposition of Buddhism upon older Burmese concepts: whatever ideas of male superiority exist stem from Buddhist ideas of reincarnation, it being assumed that only a man can attain reincarnation.

593 In the family household the wife's role includes not only such routine tasks as preparation of food and serving of meals, keeping the house orderly and clean, and looking after small children; very often it involves control of the family income and the making of all important decisions as to expenditures.

Certain observances and taboos, reflective of a deferential attitude towards males, are expected of a wife. She is careful that her lower garments do not touch her husband's bed or his personal belongings; she avoids touching her husband's head. It is believed that the breaking of such taboos may ruin the husband's success and glory, especially his spiritual attainments. These injunctions are followed as a matter of course by village wives and will be broken deliberately only as an act of malice by a woman who wishes to harm or lower her husband for some reason.

837 Despite the various equalitarian aspects of husband-wife relations, there is a tendency towards a double standard of sexual conduct. A husband who has reason to believe that his wife is engaging in extra-marital affairs is very likely to display violent anger, beat her, and break up the marriage. The wife of a philandering husband, on the other hand, will usually do no more than display hurt feelings for a brief period; rarely will she separate from her husband, especially if they have children.

593 Siblings. It is the duty of the younger to show deference to the elder. This pertains to the order of serving food, fetching and carrying things, and even the arrangement of sleeping mats -- a younger sibling should never sleep with his feet extended towards an elder sibling. Upon the death of a parent, the eldest child of the same sex assumes that parent's socio-economic role in the family.

Father and Daughter. Consistent with the age principle, it is a daughter's duty to be obedient and to wait upon her father. Once an unmarried daughter passes the age of puberty, her father is expected to lead a circumspect and moral life more than ever before. Any deviant sexual behavior or drunkenness on his part reflects upon his daughter and detracts from her marital chances. [581]

Mother and Son. Although a son owes obedience to his mother, her claim upon him in this regard is tempered by the fact that, in Burmese Buddhist

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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the little thing in her arms, and as she looked upon it her eyes were full of tears. For it was very sick; its little limbs were but thin bones, with big knees and elbows, and its face was very wan. It could not even take any interest in the wonderful sights around, but hardly opened its careworn eyes now and then to blink upon the world.

'Let him recover, let him be well once more! the woman cried, again and again.

Whom was she beseeching? I do not know.

'Thakin, there will be Someone, Someone. A Spirit may hear. Who can tell? Surely someone will help me? Men would help me if they could, but they cannot; surely there will be someone?'

So she did not remember the story of Ma Pa Da.

Women often pray, I think—they pray that their husbands and those they love may be well. It is a frequent ending to a girl's letter to her lover: 'And I pray always that you may be well.' I never heard of their praying for anything but this: that they may be loved, and those they love may be well. Nothing else is worth praying for besides this. The queen would pray at the pagoda in the palace morning and evening. 'What did she pray for?' 'What should she pray for, thakin? Surely she prayed that her husband might be true to her, and that her children might live and be strong. That is what women pray for. Do you think a queen would pray differently to any other woman?'

'Women,' say the Buddhist monks, 'never understand. They *will* not understand; they cannot learn.' And so we say that most women must be

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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born again, as men, before they can see the light and understand the laws of righteousness.'

What do women care for laws of righteousness? What do they care for justice? What for the everlasting sequences that govern the world? Would not they involve all other men, all earth and heaven, in bottomless chaos, to save one heart they loved? That is woman's religion.

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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CHAPTER XIV

WOMEN—I

'Her cheek is more beautiful than the dawn, her eyes are deeper than the river pools; when she loosens her hair upon her shoulders, it is as night coming over the hills.'—*Burmese Love-Song.*

582

IF you were to ask a Burman, 'What is the position of women in Burma?' he would reply that he did not know what you meant. Women have no position, no fixed relation towards men beyond that fixed by the fact that women are women and men are men. They differ a great deal in many ways, so a Burman would say; men are better in some things, women are better in others; if they have a position, their relative superiority in certain things determines it. How else should it be determined?

If you say by religion, he laughs, and asks what religion has to do with such things? Religion is a culture of the soul; it is not concerned with the relationship of men and women. If you say by law, he says that law has no more to do with it than religion. In the eye of the law both are alike. 'You wouldn't have one law for a man and another for a woman?' he asks.

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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In the life of the Buddha nothing is said upon the subject. The great teacher never committed himself to an opinion as to whether men or women were the highest. He had men disciples, he had women disciples; he honoured both. Nowhere in any of his sayings can anything be found to show that he made any difference between them. That monks should be careful and avoid intercourse with women is merely the counterpart of the order that nuns should be careful in their intercourse with men. That man's greatest attraction is woman does not infer wickedness in woman; that woman's greatest attraction is man does not show that man is a devil. Wickedness is a thing of your own heart. If he could be sure that his desire towards women was dead, a monk might see them as much as he liked. The desire is the enemy, not the woman; therefore a woman is not damned because by her man is often tempted to evil; therefore a woman is not praised because by her a man may be led to better thoughts. She is but the outer and unconscious influence.

If, for instance, you cannot see a precipice without wishing to throw yourself down, you blame not the precipice, but your giddiness; and if you are wise you avoid precipices in future. You do not rail against steep places because you have a bad circulation. So it is with women: you should not contemn women because they rouse a devil in man.

And it is the same with man. Men and women are alike subject to the eternal laws. And they are alike subject to the laws of man; in no material

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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points, hardly even in minor points, does the law discriminate against women. 562 779

The law as regards marriage and inheritance and divorce will come each in its own place. It is very much the same both for the man and the woman. 562 671 586

The criminal law was the same for both; I have tried to find any difference, and this is all I have found: A woman's life was less valuable than a man's. The price of the body, as it is called, of a woman was less than that of a man. If a woman were accidentally killed, less compensation had to be paid than for a man. I asked a Burman about this once. 681

'Why is this difference?' I said. 'Why does the law discriminate?'

'It isn't the law,' he said, 'it is a fact. A woman is worth less than a man *in that way*. A maidservant can be hired for less than a manservant, a daughter can claim less than a son. They cannot do so much work; they are not so strong. If they had been worth more, the law would have been the other way; of course they are worth less.'

And so this sole discrimination is a fact, not dogma. It is a fact, no doubt, everywhere. No one would deny it. The pecuniary value of a woman is less than that of a man. As to the soul's value, that is not a question of law, which confines itself to material affairs. But I suppose all laws have been framed out of the necessities of mankind. It was the incessant fighting during the times when our laws grew slowly into shape, the necessity of not allowing the possession of land, and the armed 562 671 428

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562 wealth that land gave, to fall into the weaker hands
671 of women, that led to our laws of inheritance.
428 Laws then were governed by the necessity of war, of subjecting everything else to the ability to fight. Consequently, as women were not such good fighters as men, they went to the wall. But feudalism never obtained at all in Burma. What fighting they did was far less severe than that of our ancestors, was not the dominant factor in the position, and consequently woman did not suffer.

She has thus been given the inestimable boon of freedom. Freedom from sacerdotal dogma, from secular law, she has always had.

And so, in order to preserve the life of the people, it has never been necessary to pass laws treating woman unfairly as regards inheritance; and as religion has left her free to find her own position, so has the law of the land.

562 And yet the Burman man has a confirmed opinion that he is better than a woman, that men are on the whole superior as a sex to women. 'We may be inferior in some ways,' he will tell you. 'A woman may steal a march on us here and there, but in the long-run the man will always win. Women have no patience.'

I have heard this said over and over again, even by women, that they have less patience than a man. We have often supposed differently. Some Burmans have even supposed that a woman must be reincarnated as a man to gain a step in holiness. I do not mean that they think men are always better than women, but that the best men are far better than the best women, and there are many more of them.

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However all this may be, it is only an opinion. Neither in their law, nor in their religion, nor—what is far more important—in their daily life, do they acknowledge any inferiority in women beyond those patent weaknesses of body that are, perhaps, more differences than inferiorities.

She has always had fair-play, from religion, from law, and from her fellow man and woman.

She has been bound by no ties, she has had perfect freedom to make for herself just such a life as she thinks best fitted for her. She has had no frozen ideals of a long dead past held up to her as eternal copies. She has been allowed to change as her world changed, and she has lived in a very real world —a world of stern facts, not fancies. You see, she has had to fight her own way; for the same laws that made woman lower than man in Europe compensated her to a certain extent by protection and guidance. In Burma she has been neither confined nor guided. In Europe and India for very long the idea was to make woman a hot-house plant, to see that no rough winds struck her, that no injuries overtook her. In Burma she has had to look out for herself: she has had freedom to come to grief as well as to come to strength. All such laws cut both ways. Freedom to do ill must accompany freedom to do well. You cannot have one without the other. The Burmese woman has had both. Ideals act for good as well as for evil; if they cramp all progress, they nevertheless tend to the sustentation of a certain level of thought. She has had none. Whatever she is, she has made herself, finding under the varying circumstances of life what is the best for

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562 her; and as her surroundings change, so will she. What she was a thousand years ago I do not care, what she may be a thousand years hence I do not know; it is of what she is to-day that I have tried to know and write.

858 Children in Burma have, I think, a very good
562 time when they are young. Parentage in Burma
871 has never degenerated into a sort of slavery. It has never been supposed that gaiety and goodness are opposed. And so they grow up little merry naked things, sprawling in the dust of the gardens, sleeping in the sun with their arms round the village
[894] dogs, very sedate, very humorous, very rarely crying. Boys and girls when they are babies grow up together, but with the schooldays comes a division. All the boys go to school at the monastery without the walls, and there learn in noisy fashion their arithmetic, letters, and other useful knowledge. But little girls have nowhere to go. They cannot go to the monasteries, these are for boys alone, and the nunneries are very scarce. For twenty monasteries there is not one nunnery. Women do not seem to care to learn to become nuns as men do to become monks. Why this is so I cannot tell, but there is no doubt of the fact. And so there are no schools for girls as there are for boys, and consequently the girls
[369] are not well educated as a rule. In great towns there are, of course, regular schools for girls, generally for girls and boys together; but in the villages
562 these very seldom exist. The girls may learn from
212 their mothers how to read and write, but most of
871 them cannot do so. It is an exception in country places to find a girl who can read, as it is to find

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a boy who cannot. If there were more nunneries, 512
there would be more education among the women; 212
here is cause and effect. But there are not, so the 871
little girls work instead. While their brothers are in 562
the monasteries, the girls are learning to weave and 868
herd cattle, drawing water, and collecting firewood. They begin very young at this work, but it is very light; they are never overworked, and so it does them no harm usually, but good.

The daughters of better-class people, such as 562
merchants, and clerks, and advocates, do not, of 565
course, work at field labour. They usually learn to 871
read and write at home, and they weave, and many [521]
will draw water. For to draw water is to go to the well, and the well is the great meeting-place of the village. As they fill their jars they lean over the curb and talk, and it is here that is told the latest news, the latest flirtation, the little scandal of the place. Very few men or boys come for water; carrying is not their duty, and there is a proper place for flirtation. So the girls have the well almost to themselves.

Almost every girl can weave. In many houses 562
there are looms where the girls weave their dresses 286
and those of their parents; and many girls have 463
stalls in the bazaar. Of this I will speak later. Other duties are the husking of rice and the making of cheroots. Of course, in richer households there will be servants to do all this; but even in them the daughter will frequently weave either for herself or her parents. Almost every girl will do something, if only to pass the time.

They have no accomplishments. They do not

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562 sing, nor play, nor paint. It must never be forgotten
517 that their civilization is relatively a thousand years behind ours. Accomplishments are part of the polish that a civilization gives, and this they have not yet reached. Accomplishments are also the means to fill up time otherwise unoccupied; but very few Burmese girls have any time on their hands. There is no leisured class, and there are very few girls who have not to help, in one way or another, at the upkeep of the household.

Mr. Rudyard Kipling tells of a young lady who played the banjo. He has been more fortunate than myself, for I have never heard of such a person.
562 They have no accomplishments at all. House-
356 keeping they have not very much of. Houses are small, and households also are small; and there is very little furniture; and as the cooking is all the same, there is not much to learn in that way. I fear, too, that their houses could not compete as models of neatness with any other nation. Tidiness is one of the last gifts of civilization. We now pride ourselves on our order; we forget how very recent an accomplishment it is. To them it will come with the other gifts of age, for it must never be forgotten that they are a very young people—only children, big children—learning very slowly the lessons of experience and knowledge.

792 When they are between eight and fourteen years
561 of age the boys become monks for a time, as every
792 boy must, and they have a great festival at their
[562] entrance into the monastery. Girls do not enter
304 nunneries, but they, too, have a great feast in their
561 honour. They have their ears bored. It is a
562

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304 festival for a girl of great importance, this ear-
561 boring, and, according to the wealth of the parents,
562 it is accompanied by pwès and other rejoicings.

A little girl, the daughter of a shopkeeper here in this town, had her ears bored the other day, and there were great rejoicings. There was a pwè open to all for three nights, and there were great quantities of food, and sweets, and many presents given away, and on the last night the river was illuminated. There was a boat anchored in mid-stream, and from this were launched myriads of tiny rafts, each with a little lamp on board. The lamps gleamed bright with golden light as they drifted on the bosom of the great water, a moving line of living fire. There were little boats, too, with the outlines marked with lamps, and there were pagodas and miniature houses all floating, floating down the river, till, in far distance by the promontory, the lamps flickered out one by one, and the river fell asleep again.

'There is only one great festival in a girl's life,' a woman told me. 'We try to make it as good as we can. Boys have many festivals, girls have but one. It is only just that it should be good.'

562 And so they grow up very quiet, very sedate,
157 looking on the world about them with very clear eyes. It is strange, talking to Burmese girls, to see how much they know and understand of the world about them. It is to them no great mystery, full of unimaginable good and evil, but a world that they are learning to understand, and where good and evil are never unmixed. Men are to them neither angels nor devils, but just men, and so the world does not hold for them the disappointments, the disillusionings

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522 that await those who do not know. They have their
157 dreams—who shall doubt it?—dreams of him who shall love them, whom they shall love, who shall make life one great glory to them; but their dreams are dreams that can come true. They do not frame to themselves ideals out of their own ignorance and imagine these to be good, but they keep their eyes wide open to the far more beautiful realities that are around them every day. They know that a living lover is greater, and truer, and better than any ideal of a girl's dream. They live in a real world, and they know it is good.

584 In time the lover comes. There is a delightful custom all through Burma, an institution, in fact, called 'courting-time.' It is from nine till ten o'clock, more especially on moonlight nights, those wonderful tropic nights, when the whole world lies in a silver dream, when the little wandering airs that touch your cheek like a caress are heavy with the scent of flowers, and your heart comes into your throat for the very beauty of life.

There is in front of every house a veranda, raised perhaps three feet from the ground, and there the girl will sit in the shadow of the eaves, sometimes with a friend, but usually alone; and her suitors will come and stand by the veranda, and talk softly in little broken sentences, as lovers do. There may be many young men come, one by one, if they mean business, with a friend if it be merely a visit of
584 courtesy. And the girl will receive them all, and
431 will talk to them all; will laugh with a little humorous knowledge of each man's peculiarities; and she may give them cheroots, of her own making;

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marriage, which is with most people a ceremony 585
performed in full daylight with all accessories of display, is with the Burmese generally a secret. Two or three friends, perhaps, will be called quietly to the house, and the man and the woman will eat together, and thus become husband and wife. Then they will separate again, and not for several days, or even weeks perhaps, will it be known that they are married; for it is seldom that they can set up house for themselves just at once. Often they will marry 591
and live apart for a time with their parents. Sometimes they will go and live together with the man's parents, but more usually with the girl's mother. Then after a time, when they have by their exertions made a little money, they build a house and go to live there; but sometimes they will live on with the girl's parents for years.

A girl does not change her name when she 582
marries, nor does she wear any sign of marriage, 593
such as a ring. Her name is always the same, and there is nothing to a stranger to denote whether she be married or not, or whose wife she is; and she keeps her property as her own. Marriage does not confer upon the husband any power over his wife's property, either what she brings with her, what she earns, or what she inherits subsequently; it all remains her own, as does his remain his own. But 593
usually property acquired after marriage is held 562
jointly. You will inquire, for instance, who is the 421
owner of this garden, and be told Maung Han, Ma Shwè, the former being the husband's name and the latter the wife's. Both names are used very frequently in business and in legal proceedings, and indeed it is

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593 usual for both husband and wife to sign all deeds
562 they may have occasion to execute. Nothing more
421 free than a woman's position in the marriage state can be imagined. By law she is absolutely the mistress of her own property and her own self; and if it usually happens that the husband is the head of the house, that is because his nature gives him that position, not any law.

With us marriage means to a girl an utter breaking of her old ties, the beginning of a new life, of new duties, of new responsibilities. She goes out into a new and unknown world, full of strange facts, leaving one dependence for another, the shelter of a father for the shelter of a husband. She has even lost her own name, and becomes known but as the mistress of her husband; her soul is merged in his. But in Burma it is not so at all. She is still herself, still mistress of herself, an equal partner for life.

593 I have said that the Burmese have no ideals, and
885 this is true; but in the Laws of Manu there are laid
671 down some of the requisite qualities for a perfect wife. There are seven kinds of wife, say the Laws of Manu: a wife like a thief, like an enemy, like a master, like a friend, like a sister, like a mother, like a slave. The last four of these are good, but the last is the best, and these are some of her qualities:

'She should fan and soothe her master to sleep, and sit by him near the bed on which he lies. She will fear and watch lest anything should disturb him. Every noise will be a terror to her; the hum of a mosquito as the blast of a trumpet; the fall of a leaf without will sound as loud as thunder. Even she

16:Fielding Hall G-8 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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will guard her breath as it passes her lips to and fro, lest she awaken him whom she fears.

'And she will remember that when he awakens he will have certain wants. She will be anxious that the bath be to his custom, that his clothes are as he wishes, that his food is tasteful to him. Always she will have before her the fear of his anger.'

It must be remembered that the Laws of Manu are of Indian origin, and are not totally accepted by the Burmese. I fear a Burmese girl would laugh at this ideal of a wife. She would say that if a wife were always afraid of her husband's wrath, she and he, too, must be poor things. A household is ruled by love and reverence, not by fear. A girl has no idea when she marries that she is going to be her husband's slave, but a free woman, yielding to him in those things in which he has most strength, and taking her own way in those things that pertain to a woman. She has a very keen idea of what things she can do best, and what things she should leave to her husband. Long experience has taught her that there are many things she should not interfere with; and she knows it is experience that has proved it, and not any command. She knows that the reason women are not supposed to interfere in public affairs is because their minds and bodies are not fitted for them. Therefore she accepts this, in the same way as she accepts physical inferiority, as a fact against which it is useless and silly to declaim, knowing that it is not men who keep her out, but her own unfitness. Moreover, she knows that it is made good to her in other ways, and thus the balance is redressed. You see, she knows her own strength and her own weak-

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513 ness. Can there be a more valuable knowledge for
885 anyone than this?
562 In many ways she will act for her husband with
562 vigour and address, and she is not afraid of appear-
593 ing in his name or her own in law courts, for instance,
432 or in transacting certain kinds of business. She
621 knows that she can do certain business as well as or better than her husband, and she does it. There is nothing more remarkable than the way in which she makes a division of these matters in which she can act for herself, and those in which, if she act at all, it is for her husband.

Thus, as I have said, she will, as regards her own property or her own business, act freely in her own name, and will also frequently act for her husband too. They will both sign deeds, borrow money on joint security, lend money repayable to them jointly. But in public affairs she will never allow her name to appear at all. Not that she does not take a keen interest in such things. She lives in no world apart; all that affects her husband interests her as keenly as it does him. She lives in a world of men and women, and her knowledge of public affairs, and her desire and powers of influencing them, is great. But she learnt long ago that her best way is to act through and by her husband, and that his strength and his name are her bucklers in the fight. Thus women are never openly concerned in any political matters. How strong their feeling is can better be illustrated by a story than in any other way.

175 In 1889 I was stationed far away on the north-
726 west frontier of Burma, in charge of some four
668 thousand square miles of territory which had been

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speaks of is news to me, and must have happened while I was away.' 175 622

'Then, who wrote the letter?' I asked.

'Ah!' he said, 'I think I know; but I will go and make sure.'

Then Saw Ka went to find the guard who had come in with the prisoners, and I dissolved court and went out shooting. After dinner, as we sat round a great bonfire before the mess, for the nights were cold, Saw Ka and his brother came to me, and they sat down beside the fire and told me all about it.

It appeared that three days after Saw Ka left his village, some robbers came suddenly one evening to a small hamlet some two miles away and looted from there all the cattle, thirty or forty head, and went off with them. The frightened owners came in to tell the headman about it, and in his absence they told his wife. And she, by virtue of the order of appointment as headman, which was in her hands, ordered the villagers to turn out and follow the dacoits. She issued such government arms as she had in the house, and the villagers went and pursued the dacoits by the cattle tracks, and next day they overtook them, and there was a fight. When the villagers returned with the cattle and the thieves, she had the letter written to me, and the prisoners were sent in, under her husband's brother, with an escort. Everything was done as well, as successfully, as if Saw Ka himself had been present. But if it had not been for the accident of Saw Ka's sudden appearance, I should probably never have known that this exploit was due to his wife; for she was 175 622 562

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175 622 562 acting for her husband, and she would not have been pleased that her name should appear.

'A good wife,' I said to Saw Ka.

'Like many,' he answered.

462 But in her own line she has no objection to publicity. I have said that nearly all women work, and that is so. Married or unmarried, from the age of sixteen or seventeen, almost every woman has some occupation besides her own duties. In the higher classes she will have property of her own to manage; in the lower classes she will have some trade. I cannot find that in Burma there have ever been certain occupations told off for women in which they may work, and others tabooed to them. As there is no caste for the men, so there is none for the women. They have been free to try their hands at anything they thought they could excel in, without any fear of public opinion. But nevertheless, as is inevitable, it has been found that there are certain trades in which women can compete successfully with men, and certain others in which they cannot. And these are not quite the same as in the West. We usually consider sewing to be a feminine 462 occupation. In Burma, there being no elaborately 294 cut and trimmed garments, the amount of sewing done is small, but that is usually done by men. Women often own and use small hand-machines, but the treadles are always used by men only. As I am writing, my Burmese orderly is sitting in the garden sewing his jacket. He is usually sewing when not sent on messages. He seems to sew very well.

Weaving is usually done by women. Under

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443 density of population, the means of communication, and other matters. But a bazaar within reach there must always be, for it is only there that most articles
443 can be bought. The bazaar is usually held in a
347 public building erected for the purpose, and this may vary from a great market built of brick and iron to a small thatched shed. Sometimes, indeed, there is no building at all, merely a space of beaten ground.

443 The great bazaar in Mandalay is one of the sights
369 of the city. The building in which it is held is the property of the municipality, but is leased out. It is a series of enormous sheds, with iron roofs and beaten earth floor. Each trade has a shed or sheds to itself. There is a place for rice-sellers, for butchers, for vegetable-sellers, for the vendors of silks, of cottons, of sugar and spices, of firewood, of jars, of
[563] fish. The butchers are all natives of India. I have
[562] explained elsewhere why this should be. The fire-wood-sellers will mostly be men, as will also the large rice-merchants, but nearly all the rest are women.

You will find the sellers of spices, fruit, vegetables, and other such matters seated in long rows, on mats placed upon the ground. Each will have a square of space allotted, perhaps six feet square, and there she will sit with her merchandise in a basket or baskets before her. For each square they will pay the lessee a halfpenny for the day, which is only three hours or so. The time to go is in the morning from six till eight, for that is the busy time. Later on all the stalls will be closed, but in the early morning the market is thronged. Every house-

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443 gauzy silk handkerchiefs; but often these are sold
286 at separate stalls.

But prettier than the silks are the sellers, for these are nearly all girls and women, sweet and fresh in their white jackets, with flowers in their hair. And they are all delighted to talk to you and show you their goods, even if you do not buy; and they will take a compliment sedately, as a girl should, and they will probably charge you an extra rupee for it when you come to pay for your purchases. So it is never wise for a man, unless he have a heart of stone,
443 to go marketing for silks. He should always ask a
562 lady friend to go with him and do the bargaining, and he will lose no courtesy thereby, for these women know how to be courteous to fellow-women as well as to fellow-men.

443 In the provincial bazaars it is much the same.
369 There may be a few travelling merchants from
438 Rangoon or Mandalay, most of whom are men;
442 but nearly all the retailers are women. Indeed, speaking broadly, it may be said that the retail trade of the country is in the hands of the women, and they nearly all trade on their own account. Just as the men farm their own land, the women own their businesses. They are not saleswomen for others, but traders on their own account; and with the exception of the silk and cloth branches of the trade, it does not interfere with home-life. The bazaar lasts but three hours, and a woman has ample time for her home duties when her daily visit to the bazaar is over; she is never kept away all day in shops and factories.

Her home-life is always the centre of her life;

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462 Her home-life is always the centre of her life

she could not neglect it for any other: it would seem to her a losing of the greater in the less. But the effect of this custom of nearly every woman having a little business of her own has a great influence on her life. It broadens her views, it teaches her things she could not learn in the narrow circle of home duties; it gives her that tolerance and understanding which so forcibly strikes everyone who knows her. It teaches her to know her own strength and weakness, and how to make the best of each. Above all, by showing her the real life about her, and how much beauty there is everywhere, to those whose eyes are not shut by conventions, it saves her from that dreary, weary pessimism that seeks its relief in fancied idealism, in art, in literature, and in religion, and which is the curse of so many of her sisters in other lands.

562 Yet, with all their freedom, Burmese women are very particular in their conduct. Do not imagine that young girls are allowed, or allow themselves, to go about alone except on very frequented roads. I suppose there are certain limits in all countries to the freedom a woman allows herself, that is to say, if she is wise. For she knows that she cannot always trust herself; she knows that she is weak sometimes, and she protects herself accordingly. She is timid, with a delightful timidity that fears, because it half understands; she is brave, with the bravery of a girl who knows that as long as she keeps within certain limits she is safe. Do not suppose that they ever do, or ever can, allow themselves that freedom of action that men have; it is an impossibility. Girls are very carefully looked after

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562 by their mothers, and wives by their husbands; and they delight in observing the limits which experience has indicated to them. There is a funny story which will illustrate what I mean. A great friend of mine, an officer in government service, went home not very long ago and married, and came out again to Burma with his wife. They settled down in a little up-country station. His duties were such as obliged him to go very frequently on tour far away from his home, and he would be absent ten days at a time or more. So when it came for the first time that he was obliged to go out and leave his wife behind him alone in the house, he gave his head-servant very careful directions. This servant was a Burman who had been with him for many years, who knew all his ways, and who was a very good servant. He did not speak English; and my friend gave him strict orders.

'The mistress,' he said, 'has only just come here to Burma, and she does not know the ways of the country, nor what to do. So you must see that no harm comes to her in any way while I am in the jungle.'

Then he gave directions as to what was to be done in any eventuality, and he went out.

He was away for about a fortnight, and when he returned he found all well. The house had not caught fire, nor had thieves stolen anything, nor had there been any difficulty at all. The servant had looked after the other servants well, and my friend was well pleased. But his wife complained.

'It has been very dull,' she said, 'while you were away. No one came to see me; of all the officers

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562 here, not one ever called. I saw only two or three ladies, but not a man at all.'

And my friend, surprised, asked his servant how it was.

'Didn't anyone come to call?' he asked.

'Oh yes,' the servant answered; 'many gentlemen came to call—the officers of the regiment and others. But I told them the thakin was out, and that the thakinma could not see anyone. I sent them all away.'

562 576 At the club that evening my friend was questioned as to why in his absence no one was allowed to see his wife. The whole station laughed at him, but I think he and his wife laughed most of all at the careful observances of Burmese etiquette by the servant; for it is the Burmese custom for a wife not to receive in her husband's absence. Anyone who wants to see her must stay outside or in the veranda, and she will come out and speak to him. It would be a grave breach of decorum to receive visitors while her husband is out.

562 So that even a Burmese woman is not free from restrictions — restrictions which are merely rules founded upon experience. No woman, no man, can ever free herself or himself from the bonds that even a young civilization demands. A freedom from all restraint would be a return, not only to savagery, but to the condition of animals—nay, even animals are bound by certain conventions.

000 The higher a civilization, the more conventions are required; and freedom does not mean an absence of rules, but that all rules should be founded on experience and common sense.

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562 There are certain restrictions on a woman's actions which must be observed as long as men are men and women women. That the Burmese woman never recognizes them unless they are necessary, and then accepts the necessity as a necessity, is the fact wherein her freedom lies. If at any time she should recognize that a restriction was unnecessary, she would reject it. If experience told her further restrictions were required, she would accept them without a doubt.

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CHAPTER XVI

WOMEN—III

'For women are very tender-hearted.'
Wethandaya.

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'YOU know, thakin,' said a man to me, 'that we say sometimes that women cannot attain unto the great deliverance, that only men will come there. We think that a woman must be born again as a man before she can enter upon the way that leads to heaven.'

'Why should that be so?' I asked. 'I have looked at the life of the Buddha, I have read the sacred books, and I can find nothing about it. What makes you think that?'

He explained it in this way: 'Before a soul can attain deliverance it must renounce the world, it must have purified itself by wisdom and meditation from all the lust of the flesh. Only those who have done this can enter into the Great Peace. And many men do this. The country is full of monks, men who have left the world, and are trying to follow in the path of the great teacher. Not all these will immediately attain to heaven, for purifi-

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562 775 cation is a very long process; but they have entered into the path, they have seen the light, if it be even a long way off yet. They know whither they would go. But women, see how few become nuns! Only those who have suffered such shipwreck in life that this world holds nothing more for them worth having become nuns. And they are very few. For a hundred monks there is not one nun. Women are too attached to their home, to their fathers, their husbands, their children, to enter into the holy life; and, therefore, how shall they come to heaven except they return as men? Our teacher says nothing about it, but we have eyes, and we can see.'

562 792 All this is true. Women have no desire for the holy life. They cannot tear themselves away from their home-life. If their passions are less than those of men, they have even less command over them than men have. Only the profoundest despair will drive a woman to a renunciation of the world. If on an average their lives are purer than those of men, they cannot rise to the heights to which men can. How many monks there are—how few nuns! Not one to a hundred.

562 782 Yet in some ways women are far more religious than men. If you go to the golden pagoda on the hilltop and count the people kneeling there doing honour to the teacher, you will find they are nearly all women. If you go to the rest-houses by the monastery, where the monks recite the law on Sundays, you will find that the congregations are nearly all women. If you visit the monastery without the gate you will see many visitors bringing little presents, and they will be women.

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'Thakin, many men do not care for religion at all, but when a man does do so, he takes it very seriously. He follows it out to the end. He becomes a monk, and surrenders the whole world. But with women it is different. Many women, nearly all women, will like religion, and none will take it seriously. We mix it up with our home-life, and our affections, and our worldly doings; for we like a little of everything.' So said a woman to me. 562 782

Is this always true? I do not know, but it is very true in Burma. Nearly all the women are religious, they like to go to the monastery and hear the law, they like to give presents to the monks, they like to visit the pagoda and adore Gaudama the Buddha. I am sure that if it were not for their influence the laws against taking life and against intoxicants would not be observed as stringently as they are. So far they will go. As far as they can use the precepts of religion and retain their home-life they will do so; as it was with Yathodaya so long ago, so it is now. But when religion calls them and says, 'Come away from the world, leave all that you love, all that your heart holds good, for it is naught; see the light, and prepare your soul for peace,' they hold back. This they cannot do; it is far beyond them. 'Thakin, we *cannot do so.* It would seem to us terrible,' that is what they say. 562 779

A man who renounces the world is called 'the great glory,' but not so a woman.

I have said that the Buddhist religion holds men and women as equal. If women cannot observe its laws as men do, it is surely their own fault if they be held the less worthy.

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Women themselves admit this. They honour a man greatly who becomes a monk, not so a nun. Nuns have but little consideration. And why? Because what is good for a man is not good for a woman; and if, indeed, renunciation of the world be the only path to the Great Peace, then surely it must be true that women must be born again.

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was the chain that bound them together. Had it 586
not been for that they would have been divorced 177
long ago; for they had never agreed very well, and both sides had bitter grounds for complaint. They would have been divorced, and both could have gone their own way. But now, what was to be done?

That is one of my memories: this is another.

There was a girl I knew, the daughter of a man 428
who had made some money by trading, and when 562
the father died the property was divided according to law between the girl and her brother. She was a little heiress in her way, owning a garden, where grew many fruit-trees, and a piece of rice land. She had also a share in a little shop which she managed, and she had many gold bracelets and fine diamond earrings. She was much wooed by the young men about there, and at last she married. He was a 586
young man, good-looking, a sergeant of police, and 593
for a time they were very happy. And then trouble came. The husband took to bad ways. The knowledge that he could get money for nothing was too much for him. He drank and he wasted her money, and he neglected his work, and at last he was dismissed from government employ. And his wife got angry with him, and complained of him to the neighbours; and made him worse, though she was at heart a good girl. Quickly he went from bad to worse, until in a very short time, six months, I think, he had spent half her little fortune. Then she began to limit supplies—the husband did no work at all—and in consequence he began to neglect her; they had many quarrels, and her tongue was sharp, and matters got worse and worse until they

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Divorce is a dissolution of that partnership. A Burman would not ask, 'Were they married?' but, 'Are they man and wife?' And so with divorce, it is a cessation of the state of marriage. 586 779

Elders tell me that women ask for divorce far more than men do. 'Men have patience, and women have not,' that is what they say. For every little quarrel a woman will want a divorce. 'Thakin, if we were to grant divorces every time a woman came and demanded it, we should be doing nothing else all day long. If a husband comes home to find dinner not cooked, and speaks angrily, his wife will rush to us in tears for a divorce. If he speaks to another woman and smiles, if he does not give his wife a new dress, if he be fond of going out in the evening, all these are reasons for a breathless demand for a divorce. The wives get cross and run to us and cry, "My husband has been angry with me. Never will I live with him again. Give me a divorce." Or, "See my clothes, how old they are. I cannot buy any new dress. I will have a divorce." And we say, "Yes, yes; it is very sad. Of course, you must have a divorce; but we cannot give you one to-night. Go away, and come again in three days or in four days, when we have more time." And they go away, thakin, and they do not return. Next day it is all forgotten. You see, they don't know what they want; they turn with the wind—they have no patience.' 586 562 157

Sometimes they repent too late. Here is another of my memories about divorce: 586 573

There was a man and his wife, cultivators, living in a small village. The land that he cultivated

352 TAUNG thick. The door had two leaves to it and one mirror. However, this cupboard had fallen into disuse as a receptacle for clothes, the family preferring to keep their clothing in teak boxes. The other cupboard had no mirror and was used to store crockery in. It measured 2 TAUNG wide, three TAUNGS high and little less than one TAUNG thick.

There were also two huge boxes both of which had been received as a bequest from his father. They were very heavy and needed two people to lift each of them. Each measured one TAUNG and five fingers long, one TAUNG broad, and one TAUNG high. Each had four legs two inches high. They were identical and both were used for clothing.

There was also a round table with four legs about two feet tall and with a diameter of two feet. This U Myaing bought in Rangoon for Rs. 3/8.

[291] A special basket was kept for storing women's HTA-MEINS (outer
[562] feminine nether garments). The Burmese do not allow mixture of
[651] women's and men's clothing. They had one of these baskets with lid in Pathwe. It was bought in Pantanaw and cost them 12 annas.

353 The following bric-a-brac is reported:- a porcelain duck and a
415 porcelain rooster which had been handed down for two or three generations and had been used as a receptacle for trinkets and other small articles; a glass elephant also about a hundred years old with drawers to contain trinkets.

The following items are containers which may be regarded as household furnishings: betel box about a hundred years old with a diameter
[251] of about twelve inches; a clay water jug overlaid with porcelain, also a hundred years old; two huge vessels for HSOON, one costing Rs. 25/- and lasting twenty years, and the other costing Rs. 15/- and lasting 13 years.

[796] These vessels were used when the family went to the KYAUNG to observe the sacred days. On such days HSOON for the whole family would be carried in these vessels. A KYAUK KAR food carrier woven of HNEK, (pith of the fibre used for mat weaving and overlaid with KYAUK KAR) cost Rs. 8/- and was used for about thirteen years. Five huge
[251] earthenware jars each 3½ feet in diameter and 3 feet high, and three small jars were used to store fish. Each of the large jars cost Rs. 30/- and the small ones cost Rs. 4/8.

it out to dry in the sun throughout the next day, then pound again and store in jars. The total process takes two days." 251 263

U Myaing continues his explanation of the IN fishery:-

"The fishery is worked on a co-operative basis. We contribute equal sums of money. If one puts up Rs. 100/- all put up Rs.100/-; if Rs.1000/- all put up Rs.1000/- each. We group together and work. Rights to the site of the fishery must be secured from the government by auction. We have to make an initial payment of about Rs. 1000/- or Rs. 2000/- and in bidding among ourselves the price increases to eight thousand, nine thousand, ten thousand, twelve thousand. The original price was three thousand rupees. This is the cost of the Deputy Commissioner's auction. There were many bidders at the auction for the IN. Four, five, six. For example if I give a thousand rupees you offer two thousand, he gives three, four, five thousand ..... When it comes to the hand of the successful bidder the price has increased. The money for the fishery rights have to be paid in later (after the fishing has begun). For example if I pay in a thousand rupees this month, I pay a thousand the next month and the next, in several instalments. This is in addition to the amount we sink into the actual working of the business. (Cost of constructing the IN and equipment). 226 474 463

"The fishermen do not get paid a salary. They have shares. Accounts are kept of how much fish is caught, how much sold, and only after the IN has been worked to the end of the season is everything cleared up. Each fisherman gets only one share, and the profits are equally divided. We have to pay equal amounts of money for the IN and the money we get from the IN is the same for each of us. We all group and work together. There are some INS where one takes the lead and engages all the men and works it for himself. What he gets he keeps for himself. He pays the wages. In selling, we discuss the matter among ourselves and then sell. The four or five elders get together and if they decide to sell this kind of fish for this price, it is sold.

"As one of the elders, I go alone and bid at the auctioning in the Deputy Commissioner's office. I also supervise the actual fishing saying to the other fishermen - "Do this, and this and this." I have a list of what things they need and have to go and buy these things for them. I have to buy poles, I have to buy THIN bamboo, I have to buy all the implements which are to be used. I have to collect money, and buy all the implements used in the IN. I have to keep accounts for this. I get a bit more money (than the other fishermen) by making goods (from the profits of manufacture). You see, I also make dried Nga-gyi fish and Ngapi-daung. I buy the fish from them and process it. I have not worked at INS all my life. I worked for about ten years at the time when the British king reigned. When the Japanese came I worked at INS no longer."(He then bought fish and sold the preparations.) [656] 226 463 621

U Myaing gives the following supplementary information:

" There are ten leaders or foremen in the village, each of them taking charge of about seven or eight men. In all there are about eighty workers in the three sub-villages of Pathee working with me at our IN. About thirty or forty of these live in THA-GYI-BET on our side of the river. These are men working at our IN only. There are also workers living in the village who work in the six other INS of the neighbourhood. About a hundred of the two hundred families in THA-GYI-BET work INS. The rest process the fish, dry it, make ngapi etc., and to do this they have to buy the fish from the IN workers. Afterwards they sell to buyers who come from Upper Burma. Or sometimes they go upcountry in boats and steamers to sell the produce. Some people who are not IN workers go to the INS and help to extract fish oil. Fish like Nga-Hpare-daung yeild about one viss of oil to every 10 viss of fish. The fish are cut open with a knife and the fat collected. The women come and help without payment and take home oil for themselves when they go back. The women of my household also used to do this. [438] [562]

The daily work schedule of U Myaing while he was working as a fish processor (2 months in a year) was as follows:- 512 461 264

He rose at four or five in the morning said his prayers, drank plain tea, had boiled beans, fried fish and rice left over from the previous day's evening meal. After that he went to collect fish, bring it to the bank and start work on it. He rested from 11 o'clock to 2 o'clock. At two he resumed work till about five when he would be finished for the day, Sometimes he would sleep at the work place after returning home for his evening meal.

Work in the Refugee Camp.

Shortly after arriving at the Camp U Myaing worked in Sulian Park near the Kokine market where a factory for spinning and weaving cloth was being set up. The contractor was Chinese, and he engaged between 30 to 35 labourers every day. These labourers were unskilled and they were employed in levelling the ground and laying the foundation of the factory. Most of the labourers were Indians - there being only two Burmans, U Myaing and Ma Aye Myaing got Rs. 2/-. The working hours stretched from eight in the morning to 12 noon, with a break of one hour at 12. At one o'clock they resumed work and continued until five in the evening. In the mornings they had to go to the factory by themselves, and this took them about a half hour walk. Sometimes they were sent home in a truck in the evenings. U Myaing had to enquire each day at various places for a chance to work. He was not always successful. 722 461 464 331

It was not usual for Ma Aye Myaing to come along like this to work as a labourer. This was the first time she did so. Ma Aye Myaing said that in future she would accompany U Myaing whenever there are prospects of such work. They knew that women worked in this way, but had not known that such work was available. [562]

As a matter of fact, I met U Myaing through the mats which were made in his camp. We got dinner place mats through him. These are rectangular 1½ feet by 2 feet mats of finelywoven split cane in an over 2 - under 2 pattern. They cost Rs. 2/8 each. U Myaing arranged for the making of these mats and collected the money for them, but 285 437

285 they were made by friends. Ma Aye Myaing and Daw Aw Zar appear to
437 specialize in the larger mats such as used for sleeping. Mat making appears to be an occupation which in ordinary times is unimportant but is is relied heavily upon in bad times.

461 The children are put to work around the house and in processing
562 the fish at an early age. Just recently U Myaing's eldest daughter
561 left school to learn a trade. She left one month ago from the fourth
[277] standard, to learn cheroot rolling. In another month's time she will
874 have learnt how. She does not have to pay any fees - neither is she
[294] paid for her help. She lives with her aunt (U Myaing's sister) and has her meals there. Near their house there is also an embroidery shop which is owned by her aunt. At night U Myaing's daughter is taught embroidery and sewing by her aunt. The owner of the cheroot rolling shop is not a relative, but the women who work there are aunts and grand-aunts of the girl. When she has learnt the trade, then she will be paid between two and three rupees a day on piece work basis.

463 At present (May 1951) U Myaing is working as a sweeper in the
363 Rangoon Municipality on a monthly wage of Rs. 80/-. There is an over-
512 seer placed over him every day. U Myaing's main job is to keep one street in town clean. He leaves his house at six and arrives at the overseer's by half past six and there a roll-call is taken of about a hundred of them. At seven he begins on his street and stops at about half-eight to go to answer the roll-call (see below for rest of schedule). He has personal contact only with the overseer, the doctor and the WUNDAUK (official). All three of them go around the town to see if they work hard enough. The WUNDAUK also comes everyday to witness the roll-call. "If we do not do good work we shall be dismissed. Everything is in their hands. But they do so after two or three warnings. We do not possess any rights at all. Sometimes offenders are sent to other streets that require harder labour."

U Myaing's street is located in Myeni-gon, and he has to clean the street of dirt as well as clean the drains on either side.

His daily schedule at present is as follows: He rises at 4, washes his face and cleans his teeth, says his prayers and then has plain tea which Ma Aye Myaing has prepared for him. At six he leaves

the husband is too old to work. Aged parents are invariably respected but those who can still support themselves are "worshipped". Parents do not rely on their sons who have their own families to support but feel that their daughters will always "bring them a cup of curry". 461 554 454 888

The third urge is to have wealth to donate to the Buddhist church. This is regarded as a sound investment since it not only brings a most satisfying honour especially in old age (to be a "pagoda giver") but also counts as merit credited to the individual's account in eternity. 461 554 735 775

Competition is keenly felt between individuals and families of the same occupation group or adjacent groups but not between the lower and upper classes. An exception is where family traditional land has changed hands - and hard feelings may persist. A carpenter's family does not envy and covet the riches of a government official's family. His lot is due to KARMA and even if he wished to attain such fortune it would be beyond his abilities. More important, it is not expected of him. So the carpenter is content with cheap jewelry for his women and an occasional gold coin - but the pattern is the same as for the upper class. However among the individuals and families of an occupation level there is much rivalry for the benefits wealth can bring. It is a point of pride to have the largest diamonds at a social function, and to give the biggest pagoda. Wives brag that their husbands "prevent the hairs of their hands from singeing" - that they have servants to cook. Rank and recognition are based on these considerations. 565 477 554 461

The women of the family exert powerful influence in financial matters and are respected for their sound judgement. Women's occupations include cigar manufacturing, pottery making, and especially shop keeping. 461 562 463

The beginning of an enterprise is conditioned by the wisdom of the ancients and especially the date and place which are given by formula in the Burmese calendar. There are NEI-NAZA (day king of) "fortunate days" and PYAD-NHADA "unlucky days". For example the calendar announces that Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays of a particular month are fortunate days to begin enterprises, and other days either unfortunate or neutral. Rangoon sophisticates (but never villagers) tell such stories as this: Two phongyis travelled by boat; the first boarded the boat on a fortunate day to begin travelling. The next day the boat came to the second phongyi's village. This was an unfortunate 777 461

Analysis of wearing a parel used by U Myaing's family.

291 Fifty three items of wearing apparel and personal accoutrement
511 were recorded. These are divided into three large catagories:

178 (1) Objects used in Pathwe but not in camp.
(2) Objects used in camp but not in Pathwe.
722 (3) Objects used in both localities.

Twenty nine items used in Pathwe were not used in camp. 55% of the Pathwe complex had been discontinued for a variety of reasons. The bulk of the objects were not replaced due to lack of funds. Many items such as umbrellas, towels, leather sandals were needed and desired. Some objects, such as men's jackets, headbands, silk longyis and associated underwear pants, men's bamboo hats, men's hair dressing comb, jewelry and parasols are recognized as luxury items. Both the ceremonial and social occasions in which such luxuries assumed the proportions of necessities had diminished or disappeared so that the desire for them is no longer as strong. This is reflected in the statements that some of the luxuries were no longer desired (hair dressing) or that smaller quantities (silk longyis) would be adequate.

It is interesting to note that whereas both U Myaing and the ladies had the same number of items in Pathwe (26 respectively) - in camp U Myaing has only 7 items or 28% of the Pathwe complex. The ladies, however, have 16 items or 59% of the Pathwe complex. This data suggests that the women's standards are less flexible than
•[562] the men's. In order to be respectable the women have to have certain items. Whereas, U Myaing's demand depends more on his immediate
[183] situation. If this is so, then it follows that the men's standard might expand more rapidly under opulent conditions - with sets of special socio-ceremonial garb (headband, silk longyi, jacket, jewelry including western items(Gillette razor, topee, western jackets and shirts).

Only three objects were used in camp but not in Pathwe. The
[177] rubber-tyred wooden sandals are simply new varieties of an old form used in Pathwe - a cheap and popular urban form due to abundance of tyre-rubber following the war. The earrings with white stones and set of silver buttons are also substitute varieties, not innovations.

of clothes. The old people take care to save the torn garments for use in wiping the hands after meals, for handling hot pots on the stove and the like. 291 554 181

There are three classes of clothing (1) working clothes (2) festive dress, and (3) religious dress. The working clothes consist of the cheaper and less ornate fabrics and are mainly of cotton. The men usually bind the longyi around the loins by looping the shirt in a band between the legs. Htamein (women's longyi) waist band is secured under the armpits when bathing. 291 292

While walking in the rain the longyis are also raised to prevent them from becoming wet. Festive dress involves the best which one has, usually silks and are worn on the Sabbath days and at special social occasions as the SHIN BYA and other ceremonies. Religious dress is worn constantly by Pongyis (orange robes), nuns (peach coloured) and frequently by old men (white) and old women (light chocolate coloured). On Sabbath days the particularly religious individuals of all ages, especially those belonging to Buddhist lay societies, wear religious dress. 291 779 [575]

The term LONGYI means "lower apparel" and is applied to both men's (PUSO) and women's (HTAMEIN). The men's festive longyi TAUNG-SHAY-PUSO (taung measurement- twenty-puso) worn frequently in the past and now reserved for special occasions was a double silk PUSO 8 yards long. A special method of securing this garment about the waist results in GABON ZA ("Sticking out piece") a fold which protrudes 6 or more inches in the midline - only, however, when the silk is crisp and stiff (new and/or finest heavy quality). This is regarded as a very manly garment. Two styles of APAW KINGYI (over jacket) men's jacket are worn. The "Peking" type meeting at the mid-line is most common. A "Cantonese" type buttons over like the women's jacket at the side. 291 292

Formerly every young man had tattooed thighs, extending in a solid band of decoration from a few inches above the knees to the hips. The motifs were frequently nat symbols. The main purpose was to display manliness and courage since the process of tatooing, done with a 3-pronged fork dipped in pigment was extremely painful. 304 562 178

304 The custom is dying out today; but, in the villages, the teen-age boy
●562 frequently, on the encouragement of their family submit to the tattoo-
178 ing of a small area on the thigh. These decorations seen when the longyis are wrapped high were regarded as essentiall and those without them were openly criticised.

[751] A second type of tattooing consisting of potent symbols were, as still are, placed on the inner arm, back, or high forehead as a means of magical protection against harm. Snake, knife, cudgel and bullet proof motifs are common. Young girls frequently have the inner arm tattooed with such a charm.

838 Homo-sexuals are known as MEIN MA SHA ("women-half") and are
826 recognized by their effeminate gestures, "pretty" locks and clothing. They frequently wear THANAKHA face powder, tie their longyis in a simple tucked-in fold, and wear jewelry like the women. They are rare in villages but have banded together into a society in Rangoon. They appear to be tolerated but are scorned.

It is beleived that individuals known as MIN-TEE-PON-LAIN-HNEH-PON-LAIN ("Female sex- 2 sexes") exist . These persons are supposed to be alternately a man for one month, and a woman for the following
[775] month in a complete process of transformation. Both the MEIN MA SHA and these individuals result from illicit seduction activities in a previous existence - the MEIN MA SHA being the less sinful of the two

792 The PONGYI dress consist of orange cotton cloth - one garment
291 being a longyi with a folled tie at the waist; the other a wide band
293 drapped as a robe. When begging the PONGYIS have a special arrangement of the robe which wraps the left arm and covers the neck region. The nuns wear a robe garment over a longsleeved KINGHI jacket of the same colour. They are frequently seen with a scarf folded on the head. Both orders carry orange-cloth (lacquered) parasols on long bamboo shafts, a string of beads and large palm leaf fans. The Pongyis carry leather bags suspended on a shoulder strap for personal effects. PONGYI slippers have a square toe, are made of stiff leather with reinforded soles.

[887] Religious women (including old women) wear chocolate coloured HTAMEINS, KINGYIS and carry a PUWA (a narrow scarf 4 of 5 feet in

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on top of the head. Scented hair oil is used by both sexes on special occasions.

The HTAMEIN is regarded as "unworthy" for a man to touch. A severe insult is for a wife to request her husband to bring her HTAMEIN or to wash it. Drying HTAMEINS in the front of the house is never allowed; and it is strictly forbidden for this garment to touch any pongyi utensils. Parents instruct their boys never to pass under the strings of a line of which HTAMEINS are drying as such is thought to take away the masculine powers, and render the tattooed charms ineffective. Men and women's clothes are washed and stored separately.

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When a son neglects his mother after marriage she will complain with rage that he has not come out of the HTAMEIN and is under the HTAMEIN government of his wife.

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Women usually wear solid black HTAMEINS during menstruation. Boys, in jest, inform one of their companions that he may now become serious when the girl of his choice appears in a black dress for the first time.

Slippers of both sexes are regarded as "dirty" objects and are left outside of the houses. They are strictly prohibited in pagoda enclosures and land. When a girl is angry at a teasing boy (or quarreling with a woman) she will threaten to slap his face with her sandal. This is a double insult since the head is regarded as a particularly sacred part of the body. Barbers must ask permission and apologise for touching the heads of their customers.

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Western clothing has a higher status than Burmese clothing in certain situations and on certain occasions especially where western people are present in suits. However, for most occasions, everyday or special, the Burmese costume is preferred. When abroad the Burmese man usually wear western garb. The wearer of western clothes

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is often open to the taunt that he is "Bo Gyi (term for Englishman) made in Burma". There is a strong feeling in all cases to be "properly" dressed and not to stand out from the rest of the group. This tendency is stronger in men than women who with their jewels and fine silks attempt to rival each other in a contest for social position.

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Burmese girl students who go abroad almost invariably wear their native costumes.

Westernization is invading the woman's sphere more slowly than the man's. However, the use of lipstick is now appearing among the upperclass or town people - along with modern brassieres and nylon HINGYIS with short sleeves. This is deplored by the more conservative as too revealing. The hair is shorter than formerly though the styles are only modified-western hairtype. A most important influence in the westernization of dress of the upper classes have been the American films.

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796 hold contributes as much as it wants to from one anna to eight annas. If more money is needed, people who have money contribute more. These offerings are given so as to keep danger away. It is not for merit. We don't know about that. One thing is certain; epicemics like plague and cholera never visited our village, and we have not had a single case of dacoity in our village in my whole lifetime.

"The headman makes the necessary arrangements, buys the black rice, coconuts, jaggery, Burmese tea leaves, candles, bananas, and places them on the special place prepared for them.

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791 "We have not seen any person here in Rangoon being possessed
796 by spirits, but we did have acquaintances in Pantanaw who were possessed, he loses consciousness of himself as a human being. He begins to tremble, and the Nat begins to speak through his mouth. I don't believe in the other Nats, but I do believe in U SHIN GYI because of the testimony of my own eyes. In the districts we place offerings to U SHIN GYI on a small bamboo framework made of four little bamboos each with a diameter about the size of your fountain pen. This framework is held together with pith of the nat fibre plant (MWEE). Sometimes sceptical people take a hand when the framework is being put up, and tie the MWEE very lightly, so as to break very easily. As a result the TAUNG high framework is so flimsy that it would collapse even if a bird were to jump on it. But the strange thing is that when a person becomes possessed and leaps onto the alter and dances about - nothing happens. In this condition, a person may perform on the harp (SAUNG) even though in his ordinary waking life he does not know how to play it. He also dances on glass tumblers. This took place before the whole of our family, together with about a hundred other spectators. Ko Ba THin's son, Htun Ngwe, who is of the same build as myself, leaped onto the bamboo framework and began eating the food laid out on it. On that occasion we had
[562] been expecting Ma Kyin Yone to be possessed, but she did not appear because her husband would not allow her to come. We had invited her to come because she had been possessed before. In our village these two were the only people who were possessed. The man was possessed once, and the woman about six times. On these occasions the whole village turns out to watch.

"The altar is built on the evening previous to the ceremony. It is made of two levels, and is about 4 TAUNG square and one TAUNG high, and is used to hold 37 plates, each holding plantains, black rice, coconuts, jaggery, LAPHET (Burmese pickled tea), etc. The elder in charge then prays to the 37 Nats including U SHIN GYI for help. This ceremony has nothing to do with the phongyis, and the village phongyi is not invited. The two spheres are entirely different. The phongyi does not worship the nats. The systems of belief are entirely different. We worship both. The spirit does not appear at every ceremony - only when there is someone to possess. We had relied on Khin Yone but she did not appear and Htun Ngwe was possessed instead.

"When the nat spoke through Htun Ngwe we asked him about himself and his past life, but he refused to say anything, saying that it made him sad to think back on it.(the possessing nat's past). When the person recovered and we questioned him, he could not remember anything of all that had occured while he was in the trance. In the whole district there are only four or five people who have been ever possessed, and so the majority of people in the district have not witnessed a single case of possession of Nats.

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796 "U SHIN GYI avoids eating flesh, does not drink liquor, and even when eating betel does not put tabacco (HSE) in his mouth. Out of all the food that is offered to him, the nat partakes only of a little of the black rice, the remainder being shared by the members of the village. Enough food is prepared to feed the whole village, and a crier is sent through the village to announce a general invitation to everyone. When food has been

must be getting a lot of demerit.

He then had to say something about the women's clothes in Rangoon. In Pathwe the girls did not dare to dress in these fashions. "I do not even dare to look at some of them." In Pathwe village there were no such things as girls with short sleeves, etc. Only the girls who had been to town affected them. The majority wore KIN-GYIS of thick material. In Rangoon one sometimes has the feeling that one is looking at little dolls".

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U Myaing considers that there is a greater variety of means of earning money here. In Pathwe there were only a few ways in which one could earn money and these were almost wholly confined to working fish and paddy and their by products. There was of course frequent interchange of goods with people from other villages inland and with boats from Upper Burma.

U Myaing has been in Rangoon before and had seen the electric tramway and things that the others in the family had not seen before, but even he has seen comparatively little. The others have not seen so manydifferent kinds of automobiles, they have never seen the trains, rickshaws, pony-carts etc.

In the matter of clothing, they find a difference between Pathwe and Rangoon even in hair styles and in making up the face. U Myaing thinks that the people in Rangoon have inverted the order of things. According to him, a man can stay undressed except for a longyi and it can remain acceptable, while girls must wear clothing of thick material. This was the case in Pathwe, whereas in Rangoon men wear thick clothing and women wear garments made out of sheer material.

The life of Rangoon is beginning to influence girls who come from the villages, and they are beginning to imitate their sisters in town in the use of short sleeved jackets, lipstick and "waves". In Pathwe the usual facial make up is to daub the whole face with THANAT-KHA cream and leave it to dry. In Rangoon THANAT-KHA is used only as a powder base. Even Ma Aye Myaing has now a jacket which has sleeves that are elbow long.

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In Rangoon, the men's garments are of better quality. In Pathwe during the hot season the men stayed without any shirts on,

369 and women too did the same, and wore their HTAMEINS breast high.
291 Here except for the refugees, he does not see much of this except when
562 people are bathing in the public water hydrants. When it is hot the men wear T shirts and the women wear light garments.

369 U Myaing says that the ordinary city dweller cannot do as much
464 hard labour as the average villager. For example, he cannot carry
461 a bag of rice on his shoulders if suddenly called upon to do so.

The workers from Rangoon are much more acute than the workers from the village. They speak and understand English and Hindustani and so get to know of any possible job long before the others. The villagers do not have these advantages, and so have to join work only later and they are placed to work under them.

563 As far as U Myaing is concerned, there is no racial animosity
464 towards Indians and workers of other races. This is due to the fact that there is no racial discrimination on the part of the employers, the first suitable applicant being given the work.

369 He finds that Rangoon has a much more equable climate than
132 Pathwe. In Rangoon it is not as cold as in Pathwe, where in the cold season it was very cold even though they lived in a proper house and kept all the doors and windows shut. He says that they would not be able in Pathwe to live in an open dwelling like they do at present.

369 Their relatives in Rangoon keep to themselves a great deal.
571 They work on their own and earn on their own. In Rangoon each family
602 has only sufficient for itself. "We cannot help them financially and neither can they help us much. When we go on a visit they can invite us to join in a meal or to partake of sweet tea, but they would not be able to lend us fifty or a hundred rupees. In Pathwe we could lend each other any amount up till a thousand five hundred rupees and that free of interest. These loans also need to be repaid only when it is convenient to the debtor. It would be inconvenient to have to repay a loan while the money was in the form of goods."

159 U Myaings eldest daughter has returned to the camp because the
369 woman who owns the cheroot rolling business has temporarily closed it
602 down and gone to Pantanaw with goods like onions, prawns and textiles. Since the girl is not sufficiently dexterous to find work elsewhere as

21: Htin Aung . E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

In characterization, the play is a great advance on Rama

536* and on the Siamese original of *Aindarountha*. There, as in the
178 Sanskrit plays, the depiction of character was almost unknown. Rama was the perfect hero, Sita a lifeless damsel, Ravana a boastful villain. In Myawaddi's *Eenaung* the hero is shown to be full of faults, otherwise he is still lifeless and uninteresting as Rama. However, the characters of the women, the various loves of the prince, are well portrayed. True, the women pass swiftly through the play, often the interesting heroine never appears again after but one scene, and there is no character development; but the play is a rich portrait gallery where we see live women, who must have laughed and sorrowed at the court. The Sanskrit plays were written by men who did not or could not write of the miseries women suffered at the court, as the king's wives. They wrote from the point of view of men, and they would have it that to be the king's beloved was to reach the limits of womanly happiness. The Siamese court drama followed the Sanskrit
[644] in this respect. In *Eenaung*, however, we have a young courtier sympathizing with the women of the court, gently satirizing the king and showing up the disadvantages of being the king's love. The sorrows and laughter of the court maidens are well shown. Gentle satire, pathos, and light comedy keep the play alive.

The contribution made by *Eenaung* to the development of Burmese drama was no less in importance than that made by *Rama*. Of course *Eenaung* itself owed a great deal to *Rama*, but without Myawaddi's play, it seems rather doubtful that *Rama* could have done so much for Burmese drama, for the interest in human psychology and character, so essential to good drama, was absent in *Rama*. Moreover, *Eenaung* taught the Court to break away from the Siamese tradition and to develop a native drama with borrowings from and imitations of the Siamese court drama. Because many of the incidents in the play were invented by the author and not borrowed from the original Siamese court romance, it also pointed out the possibilities of an invented story as the subject of a play. In short, Myawaddi paved the way for the coming of U Kyin U and U Pon Nya.

Eenaung at once inspired others to imitate it. Many plays modelled on it were written by courtiers and produced at court. Although, unfortunately, none of these plays has come down to us, extracts in the form of dramatic speeches and songs have come down, and from those we can be certain that many of the court plays were not much
● [562] inferior to that of the Minister Myawaddi. The most famous of the imitators was the Lady Khin Sōn, herself a scholar and poet of much

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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renown, whose literary works were worthy rivals in popularity to those of Myawaddi.[1] The native court plays were so popular that even *Rama* soon fell under their sway. Through their influence, the tradition of rigidly following the Siamese version was broken and destroyed, and adaptations of *Rama* in the style of *Eenaung* came to be presented at the Burmese court.

5. The Court Drama Reaches the People

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The latter half of Bodawpaya's reign saw the court drama becoming national instead of being confined to the narrow limits of the palace. The national interest in the drama was now so great that the king had to create a new ministry, that of the stage. The new minister greatly developed the puppet-show, which is described in a later chapter. The drama became a regular entertainment at the court, and a dramatic performance in the palace came to be looked upon as a semi-State function. Not only was the drama now looked upon as a national entertainment at the court, but the court drama itself was being spread all over the country through governors and administrative officials imitating the court and holding little dramatic performances of their own. The greatest gift the court performances gave to the acting profession was to raise its status. The actors were still looked upon with prejudice as being nothing more than beggars, but they were no longer considered as being only a little better than rogues and vagabonds. Many travelling companies also came to be looked upon with less disfavour, for they would style themselves 'the King's actors' or 'those who had acted before such-and-such a minister on such-and-such an occasion'. For their ability many actors were given rewards of money and some sort of decoration, which might be a medal or a special dress, and these the actors would wear during their performances with great pride. The Burmese actors of the period were very much in the same position as those acting companies

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[1] The fact that the Lady Khin Sôn was the rival of Myawaddi in the literary circles of the court, reflects the difference in character, as far as women were concerned, between the Burmese and most other oriental courts. Burmese women have enjoyed equal rights with men from prehistoric times: 'when greater races bound the feet or veiled the faces of their women, or doubted if she had a soul, the Burmese held her free and enthroned her as chieftainess and queen' (Harvey). Perhaps this difference in the atmosphere of the court had much to do with the sympathetic portrayal of women by Myawaddi in his *Eenaung*. In India, the fact that women were given an inferior social position is reflected in the absence of Sanskrit plays by women.

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

536* at dawn. By that time the king recovers his composure and desires no revenge. He inquires whether the executions have taken place, and on learning that the couple still live, he orders that they should only be banished from the kingdom.

This was the first play of U Pon Nya, and we find in it his dramatic art only half-developed. The play is full of faults, and by common consent, it is considered the least artistic of his work. He fails to portray character, and the persons in the play appear to be mere puppets. This fault is seen most clearly in the first two scenes where the brothers speak in turn, without passion, without life. Paduma is very unsatisfactory. He is too good, too inhumanly good. In the earlier scenes, he is absolutely without life. In the third scene, however, where he and his princess are running away to safety, Paduma comes to life, and both appear real and human. After that, he becomes uninteresting again, and he keeps on preaching sermons, which must have been rather boring to his wife. In the last scene he comes to life again. The princess is not so unsatisfactory. It is true that she is portrayed only from the outside, and the sudden change from a good to a wicked women is illogical; but that is what U Pon Nya wants to show. He wants to show that there is no logic in a 536* 562 woman's character. It is bad from the very beginning, and it will always be bad; man should not have any faith in women, and if a man has such faith, he is sure to be soon disillusioned, and he has only himself to blame for such disappointment.

U Pon Nya's chief object in this play is satire, but he fails to achieve his aim, because the satire does not convince us. It is too bitter to convince. His failure is surprising when one remembers that he is the greatest literary satirist in Burmese literature. When he wrote this play, he was already very successful as a satirist. The merit of his best satire is his humour, which prevents any suggestion of bitterness, and yet in *Paduma* humour is absent and bitterness is the chief note. The play by no means expresses the real attitude of the dramatist towards women. It expresses only a temporary mood. He was a great favourite with the ladies of the court, and among his friends and patrons were many women noted for their nobility of character: the chief queen of Mindon, the most loved person at that time, was one of them. Moreover, in his other plays he shows his respect for women; the wife of the water-seller and Ma-di in *Waythandaya* are charming and noble women.

U Pon Nya wrote this play as a warning and admonition to

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

those ladies of the court, junior queens, who were indulging in romantic intrigues with courtiers. It is amusing to reflect that even as a monk, U Pon Nya himself was suspected of having had amorous adventures, and he lost his life through his friendship with the charming ladies of the governor's household. The first performance of the play was received with an uproar of protest on the part of the court-ladies, and they clamoured for the destruction of every copy of the play. But there was much that was new and interesting in it, and the general opinion was that a new dramatist of rich promise had arisen. Therefore the king, before whom the performance was made, did not yield to the clamours of the ladies, but ordered that their request to U Pon Nya asking him to write another play praising the virtues in women, should be complied with. As a result, he wrote *Waythandaya*.

The great merit of the play is in its lyrical qualities (which I am unable to reproduce in my translation). The vigour of the verse, its rhythm, the harmonious and elaborate rhyme scheme, the richness of the imagery, all join together to make this play the most lyrical in Burmese drama. However, these very qualities were the butt of criticism by contemporary critics who, used to the straightforward and clear style of U Kyin U and his imitators, held that too rich a language was a fault in a play, for there would be a danger of conveying wrong or obscure meanings to the audience. As those critics belonged to the 'people's' stage, they were of course thinking of the less learned audience outside the court circles. There is no doubt that in some scenes of *Paduma* the charge of difficulty and obscurity of language is quite justified. For example, when the crocodile and Paduma speak about women loving dogs and pigs, U Pon Nya is speaking only metaphorically, but one realizes it is so only on a second or third reading of the play. But the language in the scene where Paduma and his princess are running away to safety, is as clear as it is beautiful.[1]

3. *The Water-seller*

The story of this play also is taken unchanged from a *Jataka*. A prince returns to his city after a stay at a university in India. As he rests for a few minutes outside the gates, a water-seller enters, and in a soliloquy says that he is just entering the city to sell water and earn

[1] A translation of this play is given in appendix v.

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

Pegu, many English officials asked to be my father's guests, for 536*
although they had been some years in Burma and heard so much of 178
the puppet show, they had never been able to find one. In 1929, on inquiry, I found that there was not one puppet troupe in Lower Burma, though there were two in Upper Burma; of these, only one was giving performances occasionally, the members of the other being content to earn their living by some other means.

Before considering the probable history of the puppet show before 536*
the time of Bodawpaya, it is necessary to give an account of the 101
puppet-shadow show of the east. The home of the puppet show was India. Pischel in *The Home of the Puppet Stage* even contends that the Sanskrit shadow drama preceded the drama proper, but that theory is not accepted by Dr Keith and other scholars. From India, with Hindu expansion overseas, the puppet-shadow show spread, together with the epics and the drama, to Malaya and the East Indies. In Java it found a permanent home, and there shadow drama is still very popular. From Java it spread to Siam and other countries of Indo-China, to Persia, Turkey, Arabia and Japan. Perhaps it even spread to Europe; at least the English Punch is a direct descendant of the Turkish puppet Karageuz, who himself was a descendant of the Sanskrit puppet Vidusaka. To give an idea of the puppet-shadow show, I will give a description of a Java shadow performance.

As 'stage' there is a huge curtain with a light behind it. The puppets are put between the light and the curtain, on which their shadows are thrown. 'The light shines through the transparent material of which his (the puppet's) many-coloured garments are made. His shadow on the curtain glows with such bright hues within the framework of dark shells that he looks like a figure in stained glass. . . . In the middle of the huge curtain is seen a fantastic vine with interlacing branches. Monkeys and birds climb on it, and beneath it two grim guards stand watch. When the play begins, the strange shadow tree vanishes. The stage manager is the *Dalang*. He sits on a mat and gives the play.[1] Back of him is the orchestra to accompany the explanations of the *Dalang*. Whenever a new figure enters the [534]
orchestra plays. The men in the audience are allowed to sit on the right of the *Dalang* and see the actual puppets perform, and the children sit at the *Dalang's* left hand. But the women are not permitted to see the real puppets act. They see only the shadows on the [562]

[1] i.e. he recites the words of the play.

23: Brant & Mi Mi Khaing E, I-5 (1949-1950)1951
AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

593 husband's kinfolk. Post-marital residence is independent and is decided very
[591] largely on the basis of economic opportunity. The wife's opportunities for social intercourse with her family of orientation are, of course, greatest when residence is established in her home village; if, however, a couple from different villages marry and find it most opportune to settle in the husband's community, the
[574] chances are that the wife will maintain contact with her family of orientation by
[582] visits from time to time; such marriages seldom unite persons from villages that are very far apart. The very structural features of bilaterality and absence of extension militate against inequality and male domination.

●562 Burmese culture is frequently remarked for the equality of the sexes, in con-
593 trast to the neighboring cultures of India and China. This status of the sexes seems to be the resultant historically of two patterns of thought. One is an apparently very old, pre-Buddhist emphasis upon equality, involving equal inheri-
[428] tance, equal sharing of the property brought to the marriage, equal division of
[586] property upon divorce, a prominent female role in social and economic life, and an absence of transmission of surnames. The other thought pattern dates from the superimposition of Buddhism upon older Burmese conceptions: whatever
[177] ideas of male superiority exist in Burmese life stem from Buddhist notions of
[775] reincarnation. Although Buddha never expressed himself explicitly on the matter, it is taken for granted that only a male can attain Nirvana, since Gautama Buddha, who attained that state, was a male.

462 In the family household the wife's role includes not only such routine tasks as
592 the preparation of food and serving of meals, keeping the house orderly and clean, and looking after small children; very often it involves control of the family income and the making of all important decisions as to expenditures.

593 Certain observances and taboos, reflective of deference to males, are expected
784 of the female partner in marriage. She is careful that her lower garments do not touch her husband's bed or his personal belongings; she avoids touching her husband's head. It is believed that the breaking of such taboos may ruin the husband's success and glory, especially his spiritual attainments. These injunctions are followed as a matter of course by Burmese wives and will be broken deliberately only as an act of spite by a woman who wishes to harm or lower her husband for some reason.

593 Despite the various equalitarian aspects of husband-wife relations, there is
837 a tendency towards a double standard of sexual behavior. A husband who has reason to believe that his wife is engaging in extra-marital affairs is very likely
[586] to display violent anger, beat her, and break up the marriage. The wife of a

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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16. THE FIRST STEP.

of an inch thick. This custom is on the decline, and the ears of boys are not so generally pierced as they used to be. The *naddung* or women's ear-plug of gold is being replaced by the *nagát* with its slender stem (No. 241). With eldest-born girls the fête is frequently deferred until they are twelve or fourteen, and is then celebrated with all the more splendour (p. 14).

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854 Burman children are not weaned until the second or third year. Nevertheless they begin to receive solid food as soon as they will take it. The illusion prevails that the earlier they do so the stronger they will be. It is a [165] chief source of infant sickness and mortality, and of the smallness of the families reared. A curious feature of Burman sociality is the promiscuous suckling of infants in the circle of relatives and friends.

855 Children's heads are shaved
858 in more or less fanciful ways up
302 to the ages of ten or twelve, after which the hair is allowed to grow long.

858 The road-fronts of the houses
857 are always peopled with children.
524 Children are equals and are free to roam through the neighbours' houses and plots, where they are kindly noticed. Adults take in- [854] terest in their games, and make kites and reels, boats, carts and other simple toys for them.

17. THE WOODEN CRADLE (SAUNGBAN).

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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29. NOVICES MAKING THE ROUND FOR DAILY FOOD (P. 18).

CHAPTER III

ADOLESCENCE

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30. THAMI-U ARRAYED FOR HER FETE.

BETWEEN the ages of ten and sixteen Burman lads enter upon the monastic novitiate, an occasion celebrated with a brilliant fête. The adoption of a religious life by girls is much less general, even for the short time it is embraced by the youths; and when it is adopted, there is no ceremony. But a holiday answering to that of the boy's novitiate is held in honour of the girl, especially when she is the first-born child—*thami-u*. In her case the ear-boring ceremony, if not the piercing itself, is deferred to the age of ten or twelve. The child, equipped in royal attire, or an imitation of it, and wearing a queen's crown (*sibôn*), is the centre of a great gathering of relatives and friends, who are entertained with music and plays.

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The lad who has prepared to renounce the world for a season, or it may be for life, is called *shinláung*. The *shinláung* festivals usher in the religious or lenten season—*wá*, June to September—the season of rain in Bahár,

p. 14

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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27. SHINLAUNG RENEWING HIS PRAYER.

the world, but not from observation by the world. Great as is the homage accorded to him by the laity, a recluse who should disgrace his cloth—a thing almost unknown — would be promptly unfrocked by them.

For their sustenance the novices and regular recluses depend upon alms. They receive these in kind and according to daily need. Their appeal is mute. The morning after his reception the novice with his brethren will halt in front of his own parents' house and the houses of the neighbours to receive such dole of food as is offered (No. 29). He will not look to right or left, but keep his eyes rooted on the ground, making no sign beyond raising the cover of his alms-bowl. The recluse may not ask for anything whatever, nor even express a predilection. The food, ripe or ready-cooked, as the case may be, is doled indiscriminately into the *thabèit* from the east side, usually by a woman of the house. A woman should not stand in the shadow of a recluse, of a shrine, *zedi*, temple or image. She should not occupy an upper floor when a recluse happens to be beneath, nor enter a *Thein*, nor occupy a higher place with respect to men (p. 72). Food given in a religious spirit, as above described, is called *sun*. The recluses when collecting *sun* are generally followed by a couple of scholars bearing a yoke and basket to receive larger offerings on behalf of the monastery (No. 41).

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Those probationers who remain in the monastery for several years—reckoned by Lents (*wa*)—and who aspire to full membership of the Assembly, read with the recluse Pâli texts of the Tripitaka, and the commentaries on these, and commit portions, sometimes whole books of the canon, to memory. Recluses of standing and also laymen take part in these exercises.

28. GOYIN MAKING OBEISANCE.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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85. POTHUDAW.

been brought into a pseudo-connection with Buddhism by certain western neophytes of the Tibetan cult, are unheard of in Burma, which is the stronghold of primitive tradition.

Pôthudaw observe fewer *thila* than *yathé*. They make their appeal with a gong of triangular shape (*kyizi*, Nos. 22, 86), which spins on the string it hangs by, and emits a high and sustained throbbing note. *Pôthudaw* eat in the forenoon only. They accept alms in money and in kind, for which they carry baskets with a shoulder-yoke. They wear a white robe, shave the head, and pluck out the beard. *Pôthudaw* shift for themselves in *zayats* about the temples and seldom remain long in one place.

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Mèthilá are female celibates who observe a rule parallel to that of the *Pôthudaw*. They shave the head. Their robe is like that of the other celibates with the addition of a jacket. The cloth is dyed a faint red. Both they and the *pôthudaw* are generally individuals who have lost their family ties. In some places *kyaungs* are provided for *mèthilá*, where they keep schools for girls. A few are possessed of learning. *Mèthilá* are about as numerous as *pôthudaw*, and both together are about one-tenth to one-twentieth as numerous as *yahán*, and several times more so than *yathé*. There is no class of female recluses answering to *yahán*.

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Payadyún form colonies in the vicinities of the principal shrines and of the cemeteries of large towns. They are the descendants of temple slaves, the condition to which captives in war were reduced both by the Burman and the Taláing races during their incessant

86. METHILA AT WORSHIP.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

183. THE CHALLENGE (see p. 177).

the young wife's home, the lad working for her parents. 591
As family comes and other daughters marry, the elder pairs are established in houses of their own. Married people are designated *ein-daung*—householders. Marriage 581
makes no difference in the names and their prefixes. 592
Everyone marries in Burma; the census of 1891 gave 551
1,306,722 husbands to 1,307,292 wives. The same census 162
gave 102 females to 100 males of the Burman (so classed [548]
as Buddhist) population. (In Burma prostitution is confined to the large towns.) [524]

A family of seven is considered large. The average 592
number of house-occupants is 5.5. The cost of living of 511
a Burman village household is 100 to 200 Rs. a year. In 357
the towns the well-to-do spend 600 to 1000 Rs. and more, 556
and at the present day keep a servant or two for the rough work, generally natives of India. Such accumulations of wealth as are made by individuals in India and other countries with a plutocracy and a proletariate are not paralleled among the Burmans. Nevertheless individuals amass tens of thousands of rupees, which for the most part they spend on works of religious merit. Monogamy is the received and almost universal practice in Burma. Second-wives are taken by a proportion of the officials and men of wealth. Hence it comes that the Burmans wonder more at the moderation of Europeans than at such license as they indulge. This license is not nearly so great as in India, but it is more open, corresponding to the higher status of the women of Burma, and thus it provokes more scandal in comparison. Unions of this sort among the Burmans are merely by mutual consent. A separate establishment in a different quarter of the town is maintained for the second wife or concubine (*maya-ngè*). Her children are under no disability, but she is not acknowledged by the first, and generally older, wife (*mayajì*), whose husband's love she is said to have stolen.

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184. AN "ORIGINAL."

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

000 said to have *stolen*. The vast majority of couples go through life faithfully
586 and helpfully. The best influences of regular family life are developed. The dissolutions of marriage which take place are chiefly on account of incompati-

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155. PLEASURE PARTY BY BOAT.

bility. Sometimes the husband and wife merely drift apart. Such a separation, when of long standing, is accepted and the parties are free to marry again. In acute and irreconcilable differences the parties apply to the elders of the place for divorce. It becomes the elders' duty to make three efforts to dissuade the couple from their purpose. Failing in these, they pronounce separation (*kwè byí*). Pickled tea is eaten, as in the case of the marriage. The boys of the union go with the father, the girls with the mother. Common goods are divided equally; her dower and the proceeds of her independent trade and investments are at the woman's own disposal from first to last. When she can manage—as she often contrives to do—the mother keeps and provides for all her children, but they retain a lien on the father's support. There is no
● 562 woman so well able to shift for herself as the woman of Burma. Her independent status would seem to be the corollary of her independent ability
[517 to manage by herself.
493] Nowhere else is the wife more prized; nowhere is woman better able to make terms with man. Although under the Hindu code of Manú which the Burmans nominally follow, the status of woman is only the Indian

156. PLEASURE PARTY BY CART.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

157. DOMESTIC FLOWER-STAND (NYAUNG-YE-O, pp. 6, 63).

one, no disability of a practical kind exists for her. But it is the aspiration of every woman to transmigrate as a man in the next phase of existence (*bawa*, p. 43). As the state of a man is thought a more desirable one, so it is inferred that her life in the previous incarnation has brought the woman's state upon her. How deep and tender is the poetry which the idea of transmigration weaves into the life of the Buddhist may be judged from the example at the close of Chapter XXIII. of *The Soul of a People*. Orphans are adopted by relatives, and in default of such, never fail to find foster-parents. The division of labour between the sexes is the common one of out-door and in-door. Wherever circumstances permit, women are relieved of hardship; the sheltered places in boats and carts belong to the women and children. The great middle zone of commerce is neutral; women embark in wholesale trade, besides transacting the bulk of the retail trade. In certain localities women do the lighter part of the out-door work, and in the poorer districts of the dry zone they share in the heavy labour. Women are accorded precedence among men according to the standing they have acquired by marriage or by their independent efforts. The *Kyaungmá*—the woman who has founded and who supports a school—enjoys a deference on all sides proportioned to the munificence of her gift. Women mix freely among men but are never jostled by them. At great gatherings men and women group apart. The Burman women are smart at repartee, and hold their own in the perpetual banter that goes on between the sexes.

158. WAYSIDE WATER-STAND IN THE CITY (pp. 31, 63).

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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237. TOWN SILVERSMITH.

of plain gold bangles (*lek-kauk*), and their ear-plugs consist of a roll of sheet-gold coiled to the thickness of a finger. The Burmans admire a red-yellow gold with dull surface. They enhance the effect by a red colouring of the interstices of the work, in the same way as the Chinese do. Neck ornaments (*bayè*) are of several kinds. The commonest one used to be the thick roll of gold filigree, worn in front of the neck. This is now replaced by *bayè* of several chains, for the most part jewelled. On the breast is worn the broad *dalizán*, also formerly of filigree, but now of jewels and pearls. Strings of real and imitation pearls are worn; and jewelled pins and gold or jewelled combs in the hair. Rings are worn on the fingers and gold filigree buttons of the Chinese type on the jackets. The last two are the only ornaments now used by men. Anklets are worn by children.

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Gold and silver coinage on a European model was adopted by the kings of Burma about the middle of the nineteenth century—the "peacock" coins, struck from dies engraved in Paris. Rough coins of lead used to circulate. The coins shown in No. 238 are those of Arakán kings from 1500 to 1750 A.D., from the collection of the late Mr. C. H. White. Before the introduction of coinage,

238. SILVER COINS OF THE ARAKAN KINGS.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

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408. CHINESE DICE (NIDAUNG).

ment associated with sot (*myet-thauk*), next after which is *beinza*—opium-eater. Women do not often play chess or cards; they have a game called *pasit* (beetle-fight), somewhat resembling backgammon.

Games of pure hazard are in great favour, especially at festival times. Chinese and Shan settlers start gambling-dens for the dissolute youth, with Chinese dice (*Nidaung*, *Angalôn*, No. 406), and the thirty-six animal lottery (*ti*, *thônzè-chaukkaung kazâ*), symbols intelligible to every nation and the meanest capacity. For *angalôn* there is a paper or cloth with compartments for six different figures of animals on which money is staked, corresponding to similar figures on a wooden cube, which is shaken in a box.

541 The showmen in Burma are the conjuror and the snake-charmer. The Burman juggler (*myet-hlè sayâ*) makes no pretence of occult powers, not even to children. His name implies that his movements "elude the eye;" but his legerdemain does not attain to the art of the Indian and Chinese jugglers. The snake-charmer, on the other hand (*âlambè sayâ*), pretends to be protected [304] by magic. He is tattooed all over with snakes; he has slits at the side of his tongue which he shows, and in other ways he plays upon credulity. It has been alleged that the snake-men inoculate themselves with the venom, but this is not authenticated, though it is known from the experiments of Calmette and Fraser that immunity can be produced in this way. The cobra (*mwye-hauk*) is exhibited, but only when the hamadryad (*ngan-bôk*), a much larger species of the same family, cannot be procured (p. 96). The snakes are exhibited in their natural

409. BURMAN JUGGLER.

29: Slater M-4 (no date) 1951 APl Burma
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a simple, straightforward affirmation, but it is not denial. No religion could so persist if it merely brought man's elemental aspirations to a sharp cliff and threw them over. 779* 775

5. *Burmese Buddhism*

If there are good reasons for approaching the subject of religious paradox by a study of Buddhism, there are also good reasons for considering Buddhism as it appears in Burma where it is still a living and a dominant religion. 121

In the study of great religious traditions there is always need to maintain a balance between regard for the written texts and for the living expression. To consult one without the other is to misinterpret both. What the Christmas stories in the gospels mean to Christians cannot be fully discerned if they are isolated from Christmas observance any more than the Jātaka stories of Buddhism can be fully appreciated until they are read in the context of popular faith, with its drama and poetry. And what an entirely misleading impression of monastic Buddhism one might get from the Abhidhamma literature unless one has seen something of the life of a Buddhist monastery! This balance, as our Burmese critic observed, has not always been maintained in the study of Southern Buddhism.

Burma provides exceptional opportunities for such a study. "If anybody wants to know and see Buddhism as conceived and preached by the Buddha himself so far as the Saṃgha life goes," says a recent writer, "one can see a nearest approach to it in the monasteries of Burma.... Of all the Indianised lands of South-eastern Asia, Burma is indeed the only country where monastic Buddhism of the Theravāda nikāya survives to this day in its pristine purity."[24] And the same writer emphasises the impact of this monastic life on Burmese life and culture. [792]

In Burma, eighty-five per cent of the inhabitants are Buddhists. Of these, one in every hundred is a Buddhist monk. Go where you will, you find the yellow robe of the Order, the pagoda gleaming white across the plain or on the hillside, the monastery in every village, intimately related to the life of the people. This has been the situation for centuries. Here one can see Buddhism in action; one can try to interpret its symbols in the light of the very real, if rustic, civilisation which it has shaped and maintained. Burma is one of the most interesting countries in the Orient. Its people are literate. There is freedom from caste, and, for that matter, scarcely any class system. In the days of the monarchy, "when you left the king, you dropped at once to the villager."[25] An Englishman observed, [162] 779* 565 562 779+

[24] Nihar-Ranjan Ray, *Theravāda Buddhism in Burma*, chap. VII, p. 262.
[25] Fielding Hall, *The Soul of a People*, chap. IX, p. 106.

29: Slater M-4 (no date) 1951 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

565 in the middle of the last century, that Burmese women not only enjoyed
562 a much freer and higher position than elsewhere in the East but, in some
779* matters, had attained rights that their sisters in England were still seeking to obtain.[26] These and similar aspects of Burmese life must be attributed in large degree to the dominant influence of Buddhism in a country which has been left for hundreds of years, shut away from the surrounding world by its seaboard and mountain barriers, to work out its own salvation with only occasional interference from outside until modern times.

779* It is possible that the first Buddhist monastery in Burma was establish-
174 ed more than two thousand years ago. While we may be sceptical of the
177 legend which attributes the conversion of the first Burmese disciples to the Buddha himself, there is perhaps less reason than formerly to question the persistent Burmese tradition that missionaries were sent from India to Burma after the Third Great Council in the time of Aśoka. We have, at any rate, shreds of reliable evidence relating to the early centuries of the Christian era. In Burma, as elsewhere, the archaeologist has been active in recent years and there are also illuminating references in Chinese and other texts. Examining the evidence now available, Mr. Nihar-Ranjan Ray has presented a substantial argument for the conclusion that Buddhism was introduced to Burma possibly in Aśoka's day, probably by the third century A.D. and certainly by the fifth century A.D.[27] In these earlier centuries, Burma was parcelled into small kingdoms, and all that can be said is that, at certain capitals, there were strong centres of Buddhist influence.[28]

175 It is, however, sufficient for our present purpose to be able to trace the
779* dominating influence of Buddhism throughout the country from the
177 eleventh century onwards. In this century, the turning point in Burmese story, the curtain of history lifts to reveal A-naw-ra-hta, the Burmese Constantine, moving southwards from his capital at Pagan to vanquish the king of Thaton and annex his dominion. According to the Burmese chroniclers, the motive for this advance was not mere lust of conquest but zeal for the true faith. King A-naw-ra-hta had been converted by a monk from the south, Shin Arahan of Thaton. But 'without the scriptures there can be no study, without study there can be no intuition.' To obtain these scriptures, the Pali scriptures, A-naw-ra-hta must needs subdue his rival at Thaton who possessed them.

000 What is of further importance for our present inquiry is the fact that

[26] Forbes, *British Burma and Its People*, chap. III, p. 55.

[27] Ray, op. cit. chap. I, pp. 83ff.

[28] *Ibid.*, chap. I, pp. 33ff., 81; cf. Taw Sein Kho, *Census of India Report* (Burma 1901), XII, 32.

29: Slater M-4 (no date) 1951 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

792 881 the monastery. It is a day of excited celebration. Recalling the Great Renunciation, when Gautama left the royal court in his quest for truth, the boy, attired in princely robes, is feasted by his family and friends until the moment when he casts his finery aside to don the yellow robe of the Order.[21]

[301] 562 881 779* 871 Girls experience a similar ceremonial initiation, when (to the accompaniment of vigorous music) their ears are pierced to take the ear-rings which are the sign of womanhood. They cannot attend the monastic schools with the boys, but other means are found for their education, and they certainly do not lag behind their brothers in intelligence, character or Buddhist zeal. Mrs Hla Oung recounts the story of a little maid taken to the monastery to be reminded of the five precepts, after some childish misdemeanour. (The monk was benign. "There was the faintest suspicion of a smile on his calm face, to show, I suppose, that her backsliding was not to be taken as a defection from the faith.") The 'charity of learning' seems, then, to be shared by girls as well as boys. The status, freedom and privileges of Burmese women have already been remarked and Mrs Hla Oung affirms vigorously that "the life of the Burmese woman is bound up in her religion. Buddhism has formed the character of the Burmese woman.... There are few Burmese women, even in the villages, who are unable to read and write," and the Buddhist scriptures form the ground work of their studies.[22]

792 871 178 Not only are the monks numerous, but they are dispersed throughout the country. Every village has at least one monastery, and sometimes more. The educational influence of the Order has been, therefore, both organised and ubiquitous. In more recent times this influence has been challenged by new conditions. Government and mission schools have intervened, and the modern Burmese boy may only remain in the monastery as a novice for a brief, token period. But during the centuries which shaped the Burmese character and outlook, the monks as educators had no serious rivals.

792 [157] 737 672 Nor has their ministry to the community been confined to education. Herbs and potions from the monastery are held in high esteem, especially in Upper Burma.[23] The monastery also serves as alms-house and asylum.

[21] For a good description of this ceremony v. Ananda Metteya, quoted by G. Appleton, *Buddhism in Burma*, pp. 22–23.

[22] Ma M. Hla Oung, "The Women of Burma," *Buddhism*, Vol. I, No. 1, p. 61 (September, 1903, Rangoon); cf. a later series by Daw Mya Sein, "Kin Sein Hla," *Burma Today*, published by the Burma Government in India, 1944, in which the influence of the Monastery is not so strongly emphasised.

[23] "Theirs is faith cure rather than medicine," writes a Burmese correspondent, who cites cures from snake-bite, leprosy and hydrophobia.

671 her own choice. The head of the Burmese family can also give
593 away children under the age of puberty or majority to another
597 family for adoption, but when the child attains the age of puberty or majority, he or she has the option to choose in which family (i.e. his original family or his adoptive family) he
671 will remain. Acquisitions by members of the family accrue
593 to the family, but as in Roman and Hindu laws, certain classes
428 of acquisition by members of the family accrue to the acquirer and not to the family. Gifts from grandparents, from the king, and in certain cases, from strangers, and earnings through exercise of skill in the arts and in astrology, medicine, advocacy, and alchemy accrue to the acquirer. When a member of the family wishes to leave the family, there is no necessity to gain the assistance of a court of law. By mutual consent among the members, he is permitted to leave and he is given his share of the family estate. When the whole family decides to break up also, no formality is required, and by general consent, the family estate is divided between the members according to the rules of law pertaining to the partition of an estate into various shares.

671 One of the main features of Burmese society is the high
562 status of its women. Unlike the situation in Hindu or Chinese society, the Burmese woman has never been a mere chattel at the disposal of the Burmese man. Since prehistoric times Burmese women have enjoyed an equality of status, rank, and opportunity with men. Under the Burmese kings, the women held high office, and served often as headman, chief-
[773] tainess, and queen. In Burmese folktales dealing with strange disputes and wonderful decisions, which are known as Juristic Tales, the judge is a woman, namely Princess Learned-in-the-Law. At the present day, all the learned professions are open to women, and approximately 25 per cent of the students at the University of Rangoon are women.

671 The high status of women in Burmese society is reflected
583 in the Burmese customary law relating to marriage, divorce,
586 and inheritance. In Burmese law, marriage is purely a civil
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30: Maung Htin Aung E-4 (no date) 1953 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

contract, founded on the consent of the man and woman to 671
openly "eat and live together." Religion has nought to do 583
with the marriage, and no special ceremony is necessary, and 586
therefore in a court of law proof of marriage is not to be 428
found in certificates of documents or evidence of a marriage ceremony, but in the testimony of witnesses that the man and woman lived together as man and wife. No Burmese man or woman can be forced into marriage without his or her consent. After a son has attained the age of puberty, or a daughter the age of majority, even the consent of the parents is no longer necessary. Divorce results without much formality when both the husband and the wife mutually agree to part. Burmese jurists in their writings often describe the husband as the lord of the wife, but that seems to be mere opinion, and they often advise the wife to obey her husband, but it does not mean that their advice is always followed. The wife has a right to divorce her husband without his consent, if he is guilty of cruelty or serious matrimonial misconduct. On divorce, the wife takes a substantial share of the joint estate, and if she should marry again, she remains absolute owner of her estate from her previous marriage, and does not share it with her second husband. But although divorce therefore is comparatively easy, and the wife enjoys an important position in the family, divorces have always been rare, and an atmosphere of cordiality and harmony prevails in the Burmese family.

Burmese women have always possessed full rights of in- 671
heritance. As the husband and wife are the heirs of each other, 562 ●
on the husband's death, the wife inherits a major share of the 428
family estate, and full authority as head of the family if the family decides not to disintegrate and partition the estate. On the death of the surviving parent, the daughters have full rights of inheritance in competition with their brothers. As the Burmese customary law has never recognized a right to dispose of property by will, these rights of inheritance cannot be defeated in any way.

These, then, briefly are the main features of Burmese cus- ooo

342 tends across the entire front. The veranda has its own roof, and can frequently be closed against the outside with portable bamboo mat walls. It serves as an easily accessible place, even for strangers, also as a workroom and shop, and as a favorite gathering place for the family during the daytime. From there, ladders or steps lead to the elevated rear section of the house, where the livingroom, the bedrooms and the kitchen (mibo) are. The latter is usually [343] detached. It opens to the rear, and has its own platform and means of ascent. The cooking stove [354] consists of a flat box (4) filled with sand and

4. Burmese, Shan, and the mountain tribes of Burma and Assam, also the Siamese and Malayans use the flat, sand-filled fireplace; India and China the mud stove. This is probably due to pile dwellings versus level ground architecture.

ashes on which the wood fire is lit. During the dry season the cooking is done preferably in the open, near or under the house. The simple village house has frequently only one inside room. The veranda, especially where the water level during the rainy season makes it mandatory, is frequently found to be an open wide platform of the same height as the rest of the house (1 1/4 to 1 1/2 meters) (Plate IV, 2). The peasant keeps his rice stores either in the kitchen wing, [343] or in small sheds (also on piles) close to the house where the rice containers, the mortars, pestles for the husking, etc. are kept. Under the piles of the house usually stands the weaving loom on which the women and girls (5) work

[562] 5. As to the women who theoretically (in accordance with religious principles) though not in practice, rank

[562] below the man and are not accorded full value as human beings, one does not consider this a degredation, although to be under inhabited floors (see above)[1] would be considered as a disgrace for others.

342 industriously. Weaving in Burma is still one of the most important home industries. Otherwise the room under the house is used only for storage [231] of household and agricultural implements, and also at night as a stable for buffaloes and cattle if there are no protective roofs provided for them. On top of such roofs the fodder grass is piled up.

A large Burmese house (Plate IV, 3) gives the impression of a composite of several individual buildings (6) standing on a platform. This is

[71] 6. The accounts of P.A. Thompson, Lotus Land (London, 1906), p. 40, and F. Swettenham, British Malaya (London, 1907), p. 151, show that this Burmese house-type with its detached sections, surrounded by a platform, is also customary in the lowlands of Siam and on the Malayan Peninsula. It is also known in Sumatra, according to M. Moszkowski, "Beiträge zur Entwicklungsgeschichte des Wohnhauses in Ostsumatra" /Contributions to the History of the Development of Houses in East Sumatra/, Archiv für Anthropologie /Archive for Anthropology/, Vol. 37, (1910), pp. 11-13, Figure 21.

P. Sarasin in "Über die Entwicklungsgeschichte des griechischen Tempels aus dem Pfahlhause" /History of the Development of the Greek Temple out of the Pile House/, Zeitschrift für Ethnolologie

[1] [see category 116, page 5.— Analyst]

779 It is this renunciation[1] which we symbolize in the shinbyu ceremony
881 when a boy leaves his home and lives in the order. A parent who fails
792 to hold the ceremony or get his son initiated in some other way fails in his first duty towards his son, and those who hold a shinbyu for orphans or the sons of the poor achieve great merit.

To provide a background symbolic of Prince Siddhartha's circumstances, parents spend as much as they can afford; a flagged pavilion is put up before the house, a multitude of people are invited for feasting, the boy is dressed in princely garments and jewels, and rides around the town on a white horse, with a procession following. For him to return and wash the powder off his face, to doff the turban and show the newly shaven head, to change the glittering clothes of silk for a plain yellow
[292] robe showing golden on the bare brown skin,—this is moving indeed. And when he comes back the next day in procession with other monks, his eyes cast down and his bowl before him, his mother makes obeisance to him for the first time, not as her son now but as one of the priestly order, a hpongyi, a "great glory". That must be a moment of spiritual plenitude in a mother's life.

881 I do not remember much about my brother's shinbyu, but I re-
792 member the beauty of his face as he came back in procession on that first day. A good face has its nobility enhanced by the complete absence of such adornment, even as is provided by the frame of hair or the line of neck clothing; it has to stand alone. I am often struck with the beautiful calm faces of some older monks. There is a look of repose which they wear easily after years of daily meditation and freedom from petty irritations and personal relationships, and a glow to the brown skin which is the result of years spent in clean and open surroundings, with sufficient to eat, and regularity of hours; the strongly marked eyebrows giving a nobility to the face when the head has been shorn. The unconscious reflection of this look on the face of a small boy touches us profoundly; there is a sweet solemnity on the young shaven face; the most mischievous boys become awed and chastened without any prompting.

881 In recent years, we have had a full dress shinbyu in the family for
792 my husband's nephew, Sao Sai Long, who as the heir to the Shan
565 State of Kengtung was initiated into the priesthood with the full panoply due to Buddhist royalty. A long wide bamboo pavilion was set
●[563] up, beginning with a high shelf for the offerings to all the monasteries in the town, the next platform for the monks who were to receive Sao Sai Long into their monastery, the next lower for the attendant boys who were also to be initiated, and for the *palin* (the jewelled *chaise longue* on which Sao Sai Long was to recline), the next for the family, and successively lower ones for the various grades of the people. (The

[1e. The Great Renunciation of Prince Siddhartha--Analyst]

527 The younger children of the families also took the precepts, but it was not considered wrong if they felt too hungry or faint to keep to them. Everyone packed up and went home from the resthouse at about four in the afternoon. I found these duty evenings very long and depressing. There was no dinner, my father and mother told beads all evening, and at night their mattresses were removed and they slept only on mats.

428 342 We were now living in Grandfather's old house. Grandfather had left it to the four youngest among his children, and my mother had bought out the shares of the others because she was sentimentally attached to it and could not bear to see it pulled down. To others it had seemed an unwieldy shape taking so much good teak which could have built a compact modern house. My mother set about the task of transforming in into a comfortable domestic family house with a nicely disposed front and back, but it was a difficult task. There was no neat garden plot, no face, no bedrooms, but long stretches of gallery and verandah. We fenced off the well so that the village could continue to use it without infringing our privacy, the old big kitchen was dismantled and a compact kitchen made of one of the store-rooms near the washing platform, the old maternity room was stocked with commodes and made into a lavatory, the powder room was used as box-room. Six of us shared the big bedrooms. The altar, the water-pots and meals continued where they had always been. There was a large expanse of shining floor for visitors to sit on mats, and the head of the long verandah held a few chairs. The stable was cleaned up and given to Apana, now an old and rheumy-eyed man, and the downstairs hall, where a school had been, now held our stocks of rubber.

511 563 775 But still there was always so much space, the house seemed vast and empty, and the life so different from our district government houses with a crowd of servants, young men and dependents of all kinds. We felt the change acutely. My sisters were still children who played with each other and had plenty to eat during their short holidays, but I found the evenings silent and sad with the lifeless echoes which the dim light of the floorboards used to send up. I had been to stay at the house for short periods just before my Grandfather died, when I was about three or four years old. Here, where we washed our faces, we looked across to a house now mysteriously barred with a blank wooden face, but then inhabited by *ta-yok chi-thay-mas*, tiny-footed China-women, fabulous creatures according to my nurses, who, though they were slit-eyed and could curse you in an unknown tongue, could be sent reeling back with one touch of a finger. The ta-yok chi-thay-me had other macabre qualities also. Her child had a big black patch of hair on its arm because it was the reincarnation of his dead sister. At the death of this

1: Mi Mi Khaing I-5 (no date) 1946 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4
Chinese

previous child, the ta-yok chi-thay-ma had frantically grabbed a piece of charcoal and had smudged the arm of the dying child, saying: "If I get this child back in my next labour, may I know her by this mark." Down below the arum bushes grew close and dark against the fence. They had frightened us, like green snakes that must not be touched, because the leaves made your tongue itch with an intangible and incurable itch although the roots were made into delicious soups. In Grandfather's bedroom was a window looking into the maternity chamber, still padlocked with a lock whose key had been lost nearly twenty years ago, and a patch of light wood nailed over the hole which a robber had made with the point of his damyaung. From the maternity chamber, also, an aunt had thrown a basin of washing water to splash on an uncle sitting below, with whom she had quarrelled and whose hpon would be lowered by the ignobility of the woman's labour. For my mother the house must have had sharp memories, but she never spoke of them while there because my father became ill shortly after. This oppressed her spirits, and made her think only with sorrow of her dead mother and father, her brothers and sisters, so many now dead and the rest scattered far and never returning after the death of Grandfather.

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775
[137]
[562]

1: Mi Mi Khaing I-5 (no date) 1946 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4
Indians
Europeans

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

AFTER a stay of three years in England, I set out on a return journey home with a band of friends and compatriots. This was in August 1940, and the long sea voyage round the Cape gave us time for all the thoughts which filled our minds at the prospect of seeing Burma again after three and four years abroad. Besides our excitement at the approach of family reunions and the delights of once again eating Burmese food, we wondered whether the events in the outside world during the past few years, and the outbreak of the European war, had filled our people with interest, excitement or alarm for international events. 175

Before I left Burma I had been a student among companions who had only a passing interest in affairs outside Burma, so filled had our minds been with separation from India in 1936, the general elections for the first House of Representatives in Burma's history, the formation of the first Ministry under Dr. Ba Maw, student strikes for the amendment of the University Act, and the fervid chastising campaigns on the part of monks and fanatic students for the wearing of thick homespun by women instead of the scandalously transparent imported muslins. The older people at home also turned their eyes along the same channels. Of Hitler and Mussolini our aunts had heard, as of caricatured figures on a distant screen, and Ba Maw's admiration of Hitler's position of power was obscured by his eccentric passion for gorgeous attire, which was much more in the public eye. 175 668

The letters which I received from friends in Burma during my three years in England had also been too full of the Indian-Burman riots which raged violently in 1938, the industrial strikes in the oilfields, and the repeated school and university strikes which added to the general domestic unrest of those years, to tell me much else. But since then we had read of the opening of the Burma Road as an event of world interest; later we had read with feelings of surprise, amusement and expectancy of the face-slapping, debagging and stuffing of passports into the mouth to which the Japanese had subjected Englishmen in the ports of China, as something new and startling in our time; and later still, the closing of the Burma Road at the insistence of the Japanese Government made us suddenly connect the European politics which so excited our English friends with the events in places which surrounded Burma, though not 175 578 563

175 yet with Burma itself. Brought up as a complacent child of a government
578 officer in Burma, this was the first time that I realized how we had un-
563 consciously thought of England, the British Empire, as a permanent world force during our lifetime—a force with which we might bargain advantageously or without success, but one that our fathers and we had taken for granted for all the time that we could remember. But now we realized it as one power—leading perhaps—amongst other powers in the West, and we realized also the existence of Japan and remembered how the Burmans who visited it always brought back stories of the beauty, progress and good manners of the country.

We left our English friends in the first half of August 1940, as they waited, braced for an invasion, to go to what they and we considered a war-free country. I was in the Ladies Room of a big restaurant in London just before I left, when the attendant who watched me wrap my longyi asked me which country I came from. "Burma," I told her. "Burma," she repeated uncertainly. "Is there a war there, Miss?" "No," I said laughing, "but there is a Road there." Yet I was only amusing myself. As we set out home, the furthest that our thoughts of war and Burma ranged, was to wonder whether the Burma Road and the recent closing of it had made people think more about Japan and China than they had done in 1937, when the outbreak of war between the two countries had caused little excitement except that some of my friends became consistent boycotters of Japanese goods. We also wondered vaguely whether trade had been affected, and whether thought and general social conditions had been stimulated with the world-shattering event of a European war, not dreaming that this was but the splash of a pebble compared to the tempest that was to follow.

Since I had left Burma, my mother and brother and sisters had settled
177. themselves in Rangoon and I wondered how the city would seem after
36 the big cities of the West. Rangoon is not one of the ancient cities of
633 Burma. Its present position in the life of the country and people is a
772 complete turnabout from its traditional place, for in days gone by it had attracted the inhabitants through spiritual rather than material renown. While Pagan, Ava, Toungoo and Mandalay rose and fell in political and commercial importance, Rangoon—Dagon as it was called—continued unchangingly a seat of pilgrimage, connected with fable and divinity, forming an actual link with another world cycle that existed in the universe before this present arrangement of Mount Myinmo, with its surrounding heavenly, earthly and hellish regions, was formed.

632 For it was on the hill called Theinguttara, which now casts its shadow
773 on the city of Rangoon with its crown of the Shwe Dagon Pagoda, that the omens for the spiritual life of this world cycle were manifested, before

361 teachers. There were similar colonies of Burmese in the eastern parts
177. of Rangoon—Yegyaw, Bahan, Tamwe and Pazundaung—but none so
36 pleasant as Kemmendine.

When we were young, my mother's stock of household goods bought
361 from their places of manufacture had shown us all the small industries
438 of Burma. Now my sisters appeared to be as determined to do my
563 Rangoon shopping from the most orthodox sources, and I learnt that to fit me out with a new set of Burmese clothes required the services and the varied talents of all communities of the cosmopolitan city. Imported silks, which were bought for longyis in addition to native silks, were the monopoly of merchants from Sind and Bikaner—houses of Ramchandra, Tejumal, Lekraj and others—who had set up windows in the modern Scott Market of Rangoon, and whose salesmanship had flowered in Burma into something vastly different from the nonchalance which they display in their native land. They offered cigarettes to casual buyers who fingered the usual run of silks, supplemented them with sweet coloured drinks from the sherbet stall behind the shops when they went on to more expensive satins, and if they ventured further into fine brocades and laces, dishes of ice-cream appeared as they waited for the material to be cut and measured.

Cotton longyis for day and night wear in the house took us to the western Burmese quarter of Rangoon. Here, in Goods Bazaar Row, the family firm of *U Hsin-Daw Htay:* husband and wife married in business, lived in the upper floor of their house, and stacked the lower floor with hundreds of cotton prints, made in Japan but manufactured with such an eye to Burmese requirements as regards texture, colours, design and width, that these *tha-yet-htè* longyis, as they were called, seemed to most people as Burmese as Bassein umbrellas or Mandalay slippers. All over Burma the women wore these longyis. The transplanters of the paddy, the young servant maids in a-so-ya mins' houses, the girls in Ye and a thousand other villages, women in bazaars and minkadaws themselves, all wore various qualities of bright tha-yet-hte prints bought for 10 annas to Re. 1/4 a longyi length of 1¾ yards. U Hsin and Daw Htay were prosperous; we bought our longyis from them through snobbery, in lots of ten, sitting barefooted on their mat-covered floor, with betel box in front of us, but it was possible to buy tha-yet-hte from the stalls of young Burmese women all along the big Soortee Bazaar and the Scott Market of the Town. These young women form one of Burma's fairest sights.

361 In the days of my schooling, when each new term plunged me into
438 the foreign world behind Convent walls, as my mother completed the shopping for it on the last day of each vacation, I gazed back with longing

and envy at these fair creatures who continued work and home in one long pleasant Burmese continuity. They are girls from the ages of sixteen upward. Probably their parents set them up in these stalls, each separated from its neighbour by a stack of cotton bales, six or seven stalls on a long platform. They come there in the mornings, dressed in crisp muslin jackets and bright longyis, their faces powdered with thanakha and the Five B's, flowers in their hair, and fragrant ground bark on their hands and feet. They open up shop and dust with feather brooms while they shout across to each other the news of the previous evening. Then the whole day unfolds, calling out to food sellers and treating their friends to a succession of delicacies, button-holing the young boy who hawks magazines and tuppenny novels, and reclining against a pile of the tha-yet-hte longyis to read these romances, helping each other to fold up the pieces after a troublesome customer has gone, anything but making an earnest business of their profession. They always looked so cool and pretty and indifferent beside the small Indian storekeepers who flanked their platforms and solicited passers-by for patronage. "Oh to be a bazaar girl!" I still thought when I was in the University; "to pass unchaperoned days, reading novels and eating sweets, to have time to be powdered and neatly dressed, and only now and then be disturbed by someone who wants to buy a longyi." 361 438

Our starched white muslin jackets are made out of fine transparent muslin manufactured in England, and sent out in bales of 11 yards with the quality stamped in Burmese characters, and on the jacket a florid illustration of the quality-name—names such as *Nat-thami, Sein ta-hsok, Shwe Pan-gaing, Mè Nyo:* Heavenly Damsel, Cluster of Diamonds, Golden Spray of Flowers, Dusky Maiden—and imported by both Indian and Burmese traders. 294 439 563

The making up of the jackets was the monopoly of Chinese tailors; our *tayok-kalay*, little Chinaman, lived in the crowded quarter of Yegyaw in a barnlike room which was carpenter's shop at one end and tailor's at the other. The tailor's end had a row of shelves along the wall in to which the finished garments and uncut material were shoved, higgledy-piggledy in paper bags on which the merest scribble denoted owner and date of order. In front of this was the counter on which the cutter was at work, and separating it from the carpentery end was a table at which one or two half-clad men always seemed to be eating noodles or reading a Chinese newspaper, of which there were three in Rangoon. In spite of this, the tayok-kalay never confused an order for garments which had to fit so meticulously and always delivered them in a snow-white condition. He charged 9 annas for each fine handsewn garment, and for modern girls managed to cut twelve out of the eleven-yard piece. This 294 563 441 465

294 was sweated labour indeed. Possibly he paid the cutter two pice, the
• 563 seamstress three annas, the button-loop maker two annas, for each
441 garment. We met one of the button-loop makers one evening as she
466 brought a pile of finished garments, a Chinese girl of ten years, with eyes which looked tired from two years of exquisite hemming on the ten button loops of each Burmese jacket, nine jackets each day. When we had got our jackets the tayok-kalay added up our three bills into one on his abacus. There may be many ways of using an
[405 abacus, but our tayok-kalay's was bafflingly simple. He had each
803] bead on the first rung representing one anna, each on the second one representing four of these, that is four annas; and each on the third rung representing four of these again, that is one rupee, there being sixteen annas in the rupee. When he wanted to add Rs. 5/10 and Rs. 9/11 for example, he represented the first sum on the three rungs above the median bar by drawing down towards it, two beads of the first rung, two of the second and five of the third. Then he represented the second sum on the rungs below the bar by drawing up to it three beads of the first rung, two of the second and nine of the third. He then counted up the sum of all the beads along the bar, pushing back every four beads of the first rung and pulling down one of the second as equivalent, pushing back every four of the second and pulling down one of the third again as its equivalent. All this he did with lightning speed, and, counting finally one bead on the first rung, one on the second and fifteen on the third, he announced Rs. 15/5, a sum which my sisters had arrived at long before by mental arithmetic and had, in vain, been trying to thrust on his notice.

441 I needed also a superior quality comb to wind my hair around in a
563 knot at the back of my head, having given away the old one I had as a curiosity in England. My mother took me to the west end of Rangoon where the Chinese community are concentrated in about six or seven streets, mostly narrow streets of three storeyed houses packed closely together, containing valuable ivory and mother-of-pearl inlaid chairs within and jewellery behind safe doors, but bordering deep and dirty drains and congestion in the street. These were houses of rich men who got their money from trading in indigenous products; by long years of industry building up lakhs of money from the supplying of onions, coconuts, potatoes and other dry goods to the retail shops in bazaars. In the Strand running along the south end of these streets and in the broad Latter Street in the centre of the quarter, were the big emporiums of these traders. One of my father's greatest friends U Chein Swan was a Burma Chinese of this description, and we stayed for short periods in his three-storeyed house in 20th Street when we were children. With

great hospitality they gave our family one floor to put up in whenever we 441
came; they were ten times richer than we, but I never decided whether 563
my days there were more filled with shrinking or with enjoyment. The trays of a myriad red and yellow cakes which were spread before our eyes fascinated me while I was in terror that I would slip into the muddy drain beside which the cake-seller set his tray; the opalescent lights of the mother-of-pearl chairs felt cool and smooth as I stroked them until I suddenly turned and met the stare from the Confucian gentlemen on the wall, with trailing moustaches and Chinese eyes; and the wonder which I felt at the beauty of U Chein Swan's fair daughters with their sparkling diamonds round neck and wrists was tinged with horror at what my nurses made of an orthodox Chinese marriage—the uncanny music, they said, the heavy clothes, and the wedding meal would be followed by the bride belonging forever to the clan of her husband.

In search of a comb, however, we went to more humble streets where my mother knew the Sino-Burmese comb sellers. The lady of the house came running out of the kitchen as soon as she heard us, set fruit and cool drinks before us and gossiped while she sent for the virgin sheets of tortoise shell. We held them to the light, and picked out the particular area which had the prettiest markings; discussed the shape and size and thickness of the comb and the best arrangement for the honey and brown markings. All this my mother wanted her to do for Rs. 5/- but the lady laughed and wheedled her for six rupees because, she said, sailors had had to go as far as Java to get some of her shells.

Although gold work is still given to Burmese goldsmiths in preference to any other, the trade in diamonds is not in Burmese hands. Rangoon dwellers went to buy their diamonds at Moghul Street where a whole row of Hindu jewellers set up shop fronts and interiors in which high-powered electric bulbs, mirrors upon mirrors, technicolour photographs of the heads of the houses and of Hindu gods, all combined to make an unutterably gaudy display. Still, we took off our slippers on the threshold of these shops, and talked with great respect to the *Babugyi*, who faced us across a velvet padded counter on the floor.

Now I only needed buttons to hold the loops of my jackets together. Except for the occasions when diamond buttons or gold filigree-work buttons are worn, the ordinary Burmese woman wears coloured buttons of cut glass or stone to match her longyi. For the poorest classes, glass buttons imported from Czechoslovakia could be bought at 2 or 3 annas a set of five, complete with glass rings to slip into the loops But these were indeed glassy and did not last long. In Mandalay were the expert Burmese cutters, who for anything from six annas to Rs. 5 produced buttons of every description, plain, speckled, striped; of glass,

441 semi-precious stones, or gold dust, all cut with many tiny facets. We
• 563 once had in our house a heavy glass vase, imported by an English firm, of a dull bluish-black colour. One day a wind mercifully blew the vase on to the floor where it broke into a hundred pieces. My cousin gathered up the pieces and the next time she went to Mandalay her button cutter fashioned them into several sets of round sparkling buttons catching the light and showing now black, now grey, now blue, one set of which I wear to this day. These and the velvet slippers which are universally
[438 565] worn were sold in the market by young Burmese women sitting opposite the tha-yet-htè longyi sellers. The slippers also came from Mandalay, and in the days of the last Burmese king, the common people were forbidden to wear them; they were reserved for royal use alone.

265 563 At last my sisters considered that I was suitably dressed as the elder sister of such fashionable young ladies as they had now grown into, and equipped to attend any social function of the town. Although Burmese people love gathering to eat and drink, hotels and restaurants did not exist in Rangoon society. Both the Western restaurants where people danced and drank alcoholic drinks, and the leading Chinese restaurants where the dolled-up Chinese waitresses served the male customers with playful attentions, were out of bounds for Burmese women, and therefore not greatly frequented by Burmese men either, except in the case of the Chinese hotels as a carousal. Night bazaars were, however, eminently respectable, all Rangoon families being addicted to the habit of eating out as a supper after their dinner at home. They drove in cars to the pavement stalls of Chinatown, Moghul Street and Yegyaw; at Burmese stalls they got out and squatted on the benches provided, while the seller served them from the cooking pot beside her; at Indian and Chinese shops they had a plank thrust through to rest on the doors of the car, and ate sitting there. After eating rich Mohammedan food or delicious Chinese dishes, they drove a few streets further on to eat in the same fashion at an ice-cream or sherbet stall. It was a good life indeed.

546 177. 54 We usually did this after the cinema. While we went to see American films, my mother and her friends invariably went to a Burmese film. There were four Burmese cinema halls in Rangoon, whose box offices were always besieged, but in spite of this the cinema industry in Burma was not a thriving one. Actors and actresses were poor and suffered a social stigma. About twenty-five feature films were produced in Rangoon each year, both sound and silent, by companies whose prosperity never lasted more than a few years. They could often be seen filming their outdoor scenes round the Royal Lakes, the University Estate and the fields around Mingaladon, using studios only for indoor scenes. In pite of this, the effects aimed at were ambitious, especially in the earlier

forced to shed them piece by piece, with the bitter realization that they could not be saved. But war raged like a forest fire which creeps to the farthest corner; like a deluge which rises to the highest hills, for people went northwards and northwards, and still found no sanctuary. 722

Another thing that filled us with wretchedness was the feeling that all the activity of a normal life would cease. The people who thought reasonably in the face of the quick Japanese onrush, that the British would probably have to get out but would prepare, perhaps in India, and be able to return one day, expected to spend the next few years in quiet and hiding from danger. The average person just felt vaguely stunned, that now there would be a negation of all social and economic endeavour; he could not visualize any quick restoration of even a shell of the machinery of normal life which was so alarmingly disappearing before his eyes. Symbolic of this was the emptying of schools and colleges in Rangoon within the day on which the news of Pearl Harbour came through. I shall never forget the effect on my young sisters and their friends. They cried with grief as their parents came to take them home, parting them from friends, sweethearts, all companions of youth, books and the outside world, at best to go into the jungle and live as though they had never known a world looking towards Europe.

I was twenty-five when war broke out, and caught me up, in late February 1942, in a compulsory sea evacuation carried out by the military authorities. I felt as though my heart would break against this awful machine which had suddenly made us so unimportant, and which did not care that I was a Burman amidst the crowd of foreign women it was evacuating, taking me from mother and sisters to whom I could not get news or explanation of my desertion. 000

As we left Inya Hall with lights ablaze, fans full on, store-rooms thrown wide open and waiting for the invader, a vast and inexpressible sadness settled upon me. Dawn had not yet broken, and only the glare from Kemmendine fires still lighted the sky. How sad, how black and empty each familiar house-face looked, with shut eyes and shuttered doors. It was Goodbye indeed, for though the flames are dying now, we shrink from contemplating the charred desolation that we must see on our return.

But it would have been Goodbye in any case for another, happier reason; for I had just met my husband who would have carried me off to a different world in the farthermost corner of Burma, the Kengtung State of Shans, in a land of mountains, narrow valleys and pine trees, where simple people with rosy cheeks cultivate the hillsides and address the ruling family as "Heavenly", where women are not heard, but seen in meekness to obey and fear their husbands. That is another story. 563 562

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4
Shan AP11

while nats, bilus, and compound animals called tiger-bilus are also frequent. Each representation is surrounded by a roughly oval tracery of a variety of letters of the alphabet, which form a curious and remarkably effective frame. Thus each animal has a setting of its own. Vacant spaces are filled up in a similar way, and the top and bottom are finished off with a scolloped line. Sometimes these letters are asserted to have a cabalistic meaning, but ordinarily no greater virtue is claimed for them than that of beauty. Mystic squares and ladder-step triangles of serious import are often added in vacant spaces, but all the more important and valid charms are reserved for other parts of the body and for special execution, usually too in vermilion. The old style, and that which prevails still in jungle districts, was to cover every available piece of skin with tracery, so that the figures became blurred and indistinct, and on a dark skin grown old were practically not visible without careful examination, which, considering the portion of the body, was embarrassing to both parties. The newer style, and that specially affected by those with a white skin, is to sacrifice mass of colour to distinctness of outline. The best sayās carry about sample-books with them containing clever drawings, from which the aspirant may select the patterns he likes best, and mark their relative positions before he takes the opium. But tigers, cats, monkeys, and bilus always predominate. To fill up space, and for greater certainty, the name of the animal is often added in the figure, after the style of juvenile art on slates, or with a piece of chalk on blank hoardings.

B 304 531

The Shans tattoo even more extensively than the Burmans. The figures are carried down well over the calf of the leg and above the navel, while from the upper line tattooed rays run up to the chest and at the back, after the fashion of a rising sun, almost to the nape of the neck. Sometimes the retainers of the Sawbwas, or Shan chiefs, had every part of the body except the palms of the hands and the soles of the feet tattooed. Even the face was covered with the dark-blue markings. Mostly all the men who tattoo charms and cabalistic figures are Shans. They claim and are allowed a special skill in such matters, and as

S 304
S B 305 751 563

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4
Shan AP11

S they mutter spells and incomprehensible incantations over
B, the "medicine," are looked up to with profound belief and a
305 very considerable deal of awe.
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The tattooing on the loins and legs is universal with all
B Burmans, and nothing more is ordinarily required; but there
304 are very few who have not charms of some kind tattooed on
531 the arms, back, chest, or even on the top of the head, which is shaved for the purpose. These figures are of all kinds—lizards, birds, mystic words and squares, rings, images of the Buddha, and sometimes merely a few scattered dots, the latter especially on the face, between the eyes, over the ears, or on the chin. The colouring matter is almost always vermilion, with drugs and solutions, according to requirement, mingled with it. The blue dye from the lampblack never disappears, but the red colour of the vermilion gradually fades away and vanishes. Nevertheless figures of this kind, more or less distinct, are to be found on Burmans of all ages, so great is the national superstition. Even the town
B youths, whose limbs are smooth and "unbreeched" as a
[832] girl's, are never without some charms of this kind, if it is only the a-nu se, which enables a man to gain the woman he loves. This "drug of tenderness" is composed of vermilion mixed with a variety of herbs and curious things, prominent
B among which is the bruised, dry skin of the tauktè, the
[825] trout-spotted gekko, whose sonorous cry and fidelity to the
[101] house where he establishes himself and brings luck, are well known to all who have visited Burma or Siam. It is very sparingly used, a few round spots arranged in the shape of a triangle being of sufficient virtue to ensure the object aimed at. The commonest place for them is between the eyes,
B but occasionally the se sayā recommends the lips, or even
305 the tongue, and his advice is always followed. This is the
562 only tattooing which women ever have executed on them,
832 and there are not many of them who have it done. The patient is usually a love-sick maiden who is afraid the object of her affection will escape from her, or a girl whom rolling years warn that she must be quick if she would not be condemned to remain an a-pyo heing, an old maid. Except in very desperate cases, however, they always manage to persuade the operator to place the charm on some part of the

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body where it will not be visible. If it is not effectual, there is always open to them the signal afforded by kindly national custom to maidens longing for a mate. They cut off the lappets of hair, the bya-bazan, hanging over the ears, and the significance is the same as the white heather of the language of flowers, "heart for sale." In Rangoon the tattooing of a woman has a special signification, not recognised elsewhere. It means that she wants an Englishman for a husband. Poor thing!

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Another very universal kind of tattooing is that with a-hpi se. Almost every schoolboy in the country has a specimen of this on him, for does it not prevent him from feeling the pain when he is caned? No amount of falsified hopes in the experience of friends will persuade him that it may not be effectual in his case, and a flogging is often courted as an immediate test of its efficacy. Pride repels the inquiries of chums as to the results, but the experimenter is usually very well behaved for some time. In the case of older men the a-hpi se acts as a talisman against bullets, sword cuts, and ills of that kind. Allied to this are the thenat hpi, which soldiers and dacoits carry about with them. These are the horns of buffaloes and other animals, which may be plain, but are usually elaborately carved with figures according to fancy. They must be quite solid down to the root. A hollow or flaw of any kind deprives them of their virtue. While the man has such a talisman in his hands he cannot be killed. A monkey is a very favourite image to have carved in this way on a sword or dagger hilt, the reference being to the tale of the Ramayana. Of a similar nature are talismans which are especially used by soldiers and dacoits. These hkaung-beit-set are charmed or consecrated objects let into the flesh under the skin. They are of various kinds. Some are gold, silver, or lead; others curious pebbles, pieces of tortoise-shell, or bits of horn, all of them with incantations of mystic character written on them. Many famed dacoits have long rows and curves of them over the chest, showing in little knobs through the skin. When they get into English prisons, an energetic jailer has been known to cut them out, lest they should be pieces of gold or silver, or perhaps precious stones, with which the turnkeys

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articles for household use. The platform is never deserted. Even long after midnight the voice of the worshipper may be heard in the night air, chanting in solemn monotone his pious aspirations, while on a duty-day, and especially on a feast-day, the laughing, joyous crowd of men and maidens, in their gay national dress, makes the platform of the Shwe Dagôn one of the finest sights in the world.

The Shwe Dagôn Payā is by far the most widely celebrated of the great Buddhist shrines, but there are others which, if not so venerated in other lands, still enjoy an even greater local reputation for sanctity, and attract pilgrims from all parts of Burma and the dependent hills, with now and again a band of pious worshippers from distant countries. Chief among these is the Shwe Hmaw-daw at Pegu, which commands Talaing worship before even the shrine of "the slanted beam" on the Theinguttara hill. The pond close by it was covered with lotus blossoms immediately on the construction of the shapely spire and the great Tha-gyā Min, and countless Byammās and Nat-déwas assisted at the enshrinement of the relics. As with many other fanes, the king granted to the pagoda, and set apart from secular uses for ever, the whole space round it on which the shadow of the original pile fell between sunset and sunrise. Several hundred families were dedicated to its service, and in 1881 large sums were raised throughout all the low country for the manufacture of a new hti and the gilding of the whole surface, while many wondrous signs in the neighbourhood attested the sacred character of the undertaking. Similarly the Shwe San-daw at Prome, with its multitude of bells on the cramped hill-top, enjoys a special reputation on account of the prophecy there spoken by Shin Gautama himself, and the connection of the payā with the national hero-king, Dwut-tabaung, as recorded in the sacred books. In proof of this there exists to the present day, and may be seen at the foot of the hill, a huge stone with an inscription which none but the pure-minded can read, and few even of them understand. In other places examples of this duganan kye-ganan, a kind of cypher-writing, or cryptograph, as it appears to the unenfranchised, exists, and usually records in mystic phraseology and inverted orthography the alms presented to

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the pagoda. Many of the lists of donations are, however, graven in a less cramped kyauk-sa, or "stone writing," the givers having probably had a weak hankering after earthly fame. Thus a goodly marble slab with a long list of names may be seen at the Shwe Hmaw-daw, and a tablet near the Mya Thalôn, the Temple of the Emerald Bed (of the Buddha), at Ma-gwe in Upper Burma records how Min Din and Min La-go had in the year 2399 of religion covered the whole payā with yellow cloth, repaired it thoroughly, and had it painted red and gold. An exact account is given of the amount of materials used and the money paid to workmen, and the inscription ends up with a prayer that the family of the donors might be gratified with the birth of a son. Near it is a magic stone with the figure of a hare, surrounded by stars, deeply graven in it to represent the moon, and a peacock to represent the sun.

A frequent adjunct of many pagodas is the Shwe Zet-daw, the imprint of the Lord Buddha's foot. It is too nearly square to command a painter's or sculptor's praise, and the toes are all of the same length, as may be seen in the example carried off by Captain Marryat, the novelist, in the first Burmese war, and now preserved in the British Museum. The sole is divided into a hundred and eight squares (taya shi' kwet), and on them are many lekkhana, representations of monasteries, pyathats, tigers, kalawaiks, henthas, parrots, seipputi fish, and the like, to signify that all things were under the feet of the Great Master. The number of beads on the rosary corresponds with the number of squares on the Shwe Zet-daw. The most famous example is at the pagoda of that name east of Mandalay, the great resort of the Shans, and another well-known one is opposite Magwe, inland from Minbu, where the mud volcanoes are, "the boiling vats of the nagās." But there are many specimens all over the country, not a few with the figure of a nagā, or sea monster, reared over them.

Most famous among the small pagodas is the Kyaik-hti-yo, insignificant in size, but unique from its position. The hill on which it stands takes its name from the payā, and is over three thousand five hundred feet in height. On its summit are numbers of granitoid boulders, many of them

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gathered from all parts of the country, many on gilt slabs of marble, a still greater number on sandstone. All day long circles of constantly renewed worshippers chant aloud the praises of the Buddha, and the air is heavy with the effluvia of candles and the odours from thousands of smouldering incense-sticks. Within the precincts of the pagoda is a large tank, tenanted by sacred turtle, who wax huge on the rice and cakes thrown them by the multitudes of pilgrims. Probably not even at the Shwe Dagôn Payā is more enthusiastic devotion shown than at the Payā Gyi in Mandalay. It is regarded with special reverence by the Shans.

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Near the royal city, about nine miles up the river, on the right bank, is a huge monster of a pagoda, built on a low green bluff, running out from the barren, pagoda-sprinkled Sagaing hills. The groundwork of the great misshapen Mengôn Payā covers a square of 450 feet and its height is 165 feet, about one-third of the elevation intended for it when completed; but Mintaya Gyee, the crack-brained monarch who founded it, ran short of funds, and the building was stopped. Nature was jealous of the miniature mountain —the largest mass of brickwork in the world—and an earthquake in 1838 rent the gigantic cube with fantastic fissures from top to bottom, and cast down great masses of masonry, tons upon tons in weight, and yet not sufficient to destroy the main structure, massive and imperishable as Time itself. There it stands, unharmed alike by rain-floods and blistering suns, and laughing even at earthquakes. According to Burmese custom, Bodaw Payā built a model for the guidance of the workmen. This is called the Pôn-daw Payā, and is fifteen feet high. This consists of a bell-shaped dome surmounted by a *sikkhâra*, a pointed spire, and resting on a square plinth of solid brickwork. It is a hybrid between the Shwezigôn and Ananda pagodas of Pagān, and has all the requirements of a place of worship, circuit walls, staircases, ornamented arches, and leogryphs.

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Perhaps it was this proud stability which induced King Mindôn Min to attempt an even greater work. He planned a huge shrine to be raised east of Mandalay, under the shadow of the Shan hills. The Yankin-taung Payā was to be larger than the Mengôn monster, and it was to be built

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feast, are heaped up piles of fruits, savoury curries, cakes, biscuits, and sweetmeats of all kinds, intended for the monks; while scattered about are great *repoussé* silver bowls full of sherbet, gold and silver cups, lamps, mirrors, and all the familiar adornments, fit enough for a private house, but singularly out of place where a gay piece of tapestry hung up barely conceals the image at the eastern side of the rest-house. Maung Maung offers us some lemonade, and we light cheroots, exchange a few compliments with the ladies, and pass on, just as a noisy half-dozen of young Englishmen from one of the mercantile houses come scrambling up the ladder-like steps. It would be well if these gentlemen would remember that each of the houses is to all intents and purposes a private assembly for the night, and that, though the host always welcomes them, he understands English, and does not by any means relish the mocking comments which are lavished on everything, and still less is inclined to approve of the criticisms passed on the ladies. But then there are so few Englishmen in Burma who understand the very shortest sentence in the language that they may be pardoned if they mistake for a promiscuous saturnalia what is nominally a religious ceremony. We leave them joking with Maung Maung and the hostess, as she offers them some beer—beer in a monastery! But then it is known that Englishmen will be there, and the Burman's notion is that an Englishman only leaves off drinking beer when he drinks brandy, so this last indignity is not objected to by the yahans.

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Farther on we come to the place we are specially in search of. The master of ceremonies here is our friend Maung Po Si, a Patama Byan, a certificated theologian and long resident in Mandalay, qualified, therefore, to be a yahan himself, and from his previous experiences, one would think, not at all likely to countenance such open contempt of the provisions of the Wini, which treatise his success in the above-mentioned "theological tripos" implies that he knows by heart. But "Mr. Grandfather Oil" is very emphatically in the world of kāma; he is far from having beaten down the passions, and his place is the most startlingly secular of them all. He has got the kyaung of a myizzi mati, a pôngyi who has been ten Lents in the Order, and

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First in the list of personal spirits may be considered the kosaung nats, a kind of confusion of ideas between the proper spirit and the butterfly spirit, and representing as it were the genius of each individual, a kind of materialised conscience. They are twelve in number, six good and six bad, six male and six female, and regulate the life and doings of their *protégé* accordingly as the benevolent or the malevolent gain the upper hand.

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Next to these comes the eing saung nat, very often called Min-magayi, the guardian nat of the house. For his comfort the tops of all the posts in the house are covered with a hood of white cotton cloth, for it is in this situation that he usually takes up his abode. In almost every house, at the end of the verandah in front, you will find a water-pot full of pareityé, water over which certain gathas, magic spells, or religious formulæ have been uttered by the astrologer, or the prior of the district. This water, which is replenished once a month, or oftener in cases of danger from disease, or when a member of the family is absent on a journey, is every now and then sprinkled about the house as a protection against bilus and spectres, ogres and tasés. When the water is consecrated in this nyaungye-o, which is of a special shape, something like an overgrown Indian spittoon, there are always a few twigs and leaves of the thabyé tree floating on the top. These are mostly taken out and hung round about the eaves, but occasionally left in the water. The inordinately superstitious sometimes keep a small thabyé bin (the sacred eugenia) growing in a pot in the house, so that its benign influence may keep harm away. Talaing houses may usually be known by the cocoa-nut hanging up at the south side of the building. This is covered with strips and tags of yellow or red cloth, and is offered to Min-magayi, whom they call the king of the nats. Of these spirits (called kaluk in their language) they say there are thirty-seven distinct varieties, but Min-magayi rules them all. These are the "thirty-seven nats of Burma," but whether they were borrowed by the Burmese from the Talaings or not seems at any rate doubtful. At the beginning of the wet season they always wrap up the cocoa-nut afresh, and when the rains are over make new offerings of money, glutinous rice, eggs, jaggari, and fruit, in order that the eing saung nat may

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keep away fever from the household. It must not be supposed that the nat guardian of the house has necessarily any affection for those who have built the place where he has taken up his abode. He probably regards them only with cold indifference, however generous they may be in their offerings, and were he not propitiated by these gifts he would almost certainly display his anger by doing the inhabitants some grievous injury. But then he dislikes his haunts being intruded upon, and if a stranger comes at an unwonted time—a burglar at midnight, for example—it is quite likely that the eing saung nat will attack him violently, scare him out of his wits, or give him the colic. Thus without any really estimable purpose in his mind, Min-magayi may be a considerable protection to his worshippers, just as an "awful example" is useful to teetotallers.

Beyond this guardian, or demon of the house, there is the guardian nat of the village, the ywa saung nat, of whose shrine at the end of the town I have already made mention. None of the lower-class Talaings would ever think of eating a morsel without first holding up his platter in the air, and breathing a prayer to the village nat. They are particularly fond of putting up shrines to the nats under the le'pan tree, from the wood of which coffins are frequently made. A feast must be held every three or four years in honour of this nat, at which the natkadaw, a woman called the nat's wife, dances. This is done in order that sickness may be kept away. Should an epidemic actually break out, a very elaborate ceremony is gone through. Probably first of all the figure of a spectre, or of a bilu, is painted on an ordinary earthenware water-pot, and this is solemnly smashed to pieces about sundown, with a heavy stick or a dah. As soon as it gets dark, the entire populace break out into yells, and make as much noise generally as they can compass, with the view of scaring away the evil spirit who has brought the disease. This is repeated on three several nights, and if it is not then effective the yahans are called in to give their assistance. The prior, with his following, repeat the Ten Precepts, chant the Payeit-gyi, and then one of the sermons of the Lord Buddha is declaimed, the same by the preaching of which he drove away the pestilence

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footpaths, and with a huge green cheroot in his mouth, leisurely contemplates the operation. Everything is now in the hands of nature, and the agriculturist may lounge round his farm in peace till November; unless, indeed, excessive rain floods the ground and rots the crop, when a new planting out has to be gone through. The harvesting near Rangoon is entirely done by men from Upper Burma, or even by Indian coolies. They work for very little, and it saves the farmer a good deal of time and dignity to get all the cutting done for him. Accordingly, from October till December the steamers down the Irrawaddy used to be crowded with King Thibaw's subjects, all of whom had to leave behind them with their Myo-sa, or his delegate the Myo-wun, who vicariously "ate" the township between them, a pledge either of property or of some member of their family, that they would return to their country again. When they got back, very little of their hard-earned gains escaped the voracity of the royal officials. Now they come down by train, and after a trip or two learn enough to keep their money from enterprising fellow-countrymen. These anyathas, as they are called, behave remarkably well in British territory, notwithstanding the assertions of the rural police, who, being unable to detect dacoits, declare that these are all Upper Burmans who have come down for the harvest. They are really, however, mostly simple, quiet people, who are kept very much in awe by the bluster and town-knowledge of the down-country farmers, and work away zealously with their queer sickles, looking like the ordinary English article worn to half its original size by long use. It is worthy of notice that the grain is not mown close to the ground as in Europe. Except where there is a market for straw, very little more than the ears are cut off, and the straw burnt in the hot weather of March and April supplies a scarcely-needed fertilising to the soil. The reapers usually receive their payment from the farmer in grain, but they naturally convert this into money, or more portable goods, before they start off home again.

It does not take long to cut the crop, and then the corn is brought in to the homestead, commonly on rude sledges, more seldom in carts. The threshing-floor does not take

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where some sturdy tree refuses to fall, and the clearing it away becomes a matter of very considerable danger. This taung-ya system is very wasteful as well as laborious, and annually draws down upon itself the denunciations of the English forest officers. But the hill-tribes who adopt it are too few to support themselves in any other way. They were long ago driven out of the plains by the Burmans, and now cling to their old nomadic life with a degree of obstinacy which Government officials, in a variety of ways, have found is not to be tempted by any tale of the present security and plenty of the low country, or even of the valleys among the hills. Rice, therefore, continues to be produced with the minimum and the maximum of labour; but none of the hill rice ever finds its way out of the country, and seldom even down to the plains.

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The rice season, as far as the English merchant is concerned, commences in January and ends about May; but though this is pre-eminently the "busy season," there are purchases made in greater or less quantities all the year round. The relations between the great English rice firms and the simple jungle cultivators have not always been of a very elevating character, and it can hardly be denied that the fault lies wholly at the door of the foreigner. Missionaries in Burma are wont to mourn that their teachings are often rendered wholly nugatory by the want of scruple, and it might almost be said of honour, displayed by the great Rangoon rice firms. The good padres teach their proselytes that Christians are all honest and truthful. The ingenuous lads enter as clerks in a rice-mill and discover that Englishmen scarcely differ from the "poor heathen," except in being more lordly in the way of doing the thing.

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Years ago, when there were not nearly so many mills as there are now, and not a quarter so many ships in the harbour during the rice season, things went on pretty equably. One day one firm would give a rupee or so more per hundred baskets, and the next day it would be another. But soon the mills began to increase in number and more ships came, and it was harder to get paddy. Then rival firms began to bid against each other. There was demurrage before their eyes, and it was terribly expensive work keeping the mill

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establishment up to its full strength. And so prices rose and rose until they became absurdly high, and no one profited but the hawks that preyed on the simple Burmese cultivators. Then the English merchants held a meeting, and all pledged themselves not to give more than the current market rate for paddy. This seemed a fair enough agreement; but after a while it was found that the boats all gravitated towards one or two firms. A little investigation showed that this was due to the fact that though they paid the ordinary rate, according to the compact, they had a smaller measuring basket than their neighbours. Accordingly every one went on reducing the size of his basket until the system became as ruinously absurd as ever it had been before. Then there was another meeting, at which it was unanimously agreed that this state of affairs would never do, and that it was absolutely necessary to come to some definite understanding. A committee was appointed which, after some deliberation, concluded that, if, in addition to abiding by the market rate, every one were bound to use a basket of a certain fixed size, there would be no chance for unfair speculations. A standard basket was therefore fixed upon; and the competitors were supposed to start fair again. But in no very long time, one firm put a false bottom in the basket, another wedged in a board; and so on, till matters got back to the old way. This state of affairs is hardly creditable to mercantile honour, and it certainly is by no means profitable.

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Independently of this, paddy has gone up in price at an alarming rate of late years. The first heavy rise was in 1877, at the time of the Madras famine. That was also the time of the resolution to have a standard basket. Rice was wanted in any quantity for the famine districts, and millers gave an altogether fabulous price for grain. The game went on merrily, introduced the scandalous "paddy morality," and lasted long enough to make the cultivators think the new prices had come in for good. Far too many Burmese farmers are heavily in debt to the "chetties," the money-lending caste of the Madras coast. The agriculturists have borrowed money to build a pagoda or a monastery; to give a grand feast on the

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occasion of their marriage, or their father's death; to buy a new yoke of oxen in the place of those that have been carried off by disease; to get seed-grain to sow their tracts of paddy land, the last season's gains having been lost in some gambling transaction when they were down in Rangoon. They have got into the chetty's books in some way at any rate; and hapless is the man, Burman or Englishman, who has dealings with the fat, shaven-headed Madras money-lender. He will be charged eight, ten, twelve per cent a month, or even more, before there is an end of the transaction. The chetties, therefore, took a particular interest in the rise of the price of paddy. High prices ensured their being paid; moreover, handling such unwonted sums of money made the ever-careless Burman reckless. He gambled, he gave great feasts, he got deeper and deeper into debt with the money-lenders. Consequently it was desirable that the prices should not go down; and as men of business the chetties understood how that was to be done; they made the Burman farmers hold back their grain. The Rangoon firms were in desperation to meet their contracts, the ships could not be kept waiting; and so prices were maintained at nearly famine rates. This more than anything else brought about the unlucky legerdemain with standard baskets. The appearance of the chetty element in the trade upset everything. They are charming men of business, and know all about bulling and bearing, and all the other civilised expedients of trade. Poor "Jack Burma," listless and good-natured as he is, would never have thought of such things of himself; but he is in the hands of his master. Not a single village in the jungle, however remote, is to be found without its bare-backed money-lender. He hovers round the paddy nursery; he watches the men planting out the handfuls of half-grown rice; he makes the farmer hold back the threshed-out grain till he gives the word: then he fixes the rate and all but takes the money himself.

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The English merchants have struggled against the system, but with small success. They have laid out heavy sums in advances. The farmer is paid for the next year's crop before ever it is sown. This is generally only practi-

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Be 243 452 435 do no harm in Rangoon rice dealings, and would win that respect from the farmer which heavy payments and cunning never will.

Be 243 439 178 256 Rangoon still continues to be the largest rice port in the world. From January to May the river is crowded with shipping—huge iron and steel sailing craft that have been chartered beforehand, and carry off thousands of bags in their capacious holds; and a constant succession of "ditchers," as the steamers passing through the Suez Canal are called, which come "seeking," and seldom have to go away without their full complement of "five parts cargo rice," or "Europe milled." The steamers are displacing the sailing ships, and the shorter passage now makes it possible to carry fully husked rice home without the danger of heating, which was supposed to be avoided by the partly husked "five parts cargo rice." Harbour-masters and river-pilots have a busy time, and gather together many pieces of silver against the later months of the year, when they will have abundant leisure to spend them. Coringi coolies swarm in the town, and their monotonous chant, "Eh-ya-mah-la Tah-ma-lay, Madras Ag-boat Tah-ma-lay," may be heard at any hour of the night or the morning, floating over the river. The British sailor overflows into the town and sings noisy old salt sea-songs round about the Sule pagoda, gets mad drunk on arrack, and not unseldom clears Dalhousie Street with a linked-arm rush, heedless of the red-turbaned guardian of the peace, who keeps out of the way in the meantime, but will break poor drunken Jack's head with his truncheon if he finds him helpless and strayed from his fellow-roysterers.

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Be Ba 361 256 463 563 The Puzundaung Creek, where all the mills are, is as busy as an ant-hill all day long, and all night too, when some of the mills are lighted up with Jablochkoffs or later forms of electric light, and the silvery rays shine ghastly on the black and bronzed mill-workers. Here we have the Madrasi coolies again, making noises, according to their nature, as a kind of assertion that they are doing hard work. The lank Chittagonian firemen, with their aquiline noses, are coated with coal-dust, and divide their time between firing up and having a whiff at the hubble-bubble when Sandy,

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma (Europeans Chinese) AP1
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the Scotch engineer, is not looking. There is a cluster of Chinese carpenters, chipping away with their queer thick-headed axes and planes, which, with characteristic perversity, they pull towards them, instead of pushing away as other workmen do. Here is M——, the English "assistant" at the mill, his hat and coat all covered with rice-dust, which hangs in queer fashion on his eyebrows and moustache. He is in high spirits. "We've got twenty-four pair of stones going to-day, more than anybody else in the creek;" and he goes off to see how the Burmese girls are stitching up the rice-bags, a duty of which he is particularly fond, and over which he spends a quite unnecessary amount of time. There is R——'s voice on the other side of the creek. He is storming at some men in the cargo-boat, who have done something wrong—anchored in the wrong place, or not started for the upper mill at Kemendine last night as they ought to have done. R—— has a voice which is the terror of every loitering coolie and dawdling boat-wallah in his employ; and he will be as hoarse as a North Sea pilot by nightfall, and will want a "double-barrelled" whisky and soda to moisten him before dinner. He wants company down to "the Point," and presently comes skimming across in his gig, manned by Chittagonian Kalassies, and we drop down the creek—they call small rivers creeks in the East—to where it joins with the main Rangoon stream. The Pegu river, tapping the country north-east and north of Rangoon, comes in at the same place; and there is a great crowd of paddy-boats here in the early morning. Each firm has its brokers, middlemen who make the purchases from the farmers that come down with their grain. They have been here since daylight, and fly about in their little dug-outs from one seller to another. The great point in a broker seems to be power of lungs and fluency in abuse. The amount of yelling that goes on at "Monkey Point" would silence the bookmakers' ring at Epsom on a Derby day.

R—— has not come down to this pandemonium for nothing. There are a couple of big ships in, which must be filled, or there will be demurrage to pay, and a "canal-wallah" is expected this afternoon or to-morrow morning; so that the wheels must be kept going their hardest.

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

CHAPTER XXVI

SILK-GROWING

REARING silkworms, though a very profitable occupation, is not looked upon with any favour in Burma. To get the silk the pupa must be killed; and the taking of life in any form is an impiety always looked upon with great horror by all good Buddhists. Silk-growers are classed together with professional hunters and fishermen. The Four States of Punishment yawn for them, and their portion will be in the lowest abyss of the lowest hell. Still there are colonies of silk-growers in various parts of the country; but they live apart from the rest of the inhabitants as a rule, and often have entire villages to themselves. Colonel Horace Browne who, more than any other Englishman took an interest in the ways and occupations of the districts under his charge, states that the cultivators near Prome, where more silk is produced than in any part of Burma, are nearly all Yabeins —a race of the same stock as the Burmese, but despised by them independently of their crime in the way of habitually taking animal life. So much has the cultivation of silk become identified with them, that to Burman ears the term Yabein is virtually synonymous with that of silk-grower. They usually live on the hillsides, occupying themselves like the poorer Burmans and Karens, with taung-ya cultivation; burning the forests on the slopes and sowing the ground thus enriched with the wood ashes, with rice, cotton, or oil-seed. The system is viewed with very little approval by the government officials, for the taung-ya soil, hardly exhausted by the single crop raised off it, immediately produces a dense shrub-growth of no use to anybody, certainly not to the foresters.

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2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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536 who cannot stay over the night, or when a local feast, limited in its time, occurs. The great and legitimate season is the night, and frequently a play, especially a puppet play, extends over six or seven successive nights. The majority of the audience stay the whole time, from seven or eight o'clock at night till sunrise. It is not, however, to be supposed that they hear it all through. Abundance of mats and rugs are brought, and not a few, after listening till midnight or thereabouts, calmly curl themselves up to sleep, and slumber away for two or three hours, heedless of the braying of the horns and the crash of the cymbals only a few yards off. Then they wake up and fall in with the progress of the piece with as keen interest as if they had
263 heard every word of it. Most of the young people, however, prime themselves with the anti-soporific le'hpet, "pickled tea," as the English call it, and bid defiance to drowsiness. This condiment is as regular a crown to a Burmese dinner as cheese is to an English one, and with the same idea, possibly erroneous in both cases, that it promotes digestion.
[563] It is almost exclusively produced in Taungbaing, in the
[438] Shan country, by a hill tribe called Rumai, better known by the Burmese name of Palaungs. The Burmese mix with it salt, garlic, and assafœtida, douse it in oil, and add a few grains of millet seed. The leaves forming the basis are the leaves of an actual tree as distinguished from the bushes of China and Assam. Hooker called it *Elæodendron orientale*, while Anderson asserted that it was really *E. persicum*. Of late years Assam planters have bought Taungbaing seed for their gardens. One of the grievances which Englishmen have when they attend a pwè is that they are always induced by their host to take pickled tea, and perceive in it nothing but the overpowering horrors of the assafœtida. Pwès and assafœtida are therefore associated with one another to the detriment of both.

533 Few foreigners can detect one tune from another, or the recitative from any one of them. Consequently most declare there is only one tune, or no tune at all, according to the capacity of generosity in them. The same thing has been said by an inappreciative Burman of the "vipers" of the Royal Scots Fusiliers. He admired the conscientiousness

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

564 767 coffin or digging the grave. This occupation has therefore fallen almost exclusively into the hands of the old para-kyun, and helps to keep alive the ancient feeling. It must be allowed that the ways of the sandalās do not in any way tend to conciliate the multitude.

564 681 625 Finally there were the pagwet, the letyataung, or thaing-gyaing, the constables, jailers, executioners, lictors, mostly confined to the neighbourhood of the native kingdom Man-dalay. These merited all the obloquy that could be cast on them, but their position of quasi-authority made them more secretly hated than openly flouted. They were never allowed to enter a free man's house, even in the exercise of their office; nor could they go within the walls of the palace stockade, but many a citizen smarted under the blows of the lictor's thaing, when a great man came round a corner sud-denly, and the letyataung saw a chance for a back-hander with his fasces; and it was far too easy a matter for a man to get into jail in Mandalay to make it a wise proceeding to rail at the pagwet. It was an unlovely custom in Upper Burma which made the executioner both constable and jailer, and condemned him to live on his wits. The natural result was that he lived on the prisoners, and extorted the last pice out of his victim with threats of violence, or actual torture. Pagwet means a circle on the cheek, and this ring on the face implied that its bearer had been condemned for a capital crime, and was respited to become executioner. Others had devices descriptive of their offence tattooed on the chest, as luthat (murderer), thukho (thief), damya (dacoit or highway robber). An execution in Mandalay was a horrid sight. The "spotted man" danced round his victim, made feints with his sword and burst into fits of wild laughter or yells, to shake the doomed man's nerves. It must be admitted that the spectators were very little better. A skilful blow which just slit the skin and drew blood met with an approving shout. The pagwet, like other outcasts, was buried like carrion when he died, or perhaps was simply thrown out with the town offal. [766]

● 563 775 How does all this agree with the theory of Buddhism, that there is equality for all, and that the poorest man can raise himself to sublimest heights after death? The king

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had and exercised the power of life and death over all his people. He ruled in the truest sense by divine right, and his subjects were all his slaves. The answer is—it is kan, it is the accumulation of merits or demerits in past existences. A man is rich, powerful, and great, because aforetime he was pious and good. Therefore now he has a right to govern and look down with contempt on the poor. The poor man must have been a bad man before he entered on this existence. He deserves to be miserable; he knows it himself, and submits fatuously. It is true the tyrant does not do well if he oppresses him, and perhaps may be punished for it in a later existence, and become the slave of him who, now a slave, may hereafter by good works attain the rank of king. But in his present existence the great man has the fullest right to oppress and grind down the poor as much as he chooses. He enjoys the fruits of previous virtues, and since he has perhaps in many existences mortified the flesh and done grievous penance, he has now a right to enjoy himself to the limit of his desires. Moreover, as he has great power and riches, it is always easy for him by much almsgiving and good works to add so much merit to his kan as to outweigh all his sins, and in the end preserve the balance still in his favour. This is, however, very hard for the poor man. His station exposes him to many temptations to sin. He has but very little to give to the beikku and to the pagodas. He has perhaps even, in order to save himself from starvation, to shoot deer and game, and catch fish, a mode of living which infallibly dooms him to a few millions of years in hell, whence again he has to work up through the upper three states of punishment before he can enter anew upon existence on earth, there to strive to accumulate hard-earned merit, that he may not incontinently topple back again to nga-yè. In any case the poor man's hope can only be directed to the future. From the seeds sown in past worlds, tares have sprung up in the soil of his present existence, and tares they will remain. The germ of a higher life may be sown, but it will only grow up in a new existence. There is happily one refuge for the man born to poverty and misery. It is always open to him to put on the yellow robe of the Assembly of the Perfect, but to do that

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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563 775 he must feel himself strong enough to beat down the fire of passions and remain steadfast to the end, for a lutwet, a man who has put his hand to the plough and turns back again, exposes himself to infinitely greater danger towards his next existence than he who has remained throughout in the world. The monastery is a house of refuge not to be lightly sought, and, sad to say, even it is not open to the outcast.

775 181 761 This doctrine of kan also accounts for the equanimity and callousness with which Buddhists view human misery and the taking of human life, notwithstanding the law which forbids the killing of even the smallest insect. They recognise apathetically the working out of inexorable destiny, and watch a man drowning in the river with undisturbed tranquillity, for they are not called upon or even justified in stirring a hand to prevent it. You cannot combat manifest fate.

564 But the outcast may not in any case enter the monastery, not even as a scholar. Even that last chance is withheld from him. He is the connecting link with the state of animals, the highest state of punishment. He is considered no better than an animal in thought; he meets with less toleration in actual life. Were he bedizened to the eyes with costly silks and priceless jewellery no girl would look at him. His wealth is of no use. He is not allowed to build a pagoda, or even to supply fresh-water pots on a wayside stand. The monk would refuse his alms; the starving free-man beggar would scorn his bounty. They will no doubt gradually disappear under British rule, but there will be those who will regret it. They may have to work hard for their living.

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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Myowun wrote to him to say that as the envoy would not take his advice he must break off all intercourse, and the English thanthaman would be good enough not to come near his house for the future. Captain Cox had had a fence put up round his house to keep away the inquisitive rabble, at a cost of twenty rupees. One morning when he woke up he found this had been unceremoniously carried away, and that it had been used to enclose a place near the river where the heir-apparent's head might be washed. Finally great pressure was put upon him to take the oath of allegiance to the king; he was to drink the water in which the muskets and lances of the guard had been dipped, and it was expressly stipulated that he should pay for his oath just as any Burman would have to do. Scores of like details might be mentioned with regard to all the other ambassadors and residents. It will be sufficient, however, to mention that, in later years, one resident had a cane flourished over his head by a convict lictor, and that the last *chargé d'affaires* of all was chased by a howling rabble from the Mandalay bazaar to the Residency gates, which were broken in—no great exertion of strength was necessary certainly—all because he had killed a pariah dog that was snapping at his heels.

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If the various Government representatives were treated in this way, non-official Englishmen could not expect great reverence to be paid to them, and it is hardly worth mentioning that in 1881 a Rangoon merchant, yelled at by convict lictors, went down on his knees while one of the leading spirits of the massacres, the Hpaung Wun, went by on his elephant. Little wonder then that the patriotic fictions of the Mahā Yazawin were believed, and that the perusal of them was all the more greedily indulged in. The wearing of shoes in the Palace was never settled till there had ceased to be a Lord of it.

But it is not so much the English that suffered—though occasionally a few of them did get stoned—as the smaller nations and tribes who live around and among the Burmese. It must be acknowledged that the Burman is a sad bully; but the white strangers could reduce him to civility, if to nothing else, very speedily. It is different with other races —some perhaps aboriginal, some invaders of Burma as much

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2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma(Hill Peoples)AP
Burmese AP4

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as the Burmese themselves. The Chins, the Karens, and, in some degree, even the stalwart if simple Shans, have all suffered in common with weaker nationalities from the cunning and braggadocio of the Burman. The Mahā Yazawin delights no less in recounting tales of barbaric diplomacy than in heroics about gallant generals who hold quicksilver in their mouths and advance on the quailing foe, leaping eighteen or twenty cubits in the air. For example, the chronicles of Prome relate the well-known world-story of the bullock's hide of ground. A tribe came from the East under the command of an Amazon. She obtained from the aborigines—probably now some of the hill-tribes in Arakan—a grant of as much land as could be enclosed within an ox-hide, and, following the example of Dido, cut the hide into strips. She got into difficulties, however, and would probably have been driven out had she not married a neighbouring king. A stepson of hers founded the ancient town of Tharekettara (Prome), an event said to have been prophesied by the Buddha Gautama himself, in proof whereof the Shwesandaw pagoda exists to the present day.

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A story of a similar character is told with regard to the Shans. The Burmans had a quarrel with some of these big-boned highlandmen as to the ownership of a tract of fine paddy-land. The Shans were in force, and perfectly prepared to fight about the matter. The Burmese therefore resorted to craft. An old hermit was referred to on the subject. He said that the party which first finished building a pagoda of a certain fixed size should have the disputed territory. So both sides set to work. The Burmese soon found that the sturdy hillmen were distancing them. At night, therefore, the chief had recourse to stratagem. He made a framework of bamboos of the required height, had it covered with cloth, and daubed the cloth with white plaster. When daylight came, and the Shans saw the Burmese shrine complete and perfect, even to the extent of offerings of fruit and candles, their astonishment and dismay were such that they marched off straightway to the hills—ascribing the rapid erection to supernatural assistance, and never dreaming of examining the precocious payā; whereat the Burmese chronicler chuckles with patriotic delight, and glorifies the

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma (Hill Peoples) AP1
Burmese AP4

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shrewdness of his countrymen. The same story is told of the foundation of the Arakan empire by the younger of two brothers who came from India.

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But it is in the relations with the milder-natured tribes, such as the Karens and Chins, or the small if warlike septs such as the Kachins, that the Burman most comes up to the truculence of the Mahā Yazawin. Out of the northern Kachins—bold robber bands, armed with queer, home-made, stockless guns—little was to be gained. They lived on the hills, and owned nothing but pigs; but they raided on low-land villages, and the Burmans retaliated, and there were periodic seasons of mutual crucifixion. Long ago these clans had the reputation of kindly hospitality, but Burmese tyranny made most of them dangerous savages. It is different with the Karens and Chins. The former, a heavy, plethoric people, endure their wrongs with dull indifference, all but the fierce Red Karens, who kept up a perpetual guerilla warfare, after the manner of the Kachins. The Karens account for their wrongs in the following way. When Yŭwa created the world he took three handfuls of earth and threw them round about him. From one sprang the Burmans, from another the Karens, and from the third the Kalās, the foreigners. The Karens were very talkative and made more noise than all the others, and so the Creator believed that there were too many of them, and he threw another half handful to the Burmans, who thus gained such a supremacy that they soon overcame the Karens, and have oppressed them ever since.

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The Chins were subjected to such long-continued and systematic ill-treatment on the part of the Burmese, that traditions accounting for this oppression actually form a part of the national religion. All mankind, they say, is descended from a woman called Hlinyu, who laid 101 eggs, from the last laid of which sprang the Chins. Hlinyu loved the youngest best; but he had gone away, and before she found him again the whole world except bleak mountain-ranges had been partitioned out among her other children. So the Chin first man got the hills, and as compensation was given elephants, horses, cattle, goats, pigs, and fowls. Unfortunately, Hlinyu appointed the Burman brother to

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma AP1
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look after him. The Burman turned out a most wicked and unscrupulous guardian. He pretended to teach him, but only showed the blank side of the slate, so that the poor Chin never learned a single letter. He rubbed the elephant's back with cowhage, so that the Chin's bare legs were so tickled that he refused to have such an unpleasant animal, and gave all the elephants to the Burman. By similar tricks the buffaloes, the horses, and the cattle were obtained. When the Chin mounted to ride on the horse, the Burman's wife got in the way, and was knocked down; and as compensation for the injuries she sustained, and to quiet her clamour, the horse had to be handed over. Then at the Burman's instigation the Chin went to view his buffaloes, clad in fiery-red garments. The buffalo naturally chased him up a tree, and before he could gain the earth again the buffaloes had gone the way of the elephants and horses. Ultimately nothing remained but goats, pigs, and fowls. Even the barren mountains were not left in his undisturbed possession. When the boundaries of the different countries were marked out, the Burman took very good care to mark his with stones and pillars, but he persuaded the Chin that tufts of grass were good enough for him. These were all burned away by the jungle-fires, and then the despoiled Chin had to live wherever the Burman told him. Thus the race has never had a country or town of its own, but wanders about in a nomadic way over the hills on the fringe of Burma. The well-known custom some of the frontier Chin women have of tattooing their faces is an existing proof of this tyranny. They are naturally pretty; and this disfigurement—for they themselves acknowledge it to be such, and never adopted it in the heart of the Chin hills—was adopted to prevent the Burmese from carrying them off, as they once did constantly.

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The stories of the Mahā Yazawin fully account for and justify these queer traditions of the national religion of the Chins. But it is not in such minor points that the annalist is seen at his best. It is when he vapours about Chinese and Siamese and Munipuris, who come in armies numbered by hundreds of thousands, with elephants in tens of thousands, and the guardian nats of the nations fight on their respective

2 Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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handsomest Burman in the country, people used to say. Two years and a half have, however, made a very great difference. His majesty's flat nose has become flatter than ever; his forehead seems to have more of the snake's slope back than even the most typical of his family; and his round face is all bloated and blotched. When we had an interview with him, he had a scratch across his face from the eye over the left cheek, and it was a question whether the queen had done it or not. It did not add dignity to a manner which was not by any means ideally kingly. It was a private interview certainly, and we did not therefore expect to see him gorgeous in a silk surcoat and spire-like tharapu or crown. But it seemed somewhat negligent to appear in a soiled white short coat and a plain check pattern, yellow silk pasoh, such as any ordinary townsman might wear. In his ears certainly were splendid gold cylinders, with magnificent clusters of diamonds and emeralds at the ends, and on his finger glistened a sapphire ring worth a monarch's ransom. There was a spray of diamonds in his hair too, but it only sufficed to draw attention to the fact that he had neglected his toilet, which is a bad sign in a young man! All Burmans wear their long hair tied up in a knot on the top of their head. Thibaw, however, stepped out of a monastery on to the throne, and in the monasteries every one has his head shaved. The royal hair has therefore not had time to grow very long yet, and his majesty makes up his yaung, or top knot, with false tresses, as many humbler Burmans do, only they take care over it, which he does not. This is the worst sign of all; for when a Burman ceases to take pride in his hair he must be very far gone.

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There are very considerable doubts as to his majesty's legitimacy. In any case he is not a pure Burman. His mother had a good deal of wild Shan blood in her veins. Just before Thibaw's birth it was discovered that his mother was unpardonably intimate with a pôngyi, one of the mendicants of the royal monastery. The monk was thrown into prison, and died there very suddenly of official colic. The queen was sent to a nunnery, where she remained till Thibaw came to the throne. She had better have stayed there for good. A year ago there was a fearful scandal.

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2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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701 between the inner and outer stockades of the palace. There they fell in, in a theoretical formation of fours, and remained placidly waiting; conversation went on freely, and smoking and chewing betel were not interfered with. The bogyi and other officers of rank meanwhile assembled within the inner court. After, perhaps, three or four hours' waiting, the king came out and inspected the forces through a field-glass from the head of the broad flight of steps in front of the Hall of Audience, or, perhaps, a notice was sent out that his majesty would not even view his troops in this easy fashion, and the army was saved from the—to English notions—exceedingly unmilitary attitude of grovelling on its stomach for a matter of two minutes while the king looked through his binocular.

701 714 This over, the non-commissioned officers said *hé!* and the men sloped arms and started off anyhow. Outside the eastern gate a halt was made while the bogyis, colonels of regiments, mounted their elephants, got into position, and marshalled their bodyguards round about them. The lesser bos and thwethaukgyis, "great blood drinkers," were mounted on ponies and had their personal retainers about them too. The commanding officer came at the head of his regiment, preceded by twenty pages carrying double-barrelled smooth-bores in red cloth covers. These pages were all dressed alike, according to the individual taste of the commander, in uniform turbans, tunic, and pason. The livery of the [563] young Kachin colonel of the Fourth Regiment was the most effective—red-flowered turbans, French grey jackets, and red pasos of the wavy "dog's tooth" pattern. The colonel of the Third Regiment, on the other hand, revelled in bilious contrasts—pea-green gaungbaungs, flowing red tunics, and yellow waistcloths of what a 'Varsity tradesman would call a neat quiet plaid pattern. This bodyguard walked at either side of the road in loose Indian file to see that the way was clear. The bo himself rode an elephant, gorgeously caparisoned, with tassels and streamers trailing to the ground from the velvet-covered howdah. He was dressed in the national turban and paso, but wore a tight-fitting tunic, covered with gold lace. All of them were either smoking or chewing betel. Behind the elephant came

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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702 had no drill, but this was very far from being the case. On the contrary, drill was going on constantly inside the palace
704 and at the various guard stations. The French and Italian
186 officers were always instructing them, but a want of belief
●563 in the utility of mass movements rendered all their efforts useless. The recruits went through the balance-step with the utmost enthusiasm; when it came to forming fours they were a little less ardent, but by the time they ought to have been counter-marching and right-forming company they were tired of the whole business and poked fun at the instructor. European officers called themselves, and were called, generals and colonels and what not, but they were simply drill sergeants with very unpromising material. They were allowed no uniform; they never took command on a review day. Occasionally they complained of being insulted by their squads, and were told by a sententious mingyi that patience is one of the ten virtues which go to the making up of a true gentleman. To recompense them for their trials they made a great deal of money in a variety of ways, their salaries being the least part, and paid at long and uncertain intervals in a lump sum. The real "generals" were men who hardly ever came out at all, least of all when there was a chance of fighting. The commander-in-chief was for many months in jail, but still retained his title, and two of his sons remained in command of regiments. The men who managed the reviews and any work that was to be done were all let-thôndaw, the king's pages of honour. Few of them were over twenty, but their duties did not require much experience.

702 Besides the legitimate drill, conducted by the European instructors, there were other performances, the object of which would hardly be apparent to the compilers of the *Manual of Field Exercise*. The instructor, one of the junior officers, assembled the men in a big circle round about him, and proceeded in a fashion dictated to him apparently by nothing but his own fancy. He threw his gun into the air, caught it and cried *hé!* and the men followed his example to the best of their ability. He went through the same manœuvre behind his back, cried *hé!* again, and the men probably got some hard knocks in dutifully trying to imitate him. He cried *hé* and hunched up his shoulders; cried *hé* and brought

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specially for the purpose, with mountains of bananas, and trays heaped up with ngapi, curries, and condiments of all kinds. Thibaw Min was not so eager for merit, and actually went the length of driving a couple of thousand of the holy men out of the capital. Still even he gave them periodical feasts, and there were at least ten thousand of the religious in the Golden City and its immediate neighbourhood. Besides these there were numerous other nationalities; the Chinaman, smooth-shaven and prosperous as always, whether gaunt and big-boned from Yün-nan and Szuch'uan, or sleek and sturdy from Rangoon and the Straits, defying the most greedy official to rob him of his profits, and drinking his tea and smoking his opium-pipe with supreme composure and good-humour; the bearded Surati with solemn face and Jewish tricks of trade; the Palaung come down from the north with his bamboo rafts laden with pickled tea; the stalwart Shan with baggy blue or white trousers and tattoo marks down to his ankles, journeying in a long caravan with sword-blades and iron-work, and a cavalcade of mountain ponies; the heavy, easy-going Karen; the lithe, treacherous Kachin, bringing presents perhaps from his village, and on his way down spying out villages easy to raid in a night attack; all these, and a host of others, might be seen any day in the Royal City of Gems. There were not a few white men too, even latterly, when evil times fell upon them, and there were not the pickings that were to be had when Mindôn Min was king. But many of them were there sorely against their inclination. Mandalay had become an asylum for insolvent debtors, runaway soldiers and sailors, and unlucky adventurers from British territory, just as Rangoon used to be for India in the old Burman days. There were numbers of French and Italians in government service, as military instructors and superintendents of the various factories; officers who had been cashiered, or disowned by their families, or were in other ways under a cloud. One Count there was, who constituted the scientific branch of the service in himself, manufactured and sold fruit syrups to the captains of steamers, preserved a pocket-handkerchief with a coronet in the corner, and carried his lands in his finger-nails. The old king was shamefully cheated by a variety of speculators, not a few of them Englishmen.

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Burmese AP4

Perhaps it was his own fault. He had a perfect monomania for making cannon, and thought that every white man must have some notion of how they were to be manufactured. Consequently, whenever some fresh wanderer came to the royal city and requested employment, he was brought before the king, and some such dialogue as the following ensued: "What is your name?" "John Smith." "What can you do?" "May it please your majesty, I am a sea-cook." "Can you make a cannon?" Whereupon John Smith, if he was a wise man, would profess his ability to make the attempt at any rate. A lump of metal would be made over to him, and he would chisel and hammer away at it and draw his monthly pay as regularly as he could get it. When results were demanded he would either run away, or boldly ask for a grant of money to enable him to go to Europe to get the requisite tools. If he got it neither tools nor man were ever seen again. Such lack of moral principle was believed by the king to arise from the want of a Buddhist training, and he continued to be imposed upon to the very end. Thibaw still retained some foreigners in his service, but they found it harder to get their pay, and much more of a task to swindle the Government.

Thus Mandalay presented a series of violent contrasts: jewel-studded temples and gilded monasteries standing side by side with wattled hovels penetrated by every wind that blew; the haughty prince preceded by the respited murderer, his lictor; the busy Chinaman next door to the gambling scum of the low country; the astrologer, learned in his mantras, overpersuaded by the glib talk of the Western adventurer; and over all hanging the fear of prison with its nameless horrors, and the knife of the assassin.

In the beginning of the century Rangoon was in much the same condition, except that it was very much smaller, no better in fact than a village with the Governor's house and stockade in the middle of it. Now it has broad smooth roads, beautifully laid out public gardens, abundant street lamps, spacious mercantile offices, mills, schools, jails, hospitals, clubs, and halls. The population forms an even more motley assemblage than is to be found in Mandalay.

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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There are Chinese, Japanese, Malays, Siamese, natives of India of all parts, Bengalis, Madrassis, Panjabis, Parsis, Persians, Suratis, together with Armenians, Jews, English, French, Germans, Italians, Greeks, and all the European nationalities, mixed up with the native races, Burmese, Talaings, Shans, Karens, but they are all kept in order by the strong arm of the law, which is the same for the rich man and the poor.

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177.36

The same benefits are now extended to Mandalay, but it is a vastly less interesting place than it used to be. A siding from the railway cuts its way through the city wall; one of the pyathats on the battlements has thrown out corridors to make a somewhat barrack-like Government house; a carriage drive goes round Mandalay hill; the pigs have all been eaten up, and the pariah dogs are poisoned periodically by municipal order. There never were any sludgy sqwudgy creeks, but the roads, which were a passable imitation of them in the rains, are now eminently fitted for exceeding the speed limit. A, B, and C roads testify to the unromantic stolidity of the Military Intelligence Department; electric trams make it easier for the Burman to move to the suburbs and leave the town to the hustling foreigner. There are no agreeable scallywags. There are Cook's tourists instead during the three cool months of the year. The palace, instead of being tawdrily magnificent, smells horribly of bats. It has been declared to be an archæological treasure, though it is only about sixty years old, and has been horribly mishandled by unimaginative secretaries and a Public Works Department oppressed with sealed patterns.

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

CHAPTER LX

THE LANGUAGE

193 194 THE Burmese language is monosyllabic, and is therefore, like all the other monosyllabic languages, forced into the tonic system on account of the limited number of combinations of which the consonants admit. The multitude of meanings which a slight difference of accentuation gives to an otherwise identical sound is the greatest difficulty which a stranger has to contend with in studying the language, and never fails to land the beginner in a most embarrassing maze of complications. The modulations of the voice which European nations employ only to express astonishment, disbelief, interrogation, and alarm, become in Burmese and other Indo-Chinese tongues a means for distinguishing between words of different meaning; and this peculiarity offers particular difficulties to the phlegmatic, monotonous-voiced Englishman. It does not simplify matters that Burmese is, of all these languages, the softest and most pliable, and has therefore received the title of the Italian of the Far East. The varying cadence of the sounds produces to the ear the semblance of a chant, and all the people seem to speak in a kind of rhythm, so that as long as a man has ideas, it is not a very difficult matter to compose linga. But this only renders it more puzzling to the Occidental, and accounts for the fact that very few Englishmen learn Burmese, and still fewer speak it well. Of the mercantile community not one in fifty has any knowledge of Burmese at all; and the civil officers, who have to pass examinations before they get promotion, are but poor hands in conversation. The chief reason of this is, of course, that the European is accustomed

[503] [195] 194 876

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

A woman who has seven sons or seven daughters in unbroken succession is almost certain to become a witch; her husband had better not quarrel with her at any rate. 754

At Kāma, a small place between Prome and Thayetmyo, there is a spirit flame, a kind of Jack o' Lantern, in a hollow near the town. Long ago a smith was killed in a brawl and became a nat after death. He liked his old profession and set up a nat-fire, and worked away at nights on a spectral forge. The inhabitants soon found out what was going on, and after their first terror was over used to go out in the middle of the day and leave a piece of iron, saying, "Good Mr. Spirit, make me an axe, a dah, a hoe." Next day they found it all ready made. At last a Chin—just the sort of thing one of those stupid people would do—hid himself, and just when the midnight cocks had finished crowing, up rose the smith in human shape, dressed in a red paso and a flaring red turban. He began hammering away on his anvil, welding a sword. The infatuated Chin at last shouted, "Make it quick." The demon smith whipped round on the instant and flung the red-hot dah at him, burning his cheek. The indiscreet peeping Tom took to his heels and ran. After he had got a mile away he rubbed his blistered cheek, and in after-times there rose at that place Pāpôt, "the cheek-rubbing village." A mile farther on he began to shake all over with fatigue and terror, whence the name of Tôn, "the trembling village." Finally, when he reached the site of Paukpogu, the "swelling burst," he sank down on the ground, and was found there next morning with just enough life left to tell his story. The smith never worked again, but his fire may be seen to this day. Once a year all the house fires in Kāma are put out and lighted again from the nat-mi. Should any one neglect so to pay honour to the nat, his house and all his goods will be burnt before the year is out. The resemblance to the legend of Wayland Smith at Lambourn in Berkshire is obvious. The naming of the villages is also a favourite form of Horne Took etymology prevalent all over Burma. 823 [513] [186] [103]

The common notion of earthquakes is that the earth is supported on the shoulders of four creatures called nga-hlyin. These monsters are less sturdy than the classical Atlas, and 823

14: Brant E-5 (1949-50) 1954 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

243 led around in circular fashion until the grain is thoroughly separated from the stalks. A pronged hoe is then drawn over the stalks to further the separation, after which the bullocks further stamp upon them. When the grain appears to be full separated from the stalks it is swept up into large heaps, while the stalks are put aside for use as cattle fodder.

Winnowing apparatus consists of a tripod of bamboo poles, from the top of which is suspended a plaited round tray of wide weave. Basketsful of grain are handed up to a man who stands on a platform, often an old barrel or a chair, and empties them on to the tray. As he shakes the tray the grain falls through to the ground, while any chaff is carried away by the wind.

The paddy for household use may then be allowed to dry further before being sent by boat down Pazundaung Creek to be milled. In a few households the paddy for home consumption is husked by a foot-operated pounding device, or by a large, hand-operated mortar and pestle. If there is any surplus, beyond the requirements of home consumption, seed, payment of laborers and debts, it is sold to nearby millers who come to purchase it.

494 3. Bus Operation. Forty-four men of the community are principally occupied as bus drivers or fare-collectors. The latter are known as 'spares' in the local terminology. Because of the total destruction of public transportation facilities during World War II in Rangoon and the surrounding area, large numbers of surplus military vehicles have been converted into buses. These buses are owned individually or by small groups of partners. The Tadagale men who engage in bus operation ply between the village, which is a terminus, and Rangoon. Their vehicles are, for the most part, in poor repair, and breakdowns along the route are not uncommon. No regular time schedule is followed; rather, they begin a trip when fully loaded, which is to [436] say extremely tightly packed with passengers. By carrying maximum loads, and by charging a fare of 6 annas (ca. 8 cents), the bus operators are able to make a profit, despite the high cost of fuel (ca. 47 cents per Imperial gallon) and of repairs.

464 4. Field Labor. Thirty-eight villagers make their livings mainly by field labor. During the planting and harvesting seasons they work steadily for cultivators, either in Tadagale or in nearby communities. They are paid in kind or in cash, seldom in combination. During the growing season, August to November, and again, between the end of the harvest and the beginning of the planting season, these people must depend on other temporary jobs to round out their livings.

234 5. Dairy Farming. This occupation is carried on exclusively by the small
● 563 group of Indians in Tadagale, who possess herds of water buffalo and cattle.
443 Fresh milk is taken daily by bus, in large metal containers, to Rangoon, where it is sold for cash, mostly to Muslim restaurants. The Burmese inhabitants of Tadagale make but slight use of milk and there is virtually no market for it in the village.

265 6. Selling of Prepared Foods. The preparation and itinerant selling of certain Burmese foods supports twenty persons, of whom many are women. Because of the Burmese habit of informal, occasional eating between the two regular daily meals, food sellers do a considerable business. They are invariably present at the pwes, outdoor dramatic presentations staged during holidays and on other festive occasions.

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One of the most popular foods of these vendors is mohingha. Rice noodles are made by pounding rice into a flour, mixing it with water, and grinding into a paste between two flat stone slabs. After the excess water has been expressed from this paste, it is pushed through sieves with narrow holes, to form noodles. Once dried, the noodles are cooked and mixed with a curry to make mohingha. 252

A beverage sold regularly by food vendors is molessaun. It is made of sugar, coconut milk and bits of rice noodles, mixed together. The villagers consider this drink very tasty and refreshing. 272

7. Shopkeeping and Middleman Trading. The typical shop in the village consists of nothing more than a few large glass jars containing cigars, matches, candy, soap, and various other articles, set out on the porch in front of a house. The stocks of these are very small and are periodically replenished by purchase in Rangoon. Customers are occasional and sales are very small. 414

Seventeen villagers devote their main activity to what we have called middleman trading. These persons make a living by periodically buying quantities of such goods as second-hand lumber from dismantled dwellings, bamboo, cloth, etc., and selling them in the village and nearby places.

8. Urban Labor. The nineteen individuals listed in Table II as urban laborers are employed in a government medical warehouse in Rangoon. They are unskilled workers who perform such tasks as moving boxes of medical supplies in and out of the establishment and arranging them in the warehouse. These people commute daily between Tadagale and their place of work by bus. 464 369

These are the numerically most significant of the variety of occupations followed by villagers. There are six unemployed persons and fourteen who are not gainfully employed because of old age, ill health, or blindness. The great majority of the married women and unmarried girls are occupied most of the time with domestic housework, looking after small children, and helping with gardening. 463

The whole character of the occupational pattern is shifting and unstable. Individuals move opportunistically from one form of activity to another as circumstances change, in an effort to round out a living. Informants stated that in former times the community was much more agricultural, but that owing to loss of land through indebtedness people had gradually left farming for other occupations. 463 178

Income

In analyzing our data on income, figures for the Indians of Tadagale have been calculated separately. The Indians are occupationally a homogeneous group, all engaged in dairy farming. The range and average of income within this small group is so far above that of the Burmese that a misleading idea of the community's economic structure would be conveyed were the data on the Indians included in a single, overall computation for the village. 434 [563]

The following tables show family incomes.

14: Brant E-5 (1949-50) 1954 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

The mean annual family income of cultivators is Rs. 1091 ($229), and the mean annual per capita income is Rs. 203 ($42). For non-cultivators, the comparable figures are Rs. 1210 ($254) and Rs. 276 ($57). However, when we compare median family incomes (a more reliable measure of central tendency for our sample) the apparent advantage of non-cultivators disappears; they receive Rs. 900 as against Rs. 910 for cultivators. The only significant difference in the range of incomes for the two groups is that some 7% of the non-cultivators receive incomes over Rs. 3500 ($735), while no cultivator receives over Rs. 3000. However, the idea is prevalent in the village that cultivation is a relatively unprofitable occupation and that it is possible to realize as much or more income by less arduous types of work. 434 463

The Indians of Tadagale are much more prosperous in terms of income, as shown below. 434 562

Table V

Family Incomes of Indians
(in rupees. Rs 100 = $21)

Income	No. Families
0- 500	0
500-1000	3
1001-1500	1
1501-2000	2
2001-2500	2
2501-3000	3
Over 7000*	4
	15

(*includes two families of Rs. 7200 each; one of Rs. 8640; and one of Rs. 18,000.)

The mean annual family income for the Indians is Rs. 4030 ($848), and the mean annual per capita income is Rs. 1343 ($281).

Differences in family incomes are not reflected in external status symbols, except in extreme cases. In poor families the type of house is usually bamboo and thatch, while among relatively prosperous families it is more likely to be of plank construction, with perhaps a galvanized iron roof. In the wealthier families the women have more silk longyis for dress occasions. Major differences in economic standing are often shown in the size, elaborateness and expensiveness of ceremonials, such as weddings and boys' initiation ceremonies, and in the contributions made towards the support of the Buddhist monks. 571

In general, however, wealth differences in Tadagale do not seem to provide any clear basis for differential association of persons. Kinship, which cuts across economic lines, is far more important. Although a few families are generally regarded as well off, they do not live apart from the rest of the community either in the spatial or social sense. Wealth does not appear to have any direct correlation with status, rank or privilege, or to form the 565 556

In Standard 1A, numerals up to one hundred and the various arithmetic operations are taught. Reading is done from a primer which contains fifteen commandments of the Buddha in Pali, with Burmese translations. In addition, a more advanced reader is used, containing sermons of the Buddha in both languages. The children in this class range in age from six to thirteen years, the average being nine. 872

The next class, Standard 2, provides further reading in the sermons and precepts of Buddhism, arithmetic ranging into high numbers, multiplication tables up to sixteen, and sums involving money. The geography of Burma is introduced. The pupils average ten and a half years.

More advanced arithmetic, reading of historical tales, and more advanced geography are included in the curriculum of Standard 3, the pupils of which average in age about the same as those in Standard 2. Hygiene is begun, literally called 'lessons to insure good health.' Besides cleanliness, the children learn proper postures for sitting, sleeping, and eating. Exercises in Burmese grammar are given by mass recitation -- which is the method of teaching all subjects. Another subject is the writing of letters and social invitations.

Children ranging from ten to fourteen years are in Standard 4. They use an advanced reader containing Buddhist sermons and history. Their arithmetic includes weights and measures, land measurement, and simple interest calculations. There is more emphasis on writing of letters and essays.

The school building is simply a vacant house. The entire school group is assembled at the same time, seated on the floor. The lessons of the different standards are recited one after another. While one standard is engaged in recitation, the other pupils are expected to study, or at least remain quiet. On the religious duty days, and of course on the holidays, the school is not in session.

This school contributes to the literacy of the village, although in large measure the high literacy here and generally in Burma, as compared with India and China, is attributable to the monastic schools. In Tadagale, 357 of a total of 640 persons, eight years of age and above, on whom literacy data could be secured, were literate. This is 55%. The criterion of literacy employed was ability to read a newspaper in some language. Of the 331 men in this number, 251 were literate, or nearly 76%. Women, however, were only 31% literate. Literacy in English is rare in the village; there were but twelve persons who could read an English language newspaper, and of these, nine were men. 872 242

Tadagale's proximity to Rangoon, where several newspapers are published, gives villagers access to the press. In fact, a few vendors of the metropolitan newspapers sell them in the community. Few persons buy them, but these copies receive very wide circulation. A survey of newspaper reading, carried out among those claiming literacy indicated a frequency range from zero to daily reading of newspapers. The largest group, nearly a third, both men and women, read a paper once or twice a week, while another 20% read one twice or three times a month. 10% reported never reading papers, while 16% claimed to be daily readers. 252 204

Intergroup Relations

As indicated earlier, about 6% of the population of Tadagale consists of Indians, some of them born in Burma. The Indian inhabitants came to the village 563

563 within the past two or three decades. In almost every way, they form a
463 village within the village. They are spatially clustered together, apart from
184 the Burmese. Their living is earned by dairying; milk from their cattle and
[262] water buffaloes is sold in Rangoon, for cash, to Muslim restaurants. Since the Burmese do not consume milk, the Indian dairymen find no market for their product in the community. The only economic relationship between the two groups consists of some exchange of Burmese paddy stalk, when the harvest is over, for animal manure. The Indians use the paddy stalk as fodder for their animals, while the Burmese use animal manure to some extent for their not very fertile garden and rice lands.

563 The Indians being Hindus, the Burmese Buddhists, the two groups have no
511 basis for common participation in religious or ceremonial life. Nor is there
556 more than a negligible tendency towards intermarriage; our census showed two cases.

As shown by our figures on income, the Indians as a group are far more prosperous than the Burmese. Although the Burmese seem to realize this, they tend to phrase the matter not so much in terms of greater wealth of the Indians as in terms of how little the Indian spends of his income. To the average Burmese of the village, the Indian is something of a lesser breed who lives on next to nothing and so grows rich.

563 Throughout the course of research in Tadagale, an effort was made from time to time to study intergroup feelings and attitudes, but this was a subject on which informants who were quite ready to discuss almost any other matter were loath to speak. The Burmese seemed to know little (or at least so professed) about the ways of the Indians; the Indians were very tight-lipped concerning the Burmese.

175 It was towards the close of our work in Tadagale that certain events
669 occurred which brought out, in sharp focus, the nature of Burmese-Indian relations
674 and attitudes, and completely broke the silence maintained earlier. At this point, however, some digression is necessary to provide a background for understanding what took place.

In 1949-50, the internal disturbances which have beset Burma since the end of World War II were at their height. During this time the maintenance of law and order sank to a very low point; robbery, armed and unarmed, was rampant. Tadagale was robbed three times within the preceding year, according to informants. On such occasions, bandits entered the village, fired their guns into the air to frighten the defenseless villagers, and then proceeded to tie up some villagers and remove their money and other valuables. Anyone who resisted was beaten. According to villagers, the police, located about half a mile away, could not be depended upon for protection or for action once a crime occurred, for the bandits were better organized and armed than the police, making the latter extremely reluctant to take any action.

674 Some early evidences of distrust between Indians and Burmese appeared
563 about the middle of our research period, when an Indian dairyman stated that he
175 was convinced that the bandits who periodically invaded Tadagale had Burmese collaborators in the village. He based his belief on the fact that the bandits seemed always to find their way directly to the homes of the more prosperous inhabitants, which knowledge, he claimed, could be gotten only from villagers.

621 674 fund, which he had broached informally on past occasions, did not meet with enthusiasm, the headman suggested that the village be divided into territorial units, and that each unit be responsible for raising its own money for arms and for deciding on the custody of its weapons. He called for volunteers from the elders to take responsibility for soliciting funds from inhabitants of their respective areas.

The headman's speech was met with total silence for a time, followed by a great deal of whispered conversation among various small groups. At this point the eldest man in Tadagale, himself a retired headman and a relative of the present headman, exhorted, 'Speak out your thoughts. It is not good to keep things bottled up within yourselves.' The headman now told the group that as their representative he could do nothing unless they wished it.

As hushed conversations continued among the assembled villagers, the headman and elders proceeded to talk among themselves for several minutes. It was then and there decided that each household would be asked to contribute what it could afford; no fixed assessment would be levied. A household too poor to contribute to its unit fund would be expected to help in the event that an attack occurred. Since some elders objected to giving assistance to any unit which chose not to arm, or could not afford to, it was decided that armed groups would not come to their aid. Now another call for volunteers to raise funds was made by the headman, and several elders offered their services. The headman asked them to make every effort to persuade people to contribute.

623 If we may digress for a moment, this village meeting is instructive in showing how authority is exercised and decision making takes place in the community. The traditional emphasis upon the wisdom and authority of age is seen in the fact that only the elders spoke in the meeting, although the headman presumably called the meeting, in the first place, to mobilize village-wide support and tried to evoke expressions of opinion. An informant questioned later about the meeting said, 'It is not customary for the younger people to voice their opinions or take part in the discussion during a meeting. The elders do that.' The idea of a free give-and-take discussion is almost totally foreign to these peasants, who live but a few miles from Rangoon, a center of diffusion for western concepts and practices.

621 ● 573 To return to the bearing of the above described meeting on Indian-Burmese relations in the village. During the meeting the question arose whether the Indians would be asked to contribute to the fund for purchasing arms, to which the headman answered in the affirmative. At that point one man quipped, 'Of course they must contribute; they have thousands of rupees.' [The meeting was concerned with defending the village against bandits.—Analyst]

Two spokesmen for the Indians were present. The village headman explained to them that those who lived towards the northern end of the village would be included in a nearby unit for defense purposes, while the others could contribute their money directly to him. Then, half in jest, he said that each Indian household should give the cost of one gun. Somewhat irritated, one of the Indian spokesmen said that if need be he was willing to pay for five guns, but the question he wanted answered was who would have custody of the weapons. The headman was extremely hesitant to answer, and the Indians left the meeting without a definite answer.

14: Brant E-5 (1949-50) 1954 AP1 Burma
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Indians

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So matters rested for about two weeks. On March 7th the Indian quarter of the village was suddenly the scene of intense activity. Houses and barns were being dismantled and ox carts and motor trucks were being loaded with animal fodder and dismantled buildings. The normally quiet Indian community was a beehive of activity. Quite without warning, the Indians were leaving Tadagale en masse. Eagerly we sought out Indian informants to determine what had happened.

An Indian woman tearfully related her version of events:

> The Burmese want the Indians of the village to pay 1,150 rupees for guns to defend the community. How can we afford that amount? Our money has all been spent buying hay. Besides, we Indians are not wanted in this village. We have been abused and threatened; men have walked into my house carrying sticks and pieces of iron and have kicked the dogs. We can't afford to move; it costs 20 rupees to have a house dismantled, 10 rupees to have it transported, and 60 rupees to have it erected again. We will be heavily in debt by the time the move is over. But we Indians prefer to move because the Burmese here are bad. Last night I saw one of them trying to steal chickens from his neighbor's house.

An Indian man expressed himself with great agitation and feeling:

> These people think that when we come to Burma we take leave of our senses. We raise the money; we buy the guns; the licenses are in our names, but they keep custody of the guns. What could we do if they sold the guns, or just kept them and told us they were stolen? We would be in trouble with the police. Would they believe us if we told them we gave the guns to the Burmese and the Burmese denied it?
>
> There is no justice left in Burma. At least under the British Raj everyone was equal before the law in India and Burma. But now that the Burmese are in power they are loath to punish their own people. An Indian in Yegu caught a Burmese trying to rob his house. The magistrate sentenced him merely for having a gun without a license and he went free in two days.

According to the same informant, in the two days since the Indians had decided to leave Tadagale, the Burmese had rifled the house of one of them. This was confirmed by other Indians, who expressed their feelings about the Burmese of the village in similar vein. At one point in an interview with one of the Indians, a Burmese woman passed and picked up some sticks and bamboo poles at the site of a dismantled Indian house. The Indian said, with great bitterness, "If a Burmese can pick up free a pinch of dirt which belongs to an Indian he is delirious with joy; he thinks he has gotten the better of an Indian.

Further inquiries indicated that the Indians of Tadagale were moving to a nearby community, where the Indian minority was considerably larger than in Tadagale. Although they admitted there was danger of banditry there, too, and that the Burmese might not be friendly, they felt that where there were larger numbers of Indians there was less chance of abuse by the Burmese. Many Burmese in Tadagale, according to the Indians, had begged them to re-

14: Brant E-5 (1949-50) 1954 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4
Indians

621 consider, because they did not want to lose the Indians as customers for their paddy stalk and as a source of manure for their gardens and fields.

●563 The headman of Tadagale, when queried as to the reasons for the departure of the Indians, shrugged his shoulders and said simply that they were afraid, despite the plans for village defense, that their animals might be injured in the event of any fighting between villagers and bandits.

Within a few days, the Indians of Tadagale had all departed; and in the vacant spaces where their houses had stood, the Burmese were eagerly at work erecting buildings of their own.

Social Change

175 Prior to effective British rule in Lower Burma (about 1830), the local
631 autonomous unit was the village circle, consisting of several villages under
622 the authority of a headman. The office of headman seems to have been hereditary
626 in fact, although elections were held. That is to say, headmen tended to be elected in a particular lineage. Rule was through personal relationship between the headman and the villagers. Under the circle headman was a council of elders, appointed by him, one from each village in the circle. Disputes were almost entirely settled by arbitration and compromise, rather than with any concern over the abstract legal right and wrong of the case.

621 Within the village, a system called 'ten-house heads' was operative. This system appears to have been operative through British times, but at least since 1948 has lost effectiveness. Tadagale houses are strung out along a main path, and the ten-house division is such that the houses belonging to one group are mostly contiguous. The head of each ten-house section acted as a kind of deputy to the headman and sat on the council of elders.

175 With the coming of British rule, much of this changed. They established
631 a hierarchical system, in which there were, in descending order of size,
622 nation, division, district, township, village circle, and village. All officials at each level were appointed from the capital, even down to the village level, where the headman was made an appointed civil servant. He was paid on a percentage basis of his total tax collections and fines levied. The circle headman had police power and judicial authority in petty crimes.

175 A judicial system was introduced by the British to replace the old in-
692 formal arbitration. With an almost total disregard for indigenous institutions and customs, the British established a territorial system based upon law. The loosely structed and informal system of old gradually broke down.

669 Early in 1948 Burma gained her independence. Since that time the country
631 has been in a state of disorganization. The civil strife has brought about
182 an almost complete breakdown of administrative function on many levels. Certainly the ties of the village with higher units have been curtailed. One indication of this is the fact that the headman no longer submits reports with any degree of regularity to higher echelons, as was required under British rule. Even the local ten-house heads council has largely ceased to function. It exists, but is scarcely used.

14: Brant E-5 (1949-50) 1954 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

IV

RELIGION

The people of Tadagale are overwhelmingly Theravada Buddhist in faith. The exceptions are the Indian minority, who are largely Hindus. There are three Indians who profess Mohammedanism, and three Indo-Burmans and one Pakistani of like faith. Being Burmese and Buddhist are almost identified in the thinking of the majority, as evidenced by the fact that almost all replied 'Burmese Buddhist' to the question, 'To what people do you consider yourself to belong?' 779 563

In discussing the religious life of Tadagale, realism calls for emphasis upon actual religious beliefs and behavior, rather than any extended setting down of the formal theology of Buddhism. The latter has been done in any number of specialized works, to which the interested reader may refer. Here we shall refer to Buddhist precepts insofar as is necessary to illuminate religious beliefs and practices of the villagers.

The Five Precepts or Commandments. Almost all villagers know well the fundamental Buddhist injunctions against the taking of life in any form, the consumption of alcohol, illicit sexual activity, theft, and prevarication. These moral rules are, of course, sometimes breached. In Tadagale, the use of alcohol, sometimes to excess, is perhaps the most notable instance. The 'good Buddhist' does not, however, seem to experience feelings of guilt or pangs of conscience in such matters. Rather, the following of the moral precepts has instrumental value for him, in relation to his accumulation of merit and his reincarnation after death. 779 577

Merit. One's behavior throughout life determines one's store of merit, and this, in turn, determines one's reincarnation after death. Morally proper behavior, such as the following of the five basic commandments of Buddhist faith, is regarded as contributing to one's store of merit and thus enhancing one's state of reincarnation after death. Religious acts, such as making daily offerings of food to the monks, saying prayers, and attending the pagoda festivals on the important sacred days are likewise considered to increase one's merit. Breaking the moral precepts, irreligiousity, acting selfish or quarrelsome, detract from merit and accordingly tend to lower one's state in reincarnation. 779 775

Such is about the extent of the average villager's lay conception and understanding of the moral code and the ideas of the afterlife in Buddhism. He has little or no knowledge of the detailed concepts of reincarnation, with its elaborate gradationary ladder leading from the four states of punishment up to the ultimate achievement of Nirvana. Such theological learning is the property of the monkhood and of a few laymen who spent more than the usual few years as pupils in the monastic school. 775 779 184

Functions of the Monks. The functions of the Buddhist monks in the village may be conveniently classified as three-fold: formal education; officiation at certain rites; and providing personal advice and guidance to individuals. 793

With respect to formal education, the monks of four monasteries close to the village conduct schools which are attended by a considerable number of 792 871

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

443 density of population, the means of communication, and other matters. But a bazaar within reach there must always be, for it is only there that most articles
443 can be bought. The bazaar is usually held in a
347 public building erected for the purpose, and this may vary from a great market built of brick and iron to a small thatched shed. Sometimes, indeed, there is no building at all, merely a space of beaten ground.

443 The great bazaar in Mandalay is one of the sights
369 of the city. The building in which it is held is the property of the municipality, but is leased out. It is a series of enormous sheds, with iron roofs and beaten earth floor. Each trade has a shed or sheds to itself. There is a place for rice-sellers, for butchers, for vegetable-sellers, for the vendors of silks, of cottons, of sugar and spices, of firewood, of jars, of
[563] fish. The butchers are all natives of India. I have
[562] explained elsewhere why this should be. The firewood-sellers will mostly be men, as will also the large rice-merchants, but nearly all the rest are women.

You will find the sellers of spices, fruit, vegetables, and other such matters seated in long rows, on mats placed upon the ground. Each will have a square of space allotted, perhaps six feet square, and there she will sit with her merchandise in a basket or baskets before her. For each square they will pay the lessee a halfpenny for the day, which is only three hours or so. The time to go is in the morning from six till eight, for that is the busy time. Later on all the stalls will be closed, but in the early morning the market is thronged. Every house-

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1893 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

231 aboriginal wild pony as to be incapable of very much training. But they are willing; they will go for ever, and are very strong, and they have admirable constitutions and tempers. You could not make a Burman ill-use his pony if you tried, and I fancy that to break these little half-wild ponies to go in cabs in crowded streets requires severe treatment. At least, I never knew but one hackney-carriage driver either in Rangoon or Mandalay who was a Burman, and he very soon gave it up. He said that the work was too heavy either for a pony or a man. I think, perhaps, it was for the safety of the public that he resigned, for his ponies were the very reverse of meek—which a native of India says a hackney-carriage pony should be—and he drove entirely by the light of Nature.

563 231 493 So all the drivers of gharries, as we call them, are natives of India or half-breeds, and it is amongst them that the work of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals principally lies. While I was in Rangoon I tried a number of cases of over-driving, of using ponies with sore withers and the like. I never tried a Burman. Even in Rangoon, which has become almost Indianized, his natural humanity never left the Burman. As far as Burmans are concerned, the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals need not exist. They are kinder to their animals than even the members of the Society could be. Instances occur every day; here is one of the most striking that I remember.

489 There is a town in Burma where there are some troops stationed, and which is the headquarters of the civil administration of the district. It is, or was

342 MAHA-GIRI, is found in nearly every house (a junior member of a
776 family need revere only the symbol of the senior member of a family).
782 A dried coconut with attachment stems is placed in a basket, the top wrapped with a KAUNG-BONG (Head-wrap) of red and white cloth streamers and the basket hung on a nail to the primary corner post of the house. It must be adjusted correctly, and periodically sprinkled with sandlewood water. An interesting story explains the use of the coconut symbol.

773 MAUNG TIN DE, a blacksmith of great powers had two beautiful sisters who he feared would be coveted by the king of the city in which they lived. He asked them for this reason to remain in seclusion. One day he returned from work to find them gone. He became very angry and pounded his anvil till the city shook and the people suffered from earache. For a while he eluded persuit but was finally caught and burned to death. Afterwards he became a powerful nat called MIN MAHA-GIRI with powers of protecting households. Since the coconut signifies coolness and thirst-quenching it came to be offered to the nat who had died from fire.

MIN MAHA-GIRI is consulted if sickness or other misfortunes visit the family. At such times the head of the family checks the coconut offering to make sure it is in good condition. If not this is remedied for much misfortune could be the result of MIN MAHA-GIRI's displeasure at being neglected. When a journey is contemplated he is also appealed to for protection. A lesser nat YON GIN O is in charge of the kitchen and more specifically the hearth. Ko Maung Than knew little of this
[563] nat since it is of minor importance or not considered in Mon households.

342 The home is very important as a place for socio-religious functions
[788] many ceremonies involving groups of people are observed or in part
[574] take place in the house (see below in socio-religious section). Social visiting is also common and much enjoyed. Hospitality, related to but differentiated from charity, gains merit for the host. There is a saying that visitors "come only when the home is pleasant."

512 The home, of course, performs a major "function" as a sleeping
805 place, and there are many beliefs and observances in connection with
513 sleep. The evening hours are divided into LU NYAT THET SEIK (children

the bereaved bring with them gifts of money and in this way seek to help them to defray the funeral expenses of which the funeral feast held 7 days after the death is most expensive. Sometimes these visitors are so generous that the householder does not need to contribute anything at all. Some people, however, prefer to reserve the right to pay for burial expenses of someone in the family, and put out an announcement requesting neighbours to refrain from making monetary contributions. 764 621 476

The community activities in the refugee camp are mainly of an economic nature - discussed in the section on "Work". The solidarity of the village is lacking and the feelings of obligation and responsibility beyond the basic economic ones are absent. 621 722

In Pathne there are ethnic groups other than the Burmese. There are a few Karens, Indians of Madrasi affiliation, as well as a few Chinese who run stores. The attitude of the family toward these other groups are reflected in the following interview: (Note: the concept of "religion" is used here as meaning "general way of life." 621 563 186

Q. "Does U Myaing know about other religions such as Christianity and Hinduism? If so, what is his attitude towards them.

A. "I don't understand them well. We are with our own religion. We are country folk. We understand our religion only. We don't understand other religions.

Q. "What is your attitude towards other racial groups living in the village?

A. "I don't hold any positive attitude. I harbour no evil thoughts. We hold them to be the same as we are.

Q. "Would you like to go back to live among the Karens you spoke of just now?

A. (D.A.Z.) "Of course not. Lots of Burmese were left behind. We wouldn't dare to live among the Karens."
(U.M.) "Some people do not dare to live among the Karens, but we do."
(D.A.Z.) U.M.)"We don't have enemies."
(D.A.Z.) "There are Karens who are friendly with us."
(U.M.) "Say that we lived together. We lived together."
(D.A.Z.)"Though we have no enemies we feel afraid. In the present turmoil and confusion people no longer know each other."

Q. " Do the Karens differ from you in religion?"

A. (U.M.) "Our religions do not differ. The religion of Karens in our place and our religion do not differ. It is Buddhism."

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Q. "We want to know your relations with adherents of other religions. There are people who worship Indian gods, Chinese gods, and Christians - what is your attitude towards them?"

A. (U.M.) "I don't hold any attitude at all."

Q. " Do you get on well?"

A. (U.M.) "Yes. We get on very well. They buy our goods and we buy theirs. They rent our fields and cultivate them. If there are cows they are borrowed and lent. We live together like this - buying and selling."

Q. "This is about the people. How about their attitude towards their gods?"

A. "I have no attitude."

Q. "Have you never thought about it?"

A. "I have never thought about it. Their god is only slightly different. There is only one god. There will be only one god. Only people differ somewhat. Our outlook should be improved. After all, his god is my god and my god is his god. Only the races differ. Even one race is divided within itself."

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The relationship of the family to the state in Pathwe involve taxes, military service and voting. In the pre-war days, U Myaing and family had to pay a capitation tax, levied at the rate of Rs. 5/- per year for a married couple, and Rs. 2/8 per year for a bachelor of twenty and over. Children and unmarried women and widows are exempt from any tax whatsoever. There was a land tax on cultivation fields - levied at the rate of annas 2 per acre per annum, and also on garden land at one anna or two annas per acre per annum according to the value of the land. The tax on INS - or purchase of the fishery rights amounted to a figure anywhere between Rs. 3000/- and Rs. 12,000/-. U Myaing is not liable to taxes because of his low income, he retains his voting privileges for general elections.

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The family was moved from Pathwe to the refugee camp because of the insurrection and has been under the protection of the government since coming to camp. The proportion of food and shelter benefits, which they receive from the government, has been noted under those headings. According to government policy, shelter is provided for the family, and food for all except one adult who is expected to work.

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Education for U Myaing's children is provided by the government both in Pantanaw and in the refugee camp. Only the cost of the books has to be paid by him.

Children in the Pathwe village learnt their lessons at the government school. This school, which was on YWA-GYI-BET side, teaches pupils up to the tenth standard. The school house was built by contributions taken in the village. When U Myaing was young, they had to pay a tuition fee of four annas each to the schoolmaster every month. Now government has taken over the cost of educating the children, and fees are no longer required of them. The children only have to bring their own books and pencils. There are three teachers in the school; one headmaster and two assistants. The headmaster draws a salary of Rs. 100/- and the assistants of over Rs. 90/- each. There are other schools across the river but they teach only up till the fourth standard, and children of higher grades have to come to YWA-GYI-BET to attend school.

369 and women too did the same, and wore their HTAMEINS breast high.
291 Here except for the refugees, he does not see much of this except when
562 people are bathing in the public water hydrants. When it is hot the men wear T shirts and the women wear light garments.

369 U Myaing says that the ordinary city dweller cannot do as much
464 hard labour as the average villager. For example, he cannot carry
461 a bag of rice on his shoulders if suddenly called upon to do so.

The workers from Rangoon are much more acute than the workers from the village. They speak and understand English and Hindustani and so get to know of any possible job long before the others. The villagers do not have these advantages, and so have to join work only later and they are placed to work under them.

●563 As far as U Myaing is concerned, there is no racial animosity
464 towards Indians and workers of other races. This is due to the fact that there is no racial discrimination on the part of the employers, the first suitable applicant being given the work.

369 He finds that Rangoon has a much more equable climate than
132 Pathwe. In Rangoon it is not as cold asin Pathwe, where in the cold season it was very cold even though they lived in a proper house and kept all the doors and windows shut. He says that they would not be able in Pathwe to live in an open dwelling like they do at present.

369 Their relatives in Rangoon keep to themselves a great deal.
571 They work on their own and earn on their own. In Rangoon each family
602 has only sufficient for itself. "We cannot help them financially and neither can they help us much. When we go on a visit they can invite us to join in a meal or to partake of sweet tea, but they would not be able to lend us fifty or a hundred rupees. In Pathwe we could lend each other any amount up till a thousand five hundred rupees and that free of interest. These loans also need to be repaid only when it is convenient to the debtor. It would be inconvenient to have to repay a loan while the money was in the form of goods."

159 U Myaings eldest daughter has returned to the camp because the
369 woman who owns the cheroot rolling business has temporarily closed it
602 down and gone to Pantanaw with goods like onions, prawns and textiles. Since the girl is not sufficiently dexterous to find work elsewhere as

These are his "eggs" and it is his duty to guard them while the others cluster around trying to get them away from him without being caught in the attempt. If they are successful in getting all the eggs away they then go and hide them. The "turtle" then has to go and look for eggs while the rest follow her giving encouragement clapping hands and shouting the chant " LEIT U PY UK LO LEIT MA SHAR THU KHIN HLAR NOO NE NOO NEY (Because her eggs are lost the poor female turtle is tearfully looking for them). If the child succeeds in catching any one in an attempt to get an egg away that person becomes the turtle. 527 858

In Pathee they celebrated the water festival, but they did it in moderation and were satisfied if a person got slightly wet. MEN-LET-HMAUNG was given in the village. 527

U Myaing did not save any money in Pathee. Sometimes he made a great deal of money and sometimes he made nothing at all. Sometimes if he had a lot of money he would loan it out to some one else to be returned in three or four months time if possible. Sometimes these loans continued unsettled for about a year. Only in Rangoon do you have to pay interest. In Pathee if you did not borrow from chettiars you did not need to pay any interest. U Myaing did not go to the chettiars. He borrowed only from his relatives. There were people who went to raise money from the chettiar money lenders and some of them lost house, cultivation fields etc. because they could not pay the high rate of interest and had the mortgages on their property foreclosed. 454 426 [563]

Analysis of Social and Ceremonial Activities

The refugee camp may be regarded as a new village composed of families who came from villages in the delta similar to Pathee but placed in an urban setting. The other refugees have the same understandings as to socio-ceremonial activities as U Myaing and the basic 621 722 [369]

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

668 for scholars to rehandle it. The introduction of cheap printing in
178 Lower Burma was of the utmost importance to the drama. Printing
536* had been known to the Burmese long before the British administered
[213] Lower Burma, but it was an expensive and laborious affair. The
[171] British introduced cheap and efficient printing presses, worked by cheap but skilled Indian labour. Once the stage of transition had been completed and economic prosperity had returned, printing spread all over Lower Burma and widened the circle of admirers of the drama, encouraged the study of the great plays in their original form as distinct from the modified versions of the professional actors, and created a public eager not only to see but also to read plays. As a result of these various causes scholars began writing plays again after 1875, but their efforts were not very successful until Saya Yaw in 1877 wrote and produced his *History of Thaton*.

2. *The History of Thaton*

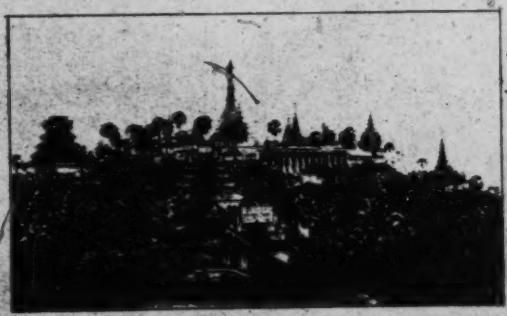
536* Saya Yaw's story is remarkably original. In order that the question of succession should be settled beforehand, the young king of Thaton is advised by his ministers to take a consort without delay, and he promises to consider the matter. In the next scene, a brother and sister, belonging to a semi-civilized tribe on a neighbouring mountain, are entering the city to seek employment, for they have been starving since the death of their parents. The scene shifts to the centre of the city, where a rich nobleman and his wife are quarrelling and blaming each other, because they have no children to inherit their wealth. The characters are comic, and the scene is humorous. As they stand shouting at each other, the brother and sister pass by, and they are struck by the girl's beauty and the young man's nobility of bearing. When they discover that the strangers are without parents and are looking for employment, they, in great
[563] joy, adopt them as son and daughter. In the next scene, merchants from the Shan hills arrive at the city, singing and dancing their own songs and dances. They soon dispose of their wares, and they are making preparations to leave when the brother arrives. He becomes friendly with the merchants, and after listening to their tales of romance and adventure in their hills, he decides to accompany them to their home. He asks permission to go from his foster-parents and his sister, who reluctantly let him go. The foster-parents cry, and the brother and sister bid farewell to each other in songs of great tenderness. In the next scene, the chieftain of a Shan state is sorely

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

58. AGED YAHAN CARRIED ON YIN.

The majority of the *kyaungs* and buildings of Burma are constructed on piles. The country at large is mountainous. The Burman race monopolises the flat lands in the basin of the upper Irawadi — "the narrows" (*Anyá*)—in the same way as the Shan races do in the sphere of their influence and the Mun (or Taláing) race in the south (Pegu). The quasi-aboriginal races occupy the hill-land and mountains. The plains-dweller settles as near as he can to the natural waterways with which Burma is abundantly provided. In the drought the rivers recede to great distances from their flood-level margins. In order to be close to the channels, the houses have to be on high piles. The races of Burma adhere to their practice of pile-building even on elevated sites, such as those of the temples. The Burman wood architecture appears to have developed through the exigencies of pile-building and under the influence, as regards decoration, of an exotic masonry style. The Burman style possesses a naïve charm recalling the art of the "ages of faith" in Western Europe. It has a certain resemblance to the wooden church-building of Norway. The style was in full vigour up to the middle of the nineteenth century. Since that time novelties of type and manufacture have crowded in faster than they could be assimilated into the indigenous arts, on which they are foisted crudely (Nos. 60, 99).

The affinities of Burman art above referred to, to the art of mediæval Europe, are extrinsic only. The "aspiring" character of the florid ornament, the quaint figures in their labyrinths of tracery, recall the crocketed niches and fantastic gargoyles of the



59. TEMPLE HILL.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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187. TURNING ROLLERS FOR THE CANE-MILL.

Almost the whole out-turn is bought up by Chinese settlers for distilling spirits (p. 156).

Of the edible wild fruits of Burma, after the wild mango the chief is *kanazô*. There are many less succulent kinds of wild fruit, for the most part acid and astringent. The cultivated fruit-trees need to be protected from cattle till high above the ground. But so rapid is the growth that in two to five years the trees are established. Tamarind, mango and jack are the commonest fruit trees and need little care; they are wayside trees in the villages. Clumps are planted in the *kyaung* enclosures and at camping-places (*sakán*) for their shade. In the dry zone the tamarind attains the proportions of our oak (No. 309), as does the mango in the moist regions (No. 304). A congener of the mango, the *mayán*, is also planted. The jack-tree attains moderate size, but, although evergreen, its shade is light. The cocoanut palm (*ôn*) has to be artificially germinated by watering the nut for several weeks before planting, for it rots if left to soak. It needs fencing for some years and does not bear for ten to fifteen, which is a comparatively long time for labour to await its return in the tropics. Burma grows only a small proportion of the cocoanuts she requires; the rest are imported from India and the Nicobar Islands. Dry cocoanuts cost one-half to one anna, and green nuts as much as two annas each. The water of the green nut is a refreshing beverage, frequently offered to the *yakán* and in hospitality to strangers. The betel-palm (*kun*, areca) is more extensively propagated. Limes, citron and pumelo, jujube and guava, cashew and bael are planted about

188. COLLECTING JACK-FRUIT.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

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207. BRINGING IN ROE-DEER (DYI).

then the bathing-places have to be staked in. Wild elephants make a road dangerous at times. Elephants are captured by pit-falls. Decoys are also used in various ways; small animals are detached from the herd by their means and then kept going until they are worn out, and can be tethered and hobbled for taming. The breaking in is accomplished by pinning the elephant between trees or stout posts where it cannot lie down, keeping it underfed, and giving food as the reward of docility. Young elephants born in captivity—as occasionally happens—are broken in, in the same way, about the sixth year, when half grown. The stock is replenished from Siam, where the wild herds are larger, and the business of catching is more developed, and where also elephants breed more frequently in captivity. The elephant-breakers and trainers are Shans, and the words of command Shan. Rhinoceroses (*kyan*) may be found about the sources of streams in the evergreen hills; occasional tracks are seen. A tapir occurs in the forests of Tenaserim. Wild dogs (*canis rutilans*) occur in a few localities. There is no wolf, fox, or hyæna, and no jackal east of Arakán. There is a larger and a smaller black bear (*zwèmun*), very rarely encountered, and not aggressive. There are several species of wild cat (*tazaldyáung*) large and small, and a few species of weasel. A small porcupine is found (*pyu*). The huge bamboo-rat (*pauk*) is dug out of its burrow by the hill people. There are many tribes of monkeys and gibbons; the weird cry of the latter is the characteristic sound of the evergreen forest. Squirrels are the only wild animals

208. MEASURING THE PANTHER.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 API Burma
Burmese AP4

211. LATHE POTTERY.

comes upon bricks, and on nearly every hill bricks bear evidence that at some time a *zedi* had crowned the top. In the moist region the disintegrating effect of the vegetation is such that frequently no indication remains of the form of the original structure. The use of brick doubtless came in with the early Buddhist architecture exemplified at Pagán. The brick-fields are on the confines of the rice-fields, and of the same character as to soil, a light loam. The work begins in November after the ground has dried. The surface soil is rejected and the earth dug with mattocks a yard or two deep. The clods are soaked in water and trodden into a doughy mass with an admixture of rice husk. The bricks are moulded direct on the ground, which has been smoothed beforehand, and are left to dry in the sun (No. 181). Before stacking the dried bricks, the lower or rough edge is trimmed with a *dá*. The commonest size of brick is 12" × 6" × 1½". A burn consists of ten thousand bricks and sells for about forty-five rupees. In the dry zone, brick has always been used for house-building to some extent, unless when prohibited by the government. In the south, the brick-work is invariably plastered over with *ingade* to prevent the clay mortar from washing out. Now that bricklaying in Pegu has passed into the hands of masons from India, lime-mortar is usual.

The limestone rocks which are a feature of the Eastern Peninsula, rise abruptly from the plains to heights of one to three thousand feet (No. 107). They are honeycombed with fissures which facilitate quarrying. During the floods, boats can approach and be loaded with the stone. Lime is used for whitewash, plaster, mortar, and for chewing

212. FANCY POTTERY (SHAN).

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25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

The cordage used in 283

215. LIMESTONE ROCKS.

Burma is twisted from the bast of the *shaw* tree (*sterculia* varieties). For guys, stays, and standing rigging of boats, rattan is employed. Split rattan is used for strong ties, and withes of split bamboo (*hnî*) for common ties. The *shaw* rope is three and four stranded, and is twisted with native gear very like that of our own rope-walks. A long and even four-stranded rope is made by three men. This furnishes a good example of mechanical advancement, when compared with the method of the hill-people, who require six men to twist a much shorter rope of the same number of strands (Nos. 219–20). Shaw rope is smooth, but has not the flexibility of cocoanut-fibre and manila-fibre ropes, which are now imported. Fine cotton yarn is twisted into cord for making nets. A coarse jute fibre (*paissan*) is also twisted for net-making. [171] [439]

Silk-culture is under the ban of Buddhism for the same reason as fishery. 288
The greater part of the silk yarn used is brought from China, but a good 231
deal is produced locally by the *Zabîn* or *Yabîn*, a people speaking Burmese [779]
and resembling the Burmans in most respects, but despised by the latter.
They are settled along the foot of the Pegu Yôma hill-range, on its eastern and 554
western slopes, where they make clearings in the forest (*taungya*) and plant the 463]
mulberry. They prepare a yellow silk yarn which, coarse and knotty as it is, is preferred for the best class of Burman silk cloths (*lunteyâ*, No. 132). The raw silk fetches thirty-five to forty rupees a viss. It is a perfect washing silk in all its dyes and wears a lifetime. In a few localities, silk-weaving is a special industry practised by men as well as women. Settlers from Manipúr

216. LIMEKILN.

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25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
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217. PLASTERER'S SCAFFOLD ON ZEDI.

(*Kathi*) excel in this work and form colonies for the industry. Attempts have been made in Europe to imitate the scroll-patterns on the Jacquard loom, as well as to print them. But the imitations fall too far short of the original, which is nearly the same front and back. The best *lun-tayâ* silks cost ten to fifteen rupees the square foot, which makes two hundred to three hundred rupees for the *pasô*. Only an inch or two a day can be woven. Italian methods of carding, dyeing, and finishing silk, were introduced by the late King, Mindôn Min, and have helped to develop an important industry in Mandalay. Stripe and tartan patterns are woven in this way, chiefly from China silk. Fine texture and delicate tints are aimed at, rather than rich colour and design. The *pasô* of [435] twenty cubits, one cubit wide, costs ten to twenty rupees.

293 The Burman umbrella (*tî*) is on the Chinese model—a bamboo frame with [171] paper cover. The Chinese umbrella has a thin paper cover, the Burman has bast-paper, which outlasts several of the other. But the Chinese umbrellas are cheaper, better waterproofed, and sun-proof. The Burman *tî* is waterproofed by occasional oiling with crude petroleum. A waterproof size made from the fruit of the *tî* is used for fixing the paper to the ribs and the cotton twines that connect them. The red, the [186] gilt and the white umbrellas are emblems of state. The [554] first two denote official rank, according to the number assigned. Such umbrellas [532] have stems of turned wood, six to eight feet long, to allow of the *tî* being borne over the officer on horseback or in his chariot, by attendants on foot (No. 375). The

218. SCULPTURING MARBLE IMAGES.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

325 rivalry has sprung up between the towns in casting large images. For the best bells, a bronze consisting of four parts copper to two of tin is used. The alloy is enriched—as they fancy—by pious donors who cast silver into the melting-pot. Ordinary bells are made of brass; images also are cast in brass. The

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225. LACQUER-WARE DEALER.

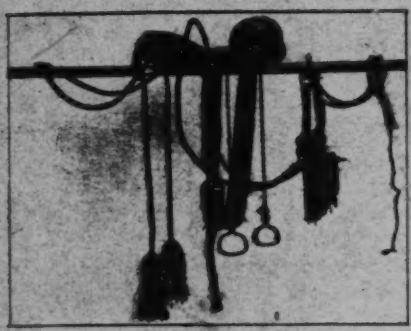
226. SANDAL-MAKER.

alloy consists of about 70 per cent. copper to 20 of zinc, and 10 of lead. The image or bell is modelled in wax as thick as the metal is intended to be, upon a core of clay. A shell of clay is plastered over the wax with the needful supports between the clay surfaces at intervals. When the clay has dried, the mould is heated and the wax run out, ready for casting. The crucibles are of clay, of about two hundredweight capacity, and are heated by a forge-blast. The Burman castings are seldom sound, and never so fine and clean as those of the Shans. Though the bells are defective in tone, the *kyisi* (Nos. 22, 86) and the sound, hammered

[563]

227. BRASS-IMAGE FOUNDERS.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese A24



328. BURMAN HORSE-FURNITURE.

gongs (*maung*, No. 322) have very sonorous qualities. Copper and brass utensils are not used by the Burmans for cooking, but brass is used for fruit-platters, water-cups and bowls, betel-boxes and spittoons, mortars, scales and weights, cow-bells, and furniture for horse and bullock harness. 325 [492]

The import of iron and steel began centuries ago, nevertheless blades of Shan steel and manufacture are still accounted the best. With the exception of Shan settlers, the Burmans were the only blacksmiths of the country till the Chinese blacksmiths arrived. The hill-people depended for their chief implement and their weapons upon the dominant races. The Burman forge is the same as the Shan, on a bigger scale. The hearth is at the ground-level, with a pit in front, to enable the smith to stand up to his work if needful. He does most of it sitting on a peculiar round-backed seat to the right of the blast. The anvil is like a hammer-head set upright in a block of wood. There is a trough shaped like a canoe for quenching the work and the tools. The hammers are from one to five pounds, the piecers of the universal pattern. There are the ordinary punches and sets. The blast is on the plan of the bamboo blast in No. 235, but has large cylinders of palm trunks in which pistons, packed with feathers, are worked alternately. The Chinese blacksmith had already adopted the European anvil and heavy sledge-hammer for forging iron axles and tyres, anchors and grapnels. These the Burman has adopted in turn. The bench-vice is also universal. The Chinaman adheres to his horizontal wooden box-blast, fitted with valves like a double-action pump, whereas the [563] 326

329. BURMAN BLACKSMITH (OLD STYLE). [177]

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

388. CANOPY OF GREAT ZEDI (TI, PP. 90, 101).

thing like a spoke-shave (*daing-dyaik*), for the rough shaping of the blades after forging, to save their files. The blacksmiths make the axes of the country also. The old Burman axe consists of a long-handled wooden mallet with an iron tip like a small spade. The smiths also make spear-heads for the hill-people, iron shoes for ploughs, mattocks and hoes, tires and axles of carts, dee nails for boats, nippers for sugar-cane and betel-nut, and other tools. They do repairs of locks and fire-arms. A special class of iron-work is making *tl* for *zedi*. The tinsmith's trade was unknown in Burma until fifty years ago. In Pegu it is still in Indian hands; but in Mandalay the Burman tinsmiths are unequalled. 326 411 412 [346] [177 563]

Argentiferous galena is found in Burma, but the ore barely repays working for the sake of the lead. The silver used in Burma and most of the gold is imported from China, India, and Europe. A dozen villages in different parts of Burma get a living by sifting the sand of streams which bear gold. A broad thin wooden dish shaped like a flat cone is filled with sand and gravel, and worked at the water-level with a rotary movement, by which the lighter material is driven out centrifugally. The dish is filled and refilled, and after seven or eight hours' work as many grains weight of gold flakes will have accumulated in the depression at the centre. The out-turn of a steady worker is three to five tikals of gold in the season. [135] 316

The stock in trade of the gold and silver worker consists of a bamboo blast, clay crucibles, blowpipe, solder and flux, aquafortis and mercury, hammers, punches and anvils of bronze and iron, wire-plate and beading-plate. Bullion is furnished by the customer, who pays from one half up to the full weight, in

389. MOUNTAIN CASCADE.

[133] 326

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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202. ROPE-STATION ON THE SALWEEN (KYODAN).

current, a remarkable device is employed. Two ten-foot handspikes, with a shoulder two feet above the point, have mooring-rattans from each end of the raft, one hundred feet long and an inch thick, bent on to them. One of these is sent ashore from the forward end of the raft and worked like a plough in the bank, going deeper as the raft slews round and the tension increases, and so stopping its way by degrees. If the first attempt fails a second is made from the other end of the raft, which is then the forward one. Arrived in port the logs are dragged up the mud-banks by elephants. But when the path is blocked, a powerful elephant sometimes carries a log bodily. The whole of the operations of bringing the timber to market are combined by a timber-broker (forester, *thigyaung*).

[463]

Teak cuts readily, though it blunts the tools very soon. There is little waste. Sawn planks are displacing bamboo for the better-class houses. Sawyers earn from one-half to one rupee a day. The indigenous carpenter's tools were a small adze (*pègôt*), chisels and gouges (*sauk*), awls (*hsu*), and a rough saw (*khwa*), besides *dâ* and axe (*pauksein*). The Burman adopted the Chinese plane (*yuè-haw*, "selecting-shave") with the Chinese straddle bench. The English carpenter's rule is also general. When the impulse to good house-building was given by the production of cheap planks, the immigrants from China got the whole of the work. The Burmans have begun to oust them from the heavy carpentering and from the joinery as well. Ordinary Burman carpenters earn ¾ rupee a day, the better workmen 1 to 1¼ rupees a day, compared with the Chinaman's 1½ rupees. The wood-work is left

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313
413
[197]
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341
[563]

203. BINDING THE LOGS INTO RAFTS.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

322
341
[313]
322
413

264. TIMBER-RAFT.

plain or is oiled with crude petroleum. A wooden house of the modern Burman pattern costs from three hundred rupees upwards; a bamboo house only twenty to sixty.

The Burman turning-lathe is of the usual primitive type; two poppets sliding in a bed, with centres to hold the work, round which a cord passes from the simple treadle-bar to a springy lath or bamboo overhead. But of late, mandril-lathes have been constructed after models in the steam-mill workshops (No. 187). Mechanical construction has great attractions for the Burman, and is stimulated [563] by the high wages of labour. The foremen sawyers at the steam-mills are Burmans, the other hands natives of India. Menders of clocks and sewing-[401] machines are in all the towns. An engine-erecter, who had set up machinery in most countries of Europe and Asia, said he had nowhere met the same natural aptitude for handling machinery as in Burma (*cf.* p. 10).

322
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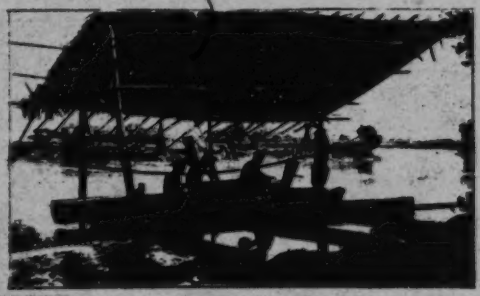
The floral wood-carving of Burma is remarkable for its freedom and spontaneity. Rich as the floral tracery is, the animal grotesques are laboured and deficient in fancy. The carving is done in teak-wood when it is meant for fixtures; otherwise, *yamané* is preferred. The tools employed are chisel, gouge, and mallet. The design is traced on the wood with charcoal, gouged out in the rough and finished with sharp fine tools, using the mallet for every stroke. Teak-wood and *yamané* have a coarse grain, in which fine detail cannot be rendered. Small and delicately elaborated figures are carved in sandal-wood [313] and also in ivory. Whole tusks are carved over with figures of the Buddha and are dedicated in the *kyaungs*. In some of these the figures are modelled in a single piece under an



265. SAWING UP THE LOGS.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

315 [432] [322]

287. COUNTRY SALE-DEPOT.

about three million rupees. At present both wood-oil and crude earth-oil are being superseded by kerosene. The crude earth-oil is used for preserving woodwork. But its place is being taken by the residues from the local refineries, now established in Rangoon.* Travelling pedlars hawk the silk goods of Burma Proper and all sorts of fancy nicknacks from the sea-ports to the villages of the interior. The approaches to the temples are favourite resorts of stall-keepers of all sorts of wares, especially of wax-tapers, plain and moulded, gold leaf, coloured paper flags and flowers for the votaries to decorate the shrines with, and toys wherewith to gladden the hearts of children—an act of merit befitting the shrine of religion in this cheerful land. In sad contrast to the gaiety of the booths is the spectacle of the lepers who beg for alms. The prominence of these unfortunates at such places creates a disproportionate impression of their numbers, high as these are (p. 41). The offerings dedicated on the occasions of *Shinldung fêtes*, festivals, and funerals, make the trades of manufacturing and distributing the requisites of the *kyaung* very important ones. The wares collected in the *parôikaya* shop used to be representative of the manufactures of Burma. But of late, imported goods—crockery, glassware, lamps and clocks—have become a regular part of the *kyaung* furniture, and are offered in meaningless profusion. This has helped to bring the *parôikaya* trade into the hands of foreigners.

438 443 782 [277]

288. ROLLING CHEROOTS.

Every year, after the floods have subsided, Burman dealers establish dry-

438 443 563

* See *The Occurrence of Petroleum in Burma*, by Dr. F. Noetling.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

290. PAREIKAYA DEALER.

weather sale-booths (*tawzi*), for trade with the hill-people, at central points as far from the towns as canoes can navigate the stream. They sell dried fish and *ngapi*, salt, oil, pease, sugar, spices and tobacco, pottery and crockery, plain and coloured yarns, needles, thread, cloth of every sort, elastic belts, under-vests, matches, tapers and soap, kerosene oil, pencils, pens, ink and paper, playing-cards, beads, spectacles, mirrors and fancy articles from Europe, besides biscuits, sardines, and condensed milk. All these wares are sold in the larger villages as well. Sale-booths are set up at every festival, chiefly for refreshments. But there is nothing corresponding to the fairs of India and the West.

Both men and women smoke tobacco. Children begin at four or five (No. 21). The Burman cheroot (*selaik*) is a roll five to eight inches long and an inch thick, consisting of chopped tobacco-leaf and the pith of the tobacco stem, with a wrapper made of the inner skin of the spathe of the betel palm, or the spathe of maize, or else the leaves of *pauk*, *thanát* or *bambaré*, which are smoothed on a hot stone. The Burman exquisite toys with this cheroot much as the Japanese does with the fan. The fan is not affected by men or women in Burma. Good cheroots are also rolled of plain tobacco-leaf, in the Indian way; they are very strong. Unlike the Shans, Karéns and Chinese, with their pipes, and the natives of India with their hookah, the Burman sticks to the cheroot. Tobacco is grown on the silt banks left dry by the rivers (Nos. 191, 264); but the bulk is imported from the South of India. A delicate "birds-eye" tobacco is prepared by the Karéns and Shans on the North-East; it is shredded green, and does not keep well. At intervals on the main lines of

291. BAZAR SCENE, BURMA PROPER.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma AP1
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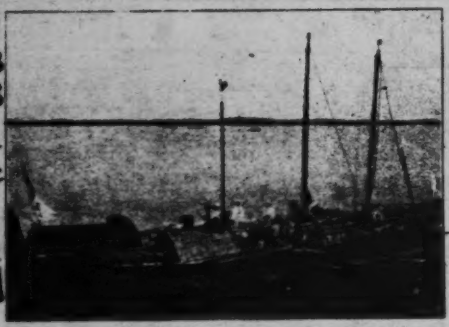

888. BRINGING THE PADDY TO THE RICE-MILLS.

of every class and caste, with his foreign connection and longer experience, has an incalculable advantage over the untravelled Burman. Beginning with a lower standard of comfort than the Burman—squatting on the bare soil where the poorest Burman makes a floor, wearing cotton where the other wears silk, and being able to improve his original condition upon half the return that the Burman expects for his work—the Indian immigrant finds land worth his labour which the Burman leaves waste. The influx of races whose religion it is to multiply, without regard to the prospect of subsistence, must speedily result in lowering the scale of life for everyone in Burma—a country of which it may now be said that "a large share of the happiness of each individual is derived from the consciousness of the well-being of other individuals." (Herbert Spencer, *Principles of Ethics*, Vol. I., p. 297.) Commencing by hiring the cheap Indian labour to reap his corn, then to plough and till his fields, the while emulating his neighbours in superfluous works, the Burman is apt to end by becoming the debtor of his servant, and mortgaging to him his lands. It seems to many that there is no escape for the Burman from the Indian flood that now menaces his country. But up to the present no class of Indians has attempted to deal with land subject to the vicissitudes of the Burman riverain soil. It is unlikely that people of less versatility and resource will establish themselves there. In 1879, when the vagaries of the Irawadi had submerged the cultivation on the Panhlaing creek some twelve feet, and the eaves of the houses were under water, the cattle were saved in hasty platforms made in

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888. FORESHORE AT THE FACTORIES.

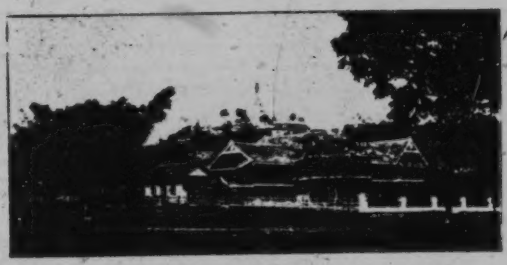
25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 API Burma API
Indians
Burmese AP4

Ba Bse 241 731 563

trees. All that the villagers asked for (and of course got) was exemption from land-tax. Another hopeful feature is that the Burman is not devoid of the quality of self-criticism. With the Indian retail trader comes also the wholesale merchant—Persian, Parsi, Súrati, Chetti and Bania. And the Burmans at large accept the situation, never dreaming that by travelling abroad and seeing for themselves how other nations manage and how they fare, they might learn to conduct their own business, and help to save Burma from sinking to the level of proletariate countries. Natives of India and China have learned so much in their capacities of assistants to European merchants that they are getting the retail trade in European goods to themselves. Even as importers, with their agents in Europe, they are making themselves independent of the European merchant in the East. The European spheres of activity on which Burmans

Ba Bse 463 [177] 563 438

Ba [341 177]



909. EUROPEAN TYPE OF HOUSE.

have entered are saw-mill enterprise and the profession of advocacy, in which latter they have attained a high standing.

Ba 167 563

To the Burman, the native of India is the foreigner *par excellence*—*Kalá*—and shares the disrepute that a stay-at-home people commonly accord to the foreigner, especially when he is a needy one. To them he is the dog that eats the crumbs which fall from his table ("*Kwe-Kalá!*"). While the Chinaman, despite his uncouthness and uncanny parasitic trade, is considered an eligible man, *Kalá-mayá*—nigger's-wife—is a term of reproach. The *Kalá* half-breeds are called *Zerbádi*. They appear to possess fewer good qualities than either of the pure races. The Euro-Burman half-breeds are called *Bayinji*—(Feringhi, the Indian equivalent of Frank) explained by the Burmans as *Bayin-dyi* (adherent of) the Great Prince (the Pope).

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Europeans are the only remaining foreigners whom the Burmans encounter, excepting a few Armenians, Jews and Malays. Armenians were beginning to play

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma AP1
Burmese AP4

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a *rôle* under the kings of Burma, who farmed out customs and taxes to them. Symes, writing in 1800, mentions that there were then one hundred Europeans in Rangoon. With the exception of a few merchants and masters of ships, the European standard at that time was not a good one. At present the authority of the handful of British in Burma ramifies into the old native channels of government by which the mass of the population is reached.

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296. HARBOUR SCENE.

29: Slater M-4 (no date) 1951 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

771 It is necessary, therefore, at the outset of our inquiry to correct this impression.

A writer on Comparative Religion is dependent on the experts from different fields, and Dr Bouquet is only repeating what a number of commentators on Burmese religion have been saying for the past fifty years. But if we examine their statements we find that many of them merely reflect, without further evidence or critical examination, an opinion expressed by a European official in a Census Report of 1891. This opinion was emphasised by another Census official, Mr. C. C. Lowis, ten years later:

"The Burman has added to his Animism just so much Buddhism as suits him and with infantile inconsequence draws solace from each in turn. I know of no better definition of the religion of the great bulk of the people ... than that given by Mr Eales in his 1891 Census Report, 'a thin veneer of philosophy laid over the main structure of Shamanistic belief.' The facts are here exactly expressed. Animism supplies the solid constituents that hold the faith together, Buddhism the superficial polish. Far be it from me to underrate the value of that philosophic veneer. It has done all that a polish can do to smooth, to beautify and to brighten, but to the end of time it will never be anything more than a polish. In the hour of great heart-searchings it is profitless as the Apostle's sounding brass. It is then that the Burman falls back upon his primaeval beliefs. Let but the veneer be scratched, the crude animism that lurks below must out. Let but his inmost vital depths be touched, the Burman stands forth an Animist confessed."[4]

771 782 [563] [177] Mr Lowis' opinion is based on a critical examination of the situation, and it cannot be lightly gainsaid. He also refers to the prevailing Animistic beliefs of the surrounding hill tribes who still infiltrate into the plains of Burma, a factor which encourages the survival of primitive ideas among the Burmese themselves. This survival is not to be denied. It is impossible to live in Burma without coming across evidences of Animism, sooner or later — the coconut, surmounted by a red cloth, still hung in most Burmese households as a *Nat* offering; the 'bus driver halting his vehicle to run across the road and place a little bouqet of flowers at the foot of some tree which is the shrine of a local spirit. Most of these practices are innocent. Occasionally, however, one has a grim reminder of more fateful beliefs. Burmese students once explained to me, reluctantly, [761] that they had desisted in their efforts to save a drowning boy because it was obvious that he had been seized by the *Nat* of the lake.

[4] *Census of India Report*, Vol. XII, (Burma, 1901), Part I, by C. C. Lowis, chap. III, p. 35.

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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The ceremony of excommunication, thabeit hmauk (literally, inverting the alms-bowl), is sufficiently solemn. The monks gather in a circle round the culprit, and the latter part of the Kammawā, that which is read to drive sickness and evil spirits out of a town, is gravely recited by the abbot, the surrounding brethren responding at the end of each sentence. When it is finished, his yellow robes are taken off him, his alms-bowl is turned mouth downwards, and he is hurried out of the monastery limits. His condition is pitiable. No one may speak to him; no monk will take alms from him; he can neither buy nor sell; he is not allowed even to draw water from a well, or drink from the jars at a wayside zayat. He is as much an outcast as any pagoda slave, and grievous is the penance he must go through before he is once more received into the society even of laymen. It occasionally happens when there is much evil living in a district, or if the people are lax in their religious observances, that the brethren of the kyaung put the neighbourhood under a ban by inverting their alms-bowls, and refusing to go out begging. There is no greater proof of the power of the assembly than the rapidity with which this effects its purpose. The most careless are brought to a sense of their sinfulness in a few days. Such excommunication is, however, more and more rare.

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Before the death of the Lord Buddha, the yahans all addressed one another as awutthaw; but after he had attained the ne'ban of khan-das under the eng-gyin-bin (*Shorea robusta*), a recognition of relative rank was instituted. The inferiors, we are told, called the more advanced in the order, bante, while the juniors were addressed in their turn, by their proper name, or that of their family. In Burma, however, this regulation prevails only to a very slight extent. With the mendicants, as with the royalty, and indeed with the populace at large, it is considered uncivil to mention a person's name in conversation, and his rank, or the kyaung he belongs to, is used instead, or perhaps only the designation of his sacred profession. The laity indiscriminately address all wearers of the yellow robe as payā (lord).

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Similarly the "punishment of Brahma," recommended by the great master to be employed against weaker brethren, is

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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CHAPTER XLV

SLAVES AND OUTCASTS

It is a work of the greatest possible merit to build a pagoda, and the founder, prefixing Payātaga to his signature, for the rest of his life is looked upon as certain to pass into ne'ban on the completion of this his present existence. Similarly a man acquires great kutho by repairing portions of one of the old national shrines, putting up a new umbrella on the summit, setting the steps that lead up to the platform in order, or even by simply gilding afresh a few square feet on a feast day. By doing any one of these things a man sets his balance of kan on the right side and gains the good opinion of his neighbours. It is, therefore, not unnatural that all foreigners should be struck with the fact that the regular servitors of the places of worship, those who sweep the platform, carry off dead leaves, broken branches, and litter generally, and keep the place in order, are not only slaves, but are regarded as outcasts with whom the rest of the community will have no dealings and whose society is contaminating. Not only is the original parakyun a slave for life, for no one, not even a king, can liberate him or provide a substitute in his place, but his descendants, till the cycle of Shin Gautama's religion shall have come to an end and all the relics shall vanish from the earth, all his children throughout the thousands of years that have to elapse, are fixed and settled slaves of the pagoda from their birth, and any one marrying a pagoda slave, even unwittingly, becomes himself, with all the children he may have had by a previous life, irremediably a parakyun. The reason no doubt lies in the conviction of the existence of original sin. It is desirable

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2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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to have the pagoda attended to. A very small acquaintance with human nature induces the belief that this will not be done if individual effort is trusted to do the work. Therefore prisoners of war and others whom it is not convenient to put to death are dedicated to the service. So strict is the dedication that any one who attempts or connives at setting free a pagoda slave is condemned to misery in the lowest hell, awizi. The servitor of the shrine can be employed in no other duty than keeping it in order, and kings and great men are threatened with loss of power and dire destruction if they venture to employ such outcasts as servants, even in the meanest capacity.

Slavery of the familiar form known in semi-civilised countries formerly existed in Upper Burma, but the pagoda slaves are a perfectly distinct body. A person who sells himself, or is sold, by his relation for debt is in a very inferior position doubtless and cannot enjoy any very great privileges. But he can always work his release, and is not thereafter considered as lying under any particular stigma. But the parakyun are neither more nor less than outcasts. They are looked upon as unclean, and the rest of the community will have no intercourse whatever with them. So much [177.56] is this the case that under British rule, which has of course freed them from their compulsory servitude, they are still looked upon with no less aversion than they were when the country was independent, and though nominally free to do as they please, have to travel into districts where they are unknown before they can find employment even of the most menial kind.

It is no explanation of the taint that the original servitors were prisoners taken in war, condemned convicts, or people expressly sentenced to this office on account of hideous crimes. The reverence for the pagoda cannot be exceeded, why then should the care of it and the surrounding buildings be considered to make its compulsory guardians vile and degraded people? In the old autocratic days it was a common thing for a pious sovereign to set apart certain villages, or a stated number of houses in those villages, for the service of the pagoda, and the victims were selected, quite regardless of personal character, by the village head-

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

man from those who were unable to buy themselves off. The cloud, therefore, which hangs over such people is all the more singular. The feeling came out very strongly in the case of a man with slave blood in him, who was appointed by the local government to be a magistrate. Subordinates declined to act under him, and resisted all he did; the people were still more demonstrative, and petitions flowed in begging that the disgrace might be removed from their district. It was to English minds quite impossible that this should be done, and equally so that he should not receive support in the execution of his duties. The matter was far from being simplified by the natural feelings of resentment, showing itself in undue severity when occasion offered, which filled the victim of the popular clamour, and it was only by the exercise of great tact and patience that the English Deputy Commissioner was able to quiet the people, and after long persuasion gradually to set matters right. But the majority of parakyuns are far from being so fortunate. Here and there in Rangoon and Maulmein are a few men who have got into business, but it is only by carefully concealing their antecedents, and they live in constant terror that the few who know them will betray their secret and reduce them to ruin. The great bulk of the liberated, however—if they can be called liberated when they never had any direct master—find that the force of public opinion is too much for them and are driven to staying about the old source of their shame to obtain a living; they haunt the pagoda steps and sell offerings to the pious on their way to worship, candles and prayer-flags, incense-sticks, flowers, and fruit. Few of them now resort to their old source of food, the altars, where they used to dispute the ownership of the cold rice and victuals with the crows and the pariah dogs. In Upper Burma the sellers of gold-leaf and tagônlôn are often respectable, that is to say, free men, but in the low country so great is the fear of being mistaken for a parakyun that but very few but the destitute will sell their wares on the saung-dan. At the Shwe Dagôn, in Rangoon, the vendors are almost without exception of the unclean class.

Pagoda slaves are still universal at all the greater shrines. As might have been expected, many-pagoda'd Pagān is their

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

567 greatest place. Here there is even a king of the parakyuns,
564 and he enjoys a sorry mockery of state in the use of gold-embroidered sandals, permission to wear jewellery, and the shade of a gold umbrella when he walks abroad. But a free man meeting him in his grandeur would make no obeisance and would pass him by with a grin and a gibe. The origin of his sovereignty is told in an old tale which proves the antiquity of the custom and the tenacity with which the dedication is held to. A king of Pagān—which has not been a capital since the fourteenth century—had suspicions of the loyalty of a tributary sovereign, and invited him to the great and noble city with its towers of gold and silver of which Ser Marco Polo writes. This monarch seems to have had no fears, and came with but a small retinue. Then the Lord of the Golden Palace decreed a great feast, and when all were assembled at the Shwezigôn pagoda, seized his unfortunate vassal by the hair, and holding aloft his sword, dedicated the helpless man with all his followers and their descendants for ever to the service of the great shrine, where lies a cast of the Lord Buddha's jawbone. Hence the petty state of the slave-king and the great crowding of pagoda slaves to his dominions to share his privileges. It is difficult to say whether the class will die out, and it seems certain that there will be no new dedications. It is perhaps more probable that the Pagān temple slaves are the descendants of the Talaing King Manuha, who was brought here a prisoner with all his people and the sacred books, by King Anawrata from Thatôn. As it is they marry and
564 increase. Besides the parakyun, equally among the outcasts were the executioners, jailers, and lictors in Mandalay; lepers and incurables of all kinds, coffin-makers, and those occupied with dead bodies and the graveyards; all deformed and mutilated persons and the lamaing, or government slaves, tillers of the royal lands. The tadaungsa are the nearest in character to the pagoda slaves, and were probably originally intended as a kind of reserve to draw from for a supply of servitors to the temples. They may not engage in any fixed occupation for their support, and are condemned to make their living by begging alone, but a few of them become very rich, for they wander all over the country and occa-

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

sionally chance upon windfalls, but their wealth is of no use to them, for they can never retire, even in the extremest age. Like the pagoda slaves they have their headquarters in Pagān, and some of them are vehemently suspected of being runaway parakyuns from other parts of the country. But the advance in public estimation is of the slightest possible character. Among the sellers of nantagôn and other pagoda essentials, at the shrines of Rangoon, Prome, and Pegu, are here and there a few tadaungsa, tired of their wandering life; yet, notwithstanding the ill-favour with which they are regarded, they are never stinted for food.

Lepers and others afflicted with loathsome diseases, deformed and mutilated persons, are regarded more with pity than with aversion, but they are not the less outcasts, and must live in villages by themselves, or with the tadaungsa and parakyun if indeed they do not scorn to do so. They usually line the pagoda steps on a duty or feast day, and receive abundant alms, every third or fourth worshipper dropping a handful of rice or a copper coin into the basket or platter laid before them. The dislike to maimed people is very singular, and led to curious incidents in the first and second Burmese wars. The wounded men brought into the field hospitals refused to have arms or legs amputated to save their lives, and it is a matter of not unfrequent occurrence even now, in the hospitals, for a man to tear off the bandages wrapped round the stump, that he may not survive his misfortune and become a shame to his family. In some parts of the province the taint, or even the suspicion of leprosy in a family, becomes a fertile source of villainy. If the suspected person or the head of the house be at all well-to-do, heavy sums are extorted by the headman of the place in return for permission to stay on in the village, and sometimes informers make a good thing in demanding hush-money. But no amount of payments could save a man badly affected with the disease from being driven out of the town. Even in large towns the aversion is equally strong, and unless the leper is a rich man he has to live in prescribed quarters among the outcasts already mentioned. Equally despised are all those who have anything to do with funerals, either in making the

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2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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● 564 767 coffin or digging the grave. This occupation has therefore fallen almost exclusively into the hands of the old parakyun, and helps to keep alive the ancient feeling. It must be allowed that the ways of the sandalās do not in any way tend to conciliate the multitude.

564 681 625 Finally there were the pagwet, the letyataung, or thaing-gyaing, the constables, jailers, executioners, lictors, mostly confined to the neighbourhood of the native kingdom Mandalay. These merited all the obloquy that could be cast on them, but their position of quasi-authority made them more secretly hated than openly flouted. They were never allowed to enter a free man's house, even in the exercise of their office; nor could they go within the walls of the palace stockade, but many a citizen smarted under the blows of the lictor's thaing, when a great man came round a corner suddenly, and the letyataung saw a chance for a back-hander with his fasces; and it was far too easy a matter for a man to get into jail in Mandalay to make it a wise proceeding to rail at the pagwet. It was an unlovely custom in Upper Burma which made the executioner both constable and jailer, and condemned him to live on his wits. The natural result was that he lived on the prisoners, and extorted the last pice out of his victim with threats of violence, or actual torture. Pagwet means a circle on the cheek, and this ring on the face implied that its bearer had been condemned for a capital crime, and was respited to become executioner. Others had devices descriptive of their offence tattooed on the chest, as luthat (murderer), thukho (thief), damya (dacoit or highway robber). An execution in Mandalay was a horrid sight. The "spotted man" danced round his victim, made feints with his sword and burst into fits of wild laughter or yells, to shake the doomed man's nerves. It must be admitted that the spectators were very little better. A skilful blow which just slit the skin and drew blood met with an approving shout. The pagwet, like other outcasts, [766] was buried like carrion when he died, or perhaps was simply thrown out with the town offal.

563 775 How does all this agree with the theory of Buddhism, that there is equality for all, and that the poorest man can raise himself to sublimest heights after death? The king

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

563 775 he must feel himself strong enough to beat down the fire of passions and remain steadfast to the end, for a lutwet, a man who has put his hand to the plough and turns back again, exposes himself to infinitely greater danger towards his next existence than he who has remained throughout in the world. The monastery is a house of refuge not to be lightly sought, and, sad to say, even it is not open to the outcast.

775 181 761 This doctrine of kan also accounts for the equanimity and callousness with which Buddhists view human misery and the taking of human life, notwithstanding the law which forbids the killing of even the smallest insect. They recognise apathetically the working out of inexorable destiny, and watch a man drowning in the river with undisturbed tranquillity, for they are not called upon or even justified in stirring a hand to prevent it. You cannot combat manifest fate.

● 564 But the outcast may not in any case enter the monastery, not even as a scholar. Even that last chance is withheld from him. He is the connecting link with the state of animals, the highest state of punishment. He is considered no better than an animal in thought; he meets with less toleration in actual life. Were he bedizened to the eyes with costly silks and priceless jewellery no girl would look at him. His wealth is of no use. He is not allowed to build a pagoda, or even to supply fresh-water pots on a wayside stand. The monk would refuse his alms; the starving free-man beggar would scorn his bounty. They will no doubt gradually disappear under British rule, but there will be those who will regret it. They may have to work hard for their living.

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

764 a handful of earth the grave-diggers fill up the grave. These
● [564] sandalās are outcasts, the name being probably derived from the Sanskrit term for the lowest caste of the Hindoos. It is considered a mark of respect to wait till the grave is filled in, and when this is over, there is some conversation in the zayat over the refreshments, and then all make their way home. The pya-that, bamboos, and other paraphernalia are the perquisites of the sandalās, and they usually get all the alms intended for the poor, though at a great funeral there is often much competition for the pasos, turbans, and pieces of muslin given away in alms. It is to be observed that there is no tombstone put up; nothing to mark for future years where the grave was.

764 Though burial is becoming common with all classes,
178 the old method of cremation still prevails extensively in the jungle districts, and was invariable in Independent Burma when the deceased had attained considerable age. When the body is to be burned, mithingyothi, it is not necessary that the coffin lid should be fastened down, and sometimes there is no lid at all. The preparations and procession are identical with that for burial. The pyre is composed of billets of wood, laid two and two at right angles to each other, quantities of sweet-smelling woods being placed in the intervals. A few billets are placed above the coffin as well as below, and at the bottom of the funeral pile is usually an iron trough into which any unconsumed bones may fall. The pyre is kindled at various points by the nearest relations, and the sandalās stay by to see that it burns freely, and that all is consumed. When the fire has burnt out, two or three of the nearest of kin come and search about among the ashes for the bones. These are washed clean with cocoanut milk, and in the case of great people in Lower Burma of late years, often with lavender water, eau de cologne, or any of Atkinson's or Piesse and Lubin's scents. They are then wrapped up in clean white cloths, and placed in a newly made earthenware pot, which is not uncommonly gilt, or covered with pictures of sacred events taken from the birth stories. This is then taken back to the house temporarily.

For seven days after either kind of funeral, mourning

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

was prevailing in China and Tibet by about the third century A.D. In any case, the ever-increasing population, alien to Hindu culture, must have acted against the intensity of the Hindu influence. Moreover, Siam was one of the earliest converts from Hinduism to Buddhism which, especially after the great Buddhist missionary, Buddhagosa, who lived in the fifth century, was ousting Brahmanism in Indo-China. At the Siamese court, however, the Hindu tradition was very strong, and remained so even when the king and his courtiers had become Buddhists. 177 174 101

In Siam, as in the neighbouring regions, learning did not reach the people for a long time even though it flourished at the court. The Hindu tradition was not strong enough to prevent the courtiers from creating a native literature. Buddhism prevented the courtiers from looking upon the Hindu learning with a conservatism that would not have allowed imitations. In Cambodia and elsewhere native ideas could never shake off the dominance of Hindu culture, and no native literature could come into being until quite modern times. Moreover, the very fact that the Hindu tradition was strong prevented the survival of Sanskrit literature in those regions, for once the tradition was broken, only chaos resulted. To make it clear, I will take the Java shadow-play. Sanskrit dramatic representation gave rise to the Java shadow-play. Therefore, one would expect Java to preserve a Hindu dramatic literature to herself and to the world. But it failed to do so. The shadow-play of Java is interesting as a special kind of dramatic performance, and not as dramatic literature. The stories that are presented on the shadow-stage in Java are taken mostly from the Hindu epics, but they have very little dramatic structure. Yet originally they must have been developed Sanskrit plays. Of course, to begin with, the Sanskrit shadow-plays themselves were slight in structure, but by no means so crude as the Javanese ones. The Hindu tradition was so strong that once it was destroyed, not only did the Hindu drama in Java decay and disappear, but a native drama in a developed form failed to appear. Stories from Hindu sources as well as stories from native history and mythology are still shown on the Java shadow-stage, but the plays are all formless and crude. In Cambodia, where the Hindu tradition was indeed very strong and lasted much longer, some remnants of the developed Sanskrit drama are preserved, but the tradition was so strong that no native element could enter it. There, up to the present day, a State theatre, with a special minister 177 369 564 538 101

21: Htin Aung B-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

177 of State, presents the *Ramayana*, and less frequently that play which
369 the Burmese calls the *Eenaung*.[1] Both are remnants of Sanskrit plays
564 no doubt introduced by the early Hindu kings. Throughout the
538 centuries, the two plays have been regularly presented with the full
101 patronage of the king and all the splendour at his command. It is almost a ritual. During the intervening centuries, no fresh incentive had come from India, and no new element, no native element, was allowed to enter it; the result was that the Cambodian *Ramayana* soon lost its freshness. Cambodia, therefore, not only has no native drama; it also failed to preserve for posterity good examples of Sanskrit dramatic literature.

101 To return to Siam. Even the courtiers did not look upon the
538 Hindu tradition with too much awe and conservatism. They recog-
[564] nised and retained the vital elements of Hindu culture as far as
536* possible so as not to clash with native and Buddhistic elements. The results of such special circumstances are best seen in Siamese literature. The court encouraged and the courtiers produced romances based on and in imitation of Sanskrit-Hindu romances. Native ideas, native tales, and native mythology were introduced into works modelled on Hindu literary works. In drama, the Siamese did not produce native plays, and they retained the *Ramayana* as a play. But they introduced new ideas and kept alive the old. In dramatic literature, as in all other matters, the Siamese had to reject all that was contrary to Buddhism, and some were retained only after much alteration to suit new needs. A consideration of the Siamese play of *Rama* shows clearly the above facts.

The epic tradition was very strong in India and it prevented Sanskrit drama from rising to still greater heights. In the new Hindu regions of Indo-China and the Malay Archipelago epic tradition was equally strong, if not stronger. In India the Sanskrit drama was shackled by the epic tradition; in the new regions the drama was very probably entirely subordinated to the epic. The dramatic performances in Cambodia, in Siam, in Java, before modern influences came in, were based mostly on the *Mahabharata* or the *Ramayana*. Perhaps it is legitimate to assume that the Sanskrit plays introduced into the new Hindu kingdoms were mostly those based on the epics: mostly, but not all. For the *Eenaung*, which is very probably from Hindu-Sanskrit sources, tells a story unconnected with the two epics.

[1] This is explained in the next section.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
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131 Burma possessed no staples of trade to encourage

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enterprise of the peaceable sort. Left entirely to her own resources, she developed her character in independence. It preserves a large measure of its original freshness and charm.

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Detached though Burma lay from the contact of other civilisation, the seed-corn of a spiritual influence was brought to her shore from afar, and took root and spread until it pervaded her whole life. The one extraneous influence under which she fell proved of a paramount order. But the inspiration of Buddhism was broadly human, not racial. Every people might take its message to heart in their own individual way. The restraints it enjoined and the ideals it held up became the occasions for Burma to unfold her own inmost nature. The abounding treasury of Buddhist legend furnished the subjects to exercise her poetic fancy. In the fifth century, A.D., long after Buddhism had declined at its source in India, and when it only prevailed in Ceylon, its real progress began among the people who were to give it an enduring home. Buddhism is popularly credited with five hundred millions of adherents. But the seven millions of Burma and perhaps a twentieth of that number in Ceylon, together with the half million Jains of India, are the practical Buddhists of the world. With the rest the profession has sunk to an empty name, as in China and Japan, or it is lax, as in Siam, or it is utterly transformed, as in Tibet.

101 The phrase *Further India* gives point to a wide misconception. The surprise of so many persons on finding that the Burmans have no *caste*—to take the commonest instance—betrays the notion that Burma is part of India

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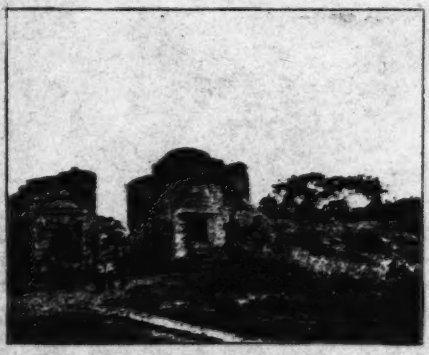

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CHAPTER FOUR

647 ●565 177. 65 BY the time that I was about four years old my father had become a Subdivisional Officer in the Civil Service, and our family had joined the ranks of what has now come to be known as the *minkadaw* class, an *a-so-ya min* being a government official and *minkadaw* the wife of a *min*. The minkadaws usually referred to were in the great majority the wives of officials of the Burma Civil Service, Class II, and by the time that we were passing through our childhood and adolescent years they already formed a very definite stratum in Burmese society. We children now comparing notes with the children of the minkadaws posted as far apart as Tavoy and Myitkyina can find common characteristics in all the households, from domestic commodities and meal habits to social conventions and standards of wealth. It is as though a new upper middle class has grown up, complete with snobberies, in what was formerly a classless Burmese society, but a class that still keeps itself quite apart from the European gymkhana life of the district towns.

631 647 344 The houses which I can remember, when my father was a Subdivisional Officer in the subdivisional towns of Zigon and Myanaung where he was in charge of the subdivision, or in the divisional headquarters town of Magwe where the whole hierarchy of min from the Commissioner downwards were present, or in the district headquarters town of Maubin where the min ranked down from the Deputy Commissioner and my father was Headquarters Assistant, all bore certain uniform features. They were all wooden, two-storied and large, with a sufficient number of big rooms to have a dining-room and an office room below, a sitting-room above the portico and two big bedrooms, besides little verandahs and odd rooms. They all had a front staircase for common use and one or two ladder-like staircases behind for watermen, sanitation and servants. The kitchen was about 20 yards away, connected by a covered passage, and at the back of the large garden or compound was the *tanya*, a row of rooms for men servants and Indian [351] servants. The garden in front was usually modest owing to frequent changes of occupants, but a minimum amount of flowers for daily vases on the altar had always to be cultivated, and fruit trees were prized highly, guava, mango, marian or citron.

592 357 Unlike most Burmese households we did not have any aunts or other relatives staying with us, but we had our full quota of domestic

592 She was fairly pretty, very quiet and reserved towards us, and enjoyed
357 helping my mother with the babies, supervising the work of the servant girls and valeting my father. Ngwe Yin, who came to us as a very attractive girl with a reputation for being unmanageable even at a young age, always chose the task of taking us for walks in the evenings so that she could put on her nice clothes. She took us wherever she liked, or she sat with us at meal times and let us be as naughty as we wanted while she indulged in repartee with my father's clerks or chauffeur. Mya Shwe was my contemporary and playmate; she went to school while I was in boarding school but cut short her attendances the day I came home, irrespective of differences in our school calendars.

357 When A-Kyi was about nineteen it was announced to us that she
584 was to be married to my father's clerk, Maung Hla Bu. This young man was a favourite of my parents and had been a constant admirer of A-Kyi, helping her to make the beds when my father took the whole family on tours, but awaiting the graciousness of my parents before he dared to ask for her in marriage. My mother gave A-Kyi a small trousseau and a few pieces of jewellery, and they were married shortly before my father got a posting to another station. When a child was born, Mya Shwe, who had outgrown her days as a playmate for me, went to stay with them. Ngwe Yin, the beautiful girl, continued discontentedly for about a year, and then she eloped with a student protégé of my father's. I don't think either of my parents were very shocked at this.

357 My memories of the girls who worked for us are happy enough only
565 because my mother had been brought up in Grandfather's house where everyone was taught to do things for herself; in her character also was a pervading sense of tolerance. In some minkadaws' houses, however, I have seen two girls kneeling with soap and towel outstretched, while the mistress bathed herself. In more cheerful but no less aristocratic-minded households a meal laid ready on the table is the signal for one girl to get under the table and fan the mosquitoes off the legs of the family, and another to play the gramophone right through the meal My gay young uncle San Lin extended the domestic duties of his girls to the learning of modern songs which he liked, and he did his morning dressing to the accompaniment of his servant girls with powder on their faces and jasmine buds in their hair, swinging their feather brooms to the rhythm of modern love songs.

592 A-Kyi and A-Shwe and all the girls we had before and after them
431 bring back memories of the household articles which made with them a
513 background never recovered in our later Rangoon days. My mother,
286 like all minkadaws in the districts, did not depend on a big bazaar and
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779 It is this renunciation[1] which we symbolize in the shinbyu ceremony
881 when a boy leaves his home and lives in the order. A parent who fails
792 to hold the ceremony or get his son initiated in some other way fails in his first duty towards his son, and those who hold a shinbyu for orphans or the sons of the poor achieve great merit.

To provide a background symbolic of Prince Siddhartha's circumstances, parents spend as much as they can afford; a flagged pavilion is put up before the house, a multitude of people are invited for feasting, the boy is dressed in princely garments and jewels, and rides around the town on a white horse, with a procession following. For him to return and wash the powder off his face, to doff the turban and show the newly shaven head, to change the glittering clothes of silk for a plain yellow
[292] robe showing golden on the bare brown skin,—this is moving indeed. And when he comes back the next day in procession with other monks, his eyes cast down and his bowl before him, his mother makes obeisance to him for the first time, not as her son now but as one of the priestly order, a hpongyi, a "great glory". That must be a moment of spiritual plenitude in a mother's life.

881 I do not remember much about my brother's shinbyu, but I re-
792 member the beauty of his face as he came back in procession on that first day. A good face has its nobility enhanced by the complete absence of such adornment, even as is provided by the frame of hair or the line of neck clothing; it has to stand alone. I am often struck with the beautiful calm faces of some older monks. There is a look of repose which they wear easily after years of daily meditation and freedom from petty irritations and personal relationships, and a glow to the brown skin which is the result of years spent in clean and open surroundings, with sufficient to eat, and regularity of hours; the strongly marked eyebrows giving a nobility to the face when the head has been shorn. The unconscious reflection of this look on the face of a small boy touches us profoundly; there is a sweet solemnity on the young shaven face; the most mischievous boys become awed and chastened without any prompting.

881 In recent years, we have had a full dress shinbyu in the family for
792 my husband's nephew, Sao Sai Long, who as the heir to the Shan
●565 State of Kengtung was initiated into the priesthood with the full pano-
[563] ply due to Buddhist royalty. A long wide bamboo pavilion was set up, beginning with a high shelf for the offerings to all the monasteries in the town, the next platform for the monks who were to receive Sao Sai Long into their monastery, the next lower for the attendant boys who were also to be initiated, and for the *palin* (the jewelled *chaise longue* on which Sao Sai Long was to recline), the next for the family, and successively lower ones for the various grades of the people. (The

[1] e.g., The Great Renunciation of Prince Siddhartha--Analyst]

European officials and friends were given chairs in deference to their stiffer joints, but the chairs which eventually raised them higher than the family were placed on a side platform which had been cleverly made two inches lower than the family's platform.) On the day of the actual initiation, tall vases on the high shelf held robes, fans and slippers as offerings to the monks, and rupee coins put into long net cylinders to get around the rule that monks should not touch money. Sitting against this were a row of monks with eyes downcast, below and before them were the *shinlaungs*, sixteen little attendant boys all powdered white with silk clothes and golden chains around their necks. On the couch sat Sao Sai Long, Sao Thiri Raza, his face unpowdered but glowing with the beauty of his race, his clothes of finest silk and gold, on his head a jewelled crown sitting proudly above his young face.

Three days in succession before the actual initiation day he sat like this in front of the assembled people, and when the drums took up the strange sad music which is traditionally played for the departure of a king, he stepped into a throne-seat that was lifted high on an elephant to go in procession round the town. The music and the splendour of Buddhist kingship in these days of government officials stirred the unrealized, half forgotten roots in our breasts; it made us feel things we had known in some other world and brought tears to our eyes. Sao Sai Long, my nephew aged 14, who had just returned from a year at King's School, Canterbury, who had never given me a moment's peace with his affectionate and irreverent ways, and who is even now riding wildly round an Australian sheep farm, felt and looked a dignity which he has never achieved before or since, as he was lifted high on an elephant and rode around his beautiful old city with its big trees and mountains, with spears, banners, white and gold umbrellas before him, a king for the last time in full pomp. He must have felt like Tamurlaine:

> Oh, 'tis passing fair to be a king,
> And ride in triumph through Persepolis.

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Officer have appeared as higher sources of authority which are present not far away, and the village headman has lost much of his standing as elder person responsible for law and order, retaining chiefly his position as tax-collector. This is to the loss of village administration.

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As a-so-ya mins, men like my father had more power and prestige than they had money. The salary of a B.C.S. II Officer, which ranged from Rs. 300/- to Rs. 900/-, was enough to ensure easy living and a certain amount of saving for old age, but in the place of the expensive carpets, glass, silver, uniformed servants and tinned foods which we saw in English officials' houses, they had to spend what might seem to foreigners a disproportionate amount on two items: jewellery for the women and financial help to relatives. Jewellery is not a vanity for a Burmese woman but an article of dress, worn both day and night, in varying degrees according to whether she is working or out on pleasure. The word for jewellery does not include any description of gems, but is *let-wut let-sa*: wear for the arms and such. When servant girls enter a household the humblest of them is given a gold chain to hang around her neck or a bangle for her wrist. Thus among the classes who have any money to spare beyond that for mere sustenance, from the more affluent cultivators, the small traders and shopkeepers and clerks, to "rich" land-owners, mill-owners and government officials, a great amount of money is spent on jewellery. Not to have any would be an unbearable shame.

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A complete set of jewellery for a well-dressed woman comprises the following articles, all worn together when attending shinbyus, ear-boring and marriage ceremonies, official functions and numerous other occasions. For the hair a *sado*, a hairpin with a single large diamond on the end; a comb with teeth of gold and a row of diamonds set closely along the back of the rim; a *sein-pan gaing*, a gold hairpin with a cluster of flowers to hang and dangle, set with diamonds. These articles have the gold parts embedded in the knot of hair and only show the diamonds. Round the neck are worn the *lè-gat*, a narrow gold collar set widely with diamonds, fitting like a vice; below this a double row of small pearls tied tightly behind with red tassels; the *lè-ton* "trembling necklace"—a "choker" necklace—sitting so that little chains set with diamonds hang from it all round the neck and tremble; a chain with a diamond locket below this. In the ears are worn single diamond studs. On the jacket five diamond buttons, attached to gold rings set with diamonds, fasten the button loops. On the wrists and hands diamond bracelets and as many rings as possessed, of rubies, emeralds and sapphires set with diamonds are worn. A young girl also wears hollow anklets of gold round her ankles. In addition to the above, the richer minkadaws and wives of big traders possess corresponding pieces of rubies, emeralds and

never talked about the business of their past working days when they met. Sometimes they showed a fleeting interest in news of the postings of friends still in service, but even the official matters of Thaton district itself did not enter into their discussions. They talked of charity donations, of the respective monasteries which they endowed and attended, and of formulæ of *eggaya-hto*, alchemy, or the search for the philosopher's stone which will turn all metals to gold. Most Burmans get interested in eggaya-hto during their later years, even if few now practise it. 887 521 [822]

This alchemy, which has no place among the true teachings of Buddhism, has to be done under auspicious astrological influences and is usually carried on in secret. Burman Buddhists condemn the use of it when it is carried on for *lawba*, greed for riches, but others justify the process as a means of concentrating the mental faculties. The common stories tell of hermits in the forests, who by their ascetic life and concentrated meditation have more powers over the forces of nature, as being well versed in the processes of alchemy. When such a hermit achieves the extreme concentration of mind on his task he is successful—the philosopher's stone is discovered, the body of the hermit then disappears in the dissolving of matter, and his spirit is free to live unhampered by the body, till the arrival of the next Buddha on the earth. Most Burmese women, however, although they believe that this happens in the case of hermits, object very strongly to the practice of alchemy on the part of their menfolk, owing to the money and energy that is wasted on seeking out new and expensive formulæ once the craze has got hold of a man. All experiments are started with mercury which is melted with other minerals, animal or vegetable substances which derive their magical properties partly from their inaccessibility, partly from being treated with prescribed rites. My father had no intention of taking up alchemy and impoverishing us, but he too was very interested to hear of the success and failure of various methods. These discussions must have been kept well anchored to reality by the other chief topic of discussion—the families of the pensioners. 822 792 779

The five duties of a parent towards his children include the settling of the child in a good marriage. By the time the a-so-ya mins retire, their sons and daughters have reached a marriageable age. The sons are in the process of winning a good position in one of the government services and their daughters have been dressed with an adequate amount of jewellery. The marriage market, which had no existence in former Burmese society and which still is unheard of in Ye, and among the poorer people, is now a very concrete institution among the educated and modern classes. The rise of the minkadaw class and of higher paid Class I government officials has been mainly responsible for this. More 593 584 554 177. 58 585

593 and more within recent years, the higher government services have come
584 to be associated not only with "face", but with *gon*, prestige, and *ausa*,
authority, which together make up a *myet-hna-gyi*, big face, in Burma.
554 Mothers of daughters want their daughters to have gon and ausa and be
177. big of face as the wife of the senior government officer in a town, and
58 mothers of sons want to get the most for themselves and their other
•565 children out of having such a golden goose. They want a girl with wealth, a meek nature, good looks, religious piety and education, more or less in this order. So that the imperfect daughter-in-law may lack the last named qualities rather than the first. Wealth means not merely money, property or jewels, but an absence of younger brothers and sisters or other potential dependents, this being a very important factor in our closely-knit family system. A relative of mine who had just seen his son enter a top service, showed my father his comprehensive table of the marriageable girls of Burma, under headings of family connections, amount and form of property, potential dependents, physical and moral qualities of the girl. My father should have been keenly interested as the father of a son who was studying in England with success, and, indeed, when my brother returned, he might have fetched us about Rs. 30,000 had he desired, so far have we progressed beyond the Burmese traditions of the man's family asking for the hand of the girl with presents of money and jewellery.

It may be asked, what of the men who are thus bartered? Burmans are very greatly attached to their mothers; few can resist a mother's tears, and the tears in these cases are genuinely of grief, because the mother sees this marriage as a faithful discharge of one of her five duties. The five duties of a child towards its parent, on the other hand, include the support of father and mother, and in making this marriage the man sees the best way of providing comfort to his parents in their old age. For the girls also, an arranged marriage is not necessarily a joyless thing. Girls who are educated as we have been, in spite of reading Western romances, are brought up to believe that a girl will grow to love her husband who is good to her. *Tha-na*, pity, compassion, and *chit*, affection-love, are very close in Burmese; the usual way for a wife to address her husband is *Maung*, the same word as younger brother, or *Ko Ko*, elder brother; some husbands address their wives as *nyi-ma-lay*, little sister. And, in fact, in most cases the results do bear out the wisdom of this attitude towards marriage; so that to most Burmans it is the "free" Western marriages which so often appear ill-assorted and lead to divorces. Still, it cannot be denied that much undignified haggling and manœuvring go on nowadays, in the efforts to obtain the best match for sons and daughters. *Aung-thwès*, go-betweens, get a lot of

441 563 semi-precious stones, or gold dust, all cut with many tiny facets. We once had in our house a heavy glass vase, imported by an English firm, of a dull bluish-black colour. One day a wind mercifully blew the vase on to the floor where it broke into a hundred pieces. My cousin gathered up the pieces and the next time she went to Mandalay her button cutter fashioned them into several sets of round sparkling buttons catching the light and showing now black, now grey, now blue, one set of which I wear to this day. These and the velvet slippers which are universally worn were sold in the market by young Burmese women sitting opposite [438 565] the tha-yet-htè longyi sellers. The slippers also came from Mandalay, and in the days of the last Burmese king, the common people were forbidden to wear them; they were reserved for royal use alone.

265 563 At last my sisters considered that I was suitably dressed as the elder sister of such fashionable young ladies as they had now grown into, and equipped to attend any social function of the town. Although Burmese people love gathering to eat and drink, hotels and restaurants did not exist in Rangoon society. Both the Western restaurants where people danced and drank alcoholic drinks, and the leading Chinese restaurants where the dolled-up Chinese waitresses served the male customers with playful attentions, were out of bounds for Burmese women, and therefore not greatly frequented by Burmese men either, except in the case of the Chinese hotels as a carousal. Night bazaars were, however, eminently respectable, all Rangoon families being addicted to the habit of eating out as a supper after their dinner at home. They drove in cars to the pavement stalls of Chinatown, Moghul Street and Yegyaw; at Burmese stalls they got out and squatted on the benches provided, while the seller served them from the cooking pot beside her; at Indian and Chinese shops they had a plank thrust through to rest on the doors of the car, and ate sitting there. After eating rich Mohammedan food or delicious Chinese dishes, they drove a few streets further on to eat in the same fashion at an ice-cream or sherbet stall. It was a good life indeed.

546 177. 54 We usually did this after the cinema. While we went to see American films, my mother and her friends invariably went to a Burmese film. There were four Burmese cinema halls in Rangoon, whose box offices were always besieged, but in spite of this the cinema industry in Burma was not a thriving one. Actors and actresses were poor and suffered a social stigma. About twenty-five feature films were produced in Rangoon each year, both sound and silent, by companies whose prosperity never lasted more than a few years. They could often be seen filming their outdoor scenes round the Royal Lakes, the University Estate and the fields around Mingaladon, using studios only for indoor scenes. In pite of this, the effects aimed at were ambitious, especially in the earlier

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882 304 and reminiscences of other ceremonies of the kind that they have witnessed. Usually the gold needle is bent round and left in the wound, but poor people sometimes pass a piece of string through and tie it. This is turned round and passed 882 304 backwards and forwards daily till the sides heal, and then 301 begins the process of enlarging the hole to receive the na-daung, a big tube an inch long and from half an inch to three-quarters in diameter. This takes a very long time, and is less pleasant even than the first boring. Some do it with a gold or thickly gilt metal plate, which is rolled up and passed through the hole. The elasticity of the metal makes it constantly tend to expand, and so the hole is gradually enlarged. A commoner method, however, is by introducing stems of the kaing, or elephant grass. As many of the little stems of the inner blade as will go through are passed in, and daily their number is added to until a considerable width is attained. When kaing grass is not available, little splints of the thekkè kyaung are made use [369] of. This is the ordinary thatch of the poorer sort of houses, [342] and almost universal in the country districts, but forbidden in the large towns on account of its inflammable character. Then, after a time, the nā-kat is brought into use. This is a curious ear-plug, big at both ends, and smaller in the middle, where the two parts screw into one another. The screw is passed through the lobe of the ear, and the other 301 portion is then twisted on. These nā-kat are gradually 565 increased in size, until at last the orifices are large enough to receive the na-daung, the regular ear-cylinders. These are of various make and material, the latter being formerly regulated by the sumptuary laws in independent territory. The royal family, both males and females, had them of gold, richly set with jewels, often a single large brilliant in front, or a diamond surrounded by a ring of emeralds, while the back was a cluster of rubies. The right to wear these was also extended to the higher ministers and their families. Others wear gold, plain hollow tubes, or with the ends filled up with delicate *repoussé* work. Those who cannot afford this content themselves with solid amber plugs, which, when they are without a flaw, are worth three or four pounds sterling apiece. Finally, the poor content themselves with

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hollow pipes of glass, coloured in a variety of tints. The shape is somewhat peculiar, a slight irregular concave, if I may be allowed the expression, the front being a little larger in diameter than the back. Some of the princesses wore very costly na-daung, the diamonds, and especially the rubies, for which Burma is celebrated, being exceedingly fine. The men, except those of high rank, very seldom wear them, unless on exceptional feast days. Women ordinarily put them on whenever they go out. Poor people keep the holes open with a roll of paper or cloth. A *chic* damsel very often courts attention by carrying spare cherpots dangling from her lobes. Elder women who subordinate personal appearance to bodily comforts usually do the same thing on a journey. It secures them a smoke whenever they may want it, and the huge green cheroots are not easily carried in the penetralia of the Burmese female dress, while if they were in the travelling box, they might be abstracted by unscrupulous youngsters.

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It is curious to notice how much the custom is falling into disuse in the larger towns with the men. Even among the wealthier classes you seldom see a man wearing a na-daung of the largest size. Those of the thickness of a pencil or a little less are still common, but they too probably will pass out of use shortly. Yet this used to be looked upon as the distinctive mark of Burmese nationality. Probably, nowadays, the tattooing is considered sufficient; while the ear-plugs were certainly inconvenient things, and afforded obvious attractions to robbers. But with the women ear-boring is still universal, and probably will continue so as long as the men go on tattooing, notwithstanding the pain of the process. The na-daung are as characteristic of the Burmese women as the flapping tamein.

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It rounds a girl's mouth a good deal when she puts it in. In the manufacture of it chopped tobacco leaves and pieces of the stem of the tobacco plant and the pith of the oh'nè, a species of Euphorbia, are the chief ingredients. Very often these are boiled with palm-sugar and allowed to dry before making up. The cover is made of the leaf of the teak-tree, or of a tree called the thanat, the ends being tucked in at the point. A piece of red raw silk fastens it at the end put in the mouth, and some broader pieces of pith are put there to give it stiffness to the lips. The finer kinds, such as were only used in Upper Burma in the palace, are rolled up in the thin white inner coating of the bark of the betel-tree. The cheroot has an ash like a cinder, and usually burns holes in the clothes of an Englishman the first time he tries it. Laid down thoughtlessly on an oily mat, it is a fruitful cause of fires. All Burman ladies are adepts at rolling cheroots, and a dozen or two of them form a common present to favoured swains.

Chewing betel is sometimes carried on simultaneously with smoking, but most people prefer to economise enjoyment, and only chew in the interval between smokes. Chewing is hardly an exact expression, and the use of it frequently leads the experimenting Briton into the unpleasant predicament of having all the interstices between his teeth choked up with little fragments of the nut, which, with their indescribable aromatic flavour, stimulate the flow of saliva for hours afterwards. The Burman splits his nut in half, smears a little slaked lime, usually white, but sometimes tinted pink or salmon coloured, on the betel vine leaf, puts in a little morsel of cutch and tobacco, and then rolls it up and stows away the quid in the side of his mouth, occasionally *squeezing* it a little between his teeth. It is as well to be very cautious with the lime and cutch (the juice of the *Acacia catechu*) the first time you make a trial. The latter especially is very astringent. One variety of the nut, called the Taunggu betel, has effects very much resembling intoxication. Chewing kôn-thi is an unlovely practice. The Burman has none of the delicacy with regard to a spittoon which characterises the American, and these articles require to be of a very considerable size. The monks are perhaps

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CHAPTER IX

THE HOUSE AND ITS BELONGINGS

It is singular that in a country where the pagodas and temples will compare in stately grandeur and symmetry of form with the sacred edifices of any part of the world, and where the monastic buildings, though only constructed of wood, strike the most casual observer with their shapely beauty and wealth of decoration; it is singular where there is a taste for such edifices and abundance of the architectural skill necessary to erect them, that the Burman should in the vast majority of cases live in the flimsiest of bamboo huts. The original cause may be found perhaps in the stringent regulations of the Yāzagaing. In native Burma the shape of a man's house was fixed for him by law according to his station in life. All were one-storeyed, save where exceptional royal favour had granted the spire-like roof to a distinguished noble or a feudatory chief. Brick houses were forbidden, from the apprehension that the inhabitants might take it into their heads to turn them into fortifications. Gilding was forbidden to all subjects, and permission to lacquer and paint the pillars of their houses granted to but a very few, and it was expressly laid down that no one should have an arch over his door. This may account for the paltry and even wretched appearance of most villages, but it is undeniable that though nowadays, they are very considerably more substantial, yet a rich man never by any chance thinks of building himself a grand house, and remains firmly by the unpretentious model of his ancestors. This is the more curious, because they will spare no expense to buy gay turbans and bright-coloured pasos for themselves, and costly

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517 silks for their wives. The ordinary explanation is that every one can see what clothes you wear, while few people care to come and spy out what kind of a house you live in, and how you fare. But there can be very little doubt that the real reason is a survival of the idea of the old Yāzagaing, as well as the fact that long years of custom have impressed upon everybody the opinion that there are only two forms of architecture, the secular and the ecclesiastical, and no one, no matter how sure he might be that the Government would take no notice of his ambition, would brave the denunciations of the religious by adding a spire to his house, or even adorning the gable ends with carved pinnacles and flamboyant finials of the monasteries. Consequently the one regular form prevails everywhere.

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342 576 The Burman's dwelling, then, is always shaped more or less like a marquee tent, and never more than one storey high, to avoid the humiliating possibility of the feet of some one being over your head. But the whole house stands on posts, so that the floor is seven or eight feet from the ground. It consists often of only one room, usually, however, of two or more, and to the front of the house there is always a verandah, three or four feet lower than the general level of the house, and as often as not quite open to the street, or the garden, or whatever may be in front and always to the sky. The posts which form the main or central part of the house are usually six in number, and all have their names, such as Uyu, Kya-hngan, Nyaung-yan. The south post, in the main part of the house, the Thabye-taing, is the best known, as being always adorned with leaves and particularly marked as that in the top of which most probably lives the nat-spirit of the house. A dead body, after being swathed, and while waiting for the coffin, is always placed by it.

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341 787 A house ought never to be built till the foundations have been thoroughly dug up and shown to a soothsayer. He will determine, from the substances found, whether it is a lucky place to build a house in or not. It stands to reason that the building cannot be commenced till a lucky day and hour have been sought out. There is considerable care to be observed in the selection of the timber. Posts are masculine, feminine, and neuter. Male posts are of equal size at both

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ends; females are larger at the base; those which swell out in the middle are a-thet ma-shi—without life; taing bilu, ogre's posts are largest at the top. As a general rule it may be taken for granted that if a house is built with neuter posts, its inmates will always be miserable and unlucky; if the posts are ogres, death and disaster will attend; male posts are easy-going and harmless; females, on the contrary, are fortunate and leading to honour. But it may happen that the character of the piece of ground on which the house is built upsets all these generalisations, so that it is necessary to get a wise man's opinion before you get your posts. The Deittôn gives many instructions on the subject, and among other things mentions how a man's fortune may be calculated from the Hle-ga-tit, the side pieces of the steps which lead up to the verandah. The presence or absence of knots, and if the former, their position, determines the luck of the householder.

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Poor people use bamboo instead of wood, and make their walls of mats, woven of the same substance, split up. Occasionally, however, they rise to the dignity of common jungle timber. Richer people make use of the invaluable teak, or of pyinkado (*Xylia dolabriformis*), a wood almost as durable, and equally expensive. White ants will attack neither of these. The walls of such houses are planked. The roof is sometimes composed of small flat tiles, but more commonly of thatch. This consists in most places in the Delta of dani, the leaves of the toddy palm, which are first soaked in salt water, a precaution which prevents insects from destroying them. Up country a species of grass called thekkè is universally used. This style of roofing is very satisfactory in every respect but one. It is cheap, easily put on, reasonably water-tight, but very inflammable, and consequently is not allowed in any of the larger towns in the Province. In the smaller stations, however, it is almost universal, and the consequence is that when one house takes fire, the sparks from it kindle all the others, as a matter of course. Consequently, as an imperative measure of protection, every house is provided with a long hooked bamboo, called a mi-cheit, by means of which to pull off all the thatch as soon as a fire breaks out in the neighbourhood, and in

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342 addition to this a mi-kat stands beside it. This is a broad
731 griddle, or flapper kind of thing, and its object is to beat out
355 the flame which may be caused by a spark lighting on the roof. In addition to this, in many parts of the country, pots full of water are always kept in readiness on the tops of the houses, so that when the hour of danger comes, the householder may douse his roof, and so do the best for himself. In Mandalay, under native rule, some of the pa-gwets, [368] and other outcasts, patrolled the streets all night, to watch for and prevent fires as much as possible.

342 Another kind of roofing is wā-kat, a sort of flat tile-like construction, six feet long by two feet broad, made of coarse bamboo matting. Bamboos split in half down the centre, and with the knots smoothed away, are also used. They are placed close together, with the hollow side upwards, extending all the way down from the ridge to the eaves, and over these again are placed others with the rounded side up, the whole presenting rather a curious appearance, but making a very serviceable roof and not nearly so dangerous as the leaf or grass thatching. The leaves of other trees are also occasionally used, but the simplicity and cheapness of the dani roof make it by far the most prevalent in the delta, as grass is elsewhere, notwithstanding its danger. In Rangoon and Maulmein, shingles, that is, small wooden slabs like slates, are being very generally introduced.

In the better class of houses the floors are made of planking, but poorer people have nothing better than a series [565] of whole or split bamboos laid side by side on the cross-beams and tied down with rattans. This is not very pleasant to walk on, and has the further disadvantage of being anything but cleanly, for the spaces between the bamboos offer an irresistible temptation to drop all litter and garbage on to the ground immediately underneath the house, and were it not for the pariah dogs the sanitary condition of the place would soon be very bad.

352 The house is thus simple enough in its character, but
177·35 the furniture is still more so. Intercourse with the English
369 has indeed brought many Burmans to indulge in English luxuries, and in many houses in Rangoon and the larger district towns, chandeliers, bookcases, pictures, and even

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CHAPTER XLIII

SUMPTUARY LAWS AND ETIQUETTE[1]

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UNDER native rule the sumptuary laws in Mandalay were exceedingly strict and most elaborate in their character. Out of the capital the regulations were equally in force, but never, as a matter of fact, came into action, because the country governors took very good care to replenish their coffers out of the money-bags of every one who chanced to be fortunate in his speculations. Speaking generally, officials were the only rich people; but in no country in the world was the official rank more open to competition, or more subject to the caprice of the king. The last mayor of Mandalay, who was also Governor of the Rafts—that is to say, Lord High Admiral—was not many years before little better than a slave, and owed his first start in life to a lucky accident. Several others of King Thibaw's most prominent advisers were among his personal attendants before he ascended the throne. There is, therefore, nothing of the caste prejudice of the Hindoos to be found in Burma. Burmans will often declare there is caste, but what is called by that name is nothing more than the arbitrary settlement by the sumptuary laws of what a man might wear and what was forbidden; what language he may use and what must be used to him. Captain Forbes, in his book on Burma, said that these prohibitions extended in native territory to the names which might be given to a man. The term Shwe, meaning gold, was, he said, restricted as a name to people of rank. This is certainly a misappre-

[1] Since the annexation of Upper Burma these sumptuary rules are no longer law, but they are observed by very many good citizens even under British rule.

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hension. It may have been an ancient law, but it was not enforced in the last years of the Burmese empire, and it does not seem to have been enforced even in the times of the haughtiest and most unreasonable monarchs, such as Tharrawaddy and Mintaya Gyi. The appellative was perhaps not so common as in British territory; but as far as the law was concerned, the poor man might call himself and his children Shwe as much as he pleased; only he had to be very careful how he used any of the gold he might possess in decorating his person or in adorning his house.

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If the regulations did not apply to the name a man might have, they certainly did to the language he might make use of. Oriental forms of speech in self-depreciation are familiar enough. They are universal with all the nations of the East, and even turn up in the democratic West in the petitions of "your humble, obedient servant." The magniloquent and supreme nga, as applied to one's self, is not peculiar to Burma; while hnin, addressed to an inferior, is only a little more contemptuous than the *Er* of the small German courts. The difference between the various ranks is far more distinctly marked than this in the employment of different forms of speech; an entirely special language as applied to the royal blood, and in a scarcely less adulatory way to the members of the Assembly of the Perfect. A man "dies"; a monk "goes back" to the blissful seats whence he came, or to ne'ban; a king "ascends to the village of Nats"; one of the six heavens of happiness, where the passions still reign, and in the contemplation of which Buddhists find consolation for the otherwise dismal forebodings of their faith. The Buddhist religion is thoroughly democratic. A man only is what he is through his actions in past existences. The accumulation of merits must therefore vastly outweigh the demerits in the kan of a king. However badly he may act in his regal existence, he cannot fall below the lowest seat of the dewas—at least, so official language declares. Similarly, an ordinary man "walks"; a mendicant "stalks," or "strides," or "paces with dignified gait," or whatever may be the English honorific equivalent of the Burmese chwa; while a king "makes a royal progress." The latter expression was emphatically correct as

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far as personages of the Burmese royal blood were concerned. The descendants of Mahā Thamada never went on their own legs in the open air. If they did not mount an elephant, some official was honoured with the weight of majesty on his back. In the same way, while a humble subject "eats," a pôngyi sônpônpethi "assimilates," or "nourishes his body with the alms of the pious"; and a king demeans himself to nothing less than "ascending to the lordly board." You may "call" or "invite" an ordinary man; to an ascetic you may "suggest an interview"; you would be a reckless man indeed if you sought a formula which in the faintest imaginable way would suggest to a king that you wanted him to come to you. When your visitor departs, if he is on familiar terms, he says, Thwa-mi nŏ, "I say, I'm going," and you politely respond, Thwa-ba, "By all means, go away"; if he stands a little in awe of you, he says, Thwa-daw-mi, "Honoured sir, I take my leave"; on the other hand, when, after a conference with a holy brother, you take your departure, you say, "My lord's servant does obeisance" (literally, "kowtows with his forehead"). When there was a king he did not give you the chance to say anything; he flung out of the throne and disappeared behind a blue curtain, while your eyes were fixed on the ground a couple of feet before you.

And so it goes on through a triple language, which makes Burmese of the palace an unknown tongue to the best foreign scholar. Tales are told of the ludicrous mistakes of men, who to ordinary people could speak Burmese, and therefore imagined they might venture on it with the king. Thus it was with a bluff English manager of one of the numerous mills which King Mindôn built and kept going till he got tired of them. This gentleman, in replying in the affirmative to some remark of the Lord of the Golden Palace, horrified the court by saying hôkde instead of the prescribed tin-ba payah, "I think with your majesty." The expression to palace ears was much the same as if some one were to say to His Majesty the King of England, "Right you are, old cockie." The court language is still kept up by all Burmese in their intercourse with superior officials.

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If the proprieties of language were carefully observed, the regulations as to wearing apparel and ornaments were

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far more minute, and guarded with the most jealous care. The almost wretched character of the houses of Upper Burma, as compared with those in the lower territory, was very apparent; but what struck a stranger even more was the absence of the gay dress which is so pleasant and picturesque in Pegu and the seaboard provinces. There was indeed no law against any one wearing the most brilliant paso he could get; but the money was wanting to support the character. A man with a fine waistcloth would be considered to have the money at the back of it, and might have to sell his dress to meet the contributions demanded accordingly by the local official. In Lower Burma, every one has a feast-day dress, however poor he may be. He gets the money for it by a week's work, perhaps backed up by a lucky bit of gambling. Then he is at liberty to strut about and do nothing till the clothes get shabby, when he has to bestir himself again. In British territory, too, he might decorate his kilt with any number of representations of the peacock. An Upper Burman would have been promptly put in gaol—he would even have run some risk of being killed outright—if he ventured upon one. Peacocks were for personages of the blood-royal. Most people in independent territory wore no coats at all; but if they did wear coats, they had to be of the simplest possible "Chinese cut." Long-tailed taingmatheins, surcoats and the like, were reserved for officials, with regulations as to buttons, gold or otherwise, and other minutiæ which must have severely taxed the memory of informers and chamberlains.

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As we ascend in the social, or rather the official scale,—for all dignity came from office, or from a special patent from the king—distinctions thickened. Naturally in the land of the umbrella-bearing chiefs, the huge htis afforded a prominent and obvious mode of marking rank. The umbrella is twelve or fifteen high, with an expanse of six feet or more across. A poor man had nothing to do with these big umbrellas whatever, unless he were employed to carry one over his master's head. If he owned an umbrella at all, it had to be short in the handle and otherwise of Western limensions. Royal officials about the palace had their mbrellas painted black inside; country people, and those

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565 301 not directly connected with the royal abode, had the palm-leaf as near the original colour as the varnishing with wood-oil permitted. Some had permission to cover the wide surface with pink or green satin; others, more honoured, might add a fringe, either plain or embroidered. A golden umbrella was given by special grace to the highest wuns and the royal princes. A white umbrella belonged to the king alone and to religion, and not even the Eingshemin, the heir-apparent, when such a person existed, was allowed to use it. Matters were still further complicated by the number of umbrellas. Nine white ones marked the king; the Eingshemin had eight golden ones; and the rest of the royal personages numbers corresponding to their achievements, or the regard the king had for them. If they achieved too much, however, and became popular, they died. Distinguished statesmen and generals might have several gold htis, which were duly displayed on all public occasions, and were put up in the house in prominent places. The king's "agent" in Rangoon had only one, which very fairly represented the consideration in which Great Britain was held, and the official rank thought good enough to communicate with the Chief Commissioner. A favourite trick
565 291 301 of the king, Naungdaw Gyi, was to issue perpetually new edicts as to the length of umbrella handles and the proper measurement of the paso. District officials used to make
[661] large sums of money in the way of fines in those days, and occasionally themselves fell victims. There was nothing of the kind latterly, unless we may consider the queen Supayalat's announcement as to the way in which her hair was dressed, being patented as her sole prerogative, an instance of the same nature. Nevertheless, the general distinctions were very tenaciously held by. Innocent, unwitting Englishmen got themselves into serious trouble in Mandalay by going about carrying silk umbrellas with white covers. The offence was high treason and merited death. None actually underwent the supreme penalty, but there were a few who had vivid denunciations for the stocks.

565 The metal, size, and construction of spittoons, betel-boxes, cups, and the like household furniture for different grades were rigidly demarcated, and afforded the most

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minute evidences of the owner's rank and his precedence in that rank. Anklets of gold (kyegyin) were forbidden to all children but those of the royal family on pain of death. Silk cloth, brocaded with gold or silver flowers and figures of animals, might be worn by none but the royal blood and such of the wunkadaws, the minister's wives, as received a special grace enabling them to use it. Similarly the usage as to jewels and precious stones was very carefully laid down. Very few besides the king and his kinsfolk might wear diamonds. The display of emeralds and rubies was restricted in like manner, and so on with other precious stones less esteemed by Burmans. All rubies above a certain size found in the country were the property of the king, and the hapless digger as a rule got nothing in return. His head paid the penalty if he listened to the temptings of black merchants from India, and chipped it so as to bring it under the royalty size. Kadipa panat, velvet sandals, were allowed to none but persons of royal blood. The use of hinthapada, a vermilion dye obtained from cinnabar, was very jealously guarded. The kamauk, a great wide-brimmed hat, was an honour eagerly sought after by the lower rank of officials. The institution was not very ancient, and was primarily due to a prophecy that Burma would come to be ruled by a hat-wearing people. To cut out the Englishmen, therefore, the kamauk was invented, and was looked upon as a great distinction. Hundreds more instances might be given of the yazagaing, the sumptuary rules; but the above will probably suffice to exhibit their scope and character.

Our present Burmese subjects delight in nothing so much as in their immunity from these enactments; and perhaps the permission to bury their dead in any way they please is the most popular privilege. In Mandalay, exclusive of the ceremonial at the cremation of a monk, which is identical all over the country, five kinds of funeral were ordained by the yazagaing. First, that of the king; then of any member of the royal family. Even if one of them were executed, he was put in a red velvet bag and committed to the waters of the Irrawaddy. Third in order were the funerals of those who died in the enjoyment of ministerial office—not always a certain thing, if the recipient did not

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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565
764

die shortly after his promotion. Then came the obsequies of thutés, "rich men," people who had royal edicts conferring that title on them; and finally the rites of poor people, which were practically no rites at all. They probably would not even have been buried were it not for sanitary reasons. But now in all Burma the poorest man, if he can borrow the money, may have any honours he pleases for his dead. He may shade the catafalque with golden umbrellas, or white ones for the matter of that; he may hire elephants; he may fire guns, as long as he does not do it in the public thoroughfares; he may have any number of bands of music; he may erect a pagoda over the ashes of the deceased; he may revel in all the honours restricted by the yazagaing to the most privileged dead; and, in consequence, he may suffer in pocket as much as he dares. Further, he may heap up honorifics in his conversation and correspondence to the utmost of his desire and capability; finding infinite gratification in the fact that in former days the use of a single one of them would most assuredly have resulted in his being lodged in gaol, there to be treated according to the way in which he was able to satisfy the rapacity of his guardians. If yazagaing was unpleasant when it was in operation, the contemplation of it certainly affords an unfailing pleasure to those who are exempt from its provisions.

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the guard dispersed the people. Next day, an old lady, who claimed to be the owner of the dog, visited the big Englishman and told him she forgave him. He was barely polite. 364 23.

Burmans had no trouble with the pigs and dogs. They found their own countrymen much more awkward to meet. There was constantly some prince or mingyi passing along the streets, and then the road had to be immediately cleared, and every one knelt humbly till the great man passed. Any delay in clearing the path, or an imagined want of reverence in the shikhoing, met with very summary punishment. Before every dignitary rushed along a posse of half-naked lictors, yelling out to the people to bow down, and hitting round about them with their fasces and dahs. These masterful ruffians particularly loved to insult Englishmen. During Mindôn's reign an edict was published exempting Englishmen from the necessity of getting down on their knees in the mud and dust, but ordaining that they should lift their hats. The letyataung dearly loved to launch torrents of abuse at their victim, and make him dismount from his pony and remove his hat when the prince was half a block distant. In the spring of 1880 an English mercantile man was actually bullied into going down on his knees. But, as a rule, where it was possible, foreigners turned down a by-street, or into one of the waste plots of ground. This method of avoiding the annoyance was not open to a Burman. If he tried to avoid paying due obeisance, he was denounced as a disaffected man and thrown into jail. 363 576 565

But there were plenty of other obstructions to be met with in the streets of the royal city. Each householder was considered, or considered himself, perfectly at liberty to do what he pleased with the section of the road in front of his house. Accordingly, when the spirit moved him, he calmly blocked the thoroughfare by erecting a temporary theatre for the performance of a pwè. The construction of such a mandut did not take very long. A framework of bamboo was run up and covered in on the roof, and one side with bamboo matting, and all was ready; the stage was the street, and the spectators deposited themselves where they found room. After the three or four days' performance, the stage was pulled down, and the thoroughfare was clear again. 361 541

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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of the funeral paraphernalia takes some time, and it is nowadays almost a matter of ceremonial necessity that all children and blood relations should assemble for the burial. Technically, if the death occurred on the last day of the month the funeral ceremonies should take place before midnight, certainly before the new moon appears. This rule, however, is far from being strictly observed nowadays. A poor man is buried as quickly as possible to save expense; a rich man's obsequies last according to the pride of his family and their inclination to spend money. The coffin, called hkaung, is usually covered with tinsel paper, or perhaps gilt. The talā, the bier, is shaded by a light canopy, or spire made of bamboo, and carried by means of four long bamboo poles. This pya-that is usually most gaily decorated with coloured pasteboard, tinsel, and paintings of different kinds, and looks strangely bright and theatrical to Europeans. It is carpentered and decorated in the street before the house, for it is from eight or ten to twenty or thirty feet in height, and often overtops all the houses in the quarter.

When the day fixed for the funeral arrives the yahans are invited to the house. They usually come in numbers proportioned to the amount of alms given. There is ordinarily an address in the house, dwelling mainly on the vanity of human wishes and the uncertainty and misery of life on earth. Then the coffin is brought out and placed on the platform made for it in the lower part of the pya-that. Over it is then thrown a paso if the deceased was a man, or a tamein or neckerchief if a woman. This usually conceals the coffin, unless it is richly gilt, or painted, as is sometimes the case, with figures of the nobler of the animals, such as lions, tigers, monkeys, and elephants. Then the distinctive garment is looped up so that all may see. Over this cloth are usually placed short sticks wrapped round with gold and silver paper, shwe bidôn and ngwe bidôn which were forbidden in Mandalay except to the officials. Equally contrary to the Yazagaing are the sanda ya-mya, two long streamers which come down from the top of the spire and are taken in the hands of as many of the personal friends as can get hold of them. The musket shots which are fired often during the processions would have entailed especially

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764 heavy punishment under Burman rule. Latterly some
525 laymen in Rangoon have even been bold enough to glorify the
178 funerals of their relatives with keinnaya, figures of men or women with bird-like feet and lower extremities. These spangled toys, which are commonly to be seen in all monasteries, are properly only used at the last ceremonies of a member of the sacred order. But when some men are bold enough even to flaunt the royal white umbrella, it is hardly to be expected that the distinctive honours of the yahans would be respected.

764 The procession having been formed, a start is made.
[735] At the head come the alms intended for the monks and for the poor, some carried by men, some by women, the sexes going in separate lines. After this come the pyin-sin, never in any very great numbers, unless the a-hlu be particularly bountiful. Following them comes the band, and often a troop of singers. These are always hired for the purpose, and their callousness is as little to be cast up against Burman natural affection as the unlovable doings of the mutes at an English funeral. Close upon the musicians comes the bier carried by six or eight young men. Then in a general crowd follow the relations, friends, and neighbours, all on foot. Many passers-by, total strangers, join in the procession from motives of piety. Here and there the men carrying the bier stop and dance in a curious fantastic way to the measures of
[533] the dirge of the singers. The funeral *misereres* are usually the composition of an improvisatore in the chorus, and deal with the life and death and good actions of the deceased. A measure called maung pyaung is the most generally used.

Occasionally there is a tug-of-war with a rope as at a pôngyi's funeral, one side exclaiming, "We must bury our dead"; the other, "You shall not take away my friend." As a matter of necessity the former party must conquer, but they sometimes have to get recruits from the crowd before they can manage it.

764 It is a matter of regulation that a funeral should never
823 go to the north or to the east. The graveyard is usually to the west of the village, and the dead should all be carried out of a walled town by a gate reserved for this purpose. In Mandalay this a-mingala tagā was that to the south-west,

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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764 778 mould the paste into a small image of the Lord Buddha, which they set up in an honoured place in their houses, and make use of as the object of their morning and evening doxologies. Such images are called tha-yo.

764 ● 565 [178] Nowadays money and public estimation alone determine the character of the funeral; but formerly in Mandalay, apart from the ceremonial provided for a pôngyi byan, there were five kinds suitable for a layman—one for the sovereign; then for members of the royal family; thirdly, for nobles, and those who had received official rank, a rather precarious and dangerous possession; then for thuté, rich men—so designated by special patent, which placed them under the "protection" of the court, that is to say, made them accessible for the demand of "benevolences"; and finally, a funeral for ordinary people. The burials of the poor in Mandalay were gruesome spectacles. The body was carried to the graveyard in a big, roomy box, grown rickety with much use, or, more simply still, in a mat. The sandalās had dug a hole, little more than three feet deep. If it was not long enough the body was squeezed in without any regard for relatives feelings. Enough earth to cover it slightly was thrown on by the grave-diggers, and the howls and fights of the pariah dogs at night suggested how it was that epidemics did not arise.

In the case of the funeral, say of an Atwinwun's wife, the coffin might be gilt, with a web of white cotton cloth fastened at the head—velvet was only permissible for a person of royal blood; the bamboos composing the bier were covered with red cloth; the pasos, tameins, and so on, given in alms, were carried on long poles, each pole borne by two men. In the procession the insignia of the wun, his umbrellas, fans, kamauk, and the rest were carried in front; after the alms and yahans came a dozen or more young women, carrying the court dress and decorations of the deceased, then her state carriage and that of her husband, hers being usually a palanquin. The billets of wood on the funeral pyre were gilt. These honours were so greatly valued that not a single privilege would be omitted, though the husband had to borrow money for every single item. Indeed, were he to have omitted any of them, he might

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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be in danger of losing all, as not sufficiently appreciating the dignities conferred upon him.

As soon as Mindôn Min died, or at least as soon as it was officially made known that he was dead (for there are great doubts as to whether he died on the 12th September or on the 1st October 1878, or on some date between these two), as soon as the ministerial announcement came out on the latter date, the bo-ho, the great drum and gong suspended in a tower by the eastern gate, were stopped. The new king's drum and gong were not sounded till nine o'clock in the evening of the funeral, after which they were struck in the ordinary way every three hours. Bands of soldiers and police with gongs patrolled the streets all night long to see that everything was quiet. The princes had been seized and cast into prison some time before, but there was a chance that their adherents might raise disturbances on their behalf, and this precaution was kept up for some time. Meanwhile a pagoda, to serve as a mausoleum, was being run up with the greatest expedition close to the Mint, on the eastern side of the palace, in the outer enclosure, and this was finished in four or five days. The king had specially requested that his body should not be burnt according to ordinary royal custom, and the Sinbyumè, the senior queen and chief mourner, had resolved that this wish should be respected.

The corpse was laid out in state, and on the 3rd October the greater number of the foreigners and the officials of inferior rank were admitted to look upon it. This ceremony was conducted in the Hman-nandaw, the "Glass Palace," a room in which Thibaw Min has received most Europeans since. The body lay in the fore part of the chamber on a gilt couch, or bedstead, studded with bits of glass, and was robed from head to foot in white, a piece of white satin covering the face. The royal number of white umbrellas was canopied overhead, and at the top part of the couch were arranged the regalia in a row. On this occasion the Sinbyumè and the Anauk Nammadaw, the favourite queen of the West Palace, sat by the couch and slowly waved gorgeous peacock fans. At other times the sonless queens took it in turn to watch by the body, two at a time.

533 178 [179] in Europe. Indeed the Buddhist religion so frowns upon music that it was practised rather shamefacedly and its devotees are often called *Phet-khwet-sā* (Eaters out of leaves), *i.e.* vagabonds. Even so recently as last year a learned old Burmese gentleman loth to depart this life without imparting all of his Burmese learning concluded a series of Burmese articles on Burmese music and dancing with an apology for having at all indulged in such frivolities.

533 181 178 ●565 177 Music found in the irrepressible gaiety of the Burmese people a fertile soil and it let its roots deep into the soil, and soon from occupational songs music developed into an art-form which finally invaded the towns, the capital and the royal palace. There it received fresh impetus from a system of competitive patronage in which the king himself joined with his own band. There also, apparently it received its classical nomenclature. Names which sound imposing enough—[illegible] etc. *Svara*, *Mūrchana*, *Grama*, *Çruti* etc.—but meant for quite different things, must have been borrowed in their entirety for the sake of their classical origin, so that the names were not in accordance with what they stood for, even as the Greek names, by which the western ecclesiastical modes were distinguished, were not in accordance with those of the ancient Greek octave system from which the names were taken. Thus it seems Burmese musical theory in the classical manner is a grafted dignity which dignifies but does not apply. Indeed it seems yet to be written.

533 However, to go on with Mariano: "Pure Burmese melodies are beautiful in themselves. But on account of the preponderance of grace-notes (mordente, acciaccatura, appoggiatura) Europeans find it difficult to catch Burmese tunes." This is very true, but not true enough. Ornament in Burmese music does something more than preponderate. They themselves are an inherent part of the tunes. That is why when a Burmese song is taken down by a western musican and reproduced, the ornaments having been unappreciated and eschewed the 'tune' that remains no longer sounds Burmese. Fox Strangways explains succinctly:

> "We think of grace-notes as something which may but need not be added to the note, not as something actually inherent in it. If cultivated for their own sake or used at all in excess they are regarded by us as meretricious.....Indian 'grace' is different in kind. There never is the least suggestion of anything having been 'added' to the note which is graced. The note with the grace makes one utterance. The object of grace is, of course, to add importance to the particular note, but there are such varying degrees in which this may be done

14: Brant E-5 (1949-50) 1954 AP1 Burma
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The mean annual family income of cultivators is Rs. 1091 ($229), and the mean annual per capita income is Rs. 203 ($42). For non-cultivators, the comparable figures are Rs. 1210 ($254) and Rs. 276 ($57). However, when we compare median family incomes (a more reliable measure of central tendency for our sample) the apparent advantage of non-cultivators disappears; they receive Rs. 900 as against Rs. 910 for cultivators. The only significant difference in the range of incomes for the two groups is that some 7% of the non-cultivators receive incomes over Rs. 3500 ($735), while no cultivator receives over Rs. 3000. However, the idea is prevalent in the village that cultivation is a relatively unprofitable occupation and that it is possible to realize as much or more income by less arduous types of work. 434 463

The Indians of Tadagale are much more prosperous in terms of income, as shown below. 434 562

Table V

Family Incomes of Indians
(in rupees. Rs 100 = $21)

Income	No. Families
0- 500	0
500-1000	3
1001-1500	1
1501-2000	2
2001-2500	2
2501-3000	3
Over 7000*	4
	15

(*includes two families of Rs. 7200 each; one of Rs. 8640; and one of Rs. 18,000.)

The mean annual family income for the Indians is Rs. 4030 ($848), and the mean annual per capita income is Rs. 1343 ($281).

Differences in family incomes are not reflected in external status symbols, except in extreme cases. In poor families the type of house is usually bamboo and thatch, while among relatively prosperous families it is more likely to be of plank construction, with perhaps a galvanized iron roof. In the wealthier families the women have more silk longyis for dress occasions. Major differences in economic standing are often shown in the size, elaborateness and expensiveness of ceremonials, such as weddings and boys' initiation ceremonies, and in the contributions made towards the support of the Buddhist monks. 571

In general, however, wealth differences in Tadagale do not seem to provide any clear basis for differential association of persons. Kinship, which cuts across economic lines, is far more important. Although a few families are generally regarded as well off, they do not live apart from the rest of the community either in the spatial or social sense. Wealth does not appear to have any direct correlation with status, rank or privilege, or to form the 565 556

565 basis of invidious distinctions. Persons of means are esteemed more for the
556 socially valued uses to which they may put their money, such as charity, ceremonial activities, and support of the clergy, than for sheer richness or consumption.

Economic Change

178 The changing pattern of Tadagale's economic life may be described from the
101 point of view of shift from a once largely subsistence economy to one based more
433 upon commodity production and exchange. In discussing this shift, the general trends are best indicated if we focus upon Lower Burma rather than upon Tadagale exclusively. It is desirable to make this large area our unit because pertinent data are available for it, whereas historical information specific to the village is somewhat scant and fragmentary. The term "Lower Burma" is an administrative and geographical one. It comprises about 81,000 square miles and a population of some 9 millions, four of the administrative divisions in the highly fertile, deltaic 'rice-bowl' of Burma.

178 1. Background. The trend from a relatively self-sufficient subsistence
433 economy, with little dependence upon money, to a more commercialized economy coincides with the coming of British colonial rule in Burma. Our historical perspective thus extends over a period of about 150 years. Within this span of time, profound economic change occurred in Lower Burma. Here we cannot give a detailed account of events from decade to decade, but must limit ourselves to a brief consideration of the major trends.

175 In pre-British Lower Burma, villages consisted of what might be called
433 islands of clearance in a big jungle. In these settlements the Burmese peasants
361 lived by cultivation of paddy and vegetable gardens. Individual small holdings were the rule, and the size of the plot depended almost entirely upon need. No incentive existed to clear and cultivate land beyond the requirements of household subsistence and taxes, paid in kind, to the representative of the Burmese Crown. Cotton, from the dry zone of central Burma, was spun and woven into cloth, and garments were made in the local community. Housing was of a simple bamboo and thatch type, made of materials available locally. The bullock cart provided transport on the relatively few occasions that it was necessary for the Lower Burma villager to travel distances that could not be walked. Contact between villages was minimized by the expanses of intervening, uncleared jungle country. In Tadagale, for example, one of our oldest informants was able to recall the period of his youth, around 1885, when jungle clearance and settlement was still taking place, bringing Tadagale into closer communication with other communities in the area. Local craftsmen provided the villagers with simple utensils, tools and implements.

178 When British colonialism took over, money came to dominate over barter.
433 Taxation was ordered to be paid in money. The Burmese cultivator was encouraged
436 to clear the heavy jungle, cultivate more land, sell surpluses of paddy to
456 commercial millers, and spend his money on attractive manufactured goods imported from England, which were on display in the town shops and bazaars. Moneylenders, some of them Burmese, but especially Indians of the moneylending Chettiar caste from Madras, who could enter Burma freely, were at hand to loan money in fairly unlimited amounts to the Burmese peasants. Thus the latter could finance the expansion of their cultivation. Rates of interest charged were unregulated, and commonly ranged from 10% to 35% per year. The Burmese peasant was an easy victim: he was, at first, entirely unsophisticated in money

thinking, being the mother of a son is itself considered the greatest event of a 593
woman's life and represents the achievement of full existence as a female human being. The relationship is close and indulgent. The mother is regarded by her son as more important than his wife; in fact, a son normally will choose a wife with a great deal of regard for his mother's opinions and wishes.

Mother and Daughter. The mother is her daughter's early teacher. It is 593
considered most important for the girl to learn prayers, how to prepare the 868
daily food offering, and how to change the flowers on the household altar. These things are taught almost from the time the child begins to speak and understand. Other household duties in which a mother instructs her daughter [565]
vary considerably with the economic status of the family. In poor families some assistance with tending animals and winnowing the rice is part of the girl's work from about the age of ten. Daughters are expected to show filial respect and deference equally to the mother and father.

Father and Son. The father occupies the role of disciplinarian in the 593
family. Disciplining of sons may include physical punishment, though such 861
measures are not resorted to readily. Prior to adolescence, boys are taught prayers and good habits by their mothers, with the father remaining more or less in the background and interfering only when disciplinary action may be required of him. After a son passes adolescence the father becomes important as his mentor.

Husband and Wife's Elder Sister. This relationship tends to mirror a 607
conflict between age and sex as status factors in the social structure. There 182
is an implicit conflict between the husband's position as a man and his wife's 602
elder sister's position, in many cases, as his senior, having a claim on outward respect and obedience. In practice this relationship is often cool and aloof in nature, very much in contrast to the free and easy one between a man and his wife's younger sisters.

Husband and Wife's Younger Sister. A man is expected to show great favor 607
to his wife's younger sisters and to display more interest in them than in his 587
own sisters. He buys them presents, gives them spending money when he can, and covertly he is expected to be on the lookout for prospective husbands for them. Quite frequently, the wife's younger sisters will accompany her and her husband when she marries, and all will live together in the same house. Although husband and wife's younger sisters engage in a great deal of mutual joking and teasing, the relationship does not normally assume a sexual aspect. Polygyny is permissable but very rarely practiced; when it is, however, it takes the sororal form. The rather free and easy relationship between a husband and his wife's younger sisters sometimes gives rise to village gossip -- especially when it is known that he and his wife are not getting along well -- that he is carrying on love affairs with his younger sisters-in-law.

In-Laws. A daughter-in-law is definitely subordinate to her mother-in- 606
law. If they live in the same household, the mother-in-law is entitled to the best room and to be waited upon by her daughter-in-law. Significantly, the Burmese word for daughter-in-law (cwêimà) means 'sweat women.

The term for son-in-law (Ɵamè?) means 'desired son.' A son-in-law is a privileged member of his wife's family. His wishes are respected and his comforts looked after. His mother-in-law instructs her younger children to show him respect and deference.

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

175 —in fact, that beyond collecting a certain amount
642 of taxes, and appointing governors to the different
721 provinces, it hardly made itself felt outside Mandalay and the large river towns. The people to a great extent governed themselves. They had a very good system of village government, and managed nearly all their local affairs. But beyond the presence of a governor, there was but little to attach
642 them to the central government. There was, and
565 is, absolutely no aristocracy of any kind at all. The
722 Burmese are a community of equals, in a sense that has probably never been known elsewhere. All their institutions are the very opposite to feudalism. Now, feudalism was instituted to be useful in war. The Burmese customs were instituted that men should live in comfort and ease during peace; they were useless in war. So the natural leaders of a people, as in other countries, were absent. There were no local great men; the governors were men appointed from time to time from Mandalay, and usually knew nothing of their charges; there were
[565] no rich men, no large landholders—not one. There
795 still remained, however, one institution that other
642 nations have made useful in war, namely, the organization of religion. For Buddhism is fairly well organized—certainly much better than ever the government was. It has its heads of monasteries, its Gaing-dauks, its Gaing-oks, and finally the Thathanabaing, the head of the Burmese Buddhism. The overthrow of King Thibaw had not injured any of this. This was an organization in touch with the whole people, revered and honoured by every man and woman and child in the country. In this

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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CHAPTER IX

HAPPINESS

'The thoughts of his heart, these are the wealth of a man.
Burmese saying.

565 181 As I have said, there was this very remarkable fact in Burma—that when you left the king, you dropped at once to the villager. There were no intermediate classes. There were no nobles, hereditary officers, great landowners, wealthy bankers or merchants.

Then there is no caste; there are no gilds of trade, or art, or science. If a man discovered a method of working silver, say, he never hid it, but made it common property. It is very strange how absolutely devoid Burma is of the exclusiveness of caste so universal in India, and which survives to a great extent in Europe. The Burman is so absolutely enamoured of freedom, that he cannot abide the bonds which caste demands. He will not bind himself with other men for a slight temporal advantage; he does not consider it worth the trouble. He prefers remaining free and poor to being bound and rich. Nothing is further from him

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

than the feeling of exclusiveness. He abominates secrecy, mystery. His religion, his women, himself, are free; there are no dark places in his life where the light cannot come. He is ready that everything should be known, that all men should be his brothers.

And so all the people are on the same level. Richer and poorer there are, of course, but there are no very rich; there is none so poor that he cannot get plenty to eat and drink. All eat much the same food, all dress much alike. The amusements of all are the same, for entertainments are always free. So the Burman does not care to be rich. It is not in his nature to desire wealth, it is not in his nature to care to keep it when it comes to him. Beyond a sufficiency for his daily needs money has not much value. He does not care to add field to field or coin to coin; the mere fact that he has money causes him no pleasure. Money is worth to him what it will buy. With us, when we have made a little money we keep it to be a nest-egg to make more from. Not so a Burman: he will spend it. And after his own little wants are satisfied, after he has bought himself a new silk, after he has given his wife a gold bangle, after he has called all his village together and entertained them with a dramatic entertainment — sometimes even before all this—he will spend the rest on charity.

He will build a pagoda to the honour of the great teacher, where men may go to meditate on the great laws of existence. He will build a monastery school where the village lads are taught,

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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565 741 and where each villager retires some time in his life to learn the great wisdom. He will dig a well or build a bridge, or make a rest-house. And if the sum be very small indeed, then he will build, perhaps, a little house—a tiny little house—to hold two or three jars of water for travellers to drink. And he will keep the jars full of water, and put a little cocoanut-shell to act as cup.

741 742 The amount spent thus every year in charity is enormous. The country is full of pagodas; you see them on every peak, on every ridge along the river. They stand there as do the castles of the robber barons on the Rhine, only with what another meaning! Near villages and towns there are clusters of them, great and small. The great pagoda in Rangoon is as tall as St. Paul's; I have seen many a one not three feet high—the offering of some poor old man to the Great Name, and everywhere there are monasteries. Every village has one, at least; most have two or three. A large village will have many. More would be built if there was anyone to live in them, so anxious is each man to do something for the monks. As it is, more are built than there is actual need for.

741 485 There are rest-houses everywhere. Far away in the dense forests by the mountain-side you will find them, built in some little hollow by the road-side by someone who remembered his fellow-traveller. You cannot go five miles along any road without finding them. In villages they can be counted by tens, in towns by fifties. There are far more than are required.

In Burmese times such roads and bridges as

16;Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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were made were made in the same way by private 741
charity. Nowadays, the British Government takes 485
that in hand, and consequently there is probably more money for rest-house building than is required. As time goes on, the charity will flow into other lines, no doubt, in addition. They will build and endow hospitals, they will devote money to higher education, they will spend money in many ways, not in what we usually call charity, for that they already do, nor in missions, as whatever missions they may send out will cost nothing. Holy men are those vowed to extreme poverty. But as their civilization (*their* civilization, not any imposed from outside) progresses, they will find out new wants for the rich to supply, and they will supply them. That is a mere question of material progress.

The inclination to charity is very strong. The 741
Burmans give in charity far more in proportion to their wealth than any other people. It is extraordinary how much they give, and you must remember that all of this is quite voluntary. With, I think, two or three exceptions, such as gilding the Shwe Dagon pagoda, collections are never made for any purpose. There is no committee of appeal, no organized collection. It is all given straight from the giver's heart. It is a very marvellous thing.

I remember long ago, shortly after I had come 565
to Burma, I was staying with a friend in Toungoo, and I went with him to the house of a Burman contractor. We had been out riding, and as we returned my friend said he wished to see the contractor about some business, and so we rode to his

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

565 house. He came out and asked us in, and we dismounted and went up the stairs into the veranda, and sat down. It was a little house built of wood, with three rooms. Behind was a little kitchen and a stable. The whole may have cost a thousand rupees. As my friend and the Burman talked of their business, I observed the furniture. There was very little; three or four chairs, two tables and a big box were all I could see. Inside, no doubt, were a few beds and more chairs. While we sat the wife and daughter came out and gave us cheroots, and I talked to them in my very limited Burmese till my friend was ready. Then we went away.

565 741 That contractor, so my friend told me as we went home, made probably a profit of six or seven thousand rupees a year. He spent on himself about a thousand of this; the rest went in charity. The great new monastery school, with the marvellous carved façade, just to the south of the town, was his, the new rest-house on the mountain road far up in the hills was his. He supported many monks, he gave largely to the gilding of the pagoda. If a theatrical company came that way, he subscribed freely. Soon he thought he would retire from contracting altogether, for he had enough to live on quietly for the rest of his life.

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565 553 His action is no exception, but the rule. You will find that every well-to-do man has built his pagoda or his monastery, and is called 'school-builder' or 'pagoda-builder.' These are the only titles the Burman knows, and they always are given most scrupulously. The builder of a bridge, a well,

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

565 or a rest-house may also receive the title of 'well-
553 builder,' and so on, but such titles are rarely used in common speech. Even the builder of a long shed for water-jars may call himself after it if he likes, but it is only big builders who receive any title from their fellows. But the satisfaction to the man himself, the knowledge that he has done a good deed, is much the same, I think.

741 A Burman's wants are very few, such wants as
181 money can supply—a little house, a sufficiency of
517 plain food, a cotton dress for weekdays, and a silk one for holidays, and that is nearly all.

You see, they are still a very young people. Many wants will come, perhaps, later on, but just now their desires are easily satisfied.

The Burman does not care for a big house, for there are always the great trees and the open spaces by the village. It is far pleasanter to sit out of doors than indoors. He does not care for books. He has what is better than many books—the life of his people all about him, and he has the eyes to see it and the heart to understand it. He cares not to see with other men's eyes, but with his own; he cares not to read other men's thoughts, but to think his own, for a love of books only comes to him who is shut always from the world by ill-health, by poverty, by circumstance. When we are poor and miserable, we like to read of those who are happier. When we are shut in towns, we love to read of the beauties of the hills. When we have no love in our hearts, we like to read of those who have. Few men who think their own thoughts care much to read the thoughts of others, for a man's

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

a boy who cannot. If there were more nunneries, there would be more education among the women; here is cause and effect. But there are not, so the little girls work instead. While their brothers are in the monasteries, the girls are learning to weave and herd cattle, drawing water, and collecting firewood. They begin very young at this work, but it is very light; they are never overworked, and so it does them no harm usually, but good.

The daughters of better-class people, such as merchants, and clerks, and advocates, do not, of course, work at field labour. They usually learn to read and write at home, and they weave, and many will draw water. For to draw water is to go to the well, and the well is the great meeting-place of the village. As they fill their jars they lean over the curb and talk, and it is here that is told the latest news, the latest flirtation, the little scandal of the place. Very few men or boys come for water; carrying is not their duty, and there is a proper place for flirtation. So the girls have the well almost to themselves.

Almost every girl can weave. In many houses there are looms where the girls weave their dresses and those of their parents; and many girls have stalls in the bazaar. Of this I will speak later. Other duties are the husking of rice and the making of cheroots. Of course, in richer households there will be servants to do all this; but even in them the daughter will frequently weave either for herself or her parents. Almost every girl will do something, if only to pass the time.

They have no accomplishments. They do not

16; Fielding-Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

CHAPTER XV

WOMEN—II

'The husband is lord of the wife.'
Laws of Manu.

MARRIAGE is not a religious ceremony among the Burmese. Religion has no part in it at all; as religion has refrained from interfering with government, so does it in the relations of man and wife. Marriage is purely a worldly business, like entering into partnership; and religion, the Buddhist religion, has nothing to do with such things. Those who accept the teachings of the great teacher in all their fulness do not marry. 581

Indeed, marriage is not a ceremony at all. It is strange to find that the Burmese have actually no necessary ceremonial. The Laws of Manu, which are the laws governing all such matters, make no mention of any marriage ceremony; it is, in fact, a status. Just as two men may go into partnership in business without executing any deed, so a man and a woman may enter into the marriage state without undergoing any form. Amongst the richer Burmese there is, however, sometimes a ceremony. 585 582 [565]

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

585 Friends are called to the wedding, and a ribbon is stretched round the couple, and then their hands are clasped; they also eat out of the same dish. All this is very pretty, but not at all necessary.

It is, indeed, not a settled point in law what constitutes a marriage, but there are certain things that will render it void. For instance, no marriage can be a marriage without the consent of the girl's parents if she be under age, and there are certain other conditions which must be fulfilled.

But although there be this doubt about the actual ceremony of marriage, there is none at all about the status. There is no confusion between a woman who is married and a woman who is not. The condition of marriage is well known, and it brings the parties under the laws that pertain to husband and wife. A woman not married does not, of course, obtain these privileges; there is a very strict line between the two.

585 Amongst the poorer people a marriage is frequently
● 515 kept secret for several days. The great pomp and
157 ceremony which with us, and occasionally with a few rich Burmese, consecrate a man and a woman to each other for life, are absent at the greater number of Burmese marriages; and the reason they tell me is that the girl is shy. She does not like to be stared at, and wondered at, as a maiden about to be a wife; it troubles her that the affairs of her heart, her love, her marriage, should be so public. The young men come at night and throw stones upon the house roof, and demand presents from the bridegroom. He does not mind giving the presents; but he, too, does not like the publicity. And so

pagodas and those throughout the country are descendants of the pagoda slaves. 461 175 567

Beggars are rated below the pagoda slaves - but, because of the Buddhist merit associated with giving do well for themselves. 778 735 The beggars live in communities on the outskirts of the town often in cemetaries. [779] They are thought to exhume the dead to get the coins placed in the mouth of the deceased to ensure expenses on his journey 764 to heaven. The wood of the coffin is believed to be used in constructing their huts. 554 461 Professional undertakers or morticians are regarded with horror since they like the beggars, make their living from the dead. The functions of burial are performed gratis by the entire village. A story is currently going round the University dormitories [203] telling of an immensely wealthy Burmese coffin maker in Rangoon who has offered riches to the young man who will marry his beautiful daughter. When the future seems blank the students' friend advises "Hey, why don't you go and marry the coffin maker's daughter?" It seems that the money would scarcely compensate for the social discrimation. 461 The extent to which the occupation classes are rigid in 565 marriage and other social exchanges is an interesting problem. 555

A young man is obliged to remain within the occupation class of his family or to rise to greater heights. He is advised at an early [867] age to "be simple, aim high, and tell the truth." When children [857] play at dacoits (thieves) or other "low class" games their parents object to their low aspirations and advise them to play nobles and ministers. One would feel justified in remaining idle rather than accept a position below that of his birth. It is better to accept a clerks job at a low salary than an artisans at a high salary. On the other hand those born into lower status occupation groups tend to be satisfied with their state as a condition of birth. In Rangoon, however, even the haulers may have ambitions to achieve fame and fortune. The opportunities for social mobility is greater in the towns and cities [369] but difinitely restricted in the villages. 461

Apprenticeship to trades begins at the age of 12 to 14 years, 467 and usually lasts for several years. Ordinarily the youth is attached 874 to the shop of a relative where he lives and is payed a subsistence [602] wage while learning. The key to high positions lies in education in

the husband is too old to work. Aged parents are invariably respected 461
but those who can still support themselves are "worshipped". Parents 554
do not rely on their sons who have their own families to support but feel 454
that their daughters will always "bring them a cup of curry". 888

The third urge is to have wealth to donate to the Buddhist church. 461
This is regarded as a sound investment since it not only brings a most 554
satisfying honour especially in old age (to be a "pagoda giver") but 735
also counts as merit credited to the individual's account in eternity. 775

Competition is keenly felt between individuals and families of 565
the same occupation group or adjacent groups but not between the lower 477
and upper classes. An exception is where family traditional land has 554
changed hands - and hard feelings may persist. A carpenter's family 461
does not envy and covet the riches of a government official's family.
His lot is due to KARMA and even if he wished to attain such fortune it
would be beyond his abilities. More important, it is not expected of
him. So the carpenter is content with cheap jewelry for his women and
an occasional gold coin - but the pattern is the same as for the upper
class. However among the individuals and families of an occupation
level there is much rivalry for the benefits wealth can bring. It is
a point of pride to have the largest diamonds at a social function,
and to give the biggest pagoda. Wives brag that their husbands "prevent
the hairs of their hands from singeing" - that they have servants to
cook. Rank and recognition are based on these considerations.

The women of the family exert powerful influence in financial matters 461
and are respected for their sound judgment. Women's occupations include 562
cigar manufacturing, pottery making, and especially shop keeping. 463

The beginning of an enterprise is conditioned by the wisdom of 777
the ancients and especially the date and place which are given by 461
formula in the Burmese calendar. There are NAT-NAZA (day king of)
"fortunate days" and PYAD-THADA "unlucky days". For example the
calendar announces that Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays of a particular
month are fortunate days to begin enterprises, and other days either
unfortunate or neutral. Rangoon sophisticates (but never villagers)
tell such stories as this: Two phongyis travelled by boat; the first
boarded the boat on a fortunate day to begin travelling. The next day
the boat came to the second phongyi's village. This was an unfortunate

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Westernization is invading the woman's sphere more slowly than the man's. However, the use of lipstick is now appearing among the upperclass ~~of town people~~ - along with modern brassieres and nylon KIBGIS with short sleeves. This is deplored by the more conservative as too revealing. The hair is shorter than formerly though the styles are only ~~modified western~~ in type. A most important influence in the westernization of dress of the upper classes have been the American films.

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gives important data on the process of urbanizing villagers - the country people are an important group in the growth of the Burmese section of Rangoon; probably a large section of the present refugee population will stay in the future. 183 369 [178]

The concepts of pattern of living and standard of living: The Burmese pattern of living, or any culture pattern, is a universe of beliefs and practices manifested in acts and artifacts. The analogy of the "Universe" is a useful one in that it recognizes a guiding body of understandings that controls the whole of the society (like "laws" of Universe) while emphasizing the particular understandings that govern the various groups or classes of the society (like the "laws" of the Solar and other systems within the Universe). The "solar systems" are the standard levels of operations forming a comprehensive set of forces within itself. Families, like U Myaing's have a mobility, in the case understudy a forced change, which takes them out of one standard system into another. The adjustments which they undergo reflects the "laws" which control the various standard levels as well as the basic concepts controlling the whole of the society. 121 183

Each belief and practice has a range of expressions which can be defined. The particular expression practiced by a family is the standard or level of a phenomenon capable of expansion or contraction within prescribed limits. The ultimate limits are defined by the total range of expressions for the culture as a whole. But the practical limits for a family are defined by the possibilities of the society segment (community) in which they find themselves. Thus, the range of U Myaing's possibilities of expression are much greater in Rangoon than they were in Pathwe and greatly exceed his original ideas of what was possible. He may, for example, become a highly westernized political leader - although this seems unlikely in terms of his expectations. The westernized, urban spheres of Burmese culture is now opened to the family. [621] [369] [177]

U Myaing is motivated by the basic expectations of the Burmese culture at a level applicable to his situation in terms of the possibilities of his social environment. In Pathwe, he was a fisherman and aspired to those things that fishermen should. In camp, he was at 181 565● 555

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first a bewildered refugee, but gradually assumed the role of a labourer rising in the ranks. The case indicates the mobility of the Burmese family and shows clearly that it may function successfully outside of the confines of its original social atmosphere.

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The family in Burmese society: The successful mobility of U Myaing's family indicate that the immediate family is the primary social unit of Burmese society. The Burmese community is then a congregation of immediate families who engage in activities of mutual benefit within the protective framework of the village structure. This interpretation high lights a particular type of individualism which is a family individualism depending on the roles of each

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member of the family for its full expression. This concept seems tied to the Buddhist idea of individual salvation through acts of merit on the one hand and the exigencies of gaining a livelihood on the other.

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The family is the basic economic unit and though it will enter cooperative endeavours (like the IN fisheries, or communal nat propitiations), has the ultimate responsibility and capabilities of support-

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ing itself. The extended family is important, as indeed is the total village social structure, only in so far as it contributes to the maintenance of the individual immediate family of procreation including spouses, offspring and aged parents. The "looseness" of the social structure conversely allows mobility of the immediate families. This analysis indicates that attempts at modernising of the Burmese people (acculturation) should meet with a minimum of structural obstacles - such as caste, clan and rigid associations might present.

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The Burmese culture pattern and the individual: The village culture pattern is dominated by a series of relatively simple, interrelated ideas held by all. Each individual feels himself temporily occupying a particular situation which is only one of many existences and but an instant in eternity. He is fated to be a member of a particular family with a set of opportunities through life. Life should be pleasant and must be virtuous if future existences are to be pleasant. He must realise as fully as possible the talents and opportunities that come to him through his KARMA situation. In the villages this concept is a great stabilising force and tends to make an individual content with

his lot. It also tends toward a kind of stratification of society where the boundaries, however, are neither sharp nor fast. Each person is comfortably installed in his place and competes, mildly, only with those of his own level. The obligations (as contributions for ceremonies) are in terms of one's ability, and his status is in terms of his virtues. Status is closely correlated with increasing age. This concept motivate the Burmese in the village within "KARMA groups". 181 156 364 555 [561] [554]

The unusual individual may transcend his family positions in exceptional cases - by marriage or achievement. Achievement by physical force has been a means of mobility in the past - there is the tradition of the strong man leader who comes from humble origins. Mobility by entrepreneur achievement (rice mill owners; traders) has been greatly stimulated with increased western contacts. U Myaing was a sort of entrepreneur in Pathwe. In Rangoon the opportunities are great and some Burmese are successfully embracing this, as yet, somewhat unfamiliar course. The western entrepreneur concept appears to be finding a fertile ground in the traditional "group individualism" of the Burmese. 156 555 557 [177]

<u>The standards or levels of culture</u>: When U Myaing's standard of living plummeted downwards as a refugee he became discontented and unhappy desiring to return to the "plateau" of his former level. At first he could only think of returning to Pathwe to achieve this, but as [illegible] begins to crown his efforts in Rangoon he now feels the beginnings of a sense of achievement. . . In his refugee situation there was no sense of shame for his reduction - the events contributing to his downfall were beyond his control, and he had lived "as a refugee should" in which his abilities and obligations were balanced. This resulted in an attitude of cheerful patience understandable in terms of the KARMA concept. 511 181 558

The two standards, in Pathwe and camp, represent balanced levels ranging from the "average" Burmese village situation to close to the minimum. Higher standards than those of Pathwe are seen in the administrative class of Rangoon and other major towns where western influences are strong (car, western furniture and household utensils, westernized house and clothing, etc.). Lower standards may be 511 565 [177]

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represented by the boat and shack dwellers of Rangoon's water-front as well as the beggar class of the villages.

Future Studies: This study has explored a portion of the Burmese culture pattern seen in dynamic situation of one family's case. It has indicated the importance of the family unit in Burmese society and expressed qualitatively two levels or standards of living. A study of a functioning community to define the interworkings of the family group and other social groups is being carried out at the present time by the Burma Community Research Project of the Department of Anthropology, University of Rangoon. The hypothesis developed in this paper will be further explored and new concepts of Burmese culture and society developed in the village project.

So the worship of the nats lived on, and with the advance o
795 civilization the spirit dances became elaborate, for though the belief
535 was primitive, the people were no longer so. The dances benefited from the developments that had taken place in Burmese music which, as we have seen, flourished under the patronage of the Pagan kings. New spirits were added, and they were usually those of heroic princes. The dancers were now many, for the mediums turned themselves into dancing and music mistresses. The chief medium of each spirit dressed herself in the special dress of the spirit, but the junior mediums, who were equivalent to the chorus of an English revue, were in the dress of Burmese princesses. It is interesting to note the
[292] origin of this dress. The mediums realized the necessity of dressing
[565] themselves in fine raiment, but as everybody wore clothes of bright colours, the only solution of the problem was to don the dress of the court and official class, which the commoners were forbidden to
[536] wear by law, except during feasts and dances. When drama proper came into being, the hero and the heroine dressed themselves in the court dress, even when they were representing common characters.

3. Miracles and Interludes

175 After the fall of the kingdom of Pagan in A.D. 1257, Burma was
369 the scene of fierce civil wars, but the trouble was mainly in the
726 capitals; in the villages and small towns life went on in its joyous
779 way. Religion continued to spread in spite of the fact that the throne of Pagan was no longer in existence to support it. Learning began
538 to reach the remotest parts of the country, carried far and near by monks. To escape from the aimless strife of the civil wars, men turned towards literature. Money was lacking to compose poems in brick as had been done at Pagan, and men now expressed their love for the religion and their love for the beautiful in writing. The new literature further educated the people and made even stronger the already strong religious fervour. As a result, at village feasts and on days of public rejoicing, the people turned towards their religion for amusement and entertainment. So pageants depicting scenes from the life of the Buddha and from his Birth Stories came into being.

796 Pageants were given on ordinary carts that were in use for all
541 kinds of transport and which are still in use in backward parts of the
493 country at the present day. Each cart carried a group of (amateur) actors standing still and representing a set scene. Originally, no doubt, there were only a few carts representing scenes from different stories. Later, a pageant came to consist of many carts and many

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

subject of the English morality plays. Again and again we find writers writing and actors saying in the prologue or epilogue that a play represents but life in its various stages; as man begins in laughter and ends in misery and death, a play begins with the happiness of the hero and heroine, and then goes on to tell of their misery and parting. To the conservative Burmese Buddhist, professional acting was a sin, and to get over the difficulty, the idea came into being that the play was only a species of preaching the religion. The existence of that idea perhaps supports my theory that there actually were plays dealing with morals which would favour the rise of such an idea. Perhaps the strongest evidence that there was a morality stage in the history of the development of Burmese drama is the existence of a popular play which has never been printed, but which is still sometimes acted. The play has no title. A rich miser marries a young wife and soon dies. The wife at once remarries. The miser now in Hell sues the wife and the new husband before the court of the governor of Hell, for the restitution of the property he had so patiently gathered and hoarded. There is a trial, and after hearing the arguments of both sides, the judge decides in favour of the young couple. The play ends with the judge moralizing on the emptiness and transitory nature of human riches. The play is quite crude and short, so that when presented today the actors have to lengthen the play to make it last the night. There is very little action, and the king of later dramas is absent. The names of the characters are general and abstract; Mister Miserly, Mistress Wife, Master New Husband, and Death (who takes the old husband to Hell).

The interlude was extremely popular, and at the court, at the houses of officials (the Burmese had no hereditary nobility, and the officials were the nobles) and at public feasts and festivals the interlude was presented. The importance of the interlude in the development of Burmese drama is great, but the importance of the professional actors who first presented the interlude in the development of the acting profession and stage conventions is even greater. The fact that the original members of the profession were outside the social pale caused all actors and actresses to be looked down upon; that fact explains why in an essentially democratic society it was said with contempt that 'beggars and actors, they are the eaters of food thrown away as waste'.[1]

[1] The stage conventions and the acting profession are described in detail in chap. vii.

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
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536 114 adheres tenaciously to the tradition of royalty. Hero and heroine are prince and princess, their retinue courtiers, and the countrymen jester and clown; the king is idealized, his deputies travestied.' In short, the Burmese drama is narrow in range. These opinions of Ridgeway are true and just in many respects, but they have also their weakness. He errs in thinking that Burmese drama is still in the undeveloped lyrical stage. What he thinks to be an earlier stage is [178] in reality a later one. Dancing and singing have dominated the Burmese *pwe* (the public presentation of a play) since the fall of the kingdom, but that stage was only reached after decadence had set in in the drama developed so well by U Kyin U and U Pon Nya. What Mr Taw Sein Kho described in his letter to the Director-General of the Archæological Survey, what most other informants of Ridgeway also saw, was Burmese drama in decadence and distortion. The scene of the drama is not always the palace, though the palace and its inmates appear almost always in Burmese plays. The forest, village, city and the common people often appear, though it is true that they are subordinated to the dramatic interest in the palace and its inmates. ●[565] Burmese drama was forced to confine itself in general to the palace, as in a society where other class distinctions scarcely existed, the king and his courtiers alone were different from the rest: and, in general, a Burmese audience wanted characters somewhat different from those of common life. The same was true of the Elizabethan drama. Though the 'domestic' drama was popular, the best plays of the Elizabethans have their scenes in distant lands or in high society. Therefore the narrowness of its range does not necessarily make out Burmese drama to be in an early stage of growth. For the sake of completeness, I have described briefly these aspects of the drama, but they will be considered in detail in later chapters.

The opinions expressed by Sir William Ridgeway are full of error. The worth of the chapter on Burmese drama in his *Dramas and Dramatic Dances of Non-European Races* consists in this, that it was he who made the first attempt to study the development of Burmese drama scientifically, to compare it with the drama of other countries, and to form an estimate of it according to western standards of criticism. And, erroneous though his views are, it is much to his credit that with the scanty and often misleading information before him he could give such a shrewd estimate of Burmese drama.

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

made. In about 1855 he wrote his first play, *Padama*. In the next year the two brothers, the king and the prince, quarrelled, and when the misunderstanding had been explained, U Pon Nya was ordered to write a play to celebrate the occasion, and *The Water-seller* was composed and presented. As reward, the king appointed him chief court-poet and created him lord of Ywaza village. He would have been made a ruling chief or official had he not been born with a crippled arm, because a man born with any defect in his limbs could not become a member of the ruling class. U Pon Nya took part in various court intrigues. Most of his plays had some hidden meaning that concerned the court, and they played an important part in the plots and counter-plots to decide who was to be heir, for though Kanaung was officially the heir, the king's sons did not accept him.

In 1865 Myingun and Myingondaing, two of the king's sons, decided to make a bid for the throne. They consulted U Pon Nya as to the most suitable time as foretold by the stars, and the poet told them that the next day at noon was the luckiest time for the rebellion. This connivance in a rebellion against his king and his master, Prince Kanaung, was a very disloyal and ungrateful act, because the fiery temper of the two princes was well known, and it was plain from the beginning that the rebellious sons intended to put to death at once their own father, and their uncle, who also happened to be the father-in-law of Myingun. U Pon Nya defended himself later by saying that he was compelled to give his opinion as to the most suitable time, because he was threatened with certain death. But he did not inform the king of the plot when the princes had left after promising him the highest rank of nobility; and though he might have been threatened with death at the beginning, he seemed to have been well content with the promised reward and quietly left the capital that night. The next day at noon, the rebellion broke out. The courts of justice where the crown prince and the wisest in the land were sitting in session were attacked, and the palace raided. The king escaped, but the crown prince and his fellow-judges were killed. The rebellion was put down the same afternoon, but by then the flower of the court and the nobility had perished. The two rebels escaped, Myingondaing to die of fever at Rangoon, and Myingun to retirement in French Indo-China. U Pon Nya was arrested and tried on a charge of treason by the king himself, and though a sentence of death was clearly deserved,

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hose ladies of the court, junior queens, who were indulging in romantic intrigues with courtiers. It is amusing to reflect that even as a monk, U Pon Nya himself was suspected of having had amorous adventures, and he lost his life through his friendship with the charming ladies of the governor's household. The first performance of the play was received with an uproar of protest on the part of the court-ladies, and they clamoured for the destruction of every copy of the play. But there was much that was new and interesting in it, and the general opinion was that a new dramatist of rich promise had risen. Therefore the king, before whom the performance was made, did not yield to the clamours of the ladies, but ordered that their request to U Pon Nya asking him to write another play praising the virtues in women, should be complied with. As a result, he wrote *Waythandaya*.

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The great merit of the play is in its lyrical qualities (which I am unable to reproduce in my translation). The vigour of the verse, its rhythm, the harmonious and elaborate rhyme scheme, the richness of the imagery, all join together to make this play the most lyrical in Burmese drama. However, these very qualities were the butt of criticism by contemporary critics who, used to the straightforward and clear style of U Kyin U and his imitators, held that too rich a language was a fault in a play, for there would be a danger of conveying wrong or obscure meanings to the audience. As those critics belonged to the 'people's' stage, they were of course thinking of the less learned audience outside the court circles. There is no doubt that in some scenes of *Paduma* the charge of difficulty and obscurity of language is quite justified. For example, when the crocodile and Paduma speak about women loving dogs and pigs, U Pon Nya is speaking only metaphorically, but one realizes it is so only on a second or third reading of the play. But the language in the scene where Paduma and his princess are running away to safety, is as clear as it is beautiful.[1]

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3. *The Water-seller*

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The story of this play also is taken unchanged from a *Jataka*. A prince returns to his city after a stay at a university in India. As he rests for a few minutes outside the gates, a water-seller enters, and in a soliloquy says that he is just entering the city to sell water and earn

[1] A translation of this play is given in appendix v.

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

536* 534 462 463 part, although there was no stage convention preventing women from taking it up as a vocation. The head of the orchestra was also the head of the troupe. He was the most learned and experienced member, and he was responsible for the organization and financial outlay, paying more or less fixed wages to the others, and taking the profits himself. When engaged for a performance, the troupe was paid by public subscription or by some philanthropic person, usually an official, and therefore no charge for admission was made, all being [565] welcome to it. The Burmese actors as a class, unlike their Elizabethan counterparts who could endow a College of God's Gift or buy a coat-of-arms, were poor. But they never starved, for even the poorest villages would welcome and feed them on their wanderings all over the country. The troupe was one large family, and the children of the members accompanied it. In spite of the prejudice against them and their poverty, the actors loved their art, and enjoyed the performances themselves.

536* There were many conventions connected with the stage, and they can be divided into two classes: those imposed on the actors by themselves, and those imposed by the fear of becoming unpopular with the audience.

795 536* The actors never forgot that they were originally spirit-dancers, and therefore they had conventions by which they showed their indebtedness to spirit worship. Before the performance offerings of food were made to the thirty-seven *nats*. As a curtain-raiser, there was a performance by a dancer or chorus of dancers. Each wore a red [533] cloth round the head—the sign of a spirit worshipper. Singing invocations to the *nats* and dancing the appropriate dances, they asked for protection by the spirits, while the orchestra played a bar from each [751] of the thirty-seven *nat* tunes. It was supposed that if this convention was broken, disaster would befall the troupe, the performance would prove a failure, and the actors would become mad; but often these conventions had been known to be broken, accidentally or otherwise.

536* 463 554 The actors were looked upon as irreligious and immoral, and on the slightest excuse, they were in danger of being considered profane. Therefore, as has been stated, they took over the conventions from the *Nibhatkhin*. The Buddha was never impersonated, and an *arahat* [779] or saint only when absolutely necessary, and then by an able and 'serious' actor, who had to keep a fast that day. Not even a mild joke was to be made against the Buddha or an *arahat*, although even monks and the religion itself could be the butt of a clown's wit. But

29; Slater M-4 (no date) 1951 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

a simple, straightforward affirmation, but it is not denial. No religion could so persist if it merely brought man's elemental aspirations to a sharp cliff and threw them over. 779* 775

5. *Burmese Buddhism*

If there are good reasons for approaching the subject of religious paradox by a study of Buddhism, there are also good reasons for considering Buddhism as it appears in Burma where it is still a living and a dominant religion. 121

In the study of great religious traditions there is always need to maintain a balance between regard for the written texts and for the living expression. To consult one without the other is to misinterpret both. What the Christmas stories in the gospels mean to Christians cannot be fully discerned if they are isolated from Christmas observance any more than the Jātaka stories of Buddhism can be fully appreciated until they are read in the context of popular faith, with its drama and poetry. And what an entirely misleading impression of monastic Buddhism one might get from the Abhidhamma literature unless one has seen something of the life of a Buddhist monastery! This balance, as our Burmese critic observed, has not always been maintained in the study of Southern Buddhism.

Burma provides exceptional opportunities for such a study. "If anybody wants to know and see Buddhism as conceived and preached by the Buddha himself so far as the Saṃgha life goes," says a recent writer, "one can see a nearest approach to it in the monasteries of Burma.... Of all the Indianised lands of South-eastern Asia, Burma is indeed the only country where monastic Buddhism of the Theravāda nikāya survives to this day in its pristine purity."[24] And the same writer emphasises the impact of this monastic life on Burmese life and culture. [792]

In Burma, eighty-five per cent of the inhabitants are Buddhists. Of these, one in every hundred is a Buddhist monk. Go where you will, you find the yellow robe of the Order, the pagoda gleaming white across the plain or on the hillside, the monastery in every village, intimately related to the life of the people. This has been the situation for centuries. Here one can see Buddhism in action; one can try to interpret its symbols in the light of the very real, if rustic, civilisation which it has shaped and maintained. Burma is one of the most interesting countries in the Orient. Its people are literate. There is freedom from caste, and, for that matter, scarcely any class system. In the days of the monarchy, "when you left the king, you dropped at once to the villager."[25] An Englishman observed, [162] 779* 565 562 779*

[24] Nihar-Ranjan Ray, *Theravāda Buddhism in Burma*, chap. VII, p. 262.
[25] Fielding Hall, *The Soul of a People*, chap. IX, p. 106.

29: Slater M-4 (no date) 1951 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

565 562 779* in the middle of the last century, that Burmese women not only enjoyed a much freer and higher position than elsewhere in the East but, in some matters, had attained rights that their sisters in England were still seeking to obtain.[26] These and similar aspects of Burmese life must be attributed in large degree to the dominant influence of Buddhism in a country which has been left for hundreds of years, shut away from the surrounding world by its seaboard and mountain barriers, to work out its own salvation with only occasional interference from outside until modern times.

779* 174 177 It is possible that the first Buddhist monastery in Burma was established more than two thousand years ago. While we may be sceptical of the legend which attributes the conversion of the first Burmese disciples to the Buddha himself, there is perhaps less reason than formerly to question the persistent Burmese tradition that missionaries were sent from India to Burma after the Third Great Council in the time of Aśoka. We have, at any rate, shreds of reliable evidence relating to the early centuries of the Christian era. In Burma, as elsewhere, the archaeologist has been active in recent years and there are also illuminating references in Chinese and other texts. Examining the evidence now available, Mr. Nihar-Ranjan Ray has presented a substantial argument for the conclusion that Buddhism was introduced to Burma possibly in Aśoka's day, probably by the third century A.D. and certainly by the fifth century A.D.[27] In these earlier centuries, Burma was parcelled into small kingdoms, and all that can be said is that, at certain capitals, there were strong centres of Buddhist influence.[28]

175 779* 177 It is, however, sufficient for our present purpose to be able to trace the dominating influence of Buddhism throughout the country from the eleventh century onwards. In this century, the turning point in Burmese story, the curtain of history lifts to reveal A-naw-ra-hta, the Burmese Constantine, moving southwards from his capital at Pagan to vanquish the king of Thaton and annex his dominion. According to the Burmese chroniclers, the motive for this advance was not mere lust of conquest but zeal for the true faith. King A-naw-ra-hta had been converted by a monk from the south, Shin Arahan of Thaton. But 'without the scriptures there can be no study, without study there can be no intuition.' To obtain these scriptures, the Pali scriptures, A-naw-ra-hta must needs subdue his rival at Thaton who possessed them.

ooo What is of further importance for our present inquiry is the fact that

[26] Forbes, *British Burma and Its People*, chap. III, p. 55.

[27] Ray, op. cit. chap. I, pp. 83ff.

[28] *Ibid.*, chap. I, pp. 33ff., 81; cf. Taw Sein Kho, *Census of India Report* (Burma 1901), XII, 32.

671 molded the native customary laws in the other regions of
177 Southeast Asia, and the great Hindu Code of Manu, the hermit, the sage, the lawgiver, had gained enormous prestige and authority in Southeast Asia. The Burmese scholars and lawyers of the eleventh century studied the Code of Manu, but found
[545] little in it to interest them. The rigid caste system, which served as the basis of Hindu law as embodied in the Code of Manu, made no appeal to the Burmese with their classless society. The Burmese never had an aristocracy or a middle class. The king was above others, but others were all equal. There was no hereditary nobility, and the Burmese have always been so individualistic that family names or surnames have never existed with the Burmese. The officers of the king could be said to have formed a nobility, but if that was so, it was a nobility into which every Burmese could enter by talent and personality alone. The king, the chieftain, and the headman were originally elected. Thus the idea of dividing society into classes distinguished only by birth seemed strange to the Burmese.

671 Nonetheless, the prestige of the Code of Manu was so high
773 in Southeast Asia that the Burmese decided to make Manu their mythical law-giver. In Hindu mythology, Manu was a hermit, divinely inspired. In Burmese legend, Manu became a simple cowherd who was later elected king because of his mastery of customary law. The Burmese Manu also became a hermit later, but he became a hermit out of remorse because he once gave a wrong decision. This wrong judgment of the great Manu is well known in Burmese folklore as the case of the small cucumber. There was a cucumber plant growing in a man's garden, but as it was a creeper, it grew across the dividing hedge and bore fruit in the neighbor's garden. Now the man and the neighbor quarreled as to who was entitled to the small cucumber fruit, and they took their case before the great Manu, who decided in favor of the neighbor. But he soon reversed his decision, and feeling remorseful over his previous judgment, became a hermit. This clearly

illustrates that with the Burmese, Manu had become only an 671
ordinary human being with the human trait of making mis- 773
takes, so very different from the divine hermit of Hindu lore.

By the thirteenth century, the customary law of the Bur- 671
mese came to be collected and written down by jurists and [178]
scholars. Throughout the intervening centuries until the British conquest of the country, such collections of the law, and also collections of judicial precedents were made from time to time by scholars and jurists. But those collections were not codes, and were not fully binding on the judges. In all these [177]
collections, Manu was mentioned as the law-giver, and this lip-service paid to the prestige of the Hindu Code of Manu has misled modern scholars, especially European scholars of Burmese history and Burmese law, into thinking that the Burmese law was merely the Hindu Code of Manu modified and transplanted almost overnight in Burma of the eleventh century.

But in the eleventh century, the Burmese did become Bud- 177
dhists almost overnight. The Burmese took to Buddhism with 609
great enthusiasm, because the way of life preached by the 565
Buddha seemed to be identical with their own democratic 779
way of life. The Buddhistic revolt against the rigid caste system of the Hindu society could be appreciated by the Burmese, who called the Hindu half-playfully and half-seriously, "kula" or "caste people," and the Buddhistic emphasis on the equality of all men appealed to the Burmese with their classless society and their own emphasis on individual freedom. The [671]
jurists and the scholars waxed enthusiastic over Buddhism, and they gave a Buddhistic coloring and a Buddhistic background to their collections of Burmese customary law. This misled the early British administrators and judges in Burma into thinking that Burmese customary law was Buddhistic in origin, and gave to it the misleading official name of "Burmese Buddhist Law."

The impact of the English legal system introduced into 000

341 climate and the insect erosion.

The style of Pagan's stone architecture is
341 still traceable in the form of the wood struc-
tures of the monasteries and the palaces of the
565 rulers of the last era of the Burmese Empire,
especially in /204/ the characteristic door
arches which terminate in horn-like points and
the pyramidically rising storey roofs.

An enormous gulf sets this architecture apart from the ordinary Burmese dwelling. One cannot help marvel that a people who have such strong feeling for proportion and graceful flow of lines as to create these most magnificent buildings for its princes and monks, and covered them with a wealth of imaginative carvings, with gold and glittering glass mosaics, that such a people would live in mean, plain, wooden or bamboo huts with scanty house furnishings, even if they can afford something better.

This glaring incongruity is first of all ex-
[656] plained (2) by the Draconian rules of the old

2. About the general influence on the art of the dwellings cf. H. Schurtz, Urgeschichte der Kultur /Ancient Cultural History/ (Leipzig, 1900), pp. 418 ff.

Burmese class and luxury code. Brick buildings were definitely prohibited--they might have been used as fortifications during revolutions--and it had become second nature to the Burmese that lacquer work /Map--Distribution of House Types--Analyst. --Key: ....Pile dwelling. _____ Ground level dwelling. .....Both types in use./ and gilding, carved door arches and storey roofs should be permitted only on the dwellings of princes and monks who are equal to the former in rank, with restrictions on the houses of other high dignitaries. Even now, after the British
341 rule gave a wider range of freedom to the subjects, following the deposition of the degenerated royal

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

CHAPTER XLV

SLAVES AND OUTCASTS

It is a work of the greatest possible merit to build a pagoda, and the founder, prefixing Payātaga to his signature, for the rest of his life is looked upon as certain to pass into ne'ban on the completion of this his present existence. Similarly a man acquires great kutho by repairing portions of one of the old national shrines, putting up a new umbrella on the summit, setting the steps that lead up to the platform in order, or even by simply gilding afresh a few square feet on a feast day. By doing any one of these things a man sets his balance of kan on the right side and gains the good opinion of his neighbours. It is, therefore, not unnatural that all foreigners should be struck with the fact that the regular servitors of the places of worship, those who sweep the platform, carry off dead leaves, broken branches, and litter generally, and keep the place in order, are not only slaves, but are regarded as outcasts with whom the rest of the community will have no dealings and whose society is contaminating. Not only is the original parakyun a slave for life, for no one, not even a king, can liberate him or provide a substitute in his place, but his descendants, till the cycle of Shin Gautama's religion shall have come to an end and all the relics shall vanish from the earth, all his children throughout the thousands of years that have to elapse, are fixed and settled slaves of the pagoda from their birth, and any one marrying a pagoda slave, even unwittingly, becomes himself, with all the children he may have had by a previous wife, irremediably a parakyun. The reason no doubt lies in the conviction of the existence of original sin. It is desirable

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2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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to have the pagoda attended to. A very small acquaintance with human nature induces the belief that this will not be done if individual effort is trusted to do the work. Therefore prisoners of war and others whom it is not convenient to put to death are dedicated to the service. So strict is the dedication that any one who attempts or connives at setting free a pagoda slave is condemned to misery in the lowest hell, awizi. The servitor of the shrine can be employed in no other duty than keeping it in order, and kings and great men are threatened with loss of power and dire destruction if they venture to employ such outcasts as servants, even in the meanest capacity.

Slavery of the familiar form known in semi-civilised countries formerly existed in Upper Burma, but the pagoda slaves are a perfectly distinct body. A person who sells himself, or is sold, by his relation for debt is in a very inferior position doubtless and cannot enjoy any very great privileges. But he can always work his release, and is not thereafter considered as lying under any particular stigma. But the parakyun are neither more nor less than outcasts. They are looked upon as unclean, and the rest of the community will have no intercourse whatever with them. So much is this the case that under British rule, which has of course freed them from their compulsory servitude, they are still looked upon with no less aversion than they were when the country was independent, and though nominally free to do as they please, have to travel into districts where they are unknown before they can find employment even of the most menial kind.

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It is no explanation of the taint that the original servitors were prisoners taken in war, condemned convicts, or people expressly sentenced to this office on account of hideous crimes. The reverence for the pagoda cannot be exceeded, why then should the care of it and the surrounding buildings be considered to make its compulsory guardians vile and degraded people? In the old autocratic days it was a common thing for a pious sovereign to set apart certain villages, or a stated number of houses in those villages, for the service of the pagoda, and the victims were selected, quite regardless of personal character, by the village head-

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

man from those who were unable to buy themselves off. The cloud, therefore, which hangs over such people is all the more singular. The feeling came out very strongly in the case of a man with slave blood in him, who was appointed by the local government to be a magistrate. Subordinates declined to act under him, and resisted all he did; the people were still more demonstrative, and petitions flowed in begging that the disgrace might be removed from their district. It was to English minds quite impossible that this should be done, and equally so that he should not receive support in the execution of his duties. The matter was far from being simplified by the natural feelings of resentment, showing itself in undue severity when occasion offered, which filled the victim of the popular clamour, and it was only by the exercise of great tact and patience that the English Deputy Commissioner was able to quiet the people, and after long persuasion gradually to set matters right. But the majority of parakyuns are far from being so fortunate. Here and there in Rangoon and Maulmein are a few men who have got into business, but it is only by carefully concealing their antecedents, and they live in constant terror that the few who know them will betray their secret and reduce them to ruin. The great bulk of the liberated, however—if they can be called liberated when they never had any direct master—find that the force of public opinion is too much for them and are driven to staying about the old source of their shame to obtain a living; they haunt the pagoda steps and sell offerings to the pious on their way to worship, candles and prayer-flags, incense-sticks, flowers, and fruit. Few of them now resort to their old source of food, the altars, where they used to dispute the ownership of the cold rice and victuals with the crows and the pariah dogs. In Upper Burma the sellers of gold-leaf and tagônlôn are often respectable, that is to say, free men, but in the low country so great is the fear of being mistaken for a parakyun that but very few but the destitute will sell their wares on the saung-dan. At the Shwe Dagôn, in Rangoon, the vendors are almost without exception of the unclean class.

Pagoda slaves are still universal at all the greater shrines. As might have been expected, many-pagoda'd Pagān is their

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

● 567 greatest place. Here there is even a king of the parakyuns,
564 and he enjoys a sorry mockery of state in the use of gold-embroidered sandals, permission to wear jewellery, and the shade of a gold umbrella when he walks abroad. But a free man meeting him in his grandeur would make no obeisance and would pass him by with a grin and a gibe. The origin of his sovereignty is told in an old tale which proves the antiquity of the custom and the tenacity with which the dedication is held to. A king of Pagān—which has not been a capital since the fourteenth century—had suspicions of the loyalty of a tributary sovereign, and invited him to the great and noble city with its towers of gold and silver of which Ser Marco Polo writes. This monarch seems to have had no fears, and came with but a small retinue. Then the Lord of the Golden Palace decreed a great feast, and when all were assembled at the Shwezigôn pagoda, seized his unfortunate vassal by the hair, and holding aloft his sword, dedicated the helpless man with all his followers and their descendants for ever to the service of the great shrine, where lies a cast of the Lord Buddha's jawbone. Hence the petty state of the slave-king and the great crowding of pagoda slaves to his dominions to share his privileges. It is difficult to say whether the class will die out, and it seems certain that there will be no new dedications. It is perhaps more probable that the Pagān temple slaves are the descendants of the Talaing King Manuha, who was brought here a prisoner with all his people and the sacred books, by King Anawrata from Thatôn. As it is they marry and
564 increase. Besides the parakyun, equally among the outcasts were the executioners, jailers, and lictors in Mandalay; lepers and incurables of all kinds, coffin-makers, and those occupied with dead bodies and the graveyards; all deformed and mutilated persons and the lamaing, or government slaves, tillers of the royal lands. The tadaungsa are the nearest in character to the pagoda slaves, and were probably originally intended as a kind of reserve to draw from for a supply of servitors to the temples. They may not engage in any fixed occupation for their support, and are condemned to make their living by begging alone, but a few of them become very rich, for they wander all over the country and occa-

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

695 is adjudged to have lost the case, and judgment is delivered forthwith. The winning party, for all the friends are always present, immediately cause their band to strike up, dancers perform and songs are sung, and every token of triumph is
696 exhibited. Unfortunately, however, for any supposed efficacy of the system, substitutes are allowed, and in addition to this bribery plays as important a part almost as it did in the law-courts themselves. The man whose money went farthest won his case, whether decided according to the principles of the Dhammathat or the lottery of the ordeal.

681 The punishments inflicted were sometimes very cruel, and the treatment of the prisoners occasionally savage in the extreme. In criminal cases torture was frequently applied to extort confession from the accused or evidence from the witnesses. Rich men usually suffered nothing worse than a fine. For the impecunious, sentences varied from sundry stripes with a rattan, with or without imprison-
[567] ment, to mutilation, perpetual slavery, and death. Except for debt, a man sentenced by the court to slavery became so with all his descendants for ever, and they were usually allotted to some pagoda, doomed to support life by begging as tadaungsa, or relegated to some other of the outcast classes. Death in Mandalay was almost invariably by decapitation, the agony of the condemned being occasionally prolonged by a fiendish executioner; the custom of throwing victims to be devoured by wild beasts, or trodden to death by wild elephants in the elephant-trap, was latterly wholly given up. In the provinces, however, other methods were very frequently adopted. North of the capital "crucifixion" was particularly common. The letwakat, or wakattaing, does not at all resemble the ordinary pictorial representation of the cross. It is more like a double ladder, consisting of three stout bamboos fixed upright in the ground, three bars lashed to them horizontally with canes, and over these again two cross-bars in the shape of a St. Andrew's cross. These punishment stakes were most frequently put up on the river-bank or on sandbanks in the stream, and were particularly common where the Shan and Kachin hills come down anywhere near the Irrawaddy. Sometimes the criminal was killed before he was lashed up, sometimes he was tied up

General Attitudes of the Burmese toward Work.

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Rank and status in the Burmese Village is determined to a large extent on the basis of occupation - with the factor of wealth where applicable taking precedence over occupation. The highest rank is accorded to the Buddhist monks who exert the ultimate influence. Government officials including the township officers, the THU GYI (headmen) and elders, and the schoolmaster occupy the second rank. The large land owners (of this group the rice-mill owners rate highest) rank next. Below these are the tradesmen - the paddy dealers, shop keepers and small holdings farmers who comprise the bulk of the population. Professional artisans such as carpenters, blacksmiths, gold and silver smiths occupy a lower position. However, it is common for the small holdings farmers to practice a secondary occupation such as pottery making.

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Fishermen and hunters are looked down on by the rest of the community because they offend Buddhist precepts by taking life. In this class also are those who raise animals (cows, poultry, pigs) for food, smugglers and brewers. Fishermen, particularly those such as U Myaing who operate IN fisheries often become wealthy, but the stigma of the source of this wealth is remembered by the community.

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A story is told of a rich fisherman who came to cover the Shwe Dagon Pagoda in Rangoon with gold plate. Unfortunately, he had sinned so much by taking the lives of fish that he could not see the pagoda. In a rage he returned to his IN to cover its posts with the gold. Because of the stigma attached to fishing those who make their living in this way tend to live together in their own communities. Thus Pathaw, U Myaing's village is primarily a fisherman's community.

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In the days of the Burmese kings, wealthy men and nobles (THAKIN) would assign people under their command to serve as pagoda slaves. Their names were engraved in stone and their descendents for all eternity assigned to this position. The duties were light - consisting mainly of sweeping the platforms and carrying for the images, but the social position was next to the lowest. It is believed that the flower vendors on the platform of the Rangoon

pagodas and those throughout the country are descendants of the pagoda slaves. 461 175

Beggars are rated below the pagoda slaves - but, because of the Buddhist merit associated with giving do well for themselves. 567 778

The beggars live in communities on the outskirts of the town often in cemetaries. They are thought to exhume the dead to get the coins placed in the mouth of the deceased to ensure expenses on his journey to heaven. The wood of the coffin is believed to be used in constructing their huts. Professional undertakers or morticians are regarded with horror since they like the beggars, make their living from the dead. The functions of burial are performed gratis by the entire village. A story is currently going round the University dormitories telling of an immensely wealthy Burmese coffin maker in Rangoon who has offered riches to the young man who will marry his beautiful daughter. When the future seems blank the students' friend advises "Hey, why don't you go and marry the coffin maker's daughter?" It seems that the money would scarcely compensate for the social discrimation. The extent to which the occupation classes are rigid in marriage and other social exchanges is an interesting problem. 735 [779] 764 554 461 [203] 461 565 555

A young man is obliged to remain within the occupation class of his family or to rise to greater heights. He is advised at an early age to "be simple, aim high, and tell the truth." When children play at daccits (thieves) of other "low class" games their parents object to their low aspirations and advise them to play nobles and ministers. One would feel justified in remaining idle rather than accept a position below that of his birth. It is better to accept a clerks job at a low salary than an artisans at a high salary. On the other hand those born into lower status occupation groups tend to be satisfied with their state as a condition of birth. In Rangoon, however, even the hawkers may have ambitions to achieve fame and fortune. The opportunities for social mobility is greater in the towns and cities but difinitely restricted in the villages. [867] [857] [369]

Apprenticeship to trades begins at the age of 12 to 14 years, and usually lasts for several years. Ordinarily the youth is attached to the shop of a relative where he lives and is payed a subsistence wage while learning. The key to high positions lies in education in 461 467 874 [602]

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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85. POTHUDAW.

been brought into a pseudo-connection with Buddhism by certain western neophytes of the Tibetan cult, are unheard of in Burma, which is the stronghold of primitive tradition.

Pôthudaw observe fewer *thîla* than *yathé*. They make their appeal with a gong of triangular shape (*kyîzi*, Nos, 22, 86), which spins on the string it hangs by, and emits a high and sustained throbbing note. *Pôthudaw* eat in the forenoon only. They accept alms in money and in kind, for which they carry baskets with a shoulder-yoke. They wear a white robe, shave the head, and pluck out the beard. *Pôthudaw* shift for themselves in *zayât* about the temples and seldom remain long in one place.

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Mèthilá are female celibates who observe a rule parallel to that of the *Pôthudaw*. They shave the head. Their robe is like that of the other celibates with the addition of a jacket. The cloth is dyed a faint red. Both they and the *pôthudaw* are generally individuals who have lost their family ties. In some places *kyaungs* are provided for *mèthilá*, where they keep schools for girls. A few are possessed of learning. *Mèthilá* are about as numerous as *pôthudaw*, and both together are about one-tenth to one-twentieth as numerous as *yahán*, and several times more so than *yathé*. There is no class of female recluses answering to *yahán*.

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Payadyún form colonies in the vicinities of the principal shrines and of the cemeteries of large towns. They are the descendants of temple slaves, the condition to which captives in war were reduced both by the Burman and the Taláing races during their incessant

86. METHILA AT WORSHIP.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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88. METHILA ON THE ROUND FOR SUN.

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struggles. Apart from this and the serfdom referred to at p. 32, slavery has only played a subordinate *rôle* in Burma within historic times. The *payadyún*, and they alone, are treated as outcasts by both of these populations. They beg for alms and also appropriate the offerings brought to the shrines in profusion at festivals. Their right to beg is admitted, although they frequently accumulate money and build fine houses.

Lepers (*anû*) in many cases quit their families of their own accord and settle in the *payadyún* colony. In some places they were compelled to do so. The settlements have thus acquired the semblance of leper colonies. There are a few country villages of this character. Indigent lepers beg for alms. In 1891 there were 6,000 lepers in Burma, the highest ratio in the Indian Empire. There are now four leper asylums. Casual mendicancy is almost unknown in Burma.

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The Burman and Brahman soothsayers (p. 158) are regular frequenters of the shrines. The Burman astrologer (*bedín-sayá*) casts horoscopes on the Brahman model (No. 279) and designates the days auspicious for undertakings. He takes his name from proficiency in reckoning, and is consulted about business calculations that cannot be done mentally.

89. SOOTHSAYER.

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The Buddhist duty-days (*ûbôt-ne, thadín*) follow the quarters of the moon. They are kept regularly during lent. On these days the pious laity of both sexes and sedate years observe the rule of *pôthudaw* and *mèthila* from sunrise to sunrise (*ûbôt-saung*). They adopt sober attire, or else white cotton clothing, which is considered the plainest of any. In the forenoon men and women separately repair to the temple rest-houses, whither food for the morning meal, which has been collected the previous evening from religious donors

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16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

CHAPTER XVIII

MANNERS

'Not where others fail, or do, or leave undone—the wise should notice what himself has done, or left undone.'—*Dammapada.*

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A REMARKABLE trait of the Burmese character is their unwillingness to interfere in other people's affairs. Whether it arises from their religion of self-culture or no, I cannot say, but it is in full keeping with it. Every man's acts and thoughts are his own affair, think the Burmans; each man is free to go his own way, to think his own thoughts, to act his own acts, as long as he does not too much annoy his neighbours. Each man is responsible for himself and for himself alone, and there is no need for him to try and be guardian also to his fellows. And so the Burman likes to go his own way, to be a free man within certain limits; and the freedom that he demands for himself, he will extend also to his neighbours. He has a very great and wide tolerance towards all his neighbours, not thinking it necessary to disapprove of his neighbours' acts because they may not be the same as his own, never thinking it necessary to interfere with his

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neighbours as long as the laws are not broken. Our ideas that what habits are different to our habits must be wrong, and being wrong, require correction at our hands, is very far from his thoughts. He never desires to interfere with anyone. Certain as he is that his own ideas are best, he is contented with that knowledge, and is not ceaselessly desirous of proving it upon other people. And so a foreigner may go and live in a Burman village, may settle down there and live his own life and follow his own customs in perfect freedom, may dress and eat and drink and pray and die as he likes. No one will interfere. No one will try and correct him; no one will be for ever insisting to him that he is an outcast, either from civilization or from religion. The people will accept him for what he is, and leave the matter there. If he likes to change his ways and conform to Burmese habits and Buddhist forms, so much the better; but if not, never mind. 571 609

It is, I think, a great deal owing to this habit of mind that the manners of the Burmese are usually so good, children in civilization as they are. There is amongst them no rude inquisitiveness and no desire to in any way circumscribe your freedom, by either remark or act. Surely of all things that cause trouble, nothing is so common amongst us as the interference with each other's ways, as the needless giving of advice. It seems to each of us that we are responsible, not only for ourselves, but also for everyone else near us; and so if we disapprove of any act, we are always in a hurry to express our disapproval and to try and persuade the actor to our way of thinking. We are for ever thinking of others 571

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571 and trying to improve them; as a nation we try to coerce weaker nations and to convert stronger ones, and as individuals we do the same. We are sure that other people cannot but be better and happier for being brought into our ways of thinking, by force even, if necessary. We call it philanthropy.

571 609 [779] But the Buddhist does not believe this at all. Each man, each nation has, he thinks, enough to do managing his or its own affairs. Interference, any sort of interference, he is sure can do nothing but harm. *You* cannot save a man. He can save himself; you can do nothing for him. You may force or persuade him into an outer agreement with you, but what is the value of that? All dispositions that are good, that are of any value at all, must come spontaneously from the heart of man. First, he must desire them, and then struggle to obtain them; by this means alone can any virtue be reached. This, which is the key of his religion, is the key also of his private life. Each man is a free man to do what he likes, in a way that we have never understood.

Even under the rule of the Burmese kings there was the very widest tolerance. You never heard of a foreigner being molested in any way, being forbidden to live as he liked, being forbidden to erect his own places of worship. He had the widest freedom, as long as he infringed no law. The Burmese rule may not have been a good one in many ways, but it was never guilty of persecution, of any attempt at forcible conversion, of any desire to make such an attempt.

This tolerance, this inclination to let each man

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This tolerance, this inclination to let each man go his own way, is conspicuous even down to the little events of life. It is very marked, even in conversation, how little criticism is indulged in towards each other, how there is an absolute absence of desire to proselytize each other in any way. 'It is his way,' they will say, with a laugh, of any peculiar act of any person; 'it is his way. What does it matter to us?' Of all the lovable qualities of the Burmese, and they are many, there are none greater than these—their light-heartedness and their tolerance.

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A Burman will always assume that you know your own business, and will leave you alone to do it. How great a boon this is I think we hardly can understand, for we have none of it. And he carries it to an extent that sometimes surprises us.

Suppose you are walking along a road and there is a broken bridge on the way, a bridge that you might fall through. No one will try and prevent you going. Any Burman who saw you go will, if he think at all about it, give you the credit for knowing what you are about. It will not enter into his head to go out of his way to give you advice about that bridge. If you ask him he will help you all he can, but he will not volunteer; and so if you depend on volunteered advice, you may fall through the bridge and break your neck, perhaps.

At first this sort of thing seems to us to spring from laziness or from discourtesy. It is just the reverse of this latter; it is excess of courtesy that assumes you to be aware of what you are about, and capable of judging properly.

You may get yourself into all sorts of trouble,

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571 and unless you call out no one will assist you. They will suppose that if you require help you will soon ask for it. You could drift all the way from Bhamo to Rangoon on a log, and I am sure no one would try to pick you up unless you shouted for help. Let anyone try to drift down from Oxford to Richmond, and he will be forcibly saved every mile of his journey, I am sure. The Burman boatmen you passed would only laugh and ask how you were getting on. The English boatman would have you out of that in a jiffy, saving you despite yourself. You might commit suicide in Burma, and no one would stop you. 'It is your own look-out,' they would say; 'if you want to die why should we prevent you? What business is it of ours?'

Never believe for a moment that this is cold-heartedness. Nowhere is there any man so kind-hearted as a Burman, so ready to help you, so hospitable, so charitable both in act and thought.

It is only that he has another way of seeing these things to what we have. He would resent as the worst discourtesy that which we call having a friendly interest in each other's doings. Volunteered advice comes, so he thinks, from pure self-conceit, and is intolerable; help that he has not asked for conveys the assumption that he is a fool, and the helper ever so much wiser than he. It is in his eyes simply a form of self-assertion, an attempt at governing other people, an infringement of good manners not to be borne.

Each man is responsible for himself, each man is the maker of himself. Only he can do himself good by good thought, by good acts; only he can hurt

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himself by evil intentions and deeds. Therefore in your intercourse with others remember always yourself, remember that no one can injure you but yourself; be careful, therefore, of your acts for your own sake. For if you lose your temper, who is the sufferer? Yourself; no one but yourself. If you are guilty of disgraceful acts, of discourteous words, who suffers? Yourself. Remember that; remember that courtesy and good temper are due from you to everyone. What does it matter who the other person be? you should be courteous to him, not because he deserves it, but because you deserve it. Courtesy is measured by the giver, not by the receiver. We are apt sometimes to think that this continual care of self is selfishness; it is the very reverse. Self-reverence is the antipode of self-conceit, of selfishness. If you honour yourself, you will be careful that nothing dishonourable shall come from you. 'Self-reverence, self-knowledge, self-control'; we, too, have had a poet who taught this. 571

And so dignity of manner is very marked amongst this people. It is cultivated as a gift, as the outward sign of a good heart.

'A rough diamond'; no Burman would understand this saying. The value of a diamond is that it can be polished. As long as it remains in the rough, it has no more beauty than a lump of mud. If your heart be good, so, too, will be your manners. A good tree will bring forth good fruit. If the fruit be rotten, can the tree be good? Not so. If your manners are bad, so, too, is your heart. To be courteous, even-tempered, to be tolerant and full of sympathy, these are the proofs of an inward 156 577

369 and women too did the same, and wore their HTAMEINS breast high.
291 Here except for the refugees, he does not see much of this except when
562 people are bathing in the public water hydrants. When it is hot the men wear T shirts and the women wear light garments.

369 U Myaing says that the ordinary city dweller cannot do as much
464 hard labour as the average villager. For example, he cannot carry
461 a bag of rice on his shoulders if suddenly called upon to do so.

The workers from Rangoon are much more acute than the workers from the village. They speak and understand English and Hindustani and so get to know of any possible job long before the others. The villagers do not have these advantages, and so have to join work only later and they are placed to work under them.

563 As far as U Myaing is concerned, there is no racial animosity
464 towards Indians and workers of other races. This is due to the fact that there is no racial discrimination on the part of the employers, the first suitable applicant being given the work.

369 He finds that Rangoon has a much more equable climate than
132 Pathwe. In Rangoon it is not as cold asin Pathwe, where in the cold season it was very cold even though they lived in a proper house and kept all the doors and windows shut. He says that they would not be able in Pathwe to live in an open dwelling like they do at present.

369 Their relatives in Rangoon keep to themselves a great deal.
●571 They work on their own and earn on their own. In Rangoon each family
602 has only sufficient for itself. "We cannot help them financially and neither can they help us much. When we go on a visit they can invite us to join in a meal or to partake of sweet tea, but they would not be able to lend us fifty or a hundred rupees. In Pathwe we could lend each other any amount up till a thousand five hundred rupees and that free of interest. These loans also need to be repaid only when it is convenient to the debtor. It would be inconvenient to have to repay a loan while the money was in the form of goods."

159 U Myaings eldest daughter has returned to the camp because the
369 woman who owns the charoot rolling business has temporarily closed it
602 down and gone to Pantanaw with goods like onions, prawns and textiles. Since the girl is not sufficiently dexterous to find work elsewhere as

572 369 The friendships he[1] has made with other workers do not seem to be very deep or very lasting. In Pathwe the workers were all friends, and even included his relatives as well. There are not many strangers in Pathwe and even people not connected by blood ties were treated like relatives.

369 426 444 "In Rangoon the seller takes a profit on everything we have to buy for food; items like rice, vegetables and fruits. Of course he cannot be blamed, because he has a living to earn too. He gives wage-earners goods on credit, but charges an interest on those goods! In Pathwe U Myaing could get most of the necessary food without having to pay any interest or middleman's profits since he bought straight from the producer. In Rangoon all people who earn monthly wages are the same. They have to take goods on credit. Those who do not earn regular salaries are allowed credit, but they have to undertake to settle accounts by a fixed date.

525 527 During the TAGU month festival, U Myaing gambled for money. He has gambled to stakes as high as three hundred rupees, but never up to one or two thousand. In Pathwe they had this on the PAYA-GYI-DAUNG side, and U Myaing joined in whenever he came across in other villages a group who were playing while on business. When he was young he gambled away Rs. 700/- while on a trip to KYANGIN. They were all of them on the same boat and he lost that amount at DaNUBYU. But by the time they reached YANGOON he had recovered his money. The games they played were poker and KO-MEK.

525 541 In their village they had people who held fights between game cocks. U Myaing never bred any of these fowls but he has placed bets on them several times, small bets to the value of four or five rupees. There is no special announcement made but word gets around that there is to be a match at such and such a place on such and such a day, and at the appointed time the villagers who are interested all congregate at that spot.

There are bookmakers among the assembled villagers who are willing to take any bets on either side. Cock fighting is carried on during the months of PYATHO and TaBOUNG. And even then they have it during only four or five days in the month. U Myaing does not go to every meeting. In the swine the ground is not for game cock-fighting

1. [i.e., U Myaing -- ANALYST]

792 and Grandfather called my cousin Ko Lu Pe to read it. My cousin had
871 been at a government school for some years and though he could read
177. and write English with some ease, he stuck at the word "circumcise".
87 "What!" exploded Grandfather, "five years learning English, and you can't even read a telegram. This education is quite useless." Whereupon he took the grandchildren and his two young sons out of their schools until his wrath subsided and they quietly started attendance again. It is a popular stage joke also, the B.A. who returns to his village and is asked in good faith by the hpongyi to mend a villager's watch that has gone wrong. The graduate confesses that he cannot mend it. The monk is horrified: "What, passed B.A. and cannot mend a watch?"

527 So now on my father's birthday the monks ask jokingly and kindly
792 about our school subjects. Their meal is laid out on a low round table,
574 and consists of all the good things my mother can think of, for they have only one main meal in the day. Rice and meat and vegetable dishes are followed by fruit, sweet milky coffee, sweet English cakes. The monastery boys are given their meal outside; the monks, after eating, rise and go, and the boys follow them bearing away the gifts for the monastery. At once there is a general shuffling into more relaxed positions, conversation swells out, we start to scamper around and help to wheel in more round tables. Then everybody eats, and my father feels a deep sense of well-being.

805 Our lunar calendar has twelve months in its year, beginning the new year about the middle of April with the month of *Tagu*. Each month contains the twenty-nine to thirty days of the moon's cycle, but the dates are numbered with only 15 numbers—15 waxing days starting from the crescent of the new moon: *la-hsan ta-yet, la-hsan hna-yet*, new moon first day, second day and so on, until the 15th and full moon day, *la-pyit nay*: after which come the waning days, *la-hsot*. With this system, we are 12 or 13 days short of the 365 each year, and hence every second year there occurs a double month of *Waso*, in July and August, which month also starts our Lent. Lent lasts the three months of the monsoon, until *Thadingyut*, in October, when we see it out with lights, feasting and
796 much merriment. For the observance of festivals such as New Year
262 and Thadingyut we usually visited relatives, but certain other observances came round each year to us in our own home.

Such is *htamanè-hto*, the making of a comestible known as *htamanè* in vast quantities, for distribution on the first full moon after the harvest. On the full moon night of *Tabodwè* in January-February, the villagers sit up all night in big parties of men and women singing and joking as they make all preparations for the cooking that is to take place by dawn. The basis of htamanè is a glutinous rice called *kaukhnyin*, always

days when the themes were from mythology and legend rather than modern streets, thus necessitating flights through the air, chariots in the clouds, magical transformations, magnificences of palaces and celestial gardens lighted by the moon. Now the films go in largely for themes of real life, but unlike Western films, the actors and actresses still do not set the standard for everyday dress and behaviour. A cinema actress, even when playing the part of a girl of most respectable parents, was rendered attractive by touches which in real life were considered by my mother to be suggestive of loose behaviour—her hair was overdecked with flowers, her garments had floral designs, her forehead was bordered with a fringe, and the neck of her jacket fitted loosely. On the screen, however, my mother and aunts watched this enthralled. They liked also the way that love was shown, concentrating on sentimentality rather than sex. There was no kissing or attracting attention to the body, but oh the pining, the sighing, the stamping of feet, the coyness and the moonlight gazing of Burmese cinema heroines. No wonder that aunts who once in a long while accompanied us to an American film, looked all around during the passionate kissing scenes, with scrutiny of our reaction to such displays of what should not be admitted to exist. 546 177. 54

If the Burmese cinema failed to draw the crowd of young English-speaking men and women away from the Hollywood films, Burmese rendering of jazz conquered them completely and gave them no acquaintance with the originals from America and England. There was a body of modern songs in the true Burmese style which, unlike the old classical songs, could be sung with ease by the untrained voice, but despite this Burma did not escape the craze which has grown up in all countries of the Far East for snatching up tunes written in America and England and putting them to words in the native tongue. Still, Burmans of fastidious taste might object to the lack of music in the tunes, rather than to the words of these popular songs, for the Burmese words are never so execrable as the original English compositions; often there is real wit, poetic brevity, and even philosophic comment. The technique was to take the refrain of a Western jazz tune as the repetitive theme, with a slight alteration in the rhythm, and to embroider this extensively with a slapdash quality of Burmese turns of melody. The theme of the Burmese version probably bore no relation to that of the original. For example, the sickly account of a romantic meeting in the Isle of Capri was converted into a satirical skit on the Rangoon fashion of giving garden tea-parties in the English manner. Whereas the Burmese custom at weddings and other celebrations in the country towns was to invite townspeople to a full meal, with the feasting of monks and the distribution of gifts, the Yangonthu had taken to employing the catering services of Western-style restaurants 533 177. 54 574 533 177. 54 569

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243 and they are not the varieties most in favour with the Burmese for their own consumption—there are at least thirty different kinds. There is the byat sabā, the "tray" rice, which is considered the best, but, like most of the other sorts, will not stand the rough treatment of the steam mill-stones, and breaks in pieces. Then there is the myi-shè, which has a long awn, and the myi-tôn, which has no awn at all; the taung-pyan, "winged rice," and the nga-chywè, "buffalo grain"; and so on through a long list, ending up with "black rice," which is not by any means bad eating. But of
527 all the kinds, kauk-hnyin, "sticky rice," is the variety always
262 used at the harvest feast. It is mixed with thin sliced cocoa-nut, sesamum seeds, ginger, onions, and pepper, all stirred together and well boiled; and the resulting mess is called tamanè. The rice is well named. It is very emphatically sticky, and even when taken alone is not very easily digested; but when it comes in the form of tamanè, the result is usually a widespread attack of colic throughout the village. This, however, comes after the festival, when the fun is all over, and does not concern us in any way.

● 574 When the farmer has made up his mind as to the day
527 on which he is going to have the feast—a date which, of
[787] course, cannot be settled without consulting the wise men of the village and much pondering over the palm-leaf horoscope—he sends out a few boys with a number of packets of "pickled tea" to all the young men in the place, requesting them to be good enough to eat it and to come without fail that night to his homestead in order to help him to husk his rice for the tamanè hto-thi. A few girls are also asked to come; and they bring their friends for the sake of company, and the mothers follow for the sake of propriety. Thus there is quite a large assemblage at the farmer's when night falls and the business is to commence. There is a good deal of preliminary tea-drinking and smoking of cheroots and chewing of betel and le'hpet, and a great deal of laughing and talking. The girls profess to be astonished to find so many young men there; they had not imagined their host was meditating such extensive preparations, and thought there would be nobody there but his own and his wife's younger brothers. That is exactly what they will say next week

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when they attend a similar assemblage at Htun Aung's house at the other end of the village. 574 527

But after an hour or so they settle down to do a little work. The young men—kālathas, they call themselves—"Corinthians, lads of mettle"—have brought with them a number of wooden mortars, with a heavy pestle working on a lever; and these they set up and commence to husk the rice. The process is very simple. A few handfuls of the paddy are thrown into the mortar, the workers step off and on the lever which raises and lets fall the solid wooden pestle, and the husk is every now and then blown out and the grain stirred up a little. The Burmans infinitely prefer rice husked in the national way to that which is sent out from the European steam-mills. The big Derbyshire or composite stones do their work only too effectually; they take off not only the hard shell, but also the inner cuticle of the grain, which contains the chief flavour; and, moreover, the heat which the steady grinding induces, scorches out a great deal of what taste remains. Therefore at every house there is to be found the primitive national apparatus in which the girls of the household every morning or evening prepare the rice for the day's consumption. But to-night they are relieved from such hard work. The village youths for once in a way exert themselves; and all the girls have to do is to wash out a few dishes and prepare the bamboo-lacquered platters, the pyramidal ôk, in which the tamanè is to be carried to the yahans and the pagoda to-morrow, and get ready the palm-leaves in which less exalted people will receive their modicum of the stew. The whole actual work might be finished in little over an hour, but that is the intention neither of the giver of alms nor of the assembled young men and maidens. They have come much more for merriment than for merit. Else why that great pile of le'hpet? For the condiment is an anti-soporific, and if you take enough of it, you will be able to see all through a forty-eight hours' play, and give your friends an outline of the plot before you lapse into a slumber lasting twice round the clock. 527 252 527 263

Accordingly, after a quarter of an hour's work, the "prince" of the local amateur dramatic company jumps off his perch, and commences the "White Dove" song from the 545

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524 From the Q.'s pawn to the Q.'s R.'s pawn, the nè are placed on the third square. From the K.'s pawn to the K.'s R.'s pawn, they are placed on the fourth square in direct *échelon*. The first move, therefore, takes a pawn. The pieces may be arranged behind the pawns according to fancy or judgment. The formation represented in the figure is considered the best among Rangoon players.

Either player, however, may adopt another line of battle. He may strengthen either wing, or expose the king, according as he estimates his opponent's abilities, or the peculiarities of his play. In some respects this may be done in such a way as to be tantamount to giving a piece to an inferior player. The pawns, however, never vary in position. The board is a huge thing like an enlarged foot-stool, or a tea-table with rudimentary legs, the players squatting on mats. There is always heavy betting on the games; and when a famous player comes in from the district or over from Maulmein to measure strength with the Rangoon cracks, the excitement is wonderful, and often furnishes occasion for free fights, such as the Burmese, in their sturdy, hot-blooded way, delight in as much as any schoolboy or devotee of town-and-gown rows.

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The Burmese game, as well in the names and powers of the pieces as in the liberty of individual arrangement, is thus, it will be allowed, much more like a real battle than any other recognised form. The elephant is particularly well calculated for defending the king where he is most vulnerable.

War-chariots are decidedly more appropriate to active warfare than castles. Indeed the Briton must acknowledge that the English nomenclature is bad. There was a time certainly when bishops used to buckle on their armour, and charge across the field of fight; but their disestablishment in that way came about long before the day of Mr. Miall. Boadiceas and Shan amazon leaders are too rare nowadays to have queens careering about the board as a regular thing, dealing slaughter for their less nimble spouses. The Burmese general has powers sufficient to elevate him above his men, and is yet not so loftily supreme as the mail-clad knights of romance; while if he is laid low, it is not too violent a change

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the fence. Monasteries are places of meditation and peace.

Of course, all monasteries are not great and beautiful buildings; many are but huts of bamboo and straw, but little better than the villager's hut. Some villages are so poor that they can afford but little for their holy men. But always there will be trees, always the ground will be swept, always the place will be respected just the same. And as soon as a good crop gives the village a little money, it will build a teak monastery, be sure of that.

Monasteries are free to all. Any stranger may walk into a monastery and receive shelter. The monks are always hospitable. I have myself lived, perhaps, a quarter of my life in Burma in monasteries, or in the rest-houses attached to them. We break all their laws: we ride and wear boots within the sacred enclosure; our servants kill fowls for our dinners there, where all life is protected; we treat these monks, these who are the honoured of the nation, much in the offhand, unceremonious way that we treat all Orientals; we often openly laugh at their religion. And yet they always receive us; they are often even glad to see us and talk to us. Very, very seldom do you meet with any return in kind for your contempt of their faith and habits. I have heard it said sometimes that some monks stand aloof, that they like to keep to themselves. If they should do so, can you wonder? Would any people, not firmly bound by their religion, put up with it all for a moment? If you went into a Mahommedan mosque in Delhi with your boots on, you would probably be killed. Yet

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we clump round the Shwe Dagon pagoda at our ease, and no one interferes. Do not suppose that it is because the Burman believes less than the Hindu or Mahommedan. It is because he believes more, because he is taught that submission and patience are strong Buddhist virtues, and that a man's conduct is an affair of his own soul. He is willing to believe that the Englishman's breaches of decorum are due to foreign manners, to the necessities of our life, to ignorance. But even if he supposed that we did these things out of sheer wantonness, it would make no difference. If the foreigner is dead to every feeling of respect, of courtesy, of sympathy, that is an affair of the foreigner's own heart. It is not for the monk to enforce upon strangers the respect and reverence due to purity, to courage, to the better things. Each man is responsible for himself, the foreigner no less than the Burman. If a foreigner have no respect for what is good, that is his own business. It can hurt no one but himself if he is blatant, ignorant, contemptuous. No one is insulted by it, or requires revenge for it. You might as well try and insult gravity by jeering at Newton and his pupils, as injure the laws of righteousness by jeering at the Buddha or his monks. And so you will see foreigners take all sorts of liberties in monasteries and pagodas, break every rule wantonly, and disregard everything the Buddhist holds holy, and yet very little notice will be taken openly. Burmans will have their own opinion of you, do have their own opinion of you, without a doubt; but because you are lost to all sense of decency,

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792 that is no reason why the Buddhist monk or layman
594 should also lower himself by getting angry and
186 resent it; and so you may walk into any monastery or rest-house and act as you think fit, and no one will interfere with you. Nay, if you even show a little courtesy to the monks, your hosts, they will be glad to talk to you and tell you of their lives and their desires. It is very seldom that a pleasant word or a jest will not bring the monks into forgetting all your offences, and talking to you freely and openly. I have had, I have still, many friends among the monkhood; I have been beholden to them for many kindnesses; I have found them always, peasants as they are, courteous and well-mannered. Nay, there are greater things than these.

792 When my dear friend was murdered at the out-
779 break of the war, wantonly murdered by the soldiers of a brutal official, and his body drifted down the river, everyone afraid to bury it, for fear of the wrath of government, was it not at last tenderly and lovingly buried by the monks near whose monastery it floated ashore? Would all people have done this? Remember, he was one of those whose army was engaged in subduing the kingdom; whose army imprisoned the king, and had killed, and were killing, many, many hundreds of Burmans. 'We do not remember such things. All men are brothers to the dead.' They are brothers to the living, too. Is there not a great monastery near Kindat, built by an Englishman as a memorial to the monk who saved his life at peril of his own at that same time, who preserved him till help came?

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is not the 'I,' but only the result of its action, is too deep for him to hold. True, if a flame dies the effects that it has caused remain, and the flame is dead for ever. A new flame is a new flame. But the 'I' of man cannot die, he thinks; it lives and loves for all time. 775

He has made out of the teaching a new teaching that is very far from that of the Buddha, and the teaching is this: When a man dies his soul remains, his 'I' has only changed its habitation. Still it lives and breathes on earth, not the effect, but the soul itself. It is reborn among us, and it may even be recognized very often in its new abode.

And that we should never forget this, that we should never doubt that this is true, it has been so ordered that many can remember something of these former lives of theirs. This belief is not to a Burman a mere theory, but is as true as anything he can see. For does he not daily see people who know of their former lives? Nay, does he not himself, often vaguely, have glimpses of that former life of his? No man seems to be quite without it, but of course it is clearer to some than others. Just as we tell stories in the dusk of ghosts and second sight, so do they, when the day's work is over, gossip of stories of second birth; only that they believe in them far more than we do in ghosts.

A friend of mine put up for the night once at a monastery far away in the forest near a small village. He was travelling with an escort of mounted police, and there was no place else to sleep but in the monastery. The monk was, as usual, hospitable, and put what he had, bare house-room, [574] [792]

342 MAHA-GIRI, is found in nearly every house (a junior member of a
776 family need revere only the symbol of the senior member of a family).
782 A dried coconut with attachment stems is placed in a basket, the top wrapped with a KAUNG-BONG (Head-wrap) of red and white cloth streamers and the basket hung on a nail to the primary corner post of the house. It must be adjusted correctly, and periodically sprinkled with sandlewood water. An interesting story explains the use of the coconut symbol.

773 MAUNG TIN DE, a blacksmith of great powers had two beautiful sisters who he feared would be coveted by the king of the city in which they lived. He asked them for this reason to remain in seclusion. One day he returned from work to find them gone. He became very angry and pounded his anvil till the city shook and the people suffered from earache. For a while he eluded persuit but was finally caught and burned to death. Afterwards he became a powerful nat called MIN MAHA-GIRI with powers of protecting households. Since the coconut signifies coolness and thirst-quenching it came to be offered to the nat who had died from fire.

MIN MAHA-GIRI is consulted if sickness or other misfortunes visit the family. At such times the head of the family checks the coconut offering to make sure it is in good condition. If not this is remedied for much misfortune could be the result of MIN MAHA-GIRI's displeasure at being neglected. When a journey is contemplated he is also appealed to for protection. A lesser nat YON GIN O is in charge of the kitchen and more specifically the hearth. Ko Maung Than knew little of this
[563] nat since it is of minor importance or not considered in Mon households.

342 The home is very important as a place for socio-religious functions
[788] many ceremonies involving groups of people are observed or in part
● [574] take place in the house (see below in socio-religious section). Social visiting is also common and much enjoyed. Hospitality, related to but differentiated from charity, gains merit for the host. There is a saying that visitors "come only when the home is pleasant."

512 The home, of course, performs a major "function" as a sleeping
805 place, and there are many beleifs and observances in connection with
513 sleep. The evening hours are divided into LU NYAT THET SEIK (children

quality of their sleep suffers to any appreciable extent. Americans who live in Rangoon suffer far more relatively from lack of "beauty rest" mattresses. 511 722 [513]

As far as the actual physical needs of the family go, the refugee camp situation does not seem to be far below an acceptable level. The Pathwe house gave space far above that actually used for physical needs. The answer here would seem to be that social obligations in Pathwe were much greater than here and the actual space fulfilled a real need there. Since such a demand is not present in the refugee camp, the lack of this space is not regarded as a privation. In general the refugee camp quarters are a compressed version of the Pathwe quarters and do not represent any true innovations. The family has been able to contract the quantity and quality of their needs, but their nature has not been appreciably altered. The pattern of "Home" has not been shattered, but has been contracted and its quality somewhat changed. 352 415 [574] 511 178

The town of Pantanaw was recaptured from the insurgents early in the month of December 1950. U Myaing and his family are considering whether or not it would be advisable to return home. It seems that the government has offered to send back those who are willing to return. Government offers them, in addition to passage money, other things such as mosquito netting, or so U Myaing thinks. But they are also hesitant and afraid and would like to remain for some time longer in the peace and security of the refugee camp. However, when the country settles down and things return to normal, they would like to return. They prefer Pantanaw because they find it much easier to earn money there. Here they find it more difficult to find work - and it involves harder labour. Also, the prices here are very high in comparison. 722 669 511 [464] [435]

for an adult and 8 annas for a child." 574 525 [764]

In camp U Myaing does not play cards very much except when at funerals to pass the night away. His total stakes on such occasions are only about eight annas or a rupee. He has never been to the races, and he never goes about town for fun. He does not go visiting much except when on business. When he does go, he visits Hla Khin, his first cousin who lives in HSIN-MIN-KHET-THIT, and his cousin Ma Sein Naing who lives in Ahlone. In Rangoon there are about 40,000 to 60,000 refugees from Pantanaw district. Sometimes he visits other people whom he knew at the village. However, in a single year his purely social visits to people outside of the camp totals only three visits - one visit each to three houses.

Dr. Orr, Dr. Sheppard, Mr. Shaw and Mr. Musgrave are the only white men he has met. He does not know any other Americans or Englishmen. 619

U Myaing has not gone to the pagoda once in the present month. During the past month, when he was working at the Jubilee Hall, he used to cross the pagoda platform twice a day going to and coming from his work. In the last year he donated some money at the Shwe Dagon. He gave 2 annas on three occasions four annas on 6 occasions, and once, when he drew his monthly pay, he donated a rupee. Apart from these, he donated money 6 or 7 times during the first one or two months of their arrival, during the time when he was going around selling mats. He gave altogether three or four rupees in these six or seven times. 796 735

Only Daw Aw Zar regularly goes to the pagoda solely for the sake of worship and prayer. Ma Aye Myaing has been there about five times on three occasions, but, they were while she was on her way elsewhere, and only once or twice purely for worship. Her total offerings amount to only about a rupee. Daw Aw Zar remarked that they would not have had the opportunity of praying at this great pagoda if they were still in Pantanaw. Daw Aw Zar gives offerings of flowers, money, candles and incense, and goes up the pagoda frequently. 782 735

In his worship, U Myaing recites the 5 SILAS. He prays for 782

as a roller, and as the aunt from whom she is learning embroidery went into confinement quite recently, she has returned home to the camp. When this aunt had her child, Daw Aw Zar had to go and keep her company for a period of twenty days. Ma Aye Myaing made one or two visits to inquire into her progress. The actual delivery was performed not by Daw Aw Zar, but by someone else, a midwife. When Ma Aye Myaing gives birth to her child the other relatives are sure to offer help, especially if she had the baby in her own home. However, there are only about ten families from Pathwe in Rangoon and out of that number only two or three will be able to come. There would be no need to ask them to come - they would come of their own accord if they heard the news. At present they live in distant parts of Rangoon town. In Pathwe, on an occasion like this everyone comes to ask after the health of the mother and child, even though they may be no relations at all. On the seventh day after birth the house is washed and all visitors to the house are provided with scented water to wash their hair - and it is also sent to those elders who are unble to come. The water is scented with the cream of TAUNG-DAN-GYI, MATHAPYU and KALAMET roots. Enough scented water is provided for about 60 visitors. Most of the visitors are women and girls - very few young men come.

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In Rangoon it is very easy to earn two or three rupees in one day as labourers, while in Pathwe even the worker who worked at the INS for a monthly wage was paid only twenty to thirty rupees. But to offset that, the prices in Pathwe were very much lower than those in Rangoon. NGAPI workers earn Rs. 10/- a month, and the foreman for the NGAPI workers is paid Rs. 15/- a month. This salary of ten rupees was more than sufficient for buying decent clothing and other necessities. These men had to be fed by their employer. The IN workmen who earned twenty to thirty rupees a month had to find their own food.

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U Myaing has made some friends among his fello w workers in Rangoon and has visited the house of one of them, but even this was not a social visit, as he went there to enquire about their work.

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being involved in bets. For this purpose special rowers are trained and fed by one or another of the big betters. These men are so strong and skilful that they can drive a boat carrying fifty to sixty baskets of paddy clear over a raft of a hundred bamboos tied together. A stop watch is used to time performances and a match may be arranged with another village. A rower by the name of NGA THIT once won over three thousand rupees for their village. U Myaing's share was three or four rupees. Some people in the village do not bet at all, others bet about forty to fifty rupees. 526 [525]

THE GREASED POLE: The greased pole is an amusement set up during the month of TAZAUNGMON for the KAHTEIN festival and the month of KASON for the NYAUNG-YE-THUN-BWE festival. On these occasions, besides other festivities a huge thick bamboo pole is made smooth at the joints and set upright. Then a bowl of greasy liquid such as THAYAW water (shampoo) or lard is perched towards the top of the pole in such a manner as to send the greasy liquid coursing down the pole with every slight shake it is given. On the top of the pole are placed several prizes such as items of clothing. After this people are free to get the rises if they can. They get on one another's shoulders to reach the top. Sometimes they are successful and sometimes all of them come tumbling down. U Myaing tried this when he was young. At one KASON festival U Myaing and three others tried to reach the top by co-operating with each other but they were unsuccessful. Others try all sorts of ways such as daubing the body with mud etc.

In the village there are few entertainments, so that even if two bullocks start to fight in the fields, someone yells out the news and everyone comes out to watch. However, special matches are not arranged in their locality. [517]

There was not much of social visiting back in Pathwe. Most of the visits were on business and the host proffered things such as prepared dried fish and other trifles. The talk centers around NGAPI and NGA-CHAUK. There are no visits made just because he is feeling dull and bored, although there are some people in the village who do so. 574● 521

The whole family goes to the ANYEIN or marionette show

23: Brant & Mi Mi Khaing E, I-5 (1949-1950)1951
AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

593 husband's kinfolk. Post-marital residence is independent and is decided very
[591] largely on the basis of economic opportunity. The wife's opportunities for social intercourse with her family of orientation are, of course, greatest when residence is established in her home village; if, however, a couple from different villages marry and find it most opportune to settle in the husband's community, the
[574] chances are that the wife will maintain contact with her family of orientation by
[582] visits from time to time; such marriages seldom unite persons from villages that are very far apart. The very structural features of bilaterality and absence of extension militate against inequality and male domination.

562 Burmese culture is frequently remarked for the equality of the sexes, in con-
593 trast to the neighboring cultures of India and China. This status of the sexes seems to be the resultant historically of two patterns of thought. One is an apparently very old, pre-Buddhist emphasis upon equality, involving equal inheri-
[428] tance, equal sharing of the property brought to the marriage, equal division of
[586] property upon divorce, a prominent female role in social and economic life, and an absence of transmission of surnames. The other thought pattern dates from the superimposition of Buddhism upon older Burmese conceptions: whatever
[177] ideas of male superiority exist in Burmese life stem from Buddhist notions of
[775] reincarnation. Although Buddha never expressed himself explicitly on the matter, it is taken for granted that only a male can attain Nirvana, since Gautama Buddha, who attained that state, was a male.

462 In the family household the wife's role includes not only such routine tasks as
592 the preparation of food and serving of meals, keeping the house orderly and clean, and looking after small children; very often it involves control of the family income and the making of all important decisions as to expenditures.

Certain observances and taboos, reflective of deference to males, are expected
593 of the female partner in marriage. She is careful that her lower garments do not
784 touch her husband's bed or his personal belongings; she avoids touching her husband's head. It is believed that the breaking of such taboos may ruin the husband's success and glory, especially his spiritual attainments. These injunctions are followed as a matter of course by Burmese wives and will be broken deliberately only as an act of spite by a woman who wishes to harm or lower her husband for some reason.

593 Despite the various equalitarian aspects of husband-wife relations, there is
837 a tendency towards a double standard of sexual behavior. A husband who has reason to believe that his wife is engaging in extra-marital affairs is very likely
[586] to display violent anger, beat her, and break up the marriage. The wife of a

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

14. BURMESE MOTHER AND INFANT.

tempers Nature's discipline of knocks and bumps, as compared with the bare hard ground of the Indian hut. Nevertheless the young Burman's converse with his environment is unrestricted enough. By the time he is a year old he may be trusted to himself on a flimsy platform many feet off the ground or over the water. There are few things in the way of the child that it may not handle. The very cheroot its mother is smoking is a coveted plaything. The daily bath at the river-side or well has familiarised the child with another element. It may rush out into the first tropical shower and splash to its heart's content with its older playmates in the first tepid puddle. The Burman's regular exclamation of wonder or fear is "mother!"—*amè*.

When the child is a few months old, relatives and friends are assembled and entertained with tea and sweets to witness the ceremony of piercing the ears and giving a name. The Burmans have no patronymics. The name is chosen from a set of current euphemisms proper to the days of the week and their planets, according to the star presiding over the day of birth. The fancy of the parents and the prognostics of the soothsayer unite to decide the choice. Names are single or are compounded from two series (in Arakan from three). Common names, beginning with the "Sunday-son," are Ôn, Kyaw, San, Shwe, Po, Tha, Dun. Men's and women's names are taken from the same sets; only the courtesy-prefixes differ (p. 74). The needle-hole made in the lobe of the ear on the naming-day is expanded by means of plugs and rolls of bast. In the course of a few years the lobe takes a plug one-half to three-quarters

15. MUDLARKS.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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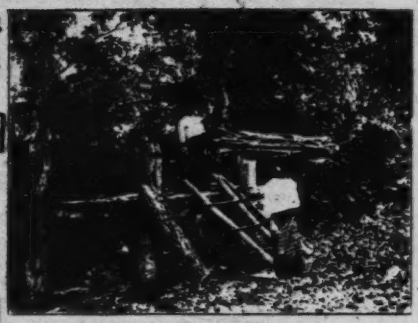

140. FETCHING IN FUEL.

In the villages the passing traveller is invited to join in the meal. Everyone in turn ladles gravy from the bowl on the rice in front of him and mixes and eats it with his fingers. Before and after eating, mouth and fingers are rinsed. After the meal a drink of water is taken. Fruit is eaten after meals and at odd times. The importation of delf crockery and enamelled ware has been going on for a long time.

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Betel (*kun*) is taken at all times except at meals, and tobacco is smoked by men, women, and children (No. 21). The betel-box plays the same part in Burman sociality as the snuff-box still does in parts of Europe. The chew of betel is made up of the fresh leaf of the betel-vine (*kun-yuit*, No. 409) smeared with moist slaked lime (*tôn*) and folded over slices of the nut of the areca or betel palm. Dried tobacco-leaf, cutch and spices—cinnamon and cloves [805] —are frequently added. "A betel-chewing" is a common phrase for about a quarter of an hour. Old people who have lost their teeth pound up the betel in a small brass mortar (*kun-dyeik*) for chewing. The spittoon (*tuè-gan*) is indispensable.

The native tea is prepared by hill-tribes of the North. It is either in dry balls the size of a fist (*sin-chi*) or loose (*leppétchauk*), or is pickled (*leppékkan*). The dry tea is infused in the Chinese fashion (*leppéyye*, No. 146).

141. GETTING FIRE BY THE NATIVE METHOD.

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When the platters have been rinsed after the evening meal and the tables put by—*sabaè-hmauk*—which gives the name to the hour, the day's work is over and the young women smarten themselves up to receive their *beaux*. The chief toilet-requisite is the face-powder (*than-ákhè*)—the cream-coloured bark

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

166. VILLAGE CHEVAUX-DE-FRISE.

away from the company. In a similar spirit of courtesy a rider dismounts and umbrellas are closed. Among acts of discourtesy few are accounted so grave by the Burmans as that of awakening a sleeper. The reluctance to disturb a sleeper is connected with the belief that the spirit (*leippya*) leaves the body during sleep (p. 197). It is looked upon as a weakness to show resentment and temper (*dawtha*, p. 44). A visitor in a house is offered a new mat to sit upon, water to drink, betel to chew, and a spittoon. If it be meal-time he is invited to partake; otherwise he is asked if he has had food, and refreshment is brought. Although the quota of leisure that falls to everyone is greater in Burma than anywhere else, owing to the wide-spread prosperity of the inhabitants, there is perhaps no country in which every man, woman, and child is less exempt from business concern. Thus it happens that after a few commonplaces, conversation inevitably gravitates to business—prices, harvests, prospects. Next in interest come the festival programmes, the local celebrities and their doings. In every house there are scales and weights, and the household is engaged in occasional or regular trade. Accounts in money and kind are current between neighbours. Whatever spare produce remains is exposed for sale.

The villages either have a quick fence of impenetrable thorny bamboo (*myinwa*), or a hedge of cactus and briar, or bamboo *chevaux-de-frise*. In some parts they are open. The old towns (*myó*) had ramparts and stockades (Nos. 6, 371, 387). The highest sites about the village are for the *sadi*, the *Payá-myo* or sacred ground, the next best are for the *kyaung*. Then comes the enclosure of

167. APPROACH TO THE VILLAGE.

CHAPTER SIX

THE social life which my parents led with other families in the district towns was shared by us and all the other children. Burmese children do not live in a child's world cut off from reality—there is no specially created world for them like that of J. M. Barrie—they are given enough food for their wildest imagination, but this feeds equally the grandmother and nurses who tell them stories. No special children's parties with cakes and games for them are provided; they go everywhere with the grown-ups, on visits, excursions and festivals, they eat and sleep in the same rooms as the elders and hear most of the conversation. One result is to make Burmese children more conscious of family ties and responsibilities, and to prepare them better for any calamities that may befall them in adolescence or any time before they are fully grown up. Yet no one who sees Burmese children can doubt that delight, wonder and pure joy are present in their lives. 857 593

All Burmese social gatherings centre round either religious observances or eating. We are still unsophisticated enough to have the same way of enjoying ourselves whether in city or country, and for that reason these district towns formed such a perfect background for happy days. In the towns that I remember, a river ran through, with sandbanks at edges or in midstream; this, with the monasteries and pagoda precincts a little way out of the busy quarters, private garden orchards and the houses of friends, provided the background for all the social life which my parents had. and is the reason why Burmese people never form social clubs. Most of the officials went to play tennis at the Gymkhana club with European members, but it had no real part in their lives. 517 369 575

When we went on *pyaw-pwè-sas*, happy-eating-gatherings, at pagodas, with two or three other families, the grown-ups, including aunts and dependents of the families, made elaborate food arrangements because the joy of the occasion was to cook on a large-scale in the open air. They took pots, dishes, food and washing apparatus for about twenty people. We started with silent recitation of prayers before the golden spire in the cool morning air, holding silver lilies between folded hands and being so careful not to breathe in the fragrance of the flowers, because my mother taught us that we should not first enjoy the beauty of flowers which are to be offered. When our short prayers were through, we stuck the flowers in a vase or niche at the pagoda base, lighted a row of candles 517

14: Brant E-5 (1949-50) 1954 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

If the umbrella falls down it indicates that the spirit has departed and cannot return. The person who performs this ritual must not talk to anyone en route to the cemetery. 764

On the seventh day a ceremony takes place. The monks come to the house to eat and chant prayers. They are given offerings for their own use and a special tray containing white thread. The monks hold the thread, which symbolizes good, while they chant. The people present are seated before the monks, repeating the prayers and precepts after them. The deceased person is supposed to be sitting on the mat prepared for him and benefiting from this ceremony. Then the people are fed, the monks depart, and the influences of death are considered to be banished. The thread is kept in the house. 764 769

Graves are not visited, nor is there any upkeep of the cemetery, for folk belief has it that the tidying of graves will cause more people to die. The dead are commemorated by the meritorious act of feasting the Buddhist monks.

Associations

Bus Union. Owners of buses plying between Tadagale and Rangoon are organized into a union. In terms of its functions, this organization might be more fittingly termed a mutual protective and insurance association. These are to prevent outsiders from infringing on their route and competing with them; payment of damages in case of accidents between members' buses and other vehicles or persons; payment of any costs of litigation that arise in connection with accidents; and maintenance of a repair shop and mechanic in the village. Members of the union pay an initial sum to join, plus monthly dues and a small toll fee for each trip that is made. 441 494

Peasants Union. The Tadagale Peasants Union is a constituent body of the All Burma Peasants Union and operates directly under the Insein Division of the parent organization. Some fifty to sixty households in Tadagale are members. When the head of a family or household joins, the union regards all its members as union members. In theory, meetings are supposed to occur once a month, but in fact take place at irregular intervals, whenever a problem arises that is considered sufficiently important to warrant a meeting. Commonly this is a dispute between members over land. If opinion remains divided after considerable discussion of a dispute or other issue, the union meeting votes by written ballot. 467 427 185

The more long-run aims of the Peasants Union concern rent and taxes of cultivators. Protests and petitions are sent to the government when it is felt taxes are too high. The union was characterized as 'an organization that is against the landlords.' At the time of our research, its aim was to reduce the landowners' share of the produce to one-third from two-thirds. The union also favored land nationalization, under which it was believed rent would be paid in a just amount to the government. Just where the Peasants Union fitted in with existing political party programs and alignments in the country at large it was not, for various reasons, feasible to investigate.

Ceremonial Assistance Groups. For purposes of rendering help at such ceremonies as weddings, funerals and initiations, the villagers are divided into informal groups. These are: men's group; married women's group; and unmarried girls' group. The men's group does the heavier tasks, such as chopping and carrying firewood, erecting ceremonial structures, and preparing 575 476

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large amounts of food. The married women prepare food, serve, and entertain the guests, while the unmarried girls assist them. If a ceremony involves a procession, the unmarried girls bear the gifts which are invariably taken to the monks on such occasions.

These 'groups' are so informal and loosely organized that in the strict sociological sense they should not be so designated; rather, they are simply the conventional lines along which cooperation takes place and labor is divided, in a spirit of mutual aid, whenever a family sponsors a ceremony -- an occasion involving much work. Each is willing to help, for when his own family sponsors an event, similar assistance will be expected and forthcoming.

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Education. In addition to the Buddhist monastic schools, to be discussed in the next chapter, there is a small secular school in the village. This is operated on a voluntary basis by a middle-aged schoolmaster, a widower, who migrated, together with his daughter, to Tadagale two years ago. It is his hope that eventually the school will be incorporated into the regular school system, as compulsory education is gradually extended to the country. The school is financed wholly by voluntary contributions. The village headman personally contributes ten rupees per month, his brother gives a like amount, and the Bus Union donates five rupees. From this income of twenty-five rupees per month ($5.25) the schoolmaster pays five rupees for his house rent and provides blackboard chalk and his own books and pencils. On what remains, plus a little profit he derives from maintaining a small shop in his house, he must support his daughter and himself. But he is confident that once compulsory education is extended to Tadagale, his sacrificial efforts of the present will be rewarded by a regular appointment at Rs. 100 per month, an expanded program of instruction, and perhaps the services of an assistant. For the present he operates the school without any responsibilities to superiors, devising his own curriculum and teaching according to his own methods. The schoolmaster was himself once a student at a normal school in Moulmein.

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About eighty children attend the school with varying degrees of regularity. The average daily attendance is about sixty. The schoolmaster feels that many more children of school-age living in the community should attend, but finds that parents are reluctant to send their children. Some feel they are needed for household and field labor; others prefer what they regard as the stricter environment of the monastic school, with its great emphasis upon religion and correct conduct. The schoolmaster deplores the ignorance and negative attitudes of villagers concerning education, and their unwillingness to contribute financially to the maintenance of his school.

Instruction is given in five grades or 'standards' as they are called in Burma. These are termed 1B, 1A, 2, 3, and 4.

Standard 1B is equivalent to the kindergarten of the pre-World War II schools. The schoolmaster has divided the class into two sections, one for the children of seven to eight years who already can read to some extent, the other for the younger ones of four to six who cannot. According to the rules of the government schools six years is the minimum school age, but the schoolmaster in Tadagale is not bound by such regulations. He teaches these two groups of kindergarteners according to their own levels and at the pace which he thinks appropriate. They learn the alphabet and simple numbers at first, later moving on to reading and spelling. No regular allocation of time to different subjects is possible, since the schoolmaster must teach this and four other classes without any assistance.

of clothes. The old people take care to save the torn garments for use in wiping the hands after meals, for handling hot pots on the stove and the like. 291 554 181

There are three classes of clothing (1) working clothes (2) festive dress, and (3) religious dress. The working clothes consist of the cheaper and less ornate fabrics and are mainly of cotton. The men usually bind the longyi around the loins by looping the shirt in a band between the legs. Htamein (women's longyi) waist band is secured under the armpits when bathing. 291 292

While walking in the rain the longyis are also raised to prevent them from becoming wet. Festive dress involves the best which one has, usually silks and are worn on the Sabbath days and at special social occasions as the SHIN BYÀ and other ceremonies. Religious dress is worn constantly by Pongyis (orange robes), nuns (peach coloured) and frequently by old men (white) and old women (light chocolate coloured). On Sabbath days the particularly religious individuals of all ages, especially those belonging to Buddhist lay societies, wear religious dress. 291 779 [575]●

The term LONGYI means "lower apparel" and is applied to both men's (PUSO) and women's (HTAMEIN). The men's festive longyi TAUNG-SHAY-PUSO (taung measurement- twenty-puso) worn frequently in the past and now reserved for special occasions was a double silk PUSO 8 yards long. A special method of securing this garment about the waist results in GABON ZA ("Sticking out piece") a fold which protrudes 6 or more inches in the midline - only, however, when the silk is crisp and stiff (new and/or finest heavy quality). This is regarded as a very manly garment. Two styles of APAW KINGYI (over jacket) men's jacket are worn. The "Peking" type meeting at the mid-line is most common. A "Cantonese" type buttons over like the women's jacket at the side. 291 292

Formerly every young man had tattooed thighs, extending in a solid band of decoration from a few inches above the knees to the hips. The motifs were frequently nat symbols. The main purpose was to display manliness and courage since the process of tatooing, done with a 3 pronged fork dipped in pigment was extremely painful. 304 562 178

length) draped over one shoulder. The PUMA, part of the scarf, still draped, is placed on front of the worshipping woman for her head and hands as she bows. The beads, a string about 2 feet long made of black lacquer or of red or white beads about ½ inch in diameter are called SEIK-PA-DEE (count-beads). They are worn about the neck when not in use, and are "counted" by the fingers of one hand. Each bead, thus counted calls to the worshipper's mind a vision of Buddha as she says ARA HAHN (God) in a low voice. While in this dress women do not decorate their hair with flowers or wear jewelry or cosmetiques as such would be unseemly. 792 291 293 [788]

The older man and other religious men (who are gathering alms as members of Buddhist lay societies) wear a loose white robe over a white jacket, white head band, praying bead necklace, and a chocolate coloured scarf draped over one shoulder. The general public must wear their very best clothes for religious festivals but the women do not use cosmetiques. "Rangoon Sabbath" is the term applied to the less strict observations of the town people who may appear with a little THANAKA or other cosmetiques. The marriage dress of the bride is an older form of costume involving use of a long split skirt with cut-flaring jackets. 888 779 575 291 [369] [779] [292] [585]

The hair styles are important and denote age and sex. Children of both sexes wear their hair in a knot at the top of the head with a fringe of short hair like a bowl below. The older man's style was long hair knotted on one side in the back of the head; except in villages this has been superseded by the western short crop ranging from a long "Pompador" to short "crew cuts" - the latter being rarer and more modern. Old men wear very short cropped hair or are shaven - as the Pongyis and nuns. Maidens wear their hair in elaborately woven tresses - earlier on top of the head in a disc-whorl - now in chain braids at the back of the head. False switches of hair are commonly used. Flowers are used as decoration on all occasions. The usual style for married ladies is a knot at the back of the head wound around a rectangular comb of wood, (common) tortoise shell, ivory or gold. Older and married women sometimes appear in an ancient ceremonial style consisting of the hair wrapped around a fiber cylinder 302 177 369

Basic Burmese Concepts of Health and Sickness.

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The Burmese regard health as the best of all earthly blessings. Although Buddha referred to the living body as a decaying corpse, which it was folly to feed, he recognized the necessity for bodily health in order to carry out the all-important mental activities connected with the Buddhist religion. It is then essential for each person to be as physically and mentally sound as he is able. The forces governing health and sickness are both supernatural and natural each with its own set of medical specialists. The specialists are called for only when the case is far advanced there being an extensive lore of home precautions and curative practices. In general, disorders caused by nats and ghosts (supernatural) or magic are recognized by their sudden, catastrophic or otherwise unusual nature, and are both instigated and cured by magical means. The natural disorders are caused by weaknesses in the constitution of the patient, foreign bodies, dangerous foods and such-like means, and are cured through knowledge of medical principles. The germ concept of disease is completely lacking, although when foreign matter is seen, as mosquito larvae in water, it is frequently regarded as unhealthy. The western idea of omnipresent harmful bacteria is regarded as fantastic in being contrary to observation - "our ancestors have lived for countless generations in these surroundings which you regard as dangerous", they will say. There are some 80 different kinds of PO MYOSIBA or harmful ingredients that can infect the body. These range from undesirable ingredients in food to mystical influences that rise in the teeth to cause tooth-aches. The cleanliness of the Burmese, as seen in their several daily baths and emphasis on clean clothes, is not out of regard for "hygenic" reasons, but rather for social reasons. One must look his best in public so as not to give offense, to the eye or nose. The sick person is never washed since cold water would have the effect of driving the fever-heat inward to a fatal degree. The date for resumption of bathing for the convalescent is carefully considered; mistakes can result in relapse and death. Cool breezes must be avoided by the sick person for similar reasons. The house doors closed during the day invariably mean sickness within.

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verbal contest, and to hear at intervals a cheering and clapping as they 873
shouted "Point! Point!" which English word they had adopted for 522
applauding a telling thrust. This interest in wit enabled our lecturers to enliven their discourses with spontaneous humour rather than to draw upon a perennial stock of jokes. There were both serious and frivolous uses of this privilege. We had two serious old Burmese lecturers —Saya Lin and Saya Pwa—who belonged to my grandfather's world, [576]
coming to lecture every day in the purest Burmese but never noticing the existence of the modern college, its young inhabitants or other branches of learning. They were regarded with so much veneration that no student ever answered the now universally adopted English "Present" to their roll-call but replied: "*Shi ba tè, Saya:* I am here, please, Master."

At one time Saya Lin's junior Bachelor classes contained a girl student who was admired by a young man called Maung Chan Tha (which name means "Prosperity"). Maung Chan Tha had passed his junior Bachelor year and was in a senior class, but he attended the junior class daily in order to have a back view of his loved one whom he did not dare to address. This dumb worship occasioned a daily distraction among the embarrassed girl and her companions and a lot of ribald comments from the back benches. Saya Lin continued oblivious of all this until one day the term, "*paw-rana saga:* descriptive old usage", occurred in his text. "Now, shall I explain to you what *paw-rana saga* is?" said Saya Lin. "It is the other name for an object or an animal, which must describe its qualities. We have the pig, which in paw-rana may be termed *to-pwa*: prolific increase; and then we have the ox. The ox", said the old man with a fierce denouncing arm pointed at the offending swain, "may be termed Prosperity—*Chan Tha!*" At which a hundred lusty throats yelled "Point! Point!" and the discomfited Maung Chan Tha fled, never to attend a junior class again.

When the strikers of 1936 attacked the moral influence of a young member of the staff, one of the 18 serious charges they formally laid to his account was his habit of punning with the names of young lady students in too playful a manner. Among his students were two pretty sisters whose names, A-si and A-yi, could mean respectively, "in a row" and "smiling", a Christian girl called Margaret who was serious enough but whose name pronounced in Burmese scanned and rhymed with a word denoting excessive frivolity, and a noisy Chinese girl called Ma Ngan Chu. Said the poetic lecturer in illustrating various points:

Myet-lon galay ga ta-kyi-kyi	Little eyes, clear, beguiling,
Thwa galay ga a-si a-yi.	Little teeth, *seried, smiling.*
Kalet tet-tet	Coquette, coquette,
Mar-ga-ret.	*Margaret.*

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792 553 775 561 In recognition of this new-gained power the novice drops his secular name and receives a bwè, an honorific title, to mark that it is now open to him to escape from suffering. The name lapses when he returns to the world again, but it is sufficient that he has once borne it. He may now add to his kan, merit, and gain for himself a glorious new life by good works.

[198] This is what is meant by calling the ceremony a baptism. The bwè are almost invariably Pali, or Burmanised Pali names, and follow the same rules with regard to initial letters as the lu nāmé. Thus a Maung Po Myat, born on Thursday, might take the name of Pyinya-Zawta, while the bwè of a Sunday child, Maung An, would be Adesa. This religious or Buddhist (on the analogy of Christian) name is, of course, retained by the regular members of the monastery, and a monk is never addressed by any other when a name is used at all. When he becomes old a U is added, as U Adesa, but it must not be forgotten that [576] the use of a person's name in addressing him is considered very far from being polite in Burma, especially to one of rank and dignity such as a mendicant. On the other hand, one who has returned to the world never uses the bwè, not even when he accomplishes some great religious work such as the foundation of a pagoda, which according to a comforting belief ensures passage to Ne'ban after death.

The entry into the monastic order is therefore certainly the most important event in the life of a Burman, since only under the robe of the recluse and in the abandonment of the world can he completely fulfil the law and hope to find the way to eventual deliverance from the misery of ever-recur- [796] ring existences. The popular time for the ceremony is just at the beginning of Wā, the Buddhist Lent, which lasts from July to October, roughly speaking. Strict Buddhists make their sons stay throughout the whole Wā. During that season feasts, though they do occur, are very much discountenanced, and dramatic performances are energetically denounced by the religious.

792 561 184 177·84 According to the letter of the law the intending probationers should have reached the age of fifteen, but this regulation has almost entirely lapsed in Lower Burma, among other reasons chiefly because that is just the most

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important age for the boy to be learning English and arithmetic, with a view to getting situations under Government or in English merchants' offices. Therefore in the vast majority of cases shin-pyu thi takes place at the age of twelve, or perhaps even a year earlier. 792 561 184 177.84

If the boy has been a scholar in the monastery beforehand, he is sure to be already prepared in all that is required of him. If not, he gets a few hasty lessons in the duties that will be incumbent on him. He must address a full member of the order in such and such language; he must walk decorously through the streets, keeping his eyes fixed on the ground six feet before him, and on no account gaze round him, no matter what exciting events may be going on; he must wear his thingan and du-gut in the prescribed fashion; he must eat with dignity and circumspection, and so on. All these details are set forth in most minute fashion in a code. When he has mastered the most essential portions, and has also given proof of an acquaintance with the ordinary forms of worship, all is ready. His horoscope now comes into requisition, and a bedinsayā or Ponna is called in to determine a lucky day and hour from the sadā. When this has been settled, three or four girls, the intending koyin-gale's sisters, or friends of the family, dress themselves up in their finest silks and jewels—often borrowing a large quantity of the latter—and go round the town, announcing to all relatives, friends, and neighbours when the induction will take place, and inviting them to the feast, presenting the little packet of le'-pet usual on such occasions. Almost all of these send some little present, either of money or victuals, to aid in the feast and make it as grand as possible. Not unseldom, if somebody else's son is also going to enter the kyaung and the town is not very large, the two join forces, while occasionally as many as half a dozen unite, especially if the families are not well off. 792 872 [576] [292] 792 561 [787] 796 [292]

On the appointed day the young neophyte dresses in his finest clothes, and loads himself with all the family gold chains and jewellery, and as much more as he can borrow for the occasion. He then mounts a pony or gets into a richly decorated car. Shaded by gold umbrellas, allowed formerly on this occasion only in Upper Burma, except to those who had got a special patent for them from the sovereign... [292] [554]

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517 silks for their wives. The ordinary explanation is that every one can see what clothes you wear, while few people care to come and spy out what kind of a house you live in, and how you fare. But there can be very little doubt that the real reason is a survival of the idea of the old Yāzagaing, as well as the fact that long years of custom have impressed upon everybody the opinion that there are only two forms of architecture, the secular and the ecclesiastical, and no one, no matter how sure he might be that the Government would take no notice of his ambition, would brave the denunciations of the religious by adding a spire to his house, or even adorning the gable ends with carved pinnacles and flamboyant finials of the monasteries. Consequently the one regular form prevails everywhere.

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342 576 The Burman's dwelling, then, is always shaped more or less like a marquee tent, and never more than one storey high, to avoid the humiliating possibility of the feet of some one being over your head. But the whole house stands on posts, so that the floor is seven or eight feet from the ground. It consists often of only one room, usually, however, of two or more, and to the front of the house there is always a verandah, three or four feet lower than the general level of the house, and as often as not quite open to the street, or the garden, or whatever may be in front and always to the sky. The posts which form the main or central part of the house are usually six in number, and all have their names, such as Uyu, Kya-hngan, Nyaung-yan. The south post, in the main part of the house, the Thabye-taing, is the best known, as being always adorned with leaves and particularly marked as that in the top of which most probably lives the nat-spirit of the house. A dead body, after being swathed, and while waiting for the coffin, is always placed by it.

[551] 353 776 [764]

341 787 A house ought never to be built till the foundations have been thoroughly dug up and shown to a soothsayer. He will determine, from the substances found, whether it is a lucky place to build a house in or not. It stands to reason that the building cannot be commenced till a lucky day and hour have been sought out. There is considerable care to be observed in the selection of the timber. Posts are masculine, feminine, and neuter. Male posts are of equal size at both

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elaborate adornments, there is little doubt found their origin in the opportunity which wood gave for the development of ornament in the way of carving. If the wooden monasteries are compared with the strikingly similar wooden churches in Norway—at Hitterdal, for example, or Borgund—we have a proof that nature, under like circumstances, always produces like results from human ingenuity. It may be added that the simple tumulus, which was the original idea of the bell-pagoda, is also found in the Scandinavian *haug*.

The kyaung accommodation is very simple. It consists in the main of a great central hall divided into two portions, one level with the verandah where the scholars are taught, and most of the duties of the monastery carried on, and the other a raised dais, two feet or so above the level of the rest of the building. Seated upon this the yahans are accustomed to receive visitors, and at the back, against the wall, are arranged the images of Buddha, a large one usually standing in the centre on a kind of altar with candles, flowers, praying flags, and other offerings placed before it, and on shelves alongside a number of smaller figures of gold, silver, alabaster, clay or wood, according to the popularity of the kyaung and the faith of the neighbourhood. Close by are placed also the manuscript chests, sadaiks, small shrines, models in wood of monasteries and pagodas, the fans and other religious implements of the pyin-sin and the gifts of the pious, heaped together ordinarily in very careless fashion. The central image is almost invariably placed on the eastern side of the building. There are occasionally dormitories for the monks, but as a rule they sleep in the central hall, where the mats which form their beds may be seen rolled up round the pillow against the wall. In many monasteries there is a special room for the palm-leaf scribes, often detached from the main building, as are the cook-room and the bathing-houses.

The whole area of the extensive compound in which the monastery stands is enclosed by a heavy teak fence with massive squared posts and rails, seven or eight feet high. All within this parawun is sacred ground, and the laity, when they enter, take off their shoes and carry them in their hands. This rule applies to the highest in the land, and when a

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Shan prince or a high official arrives on his elephant, he must dismount at the monastery gate, and come in reverently barefooted. Within the one encircling fence there may be, and usually are, quite a number of separate buildings like that described, with their ecclesiastical roofs towering up, dark, or glittering with gold-leaf among the bright green foliage of the pipul and tamarind trees. Each house has a prior or superior, with his two or three brethren, and a certain number of probationers and scholars, and in the central building dwells the gaing-ôk, or sadaw. In a corner of the compound, or just outside, there is almost always a thein, a building for the performance of various rites and ceremonies, more particularly for the examination and ordination of yahans. The ground on which these stand is not only holy now, but has always been so since the Lord Buddha first preached the Law. When a new thein is to be built it is usually found possible to exhume the remains of an old building of the same kind, thus proving the immemorial sanctity of the site. Otherwise the ground is dedicated to religion in perpetuity. The consecration of the ground is, however, rare in these latter times, though several times the British Government has been asked to make a formal grant of land, to be used for religious purposes. Not far from Rangoon, in the neighbourhood of the Kyaik-ka-san pagoda, there is a thein-gyi, regarded as particularly holy, from the tradition that it is built over the remains of one of the yahanda, who brought the remains of Shin Gautama to Rangoon.

Within the monastery precincts are usually, also, one or two tasaungs, highly ornamented tectums, erected over an image of the Buddha. Very many zealous priors put up marble stones, or finger-posts, at certain points beyond the Parawun, with inscriptions on them to the effect that U Adeisa's or Pyinyazawta's monastery is to the westward, or southward, and you must not kill animals or conduct yourself in an unseemly manner near it. It is the ignoring or the ignorance of this injunction which has brought many sporting Englishmen into trouble, and led them to believe that the yahans condemn shooting altogether, and lay themselves out to thwart it; whereas the intention is only to avoid witnessing, if possible, what they regard as a flagrant

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sin, and especially to protect the pigeons, which usually flock about the monastic trees. Not many people in England would think of going to shoot in a churchyard.

The majority of kyaungs in the jungle and in the smaller towns are plain teak wood, or brick and lime structures, with more or less ornate carving and moulding, and interior decorations; but to see the really gorgeous ecclesiastical buildings one must journey to Mandalay. There the Kyaung-daw-gyi, the Royal Monastery, is the most striking collection of edifices of their kind to be seen in the world. At the foot of Mandalay Hill, just outside the eastern gate of the city, it extends over an area of a good many acres. Every building in it is magnificent; every inch carved with the ingenuity of a Chinese toy; the whole ablaze with gold-leaf and a mosaic of fragments of looking-glass, embedded in a resinous gum, while the zinc roofs glisten like silver in the sun, and the golden bells on the gable spires tinkle melodiously with every breeze. The huge posts are gilt all over, or covered with a red lacquer; the eaves and gables represent all kinds of fantastic and grotesque figures. The interior is no less elaborate, the panels of wall and ceiling are some carved, some diapered with the mosaic mirror work, glistening like polished metal with a rough gold mesh net thrown over it. The wood-carving is particularly fine; the effect in some places, where the birds, pecking, taking wing, alighting, and in every other variety of attitude, are so cut as to appear to underlie the profuse flower tracery, being especially clever. The amount of gilding, spread thickly over every part of the kyaung, alone represents many hundred pounds. Singular from its plain unadorned appearance is the high, brown teak-wood tower in one corner, to which the Sadaw-gyi and his monks occasionally withdraw, to devote themselves to contemplation and the task of learning to know themselves and the khandas, as well as the Seit and the Seikdathit. For this withdrawal from their gorgeous surroundings, to indulge in abstract thought, they have the example and precept of the Lord Buddha himself, who, even when he reposed as a babe on the bosom of his aunt Gautami, gave himself over to contemplation.

The whole of the flat land between Mandalay Hill and

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792 the city walls was formerly covered with monasteries, each
576 of them standing separate and enclosed within its own
531 parawun, and almost all presided over by a sadaw, a monk of the highest rank. They were thus entirely independent of each other. One of the most interesting for Englishmen is the Thiho Taik, the "Ceylon Monastery," presided over by Lingayāmā, a sadaw who was in great favour with Mindôn Min, the last king but one. The term taik is always applied to a "bishop's monastery," as implying that his is the chief of a number of kyaungs, all under his care, and in which he makes occasional sojourns. The Thiho Taik is peculiar for its trim appearance. It is very new; the under part of all the buildings is of brick; the compound is kept scrupulously clean; there is not a single large tree in it, and the parawun is a neat sawn-wood fence, instead of being, as is the case almost everywhere else, composed simply of huge stems of trees placed side by side in the ground. The sadaw himself is a very enlightened man. He has been several times to Rangoon to worship at the
792 Great Pagoda, and to decide on questions in dispute. He
217 has, in his library, copies of the English Scriptures in the Burmese version of Judson, and has read them through. Numbers of American Baptists' tracts, and the sacred books of other religions, have also a place in his manuscript chests. These are all deposited in a separate building standing in the middle of the enclosure, and used for no other purpose, except that the scribes sit here making copies of borrowed MSS., or setting down notes of the learned bishop himself.
212 The palm-leaf book is still universal, and the work of making up a volume is therefore very laborious; for the most practised manipulator cannot, with his agate style and light strip of palmyra-leaf, exceed the speed of an English boy who has just got over the preliminary difficulties of pot-hooks and hangers. The letters scratched on the leaf are made more distinct by the application of crude earth-oil. This serves to darken the writing, as well as to preserve the book. The regular scribes are always laymen, and it is a matter of very considerable unpleasantness to the cenobites, that the cleverest of them are very often uncommonly bad livers, spending all their gains in libations of "Old Tom," or little

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water at one another till they are tired and the thing begins to seem monotonous. No one escapes; in fact no one would care to get through the three days with dry clothes, for the wetting is considered a compliment. A clerk comes up to his master, shikhos to him, and gravely pours the contents of a silver cup down the back of his neck, saying ye-kadaw mi, "I will do homage to you with water." A polite but less humble form of speech is ye-laung-thi, to "pour" water over; while equals, and the young people generally, yepetthi, "splash" one another with the utmost vigour. It is to be observed that dirty water is never used. The barbaric innovation of squirts is a sign of decadence.

Foreigners do not object to the custom, except perhaps some of the more pompous and stolid natives of India, whose minds are incapable of appreciating a joke in any form whatever. The rollicking Chinaman takes it up with the utmost zeal, and sets about the thing in the most business-like way. The last time I was in Maulmein one of the storekeepers in the main street had rigged up a garden hydrant in front of his house and connected it with the well. A coolie was engaged to work it all day, and a continuous jet of water, sufficient to put out a small conflagration, streamed from the nozzle the entire duration of the feast. Not only was Boon Tek enabled to drench everybody, but he advertised his machines and made a good thing of it.

But the Chinaman was exceeded in zeal by a young Englishman in Prome, not many years ago. He was a Government official, and there were two friends dining with him. A note came round to him from a neighbour in the next street saying that the yepetthi girls were out and would be round his way shortly. So he forthwith made preparations. The Madrasi "boys" got a huge bath tub on to the verandah, and tin pannikins were placed handy, and the dinner proceeded. But unfortunately there was no one put to watch for the arrival of the girls, and the first notice of their appearance was a well-directed stream of water in the nearest man's shirt-front. To sally forth was the work of an instant, but it was found that the tub was in the possession of the enemy, and only served to eke out the abundant

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789 Knowledge of this latter particular is imperative, and an
831 error of an hour or two makes all the difference in the composition of the potion.

757 It ought to be unsatisfactory to an intelligent Burman's feelings to think that the man who prescribes for him in a dangerous illness is possibly at the same time mixing cunning draughts for a love-sick maid, or is manufacturing an image of a girl with magical charms and drugs which shall drive the original mad and soothe the vengeful wrath of the rejected suitor. Perhaps it is on this account that a Rangoon Burman, if he falls ill out in the district anywhere, hurries back to town as fast as he can. If he cannot do that, the best thing is to call in a wéza in preference to an unknown doctor; for while the former will probably confine himself to incantations at first, the dietist will irritate all the gastric juices in your body by prescribing some new variety of food, and banning everything you have been accustomed to; while the druggist will cram you to the throat with cathartics and anthelmintics, with arsenic, fungi from bamboo roots, green vitriol, decoctions of lemon grass, borax, croton seeds, and vegetable soot.

753 The father of Burmese medical science was the celebrated physician Zewaka, who once cured a colic which afflicted the Lord Buddha Gautama, by simply giving him three flowers to smell. Upon the petals were strewn some potent powders which restored perfect health in a few hours. To this good medico is to be ascribed the assertion that the diseases which afflict mankind are ninety-six in number. These may vary in their symptoms according to the thirty-five temperaments, the forty-five accidents, the sixteen dangers, and the four elements, but there are no more than ninety-six wedana for all that. Accordingly, a very common beginning to a
[576] formal Burmese letter is to say that by his correspondent's good wishes the writer has been preserved from the ninety-six andayè; the thirty-two kan-chammā, or pieces of bad luck; the twenty-five baya, dangers from assassins, wild beasts, and the like; and finally from aneitta bala, evils of all kinds, envy, hatred, malice, and all uncharitableness: his friend's regard has kept all these things far from him, may the writer's good will be not less efficacious. Therefore it is

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the guard dispersed the people. Next day, an old lady, who claimed to be the owner of the dog, visited the big Englishman and told him she forgave him. He was barely polite.

Burmans had no trouble with the pigs and dogs. They found their own countrymen much more awkward to meet. There was constantly some prince or mingyi passing along the streets, and then the road had to be immediately cleared, and every one knelt humbly till the great man passed. Any delay in clearing the path, or an imagined want of reverence in the shikhoing, met with very summary punishment. Before every dignitary rushed along a posse of half-naked lictors, yelling out to the people to bow down, and hitting round about them with their fasces and dahs. These masterful ruffians particularly loved to insult Englishmen. During Mindôn's reign an edict was published exempting Englishmen from the necessity of getting down on their knees in the mud and dust, but ordaining that they should lift their hats. The letyataung dearly loved to launch torrents of abuse at their victim, and make him dismount from his pony and remove his hat when the prince was half a block distant. In the spring of 1880 an English mercantile man was actually bullied into going down on his knees. But, as a rule, where it was possible, foreigners turned down a by-street, or into one of the waste plots of ground. This method of avoiding the annoyance was not open to a Burman. If he tried to avoid paying due obeisance, he was denounced as a disaffected man and thrown into jail.

But there were plenty of other obstructions to be met with in the streets of the royal city. Each householder was considered, or considered himself, perfectly at liberty to do what he pleased with the section of the road in front of his house. Accordingly, when the spirit moved him, he calmly blocked the thoroughfare by erecting a temporary theatre for the performance of a pwè. The construction of such a mandut did not take very long. A framework of bamboo was run up and covered in on the roof, and one side with bamboo matting, and all was ready; the stage was the street, and the spectators deposited themselves where they found room. After the three or four days' performance, the stage was pulled down, and the thoroughfare was clear again.

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III

SOCIAL GROUPS AND RELATIONS

In this section we describe the patterns of kinship and interpersonal relations, the beliefs and customs pertaining to the life cycle of the individual associations, and intergroup relations.*

Kinship

The kinship system reflects very clearly the bilateral family structure in the absence of terminological differentiation on the basis of the sex of the connecting relative. The other outstanding characteristic is the recognition at many points of relative age. For each generation a distinct set of kinship terms is employed. On the speaker's (ego's) generation, all cousins are merged with siblings, the terms being differentiated, however, according to relative age. In the first ascending generation, the parents' siblings are differentiated according to the degree of age relative to the parent. In the first descending generation the factor of relative age loses significance; sex is the sole basis of differentiation of kinship terms, except for separate terms to distinguish the speaker's own children from others. On successive descending generations sex distinction is absent and all relatives of a given generation are subsumed under a single kinship term.

Relative age is the all-important hub upon which the wheel of village social life revolves. Deference to one's elders is reflected in such customs as carrying objects for them, refraining from sitting with one's head higher than those of elders, and avoiding postures in which the feet are extended towards such persons.

Beyond such matters of etiquette, the importance of age is even more fundamentally demonstrated in the showing of obeisance to one's elders. This is done on all the important ceremonial occasions. Four such occasions are regarded as obligatory times for paying one's respects. These are the beginning and the end of Wasc (sometimes called the Buddhist 'Lent'), a period of about three months, roughly from mid-July to mid-October; the New Year; and the harvest. Respect is paid to all of one's elders in the parental generation and above. A visit is made at which an offering, valuable or symbolic, is brought and the elder's blessings are received.

Interpersonal Relations

Husband and Wife. The household is normally composed of husband and wife and their offspring. It is a bilateral, limited type of family structure, contrasting markedly with the patrilineal extended Chinese family and the joint family of India. Unlike the position of the wife in the traditional Chinese and Indian family systems, that of the Burmese wife is not one of an outsider living in a group dominated by her husband's relatives. Where a married couple reside is a matter of choice and is decided very largely on the basis of economic opportunity. When there is such opportunity in the village for an outsider who marries a girl of Tadagale, he is urged to establish their residence there, but there is no particular pressure or feeling about the

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*The material on kinship and the life cycle, with certain changes, was published under the title "Burmese Kinship and the Life Cycle: an Outline" in Southwestern Journal of Anthropology, vol 7, no 4, 1951, pp. 437-454. The reader interested in the technical details of the kinship terms and a diagrammatic presentation of the kinship system is referred to that article. The author wishes to express his thanks to Mi Mi Khaing for valuable assistance in the compilation and analysis of the material on this aspect of the culture.

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

562 here, not one ever called. I saw only two or three ladies, but not a man at all.'

And my friend, surprised, asked his servant how it was.

'Didn't anyone come to call?' he asked.

'Oh yes,' the servant answered; 'many gentlemen came to call—the officers of the regiment and others. But I told them the thakin was out, and that the thakinma could not see anyone. I sent them all away.'

562 At the club that evening my friend was questioned
576 as to why in his absence no one was allowed to see his wife. The whole station laughed at him, but I think he and his wife laughed most of all at the careful observances of Burmese etiquette by the servant; for it is the Burmese custom for a wife not to receive in her husband's absence. Anyone who wants to see her must stay outside or in the veranda, and she will come out and speak to him. It would be a grave breach of decorum to receive visitors while her husband is out.

562 So that even a Burmese woman is not free from restrictions — restrictions which are merely rules founded upon experience. No woman, no man, can ever free herself or himself from the bonds that even a young civilization demands. A freedom from all restraint would be a return, not only to savagery, but to the condition of animals—nay, even animals are bound by certain conventions.

000 The higher a civilization, the more conventions are required; and freedom does not mean an absence of rules, but that all rules should be founded on experience and common sense.

Basic Burmese Concepts of Health and Sickness.

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The Burmese regard health as the best of all earthly blessings. Although Buddha referred to the living body as a decaying corpse, which it was folly to feed, he recognized the necessity for bodily health in order to carry out the all-important mental activities connected with the Buddhist religion. It is then essential for each person to be as physically and mentally sound as he is able. The forces governing health and sickness are both supernatural and natural each with its own set of medical specialists. The specialists are called for only when the case is far advanced there being an extensive lore of home precautions and curative practices. In general, disorders caused by nats and ghosts (supernatural) or magic are recognized by their sudden, catastrophic or otherwise unusual nature, and are both instigated and cured by magical means. The natural disorders are caused by weaknesses in the constitution of the patient, foreign bodies, dangerous foods and such-like means, and are cured through knowledge of medical principles. The germ concept of disease is completely lacking, although when foreign matter is seen, as mosquito larvae in water, it is frequently regarded as unhealthy. The western idea of omnipresent harmful bacteria is regarded as fantastic in being contrary to observation - "our ancestors have lived for countless generations in these surroundings which you regard as dangerous", they will say. There are some 80 different kinds of PO NYOSIBA or harmful ingredients that can infect the body. These range from undesirable ingredients in food to mystical influences that rise in the teeth to cause tooth-ache. The cleanliness of the Burmese, as seen in their several daily baths and emphasis on clean clothes, is not out of regard for "hygenic" reasons, but rather for social reasons. One must look his best in public so as not to give offense to the eye or nose. The sick person is never washed since cold water would have the effect of driving the fever-heat inward to a fatal degree. The date for resumption of bathing for the convalescent is carefully considered; mistakes can result in relapse and death. Cool breezes must be avoided by the sick person for similar reasons. The house doors closed during the day invariably mean sickness within.

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21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

536* 522 was introduced. The clowns were usually males, though later a female clown-attendant of the princess occasionally appeared. The clown was so popular that he continued to appear as an extra character even when the plays of the great dramatists came to be produced later. He was essentially outside the play. He made up his own part, he invented his own dialogue, and made up his jokes as the play moved along. However, even with the *Nibhatkhin*, he was not allowed to interfere with the movement of the play and its story. He played and joked at the beginning of the first scene when the actual story had not begun, he gave sometimes an outline of the story and its sources, and he gave information regarding the production of the [536] procession and the play. He was the most privileged person among the actors, for he alone could without offence laugh at, and satirize, all things and all persons.

536* 796 522 178 However, the clown was essentially unconnected with the actual story, and soon the actual characters came to be burlesqued. As the devil in the English miracle plays, the villain of the *Nibhatkhin* (in the Birth Stories, the villain was a previous incarnation of Devadat who repeatedly tried to harm the Buddha) became a humorous and popular character. The Burmese love of humour and gentle satire would have turned the whole *Nibhatkhin* into pure farce had not a convention arisen with regard to the presentation of religious characters. The Buddha was never to be represented on the stage. Stories about him up to the time he actually attained Buddhahood could be presented, but no one should impersonate him when he had become the Buddha. It was soon followed by another convention that the character of an *arahat* (saint) should not be presented unless it was absolutely necessary, and then only when the part was to be taken by an able and 'serious' actor, who must be actually keeping a fast on the day and night the *Nibhatkhin* was being presented. As a person keeping a fast has to behave in a dignified manner, that convention prevented the part from being turned into a humorous one.

With all these developments, people did not forget that the *Nibhatkhin* was essentially a religious show presented in connexion with religious festivals, and therefore further development was impossible. The conservatism of the village, the dislike of the amateur actors to be in any way profane or thought to be so, the restricted scope of the stories and the characters, all prevented any further development of the religious drama as such.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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25. GAME OF SITOPPYIT.

Burman average stands midway between those of Ireland and Austria on the one hand, and Italy and Spain on the other. (Report of the Census of 1891.)

The boys at the monastery-school (*kyaung-tha*) do the domestic work—sweep the floors and enclosures, attend upon the recluses, and help in collecting the daily food. Some scholars live at the *kyaung*, others have the morning meal there, others again have their meals at home. The recluse exacts no deference from his scholar, but nevertheless receives from all lay persons a spontaneous homage identical with that accorded to royal personages. In the *kyaung* the lads acquire the good breeding of their country, for it is among the recluses that the élite of the race is to be sought. In the stage next to be described, the lad completes this training, by himself sharing in the deference paid to the yellow robe, which he assumes for a season as novice. The monastery-schools are open all the year, but have a large attendance only in the rainy season or *wā*.

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Besides the monastic public schools there are private schools kept by laymen and occasionally also by women, in which girls as well as boys are taught. The subjects and methods are the same, but more time is given to arithmetic. The rules of thumb of the Indian *bedin* are being superseded by modern arithmetic, by help of the vernacular manual prepared by the missionary Stilson. A small fee is paid the lay teacher in money or in kind. Out of hours, the lay-school pupils are of use at their homes, minding their little brothers and sisters.

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The training begun in youth is never broken off. Study is a chief occupation of middle and advanced age. The teacher—*sayā*—clerical or lay, is reverenced,

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26. CYCLE RACE.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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27. SHINLAUNG RENEWING HIS PRAYER.

the world, but not from observation by the world. Great as is the homage accorded to him by the laity, a recluse who should disgrace his cloth—a thing almost unknown — would be promptly unfrocked by them.

For their sustenance the novices and regular recluses depend upon alms. They receive these in kind and according to daily need. Their appeal is mute. The morning after his reception the novice with his brethren will halt in front of his own parents' house and the houses of the neighbours to receive such dole of food as is offered (No. 29). He will not look to right or left, but keep his eyes rooted on the ground, making no sign beyond raising the cover of his alms-bowl. The recluse may not ask for anything whatever, nor even express a predilection. The food, ripe or ready-cooked, as the case may be, is doled indiscriminately into the *thabèit* from the east side, usually by a woman of the house. A woman should not stand in the shadow of a recluse, of a shrine, *zedi*, temple or image. She should not occupy an upper floor when a recluse happens to be beneath, nor enter a *Thein*, nor occupy a higher place with respect to men (p. 72). Food given in a religious spirit, as above described, is called *sun*. The recluses when collecting *sun* are generally followed by a couple of scholars bearing a yoke and basket to receive larger offerings on behalf of the monastery (No. 41).

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Those probationers who remain in the monastery for several years—reckoned by Lents (*wa*)—and who aspire to full membership of the Assembly, read with the recluse Pâli texts of the Tripitaka, and the commentaries on these, and commit portions, sometimes whole books of the canon, to memory. Recluses of standing and also laymen take part in these exercises.

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28. GOYIN MAKING OBEISANCE.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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159. CHILDREN AT THE RIVER SIDE (p. 81).

Every stranger, man or woman, is addressed *K'mbyá*—sir, madam. There is a courteous address for nearly every relation in life. Children, in speaking to their parents, grandparents, uncles, and aunts say *Shin* and *Daw*—lord, lady; wife to husband, *Shin;* husband to wife, *Byo, Bya*—terms of endearment; younger brother or sister to elder, *Go, Maung-dyí;* elder brother to younger *Maung;* brothers to sisters, *Ma. Maung* and *Ma* (brother and sister) have become the ordinary prefixes to names, answering to our Mr., Mrs., Miss. These are used even by parents to their grown-up children. To inferiors and in disparagement, the plain *nga, mè, mi* are used. Middle-aged men are given the address *Go*, and old men that of *Û* (uncle), which is also the prefix to the *bwè* of the *yahán*. Great regard is conveyed by the address *Sayá*—teacher, master. The honorific word for wife is *gadáw*, thus—*sayá-gadáw, min-gadáw*. To royalty the addresses were *Gódaw*—[illegible] self; *Ashin-Payá*—lord of lords; *Pón-daw-dyí*—of great glory. These titles came to be used for ministers and governors, as more euphemistic ones were devised for the kings. The same addresses are accorded by courtesy to the *yahán*, who on their part address the layman as *Tagá, Tagádaw*—supporter, great founder. The layman refers to himself as *tabyí-daw*—the honoured disciple. In other relations of life, other periphrases are used for the pronouns of the first and second persons. The plain *I* and *you* — *ngá, nin* — are only used in disparagement. Thus the current phrase for *I* is *tyunbè*—the humble servant. (For women, *tyunma*.) In addressing superiors, the phrase is *tyundáw, Payá-tyundáw*

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160. CHINLON GAME—APPLIQUE WORK (p. 179).

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

181. CHILDREN'S TUBS AT FLOOD-TIME (P. 81)

—the slave, his lordship's humble servant. There are special honorific terms for the coming and going, eating and sleeping of royalty and of the *yahán*. The most coveted titles or appellations are those of *kyaung-tagá*, *Payá-tagá* — founder of a school, founder of a temple. The first of these is given by courtesy to persons of venerable age. The great increase of prosperity has given a corresponding impetus to the founding of such works, so that the *tagá* are more numerous than ever before. The private foundations are on a scale of unprecedented magnificence. At no period has Buddhism shone throughout the land in such resplendence as now. Personal titles and badges (*sahwé*, No. 31) used to be given by the kings. Small dignities and offices have been hereditary in many places. Nevertheless, no aristocracy has developed. One of these titles was *Thakin* (master, lord), now assumed by all Europeans in the same way as "*sahib*" in India. Despite the punctilio in address, greetings are unusual between equals. After absence, a mere "Here you are again" and an inquiry about health—*ma-e-lá?* At departure, "I'm off," "You're going"—*thwa dawme*. There is nothing answering to the established *salám* or to our "Good day," "Good-bye." The verbal salutation to the *yahán*, after obeisance, is *Gôdaw-mya thappáyá pyippa-e lá*—is your Grace duly provided with the canonical

182. CARVING OF CHINLON PLAYER (PP. 18, 179)

183. THE PADYA SHRINE (P. 188)

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25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
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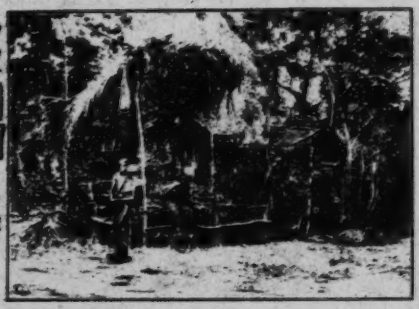

164. FOREST ZAYAT AND WATER-STAND (p. 63).

requirements? To which the *yahán* cordially responds, *pyippa, pyippa, tagádaw*—that I am, my valued supporter! Just as salutations are ordinarily omitted, so thanks are only expressed for special favours. The sense of obligation is conveyed by adopting courteous forms of speech, in which the particle *ba* always figures. The set forms of *please* and *thank you* are thus dispensed with. Where, however, a disparity of age or position exists, every act of the superior becomes [431] by courtesy a boon. A Burman is disconcerted by a simple present, as well as by *bakshish* and payments above the stipulation, which he is particular to make beforehand. But when approaching a superior with a request, the inferior bears an offering of courtesy, generally fruit. The inferior makes *shikô* both on approaching and taking leave. A Burman does not stand, in the presence of his superior, but squats down. When he has occasion to pass close to his superior, he does not walk erect but crouches. By well-bred Burmans the gestures of respect are performed in a very graceful manner. Every Burman, the *yahán* not excepted, on ascending the *kyanndaing* of a house, removes his [356] sandals or shoes. As we Westerns respect the *roof* that our host has provided by doffing our head-gear, so Easterns respect the *floor* that is provided—an observance of a practical nature where the floor serves both for seat and table. In 576 an analogous way to our greeting with the hat, the Oriental shows respect by slipping the sandals even outside the house. Still more [515] courteous is the practice of washing the feet before entering a house or *kyaung*. Burmans always contrive to sit so as to hide the soles of the feet or to turn them

165. RECEIVING A VISITOR.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

166. VILLAGE CHEVAUX-DE-FRISE.

away from the company. In a similar spirit of courtesy a rider dismounts and umbrellas are closed. Among acts of discourtesy few are accounted so grave by the Burmans as that of awakening a sleeper. The reluctance to disturb a sleeper is connected with the belief that the spirit (*leippya*) leaves the body during sleep (p. 197). It is looked upon as a weakness to show resentment and temper (*dawtha*, p. 44). A visitor in a house is offered a new mat to sit upon, water to drink, betel to chew, and a spittoon. If it be meal-time he is invited to partake; otherwise he is asked if he has had food, and refreshment is brought. Although the quota of leisure that falls to everyone is greater in Burma than anywhere else, owing to the wide-spread prosperity of the inhabitants, there is perhaps no country in which every man, woman, and child is less exempt from business concern. Thus it happens that after a few commonplaces, conversation inevitably gravitates to business—prices, harvests, prospects. Next in interest come the festival programmes, the local celebrities and their doings. In every house there are scales and weights, and the household is engaged in occasional or regular trade. Accounts in money and kind are current between neighbours. Whatever spare produce remains is exposed for sale.

The villages either have a quick fence of impenetrable thorny bamboo (*myinwa*), or a hedge of cactus and briar or bamboo *chevaux-de-frise*. In some parts they are open. The old towns (*myó*) had ramparts and stockades (Nos. 6, 371, 387). The highest sites about the village are for the *zedi*, the *Payá-myo* or sacred ground, the next best are for the *kyaung*. Then comes the enclosure of

167. APPROACH TO THE VILLAGE.

341 family (in the year 1887), the Burmese rejects the idea of covering his house with princely trimmings in the manner of the occidental upstart. He prefers to adopt European comfort directly. Now the display of greater luxury no longer jeopardizes property and life, as in the days of Burmese despotism when one had to guard against the avarice of princes and powerful officials.

342 The Burmese dwelling, the simple hut just as the resplendent palace and monastery, has only
576 one storey. Of course we must disregard innovations which gradually encroach, through occidental influence. The main reason probably lies in the belief of the people that it is undignified to stay under the feet of others. This would be particularly unbecoming for monks; in a modern two storey brick building in Mandalay which had once belonged to a Burmese princess, I saw a separate staircase, specially built for visiting monks which led directly from the entrance over the ground floor into the upper storey.

342 The size and the layout of the house (3)

3. About the construction of the Burmese house: Gazeteer of Upper Burma and the Shan States (Rangoon, 1900/01), Part I, /205/ Vol. 2, pp. 161 ff., M. and B. Ferrars, Burma, 2nd ed. (London, 1901), pp. 56 ff.; Shway Yoe (Scott), "The Burman, His Life and Notions," 3rd ed. (London, 1910), pp. 76 ff. The above-mentioned Gazeteer, a very informative and important work, will always be quoted below as UBG.

varies in accordance with the needs and the /205/ means of the occupants. The average Burmese house (Plate IV, 1) has its entrance from the broad side which faces the street. There, a veranda (zayanta) projects, which is raised only a little above the ground and which usually ex-

Yenangyaung oilfields, support of Ministers, and the indifference of the less worthy sections of University staff and students towards the nationalist movement. 873 668

The crowning event of my years there was the great strike of 1936 when about 600 students got into buses just before the final examinations and encamped themselves on the slopes of the Shwe Dagon Pagoda hill, with much sympathy and material support from the public, the men returning every morning to picket the black-leg examination candidates by lying across all exits and entrances—a completely successful technique, for it is an unthinkable insult to a Buddhist male to have his body trodden on, and no Burman, or Burma Indian or Chinese for that matter, will dare to inflict such an insult. Some of the strikers felt, after the rallying speeches in the Union, that they were striking to evict an immoral member of the staff who had the support of the Principal whom they considered an autocrat; others knew that definite demands had been put forward for the amendment of the University Act, the ultimate result of which would be to make this Principal more accountable to Burmese political leaders; a great majority felt a wave of unnameable exaltation as they stormed hall after hall for recruits, ringing bells and shouting, "Come on, sisters, the day of freedom has arrived at last!" and almost all banged and cheered as they drove away, on the roofs, the steps and the wheels of the buses, at the thought of no examinations that year, and the exciting days of picketing ahead. But it was a tragic and unhappy time for some who did not have money to waste on another year before graduation and who trusted that the authorities would succeed in holding the examinations, or for others who did not join out of personal loyalties of the moment and who had friends and brothers with impassioned convictions on the other side. I shall always remember the face of my friend Ko Ohn, as he refused to let a doctor into Inya Hall to attend to a sick non-striker, his good face so full of distress and his longyi all smudged with the melted tarmac of the road in which he had been lying under the hot March sun. "Please, we must do it," he said; "I am so thirsty and my head is aching, but we must do it for our country." [547]

One of the reasons for the focussing of public interest on the University students was the great interest taken in the development of the young women there. The male students, like the public, were not interested in them only for reasons of courtship or companionship, but took a keen objective interest in them. It has been said of Burma that she has no feminist movements because none have been necessary; the women have always had all the rights they wanted. But it goes further than that. Burmese men take a sincere pride in the achievements of a woman who can successfully invade spheres outside her domestic tasks. 873 562 178

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

CHAPTER XXXIV

A WORK OF MERIT

"THE wisdom that made Asia mild" laid down no command which is better observed in Burma than the first of the Five Rules: Thu a-thet go ma that hnit (Thou shalt not take any life at all). Hardened convicts will not harm the vermin that infest their mattresses. A story is told of a man who allowed the snake that had killed his father to wriggle away unmolested through the tall elephant grass. I myself have seen a Burmese mother take up between two bits of bamboo the scorpion that had stung her little son, and simply throw the hideous creature out of the house. So far does the command to beware how they harm any meanest thing in its upward path lead earnest Buddhists. Mr. Edwin Arnold tells how, in a distant age, the great Lord Buddha offered up himself to preserve "this breath of fleeting life" in an animal: 577

> Drought withered all the land; the young rice died
> Ere it could hide a quail.

When between the hot walls of a nullah, our Lord spied, as he passed, a starving tigress, with two little cubs whining for the nourishment her shrunken frame could not give them. Then, heeding nought but the immense compassion of a Budh, the great yahan bethought himself: 779

"Lo! if I feed her, who shall lose but I?" and, throwing off his priestly robes, came forth with a "Ho! mother, here is meat for thee!" and died.

"So large the Master's heart was long ago," before he came upon earth for the last time to teach the Law and give

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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These personal examples furnished by the teacher of neh'ban and the Law himself have only served to emphasise what is seen on the admission of every new member to the holy assembly. One of the articles with which, in addition to his dress and begging-bowl, every postulant must provide himself, is a strainer, without using which he must drink no water. The object is, of course, to prevent him from destroying life in the shape of the small animalcula to be found in water. Some zealous and scientific proselytiser endeavoured, by the use of microscopes, to persuade the people that this was of no avail, seeing that even in the strained water there was abundance of animal life; but a council decided that, provided the water had been filtered, if the ascetic could detect nothing living with his unaided eyes he was at liberty to drink the water without incurring blood-guiltiness. The attacks of science on Buddhism failed as completely as the efforts of most missionaries.

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The mingled pity and dislike with which professional hunters and fishermen, whose occupation implies the regular taking of life, are viewed by Buddhists, is well known, and makes itself evident in the fact that the villains in most plays are hunters. Fishermen are perhaps not so much decried—possibly on account of the plea brought forward on their behalf, that the fish die of themselves, being taken out of the water, and not through any direct action of their captors. It is in connection with fish, however, that one of the most curious national works of merit takes place annually—furnishing, like all Burmese festivals, occasion for much fun and frolic.

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The violence of the rain during the five or six months of the south-west monsoon floods the country. Not only do the rivers, which in many places rise regularly as much as thirty or forty feet above their hot-weather level—not only do they overflow their banks, and make wide seas of the neighbouring flat lands, but great lakes spring up everywhere. These are gradually stocked with fish of all kinds, most of which, by the sudden fall of the water, are cut off from all chance of retreat to the large rivers, where alone there is safety. Steadily the water goes down, the hot sun sucks up the pools, till at last the end seems to be come. The river

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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is far away, and there will be no rain for months. Another day or two will suffice to bake and split into long fissures the bottom of the puddle, wherein are yet hundreds of animate things, from the whiskered mud-fish to the lordly hilsa, the salmon of India. Then the seekers after merit come out, bearing with them big chatties, huge earthenware jars, the size of some of which makes the story of *Ali Baba and the Forty Thieves* seem very much more credible. Girls and boys, old men and old women, go tramping about in the soft slush, capturing the fish and dropping them into the jars of water. Great laughter there is over the wild plunges and flounderings of the boys, the little screams and "a-mè lele, a-mè le-taw" of the girls as they step upon a fish, which whizzes away with a suddenness that is apt to disturb the equilibrium, or slip with one leg slowly but irremediably into a hole—perhaps a last year's buffalo-wallow—out of which they are only extricated after much teasing and tickling by the boys. Then there is the stalking and driving of a great nga-gyi into a corner, whence with a flop and a muddy dash he escapes into the middle again, amidst a chorus of the inevitable amè! ("mother") which springs to a Burman's lips on all possible and unexpected occasions. There is the caution to be observed in seizing the stinging mud-fish, the gingerliness with which, when he is caught, the waving whiskers are avoided; especially the control over yourself to be maintained if he does sting you, lest you should spoil all your chance of merit in a moment of irritation, by doing him an injury. Sometimes the fish are caught in nets; but this reckless wastefulness in the matter of combining merit with merriment is not very favourably viewed by the neighbourhood.

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At last the fish are all caught and crowded together in the sin-o—the water-jars. There is, perhaps, a considerable pause before they are liberated. The nga-hlut pwè usually occurs a little after the carnival of the water feast, when everybody is doused with water; and if the fish have been rescued from their danger some time before that, they have to wait in their uncomfortable quarters all the longer. The *fête* seems to be celebrated with more enthusiasm in Maulmein than in any other large town in Lower Burma.

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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amusement to both native and English spectators. The fun goes on all the way with jokes at the expense both of the performers and the lookers-on, and shouts and roars of laughter at every new buffoonery. At last they reach the spot on the river-bank selected for freeing the fish, and after a few pious formulæ have been recited, the contents of the jars are capsized into the water. Many of the fish are already dead, and not a few are so sickly that there is little chance of their escaping being eaten by cannibal brethren; but this does not disturb the equanimity of any one. A great kaunghmu has been done, much merit has been gained, and there has been great fun over it. The motley procession wends its way back again, and everybody goes at nightfall to see the great kyi-gyin pwè given by some public-spirited and drama-loving quarter or street in the town.

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

526 any more than dancing the Highland Fling can, for judgment as to superiority in either case must be a mere matter of personal opinion, and cannot be governed by hard and fast rules.

These are practically the only outdoor national games. Boxing is a very common institution, but there is no ordinary practice in the evenings, and when a let-pwè comes off it is a regular ceremony more resembling what would be called in Europe a match, or a tournament, than a game. A good deal of agility and skill is shown, leaps into the air, and kicks with the bare feet, and violent upward knocks with the knee finding a place which would not be allowed by the "fancy." The first drawing of blood decides a contest, however slight the injury may be. But boxing is not common now. Among the Karens near Maulmein it is still regularly [577] kept up, and no young man would be successful in his courting unless he had taken part on some occasion or other at a let-pwè. In Rangoon nowadays contests are of regular occurrence at feast times, but the displays are in sheds and entry money is charged. Elsewhere they are not often seen, [562] and the rule that no women shall be present is always rigorously kept.

524 What may be called indoor games are numerous and various. There is a game very much like the English one known as Fox and Geese. There are three big tigers, and eleven or sometimes twelve little ones. It is called legwet kya, and the object is for the big tigers to hunt down on a draught board and eat the little ones. If, however, the cubs can corner the big ones, and prevent them from taking a leap, the latter have to succumb—starve to death in fact. Another game called pasit, or chwe pyitthi, or ansa pyitthi is a steeplechase kind of arrangement, and is a favourite with children and simple country people. It is played on a board shaped and divided like that in the figure.

Cowries are used instead of dice, and the object is to complete the tour of the board as fast as possible, and to take as many opponents as you can on the way. Thus if there were two playing, the first thrower would enter at *a*, and having reached *b*, would continue from *a* to *c*, from *c* to *d*, and so on. The second would commence at *a* also, but

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4.

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mandarin. The same hatred of labour leads to an excessive love of cunning, and also to thieving, to which they are much addicted. . . . It would seem that it is impossible for this people to tell the truth; nay, a person who ventures to do it is called a fool, a good kind of man, but not fitted for managing his affairs." Still the padre has a little good to say of them: "Besides giving daily alms to their talapoins, they all lay by something to be applied to some sort of public benefit. They are very fond of thus signalising their generosity, and will often deprive themselves of comforts to have the pleasure of being benefactors to the public." This is an unlovely picture. But the good father was apparently very unfortunate in his acquaintances.

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It is pleasant after this to turn to a soldier's opinion. Major Grant Allen says: "Unlike the generality of Asiatics, the Burmese are not a fawning race. They are cheerful, and singularly alive to the ridiculous; buoyant, elastic, soon recovering from personal or domestic disaster. Free from the prejudices of caste or creed, they readily fraternise with strangers, and at all times frankly yield to the superiority of the European. . . . Indifferent to the shedding of blood on the part of their rulers, yet not individually cruel; temperate, abstemious, and hardy, but idle, with neither fixedness of purpose nor perseverance. Discipline, or any continued employment, becomes most irksome to them, yet they are not devoid of a certain degree of enterprise."

This is a much better certificate, but still we are accused of laziness. Let us now turn to the last and the best authority on the subject (from an English point of view), Colonel Horace Browne, at one time Commissioner of Pegu, and always very popular with the Burmese. The Burman, he says, "displays much spasmodic energy and general laziness, much love of feasts and shows, much disregard of the sacredness of human life, and much tenderness for the lives of inferior members of the animal kingdom, much arrogance and inconsiderateness when placed in high position, and last, though not least, much general truthfulness, and, amongst unsophisticated villagers, the very unoriental trait of being unable to tell a specious falsehood."

The hauteur complained of towards strangers is princi-

14: Brant E-5 (1949-50) 1954 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

IV

RELIGION

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The people of Tadagale are overwhelmingly Theravada Buddhist in faith. The exceptions are the Indian minority, who are largely Hindus. There are three Indians who profess Mohammedanism, and three Indo-Burmans and one Pakistani of like faith. Being Burmese and Buddhist are almost identified in the thinking of the majority, as evidenced by the fact that almost all replied 'Burmese Buddhist' to the question, 'To what people do you consider yourself to belong?'

In discussing the religious life of Tadagale, realism calls for emphasis upon actual religious beliefs and behavior, rather than any extended setting down of the formal theology of Buddhism. The latter has been done in any number of specialized works, to which the interested reader may refer. Here we shall refer to Buddhist precepts insofar as is necessary to illuminate religious beliefs and practices of the villagers.

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The Five Precepts or Commandments. Almost all villagers know well the fundamental Buddhist injunctions against the taking of life in any form, the consumption of alcohol, illicit sexual activity, theft, and prevarication. These moral rules are, of course, sometimes breached. In Tadagale, the use of alcohol, sometimes to excess, is perhaps the most notable instance. The 'good Buddhist' does not, however, seem to experience feelings of guilt or pangs of conscience in such matters. Rather, the following of the moral precepts has instrumental value for him, in relation to his accumulation of merit and his reincarnation after death.

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Merit. One's behavior throughout life determines one's store of merit, and this, in turn, determines one's reincarnation after death. Morally proper behavior, such as the following of the five basic commandments of Buddhist faith, is regarded as contributing to one's store of merit and thus enhancing one's state of reincarnation after death. Religious acts, such as making daily offerings of food to the monks, saying prayers, and attending the pagoda festivals on the important sacred days are likewise considered to increase one's merit. Breaking the moral precepts, irreligiousity, acting selfish or quarrelsome, detract from merit and accordingly tend to lower one's state in reincarnation.

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Such is about the extent of the average villager's lay conception and understanding of the moral code and the ideas of the afterlife in Buddhism. He has little or no knowledge of the detailed concepts of reincarnation, with its elaborate gradationary ladder leading from the four states of punishment up to the ultimate achievement of Nirvana. Such theological learning is the property of the monkhood and of a few laymen who spent more than the usual few years as pupils in the monastic school.

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Functions of the Monks. The functions of the Buddhist monks in the village may be conveniently classified as three-fold: formal education; officiation at certain rites; and providing personal advice and guidance to individuals.

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With respect to formal education, the monks of four monasteries close to the village conduct schools which are attended by a considerable number of

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

000 son's name, and 'Traitor, traitor!' till the hills were full of sound.

The Burman turned away.

'You see,' he said, 'how they hate me. What would be the good of charms?'

The voice was quiet, and the camp sank into stillness, and ere long the moon set, and it was quite dark.

719 He was a brave man, and, indeed, there are
● 577 many brave men amongst the Burmese. They
157 kill leopards with sticks and stones very often, and even tigers. They take their frail little canoes across the Irrawaddy in flood in a most daring way. They in no way want for physical courage, but they have never made a cult of bravery; it has never been a necessity to them; it has never occurred to them that it is the prime virtue of a man. You will hear them confess in the calmest way, 'I was afraid.' We would not do that; we should be much more afraid to say it. And the teaching of Buddhism is all in favour of this. Nowhere is courage—I mean aggressive courage—praised. No soldier could be a fervent Buddhist; no nation of Buddhists could be good soldiers; for not only does Buddhism not inculcate bravery, but it does not inculcate obedience. Each man is the ruler of his life, but the very essence of good fighting is discipline, and discipline, subjection, is unknown to Buddhism. Therefore the inherent courage of the Burmans could have no assistance from their faith in any way, but the very contrary: it fought against them.

000 There is no flexibility in Buddhism. It is a law.

16 Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

himself by evil intentions and deeds. Therefore 571
in your intercourse with others remember always yourself, remember that no one can injure you but yourself; be careful, therefore, of your acts for your own sake. For if you lose your temper, who is the sufferer? Yourself; no one but yourself. If you are guilty of disgraceful acts, of discourteous words, who suffers? Yourself. Remember that; remember that courtesy and good temper are due from you to everyone. What does it matter who the other person be? you should be courteous to him, not because he deserves it, but because you deserve it. Courtesy is measured by the giver, not by the receiver. We are apt sometimes to think that this continual care of self is selfishness; it is the very reverse. Self-reverence is the antipode of self-conceit, of selfishness. If you honour yourself, you will be careful that nothing dishonourable shall come from you. 'Self-reverence, self-knowledge, self-control'; we, too, have had a poet who taught this.

And so dignity of manner is very marked amongst this people. It is cultivated as a gift, as the outward sign of a good heart.

'A rough diamond'; no Burman would under- 156
stand this saying. The value of a diamond is that 577
it can be polished. As long as it remains in the rough, it has no more beauty than a lump of mud. If your heart be good, so, too, will be your manners. A good tree will bring forth good fruit. If the fruit be rotten, can the tree be good? Not so. If your manners are bad, so, too, is your heart. To be courteous, even-tempered, to be tolerant and full of sympathy, these are the proofs of an inward

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

156 goodness. You cannot have one without the other.
517 Outward appearances are not deceptive, but are true.

Therefore they strive after even temper. Hot-tempered as they are, easily aroused to wrath, easily awakened to pleasure, men with the passions of a child, they have very great command over themselves. They are ashamed of losing their temper; they look upon it as a disgrace. We are often proud of it; we think sometimes we do well to be angry.

And so they are very patient, very long-suffering, accepting with resignation the troubles of this world, the kicks and spurns of fortune, secure in this, that each man's self is in his own keeping. If there be trouble for to-day, what can it matter if you do but command yourself? If others be discourteous to you, that cannot hurt you, if you do not allow yourself to be discourteous in return. Take care of your own soul, sure that in the end you will win, either in this life or in some other, that which you deserve. What you have made your soul fit for, that you will obtain, sooner or later, whether it be evil or whether it be good. The law of righteousness is for ever this, that what a man deserves that he will obtain. And so in the end, if you cultivate your soul with unwearying patience, striving always after what is good, purifying yourself from the lust of life, you will come unto that lake where all desire shall be washed away.

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

of course there were limits to the latitude allowed to him. The neglect of these conventions was supposed to result in disaster to the troupe and the death through diarrhoea of the actor who took the part or cracked the joke, and it would certainly result in the whole troupe being beaten by the audience and then put in prison by the officials. On the whole, the charge of irreligiousness attributed to the actors was not justified, and throughout the years, they had never been known even to attempt to evade the conventions. There were also conventions connected with social decorum. Kissing was not allowed on the stage. Although no penalty, supposed or real, was attached to it, this convention has never been broken. The actors could wear reproductions of all the regalia of a king, except the golden shoes, which only the king himself and princes in the line of succession could wear. The breaking of this rule was supposed to result in the death by diarrhoea of the actor who wore the shoes, but it was not punishable as a crime if they were actually worn on the stage, and it is known to have been broken sometimes. All the conventions, including those connected with spirit-dancing, still exist at the present day.

536 * 463 554 536 * 577 ● [643] 626

During the decadent period the platform stage, the elaborate scenery and curtains were introduced from French and English sources, for French touring companies often performed before the court towards the close of Mindon's reign (1853–78), and from about 1870 English touring companies of actors often visited Rangoon. With the performances of these companies of European actors, the general public had no contact. At the court the king and a few courtiers, out of respect for the French embassy, witnessed presentations of French operettas, but as they did not understand French and the actors could speak no Burmese, the court found the performances boring at times. At Rangoon the English actors presented musical comedies, or more truly, musical shows, to an audience composed entirely of English residents. It must be stated that the touring actors did in no way introduce specimens of the French or English dramas, for what they presented were third-rate musical shows. But they did introduce some examples of western stage-craft, and the Burmese professional actors, ever on the alert for borrowings, copied wholesale the platform stage, the curtain, and the elaborate stage scenery, with the result that, during the decadent period, the Burmese stage came to be a copy of the European stage. At Rangoon a permanent theatre was even built, a thing unknown to

536 * 177 345

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

next to a parent, with a life-long devotion.

Before or after the monastic novitiate, it is the custom for the Burman lads to have themselves tattooed from the waist to the knee (No. 152). Not to submit to this ordeal is to incur the reproach of cowardice. The tattooing is an intricate pattern of animals and tracery. Owing to the extent of surface involved, the process is most painful. It occupies days or weeks, according to the fortitude of the subject, who is drugged with opium for the occasion. The instrument has a handle weighted at the butt, and a long point of bronze, split like a ruling-pen. It is worked with great rapidity. The pigment is a kind of lamp-black of the consistence of ink. It shows bluish black through the brown skin. When a Burman tucks up his loin-cloth, as he always does for work or exercise (*kaddung-chaik*), he looks as if he had black knee-breeches. As plain as the contrast is to the eye, ordinary photographic plates fail to render it. In No. 153 it appears fully. On other parts of the body the men frequently have horoscopes and cabalistic diagrams tattooed with vermilion (*se-ni*, No. 162) for luck and bravado. The Shan practice of letting in gold and silver discs the size of two-penny pieces—beneath the skin—is sometimes imitated by Burmans as a charm against sword-cuts and bullets (*ddbyi*; *thenabbyi*). The Arakanese, who repudiate the custom of *tigwin*, ascribe it to a Burman King, who endeavoured to disguise his leprosy in this way.

27. VILLAGE LAY SCHOOL.

28. KITE-FLYING.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

39. PAINTING OF SHINLAUNG PETE.

The constituted daily routine of the monastery takes no account of recreation. In practice there is a wide margin of leisure. But the wearer of the yellow robe is not seen at play. Arithmetical puzzles are the nearest approach to a game. On the other hand, the cheerfulness of the race suffers no restraint. There is decorum, without austerity or sanctimony. The severest penance laid upon the novice is temporary relegation to the secular state (*lein-byan*) for such faults as lying, theft, or killing anything. Cruelty to an animal is punished with caning.

The *yahán* exercise no exclusive function beyond that of admitting candidates to the novitiate and the full membership of their Assembly. The affairs of the Buddhist Church are initiated and conducted by the laity. The recluses merely add, by their presence, to the religious distinction of an occasion. At the shrine the recluse is like any other pilgrim; he never is a ministrant or priest. Neither is there any altar. The only material objects to which sanctity pertains are the relics of the Buddha. The members of the Assembly know no distinctions of men, racial or social. As regards the temporal power, of whatever origin, the recluse should be absolutely passive, neither contravening the laws nor invoking them when he suffers wrong. The recluse neither denounces nor harbours the criminal, a neutral attitude of which criminals are not slow to take advantage.

When admitted to full membership of the Assembly instituted by the Buddha (*Thingá*, Pali *Saugha*), the novice becomes *Yahán* (*Yahándaw*, *Rahán*, *Arahan*), which signifies *perfected*, one advanced a stage

40. BOTIN RECEIVING HIGHER INSTRUCTION

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Oh mother, mother,
When will you come ?
The crow is tired with a-cawing.

But conditions improved with time; we grew older and less imaginative, and above all the tide of Burmese nationalist feeling which surged into being in about 1920 was at last beginning to seep through the convent walls.

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Even the nuns heard, in 1930, about Saya San who raised a rebellion in Tharawaddy district, and roused such fervour among a certain section of the population that about 2,000 rebel followers were killed—their bodies vulnerable to gunfire in spite of the charms they had tattooed on—before the Government succeeded in suppressing the rebellion. Although Saya San was a charlatan to those in authority, and his followers a band of unruly dacoits, his conviction that he was born to become the monarch of a newly resurrected Burmese kingdom fired the imagination of some nationalists. To them he was an intrepid spirit, his courage so keen and his body so hardy: *Kya ko Khalok, thitngok hnin hsu ko thinbyu :* The tiger his stubbing stone, tree stumps and bushes of thorns his smoothest mat. By the time the nuns had heard of Saya San I had another Burmese girl as a fellow boarder and class-mate. Grace Nee was a girl of great spirit and mental liveliness. Her father was also an a-so-ya min, and we derived great comfort and happiness from each other's presence. When the class-teacher scolded one of us, saying, "You Burmans nowadays are expecting us to kow-tow to you. Yes, this mad fellow Saya San. And you think that we must bow to you," then the other would bang desk and chair in sympathy and indignation. Our hearts would swell to bursting point, for though we knew little yet about nationalism or patriotism, we identified our country and our race with the persons of our parents, and we could hardly bear this constant humiliation of their name. We shrank from telling them about it, however. My father never knew how different our life at school was from the world at home, and my mother will learn of it for the first time when she reads this.

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What a glorious new world opened out before us when we went to the University. What splendour there was in the richness of Burmese dress, food, companions, religious celebration, music, dancing and wit. I only regret that I could not take full advantage of these years because family troubles tumbled around my ears just then, and when they had subsided I was forced into earnest study to win the best degree possible in order to comfort my mother. This was necessary because up till this time I had always disappointed my parents because I had preferred popularity among companions to concentration on studies. Rangoon

1: Mi Mi Khaing I-5 (no date) 1946 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4
Indians
Europeans

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

AFTER a stay of three years in England, I set out on a return journey home with a band of friends and compatriots. This was in August 1940, and the long sea voyage round the Cape gave us time for all the thoughts which filled our minds at the prospect of seeing Burma again after three and four years abroad. Besides our excitement at the approach of family reunions and the delights of once again eating Burmese food, we wondered whether the events in the outside world during the past few years, and the outbreak of the European war, had filled our people with interest, excitement or alarm for international events. 175

Before I left Burma I had been a student among companions who had only a passing interest in affairs outside Burma, so filled had our minds been with separation from India in 1936, the general elections for the first House of Representatives in Burma's history, the formation of the first Ministry under Dr. Ba Maw, student strikes for the amendment of the University Act, and the fervid chastising campaigns on the part of monks and fanatic students for the wearing of thick homespun by women instead of the scandalously transparent imported muslins. The older people at home also turned their eyes along the same channels. Of Hitler and Mussolini our aunts had heard, as of caricatured figures on a distant screen, and Ba Maw's admiration of Hitler's position of power was obscured by his eccentric passion for gorgeous attire, which was much more in the public eye. 175 668

The letters which I received from friends in Burma during my three years in England had also been too full of the Indian-Burman riots which raged violently in 1938, the industrial strikes in the oilfields, and the repeated school and university strikes which added to the general domestic unrest of those years, to tell me much else. But since then we had read of the opening of the Burma Road as an event of world interest; later we had read with feelings of surprise, amusement and expectancy of the face-slapping, debagging and stuffing of passports into the mouth to which the Japanese had subjected Englishmen in the ports of China, as something new and startling in our time; and later still, the closing of the Burma Road at the insistence of the Japanese Government made us suddenly connect the European politics which so excited our English friends with the events in places which surrounded Burma, though not 175 578 563

175 yet with Burma itself. Brought up as a complacent child of a government
• 578 officer in Burma, this was the first time that I realized how we had un-
563 consciously thought of England, the British Empire, as a permanent world force during our lifetime—a force with which we might bargain advantageously or without success, but one that our fathers and we had taken for granted for all the time that we could remember. But now we realized it as one power—leading perhaps—amongst other powers in the West, and we realized also the existence of Japan and remembered how the Burmans who visited it always brought back stories of the beauty, progress and good manners of the country.

We left our English friends in the first half of August 1940, as they waited, braced for an invasion, to go to what they and we considered a war-free country. I was in the Ladies Room of a big restaurant in London just before I left, when the attendant who watched me wrap my longyi asked me which country I came from. "Burma," I told her. "Burma," she repeated uncertainly. "Is there a war there, Miss?" "No," I said laughing, "but there is a Road there." Yet I was only amusing myself. As we set out home, the furthest that our thoughts of war and Burma ranged, was to wonder whether the Burma Road and the recent closing of it had made people think more about Japan and China than they had done in 1937, when the outbreak of war between the two countries had caused little excitement except that some of my friends became consistent boycotters of Japanese goods. We also wondered vaguely whether trade had been affected, and whether thought and general social conditions had been stimulated with the world-shattering event of a European war, not dreaming that this was but the splash of a pebble compared to the tempest that was to follow.

Since I had left Burma, my mother and brother and sisters had settled
177. themselves in Rangoon and I wondered how the city would seem after
36 the big cities of the West. Rangoon is not one of the ancient cities of
633 Burma. Its present position in the life of the country and people is a
772 complete turnabout from its traditional place, for in days gone by it had attracted the inhabitants through spiritual rather than material renown. While Pagan, Ava, Toungoo and Mandalay rose and fell in political and commercial importance, Rangoon—Dagon as it was called—continued unchangingly a seat of pilgrimage, connected with fable and divinity, forming an actual link with another world cycle that existed in the universe before this present arrangement of Mount Myinmo, with its surrounding heavenly, earthly and hellish regions, was formed.

632 For it was on the hill called Theinguttara, which now casts its shadow
773 on the city of Rangoon with its crown of the Shwe Dagon Pagoda, that the omens for the spiritual life of this world cycle were manifested, before

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

scenes. Still later, the scenes came to be taken from one story only, so that a whole story was given by the pageant. Dresses became quite gorgeous and the scheme elaborate. The pageant now needed organization. Therefore, the village came to be divided into two parts, eastern and western quarters or northern and southern quarters (the village was usually greater in length than breadth, being built along a main road). In larger villages and towns, the division was into four quarters. Each quarter was responsible for the production of a pageant. There was intense rivalry between the quarters to produce the finest pageant; it was usually friendly, but often enmity arose, and many pageants were occasions for free fights. The rivalry further developed the pageant, for new ideas would be introduced by one quarter to outrival the others. Soon the pageant became a play, its scenes coming to life. 796 541 493 361 621 796 578

The *Nibhathkin* was the Burmese equivalent of the English miracle and mystery plays. It was the pageant come to life. With the pageant, the religious processions went along the main streets without stopping, each cart representing a set scene. But with the *Nibhathkin*, each cart stopped at certain places. The most common of such places were the market-place, the house of the chief administrative officer, and the pagoda where the procession ended. At each of those places, each cart stopped, and the scene came to life. Dialogue and action were used. Therefore, people at the stopping places saw what was in effect a play. 536* 796

The *Nibhathkin* was extremely popular, and it lived on until recently, just as many of the English miracle plays continued to be produced right through the Elizabethan period. I saw one in the out-of-the-way town of Pauk as recently as 1916. However, I do not think that *Nibhathkins* are produced anywhere nowadays. Sometimes one sees a procession on cars and motor lorries as a sort of reminiscence of the *Nibhathkin*. But such processions are mere shows and lack the essential features of the Burmese miracle plays.

It was for the entertainment of the populace that the *Nibhathkin* came into being, and as the Burmese entertainment connotes laughter, soon the element of humour came into the *Nibhathkin*. At first none of the characters was made humorous, for they all came out of religious stories. And so the clown was introduced. The clown or *Lu-byet* ('the non-serious man') was put into the *Nibhathkin* as an extra character, an attendant on the prince-hero. He was extremely popular, and soon another clown, an attendant on the princess-heroine, 536* 522

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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maidens receive in the way of touching up eyebrows, artfully swelling out the sadôn with false locks of hair, intertwining the raven tresses with red and white fragrant flowers, toning the complexion with thana'ka, and so on. The young men look on critically while the princess scans herself in the little hand-mirror and tranquilly completes the touching-up and other feminine mysteries so little dreamed of by ordinary European swains. No one has the slightest appearance of recognising the ludicrousness of the thing, or of deprecating the exposure of little female wiles and vanities. The zat-thamā wears her acting skirt indeed when she arrives, but everything else—the tight-fitting lace jacket, the stiff brocaded wings, the jewellery, the pagoda-like crown—is put on by the side of the stage at the bamboo rack which supports the masks and necessary changes of dress. The audience either looks on with stolid earnestness, or takes no notice whatever.

Finally, having smoked all through the toilette, the princess and the maids of honour quietly seat themselves—squat would be more accurate, but does not sound nice—at the edge of the pwè-waing, and continue to smoke till everything is ready and their call comes. Then they simply stand up and are on the stage immediately. They do not cease smoking then, except during a long song. The men are equally calm. The king chews betel and salivates copiously between observations or speeches, but in so doing he can only be said to be the more realistic. Incidental ballets are introduced to relieve the monotony of the dialogue, and the maids of honour and the clowns perform wonderful feats of winding themselves about as if they had no bones, picking up coins with the mouth bent back to the ground, doubling themselves up so that the toes touch the forehead, and so on.

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Sometimes there are great fights at these pwès. A young man has got surly because there is such a crowd that he can see nothing of what is going on, and runs up against another equally inclined to quarrel for the same reason. Or perhaps he is angry because some one has supplanted him in a flirtation with one of the girls who have established a temporary bazaar in the outskirts of the crowd. Or there may be a dispute as to the ownership of a mat. There are a few loud words; a woman's voice joins in. Next minute

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

the two are smashing away at one another with their long hair streaming over their faces and down their shoulders. Friends join in, and almost before you can realise what has happened, the actors disappear, the women and children run off home, and the street is filled with an excited crowd of men swaying backwards and forwards, and fighting promiscuously. For this reason pwès are now never allowed in towns without permission from the civil authority, and numbers of policemen are always at hand to nip any riot in the bud. With the same object performances are only allowed in large towns about the time of the full moon, when there is abundance of light, in case the street lamps should be put out. The worst row of the kind I ever saw, however, was started by two of the Burman policemen themselves. They quarrelled about the merits of two apyodaws, talented *danseuses*, and the crowd, relishing the absurdity of the thing, backed up the quarrel with such energy that broken heads were plentiful and a ward in the infirmary was filled.

Foreigners very often make the mistake of taking the performances of children's companies to be actual zāt plays. Even Captain Forbes, usually so accurate, falls into this error in speaking of a representation of the Wethandaya zāt. This must simply have been a yein, an adaptation of the great drama for performance by the little choral dancers. For people who do not understand Burmese well—among whom, of course, the late Captain Forbes was certainly not to be included—the mistake is very easy. They are far prettier to look at, and much preferable in every way to the actual text of the birth-story, mainly because they are not so dismally drawn out, and can ordinarily be got through in an evening.

The dramas are all founded on the tales which Shin Gautama told of five hundred and ten of his previous existences, or on events in the lives of kings and heroes in India. None of them are original. The story in every instance is taken from the Hindoo, the adapter in most cases not even taking the trouble to nationalise the names of places and characters. It is only in the extemporising of the clown that anything really characteristic comes out. The Hindoo sense of humour is vastly inferior to the

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

CHAPTER XXXVIII

GAMES

A VERY favourite game with Burmans of all ages is the gônnyinto pwè. The name is very suggestive. Gôn or hkôn means to jump, and nyin is to deny or bluster, and there is no doubt of the fitness of the implication. A more noisy and contentious game, not even omitting the uproariousness of the English enormities known as grab or pit, it would be difficult to find. Most writers on Burma have passed over gônnyinwaing lightly, as a simple, harmless, children's game. It would be well if it were only that, though the monks at the pôngyi kyaung often sally forth in great wrath (most dangerous for their future state), and armed with a stout bamboo, to put a stop to the clamorous disputes of the schoolboys over their seeds. But the police officers would tell a very different tale. Grown-up men play also, the quarrels sometimes end in assault and murder, and always in reckless gambling. Beinshu, opium-eaters, who with all respectable Burmans stand for types of iniquity, a kind of epitome of vice, often have as much as two or three hundred rupees on a single game, and the results of unrestrained gambling are best known to civilised people who frequent Monte Carlo. Consequently the police keep a sharp eye on grown-up gônnyinto players, and if a party is caught, they are all punished heavily for gambling, the daing, or keeper of the ground, being fined heaviest of all. For there are regular alleys kept for the purpose, the daing, or proprietor, carefully smoothing the ground, moistening it delicately in the hot weather, and keeping it from getting sodden during the monsoon. He charges his customers a small fee for the right to play, usually an anna in the rupee,

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16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

with the base on the river, and the hill as apex. On the hill were some monasteries of teak, from which the monks had been ejected, and three hundred Ghurkas were in garrison there. A strong fence ran from the hill to the river like two arms, and there were three gates, one just by the hill, and one on each end of the river face.

Behind Shemmaga the country was under the rule of a robber chief called Maung Yaing, who could raise from among the peasants some two hundred or three hundred men, armed mostly with flint-locks. He had been in the king's time a brigand with a small number of followers, who defied or eluded the local authorities, and lived free in quarters among the most distant villages. Like many a robber chief in our country and elsewhere, he was liked rather than hated by the people, for his brutalities were confined to either strangers or personal enemies, and he was open-handed and generous. We look upon things now with different eyes to what we did two or three hundred years ago, but I dare say Maung Yaing was neither better nor worse than many a hero of ours long ago. He was a fairly good fighter, and had a little experience fighting the king's troops; and so it was very natural, when the machinery of government fell like a house of cards, and some leaders were wanted, that the young men should crowd to him, and put themselves under his orders. He had usually with him forty or fifty men, but he could, as I have said, raise five or six times as many for any particular service, and keep them together for a few days. He very soon discovered that he and his men were absolutely no match for our troops.

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

In two or three attempts that he made to oppose the troops he was signally worsted, so he was obliged to change his tactics. He decided to boycott the enemy. No Burman was to accept service under him, to give him information or supplies, to be his guide, or to assist him in any way. This rule Maung Yaing made generally known, and he announced his intention of enforcing it with rigour. And he did so. There was a head man of a village near Shemmaga whom he executed because he had acted as guide to a body of troops, and he cut off all supplies from the interior, lying on the roads, and stopping all men from entering Shemmaga. He further issued a notice that the inhabitants of Shemmaga itself should leave the town. They could not move the garrison, therefore the people must move themselves. No assistance must be given to the enemy. The villagers of Shemmaga, mostly small traders in salt and rice, were naturally averse to leaving. This trade was their only means of livelihood, the houses their only homes, and they did not like the idea of going out into the unknown country behind. Moreover, the exaction by Maung Yaing of money and supplies for his men fell most heavily on the wealthier men, and on the whole they were not sorry to have the English garrison in the town, so that they could trade in peace. Some few left, but most did not, and though they collected money, and sent it to Maung Yaing, they at the same time told the English officer in command of Maung Yaing's threats, and begged that great care should be taken of the town, for Maung Yaing was very angry. When he found he could not cause the

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16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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abandonment of the town, he sent in word to say that he would burn it. Not three hundred foreigners, nor three thousand, should protect these lazy, unpatriotic folk from his vengeance. He gave them till the new moon of a certain month, and if the town were not evacuated by that time he declared that he would destroy it. He would burn it down, and kill certain men whom he mentioned, who had been the principal assistants of the foreigners. This warning was quite public, and came to the ears of the English officer almost at once. When he heard it he laughed.

He had three hundred men, and the rebels had three hundred. His were all magnificently trained and drilled troops, men made for war; the Burmans were peasants, unarmed, untrained. He could have defeated three thousand of them, or ten times that number, with his little force, and so, of course, he could if he met them in the open; no one knew that better, by bitter experience, than Maung Yaing. The villagers, too, knew, but nevertheless they were stricken with fear, for Maung Yaing was a man of his word. He was as good as his threat.

One night, at midnight, the face of the fort where the Ghurkas lived on the hill was suddenly attacked. Out of the brushwood near by a heavy fire was opened upon the breastwork, and there was shouting and beating of gongs. So all the Ghurkas turned out in a hurry, and ran to man the breastwork, and the return fire became hot and heavy. In a moment, as it seemed, the attackers were in the village. They had burst in the north gate by the river face, killed the guard on it, and streamed in.

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

They lit torches from a fire they found burning, and in a moment the village was on fire. Looking down from the hill, you could see the village rushing into flame, and in the lurid light men and women and children running about wildly. There were shouts and screams and shots. No one who has never heard it, never seen it, can know what a village is like when the enemy has burst in at night. Everyone is mad with hate, with despair, with terror. They run to and fro, seeking to kill, seeking to escape being killed. No one can tell one from another. The bravest man is dismayed. And the noise is like a great moan coming out of the night, pierced with sharp cries. It rises and falls, like the death-cry of a dying giant. It is the most terrible sound in the world. It makes the heart stop.

To the Ghurkas this sight and sound came all of a sudden, as they were defending what they took to be a determined attack on their own position. The village was lost ere they knew it was attacked. And two steamers full of troops, anchored off the town, saw it, too. They were on their way up country, and had halted there that night, anchored in the stream. They were close by, but could not fire, for there was no telling friend from foe.

And before the relief party of Ghurkas could come swarming down the hill, only two hundred yards, before the boats could land the eager troops from the steamers, the rebels were gone. They went through the village and out of the south gate. They had fulfilled their threat and destroyed the town. They had killed the men they had declared they would kill. The firing died away from the fort side,

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

and the enemy were gone, no one could tell whither, into the night. 721. 175

Such a scene of desolation as that village was next day! It was all destroyed—every house. All the food was gone, all furniture, all clothes, everything, and here and there was a corpse in among the blackened cinders. The whole countryside was terror-stricken at this failure to defend those who had depended on us. 579

I do not think this was a particularly gallant act, but it was a very able one. It was certainly war. It taught us a very severe lesson—more severe than a personal reverse would have been. It struck terror in the countryside. The memory of it hampered us for very long; even now they often talk of it. It was a brutal act—that of a brigand, not a soldier.

But there was no want of courage. If these men, inferior in number, in arms, in everything, could do this under the lead of a robber chief, what would they not have done if well led, if well trained, if well armed?

Of desperate encounters between our troops and the insurgents I could tell many a story. I have myself seen such fights. They nearly always ended in our favour—how could it be otherwise?

There was Ta Te, who occupied a pagoda enclosure with some eighty men, and was attacked by our mounted infantry. There was a long fight in that hot afternoon, and very soon the insurgents' ammunition began to fail, and the pagoda was stormed. Many men were killed, and Ta Te, when his men were nearly all dead, and his ammunition quite expended, climbed up the pagoda wall, and twisted off 721 157 701

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

naturally enough they joined our columns when we advanced in that direction, hoping to be replaced. They were replaced, the father as governor under the direction of an English magistrate, and the son as his assistant. They were only kept there by our troops, and upheld in authority by our power against Wuntho. But they were desired by many of their own people, and so, perhaps, they could hardly be called traitors, as many of those who joined us were. The father was a useless old man, but his son, he of whom I speak, was brave and honourable, good tempered and courteous, beyond most men whom I have met. It was well known that he was the real power behind his father. It was he who assisted us in an attempt to quell the insurrections and catch the raiders that troubled our peace, and many a time they tried to kill him, many a time to murder him as he slept.

There was a large gang of insurgents who came across the Mu River one day, and robbed one of his villages, so a squadron of cavalry was sent in pursuit. We travelled fast and long, but we could not catch the raiders. We crossed the Mu into unknown country, following their tracks, and at last, being without guides, we camped that night in a little monastery in the forest. At midnight we were attacked. A road ran through our camp, and there was a picket at each end of the road, and sentries were doubled.

It was just after midnight that the first shot was fired. We were all asleep when a sudden volley was poured into the south picket, killing one sentry and wounding another. There was no time to dress,

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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and we ran down the steps as we were (in sleeping dresses), to find the men rapidly falling in, and the horses kicking at their pickets. It was pitch-dark. The monastery was on a little cleared space, and there was forest all round that looked very black. Just as we came to the foot of the steps an outbreak of firing and shouts came from the north, and the Burmese tried to rush our camp from there; then they tried to rush it again from the south, but all their attempts were baffled by the steadiness of the pickets and the reinforcements that were running up. So the Burmese, finding the surprise ineffectual, and that the camp could not be taken, spread themselves about in the forest in vantage places, and fired into the camp. Nothing could be seen except the dazzling flashes from their guns as they fired here and there, and the darkness was all the darker for those flashes of flame, that cut it like swords. It was very cold. I had left my blanket in the monastery, and no one was allowed to ascend, because there, of all places, the bullets flew thickest, crushing through the mat walls, and going into the teak posts with a thud. There was nothing we could do. The men, placed in due order about the camp, fired back at the flashes of the enemy's guns. That was all they had to fire at. It was not much guide. The officers went from picket to picket encouraging the men, but I had no duty; when fighting began my work as a civilian was at a standstill. I sat and shivered with cold under the monastery, and wished for the dawn. In a pause of the firing you could hear the followers hammering the pegs that held the foot-ropes of the horses. Then the dead

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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and wounded were brought and put near me, and in the dense dark the doctor tried to find out what injuries the men had received, and dress them as well as he could. No light dare be lit. The night seemed interminable. There were no stars, for a dense mist hung above the trees. After an hour or two the firing slackened a little, and presently, with great caution, a little lamp, carefully shrouded with a blanket, was lit. A sudden burst of shots that came splintering into the posts beside us caused the lamp to be hurriedly put out; but presently it was lit again, and with infinite caution one man was dressed. At last a little very faint silver dawn came gleaming through the tree-tops—the most beautiful sight I ever saw—and the firing stopped. The dawn came quickly down, and very soon we were able once more to see what we were about, and count our losses.

Then we moved out. We had hardly any hope of catching the enemy, we who were in a strange country, who were mounted on horses, and had a heavy transport, and they who knew every stream and ravine, and had every villager for a spy. So we moved back a march into a more open country, where we hoped for better news, and two days later that news came.

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

776 alone about midway between the river and the Shan
823 Mountains. It is thus very conspicuous, having no hills near it to share its majesty; and being in sight from all the old capitals, it is very well known in history and legend. It is covered with dense forest, and the villages close about are few. At the top there is a crater with a broken side, and a stream comes flowing out of this break down the mountain. Probably it was the denseness of its forests, the abundance of water, and its central position, more
[579] than its guardian Nats, that made it for so many years the last retreating-place of the half-robber, half-patriot bands that made life so uneasy for us. But the Nats of Popa Mountains are very famous.

776 When any foreigner was taken into the service
695 of the King of Burma he had to swear an oath of
823 fidelity. He swore upon many things, and among them were included 'all the Nats in Popa.' No Burman would have dared to break an oath sworn in such a serious way as this, and they did not imagine that anyone else would. It was and is a very dangerous thing to offend the Popa Nats; for they are still there in the mountain, and everyone who goes there must do them reverence.

776 A friend of mine, a police officer who was en-
823 gaged in trying to catch the last of the robber chiefs
[782] who hid near Popa, told me that when he went up the mountain shooting, he, too, had to make offerings. Some way up there is a little valley dark with overhanging trees, and a stream flows slowly along it. It is an enchanted valley, and if you look closely you will see that the stream is not as other streams, for it flows uphill. It comes rushing into

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

370. HEADMAN MUSTERING HIS VILLAGERS.

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CHAPTER VII

POLITICAL

WITH alien races planted on his soil and the watchful rivalry of the Taláing to contend with, the Burman had hourly need to guard his camp. Besides the enemies without, and their potential allies within, brigand bands of his own race had to be held in check. The chronic wars of Burman and Taláing (Mun), who were separated by no natural frontier, have left their record in the stockaded villages between Prome and Mimbu, a no-man's-land in which soldiers were impressed to fight, now on this side, now on that, and where, on being disbanded, they continued the plunder by which the armies subsisted in war. The traditions of brigandage and the exploits of noted leaders are remembered, and such enterprises are still a resort of the *vaurious* of a village or country-side when they perceive their chance—*damyá-taik sádya!* These brigands (*damyá*, gang-robbers, dacoits) lay their plans to surprise a village while the men are away at work or endeavour to create a panic by a night attack and so obtain their booty without risk of an encounter. An occasional gang might

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371. BURMAN OUTPOST STOCKADE.

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25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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372. VILLAGE ELDERS IN CONCLAVE.

disperse as quickly as it was recruited or else it might develop into a band under a regular leader (*Bô*) and become the scourge of the country, rapidly attacking points separated by days' journeys. Against such bands the villagers combine and keep guard; torches are ready for night alarms. But when the brigands are too strong, the villagers have no choice but to enter into league with them and pay blackmail if they would not experience the horrors of barbarous war. At present brigandage is of very sporadic occurrence. Travellers are perfectly safe.

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Throughout Burma every man was liable to serve in war. He would have his own sabre and pike and would be provided with musket and ammunition, but no further accoutrements. Latterly the king's body-guards wore a sort of uniform (No. 9). Cannon are mentioned as early as 1350, and a century later, matchlocks were in use. Cæsar Frederick in 1569 speaks of pikes and arquebuses and good cannon. When disbanded, the soldiers had to surrender their muskets, but numbers were smuggled away, to add to the rigour of the guerilla waged by brigands and the severity of the villagers' retaliation.

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The military leader is called *Bô*; the civil governor or minister of the king, *Wun*, which means a burden or trust. The former might be a young man, the latter but rarely so. Age and influence are almost synonymous in Burma. If the elders—headmen, *lôdyi*—are agreed upon a thing, it is done. The village elders represent the fundamental substratum of government in Burma. They are consulted by the officials on matters affecting the people, whose natural, if unofficial,

373. BURMAN OFFICIAL RECEIVING APPLICANTS.

running with unholy energy and two small boys streaking after them 525
shouting: "My hpongyi! Hey, my hpongyi!"

The showy vanity of Rangoon was seen at its greatest at wedding 585
celebrations where no woman of any standing came without a full load 511
of jewellery, either owned or borrowed for the occasion. For weddings of families like ours hundreds of invitations had always to be sent out owing to the tradition of acknowledging distant relationships and connections. It would be considered rude also not to invite the friends among clerks and traders from every town in which my father had been posted during our growing-up years.

Marriage is a social contract in Burma. To be married one needs 581
no recourse to legal or priestly officers. The *let-htat*, laying of hands 562
one on the other, can be performed in the presence of elders, or a feast can 428
be given to a few people to obtain recognition of the married state. This is done after elopements, for example, when the parents have become reconciled and the young couple is too shy to go through the pantomine of a marriage ceremony. For divorce, also, no legal procedure is necessary, but convention makes divorces rare. Although monogamy is almost universal in Burma, polygamy is not forbidden by the law. A "mistress" of a married man is considered a sort of wife, but the disapproval with which this is regarded is shown in the term applied to her: *ma-ya-nga*, lesser wife. But the liberty operates both ways, and in the rare cases of a woman who runs to a second husband without any agreement having been reached beforehand, she is said to have a *lin-ngè*, lesser husband. The lack of legal safeguards of a woman's position as the only wife is amply compensated for by the rulings of Burmese Buddhist Law as regards her property. She retains sole ownership of whatever property she brings to the marriage, and on the dissolution of the marriage is entitled to half of all the additions of wealth since the marriage. Neither can an irate husband make a will leaving his money to other relatives and strangers. Wills are forbidden by law; children inherit equal shares of the parents' legacy, except in the cases where there are more than four children in the family. Then the eldest takes one-quarter before the rest is divided equally amongst the other children. On the death of one parent the surviving parent still has sole ownership of half the property. The other half is open to division among the children, but it is only a black sheep which will insist on division while one parent is still alive.

When I had been home but a month, my brother appealed to me 584
for help in arranging the matter of his marriage. His difficulty was that he had no wish to marry the various dowried young women with whom my relatives were trying to contract him; he had chosen his own bride but at the same time the stern array of cousins, aunts and uncles in our

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

CHAPTER VII

MARRIAGE

538 581 In the Lawkanidi, the book of proverbs relating to ordinary life, it is said that monks and hermits are beautiful when they are lean; four-footed animals when they are fat; men when they are learned; and women when they are married. This recommendation to the married state is no more needed by Burmese maidens than it is by their sisters in other parts of the world, and they have the further inducement that they enjoy a much freer and happier position than in any other Eastern country, and in some respects are better off even than women in England. All the money and possessions which a girl brings with her on marriage are kept carefully separate for the benefit of her children or heirs, and she carries her property away with her if she is divorced, besides anything she may have added to it in the interim by her own trading or by inheritance. Thus a married Burmese woman is much more independent than any European even in the most advanced states. In the eyes of the Dammathat the old idea of the *patria potestas* prevails indeed, and woman is regarded as a simple chattel, belonging entirely to her parents, and to be disposed of by them without any reference to her personal inclinations; but, as a matter of fact, she may do pretty well as she pleases, may marry the youth on whom she has fixed her affections, and may separate herself from the husband who has offended her, by going before the village elders and stating her case; and if the complaint is just, her request is never refused.

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As yet they have not begun to demand an equal share

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

As yet they have not begun to demand an equal share of education with the boys, and the only accomplishments most Burmese girls know are how to dress neatly, do up their hair, and powder their faces. This is the single open implication of their inferiority—except in worship at the pagoda, when every woman will pray that in another existence she may be a man—and it is not likely that female education will make much progress for another generation, the popular idea in Burma being that learning is no use to a girl when she has it, and she may, consequently, as well devote all her spare time to making herself look as pretty as possible. Here and there are a few who are deeply learned in Burmese literature. The young wife of one of the most prominent living Burman pleaders in Rangoon has as good a knowledge of the sacred books and as great a fluency in repeating Pali rituals as any pôngyi in the country. But the great majority of girls only know what they pick up from the conversation of their brothers and the men who come about the house. It is therefore greatly to their credit that they manage not only house affairs, but their husband's business into the bargain. A farmer's wife will carry out the sale of the whole rice crop to the agent of an English rice firm in her husband's absence, and generally strikes a better bargain than he would have made himself. If the village head constable is away, the wife will get together the policemen, stop a fight, arrest the offenders, and send them off to the lock-up all on her own responsibility. The wife sits by, no matter what public business is being transacted, and very often puts in her own opinion quite as a matter of course; in fact, she is virtual master of the house, and henpecked husbands are not by any means uncommon. The last king of Burma, Thibaw Min, was a notable instance. There never was a king of Burma before who remained for three years the husband of one wife. It was not inclination in his case. He had quite a number of *amourettes*; but the sturdy Supayā Lat and her formidable mother soon got the offending damsels out of the way. There is also little doubt that it was Supayā Lat and her mother who suggested the massacre of the Princes and prompted the defiance of the British Government, which brought about the ending of the Burmese monarchy.

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[1] [i.e., girls --ANALYST]

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

581 584 According to the laws of Menu there are three ways in which a marriage can be brought about :—

1. When the parents of the couple give them to one another.

2. When they come together through the good offices of a go-between, called an aungthwè.

3. When they arrange the matter between themselves.

581 562 429 It is understood, of course, that the two latter forms require at least the passive consent of the father, or, if he is dead, of the guardian, mother, brother, sister, uncle, or whoever it may be; every woman—every young woman at any rate—being necessarily under the protection of somebody. The Dammathat says: "Let the man to whom she is given by her nearest relation be her husband. If the parents or the relations of the girl do not give her away, and she is carried off against their will, even if she has had ten children, they have power to cause her to separate from the man and give her to another; the man has no right to say that she is his wife. Why is this? Because a daughter belongs to her parents?" But, on the other hand, "If a young woman runs off with a young man not approved by her parents, and, having concealed herself for some time, shall return to the village or neighbourhood in which her parents live, and have two or three children, or live there five or ten years with the man after her parents have seen and known of her being there, they shall not have power to cause her to separate from her husband."

581 584 According to the old system, the young man was not considered of age to marry till he was twenty-four or twenty-five. The age of the girl was always a matter of no consequence as long as she had attained to puberty. When a youth wanted to marry he told his parents, and they went to the father and mother of the young woman of his choice. If these had no objections, then the young man kept company with the girl, had the run of the house for two or three years, so that they might get to know one another well, and then, if they were still of one mind, the question of dowry was settled, a fortunate day and hour fixed upon, and the marriage carried out. Nowadays such formalities are almost

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4
Upper Burma
Lower Burma

entirely dispensed with. If the parents of both houses are agreeable, the contracting parties get married with most ardent lover-like rapidity. The age, too, has become very much younger. Most lads get married when they are eighteen or nineteen; thirteen or fourteen is a common age for the girls. Runaway marriages are common enough, and though the parents may be angry, they are usually too easy-going and indolent to take any energetic action in the matter, and let the couple find out their mistake and come and ask for pardon and a house to live in, which is seldom refused. Occasionally in Lower Burma a stern father demands that they shall be separated until the lad has got a situation for himself, but this is ordinarily little more than a mere form of speech. In Upper Burma, where food is scarce and working hands more valuable, the husband is brought to the girl's parents' house and made to do his share towards supporting the household.

The preliminary courting is naturally conducted in the old fashion, best known to those who have had experience of their own in such matters. The parties meet at pwès, the girl perhaps selling cheroots, fried garlic, le'pet, and what not, and therefore being readily accessible to any swain. It must not be supposed that keeping a stall is regarded as anything derogatory. Numbers of perfectly well-to-do women set them up regularly; some even have daily work in the bazaars, and very often a girl commences occupations of the kind with the view of attracting the young men and securing a husband. Then there are meetings at pagoda feasts, in the zayats and at friends' houses, so that there are plenty of chances of introduction to eligible swains, even without calling in the assistance of the aungthwè. This functionary makes it a regular occupation to know all the attractions, physical and sordid, of all the young women in the place, and for a small consideration, or sometimes merely for love of his trade, brings young couples together and arranges places of meeting for them. He is, of course, most useful where an impecunious youth aspires to the hand of a rich merchant's or high official's daughter. He manages an introduction in a roundabout way to avoid arousing suspicions, praises his client's appearance and

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

Burman is always very kind to his wife, while every girl is taught from her earliest years to look with the highest respect upon man as man, and to defer in all things to his judgment, though she is far more free than the Indian wife. The Burman consults with his partner in all his affairs, public and private, and often is entirely guided by her. She keeps the shop that is to be found in almost every house in the country towns, and usually makes far more money than the goodman himself. It is a simple matter to blame the Burmese for easy marriage customs, but the system speedily puts an end to unhappy and ill-assorted unions, and illegitimate children are exceedingly rare. Finally, unless there is good known cause for a separation the divorced parties are not by any means looked upon with a favourable eye. The man who enters a monastery to get rid of a wife goes by the contemptuous name of taw-twet "jungle runaway," for the rest of his life, while the ta-ku-lat, the *divorcée*, is a perennial subject of joke to the jester in the play:—

> She that's neither maid, married, nor widow,
> Fits all men as a pot does it's lid, O.

That is to say, a divorced woman needs small wooing. Such a woman will not hesitate to cut off the bya-bazan, the lappets of hair that fall down over the ears, the last resource of the despairing and unwilling celibate.

The literature of marriage is not inconsiderable. The tattooing ceremonies, a-nu se, love-philtres, charms, and what not, are referred to elsewhere. There remain a number of singular matters to be taken note of by those who would be happy in married life. Thus the girls are told how they may ascertain a man's character by the colour of his heart's blood—though how they are to ascertain this colour without injury to the subject of inquiry is not mentioned. A lustful man's blood is dark red; a cross, quarrelsome man's is so dark as almost to be black; a lazy man's like elephant's water; a rough-speaking man's like boiled peas: a charitable man's like the flower of the mahā hlega, a species of bauhinia; while a learned man's heart's blood is beautiful as the ruby.

Similarly useless knowledge is the statement that an

Z:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

828 ignorant man's heart is all in one mass, while that of the well-instructed divides itself into three small parts.

885 779 581 As models of married women are held up the Taw le-wa, the most faithful and beautiful of wives, the consorts of four of the chief princes in the ten great Jatakas, treating of the last births of the Lord Buddha. To say that a girl is Taw le-wa win lauk, calculated to become like one of these four great queens, Amaya the wife of Mahawthata, the Solomon of Buddhist kings; Madi, the wife of Wethandaya, world-famed for his charity; Keinnayi or Thanbula, the partners of princes hardly less celebrated, is to pay the highest possible compliment to any woman. But these are somewhat vague and intangible matters. There are other recommendations which appeal much more directly to those intending to get married; to the man that seeks a wife, sanshwe, pure as "test gold"; or the girl who would avoid a linkwe, a "cur of a husband."

581 787 Prominent among these is the rhyme of "the hostile pairs," the yan-hpet, who, if they marry, will certainly have a short life.

Some violence is done to the niceties of language in the linga, so that I may be allowed the same in the translation of a portion of it.

> Friday's daughter
> Didn't oughter
> Marry with a Monday's son;
> Should she do it
> Both will rue it,
> Life's last lap will soon be run.

The same lamentable result would follow if the man were born on Friday and the woman on Monday. Again:

> Saturdays and Thursdays,
> The serpent and the rat,
> You cannot find out worse days,
> Life's short enough at that.

The serpent and the rat preside over Saturday and Thursday respectively. Similar curtailment of life would follow if the union was between Sunday and Wednesday, or between Tuesday and the eighth half-day Yahu. One or

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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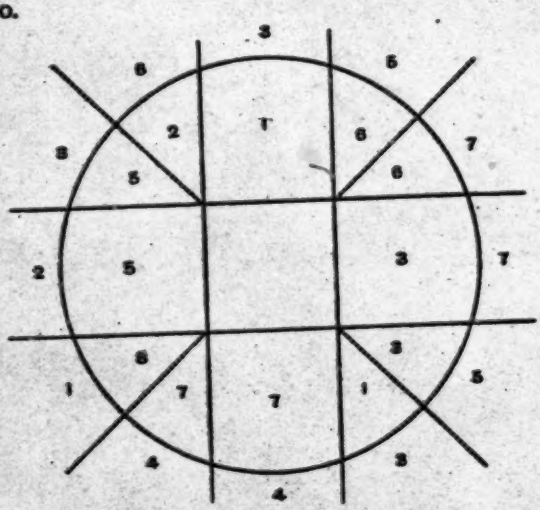
both contracting parties would soon die if children of these hostile days married. 581 787

On the other hand, there is an elaborate figure showing what unions according to birthdays will be lucky.

The numbers represent the days of the week according to the order. 1, Sunday; 2, Monday; 3, Tuesday; 4, Wednesday; 5, Thursday; 6, Friday; 7, Saturday; 8, Yahu (half Wednesday). The inner numbers represent the man's birthday; the outer the woman's. Those who choose their wives in accordance with this figure will be happy and well-to-do.



The outer ring the maiden's,
The inner ring the man's.
All ye who would live easeful
On this scheme form your plans.

All these rhymes are learned by the little boys at school, sometimes formally taught them by the preceptor as an excerpt from the Bedin, sometimes, when the yahan refuses to recognise the validity of these books, studied surreptitiously along with the secular plays and song-books. Whatever else a girl may know, you may be sure she can give you the marriage rhymes. 581 787 869

After the marriage has been settled upon, lucky combination of birthdays, parents' consent, settlement of dower and 585

591 matter. The wife's opportunities for social intercourse with her family of
101 orientation are, of course, greatest when residence is established in her home village; if, however, a couple from different villages marry and find it most opportune to settle in the husband's community, the chances are that the wife will maintain contact with her family of orientation by visits from time to
582 time. People from Tadagale seldom marry individuals from villages that are very distant. The structural features of bilaterality and absence of extension militate against inequality and male domination in the family.

562 Burmese culture is frequently remarked for the equality of the sexes, in contrast to the neighboring cultures of India and China. This status of the sexes seems to be the historic resultant of two patterns of thought. One is the apparently very old, pre-Buddhist emphasis upon equality, involving equal inheritance, equal sharing of the property brought to the marriage, equal division of property in the event of divorce, a prominent female role in social and economic life, and the absence of transmission of surnames. The other thought pattern dates from the superimposition of Buddhism upon older Burmese concepts: whatever ideas of male superiority exist stem from Buddhist ideas of reincarnation, it being assumed that only a man can attain reincarnation.

593 In the family household the wife's role includes not only such routine tasks as preparation of food and serving of meals, keeping the house orderly and clean, and looking after small children; very often it involves control of the family income and the making of all important decisions as to expenditures.

Certain observances and taboos, reflective of a deferential attitude towards males, are expected of a wife. She is careful that her lower garments do not touch her husband's bed or his personal belongings; she avoids touching her husband's head. It is believed that the breaking of such taboos may ruin the husband's success and glory, especially his spiritual attainments. These injunctions are followed as a matter of course by village wives and will be broken deliberately only as an act of malice by a woman who wishes to harm or lower her husband for some reason.

837 Despite the various equalitarian aspects of husband-wife relations, there is a tendency towards a double standard of sexual conduct. A husband who has reason to believe that his wife is engaging in extra-marital affairs is very likely to display violent anger, beat her, and break up the marriage. The wife of a philandering husband, on the other hand, will usually do no more than display hurt feelings for a brief period; rarely will she separate from her husband, especially if they have children.

593 Siblings. It is the duty of the younger to show deference to the elder. This pertains to the order of serving food, fetching and carrying things, and even the arrangement of sleeping mats -- a younger sibling should never sleep with his feet extended towards an elder sibling. Upon the death of a parent, the eldest child of the same sex assumes that parent's socio-economic role in the family.

Father and Daughter. Consistent with the age principle, it is a daughter's duty to be obedient and to wait upon her father. Once an unmarried daughter passes the age of puberty, her father is expected to lead a circumspect and moral life more than ever before. Any deviant sexual behavior or drunkenness on his part reflects upon his daughter and detracts from her marital chances.

[581]

Mother and Son. Although a son owes obedience to his mother, her claim upon him in this regard is tempered by the fact that, in Burmese Buddhist

Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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CHAPTER XV

WOMEN—II

'The husband is lord of the wife.'
Laws of Manu.

MARRIAGE is not a religious ceremony among the Burmese. Religion has no part in it at all; as religion has refrained from interfering with government, so does it in the relations of man and wife. Marriage is purely a worldly business, like entering into partnership; and religion, the Buddhist religion, has nothing to do with such things. Those who accept the teachings of the great teacher in all their fulness do not marry. 581

Indeed, marriage is not a ceremony at all. It is strange to find that the Burmese have actually no necessary ceremonial. The Laws of Manu, which are the laws governing all such matters, make no mention of any marriage ceremony; it is, in fact, a status. Just as two men may go into partnership in business without executing any deed, so a man and a woman may enter into the marriage state without undergoing any form. Amongst the richer Burmese there is, however, sometimes a ceremony. 585 582 [565]

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

Yet this is the class from whom we most of us 586
obtain our knowledge of Burmese life, whom we see 177
most of, whose opinions we accept as reflecting the 647
truth of Burmese thought. No wonder we are so
often astray.

Amongst these, the taking of second, and even 586
third, wives is not at all uncommon, and naturally 587
divorce often follows. Among the great mass of
the people it is very uncommon. I cannot give any
figures. There are no records kept of marriage or
of divorce. What the proportion is it is impossible
to even guess. I have heard all sorts of estimates,
none founded on more than imagination. I have
even tried to find out in small villages what the
number of divorces were in a year, and tried to
estimate from this the percentage. I made it from
2 to 5 per cent. of the marriages. But I cannot offer
these figures as correct for any large area. Probably
they vary from place to place and from year to year.
In the old time the queen was very strict upon the [177]
point. As she would allow no other wife to her [643]
king, so she would allow no taking of other wives,
no abuse of divorce among her subjects. Whatever
her influence may have been in other ways, here it
was all for good. But the queen has gone, and there
is no one left at all. No one but the hangers-on of
whom I have spoken, examples not to be followed,
but to be shunned.

But of this there is no manner of doubt, that this 581
freedom of marriage and divorce leads to no license. 586
There is no confusion between marriage or non-
marriage, and even yet public opinion is a very great
check upon divorce. It is not considered right to

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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581 586 divorce your husband or your wife without good—very good and sufficient cause. And what is good and sufficient cause is very well understood. That a woman should have a nagging tongue, that a man should be a drunkard, what could be better cause than this? The gravity of the offence lies in whether it makes life unbearable together, not in the name you may give it.

The facility for divorce has other effects too. It makes a man and a woman very careful in their behaviour to each other. The chain that binds them is a chain of mutual forbearance, of mutual endurance, of mutual love; and if these be broken, then is the bond gone. Marriage is no fetter about a man or woman, binding both to that which they may get to hate.

[175] [177] In the first Burmese war in 1825 there was a man, an Englishman, taken prisoner in Ava and put in prison, and there he found certain Europeans and Americans. And after a time, for fear of attempts at escape, these prisoners were chained together two and two. And he tells you, this Englishman, how terrible this was, and of the hate and repulsion that arose in your heart to your co-bondsman. Before they were chained together they lived in close neighbourhood, in peace and amity; but when the chains came it was far otherwise, though they were no nearer than before. They got to hate each other.

And this is the Burmese idea of marriage, that it is a partnership of love and affection, and that when these die, all should be over. An unbreakable marriage appears to them as a fetter, a bond, something hateful and hate inspiring. You see, they are

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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a people who love to be free: they hate bonds and dogmas of every description. It is always religion that has made a bond of marriage, and here religion has not interfered. Theirs is a religion of free men and free women.

581 586

23: Brant & Mi Mi Khaing E, I-5 (1949-1950)1951
AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

philandering husband, on the other hand, will usually do no more than display 593
hurt feelings for a brief period; rarely will she separate from her husband, es- [837]
pecially if they have children.

Siblings. It is the duty of the younger to show deference to the elder. This pertains to the order of serving food, fetching and carrying of things, and even the arrangement of sleeping mats or beds—a younger sibling never should sleep with his feet extended toward an elder sibling. Upon the death of a parent, the eldest sibling of the same sex assumes that parent's socio-economic role in the [768]
family.

Father–Daughter. Consistent with the age principle, it is a daughter's duty to be obedient and to wait upon her father. Once an unmarried daughter passes the age of puberty, the father is expected to lead a circumspect and moral life more than ever before. Any deviant sexual behavior or drunkenness on his part reflects [581]
upon the daughter and detracts from her marital chances.

Mother–Son. Although a son owes obedience to his mother, her claim upon him in this regard is tempered by the fact that in Burmese Buddhist thinking, being the mother of a son is itself considered the greatest event of a woman's life and represents the achievement of full existence as a female human being. The relationship is a close and indulgent one. The mother is regarded as more important by the son than his wife; in fact, a son will choose his wife with a great [581]
deal of regard for his mother's opinions and wishes.

Mother–Daughter. The mother is the female child's early teacher. It is con- 593
sidered most important for the daughter to learn prayers, how to prepare the 868
daily food offering for the household altar, and how to change the flowers on the 462
altar. These things are taught almost from the time the child starts learning language. Other household duties in which the mother instructs her daughter vary considerably with the economic status of the family: in poor families some assistance with tending the animals and winnowing the rice crop is part of the girl's work from about the age of ten. Daughters are expected to show filial respect and deference equally to the mother and father.

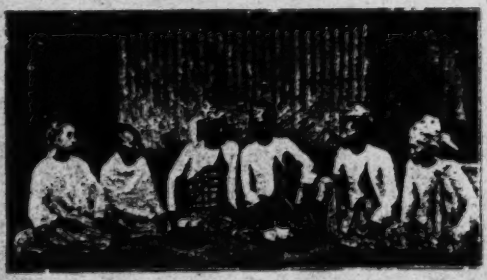
Father–Son. The father occupies the role of disciplinarian in the family. 593
Disciplining of sons may include physical punishment, though such measures to 861
obtain conformity are not resorted to readily by the Burmese. Prior to adolescence, boys are taught prayers and good habits by their mothers, with the father remaining more or less in the background and interfering only when disciplinary action may be required of him. After a son passes adolescence the father becomes important as his mentor.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

149. THE SUITOR'S VISIT.

work-boxes, loom-laths, mirror-stands are often the lover's handiwork. Not the least of the lover's offerings is poetry. If he be a scholar, he will sing or recite to his mistress verses of his own in praise of her charms. But there are current ditties to the fancy of every one. The imagery which is the main feature of these odes, is borrowed from every source of beauty, blossom and flower, dewdrop and pearl, planet and star. Burmese metre is largely eked out with euphonic particles; at other times the diction is so compressed as to make the sense most difficult for a foreigner to grasp. 883 431 538

Marriages of affection are general. Romantic attachments are frequent in real life, as they are the rule in the play. The frequency of the mere marriage of convenience is not greater in Burma than in England or America. In this respect there is no parallel to the customs of the hill-tribes of Burma, the neighbouring Asiatic civilisations or even the Latin races of Europe. Their mutual qualities, physical, moral, and material, are for the most part known to the parties from childhood. Burmans evince an openness and frankness amounting to joviality, not to be met with in other parts of Asia. They indulge a much freer play of feature and yet greater freedom in the modulation of the voice. The term for betrothal—*sayán-pe*, earnest-money—testifies to the original purchase of the bride. In modern usage, however, the *sayán* is merely a share of the cost of outfit, according to means. It takes the form of a silk *htmán* or a piece of jewellery for the girl, and is brought by the lad when he comes with his parents to ask the consent of the girl's parents to the marriage. Where parents oppose, runaway matches are frequent. 581 152 584 581



150. MARRIAGE CEREMONY.

[585]

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
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181 THE IDEAL AND THE REAL

They are generally condoned. Burmans do not wait to make money in order to marry, but marry in order to make money. Girls marry from the age of about twenty, and men about twenty-five. The marriage is a quiet affair. A day is fixed, when the lad and his parents repair to the home of the girl, whither some of the elders of the village (*lûdyt*) have been invited for witness. The father of the lad addresses the parents of the girl in this wise: "Seeing that our children love each other, we pray you let your daughter be as our daughter and our son as your son" (*ekkan*). The girl's parents express their pleasure and approval, and according to one usage, the couple thereupon join hands (*lettat*), which means marriage; but the joining-of-hands is as a rule figurative. After this the lad goes and fetches his bedding, curtain, and clothes and places them in the house in token of reception into the family. In conclusion, the parties and the witnesses eat pickled tea together. When one or both parties are strangers in the place, friends undertake the part of parents and the elders make inquiries as to blood-relationship and pre-existing ties. Kinship closer [582] than first-cousin and the corresponding step-relationships are respected—except by royalty (p. 170). Sometimes marriages are of a more festive description (*mingala*). Astrologers are [791] called in and company entertained as at the *nâkank mingala*. Other unions, again, are by mere mutual agreement, without formalities of any kind. By time-[304] honoured custom the lads of the village claim the right to pelt the house of the new-married pair at night (*gê-pyit*), and it is usual 591 to buy them off. New couples mostly start life in

182 TATTOOING (TOGWIN, see p. 13)

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

158. THE CHALLENGE (see p. 177).

the young wife's home, the lad working for her parents. As family comes and other daughters marry, the elder pairs are established in houses of their own. Married people are designated *ein-daung*—householders. Marriage makes no difference in the names and their prefixes. Everyone marries in Burma; the census of 1891 gave 1,306,722 husbands to 1,307,292 wives. The same census gave 102 females to 100 males of the Burman (so classed as Buddhist) population. (In Burma prostitution is confined to the large towns.)

A family of seven is considered large. The average number of house-occupants is 5.5. The cost of living of a Burman village household is 100 to 200 Rs. a year. In the towns the well-to-do spend 600 to 1000 Rs. and more, and at the present day keep a servant or two for the rough work, generally natives of India. Such accumulations of wealth as are made by individuals in India and other countries with a plutocracy and a proletariate are not paralleled among the Burmans. Nevertheless individuals amass tens of thousands of rupees, which for the most part they spend on works of religious merit. Monogamy is the received and almost universal practice in Burma. Second-wives are taken by a proportion of the officials and men of wealth. Hence it comes that the Burmans wonder more at the moderation of Europeans than at such license as they indulge. This license is not nearly so great as in India, but it is more open, corresponding to the higher status of the women of Burma, and thus it provokes more scandal in comparison. Unions of this sort among the Burmans are merely by mutual consent. A separate establishment in a different quarter of the town is maintained for the second wife or concubine (*maya-ngè*). Her children are under no disability, but she is not acknowledged by the first, and generally older, wife (*mayaji*), whose husband's love she is said to have stolen.

184. AN "ORIGINAL."

177. metic book for an old man called Samuel who produced a series of swot
87 books on various subjects, beautifully tabulated books with questions
876 and answers, invaluable for examinations and used even in my day when we and our school teachers whisked them out of sight of Education Inspectors who came on the prowl for just such unprogressive methods of education. He also went across to the American Mission School where quite often the teachers were more Christian and painstaking than brilliant, to help old Teacher Nellie with Geometry riders, and in this way he met my mother.

873 My parents could not get married as soon as they left school. My
593 father had first to go to the University, which consisted then of Rangoon
562 College, affiliated to Calcutta University, and then he felt he must work
582 to buy my grandmother a big enough plot of paddy land so that her two youngest sons would not need to look after her in Ye, but could come into the world like my father. He now felt that they should not be denied the wonderful opportunities which he had found. My father did go to College, but had passed only his F. A. (corresponding to Intermediate) when he heard that my mother was now going out to teach in a school at Thaton, and that she was having to put on a European gown and hat in order to be less conspicuous, because at that time no Burmese Buddhist ladies went out to work. My father left his studies at once and got a job in the same school to look after her, and it was only after some months of persuasion by Grandfather and my mother that he consented to leave and look for a better paid position.

647 He managed to obtain a myookship in the Government Service,
177. which is a junior administrative post but considered a very good job for
65 Burmans in those days. In this job he could save enough to buy Grand-
582 mother her paddy land, after which he and my mother would get married. But my father with his good looks, his teetotaller habits, and his myookship, was considered a desirable son-in-law by many people, and other parents were not like Grandfather; they would try to engage the young man's affections for their daughters. I am sure my mother spent the next three years in some anxiety, as she heard stories of the young myook's gay and happy life in such far-off towns as Toungoo and Shwegyin. But one day the children dashed up to her with a telegram; she opened it and read *Gyi will you marry me.* My mother, who has never shown any excitement as far as I can remember, got up very quietly and went to her chest of drawers. She took out ten annas in change, and wired back *Yes.*

584 Soon after this my father arrived amidst great excitement on the part of my mother's family and a pretence of complete ignorance on Grandfather's part. My aunts expected an explosion from him when

tinkled with every passing breeze. The Shwe Dagon Paya was a beautiful 346
and sacred thing. In the early mornings it gave a radiance to the clear air and the blue sky; in the daylight it shone forth like a blaze of gold, burning and pure; in the evenings it glowed softly as the breeze tinkled its bells, and filled the heart with a gentle sadness which is not grief but a sweet perception of unearthly things; and at night the lights flooded it to stand high and illumined above the dark wooded slopes of the hill. At all times and from all parts of Rangoon it could be seen, calm and sublime, with the same smiling look as is seen on the face of the Buddha, not smiling in the eyes or mouth but in the serene expression of inward calm.

As we landed in Rangoon we saw a great gathering of people waiting 177.
to meet us. Going abroad for years of study is still a rare enough event 57
to be of interest to all relatives and neighbours, so that the people were 873
assembled not only for an affectionate reunion, but also to observe in
what way the stay in England might have corrupted Burmese habits. 186
In the case of a man it is always feared that he may bring back an English 582
wife, and it sometimes happens that a loved child who has been away for five and six years may be greeted with tears and mourning rather than expressions of joy, if he has married an English girl. The tears of mother and sisters are very heartfelt; they express shame at what the neighbours will think, sorrow at the alienation of the man and his children which must inevitably occur, and chagrin at the loss of the rich dowry which might have been procured in the marriage market.

Even when a man does not marry in England, he is strongly scrutinized for undesirable preferences in the matter of marriage arrangements. I remember the night my brother came home. It was his first evening in Burma after nine years of English schooling and University, and it was clear enough that he was neither married nor secretly engaged to an English girl. But my Ma Ma Gyi, my eldest woman cousin who had children as old as we were, subjected him to a searching enquiry. "Set-Set," she said, calling him by his childhood name, "do you think English girls are more attractive than Burmese girls?" My brother who had many English friends but had not noticed any Burmese girls during his few hours in Burma, tried not to answer this question. On being held to it, he said they were different from each other and could not be compared. My cousin said, "But which do *you* like better?" She was getting quite stern by this time, and my mother and we who felt very sorry for my brother were all praying that he would tell a lie, as we held our breath. My brother repeated with much awkwardness that the two were different; so now my cousin took his opinion for granted, and lectured him on the desirability of marrying in an orthodox Burmese manner so that he would prove himself a good son to his mother, a good

177. brother to his young sisters, and thus give joy to the whole family.
57 "For," said she, "our family has always commanded respect. Grandfather
873 was a great man, and you are the only son of the youngest family of his
grandchildren, and it should not be said that with us the end tapers to a
186 point;" which is the expression for a stock which degenerates with
• 582 successive generations.

In the case of a girl, there was not of course, the fear that she would bring back an English husband, but the concern that Burmese standards of morality and dignity would be affected by an unchaperoned stay in a foreign country was very great. As we landed, I remembered enough of my childhood environment to feel the eyes of elder relatives and friends on me while I tried to restrain the wild excitement and love I felt at seeing again my mother and my young sisters now grown so sweet and shy, and I noticed also that my brother had been home long enough not to kiss me in front of my aunts as he had done when he himself had first returned from England. I felt this scrutiny also when my mother took me on the round of obeisance visits during my first days at home, and it formed a complement to the visit which I had paid to each of these elder relatives and friends before I left for England three years before. Then, each had given me a lecture which contained strong injunctions to keep to the path of virtue, modesty and dignity. But these were just *son-ma saga*, admonitory words, to be received with meekness, and not a slight on the strength of my character, just as now, when, satisfied with their scrutiny, they told my mother that her womb should be layered
[192] with gold leaf (sacrilegiously using the term for the gilding of sacred objects) for having brought forth such daughters, I was not expected to take conceit.

In all the houses of friends in Rangoon, in Thaton and Ye, I went
192 through the same ritual, but the words of the hpongyi at Thaton moved
186 me more than any other. "Now I will tell three stories about Mi Mi Khaing," he said, and proceeded in beautiful words and a chanting flow; "You are like a young tree planted of good seed in the fertile earth. Now the tree is heavy with ripe fruit, but the boughs are tender and bend under the weight. The tree must grow carefully and steadily, so that the full fruit do not break the young bough.....Let your stature be measured by your shadow that is cast after the noonday sun, for your knowledge and learning are now at noonday height. So your shadow will grow longer and longer towards the setting of the day.....Let your merit be like a river that gathers more strength from the rain that falls about it, and grows from a stream into a great river before it joins the mighty Thammodhaya." Then he took the monk's expression off his face, and turned to me with a smile and asked in a normal speaking

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

lata for the original flavoured earth, and of Thale rice for the leguminous creeper, desire arose among them, and four of the men took the four women to wife. The fifth man naturally resented being left compulsorily single, and pelted the happy couples with stones on their marriage night. Sympathy with the feelings of this archetypal bachelor has perpetuated the stone-throwing by the lu-byos down to the present day, and if there is no dearth of eligible spinsters in our times, the lonely bachelor may be allowed to express his envy of his friend's bliss without being accused of anything but gross cupidity. 585 773

After marriage the couple almost always live for two or three years in the house of the bride's parents, the son-in-law becoming one of the family and contributing to its support. Setting up a separate establishment, even in Rangoon, where the young husband is a clerk in an English office, is looked upon with disfavour as a piece of pride and ostentation. If the girl is an only daughter, she and her husband stay on till the old people die. 591 583

Polygamy is recognised and permitted, but practically does not exist now in British territory. A man with more than one wife becomes a subject of common talk, and a native official now living is well known all through the delta as the myo-ok with twenty wives. In native territory the right to have several wives was equally little used in practice. Many of the high officials who travelled about over large districts had wives in almost all the towns they visited —a custom in great measure induced by the rule which provided that the mayā-gyi, the chief wife, had to be left in Mandalay as a hostage for the fidelity of the official. But the great bulk of the people are, and always have been, monogamous. King Mindôn had fifty-three recognised *wives*, of whom thirty-seven survived him. His children numbered one hundred and ten, of whom upwards of fifty survived him. Besides the wives, like Solomon, he had numerous concubines. So, indeed, have many lesser people. 595 [647]

The forbidden degrees are few. Marriages with mother, daughter, sister, and half-sister, aunt, grandmother, and granddaughter, are forbidden, but none else. A son may marry his stepmother; it is expressly mentioned in the 582

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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582 643 Dammathat. The sovereign always married at least one half-sister to ensure the purity of the royal blood, but, rather illogically, the issue of this union was not by any means necessarily heir to the throne. The son whom the king, or his ministers after his death, named, succeeded, or more commonly still, the son who could best maintain his position by force.

586 The liberty of divorce is practically unrestricted, except by the elaborate laws respecting the division of property. According to the Laws of Menu a woman may obtain a divorce among other reasons for the following: When her husband is poor and unable to support her; when he is always ailing; when he does not work and leads an idle life; when he is incapacitated by reason of old age; when he becomes a cripple after marriage.

And a man may obtain a divorce if his wife has no male children, if she has no love for her husband, or if she persists in going to a house where he tells her she must not visit, and so on.

The lawgiver seems in fact to have laid down that marriage is a civil contract which either party can dissolve; but, unless with good reason, the one that wishes to separate must suffer in property, more or less severely, according as the plea is good or bad.

Property, for this purpose, is said to be of three kinds. Pa-yin, property acquired by, or in possession of, persons before marriage. Let-htet-pwa, property acquired by husband or wife after marriage. Tin-thi, property inherited or obtained by gift. Pa-yin after marriage becomes hnit-pa-sôn, that is, the joint property of husband and wife, but only when it is agreed between them either before or after marriage that the property shall be put together for the mutual benefit.

In the event of a divorce both parties take away whatever pa-yin they may have had on marriage, and the let-htet-pwa is divided either by mutual agreement, or by the decision of the village elders who sanction the separation.

586 593 But divorces are far from being so common as most writers would have us believe. The warmth of family affection is one of the strongest traits of the race, and the

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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and pertinacity with which they defied the mosquitoes under the shade of the trees, and droned away on their pipes all through a tight-tunicked and perspiring Rangoon afternoon garden party, as the observant Burman imagined, at one endless tune. The national music is not written down, and each actor has a variation of his own, but the smallest girl in the audience would detect a kayāthan from a dobatthan with as much readiness as any English boy would distinguish "Drops o' Brandy" from the "Old Hundred"! But there are some people who do not like the Italian opera, and even say so. 533

The following short outline of the *Zawtagômma pyazat* will give an idea of the style of the more popular drama, as distinguished from the purely religious birth-story. The writer was an old player himself. He lived at Pegu, and the *Zawtagômma* was perhaps his most successful effort. The text has been published at one of the vernacular presses in Rangoon, and the sketch given is a translation of the Zatlan, the "path of the play," prefixed by the editor. "In the country of Pyinyawwada, of which Yazôtta was the sovereign, the name of the Southern Queen was Thunemadewi, and that of the Northern Queen Thukethidewi. The Queen of the Southern Palace was about to bear a child, and the king issued an order that her majesty of the North should attend on her. This was very irritating to the Northern Queen, and she resolved to ruin Thunemadewi, and for that purpose conspired with Shin Gwe Ni, the midwife. As soon as the child was born it was to be killed, and set afloat on the river in an earthen pot, and the *accouchewse* was to say the Head Queen had been delivered of a still-born baby. A twin son and daughter were born, and Shin Gwe Ni put each of them in a jar and launched them on the river, and went and told the king that they were still-born. Yazôtta, the king, was very angry, and punished his consort by setting her to dig the ground and carry water for the palace. The Queen of the North was promoted to be Head Queen, and her daughter, Pyinsarupa, was made tabin-daing (*i.e.* she was set apart as wife for the next king, and not allowed to marry). 536 539 [643] [582]

"With regard to the bodies of the prince and princess.

591 101 matter. The wife's opportunities for social intercourse with her family of orientation are, of course, greatest when residence is established in her home village; if, however, a couple from different villages marry and find it most opportune to settle in the husband's community, the chances are that the wife will maintain contact with her family of orientation by visits from time to time. People from Tadagale seldom marry individuals from villages that are very distant. The structural features of bilaterality and absence of extension militate against inequality and male domination in the family.

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562 Burmese culture is frequently remarked for the equality of the sexes, in contrast to the neighboring cultures of India and China. This status of the sexes seems to be the historic resultant of two patterns of thought. One is the apparently very old, pre-Buddhist emphasis upon equality, involving equal inheritance, equal sharing of the property brought to the marriage, equal division of property in the event of divorce, a prominent female role in social and economic life, and the absence of transmission of surnames. The other thought pattern dates from the superimposition of Buddhism upon older Burmese concepts: whatever ideas of male superiority exist stem from Buddhist ideas of reincarnation, it being assumed that only a man can attain reincarnation.

593 In the family household the wife's role includes not only such routine tasks as preparation of food and serving of meals, keeping the house orderly and clean, and looking after small children; very often it involves control of the family income and the making of all important decisions as to expenditures.

Certain observances and taboos, reflective of a deferential attitude towards males, are expected of a wife. She is careful that her lower garments do not touch her husband's bed or his personal belongings; she avoids touching her husband's head. It is believed that the breaking of such taboos may ruin the husband's success and glory, especially his spiritual attainments. These injunctions are followed as a matter of course by village wives and will be broken deliberately only as an act of malice by a woman who wishes to harm or lower her husband for some reason.

837 Despite the various equalitarian aspects of husband-wife relations, there is a tendency towards a double standard of sexual conduct. A husband who has reason to believe that his wife is engaging in extra-marital affairs is very likely to display violent anger, beat her, and break up the marriage. The wife of a philandering husband, on the other hand, will usually do no more than display hurt feelings for a brief period; rarely will she separate from her husband, especially if they have children.

593 Siblings. It is the duty of the younger to show deference to the elder. This pertains to the order of serving food, fetching and carrying things, and even the arrangement of sleeping mats -- a younger sibling should never sleep with his feet extended towards an elder sibling. Upon the death of a parent, the eldest child of the same sex assumes that parent's socio-economic role in the family.

Father and Daughter. Consistent with the age principle, it is a daughter's duty to be obedient and to wait upon her father. Once an unmarried daughter passes the age of puberty, her father is expected to lead a circumspect and moral life more than ever before. Any deviant sexual behavior or drunkenness on his part reflects upon his daughter and detracts from her marital chances. [581]

Mother and Son. Although a son owes obedience to his mother, her claim upon him in this regard is tempered by the fact that, in Burmese Buddhist

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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various subjects, and he told me he had no children; they were dead. 621 626

'When were you married?' I asked, just for something to say, and he said when he was thirty-two. 5820

'Isn't that rather old to be just married?' I asked. 'I thought you Burmans often married at eighteen and twenty. What made you wait so long?'

And he told me that in his village men were not allowed to marry till they were about thirty. 'Great harm comes,' he said, 'of allowing boys and girls to make foolish marriages when they are too young. It was never allowed in my village.'

'And if a young man fell in love with a girl?' I asked.

'He was told to leave her alone.'

'And if he didn't?'

'If he didn't, he was put in the stocks for one day or two days, and if that was no good, he was banished from the village.'

A monk complained to me of the bad habits of the young men in villages. 'Could government do nothing?' he asked. They used shameful words, and they would shout as they passed his monastery, and disturb the lads at their lessons and the girls at the well. They were not well-behaved. In the Burmese time they would have been punished for all this—made to draw so many buckets of water for the school-gardens, or do some road-making, or even be put in the stocks. Now the headman was afraid to do anything, for fear of the great government It was very bad for the young men, he said. 621 626 177

16F ielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

CHAPTER XV

WOMEN—II

'The husband is lord of the wife.'
Laws of Manu.

MARRIAGE is not a religious ceremony among the Burmese. Religion has no part in it at all; as religion has refrained from interfering with government, so does it in the relations of man and wife. Marriage is purely a worldly business, like entering into partnership; and religion, the Buddhist religion, has nothing to do with such things. Those who accept the teachings of the great teacher in all their fulness do not marry. 581

Indeed, marriage is not a ceremony at all. It is strange to find that the Burmese have actually no necessary ceremonial. The Laws of Manu, which are the laws governing all such matters, make no mention of any marriage ceremony; it is, in fact, a status. Just as two men may go into partnership in business without executing any deed, so a man and a woman may enter into the marriage state without undergoing any form. Amongst the richer Burmese there is, however, sometimes a ceremony. 585 582 [565]

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

marriage, which is with most people a ceremony 585
performed in full daylight with all accessories of display, is with the Burmese generally a secret. Two or three friends, perhaps, will be called quietly to the house, and the man and the woman will eat together, and thus become husband and wife. Then they will separate again, and not for several days, or even weeks perhaps, will it be known that they are married; for it is seldom that they can set up house for themselves just at once. Often they will marry 591
and live apart for a time with their parents. Sometimes they will go and live together with the man's parents, but more usually with the girl's mother. Then after a time, when they have by their exertions made a little money, they build a house and go to live there; but sometimes they will live on with the girl's parents for years.

A girl does not change her name when she 582
marries, nor does she wear any sign of marriage, 593
such as a ring. Her name is always the same, and there is nothing to a stranger to denote whether she be married or not, or whose wife she is; and she keeps her property as her own. Marriage does not confer upon the husband any power over his wife's property, either what she brings with her, what she earns, or what she inherits subsequently; it all remains her own, as does his remain his own. But 593
usually property acquired after marriage is held 562
jointly. You will inquire, for instance, who is the 421
owner of this garden, and be told Maung Han, Ma Shwè, the former being the husband's name and the latter the wife's. Both names are used very frequently in business and in legal proceedings, and indeed it is

226 438 484 [431] oranges, guava fruit, mangosteen fruit - together worth about forty or fifty rupees. When he arrived at Pathwe this was distributed among the members of his family, and also some relatives and the phongyis. On one such trip he made Rs. 2700/- which he carried back hidden away in a jar of salt.

494 465 U Myaing never came in to Rangoon purely for a visit. Besides bringing down fish, U Myaing also came to Rangoon before the war to buy some motor parts and accessories such as tyres, tubes, etc. which they could not obtain in Pathwe village or in Pantanaw town. At that period in his life U Myaing used to drive a bus between Pathwe and the village on the bank of the river across from Pathwe. There was a cart track for a road, and they used to carry passengers at a rupee per head. In the rains this cart track became impossible and so they traversed this route only from TA-ZAUNG-BON to KASON months. U Myaing worked on this route for three summers. In the rains they shifted operations to the Maubin Ye Le route, which was a 10 mile journey, and occasionally the 10 mile route from Ye Le to HSE-DAING-MAW. [491] He worked at these places for two rainy seasons, from WASO right up till the month of TA-ZAUNG-BON. The bus was owned by his cousin who collected all the earnings for each day. At that time bus drivers were hired at Rs. 45/- a month, plus sweet tea, food, shelter and one packet of cigarettes a day. "In Pathwe all the houses were too large and could accomodate a great many more people than they actually did. This was because each one erected his own building after the example of the other houses in the village. The person who hired the bus driver merely installed him in his home".

[589] This was when U Myaing was 17 or 18 years old. He was not paid anything, but the family was provided with everything they needed - food, clothes, etc. (U Myaing was still unmarried and the family consisted of two sisters, his mother and himself. [582] (He did not marry till the age of thirty.) [431] Both U Myaing and Daw Aw Zar estimated that the things they received from the bus owner would have amounted to much more than forty five rupees' worth.

23: Benedict ●
184, 192, 582, 591, 602, 611, 613, 614, 616, 618, 621

ALL Southeast Asia
Burmese AP4 /

/For lists of kinship terms, and for excellent and detailed information concerning correlations between kinship terminology, patterns of behavior, and social institutions, see category 601./

23: Brant & Mi Mi Khaing E, 1-5 (1949-1950) 1951
AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

593 husband's kinfolk. Post-marital residence is independent and is decided very
[591] largely on the basis of economic opportunity. The wife's opportunities for social intercourse with her family of orientation are, of course, greatest when residence is established in her home village; if, however, a couple from different villages marry and find it most opportune to settle in the husband's community, the
[574] chances are that the wife will maintain contact with her family of orientation by
[582] visits from time to time; such marriages seldom unite persons from villages that are very far apart. The very structural features of bilaterality and absence of extension militate against inequality and male domination.

562 Burmese culture is frequently remarked for the equality of the sexes, in con-
593 trast to the neighboring cultures of India and China. This status of the sexes seems to be the resultant historically of two patterns of thought. One is an apparently very old, pre-Buddhist emphasis upon equality, involving equal inheri-
[428] tance, equal sharing of the property brought to the marriage, equal division of
[586] property upon divorce, a prominent female role in social and economic life, and an absence of transmission of surnames. The other thought pattern dates from the superimposition of Buddhism upon older Burmese conceptions: whatever
[177] ideas of male superiority exist in Burmese life stem from Buddhist notions of
[775] reincarnation. Although Buddha never expressed himself explicitly on the matter, it is taken for granted that only a male can attain Nirvana, since Gautama Buddha, who attained that state, was a male.

462 In the family household the wife's role includes not only such routine tasks as
592 the preparation of food and serving of meals, keeping the house orderly and clean, and looking after small children; very often it involves control of the family income and the making of all important decisions as to expenditures.

593 Certain observances and taboos, reflective of deference to males, are expected
784 of the female partner in marriage. She is careful that her lower garments do not touch her husband's bed or his personal belongings; she avoids touching her husband's head. It is believed that the breaking of such taboos may ruin the husband's success and glory, especially his spiritual attainments. These injunctions are followed as a matter of course by Burmese wives and will be broken deliberately only as an act of spite by a woman who wishes to harm or lower her husband for some reason.

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837 a tendency towards a double standard of sexual behavior. A husband who has reason to believe that his wife is engaging in extra-marital affairs is very likely
[586] to display violent anger, beat her, and break up the marriage. The wife of a

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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181. THE IDEAL AND THE REAL.

They are generally condoned. Burmans do not wait to make money in order to marry, but marry in order to make money. Girls marry from the age of about twenty, and men about twenty-five. The marriage is a quiet affair. A day is fixed, when the lad and his parents repair to the home of the girl, whither some of the elders of the village (*lûdyi*) have been invited for witness. The father of the lad addresses the parents of the girl in this wise: "Seeing that our children love each other, we pray you let your daughter be as our daughter and our son as your son" (*ekkan*). The girl's parents express their pleasure and approval, and according to one usage, the couple thereupon join hands (*lettat*), which means marriage; but the joining-of-hands is as a rule figurative. After this the lad goes and fetches his bedding, curtain, and clothes and places them in the house in token of reception into the family. In conclusion, the parties and the witnesses eat pickled tea together. When one or both parties are strangers in the place, friends undertake the part of parents and the elders make inquiries as to blood-relationship and pre-existing ties. Kinship closer than first-cousin and the corresponding step-relationships are respected—except by royalty (p. 170). Sometimes marriages are of a more festive description (*mingala*). Astrologers are called in and company entertained as at the *nôbank mingala*. Other unions, again, are by mere mutual agreement, without formalities of any kind. By time-honoured custom the lads of the village claim the right to pelt the house of the new-married pair at night (*gè-pyit*), and it is usual to buy them off. New couples mostly start life in

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182. TATTOOING (TOGWIN, see p. 19).

dependents in whose company we spent most of our childhood. Min- 592
kadaws divide their servants into "downstairs servants" and "upstairs 357
servants". The downstairs variety are the usual domestics—cook, boy, gardener, office boy and so on. The upstairs variety are not referred to as "servants" (*a-say-khan*); they are girls whose work is all done in the rooms upstairs, who sleep there and spend the greatest part of their day in the quarters inhabited by the family. In many cases this system is one of abuse and oppression. The girls may be poor relatives—cousins in the fourth degree perhaps—or they may be bought up from poor parents who, for a sum of Rs. 25 to Rs. 100 down and intermittent gratuities, will allow their children to go into a theoretically better home. These girls come at any age from seven to fourteen years. They are clothed and fed and their *mon-bo* (sweetmeat money) depends entirely on the mistress they chance upon. When they are young they play with the children of the house and when older they sweep and dust the upstairs rooms—rooms on which we walk only barefoot as distinct from the downstairs rooms swept by an Indian sweeper, and on which they use a feather broom instead of wielding a broom of coconut sticks, thus sealing the distinction; they also wash the personal garments of the household, look after the children and all other housemaid duties. They are rarely kept alone; there may be up to four or five according to the household. The relationship with the family is that of feudal serf or poor relation. [601]
They do not call their employers *thakin* and *thakinma* (master and mistress); they address them as Aunt and Uncle-older-than-own-parents; they call the children of the family elder-brother or sister-so-and-so and address all relatives as the children do, but they have no definite salary, no rights and no external connections. It is only in rare cases, however, [584]
that girls reach the age of thirty in an environment not congenial to them; in ideal circumstances it is the duty of the mistress to settle them in an advantageous marriage by the time they are twenty-one or twenty-two. Failing this, the girls generally manage to elope, for elopements [583]
are frequent and not very scandalous in Burma.

In our childhood, when the family was big with growing children, we had five girls with us at one time. Of these, three were our relatives —two sisters, Ma Ohn Kyi and Ma Mya Shwe, who were third cousins of my father, and Ma Ngwe Yin, a second cousin of my mother. Both their families were far too poor to keep them. We had to pay respect to Ma Ohn Kyi and Ma Ngwe Yin who were both a few years older than me and called us all by our name, but nobody stopped us from bullying the young Mya Shwe and the two unrelated girls as much as we liked. A-Kyi, as we called Ma Ohn Kyi, was always treated as the senior one because my parents considered that she had a good moral character.

the thief would soon lose his patience and cut off the troublesome ankle 674
joint, gave a swift and gentle cut at the hand with his own dah, and went on calmly with his work, while the thief realizing the justice of it, quietly withdrew his hand and fled. To these tucked-away gardens, also, [732]
came the deformed and mentally defective members of households, to find a more secluded place from public jeering both of themselves and of their families. We felt sad to see the goitre growths and scarred faces, but as children we joined in with the baiting of old crones whose great accomplishment was to utter automatic and irrelevant imprecations whenever they were dug in the ribs.

A much happier aspect was that in Ye the young people were always 583 •
eloping. As I grew older I used to wonder that love came so easily and in such unlikely places. A proper elopement must have certain attendant circumstances. Usually the parents do not agree to it, but quite often also the two people are very young and feel that love is wicked and is bound to be disapproved of, so they decide to elope. There is always a confidante of the girl's or man's or both, to help with the arrangements for the flight, or for the refuge. The girl usually wraps a few clothes in a small cloth bundle, and from the meeting place the journey to the secret destination is made by canoe, or bullock cart. The disappearance of the girl is soon discovered, the alarm is given, people rush about with exciting news, mother and father make a crying visit to the house of the elder friend and adviser of their or the young man's family, and beat their breasts at the shamelessness and wickedness of the girl. The hidden couple are soon tracked down, a reconciliation takes place and a proper wedding feast is held for the young people. Then the whole disgrace is completely forgotten, until about seventeen years later, when perhaps the daughter of the bride elopes, and her friends commiserating with her tears, shake their heads sadly and say that this is *ngo-yè*, the punishment for her own sin of seventeen years before.

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4
Upper Burma
Lower Burma

entirely dispensed with. If the parents of both houses are agreeable, the contracting parties get married with most ardent lover-like rapidity. The age, too, has become very much younger. Most lads get married when they are eighteen or nineteen; thirteen or fourteen is a common age for the girls. Runaway marriages are common enough, and though the parents may be angry, they are usually too easy-going and indolent to take any energetic action in the matter, and let the couple find out their mistake and come and ask for pardon and a house to live in, which is seldom refused. Occasionally in Lower Burma a stern father demands that they shall be separated until the lad has got a situation for himself, but this is ordinarily little more than a mere form of speech. In Upper Burma, where food is scarce and working hands more valuable, the husband is brought to the girl's parents' house and made to do his share towards supporting the household.

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The preliminary courting is naturally conducted in the old fashion, best known to those who have had experience of their own in such matters. The parties meet at pwès, the girl perhaps selling cheroots, fried garlic, le'pet, and what not, and therefore being readily accessible to any swain. It must not be supposed that keeping a stall is regarded as anything derogatory. Numbers of perfectly well-to-do women set them up regularly; some even have daily work in the bazaars, and very often a girl commences occupations of the kind with the view of attracting the young men and securing a husband. Then there are meetings at pagoda feasts, in the zayats and at friends' houses, so that there are plenty of chances of introduction to eligible swains, even without calling in the assistance of the aungthwè. This functionary makes it a regular occupation to know all the attractions, physical and sordid, of all the young women in the place, and for a small consideration, or sometimes merely for love of his trade, brings young couples together and arranges places of meeting for them. He is, of course, most useful where an impecunious youth aspires to the hand of a rich merchant's or high official's daughter. He manages an introduction in a roundabout way to avoid arousing suspicions, praises his client's appearance and

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2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

lata for the original flavoured earth, and of Thale rice for the leguminous creeper, desire arose among them, and four of the men took the four women to wife. The fifth man naturally resented being left compulsorily single, and pelted the happy couples with stones on their marriage night. Sympathy with the feelings of this archetypal bachelor has perpetuated the stone-throwing by the lu-byos down to the present day, and if there is no dearth of eligible spinsters in our times, the lonely bachelor may be allowed to express his envy of his friend's bliss without being accused of anything but gross cupidity. 585 773

After marriage the couple almost always live for two or three years in the house of the bride's parents, the son-in-law becoming one of the family and contributing to its support. Setting up a separate establishment, even in Rangoon, where the young husband is a clerk in an English office, is looked upon with disfavour as a piece of pride and ostentation. If the girl is an only daughter, she and her husband stay on till the old people die. 591 583

Polygamy is recognised and permitted, but practically does not exist now in British territory. A man with more than one wife becomes a subject of common talk, and a native official now living is well known all through the delta as the myo-ok with twenty wives. In native territory the right to have several wives was equally little used in practice. Many of the high officials who travelled about over large districts had wives in almost all the towns they visited —a custom in great measure induced by the rule which provided that the mayā-gyi, the chief wife, had to be left in Mandalay as a hostage for the fidelity of the official. But the great bulk of the people are, and always have been, monogamous. King Mindôn had fifty-three recognised *wives*, of whom thirty-seven survived him. His children numbered one hundred and ten, of whom upwards of fifty survived him. Besides the wives, like Solomon, he had numerous concubines. So, indeed, have many lesser people. 595 [647]

The forbidden degrees are few. Marriages with mother, daughter, sister, and half-sister, aunt, grandmother, and granddaughter, are forbidden, but none else. A son may marry his stepmother; it is expressly mentioned in the 582

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

584 trust! Of course many of these turned out well. Parents are good to their children, and if they can, they will give their daughter the husband of her choice. They remember what youth is—nay, they themselves never grow old, I think; they never forget what once was to them now is to their children. So if it be possible all may yet go well. Social differences are not so great as with us, and the barrier is easily overcome. I have often known servants in a house marry the daughters, and be taken into the family; but, of course, sometimes
● 583 things do not go so smoothly. And then? Well, then there is usually an elopement, and a ten days' scandal; and sometimes, too, there is an elopement for no reason at all save that hot youth cannot abide the necessary delay.

For life is short, and though to-day be to us, who can tell for the morrow? During the full moon there is no night, only a change to silver light from golden; and the forest is full of delight. There are wood-cutters' huts in the ravines where the water falls, soft beds of torn bracken and fragrant grasses where great trees make a shelter from the heat; and for food, that is easily arranged. A basket of rice with a little salt-fish and spices is easily hidden in a favourable place. You only want a jar to cook it, and there is enough for two for a week; or it is brought day by day by some trusted friend to a place previously agreed upon.

All up and down the forest there are flowers for her hair, scarlet dak blossoms and orchid sprays and jasmine stars; and for occupation through the hours each has a new world to explore full of

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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wonderful undreamt-of discoveries, lit with new light and mysterious with roseate shadows, a world of 'beautiful things made new' for those forest children. So that when the confidante, an aunt maybe or a sister, meets them by the sacred fig-tree on the hill, and tells them that all difficulties are removed, and their friends called together for the marriage, can you wonder that it is not without regret that they fare forth from that enchanted land to ordinary life again?

It is, as I have said, not always the man who is the proposer of the flight. Nay, I think indeed that it is usually the girl. 'Men have more patience.'

I had a Burmese servant, a boy, who may have been twenty, and he had been with me a year, and was beginning to be really useful. He had at last grasped the idea that electro-plate should not be cleaned with monkey-brand soap, and he could be trusted not to put up rifle cartridges for use with a double-barrelled gun; and he chose this time to fall in love with the daughter of the headman of a certain village where I was in camp.

He had good excuse, for she was a delicious little maiden with great coils of hair, and the voice of a wood-pigeon cooing in the forest, and she was very fond of him, without a doubt.

So one evening he came to me and said that he must leave me—that he wanted to get married, and could not possibly delay. Then I spoke to him with all that depth of wisdom we are so ready to display for the benefit of others. I pointed out to him that he was much too young, that she was much too young also—she was not eighteen—and that there

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583 was absolutely nothing for them to marry on. I further pointed out how ungrateful it would be of him to leave me; that he had been paid regularly for a year, and that it was not right that now, when he was at last able to do something besides destroy my property, he should go away.

The boy listened to all I had to say, and agreed with it all, and made the most fervent and sincere promise to be wise; and he went away after dinner to see the girl and tell her, and when I awoke in the morning my other servants told me the boy had not returned.

Shortly afterwards the headman came to say that his daughter had also disappeared. They had fled, those two, into the forest, and for a week we heard nothing. At last one evening, as I sat under the great fig-tree by my tent, there came to me the mother of the girl, and she sat down before me, and said she had something of great importance to impart: and this was that all had been arranged between the families, who had found work for the boy whereby he might maintain himself and his wife, and the marriage was arranged. But the boy would not return as long as I was in camp there, for he was bitterly ashamed of his broken vows and afraid to meet my anger. And so the mother begged me to go away as soon as I could, that the young couple might return. I explained that I was not angry at all, that the boy could return without any fear; on the contrary, that I should be pleased to see him and his wife. And, at the old lady's request, I wrote a Burmese letter to that effect, and she went away delighted.

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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They must have been in hiding close by, for it was early next morning that the boy came into my tent alone and very much abashed, and it was some little time before he could recover himself and talk freely as he would before, for he was greatly ashamed of himself.

But, after all, could he help it?

If you can imagine the tropic night, and the boy, full of high resolve, passing up the village street, now half asleep, and the girl, with shining eyes, coming to him out of the hibiscus shadows, and whispering in his ear words—words that I need not say—if you imagine all that, you will understand how it was that I lost my servant.

They both came to see me later on in the day after the marriage, and there was no bashfulness about either of them then. They came hand-in-hand, with the girl's father and mother and some friends, and she told me it was all her fault: she could not wait.

'Perhaps,' she said, with a little laugh and a side-glance at her husband—'perhaps, if he had gone with the thakin to Rangoon, he might have fallen in love with someone there and forgotten me; for I know they are very pretty, those Rangoon ladies, and of better manners than I, who am but a jungle girl.'

And when I asked her what it was like in the forest, she said it was the most beautiful place in all the world.

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Things do not always go so well. Parents may be obdurate, and flight be impossible; or even her love may not be returned, and then terrible things

461 The key to high positions lies in education in
555 the high schools and Universities. Family support is necessary for
873 this and the student is constantly aware of his obligation to succeed
602 for their benefit. "One tree can support a thousand birds" illustrate
[538] the dependency of the relatives on the successful individual.

555 In order to succeed one needs each of these three qualities:
777 KAMMA (fate or luck), NYAN (intelligence), and WIRIYA(industriousness
152 The failure of any one can cause the lack of success. Ordinarily,
602 however, KAMMA is blamed in cases of failure - and the other two credited for success. The concept of KAMMA includes merit and demerit compiled in all previous existences. Because of this convenient excuse the true causes of failure are seldom analysed by the individual and he does not have a sense of personal blame or shame. Also social condemnation does not fall heavily on the unsuccessful who has tried and failed. However, one should finish what he starts or not attempt it, "once you start climbing the pole you must reach the top". The individual may not achieve fame or fortune but he is expected to maintain his birth position. His relatives, who suffer shame if he does not, help him. A major contribution of the individual is an advantagous marriage within or above his occupational group.

[583]

556 What does one strive for, by work, in the Burmese society? Not
554 subsistence, for food is ordinarily cheap and easily attained in the
461 villages. Clothing, shelter and the other necessities of life are also not the objective. The subsistence pattern is simple and essentially homogeneous throughout the village.

554 The ordinary head of a household thinks of three major benefits
301 to be gained from wealth. The first and most immediate are jewels to
461 adorn the women of the family. The status of the family is reflected in public by the bangles, necklaces and earrings worn by the ladies. Diamonds are most prized and the size is important. However, most important is that each female be provided with "a set" of jewelry. The wife of the middle and upper status group particularly will prod the husband until he provides these necessities. The women's clothing and also the husbands and his son's must also be the finest they can afford.

461 The second urge for wealth arises out of the desire for old age
554 security. Hence gold coins are saved (hidden) against the day when
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were dropped in favour of cheaper Rangoon products. The new items added to the diet in camp were either similar to those of Pathwe or known before. No real innovations were attempted with success. 262 264 178

SOCIAL AND CEREMONIAL ACTIVITIES

An attempt will be made under this heading to present some of the major routine activities carried out by U Myaing's family in every day life. Because of the complex nature of the socio-ceremonial activities it will be possible only to outline the more important of these activities. They may be grouped under the headings of (1) activities concerning the family relations, (2) activities relating the family to theircommunity and state and (3) activities relating the family to the supernatural. Wherever possible the Pathwe situation will be compared to that of the refugee camp. 128

Family Relations

Marriage

U Myaing's account of the initial step in the formation of a family is of some interest. When a couple in love have money, they might marry with a proper ceremony; when they do not, they have to elope. U Myaing eloped with his wife. Some people take this course because the parents are not agreeable to the match. Others feel that it takes too much trouble and time to get married with proper ceremony. Others again elope because they do not like the match made for them by parents. U Myaing and Ma Aye Myaing gave as reason the point that it took too long and too much trouble to get properly married. Also at that time they could not afford to spend a great deal of money. 583 ●

Some time after elopement there are attempts either on the part of the parents or the elders of the village to effect a reconciliation between the parties concerned. The couple does not usually take the initiative in these proceedings "because the young man is in the position of one who has stolen something from the girl's parents" and consequently has to lie low. The reconciliation takes place through the elders of the village, who approach the parents and request them to take back the young couple. Some couples stay away seven days, some a month, and some a year before rejoining the parental fold. The reconciliation itself is somewhat similar to a wedding ceremony, and

●583 food and refreshment might be provided. After this the couple may
[178] put up either at the youth's home or the girl's home.
[185]

In modern times there have been very few cases of people from the villages getting properly married. In the past there used to be
[584] many marriages through the agency of match-makers, but now most people elope. U Myaing estimates that only about two couples in a hundred get married first. Daw Aw Zar also eloped with U Myaing's father. (U Myaing was not very sure of this and so called out the question to Daw Aw Zar, who replied "Hae-mathi-bar-bu"; "Hae - I don't know.") U Myaing and Ma Aye Myaing eloped, not because her parents would have raised any objections, but because it had become the usual thing to do. Out of all the marriages contracted by members of U Myaing's extended family (over 60 families), only seven were conducted with proper rites and ceremonies. These were the wealthy members of the family who had their status to consider.

584 U Myaing was in love with Ma Aye Myaing for a period extending two years prior to their elopement. He made a practice of visiting her house and of going with her to Pwes and entertainments, in the company of a large group of other people. Her parents never allowed her to go out alone with him. "That is the nature of parents - they will not allow that."

> "Of course there were occasions when we met, just the two of us; but that was more through accident than design. For instance, I used to meet her on the village street. There are men who ask for assignations from girls, but they are men who do not have consideration for the sisters of other men. I am not one of those. When we were ready to elope, I told Ma Aye Myaing that I was coming for her on such and such a night. Some daughters repeat this to their parents, "Mother, I am about to go along with him" and Ma Aye Myaing was one such. I also told my parents."

583 On the appointed night, at about nine or ten o'clock, U Myaing collected nine or ten of the beaus of the locality of help prevent any possible trouble on the part of the jealous suitors from the girl's village, made his way to Ma Aye Myaing's house and brought her along with him. An elopement is a joyous affair and U Myaing informs us that he used to often accompany friends when they went to elope with their girls. The girl is taken, either on foot, or by bullock cart if the distance is great, to the youth's village; and if they happen

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to belong to the same village then she is taken elsewhere. When they arrive, the whole group sits down to chat about the day's proceedings and various other matters.

If the parents do not agree to the match and keep their daughter under strict surveillance, the day may have to be postponed several times before the elopement is successful.

KINSHIP SYSTEM

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U Myaing was asked to give the names and relationships of as many members of his consanguinal family as possible. In the course of several interviews he remembered no less than 201 individuals plus 64 spouses. Only 26 names of the consanguinal relatives and 8 of the affinal spouses (both 12% of the respective totals) were forgotten. These figures are one indication of the importance of family relations. Of the blood relatives 75 of 21 families were on U Myaing's father's side and 126 of 40 families on his mother's side. Greater emphasis on the mother's side is also seen in the fact that the families of all siblings of mother's father were remembered while father's father's siblings families were disregarded. This is undoubtedly due in part to Daw Aw Zar, his mother, being the surviving parent living with him but is also probably part of a larger pattern.

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Relationship terms are used in addressing the members of the immediate family, with exceptions for certain situations and individuals (for differentiating individuals; persons in junior relationships) where the proper name or nickname is used, the more remote relations are ordinarily addressed by name.

No differentiation is made in the kinship terms used between mother's and father's side of the family - a circumlocution being needed to indicate this. Male vs. female terms are common for all generations. From the 2nd ascending generation (grandparents) and beyond there is only one term for all males and one for all females for each generation (APO - grandfather; APWAH - grandmother). The same is true for the uncles (U LAY) and aunts (A DAW) although if the individual is older than the connecting parent a special age term is applied (DAW-GYI older aunt, U GYI - older uncle or "big sir.") A DAW is also used as a respect term toward any older woman. Younger

177. 87 876 metic book for an old man called Samuel who produced a series of swot books on various subjects, beautifully tabulated books with questions and answers, invaluable for examinations and used even in my day when we and our school teachers whisked them out of sight of Education Inspectors who came on the prowl for just such unprogressive methods of education. He also went across to the American Mission School where quite often the teachers were more Christian and painstaking than brilliant, to help old Teacher Nellie with Geometry riders, and in this way he met my mother.

873 593 562 582 My parents could not get married as soon as they left school. My father had first to go to the University, which consisted then of Rangoon College, affiliated to Calcutta University, and then he felt he must work to buy my grandmother a big enough plot of paddy land so that her two youngest sons would not need to look after her in Ye, but could come into the world like my father. He now felt that they should not be denied the wonderful opportunities which he had found. My father did go to College, but had passed only his F. A. (corresponding to Intermediate) when he heard that my mother was now going out to teach in a school at Thaton, and that she was having to put on a European gown and hat in order to be less conspicuous, because at that time no Burmese Buddhist ladies went out to work. My father left his studies at once and got a job in the same school to look after her, and it was only after some months of persuasion by Grandfather and my mother that he consented to leave and look for a better paid position.

647 177. 65 582 He managed to obtain a myookship in the Government Service, which is a junior administrative post but considered a very good job for Burmans in those days. In this job he could save enough to buy Grandmother her paddy land, after which he and my mother would get married. But my father with his good looks, his teetotaller habits, and his myookship, was considered a desirable son-in-law by many people, and other parents were not like Grandfather; they would try to engage the young man's affections for their daughters. I am sure my mother spent the next three years in some anxiety, as she heard stories of the young myook's gay and happy life in such far-off towns as Toungoo and Shwegyin. But one day the children dashed up to her with a telegram; she opened it and read *Gyi will you marry me.* My mother, who has never shown any excitement as far as I can remember, got up very quietly and went to her chest of drawers. She took out ten annas in change, and wired back *Yes.*

584 Soon after this my father arrived amidst great excitement on the part of my mother's family and a pretence of complete ignorance on Grandfather's part. My aunts expected an explosion from him when

my father went in to ask his permission to marry his most beloved daughter, because Grandfather liked tradition in all things, and traditionally my father's parents or other elders should have approached him first, but there was no explosion; the fierce old man said: "Maung Chit Khaing is a good man." 584

dependents in whose company we spent most of our childhood. Min- 592
kadaws divide their servants into "downstairs servants" and "upstairs 357
servants". The downstairs variety are the usual domestics—cook, boy, gardener, office boy and so on. The upstairs variety are not referred to as "servants" (*a-say-khan*); they are girls whose work is all done in the rooms upstairs, who sleep there and spend the greatest part of their day in the quarters inhabited by the family. In many cases this system is one of abuse and oppression. The girls may be poor relatives—cousins in the fourth degree perhaps—or they may be bought up from poor parents who, for a sum of Rs. 25 to Rs. 100 down and intermittent gratuities, will allow their children to go into a theoretically better home. These girls come at any age from seven to fourteen years. They are clothed and fed and their *mon-bo* (sweetmeat money) depends entirely on the mistress they chance upon. When they are young they play with the children of the house and when older they sweep and dust the upstairs rooms—rooms on which we walk only barefoot as distinct from the downstairs rooms swept by an Indian sweeper, and on which they use a feather broom instead of wielding a broom of coconut sticks, thus sealing the distinction; they also wash the personal garments of the household, look after the children and all other housemaid duties. They are rarely kept alone; there may be up to four or five according to the household. The relationship with the family is that of feudal serf or poor relation. [601]
They do not call their employers *thakin* and *thakinma* (master and mistress); they address them as Aunt and Uncle-older-than-own-parents; they call the children of the family elder-brother or sister-so-and-so and address all relatives as the children do, but they have no definite salary, no rights and no external connections. It is only in rare cases, however, [584] ●
that girls reach the age of thirty in an environment not congenial to them; in ideal circumstances it is the duty of the mistress to settle them in an advantageous marriage by the time they are twenty-one or twenty-two. Failing this, the girls generally manage to elope, for elopements [583]
are frequent and not very scandalous in Burma.

In our childhood, when the family was big with growing children, we had five girls with us at one time. Of these, three were our relatives —two sisters, Ma Ohn Kyi and Ma Mya Shwe, who were third cousins of my father, and Ma Ngwe Yin, a second cousin of my mother. Both their families were far too poor to keep them. We had to pay respect to Ma Ohn Kyi and Ma Ngwe Yin who were both a few years older than me and called us all by our name, but nobody stopped us from bullying the young Mya Shwe and the two unrelated girls as much as we liked. A-Kyi, as we called Ma Ohn Kyi, was always treated as the senior one because my parents considered that she had a good moral character.

592 She was fairly pretty, very quiet and reserved towards us, and enjoyed
357 helping my mother with the babies, supervising the work of the servant girls and valeting my father. Ngwe Yin, who came to us as a very attractive girl with a reputation for being unmanageable even at a young age, always chose the task of taking us for walks in the evenings so that she could put on her nice clothes. She took us wherever she liked, or she sat with us at meal times and let us be as naughty as we wanted while she indulged in repartee with my father's clerks or chauffeur. Mya Shwe was my contemporary and playmate; she went to school while I was in boarding school but cut short her attendances the day I came home, irrespective of differences in our school calendars.

357 When A-Kyi was about nineteen it was announced to us that she
584 was to be married to my father's clerk, Maung Hla Bu. This young man was a favourite of my parents and had been a constant admirer of A-Kyi, helping her to make the beds when my father took the whole family on tours, but awaiting the graciousness of my parents before he dared to ask for her in marriage. My mother gave A-Kyi a small trousseau and a few pieces of jewellery, and they were married shortly before my father got a posting to another station. When a child was born, Mya Shwe, who had outgrown her days as a playmate for me, went to stay with them. Ngwe Yin, the beautiful girl, continued discontentedly for about a year, and then she eloped with a student protégé of my father's. I don't think either of my parents were very shocked at this.

357 My memories of the girls who worked for us are happy enough only
565 because my mother had been brought up in Grandfather's house where everyone was taught to do things for herself; in her character also was a pervading sense of tolerance. In some minkadaws' houses, however, I have seen two girls kneeling with soap and towel outstretched, while the mistress bathed herself. In more cheerful but no less aristocratic-minded households a meal laid ready on the table is the signal for one girl to get under the table and fan the mosquitoes off the legs of the family, and another to play the gramophone right through the meal My gay young uncle San Lin extended the domestic duties of his girls to the learning of modern songs which he liked, and he did his morning dressing to the accompaniment of his servant girls with powder on their faces and jasmine buds in their hair, swinging their feather brooms to the rhythm of modern love songs.

592 A-Kyi and A-Shwe and all the girls we had before and after them
431 bring back memories of the household articles which made with them a
513 background never recovered in our later Rangoon days. My mother,
286 like all minkadaws in the districts, did not depend on a big bazaar and
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never talked about the business of their past working days when they 887
met. Sometimes they showed a fleeting interest in news of the postings 521
of friends still in service, but even the official matters of Thaton district
itself did not enter into their discussions. They talked of charity dona- [822]
tions, of the respective monasteries which they endowed and attended, and
of formulæ of *eggaya-hto*, alchemy, or the search for the philosopher's
stone which will turn all metals to gold. Most Burmans get interested
in eggaya-hto during their later years, even if few now practise it.

This alchemy, which has no place among the true teachings of 822
Buddhism, has to be done under auspicious astrological influences and is 792
usually carried on in secret. Burman Buddhists condemn the use of it 779
when it is carried on for *lawba*, greed for riches, but others justify the
process as a means of concentrating the mental faculties. The common
stories tell of hermits in the forests, who by their ascetic life and con-
centrated meditation have more powers over the forces of nature, as
being well versed in the processes of alchemy. When such a hermit
achieves the extreme concentration of mind on his task he is successful—
the philosopher's stone is discovered, the body of the hermit then dis-
appears in the dissolving of matter, and his spirit is free to live unham-
pered by the body, till the arrival of the next Buddha on the earth. Most
Burmese women, however, although they believe that this happens in
the case of hermits, object very strongly to the practice of alchemy on
the part of their menfolk, owing to the money and energy that is wasted
on seeking out new and expensive formulæ once the craze has got hold
of a man. All experiments are started with mercury which is melted
with other minerals, animal or vegetable substances which derive their
magical properties partly from their inaccessibility, partly from being
treated with prescribed rites. My father had no intention of taking up
alchemy and impoverishing us, but he too was very interested to hear of
the success and failure of various methods. These discussions must
have been kept well anchored to reality by the other chief topic of dis-
cussion—the families of the pensioners.

The five duties of a parent towards his children include the settling 593
of the child in a good marriage. By the time the a-so-ya mins retire, 584
their sons and daughters have reached a marriageable age. The sons 554
are in the process of winning a good position in one of the government 177.
services and their daughters have been dressed with an adequate 58
amount of jewellery. The marriage market, which had no existence in 565
former Burmese society and which still is unheard of in Ye, and among
the poorer people, is now a very concrete institution among the educated
and modern classes. The rise of the minkadaw class and of higher paid
Class I government officials has been mainly responsible for this. More

593 and more within recent years, the higher government services have come
• 584 to be associated not only with "face", but with *gon*, prestige, and *ausa*,
554 authority, which together make up a *myet-hna-gyi*, big face, in Burma.
177. Mothers of daughters want their daughters to have gon and ausa and be
58 big of face as the wife of the senior government officer in a town, and
565 mothers of sons want to get the most for themselves and their other children out of having such a golden goose. They want a girl with wealth, a meek nature, good looks, religious piety and education, more or less in this order. So that the imperfect daughter-in-law may lack the last named qualities rather than the first. Wealth means not merely money, property or jewels, but an absence of younger brothers and sisters or other potential dependents, this being a very important factor in our closely-knit family system. A relative of mine who had just seen his son enter a top service, showed my father his comprehensive table of the marriageable girls of Burma, under headings of family connections, amount and form of property, potential dependents, physical and moral qualities of the girl. My father should have been keenly interested as the father of a son who was studying in England with success, and, indeed, when my brother returned, he might have fetched us about Rs. 30,000 had he desired, so far have we progressed beyond the Burmese traditions of the man's family asking for the hand of the girl with presents of money and jewellery.

It may be asked, what of the men who are thus bartered? Burmans are very greatly attached to their mothers; few can resist a mother's tears, and the tears in these cases are genuinely of grief, because the mother sees this marriage as a faithful discharge of one of her five duties. The five duties of a child towards its parent, on the other hand, include the support of father and mother, and in making this marriage the man sees the best way of providing comfort to his parents in their old age. For the girls also, an arranged marriage is not necessarily a joyless thing. Girls who are educated as we have been, in spite of reading Western romances, are brought up to believe that a girl will grow to love her husband who is good to her. *Tha-na*, pity, compassion, and *chit*, affection-love, are very close in Burmese; the usual way for a wife to address her husband is *Maung*, the same word as younger brother, or *Ko Ko*, elder brother; some husbands address their wives as *nyi-ma-lay*, little sister. And, in fact, in most cases the results do bear out the wisdom of this attitude towards marriage; so that to most Burmans it is the "free" Western marriages which so often appear ill-assorted and lead to divorces. Still, it cannot be denied that much undignified haggling and manœuvring go on nowadays, in the efforts to obtain the best match for sons and daughters. *Aung-thwès*, go-betweens, get a lot of

face from bringing something off, money is paid in advance, rush tactics 593
are employed to prevent the man returning from abroad from marrying
the sweetheart of his college days, and in some cases even magic is resor- 584
ted to, though in secret. This black magic, especially, involves some 554
very undignified actions. A younger cousin of mine once warned his 177-
mother: "Please, Mother, never try to sell me like a bullock, or worse 58
still to arrange a marriage for my sister. I will not help you to jump
thrice on eggshells or throw ten viss of fish into a well at dead of night [789]
under instructions from a soothsayer."

Although marriages were constantly being arranged among our [585]
circle of friends in Thaton, I was not allowed to attend weddings as a 527
young unmarried girl. What we did attend regularly with the grown-
ups were the *u-bok-nay*, the duty day gatherings every week in the
resthouses among the hills. On these days Buddhists who choose to
observe the day, obey eight or ten precepts instead of five. Amongst
these ten are the abstaining from food after mid-day, absence of ornament
and cosmetics in dress, meditation and prayer, and absence of a high
couch in sleep. In Thaton the observance of this day was made the
weekly social event with the same combination of material enjoyment
and religious piety that characterizes all Burmese functions as described
previously. Each family went to the hills early in the morning with
mats, betel boxes and a well-cooked meal. The girls wore all the [556]
jewellery they had because we had not yet taken the precepts, and this
was a good chance of showing that a family did not lack wealth. We
met in the resthouses, to one of which a monk came to intone the pre-
cepts. These we repeated in chorus after him; then the elders talked
and chewed betel, and at about 10-30 the whole party went to bathe in
the pools made by the waterfalls down the hills. We went back to find
the pooled dishes of four or five families laid out in a rich feast. We
stuffed ourselves with this. The law states that food should not be eaten
after noon, and the law was always obeyed in the letter if not in the spirit.

One maiden lady in Rangoon who kept duty days regularly ate till 785
as near noon as she possibly could. She usually finished her meal with
fruit, and if she was eating a banana when noon struck with a loud bang 527
from the cannon at the Shwe Dagon Pagoda, "Haw!" she would ex-
claim, and in would go the whole length of the banana into her mouth.
After noon, tea and coffee are not allowed either but aerated waters,
which look so much like water, are sanctioned. When my husband was
a novice monk in the monastery, they were allowed medicinal pro-
ducts also after noon, and the hungry young novices often made a [278]
delicious soup of garlic (a digestive) fried in butter (medicinal compo-
nent), and water poured on to the fragrant compound.

running with unholy energy and two small boys streaking after them 525
shouting: "My hpongyi! Hey, my hpongyi!"

The showy vanity of Rangoon was seen at its greatest at wedding 585
celebrations where no woman of any standing came without a full load 511
of jewellery, either owned or borrowed for the occasion. For weddings of families like ours hundreds of invitations had always to be sent out owing to the tradition of acknowledging distant relationships and connections. It would be considered rude also not to invite the friends among clerks and traders from every town in which my father had been posted during our growing-up years.

Marriage is a social contract in Burma. To be married one needs 581
no recourse to legal or priestly officers. The *let-htat*, laying of hands 562
one on the other, can be performed in the presence of elders, or a feast can 428
be given to a few people to obtain recognition of the married state. This is done after elopements, for example, when the parents have become reconciled and the young couple is too shy to go through the pantomine of a marriage ceremony. For divorce, also, no legal procedure is necessary, but convention makes divorces rare. Although monogamy is almost universal in Burma, polygamy is not forbidden by the law. A "mistress" of a married man is considered a sort of wife, but the disapproval with which this is regarded is shown in the term applied to her: *ma-ya-nga*, lesser wife. But the liberty operates both ways, and in the rare cases of a woman who runs to a second husband without any agreement having been reached beforehand, she is said to have a *lin-ngè*, lesser husband. The lack of legal safeguards of a woman's position as the only wife is amply compensated for by the rulings of Burmese Buddhist Law as regards her property. She retains sole ownership of whatever property she brings to the marriage, and on the dissolution of the marriage is entitled to half of all the additions of wealth since the marriage. Neither can an irate husband make a will leaving his money to other relatives and strangers. Wills are forbidden by law; children inherit equal shares of the parents' legacy, except in the cases where there are more than four children in the family. Then the eldest takes one-quarter before the rest is divided equally amongst the other children. On the death of one parent the surviving parent still has sole ownership of half the property. The other half is open to division among the children, but it is only a black sheep which will insist on division while one parent is still alive.

When I had been home but a month, my brother appealed to me 584•
for help in arranging the matter of his marriage. His difficulty was that he had no wish to marry the various dowried young women with whom my relatives were trying to contract him; he had chosen his own bride but at the same time the stern array of cousins, aunts and uncles in our

•584 family made it necessary to arrange things in a traditional manner. My brother had chosen his bride from a family of sisters who had been to school with us and with whom we were on the friendliest terms, so that he could have pressed his own suit if he wished, but since my sister-in-law's family also stood for tradition, we had to go through elaborate negotiations.

For a go-between we chose a lady who belonged to high circles of Rangoon society and who was known to be a great friend of the girl's family. One morning my mother and I paid her a formal call and made the proposal. my mother reciting the list of her son's qualifications which the lady already knew quite well. She promised to approach the guardian aunt of the girl's family. Shortly after this, we called on the aunt, who demurred, not to seem eager, and said, moreover, that she could not give an answer until she had consulted an astrologer to see whether the stars of the young man and woman formed an auspicious union. We thereupon gave her the date and hour of my brother's birth. During all this time, no word had passed between my future sister-in-law and us upon the matter; we did not, in fact, visit her. In due course, the aunt gave her answer, and while my brother was out of town on a tour, a party was held at the girl's house, with the senior relatives of both sides present to formalize the engagement. No unmarried young girls should attend this, out of modesty, and although I went along as my mother's right-hand, I had to closet myself in the bedroom with the girls. It was only then, when the elders were formalizing the engagement, that my sister-in-law did not feel it forward to talk about the wedding and future happiness with much excitement. After the engagement had been announced, my brother was allowed to call every day during the three months of their engagement, but they were not allowed to be seen together in public.

177. 19 764 775 Meanwhile, great preparations went on, for besides the social arrangements attendant on all weddings, the attire of the bride and bridegroom had to be matched in colour, a panegyric writer had to be found to write the poem of praise, and suitable elders to perform the ceremony had to be agreed upon. The modern Burmese custom is to ask the most respected highly placed Burmese couple among the family's friends, along with an equally respected English official to pronounce recognition in English. (This learning of English by a vast number of Burmans, and their daily activities in that language, have led to much duplication of effort in the disposal of their spirits also. When a person is buried, a notice is served on his spirit that this body is now to be vacated, and the spirit to go elsewhere for fear that the faithful spirit hovering round the grave may create a ta-say, a ghost. When a student died in term time at the University, the rites at her funeral were completed only when a

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Burmese AP4

CHAPTER VII

MARRIAGE

538 581 In the Lawkanidi, the book of proverbs relating to ordinary life, it is said that monks and hermits are beautiful when they are lean; four-footed animals when they are fat; men when they are learned; and women when they are married. This recommendation to the married state is no more needed by Burmese maidens than it is by their sisters in other parts of the world, and they have the further inducement that they enjoy a much freer and happier position than in any other Eastern country, and in some respects are better off even than women in England. All the money and possessions which a girl brings with her on marriage are kept carefully separate for the benefit of her children or heirs, and she carries her property away with her if she is divorced, besides anything she may have added to it in the interim by her own trading or by inheritance. Thus a married Burmese woman is much more independent than any European even in the most advanced states. In the eyes of the Dammathat the old idea of the *patria potestas* prevails indeed, and woman is regarded as a simple chattel, belonging entirely to her parents, and to be disposed of by them without any reference to her personal inclinations; but, as a matter of fact, she may do pretty well as she pleases, may marry the youth on whom she has fixed her affections, and may separate herself from the husband who has offended her, by going before the village elders and stating her case; and if the complaint is just, her request is never refused.

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As yet they have not begun to demand an equal share

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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581 584 According to the laws of Menu there are three ways in which a marriage can be brought about :—

1. When the parents of the couple give them to one another.

2. When they come together through the good offices of a go-between, called an aungthwè.

3. When they arrange the matter between themselves.

581 562 429 It is understood, of course, that the two latter forms require at least the passive consent of the father, or, if he is dead, of the guardian, mother, brother, sister, uncle, or whoever it may be; every woman—every young woman at any rate—being necessarily under the protection of somebody. The Dammathat says: "Let the man to whom she is given by her nearest relation be her husband. If the parents or the relations of the girl do not give her away, and she is carried off against their will, even if she has had ten children, they have power to cause her to separate from the man and give her to another; the man has no right to say that she is his wife. Why is this? Because a daughter belongs to her parents?" But, on the other hand, "If a young woman runs off with a young man not approved by her parents, and, having concealed herself for some time, shall return to the village or neighbourhood in which her parents live, and have two or three children, or live there five or ten years with the man after her parents have seen and known of her being there, they shall not have power to cause her to separate from her husband."

581 584 According to the old system, the young man was not considered of age to marry till he was twenty-four or twenty-five. The age of the girl was always a matter of no consequence as long as she had attained to puberty. When a youth wanted to marry he told his parents, and they went to the father and mother of the young woman of his choice. If these had no objections, then the young man kept company with the girl, had the run of the house for two or three years, so that they might get to know one another well, and then, if they were still of one mind, the question of dowry was settled, a fortunate day and hour fixed upon, and the marriage carried out. Nowadays such formalities are almost

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4
Upper Burma
Lower Burma

entirely dispensed with. If the parents of both houses are agreeable, the contracting parties get married with most ardent lover-like rapidity. The age, too, has become very much younger. Most lads get married when they are eighteen or nineteen; thirteen or fourteen is a common age for the girls. Runaway marriages are common enough, and though the parents may be angry, they are usually too easy-going and indolent to take any energetic action in the matter, and let the couple find out their mistake and come and ask for pardon and a house to live in, which is seldom refused. Occasionally in Lower Burma a stern father demands that they shall be separated until the lad has got a situation for himself, but this is ordinarily little more than a mere form of speech. In Upper Burma, where food is scarce and working hands more valuable, the husband is brought to the girl's parents' house and made to do his share towards supporting the household.

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The preliminary courting is naturally conducted in the old fashion, best known to those who have had experience of their own in such matters. The parties meet at pwès, the girl perhaps selling cheroots, fried garlic, le'pet, and what not, and therefore being readily accessible to any swain. It must not be supposed that keeping a stall is regarded as anything derogatory. Numbers of perfectly well-to-do women set them up regularly; some even have daily work in the bazaars, and very often a girl commences occupations of the kind with the view of attracting the young men and securing a husband. Then there are meetings at pagoda feasts, in the zayats and at friends' houses, so that there are plenty of chances of introduction to eligible swains, even without calling in the assistance of the aungthwè. This functionary makes it a regular occupation to know all the attractions, physical and sordid, of all the young women in the place, and for a small consideration, or sometimes merely for love of his trade, brings young couples together and arranges places of meeting for them. He is, of course, most useful where an impecunious youth aspires to the hand of a rich merchant's or high official's daughter. He manages an introduction in a roundabout way to avoid rousing suspicions, praises his client's appearance and

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2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

584 abilities, contrives a series of unexpected meetings, and does everything, in fact, to further the project. There are regular practitioners in the business, and others who dabble in it for want of something to do and from sheer love of scheming.

Courting, whether authorised by the parents or not, is very seldom carried on in daylight. So much is this the case that the phrase Lu-byo hlè thi achein, "Courting time," is commonly used in ordinary conversation to designate nine o'clock at night, or a little before or after. The time may be due to the fact that occupation, or the heat, prevent it during the day, but there is an old saw which may account for it, to the effect that in the morning women are cross [828] and peevish; in the middle of the day they are testy and [562] quarrelsome; but at night they are sweet and amiable. Authorised courtship, if the term is not too unromantic, is always carried on at this time, and preparations for it are duly made by the girls. A couple of hours after nightfall the lover, with a friend or two, makes his appearance near the house and dawdles up and down till he finds the old people have gone to bed, or retired from the scene. Then he goes up the steps along with his supporters and finds the girl alone, or with a companion or two, dressed in her best, with flowers in her hair, powder on her cheeks and neck, and generally prepared for conquest. The old people are never present, though they can hear everything, and the mother, as I am credibly informed, pauk-kyi thi, has a convenient chink in the bamboo walls through which she can survey operations and prevent too ardent love-making. Interviews vary in length, and the nature of the conversation may be best left to the imagination. If one of the accompanying young men has also an appointment that evening he naturally endeavours to curtail his friend's philandering as much as possible, in order that he himself may have the more time in another place to press his suit. Even in clandestine flirtations the courting is always effected in a formal way like this. Meetings in lover's loans, or *à quatre yeux*, would ruin a girl's character immediately. Her own mother would be the first to put the worst construction on such doings.

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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Little presents are exchanged. The *soupirant* brings a gay kerchief with some love-verses written on it, perhaps his own composition, more probably the erotic sighings of the prince in the last play he heard, or cribbed bodily from a song-book for Kālathas (Corinthians, lads of mettle). The girl gives him some green cheroots, rolled by her fair hands, or a brilliant woollen muffler which she has knitted; but there is never any of the kissing and caressing indulged in by more urgent foreign lovers. The girl would look upon any attempts of such a nature as highly indecorous, and no doubt it is quite unsuited to her clothing.

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When at last everything has been settled — parents' consent obtained, dowry fixed, and a fortunate day and hour pitched upon — the marriage ceremony comes off in the house of the bride's parents. The ritual is very simple and has nothing whatever of a religious character about it; in fact the celibate pôngyis would be grossly scandalised if they were asked to take any part in it. A great feast is prepared at the expense of the bridegroom or his parents. All the relations, friends, and neighbours are invited, and it is the publicity of the thing that is really the main feature of the ceremony. The old custom that the bride and bridegroom should join their right hands together, palm to palm, in the presence of all the assembled guests, and then should eat rice out of the same dish and feed each other with one or two morsels in turtle-dove fashion, has in many cases died out, and the eating and drinking, the talk of the men in the main room of the house and of the women in the inner apartment, is quite enough to solemnise the union. When the newly-married couple retire into the bridal chamber it is sometimes in the larger towns the custom to shower saffron-coloured rice on them, but this, like the entire seclusion in which the happy pair are supposed to pass the next seven days, is very seldom actually carried out.

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In the country villages, however, two ancient customs are still very generally prevalent. The one is to tie a string across the road along which the bridegroom must pass to the house of his intended. He comes in procession with all his friends, carrying the greater portion of the belongings

The orchestra plays as the initiates depart for the adjoining building to change into ordinary clothes, eat their last meal of the day, and bathe. Some guests now leave; borrowed articles, such as plates, cups and mats are gathered up for return to their owners, and eventually the orchestra departs. 881 796 792

The initiates return to the front of the building in which the ceremony took place. They sit on mats for the shaving of their heads. Two women hold a long piece of white cloth before them to catch the hair as several men proceed to wet their heads and shave them clean with straight razors. [302]

Once more the boys leave to bathe, then return and are seated before the chief monk. Their robes held in their hands before them, they recite prayers, give their robes to the monk, and ask him to dress them properly in the monkish garb.

Their robes donned, they squat before the monk and recite additional prayers, now following very carefully the special intonation appropriate to monks. The ceremony proper is complete. [195]

The following morning, early, a few relatives and close friends go to the monastery. The monks, including the novices, are offered food by them. A monk recites the Five-Fold Path, and then the ceremony of pouring water drop by drop is performed. Names are given the initiates -- special monastic names which they will bear only for the duration of their novitiate. [551]

In former times, and still today in the very remote villages of Burma, an initiate might spend many months, possibly several years, in the monkhood. Sometimes a boy would remain a monk for life. Today in Tadagale, as almost everywhere, initiates spend only a token period of about one week in the monkhood. During this time, they live the austere existence of the order, rising very early, spending long periods in prayer recitals, and abstaining from food after noon until the following morning. The short period of life as a novice is strongly in contrast with the easy-going, carefree childhood days that precede it. Some boys approach the time of their shinbyu with feelings of trepidation, and all are glad when the period spent in the monastery is over and they can return to the much less stern discipline of their parents. 881 792 178

Courtship and Marriage. Young people in the village find ample opportunities to assess each other's manners, physical appearance, and personality, in the company of others at feasts and various gatherings. If a young man and woman are together apart from the company of others, people assume that sex relations are involved. In fact, such going together is spoken of as 'getting married.' Villagers find it hard to conceive of a young unmarried couple associating on a purely friendly, non-sexual basis; such behavior is regarded as contrary to nature. But however much it occurs, unchaperoned association is not approved, much less encouraged. 584 831

Once a pair have decided they want to marry, the boy will inform his parents of his desire. They will already know, in a relatively small village such as Tadagale, something of the standing of the girl's family and of her dowry potentialities; in fact, as soon as they have sensed their son's interest in a particular girl, they will take steps to acquire this information. They will also ascertain whether acceptance by the girl's family is likely. Sometimes the approach to the girl's family is made directly; in other instances a female go-between will be employed. The latter is more likely when the girl's family 584

584 [791] is not particularly well known to them. The boy's parents will be informed by the girl's family that their decision must await the outcome of consultation with an astrologer concerning the compatability of the birth dates of the prospective bride and groom. If the marriage is found to be an auspicious one -- which it usually will be found to be if the girl's parents desire the match -- an affirmative answer is relayed to the boy's parents. The latter thereupon call on her parents, and in the presence of elders, formally ask for the girl's hand. From this moment the couple are considered betrothed and must not go about in public unchaperoned.

585 The wedding date is astrologically determined. The length of the engagement depends upon the availability of an auspicious wedding date. In general, lengthy engagements are disliked. In no case should an engagement carry over the period of Waso, the so-called Buddhist 'Lent.'

Before the wedding ceremony, the bride's house is open to friends and relatives, who are expected to drop in to help prepare the house for the wedding, lending household items that may be needed for the occasion. A pavilion adjoining the house is erected to accomodate the crowd that will attend. All the helpers and would-be helpers in this work are offered meals and light refreshments.

The bride's family normally bears all the expenses of these preparations, but sometimes the boy's family will mention a sum of money either as a contribution towards the wedding or as an indication of their son's ability to support a wife. If such funds are offered, they will be mentioned at the time the girl's hand is sought.

One room in the girl's house is set aside as the bridal chamber. In families of average or better means it is furnished with a bed, draperies, and complete toilet and dressing facilities. In poorer families that cannot afford to furnish the bridal chamber in elaborate fashion, some show of style will be made in furnishing the bed, at least. By the evening before the wedding day the room must be ready, with all the wedding gifts on display.

On the wedding day three or four intimate married friends of the girl dress her. This must not be done by widows or divorcees, for it would bode ill for the marriage. For unmarried girls to perform this task would be immodest. Neither should a pregnant woman take part in dressing the bride, for that would be bad for her baby. The dressing of the bride must begin sufficiently early so that she will be completely ready at a precise, astrologically determined wedding hour.

The bridegroom's party arrives just prior to the appointed time for the ceremony. It includes two of his bachelor friends as well as his family. He takes his seat on a cushion on the platform that has been specially erected. The bride is brought out by her matrons and approaches with eyes downcast. She takes her seat on a cushion to the bridegroom's left. Across the platform, from left to right, are placed three silver offering bowls. A fourth bowl, on the right hand edge of the platform, contains puffed rice. The bridegroom's bachelor friends take seats to his rear; the matrons of the bride sit directly behind her.

794 585 A lay elder, arranged for by the bride's mother, officiates. He recites a paean of praise concerning the merits of the bride and groom and the goodness

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

562 that await those who do not know. They have their
157 dreams—who shall doubt it?—dreams of him who shall love them, whom they shall love, who shall make life one great glory to them; but their dreams are dreams that can come true. They do not frame to themselves ideals out of their own ignorance and imagine these to be good, but they keep their eyes wide open to the far more beautiful realities that are around them every day. They know that a living lover is greater, and truer, and better than any ideal of a girl's dream. They live in a real world, and they know it is good.

●584 In time the lover comes. There is a delightful custom all through Burma, an institution, in fact, called 'courting-time.' It is from nine till ten o'clock, more especially on moonlight nights, those wonderful tropic nights, when the whole world lies in a silver dream, when the little wandering airs that touch your cheek like a caress are heavy with the scent of flowers, and your heart comes into your throat for the very beauty of life.

There is in front of every house a veranda, raised perhaps three feet from the ground, and there the girl will sit in the shadow of the eaves, sometimes with a friend, but usually alone; and her suitors will come and stand by the veranda, and talk softly in little broken sentences, as lovers do. There may be many young men come, one by one, if they mean business, with a friend if it be merely a visit of
584 courtesy. And the girl will receive them all, and
431 will talk to them all; will laugh with a little humorous knowledge of each man's peculiarities; and she may give them cheroots, of her own making;

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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and, for one perhaps, for one, she will light the cheroot herself first, and thus kiss him by proxy.

And is the girl alone? Well, yes. To all intents and purposes she is alone; but there is always someone near, someone within call, for the veranda is free to all. She cannot tell who may come, and some men, as we know, are but wolves in sheep's clothing. Usually marriages are arranged by the parents. Girls are not very different here to elsewhere; they are very biddable, and ready to do what their mothers tell them, ready to believe that it is the best. And so if a lad comes wooing, and can gain the mother's ear, he can usually win the girl's affection, too; but I think there are more exceptions here than elsewhere. Girls are freer; they fall in love of their own accord oftener than elsewhere; they are very impulsive, full of passion. Love is a very serious matter, and they are not trained in self-restraint.

There are very many romances played out every day in the dusk beside the well, in the deep shadows of the palm-groves, in the luminous nights by the river shore—romances that end sometimes well, sometimes in terrible tragedies. For they are a very passionate people; the language is full of little love-songs, songs of a man to a girl, of a girl to a man. 'No girl,' a woman once told me, 'no good, quiet girl would tell a man she loved him first.' It may be so; if this be true, I fear there are many girls here who are not good and quiet. How many romances have I not seen in which the wooing began with the girl, with a little note perhaps, with a flower, with a message sent by someone whom she could

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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584 trust! Of course many of these turned out well. Parents are good to their children, and if they can, they will give their daughter the husband of her choice. They remember what youth is—nay, they themselves never grow old, I think; they never forget what once was to them now is to their children. So if it be possible all may yet go well. Social differences are not so great as with us, and the barrier is easily overcome. I have often known servants in a house marry the daughters, and be taken into the family; but, of course, sometimes
583 things do not go so smoothly. And then? Well, then there is usually an elopement, and a ten days' scandal; and sometimes, too, there is an elopement for no reason at all save that hot youth cannot abide the necessary delay.

For life is short, and though to-day be to us, who can tell for the morrow? During the full moon there is no night, only a change to silver light from golden; and the forest is full of delight. There are wood-cutters' huts in the ravines where the water falls, soft beds of torn bracken and fragrant grasses where great trees make a shelter from the heat; and for food, that is easily arranged. A basket of rice with a little salt-fish and spices is easily hidden in a favourable place. You only want a jar to cook it, and there is enough for two for a week; or it is brought day by day by some trusted friend to a place previously agreed upon.

All up and down the forest there are flowers for her hair, scarlet dak blossoms and orchid sprays and jasmine stars; and for occupation through the hours each has a new world to explore full of

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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They must have been in hiding close by, for it was early next morning that the boy came into my tent alone and very much abashed, and it was some little time before he could recover himself and talk freely as he would before, for he was greatly ashamed of himself. 583

But, after all, could he help it?

If you can imagine the tropic night, and the boy, full of high resolve, passing up the village street, now half asleep, and the girl, with shining eyes, coming to him out of the hibiscus shadows, and whispering in his ear words—words that I need not say—if you imagine all that, you will understand how it was that I lost my servant.

They both came to see me later on in the day after the marriage, and there was no bashfulness about either of them then. They came hand-in-hand, with the girl's father and mother and some friends, and she told me it was all her fault: she could not wait.

'Perhaps,' she said, with a little laugh and a side-glance at her husband—'perhaps, if he had gone with the thakin to Rangoon, he might have fallen in love with someone there and forgotten me; for I know they are very pretty, those Rangoon ladies, and of better manners than I, who am but a jungle girl.'

And when I asked her what it was like in the forest, she said it was the most beautiful place in all the world.

Things do not always go so well. Parents may be obdurate, and flight be impossible; or even her love may not be returned, and then terrible things 584 762

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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happen. I have held, not once nor twice alone, inquests over the bodies, the fair, innocent bodies, of quite young girls who died for love. Only that, because their love was unreturned; and so the sore little heart turned in her trouble to the great river, and gave herself and her hot despair to the cold forgetfulness of its waters.

They love so greatly that they cannot face a world where love is not. All the country is full of the romance of love—of love passionate and great as woman has ever felt. It seems to me here that woman has something of the passions of man, not only the enduring affection of a woman, but the hot love and daring of a man. It is part of their heritage, perhaps, as a people in their youth. One sees so much of it, hears so much of it, here. I have seen a girl in man's attire killed in a surprise attack upon an insurgent camp. She had followed her outlawed lover there, and in the mêlée she caught up sword and gun to fight by his side, and was cut down through neck and shoulder; for no one could tell in the early dawn that it was a girl.

She died about an hour afterwards, and though I have seen many sorrowful things in many lands, in war and out of it, the memory of that dying girl, held up by one of the mounted police, sobbing out her life beneath the wild forest shadow, with no one of her sex, no one of her kin to help her, comes back to me as one of the saddest and strangest.

Her lover was killed in action some time later fighting against us, and he died as a brave man should, his face to his enemy. He played his game, he lost, and paid; but the girl?

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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I have seen and heard so much of this love of women and of its tragedies. Perhaps it is that to us it is usually the tragedies that are best remembered. Happiness is void of incident. And this love may be, after all, a good thing. But I do not know. Sometimes I think they would be happier if they could love less, if they could take love more quietly, more as a matter of course, as something that has to be gone through, as part of a life's training; not as a thing that swallows up all life and death and eternity in one passion.

In Burmese the love-songs are in a short, sweet rhythm, full of quaint conceits and word-music. I cannot put them into English verse, or give the flow of the originals in a translation. It always seems to me that Don Quixote was right when he said that a translation was like the wrong side of an embroidered cloth, giving the design without the beauty. But even in the plain, rough outline of a translation there is beauty here, I think:

From a Man to a Girl

The moon wooed the lotus in the night, the lotus was wooed by the moon, and my sweetheart is their child. The blossom opened in the night, and she came forth; the petals moved, and she was born.

She is more beautiful than any blossom; her face is as delicate as the dusk; her hair is as night falling over the hills; her skin is as bright as the diamond. She is very full of health, no sickness can come near her.

When the wind blows I am afraid, when the

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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breezes move I fear. I fear lest the south wind take her, I tremble lest the breath of evening woo her from me—so light is she, so graceful.

Her dress is of gold, even of silk and gold, and her bracelets are of fine gold. She hath precious stones in her ears, but her eyes, what jewels can compare unto them?

She is proud, my mistress; she is very proud, and all men are afraid of her. She is so beautiful and so proud that all men fear her.

In the whole world there is none anywhere that can compare unto her.

583 food and refreshment might be provided. After this the couple may
[178] put up either at the youth's home or the girl's home.
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In modern times there have been very few cases of people from the villages getting properly married. In the past there used to be
[584] many marriages through the agency of match-makers, but now most people elope. U Myaing estimates that only about two couples in a hundred get married first. Daw Aw Zar also eloped with U Myaing's father. (U Myaing was not very sure of this and so called out the question to Daw Aw Zar, who replied "Hae-mathi-bar-bu"; "Hae - I don't know.") U Myaing and Ma Aye Myaing eloped, not because her parents would have raised any objections, but because it had become the usual thing to do. Out of all the marriages contracted by members of U Myaing's extended family (over 60 families), only seven were conducted with proper rites and ceremonies. These were the wealthy members of the family who had their status to consider.

584 U Myaing was in love with Ma Aye Myaing for a period extending two years prior to their elopement. He made a practice of visiting her house and of going with her to Pwes and entertainments, in the company of a large group of other people. Her parents never allowed her to go out alone with him. "That is the nature of parents - they will not allow that."

> "Of course there were occasions when we met, just the two of us; but that was more through accident than design. For instance, I used to meet her on the village street. There are men who ask for assignations from girls, but they are men who do not have consideration for the sisters of other men. I am not one of those. When we were ready to elope, I told Ma Aye Myaing that I was coming for her on such and such a night. Some daughters repeat this to their parents, "Mother, I am about to go along with him" and Ma Aye Myaing was one such. I also told my parents."

583 On the appointed night, at about nine or ten o'clock, U Myaing collected nine or ten of the beaus of the locality of help prevent any possible trouble on the part of the jealous suitors from the girl's village, made his way to Ma Aye Myaing's house and brought her along with him. An elopement is a joyous affair and U Myaing informs us that he used to often accompany friends when they went to elope with their girls. The girl is taken, either on foot, or by bullock cart if the distance is great, to the youth's village; and if they happen

23: Brant & Mi Mi Khaing E, I-5 (1949-1950)1951
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mony, but in actual practice this often takes place as early as her seventh or eighth year. Since this is a feast occasion involving considerable expense to her family, there is a tendency to hold a single ceremony, at which perhaps a pubescent girl, together with her younger sisters or cousins, will all have their ears bored. On the same occasion male children of approximately the same age may be initiated into the Buddhist monkhood.[5] 304 881

The girl initiate is dressed for the occasion in the traditional garb of the Burmese court, and in addition she wears a spired-helmet type of head dress. The villagers gather at her family's house for the event. An elderly woman rubs an anaesthetic plant substance on the girl's ear lobes and pierces them with gold pins. The pins are left in the ears, bent back. Later, if larger holes are desired, rolled leaves may be inserted. The family presents gifts to the assembled guests; often these are conventionalized tokens, such as inscribed cigars and fans. [292] [278] [431]

Courtship and Marriage. Young people in the villages find ample opportunities to assess each other's manners, physical appearance, and personality in the company of others, at feasts and various gatherings. If a young man and woman are together apart from the company of others it is assumed that sex relations are involved. In fact, such going together is spoken of as "getting married." The Burmese find it hard to conceive of a young unmarried couple associating on a purely friendly, non-sexual basis: such behavior would be regarded as contrary to nature. However, unchaperoned association is disapproved and does not occur very frequently. 584 836

Once a pair have decided they wish to marry, the boy will inform his parents of his desire. They will already know, especially in the smaller villages, of the standing of the girl's family and of her dowry potentialities; in fact, as soon as they have sensed their son's interest in a particular girl they will take steps to acquire this information. They will also ascertain whether acceptance by the girl's family is likely. In a small community the approach may be made directly by the boy's parents. In larger centers a female go-between is more likely to be employed. The boy's parents will be informed by the girl's family that the decision must await the outcome of consultation with an astrologer concerning the compatibility of the birth dates of the prospective bride and groom. If the marriage is found to be an auspicious one—which it will usually be found to be if the girl's parents desire the match—an affirmative answer will be relayed to the boy's parents. The latter will then call upon her parents and in the presence of elders, not necessarily related to either family, formally ask for the girl's hand. 584 [787]

5 Description of the boy's initiation ceremony is being reserved for a separate publication.

23: Brant & Mi Mi Khaing E, I-5 (1949-1950)1951
AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

584 From this moment the couple are considered betrothed, and must not go about in public unchaperoned.

[787] The wedding date is astrologically determined. The length of the engagement period depends upon the availability of an auspicious wedding date. Generally speaking, lengthy engagements are disliked. In no case should an engagement carry over the Buddhist "Lent."

585 Before the wedding ceremony, the bride's house is open to friends and relatives, who are expected to drop in to help prepare the house for the wedding, lending household items that may be needed for the occasion. A pavilion adjoining the house is erected to accommodate the crowd that will attend. All the helpers and would-be helpers in this work are offered meals and light refreshments.

The bride's family normally bears all the expenses of these preparations, but sometimes the boy's family will mention a sum of money either as a contribution toward the wedding or as an indication of their son's ability to support a wife. If such funds are forthcoming, they will mention them at the time they ask for the girl's hand.

One room in the girl's house is set aside as the bridal chamber. In families of average or better financial means it is furnished with a bed, draperies, and complete toilet and dressing facilities. In poorer families that cannot afford to furnish the bridal chamber in elaborate fashion, some show of style will be made in furnishing the bed at least. By the evening before the wedding day the room must be ready, with all the wedding gifts on display.

On the wedding day three or four intimate married friends of the girl dress her. This must not be done by widows or divorcees, for it would bode ill for the marriage. For unmarried girls to perform this task would be immodest. Neither should a pregnant woman dress the bride, for this would be bad for her baby. The dressing of the bride begins sufficiently early for her to be ready at the astrologically-determined wedding hour.

The bridegroom's party arrives just prior to the appointed time for the ceremony. It includes two of his bachelor friends as well as his family. He takes his seat on a cushion on the platform that has been specially erected for the ceremony. The bride is brought out by her matrons, and approaches with her eyes downcast. She takes her seat on a cushion on the bridegroom's left. Across the platform, from left to right, are placed three silver offering bowls. A fourth bowl, on the right hand edge of the platform, contains puffed rice. The bride-

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
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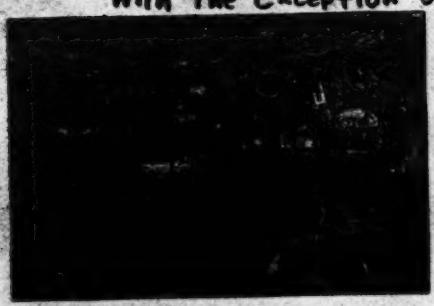
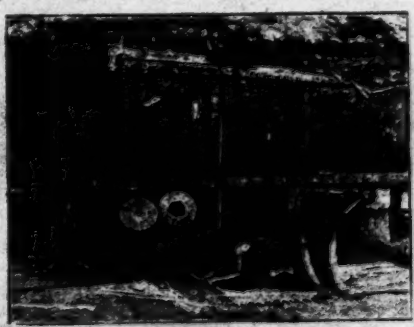
With the exception of the stuff for the 386
recluses' robes, cloth is not dyed 286
in the piece, but in the yarn. [192]
Dyes used for cotton are also chiefly imported, but the indigenous dyes continue to be used for silk. [342] The Burmans excel in yellows, oranges, deep reds, and rich deep greens, which they harmonise with beautiful effect. Their clear blues and purples are indifferent. Except in a few localities, where 286
weaving is a speciality, the men 462
take no share in the industry [438]
beyond constructing the looms. Women spin and dye the yarn and weave the cloth. The lath of the loom (*lekka*) is of graceful outline—often elaborately carved—and is furnished with two ornamented metal pins, with loose metal rings, [531] that jangle at each swing of the beam, and proclaim the industry of the young woman, to whom this business chiefly falls. [584] Hence it comes that the loom is a favourite *rendezvous*. The same applies to other occupations of the girls, such as rice-cleaning, when the suitor will take a turn at the heavy part of the work and lounge while the sifting goes on. Common patterns of cloth are tartans, 286
for which two or three shuttle-spools are required. The plainest cloth woven is at least shot with a colour different to that of the warp. The intricacy of a pattern is denoted by the number of spools. Scroll patterns (*cheik*) in silk are called *hse-tayd* (hundred-spool). The warp is a cubit wide and about twenty cubits long, which makes a man's loin-cloth (*pasô*). The piece is doubled and its edges sewn together along one side; the turn of the cloth serves as a bag or wallet, according as the piece is draped; it has no lining. The *pasô* is hitched round the loins and girt long or short, according to fancy, without the help of a belt; but elastic belts are now coming in. The slack is worn in a bunch in front (*kabdangas*) or is thrown over the shoulder.



159. SHOWING THE THATCH.



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[342]

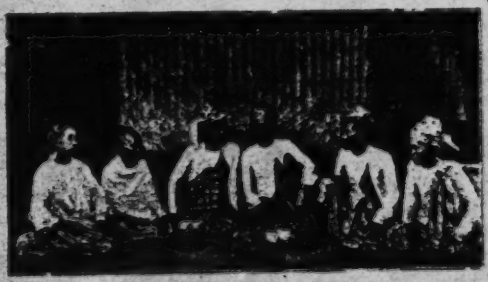
127. PLAITING FLOOR-MATS (see p. 66).

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

149. THE SUITOR'S VISIT.

work-boxes, loom-laths, mirror-stands are often the lover's handiwork. Not the least of the lover's offerings is poetry. If he be a scholar, he will sing or recite to his mistress verses of his own in praise of her charms. But there are current ditties to the fancy of every one. The imagery which is the main feature of these odes, is borrowed from every source of beauty, blossom and flower, dewdrop and pearl, planet and star. Burmese metre is largely eked out with euphonic particles; at other times the diction is so compressed as to make the sense most difficult for a foreigner to grasp.

Marriages of affection are general. Romantic attachments are frequent in real life, as they are the rule in the play. The frequency of the mere marriage of convenience is not greater in Burma than in England or America. In this respect there is no parallel to the customs of the hill-tribes of Burma, the neighbouring Asiatic civilisations or even the Latin races of Europe. Their mutual qualities, physical, moral, and material, are for the most part known to the parties from childhood. Burmans evince an openness and frankness amounting to joviality, not to be met with in other parts of Asia. They indulge a much freer play of feature and yet greater freedom in the modulation of the voice. The term for betrothal—*sayán-pe*, earnest-money—testifies to the original purchase of the bride. In modern usage, however, the *sayán* is merely a share of the cost of outfit, according to means. It takes the form of a silk *htamín* or a piece of jewellery for the girl, and is brought by the lad when he comes with his parents to ask the consent of the girl's parents to the marriage. Where parents oppose, runaway matches are frequent.



150. MARRIAGE CEREMONY.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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585

151. THE IDEAL AND THE REAL.

They are generally condoned. Burmans do not wait to make money in order to marry, but marry in order to make money. Girls marry from the age of about twenty, and men about twenty-five. The marriage is a quiet affair. A day is fixed, when the lad and his parents repair to the home of the girl, whither some of the elders of the village (*lûdyî*) have been invited for witness. The father of the lad addresses the parents of the girl in this wise: "Seeing that our children love each other, we pray you let your daughter be as our daughter and our son as your son" (*ekkan*). The girl's parents express their pleasure and approval, and according to one usage, the couple thereupon join hands (*lettat*), which means marriage; but the joining-of-hands is as a rule figurative. After this the lad goes and fetches his bedding, curtain, and clothes and places them in the house in token of reception into the family. In conclusion, the parties and the witnesses eat pickled tea together. When one or both parties are strangers in the place, friends undertake the part of parents and the elders make inquiries as to blood-relationship and pre-existing ties. Kinship closer than first-cousin and the corresponding step-relationships are respected—except by royalty (p. 170). Sometimes marriages are of a more festive description (*mingala*). Astrologers are called in and company entertained as at the *nôbauk mingala*. Other unions, again, are by mere mutual agreement, without formalities of any kind. By time-honoured custom the lads of the village claim the right to pelt the house of the new-married pair at night (*gè-pyit*), and it is usual to buy them off. New couples mostly start life in

[582]
[791]
[304]
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152. TATTOOING (TOGWIN, see p. 18).

principle of contributory negligence was also known to Burmese law, and the following rules of law regarding "travelling at night with due caution" will serve as an illustration: 672 683

If there be occasion for a person at night to go about the city or the town, or the village, he shall go only with a lantern, for if he goes about without a lantern and is stopped, or hindered, or attacked, he shall not be entitled to damages. If, however, he is going about in search of a doctor, and if he shouts out this fact in the darkness, he shall be entitled to full compensation from the offender who stops or strikes him, even though he carries no lantern. In the same way, if a young woman goes about at night beyond the usual hours when people go about, and if she wears no kerchief on her breast, and if her modesty is outraged, she shall not be entitled to any damages.

The unity of Burmese society has always been the family, but unlike the rigidly knit Roman family or the Hindu joint family, it easily disintegrates. A Burmese family is loosely knit by ties of blood, and sometimes of marriage, and thus it usually consists of the father, the mother, and their unmarried sons and daughters. The sons however can leave the family even before marriage on attaining the age of puberty (sixteen years of age), and the daughters on attaining the age of majority, but sons and daughters of course usually leave the family only on marriage. Sometimes sons and daughters decide to remain in the family even after marriage, at least for some time. The head of the family is the father, and on his death, the mother succeeds to the headship of the family, as in Burmese law the husband and wife are heirs to each other. The head of the Burmese family exercises general control over the family, but unlike the heads of the Roman and Hindu families, he performs no religious duties. He or she has the [584] right to betroth his or her daughter under the age of majority to a male of his or her choice, but the right is subject to the daughter's right of repudiating the betrothal, either by refusing to marry the man chosen by her parent, or by compelling the parent to recognize her betrothal to the man of her own choice. 671 693

526 After the bath a dry longyi is slipped on over the wet one which is then
291 washed clean straight away. The poorest, who do not always possess a
515 spare longyi, sometimes let themselves into a stream gradually, lifting the longyi higher as they go in, and when the water is bosom-high they keep the garment on their head, letting it down again as they emerge. Our use for the adaptability of the longyi was to stand on a diving platform with it opened wide at the bottom, jump feet first and let the air rush in, nicking the longyi in at the ankles as we struck the water. This

makes you land with a balloon which floats you for a minute or two like those swollen celluloid ducks in babies' tubs. My friend Tin Tin Thoung was just like a swan on these occasions; she was not pretty normally, being very thin and angular, but she had a long and graceful neck, and when she floated on the water, gliding along with her neck rising out of her big round longyi, she looked like a beautiful swan to me.
[262] After bathing, the Taik Wans' mother had basketfuls of Indian corn, the tender ones boiled and the tougher ones roasted, and dishes of the peeled marians doused in fish sauce awaiting us.

981 Besides these social visits there were special festivals that came with
585 the months, and occasions common to every family's history—the ear-boring of the girl, the initiation into the priesthood of the boy, and marriages of grown-up children—which had to be celebrated in traditional forms. Most minkadaws preferred to hold marriage ceremonies in Rangoon, Moulmein or Mandalay to have as much fashion and show as possible, but the ear-boring (*nadwin*) and initiation into priesthood (*shinbyu*) find a better background in country towns. Nadwin is the coming of age of a girl, not for marriage, but for the initiation into the pleasant vanities of a woman's life. It is fine enough to sit with a rich

and full dress on a cushion, the centre of the crowd of people who have been invited for feasting, to have the ears pierced with a gold pin and after this always to wear diamond ear-rings, but the ceremony has no deeper significance than that the parent feels he has done the best for his daughter at this stage of her life. The shinbyu, however, is much more than a social event. It has a religious meaning of the fullest beauty. 881 585

Although the women of Burma figure as actively and have the same rights as men in the fields of business, property, and professions of the modern world, we always keep alive in us the religious feeling that we are "below" mankind. It is not so much a feeling that women are a lower race as that a man has the nobility of manhood in him. We call it *hpon*, the glory, the holiness of a man, and we respect this not with subservience but with the same feelings as we respect monks and parents. A wife does not throw her longyi across her husband's bed, she does not touch any of his possessions with her feet in carelessness, she uses a separate mug for her bathwater. A bad wife who does not respect her husband's manhood does him the greatest harm, for a man cannot prosper if his hpon is hampered; indeed, some women who indulge in black magic deliberately *hpon-nein* their husbands, that is, lower his hpon by carelessly wielding brooms above his head, throwing women's longyis on his pillow, thus making him subordinate, and believing that this makes the wife's will prevail over the husband's. But such a man can never make progress in his career. 562 784 789

It is the Buddhist belief that the attainment of a perfect life is as a man, as shown in Gautama Buddha's life as Prince Siddhartha. Prince Siddhartha was the son of King Suddhodana, who surrounded his son with all the luxury and splendour that his kingdom on the slopes of the Himalayas could offer. To prevent his son from renouncing his princely life for one of poverty and meditation he kept all sights of sorrow, sickness and decay hidden from him. He found him a perfect wife, beautiful, meek and affectionate, who bore him a son; but the prince in his excursions to a park in the city came across a decrepit old man, a sick old man and a corpse, which sights made him sad at the thought of human misery in this world. The next time, however, he saw a hermit which suggested that peace of mind was achievable by renunciation of the vanities of the world. On the night that his son was born, Prince Siddhartha made the Great Renunciation and left everything to go into solitude and find out the cause of misery, and the means of its removal. The Dhammapada says of the world: 779

> Come! behold this world which is like a decked royal chariot, wherein the foolish immerse themselves; but for the wise there is no attachment.

face from bringing something off, money is paid in advance, rush tactics 593
are employed to prevent the man returning from abroad from marrying
the sweetheart of his college days, and in some cases even magic is resor- 584
ted to, though in secret. This black magic, especially, involves some 554
very undignified actions. A younger cousin of mine once warned his 177-
mother: "Please, Mother, never try to sell me like a bullock, or worse 58
still to arrange a marriage for my sister. I will not help you to jump
thrice on eggshells or throw ten viss of fish into a well at dead of night [789]
under instructions from a soothsayer."

Although marriages were constantly being arranged among our [585]•
circle of friends in Thaton, I was not allowed to attend weddings as a 527
young unmarried girl. What we did attend regularly with the grown-ups were the *u-bok-nay*, the duty day gatherings every week in the resthouses among the hills. On these days Buddhists who choose to observe the day, obey eight or ten precepts instead of five. Amongst these ten are the abstaining from food after mid-day, absence of ornament and cosmetics in dress, meditation and prayer, and absence of a high couch in sleep. In Thaton the observance of this day was made the weekly social event with the same combination of material enjoyment and religious piety that characterizes all Burmese functions as described previously. Each family went to the hills early in the morning with mats, betel boxes and a well-cooked meal. The girls wore all the [556]
jewellery they had because we had not yet taken the precepts, and this was a good chance of showing that a family did not lack wealth. We met in the resthouses, to one of which a monk came to intone the precepts. These we repeated in chorus after him; then the elders talked and chewed betel, and at about 10-30 the whole party went to bathe in the pools made by the waterfalls down the hills. We went back to find the pooled dishes of four or five families laid out in a rich feast. We stuffed ourselves with this. The law states that food should not be eaten after noon, and the law was always obeyed in the letter if not in the spirit.

One maiden lady in Rangoon who kept duty days regularly ate till 785
as near noon as she possibly could. She usually finished her meal with
fruit, and if she was eating a banana when noon struck with a loud bang 527
from the cannon at the Shwe Dagon Pagoda, "Hawl" she would exclaim, and in would go the whole length of the banana into her mouth. After noon, tea and coffee are not allowed either but aerated waters, which look so much like water, are sanctioned. When my husband was a novice monk in the monastery, they were allowed medicinal products also after noon, and the hungry young novices often made a [278]
delicious soup of garlic (a digestive) fried in butter (medicinal component), and water poured on to the fragrant compound.

running with unholy energy and two small boys streaking after them 525
shouting: "My hpongyi! Hey, my hpongyi!"

The showy vanity of Rangoon was seen at its greatest at wedding 585
celebrations where no woman of any standing came without a full load 511
of jewellery, either owned or borrowed for the occasion. For weddings of families like ours hundreds of invitations had always to be sent out owing to the tradition of acknowledging distant relationships and connections. It would be considered rude also not to invite the friends among clerks and traders from every town in which my father had been posted during our growing-up years.

Marriage is a social contract in Burma. To be married one needs 581
no recourse to legal or priestly officers. The *let-htat*, laying of hands 562
one on the other, can be performed in the presence of elders, or a feast can 428
be given to a few people to obtain recognition of the married state. This is done after elopements, for example, when the parents have become reconciled and the young couple is too shy to go through the pantomine of a marriage ceremony. For divorce, also, no legal procedure is necessary, but convention makes divorces rare. Although monogamy is almost universal in Burma, polygamy is not forbidden by the law. A "mistress" of a married man is considered a sort of wife, but the disapproval with which this is regarded is shown in the term applied to her: *ma-ya-nga*, lesser wife. But the liberty operates both ways, and in the rare cases of a woman who runs to a second husband without any agreement having been reached beforehand, she is said to have a *lin-ngè*, lesser husband. The lack of legal safeguards of a woman's position as the only wife is amply compensated for by the rulings of Burmese Buddhist Law as regards her property. She retains sole ownership of whatever property she brings to the marriage, and on the dissolution of the marriage is entitled to half of all the additions of wealth since the marriage. Neither can an irate husband make a will leaving his money to other relatives and strangers. Wills are forbidden by law; children inherit equal shares of the parents' legacy, except in the cases where there are more than four children in the family. Then the eldest takes one-quarter before the rest is divided equally amongst the other children. On the death of one parent the surviving parent still has sole ownership of half the property. The other half is open to division among the children, but it is only a black sheep which will insist on division while one parent is still alive.

When I had been home but a month, my brother appealed to me 584
for help in arranging the matter of his marriage. His difficulty was that he had no wish to marry the various dowried young women with whom my relatives were trying to contract him; he had chosen his own bride but at the same time the stern array of cousins, aunts and uncles in our

lecturer went to the head of the grave and said in English: "So-and-so, I give you notice that you are no longer in the Jr. B. A. class." When U Tin Gyi died during an official visit to England, we held his cremation at Golders Green and succeeded in getting a Singhalese hpongyi from the Buddhist Lodge in London to perform the rites. In spite of the environment of the crematorium we felt that we had achieved a dim and religious Buddhist atmosphere, such as he would have wished, by the time the hpongyi had intoned the verses, with all the gathered Burmese students repeating them phrase by phrase. But suddenly one of the English officers present got up and read in English: "U Tin Gyi, O.B.E., Registrar for Co-operative Societies in the Government of Burma, I give you leave to relinquish your post in the service of the Government. Signed—Adams." As if the persistent ghost might return to haunt in English, having been dismissed in only one of his two languages.)

Mr. Bernard Swithinbank of the I.C.S. had, through long years of friendship for Burmese people, laid the hands of many young couples one upon the other in marriage, and in this case he seemed particularly fitted for the task, for twenty-five years before he had married the parents of the bride, and though he could not perform for the bridegroom's parents their marriage ceremony which was held in Grandfather's time, it was he who gave my father leave to go to Thaton, as senior officer wishing him all prosperity in his marriage.

At last the great day arrived and all the male cousins and uncles collected at our house to dress the bridegroom with as much fuss as attends a bride in any other country. My mother had bought three pink silk turbans varying barely perceptibly in shade, so that the young man's complexion might be matched exactly when the fateful hour approached. My two young sisters and I took one each and sewed the finest possible seams, but submitting every inch as we went long to the scrutiny of my senior uncle Kyaw Din who said that a man's turban needed finer sewing than any woman's garment. My *Ko Lay*, most debonair of the cousins, tied the turban on my brother's head, while the band of elder brothers-once-removed stood around and complained that he did not make the floating end dance and toss with sufficient sprightliness. Two uncles and two cousins combined to tie his pasoe, the magnificent skirt which had been brought down from Mandalay and matched in the weaving with the bride's own skirt. My brother submitted to all of this with a meekness born of never having worn full Burmese dress before. All the while my three sisters danced around to look at him from every angle, exclaiming with sauciness and delight how beautiful and pink he looked, for my brother was really a robust and dark-skinned type of man who liked to wear sober English clothes.

• 585 When we arrived in procession at the bride's house, we found all her relatives gathered in the drawing-room, men down one side and women down the other; at the head a couch for the presiding elders, U Maung Maung and Mr. Swithinbank, before it a pair of rich cushions for the bridal pair to sit upon, and before it again a giant bowl of carved silver, filled with flowers and offerings. Everything in here was silent, restrained and correct. None but relatives were present, not divorcees, nor those whose married lives had been scandalous, lest they spoil the auspicious nature of the day.

585 292 832 I slipped into the bedroom to see the bride and, pausing, caught my breath to see how lovely she looked at that moment. On her wedding-day a Burmese woman wears the full court-dress of the by-gone days of the Burmese kings; the dress was worn by the queens and princesses of our songs and history, as they bowed before the magnificence of the king on his throne, as they stood by casements in the moonlight, as they sang songs of melancholy when evil days were upon them and their enemies had prevailed over them. The long side tress, the trailing open skirt, the tight jacket which left the bosom bare for necklaces of diamonds, were created to show the perfections of a beautiful woman. Neither tall nor short should she be, her waist small and her breast carried high, her skin smooth and yellow like the thanakha finely ground, rich and creamy, her eyes like those of a golden doe, beneath eyebrows arched no heavier than a three days' moon, her lips two ruby gems, and her hair as black as a beetle's wings. Such was Ommadhanti, such Pabhawadi, the beautiful one. Such was my sister-in-law on that day as she came out, betraying no emotion and recognizing no one as she walked up the room in silence and sank down on the cushion beside the bridegroom.

585 Now the writer of the panegyric rose and chanted the paean of praise. The young *tha-do-tha*, Maung Sett Kaing, so blessed with virtues, complete with every manly quality; the young *tha-do-thami*, Khin Khin Su, so beautiful and full of womanly dignity; both of good race, good stock, to be married thus auspiciously, to have a good long life together, so great is their merit. Then the elder presiding lady put the offerings from the silver bowl, one after another, into the hands of the bride, and she made obeisance with each one. Now was every evil banished and every good present, for the performance of the *mingala*, the auspicious thing. The bridal pair rose from the cushions and took their places on the couch; U Maung Maung took the hands of bride and groom, laid them one upon the other, and dipped them into a golden bowl of water as the reader of the panegyric now called witness to the marriage. Then Mr. Swithinbank held their hands together and said

1: Mi Mi Khaing 1-5 (no date) 1946 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

in English : "Maung Sett Khaing and Khin Khin Su, I pronounce you man and wife." 585

All this was a solemn affair; there were no music, no speeches, no outsiders, and no photographs; but by the end of the ceremony murmurs of the activity in the garden floated in. There, a tea party such as the song recounts was being arranged, with an orchestra, Indian waiters, photographers and young men in bright longyis to usher the guests around. After the tea, the wedding guests went to see not so much the presents which were laid out on tables, but the bridal chamber, fitted with richest trappings, and guarded against male intrusion by a gold thread across the door, to break across which the men must pay in gold. All the guests now streamed into this chamber, the women peering here and there, lifting the coverlet of the bed to see if the traditional blankets of velvet were present, prodding the softness of the mattress, estimating the taste of the bride in the choice of fine linen and lace hangings. The custom is for the pair to spend their first days in this chamber in the house of the bride's family, before they go to live in their own house.

Different though the life in Rangoon was from the days in the districts, our Buddhist festivals still came round for social gathering and celebration. Being a big town, however, with electricity, crowded streets and cars, the celebrations tended to stand out more as night celebrations. Pagoda festivals at any of the pagodas in the suburbs drew a procession of cars and buses to the night bazaars, anyeins, and the light points twinkling out of the surrounding blackness. But these twinkling lights were multiplied a thousandfold at the lighting-up festivals of which we had two. Thadingyut, or the release from Lenten sobriety, ushers in the springtime of the year : now may all weddings, shinbyus and ear-borings take place, now may fasting days decrease and the full moons of lighting and harvesting and the new year water-play follow before another Lent; the deluge of the rains has ceased at last, the sky has been washed blue and the air blows cool and gentle. At Thadingyut, all houses light up their verandahs and gardens; streets of houses put up pavilions and offer food and stage shows to all the townspeople who ride along in cars, trams and rickshaws to look at the lights from end to end of the town. [369] 796

During my last Thadingyut in Burma we had a happier idea. Leaving our house with a nominal number of oil-flame dishes burning, we went in a party of twelve to the hill of the Shwe Dagon, to light there one thousand candles as our magnificent deed of merit. We walked up the western approach, a covered way of pillars and stalls selling fragrant flowers, incense sticks and candles for offering; barefooted up steps which we came to sweep at other times in the belief that this good deed brings the doer beauty of long and black hair in the next existence. From a

Z:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

Little presents are exchanged. The *soupirant* brings a gay kerchief with some love-verses written on it, perhaps his own composition, more probably the erotic sighings of the prince in the last play he heard, or cribbed bodily from a song-book for Kālathas (Corinthians, lads of mettle). The girl gives him some green cheroots, rolled by her fair hands, or a brilliant woollen muffler which she has knitted; but there is never any of the kissing and caressing indulged in by more urgent foreign lovers. The girl would look upon any attempts of such a nature as highly indecorous, and no doubt it is quite unsuited to her clothing. 584 538 431

When at last everything has been settled — parents' consent obtained, dowry fixed, and a fortunate day and hour pitched upon — the marriage ceremony comes off in the house of the bride's parents. The ritual is very simple and has nothing whatever of a religious character about it; in fact the celibate pôngyis would be grossly scandalised if they were asked to take any part in it. A great feast is prepared at the expense of the bridegroom or his parents. All the relations, friends, and neighbours are invited, and it is the publicity of the thing that is really the main feature of the ceremony. The old custom that the bride and bridegroom should join their right hands together, palm to palm, in the presence of all the assembled guests, and then should eat rice out of the same dish and feed each other with one or two morsels in turtle-dove fashion, has in many cases died out, and the eating and drinking, the talk of the men in the main room of the house and of the women in the inner apartment, is quite enough to solemnise the union. When the newly-married couple retire into the bridal chamber it is sometimes in the larger towns the custom to shower saffron-coloured rice on them, but this, like the entire seclusion in which the happy pair are supposed to pass the next seven days, is very seldom actually carried out. 585

In the country villages, however, two ancient customs are still very generally prevalent. The one is to tie a string across the road along which the bridegroom must pass to the house of his intended. He comes in procession with all his friends, carrying the greater portion of the belongings 585 369

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

585 with which he intends to set up house: a bundle of mats,
369 a long arm-chair, a teak box, mattresses, pillows, besides materials for the feast and presents for the bride. The people who have put up the string — called the gold or silver cord—usually young men intent on a jollification of their own, stop the happy man, and threaten to break the string with a curse on the married couple unless some money is given them. It is simple extortion, and English district officers sometimes forbid it. Nevertheless the speculation is usually successful. I suppose no one feels very niggardly on his marriage day.

585 The other custom is much more singular, more ancient, and infinitely more disagreeable. On the night of the marriage a band of the young bachelors of the place come and shower stones and sticks on the roof of the house where the happy couple are, keeping up sometimes such a sustained battery that the thatch or wooden shingles suffer materially, while the furniture and even the newly-wedded couple occasionally do not escape injury. In Lower Burma the lads are usually bought off with a sum of money, and where the officials do not interfere to prevent it, the custom has degenerated into a system of extortion. Not a few lawsuits have sprung out of such sieges. The money paid in toll to this horseplay goes by the name of ké-bo, and is supposed to be devoted by the receivers to making offerings at the pagoda, but the young men nowadays use it shame-
585 lessly for their own entertainment. In Upper Burma the
114 blackmail is never demanded, and consequently Father San Germano was puzzled to conceive any reason for the extraordinary practice. Captain Forbes seeing the payment to procure relief, believed that extortion was the sole origin as
585 well as object of the performance. But the learned in Bur-
773 mese folk-lore assign it a much higher and more estimable beginning. When, after the world was formed, it was first peopled from the superior heavens of the Byammās, of the nine that remained behind, weighed down by the gross earthly food they had eaten, five gradually became men and four women. When these Byammā-gyi ko-yauk, these nine great ancestors of the Burmese and of all mankind, had gradually degenerated, through the substitution of Pada-

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

lata for the original flavoured earth, and of Thale rice for the leguminous creeper, desire arose among them, and four of the men took the four women to wife. The fifth man naturally resented being left compulsorily single, and pelted the happy couples with stones on their marriage night. Sympathy with the feelings of this archetypal bachelor has perpetuated the stone-throwing by the lu-byos down to the present day, and if there is no dearth of eligible spinsters in our times, the lonely bachelor may be allowed to express his envy of his friend's bliss without being accused of anything but gross cupidity. 585 773

After marriage the couple almost always live for two or three years in the house of the bride's parents, the son-in-law becoming one of the family and contributing to its support. Setting up a separate establishment, even in Rangoon, where the young husband is a clerk in an English office, is looked upon with disfavour as a piece of pride and ostentation. If the girl is an only daughter, she and her husband stay on till the old people die. 591 583

Polygamy is recognised and permitted, but practically does not exist now in British territory. A man with more than one wife becomes a subject of common talk, and a native official now living is well known all through the delta as the myo-ok with twenty wives. In native territory the right to have several wives was equally little used in practice. Many of the high officials who travelled about over large districts had wives in almost all the towns they visited —a custom in great measure induced by the rule which provided that the mayă-gyi, the chief wife, had to be left in Mandalay as a hostage for the fidelity of the official. But the great bulk of the people are, and always have been, monogamous. King Mindôn had fifty-three recognised *wives*, of whom thirty-seven survived him. His children numbered one hundred and ten, of whom upwards of fifty survived him. Besides the wives, like Solomon, he had numerous concubines. So, indeed, have many lesser people. 595 [647]

The forbidden degrees are few. Marriages with mother, daughter, sister, and half-sister, aunt, grandmother, and granddaughter, are forbidden, but none else. A son may marry his stepmother; it is expressly mentioned in the 582

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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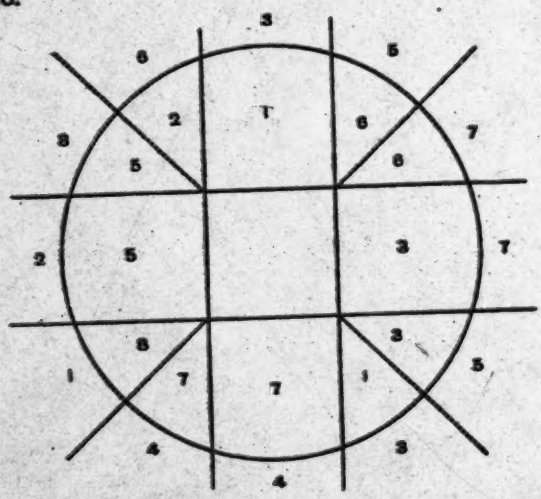
both contracting parties would soon die if children of these hostile days married. 581 787

On the other hand, there is an elaborate figure showing what unions according to birthdays will be lucky.

The numbers represent the days of the week according to the order. 1, Sunday; 2, Monday; 3, Tuesday; 4, Wednesday; 5, Thursday; 6, Friday; 7, Saturday; 8, Yahu (half Wednesday). The inner numbers represent the man's birthday; the outer the woman's. Those who choose their wives in accordance with this figure will be happy and well-to-do.



The outer ring the maiden's,
The inner ring the man's.
All ye who would live easeful
On this scheme form your plans.

All these rhymes are learned by the little boys at school, sometimes formally taught them by the preceptor as an excerpt from the Bedin, sometimes, when the yahan refuses to recognise the validity of these books, studied surreptitiously along with the secular plays and song-books. Whatever else a girl may know, you may be sure she can give you the marriage rhymes. 581 787 869

After the marriage has been settled upon, lucky combination of birthdays, parents' consent, settlement of dower and 585

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

585 805 so on, all satisfactorily arranged, the formalities are not yet over. A lucky day has to be sought from the horoscopes of the two chief parties, but beyond this there are a number of obstacles which must on no account be overlooked. In the first place, with the pious the same rule prevails as in England, that no marriages should take place in Lent. This cuts upwards of three months out of the year immediately. Unfortunately a number of persons are so completely in the world of kāma, the seat of the passions, that they care very little whether it is the season of the Wā or not. But almost every one, whether pious or not, considers well the character of the months as given in the marriage linga. The year begins with Tagu, commencing about the middle of April. In this month and Kasôn the next, couples marrying will be very rich. In Nayôn they will love one another. Those marrying in Waso and Wagaung, when Lent begins, will die or be grievously sick. If the young pair are so mad as to brave the danger, their parents should stop the marriage. In Tawthalin, Na'daw, and Pyatho, if you marry, you will lose goods and money. In Thadingyut you will have slaves, children, and money as much as you want. In Tasaungmôn slaves, buffaloes, cattle, and furniture in abundance, will flow in upon the married couple. Tabodwè and Tabaung are very unlucky for those who tempt Hymen. There will be no children, or only girls, and misfortunes will
587 be frequent. Nevertheless though there is all this trouble in getting a wife to your mind, as well as lucky in time of birth, worldly goods, and season of marriage, there are very few Burmans, not in the sacred order, who are not married before they are twenty, and happily married too. As the popular saying puts it—

> Ye hnin nga,
> Lin hnin maya.
>
> Fish to the water,
> Man to Eve's daughter.

584 [791] is not particularly well known to them. The boy's parents will be informed by the girl's family that their decision must await the outcome of consultation with an astrologer concerning the compatability of the birth dates of the prospective bride and groom. If the marriage is found to be an auspicious one -- which it usually will be found to be if the girl's parents desire the match -- an affirmative answer is relayed to the boy's parents. The latter thereupon call on her parents, and in the presence of elders, formally ask for the girl's hand. From this moment the couple are considered betrothed and must not go about in public unchaperoned.

● 585 The wedding date is astrologically determined. The length of the engagement depends upon the availability of an auspicious wedding date. In general, lengthy engagements are disliked. In no case should an engagement carry over the period of Waso, the so-called Buddhist 'Lent.'

Before the wedding ceremony, the bride's house is open to friends and relatives, who are expected to drop in to help prepare the house for the wedding, lending household items that may be needed for the occasion. A pavilion adjoining the house is erected to accomodate the crowd that will attend. All the helpers and would-be helpers in this work are offered meals and light refreshments.

The bride's family normally bears all the expenses of these preparations, but sometimes the boy's family will mention a sum of money either as a contribution towards the wedding or as an indication of their son's ability to support a wife. If such funds are offered, they will be mentioned at the time the girl's hand is sought.

One room in the girl's house is set aside as the bridal chamber. In families of average or better means it is furnished with a bed, draperies, and complete toilet and dressing facilities. In poorer families that cannot afford to furnish the bridal chamber in elaborate fashion, some show of style will be made in furnishing the bed, at least. By the evening before the wedding day the room must be ready, with all the wedding gifts on display.

On the wedding day three or four intimate married friends of the girl dress her. This must not be done by widows or divorcees, for it would bode ill for the marriage. For unmarried girls to perform this task would be immodest. Neither should a pregnant woman take part in dressing the bride, for that would be bad for her baby. The dressing of the bride must begin sufficiently early so that she will be completely ready at a precise, astrologically determined wedding hour.

The bridegroom's party arrives just prior to the appointed time for the ceremony. It includes two of his bachelor friends as well as his family. He takes his seat on a cushion on the platform that has been specially erected. The bride is brought out by her matrons and approaches with eyes downcast. She takes her seat on a cushion to the bridegroom's left. Across the platform, from left to right, are placed three silver offering bowls. A fourth bowl, on the right hand edge of the platform, contains puffed rice. The bridegroom's bachelor friends take seats to his rear; the matrons of the bride sit directly behind her.

794 585 A lay elder, arranged for by the bride's mother, officiates. He recites a paean of praise concerning the merits of the bride and groom and the goodness

of their families. The bride and groom are each handed a spray of flowers from the offering bowls and they make obeisance to the guardian spirits of their respective households. With a second spray they make obeisance to their parents and elders. Then a small tray containing fruit and rice is placed before them. The lay elder places a spoonful of this food first to the bridegroom's, then to the bride's lips. As he does this he makes a statement to the effect that this is the auspicious meal and that he hopes blessings may flow from it. 794 585

At this point, a happy and fruitfully married couple from among the oldest people in the community step forward to marry the couple. The left hand of the man is placed on top of the right hand of the girl. Water is poured on their hands thus joined and a silk scarf tied over them as the elderly couple recite words to the effect that they are now united. A chanter arises and intones a song of praise for long life. The contents of the bowl of puffed rice and money are scattered among the audience, and everyone scrambles for them. Now the bride and groom rise and are led to the bridal chamber, across the doorway of which is stretched a golden chain. After the bride has entered, anyone who wishes to do so tries to barricade the doorway and demand money of the groom. He is obliged to pay everyone who makes such demands. This money is known as 'stone money,' from the old custom, still practiced sometimes, of stoning the house of a couple on their wedding night until the bridegroom arises and pays them to desist. This behavior, the taunts and demands that are expressed, has an implied bawdiness about it. Once the couple have entered the bridal chamber, others may go in to inspect it. When all have left the chamber there is a general feast. Usually the feast in Tadagale partakes of the nature of a tea party, since a full scale feast is expensive. Each guest receives a symbolic gift, usually a cigar or a fan.

Old Age. Old age is the period after one's children are grown, the 'third age' of life. Women are definitely regarded as old after the menopause. The Burmese terms for 'old lady' and 'old man' are synonymous with grandparent terms, both in address and reference. Sometimes 'old mother' is used instead of 'old lady.' Long life is considered a great blessing and an indication of merit earned. Long life is prayed for and old age greatly idealized. 886 601 761

The ideal aged person is one who has successfully reared a family, has grandchildren, and a certain amount of material wealth. The aged are expected to be retiring and unobstrusive in their behavior. They should not go out visiting very much; they should eat less and avoid appearing too well dressed or jeweled when attending religious observances. 888

An attitude of resignation characterizes the outlook of the aged person. It is unheard of that old people should work. A possible exception would be a village headman, who, it is felt, should be a person of long experience. When aged people live with their children they assume the role of teachers of their grandchildren. Most of the time of elderly people is spent in activities centering around the pagodas and monasteries, organizing of religious festivals, and raising funds for the monks and charities. They often take leading roles in such activities. 887

The elderly members of a household arise early to see that the rice is cooked for the daily offering to the monks, and to insure that the household altar is properly looked after. It is preferable for them to arise before dawn, for to do so is considered very meritorious.

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

CHAPTER XV

WOMEN—II

'The husband is lord of the wife.'
Laws of Manu.

MARRIAGE is not a religious ceremony among the Burmese. Religion has no part in it at all; as religion has refrained from interfering with government, so does it in the relations of man and wife. Marriage is purely a worldly business, like entering into partnership; and religion, the Buddhist religion, has nothing to do with such things. Those who accept the teachings of the great teacher in all their fulness do not marry. 581

Indeed, marriage is not a ceremony at all. It is strange to find that the Burmese have actually no necessary ceremonial. The Laws of Manu, which are the laws governing all such matters, make no mention of any marriage ceremony; it is, in fact, a status. Just as two men may go into partnership in business without executing any deed, so a man and a woman may enter into the marriage state without undergoing any form. Amongst the richer Burmese there is, however, sometimes a ceremony. 585 582 [565]

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

585 Friends are called to the wedding, and a ribbon is stretched round the couple, and then their hands are clasped; they also eat out of the same dish. All this is very pretty, but not at all necessary.

It is, indeed, not a settled point in law what constitutes a marriage, but there are certain things that will render it void. For instance, no marriage can be a marriage without the consent of the girl's parents if she be under age, and there are certain other conditions which must be fulfilled.

But although there be this doubt about the actual ceremony of marriage, there is none at all about the status. There is no confusion between a woman who is married and a woman who is not. The condition of marriage is well known, and it brings the parties under the laws that pertain to husband and wife. A woman not married does not, of course, obtain these privileges; there is a very strict line between the two.

585 515 157 Amongst the poorer people a marriage is frequently kept secret for several days. The great pomp and ceremony which with us, and occasionally with a few rich Burmese, consecrate a man and a woman to each other for life, are absent at the greater number of Burmese marriages; and the reason they tell me is that the girl is shy. She does not like to be stared at, and wondered at, as a maiden about to be a wife; it troubles her that the affairs of her heart, her love, her marriage, should be so public. The young men come at night and throw stones upon the house roof, and demand presents from the bridegroom. He does not mind giving the presents; but he, too, does not like the publicity. And so

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

marriage, which is with most people a ceremony 585
performed in full daylight with all accessories of display, is with the Burmese generally a secret. Two or three friends, perhaps, will be called quietly to the house, and the man and the woman will eat together, and thus become husband and wife. Then they will separate again, and not for several days, or even weeks perhaps, will it be known that they are married; for it is seldom that they can set up house for themselves just at once. Often they will marry 591
and live apart for a time with their parents. Sometimes they will go and live together with the man's parents, but more usually with the girl's mother. Then after a time, when they have by their exertions made a little money, they build a house and go to live there; but sometimes they will live on with the girl's parents for years.

A girl does not change her name when she 582
marries, nor does she wear any sign of marriage, 593
such as a ring. Her name is always the same, and there is nothing to a stranger to denote whether she be married or not, or whose wife she is; and she keeps her property as her own. Marriage does not confer upon the husband any power over his wife's property, either what she brings with her, what she earns, or what she inherits subsequently; it all
remains her own, as does his remain his own. But 593
usually property acquired after marriage is held 562
jointly. You will inquire, for instance, who is the 421
owner of this garden, and be told Maung Han, Ma Shwè, the former being the husband's name and the latter the wife's. Both names are used very frequently in business and in legal proceedings, and indeed it is

length) draped over one shoulder. The PUNA, part of the scarf, still draped, is placed on front of the worshipping woman for her head and hands as she bows. The beads, a string about 2 feet long made of black lacquer or of red or white beads about ½ inch in diameter are called SHIE-PA-HKE (count-beads). They are worn about the neck when not in use, and are "counted" by the fingers of one hand. Each bead, thus counted calls to the worshipper's mind a vision of Buddha as she says ARA HAHN (God) in a low voice. While in this dress women do not decorate their hair with flowers or wear jewelry or cosmetiques as such would be unseemly. 792 291 293 [788]

The older man and other religious men (who are gathering alms as members of Buddhist lay societies) wear a loose white robe over a white jacket, white head band, praying bead necklace, and a chocolate coloured scarf draped over one shoulder. The general public must wear their very best clothes for religious festivals but the women do not use cosmetiques. "Rangoon Sabbath" is the term applied to the less strict observations of the town people who may appear with a little THANAKA or other cosmetiques. The marriage dress of the bride is an older form of costume involving use of a long split skirt with cut-flaring jackets. 888 779 575 291 [369] [779] [292] [585]

The hair styles are important and denote age and sex. Children of both sexes wear their hair in a knot at the top of the head with a fringe of short hair like a hood below. The older men's style was long hair knotted on one side in the back of the head; except in villages this has been superceded by the western short crop ranging from a long "Pompador" to short "crew cuts" - the latter being rarer and more modern. Old men wear very short cropped hair or are shaven - as the Pongyis and nuns. Maidens wear their hair in elaborately woven tresses - earlier on top of the head in a disc-whorl - now in chain braids at the back of the head. False switches of hair are commonly used. Flowers are used as decoration on all occasions. The usual style for married ladies is a knot at the back of the head wound around a rectangular comb of wood, (common) tortoise shell, ivory or gold. Older and married women sometimes appear in an ancient ceremonial style consisting of the hair wrapped around a fiber cylinder 302 177 369

23: Brant & Mi Mi Khaing E, I-5 (1949-1950)1951
AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

584 From this moment the couple are considered betrothed, and must not go about in public unchaperoned.

[787] The wedding date is astrologically determined. The length of the engagement period depends upon the availability of an auspicious wedding date. Generally speaking, lengthy engagements are disliked. In no case should an engagement carry over the Buddhist "Lent."

585 Before the wedding ceremony, the bride's house is open to friends and relatives, who are expected to drop in to help prepare the house for the wedding, lending household items that may be needed for the occasion. A pavilion adjoining the house is erected to accommodate the crowd that will attend. All the helpers and would-be helpers in this work are offered meals and light refreshments.

The bride's family normally bears all the expenses of these preparations, but sometimes the boy's family will mention a sum of money either as a contribution toward the wedding or as an indication of their son's ability to support a wife. If such funds are forthcoming, they will mention them at the time they ask for the girl's hand.

One room in the girl's house is set aside as the bridal chamber. In families of average or better financial means it is furnished with a bed, draperies, and complete toilet and dressing facilities. In poorer families that cannot afford to furnish the bridal chamber in elaborate fashion, some show of style will be made in furnishing the bed at least. By the evening before the wedding day the room must be ready, with all the wedding gifts on display.

On the wedding day three or four intimate married friends of the girl dress her. This must not be done by widows or divorcees, for it would bode ill for the marriage. For unmarried girls to perform this task would be immodest. Neither should a pregnant woman dress the bride, for this would be bad for her baby. The dressing of the bride begins sufficiently early for her to be ready at the astrologically-determined wedding hour.

The bridegroom's party arrives just prior to the appointed time for the ceremony. It includes two of his bachelor friends as well as his family. He takes his seat on a cushion on the platform that has been specially erected for the ceremony. The bride is brought out by her matrons, and approaches with her eyes downcast. She takes her seat on a cushion on the bridegroom's left. Across the platform, from left to right, are placed three silver offering bowls. A fourth bowl, on the right hand edge of the platform, contains puffed rice. The bride-

23: Brant & Mi Mi Khaing E, I-5 (1949-1950)1951
AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

groom's bachelor friends take seats to his rear; the matrons of the bride sit directly behind her. 585

Either a Brahmin or a lay elder, arranged for by the bride's mother, officiates. He recites a paean of praise concerning the merits of the bride and groom and the goodness of their families. The bride and groom are each handed a spray of flowers from the offering bowls and they make obeisance to the guardian spirits of their respective households. With a second spray they make obeisance to their parents and elders. Then a small tray containing fruit and rice is placed before them. The person officiating then places a spoonful of this food first to the bridegroom's, then to the bride's lips. As he does this he makes a statement to the effect that this is the auspicious meal and that he hopes blessing may flow from it.

At this point, a happy and fruitfully married couple from among the oldest people in the community step forward to marry the couple. The left hand of the man is placed on top of the right hand of the girl. Water is poured on their hands thus joined and a silk scarf tied over them as the elderly couple recite words to the effect that they are now united. If there is a Brahmin or professional chanter present he arises and intones a chant of praise for long life. The contents of the bowl of puffed rice and silver (or money) are scattered among the audience and everyone scrambles for them. Now the bride and groom rise and are led to the bridal chamber, across the doorway of which is stretched a golden chain. After the bride has entered, anyone who wishes to do so tries to barricade the doorway and demand money of the groom. He is obliged to pay everyone who makes such demands. This money is known as "stone money," from the old custom, still practiced in some cases, of stoning the house of the couple on the wedding night until paid to desist. This behavior, the taunts and demands that are expressed, has an implied bawdiness about it. Once the couple have entered the bridal chamber others have a right to go in to inspect it. When all have left the chamber there is general feasting. In former times wedding feasts were on a large scale, when every guest was given a present. Today, however, the feast partakes more of the nature of a tea party and only a symbolic gift, usually either a cigar or a fan, is given. [431]

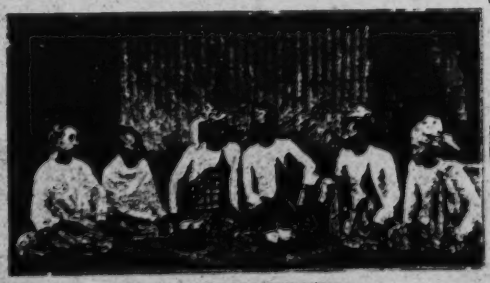
Old Age. Old age, in Burmese thought, is the period after one's children are grown, the "third age" of life. Women are definitely considered to be in old age after the menopause. The terms in Burmese for "old lady" and "old man" are synonymous with grandparent terms, both in address and reference. Sometimes "old mother" is used for "old lady." 886

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

149. THE SUITOR'S VISIT.

work-boxes, loom-laths, mirror-stands are often the lover's handiwork. Not the least of the lover's offerings is poetry. If he be a scholar, he will sing or recite to his mistress verses of his own in praise of her charms. But there are current ditties to the fancy of every one. The imagery which is the main feature of these odes, is borrowed from every source of beauty, blossom and flower, dewdrop and pearl, planet and star. Burmese metre is largely eked out with euphonic particles; at other times the diction is so compressed as to make the sense most difficult for a foreigner to grasp. 883 431 538

Marriages of affection are general. Romantic attachments are frequent in real life, as they are the rule in the play. The frequency of the mere marriage of convenience is not greater in Burma than in England or America. In this respect there is no parallel to the customs of the hill-tribes of Burma, the neighbouring Asiatic civilisations or even the Latin races of Europe. Their mutual qualities, physical, moral, and material, are for the most part known to the parties from childhood. Burmans evince an openness and frankness amounting to joviality, not to be met with in other parts of Asia. They indulge a much freer play of feature and yet greater freedom in the modulation of the voice. The term for betrothal—*sayán-pe*, earnest-money—testifies to the original purchase of the bride. In modern usage, however, the *sayán* is merely a share of the cost of outfit, according to means. It takes the form of a silk *htamáin* or a piece of jewellery for the girl, and is brought by the lad when he comes with his parents to ask the consent of the girl's parents to the marriage. Where parents oppose, runaway matches are frequent. 581 152 584 581



150. MARRIAGE CEREMONY.

[585]

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

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151. THE IDEAL AND THE REAL.

They are generally condoned. Burmans do not wait to make money in order to marry, but marry in order to make money. Girls marry from the age of about twenty, and men about twenty-five. The marriage is a quiet affair. A day is fixed, when the lad and his parents repair to the home of the girl, whither some of the elders of the village (*lûdyi*) have been invited for witness. The father of the lad addresses the parents of the girl in this wise: "Seeing that our children love each other, we pray you let your daughter be as our daughter and our son as your son" (*ekkau*). The girl's parents express their pleasure and approval, and according to one usage, the couple thereupon join hands (*lettat*), which means marriage; but the joining-of-hands is as a rule figurative. After this the lad goes and fetches his bedding, curtain, and clothes and places them in the house in token of reception into the family. In conclusion, the parties and the witnesses eat pickled tea together. When one or both parties are strangers in the place, friends undertake the part of parents and the elders make inquiries as to blood-relationship and pre-existing ties. Kinship closer [582] than first-cousin and the corresponding step-relationships are respected—except by royalty (p. 170). Sometimes marriages are of a more festive description (*mingala*). Astrologers are [791] called in and company entertained as at the *nâbauk mingala*. Other unions, again, are by mere mutual agreement, without formalities of any kind. By time-[304] honoured custom the lads of the village claim the right to pelt the house of the new-married pair at night (*gè-pyit*), and it is usual 591 to buy them off. New couples mostly start life in

152. TATTOOING (TGGWIN, see p. 13).

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

582 643 Dammathat. The sovereign always married at least one half-sister to ensure the purity of the royal blood, but, rather illogically, the issue of this union was not by any means necessarily heir to the throne. The son whom the king, or his ministers after his death, named, succeeded, or more commonly still, the son who could best maintain his position by force.

● 586 The liberty of divorce is practically unrestricted, except by the elaborate laws respecting the division of property. According to the Laws of Menu a woman may obtain a divorce among other reasons for the following: When her husband is poor and unable to support her; when he is always ailing; when he does not work and leads an idle life; when he is incapacitated by reason of old age; when he becomes a cripple after marriage.

And a man may obtain a divorce if his wife has no male children, if she has no love for her husband, or if she persists in going to a house where he tells her she must not visit, and so on.

The lawgiver seems in fact to have laid down that marriage is a civil contract which either party can dissolve; but, unless with good reason, the one that wishes to separate must suffer in property, more or less severely, according as the plea is good or bad.

Property, for this purpose, is said to be of three kinds. Pa-yin, property acquired by, or in possession of, persons before marriage. Let-htet-pwa, property acquired by husband or wife after marriage. Tin-thi, property inherited or obtained by gift. Pa-yin after marriage becomes hnit-pa-sôn, that is, the joint property of husband and wife, but only when it is agreed between them either before or after marriage that the property shall be put together for the mutual benefit.

In the event of a divorce both parties take away whatever pa-yin they may have had on marriage, and the let-htet-pwa is divided either by mutual agreement, or by the decision of the village elders who sanction the separation.

586 593 But divorces are far from being so common as most writers would have us believe. The warmth of family affection is one of the strongest traits of the race, and the

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

Burman is always very kind to his wife, while every girl is taught from her earliest years to look with the highest respect upon man as man, and to defer in all things to his judgment, though she is far more free than the Indian wife. The Burman consults with his partner in all his affairs, public and private, and often is entirely guided by her. She keeps the shop that is to be found in almost every house in the country towns, and usually makes far more money than the goodman himself. It is a simple matter to blame the Burmese for easy marriage customs, but the system speedily puts an end to unhappy and ill-assorted unions, and illegitimate children are exceedingly rare. Finally, unless there is good known cause for a separation the divorced parties are not by any means looked upon with a favourable eye. The man who enters a monastery to get rid of a wife goes by the contemptuous name of taw-twet "jungle runaway," for the rest of his life, while the ta-ku-lat, the *divorcée*, is a perennial subject of joke to the jester in the play:—

> She that's neither maid, married, nor widow,
> Fits all men as a pot does it's lid, O.

That is to say, a divorced woman needs small wooing. Such a woman will not hesitate to cut off the bya-bazan, the lappets of hair that fall down over the ears, the last resource of the despairing and unwilling celibate.

The literature of marriage is not inconsiderable. The tattooing ceremonies, a-nu se, love-philtres, charms, and what not, are referred to elsewhere. There remain a number of singular matters to be taken note of by those who would be happy in married life. Thus the girls are told how they may ascertain a man's character by the colour of his heart's blood—though how they are to ascertain this colour without injury to the subject of inquiry is not mentioned. A lustful man's blood is dark red; a cross, quarrelsome man's is so dark as almost to be black; a lazy man's like elephant's water; a rough-speaking man's like boiled peas: a charitable man's like the flower of the mahā hlega, a species of bauhinia; while a learned man's heart's blood is beautiful as the ruby.

Similarly useless knowledge is the statement that an

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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points, hardly even in minor points, does the law discriminate against women. 562 779

The law as regards marriage and inheritance and divorce will come each in its own place. It is very much the same both for the man and the woman. 562 671 586

The criminal law was the same for both; I have tried to find any difference, and this is all I have found: A woman's life was less valuable than a man's. The price of the body, as it is called, of a woman was less than that of a man. If a woman were accidentally killed, less compensation had to be paid than for a man. I asked a Burman about this once. 681

'Why is this difference?' I said. 'Why does the law discriminate?'

'It isn't the law,' he said, 'it is a fact. A woman is worth less than a man *in that way*. A maidservant can be hired for less than a manservant, a daughter can claim less than a son. They cannot do so much work; they are not so strong. If they had been worth more, the law would have been the other way; of course they are worth less.'

And so this sole discrimination is a fact, not dogma. It is a fact, no doubt, everywhere. No one would deny it. The pecuniary value of a woman is less than that of a man. As to the soul's value, that is not a question of law, which confines itself to material affairs. But I suppose all laws have been framed out of the necessities of mankind. It was the incessant fighting during the times when our laws grew slowly into shape, the necessity of not allowing the possession of land, and the armed 562 671 428

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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heard of it; and although I thought my heart would break, I did not say anything. I told my husband, "Bring her here, let us live all together; it will be best so." I always did for the best, thakin. So he brought her, and she came to live with us a week ago. Ah, thakin, I did not know! She tramples on me. My head is under her feet. My husband does not care for me, only for her. And to-day, this evening, they went out together for a walk, and my husband took with him the concertina. As they went I could hear him play upon it, and they walked down through the trees, he playing and she leaning upon him. I heard the music.'

Then she began to cry bitterly, sobbing as if her heart would break. And the sunset died out of the sky, and the shadows took all the world and made it gray and dark. No one said anything, only the woman cried.

'Thakin,' she said at last, 'what am I to do? Tell me.'

Then my friend spoke.

'You can divorce him,' he said; 'you can go to the elders and get a divorce. Won't that be best?'

'But, thakin, you do not know. We are both Christians; we are married for ever. We were both at the mission-school in Rangoon, and we were married there, "for ever and for ever," so the padre said. We are not married according to Burmese customs, but according to your religion; we are husband and wife for ever.'

My friend said nothing. It seemed to him useless to speak to her of the High Court, five hundred

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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miles away, and a decree nisi; it would have been a mockery of her trouble.

'Your husband had no right to take a second wife, if you are Christians and married,' he said.

'Ah,' she answered, 'we are Burmans; it is allowed by Burmese law. Other officials do it. What does my husband care that we were married by your law? Here we are alone with no other Christians near. But I would not mind so much,' she went on, 'only she treads me under her feet. And he takes her out and not me, who am the elder wife, and he plays music to her; and I did all for the best. This trouble has come upon me, though all my life I have always acted for the best.'

There came another footstep up the stair, and a man entered. It was her husband. On his return he had missed his wife, and guessed whither she had gone, and had followed her. He came alone.

Then there was a sad scene, only restrained by respect for my friend. I need not tell it. There was a man's side to the question, a strong one. The wife had a terrible temper, a peevish, nagging, maddening fashion of talking. She was a woman very hard for a man to live with.

Does it matter much which was right or wrong, now that the mischief was done? They went away at last, not reconciled. Could they be reconciled? I cannot tell. I left there next day, and have never returned.

There they had lived for many years among their own people, far away from the influence that had

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come upon their childhood, and led them into strange ways. And now all that was left of that influence

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

was the chain that bound them together. Had it 586
not been for that they would have been divorced 177
long ago; for they had never agreed very well, and both sides had bitter grounds for complaint. They would have been divorced, and both could have gone their own way. But now, what was to be done?

That is one of my memories: this is another.

There was a girl I knew, the daughter of a man 428
who had made some money by trading, and when 562
the father died the property was divided according to law between the girl and her brother. She was a little heiress in her way, owning a garden, where grew many fruit-trees, and a piece of rice land. She had also a share in a little shop which she managed, and she had many gold bracelets and fine diamond earrings. She was much wooed by the young men
about there, and at last she married. He was a 586
young man, good-looking, a sergeant of police, and 593
for a time they were very happy. And then trouble came. The husband took to bad ways. The knowledge that he could get money for nothing was too much for him. He drank and he wasted her money, and he neglected his work, and at last he was dismissed from government employ. And his wife got angry with him, and complained of him to the neighbours; and made him worse, though she was at heart a good girl. Quickly he went from bad to worse, until in a very short time, six months, I think, he had spent half her little fortune. Then she began to limit supplies—the husband did no work at all—and in consequence he began to neglect her; they had many quarrels, and her tongue was sharp, and matters got worse and worse until they

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

586 were the talk of the village. All attempts of the
593 headman and elders to restrain him were useless.
[626] He became quarrelsome, and went on from one thing to another, until at last he was suspected of being concerned in a crime. So then when all means had failed to restore her husband to her, when they had drifted far apart and there was nothing before them but trouble, she went to the elders of the village and demanded a divorce. And the elders granted it to her. Her husband objected; he did not want to be divorced. He claimed this, and he claimed that, but it was all of no use. So the tie that had united them was dissolved, as the love had been dissolved long before, and they parted. The man went away to Lower Burma. They tell me he has become a cultivator and has reformed, and is doing well; and the girl is ready to marry again. Half her property is gone, but half remains, and she has still her little business. I think they will both do well. But if they had been chained together, what then?

586 You see that divorce is free. Anyone can obtain
428 it by appearing before the elders of the village and demanding it. A writing of divorcement is made out, and the parties are free. Each retains his or her own property, and that earned during marriage is divided; only that the party claiming the divorce has to leave the house to the other—that is the only penalty, and it is not always enforced, unless the house be joint property.

586 As religion has nothing to do with marriage,
789 neither has it with divorce. Marriage is a status, a partnership, nothing more. But it is all that

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

Divorce is a dissolution of that partnership. A Burman would not ask, 'Were they married?' but, 'Are they man and wife?' And so with divorce, it is a cessation of the state of marriage. 586 779

Elders tell me that women ask for divorce far more than men do. 'Men have patience, and women have not,' that is what they say. For every little quarrel a woman will want a divorce. 'Thakin, if we were to grant divorces every time a woman came and demanded it, we should be doing nothing else all day long. If a husband comes home to find dinner not cooked, and speaks angrily, his wife will rush to us in tears for a divorce. If he speaks to another woman and smiles, if he does not give his wife a new dress, if he be fond of going out in the evening, all these are reasons for a breathless demand for a divorce. The wives get cross and run to us and cry, "My husband has been angry with me. Never will I live with him again. Give me a divorce." Or, "See my clothes, how old they are. I cannot buy any new dress. I will have a divorce." And we say, "Yes, yes; it is very sad. Of course, you must have a divorce; but we cannot give you one to-night. Go away, and come again in three days or in four days, when we have more time." And they go away, thakin, and they do not return. Next day it is all forgotten. You see, they don't know what they want; they turn with the wind—they have no patience.' 586 562 157

Sometimes they repent too late. Here is another of my memories about divorce: 586 593

There was a man and his wife, cultivators, living in a small village. The land that he cultivated

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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belonged to his wife, for she had inherited it from her father, together with a house and a little money. The man had nothing when he married her, but he was hardworking and honest and good-tempered, and they kept themselves going comfortably enough. But he had one fault: every now and then he would drink too much. This was in Lower Burma, where liquor shops are free to Burmans. In Upper Burma no liquor can be sold to them. He did not drink often. He was a teetotaler generally; but once a month, or once in two months, he would meet some friends, and they would drink in good fellowship, and he would return home drunk. His wife felt this very bitterly, and when he would come into the house, his eyes red and his face swollen, she would attack him with bitter words, as women do. She would upbraid him for his conduct, she would point at him the finger of scorn, she would tell him in biting words that he was drinking the produce of her fields, of her inheritance; she would even impute to him, in her passion, worse things than these, things that were not true. And the husband was usually good-natured, and admitted his wrong, and put up with all her abuse, and they lived happily till the next time.

After this had been going on for a few years, instead of getting accustomed to her husband, instead of seeing that if he had this fault he had many virtues, and that he was just as good a husband as she was a wife, or perhaps better, her anger against him increased every time, till now she would declare that she would abide it no longer, that he was past endurance, and she would have a divorce; and

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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several times she even ran to the elders to demand it. But the elders would put it by. 'Let it wait,' they said, 'for a few days, and then we will see'; and by that time all was soothed down again. But at last the end came. One night she passed all bounds in her anger, using words that could never be forgiven; and when she declared as usual that she must have a divorce, her husband said: 'Yes, we will divorce. Let there be an end of it.' And so next day they went to the elders both of them, and as both demanded the divorce, the elders could not delay very long. A few days' delay they made, but the man was firm, and at last it was done. They were divorced. I think the woman would have drawn back at the last moment, but she could not, for very shame, and the man never wavered. He was offended past forgiveness.

So the divorce was given, and the man left the house and went to live elsewhere.

In a few days—a very few days—the wife sent for him again. 'Would he return?' And he refused. Then she went to the headman and asked him to make it up, and the headman sent for the husband, who came.

The woman asked her husband to return.

'Come back,' she said, 'come back. I have been wrong. Let us forgive. It shall never happen again.'

The man shook his head.

'No,' he said; 'a divorce is a divorce. I do not care to marry and divorce once a week. You were always saying, "I will divorce you, I will divorce you." Now it is done. Let it remain.'

The woman was struck with grief.

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

586 'I did not know,' she said; 'I was hot-tempered. I was foolish. But now I know. Ah! the house is so lonely! I have but two ears, I have but two eyes, and the house is so large.'

But the husband refused again.

'What is done, is done. Marriage is not to be taken off and put on like a jacket. I have made up my mind.'

[762] Then he went away, and after a little the woman went away too. She went straight to the big, lonely house, and there she hanged herself.

You see, she loved him all the time, but did not know till too late.

Men do not often apply for divorce except for very good cause, and with their minds fully made up to obtain it. They do obtain it, of course.

586 177 647 With this facility for divorce, it is remarkable how uncommon it is. In the villages and amongst respectable Burmans in all classes of life it is a great exception to divorce or to be divorced. The only class amongst whom it is at all common is the class of hangers-on to our Administration, the clerks and policemen, and so on. I fear there is little that is good to be said of many of them. It is terrible to see how demoralizing our contact is to all sorts and conditions of men. To be attached to our Administration is almost a stigma of disreputableness. I remember remarking once to a headman that a certain official seemed to be quite regardless of public opinion in his life, and asked him if the villagers did not condemn him. And the headman [554] answered with surprise: 'But he is an official'; as if officials were quite *super grammaticam* of morals.

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

Yet this is the class from whom we most of us obtain our knowledge of Burmese life, whom we see most of, whose opinions we accept as reflecting the truth of Burmese thought. No wonder we are so often astray. 586 177 647

Amongst these, the taking of second, and even third, wives is not at all uncommon, and naturally divorce often follows. Among the great mass of the people it is very uncommon. I cannot give any figures. There are no records kept of marriage or of divorce. What the proportion is it is impossible to even guess. I have heard all sorts of estimates, none founded on more than imagination. I have even tried to find out in small villages what the number of divorces were in a year, and tried to estimate from this the percentage. I made it from 2 to 5 per cent. of the marriages. But I cannot offer these figures as correct for any large area. Probably they vary from place to place and from year to year. In the old time the queen was very strict upon the point. As she would allow no other wife to her king, so she would allow no taking of other wives, no abuse of divorce among her subjects. Whatever her influence may have been in other ways, here it was all for good. But the queen has gone, and there is no one left at all. No one but the hangers-on of whom I have spoken, examples not to be followed, but to be shunned. 586 587 [177] [643]

But of this there is no manner of doubt, that this freedom of marriage and divorce leads to no license. There is no confusion between marriage or non-marriage, and even yet public opinion is a very great check upon divorce. It is not considered right to 581 586

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

581 586 divorce your husband or your wife without good—very good and sufficient cause. And what is good and sufficient cause is very well understood. That a woman should have a nagging tongue, that a man should be a drunkard, what could be better cause than this? The gravity of the offence lies in whether it makes life unbearable together, not in the name you may give it.

The facility for divorce has other effects too. It makes a man and a woman very careful in their behaviour to each other. The chain that binds them is a chain of mutual forbearance, of mutual endurance, of mutual love; and if these be broken, then is the bond gone. Marriage is no fetter about a man or woman, binding both to that which they may get to hate.

[175] [727] In the first Burmese war in 1825 there was a man, an Englishman, taken prisoner in Ava and put in prison, and there he found certain Europeans and Americans. And after a time, for fear of attempts at escape, these prisoners were chained together two and two. And he tells you, this Englishman, how terrible this was, and of the hate and repulsion that arose in your heart to your co-bondsman. Before they were chained together they lived in close neighbourhood, in peace and amity; but when the chains came it was far otherwise, though they were no nearer than before. They got to hate each other.

And this is the Burmese idea of marriage, that it is a partnership of love and affection, and that when these die, all should be over. An unbreakable marriage appears to them as a fetter, a bond, something hateful and hate inspiring. You see, they are

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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a people who love to be free: they hate bonds and dogmas of every description. It is always religion that has made a bond of marriage, and here religion has not interfered. Theirs is a religion of free men and free women.

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23: Brant & Mi Mi Khaing E, I-5 (1949-1950)1951
AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

593 husband's kinfolk. Post-marital residence is independent and is decided very
[591] largely on the basis of economic opportunity. The wife's opportunities for social intercourse with her family of orientation are, of course, greatest when residence is established in her home village; if, however, a couple from different villages marry and find it most opportune to settle in the husband's community, the
[574] chances are that the wife will maintain contact with her family of orientation by
[582] visits from time to time; such marriages seldom unite persons from villages that are very far apart. The very structural features of bilaterality and absence of extension militate against inequality and male domination.

562 Burmese culture is frequently remarked for the equality of the sexes, in con-
593 trast to the neighboring cultures of India and China. This status of the sexes seems to be the resultant historically of two patterns of thought. One is an apparently very old, pre-Buddhist emphasis upon equality, involving equal inheri-
[428] tance, equal sharing of the property brought to the marriage, equal division of
[586] property upon divorce, a prominent female role in social and economic life, and an absence of transmission of surnames. The other thought pattern dates from the superimposition of Buddhism upon older Burmese conceptions: whatever
[177] ideas of male superiority exist in Burmese life stem from Buddhist notions of
[775] reincarnation. Although Buddha never expressed himself explicitly on the matter, it is taken for granted that only a male can attain Nirvana, since Gautama Buddha, who attained that state, was a male.

462 In the family household the wife's role includes not only such routine tasks as
592 the preparation of food and serving of meals, keeping the house orderly and clean, and looking after small children; very often it involves control of the family income and the making of all important decisions as to expenditures.

593 Certain observances and taboos, reflective of deference to males, are expected
784 of the female partner in marriage. She is careful that her lower garments do not touch her husband's bed or his personal belongings; she avoids touching her husband's head. It is believed that the breaking of such taboos may ruin the husband's success and glory, especially his spiritual attainments. These injunctions are followed as a matter of course by Burmese wives and will be broken deliberately only as an act of spite by a woman who wishes to harm or lower her husband for some reason.

593 Despite the various equalitarian aspects of husband-wife relations, there is
837 a tendency towards a double standard of sexual behavior. A husband who has reason to believe that his wife is engaging in extra-marital affairs is very likely
[586] to display violent anger, beat her, and break up the marriage. The wife of a

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

000 said to have *stolen*. The vast majority of couples go through life faithfully
586 and helpfully. The best influences of regular family life are developed. The dissolutions of marriage which take place are chiefly on account of incompati-

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155. PLEASURE PARTY BY BOAT.

bility. Sometimes the husband and wife merely drift apart. Such a separation, when of long standing, is accepted and the parties are free to marry again. In acute and irreconcilable differences the parties apply to the elders of the place for divorce. It becomes the elders' duty to make three efforts to dissuade the couple from their purpose. Failing in these, they pronounce separation (*kwá byí*). Pickled tea is eaten, as in the case of the marriage. The boys of the union go with the father, the girls with the mother. Common goods are divided equally; her dower and the proceeds of her independent trade and investments are at the woman's own disposal from first to last. When she can manage—as she often contrives to do—the mother keeps and provides for all her children, but they retain a lien on the father's support. There is no
562 woman so well able to shift for herself as the woman of Burma. Her independent status would seem to be the corollary of her independent ability to manage by herself.
[517 493] Nowhere else is the wife more prized; nowhere is woman better able to make terms with man. Although under the Hindu code of Manú which the Burmans nominally follow, the status of woman is only the Indian

156. PLEASURE PARTY BY CART.

30: Maung Htin Aung E-4 (no date) 1953 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

671 her own choice. The head of the Burmese family can also give
593 away children under the age of puberty or majority to another
597 family for adoption, but when the child attains the age of puberty or majority, he or she has the option to choose in which family (i.e. his original family or his adoptive family) he
671 will remain. Acquisitions by members of the family accrue
593 to the family, but as in Roman and Hindu laws, certain classes
428 of acquisition by members of the family accrue to the acquirer and not to the family. Gifts from grandparents, from the king, and in certain cases, from strangers, and earnings through exercise of skill in the arts and in astrology, medicine, advocacy, and alchemy accrue to the acquirer. When a member of the family wishes to leave the family, there is no necessity to gain the assistance of a court of law. By mutual consent among the members, he is permitted to leave and he is given his share of the family estate. When the whole family decides to break up also, no formality is required, and by general consent, the family estate is divided between the members according to the rules of law pertaining to the partition of an estate into various shares.

671 One of the main features of Burmese society is the high
562 status of its women. Unlike the situation in Hindu or Chinese society, the Burmese woman has never been a mere chattel at the disposal of the Burmese man. Since prehistoric times Burmese women have enjoyed an equality of status, rank, and opportunity with men. Under the Burmese kings, the women held high office, and served often as headman, chief-
[773] tainess, and queen. In Burmese folktales dealing with strange disputes and wonderful decisions, which are known as Juristic Tales, the judge is a woman, namely Princess Learned-in-the-Law. At the present day, all the learned professions are open to women, and approximately 25 per cent of the students at the University of Rangoon are women.

671 The high status of women in Burmese society is reflected
583 in the Burmese customary law relating to marriage, divorce,
● 586 and inheritance. In Burmese law, marriage is purely a civil
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contract, founded on the consent of the man and woman to 671
openly "eat and live together." Religion has nought to do 583
with the marriage, and no special ceremony is necessary, and 586
therefore in a court of law proof of marriage is not to be 428
found in certificates of documents or evidence of a marriage ceremony, but in the testimony of witnesses that the man and woman lived together as man and wife. No Burmese man or woman can be forced into marriage without his or her consent. After a son has attained the age of puberty, or a daughter the age of majority, even the consent of the parents is no longer necessary. Divorce results without much formality when both the husband and the wife mutually agree to part. Burmese jurists in their writings often describe the husband as the lord of the wife, but that seems to be mere opinion, and they often advise the wife to obey her husband, but it does not mean that their advice is always followed. The wife has a right to divorce her husband without his consent, if he is guilty of cruelty or serious matrimonial misconduct. On divorce, the wife takes a substantial share of the joint estate, and if she should marry again, she remains absolute owner of her estate from her previous marriage, and does not share it with her second husband. But although divorce therefore is comparatively easy, and the wife enjoys an important position in the family, divorces have always been rare, and an atmosphere of cordiality and harmony prevails in the Burmese family.

Burmese women have always possessed full rights of in- 671
heritance. As the husband and wife are the heirs of each other, 562
on the husband's death, the wife inherits a major share of the 428
family estate, and full authority as head of the family if the family decides not to disintegrate and partition the estate. On the death of the surviving parent, the daughters have full rights of inheritance in competition with their brothers. As the Burmese customary law has never recognized a right to dispose of property by will, these rights of inheritance cannot be defeated in any way.

These, then, briefly are the main features of Burmese cus- 000

CHAPTER TEN

000 ONE living force had continued at the old house, however, from the time it was built right to the present day. This was my mother's elder sister, our Kyi-Kyi Lon, the same who had thrown herself on the ground at first beholding the muddy fields of Thaton. She had never been to an English school like my mother and indeed had known no other home but the old house all her life. My Kyi-Kyi (aunt-elder-than-parent) is unmarried. The story of how she remained unmarried is stamped with her character.

• 587 My eldest aunt was married and died after bearing three children,
589 and the bereaved husband came back to Grandfather and asked for the hand of another aunt so that the children should not lack a loving mother's care. This aunt also died, and the hardy widower again returned to Grandfather. Grandfather might have been persuaded to give another daughter in marriage but Kyi-Kyi Lon, who was next on the list, stamped her feet and shooed the widower away, regardless of the belief that a man who survives two wives is outlived by his third. She inherited my grandfather's spirit and vitriolic temper, and a very lively tongue. When she was young she was round and sturdy and was therefore called Ma Lon, Miss Round. With years of spinsterhood, roundness disappeared, the sturdiness developed into a masculine toughness and her natural abilities turned to business management; her feet broadened and she could tramp for miles; with her sharp tongue she could make men quail. It was our Kyi-Kyi who looked after our rubber estates for us. My mother stood in awe of her, and it was a beautiful lesson in gentle humanity to watch the sisters together. My mother had two aspects to her nature. She had an all-round ability equal to Kyi-Kyi Lon's, but there was a gentleness which tempered every masculine ability she possessed. This tempering was always imposed above. In my aunt's presence, the lower stratum automatically disappeared, because Kyi-Kyi, who quarrelled with everyone else, loved my mother like a child who must be scolded and looked after. She therefore devoted her life to our interests.

186 My aunt never learnt English, and derided the refined tones of
196 English pronunciation. She never made the slightest concession to any foreign tongue. Surrounded by a world in which products and institutions bore English names, she took delight in pronouncing unavoidable terms with the broadest Burmese accent. "Ine-Si-Et", she would

14: Brant E-5 (1949-50) 1954 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

thinking, being the mother of a son is itself considered the greatest event of a 593
woman's life and represents the achievement of full existence as a female human being. The relationship is close and indulgent. The mother is regarded by her son as more important than his wife; in fact, a son normally will choose a wife with a great deal of regard for his mother's opinions and wishes.

Mother and Daughter. The mother is her daughter's early teacher. It is 593
considered most important for the girl to learn prayers, how to prepare the 868
daily food offering, and how to change the flowers on the household altar. These things are taught almost from the time the child begins to speak and understand. Other household duties in which a mother instructs her daughter [565]
vary considerably with the economic status of the family. In poor families some assistance with tending animals and winnowing the rice is part of the girl's work from about the age of ten. Daughters are expected to show filial respect and deference equally to the mother and father.

Father and Son. The father occupies the role of disciplinarian in the 593
family. Disciplining of sons may include physical punishment, though such 861
measures are not resorted to readily. Prior to adolescence, boys are taught prayers and good habits by their mothers, with the father remaining more or less in the background and interfering only when disciplinary action may be required of him. After a son passes adolescence the father becomes important as his mentor.

Husband and Wife's Elder Sister. This relationship tends to mirror a 607
conflict between age and sex as status factors in the social structure. There 182
is an implicit conflict between the husband's position as a man and his wife's 602
elder sister's position, in many cases, as his senior, having a claim on outward respect and obedience. In practice this relationship is often cool and aloof in nature, very much in contrast to the free and easy one between a man and his wife's younger sisters.

Husband and Wife's Younger Sister. A man is expected to show great favor 607
to his wife's younger sisters and to display more interest in them than in his 587
own sisters. He buys them presents, gives them spending money when he can, and covertly he is expected to be on the lookout for prospective husbands for them. Quite frequently, the wife's younger sisters will accompany her and her husband when she marries, and all will live together in the same house. Although husband and wife's younger sisters engage in a great deal of mutual joking and teasing, the relationship does not normally assume a sexual aspect. Polygyny is permissable but very rarely practiced; when it is, however, it takes the sororal form. The rather free and easy relationship between a husband and his wife's younger sisters sometimes gives rise to village gossip-- especially when it is known that he and his wife are not getting along well-- that he is carrying on love affairs with his younger sisters-in-law.

In-Laws. A daughter-in-law is definitely subordinate to her mother-in- 606
law. If they live in the same household, the mother-in-law is entitled to the best room and to be waited upon by her daughter-in-law. Significantly, the Burmese word for daughter-in-law (ŵêimà) means 'sweat women.

The term for son-in-law (Ôame?) means 'desired son.' A son-in-law is a privileged member of his wife's family. His wishes are respected and his comforts looked after. His mother-in-law instructs her younger children to show him respect and deference.

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

000 She spoke so fast, so fast; the words fell over each other as they came from her lips, for her heart was very full.

592 I sat quite still and said nothing; I think she hardly noticed I was there. It was all about her husband. Everything was wrong; all had gone crooked in their lives, and she did not know what she could do. At first she could hardly tell what it was all about, but at last she explained. For some years, three or four years, matters had not been very smooth between them. They had quarrelled often, she said, about this thing and the other, little things mostly; and gradually the rift had widened till it became very broad indeed.

'Perhaps,' she said, 'if I had been able to have a child it would have been different.' But fate was unkind and no baby came, and her husband became more and more angry with her. 'And yet I did all for the best, thakin; I always tried to act for the best. My husband has sisters at Henzada, and they write to him now and then, and say, "Send ten rupees," or "send five rupees," or even twenty rupees. And I always say, "Send, send." Other wives would say, "No, we cannot afford it"; but I said always, "Send, send." I have always done for the best, always for the best.'

It was very pitiable to hear her opening her whole heart, such a sore troubled heart, like this. Her words were full of pathos; her uncomely face was not beautified by the sorrow in it. And at last
593 her husband took a second wife.
587 'She is a girl from a village near; the thakin knows, Taungywa. He did not tell me, but I soon

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

heard of it; and although I thought my heart would break, I did not say anything. I told my husband, "Bring her here, let us live all together; it will be best so." I always did for the best, thakin. So he brought her, and she came to live with us a week ago. Ah, thakin, I did not know! She tramples on me. My head is under her feet. My husband does not care for me, only for her. And to-day, this evening, they went out together for a walk, and my husband took with him the concertina. As they went I could hear him play upon it, and they walked down through the trees, he playing and she leaning upon him. I heard the music.'

Then she began to cry bitterly, sobbing as if her heart would break. And the sunset died out of the sky, and the shadows took all the world and made it gray and dark. No one said anything, only the woman cried.

'Thakin,' she said at last, 'what am I to do? Tell me.'

Then my friend spoke.

'You can divorce him,' he said; 'you can go to the elders and get a divorce. Won't that be best?'

'But, thakin, you do not know. We are both Christians; we are married for ever. We were both at the mission-school in Rangoon, and we were married there, "for ever and for ever," so the padre said. We are not married according to Burmese customs, but according to your religion; we are husband and wife for ever.'

My friend said nothing. It seemed to him useless to speak to her of the High Court, five hundred

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

Yet this is the class from whom we most of us 586
obtain our knowledge of Burmese life, whom we see 177
most of, whose opinions we accept as reflecting the 647
truth of Burmese thought. No wonder we are so often astray.

Amongst these, the taking of second, and even 586
third, wives is not at all uncommon, and naturally 587
divorce often follows. Among the great mass of the people it is very uncommon. I cannot give any figures. There are no records kept of marriage or of divorce. What the proportion is it is impossible to even guess. I have heard all sorts of estimates, none founded on more than imagination. I have even tried to find out in small villages what the number of divorces were in a year, and tried to estimate from this the percentage. I made it from 2 to 5 per cent. of the marriages. But I cannot offer these figures as correct for any large area. Probably they vary from place to place and from year to year. In the old time the queen was very strict upon the [177]
point. As she would allow no other wife to her [643]
king, so she would allow no taking of other wives, no abuse of divorce among her subjects. Whatever her influence may have been in other ways, here it was all for good. But the queen has gone, and there is no one left at all. No one but the hangers-on of whom I have spoken, examples not to be followed, but to be shunned.

But of this there is no manner of doubt, that this 581
freedom of marriage and divorce leads to no license. 586
There is no confusion between marriage or non-marriage, and even yet public opinion is a very great check upon divorce. It is not considered right to

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

536 only wife.[1] Yet Saw-may cries in the last scene, and closes the play on a note of pathos. The same scene appears also to be an attempt at sensational effect in showing the bedchamber of the two lovers on their nuptial night, but perhaps the fault is not more heinous and not less excusable than the bedroom and underclothes scenes of some modern plays and films in Europe and America. In spite of its faults, the scene must appeal to many because of the tender pathos and beautiful poetry it contains. In any case it delighted the audience of the day, and it seems even likely that the dramatist put in the scene against his own artistic sense to please the audience and the actors who admired so much the pathetic endings of *The History of Thaton* and the 'Baboon Play'.

The immense popularity of the play tempted the dramatist to write a second part to it.

As Saw-may is soon going to give birth to an heir, the rival queen in jealousy plots with the court astrologer to bring about her downfall. A son is soon born, and the astrologer, summoned by the king to foretell the destiny of the little prince, pronounces him to be a wizard and Saw-may a witch, although he realizes that the child is destined to be a great emperor. King Saw-phay, believing the astrologer, exiles both the mother and the son, and she leaves, singing sorrowful songs of farewell. Wandering into the forest, she meets her old friend the god, who sprinkles some water on the child, making him grow up at once into a youth of sixteen years. As he is a man born to be a great king, flames issue from his mouth and arms. He wants to know who his father is, but the mother and the god evade his question. He is seized by a desire to worship the banyan tree under which the Buddha attained Buddhahood, but as he cannot go to India, he prays that a replica of the tree should grow before him, and at once the desired replica appears. Overjoyed, the young prince again successfully prays for a wall of fire to appear round the replica, so that no one can go near it except himself. In the meantime the god has gone to the king and told him the truth regarding his son, scolding him for his cruel treatment of the senior queen. As the king doubts his words, the god asks him to go and see

[1] It is neither a crime nor a sin to marry two wives, but in the case of commoners, society frowns on it. Her husband's taking even a mistress is ground for divorce for a wife. But Burmese kings, mainly for state reasons, had more than one wife. This is the only Burmese play where the hero ends up by marrying two wives.

[587]
[643]

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

153. THE CHALLENGE (see p. 177).

the young wife's home, the lad working for her parents. 591
As family comes and other daughters marry, the elder pairs are established in houses of their own. Married people are designated *ein-daung*—householders. Marriage 581
makes no difference in the names and their prefixes. 592
Everyone marries in Burma; the census of 1891 gave 551
1,306,722 husbands to 1,307,292 wives. The same census 162
gave 102 females to 100 males of the Burman (so classed [548]
as Buddhist) population. (In Burma prostitution is con- [524]
fined to the large towns.)

A family of seven is considered large. The average 592
number of house-occupants is 5.5. The cost of living of 511
a Burman village household is 100 to 200 Rs. a year. In 357
the towns the well-to-do spend 600 to 1000 Rs. and more; 556
and at the present day keep a servant or two for the rough work, generally natives of India. Such accumulations of wealth as are made by individuals in India and other countries with a plutocracy and a proletariate are not paralleled among the Burmans. Nevertheless individuals amass tens of thousands of rupees, which for the most part they spend on works of religious merit. Monogamy is the received and almost universal practice in Burma. Second-wives are taken by a proportion of the officials and men of wealth. Hence it comes that the Burmans wonder more at the moderation of Europeans than at such license as they indulge. This license is not nearly so great as in India, but it is more open, corresponding to the higher status of the women of Burma, and thus it provokes more scandal in comparison. Unions of this sort among the Burmans are merely by mutual consent. A separate establishment in a different quarter of the town is maintained for the second wife or concubine (*maya-ngé*). Her children are under no disability, but she is not acknowledged by the first, and generally older, wife (*mayaji*), whose husband's love she is said to have stolen.

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[562]

[291]

154. AN "ORIGINAL."

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

and the ending are direct borrowings from the earlier play. In some ways it is more 'decadent' than the other. The hankering after sensational effect is seen in the author's making the hero and heroine children of a baboon, in the scene where the queen is shown to be in travail, and in the final scene where elephants are used, to make it more elaborate. But, in other ways this play is more artistic, for it has some effect of unity. In the *History*, the misfortune that befell the sister was unexplained and came without warning, but in this play, there is an atmosphere of impending tragedy. From the beginning, the audience is made to feel that in all probability, some disaster will befall the brother and sister, as they are children of an unnatural union. Whereas in the *History* the sister suffered through no fault of her own, our heroine here agrees to deceive the king, taking the risk of execution with open eyes, and commits the sin of incest.[1] Retribution is apparent, and this atmosphere of impending punishment makes the play quite artistic up to the point where the heroine is executed, notwithstanding the disjointed nature of the story taken as a whole. And there are scenes where dramatic irony is used with artistic effect. In one scene, the queen awakes after a bad dream and the king pretends to be still greatly in love with her, while the audience knows from his previous soliloquy that she is to be executed as soon as the child is born. In another, the brother approaches the hut singing and dancing in joy, little guessing that his sister has been executed. The scene where the king listens to the gossip of his subjects, is the most dramatic in the play. The stage is in darkness, the king moves and listens stealthily, and the atmosphere is tense and full of suspense. Then voices of the quarrelling couple are heard off-stage. They are envying the sudden good fortune of the hunter and his wife, little realizing that the objects of their envy

536 *

[1] To keep the blood as pure as possible, Burmese kings often married their half-sisters. This royal practice was not confined to Burma, but is also known in Siam, the East Indies, Peru when under the Incas, and Egypt under the Pharaohs (G. E. Harvey, *History of Burma*, p. 324). But among the people, it has always been considered a sin and a crime to marry one's half-brother or sister. In this play, although the sister is a king's daughter and her husband is king, there is no doubt that the marriage between them is suggested to be incestuous.

[588] ●

To the end, the sister is in love with her half-brother husband. The Burmese decadent dramatists often take incestuous love between brother and sister for their themes, like the Elizabethan decadent playwrights. Cf. Ford, *'Tis Pity She's a Whore*.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

644 on such occa-
sions the king appeared in the royal insignia, which otherwise only figure as
[643] emblems of state. The insignia in the illustrations are surmounted by a queen's
crown (*sîbôn*). The shape of a king's crown is seen in Nos. 151 and 425. There
[346] being but a single palace and thousands of *kyaungs* and temples, the palace
appears to resemble a *kyaung*. But the converse is the fact; the *kyaung* it
[344] is which in virtue of its religious character shares the
distinction of the palace. The most recent style adopted
643 by the Burman sovereigns was *Shin-Baylu*—Lord of
Lords. A chief title was *Sinbyû Shin*—Lord of the
White Elephant. Every subject prostrated himself in
the presence of the king, with face averted from the
effulgence of the royal countenance. An official called
thandawzin used to repeat aloud the words uttered by
the king. The ensign betokening the presence of the
[776] king and of the chief queen (*mîbayâ*) is the *tîbyû* (p. 101).
[532] Two to eight were borne according to the solemnity of the
occasion. The chief queens were frequently half-sisters
[588] of the kings. For all the royal acts, the lying, rising,
eating, speaking, there are euphemisms proper to the
occasion; one of the most current of these is *skwèpawâdaw*
—the golden foot. At his demise the sovereign is said
to migrate to the abode of *nats* or delectable land; the
staff of his *tîbyû* was broken. The paraphernalia of the
king's service were elaborate; but in his attitude to
the *yahán* he comported himself as an ordinary man.
The Royal White Elephant was maintained in great
pomp; it ate and drank out of golden vessels and had
[231] a retinue for its service. An elephant really white—
probably an albino—was captured in 1805, but was
pampered so that it died. A second was captured in
1806 which lived for fifty years. Other "white ele-
phants" kept for state have enjoyed their reputation
in virtue of possessing certain assumed criteria of the
"white" variety, as to the number of the toes, direction
of the tail-tuft and other distinctions, without regard to the colour of the skin.
644 Change of capital at the accession of a new sovereign was characteristic of
Burman empire, even when there was no change of dynasty or other political
633 convulsion. Events of the latter kind were no doubt the original reasons of
such changes. Next to Pagán, Sagáing, on the right bank of the Irawadi,
facing the flat and now desolate site of Ava, is the most impressive of the

364. CARVED FIGURE OF NAT.

(78)

CHAPTER TEN

600 ONE living force had continued at the old house, however, from the time it was built right to the present day. This was my mother's elder sister, our Kyi-Kyi Lon, the same who had thrown herself on the ground at first beholding the muddy fields of Thaton. She had never been to an English school like my mother and indeed had known no other home but the old house all her life. My Kyi-Kyi (aunt-elder-than-parent) is unmarried. The story of how she remained unmarried is stamped with her character.

587 My eldest aunt was married and died after bearing three children,
• 589 and the bereaved husband came back to Grandfather and asked for the hand of another aunt so that the children should not lack a loving mother's care. This aunt also died, and the hardy widower again returned to Grandfather. Grandfather might have been persuaded to give another daughter in marriage but Kyi-Kyi Lon, who was next on the list, stamped her feet and shooed the widower away, regardless of the belief that a man who survives two wives is outlived by his third. She inherited my grandfather's spirit and vitriolic temper, and a very lively tongue. When she was young she was round and sturdy and was therefore called Ma Lon, Miss Round. With years of spinsterhood, roundness disappeared, the sturdiness developed into a masculine toughness and her natural abilities turned to business management; her feet broadened and she could tramp for miles; with her sharp tongue she could make men quail. It was our Kyi-Kyi who looked after our rubber estates for us. My mother stood in awe of her, and it was a beautiful lesson in gentle humanity to watch the sisters together. My mother had two aspects to her nature. She had an all-round ability equal to Kyi-Kyi Lon's, but there was a gentleness which tempered every masculine ability she possessed. This tempering was always imposed above. In my aunt's presence, the lower stratum automatically disappeared, because Kyi-Kyi, who quarrelled with everyone else, loved my mother like a child who must be scolded and looked after. She therefore devoted her life to our interests.

186 My aunt never learnt English, and derided the refined tones of
196 English pronunciation. She never made the slightest concession to any foreign tongue. Surrounded by a world in which products and institutions bore English names, she took delight in pronouncing unavoidable terms with the broadest Burmese accent. "Ine-Si-Et", she would

say for I.C.S., with a marked emphasis on the last word which is pronounced with a glottal stop, and thus pronounced means "cracked". After listening to a conversation in English she would seize on what she heard most often, "You know" and "I know". "*You no, I no, hnit-yauk no, tha-hko ma-la-naing*," she would say, punning on the word "know", which in Burmese means to wake up. "You wake, I wake, two awake—the thieves cannot come."

Kyi-Kyi lived an independent life; she had inherited a share of the house, among other things, and she lived there on what was due to her from the management of our property. Between her and one servant maid, the old house was kept spotless. A meal was cooked every day for the monastery, and Kyi-Kyi was on very amiable social terms with the monks and the nuns who lived close by. Everyone in Thaton knew her, the young men admired her for her lively wit and the women called her a harridan for it. Between visiting us and business and religious good works and scolding everyone, my Kyi-Kyi spent a busy life.

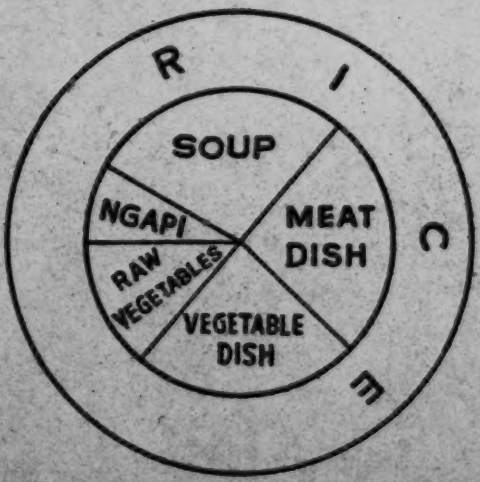
She was so different from my mother. My mother never smoked or chewed betel, but when Kyi-Kyi came we were treated to watching her roll her cheroots. She had the *hsay*, mixture, in a bowl. It was a compound of chopped tobacco leaves, the stem and pith of the *ohn-nè* (coconut flower), and jaggery or sugar. It was a sticky mixture. The wrapping leaves—the leaves of a tree called the *thanat*—were in a cream cracker biscuit tin. In a small cane sieve-tray she had a number of old *a-si-hkans*, stubs of solid ends, about 1½ to 2 inches long; and on a piece of paper was some boiled rice for sticking. She rolled the mixture in the leaf, tucked the edges of the narrower end neatly in and stuck

1: Mi Mi Khaing I-5 (no date) 1946 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

CHAPTER ELEVEN

IF my aunt's character and speech were full of sharpnesses with which she jabbed at people, they will all be forgiven her for the sensuous delights which she provided for one and all with her qualities as a cook and an expert on foods. She was such a wonderful cook, she used to be asked to supervise at *a-hlus*, the mass cooking for free feasting of clergy and townspeople. She regarded the feasting of others as her one indulgence in life. In all other respects she economized and denied her tastes like all Burmese spinster ladies, but in the matter of food she considered that we did not live lavishly or plenteously enough. She knew the rarest tit-bits, the physiological effects of eating any particular food, the properties of leaves, the times of year when the most ordinary foods had the greatest beneficent influence. 252 589

The field of Burmese food is a rich territory, and so little explored by foreigners who will normally hear only of the ngapi, rice and salad leaves of the poorest people, that I am tempted to write a whole chapter on it, as dedication to my Kyi-Kyi Lon. The composition of the average plain Burmese meal is: boiled white rice; the *hingyo* or soup; the ngapi or condiment dish; the *to-sa-ya*, "dipper", or raw green vegetable dish which may be classed as a naked salad; the dressed or cooked vegetable dish; and the *hin*, the "curry" of meat or fish to provide the gravy. Roughly, the importance and quantity of each dish may be shown thus, diagramatically: 264 511



If any visitors are expected there may be one or two other dishes, but this is the standard meal and is enjoyed by all classes of people except the poorest; a-so-ya mins, rich men, clerks and petty traders all eat the same, more or less. For a family of four or five persons two such meals can be provided daily at a cost of about Re. 1/- or Re. 1/4 in an average district town or village.

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

585 805 so on, all satisfactorily arranged, the formalities are not yet over. A lucky day has to be sought from the horoscopes of the two chief parties, but beyond this there are a number of obstacles which must on no account be overlooked. In the first place, with the pious the same rule prevails as in England, that no marriages should take place in Lent. This cuts upwards of three months out of the year immediately. Unfortunately a number of persons are so completely in the world of kāma, the seat of the passions, that they care very little whether it is the season of the Wā or not. But almost every one, whether pious or not, considers well the character of the months as given in the marriage linga. The year begins with Tagu, commencing about the middle of April. In this month and Kasôn the next, couples marrying will be very rich. In Nayôn they will love one another. Those marrying in Waso and Wagaung, when Lent begins, will die or be grievously sick. If the young pair are so mad as to brave the danger, their parents should stop the marriage. In Tawthalin, Na'daw, and Pyatho, if you marry, you will lose goods and money. In Thadingyut you will have slaves, children, and money as much as you want. In Tasaungmôn slaves, buffaloes, cattle, and furniture in abundance, will flow in upon the married couple. Tabodwè and Tabaung are very unlucky for those who tempt Hymen. There will be no children, or only girls, and misfortunes will
589 be frequent. Nevertheless though there is all this trouble in getting a wife to your mind, as well as lucky in time of birth, worldly goods, and season of marriage, there are very few Burmans, not in the sacred order, who are not married before they are twenty, and happily married too. As the popular saying puts it—

> Ye hnin nga,
> Lin hnin maya.
>
> Fish to the water,
> Man to Eve's daughter.

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[431]

oranges, guava fruit, mangosteen fruit - together worth about forty or fifty rupees. When he arrived at Pathwe this was distributed among the members of his family, and also some relatives and the phongyis. On one such trip he made Rs. 2700/- which he carried back hidden away in a jar of salt.

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465

U Myaing never came in to Rangoon purely for a visit. Besides bringing down fish, U Myaing also came to Rangoon before the war to buy some motor parts and accessories such as tyres, tubes, etc. which they could not obtain in Pathwe village or in Pantanaw town. At that period in his life U Myaing used to drive a bus between Pathwe and the village on the bank of the river across from Pathwe. There was a cart track for a road, and they used to carry passengers at a rupee per head. In the rains this cart track became impossible and so they traversed this route only from TA-ZAUNG-BON to KASON months. U Myaing worked on this route for three summers. In the rains they shifted operations to the Maubin Ye Le route, which was a 10 mile journey, and occasionally the 10 mile route from Ye Le to HSE-DAUNG-MAW. He worked at these places for two rainy seasons, from WASO right up till the month of TA-ZAUNG-BON. The bus was owned by his cousin who collected all the earnings for each day. At that time bus drivers were hired at Rs. 45/- a month, plus sweet tea, food, shelter and one packet of cigarettes a day. "In Pathwe all the houses were too large and could accomodate a great many more people than they actually did. This was because each one erected his own building after the example of the other houses in the village. The person who hired the bus driver merely installed him in his home".

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[589]

This was when U Myaing was 17 or 18 years old. He was not paid anything, but the family was provided with everything they needed - food, clothes, etc. (U Myaing was still unmarried and the family consisted of two sisters, his mother and himself. (He did not marry till the age of thirty.) Both U Myaing and Daw Aw Zar estimated that the things they received from the bus owner would have amounted to much more than forty five rupees' worth.

[582]
[431]

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4
Upper Burma
Lower Burma

entirely dispensed with. If the parents of both houses are agreeable, the contracting parties get married with most ardent lover-like rapidity. The age, too, has become very much younger. Most lads get married when they are eighteen or nineteen; thirteen or fourteen is a common age for the girls. Runaway marriages are common enough, and though the parents may be angry, they are usually too easy-going and indolent to take any energetic action in the matter, and let the couple find out their mistake and come and ask for pardon and a house to live in, which is seldom refused. Occasionally in Lower Burma a stern father demands that they shall be separated until the lad has got a situation for himself, but this is ordinarily little more than a mere form of speech. In Upper Burma, where food is scarce and working hands more valuable, the husband is brought to the girl's parents' house and made to do his share towards supporting the household.

The preliminary courting is naturally conducted in the old fashion, best known to those who have had experience of their own in such matters. The parties meet at pwès, the girl perhaps selling cheroots, fried garlic, le'pet, and what not, and therefore being readily accessible to any swain. It must not be supposed that keeping a stall is regarded as anything derogatory. Numbers of perfectly well-to-do women set them up regularly; some even have daily work in the bazaars, and very often a girl commences occupations of the kind with the view of attracting the young men and securing a husband. Then there are meetings at pagoda feasts, in the zayats and at friends' houses, so that there are plenty of chances of introduction to eligible swains, even without calling in the assistance of the aungthwè. This functionary makes it a regular occupation to know all the attractions, physical and sordid, of all the young women in the place, and for a small consideration, or sometimes merely for love of his trade, brings young couples together and arranges places of meeting for them. He is, of course, most useful where an impecunious youth aspires to the hand of a rich merchant's or high official's daughter. He manages an introduction in a roundabout way to avoid raising suspicions, praises his client's appearance and

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

lata for the original flavoured earth, and of Thale rice for the leguminous creeper, desire arose among them, and four of the men took the four women to wife. The fifth man naturally resented being left compulsorily single, and pelted the happy couples with stones on their marriage night. Sympathy with the feelings of this archetypal bachelor has perpetuated the stone-throwing by the lu-byos down to the present day, and if there is no dearth of eligible spinsters in our times, the lonely bachelor may be allowed to express his envy of his friend's bliss without being accused of anything but gross cupidity. 585 773

After marriage the couple almost always live for two or three years in the house of the bride's parents, the son-in-law becoming one of the family and contributing to its support. Setting up a separate establishment, even in Rangoon, where the young husband is a clerk in an English office, is looked upon with disfavour as a piece of pride and ostentation. If the girl is an only daughter, she and her husband stay on till the old people die. 591 583

Polygamy is recognised and permitted, but practically does not exist now in British territory. A man with more than one wife becomes a subject of common talk, and a native official now living is well known all through the delta as the myo-ok with twenty wives. In native territory the right to have several wives was equally little used in practice. Many of the high officials who travelled about over large districts had wives in almost all the towns they visited —a custom in great measure induced by the rule which provided that the mayā-gyi, the chief wife, had to be left in Mandalay as a hostage for the fidelity of the official. But the great bulk of the people are, and always have been, monogamous. King Mindôn had fifty-three recognised *wives*, of whom thirty-seven survived him. His children numbered one hundred and ten, of whom upwards of fifty survived him. Besides the wives, like Solomon, he had numerous concubines. So, indeed, have many lesser people. 595 [647]

The forbidden degrees are few. Marriages with mother, daughter, sister, and half-sister, aunt, grandmother, and granddaughter, are forbidden, but none else. A son may marry his stepmother; it is expressly mentioned in the 582

14: Brant E-5 (1949-50) 1954 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

III

SOCIAL GROUPS AND RELATIONS

In this section we describe the patterns of kinship and interpersonal relations, the beliefs and customs pertaining to the life cycle of the individual associations, and intergroup relations.*

Kinship

The kinship system reflects very clearly the bilateral family structure in the absence of terminological differentiation on the basis of the sex of the connecting relative. The other outstanding characteristic is the recognition at many points of relative age. For each generation a distinct set of kinship terms is employed. On the speaker's (ego's) generation, all cousins are merged with siblings, the terms being differentiated, however, according to relative age. In the first ascending generation, the parents' siblings are differentiated according to the degree of age relative to the parent. In the first descending generation the factor of relative age loses significance; sex is the sole basis of differentiation of kinship terms, except for separate terms to distinguish the speaker's own children from others. On successive descending generations sex distinction is absent and all relatives of a given generation are subsumed under a single kinship term.

Relative age is the all-important hub upon which the wheel of village social life revolves. Reference to one's elders is reflected in such customs as carrying objects for them, refraining from sitting with one's head higher than those of elders, and avoiding postures in which the feet are extended towards such persons.

Beyond such matters of etiquette, the importance of age is even more fundamentally demonstrated in the showing of obeisance to one's elders. This is done on all the important ceremonial occasions. Four such occasions are regarded as obligatory times for paying one's respects. These are the beginning and the end of Waso (sometimes called the Buddhist 'Lent'), a period of about three months, roughly from mid-July to mid-October; the New Year; and the harvest. Respect is paid to all of one's elders in the parental generation and above. A visit is made at which an offering, valuable or symbolic, is brought and the elder's blessings are received.

Interpersonal Relations

Husband and Wife. The household is normally composed of husband and wife and their offspring. It is a bilateral, limited type of family structure, contrasting markedly with the patrilineal extended Chinese family and the joint family of India. Unlike the position of the wife in the traditional Chinese and Indian family systems, that of the Burmese wife is not one of an outsider living in a group dominated by her husband's relatives. Where a married couple reside is a matter of choice and is decided very largely on the basis of economic opportunity. When there is such opportunity in the village for an outsider who marries a girl of Tadagale, he is urged to establish their residence there, but there is no particular pressure or feeling about the

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*The material on kinship and the life cycle, with certain changes, was published under the title "Burmese Kinship and the Life Cycle: an Outline" in Southwestern Journal of Anthropology, vol 7, no 4, 1951, pp. 437-454. The reader interested in the technical details of the kinship terms and a diagrammatic presentation of the kinship system is referred to that article. The author wishes to express his thanks to Mi Mi Khaing for valuable assistance in the compilation and analysis of the material on this aspect of the culture.

14: Brant E-5 (1949-50) 1954 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

591 101 matter. The wife's opportunities for social intercourse with her family of orientation are, of course, greatest when residence is established in her home village; if, however, a couple from different villages marry and find it most opportune to settle in the husband's community, the chances are that the wife will maintain contact with her family of orientation by visits from time to time. 582 People from Tadagale seldom marry individuals from villages that are very distant. The structural features of bilaterality and absence of extension militate against inequality and male domination in the family.

582 Burmese culture is frequently remarked for the equality of the sexes, in contrast to the neighboring cultures of India and China. This status of the sexes seems to be the historic resultant of two patterns of thought. One is the apparently very old, pre-Buddhist emphasis upon equality, involving equal inheritance, equal sharing of the property brought to the marriage, equal division of property in the event of divorce, a prominent female role in social and economic life, and the absence of transmission of surnames. The other thought pattern dates from the superimposition of Buddhism upon older Burmese concepts: whatever ideas of male superiority exist stem from Buddhist ideas of reincarnation, it being assumed that only a man can attain reincarnation.

593 In the family household the wife's role includes not only such routine tasks as preparation of food and serving of meals, keeping the house orderly and clean, and looking after small children; very often it involves control of the family income and the making of all important decisions as to expenditures.

Certain observances and taboos, reflective of a deferential attitude towards males, are expected of a wife. She is careful that her lower garments do not touch her husband's bed or his personal belongings; she avoids touching her husband's head. It is believed that the breaking of such taboos may ruin the husband's success and glory, especially his spiritual attainments. These injunctions are followed as a matter of course by village wives and will be broken deliberately only as an act of malice by a woman who wishes to harm or lower her husband for some reason.

837 Despite the various equalitarian aspects of husband-wife relations, there is a tendency towards a double standard of sexual conduct. A husband who has reason to believe that his wife is engaging in extra-marital affairs is very likely to display violent anger, beat her, and break up the marriage. The wife of a philandering husband, on the other hand, will usually do no more than display hurt feelings for a brief period; rarely will she separate from her husband, especially if they have children.

593 Siblings. It is the duty of the younger to show deference to the elder. This pertains to the order of serving food, fetching and carrying things, and even the arrangement of sleeping mats -- a younger sibling should never sleep with his feet extended towards an elder sibling. Upon the death of a parent, the eldest child of the same sex assumes that parent's socio-economic role in the family.

Father and Daughter. Consistent with the age principle, it is a daughter's duty to be obedient and to wait upon her father. Once an unmarried daughter passes the age of puberty, her father is expected to lead a circumspect and moral life more than ever before. Any deviant sexual behavior or drunkenness on his part reflects upon his daughter and detracts from her marital chances. [581]

Mother and Son. Although a son owes obedience to his mother, her claim upon him in this regard is tempered by the fact that, in Burmese Buddhist

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

marriage, which is with most people a ceremony 585
performed in full daylight with all accessories of display, is with the Burmese generally a secret. Two or three friends, perhaps, will be called quietly to the house, and the man and the woman will eat together, and thus become husband and wife. Then they will separate again, and not for several days, or even weeks perhaps, will it be known that they are married; for it is seldom that they can set up house for themselves just at once. Often they will marry 591
and live apart for a time with their parents. Sometimes they will go and live together with the man's parents, but more usually with the girl's mother. Then after a time, when they have by their exertions made a little money, they build a house and go to live there; but sometimes they will live on with the girl's parents for years.

A girl does not change her name when she 582
marries, nor does she wear any sign of marriage, 593
such as a ring. Her name is always the same, and there is nothing to a stranger to denote whether she be married or not, or whose wife she is; and she keeps her property as her own. Marriage does not confer upon the husband any power over his wife's property, either what she brings with her, what she earns, or what she inherits subsequently; it all
remains her own, as does his remain his own. But 593
usually property acquired after marriage is held 562
jointly. You will inquire, for instance, who is the 421
owner of this garden, and be told Maung Han, Ma Shwè, the former being the husband's name and the latter the wife's. Both names are used very frequently in business and in legal proceedings, and indeed it is

17: Corr E-5 (1950-1951) 1951 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

HOME

Home is Pathwe

Home is the village of Pathwe, Pantanaw Township, Maubin district, Lower Burma. It is located on one of the countless small streams of the Lower Irrawaddy estuary about ninety miles west of Rangoon. The country is a flat alluvium plain dissected by myriads of streams and canals. The monotony of marshy plains is relieved by occasional clumps of trees and tall reeds which flank the streams. The land is a result of depositions of silts from upstream by the Irrawaddy river and its tributaries - a process which is going on today as Lower Burma extends into the bays of Bengal and Martaban. When asked how long his family had lived in the village of Pathwe, U Myaing replied : 131 [101]

"My parents were born here and their parents before them and their's before them - as far back as we can remember." [591]

The village of Pathwe occupies the adjacent banks of three streams at the point where they join.

The larger town of Pantanaw is located some three miles upstream. The section U Myaing lives in is called YWA-GYI-BET (Big-village-side) and is the main residential area of Pathwe. Directly across the stream, which is about 200 feet wide at this point, are YWA-LAY-BET (small-village-side) and PAYA-GYI-DAUNT (Big-pagoda-corner). 361

YWA-GYI-BET consists of four rows of houses placed 200 feet apart parallel to the main branch of the stream. The rows consist of about fifty houses each and are separated by brick or earth roads. The brick road is raised about three feet to form a passageway in time of floods. Communal lavatories flank both sides of the village rows and the ones on the side of the river have been located about 60 or 70 feet back from the edge of the river "in order not to pollute the water." The lavatories in the village differ from one another, in that some of them are in the house itself and others are outside by a small passageway connected to the house. The houses with lavatories in them depend on the water to carry away the droppings in the rainy season. [363] 514 364 [312]

cloth, small enough to keep mosquitos out. The other kind was made of plain cloth to keep out the smallest insects. The nets are rectangular for a single bed, square for a double. They are suspended over the bed on a wooden framework and tucked under the mattress. Pathma: three were used by the family and two kept in reserve. Each lasted 4 or 5 years. The reserve nets cost Rs. 60/- each, the others Rs. 40/- or 45/- each. Camp: one old one was brought from Pathma, this is used by U Myaing and his wife. The rest of the family have none. Two are desired. 513 [435]

TA-BYEI-SHE, broom: The hand broom is used to brush out dust and dirt from the floor of the house. It is about 2 feet long, 2 inches in diameter and consists of bent over bunches of stiff reeds bound at the top by a more flexible reed strip. The one used in camp cost 12 annas in Rangoon. 356 415

Burmese Concerns about the Home.

The following Burmese ideas about the home were secured mainly from Ko Maung Than, my research assistant. 342 183

The Burmese regard the KIN-YAR (home place) with great love, and as the most essential feature of life. The head of a family will frequently admonish: "My young ones let us remain with our nest intact and our eggs uncracked", this is also a common prayer. The ideal is to preserve the family home with necessary repairs in its original form. Wooden (teak) houses are preferred to bamboo. The husband and wife are partners in the ownership of the home which they start at marriage. Indeed, the word for "marriage" KIN-DAUNG-PYU (Home-separately-build) emphasizes the importance of building a home upon starting a family. In villages the mother and children spend almost all of their time in and around the home. Since the Burmese are especially sedentary, short journeys being unusual and infrequent events, the house is the spot where he lives and dies. It is furthermore his "castle" and place of security within which he is "ruler". [592] [591] [484]

Each house is under the direct protection of MIN MAHA-GIRI one of the 37 major nats of Burma. He controls the fortunes of the family and in return is revered. A coconut, the symbol of MIN- 342 776 782

23: Benedict
184, 192, 582, 591, 602, 611, 613, 614, 616, 618, 621

A L1 Southeast Asia
Burmese AP4

/For lists of kinship terms, and for excellent and detailed information concerning correlations between kinship terminology, patterns of behavior, and social institutions, see category 601./

23: Brant & Mi Mi Khaing E, I-5 (1949-1950)1951
AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

593 husband's kinfolk. Post-marital residence is independent and is decided very
[591] largely on the basis of economic opportunity. The wife's opportunities for social intercourse with her family of orientation are, of course, greatest when residence is established in her home village; if, however, a couple from different villages marry and find it most opportune to settle in the husband's community, the
[574] chances are that the wife will maintain contact with her family of orientation by
[582] visits from time to time; such marriages seldom unite persons from villages that are very far apart. The very structural features of bilaterality and absence of extension militate against inequality and male domination.

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593 trast to the neighboring cultures of India and China. This status of the sexes seems to be the resultant historically of two patterns of thought. One is an apparently very old, pre-Buddhist emphasis upon equality, involving equal inheri-
[428] tance, equal sharing of the property brought to the marriage, equal division of
[586] property upon divorce, a prominent female role in social and economic life, and an absence of transmission of surnames. The other thought pattern dates from the superimposition of Buddhism upon older Burmese conceptions: whatever
[177] ideas of male superiority exist in Burmese life stem from Buddhist notions of
[775] reincarnation. Although Buddha never expressed himself explicitly on the matter, it is taken for granted that only a male can attain Nirvana, since Gautama Buddha, who attained that state, was a male.

462 In the family household the wife's role includes not only such routine tasks as
592 the preparation of food and serving of meals, keeping the house orderly and clean, and looking after small children; very often it involves control of the family income and the making of all important decisions as to expenditures.

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593 of the female partner in marriage. She is careful that her lower garments do not
784 touch her husband's bed or his personal belongings; she avoids touching her husband's head. It is believed that the breaking of such taboos may ruin the husband's success and glory, especially his spiritual attainments. These injunctions are followed as a matter of course by Burmese wives and will be broken deliberately only as an act of spite by a woman who wishes to harm or lower her husband for some reason.

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[586] to display violent anger, beat her, and break up the marriage. The wife of a

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

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151. THE IDEAL AND THE REAL

They are generally condoned. Burmans do not wait to make money in order to marry, but marry in order to make money. Girls marry from the age of about twenty, and men about twenty-five. The marriage is a quiet affair. A day is fixed, when the lad and his parents repair to the home of the girl, whither some of the elders of the village (*lŭdyi*) have been invited for witness. The father of the lad addresses the parents of the girl in this wise: "Seeing that our children love each other, we pray you let your daughter be as our daughter and our son as your son" (*ekkan*). The girl's parents express their pleasure and approval, and according to one usage, the couple thereupon join hands (*lettat*), which means marriage; but the joining-of-hands is as a rule figurative. After this the lad goes and fetches his bedding, curtain, and clothes and places them in the house in token of reception into the family. In conclusion, the parties and the witnesses eat pickled tea together. When one or both parties are strangers in the place, friends undertake the part of parents and the elders make inquiries as to blood-relationship and pre-existing ties. Kinship closer [582] than first-cousin and the corresponding step-relationships are respected—except by royalty (p. 170). Sometimes marriages are of a more festive description (*mingala*). Astrologers are [791] called in and company entertained as at the *nŏbauk mingala*. Other unions, again, are by mere mutual agreement, without formalities of any kind. By time-[307] honoured custom the lads of the village claim the right to pelt the house of the new-married pair at night (*ge-pyit*), and it is usual ● 591 to buy them off. New couples mostly start life in

152. TATTOOING (TOGWIN, *see* p. 13).

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

153. THE CHALLENGE
(see p. 177).

the young wife's home, the lad working for her parents. As family comes and other daughters marry, the elder pairs are established in houses of their own. Married people are designated *ein-daung*—householders. Marriage makes no difference in the names and their prefixes. Everyone marries in Burma; the census of 1891 gave 1,306,722 husbands to 1,307,292 wives. The same census gave 102 females to 100 males of the Burman (so classed as Buddhist) population. (In Burma prostitution is confined to the large towns.)

A family of seven is considered large. The average number of house-occupants is 5.5. The cost of living in a Burman village household is 100 to 200 Rs. a year. In the towns the well-to-do spend 600 to 1000 Rs. and more, and at the present day keep a servant or two for the rough work, generally natives of India. Such accumulations of wealth as are made by individuals in India and other countries with a plutocracy and a proletariate are not paralleled among the Burmans. Nevertheless individuals amass tens of thousands of rupees, which for the most part they spend on works of religious merit. Monogamy is the received and almost universal practice in Burma. Second-wives are taken by a proportion of the officials and men of wealth. Hence it comes that the Burmans wonder more at the moderation of Europeans than at such license as they indulge. This license is not nearly so great as in India, but it is more open, corresponding to the higher status of the women of Burma, and thus it provokes more scandal in comparison. Unions of this sort among the Burmans are merely by mutual consent. A separate establishment in a different quarter of the town is maintained for the second wife or concubine (*maya-ngè*). Her children are under no disability, but she is not acknowledged by the first, and generally older, wife (*mayaji*), whose husband's love she is said to have stolen.

154. AN "ORIGINAL."

CHAPTER FOUR

647 565 177. 65 BY the time that I was about four years old my father had become a Subdivisional Officer in the Civil Service, and our family had joined the ranks of what has now come to be known as the *minkadaw* class, an *a-so-ya min* being a government official and *minkadaw* the wife of a *min*. The minkadaws usually referred to were in the great majority the wives of officials of the Burma Civil Service, Class II, and by the time that we were passing through our childhood and adolescent years they already formed a very definite stratum in Burmese society. We children now comparing notes with the children of the minkadaws posted as far apart as Tavoy and Myitkyina can find common characteristics in all the households, from domestic commodities and meal habits to social conventions and standards of wealth. It is as though a new upper middle class has grown up, complete with snobberies, in what was formerly a classless Burmese society, but a class that still keeps itself quite apart from the European gymkhana life of the district towns.

631 647 344 The houses which I can remember, when my father was a Subdivisional Officer in the subdivisional towns of Zigon and Myanaung where he was in charge of the subdivision, or in the divisional headquarters town of Magwe where the whole hierarchy of min from the Commissioner downwards were present, or in the district headquarters town of Maubin where the min ranked down from the Deputy Commissioner and my father was Headquarters Assistant, all bore certain uniform features. They were all wooden, two-storied and large, with a sufficient number of big rooms to have a dining-room and an office room below, a sitting-room above the portico and two big bedrooms, besides little verandahs and odd rooms. They all had a front staircase for common use and one or two ladder-like staircases behind for watermen, sanitation and servants. The kitchen was about 20 yards away, connected by a covered passage, and at the back of the large garden or compound was the *tanya*, a row of rooms for men servants and Indian [351] servants. The garden in front was usually modest owing to frequent changes of occupants, but a minimum amount of flowers for daily vases on the altar had always to be cultivated, and fruit trees were prized highly, guava, mango, marian or citron.

● 592 357 Unlike most Burmese households we did not have any aunts or other relatives staying with us, but we had our full quota of domestic

dependents in whose company we spent most of our childhood. Min- 592
kadaws divide their servants into "downstairs servants" and "upstairs 357
servants". The downstairs variety are the usual domestics—cook, boy, gardener, office boy and so on. The upstairs variety are not referred to as "servants" (*a-say-khan*); they are girls whose work is all done in the rooms upstairs, who sleep there and spend the greatest part of their day in the quarters inhabited by the family. In many cases this system is one of abuse and oppression. The girls may be poor relatives—cousins in the fourth degree perhaps—or they may be bought up from poor parents who, for a sum of Rs. 25 to Rs. 100 down and intermittent gratuities, will allow their children to go into a theoretically better home. These girls come at any age from seven to fourteen years. They are clothed and fed and their *mon-bo* (sweetmeat money) depends entirely on the mistress they chance upon. When they are young they play with the children of the house and when older they sweep and dust the upstairs rooms—rooms on which we walk only barefoot as distinct from the downstairs rooms swept by an Indian sweeper, and on which they use a feather broom instead of wielding a broom of coconut sticks, thus sealing the distinction; they also wash the personal garments of the household, look after the children and all other housemaid duties. They are rarely kept alone; there may be up to four or five according to the household. The relationship with the family is that of feudal serf or poor relation. [601]
They do not call their employers *thakin* and *thakinma* (master and mistress); they address them as Aunt and Uncle-older-than-own-parents; they call the children of the family elder-brother or sister-so-and-so and address all relatives as the children do, but they have no definite salary, no rights and no external connections. It is only in rare cases, however, [584]
that girls reach the age of thirty in an environment not congenial to them; in ideal circumstances it is the duty of the mistress to settle them in an advantageous marriage by the time they are twenty-one or twenty-
two. Failing this, the girls generally manage to elope, for elopements [583]
are frequent and not very scandalous in Burma.

In our childhood, when the family was big with growing children, we had five girls with us at one time. Of these, three were our relatives —two sisters, Ma Ohn Kyi and Ma Mya Shwe, who were third cousins of my father, and Ma Ngwe Yin, a second cousin of my mother. Both their families were far too poor to keep them. We had to pay respect to Ma Ohn Kyi and Ma Ngwe Yin who were both a few years older than me and called us all by our name, but nobody stopped us from bullying the young Mya Shwe and the two unrelated girls as much as we liked. A-Kyi, as we called Ma Ohn Kyi, was always treated as the senior one because my parents considered that she had a good moral character.

592 She was fairly pretty, very quiet and reserved towards us, and enjoyed
357 helping my mother with the babies, supervising the work of the servant girls and valeting my father. Ngwe Yin, who came to us as a very attractive girl with a reputation for being unmanageable even at a young age, always chose the task of taking us for walks in the evenings so that she could put on her nice clothes. She took us wherever she liked, or she sat with us at meal times and let us be as naughty as we wanted while she indulged in repartee with my father's clerks or chauffeur. Mya Shwe was my contemporary and playmate; she went to school while I was in boarding school but cut short her attendances the day I came home, irrespective of differences in our school calendars.

357 When A-Kyi was about nineteen it was announced to us that she
584 was to be married to my father's clerk, Maung Hla Bu. This young man was a favourite of my parents and had been a constant admirer of A-Kyi, helping her to make the beds when my father took the whole family on tours, but awaiting the graciousness of my parents before he dared to ask for her in marriage. My mother gave A-Kyi a small trousseau and a few pieces of jewellery, and they were married shortly before my father got a posting to another station. When a child was born, Mya Shwe, who had outgrown her days as a playmate for me, went to stay with them. Ngwe Yin, the beautiful girl, continued discontentedly for about a year, and then she eloped with a student protégé of my father's. I don't think either of my parents were very shocked at this.

357 My memories of the girls who worked for us are happy enough only
565 because my mother had been brought up in Grandfather's house where everyone was taught to do things for herself; in her character also was a pervading sense of tolerance. In some minkadaws' houses, however, I have seen two girls kneeling with soap and towel outstretched, while the mistress bathed herself. In more cheerful but no less aristocratic-minded households a meal laid ready on the table is the signal for one girl to get under the table and fan the mosquitoes off the legs of the family, and another to play the gramophone right through the meal My gay young uncle San Lin extended the domestic duties of his girls to the learning of modern songs which he liked, and he did his morning dressing to the accompaniment of his servant girls with powder on their faces and jasmine buds in their hair, swinging their feather brooms to the rhythm of modern love songs.

592 A-Kyi and A-Shwe and all the girls we had before and after them
431 bring back memories of the household articles which made with them a
513 background never recovered in our later Rangoon days. My mother,
286 like all minkadaws in the districts, did not depend on a big bazaar and
511

shops to supply her with goods, but took a special pride in buying each 592
product from the town where the best quality of it was manufactured. 431
She could do this either by my father's being posted within its district, 513
by going there on a pagoda-visiting expedition, or by having relatives 286
posted there; and a survey of all the household possessions I can re- 511
member makes a cross-section of Burmese crafts. All our blankets were Burmese *saungs*, good stoutly woven cotton pieces, about 7 feet long and 4½ feet wide. We had single ones of red, black and yellow stripes which looked very bright and barbaric; they came from the Chin Hills. We used these in the hotter months. During the colder months we used thicker *ok-saungs* which we got from Pakokku; they were 14 feet long and used doubled, with a fringe at both ends. These were woven very strong and white, with bold red stripes on them in pleasing combinations. All these saungs washed more and more beautiful to our childish eyes. My mother had a big collection of them in wooden chests and some of them have lasted 30 years and are still beautiful.

She was also very jealous of her collection of *hpyas*, mats for sleeping 513
or sitting on, woven closely of the fibres of a reed called *thabaw*, or, 285
finer still, of the outer skin of a grass-like plant, the *thin*. These light 352
and flexible mats or *thinbyu* came from Laymyethna, "The Town of 511
Four Faces". They were equally smooth on both sides and had velvet borders piped on, broad at one end and narrower at the other, to distinguish the head end for nobler use, and to be sure of always resting the feet on the same ignoble end. We had them in big sizes for the beds and for afternoon naps on the verandah, and smaller sizes for prayers and for visitors to sit on. My mother kept them in rolls, five or six rolled together according to quality, covered with a cylinder of ticking and stood end up along her dressing-room.

Although we used imported crockery for the table we could not do without Burmese pottery for other purposes. Water-pots and goblets of light pottery from Twante, near Rangoon, were necessary to keep the water cool. There must be special pots for the altar water, for washing [271]
faces, for drinking water (in which pot, however, we kept a sand filter bought from Rangoon), and goblets in all bedrooms. For baths we had big black voluminous jars from Upper Burma, of a less porous pottery with a salt glaze on it, about 30 inches high and wide-mouthed. Smaller ones like these were kept for pickling mangoes and other green fruits. In the kitchen also, the modern aluminium pots 415
would not do for such purposes as cooking acid leaves and fish 252
curry that had tamarind in it; an earthen pot was always used for 511
chimbaung, roselle leaves. Moreover, the *salaungbon*, or cover, of an earthern pot can always be used for baking fish paste, a daily

The houses were all built on the same pattern, only some being taller, 342
wider and of better quality wood and thatch than others.

Facing the street in line, each house had a verandah running all along its face, and one step took you up from this into the main room of the house. As you entered, this room extended right up to the roof which sloped very steeply down to its eaves, but about twelve feet in, where the roof was just high enough, a platform upper storey was built, looking over a balustrade into the main room below. This platform storey ended where the sloping roof again became too low at the back. The back portion reaching to the height of the roof was used for kitchen and washing rooms. By this time, in the row of houses containing ours, the ground had sloped down to the creek, and the kitchen was continued as a bamboo platform raised high above the mud on piles.

Grandmother, who had become among the wealthiest in the village, had made enlargements and adaptations within these lines. Her house was wider, with the clearing up of an adjacent house. It contained four door spaces in its face, each door space being a uniform seven feet in width throughout the village. The main floor was of fine polished teak boards, the part below the platform storey was walled off into a bedroom which was very badly ventilated and lighted, the back portion was cleared of all washing rooms and made into a large airy kitchen about 30 feet square, and the platform behind was extended right over the water's edge because we had bought a mooring site further up. On this bamboo platform two hatches were put as bathrooms, containing commodes in the European style, whereas other households walked to the common latrines in the first clearing beyond the street.

The people of Ye lived chiefly by the produce of their gardens, the 244
richer ones like Grandmother sending out to big towns their durians, 226
coconuts, areca nuts, or fish and oysters from the sea, the poorer ones 463
vending fish and vegetables daily around the town, making thatch roofing out of *dani* (nipah) leaves, acting as boatmen up and down the creek, helping to work the gardens and paddy-fields of other families.

My grandmother's household during these years consisted of her- 592
self, two aunts, one widow and one spinster, an uncle next to my father in age, my young Uncle Pyant and various cousins, one, two and three wombs removed from us. My elder uncle, Uncle Thet Hnan, had never been out of Ye; after going through the monastery he had worked in the gardens instead of going to an English-teaching school. It gave us an uncanny feeling to see him so like my father in build and general appearance and so dissimilar from him in speech, thought and habits. He now owned gardens up at Chaung-bya, and had five children all of whom had been brought up in Ye. My three boy cousins had been

[1st Ye- ~ Analyst]

•592 sent to stay with us at various times and were sent to schools which taught English, but nothing would persuade them to take any interest in studies. My cousin Nyein Maung, whom I liked very much, could never bear to keep a shirt on, which was why he was always to be found with only a longyi tucked around his loins playing chinlon or helping boatmen with their canoes, when he should have been sitting fully clothed in a class-room.

[601] My young Uncle Pyant, whom we called U-Ngè, small Uncle, had
693 passed his B.A. and his law degree, and returned to Ye in preference to
177 a more modern life in a larger town. He walled off one doorway's space
164 from the main room of the house and filled it with bookcases, a big desk and chairs for visitors. Outside this room my Uncle Pyant put up a sign saying: "*A-htet-tan shaynay gyi:* Advocate and Higher Grade Pleader," and within a very short time became the lawyer of the whole village; but so great was his attachment to this consultation-living-room, which had nothing in common with the rest of Ye, that he relinquished all cases whose developing complexities led client and lawyer to a higher court in Moulmein.

592 Grandmother had gardens about ten miles up the creek from Ye.
244 These contained coconuts, durians and areca nuts grown over about
276 fifty acres for commercial disposal. Around the bungalow in the centre
427 of the garden there grew mangosteen, rambutan, pomeloes and pineapples for eating on a large-scale, clumps of bamboos, a coffee tree, tobacco plants, capsicum, lime and citron trees, lemon grass, and vegetables of all kinds to serve the needs of the bungalow and the household in town. My aunts with one young male relative took turns to live at the garden and help the family that was hired to look after it permanently. It was a dangerous life in these plantations as dacoities were very frequent.
[501] The produce was taken down to Ye in a succession of graceful narrow boats shaped out of single tree trunks. The durians and coconuts were
[442] sold straight away to traders who travelled between Moulmein and Ye for this purpose. The areca nuts were first dried on a bamboo attic made by an extension of the platform upper storey of the house until it met the back slope of the roof. When they were dried the whole family gathered around in the back kitchen and removed the husks with blunted nutcrackers, leaving the smooth nut to be sold.

244 With the rice from the paddy-land on the opposite bank, fruits,
262 vegetables and spices from the garden, rolling their cheroots with a mix-
226 ture containing tobacco in leaves shed by the areca trees in the garden,
438 and grinding their own coffee berries, my aunts and grandmother only
276 needed to buy a little fish and meat for their daily consumption. This they could not provide themselves owing to the Buddhist law against

1: Mi Mi Khaing I-5 (no date) 1946 APT Burma
Burmese AP4
Mon

593 always do so, at home and everywhere else, but mother understands
177. that you make habits easily at your English school. Never walk into
57 the house with your slippers on, as you do in the downstairs room here. When you eat with your grandmother and aunts, don't touch anything until your aunts have put a little of it into Grandmother's plate. And try not to talk to one another in English." All the way in the train my sisters would fling themselves at me and shout, "Big Elder Sister, Big Big Elder Sister."

528 We went to Ye during our summer holidays which were the longest
• 592 in the school year and allowed us three weeks with my father and a
264 month at Ye. It also enabled us to pay obeisance to our grandmother at the New Year, and to celebrate this loveliest of festivals in its most fitting surroundings. My Uncle San Lin usually sent his wife and our four small cousins at the same time, so that for one month in the year at least Grandmother could feel that the world of big towns and English civilization had not robbed her of any family affection. Sleeping and eating arrangements for the gathering of twenty odd people were no problems for the simple large-scale economy of the household. My mother had a bed, and beside it my Aunt Khin and all the children slept on thinbyus laid side by side on the platform upper storey. Meals were eaten in successive rounds at a low table on the kitchen floor, not served as separate sittings, but by calling more diners as places were vacated, and filling each dish that diminished from the stove near-by.

529 Half of our visit to Ye was spent at the garden where we were
177 surrounded by rich fruits and could bathe in the clear swift water that rushed through islands of reeds. We walked and rode in bullock carts

for miles, to visit other gardens owned by Grandmother's friends—old men and women who lived there all the time, and who chuckled with delight to see us, for to them we were not ourselves, not ordinary

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma AP1
Burmese AP4
Chinese

Be 532 BeBa [532] [774]

tells us that the American Indian chief was in a state of great alarm lest his soul might be carried off with his picture. A notion of the same kind appears in the Chinese custom of getting a priest to put in the pupil of the eye, a method which often has rather a ghastly effect when the reverend gentleman is not skilful. Similarly, every Chinese-owned craft, from the sampan to the English-built iron screw steamer, has a couple of eyes painted on its bows, in order that it may see the way. Down in the Straits, and in all places where there are many Chinese, the local steamers, whoever their owners may be, are all endowed with eyes. Were they not so favoured, no Chinaman would travel with them as a passenger, or send any of his goods aboard of them. The Burman is not troubled with any such fantastic notions, and has no objection whatever to sitting for his portrait, only, as King Mindôn said to Yule, they prefer a flattering likeness to an exact one. It is seldom, however, that a Burman has a picture gallery in his house, and the village artist usually confines himself to vivid-coloured sketches for the funeral of a pôngyi, or to be hung round the mandut, where the great people sit to look on at a play. The drawing and the perspective are naturally a little faulty, but the details are usually worked out with very creditable skill.

Be 532 353

517

Thus wandering about, seeing what his neighbours are doing, with an occasional visit to the monastery to have some edifying talk with the religious, the villager may spend the time very comfortably. Oftenest however, he stays at home, and waits for visitors to drop in and have a little gossip. The goodwife always has a little shop in the lower part of the building. There is hardly a single house in the whole village where something is not offered for sale: a few dried fish, betel-nut, with the fresh green leaves, lime, cardamoms, and cutch, all ready for making up, half a dozen cocoa-nuts, or perhaps some twopenny-ha'penny knives, looking-glasses, coloured tumblers, and paltry Manchester goods, or where there are many girls about the house, a few home-made lungyis and pasos, waist-cloths, woven at odd times in the loom which stands in the yard or in a corner of the verandah of every house. The stock-in-trade is

592 444 562 [286]

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

intended more as an excuse for people to enter the house and have a talk than with any idea of making a profit. Whatever money is drawn is regarded as a kind of pin-money for the mistress of the establishment. When the ladies of the household are in earnest about trading, they start a stall in the bazaar, and very good hands they are at driving a bargain. A more regrettable trait is the forcible character of their language when they are annoyed. But this, unhappily, is a characteristic of the fair sex all the world over, whether in trade or out of it. Certain it is that the *dames de la halle* and the Billingsgate fishwives would require all their powers of voice and vituperation to silence a bazaar maiden when she sets her mind to it.

There are as a general thing two meals only in the day: breakfast at about eight in the morning, and dinner at five in the afternoon. There is no difference in the *menu* of the two meals. The staple article of food is plain boiled rice, which is piled up in a heap on a huge platter, round about which the household arrange themselves, sitting, like pit-men, on their heels. The curry which is taken with it is placed in little bowls, and each one of the party has his own plate, and helps himself. Knives are unnecessary; spoons and forks and celestial chopsticks are unknown, except in the houses of a few Government officials and traders in Rangoon, who have had some experience of English society. Very few are able to afford curries of meat or fish, besides that there are not always unscrupulous people ready to disregard the law against taking life, and the material is therefore not always available. Ordinarily the curry consists of a soup, or thin concoction of vegetables, in which chillies and onions figure largely. The other ingredients are very various. Young shoots of bamboo are very delicate in their flavour, if not overpowered by too much garlic. Wild asparagus, the succulent stems of a number of aquatic plants and fleshy arums are constantly used, and may be seen exposed for sale in every bazaar. Tamarind leaves and those of the mango-tree are used by the very poor. The former have a somewhat acrid taste, the latter are curiously aromatic. Along with the curry, which has always a large amount of oil and salt in it, there are a variety of condiments, notably the

14: Brant E-5 (1949-50) 1954 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

III

SOCIAL GROUPS AND RELATIONS

In this section we describe the patterns of kinship and interpersonal relations, the beliefs and customs pertaining to the life cycle of the individual associations, and intergroup relations.*

Kinship

The kinship system reflects very clearly the bilateral family structure in the absence of terminological differentiation on the basis of the sex of the connecting relative. The other outstanding characteristic is the recognition at many points of relative age. For each generation a distinct set of kinship terms is employed. On the speaker's (ego's) generation, all cousins are merged with siblings, the terms being differentiated, however, according to relative age. In the first ascending generation, the parents' siblings are differentiated according to the degree of age relative to the parent. In the first descending generation the factor of relative age loses significance; sex is the sole basis of differentiation of kinship terms, except for separate terms to distinguish the speaker's own children from others. On successive descending generations sex distinction is absent and all relatives of a given generation are subsumed under a single kinship term.

Relative age is the all-important hub upon which the wheel of village social life revolves. Deference to one's elders is reflected in such customs as carrying objects for them, refraining from sitting with one's head higher than those of elders, and avoiding postures in which the feet are extended towards such persons.

Beyond such matters of etiquette, the importance of age is even more fundamentally demonstrated in the showing of obeisance to one's elders. This is done on all the important ceremonial occasions. Four such occasions are regarded as obligatory times for paying one's respects. These are the beginning and the end of Waso (sometimes called the Buddhist 'Lent'), a period of about three months, roughly from mid-July to mid-October; the New Year; and the harvest. Respect is paid to all of one's elders in the parental generation and above. A visit is made at which an offering, valuable or symbolic, is brought and the elder's blessings are received.

Interpersonal Relations

Husband and Wife. The household is normally composed of husband and wife and their offspring. It is a bilateral, limited type of family structure, contrasting markedly with the patrilineal extended Chinese family and the joint family of India. Unlike the position of the wife in the traditional Chinese and Indian family systems, that of the Burmese wife is not one of an outsider living in a group dominated by her husband's relatives. Where a married couple reside is a matter of choice and is decided very largely on the basis of economic opportunity. When there is such opportunity in the village for an outsider who marries a girl of Tadagale, he is urged to establish their residence there, but there is no particular pressure or feeling about the

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*The material on kinship and the life cycle, with certain changes, was published under the title "Burmese Kinship and the Life Cycle: an Outline" in Southwestern Journal of Anthropology, vol 7, no 4, 1951, pp. 437-454. The reader interested in the technical details of the kinship terms and a diagrammatic presentation of the kinship system is referred to that article. The author wishes to express his thanks to Mi Mi Khaing for valuable assistance in the compilation and analysis of the material on this aspect of the culture.

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

000 She spoke so fast, so fast; the words fell over each other as they came from her lips, for her heart was very full.

592 I sat quite still and said nothing; I think she hardly noticed I was there. It was all about her husband. Everything was wrong; all had gone crooked in their lives, and she did not know what she could do. At first she could hardly tell what it was all about, but at last she explained. For some years, three or four years, matters had not been very smooth between them. They had quarrelled often, she said, about this thing and the other, little things mostly; and gradually the rift had widened till it became very broad indeed.

'Perhaps,' she said, 'if I had been able to have a child it would have been different.' But fate was unkind and no baby came, and her husband became more and more angry with her. 'And yet I did all for the best, thakin; I always tried to act for the best. My husband has sisters at Henzada, and they write to him now and then, and say, "Send ten rupees," or "send five rupees," or even twenty rupees. And I always say, "Send, send." Other wives would say, "No, we cannot afford it"; but I said always, "Send, send." I have always done for the best, always for the best.'

It was very pitiable to hear her opening her whole heart, such a sore troubled heart, like this. Her words were full of pathos; her uncomely face was not beautified by the sorrow in it. And at last
593 her husband took a second wife.
587 'She is a girl from a village near; the thakin knows, Taungywa. He did not tell me, but I soon

Introduction

This is a study of the falling standard of living of a Burmese family who were uprooted by the insurrection from their village home of Pathee in 1949 and transplanted in a refugee camp in Rangoon. The family consisted of U Myaing - a fisherman aged 47; hes wife Ma Aye Myaing, age 33, Daw Aw Zar, his mother, age 72, and four daughters - Ma Yin Shwe, age 14, Ma Khin Nyein, age 11, Ma Khni Saw, age 7, and Ma Win Tin, age 5.(1951). 121 [664] [722] [592]

An attempt is made to present quantitatively and qualitatively the items used in, and activities of everyday life in the home village as contrasted with the refugee camp. It is hoped this dynamic situation will reveal some of the basic facts of Burmese culture as they pertain to an average family. The bulk of the data was collected under my direction by Ko Sein Tu, Tutor of the Psychology Department, University of Rangoon, from August 1950 to May 1951. Ko Nya Tu, medical student at the University, helped in collecting the health data. Ma Khin Hmay, Assistant in Anthropology at the University, collected some of the more personal data from the ladies of the family. Professor Mohinda Nath, Head of the Department of Biology, University of Rangoon, kindly arranged for the scientific identification of the food items. Part of the data was collectedby the use of a tape recorder portions of which are reproduced verbatim in this report. Miss Mary Watson, Head Stenographer of the Community Project, gave her valuable help in proof reading and typing the stencils for this report. 121 114 126 128

A setting for the better understanding of the facts of the family is given in sections on general Burmese Concepts which follow the family data. This was provided by Ko Maung Than, student at the University, who worked as my assistant from August through November 1951. 128

I am endebted to Dr. Htin Aung, Professor of Anthropology and Rector of the University of Rangoon for his constant support and encouragement in this study. I carried out the study as a Fulbright grantee in Anthropology attached to the United States Educational Foundation in Rangoon, to whose officers I am grateful 122

342 514 In U Myaing's house the lavatory is in the kitchen and is walled off with woven KYU (kind of fiber) mat. There is a hole cut open in the board flooring, and the area underneath this opening also is walled off with woven KYU. U Myaing and family did not take their meals in the kitchen but in the house proper.

361 368 346 The PHON-GYI KYAUNG or monastery is located further downstream from the village. It is a two storied brick building comprised of nine rooms, each 6 TAUNG square. Children are not taught here but learn [872] [364] their lessons at the government school. This school, which is on THA-GYI-BET side, teaches pupils up to the tenth standard. Below the PHON-GYI KYAUNG is the cemetery.

The houses in the village are separated one from the other by eight feet on each side. The rows of houses facing the river have porches on 342 both sides. U Myaing's house is typical of those found in the village - some may be more elaborate, some less. His house had been built only 435 [651] six or seven years, and cost Rs. 3000/- at that time. There are no accounts for each of the separate items and U Myaing does not remember. The land was free and they did not have to pay any revenue on it. [366] Separate from the houses and on the riverside is a huge platform built [252] to process fish including the making of NGAPI. U Myaing had no land that ~~that~~ owned round the house, although he could use the land directly in front of the house for various purposes.

U Myaing describes his house as follows;

342 592 "It is a wooden house, made of wooden posts - a two storied structure. The roof is of slates. Walls are of ZEI-NGA-MU wooden boards (boards 8 inches wide and about ½ inch thick) and there are four rooms. Other people have similar houses. It is a LAY-KIN-KIN (a four-tree-house or a house which has four supporting poles across the front) and all seven of us live in the house. We drop a kitchen from the back and cook there. The kitchen has three windows at the back, with one door leading into the house. We all live together in three rooms. We keep bedrooms. (U Myaing is speaking of a sketch of the house here). This side is for visitors - there is a room for people who come to buy goods. The old mother and the children live in one room and I and my wife in [366] another with the smallest child. We eat in the front part of the house in one room at the foot of the sleeping place. There are nine 6 TAUNG rooms without partitions on each of the two floors. The sides of the house are enclosed with timber planks of IN wood, but the bedrooms are also partitioned off. It is very wide and roomy to live in. The floor is made of teak planks."

cloth, small enough to keep mosquitos out. The other kind was made of plain cloth to keep out the smallest insects. The nets are rectangular for a single bed, square for a double. They are suspended over the bed on a wooden framework and tucked under the mattress. Pathwe: three were used by the family and two kept in reserve. Each lasted 4 or 5 years. The reserve nets cost Rs. 60/- each, the others Rs. 40/- or 45/- each. Camp: one old one was brought from Pathwe, this is used by U Myaing and his wife. The rest of the family have none. Two are desired. 513 [435]

TA-BYET-SHE, broom: The hand broom is used to brush out dust and dirt from the floor of the house. It is about 2 feet long, 2 inches in diameter and consists of bent over branches of stiff reeds bound at the top by a more flexible reed strip. The one used in camp cost 12 annas in Rangoon. 356 415

Burmese Concepts about the Home

The following Burmese ideas about the home were secured mainly from Ko Maung Than, my research assistant. 342 183

The Burmese regard the KIN-YAR (home place) with great love, and as the most essential feature of life. The head of a family will frequently admonish: "My young ones let us remain with our nest intact and our eggs uncracked", this is also a common prayer. The ideal is to preserve the family home with necessary repairs in its original form. Wooden (teak) houses are preferred to bamboo. The husband and wife are partners in the ownership of the home which they start at marriage. Indeed, the word for "marriage" KIN-DAUNG-PYU (Home-separately-build) emphasizes the importance of building a home upon starting a family. In villages the mother and children spend almost all of their time in and around the home. Since the Burmese are especially sedentary, short journeys being unusual and infrequent events, the house is the spot where he lives and dies. It is furthermore his "castle" and place of security within which he is "ruler". [592] [591] [484]

Each house is under the direct protection of MIN MAHA-GIRI one of the 37 major nats of Burma. He controls the fortunes of the family and in return is revered. A coconut, the symbol of MIN- 342 776 782

23: Brant & Mi Mi Khaing E, I-5 (1949-1950)1951
AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

38. yauccá Husband (referential).
39. mù Husband's younger brother; husband's younger sister's husband. 601
40. khê?óu Elder sister's husband; husband's elder brother; husband's elder sister's husband.
41. yaummà Husband's sister; husband's brother's wife.

As may readily be seen by inspection of the charts, this kinship system reflects clearly the bilateral family structure, with an absence of terminological differentiation on the basis of the sex of the connecting relative. The other outstanding characteristic is the recognition of relative age at many points. For each generation a distinct set of terms is used. On ego's generation all cousins are merged with siblings; the terms are differentiated, however, according to relative age. In the first ascending generation, it will be noted, parents' siblings are terminologically distinguished according to degree of age relative to the parent. In the first descending generation, however, the factor of age loses significance; sex is the sole differentiating factor, apart from distinguishing terms for ego's own children. On successive descending generations sex distinction is absent and all relatives of a single generation are subsumed under a single kinship term.

Behaviorally as well as terminologically, relative age is the all-important hub 561 upon which the wheel of Burmese social life revolves. Deference to one's elders 602 is reflected in such customs as carrying things for them, refraining from sitting with one's head higher than those of elders, and avoiding postures in which the [516] feet are extended towards such persons.

Beyond such matters of etiquette, the importance of age is even more fundamentally demonstrated in the showing of obeisance to one's elders. This is done on all the important ceremonial occasions. Four such occasions are regarded as [792] obligatory times for paying one's respects. These are the beginning and the end of the Buddhist "Lent"—a period of about three months, roughly from mid-July to mid-October—the New Year, and the harvest. Respect is paid to all of one's elders in the parental generation and above. A visit is made at which an offering, valuable or symbolic, is brought and the elder's blessings are received.

SOCIAL RELATIONS OF KIN

Husband–Wife. The household is normally composed of husband and wife 593 and their offspring. It is a bilateral, limited type of family structure, contrasting [592] markedly with the patrilineal extended Chinese family and joint family of India. [594] Unlike the position of the wife in the Chinese and Indian family systems, that of the Burmese wife is not one of an outsider living in a group dominated by her

[Text continues on page 442]

23: Brant & Mi Mi Khaing E, I-5 (1949-1950) 1951
AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

593 husband's kinfolk. Post-marital residence is independent and is decided very
[591] largely on the basis of economic opportunity. The wife's opportunities for social intercourse with her family of orientation are, of course, greatest when residence is established in her home village; if, however, a couple from different villages marry and find it most opportune to settle in the husband's community, the
[574] chances are that the wife will maintain contact with her family of orientation by
[582] visits from time to time; such marriages seldom unite persons from villages that are very far apart. The very structural features of bilaterality and absence of extension militate against inequality and male domination.

562 Burmese culture is frequently remarked for the equality of the sexes, in con-
593 trast to the neighboring cultures of India and China. This status of the sexes seems to be the resultant historically of two patterns of thought. One is an apparently very old, pre-Buddhist emphasis upon equality, involving equal inheri-
[428] tance, equal sharing of the property brought to the marriage, equal division of
[586] property upon divorce, a prominent female role in social and economic life, and an absence of transmission of surnames. The other thought pattern dates from the superimposition of Buddhism upon older Burmese conceptions: whatever
[177] ideas of male superiority exist in Burmese life stem from Buddhist notions of
[775] reincarnation. Although Buddha never expressed himself explicitly on the matter, it is taken for granted that only a male can attain Nirvana, since Gautama Buddha, who attained that state, was a male.

462 In the family household the wife's role includes not only such routine tasks as
592 the preparation of food and serving of meals, keeping the house orderly and clean, and looking after small children; very often it involves control of the family income and the making of all important decisions as to expenditures.

Certain observances and taboos, reflective of deference to males, are expected
593 of the female partner in marriage. She is careful that her lower garments do not
784 touch her husband's bed or his personal belongings; she avoids touching her husband's head. It is believed that the breaking of such taboos may ruin the husband's success and glory, especially his spiritual attainments. These injunctions are followed as a matter of course by Burmese wives and will be broken deliberately only as an act of spite by a woman who wishes to harm or lower her husband for some reason.

593 Despite the various equalitarian aspects of husband-wife relations, there is
837 a tendency towards a double standard of sexual behavior. A husband who has reason to believe that his wife is engaging in extra-marital affairs is very likely
[586] to display violent anger, beat her, and break up the marriage. The wife of a

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

153. THE CHALLENGE (see p. 177).

the young wife's home, the lad working for her parents. 591
As family comes and other daughters marry, the elder pairs are established in houses of their own. Married people are designated *ein-daung*—householders. Marriage 581
makes no difference in the names and their prefixes. 592
Everyone marries in Burma; the census of 1891 gave 1,306,722 husbands to 1,307,292 wives. The same census 551
gave 102 females to 100 males of the Burman (so classed 162
as Buddhist) population. (In Burma prostitution is con- [548]
fined to the large towns.) [524]

A family of seven is considered large. The average
number of house-occupants is 5.5. The cost of living of 592
a Burman village household is 100 to 200 Rs. a year. In 511
the towns the well-to-do spend 600 to 1000 Rs. and more, 357
and at the present day keep a servant or two for the rough work, generally natives of India. Such accumula- 556
tions of wealth as are made by individuals in India and other countries with a plutocracy and a proletariate are not paralleled among the Burmans. Nevertheless individuals amass tens of thousands of rupees, which for the most part they spend on works of religious merit. Monogamy is the received and almost universal practice in Burma. Second-wives are taken by a proportion of the officials and men of wealth. Hence it comes that the Burmans wonder more at the moderation of Europeans than at such license as they indulge. This license is not nearly so great as in India, but it is more open, corresponding to the higher status of the women of Burma, and thus it provokes more scandal in comparison. Unions of this sort among the Burmans are merely by mutual consent. A separate establishment in a different quarter of the town is maintained for the second wife or concubine (*maya-ngè*). Her children are under no disability, but she is not acknowledged by the first, and generally older, wife (*mayaji*), whose husband's love she is said to have stolen.

587

154. AN "ORIGINAL"

[562]

[291]

177. 87 876 metic book for an old man called Samuel who produced a series of swot books on various subjects, beautifully tabulated books with questions and answers, invaluable for examinations and used even in my day when we and our school teachers whisked them out of sight of Education Inspectors who came on the prowl for just such unprogressive methods of education. He also went across to the American Mission School where quite often the teachers were more Christian and painstaking than brilliant, to help old Teacher Nellie with Geometry riders, and in this way he met my mother.

873 593 562 582 My parents could not get married as soon as they left school. My father had first to go to the University, which consisted then of Rangoon College, affiliated to Calcutta University, and then he felt he must work to buy my grandmother a big enough plot of paddy land so that her two youngest sons would not need to look after her in Ye, but could come into the world like my father. He now felt that they should not be denied the wonderful opportunities which he had found. My father did go to College, but had passed only his F. A. (corresponding to Intermediate) when he heard that my mother was now going out to teach in a school at Thaton, and that she was having to put on a European gown and hat in order to be less conspicuous, because at that time no Burmese Buddhist ladies went out to work. My father left his studies at once and got a job in the same school to look after her, and it was only after some months of persuasion by Grandfather and my mother that he consented to leave and look for a better paid position.

647 177. 65 582 He managed to obtain a myookship in the Government Service, which is a junior administrative post but considered a very good job for Burmans in those days. In this job he could save enough to buy Grandmother her paddy land, after which he and my mother would get married. But my father with his good looks, his teetotaller habits, and his myookship, was considered a desirable son-in-law by many people, and other parents were not like Grandfather; they would try to engage the young man's affections for their daughters. I am sure my mother spent the next three years in some anxiety, as she heard stories of the young myook's gay and happy life in such far-off towns as Toungoo and Shwegyin. But one day the children dashed up to her with a telegram; she opened it and read *Gyi will you marry me.* My mother, who has never shown any excitement as far as I can remember, got up very quietly and went to her chest of drawers. She took out ten annas in change, and wired back *Yes.*

584 Soon after this my father arrived amidst great excitement on the part of my mother's family and a pretence of complete ignorance on Grandfather's part. My aunts expected an explosion from him when

old man with rhetorical leanings and included things because they formed 753
a nice rhyme, and, indeed, she was not far from the truth. Our mono- 787
syllabic language is a heavenly gift to us with its endless scope for the [522]
most unrestrained punning and rhyming; the pun in Burmese is not execrable humour but a stepping stone for flights of fancy. What my sister was not allowed to eat were the three most precious foods as proverbalised in: *a-thi-hma tha-yet; a-gwet hma la-hpet; a-tha hma wet:* among fruits the *tha-yet*, among leaves the *la-hpet*, among flesh the *wet: tha-yet, la-hpet* and *wet* being the mango, the pickled tea-leaf and the pig's flesh respectively, and open to question as being really the prize specimens of their class, but certainly rhyming happily.

My parents were so good to us; they never scolded, beat or punished 593
us that I can remember. Perhaps they had both had so much discipline 554
in their own youths; I can remember the day we were told to answer them "Father" and "Mother" when they called us, instead of *Paya* as we had done formerly. Paya is the term of extreme respect and humility, sometimes adopted by children to parents, always by servants to their superiors, by subordinates to senior officials, and by all to royalty and the clergy. It is also the suffix to honorific titles. Its true and ancient use had associations of reverence only, but it has taken on a more subservient hue with the advent of government and foreign officials.

But whether we answered Paya or Father, my mother's guiding 593
influence led us to look on my father with awe, even though he was the 857
parent who clowned with us at home. We were always bathed and 538
dressed before he came home, waiting for him. As soon as he entered the gate we raced down the drive to carry his umbrella, took him upstairs and scrambled to take his shoes off as soon as we could get him seated. His shoes, suspenders and socks were removed by combined efforts, my father pretending great helplessness all the while. We went for walks while my parents went to play tennis, but retuned in time to carry their racquets upstairs and remove my father's shoes again. After dinner my mother and we lay on mats while my father sat in an easy chair and pretended to get his nursery rhymes all wrong, until we taught him:

A-hpo gyi oh, hka kon kon,	Old man so bent and grey,
Ma thay ba hnin ohn	Do not die as yet we pray.
Naung hnit-kha ta-saung-mon	Till next December try to tarry
Pwè kyi ba ohn.	And watch the actors play and marry.

Or the voracious cat who ate everything:

Kyaung-gyi yè tè mi tan to	Oh you big and short tailed cat.
A-hai ko sa ba lo	Swallowing the lean
A-tha ko myo.	And eating the fat.

•593 857 539 Or of far-off Meiktila Lake where the water stretches seven miles ong:

Meiktila kan-daw auk ka	From the waters of Meiktila Lake
Hpa kauk hkè ba	Pick up a frog for me.
Hpa pa yin ta gaung pay ba	Poor little frog,
Myet lon ga kyaung taung taung hnin,	Eyes big agog, And body so thin and wee.
Hpa gaung ga thay.	

Or the jumping nonsensical rhyme about Gyat-Aye who got beaten by her mother and wept in a dark corner and started a train of kaleidoscopic events, for every time a line ended with a clanging rhythm it suggested a rhyming word to shout out and continue its own associations, and when you got back to a rhyme for Gyat-Aye, you had to start all over again, and poor Gyat-Aye got beaten and cried as long as children's voices held out.

Gyat-Aye	Gyat-Aye
Thu amay yaik lo	Beat by her mother so,
Hmaung maik hma ngo	Cries in dark corner "Oh",
Ko Lu Byo	Young bachelor Ko
Hta-yan pauk ka	Through hole in the mantel
Chay-dauk ko swè,	Pulls at her ankle
Twè-lè !	Dangle !
Twè-le yè	Dangling yet wait awhile,
Nay ba ohn	The rain clouds pile,
Mo tway ka chon	The heavens clang,
Mok lon !	Meringue !
Mok lon yè sekku kat pa lo	Meringue with paper stuck below
Kya ka-lat hnin hsun-daw tin	Offer at altar in lacquer bowl,
Pa-lin paw ka myauk kalay,	From throne seat the monkey gay
Hsin chi lo pyay	Runs down and off with it away !
Gyat-Aye !	Gyat-Aye !

593- 782 Before going to bed, A-Kyi or Ngwe Yin took us in to say our prayers in chorus. We then *shikkoed* our parents, that is, made obeisance to them by folding hands and bowing till our foreheads and outstretched palms touched the ground, first to my father, then to my mother, and they said in turn each night: *"Pongyi-ba-say, thetshay-ba-say meba hnin-o-aung-min-aung paung-ya-ba-say :* May your holiness be great and your life long, may you be united with your parents even until the attainment of old age."

CHAPTER SIX

THE social life which my parents led with other families in the district towns was shared by us and all the other children. Burmese children do not live in a child's world cut off from reality—there is no specially created world for them like that of J. M. Barrie—they are given enough food for their wildest imagination, but this feeds equally the grandmother and nurses who tell them stories. No special children's parties with cakes and games for them are provided; they go everywhere with the grown-ups, on visits, excursions and festivals, they eat and sleep in the same rooms as the elders and hear most of the conversation. One result is to make Burmese children more conscious of family ties and responsibilities, and to prepare them better for any calamities that may befall them in adolescence or any time before they are fully grown up. Yet no one who sees Burmese children can doubt that delight, wonder and pure joy are present in their lives. 857 593

All Burmese social gatherings centre round either religious observances or eating. We are still unsophisticated enough to have the same way of enjoying ourselves whether in city or country, and for that reason these district towns formed such a perfect background for happy days. In the towns that I remember, a river ran through, with sandbanks at edges or in midstream; this, with the monasteries and pagoda precincts a little way out of the busy quarters, private garden orchards and the houses of friends, provided the background for all the social life which my parents had, and is the reason why Burmese people never form social clubs. Most of the officials went to play tennis at the Gymkhana club with European members, but it had no real part in their lives. 517 369 575

When we went on *pyaw-pwè-sas*, happy-eating-gatherings, at pagodas, with two or three other families, the grown-ups, including aunts and dependents of the families, made elaborate food arrangements because the joy of the occasion was to cook on a large-scale in the open air. They took pots, dishes, food and washing apparatus for about twenty people. We started with silent recitation of prayers before the golden spire in the cool morning air, holding silver lilies between folded hands and being so careful not to breathe in the fragrance of the flowers, because my mother taught us that we should not first enjoy the beauty of flowers which are to be offered. When our short prayers were through, we stuck the flowers in a vase or niche at the pagoda base, lighted a row of candles 517

CHAPTER EIGHT

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MY mother, who had strict ideas about keeping her household a neat family unit of father, mother and children, without dependent aunts and other relatives, had equally strong views about the maintenance of our family ties and traditions, especially as we were now having a Western upbringing in the English schools and not many counteracting lessons at home. Once a year at least, she thought, we should go to have the roots of our beginnings stirred and kept alive. When the younger children were old enough to travel easily, therefore, we went away for each summer vacation.

For her own home, my mother thought a short visit would suffice; the longer visit was paid to my father's family because he could never come with us to see them. In any case, the visits to Thaton were dull for children in those growing up days, all my mother's family like herself had gone into a more worldly life and were settled in their respective professions. The main part of the great house was shut up and empty, and my mother took us there just for a few days to see my aunt, pay a visit to the hpongyi, and to inspect rubber estates which we had just outside Thaton. Then we journeyed on to Ye where my father's family were still living the life he had planned for them when he worked to buy my grandmother her plots of paddy-land.

Our visits to Ye were pure delight. In childhood any change in itself makes a holiday, and the change from our district life to the life at Ye was very great indeed.

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A railway had been built from Moulmein to Ye in 1925; it ended at Ye where passengers travelling further crossed the creek and continued in buses for about 100 miles of mountain road to Tavoy. This was the only overland route to the Tenasserim coast below Ye. We crossed the Martaban-Moulmein ferry in the early morning, ate breakfast with friends while waiting for the connection, and arrived at Ye about 5 in the evening. Ye was by then the headquarters of a township and had a population of about 2,000. It was an extremely congested little town, for the number of its houses and inhabitants had just multiplied without any great changes in its original plan or acreage. The two main streets ran parallel to the creek, and along them the Talaing houses were packed, with only three to four feet of space between every few houses to give access from creek to road and from one road to another.

taking life. Only the hardened ones of the village, *ta-nga-thès*, drew 244
and netted in the wealth of fish around Ye, and the theoretical condem- 262
nation in which their profession was held absolved all good Buddhists 226
from any sin in eating the fruits of their labours. My aunts bought vast
quantities of fish for salting and drying. This cured fish supplied our 438
yearly needs as well as theirs. They also bought prawns to press into a paste called *ngapi*, in this case *seinsa* ngapi, which forms the basis of all our flavouring and condiments. As soon as the ta-nga-thè came up with his boatloads of prawns they were spread out on rough bamboo mats and sunned on the big platform behind the house. When they were fairly dried, my aunts, with a helper or two from the village, mashed up the prawns by hand, throwing in vast quantities of salt as they worked. The mess was left in the sun for a few days, being stirred every now and again. By this time it had turned into a grey-black paste, more or less smooth, smelling most pungent and rotten to foreigners but *hmway-dè*, fragrant, to us, and tasting like a concentrate of anchovy. This paste is stored in small glazed earthenware jars. It is used to flavour all meat and vegetables dishes, or is fried or pounded with other ingredients to provide condiments for the meal. The Tenasserim coast is the chief source of seinsa ngapi in Burma, the big towns of Tavoy and Mergui supplying towns in Upper Burma as well. The large amounts of salt needed come from the valuable salt fields in this area which produce about 6,000 tons annually.

It can be imagined what excitement a holiday at Ye caused us 528
in our growing years, and even my mother's admonitions that we were 177.
to behave in accordance with strict Burmese ideas which prevailed at 55
Ye rather than the un-Burmese habits acquired at school did not dampen 593 •
our excitement. We were then at English-speaking schools where we had adopted the habit of calling each other by name. The eldest of my young sisters Mya Mya, is seven years younger than I am, but when she went to school I had only two sisters left who called me respectfully, *Ma-Ma Gyi*, elder sister, and by the time the youngest was at school there was no Ma Ma Gyi left in the family. The tradition of the younger ones fetching and carrying for the elder had also sadly deteriorated.

At meals, my mother had not kept up the custom of helping the 593
eldest person present with a portion of every dish before it was open to 177.
the rest of the company. Before we went to Ye, therefore, my mother 57
gathered us around her and told us how we were to behave so as to give our grandmother and aunts great pleasure in our visit and no rude shocks. "Now don't forget, *the-mi-to*, my daughters, you will all three call your sister Big-Elder-Sister; you, Pusu, are to call Mya Mya Middle-Elder-Sister, and Aye Little-Elder-Sister. In fact you should

593 always do so, at home and everywhere else, but mother understands
177. that you make habits easily at your English school. Never walk into
57 the house with your slippers on, as you do in the downstairs room here. When you eat with your grandmother and aunts, don't touch anything until your aunts have put a little of it into Grandmother's plate. And try not to talk to one another in English." All the way in the train my sisters would fling themselves at me and shout, "Big Elder Sister, Big Big Elder Sister."

528 We went to Ye during our summer holidays which were the longest
592 in the school year and allowed us three weeks with my father and a
264 month at Ye. It also enabled us to pay obeisance to our grandmother at the New Year, and to celebrate this loveliest of festivals in its most fitting surroundings. My Uncle San Lin usually sent his wife and our four small cousins at the same time, so that for one month in the year at least Grandmother could feel that the world of big towns and English civilization had not robbed her of any family affection. Sleeping and eating arrangements for the gathering of twenty odd people were no problems for the simple large-scale economy of the household. My mother had a bed, and beside it my Aunt Khin and all the children slept on thinbyus laid side by side on the platform upper storey. Meals were eaten in successive rounds at a low table on the kitchen floor, not served as separate sittings, but by calling more diners as places were vacated, and filling each dish that diminished from the stove near-by.

529 Half of our visit to Ye was spent at the garden where we were
177 surrounded by rich fruits and could bathe in the clear swift water that rushed through islands of reeds. We walked and rode in bullock carts,

for miles, to visit other gardens owned by Grandmother's friends—old men and women who lived there all the time, and who chuckled with delight to see us, for to them we were not ourselves, not ordinary

becoming common. Borrowing money is always such a shameful thing 452
to Burmans that highly usurious rates prevail. The minimum rate of these private money-lenders is Re. 1/8 per Rs. 100/- per month, *i.e.* 18% per annum.

But this emphasis on money-making during the retirement period 181
was not pure avariciousness. It was connected with the ability to dis- 593
charge the duties of a parent and a good Buddhist during one's last years, to have sufficient means to settle children in a good marriage, which is one of the duties laid down for a good parent, and to make many donations towards pagodas, resthouses and monasteries, all as a foundation for a rebirth into a better existence.

For men like my father, this last period of their lives was a soft and 887
gentle immersion in the atmosphere which pervaded their childhood in 177
the monastery, and which had been banished into a memory with the years of English education, government posts, courts and litigation, and the rearing of children whose future must be bound up with the obtaining of better government posts.

During these years, my father continued his daily prayers before 887
the altar, but they were short and he said them softly, his feet were shod 788
with shoes and socks, his tourings took him to headmen's houses more often than to monasteries, his evenings were spent in playing tennis in- 593
stead of chinlon, and drinking lime-juice instead of coconut water, and 177.
his houses of the regulation pattern were filled with cane furniture made 88
by convicts in jails. What a far cry from the dim light on wooden floors and pillars, the steady chorus of young monks at prayers. My father, who during his working years had encouraged us to eat, laugh and be merry in each present moment, now dismayed us with a sudden conviction of the vanity of all worldly things, towns, society, dress and ornament. We woke up at dawn to the sound of his prayers, and on [741]
most mornings he walked out of the town to the hills where the monasteries and resthouses were gathered; he walked barefoot again with great enjoyment in those quiet grounds, turned aside to supervise the building of a *thein*, a house for the ordination and meditation of monks, which he had persuaded a more wealthy friend to endow. He no longer showered on us de luxe editions of Western encyclopaedias and the collected works of Dickens and Scott as he used to, but bought richly carved book cases and sacred books for the monasteries in Thaton. We no longer ate our meals on chairs, sitting up at a table, but at a low round table on the polished floor. My father sat cross legged, but he could not go back to eating with his fingers, he still used a spoon and fork. At nights we fell asleep to the sound of his prayers and it was like a benediction. Buddhist prayers in Burma consist of two parts: the first is a

1: Mi Mi Khaing I-5 (no date) 1946 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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long recitation of precepts and lauds, mostly in Pali and not intelligible to the casual ear. The second part, the *hsu-taung*, is the asking for blessings in a formula which asks: "May (my mother) be blessed. May (a married couple) have long life together." My father worked through a list of all his and my mother's relations and connections. Going down in order of seniority he fitted them all into a rhythm and we came to know the place of each in this melodious chant. When we were young we sometimes waited with bated breath for the turn of a relation who had just quarrelled with my parents, but my father never omitted to ask for blessings on him. We loved this part of our parents' prayers. Uncles, first and second cousins whom we did not see for long stretches

of time, were kep familiar in this way. Relationships were prefixed to each name; births, deaths and marriages were registered, the infant cousins added, the newly-dead aunts omitted, and the new niece-at-law joined in a long and happy life to her husband. We loved especially our own place in the litany—my sisters, because they were given their full and correct names by which they were never called, and I, because I was an exception, called even in this formal litany by the affectionate name my parents had for me. "*Tha Maung Sett Kaing*," my father, would chant, "*Tha Maung Sett Kaing, Tha-mi Mamie, Tha-mi Ma Mya Thin, Tha-mi Ma Hin Aye, Tha-mi Ma Myat Kyi:* Son Succeeding and Lasting, Daughter Mamie, Daughter Fragrant Emerald, Daughter Cool as the Dew, Daughter Noble and Clear."

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Most of the pensioners lived a similar life to my father's at this time. It was indicative of the contentment of their retired existence that they

never talked about the business of their past working days when they met. Sometimes they showed a fleeting interest in news of the postings of friends still in service, but even the official matters of Thaton district itself did not enter into their discussions. They talked of charity donations, of the respective monasteries which they endowed and attended, and of formulæ of *eggaya-hto*, alchemy, or the search for the philosopher's stone which will turn all metals to gold. Most Burmans get interested in eggaya-hto during their later years, even if few now practise it. 887 521 [822]

This alchemy, which has no place among the true teachings of Buddhism, has to be done under auspicious astrological influences and is usually carried on in secret. Burman Buddhists condemn the use of it when it is carried on for *lawba*, greed for riches, but others justify the process as a means of concentrating the mental faculties. The common stories tell of hermits in the forests, who by their ascetic life and concentrated meditation have more powers over the forces of nature, as being well versed in the processes of alchemy. When such a hermit achieves the extreme concentration of mind on his task he is successful—the philosopher's stone is discovered, the body of the hermit then disappears in the dissolving of matter, and his spirit is free to live unhampered by the body, till the arrival of the next Buddha on the earth. Most Burmese women, however, although they believe that this happens in the case of hermits, object very strongly to the practice of alchemy on the part of their menfolk, owing to the money and energy that is wasted on seeking out new and expensive formulæ once the craze has got hold of a man. All experiments are started with mercury which is melted with other minerals, animal or vegetable substances which derive their magical properties partly from their inaccessibility, partly from being treated with prescribed rites. My father had no intention of taking up alchemy and impoverishing us, but he too was very interested to hear of the success and failure of various methods. These discussions must have been kept well anchored to reality by the other chief topic of discussion—the families of the pensioners. 822 792 779

The five duties of a parent towards his children include the settling of the child in a good marriage. By the time the a-so-ya mins retire, their sons and daughters have reached a marriageable age. The sons are in the process of winning a good position in one of the government services and their daughters have been dressed with an adequate amount of jewellery. The marriage market, which had no existence in former Burmese society and which still is unheard of in Ye, and among the poorer people, is now a very concrete institution among the educated and modern classes. The rise of the minladaw class and of higher paid Class I government officials has been mainly responsible for this. More 593. 584 554 177. 58 565

593 and more within recent years, the higher government services have come
584 to be associated not only with "face", but with *gon*, prestige, and *ausa*,
554 authority, which together make up a *myet-hna-gyi*, big face, in Burma.
177 Mothers of daughters want their daughters to have gon and ausa and be
58 big of face as the wife of the senior government officer in a town, and
565 mothers of sons want to get the most for themselves and their other children out of having such a golden goose. They want a girl with wealth, a meek nature, good looks, religious piety and education, more or less in this order. So that the imperfect daughter-in-law may lack the last named qualities rather than the first. Wealth means not merely money, property or jewels, but an absence of younger brothers and sisters or other potential dependents, this being a very important factor in our closely-knit family system. A relative of mine who had just seen his son enter a top service, showed my father his comprehensive table of the marriageable girls of Burma, under headings of family connections, amount and form of property, potential dependents, physical and moral qualities of the girl. My father should have been keenly interested as the father of a son who was studying in England with success, and, indeed, when my brother returned, he might have fetched us about Rs. 30,000 had he desired, so far have we progressed beyond the Burmese traditions of the man's family asking for the hand of the girl with presents of money and jewellery.

It may be asked, what of the men who are thus bartered? Burmans are very greatly attached to their mothers; few can resist a mother's tears, and the tears in these cases are genuinely of grief, because the mother sees this marriage as a faithful discharge of one of her five duties. The five duties of a child towards its parent, on the other hand, include the support of father and mother, and in making this marriage the man sees the best way of providing comfort to his parents in their old age. For the girls also, an arranged marriage is not necessarily a joyless thing. Girls who are educated as we have been, in spite of reading Western romances, are brought up to believe that a girl will grow to love her husband who is good to her. *Tha-na*, pity, compassion, and *chit*, affection-love, are very close in Burmese; the usual way for a wife to address her husband is *Maung*, the same word as younger brother, or *Ko Ko*, elder brother; some husbands address their wives as *nyi-ma-lay*, little sister. And, in fact, in most cases the results do bear out the wisdom of this attitude towards marriage; so that to most Burmans it is the "free" Western marriages which so often appear ill-assorted and lead to divorces. Still, it cannot be denied that much undignified haggling and manœuvring go on nowadays, in the efforts to obtain the best match for sons and daughters. *Aung-thwès*, go-betweens, get a lot of

face from bringing something off, money is paid in advance, rush tactics 593
are employed to prevent the man returning from abroad from marrying
the sweetheart of his college days, and in some cases even magic is resor- 584
ted to, though in secret. This black magic, especially, involves some 554
very undignified actions. A younger cousin of mine once warned his 177-
mother: "Please, Mother, never try to sell me like a bullock, or worse 58
still to arrange a marriage for my sister. I will not help you to jump
thrice on eggshells or throw ten viss of fish into a well at dead of night [789]
under instructions from a soothsayer."

Although marriages were constantly being arranged among our [585]
circle of friends in Thaton, I was not allowed to attend weddings as a 527
young unmarried girl. What we did attend regularly with the grown-
ups were the *u-bok-nay*, the duty day gatherings every week in the
resthouses among the hills. On these days Buddhists who choose to
observe the day, obey eight or ten precepts instead of five. Amongst
these ten are the abstaining from food after mid-day, absence of ornament
and cosmetics in dress, meditation and prayer, and absence of a high
couch in sleep. In Thaton the observance of this day was made the
weekly social event with the same combination of material enjoyment
and religious piety that characterizes all Burmese functions as described
previously. Each family went to the hills early in the morning with
mats, betel boxes and a well-cooked meal. The girls wore all the [556]
jewellery they had because we had not yet taken the precepts, and this
was a good chance of showing that a family did not lack wealth. We
met in the resthouses, to one of which a monk came to intone the pre-
cepts. These we repeated in chorus after him; then the elders talked
and chewed betel, and at about 10-30 the whole party went to bathe in
the pools made by the waterfalls down the hills. We went back to find
the pooled dishes of four or five families laid out in a rich feast. We
stuffed ourselves with this. The law states that food should not be eaten
after noon, and the law was always obeyed in the letter if not in the spirit.

One maiden lady in Rangoon who kept duty days regularly ate till 785
as near noon as she possibly could. She usually finished her meal with
fruit, and if she was eating a banana when noon struck with a loud bang 527
from the cannon at the Shwe Dagon Pagoda, "Haw!" she would ex-
claim, and in would go the whole length of the banana into her mouth.
After noon, tea and coffee are not allowed either but aerated waters,
which look so much like water, are sanctioned. When my husband was
a novice monk in the monastery, they were allowed medicinal pro-
ducts also after noon, and the hungry young novices often made a [278]
delicious soup of garlic (a digestive) fried in butter (medicinal compo-
nent), and water poured on to the fragrant compound.

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

582 643 Dammathat. The sovereign always married at least one half-sister to ensure the purity of the royal blood, but, rather illogically, the issue of this union was not by any means necessarily heir to the throne. The son whom the king, or his ministers after his death, named, succeeded, or more commonly still, the son who could best maintain his position by force.

586 The liberty of divorce is practically unrestricted, except by the elaborate laws respecting the division of property. According to the Laws of Menu a woman may obtain a divorce among other reasons for the following: When her husband is poor and unable to support her; when he is always ailing; when he does not work and leads an idle life; when he is incapacitated by reason of old age; when he becomes a cripple after marriage.

And a man may obtain a divorce if his wife has no male children, if she has no love for her husband, or if she persists in going to a house where he tells her she must not visit, and so on.

The lawgiver seems in fact to have laid down that marriage is a civil contract which either party can dissolve; but, unless with good reason, the one that wishes to separate must suffer in property, more or less severely, according as the plea is good or bad.

Property, for this purpose, is said to be of three kinds. Pa-yin, property acquired by, or in possession of, persons before marriage. Let-htet-pwa, property acquired by husband or wife after marriage. Tin-thi, property inherited or obtained by gift. Pa-yin after marriage becomes hnit-pa-sôn, that is, the joint property of husband and wife, but only when it is agreed between them either before or after marriage that the property shall be put together for the mutual benefit.

In the event of a divorce both parties take away whatever pa-yin they may have had on marriage, and the let-htet-pwa is divided either by mutual agreement, or by the decision of the village elders who sanction the separation.

586 593 But divorces are far from being so common as most writers would have us believe. The warmth of family affection is one of the strongest traits of the race, and the

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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Burman is always very kind to his wife, while every girl is taught from her earliest years to look with the highest respect upon man as man, and to defer in all things to his judgment, though she is far more free than the Indian wife. The Burman consults with his partner in all his affairs, public and private, and often is entirely guided by her. She keeps the shop that is to be found in almost every house in the country towns, and usually makes far more money than the goodman himself. It is a simple matter to blame the Burmese for easy marriage customs, but the system speedily puts an end to unhappy and ill-assorted unions, and illegitimate children are exceedingly rare. Finally, unless there is good known cause for a separation the divorced parties are not by any means looked upon with a favourable eye. The man who enters a monastery to get rid of a wife goes by the contemptuous name of taw-twet "jungle runaway," for the rest of his life, while the ta-ku-lat, the *divorcée*, is a perennial subject of joke to the jester in the play:—

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> She that's neither maid, married, nor widow,
> Fits all men as a pot does it's lid, O.

That is to say, a divorced woman needs small wooing. Such a woman will not hesitate to cut off the bya-bazan, the lappets of hair that fall down over the ears, the last resource of the despairing and unwilling celibate.

The literature of marriage is not inconsiderable. The tattooing ceremonies, a-nu se, love-philtres, charms, and what not, are referred to elsewhere. There remain a number of singular matters to be taken note of by those who would be happy in married life. Thus the girls are told how they may ascertain a man's character by the colour of his heart's blood—though how they are to ascertain this colour without injury to the subject of inquiry is not mentioned. A lustful man's blood is dark red; a cross, quarrelsome man's is so dark as almost to be black; a lazy man's like elephant's water; a rough-speaking man's like boiled peas: a charitable man's like the flower of the mahā hlega, a species of bauhinia; while a learned man's heart's blood is beautiful as the ruby.

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Similarly useless knowledge is the statement that an

Z:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

545 Zawtagômma melodrama, which the old sayā at Pegu has just brought out, and which is having a tremendous run all through the low country. The song is about the Saddan mere, the lake of the Lord White Elephant, where golden lotuses flower perpetually, where the gorgeous yin-dwin bird sails on the silvery waters, great butterflies flap about with painted wings and sip the nectar of the fabled jasmine, and peacocks stalk proudly on the jewelled margin, while around
522 roam elephants white, red, and black in happy security. The singer has hardly finished when the lu-byet, the village jester, breaks in with a travesty of the whole thing, mocking at the tremolos and the lofty style, and taking off the peculiarities of the singer. He went out to a lake too, and launched a canoe on it, but he was capsized by a huge creature that came up from below; and then he found that he had got into a slimy buffalo wallow, out of which he only escaped after great peril from the horns of its three outraged owners, who butted him under the surface many times; and at last, when he crawled out, he was so brown and dirty that some passers-by took him for a hermit, and gave him some rotten
522 plantains in alms. Before the "prince" has time to show
593 any bad temper, a girl commences a coquettish ditty, somewhat after the fashion of the English "Paddle my own canoe," about a poor wife whose husband comes home and storms and growls and abuses because there is no rice ready cooked, softens down when he has crammed himself with curry and rice, but breaks out into grumbling again at night because his wife cries and will not go to sleep. Such tyranny the young lady declares she will never expose herself to, or
533 at any rate "she'll be no submissive wife." Then there are a
832 few love-songs, wherein the girls are compared with the maids of the palace in Mandalay, and the Mandalay girls generally (who are *ex officio* pretty) with the daughters of nats, with Madi, the model wife of Wethandaya (the prince who in his next existence became the Lord Buddha), with flowers and stars and gems, and whatever similes lovers all the world over are in the habit of making. The swaying of the body as they walk, the turning in of the elbows, the fragrant powder on their cheeks and necks, and a few other items which would not commend themselves to a Western admirer,

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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O that curve in the round arm!
It has wrought men grievous harm.
Like the sylphs when they're at play,
Like the maids of Mandalay,
Without display
In everyday
Quiet dresses they
Are busked and gay
As the daughters of the palace, as the maidens of the skies
In their natural, their usual array.

O! could I but sing what I think,
My heart would no more on the brink
Of despairing love struggle and sink,
Ye maidens to heavens the link;
Each passer-by
Who casts his eye
Upon the buxom Hanthawaddy girls,
Though he be sage,
His feelings wage
Fierce war within his brain-pan till it whirls.

Dewa daughters, fair, fair,
Rosebud fairies, ware, ware,
Born men's hearts to snare, snare,
Can I paint your ways,
Better sound your praise,
In verse
That's terse
Than thus: You're fair as any maid in Mandalay.

Barani is a daughter of nats, corresponding very much to the classical Flora. [832]

Madi, the spouse of Prince Wethandaya, is always regarded as the model wife. [593]

Amè! "mother!" is the invariable exclamation of all Burmans on all possible occasions of astonishment, anger, doubt, or delight. [201]

The name Hanthawaddy, properly applied to the whole province, is, in songs, usually employed to designate Rangoon, for rhythmical more than any other reason, just as Mamye, or Mye, or Man stands for Mandalay. [195]

"Rosebud fairies," called bôngyo, are daughters of nats, who having stayed in the country of the dêwas for a thousand years, are obliged to come down to the seat of man again. 539 773

591 101 matter. The wife's opportunities for social intercourse with her family of orientation are, of course, greatest when residence is established in her home village; if, however, a couple from different villages marry and find it most opportune to settle in the husband's community, the chances are that the wife will maintain contact with her family of orientation by visits from time to time. 582 People from Tadagale seldom marry individuals from villages that are very distant. The structural features of bilaterality and absence of extension militate against inequality and male domination in the family.

562 Burmese culture is frequently remarked for the equality of the sexes, in contrast to the neighboring cultures of India and China. This status of the sexes seems to be the historic resultant of two patterns of thought. One is the apparently very old, pre-Buddhist emphasis upon equality, involving equal inheritance, equal sharing of the property brought to the marriage, equal division of property in the event of divorce, a prominent female role in social and economic life, and the absence of transmission of surnames. The other thought pattern dates from the superimposition of Buddhism upon older Burmese concepts: whatever ideas of male superiority exist stem from Buddhist ideas of reincarnation, it being assumed that only a man can attain reincarnation.

593 In the family household the wife's role includes not only such routine tasks as preparation of food and serving of meals, keeping the house orderly and clean, and looking after small children; very often it involves control of the family income and the making of all important decisions as to expenditures.

Certain observances and taboos, reflective of a deferential attitude towards males, are expected of a wife. She is careful that her lower garments do not touch her husband's bed or his personal belongings; she avoids touching her husband's head. It is believed that the breaking of such taboos may ruin the husband's success and glory, especially his spiritual attainments. These injunctions are followed as a matter of course by village wives and will be broken deliberately only as an act of malice by a woman who wishes to harm or lower her husband for some reason.

837 Despite the various equalitarian aspects of husband-wife relations, there is a tendency towards a double standard of sexual conduct. A husband who has reason to believe that his wife is engaging in extra-marital affairs is very likely to display violent anger, beat her, and break up the marriage. The wife of a philandering husband, on the other hand, will usually do no more than display hurt feelings for a brief period; rarely will she separate from her husband, especially if they have children.

593 Siblings. It is the duty of the younger to show deference to the elder. This pertains to the order of serving food, fetching and carrying things, and even the arrangement of sleeping mats -- a younger sibling should never sleep with his feet extended towards an elder sibling. Upon the death of a parent, the eldest child of the same sex assumes that parent's socio-economic role in the family.

Father and Daughter. Consistent with the age principle, it is a daughter's duty to be obedient and to wait upon her father. Once an unmarried daughter passes the age of puberty, her father is expected to lead a circumspect and moral life more than ever before. [581] Any deviant sexual behavior or drunkenness on his part reflects upon his daughter and detracts from her marital chances.

Mother and Son. Although a son owes obedience to his mother, her claim upon him in this regard is tempered by the fact that, in Burmese Buddhist

thinking, being the mother of a son is itself considered the greatest event of a woman's life and represents the achievement of full existence as a female human being. The relationship is close and indulgent. The mother is regarded by her son as more important than his wife; in fact, a son normally will choose a wife with a great deal of regard for his mother's opinions and wishes. 593

Mother and Daughter. The mother is her daughter's early teacher. It is considered most important for the girl to learn prayers, how to prepare the daily food offering, and how to change the flowers on the household altar. These things are taught almost from the time the child begins to speak and understand. Other household duties in which a mother instructs her daughter vary considerably with the economic status of the family. In poor families some assistance with tending animals and winnowing the rice is part of the girl's work from about the age of ten. Daughters are expected to show filial respect and deference equally to the mother and father. 593 868 [565]

Father and Son. The father occupies the role of disciplinarian in the family. Disciplining of sons may include physical punishment, though such measures are not resorted to readily. Prior to adolescence, boys are taught prayers and good habits by their mothers, with the father remaining more or less in the background and interfering only when disciplinary action may be required of him. After a son passes adolescence the father becomes important as his mentor. 593 861

Husband and Wife's Elder Sister. This relationship tends to mirror a conflict between age and sex as status factors in the social structure. There is an implicit conflict between the husband's position as a man and his wife's elder sister's position, in many cases, as his senior, having a claim on outward respect and obedience. In practice this relationship is often cool and aloof in nature, very much in contrast to the free and easy one between a man and his wife's younger sisters. 607 182 602

Husband and Wife's Younger Sister. A man is expected to show great favor to his wife's younger sisters and to display more interest in them than in his own sisters. He buys them presents, gives them spending money when he can, and covertly he is expected to be on the lookout for prospective husbands for them. Quite frequently, the wife's younger sisters will accompany her and her husband when she marries, and all will live together in the same house. Although husband and wife's younger sisters engage in a great deal of mutual joking and teasing, the relationship does not normally assume a sexual aspect. Polygyny is permissable but very rarely practiced; when it is, however, it takes the sororal form. The rather free and easy relationship between a husband and his wife's younger sisters sometimes gives rise to village gossip-- especially when it is known that he and his wife are not getting along well-- that he is carrying on love affairs with his younger sisters-in-law. 607 587

In-Laws. A daughter-in-law is definitely subordinate to her mother-in-law. If they live in the same household, the mother-in-law is entitled to the best room and to be waited upon by her daughter-in-law. Significantly, the Burmese word for daughter-in-law (cwôimà) means 'sweat women. 606

The term for son-in-law (Ôamo?) means 'desired son.' A son-in-law is a privileged member of his wife's family. His wishes are respected and his comforts looked after. His mother-in-law instructs her younger children to show him respect and deference.

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marriage, which is with most people a ceremony performed in full daylight with all accessories of display, is with the Burmese generally a secret. Two or three friends, perhaps, will be called quietly to the house, and the man and the woman will eat together, and thus become husband and wife. Then they will separate again, and not for several days, or even weeks perhaps, will it be known that they are married; for it is seldom that they can set up house for themselves just at once. Often they will marry and live apart for a time with their parents. Sometimes they will go and live together with the man's parents, but more usually with the girl's mother. Then after a time, when they have by their exertions made a little money, they build a house and go to live there; but sometimes they will live on with the girl's parents for years.

A girl does not change her name when she marries, nor does she wear any sign of marriage, such as a ring. Her name is always the same, and there is nothing to a stranger to denote whether she be married or not, or whose wife she is; and she keeps her property as her own. Marriage does not confer upon the husband any power over his wife's property, either what she brings with her, what she earns, or what she inherits subsequently; it all remains her own, as does his remain his own. But usually property acquired after marriage is held jointly. You will inquire, for instance, who is the owner of this garden, and be told Maung Han, Ma Shwè, the former being the husband's name and the latter the wife's. Both names are used very frequently in business and in legal proceedings, and indeed it is

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593 usual for both husband and wife to sign all deeds
562 they may have occasion to execute. Nothing more
421 free than a woman's position in the marriage state can be imagined. By law she is absolutely the mistress of her own property and her own self; and if it usually happens that the husband is the head of the house, that is because his nature gives him that position, not any law.

With us marriage means to a girl an utter breaking of her old ties, the beginning of a new life, of new duties, of new responsibilities. She goes out into a new and unknown world, full of strange facts, leaving one dependence for another, the shelter of a father for the shelter of a husband. She has even lost her own name, and becomes known but as the mistress of her husband; her soul is merged in his. But in Burma it is not so at all. She is still herself, still mistress of herself, an equal partner for life.

593 I have said that the Burmese have no ideals, and
885 this is true; but in the Laws of Manu there are laid
671 down some of the requisite qualities for a perfect wife. There are seven kinds of wife, say the Laws of Manu: a wife like a thief, like an enemy, like a master, like a friend, like a sister, like a mother, like a slave. The last four of these are good, but the last is the best, and these are some of her qualities:

'She should fan and soothe her master to sleep, and sit by him near the bed on which he lies. She will fear and watch lest anything should disturb him. Every noise will be a terror to her; the hum of a mosquito as the blast of a trumpet; the fall of a leaf without will sound as loud as thunder. Even she

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ill guard her breath as it passes her lips to and o, lest she awaken him whom she fears.

'And she will remember that when he awakens e will have certain wants. She will be anxious hat the bath be to his custom, that his clothes are s he wishes, that his food is tasteful to him. Always he will have before her the fear of his anger.'

It must be remembered that the Laws of Manu re of Indian origin, and are not totally accepted by he Burmese. I fear a Burmese girl would laugh at his ideal of a wife. She would say that if a wife vere always afraid of her husband's wrath, she and he, too, must be poor things. A household is ruled by love and reverence, not by fear. A girl has no dea when she marries that she is going to be her husband's slave, but a free woman, yielding to him in those things in which he has most strength, and taking her own way in those things that pertain to a woman. She has a very keen idea of what things she can do best, and what things she should leave to her husband. Long experience has taught her that there are many things she should not interfere with; and she knows it is experience that has proved it, and not any command. She knows that the reason women are not supposed to interfere in public affairs is because their minds and bodies are not fitted for them. Therefore she accepts this, in the same way as she accepts physical inferiority, as a fact against which it is useless and silly to declaim, knowing that it is not men who keep her out, but her own unfitness. Moreover, she knows that it is made good to her in other ways, and thus the balance is redressed. You see, she knows her own strength and her own weak-

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ness. Can there be a more valuable knowledge for anyone than this?

In many ways she will act for her husband with vigour and address, and she is not afraid of appearing in his name or her own in law courts, for instance, or in transacting certain kinds of business. She knows that she can do certain business as well as or better than her husband, and she does it. There is nothing more remarkable than the way in which she makes a division of these matters in which she can act for herself, and those in which, if she act at all, it is for her husband.

Thus, as I have said, she will, as regards her own property or her own business, act freely in her own name, and will also frequently act for her husband too. They will both sign deeds, borrow money on joint security, lend money repayable to them jointly. But in public affairs she will never allow her name to appear at all. Not that she does not take a keen interest in such things. She lives in no world apart; all that affects her husband interests her as keenly as it does him. She lives in a world of men and women, and her knowledge of public affairs, and her desire and powers of influencing them, is great. But she learnt long ago that her best way is to act through and by her husband, and that his strength and his name are her bucklers in the fight. Thus women are never openly concerned in any political matters. How strong their feeling is can better be illustrated by a story than in any other way.

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In 1889 I was stationed far away on the north-west frontier of Burma, in charge of some four thousand square miles of territory which had been

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000 She spoke so fast, so fast; the words fell over each other as they came from her lips, for her heart was very full.

592 I sat quite still and said nothing; I think she hardly noticed I was there. It was all about her husband. Everything was wrong; all had gone crooked in their lives, and she did not know what she could do. At first she could hardly tell what it was all about, but at last she explained. For some years, three or four years, matters had not been very smooth between them. They had quarrelled often, she said, about this thing and the other, little things mostly; and gradually the rift had widened till it became very broad indeed.

'Perhaps,' she said, 'if I had been able to have a child it would have been different.' But fate was unkind and no baby came, and her husband became more and more angry with her. 'And yet I did all for the best, thakin; I always tried to act for the best. My husband has sisters at Henzada, and they write to him now and then, and say, "Send ten rupees," or "send five rupees," or even twenty rupees. And I always say, "Send, send." Other wives would say, "No, we cannot afford it"; but I said always, "Send, send." I have always done for the best, always for the best.'

It was very pitiable to hear her opening her whole heart, such a sore troubled heart, like this. Her words were full of pathos; her uncomely face was not beautified by the sorrow in it. And at last
●593 her husband took a second wife.
587 'She is a girl from a village near; the thakin knows, Taungywa. He did not tell me, but I soon

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heard of it; and although I thought my heart would break, I did not say anything. I told my husband, "Bring her here, let us live all together; it will be best so." I always did for the best, thakin. So he brought her, and she came to live with us a week ago. Ah, thakin, I did not know! She tramples on me. My head is under her feet. My husband does not care for me, only for her. And to-day, this evening, they went out together for a walk, and my husband took with him the concertina. As they went I could hear him play upon it, and they walked down through the trees, he playing and she leaning upon him. I heard the music.'

Then she began to cry bitterly, sobbing as if her heart would break. And the sunset died out of the sky, and the shadows took all the world and made it gray and dark. No one said anything, only the woman cried.

'Thakin,' she said at last, 'what am I to do? Tell me.'

Then my friend spoke.

'You can divorce him,' he said; 'you can go to the elders and get a divorce. Won't that be best?'

'But, thakin, you do not know. We are both Christians; we are married for ever. We were both at the mission-school in Rangoon, and we were married there, "for ever and for ever," so the padre said. We are not married according to Burmese customs, but according to your religion; we are husband and wife for ever.'

My friend said nothing. It seemed to him useless to speak to her of the High Court, five hundred

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was the chain that bound them together. Had it 586
not been for that they would have been divorced 177
long ago; for they had never agreed very well, and both sides had bitter grounds for complaint. They would have been divorced, and both could have gone their own way. But now, what was to be done?

That is one of my memories: this is another.

There was a girl I knew, the daughter of a man 428
who had made some money by trading, and when 562
the father died the property was divided according to law between the girl and her brother. She was a little heiress in her way, owning a garden, where grew many fruit-trees, and a piece of rice land. She had also a share in a little shop which she managed, and she had many gold bracelets and fine diamond earrings. She was much wooed by the young men about there, and at last she married. He was a 586
young man, good-looking, a sergeant of police, and 593
for a time they were very happy. And then trouble came. The husband took to bad ways. The knowledge that he could get money for nothing was too much for him. He drank and he wasted her money, and he neglected his work, and at last he was dismissed from government employ. And his wife got angry with him, and complained of him to the neighbours; and made him worse, though she was at heart a good girl. Quickly he went from bad to worse, until in a very short time, six months, I think, he had spent half her little fortune. Then she began to limit supplies—the husband did no work at all—and in consequence he began to neglect her; they had many quarrels, and her tongue was sharp, and matters got worse and worse until they

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586 were the talk of the village. All attempts of the
593 headman and elders to restrain him were useless.
[626] He became quarrelsome, and went on from one thing to another, until at last he was suspected of being concerned in a crime. So then when all means had failed to restore her husband to her, when they had drifted far apart and there was nothing before them but trouble, she went to the elders of the village and demanded a divorce. And the elders granted it to her. Her husband objected; he did not want to be divorced. He claimed this, and he claimed that, but it was all of no use. So the tie that had united them was dissolved, as the love had been dissolved long before, and they parted. The man went away to Lower Burma. They tell me he has become a cultivator and has reformed, and is doing well; and the girl is ready to marry again. Half her property is gone, but half remains, and she has still her little business. I think they will both do well. But if they had been chained together, what then?

586 You see that divorce is free. Anyone can obtain
428 it by appearing before the elders of the village and demanding it. A writing of divorcement is made out, and the parties are free. Each retains his or her own property, and that earned during marriage is divided; only that the party claiming the divorce has to leave the house to the other—that is the only penalty, and it is not always enforced, unless the house be joint property.

586 As religion has nothing to do with marriage,
789 neither has it with divorce. Marriage is a status, a partnership, nothing more. But it is all that.

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Divorce is a dissolution of that partnership. A Burman would not ask, 'Were they married?' but, 'Are they man and wife?' And so with divorce, it is a cessation of the state of marriage. 586 779

Elders tell me that women ask for divorce far more than men do. 'Men have patience, and women have not,' that is what they say. For every little quarrel a woman will want a divorce. 'Thakin, if we were to grant divorces every time a woman came and demanded it, we should be doing nothing else all day long. If a husband comes home to find dinner not cooked, and speaks angrily, his wife will rush to us in tears for a divorce. If he speaks to another woman and smiles, if he does not give his wife a new dress, if he be fond of going out in the evening, all these are reasons for a breathless demand for a divorce. The wives get cross and run to us and cry, "My husband has been angry with me. Never will I live with him again. Give me a divorce." Or, "See my clothes, how old they are. I cannot buy any new dress. I will have a divorce." And we say, "Yes, yes; it is very sad. Of course, you must have a divorce; but we cannot give you one to-night. Go away, and come again in three days or in four days, when we have more time." And they go away, thakin, and they do not return. Next day it is all forgotten. You see, they don't know what they want; they turn with the wind—they have no patience.' 586 562 157

Sometimes they repent too late. Here is another of my memories about divorce: 586 593

There was a man and his wife, cultivators, living in a small village. The land that he cultivated

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586 belonged to his wife, for she had inherited it from
593 her father, together with a house and a little money.
733 The man had nothing when he married her, but he was hardworking and honest and good-tempered, and they kept themselves going comfortably enough. But he had one fault: every now and then he would drink too much. This was in Lower Burma, where liquor shops are free to Burmans. In Upper Burma no liquor can be sold to them. He did not drink often. He was a teetotaler generally; but once a month, or once in two months, he would meet some friends, and they would drink in good fellowship, and he would return home drunk. His wife felt this very bitterly, and when he would come into the house, his eyes red and his face swollen, she would attack him with bitter words, as women do. She would upbraid him for his conduct, she would point at him the finger of scorn, she would tell him in biting words that he was drinking the produce of her fields, of her inheritance; she would even impute to him, in her passion, worse things than these, things that were not true. And the husband was usually good-natured, and admitted his wrong, and put up with all her abuse, and they lived happily till the next time.

After this had been going on for a few years, instead of getting accustomed to her husband, instead of seeing that if he had this fault he had many virtues, and that he was just as good a husband as she was a wife, or perhaps better, her anger against him increased every time, till now she would declare that she would abide it no longer, that he was past endurance, and she would have a divorce; and

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several times she even ran to the elders to demand it. But the elders would put it by. 'Let it wait,' they said, 'for a few days, and then we will see'; and by that time all was soothed down again. But at last the end came. One night she passed all bounds in her anger, using words that could never be forgiven; and when she declared as usual that she must have a divorce, her husband said: 'Yes, we will divorce. Let there be an end of it.' And so next day they went to the elders both of them, and as both demanded the divorce, the elders could not delay very long. A few days' delay they made, but the man was firm, and at last it was done. They were divorced. I think the woman would have drawn back at the last moment, but she could not, for very shame, and the man never wavered. He was offended past forgiveness.

So the divorce was given, and the man left the house and went to live elsewhere.

In a few days—a very few days—the wife sent for him again. 'Would he return?' And he refused. Then she went to the headman and asked him to make it up, and the headman sent for the husband, who came.

The woman asked her husband to return.

'Come back,' she said, 'come back. I have been wrong. Let us forgive. It shall never happen again.'

The man shook his head.

'No,' he said; 'a divorce is a divorce. I do not care to marry and divorce once a week. You were always saying, "I will divorce you, I will divorce you." Now it is done. Let it remain.'

The woman was struck with grief.

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on top of the head. Scented hair oil is used by both sexes on special occasions.

The HTAMEIN is regarded as "unworthy" for a man to touch. A severe insult is for a wife to request her husband to bring her HTAMEIN or to wash it. Drying HTAMEINS in the front of the house is never allowed; and it is strictly forbidden for this garment to touch any pongyi utensils. Parents instruct their boys never to pass under the strings of a line of which HTAMEINS are drying as such is thought to take away the masculine powers, and render the tattooed charms ineffective. Men and women's clothes are washed and stored separately.

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When a son neglects his mother after marriage she will complain with rage that he has not come out of the HTAMEIN and is under the HTAMEIN government of his wife.

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Women usually wear solid black HTAMEINS during menstruation. Boys, in jest, inform one of their companions that he may now become serious when the girl of his choice appears in a black dress for the first time.

Slippers of both sexes are regarded as "dirty" objects and are left outside of the houses. They are strictly prohibited in pagoda enclosures and land. When a girl is angry at a teasing boy (or quarreling with a woman) she will threaten to slap his face with her sandal. This is a double insult since the head is regarded as a particularly sacred part of the body. Barbers must ask permission and apologise for touching the heads of their customers.

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Western clothing has a higher status than Burmese clothing in certain situations and on certain occasions especially where western people are present in suits. However, for most occasions, everyday or special, the Burmese costume is preferred. When abroad the Burmese men usually wear western garb. The wearer of western clothes

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is often open to the taunt that he is "Bo Gyi (term for Englishman) made in Burma". There is a strong feeling in all cases to be "properly" dressed and not to stand out from the rest of the group. This tendency is stronger in men than women who with their jewels and fine silks attempt to rival each other in a contest for social posi-

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tion. Burmese girl students who go abroad almost invariably wear their native costumes.

basket PYIDAUNG. Both cost a rupee. One does not seem to be preferred to the other except as getting them allows a bargain to be made. The form is that of a pear shaped body with a square base, measuring about 8 by 8 inches. The basket is constructed in the wicker technique with small, whole reeds. Pathee: 2. Camp: 1. 415 252 [285]

CHIN DAUNG (storage basket): The form of this basket is a larger version of the measurers. It has, however, an open weave giving a checkered effect to the sides and bottom. It is used to store objects including food. At Pathee this basket was used in working the INS. The fish were scooped up, and later washed in them. The two used in camp were brought from Pathee where they cost Rs. 1/4- Camp: 1, Pathee: 15 for washing fish. 251 415 [435]

Winnowing trays: Shallow baskets about 2½ feet in diameter and 2 inches high were used as shifting and storage trays. The SAGAW has a rounded base; whole the SAGAR has a flat base with fiber walls. Both are made of flat, wide-meshed reeds. The trays used in camp came from Pathee where they cost Rs. 1/4 each. Pathee: 1. 243 415

THE CHIN (Marketing basket): This basket is in the general shape of a cylinder, 1½ feet wide and 8 inches high, with open, flat reed sides and a semi-circular handle across the top. It is used to carry objects from market and to store them in the house. Pathee: 2, Camp: 1. 415

U Myaing expresses the contrast between the camp equipment and that of Pathee: "These objects in camp are barely sufficient. We have to live as we are. In our own district we had sufficient to pail in boxes. The extra ones were nailed in boxes and only enough were taken out for the seven people who eat. When visitors come, good ones are brought out. Plates for curry, plates for eating rice. There were various kinds." 415 511 178

Food Items

Ma Aye Myaing gave as complete a set of data on the food consumption of her family as she could. The following data is inclusive for the family of seven, both in Pantanaw and the refugee camp. Ma Aye Myaing decides what dishes to cook for each meal of the day, and she does this without any consultation with U Myaing. She does not ask him what he would like for each meal, although sometimes when he expresses a desire for a certain dish she sees to it that it is prepared. She has a free hand in deciding what to cook for each meal in the day. Definitions of the weights and measures used follows in a glossary. The data is organized under the headings of (1) Main dishes and raw foods, (2) supplementary dishes and TO-SAYA (vegetables eaten with NGAPI), and (3) trifles. 262 [593] [128]

601 aunts are called DAW LAY - LAY being the junior term, and GYI the senior. The oldest uncle on the father's side is further distinguished by the term BA GYI (Big father); the eldest aunt on the mother's side (older than mother) is GYI DAW. Father is called APAY or endearingly PAPAY. The mother is called AMAY (address) or MAMAY (reference) which are also the terms for eldest sister. The two terms may coincide in part out of regard for the important part which the elder sister plays in taking care of the younger children.

In ego's own generation seniority is stressed even more so that elder elder brother is AKO TYI, younger elder brother is AKO LAY, youngest elder brother is AKO DWEY, and younger brothers are MAUNG LAY. Younger sister is NYI MA. Age differentiation terms at ego's generation are in reference to ego's age position. At the parents generation they are in terms of the father and mother's age position. Age position is not considered laterally to cousins or in the descending generations.

Daughters are THAMEE and sons THA. Grand-children are MYEE and great grand children MYIT indiscriminately of sex. Male first cousins are NYI-AKO-TAMEN-KYE, and female first cousins are NYI-MA TAMEN-KYE. Their children are given the same terms as grand children (MYEE) and call ego BA-GYI (big father).

The dominant feature of the Burmese kinship system is the emphasis on relative age. This is a reflection of the importance of seniority seen throughout the social organization in which the seniors are accorded respect and diffidence by the juniors and in turn have to assume responsibility for the juniors.

● 593 U Myaing is the bread-winner of the family and because of this fact coupled with his relationship position he makes the major decisions for the family. He will, however, consult the three adult members of the family (including the eldest daughter) on important issues where discussion is necessary. His attitude toward his mother is one of great respect bordering on reverence. When I wanted to take their pictures together he dropped to his knees with hands in a prayer attitude before his mother - a typical parent-child attitude, he explained. He is responsible for feeding and clothing the family and providing the education of the children. The daughter

must ask permission of the parents or Daw Aw Zar when they wish to go to town or anywhere else even when leaving for school. In a special sense the children are "owned" by the parents. Considerate children appreciate the efforts of their parents and take care of them when they become old. If he had a son he would have to make the financial arrangements to "put him through" the novitiation or SHIN PYU ceremony. The corresponding "initiation" ceremony of the girls, that of ear-boring has not been done for the daughters. For the KIN MUN TAT (name giving) or "christaining" of the eldest daughter, U Myaing bought 50 leaves of bread, as well as sugar and coconuts to feed the children of the village. The ceremony cost Rs. 90/- or 100/-. The ceremony for the second and third daughters was celebrated with a black rice preparation called KAUKMYIN-BAUNG (treacle rice steamed). The ingredients consisted of 2 baskets of black rice (costing Rs. 10/-), 8 PYI of beans (costing Rs. 3/10), 2 condensed milk tins of sessamum oil (costing Rs. 1/-), 10 to 15 ticals of salt (costing 2 annas), and 4 coconuts. The family had to evacuate from Pathwe before the ceremony of the youngest daughter. U Myaing was made a novice at the age of nine, together with six other young boys. The donors who were bearing the costs of the ceremony decked them out in fine clothes and in the evening, after being taught the stanza asking for the robes, they were made KOYINS. Charities were given . U Myaing remained seven days as a KOYIN. His SHIN PYU or novitiation ceremony costs altogether between Rs. 3000/- and Rs. 4000/- (for the seven boys), because, besides other expenses MYA MEINS were distributed free to all the women guests and PU SOES to the men. U Myaing's grandfather bore the costs of making 14 boys KOYINS and one into an UPAZIN or monk. The whole village helped to cook the food for the reception. This help was entirely voluntary and the helpers did not wait till requests were made for their help.

In times of financial difficulty U Myaing may borrow money from relations (preferred) or close friends. U Myaing's eldest brother is the first person to apply to - however, he does not have much money so cannot help in this way. But he can be depended on in various other ways. For example, he will help in a fight, or give good advice on where U Myaing might go for a job or to borrow money. A mainstay financially is U Myaing's mother's elder sister (Daw Gyi), Ma Ohn Nyunt,

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or her daughters or sons who are financially well-to-do. U Myaing's sister who lives in Rangoon has given help to the eldest daughter by housing her near her cheroot-rolling job. The pattern of mutual aid among the relatives is strongly developed among the Burmese. "A tree will support a thousand birds" emphasises the importance of the relative who makes good for the rest of the family.

Relationship of Family to Community and State

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A large portion of the Pathwe community were related to U Myaing. Consequently many reciprocal activities fell within the family group. Most of the activities were prescribed by virtue of being a member of the community rather than by kinship ties. Such activities include cooperation in house raisings, funerals, marriage festivals, SHIN PYU ceremonies where the family involved needs help. Unpleasant occasions such as funerals demand everyone's attendance if not financial participation.

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On pleasant occasions the participants are apt to be one's friends and relatives. When someone builds a small house or puts a new thatch roof on, the other villagers come to help. He does not have to pay the workers anything or even feed them. He has only to cook and prepare for them the raw foods and chillies, onions, etc., which each one brings for himself. This statement, however, holds true only when small houses are built. Regular carpenters have to be hired to build the big ones. U Myaing frequently helped to build other people's houses - small houses that could be completed in a day. Help of this nature is offered without asking.

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When a person dies in the village, the villagers all go to the house and certain elders help to bathe and dress the corpse and place it on the bed, where it may be kept anywhere from three to seven days before being taken out and buried. The ground for burial is bought at the ceremony for the price of one pice. Now, in keeping with the general inflation, the price has risen to one anna. The grave is dug by the young men's group. The young men of the village carry the bier, or pull the bullock cart on which the coffin rests, and dig the grave. They also provide the orchestra. For performances on the night of the death and the day after a Burmese orchestra is engaged at the rate of Rs. 50/- to Rs. 100/-. The various visitors who come to condole with

23: Brant & Mi Mi Khaing E, I-5 (1949-1950)1951
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38. yauccá Husband (referential).
39. mù Husband's younger brother; husband's younger sister's husband. 601
40. khê?óu Elder sister's husband; husband's elder brother; husband's elder sister's husband.
41. yaummà Husband's sister; husband's brother's wife.

As may readily be seen by inspection of the charts, this kinship system reflects clearly the bilateral family structure, with an absence of terminological differentiation on the basis of the sex of the connecting relative. The other outstanding characteristic is the recognition of relative age at many points. For each generation a distinct set of terms is used. On ego's generation all cousins are merged with siblings; the terms are differentiated, however, according to relative age. In the first ascending generation, it will be noted, parents' siblings are terminologically distinguished according to degree of age relative to the parent. In the first descending generation, however, the factor of age loses significance; sex is the sole differentiating factor, apart from distinguishing terms for ego's own children. On successive descending generations sex distinction is absent and all relatives of a single generation are subsumed under a single kinship term.

Behaviorally as well as terminologically, relative age is the all-important hub 561
upon which the wheel of Burmese social life revolves. Deference to one's elders 602
is reflected in such customs as carrying things for them, refraining from sitting
with one's head higher than those of elders, and avoiding postures in which the [516]
feet are extended towards such persons.

Beyond such matters of etiquette, the importance of age is even more fundamentally demonstrated in the showing of obeisance to one's elders. This is done on all the important ceremonial occasions. Four such occasions are regarded as [7?]
obligatory times for paying one's respects. These are the beginning and the end of the Buddhist "Lent"—a period of about three months, roughly from mid-July to mid-October—the New Year, and the harvest. Respect is paid to all of one's elders in the parental generation and above. A visit is made at which an offering, valuable or symbolic, is brought and the elder's blessings are received.

SOCIAL RELATIONS OF KIN

Husband–Wife. The household is normally composed of husband and wife 593
and their offspring. It is a bilateral, limited type of family structure, contrasting [592]
markedly with the patrilineal extended Chinese family and joint family of India. [594]
Unlike the position of the wife in the Chinese and Indian family systems, that of the Burmese wife is not one of an outsider living in a group dominated by her

[Text continues on page 442]

23: Brant & Mi Mi Khaing E, I-5 (1949-1950)1951
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593 husband's kinfolk. Post-marital residence is independent and is decided very
[591] largely on the basis of economic opportunity. The wife's opportunities for social intercourse with her family of orientation are, of course, greatest when residence is established in her home village; if, however, a couple from different villages marry and find it most opportune to settle in the husband's community, the
[574] chances are that the wife will maintain contact with her family of orientation by
[582] visits from time to time; such marriages seldom unite persons from villages that are very far apart. The very structural features of bilaterality and absence of extension militate against inequality and male domination.

562 Burmese culture is frequently remarked for the equality of the sexes, in con-
593 trast to the neighboring cultures of India and China. This status of the sexes seems to be the resultant historically of two patterns of thought. One is an apparently very old, pre-Buddhist emphasis upon equality, involving equal inheri-
[428] tance, equal sharing of the property brought to the marriage, equal division of
[586] property upon divorce, a prominent female role in social and economic life, and an absence of transmission of surnames. The other thought pattern dates from the superimposition of Buddhism upon older Burmese conceptions: whatever
[177] ideas of male superiority exist in Burmese life stem from Buddhist notions of
[775] reincarnation. Although Buddha never expressed himself explicitly on the matter, it is taken for granted that only a male can attain Nirvana, since Gautama Buddha, who attained that state, was a male.

462 In the family household the wife's role includes not only such routine tasks as
592 the preparation of food and serving of meals, keeping the house orderly and clean, and looking after small children; very often it involves control of the family income and the making of all important decisions as to expenditures.

Certain observances and taboos, reflective of deference to males, are expected
593 of the female partner in marriage. She is careful that her lower garments do not
784 touch her husband's bed or his personal belongings; she avoids touching her husband's head. It is believed that the breaking of such taboos may ruin the husband's success and glory, especially his spiritual attainments. These injunctions are followed as a matter of course by Burmese wives and will be broken deliberately only as an act of spite by a woman who wishes to harm or lower her husband for some reason.

593 Despite the various equalitarian aspects of husband-wife relations, there is
837 a tendency towards a double standard of sexual behavior. A husband who has reason to believe that his wife is engaging in extra-marital affairs is very likely
[586] to display violent anger, beat her, and break up the marriage. The wife of a

23: Brant & Mi Mi Khaing E, I-5 (1949-1950)1951
AP1 Burma
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philandering husband, on the other hand, will usually do no more than display hurt feelings for a brief period; rarely will she separate from her husband, especially if they have children. 593 [837]

Siblings. It is the duty of the younger to show deference to the elder. This pertains to the order of serving food, fetching and carrying of things, and even the arrangement of sleeping mats or beds—a younger sibling never should sleep with his feet extended toward an elder sibling. Upon the death of a parent, the eldest sibling of the same sex assumes that parent's socio-economic role in the family. [768]

Father–Daughter. Consistent with the age principle, it is a daughter's duty to be obedient and to wait upon her father. Once an unmarried daughter passes the age of puberty, the father is expected to lead a circumspect and moral life more than ever before. Any deviant sexual behavior or drunkenness on his part reflects upon the daughter and detracts from her marital chances. [581]

Mother–Son. Although a son owes obedience to his mother, her claim upon him in this regard is tempered by the fact that in Burmese Buddhist thinking, being the mother of a son is itself considered the greatest event of a woman's life and represents the achievement of full existence as a female human being. The relationship is a close and indulgent one. The mother is regarded as more important by the son than his wife; in fact, a son will choose his wife with a great deal of regard for his mother's opinions and wishes. [581]

Mother–Daughter. The mother is the female child's early teacher. It is considered most important for the daughter to learn prayers, how to prepare the daily food offering for the household altar, and how to change the flowers on the altar. These things are taught almost from the time the child starts learning language. Other household duties in which the mother instructs her daughter vary considerably with the economic status of the family: in poor families some assistance with tending the animals and winnowing the rice crop is part of the girl's work from about the age of ten. Daughters are expected to show filial respect and deference equally to the mother and father. 593 868 462

Father–Son. The father occupies the role of disciplinarian in the family. Disciplining of sons may include physical punishment, though such measures to obtain conformity are not resorted to readily by the Burmese. Prior to adolescence, boys are taught prayers and good habits by their mothers, with the father remaining more or less in the background and interfering only when disciplinary action may be required of him. After a son passes adolescence the father becomes important as his mentor. 593 861

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

14. BURMAN MOTHER AND INFANT.

tempers Nature's discipline of knocks and bumps, as compared with the bare hard ground of the Indian hut. Nevertheless the young Burman's converse with his environment is unrestricted enough. By the time he is a year old he may be trusted to himself on a flimsy platform many feet off the ground or over the water. There are few things in the way of the child that it may not handle. The very cheroot its mother is smoking is a coveted plaything. The daily bath at the river-side or well has familiarised the child with another element. It may rush out into the first tropical shower and splash to its heart's content with its older playmates in the first tepid puddle. The Burman's regular exclamation of wonder or fear is "mother!"—*amè*.

854 342 854 356 866 [593 152]

When the child is a few months old, relatives and friends are assembled and entertained with tea and sweets to witness the ceremony of piercing the ears and giving a name. The Burmans have no patronymics. The name is chosen from a set of current euphemisms proper to the days of the week and their planets, according to the star presiding over the day of birth. The fancy of the parents and the prognostics of the soothsayer unite to decide the choice. Names are single or are compounded from two series (in Arakán from three). Common names, beginning with the "Sunday-son," are Ôn, Kyaw, San, Shwe, Po, Tha, Dun. Men's and women's names are taken from the same sets; only the courtesy-prefixes differ (p. 74). The needle-hole made in the lobe of the ear on the naming-day is expanded by means of plugs and rolls of bast. In the course of a few years the lobe takes a plug one-half to three-quarters

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15. MUDLARKS.

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25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

18. YOUNG CHILDREN'S TOYS.

Manufactured toys are the most noticeable wares in the sale-booths. A universal toy is the seed from the giant pod of the *dò* creeper (No. 251). Like marbles with us, the seeds—*gòn-hnyin*—are the prizes of the game. In Sangermano's time (1783-1806) these games used to be played by adults. A characteristic boys' game is *sitòppyit* (No. 25). Lots are cast for riders and horses. A ball or bundle is thrown from rider to rider till a player misses the catch, when all the riders dismount and scramble with the horses for the ball. The one who secures it becomes or remains a rider as the case may be. Boys run races for their own sport and that of their elders, and race their toy boats. They fight duels with their kites, each flier seeking to saw through his opponent's kite-line, for which purpose a length of string has been roughened with sand or pounded glass. The peg-top is a favourite toy. That it is indigenous is proved by certain proverbial sayings. Burman boys are more like our own and take to European games more kindly than other Asiatics (*cf.* p. 69). The toy of the day is the tricycle, which parents will pinch themselves to provide for their children, and which the happy possessors of will make the common property of all their playmates. Where children awaken such genuine interest, punishment is rarely called for and is never

19. GAMES IN THE WATER.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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20. TOY CART.

of a savage description. Children have pretty manners; they are respectful to their elders without shyness or cringing.

Children grow up among the implements they will use in after life. Wooden mills for husking rice, tilt-hammers and mortars for pounding, cotton-seeders with geared rollers, spinning-wheels, weaving-looms and other simple machines are in every household; besides agricultural implements, carts and boats, all of which are made or kept in repair by the inmates (*cf.* p. 120). The workshops of artizans of every class are open to view, and the processes are obvious to every passer-by. The interest aroused in children is more diversified than in cold countries with their more secluded life. From mimicking the occupations of adults children learn to take part and soon begin to like a real share in them. Their trade begins with make-believe wares, then come scraps of house and garden produce till it develops into a source of pocket-money and training in business (Nos. 281, 431). The years of tutelage merge into the age of responsibility without abrupt transition. The intelligence which the school-teacher proceeds
[153] to build on has insensibly developed under conditions more than commonly favourable, which may help to account for the precocity of Burman school-children under good teaching.

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From the ages of eight to ten, boys begin attending the school of the Buddhist monastery (*kyaung*), where they are taught free by the recluse (*pôndyî*) or by his sojourner recluses (*upasin*). The spelling-book is chanted in a chorus led by a senior pupil, and is copied out with a white steatite pencil on a

21. PEG-TOPS (DYIN-PAUK).

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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159. CHILDREN AT THE RIVER SIDE (p. 81).

Every stranger, man or woman, is addressed *K'mbyá*—sir, madam. There is a courteous address for nearly every relation in life. Children, in speaking to their parents, grandparents, uncles, and aunts, say *Shin* and *Daw*—lord, lady; wife to husband, *Shin*; husband to wife, *Byo*, *Bya*—terms of endearment; younger brother or sister to elder, *Go*, *Maung-dyí*; elder brother to younger *Maung*; brothers to sisters, *Ma*. *Maung* and *Ma* (brother and sister) have become the ordinary prefixes to names, answering to our Mr., Mrs., Miss. These are used even by parents to their grown-up children. To inferiors and in disparagement, the plain *nga*, *mè*, *mi* are used. Middle-aged men are given the address *Go*, and old men that of *Û* (uncle), which is also the prefix to the *bwè* of the *yahán*. Great regard is conveyed by the address *Sayá*—teacher, master. The honorific word for wife is *gadáw*, thus—*sayá-gadáw*, *min-gadáw*. To royalty the addresses were *Gôdaw*—re[illegible] self; *Ashin-Payá*—lord of lords; *Pôn-daw-dyí*—of great glory. These titles came to be used for ministers and governors, as more euphemistic ones were devised for the kings. The same addresses are accorded by courtesy to the *yahán*, who on their part address the layman as *Tagá*, *Tagádaw*—supporter, great founder. The layman refers to himself as *tabyí-daw*—the honoured disciple. In other relations of life, other periphrases are used for the pronouns of the first and second persons. The plain *I* and *you* — *ugá*, *nin* — are only used in disparagement. Thus the current phrase for *I* is *tyunôk*—the humble servan[illegible] (For women, *tyunma*.) In addressing superiors, the phrase is *tyundáw*, *Payá-tyundáw*

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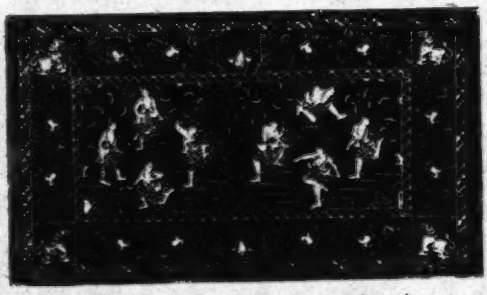

160. CHINLON GAME, APPLIQUE WORK (p. 172).

671 her own choice. The head of the Burmese family can also give
593 away children under the age of puberty or majority to another
597 family for adoption, but when the child attains the age of puberty or majority, he or she has the option to choose in which family (i.e. his original family or his adoptive family) he
671 will remain. Acquisitions by members of the family accrue
593 to the family, but as in Roman and Hindu laws, certain classes
428 of acquisition by members of the family accrue to the acquirer and not to the family. Gifts from grandparents, from the king, and in certain cases, from strangers, and earnings through exercise of skill in the arts and in astrology, medicine, advocacy, and alchemy accrue to the acquirer. When a member of the family wishes to leave the family, there is no necessity to gain the assistance of a court of law. By mutual consent among the members, he is permitted to leave and he is given his share of the family estate. When the whole family decides to break up also, no formality is required, and by general consent, the family estate is divided between the members according to the rules of law pertaining to the partition of an estate into various shares.

671 One of the main features of Burmese society is the high
562 status of its women. Unlike the situation in Hindu or Chinese society, the Burmese woman has never been a mere chattel at the disposal of the Burmese man. Since prehistoric times Burmese women have enjoyed an equality of status, rank, and opportunity with men. Under the Burmese kings, the women held high office, and served often as headman, chief-
[773] tainess, and queen. In Burmese folktales dealing with strange disputes and wonderful decisions, which are known as Juristic Tales, the judge is a woman, namely Princess Learned-in-the-Law. At the present day, all the learned professions are open to women, and approximately 25 per cent of the students at the University of Rangoon are women.

671 The high status of women in Burmese society is reflected
583 in the Burmese customary law relating to marriage, divorce,
586 and inheritance. In Burmese law, marriage is purely a civil
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181 565 555 first a bewildered refugee, but gradually assumed the role of a labourer rising in the ranks. The case indicates the mobility of the Burmese family and shows clearly that it may function successfully outside of the confines of its original social atmosphere.

182 ●594 621 156 The family in Burmese society: The successful mobility of U Myaing's family indicate that the immediate family is the primary social unit of Burmese society. The Burmese community is then a congregation of immediate families who engage in activities of mutual benefit within the protective framework of the village structure. This interpretation high lights a particular type of individualism which is a familiy individualism depending on the roles of each [779] member of the family for its full expression. This concept seems tied to the Buddhist idea of individual salvation through acts of merit on the one hand and the exigencies of gaining a livelihood on the other. [474] The family is the basic economic unit and though it will enter cooperative endeavours (like the IN fisheries, or communal net propitiations), has the ultimate responsibility and capabilities of support- [596] ing itself. The extended family is important, as indeed is the total village social structure, only in so far as it contributes to the maintenance of the individual immediate family of procreation including spouses, offspring and aged parents. The "looseness" of the social structure conversely allows mobility of the immediate families. This analysis indicates that attempts at modernizing of the Burmese people (acculturation) should meet with a minimum of structural obstacles - such as caste, clan and rigid associations might present.

181 156 369 555 The Burmese culture pattern and the individual: The village culture pattern is dominated by a series of relatively simple, interrelated ideas held by all. Each individual feels himself temporily occupying a particular situation which is only one of many existences and but an instant in eternity. He is fated to be a member of a particular family with a set of opportunities through life. Life should be pleasant and must be virtuous if future existences are to be pleasant. He must realize as fully as possible the talents and opportunities that come to him through his KARMA situation. In the villages this concept is a great stabilizing force and tends to make an individual content with

23: Brant & Mi Mi Khaing E, I-5 (1949-1950)1951
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SOCIAL RELATIONS OF KIN

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[Text continues on page 442]

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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lata for the original flavoured earth, and of Thale rice for the leguminous creeper, desire arose among them, and four of the men took the four women to wife. The fifth man naturally resented being left compulsorily single, and pelted the happy couples with stones on their marriage night. Sympathy with the feelings of this archetypal bachelor has perpetuated the stone-throwing by the lu-byos down to the present day, and if there is no dearth of eligible spinsters in our times, the lonely bachelor may be allowed to express his envy of his friend's bliss without being accused of anything but gross cupidity. 585 773

After marriage the couple almost always live for two or three years in the house of the bride's parents, the son-in-law becoming one of the family and contributing to its support. Setting up a separate establishment, even in Rangoon, where the young husband is a clerk in an English office, is looked upon with disfavour as a piece of pride and ostentation. If the girl is an only daughter, she and her husband stay on till the old people die. 591 583

Polygamy is recognised and permitted, but practically does not exist now in British territory. A man with more than one wife becomes a subject of common talk, and a native official now living is well known all through the delta as the myo-ok with twenty wives. In native territory the right to have several wives was equally little used in practice. Many of the high officials who travelled about over large districts had wives in almost all the towns they visited —a custom in great measure induced by the rule which provided that the mayā-gyi, the chief wife, had to be left in Mandalay as a hostage for the fidelity of the official. But the great bulk of the people are, and always have been, monogamous. King Mindôn had fifty-three recognised *wives*, of whom thirty-seven survived him. His children numbered one hundred and ten, of whom upwards of fifty survived him. Besides the wives, like Solomon, he had numerous concubines. So, indeed, have many lesser people. 595 [647]

The forbidden degrees are few. Marriages with mother, daughter, sister, and half-sister, aunt, grandmother, and granddaughter, are forbidden, but none else. A son may marry his stepmother; it is expressly mentioned in the 582

23: Brant & Mi Mi Khaing E, I-5 (1949-1950)1951
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607 *Husband–Wife's Elder Sister.* This relationship tends to mirror a conflict between sex and age as status factors in Burmese culture. There is an implicit conflict between the husband's position *as a man* and his wife's elder sister's position, in many cases, *as his senior in age,* having a claim on outward respect and obedience. In practice this relationship is often cool and aloof in nature, very different from the free-and-easy one between husband and wife's younger sister described below.

Husband–Wife's Younger Sister. A man is expected to show great favor to his wife's younger sisters and display more interest in them than in his own sisters. He buys them presents, gives them spending money, and covertly he is expected to be on the lookout for prospective husbands for them. Quite frequently, the wife's younger sisters will accompany her and her husband when she marries, and all will live together. Although husband and wife's younger sisters engage in a great deal of mutual teasing and joking, the relationship does not assume a sexual aspect. Polygyny is very rarely practiced among the Burmese; [595] when it is, however, it takes the sororal form. The rather free-and-easy pattern of behavior between husband and wife's younger sisters sometimes gives rise to suspicion and gossip in the village, when a man and wife are not getting along well, that he is carrying on love affairs with his younger sisters-in-law.

Mother-in-law–Daughter-in-law. A daughter-in-law is definitely subordinate 606 to her mother-in-law; if they live in the same household, the mother-in-law is entitled to the best room and to be waited upon by her daughter-in-law. Significantly, the Burmese term for daughter-in-law, cwêimà, means literally "sweat woman."

Mother-in-law–Son-in-law. θamḛ̀, the term for son-in-law, means "desired son." A son-in-law is a privileged member of the family of his wife. His wishes are respected and his comforts looked after. His mother-in-law will instruct his [607] wife's younger siblings to show him respect and deference.

Father-in-law–Son-in-law. The son-in-law has the social status of a son in his wife's family. He has the right to expect his father-in-law to sponsor his career even more than his own father.

Father-in-law–Daughter-in-law. The daughter-in-law is expected to regard and treat her husband's father very much as her own father.

Grandparent–Grandchild. Because of the great difference in age between 603 these generations, great respect is theoretically due to grandparents. In practice this may be flouted and great indulgence shown to grandchildren. Grandparents

181 565 555 first a bewildered refugee, but gradually assumed the role of a labourer rising in the ranks. The case indicates the mobility of the Burmese family and shows clearly that it may function successfully outside of the confines of its original social atmosphere.

182 594 621 156 The family in Burmese society: The successful mobility of U Myaing's family indicate that the immediate family is the primary social unit of Burmese society. The Burmese community is then a congregation of immediate families who engage in activities of mutual benefit within the protective framework of the village structure. This interpretation high lights a particular type of individualism which is a familiy individualism depending on the roles of each [779] member of the family for its full expression. This concept seems tied to the Buddhist idea of individual salvation through acts of merit on the one hand and the exigencies of gaining a livelihood on the other. [474] The family is the basic economic unit and though it will enter cooperative endeavours (like the IN fisheries, or communal nat propitiations), has the ultimate responsibility and capabilities of support- [596] ing itself. The extended family is important, as indeed is the total village social structure, only in so far as it contributes to the maintenance of the individual immediate family of procreation including spouses, offspring and aged parents. The "looseness" of the social structure conversely allows mobility of the immediate families. This analysis indicates that attempts at modernizing of the Burmese people (acculturation) should meet with a minimum of structural obstacles - such as caste, clan and rigid associations might present.

181 156 369 555 The Burmese culture pattern and the individual: The village culture pattern is dominated by a series of relatively simple, interrelated ideas held by all. Each individual feels himself temporily occupying a particular situation which is only one of many existences and but an instant in eternity. He is fated to be a member of a particular family with a set of opportunities through life. Life should be pleasant and must be virtuous if future existences are to be pleasant. He must realise as fully as possible the talents and opportunities that come to him through his KARMA situation. In the villages this concept is a great stabilizing force and tends to make an individual content with

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4
Upper Burma
Lower Burma

423 distinctions are more minute than is at all necessary or indeed
428 comprehensible. They include all children born out of wed-
848 lock, among whom are reckoned such as are born before the parents have been married ten months; all children that are
●[597] purchased, or adopted by any other ceremony than that of abadita or keiktima; and such as "from respect or affection
423 style their guardians father or mother." The settlement of
184 boundary marks was one of the earliest duties of the first ruler. The thale rice became constantly scarcer and scarcer, and it was determined that it would be well to give every person his share and mark it off distinctly. The appointment of persons to execute this duty was the first occasion on which executive officials were found necessary. Manu enumerated twenty-five objects suitable for legal landmarks. These included all natural objects, such as lakes, rivers, ridges, and hills, remarkable large trees and clumps of bamboos; artificial boundaries of an equally permanent character, such as pagodas, shrines for demon-worship, zayats, or rest-houses, stone pillars and sacred posts, wells and cairns; finally such singular distinguishing marks as heads of cattle, chaff, ashes, charcoal, sand, broken earthenware vessels, and men's bones. "Beating the bounds," one would think, must have been very necessary with the younger members of the household in the case of such perishable boundary lines as could be constituted by chaff, or even sand. In Upper Burma the cultivating
[161] population was so sparse that no difficulty was found in the matter of boundaries. In Lower Burma farms are as distinctly marked off as land-surveyors' chains can effect the operation in pointing out the little raised ridges which separate the plots of paddy land from one another. Nevertheless they are hardly such as the South of England farmers would approve.

423 These allodial tenures are the only ones which exist in
[177-92] Burma now. In independent territory there were two other
651 kinds of holding, which were not, however, very numerous or
622 extensive. The first of these were called thugyisa fields, and consisted of certain tracts of land near the town or village set apart for the maintenance of the headman. As that official was anything but a permanency, the tenant for the time being very seldom cultivated them himself, but let them

30: Maung Htin Aung E-4 (no date) 1953 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

671 her own choice. The head of the Burmese family can also give
593 away children under the age of puberty or majority to another
597 family for adoption, but when the child attains the age of puberty or majority, he or she has the option to choose in which family (i.e. his original family or his adoptive family) he
671 will remain. Acquisitions by members of the family accrue
593 to the family, but as in Roman and Hindu laws, certain classes
428 of acquisition by members of the family accrue to the acquirer and not to the family. Gifts from grandparents, from the king, and in certain cases, from strangers, and earnings through exercise of skill in the arts and in astrology, medicine, advocacy, and alchemy accrue to the acquirer. When a member of the family wishes to leave the family, there is no necessity to gain the assistance of a court of law. By mutual consent among the members, he is permitted to leave and he is given his share of the family estate. When the whole family decides to break up also, no formality is required, and by general consent, the family estate is divided between the members according to the rules of law pertaining to the partition of an estate into various shares.

671 One of the main features of Burmese society is the high
562 status of its women. Unlike the situation in Hindu or Chinese society, the Burmese woman has never been a mere chattel at the disposal of the Burmese man. Since prehistoric times Burmese women have enjoyed an equality of status, rank, and opportunity with men. Under the Burmese kings, the women held high office, and served often as headman, chief-
[773] tainess, and queen. In Burmese folktales dealing with strange disputes and wonderful decisions, which are known as Juristic Tales, the judge is a woman, namely Princess Learned-in-the-Law. At the present day, all the learned professions are open to women, and approximately 25 per cent of the students at the University of Rangoon are women.

671 The high status of women in Burmese society is reflected
583 in the Burmese customary law relating to marriage, divorce,
586 and inheritance. In Burmese law, marriage is purely a civil
428

dependents in whose company we spent most of our childhood. Min- 592
kadaws divide their servants into "downstairs servants" and "upstairs 357
servants". The downstairs variety are the usual domestics—cook, boy, gardener, office boy and so on. The upstairs variety are not referred to as "servants" (*a-say-khan*); they are girls whose work is all done in the rooms upstairs, who sleep there and spend the greatest part of their day in the quarters inhabited by the family. In many cases this system is one of abuse and oppression. The girls may be poor relatives—cousins in the fourth degree perhaps—or they may be bought up from poor parents who, for a sum of Rs. 25 to Rs. 100 down and intermittent gratuities, will allow their children to go into a theoretically better home. These girls come at any age from seven to fourteen years. They are clothed and fed and their *mon-bo* (sweetmeat money) depends entirely on the mistress they chance upon. When they are young they play with the children of the house and when older they sweep and dust the upstairs rooms—rooms on which we walk only barefoot as distinct from the downstairs rooms swept by an Indian sweeper, and on which they use a feather broom instead of wielding a broom of coconut sticks, thus sealing the distinction; they also wash the personal garments of the household, look after the children and all other housemaid duties. They are rarely kept alone; there may be up to four or five according to the household. The relationship with the family is that of feudal serf or poor relation. [601] ●
They do not call their employers *thakin* and *thakinma* (master and mistress); they address them as Aunt and Uncle-older-than-own-parents; they call the children of the family elder-brother or sister-so-and-so and address all relatives as the children do, but they have no definite salary, no rights and no external connections. It is only in rare cases, however, [534]
that girls reach the age of thirty in an environment not congenial to them; in ideal circumstances it is the duty of the mistress to settle them in an advantageous marriage by the time they are twenty-one or twenty-two. Failing this, the girls generally manage to elope, for elopements [583]
are frequent and not very scandalous in Burma.

In our childhood, when the family was big with growing children, we had five girls with us at one time. Of these, three were our relatives —two sisters, Ma Ohn Kyi and Ma Mya Shwe, who were third cousins of my father, and Ma Ngwe Yin, a second cousin of my mother. Both their families were far too poor to keep them. We had to pay respect to Ma Ohn Kyi and Ma Ngwe Yin who were both a few years older than me and called us all by our name, but nobody stopped us from bullying the young Mya Shwe and the two unrelated girls as much as we liked. A-Kyi, as we called Ma Ohn Kyi, was always treated as the senior one because my parents considered that she had a good moral character.

592 sent to stay with us at various times and were sent to schools which taught English, but nothing would persuade them to take any interest in studies. My cousin Nyein Maung, whom I liked very much, could never bear to keep a shirt on, which was why he was always to be found with only a longyi tucked around his loins playing chinlon or helping boatmen with their canoes, when he should have been sitting fully clothed in a class-room.

[601] My young Uncle Pyant, whom we called U-Ngè, small Uncle, had passed his B.A. and his law degree, and returned to Ye in preference to a more modern life in a larger town. He walled off one doorway's space from the main room of the house and filled it with bookcases, a big desk and chairs for visitors. Outside this room my Uncle Pyant put up a sign saying: "*A-htet tan shaynay gyi:* Advocate and Higher Grade Pleader," and within a very short time became the lawyer of the whole village; but so great was his attachment to this consultation-living-room, which had nothing in common with the rest of Ye, that he relinquished all cases whose developing complexities led client and lawyer to a higher court in Moulmein.

592 Grandmother had gardens about ten miles up the creek from Ye. These contained coconuts, durians and areca nuts grown over about fifty acres for commercial disposal. Around the bungalow in the centre of the garden there grew mangosteen, rambutan, pomeloes and pineapples for eating on a large-scale, clumps of bamboos, a coffee tree, tobacco plants, capsicum, lime and citron trees, lemon grass, and vegetables of all kinds to serve the needs of the bungalow and the household in town. My aunts with one young male relative took turns to live at the garden and help the family that was hired to look after it permanently. It was a dangerous life in these plantations as dacoities were very frequent. [501] The produce was taken down to Ye in a succession of graceful narrow boats shaped out of single tree trunks. The durians and coconuts were [442] sold straight away to traders who travelled between Moulmein and Ye for this purpose. The areca nuts were first dried on a bamboo attic made by an extension of the platform upper storey of the house until it met the back slope of the roof. When they were dried the whole family gathered around in the back kitchen and removed the husks with blunted nutcrackers, leaving the smooth nut to be sold.

With the rice from the paddy-land on the opposite bank, fruits, vegetables and spices from the garden, rolling their cheroots with a mixture containing tobacco in leaves shed by the areca trees in the garden, and grinding their own coffee berries, my aunts and grandmother only needed to buy a little fish and meat for their daily consumption. This they could not provide themselves owing to the Buddhist law against

14: Brant E-5 (1949-50) 1954 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

III

SOCIAL GROUPS AND RELATIONS

In this section we describe the patterns of kinship and interpersonal relations, the beliefs and customs pertaining to the life cycle of the individual associations, and intergroup relations.*

Kinship

The kinship system reflects very clearly the bilateral family structure in the absence of terminological differentiation on the basis of the sex of the connecting relative. The other outstanding characteristic is the recognition at many points of relative age. For each generation a distinct set of kinship terms is employed. On the speaker's (ego's) generation, all cousins are merged with siblings, the terms being differentiated, however, according to relative age. In the first ascending generation, the parents' siblings are differentiated according to the degree of age relative to the parent. In the first descending generation the factor of relative age loses significance; sex is the sole basis of differentiation of kinship terms, except for separate terms to distinguish the speaker's own children from others. On successive descending generations sex distinction is absent and all relatives of a given generation are subsumed under a single kinship term.

Relative age is the all-important hub upon which the wheel of village social life revolves. Deference to one's elders is reflected in such customs as carrying objects for them, refraining from sitting with one's head higher than those of elders, and avoiding postures in which the feet are extended towards such persons.

Beyond such matters of etiquette, the importance of age is even more fundamentally demonstrated in the showing of obeisance to one's elders. This is done on all the important ceremonial occasions. Four such occasions are regarded as obligatory times for paying one's respects. These are the beginning and the end of Waso (sometimes called the Buddhist 'Lent'), a period of about three months, roughly from mid-July to mid-October; the New Year; and the harvest. Respect is paid to all of one's elders in the parental generation and above. A visit is made at which an offering, valuable or symbolic, is brought and the elder's blessings are received.

Interpersonal Relations

Husband and Wife. The household is normally composed of husband and wife and their offspring. It is a bilateral, limited type of family structure, contrasting markedly with the patrilineal extended Chinese family and the joint family of India. Unlike the position of the wife in the traditional Chinese and Indian family systems, that of the Burmese wife is not one of an outsider living in a group dominated by her husband's relatives. Where a married couple reside is a matter of choice and is decided very largely on the basis of economic opportunity. When there is such opportunity in the village for an outsider who marries a girl of Tadagale, he is urged to establish their residence there, but there is no particular pressure or feeling about the

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*The material on kinship and the life cycle, with certain changes, was published under the title "Burmese Kinship and the Life Cycle: an Outline" in Southwestern Journal of Anthropology, vol 7, no 4, 1951, pp. 437-454. The reader interested in the technical details of the kinship terms and a diagrammatic presentation of the kinship system is referred to that article. The author wishes to express his thanks to Mi Mi Khaing for valuable assistance in the compilation and analysis of the material on this aspect of the culture.

of their families. The bride and groom are each handed a spray of flowers from the offering bowls and they make obeisance to the guardian spirits of their respective households. With a second spray they make obeisance to their parents and elders. Then a small tray containing fruit and rice is placed before them. The lay elder places a spoonful of this food first to the bridegroom's, then to the bride's lips. As he does this he makes a statement to the effect that this is the auspicious meal and that he hopes blessings may flow from it. 794 585

At this point, a happy and fruitfully married couple from among the oldest people in the community step forward to marry the couple. The left hand of the man is placed on top of the right hand of the girl. Water is poured on their hands thus joined and a silk scarf tied over them as the elderly couple recite words to the effect that they are now united. A chanter arises and intones a song of praise for long life. The contents of the bowl of puffed rice and money are scattered among the audience, and everyone scrambles for them. Now the bride and groom rise and are led to the bridal chamber, across the doorway of which is stretched a golden chain. After the bride has entered, anyone who wishes to do so tries to barricade the doorway and demand money of the groom. He is obliged to pay everyone who makes such demands. This money is known as 'stone money,' from the old custom, still practiced sometimes, of stoning the house of a couple on their wedding night until the bridegroom arises and pays them to desist. This behavior, the taunts and demands that are expressed, has an implied bawdiness about it. Once the couple have entered the bridal chamber, others may go in to inspect it. When all have left the chamber there is a general feast. Usually the feast in Tadagale partakes of the nature of a tea party, since a full scale feast is expensive. Each guest receives a symbolic gift, usually a cigar or a fan.

Old Age. Old age is the period after one's children are grown, the 'third age' of life. Women are definitely regarded as old after the menopause. The Burmese terms for 'old lady' and 'old man' are synonymous with grandparent terms, both in address and reference. Sometimes 'old mother' is used instead of 'old lady.' Long life is considered a great blessing and an indication of merit earned. Long life is prayed for and old age greatly idealized. 886 601 761

The ideal aged person is one who has successfully reared a family, has grandchildren, and a certain amount of material wealth. The aged are expected to be retiring and unobtrusive in their behavior. They should not go out visiting very much; they should eat less and avoid appearing too well dressed or jeweled when attending religious observances. 888

An attitude of resignation characterizes the outlook of the aged person. It is unheard of that old people should work. A possible exception would be a village headman, who, it is felt, should be a person of long experience. When aged people live with their children they assume the role of teachers of their grandchildren. Most of the time of elderly people is spent in activities centering around the pagodas and monasteries, organizing of religious festivals, and raising funds for the monks and charities. They often take leading roles in such activities. 887

The elderly members of a household arise early to see that the rice is cooked for the daily offering to the monks, and to insure that the household altar is properly looked after. It is preferable for them to arise before dawn, for to do so is considered very meritorious.

to belong to the same village then she is taken elsewhere. When 583
they arrive, the whole group sits down to chat about the day's proceedings and various other matters.

If the parents do not agree to the match and keep their daughter under strict surveillance, the day may have to be postponed several times before the elopement is successful.

KINSHIP SYSTEM

U Myaing was asked to give the names and relationships of as many 602
members of his consanguinal family as possible. In the course of several interviews he remembered no less than 201 individuals plus 64 spouses. Only 26 names of the consanguinal relatives and 8 of the affinal spouses (both 12% of the respective totals) were forgotten. These figures are one indication of the importance of family relations. Of the blood relatives 75 of 21 families were on U Myaing's father's side and 126 of 40 families on his mother's side. Greater emphasis on the mother's side is also seen in the fact that the families of all siblings of mother's father were remembered while father's father's siblings families were disregarded. This is undoubtedly due in part to Daw Aw Zar, his mother, being the surviving parent living with him but is also probably part of a larger pattern.

Relationship terms are used in addressing the members of the 601●
immediate family, with exceptions for certain situations and individuals (for differentiating individuals; persons in junior relationships) where the proper name or nickname is used, the more remote relations are ordinaily addressed by name.

No differentiation is made in the kinship terms used between mother's and father's side of the family - a circumlocution being needed to indicate this. Male vs. female terms are common for all generations. From the 2nd ascending generation (grandparents) and beyond there is only one term for all males and one for all females for each generation (APO - grandfather; APWAH - grandmother). The same is true for the uncles (U LAY) and aunts (A DAW) although if the individual is older than the parenting parent a special age term is applied (DAW-GYI older aunt, U GYI - older uncle or "big sir.") A DAW is also used as a respect term toward any older woman. Younger

●601 aunts are called DAW LAY - LAY being the junior term, and GYI the senior. The oldest uncle on the father's side is further distinguished by the term BA GYI (Big father); the eldest aunt on the mother's side (older than mother) is GYI DAW. Father is called APAY or endearingly PAPAY. The mother is called AMAY (address) or MAMAY (reference) which are also the terms for eldest sister. The two terms may coincide in part out of regard for the important part which the elder sister plays in taking care of the younger children.

In ego's own generation seniority is stressed even more so that elder elder brother is AKO TYI, younger elder brother is AKO LAY, youngest elder brother is AKO DWEY, and younger brothers are MAUNG LAY. Younger sister is NYI MA. Age differentiation terms at ego's generation are in reference to ego's age position. At the parents generation they are in terms of the father and mother's age position. Age position is not considered laterally to cousins or in the descending generations.

Daughters are THAMEE and sons THA. Grand-children are MYEE and great grand children MYIT indiscriminately of sex. Male first cousins are NYI-AKO-TAMUN-KWE, and female first cousins are NYI-MA TAMUN-KWE. Their children are given the same terms as grand children (MYEE) and call ego BA-GYI (big father).

The dominant feature of the Burmese kinship system is the emphasis on relative age. This is a reflection of the importance of seniority seen throughout the social organization in which the seniors are accorded respect and diffidence by the juniors and in turn have to assume responsibility for the juniors.

593 U Myaing is the bread-winner of the family and because of this fact coupled with his relationship position he makes the major decisions for the family. He will, however, consult the three adult members of the family (including the eldest daughter) on important issues where discussion is necessary. His attitude toward his mother is one of great respect bordering on reverence. When I wanted to take their pictures together he dropped to his knees with hands in a prayer attitude before his mother - a typical parent-child attitude, he explained. He is responsible for feeding and clothing the family and providing the education of the children. The daughter

23: Brant & Mi Mi Khaing E, I-5 (1949-1950)1951
AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

BURMESE KINSHIP AND THE LIFE CYCLE: AN OUTLINE

CHARLES S. BRANT AND MI MI KHAING[1]

INTRODUCTORY STATEMENT

121 OUR PURPOSE is to present and analyze some basic features of Burmese social organization. So numerous, elaborate and varied are the details of belief and behavior pertaining to kinship and the life cycle that to present them in a manner approximating completeness would be beyond the scope of a brief paper.

121 184 The material that follows, concerning the kinship system, patterns of customary behavior between various pairs of relatives, and the life cycle, is to be understood as applying to contemporary Burmese culture as it is manifested in the villages of Lower Burma. In and near the urban centers, where the secularizing influences of the West have permeated indigenous custom to a greater extent, practice is likely to diverge from ideal patterns much more than in the small, homogeneous village communities. Our concern here is with the social life of the ordinary peasantry of Lower Burma. It is hoped that these data may contribute in some measure to the very scant and fragmentary knowledge of modern Burmese culture.[2]

[177]

THE KINSHIP SYSTEM

601 The basic consanguineal and affinal kinship terminologies are shown in Figures 1, 2, and 3. The kinship terms, corresponding to the numbers shown on the diagrams, are as follows:[3]

1. ʔaméi Mother.
2. ʔaphéi Father.
3. pharjî Parent's elder brother; parent's elder sister's husband.

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[122] 1 The first-named author of this paper expresses his thanks to the Board of Foreign Scholarships for appointment to a scholarship under the Fulbright Program, making possible the field research period 1949-50 in Burma, and to the Social Science Research Council for supplementary support in the form of a World Area Research Training fellowship.

2 The interested reader is referred to Shway Yoe's *The Burman: His Life and Notions*, first published in 1882 and most recently reprinted by Macmillan & Co., London, for the only fully-rounded account of Burmese culture. See also Mi Mi Khaing, *Burmese Family* (London, 1946) for a culturally insightful narrative of life in a Burmese family.

3 For assistance in transcription of the kinship terms thanks are due Professor W. S. Cornyn. The symbols follow the system employed in his *Outline of Burmese Grammar* (Baltimore: Linguistic Society of America, 1944).

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4. ʔûjî Parent's next younger brother; parent's next younger sister's husband.
5. ʔûlaʔ Parent's second younger brother; parent's second younger sister's husband.
6. ʔûlêi Parent's youngest brother; parent's youngest sister's husband.[4]
7. jîjî Parent's elder sister; parent's elder brother's wife.
8. dójî Parent's next younger sister; parent's next younger brother's wife.
9. dóla ʔ Parent's second younger sister; parent's second younger brother's wife.
10. dólêi Parent's youngest sister; parent's youngest brother's wife.
11. ʔaphôu Grandfather.
12. ʔaphwâ Grandmother.
13. phôulêi Grandparent's brother; grandparent's sister's husband.
14. phwâlêi Grandparent's sister; grandparent's brother's wife.
15. ʔakóu Elder brother; elder male cousin.
16. máun Younger brother; younger male cousin (woman speaking).
17. nyí Younger brother; younger male cousin (man speaking).
18. ʔamà Elder female cousin; elder sister.
19. nyímà Younger female cousin; younger sister (woman speaking).
20. hnamà Younger female cousin; younger sister (man speaking).
21. θâ Son.
22. θamî Daughter.
23. tú Sibling's son; spouse's sibling's son; son of first cousin.
24. túmà Sibling's daughter; spouse's sibling's daughter; daughter of first cousin.
25. θameʔ Daughter's husband.
26. cwêimà Son's wife.
27. myî Grandchild; sibling's grandchild; grandchild of first cousin.
28. myiʔ Great-grandchild.
29. tí Great-great-grandchild.
31. nyímàlêi Wife.
32. mêimmà Wife (referential).
33. yaupphà Wife's brother; wife's sister's husband.
34. khémà Wife's younger sister; wife's younger brother's wife.
35. mayî Elder brother's wife; wife's elder sister; wife's elder brother's wife.
36. yaukkhamà Spouse's parent.
37. kóu kóu Husband.

4 In everyday usage this term is frequently applied to all uncles, regardless of their age relative to parent.

23: Brant & Mi Mi Khaing E, I-5 (1949-1950)1951
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Burmese AP4

38. yauccá Husband (referential).
39. mù Husband's younger brother; husband's younger sister's husband. 601
40. khê?óu Elder sister's husband; husband's elder brother; husband's elder sister's husband.
41. yaummà Husband's sister; husband's brother's wife.

As may readily be seen by inspection of the charts, this kinship system reflects clearly the bilateral family structure, with an absence of terminological differentiation on the basis of the sex of the connecting relative. The other outstanding characteristic is the recognition of relative age at many points. For each generation a distinct set of terms is used. On ego's generation all cousins are merged with siblings; the terms are differentiated, however, according to relative age. In the first ascending generation, it will be noted, parents' siblings are terminologically distinguished according to degree of age relative to the parent. In the first descending generation, however, the factor of age loses significance; sex is the sole differentiating factor, apart from distinguishing terms for ego's own children. On successive descending generations sex distinction is absent and all relatives of a single generation are subsumed under a single kinship term.

Behaviorally as well as terminologically, relative age is the all-important hub 561 upon which the wheel of Burmese social life revolves. Deference to one's elders 602 is reflected in such customs as carrying things for them, refraining from sitting with one's head higher than those of elders, and avoiding postures in which the [516] feet are extended towards such persons.

Beyond such matters of etiquette, the importance of age is even more fundamentally demonstrated in the showing of obeisance to one's elders. This is done on all the important ceremonial occasions. Four such occasions are regarded as [782] obligatory times for paying one's respects. These are the beginning and the end of the Buddhist "Lent"—a period of about three months, roughly from mid-July to mid-October—the New Year, and the harvest. Respect is paid to all of one's elders in the parental generation and above. A visit is made at which an offering, valuable or symbolic, is brought and the elder's blessings are received.

SOCIAL RELATIONS OF KIN

Husband–Wife. The household is normally composed of husband and wife 593 and their offspring. It is a bilateral, limited type of family structure, contrasting [592] markedly with the patrilineal extended Chinese family and joint family of India. [594] Unlike the position of the wife in the Chinese and Indian family systems, that of the Burmese wife is not one of an outsider living in a group dominated by her

[Text continues on page 442]

23: Brant & Mi Mi Khaing E, I-5 (1949-1950) 1951
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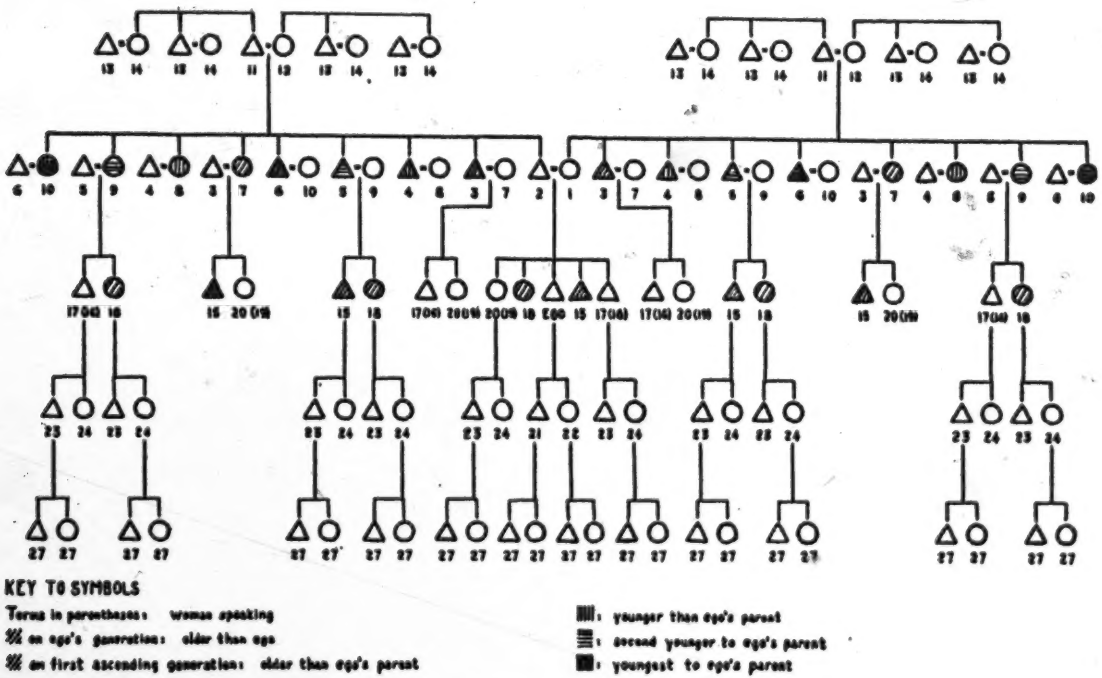

FIG. 1. Diagram of the Burmese kinship system. (Triangles represent males, circles females.)

23: Brant & Mi Mi Khaing E, I-5 (1949-1950)1951
AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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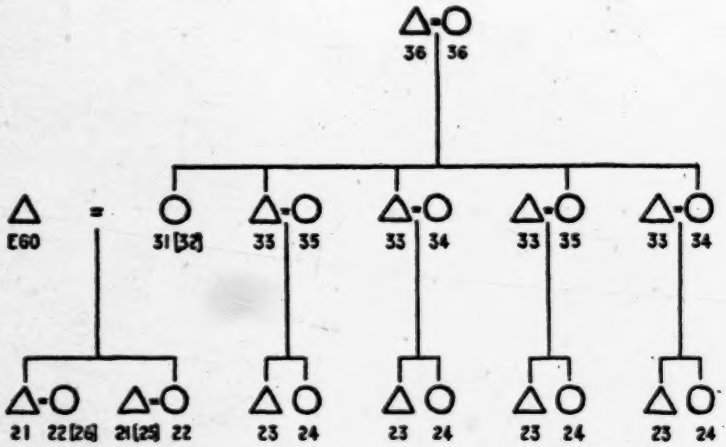

FIG. 2. Diagram of terms for wife's kinsmen. (Terms in brackets in Figs. 2 and 3 are referential usages.)

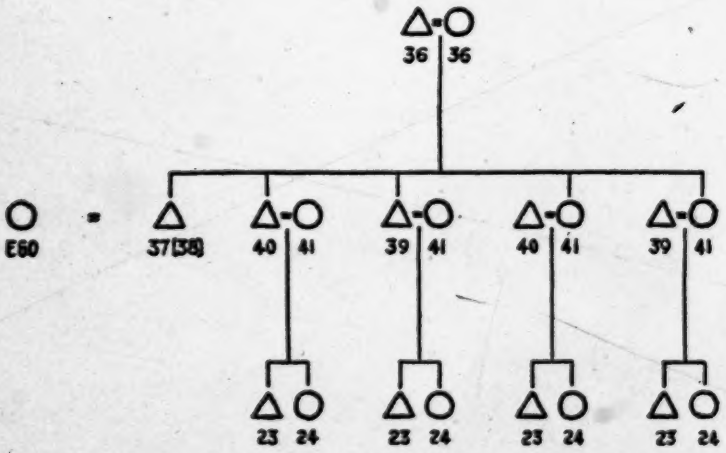

FIG. 3. Diagram of husband's kinsmen.

23: Benedict
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AL1 Southeast Asia
Burmese AP4

/For a linguistic confirmation of the kinship terms used in this source, see category 197./

601

Burmese Consanguineal Terms

(a-)p'ǐ-ma' ggM

(a-)p'e³-ma' ggM

(a-)p'wa³ gM

(a-)mi' M
(a-)me

mi-kri³ MoSi,FoBW

mǐ-t'we³ MySi,FyBW

(a-)ri³ FSi,MBW

ats-ma' oSi

ńi-ma ySi(ws)

hnats-ma' ySi(ms)

sa-mi³ D,pNi

tu-ma' xNi

(a-)p'i' ggF

(a-)p'e³ ggF

(a-)p'u³ gF

(a-)p'a'
(a-)p'e'

p'ǎ-kri³ FoB,MoSiH

p'ǎ-t'we³ FyB,MySiH

u³-ri³ MoB,FoSiH

a³-mang³ MyB,FySiH

ats-hui oB

ńi yB(ms)

(a-)mong yB(ws)

sa³ S,pNe

tu xNe

mre³ gCh

mrats ggCh

Burmese Affinal Terms

yok-k'a-ma' P1

mǐ-ya³ W

yok-ma' S1l(ws)

mǐ-ri³ oS1l(ms)

k'ai-ma' yS1l(ms)

k'rwe³-ma' D1

lang H

yok-p'a' B1(ms)

k'ai³-ui oB1(ws)

mat yB1(ws)

sa-mak S1

601 Notes:

The final glottalized vowels appear in combination as ordinary short vowels, as in a-p'i' gggF but a-p'ĭ-ma' gggM, a-ma' "female" but mĭ-ya³ W. The superscript 3 symbol (a³) stands for the heavily stressed falling tone of Burmese, which plays an important role in that language. Surd phonemes in unstressed medial position in Burmese are regularly transformed into sonants, and many of the terms in the above table have been affected in this way through the initial prefixed a-, the effect persisting even when the prefix is dropped. Thus, p'ĭ-kri³ FoB is now pronounced bĭ-gyi³ ~ bĭ-dyi³. This sonantization is even reflected in the written forms, in doublets such as a-p'i' ~ a-b'i' gggF, a-p'a' ~ a-b'a' F. In the above table and in the discussion that follows only the surd initial forms are cited.

The parent and grandparent terms show the typically Burmese development of multiple variant forms, as in re³-re³ ~ ri-ri "obscurely", lya³ "thin" ~ lya' "thin, flimsy", k'a³ "bitter" ~ k'a'-k'a' "bitterish", lu "man" ~ lu' id. (contemptuous). Both a-p'i' gggF and a-p'e³ ggF have been developed from the root represented by Tib. 'a-p'yi gM. Burmese -e regularly stands for Tib. -i (TB -i) and Burmese -i regularly stands for Tib. -e (TB -ei); cf. Burmese k'ye³ "to borrow", Tib. skyi-ba; Burmese ne "sun", Tib. nyi-ma; Burmese k'we³ "dog", Tib. k'yi; and Burmese ni³ "near", Tib. nye-ba; mi³ "fire", Tib. me. Burmese a-p'e³ is best regarded as the direct cognate of Tib.

601 ʔa-p'yi (the medial y is secondary), and a-p'iʔ ggF as a secondary form. Note that above gM there are only the corresponding feminine terms (p'ɣ̆-miʔ is given as an alternative for a-p'ɣ̆-maʔ). A-p'wa³ gM is connected with p'wa³ "to bear (children)", a root for which no comparisons have been found. A-p'ui gF is from TB *p'u, Burmese final -ui being the normal equivalent of final -u elsewhere; cf. Burmese ngui "to weep", Tib. ngu-ba; Burmese k'rui³ "dove", Kachin k'ru; Burmese pui³ "insect", Tib. ʼbu; Burmese kui³ "9", Tib. dgu, Kachin ja-k'u. For the semantic connection with Tib. p'ú-bo, Kachin p'u oB, cf. Tib. ʔa-bo ~ ʔa-po, Tib. ʔa-ta and Tsangla a-ta, which show a similar equivalence. The latter root appears in the Lolo languages in regular usage, but in Burmese is represented only by t'a³-t'a³ F, said to be used by "male members of the royal family in Mandalay" (see Judson, note 7); cf. Arakanese a-da gM, a-dwa "old woman" (Houghton). Burmese may have a cognate to Nung a-k'ang gF in the element k'ang, found only in combination, viz. k'ang-pwan³ "spouse", k'ang-b'ya "sir madam" (polite), p'ɣ̆-k'ang F, mɣ̆-k'ang M.

In addition to a-miʔ and a-me M, Burmese has a-maʔ "female, feminine suffix", which corresponds to a-p'aʔ "father, masculine suffix for birds", and maʔ Si. A fourth term is a-mai M, which in Tavoyan (Mergui) is used to denote oSi (ats-maʔ); mai alone is prefixed to names of women to indicate seniority or respect (cf. a-pai "madam",

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an address used by husband to wife). The regular term for M, however, is a-mi^{1}, from the Tibeto-Burman root *me "woman". It appears in combinations such as mĭ-p'a^{1} ~ p'ă-mi^{1} "parents", mĭ-sa^{3} "mother and son", and in min^{3}-ma^{1} "woman" (nasalized by the following m). In isolated form (mi^{1}), it is used for "daughter", and is prefixed to names of girls and young women to indicate superiority on the part of the speaker (contrast mai). A variant of this term is found in sa-mi^{3} D, also written sam-mi^{3}, the falling tone perhaps having been transferred from sa^{3} S.

The Kachin and Kadu term wa F is represented in Burmese by wa-kri^{3} and wa-kri^{3}-ma^{1}, terms of address (not polite) applied to elderly men and women, respectively (Arakanese dialect). Cf. also wă-ri^{3} MB, a variant of u^{3}-ri^{3}.

The terms for MSi and FB are of the periphrastic type that has been so often encountered in this review. mĭ-kri^{3} and p'ă-kri^{3} are formed with kri^{3} "big" (cf. Lepcha tŭ-gri "male", Tib. bgre-ba "to grow", and perhaps Kachin k'ri Sl). mĭ-t'we^{3} and p'ă-t'we^{3} are combined with the element t'we^{3} " to be the youngest", found also in sa^{3}-t'we^{3} "youngest son". These combined terms exactly parallel Kachin nu-doi, wa-doi, and ăa-doi, and the roots themselves are probably cognate; cf. Burmese krwe "shellfish", Kachin k'oi; Burmese krwe^{3} "a debt", Kachin k'oi "to borrow or lend"; Burmese krwe^{3} "to scream", Kachin ma-groi; Burmese bwe "cowlick", Kachin boi; Burmese twe^{3} ~ t'we^{3} "scarlet" (intensive), Kachin t'oi "to

601 light, shine". M̆-t'we^3 and p'ɛ̆-t'we^3 are commonly used in the meanings "step-mother" and "step-father", respectively, thus perhaps producing some of the variations noted below.

The terms for MB and FSi are extremely puzzling, partly because of the difficulty in the linguistic analysis per se. The element ri^3 is conceivably a doublet form of kri^3 "big"; cf. krwap-krwap ~ rwap-rwap ~ krwap-rwap ~ rwap-krwap "violently", krwa^3-rwa^3 "vain, boastful", k'ram-ram "to surround with a fence", k'rum-rum "to cover", but the relationship is doubtful at best. The element u^3 appears to be identical with u^3 "head, beginning" (cf. Classical Tib. dbu, Central Tib. u, id.). As an isolated term it is prefixed to names of men considerably older tha the speaker. The element mang^3 is comparable with mang^3 "ruler, governor, official".

The sibling terms present further difficulties of analysis. The terms tabulated above show the arrangement in Brown, with sex of speaker distinguished only for the ySb terms. Ats-ma^3 is used by speakers of both sexes, as definitely stated by Judson, but Judson cites ats-kui as a man's term. Judson further gives mong-ngai yB(wa) (ngai "small") and mong-kri^3 oB(wa) (kri^3 "big"), and defines mong simply as B(wa), but notes its use as an "appellative for young men, rather respectful". It seems likely, therefore, that ats-kui originally paralleled ats-ma^3 as a term used by speakers of both sexes, but has come to be regarded as a man's term through the development of mong-kri^3, a woman's term.

601 It is tempting to identify the elements ats- and hnats- (pronounced ʔ-, hnʔ- in modern speech) with ats "unit, one", hnats "two". Burmese final -ats and -ań are substitutes for -ik, -ing, which are lacking in this language; cf. Burmese ts'ats "joint", Tib. ts'igs; Burmese sats "small animal of the tiger genus", Tib. gzig "leopard"; Burmese hmyats "bamboo sprouts", Tib. smyig-ma; and Burmese tsan^{3} "to bind", Tib. 'c'ing-ba; Burmese mań "name", Tib. ming; Burmese hrań "long", Tib. ring-ba "long", sring-ba "to extend". Burmese ats- in ats-kui, ats-ma^{3} can thus readily be identified with Mikir ik oB(ms), yB(ws); the early pronunciation (*ik-kui) appears to have been partly retained in Taungyo, which has ik-kur oB.

The element kui does not appear alone, though it is prefixed to names of "persons older or of higher rank than the speaker, or politely of his equals" (Brown, p. 104). It is thus contrasted with mong, prefixed to names of "persons younger than the speaker or inferior to him in status, also frequently to equals" (ibid.), and tends to parallel u^{3}, prefixed to names of "old men and men of much higher rank than the speaker" (ibid.). We must, indeed, identify this term as the Burmese representative of Tibeto-Burman *k'u MB; the final -ui <-u shift is regular (supra) and the unaspirated initial is paralleled by Kachin ku ~ gu. Some confirmation of this view is offered by the combined term kui-hrang MB (nephew's term).

601 An additional Sb term, apparently obsolescent, is represented by nong oB (cited in Tin, 1915), nong-to oB (royal or divine), used also in the combined term ní-nong "older and younger brothers". The latter usage suggests that it is properly a man's term. The term is used dialectically in Tavoyan and Intha in the form *nong-kri^{3} oB (Tavoyan a-nong gui, Intha nong kuw). Tavoyan further has a-ngɛ́ < a-ngai yB (ngai "small"), while Intha has (nga-)mong yB. Taungyo uses mong for Si rather than B, in the terms lă-mo gwi < *lă-mong-kri^{3} oSi and la-mong nga < *la-mong-ngai ySi; lă- is probably a substitute for lu "man (homo)"; cf. Taungyo, Danu lu pă, Tavoyan lu θa ~ lu θa-ngɛ́ Ch.

Burmese ní yB(ms), ní-ma^{3} ySi(ws) closely parallel Tib. nu, nu-mo, but are cognate rather with Lepcha nyi, as in nyi-t'i ggCh. They can further be compared with ní "to be even, equal; to be united, clannish".

The Si terms show some dialectical variation. Tavoyan and Intha make use of the term a-mai M (supra), viz. Tavoyan a-mɛ́ Si, a-mɛ́ gui oSi, a-mɛ́ θa ySi, Intha mă kuw oSi. Oddly enough, Judson notes that the Mon, who live in the Tavoyan area, use ats-ma^{3} oSi for "mother". Cf. also Burmese ma^{3} Si (a-ma^{3} "female"), Arakanese ma-ma oSi.

Both Tib. ming-po B(ws) and sring-mo Si(ms) may have cognates in Burmese, though in well disguised form. The former may lie behind Burmese k'ă-man^{3} < *k'ă-ming "father"

601 (honorific), k'ǎ-man³-to "God", k'ǎ-man¹³-lu³-lang "a young unmarried man" (poetic) (for k'ǎ-, vide infra). The latter may explain the puzzling Burmese term (a-)hrang "lord, master", hrang-ma³ "Miss" (used by women to female members of royal family and to wives of officials, also among ordinary people towards wives or other women). Burmese hrang indicates an original *srang rather than *sring, yet a perfect phonetic parallel is furnished by Burmese hrang "to live", Himalayish *sring. We have further support for this derivation in the inscriptions, where both srwang and srwing occur (Seidenstücker). The term is still written a-hsyang when it has reference to a monarch.

We have very little data on the Burmese terminology for collateral kin (entirely neglected by Brown). The terms cited in Judson are formed with the element to "to be related" (used also in terms for "aunt", supra), viz. ní-ats-mǎ-to, hnats-mǎ-to "female cousin", ní-ats-kui-to "male cousin", and mong-to "cousin". It can be inferred that the distinctions in the corresponding sibling terms are also in effect here, e.g. ní-ats-mǎ-to "older or younger female cousin"(ws), hnats-ma³ "younger female cousin"(ms). In view of the N terms (infra) one would expect to find a distinction made between parallel and cross cousins, but the evidence for this is limited to the single term sa-mi³-mrok-sa³ "cousin of a different sex, and having a parent of a different sex from the parent of the other"

601 (fully defined only in Judson's English-Burmese Dict.). The first part of this combined term is sa-mi^3 D, while the second part can be identified with myok-sa^3 (or myok-sa^3-to) "spouse" (medial r and y are interchangeable in most instances). The element mrok may be honorific; cf. mrok "to be raised, elevated" (sa^3 = S).

Burmese sa^3 S is from Tibeto-Burman *za, the unvoicing of the initial being a regular Burmese phenomenon. The sonant initials are preserved in the Lolo languages discussed below; cf. Tib. za-ba "to eat", Magari jya, Burmese tsa^3, but Lisu, Nyi dza, Ahi, Lolopho dzo; Magari za "son", Burmese sa^3, but Lisu za ~ rs, Nyi za, Ahi, Lolopho zo (Ahi, Lolopho final -o <-a). The feminine is formed with -mi^3 rather than -ma^3 (mi^3 is used for "D" as well as for "M"), thus paralleling Nung za-mi, Aka sa-mi. The term for xN, tu ~ tu-ma^3, is cognate with Nung pa-du, and may further be connected with tu "to be like, similar" . The combined term is tu-sa^3 "nephews and sons collectively, posterity". Burmese pyui < *pru "young, in the prime of life", a-pyui "young unmarried woman", offers a comparison for Tib. p'rug-gu ~ p'ru-gu "child, young one".

The archaic form of mre^3 gCh is mliy, and the term is thus directly related to Nung p'a-li, Pyu pli, and Kachin ma-li (see the discussion in pt. 8). As suggested above, the basic meaning of the root seems to be "seed". Similarly, mrats ggCh is probably connected with a-mrats "root", yet a

601 comparison can also be made with Sho (Southern Kuki) a-mlek "small, young" (mrats <*mrik or *mlik). The complete terminology for the first seven generations, ascending and descending, is given below:

Ascending	Descending
(a-)p'a˺ "father"	sa^{3} "son"
(a-)p'ui^{3} "g. father"	mre^{3} "g. son" ["seed"]
(a-)p'e^{3} "g.g. father"	mrats "g.g. son" ["root"]
(a-)p'i˺ "g.g.g. father"	ti "g.g.g. son"
(a-)p'ang "g.g.g.g. father" ["plant"]	krwat "g.g.g.g. son"
(a-)hnok "g.g.g.g.g. father" ["sprout"]	ts'at "g.g.g.g.g. son"
(a-)tse˺ "g.g.g.g.g.g. father" ["seed"]	ts'ak "g.g.g.g.g.g. son"

A-tse˺ "seed", a-hnok "germ, sprout from a seed", a-pang "plant, tree" (note the development of aspiration in the kinship term). Thus, the ggggF is the "plant" developed from the "sprout" (gggggF), in turn developed from the "seed" (ggggggF), just as the ggS is the "root" developed from the "seed" (gS). This botanically oriented terminology is comparable with that found in Lepcha (pt. 5), and can be traced also in myui^{3} "seed, seed grain", a-myui^{3} "race, kind, class", Kachin myu ~ a-myu "race, tribe; relative, kinsman". Burmese ti gggS and krwat ggggS are not so easily identified, though the former is perhaps cognate with Lepcha t'i "to be related". The two remaining terms, however, show

601 interesting connections with Tibetan. For ts'at ggggS, cf. Tib. c'ad-pa " begotten, born, descended from", and for ts'ak ggggggS (also "to connect, join, unite by the ends or in continuation"), cf. Tib. c'ags-pa "to be begotten, produced".

The above terms for members of the descending generations are properly neuter rather than masculine (unlike sa^3, which has come to have the specific meaning "son"). A distinction can be drawn, however, between mre^3-yok-kya^3 gS (yok-kya^3 "male") and mre^3-min^3-ma^1 gD (min^3-ma^1 "female").

The affinal terminology of Burmese is something of an olla podrida of diverse elements. Mǎ-ya^3 "wife", apparently identical with Rai (Kiranti) me-ya, Digaro mi-ya, includes an element -ya^3 which appears elsewhere only in yok-ya^3 (also written yok-kya^3) "male (human)"; it is probably cognate with Tib. ya "one of two things that belong together as being of one kind, or forming a pair", West Tibetan ya-do "associate, companion". If this derivation is correct, it suggests that yok-kya^3 originally meant "husband" rather than "male". The actual term for "husband", viz. lang, is connected with the Tibeto-Burman root *lang "male" (cf. Miju).

Sa-mak Sl is a combined term, in which the Tibeto-Burman root *mag ~ *smag is combined with sa^3 "son". K'rwe^3-ma^1 < *k'rwi-ma^1 Dl presupposes a term *k'rwi Sl, coinciding with Kachin k'ri Sl. The etymological affinities of this root cannot be traced. Tibeto-Burman *snam Dl is represented by wong-hnam, in the modern language used for "husband" but in

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the earlier language used for "husband and wife" (in Tin, 1915, where it is equated with lang-mŭ-ya^3). Since mong is used for yB(ws), it is possible that hnam was originally the complementary term for yS1(ms); cf. Gyarung snom < *snam S1.

The Sbl terms fall into two classes, viz. those for Sbl(ss) and those for Sbl(ds). Age distinctions appear in the latter class, both in the men's and women's terms. K'ai^3-ui oS1(ws) and k'ai-ma^3 yS1l(ms) suggest an original reciprocal term *k'ai ~ k'ai^3 to cover this relationship. This root is isolated in Burmese, but can be connected with Maru yauk-kai (for *yauk-k'ai) "male (human)", where yauk is cognate with Burmese yok (vide infra). The element -ui is identical with ui "old", and is found also in p'ui^3-mang^3-ui "familiar term of compellation, used by young men to elderly men". The term mŭ-ri^3 oS1l(ms) shows a partial equation of WoS1 with FS1, while mat yB1(ws), connected with mat ~ a-mat "nobleman", has a generic resemblance with u^3-mang^3 "yB, connected with mang^3 "ruler, governor, official". A-mat is of some purely linguistic interest, since it has been derived from Indic sources (Sk, amātya), yet it has been reinterpreted as a native term with a- prefix. This is the only Burmese kinship term of foreign origin, insofar as the writer is aware; note that it was borrowed as a title, not as a kinship term.

The most prominent elements of the affinal terminology are yok and k'ŭ, which appear in a number of combined terms. Yok is the numerary adjunct for mankind or superior beings,

•601 while k'ă is related to a similar prefixed element k'a- found in Southern Lolo (infra). The Sbl(ss) terms alternate with longer forms combined with sa-mi^{3} D, viz. sa-mi^{3}-yok-ma' Sil(ws) and sa-mi^{3}-yok-p'a' Bl(ms). If yok-p'a' and yok-ma' originally meant Fl and Ml, respectively, their present meanings might have been developed through teknonymy, since, under cross-cousin marriage, a man's daughter's father-in-law becomes his own brother-in-law (WB). The use of a single term (yok-k'ă-ma') for both Fl and Ml can hardly be regarded as an original trait, even though a secondary distinction can be made (yok-k'ă-ma'-yok-p'a' Fl, yok-k'ă-mă'-min^{3}-ma' Ml). The element k'ă also appears in k'ă-mi' "M of Dl or Sl", and in k'ă-mak "F of Dl or Sl", used only in combination with each other.

The only outside comparison that can be suggested for yok is that with Tib. g-yog "servant". Cf. Gyarung zabs-pye "Dl, bride", Tib. žabs-p'yi "servant", and Miri pag-bo "male slave or servant", Tib. bag-po "bridegroom".

Burmese a-ts'we "relative", which appears as early as the Myazedi inscription (ats'uy), is linguistically isolated. It is used in several obsolete terms cited by Tin (1915), viz. ts'we-nan$^{'3}$ "a beloved person", ts'we-mai-nan$^{'3}$ "a beloved man", ts'we-mong-nan$^{'3}$ "a beloved man", and ts'we-san' "wife, husband and wife".

Burmese a-rui^{3}, like the cognate Tib. rus-pa, is used in the meaning "lineage" as well as "bone". Kachin has a-ru

601 hereditary stock", apparently identical with a-ru "root", while n-rut, the direct cognate of Tib. rus-pa, is used only in the literal meaning "bone".

Our information on Burmese marriage regulations and practices is of the cursory sort found in general works like those of Sangermano (the classical early account), Forbes, and Shway Yoe, supplemented by occasional bits from elsewhere. The material that we do have is of little interest. Surnames are not used, and no clan organization has been reported. Marriages are allowed with close blood kin on either side, the only forbidden degrees of relationship (for a man) being those of M, D, Si, A, gM, and gD (listed by Yoe). On the other hand, no especial preference for cousin marriage has been noted.

One outstanding feature of Burmese culture, however, is the custom of matrilocal residence, described as early as ca. 1800 (by Sangermano). The period of matrilocal residence lasts for two or three years (Yoe), or three years (Sangermano), during which time the son-in-law serves his father-in-law (no details are given). If the wife is the only daughter of her parents, the husband may remain with her parents and inherit their property; cf. the Kachin practice called da-ma lung ("the son-in-law ascends"). Furnivall points out that marriage between residents of the same village is the rule, but that there is a "large proportion" of marriages between residents of different villages, and that it is

601 then the "almost if not quite invariable custom" for the man to settle in his wife's village (p. 24).

Cross-cousin marriage has been reported only for the Arakanese, who speak one of the most archaic of Burmese dialects. Risley, who describes them under the name "Magh", reports the existence of three endogamous groups, each divided into a number of septs. The following is said of their marriage regulations:

> They observe the simple rule that a man may not marry a woman of his own sept, supplemented by a table of prohibited degrees, which does not differ materially from that arrived at by the standard formula already referred to [the Hindu formula]. In applying these prohibitions, however, there seems to be some laxity when descent is traced through females, for I am informed that a man may marry the daughters of his father's sister and of his mother's brother - a connexion which would not ordinarily be allowed.

Mills specifies that these endogamous clans are patrilineal, and that a single village, unless big, is usually inhabited by members of one clan only. Mills does not record cross-cousin marriage, and his discussion in this respect is not at all clear:

> A man may marry a woman of his own clan who is not a near blood relation. Marriage outside the clan used to be strictly forbidden and I was told that members of different clans would not even eat together in the old days. Now, however, these restrictions have been greatly relaxed and marriage outside the clan is by no means uncommon. (p. 119)

It is difficult to know how to interpret these Arakanese features, which are not known to occur elsewhere within the Burmese culture proper. Endogamy in particular is out of place inthis area, and the commensal restrictions open up the possibility of influence from the Hindu caste system (the Arakanese have been heavily Indianized).

601 The Chaungtha, described in Lewin (pp. 36-62) under the variant name 'Khyoungtha', are of Arakanese stock. To judge from the badly recorded list in Webb, p. lxvii, Chaungtha equates MB with WF,HF in the term a-k'an (Burmese k'ang), and FSi with WM,HM in the term a-ri (Burmese a-ri^{3}), as well as FSiCh,MBCh with Bl(ms) in the term yauk-pa (Burmese yok-p'a^{7}). These categorical equations, which are so distinct from anything in Burmese proper, lend strong support to the evidence for cross-cousin marriage cited above. The term for FBCh and MBiCh, i.e. pC, is nyi (Burmese nyi yB,ms), hence we can be sure that Chaungtha draws a distinction between the parallel and cross collateral lines. Especially noteworthy is the use of a-k'an <*a-k'ang (cf. lan < *lang H) for MB in view of Nung a-k'ang gF, and Kuki (e.g. Lushei) pu gF,MB. Chaungtha also has a distinct term for MSi, viz. a-ywai (Arakanese a-ywe), as well as for oSi, viz. a-mai (Arakanese ma-ma, Burmese ma^{7}). In general, however, Chaungtha shows remarkably few deviations from the standard Burmese pattern, hence the categorical equations outlined above are all the more significant.

The Arakanese and Chaungtha material together tends to link Burmese with the groups previously studied. Some of the features present here appear elsewhere in Burmish-Loloish, as is shown in the following discussion.

197 by Webb, is relatively complete, but the recording is so poor that linguistic analysis is difficult (the tables in Webb fairly bristle with misprints and other mistakes). The Maru terms are tabulated below, while Lashi differences are treated in the notes.

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Maru Consanguineal Terms

(a-)p'yit gN	(a-)p'uk gF
(a-)ni N	(a-)p'o F
mo MoSi,FoBW	p'a-mo FoB,MoSiH
t'ong MySi	p'a-lot FyB,MySiH
na FSi	nyi MB
pai oSi,pC	mong oB,pC
	mau ySb,pC maung yB(ws)
uk FSiD(ms)	k'an FSiS,MSiS
nyi MSD(ms)	
	so Ch
	tau xN
	nyit gCh

Maru Affinal Terms

na WZ,HZ	nyi WF
uk HBW	vung HF,FSiH
pai WoSi,oBW(ws),HoBW	mong oSiH(ws),HyB,WoSiH
	mau ySbl
yuh-mo HoSi	k'an Sl(ms)
tau-mo Dl	uk Sl

0601 Notes:

The terms for parents and grandparents agree with those in Burmese, except for a-p'yit gM (Tib. ʾa-p'yi). The Burmese cognate here is a-p'e^{3}(-mʾ) ggM; cf. Maru k'it ~ cit "foot" Burmese k'ra; Maru pyit "to give", Burmese pe^{3}; Maru rit "water", Burmese re (Maru -it, also written -ik, probably for -iʾ). This shift is also operative in Maru myit gCh, Burmese mre^{3}. Similarly, Maru -uP4(also -ok) stands for Burmese -ui (TB -u), while Lashi has -au(-ou) ~ -auk; cf. Maru p'uk ~ p'ok gF, Lashi p'au, Burmese a-p'ui^{3}; Maru uk, Lashi ou, Burmese ui^{3} "chatty"; Maru k'uk, Lashi k'au, Burmese k'ui^{3} "to steal"; Maru nguk ~ ngok, Lashi ngau, Burmese ngui "to weep"; Maru coung-suk, Lashi caung-sauk, Burmese k'yong^{3}-ts'ui^{3} "to cough". A third Maru-Lashi feature is the replacement of final -a by -o (usually written -ɔ); cf. kyo "to hear", Burmese kra^{3}; tso "to eat", Burmese tsa^{3}; no "ill", Burmese na; pyo "bee", Burmese pya^{3}. This correspondence is noted in p'o F, Burmese p'aʾ; so ~ tso (Lashi so) S, Burmese sa^{3}. Finally, Maru -au, Lashi -u correspond to Burmese -u; cf. Maru tau, Lashi tu, Burmese tu xNe; Maru au, Lashi u, Burmese u "intestines"; Maru kau, Lashi ku, Burmese ku^{3} " to cross"; Maru tau, Lashi tu, Burmese tu^{3} "to dig".

The parents' siblings' terms are modelled after those of Burmese, but different elements are involved. Lashi has mye-no MoSi, mye-t'ang MySi (cf. meya "women"), and p'a-t'ang

• 601 JB. For Maru t'ong (also t'o), Lashi t'ang, cf. Maru nong ~ no "thou", Lashi nang, Burmese nang³; Maru myong ~ mye "horse", Lashi myang, Burmese mrang³ (Lashi is more archaic in its retention of medial vowels in general). The element mo < *ma can be identified with Burmese a-ma³ "female", ma³ Si, though here it seems to represent merely an extension of the Tibeto-Burman term for M. The element let ~ le is cognate with Burmese lat "to be middling", a-lat "middle (as of three sons)", Kachin lat "to be first-born", a-lat "the first-born", Nung nam a-lat oB; on the phonetic side, cf. Maru ts'e "deer", Burmese ts'at; Maru se "to kill", Burmese set; Maru wet ~ we "to wear", Burmese wat. The categorical equations that appear in these terms are similar to those found in Burmese; the apparent lacuna in t'ong MySi is filled by a-let FyBW, corresponding to p'a-let FyB (Clerk cites let MySi).

Maru na FSi,WN and nyi (also ngi, ni) MB,WF appear to present the unusual circumstance of a language's retaining a term in one sense and borrowing it in altered form in another sense. Maru na indicates an original Burmese *ne, as in na "to remain", Burmese ne; na "day" (Davies), Burmese ne³, and can thus be directly compared with Kachin ni MM, Tibeto-Burman ne ~ ni FSi. Lashi ning-mo FoSi, ning-t'ang FySi seem to include the same term *ni, with secondary nasalization produced by the nasal initial (final -ing is phonemically anomalous in Lashi). Similarly, the form nyi

601 (MB) scarcely fits into the Maru phonetic pattern, since after initial n- the final -i of Burmese is represented by -e rather than -i; cf. Maru ne "red", Burmese ni; Maru ne "near", Burmese ni^3. We must conclude that the term has been borrowed from Kachin, the semantic link being found in Lashi yuk-ni WM, MBW (Kachin ni means MBW as well as FSi, WM). For MB Lashi uses the affinal term yuk-p'o (infra).

The sibling terms likewise show striking differences from those in Burmese. Nau ySb (also sN-nau "infant , in Clerk), which often appears in the nasalized form naung, can be identified as a Kachin loan-word, since Lashi has no rather than ~nu (see the discussion above), and the same can be said of the term k'au xCe, Lashi k'ou. Pai ~ bai oSi (Lashi pe ~ be) is perhaps connected with Burmese a-pai " madam" (used by husband to wife). The especial term for yB(ws), viz. maung (Lashi mung), exactly agrees with Burmese mong; cf. Maru t'aung "1,000", Burmese t'ong^3; Maru paung "thigh", Burmese pong. Maru mong, Lashi mang oB seems to be identical with the element -mang^3 of Burmese u^3-mang^3 MyB. Lashi has a term for ySi, viz. nam-mo (vide infra).

As noted above, Maru k'au xCe is a Kachin loan-word. The distinctions between parallel and cross cousins, and between FSiD and MBD, are found also in Kachin, hence one must suspect that influences from that language have been at work here. Nyi equates MB with MBD, or, in view of Lashi yuk-ni (supra), MBW with MBD. Another serial equation

601 is found in uk ~ ok FSlD (Webb) but defined in Clerk as "nephew, niece", and Lashi so-ok FSlD(ms),SlCh(ms). The etymology of this term is not apparent, though phonetically it corresponds to Burmese ui ("old"), used in k'ai^3-ui oSl(ws).

The categorical equations found in the affinal terminology sharply sets off the Maru system from the Burmese. The further distinction between nyi WF and vung HF points to Kachin influence, yet note that, unlike Kachin, a single term (Maru na, Lashi ning-mo) covers WM and HM. Maru vung ~ vum HF,FSlH, Lashi vang-mo HF,FoSlH, vang-t'ang FySlH, indicate an original *wang; cf. Maru p'ung "to open", Burmese p'wang^3; Maru dung "hole, pit", Burmese twang^3; for the root thus reconstructed, cf. Nung wang FB.

The material on Sbl terms is somewhat confusing and hence a complete description cannot be given. Kachin influence is much in evidence, however, both in loan-words (k'su Bl, nau ySbl) and in native terms (pai HoBW = oSl, Kachin na HoBW = oSl). Clerk also cites rat ~ ka-rat oSil, from Kachin rat, id., as shown both by the presence of the non-Maru prefix ka- and by the phonetic development (-at < -e in native words, vide supra, but -at retained in loan-words, as in pat "to read", Burmese pat; myat "profit", Burmese mrat; pǎ-cat "womb", Kachin pǎ-jat). Lashi differs from Maru in equating oSlH(ws) with HF (a-vang oSlH, vang-mo HF) rather than with oB (wang ~ mo), yet Lashi does retain mang (Maru mong) in the meaning "HyB".

•601 Yuk-mo MoSi is found in Lashi in the general meaning "Sil". Phonetically, this term belongs in the series Maru -auk, Lashi -uk ~ -ok, Burmese -ok; cf. Maru lauk "stone", Lashi luk, Burmese kyok < *k-lok; Maru kyauk "to fear", Lashi kyuk, Burmese krok; Maru ǩauk "to drink", Lashi ǩiuk ~ ǩok, Burmese sok. The term is therefore directly connected with the element yok of Burmese yok-k'ǩ-ma˺ Pl, yok-ma˺ Sil(ws), yok-p'a˺ Bl(ms). The Maru word yuk-mo rather than *yauk-mo must, if correctly recorded, be considered a loan from Lashi. Maru has yauk-kai "male (human)", and yauk-p'o "husband", yauk-p'o ryi "husband's relations" (ryi is plural suffix). In Lashi, however, the corresponding term yuk-p'o is used for MB, WF (= Maru nyi); cf. so-p'o (lit. "son's father"), cited in Abbey both for H and for Fl. We thus have the following series: Burmese yok-p'a˺ Bl(ms), Maru yauk-p'o H, Lashi yuk-p'o MB, WF, all three terms directly cognate. Since *yok is fundamentally an affinal element, the Lashi term yuk-p'o can be regarded as basically referring to WF rather than to MB. The above series can then be restated as follows: Burmese yok-p'a˺ MB, Maru yauk-p'o "brother's WB", Lashi yuk-p'o WF, i.e. affinal male relative through wife. Maru yauk-p'o H is thus to be regarded as secondary, i.e. a woman borrows her brother's term in referring to her own husband.

Maru uk ~ ok and tau parallel Kachin k'ri and nam in showing categorical equat'ons between Sl, Dl and xCi, XN. Lashi so-auk Sl is simply a variant of so-ok FSiD(ms), SiCh(ms).

601 Maru tau-mo Dl is replaced in Lashi by tu-nam, while Lashi also has nam-mo ySi(ms). Kachin nam, on the other hand, denotes Dl, WySi, HBD(ys), but never ySi. We had inferred above, from the use of Burmese -hnam in the combination mong-hnam, that hnam was originally used for ySi(ms), and this view is corroborated by the Lashi evidence.

The Maru-Lashi terminology in general shows marked deviations from the Burmese, both lexically and structurally. A number of Kachin loan-words have been taken over, often with semantic changes, and the equating of consanguineal and affinal relatives is much like that in Kachin. These features appear in exaggerated form in the terminology of the Atsi, a frontier tribe of Maru-Lashi stock who have identified themselves with the Lahpai branch of the Kachin. The Atsi terms, with Kachin loan-words underlined, are given below

Atsi Consanguineal Terms

(i-)wai	gM	(i-)ai	gF
(i-)nu	M	(i-)we	F
mi-mo	MoSi,FoBW	p'a-mo	FoB,MoSiH
mi-t'ang	MySi,FyBW	p'a-t'ang	FyB,MySiH
(i-)mai	FSi	(i-)sa	MB
(i-)na	oSi,HBD,pC	(i-)mang	oB,HBS,pC
	ko ySb,HBCh,pC		
ning	FSiD	k'an	FSiS
	za Ch,pH		
	tu BCh(ws)		
	sa-ou SiCh(ms)		
	ǎm gCh		

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Atsi Affinal Terms

(i-)moi WM	(i-)sa WF
ou-mo WM, MSW	(i-)ku HF, FSiH, HoB, oSiH(ws)
(i-)ning SiI(ws)	k'su BI(ms)
(i-)rwi WoSi, ySiH(ws), oSW(ms), HyB	
tu-mo DI, WySi, ySW(ms)	sa-ou SI, HSiCh

Notes:

The concentration of Kachin loan-words in the terminology for relatives older than Ego is immediately apparent from a glance at the above table. These borrowed terms are generally prefixed with i-, yet the native term mang oB also has this prefix, which can thus be regarded as a type of honorific. Similarly, the remaining terms, applied to relatives younger than Ego, are generally prefixed with nga- ("my"), e.g. nga-so Ch, nga-gu (for nga-ko) ySb (but a-ko in Davies), nga-du (for nga-tu) BCh(ws), yet the Kachin loan-word ku gCh also has this prefix. Note also the distinction drawn between i-so oBCh and nga-so yBCh (Webb).

It is of interest that the Maru-Lashi root *mang oB should have been retained while *pai oSi was being replaced by Kachin na. Perhaps mang was felt to have honorific significance; cf. Burmese mang[3] "ruler, governor, official". The retention of native terms for MSi and FB may reflect a behavior pattern of informality towards these relatives.

The grouping of MBCh with parallel cousins appears to be an Atsi innovation, but our material on Atsi is not sufficiently full to appraise the possible significance of this change.

601 The term ko ysb (written gu in Webb) cannot be placed. Sa-ou closely parallels Lashi so-ok, and corresponds to Burmese *ui; cf. Atsi au "pot", Burmese ui^3; Atsi k'au "to steal", Burmese k'ui^3; Atsi ngau "to weep", Burmese ngui; Atsi t'au "to pierce", Burmese t'ui^3; Atsi kau "9", Burmese kui^3 (ou and au are interchangeable). For the relationship between sa-ou Sl and ou-mo WW, MBW, cf. Maru uk Sl, MBW. It would seem that an original reciprocal element *ui is involved here. The retention of the native term for WM rather than substitution by the Kachin term ni can be explained in terms of this connection with sa-ou Sl, a term for a relative younger than Ego.

The root *mi M is retained in (nga-)mi W, while (nga-)lang H agrees with the Maru-Burmese root *lang. Webb cites the teknonymous terms nga-zo yang-nu M ("my-child his-mother") and nga-zo yang-wa F ("my-child his-father").

We have no ethnographic material on the Maru or Lashi, but a brief note on the Atsi appears in Scott (p. 404). Scott describes an arrangement whereby "one family is so to speak general parents-in-law to another family and gives females only to members of the latter family", and adds that there is a "well recognized series of families among which women are regularly given or taken in marriage". It is apparent from the foregoing that the Atsi have marriage regulations of Kachin type. In the case of the Maru and Lashi, however, who have been less strongly influenced by the Kachin, no

601 conclusions can be drawn, despite the categorical equations in their kinship terminology.

Achang (Hotha Shan, Maingtha Shan), spoken in the Möng Hsa valley of the Southern Shan States, is a fourth language of Maru type. A few of its kinship terms have been recorded by Davies, Anderson, and Taylor (in the LSI). Achang is unusual in having preserved the Burmese root ní ySb, in the terms a-nyi yB, a-nyi a-nyo yo ySi (cf. i-nyo "woman, wife"). Be oSi (Davies, in Scott) belongs with Lashi pe, Maru pai, and a-mong B (Anderson) with either *mang or *mong. In contrast to the languages just examined, no Kachin loan-words appear in Achang, spoken south of the Kachin area. Some Shan loan-words may occur, however; note especially tsai oB, Shan pi-sai; sau-ke oSi, Shan s'au "young unmarried woman".

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197 The Southern Lolo languages, spoken in the Southern
601 Shan States, Laos, and Tonkin, are phonetically intermediate
[101] between Burmese-Maru and the Northern Lolo languages of southwestern China. The best preserved of these languages are Phunoi, in the French Laos, and the closely related Pyen, in Kengtung State, but our knowledge of the kinship terms of these languages is incomplete (Phunoi has been recorded only by Roux, and Pyen only by Stirling, in Scott). Akha (Kaw), which is spoken in the 5th Military District of the Laos and in Kengtung, has been recorded by Roux, Antisdel,

197 Stirling (in Scott), and Taylor (in the LSI), while Stirling
601 has also given us a record of Akö, a dialect of Akha. Lahu, another language of Kengtung State, has been described by Stirling, Davies, Antisdel, and Taylor (in the LSI). Both Akha and Lahu have been phonetically altered to such a degree that analysis is difficult, especially with the meagre material at our disposal. A list of Lahu kinship terms appears in the census report by Webb (p. lxiii), in the columns headed 'Myen' and 'Muhso' (Shan terms for the Lahu), but this material cannot be trusted. The writer has not been able to make use of the recently published Lahu grammar and dictionary by J. H. Telford, but has had the opportunity of discussing Lahu with the author (Harvard, March 17, 1941) and has thus been led to be skeptical of the terms cited in Webb. A group of four Southern Lolo languages spoken in the canton of Tüong-yên, Haut-Tonkin, have been recorded by Bonifacy, who has added a few ethnographic notes on these tribes (Black Lolo, Man Khoanh, White Lolo, and Mông). Still other Southern Lolo languages, such as the Woni of southern China, are too little known to merit consideration.

601 Of the material mentioned above, only that relating to Lahu approaches completeness. We have indicated, however, that the Lahu data are not reliable, and we have hence refrained from tabulating the Lahu terms. Our remarks must of necessity, therefore, be confined to more general observations.

The Southern Lolo kinship terminologies are on the whole of Burmese type and many of the Burmese-Maru roots are represented, as shown by the following list:

601 gF *p'ui: Akha a-p'o, Lahu a-p'u, Man Khoanh, Black Lolo po, White Lolo pö, and perhaps Phunoi a-hu, Möng höu (cf. Möng ngöu "to weep", Burmese ngui; Möng yöu "breast", Black and White Lolo yu).

gN *p'i: Phunoi, Akha, Lahu a-p'i, Möng p'i, and perhaps Man Khoanh pe. A distinct root is represented by Black and White Lolo te.

F *p'a: Lahu a-p'a, Man Khoanh p'a, White Lolo pa, Black Lolo po, Möng pö möö (Black Lolo, Möng -o < -a in most instances; cf. Black Lolo, Möng so "salt", Burmese ts'a; Black Lolo, Möng lo "to come", Burmese la; Black Lolo, Möng ngo "5", Burmese nga^3). Akha has a-ta ~ a-da F, comparable with Burmese (Mandalay) t'a^3-t'a^3.

M *ma: Akha, Akö a-ma, Man Khoanh, White Lolo ma, Black Lolo mo. Phunoi, Pyen a-ba also belong here, since stops have in some instances been developed from nasals in these languages; cf. Phunoi, Pyen ga "I", Burmese nga; Phunoi da "sick", Burmese na; Phunoi bi "fire", Burmese mi^3. Möng bo M may also belong here. Note that in Southern Lolo a-ma rather than a-mi or a-me is employed, with the exception of Lahu, which has both a-me (Burmese a-me or a-mai) and a-ye (cf. Arakanese a-ywe "maternal aunt").

ySb *ni: Akha, Lahu nyi ySb (Lahu also nyi-ma ySi), White Lolo ni ySi (also oSi), Black Lolo ne ySi.

Ch *za, D *za-mi: Akha za Ch, za-mi ~ ya-mi "girl", za-mi a-bu D, za-mi-za ~ ya-mi-ya "woman", mi-za ~ mi-ya W, Lahu ya-pa S, ya-mi ~ za-mi D, Phunoi ya-kat-ya Ch, Pyen

601 ya-plong S, ya-bye D, Möng zio Ch. This alternation between initial z- and y- has not been observed in other roots, but the material is not abundant. Some of the ya forms are perhaps related rather to the element -ya^3 of Burmese yok-ya^3 "man", mă-ya^3 "wife" (Akha mi-za ~ mi-ya); note especially Akö ya-yu S, ya-mi D, ya-yo "man" (yok-ya^3 reversed), ya-me "woman" (mă-ya^3 reversed), but ka-ma "wife (Burmese yok-k'ă-ma^3 "parents-in-law"). White Lolo a, Man Khoanh a-mi, Black Lolo o, perhaps belong with the same root, but cf. the Abor-Miri root *a Ch.

Other Burmese roots are represented only in a single language. Akha a-kö B (Roux) can be compared with the element -kui of Burmese ats-kui; cf. Akha gö "9", Burmese kui^3; Akha pö " silk", Burmese pui^3 "silk, insect". Burmese mre^3 < *m-li is perhaps represented by Akha (nga-)li S (Stirling), a-li "boy" (Antisdel), and Burmese tu-ma^3 xNi by Akha tu-ma ~ to-ma Si. Pyen bong (< *mong), Phunoi a-mo (< *mong) F appear to be cognate with Burmese a-mong yB. Note that Pyen and Phunoi retain *p'a, the regular root for F, as a suffixed element in the word for "cock", viz. Pyen ya-pa, Phunoi k'ia-p'a (Burmese krak-p'a^3).

Only a few of the parents' siblings' terms are known, and these few are of little value. According to the lists in Webb, Lahu distinguishes between maternal and paternal aunts and uncles, viz. vi pau mo e tari MSi, vi ya FSi; vi pau ho e tari MB, p'au vi-pa FB. Despite this, however, a single term ni vi pa ya (with a- or nga- prefix) is

601 cited for the cousins of all four collateral lines, and (nga-)vi ya mi is cited both for BCh(ms) and BCh(ws), i.e. both parallel and cross nephew.

Lahu vyi(-pa) oB, vyi(-ma) oSi (identical with vi of the above terms), belongs with Man Khoanh, Black and White Lolo vi, Mŭng biŏi oB, Man Khoanh sa-vi, Mŭng biŏi-a oSi. For the phonetic development, cf. Man Khoanh, White Lolo vi, Black Lolo u-vi, Mŭng vŏi "snake". Note also Phunoi a-ŭ "uncle", ŭ "snake". This root cannot be traced in Burmese, unless it be connected with we < *wi "an inelegant term of compellation, masculine or feminine, used by men or women". Another prominent root, perhaps cognate with Achang tsi "wife", is represented by Phunoi a-tsu Si, Pyen a-tsi oSi, Akŏ a-su oSi. Cf. also Phunoi lu ai B, Pyen a-ai oB, Akŏ ai-i oB, perhaps a loan-word from Shan ai (applied to eldest son); and Man Khoanh lu yB, ySi, Black Lolo lu ~ lung yB.

The affinal terminology of the Southern Lolo languages is still more obscure than the consanguineal. The Lahu list in Webb is fairly extensive, but untrustworthy. The teknonymous use of a-p'i gH for M1, and a-p'u gF for F1, however, has been checked by information received from Telford. Akha (nga-)mi la ma M1 (Stirling) probably stands for (nga-)mi-ya ma, lit. "wife of mother" (Stirling cites la-gu la Ch, with la for ma ~ ya). Pyen has yok-pa F1, agreeing with Lashi yuk-p'o WF rather than with Burmese yok-p'a WB. The k'ă- prefix of the Burmese affinal terminology is represented here by Phunoi k'ă-ba < *k'ă-ma,

601 Pyen ka-ba < *ka-ma, Akö ka-ma W. This element has a much more generalized usage in Southern Lolo, however; cf. Phunoi ya-kat k'ɯ-p'si-a "boy", yat-kat k'ɯ-bai-a "girl", Pyen ka-pa-la "man", ka-ba-la "woman", Akha (nga-)ka-so-ya H (Stirling), ka-se-ya "man" (Stirling), k'a-je-za "man" (Antiedel), Man Khoanh sa-pua-k'a, White Lolo sa-ka, Black Lolo sa-ko "boy", Black Lolo ko-pu "male" (ko < *ka).
Some of the Sbl terms appear to be identical with consanguineal terms; cf. Phunoi a-tsü Sil, a-tsu Si; Akha a-yö Bl, a-yu oB, a-nyi Sil, ySb.

The above rather heterogeneous array of material serves the purpose of establishing the Burmese affinities of Southern Lolo kinship terminology and of indicating the nature of this link between Burmese and the better known Northern Lolo languages. It is doubtful whether the general problems in connection with Burmish-Loloish terminology as a whole can be solved without some detailed information on these southern members of the group. The ethnographic sources on these tribes (Lunet de Lajonquière, Diguet, Telford, Scott, Bonifacy, Roux) contribute very little toward the filling of these lacunae, since topics such as clan organization and marriage regulations are scrupulously avoided by these authorities. There are no indications of cousin marriage, with the exception of the statement made by Telford to the writer, that the Lahu Shi (one of the two main Lahu divisions, the other being the

●601 Lahu Na) sometimes marry their cousins (unspecified) but that the practice is frowned upon. For the Lolo of Tonkin, Bonifacy reports the practice of the levirate (with widow of oB only) and the sororate (a man may marry his wife's sister). Bonifacy also notes that people of the same tính (Annamite loan-word, ultimately from Chinese 姓 hsing "family name") cannot marry, but offers no details.

The matrilocal custom of the Burmese is found among several of these tribes, sometimes in what appears to be vestigial form. Among the Lahu, the S1 serves his F1 for a period of 1-3 years (Lahu Na) or 7 years (Lahu Shi), according to verbal information received from Telford (cf. also Telford, 1937, p. 96, and Scott, p. 586). The same practice (period of 3 years) formerly obtained among the Phumoi (until ca. 1900), but now the daughter-in-law must serve her husband's parents for one year (Roux, pp. 466,473). The Akha are patrilocal (the couple live in a small house near the groom's parents, vide Telford). After the marriage ceremony, the Akha bride weeps and sings a song telling of her sadness, after which she promises to return after her parent's death to pay the last duties; the bridegroom, furthermore, returns to the home of his bride's parents and presents offerings. In view of the matrilocal customs of their neighbors, it is not hard to look upon these features as transitional elements. Among the Lolo of Tonkin, the couple return to the bride's parents' ~~home for~~

●601 a two-day visit, and the bride returns again alone and remains with her parents until she becomes pregnant (Lunet de Lajonquiere, pp. 322 and sq.). This practice is also found among the Tai peoples of Tonkin (ibid.), from whom it may have been borrowed, yet it can well be interpreted along the lines suggested above. Writing of the same Lolo groups, Bonifacy observes that a man may earn his wife by working for his father-in-law and taking the family name (姓 tính) of the latter, or that he may obtain his wife without changing his name, and without paying for her, by supporting his aged parents-in-law.

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197 [101] The Northern Lolo languages fall into several large groups, viz. Lisu, a central bloc (Ahi, Nyi, Lolopho), a southeastern bloc (Chöko, Phupha), an eastern bloc (Ulu, Nasö), and the Independent Lolo dialects of Szuchuan. Of the above languages, Lisu, Ahi, and Nyi are fairly well known and Lolopho is somewhat less fully known, while the remaining languages have been recorded only in fragments. The general linguistic picture, however, is much clearer than in the case of the Southern Lolo languages, e.g. tonal equations have been worked out for Lisu, Ahi, and Nyi (in relation to Burmese). The bulk of the literature on the Lolo is entirely disproportionate to its value, largely because of the failure to recognize the thoroughgoing Burmese affiliations of these peoples. Much of it is

197 occupied with the futile question of the etymology of the name "Lo-lo", and with (largely) sterile discussions of Chinese sources. The most valuable of a number of articles of this type is the scholarly contribution by Feng and Shryock (cited infra).

One of the most useful criteria in distinguishing among these languages is found in the treatment of final -a, which is ordinarily retained in Lisu, Nyi, and Phupha, is shifted to -o in Ahi, Lolopho, and Chôko (somewhat irregularly here), to -u in the Ulu-Nasŏ dialects, and is retained or shifted to -ŏ, -ə in the Independent Lolo group. These correspondences are illustrated by the following table:

	Lisu	Nyi	Phupha	Ahi	Lolopho	Chôko	Ulu	Ind. Lolo
eat	dza	dza	dza	dzo	dzo	zo	dzu	dzŏ
salt	ts'a	ts'a	-	ts'o	ts'o	-	ts'u	tsŏ
five	ngwa	nga	nga	ngo	ngo	ngo	ngu	ngwə

This criterion is not absolute, e.g. the Lisu dialect recorded in Clarke (Appendix II) has -o rather than -a, but is useful as a rule-of-thumb procedure.

601 In the present discussion the Lisu terminology will be analyzed first, followed by the Ahi-Nyi-Lolopho terminology and annotations on the remaining groups. The Lisu (Lisaw) [101] are primarily a Salween valley people, but have colonized extensively throughout most of Yunnan and have penetrated into northern Burma and the Shan States. The primary sources are the works of Frazer and Rose and Brown, but a number of

601 word-lists are available, those in Liétard (1909), Anderson, Davies, Scott, and the LSI (by Taylor) being the most important. Four different lists of kinship terms are given in Webb (pp. xlvii, xlix, lxii, lxiii), each showing many discrepancies, most of which are the result of the bizarre orthographies employed. Some ethnographic material is included in the first two sources and in Scott, and a sketch of the Lisu is given by Guibaut (pp. 316 and sq.).

Lisu Consanguineal Terms

(a-)lü-ma ggeN	(a-)lü ggeF
(a-)p'i-ma ggN	(a-)p'i ggF
(a-)za gN	(a-)pa gF
(a-)ma N	(a-)ba F
(a-)wo-ma MSi,FBW	(a-)wo FB,MSiH
(a-)nyi[4] FSi,MBW	(a-)vü MB,FSiH
(a-)tsi oSi,pC	(a-)yi / ko-ko oB,pC
nyi[3]-ma ySi,pC	nyi[3]-sa yB,pC
kua-c'o-ma xCi	kua-c'o xCo
(a-)mi D,pNi	za S,pNe
mö-du Ni	za-du Ne,C
sa-ma xNi	sa-[illegible] xNe
li-ma gD	li-pa gS
lü-ma ggD	lü-pa ggS

Lisu Affinal Terms

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ma-na	M1	ba-ba	F1
za-mö	W	za-gu	H
ma-la	oBW,HoBW	ei-fü	oSiH(ws),WoSiH
o'i-ma	D1	me	S1

Notes:

The grandparent terms are those cited in Fraser. Three different arrangements appear in the lists in Webb, viz. a-la gF, a-pye gM (p. xlix); a-p'a FF, a-za FM, a-p'i MF,MM (p. lxiii); a-pa gF, a-za FM, a-p'o MM (pp. lxii, xlvii). There is thus some evidence for a distinction between maternal and paternal grandparents. A-pa gF belongs in the a-ba F series, other variants of which are a-p'a F, p'a "male suffix for birds", a-pa^{1} "male suffix for animals" (on different tone from a-pa^{3} gF); it thus parallels Miri a-to gF, a-yo gM, developed from roots meaning "F" and "M", respectively. A-p'i ggF is exactly equivalent to Burmese a-p'e^{3} < *a-p'i, but in some dialects, at any rate, it may be applied to gF rather than to ggF (as elsewhere in Lolo). The regular root for gF, as found in Burmese a-p'ui^{3}, is represented only in the phrase a-p'ü a-pa "ancestors" (Lisu -ü corresponds to Burmese -ui after initial labials, e.g. p'ü "price", Burmese a-p'ui; bü "silk", Burmese pui^{3}; mü "sky", Burmese mui^{3}); it is perhaps related to p'ü "price, to be precious" via p'ü " to honour, esteem, respect" (cf. the remarks on Khchin, pt. 7). Reciprocal terminology

601 is reflected in a-lǎ ggF, lǎ-pa ggS, a-na gN, na S (note that in each case the ascending generation is one more removed from Ego than the descending generation).

The Lisu feeling for reciprocity can also be seen in the collective terms pa-la "father and children", ma-la "mother and children", pi-li "grandparent and grandchild" (pi^1-li^5, tonally distinct from $p'i^2$ gF, li^1 gCh), and note also ts'i-ta lǎ-na "posterity, descendants" (ts'i "age"). The element -la appears elsewhere only in la-ts'o "person"; it may be connected with the Tibeto-Burman root *la "male" (Burmese a-la^3), and yields a better etymology than any other for the ethnic term La-la ~ Lo-lo ~ Ln-ln (root *la-la, vide supra), meaning simply "the people" (as Lolopho "a man of the Lolo tribe").

A-nyi FSi, written nye-nya, ni-nya in Webb, is from one standard Tibeto-Burman root (Tib. 'a-ne), but the affinities of a-wo FB and a-wǎ are not apparent, and the discussion of these terms has been reserved for the following section (on Ahi and Nyi). The MSi terms are uncertain, since Fraser cites a-wo-ma only for FBW, but in Webb we find o-ma MoSi, FoBW, along with zu-do MySi, FySW (the latter has not been identified). According to Fraser (p. 64), an especial term, viz. a-wo-p'a (p'a is male suffix) is used for father's eldest brother, while the remaining brothers are counted in Chinese fashion, with the aid of Chinese numerals, e.g. a-wo-lya "second uncle", a-wo-st "third uncle", a-wo-si

601 "fourth uncle". Webb cites o-p'a ~ u-p'a (= a-wo-p'a) FoB,HoSiH, a-wo ~ wo-wo FyB,MySiH, and Scott gives wu-p'a "uncle". The reduplication shown by wo-wo FyB is rather characteristic of Lisu; cf. a-ba ~ ba-ba F, a-ma ~ ma-ma M, vi-vi (for a-vǎ) MB, e'o-e'o (for kwa-d'o) xCe, ko-ko oB, ci-ci (for a-tsi) oSi.

Lisu *nyi ySb, which is totally differentiated from a-nyi FSi, shows the extension of the Burmese-Akha root into Northern Lolo, while a-yi must be derived from the Southern Lolo root *wi oB (Lisu lacks the combination wi, and hence has substituted yi). A-tsi oSi, which often appears in reduplicated form (ci-ci, je-je, si-se, si-ce, ci-ce) resembles a root found in Southern Lolo (e.g. Pyen a-tsi oSi), but seems at least to have been influenced by Chinese chieh-chieh (姐姐) oSi. The parallel term ko-ko oB is unquestionably a Chinese loan-word (哥哥 ko-ko). There is no sure evidence that sex of speaker is distinguished in the sibling terms. The native term a-yi is used in the phrase yi-za nyi-za "relations".

Lisu za S (often written ra ~ la), a-mi D, and li gCh are directly cognate to Burmese sa^3, mi^3, and mre^3, respectively. Lisu has an alternative term for S, a-hi, which cannot be identified. Paralleling Burmese mre^3 < *m-li gCh, mrats < *m-lik ggCh, Lisu has li gCh, lǎ < *lak ggCh (for -ǎ < -ak, cf. nyǎ "bird", Burmese hngak; t'ǎ "up", Burmese a-t'ak; nǎ "black", nǎ "deep", Burmese nak; nyǎ "eye", Burmese myak; syǎ "breath", Burmese a-sak.

•601 Our data on the collateral terms of Lisu are so inconsistent and conflicting that no certain conclusions can be reached. Fraser (p. 64) states that cousins on the father's side are called "brothers and sisters", and in his list of terms restricts the terms kwa-c'o and kwa-c'o-ma to cousins on the mother's side. The latter terms, however, are used for FSiCh as well as MBCh, according to the material in Webb, and the siblings terms are extended to include MSiCh as well as FBCh. The element -c'o appears also in c'o-pǎ "friend, companion, mate", but is otherwise isolated.

Sa-sa and sa-ma, formed with a sa- element found also in Nyi, can definitely be placed as xN terms. As shown in the above table, za S and a-mi D are extended to include pNe and pNi, respectively, yet za-du and mǎ-du are also employed in this sense as well as for "cousin". Neither term appears in the list in Webb, p. xlvii, yet in the list on p. xlix we find za-du used for BCh(mms),SiCh(mms), WBCh,HSiCh,WSiCh,FBCh,MBCh,MSiCh! Significantly enough, however, in this same list a separate term (a-pa) is employed for FSiCh (a man marries his FSiD, vide infra). Since the cognate Burmese-Maru term etu is applied specifically to xN, it would seem that Lisu has transferred this term to pN or to C while developing a new set of terms (sa-sa, sa-ma) for xN.

As shown by the terms ma-ma Fl, ba-ba Fl, consanguineal and affinal kin are commonly equated in Lisu. Fraser (p. 64) makes the following statement:

●601 It should also be noted that the Lisu has no term for any relation-in-law, except daughter-in-law (hchi-ma) and elder sister-in-law (ma-la). A daughter-in-law refers to her father and mother, brothers and sisters-in-law as her own father, mother, brothers and sisters respectively. Her own brothers, after her marriage, are referred to as her hue-mu, and her own sisters as her ne-ma.

This statement is not entirely accurate, inasmuch as at least two other affinal terms are in use (ci-fü, me), in addition to the terms p'a-mu and ne-ma cited in the last sentence. Fraser's definition of the latter two terms is not clear. Webb gives nye-ma yBW(ms), contrasting with ma-la oBW(mwo), apparently the same as Fraser's ne-ma, but p'a-mu does not appear in other sources. The terms seem to be identical with Nyi p'a-mu yB(ws), nö-ma yBi(ms), hence it is particularly regrettable that our information on them is not more precise.

Ma-la oBW,HoBW (but defined in Anderson as "Bi") is the collective term for "mother and children" (supra), employed here as an honorific. The corresponding term ci-fü (ci-fi, ci-fu, je-fü) oSiH(ws),WoSiH is a Chinese loan-word (姐夫 chieh-fu). C'i-ma (si-ma) is directly cognate with Burmese k'rwe^3-ma^3 < *k'rwi^3-ma^3 (Lisu c'- < k'r-, cf. c'i "foot", Burmese k're; c'o "6", Burmese k'rok), and marks the only appearance of this root in Northern Lolo. Fraser does not cite the term for Bi, but does give ma-lö-p'a "bridegroom", c'i-ma-lö "bride" (lö^1 "young", tonally distinct from lö^2 "ggch"), while the forms (ngo-)mily myey myur (cf. mur for

601 za S) Sl are found in Webb. This term cannot be equated with Burmese sa-mak, since final -ak yields -ä rather than -e in Lisu (supra), and its affiliations remain in doubt.

Both za-mö W (za-mö za "woman", za-mö-lä-za "maiden") and za-gu H (za-gu-lä "youth") contain the element za S in combination, indicating that they may be of teknonymous origin. The element -gu can be compared with Burmese -kui in ats-kui oB and Akha a-kö B (cf. Lisu ku "9", Burmese kui^3; k'u "to steal", Burmese k'ui^3; tu "short", Burmese tui). The Burmese-Maru element *yok, used for affinal relatives, is represented by mö-ro-ma "2nd wife", mö-ro-p'a "2nd husband", the terms for "1st wife" and "1st husband" being mö-wu-ma and mö-wu-p'a, respectively (wu "big"). Ro, like the cognate Burmese yok, is the numerary adjunct for mankind. The phonetic shifts are regular, since r- has been developed from y- in some instances (ru "to take", Burmese yu; rä ~ yä "to hit, as a bullet", Burmese yak; a-ro "sheep , early loan-word from Chinese 羊 yang), and -o stands for final -ok, as in go "to pick up", Burmese kok; o'o "6", Burmese k'rok; to "poison", Burmese tok; lo "enough", Burmese lok. For the semantics, cf. Maru yauk-p'o H.

The Lisu terminology outlined above has much in common with that of the central bloc of Lolo languages, viz. Ahi, Nyi, and Lolopho, spoken in central and east-central Yunnan. The Ulu-Nsö languages of the Yunnan-Kueichou border area, and the Independent Lolo languages of Szuchuan, are of the

601 same general type, while the Chôko and Phupha languages of Tonkin show only minor aberrancies. All these languages will be considered together in connection with the Nyi terminology tabulated below. The Nyi terms, which are rather carefully defined in the classic source by Vial (1909), are the best known of the lot, but Liétard has given us valuable studies on Ahi (1909, 1911, 1912) and Lolopho (1909, 1913). Schirokogoroff's study of the Buš dialect is of some value in interpreting the orthographies employed by Vial and Liétard. Chôko and Phupha have been recorded by Bonifacy (in Liétard, 1909). The Ulu-Nasŏ and Independent Lolo terms cited below have been excerpted from scattered word-lists in Liétard (1909), Madrolle, Boell, Clarke, and d'Ollone (Kophm=Nasŏ no. 15, Ulu nos. 16 and 19, Independent Lolo nos. 30, 31, 32).

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Nyi

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Nyi Consanguineal Terms

(a-)du-ma gggM

(a-)bo-ma ggM

(a-)p'i gM

(a-)ma M

(a-)ma-gi̇ MoSi

(a-)ma-ɣə MySi

(a-)nyi FoSi

(a-)nyi-zà FySi

(a-)ǰa oSi,pC

(a-)du gggF

(a-)be ggF

(a-)bu gF

(a-)ba F

(a-)ba-gi̇ FoB

(a-)ba-ɣə FyB

(a-)hngə MoB

(a-)hngə-ɣə MyB

(a-)pu oB,pC

ngi̇-k'e ySb(ss),pC

nə̇-ma ySi(ms)

(a-)mi̇ FSiD,MBD

(á-)mi̇ D

ɣə-a-mi̇ gD

p'a-mu yB(ws)

(a-)nyi-zá FSiS

(a-)nhgə-zá MBS

za S

za-tu Ne

ɣə-za gS

ɣe-za ggS

Nyi Affinal Terms

(a-)nyi-mo WF

ǰu-ma HM

(a-)mi oBW

(a-)mi̇ HSi

za-mi̇-ɣe DI

(a-)hngə-mo WF

ǰu-p'a HF

(a-)pu WoB

(a-)hngə-zá WyB

za-hngə Si,SiH(ms)

•601 Notes:

The terms a-be ggF, a-bu gF, and a-p'i gM closely parallel Burmese a-p'e^3, a-p'ui^3, and (Maru) a-p'yit < *a-p'yi, respectively. Ahi has a-p'i gM, a-pu gF, and Ulu has pie gM, bu gF, while Ind. Lolo has a-p'u gF. Chôko and Phupha a-p'o gM are perhaps cognate with Burmese a-p'wa^3, a root which is otherwise absent in the Lolo languages. Lolopho has a distinct set of terms, viz. a-le gF, a-nä gM, and Ind. Lolo has a-ma gM (cf. Lisu a-pa gF). Indications of distinctions between the paternal and maternal lines are lacking.

A-ba F and a-ma M are of almost universal occurrence, e.g. Lolopho a-bo < *ba F, a-mo < *ma M. Ahi has a-mo M, but a-ba rather than *a-bo F, the regular -o vocalism appearing only in the male suffixes -po and p'o; cf. ma "woman" (= Burmese mi^3). Ulu-Nasö has a-da ~ a-di F (cf. Akha) and a-nye ~ a-ne M (cf. Lahu), while in Ind. Lolo a-ta is used by children, a-bu ~ a-bo ~ a-pa by adults. The alternate Ulu term, viz. tie F, has been borrowed from Chinese (爹 tieh).

Both Ahi and Nyi describe the birth-order of FB, MSi in Chinese fashion, but with native terms. Nyi a-ba-giä FoB is identical with Burmese p'ä-kri^3 (cf. dä "to beat", Burmese ti^3, a-mä-mä "self", Burmese mi^3-mi^3; mä "tail", Burmese mri^3; a-mä "daughter", Burmese a-mi^3), with Ahi giä, Burmese kri^3 "big". The element -ye is likewise comparable with the -le^3 of Burmese u^3-le^3 FyB. The terms

601 for the youngest siblings are formed with nya "small", viz. a-ba-nya, a-ma-nya, and a-hnga-nya, and an especial term, a-ma-ka, is used for the next-to-youngest sister of M. Ahi has mo M,MSi, mo-li (= Nyi a-ma-le) "2nd oldest Si of M", mo-cu "3rd oldest Si of M", and mo-na (= Nyi a-ma-nya) "youngest Si of M"; also a-bo bi-ta FoB (bi-ta "big"), and a-ra FyB, on the same tone as ra "big" (e.g. zo ra "eldest son"). It is tempting to connect this term with Burmese a-ri^3 FSi, u^3-ri^3 MoB, ʼ-ri^3 oSil, since Ahi -a regularly corresponds to Nyi -ɨ, Burmese -i; cf. ka "big", Burmese kri^3; k'a "to lift", Burmese k'yi; da "to beat", Burmese ti^3; na "near", Burmese ni^3; a-ma "self", Burmese mi^3-mi^3; ma "tail", Burmese mri^3; sa "to know", Burmese si^3; sa "fruit", Burmese si^3 (Tibeto-Burman *-si in this series).

The important FSi and MB terms are known only for Nyi, but the latter can be inferred for Ahi. Nyi a-nyi FSi (but used for FoSi) agrees with Lisu a-nyi, and shows age distinctions just as the other FSb terms do; note the tonal difference between a-nyi-zà FySi, with the diminutive suffix -zà, and a-nyi-zá FSiS, with zá S (we retain Vial's tonal notation). For Ahi we have only a-vu-mu Fl, but from the Nyi affinal terminology (infra) we can infer that a-vu is the term for MB, thus agreeing with Lisu a-vü MB. The initial v- tends to obscure the phonetic picture here, but the root is perhaps cognate with Maru vung, Lashi vang-mu MF,FSiH, from *-wang. For the analysis of hnga, vide infra. Lolopho has borrowed Chinese terms, viz. a-kyu MB (舅 shiu ~ kiu), a-ku "aunt" (姑 ku, FSi).

601 Both Nyi and Ahi parallel Burmese in distinguishing sex of speaker in ySb but not in oSb terms. Ahi shows some interesting discrepancies with Nyi, yet has the Nyi rather than the Lisu pattern.

Ahi Sibling Terms

(a-)vi oSi	(ai)mu oB
nö-mo ySi(ws)	ni-k'ye yB(ms)
na-mo ySi(ms)	p'o-mo-ze yB(ws)

Ahi ni-k'ye apparently belongs with Burmese ní, Lisu nyi ySb, and this root is also represented by Ulu ni-pa (d'Ollone, no. 19), Ind. Lolo nie-mö ySi (also oSi), and Lolopho nye-ma yB, nye-mo ySi. Nyi ngä-k'e contains the same suffixed element, but ngä must be compared rather with Burmese ngai "small"; cf. ngä "to laugh", Burmese rai; ɣä "to change", Burmese lai^3; a-vä "left (hand)", Burmese wai^3; vä "to buy", Burmese wai. Nyi has the root *nyi, however, in the combinations nyi-fä "oSi and ySi; oB and yB", nyi mu-nö "oB and ySi; oSi and yB". Similarly, Ahi na-mo ~ na-mo-zo ySi(ms) is from na "small" (Nyi nya), represented also by Chöko a-nya ySi, nya-pa yB, Ptupha nya-nö yB (a-nö ySi).

Ahi a-mu ~ a-mö oB (cf. a-pu ~ a-pö gF) points to an original *a-mu, Burmese *a-mui (cf. Kadu a-mu oB), but is perhaps to be connected with Maru mong, Lashi mang oB (the initial m- obscures the phonetic correspondence here). Nyi a-pu oB, is reminiscent of Tib. p'u-bo, Kachin p'u oB, but

601 here it must be regarded as a development from the root represented by a-bu gP (on the same tone), i.e. the appearance of these two terms in Nyi does not constitute an argument against the identification of Burmese a-p'ui^3 gP with Tib. p'a-bo, Kachin p'u oB. Nyi a-ʔa oSi has probably been developed from a root *a-ya M, while Ahi a-vi oSi (a-vi p'o-mo "Si and B") is connected with the Southern Lolo root *wi oB. Nyi has retained this root only in the combination vi-ngā "oB and yB", and Lolopho in a-vi Bl; note also Lolopho a-yi oB, a-ts'ō oSi, Lisu a-yi, a-tsi, id. Lolopho, the westernmost of the central Lolo bloc, has been influenced by Lisu, and this influence may account for the above terms. The root *wi is further represented by Ulu vyi-mo ~ (na-)vi oB, Ind. Lolo vi-van oB (Hadrolle). Chōko and Phupha a-tsi oSi agree with Lisu a-tsi. The Chinese loan-word ko ~ ko-ko, which has already been noted in Lisu, appears also in Chōko, Phupha a-ko, Ulu ko. Ulu has also borrowed the Chinese term 弟 ti yB; note especially ti-ko-ko oB, ti-ko-ti yB (Hadrolle).

Both Ahi and Nyi enumerate brothers (but apparently not sisters) after the fashion of aunts and uncles. In Ahi the series is as follows: a-mu bi-ta "1st oB" (bi-ta "big"), a-mu li "2nd oB" (li^1 on same tone as to-li^1 gS), a-mu co "3rd oB", a-mu ja "4th oB", a-mu na "last oB" (na "small"). Nyi uses a-pu alone for "1st oB", and a- prefixed or -la suffixed forms for the remaining terms, viz. a-ʔa ~ ʔa-la

601 "2nd oB" (cf. ʎa-ma gB), a-ka ~ ka-la "3rd oB", a-ja ~ ja-la "4th oB", a-ki ~ ki-la "5th oB". Nyi also has the corresponding series: ngǎ-k'e "1st yB", ngǎ-k'e ʎa-la "2nd yB", etc.

Nyi, Lisu p'a-mu, Ahi p'o-mo(-zo) point to an original *p'a-mong; cf. Nyi, Lisu tu, Ahi to "1,000", Burmese a-t'ong; Nyi tu, Lisu du, Ahi to "wing", Burmese a-tong. Nyi nǒ-ma, Lisu no-ma, Ahi nǒ-mo suggests an original *nam-mo; cf. Nyi, Ahi nǒ-gu, Lisu no-gu, Burmese nam-rui^3 "ribs" (nam "side of body"); Nyi, Ahi nǒ, Lisu no "to smell", Burmese nam^3; Nyi tlǒ, Ahi t'ǒ, Lisu bye "to fly", Burmese pyam. The forms thus reconstructed, viz. *p'a-mong and *nam-ma, closely parallel Burmese-Maru *mong yB(ws), Lashi nam-mo yBi(ms), Burmese -hnam, id. (inferred from mong-hnam). The Lisu terms are of uncertain meaning (vide supra), and Ahi appears to have transferred nǒ-mo from yBi(ms) to yBi(ws), but the Nyi terms are exactly equivalent to the Burmese. Ahi also has the root *nam in isolation, in the form nǒ ~ nǎ "girl", used in poetry, in some current expressions (e.g. a-mu nǒ-mo "brothers and sisters"), and in girls' names, while the same term in Lolopho is said to be used only in songs and as a prefix to girls' names (Liétard, 1913, p. 166). Ahi further has zo-nǎ ~ a-nǎ-zo Ch, paralleling Nyi a-nǒ-zà, Lisu za-ne, id. The Lolo languages are thus seen to throw valuable light on the elusive root *nam ~ *snam, which has been encountered in a variety of meanings.

601 The Northern Lolo terms for S and D generally parallel Burmese za^3, za-mi^3, though the first element may be dropped in the latter term, e.g. Nyi a-mǐ, Ind. Lolo a-mi ~ a-me ~ a-mǒ, Ulu mǐ. Cf. Nyi za S, Ahi a-zo S, a-mǐ-zo D, Lolopho zo S, zo-mǐ D, Chǒko za S, za-mi D, Phupha za-za S, za-mi D, Ulu-Nasǒ zu ~ (na-)zu S, Ind. Lolo zǒ ~ ze S. The gS terms, from Burmese mre^3 < *m-li, usually coincide phonetically with the forms of the word for "4", from Burmese le^3 < *b-li, viz.

	Nyi	Ahi	Lolopho	Ulu	Ind. Lolo
four	ɣe	li	li	ɣi	ǒl
gCh	ɣe	li	li	ɣi	ǒl

Nyi ɣe-za, Ahi lye-zo ggS correspond to Lisu lǐ-za, the phonetic correspondences being regular, viz.

	Burmese	Lisu	Ahi	Nyi
ascend	tak	dǐ	dye	de
black	nak	nǐ	nye	ne
leaf	p'ak	p'yǐ	p'ye	p'e
eye	myak	myǐ	nye	ne

We can thus safely reconstruct *lak ~ *m-lak ggS, paralleling Burmese mrats < *m-lik.

The collateral terminology is represented by Nyi a-nyi-zá FSiS and a-hngǒ-zá MBS, which are literally descriptive terms, and a-mǐ FSiD, MBD, tonally distinct from á-mǐ D (Vial notes that "entre elles, les jeunes filles s'appelent ami et non ámi"). Nyi thus agrees with Lisu in distinguishing between parallel and cross cousins. The

601 descriptive cousin terms in Nyi are tsʰ-ve vi-ngǎ pCe, tsʰ-ve mu-nǎ pCi; according to Vial, tsʰ-ve signifies that one belongs to the "same degree" (cf. tsʰ "generation", ve "family"). It is not known whether Nyi also distinguishes between pN and xN, since we have only the single term za-tu "nephew". Ahi zo-to Ne can be inferred from zo-to li-zo "grand-nephew", zo-to a-mǎ "grand-niece" (Ahi -o < -u, cf. o "head", Burmese u³; t'o "thick", Burmese t'u; mo "to do", Burmese mu; ro "mad", Burmese ru³). The root *tu also appears in Uiu (n-)tu Ne, a-ma(n-)tu Ni, ba(n-)tu C (cf. Lisu za-du used for C as well as for Ne), Ind. Lolo ze(n-)tu Ne (zǎ ~ ze S), Lolopho zo-du Ne, zo-mǎ-du Ni (d'Ollone, no. 26). For Lolopho, d'Ollone also cites lao-piao C, a Chinese loan-word (老表 lao piao).

The Nyi distinction in Pl terms resembles that of Maru (na < *ni PSi, WM, HM, nyi MB, WF, vung < *wang HF) but is sharper, since WM and HM are differentiated. A-nyi-mo WM and a-hngǎ-mo WF are based on, but not equated with, a-nyi PSi and a-hngǎ MB, the additional element being mo "old", which appears also in a-mo (fem. a-mo-ma) "ancestor" (Phunoi ya mǎng "old man"). The terms ǰu-ma and ǰu-p'a, used by a man's wife, contain the characteristic Burmish-Loloish *yok, used as a numerary adjunct for mankind (Nyi ǰu, Lolopho yo); Nyi, Ahi -u, Lolopho -o correspond to Burmese -ok, as in Nyi ǰu-ma, Ahi ǰu-mo "ladle", Burmese yok-ma'; Nyi a-nu, Ahi nu, Lolopho nyo "monkey", Burmese nyok;

601 Nyi k'u, Ahi c'u, Lolopho c'o "6", Burmese k'rok. This root has the specific meaning "male" (vir) in Ulu yo (also used for H), and in Nyi za-ǔ (mountain dialect). In Lolopho, yo-p'o-zo and yo-mo-nǎ are defined simply as "F1" and "M1", respectively (Liétard, 1913, p. 159), but the corresponding Ahi terms, viz. ǔ-p'o and ǔ-mo, are used for WF and WM, i.e. the reverse of the Nyi usage. Yet Ahi ǔ-p'o is also used in the meaning "paternal ancestor". Liétard also cites a-lye-mo ~ a-lye-mu WM and a-vu-mu F1, a-vu a-lye-mu "parents-in-law", hence Ahi makes a distinction similar to that found in Nyi (a-vu is perhaps the term for MB, comparable with Lisu a-vǔ, but the word is not cited in Liétard).

Both Nyi and Ahi have an especial term, viz. a-mi, for oBW, distinct from a-mǎ D (cf. Phupha mi "woman, wife", za-mi "daughter"). In Nyi, a man equates his sister's husband with his daughter's husband (za-hngə), while in Ahi a man refers to his oSiH as the "son-in-law" (sö-rö) of his oSi (a-vi), or as the "husband" (ǔö-ca-p'o) of his oSi (a-vi sö-rö ~ a-vi ǔö-ca-p'o), showing the semantic equivalence of "S1" and "H" (bridegroom). In Nyi the WoB has the respectful appellation a-pu (oB), but WyB is significantly equated with MBS (a-hngə-zá) (under cross-cousin marriage WyB becomes MBS,ys). After the birth of the first child, however, the husband adopts the teknonymous term k'a-hngə WyB, from k'ə a-hngə "his MB". Teknonymous terms can also be applied to M1 and F1, viz. a-ma M and

•601 a-ba F. In Lolopho a husband is addressed by his wife as a-po-ma (apparently from *pa F), and the wife is addressed by her husband as a-pi-ma (apparently from *p'i gM), but the descriptive term for a married couple is ni mǎ-yo, lit. "two wife-husband". The k'ə- prefix noted above may explain some or all the prefixed k'a- forms found in Burmese and Southern Lolo, e.g. Burmese yok-k'ǎ-ma³ Pl, but the point cannot be demonstrated with the available material. Both Nyi za-mǎ-ʎe and Ahi zo-mǎ-lye Dl are descriptive terms formed with the term for "wife" (Nyi mǎ-ʎe, Ahi mǎ-lye). In both languages, furthermore, the final element is gCh (Nyi ʎe, Ahi lye), used here as a diminutive. In Ahi, at any rate, this final element is not an essential part of the word and is dropped in phrases, e.g. k'ə mǎ "his wife", to be contrasted with k'ǎ-mǎ < k'ə ǎ-mǎ "his daughter". Nyi equates HSi with FSiD, MBD in the term a-mǎ (distinct from ǎ-mǎ D), just as it equates WyB with MBS (a-hngə-ré).

The descriptive term for WB, SiH in Nyi is hngə-sa, in which hngə is said by Vial to refer to WB, and sa to SiH. The element hngə thus refers to MB and WB, or, under cross-cousin marriage, to WF and WB. On the phonetic side, initial hng- stands for ng- before the mixed vowel ə, and, like the latter, represents initial r-; cf. the following series, in which Ahi shows the retention of r-: Nyi ngiǎ, Ahi ra, Burmese rai "to laugh"; Nyi nga, Ahi ro, Burmese ra⁷ "to obtain"; Nyi hngə(-pu), Ahi rǒ, Burmese a-rui³ "bone";

601 Nyi hngə, Ahi rö, Burmese re "to count"; Nyi hngə, Ahi rö, Burmese rit "to cut". Nyi -ə, Ahi -ö are the regular correspondences for Burmese -ui; cf. Nyi k , Ahi kö, Burmese kui^3 "g"; Nyi k'ə, Ahi k'ö, Burmese k'ui^3 "to steal; Nyi ngə, Ahi ngö, Burmese ngui "to weep"; Nyi ts'ə, Ahi ts'ö, Burmese k'yui "to bathe". Nyi sa-hngə is thus directly comparable with Ahi sö-rö ~ sö-ngö S1 and with the first element of Ahi rö-ni HoB. The sa- element of Nyi appears to be identical with the sa- of Lisu sa-za, sa-ma (xNe,xNi), but Ahi sö- is perhaps distinct (it is on the same tone as sö^4 " blood", from Burmese swe^3, but Nyi has sə, and Lisu has si). Lisu a-wo FB can be connected with the hypothetical Burmese *rui reconstructed from Nyi hngə, Ahi rö; cf. the parallel series furnished by "bone", viz.

	Burmese	Lisu	Ahi	Nyi
bone	a-rui^3	wo(-to)	rö	hngə(-pu)
	*rui	a-wo (FB)	rö (S1)	hngə (S1,MB).

The Tibeto-Burman original for this root would be *ru, which leads to Tib. sru-mo MS1, Kanauri ru F1 (< MB), and Pyu sru "relatives" (< "mother's relatives").

Ahi kö-pu-li ySiH is an unusually interesting term, combining as it does (a-)pu gF and (za-)li gS with a new element kö-. For pu-li, cf. the Lisu collective term pi-li "grandparent and grandchild". Kö- is isolated in Ahi, but may represent the root *kui < *ku found in Burmese ats-kui oB, Akha a-kö B (for the vocalism, vide supra).

●601 [101 197] There remains for consideration only the language of the Moso (Nakhi) of western Yunnan, which differs rather widely from the Northern Lolo languages just discussed. Only a few Moso terms, all badly recorded, are known; these have been taken from the works of Bacot, Rock, and Madrolle (by Monbeig) (note that in Madrolle the Moso and Kutsong = Tibetan lists have been accidentally reversed on pp. 564-65). The following terms are of Lolo type: a-ba F; a-mä ~ mä .. (also mi "female", in Rock); a-p'u gF (but a-tsö gM); a-bu oB (Nyi a-pu); zo S, mi ~ mi-zo D (also zu Ch, in Bacot). Note Moso a-p'u gF, a-bu oB, but Nyi a-bu gF, a-pu oB. The Sb terms are generally distinct from those in Lolo; Madrolle cites gö-zö yB, me-me oSi, ku-me ySi. Of primary importance, however, is the term a-gu Bl (Bacot), cognate with Ahi kö-pu-li ySiH, Akha a-kö B, and Burmese ats-kui oB; cf. Moso gu "9", Burmese kui^3; Moso k'u "to steal", Burmese k'ui^3; Moso hngu "to weep", Burmese ngui.

Despite the extent of literature on the Lolo, almost no material bearing on our problem can be found. Ahi and Nyi, which linguistically are fairly well known, are ethnographic blanks. Cross-cousin marriage can be established only for the Lisu, and even here the source is linguistic (Fraser) rather than ethnographic (Rose and Brown). Fraser's remarks in this connection are worth quoting <u>in extenso</u>, since the work is rare:

> Sometimes an exchange will be made between two families, a man giving his daughter to another's son in exchange for the latter's daughter for his own son; this arrangement

601 cancels the bridal prices and none is given by either party. In most cases a Lisu will require the same sum of money for his daughter that he himself gave for his wife, the mother. This is often tantamount to an exchange, for the custom in most districts is that the girl, or at any rate one girl in the family - be given back in marriage to her mother's people. But she must never be given to a member of her own clan, even if the relationship is too remote to be traced. Indeed if two Lisu families live in widely separated districts between which there is no intercommunication, so that it may be safely inferred that they are not related at all, they must not intermarry if they happen to have the same clan surname. Possibly this custom also is to be put down to Chinese influence, for the Chinese are equally strict in this regard. Yet a Lisu may marry his father's sister's daughter without any thought of inconsistency. E.g. a Lisu Macdonald will give his sister in marriage to a Lisu Macgregor. His son may marry a daughter of the latter marriage, because she is a Macgregor and he a Macdonald. That such a union is undesirable from the standpoint of consanguinity does not occur to him, yet by some peculiar mental kink he would stoutly object to marrying his son to a Miss Macdonald, even though the relationship might be nil, because he and she are both Macdonalds. In some districts certain clans are said to be related to certain other clans, and they are not supposed to intermarry. But there is no arrangement whereby a certain clan is permanent parent-in-law to another clan, as there seems to be among some tribes of Kachins. (p. ix)

Fraser further states (note to p. ix) that "There are cases of Lisu marrying their own father's sisters, but this is rare and looked down upon". In a note to the term sa-ma SiD (p. 65), Fraser observes that "A Lisu can demand her [SiD] in marriage for his son; to refuse to give her means a lawsuit and the payment of a fine". We thus have compulsory cross-cousin marriage in combination with occasional marriage to FSi. The latter does not appear to be reflected in the Lisu terminology, but the former is correlated with the sharp distinction drawn between parallel and cross cousins and nephews. A distinction between FSiD and MBD is found only in the Lisu list in Webb, p. xlvii, which has sa-du

601 FBCh, WBCh, WBiCh, but a-pa FBiCh. Under the Lisu system of sister exchange, FBi becomes MBW (a-nyi^{A}, used for both) and hence FBiD is equivalent to MBD, i.e. both collateral lines are merged. Note that despite these marriage practices Lisu lacks categorical equations in the Fl terms, using only the consanguineal terms ma-ma Ml, ba-ba Fl. It can be inferred that these are used only in address, just as Nyi uses e-ma (= a-ma) and e-ba (= a-ba) in address, but a-nyi-mo WM (a-nyi FoSi), a-hngɜ-mo WF (a-hngɜ MoB), ǰu-ma HM, and ǰu-p'a HF in description.

Liétard (1913) has given us a lengthy account of the Lolopho, in which an unusual marital pattern is described, but without specific information on marriage regulations. The Lolopho have taken over the Chinese surnames (姓 hsing) but, according to this authority, attach no importance to them in marriage. Patrilineal inheritance of property is mentioned, but no actual clan nor lineage organization is described. The familial situation, which is altogether remarkable, is attributed by Liétard to the practice of child marriage in combination with the recognition only of Chinese marriage laws. A woman normally has a lover, who is the actual father of her children. The legal father and husband of the woman supports the children in the main, and they take his name and inherit his property. The duties of the lover are to make sandals for the woman and her children and to buy clothes for the latter. The terminology used is of some interest. The children address the legal husband as

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a-bo F (the native term), the lover as ta-tie, a Chinese loan-word (大爹 ta tieh gF, but tieh F). Descriptively, the former is called a-bo mi "father-nourisher", the latter a-bo k'a "father-true".

A brief description of the Szuchuan (Independent) Lolo by Martin appears in the above source (pp. 31-32). The so-called "family" (kye, from Chinese 家 chia~kia) is described as a patrilineal exogamous sort of tribal unit. A single village often contains two tribes, which may intermarry even though related on the mother's side within the 2nd degree. We can infer that cross-cousin marriage, probably with first as well as with second cousins, occurs among these Szuchuan Lolo.

The organization of the Independent Lolo into the "Black Bone" or noble caste, and "White Bone" or lower caste, has been a perennial source for learned discussions of the Lolo and their origin (usually placed in Central Asia or some other conveniently distant place). The terms in general use are Chinese, viz. hei ku-t'ou (黑骨頭)" Black Bone", pai ~pe ku-t'ou (白骨頭)"White Bone", but the use of "bone" in this connection cannot be explained on the basis of Chinese. On the Tibeto-Burman side, however, we have an obvious explanation in Tibetan rus(-pa) "bone, lineage", Burmese a-rui^{3}, id. This identification can be traced in Lolo itself, since Nyi uses hnge (cf. hnge-pu " bone") as a numerary adjunct for ve "family", e.g. ve t'i hng "one family", lit. "family one bone", also abbreviated to

601 t'i hnga "one bone" The Chinese terms hei ku-t'ou and pe ku-t'ou must be regarded simply as translations of native Lolo terms. Insofar as the writer is aware, this obvious explanation has not been suggested by previous writers in the field.

The custom whereby the bride returns for a visit to her parent's home, already observed among the Southern Lolo, is also in evidence among their northern neighbors. Among the Lolopho (Liétard, 1913, pp. 152 and sq.), the bride is carried to the groom's home by her elder sister, and remains there for from two to four days, in the company of her elder sister. The couple then pass several days with the bride's parents, after which the bride returns to her husband's home to stay. Madrolle (p. 539) records a similar custom for the Eul-yi-tseu (= Ulu), but states that this is now disappearing in the face of Chinese influence. Here the couple remain three days with the family of the groom, then return to the bride's home, where the groom remains only overnight but the bride lingers for from eight to ten days before rejoining her husband.

113 **Bibliography** 1/1

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1 [For abbreviations, see this source in cat. 113, ALl Southeast Asia ALl -- Analyst]

301 sapphires to wear in the house or on informal occasions. No wonder a man groans when his wife bears him four daughters to be provided with jewellery.

135 Although Burma possesses no diamond mines, it has undoubtedly
301 been a gem country from early times. The regalia of the Burmese
511 court displayed at the South Kensington Museum in London, encrusted and coruscant with rubies set one against the other, row upon row, must be seen to get an idea of how rich in gems was the small kingdom of Burma. Its rubies, sapphires and jade are unrivalled in the world. Jade has been worked since the 13th century, but unlike the transparent gem stones, it has not been highly prized by the Burmese people who call it, merely, *kyauksein*, green-rock. Almost all is sent to China, in valuable quantity and quality, from the tract round the Kachin Hills in Northern Burma, near the town of Mogaung, where, as "the magic powers of heaven and earth are ever combined to form perfect results; so the pure essences of hill and water became solidified into precious jade."

If jade is green-rock, the ruby is red-rock, but it is also *badamya*, gem, jewel, possession of highest worth. The ruby mines at Mogok have given the world the Burma ruby, famous amongst these rare precious stones which vary from deep crimson or purple to pale rose. Here also are found precious sapphires; the two lying in crystalline beds flashed with mica and embedded also with garnets and spinels of all colours, which the poorer people can use for their let-wut let-sa, set in silver, if they cannot buy gold, from the silver mines at Bawdwin about 50 miles away. An ordinary family like ours, with children for whom an expensive modern education is provided, possesses only the "utility" pieces for each member of the family, *i.e.*, the buttons, chains, bangles, rings and ear studs; and a hairpin and comb for the eldest, but this is considered as being poor in let-wut let-sa for a family of our standing. It can be imagined then what good housewives Burmese women have to be. A relative of mine who began petty trading as a young girl, was wearing in her middle age diamond rings, one of which held a single stone with the base a little over half an inch in diameter. But this can be done with less self-denial than it sounds, because all Burmese people have the same foods and ways of enjoyment, and a man does not develop more expensive habits or likings when he grows richer.

• 602 The financial help given to relatives is a part of our family system. It is difficult for nations whose sons go out to work in foreign lands and whose boarding houses contain old fathers and mothers waited on by paid labour, to realize the strong family unity that still exists among nations like the Burmese. Even the naming of relationships knits them together: cousins become "brother-one-womb-removed"; my father's

first cousin is my uncle, and his children and we are sisters-two-wombs-removed. The adoption of connections by marriage as one's own is so universally practised that we children on growing up of ten meet elders who tell us they are relations, and trace the exact status for us through half-a-dozen marriages and wombs-removed. Under these circumstances financial help has to cover a great range. 602

But whereas help to distant relatives may be given out of a sense of a burdensome duty, help to immediate father, mother, brothers and sisters is not regarded as the doing of a favour for which there will be a debt of gratitude. It is expected as the natural order of things. My father saw my two youngest uncles through their high schooling and University, and they, when they were settled, asked to be allowed to see me through my University career although my father did not need help. My Uncle San Lin did so for two years. Now that I am grown up it is my turn to help my younger sisters, and any inheritance which is left will not be touched or the shares assessed until the youngest child has received the same education as the eldest. Our first scholarship money was offered, in the case of every child, to my grandmother as an obeisance and as the highest gift we could offer—earned by learning and dedicated to the eldest person in our lives. When I got my first job and was able to establish my mother in a comfortable suite of rooms, her main emotion was not pleasure at the nice rooms, but a deep joy in saying: "How blessed is my daughter, that she can give material blessings to her mother in her old age, through her own good fortune and merit."

14: Brant E-5 (1949-50) 1954 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

thinking, being the mother of a son is itself considered the greatest event of a 593
woman's life and represents the achievement of full existence as a female human being. The relationship is close and indulgent. The mother is regarded by her son as more important than his wife; in fact, a son normally will choose a wife with a great deal of regard for his mother's opinions and wishes.

Mother and Daughter. The mother is her daughter's early teacher. It is 593
considered most important for the girl to learn prayers, how to prepare the 868
daily food offering, and how to change the flowers on the household altar. These things are taught almost from the time the child begins to speak and understand. Other household duties in which a mother instructs her daughter [565]
vary considerably with the economic status of the family. In poor families some assistance with tending animals and winnowing the rice is part of the girl's work from about the age of ten. Daughters are expected to show filial respect and deference equally to the mother and father.

Father and Son. The father occupies the role of disciplinarian in the 593
family. Disciplining of sons may include physical punishment, though such 861
measures are not resorted to readily. Prior to adolescence, boys are taught prayers and good habits by their mothers, with the father remaining more or less in the background and interfering only when disciplinary action may be required of him. After a son passes adolescence the father becomes important as his mentor.

Husband and Wife's Elder Sister. This relationship tends to mirror a 607
conflict between age and sex as status factors in the social structure. There 182
is an implicit conflict between the husband's position as a man and his wife's 602
elder sister's position, in many cases, as his senior, having a claim on outward respect and obedience. In practice this relationship is often cool and aloof in nature, very much in contrast to the free and easy one between a man and his wife's younger sisters.

Husband and Wife's Younger Sister. A man is expected to show great favor 607
to his wife's younger sisters and to display more interest in them than in his 587
own sisters. He buys them presents, gives them spending money when he can, and covertly he is expected to be on the lookout for prospective husbands for them. Quite frequently, the wife's younger sisters will accompany her and her husband when she marries, and all will live together in the same house. Although husband and wife's younger sisters engage in a great deal of mutual joking and teasing, the relationship does not normally assume a sexual aspect. Polygyny is permissable but very rarely practiced; when it is, however, it takes the sororal form. The rather free and easy relationship between a husband and his wife's younger sisters sometimes gives rise to village gossip -- especially when it is known that he and his wife are not getting along well -- that he is carrying on love affairs with his younger sisters-in-law.

In-Laws. A daughter-in-law is definitely subordinate to her mother-in- 606
law. If they live in the same household, the mother-in-law is entitled to the best room and to be waited upon by her daughter-in-law. Significantly, the Burmese word for daughter-in-law (ɔwɛin̰) means 'sweat women.

The term for son-in-law (ɔmɛ?) means 'desired son.' A son-in-law is a privileged member of his wife's family. His wishes are respected and his comforts looked after. His mother-in-law instructs her younger children to show him respect and deference.

pagodas and those throughout the country are descendants of the pagoda slaves. 461 175 567

Beggars are rated below the pagoda slaves - but, because of the Buddhist merit associated with giving do well for themselves. 778 735 The beggars live in communities on the outskirts of the town often in cemetaries. They are thought to exhume the dead to get the coins placed in the mouth of the deceased to ensure expenses on his journey to heaven. The wood of the coffin is believed to be used in constructing their huts. Professional undertakers or morticians are regarded with horror since they like the beggars, make their living from the dead. The functions of burial are performed gratis by the entire village. A story is currently going around the University dormitories telling of an immensely wealthy Burmese coffin maker in Rangoon who has offered riches to the young man who will marry his beautiful daughter. When the future seems blank the students' friend advises "Hey, why don't you go and marry the coffin maker's daughter?" It seems that the money would scarcely compensate for the social discrimation. The extent to which the occupation classes are rigid in marriage and other social exchanges is an interesting problem. [779] 764 554 461 [203] 461 565 555

A young man is obliged to remain within the occupation class of his family or to rise to greater heights. He is advised at an early age to "be simple, aim high, and tell the truth." When children play at dacoits (thieves) or other "low class" games their parents object to their low aspirations and advise them to play nobles and ministers. One would feel justified in remaining idle rather than accept a position below that of his birth. It is better to accept a clerks job at a low salary than an artisans at a high salary. On the other hand those born into lower status occupation groups tend to be satisfied with their state as a condition of birth. In Rangoon, however, even the bankers may have ambitions to achieve fame and fortune. The opportunities for social mobility is greater in the towns and cities but difinitely restricted in the villages. [867] [857] [367]

Apprenticeship to trades begins at the age of 12 to 14 years, and usually lasts for several years. Ordinarily the youth is attached to the shop of a relative where he lives and is payed a subsistence wage while learning. The key to high positions lies in education in 461 467 874 [602]

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The key to high positions lies in education in the high schools and Universities. Family support is necessary for this and the student is constantly aware of his obligation to succeed for their benefit. "One tree can support a thousand birds" illustrate the dependency of the relatives on the successful individual.

In order to succeed one needs each of these three qualities: KAMMA (fate or luck), NYAN (intelligence), and WIRIYA(industriousness The failure of any one can cause the lack of success. Ordinarily, however, KAMMA is blamed in cases of failure - and the other two credited for success. The concept of KAMMA includes merit and demerit compiled in all previous existences. Because of this convenient excuse the true causes of failure are seldom analysed by the individual and he does not have a sense of personal blame or shame. Also social condemnation does not fall heavily on the unsuccessful who has tried and failed. However, one should finish what he starts or not attempt it, "once you start climbing the pole you must reach the top". The individual may not achieve fame or fortune but he is expected to maintain his birth position. His relatives, who suffer shame if he does not, help him. A major contribution of the individual is an advantagous marriage within or above his occupational group.

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What does one strive for, by work, in the Burmese society? Not subsistence, for food is ordinarily cheap and easily attained in the villages. Clothing, shelter and the other necessities of life are also not the objective. The subsistence pattern is simple and essentially homogeneous throughout the village.

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The ordinary head of a household thinks of three major benefits to be gained from wealth. The first and most immediate are jewels to adorn the women of the family. The status of the family is reflected in public by the bangles, necklaces and earrings worn by the ladies. Diamonds are most prized and the size is important. However, most important is that each female be provided with "a set" of jewelry. The wife of the middle and upper status group particularly will prod the husband until he provides these necessities. The women's clothing and also the husbands and his son's must also be the finest they can afford.

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The second urge for wealth arises out of the desire for old age security. Hence gold coins are saved (hidden) against the day when

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to belong to the same village then she is taken elsewhere. When they arrive, the whole group sits down to chat about the day's proceedings and various other matters.

If the parents do not agree to the match and keep their daughter under strict surveillance, the day may have to be postponed several times before the alcoement is successful.

KINSHIP SYSTEM

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U Myaing was asked to give the names and relationships of as many members of his consanguinal family as possible. In the course of several interviews he remembered no less than 201 individuals plus 64 spouses. Only 26 names of the consanguinal relatives and 8 of the affinal spouses (both 12% of the respective totals) were forgotten. These figures are one indication of the importance of family relations. Of the blood relatives 75 of 21 families were on U Myaing's father's side and 126 of 40 families on his mother's side. Greater emphasis on the mother's side is also seen in the fact that the families of all siblings of mother's father were remembered while father's father's siblings families were disregarded. This is undoubtedly due in part to Daw Aw Zar, his mother, being the surviving parent living with his but is also probably part of a larger pattern.

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Relationship terms are used in addressing the members of the immediate family, with exceptions for certain situations and individuals (for differentiating individuals; persons in junior relationships) where the proper name or nickname is used, the more remote relations are ordinaily addressed by name.

No differentiation is made in the kinship terms used between mother's and father's side of the family - a circumlocution being needed to indicate this. Male vs. female terms are common for all generations. From the 2nd ascending generation (grandparents) and beyond there is only one term for all males and one for all females for each generation (APO - grandfather; APWAH - grandmother). The same is true for the uncles (U LAY) and aunts (A DAW) although if the individual is older than the connecting parent a special age term is applied (DAW-GYI older aunt, U GYI - older uncle or "big sir.") A DAW is also used as a respect term toward any older woman. Younger

426 or her daughters or sons who are financially well-to-do. U Myaing's
593 sister who lives in Rangoon has given help to the eldest daughter by housing her near her cheroot-rolling job. The pattern of mutual aid among the relatives is strongly developed among the Burmese. "A tree will support a thousand birds" emphasises the importance of the relative who makes good for the rest of the family.

Relationship of Family to Community and State

602 A large portion of the Pathwe community were related to U Myaing.
621 Consequently many reciprocal activities fell within the family group. Most of the activities were prescribed by virtue of being a member of the community rather than by kinship ties. Such activities include cooperation in house raisings, funerals, marriage festivals, SHIN PYU ceremonies where the family involved needs help. Unpleasant occasions such as funerals demand everyone's attendance if not financial participation.
602 On pleasant occasions the participants are apt to be one's friends and
621 relatives. When someone builds a small house or puts a new thatch
476 roof on, the other villagers come to help. He does not have to pay
[342] the workers anything or even feed them. He has only to cook and prepare for them the raw foods and chillies, onions, etc., which each one brings for himself. This statement, however, holds true only when small houses are built. Regular carpenters have to be hired to build the big ones. U Myaing frequently helped to build other people's houses - small houses that could be completed in a day. Help of this nature is offered without asking.

764 When a person dies in the village, the villagers all go to the
621 house and certain elders help to bathe and dress the corpse and place
476 it on the bed, where it may be kept anywhere from three to seven days before being taken out and buried. The ground for burial is bought at the ceremony for the price of one pice. Now, in keeping with the general inflation, the price has risen to one anna. The grave is dug by the young men's group. The young men of the village carry the bier, or pull the bullock cart on which the coffin rests, and dig the grave. They also provide the orchestra. For performances on the night of the death and the day after a Burmese orchestra is engaged at the rate of Rs. 50/- to Rs. 100/-. The various visitors who come to condole with

369 and women too did the same, and wore their HTAMEINS breast high.
291 Here except for the refugees, he does not see much of this except when
562 people are bathing in the public water hydrants. When it is hot the men wear T shirts and the women wear light garments.

369 U Myaing says that the ordinary city dweller cannot do as much
464 hard labour as the average villager. For example, he cannot carry
461 a bag of rice on his shoulders if suddenly called upon to do so.

The workers from Rangoon are much more acute than the workers from the village. They speak and understand English and Hindustani and so get to know of any possible job long before the others. The villagers do not have these advantages, and so have to join work only later and they are placed to work under them.

563 As far as U Myaing is concerned, there is no racial animosity
464 towards Indians and workers of other races. This is due to the fact that there is no racial discrimination on the part of the employers, the first suitable applicant being given the work.

369 He finds that Rangoon has a much more equable climate than
132 Pathwe. In Rangoon it is not as cold asin Pathwe, where in the cold season it was very cold even though they lived in a proper house and kept all the doors and windows shut. He says that they would not be able in Pathwe to live in an open dwelling like they do at present.

369 Their relatives in Rangoon keep to themselves a great deal.
571 They work on their own and earn on their own. In Rangoon each family
•602 has only sufficient for itself. We cannot help them financially and neither can they help us much. When we go on a visit they can invite us to join in a meal or to partake of sweet tea, but they would not be able to lend us fifty or a hundred rupees. In Pathwe we could lend each other any amount up till a thousand five hundred rupees and that free of interest. These loans also need to be repaid only when it is convenient to the debtor. It would be inconvenient to have to repay a loan while the money was in the form of goods."

159 U Myaings eldest daughter has returned to the camp because the
369 woman who owns the cheroot rolling business has temporarily closed it
602 down and gone to Pantanaw with goods like onions, prawns and textiles. Since the girl is not sufficiently dexterous to find work elsewhere as

as a roller, and as the aunt from whom she is learning embroidery went into confinement quite recently, she has returned home to the camp. When this aunt had her child, Daw Aw Zar had to go and keep her company for a period of twenty days. Ma Aye Myaing made one or two visits to inquire into her progress. The actual delivery was performed not by Daw Aw Zar, but by someone else, a midwife. When Ma Aye Myaing gives birth to her child the other relatives are sure to offer help, especially if she had the baby in her own home. However, there are only about ten families from Pathee in Rangoon and out of that number only two or three will be able to come. There would be no need to ask them to come - they would come of their own accord if they heard the news. At present they live in distant parts of Rangoon town. In Pathee, on an occasion like this everyone comes to ask after the health of the mother and child, even though they may be no relations at all. On the seventh day after birth the house is washed and all visitors to the house are provided with scented water to wash their hair - and it is also sent to those elders who are unble to come. The water is scented with the cream of TAUNG-DAN-GYI, MATHAPYU and KALAMET roots. Enough scented water is provided for about 60 visitors. Most of the visitors are women and girls - very few young men come.

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In Rangoon it is very easy to earn two or three rupees in one day as labourers, while in Pathee even the worker who worked at the IBS for a monthly wage was paid only twenty to thirty rupees. But to offset that, the prices in Pathee were very much lower than those in Rangoon. MGAPI workers earn Rs. 10/- a month, and the foreman for the MGAPI workers is paid Rs. 15/- a month. This salary of ten rupees was more than sufficient for buying decent clothing and other necessities. These men had to be fed by their employer. The IB workmen who earned twenty to thirty rupees a month had to find their own food.

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U Myaing has made some friends among his fellow workers in Rangoon and has visited the house of one of them, but even this was not a social visit, as he went there to enquire about their work.

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23: Brant & Mi Mi Khaing E, I-5 (1949-1950)1951
AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

38. yauccá Husband (referential).
39. mù Husband's younger brother; husband's younger sister's husband. 601
40. khê?óu Elder sister's husband; husband's elder brother; husband's elder sister's husband.
41. yaummà Husband's sister; husband's brother's wife.

As may readily be seen by inspection of the charts, this kinship system reflects clearly the bilateral family structure, with an absence of terminological differentiation on the basis of the sex of the connecting relative. The other outstanding characteristic is the recognition of relative age at many points. For each generation a distinct set of terms is used. On ego's generation all cousins are merged with siblings; the terms are differentiated, however, according to relative age. In the first ascending generation, it will be noted, parents' siblings are terminologically distinguished according to degree of age relative to the parent. In the first descending generation, however, the factor of age loses significance; sex is the sole differentiating factor, apart from distinguishing terms for ego's own children. On successive descending generations sex distinction is absent and all relatives of a single generation are subsumed under a single kinship term.

Behaviorally as well as terminologically, relative age is the all-important hub 561 upon which the wheel of Burmese social life revolves. Deference to one's elders 602 is reflected in such customs as carrying things for them, refraining from sitting with one's head higher than those of elders, and avoiding postures in which the [516] feet are extended towards such persons.

Beyond such matters of etiquette, the importance of age is even more fundamentally demonstrated in the showing of obeisance to one's elders. This is done on all the important ceremonial occasions. Four such occasions are regarded as [712] obligatory times for paying one's respects. These are the beginning and the end of the Buddhist "Lent"—a period of about three months, roughly from mid-July to mid-October—the New Year, and the harvest. Respect is paid to all of one's elders in the parental generation and above. A visit is made at which an offering, valuable or symbolic, is brought and the elder's blessings are received.

SOCIAL RELATIONS OF KIN

Husband–Wife. The household is normally composed of husband and wife 593 and their offspring. It is a bilateral, limited type of family structure, contrasting [592] markedly with the patrilineal extended Chinese family and joint family of India. [594] Unlike the position of the wife in the Chinese and Indian family systems, that of the Burmese wife is not one of an outsider living in a group dominated by her

[Text continues on page 442]

23: Benedict
184, 192, 582, 591, 60[illegible] 611, 613, 614, 616, 618, 621

ALI Southeast Asia
Burmese AP4

/For lists of kinship terms, and for excellent and detailed information concerning correlations between kinship terminology, patterns of behavior, and social institutions, see category 601./

606 Since the son-in-law has the social status of a son in his wife's family, he has the right to expect his father-in-law to sponsor his career, even more than he expects this of his own father.

A daughter-in-law is expected to regard and treat her husband's father very much as her own father.

603 Grandparent and Grandchild. Because of the great difference in age between these generations, great respect is theoretically due grandparents. In practice, this may be flouted and great indulgence shown to grandchildren. Grandparents quite frequently help in rearing their grandchildren, tell them stories and teach them the Buddhist precepts.

The Life Cycle of the Individual

843 828 Birth and Infancy. When a woman is pregnant her dreams are considered to be especially significant. She is expected to remember those dreams that concern what her child will be like. The welfare of the child is forecast by some dreams. A dream of only one of things that normally come in pairs, such as earrings, bodes ill, possibly death, of the child in infancy. If the woman dreams of her viscera coming out it is indicative of a great future for the child. Persistent dreams of a particular deceased individual are indicative that the child will represent his reincarnation. In all forebodings of ill the normal counter-measure is to consult a Buddhist monk or an astrologer, who may give the woman an inscribed prayer (mantra) to keep or some amulet for the child to wear as protection.

843 Although village women need not avoid any specific foods during pregnancy, strong spices are regarded as harmful.

No supernatural means are employed to influence the sex of the prospective offspring. Certain signs are considered prognostication. If the pregnant woman's stomach appears pointed, a boy will be born; a flat, broad stomach indicates that a girl is in prospect.

Pregnancy is considered a time of great happiness; the woman is greatly indulged and pampered by all concerned.

844 When the time for delivery approaches, any other pregnant women in the household must depart, lest their presence impede labor. Normally the woman's mother, grandmother, or aunt, in addition to a midwife, assists at birth. A fire is prepared in the room in which delivery is to take place and is maintained for ten days.

844 846 As soon as delivery has occurred, the umbilical cord is cut with a bamboo knife. The afterbirth is wrapped in the mother's skirt and is buried at once in the cardinal direction associated with the day of the week of the baby's birth. The mother is fed an infusion of turmeric, and turmeric paste is rubbed all over her body. She is kept close to the fire and made very warm. For three days she is carefully watched to prevent her from sleeping heavily during daylight hours.

846 The mother is treated as a delicate invalid for about one month and, in some cases, for as long as three months. She is fed only white rice and dried fish. A soup of garlic and banana stems is drunk to promote the flow

23: Brant & Mi Mi Khaing E, I-5 (1949-1950)1951
AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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Mother-in-law–Daughter-in-law. A daughter-in-law is definitely subordinate 606 to her mother-in-law; if they live in the same household, the mother-in-law is entitled to the best room and to be waited upon by her daughter-in-law. Significantly, the Burmese term for daughter-in-law, cwêimà, means literally "sweat woman."

Mother-in-law–Son-in-law. θamề, the term for son-in-law, means "desired son." A son-in-law is a privileged member of the family of his wife. His wishes are respected and his comforts looked after. His mother-in-law will instruct his [607] wife's younger siblings to show him respect and deference.

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23: Brant & Mi Mi Khaing E, I-5 (1949-1950)1951
AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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THE LIFE CYCLE OF THE INDIVIDUAL

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cern what her child will be like. The welfare of the child is forecast by some dreams: a dream of only one of things that normally are paired, such as earrings, bodes ill, possibly death, of the child in infancy; a dream of her viscera coming out indicates a great future for the child. Persistent dreams of a particular deceased individual are indicative of whose reincarnation the child will represent. In all forebodings of ill the normal counter-measure is to consult a Buddhist [751]
monk or an astrologer, who may give the prospective mother an inscribed *mantra* (prayer) to keep or some amulet for the child to wear as protection.

Although the Burmese woman need not avoid any specific foods during her [262]
pregnancy, strong spices are regarded as harmful.

No supernatural means are employed to influence the sex of the prospective offspring. Certain signs are considered prognosticative: if the pregant woman's stomach is pointed, a boy will be born, whereas a broad, flat stomach indicates a girl is in prospect.

Pregnancy among the Burmese is considered a time of great happiness; the woman is greatly indulged and pampered by all concerned.

When the time for delivery approaches any other pregnant women in the 844
household must depart, lest their presence impede labor. Usually the woman's mother, grandmother, or aunt, in addition to a midwife, assists at birth. A fire is prepared in the room in which delivery is to take place and is maintained for ten days.

As soon as delivery has occurred, the umbilical cord is cut with a bamboo 846
knife. The afterbirth is wrapped in the new mother's skirt and is buried at once in the cardinal direction associated with the day of the week of the baby's birth. The mother is fed an infusion of turmeric, and turmeric paste is rubbed all over her body. She is kept close to the nearby fire and made very warm. For three days she is carefully watched to prevent her from sleeping heavily in daylight hours.

The new mother is treated as a delicate invalid for about a month and, in [262]
some cases, for as long as three months. She is fed only white rice and dried fish. [853]
A soup of garlic and banana stems is drunk to promote the flow of milk. She is not permitted to read, sew, or to do anything that will "arouse or stir the blood."

thinking, being the mother of a son is itself considered the greatest event of a 573
woman's life and represents the achievement of full existence as a female human being. The relationship is close and indulgent. The mother is regarded by her son as more important than his wife; in fact, a son normally will choose a wife with a great deal of regard for his mother's opinions and wishes.

Mother and Daughter. The mother is her daughter's early teacher. It is 593
considered most important for the girl to learn prayers, how to prepare the 868
daily food offering, and how to change the flowers on the household altar. These things are taught almost from the time the child begins to speak and understand. Other household duties in which a mother instructs her daughter [565]
vary considerably with the economic status of the family. In poor families some assistance with tending animals and winnowing the rice is part of the girl's work from about the age of ten. Daughters are expected to show filial respect and deference equally to the mother and father.

Father and Son. The father occupies the role of disciplinarian in the 593
family. Disciplining of sons may include physical punishment, though such 861
measures are not resorted to readily. Prior to adolescence, boys are taught prayers and good habits by their mothers, with the father remaining more or less in the background and interfering only when disciplinary action may be required of him. After a son passes adolescence the father becomes important as his mentor.

Husband and Wife's Elder Sister. This relationship tends to mirror a 607
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elder sister's position, in many cases, as his senior, having a claim on outward respect and obedience. In practice this relationship is often cool and aloof in nature, very much in contrast to the free and easy one between a man and his wife's younger sisters.

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law. If they live in the same household, the mother-in-law is entitled to the best room and to be waited upon by her daughter-in-law. Significantly, the Burmese word for daughter-in-law (cwôimà) means 'sweat women.

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the ghost who must then render services as requested. "To rear ghosts is like keeping a cobra in the pocket" indicates the delicate relationship between captive ghost and master. An individual with a grudge against another for real or imaginal offenses will frequently secure the services of an influence master and his "pet ghost". When the victim feels the effects, as in cases of sudden illnesses such as appendicitis, heart trouble, or fainting spells, his family contacts another influence master (upper root type) to, by incantations, cast out the ghost from the victim. This results in a secret contest of magic between the influence masters involved.

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In actual practice no influence masters admit to rearing ghosts and the first-cause aggressor does not indentify himself as such. Influence masters play an important part in differences between affinal families. In this case the mother-in-law constantly competes with her son's wife for the attentions of the son. The mother will notice the lack of attentions, or monetary support of the son and his corresponding infatuation for his wife. She will claim that the wife is exercising magical control (usually through food) on the son. An influence master is applied to in order to control this evil influence by incantations, medicine, candles, and always an ingredient of money. When the wife's family understands what is happening they will also secure the help of another specialist to counteract the influence. The son is thus torn between the two forces. He is at first oblivious to this but later becomes uneasy in mind. If the strain on the son is too severe the mother may give in and the difference resolved on her part - whereupon the son continues in his former course. Often he will berate both groups saying " I am only normal, you are foolish to involve yourselves in a dispute". Sometimes the mother wins and the son thanks her for intevening and saving him. Another common situation is where a wife seeks to control the influence of another woman on her husband (when he philanders). In this case the forces are directed against the woman, who is to blame, and not the man.

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In the town centers the decline in one's fortunes is often blamed on the evil influence of one's rival. It is said that administrative

23: Brant & Mi Mi Khaing E, I-5 (1949-1950)1951
AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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14: Brant E-5 (1949-50) 1954 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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Myowun wrote to him to say that as the envoy would not take his advice he must break off all intercourse, and the English thanthaman would be good enough not to come near his house for the future. Captain Cox had had a fence put up round his house to keep away the inquisitive rabble, at a cost of twenty rupees. One morning when he woke up he found this had been unceremoniously carried away, and that it had been used to enclose a place near the river where the heir-apparent's head might be washed. Finally great pressure was put upon him to take the oath of allegiance to the king; he was to drink the water in which the muskets and lances of the guard had been dipped, and it was expressly stipulated that he should pay for his oath just as any Burman would have to do. Scores of like details might be mentioned with regard to all the other ambassadors and residents. It will be sufficient, however, to mention that, in later years, one resident had a cane flourished over his head by a convict lictor, and that the last *chargé d'affaires* of all was chased by a howling rabble from the Mandalay bazaar to the Residency gates, which were broken in—no great exertion of strength was necessary certainly—all because he had killed a pariah dog that was snapping at his heels.

If the various Government representatives were treated in this way, non-official Englishmen could not expect great reverence to be paid to them, and it is hardly worth mentioning that in 1881 a Rangoon merchant, yelled at by convict lictors, went down on his knees while one of the leading spirits of the massacres, the Hpaung Wun, went by on his elephant. Little wonder then that the patriotic fictions of the Mahā Yazawin were believed, and that the perusal of them was all the more greedily indulged in. The wearing of shoes in the Palace was never settled till there had ceased to be a Lord of it.

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But it is not so much the English that suffered—though occasionally a few of them did get stoned—as the smaller nations and tribes who live around and among the Burmese. It must be acknowledged that the Burman is a sad bully; but the white strangers could reduce him to civility, if to nothing else, very speedily. It is different with other races —some perhaps aboriginal, some invaders of Burma as much

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma(Hill Peoples)AP
Burmese AP4

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as the Burmese themselves. The Chins, the Karens, and, in some degree, even the stalwart if simple Shans, have all suffered in common with weaker nationalities from the cunning and braggadocio of the Burman. The Mahā Yazawin delights no less in recounting tales of barbaric diplomacy than in heroics about gallant generals who hold quicksilver in their mouths and advance on the quailing foe, leaping eighteen or twenty cubits in the air. For example, the chronicles of Prome relate the well-known world-story of the bullock's hide of ground. A tribe came from the East under the command of an Amazon. She obtained from the aborigines—probably now some of the hill-tribes in Arakan—a grant of as much land as could be enclosed within an ox-hide, and, following the example of Dido, cut the hide into strips. She got into difficulties, however, and would probably have been driven out had she not married a neighbouring king. A stepson of hers founded the ancient town of Tharekettara (Prome), an event said to have been prophesied by the Buddha Gautama himself, in proof whereof the Shwesandaw pagoda exists to the present day.

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A story of a similar character is told with regard to the Shans. The Burmans had a quarrel with some of these big-boned highlandmen as to the ownership of a tract of fine paddy-land. The Shans were in force, and perfectly prepared to fight about the matter. The Burmese therefore resorted to craft. An old hermit was referred to on the subject. He said that the party which first finished building a pagoda of a certain fixed size should have the disputed territory. So both sides set to work. The Burmese soon found that the sturdy hillmen were distancing them. At night, therefore, the chief had recourse to stratagem. He made a framework of bamboos of the required height, had it covered with cloth, and daubed the cloth with white plaster. When daylight came, and the Shans saw the Burmese shrine complete and perfect, even to the extent of offerings of fruit and candles, their astonishment and dismay were such that they marched off straightway to the hills—ascribing the rapid erection to supernatural assistance, and never dreaming of examining the precocious payā; whereat the Burmese chronicler chuckles with patriotic delight, and glorifies the

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma (Hill Peoples) AP1
Burmese AP4

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shrewdness of his countrymen. The same story is told of the foundation of the Arakan empire by the younger of two brothers who came from India.

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But it is in the relations with the milder-natured tribes, such as the Karens and Chins, or the small if warlike septs such as the Kachins, that the Burman most comes up to the truculence of the Mahā Yazawin. Out of the northern Kachins—bold robber bands, armed with queer, home-made, stockless guns—little was to be gained. They lived on the hills, and owned nothing but pigs; but they raided on lowland villages, and the Burmans retaliated, and there were periodic seasons of mutual crucifixion. Long ago these clans had the reputation of kindly hospitality, but Burmese tyranny made most of them dangerous savages. It is different with the Karens and Chins. The former, a heavy, plethoric people, endure their wrongs with dull indifference, all but the fierce Red Karens, who kept up a perpetual guerilla warfare, after the manner of the Kachins. The Karens account for their wrongs in the following way. When Yŭwa created the world he took three handfuls of earth and threw them round about him. From one sprang the Burmans, from another the Karens, and from the third the Kalās, the foreigners. The Karens were very talkative and made more noise than all the others, and so the Creator believed that there were too many of them, and he threw another half handful to the Burmans, who thus gained such a supremacy that they soon overcame the Karens, and have oppressed them ever since.

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The Chins were subjected to such long-continued and systematic ill-treatment on the part of the Burmese, that traditions accounting for this oppression actually form a part of the national religion. All mankind, they say, is descended from a woman called Hlinyu, who laid 101 eggs, from the last laid of which sprang the Chins. Hlinyu loved the youngest best; but he had gone away, and before she found him again the whole world except bleak mountain-ranges had been partitioned out among her other children. So the Chin first man got the hills, and as compensation was given elephants, horses, cattle, goats, pigs, and fowls. Unfortunately, Hlinyu appointed the Burman brother to

16;Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

CHAPTER XVIII

MANNERS

'Not where others fail, or do, or leave undone—the wise should notice what himself has done, or left undone.'—*Dammapada.*

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A REMARKABLE trait of the Burmese character is their unwillingness to interfere in other people's affairs. Whether it arises from their religion of self-culture or no, I cannot say, but it is in full keeping with it. Every man's acts and thoughts are his own affair, think the Burmans; each man is free to go his own way, to think his own thoughts, to act his own acts, as long as he does not too much annoy his neighbours. Each man is responsible for himself and for himself alone, and there is no need for him to try and be guardian also to his fellows. And so the Burman likes to go his own way, to be a free man within certain limits; and the freedom that he demands for himself, he will extend also to his neighbours. He has a very great and wide tolerance towards all his neighbours, not thinking it necessary to disapprove of his neighbours' acts because they may not be the same as his own, never thinking it necessary to interfere with his

16:Fielding Hall G-8 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

neighbours as long as the laws are not broken. Our ideas that what habits are different to our habits must be wrong, and being wrong, require correction at our hands, is very far from his thoughts. He never desires to interfere with anyone. Certain as he is that his own ideas are best, he is contented with that knowledge, and is not ceaselessly desirous of proving it upon other people. And so a foreigner may go and live in a Burman village, may settle down there and live his own life and follow his own customs in perfect freedom, may dress and eat and drink and pray and die as he likes. No one will interfere. No one will try and correct him; no one will be for ever insisting to him that he is an outcast, either from civilization or from religion. The people will accept him for what he is, and leave the matter there. If he likes to change his ways and conform to Burmese habits and Buddhist forms, so much the better; but if not, never mind.

It is, I think, a great deal owing to this habit of mind that the manners of the Burmese are usually so good, children in civilization as they are. There is amongst them no rude inquisitiveness and no desire to in any way circumscribe your freedom, by either remark or act. Surely of all things that cause trouble, nothing is so common amongst us as the interference with each other's ways, as the needless giving of advice. It seems to each of us that we are responsible, not only for ourselves, but also for everyone else near us; and so if we disapprove of any act, we are always in a hurry to express our disapproval and to try and persuade the actor to our way of thinking. We are for ever thinking of others

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

571 and trying to improve them; as a nation we try to coerce weaker nations and to convert stronger ones, and as individuals we do the same. We are sure that other people cannot but be better and happier for being brought into our ways of thinking, by force even, if necessary. We call it philanthropy.

571 609 [779] But the Buddhist does not believe this at all. Each man, each nation has, he thinks, enough to do managing his or its own affairs. Interference, any sort of interference, he is sure can do nothing but harm. *You* cannot save a man. He can save himself; you can do nothing for him. You may force or persuade him into an outer agreement with you, but what is the value of that? All dispositions that are good, that are of any value at all, must come spontaneously from the heart of man. First, he must desire them, and then struggle to obtain them; by this means alone can any virtue be reached. This, which is the key of his religion, is the key also of his private life. Each man is a free man to do what he likes, in a way that we have never understood.

Even under the rule of the Burmese kings there was the very widest tolerance. You never heard of a foreigner being molested in any way, being forbidden to live as he liked, being forbidden to erect his own places of worship. He had the widest freedom, as long as he infringed no law. The Burmese rule may not have been a good one in many ways, but it was never guilty of persecution, of any attempt at forcible conversion, of any desire to make such an attempt.

This tolerance, this inclination to let each man

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

next to a parent, with a life-long devotion.

Before or after the monastic novitiate, it is the custom for the Burman lads to have themselves tattooed from the waist to the knee (No. 152). Not to submit to this ordeal is to incur the reproach of cowardice. The tattooing is an intricate pattern of animals and tracery. Owing to the extent of surface involved, the process is most painful. It occupies days or weeks, according to the fortitude of the subject, who is drugged with opium for the occasion. The instrument has a handle weighted at the butt, and a long point of bronze, split like a ruling-pen. It is worked with great rapidity. The pigment is a kind of lamp-black of the consistence of ink. It shows bluish black through the brown skin. When a Burman tucks up his loin-cloth, as he always does for work or exercise (*kaddung-chaik*), he looks as if he had black knee-breeches. As plain as the contrast is to the eye, ordinary photographic plates fail to render it. In No. 153 it appears fully. On other parts of the body the men frequently have horoscopes and cabalistic diagrams tattooed with vermilion (*se-ni*, No. 162) for luck and bravado. The Shan practice of letting in gold and silver discs the size of two-penny pieces—beneath the skin—is sometimes imitated by Burmans as a charm against sword-cuts and bullets (*dâbyi*; *themabbyi*). The Arakanese, who repudiate the custom of *thgwin*, ascribe it to a Burman King, who endeavoured to disguise his leprosy in this way.

27. VILLAGE LAY SCHOOL.

28. KITE-FLYING.

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25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 API Burma API
Indians
Burmese AP4

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trees. All that the villagers asked for (and of course got) was exemption from land-tax. Another hopeful feature is that the Burman is not devoid of the quality of self-criticism. With the Indian retail trader comes also the wholesale merchant—Persian, Parsi, Súrati, Chetti and Bania. And the Burmans at large accept the situation, never dreaming that by travelling abroad and seeing for themselves how other nations manage and how they fare, they might learn to conduct their own business, and help to save Burma from sinking to the level of proletariate countries. Natives of India and China have learned so much in their capacities of assistants to European merchants that they are getting the retail trade in European goods to themselves. Even as importers, with their agents in Europe, they are making themselves independent of the European merchant in the East. The European spheres of activity on which Burmans

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366. EUROPEAN TYPE OF HOUSE.

have entered are saw-mill enterprise and the profession of advocacy, in which latter they have attained a high standing.

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To the Burman, the native of India is the foreigner *par excellence*—*Kalá*—and shares the disrepute that a stay-at-home people commonly accord to the foreigner, especially when he is a needy one. To them he is the dog that eats the crumbs which fall from his table ("*K'me-Kalá!*"). While the Chinaman, despite his uncouthness and uncanny parasitic trade, is considered an eligible man, *Kalá-mayá*—nigger's-wife—is a term of reproach. The *Kalá* half-breeds are called *Zerbádi*. They appear to possess fewer good qualities than either of the pure races. The Euro-Burman half-breeds are called *Bayinji*—(Feringhi, the Indian equivalent of Frank) explained by the Burmans as *Bayin-ayí* (adherent of) the Great Prince (the Pope).

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Europeans are the only remaining foreigners whom the Burmans encounter, excepting a few Armenians, Jews and Malays. Armenians were beginning to play

23: Benedict
184, 192, 582, 591, 602, 611, 613, 614, 616, 618, 621

ALl Southeast Asia
Burmese AP4

/For lists of kinship terms, and for excellent and detailed information concerning correlations between kinship terminology, patterns of behavior, and social institutions, see category 601./

23: Benedict ALl Southeast Asia
184, 192, 582, 591, 602, 611, 613, 614, 616, Burmese AP4
618, 621

/For lists of kinship terms, and for excellent and detailed information concerning correlations between kinship terminology, patterns of behavior, and social institutions, see category 601./

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

the big rake once up and down the rain-sodden field—and then stops; for he is portly, and short of breath now. The ministers, no matter how fat they are, have to go on ploughing as long as the Arbiter of Existence chooses to look on. At last he declares that enough has been done, and preparations are made to go back again. He doffs his royal robes, for the tharapu, with its spire and jewelled ear-flappets, is burdensome, and the long surcoat, with its thousands of precious stones, is said to weigh about a hundred pounds. The Lord White Elephant is relieved too. He stalks back unencumbered, with his household of thirty retainers fussing about him with fans and swaying umbrellas.

The king gets into an open car, something like what Roman racing chariots are represented to have been. It is of course adorned as richly as everything else, and is drawn not by ponies or bullocks, but by men, eight of them pulling at each of the flexible shafts. The object is to prevent any one, the driver for example, sitting higher than the king. The English carriages presented at various times to different Burmese monarchs met with little approval. At first it was thought that the king was to sit on the box; but then it was found that with this arrangement there was nothing for it but that the driver should run by the side and therefore maintain a constant erect attitude in the presence of royalty. When it was found that the king was supposed to sit inside, with the driver two or three feet above him, a burst of indignation suggested that it was an insidious plot to put an insult on the majesty of the lord of the umbrella-bearing chiefs. For a time the vehicles were put away as lumber; but an ingenious handicraftsman adorned them with pyathats—five-roofed ecclesiastical or royal spires. They were now, when drawn by men, suitable for royal occupation; but unfortunately the solid teak-wood spires made them top-heavy, and especially unstable on rough Mandalay roads. They therefore degenerated into paraphernalia for exhibition on a kadaw day, or gauds for a procession at Tawadeintha feast time.

The king consequently returns on his low, gilt, native-made carriage, reclining on a mattress placed on the floor. He is now dressed in the ordinary national way, with a light

23: Benedict
184, 192, 582, 591, 602, 611, 613, 614, 616, 618, 621

ALl Southeast Asia
Burmese AP4

/For lists of kinship terms, and for excellent and detailed information concerning correlations between kinship terminology, patterns of behavior, and social institutions, see category 601./

23: Benedict
184, 192, 582, 591, 602, 611, 613, 614, 616, 618, 621

A L1 Southeast Asia
Burmese AP4

/For lists of kinship terms, and for excellent and detailed information concerning correlations between kinship terminology, patterns of behavior, and social institutions, see category 601./

23: Benedict
184, 192, 582, 591, 602, 611, 613, 614, 616,
●618, 621

ALl Southeast Asia
Burmese AP4

/For lists of kinship terms, and for excellent and detailed information concerning correlations between kinship terminology, patterns of behavior, and social institutions, see category 601./

for an adult and 8 annas for a child."

In camp U Myaing does not play cards very much except when at funerals to pass the night away. His total stakes on such occasions are only about eight annas or a rupee. He has never been to the races, and he never goes about town for fun. He does not go visiting much except when on business. When he does go, he visits Hla Khin, his first cousin who lives in HSIN-MIN-KMET-THIT, and his cousin Ma Sein Naing who lives in Ahlone. In Rangoon there are about 40,000 to 60,000 refugees from Pantanaw district. Sometimes he visits other people whom he knew at the village. However, in a single year his purely social visits to people outside of the camp totals only three visits - one visit each to three houses.

Dr. Orr, Dr. Sheppard, Mr. Shaw and Mr. Musgrave are the only white men he has met. He does not know any other Americans or Englishmen.

U Myaing has not gone to the pagoda once in the present month. During the past month, when he was working at the Jubilee Hall, he used to cross the pagoda platform twice a day going to and coming from his work. In the last year he donated some money at the Shwe Dagon. He gave 2 annas on three occasions four annas on 6 occasions, and once, when he drew his monthly pay, he donated a rupee. Apart from these, he donated money 6 or 7 times during the first one or two months of their arrival, during the time when he was going around selling mats. He gave altogether three or four rupees in these six or seven times.

Only Daw Aw Zar regularly goes to the pagoda solely for the sake of worship and prayer. Ma Aye Myaing has been there about five times on three occasions, but, they were while she was on her way elsewhere, and only once or twice purely for worship. Her total offerings amount to only about a rupee. Daw Aw Zar remarked that they would not have had the opportunity of praying at this great pagoda if they were still in Pantanaw. Daw Aw Zar gives offerings of flowers, money, candles and incense, and goes up the pagoda frequently.

In his worship, U Myaing recites the 5 SILAS. He prays for

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647 631 Service and beginners in the B.C.S. II. It entailed the charge of a unit of administration known as the township, a collection of village tracts, with headquarters at a town of about two to five thousand inhabitants. The township officer supervised the administration of villages and the land system, helped in the suppression of crime and revenue collection, acted as government registrar, and carried out duties assigned to him by his senior officer. This was the Sub-divisional officer, in charge of two or three townships. Two or three sub-divisions were in turn grouped into a district under a Deputy Commissioner, a post attainable by members of the B.C.S. II before their term of service if they showed talent, but more often held by members of the B. C. S. I. Three to eight districts were grouped in divisions under a Divisional Commissioner who had civil and revenue powers and was responsible to the Governor for every department of public service except special branches directly under the control of the central government. There were eight Divisions in Burma.

When my father was an S.D.O. he had various magisterial, civil and revenue powers. Besides exercising these duties in the sub-divisional headquarters, he toured around the sub-division for about ten days in the month and we sometimes accompanied him. When he was stationed at Myanaung we went to Ingabu where my mother had good friends, Pauktaing where there was a great and revered Image of Buddha, Kyangin which had a thriving silk-weaving industry. In a township headquarters like Kyangin we met only the Township Officer although the town was divided into blocks or wards, each of which was under a headman whom my father also had to meet.

647 631 177, 63 621 But in a village like Pauktaing we came directly into contact with the headman, the *thugyi* or "elder person", who, as a source of local authority over villagers, is a carry over of the administrative system under the Burmese kings. The headmen in those days were properly described by their name of thugyi. They were chosen by the villagers and assisted in their duties by a group of elders. The headman distributed the burden of the revenue that was due from the village among the villagers and collected it, being allowed a percentage of the collections. He was the village magistrate and sometimes the village judge. New settlers in the village had to obtain his permission to take up abode. The office tended to become hereditary, and in those times when there was little contact between the central government and the local administration of the peasantry, the authority of a good headman was a strong influence that extended over more than one village. In present times, however, each village has been established as a separate administrative unit under one headman; the Township Officer, the Sub-divisional

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Officer have appeared as higher sources of authority which are present not far away, and the village headman has lost much of his standing as elder person responsible for law and order, retaining chiefly his position as tax-collector. This is to the loss of village administration.

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As a-so-ya mins, men like my father had more power and prestige than they had money. The salary of a B.C.S. II Officer, which ranged from Rs. 300/- to Rs. 900/-, was enough to ensure easy living and a certain amount of saving for old age, but in the place of the expensive carpets, glass, silver, uniformed servants and tinned foods which we saw in English officials' houses, they had to spend what might seem to foreigners a disproportionate amount on two items: jewellery for the women and financial help to relatives. Jewellery is not a vanity for a Burmese woman but an article of dress, worn both day and night, in varying degrees according to whether she is working or out on pleasure. The word for jewellery does not include any description of gems, but is *let-wut let-sa*: wear for the arms and such. When servant girls enter a household the humblest of them is given a gold chain to hang around her neck or a bangle for her wrist. Thus among the classes who have any money to spare beyond that for mere sustenance, from the more affluent cultivators, the small traders and shopkeepers and clerks, to "rich" landowners, mill-owners and government officials, a great amount of money is spent on jewellery. Not to have any would be an unbearable shame.

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A complete set of jewellery for a well-dressed woman comprises the following articles, all worn together when attending shinbyus, ear-boring and marriage ceremonies, official functions and numerous other occasions. For the hair a *sado*, a hairpin with a single large diamond on the end; a comb with teeth of gold and a row of diamonds set closely along the back of the rim; a *sein-pan gaing*, a gold hairpin with a cluster of flowers to hang and dangle, set with diamonds. These articles have the gold parts embedded in the knot of hair and only show the diamonds. Round the neck are worn the *lè-gat*, a narrow gold collar set widely with diamonds, fitting like a vice; below this a double row of small pearls tied tightly behind with red tassels; the *lè-ton* "trembling necklace"—a "choker" necklace—sitting so that little chains set with diamonds hang from it all round the neck and tremble; a chain with a diamond locket below this. In the ears are worn single diamond studs. On the jacket five diamond buttons, attached to gold rings set with diamonds, fasten the button loops. On the wrists and hands diamond bracelets and as many rings as possessed, of rubies, emeralds and sapphires set with diamonds are worn. A young girl also wears hollow anklets of gold round her ankles. In addition to the above, the richer minkadaws and wives of big traders possess corresponding pieces of rubies, emeralds and

14: Brant E-5 (1949-50) 1954 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4
Indians

On February 18, 1950, on arriving in the village early in the morning for our usual daily period of observation and interviewing concerning village life, we were immediately struck by the absence of villagers going to and fro in their daily tasks and by the deadly silent atmosphere pervading the whole village scene. On the veranda of one house located just across the bridge leading into the village a large number of people was assembled. An informant related that on the previous evening, about eleven o'clock, some fifteen armed bandits carrying automatic weapons as well as small arms came via Pazundaung Creek and invaded the village. Firing their guns into the air to frighten the people, they proceeded directly to the house where the large gathering was now assembled and demanded Rs. 1000 in cash and ten ticals of gold. When the head of the household protested that he did not have that much, they took him to the ricefields, bound his feet, and shot him to death. They also visited another home and made demands upon the woman who was the head of the household. When money was not forthcoming, they tied up the members of the family, struck the woman on the head, and removed all the clothing in the house except that being worn. Although the police were notified immediately after this attack upon the village, they did not come to investigate until many hours later. Villagers expected no real assistance from the authorities, whom they considered incompetent and afraid of bandits. The village headman said that although he suspected that there were accomplices among the villagers, he was afraid to name these suspects to the police, lest revenge be taken upon himself and his family. 674 175

This event, climaxing a series of attacks upon the village within the past year, set in motion a number of actions which are interesting for what they reveal of the social structure of the village as well as for the light they throw on intergroup relations. 621 674

The village headman, who had spoken of the need for the community to arm itself, and of the high cost of doing so, decided that a village meeting should be called to consider the matter.

A few days after the murder described above, the meeting was called. Early one morning the village crier went through the community sounding a gong and summoning the people to the school-house. Within an hour some fifty villagers arrived. As the group slowly gathered, several men came to tell the headman that their gardening or other work was urgent and asked to be excused.

As the meeting began, the elders sat on the veranda of the school-house, surrounding the headman, who sat at the schoolmaster's desk. A good deal of informal discussion took place between the elders and the headman before the meeting was called to order, and it was at this point that actual decision making was doubtless done.

The headman opened the meeting formally by addressing the assembled group, telling them that he was sure they were tired of the attacks upon the village and that they wanted to take action; that there was no future for them so long as they remained defenseless; and that once the rainy season came, it would not even be possible to flee during an attack. Although he could have made a decision in consultation with the elders, the headman told the gathering, he had called a general meeting because he wanted to be sure the community would support him in any course of action he might take.

The headman now proposed that a fund be raised for the purchase of arms and a plan formulated for defending the village. Since the idea of a common

14: Brant E-5 (1949-50) 1954 AP1 Burma
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Indians

621 674 fund, which he had broached informally on past occasions, did not meet with enthusiasm, the headman suggested that the village be divided into territorial units, and that each unit be responsible for raising its own money for arms and for deciding on the custody of its weapons. He called for volunteers from the elders to take responsibility for soliciting funds from inhabitants of their respective areas.

The headman's speech was met with total silence for a time, followed by a great deal of whispered conversation among various small groups. At this point the eldest man in Tadagale, himself a retired headman and a relative of the present headman, exhorted, 'Speak out your thoughts. It is not good to keep things bottled up within yourselves.' The headman now told the group that as their representative he could do nothing unless they wished it.

As hushed conversations continued among the assembled villagers, the headman and elders proceeded to talk among themselves for several minutes. It was then and there decided that each household would be asked to contribute what it could afford; no fixed assessment would be levied. A household too poor to contribute to its unit fund would be expected to help in the event that an attack occurred. Since some elders objected to giving assistance to any unit which chose not to arm or could not afford to, it was decided that armed groups would not come to their aid. Now another call for volunteers to raise funds was made by the headman, and several elders offered their services. The headman asked them to make every effort to persuade people to contribute.

If we may digress for a moment, this village meeting is instructive in 623 showing how authority is exercised and decision making takes place in the community. The traditional emphasis upon the wisdom and authority of age is seen in the fact that only the elders spoke in the meeting, although the headman presumably called the meeting, in the first place, to mobilize village-wide support and tried to evoke expressions of opinion. An informant questioned later about the meeting said, 'It is not customary for the younger people to voice their opinions or take part in the discussion during a meeting. The elders do that.' The idea of a free give-and-take discussion is almost totally foreign to these peasants, who live but a few miles from Rangoon, a center of diffusion for western concepts and practices.

621 563 To return to the bearing of the above described meeting on Indian-Burmese relations in the village. During the meeting the question arose whether the Indians would be asked to contribute to the fund for purchasing arms, to which the headman answered in the affirmative. At that point one man quipped, 'Of course they must contribute; they have thousands of rupees.' [The meeting was concerned with defending the village against bandits.—Analyst]

Two spokesmen for the Indians were present. The village headman explained to them that those who lived towards the northern end of the village would be included in a nearby unit for defense purposes, while the others could contribute their money directly to him. Then, half in jest, he said that each Indian household should give the cost of one gun. Somewhat irritated, one of the Indian spokesmen said that if need be he was willing to pay for five guns, but the question he wanted answered was who would have custody of the weapons. The headman was extremely hesitant to answer and the Indians left the meeting without a definite answer.

14: Brant E-5 (1949-50) 1954 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4
Indians

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So matters rested for about two weeks. On March 7th the Indian quarter of the village was suddenly the scene of intense activity. Houses and barns were being dismantled and ox carts and motor trucks were being loaded with animal fodder and dismantled buildings. The normally quiet Indian community was a beehive of activity. Quite without warning, the Indians were leaving Tadagale en masse. Eagerly we sought out Indian informants to determine what had happened.

An Indian woman tearfully related her version of events:

> The Burmese want the Indians of the village to pay 1,150 rupees for guns to defend the community. How can we afford that amount? Our money has all been spent buying hay. Besides, we Indians are not wanted in this village. We have been abused and threatened; men have walked into my house carrying sticks and pieces of iron and have kicked the dogs. We can't afford to move; it costs 20 rupees to have a house dismantled, 10 rupees to have it transported, and 60 rupees to have it erected again. We will be heavily in debt by the time the move is over. But we Indians prefer to move because the Burmese here are bad. Last night I saw one of them trying to steal chickens from his neighbor's house.

An Indian man expressed himself with great agitation and feeling:

> These people think that when we come to Burma we take leave of our senses. We raise the money; we buy the guns; the licenses are in our names, but they keep custody of the guns. What could we do if they sold the guns, or just kept them and told us they were stolen? We would be in trouble with the police. Would they believe us if we told them we gave the guns to the Burmese and the Burmese denied it?
>
> There is no justice left in Burma. At least under the British Raj everyone was equal before the law in India and Burma. But now that the Burmese are in power they are loath to punish their own people. An Indian in Yegu caught a Burmese trying to rob his house. The magistrate sentenced him merely for having a gun without a license and he went free in two days.

According to the same informant, in the two days since the Indians had decided to leave Tadagale, the Burmese had rifled the house of one of them. This was confirmed by other Indians, who expressed their feelings about the Burmese of the village in similar vein. At one point in an interview with one of the Indians, a Burmese woman passed and picked up some sticks and bamboo poles at the site of a dismantled Indian house. The Indian said, with great bitterness, 'If a Burmese can pick up free a pinch of dirt which belongs to an Indian he is delirious with joy; he thinks he has gotten the better of an Indian.

Further inquiries indicated that the Indians of Tadagale were moving to a nearby community, where the Indian minority was considerably larger than in Tadagale. Although they admitted there was danger of banditry there, too, and that the Burmese might not be friendly, they felt that where there were larger numbers of Indians there was less chance of abuse by the Burmese. Many Burmese in Tadagale, according to the Indians, had begged them to re-

621 consider, because they did not want to lose the Indians as customers for their paddy stalk and as a source of manure for their gardens and fields.
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The headman of Tadagale, when queried as to the reasons for the departure of the Indians, shrugged his shoulders and said simply that they were afraid, despite the plans for village defense, that their animals might be injured in the event of any fighting between villagers and bandits.

Within a few days, the Indians of Tadagale had all departed; and in the vacant spaces where their houses had stood, the Burmese were eagerly at work erecting buildings of their own.

Social Change

175 Prior to effective British rule in Lower Burma (about 1830), the local autonomous unit was the village circle, consisting of several villages under
631 the authority of a headman. The office of headman seems to have been hereditary in fact, although elections were held. That is to say, headmen tended to be
622 elected in a particular lineage. Rule was through personal relationship between the headman and the villagers. Under the circle headman was a council
626 of elders, appointed by him, one from each village in the circle. Disputes were almost entirely settled by arbitration and compromise, rather than with any concern over the abstract legal right and wrong of the case.

621 Within the village, a system called 'ten-house heads' was operative. This system appears to have been operative through British times, but at least since 1948 has lost effectiveness. Tadagale houses are strung out along a main path, and the ten-house division is such that the houses belonging to one group are mostly contiguous. The head of each ten-house section acted as a kind of deputy to the headman and sat on the council of elders.

175 With the coming of British rule, much of this changed. They established a hierarchical system, in which there were, in descending order of size,
631 nation, division, district, township, village circle, and village. All officials at each level were appointed from the capital, even down to the
622 village level, where the headman was made an appointed civil servant. He was paid on a percentage basis of his total tax collections and fines levied. The circle headman had police power and judicial authority in petty crimes.

175 A judicial system was introduced by the British to replace the old in-
692 formal arbitration. With an almost total disregard for indigenous institutions and customs, the British established a territorial system based upon law. The loosely structed and informal system of old gradually broke down.

669 Early in 1948 Burma gained her independence. Since that time the country has been in a state of disorganization. The civil strife has brought about
631 an almost complete breakdown of administrative function on many levels. Certainly the ties of the village with higher units have been curtailed.
182 One indication of this is the fact that the headman no longer submits reports with any degree of regularity to higher echelons, as was required under British rule. Even the local ten-house heads council has largely ceased to function. It exists, but is scarcely used.

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

understand that soul can doubt. And a soul is worth very many governments. 642

But when you left the central government, and came down to the management of local affairs, there was a great change. You came straight down from the king and governor to the village and its headman. There were no lords, no squires, nor ecclesiastical power wielding authority over the people. 621

Each village was to a very great extent a self-governing community composed of men free in every way. The whole country was divided into villages, sometimes containing one or two hamlets at a little distance from each other—offshoots from the parent stem. The towns, too, were divided into quarters, and each quarter had its headman. These men held their appointment-orders from the king as a matter of form, but they were chosen by their fellow-villagers as a matter of fact. Partly this headship was hereditary, not from father to son, but it might be from brother to brother, and so on. It was not usually a very coveted appointment, for the responsibility and trouble were considerable, and the pay small. It was 10 per cent. on the tax collections. And with this official as their head, the villagers managed nearly all their affairs. Their taxes, for instance, they assessed and collected themselves. The governor merely informed the headman that he was to produce ten rupees per house from his village. The villagers then appointed assessors from among themselves, and decided how much each household should pay. Thus a coolie might pay but four rupees, and a rice- 622 651 621

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

651 merchant as much as fifty or sixty. The assessment
621 was levied according to the means of the villagers. So well was this done, that complaints against the decisions of the assessors were almost unknown—I might, I think, safely say were absolutely unknown. The assessment was made publicly, and each man was heard in his own defence before being assessed. Then the money was collected. If by any chance, such as death, any family could not pay, the deficiency was made good by the other villagers in proportion. When the money was got in it was paid to the governor.

674 Crime such as gang-robbery, murder, and so on,
627 had to be reported to the governor, and he arrested
177 the criminals if he felt inclined, and knew who they were, and was able to do it. Generally something was in the way, and it could not be done. All lesser crime was dealt with in the village itself, not only dealt with when it occurred, but to a great extent prevented from occurring. You see, in a village anyone knows everyone, and detection is usually easy. If a man became a nuisance to a village, he was expelled. I have often heard old Burmans talking about this, and comparing these times with those. In those times all crimes were unpunished, and there was but little petty crime. Now all big criminals are relentlessly hunted down by the police; and the inevitable weakening of the village system has led to a large increase of petty crime, and certain breaches of morality and good conduct. I remember talking to a man not long ago—a man who had been a headman in the king's time, but was not so now. We were chatting of

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

various subjects, and he told me he had no children; they were dead. 621 626

'When were you married?' I asked, just for something to say, and he said when he was thirty-two. 582

'Isn't that rather old to be just married?' I asked. 'I thought you Burmans often married at eighteen and twenty. What made you wait so long?'

And he told me that in his village men were not allowed to marry till they were about thirty. 'Great harm comes,' he said, 'of allowing boys and girls to make foolish marriages when they are too young. It was never allowed in my village.'

'And if a young man fell in love with a girl?' I asked.

'He was told to leave her alone.'

'And if he didn't?'

'If he didn't, he was put in the stocks for one day or two days, and if that was no good, he was banished from the village.'

A monk complained to me of the bad habits of the young men in villages. 'Could government do nothing?' he asked. They used shameful words, and they would shout as they passed his monastery, and disturb the lads at their lessons and the girls at the well. They were not well-behaved. In the Burmese time they would have been punished for all this—made to draw so many buckets of water for the school-gardens, or do some road-making, or even be put in the stocks. Now the headman was afraid to do anything, for fear of the great government It was very bad for the young men, he said. 621 626 177

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

621 626 All villages were not alike, of course, in their enforcement of good manners and good morals, but, still, in every village they were enforced more or less. The opinion of the people was very decided, and made itself felt, and the influence of the monastery without the gate was strong upon the people.

626 792 Yet the monks never interfered with village affairs. As they abstained from state government, so they did from local government. You never could imagine a Buddhist monk being a magistrate for his village, taking any part at all in municipal affairs. The same reasons that held them from affairs of the state held them from affairs of the commune. I need not repeat them. The monastery was outside the village, and the monk outside the community. I do not think he was ever consulted about any village matters. I know that, though I have many and many a time asked monks for their opinion to aid me in deciding little village disputes, I have never got an answer out of them. 'These are not our affairs,' they will answer always. 'Go to the people; they will tell you what you want.' Their influence is by example and precept, by teaching the laws of the great teacher, by living a life blameless before men, by preparing their souls for rest. It is a general influence, never a particular one. If anyone came to the monk for counsel, the monk would only repeat to him the sacred teaching, and leave him to apply it.

621 So each village managed its own affairs, untroubled by squire or priest, very little troubled by the state. That within their little means they did

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

it well, no one can doubt. They taxed themselves 621
without friction, they built their own monastery schools by voluntary effort, they maintained a very high, a very simple, code of morals, entirely of their own initiative.

All this has passed, or is passing away. The 175
king has gone to a banishment far across the sea, 621
the ministers are either banished or powerless for 642
good or evil. It will never rise again, this government of the king, which was so bad in all it did, and only good in what it left alone. It will never rise again. The people are now part of the British Empire, subjects of the Queen. What may be in store for them in the far future no one can tell, only we may be sure that the past can return no more. And the local government is passing away, too. It cannot exist with a strong government such as ours. For good or for evil, in a few years it, too, will be gone.

But, after all, these are but forms; the soul is 000
far within. In the soul there will be no change. No one can imagine even in the far future any monk of the Buddha desiring temporal power, or interfering in any way with the government of the people. That is why I have written this chapter, to show how Buddhism holds itself towards the government. With us, we are accustomed to ecclesiastics trying to manage affairs of state, or attempting to grasp the secular power. It is in accordance with our ideals that they should do so. Our religious phraseology is full of such terms as 719
lord and king and ruler and servant. Buddhism 642
knows nothing of any of them. In our religion we

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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ness. Can there be a more valuable knowledge for anyone than this?

In many ways she will act for her husband with vigour and address, and she is not afraid of appearing in his name or her own in law courts, for instance, or in transacting certain kinds of business. She knows that she can do certain business as well as or better than her husband, and she does it. There is nothing more remarkable than the way in which she makes a division of these matters in which she can act for herself, and those in which, if she act at all, it is for her husband.

Thus, as I have said, she will, as regards her own property or her own business, act freely in her own name, and will also frequently act for her husband too. They will both sign deeds, borrow money on joint security, lend money repayable to them jointly. But in public affairs she will never allow her name to appear at all. Not that she does not take a keen interest in such things. She lives in no world apart; all that affects her husband interests her as keenly as it does him. She lives in a world of men and women, and her knowledge of public affairs, and her desire and powers of influencing them, is great. But she learnt long ago that her best way is to act through and by her husband, and that his strength and his name are her bucklers in the fight. Thus women are never openly concerned in any political matters. How strong their feeling is can better be illustrated by a story than in any other way.

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In 1889 I was stationed far away on the north-west frontier of Burma, in charge of some four thousand square miles of territory which had been

MEK

Work in Pathee

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U Myaing is an IN fisherman and in normal times he is helped by his family in catching and preparing fish. Another source of revenue is also renting out oxen and the making of mats usually relied on only when there is little other work. He regards himself as "one who works INS on a large scale", and on further questioning it appears that he was a sort of foreman working with a group of IN fishermen. About 95 other workers in Pathee made their living by fishing and fish processing, but there were also some cultivators. In addition there were 9 or 10 in the paddy husking business, 4 or 5 merchants and one gardener. With these few introductory remarks let us examine in some detail the nature of IN fishing.

U Myaing describes the IN fishery of which he was a part as follows:-

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"The IN is located upstream about two miles from Pathee. The trap is remade every year and costs anywhere from Rs. 5000/- to Rs. 10,000/- to make. It takes twenty men about one month to make the trap. First we plant timber poles, after which we put up the YIN-, strips of bamboo held together by coconut fibre rope, in such a manner as to present a large flat surface. When the YIN has been safely put up (across the entire width of the stream) the fish are carried down (by the current) through the SHAW (inclined plane of the sluice) and they are caught at the end. At the deep end the bamboo fence is about 16 taungs high and only a little of the poles remain above water. These poles have to propped up by other timber poles. Then the YIN are placed across these poles and tied in position. All the water has to flow along this small channel, and the force of the current washes up the fish (at the end of the SHAW). The poles are hammered down into the earth to a depth of one LAN (one yard) The water passes through the dam, but the fish cannot. The fish cannot swim upstream again because of the force of the water in the narrow sluice, which is only about eight taungs across. The length of the trap is approximately 100 feet whereas the width across the stream is 200 feet. When the floods are high at times the fish do get away. The water spills over and the fish do escape. We catch the remaining fish. When the water increases we have to extend the dam sideways a long way. But the height of the dam cannot be raised. In the dry season those fish which have gone over are left stranded outside the IN by the retreating waters. Some people fish below the dam with nets and fish hooks.

"When the rains come, that is the time they spawn. This time is called NGA-YIT-TKU time. At this time the fish group together to go upstream. The better the rains, the better the catch. After these fish have passed, the MEK is closed. The fish spawn at the beginning of the rains after they have collect and passed upstream. At about the month of TAW-THA-LIN (last month of the rains season) the MEK is closed and the fish that come down with the force of the water are picked up. If many fish go upstream - fish that spawn, then we get a good catch. If only few spawning fish go up, we get a bad catch. Even

it out to dry in the sun throughout the next day, then pound again and store in jars. The total process takes two days." 251

U Myaing continues his explanation of the IN fishery:- 263

"The fishery is worked on a co-operative basis. We contribute equal sums of money. If one puts up Rs. 100/- all put up Rs.100/-; 226
if Rs.1000/- all put up Rs.1000/- each. We group together and work. Rights to the site of the fishery must be secured from the government 474
by auction. We have to make an initial payment of about Rs. 1000/- or Rs. 2000/- and in bidding among ourselves the price increases to 463
eight thousand, nine thousand, ten thousand, twelve thousand. The original price was three thousand rupees. This is the cost of the Deputy Commissioner's auction. There were many bidders at the auction for the IN. Four, five, six. For example if I give a thousand rupees you offer two thousand, he gives three, four, five thousand ..... When it comes to the hand of the successful bidder the price has increased. The money for the fishery rights have to be paid in later (after the fishing has begun). For example if I pay in a thousand rupees this month, I pay a thousand the next month and the next, in several instalments. This is in addition to the amount we sink into the actual working of the business. (Cost of constructing the IN and equipment).

"The fishermen do not get paid a salary. They have shares. Accounts are kept of how much fish is caught, how much sold, and only after the IN has been worked to the end of the season is everything cleared up. Each fisherman gets only one share, and the profits are equally divided. We have to pay equal amounts of money for the IN and the money we get from the IN is the same for each of us. We all group and work together. There are some INS where one takes the lead and engages all the men and works it for himself. What he gets he keeps for himself. He pays the wages. In selling, we discuss the matter among ourselves and then sell. The four or five elders get together and if they decide to sell this kind of fish for this price, it is sold.

"As one of the elders, I go along and bid at the auctioning in [656]
the Deputy Commissioner's office. I also supervise the actual fishing 226
saying to the other fishermen - "Do this, and this and this." I have 463
a list of what things they need and have to go and buy these things 621
for them. I have to buy poles, I have to buy IN bamboo, I have to buy all the implements which are to be used. I have to collect money, and buy all the implements used in the IN. I have to keep accounts for this. I get a bit more money (than the other fishermen) by selling goods (from the profits of manufacture). You see, I also make dried Nga-gyi fish and Ngapi-daung. I buy the fish from them and process it. I have not worked at INS all my life. I worked for about ten years at the time when the British king reigned. When the Japanese came I worked at INS no longer."(He then bought fish and sold the preparations.)

U Myaing gives the following supplementary information:

" There are ten leaders or foremen in the village, each of them taking charge of about seven or eight men. In all there are about eighty workers in the three sub-villages of Pathae working with me at our IN. About thirty or forty of these live in Ma-Gyi-Ngi on our side of the river. These are men working at our IN only. There are also workers living in the village who work in the six other INS of the neighbourhood. About a hundred of the two hundred families in Ma-Gyi-Ngi work INS. The rest produce the fish, dry it, make ngapi [438]
etc., and to do this they have to buy the fish from the IN workers. Afterwards they sell to buyers who come from Upper Burma. Or sometimes they go upcountry in boats and steamers to sell the produce. Some people who are not IN workers go to the INS and help to extract fish oil. Fish like Nga-Nyare-daung yeild about one viss of oil to every 10 viss of fish. The fish are cut open with a knife and the fat collected. The women come and help without payment and take home oil for themselves when they go back. The women of my household [562]
also used to do this.

also used to do this. Sometimes they are able to extract about 5 viss of oil each in one day. 226 463 621

"There are also cultivators in the village. Some of those who work INS also own fields. They rent out the land to tenants. There are altogether 12 people in our village who own cultivation fields. But the biggest landowner does not own lands more extensive than three hundred acres. Some own 40 or 50 acres. Some engage cultivators and work their fields themselves, while others rent out the fields for a certain percentage of the produce. 421 463 621 427

"There were paid workers in the IN. They were paid, not a daily wage, but a monthly salary of Rs. 30/- without food. About 50 of the 80 workers were paid workers, though some of them owned shares as well. In addition to their pay, these paid workers received quite a lot of fish which their families went around selling. They get one or two basket-loads of fish to sell, and in this way make quite a lot of money. 226 463 465

"Fish is not distributed in this manner every day - only when the fish start coming down in great numbers. On these occasions however the workers get about 25 to 30 viss each - that is, by the boatload. Ordinarily they are given just enough for one meal.

"I also own eleven cows; eight for loaning out to cultivators and three for breeding purposes. No milk is drawn for human consumption because that is not the custom in our native place." 231 [272]

One yoke of oxen hired out brought U Myaing 50 baskets of paddy a year. He had 4 yokes. They kept by 100 baskets for home consumption and sold the rest at a rate fluctuating between Rs. 100/- and Rs. 175/- per hundred baskets.

In those years when U Myaing works at INS, he has to confine himself to such work only. During those years when he does not work at INS, he buys the fish from IN workers and process them for sale as NGAGYI, NGA-CHAUK, etc. Each year he uses between four to five thousand fish. When U Myaing his co-workers could not get an IN, he had to buy fish and make NGA-CHAUK, (dried fish), NGAPI and NGANYAR-YE. 226 463 433

On his former visits to Rangoon U Myaing came in a boat loaded with NGAGYI CHAUK (dried NGA GYI) and transferred it to the care of a broker in Rangoon. He then ascended the Shwe Dagon pagoda platform, donated money and water, returned to the broker, and went around the town to places like Mogul Street (the Indian quarter) for meats and ate pillau-rice etc. It took three or four days, and sometimes about ten days for the broker to dispose of his goods and in this time he would go round all the pagodas in Rangoon like the Botataung, Sule, Kyaik-tan-gyi etc. Once he went to a Chinese hotel known as the HAN-HIN hotel together with some traders from DAGUTIU. They pooled the expenses. The journey home took a day and a night. He took back with him clothes, longyis, KINGYIS, durian fruit, 226 438 484 [778]

General Attitudes of the Burmese toward Work.

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Rank and status in the Burmese Village is determined to a large extent on the basis of occupation - with the factor of wealth where applicable taking precedence over occupation. The highest rank is accorded to the Buddhist monks who exert the ultimate influence. Government officials including the township officers, the THU GYI (headman) and elders, and the schoolmaster occupy the second rank. The large land owners (of this group the rice-mill owners rate highest) rank next. Below these are the tradesmen - the paddy dealers, shop keepers and small holdings farmers who comprise the bulk of the population. Professional artisans such as carpenters, blacksmiths, gold and silver smiths occupy a lower position. However, it is common for the small holdings farmers to practice a secondary occupation such as pottery making.

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Fishermen and hunters are looked down on by the rest of the community because they offend Buddhist precepts by taking life. In this class also are those who raise animals (cows, poultry, pigs) for food, smugglers and brewers. Fishermen, particularly those such as U Myaing who operate IN fisheries often become wealthy, but the stigma of the source of this wealth is remembered by the community.

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A story is told of a rich fisherman who came to cover the Shwe Dagon Pagoda in Rangoon with gold plate. Unfortunately, he had sinned so much by taking the lives of fish that he could not see the pagoda. In a rage he returned to his IN to cover its posts with the gold. Because of the stigma attached to fishing those who make their living in this way tend to live together in their own communities. Thus Pathae, U Myaing's village is primarily a fisherman's community.

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In the days of the Burmese kings, wealthy men and nobles (THAKIN) would assign people under their command to serve as pagoda slaves. Their names were engraved in stone and their descendants for all eternity assigned to this position. The duties were light - consisting mainly of sweeping the platforms and carrying for the images, but the social position was next to the lowest. It is believed that the flower vendors on the platform of the Rangoon

families in Rangoon have worries of this kind - resolved by arrangements with influence masters - usually undertaken by the wives of the families. Ordinarily, violence is not premediated but spur-of-the-moment actions based on passions. If ill-feeling grows gradually it is best handled through the influence masters. The function of this system in the village is to avoid open conflict that might prove disasterous to the solidarity of the community (as say feuding families in open warfare).

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or her daughters or sons who are financially well-to-do. U Myaing's sister who lives in Rangoon has given help to the eldest daughter by housing her near her cheroot-rolling job. The pattern of mutual aid among the relatives is strongly developed among the Burmese. "A tree will support a thousand birds" emphasises the importance of the relative who makes good for the rest of the family.

Relationship of Family to Community and State

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A large portion of the Pathee community were related to U Myaing. Consequently many reciprocal activities fell within the family group. Most of the activities were prescribed by virtue of being a member of the community rather than by kinship ties. Such activities include cooperation in house raisings, funerals, marriage festivals, SHIN PYU ceremonies where the family involved needs help. Unpleasant occasions such as funerals demand everyone's attendance if not financial participation.

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On pleasant occasions the participants are apt to be one's friends and relatives. When someone builds a small house or puts a new thatch roof on, the other villagers come to help. He does not have to pay the workers anything or even feed them. He has only to cook and prepare for them the raw foods and chillies, onions, etc., which each one brings for himself. This statement, however, holds true only when small houses are built. Regular carpenters have to be hired to build the big ones. U Myaing frequently helped to build other people's houses - small houses that could be completed in a day. Help of this nature is offered without asking.

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When a person dies in the village, the villagers all go to the house and certain elders help to bathe and dress the corpse and place it on the bed, where it may be kept anywhere from three to seven days before being taken out and buried. The ground for burial is bought at the ceremony for the price of one pice. Now, in keeping with the general inflation, the price has risen to one anna. The grave is dug by the young men's group. The young men of the village carry the bier, or pull the bullock cart on which the coffin rests, and dig the grave. They also provide the orchestra. For performances on the night of the death and the day after a Burmese orchestra is engaged at the rate of Rs. 50/- to Rs. 100/-. The various visitors who come to condole with

the bereaved bring with them gifts of money and in this way seek to help them to defray the funeral expenses of which the funeral feast held 7 days after the death is most expensive. Sometimes these visitors are so generous that the householder does not need to contribute anything at all. Some people, however, prefer to reserve the right to pay for burial expenses of someone in the family, and put out an announcement requesting neighbours to refrain from making monetary contributions. 764 621● 476

The community activities in the refugee camp are mainly of an economic nature - discussed in the section on "Work". The solidarity of the village is lacking and the feelings of obligation and responsibility beyond the basic economic ones are absent. 621 722

In Pathne there are ethnic groups other than the Burmese. There are a few Karens, Indians of Madrasi affiliation, as well as a few Chinese who run stores. The attitude of the family toward these other groups are reflected in the following interview: (Note: the concept of "religion" is used here as meaning "general way of life." 621 563 186

Q. "Does U Myaing know about other religions such as Christianity and Hinduism? If so, what is his attitude towards them.

A. "I don't understand them well. We are with our own religion. We are country folk. We understand our religion only. We don't understand other religions.

Q. "What is your attitude towards other racial groups living in the village?

A. "I don't hold any positive attitude. I harbour no evil thoughts. We hold them to be the same as we are.

Q. "Would you like to go back to live among the Karens you spoke of just now?

A. (D.A.Z.) "Of course not. Lots of Burmese were left behind. We wouldn't dare to live among the Karens."
(U.M.) "Some people do not dare to live among the Karens, but we do."
(D.A.Z.) U.M.)"We don't have enemies."
(D.A.Z.) "There are Karens who are friendly with us."
(U.M.) "Say that we lived together. We lived together."
(D.A.Z.)"Though we have no enemies we feel afraid. In the present turmoil and confusion people no longer know each other."

Q. " Do the Karens differ from you in religion?"

A. (U.M.) "Our religions do not differ. The religion of Karens in our place and our religion do not differ. It is Buddhism."

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Q. "We want to know your relations with adherents of other religions. There are people who worship Indian gods, Chinese gods, and Christians - what is your attitude towards them?"

A. (U.M.) "I don't hold any attitude at all."

Q. " Do you get on well?"

A. (U.M.) "Yes. We get on very well. They buy our goods and we buy theirs. They rent our fields and cultivate them. If there are cows they are borrowed and lent. We live together like this - buying and selling."

Q. "This is about the people. How about their attitude towards their gods?"

A. "I have no attitude."

Q. "Have you never thought about it?"

A. "I have never thought about it. Their god is only slightly different. There is only one god. There will be only one god. Only people differ somewhat. Our outlook should be improved. After all, his god is my god and my god is his god. Only the races differ. Even one race is divided within itself."

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The relationship of the family to the state in Pathwe involve taxes, military service and voting. In the pre-war days, U Myaing and family had to pay a capitation tax, levied at the rate of Rs. 5/- per year for a married couple, and Rs. 2/8 per year for a bachelor of twenty and over. Children and unmarried women and widows are exempt from any tax whatsoever. There was a land tax on cultivation fields - levied at the rate of annas 2 per acre per annum, and also on garden land at one anna or two annas per acre per annum according to the value of the land. The tax on INS - or purchase of the fishery rights amounted to a figure anywhere between Rs. 3000/- and Rs. 12,000/-. U Myaing is not liable to taxes because of his low income, he retains his voting privileges for general elections.

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The family was moved from Pathwe to the refugee camp because of the insurrection and has been under the protection of the government since coming to camp. The proportion of food and shelter benefits, which they receive from the government, has been noted under those headings. According to government policy, shelter is provided for the family, and food for all except one adult who is expected to work.

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Education for U Myaing's children is provided by the government both in Pantanaw and in the refugee camp. Only the cost of the books has to be paid by him.

Children in the Pathwe village learnt their lessons at the government school. This school, which was on YWA-GYI-BET side, teaches pupils up to the tenth standard. The school house was built by contributions taken in the village. When U Myaing was young, they had to pay a tuition fee of four annas each to the schoolmaster every month. Now government has taken over the cost of educating the children, and fees are no longer required of them. The children only have to bring their own books and pencils. There are three teachers in the school; one headmaster and two assistants. The headmaster draws a salary of Rs. 100/- and the assistants of over Rs. 90/- each. There are other schools across the river but they teach only up till the fourth standard, and children of higher grades have to come to YWA-GYI-BET to attend school.

don't usually talk about these things with them. We invite the phongyis and worship them. We don't talk much with them. They preach the law and the 5 SILAS to us. 181 203

16. Q. Are there any persons of influence in camp who give advise on everyday living? 621

A. Yes, the person of influence is the schoolmaster, U Khant. But he only teaches the children and looks to the general cleanliness of the camp. Another person is the man who teaches the English. But they do not lay down what is right and what is wrong.

Activities of the Family in Relationship to the Supernatural.

The main forces which U Myaing and his family are concerned with are those of the Nats and those of Buddhism. Speaking historically, the Nats seem to represent a remnant of an early form of animism in which the Nats were tree or nature spirits. It is interesting to note the manner in which U Myaing blends the two religious systems. The Nats control earthly happenings, and the Buddhist structure the eternal. We are concerned with identifying some of the major practices, but primarily with the differentiation between religious practices in Pantanaw and in the refugee camp. 771 [178]

Nats.

The problem of the Nats come up in our study by the appearance of a bamboo pole split so as to form a small basket at one end. This object, called a KYAUNG ZAUNG rested on the roof of the camp hut next to U Myaing's. An interview in which Daw Aw Zar (.D.A.Z.) and U Myaing (U.M.) discussed Nats, is given in its entirety below because it reveals the rather vague feelings of "superstition" held of the Nats on the one hand and their potency on the other. 776 782

Q. No. 25 (photograph) is a split bamboo pole with a basket at the top. What is this called and what is it used for?

A. (D.A.Z.) KYAUNG ZAUNG. The thing he took from the roof and photographed? It is called a KYAUNG ZAUNG.
(U.M.) It is called KYAUNG ZAUNG.

Q. How do you use it ?

A. (D.A.Z.) We offer to U SHIN GYI and others. Offerings to Nats. Didn't you hear that big man speak? (To U Myaing).

Q. Who made this object? Who makes them?

A. (D.A.Z.) The people who give the offerings of course.

Q. Do you have to make these when you give offerings?

A. If we give offerings we make them.

Addenda

U Myaing is not a member of any political party. He is concerned mainly with his work and the daily task of providing food for his family. He does not belong to any union or other organisation of workers. 621● 722 622

There are about 1500 people in the refugee camp living in 14 or 15 buildings. The schoolmaster is regarded as a leader. There are two others who help him- Maung Myunt and Aung Gyi. Maung Myunt is 48 years old and Aung Gyi is 37. The young men in the camp also recognise these three people as elders. The three of them undertake all responsibilities for dealing with the government and making representations to the government regarding rice, milk-powder, etc. They are not paid anything in money, but get a larger share in the allotments of food, etc., made by the government to the camp. "If we get one condensed milk tin of rice, they get one basket." All the other members of the camp , including U Myaing, are satisfied with this arrangement since these three have been doing the work for the past two years. The Chief Justice of the Union, U E Maung asked them to undertake this responsibility for the camp.

In the case of thieves who are caught, the government comes at the chief the thieves. "If the people in the camp catch a thief, they would tell him and only afterwards settle with the government. It was the same back in Pathwe when a thief was caught. Even if he did not die he would have to suffer terribly. In Pathwe it was the task of the headman to take the offender to the police station, but here in camp the station is quite near and the householder can take him to the station by himself. 625

The government works through the school-master. It gives him recognition as a leader in the affairs of the camp. Maung Myunt has to look after the welfare of two sheds and their inmates, Aung Gyi has [illegible], and Ko Ba Khant the school-master has the charge of the 621 641

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remaining huts. They have lists of the people in their charge. Maung Nyunt and Aung Gyi are under the school-master, who is the most important and influential man of all. These people have to see to the DHANI thatch roof, the bamboo, etc., and if there are any repairs needed they get together, estimate the cost , and then go to the government authorities. U Myaing does not know which office they go to.

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The phongyis resident in the camp do not participate in the secular life of the camp, beyond giving the SILAS and coming occasionally for HSOON. In Pathwe village there were small boys whom they taught - thirty or forty of them, but in camp they do not help to educate the young. People go to these phongyis in camp on holy days, to take the SILAS. They do not even preach to the laity. This U Myaing thinks to be due to the fact that they do not know how to, being themselves refugees from country villages.

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On the 8th and 15th day of the waxing moon and the 8th and 15th day of the waning moon, the four holy days of the month, Daw Aw Zar goes to the Shwe Dagon to say her prayers. U Myaing cannot do likewise because he has to go to work.

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U Myaing has very little dealing with the government. They do not come for taxes, and in fact even have to provide the refugees with items of food and apparel. The people in the camp are not members of a closely knit organisation. They are made up of workers and families all thrown together by the exigencies of the political situation. The three mentioned above are the only ones in the whole camp. who have charge of the camp welfare. They take the responsibility for disposing of the bucket sewage and the dirt accumulated in and around the camp. They arrange for government sweepers to come for these. There have been no fire drills or any such exercise held in the camp.

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In Rangoon the family has few entertainments. There was once a government film show screened in the camp, and the other night Ma Khin Myein went with some friends to a nearby pagoda to see a lantern slide show of Buddha's Relics. They have never seen a modern Burmese play or PYIZAT. As Daw Aw Zar expressed it, "How can we go and see one when the charge for admission is a rupee for an adult and 8 annas for a child."

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The whole family goes to the ANYEIN or marionette shows which are quite rare and sometimes not even seen in a year. If it is held 536
it is held during the months of TAGU, KASON and TAZAUNGMON. In the villages an ANYEIN gives over at about one or two in the morning.

The people from their village also go over to Karen villages 536
when they have puppet shows at cremation ceremonies. Some of the 764
Karens bury their dead and after three or four years they exhume the corpse to burn the bones and store the ashes away. At the ceremony for the cremation of the bones they stage these puppet shows and the members of U Myaing's family go to witness them.

In Pathwe the PYAZIT (stage performance or PWE) has not yet made an appearance. Ma Aye 536
Myaing had seen it in another village where she had to pay an admission charge of four annas. This was the only time she had seen it. On that occasion the show was followed by an enactment of one [779]
of the birth stories of Buddha and this went on till morning.

CHILDREN'S GAMES:

The children used to play several games. One of these was to 524
blind-fold one of their number and set him off in the direction of 857
an iron bar suspended about 25 yards away. The blindfolded boy was given an iron rod and it was his task to try and hit the suspended bar with his rod.

These games were played at a sports meeting organized for children and everyone in the village turned out to watch. Another [621]
item was the candle race where the children were given a lighted candle each and made to run a race. Then there was a cock fighting contest where two girls sat back on their haunches, faced each other and began to swing each knee forward alternatively until one or the other gave up. There was also a needle and thread race, a sack race, a one-legged race and an egg and spoon race. Each of these races were confined to only two contestants at a time.

GONYIN:- A GONYIN is the large flat seed and is used in a game that Burmese children play - U Myaing's children included. There have to be ten players, five a side and each side has to try and hit the seeds belonging to the opposing group according to complicated rules.

In Pathwe the children used to play marbles and not the youths [369]
as is sometimes found in Rangoon. In Pathwe the adults were all

These are his "eggs" and it is his duty to guard them while the others cluster around trying to get them away from him without being caught in the attempt. If they are successful in getting all the eggs away they then go and hide them. The "turtle" then has to go and look for eggs while the rest follow her giving encouragement clapping hands and shouting the chant " LEIT U PY UK LO LEIT MA SHAR THU KHIN HYAR NGO ME NGO MET (Because her eggs are lost the poor female turtle is tearfully looking for them). If the child succeeds in catching any one in an attempt to get an egg away that person becomes the turtle. 527 858

In Pathwe they celebrated the water festival, but they did it in moderation and were satisfied if a person got slightly wet. MEN-LET-HSAUNG was given in the village. 527

U Myaing did not save any money in Pathwe. Sometimes he made a great deal of money and sometimes he made nothing at all. Sometimes if he had a lot of money he would loan it out to some one else to be returned in three or four months time if possible. Sometimes these loans continued unsettled for about a year. Only in Rangoon do you have to pay interest. In Pathwe if you did not borrow from chettiars you did not need to pay any interest. U Myaing did not go to the chettiars. He borrowed only from his relatives. There were people who went to raise money from the chettiar money lenders and some of them lost house, cultivation fields etc. because they could not pay the high rate of interest and had the mortgages on their property foreclosed. 454 426 [563]

Analysis of Social and Ceremonial Activities

The refugee camp may be regarded as a new village composed of families who came from villages in the delta similar to Pathwe but placed in an urban setting. The other refugees have the same understandings as to socio-ceremonial activities as U Myaing and the basic 621 722 [369]

621 722 structure of the social and political organization is the same in both places. However, the expectations and obligations of the original village are ill defined perhaps for the reason that the camp families no longer depend so completely on each other for their social and ceremonial activities. In Pathwe, U Myaing and his family were responsible citizens of the village as a whole. In camp, they are merely temporary residents with only the most rudimentary of obligations to their fellow refugees. The basic functions of the camp are carried out by semi-official persons. There is a minimum of feeling of solidarity in the camp where the immediate family is the major functioning unit.

Much has been lost with the passing of the communal activities of the small village. Yet the basic social and ceremonial activities are still carried out in Rangoon. The community has become a large, [181] impersonal one but the values are the same. The activities, as at the gigantic Shwe Dagon pagoda, duplicate those of the village on a grand scale and are hence more stimulating - but the family is no longer in a special status position and are nameless and unknown in their activities. Because of lack of money the activities are greatly curtailed in scope, but also the obligation is less. In this sense the family is "freed" from pressing obligations of the village where, for example, they were expected to contribute relatively large sums to community activities.

621 722 369 517 The familiar and beloved flavour of routine village activities is replaced by the excitment of life in the big town. Everything is new and different and while the basic understandings are still encountered the old restrictions of the small community have disappeared. Life in Rangoon is full of possibilities and amusement.

369 555 [465] 000 Recently (during the summer of 1951) U Myaing was promoted from street cleaner to boss of the cleaners of one section. He still gets a salary of Rs. 86/- a month but has the position of an overseer somewhat equivalent in status to the IN overseer's job in Pathwe. There are many opportunities for an honest and intelligent person to rise in Rangoon. In October 1951 U Myaing visited me to take an order for table mats. His samples were much too large and bound with a violent

gives important data on the process of urbanizing villagers - the country people are an important group in the growth of the Burmese section of Rangoon; probably a large section of the present refugee population will stay in the future. 183 369 [178]

The concepts of pattern of living and standard of living: The Burmese pattern of living, or any culture pattern, is a universe of beliefs and practices manifested in acts and artifacts. The analogy of the "Universe" is a useful one in that it recognizes a guiding body of understandings that controls the whole of the society (like "laws" of Universe) while emphasizing the particular understandings that govern the various groups or classes of the society (like the "laws" of the Solar and other systems within the Universe). The "solar systems" are the standard levels of operations forming a comprehensive set of forces within itself. Families, like U Myaing's have a mobility, in the case understudy a forced change, which takes them out of one standard system into another. The adjustments which they undergo reflects the "laws" which control the various standard levels as well as the basic concepts controlling the whole of the society. 121 183

Each belief and practice has a range of expressions which can be defined. The particular expression practiced by a family is the standard or level of a phenomenon capable of expansion or contraction within prescribed limits. The ultimate limits are defined by the total range of expressions for the culture as a whole. But the practical limits for a family are defined by the possibilities of the society segment (community) in which they find themselves. Thus, the range of U Myaing's possibilities of expression are much greater in Rangoon than they were in Pathwe and greatly exceed his original ideas of what was possible. He may, for example, become a highly westernised political leader - although this seems unlikely in terms of his expectations. The westernised, urban spheres of Burmese culture is now opened to the family. [621]● [369] [177]

U Myaing is motivated by the basic expectations of the Burmese culture at a level applicable to his situation in terms of the possibilities of his social environment. In Pathwe, he was a fisherman and aspired to those things that fishermen should. In camp, he was at 181 565 555

181 first a bewildered refugee, but gradually assumed the role of a
565 labourer rising in the ranks. The case indicates the mobility of the
555 Burmese family and shows clearly that it may function successfully outside of the confines of its original social atmosphere.

182 The family in Burmese society: The successful mobility of
594 U Myaing's family indicate that the immediate family is the primary
●621 social unit of Burmese society. The Burmese community is then a
156 congregation of immediate families who engage in activities of mutual benefit within the protective framework of the village structure. This interpretation high lights a particular type of individualism which is a family individualism depending on the roles of each
[779] member of the family for its full expression. This concept seems tied to the Buddhist idea of individual salvation through acts of merit on the one hand and the exigencies of gaining a livelihood on the other.
[474] The family is the basic economic unit and though it will enter cooperative endeavours (like the IN fisheries, or communal nat propitiations), has the ultimate responsibility and capabilities of support-
[596] ing itself. The extended family is important, as indeed is the total village social structure, only in so far as it contributes to the maintenance of the individual immediate family of procreation including spouses, offspring and aged parents. The "looseness" of the social structure conversely allows mobility of the immediate families. This analysis indicates that attempts at modernising of the Burmese people (acculturation) should meet with a minimum of structural obstacles - such as caste, clan and rigid associations might present.

181 The Burmese culture pattern and the individual: The village culture
156 pattern is dominated by a series of relatively simple, interrelated
369 ideas held by all. Each individual feels himself temporily occupying a
555 particular situation which is only one of many existences and but an instant in eternity. He is fated to be a member of a particular family with a set of opportunities through life. Life should be pleasant and must be virtuous if future existences are to be pleasant. He must realise as fully as possible the talents and opportunities that come to him through his KARMA situation. In the villages this concept is a great stabilising force and tends to make an individual content with

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

scenes. Still later, the scenes came to be taken from one story only, so that a whole story was given by the pageant. Dresses became quite gorgeous and the scheme elaborate. The pageant now needed organization. Therefore, the village came to be divided into two parts, eastern and western quarters or northern and southern quarters (the village was usually greater in length than breadth, being built along a main road). In larger villages and towns, the division was into four quarters. Each quarter was responsible for the production of a pageant. There was intense rivalry between the quarters to produce the finest pageant; it was usually friendly, but often enmity arose, and many pageants were occasions for free fights. The rivalry further developed the pageant, for new ideas would be introduced by one quarter to outrival the others. Soon the pageant became a play, its scenes coming to life.

The *Nibhathkhin* was the Burmese equivalent of the English miracle and mystery plays. It was the pageant come to life. With the pageant, the religious processions went along the main streets without stopping, each cart representing a set scene. But with the *Nibhathkhin*, each cart stopped at certain places. The most common of such places were the market-place, the house of the chief administrative officer, and the pagoda where the procession ended. At each of those places, each cart stopped, and the scene came to life. Dialogue and action were used. Therefore, people at the stopping places saw what was in effect a play.

The *Nibhathkhin* was extremely popular, and it lived on until recently, just as many of the English miracle plays continued to be produced right through the Elizabethan period. I saw one in the out-of-the-way town of Pauk as recently as 1916. However, I do not think that *Nibhathkhins* are produced anywhere nowadays. Sometimes one sees a procession on cars and motor lorries as a sort of reminiscence of the *Nibhathkhin*. But such processions are mere shows and lack the essential features of the Burmese miracle plays.

It was for the entertainment of the populace that the *Nibhathkhin* came into being, and as the Burmese entertainment connotes laughter, soon the element of humour came into the *Nibhathkhin*. At first none of the characters was made humorous, for they all came out of religious stories. And so the clown was introduced. The clown or *Lu-byet* ('the non-serious man') was put into the *Nibhathkhin* as an extra character, an attendant on the prince-hero. He was extremely popular, and soon another clown, an attendant on the princess-heroine,

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

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168. VILLAGE CAUSEWAY IN THE TIDAL REGION.

the village head-man or other functionary, and round about, the houses of the villagers in more or less regular rows. The village streets are broad and in some places the houses are well-spaced, with plots of fruit-trees and vegetable-gardens between and at the back. No care is bestowed on the [487] roads except in a few riverain localities and tidal regions, where embanked roads [245] and brick causeways are necessary. Trees are planted in front of the houses—cocoanut and betel palms, giant bamboo, the evergreens, tamarind, mango, and jack, for their fruit and shade; *gangaw*, *sagâ*, and *padauk* for their shade and scented flowers; *mèzali*, *zi*, and several *ficus* species. The screw-pine and various ornamental shrubs are cultivated—*taróssaga* (*frangipani*, No. 92), *shwanya*, gardenias, and roses. *Palma Christi* (castor-oil plant) is common for hedges. [177] Plants cultivated by Europeans in the tropics—crotons, begonias, caladiums, 247 balsams—are spreading everywhere. Pot-gardening is becoming a feature of the villages and even of the raft-houses and boats.

231 Well received as the stranger is by the people of the village, he has to brave the displeasure of the village curs. The dogs are the scavengers of the [136] settlements, together with the crows and the myriads of ants. The termites ("white ants") account for the dry vegetable refuse, but they also invade the dwellings and destroy dry wood, mats, and thatch. Cats attach themselves to houses in the same way as dogs. A peculiarity of the domestic cat of Burma is

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169. VILLAGE RIVER-FRONT.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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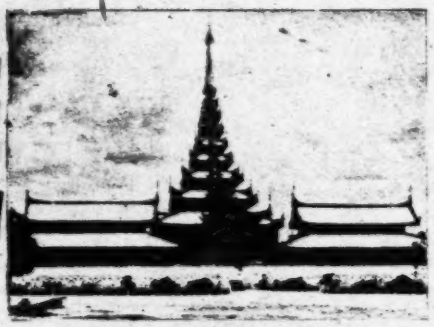

380. PALACE FRONT AND SPIRE.

The British administration preserves the native official machinery, from the *thadyt* to the *myoôk*, augmenting the numbers so as to reach every part of the area and curtailing the powers. Under native *régime* even *thadyts* might be *dâbaing*. The new *régime* takes account of the village *lûdyts* for the sake of their moral influence; many of them have been invested with power to compose differences up to small amounts, and some of the more prominent are honorary magistrates. Independent spirit is on the increase; the officials have to reckon with a new temper in the people. Nevertheless, in municipal councils the supineness and complaisance of the native members are calculated to stultify the position accorded to them. Road-making and sanitation do not arouse their interest, and the local excise, the matter they long to deal with, is excluded from their jurisdiction (*cf.* p. 157). The *thadyt* personally measures the fields, collects the land-tax and poll-tax from house to house, in such a circle as he can make the circuit of twice a year, and receives commission on the amount. He reports on matters within his circle. As many revenue-circles as a native magistrate can personally control are united into a township, under a *myoôk*, who at the same time supervises the co-ordinate grades of police distributed in the township. He publicly tries criminal and civil cases, under his powers as magistrate, by codes of law and procedure accessible to everybody. These codes form the most valuable models of system, in the vernacular, up to the present. By their help both judges and advocates have trained themselves in law. Five to eight townships, according to facilities for

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381. BURMAN PRINCESS.

29: Slater M-4 (no date) 1951 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

invariably in the same posture, seated, with one arm across his lap. The whole atmosphere is one of ordered, unhurried peace, whether within the timbered buildings, or within the surrounding compound. 792 346

But the monastery is seldom far away from the village, and this is of set purpose. The Buddhist *Saṃgha* in Burma might well be described as a teaching Order. "Of all charities, charity of learning is the noblest," observes a Buddhist layman,[27] and the monastery dispenses this charity freely. It provides the village school. There the boys learn to read and write. There, moreover, they are tutored in Buddhist lore, with a firm emphasis on ethical requirements. They learn the 'three Jewels' which enjoin reverence for the Buddha, the Law *(Dhamma)*, and the Order, and the five precepts -- not to kill, not to steal, not to lie, not to commit adultery, not to drink intoxicants. In the *Mingalā Thot* or "Song of Great Blessing," which they recite by heart[28], they learn that a wise and good man will seek to store up merit by fulfilling his domestic duties, by giving ample alms, by seeking 'self-knowledge' and by learning from holy men 'as chance affords.' The monastic ideal of utter renunciation, 'from all attachment free', is also indicated and 'Nirvana here' is said to be 'true happiness' leading to the Highest Bliss.[29] They will also learn stories of the Buddha's previous birth from the *Jātakas*, and, above all, the story of the historic Buddha. 792 621 869 871

But attendance at the day school is not their only initiation in the faith. Every Burman boy, at the age of puberty or earlier, is expected to leave home and become a boarder at the monastery for a period which may vary from weeks to years. "A Buddhist who has not been a *koyin* (novice) or donned the yellow robe," remarks a Burmese writer, "is looked upon as one who has missed the most essential (part) of his experience in this world." The village school often appears to be a merry jumble to the outsider, but during this time as a novice "each boy gets individual attention.... There is a wholesome atmosphere of intimacy and understanding between the teacher and the taught." Most of the novices return to secular life, but some remain to become fully ordained monks.[30] 792 857

The *shin-byu* ceremony, or rite of confirmation, which is another essential in the Burmese boy's initiation, generally precedes his entry to 792 881

[27] U Set, "Life in a *Phongyi Kyaung*," *Rangoon Times*, (May 13, 1931).

[28] See Appendix for fuller account of this Song and other Monastic instruction.

[29] "To understand the literature, 'serious' or popular, of Burma we cannot know the Pali Jātaka too well," M. H. Bode, *The Pali Literature of Burma*, chap. v, pp. 81, 82.

[30] U Set, op. cit.; cf. Scott, *The Burman*, Vol. I, chaps. II, III, and IV.

29: Slater M-4 (no date) 1951 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

Old men will retire to the monastery to end their days there, and younger men, in poverty or other distress, will flee the world for a time. The hospitality of the monks has sometimes been more charitable than discriminate, a circumstances which has brought some monasteries into disrepute, for these temporary inhabitants are allowed to wear the yellow robe, and some are criminals, sheltering from justice. Father Sangermano reports the rescue of prisoners condemned to death. "In thus saving the lives of criminals, (the monks) believe that, as their law forbids them to kill, it must be meritorious to preserve the lives of others."[34] 792 737 672

The monastery is the social centre of the village. Buddhism in Burma is gaily attired, a religion of festival. Frequently there will be an open-air performance in the moonlight, when a birth-story of the Buddha is dramatized. All this spirited, colourful life gathers around the monastery. 792 621 [545]

But perhaps the Order's most valuable service to the community is the function fulfilled by the monk as *counsellor*. A group of villagers may gather for a special instruction, others may attend when the monks assemble for devotions, but the monastery is not regarded as a preaching centre or as a place of public worship. In modern times, crowds have flocked to hear the Monyin Sayadaw. Generally, however, the approach in this respect is individual. It is as the individual adviser of each villager that the monk's influence is most strongly felt. 626 793

In many and tangible ways, therefore, the monastery serves the community, but it is probable that the villager himself reveres the monk more for services which are intangible and may not appear so valuable to sceptical observers. Early in the morning, the monk, attended by *koyins*, will go the round of the faithful, receiving their offerings of rice in his begging bowl.[35] For the monk himself it is an exercise in humility, for the villager it is one of the chief means of increasing that *kutho* or worthiness which ensures him happiness in this life and the next.[36] 792 735 782

Most of all, however, it is those very aspects of the monk's vocation which distinguish him from the rest of the community, setting him apart, for which the monk is chiefly esteemed. It is because the greater part of his life is spent in spiritual exercises which the villagers do *not* share, that they value him most. The monastery stands for a Way of utter renun- 792 *779

[34] *The Burmese Empire*, 3d. Edition, ed. J. Jardine, (London, 1895), chap. xv, p. 122.

[35] Thus *bhikku* or *bhikṣu*, usually translated monk, means, literally, mendicant. Strictly speaking, a *bhikku* is not a monk; cf. Rhys Davids, *Dialogues of the Buddha*, Part II (S.B.B.), p. 81, footnote.

[36] *Kutho* is frequently translated 'merit.' But 'worthiness' is more accurate.

29: Slater M-4 (no date) 1951 AP1 Burma
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term 'beautiful' is here significant.[50] A Burmese *pwè* or open-air variety performamce will begin at dusk and sustain a frolic of wit and dance until the morning, and the same vivacity informs the frequent religious pageants and dramas. If the underlying Buddhism is indeed pessimism, it is at least 'touched with hope and mysticism.'[51]

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Fielding Hall has suggested that there is an element of Nature-mysticism in the Burman's outlook. Both his Animism and his Buddhism encourage him to believe that he is intimately related to all Nature: Buddhism because it will allow no separate souls but sees all Life as one; Animism because "legends and tales, the spirits of hills and rivers, of the trees and flowers" express the fact that "Life is a great whole."[52]

A Nature poem by a fifteenth century Burmese Buddhist may be regarded as some corroboration of this estimate. The writer conceives all Nature doing homage to the Buddha:

"A clamour of colour fills the vernal woods.
Tender fruits peep from the budded quicks.
Mellow clusters, luscious as ambrosia, sway in the air....
The acid lime, the delicious custard-apple, the juicy mango, the restless *petthet* and the riotous *grewia*
Rush to render their homage to the thrice-adored Sage."[53]

In his later work,[54] Fielding Hall seems to equate Burmese Buddhism with a vague and woolly pantheism in which all tigers are lambs and all roads lead to truth, but at least he sees the poetry of Burmese life and religion. Later reflection led him to correct the view contained in his *Soul of a People* that the Burmese feeling for Nature was separate from their Buddhism.[55] Instead, he now discerned a fusion giving colour and buoyancy to their faith. "Here was the world the Greeks had lived in. All the gods yet lived to those who still had ears to hear their voices in the forest sounds, eyes to see them flitting through the darkened woods or bathing in the mountain pools.... Were the trees alive? Surely they were. They had their life, they were not dead unlovely things, but living." Comparison with Greek ideas has occurred to others. Greek gods and Burmese *Nats* are similarly very human and capricious, it is suggested.

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The Greek comparison recurs to mind when we consider a further aspect of Burmese Buddhism — its social, with which may be joined

[50] "The Women of Burma." *Buddhism*, Vol. I, No. 1, (Rangoon).
[51] *M.B.B.*, p. 10.
[52] H. Fielding Hall, *The Inward Light*, chap. III, p. 24.
[53] "The 'Tawla' of Shin Uttamagyaw," ed. by U. Po Byu, free trans. by Maung Ba Han. *J.B.R.S.*, Vol. VII, pt. II, (1917).
[54] *The Inward Light*.
[55] *Ibid.*, pp. 6, 7, 24; cf. *The Soul of a People*, chap. XX, pp. 269 ff.

29: Slater M-4 (no date) 1951 AP1 Burma
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its national, character. The frequent festivals not only enliven, they express and stabilise the community life. They are often local, but certain shrines, such as the Shwe Dagon Pagoda in Rangoon, have become centres of pilgrimage. In a country which has had a strong tendency to de-centralization — the king's authority was often very weak — the Buddhist Order has made for cohesion, and, in modern times, Buddhist monks have been active in the movement for national independence. 779* 796 621

In spite, however, of this social expression, Buddhism in Burma, as elsewhere, is very much a matter of *individual* concern. We have seen this individualism within the monastery. It is equally marked outside the monastery. One of the most popular *zats* is the story of Wethandaya, who, in order to gain his own salvation, gives away his wife and family to a rapacious Brahmin.[56] "Each must bear his own burden," is a favourite quotation.[57] Its primary reference may be to moral responsibility. 779* 775

This brings us to the decidely *ethical* character of Burmese Buddhism. *Kutho* (worthiness) is the central concept here, and "it is clear that the Burmese Buddhists have a more *mathematical* conception of Merit than other folk." "The ordinary belief is very concrete — so many good deeds mean so much to one's credit in another world."[58] Sometimes very material rewards are indicated. "The reward for building a monastery is a palace in a *Nat* heaven with seven towers, and in this palace dwell seven hundred *Nat* wives.... For a gift of sticks for use in a bath room, the donor will be reborn with perfumed body."[59]

Almsgiving is a sure means of 'heaping up *Kutho*.' Since the benefit accruing to the donor partly depends on the worthiness of the object, the maintenance of religion is a valued means of self-help. Hence the many pagodas. Hence the gifts to the monasteries. There is no more coveted title than 'Builder of Monasteries.' Hence, too, the welcome to the monk as he comes in the early morning with his begging bowl. The monk may seem to be the chief recipient. But in the things which matter, he is the donor. [735] [792]

Though others may thus provide the opportunity, essentially the activity is self-help. Emphasis is laid on individual responsibility. It is something a man must do for himself.

It is something he *can* do. Thus the conception of *Kutho* challenges any animistic idea that man is altogether at the mercy of capricious spirits.

[56] *M.B.B.*, pp. 44, 103.
[57] *M.B.B.*, p. 45.
[58] *M.B.B.*, p. 51, p. 76. The usual, though inadequate translation of Kutho, as already observed, is Merit.
[59] *M.B.B.*, p. 51.

23: Benedict
184, 192, 582, 591, 602, 611, 613, 614, 616, 618, 621

AL1 Southeast Asia
Burmese AP4

/For lists of kinship terms, and for excellent and detailed information concerning correlations between kinship terminology, patterns of behavior, and social institutions, see category 601./

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4
Upper Burma
Lower Burma

423 distinctions are more minute than is at all necessary or indeed
428 comprehensible. They include all children born out of wed-
848 lock, among whom are reckoned such as are born before the parents have been married ten months; all children that are
[597] purchased, or adopted by any other ceremony than that of abadita or keiktima; and such as "from respect or affection
423 style their guardians father or mother." The settlement of
184 boundary marks was one of the earliest duties of the first ruler. The thale rice became constantly scarcer and scarcer, and it was determined that it would be well to give every person his share and mark it off distinctly. The appointment of persons to execute this duty was the first occasion on which executive officials were found necessary. Manu enumerated twenty-five objects suitable for legal landmarks. These included all natural objects, such as lakes, rivers, ridges, and hills, remarkable large trees and clumps of bamboos; artificial boundaries of an equally permanent character, such as pagodas, shrines for demon-worship, zayats, or rest-houses, stone pillars and sacred posts, wells and cairns; finally such singular distinguishing marks as heads of cattle, chaff, ashes, charcoal, sand, broken earthenware vessels, and men's bones. "Beating the bounds," one would think, must have been very necessary with the younger members of the household in the case of such perishable boundary lines as could be constituted by chaff, or even sand. In Upper Burma the cultivating
[161] population was so sparse that no difficulty was found in the matter of boundaries. In Lower Burma farms are as distinctly marked off as land-surveyors' chains can effect the operation in pointing out the little raised ridges which separate the plots of paddy land from one another. Nevertheless they are hardly such as the South of England farmers would approve.

423 These allodial tenures are the only ones which exist in
[177·92] Burma now. In independent territory there were two other
651 kinds of holding, which were not, however, very numerous or
● 622 extensive. The first of these were called thugyisa fields, and consisted of certain tracts of land near the town or village set apart for the maintenance of the headman. As that official was anything but a permanency, the tenant for the time being very seldom cultivated them himself, but let them

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

out to farmers, who were required not only to pay him his rent, but as a rule had also to supply the revenue demanded from the owner by the State. There was therefore no very enthusiastic bidding for his lands, but he always got a tenant somehow or other. It would have been a bad day for the village if no one came forward. Every man in the place would have been called upon to work for a certain period on the thugyi's paddy-fields. These have now been merged in the State lands.

The third class of arable estates consisted of the lands known as bhanda, treasury, or royal fields. These were the private property of the king, and were cultivated ordinarily by the outcast lamaing, crown predial slaves. Sometimes, however, the whole of the farmers in the neighbourhood were summoned by roster to do their one, or three, or five days' work, for which they received no payment; on the contrary, if they tried to escape they were tied up and received a dozen or two according to the humanity of the district governor. Near the capital, where oppression never was so gross as in the outlying provinces, the cultivators of the Lèdawgyi were frequently freed from all taxation but the payment of the family tax, and some even, as in the neighbourhood of Aungbinle, whose revenues were assigned by the king to the great Arakan pagoda, were let off even the ngwedaw. But these *corvées* were very irksome, for the payment of a little money would always ensure the omission of a name from the taikthugyi's list, and the work fell all the harder on the luckless remainder. The whole of the produce of the bhanda lands belonged of course to the king, unless where he had otherwise assigned it. What with revenue paid in kind and the crops of the Lèdawgyi, the king had granaries as vast as those which Joseph built for the king of Egypt. Mindôn Min drew from them to pay his soldiery, varying the monotony from time to time with pieces of rotten Manchester grey shirting. Offerings to the Sacred Order, of whom he daily fed several thousands, also served to keep the storehouses within reasonable bounds. Thibaw Min turned his grain into money with all possible expedition, and the money vanished with equal rapidity. The Lèdaw of course became State land on the Annexation.

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

to hold his land free from taxes for such a period as may be necessary to bring it into a thorough state of cultivation. In such a case as this he has to apply to the thugyi—the old hereditary officers being retained throughout British Burma—of his circle, if the land does not exceed five acres in extent. If it is above that area, application has to be made to the English Assistant-commissioner, or to the Deputy-commissioner in charge of the district, if the average of the new claim exceeds fifty. The land is then surveyed and a grant is drawn up specifying the term of years during which he shall be free from imposts. This varies according to the kind of jungle which is to be cleared away, and the kind of crops intended to be grown. The exemption is in no case for less than a year. If rice is to be grown, seven years is the longest term of rent-free tenure, but for orchard cultivation it extends to twelve years. In a few cases, where the nature of the ground necessitates, in addition to clearing away the forest growth, the digging of channels for irrigation, and the erection of dams, extension even of this long period is granted. As in France, Norway, Japan, and Switzerland, the farms are all very small, in some cases almost absurdly so. Along the old frontier the holdings averaged only about five acres, in the Rangoon district from sixteen to twenty acres is the ordinary size, but here and there are a few considerably larger. It would, however, be a great mistake to endeavour to introduce larger tenancies. It is entirely against the genius of the people, and the appearance of foreign capitalists could not be otherwise than disastrous. The present mode of cultivation is slovenly enough, and larger farms would most certainly not tend to remedy the defect, which is due in great part to the superabundance of available arable land lying waste. Burma is progressing fast enough as it is. The abundance of rich land, the facility with which rights over it can be acquired, the great demand for rice, and the ever-increasing counter demand for European goods, the fixed, though heavy taxation, the cessation of all irregular and unexpected collections, the absolute personal security enjoyed by all under the English administration: all these benefits have resulted in the trebling of the population of Lower Burma during twenty-six years since the annexation of Pegu;

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14: Brant E-5 (1949-50) 1954 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4
Indians

621 consider, because they did not want to lose the Indians as customers for
563 their paddy stalk and as a source of manure for their gardens and fields.

The headman of Tadagale, when queried as to the reasons for the departure of the Indians, shrugged his shoulders and said simply that they were afraid, despite the plans for village defense, that their animals might be injured in the event of any fighting between villagers and bandits.

Within a few days, the Indians of Tadagale had all departed; and in the vacant spaces where their houses had stood, the Burmese were eagerly at work erecting buildings of their own.

Social Change

175 Prior to effective British rule in Lower Burma (about 1830), the local
631 autonomous unit was the village circle, consisting of several villages under
622 the authority of a headman. The office of headman seems to have been hereditary
626 in fact, although elections were held. That is to say, headmen tended to be elected in a particular lineage. Rule was through personal relationship between the headman and the villagers. Under the circle headman was a council of elders, appointed by him, one from each village in the circle. Disputes were almost entirely settled by arbitration and compromise, rather than with any concern over the abstract legal right and wrong of the case.

621 Within the village, a system called 'ten-house heads' was operative. This system appears to have been operative through British times, but at least since 1948 has lost effectiveness. Tadagale houses are strung out along a main path, and the ten-house division is such that the houses belonging to one group are mostly contiguous. The head of each ten-house section acted as a kind of deputy to the headman and sat on the council of elders.

175 With the coming of British rule, much of this changed. They established
631 a hierarchical system, in which there were, in descending order of size,
622 nation, division, district, township, village circle, and village. All officials at each level were appointed from the capital, even down to the village level, where the headman was made an appointed civil servant. He was paid on a percentage basis of his total tax collections and fines levied. The circle headman had police power and judicial authority in petty crimes.

175 A judicial system was introduced by the British to replace the old in-
692 formal arbitration. With an almost total disregard for indigenous institutions and customs, the British established a territorial system based upon law. The loosely structed and informal system of old gradually broke down.

669 Early in 1948 Burma gained her independence. Since that time the country
631 has been in a state of disorganization. The civil strife has brought about
182 an almost complete breakdown of administrative function on many levels. Certainly the ties of the village with higher units have been curtailed. One indication of this is the fact that the headman no longer submits reports with any degree of regularity to higher echelons, as was required under British rule. Even the local ten-house heads council has largely ceased to function. It exists, but is scarcely used.

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

understand that soul can doubt. And a soul is worth very many governments. 642

But when you left the central government, and came down to the management of local affairs, there was a great change. You came straight down from the king and governor to the village and its headman. There were no lords, no squires, nor ecclesiastical power wielding authority over the people. 621

Each village was to a very great extent a self-governing community composed of men free in every way. The whole country was divided into villages, sometimes containing one or two hamlets at a little distance from each other—offshoots from the parent stem. The towns, too, were divided into quarters, and each quarter had its headman. These men held their appointment-orders from the king as a matter of form, but they were chosen by their fellow-villagers as a matter of fact. Partly this headship was hereditary, not from father to son, but it might be from brother to brother, and so on. It was not usually a very coveted appointment, for the responsibility and trouble were considerable, and the pay small. It was 10 per cent. on the tax collections. And with this official as their head, the villagers managed nearly all their affairs. Their taxes, for instance, they assessed and collected themselves. The governor merely informed the headman that he was to produce ten rupees per house from his village. The villagers then appointed assessors from among themselves, and decided how much each household should pay. Thus a coolie might pay but four rupees, and a rice- 622 651 621

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

newly incorporated. I went up there with the first column that ever penetrated that country, and I remained there when, after the partial pacification of the district, the main body of the troops were withdrawn. It was a fairly exciting place to live in. To say nothing of the fever which swept down men in batches, and the trans-frontier people who were always peeping over to watch a good opportunity for a raid, my own charge simply swarmed with armed men, who seemed to rise out of the very ground—so hard was it to follow their movements—attack anywhere they saw fit, and disappear as suddenly. There was, of course, a considerable force of troops and police to suppress these insurgents, but the whole country was so roadless, so unexplored, such a tangled labyrinth of hill and forest, dotted with sparse villages, that it was often quite impossible to trace the bands who committed these attacks; and to the sick and weary pursuers it sometimes seemed as if we should never restore peace to the country.

The villages were arranged in groups, and over each group there was a headman with certain powers and certain duties, the principal of the latter being to keep his people quiet, and, if possible, protect them from insurgents.

Now, it happened that among these headmen was one named Saw Ka, who had been a free-lance in his day, but whose services were now enlisted on the side of order—or, at least, we hoped so. He was a fighting-man, and rather fond of that sort of exercise; so that I was not much surprised one day when I got a letter from him to say that his villagers

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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had pursued and arrested, after a fight, a number of armed robbers, who had tried to lift some of the village cattle. The letter came to me when I was in my court-house, a tent ten feet by eight, trying a case. So, saying I would see Saw Ka's people later, and giving orders for the prisoners to be put in the lock-up, I went on with my work. When my case was finished, I happened to notice that among those sitting and waiting without my tent-door was Saw Ka himself, so I sent to call him in, and I complimented him upon his success. 'It shall be reported,' I said, 'to the Commissioner, who will, no doubt, reward you for your care and diligence in the public service.'

As I talked I noticed that the man seemed rather bewildered, and when I had finished he said that he really did not understand. He was aware, he added modestly, that he was a diligent headman, always active in good deeds, and a terror to dacoits and other evil-doers; but as to these particular robbers and this fighting he was a little puzzled.

I was considerably surprised, naturally, and I took from the table the Burmese letter describing the affair. It began, 'Your honour, I, Maung Saw Ka, headman,' etc., and was in the usual style. I handed it to Saw Ka, and told him to read it. As he read his wicked black eyes twinkled, and when he had finished he said he had not been home for a week.

'I came in from a visit to the river,' he said, 'where I have gathered for your honour some private information. I had not been here five minutes before I was called in. All this the letter

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

speaks of is news to me, and must have happened while I was away.' 175 622

'Then, who wrote the letter?' I asked.

'Ah!' he said, 'I think I know; but I will go and make sure.'

Then Saw Ka went to find the guard who had come in with the prisoners, and I dissolved court and went out shooting. After dinner, as we sat round a great bonfire before the mess, for the nights were cold, Saw Ka and his brother came to me, and they sat down beside the fire and told me all about it.

It appeared that three days after Saw Ka left his village, some robbers came suddenly one evening to a small hamlet some two miles away and looted from there all the cattle, thirty or forty head, and went off with them. The frightened owners came in to tell the headman about it, and in his absence they told his wife. And she, by virtue of the order of appointment as headman, which was in her hands, ordered the villagers to turn out and follow the dacoits. She issued such government arms as she had in the house, and the villagers went and pursued the dacoits by the cattle tracks, and next day they overtook them, and there was a fight. When the villagers returned with the cattle and the thieves, she had the letter written to me, and the prisoners were sent in, under her husband's brother, with an escort. Everything was done as well, as successfully, as if Saw Ka himself had been present. But if it had not been for the accident of Saw Ka's sudden appearance, I should probably never have known that this exploit was due to his wife; for she was 175 622 562

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

175 622 562 acting for her husband, and she would not have been pleased that her name should appear.

'A good wife,' I said to Saw Ka.

'Like many,' he answered.

462 But in her own line she has no objection to publicity. I have said that nearly all women work, and that is so. Married or unmarried, from the age of sixteen or seventeen, almost every woman has some occupation besides her own duties. In the higher classes she will have property of her own to manage; in the lower classes she will have some trade. I cannot find that in Burma there have ever been certain occupations told off for women in which they may work, and others tabooed to them. As there is no caste for the men, so there is none for the women. They have been free to try their hands at anything they thought they could excel in, without any fear of public opinion. But nevertheless, as is inevitable, it has been found that there are certain trades in which women can compete successfully with men, and certain others in which they cannot. And these are not quite the same as in the West. We usually consider sewing to be a feminine 462 occupation. In Burma, there being no elaborately 294 cut and trimmed garments, the amount of sewing done is small, but that is usually done by men. Women often own and use small hand-machines, but the treadles are always used by men only. As I am writing, my Burmese orderly is sitting in the garden sewing his jacket. He is usually sewing when not sent on messages. He seems to sew very well.

Weaving is usually done by women. Under

Addenda

U Myaing is not a member of any political party. He is concerned mainly with his work and the daily task of providing food for his family. He does not belong to any union or other organisation of workers. 621 722 622

There are about 1500 people in the refugee camp living in 14 or 15 buildings. The schoolmaster is regarded as a leader. There are two others who help him- Maung Nyunt and Aung Gyi. Maung Nyunt is 48 years old and Aung Gyi is 37. The young men in the camp also recognise these three people as elders. The three of them undertake all responsibilities for dealing with the government and making representations to the government regarding rice, milk-powder, etc. They are not paid anything in money, but get a larger share in the allotments of food, etc., made by the government to the camp. "If we get one condensed milk tin of rice, they get one basket." All the other members of the camp , including U Myaing, are satisfied with this arrangement since these three have been doing the work for the past two years. The Chief Justice of the Union, U E Maung asked them to undertake this responsibility for the camp.

In the case of thieves who are caught, the government comes to arrest the thieves. "If the people in the camp catch a thief, they would tell him and only afterwards settle with the government. It was the same back in Pathee when a thief was caught. Even if he did not die he would have to suffer terribly. In Pathee it was the task of the headman to take the offender to the police station, but here in camp the station is quite near and the householder can take him to the station by himself. 625

The government works through the school-master. It gives him recognition as a leader in the affairs of the camp. Maung Nyunt has to look after the welfare of two sheds and their inmates, Aung Gyi has [illegible] three, and Ko Ba Khaut the school-master has the charge of the 621 641

23: Brant & Mi Mi Khaing E, I-5 (1949-1950)1951
AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

888 To the Burmese, long life is a great blessing and an indication of merit earned. Long life is prayed for and old age greatly idealized.

The ideal aged person is one who has successfully reared a family, has grandchildren and a certain amount of material wealth. The aged are expected to be 887 retiring and unobtrusive in their behavior. They do not go out visiting very much; they eat less food; and avoid appearing too well dressed or jeweled when attending religious observances.

An attitude of resignation characterizes the outlook of the aged person in Burmese society. It is unheard of that aged people should work: a possible ex- [622] ception is the village headman, who, it is felt, should be a person of long experience. When aged people live with their children they assume the role of teachers of their grandchildren. Most of the time of elderly people is spent in activities centering around the pagodas and monasteries, organizing of religious festivals, and raising funds for the monks and charities. In fact, they take leading roles in such activities.

The elderly members of the household arise early to see that rice is cooked for the daily offering to the monks and to insure that the household altar is properly looked after. It is preferable for them to arise before dawn, for to do so is considered very meritorious.

[784] Certain of the taboos that apply to younger people, mostly those connected with death, do not apply to the aged.

Death and Funeral Observances. To the Burmese, the decline of the human 761 body is part of the inevitable course of nature. When this occurs the soul must [775] leave. The butterfly is the symbol of life: when a person dies, "the butterfly leaves his body."

When death approaches, valuables, such as jewelry, are removed from the 763 person and the death-bed, because people are reluctant to use anything with which a person dies. These things are given to the monastery. A relative chants as the person is dying, to fix his mind upon the truths of Buddhism and to divert it from worldly goods and ties of kinship.

As soon as death has occurred, everyone present cries and wails. Before rigor 764 mortis sets in, relatives bathe the corpse, using a new water pot for the purpose and pouring the water over the body from foot to head, the opposite direction from that practiced by the living. If the water pot must be refilled at all, this [801] must be done an odd number of times. The pot is then put outside the house, upside down, and anyone outside the family of the deceased may take it. Then

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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370. HEADMAN MUSTERING HIS VILLAGERS.

CHAPTER VII

POLITICAL

WITH alien races planted on his soil and the watchful rivalry of the Taláing to contend with, the Burman had hourly need to guard his camp. Besides the enemies without, and their potential allies within, brigand bands of his own race had to be held in check. The chronic wars of Burman and Taláing (Mun), who were separated by no natural frontier, have left their record in the stockaded villages between Prome and Mimbu, a no-man's-land in which soldiers were impressed to fight, now on this side, now on that, and where, on being disbanded, they continued the plunder by which the armies subsisted in war. The traditions of brigandage and the exploits of noted leaders are remembered, and such enterprises are still a resort of the *vauriens* of a village or country-side when they perceive their chance—*damyá-taik sádya!* These brigands (*damyá*, gang-robbers, dacoits) lay their plans to surprise a village while the men are away at work or endeavour to create a panic by a night attack and so obtain their booty without risk of an encounter. An occasional gang might

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371. BURMAN OUTPOST STOCKADE.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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372. VILLAGE ELDERS IN CONCLAVE.

disperse as quickly as it was recruited or else it might develop into a band under a regular leader (*Bô*) and become the scourge of the country, rapidly attacking points separated by days' journeys. Against such bands the villagers combine and keep guard; torches are ready for night alarms. But when the brigands are too strong, the villagers have no choice but to enter into league with them and pay blackmail if they would not experience the horrors of barbarous war. At present brigandage is of very sporadic occurrence. Travellers are perfectly safe.

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Throughout Burma every man was liable to serve in war. He would have his own sabre and pike and would be provided with musket and ammunition, but no further accoutrements. Latterly the king's body-guards wore a sort of uniform (No. 9). Cannon are mentioned as early as 1350, and a century later, matchlocks were in use. Cæsar Frederick in 1569 speaks of pikes and arquebuses and good cannon. When disbanded, the soldiers had to surrender their muskets, but numbers were smuggled away, to add to the rigour of the guerilla waged by brigands and the severity of the villagers' retaliation.

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[645] [701] [561] ●622

The military leader is called *Bô*; the civil governor or minister of the king, *Wun*, which means a burden or trust. The former might be a young man, the latter but rarely so. Age and influence are almost synonymous in Burma. If the elders—headmen, *Ldôyt*—are agreed upon a thing, it is done. The village elders represent the fundamental substratum of government in Burma. They are consulted by the officials on matters affecting the people, whose natural, if unofficial,

373. BURMAN OFFICIAL RECEIVING APPLICANTS.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

374. OFFICIAL PASSING THE STREET.

representatives they are, attaining their position by the tacit suffrages of the public. Their sphere is not defined nor are their numbers fixed in any way. Influence is naturally centred in a few of the ablest, but these are not permitted to usurp it for themselves. The loyalty of the villagers rests on the reciprocal regard of the elders for the sentiments of the community; the *lûdyts*, though they moderate popular feeling, never take an unpopular course. The affairs which they manage are the local festivals and the religious undertakings in which the public life of the country centres and in which conflicting aims have to be conciliated. The laying out of ordinary irrigation channels and other village works are arranged by the *lûdyts*. They witness marriages and divorces, and generally regulate the social life of the people. A tacit agreement, parallel to that between the villagers and their headmen, bound the king and the people, whose sentiments were reflected by officials drawn from their midst.

If, not content with the consideration accruing through age and natural gifts for leadership, and with managing a business of his own, our Burman aspired to a public career, he might enter official life by attaching himself to the suite of some functionary. This he would do at first in a menial capacity, and, as he found favour, he might become secretary, deputy, and eventually attain to the chief dignities. A scion of royalty just out of his teens would be given a town or province to live on (*myoza*), as well as to govern by the help of deputies and advisers. But a son of the people would be gray before he climbed to such a position. The *myoza* had to remit a

375. BURMAN JUDGE PROCEEDING TO COURT.

14: Brant E-5 (1949-50) 1954 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4
Indians

621 674 fund, which he had broached informally on past occasions, did not meet with enthusiasm, the headman suggested that the village be divided into territorial units, and that each unit be responsible for raising its own money for arms and for deciding on the custody of its weapons. He called for volunteers from the elders to take responsibility for soliciting funds from inhabitants of their respective areas.

The headman's speech was met with total silence for a time, followed by a great deal of whispered conversation among various small groups. At this point the eldest man in Tadagale, himself a retired headman and a relative of the present headman, exhorted, 'Speak out your thoughts. It is not good to keep things bottled up within yourselves.' The headman now told the group that as their representative he could do nothing unless they wished it.

As hushed conversations continued among the assembled villagers, the headman and elders proceeded to talk among themselves for several minutes. It was then and there decided that each household would be asked to contribute what it could afford; no fixed assessment would be levied. A household too poor to contribute to its unit fund would be expected to help in the event that an attack occurred. Since some elders objected to giving assistance to any unit which chose not to arm or could not afford to, it was decided that armed groups would not come to their aid. Now another call for volunteers to raise funds was made by the headman, and several elders offered their services. The headman asked them to make every effort to persuade people to contribute.

If we may digress for a moment, this village meeting is instructive in 623 showing how authority is exercised and decision making takes place in the community. The traditional emphasis upon the wisdom and authority of age is seen in the fact that only the elders spoke in the meeting, although the headman presumably called the meeting, in the first place, to mobilize village-wide support and tried to evoke expressions of opinion. An informant questioned later about the meeting said, 'It is not customary for the younger people to voice their opinions or take part in the discussion during a meeting. The elders do that.' The idea of a free give-and-take discussion is almost totally foreign to these peasants, who live but a few miles from Rangoon, a center of diffusion for western concepts and practices.

621 563 To return to the bearing of the above described meeting on Indian-Burmese relations in the village. During the meeting the question arose whether the Indians would be asked to contribute to the fund for purchasing arms, to which the headman answered in the affirmative. At that point one man quipped, 'Of course they must contribute; they have thousands of rupees.' [The meeting was now concerned with defending the village against bandits, i.e. dacoits.]

Two spokesmen for the Indians were present. The village headman explained to them that those who lived towards the northern end of the village would be included in a nearby unit for defense purposes, while the others could contribute their money directly to him. Then, half in jest, he said that each Indian household should give the cost of one gun. Somewhat irritated, one of the Indian spokesmen said that if need be he was willing to pay for five guns, but the question he wanted answered was who would have custody of the weapons. The headman was extremely hesitant to answer, and the Indians left the meeting without a definite answer.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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[623]

372. VILLAGE ELDERS IN CONCLAVE.

disperse as quickly as it was recruited or else it might develop into a band under a regular leader (*Bô*) and become the scourge of the country, rapidly attacking points separated by days' journeys. Against such bands the villagers combine and keep guard; torches are ready for night alarms. But when the brigands are too strong, the villagers have no choice but to enter into league with them and pay blackmail if they would not experience the horrors of barbarous war. At present brigandage is of very sporadic occurrence. Travellers are perfectly safe.

175 702 411

Throughout Burma every man was liable to serve in war. He would have his own sabre and pike and would be provided with musket and ammunition, but no further accoutrements. Latterly the king's body-guards wore a sort of uniform (No. 9). Cannon are mentioned as early as 1350, and a century later, matchlocks were in use. Cæsar Frederick in 1569 speaks of pikes and arquebuses and good cannon. When disbanded, the soldiers had to surrender their muskets, but numbers were smuggled away, to add to the rigour of the guerilla waged by brigands and the severity of the villagers' retaliation.

[579]

[645] [701] [561] 622

The military leader is called *Bô*; the civil governor or minister of the king, *Wun*, which means a burden or trust. The former might be a young man, the latter but rarely so. Age and influence are almost synonymous in Burma. If the elders—headmen, *lôdyt*—are agreed upon a thing, it is done. The village elders represent the fundamental substratum of government in Burma. They are consulted by the officials on matters affecting the people, whose natural, if unofficial,

373. BURMAN OFFICIAL RECEIVING APPLICANTS.

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

564 767 coffin or digging the grave. This occupation has therefore fallen almost exclusively into the hands of the old parakyun, and helps to keep alive the ancient feeling. It must be allowed that the ways of the sandalās do not in any way tend to conciliate the multitude.

564 681 625 Finally there were the pagwet, the letyataung, or thaing-gyaing, the constables, jailers, executioners, lictors, mostly confined to the neighbourhood of the native kingdom Mandalay. These merited all the obloquy that could be cast on them, but their position of quasi-authority made them more secretly hated than openly flouted. They were never allowed to enter a free man's house, even in the exercise of their office; nor could they go within the walls of the palace stockade, but many a citizen smarted under the blows of the lictor's thaing, when a great man came round a corner suddenly, and the letyataung saw a chance for a back-hander with his fasces; and it was far too easy a matter for a man to get into jail in Mandalay to make it a wise proceeding to rail at the pagwet. It was an unlovely custom in Upper Burma which made the executioner both constable and jailer, and condemned him to live on his wits. The natural result was that he lived on the prisoners, and extorted the last pice out of his victim with threats of violence, or actual torture. Pagwet means a circle on the cheek, and this ring on the face implied that its bearer had been condemned for a capital crime, and was respited to become executioner. Others had devices descriptive of their offence tattooed on the chest, as luthat (murderer), thukho (thief), damya (dacoit or highway robber). An execution in Mandalay was a horrid sight. The "spotted man" danced round his victim, made feints with his sword and burst into fits of wild laughter or yells, to shake the doomed man's nerves. It must be admitted that the spectators were very little better. A skilful blow which just slit the skin and drew blood met with an approving shout. The pagwet, like other outcasts, [766] was buried like carrion when he died, or perhaps was simply thrown out with the town offal.

563 775 How does all this agree with the theory of Buddhism, that there is equality for all, and that the poorest man can raise himself to sublimest heights after death? The king

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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During the season a dozen or more of these plays went on in Mandalay on the same night, and the entire population turned out to see them, thus effectually blocking as many streets as there were performances. This might have been awkward for the ordinary wayfarer were it not that he would probably infinitely prefer staying to see the drama to continuing his journey. Great men were not so complaisant. Two of the massacred princes, the Mekkhaya and the Thonsè, seemed to take a special delight, when they were belated on some roistering expedition, in breaking up such plebeian gatherings. They would come sweeping down the street with all their retinue, and the spectators, deafened by the music and engrossed with the action on the stage, would get their first hint of the torrent coming from the vigorous blows dealt all round about them by the howling lictors. Everything would be disorder and alarm for a time, men and women down in the ditch, the stage deserted, and the spectators scattered far and wide. Then, ten minutes later, they would all come back again; there would be a few remarks concerning his Royal Highness—"very often out at unexpected times, and always making his appearance so suddenly," etc. etc.; the bamboo erection would be propped up again, and the actors continued with the scene as if nothing whatever had happened, though the clown, no doubt, made as much fun out of the incident as he dared.

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Going about at night in Mandalay was not much practised. Theatre-goers usually returned home with the rising sun. There were no lamps in the streets, and so every one who had business after dark was required to go about carrying a lantern or beating a drum or gong. If any one ventured abroad without thus marking his movements, he was promptly arrested by the night watch, and once a man was arrested in Mandalay it cost a good deal of money to get free again, no matter how good an account he might be able to give of himself. To save themselves the trouble of being constantly on the look-out as well as to trip up any one who tried to run away, the guardians of the peace had an unpleasant custom of tying ropes across the road an inch or two above the ground, and these were quite as effectual man-traps as have ever been invented.

Addenda

U Myaing is not a member of any political party. He is concerned mainly with his work and the daily task of providing food for his family. He does not belong to any union or other organisation of workers. 621 722 622

There are about 1500 people in the refugee camp living in 14 or 15 buildings. The schoolmaster is regarded as a leader. There are two others who help him- Maung Myint and Aung Gyi. Maung Myint is 48 years old and Aung Gyi is 37. The young men in the camp also recognise these three people as elders. The three of them undertake all responsibilities for dealing with the government and making representations to the government regarding rice, milk-powder, etc. They are not paid anything in money, but get a larger share in the allotments of food, etc., made by the government to the camp. "If we get one condensed milk tin of rice, they get one basket." All the other members of the camp , including U Myaing, are satisfied with this arrangement since these three have been doing the work for the past two years. The Chief Justice of the Union, U E Maung asked them to undertake this responsibility for the camp.

In the case of thieves who are caught, the government comes to 625 ●
about the thieves. "If the people in the camp catch a thief, they would tell him and only afterwards settle with the government. It was the same back in Pathee when a thief was caught. Even if he did not die he would have to suffer terribly. In Pathee it was the task of the headman to take the offender to the police station, but here in camp the station is quite near and the householder can take him to the station by himself.

The government works through the school-master. It gives him recognition as a leader in the affairs of the camp. Maung Myint has to look after the welfare of two sheds and their inmates, Aung Gyi has [illegible] three, and Ko Ba Khaing the school-master has the charge of the 621 641

14: Brant E-5 (1949-50) 1954 AP1 Burma
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Indians

621 consider, because they did not want to lose the Indians as customers for their paddy stalk and as a source of manure for their gardens and fields.

563 The headman of Tadagale, when queried as to the reasons for the departure of the Indians, shrugged his shoulders and said simply that they were afraid, despite the plans for village defense, that their animals might be injured in the event of any fighting between villagers and bandits.

Within a few days, the Indians of Tadagale had all departed; and in the vacant spaces where their houses had stood, the Burmese were eagerly at work erecting buildings of their own.

Social Change

175 Prior to effective British rule in Lower Burma (about 1830), the local
631 autonomous unit was the village circle, consisting of several villages under the authority of a headman. The office of headman seems to have been hereditary
622 in fact, although elections were held. That is to say, headmen tended to be elected in a particular lineage. Rule was through personal relationship between the headman and the villagers. Under the circle headman was a council
• 626 of elders, appointed by him, one from each village in the circle. Disputes were almost entirely settled by arbitration and compromise, rather than with any concern over the abstract legal right and wrong of the case.

621 Within the village, a system called 'ten-house heads' was operative. This system appears to have been operative through British times, but at least since 1948 has lost effectiveness. Tadagale houses are strung out along a main path, and the ten-house division is such that the houses belonging to one group are mostly contiguous. The head of each ten-house section acted as a kind of deputy to the headman and sat on the council of elders.

175 With the coming of British rule, much of this changed. They established
631 a hierarchical system, in which there were, in descending order of size, nation, division, district, township, village circle, and village. All
622 officials at each level were appointed from the capital, even down to the village level, where the headman was made an appointed civil servant. He was paid on a percentage basis of his total tax collections and fines levied. The circle headman had police power and judicial authority in petty crimes.

175 A judicial system was introduced by the British to replace the old in-
692 formal arbitration. With an almost total disregard for indigenous institutions and customs, the British established a territorial system based upon law. The loosely structed and informal system of old gradually broke down.

Early in 1948 Burma gained her independence. Since that time the country
669 has been in a state of disorganization. The civil strife has brought about an almost complete breakdown of administrative function on many levels.
631 Certainly the ties of the village with higher units have been curtailed. One indication of this is the fact that the headman no longer submits reports
182 with any degree of regularity to higher echelons, as was required under British rule. Even the local ten-house heads council has largely ceased to function. It exists, but is scarcely used.

792 871 the small boys, as day pupils. Monastic education is a traditional part of Burmese Buddhism, and almost all the men of Tadagale, whether reared in the village or elsewhere, have attended monastic schools for varying lengths of time.

792 872 876 The monastic school curriculum includes elementary reading, writing and arithmetic, rudiments of history and geography, heavily colored by Burmese cosmology and folklore, and instruction in Buddhist precepts and proper conduct. There is heavy emphasis upon proper conduct. Instruction takes the form of mass recitation and rote memorization. Discipline is strict and the inattentive pupil is kept alert, when necessary, by means of the rod. As indicated earlier, many parents in the village favor the monastic as against the public school because of the strict discipline and the emphasis upon conduct and religion.

793 Concerning the second function of the monks, officiation at certain rites, it should be indicated that because Burmese Buddhism is not a congregational type of religion, the monks are not called upon to officiate at regular assemblies in any fashion akin to the role of the Christian minister. The monks do, however, play an important part in the initiation of boys into the monkhood; and sometimes take part in funeral rites.

The monk's function of giving advice and guidance stems from the fact that he is regarded, in the thinking of the villagers, not only as one to whom the greatest respect and deference is due by virtue of his dedication to his life to religion, but also as a living repository of wisdom and universal knowledge. He is a person to whom one may turn in time of uncertainty, doubt or stress for personal counsel. Problems relating to the conduct of one's children; concern over persistent lack of success in one's economic activities; or even matters of health may be taken to the monk. A great deal of the advice rendered by monks is formulaic, folkloristic and magical in nature. Particular monks tend to acquire reputations as being especially wise and helpful in particular kinds of problems.

792 735 Support of the Monks. The monastery buildings and the land on which they stand are the property of the monastic order, held in perpetuity by grant of the government, free of taxation.

The monks are supported by the donations of the villagers. Every morning a monk, accompanied by one or two monastic school pupils, passes through the village to collect offerings of food. As he enters the compound of each home a member of the household takes a pot of cooked rice, which has been prepared for the morning meal, and places a few large spoonsful in the monk's begging bowl. This minimum daily contribution of food is made by every Buddhist household, without exception; in addition, many families send bowls of curry and rice to the monastery. Giving food to the monks is an important act of merit to Burmese Buddhists. It is regarded as unthinkable that any household would refuse. When the hypothetical case was posed of such a deviant household, villagers agreed that such a family would be severely criticized and shunned in the village. [624]

The few other things that the monks require for their austere existence are given by villagers on the important ceremonial days of the year. These items include robes, soap, matches, begging bowls, water strainers and needles.

796 Duty Days. The Burmese calendar is a lunar one, and in each month there are four days -- duty or sabbath days -- on which the villagers go to the monastery

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

various subjects, and he told me he had no children; they were dead. 621 626

'When were you married?' I asked, just for something to say, and he said when he was thirty-two. 582

'Isn't that rather old to be just married?' I asked. 'I thought you Burmans often married at eighteen and twenty. What made you wait so long?'

And he told me that in his village men were not allowed to marry till they were about thirty. 'Great harm comes,' he said, 'of allowing boys and girls to make foolish marriages when they are too young. It was never allowed in my village.'

'And if a young man fell in love with a girl?' I asked.

'He was told to leave her alone.'

'And if he didn't?'

'If he didn't, he was put in the stocks for one day or two days, and if that was no good, he was banished from the village.'

A monk complained to me of the bad habits of the young men in villages. 'Could government do nothing?' he asked. They used shameful words, and they would shout as they passed his monastery, and disturb the lads at their lessons and the girls at the well. They were not well-behaved. In the Burmese time they would have been punished for all this—made to draw so many buckets of water for the school-gardens, or do some road-making, or even be put in the stocks. Now the headman was afraid to do anything, for fear of the great government It was very bad for the young men, he said. 621 626 177

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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621 All villages were not alike, of course, in their
626 enforcement of good manners and good morals, but, still, in every village they were enforced more or less. The opinion of the people was very decided, and made itself felt, and the influence of the monastery without the gate was strong upon the people.

626 Yet the monks never interfered with village
792 affairs. As they abstained from state government, so they did from local government. You never could imagine a Buddhist monk being a magistrate for his village, taking any part at all in municipal affairs. The same reasons that held them from affairs of the state held them from affairs of the commune. I need not repeat them. The monastery was outside the village, and the monk outside the community. I do not think he was ever consulted about any village matters. I know that, though I have many and many a time asked monks for their opinion to aid me in deciding little village disputes, I have never got an answer out of them. 'These are not our affairs,' they will answer always. 'Go to the people; they will tell you what you want.' Their influence is by example and precept, by teaching the laws of the great teacher, by living a life blameless before men, by preparing their souls for rest. It is a general influence, never a particular one. If anyone came to the monk for counsel, the monk would only repeat to him the sacred teaching, and leave him to apply it.

621 So each village managed its own affairs, untroubled by squire or priest, very little troubled by the state. That within their little means they did

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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792 that irregularities could creep in, and that, in fact, there is nothing to prevent a monastery becoming a disgrace. This would be a great mistake. It must never be forgotten that monks are dependent on their village for everything—food and clothes, and
792 even the monastery itself. Do not imagine that the
626 villagers would allow their monks, their 'great glories,' to become a scandal to them. The supervision exercised by the people over their monks is most stringent. As long as the monks act as monks should, they are held in great honour, they are addressed by titles of great respect, they are supplied with all they want within the rules of the Wini, they are the glory of the village. But do you think a Burman would render this homage to a monk whom he could not respect, who did actions he should not? A monk is one who acts as a monk. Directly he breaks his laws, his holiness is gone. The villagers will have none such as he. They will hunt him out of the village, they will refuse him food, they will make him a byword, a scorn. I have known this to happen. If a monk's holiness be suspected, he must clear himself before a court, or leave that place quickly, lest worse befall him. It is impossible to conceive any supervision more close than this of the people over their monks, and so the breaches of any law by the monks are very rare—very rare indeed. You see, for one thing, that a monk never takes the vows for life. He takes them for six months, a year, two years, very often for five years; then, if he finds the life suit him, he continues. If he finds that he cannot live up to the standard required, he is free to go. There is no compulsion

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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to stay, no stigma on going. As a matter of fact, very few monks there are but have left the monastery at one time or another. It is impossible to over-estimate the value of this safety valve. What with the certainty of detection and punishment from his people, and the knowledge that he can leave the monastery if he will at the end of his time without any reproach, a monk is almost always able to keep within his rules.

I have had for ten years a considerable experience of criminal law. I have tried hundreds of men for all sorts of offences; I have known of many hundreds more being tried, and the only cases where a monk was concerned that I can remember are these: three times a monk has been connected in a rebellion, once in a divorce case, once in another offence. This last case happened just as we annexed the country, and when our courts were not established. He was detected by the villagers, stripped of his robes, beaten, and hunted out of the place with every ignominy possible. There is only one opinion amongst all those who have tried to study the Buddhist monkhood—that their conduct is admirable. Do you suppose the people would reverence it as they do if it were corrupt? They know: they have seen it from the inside. It is not outside knowledge they have. And when it is understood that anyone can enter a monastery—thieves and robbers, murderers and sinners of every description, can enter, are even urged to enter monasteries, and try to live the holy life; and many of them do, either as a refuge against pursuit, or because they really repent—it will be conceded that the discipline

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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of the monks, if obtained in a different way to elsewhere, is very effective.

The more you study the monkhood, the more you see that this community is the outcome of the very heart of the people. It is a part of the people, not cut off from them, but of them; it is recruited in great numbers from all sorts and conditions of men. In every village and town—nearly every man has been a monk at one time or another—it is honoured alike by all; it is kept in the straight way, not only from the inherent righteousness of its teaching, but from the determination of the people to allow no stain to rest upon what they consider as their 'great glory.' This whole monkhood is founded on freedom. It is held together not by a strong organization, but by general consent. There is no mystery about it, there are no dark places here where the sunlight of inquiry may not come. The whole business is so simple that the very children can and do understand it. I shall have expressed myself very badly if I have not made it understood how absolutely voluntary this monkhood is, held together by no everlasting vows, restrained by no rigid discipline. It is simply the free outcome of the free beliefs of the people, as much a part of them as the fruit is of the tree. You could no more imagine grapes without a vine than a Buddhist monkhood that did not spring directly from, and depend entirely on, the people. It is the higher expression of their life.

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In writing this account of the Burmese and their religion, I have tried always to see with my own

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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586 were the talk of the village. All attempts of the
593 headman and elders to restrain him were useless.
[626] He became quarrelsome, and went on from one thing to another, until at last he was suspected of being concerned in a crime. So then when all means had failed to restore her husband to her, when they had drifted far apart and there was nothing before them but trouble, she went to the elders of the village and demanded a divorce. And the elders granted it to her. Her husband objected; he did not want to be divorced. He claimed this, and he claimed that, but it was all of no use. So the tie that had united them was dissolved, as the love had been dissolved long before, and they parted. The man went away to Lower Burma. They tell me he has become a cultivator and has reformed, and is doing well; and the girl is ready to marry again. Half her property is gone, but half remains, and she has still her little business. I think they will both do well. But if they had been chained together, what then?

586 You see that divorce is free. Anyone can obtain
428 it by appearing before the elders of the village and demanding it. A writing of divorcement is made out, and the parties are free. Each retains his or her own property, and that earned during marriage is divided; only that the party claiming the divorce has to leave the house to the other—that is the only penalty, and it is not always enforced, unless the house be joint property.

586 As religion has nothing to do with marriage,
789 neither has it with divorce. Marriage is a status, a partnership, nothing more. But it is all that.

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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776 flowers and water offered, the Nat might know and return. I even offered to contribute myself, that it might be taken as an *amende honorable* on behalf of the English government. But they did not think this would be any use. No Nat would come where there was so much going and coming, so little care for life, such a disregard for pity and for peace. If we were to take away our rest-house, well then, perhaps, after a time, something could be done, but not under present circumstances.

776 626 And so, besides dethroning the Burmese king, and occupying his golden palace, we are ousting from their pleasant homes the guardian spirits of the trees. They flee before the cold materialism of our belief, before the brutality of our manners. The headman did not say this; he did not mean to say this, for he is a very courteous man and a great friend of all of us; but that is what it came to, I think.

776 136 The trunk of this tree is more than ten feet through—not a round bole, but like the pillar in a Gothic cathedral, as of many smaller boles growing together; and the roots spread out into a pedestal before entering the ground. The trunk does not go up very far. At perhaps twenty-five feet above the ground it divides into a myriad of smaller trunks, not branches, till it looks more like a forest than a single tree; it is full of life still. Though the pigeons and the doves come here no longer, there are a thousand other birds flitting to and fro in their aerial city and chirping to each other. Two tiny squirrels have just run along a branch nearly over my head, in a desperate hurry apparently, their tails

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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cocked over their backs, and a sky-blue chameleon is standing on the trunk near where it parts. There is always a breeze in this great tree; the leaves are always moving, and there is a continuous rustle and murmur up there. A mango-tree and tamarind near by are quite still. Not a breath shakes their leaves; they are as still as stone, but the shadow of the fig-tree is chequered with ever-changing lights. Is the Nat really gone? Perhaps not; perhaps he is still there, still caring for his tree, only shy now and distrustful, and therefore no more seen.

Whole woods are enchanted sometimes, and no one dare enter them. Such a wood I know, far away north, near the hills, which is full of Nats. There was a great deal of game in it, for animals sought shelter there, and no one dared to disturb them; nor the villagers to cut firewood, nor the girls seeking orchids, nor the hunter after his prey, dared to trespass upon that enchanted ground.

'What would happen,' I asked once, 'if anyone went into that wood? Would he be killed, or what?'

And I was told that no one could tell what would happen, only that he would never be seen again alive. 'The Nats would confiscate him,' they said, 'for intruding on their privacy.' But what they would do to him after the confiscation no one seemed to be quite sure. I asked the official who was with me, a fine handsome Burman who had been with us in many fights, whether he would go into the wood with me, but he declined at once. Enemies are one thing, Nats are quite another, and a very much more dreadful thing. You can escape

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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776 from enemies, as witness my companion, who had
626 been shot at times without number and had only once been hit in the leg, but you cannot escape Nats. Once, he told me, there were two very sacrilegious men, hunters by profession, only more abandoned than even the majority of hunters, and they went into this wood to hunt. 'They didn't care for Nats,' they said. They didn't care for anything at all apparently. 'They were absolutely without reverence, worse than any beast,' said my companion.

So they went into the wood to shoot, and they never came out again. A few days later their bare bones were found, flung out upon the road near the enchanted wood. The Nats did not care to have even the bones of such scoundrels in their wood, and so thrust them out. That was what happened to them, and that was what might happen to us if we went in there. We did not go.

Though the Nats of the forest will not allow even one of their beasts to be slain, the Nats of the rivers are not so exclusive. I do not think fish are ever regarded in quite the same light as animals. It is true that a fervent Buddhist will not kill even a fish, but a fisherman is not quite such a reprobate as a
[782] hunter in popular estimation. And the Nats think so, too, for the Nat of a pool will not forbid all fishing. You must give him his share; you must be respectful to him, and not offend him; and then he will fill your nets with gleaming fish, and all will go well with you. If not, of course, you will come to grief; your nets will be torn, and your boat upset; and finally, if obstinate, you will be drowned. A

16;Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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great arm will seize you, and you will be pulled under and disappear for ever. 776 626

A Nat is much like a human being; if you treat him well he will treat you well, and conversely. Courtesy is never wasted on men or Nats, at least so a Burman tells me. [782]

The highest Nats live in the mountains. The higher the Nat the higher the mountain; and when you get to a very high peak indeed, like Mainthong Peak in Wuntho, you encounter very powerful Nats. 776 823

They tell a story of Mainthong Peak and the Nats there, how all of a sudden, one day in 1885, strange noises came from the hill. High up on his mighty side was heard the sound of great guns firing slowly and continuously; there was the thunder of falling rocks, cries as of someone bewailing a terrible calamity, and voices calling from the precipices. The people living in their little hamlets about his feet were terrified. Something they knew had happened of most dire import to them, some catastrophe which they were powerless to prevent, which they could not even guess. But when a few weeks later there came even into those remote villages the news of the fall of Mandalay, of the surrender of the king, of the 'great treachery,' they knew that this was what the Nats had been sorrowing over. All the Nats everywhere seem to have been distressed at our arrival, to hate our presence, and to earnestly desire our absence. They are the spirits of the country and of the people, and they cannot abide a foreign domination. [186]

But the greatest place for Nats is the Popa Mountain, which is an extinct volcano standing all

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day on the calendar but the second phongyi decided to embark anyway. Both phongyis were lost when the boat sank that day.

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The revered position of phongyis is open to all regardless of birth or position. It is felt that some take up the robe because they are unsuccessful in life, or wish an "easy living" - but perhaps this attitude is one of modern sophisticates. Certainly the dominant position of the brotherhood is unchallenged. Occasionally differences arise between the headman and the phongyis of a village. But the phongyis invariably prevail. Offending laymen can be "deprived the gate of heaven" by phongyis refusing to accept HSOON, alms, from th This is called inverting the begging bowl THA-BEIT-MAUK-TAI (Begging bowl-upturn) and is the current phrase for any sort of a "strike".

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Some unprincipalled phongyis have sought to enrich themselves by accepting gifts of land or other property, or by selling gifts for money to traders. When they leave the brotherhood and become laymen again this property become theirs. Such occurences appear to be rare and are controlled by stipulations of the givers. For example a donor would hesitate to give paddy land to a suspected phongyi but might agree to giving the crops while retaining title.

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The government or administrative class is looked up to with great respect - in part a carry over from the days of royalty, in part an attitude towards power and influence. However, while the villager today may not know the details of the new constitution he knows there is a "code" wherein he can secure impartial justice.

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

of course there were limits to the latitude allowed to him. The neglect of these conventions was supposed to result in disaster to the troupe and the death through diarrhoea of the actor who took the part or cracked the joke, and it would certainly result in the whole troupe being beaten by the audience and then put in prison by the officials. On the whole, the charge of irreligiousness attributed to the actors was not justified, and throughout the years, they had never been known even to attempt to evade the conventions. There were also conventions connected with social decorum. Kissing was not allowed on the stage. Although no penalty, supposed or real, was attached to it, this convention has never been broken. The actors could wear reproductions of all the regalia of a king, except the golden shoes, which only the king himself and princes in the line of succession could wear. The breaking of this rule was supposed to result in the death by diarrhoea of the actor who wore the shoes, but it was not punishable as a crime if they were actually worn on the stage, and it is known to have been broken sometimes. All the conventions, including those connected with spirit-dancing, still exist at the present day.

536 * 463 554 536 * 577 [643] 626 ●

During the decadent period the platform stage, the elaborate scenery and curtains were introduced from French and English sources, for French touring companies often performed before the court towards the close of Mindon's reign (1853–78), and from about 1870 English touring companies of actors often visited Rangoon. With the performances of these companies of European actors, the general public had no contact. At the court the king and a few courtiers, out of respect for the French embassy, witnessed presentations of French operettas, but as they did not understand French and the actors could speak no Burmese, the court found the performances boring at times. At Rangoon the English actors presented musical comedies, or more truly, musical shows, to an audience composed entirely of English residents. It must be stated that the touring actors did in no way introduce specimens of the French or English dramas, for what they presented were third-rate musical shows. But they did introduce some examples of western stage-craft, and the Burmese professional actors, ever on the alert for borrowings, copied wholesale the platform stage, the curtain, and the elaborate stage scenery, with the result that, during the decadent period, the Burmese stage came to be a copy of the European stage. At Rangoon a permanent theatre was even built, a thing unknown to

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29: Slater M-4 (no date) 1951 AP1 Burma
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Old men will retire to the monastery to end their days there, and younger men, in poverty or other distress, will flee the world for a time. The hospitality of the monks has sometimes been more charitable than discriminate, a circumstances which has brought some monasteries into disrepute, for these temporary inhabitants are allowed to wear the yellow robe, and some are criminals, sheltering from justice. Father Sangermano reports the rescue of prisoners condemned to death. "In thus saving the lives of criminals, (the monks) believe that, as their law forbids them to kill, it must be meritorious to preserve the lives of others."[34] 792 737 672

The monastery is the social centre of the village. Buddhism in Burma is gaily attired, a religion of festival. Frequently there will be an open-air performance in the moonlight, when a birth-story of the Buddha is dramatized. All this spirited, colourful life gathers around the monastery. 792 621 [545] 626 ●

But perhaps the Order's most valuable service to the community is the function fulfilled by the monk as *counsellor*. A group of villagers may gather for a special instruction, others may attend when the monks assemble for devotions, but the monastery is not regarded as a preaching centre or as a place of public worship. In modern times, crowds have flocked to hear the Monyin Sayadaw. Generally, however, the approach in this respect is individual. It is as the individual adviser of each villager that the monk's influence is most strongly felt. 793

In many and tangible ways, therefore, the monastery serves the community, but it is probable that the villager himself reveres the monk more for services which are intangible and may not appear so valuable to sceptical observers. Early in the morning, the monk, attended by *koyins*, will go the round of the faithful, receiving their offerings of rice in his begging bowl.[35] For the monk himself it is an exercise in humility, for the villager it is one of the chief means of increasing that *kutho* or worthiness which ensures him happiness in this life and the next.[36] 792 735 782

Most of all, however, it is those very aspects of the monk's vocation which distinguish him from the rest of the community, setting him apart, for which the monk is chiefly esteemed. It is because the greater part of his life is spent in spiritual exercises which the villagers do *not* share, that they value him most. The monastery stands for a Way of utter renun- 792 *779

[34] *The Burmese Empire*, 3d. Edition, ed. J. Jardine, (London, 1895), chap. xv, p. 122.

[35] Thus *bhikku or bhikṣu*, usually translated monk, means, literally, mendicant. Strictly speaking, a *bhikku* is not a monk; cf. Rhys Davids, *Dialogues of the Buddha*, Part II (S.B.B.), p. 81, footnote.

[36] *Kutho* is frequently translated 'merit.' But 'worthiness' is more accurate.

29: Slater M-4 (no date) 1951 AP1 Burma
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every man in a yellow robe is fully ordained, and not every ordained monk is a scholar. There are Brother Junipers who have little more learning than the average farmer. On the other hand, there are laymen who have advanced a considerable way in higher studies and disciplines. The Lēdī Sayādaw's manual on the Exercises, for example, is written for laymen.[43] Thus between the scholar and the simple villager there is a mediating world, composed both of monks and laymen.

Through this mediating world, the moderating influence of scholarly orthodoxy filters down to the realm of popular Buddhism where imagination roves more freely.

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Here, however, we are met by another objection which, if true, cancels the first. There are so few scholars, it is said, so few really learned *monks* that their influence is negligible. The ordinary monk is not scholarly enough. He is just as much swayed by primitive superstitions as the people he instructs or fails to instruct. He is idle, ignorant and often dissolute. The last criticism need not detain us. Nearly every book on Burma debates the character of the monks. Few fail to acknowledge that, in general, the monks live up to their ideal of chastity. Father Sangermano, who was certainly no indulgent critic, even goes further and suggests that in this respect they might serve as an example to the religious of his own Church. He adds that an offender is expelled by indignant villagers, 'even driving him away with stones' — an observation which reminds us that the most vigilant critics of the monks may be the Burmese people themselves.[44] The Burmese name for monk, *pōn-gyī*, means 'great glory.' Since there is no suggestion of priestly or Brahmanical power, since the value of the monks depends on their *kutho* and their *kutho* on their character, it is difficult to believe that they could have retained this title and the esteem in which they are generally held, if they had been as unworthy as some of their harsher critics suggest.[44] As to their knowledge, whilst nobody would claim that every wearer of the yellow robe is a scholar, we have only to glance at such a survey as Bode's *Pali Literature* to realise that there has been a persistent tradition of Pali learning in Burma since the eleventh century which tends to orthodoxy and could not have failed to impress itself, in some degree, on the mind of the people.

[43] *The Vipassanā Dīpanī, or The Manual of Insight*, trans. by U Nyāna (Mandalay: no date).

[44] Op. cit., chaps. XIV, pp. 115–16.

[44] On the character of the monks, cf. *M.B.B.*, pp. 20, 21, 62; Bigandet, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 260, 270ff.; Fielding Hall, *The Soul of a People*, chap. X, pp. 124ff.; Nisbet, *Burma under British Rule*, p. 147; Richards, *The Burmese*, p. 34.

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

651 merchant as much as fifty or sixty. The assessment
621 was levied according to the means of the villagers. So well was this done, that complaints against the decisions of the assessors were almost unknown—I might, I think, safely say were absolutely unknown. The assessment was made publicly, and each man was heard in his own defence before being assessed. Then the money was collected. If by any chance, such as death, any family could not pay, the deficiency was made good by the other villagers in proportion. When the money was got in it was paid to the governor.

674 Crime such as gang-robbery, murder, and so on,
627 had to be reported to the governor, and he arrested
177 the criminals if he felt inclined, and knew who they were, and was able to do it. Generally something was in the way, and it could not be done. All lesser crime was dealt with in the village itself, not only dealt with when it occurred, but to a great extent prevented from occurring. You see, in a village anyone knows everyone, and detection is usually easy. If a man became a nuisance to a village, he was expelled. I have often heard old Burmans talking about this, and comparing these times with those. In those times all crimes were unpunished, and there was but little petty crime. Now all big criminals are relentlessly hunted down by the police; and the inevitable weakening of the village system has led to a large increase of petty crime, and certain breaches of morality and good conduct. I remember talking to a man not long ago—a man who had been a headman in the king's time, but was not so now. We were chatting of

B 171 782 which was not at all unknown in European countries. About it see: R. Andree, Ethnographische Parallelen /Ethnographic Parallels/ (1878), pp. 18 ff.; F.S. Krauss, "Das Bauopfer bei den Südslaven" /Building Sacrifice among the Southern Slavs/, Mitteilungen der anthropologischen Gesellschaft zu Wien /Proceedings of the Vienna Anthropological Society/, Vol. 17 (1887), pp. 16 ff.; W.T. Brigham, The Ancient Hawaiian House (Memoirs B.P. Bishop Museum, Honolulu II, 3), pp. 27 ff.

B 361 712 In earlier days every Burmese settlement was surrounded by a fortification, cities having stone walls or stockades, the villages impenetrable fences of close rows of thorny bamboo shrubs, prickly cacti, or palisade-like fences of bamboo poles between which pointed bamboo stakes protruded. The latter type of fortification exists today only in the areas where the mountain tribes live, beyond the zone of British administration. Before B the British took over, the constant feuds between [628] [674] the individual tribes and the excesses of robbery made it necessary for each village to protect itself like a fort. With the increased safety of travel and property under the British rule this has become more and more unnecessary, although some districts still experience nocturnal robberies. The villages in the Prome District, which has one of the worst criminal records in Burma, are with practically no exfeptions enclosed by dense high, thorny hedges which have only narrow entrances.

S 341 The buildings of the Shan (11)--population in

11. Cf. especially L. Milne, Shans at Home (London, 1910), pp. 100 ff.; A.K. Gebauer, "Die nördlichen Schanstaaten und ihre Bewohner" /The Nor-

1: Mi Mi Khaing 1-5 (no date) 1946 AP1 Burma
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CHAPTER FOUR

647 565 177. 65 BY the time that I was about four years old my father had become a Subdivisional Officer in the Civil Service, and our family had joined the ranks of what has now come to be known as the *minkadaw* class, an *a-so-ya min* being a government official and *minkadaw* the wife of a *min*. The minkadaws usually referred to were in the great majority the wives of officials of the Burma Civil Service, Class II, and by the time that we were passing through our childhood and adolescent years they already formed a very definite stratum in Burmese society. We children now comparing notes with the children of the minkadaws posted as far apart as Tavoy and Myitkyina can find common characteristics in all the households, from domestic commodities and meal habits to social conventions and standards of wealth. It is as though a new upper middle class has grown up, complete with snobberies, in what was formerly a classless Burmese society, but a class that still keeps itself quite apart from the European gymkhana life of the district towns.

631 647 344 The houses which I can remember, when my father was a Subdivisional Officer in the subdivisional towns of Zigon and Myanaung where he was in charge of the subdivision, or in the divisional headquarters town of Magwe where the whole hierarchy of min from the Commissioner downwards were present, or in the district headquarters town of Maubin where the min ranked down from the Deputy Commissioner and my father was Headquarters Assistant, all bore certain uniform features. They were all wooden, two-storied and large, with a sufficient number of big rooms to have a dining-room and an office room below, a sitting-room above the portico and two big bedrooms, besides little verandahs and odd rooms. They all had a front staircase for common use and one or two ladder-like staircases behind for watermen, sanitation and servants. The kitchen was about 20 yards away, connected by a covered passage, and at the back of the large garden or compound was the *tanya*, a row of rooms for men servants and Indian [251] servants. The garden in front was usually modest owing to frequent changes of occupants, but a minimum amount of flowers for daily vases on the altar had always to be cultivated, and fruit trees were prized highly, guava, mango, marian or citron.

592 357 Unlike most Burmese households we did not have any aunts or other relatives staying with us, but we had our full quota of domestic

associated with fresh country mornings, dew on the grass and smoke from the wood fire, men and women with cheroots and red striped blankets flung over them grouped around the fire. A favourite way of eating kaukhnyin is to put it with a little salt into a bamboo stick that has been cut with a knotch to form a bottom, stop the top with a cork of paper and then roast it over a fire. By the time the stick is about to scorch, the rice is cooked and stuck together in a long tube held by a thin white skin from the inside of the bamboo. Cracked open and eaten with fried chicken it is delicious clean food; the best "kaukhnyin legs" and fried chicken were produced at Letpadan, in Tharawaddy district, for many years running. Other kaukhnyin eaters steam it with beans, pile it on lacquer trays and walk around to sell it in the early mornings about six o'clock, serving it on banana leaves, with sesamum salt and shredded coconut sprayed on top. 796 262

But htamanè is made ceremonially only once a year. Work parties of women used to come to our house the day before and sit under the trees cutting coconut and ginger into thin slices, shelling peanuts, picking husks out of the kaukhnyin, and winnowing this and the sesamum in cane trays. At about four the next morning my mother and the rest of the household got up, and helped by one or two of the young men from other houses, they made fires under the trees, put the kaukhnyin in big pans, with oil and all the prepared ingredients, and cooked if for hours, taking turns to stir the sticky mixture all the time while the others sat around the fire smoking and talking. In the early morning we put the htamanè into dishes for the monasteries and all the houses in the neighbourhood, into tins for sending away to relatives in other towns, and store-jars for keeping in the house to eat between meals.

These accounts of our life in the districts are of ceremonies and celebrations so far because I was a child in those days. My parents had their own pattern of life with a background of work. My father, as I have said, belonged to the Burma Civil Service, Class II. The administrative services in Burma included three grades of Civil Services: the I.C.S., which became the Burma Civil Service I after separation from India, the B.C.S., which then became B.C.S. II, and the Subordinate Civil Service. These three services supplied the executive administrative officers who were placed in charge of the various-sized units of administration, helped in their government by judicial administrative officers of corresponding ranks, and by officers for police, forests, education, excise and other public services for which a separate recruitment was made. 647

The myookship which my father obtained in 1912 was the most junior of these posts, usually filled by members of the Subordinate Civil 647 631

647 Service and beginners in the B.C.S. II. It entailed the charge of a unit
• 631 of administration known as the township, a collection of village tracts, with headquarters at a town of about two to five thousand inhabitants. The township officer supervised the administration of villages and the land system, helped in the suppression of crime and revenue collection, acted as government registrar, and carried out duties assigned to him by his senior officer. This was the Sub-divisional officer, in charge of two or three townships. Two or three sub-divisions were in turn grouped into a district under a Deputy Commissioner, a post attainable by members of the B.C.S. II before their term of service if they showed talent, but more often held by members of the B. C. S. I. Three to eight districts were grouped in divisions under a Divisional Commissioner who had civil and revenue powers and was responsible to the Governor for every department of public service except special branches directly under the control of the central government. There were eight Divisions in Burma.

When my father was an S.D.O. he had various magisterial, civil and revenue powers. Besides exercising these duties in the sub-divisional headquarters, he toured around the sub-division for about ten days in the month and we sometimes accompanied him. When he was stationed at Myanaung we went to Ingabu where my mother had good friends, Pauktaing where there was a great and revered Image of Buddha, Kyangin which had a thriving silk-weaving industry. In a township headquarters like Kyangin we met only the Township Officer although the town was divided into blocks or wards, each of which was under a headman whom my father also had to meet.

647 But in a village like Pauktaing we came directly into contact with
631 the headman, the *thugyi* or "elder person", who, as a source of local
177, authority over villagers, is a carry over of the administrative system under
63 the Burmese kings. The headmen in those days were properly des-
621 cribed by their name of thugyi. They were chosen by the villagers and assisted in their duties by a group of elders. The headman distributed the burden of the revenue that was due from the village among the villagers and collected it, being allowed a percentage of the collections. He was the village magistrate and sometimes the village judge. New settlers in the village had to obtain his permission to take up abode. The office tended to become hereditary, and in those times when there was little contact between the central government and the local administration of the peasantry, the authority of a good headman was a strong influence that extended over more than one village. In present times, however, each village has been established as a separate administrative unit under one headman; the Township Officer, the Sub-divisional

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Officer have appeared as higher sources of authority which are present not far away, and the village headman has lost much of his standing as elder person responsible for law and order, retaining chiefly his position as tax-collector. This is to the loss of village administration.

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As a-so-ya mins, men like my father had more power and prestige than they had money. The salary of a B.C.S. II Officer, which ranged from Rs. 300/- to Rs. 900/-, was enough to ensure easy living and a certain amount of saving for old age, but in the place of the expensive carpets, glass, silver, uniformed servants and tinned foods which we saw in English officials' houses, they had to spend what might seem to foreigners a disproportionate amount on two items: jewellery for the women and financial help to relatives. Jewellery is not a vanity for a Burmese woman but an article of dress, worn both day and night, in varying degrees according to whether she is working or out on pleasure. The word for jewellery does not include any description of gems, but is *let-wut let-sa*: wear for the arms and such. When servant girls enter a household the humblest of them is given a gold chain to hang around her neck or a bangle for her wrist. Thus among the classes who have any money to spare beyond that for mere sustenance, from the more affluent cultivators, the small traders and shopkeepers and clerks, to "rich" land-owners, mill-owners and government officials, a great amount of money is spent on jewellery. Not to have any would be an unbearable shame.

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A complete set of jewellery for a well-dressed woman comprises the following articles, all worn together when attending shinbyus, ear-boring and marriage ceremonies, official functions and numerous other occasions. For the hair a *sado*, a hairpin with a single large diamond on the end; a comb with teeth of gold and a row of diamonds set closely along the back of the rim; a *sein-pan gaing*, a gold hairpin with a cluster of flowers to hang and dangle, set with diamonds. These articles have the gold parts embedded in the knot of hair and only show the diamonds. Round the neck are worn the *lè-gat*, a narrow gold collar set widely with diamonds, fitting like a vice; below this a double row of small pearls tied tightly behind with red tassels; the *lè-ton* "trembling necklace"—a "choker" necklace—sitting so that little chains set with diamonds hang from it all round the neck and tremble; a chain with a diamond locket below this. In the ears are worn single diamond studs. On the jacket five diamond buttons, attached to gold rings set with diamonds, fasten the button loops. On the wrists and hands diamond bracelets and as many rings as possessed, of rubies, emeralds and sapphires set with diamonds are worn. A young girl also wears hollow anklets of gold round her ankles. In addition to the above, the richer minkadaws and wives of big traders possess corresponding pieces of rubies, emeralds and

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

footpaths, and with a huge green cheroot in his mouth, leisurely contemplates the operation. Everything is now in the hands of nature, and the agriculturist may lounge round his farm in peace till November; unless, indeed, excessive rain floods the ground and rots the crop, when a new planting out has to be gone through. The harvesting near Rangoon is entirely done by men from Upper Burma, or even by Indian coolies. They work for very little, and it saves the farmer a good deal of time and dignity to get all the cutting done for him. Accordingly, from October till December the steamers down the Irrawaddy used to be crowded with King Thibaw's subjects, all of whom had to leave behind them with their Myo-sa, or his delegate the Myo-wun, who vicariously "ate" the township between them, a pledge either of property or of some member of their family, that they would return to their country again. When they got back, very little of their hard-earned gains escaped the voracity of the royal officials. Now they come down by train, and after a trip or two learn enough to keep their money from enterprising fellow-countrymen. These anyathas, as they are called, behave remarkably well in British territory, notwithstanding the assertions of the rural police, who, being unable to detect dacoits, declare that these are all Upper Burmans who have come down for the harvest. They are really, however, mostly simple, quiet people, who are kept very much in awe by the bluster and town-knowledge of the down-country farmers, and work away zealously with their queer sickles, looking like the ordinary English article worn to half its original size by long use. It is worthy of notice that the grain is not mown close to the ground as in Europe. Except where there is a market for straw, very little more than the ears are cut off, and the straw burnt in the hot weather of March and April supplies a scarcely-needed fertilising to the soil. The reapers usually receive their payment from the farmer in grain, but they naturally convert this into money, or more portable goods, before they start off home again.

It does not take long to cut the crop, and then the corn is brought in to the homestead, commonly on rude sledges, more seldom in carts. The threshing-floor does not take

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2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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spire. To show the soles of the feet to the throne is high treason. This is awkward for the inhabitants of some quarters, for there is a rule applying to all Buddhists, that they must not place their feet towards the east, where the sun rises and whence the next Buddha, Arimadeya, will come, nor to the west, where the bawdi bin stands, or stood, the tree under which Shin Gautama attained the supreme wisdom. The superstition is probably derived from the Brahmins, who threaten grievous dangers to the man who places his feet on the shadow of a dewa, a king, a teacher, a saint, or another man's wife.

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The frequent change of locality of the palace, and therefore of the capital, is a peculiarity of Burma. There are about a score of towns in the country which have been at one time or other the metropolis. Such are Tagaung, Old Pagān, and Shwebo, above Mandalay; Prome (under the title Tharekettara), Pagān, Sagaing, Ava, and Amarapura, below it. The last two are the best known; indeed some people to the present day persist in talking of the "Kingdom of Ava," though that once brilliant capital has been little better than a jungle for a great many years, and the lines of the old walls can only be traced with difficulty.

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It is hardly correct to say, as most writers on Burma have hitherto done, that with a new king there should be a new capital. This has very frequently been the case, but the matter does not altogether depend upon the accession of a new sovereign. It is brought about by a very much more gruesome (the word is used advisedly) circumstance. On the foundation of a new capital, there are always a certain number of people buried alive. The idea is that they become nat-thein, that their spirits haunt the place where they were put to death, and attack all persons approaching with malevolent intentions. The notion is entirely due to the royal astrologers, the Brahmin pônnas, and as being repugnant to the tenets of Buddhism, is strenuously denounced by the true brethren of the yellow robe. But it fits in very well with the popular superstition regarding the existence of spirits, and has hence always firmly maintained its ground. It is a matter of common knowledge that this idea of

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2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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sanctifying a building with human sacrifices is a notion which has prevailed in all parts of the world at different times, and instances of horrors of the kind are not unknown in Europe.

The virtue of the sacrifices only lasts a certain time, and when it is gone a new city should be built. There are certain signs, added to public disasters, which point out to the initiated when this alteration of site should take place. Mandalay was commenced in 1858, and two years later the seat of government was transferred from Amarapura, some five or six miles down the river. When the foundations of the city wall were laid, fifty-two persons of both sexes, and of various age and rank, were consigned to a living tomb. Three were buried under each of the twelve city gates, one at each of the four corners, one under each of the palace gates, and at the corners of the timber stockade, and four under the throne itself. The selection had to be made with care, for the victims were required to be representative people, born on special days of the week, and the boys buried were not to have any tattoo marks on them, the girls not to have their ears bored. When it was known that the troops were making the collection, no one was to be seen about the streets, except in great bands in the middle of the day. The government gave a series of magnificent dramatic performances, but no one went to see them. Eventually, however, the tale was made up, and the building went on apace. Along with the four human beings buried at the corners of the city were placed four jars full of oil, carefully covered over and protected from any damage that might come from the weight of earth pressing down upon them. These were examined every seven years by the royal astrologers, and as long as they remained intact the town was considered safe.

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At the third examination in 1880, however, it was found that the oil in two of the jars was either completely dried up or had leaked out. One was pretty far gone, and the fourth alone remained in a tolerably satisfactory state. At this very time, the January and February of 1880, a terrible scourge of smallpox was decimating the town, and two of the royal house, King Thibaw's infant son, his only child,

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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and the ex-Pagān Min, the cock-fighting king, had fallen victims. This was bad enough, but other signs portending evil had happened. One of the most valued of the crown jewels, the Nansin Baddamya, had disappeared, a huge ruby, cherished as emblematic of the fortune of the dynasty since the days of Alaungpaya. A tiger in the royal gardens escaped from his cage, a most ominous circumstance, not for the poor wretch whom he killed and half ate before he could be recaptured, but for the city and the entire kingdom. The appearance of wild animals in a town is a sign that it will speedily turn to a wilderness. It was the discovery of a tiger and some deer in the environs of Amarapura which decided the fate of that "City of the Immortals." All these circumstances, coupled with the outward and visible sign of the wrath of the spirits in the shape of the plague of small-pox, decided the pônnas at once. It was no use filling the jars with oil again, or putting in fresh ones. Such parsimonious measures would be considerably worse than useless. A full conclave of the astrologers voted by a large majority for the change of the capital. This, however, neither the ministers nor Thibaw Min would hear of. Mandalay is very different from Amarapura and Ava. There are too many solid brick houses and mills and public manufactories —none of them working, it is true, but too costly to be abandoned—in the present capital to admit of its being thrown over in the old casual way, when a royal order forced everybody to migrate, on pain of imprisonment or death. The pônnas therefore held another meeting, and it was decided that the only other alternative was the offering of propitiatory sacrifices. At the instance of the Pônna Wun, a truculent old villain, it was resolved that the number should be the highest possible: a hundred men, a hundred women, a hundred boys, a hundred girls, a hundred soldiers, and a hundred foreigners. This the king agreed to, and a royal mandate was signed, and arrests forthwith commenced. A frightful panic spread in Mandalay after the first day. Every steamer leaving the capital was crowded to suffocation, boats went down the river in dozens, and there seemed every possibility that Mandalay would be deserted. Then the ministers took fright at the indignation which the

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644 631 782 announced massacres caused in England, and the whole thing was countermanded and denied. But upwards of a hundred people had been arrested, and some of these, when liberated months afterwards, declared that in the dark nights of terror, when no one ventured about Mandalay streets, people were buried under each of the posts at the twelve gates, as a compromise between the fear of the spirits and the fear that the English troops would cross the frontier. 644 787 Each of these posts bears an image of an animal from one of the seals of the king, and before the post sits a figure of a bilu, with a thick club, to act as watchman, in case the human guard should go to sleep. As Burman sentries generally sleep sounder than other people, the propitiation of these spirits at any rate was a very imperative precaution. Whether the oil-jars were filled and reburied *alone* is a dark mystery. But the smallpox left Mandalay, and the place is as happy as ever it was, which, however, is not saying much.

644 361 177·36 The British town of Mandalay is very different from that described. The Palace stockade has gone, and with it very many of the suites of apartments, notably in the women's quarter. The Hall of Audience for a time was converted into a Tamil Mission chapel; the Hlutdaw into a hideous collection of clerks' offices. This has been changed owing to the indignant protests of English visitors. Most of the Palace Halls are now empty: even the Upper Burma Club has been turned out.

The old City has now become cantonments with a few scattered barracks, officers' quarters, and wide stretches of grass. What formerly constituted the suburbs is now Mandalay town. The former execrable roads are now among the best in Burma. But many of the notable buildings, the elaborate monasteries, and gilt shrines have been burnt. Mandalay is certainly a dwindling town; the only question is how long it will remain the second town in Burma.

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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target for his own battery, but the Burman officer was flogged round the town. The guns were stowed away in the palace lest such an enormity might by misadventure be again perpetrated. There they remained till Thibaw Min got them dragged out for his reviews. They had never been cleaned all this time, any more than the infantry arms ever were. He was perhaps less sensitive on the score of noise, but he did not send his gunners out to practise, and they, as a rule, kept their spare clothes and cheroots and betel stowed away in the muzzles of their pieces.

The strength of the army at the disposal of King Thibaw was only limited by the number of men in the country. Every male was liable to serve as a soldier whenever he was called upon, and in 1879, when war with England was momentarily expected, levies of one man from every twenty houses, every twelve, every six, were called out, and finally an ameindaw, or royal mandate, was issued, summoning every able-bodied man in the country to hold himself in readiness for taking the field. But in ordinary times the amount of a Burmese force depended not upon the number of the population, but on the body of men the neighbourhood could feed in a collective state, for it was the district and not the Government that supported them. At the best Thibaw Min could supply not more than 25,000 and 30,000 men with muskets, more or less useless, from long Enfields to ancient flintlocks, which would be most readily induced to go off by putting them on a fire. The method of raising forces was somewhat as follows. The king, with or without the advice of his ministers, decided how many men were wanted, and informed the Hlutdaw, which thereupon issued orders to all the governors of provinces, calling upon them to muster the quota which custom had decided their districts must provide. The provincial rulers then sent their instructions to the myothugyis and taikthugyis, heads of townships and village circles, who in their turn communicated with the subordinate headman of each separate village. This last official, with the assistance of the house-reeves, singled out the men. Substitutes were allowed, and as every thugyi was absolute in his own place, he usually made a very pretty thing out of such a levy, through fines

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and sums given to him to procure another man. The whole district was called upon to pay for the support and equipment of its contingent, and the men who were recruited were usually those who were unable to furnish their share of this tax. But the men who eventually went off as soldiers were not by any means commonly those whom the headman first nominated. He expected to have money extorted from him by his superiors, and made his arrangements accordingly, naming all the wealthiest men in the place in his first list. This method of raising troops is not expeditious, but nothing under Thibaw's rule was expeditious, and it gave abundant scope for palavering and extortion, the two chief accomplishments of the rural officials.

The inhabitants of certain districts, however, were considered the hereditary soldiers of the Alaungpaya dynasty, and these levies were looked upon as forming the standing army. They held their lands by military service and were exempt from all taxation. They considered themselves to be the flower of the service and adopted *Junker* manners. A dragon was tattooed on the back of their necks, just over the shoulders, to signify that they specially belonged to the king, and, strictly speaking, they alone were entitled to the name ahmudan. They mounted guard in the palace, and were almost never required to leave the capital. The chief Alaungpaya districts are in the north, round about Môtshobo, now called Shwebo, whence the founder of the present dynasty came. The rural levies got all the work there was to be done against marauding Shans and Kachins, and garrisoned the various fortified towns along the frontier. Many of these contingents were armed with nothing but spears and dahs. At Minhla, near the old British frontier, where there was a well-constructed fort, was posted the strongest and best-armed detachment out of Mandalay. Near Ava there were three forts: one, the face of the old city wall, an earthen rampart thirty feet thick and twenty feet high, faced on the outside with masonry; a second on the other side of the river at Sagaing, and the third farther up at the bend of the river, at Shwegyetyet. These commanded the river at a point where vessels proceeding up the river had to round a dangerous reef of rocks. But with regard to these

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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CHAPTER LVI

REVENUE SYSTEM

THE first people, when they took counsel together and appointed a ruler to repress crime and manage the affairs of the country, agreed that each man should pay a tenth of his thale rice, and this tithe system remained in force in Burma till practically the end, not merely for supplying the royal coffers, but also for paying all public servants. King Mindôn abolished the tithe system as far as the payment of local officials was concerned, and arranged to give them fixed salaries; but even in his time this law was somewhat of a dead letter, and under his son the last king, if governors and secretaries did not resort to old methods they got nothing. Unfortunately for the people the ancient system was by far the most profitable, and the collectors were not at all inclined to agitate for their payment at stated times from the treasury. The actual exactions of these worthies far exceeded what appeared in their black parabaik notebooks, and were in fact only limited by the possessions of their victims, and occasionally by a slight fear of consequences, if a desperate man should complain to some powerful minister in Mandalay. Then the delinquent might be turned out to make way for a friend of the wungyi's. But, alas for the people, the change, if not exactly from King Log to King Stork, was only too likely to be from a well-filled stork to a lean and hungry one.

The division of the country for the collection of revenue was identical with that for administrative purposes, and the several duties were carried out by the same persons with the same assistants. The one man was civil administrator, judge,

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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651 colonel of the local militia, and revenue collector for his
631 locality, whether province, circle, or simple village. The fixed revenue demanded by the myosa, whether prince of the blood-royal, minister of state, maid of honour, royal spittoon-bearer, or white elephant, was remitted to Mandalay by the resident lord-lieutenant of the province, together with a certain over-plus for the "province-eater's" secretary, clerk, and treasurer. The whole amounted to from sixty to eighty per cent of the money nominally raised from the people, and the money kept back was supposed to pay for the services of the myowun and his subordinates. But they would have been very much less great people if they got no more than this. It is impossible to say how much money was collected in any one district, or even in any single town. The steatite pencil records were easily effaced and altered, even if they were ever accurate, and no one knew anything of the details of taxation. A certain circle of villages was called upon to produce a certain amount of revenue to go to the capital, and as long as this was regularly paid no questions were asked. The governor divided out amongst the circles the quota each was expected to pay, and the taikthugyi in his turn made the allotment for the villages under his control; finally the village headman gave his instructions to the tithing-men, and they extorted all they could from the householders under their control. The system was admirably planned, but the working of it was
641 execrable in its cruelty. Every Burman was the king's
651 slave, and could not leave the district, far less the country, without the royal permission granted through the local authorities. The men who came down to reap British Burma paddy-fields in November and December had all of them to leave hostages behind, their wives and families or some near relation, to guarantee that they would return when the season was over to pay their ngwedaw.

This ngwedaw, or "royal silver," was the main source of the revenue. It was a house-tax or family-tax, not a capitation-tax, though its incidence was generally so arranged that it practically came to be a poll assessment, or at any rate a kind of rude property-tax. The amount of land cultivated, which naturally varied according to the number of hands

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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humiliation. As an instance of Burman carelessness in money matters it may be mentioned that when the final instalment was paid, considerably over the sum due was sent to Calcutta. When the overplus was returned, there was great discussion among the Ministers as to what could be the motive of the Indian Government in being so singularly scrupulous. 651

A good many districts were almost entirely exempted from taxes in recognition of special services required of them. The inhabitants of the capital were particularly well off in this respect. They furnished the troops to guard the palace and city. Moreover, it would have been much more difficult to oppress them with impunity, apart from the fact that if they were disaffected it would have offered a premium to rebels. For similar reasons some of the townships about Môtshobo were free from the ngwedaw. It was from this district that Alaungpaya, the founder of the dynasty, came, and insurrectionist princes always made for Môtshobo when they levied war. Several villages on the Irrawaddy, in consideration of supplying the royal gilded boats, manning the royal barges, and passing on Court despatches, were relieved from the family tax. But the petty officials took very good care that they did not grow rich on their immunities. 651 631

All these methods were more or less sanctioned by ancient custom. Modern ingenuity and requirements, however, found out new ways of raising money. The pious ardour of Mindôn led him to spend vast sums on the erection of pagodas and religious buildings of all kinds, as well as on the manufactories, cotton mills, foundries, and powder-mills with which he crowded the suburbs of Mandalay, and closed when he got tired of them. All this cost a very great deal of money, which even the exaction of benevolences from wealthy courtiers failed to supply. Consequently Mindôn Min turned merchant and established a great number of royal monopolies. The producers were allowed to sell to none but to him, and he fixed the price which he was prepared to pay. For long, cotton, jaggery, timber, wheat, precious stones, and earth oil could only be had from the royal merchant, and the trade with British Burma was in anything but a satisfactory state. Then in 1867, Colonel 651 177·38 361 651

14: Brant E-5 (1949-50) 1954 AP1 Burma
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Indians

621 consider, because they did not want to lose the Indians as customers for
563 their paddy stalk and as a source of manure for their gardens and fields.

The headman of Tadagale, when queried as to the reasons for the departure of the Indians, shrugged his shoulders and said simply that they were afraid, despite the plans for village defense, that their animals might be injured in the event of any fighting between villagers and bandits.

Within a few days, the Indians of Tadagale had all departed; and in the vacant spaces where their houses had stood, the Burmese were eagerly at work erecting buildings of their own.

Social Change

175 Prior to effective British rule in Lower Burma (about 1830), the local autonomous unit was the village circle, consisting of several villages under
●631 the authority of a headman. The office of headman seems to have been hereditary in fact, although elections were held. That is to say, headmen tended to be
622 elected in a particular lineage. Rule was through personal relationship between the headman and the villagers. Under the circle headman was a council
626 of elders, appointed by him, one from each village in the circle. Disputes were almost entirely settled by arbitration and compromise, rather than with any concern over the abstract legal right and wrong of the case.

621 Within the village, a system called 'ten-house heads' was operative. This system appears to have been operative through British times, but at least since 1948 has lost effectiveness. Tadagale houses are strung out along a main path, and the ten-house division is such that the houses belonging to one group are mostly contiguous. The head of each ten-house section acted as a kind of deputy to the headman and sat on the council of elders.

175 With the coming of British rule, much of this changed. They established a hierarchical system, in which there were, in descending order of size,
631 nation, division, district, township, village circle, and village. All officials at each level were appointed from the capital, even down to the village level, where the headman was made an appointed civil servant. He
622 was paid on a percentage basis of his total tax collections and fines levied. The circle headman had police power and judicial authority in petty crimes.

175 A judicial system was introduced by the British to replace the old informal arbitration. With an almost total disregard for indigenous institutions
692 and customs, the British established a territorial system based upon law. The loosely structed and informal system of old gradually broke down.

Early in 1948 Burma gained her independence. Since that time the country
669 has been in a state of disorganization. The civil strife has brought about an almost complete breakdown of administrative function on many levels.
631 Certainly the ties of the village with higher units have been curtailed. One indication of this is the fact that the headman no longer submits reports
182 with any degree of regularity to higher echelons, as was required under British rule. Even the local ten-house heads council has largely ceased to function. It exists, but is scarcely used.

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

721 pieces of the cement and threw them at the troops.
157 He would not surrender—not he—and he was killed.
701 There were many like him. The whole war was little affairs of this kind—a hundred, three hundred, of our men, and much the same, or a little more, of theirs. They only once or twice raised a force of two thousand men. Nothing can speak more forcibly of their want of organization than this. The whole country was pervaded by bands of fifty or a hundred men, very rarely amounting to more than two hundred, and no two bands ever acted in concert.

It is probable that most of the best men of the country were against us. It is certain, I think, that of those who openly joined us and accompanied us in our expedition, very, very few were other than men who had some private grudge to avenge, or some purpose to gain, by opposing their own people. Of such as these you cannot expect very much. And yet there were exceptions—men who showed up all the more brilliantly because they were exceptions—men whom I shall always honour. There were two I remember best of all. They are both dead now.

722 One was the eldest son of the hereditary governor
642 of a part of the country called Kawlin. It is in
631 the north-west of Upper Burma, and bordered on a semi-independent state called Wuntho. In the troubles that occurred after the deposition of King Thibaw, the Prince of Wuntho thought that he would be able to make for himself an independent kingdom, and he began by annexing Kawlin. So the governor had to flee, and with him his sons, and

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

naturally enough they joined our columns when we advanced in that direction, hoping to be replaced. They were replaced, the father as governor under the direction of an English magistrate, and the son as his assistant. They were only kept there by our troops, and upheld in authority by our power against Wuntho. But they were desired by many of their own people, and so, perhaps, they could hardly be called traitors, as many of those who joined us were. The father was a useless old man, but his son, he of whom I speak, was brave and honourable, good tempered and courteous, beyond most men whom I have met. It was well known that he was the real power behind his father. It was he who assisted us in an attempt to quell the insurrections and catch the raiders that troubled our peace, and many a time they tried to kill him, many a time to murder him as he slept.

There was a large gang of insurgents who came across the Mu River one day, and robbed one of his villages, so a squadron of cavalry was sent in pursuit. We travelled fast and long, but we could not catch the raiders. We crossed the Mu into unknown country, following their tracks, and at last, being without guides, we camped that night in a little monastery in the forest. At midnight we were attacked. A road ran through our camp, and there was a picket at each end of the road, and sentries were doubled.

It was just after midnight that the first shot was fired. We were all asleep when a sudden volley was poured into the south picket, killing one sentry and wounding another. There was no time to dress,

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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of these obtained in Burma any more than in the Europe of five hundred years ago, and the result was the same in both. The central government consisted of the king, who had no limit at all to his power, and the council of ministers, whose only check was the king. The executive and judicial were all the same: there was no appeal from one to the other. The only appeal from the ministers was to the king, and as the king shut himself up in his palace, and was practically inaccessible to all but high officials, the worthlessness of this appeal is evident. Outside Mandalay the country was governed by *wuns* or governors. These were appointed by the king, or by the council, or by both, and they obtained their position by bribery. Their tenure was exceedingly insecure, as any man who came and gave a bigger bribe was likely to obtain the former governor's dismissal and his own appointment. Consequently the usual tenure of office of a governor was a year. Often there were half a dozen governors in a year; sometimes a man with strong influence managed to retain his position for some years. From the orders of the governor there was an appeal to the council. This was in some matters useful, but in others not so. If a governor sentenced a man to death—all governors had power of life and death—he would be executed long before an appeal could reach the council. Practically no check was possible by the palace over distant governors, and they did as they liked. Anything more disastrous and fatal to any kind of good government than this it is impossible to imagine. The governors did what they considered right in

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16;Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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642 their own eyes, and made as much money as they
681 could, while they could. They collected the taxes and as much more as they could get; they administered the laws of Manu in civil and criminal affairs, except when tempted to deviate therefrom by good reasons; they carried out orders received from Mandalay, when these orders fell in with their own desires, or when they considered that disobedi-
[641] ence might be dangerous. It is a Burmese proverb
[539] that officials are one of the five great enemies of mankind, and there was, I think (at all events in the latter days of the kingdom), good reason to remember it. And yet these officials were not bad men in themselves; on the contrary, many of them were men of good purpose, of natural honesty, of right principles. In a well-organized system they would have done well, but the system was rotten to the core.

642 It may be asked why the Burmese people remained quiet under such a rule as this; why they did not rise and destroy it, raising a new one in its place; how it was that such a state of corruption lasted for a year, let alone for many years.

And the answer is this: However bad the government may have been, it had the qualities of its defects. If it did not do much to help the people, it did little to hinder them. To a great extent it left them alone to manage their own affairs in their own way. Burma in those days was like a great untended garden, full of weeds, full of flowers too, each plant striving after its own way, gradually evolving into higher forms. Now sometimes it seems to me to be like an old Dutch garden, with

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

the paths very straight, very clean swept, with the trees clipped into curious shapes of bird and beast, tortured out of all knowledge, and many of the flowers mown down. The Burmese government left its people alone; that was one great virtue. And, again, any government, however good, however bad, is but a small factor in the life of a people; it comes far below many other things in importance, A short rainfall for a year is more disastrous than a mad king; a plague is worse than fifty grasping governors; social rottenness is incomparably more dangerous than the rottenest government.

And in Burma it was only the supreme government, the high officials, that were very bad. It was only the management of state affairs that was feeble and corrupt; all the rest was very good. The land laws, the self-government, the social condition of the people, were admirable. It was so good that the rotten central government made but little difference to the people, and it would probably have lasted for a long while if not attacked from outside. A greater power came and upset the government of the king, and established itself in his place; and I may here say that the idea that the feebleness or wrong-doing of the Burmese government was the cause of the downfall is a mistake. If the Burmese government had been the best that ever existed, the annexation would have happened just the same. It was a political necessity for us.

The central government of a country is, as I have said, not a matter of much importance. It has very little influence in the evolution of the soul of a people. It is always a great deal worse than the

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

874. OFFICIAL PASSING THE STREET.

representatives they are, attaining their position by the tacit suffrages of the public. Their sphere is not defined nor are their numbers fixed in any way. Influence is naturally centred in a few of the ablest, but these are not permitted to usurp it for themselves. The loyalty of the villagers rests on the reciprocal regard of the elders for the sentiments of the community; the *lûdyts*, though they moderate popular feeling, never take an unpopular course. The affairs which they manage are the local festivals and the religious undertakings in which the public life of the country centres and in which conflicting aims have to be conciliated. The laying out of ordinary irrigation channels and other village works are arranged by the *lûdyts*. They witness marriages and divorces, and generally regulate the social life of the people. A tacit agreement, parallel to that between the villagers and their headmen, bound the king and the people, whose sentiments were reflected by officials drawn from their midst.

If, not content with the consideration accruing through age and natural gifts for leadership, and with managing a business of his own, our Burman aspired to a public career, he might enter official life by attaching himself to the suite of some functionary. This he would do at first in a menial capacity, and, as he found favour, he might become secretary, deputy, and eventually attain to the chief dignities. A scion of royalty just out of his teens would be given a town or province to live on (*myoza*), as well as to govern by the help of deputies and advisers. But a son of the people would be gray before he climbed to such a position. The *myoza* had to remit a

875. BURMAN JUDGE PROCEEDING TO COURT.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
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376. JUDGE PRESIDING IN COURT (YON).

fixed annual revenue to the treasury, and he retained such excess as he could raise for himself. Even more cynical than the appellation of *myoza*, but nevertheless officially accepted, is that of his deputy, *thwethauttyi*, or bloodsucker. The revenue exactions were variable, and were levied with little regularity; outlying localities escaped altogether. The people of such places were almost without ostensible government. The 3-rupee household tax of 1862 had advanced to 10 Rs. in 1886 (*Thathameda*). There were also special imposts and special exemptions. The original style and address of the king came to be adopted by his deputies, as more high-sounding titles were devised for him. Every officer is now addressed *Payá* and spoken of as *min*, which means ruler, prince. The full style of high officials used to occupy several lines of a document; there were the traditional titles of the office and territory, the prerogatives granted by the king, conspicuous among which were the number of red and gold umbrellas allotted to the rank, and the executive powers, such as *dâbaing*, holder of the sword. The last-named symbol was borne before the officer as arbiter of life. The lower grades of office were, and in many places still are, hereditary, especially that of *thadyt*, the appointed headman who levies the taxes from the people (literally the poor, *sinyètha*). The Burmese correlative of *official* is significant; no matter how wealthy he be, one who holds no office is a "poor" man—at the mercy of the *asòya*. If the rapacity of an official under the old *régime* grew intolerable, he incurred the risk of assassination, without much likelihood of being avenged by the central authority. The religious aversion to be

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377. THE CITY GATE (PYA-O).

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
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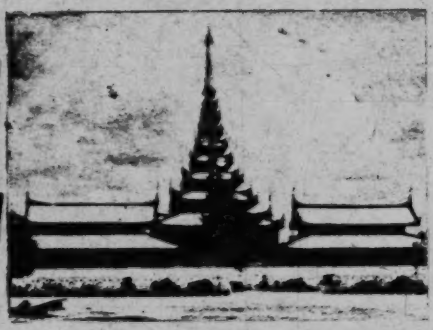

380. PALACE FRONT AND SPIRE.

The British administration preserves the native official machinery, from the *thadyt* to the *myoôk*, augmenting the numbers so as to reach every part of the area and curtailing the powers. Under native *régime* even *thadyts* might be *dâbaing*. The new *régime* takes account of the village *lûdyts* for the sake of their moral influence; many of them have been invested with power to compose differences up to small amounts, and some of the more prominent are honorary magistrates. Independent spirit is on the increase; the officials have to reckon with a new temper in the people. Nevertheless, in municipal councils the supineness and complaisance of the native members are calculated to stultify the position accorded to them. Road-making and sanitation do not arouse their interest, and the local excise, the matter they long to deal with, is excluded from their jurisdiction (*cf.* p. 157). The *thadyt* personally measures* the fields, collects the land-tax and poll-tax from house to house, in such a circle as he can make the circuit of twice a year, and receives commission on the amount. He reports on matters within his circle. As many revenue-circles as a native magistrate can personally control are united into a township, under a *myoôk*, who at the same time supervises the co-ordinate grades of police distributed in the township. He publicly tries criminal and civil cases, under his powers as magistrate, by codes of law and procedure accessible to everybody. These codes form the most valuable models of system, in the vernacular, up to the present. By their help both judges and advocates have trained themselves in law. Five to eight townships, according to facilities for

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[292
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381. BURMAN PRINCESS.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

388. ROYAL INSIGNIA.

supervision, are combined into a district under a European magistrate, the Deputy Commissioner, who has a European officer for district superintendent of police, commanding an average force of four hundred native constables. At the district headquarters are a police-depôt, treasury, jail and hospital, besides courthouses and offices. The district officer hears appeals from the *myoôks*, and tries all offences except the gravest and heavy civil suits. This organisation is the backbone of the civil government, the 'Commission.' There are thirty-six such districts, and four hundred native magistrates, on salaries of one hundred to eight hundred rupees a month, besides one hundred and twenty-five native honorary magistrates. The success of this economical administration, organised by Sir Arthur Phayre, in ensuring the safety of life and property and the fulfilment of contracts has given a new value to enterprise and thrift. The British garrison of Burma in 1900 consisted of three thousand European and seven thousand five hundred Indian regular troops.

To return to native Burma—In the centre of the capital, and by euphemism of creation, rises the *pyatthat* which canopies the principal throne in the great hall of audience, where envoys and tributary princes used to be received. Here also the princes of his own blood and the high officers of state paid court to the king on *gadáw-ne*, days when they craved pardon of the king for their shortcomings. The throne (No. 1) is ascended by a stair at the back, leading from the council-room of the king's cabinet of palace ministers, who were the medium of communication with the *Hluttaw*. On such occa-

388. ANCIENT CAPITAL BAGAING.

century, the punishment for abduction of women was en- 671
hanced from one of confinement in irons to that of death. 681
Thus what the English lawyer would understand by the term 671
"criminal law" was considered to be the personal concern of 643
the king. Therefore, when the ruling king died, and a new king ascended the throne, all persons undergoing punishment for crimes committed under the previous king, automatically were freed. Criminal jurisdiction therefore was considered to be merely an administrative function of the crown, and it concerned the executive, and not the judicial, officers of the state. Modern European writers have ever emphasized the despotism of Burmese kings, but the Royal Edicts proclaimed at the beginning of each reign clearly showed that the Burmese king was not a blood-thirsty individual devoid of all mercy. In the [692
Edicts, we find the king delegating the function of meting out 645]
criminal justice to three of his Chief Ministers, admonishing at the same time that they should temper justice with mercy. The king in the Edicts ordered that even in capital crimes, the [682]
punishment should be one of banishment, and the sentence of death was to be reserved for vicious criminals. Even when the sentence of death had been passed, the execution was to be postponed for at least ten days so as to enable the king to consider the case and alter the punishment to one of banishment if the facts justified such alteration.

But as in England, the king was considered to be the foun- 692
tain of justice, for his was the supreme court of the land. The 631
kingdom was divided into provinces, each under a viceroy. Each province was further divided into cities, each city under a governor. Each city or city area was subdivided into towns and each town or town area into villages, with a headman for each town and each village. The courts of the headmen of towns or villages dealt with suits of small value, and there was a right of appeal from those courts to the courts of the governors of cities. The courts of the governors exercised both original and appellate jurisdiction, and appeals from these courts lay to the court of the viceroy, which also exercised both

30: Maung Htin Aung E-4 (no date) 1953 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

692 original and appellate jurisdiction. These officers were execu-
631 tive officers under the crown, but when they sat as judges in their respective courts, they were judges in the full sense of the term, for they were free of all executive control. Finally there
[643] was the Supreme Court. This final court of appeal consisted of the king as the president, the crown prince as the vice-president, the four chief ministers, and their four deputies. The king, however, attended only on rare occasions, and thus the crown prince usually presided over the court. The law that these courts administered and interpreted was the customary
694 law of the Burmese people. One special feature of the courts
[693] was their attempt to settle the case before actually trying it. Lawyers, who were attached to the courts as officers, although their fees were payable by the litigants, also endeavored to conciliate the contending parties. Often the parties decided to refer their suit to an arbitrator. There was no right of appeal from the decision of an arbitrator, on the ground that the arbitrator was chosen by the contending parties themselves. When a suit had been heard and decided, the successful party offered a dish of pickled tea to the other party, and if the latter accepted, the parties were deemed to have been reconciled, and there could be no appeal from the decision of the court. The refusal of the unsuccessful party to accept the offered dish of pickled tea served as his notice of appeal.

671 Burmese history, like the history of many countries, re-
[178] cords rebellions, invasions, and violent struggles for power,
177 but the development of Burmese customary law has been
175 singularly free from catastrophes and sudden changes. There has never been a revolution in the Burmese customary law. However, the law in the course of its long history experienced three great impacts with the outside world. The first was the impact of Hindu jurisprudence, second was the impact of Buddhism, and the third was the impact of English law as the result of the British conquest of the country towards the end of the nineteenth century.

Some of my colleagues of this conference have already

175 578 563 yet with Burma itself. Brought up as a complacent child of a government officer in Burma, this was the first time that I realized how we had unconsciously thought of England, the British Empire, as a permanent world force during our lifetime—a force with which we might bargain advantageously or without success, but one that our fathers and we had taken for granted for all the time that we could remember. But now we realized it as one power—leading perhaps—amongst other powers in the West, and we realized also the existence of Japan and remembered how the Burmans who visited it always brought back stories of the beauty, progress and good manners of the country.

We left our English friends in the first half of August 1940, as they waited, braced for an invasion, to go to what they and we considered a war-free country. I was in the Ladies Room of a big restaurant in London just before I left, when the attendant who watched me wrap my longyi asked me which country I came from. "Burma," I told her. "Burma," she repeated uncertainly. "Is there a war there, Miss?" "No," I said laughing, "but there is a Road there." Yet I was only amusing myself. As we set out home, the furthest that our thoughts of war and Burma ranged, was to wonder whether the Burma Road and the recent closing of it had made people think more about Japan and China than they had done in 1937, when the outbreak of war between the two countries had caused little excitement except that some of my friends became consistent boycotters of Japanese goods. We also wondered vaguely whether trade had been affected, and whether thought and general social conditions had been stimulated with the world-shattering event of a European war, not dreaming that this was but the splash of a pebble compared to the tempest that was to follow.

177. 36 633 772 Since I had left Burma, my mother and brother and sisters had settled themselves in Rangoon and I wondered how the city would seem after the big cities of the West. Rangoon is not one of the ancient cities of Burma. Its present position in the life of the country and people is a complete turnabout from its traditional place, for in days gone by it had attracted the inhabitants through spiritual rather than material renown. While Pagan, Ava, Toungoo and Mandalay rose and fell in political and commercial importance, Rangoon—Dagon as it was called—continued unchangingly a seat of pilgrimage, connected with fable and divinity, forming an actual link with another world cycle that existed in the universe before this present arrangement of Mount Myinmo, with its surrounding heavenly, earthly and hellish regions, was formed.

•632 773 For it was on the hill called Theinguttara, which now casts its shadow on the city of Rangoon with its crown of the Shwe Dagon Pagoda, that the omens for the spiritual life of this world cycle were manifested, before

the last world was dissolved in chaos. On this hill five lotus buds sprang out of the earth; they opened into blossom, and from each flew a sacred bird which bore a sacred yellow robe towards the heavens. These five robes presaged the coming of five Buddhas who would guide the future world along the noble path to Nirvana. After this sign, that former world was destroyed; the present world followed, and the Buddhas appeared as foretold: Kaukathan, Gaunagong, Kathapa and Gautama, who successively attained enlightenment in this world, and whose statues now sit, each fifty feet tall and twenty feet broad, back to back in a great quadrate at the Kyaikpun Pagoda, calm and majestic as the grass grows about them and the rain washes down on their faces, awaiting the arrival of the fifth and last Buddha, after which this world cycle will be destroyed in a universal chaos. As each Buddha saw his enlightenment in this world he left a relic at the Theinguttara Hill, which had foretold his coming and which would now mark his attainment of wisdom—Kaukathan his staff, Gaunagon his water filter, Kathapa a portion of his robe, and Gautama his eight hairs which were enshrined in the first Shwe Dagon Pagoda after many perilous journeys. 632 773

But now the importance of Rangoon banishes all that into the realm of our dreams. The beginnings of trade date from about 1760 after King Alaungpaya had won a battle here and called the place *Yangon*: end of strife; but the big foreign port sprang up suddenly after 1852 when the British gained possession of it; the ships coming into its harbour from the oceans grew larger and larger, buildings followed the expanding commerce, roads and railways were built to all parts of Burma, foreigners crowded in and stamped its character, and by 1941 Rangoon had become a cosmopolitan city of over 500,000 inhabitants, more than three times larger than the next largest city in Burma and controlling over 80% of its export trade. 177, 36 632

If the Burmese Empire of former days had been a sea-power, the development of Rangoon would not have been left to this late day, for its position makes it the obvious port for the whole country, and it had many natural beauties which would have made it a fair metropolis. Twenty-one miles up from the open sea, the Rangoon River gives a broad sweep to the left and allows a frontage of over two miles for ocean shipping to anchor. The river is a continuation of the Hlaing River flowing southwards from about 50 miles north of Rangoon and this, with the Pegu River and the Pazundaung Creek which join its waters opposite Rangoon from the right, made inland water transport also easy. The land giving on to the Rangoon River was open and flat for the layout of a fine city, with, further in, lakes and wooded hillocks, but just north of Rangoon the range of hills known as the Pegu Yomas stretched northwards for 361 504

175 578 563 yet with Burma itself. Brought up as a complacent child of a government officer in Burma, this was the first time that I realized how we had unconsciously thought of England, the British Empire, as a permanent world force during our lifetime—a force with which we might bargain advantageously or without success, but one that our fathers and we had taken for granted for all the time that we could remember. But now we realized it as one power—leading perhaps—amongst other powers in the West, and we realized also the existence of Japan and remembered how the Burmans who visited it always brought back stories of the beauty, progress and good manners of the country.

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2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

before, however steadily they lay on their mats. The offerings are eaten next morning, and it is greatly to be feared that there are many abstentions from the morning's round of alms-begging. Such dissipation must scatter to the winds any merit acquired by diligent piety and meditation in the long weeks of Lent. It is only to be seen in Rangoon and a few other places where many foreigners congregate. The description is from the "country mouse" point of view.

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In country towns, revels of this kind are never seen, and even in Mandalay, though there are festivities in abundance, the monasteries are never invaded in this scandalous way. The difference is that between the primitive Buddhist and the highly sophisticated latitudinarian. A more harmless and decidedly prettier custom is the illumination, called taungpyi pwè, of the pagodas and the town. In Rangoon a very fine effect is produced by hanging the Sule Pagoda, in Fytche Square, all round with Chinese lanterns, from the base up to the top of the thabeit-hmauk, where the body of the shrine begins to narrow into the spire. The rings of coloured light narrowing upwards in a veritable pyramid of fire, produce one of the finest sights of the kind to be seen in the country. The street lamps, however, somewhat handicap the simple means of illumination open to the inhabitants, and to see the illumination of a town at its best one must go to a place where there are no street lamps. There all the pagodas and many of the private houses are lighted up, and the contrast to the ordinary gloom is startling. Candles are placed on posts at intervals of ten paces in every street, and the sè-eing gaungs have very plain-worded instructions as to what will happen to them if any of the lights in front of the ten houses of which they have charge go out. Mandalay Hill at such a time was a fine sight and still is, though it is no more a royal town. The two covered ways which lead up the steep uneven sides to the pagoda and the richly gilt Gautama on the top, look like streams of flame, or fiery serpents from the haunted nat-taung, under the shade of the Shan hills. But the monasteries which cluster close in to the foot of the sacred hill are all as dark and still as on any night in the middle of the Wā. No unseemly orgies are permitted there. In the town, on the

[633]

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

the two are smashing away at one another with their long hair streaming over their faces and down their shoulders. Friends join in, and almost before you can realise what has happened, the actors disappear, the women and children run off home, and the street is filled with an excited crowd of men swaying backwards and forwards, and fighting promiscuously. For this reason pwès are now never allowed in towns without permission from the civil authority, and numbers of policemen are always at hand to nip any riot in the bud. With the same object performances are only allowed in large towns about the time of the full moon, when there is abundance of light, in case the street lamps should be put out. The worst row of the kind I ever saw, however, was started by two of the Burman policemen themselves. They quarrelled about the merits of two apyodaws, talented *danseuses*, and the crowd, relishing the absurdity of the thing, backed up the quarrel with such energy that broken heads were plentiful and a ward in the infirmary was filled.

Foreigners very often make the mistake of taking the performances of children's companies to be actual zāt plays. Even Captain Forbes, usually so accurate, falls into this error in speaking of a representation of the Wethandaya zāt. This must simply have been a yein, an adaptation of the great drama for performance by the little choral dancers. For people who do not understand Burmese well—among whom, of course, the late Captain Forbes was certainly not to be included—the mistake is very easy. They are far prettier to look at, and much preferable in every way to the actual text of the birth-story, mainly because they are not so dismally drawn out, and can ordinarily be got through in an evening.

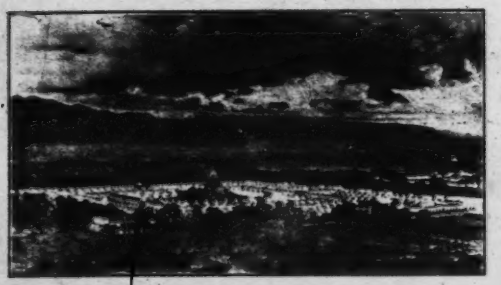
The dramas are all founded on the tales which Shin Gautama told of five hundred and ten of his previous existences, or on events in the lives of kings and heroes in India. None of them are original. The story in every instance is taken from the Hindoo, the adapter in most cases not even taking the trouble to nationalise the names of places and characters. It is only in the extemporising of the clown that anything really characteristic comes out. The Hindoo sense of humour is vastly inferior to the

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

644 on such occa-
sions the king appeared in the royal insignia, which otherwise only figure as
[643] emblems of state. The insignia in the illustration are surmounted by a queen's
crown (*sibin*). The shape of a king's crown is seen in Nos. 151 and 425. There
[346] being but a single palace and thousands of *kyaungs* and temples, the palace
[344] appears to resemble a *kyaung*. But the converse is the fact; the *kyaung* it
is which in virtue of its religious character shares the
643 distinction of the palace. The most recent style adopted
by the Burman sovereigns was *Shin-Bayin*—Lord of
Lords. A chief title was *Sinbyû Shin*—Lord of the
White Elephant. Every subject prostrated himself in
the presence of the king, with face averted from the
effulgence of the royal countenance. An official called
thandawzin used to repeat aloud the words uttered by
[776] the king. The ensign betokening the presence of the
[532] king and of the chief queen (*mibayâ*) is the *tibyû* (p. 101).
[588] Two to eight were borne according to the solemnity of the
occasion. The chief queens were frequently half-sisters
of the kings. For all the royal acts, the lying, rising,
eating, speaking, there are euphemisms proper to the
occasion; one of the most current of these is *shwepawdaw*
—the golden foot. At his demise the sovereign is said
to migrate to the abode of *nats* or delectable land; the
staff of his *tibyû* was broken. The paraphernalia of the
king's service were elaborate; but in his attitude to
the *yahán* he comported himself as an ordinary man.
The Royal White Elephant was maintained in great
[231] pomp; it ate and drank out of golden vessels and had
a retinue for its service. An elephant really white—
probably an albino—was captured in 1805, but was
pampered so that it died. A second was captured in
1806 which lived for fifty years. Other "white ele-
phants" kept for state have enjoyed their reputation
in virtue of possessing certain assumed criteria of the
"white" variety, as to the number of the toes, direction
of the tail-tuft and other distinctions, without regard to the colour of the skin.
644 Change of capital at the accession of a new sovereign was characteristic of
Burman empire, even when there was no change of dynasty or other political
633 convulsion. Events of the latter kind were no doubt the original reasons of
such changes. Next to Pagán, Sagáing, on the right bank of the Irawadi,
facing the flat and now desolate site of Ava, is the most impressive of the

324. CARVED FIGURE OF NAT.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4



368. TEMPLES RAISED BY A MODERN KING (THE KUTHODAW p. 122).

historic centres of Burman dominion. Sagáing was abandoned for the last time in 1776 for a new capital at Amayapôya (*Amarapúra* — Abode of Immortals) half-way between Ava (*Inwa*) and the modern capital Mandalé, which was founded in 1857, after the accession of King Mindôn Min. The most ancient capital is Tagáung, one hundred miles north of Mandalé. Other capitals were Shwebó, Myinzaing, Pannya. The capitals of the Taláing dominion were Thatôn, Pegu, and Prome (*Pye*). Rangoon (*Yangôn*), at the meeting point of five navigable channels, and with anchorage for the largest ships, has out-distanced all competitors since the modern development of commerce.

For the history of Burma the only available source is the official chronicle kept by command of the kings—*mahá-yazawín*. The first part is occupied with the legendary origin of the race from the cloud-dwellers—*Byammá* (the Burman form of *Brahma*).* The names and doings of legendary persons follow, and lines of legendary kings. The earliest historical facts which emerge are the founding of Tagáung, and incidents relating to the Buddha and the councils of his church in India. It is believed by Phayre that the *Savanna Bhumi* of ancient Indian books refers to Thatôn, and that under *Chryse Chersonesus* Ptolemy refers to the Eastern Peninsula of Asia. We do not reach a connected history till the founding of Pagán about 100 A.D. From that epoch onwards the history of the peninsula, until the Burman Empire was consolidated and the dynasty of

369. FIGURES OF BYAMMA (EMBROIDERY).

* The name is also written *Myammá*, but commonly pronounced *Bamá*, of which "Burma(h)" and "Birma" are corruptions.

16;Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1893 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

721 634 threatened, of how he was sure they would murder him some time, because he had joined us. 'They are sure to kill me some time,' he said. He seemed sad and depressed, not afraid.

So we talked on, and I asked him about charms. 'Are there not charms that will prevent you being hurt if you are hit, and that will not allow a sword to cut you? We hear of invulnerable men. There were the Immortals of the King's Guard, for instance.'

721 751 And he said, yes, there were charms, but no one believed in them except the villagers. He did not, nor did men of education. Of course, the ignorant people believed in them. There were several sorts of charms. You could be tattooed with certain mystic letters that were said to insure you against being hit, and there were certain medicines you could drink. There were also charms made out of stone, such as a little tortoise he had once seen that was said to protect its wearer. There were mysterious writings on palm-leaves. There were men, he said vaguely, who knew how to make these things. For himself, he did not believe in them.

779 751 I tried to learn from him then, and I have tried from others since, whether these charms have any connection with Buddhism. I cannot find that they have. They are never in the form of images of the Buddha, or of extracts from the sacred writings. There is not, so far as I can make out, any religious significance in these charms; mostly they are simply mysterious. I never heard that the people connect them with their religion. Indeed, all forms of enchantment and of charms are most strictly prohibited.

X1: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

was appointed viceroy of the Seven Hill Districts of Mindon, situated 647
between Arakan and the river Irrawaddy. It was during the Age of 175
Triumph, the period when the native interlude and the Siamese- 536*
influenced court drama were being fused. At the miniature court of 127
the viceroy were presented interludes and court plays, and *Hsaings* [177]
were publicly recited. In his palace,[1] a special apartment was built for [635]
the regular performance of plays and interludes, a special troupe of
actors was taken under his patronage, and more famous troupes were
often invited from the capital. In 1824 the unfortunate viceroy failed
to stem the advance of the British forces, and he was executed and his
palace burnt by royal order. From 1825 to 1852, the date of the
second Anglo-Burmese war, Mindon was administered directly from
the capital, and times were difficult; therefore dramatic performances
at Mindon were few and far between. Though the son of the late
viceroy was living, he wisely chose to leave the court, the administra-
tion of justice and politics alone, and as a result, he had neither the
influence nor the wealth to patronize the drama. Therefore, as far as
the drama was concerned, a gap resulted in the tradition of the family.
In 1852 the British annexed the whole of Lower Burma, and Mindon
passed into British hands. The viceroy's grandson was appointed [635]
chief administrative officer. This officer, my great-grandfather, took
his office to be exactly similar in rank to that of his grand-sire, and
though the British Government did not know of it—or the authorities
at Rangoon did not care—he restored in effect the court of his
grandfather, and dramatic performances were revived.[2] To him I am
indebted for preserving much of the custom and tradition of the
executed ancestor. To his revival of official performances of plays
and interludes, I owe my information gathered from members
of my family and the townspeople of Mindon. While the court [101]
poet, U Pon Nya, was further developing the drama, continuing the
work of U Kyin U at the Burmese capital of Mandalay, in the
out-of-the-way town of Mindon the interludes were still being per-
formed. But it must not be supposed that Mindon was the only
place where the interlude lived on. It survived in many places
alongside the plays of the two great dramatists. But only from
Mindon have I been able to obtain first-hand information and

[1] Though it was termed the 'palace', it was by no means a stately mansion [635]
or an imposing castle. Except for its gilded spires, emblems of the king's
authority, it was just a big house of timber and bamboo with thatched roofs.

[2] He was U Sauk, Extra Assistant Commissioner.

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

pg 75

CHAPTER IX

THE HOUSE AND ITS BELONGINGS

It is singular that in a country where the pagodas and temples will compare in stately grandeur and symmetry of form with the sacred edifices of any part of the world, and where the monastic buildings, though only constructed of wood, strike the most casual observer with their shapely beauty and wealth of decoration; it is singular where there is a taste for such edifices and abundance of the architectural skill necessary to erect them, that the Burman should in the vast majority of cases live in the flimsiest of bamboo huts. The original cause may be found perhaps in the stringent regulations of the Yāzagaing. In native Burma the shape of a man's house was fixed for him by law according to his station in life. All were one-storeyed, save where exceptional royal favour had granted the spire-like roof to a distinguished noble or a feudatory chief. Brick houses were forbidden, from the apprehension that the inhabitants might take it into their heads to turn them into fortifications. Gilding was forbidden to all subjects, and permission to lacquer and paint the pillars of their houses granted to but a very few, and it was expressly laid down that no one should have an arch over his door. This may account for the paltry and even wretched appearance of most villages, but it is undeniable that though nowadays, they are very considerably more substantial, yet a rich man never by any chance thinks of building himself a grand house, and remains firmly by the unpretentious model of his ancestors. This is the more curious, because they will spare no expense to buy gay turbans and bright-coloured pasos for themselves, and costly

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2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

517 silks for their wives. The ordinary explanation is that every one can see what clothes you wear, while few people care to come and spy out what kind of a house you live in, and how you fare. But there can be very little doubt that the real reason is a survival of the idea of the old Yāzagaing, as well as the fact that long years of custom have impressed upon everybody the opinion that there are only two forms of architecture, the secular and the ecclesiastical, and no one, no matter how sure he might be that the Government would take no notice of his ambition, would brave the denunciations of the religious by adding a spire to his house, or even adorning the gable ends with carved pinnacles and flamboyant finials of the monasteries. Consequently the one regular form prevails everywhere.

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342 576 The Burman's dwelling, then, is always shaped more or less like a marquee tent, and never more than one storey high, to avoid the humiliating possibility of the feet of some one being over your head. But the whole house stands on posts, so that the floor is seven or eight feet from the ground. It consists often of only one room, usually, however, of two or more, and to the front of the house there is always a verandah, three or four feet lower than the general level of the house, and as often as not quite open to the street, or the garden, or whatever may be in front and always to the sky. The posts which form the main or central part of the house are usually six in number, and all have their names, such as Uyu, Kya-hngan, Nyaung-yan. The south post, in the main part of the house, the Thabye-taing, is the best known as being always adorned with leaves and particularly marked as that in the top of which most probably lives the nat-spirit of the house. A dead body, after being swathed, and while waiting for the coffin, is always placed by it.

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341 787 A house ought never to be built till the foundations have been thoroughly dug up and shown to a soothsayer. He will determine, from the substances found, whether it is a lucky place to build a house in or not. It stands to reason that the building cannot be commenced till a lucky day and hour have been sought out. There is considerable care to be observed in the selection of the timber. Posts are masculine, feminine, and neuter. Male posts are of equal size at both

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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651 colonel of the local militia, and revenue collector for his
631 locality, whether province, circle, or simple village. The fixed revenue demanded by the myosa, whether prince of the blood-royal, minister of state, maid of honour, royal spittoon-bearer, or white elephant, was remitted to Mandalay by the resident lord-lieutenant of the province, together with a certain over-plus for the "province-eater's" secretary, clerk, and treasurer. The whole amounted to from sixty to eighty per cent of the money nominally raised from the people, and the money kept back was supposed to pay for the services of the myowun and his subordinates. But they would have been very much less great people if they got no more than this. It is impossible to say how much money was collected in any one district, or even in any single town. The steatite pencil records were easily effaced and altered, even if they were ever accurate, and no one knew anything of the details of taxation. A certain circle of villages was called upon to produce a certain amount of revenue to go to the capital, and as long as this was regularly paid no questions were asked. The governor divided out amongst the circles the quota each was expected to pay, and the taikthugyi in his turn made the allotment for the villages under his control; finally the village headman gave his instructions to the tithing-men, and they extorted all they could from the householders under their control. The system was admirably planned, but the working of it was
641 execrable in its cruelty. Every Burman was the king's
651 slave, and could not leave the district, far less the country, without the royal permission granted through the local authorities. The men who came down to reap British Burma paddy-fields in November and December had all of them to leave hostages behind, their wives and families or some near relation, to guarantee that they would return when the season was over to pay their ngwedaw.

This ngwedaw, or "royal silver," was the main source of the revenue. It was a house-tax or family-tax, not a capitation-tax, though its incidence was generally so arranged that it practically came to be a poll assessment, or at any rate a kind of rude property-tax. The amount of land cultivated, which naturally varied according to the number of hands

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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642 their own eyes, and made as much money as they
681 could, while they could. They collected the taxes and as much more as they could get; they administered the laws of Manu in civil and criminal affairs, except when tempted to deviate therefrom by good reasons; they carried out orders received from Mandalay, when these orders fell in with their own desires, or when they considered that disobedi-
[641] ence might be dangerous. It is a Burmese proverb
[539] that officials are one of the five great enemies of mankind, and there was, I think (at all events in the latter days of the kingdom), good reason to remember it. And yet these officials were not bad men in themselves; on the contrary, many of them were men of good purpose, of natural honesty, of right principles. In a well-organized system they would have done well, but the system was rotten to the core.

642 It may be asked why the Burmese people remained quiet under such a rule as this; why they did not rise and destroy it, raising a new one in its place; how it was that such a state of corruption lasted for a year, let alone for many years.

And the answer is this: However bad the government may have been, it had the qualities of its defects. If it did not do much to help the people, it did little to hinder them. To a great extent it left them alone to manage their own affairs in their own way. Burma in those days was like a great untended garden, full of weeds, full of flowers too, each plant striving after its own way, gradually evolving into higher forms. Now sometimes it seems to me to be like an old Dutch garden, with

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day on the calendar but the second phongyi decided to embark anyway. Both phongyis were lost when the boat sank that day.

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The revered position of phongyis is open to all regardless of birth or position. It is felt that some take up the robe because they are unsuccessful in life, or wish an "easy living" - but perhaps this attitude is one of modern sophisticates. Certainly the dominant position of the brotherhood is unchallenged. Occasionally differences arise between the headman and the phongyis of a village. But the phongyis invariably prevail. Offending laymen can be "deprived the gate of heaven" by phongyis refusing to accept HSOON, alms, from th This is called inverting the begging bowl THA-BEIT-MAUK-TAI (Begging bowl-upturn) and is the current phrase for any sort of a "strike".

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Some unprincipalled phongyis have sought to enrich themselves by accepting gifts of land or other property, or by selling gifts for money to traders. When they leave the brotherhood and become laymen again this property becomes theirs. Such occurences appear to be rare and are controlled by stipulations of the givers. For example a giver would hesitate to give paddy land to a suspected phongyi but might agree to giving the crops while retaining title.

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The government or administrative class is looked up to with great respect - in part a carry over from the days of royalty, in part an attitude towards power and influence. However, while the villager today may not know the details of the new constitution he knows there is a "code" wherein he can secure impartial justice.

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Q. "We want to know your relations with adherents of other religions. There are people who worship Indian gods, Chinese gods, and Christians - what is your attitude towards them?"

A. (U.M.) "I don't hold any attitude at all."

Q. " Do you get on well?"

A. (U.M.) "Yes. We got on very well. They buy our goods and we buy theirs. They rent our fields and cultivate them. If there are cows they are borrowed and lent. We live together like this - buying and selling."

Q. "This is about the people. How about their attitude towards their gods?"

A. "I have no attitude."

Q. "Have you never thought about it?"

A. "I have never thought about it. Their god is only slightly different. There is only one god. There will be only one god. Only people differ somewhat. Our outlook should be improved. After all, his god is my god and my god is his god. Only the races differ. Even one race is divided within itself."

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The relationship of the family to the state in Pathwe involve taxes, military service and voting. In the pre-war days, U Myaing and family had to pay a capitation tax, levied at the rate of Rs. 5/- per year for a married couple, and Rs. 2/8 per year for a bachelor of twenty and over. Children and unmarried women and widows are exempt from any tax whatsoever. There was a land tax on cultivation fields - levied at the rate of annas 2 per acre per annum, and also on garden land at one anna or two annas per acre per annum according to the value of the land. The tax on INS - or purchase of the fishery rights amounted to a figure anywhere between Rs. 3000/- and Rs. 12,000/-. U Myaing is not liable to taxes because of his low income, he retains his voting privileges for general elections.

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The family was moved from Pathwe to the refugee camp because of the insurrection and has been under the protection of the government since coming to camp. The proportion of food and shelter benefits, which they receive from the government, has been noted under those headings. According to government policy, shelter is provided for the family, and food for all except one adult who is expected to work.

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Education for U Myaing's children is provided by the government both in Pantanaw and in the refugee camp. Only the cost of the books has to be paid by him.

Children in the Pathwe village learnt their lessons at the government school. This school, which was on YWA-GYI-BET side, teaches pupils up to the tenth standard. The school house was built by contributions taken in the village. When U Myaing was young, they had to pay a tuition fee of four annas each to the schoolmaster every month. Now government has taken over the cost of educating the children; and fees are no longer required of them. The children only have to bring their own books and pencils. There are three teachers in the school; one headmaster and two assistants. The headmaster draws a salary of Rs. 100/- and the assistants of over Rs. 90/- each. There are other schools across the river but they teach only up till the fourth standard, and children of higher grades have to come to YWA-GYI-BET to attend school.

Addenda

U Myaing is not a member of any political party. He is concerned mainly with his work and the daily task of providing food for his family. He does not belong to any union or other organisation of workers. 621 722 622

There are about 1500 people in the refugee camp living in 14 or 15 buildings. The schoolmaster is regarded as a leader. There are two others who help him- Maung Nyunt and Aung Gyi. Maung Nyunt is 48 years old and Aung Gyi is 37. The young men in the camp also recognise these three people as elders. The three of them undertake all responsibilities for dealing with the government and making representations to the government regarding rice, milk-powder, etc. They are not paid anything in money, but get a larger share in the allotments of food, etc., made by the government to the camp. "If we get one condensed milk tin of rice, they get one basket." All the other members of the camp , including U Myaing, are satisfied with this arrangement since these three have been doing the work for the past two years. The Chief Justice of the Union, U E Maung asked them to undertake this responsibility for the camp.

In the case of thieves who are caught the government comes to decide about the thieves. "If the people in the camp catch a thief, they would tell him and only afterwards settle with the government. It was the same back in Pathee when a thief was caught. Even if he did not die he would have to suffer terribly. In Pathee it was the task of the headman to take the offender to the police station, but here in camp the station is quite near and the householder can take him to the station by himself. 625

The government works through the school-master. It gives him recognition as a leader in the affairs of the camp. Maung Nyunt has to look after the welfare of two sheds and their inmates, Aung Gyi has [illegible] three, and Ko Ba Khaw the school-master has the charge of the 621 641

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remaining huts. They have lists of the people in their charge. Maung Myunt and Aung Gyi are under the school-master, who is the most important and influential man of all. These people have to see to the DHANI thatch roof, the bamboo, etc., and if there are any repairs needed they get together, estimate the cost , and then go to the government authorities. U Myaing does not know which office they go to.

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The phongyis resident in the camp do not participate in the secular life of the camp, beyond giving the SILAS and coming occasionally for HSOON. In Pathwe village there were small boys whom they taught - thirty or forty of them, but in camp they do not help to educate the young. People go to these phongyis in camp on holy days, to take the SILAS. They do not even preach to the laity. This U Myaing thinks to be due to the fact that they do not know how to, being themselves refugees from country villages.

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On the 8th and 15th day of the waxing moon and the 8th and 15th day of the waning moon, the four holy days of the month, Daw Aw Zar goes to the Shwe Dagon to say her prayers. U Myaing cannot do likewise because he has to go to work.

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U Myaing has very little dealing with the government. They do not come for taxes, and in fact even have to provide the refugees with items of food and apparel. The people in the camp are not members of a closely knit organisation. They are made up of workers and families all thrown together by the exigencies of the political situation. The three mentioned above are the only ones in the whole camp. who have charge of the camp welfare. They take the responsibility for disposing of the bucket sewage and the dirt accumulated in and around the camp. They arrange for government sweepers to come for these. There have been no fire drills or any such exercise held in the camp.

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In Rangoon the family has few entertainments. There was once a government film show screened in the camp, and the other night Ma Khin Nyein went with some friends to a nearby pagoda to see a lantern slide show of Buddha's Relics. They have never seen a modern Burmese play or FYLAT. As Daw Aw Zar expressed it, "How can we go and see one when the charge for admission is a rupee

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for an adult and 8 annas for a child."

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CHAPTER LIII

MINISTERS OF STATE

642 WHEN Mindôn Min heard in 1874 that the elections had gone against the ministry, and that Disraeli was to be Premier, he sighed, and said: "Then poor Ga-la-sa-tong (Gladstone) is in prison, I suppose. I am sorry for him. I don't think he was a bad fellow, and I gave him the Fifteen-string Salwè (the Burmese Order of Knighthood) a year or two ago." That is the Burmese notion of how to settle the Opposition. The lines of statesmen in the Royal City of Gems were not cast in pleasant places. If they rose rapidly, they came down with as much precipitation; and their fall was as crushing as ordinarily it was inevitable. The coolie of to-day might be the minister of to-morrow; and a month hence he might be spread-eagled in the court of the palace, with a vertical sun beating down upon him and huge stones piled on his chest and stomach. Or he might be treated even more summarily than this. When King Tharrawaddy succeeded he made Bagyidaw's ministers work as slaves on the roads for a time, and when this exercise had quite worn them out, charitably put them to death, without the frightful barbarities which characterised his treatment of the upstart queen dowager and her quondàm all-powerful brother Min-thagyi. A more recent example was that of the Nain-gan-gya Wundauk. This unfortunate statesman was sent in 1880 as an ambassador to the English Raj, and after eight months' stay on board of a steamer at Thayetmyo, a few miles inside the British frontier, came back to say that his mission had failed, and that in fact he had been told to go away. He did not survive long. It was a week or two

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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before he was admitted to see the king; and when he did see him the meeting was unpleasant. Next day the portly wundauk "died of apoplexy." 642

Sudden deaths were not at all uncommon. An official displeased him in some way, and Mindôn Min said emphatically, "I don't want to see that man any more." The poor wretch left the royal presence to be seized by lictors outside and killed more or less rapidly. A day or two afterwards his majesty would ask where so-and-so was. "Alas! sire," was the answer, "he died of chagrin shortly after the lord of the earth and ocean cast eyes of displeasure on him." Then the Convener of the Fifth Great Synod quoted a pious saw from the Lawkanidi, and turned his mind to other matters. He made it a special boast that never in all his reign had he ordered an execution. Yet many people died of "official colic" during the time he was on the throne, and Colonel Sladen arrived sixty seconds too late with a respite for one of the pious monarch's own sons. The sound of the hoofs of the English Resident's horse as he galloped past the astrologers' monastery to the execution ground only quickened the headsman's sword. The hapless Padein Mintha should have perished with the setting sun. There were still long shadows slanting up from the trees by the royal foundry when the colonel reined in and upbraided the presiding Minister for his bloodthirsty haste. The Lingayāma Sadaw, when he heard the story, said the ayebaing should have been a Buddhist and might probably become a yahanda in no very distant existence.

Yet King Mindôn was undoubtedly a kindly man. The stories which occasionally appeared about him in the English papers of twenty years or so back were not true. He never got a pea-rifle and "potted" his subjects from the palace verandahs when he was bored. They libelled him who said he did. He was a good Buddhist, and never took life of man or animal. King Thibaw was, perhaps, not quite so strict in his notions. When he first came to the throne he unearthed the spear with which his grandfather Tharrawaddy used occasionally to spit his counsellors. The young king's aim was not quite so good, or his purposes not quite so deadly. He prodded a few heralds and interpreters, and 643

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to hold his land free from taxes for such a period as may be necessary to bring it into a thorough state of cultivation. In such a case as this he has to apply to the thugyi—the old hereditary officers being retained throughout British Burma—of his circle, if the land does not exceed five acres in extent. If it is above that area, application has to be made to the English Assistant-commissioner, or to the Deputy-commissioner in charge of the district, if the average of the new claim exceeds fifty. The land is then surveyed and a grant is drawn up specifying the term of years during which he shall be free from imposts. This varies according to the kind of jungle which is to be cleared away, and the kind of crops intended to be grown. The exemption is in no case for less than a year. If rice is to be grown, seven years is the longest term of rent-free tenure, but for orchard cultivation it extends to twelve years. In a few cases, where the nature of the ground necessitates, in addition to clearing away the forest growth, the digging of channels for irrigation, and the erection of dams, extension even of this long period is granted. As in France, Norway, Japan, and Switzerland, the farms are all very small, in some cases almost absurdly so. Along the old frontier the holdings averaged only about five acres, in the Rangoon district from sixteen to twenty acres is the ordinary size, but here and there are a few considerably larger. It would, however, be a great mistake to endeavour to introduce larger tenancies. It is entirely against the genius of the people, and the appearance of foreign capitalists could not be otherwise than disastrous. The present mode of cultivation is slovenly enough, and larger farms would most certainly not tend to remedy the defect, which is due in great part to the superabundance of available arable land lying waste. Burma is progressing fast enough as it is. The abundance of rich land, the facility with which rights over it can be acquired, the great demand for rice, and the ever-increasing counter demand for European goods, the fixed, though heavy taxation, the cessation of all irregular and unexpected collections, the absolute personal security enjoyed by all under the English administration: all these benefits have resulted in the trebling of the population of Lower Burma during twenty-six years since the annexation of Pegu;

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in the more than trebling of the trade—the value of the sea-borne merchandise alone having doubled and reached twelve and a half millions sterling during the ten years previous to 1881—and in the wonderful increase in revenue, which makes Burma the most valuable of all the provinces under the Indian Government. Now that all Burma is one province the increase of revenue and the contribution paid to the Imperial Government have gone on increasing with a regularity which is almost automatic.

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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000 situation with regard to other nations, its climate, its occupations. It is a great subject that I cannot go into. I wish to take all such things as I find them, and to discuss only the effect of the religion upon the courage of the people, upon its fighting capabilities. That religion may have a very serious effect one way or the other, no one can doubt. I went through the war of annexation, from 1885 to 1889, and from it I will draw my examples.

175 642 721 When we declared war in Upper Burma, and the column advanced up the river in November 1885, there was hardly any opposition. A little fight there was at the frontier fort of Minhla, but beyond that nothing. The river that might have been blocked was open; the earthworks had no cannon, the men no guns. Such a collapse was never seen. There was no organization, no material, no money. The men wanted officers to command and teach them; the officers wanted authority and ability to command. The people looked to their rulers to repel the invaders; the rulers looked to the people. There was no common intelligence or will between them. Everything was wanting; nothing was as it should be. And so Mandalay fell without a shot, and King Thibaw, the young, incapable, kind-hearted king, was taken into captivity.

175 642 721 That was the end of the first act, brief and bloodless. For a time the people were stupefied. They could not understand what had happened; they could not guess what was going to happen. They expected that the English would soon retire, and that then their own government would reorganize itself. Meanwhile they kept quiet.

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It is curious to think how peaceful the country 175
really was from November 1885 till June 1886. 721
And then the trouble came. The people had by that time, even in the wild forest villages, begun to understand that we wanted to stay, that we did not intend going away unless forced to. They felt that it was of no further use looking to Mandalay for help. We had begun, too, to consider about collecting taxes, to interfere with the simple machinery of local affairs, to show that we meant to govern. And as the people did not desire to be governed—certainly not by foreigners, at least—they began to organize resistance. They looked to their local leaders for help, and, as too often these local governors were not very capable men, they sought, as all people have done, the assistance of such men of war as they could find—brigands, and freelances, and the like—and put themselves under their orders. The whole country rose, from Bhamo to Minhla, from the Shan Plateau to the Chin Mountains. All Upper Burma was in a passion of insurrection, a very fury of rebellion against the usurping foreigners. Our authority was confined to the range of our guns. Our forts were attacked, our convoys ambushed, our steamers fired into on the rivers. There was no safety for an Englishman or a native of India, save within the lines of our troops, and it was soon felt that these troops were far too few to cope with the danger. To overthrow King Thibaw was easy, to subdue the people a very different thing.

It is almost impossible to describe the state of 175
Upper Burma in 1886. It must be remembered 642
that the central government was never very strong 721

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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175 —in fact, that beyond collecting a certain amount
642 of taxes, and appointing governors to the different
721 provinces, it hardly made itself felt outside Mandalay and the large river towns. The people to a great extent governed themselves. They had a very good system of village government, and managed nearly all their local affairs. But beyond the presence of a governor, there was but little to attach
642 them to the central government. There was, and
565 is, absolutely no aristocracy of any kind at all. The
722 Burmese are a community of equals, in a sense that has probably never been known elsewhere. All their institutions are the very opposite to feudalism. Now, feudalism was instituted to be useful in war. The Burmese customs were instituted that men should live in comfort and ease during peace; they were useless in war. So the natural leaders of a people, as in other countries, were absent. There were no local great men; the governors were men appointed from time to time from Mandalay, and usually knew nothing of their charges; there were
[565] no rich men, no large landholders—not one. There
795 still remained, however, one institution that other
642 nations have made useful in war, namely, the organization of religion. For Buddhism is fairly well organized—certainly much better than ever the government was. It has its heads of monasteries, its Gaing-dauks, its Gaing-oks, and finally the Thathanabaing, the head of the Burmese Buddhism. The overthrow of King Thibaw had not injured any of this. This was an organization in touch with the whole people, revered and honoured by every man and woman and child in the country. In this

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terrible scene of anarchy and confusion, in this death peril of their nation, what were the monks doing? 795 642

We know what religion can do. We have seen how it can preach war and resistance, and can organize that war and resistance. We know what ten thousand priests preaching in ten thousand hamlets can effect in making a people almost unconquerable, in directing their armies, in strengthening their determination. We remember La Vendée, we remember our Puritans, and we have had recent experience in the Soudan. We know what Christianity has done again and again; what Judaism, what Mahommedanism, what many kinds of paganism, have done.

To those coming to Burma in those days, fresh from the teachings of Europe, remembering recent events in history, ignorant of what Buddhism means, there was nothing more surprising than the fact that in this war religion had no place. They rode about and saw the country full of monasteries; they saw the monasteries full of monks, whom they called priests; they saw that the people were intensely attached to their religion; they had daily evidence that Buddhism was an abiding faith in the hearts of the people. And yet, for all the assistance it was to them in the war, the Burmese might have had no faith at all. 795 642 721

The explanation is, that the teachings of the Buddha forbid war. All killing is wrong, all war is hateful; nothing is more terrible than this destroying of your fellow-man. There is absolutely no getting free of this commandment. The teaching of the Buddha is that you must strive to make your

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795 own soul perfect. This is the first of all things, and
642 comes before any other consideration. Of the virtues
721 that only war can create and nourish this teaching knows nothing. Be pure and kind-hearted, full of charity and compassion, and so you may do good to
[792] others. These are the vows the Buddhist monks make, these are the vows they keep; and so it happened that all that great organization was useless to the patriot fighter, was worse than useless, for it
175 was against him. The whole spectacle of Burma in
722 those days, with the country seething with strife, and
792 the monks going about their business calmly as ever, begging their bread from door to door, preaching of peace, not war, of kindness, not hatred, of pity, not revenge, was to most foreigners quite inexplicable. They could not understand it. I remember a friend of mine with whom I went through many experiences speaking of it with scorn. He was a cavalry officer, 'the model of a light cavalry officer'; he had with him a squadron of his regiment, and we were trying to subdue a very troubled part of the country.

We were camping in a monastery, as we frequently did—a monastery on a hill near a high golden pagoda. The country all round was under the sway of a brigand leader, and sorely the villagers suffered at his hands now that he had leapt into unexpected power. The villages were half abandoned, the fields untilled, the people full of unrest; but the monasteries were as full of monks as ever; the gongs rang, as they ever did, their message through the quiet evening air; the little boys were taught there just the same; the trees were watered and the gardens swept as if there were no change

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721 pieces of the cement and threw them at the troops.
157 He would not surrender—not he—and he was killed.
701 There were many like him. The whole war was little affairs of this kind—a hundred, three hundred, of our men, and much the same, or a little more, of theirs. They only once or twice raised a force of two thousand men. Nothing can speak more forcibly of their want of organization than this. The whole country was pervaded by bands of fifty or a hundred men, very rarely amounting to more than two hundred, and no two bands ever acted in concert.

It is probable that most of the best men of the country were against us. It is certain, I think, that of those who openly joined us and accompanied us in our expedition, very, very few were other than men who had some private grudge to avenge, or some purpose to gain, by opposing their own people. Of such as these you cannot expect very much. And yet there were exceptions—men who showed up all the more brilliantly because they were exceptions—men whom I shall always honour. There were two I remember best of all. They are both dead now.

722 One was the eldest son of the hereditary governor
● 642 of a part of the country called Kawlin. It is in
631 the north-west of Upper Burma, and bordered on a semi-independent state called Wuntho. In the troubles that occurred after the deposition of King Thibaw, the Prince of Wuntho thought that he would be able to make for himself an independent kingdom, and he began by annexing Kawlin. So the governor had to flee, and with him his sons, and

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naturally enough they joined our columns when we advanced in that direction, hoping to be replaced. They were replaced, the father as governor under the direction of an English magistrate, and the son as his assistant. They were only kept there by our troops, and upheld in authority by our power against Wuntho. But they were desired by many of their own people, and so, perhaps, they could hardly be called traitors, as many of those who joined us were. The father was a useless old man, but his son, he of whom I speak, was brave and honourable, good tempered and courteous, beyond most men whom I have met. It was well known that he was the real power behind his father. It was he who assisted us in an attempt to quell the insurrections and catch the raiders that troubled our peace, and many a time they tried to kill him, many a time to murder him as he slept.

There was a large gang of insurgents who came across the Mu River one day, and robbed one of his villages, so a squadron of cavalry was sent in pursuit. We travelled fast and long, but we could not catch the raiders. We crossed the Mu into unknown country, following their tracks, and at last, being without guides, we camped that night in a little monastery in the forest. At midnight we were attacked. A road ran through our camp, and there was a picket at each end of the road, and sentries were doubled.

It was just after midnight that the first shot was fired. We were all asleep when a sudden volley was poured into the south picket, killing one sentry and wounding another. There was no time to dress,

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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CHAPTER VII

GOVERNMENT

'Fire, water, storms, robbers, rulers—these are the five great evils.'
—*Burmese saying.*

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IT would be difficult, I think, to imagine anything worse than the government of Upper Burma in its later days. I mean by 'government' the king and his counsellors and the greater officials of the empire. The management of foreign affairs, of the army, the suppression of greater crimes, the care of the means of communication, all those duties which fall to the central government, were badly done, if done at all. It must be remembered that there was one difficulty in the way—the absence of any noble or leisured class to be entrusted with the greater offices. As I have shown in another chapter, there was no one between the king and the villager—no noble, no landowner, no wealthy or educated class at all. The king had to seek for his ministers among the ordinary people, consequently the men who were called upon to fill great offices of state were as often as not men who had no experience beyond the narrow limits of a village.

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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of these obtained in Burma any more than in the Europe of five hundred years ago, and the result was the same in both. The central government consisted of the king, who had no limit at all to his power, and the council of ministers, whose only check was the king. The executive and judicial were all the same: there was no appeal from one to the other. The only appeal from the ministers was to the king, and as the king shut himself up in his palace, and was practically inaccessible to all but high officials, the worthlessness of this appeal is evident. Outside Mandalay the country was governed by *wuns* or governors. These were appointed by the king, or by the council, or by both, and they obtained their position by bribery. Their tenure was exceedingly insecure, as any man who came and gave a bigger bribe was likely to obtain the former governor's dismissal and his own appointment. Consequently the usual tenure of office of a governor was a year. Often there were half a dozen governors in a year; sometimes a man with strong influence managed to retain his position for some years. From the orders of the governor there was an appeal to the council. This was in some matters useful, but in others not so. If a governor sentenced a man to death—all governors had power of life and death—he would be executed long before an appeal could reach the council. Practically no check was possible by the palace over distant governors, and they did as they liked. Anything more disastrous and fatal to any kind of good government than this it is impossible to imagine. The governors did what they considered right in

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642 681 their own eyes, and made as much money as they could, while they could. They collected the taxes and as much more as they could get; they administered the laws of Manu in civil and criminal affairs, except when tempted to deviate therefrom by good reasons; they carried out orders received from Mandalay, when these orders fell in with their own desires, or when they considered that disobedi-
[641] ence might be dangerous. It is a Burmese proverb
[539] that officials are one of the five great enemies of mankind, and there was, I think (at all events in the latter days of the kingdom), good reason to remember it. And yet these officials were not bad men in themselves; on the contrary, many of them were men of good purpose, of natural honesty, of right principles. In a well-organized system they would have done well, but the system was rotten to the core.

642 It may be asked why the Burmese people remained quiet under such a rule as this; why they did not rise and destroy it, raising a new one in its place; how it was that such a state of corruption lasted for a year, let alone for many years.

And the answer is this: However bad the government may have been, it had the qualities of its defects. If it did not do much to help the people, it did little to hinder them. To a great extent it left them alone to manage their own affairs in their own way. Burma in those days was like a great untended garden, full of weeds, full of flowers too, each plant striving after its own way, gradually evolving into higher forms. Now sometimes it seems to me to be like an old Dutch garden, with

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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the paths very straight, very clean swept, with the trees clipped into curious shapes of bird and beast, tortured out of all knowledge, and many of the flowers mown down. The Burmese government left its people alone; that was one great virtue. And, again, any government, however good, however bad, is but a small factor in the life of a people; it comes far below many other things in importance, A short rainfall for a year is more disastrous than a mad king; a plague is worse than fifty grasping governors; social rottenness is incomparably more dangerous than the rottenest government.

And in Burma it was only the supreme government, the high officials, that were very bad. It was only the management of state affairs that was feeble and corrupt; all the rest was very good. The land laws, the self-government, the social condition of the people, were admirable. It was so good that the rotten central government made but little difference to the people, and it would probably have lasted for a long while if not attacked from outside. A greater power came and upset the government of the king, and established itself in his place; and I may here say that the idea that the feebleness or wrong-doing of the Burmese government was the cause of the downfall is a mistake. If the Burmese government had been the best that ever existed, the annexation would have happened just the same. It was a political necessity for us.

The central government of a country is, as I have said, not a matter of much importance. It has very little influence in the evolution of the soul of a people. It is always a great deal worse than the

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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000 people themselves—a hundred years behind them in civilization, a thousand years behind them in morality. Men will do in the name of government acts which, if performed in a private capacity, would cover them with shame before men, and would land them in a gaol or worse. The name of government is a cloak for the worst passions of manhood. It is not an interesting study, the government of mankind.

642 779 A government is no part of the soul of the people, but is a mere excrescence; and so I have but little to say about this of Burma, beyond this curious fact—that religion had no part in it. Surely this is a very remarkable thing, that a religion having the hold upon its followers that Buddhism has upon the Burmese has never attempted to grasp the supreme authority and use it to its ends.

It is not quite an explanation to say that Buddhism is not concerned with such things; that its very spirit is against the assumption of any worldly power and authority; that it is a negation of the value of these things. Something of this sort might be said of other religions, and yet they have all striven to use the temporal power.

I do not know what the explanation is unless it be that the Burmese believe their religion and other people do not. However that may be, there is no doubt of the fact. Religion had nothing whatever—absolutely nothing in any way at all—to do with 642 government. There are no exceptions. What has 793 led people to think sometimes that there were exceptions is the fact that the king confirmed the That-795 hanaBaing—the head of the community of monks—

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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after he had been elected by his fellow-monks. 642
The reason of this was as follows: All ecclesiastical 793
matters—I use the word 'ecclesiastical' because I 795
can find no other—were outside the jurisdiction of civil limits. By 'ecclesiastical' I mean such matters as referred to the ownership and habitation of monasteries, the building of pagodas and places of prayer, the discipline of the monkhood. Such questions were decided by ecclesiastical courts under the Thathanabaing.

Now, it was necessary sometimes, as may be understood, to enforce these decrees, and for that reason to apply to civil power. Therefore there must be a head of the monks acknowledged by the civil power as head, to make such applications as might be necessary in this, and perhaps some other such circumstances.

It became, therefore, the custom for the king to acknowledge by order the elect of the monks as Thathanabaing for all such purposes. That was all. The king did not appoint him at all.

Any such idea as a monk interfering in the affairs 642
of state, or expressing an opinion on war or law or 792
finance, would appear to the Burmese a negation of their faith. They were never led away by the idea that good might come of such interference. This terrible snare has never caught their feet. They hold that a man's first duty is to his own soul. Never think that you can do good to others at the same time as you injure yourself, and the greatest good for your own heart is to learn that beyond all this turmoil and fret there is the Great Peace—so great that we can hardly understand it, and to reach

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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642 it you must fit yourself for it. The monk is he who
792 is attempting to reach it, and he knows that he cannot do that by attempting to rule his fellow-man; that is probably the very worst thing he could do. And therefore the monkhood, powerful as they were, left all politics alone. I have never been able to hear of a single instance in which they even expressed an opinion either as a body or as individuals on any state matter.

It is true that, if a governor oppressed his people, the monks would remonstrate with him, or even, in the last extremity, with the king; they would plead with the king for clemency to conquered peoples, to rebels, to criminals; their voice was always on the side of mercy. As far as urging the greatest of all virtues upon governors and rulers alike, they may be said to have interfered with politics; but this is not what is usually understood by religion interfering in things of state. It seems to me we usually mean the reverse of this, for we are of late beginning to regard it with horror. The Burmese have always done so. They would think it a denial of all religion.

642 And so the only things worth noting about the government of the Burmese were its exceeding badness, and its disconnection with religion. That it would have been a much stronger government had it been able to enlist on its side all the power of the monkhood, none can doubt. It might even have been a better government; of that I am not sure. But that such a union would have meant the utter destruction of the religion, the debasing of the very soul of the people, no one who has tried to

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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understand that soul can doubt. And a soul is worth very many governments. 642

But when you left the central government, and came down to the management of local affairs, there was a great change. You came straight down from the king and governor to the village and its headman. There were no lords, no squires, nor ecclesiastical power wielding authority over the people. 621

Each village was to a very great extent a self-governing community composed of men free in every way. The whole country was divided into villages, sometimes containing one or two hamlets at a little distance from each other—offshoots from the parent stem. The towns, too, were divided into quarters, and each quarter had its headman. These men held their appointment-orders from the king as a matter of form, but they were chosen by their fellow-villagers as a matter of fact. Partly this headship was hereditary, not from father to son, but it might be from brother to brother, and so on. It was not usually a very coveted appointment, for the responsibility and trouble were considerable, and the pay small. It was 10 per cent. on the tax collections. And with this official as their head, the villagers managed nearly all their affairs. Their taxes, for instance, they assessed and collected themselves. The governor merely informed the headman that he was to produce ten rupees per house from his village. The villagers then appointed assessors from among themselves, and decided how much each household should pay. Thus a coolie might pay but four rupees, and a rice- 622 651 621

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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it well, no one can doubt. They taxed themselves 621
without friction, they built their own monastery schools by voluntary effort, they maintained a very high, a very simple, code of morals, entirely of their own initiative.

All this has passed, or is passing away. The 175
king has gone to a banishment far across the sea, 621
the ministers are either banished or powerless for 642
good or evil. It will never rise again, this government of the king, which was so bad in all it did, and only good in what it left alone. It will never rise again. The people are now part of the British Empire, subjects of the Queen. What may be in store for them in the far future no one can tell, only we may be sure that the past can return no more. And the local government is passing away, too. It cannot exist with a strong government such as ours. For good or for evil, in a few years it, too, will be gone.

But, after all, these are but forms; the soul is 000
far within. In the soul there will be no change. No one can imagine even in the far future any monk of the Buddha desiring temporal power, or interfering in any way with the government of the people. That is why I have written this chapter, to show how Buddhism holds itself towards the government. With us, we are accustomed to ecclesiastics trying to manage affairs of state, or attempting to grasp the secular power. It is in accordance with our ideals that they should do so. Our religious phraseology is full of such terms as 779
lord and king and ruler and servant. Buddhism 642
knows nothing of any of them. In our religion we

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are subject to the authority of deacons and priests and bishops and archbishops, and so on up to the Almighty Himself. But in Buddhism every man is free—free, subject to the inevitable laws of righteousness. There is no hierarchy in Buddhism: it is a religion of absolute freedom. No one can damn you except yourself; no one can save you except yourself. Governments cannot do it, and therefore it would be useless to try and capture the reins of government, even if you did not destroy your own soul in so doing. Buddhism does not believe that you can save a man by force.

And as Buddhism was, so it is, so it will remain. By its very nature it abhors all semblance of authority. It has proved that, under temptation such as no other religion has felt, and resisted; it is a religion of each man's own soul, not of governments and powers.

1: Mi Mi Khaing I-5 (no date) 1946 AP1 Burma
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live perhaps at the most a hundred years, but here also, and only here, do the Buddhas appear to teach the right way of living which is the only way in which the people can progress to the heavenly regions and to Nirvana. Down below the earth are situated the hells, eight great ones and forty thousand and forty smaller hells, regions of torture and punishment. 796 772 775

Whereas the inhabitants of the northern, eastern and western islands around Myinmo, never hearing the words of a Buddha and never knowing the way of good and evil, are always born into the same world, never going up or down, man, the inhabitant of Zampudipa, may pass into the nethermost hell or the highest heavenly seat, according to the progress in his successive lives. Ascending the ladder from deep hells, through earth to heavenly regions, the spirit meets with existences which are not only more blessed in the degree of enjoyment and material happiness, but also correspondingly more free from fleshly desires and sin. Our Buddhist hells are the most frightening places one can imagine; as a child I used to look at the vivid pictures drawn in the friezes round pagoda building walls, to show the damnation that would befall the evil-doer who was born into a hell. Boiling in oil, flesh being torn off the bones by monstrous dogs and vultures, saws and knives aflame with red heat slowly dismembering limb from limb, all these occur in life in any of the hells. The next stage upwards from hell is a life as an animal, which a man may be born to for lesser sins and an omission from doing meritorious deeds. Animals have their stages of nobility also. Lowest are those living on excrements of flesh of other animals, nobler are the herbivorous animals and noblest of all the elephant. Gautama Buddha passed one of his existences as a white elephant, which is the reason for the esteem in which a white elephant was held—so high, that Buddhist kings longed to be able to style themselves, *Hsin-byu Shin*, [643] Lord (Owner) of the white elephant. During his life as a man, a being had the opportunity to live a right life, observing the precepts, giving alms and attending the pagoda regularly. His next existence might then be as an inhabitant of one of the six seats of the Dewas. In all these six seats through which the being may progress, life is surrounded by delights of foods, clothing and dwelling, but passion is less sensual, and decreases with ascent. Successively, a touch of the hand, and then gazing at the lover, and finally the mere presence in the same existence is enough to satisfy love. From here, concentrated meditation will carry a being higher to the seats of the Byammas; here he must get rid of all remaining affection for matter, for all parts of the body, until he attains to the four seats of Arupa. The contempt for matter continues in these existences, and finally, when all false percussions leave the spirit, he passes into Nirvana, the lifeless, timeless state of bliss, in which the

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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787 houses, for the niche shrines, if there are more than one at
782 the pagoda, are always at the four cardinal points, and if there
778 is only one, as is usual at small pagodas, it is to the East.
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The sadā is carefully kept by the parents until the child
787 is old enough to take care of it himself, and thenceforward it
768 is guarded as the most valuable possession the person has. No matter how often the name is changed the new one is never put in the sadā, so that this certificate cannot be trusted to implicitly for a man's name. Some of them are very beautifully engraved and ornamented, but they are naturally not often to be seen. I only know of two in England at the present time (1881), one of which is my own and the other belonging to a travelling Burman. When a man dies, the sadā is either destroyed or preserved as a memento by the family. A great many sadās were found and carried off as curiosities during the Third Burmese War. There is one at Abbotsford.

787 A curious instance of the firm belief of the nation in the
436 reasonableness of the conviction that the planet under which
643 one is born influences the fates and actions of one's life, is
177 the fact that royalty ordained that the coins and measures used by traders should bear the emblem of the monarch's birthday. Thus for example all the gold coins used in Upper Burma bazaars during the penultimate reign had the figure of a lion on them, Mindôn Min having been born on a Tuesday. The few remaining from previous reigns bearing other symbols were rigidly kept out of the sight of Burmese officials. The Convenor of the Fifth Great Synod, though probably the mildest and best sovereign Burma ever had, would certainly have stood no trifling in matters of this kind, which, if not amounting actually to a part of the religion, were at any rate very intimately connected with it. His son Thibaw Min, however, notoriously indifferent to religion, if a stronger word might not even be admissible, let the old weights remain in use, and probably called it the march of civilisation.

852 The naming and the construction of the sadā being
957 finished, the principal events in the youthful Burman's life
[291] are over, and the children run about in as happy a state of nudity as the respectability of the family permits; and boys and girls steal grandmamma's cheroot, and potter about

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As yet they have not begun to demand an equal share of education with the boys, and the only accomplishments most Burmese girls know are how to dress neatly, do up their hair, and powder their faces. This is the single open implication of their inferiority—except in worship at the pagoda, when every woman will pray that in another existence she may be a man—and it is not likely that female education will make much progress for another generation, the popular idea in Burma being that learning is no use to a girl when she has it, and she may, consequently, as well devote all her spare time to making herself look as pretty as possible. Here and there are a few who are deeply learned in Burmese literature. The young wife of one of the most prominent living Burman pleaders in Rangoon has as good a knowledge of the sacred books and as great a fluency in repeating Pali rituals as any pôngyi in the country. But the great majority of girls only know what they pick up from the conversation of their brothers and the men who come about the house. It is therefore greatly to their credit that they manage not only house affairs, but their husband's business into the bargain. A farmer's wife will carry out the sale of the whole rice crop to the agent of an English rice firm in her husband's absence, and generally strikes a better bargain than he would have made himself. If the village head constable is away, the wife will get together the policemen, stop a fight, arrest the offenders, and send them off to the lock-up all on her own responsibility. The wife sits by, no matter what public business is being transacted, and very often puts in her own opinion quite as a matter of course; in fact, she is virtual master of the house, and henpecked husbands are not by any means uncommon. The last king of Burma, Thibaw Min, was a notable instance. There never was a king of Burma before who remained for three years the husband of one wife. It was not inclination in his case. He had quite a number of *amourettes*; but the sturdy Supayā Lat and her formidable mother soon got the offending damsels out of the way. There is also little doubt that it was Supayā Lat and her mother who suggested the massacre of the Princes and prompted the defiance of the British Government, which brought about the ending of the Burmese monarchy.

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[1] [i.e., girls--ANALYST]

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582 Dammathat. The sovereign always married at least one
643 half-sister to ensure the purity of the royal blood, but, rather illogically, the issue of this union was not by any means necessarily heir to the throne. The son whom the king, or his ministers after his death, named, succeeded, or more commonly still, the son who could best maintain his position by force.

586 The liberty of divorce is practically unrestricted, except by the elaborate laws respecting the division of property. According to the Laws of Menu a woman may obtain a divorce among other reasons for the following: When her husband is poor and unable to support her; when he is always ailing; when he does not work and leads an idle life; when he is incapacitated by reason of old age; when he becomes a cripple after marriage.

And a man may obtain a divorce if his wife has no male children, if she has no love for her husband, or if she persists in going to a house where he tells her she must not visit, and so on.

The lawgiver seems in fact to have laid down that marriage is a civil contract which either party can dissolve; but, unless with good reason, the one that wishes to separate must suffer in property, more or less severely, according as the plea is good or bad.

Property, for this purpose, is said to be of three kinds. Pa-yin, property acquired by, or in possession of, persons before marriage. Let-htet-pwa, property acquired by husband or wife after marriage. Tin-thi, property inherited or obtained by gift. Pa-yin after marriage becomes hnit-pa-sôn, that is, the joint property of husband and wife, but only when it is agreed between them either before or after marriage that the property shall be put together for the mutual benefit.

In the event of a divorce both parties take away whatever pa-yin they may have had on marriage, and the let-htet-pwa is divided either by mutual agreement, or by the decision of the village elders who sanction the separation.

586 But divorces are far from being so common as most
593 writers would have us believe. The warmth of family affection is one of the strongest traits of the race, and the

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CHAPTER XXIV

A GRACIOUS PLOUGHING

LIKE the "royal elder brother" of China, the king of Burma ought to go out once a year to plough the fields. Thibaw Min did not do it during the first two years of his reign, and, as far as I am aware, was equally heedless throughout the later years also. The consequences ought to have been disastrous. According to tradition, the failure of the Lètwin mingala to come off should have caused a drought all over the country. But the Mo hkaung did not ensue; on the contrary, there was Mo kaung: an aspirate makes all the difference between a water-famine and seasonable showers. King Thibaw went very little indeed out of his palace. The annals of the country supply too many instances of kings, who, having gone abroad, found on their return to the palace gates that a usurper had taken possession of the throne in the meantime, and had no better greeting for his predecessor than a short shrift and a red velvet sack in which to plunge his body into the Irrawaddy. This unlovable custom had great weight with King Thibaw; but it was unwise of him to entirely abandon so venerable a tradition as the Lètwin mingala. It was at this ceremonial that one of the earliest marvels in the life of the Buddha Gautama happened. The king Thudawdana, with eight hundred noblemen save one, was ploughing the fields at the annual festival. Many country people came to see the great sight, and the city emptied itself. The maids who had charge of the little Prince Theidat laid him down under the shade of a tree and went to look on. The infant Buddha rose up as soon as they were gone, and sitting

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773 cross-legged in the fashion in which he is ordinarily represented in the images, became sunk in meditation. The careless maids all through the hot afternoon forgot about their princely charge, until the returning crowds and the setting sun reminded them of their neglect. Then they hurried to the tree and found that the Zampu tha-bye had maintained its shadow in the exact same position all day as it was in when Prince Theidat was first laid down. Notwithstanding the arc the sun had described, the shade had all along hung over the head of the meditating Payā Alaung.

241 796 ●643 The festival has therefore special reason to be celebrated by the descendants of the solar kings. It was also in every way a most picturesque fête, pleased the people, and offered a valuable opportunity for squeezing money out of them. King Mindôn never omitted it, even when he was grown old and portly, and little able to follow the slow-stepping bullocks. The ceremony took place in the beginning of June, about the time when the south-west monsoon usually breaks in Mandalay. The order went forth that the king would come out on such and such a day, and the people 643 were enjoined to get ready. Not to see him—far from it. 349 The right of a cat to look at a king in Mandalay was not well established. The Amein-daw was issued in order that the heads over ten houses, the Sè-eing gaungs, might see that the road in their district was in proper repair, and that the yazamat had not got out of order. The yazamat, or king's fence, was a kind of lattice-paling put up in every street in the walled town, and in any of those in the suburbs through which the king was likely at any time to pass. It was formed of thick diagonal spars made into hurdles, which were lashed to heavy posts sunk in the ground at regular intervals. The whole was whitewashed, and often flower-pots stood on the top of the posts to enliven the structure a little; and it certainly wanted enlivening a good deal. The lattice-fence undoubtedly looked very neat and tidy, as a long straight road lined with Lombardy poplars does; but it became terribly tiresome, when you found all the streets looking exactly the same, with this six-foot-high heavy wood fence standing within a couple of feet or so of

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the walls of the houses, and shutting out all view of these wooden structures. It had, however, to be kept in constant repair, and the house-reeve has to go round carefully to see that none of the whitewash had been rubbed off, nor any of the transverse bars sprung with the sun. Behind these the entire populace had to stay when the king, or any one of the queens, went out. Woe betide the wretch who was caught outside them when the procession had started. He might consider himself lucky if he escaped with only a belabouring from the fasces of the shrieking lictors. No one was supposed even to look through the little diamond-shaped holes. As a matter of fact they did; but by way of condoning for the offence, they rendered it more difficult by planting flowering shrubs between the bamboo houses and the lattice-work. 643 349

The procession on the route out to the Lèya, the royal acre, to be ploughed, was magnificent. The king was clad in all his robes of state: the paso with the daungyôp, the peacock sacred to royalty; the long silk surcoat, or tunic, so thickly crusted with jewels that its colour could not be seen; the tharapu, the spire-like crown, also a mass of precious stones; the twenty-four strings of the Order of the Salwè across his breast; and over his forehead the gold plate, or frontlet. The great gates in front of the stairs from the Hall of Audience were opened for him. Except the King of the Golden Throne no one might pass through them; there was the low red postern at the side for meaner beings—a shrewd device to make every one bow his head to the palace, whether he liked it or not. His majesty mounted the white elephant, which none save he might ride—for is not the noble creature a king himself? 643 241 796 292

The king mounted the Lord White Elephant at the palace of the latter, to the right of the Hall of Audience; but the princes and ministers, all of whom came to attend the great function in their robes of state, might not enter their howdahs till the stockade of the nandaw had been passed. Then they fell into line in order of precedence, the wuns and wundauks wearing their official mitres—tall red velvet hats, with the top curled back like a nautilus, and the base surrounded with a row of gilt spear-heads. The long 644 796

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the big rake once up and down the rain-sodden field—and then stops; for he is portly, and short of breath now. The ministers, no matter how fat they are, have to go on ploughing as long as the Arbiter of Existence chooses to look on. At last he declares that enough has been done, and preparations are made to go back again. He doffs his royal robes, for the tharapu, with its spire and jewelled ear-flappets, is burdensome, and the long surcoat, with its thousands of precious stones, is said to weigh about a hundred pounds. The Lord White Elephant is relieved too. He stalks back unencumbered, with his household of thirty retainers fussing about him with fans and swaying umbrellas.

The king gets into an open car, something like what Roman racing chariots are represented to have been. It is of course adorned as richly as everything else, and is drawn not by ponies or bullocks, but by men, eight of them pulling at each of the flexible shafts. The object is to prevent any one, the driver for example, sitting higher than the king. The English carriages presented at various times to different Burmese monarchs met with little approval. At first it was thought that the king was to sit on the box; but then it was found that with this arrangement there was nothing for it but that the driver should run by the side and therefore maintain a constant erect attitude in the presence of royalty. When it was found that the king was supposed to sit inside, with the driver two or three feet above him, a burst of indignation suggested that it was an insidious plot to put an insult on the majesty of the lord of the umbrella-bearing chiefs. For a time the vehicles were put away as lumber; but an ingenious handicraftsman adorned them with pyathats—five-roofed ecclesiastical or royal spires. They were now, when drawn by men, suitable for royal occupation; but unfortunately the solid teak-wood spires made them top-heavy, and especially unstable on rough Mandalay roads. They therefore degenerated into paraphernalia for exhibition on a kadaw day, or gauds for a procession at Tawadeintha feast time.

The king consequently returns on his low, gilt, native-made carriage, reclining on a mattress placed on the floor. He is now dressed in the ordinary national way, with a light

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linen jacket and a slender pawlôn (a fillet of book-muslin wound round the head), showing the thin white hair tied up in a little knot on the top of the head. The chief ministers are round about, fanning him assiduously; and he is in extreme good-humour, chaffing the Kin Wungyi, the astute prime minister, on the way he let his bullocks straggle away at random and the difficulties he got into in trying to turn them at the end of the field; while the stout old Naingan-gya Wun-dauk is rallied about the absurd state of heat he was brought into by his exertions. Possibly, if a venture-some and inquisitive subject were to be seen now, the king might pardon him for his rude gaping. But nobody knows in what temper the king is, and the silence is as death-like as when the party moved out. As soon, however, as the great procession has passed and has wound its way into the palace, the hitherto deserted streets are crowded again. Pwès begin with startling suddenness at every corner. Bands strike up; long lines of candles illuminate the streets at nightfall; rockets are let off, fire-balloons ascend, and every-thing is given up to rejoicing; for the lèdawgyi has been graciously ploughed, and the Lètwin mingala is a presage of abundant crops.

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It is needless to say that the persons mentioned are now all dead and that the British Government does not maintain the Lètwin mingala. The spectacle of the Lieu-tenant-Governor balancing himself on a harrow with the Commissioner of the Northern Division and the Judicial Commissioner for Upper Burma as acolytes, or rivals, would not be impressive. A striking spectacle has gone and cannot be revived.

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and pertinacity with which they defied the mosquitoes under the shade of the trees, and droned away on their pipes all through a tight-tunicked and perspiring Rangoon afternoon garden party, as the observant Burman imagined, at one endless tune. The national music is not written down, and each actor has a variation of his own, but the smallest girl in the audience would detect a kayāthan from a dobatthan with as much readiness as any English boy would distinguish "Drops o' Brandy" from the "Old Hundred"! But there are some people who do not like the Italian opera, and even say so. 533

The following short outline of the *Zawtagômma pyazat* will give an idea of the style of the more popular drama, as distinguished from the purely religious birth-story. The writer was an old player himself. He lived at Pegu, and the *Zawtagômma* was perhaps his most successful effort. The text has been published at one of the vernacular presses in Rangoon, and the sketch given is a translation of the Zatlan, the "path of the play," prefixed by the editor. "In the country of Pyinyawwada, of which Yazôtta was the sovereign, the name of the Southern Queen was Thunemadewi, and that of the Northern Queen Thukethidewi. The Queen of the Southern Palace was about to bear a child, and the king issued an order that her majesty of the North should attend on her. This was very irritating to the Northern Queen, and she resolved to ruin Thunemadewi, and for that purpose conspired with Shin Gwe Ni, the midwife. As soon as the child was born it was to be killed, and set afloat on the river in an earthen pot, and the *accoucheuse* was to say the Head Queen had been delivered of a still-born baby. A twin son and daughter were born, and Shin Gwe Ni put each of them in a jar and launched them on the river, and went and told the king that they were still-born. Yazôtta, the king, was very angry, and punished his consort by setting her to dig the ground and carry water for the palace. The Queen of the North was promoted to be Head Queen, and her daughter, Pyinsarupa, was made tabin-daing (*i.e.* she was set apart as wife for the next king, and not allowed to marry). 536 539 [643] [582]

"With regard to the bodies of the prince and princess.

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A special feature of the New Year's Feast was the formal washing of the king's head, called thi'gyan daw gyi. It is not to be supposed that his majesty washed his head only once a year, or that it is at any time an operation to be lightly undertaken, any more than it is by the humblest of his subjects. But at other times the ceremony was called hkaung-se mingala or thi'gyan daw hkaw, and was not attended with so great solemnity as characterised the function at the opening of a new year. Formerly the water for the purpose was annually brought up from Hkaung-se Gyun (Head-washing Island), a little rocky islet situated on the river opposite Maulmein. Hkaung-se Gyun is fabled to hang, with its little cluster of pagodas and monasteries, by an invisible cord from the heavens, and has therefore long enjoyed a special sanctity, not by any means reduced by the springs of clear bubbling water found on its limited surface. Therefore for long it supplied all the water for the royal head-washing. Latterly, however, it was abandoned, and with this there is a curious history connected. After the war of 1826, it was settled in a general way between the commissioners that the river Salween should form the boundary between Burma and the newly-acquired British province of Tenasserim. But later a question arose as to the ownership of the islands, and especially of the rich rice-growing Bilu-gyun, north and south of which the three rivers flow into the sea. After much fruitless palavering it was determined to leave the decision to chance. A couple of cocoa-nuts were tied together and taken some distance up the Salween and thrown into the water in the middle of the river. They went down bobbing gaily till they came to the place where the conflicting currents of the Gyaing and the Attaran come in, and there they twirled and twisted about in an aggravating way until at last an eddy caught them, and, carrying them past the old town of Martaban, decided for the Dayè outlet, through which they were swept away to sea. Thus the "Ogre's Isle" became British territory, and with it the little Hkaung-se Gyun. Nevertheless for many years water was still carried up to Mandalay for the thi'gyan law gyi, till at last Pegu was annexed to the British crown. Then it seemed undignified to carry the sacred water, not

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527 only from the stranger's land, but so many miles through
302 alien waters, and so it was necessary to seek for another
643 place. Where could a better be found than the mighty Irrawaddy itself? Accordingly from then on till there ceased to be a king of Burma, the necessary amount was drawn from the centre of the river by the Ye-kyi-wun, a minister specially appointed for that purpose.

527 As in so many other cases the amenities of the thi'gyan
177 pwè have led to the extorting of money. In the good old days, and in the country districts still, it was the practice for benevolent people to keep open house, and give food and dainties to all passers-by, with tea and flavoured drinks, cheroots and betel for those that preferred them. To lighten the expense, contributions, called kèbo, were invited from friends and neighbours, and out of this has sprung the system of blackmail prevalent in Rangoon. A bevy of girls go into an Englishman's house and sprinkle him with lavender-water, or the moss-rose bouquet, so much in favour with Burmese belles. After a little badinage, they produce plain water, and threaten further operations unless something is given them. This they usually get, and if Englishmen complain of shameless extortion it is their own fault. The fair speculators are not such as any respectable girl would care to be seen with, and the prettinesses with scents are no more national than the scents are themselves. A provincial beauty would infinitely prefer a good honest ducking with vulgar water to the mawkish sentimentality of *eau de Cologne*. Some of the results of superior civilisation are very undesirable.

805 On the final day of the feast a gun is fired at noon to
527 signalise the ascent of the thi'gyạ min to his happy realms again, and then all is over. The squirts are laid by for another year; clothes are hung up to dry, and nothing remains but to wait and see whether the pônnas are more successful than usual in their prognostications for the year.

805 The origin of the custom is no doubt the rain-making,
527 described by Professor J. G. Frazer in *The Golden Bough*, but
773 the Burmese explain it by a legend. The thi'gya min had a bet with a rival and the loser lost his head. This could not be allowed to be defiled by touching the ground, so it was caught by a daughter of Natdewas. Seven of them take it

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CHAPTER XLVII

THE LORD OF THE CELESTIAL ELEPHANT AND OF MANY WHITE ELEPHANTS

773 THE *Royal History of Kings* enumerates altogether 587,000
175 kings, following one another in regular succession. From
● 643 Mahā Thamada, the great first ruler of land and of sea, there were 334,569 sovereigns till the time of the most excellent Buddha Gautama. From thence onward, the Mahā Yazawin carefully records the sequence of the predecessors of the last ruler of the Eastern Land, Thibaw Min. Western chroniclers point out incredulously that the hunter Aung Zaya, who died in 1760, founded the present dynasty under the title of Alaungpaya (commonly written Alompra), and till his rescue of the country from the victorious Peguans, held no more exalted rank than that of headman of his native village. But this scepticism ignores the doctrine of Kan, which provides that none can succeed to the throne of the Arbiter of Existence and Great Lord of Righteousness but those whose merit in previous existences entitles them to it.
643 The king emphatically rules by what is called in the Western kingdoms the right divine. The eldest daughter of the reigning king was always declared tabindaing, she was forbidden to marry till the death of the sovereign. When that occurred, if there were no sons to succeed, there was an interregnum till the tabindaing could find a husband to ascend the throne. This selection was not made by the laws of passion or personal inclination, but was solely decided according to the principles of kan. A royal chariot was harnessed to a fiery steed and driven away from the palace with no one to guide it. The horse roamed about,

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suffering no one to enter till he came to the person decided by fate to rule the country, usually some one of the royal lineage, or of some other princely line, who had wandered or been carried off from court. Then the horse waited patiently till the sleeper should wake up; the tales always represent the prince as asleep when the chariot arrives. When he rouses himself he steps into the chariot, and without guidance, the horse forthwith gallops back to the palace and the tabindaing finds a husband and the country a king. Alompra became sovereign, only in a slightly different way, but his descent from Mahā Thamada must be unimpeachable.

Long before he took up arms and won for himself the throne, the soothsayers saw about him signs that betokened his coming dignity. When he slept his arms shone like fire; vultures perched on the houses of his enemies; gorgeous butterflies and gay-plumaged birds and strange animals entered his dwelling; he dug up an ancient image of the Buddha not far from his doorstep; when he came to fight it was manifest that he was favoured even beyond the great men of old. He possessed a sword that flew through the air and cut off heads; his shoes enabled him to clear miles at a stride; his fairy spear could spit a whole line of soldiers at once; his javelin could be hurled to any distance; finally, as a fifth weapon, he had a gun which never missed its mark, and was brought down to him by a thagyā. The possession of these five weapons at once proved his right to the throne and secured his holding it. It is true that some of the omens which signalised his right have appeared in others with very different result. A Karen minlaung, or embryo king, displayed the same fire-streaming arms, and raised a rebellion since the British occupation of Pegu. He gained a considerable following, and seemed formidable for a time, till the English wise men pointed out that the fiery glow was produced by rubbing phosphorus on his skin. Then all went against him as an impostor, and he very soon vanished into the hill-country. Similarly, in 1858, a poor fisherman at Twante, a large village not far from Rangoon, dragged up in his net a small image of the Buddha. Such discoveries are always looked upon as an omen of high

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destiny, and according to the common superstition, the fisherman believed that he would rise in dignity, restore the Talaing kingdom, and revive religion. He announced the supernatural call in the village bazaar. A few desperate characters joined him, took possession of the town, and issued a proclamation calling upon all the faithful to rally to his standard. But the British civil authorities stepped in and broke up the procession which was going in solemn state to the pagoda to inaugurate and consecrate the fisherman in his new profession. The claimant of royal honours escaped at the time, but was afterwards given up by the villagers. In each of these cases there was deception or misapprehension of the meaning of the omens, but the abundance of the signs in the case of Alompra disposes of the assertion that he was a mere adventurer. He himself thoroughly believed in his high destiny, and talked of it in right royal fashion to Captain Baker, an ambassador sent to him in 1755 by the Honourable East India Company. This gentleman, the commander of an East Indiaman, who, under the instructions of his employers, evidently regarded the great conqueror as little better than a savage, brought him a present of a chest or two of gunpowder, a couple of muskets and carbines, a gilt looking-glass, some red earth in bags, and half a dozen bottles of lavender water (there is no mention of glass beads), and offered Alompra the assistance of the great company. Whereupon his majesty burst into a defiant laugh and replied in the following fashion: "Have I asked, or do I want any assistance to reduce my enemies to subjection? Let none conceive such an opinion! Have I not in three years' time extended my conquests three months' journey in every quarter without the help of cannon or muskets? Nay, I have with bludgeons only, opposed and defeated these Peguans who destroyed the capital of this kingdom, and took the prince prisoner; and a month hence I intend to go with a great force to Dagôn (Rangoon), where I have an army now lying, when I will advance to the walls of Pegu, blockade and starve them out of it, which is the last town I have now to take to complete my conquest, and then I will go in quest of Bourno (the French governor of Syriam), whom he afterwards actually did put to

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death). Captain, see this sword; it is now three years since it has been constantly exercised in chastising my enemies; it is indeed almost blunt with use; but it shall be continued to the same till they are utterly dispersed. Do not talk of assistance. I require none. The Peguans I can wipe away as thus (drawing the palm of one hand over the other). See these arms and this thigh (drawing his loose coat-sleeve up to the armpit, and lifting his pasoh, so as to display a bare tattooed leg); amongst a thousand you cannot see my match. I can crush a hundred such as the King of Pegu." (Quoted from Crawford.)

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Two years later he talked to Ensign Lester in the same bombastic strain, telling him that he would go to Madras, and that if a nine-pounder shot was to hit him it could do him no harm, with a good deal more to the same effect. He is described at this time, when he was about forty-five years of age, as five feet eleven in height, and of a powerful build, with a long, but not a thin face, the expression not being improved by a number of smallpox pitmarks. He had a broad but very retreating forehead, a characteristic shared by all his descendants, and prominent in the case of King Mindôn.

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Alaungpaya, then, was no feeble founder of the present line of successors to the great Mahā Thamada. He certainly had the power to command, and his military successes carried the peacock flag from far away towards Dacca, down to the Siamese capital. Assuredly he was a worthy follower of the great first king, and the Burmese believed firmly in the unbroken character of the succession. Accordingly all the old Indian and Sakyan customs were carefully observed by the Burmese royal family. Such were the marriage with half-sisters, and the consequent preserving unmarried of the king's eldest daughter; the reverence of the three most excellent animals, the peacock of the sun, the hare of the moon, and the kalawaik, the carrying bird of Vishnu, whose eyes like jewels look friendly on the stranger; and the beit-theit, the consecration by pouring out of water at the accession. Marriage with half-sisters was only allowed to the king, not to the people at large, or even to the princes of the blood-royal. The throne was painted over with representations of

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643 the peacock and the hare, typifying the descent of the king from the solar and lunar races, which was also directly laid claim to in the title, netwetbuyin, sovereign of the rising sun. Similarly with the titles khattia, implying that he had dominion over the crops, and yaza, because he could instruct men in the laws, a somewhat doubtful ability in regard to all except perhaps King Mindôn. The consecration by beittheit was completed in three special ceremonies, as was the case with the Payālaung chosen to be the first ruler.

1. Yaza-beit, the consecrating of him as king.

2. Manda beittheit, the solemn marrying him to a queen of royal lineage.

3. Thenga beittheit, the confirmation or renewal of his engagement to abide by the laws, whereupon full powers for the government and administration of the country are conferred.

643 773 177 793 The actual coronation ceremony was latterly a mere form, but was intended to mark the claim of the Lord of the Golden Palace to be the representative of the universal monarch, the Sekyawadé king, who never makes his appearance during the time allotted to the publication and duration of the religious institutions of a Buddha. It consisted principally in incantations and sprinkling with holy water from the Ganges, performed by the pônnas, the Brahmin astrologers; the Burman yahans had nothing whatever to do with it. Besides the pônnas, only a few of the chief ministers were present. The really national part of the ceremony was the royal progress round the city moat, made seven days after the beittheit. The king left 643 175 the city by the Eastern Gate, the precise moment being notified by a discharge of cannon. He then entered the state barge, a most gorgeously gilt and carved construction, surpassing even the traditional coach of the Lord Mayor of London. This boat was then slowly rowed round the moat, with music clashing all around, and bands of dancers supplying the place of a rejoicing populace. Then when the circuit had been completed, the newly crowned monarch entered again between the guardian ogres of the Eastern Gate, a fresh salvo of artillery announcing the arrival at the palace. The ceremony was simple enough, but King

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Thibaw never went through it. In the first days of his reign he was afraid to leave the nandaw, lest conspirators might find the chance too good a one to lose, and later on, a fear that the delayed festival might suggest ideas of previous faint-heartedness came in the way. Consequently, though he was crowned successor to Mahā Thamada as far as the beittheit was concerned, and therefore became the source of the law, the guardian of the welfare of the country, the recipient of the revenues, and the chief administrator of justice, he was no proper successor to the warlike Alaungpaya. Possibly the failure to assume the sturdy spirit of the first of the family may account for the deficiency in some of the attributes derived from the first king, a deficiency which even the most loyal of his subjects did not hesitate to admit. 643 175

The first ruler was chosen for his strict adherence to the five fundamental precepts now incumbent on all men, and for his general sanctity. These qualities are inherent in all successors, though sometimes it is difficult to distinguish them. From them sprang four other laws incumbent on all kings and rulers. These thengaha, kingly laws, or byammazoya are as follows:— 643 773

1. Thathameda, ordaining that he shall not receive more than a tithe of the produce of the country.

2. Purithameda, ordaining that the king shall engage to pay his servants and army once every six months.

3. Thamapatha, by which the king binds himself to assist his subjects with money, and to receive payment of it within three years, without charging interest.

4. Wāsapaya, the use of courteous and fitting language, according to the age and position in life of the persons addressed.

It is to be feared that these kindly kingly laws were not found suitable to the conditions of modern society. At any rate they were not very strictly observed by Thibaw Min.

Nevertheless that monarch was very far from being such an unlovely character as most Europeans have been led to believe. It was explicitly denied by many that he drank at all; it is certain that whatever excesses he may have plunged 643 175

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into in the remorse caused by the massacres of February 1879, he was assuredly not a confirmed drunkard. His worst fault was that he was easy, or call it weak-spirited if you like. It is an open secret that he was not intended to be king. His father, Mindôn Min, had a strong liking for the young yahan, but his intention, if he had any, was that the pious and well-read Nyaungyan prince, who died a refugee at Barrackpore, near Calcutta, was to be his successor, and if the court or the town had been polled, the choice would have fallen on the same burly, good-natured individual.

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It must be understood that, notwithstanding the precautions for the preservation of the pure blood-royal, the system of keeping a princess tabindaing, to be married to the new ruler, it by no means followed that the eldest son of this union, or, indeed, any son by this queen at all, necessarily succeeded to the throne. It was not often that there was a recognised Eingshemin, an heir-apparent to the throne, but when there was such a dignitary, he might be the fifth, or the tenth, or the thirtieth son, the only stipulation being that he should be the child of one of the four chief queens. The nomination rested with the king. A consideration of the gruesome history of the parricide kings, who reigned in one of the countries of the Myissi Madetha, the middle country, as India is called, each of whom ascended a throne stained with a father's blood, until the horrified populace of Pataliputra revolted and exterminated the whole house; the reading of this bloody chapter in the royal annals may have prompted the custom, but it is certain that it is not often that the heir to the throne was recognised. Mindôn made no sign till his last illness came upon him. Then when it was evident that he could not survive, he named the Nyaungyan mintha and after him the yellow-robed Thibaw prince. Then palace intrigue began. The Thibaw prince, it was well known, had a passion for the tabindaing, Selin Supaya (Selina Sophia as she was called by some of the English residents in Mandalay), and the second of the Supayās, for there were three of them, was equally enamoured of the young Patama Byan. Therefore the

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queen-mother resolved to gratify all parties, and become herself queen dowager. She opened up communications with the then all-powerful Kin Wunmingyi, the Premier as he was usually called. That able minister saw continued power in store for himself if he could get the unsophisticated pyin-sin placed on the throne. Therefore he threw himself into the plot. The princes were summoned by a forged royal order to come before his majesty, bid him farewell, and hear his nomination of a successor. As they came up to the hmawgaw, the mirror throne room, where the kings body afterwards lay in state, they were seized separately and forthwith hurried off to prison. The Nyaungyan and his brother, the Nyaungôk prince, received timely warning, and instead of coming to the palace went straight off for sanctuary to the English Church, whence they afterwards escaped, disguised, to the protection of the British flag in the compound of the British Residency. But though they thus saved their lives, as appeared five months afterwards, when the other princes were done to death, the throne was lost, for Thibaw was left master of the situation, and soon completed his arrangements for securing his position. At first everything went well. It was necessary to retain the support of the Kin Wungyi, and that astute minister, acting on the idea that he could easily manage the raw young exneophyte, proceeded to draw up a scheme for a constitutional government, the greater part of which was written for him by the late Dr. Clement Williams, the first English Resident in Mandalay, and afterwards an independent trader. This constitution was published with a great flare of trumpets and much talk about the establishment of Western methods, and the raising of Burma to the rank of a first-class Eastern power. The people at large did not perceive any very radical difference, as far as the payment of moneys was concerned, under the new system. Perhaps it would have turned out well if it had lasted. But it was not destined to last.

As soon as the funeral rites of the dead king were over, and Thibaw Min had been sprinkled with the consecrated water by the pônnas, he proposed to marry "Selina Sophia," and take the younger sister, the Supayalat, along with her

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according to agreement. But the tabindaing was not willing. On the contrary, she took the altogether unprecedented step of cutting off her hair and entering a nunnery. The slighted golden monarch was furious. The two luckless maids of honour of the scornful beauty had their hands chopped off by the "spotted man." What became of the nun herself no one seems to know. Whether she went to her grave or to a jungle convent is a matter which neither her friends nor her enemies ever revealed. Thibaw Min at any rate had to be satisfied with the Supayalat. He very soon found that he had quite enough to do with her. The mother had always been known as strong-minded; the daughter developed an even greater amount of determination, and between them they soon reduced the ruler of the umbrella-bearing chiefs to submission. It had never been their intention that the Kin Wungyi should derive the greatest part of advantage from the scheme for enthroning the Thibaw prince, and they gradually worked his majesty into a state of desperation. However meek he might be towards them, he soon became embarrassingly testy with his courtiers, and after a time took to using what was called Tharrawaddy's spear. Kônbaung Min, that fiery descendant of Alaungpaya, in his latter years amused himself with spearing his courtiers with a javelin he always kept by him. This trait, which soon grew into a regular homicidal mania, and led to his being smothered in the end, seemed to have broken out afresh in the young king, and the Rangoon papers began to talk of hereditary insanity. Soon, however, the whole civilised world was to be shocked. The queen mother and the Supayalat persuaded the king that he would never be safe till the princes were put out of the way. It is said that Thibaw Min at first flatly refused, and then, broken down by daily taunts, pleaded the danger from the British Government. Here also, however, he was overruled. The queen dowager called in a European (not an Englishman), and asked what would be done if all the imprisoned princes were massacred? He answered there would be a great deal of talk and nothing more. So Thibaw gave in, and said, "Shin-ba se, let them be cleared away"; and seventy of the royal blood, men, women, and children, were murdered in the next three days, and buried

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within the palace, in a long trench dug for the purpose. The eldest prince, the Mekhaya, a man nearly three times Thibaw's age, and hated for his fierce, proud demeanour, died shrieking for mercy at the hands of his own slaves, whom he had often tortured. The Thonsè mintha, equally overbearing in his manner, and a fanatical hater of the English, whom he lost no opportunity of insulting, gained in his death an esteem he had never known while living. With his last breath he hurled defiance and imprecations at the brother whom he had always despised, and prophesied a speedy and bloody end for the "runaway monk." The weakly and gentle-mannered Maingtun murmured a prayer that the hideous sin of murder might be pardoned to its instigator and perpetrators, and then resigned his neck to the club which sent him to the blissful seats of nat-dewas. The princesses were subjected to nameless horrors, and the treatment of the children recalled the days when ravaging hordes marched through the land with babes spitted on their pike staffs for standards. The poor old regent of Pegu, governor at Rangoon when the British came in 1852, had his nostrils and gullet crammed with gunpowder, and was thus blown up. But the tale of horrors is not one to enlarge upon. They were conducted by those who became the king's most trusted advisers. All the three days bands of music were playing throughout the palace, and dancers posturing to divert attention from what was going on, and to drown the cries of the victims.

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The custom of putting to death all dangerous rivals on the accession of a new king was without doubt almost a recognised thing in Burma whenever there was a new sovereign. Many Burmans defend it warmly, on the plea that it secured the peace of the country. Where there were so many of the royal blood, the appointment of one, possibly among the youngest, to the supreme power, could not but lead to discontent, breaking out into open rebellion when the slighted found themselves strong enough to feel hope of success for a rising. The accession of Mindôn was marked by no such atrocities, but he came to the throne under exceptional circumstances. His brother, the Pagān Min, was deposed because he would do nothing to make peace with the English, then threatening

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to occupy the capital, which they were so near effecting in the first war of 1826. The deposed king was allowed to live happy with his game-cocks. The people's idol, the fiery "War Prince," was passed over because he was pledged to fight to the death, and there was an explicit understanding that he, or failing him, his issue, should succeed to the royal honours on the death of King Mindôn. That pious and enlightened monarch was forced on the country by a happy necessity. But it was very different when he died. There was no war to distract the people, and further, there was a multiplicity of candidates. The Convener of the Fifth Great Synod had, during his lifetime, fifty-three recognised wives, besides an indefinite number of handmaidens. By the wives he had altogether one hundred and ten children, forty-eight sons and sixty-two daughters. Of the forty-eight sons only twenty-four were alive at the time of his death, and two of these were detained as political prisoners in India, the Myingun and Myingundaing princes, the originators of the rebellion of 1866, when the "War Prince" was killed, and the king himself had a narrow escape. The Myingundaing died many years ago in India; the Myingun still lives on an allowance from the French Government in Saigon.

There were thus twenty-two possible successors to the Golden Throne. One was a lunatic—the Kyabin Mintha; four were little boys under ten years of age, others were disqualified for a variety of reasons, but there remained the Thonsè, the Mekhaya, the Nyaungyan, and the Nyaungôk, all of whom were considered as having certainly greater claims than the actual successor. Thibaw Min wanted to keep them all in prison, and a range of barracks was actually being constructed for their occupation when the massacres occurred. Whatever foreigners may think, all Burmans lay the guilt of the executions at the door of the queen and the queen dowager. When some were killed, prudential motives, as well as a ghoul-like thirst for blood, prompted the murder of all, and this accordingly was carried out. Of all the twenty-four princes, excluding the king, there were left alive but four little boys in sanctuary in Mandalay monasteries, one of them barely five years old, and three refugees in India, one of the four, the Mingundaing

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prince, having died soon after. Of the princesses, thirty-five of whom survived their father, four were killed in the February massacres, and twenty-one kept in confinement in the palace, some of whom almost certainly died of want or external violence. The remainder were of too little account to be taken notice of. Thirty-seven queens were alive when the late king died. Thirteen fled when his illness became dangerous, and so extinguished themselves. Twenty-three were kept in underground dungeons, or under close surveillance in the palace; one only, the mother of the Mekhaya, with fourteen of her children and grandchildren, were killed in 1879. This is rather a dismal list, and the shadow of it rested over the royal throne. Whether Thibaw Min was the direct author of the tragedy or not, the stain of the crime and the recollection of it clung to him. After its accomplishment, the king fell more and more under the malign influence of the termagant queen. The Kin Wungyi and his constitution were ignominiously bundled out of the palace. The former all-powerful minister became little more than a private citizen, and the vile conductors of the massacres were the chief in authority. With their lotteries and monopolies they had very soon brought the country to ruin, had it not been for the blessing of English rule.

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Personally, Thibaw Min could not be otherwise than miserable. The harridan queen kept him in most humble subjection. Hitherto every king of Burma had had at least four chief queens, those of the east, west, north, and south palaces, of whom the southern queen was supreme. But Supayalat persisted in remaining sole controller of the royal heart. Terrible stories are told of the death by lingering torture which proved the portion of maids of honour on whose charms the unhappy king is said to have looked with favour. Such an unusual state of things, such a disgrace as a woman's slave for a king, had never befallen any country before. A son was born in the end of 1879, but he died of smallpox in the epidemic of March 1880, and a daughter in the end of the same year compared but badly with King Mindôn's three or four a year.

The king was practically a prisoner within his golden walls. No king of Burma had ever been much in the habit

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of leaving the palace. Possession of it, with the vast arsenal which it contained, implied the subduing of the entire country. When a monarch went forth to worship at a pagoda or preside at some function, he left the nandaw in charge of the prince or minister whom he could best trust. But poor Thibaw Min could trust no one, or at any rate believed that this was his state. From the time he succeeded to the throne till he left it a prisoner, he never went outside the palace walls.

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CHAPTER XLVIII

KING THIBAW

[The following three chapters remain as they were written in 1880.]

I.—A PRIVATE INTERVIEW

TIME was, when to get an interview with the Arbiter of Existence was as difficult a matter as to see the Grand Lama, or the Sherif ul Islam of Mecca. When the servants of "the Foreign Woman," Her Most Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria, protested in 1879 against the new sovereign's summary settlement of domestic matters, Thibaw swore a royal oath by the sacred hairs of Gautama, by the Lord, the Law and the Assembly, the three precious things, that he would never look on a white man again. For a year the vow was religiously kept, and ambitious "globe-trotters" and prying special correspondents were kept at a distance, and had not even the satisfaction of being admitted within the outer gate of the nandaw. In time, however, the royal coffers got low, and it was thought foolish not to make use of the barbarian merchants, seeking for monopolies and grants of forest land, and able and willing to pay enormous sums for such concessions. His majesty's ministers therefore speedily found means of relieving the great King of Righteousness from his solemn oath. The first principle of the Buddhist faith is charity. How, then, could the Lord of the Rising Sun gain more merit and advance some miles on the noble Eightfold Path better than by conquering his just personal antipathies and allowing awe-stricken foreigners to grovel before the splendour of his effulgence and worship at

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his Golden Feet! When once they had experienced that supreme delight, his majesty's ministers might be trusted to see that the wealth of the merchants was made to subserve the royal interests. And so it came to pass that Thibaw first received a few speculators and their friends, and has ended by granting an audience to any European that can get a minister to speak for him. And so the Golden Hairs are forgotten, and the three precious things calmly flouted. Still the royal barbarian is not comfortable at these interviews. He was too curious to be dignified. He had not the fund of conversation that his father had, and he was impatient apparently of being looked at, as strangers in remote parts of China and wild beasts in zoological gardens may be supposed to be.

Securing an interview is not always an easy matter, unless you are a great capitalist, desirous of a grant somewhere. If you merely wish to see his majesty, the process is somewhat difficult. You probably apply first of all to the Chevalier Andreino, Italian Consul in Mandalay, and master of ceremonies and mysterious "doing duty" man at the Burmese Court. He may get you the desired audience, but more probably refers you to one of the higher ministers. Almost certainly these officials will say that it is impossible for you to see the king. His majesty is too busy, "working hard all day at affairs of state"; and they gaze stolidly upon you. You regret the circumstance extremely, make the minister a present of a few hundred rupees, and continue to deplore your bad luck. Then he brightens up suddenly, recollects that on such and such a day his majesty is possibly free. He will find out and do his best for you.

Next day you are told that an interview will be granted, that the king of kings graciously permits you to come and place your head under his gilded feet. If you are a wise man and have been warned by considerate friends, you will now commence to practise sitting on your feet. It is as well to rehearse the process frequently beforehand, for they must be tucked away so that his majesty cannot see them; and if you do not find the most agreeable way of effecting the concealment, your audience will be chiefly memorable to you for frightful agony, a vast amount of internal "popular

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language," and vows of vengeance against the ministers, who seem to have an irritating faculty of grinning all down their backs. 643 648

The journey to the palace is not a pleasant preparation. It is too hot to ride, and accordingly you decide to go in the apotheosis of a dog-kennel on wheels, which does duty for a carriage in Mandalay. There is not room for much more than one Englishman in the vehicle, and the only way you can get in is by scrambling over the backs of the bullocks. I shall never forget my first experience of a Mandalay carriage. After an exciting ten minutes spent in trying to circumvent a kicking bullock, I at length got in and sat down on the floor—there are no seats—to gaze out at the round hole by which I had got in. The rest of the party followed, each man in a kennel of his own. The beasts set off at a swinging trot over roads of the early depraved order, and in a couple of minutes we were all regretting that we did not brave the sun and ride, or even walk. However, the drivers disregard our entreaties, and hustle up the cattle all the more energetically. We pass over the moat, and through the enormous wooden gateway into the walled town. We enter by the a-mingala gate, the south-western, the only one through which corpses are allowed to be taken from the city. It is almost invariably used by Englishmen as being nearest to the Residency and the river, but no upper-class Burman will pass through it if he possibly can avoid doing so. After five minutes' more jolting we arrive at the outer stockade of the palace, and get out of our conveyances with some alacrity and a lot of bruises. Immediately inside the gate is a guard-house, with a cluster of the royal soldiery, who, as we come up, squat down on the ground and hold their Enfields in front of them at the third motion of the present, looking like frogs on a Christmas card. 643 493 644

We cross a wide open space, pass through the "Red Postern," and turn to the left, for it is to be a private reception, and we do not ascend the steps to the Hall of Audience. We pass a gallop which Thibaw has laid down for his ponies, and enter the Royal Gardens. They are not much to speak of. Laid out in squares, with raised paths, deep brickwork canals running in every direction, grottoes and

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the English Resident run away? Or perhaps it is the European experience of the Pangyet Wun that we have to thank. At any rate, the corridors and passages are covered with thick soft carpets, three or four deep, and we walk along in comfort, if with a somewhat undressed feeling. 644

It is not far to the Hmaw-gaw. We find the chamber almost empty. A thick carpet, woven in one piece, covers the floor, and the far side is raised a couple of feet above the rest of the room. On this dais stands a couch. The Pangyet Wun tells us to sit down and not to speak. We obey, and stare at the couch and a door behind it. Again we have misgivings. Mindôn Min used to keep visitors waiting a trifle of an hour or so, till they got so cramped that they had to be hoisted on to their legs. But it is not so with his son. He comes almost immediately, jerking himself suddenly in at the door, as if somebody had stuck a pin into him behind, walks hurriedly to the couch, kicking off his slippers on the way, and throws himself upon it, with his elbows sunk in the crimson and gold cushions. He looks straight at us for about thirty seconds, and then falls to examining his finger-nails and the carpet. He is embarrassed; his father was embarrassing. The pious potentate used to scrutinise his visitors (at a distance of twenty feet or so) through a field-glass, and people who were not overawed used to grin, which required explanation. King Thibaw comes alone, except that there is a page with cheroots. The gigantic gold spittoon and betel-nut box and other salivating and chewing paraphernalia, which were deposited before his late lamented father, are wanting. He knocks off the ash of his green cheroot on the carpet and presently lets it go out. Meanwhile the thandawsin, the royal herald, has commenced chanting our names, business, and the list of our presents. This is done in a high-pitched recitative, and takes a long time, for all the names, styles, and titles of his majesty are declaimed for a matter of quarter of an hour, each sentence ending with a long-drawn payā-a-ah. 643 644

At last it is over, and Thibaw asks if we are well. We announce that we are, and the interpreter, who throughout sees fit to translate bald monosyllables into obsequious, not

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CHAPTER XLIX

KING THIBAW

II.—THE MANY-TITLED

643 His most glorious, excellent majesty, the present ruler of the city of Mandalay, or Yatanabông Nepyidaw, ruler of the sea and land, lord of the rising sun, sovereign of the empires of Thumaparanta and Zampudipa, and of other great empires and countries, and king of all the umbrella-bearing chiefs, lord of the mines of gold, silver, rubies, amber, and the noble serpentine, chief of the Saddan, or celestial elephant, and master of many white elephants, the supporter of religion, owner of the sekya, or Indra's weapon, the sun-descended monarch, sovereign of the power of life and death, great chief of righteousness, king of kings, and possessor of boundless dominions and supreme wisdom, the arbiter of existence, has a very bad character. He killed his brothers and sisters and he drinks gin.

643 [175] He is very far from being a fool for all that. All his predecessors killed certain of their relatives too when they came to the throne; only they had not so many as Thibaw, and there were no electric telegraphs in those days. Besides, they had not such pressing need to clear the field. Thibaw was put on the throne by a palace intrigue, and if he had not disposed of his brothers they would probably have killed him. So say all his majesty's subjects, and they ought to know. The drinking of plebeian gin is another matter, and is likely to be the ruin of the many-titled monarch. It is telling on him fast. When he came to the throne he was a very good-looking young man, the

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handsomest Burman in the country, people used to say. Two years and a half have, however, made a very great difference. His majesty's flat nose has become flatter than ever; his forehead seems to have more of the snake's slope back than even the most typical of his family; and his round face is all bloated and blotched. When we had an interview with him, he had a scratch across his face from the eye over the left cheek, and it was a question whether the queen had done it or not. It did not add dignity to a manner which was not by any means ideally kingly. It was a private interview certainly, and we did not therefore expect to see him gorgeous in a silk surcoat and spire-like tharapu or crown. But it seemed somewhat negligent to appear in a soiled white short coat and a plain check pattern, yellow silk pasoh, such as any ordinary townsman might wear. In his ears certainly were splendid gold cylinders, with magnificent clusters of diamonds and emeralds at the ends, and on his finger glistened a sapphire ring worth a monarch's ransom. There was a spray of diamonds in his hair too, but it only sufficed to draw attention to the fact that he had neglected his toilet, which is a bad sign in a young man! All Burmans wear their long hair tied up in a knot on the top of their head. Thibaw, however, stepped out of a monastery on to the throne, and in the monasteries every one has his head shaved. The royal hair has therefore not had time to grow very long yet, and his majesty makes up his yaung, or top knot, with false tresses, as many humbler Burmans do, only they take care over it, which he does not. This is the worst sign of all; for when a Burman ceases to take pride in his hair he must be very far gone.

There are very considerable doubts as to his majesty's legitimacy. In any case he is not a pure Burman. His mother had a good deal of wild Shan blood in her veins. Just before Thibaw's birth it was discovered that his mother was unpardonably intimate with a pôngyi, one of the mendicants of the royal monastery. The monk was thrown into prison, and died there very suddenly of official colic. The queen was sent to a nunnery, where she remained till Thibaw came to the throne. She had better have stayed there for good. A year ago there was a fearful scandal. [563]

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Some thirty people about the Court were beheaded, and the queen dowager was relegated to the convent.

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Thibaw himself was brought up in an uncle's house and used to be unmercifully bullied by his cousins. When Dr. Marks, the eminent S.P.G. missionary, came to Mandalay and established a school, the late king asked what was the best age for a Burman to commence learning English. The reverend gentleman said, "About twelve years old." King Mindôn called for "all his sons that were twelve years old or thereabouts." Eleven were produced, and among them was Thibaw. The future king went to the royal school, but he sat apart from his late victims, and never came to school on the same elephant with them. He was a surly, morose boy, not very good at his lessons, and once or twice narrowly escaped the usual result of such conduct. I believe he was never actually birched, but he had several times to stand in the corner. When he left he was able to read a little, but he has forgotten all his English now. He used to be fond of cricket, and slogged away in fairly good pendulum form; but he never would field out, and used unprincely language to any one who bowled him. He was the youngest of the batch by a month or two, and was always quarrelling with his brothers and bullying the wretched slave who attended him and carried his cheroots and betel-nut. But nobody paid much attention to his vagaries then, for he was twentieth or thirtieth son, and the Mekhaya prince, the eldest, might very easily have been his father, or even grandfather.

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After he left the S.P.G. Royal School, King Mindôn made him a koyin, a neophant, in the royal monastery. There he seemed to get on better. At any rate when his novitiate was over, he passed with honours as Patama Kyaw, an examination in the Bitaghat thônbông, the three "baskets" of the Buddhist law, and sundry other volumes of ritual and controversy. This was what first drew the old king's attention to him. Mindôn Min was a very pious old gentleman, and had a particular delight in his title of Convener of the Fifth Great Synod. When therefore young Thibaw made a score in the Turanian Theological Tripos, his father bored everybody with his talk about the juvenile

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divine, and was not far off imagining that he was an embryo Budh. Thibaw an avatar of Arimadeya! Bradlaugh in the Salvation Army! Other people knew better even then. Even in those days Thibaw was a disgraceful little rip. The present Queen of the South and sundry other little petticoats came to flirt with him and his companions in the monastery. An ascetic should not even look at a woman, and the old kyaungpogo, the abbot of the royal mendicants, was terribly scandalised, and it is whispered about that he tied the raffish young princeling's hands up to a tree and swished him soundly. Some colour is lent to the report by the fact that Thibaw dismissed the venerable recluse as soon as he ascended the throne. However that may be, the old king heard nothing about it, and went on believing the "Senior Theolog" to be a miracle of piety and learning, and the sacred cocks and hens on Mandalay Hill had double rations for a month in honour of the event. Nevertheless, he did not by any means intend Thibaw to succeed him on the throne. The Nyaungyan was the man he named. But the mother of the Supayalat, now Thibaw's queen, took the matter in hand. She knew that Thibaw was deeply in love with her daughter, and thought she could easily manage the moon-struck, Pali-spouting novice. She communicated her views to the Kin Wunmingyi, the head of the ministry. That diplomatic old gentleman was equally deceived, and thought he would have no trouble in leading the verdant recluse as he pleased. The matter was arranged; the elder princes were all seized and thrown into prison before Mindôn Min died. Thibaw tolerated the Kin Wunmingyi for a short time, and let him formulate a wonderful production which the Turanian Foreign Secretary called a constitution. When the simple quondam mendicant found himself firm on the throne, and when the Nyaungyan, his great fear, had got away from the British Residency in Mandalay, and was safe in Calcutta, Thibaw threw off the mask. Eighty-six of his blood relations were battered and choked to death, or buried alive. The Kin Wungyi's hapless constitution was crumpled up and chucked over the frontier, and Thibaw stood forth as the most inhuman of a long line of savage despots. The

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●643 [644] [177·64] Kin Wunmingyi, who, after all, had been to Europe and was versed in public affairs, lost all influence, and was succeeded as adviser by the Taingda Mingyi, a statesman of the typical oriental kind, supple, unscrupulous and grasping. Thibaw even achieved a certain kind of popularity with his subjects. He insulted our representative and blustered at all foreigners, and finally frightened the Indian Government by covert threats into suddenly withdrawing the whole *personnel* of the Residency. Then it was announced by sound of gong all over Burma that the Sovereign of Land and Water, by reason of his great might and glory, had caused the hated English to flee from his sight, and would, in his own good time, carry the great peacock flag to the south, and plant it once more on the shores of the Gulf of Martaban.

643 648 175 It is a great triumph for the pôngyi's son, as he was nicknamed when it was safe to do so, and it will be remembered about him quite as long as the fiendish cruelty of his massacres. We have certainly not done with Thibaw yet. We cannot go on for ever keeping strong garrisons at Thayet-myo and Toungoo, our frontier stations, where the soldiers have little else to do but die of fever and cholera and heat-apoplexy. Constant scares ruin the trade in Rangoon, and, as Lord Ripon says, when we are attacked in our mercantile interests we are wounded in our most irritable point. The abrogation of the monopolies is little better than a sham, and the negotiations for a new treaty are little more sincere. Thibaw will not receive a new Resident in the Royal City, except shoeless and practically lying on his stomach. We can hardly agree to that again.

The rupture came six years later, brought about by secret treatings with France and autocratic dealings with the Bombay Burma Trading Corporation. The Burmese kingdom fell with the suddenness of a paralytic stroke, and King Thibaw was a prisoner within a month of his rejection of the British ultimatum. He now lives forgotten at Ratnagiri.

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CHAPTER LII

THE LORD WHITE ELEPHANT

THE importance attached to the possession of a white elephant is traceable to the Buddhist system. The form in which Gautama Buddha entered the womb of Queen Maya to be born upon earth for the last time to "teach the Law and give the millions peace" was that of a white elephant. The Saddan, or celestial elephant, was an avatar of his many existences previously. The Saddan is gifted with special endowments, and is one of the seven precious things the possession of which marks the Sekyawadé, the Mahā Chakra Vartti Raja, "the great wheel-turning king," the holy and universal sovereign—a ruler who appears in once a cycle, at the time when the waxing and waning term of human life has reached its maximum of an athinkaya (a huge period represented by a unit and 164 cyphers) in duration. Thus the possession of an undoubted white elephant stands as a sign and symbol of universal sovereignty; and every Burmese king longed for the capture of such a treasure during his reign as a token that his legitimate royalty is recognised by the unseen powers. The great river of Burma, the Irrawaddy, is named from Airawata, the elephant of Indra, a sufficient assertion of the proper dwelling-place of all his successors. Hence the reverence of the Hindoos for the animal, and their not infrequent pilgrimages to Mandalay to see the royal creature and have a dursun, or interview of worship, with him.

All the elephants in the country, whether wild or tame, belonged to the king: whoever captured one had to give him up to the king, and he granted permission to the princes and to a few of the higher dignitaries to use them. The

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lucky discoverer of a white elephant was made a mingyi, and was exempted from taxes and burdens of every kind for the rest of his life. Red and spotted elephants were also held in great esteem.

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White crows, rats, mice, and hares are common and easily distinguished; but it is different with a white elephant. He is not to be considered as snow-white: very far from it. All the white elephants now existing in Siam and Burma are of a light mouse colour, somewhat of the same tint as the pale freckles to be found on the trunk of almost every ordinary elephant. This light grey is uniform all over, the spots on the trunk being white. The depth of the colour, however, varies greatly; and there are often blemishes in the shape of darker patches which would seem to ruin an otherwise eligible candidate's claims. It has been therefore found necessary to determine some infallible test points, which will demonstrate the right of the animal to his title. Determining white elephants is quite a science, and there is a very considerable literature on the subject. The Burmese skilled men fix upon two of these tests as superior to all others. One is that the elephant shall have five toe-nails on his hind feet instead of four. This is a good way of making certain, but occasionally there are indubitably black elephants which have the sacred number of toes. These [775] are white elephants debased by sin, labouring under the evil kan of previous existences, and therefore ineligible for the honours accorded to the real animal. The other test is considered perfectly decisive, no matter what the precise tint of the skin may be. It is this: if you pour water upon a "white" elephant he turns red, while a black elephant only becomes blacker than ever. This is the final test always resorted to in Mandalay. A swarthy specimen who had twenty toe-nails and turned red when he was washed would be forthwith installed in all the honours and emoluments of the Sinbyudaw, no matter what scoffers might say about his colour. Such a creature was the last Lord White Elephant in Mandalay. He would not have been recognised as an albino by any except those who are learned in the science and well versed in the voluminous and puzzling minutiæ of the question. To most people he seemed an impostor, for

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before he was admitted to see the king; and when he did see him the meeting was unpleasant. Next day the portly wundauk "died of apoplexy." 642

Sudden deaths were not at all uncommon. An official displeased him in some way, and Mindôn Min said emphatically, "I don't want to see that man any more." The poor wretch left the royal presence to be seized by lictors outside and killed more or less rapidly. A day or two afterwards his majesty would ask where so-and-so was. "Alas! sire," was the answer, "he died of chagrin shortly after the lord of the earth and ocean cast eyes of displeasure on him." Then the Convener of the Fifth Great Synod quoted a pious saw from the Lawkanidi, and turned his mind to other matters. He made it a special boast that never in all his reign had he ordered an execution. Yet many people died of "official colic" during the time he was on the throne, and Colonel Sladen arrived sixty seconds too late with a respite for one of the pious monarch's own sons. The sound of the hoofs of the English Resident's horse as he galloped past the astrologers' monastery to the execution ground only quickened the headsman's sword. The hapless Padein Mintha should have perished with the setting sun. There were still long shadows slanting up from the trees by the royal foundry when the colonel reined in and upbraided the presiding Minister for his bloodthirsty haste. The Lingayāma Sadaw, when he heard the story, said the ayebaing should have been a Buddhist and might probably become a yahanda in no very distant existence.

Yet King Mindôn was undoubtedly a kindly man. The stories which occasionally appeared about him in the English papers of twenty years or so back were not true. He never got a pea-rifle and "potted" his subjects from the palace verandahs when he was bored. They libelled him who said he did. He was a good Buddhist, and never took life of man or animal. King Thibaw was, perhaps, not quite so strict in his notions. When he first came to the throne he unearthed the spear with which his grandfather Tharrawaddy used occasionally to spit his counsellors. The young king's aim was not quite so good, or his purposes not quite so deadly. He prodded a few heralds and interpreters, and 643

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flung the spear at one or two of his father's trusted advisers; but it is not recorded that he ever actually killed anybody with his own hands. In fact, he got on fairly well with his ministers, having drilled the seniors into complete submission to his wishes, and appointed among the younger members those who were most of his own way of thinking. The most characteristic man in the Cabinet was the Hlethin Atwinwun, better known as the Hpaungwun. He was only of the second official grade, but none of the four wunmingyis had any real power. They dated from the last reign, and were practically over-ridden by the younger party. The king did, it is true, marry the daughter of the Kampat Mingyi, but that stolid old gentleman was always remarkable for his disinclination to do anything at all, and was not at all likely to exert himself unduly for the sake of precarious pre-eminence. Therefore the ex-Mayor of Mandalay, in conjunction with the Yanaung prince, a favourite of the Queen Supayalat's, and one or two others of the young Burman party, became the most representative ministers.

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The Atwinwun wore the dragon tattooed on the nape of his neck. Fourteen years before he was a slave, and in position little better than a coolie. His rise from this rank might have been a credit to him if it had been effected by his own powers. But he rose by a mere accident, and carried all the tendencies of his original position with him. In 1866, when two of King Thibaw's half-brothers, the Myingun and Myingundaing princes, rose in rebellion against their father, the late king, the Hpaungwun — he seems more familiar under his old title—was one of the guards in the palace. After the rebels had killed their uncle, "the War Prince," they made for the Summer Palace, where the king was at the time along with Colonel Sladen, the British Resident. The Summer Palace is a small building outside the stockade of the actual nandaw, and it was foreseen that his majesty would make immediately for the eastern gate, which is quite close at hand. A man was therefore stationed there with orders to kill King Mindôn whenever he made his appearance. All happened as had been surmised with one slight exception. Royal blood in Mandalay never went outside the palace on its own legs, and when his majesty

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immediate superior a certain fixed sum, determined without regard to favourable seasons, health of the population, or anything of that kind, and as each man was judge over the people in his charge, it may naturally be supposed that the general population did not lead a very happy life. Complaints might be made against extortion and illegal decisions, but the heads of tracts, if they had the money, could always stifle inquiry. 692 647

Some of the laws deduced from Manu's eighteen original enactments strike one as being rather singular. For example, if two men quarrel and fight and one of them is killed, there is no penalty; but if a third party interferes and kills or injures one of the original combatants, he must pay the ordinary fine for murder, or causing hurt. Should he himself be killed, the other two are subject to no penalty. When a man is guilty of adultery with another man's wife, if it be proved to be the first time, he must pay the fine for adultery, usually the price of the woman, assessed according to the judge's opinion; if it is her second offence, he only pays half the fine; but if she has been guilty for a third time, he pays no penalty at all. 671 673

If one man curses another and some evil happens, he must pay twice the price of the damage incurred; thus, if the man dies he must pay twice the value of a man; two cows if a cow dies, and so on.

When the king dies there is a general pardon of all offences, and a remission of fines, except in the case of debt. There are also seven things which cannot be reclaimed after the death of the king under whom they were promised or given. These are:—1. Deposits. 2. Pledges. 3. Money paid wrongly by the parties in a law-suit. 4. Things carried off by violence, or seized upon without sufficient title. 5. Promises. 6. Things secretly stolen. 7. Things that have been voluntarily given up by one man and taken possession of by another. 673 643

The decisions of Mahawthata, Princess Thudhammasari, and others are of little value from a strictly legal point of view. They are chiefly of a religious character. The princess begins by saying that her cases are to be considered as guides to nobles and judges as to the line they 671 773

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out to farmers, who were required not only to pay him his rent, but as a rule had also to supply the revenue demanded from the owner by the State. There was therefore no very enthusiastic bidding for his lands, but he always got a tenant somehow or other. It would have been a bad day for the village if no one came forward. Every man in the place would have been called upon to work for a certain period on the thugyi's paddy-fields. These have now been merged in the State lands.

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The third class of arable estates consisted of the lands known as bhanda, treasury, or royal fields. These were the private property of the king, and were cultivated ordinarily by the outcast lamaing, crown predial slaves. Sometimes, however, the whole of the farmers in the neighbourhood were summoned by roster to do their one, or three, or five days' work, for which they received no payment; on the contrary, if they tried to escape they were tied up and received a dozen or two according to the humanity of the district governor. Near the capital, where oppression never was so gross as in the outlying provinces, the cultivators of the Lèdawgyi were frequently freed from all taxation but the payment of the family tax, and some even, as in the neighbourhood of Aungbinle, whose revenues were assigned by the king to the great Arakan pagoda, were let off even the ngwedaw. But these *corvées* were very irksome, for the payment of a little money would always ensure the omission of a name from the taikthugyi's list, and the work fell all the harder on the luckless remainder. The whole of the produce of the bhanda lands belonged of course to the king, unless where he had otherwise assigned it. What with revenue paid in kind and the crops of the Lèdawgyi, the king had granaries as vast as those which Joseph built for the king of Egypt. Mindôn Min drew from them to pay his soldiery, varying the monotony from time to time with pieces of rotten Manchester grey shirting. Offerings to the Sacred Order, of whom he daily fed several thousands, also served to keep the storehouses within reasonable bounds. Thibaw Min turned his grain into money with all possible expedition, and the money vanished with equal rapidity. The Lèdaw of course became State land on the Annexation.

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A state envelope was a very curious affair. It was nothing else but two large elephant's tusks. Half-way up they were hollow, and on the mouth there was a heavy gold cover. The tusks were mounted in different parts with gold of no mean thickness. The letter of the lord of the Golden Throne was deposited inside, and borne to its destination with the flourish of trumpets and the braying of drums. The majesty of the Burmese king would have suffered if he had forwarded a communication to the Viceroy in a cover which cost anything under a couple of hundred pounds sterling. In similar fashion the reports of subordinate officials were written with steatite pencils on coarse black paper, and this was rolled up and put in a hollow joint of bamboo. The whole was then enveloped in cloth and sealed with a peacock seal. Communications of this kind were sometimes received by English officials on the British Burma frontier.

The following are a few proverbs:—

If you want to go fast, go the old road.

Wisdom guards life; no one can escape bad luck. The man gifted with wisdom is never left in peace.

Every bird is handsome compared with the vulture.

A mountain is climbed by degrees; property acquired by degrees; wisdom learnt by degrees.

Have regard for a whole family of rats, instead of for one cat.

The more you know, the more luck you have.

A short boat is hard to steer; a dwarf is quick in the temper.

If a cock ruffles up his feathers, it is easy to pluck him. If a man gets angry he is done for.

Constant cutting dulls the knife; constant talking dulls the wits.

A pot half full of water is hard to carry (on the head, of course; because the water sways from side to side); the less a man knows, the harder he is to argue with.

A cow that can give no milk will kick. An ignorant man is to be feared for his ignorance.

If there is much paddy (unhusked rice) in the bowl, it is hard to eat. If there is much talking it is hard to understand.

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be in danger of losing all, as not sufficiently appreciating the dignities conferred upon him.

As soon as Mindôn Min died, or at least as soon as it was officially made known that he was dead (for there are great doubts as to whether he died on the 12th September or on the 1st October 1878, or on some date between these two), as soon as the ministerial announcement came out on the latter date, the bo-ho, the great drum and gong suspended in a tower by the eastern gate, were stopped. The new king's drum and gong were not sounded till nine o'clock in the evening of the funeral, after which they were struck in the ordinary way every three hours. Bands of soldiers and police with gongs patrolled the streets all night long to see that everything was quiet. The princes had been seized and cast into prison some time before, but there was a chance that their adherents might raise disturbances on their behalf, and this precaution was kept up for some time. Meanwhile a pagoda, to serve as a mausoleum, was being run up with the greatest expedition close to the Mint, on the eastern side of the palace, in the outer enclosure, and this was finished in four or five days. The king had specially requested that his body should not be burnt according to ordinary royal custom, and the Sinbyumè, the senior queen and chief mourner, had resolved that this wish should be respected.

The corpse was laid out in state, and on the 3rd October the greater number of the foreigners and the officials of inferior rank were admitted to look upon it. This ceremony was conducted in the Hman-nandaw, the "Glass Palace," a room in which Thibaw Min has received most Europeans since. The body lay in the fore part of the chamber on a gilt couch, or bedstead, studded with bits of glass, and was robed from head to foot in white, a piece of white satin covering the face. The royal number of white umbrellas was canopied overhead, and at the top part of the couch were arranged the regalia in a row. On this occasion the Sinbyumè and the Anauk Nammadaw, the favourite queen of the West Palace, sat by the couch and slowly waved gorgeous peacock fans. At other times the sonless queens took it in turn to watch by the body, two at a time.

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Round about were grouped all the other queens and princesses, weeping piteously. The deceased king's brother, the ex-Pagān Min, the newly elected Thibaw Min, and all the high officials, were behind at the farther end of the room. Suspended over the corpse was a small flat piece of gold shaped like a heart, called thényun, and in this the leip-bya, the butterfly spirit of the departed king, was supposed to dwell till such time as he should be buried. The public lying in state only lasted a few hours, but the body remained there unaltered till the time of the funeral. It was not certainly known whether any attempt at embalming was made, but the body was very much shrunk, and contrasted greatly with the genial presence of his majesty when last he was seen alive.

The funeral took place on the 7th, at noon. It was the first that took place that day, and no other was allowed until the royal obsequies were entirely over. The city gates were shut and strongly guarded to prevent any such going forth if any one had been bold or ignorant enough to attempt it. From the gates of the interior palace stockade to the tomb, the whole route of the procession was laid with scarlet cloth, and round the mausoleum was a wide bamboo fence covered with long cloth, inside of which were some slight sheds, run up for the accommodation of the queens and the chief ministers. It is worthy of notice also that, in a favourable position to view all that passed, was erected a similar mandut for the accommodation of the late Mr. Shaw, then British Resident in Mandalay, his assistants, and the Residency Chaplain, the late Rev. J. A. Colbeck. The Resident and Assistant Resident were admitted in full uniform, wearing their shoes and swords, and it was thought that at length a solution of the great shoe-question had been arrived at, for though in the outer court this dignity had always been allowed them, the fact that later on they saw the king not very far off roused hopes of an audience at a remote date with similar appendages. But alas, the hopes were vain.

Punctually at twelve the procession left the palace gates. At the head of the cortège came the late king's wan, a huge palanquin borne on men's shoulders. Close upon it came

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six elephants, in royal purple and gold housings, and after them two richly caparisoned ponies. Following these were three of the mingyis and a wundauk, the fourth chief minister, the Laungshwe being too old and feeble to appear. Then came the band, called byaing-daung, on such occasions, playing an ancient royal *miserere*, and after it a great crowd of the minor officials, wearing baungs, white official hats. Behind these came a number of men and women bearing the regalia and the utensils of the royal dead, the crown, the heavy court dress, the gold betel box, the spittoon, the hentha, and the rest. Then came an empty coffin, overlaid with scarlet velvet and plates of gold, and immediately behind it the body in a ta-nyin, or hammock of white velvet, attached to a bamboo swathed in red velvet, across which was thrown a white velvet covering spangled with gold. To the ta-nyin were attached two long cloths, sanda-ya-mya, held by a multitude of queens, princesses, and exceedingly young princes (all the older ones being in jail). Above were the eight white umbrellas, and over the Sinbyumè, the chief mourner, were held three of the same royal colour. Her three daughters, one of whom, the Supayalat, became Thibaw Min's queen, were shaded by bright yellow htis, a colour which ranks even over gold. Thus they proceeded to the bamboo enclosure. Then it was announced that the new king, Thibaw Min, was coming, having just received the beit-theit, been anointed by the Brahmin Pônnas. He appeared shortly, seated in a lofty wan, at each of the four corners of which crouched a maiden with bowed head and clasped hands, the whole being carried on the shoulders of forty men. Preceding him was his bodyguard of twelve pages all dressed alike and armed with double-barrelled breechloaders in red serge cases. The Shwe nan-yin payā, the new possessor of the golden throne, remained for half an hour, looking very ill at ease, and little inclined to inspect the splendid spectacle before him. Then he gave the order for the last rites, and in accordance with custom returned immediately to the palace. The actual ceremony of burial was now concluded with as little ceremony as previously there had been superabundance of it, and in a very short time the yahans, of whom there had been a great multitude

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present, were superintending the carrying off of the 108 (representing the number of divisions in the foot of the Lord Buddha, and the beads on the rosary) heaps of alms piled up in great mountains in a long shed to the east of the mausoleum. This was the last of the pious king, Maung Lun, Mindôn Min, the Convener of the Fifth Great Synod.

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The following is the substance of a funeral dirge sung in Mandalay by a Rangoon man whose wife had died in the royal city:—

Gone, gone art thou, sweet wife; gone far away,
Fair still and charmful, stretched on thy cold bier,
As erst thou wert upon that joyous day
When first I wed thee; gladsome brought thee here,
And joyed to think that thou wert mine. Ah me!
The butterfly's silk wings are shred; no more,
Ne'er more to rest upon thy head, Mah Meit—
Sweet name for wife: "affectionate." Deplore
Her death ye nats that rule forests and streams,
The hills and vales, and greater ye who guard
The sacred law, the holy shrines, the beams
Of silent moon, and sunlight baking hard
The hot-scorched earth, not scorched more and seared
Than is the parchment of my tortured heart.
Nay, bear with me, good neighbours. Be not feared.
I am not mad. The nat-so hath no part
Of me or mine. The spaewife sure hath said it.

Ay, thou wert mine when last I trod the earth,
Ere yet, all sinful, I was born as man,
And yet again, in yet another birth,
I'll claim thee; when mayhap a happier kan,
A fairer sum of merit, hardly won,
Will lead us on, linked-armed, to linked death,
That so progressing, joyful we may run
Through all life's changes, and with single breath,
Through heavens and zān and rupa, we may bound
To Ne'ban, blissful home of rest. So mote it be.

Alas, thou wert from Hanthawaddy's plains,
And were we there, where thou so fain hadst stayed,
A stately pomp had honoured thy remains,
In silk and velvet wound, with gilded shade
Of wide umbrella's pride, and regal spire
Had towered to the skies, all seemly draped
With flowing cloths and princesses' attire,
Such as now thou dost wear, from earth escaped

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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647 The breadth of view, the knowledge of other
643 countries, of other thoughts, that comes to those who have wealth and leisure, were wanting to these ministers of the king. Natural capacity many of them had, but that is not of much value until it is cultivated. You cannot learn in the narrow precincts of a village the knowledge necessary to the management of great affairs; and therefore in affairs of state this want of any noble or leisured class was a very serious loss to the government of Burma. It had great and countervailing advantages, of which I will speak when I come to local government, but that it was a heavy loss as far as the central government goes no one can doubt. There was none of that check upon the power of the king which a powerful nobility will give; there was no trained talent at his disposal. The king remained absolutely supreme, with no one near his throne, and the ministers were mere puppets, here to-day and gone to-morrow. They lived by the breath of the king and court, and when they lost favour there was none to help them. They had no faction behind them to uphold them against the king. It can easily be understood how disastrous all this was to any form of good government. All these ministers and governors were corrupt; there was corruption to the core.

647 When it is understood that hardly any official was
652 paid, and that those who were paid were insufficiently paid, and had unlimited power, there will be no difficulty in seeing the reason. In circumstances like this all people would be corrupt. The only securities against bribery and abuse of power are adequate pay, restricted authority, and great publicity. None

16;Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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Yet this is the class from whom we most of us 586
obtain our knowledge of Burmese life, whom we see 177
most of, whose opinions we accept as reflecting the 647
truth of Burmese thought. No wonder we are so often astray.

Amongst these, the taking of second, and even 586
third, wives is not at all uncommon, and naturally 587
divorce often follows. Among the great mass of the people it is very uncommon. I cannot give any figures. There are no records kept of marriage or of divorce. What the proportion is it is impossible to even guess. I have heard all sorts of estimates, none founded on more than imagination. I have even tried to find out in small villages what the number of divorces were in a year, and tried to estimate from this the percentage. I made it from 2 to 5 per cent. of the marriages. But I cannot offer these figures as correct for any large area. Probably they vary from place to place and from year to year. In the old time the queen was very strict upon the [177] point. As she would allow no other wife to her [643] king, so she would allow no taking of other wives, no abuse of divorce among her subjects. Whatever her influence may have been in other ways, here it was all for good. But the queen has gone, and there is no one left at all. No one but the hangers-on of whom I have spoken, examples not to be followed, but to be shunned.

But of this there is no manner of doubt, that this 581
freedom of marriage and divorce leads to no license. 586
There is no confusion between marriage or non-marriage, and even yet public opinion is a very great check upon divorce. It is not considered right to

Zl: Htin Aung E-6 (ca. 1960) 1967 AP1 Burma
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in spite of its greatness in other directions, from being a great period of Burmese literature. The love of beauty, which is the basis of all literature, had adequate satisfaction in the developed art of architecture. The poets of Pagan wrote their poems in bricks, instead of words, and their pagodas are still famous. When one stands on the shore of the Irrawaddy and looks towards the ruins of Pagan, one is reminded of the delicate beauty of an incomplete poem.[1]

Pagan fell in 1287 as the result of the Tartar onslaught during the time of Kubla Khan, the Scourge of God, and the country broke up into several little States, each attempting to control the others. For the next fifty years, political struggles went on in the capitals, but they failed to disturb the peace of smaller towns and villages. Many who had grown tired of the strife around the thrones flocked to the quiet of the village monasteries in order to find peace. Religion went on undiminished, but the learning connected with it decayed, for the royal patronage was lacking. Architecture also decayed because there was no royal support and because the country had become poor. Men turned to literature for its own sake, and during this period Burmese prose and poetry assumed definite forms with fully developed diction, rhythm, rhyme and style.[2]

[1] Many temples and pagodas of the Pagan period are in an excellent state of preservation and are still in use as places of worship. Scott O'Conner's *Mandalay and Other Cities* contains fine illustrations of the more famous of these religious buildings.

The achievement of the Pagan kings, the 'Temple Builders', is summed up by Harvey thus: 'The legacy of their fleeting sway has enriched posterity for ever. It was they who made the sun-scorched wilderness, the solitary plain of Myingyan, to blossom forth into the architectural magnificence of Pagan. If they produced no nation-builder like Simon de Montfort, no lawgiver like Edward I, they unified Burma for more than two centuries, and that in itself was an achievement. But their role was aesthetic and religious rather than political. To them the world owes in great measure the preservation of Theravada Buddhism, one of the purest faiths mankind has ever known. Brahminism had strangled it in the land of its birth; in Ceylon its existence was threatened again and again; east of Burma it was not yet free from priestly corruptions; but the kings of Burma never wavered, and at Pagan the stricken faith found a city of refuge. Vainglorious tyrants built themselves lasting sepulchres, but none of these men has a tomb. . . . These men's magnificence went to glorify their religion, not to deck the tent wherein they camped during this transitory life.'—*History of Burma*, p. 70.

[2] Ibid., p. 103. Since that time, prose and poetry show continuous development. The full history of Burmese literature still remains unwritten. However, the *Anthology of Burmese Literature*, a Government publication,

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

536* These problems, which interest us now, interested still more t
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audience of U Kyin U's day, for then the throne was disgraced, half Burma was lost, and men were depressed and tired of life; many shunned the court and lived in retirement and in peace, and some turned to the comforts of religion and the monastery. And there was the eternal question of succession, for Alaungpaya's dynasty—the last in Burma—did not settle the succession by any fixed rule; sometimes brother succeeded brother, at other times son or grandson; promises and appointments with regard to the succession were made only to be broken later. Men did not know which prince to follow; Bagyidaw, the reigning king, was a good man, a kind man, but a weak man also, under the thumb of a wicked and scheming queen; a kindly man, a good husband, he was responsible for the collapse of organization at the court and the resulting British victory; it would not do to choose a weak prince like that king and like Zayathein; but it was not very safe to choose a strong prince, for he might be foolish like Kaywut and be overcome by the wisdom and cunning of the British. Men were troubled in mind and weary of politics, and that feeling of tiredness with the world is found in U Kyin U. In fact the political conditions of the times, especially the war with the British, must have contributed much to the ideas expressed in the plays; ideas that must have been appreciated by the people who had just realized, with the defeat of their forces and the death of their General Bandoola—a product of the heroic age of triumph—in the recent war, the transitory nature of human glory, the bitterness of defeat, and the sufferings of war. The sympathetic portrayal of Kaywut was due mainly to the genius of the dramatist, but the recent defeat must have contributed something towards it, for both U Kyin U and his audience could see in Kaywut their own court, foolish but none the less pathetic through defeat. They could sympathize with that character as Milton did with Satan. The ability to appreciate the point of view of the other side, the ability to see the good points in the villain, are also due in some measure to the same war, for the Burmese found the British to be valiant foes, who treated the captured wounded with loving care—a practice unknown before in the East—and found them to be conquerors who were kind to the people of the annexed provinces. Therefore the plays of U Kyin U are the product of his times.

536* U Kyin U, with his spirits and magic and gods and heroic deeds, is doubtless a romantic. His scenes, where some of the characters on the stage are supposed not to see and hear the others, though all are

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 A21 Burma
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troubled in mind, because he has only a daughter to succeed him. While his daughter, the Shan princess, plays and sings and dances in her garden, the merchants with the brother pass by. The brother and the princess fall in love with each other and plight their troth in song and dance. The chieftain arrives on the scene, but fortunately for all concerned, he approves of the young man and proclaims him heir.

Meanwhile the sister in Thaton is having her adventures. A god, who had been brother to her in a previous existence, gives her an ear-ring as a token of affection. She puts it away for wearing on special occasions. The king passes by her window, falls in love, and makes her queen. That night, as the new queen awaits her husband, she sings happy songs to herself, then puts on the ear-ring, and falls asleep. She now looks like an ogress for, unknown to the well-meaning god, the ear-ring causes its wearer to have the appearance of an ogress. The king, on entering, thinks her to be an ogress who has assumed human form to bring disaster to his kingdom. So he orders her execution and commands that her foster-father himself must execute her, as he suspects the nobleman of having known all the time that his adopted daughter is an evil being. So at dawn, the girl is put into a velvet bag,[1] and the doting father is ordered by soldiers to beat her to death. He refuses, in spite of tortures, until the girl begs him to dispatch her quickly and end her agony. She dies, singing pathetic songs, while the father and even the soldiers cry. In compliance with her request before her death, the dead body is sent floating down the river on a raft. The father then engages a bricklayer to build a pagoda on the spot where she was executed. The bricklayer is a cynical old fellow, who thinks some unnecessary fuss is being made of a dead girl. He is a comic character.

The god of the forest stops the raft and lays the dead queen on the river bank. Her ghost appears before the brother, now chief of the Shan state in succession to his father-in-law. He at once leaves for Thaton attended by a minister. The god of the forest, unknown to the brother, causes him to find the body of his sister. He is grief-stricken, and guessing from the velvet bag what had happened, swears revenge on the king of Thaton. He

[1] According to established custom, Burmese royalty were put into velvet bags before execution. Also, as no blood of royal persons should be shed on the scaffold, the usual method of their execution was by drowning, burning or beating.

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21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
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536 only wife.[1] Yet Saw-may cries in the last scene, and closes the play on a note of pathos. The same scene appears also to be an attempt at sensational effect in showing the bedchamber of the two lovers on their nuptial night, but perhaps the fault is not more heinous and not less excusable than the bedroom and underclothes scenes of some modern plays and films in Europe and America. In spite of its faults, the scene must appeal to many because of the tender pathos and beautiful poetry it contains. In any case it delighted the audience of the day, and it seems even likely that the dramatist put in the scene against his own artistic sense to please the audience and the actors who admired so much the pathetic endings of *The History of Thaton* and the 'Baboon Play'.

The immense popularity of the play tempted the dramatist to write a second part to it.

As Saw-may is soon going to give birth to an heir, the rival queen in jealousy plots with the court astrologer to bring about her downfall. A son is soon born, and the astrologer, summoned by the king to foretell the destiny of the little prince, pronounces him to be a wizard and Saw-may a witch, although he realizes that the child is destined to be a great emperor. King Saw-phay, believing the astrologer, exiles both the mother and the son, and she leaves, singing sorrowful songs of farewell. Wandering into the forest, she meets her old friend the god, who sprinkles some water on the child, making him grow up at once into a youth of sixteen years. As he is a man born to be a great king, flames issue from his mouth and arms. He wants to know who his father is, but the mother and the god evade his question. He is seized by a desire to worship the banyan tree under which the Buddha attained Buddhahood, but as he cannot go to India, he prays that a replica of the tree should grow before him, and at once the desired replica appears. Overjoyed, the young prince again successfully prays for a wall of fire to appear round the replica, so that no one can go near it except himself. In the meantime the god has gone to the king and told him the truth regarding his son, scolding him for his cruel treatment of the senior queen. As the king doubts his words, the god asks him to go and see

[1] It is neither a crime nor a sin to marry two wives, but in the case of commoners, society frowns on it. Her husband's taking even a mistress is ground for divorce for a wife. But Burmese kings, mainly for state reasons, had more than one wife. This is the only Burmese play where the hero ends up by marrying two wives.

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21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
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of course there were limits to the latitude allowed to him. The neglect of these conventions was supposed to result in disaster to the troupe and the death through diarrhoea of the actor who took the part or cracked the joke, and it would certainly result in the whole troupe being beaten by the audience and then put in prison by the officials. On the whole, the charge of irreligiousness attributed to the actors was not justified, and throughout the years, they had never been known even to attempt to evade the conventions. There were also conventions connected with social decorum. Kissing was not allowed on the stage. Although no penalty, supposed or real, was attached to it, this convention has never been broken. The actors could wear reproductions of all the regalia of a king, except the golden shoes, which only the king himself and princes in the line of succession could wear. The breaking of this rule was supposed to result in the death by diarrhoea of the actor who wore the shoes, but it was not punishable as a crime if they were actually worn on the stage, and it is known to have been broken sometimes. All the conventions, including those connected with spirit-dancing, still exist at the present day.

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During the decadent period the platform stage, the elaborate scenery and curtains were introduced from French and English sources, for French touring companies often performed before the court towards the close of Mindon's reign (1853–78), and from about 1870 English touring companies of actors often visited Rangoon. With the performances of these companies of European actors, the general public had no contact. At the court the king and a few courtiers, out of respect for the French embassy, witnessed presentations of French operettas, but as they did not understand French and the actors could speak no Burmese, the court found the performances boring at times. At Rangoon the English actors presented musical comedies, or more truly, musical shows, to an audience composed entirely of English residents. It must be stated that the touring actors did in no way introduce specimens of the French or English dramas, for what they presented were third-rate musical shows. But they did introduce some examples of western stage-craft, and the Burmese professional actors, ever on the alert for borrowings, copied wholesale the platform stage, the curtain, and the elaborate stage scenery, with the result that, during the decadent period, the Burmese stage came to be a copy of the European stage. At Rangoon a permanent theatre was even built, a thing unknown to

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25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
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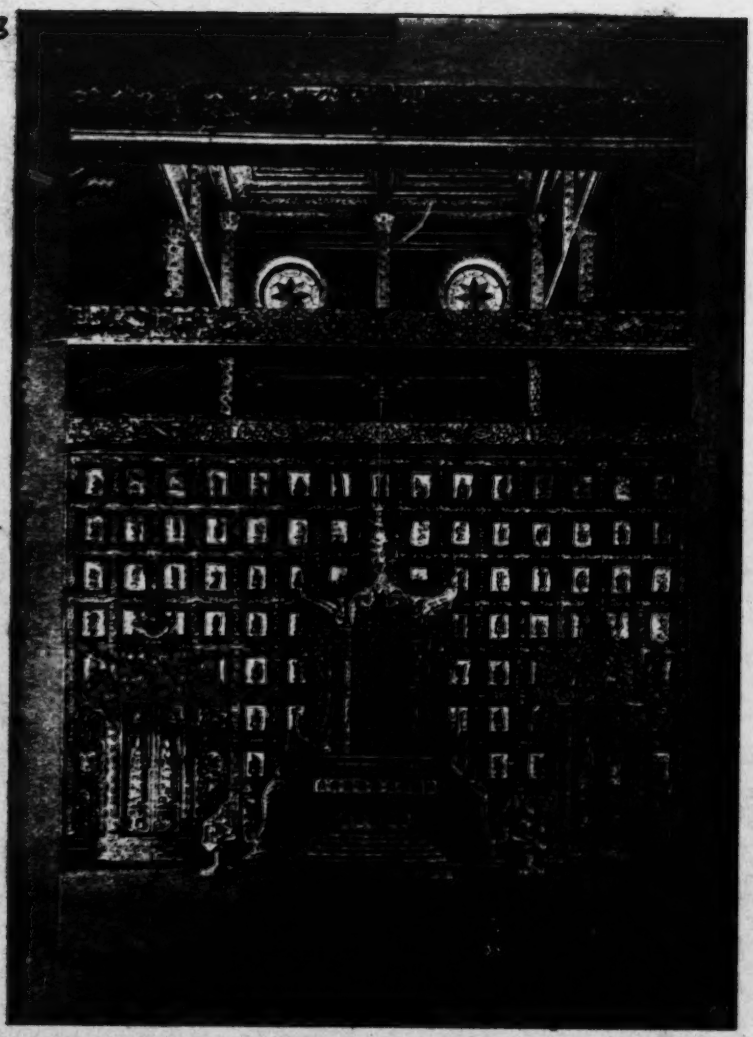

1. ROYAL THRONE. [Frontispiece.

[facing Title Page]

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90. PAYA SUN-KAN.

(*Payá sun-kan*), or privately prepared, is conveyed. The day is devoted to contemplation, and the night is passed at the *zayát*. Those who keep the duty-day present offerings at the *zedi* and the adjoining *kyaung*. At either of these places a *yahán* is invited to rehearse the precepts, which the laity chant verse by verse after his lead (*thlla-kan*). Passages from other scriptures are added, with their interpretations. This is called *Tayá-haw*—the preaching of the Law. The great Mun King, Yazadiyit of Pegu, in the year 1400 A.D., is reported to have been so impressed by the preaching of a *yahán* that he abandoned a campaign on which he had embarked. More than once in Burman history the peaceful contest of building rival temples has been substituted for battle by opposing armies.

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The Buddha has passed out of existence. While existent, all that the Buddha could accomplish for any being was the human service of showing him the way to work out deliverance by individual effort. Self-reliance is the cardinal principle. There is none to hear prayer. The true significance of the popular worship is not apprehended unless this be borne in mind. No virtue can surpass that of the Inestimable Master (*Myasswa Payá*) who fulfilled the Law and bequeathed it to men. To cultivate the memory of his transcendent merit is itself meritorious in the first degree. Such is the personal side of the cult, to which the effigies of the founder appeal. Before the images of the Buddha are performed the gestures of homage, and are placed offerings symbolical of veneration — tapers lighted at the shrine, flowers

91. YAHAN RECITING THE PRECEPTS (TAYA-HAW).

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[435]
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217. PLASTERER'S SCAFFOLD ON ZEDI.

(*Kathé*) excel in this work and form colonies for the industry. Attempts have been made in Europe to imitate the scroll-patterns on the Jacquard loom, as well as to print them. But the imitations fall too far short of the original, which is nearly the same front and back. The best *lun-tayâ* silks cost ten to fifteen rupees the square foot, which makes two hundred to three hundred rupees for the *pasô*. Only an inch or two a day can be woven. Italian methods of carding, dyeing, and finishing silk, were introduced by the late King, Mindôn Min, and have helped to develop an important industry in Mandalay. Stripe and tartan patterns are woven in this way, chiefly from China silk. Fine texture and delicate tints are aimed at, rather than rich colour and design. The *pasô* of

[435] twenty cubits, one cubit wide, costs ten to twenty rupees.

293 The Burman umbrella (*tî*) is on the Chinese model—a bamboo frame with

[171] paper cover. The Chinese umbrella has a thin paper cover, the Burman has bast-paper, which outlasts several of the other. But the Chinese umbrellas are cheaper, better waterproofed, and sun-proof. The Burman *tî* is waterproofed by occasional oiling with crude petroleum. A waterproof size made from the fruit of the *tê* is used for fixing the paper to the ribs and the cotton twines that connect them. The red, the

[186] gilt and the white umbrellas are emblems of state. The

[554] first two denote official rank, according to the number assigned. Such umbrellas

[532] have stems of turned wood, six to eight feet long, to allow of the *tî* being borne over the officer on horseback or in his chariot, by attendants on foot (No. 375). The

218. SCULPTURING MARBLE IMAGES.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
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382. ROYAL INSIGNIA.

supervision, are combined into a district under a European magistrate, the Deputy Commissioner, who has a European officer for district superintendent of police, commanding an average force of four hundred native constables. At the district headquarters are a police-depôt, treasury, jail and hospital, besides courthouses and offices. The district officer hears appeals from the *myoôks*, and tries all offences except the gravest and heavy civil suits. This organisation is the backbone of the civil government, the 'Commission.' There are thirty-six such districts, and four hundred native magistrates, on salaries of one hundred to eight hundred rupees a month, besides one hundred and twenty-five native honorary magistrates. The success of this economical administration, organised by Sir Arthur Phayre, in ensuring the safety of life and property and the fulfilment of contracts has given a new value to enterprise and thrift. The British garrison of Burma in 1900 consisted of three thousand European and seven thousand five hundred Indian regular troops.

To return to native Burma—In the centre of the capital, and by euphemism of creation, rises the *pyatthat* which canopies the principal throne in the great hall of audience, where envoys and tributary princes used to be received. Here also the princes of his own blood and the high officers of state paid court to the king on *gadáw-ne*, days when they craved pardon of the king for their shortcomings. The throne (No. 1) is ascended by a stair at the back, leading from the council-room of the king's cabinet of palace ministers, who were the medium of communication with the *Hlutdaw*. On such occa-

383. ANCIENT CAPITAL, SAGAING.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
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644 On such occa-
sions the king appeared in the royal insignia, which otherwise only figure as
[643] emblems of state. The insignia in the illustration are surmounted by a queen's
crown (*sîbôn*). The shape of a king's crown is seen in Nos. 151 and 425. There
[346] being but a single palace and thousands of *kyaungs* and temples, the palace
[344] appears to resemble a *kyaung*. But the converse is the fact; the *kyaung* it
is which in virtue of its religious character shares the
643 distinction of the palace. The most recent style adopted
by the Burman sovereigns was *Shin-Bayîn*—Lord of
Lords. A chief title was *Sinbyû Shin*—Lord of the
White Elephant. Every subject prostrated himself in
the presence of the king, with face averted from the
effulgence of the royal countenance. An official called
thandawzîn used to repeat aloud the words uttered by
[776] the king. The ensign betokening the presence of the
[532] king and of the chief queen (*mîbayâ*) is the *tîbyû* (p. 101).
[588] Two to eight were borne according to the solemnity of the
occasion. The chief queens were frequently half-sisters
of the kings. For all the royal acts, the lying, rising,
eating, speaking, there are euphemisms proper to the
occasion; one of the most current of these is *shwepawddaw*
—the golden foot. At his demise the sovereign is said
to migrate to the abode of *nats* or delectable land; the
staff of his *tîbyû* was broken. The paraphernalia of the
king's service were elaborate; but in his attitude to
the *yahán* he comported himself as an ordinary man.
The Royal White Elephant was maintained in great
[231] pomp; it ate and drank out of golden vessels and had
a retinue for its service. An elephant really white—
probably an albino—was captured in 1805, but was
pampered so that it died. A second was captured in
1806 which lived for fifty years. Other "white ele-
phants" kept for state have enjoyed their reputation
in virtue of possessing certain assumed criteria of the
"white" variety, as to the number of the toes, direction
of the tail-tuft and other distinctions, without regard to the colour of the skin.
644 Change of capital at the accession of a new sovereign was characteristic of
Burman empire, even when there was no change of dynasty or other political
633 convulsion. Events of the latter kind were no doubt the original reasons of
such changes. Next to Pagán, Sagáing, on the right bank of the Irawadi,
facing the flat and now desolate site of Ava, is the most impressive of the

584. CARVED FIGURE OF NAT.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
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418. SUNLAUNG AT THADINDYUT FESTIVAL.

and, in order to possess its proper value, should be completed in a day and a night. This is the only approach to a vigil. The texture is loose, and broad bands of tinsel are shot through to make up the woof faster.

Tawthalin is a minor festival, falling in Lent, and observed only in Pegu. The *Tawthalin* offerings are distinguished by being in thousands, one thousand little cakes, one thousand plantains, and so on (No. 282). The number one thousand is said to be symbolical [801] of the thousand *gâta* or stanzas of the *Wéthandayâ zat*, the legend of Gawdama Buddha's last incarnation but one, closely prefiguring the final incarnation.

782 The above are the Buddhist festivals, which are celebrated by the whole population together, with all the *éclat* they can give them. The only other 776 recurring observances of a religious character have nothing to do with Buddhism, and are rejected by all earnest and enlightened Buddhists. These observances, if not furtively conducted, as is often the case, are kept by individuals only, or by households at a time; they have sufficient in common with the *nat* worship of the hill tribes, to show what the original Burman and Taláing worship may have been. Unlike the Karén, who knows only of evil *nats*, the Burman has both good and evil spirits. The former belong 776 to the land of the *zat* ro-
772 mance, the latter are chiefly
775 the survival of the primitive paganism. In the Burman cosmogony, *nat-yua* is the delectable land to which, by a courtesy analogous to the German "*hoch-*" and "*höchst-*
● [643] *selig*," the kings are said to migrate at their demise.
[524] A higher order than *nat* is *thadyâ* and *thadyâ-min*, and above these the highest order of being, *byammâ*, the cloud-

419. FIRE-BALLOONS AT THADINDYUT.

29: Slater M-4 (no date) 1951 AP1 Burma
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What is of further importance for our present inquiry is the fact that the tradition thus established throughout Burma was the Hīnayāna tradition, not the Mahāyāna.[20] It will therefore be the more significant if we find in Burmese Buddhism a positive conception of Nirvana, for, in the past, scholars have frequently associated a negative conception with the Hīnayāna tradition, enlarging the distance between the two schools: Nirvana might spell paradise in China or Japan, it was argued, but for Southern Buddhists it was the Void.

175 779* 795 [775] 177

There were, it is true, outposts of the Mahāyāna faith in Burma, notably at Pagan, where Mahāyāna cults survived for perhaps two centuries after A-naw-ra-hta's conversion, tolerated by the now dominating Hīnayāna tradition which absorbed some elements of the sister faith.[20] There is also evidence, not only of Mahāyāna rivalry, but also of Brahmanical Hinduism (as at Pagan) in Southern Burma in the earlier centuries.[21]

A first glance at the map may occasion surprise that Mahāyāna influence on Burmese Buddhism was not more considerable, for China, where the Mahāyāna tradition thrived for several centuries, is just across the north east border and the Burmese themselves are a Mongolian race. A second glance, however, discovers the far distances between centres of influence. There is a sweeping borderland of mountain ranges and remote valleys, and, in the earlier centuries, the buffer state of Nanchao lay in between China and the Burmese kingdoms. The sea route from India was the easier route to Southern Burma and Indian traders and adventurers were the forerunners of Indian missionaries.

When all qualifications have been made, we must conclude that the formative tradition of Buddhism in Burma was the Hīnayāna, introduced from India and nourished from Ceylon. And from the eleventh century onwards, "the stronger vitality of the Southern school completely absorbed, assimilated and obliterated the Northern school."[22]

The royal encouragement given by A-naw-ra-hta was frequently echoed by later rulers. Burmese kings were styled 'great Captains of the Law,' and as late as the nineteenth century good King Mindon convened the 'Fifth Buddhist Council' at Mandalay, when the scriptures were engraved on over seven hundred tablets of marble.

643 779* 175

[20] The term, Hīnayāna, is sometimes regarded as disparaging. 'Southern' or 'Theravāda' Buddhism might be preferred in this connection, but it is probably less confusing to use the terms now familiar in the West.

[20] Ray, *Sanskrit Buddhism in Burma*, p. 93, and *Theravāda Buddhism in Burma*, pp. 150ff.

[21] Ray, *Theravāda Buddhism in Burma*, pp. 86, 87; cf. Taw Sein Kho, *Census Report* (Burma, 1901), p. 32.

[22] Taw Sein Kho, *ibid.*, p. 32.

178 Since those remote times, the Burmese customary law has
671 developed naturally, side by side with the growth and development of Burmese society. The Burmese have no great national code of laws gathered and authorized by a powerful king, no great charter forced from an unwilling king, no great statute passed by a national assembly fighting against tyranny, but nonetheless the Burmese customary law shows a conception of justice and a love of personal liberty in which every Burmese must take pride.

671 To the Burmese, before the partial introduction of the
643 English legal system, law meant civil law. To them, civil law was purely customary, and besides custom, there could be no other source of law. The idea of legislation by a parliament or a congress, or by executive order of the king was unfamiliar to the Burmese. In English common law, the king could do no
[685 wrong, and thus he was above the law. But with the Burmese,
694] the king himself was not exempt from the operation of the civil law, and the king was often the defendant in civil suits, usually for wrongful seizure of land. Admittedly the king was above his subjects, and he had the right to levy taxes in service or in kind, but he was also under a duty to give protection to the people. To protect the people and to preserve the peace, the king must prevent wrong-doing and punish wrong-doers, and it was for the king to proclaim which acts were wrongs from the point of view of public peace. Thus, at the beginning of each reign, the king proclaimed his list of crimes, and the punishments he would mete out to those who were found guilty of those crimes.

671 The list of crimes varied with each king, but the usual
681 crimes were offenses against the state, murder, robbery, theft, rape, and serious defamation. The usual penalties were whipping, confinement in irons, maiming, banishment, and death, with or without forfeiture to the king's treasury of the of-
[684] fender's possessions. In the eighteenth century, adultery was added to the list of crimes, with the punishment of whipping for both the woman and her paramour, and proclamation of their guilt by beat of drums and gongs. In the nineteenth

century, the punishment for abduction of women was enhanced from one of confinement in irons to that of death. Thus what the English lawyer would understand by the term "criminal law" was considered to be the personal concern of the king. Therefore, when the ruling king died, and a new king ascended the throne, all persons undergoing punishment for crimes committed under the previous king, automatically were freed. Criminal jurisdiction therefore was considered to be merely an administrative function of the crown, and it concerned the executive, and not the judicial, officers of the state. Modern European writers have ever emphasized the despotism of Burmese kings, but the Royal Edicts proclaimed at the beginning of each reign clearly showed that the Burmese king was not a blood-thirsty individual devoid of all mercy. In the Edicts, we find the king delegating the function of meting out criminal justice to three of his Chief Ministers, admonishing at the same time that they should temper justice with mercy. The king in the Edicts ordered that even in capital crimes, the punishment should be one of banishment, and the sentence of death was to be reserved for vicious criminals. Even when the sentence of death had been passed, the execution was to be postponed for at least ten days so as to enable the king to consider the case and alter the punishment to one of banishment if the facts justified such alteration.

But as in England, the king was considered to be the fountain of justice, for his was the supreme court of the land. The kingdom was divided into provinces, each under a viceroy. Each province was further divided into cities, each city under a governor. Each city or city area was subdivided into towns and each town or town area into villages, with a headman for each town and each village. The courts of the headmen of towns or villages dealt with suits of small value, and there was a right of appeal from those courts to the courts of the governors of cities. The courts of the governors exercised both original and appellate jurisdiction, and appeals from these courts lay to the court of the viceroy, which also exercised both

692 original and appellate jurisdiction. These officers were execu-
631 tive officers under the crown, but when they sat as judges in their respective courts, they were judges in the full sense of the term, for they were free of all executive control. Finally there
[643] was the Supreme Court. This final court of appeal consisted of the king as the president, the crown prince as the vice-president, the four chief ministers, and their four deputies. The king, however, attended only on rare occasions, and thus the crown prince usually presided over the court. The law that these courts administered and interpreted was the customary
694 law of the Burmese people. One special feature of the courts
[693] was their attempt to settle the case before actually trying it. Lawyers, who were attached to the courts as officers, although their fees were payable by the litigants, also endeavored to conciliate the contending parties. Often the parties decided to refer their suit to an arbitrator. There was no right of appeal from the decision of an arbitrator, on the ground that the arbitrator was chosen by the contending parties themselves. When a suit had been heard and decided, the successful party offered a dish of pickled tea to the other party, and if the latter accepted, the parties were deemed to have been reconciled, and there could be no appeal from the decision of the court. The refusal of the unsuccessful party to accept the offered dish of pickled tea served as his notice of appeal.

671 Burmese history, like the history of many countries, re-
[178] cords rebellions, invasions, and violent struggles for power,
177 but the development of Burmese customary law has been
175 singularly free from catastrophes and sudden changes. There has never been a revolution in the Burmese customary law. However, the law in the course of its long history experienced three great impacts with the outside world. The first was the impact of Hindu jurisprudence, second was the impact of Buddhism, and the third was the impact of English law as the result of the British conquest of the country towards the end of the nineteenth century.

Some of my colleagues of this conference have already

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the walls of the houses, and shutting out all view of these wooden structures. It had, however, to be kept in constant repair, and the house-reeve has to go round carefully to see that none of the whitewash had been rubbed off, nor any of the transverse bars sprung with the sun. Behind these the entire populace had to stay when the king, or any one of the queens, went out. Woe betide the wretch who was caught outside them when the procession had started. He might consider himself lucky if he escaped with only a belabouring from the fasces of the shrieking lictors. No one was supposed even to look through the little diamond-shaped holes. As a matter of fact they did; but by way of condoning for the offence, they rendered it more difficult by planting flowering shrubs between the bamboo houses and the lattice-work.

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The procession on the route out to the Lèya, the royal acre, to be ploughed, was magnificent. The king was clad in all his robes of state: the paso with the daungyôp, the peacock sacred to royalty; the long silk surcoat, or tunic, so thickly crusted with jewels that its colour could not be seen; the tharapu, the spire-like crown, also a mass of precious stones; the twenty-four strings of the Order of the Salwè across his breast; and over his forehead the gold plate, or frontlet. The great gates in front of the stairs from the Hall of Audience were opened for him. Except the King of the Golden Throne no one might pass through them; there was the low red postern at the side for meaner beings—a shrewd device to make every one bow his head to the palace, whether he liked it or not. His majesty mounted the white elephant, which none save he might ride—for is not the noble creature a king himself?

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The king mounted the Lord White Elephant at the palace of the latter, to the right of the Hall of Audience; but the princes and ministers, all of whom came to attend the great function in their robes of state, might not enter their howdahs till the stockade of the nandaw had been passed. Then they fell into line in order of precedence, the wuns and wundauks wearing their official mitres—tall red velvet hats, with the top curled back like a nautilus, and the base surrounded with a row of gilt spear-heads. The long

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crimson velvet cassocks edged with rich brocade were also worn, and every one paraded all the umbrellas, gold, or vermilion, or green, that he was entitled to.

Thus they pass through the official town into the suburbs. The road taken is that by the east gate, whence, in a line with the steps of the Hall of Audience, a broad way runs straight away to the blue Shan hills; or at least to where, in Mindôn's reign, the great Yankin-taung pagoda was being built, a few miles from where the hills rise, steep as out of a lake, from the flat rice lands. A death-like stillness prevails after the procession has passed the two timber guard-houses, between the tall columns of the eastern gate, surmounted by fantastic, triple-roofed teak pavilions, looking like Chinese joss-houses with their flamboyant carvings. The people are no doubt all there—we speak as those who know—crouching on their stomachs and peeping as best they can through yazamat and leaves of the bushes and legs of the soldiers that line the royal path all the way, striving their utmost to get a glimpse of the king and the splendour of his retinue; but they are not to be seen, and no one so much as sneezes. Thus the richly carved and gilt royal monastery is passed on the left; and immediately afterwards comparatively open ground is reached, stretching out on either side of the high, raised road. A little farther on, half a mile or so from the eastern gate, a halt is made at the selected portion of the lèdawgyi. Ploughs stand ready in a long row, extending away as far as one can see; for all the princes and ministers must plough as well as the king. The royal plough is thickly covered with gold-leaf; the part on which his majesty stands—for it must not be forgotten that the Burmese plough is something like a giant rake, and is not really a plough to English ideas at all—is gold, roughened with pearls and emeralds. The milk-white oxen that draw it rival the Lord White Elephant in the splendour of their harness. Crimson and gold bands hook them on; the reins are stiff with rubies and diamonds; heavy gold tassels hang from gilded horns. The gold-tipped ox-goad his majesty wields is covered with jewels and flashes like a rod of fire in the sun.

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The king ploughs a couple of furrows—or, rather, passes

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are used to strike them with. The notes produced are surprisingly clear and melodious. 534

Fiddles may often be heard played with greater or less skill, especially on the pagoda steps by blind and deformed beggars, but the instrument is not national, and is never, or but rarely, found where Europeans have not penetrated. The same may be said of the young Burmans who play in Rangoon on the concertina and the English fife and piccolo. It is flattering to national pride to notice with what accuracy and rapidity they pick up English airs. 177.53

But except at funerals and other solemn occasions instrumental music is looked upon not so much as a means of enjoyment in itself as an accompaniment to the human voice, and mere orchestral concerts would never draw the crowds which a single good singer can always command. The recitative character of the music is always more evident in the singing than in the instruments, and each "prince" or "princess" has individual peculiarities in the way of trills and staccatos introduced into the legitimate air. As the young musician learns by hanging about the band, so a vocalist follows an acknowledged great singer about and imitates his style, or at any rate learns the tunes and the words. The latter are, however, very immaterial, for the language itself is so pliant that it is easy to express the ideas in rhythm as you go on. Maung Tha Byaw, the great singer of his day, always made his songs as he sung them, and this was so well known that whenever he appeared, whether in a regular play or only to sing a few airs, there were always thirty or forty reporters sitting round to take down his words in their parabaik. This peculiarity of the Thabinwun occasionally got him into trouble. A somewhat incomprehensible piece of palace etiquette rendered it treasonable to sing a thanzan, a new song, before the king. Maung Tha Byaw several times, whether through too great laziness to learn the words, or from the force of habit, transgressed this rule, and was several times ordered out to execution. But he sang to the taunghmu and the pagwet, and these grim customers, the gaoler and the executioner, unable to resist the melody of this latter-day Orpheus, hid him away and exhibited some less talented 533 [644]

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language," and vows of vengeance against the ministers, who seem to have an irritating faculty of grinning all down their backs. 643 648

The journey to the palace is not a pleasant preparation. It is too hot to ride, and accordingly you decide to go in the apotheosis of a dog-kennel on wheels, which does duty for a carriage in Mandalay. There is not room for much more than one Englishman in the vehicle, and the only way you can get in is by scrambling over the backs of the bullocks. I shall never forget my first experience of a Mandalay carriage. After an exciting ten minutes spent in trying to circumvent a kicking bullock, I at length got in and sat down on the floor—there are no seats—to gaze out at the round hole by which I had got in. The rest of the party followed, each man in a kennel of his own. The beasts set off at a swinging trot over roads of the early depraved order, and in a couple of minutes we were all regretting that we did not brave the sun and ride, or even walk. However, the drivers disregard our entreaties, and hustle up the cattle all the more energetically. We pass over the moat, and through the enormous wooden gateway into the walled town. We enter by the a-mingala gate, the south-western, the only one through which corpses are allowed to be taken from the city. It is almost invariably used by Englishmen as being nearest to the Residency and the river, but no upper-class Burman will pass through it if he possibly can avoid doing so. After five minutes' more jolting we arrive at the outer stockade of the palace, and get out of our conveyances with some alacrity and a lot of bruises. Immediately inside the gate is a guard-house, with a cluster of the royal soldiery, who, as we come up, squat down on the ground and hold their Enfields in front of them at the third motion of the present, looking like frogs on a Christmas card. 643 493 644

We cross a wide open space, pass through the "Red Postern," and turn to the left, for it is to be a private reception, and we do not ascend the steps to the Hall of Audience. We pass a gallop which Thibaw has laid down for his ponies, and enter the Royal Gardens. They are not much to speak of. Laid out in squares, with raised paths, deep brickwork canals running in every direction, grottoes and

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"fads" of all sorts in every available place, they are rather tiresome, and we prefer to talk to a remarkable gentleman who meets us here. This is the Pangyet Wun, or governor of the glass manufactories—rather a mysterious title, seeing that there are no such works in the royal city. But names mean anything or nothing in Mandalay. The Pangyet Wun is the familiar example of Western flippancy triumphing over Eastern conceit and forgotten good manners. He speaks the English of the primer overlaid with the language of the young subaltern and the seafaring man on Atlantic steamers of the inferior class.

As we shake hands with him he smiles demurely, and says he regrets he cannot offer us "a liquor." "Wine or spirits, you know, are not drunk in the palace," and an apparition suggestive of a barbarian wink flits across his face. We have not long to talk with him, however. Everything, he says, is ready, and we make for a side-door into the palace, or rather into one of the numerous audience chambers connected with the nandaw, each having a name of its own, and being used according to his majesty's whim. We are to be received in the Hmaw-gaw, "the Crystal Palace," so called from the decoration of its walls, resplendent with bits of mirror and coloured glass. We have to put off our shoes before stepping into the palace, and do so not without dire misgivings, for in times gone by we had been to see King Mindôn, and have lively recollections of the nails in the floor. A Burman, they say, never likes to finish anything, and therefore does not drive home the nails in the planking of his house. People more versed in the ways of the nandaw assert that this is not the true reason, and declare that it is an ingenious method of making the presumptuous Kalā approach the neighbourhood of the Lord of Land and Sea in respectful fashion, with his eyes humbly lowered. It certainly is very effective in that way. You cannot gaze about you with any degree of freedom when you have a lurking suspicion that the next step will drive a nail into the ball of your big toe. Consequently every one used to go in with meekly downcast face, and respect to the sovereign was thus triumphantly enforced. But Thibaw disdains such petty ways of compelling outward respect. Has he not made

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the English Resident run away? Or perhaps it is the European experience of the Pangyet Wun that we have to thank. At any rate, the corridors and passages are covered with thick soft carpets, three or four deep, and we walk along in comfort, if with a somewhat undressed feeling. 644

It is not far to the Hmaw-gaw. We find the chamber almost empty. A thick carpet, woven in one piece, covers the floor, and the far side is raised a couple of feet above the rest of the room. On this dais stands a couch. The Pangyet Wun tells us to sit down and not to speak. We obey, and stare at the couch and a door behind it. Again we have misgivings. Mindôn Min used to keep visitors waiting a trifle of an hour or so, till they got so cramped that they had to be hoisted on to their legs. But it is not so with his son. He comes almost immediately, jerking himself suddenly in at the door, as if somebody had stuck a pin into him behind, walks hurriedly to the couch, kicking off his slippers on the way, and throws himself upon it, with his elbows sunk in the crimson and gold cushions. He looks straight at us for about thirty seconds, and then falls to examining his finger-nails and the carpet. He is embarrassed; his father was embarrassing. The pious potentate used to scrutinise his visitors (at a distance of twenty feet or so) through a field-glass, and people who were not overawed used to grin, which required explanation. King Thibaw comes alone, except that there is a page with cheroots. The gigantic gold spittoon and betel-nut box and other salivating and chewing paraphernalia, which were deposited before his late lamented father, are wanting. He knocks off the ash of his green cheroot on the carpet and presently lets it go out. Meanwhile the thandawsin, the royal herald, has commenced chanting our names, business, and the list of our presents. This is done in a high-pitched recitative, and takes a long time, for all the names, styles, and titles of his majesty are declaimed for a matter of quarter of an hour, each sentence ending with a long-drawn payā-a-ah. 643 644

At last it is over, and Thibaw asks if we are well. We announce that we are, and the interpreter, who throughout sees fit to translate bald monosyllables into obsequious, not

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to say grovelling periods, says that by his majesty's merciful permission we are in the enjoyment of perfect health. Thibaw then demands our business. The interpreter replies that we have come to view the glories of his majesty's mighty kingdom, and to lay our heads under his golden feet. This is a lengthy formality, for an epitome of the titles comes in with every answer. Thibaw looks very ill at ease, and has an occasional glance at us out of the tail of his eye. Having inquired after the well-being of the Queen, the Viceroy, the Chief Commissioner of British Burma, and his dear brothers in Calcutta, who, he hopes, are being well treated, as befits their rank, it seems as if there was going to be a sudden end to the audience, to avert which we wildly grasp at the idea of saying that we had taken tickets in the royal lotteries, but had not been successful in the drawing. His majesty twirls his cheroot over his shoulder, which is a sign that he wants a light, and says he is very sorry, but hopes we will try again. We announce that we are going to make another attempt, and add, in the desperate hope of getting his majesty into a controversy, that lotteries are considered a very bad thing for the people in Europe. The interpreter gazes for three-quarters of a second reproachfully at us and says, that by reason of his majesty's great might, glory, and clemency, we are encouraged to make a fresh venture, and that we are lost in wonder at the wisdom which has fallen upon such a method of increasing the revenue, a system which had never occurred to the unilluminated minds of barbarian financiers. Burmese is a language with which some of us are acquainted, and which affords unusual facilities for the relief of the irritated mind, but while we are hesitating as to whether we shall break through Court etiquette and address the great Lord of Righteousness mouth to mouth, Thibaw graciously remarks that he is glad to hear that the wisdom of his ministers has increased the knowledge of political economy in the world, and adds that he is unacquainted with any trade which for an outlay of two rupees will bring in a return of ten thousand. Having announced that he will give orders to his ministers and officials to show us every respect while we remain under the shadow of his throne, he suddenly gets up

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and vanishes as rapidly as he appeared. The Pangyet Wun calls out, "Get on your legs, gentlemen, 'long chairs' are better than this sort of thing," and we obey with great alacrity, and are regaled outside with brandy and water of considerable potency, poured out of a teapot into teacups.

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Kin Wunmingyi, who, after all, had been to Europe and was versed in public affairs, lost all influence, and was succeeded as adviser by the Taingda Mingyi, a statesman of the typical oriental kind, supple, unscrupulous and grasping. Thibaw even achieved a certain kind of popularity with his subjects. He insulted our representative and blustered at all foreigners, and finally frightened the Indian Government by covert threats into suddenly withdrawing the whole *personnel* of the Residency. Then it was announced by sound of gong all over Burma that the Sovereign of Land and Water, by reason of his great might and glory, had caused the hated English to flee from his sight, and would, in his own good time, carry the great peacock flag to the south, and plant it once more on the shores of the Gulf of Martaban.

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It is a great triumph for the pôngyi's son, as he was nicknamed when it was safe to do so, and it will be remembered about him quite as long as the fiendish cruelty of his massacres. We have certainly not done with Thibaw yet. We cannot go on for ever keeping strong garrisons at Thayet-myo and Toungoo, our frontier stations, where the soldiers have little else to do but die of fever and cholera and heat-apoplexy. Constant scares ruin the trade in Rangoon, and, as Lord Ripon says, when we are attacked in our mercantile interests we are wounded in our most irritable point. The abrogation of the monopolies is little better than a sham, and the negotiations for a new treaty are little more sincere. Thibaw will not receive a new Resident in the Royal City, except shoeless and practically lying on his stomach. We can hardly agree to that again.

The rupture came six years later, brought about by secret treatings with France and autocratic dealings with the Bombay Burma Trading Corporation. The Burmese kingdom fell with the suddenness of a paralytic stroke, and King Thibaw was a prisoner within a month of his rejection of the British ultimatum. He now lives forgotten at Ratnagiri.

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CHAPTER L

KING THIBAW

III.—A KADAW DAY

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"THE princes, the governors, and the captains, the judges, the treasurers, the counsellors, the sheriffs, and all the rulers of the provinces were gathered together and fell down and worshipped at what time they heard the sound of the cornet, flute, harp, sackbut, psaltery, dulcimer, and all kinds of music."

That is an exact description of the course of proceedings in Mandalay on a kadaw day. The gentlemen of the court and band as aforesaid, in the plain of Dura, must have greatly resembled Thibaw's worshippers, though it would be unfair to compare Nebuchadnezzar with the feckless last king of the Burmans. A kadaw-né means, literally translated, "a beg-pardon day." On such occasions all the officials, the tributary chiefs, and most eminent men in the country have to come to the palace and do homage and worship at the Golden Feet. There may be as many "Beg-pardon Days" during the year as his majesty pleases, but the most regular and best-attended, as well as the most brilliant, are always at the beginning and end of Lent, which extends, roughly speaking, from June to October. The end of Lent is probably the greatest occasion of all, and the audience sometimes, as was the case in 1880, extends over three days.

During Lent, every one is supposed to fast and be pious and improve his mind generally. On the conclusion of such a period, therefore, it is fitting that all loyal subjects should renew their allegiance to the Great Lord of Righteousness,

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and prostrate themselves with humble regard at his magnificent feet. The giving of presents or kadaw—no one can go near the king without a present—is represented as a deprecatory offering to avert deserved punishment for offences.

The whole town is *en fête* on such occasions. The Lord Mayor's show, or the transformation scene in a pantomime, which are the stay-at-home Englishman's idea of supreme magnificence, are as nothing compared to the procession round the moat which encircles the city walls. Mingyis, Atwinwuns, Sawbwas, Myosas; officials and vassals in formidable numbers and with terrible names; each man accompanied and adorned with his utmost possessions in the way of man, beast, gauds, and raiment, file proudly round preparatory to entering the palace. The description of a prince's order of going may suffice to give an idea of the whole. First come the lictors, prancing along with their fasces and hoarse shoutings, yelling to everybody to clear the way, regardless of the fact that the populace is all down on its knees by the side of the road, shikhoing reverentially. They are about half a dozen in number, and to a short-sighted man appear to be stark naked. A closer inspection with a glass, however, reveals the fact that they have some regard for decency, if they have little for anything else. Behind them comes the family band, braying, and clashing, and skirling its loudest. Undisturbed by the din, stalk composedly in the rear half a dozen elephants, the first couple splendid tuskers, in complete war-array, with fighting howdahs on their backs, and brilliant housings trailing to the ground; the second pair with ordinary furnishings, and the others with no further encumbrance than the mahaut on their backs. As near to these as their syces can persuade them to go, caper a number of led horses, harnessed with gay scarlet saddles, and saddle flaps, with tassels of the same colour sweeping the earth. Immediately in their rear is a bright-hued cloud of retainers, armed with guns, spears, and swords, and many carrying fans of all sorts and sizes. Floating over their head like a great red cloud, is the prince's wide satin-fringed umbrella, or perhaps it may be a gold one, if he enjoys his master's favour. Then there is a rabble of

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body-servants, carrying a gold-sheathed sword, a velvet pillow, spittoons, betel-nut boxes, and a variety of other things of uses more or less obvious. Last of all, surrounded by his page body-guard, comes the mintha himself, reclining in a wan, a finely-carved litter, borne by many shoulders. Many of the officials are, of course, unable to make such a grand display as this, but every one does his utmost to surpass his fellows in some point or other, and the result is a spectacle which would furnish abundance of valuable notions to a pantomime scenic artist racking his brains for novelties.

All the retinue is left outside when they come to the palace and ascend the broad flight of steps flanked by the two great gilded cannon, and approach the nandaw, the magnificent Hall of Audience. At stated points they pay lowly reverence to the graceful spire which rises over the throne and marks the centre of the palace, of the town, of Burma, and therefore of the universe. Inside the nandaw each man has his special place, according to his rank, Englishmen being ordinarily told off with ministers of the third grade. They sit there and smoke, placidly awaiting events.

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The Hall of Audience is a fine building of its kind; a long columned chamber, open on three sides, with gilt and red pillars, and a profusion of ornaments. The walls are made gorgeous with bits of looking-glass, porcelain, fragments of coloured glass, a mosaic of queer odds and ends fastened on with a resinous gum. This style of ornamentation is peculiarly Burmese, and is really very striking, though the materials may not seem promising. The effect of the whole is unique, if a little bewildering. It is like a compound chromotrope out of order. But close inspection gives an impression of tawdriness, and the national Burmese carelessness appears through all. Round the tops of the wooden walls runs beautifully carved lattice-work, but some of it has got broken in one place, and at another all the gilding has come off. There are some richly ornamented doors, but hinges have not been available when they were put up, and they swing on a sort of ball and socket contrivance which serves the purpose, but makes close-fitting and easy movement impossible.

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The throne stands at the far end of the hall on a high raised dais. It diminishes by a gradation of little ledges to mid-height, and then similarly expands, like one notched pyramid thrust down on another. Those of the royal blood sit ordinarily in front on either side of the dais, but there are lamentably few of the royal blood nowadays.

Every one is collected now. The scene is such as can be seen nowhere in the world but in Burma, and in Burma only in perfection in the Hall of Audience. A Burmese crowd is always a gay sight, but when all the highest in the land have assembled in the yôndaw, it is magnificent. The Tennysonian "wind-stirred tulip beds" is a tempting phrase, but it hardly seems sufficient. A stirabout of rainbows has an oriental sound about it, and perhaps more fitly suggests the brilliant contrasts of colour. What a magnificent sight it must be from the throne; the eye passing over the gaily dressed figures, every face bent low to the ground, down the broad steps, and through the towering eastern gate, over spires and pagodas away to the shaggy dark Shan hills beyond, like the entries to King Arthur's palace that

> Open'd from the hall
> At one end one, that gave upon a range
> Of level pavement where the king would pace.
> At sunrise, gazing over plain and wood;
> And down from this a lordly stairway sloped
> Till lost in blowing trees and tops of towers.

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Little wonder the king of Burma thinks himself a deity.

Meanwhile the collected worshippers smoke cheroots and chew betel, and talk freely. Suddenly a little bell tinkles, and every one is grovelling on his stomach in a second. A purple curtain is drawn aside, and down a long corridor, laid with crimson and gold carpet, the Sovereign of Life and Death comes with a hurried, uneven step. He is in full regal dress, and the broad gold shoulder-belt of the salwè and the towering jewelled crown on his head, seem to weigh heavily on him as he ascends wearily to the throne. Now comes the presentation of the kadaw. The actual presents are all lying tumbled in a heap somewhere, and his majesty probably never sees them at all. Lists are made out on palm-leaf, scratched on with a sharp-pointed style, and these are

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brought up by a thandawgan. The sight is in every way a remarkable one, and quite in keeping with the semi-barbaric character of the surroundings. The herald starts from the eastern gate, about three hundred yards off, and in full view from the hall the whole way. Across the wide open space between the outer and inner stockades, and up between the gilded cannon he comes, with a fantastic, prancing gait, waving the palm-leaves at arm's length, and bowing lowly to the ground at every ten paces. Up the steps and between a long double line of the gorgeously uniformed ahmudan, and the blue-jacketed marines with the anchor on their spiked helmets, all presenting arms. Throughout the whole ceremony, the courtiers within the hall, at intervals of a minute or less, raise a long-drawn shout of payā—a word expressive of deity. When at last the thandawgan reaches the throne he bows thrice, deposits the palm-leaves reverentially, and lies prone. They are read out in part, or altogether, or not at all, according to his majesty's pleasure. Then he commences to talk. He is much more fluent in a grand audience than he is at a private interview. He asks one minister how the lottery under his charge is filling up; another what news there is from the army now fighting against the Shans: a French engineer is questioned with regard to some works going on in the royal gardens; a governor of a remote province enjoined to be regular in collecting the ngwedaw, the royal tax. His monastic studies have given him command of a copious fund of lofty moral sayings, and these he scatters about freely, and sends away aspirants to the royal favour exultant in the feeling that some golden words have been addressed, if not to them directly, at any rate to some one near them in the row. An audience occasionally lasts a couple of hours, so that Europeans, if they are at all stiff in the joints, are apt to get frightfully cramped, and afford unrighteous amusement to malicious old wuns by their uneasy attempts to find a more comfortable arrangement of their legs. Such receptions are, therefore, not in favour with Englishmen, except those who may be in the royal service, or who are negotiating for a grant of some kind, and therefore wish to be well with his majesty. The king smokes a gigantic white cheroot all the

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644 time, and chews betel simultaneously, making up the morsel himself very often. Many of those in the hall smoke also, but the operation cannot be conducted with any great degree of comfort when your nose is close to the nether [276] extremity of the spine of the man in front of you. In former days pipes were often smoked, but the bowls were always thrust through holes in the floor made for the purpose. 000

Thibaw's apparent affability at these public audiences counteracts the effect of any other habits he may have, not so favourably viewed by Buddhists, and there are, perhaps, not a few of his subjects with whom he is possibly more popular than any king of Burma has been since the days of Alaungpaya the founder of the dynasty. His faults are thought to be those of his ministers and advisers. His easy-going indolence is the end of the desire of all his race. But it is not likely that his reign will be long. There is too much scheming and plotting going on in Mandalay just now for that. If Thibaw dies a sovereign he will be lucky. In the meantime the king rises and disappears behind the purple curtain. The durbar disperses immediately. The worshippers return home rejoicing and damn the king's enemies.

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CHAPTER LI

THE PALACE

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THE palace of Mandalay lies in the centre of the four-square city, like the innermost of a series of Chinese carved boxes. The capital is a city within a city. The greater part of the wide plain from the Irrawaddy to the Shan hills, a space of about five miles broad and as many long, down to the Dôtta wadi, the Amarapura river, is laid out in wide roads running at right angles to one another, with abundance of houses of all kinds, from the brick house of the Chinaman, with its cumbrous tiles that bend in the rafters, and the white-plastered, flat-roofed habitation of the Mogul or Surati merchant, to the wood or bamboo dwelling of the Burman. They are not very close together, but there is plenty of space, and every house has its patch of garden, or clump of plantain trees, and its wide court where the buffaloes and the ox-cart can be disposed comfortably. But these only form the suburbs. The Myo, the city proper of Mandalay, is a huge walled square, each face a mile and an eighth long. The mud brick built walls are nearly thirty feet high and about three thick, backed with a heavy mass of earth, but though they would be hard to batter down, there are no guns mounted for their defence on the bastions which rise at intervals of about two hundred yards, each surmounted by an open-sided teak pavilion, carved in the usual gabled, joss-house, spire-like fashion. The crest of the parapet is deeply denticulated, with no other apparent advantage than that of ornament. There are twelve gates to the city, three on each side, but only one bridge to each three over the moat, except on the west, where there are two, one opposite the

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361 amingala or south-west gate, specially reserved for the passage of funerals. Outside every gate is a post bearing the name and emblem of the gate, the latter being the signs of the zodiac. Sixty feet, or thereabouts, from the walls, runs all round a deep moat, about fifty yards broad, covered in many places with the lotus plant that the Buddhist loves. Here and there upon it float a number of royal craft, state barges, and despatch boats, some of them richly gilded, with the kalawaik, the crane, carved on the stern, others foundered and lying rotting, with their lofty sterns rising high in the air. Covering each gate is a traverse, or crenelated barbican, of the same construction as the walls. Inside, the streets of the city run parallel to the walls. They are wide and fairly well kept wherever the king is likely to pass, but there is no attempt at metalling. Young trees line the sides, and [364] down most of them run little streams of water. There is no attempt at a drainage system, but the town is essentially clean and airy, the pigs and pariah dogs acting as scavengers, and the constant open spaces ensuring ventilation. Right in the centre is the palace, which has two successive enclosures. 644 341 The outer is a quarter of a mile square, and consists of a high teak palisade, very massive and compact. Within this is a wide open space laid out as an esplanade, inside of which is a brick wall, edged round a great part of the way by the houses of high ministers and court officials. The outer court has four gates, each presided over by a special commander; the north, or water gate, being only available for the royal barges. Except for members of the palace household, there is only admittance to the inner enclosure by the gate on the eastern face. There is a special portal in the centre here, opened only for the king, and none but the Lord of the Golden Throne may use it. All else must enter by the taga-ni, the red postern, a cramped little gateway, which makes the smallest man involuntarily bend his head as he approaches the golden palace. The front of the building is decorated with gilding and tinsel work, which looks well when it is new, but after the rainy seasons would be better not there at all. To the left is the Hlutdaw, the Hall off the Supreme Council, a detached structure, raised some feet off the ground, and perfectly open; the roof, richly

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carved with flowers and figures, and adorned with the usual flamboyant pinnacles, supported on massive teak pillars, painted vermilion colour at the base, and gilt higher up. Straight ahead is the great Hall of Audience, a colonnade, or columned arcade, extending along the entire eastern front, and opening directly upon it. At the end of a pillared vista stands the throne, on a dais, reached by five steps from the level of the hall. The top is a cushioned ledge, like the box in a theatre. Just over the throne, and in the centre of the palace, which is the centre of the city, which is the centre of Burma, which is the Turanian "hub" of the world, rises the seven-roofed spire, emblematic of royalty and religion. The princes of the highest rank sit in front to the right of the throne; those of the blood-royal, but not so closely connected, to the left. Then in regular gradation, opposite one another, the wungyi, atwinwuns, wundauks, and the minor officials. On either side of the hall of audience and behind are a number of minor throne-rooms, not rooms in the English sense of the word, but simply open roofed spaces, separated from each other by skirtings of planking, covered with gold-leaf, and supported by a multitude of teak pillars, dyed for the greater part of their height a deep red. Some rooms are almost entirely gilt, others are adorned with wall-paintings, others, again, with the favourite mosaic of bits of mirror and coloured glass, framed in a gilt network. Every room is furnished with one or more stands of arms; there is a rack of sadly ill-cared-for muskets round the throne itself. The palace is, in fact, a gigantic armoury. All the cannon and guns in the country are kept there. Hence it is that when the palace is taken by a usurper, the country is conquered. The abundance of gold-leaf ought to make the effect splendid, but the quantity of alloy there is in the gilding makes it speedily lose its glitter, and the general impression is that of dinginess, if not indeed of actual slip-shod tawdriness. But to be seen at its best the palace should be visited on a great beg-pardon day, when the rough plank floors are covered with gorgeous rugs and carpets, and the halls are filled with officials dressed in all the hues of the rainbow.

There are a variety of matters to be carefully observed by all who enter, or have anything to do with the palace.

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● 644 Best known is the regulation with regard to the wearing of shoes. Burmans must remove them as soon as they enter the palace enclosure, just as they would on going inside of the parawun of a pagoda or a monastery. Englishmen and white foreigners generally are required to take off their [341] boots whenever they begin to ascend a step—the whole palace and all the buildings near it being on a brick platform some ten feet or more above the level of the ground. There are always a number of dancers and jugglers and loiterers about the royal buildings, and the necessity of being separated from your shoes sometimes leads to the loss of them altogether. It is on record that a British Resident incurred this misfortune, and had to make the best of his way, partly in a pair of Burman sandals, and partly on his stocking soles —as being preferable—to the outside of the teak stockade where his pony was waiting for him.

Another ceremony is that of shekhoing to the spire, the external emblem of the throne. All Burmans must do this at each of the gates, at the foot of the steps, and at intervals in between, according to loyalty, or the supposed friendly or hostile attitude of lookers-on. All the early English ambassadors had to conform to this regulation, notably Cox and Baker, the latter dropping on his knees. After an intermediate stage of taking off their hats, permission was gained to dispense with everything but the removal of shoes and sword. But the court rejoices in the fact that no one can pass through the red postern without bending his head, regulations or no regulations.

No arms whatever can be taken into the palace, not even —perhaps I should say, least even, in view of conspiracies— by the royal princes. Similarly, all umbrellas must be left at the outer gate of the palace, except by members of the royal household, who may carry them to the foot of the steps of the audience hall. Common people must lower them when they pass any of the gates outside. Arrest, or rough handling by the guards, would be the infallible result of non-compliance. Another rule is that you must take no money out of the palace. You may take in as much as you please.

No one in the palace, or indeed in the whole town, must sleep otherwise than with his feet turned outwards from the

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spire. To show the soles of the feet to the throne is high treason. This is awkward for the inhabitants of some quarters, for there is a rule applying to all Buddhists, that they must not place their feet towards the east, where the sun rises and whence the next Buddha, Arimadeya, will come, nor to the west, where the bawdi bin stands, or stood, the tree under which Shin Gautama attained the supreme wisdom. The superstition is probably derived from the Brahmins, who threaten grievous dangers to the man who places his feet on the shadow of a dewa, a king, a teacher, a saint, or another man's wife. 644 [778] [182]

The frequent change of locality of the palace, and therefore of the capital, is a peculiarity of Burma. There are about a score of towns in the country which have been at one time or other the metropolis. Such are Tagaung, Old Pagān, and Shwebo, above Mandalay; Prome (under the title Tharekettara), Pagān, Sagaing, Ava, and Amarapura, below it. The last two are the best known; indeed some people to the present day persist in talking of the "Kingdom of Ava," though that once brilliant capital has been little better than a jungle for a great many years, and the lines of the old walls can only be traced with difficulty. 644 631

It is hardly correct to say, as most writers on Burma have hitherto done, that with a new king there should be a new capital. This has very frequently been the case, but the matter does not altogether depend upon the accession of a new sovereign. It is brought about by a very much more gruesome (the word is used advisedly) circumstance. On the foundation of a new capital, there are always a certain number of people buried alive. The idea is that they become nat-thein, that their spirits haunt the place where they were put to death, and attack all persons approaching with malevolent intentions. The notion is entirely due to the royal astrologers, the Brahmin pônnas, and as being repugnant to the tenets of Buddhism, is strenuously denounced by the true brethren of the yellow robe. But it fits in very well with the popular superstition regarding the existence of spirits, and has hence always firmly maintained its ground. It is a matter of common knowledge that this idea of 644 631 782 [775] [182]

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sanctifying a building with human sacrifices is a notion which has prevailed in all parts of the world at different times, and instances of horrors of the kind are not unknown in Europe.

The virtue of the sacrifices only lasts a certain time, and when it is gone a new city should be built. There are certain signs, added to public disasters, which point out to the initiated when this alteration of site should take place. Mandalay was commenced in 1858, and two years later the seat of government was transferred from Amarapura, some five or six miles down the river. When the foundations of the city wall were laid, fifty-two persons of both sexes, and of various age and rank, were consigned to a living tomb. Three were buried under each of the twelve city gates, one at each of the four corners, one under each of the palace gates, and at the corners of the timber stockade, and four under the throne itself. The selection had to be made with care, for the victims were required to be representative people, born on special days of the week, and the boys buried were not to have any tattoo marks on them, the girls not to have their ears bored. When it was known that the troops were making the collection, no one was to be seen about the streets, except in great bands in the middle of the day. The government gave a series of magnificent dramatic performances, but no one went to see them. Eventually, however, the tale was made up, and the building went on apace. Along with the four human beings buried at the corners of the city were placed four jars full of oil, carefully covered over and protected from any damage that might come from the weight of earth pressing down upon them. These were examined every seven years by the royal astrologers, and as long as they remained intact the town was considered safe.

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At the third examination in 1880, however, it was found that the oil in two of the jars was either completely dried up or had leaked out. One was pretty far gone, and the fourth alone remained in a tolerably satisfactory state. At this very time, the January and February of 1880, a terrible scourge of smallpox was decimating the town, and two of the royal house, King Thibaw's infant son, his only child,

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and the ex-Pagān Min, the cock-fighting king, had fallen victims. This was bad enough, but other signs portending evil had happened. One of the most valued of the crown jewels, the Nansin Baddamya, had disappeared, a huge ruby, cherished as emblematic of the fortune of the dynasty since the days of Alaungpaya. A tiger in the royal gardens escaped from his cage, a most ominous circumstance, not for the poor wretch whom he killed and half ate before he could be recaptured, but for the city and the entire kingdom. The appearance of wild animals in a town is a sign that it will speedily turn to a wilderness. It was the discovery of a tiger and some deer in the environs of Amarapura which decided the fate of that "City of the Immortals." All these circumstances, coupled with the outward and visible sign of the wrath of the spirits in the shape of the plague of small-pox, decided the pônnas at once. It was no use filling the jars with oil again, or putting in fresh ones. Such parsimonious measures would be considerably worse than useless. A full conclave of the astrologers voted by a large majority for the change of the capital. This, however, neither the ministers nor Thibaw Min would hear of. Mandalay is very different from Amarapura and Ava. There are too many solid brick houses and mills and public manufactories —none of them working, it is true, but too costly to be abandoned—in the present capital to admit of its being thrown over in the old casual way, when a royal order forced everybody to migrate, on pain of imprisonment or death. The pônnas therefore held another meeting, and it was decided that the only other alternative was the offering of propitiatory sacrifices. At the instance of the Pônna Wun, a truculent old villain, it was resolved that the number should be the highest possible: a hundred men, a hundred women, a hundred boys, a hundred girls, a hundred soldiers, and a hundred foreigners. This the king agreed to, and a royal mandate was signed, and arrests forthwith commenced. A frightful panic spread in Mandalay after the first day. Every steamer leaving the capital was crowded to suffocation, boats went down the river in dozens, and there seemed every possibility that Mandalay would be deserted. Then the ministers took fright at the indignation which the

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644 631 782 announced massacres caused in England, and the whole thing was countermanded and denied. But upwards of a hundred people had been arrested, and some of these, when liberated months afterwards, declared that in the dark nights of terror, when no one ventured about Mandalay streets, people were buried under each of the posts at the twelve gates, as a compromise between the fear of the spirits and the fear that the English troops would cross the frontier. 644 787 Each of these posts bears an image of an animal from one of the seals of the king, and before the post sits a figure of a bilu, with a thick club, to act as watchman, in case the human guard should go to sleep. As Burman sentries generally sleep sounder than other people, the propitiation of these spirits at any rate was a very imperative precaution. Whether the oil-jars were filled and reburied *alone* is a dark mystery. But the smallpox left Mandalay, and the place is as happy as ever it was, which, however, is not saying much.

644 361 177.36 The British town of Mandalay is very different from that described. The Palace stockade has gone, and with it very many of the suites of apartments, notably in the women's quarter. The Hall of Audience for a time was converted into a Tamil Mission chapel; the Hlutdaw into a hideous collection of clerks' offices. This has been changed owing to the indignant protests of English visitors. Most of the Palace Halls are now empty: even the Upper Burma Club has been turned out.

The old City has now become cantonments with a few scattered barracks, officers' quarters, and wide stretches of grass. What formerly constituted the suburbs is now Mandalay town. The former execrable roads are now among the best in Burma. But many of the notable buildings, the elaborate monasteries, and gilt shrines have been burnt. Mandalay is certainly a dwindling town; the only question is how long it will remain the second town in Burma.

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
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175 538 536* Though prose and poetry had thus assumed definite forms by about the fourteenth, or early fifteenth century, the drama was unknown until very much later. The first real Burmese drama appeared, though it had its origins some decades earlier, only towards the close of the eighteenth century, and during the next hundred years it developed and then decayed. Burmese dramatic literature developed in a historical sequence and in a way essentially similar to that of the Elizabethan drama. But why the similarity? Is it accident? Is it because of the similarity in the geographical isolation of the two countries? Or, is there a definite way in which all dramas have to develop in natural sequence?

2. Sources of Information

178 536* The history of Burmese drama can be divided into six stages. First, there is the age of the *Nibbathkhin*, comparable to the English miracle play, ending about 1752. Second, we have, from 1752 to 1819, the period of the interlude[1] (comparable to the English morality and interlude) and the court drama. Third, we have the period of the dramatist, U Kyin U, 1819 to 1853. Fourth, we have the period of the poet, U Pon Nya, 1853 to 1878. Fifth, there is the period of decadence, 1878 to 1886. Sixth, we have the time from [644] 1886 to the present day. As dates are in many cases uncertain in [805] determining the periods I am taking the reigns of various kings. As the drama depended much on the court and the victories and defeats of the king, perhaps I am justified in so doing. In any case, if a date is wrong, it is wrong by not more than two or three years.

175 538 536* The time before 1752 is the most difficult period as far as research is concerned. The centuries that followed the fall of Pagan—the time of internal wars, 1287 to 1531—saw the rise of a vernacular literature, which is found existing in the Empire of 1531 to 1752.[2]

[114] [538] [178] arranges its extracts in more or less chronological order, and therefore gives a good idea of the development. The subject is outside the scope of this work but I mention it to show how late the first appearance of Burmese drama was as compared with other branches of Burmese literature.

[1] The term 'interlude' is explained in chap. i.

175 [2] Perhaps it will not be out of place to give a short summary of the history. The various small States into which the country broke up after 1287 gave place, after some fifty years of incessant strife, to Ava, the kingdom of the Burmese, and Pegu, that of the Talaings. The small principality of Toungoo under Ava rebelled and conquered the whole of Burma in 1531.

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647 accounts regarding it. Apart from the notes gathered by my father, I
175 base my information on the accounts given to me orally by my grand-
536* mother and grand-aunts who actually saw the interludes performed.

127 In support of the oral tradition regarding the nature of the
175 interlude, there are some echoes of it in the plays of U Kyin U. He
536* developed the interlude into a proper play, but the change was not a sudden one, and in his plays we find echoes of the interlude in its various stages. His plays are considered in detail in another chapter. There are also contemporary references to the interlude. Even from an English pen we have an account. Colonel Yule in 1855 saw an entertainment midway between the interlude and the developed plays of U Kyin U.[1]

644 The period of the court plays offers an easier task for research.
536* The *Rama* play from Siam is preserved, with adaptations, it is true,
[177] but with notes on the original when a change was made in the pre-
538 served version.[2] The other Siamese play of *Eenaung* has come down to us. The poem *Rama-yagan* which Burmanized the *Rama* story has also come down. Accounts of the performances of the court plays and the recitation of the poem at court are many and well known. From the time when they were first composed down to the present day, the works of these court poets and dramatists have been studied and read. The influence of these works on the interlude is suggested, not only by the 'internal evidence' in U Kyin U's plays, but also by the editorial prefaces to the works in their various editions.

[114] Though only three plays of U Kyin U exist at the present day as far as is known, the period is quite easy of research, because references and notes regarding him occur in various records of the court and the nobility, and because the Burma Research Society has published new editions of two of his plays; and though the prefaces to them are short and no attempt is made to make a complete study, suggestions for further study and research are made by the editors.

175 The period of U Pon Nya offers the easiest task, as compared with
536* other periods, so far as research is concerned. All his plays are

[1] H. Yule, *A Narrative of the Mission sent by the Governor-General of India to the Court of Ava in 1855*. His description of the dramatic entertainment he saw is considered again in the next chapter in connexion with Sir William Ridgeway's theory of the development of the Burmese drama.

[2] There is a copy of the *Rama* play in the British Museum. It is wrongly catalogued as by U Ku, who was only the editor. All these plays and the poem have been printed again and again, and are easily obtainable in Burma.

Xi: Hla Aung E-5 (ca. 1980) 1987 AP1 Burma
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generation of continual warfare which might well have exhausted the race, shows that the exploits of Alaungpaya were no mere flash in the pan, but were broad-based on the energy of the race as a whole. . . . The chronicles for the period are verbose and pompous, but it is impossible to read them without being struck with their fierce pride.[1] 175 669 727

It was during this age of triumph, after the Chinese invaders had been sent back defeated and people could breathe again without anxiety, that the Siamese *Rama* was produced at the Burmese court for the first time. [536]*

The court of Ava, then the capital of Burma, was in many ways comparable to the court of Elizabeth after the victory over Spain. Glory and wealth and splendour surrounded the king and his courtiers. Masters in the arts of war, they were also masters in the arts of peace. Almost everyone was learned, and the ablest soldiers and statesmen were also the foremost poets. Queens and ladies-in-waiting vied with princes and lords in the study and practice of learning and literature. Experts in the study of Pali, Sanskrit, and Buddhistic lore, keen students of foreign institutions and literatures, they were essentially Burmese, and enriched their own language and literature with borrowings from all sources. The period 1770 to 1824, the date of the first British conquest, that period of triumph, may easily be termed the age of translations, so keen were the people for knowledge from all sources. Siamese romances, Pali *Jatakas*, Chinese histories, Siamese and Cambodian chronicles, a history of Portugal, a Sanskrit work on sexual science—this list made at random shows clearly the range and variety of the translations. The court led the people in the pursuit of learning and literature. The courtiers were learned, the king was a patron of learning, and at the court the captives and hostages numbered among them great scholars and poets from conquered States. After the toils of war, men turned towards learning for rest and recreation. Men gloried in their country and studied their own literature, history, and institutions, and that study naturally led to the study of those of other countries. Almost everyone studied and almost everyone wrote. The age of triumph was an age of learning.[2] 644 ● 536* 538 175

The Siamese court plays appealed to the imagination of the court. The Siamese captives longed for their native entertainment. 644 536*

[1] *History of Burma*, p. 258.

[2] Some account of the learned atmosphere of the court and of its more famous translators and poets is given by G. E. Harvey, op. cit., pp. 249 and 250.

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644 They themselves took part in the production of *Rama*, though it seems
536* that most of the actors at the Siamese court were professional; but once the play had been well established in its new home, only professional actors took part in the actual presentation, for the prejudice against the actors and the acting profession was strong: 'actors and
[533] beggars, eaters of food thrown away as waste.' Though the play was reproduced faithfully with all its dramatic qualities, the courtiers were more interested in the songs, which were new both in tune and in form. The *Rama* play at once enriched Burmese music and verse-forms. But the court did not at once realize that a new art had come. The Burmese equivalent of the English word 'play' was still uncoined. They called *Rama* a *zat*, a derivative from *Jataka*. *Zat* had by then come to mean a story; it could mean any story, though to distinguish it from a Birth Story, *hto-zat* (made-up *zat*) was used to denote a non-*Jataka* story. However, *zat* did not include fables or moral tales or legends and fairy tales. The Burmese interlude was without a name, and the courtiers realized the world of difference that lay between the *Nibhatkhin* and the Siamese entertainment. Therefore, the courtiers just called *Rama* a *zat*; the name suggested itself as they believed the *Rama* story to be a *Jataka* story.
536* However, when *Aindarwuntha*, the companion play to *Rama* at
178 the Siamese court, was later introduced to the Burmese court, the courtiers coined the term *nan-dwin zat* or 'palace-story', for that play had nothing to do with the *Jatakas*, and a new name was needed. When the *Rama* play reached the people, they thought it to be a specimen of the native *Nibhatkhin* or *Jataka*-shown-as-pageant and called it *Rama-khin* or *Rama*-shown-as-pageant. It was only when the native interlude had been moulded into a more developed art through the influence of the Burmese court drama that the term *pya-zat* (the equivalent of the English 'play') was introduced. It is of course impossible to ascertain when and by whom the word was first coined, but by U Kyin U's days, *pya-zat* or 'shown-story' had passed into general use.

To return to the court. The play was presented with Siamese (which were very similar to the Cambodian) dresses and costumes;
644 it was a faithful reproduction of the Siamese model. The introduction
536* of Burmese elements into the play through the professional actors was prevented by the tradition of rigid faithfulness to the Siamese model. The Siamese courtier-captives of course discouraged any interference with the form of their entertainment, which they took to

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be a perfect art; probably they thought the Burmese, as far as dramatic representation was concerned, to be barbarians. Moreover, many of the Burmese scholars themselves were against any substantial changes in the presentation of the play at their court. They were for borrowings from, and imitations of, the Siamese play, but they held that the model must be kept unchanged and intact. Their scholastic mind was such. The slightest distortion of the model called forth protests. When the Siamese play, *Aindarwuntha*, was translated as *Eenaung*, there was bitter criticism. The hero of the play had two names; the official title *Aindarwuntha* given by the king of the gods, and the palace name of *Eenaung*. The Siamese called their play *Aindarwuntha*, but the Burmese translator called it *Eenaung*, for that name was easier to say. The play was known as *Eenao* (only a slightly different pronunciation of the same name) in Cambodia. All the same, there were protests against the Minister Myawaddi's calling his translation *Eenaungzat*. Therefore, the scenes (of the *Rama* play) were presented in the same sequence as in the original, the characters were the same, and the story remained the same. However, changes were introduced in the actual words of the songs and speeches. Such changes were considered legitimate because such slight modifications were allowed even at the Siamese court, thereby keeping the play fresh. References to the topic of the day at the court, to Burmese ideals and ideas, to the wit of an actor: they naturally caused slight variations. Withal, the tradition of rigid faithfulness to the original remained. The gesture, rather than actual acting and facial expression, was of great importance in the Siamese play, and that the Burmese court rigidly followed. Gesture was of great importance in the Sanskrit drama, and elaborate treatises were written on the various gestures and their meaning. The code of the gesture in the Sanskrit drama was as rigid as it was elaborate. In the Siamese play, it was very much less elaborate, but still very rigid. For example, when Rama left the court of the Malay king, all the courtiers had to pay homage in an elaborate and very formal way. It is difficult to ascertain the reason of the importance of the gesture in the play; the Sanskrit drama may have influenced it; or the Siamese court wished to show to the common people the manners and customs of their king's palace; or maybe where the stage-lighting was extremely bad, facial expression could not be seen, and therefore gesture alone could convey the meaning to the audience, of course, apart from the actual dialogue. However, the importance of the

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536* 201 gesture passed on to the Burmese reproduction of the play. The rigid tradition soon called forth protests, if not in actual words, then in deeds. If the *Rama* play could not be changed to meet Burmese tastes, other plays would have to be invented. As a result, a native court drama came into being.[1]

4. The Burmese Court Drama

536* 175 644 538 It was during the reign of Hsinbyushin under whom the victories against the Siamese and the Chinese had been won, that the *Rama* play was first presented at court. He was succeeded by Singu, who was king from 1776 to 1782. Singu could appreciate and compose good poetry when sober, but such occasions were rare. All the same, the learned atmosphere of the court was maintained, for his queen, the daughter of the famous commander-in-chief who defeated the Siamese and the Chinese invaders, was an accomplished poet herself, and she ever encouraged the continued presentation of the Siamese *Rama* at court. Singu was followed by Bodawpaya (1782–1811), who was one of the strongest despots that ever sat on the Burmese throne. But his despotism was of the enlightened kind, and under his patronage, the learned atmosphere of the court remained unimpaired. The earlier half of his reign saw the rise of a Burmese court drama.

Some time about the year 1783, a young courtier came to the forefront of scholastic circles at the court. This young man, who was a typical product of the age of learning, which was also the age of triumph, had distinguished himself in various campaigns when he began his literary career by composing songs modelled on those of the Siamese *Rama*. He was essentially a scholar, learning and experimenting, and he was an accomplished student of literature, both [195] Burmese and foreign. But in spite of his great learning, he kept his own writings free from too rich an imagery and too bombastic a language; his Burmese was simple and pure. He wrote in the language of the court but without artificiality, so that his songs were not only admired at court, but understood and sung by the common people. After making his name as a song-writer, he produced various literary works of all kinds and thus enhanced his reputation, until he reached the zenith of his literary career in about the year 1785, when he composed and produced the first Burmese court play. This young

[1] Extracts from the *Ramayana*, *The Statue Play* attributed to Bhasa, and the Siamese-Burmese *Rama* play are given in appendix i.

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courtier later won fresh fame as a statesman and judge, becoming known to history as the Minister Myawaddi.[1] 644

As has been stated, there was at the Siamese court a companion play to *Rama*. It was known as *Aindarwuntha*. There was also a Siamese court romance of the same name and dealing with the same theme. Aindarwuntha was a prince-soldier, and he had two sets of adventures, one amorous and the other martial. Myawaddi was one of those who broke away from the tradition that the Siamese models at the Burmese court must be preserved without any substantial change. He did not want to have his hands tied through this tradition, and so he did not translate the play, *Aindarwuntha*, but translated instead the court romance. Then he dramatized the romance, and called his new play, not *Aindarwuntha* but *Eenaung*.[2] In *Eenaung*, Myawaddi rejects the heroic adventures and tells only of the hero-prince's romantic intrigues. 175 536* 538 177 536* 538

The play is far too long. The *Rama* play was long, too, and it took two or three days to present it entire. The court had all the leisure in the world. *Rama*, if translated, would require about 400 of these pages. *Eenaung* is longer; it would be about 600 pages. The play was written more to be read than acted, and as far as is known, it was never presented entire. Only some scenes were acted. The play on the whole is disjointed; it is merely a collection of scenes, connected only through the personality of the prince. As the adventures are purely amorous, there is no action at all. We are told occasionally that the prince has gone on a journey or that he has achieved a conquest, but the scene is always the palace. Following the Siamese style, music and song are important elements in the play, but dances and fine dresses are absent. It is not a masque. 536* [533]

The merit of the play lies in its language, dialogue, and characterization. It is the language of the court, refined and elegant as that of *Rama*. But a certain element of simplicity is in it, and it is not too rich in words or in imagery, so that the common people could understand and appreciate it; in short, the usual clear style of the author, which is the hall-mark of his other writings, is also found in this play. In dialogue, the play retains the freshness and liveliness of the *Rama* play. In characterization, the play is a great advance on *Rama* 536* 195

[1] An account of his career is given in G. E. Harvey, op. cit., p. 296.

[2] The play *Aindarwuntha* or *Eenaung* has been mentioned earlier in this chapter, on pp. 36 and 44–5.

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In characterization, the play is a great advance on Rama

536* and on the Siamese original of *Aindarwuntha*. There, as in the
178 Sanskrit plays, the depiction of character was almost unknown. Rama was the perfect hero, Sita a lifeless damsel, Ravana a boastful villain. In Myawaddi's *Eenaung* the hero is shown to be full of faults, otherwise he is still lifeless and uninteresting as Rama. However, the characters of the women, the various loves of the prince, are well portrayed. True, the women pass swiftly through the play, often the interesting heroine never appears again after but one scene, and there is no character development; but the play is a rich portrait gallery where we see live women, who must have laughed and sorrowed at the court. The Sanskrit plays were written by men who did not or could not write of the miseries women suffered at the court, as the king's wives. They wrote from the point of view of men, and they would have it that to be the king's beloved was to reach the limits of womanly happiness. The Siamese court drama followed the Sanskrit
[644] in this respect. In *Eenaung*, however, we have a young courtier sympathizing with the women of the court, gently satirizing the king and showing up the disadvantages of being the king's love. The sorrows and laughter of the court maidens are well shown. Gentle satire, pathos, and light comedy keep the play alive.

The contribution made by *Eenaung* to the development of Burmese drama was no less in importance than that made by *Rama*. Of course *Eenaung* itself owed a great deal to *Rama*, but without Myawaddi's play, it seems rather doubtful that *Rama* could have done so much for Burmese drama, for the interest in human psychology and character, so essential to good drama, was absent in *Rama*. Moreover, *Eenaung* taught the Court to break away from the Siamese tradition and to develop a native drama with borrowings from and imitations of the Siamese court drama. Because many of the incidents in the play were invented by the author and not borrowed from the original Siamese court romance, it also pointed out the possibilities of an invented story as the subject of a play. In short, Myawaddi paved the way for the coming of U Kyin U and U Pon Nya.

Eenaung at once inspired others to imitate it. Many plays modelled on it were written by courtiers and produced at court. Although, unfortunately, none of these plays has come down to us, extracts in the form of dramatic speeches and songs have come down, and from those we can be certain that many of the court plays were not much
[562] inferior to that of the Minister Myawaddi. The most famous of the imitators was the Lady Khin Sôn, herself a scholar and poet of much

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renown, whose literary works were worthy rivals in popularity to those of Myawaddi.[1] The native court plays were so popular that even *Rama* soon fell under their sway. Through their influence, the tradition of rigidly following the Siamese version was broken and destroyed, and adaptations of *Rama* in the style of *Eenaung* came to be presented at the Burmese court.

5. The Court Drama Reaches the People

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The latter half of Bodawpaya's reign saw the court drama becoming national instead of being confined to the narrow limits of the palace. The national interest in the drama was now so great that the king had to create a new ministry, that of the stage. The new minister greatly developed the puppet-show, which is described in a later chapter. The drama became a regular entertainment at the court, and a dramatic performance in the palace came to be looked upon as a semi-State function. Not only was the drama now looked upon as a national entertainment at the court, but the court drama itself was being spread all over the country through governors and administrative officials imitating the court and holding little dramatic performances of their own. The greatest gift the court performances gave to the acting profession was to raise its status. The actors were still looked upon with prejudice as being nothing more than beggars, but they were no longer considered as being only a little better than rogues and vagabonds. Many travelling companies also came to be looked upon with less disfavour, for they would style themselves 'the King's actors' or 'those who had acted before such-and-such a minister on such-and-such an occasion'. For their ability many actors were given rewards of money and some sort of decoration, which might be a medal or a special dress, and these the actors would wear during their performances with great pride. The Burmese actors of the period were very much in the same position as those acting companies

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[1] The fact that the Lady Khin Sôn was the rival of Myawaddi in the literary circles of the court, reflects the difference in character, as far as women were concerned, between the Burmese and most other oriental courts. Burmese women have enjoyed equal rights with men from prehistoric times: 'when greater races bound the feet or veiled the faces of their women, or doubted if she had a soul, the Burmese held her free and enthroned her as chieftainess and queen' (Harvey). Perhaps this difference in the atmosphere of the court had much to do with the sympathetic portrayal of women by Myawaddi in his *Eenaung*. In India, the fact that women were given an inferior social position is reflected in the absence of Sanskrit plays by women.

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thought of writing them down and preserving them. But there are accounts describing the dramatic performances of the period, and in the dramatic works of U Kyin U we find echoes of those early plays.[1] Therefore, we at least know that a national drama came into being towards the end of Bodawpaya's reign. It is interesting to note that the rise of a real national drama coincided with fresh conquests by the Burmese. Arakan and Assam fell into Burmese hands under this king.

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With the rise of a more realistic national drama, the artificial drama of the court must naturally decay. Already the court drama itself was becoming less artificial, as we have seen, even in the hands of the court dramatists. But their plays, though far more realistic than the translation of the *Rama* play, were still artificial. Adaptations of *Rama* performed at the court were the beginnings of the decay. The decay was furthered by the popularity of U Toe's poem at Bodawpaya's court. It was read again and again by the author before the king. From such readings the court no doubt gradually went over to the national and more realistic drama, and it is perhaps legitimate to assume that plays presented at court in the closing years of the reign were mostly people's plays. The ascension of Bagyidaw to the throne in 1819 on the death of his royal grandfather destroyed finally the court drama, for his queen was of low origin, coarse, uneducated; and learned lords and ladies, poets and scholars, shunned the court. And it was in Bagyidaw's reign that the age of triumph ended with the annexation in 1824 of two of the three maritime provinces of Burma by the British. Under his descendant Mindon, who became king in 1853, the learned atmosphere of the court was fully restored, and U Pon Nya wrote his plays and produced them at court. But as his plays did not differ much from, and were dependent on, the people's drama of his day, he did not in any way revive that special court drama which entertained the Minister Myawaddi and his fellow-courtiers.

[1] The indebtedness of U Kyin U to his precursors is considered in the next chapter.

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CHAPTER IV

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U PON NYA

1. The Life of U Pon Nya

536* U Pon Nya was born about the year 1807. His father was a
●644 minor nobleman at the court of Prince Tharrawaddy, a younger
792 brother of King Bagyidaw (who lost the war against the British), and
538 the young boy was brought up under the patronage of the prince. He was a precocious child and was placed under the tutorship of the most learned monk of the day. The prince rebelled against his brother and became king in 1837. U Pon Nya, in the meantime, had become a monk. During the rebellion, his father fell fighting for the prince, and the new king wanted U Pon Nya to take his father's office, but the future dramatist preferred to remain a monk. King Tharrawaddy continued to consider himself as godfather to U Pon Nya, who therefore was in constant contact with the court. On the death of that king, his son Pagan ascended the throne, and U Pon Nya left the capital for the little town of Salè, where he began to compose literary essays in about 1847. His essays and lyrics became immensely popular, and he came to be known all over the country as the 'Master of Salè', by which name he is more commonly referred to. In 1850 he became a layman again, and was appointed a court poet at the court of Prince Kanaung, a brother of the reigning king, Pagan. In 1851 Burma went to war again with the British and lost some more territory. Prince Kanaung and his other brother, Mindon, rebelled against the half-mad king. Mindon became the new king and made peace with the British. Kanaung became the crown prince, and U Pon Nya his official poet. He was then already recognized by the nation as the foremost poet, scholar and essayist of the day. He wrote astrological works and
[787] won further fame as an astrologer. He believed that he was liable to die on the scaffold and asked for a proclamation by the king exempting him from punishment by death; otherwise he begged to leave the court for the monastery. The required proclamation was made.

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made. In about 1855 he wrote his first play, *Padma*. In the next year the two brothers, the king and the prince, quarrelled, and when the misunderstanding had been explained, U Pon Nya was ordered to write a play to celebrate the occasion, and *The Water-seller* was composed and presented. As reward, the king appointed him chief court-poet and created him lord of Ywazi village. He would have been made a ruling chief or official had he not been born with a crippled arm, because a man born with any defect in his limbs could not become a member of the ruling class. U Pon Nya took part in various court intrigues. Most of his plays had some hidden meaning that concerned the court, and they played an important part in the plots and counter-plots to decide who was to be heir, for though Kanaung was officially the heir, the king's sons did not accept him. 536 * 644 ● [565]

In 1865 Myingun and Myingondaing, two of the king's sons, decided to make a bid for the throne. They consulted U Pon Nya as to the most suitable time as foretold by the stars, and the poet told them that the next day at noon was the luckiest time for the rebellion. This connivance in a rebellion against his king and his master, Prince Kanaung, was a very disloyal and ungrateful act, because the fiery temper of the two princes was well known, and it was plain from the beginning that the rebellious sons intended to put to death at once their own father, and their uncle, who also happened to be the father-in-law of Myingun. U Pon Nya defended himself later by saying that he was compelled to give his opinion as to the most suitable time, because he was threatened with certain death. But he did not inform the king of the plot when the princes had left after promising him the highest rank of nobility; and though he might have been threatened with death at the beginning, he seemed to have been well content with the promised reward and quietly left the capital that night. The next day at noon, the rebellion broke out. The courts of justice where the crown prince and the wisest in the land were sitting in session were attacked, and the palace raided. The king escaped, but the crown prince and his fellow-judges were killed. The rebellion was put down the same afternoon, but by then the flower of the court and the nobility had perished. The two rebels escaped, Myingondaing to die of fever at Rangoon, and Myingun to retirement in French Indo-China. U Pon Nya was arrested and tried on a charge of treason by the king himself, and though a sentence of death was clearly deserved, 536 * 644 669

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536* 669 644 the king remembered the proclamation exempting the poet from punishment by death, and as he had a great admiration for the works of the dramatist, U Pon Nya was merely sent to the house of the governor of the city as a prisoner on parole. Unfortunately, the junior wives of the governor and the ladies at his court took too great an interest in the comfort of the prisoner, and the governor became extremely jealous. After three months of what he suspected to be romantic intrigues between his prisoner and his ladies, the governor decided to put U Pon Nya to death. So one night in 1866 the poet was secretly executed, and the body disposed of never to be discovered, under the orders of the governor. A few weeks after the secret execution, the king granted full pardon to U Pon Nya, believing him to be still alive. Only then was the truth discovered, and when the news was reported to the king, he said wearily: 'Alas, a dog has killed a man.'

2. *Paduma*

536* The story is taken without any modification from a *Jataka*. A king has seven sons, and he is warned by his ministers that the princes might rebel. In spite of his great love for his sons, the king has no choice but to exile them with their princesses. The seven princes and their consorts leave the capital, but soon lose their way in the forest. There is no food, and the younger princes beg their eldest brother, Paduma, to agree to their plan of killing and eating their princesses. Paduma tries to argue against the proposal, but realizes that his arguments are in vain, for the six brothers are maddened with hunger. He has no other way of escape but to flee with his consort. So before dawn Paduma and his princess run away from the others. The sun rises and the two are in great agony through the heat. They reach a stretch of sand, and Paduma is cheered because sand is usually found near a river. But the very sand which cheers Paduma increases the heat and burns the delicate feet of the princess. She can go no further and begs the prince to kill her; she would then be relieved from her agony, and he would have a better chance of saving himself alone. But the prince cheers her by encouraging words, and piercing his flesh with his sword, makes the princess drink the blood to quench her thirst. Then he puts her on his shoulder and continues the journey. Soon they reach a wide river, on whose banks grow fruit trees, and safety at last seems assured. As they rest, they hear a cry for help and see a man tied to a raft, floating helplessly down the river. The princess pities him,

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536* [640]

U Kyin U, the plays produced at court were plays which had been produced outside. During the troublesome period of the two Anglo-Burmese wars of 1824 and 1852–6, although palace dramatic performances were rare because of the fact that the court was in disgrace and disunion, the courtiers read and studied U Kyin U's plays. As has been stated, the acceptance and popularity of U Kyin U as the greatest dramatist by both the court and the people prevented any possibility of the old court drama being revived. But there were two other factors which acted against such revival: first, since the time of U Kyin U, the production of a play even at court was entirely in the hands of professional actors, and so U Pon Nya had to conform to the practice and tradition of those who would produce his plays; second, the fact that U Pon Nya was a realist prevented him from ever writing artificial court plays of the old type.

U Kyin U was a romanticist. The world depicted in *Daywagonban* and *Parpahein* was a world of fantasy and romance. Princes fought and struggled, heroes accomplished valiant deeds, and gods and demons and animals shared adventures with princes and princesses. Even in *Mahaw*, in spite of the absence of demons and gods, the atmosphere of the play, with its bombastic speeches and its love-scene between the magpie and parrot, was romantic. In U Pon Nya's plays, the atmosphere of romance is missing. He does not use animals as characters, except in *Paduma*, where the crocodile contributes to the main action by saving the prince, and by driving home the moral that even animals are wiser than women; but he satirizes the uncontrolled employment of animals as characters, by ironically making the crocodile say learned and serious words which appear ridiculous in the mouth of an animal, and he is half apologetic about using the crocodile, for he makes it say in the address to the orchestra after Paduma has been taken back to his city: 'I have come only to make you smile. Let that smile be increased into laughter, while I return to my forest. . . .' The difference in the use of supernatural characters also contributes to the difference in atmosphere. In U Kyin U's work the gods and demons were in keeping with the romantic atmosphere. On the whole they lacked seriousness of purpose, joining in the struggles of human beings through their own love of romance and adventure. They appeared so petty in the way they fought and quarrelled; the tree-god in *Daywagonban* indulged in undignified bragging when Daywagonban accused him of having stolen his princess, and it was childish and silly of Daywagonban to indulge

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374. OFFICIAL PASSING THE STREET.

representatives they are, attaining their position by the tacit suffrages of the public. Their sphere is not defined nor are their numbers fixed in any way. Influence is naturally centred in a few of the ablest, but these are not permitted to usurp it for themselves. The loyalty of the villagers rests on the reciprocal regard of the elders for the sentiments of the community; the *lûdyts*, though they moderate popular feeling, never take an unpopular course. The affairs which they manage are the local festivals and the religious undertakings in which the public life of the country centres and in which conflicting aims have to be conciliated. The laying out of ordinary irrigation channels and other village works are arranged by the *lûdyts*. They witness marriages and divorces, and generally regulate the social life of the people. A tacit agreement, parallel to that between the villagers and their headmen, bound the king and the people, whose sentiments were reflected by officials drawn from their midst.

If, not content with the consideration accruing through age and natural gifts for leadership, and with managing a business of his own, our Burman aspired to a public career, he might enter official life by attaching himself to the suite of some functionary. This he would do at first in a menial capacity, and, as he found favour, he might become secretary, deputy, and eventually attain to the chief dignities. A scion of royalty just out of his teens would be given a town or province to live on (*myoza*), as well as to govern by the help of deputies and advisers. But a son of the people would be gray before he climbed to such a position. The *myoza* had to remit a

375. BURMAN JUDGE PROCEEDING TO COURT.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
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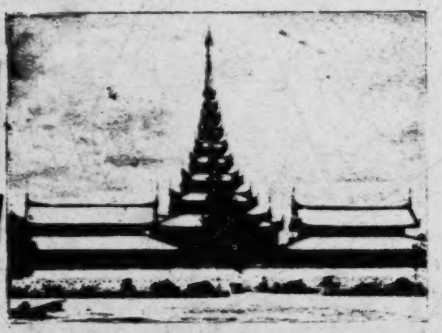

360. PALACE FRONT AND SPIRE.

The British administration preserves the native official machinery, from the *thadyt* to the *myoôk*, augmenting the numbers so as to reach every part of the area and curtailing the powers. Under native *régime* even *thadyts* might be *dâbaing*. The new *régime* takes account of the village *lûdyts* for the sake of their moral influence; many of them have been invested with power to compose differences up to small amounts, and some of the more prominent are honorary magistrates. Independent spirit is on the increase; the officials have to reckon with a new temper in the people. Nevertheless, in municipal councils the supineness and complaisance of the native members are calculated to stultify the position accorded to them. Road-making and sanitation do not arouse their interest, and the local excise, the matter they long to deal with, is excluded from their jurisdiction (*cf.* p. 157). The *thadyt* personally measures the fields, collects the land-tax and poll-tax from house to house, in such a circle as he can make the circuit of twice a year, and receives commission on the amount. He reports on matters within his circle. As many revenue-circles as a native magistrate can personally control are united into a township, under a *myoôk*, who at the same time supervises the co-ordinate grades of police distributed in the township. He publicly tries criminal and civil cases, under his powers as magistrate, by codes of law and procedure accessible to everybody. These codes form the most valuable models of system, in the vernacular, up to the present. By their help both judges and advocates have trained themselves in law. Five to eight townships, according to facilities for

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361. BURMAN PRINCESS.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
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382. ROYAL INSIGNIA.

supervision, are combined into a district under a European magistrate, the Deputy Commissioner, who has a European officer for district superintendent of police, commanding an average force of four hundred native constables. At the district headquarters are a police-depôt, treasury, jail and hospital, besides courthouses and offices. The district officer hears appeals from the *myoôks*, and tries all offences except the gravest and heavy civil suits. This organisation is the backbone of the civil government, the 'Commission.' There are thirty-six such districts, and four hundred native magistrates, on salaries of one hundred to eight hundred rupees a month, besides one hundred and twenty-five native honorary magistrates. The success of this economical administration, organised by Sir Arthur Phayre, in ensuring the safety of life and property and the fulfilment of contracts has given a new value to enterprise and thrift. The British garrison of Burma in 1900 consisted of three thousand European and seven thousand five hundred Indian regular troops.

To return to native Burma—In the centre of the capital, and by euphemism of creation, rises the *pyatthat* which canopies the principal throne in the great hall of audience, where envoys and tributary princes used to be received. Here also the princes of his own blood and the high officers of state paid court to the king on *gadáw-ne*, days when they craved pardon of the king for their shortcomings. The throne (No. 1) is ascended by a stair at the back, leading from the council-room of the king's cabinet of palace ministers, who were the medium of communication with the *Khalaw*. On such occa-

383. ANCIENT CAPITAL, SAGAING.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

644 on such occa-
sions the king appeared in the royal insignia, which otherwise only figure as
[643] emblems of state. The insignia in the illustration are surmounted by a queen's
crown (*sîbôn*). The shape of a king's crown is seen in Nos. 151 and 425. There
[346] being but a single palace and thousands of *kyaungs* and temples, the palace
[344] appears to resemble a *kyaung*. But the converse is the fact; the *kyaung* it
is which in virtue of its religious character shares the
643 distinction of the palace. The most recent style adopted
by the Burmian sovereigns was *Shin-Bayîn*—Lord of
Lords. A chief title was *Sinbyû Shin*—Lord of the
White Elephant. Every subject prostrated himself in
the presence of the king, with face averted from the
effulgence of the royal countenance. An official called
thandawzîn used to repeat aloud the words uttered by
the king. The ensign betokening the presence of the
[776] king and of the chief queen (*mîbayâ*) is the *tîbyû* (p. 101).
[532] Two to eight were borne according to the solemnity of the
occasion. The chief queens were frequently half-sisters
[588] of the kings. For all the royal acts, the lying, rising,
eating, speaking, there are euphemisms proper to the
occasion; one of the most current of these is *shwepaweddaw*
—the golden foot. At his demise the sovereign is said
to migrate to the abode of *nats* or delectable land; the
staff of his *tîbyû* was broken. The paraphernalia of the
king's service were elaborate; but in his attitude to
the *yakán* he comported himself as an ordinary man.
The Royal White Elephant was maintained in great
pomp; it ate and drank out of golden vessels and had
[231] a retinue for its service. An elephant really white—
probably an albino—was captured in 1805, but was
pampered so that it died. A second was captured in
1806 which lived for fifty years. Other "white ele-
phants" kept for state have enjoyed their reputation
in virtue of possessing certain assumed criteria of the
"white" variety, as to the number of the toes, direction
of the tail-tuft and other distinctions, without regard to the colour of the skin.
644 Change of capital at the accession of a new sovereign was characteristic of
Burman empire, even when there was no change of dynasty or other political
633 convulsion. Events of the latter kind were no doubt the original reasons of
such changes. Next to Pagán, Sagáing, on the right bank of the Irawadi,
facing the flat and now desolate site of Ava, is the most impressive of the

384. CARVED FIGURE OF NAT.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
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385. TEMPLES RAISED BY A MODERN KING (THE KUTHODAW p. 122).

historic centres of Burman dominion. Sagáing was abandoned for the last time in 1776 for a new capital at Amayapôya (*Amarapúra* — Abode of Immortals) half-way between Ava (*Inwa*) and the modern capital Mandalé, which was founded in 1857, after the accession of King Mindôn Min. The most ancient capital is Tagáung, one hundred miles north of Mandalé. Other capitals were Shwebô, Myinzaing, Pannya. The capitals of the Taláing dominion were Thatôn, Pegu, and Prome (*Pye*). Rangoon (*Yangôn*), at the meeting point of five navigable channels, and with anchorage for the largest ships, has out-distanced all competitors since the modern development of commerce.

For the history of Burma the only available source is the official chronicle kept by command of the kings—*mahâ-yazawîn*. The first part is occupied with the legendary origin of the race from the cloud-dwellers—*Byammâ* (the Burman form of *Brahma*).* The names and doings of legendary persons follow, and lines of legendary kings. The earliest historical facts which emerge are the founding of Tagáung, and incidents relating to the Buddha and the councils of his church in India. It is believed by Phayre that the *Savanna Bhumi* of ancient Indian books refers to Thatôn, and that under *Chryse Chersonesus* Ptolemy refers to the Eastern Peninsula of Asia. We do not reach a connected history till the founding of Pagán about 100 A.D. From that epoch onwards the history of the peninsula, until the Burman Empire was consolidated and the dynasty of

386. FIGURES OF BYAMMA (EMBROIDERY).

* The name is also written *Myammâ*, but commonly pronounced *Bamâ*, of which "Burma(h)" and "Birma" are corruptions.

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flung the spear at one or two of his father's trusted advisers; but it is not recorded that he ever actually killed anybody with his own hands. In fact, he got on fairly well with his ministers, having drilled the seniors into complete submission to his wishes, and appointed among the younger members those who were most of his own way of thinking. The most characteristic man in the Cabinet was the Hlethin Atwinwun, better known as the Hpaungwun. He was only of the second official grade, but none of the four wunmingyis had any real power. They dated from the last reign, and were practically over-ridden by the younger party. The king did, it is true, marry the daughter of the Kampat Mingyi, but that stolid old gentleman was always remarkable for his disinclination to do anything at all, and was not at all likely to exert himself unduly for the sake of precarious pre-eminence. Therefore the ex-Mayor of Mandalay, in conjunction with the Yanaung prince, a favourite of the Queen Supayalat's, and one or two others of the young Burman party, became the most representative ministers.

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The Atwinwun wore the dragon tattooed on the nape of his neck. Fourteen years before he was a slave, and in position little better than a coolie. His rise from this rank might have been a credit to him if it had been effected by his own powers. But he rose by a mere accident, and carried all the tendencies of his original position with him. In 1866, when two of King Thibaw's half-brothers, the Myingun and Myingundaing princes, rose in rebellion against their father, the late king, the Hpaungwun — he seems more familiar under his old title—was one of the guards in the palace. After the rebels had killed their uncle, "the War Prince," they made for the Summer Palace, where the king was at the time along with Colonel Sladen, the British Resident. The Summer Palace is a small building outside the stockade of the actual nandaw, and it was foreseen that his majesty would make immediately for the eastern gate, which is quite close at hand. A man was therefore stationed there with orders to kill King Mindôn whenever he made his appearance. All happened as had been surmised with one slight exception. Royal blood in Mandalay never went outside the palace on its own legs, and when his majesty

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reached the gate he promptly jumped on the intending regicide's back and bade him carry him over the esplanade. The man was so overcome by the royal presence, or so slavishly accustomed to do what he was ordered, that he obeyed. When they were safe within the inner stockade he stooped down to let the king dismount, and his sword fell from the folds of his waistcloth. None but the king may carry arms within the nandaw, and the Hpaungwun, grasping the situation, snatched up the sword and cut the man's head off. Mindôn Min, with a curious regard for this mixture of barbarity and rapidity of action, made the coolie a subordinate official on the spot, and since then the Hpaungwun has gone on distinguishing himself as on this occasion. He was promoted successively through the grades of slipper-bearer, tea-server, and betel-box holder to that of the Governor of the Royal Rafts or Barges (Hpaungwun), and Mayor of Mandalay (Myowun), which latter steps he gained through his activity in the palace massacres —loyalty and energy his patent called it. King Thibaw found in the prompt and ruthless wun a willing and enthusiastic helper in the murder of the princes and princesses. Naturally he was one of the king's firmest supporters, for Thibaw's fall meant his own certain death. His squat figure and vulturine face made him the most easily recognised of the court circle, and he repaid the aversion of Englishmen with a most demonstrative hatred. Perhaps this was because his features, and especially his nose, suggested a European among his forebears. As Hlethin Atwinwun, or Minister of the Interior, he had supreme command over all the lower fluviatile provinces, and had a large military force at his command. He escaped punishment and became a trader after the annexation.

Equally high in the king's favour, and not less fierce in their denunciation of the English, were the Taingda Atwinwun and the Yenangyaung, also of the same second grade. They, too, were prominent in the massacres, and were reputed to drink curaçoa in tumblers. If they really did, it would account for a great deal. Both were slaves of the young Thibaw prince when he was a boy in the English Missionary school, and followed his fortunes into the Royal

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Monastery. As chiefs of the Letthôndaw, the Royal Page Bodyguard, they had the opportunity which won their rank. A daughter of the Taingda married the Hpaungwun, and the Atwinwun in consequence gave occasional dinners to the European and quasi-European dwellers in Mandalay. The guests were, as a rule, not in a position to brave his anger by a refusal, and had to endure most elaborate indignities at his hands. All the most humiliating formalities of the palace had to be observed towards the young minister, and the *menu* was said, by the victims, to be the worst of them all. In regard to this, it must be remembered that it took a very great deal to hurt the dignity of some Mandalay Europeans, and also that they were as fickle as any mob.

These three atwinwuns were the most powerful ministers, and had greater influence with the king than any of their technical superiors. The four wungyis were, with the exception of the Upathi, of very little account with any one. The Laungshwe Mingyi had been for long nearly bed-ridden, and was not able to appear even at Mindôn's funeral. The other three had all been in Europe, but the most that can be said of the Kampat Mingyi is that he became the king's father-in-law, while the Yaw was absent for nearly two years on an expedition against the Shan mountaineers. He effected nothing warlike, and rumour said that he was so fully occupied in keeping the troops from dispersing to their homes that he had no time to fight. The fourth, however, was a remarkable man. The Upathi, better known as the Kinwunmingyi, had been very prominent for years, and he lived for twenty years after the annexation as a pensioner of the British Government. He used to be commonly spoken of as the premier on English analogy, but there was really no such dignitary known in Burma, and the Kinwungyi's substantive appointment was simply that of foreign secretary. He was twice to Europe on embassies, and his naturally acute mind was thus enlarged in its views. Had it not been for his great command over the public feeling, and his influence even over King Thibaw, there would certainly have been war between Burma and Great Britain in 1879. The foreign secretary was the representative of order and it was a bad thing for the

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country when he was almost entirely driven from power, if not from office. He was a master of oriental craft, and tided through all the intrigues against him. He held a document from the late king, granting him immunity from all kinds of death. The list is a very frightful one, and ranges from vulgar, obvious beheading to the refined cruelty of throwing on a spread-eagled victim a nest of the fierce red ants known as kāgyin, whose mandibles drive a man raving mad in little over a quarter of an hour. But the palm-leaf patent would have been of little avail without a head that was well able to take care of itself. Like many of the older and better ministers, the Upathi Mingyi came from the cloister to office. On Mindôn's accession to the throne, he at once appointed the Pakhan Mingyi from a monastery to be an atwinwun, and in no very great time to the supreme rank of mingyi, a skipping of the lower grades which was very unusual, as was also the circumstance that the new minister married one of King Tharrawaddy's widows. The Kin Wungyi was in the Pakhan's monastery, shared his rise, and when the patron, who never lost the bilious, monkish look, and the cold, stiff pôngyi's manner, obtained the deliverance, succeeded him as mingyi. Had he been permitted, the foreign secretary would have made Burma a very different country from what it was.

The Upathi was certainly a superior man, and compiled some valuable digests of Burmese law after his retirement in Rangoon, but undoubtedly the most singular of the Mandalay court officials was the Pangyet Wun. He was a polished gentleman, spoke English fairly and French and Italian fluently, and had considerably more than a veneer of civilisation. As a boy he was at school in Calcutta, and having been well grounded there, proceeded to France. There he took his degree at the Panthéon, obtained a diploma in the Central Imperial School of Arts and Manufactures in Paris, and was altogether nearly twelve years in Europe. Notwithstanding his reminiscences of Mabille and the Champs Elysées, however, he accommodated himself very well to circumstances. When the young Wun returned to Mandalay, King Mindôn had a long talk with him, and finally said: "And these foreigners, then, have

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they in any of their cities buildings such as adorn our Royal City of Gems?" Alas! your majesty," he replied, "the luckless people have not the magnificent teak; how, then, can they hope to raise anything comparable to the meanest of your palaces?" This courtier-like caution never deserted the Pangyet Wun. He never meddled with politics, and was content with his governorship of the glass manufactories, which meant anything or nothing, and commanded a nominal salary. But none of the ministers had any salary from King Thibaw, so that the cultured sinecurist was not worse off than his fellows. He consorted a good deal with foreigners, but averted suspicion by saying that it was merely to keep up his knowledge of their languages. No doubt he might have had a much higher post, but he had enough money, and did not care to run the risk of trying for more. That was also his view during the crisis and after the annexation.

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parties and pleaders in a suit. 14. Fearlessness in deciding cases, or being lion-hearted. 671

The supreme court in Burma was the Hlutdaw constituted of four wungyis, the chief ministers of state, who held their meetings in a hall within the palace, which took its name from the court. Each wungyi (great burden) had its wundauk (prop of the burden) as an assistant to sit with him in court. These wundauks formed the third rank of ministers, under the four atwinwuns (inner burdens), who were a kind of household ministers, or privy councillors, and sat in a special court, called the Byadeit, also in the palace. The latter had nominally as their chief duty to deal with the monopolies which Thibaw Min set himself to establish in such abundance. But as any man, no matter what special education or preparation he might have had, was considered eligible for any post, political, military, civil, or judicial, so both the Hlut and the Byadeit conducted all manner of business, from the external relations of the country to ordinary criminal or civil appeal cases sent up from the yôndaw, the criminal court, where the myowuns (city burdens), usually two in number, sat daily; or from the tayayôn, the civil court, where two tayathugyis (great men of the law) presided. In either of these inferior courts it was not at all uncommon for a wundauk, or even a wungyi, to attend and investigate important cases. But original suits were also frequently heard before the Hlut, and many cases were decided by the wungyis or any of the subordinate officials in their private houses. Formerly [651] indeed this was the chief source of their salaries, for costs to the amount of ten per cent on the property under dispute went of right to the judge. The late king instituted the custom of fixed salaries, and Thibaw Min retained it, but neglected to pay the money. It will thus be seen that law matters, even in the capital, were carried on in a very casual, haphazard sort of a way. There was no attempt at a distribution of public business into departments, and each individual wungyi took his part in deliberations on all kinds of subjects with as much confidence as if he were an expert.

If the capital displayed a lack of system, there was

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536* Burmese drama before, and most of U Ku's plays and *The History of*
177 *Thaton* and *Saw-phay and Saw-may* were produced at that theatre.
345 Admission to a performance was by payment, a practice alien to dramatic performances before the decadent period. The rise of 'matinee idols' resulted in the chief actor, instead of the leader of the orchestra, becoming the head of a troupe of actors. Formerly, a dramatic performance took place during the afternoon or early evening, but now because of the repeated applause for the popular 'idols', a performance lasted throughout the night.

554 I have stated how the prejudice against professional actors increas-
536* ed rather than diminished through the coming of popular actors or
178 actresses and the resulting rivalry between different troupes. But the prejudice was gradually overcome through the efforts of one man, Po Sein, who used to perform with two ex-soldiers standing beside him with rifles. By about 1912, his reputation as a leading actor was firmly established, and from that time onwards he concerned himself with raising the prestige of his profession by destroying the bitterness and the ugliness that had crept into it. By his charm of manner and personality, he soon established himself as the undisputed leader of the profession. His generous gifts to charity and irreproachable conduct soon acquitted the profession from the charge of immorality and irreligiousness. During the Great War he contributed much to the Red Cross Fund. For his services to charity and his profession, he was given a title by the Government in 1919. Such an honour had never been given before to an actor (had such a thing happened under the Burmese kings or even before 1914, the officials would certainly have vehemently protested, taking it as an insult to their class), and the Government's action was the final denial of the old dictum that actors and beggars were outside the pale of good society.

2. The Puppet Show

536* According to common tradition, the Burmese puppet show came
175 into being long before the drama, but as our knowledge of the history of the puppet show before the reign of Bodawpaya (1782–1819) is meagre, perhaps it will be better to consider first the puppet's history from that reign.

[645] It will be remembered that, as stated in Chapter II, Bodawpaya, under whom the court and the 'people's' dramas united together to give rise to a national drama, created a new ministry, that of the stage. The new minister, being a conservative courtier, wanted the drama

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
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572. VILLAGE ELDERS IN CONCLAVE.

disperse as quickly as it was recruited or else it might develop into a band under a regular leader (*Bô*) and become the scourge of the country, rapidly attacking points separated by days' journeys. Against such bands the villagers combine and keep guard; torches are ready for night alarms. But when the brigands are too strong, the villagers have no choice but to enter into league with them and pay blackmail if they would not experience the horrors of barbarous war. At present brigandage is of very sporadic occurrence. Travellers are perfectly safe.

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Throughout Burma every man was liable to serve in war. He would have his own sabre and pike and would be provided with musket and ammunition, but no further accoutrements. Latterly the king's body-guards wore a sort of uniform (No. 9). Cannon are mentioned as early as 1350, and a century later, matchlocks were in use. Cæsar Frederick in 1569 speaks of pikes and arquebuses and good cannon. When disbanded, the soldiers had to surrender their muskets, but numbers were smuggled away, to add to the rigour of the guerilla waged by brigands and the severity of the villagers' retaliation.

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573. BURMAN OFFICIAL RECEIVING APPLICANTS.

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The military leader is called *Bô*; the civil governor or minister of the king, *Wun*, which means a burden or trust. The former might be a young man, the latter but rarely so. Age and influence are almost synonymous in Burma. If the elders—headmen, *lôdyt*—are agreed upon a thing, it is done. The village elders represent the fundamental substratum of government in Burma. They are consulted by the officials on matters affecting the people, whose natural, if unofficial,

century, the punishment for abduction of women was en- 671
hanced from one of confinement in irons to that of death. 681
Thus what the English lawyer would understand by the term 671
"criminal law" was considered to be the personal concern of 643
the king. Therefore, when the ruling king died, and a new king ascended the throne, all persons undergoing punishment for crimes committed under the previous king, automatically were freed. Criminal jurisdiction therefore was considered to be merely an administrative function of the crown, and it concerned the executive, and not the judicial, officers of the state. Modern European writers have ever emphasized the despotism of Burmese kings, but the Royal Edicts proclaimed at the beginning of each reign clearly showed that the Burmese king was not a blood-thirsty individual devoid of all mercy. In the [692
Edicts, we find the king delegating the function of meting out 645]
criminal justice to three of his Chief Ministers, admonishing at the same time that they should temper justice with mercy. The king in the Edicts ordered that even in capital crimes, the [682]
punishment should be one of banishment, and the sentence of death was to be reserved for vicious criminals. Even when the sentence of death had been passed, the execution was to be postponed for at least ten days so as to enable the king to consider the case and alter the punishment to one of banishment if the facts justified such alteration.

But as in England, the king was considered to be the foun- 692
tain of justice, for his was the supreme court of the land. The 631
kingdom was divided into provinces, each under a viceroy. Each province was further divided into cities, each city under a governor. Each city or city area was subdivided into towns and each town or town area into villages, with a headman for each town and each village. The courts of the headmen of towns or villages dealt with suits of small value, and there was a right of appeal from those courts to the courts of the governors of cities. The courts of the governors exercised both original and appellate jurisdiction, and appeals from these courts lay to the court of the viceroy, which also exercised both

177. 87 876 metic book for an old man called Samuel who produced a series of swot books on various subjects, beautifully tabulated books with questions and answers, invaluable for examinations and used even in my day when we and our school teachers whisked them out of sight of Education Inspectors who came on the prowl for just such unprogressive methods of education. He also went across to the American Mission School where quite often the teachers were more Christian and painstaking than brilliant, to help old Teacher Nellie with Geometry riders, and in this way he met my mother.

873 593 562 582 My parents could not get married as soon as they left school. My father had first to go to the University, which consisted then of Rangoon College, affiliated to Calcutta University, and then he felt he must work to buy my grandmother a big enough plot of paddy land so that her two youngest sons would not need to look after her in Ye, but could come into the world like my father. He now felt that they should not be denied the wonderful opportunities which he had found. My father did go to College, but had passed only his F. A. (corresponding to Intermediate) when he heard that my mother was now going out to teach in a school at Thaton, and that she was having to put on a European gown and hat in order to be less conspicuous, because at that time no Burmese Buddhist ladies went out to work. My father left his studies at once and got a job in the same school to look after her, and it was only after some months of persuasion by Grandfather and my mother that he consented to leave and look for a better paid position.

● 647 177. 65 582 He managed to obtain a myookship in the Government Service, which is a junior administrative post but considered a very good job for Burmans in those days. In this job he could save enough to buy Grandmother her paddy land, after which he and my mother would get married. But my father with his good looks, his teetotaller habits, and his myookship, was considered a desirable son-in-law by many people, and other parents were not like Grandfather; they would try to engage the young man's affections for their daughters. I am sure my mother spent the next three years in some anxiety, as she heard stories of the young myook's gay and happy life in such far-off towns as Toungoo and Shwegyin. But one day the children dashed up to her with a telegram; she opened it and read *Gyi will you marry me.* My mother, who has never shown any excitement as far as I can remember, got up very quietly and went to her chest of drawers. She took out ten annas in change, and wired back *Yes.*

584 Soon after this my father arrived amidst great excitement on the part of my mother's family and a pretence of complete ignorance on Grandfather's part. My aunts expected an explosion from him when

1: Mi Mi Khaing 1-5 (no date) 1946 AP1 Burma
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CHAPTER FOUR

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BY the time that I was about four years old my father had become a Subdivisional Officer in the Civil Service, and our family had joined the ranks of what has now come to be known as the *minkadaw* class, an *a-so-ya min* being a government official and *minkadaw* the wife of a *min*. The minkadaws usually referred to were in the great majority the wives of officials of the Burma Civil Service, Class II, and by the time that we were passing through our childhood and adolescent years they already formed a very definite stratum in Burmese society. We children now comparing notes with the children of the minkadaws posted as far apart as Tavoy and Myitkyina can find common characteristics in all the households, from domestic commodities and meal habits to social conventions and standards of wealth. It is as though a new upper middle class has grown up, complete with snobberies, in what was formerly a classless Burmese society, but a class that still keeps itself quite apart from the European gymkhana life of the district towns.

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The houses which I can remember, when my father was a Subdivisional Officer in the subdivisional towns of Zigon and Myanaung where he was in charge of the subdivision, or in the divisional headquarters town of Magwe where the whole hierarchy of min from the Commissioner downwards were present, or in the district headquarters town of Maubin where the min ranked down from the Deputy Commissioner and my father was Headquarters Assistant, all bore certain uniform features. They were all wooden, two-storied and large, with a sufficient number of big rooms to have a dining-room and an office room below, a sitting-room above the portico and two big bedrooms, besides little verandahs and odd rooms. They all had a front staircase for common use and one or two ladder-like staircases behind for watermen, sanitation and servants. The kitchen was about 20 yards away, connected by a covered passage, and at the back of the large garden or compound was the *tanya*, a row of rooms for men servants and Indian [351] servants. The garden in front was usually modest owing to frequent changes of occupants, but a minimum amount of flowers for daily vases on the altar had always to be cultivated, and fruit trees were prized highly, guava, mango, marian or citron.

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Unlike most Burmese households we did not have any aunts or other relatives staying with us, but we had our full quota of domestic

517 along a ledge or parapet, and walked quietly round the pagoda with the paved stones so cool beneath our bare feet, while the grown-ups still prayed silently. As soon as they finished and got up, it was the signal to release our spirits and bound away to the far corner where the servants were already beginning to unpack the pots and arrange three stones around for each fire. We were allowed to cut up onions or chillies until we got bored, and spent the rest of the morning playing games or exploring the country around, coming back to find a meal miraculously cooked, with curries in lacquer dishes and rice in banana leaves. After the meal, mats were spread in the breeziest spot, and we lay down beside the grown-ups who told beads and talked by turns.

517 Garden orchards were another source of deep long whole-day joy.
● 647 The Burmese *u-yin* is usually translated as orchard, but after seeing
351 English apple and cherry orchards I must translate it more fully. An u-yin is more arboreal and leafy; also one must enjoy it positively, that is, there must be in it a bamboo or light wooden house. In a hot climate an u-yin raises visions of shade; cool dark shade, leaves, only a few flowers unless they are of flowering trees, eating of the fruits and vegetables while there, and lying on a mat in the afternoon breeze. None of the a-so-ya mins could possess u-yins or gardens like this where they were posted, because their stay was so transitory. But the education officer,

that is, the D.I.S. (District Inspector of Schools), whether active or re- 517
tired, was usually more permanent and could dig his toes in more 647
happily. The social relationship was also ideal. Earning less than the 351
other officials, he could yet offer them this rich hospitality of natural pleasures.

When we were in Maubin the D.I.S. was our friend U Taik Wan. 245
He and his family of ten sons and daughters had the u-yin developed to 252
its fullest. He had a low large house where the river took a bend and had fenced in this bed with bamboo stakes and a diving platform. The garden orchard stretched away from the house to a bamboo hut at the far end, with open verandahs under the trees. The speciality of his orchard were his sweet-sour marian trees. The marian is the *bonea Burmanica*, common to Burma and northern Assam, where it forms an ideal appetizer for the heat-drowsy inhabitants. It is sour, of a sharp biting sourness which now makes my mouth water with longing. It is too sour to eat except doused in strong salt sauce or fish paste, salt being our antidote to sourness, in which I differ from the English idea of cooking, for salt combines and merges in with sourness whereas a pound of sugar thrown into a gooseberry tart would still leave it too sour for me. The marian is a small fruit, green when young and orange-yellow when ripe, with a pretty purple seed which has given its name to the Burmese colour "mauve". There is a sweet variety which is not popular. Sometimes, however, a prize tree is found which produces a sweet-sour marian, a sour fruit with its sting taken off. Such a tree should be treated with the greatest care; its fruits must never be salted or pickled as sour fruits are treated, because the "sour" use would communicate itself to the tree by what may be called sympathetic magic. Rather, my mother made jam (with sugar) of these marians, for the improvement of U Taik Wan's tree.

My mother was very punctilious about such things; the girl servants 252
were never allowed to pluck the citron leaves for our salad because a 841
woman in menstruation makes the tender leaves of the citron tree curl 789
up and lose their succulence when she plucks them. U Taik Wan had a row of sweet-sour marian trees which he guarded from flying foxes by throwing a net across one face of them, showing a wall of these creatures hanging head downwards, to passers-by.

Our pyaw-pwè-sas at the Taik Wan's always began with a lot of 526
water-fun. We never used bathing dresses, but adapted our longyis for 291
swimming. This longyi is shaped and wrapped, like the more famous 515
sarong, at the waist normally, but women and girls take it above the bosom when they discard their jackets. This enables all our poorer women to bathe with perfect decorum at public wells and streams.

associated with fresh country mornings, dew on the grass and smoke from the wood fire, men and women with cheroots and red striped blankets flung over them grouped around the fire. A favourite way of eating kaukhnyin is to put it with a little salt into a bamboo stick that has been cut with a knotch to form a bottom, stop the top with a cork of paper and then roast it over a fire. By the time the stick is about to scorch, the rice is cooked and stuck together in a long tube held by a thin white skin from the inside of the bamboo. Cracked open and eaten with fried chicken it is delicious clean food; the best "kaukhnyin legs" and fried chicken were produced at Letpadan, in Tharawaddy district, for many years running. Other kaukhnyin eaters steam it with beans, pile it on lacquer trays and walk around to sell it in the early mornings about six o'clock, serving it on banana leaves, with sesamum salt and shredded coconut sprayed on top. 796 262

But htamanè is made ceremonially only once a year. Work parties of women used to come to our house the day before and sit under the trees cutting coconut and ginger into thin slices, shelling peanuts, picking husks out of the kaukhnyin, and winnowing this and the sesamum in cane trays. At about four the next morning my mother and the rest of the household got up, and helped by one or two of the young men from other houses, they made fires under the trees, put the kaukhnyin in big pans, with oil and all the prepared ingredients, and cooked if for hours, taking turns to stir the sticky mixture all the time while the others sat around the fire smoking and talking. In the early morning we put the htamanè into dishes for the monasteries and all the houses in the neighbourhood, into tins for sending away to relatives in other towns, and store-jars for keeping in the house to eat between meals.

These accounts of our life in the districts are of ceremonies and celebrations so far because I was a child in those days. My parents had their own pattern of life with a background of work. My father, as I have said, belonged to the Burma Civil Service, Class II. The administrative services in Burma included three grades of Civil Services: the I.C.S., which became the Burma Civil Service I after separation from India, the B.C.S., which then became B.C.S. II, and the Subordinate Civil Service. These three services supplied the executive administrative officers who were placed in charge of the various-sized units of administration, helped in their government by judicial administrative officers of corresponding ranks, and by officers for police, forests, education, excise and other public services for which a separate recruitment was made. 647

The myookship which my father obtained in 1912 was the most junior of these posts, usually filled by members of the Subordinate Civil 647 631

•647 631 Service and beginners in the B.C.S. II. It entailed the charge of a unit of administration known as the township, a collection of village tracts, with headquarters at a town of about two to five thousand inhabitants. The township officer supervised the administration of villages and the land system, helped in the suppression of crime and revenue collection, acted as government registrar, and carried out duties assigned to him by his senior officer. This was the Sub-divisional officer, in charge of two or three townships. Two or three sub-divisions were in turn grouped into a district under a Deputy Commissioner, a post attainable by members of the B.C.S. II before their term of service if they showed talent, but more often held by members of the B. C. S. I. Three to eight districts were grouped in divisions under a Divisional Commissioner who had civil and revenue powers and was responsible to the Governor for every department of public service except special branches directly under the control of the central government. There were eight Divisions in Burma.

When my father was an S.D.O. he had various magisterial, civil and revenue powers. Besides exercising these duties in the sub-divisional headquarters, he toured around the sub-division for about ten days in the month and we sometimes accompanied him. When he was stationed at Myanaung we went to Ingabu where my mother had good friends, Pauktaing where there was a great and revered Image of Buddha, Kyangin which had a thriving silk-weaving industry. In a township headquarters like Kyangin we met only the Township Officer although the town was divided into blocks or wards, each of which was under a headman whom my father also had to meet.

647 631 177, 63 621 But in a village like Pauktaing we came directly into contact with the headman, the *thugyi* or "elder person", who, as a source of local authority over villagers, is a carry over of the administrative system under the Burmese kings. The headmen in those days were properly described by their name of thugyi. They were chosen by the villagers and assisted in their duties by a group of elders. The headman distributed the burden of the revenue that was due from the village among the villagers and collected it, being allowed a percentage of the collections. He was the village magistrate and sometimes the village judge. New settlers in the village had to obtain his permission to take up abode. The office tended to become hereditary, and in those times when there was little contact between the central government and the local administration of the peasantry, the authority of a good headman was a strong influence that extended over more than one village. In present times, however, each village has been established as a separate administrative unit under one headman; the Township Officer, the Sub-divisional

Officer have appeared as higher sources of authority which are present not far away, and the village headman has lost much of his standing as elder person responsible for law and order, retaining chiefly his position as tax-collector. This is to the loss of village administration.

As a-so-ya mins, men like my father had more power and prestige than they had money. The salary of a B.C.S. II Officer, which ranged from Rs. 300/- to Rs. 900/-, was enough to ensure easy living and a certain amount of saving for old age, but in the place of the expensive carpets, glass, silver, uniformed servants and tinned foods which we saw in English officials' houses, they had to spend what might seem to foreigners a disproportionate amount on two items: jewellery for the women and financial help to relatives. Jewellery is not a vanity for a Burmese woman but an article of dress, worn both day and night, in varying degrees according to whether she is working or out on pleasure. The word for jewellery does not include any description of gems, but is *let-wut let-sa*: wear for the arms and such. When servant girls enter a household the humblest of them is given a gold chain to hang around her neck or a bangle for her wrist. Thus among the classes who have any money to spare beyond that for mere sustenance, from the more affluent cultivators, the small traders and shopkeepers and clerks, to "rich" land-owners, mill-owners and government officials, a great amount of money is spent on jewellery. Not to have any would be an unbearable shame.

A complete set of jewellery for a well-dressed woman comprises the following articles, all worn together when attending shinbyus, ear-boring and marriage ceremonies, official functions and numerous other occasions. For the hair a *sado*, a hairpin with a single large diamond on the end; a comb with teeth of gold and a row of diamonds set closely along the back of the rim; a *sein-pan gaing*, a gold hairpin with a cluster of flowers to hang and dangle, set with diamonds. These articles have the gold parts embedded in the knot of hair and only show the diamonds. Round the neck are worn the *lè-gat*, a narrow gold collar set widely with diamonds, fitting like a vice; below this a double row of small pearls tied tightly behind with red tassels; the *lè-ton* "trembling necklace"—a "choker" necklace—sitting so that little chains set with diamonds hang from it all round the neck and tremble; a chain with a diamond locket below this. In the ears are worn single diamond studs. On the jacket five diamond buttons, attached to gold rings set with diamonds, fasten the button loops. On the wrists and hands diamond bracelets and as many rings as possessed, of rubies, emeralds and sapphires set with diamonds are worn. A young girl also wears hollow anklets of gold round her ankles. In addition to the above, the richer minkadaws and wives of big traders possess corresponding pieces of rubies, emeralds and

1: Mi Mi Khaing I-5 (no date) 1946 AP1 Burma
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CHAPTER NINE

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MEN of my father's generation followed a definite pattern in the stages of their lives. They passed their infancy and early childhood playing around their mother's knee, but as soon as they were capable of receiving spiritual influence and training, the atmosphere of the monastery and the men of religion enwrapt them. Thus their spiritual life began at the monastery. After they left it they spent many stages in the world of offices and money-earning, but none of them could be reconciled to this as the final stage of their lives. They hoped to leave this when they were fifty or soon after, and go back full circle to spending the twilight in the atmosphere of religion, before they went out finally in childish decay to another and better existence. The retirement from the civil service was therefore a very important point in my father's life. The English term "pensioner" has come to be incorporated into popular Burmese usage, as *pin-sin tha-ma*, so full of meaning is it. Most men at this time look about for a town which will ensure easy living and performance of meritorious deeds, in which to settle down. We went back to Thaton because of our family connections, but, as it happened, Thaton was also the most noted town in Burma for the settling of pin-sin tha-mas; it was indeed the pensioner's paradise.

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Thaton is a very old town. From the fifth to the tenth century A.D. it flourished as the centre of a Buddhist kingdom of Talaings, while the greater Burmese capital at Pagan was still without the true faith. There the Burmese King and the people were under the sway of a body of monks called the Aris, whose hypnotic influence was exercised through the practice of ritualistic observances contrary to the teachings of the Buddha and of which they set themselves to be the high priests. To this capital came a Buddhist monk from Thaton called Shin Arahan. He came into the presence of the King with his staff and a simple robe and the stamp of an ascetic life on his face, but also with the serene assurance that a monk's life ennobled any man beyond all other men, for he went up to the throne of the King and sat upon it. King Anawrahta asked, "What is the true teaching of this holy religion, and where can one get its Books?" Shin Arahan then told the King of the Buddhist kingdom of Thaton and the sacred scriptures which were there. The King of Pagan sent messengers to Thaton for copies of the scriptures, but the proud King at Thaton would not yield them. The

Burmese King thereupon went down with an army which succeeded in carrying off King, Clergy and Scriptures from the unfortunate city of Thaton. King Manuha of Thaton languished on a throne seat of bare stone in Pagan, but the religion thrived and blossomed into the grandeur of the thousand pagodas and temples of Pagan, so that even today Burmans can see the white majesty of the Ananda and rejoice in the way their kings received and enshrined their faith. With king and religion transplanted, Thaton fell into a decline, and soon lost her trade also, for the sea coast extended and left Thaton a dry inland town. However, [133] it never lost its reputation as the old seat of religion; its rich geographical features also remained—a soil which can grow rice, fruits and plantations of other crops in abundance; its easy access to the big towns of Moulmein and Rangoon; the Martaban Hills which were ranged behind the town, and over which waterfalls tumbled down to cross the red laterite roads as streams of clear water.

Most pensioners, by the time they retired, had already established some form of livelihood other than the drawing of their pension. My father owned two rubber plantations just outside Thaton, each about 110 acres. Burma is not one of the chief rubber producing areas of the world, but the country round Tenasserim is suitable for rubber-growing and produced the greater part of what was, in 1939, a total of over 22,000,000 lbs. Thaton district contained about 15,628 acres of rubber, between big planters and many small plantations like ours.

My parents started our estates in the form of clearings which they planted with the help of my grandfather in about 1910, before my father became a myook, and were in time to reap the riches of the great boom in the post-war years, when they were selling rubber at Rs. 2/- per lb. and my father bought a motor boat and my mother many diamonds. As a Government servant my father was not allowed to work at any trade, so he handed over the possession of the estates to my mother's sister, our Kyi-Kyi Lon, who all her spinster life has devoted herself to my mother and to us. She worked the estates for us and, in the awful years of the slump that followed, we quite forgot indeed that we owned any such things as rubber plantations, for the only connection which my father ever had with them, the receipt of money from Kyi-Kyi, disappeared completely. In 1935, however, when my father retired, the market for rubber had just begun to stir into being, the Burma Rubber Committee allowed planters like us an annual quota of about 20,000 lbs or two-thirds of our production, which we hoped to sell at roughly as. 7 per lb, and my father was free to work them again. He had no technical knowledge and the minimum amount of business acumen, and I never ceased to wonder how money could come to us in this haphazard way. We

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

lata for the original flavoured earth, and of Thale rice for the leguminous creeper, desire arose among them, and four of the men took the four women to wife. The fifth man naturally resented being left compulsorily single, and pelted the happy couples with stones on their marriage night. Sympathy with the feelings of this archetypal bachelor has perpetuated the stone-throwing by the lu-byos down to the present day, and if there is no dearth of eligible spinsters in our times, the lonely bachelor may be allowed to express his envy of his friend's bliss without being accused of anything but gross cupidity. 585 773

After marriage the couple almost always live for two or three years in the house of the bride's parents, the son-in-law becoming one of the family and contributing to its support. Setting up a separate establishment, even in Rangoon, where the young husband is a clerk in an English office, is looked upon with disfavour as a piece of pride and ostentation. If the girl is an only daughter, she and her husband stay on till the old people die. 591 583

Polygamy is recognised and permitted, but practically does not exist now in British territory. A man with more than one wife becomes a subject of common talk, and a native official now living is well known all through the delta as the myo-ok with twenty wives. In native territory the right to have several wives was equally little used in practice. Many of the high officials who travelled about over large districts had wives in almost all the towns they visited —a custom in great measure induced by the rule which provided that the mayā-gyi, the chief wife, had to be left in Mandalay as a hostage for the fidelity of the official. But the great bulk of the people are, and always have been, monogamous. King Mindôn had fifty-three recognised *wives*, of whom thirty-seven survived him. His children numbered one hundred and ten, of whom upwards of fifty survived him. Besides the wives, like Solomon, he had numerous concubines. So, indeed, have many lesser people. 595 [647]

The forbidden degrees are few. Marriages with mother, daughter, sister, and half-sister, aunt, grandmother, and granddaughter, are forbidden, but none else. A son may marry his stepmother; it is expressly mentioned in the 582

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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parties and pleaders in a suit. 14. Fearlessness in deciding cases, or being lion-hearted. 671

The supreme court in Burma was the Hlutdaw constituted of four wungyis, the chief ministers of state, who held their meetings in a hall within the palace, which took its name from the court. Each wungyi (great burden) had its wundauk (prop of the burden) as an assistant to sit with him in court. These wundauks formed the third rank of ministers, under the four atwinwuns (inner burdens), who were a kind of household ministers, or privy councillors, and sat in a special court, called the Byadeit, also in the palace. The latter had nominally as their chief duty to deal with the monopolies which Thibaw Min set himself to establish in such abundance. But as any man, no matter what special education or preparation he might have had, was considered eligible for any post, political, military, civil, or judicial, so both the Hlut and the Byadeit conducted all manner of business, from the external relations of the country to ordinary criminal or civil appeal cases sent up from the yôndaw, the criminal court, where the myowuns (city burdens), usually two in number, sat daily; or from the tayayôn, the civil court, where two tayathugyis (great men of the law) presided. In either of these inferior courts it was not at all uncommon for a wundauk, or even a wungyi, to attend and investigate important cases. But original suits were also frequently heard before the Hlut, and many cases were decided by the wungyis or any of the subordinate officials in their private houses. Formerly [651] indeed this was the chief source of their salaries, for costs to the amount of ten per cent on the property under dispute went of right to the judge. The late king instituted the custom of fixed salaries, and Thibaw Min retained it, but neglected to pay the money. It will thus be seen that law matters, even in the capital, were carried on in a very casual, haphazard sort of a way. There was no attempt at a distribution of public business into departments, and each individual wungyi took his part in deliberations on all kinds of subjects with as much confidence as if he were an expert.

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If the capital displayed a lack of system, there was

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If the capital displayed a lack of system, there was certainly little to be expected from the provinces. The same general system prevailed in the separate districts. Each one was ruled by a governor, or myowun, appointed by the Hlutdaw or by the king, and armed with full powers, military, judicial, civil, and fiscal. Appeals might be sent from his decisions to the Hlut, but otherwise he was entirely irresponsible, as long as he was regular in forwarding the prescribed revenue to the myosa, the prince or princess, or other great personage who "ate" the province. The "town-eater" almost never went to his district, so that it was entirely at the mercy of the myowun, and might be squeezed by him as much as he thought proper and judicious. The subordinate officials varied in different provinces according to their requirements. All, however, had myosayes, secretaries, or town-clerks, nahkandaws, "receivers of the royal orders," and sikkès, chiefs in war, military officers, who formed a provincial council or court holding daily sittings and making reports to the myowun. In some districts, according to the duties, there were in addition to these an akunwun, or revenue superintendent, an akaukwun, or collector of customs, as also in riparian districts a yewun, or myitsinwun, who had a jurisdiction over the entire river. This authority, however, very often vested in one of the governors. Thus the last Wun of Minhla had power of life and death, as high sheriff of the Irrawaddy, from his own town, close on the British frontier, right up to Sagaing, not far below Mandalay. Other officials were the htaunghmu, or jailer, the tagāhmu, governors of the gates, called windawhmu in the capital, where they were very important officers, and the ayatgaung, heads of quarters, in all the larger towns. Under each governor of a province were a number of governors of the separate towns under his jurisdiction. These were called myoôk when the appointment was temporary, or only for life, and myothugyi when it was hereditary, as was most frequently the case. Besides these, in some of the provinces there were taikthugyi, governors of circles or groups of villages, each of which had its own ywathugyi, who in turn had under him sundry gaungs to look after each his specially allotted number of houses. As each of these subordinates had to send in regularly to his

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

immediate superior a certain fixed sum, determined without regard to favourable seasons, health of the population, or anything of that kind, and as each man was judge over the people in his charge, it may naturally be supposed that the general population did not lead a very happy life. Complaints might be made against extortion and illegal decisions, but the heads of tracts, if they had the money, could always stifle inquiry. 692 647

Some of the laws deduced from Manu's eighteen original enactments strike one as being rather singular. For example, if two men quarrel and fight and one of them is killed, there is no penalty; but if a third party interferes and kills or injures one of the original combatants, he must pay the ordinary fine for murder, or causing hurt. Should he himself be killed, the other two are subject to no penalty. When a man is guilty of adultery with another man's wife, if it be proved to be the first time, he must pay the fine for adultery, usually the price of the woman, assessed according to the judge's opinion; if it is her second offence, he only pays half the fine; but if she has been guilty for a third time, he pays no penalty at all. 671 673

If one man curses another and some evil happens, he must pay twice the price of the damage incurred; thus, if the man dies he must pay twice the value of a man; two cows if a cow dies, and so on.

When the king dies there is a general pardon of all offences, and a remission of fines, except in the case of debt. There are also seven things which cannot be reclaimed after the death of the king under whom they were promised or given. These are:—1. Deposits. 2. Pledges. 3. Money paid wrongly by the parties in a law-suit. 4. Things carried off by violence, or seized upon without sufficient title. 5. Promises. 6. Things secretly stolen. 7. Things that have been voluntarily given up by one man and taken possession of by another. 673 643

The decisions of Mahawthata, Princess Thudhammasari, and others are of little value from a strictly legal point of view. They are chiefly of a religious character. The princess begins by saying that her cases are to be considered as guides to nobles and judges as to the line they 671 773

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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A state envelope was a very curious affair. It was nothing else but two large elephant's tusks. Half-way up they were hollow, and on the mouth there was a heavy gold cover. The tusks were mounted in different parts with gold of no mean thickness. The letter of the lord of the Golden Throne was deposited inside, and borne to its destination with the flourish of trumpets and the braying of drums. The majesty of the Burmese king would have suffered if he had forwarded a communication to the Viceroy in a cover which cost anything under a couple of hundred pounds sterling. In similar fashion the reports of subordinate officials were written with steatite pencils on coarse black paper, and this was rolled up and put in a hollow joint of bamboo. The whole was then enveloped in cloth and sealed with a peacock seal. Communications of this kind were sometimes received by English officials on the British Burma frontier.

The following are a few proverbs:—

If you want to go fast, go the old road.

Wisdom guards life; no one can escape bad luck. The man gifted with wisdom is never left in peace.

Every bird is handsome compared with the vulture.

A mountain is climbed by degrees; property acquired by degrees; wisdom learnt by degrees.

Have regard for a whole family of rats, instead of for one cat.

The more you know, the more luck you have.

A short boat is hard to steer; a dwarf is quick in the temper.

If a cock ruffles up his feathers, it is easy to pluck him. If a man gets angry he is done for.

Constant cutting dulls the knife; constant talking dulls the wits.

A pot half full of water is hard to carry (on the head, of course; because the water sways from side to side); the less a man knows, the harder he is to argue with.

A cow that can give no milk will kick. An ignorant man is to be feared for his ignorance.

If there is much paddy (unhusked rice) in the bowl, it is hard to eat. If there is much talking it is hard to understand.

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

CHAPTER VII

GOVERNMENT

'Fire, water, storms, robbers, rulers—these are the five great evils.'
—*Burmese saying.*

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IT would be difficult, I think, to imagine anything worse than the government of Upper Burma in its later days. I mean by 'government' the king and his counsellors and the greater officials of the empire. The management of foreign affairs, of the army, the suppression of greater crimes, the care of the means of communication, all those duties which fall to the central government, were badly done, if done at all. It must be remembered that there was one difficulty in the way—the absence of any noble or leisured class to be entrusted with the greater offices. As I have shown in another chapter, there was no one between the king and the villager—no noble, no landowner, no wealthy or educated class at all. The king had to seek for his ministers among the ordinary people, consequently the men who were called upon to fill great offices of state were as often as not men who had no experience beyond the narrow limits of a village.

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

647 643 The breadth of view, the knowledge of other countries, of other thoughts, that comes to those who have wealth and leisure, were wanting to these ministers of the king. Natural capacity many of them had, but that is not of much value until it is cultivated. You cannot learn in the narrow precincts of a village the knowledge necessary to the management of great affairs; and therefore in affairs of state this want of any noble or leisured class was a very serious loss to the government of Burma. It had great and countervailing advantages, of which I will speak when I come to local government, but that it was a heavy loss as far as the central government goes no one can doubt. There was none of that check upon the power of the king which a powerful nobility will give; there was no trained talent at his disposal. The king remained absolutely supreme, with no one near his throne, and the ministers were mere puppets, here to-day and gone to-morrow. They lived by the breath of the king and court, and when they lost favour there was none to help them. They had no faction behind them to uphold them against the king. It can easily be understood how disastrous all this was to any form of good government. All these ministers and governors were corrupt; there was corruption to the core.

647 652 When it is understood that hardly any official was paid, and that those who were paid were insufficiently paid, and had unlimited power, there will be no difficulty in seeing the reason. In circumstances like this all people would be corrupt. The only securities against bribery and abuse of power are adequate pay, restricted authority, and great publicity. None

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

of these obtained in Burma any more than in the Europe of five hundred years ago, and the result was the same in both. The central government consisted of the king, who had no limit at all to his power, and the council of ministers, whose only check was the king. The executive and judicial were all the same: there was no appeal from one to the other. The only appeal from the ministers was to the king, and as the king shut himself up in his palace, and was practically inaccessible to all but high officials, the worthlessness of this appeal is evident. Outside Mandalay the country was governed by *wuns* or governors. These were appointed by the king, or by the council, or by both, and they obtained their position by bribery. Their tenure was exceedingly insecure, as any man who came and gave a bigger bribe was likely to obtain the former governor's dismissal and his own appointment. Consequently the usual tenure of office of a governor was a year. Often there were half a dozen governors in a year; sometimes a man with strong influence managed to retain his position for some years. From the orders of the governor there was an appeal to the council. This was in some matters useful, but in others not so. If a governor sentenced a man to death—all governors had power of life and death—he would be executed long before an appeal could reach the council. Practically no check was possible by the palace over distant governors, and they did as they liked. Anything more disastrous and fatal to any kind of good government than this it is impossible to imagine. The governors did what they considered right in

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16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

586 'I did not know,' she said; 'I was hot-tempered. I was foolish. But now I know. Ah! the house is so lonely! I have but two ears, I have but two eyes, and the house is so large.'

But the husband refused again.

'What is done, is done. Marriage is not to be taken off and put on like a jacket. I have made up my mind.'

[762] Then he went away, and after a little the woman went away too. She went straight to the big, lonely house, and there she hanged herself.

You see, she loved him all the time, but did not know till too late.

Men do not often apply for divorce except for very good cause, and with their minds fully made up to obtain it. They do obtain it, of course.

586 177 647 With this facility for divorce, it is remarkable how uncommon it is. In the villages and amongst respectable Burmans in all classes of life it is a great exception to divorce or to be divorced. The only class amongst whom it is at all common is the class of hangers-on to our Administration, the clerks and policemen, and so on. I fear there is little that is good to be said of many of them. It is terrible to see how demoralizing our contact is to all sorts and conditions of men. To be attached to our Administration is almost a stigma of disreputableness. I remember remarking once to a headman that a certain official seemed to be quite regardless of public opinion in his life, and asked him if the villagers did not condemn him. And the headman [554] answered with surprise: 'But he is an official'; as if officials were quite *super grammaticam* of morals.

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

Yet this is the class from whom we most of us obtain our knowledge of Burmese life, whom we see most of, whose opinions we accept as reflecting the truth of Burmese thought. No wonder we are so often astray. 586 177 647

Amongst these, the taking of second, and even third, wives is not at all uncommon, and naturally divorce often follows. Among the great mass of the people it is very uncommon. I cannot give any figures. There are no records kept of marriage or of divorce. What the proportion is it is impossible to even guess. I have heard all sorts of estimates, none founded on more than imagination. I have even tried to find out in small villages what the number of divorces were in a year, and tried to estimate from this the percentage. I made it from 2 to 5 per cent. of the marriages. But I cannot offer these figures as correct for any large area. Probably they vary from place to place and from year to year. In the old time the queen was very strict upon the point. As she would allow no other wife to her king, so she would allow no taking of other wives, no abuse of divorce among her subjects. Whatever her influence may have been in other ways, here it was all for good. But the queen has gone, and there is no one left at all. No one but the hangers-on of whom I have spoken, examples not to be followed, but to be shunned. 586 587 [177] [643]

But of this there is no manner of doubt, that this freedom of marriage and divorce leads to no license. There is no confusion between marriage or non-marriage, and even yet public opinion is a very great check upon divorce. It is not considered right to 581 586

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day on the calendar but the second phongyi decided to embark anyway. Both phongyis were lost when the boat sank that day.

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The revered position of phongyis is open to all regardless of birth or position. It is felt that some take up the robe because they are unsuccessful in life, or wish an "easy living" - but perhaps this attitude is one of modern sophisticates. Certainly the dominant position of the brotherhood is unchallenged. Occasionally differences arise between the headman and the phongyis of a village. But the phongyis invariably prevail. Offending laymen can be "deprived the gate of heaven" by phongyis refusing to accept HSOON, alms, from th This is called inverting the begging bowl THA-BEIT-MAUK-TAI (Begging bowl-upturn) and is the current phrase for any sort of a "strike".

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Some unprincipalled phongyis have sought to enrich themselves by accepting gifts of land or other property, or by selling gifts for money to traders When they leave the brotherhood and become laymen again this property become theirs. Such occurences appear to be rare and are controlled by stipulations of the givers. For example a donor would hesitate to give paddy land to a suspected phongyi but might agree to giving the crops while retaining title.

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The government or administrative class is looked up to with great respect - in part a carry over from the days of royalty, in part an attitude towards power and influence. However, while the villager today may not know the details of the new constitution he knows there is a "code" wherein he can secure impartial justice.

Zi: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1980) 1987 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

173 drama. In 1916 I saw a *Nibbatbhin* at the obscure town of Pauk.
178 For this period, I am greatly indebted to the notes made by my
536 father. They are the results of inquiries and researches spread over
12] a period of forty or fifty years. I realize that to many European scholars the section on the *Nibbatbhin* must appear conjectural in its dependence on tradition. My plea is that at present there is nothing else to depend on.[1]

15 With regard to the interlude, I am on surer ground. Again I
536 depend much on tradition, but it is now tradition supported by
[791] evidence. Besides the general and common tradition, there is the tradition of the spirit mediums and actors, and, as I shall explain, the
127 tradition of my own family.
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Professional tradition of the mediums and actors is more reliable
[791] than common tradition because the two professions, especially the former, are closed fraternities, and as written records were never in use, they handed down the facts regarding the nature and history of their callings by word of mouth. To them oral tradition was as strong as written records. Moreover, their oral tradition can be checked by the stage conventions which exist at the present day. The various stage conventions are considered in Chapter VII.

The tradition in my family[2] begins from about the year 1800. About that time, an officer[3] in the victorious army of King Bodawpaya

[114] [1] Even Harvey, who wrote his *History of Burma* at Exeter College, Oxford, often accepts oral tradition supported by no other evidence as substantially correct (*History of Burma*, pp. 33, 41, 211, 252, 267, 299). In two instances, pp. 33 and 41, the tradition cited dates back to the eleventh century A.D.

[2] My father is U Pein, District Magistrate, Burma Commission, now retired. In Burma, historical researches and inquiries are often made by administrative officials, as their duties carry them all over the country and to the remotest villages. Messrs Harvey, Stewart, Furnivall—great names in the Burma Research Society—are all officials belonging to the Burma Commission.

[3] He was Maha Minhla Mindin Raza.

I have to cite in this section the full names and official positions of some members of my family because:

1. As the Burmese use no surnames, my name alone would not convey
[551] anything regarding their identity.

2. The service record of the family may perhaps be construed as evidence in favour of the reliability of its tradition. G. E. Harvey, op. cit., p. 310 where he rejects Fuhrer's statement regarding an inscription because the 'precious slab has never been produced, and in view of Fuhrer's service record its production is essential.'

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

was appointed viceroy of the Seven Hill Districts of Mindon, situated between Arakan and the river Irrawaddy. It was during the Age of Triumph, the period when the native interlude and the Siamese-influenced court drama were being fused. At the miniature court of the viceroy were presented interludes and court plays, and *Hanmar* were publicly recited. In his palace,[1] a special apartment was built for the regular performance of plays and interludes, a special troupe of actors was taken under his patronage, and more famous troupes were often invited from the capital. In 1824 the unfortunate viceroy failed to stem the advance of the British forces, and he was executed and his palace burnt by royal order. From 1825 to 1852, the date of the second Anglo-Burmese war, Mindon was administered directly from the capital, and times were difficult; therefore dramatic performances at Mindon were few and far between. Though the son of the late viceroy was living, he wisely chose to leave the court, the administration of justice and politics alone, and as a result, he had neither the influence nor the wealth to patronize the drama. Therefore, as far as the drama was concerned, a gap resulted in the tradition of the family. In 1852 the British annexed the whole of Lower Burma, and Mindon passed into British hands. The viceroy's grandson was appointed chief administrative officer. This officer, my great-grandfather, took his office to be exactly similar in rank to that of his grand-sire, and though the British Government did not know of it—or the authorities at Rangoon did not care—he restored in effect the court of his grandfather, and dramatic performances were revived.[2] To him I am indebted for preserving much of the custom and tradition of the executed ancestor. To his revival of official performances of plays and interludes, I owe my information gathered from members of my family and the townspeople of Mindon. While the court poet, U Pon Nya, was further developing the drama, continuing the work of U Kyin U at the Burmese capital of Mandalay, in the out-of-the-way town of Mindon the interludes were still being performed. But it must not be supposed that Mindon was the only place where the interlude lived on. It survived in many places alongside the plays of the two great dramatists. But only from Mindon have I been able to obtain first-hand information and

[1] Though it was termed the 'palace', it was by no means a stately mansion or an imposing castle. Except for its gilded spires, emblems of the king's authority, it was just a big house of timber and bamboo with thatched roofs.

[2] He was U Sauk, Extra Assistant Commissioner.

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

accounts regarding it. Apart from the notes gathered by my father, I base my information on the accounts given to me orally by my grandmother and grand-aunts who actually saw the interludes performed.

In support of the oral tradition regarding the nature of the interlude, there are some echoes of it in the plays of U Kyin U. He developed the interlude into a proper play, but the change was not a sudden one, and in his plays we find echoes of the interlude in its various stages. His plays are considered in detail in another chapter. There are also contemporary references to the interlude. Even from an English pen we have an account. Colonel Yule in 1855 saw an entertainment midway between the interlude and the developed plays of U Kyin U.[1]

The period of the court plays offers an easier task for research. The *Rama* play from Siam is preserved, with adaptations, it is true, but with notes on the original when a change was made in the preserved version.[2] The other Siamese play of *Eenaung* has come down to us. The poem *Rama-yagan* which Burmanized the *Rama* story has also come down. Accounts of the performances of the court plays and the recitation of the poem at court are many and well known. From the time when they were first composed down to the present day, the works of these court poets and dramatists have been studied and read. The influence of these works on the interlude is suggested, not only by the 'internal evidence' in U Kyin U's plays, but also by the editorial prefaces to the works in their various editions.

Though only three plays of U Kyin U exist at the present day as far as is known, the period is quite easy of research, because references and notes regarding him occur in various records of the court and the nobility, and because the Burma Research Society has published new editions of two of his plays; and though the prefaces to them are short and no attempt is made to make a complete study, suggestions for further study and research are made by the editors.

The period of U Pon Nya offers the easiest task, as compared with other periods, so far as research is concerned. All his plays are

[1] H. Yule, *A Narrative of the Mission sent by the Governor-General of India to the Court of Ava in 1855*. His description of the dramatic entertainment he saw is considered again in the next chapter in connexion with Sir William Ridgeway's theory of the development of the Burmese drama.

[2] There is a copy of the *Rama* play in the British Museum. It is wrongly catalogued as by U Ka, who was only the editor. All these plays and the poem have been printed again and again, and are easily obtainable in Burma.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

574. OFFICIAL PASSING THE STREET.

representatives they are, attaining their position by the tacit suffrages of the public. Their sphere is not defined nor are their numbers fixed in any way. Influence is naturally centred in a few of the ablest, but these are not permitted to usurp it for themselves. The loyalty of the villagers rests on the reciprocal regard of the elders for the sentiments of the community; the *lûdyts*, though they moderate popular feeling, never take an unpopular course. The affairs which they manage are the local festivals and the religious undertakings in which the public life of the country centres and in which conflicting aims have to be conciliated. The laying out of ordinary irrigation channels and other village works are arranged by the *lûdyts*. They witness marriages and divorces, and generally regulate the social life of the people. A tacit agreement, parallel to that between the villagers and their headmen, bound the king and the people, whose sentiments were reflected by officials drawn from their midst.

If, not content with the consideration accruing through age and natural gifts for leadership, and with managing a business of his own, our Burman aspired to a public career, he might enter official life by attaching himself to the suite of some functionary. This he would do at first in a menial capacity, and, as he found favour, he might become secretary, deputy, and eventually attain to the chief dignities. A scion of royalty just out of his teens would be given a town or province to live on (*myosa*), as well as to govern by the help of deputies and advisers. But a son of the people would be gray before he climbed to such a position. The *myosa* had to remit a

575. BURMAN JUDGE PROCEEDING TO COURT.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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376. JUDGE PRESIDING IN COURT (YON).

fixed annual revenue to the treasury, and he retained such excess as he could raise for himself. Even more cynical than the appellation of *myoza*, but nevertheless officially accepted, is that of his deputy, *thwethauttyi*, or bloodsucker. The revenue exactions were variable, and were levied with little regularity; outlying localities escaped altogether. The people of such places were almost without ostensible govern-

[651] ment. The 3-rupee household tax of 1862 had advanced to 10 Rs. in 1886 (*Thathameda*). There were also special imposts and special exemptions. The original style and address of the king came to be adopted by his deputies, as more high-sounding titles were devised for him. Every officer is now addressed

647 *Payà* and spoken of as *min*, which means ruler, prince. The full style of high

554 officials used to occupy several lines of a document; there were the traditional titles of the office and territory, the prerogatives granted by the king, conspicuous among which were the number of red and gold umbrellas allotted to the rank, and the executive powers, such as *dâbaing*, holder of the sword. The last-named symbol was borne before the officer as arbiter of life. The lower grades of office were, and in many places still are, hereditary, especially that of *thadyt*, the appointed headman who levies the taxes from the people (literally

[349] the poor, *sinyètha*). The Burmese correlative of *official* is significant; no matter how wealthy he be, one who holds no office is a "poor" man—at the mercy of the *asòya*. If the rapacity of an official under the old *régime* grew intolerable, he incurred the risk of assassination, without much likelihood of being avenged by the central authority. The religious aversion to be

377. THE CITY GATE (PYA-O).

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

378. THE PALACE GARDENS.

the cause of suffering and death, and the discredit reflected on officialdom by its methods, lead the best elements of the population to shun office, as a touching of pitch. The dearth of ability and character in the governing classes leaves the governed without efficient protection. The religious motive further operates in withholding information about criminals. 647 554 [341] [779 674]

A pregnant category is that of the "five enemies"—Fire, Water, Robbers, Rulers, Ill-wishers. The governors and deputies who acted as judges heard causes at the *yôn*, an open shed in a public place. But every cause was presented in the first instance at the house of the official, and it is contrary to accepted ideas of politeness to approach a superior empty-handed, even on a mere visit of courtesy. The *pros* and *cons* of the case were understood before the regular hearing. At the hearing, the advocates of the parties (*ashé-ne*) publicly presented their pleas and the evidence was recorded. The Burmese form of oath is to take the *kyanza* in the hands, a book of imprecations which the witness invokes on his head if he should speak falsely. The judge or judges intimated their finding to their clerks (*sayé*), who recorded it in official style and read it out. The punishments awarded to criminals and the condition of prisoners were much like those prevailing in Europe at the time of the Renaissance. Every judgment of importance was registered in the *Hluttaw* or chancellery at the capital, presided over by the four chief ministers (*Wundyi*), through whom all royal commands to the governors of provinces issued. There was no regular system of appeals. The Hindu code of Manú served as a body of law, and statutes were decreed by the kings; but *thusan* (custom) supplied standards of a more practical and stable nature. 695

379. ROYAL MAID OF HONOUR (APYODAW).

[291] [681] [692] [671]

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

382. ROYAL INSIGNIA.

supervision, are combined into a district under a European magistrate, the Deputy Commissioner, who has a European officer for district superintendent of police, commanding an average force of four hundred native constables. At the district headquarters are a police-depôt, treasury, jail and hospital, besides courthouses and offices. The district officer hears appeals from the *myôks*, and tries all offences except the gravest and heavy civil suits. This organisation is the backbone of the civil government, the 'Commission.' There are thirty-six such districts, and four hundred native magistrates, on salaries of one hundred to eight hundred rupees a month, besides one hundred and twenty-five native honorary magistrates. The success of this economical administration, organised by Sir Arthur Phayre, in ensuring the safety of life and property and the fulfilment of contracts has given a new value to enterprise and thrift. The British garrison of Burma in 1900 consisted of three thousand European and seven thousand five hundred Indian regular troops.

To return to native Burma—In the centre of the capital, and by euphemism of creation, rises the *pyatthat* which canopies the principal throne in the great hall of audience, where envoys and tributary princes used to be received. Here also the princes of his own blood and the high officers of state paid court to the king on *gadaw-ne*, days when they craved pardon of the king for their shortcomings. The throne (No. 1) is ascended by a stair at the back, leading from the council-room of the king's cabinet of palace ministers, who were the medium of communication with the *Hluttaw*. On such occa-

383. ANCIENT CAPITAL, SAGAING.

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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teenth-century ancestors from the factory at Bhamaw, far up the Irrawaddy on the confines of China; but Bagyidaw, the king, said, like the Lord Buddha, "All can take life, but who can give it back?" The Burmese annalist relates: "The kalabyu, the white strangers from the west, fastened a quarrel upon the Lord of the Golden Palace. They landed at Rangoon, took that place, and Prome, and were permitted to advance as far as Yandabo; for the king, from motives of piety and regard to life, made no effort whatever to oppose them. The strangers had spent vast sums of money on the enterprise; and by the time they reached Yandabo their resources were exhausted; and they were in great distress. They petitioned the king, who, of his clemency and generosity, sent them large sums of money to pay their expenses back, and ordered them out of the country."

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By the Treaty of Yandabo, extorted by the fear that the capital would fall into the hands of Sir Archibald Campbell, then thundering at the gates of Ava, the English acquired the provinces of Tenasserim and Arakan, and deprived the sovereign of two-thirds of his sea-board. The Province of Pegu, which was annexed after the second Burmese war in 1852-53, has never been formally ceded by any treaty. King Mindôn said, "Let them stay there; I cannot turn them out, but I will not be written down as the king that gave up Rangoon." Lord Dalhousie said, "A treaty with a man like that is useless"; and he straightway fixed upon a parallel of latitude as the northern boundary of British Burma, and put up a line of frontier pillars along it without reference to the Burmese Government at all. The Mahā Yazawin said, in effect, "The foreigner was starving in his own land, and the king bounteously granted him a resting-place in the dismal swamps by the sea." Until the Burmese kingdom finally disappeared the only approach to a recognition of the British possession of Pegu was an announcement from Mindôn Min that "orders had been issued to the governors of districts not to allow the Burmese troops to attack the territories of Myedè and Taung-ngu, in which the British Government had placed its garrisons." Well may it be said that Burmese kings submitted to accomplished facts, but did not sanction them. Shortly before the storming of

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Malun, the King Mintayagyi sent a note to Sir Archibald Campbell representing that "it was contrary to his religious principles and the constitution of the Empire, to make any cession of territory, and he was bound to preserve its integrity."

Naturally, therefore, the up-country Burman thinks that his race is the bravest in all the realms of Zampudipa, the island in the south, with all its five hundred surrounding islets. The idea has been little checked by English communications and relations with the Lord of the Golden Palace. Such documents as the following are duly inserted in the Mahā Yazawin, and lose nothing in the translating. This was sent, in 1695, by Nathaniel Higginson, Governor of Madras, to the King of Ava. "To his Imperial Majesty who blesseth the noble city of Ava with his presence, Emperour of Emperours, and excelling the Kings of the East and the West in glory and honour, the clear firmament of Virtue, the fountain of Justice, the perfection of Wisdom, the lord of Charity and Protector of the Distressed, the first mover in the Sphere of Greatness, president in council, victorious in war; who feareth none and is feared by all; centre of the treasures of the Earth, and of the Sea; Lord Proprietor of Gold and Silver, Rubies, Amber, and all precious Jewels; favoured by Heaven and honoured by all men; whose brightness shines through the World as the light of the Sun, and whose great name will be preserved in perpetual memory."

After this promising exordium the letter goes on: "The fame of so glorious an Emperour, the Lord of power and riches, being spread throughout the whole earth, all nations resort to view the splendour of your greatness, and, with your majesty's subjects, to partake of the blessings which God Almighty hath bestowed upon your kingdom above all others. Your majesty has been pleased to grant your especial favours to the Honourable English Company, whose servant I am; and now send to present before the footstool of your throne a few toys as an acknowledgment of your majesty's goodness, which I beg your majesty to accept, and to vouchsafe an audience to my servants and a gracious answer to my petition."

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He finishes by asking leave to send a factor next monsoon to reside at Syriam, opposite Rangoon, on the other side of the Pegu river. Edward Fleetwood was the envoy. He had to wait a long time before the gate of the palace stockade was opened; when that was done he had to bow three times to the building; half way across the esplanade he had to bow humbly three times again; then at fifteen yards' distance, and finally had to make the same obeisance to the king.

The answer to the governor, in the name of the ministers, ran as follows: "In the East, where the sun rises, and in that Oriental part of it which is called Chapudu; the Lord of water and earth, the Emperor of Emperors, against whose imperial majesty if any shall be so foolish as to imagine anything, it shall be happy for them to die and be consumed; the lord of great charity and help of all nations, the great Lord esteemed for happiness; the Lord of all riches, of elephants and horses and all good blessings; the Lord of high-built palaces of gold; the great and most powerful Emperor in this life, the soles of whose feet are gilt and set upon the heads of all people; we his great governor and president here, called Mahā Eggena Tibodis, do make known to the governor, Nathaniel Higginson," and so it goes on in the same strain, concluding with a notification of the presents sent—1500 viss of lac, 2500 viss of tin, 300 viss of ivory, 6 earthen dishes, and 8 lacquered boxes. This was, however, more satisfactory than that which fell to the lot of Ensign Lester in 1757, when he got a concession of Negrais Island and a commercial treaty from the conqueror, Alaungpaya. The gallant envoy received a present of eighteen oranges, two dozen heads of Indian corn, and five cucumbers. Two years later the garrison on the ceded island was massacred. The national annalist gloats over these things.

Here is another petition from the white foreigners: "Placing above our heads the golden majesty of the mighty lord, the possessor of the mines of rubies, amber, gold, silver, and all kinds of metals; of the lord under whose command are innumerable soldiers, generals, and captains; of the lord who is king of many countries and provinces, and emperor

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over many rulers and princes, who wait round his throne with the badges of his authority; of the lord who is adorned with the greatest power, wisdom, knowledge, prudence, foresight, etc.; of the lord who is rich in the possession of elephants and horses, and in particular is the lord of many white elephants; of the lord who is the greatest of kings, the most just and the most religious; the master of life and death; we his slaves, the governor of Bengal, the officers and administrators of the Company, bowing and lowering our heads under the sole of his royal golden feet, do present to him, with the greatest veneration, this our humble petition."

Such documents might have flowed from the chronicler's own pen, and the Burmese historical student, in reading this unbought praise of nations, naturally takes it as honest homage due to the race, since there is now no king. So exalted an idea had the Court of the military power of the country that in 1810 a minister at Ava told Captain Canning that if proper application had been made to the king, he would have sent an army to Europe and put England in possession of France, and so ended all the troubles of the beginning of the century.

Most envoys sent to the Arbiter of Existence were treated very cavalierly in the way of interviews; not a few in the old days waited long months without ever seeing the king at all. All, down to Sir Douglas Forsyth, in 1874, had to go in shoeless, and sit cross-legged on the floor, an unaccustomed attitude which did not tend to render the position less ridiculous. In other ways they were treated with every indignity. When King Mintayagyi heard that Colonel Symes was coming, he went away to Mingôn, to contemplate his gigantic failure at a pagoda there. Thither the colonel had to follow him, congratulating himself on the circumstance that as the king was away from the palace, there would be the less trouble in seeing him. But he found himself vastly mistaken. On arriving at Mingôn he was told to take up his quarters on an island in the middle of the river. On this barren place, shunned by all Burmese as a polluted spot, where bodies were burnt and criminals executed, he had to remain forty days, and during all that

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time not the slightest notice of him was taken by the court. Finally he was admitted on a kadaw, or "Beg-Pardon Day," one of those set apart for all inferiors and vassals to come and do homage and worship at the Golden Feet. For long it was the invariable custom to receive representatives of foreign states on these days. Colonel Burney was the first to refuse to be so treated, and he carried his point, though the wungyis told the king the reason why he did not come on the appointed kadaw day was because he was sick. The utmost protestations of Symes and Crawford failed to save them from the humiliation. Another favourite method of showing contempt for foreigners and exalting the national dignity was rather curious in its elaborate ingenuity. Foreign missions were provided for by a tax levied on outcasts. The money was only collected when an embassy was expected, and was applied to no other purpose than providing accommodation and food for the members of the mission. The coin was considered too vile to be put to any other use. Delaying the envoy at the gates was an invariable device. Just as he came up to the entrance a band of princes, with their followers, would turn in from a side street, and the luckless representative of England would have to stop and bite his nails till they had all passed in. Colonel Burney was delayed two hours in this way, and even Colonel Phayre, the first Commissioner of the three coast provinces, in 1856, had to wait on his elephant till the Eingshemin and his train filed in before him. Arrived at the palace, all the earlier envoys were made to fall on their knees, and shikho to the central spire of the royal residence. The members of the embassy of 1856 were nearly bullied into taking off their hats to the pyathat. The object was to show them as suppliants at the Golden Feet, honoured by being allowed to view his dwelling, and elevated to the summit of earthly ambition by being admitted to an interview. Symes and Cox paid for their admission in this way. Besides this official bad treatment the plenipotentiaries were victimised with numberless personal insults. Even the Supreme Court on at least one occasion refused to see Cox. He was knocked up long after midnight one night by a clerk who wanted to get a nutmeg-grater to show to the king. The

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Myowun wrote to him to say that as the envoy would not take his advice he must break off all intercourse, and the English thanthaman would be good enough not to come near his house for the future. Captain Cox had had a fence put up round his house to keep away the inquisitive rabble, at a cost of twenty rupees. One morning when he woke up he found this had been unceremoniously carried away, and that it had been used to enclose a place near the river where the heir-apparent's head might be washed. Finally great pressure was put upon him to take the oath of allegiance to the king; he was to drink the water in which the muskets and lances of the guard had been dipped, and it was expressly stipulated that he should pay for his oath just as any Burman would have to do. Scores of like details might be mentioned with regard to all the other ambassadors and residents. It will be sufficient, however, to mention that, in later years, one resident had a cane flourished over his head by a convict lictor, and that the last *chargé d'affaires* of all was chased by a howling rabble from the Mandalay bazaar to the Residency gates, which were broken in—no great exertion of strength was necessary certainly—all because he had killed a pariah dog that was snapping at his heels.

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If the various Government representatives were treated in this way, non-official Englishmen could not expect great reverence to be paid to them, and it is hardly worth mentioning that in 1881 a Rangoon merchant, yelled at by convict lictors, went down on his knees while one of the leading spirits of the massacres, the Hpaung Wun, went by on his elephant. Little wonder then that the patriotic fictions of the Mahā Yazawin were believed, and that the perusal of them was all the more greedily indulged in. The wearing of shoes in the Palace was never settled till there had ceased to be a Lord of it.

But it is not so much the English that suffered—though occasionally a few of them did get stoned—as the smaller nations and tribes who live around and among the Burmese. It must be acknowledged that the Burman is a sad bully; but the white strangers could reduce him to civility, if to nothing else, very speedily. It is different with other races —some perhaps aboriginal, some invaders of Burma as much

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look after him. The Burman turned out a most wicked and unscrupulous guardian. He pretended to teach him, but only showed the blank side of the slate, so that the poor Chin never learned a single letter. He rubbed the elephant's back with cowhage, so that the Chin's bare legs were so tickled that he refused to have such an unpleasant animal, and gave all the elephants to the Burman. By similar tricks the buffaloes, the horses, and the cattle were obtained. When the Chin mounted to ride on the horse, the Burman's wife got in the way, and was knocked down; and as compensation for the injuries she sustained, and to quiet her clamour, the horse had to be handed over. Then at the Burman's instigation the Chin went to view his buffaloes, clad in fiery-red garments. The buffalo naturally chased him up a tree, and before he could gain the earth again the buffaloes had gone the way of the elephants and horses. Ultimately nothing remained but goats, pigs, and fowls. Even the barren mountains were not left in his undisturbed possession. When the boundaries of the different countries were marked out, the Burman took very good care to mark his with stones and pillars, but he persuaded the Chin that tufts of grass were good enough for him. These were all burned away by the jungle-fires, and then the despoiled Chin had to live wherever the Burman told him. Thus the race has never had a country or town of its own, but wanders about in a nomadic way over the hills on the fringe of Burma. The well-known custom some of the frontier Chin women have of tattooing their faces is an existing proof of this tyranny. They are naturally pretty; and this disfigurement—for they themselves acknowledge it to be such, and never adopted it in the heart of the Chin hills—was adopted to prevent the Burmese from carrying them off, as they once did constantly.

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The stories of the Mahā Yazawin fully account for and justify these queer traditions of the national religion of the Chins. But it is not in such minor points that the annalist is seen at his best. It is when he vapours about Chinese and Siamese and Munipuris, who come in armies numbered by hundreds of thousands, with elephants in tens of thousands, and the guardian nats of the nations fight on their respective

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sides and serve to account for Burmese retreats—then it is that the spirit of the Mahā Yazawin comes out and streams along in true 'Ercles vein. And except the plays the Burman has no other literature to read. It is not wonderful, therefore, that he has as good an opinion of himself as the "centennial Yankees."

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> Breathes there a Yank, so mean, so small,
> Who never says, "Wal now, by Gaul,
> I reckon since old Adam's fall
> There's never growed on this 'ere ball
> A nation so all-fired tall
> As we centennial Yankees.'

The writer might well have been a worker on the Great Chronicle of Kings.

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CHAPTER XLVIII

KING THIBAW

[The following three chapters remain as they were written in 1880.]

I.—A PRIVATE INTERVIEW

TIME was, when to get an interview with the Arbiter of Existence was as difficult a matter as to see the Grand Lama, or the Sherif ul Islam of Mecca. When the servants of "the Foreign Woman," Her Most Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria, protested in 1879 against the new sovereign's summary settlement of domestic matters, Thibaw swore a royal oath by the sacred hairs of Gautama, by the Lord, the Law and the Assembly, the three precious things, that he would never look on a white man again. For a year the vow was religiously kept, and ambitious "globe-trotters" and prying special correspondents were kept at a distance, and had not even the satisfaction of being admitted within the outer gate of the nandaw. In time, however, the royal coffers got low, and it was thought foolish not to make use of the barbarian merchants, seeking for monopolies and grants of forest land, and able and willing to pay enormous sums for such concessions. His majesty's ministers therefore speedily found means of relieving the great King of Righteousness from his solemn oath. The first principle of the Buddhist faith is charity. How, then, could the Lord of the Rising Sun gain more merit and advance some miles on the noble Eightfold Path better than by conquering his just personal antipathies and allowing awe-stricken foreigners to grovel before the splendour of his effulgence and worship at

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his Golden Feet! When once they had experienced that supreme delight, his majesty's ministers might be trusted to see that the wealth of the merchants was made to subserve the royal interests. And so it came to pass that Thibaw first received a few speculators and their friends, and has ended by granting an audience to any European that can get a minister to speak for him. And so the Golden Hairs are forgotten, and the three precious things calmly flouted. Still the royal barbarian is not comfortable at these interviews. He was too curious to be dignified. He had not the fund of conversation that his father had, and he was impatient apparently of being looked at, as strangers in remote parts of China and wild beasts in zoological gardens may be supposed to be.

Securing an interview is not always an easy matter, unless you are a great capitalist, desirous of a grant somewhere. If you merely wish to see his majesty, the process is somewhat difficult. You probably apply first of all to the Chevalier Andreino, Italian Consul in Mandalay, and master of ceremonies and mysterious "doing duty" man at the Burmese Court. He may get you the desired audience, but more probably refers you to one of the higher ministers. Almost certainly these officials will say that it is impossible for you to see the king. His majesty is too busy, "working hard all day at affairs of state"; and they gaze stolidly upon you. You regret the circumstance extremely, make the minister a present of a few hundred rupees, and continue to deplore your bad luck. Then he brightens up suddenly, recollects that on such and such a day his majesty is possibly free. He will find out and do his best for you.

Next day you are told that an interview will be granted, that the king of kings graciously permits you to come and place your head under his gilded feet. If you are a wise man and have been warned by considerate friends, you will now commence to practise sitting on your feet. It is as well to rehearse the process frequently beforehand, for they must be tucked away so that his majesty cannot see them; and if you do not find the most agreeable way of effecting the concealment, your audience will be chiefly memorable to you for frightful agony, a vast amount of internal "popular

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language," and vows of vengeance against the ministers, who seem to have an irritating faculty of grinning all down their backs.

The journey to the palace is not a pleasant preparation. It is too hot to ride, and accordingly you decide to go in the apotheosis of a dog-kennel on wheels, which does duty for a carriage in Mandalay. There is not room for much more than one Englishman in the vehicle, and the only way you can get in is by scrambling over the backs of the bullocks. I shall never forget my first experience of a Mandalay carriage. After an exciting ten minutes spent in trying to circumvent a kicking bullock, I at length got in and sat down on the floor—there are no seats—to gaze out at the round hole by which I had got in. The rest of the party followed, each man in a kennel of his own. The beasts set off at a swinging trot over roads of the early depraved order, and in a couple of minutes we were all regretting that we did not brave the sun and ride, or even walk. However, the drivers disregard our entreaties, and hustle up the cattle all the more energetically. We pass over the moat, and through the enormous wooden gateway into the walled town. We enter by the a-mingala gate, the south-western, the only one through which corpses are allowed to be taken from the city. It is almost invariably used by Englishmen as being nearest to the Residency and the river, but no upper-class Burman will pass through it if he possibly can avoid doing so. After five minutes' more jolting we arrive at the outer stockade of the palace, and get out of our conveyances with some alacrity and a lot of bruises. Immediately inside the gate is a guard-house, with a cluster of the royal soldiery, who, as we come up, squat down on the ground and hold their Enfields in front of them at the third motion of the present, looking like frogs on a Christmas card.

We cross a wide open space, pass through the "Red Postern," and turn to the left, for it is to be a private reception, and we do not ascend the steps to the Hall of Audience. We pass a gallop which Thibaw has laid down for his ponies, and enter the Royal Gardens. They are not much to speak of. Laid out in squares, with raised paths, deep brickwork canals running in every direction, grottoes and

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Kin Wunmingyi, who, after all, had been to Europe and was versed in public affairs, lost all influence, and was succeeded as adviser by the Taingda Mingyi, a statesman of the typical oriental kind, supple, unscrupulous and grasping. Thibaw even achieved a certain kind of popularity with his subjects. He insulted our representative and blustered at all foreigners, and finally frightened the Indian Government by covert threats into suddenly withdrawing the whole *personnel* of the Residency. Then it was announced by sound of gong all over Burma that the Sovereign of Land and Water, by reason of his great might and glory, had caused the hated English to flee from his sight, and would, in his own good time, carry the great peacock flag to the south, and plant it once more on the shores of the Gulf of Martaban.

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It is a great triumph for the pôngyi's son, as he was nicknamed when it was safe to do so, and it will be remembered about him quite as long as the fiendish cruelty of his massacres. We have certainly not done with Thibaw yet. We cannot go on for ever keeping strong garrisons at Thayet-myo and Toungoo, our frontier stations, where the soldiers have little else to do but die of fever and cholera and heat-apoplexy. Constant scares ruin the trade in Rangoon, and, as Lord Ripon says, when we are attacked in our mercantile interests we are wounded in our most irritable point. The abrogation of the monopolies is little better than a sham, and the negotiations for a new treaty are little more sincere. Thibaw will not receive a new Resident in the Royal City, except shoeless and practically lying on his stomach. We can hardly agree to that again.

The rupture came six years later, brought about by secret treatings with France and autocratic dealings with the Bombay Burma Trading Corporation. The Burmese kingdom fell with the suddenness of a paralytic stroke, and King Thibaw was a prisoner within a month of his rejection of the British ultimatum. He now lives forgotten at Ratnagiri.

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his colour was a mixture of light-brown and dingy, smoke-smirched cream colour. The eye, when you know it, is perhaps the best rough test for an amateur. The iris ought to be yellow, with a reddish outer annulus. The effect of this is decisive to the connoisseur, if only sinister to the outsider. But the red ring represents the circle of the nine precious gems. In other respects the Sinbyudaw was not attractive in appearance; he was very big, but, notwithstanding the care taken of him, was remarkably lean and hollow-sided. His tusks, however, were magnificent—white, smooth, and curving forward in front of his trunk so that they almost met. In his young days he was suckled by women, who stood in a long row outside his palace, and the honour was eagerly sought after, for the creature was a national pride and not merely a royal monopoly. A hundred soldiers guarded his palace, and the Sovereign of the Golden Throne himself made offerings and paid him reverence. An establishment of thirty men waited on him, and among them was a Minister of State, who managed his affairs and looked after the revenues of the province that was assigned to him to "eat." His palace stood within the inner stockade and was decorated with the royal pya-that. Every day he was bathed with scented sandal water, and all his vessels and utensils were made of gold. Troupes of the palace *coryphées* danced for his pleasure, and there were choruses of sweet-voiced singers to lull him to sleep.

Nevertheless his lordship was very bad-tempered, and his attendants were much afraid of him. Such things are, however, not unknown with human kings. On one occasion the Sinbyudaw killed a man who had ventured too near, and there was a good deal of trouble and noise before the body could be got away from him. The king—Thibaw's father—heard the commotion, and inquired what was the matter. When he was told, he expressed great concern and not a little alarm for the future state of the Lord White Elephant, with the red stain of murder on him, blotting out hosts of previous good deeds. But the elephant's minister calmed his mind and restored him to equanimity by saying, "Pray do not be disturbed, payā; lu ma hôk bu kalā—it was not a man only a foreigner."

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parties and pleaders in a suit. 14. Fearlessness in deciding cases, or being lion-hearted.

The supreme court in Burma was the Hlutdaw constituted of four wungyis, the chief ministers of state, who held their meetings in a hall within the palace, which took its name from the court. Each wungyi (great burden) had its wundauk (prop of the burden) as an assistant to sit with him in court. These wundauks formed the third rank of ministers, under the four atwinwuns (inner burdens), who were a kind of household ministers, or privy councillors, and sat in a special court, called the Byadeit, also in the palace. The latter had nominally as their chief duty to deal with the monopolies which Thibaw Min set himself to establish in such abundance. But as any man, no matter what special education or preparation he might have had, was considered eligible for any post, political, military, civil, or judicial, so both the Hlut and the Byadeit conducted all manner of business, from the external relations of the country to ordinary criminal or civil appeal cases sent up from the yôndaw, the criminal court, where the myowuns (city burdens), usually two in number, sat daily; or from the tayayôn, the civil court, where two tayathugyis (great men of the law) presided. In either of these inferior courts it was not at all uncommon for a wundauk, or even a wungyi, to attend and investigate important cases. But original suits were also frequently heard before the Hlut, and many cases were decided by the wungyis or any of the subordinate officials in their private houses. Formerly indeed this was the chief source of their salaries, for costs to the amount of ten per cent on the property under dispute went of right to the judge. The late king instituted the custom of fixed salaries, and Thibaw Min retained it, but neglected to pay the money. It will thus be seen that law matters, even in the capital, were carried on in a very casual, haphazard sort of a way. There was no attempt at a distribution of public business into departments, and each individual wungyi took his part in deliberations on all kinds of subjects with as much confidence as if he were an expert.

If the capital displayed a lack of system, there was

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CHAPTER LVI

REVENUE SYSTEM

THE first people, when they took counsel together and appointed a ruler to repress crime and manage the affairs of the country, agreed that each man should pay a tenth of his thale rice, and this tithe system remained in force in Burma till practically the end, not merely for supplying the royal coffers, but also for paying all public servants. King Mindôn abolished the tithe system as far as the payment of local officials was concerned, and arranged to give them fixed salaries; but even in his time this law was somewhat of a dead letter, and under his son the last king, if governors and secretaries did not resort to old methods they got nothing. Unfortunately for the people the ancient system was by far the most profitable, and the collectors were not at all inclined to agitate for their payment at stated times from the treasury. The actual exactions of these worthies far exceeded what appeared in their black parabaik notebooks, and were in fact only limited by the possessions of their victims, and occasionally by a slight fear of consequences, if a desperate man should complain to some powerful minister in Mandalay. Then the delinquent might be turned out to make way for a friend of the wungyi's. But, alas for the people, the change, if not exactly from King Log to King Stork, was only too likely to be from a well-filled stork to a lean and hungry one.

The division of the country for the collection of revenue was identical with that for administrative purposes, and the several duties were carried out by the same persons with the same assistants. The one man was civil administrator, judge,

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651 colonel of the local militia, and revenue collector for his
631 locality, whether province, circle, or simple village. The fixed revenue demanded by the myosa, whether prince of the blood-royal, minister of state, maid of honour, royal spittoon-bearer, or white elephant, was remitted to Mandalay by the resident lord-lieutenant of the province, together with a certain over-plus for the "province-eater's" secretary, clerk, and treasurer. The whole amounted to from sixty to eighty per cent of the money nominally raised from the people, and the money kept back was supposed to pay for the services of the myowun and his subordinates. But they would have been very much less great people if they got no more than this. It is impossible to say how much money was collected in any one district, or even in any single town. The steatite pencil records were easily effaced and altered, even if they were ever accurate, and no one knew anything of the details of taxation. A certain circle of villages was called upon to produce a certain amount of revenue to go to the capital, and as long as this was regularly paid no questions were asked. The governor divided out amongst the circles the quota each was expected to pay, and the taikthugyi in his turn made the allotment for the villages under his control; finally the village headman gave his instructions to the tithing-men, and they extorted all they could from the householders under their control. The system was admirably planned, but the working of it was
641 execrable in its cruelty. Every Burman was the king's
651 slave, and could not leave the district, far less the country, without the royal permission granted through the local authorities. The men who came down to reap British Burma paddy-fields in November and December had all of them to leave hostages behind, their wives and families or some near relation, to guarantee that they would return when the season was over to pay their ngwedaw.

This ngwedaw, or "royal silver," was the main source of the revenue. It was a house-tax or family-tax, not a capitation-tax, though its incidence was generally so arranged that it practically came to be a poll assessment, or at any rate a kind of rude property-tax. The amount of land cultivated, which naturally varied according to the number of hands

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available for the purpose, served as a guide, though it seemed to be a very misleading one, for the amount demanded in successive years and in adjoining districts differed in the most capricious way. Sè-einggaungs never failed to scent out where money was, and to get the lion's share of it; for where the tax-collector might also be the judge, there was small room for hesitation and attempts to shirk payment. The myosa had a very summary way of deciding the matter. He announced to the governor that there were so many houses in the province, and that he was to collect three, or five, or seven rupees a head from them. If the estimate of the number of houses was too high, the myowun shifted the trouble on to his subordinates; if it was too low—but there is no use considering that case, for it was unheard of for a town-eater to underestimate what was due to him.

Next in importance were the imposts on produce. These were estimated in a still more arbitrary way. A pè, a land measure not very much different from an English acre, is assumed to produce a hundred baskets of paddy. Of this any amount from ten up to forty per cent was taken, occasionally in money value, but more frequently in kind. Such dues would be heavy enough in any case, but they were particularly burdensome when the land did not produce the hundred baskets, assumed to be stored in the public granaries, where all the farmers must lodge their grain. The amount assessed would be a good crop for an actual pè, but when the land-measurer started with a cubit settled by the standard of the breadth of his own hand, the result was rarely favourable to the cultivator. Sometimes the process was varied by imposing a tax in kind or money on every plough, or, more often, on every yoke of oxen or buffaloes. In a similar way, tobacco, cotton, wheat, sesamum, pepper, onions, and all kinds of vegetables were put under contribution. A small sum was also levied on cocoanut, areca, and palmyra palms. Fishermen had to pay in coin or fish-paste for each of their nets or fish-traps; sometimes the fisheries were farmed out. Then there were dues on timber, and on the gums, resins, oils, and other forest produce, and a multitude of other minor imposts; dues on the sale of cattle, licenses to sell various articles, a tax on brokerage,

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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651 transit dues, and so on, all imposed whenever the district offered an opportunity for them.

A fertile source of profit to the officials were the fees on law-suits and criminal cases, as well as on minor matters, [691] such as the settlement of petty quarrels, divorce suits, and the like, which did not require to be formally tried, but could be settled in the verandah of the thugyi's house over a cheroot or a fid of betel. At the beginning of the year, and on other great kadaw days, special sums had always to be wrung out of the people to furnish the presents required to be offered to the king by all the officials, from the myosa 653 downwards. *Corvées* and enforced duties of all kinds were frequent, and the men selected for such service could only get off by furnishing a substitute, or bribing the tithing man. The king or some great man wanted to build a pagoda, and orders were sent round to the various circles that they must furnish a regular supply of workers daily. The taik or myothugyi drew up a roster, and each man had to go and work for a certain number of days. If he failed to go he was triced up to a post or a tree and got a sound flogging. Similar forced duties were the protection of the frontier and the pursuit of dacoits. Such work was particularly detested, [702] for the men had to keep themselves supplied with food, or get their friends to bring it to them, and this was not always an easy matter. Besides such service might last an indefinite time.

651 Added to all the ordinary imposts were occasional extraordinary contributions to the Crown on the occasion of entering upon war, or upon other public emergencies. The Hlutdaw in Mandalay fixed the amount, and it was divided among the governors of districts. In 1798 a call of thirty-three rupees was made from every house in the country. It was two years before the collection was finished, and the result was six million rupees. But how much more the people paid is quite another thing. Very heavy calls were also made in 1827 to meet the first instalment of the indemnity due to the British after the treaty of Yandabo. The money was sent down at dead of night to the British Commissioners, and all the people were ordered to close their doors and remain inside that they might not see the national

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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humiliation. As an instance of Burman carelessness in money matters it may be mentioned that when the final instalment was paid, considerably over the sum due was sent to Calcutta. When the overplus was returned, there was great discussion among the Ministers as to what could be the motive of the Indian Government in being so singularly scrupulous. 651

A good many districts were almost entirely exempted from taxes in recognition of special services required of them. The inhabitants of the capital were particularly well off in this respect. They furnished the troops to guard the palace and city. Moreover, it would have been much more difficult to oppress them with impunity, apart from the fact that if they were disaffected it would have offered a premium to rebels. For similar reasons some of the townships about Môtshobo were free from the ngwedaw. It was from this district that Alaungpaya, the founder of the dynasty, came, and insurrectionist princes always made for Môtshobo when they levied war. Several villages on the Irrawaddy, in consideration of supplying the royal gilded boats, manning the royal barges, and passing on Court despatches, were relieved from the family tax. But the petty officials took very good care that they did not grow rich on their immunities. 651 631

All these methods were more or less sanctioned by ancient custom. Modern ingenuity and requirements, however, found out new ways of raising money. The pious ardour of Mindôn led him to spend vast sums on the erection of pagodas and religious buildings of all kinds, as well as on the manufactories, cotton mills, foundries, and powder mills with which he crowded the suburbs of Mandalay, and closed when he got tired of them. All this cost a very great deal of money, which even the exaction of benevolences from wealthy courtiers failed to supply. Consequently Mindôn Min turned merchant and established a great number of royal monopolies. The producers were allowed to sell to none but to him, and he fixed the price which he was prepared to pay. For long, cotton, jaggery, timber, wheat, precious stones, and earth oil could only be had from the royal merchant, and the trade with British Burma was in anything but a satisfactory state. Then in 1867, Colonel 651 177-38 361 651

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Burmese AP4

655 Fytche, holding out the inducement of increased customs
651 dues from the newly started Irrawaddy Flotilla Company's steamers, persuaded his majesty to give up all the monopolies, except those of earth oil, timber, and precious stones; and to agree to a uniform import and export duty on all other goods and merchandise, passing between British and Burmese territory, of five per cent *ad valorem*. This treaty lapsed in 1877 and was not renewed. Nevertheless, King Mindôn did not renew the monopolies.

When his son came to the throne, he issued, or there was issued for him, a proclamation, stating that he was going to adopt Western forms of government, and expressly announcing that he had no intention of reviving the monopoly system. He was, however, with his wild, extravagant habits, very soon in as great monetary difficulties as his father, and from 1880 began steadily to sell monopolies and give grants of forest land for hard cash payments. The new monopoly buyers, haunted by a fear of British interference, and not by any means assured in their minds as to the stability of Thibaw Min's rule, were anxious to get as much money as they could, and therefore paid only the
[433] most absurdly low prices for produce. The cultivators, finding all their labour in vain, began consequently in large numbers to give up farming or working in the forests, the consequence of which was a still further shock to the trade with British Burma and an entire inability on the part of the
651 population the following year to pay the house-tax. Besides
525 the monopoly system derived from his predecessors, Thibaw Min also hit on the notion of lotteries for the replenishment of his treasury. The system worked very well for a time, and brought in great quantities of money, but latterly the loose coin of the populace had all been netted, and the lottery source of revenue was pretty nearly worked out. In 1879 and 1880 Mandalay was simply flooded with lottery-offices, each under the superintendence of a minister of high rank. Those who were able to show the king the most money were highest in the royal favour, and consequently the rivalry between these worthies ran very strong. All manner of dodges were tried to entice speculators away from all other offices to the minister's own. The Hpaung-wun,

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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Myowun, the lord high admiral, and lord mayor's establishment was generally admitted to be the largest and best, and it was certainly he who first began to try and allure the people. He secured the old custom-house buildings for his office, and enclosed a wide expanse round about it with a strong bamboo fence. Porous pots of deliciously cool drinking water, each pot supplied with a number of tin mugs, were arranged on stands all round the sides. The antisoporific letpet, the gigantic, but soothing, green cheroot, and the good betel lay in great heaps on the tables everywhere, and vanished with extraordinary rapidity. A dozen or more punkahs were hung up and worked by coolies, so as to calm the brains and cool the heated faces of excited clients. Later on, when other wuns and letthondaw copied his methods, the resourceful Hpaungwun added bands of music, dancing girls, and even regular dramatic performances, kept up perpetually, to the other attractions of his place of business. Some managers strove to get the better of their neighbours by giving the people unlimited supplies of palm-toddy, in the hope that the heady liquor might induce them to risk their last coins. Others hit upon the device of returning one pice—about one farthing—on each ticket taken. Others again, desperate at the thought of being unable to render a good account to their royal master, engaged gangs of bullies, who went about threatening people with violence or false accusations in the law-courts if any but their master were patronised, while the Zegyodaw Myowun, U Tha O, in virtue of his official position as keeper of the markets, sent his subordinates to the Chinese gambling-house keepers, and forced them to subscribe periodically for fifty tickets at a couple of rupees each, if they hoped to retain their gambling licenses. Fired by his example, the Yaw Shwedaik and Taingda atwinwuns also made use of their court influence to draw subscribers. Brokers and traders of all nationalities who had business with the palace were put down for a couple of hundred tickets or so, on pain of losing their contracts. One of the wundouks was advanced and heedless enough to select the Dhammayôn, a place of worship and prayer, for his lottery-office. All the old lines were upset. Drawings were held whenever the

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2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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651 525 446 lists were filled up, no matter whether it was an uboné, or a more sacred feast, and, as a consequence, the minds of the people were kept in a state of perpetual unhealthy excitement.

651 525 178 [562] Neither buyers nor sellers were to be seen in the bazaar. Cultivators sold off their farming stock and implements, and launched all their money into the state lotteries. Fathers sold their daughters, and husbands their wives, to have a final try for fortune, until the lottery managers issued a notice that they would give no more tickets in exchange for women. To fill up the totals faster, and draw in every available coin, twenty, or even more, people were allowed to club together to buy a single ticket. Business was entirely suspended, and all the people hovered about the lottery-offices, longing for the drawing, while cleaned-out speculators prowled about day and night, watching for an opportunity to thieve and rob. How it was that the plundered people did not rise against the government, or at least against the lottery managers, is a mystery, but they did not. The suburbs of Mandalay were filled for a time with ruined gamblers, until the soldiery were employed to drive them farther afield, when many made their way to the frontier, and recouped themselves by raids on British Burma villages. Eventually money failed, or the people were disillusionised, and the lottery-offices, though several remained open, drove but a very slight trade. Then Thibaw Min had to resort to other measures to meet his expenditure, and from July 1881 began disposing of monopolies right and left. Having finished the export monopolies, he commenced with those on imports. The British trade with Upper Burma was being steadily ruined, and the war which ended in the extinction of the kingdom of Burma was made inevitable.

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2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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CHAPTER LVII

LAND TENURE

In India the Raja has always been considered the chief proprietor of the soil and the lord paramount over all those who own it or dwell upon it. In Burma precisely the reverse of this system obtained. The king was indeed considered entitled to a share of the produce, and, as a matter of fact, undoubtedly got pretty nearly all of it; but the origin of the land tenure rested on an entirely different foundation. The Burmans go back to the first peopling of the earth and the appointment of the saintly Payālaung to be ruler over them. Mahā Thamada came after the lands had been pretty generally taken up by the people, and therefore the cultivators of the original thalé san had no intention of appointing him supreme landlord, when they chose him to be the source of the Law and of the administration of justice. He acquired a share of the produce of the country only by the free gift of the people, who, to provide revenues for him, of their own accord surrendered a tenth part of all their crops that he might be free to devote himself entirely to the management of the public affairs and the execution of the laws. This right to a tenth of the produce of the soil, and no more, is explicitly laid down in the Indian Buddhist code, the Dhammathat, or laws of Manu. This ancient book, which, by the way, is entirely distinct from the Indian *Institutes of Manu*, enunciates as follows in the sixth chapter: "The king, who is our ruler, must abide by the ten kingly laws. All land which is unclaimed shall be his, but he shall have no right to take all. Such lands as are cultivated by man, or have been previously reclaimed, shall

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2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4
Upper Burma
Lower Burma

423 distinctions are more minute than is at all necessary or indeed
423 comprehensible. They include all children born out of wed-
148 lock, among whom are reckoned such as are born before the parents have been married ten months; all children that are
[597] purchased, or adopted by any other ceremony than that of abadita or keiktima; and such as "from respect or affection
423 style their guardians father or mother." The settlement of
184 boundary marks was one of the earliest duties of the first ruler. The thale rice became constantly scarcer and scarcer, and it was determined that it would be well to give every person his share and mark it off distinctly. The appointment of persons to execute this duty was the first occasion on which executive officials were found necessary. Manu enumerated twenty-five objects suitable for legal landmarks. These included all natural objects, such as lakes, rivers, ridges, and hills, remarkable large trees and clumps of bamboos; artificial boundaries of an equally permanent character, such as pagodas, shrines for demon-worship, zayats, or rest-houses, stone pillars and sacred posts, wells and cairns; finally such singular distinguishing marks as heads of cattle, chaff, ashes, charcoal, sand, broken earthenware vessels, and men's bones. "Beating the bounds," one would think, must have been very necessary with the younger members of the household in the case of such perishable boundary lines as could be constituted by chaff, or even sand. In Upper Burma the cultivating
[161] population was so sparse that no difficulty was found in the matter of boundaries. In Lower Burma farms are as distinctly marked off as land-surveyors' chains can effect the operation in pointing out the little raised ridges which separate the plots of paddy land from one another. Nevertheless they are hardly such as the South of England farmers would approve.

423 These allodial tenures are the only ones which exist in
[177-92] Burma now. In independent territory there were two other kinds of holding, which were not, however, very numerous or
● 651 extensive. The first of these were called thugyisa fields, and
622 consisted of certain tracts of land near the town or village set apart for the maintenance of the headman. As that official was anything but a permanency, the tenant for the time being very seldom cultivated them himself, but let them

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

out to farmers, who were required not only to pay him his rent, but as a rule had also to supply the revenue demanded from the owner by the State. There was therefore no very enthusiastic bidding for his lands, but he always got a tenant somehow or other. It would have been a bad day for the village if no one came forward. Every man in the place would have been called upon to work for a certain period on the thugyi's paddy-fields. These have now been merged in the State lands.

The third class of arable estates consisted of the lands known as bhanda, treasury, or royal fields. These were the private property of the king, and were cultivated ordinarily by the outcast lamaing, crown predial slaves. Sometimes, however, the whole of the farmers in the neighbourhood were summoned by roster to do their one, or three, or five days' work, for which they received no payment; on the contrary, if they tried to escape they were tied up and received a dozen or two according to the humanity of the district governor. Near the capital, where oppression never was so gross as in the outlying provinces, the cultivators of the Lèdawgyi were frequently freed from all taxation but the payment of the family tax, and some even, as in the neighbourhood of Aungbinle, whose revenues were assigned by the king to the great Arakan pagoda, were let off even the ngwedaw. But these *corvées* were very irksome, for the payment of a little money would always ensure the omission of a name from the taikthugyi's list, and the work fell all the harder on the luckless remainder. The whole of the produce of the bhanda lands belonged of course to the king, unless where he had otherwise assigned it. What with revenue paid in kind and the crops of the Lèdawgyi, the king had granaries as vast as those which Joseph built for the king of Egypt. Mindôn Min drew from them to pay his soldiery, varying the monotony from time to time with pieces of rotten Manchester grey shirting. Offerings to the Sacred Order, of whom he daily fed several thousands, also served to keep the storehouses within reasonable bounds. Thibaw Min turned his grain into money with all possible expedition, and the money vanished with equal rapidity. The Lèdaw of course became State land on the Annexation.

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

understand that soul can doubt. And a soul is worth very many governments. 642

But when you left the central government, and came down to the management of local affairs, there was a great change. You came straight down from the king and governor to the village and its headman. There were no lords, no squires, nor ecclesiastical power wielding authority over the people. 621

Each village was to a very great extent a self-governing community composed of men free in every way. The whole country was divided into villages, sometimes containing one or two hamlets at a little distance from each other—offshoots from the parent stem. The towns, too, were divided into quarters, and each quarter had its headman. These men held their appointment-orders from the king as a matter of form, but they were chosen by their fellow-villagers as a matter of fact. Partly this headship was hereditary, not from father to son, but it might be from brother to brother, and so on. It was not usually a very coveted appointment, for the responsibility and trouble were considerable, and the pay small. It was 10 per cent. on the tax collections. And with this official as their head, the villagers managed nearly all their affairs. Their taxes, for instance, they assessed and collected themselves. The governor merely informed the headman that he was to produce ten rupees per house from his village. The villagers then appointed assessors from among themselves, and decided how much each household should pay. Thus a coolie might pay but four rupees, and a rice- 622 651 621

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

651 merchant as much as fifty or sixty. The assessment
621 was levied according to the means of the villagers. So well was this done, that complaints against the decisions of the assessors were almost unknown—I might, I think, safely say were absolutely unknown. The assessment was made publicly, and each man was heard in his own defence before being assessed. Then the money was collected. If by any chance, such as death, any family could not pay, the deficiency was made good by the other villagers in proportion. When the money was got in it was paid to the governor.

674 Crime such as gang-robbery, murder, and so on,
627 had to be reported to the governor, and he arrested
177 the criminals if he felt inclined, and knew who they were, and was able to do it. Generally something was in the way, and it could not be done. All lesser crime was dealt with in the village itself, not only dealt with when it occurred, but to a great extent prevented from occurring. You see, in a village anyone knows everyone, and detection is usually easy. If a man became a nuisance to a village, he was expelled. I have often heard old Burmans talking about this, and comparing these times with those. In those times all crimes were unpunished, and there was but little petty crime. Now all big criminals are relentlessly hunted down by the police; and the inevitable weakening of the village system has led to a large increase of petty crime, and certain breaches of morality and good conduct. I remember talking to a man not long ago—a man who had been a headman in the king's time, but was not so now. We were chatting of

342 514 In U Myaing's house the lavatory is in the kitchen and is walled off with woven KYU (kind of fiber) mat. There is a hole cut open in the board flooring, and the area underneath this opening also is walled off with woven KYU. U Myaing and family did not take their meals in the kitchen but in the house proper.

361 368 346 The PHON-GYI KYAUNG or monastery is located further downstream from the village. It is a two storied brick building comprised of nine rooms, each 6 TAUNG square. Children are not taught here but learn their lessons at the government school. This school, which is on [872] [364] THA-GYI-BET side, teaches pupils up to the tenth standard. Below the PHON-GYI KYAUNG is the cemetery.

The houses in the village are separated one from the other by eight feet on each side. The rows of houses facing the river have porches on 342 both sides. U Myaing's house is typical of those found in the village - some may be more elaborate, some less. His house had been built only 435 six or seven years, and cost Rs. 3000/- at that time. There are no ●[651] accounts for each of the separate items and U Myaing does not remember. The land was free and they did not have to pay any revenue on it. [366] Separate from the houses and on the riverside is a huge platform built [252] to process fish including the making of NGAPI. U Myaing had no land that owned round the house, although he could use the land directly in front of the house for various purposes.

U Myaing describes his house as follows;

342 592 "It is a wooden house, made of wooden posts - a two storied structure. The roof is of slates. Walls are of SEL-NGA-BU wooden boards (boards 8 inches wide and about ½ inch thick) and there are four rooms. Other people have similar houses. It is a LAY-BIN-KIN (a four-tree-house or a house which has four supporting poles across the front) and all seven of us live in the house. We drop a kitchen from the back and cook there. The kitchen has three windows at the back, with one door leading into the house. We all live together in three rooms. We keep bedrooms. (U Myaing is speaking of a sketch of the house here). This side is for visitors - there is a room for people who come to buy goods. The old mother and the children live in one room and I and my wife in [366] another with the smallest child. We eat in the front part of the house in one room at the foot of the sleeping place. There are nine 6 TAUNG rooms without partitions on each of the two floors. The sides of the house are enclosed with timber planks of IN wood, but the bedrooms are also partitioned off. It is very wide and roomy to live in. The floor is made of teak planks."

352 TAUNG thick. The door had two leaves to it and one mirror. However, this cupboard had fallen into disuse as a receptacle for clothes, the family preferring to keep their clothing in teak boxes. The other cupboard had no mirror and was used to store crockery in. It measured 2 TAUNG wide, three TAUNGS high and little less than one TAUNG thick.

There were also two huge boxes both of which had been received as a bequest from his father. They were very heavy and needed two people to lift each of them. Each measured one TAUNG and five fingers long, one TAUNG broad, and one TAUNG high. Each had four legs two inches high. They were identical and both were used for clothing.

There was also a round table with four legs about two feet tall and with a diameter of two feet. This U Myaing bought in Rangoon for Rs. 3/8.

[291] A special basket was kept for storing women's HTA-MEINS (outer
[562] feminine nether garments). The Burmese do not allow mixture of
women's and men's clothing. They had one of these baskets with lid
●[651] in Pathwe. It was bought in Pantanaw and cost them 12 annas.

353 The following bric-a-brac is reported:- a porcelain duck and a
415 porcelain rooster which had been handed down for two or three generations and had been used as a receptacle for trinkets and other small articles; a glass elephant also about a hundred years old with drawers to contain trinkets.

The following items are containers which may be regarded as household furnishings: betel box about a hundred years old with a diameter
[251] of about twelve inches; a clay water jug overlaid with porcelain, also a hundred years old; two huge vessels for HSOON, one costing Rs. 25/- and lasting twenty years, and the other costing Rs. 15/- and lasting 13 years.

[796] These vessels were used when the family went to the KYAUNG to observe the sacred days. On such days HSOON for the whole family would be carried in these vessels. A KYAUK KAR food carrier woven of HNEE, (pith of the fibre used for mat weaving and overlaid with KYAUK KAR) cost Rs. 8/- and was used for about thirteen years. Five huge
[251] earthenware jars each 3½ feet in diameter and 3 feet high, and three small jars were used to store fish. Each of the large jars cost Rs. 30/- and the small ones cost Rs. 4/8.

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Q. "We want to know your relations with adherents of other religions. There are people who worship Indian gods, Chinese gods, and Christians - what is your attitude towards them?"

A. (U.M.) "I don't hold any attitude at all."

Q. " Do you get on well?"

A. (U.M.) "Yes. We got on very well. They buy our goods and we buy theirs. They rent our fields and cultivate them. If there are cows they are borrowed and lent. We live together like this - buying and selling."

Q. "This is about the people. How about their attitude towards their gods?"

A. "I have no attitude."

Q. "Have you never thought about it?"

A. "I have never thought about it. Their god is only slightly different. There is only one god. There will be only one god. Only people differ somewhat. Our outlook should be improved. After all, his god is my god and my god is his god. Only the races differ. Even one race is divided within itself."

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The relationship of the family to the state in Pathwe involve taxes, military service and voting. In the pre-war days, U Myaing and family had to pay a capitation tax, levied at the rate of Rs. 5/- per year for a married couple, and Rs. 2/8 per year for a bachelor of twenty and over. Children and unmarried women and widows are exempt from any tax whatsoever. There was a land tax on cultivation fields - levied at the rate of annas 2 per acre per annum, and also on garden land at one anna or two annas per acre per annum according to the value of the land. The tax on INS - or purchase of the fishery rights amounted to a figure anywhere between Rs. 3000/- and Rs. 12,000/-. U Myaing is not liable to taxes because of his low income, he retains his voting privileges for general elections.

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The family was moved from Pathwe to the refugee camp because of the insurrection and has been under the protection of the government since coming to camp. The proportion of food and shelter benefits, which they receive from the government, has been noted under those headings. According to government policy, shelter is provided for the family, and food for all except one adult who is expected to work.

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Education for U Myaing's children is provided by the government both in Pantanaw and in the refugee camp. Only the cost of the books has to be paid by him.

Children in the Pathwe village learnt their lessons at the government school. This school, which was on YWA-GYI-BET side, teaches pupils up to the tenth standard. The school house was built by contributions taken in the village. When U Myaing was young, they had to pay a tuition fee of four annas each to the schoolmaster every month. Now government has taken over the cost of educating the children, and fees are no longer required of them. The children only have to bring their own books and pencils. There are three teachers in the school; one headmaster and two assistants. The headmaster draws a salary of Rs. 100/- and the assistants of over Rs. 90/- each. There are other schools across the river but they teach only up till the fourth standard, and children of higher grades have to come to YWA-GYI-BET to attend school.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

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376. JUDGE PRESIDING IN COURT (YON).

fixed annual revenue to the treasury, and he retained such excess as he could raise for himself. Even more cynical than the appellation of *myoza*, but nevertheless officially accepted, is that of his deputy, *thwethauttyi*, or bloodsucker. The revenue exactions were variable, and were levied with little regularity; outlying localities escaped altogether. The people of such places were almost without ostensible government. The 3-rupee household tax of 1862 had advanced to 10 Rs. in 1886 (*Thathameda*). There were also special imposts and special exemptions. The original style and address of the king came to be adopted by his deputies, as more high-sounding titles were devised for him. Every officer is now addressed *Payâ* and spoken of as *min*, which means ruler, prince. The full style of high officials used to occupy several lines of a document; there were the traditional titles of the office and territory, the prerogatives granted by the king, conspicuous among which were the number of red and gold umbrellas allotted to the rank, and the executive powers, such as *dâbaing*, holder of the sword. The last-named symbol was borne before the officer as arbiter of life. The lower grades of office were, and in many places still are, hereditary, especially that of *thadyt*, the appointed headman who levies the taxes from the people (literally the poor, *sinyètha*). The Burmese correlative of *official* is significant; no matter how wealthy he be, one who holds no office is a "poor" man—at the mercy of the *asèya*. If the rapacity of an official under the old *régime* grew intolerable, he incurred the risk of assassination, without much likelihood of being avenged by the central authority. The religious aversion to be

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377. THE CITY GATE (PYA-O).

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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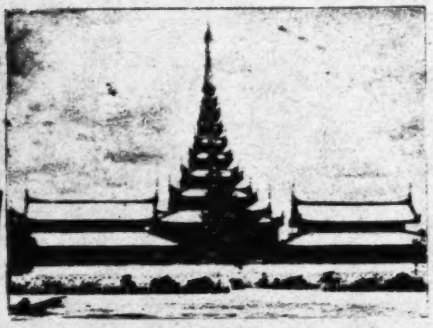

380. PALACE FRONT AND SPIRE.

The British administration preserves the native official machinery, from the *thadyt* to the *myoôk*, augmenting the numbers so as to reach every part of the area and curtailing the powers. Under native *régime* even *thadyts* might be *dôbaing*. The new *régime* takes account of the village *lûdyts* for the sake of their moral influence; many of them have been invested with power to compose differences up to small amounts, and some of the more prominent are honorary magistrates. Independent spirit is on the increase; the officials have to reckon with a new temper in the people. Nevertheless, in municipal councils the supineness and complaisance of the native members are calculated to stultify the position accorded to them. Road-making and sanitation do not arouse their interest, and the local excise, the matter they long to deal with, is excluded from their jurisdiction (*cf.* p. 157). The *thadyt* personally measures the fields, collects the land-tax and poll-tax from house to house, in such a circle as he can make the circuit of twice a year, and receives commission on the amount. He reports on matters within his circle. As many revenue-circles as a native magistrate can personally control are united into a township, under a *myoôk*, who at the same time supervises the co-ordinate grades of police distributed in the township. He publicly tries criminal and civil cases, under his powers as magistrate, by codes of law and procedure accessible to everybody. These codes form the most valuable models of system, in the vernacular, up to the present. By their help both judges and advocates have trained themselves in law. Five to eight townships, according to facilities for

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692
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381. BURMAN PRINCESS.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

APPENDIX D.

STATISTICAL.

AREA.

131

Burma Proper and Pegu (excluding Shan States, 61,000 sq. m.) square miles	158,322 = 101,326,122 acres.
Area cropped, 1900	10,556,104 acres.

161

POPULATION IN 1901 (including Shan States, 1,228,460)	9,221,181
Mean annual birth-rate per 1,000	37·34
" death " "	28·16

162

DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION IN 1891.

Burmans and Talaings { males, 3,030,797; females, 3,098,385 }	6,129,182
(Increase since 1881, 22½ per cent.)	
Shans	206,794
Karens	633,657
Chins	95,571
Chimpáws (Kachin ? more)	2,200
Chinese	37,407
Natives of India	432,639
Europeans (including 4000 troops)	12,491
Eurasians	6,978
Others	167,134
Total, census of 1891	7,722,053

FISCAL.

178 In 1796 the special impost of 33·3 tikals of fine silver per house took three years to collect, and produced the equivalent of about nine million rupees. The purchasing-power of money has
651 declined 50 to 60 per cent. since that time, apart from depreciation of silver.

435 In 1900 the gross revenue of Burma was 70,400,000 rupees, of which Pegu contributed 63 per cent. The expenditure was forty-three millions. Out of the surplus there was a balance of Rs. 24,700,000 of Imperial revenue over expenditure. The incidence of direct taxation (land and capitation taxes, which produce about one-half of the revenue) is four rupees per head of population; which, with an average of 5·5 inhabitants, comes to twenty-two rupees per house.

CRIMINAL, AVERAGES 1894–8.

674

Convictions for offences against life (including attempted murder and culpable homicide, 40 per cent.)	244
" " hurt	2,691
" " rape	76
" " robbery	654
" " theft	8,681

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma (Chinese) AP1
Burmese AP4

Be 178 [497] [206] [652]

163 miles long, has been made; there are 1300 miles of telegraph lines; stately law courts and other public buildings have sprung up, and so far from the work being a tax on the Indian Imperial Treasury, British Burma has been, after its first few years, more than self-supporting. For a considerable time it has contributed to the Imperial Treasury a clear surplus of a million sterling. The mere figures are in themselves surprising, but they cannot be truly appreciated unless they are read alongside the obvious, undeniable, and acknowledged prosperity and contentment of the native population. Since the annexation of Upper Burma these figures have been roughly multiplied by ten, and there is a steady yearly increase which would be greater if Burma were allowed to make use of her yearly surpluses.

Be 361

As long as there was a king of Burma, Mandalay was a larger town than Rangoon and an infinitely more picturesque one. It still remains by a long way the second town in Burma, but Rangoon has over-passed it in population. While Rangoon has gained, Mandalay has lost, but there seems no reason why it should go on declining.

The mushroom growth of Mandalay was entirely due to an autocratic order, but the number of ancient capitals in the neighbourhood shows that the position is an advantageous one. The astrologers and the king settled the new site between them, and when this was arranged a royal order came out bidding all remove themselves from Amarapura to Mandalay on pain of death in case of refusal. The transference of a bamboo hut is certainly no very great undertaking, and occupies less than a week in the pulling down and setting up. But the hardship was none the less where the people had gardens, or fruit-trees growing in their yards. The Chinese alone remained firm. Their houses were of the usual substantial, heavy, Celestial architecture, and, moreover, they had built for themselves an elaborate joss-house, in splendour quite equal to the best in Rangoon. Consequently, they flatly refused to migrate the two or three miles distance to the new capital. The astrologers were as usual for using force, but Mindôn Min had more sense. The Chinamen were almost all British subjects, and moreover their dealings contributed substantially to the revenue. Their

Ba [543] [341]

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

647 643 The breadth of view, the knowledge of other countries, of other thoughts, that comes to those who have wealth and leisure, were wanting to these ministers of the king. Natural capacity many of them had, but that is not of much value until it is cultivated. You cannot learn in the narrow precincts of a village the knowledge necessary to the management of great affairs; and therefore in affairs of state this want of any noble or leisured class was a very serious loss to the government of Burma. It had great and counterbalancing advantages, of which I will speak when I come to local government, but that it was a heavy loss as far as the central government goes no one can doubt. There was none of that check upon the power of the king which a powerful nobility will give; there was no trained talent at his disposal. The king remained absolutely supreme, with no one near his throne, and the ministers were mere puppets, here to-day and gone to-morrow. They lived by the breath of the king and court, and when they lost favour there was none to help them. They had no faction behind them to uphold them against the king. It can easily be understood how disastrous all this was to any form of good government. All these ministers and governors were corrupt; there was corruption to the core.

647 652 When it is understood that hardly any official was paid, and that those who were paid were insufficiently paid, and had unlimited power, there will be no difficulty in seeing the reason. In circumstances like this all people would be corrupt. The only securities against bribery and abuse of power are adequate pay, restricted authority, and great publicity. None

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

of these obtained in Burma any more than in the Europe of five hundred years ago, and the result was the same in both. The central government consisted of the king, who had no limit at all to his power, and the council of ministers, whose only check was the king. The executive and judicial were all the same: there was no appeal from one to the other. The only appeal from the ministers was to the king, and as the king shut himself up in his palace, and was practically inaccessible to all but high officials, the worthlessness of this appeal is evident. Outside Mandalay the country was governed by *wuns* or governors. These were appointed by the king, or by the council, or by both, and they obtained their position by bribery. Their tenure was exceedingly insecure, as any man who came and gave a bigger bribe was likely to obtain the former governor's dismissal and his own appointment. Consequently the usual tenure of office of a governor was a year. Often there were half a dozen governors in a year; sometimes a man with strong influence managed to retain his position for some years. From the orders of the governor there was an appeal to the council. This was in some matters useful, but in others not so. If a governor sentenced a man to death—all governors had power of life and death—he would be executed long before an appeal could reach the council. Practically no check was possible by the palace over distant governors, and they did as they liked. Anything more disastrous and fatal to any kind of good government than this it is impossible to imagine. The governors did what they considered right in

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2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma A P1
Burmese AP4
Upper Burma
Lower Burma
Europeans

Be 461 Be 461 181

down the river in the big rice-boat to one of the great milling towns. And so an uneventful life passes away: the greatest ambition to see the village boat successful at the Thadingyut races, and the village champion cock or buffalo triumphant over all others; the greatest desire to live peaceably with all men and observe the Ten Precepts; the greatest excitement the occasional visit of the English district officer, or the suspicion of a witch in that lonely house down by the spirit's pool on the creek. In Upper Burma formerly this quiet was more apt to be disturbed by the summoning of levies to serve in some special raid against audacious dacoits, or to make a demonstration against reiving mountaineers. If the myo-wun was a pious man, calls for enforced labour at digging tanks, building pagodas and monasteries, rest-houses and tazaungs, were likely to keep the villager a great deal more occupied than he cared for. There can be no doubt in any patriotic Burman's mind that the state of the people, regularly taxed though they be, under British rule, is infinitely happier than it was under their king, and all but the officials and their hangers-on longed for the day when the English flag was to float over all the land as far as Mogaung. There could be no hope for the country, where, even under a kindly king like Mindôn, ill-conditioned governors oppressed the populace with absolute impunity. Complaints were made, but his majesty could not venture to leave his palace for any great distance to inquire for himself, and gold easily dulled the senses of the highest minister round the golden throne. It is little wonder then that the people, kept perpetually in the lowest depths of poverty, were, if not actually dying out, certainly not increasing in numbers. There was nothing which so much indicated the popular feeling, and at the same time so irritated the Burmese Government, as the unceasing stream of emigrants to Lower Burma.

Be 181 Be 181 184 674 653 Ba 177 668 661 Be 181 731

Nevertheless, even in Independent territory the Burman preserved his light heart and buoyant disposition. No calamity is so overwhelming as to make him despond. Some years ago a large fire occurred in Mandalay, and spread with such terrible rapidity that the inhabitants of a whole quarter were unable to save anything but the clothes they

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

651 transit dues, and so on, all imposed whenever the district offered an opportunity for them.

A fertile source of profit to the officials were the fees on law-suits and criminal cases, as well as on minor matters, [691] such as the settlement of petty quarrels, divorce suits, and the like, which did not require to be formally tried, but could be settled in the verandah of the thugyi's house over a cheroot or a fid of betel. At the beginning of the year, and on other great kadaw days, special sums had always to be wrung out of the people to furnish the presents required to be offered to the king by all the officials, from the myosa 653 downwards. *Corvées* and enforced duties of all kinds were frequent, and the men selected for such service could only get off by furnishing a substitute, or bribing the tithing man. The king or some great man wanted to build a pagoda, and orders were sent round to the various circles that they must furnish a regular supply of workers daily. The taik or myothugyi drew up a roster, and each man had to go and work for a certain number of days. If he failed to go he was triced up to a post or a tree and got a sound flogging. Similar forced duties were the protection of the frontier and the pursuit of dacoits. Such work was particularly detested, [702] for the men had to keep themselves supplied with food, or get their friends to bring it to them, and this was not always an easy matter. Besides such service might last an indefinite time.

651 Added to all the ordinary imposts were occasional extraordinary contributions to the Crown on the occasion of entering upon war, or upon other public emergencies. The Hlutdaw in Mandalay fixed the amount, and it was divided among the governors of districts. In 1798 a call of thirty-three rupees was made from every house in the country. It was two years before the collection was finished, and the result was six million rupees. But how much more the people paid is quite another thing. Very heavy calls were also made in 1827 to meet the first instalment of the indemnity due to the British after the treaty of Yandabo. The money was sent down at dead of night to the British Commissioners, and all the people were ordered to close their doors and remain inside that they might not see the national

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

out to farmers, who were required not only to pay him his rent, but as a rule had also to supply the revenue demanded from the owner by the State. There was therefore no very enthusiastic bidding for his lands, but he always got a tenant somehow or other. It would have been a bad day for the village if no one came forward. Every man in the place would have been called upon to work for a certain period on the thugyi's paddy-fields. These have now been merged in the State lands. 423 651 622

The third class of arable estates consisted of the lands known as bhanda, treasury, or royal fields. These were the private property of the king, and were cultivated ordinarily by the outcast lamaing, crown predial slaves. Sometimes, however, the whole of the farmers in the neighbourhood were summoned by roster to do their one, or three, or five days' work, for which they received no payment; on the contrary, if they tried to escape they were tied up and received a dozen or two according to the humanity of the district governor. Near the capital, where oppression never was so gross as in the outlying provinces, the cultivators of the Lèdawgyi were frequently freed from all taxation but the payment of the family tax, and some even, as in the neighbourhood of Aungbinle, whose revenues were assigned by the king to the great Arakan pagoda, were let off even the ngwedaw. But these *corvées* were very irksome, for the payment of a little money would always ensure the omission of a name from the taikthugyi's list, and the work fell all the harder on the luckless remainder. The whole of the produce of the bhanda lands belonged of course to the king, unless where he had otherwise assigned it. What with revenue paid in kind and the crops of the Lèdawgyi, the king had granaries as vast as those which Joseph built for the king of Egypt. Mindôn Min drew from them to pay his soldiery, varying the monotony from time to time with pieces of rotten Manchester grey shirting. Offerings to the Sacred Order, of whom he daily fed several thousands, also served to keep the storehouses within reasonable bounds. Thibaw Min turned his grain into money with all possible expedition, and the money vanished with equal rapidity. The Lèdaw of course became State land on the Annexation. 423 643 651 653

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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68. WUT WITH IMAGES OF THE BUDDHA.

stars," the Burman says "countless as the temples of Pagán." The remains at Pagán are all ecclesiastical with the exception of the city gates and ramparts (No. 6). The temple enclosures are now ploughed, but no building is cleared nor is any of the old material utilised. The Pagán monuments are of brick laid in clay and generally lime-plastered. Many have been wrecked by treasure-hunters. A few of the principal temples only are kept in repair. Pagán is said to have been exhausted by the temple-building of its kings, who, besides exacting labour from their subjects, must have imported skilled labour. An old saying is "the temple is finished and the country is ruined." The temple remains occupy an area of several thousand acres, in many places with just room for roads between the walls of the enclosures. The style of the Pagán buildings is Indian. It has been suggested that the Hindu type of work and possibly Buddhism itself reached Pagán by way of Annam: the Mun or Peguan race, from whom the Burmans adopted Buddhism, having a language of Annam type. The great ruins at Angkor Wat, two hundred miles east of Bankok, have been compared to the ruins of Pagán. (See *Through the Buffer State*, by Surgeon-Major McGregor, 1896.) Such a route as this would help to account for certain features of Burman architecture foreign to India, the superposed roofs, and everted gable-ends. The Indian types may have reached Burma by this circuit as well as by the direct route.

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69. THADYA PAYA AT THATON.

The ancient temples of Pagán consist of brick corridors, one within the other, with vaulted pent roofs of masonry springing from the outer or lower wall to the inner or higher. The section of the vault is like that of a Gothic flying buttress. In the centre of all are colossal images

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

humiliation. As an instance of Burman carelessness in money matters it may be mentioned that when the final instalment was paid, considerably over the sum due was sent to Calcutta. When the overplus was returned, there was great discussion among the Ministers as to what could be the motive of the Indian Government in being so singularly scrupulous. 651

A good many districts were almost entirely exempted from taxes in recognition of special services required of them. The inhabitants of the capital were particularly well off in this respect. They furnished the troops to guard the palace and city. Moreover, it would have been much more difficult to oppress them with impunity, apart from the fact that if they were disaffected it would have offered a premium to rebels. For similar reasons some of the townships about Môtshobo were free from the ngwedaw. It was from this district that Alaungpaya, the founder of the dynasty, came, and insurrectionist princes always made for Môtshobo when they levied war. Several villages on the Irrawaddy, in consideration of supplying the royal gilded boats, manning the royal barges, and passing on Court despatches, were relieved from the family tax. But the petty officials took very good care that they did not grow rich on their immunities. 651 631

All these methods were more or less sanctioned by ancient custom. Modern ingenuity and requirements, however, found out new ways of raising money. The pious ardour of Mindôn led him to spend vast sums on the erection of pagodas and religious buildings of all kinds, as well as on the manufactories, cotton mills, foundries, and powder mills with which he crowded the suburbs of Mandalay, and closed when he got tired of them. All this cost a very great deal of money, which even the exaction of benevolences from wealthy courtiers failed to supply. Consequently Mindôn Min turned merchant and established a great number of royal monopolies. The producers were allowed to sell to none but to him, and he fixed the price which he was prepared to pay. For long, cotton, jaggery, timber, wheat, precious stones, and earth oil could only be had from the royal merchant, and the trade with British Burma was in anything but a satisfactory state. Then in 1867, Colonel 651 177-38 361 651

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

655 Fytche, holding out the inducement of increased customs
651 dues from the newly started Irrawaddy Flotilla Company's steamers, persuaded his majesty to give up all the monopolies, except those of earth oil, timber, and precious stones; and to agree to a uniform import and export duty on all other goods and merchandise, passing between British and Burmese territory, of five per cent *ad valorem*. This treaty lapsed in 1877 and was not renewed. Nevertheless, King Mindôn did not renew the monopolies.

When his son came to the throne, he issued, or there was issued for him, a proclamation, stating that he was going to adopt Western forms of government, and expressly announcing that he had no intention of reviving the monopoly system. He was, however, with his wild, extravagant habits, very soon in as great monetary difficulties as his father, and from 1880 began steadily to sell monopolies and give grants of forest land for hard cash payments. The new monopoly buyers, haunted by a fear of British interference, and not by any means assured in their minds as to the stability of Thibaw Min's rule, were anxious to get as much money as they could, and therefore paid only the
[433] most absurdly low prices for produce. The cultivators, finding all their labour in vain, began consequently in large numbers to give up farming or working in the forests, the consequence of which was a still further shock to the trade with British Burma and an entire inability on the part of the
651 population the following year to pay the house-tax. Besides
525 the monopoly system derived from his predecessors, Thibaw Min also hit on the notion of lotteries for the replenishment of his treasury. The system worked very well for a time, and brought in great quantities of money, but latterly the loose coin of the populace had all been netted, and the lottery source of revenue was pretty nearly worked out. In 1879 and 1880 Mandalay was simply flooded with lottery-offices, each under the superintendence of a minister of high rank. Those who were able to show the king the most money were highest in the royal favour, and consequently the rivalry between these worthies ran very strong. All manner of dodges were tried to entice speculators away from all other offices to the minister's own. The Hpaung-wun,

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

651 lists were filled up, no matter whether it was an uboné,
525 or a more sacred feast, and, as a consequence, the minds
446 of the people were kept in a state of perpetual unhealthy excitement.

651 Neither buyers nor sellers were to be seen in the bazaar.
525 Cultivators sold off their farming stock and implements, and
178 launched all their money into the state lotteries. Fathers
[562] sold their daughters, and husbands their wives, to have a final try for fortune, until the lottery managers issued a notice that they would give no more tickets in exchange for women. To fill up the totals faster, and draw in every available coin, twenty, or even more, people were allowed to club together to buy a single ticket. Business was entirely suspended, and all the people hovered about the lottery-offices, longing for the drawing, while cleaned-out speculators prowled about day and night, watching for an opportunity to thieve and rob. How it was that the plundered people did not rise against the government, or at least against the lottery managers, is a mystery, but they did not. The suburbs of Mandalay were filled for a time with ruined gamblers, until the soldiery were employed to drive them farther afield, when many made their way to the frontier, and recouped themselves by raids on British Burma villages. Eventually money failed, or the people were disillusionised, and the lottery-offices, though several remained open, drove but a very slight
651 trade. Then Thibaw Min had to resort to other measures
655 to meet his expenditure, and from July 1881 began disposing of monopolies right and left. Having finished the export monopolies, he commenced with those on imports. The British trade with Upper Burma was being steadily ruined, and the war which ended in the extinction of the kingdom of Burma was made inevitable.

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656 GOVERNMENT REGULATION--policies underlying government regulation of private enterprises and activities; general aspects of supervision, restriction, and enforcement; specific instances of government regulation not classifiable elsewhere; etc. See also:

Government regulation of hunting and fishing . . . 22
Government regulation of food processing 26
Government regulation of the manufacture and distribution of liquor and drugs 27
Government regulation of banking and finance . . 46
Government regulation of business and industry . . 47
Government regulation of travel and transportation 48
Government regulation of immigration 167
Conservation policies 185
Government regulation of radio 207
Government regulation of dairying 234
Rationing 434
Price controls 435
Government regulation of wages 465
Government regulation of marriage 582
Wartime regulations 722
Government regulation of medical personnel . . 759
Government regulation of weights and measures . 804

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

CHAPTER XLIII

SUMPTUARY LAWS AND ETIQUETTE[1]

565 656 UNDER native rule the sumptuary laws in Mandalay were exceedingly strict and most elaborate in their character. Out of the capital the regulations were equally in force, but never, as a matter of fact, came into action, because the country governors took very good care to replenish their coffers out of the money-bags of every one who chanced to be fortunate in his speculations. Speaking generally, officials were the only rich people; but in no country in the world was the official rank more open to competition, or more subject to the caprice of the king. The last mayor of Mandalay, who was also Governor of the Rafts—that is to say, Lord High Admiral—was not many years before little better than a slave, and owed his first start in life to a lucky accident. Several others of King Thibaw's most prominent advisers were among his personal attendants before he ascended the throne. There is, therefore, nothing of the caste prejudice of the Hindoos to be found in Burma. Burmans will often declare there is caste, but what is called by that name is nothing more than the arbitrary settlement by the sumptuary laws of what a man might wear and what was forbidden; what language he may use and what must be used to him. Captain Forbes, in his book on Burma, said that these prohibitions extended in native territory to the names which might be given to a man. The term Shwe, meaning gold, was, he said, restricted as a name to people of rank. This is certainly a misappre-

[1] Since the annexation of Upper Burma these sumptuary rules are no longer law, but they are observed by very many good citizens even under British rule.

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

hension. It may have been an ancient law, but it was not enforced in the last years of the Burmese empire, and it does not seem to have been enforced even in the times of the haughtiest and most unreasonable monarchs, such as Tharrawaddy and Mintaya Gyi. The appellative was perhaps not so common as in British territory; but as far as the law was concerned, the poor man might call himself and his children Shwe as much as he pleased; only he had to be very careful how he used any of the gold he might possess in decorating his person or in adorning his house.

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If the regulations did not apply to the name a man might have, they certainly did to the language he might make use of. Oriental forms of speech in self-depreciation are familiar enough. They are universal with all the nations of the East, and even turn up in the democratic West in the petitions of "your humble, obedient servant." The magniloquent and supreme nga, as applied to one's self, is not peculiar to Burma; while hnin, addressed to an inferior, is only a little more contemptuous than the *Er* of the small German courts. The difference between the various ranks is far more distinctly marked than this in the employment of different forms of speech; an entirely special language as applied to the royal blood, and in a scarcely less adulatory way to the members of the Assembly of the Perfect. A man "dies"; a monk "goes back" to the blissful seats whence he came, or to ne'ban; a king "ascends to the village of Nats"; one of the six heavens of happiness, where the passions still reign, and in the contemplation of which Buddhists find consolation for the otherwise dismal forebodings of their faith. The Buddhist religion is thoroughly democratic. A man only is what he is through his actions in past existences. The accumulation of merits must therefore vastly outweigh the demerits in the kan of a king. However badly he may act in his regal existence, he cannot fall below the lowest seat of the dewas—at least, so official language declares. Similarly, an ordinary man "walks"; a mendicant "stalks," or "strides," or "paces with dignified gait," or whatever may be the English honorific equivalent of the Burmese chwa; while a king "makes a royal progress." The latter expression was emphatically correct as

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2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

Myowun, the lord high admiral, and lord mayor's establishment was generally admitted to be the largest and best, and it was certainly he who first began to try and allure the people. He secured the old custom-house buildings for his office, and enclosed a wide expanse round about it with a strong bamboo fence. Porous pots of deliciously cool drinking water, each pot supplied with a number of tin mugs, were arranged on stands all round the sides. The antisoporific letpet, the gigantic, but soothing, green cheroot, and the good betel lay in great heaps on the tables everywhere, and vanished with extraordinary rapidity. A dozen or more punkahs were hung up and worked by coolies, so as to calm the brains and cool the heated faces of excited clients. Later on, when other wuns and letthondaw copied his methods, the resourceful Hpaungwun added bands of music, dancing girls, and even regular dramatic performances, kept up perpetually, to the other attractions of his place of business. Some managers strove to get the better of their neighbours by giving the people unlimited supplies of palm-toddy, in the hope that the heady liquor might induce them to risk their last coins. Others hit upon the device of returning one pice—about one farthing—on each ticket taken. Others again, desperate at the thought of being unable to render a good account to their royal master, engaged gangs of bullies, who went about threatening people with violence or false accusations in the law-courts if any but their master were patronised, while the Zegyodaw Myowun, U Tha O, in virtue of his official position as keeper of the markets, sent his subordinates to the Chinese gambling-house keepers, and forced them to subscribe periodically for fifty tickets at a couple of rupees each, if they hoped to retain their gambling licenses. Fired by his example, the Yaw Shwedaik and Taingda atwinwuns also made use of their court influence to draw subscribers. Brokers and traders of all nationalities who had business with the palace were put down for a couple of hundred tickets or so, on pain of losing their contracts. One of the wundouks was advanced and heedless enough to select the Dhammayôn, a place of worship and prayer, for his lottery-office. All the old lines were upset. Drawings were held whenever the

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2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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The only analogy to the crown lands in Lower Burma was found in the reservation of forests by the government for the preservation of teak and other valuable trees such as the thit-ka (*Cedreela toona*), thit-kado (*Pentace Burmanica*), and padauk (*Pterocarpus Indicus*), which are absolutely reserved, that is to say, no tree may be felled which has not been girdled by government forest officers, even by those who have bought the right to remove the timber. It is expressly stated that the lessee is in no case allowed to girdle trees on his own account, and the rules are in other respects of the most stringent and Oriental description. No taung-ya, or hill-gardens may be made in the demarcated tracts. A selection of rivers and streams is made which must be kept free from all artificial obstructions, whether for fisheries, irrigation, or other purposes. Unauthorised felling, cutting, marking, killing, or injuring trees of all kinds, shrubs or bamboos, the collection of wood oil, resin, and even leaves, and any interference with the soil or its produce without permission, is made penal. Even the use of existing roads and bridle-paths may, if the forest officer sees fit, be prohibited. In 1882, out of a total area of about 80,000 square miles of teak-producing forests, some 13,000 square miles were thus reserved, but this area has now been ten times exceeded. The Burman, who knows nothing whatever of game laws or edicts against trespassers, is inclined to look upon this stringent reservation of land which the ancient code declares free for all, as something far more despotic than the enforced labour and extortionate demands of national rule. Doubtless time will prove to him that it is a wise precaution to guard from destruction a slow-growing tree like the teak, and when the wandering hunter gets to understand that forest fires are a calamity and not simply an easy method of making a clearing, the State forests will come to be something less like pheasant coverts than they now are.

423 311

Otherwise, waste lands, as in old Upper Burma, are by the law of the Dhammathat open to all-comers. Any one can select for himself a tract of such land at his pleasure, and may clear and cultivate in any way he chooses, paying his tax upon it when the time for the annual assessment of land revenue comes round. In many cases, however, he is allowed

it out to dry in the sun throughout the next day, then pound again and store in jars. The total process takes two days." 251

U Myaing continues his explanation of the IN fishery:- 263

"The fishery is worked on a co-operative basis. We contribute equal sums of money. If one puts up Rs. 100/- all put up Rs.100/-; if Rs.1000/- all put up Rs.1000/- each. We group together and work. Rights to the site of the fishery must be secured from the government by auction. We have to make an initial payment of about Rs. 1000/- or Rs. 2000/- and in bidding among ourselves the price increases to eight thousand, nine thousand, ten thousand, twelve thousand. The original price was three thousand rupees. This is the cost of the Deputy Commissioner's auction. There were many bidders at the auction for the IN. Four, five, six. For example if I give a thousand rupees you offer two thousand, he gives three, four, five thousand ..... When it comes to the hand of the successful bidder the price has increased. The money for the fishery rights have to be paid in later (after the fishing has begun). For example if I pay in a thousand rupees this month, I pay a thousand the next month and the next, in several instalments. This is in addition to the amount we sink into the actual working of the business. (Cost of constructing the IN and equipment). 226 474 463

"The fishermen do not get paid a salary. They have shares. Accounts are kept of how much fish is caught, how much sold, and only after the IN has been worked to the end of the season is everything cleared up. Each fisherman gets only one share, and the profits are equally divided. We have to pay equal amounts of money for the IN and the money we get from the IN is the same for each of us. We all group and work together. There are some INS where one takes the lead and engages all the men and works it for himself. What he gets he keeps for himself. He pays the wages. In selling, we discuss the matter among ourselves and then sell. The four or five elders get together and if they decide to sell this kind of fish for this price, it is sold.

"As one of the elders, I go alone and bid at the auctioning in the Deputy Commissioner's office. I also supervise the actual fishing saying to the other fishermen - "Do this, and this and this." I have a list of what things they need and have to go and buy these things for them. I have to buy poles, I have to buy THIN bamboo, I have to buy all the implements which are to be used. I have to collect money, and buy all the implements used in the IN. I have to keep accounts for this. I get a bit more money (than the other fishermen) by making goods (from the profits of manufacture). You see, I also make dried Nga-gyi fish and Ngapi-daung. I buy the fish from them and process it. I have not worked at INS all my life. I worked for about ten years at the time when the British king reigned. When the Japanese came I worked at INS no longer."(He then bought fish and sold the preparations.) [656] 226 463 621

U Myaing gives the following supplementary information:

" There are ten leaders or foremen in the village, each of them taking charge of about seven or eight men. In all there are about eighty workers in the three sub-villages of Pathne working with me at our IN. About thirty or forty of these live in THA-GYI-BET on our side of the river. These are men working at our IN only. There are also workers living in the village who work in the six other INS of the neighbourhood. About a hundred of the two hundred families in THA-GYI-BET work INS. The rest produce the fish, dry it, make ngapi etc., and to do this they have to buy the fish from the IN workers. Afterwards they sell to buyers who come from Upper Burma. Or sometimes they go upcountry in boats and steamers to sell the produce. Some people who are not IN workers go to the INS and help to extract fish oil. Fish like Nga-Myare-daung yeild about one viss of oil to every 10 viss of fish. The fish are cut open with a knife and the fat collected. The women come and help without payment and take home oil for themselves when they go back. The women of my household also used to do this. [438] [562]

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

to be under the direct control of the state. But as living actors were now past such control, he turned his attention towards puppets, which were in great demand by the people. He realized the possibilities of puppets in the newly arisen national drama. The puppet show, which was then entirely independent of the drama and the living actors, started with different animals coming out one by one, and each gave a special dance to a particular tune of its own, played by the orchestra, then a *zaugyee*[1] appeared and danced, and finally, a prince and princess came out, made love, sang and danced. The puppets were from 2½ to 3 feet in height, and were worked by strings. As stage, there was a raised platform, with a black curtain, behind which the show-men stood and manipulated the puppets. The men's hands were visible, but as the platform was about four feet high and the audience had to look up, the hands did not distinctly come into the line of vision. The platform was about twenty feet in length, and the width of the part in front of the curtain was about four feet. 536 * 175 [534]

The minister put the puppet show under direct state patronage and control. Under him the puppet show became similar to an ordinary dramatic presentation except that puppets performed instead of living actors. The use of puppets to act the play of course caused the introduction of new puppets, but it also rendered the *zaugyee* and animal puppets unnecessary; yet they were retained all 536 * 175 [656]

[1] *Zaugyee* is the Burmese term for an alchemist. It is a derivative of the Indian word *yogu* but the Burmese alchemist has little in common with the Indian ascetic. It is an example of how names of Pali and semi-Buddhist origin were applied to already-existing native ideas. 789 822 [198]

A man (but not a woman) becomes a *zaugyee* when he has introduced into his body the right metal-compounds. To obtain those compounds, he has to experiment on metals with quicksilver or iron. In the first case, he becomes a 'quicksilver *zaugyee*' and in the second, an 'iron *zaugyee*', but both have the same powers. A *zaugyee* lives for millions of years, and can travel in the air, in water, or under the earth, for his body has reached the state when it is beyond the ordinary laws of nature. A halfway stage in the experiments is reached when a 'stone of live metal' (equivalent to the medieval 'philosopher's stone') is obtained. A person in actual possession of the stone can fly in the air and travel under the earth, but his powers are entirely dependent on the stone, i.e. his body is still an ordinary human body. The stone turns lead into silver and brass into gold. It will be seen that a Burman striving to become a *zaugyee* has much in common with the medieval European alchemist.

The beliefs connected with the *zaugyee* are still widely current. For a detailed account of Burmese alchemy, see the writer's 'Alchemy and Alchemists in Burma' in *Folk-Lore*, December 1933. [113]

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

175 the same. Therefore after the minister's innovation, the puppet
536* show was actually a combination of two different things, the old puppet show as seen in the animal puppets coming out to dance, and the new puppet play. To many people it must have seemed that the minister did not really introduce any new thing, but only lengthened and made more elaborate that part of the show devoted to the prince
[101] and princess. It should be remembered that the Burmese had no puppet drama. In India, in Java, in Siam, in Bali, and in Turkey, there was an actual puppet drama, but in Burma the puppet show was entirely dependent for its plays on the drama of living actors. The minister imposed two restrictions on the puppet show.
● [656] First, the plays presented by puppets must either be founded on the *Jatakas*, or on the great events in the nation's history. Second, the dress, manners, and customs of the king and his court presented on the puppet stage should be correct in every detail.

536* The innovations of the able minister resulted in the rise of a new
463 class of puppet show-men. They were mostly drawn from the ranks of the professional actors, but they were of proved ability and experience, and had to serve at least some months of apprenticeship. The show-men were never looked down upon, and the living actors themselves held them in respect. The puppet show-men were very conservative. State control ended with the death of the minister, perhaps because his successors were not so able; but the show-men kept their stage exactly the same as it was in the time of the minister, except that they presented the plays of U Kyin U, most of which were founded neither on the *Jatakas* nor on historical events. During the decadent period, the puppets stuck to the 'old' plays, and introduced no innovations either in stage-craft or in dramatic
536* technique. The annexation by the British in 1886 was disastrous
118 to the puppet show, for, unlike the living actors, the puppets were almost totally dependent on court patronage. When the country became peaceful again by about 1885, the puppet show-men made gallant attempts to revive their shows, and all over Burma they gave performances. But the show belonged to a dead past, and the conservatism of the show-men would not allow the introduction of anything new. The old show-men died out, and there were not many new-comers, for the profession demanded a term of apprenticeship and its conservatism did not suit the young men, products of the changed conditions. The result was that the puppet troupes gradually disappeared. In 1921, when a puppet performance was given at

341 climate and the insect erosion.

The style of Pagan's stone architecture is
341 still traceable in the form of the wood struc-
565 tures of the monasteries and the palaces of the rulers of the last era of the Burmese Empire, especially in /204/ the characteristic door arches which terminate in horn-like points and the pyramidically rising storey roofs.

An enormous gulf sets this architecture apart from the ordinary Burmese dwelling. One cannot help marvel that a people who have such strong feeling for proportion and graceful flow of lines as to create these most magnificent buildings for its princes and monks, and covered them with a wealth of imaginative carvings, with gold and glittering glass mosaics, that such a people would live in mean, plain, wooden or bamboo huts with scanty house furnishings, even if they can afford something better.

This glaring incongruity is first of all ex-
● [656] plained (2) by the Draconian rules of the old

2. About the general influence on the art of the dwellings cf. H. Schurtz, Urgeschichte der Kultur /Ancient Cultural History/ (Leipzig, 1900), pp. 418 ff.

Burmese class and luxury code. Brick buildings were definitely prohibited--they might have been used as fortifications during revolutions--and it had become second nature to the Burmese that lacquer work /Map--Distribution of House Types--Analyst. --Key: ....Pile dwelling. _____ Ground level dwelling. .....Both types in use./ and gilding, carved door arches and storey roofs should be permitted only on the dwellings of princes and monks who are equal to the former in rank, with restrictions on the houses of other high dignitaries. Even now, after the British
341 rule gave a wider range of freedom to the subjects, following the deposition of the degenerated royal

342 like to the bamboo sticks and together with them
824 bound to the roof rafters (Figure 2). The larger leaves of the Ingyin (Shorea robusta) (8) are

8. According to J.G. Scott, Burma, 2nd ed., (London, 1911), p. 500; other botanical explanations by H.R. Spearman, British Burma Gazeteer 1 (Rangoon 1880), pp. 125 ff., H.J. Wehrli, Zur Wirtschafts- und Siedlungs-Geographie von Ober-Birma /Economic and Settlements Geography of Upper Burma/ (Zurich, 1906), p. 111; Ferrars, ibid., p. 227.

sometimes seen as roofing material, pinned together in rows /207/ with bamboo pins and squeezed with poles against the roof (Figure 3).
342 The grass roofs, particularly during the windy,
[656] dry winter season, are, of course, an extreme fire hazard and are therefore now prohibited for the cities. There--wherever brick or corrugated tin roofs have not been adopted--a roofing material, called "wakat," a shingle, cut from braided bamboo work is used. As a poor protec-
355 tion in case of fire, which frequently burns down whole villages, a wooden hook, attached to a long handle is employed to tear off those parts of the grass roof which have caught fire and a damper, made of bamboo braided material is used to extinguish the sparks. These two utensils can be seen in practically every house (cf. Plate IV, 1 and especially Plate IV, 3); sometimes a number of jugs, filled with water, are seen standing at the ridge of the roof for purposes of fire fighting.

342 The Burmese attributes good and bad luck in
777 all his undertakings to the influence of the in-
787 numerable benign and evil spirits (Nat) who were originally outside the Buddhist creed, and he makes his decisions dependent on omens and oracles

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

far more minute, and guarded with the most jealous care. The almost wretched character of the houses of Upper Burma, as compared with those in the lower territory, was very apparent; but what struck a stranger even more was the absence of the gay dress which is so pleasant and picturesque in Pegu and the seaboard provinces. There was indeed no law against any one wearing the most brilliant paso he could get; but the money was wanting to support the character. A man with a fine waistcloth would be considered to have the money at the back of it, and might have to sell his dress to meet the contributions demanded accordingly by the local official. In Lower Burma, every one has a feast-day dress, however poor he may be. He gets the money for it by a week's work, perhaps backed up by a lucky bit of gambling. Then he is at liberty to strut about and do nothing till the clothes get shabby, when he has to bestir himself again. In British territory, too, he might decorate his kilt with any number of representations of the peacock. An Upper Burman would have been promptly put in gaol—he would even have run some risk of being killed outright—if he ventured upon one. Peacocks were for personages of the blood-royal. Most people in independent territory wore no coats at all; but if they did wear coats, they had to be of the simplest possible "Chinese cut." Long-tailed taingmatheins, surcoats and the like, were reserved for officials, with regulations as to buttons, gold or otherwise, and other minutiæ which must have severely taxed the memory of informers and chamberlains.

As we ascend in the social, or rather the official scale,—for all dignity came from office, or from a special patent from the king—distinctions thickened. Naturally in the land of the umbrella-bearing chiefs, the huge htis afforded a prominent and obvious mode of marking rank. The umbrella is twelve or fifteen high, with an expanse of six feet or more across. A poor man had nothing to do with these big umbrellas whatever, unless he were employed to carry one over his master's head. If he owned an umbrella at all, it had to be short in the handle and otherwise of Western limensions. Royal officials about the palace had their mbrellas painted black inside; country people, and those

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

565 301 not directly connected with the royal abode, had the palm-leaf as near the original colour as the varnishing with wood-oil permitted. Some had permission to cover the wide surface with pink or green satin; others, more honoured, might add a fringe, either plain or embroidered. A golden umbrella was given by special grace to the highest wuns and the royal princes. A white umbrella belonged to the king alone and to religion, and not even the Eingshemin, the heir-apparent, when such a person existed, was allowed to use it. Matters were still further complicated by the number of umbrellas. Nine white ones marked the king; the Eingshemin had eight golden ones; and the rest of the royal personages numbers corresponding to their achievements, or the regard the king had for them. If they achieved too much, however, and became popular, they died. Distinguished statesmen and generals might have several gold htis, which were duly displayed on all public occasions, and were put up in the house in prominent places. The king's "agent" in Rangoon had only one, which very fairly represented the consideration in which Great Britain was held, and the official rank thought good enough to communicate with the Chief Commissioner. A favourite trick 565 291 301 of the king, Naungdaw Gyi, was to issue perpetually new edicts as to the length of umbrella handles and the proper measurement of the paso. District officials used to make [661] large sums of money in the way of fines in those days, and occasionally themselves fell victims. There was nothing of the kind latterly, unless we may consider the queen Supayalat's announcement as to the way in which her hair was dressed, being patented as her sole prerogative, an instance of the same nature. Nevertheless, the general distinctions were very tenaciously held by. Innocent, unwitting Englishmen got themselves into serious trouble in Mandalay by going about carrying silk umbrellas with white covers. The offence was high treason and merited death. None actually underwent the supreme penalty, but there were a few who had vivid denunciations for the stocks.

565 The metal, size, and construction of spittoons, betel-boxes, cups, and the like household furniture for different grades were rigidly demarcated, and afforded the most

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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prince, having died soon after. Of the princesses, thirty-five of whom survived their father, four were killed in the February massacres, and twenty-one kept in confinement in the palace, some of whom almost certainly died of want or external violence. The remainder were of too little account to be taken notice of. Thirty-seven queens were alive when the late king died. Thirteen fled when his illness became dangerous, and so extinguished themselves. Twenty-three were kept in underground dungeons, or under close surveillance in the palace; one only, the mother of the Mekhaya, with fourteen of her children and grandchildren, were killed in 1879. This is rather a dismal list, and the shadow of it rested over the royal throne. Whether Thibaw Min was the direct author of the tragedy or not, the stain of the crime and the recollection of it clung to him. After its accomplishment, the king fell more and more under the malign influence of the termagant queen. The Kin Wungyi and his constitution were ignominiously bundled out of the palace. The former all-powerful minister became little more than a private citizen, and the vile conductors of the massacres were the chief in authority. With their lotteries and monopolies they had very soon brought the country to ruin, had it not been for the blessing of English rule.

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Personally, Thibaw Min could not be otherwise than miserable. The harridan queen kept him in most humble subjection. Hitherto every king of Burma had had at least four chief queens, those of the east, west, north, and south palaces, of whom the southern queen was supreme. But Supayalat persisted in remaining sole controller of the royal heart. Terrible stories are told of the death by lingering torture which proved the portion of maids of honour on whose charms the unhappy king is said to have looked with favour. Such an unusual state of things, such a disgrace as a woman's slave for a king, had never befallen any country before. A son was born in the end of 1879, but he died of smallpox in the epidemic of March 1880, and a daughter in the end of the same year compared but badly with King Mindôn's three or four a year.

The king was practically a prisoner within his golden walls. No king of Burma had ever been much in the habit

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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Burmese. The term zāt or, still more so, wuttu (*i.e.* a real story) is properly applied only to the religious plays, the five hundred and ten Jatakas. The work of fiction not necessarily religious is called a Pyazat, an *acting* play. Thus you speak of the Utena Wuttu (given in part by Yule), but of the Zawta Gômma Pyazat.

Ten of the religious dramas stand out prominently from the others. These are called the Zatgyi Sèbwè, and are designed to show how the Lord Buddha in turn overcame all the deadly sins. They are named: (1) *Temi*, (2) *Zanecka*, (3) *Thuwunnashan*, (4) *Nemi*, (5) *Mahawthata*, (6) *Buyidat*, (7) *Sanda Gômima*, (8) *Nayidda*, (9) *Widuya*, and (10) *Wethandaya*. Several of them are very interesting. The *Wethandaya* is probably best known on account of the real pathos of the story and the beauty of the composition. It illustrates the boundless pity of a Budh. The prince—Gautama's last incarnation on earth previous to his appearance as Prince Siddartha or Theidat—gives away everything he possesses, even to his wife and children. The Nemi and Buyida zāts, or wuttus as they are called indifferently, are also very popular on account of the particulars they give of the nga-yè, the great hell, and the country of the nagās, fabulous creatures, like the kraken, that sleep deep down below, far beyond the ken of mortal man. The similarities between Norse mythology and Buddhist cosmogonies have often been noticed, and the legend of the kraken or nagā is not the least singular.

Of the other more secular plays, U Hpo Nya is the most celebrated recent author. He was killed in King Mindôn's reign by the Tabè Mintha, one of the most brutal of the royal princes, and for whose son's head King Thibaw twice paid a thousand rupees. The young man, however, lived long after King Thibaw himself had gone. His father's victim, U Hpo Nya, was particularly celebrated for the sweetness and melody of the songs introduced in his pieces, these songs, of course, being practically original. No one before or since is equal to him in this respect. The *Wizaya Zat* is probably his masterpiece, and forms one of the stock-in-trade of every company in the country. Maung Hpe, the son of a former wungyi, or minister of state in Mandalay, is

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Introduction

This is a study of the falling standard of living of a Burmese family who were uprooted by the insurrection from their village home of Pathwe in 1949 and transplanted in a refugee camp in Rangoon. The family consisted of U Myaing - a fisherman aged 47; his wife Ma Aye Myaing, age 33, Daw Aw Zar, his mother, age 72, and four daughters - Ma Yin Shwe, age 14, Ma Khin Myein, age 11, Ma Khni Saw, age 7, and Ma Win Tin, age 5.(1951). 121 [664] [722] [592]

An attempt is made to present quantitatively and qualitatively the items used in, and activities of everyday life in the home village as contrasted with the refugee camp. It is hoped this dynamic situation will reveal some of the basic facts of Burmese culture as they pertain to an average family. The bulk of the data was collected under my direction by Ko Sein Tu, Tutor of the Psychology Department, University of Rangoon, from August 1950 to May 1951. Ko Mya Tu, medical student at the University, helped in collecting the health data. Ma Khin Hmway, Assistant in Anthropology at the University, collected some of the more personal data from the ladies of the family. Professor Mohinda Nath, Head of the Department of Biology, University of Rangoon, kindly arranged for the scientific identification of the food items. Part of the data was collectedby the use of a tape recorder portions of which are reproduced verbatim in this report. Miss Mary Watson, Head Stenographer of the Community Project, gave her valuable help in proof reading and typing the stencils for this report. 121 114 126 128

A setting for the better understanding of the facts of the family is given in sections on general Burmese Concepts which follow the family data. This was provided by Ko Maung Than, student at the University, who worked as my assistant from August through November 1951. 128

I am indebted to Dr. Htin Aung, Professor of Anthropology and Rector of the University of Rangoon for his constant support and encouragement in this study. I carried out the study as a Fulbright grantee in Anthropology attached to the United States Educational Foundation in Rangoon, to whose officers I am grateful 122

Yenangyaung oilfields, support of Ministers, and the indifference of the less worthy sections of University staff and students towards the nationalist movement. 873 668

The crowning event of my years there was the great strike of 1936 when about 600 students got into buses just before the final examinations and encamped themselves on the slopes of the Shwe Dagon Pagoda hill, with much sympathy and material support from the public, the men returning every morning to picket the black-leg examination candidates by lying across all exits and entrances—a completely successful technique, for it is an unthinkable insult to a Buddhist male to have his body trodden on, and no Burman, or Burma Indian or Chinese for that matter, will dare to inflict such an insult. Some of the strikers felt, after the rallying speeches in the Union, that they were striking to evict an immoral member of the staff who had the support of the Principal whom they considered an autocrat; others knew that definite demands had been put forward for the amendment of the University Act, the ultimate result of which would be to make this Principal more accountable to Burmese political leaders; a great majority felt a wave of unmeasable exaltation as they stormed hall after hall for recruits, ringing bells and shouting, "Come on, sisters, the day of freedom has arrived at last!" and almost all banged and cheered as they drove away, on the roofs, the steps and the wheels of the buses, at the thought of no examinations that year, and the exciting days of picketing ahead. But it was a tragic and unhappy time for some who did not have money to waste on another year before graduation and who trusted that the authorities would succeed in holding the examinations, or for others who did not join out of personal loyalties of the moment and who had friends and brothers with impassioned convictions on the other side. I shall always remember the face of my friend Ko Ohn, as he refused to let a doctor into Inya Hall to attend to a sick non-striker, his good face so full of distress and his longyi all smudged with the melted tarmac of the road in which he had been lying under the hot March sun. "Please, we must do it," he said; "I am so thirsty and my head is aching, but we must do it for our country." [577]

One of the reasons for the focussing of public interest on the University students was the great interest taken in the development of the young women there. The male students, like the public, were not interested in them only for reasons of courtship or companionship, but took a keen objective interest in them. It has been said of Burma that she has no feminist movements because none have been necessary; the women have always had all the rights they wanted. But it goes further than that. Burmese men take a sincere pride in the achievements of a woman who can successfully invade spheres outside her domestic tasks. 873 562 179

1: Mi Mi Khaing I-5 (no date) 1946 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4
Indians
Europeans

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

AFTER a stay of three years in England, I set out on a return journey home with a band of friends and compatriots. This was in August 1940, and the long sea voyage round the Cape gave us time for all the thoughts which filled our minds at the prospect of seeing Burma again after three and four years abroad. Besides our excitement at the approach of family reunions and the delights of once again eating Burmese food, we wondered whether the events in the outside world during the past few years, and the outbreak of the European war, had filled our people with interest, excitement or alarm for international events. 175

Before I left Burma I had been a student among companions who had only a passing interest in affairs outside Burma, so filled had our minds been with separation from India in 1936, the general elections for the first House of Representatives in Burma's history, the formation of the first Ministry under Dr. Ba Maw, student strikes for the amendment of the University Act, and the fervid chastising campaigns on the part of monks and fanatic students for the wearing of thick homespun by women instead of the scandalously transparent imported muslins. The older people at home also turned their eyes along the same channels. Of Hitler and Mussolini our aunts had heard, as of caricatured figures on a distant screen, and Ba Maw's admiration of Hitler's position of power was obscured by his eccentric passion for gorgeous attire, which was much more in the public eye. 175 668

The letters which I received from friends in Burma during my three years in England had also been too full of the Indian-Burman riots which raged violently in 1938, the industrial strikes in the oilfields, and the repeated school and university strikes which added to the general domestic unrest of those years, to tell me much else. But since then we had read of the opening of the Burma Road as an event of world interest; later we had read with feelings of surprise, amusement and expectancy of the face-slapping, debagging and stuffing of passports into the mouth to which the Japanese had subjected Englishmen in the ports of China, as something new and startling in our time; and later still, the closing of the Burma Road at the insistence of the Japanese Government made us suddenly connect the European politics which so excited our English friends with the events in places which surrounded Burma, though not 175 578 563

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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ness. Can there be a more valuable knowledge for anyone than this?

In many ways she will act for her husband with vigour and address, and she is not afraid of appearing in his name or her own in law courts, for instance, or in transacting certain kinds of business. She knows that she can do certain business as well as or better than her husband, and she does it. There is nothing more remarkable than the way in which she makes a division of these matters in which she can act for herself, and those in which, if she act at all, it is for her husband.

Thus, as I have said, she will, as regards her own property or her own business, act freely in her own name, and will also frequently act for her husband too. They will both sign deeds, borrow money on joint security, lend money repayable to them jointly. But in public affairs she will never allow her name to appear at all. Not that she does not take a keen interest in such things. She lives in no world apart; all that affects her husband interests her as keenly as it does him. She lives in a world of men and women, and her knowledge of public affairs, and her desire and powers of influencing them, is great. But she learnt long ago that her best way is to act through and by her husband, and that his strength and his name are her bucklers in the fight. Thus women are never openly concerned in any political matters. How strong their feeling is can better be illustrated by a story than in any other way.

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In 1889 I was stationed far away on the north-west frontier of Burma, in charge of some four thousand square miles of territory which had been

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

newly incorporated. I went up there with the first column that ever penetrated that country, and I remained there when, after the partial pacification of the district, the main body of the troops were withdrawn. It was a fairly exciting place to live in. To say nothing of the fever which swept down men in batches, and the trans-frontier people who were always peeping over to watch a good opportunity for a raid, my own charge simply swarmed with armed men, who seemed to rise out of the very ground—so hard was it to follow their movements—attack anywhere they saw fit, and disappear as suddenly. There was, of course, a considerable force of troops and police to suppress these insurgents, but the whole country was so roadless, so unexplored, such a tangled labyrinth of hill and forest, dotted with sparse villages, that it was often quite impossible to trace the bands who committed these attacks; and to the sick and weary pursuers it sometimes seemed as if we should never restore peace to the country.

The villages were arranged in groups, and over each group there was a headman with certain powers and certain duties, the principal of the latter being to keep his people quiet, and, if possible, protect them from insurgents.

Now, it happened that among these headmen was one named Saw Ka, who had been a free-lance in his day, but whose services were now enlisted on the side of order—or, at least, we hoped so. He was a fighting-man, and rather fond of that sort of exercise; so that I was not much surprised one day when I got a letter from him to say that his villagers

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

became the patron of U Pon Nya, rebelled successfully against his brother Pagan, and there came into being a promise of better times. He built a new capital, Mandalay, with wide streets and pleasant squares, and his wisdom and statesmanship won him the love of his people and the respect of the British. There was again an understanding between the court and the people, and the court became once more the centre of learning, after the lapse of some fifty years. Treaties of friendship between Burma and Britain and the personal affection the king had for Queen Victoria seemed to assure lasting peace to the country.[1] Dreams of a mighty empire, reflected in the heroic interludes, and to some extent in U Kyin U, were abandoned for ever. Peace and contentment were the keynote of the period, and there entered the drama, restored to the forefront by U Pon Nya, an atmosphere of calm, as opposed to that of strife in U Kyin U. Even in *Wizaya* that calmness prevailed. The epoch ended with the execution of U Pon Nya and the rebellion of Myingun, which caused the death of the heir to the throne, the ablest soldiers, the wisest statesmen, and the most learned scholars of the day, leaving the king alone to rule a country wrapped in gloom and a people torn into different factions over the pressing and difficult problem of succession.

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U Pon Nya followed U Kyin U in expressing political opinions in his plays, but he went further and used the drama as a political weapon. In *Paduma* he attacked those ladies of the court who had not shown enough respect or patronage to him, and he was so successful that he became a power in the land. The king, the crown prince, and the chief queen realized this, and they used *The Waterseller* to announce to the people, who were secretly getting ready for a civil war, that the threatened rupture between the brothers, king and prince, happily, would not materialize. Even after its author's death, the play was once specially performed at court, to test opinion with regard to the king's plan to appoint an able prince, who was far removed from the line of succession, as heir to the throne. In the middle of the performance, a senior prince said: 'If father wants to

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[1] One of the most prized possessions of King Mindon was a gold watch which Queen Victoria had presented him, and which he always wore. During the Indian Mutiny, in spite of temptation, he remained friendly and even sent help to the British, saying that he would never 'strike a friend in trouble'. Cf. G. E. Harvey, *History of Burma*, school edition: the ordinary edition gives the history up to 1824 only.

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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appoint a lowly prince as crown prince, there will be no objection on our part. But it does not mean that he will become king for, look at *The Water-seller*.' The project was consequently abandoned. This incident illustrates the power of the drama in the politics of the time. *Kawthala* was probably meant to convey to a small section of the people who were against treating with the British and wanting revenge the doctrine that destiny, a worthy foe, and the interests of a country would act against any personal motive of revenge. *Wizaya* was written to win over supporters for Prince Myingun. He had been wild and troublesome as the youthful Wizaya, and the suggestion was that Myingun would bring greatness to Burma if he were but entrusted with the throne. Also, as Myingun had the project of killing both his father and father-in-law, the crown prince, the play was probably meant to spread the doctrine that the destined greatness of a country called for, and justified, sacrifices. The play was so popular that probably Myingun thought wrongly that public opinion had been moulded to give him support when he rebelled. The rebellion failed, and U Pon Nya lost his life, chiefly through the very play which most Burmese critics acclaim as his masterpiece.

21: Hsin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4
Upper Burma
Lower Burma

So for about a decade after the death of U Pon Nya, the drama decayed and was left entirely in the hands of actors. And in Upper Burma, the real home of the drama, it never recovered from their influence. True, some scholars in the quiet of a monastery wrote many a play, retelling a religious story, but their plays were never meant to be presented on the stage, nor did they follow the established dramatic traditions. They were merely scholarly exercises, and though many contained masterly prose and poetry, they did not really belong to the true drama, for they were plays only in name.[1] In Lower Burma, however, scholars again assumed control of the drama, though they had to comply with the desires of the actors in many matters. The change in the venue of Burmese drama is significant. Rangoon, the capital of British Burma, and not Mandalay, the national capital, was now the centre of dramatic development. The reasons for the change were many. The court was the centre of political intrigues and the drama could no longer look to it for development. Upper Burma was in a hopeless condition, and it never recovered until some years after the completion of the British conquest in 1886. In Lower Burma, on the other hand, by about 1875, the benefits of a developed commerce were seen, and after a few years of transition, prosperity was returning. There was peace and stability of government. The spirit of the people in Lower Burma was no longer of anxiety and despair. But it was not one of great serenity, for they realized that Upper Burma would soon fall into British hands, and the Burmese would never again have a kingdom of their own. There was intense regret, and the Burmese Crown, from which the past greatness of the nation had flowed, came to be looked upon with great sentimentality. True, the court in Upper Burma was in a disgraceful condition, especially since the death of Mindon and the accession of his son, Theebaw (1875–86), but that very deterioration, by contrast, enhanced the sentimental respect for the past glories of the throne. The drama therefore was used to present scenes of great splendour, in which court manners and customs were shown to an audience who, having come under an alien rule since 1824, knew their national court only from hearsay. That was why sentimentality and spectacle continued to dominate the drama, even though conditions had improved enough

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[1] Some plays of this type, printed in Lower Burma, are preserved in the British Museum, e.g. *Thayawa-thone* and *Maha Zemaka*, both by *mawka* and founded on U Awbatha's *Jataka* of the same names. Many of these plays are still obtainable in Burma.

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21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

668 for scholars to rehandle it. The introduction of cheap printing in
178 Lower Burma was of the utmost importance to the drama. Printing
had been known to the Burmese long before the British administered
536* Lower Burma, but it was an expensive and laborious affair. The
[213] British introduced cheap and efficient printing presses, worked by
[177] cheap but skilled Indian labour. Once the stage of transition had been completed and economic prosperity had returned, printing spread all over Lower Burma and widened the circle of admirers of the drama, encouraged the study of the great plays in their original form as distinct from the modified versions of the professional actors, and created a public eager not only to see but also to read plays. As a result of these various causes scholars began writing plays again after 1875, but their efforts were not very successful until Saya Yaw in 1877 wrote and produced his *History of Thaton*.

2. *The History of Thaton*

536* Saya Yaw's story is remarkably original. In order that the question of succession should be settled beforehand, the young king of Thaton is advised by his ministers to take a consort without delay, and he promises to consider the matter. In the next scene, a brother and sister, belonging to a semi-civilized tribe on a neighbouring mountain, are entering the city to seek employment, for they have been starving since the death of their parents. The scene shifts to the centre of the city, where a rich nobleman and his wife are quarrelling and blaming each other, because they have no children to inherit their wealth. The characters are comic, and the scene is humorous. As they stand shouting at each other, the brother and sister pass by, and they are struck by the girl's beauty and the young man's nobility of bearing. When they discover that the strangers are without parents and are looking for employment, they, in great
[563] joy, adopt them as son and daughter. In the next scene, merchants from the Shan hills arrive at the city, singing and dancing their own songs and dances. They soon dispose of their wares, and they are making preparations to leave when the brother arrives. He becomes friendly with the merchants, and after listening to their tales of romance and adventure in their hills, he decides to accompany them to their home. He asks permission to go from his foster-parents and his sister, who reluctantly let him go. The foster-parents cry, and the brother and sister bid farewell to each other in songs of great tenderness. In the next scene, the chieftain of a Shan state is sorely

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

could not and did not achieve success, even though the translator was the learned scholar and journalist, U Shwe Kyu.[1] The translations went unnoticed, and as the magazine became defunct in 1913, the precious issues which contain them are now available only in some libraries. After this failure to introduce Shakespeare into the vernacular, no further attempt was made, and Burmese is one of the very few civilized languages into which the plays of the great dramatist have not been successfully translated. 536* 177

In 1919, after the Great War, a wave of national aspiration swept over Asia, and Burma was affected by it. With the resulting revival of interest in Burmese institutions, the study of U Kyin U and U Pon Nya has become again popular, not only in schools and colleges, but all over the country. In schools following the established educational practice of prescribing Shakespeare's plays as textbooks, the plays of U Kyin U and U Pon Nya are now so prescribed. The newly established Rangoon University, founded by the Government in 1920, the Burma Research Society[2] and the Burma Book Club—institutions founded by the British Government and University officials interested in Burmese history and literature, encouraged and led to the study of Burmese literature, including the drama, side by side with the English. And when adaptations in Burmese of a play by Molière and another by Tchekov appeared in 1928 in the magazine of the Book Club,[3] there were hopes that a new drama was in course of being developed. But the study has been from the beginning independent of, and unconnected with, the theatre of the professional actors, who are in great demand and still popular with the majority of the people. Therefore the interest in the drama, even though spread beyond the university walls, remains academic rather than practical. And as far as I can see, there are no signs of the coming in the near future of a new national drama. 536* 178 668 871

[1] The magazine in which the translation appeared was the *Shwe Kyu Magazine*, and U Shwe Kyu was its founder and editor. [113]

[2] The Text Publication Committee of the Research Society has published U Kyin U's *Daywagonbon* and *Parpaheia* with editorial notes, contributing much to our knowledge of the dramatist.

[3] The adaptations were from English translations of the two plays. English is the only medium of contact with the western drama for the Burmese, and, as in India, the influence of other European literatures can come only through English channels.

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Oh mother, mother,
When will you come ?
The crow is tired with a-cawing.

But conditions improved with time; we grew older and less imaginative, and above all the tide of Burmese nationalist feeling which surged into being in about 1920 was at last beginning to seep through the convent walls.

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Even the nuns heard, in 1930, about Saya San who raised a rebellion in Tharawaddy district, and roused such fervour among a certain section of the population that about 2,000 rebel followers were killed—their bodies vulnerable to gunfire in spite of the charms they had tattooed on—before the Government succeeded in suppressing the rebellion. Although Saya San was a charlatan to those in authority, and his followers a band of unruly dacoits, his conviction that he was born to become the monarch of a newly resurrected Burmese kingdom fired the imagination of some nationalists. To them he was an intrepid spirit, his courage so keen and his body so hardy: *Kya ko Khalok, thitngok hnin hsu ko thinbyu:* The tiger his stubbing stone, tree stumps and bushes of thorns his smoothest mat. By the time the nuns had heard of Saya San I had another Burmese girl as a fellow boarder and class-mate. Grace Nee was a girl of great spirit and mental liveliness. Her father was also an a-so-ya min, and we derived great comfort and happiness from each other's presence. When the class-teacher scolded one of us, saying, "You Burmans nowadays are expecting us to kow-tow to you. Yes, this mad fellow Saya San. And you think that we must bow to you," then the other would bang desk and chair in sympathy and indignation. Our hearts would swell to bursting point, for though we knew little yet about nationalism or patriotism, we identified our country and our race with the persons of our parents, and we could hardly bear this constant humiliation of their name. We shrank from telling them about it, however. My father never knew how different our life at school was from the world at home, and my mother will learn of it for the first time when she reads this.

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What a glorious new world opened out before us when we went to the University. What splendour there was in the richness of Burmese dress, food, companions, religious celebration, music, dancing and wit. I only regret that I could not take full advantage of these years because family troubles tumbled around my ears just then, and when they had subsided I was forced into earnest study to win the best degree possible in order to comfort my mother. This was necessary because up till this time I had always disappointed my parents because I had preferred popularity among companions to concentration on studies. Rangoon

563 within the past two or three decades. In almost every way, they form a
463 village within the village. They are spatially clustered together, apart from
184 the Burmese. Their living is earned by dairying; milk from their cattle and
[262] water buffaloes is sold in Rangoon, for cash, to Muslim restaurants. Since the Burmese do not consume milk, the Indian dairymen find no market for their product in the community. The only economic relationship between the two groups consists of some exchange of Burmese paddy stalk, when the harvest is over, for animal manure. The Indians use the paddy stalk as fodder for their animals, while the Burmese use animal manure to some extent for their not very fertile garden and rice lands.

563 The Indians being Hindus, the Burmese Buddhists, the two groups have no
571 basis for common participation in religious or ceremonial life. Nor is there
556 more than a negligible tendency towards intermarriage; our census showed two cases.

As shown by our figures on income, the Indians as a group are far more prosperous than the Burmese. Although the Burmese seem to realize this, they tend to phrase the matter not so much in terms of greater wealth of the Indians as in terms of how little the Indian spends of his income. To the average Burmese of the village, the Indian is something of a lesser breed who lives on next to nothing and so grows rich.

563 Throughout the course of research in Tadagale, an effort was made from time to time to study intergroup feelings and attitudes, but this was a subject on which informants who were quite ready to discuss almost any other matter were loath to speak. The Burmese seemed to know little (or at least so professed) about the ways of the Indians; the Indians were very tight-lipped concerning the Burmese.

175 It was towards the close of our work in Tadagale that certain events
● 669 occurred which brought out, in sharp focus, the nature of Burmese-Indian relations
674 and attitudes, and completely broke the silence maintained earlier. At this point, however, some digression is necessary to provide a background for understanding what took place.

In 1949-50, the internal disturbances which have beset Burma since the end of World War II were at their height. During this time the maintenance of law and order sank to a very low point; robbery, armed and unarmed, was rampant. Tadagale was robbed three times within the preceding year, according to informants. On such occasions, bandits entered the village, fired their guns into the air to frighten the defenseless villagers, and then proceeded to tie up some villagers and remove their money and other valuables. Anyone who resisted was beaten. According to villagers, the police, located about half a mile away, could not be depended upon for protection or for action once a crime occurred, for the bandits were better organized and armed than the police, making the latter extremely reluctant to take any action.

674 Some early evidences of distrust between Indians and Burmese appeared
563 about the middle of our research period, when an Indian dairyman stated that he
175 was convinced that the bandits who periodically invaded Tadagale had Burmese collaborators in the village. He based his belief on the fact that the bandits seemed always to find their way directly to the homes of the more prosperous inhabitants, which knowledge, he claimed, could be gotten only from villagers.

14: Brant E-5 (1949-50) 1954 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4
Indians

621 consider, because they did not want to lose the Indians as customers for their paddy stalk and as a source of manure for their gardens and fields.

563 The headman of Tadagale, when queried as to the reasons for the departure of the Indians, shrugged his shoulders and said simply that they were afraid, despite the plans for village defense, that their animals might be injured in the event of any fighting between villagers and bandits.

Within a few days, the Indians of Tadagale had all departed; and in the vacant spaces where their houses had stood, the Burmese were eagerly at work erecting buildings of their own.

Social Change

175 Prior to effective British rule in Lower Burma (about 1830), the local autonomous unit was the village circle, consisting of several villages under
631 the authority of a headman. The office of headman seems to have been hereditary in fact, although elections were held. That is to say, headmen tended to be
622 elected in a particular lineage. Rule was through personal relationship between the headman and the villagers. Under the circle headman was a council
626 of elders, appointed by him, one from each village in the circle. Disputes were almost entirely settled by arbitration and compromise, rather than with any concern over the abstract legal right and wrong of the case.

621 Within the village, a system called 'ten-house heads' was operative. This system appears to have been operative through British times, but at least since 1948 has lost effectiveness. Tadagale houses are strung out along a main path, and the ten-house division is such that the houses belonging to one group are mostly contiguous. The head of each ten-house section acted as a kind of deputy to the headman and sat on the council of elders.

175 With the coming of British rule, much of this changed. They established a hierarchical system, in which there were, in descending order of size,
631 nation, division, district, township, village circle, and village. All officials at each level were appointed from the capital, even down to the village level, where the headman was made an appointed civil servant. He
622 was paid on a percentage basis of his total tax collections and fines levied. The circle headman had police power and judicial authority in petty crimes.

175 A judicial system was introduced by the British to replace the old informal arbitration. With an almost total disregard for indigenous institutions
692 and customs, the British established a territorial system based upon law. The loosely structed and informal system of old gradually broke down.

669 Early in 1948 Burma gained her independence. Since that time the country has been in a state of disorganization. The civil strife has brought about
631 an almost complete breakdown of administrative function on many levels. Certainly the ties of the village with higher units have been curtailed.
182 One indication of this is the fact that the headman no longer submits reports with any degree of regularity to higher echelons, as was required under British rule. Even the local ten-house heads council has largely ceased to function. It exists, but is scarcely used.

Home in Lowis Road Refugee Camp

Since November 1949 U Myaing and his family have been living in the Lowis Road refugee camp, Rangoon. They had stopped at half a dozen places prior to their present abode, but their living had been on very much the same scale. The refugee camp is located about a mile north of the Shwe Dagon Pagoda on a hilly promontory. The area is not far from Tiger Alley (U Wisara Road) and along this road and others nearby, huts have been built up within the last few years, largely by war refugees. The buildings of the camp were earlier used as headquarters and barracks by the People's Volunteer Organisation (P.V.O.). The P.V.O. is an offshoot of the Burmese Patriot's Army following the end of the Second World War. It was originally an army, but after independence was converted into an "organisation" for political purposes. A Yellow Band and a White Band section developed and the White P.V.O.s becoming insurgents.

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The vital statistics of the camp as given by U Khant, the school master are as follows:- 269 families comprised of 856 adults (LU GYI), 211 young people (LU LAT), and 33 infants (NO SO) live in 15 huts . The number of families in each hut ranges from 9 in the smallest to 36 in the largest. The infant category includes those babies who are still breast feeding - up to one year of age. The adult category begins at the age of voting - 18 years. The proportion of the three categories as shown in the totals remains fairly consistent for each of the houses indicating that there are no special age-grade habitations. The refugees come for the most part from the Delta area of Lower Burma, from the districts of Pantanaw and Bassein but they have not organised themselves in their huts according to the district or village from which they come. The assignment of space has been on a pragmatic base according to who arrived at what time. The buildings consisted for the most part of rectangular huts measuring 30 feet by 60 feet with woven split bamboo walls and thatched roofs. When the area was converted into a refugee camp, each family was assigned a certain space which they then partitioned off. A map of the refugee camp area shows a haphazard plan. The only

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quality of their sleep suffers to any appreciable extent. Americans who live in Rangoon suffer far more relatively from lack of "beauty rest" mattresses. 511 722 [513]

As far as the actual physical needs of the family go, the refugee camp situation does not seem to be far below an acceptable level. The Pathee house gave space far above that actually used for physical needs. The answer here would seem to be that social obligations in Pathee were much greater than here and the actual space fulfilled a real need there. Since such a demand is not present in the refugee camp, the lack of this space is not regarded as a privation. In general the refugee camp quarters are a compressed version of the Pathee quarters and do not represent any true innovations. The family has been able to contract the quantity and quality of their needs, but their nature has not been appreciably altered. The pattern of "Home" has not been shattered, but has been contracted and its quality somewhat changed. 352 415 [574] 511 178

The town of Pantanaw was recaptured from the insurgents early in the month of December 1950. U Myaing and his family are considering whether or not it would be advisable to return home. It seems that the government has offered to send back those who are willing to return. Government offers them, in addition to passage money, other things such as mosquito netting, or so U Myaing thinks. But they are also hesitant and afraid and would like to remain for some time longer in the peace and security of the refugee camp. However, when the country settles down and things return to normal, they would like to return. They prefer Pantanaw because they find it much easier to earn money there. Here they find it more difficult to find work - and it involves harder labour. Also, the prices here are very high in comparison. 722 669 511 [464] [435]

21: Htin Aung B-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

101 walked up and down the stage—a dramatic practice which was taken
536* from the Siamese and used on the Burmese stage. The language was
538 the language of the court, artificial, but not so removed from reality as to prevent it from being understood by the lowest classes. The play was mostly in verse. The prose was poetic and elegant except in comic scenes.

[175] When the Burmese conquered Siam in 1767, they were able to take the play back with them for various reasons. The play was to both nations a *Jataka* story. The manners and the language of the Siamese court, as depicted in the play, were similar in many ways to those of the Burmese court. The mythology was common to both nations. The play was easy of reproduction at the Burmese court because of the many characteristics common to both countries, and because the captive and exiled members of the Siamese nobility at the Burmese court were ready and willing to help not only because they were anxious to teach the new art to their conquerors, but also because they missed an entertainment to which they had been accustomed for generations.

3. The *Rama* Play at the Burmese Court

175 The age that followed the conquest of Siam in 1767 was one of
● 669 triumph. In 1752 the Burmese Empire had been destroyed by the
727 Talaings, and the conquerors were ruthlessly putting into practice their policy of stopping the continual war between Burmese and Talaing by exterminating the Burmese as a race. In the same year, however, a humble villager arose, rallied the Burmese around him, with the result that five years later the mighty Talaing Empire was destroyed and the Talaings as a race disappeared from Burma. The obscure villager became the great Alaungpaya, founder of the famous dynasty that bore his name. He tried to conquer Siam, but died when victory was in sight. His son, Hsinbyushin, carried on the war, and continued the extension of the Empire. Manipur was soon conquered, and in 1767 Siam was completely crushed and its capital destroyed. The Siamese court was taken captive to the Burmese capital. The weary army was given no rest, however, for the Chinese had invaded Burma. From 1765 to 1769, the Chinese carried on a serious campaign against Burma. There were four distinct invasions, but each was repulsed. In 1769, the Chinese defeat was complete. Of that age of triumph, Harvey says:

The victory [against the Chinese], coming as it did on top of a

Zi: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

generation of continual warfare which might well have exhausted the race, shows that the exploits of Alaungpaya were no mere flash in the pan, but were broad-based on the energy of the race as a whole. . . . The chronicles for the period are verbose and pompous, but it is impossible to read them without being struck with their fierce pride.[1] 175 669 727

It was during this age of triumph, after the Chinese invaders had been sent back defeated and people could breathe again without anxiety, that the Siamese *Rama* was produced at the Burmese court for the first time. [536]*

The court of Ava, then the capital of Burma, was in many ways comparable to the court of Elizabeth after the victory over Spain. Glory and wealth and splendour surrounded the king and his courtiers. Masters in the arts of war, they were also masters in the arts of peace. Almost everyone was learned, and the ablest soldiers and statesmen were also the foremost poets. Queens and ladies-in-waiting vied with princes and lords in the study and practice of learning and literature. Experts in the study of Pali, Sanskrit, and Buddhistic lore, keen students of foreign institutions and literatures, they were essentially Burmese, and enriched their own language and literature with borrowings from all sources. The period 1770 to 1824, the date of the first British conquest, that period of triumph, may easily be termed the age of translations, so keen were the people for knowledge from all sources. Siamese romances, Pali *Jatakas*, Chinese histories, Siamese and Cambodian chronicles, a history of Portugal, a Sanskrit work on sexual science—this list made at random shows clearly the range and variety of the translations. The court led the people in the pursuit of learning and literature. The courtiers were learned, the king was a patron of learning, and at the court the captives and hostages numbered among them great scholars and poets from conquered States. After the toils of war, men turned towards learning for rest and recreation. Men gloried in their country and studied their own literature, history, and institutions, and that study naturally led to the study of those of other countries. Almost everyone studied and almost everyone wrote. The age of triumph was an age of learning.[2] 644 536* 538 175

The Siamese court plays appealed to the imagination of the court. The Siamese captives longed for their native entertainment. 644 536*

[1] *History of Burma*, p. 258.

[2] Some account of the learned atmosphere of the court and of its more famous translators and poets is given by G. E. Harvey, op. cit., pp. 249 and 250.

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

made. In about 1855 he wrote his first play, *Padama*. In the next year the two brothers, the king and the prince, quarrelled, and when the misunderstanding had been explained, U Pon Nya was ordered to write a play to celebrate the occasion, and *The Water-seller* was composed and presented. As reward, the king appointed him chief court-poet and created him lord of Ywazi village. He would have been made a ruling chief or official had he not been born with a crippled arm, because a man born with any defect in his limbs could not become a member of the ruling class. U Pon Nya took part in various court intrigues. Most of his plays had some hidden meaning that concerned the court, and they played an important part in the plots and counter-plots to decide who was to be heir, for though Kanaung was officially the heir, the king's sons did not accept him. 536* 644 [565]

In 1865 Myingun and Myingondaing, two of the king's sons, decided to make a bid for the throne. They consulted U Pon Nya as to the most suitable time as foretold by the stars, and the poet told them that the next day at noon was the luckiest time for the rebellion. This connivance in a rebellion against his king and his master, Prince Kanaung, was a very disloyal and ungrateful act, because the fiery temper of the two princes was well known, and it was plain from the beginning that the rebellious sons intended to put to death at once their own father, and their uncle, who also happened to be the father-in-law of Myingun. U Pon Nya defended himself later by saying that he was compelled to give his opinion as to the most suitable time, because he was threatened with certain death. But he did not inform the king of the plot when the princes had left after promising him the highest rank of nobility; and though he might have been threatened with death at the beginning, he seemed to have been well content with the promised reward and quietly left the capital that night. The next day at noon, the rebellion broke out. The courts of justice where the crown prince and the wisest in the land were sitting in session were attacked, and the palace raided. The king escaped, but the crown prince and his fellow-judges were killed. The rebellion was put down the same afternoon, but by then the flower of the court and the nobility had perished. The two rebels escaped, Myingondaing to die of fever at Rangoon, and Myingun to retirement in French Indo-China. U Pon Nya was arrested and tried on a charge of treason by the king himself, and though a sentence of death was clearly deserved, 536* 644 669

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
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536* the king remembered the proclamation exempting the poet from
●669 punishment by death, and as he had a great admiration for the works of
644 the dramatist, U Pon Nya was merely sent to the house of the governor of the city as a prisoner on parole. Unfortunately, the junior wives of the governor and the ladies at his court took too great an interest in the comfort of the prisoner, and the governor became extremely jealous. After three months of what he suspected to be romantic intrigues between his prisoner and his ladies, the governor decided to put U Pon Nya to death. So one night in 1866 the poet was secretly executed, and the body disposed of never to be discovered, under the orders of the governor. A few weeks after the secret execution, the king granted full pardon to U Pon Nya, believing him to be still alive. Only then was the truth discovered, and when the news was reported to the king, he said wearily: 'Alas, a dog has killed a man.'

2. *Paduma*

536* The story is taken without any modification from a *Jataka*. A king has seven sons, and he is warned by his ministers that the princes might rebel. In spite of his great love for his sons, the king has no choice but to exile them with their princesses. The seven princes and their consorts leave the capital, but soon lose their way in the forest. There is no food, and the younger princes beg their eldest brother, Paduma, to agree to their plan of killing and eating their princesses. Paduma tries to argue against the proposal, but realizes that his arguments are in vain, for the six brothers are maddened with hunger. He has no other way of escape but to flee with his consort. So before dawn Paduma and his princess run away from the others. The sun rises and the two are in great agony through the heat. They reach a stretch of sand, and Paduma is cheered because sand is usually found near a river. But the very sand which cheers Paduma increases the heat and burns the delicate feet of the princess. She can go no further and begs the prince to kill her; she would then be relieved from her agony, and he would have a better chance of saving himself alone. But the prince cheers her by encouraging words, and piercing his flesh with his sword, makes the princess drink the blood to quench her thirst. Then he puts her on his shoulder and continues the journey. Soon they reach a wide river, on whose banks grow fruit trees, and safety at last seems assured. As they rest, they hear a cry for help and see a man tied to a raft, floating helplessly down the river. The princess pities him,

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The oldest layman assumes the title of disciple to the last inducted pyin-sin, and, with clasped hands, addresses him as payā, the highest title the language affords. The monk's commonest actions, walking, eating, sleeping, are referred to in honorific language, different from that which would be used of a layman, or even of the king, performing the same thing. The highest officials bow down before them, and impose upon themselves the greatest sacrifices, both of time and money, to build splendid kyaungs for them, and minister to their wants. Finally, the monk's person is sacred and inviolable. Nothing he does can subject him to the civil law. He bears the title of Thagiwin Mintha, Thagiwin Prince, as the heir of the scion of Kapilawut, and receiver of his inheritance.

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CHAPTER LV

JUDICIAL ADMINISTRATION

BUDDHIST law as it was administered in Upper Burma dates from the beginning of the now existing world. The first crime was theft; the first punishment was a scolding, speedily followed by a thrashing; and the first judge was Mahā Thamada, elected by vote of the people to be ruler over them. No doubt there were written laws then, but they have not come down to us. The written code in use was given to the world by Manu, originally a cow-herd, but afterwards a minister. He found them written in large characters on the walls of another world, to which he was transported when in an ecstasy. These laws formed the first code. There have been since compiled from them eight other codes in the kingdom of Prome and other ancient states in Burmah. The last, called Mahā Manu Thaya Shwe Myin, was drawn up on the foundation of the sixth kingdom of Ava, in the year 1137 B.E. (1775 A.D.), by Minhkaung Gyi, who, with the aid of a learned monk, went through and carefully revised all the codes. These laws in their integrity are those which governed Upper Burma and now govern the whole of Burma in so far as they regulate social relations. The codes were written in Sanskrit and Magadha, a language usually called Pali through an error. The name Pali signifies really not a *language*, but "The Canon," handed down to Buddhists, as composed by pious disciples from the teachings of Shin Gautama. The Magadha or Pali code accepted is called Manu Wunnana, from its writer and compiler, a minister of state in Ava. It is looked upon as a commentary on, or a key to, the codes, and contains the whole of the laws.

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671 Besides the codes there exist also twenty standard collections of decisions, leading cases in which judgment was delivered by kings, queens, princesses, and ministers. These are by some regarded as obsolete, by many lugyis, however, considered to have still the force of law. The best known of these are:—

The decisions of Mahawthata, the embryo Budh.
" Widuya, one of the ten great avatars.
" Thudhammasari.
" Kutha.
" Dwuttabaung, first king of Prome.
" Sinbyushin.

671 The laws given by Manu to the ruler Mahā Thamada
673 numbered altogether eighteen. From these all others have been framed. The eighteen original laws had regard to:— 1. Borrowing money. 2. Deposits of money. 3. Stealing and altering the appearance of property and selling it. 4. When a gift may be had back on demanding it, and when not, there being six kinds of gifts. 5. Deciding the wages of carpenters. 6. Deciding the wages of labourers. 7. Breach of promise. 8. Deciding disputes between the owners of cattle and neat-herds. 9. Settling disputed boundaries. 10. Deciding whether property purchased may be returned. 11. Accusations. 12. Theft or concealment. 13. Assault. 14. Murder. 15. Deciding the proper conduct of husband and wife. 16. The question of slavery. 17. Deciding if cock-fighting, betting, or gambling debts shall be paid. 18. Partition of inherited property.

671 Manu also laid down that persons appointed to administer the laws should not only have a competent knowledge of the code, but should also possess fourteen qualifications, as follows:—1. To decide in strict accordance with the law. 2. To be respectable. 3. To be of moral character. 4. To inspire awe. 5. To command love. 6. To be of good birth. 7. To be religious. 8. To be virtuous. 9. To be truthful. 10. To be talented. 11. To be devoted to the study of the law. 12. To possess honesty of purpose and intention. 13. Knowledge of the principal

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parties and pleaders in a suit. 14. Fearlessness in deciding cases, or being lion-hearted.

The supreme court in Burma was the Hlutdaw constituted of four wungyis, the chief ministers of state, who held their meetings in a hall within the palace, which took its name from the court. Each wungyi (great burden) had its wundauk (prop of the burden) as an assistant to sit with him in court. These wundauks formed the third rank of ministers, under the four atwinwuns (inner burdens), who were a kind of household ministers, or privy councillors, and sat in a special court, called the Byadeit, also in the palace. The latter had nominally as their chief duty to deal with the monopolies which Thibaw Min set himself to establish in such abundance. But as any man, no matter what special education or preparation he might have had, was considered eligible for any post, political, military, civil, or judicial, so both the Hlut and the Byadeit conducted all manner of business, from the external relations of the country to ordinary criminal or civil appeal cases sent up from the yôndaw, the criminal court, where the myowuns (city burdens), usually two in number, sat daily; or from the tayayôn, the civil court, where two tayathugyis (great men of the law) presided. In either of these inferior courts it was not at all uncommon for a wundauk, or even a wungyi, to attend and investigate important cases. But original suits were also frequently heard before the Hlut, and many cases were decided by the wungyis or any of the subordinate officials in their private houses. Formerly [651] indeed this was the chief source of their salaries, for costs to the amount of ten per cent on the property under dispute went of right to the judge. The late king instituted the custom of fixed salaries, and Thibaw Min retained it, but neglected to pay the money. It will thus be seen that law matters, even in the capital, were carried on in a very casual, haphazard sort of a way. There was no attempt at a distribution of public business into departments, and each individual wungyi took his part in deliberations on all kinds of subjects with as much confidence as if he were an expert.

If the capital displayed a lack of system, there was

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immediate superior a certain fixed sum, determined without regard to favourable seasons, health of the population, or anything of that kind, and as each man was judge over the people in his charge, it may naturally be supposed that the general population did not lead a very happy life. Complaints might be made against extortion and illegal decisions, but the heads of tracts, if they had the money, could always stifle inquiry. 692 647

Some of the laws deduced from Manu's eighteen original enactments strike one as being rather singular. For example, if two men quarrel and fight and one of them is killed, there is no penalty; but if a third party interferes and kills or injures one of the original combatants, he must pay the ordinary fine for murder, or causing hurt. Should he himself be killed, the other two are subject to no penalty. When a man is guilty of adultery with another man's wife, if it be proved to be the first time, he must pay the fine for adultery, usually the price of the woman, assessed according to the judge's opinion; if it is her second offence, he only pays half the fine; but if she has been guilty for a third time, he pays no penalty at all. 671 673

If one man curses another and some evil happens, he must pay twice the price of the damage incurred; thus, if the man dies he must pay twice the value of a man; two cows if a cow dies, and so on.

When the king dies there is a general pardon of all offences, and a remission of fines, except in the case of debt. There are also seven things which cannot be reclaimed after the death of the king under whom they were promised or given. These are:—1. Deposits. 2. Pledges. 3. Money paid wrongly by the parties in a law-suit. 4. Things carried off by violence, or seized upon without sufficient title. 5. Promises. 6. Things secretly stolen. 7. Things that have been voluntarily given up by one man and taken possession of by another. 673 643

The decisions of Mahawthata, Princess Thudhammasari, and others are of little value from a strictly legal point of view. They are chiefly of a religious character. The princess begins by saying that her cases are to be considered as guides to nobles and judges as to the line they 671 773

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671 773 should follow. To an English barrister they would seem to be excerpts from the *Arabian Nights*, and as far from precedents as it is possible to imagine anything. The play of Mahawthata tells of the Lord Buddha in the birth in which he exhibited the most consummate wisdom and acumen, as in Wethandaya he embodies the spirit of liberality. In both these births, as in his last, Shin Gautama spoke from the moment he was brought forth. As Wethandaya he immediately entreated his mother for something to give in charity to the poor, and distributed forthwith the four hundred pieces of silver she gave him. As Mahawthata he appeared in the world with a plant in his hand, and, holding it up, said, "This is medicinal herb." Throughout all this life he was constantly displaying extraordinary wisdom, jealous ministers being in the habit of propounding difficult cases to him. Thus he was shown a log of sha (*Acacia Catechu*), from which cutch, stupidly called *Terra Japonica*, is obtained, and asked which was the upper end and which the lower end. He solved the problem by putting it in the water, when the lower end, as being the heavier, sank deeper in the water. Another case is exactly similar to the famous Biblical decisions of Solomon. These decisions, though they may be interesting, are hardly valuable as standard leading cases.

673 Some of the definitions of crimes in the Dhammathat are a little singular. Thus among the ten descriptions of assault are mentioned: "saying in regard to a lunatic, a drunkard, or a half-witted person who is ill, that he will die, and he dies"; "refusing restitution for cattle killed"; "standing near an assailant." To avoid being summoned for one of the twenty-seven kinds of abuse one must be very circumspect, for there is ground for action if one says Hé to a man, as the Mandalay people were fond of shouting Hé Kalā after Europeans. It is equally risky to address a man as nin, *i.e.* in the third person; to say that he is "deficient in strength"; that he is a stutterer, bow-legged, broken-down, squinting, or afflicted with white spots on his body; that he is heretical, or, finally, that he is given to using bad language.

674 The niceties of the law may be illustrated by the following case from the Talaing Dhammathat. A man in search

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of honey climbed up a high tree to get at a hive. His foot slipped and he fell off a large branch on to a small one below. He was afraid that this would not be able to support his weight, and called out for assistance to a mahaut, who was passing by on his elephant. The elephant-driver held up the hook with which he guided his animal and told him to come down by it. The bee-hunter seized the hook, and while he was holding it the elephant took fright and ran away. There were then the mahaut hanging on to his hook and the bee-hunter clinging to the slender branch which momentarily threatened to give way. Fortunately, just at this moment four persons passed by and were called to by both the bee-hunter and the elephant-driver to come and save them. They could think of no other expedient than to hold out their clothes, which accordingly they did, spreading them out as high above their heads as possible, so as to break the fall. The two men dropped from the tree on their four preservers, but what between their own weight and the awkwardness of the iron driving-hook, the whole six were knocked senseless and fell on the ground. Whilst they lay in a swoon a doctor came up and gave them medicines which brought them round. When all had recovered, he demanded his fee. But the question was who was to pay him. The elephant-driver said he should not be asked to pay because he tried to save the bee-hunter's life and was an innocent cause of the injuries sustained by his rescuers. The bee-hunter on his part maintained that he should not be called on for payment, seeing that if he had not held on so tight, the mahaut would have fallen and been killed. Finally, the four rescuers said that it was utterly unreasonable to ask them to pay, seeing that it was through pure generosity that they had held out their clothes to save the lives of the mahaut and the bee-hunter and through this act of kindliness they themselves had been hurt. The elephant-driver and the bee-hunter somewhat thanklessly retorted that if a ladder had been brought, or had been constructed, they could have come down in perfect safety and without hurt to any one, and that therefore the four rescuers should pay.

The question as to who is liable in this case is a nice

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671 one, as also is the point as to who should be made defendants, and who should be the witnesses. The Talaing Dhammathat says that the incident occurred in the province of Kawdônpayit, in Hindustan, and that the case gave rise to the recognition of the root, trunk, and branches of the law, which till then had not been defined. From whom, or whether the doctor got his fee at all, we are not told.

693 Advocates, pleaders, or barristers were, it is stated, unknown until a case occurred when certain suitors from the jungle came before the king and were not able to understand the court language. A court official was therefore allowed to assist them and turn their rustic jargon into comprehensible speech. These as "standing before" the king were called Shéné, as it were mouthpieces for the parties to the suit, and the king, who acted as judge. The convenience derived from their superior knowledge and experience afterwards led to the establishment of a regular body of barristers.

695 If the laws are, some of them, somewhat singular to those who are accustomed to the scientific Indian penal and civil codes, as well as to the growth of centuries of Western practice, the method of binding over witnesses to tell the truth, or at least the book on which they are required to pledge themselves, is sufficiently startling. The Book of the Oath, Kyeinsa, is still used in British courts of justice, and it is to be hoped that all the younger members of the population know what terrible punishments they are drawing down on themselves when they hold it over their heads and promise to tell the truth; what frightful penalties will befall them if they swerve in the least degree from the exact facts of the case. In the old times a man used always to be sworn on this book in a place where there was no shadow, or in a pagoda, and this custom was maintained to the end in native Burma. There was a special shrine for the purpose in Mandalay, and at the Shwe Mingôn Payā, near the oil-wells of Yenangyaung, there is a stone, ordinarily deposited between two images of the Hentha, the Brahminy goose, which the swearer takes in his hand, lamps being lighted at the same time. The book itself might not be kept in ordinary places. Some copies were kept in the court in a specially consecrated box, some in a zayat, and some, more

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CHAPTER LVII

LAND TENURE

IN India the Raja has always been considered the chief proprietor of the soil and the lord paramount over all those who own it or dwell upon it. In Burma precisely the reverse of this system obtained. The king was indeed considered entitled to a share of the produce, and, as a matter of fact, undoubtedly got pretty nearly all of it; but the origin of the land tenure rested on an entirely different foundation. The Burmans go back to the first peopling of the earth and the appointment of the saintly Payālaung to be ruler over them. Mahā Thamada came after the lands had been pretty generally taken up by the people, and therefore the cultivators of the original thalé san had no intention of appointing him supreme landlord, when they chose him to be the source of the Law and of the administration of justice. He acquired a share of the produce of the country only by the free gift of the people, who, to provide revenues for him, of their own accord surrendered a tenth part of all their crops that he might be free to devote himself entirely to the management of the public affairs and the execution of the laws. This right to a tenth of the produce of the soil, and no more, is explicitly laid down in the Indian Buddhist code, the Dhammathat, or laws of Manu. This ancient book, which, by the way, is entirely distinct from the Indian *Institutes of Manu*, enunciates as follows in the sixth chapter: "The king, who is our ruler, must abide by the ten kingly laws. All land which is unclaimed shall be his, but he shall have no right to take all. Such lands as are cultivated by man, or have been previously reclaimed, shall

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423 remain to the cultivator and his heirs. But he shall have a
671 tenth of the produce of all rice-lands, orchards, and gardens; and all excise and ferry duties, as well as canals and public works, shall belong to him. Through a succession of worlds the first king, the great Mahā Thamada, has established one-tenth to be his portion for ever, and let this be regarded as an everlasting precedent."

According to the Dhammathat there are seven methods by which landed property may be acquired. These are as follows:—1. By gift from the king. This is made only to soldiers and officials. 2. By inheritance. 3. By purchase. 4. By allotment from civil officers. 5. By personal reclaiming from the jungle. 6. By gift. 7. By unchallenged occupation for a period of ten years.

423 The first two titles are called perfect. The remainder
561 are open to question, and may be disputed by any one who can show a prior claim. In actual fact, however, it may be said that the man who reclaims for himself a piece of land out of the jungle becomes by his industry proprietor of the clearing, without reference to local authorities, village elders, or any one at all, and has thereafter an inalienable right to his tenure, with no dues to pay whatever, except the sum the taikthugyi may see fit to assess him at. That worthy's valuation, however, always displayed an enthusiastic belief in the fertility of the soil. The landed proprietor could dispose of it by gift, or he might sell it; otherwise it descended to his heirs and assigns in the order of succession; the whole right and title was essentially vested in the owner and the heirs of his body. The tenure was, therefore, by what lawyers call fee-simple, udal, or allodial right. The estate left by the
[428] original occupier was seldom broken up. The heirs tilled parts of it, or gathered the whole crop in successive years; so that the land did not require to be split up into infinitesimal parts. This practice was rendered all the easier by the thinness of the population. It was open to any one at any time to carve for himself out of the forest a holding of his own, and thus there was no temptation to break up the original family acres. It is singular that under a rule so completely
423 despotic as that of Burma, where every man was the king's slave, and could not cross the borders without his permission,

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CHAPTER VIII

CRIME AND PUNISHMENT

'Overcome anger by kindness, evil by good.'
Dammapada.

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NOT very many years ago an officer in Rangoon lost some currency notes. He had placed them upon his table overnight, and in the morning they were gone. The amount was not large. It was, if I remember rightly, thirty rupees; but the loss annoyed him, and as all search and inquiry proved futile, he put the matter in the hands of the police.

And before long — the very next day — the possession of the notes was traced to the officer's Burman servant, who looked after his clothes and attended on him at table. The boy was caught in the act of trying to change one of the notes. He was arrested, and he confessed. He was very hard up, he said, and his sister had written asking him to help her. He could not do so, and he was troubling himself about the matter early that morning while tidying the room, and he saw the notes on the table, and so he took them. It was a sudden temptation, and he fell. When the officer learnt

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all this, he would, I think, have withdrawn from the prosecution and forgiven the boy; but it was too late. In our English law theft is not compoundable. A complaint of theft once made must be proved or disproved; the accused must be tried before a magistrate. There is no alternative. So the lad—he was only a lad—was sent up before the magistrate, and he again pleaded guilty, and his master asked that the punishment might be light. The boy, he said, was an honest boy, and had yielded to a sudden temptation. He, the master, had no desire to press the charge, but the reverse. He would never have come to court at all if he could have withdrawn from the charge. Therefore he asked that the magistrate would consider all this, and be lenient.

But the magistrate did not see matters in the same light at all. He would consider his judgment and deliver it later on.

When he came into court again and read the judgment he had prepared, he said that he was unable to treat the case leniently. There were many such cases, he said. It was becoming quite common for servants to steal their employers' things, and they generally escaped. It was a serious matter, and he felt himself obliged to make an example of such as were convicted, to be a warning to others. So the boy was sentenced to six months' rigorous imprisonment; and his master went home, and before long had forgotten all about it.

But one day, as he was sitting in his veranda reading before breakfast, a lad came quickly up the stairs and into the veranda, and knelt down before

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him. It was the servant. As soon as he was released from gaol, he went straight to his old master, straight to the veranda where he was sure he would be sitting at that hour, and begged to be taken back again into his service. He was quite pleased, and sure that his master would be equally pleased, at seeing him again, and he took it almost as a matter of course that he would be reinstated.

But the master doubted.

'How can I take you back again?' he said. 'You have been in gaol.'

'But,' said the boy, 'I did very well in gaol. I became a warder with a cap white on one side and yellow on the other. Let the thakin ask.'

Still the officer doubted.

'I cannot take you back,' he repeated. 'You stole my money, and you have been in prison. I could not have you as a servant again.'

'Yes,' admitted the boy, 'I stole the thakin's money, but I have been in prison for it a long time —six months. Surely that is all forgotten now. I stole; I have been in gaol—that is the end of it.'

'No,' answered the master, 'unfortunately, your having been in gaol only makes matters much worse. I could forgive the theft, but the being in gaol—how can I forgive that?'

And the boy could not understand.

'If I have stolen, I have been in gaol for it. That is wiped out now,' he said again and again, till at last he went away in sore trouble of mind, for he could not understand his master, nor could his master understand him.

Each had his own idea of what was law, and

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685 what was justice, and what was punishment. To
671 the Burman all these words had one set of mean-
196 ings; to the Englishman they had another, a very different one. And each of them took his ideas from his religion. To all men the law here on earth is but a reflection of the heavenly law; the judge is the representative of his god. The justice of the court should be as the justice of heaven. Many nations have imagined their law to be heaven-given, to be inspired with the very breath of the Creator of the world. Other nations have derived their laws elsewhere. But this is of little account, for to the one, as to the other, the laws are a reflection of the religion.

681 And therefore on a man's religion depends all
671 his views of law and justice, his understanding of
779 the word 'punishment,' his idea of how sin should
196 be treated. And it was because of their different religions, because their religions differed so greatly on these points as to be almost opposed, that the English officer and his Burman servant failed to understand each other.

For to the Englishman punishment was a degradation. It seemed to him far more disgraceful that his servant should have been in gaol than that he should have committed theft. The theft he was ready to forgive, the punishment he could not. Punishment to him meant revenge. It is the revenge of an outraged and injured morality. The sinner had insulted the law, and therefore the law was to make him suffer. He was to be frightened into not doing it again. That is the idea. He was to be afraid of receiving punishment. And

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again his punishment was to be useful as a warning to others. Indeed, the magistrate had especially increased it with that object in view. He was to suffer that others might be saved. The idea of punishment being an atonement hardly enters into our minds at all. To us it is practically a revenge. We do not expect people to be the better for it. We are sure they are the worse. It is a deterrent for others, not a healing process for the man himself. We punish A. that B. may be afraid, and not do likewise. Our thoughts are bent on B., not really on A. at all. As far as he is concerned the process is very similar to pouring boiling lead into a wound. We do not wish or intend to improve him, but simply and purely to make him suffer. After we have dealt with him he is never fit again for human society. That was in the officer's thought when he refused to take back his Burmese servant.

Now see the boy's idea.

Punishment is an atonement, a purifying of the soul from the stain of sin. That is the only justification for, and meaning of, suffering. If a man breaks the everlasting laws of righteousness and stains his soul with the stain of sin, he must be purified, and the only method of purification is by suffering. Each sin is followed by suffering, lasting just so long as to cleanse the soul—not a moment less, or the soul would not be white; not a moment more, or it would be useless and cruel. That is the law of righteousness, the eternal inevitable sequence that leads us in the end to wisdom and peace. And as it is with the greater laws, so it should, the Buddhist thinks, be with the lesser laws.

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points, hardly even in minor points, does the law discriminate against women. 562 779

The law as regards marriage and inheritance and divorce will come each in its own place. It is very much the same both for the man and the woman. 562 671 586

The criminal law was the same for both; I have tried to find any difference, and this is all I have found: A woman's life was less valuable than a man's. The price of the body, as it is called, of a woman was less than that of a man. If a woman were accidentally killed, less compensation had to be paid than for a man. I asked a Burman about this once. 681

'Why is this difference?' I said. 'Why does the law discriminate?'

'It isn't the law,' he said, 'it is a fact. A woman is worth less than a man *in that way*. A maidservant can be hired for less than a manservant, a daughter can claim less than a son. They cannot do so much work; they are not so strong. If they had been worth more, the law would have been the other way; of course they are worth less.'

And so this sole discrimination is a fact, not dogma. It is a fact, no doubt, everywhere. No one would deny it. The pecuniary value of a woman is less than that of a man. As to the soul's value, that is not a question of law, which confines itself to material affairs. But I suppose all laws have been framed out of the necessities of mankind. It was the incessant fighting during the times when our laws grew slowly into shape, the necessity of not allowing the possession of land, and the armed 562 671 428

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562 wealth that land gave, to fall into the weaker hands
671 of women, that led to our laws of inheritance.
428 Laws then were governed by the necessity of war, of subjecting everything else to the ability to fight. Consequently, as women were not such good fighters as men, they went to the wall. But feudalism never obtained at all in Burma. What fighting they did was far less severe than that of our ancestors, was not the dominant factor in the position, and consequently woman did not suffer.

She has thus been given the inestimable boon of freedom. Freedom from sacerdotal dogma, from secular law, she has always had.

And so, in order to preserve the life of the people, it has never been necessary to pass laws treating woman unfairly as regards inheritance; and as religion has left her free to find her own position, so has the law of the land.

562 And yet the Burman man has a confirmed opinion that he is better than a woman, that men are on the whole superior as a sex to women. 'We may be inferior in some ways,' he will tell you. 'A woman may steal a march on us here and there, but in the long-run the man will always win. Women have no patience.'

I have heard this said over and over again, even by women, that they have less patience than a man. We have often supposed differently. Some Burmans have even supposed that a woman must be reincarnated as a man to gain a step in holiness. I do not mean that they think men are always better than women, but that the best men are far better than the best women, and there are many more of them.

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

593 usual for both husband and wife to sign all deeds
562 they may have occasion to execute. Nothing more
421 free than a woman's position in the marriage state can be imagined. By law she is absolutely the mistress of her own property and her own self; and if it usually happens that the husband is the head of the house, that is because his nature gives him that position, not any law.

With us marriage means to a girl an utter breaking of her old ties, the beginning of a new life, of new duties, of new responsibilities. She goes out into a new and unknown world, full of strange facts, leaving one dependence for another, the shelter of a father for the shelter of a husband. She has even lost her own name, and becomes known but as the mistress of her husband; her soul is merged in his. But in Burma it is not so at all. She is still herself, still mistress of herself, an equal partner for life.

593 I have said that the Burmese have no ideals, and
885 this is true; but in the Laws of Manu there are laid
671 down some of the requisite qualities for a perfect wife. There are seven kinds of wife, say the Laws of Manu: a wife like a thief, like an enemy, like a master, like a friend, like a sister, like a mother, like a slave. The last four of these are good, but the last is the best, and these are some of her qualities:

'She should fan and soothe her master to sleep, and sit by him near the bed on which he lies. She will fear and watch lest anything should disturb him. Every noise will be a terror to her; the hum of a mosquito as the blast of a trumpet; the fall of a leaf without will sound as loud as thunder. Even she

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

will guard her breath as it passes her lips to and fro, lest she awaken him whom she fears. 593 885 671

'And she will remember that when he awakens he will have certain wants. She will be anxious that the bath be to his custom, that his clothes are as he wishes, that his food is tasteful to him. Always she will have before her the fear of his anger.'

It must be remembered that the Laws of Manu are of Indian origin, and are not totally accepted by the Burmese. I fear a Burmese girl would laugh at this ideal of a wife. She would say that if a wife were always afraid of her husband's wrath, she and he, too, must be poor things. A household is ruled by love and reverence, not by fear. A girl has no idea when she marries that she is going to be her husband's slave, but a free woman, yielding to him in those things in which he has most strength, and taking her own way in those things that pertain to a woman. She has a very keen idea of what things she can do best, and what things she should leave to her husband. Long experience has taught her that there are many things she should not interfere with; and she knows it is experience that has proved it, and not any command. She knows that the reason women are not supposed to interfere in public affairs is because their minds and bodies are not fitted for them. Therefore she accepts this, in the same way as she accepts physical inferiority, as a fact against which it is useless and silly to declaim, knowing that it is not men who keep her out, but her own unfitness. Moreover, she knows that it is made good to her in other ways, and thus the balance is redressed. You see, she knows her own strength and her own weak- [1T] 593 885 562

21: Htin Aung B-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4
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of Hindu traders from South India. After the introduction of Buddhism into South India by Asoka in 261 B.C., the traders began to bring Buddhist elements to Thaton. With the establishment in the third or fourth century after Christ of the Hindu kingdoms in Java and Sumatra, Thaton became an important trading centre, and with the rise of a great Buddhist centre at Conjeveram in Madras in the fifth century, the Talaings began to receive religious writings in Pali. From that time onwards, learning was definitely established in the kingdom, and, as a result, a Talaing literature came into being. Anawrahta was interested in Pali only, and therefore when he destroyed the city, he burnt all the manuscripts except those in Pali.[1]

175 101 [779] [177]

The writing and learning that were thus introduced into Pagan took root at once. Prose and poetry as embodied in the language of the court and in songs had been in existence long before, though unwritten, and now the new learning turned them into written forms and began to develop them. Pali was studied everywhere, and in the newly-built temples with their crowded monastic life, works in Pali on religion, on Pali grammar and prosody, and on the legal code of Manu came to be produced.[3] Translations were also made, and soon Pagan became famous throughout India for its Pali scholarship. But

175 212 779 538

[1] The Burmese language belongs to the Tibeto-Burmese group, whereas the Talaing belongs to the Mon-Khmar group. In spite of Anawrahta's conquest and in spite of the fact that racially they were cousins, the Talaings became completely merged with the Burmese only in the eighteenth century. The probability of the Sanskrit drama reaching the Talaings is considered in chap. ii.

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[3] G. E. Harvey, op. cit., pp. 59, 70.

The most famous for literary activity was the *Kyauku Ohmmin* temple. Though built perhaps even before Anawrahta, when a corrupted form of Buddhism was prevalent, it is still in an excellent condition (Harvey, p. 17).

The code of Manu was compiled originally in Sanskrit, during the period 200 B.C.–A.D. 200. Since that time it has been one of the chief sources of Hindu law (J. D. Mayne, *Hindu Law*). The Burmese received it in a Talaing-Pali version in which the sacerdotal element had been done away with. That explains why, although Manu is one of the chief sources also of Burmese Buddhist law, it has little in common with Hindu law. The existence of the code as the chief source of Talaing law (Harvey, op. cit., p. 111) raises again the question, how far were the Talaing writings under the influence of Sanskrit and its literature? We shall never know. When Anawrahta destroyed Talaing institutions and historical and literary works, he intended that all knowledge of the past greatness of the Talaings should pass into oblivion so as to smooth his way towards unifying Burma into one single State.

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Pali has been, since 1044, the classical language of Burma.

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25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

878. THE PALACE GARDENS.

the cause of suffering and death, and the discredit reflected on officialdom by its methods, lead the best elements of the population to shun office, as a touching of pitch. The dearth of ability and character in the governing classes leaves the governed without efficient protection. The religious motive further operates in withholding information about criminals. A pregnant category is that of the "five enemies"—Fire, Water, Robbers, Rulers, Ill-wishers. The governors and deputies who acted as judges heard causes at the *ywn*, an open shed in a public place. But every cause was presented in the first instance at the house of the official, and it is contrary to accepted ideas of politeness to approach a superior empty-handed, even on a mere visit of courtesy. The *pros* and *cons* of the case were understood before the regular hearing. At the hearing, the advocates of the parties (*ashé-ne*) publicly presented their pleas and the evidence was recorded. The Burmese form of oath is to take the *kyanza* in the hands, a book of imprecations which the witness invokes on his head if he should speak falsely. The judge or judges intimated their finding to their clerks (*sayé*), who recorded it in official style and read it out. The punishments awarded to criminals and the condition of prisoners were much like those prevailing in Europe at the time of the Renaissance. Every judgment of importance was registered in the *Hluttaw* or chancellery at the capital, presided over by the four chief ministers (*Wundyi*), through whom all royal commands to the governors of provinces issued. There was no regular system of appeals. The Hindu code of Manú served as a body of law, and statutes were decreed by the kings; but *thusan* (custom) supplied standards of a more practical and stable nature.

879. ROYAL MAID OF HONOUR (APYODAW).

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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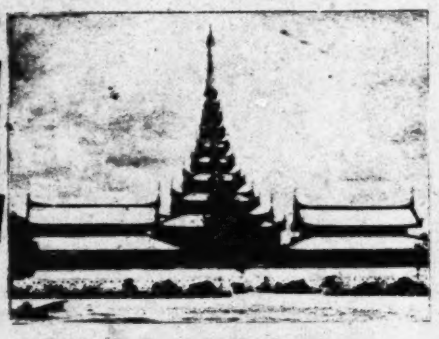

560. PALACE FRONT AND SPIRE.

The British administration preserves the native official machinery, from the *thadyt* to the *myook*, augmenting the numbers so as to reach every part of the area and curtailing the powers. Under native *régime* even *thadyts* might be *ddbaing*. The new *régime* takes account of the village *lúdyts* for the sake of their moral influence; many of them have been invested with power to compose differences up to small amounts, and some of the more prominent are honorary magistrates. Independent spirit is on the increase; the officials have to reckon with a new temper in the people. Nevertheless, in municipal councils the supineness and complaisance of the native members are calculated to stultify the position accorded to them. Road-making and sanitation do not arouse their interest, and the local excise, the matter they long to deal with, is excluded from their jurisdiction (*cf.* p. 157). The *thadyt* personally measures the fields, collects the land-tax and poll-tax from house to house, in such a circle as he can make the circuit of twice a year, and receives commission on the amount. He reports on matters within his circle. As many revenue-circles as a native magistrate can personally control are united into a township, under a *myook*, who at the same time supervises the co-ordinate grades of police distributed in the township. He publicly tries criminal and civil cases, under his powers as magistrate, by codes of law and procedure accessible to everybody. These codes form the most valuable models of system, in the vernacular, up to the present. By their help both judges and advocates have trained themselves in law. Five to eight townships, according to facilities for

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561. BURMAN PRINCESS.

178 Since those remote times, the Burmese customary law has
671 developed naturally, side by side with the growth and development of Burmese society. The Burmese have no great national code of laws gathered and authorized by a powerful king, no great charter forced from an unwilling king, no great statute passed by a national assembly fighting against tyranny, but nonetheless the Burmese customary law shows a conception of justice and a love of personal liberty in which every Burmese must take pride.

671 To the Burmese, before the partial introduction of the
643 English legal system, law meant civil law. To them, civil law was purely customary, and besides custom, there could be no other source of law. The idea of legislation by a parliament or a congress, or by executive order of the king was unfamiliar to the Burmese. In English common law, the king could do no
[685 wrong, and thus he was above the law. But with the Burmese,
694] the king himself was not exempt from the operation of the civil law, and the king was often the defendant in civil suits, usually for wrongful seizure of land. Admittedly the king was above his subjects, and he had the right to levy taxes in service or in kind, but he was also under a duty to give protection to the people. To protect the people and to preserve the peace, the king must prevent wrong-doing and punish wrong-doers, and it was for the king to proclaim which acts were wrongs from the point of view of public peace. Thus, at the beginning of each reign, the king proclaimed his list of crimes, and the punishments he would mete out to those who were found guilty of those crimes.

671 The list of crimes varied with each king, but the usual
681 crimes were offenses against the state, murder, robbery, theft, rape, and serious defamation. The usual penalties were whipping, confinement in irons, maiming, banishment, and death, with or without forfeiture to the king's treasury of the of-
[684] fender's possessions. In the eighteenth century, adultery was added to the list of crimes, with the punishment of whipping for both the woman and her paramour, and proclamation of their guilt by beat of drums and gongs. In the nineteenth

century, the punishment for abduction of women was enhanced from one of confinement in irons to that of death. Thus what the English lawyer would understand by the term "criminal law" was considered to be the personal concern of the king. Therefore, when the ruling king died, and a new king ascended the throne, all persons undergoing punishment for crimes committed under the previous king, automatically were freed. Criminal jurisdiction therefore was considered to be merely an administrative function of the crown, and it concerned the executive, and not the judicial, officers of the state. Modern European writers have ever emphasized the despotism of Burmese kings, but the Royal Edicts proclaimed at the beginning of each reign clearly showed that the Burmese king was not a blood-thirsty individual devoid of all mercy. In the Edicts, we find the king delegating the function of meting out criminal justice to three of his Chief Ministers, admonishing at the same time that they should temper justice with mercy. The king in the Edicts ordered that even in capital crimes, the punishment should be one of banishment, and the sentence of death was to be reserved for vicious criminals. Even when the sentence of death had been passed, the execution was to be postponed for at least ten days so as to enable the king to consider the case and alter the punishment to one of banishment if the facts justified such alteration.

But as in England, the king was considered to be the fountain of justice, for his was the supreme court of the land. The kingdom was divided into provinces, each under a viceroy. Each province was further divided into cities, each city under a governor. Each city or city area was subdivided into towns and each town or town area into villages, with a headman for each town and each village. The courts of the headmen of towns or villages dealt with suits of small value, and there was a right of appeal from those courts to the courts of the governors of cities. The courts of the governors exercised both original and appellate jurisdiction, and appeals from these courts lay to the court of the viceroy, which also exercised both

692 original and appellate jurisdiction. These officers were execu-
631 tive officers under the crown, but when they sat as judges in their respective courts, they were judges in the full sense of the term, for they were free of all executive control. Finally there
[643] was the Supreme Court. This final court of appeal consisted of the king as the president, the crown prince as the vice-president, the four chief ministers, and their four deputies. The king, however, attended only on rare occasions, and thus the crown prince usually presided over the court. The law that these courts administered and interpreted was the customary
694 law of the Burmese people. One special feature of the courts
[693] was their attempt to settle the case before actually trying it. Lawyers, who were attached to the courts as officers, although their fees were payable by the litigants, also endeavored to conciliate the contending parties. Often the parties decided to refer their suit to an arbitrator. There was no right of appeal from the decision of an arbitrator, on the ground that the arbitrator was chosen by the contending parties themselves. When a suit had been heard and decided, the successful party offered a dish of pickled tea to the other party, and if the latter accepted, the parties were deemed to have been reconciled, and there could be no appeal from the decision of the court. The refusal of the unsuccessful party to accept the offered dish of pickled tea served as his notice of appeal.

671 Burmese history, like the history of many countries, re-
[178] cords rebellions, invasions, and violent struggles for power,
177 but the development of Burmese customary law has been
175 singularly free from catastrophes and sudden changes. There has never been a revolution in the Burmese customary law. However, the law in the course of its long history experienced three great impacts with the outside world. The first was the impact of Hindu jurisprudence, second was the impact of Buddhism, and the third was the impact of English law as the result of the British conquest of the country towards the end of the nineteenth century.

Some of my colleagues of this conference have already

30: Maung Htin Aung E-4 (no date) 1953 AP1 Burma
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spoken on the impact of Hindu thought and culture on the countries of Southeast Asia. The Hindu expansion overseas was well underway by the second and third centuries after Christ, and Hindu ideas and Hindu philosophies were beginning to remold the native patterns of belief and culture in Southeast Asia. In Burma, however, only the coastal region fell under Hindu influence. The Pyus by the fifth century had founded their kingdom of Prome, then situated only a few miles away from the sea, at the mouth of the Irrawaddy. The Mons, who belonged to the Mon-Khmer tribes that had settled in the regions now known as Thailand and Indo-China, had entered Lower Burma from the east, and their kingdom of Thaton, also then on the sea, seemed to have become powerful by the fifth century, about the same time as Prome. These two cities, Prome and Thaton, probably first became important as ports of call for Hindu merchant ships sailing between India and Malaya and Java, but even in those two kingdoms, Hindu influence was not strong. Thus Burma is the one country in Southeast Asia which was not Hinduized. By the eighth century after Christ, the Irrawaddy Delta was quickly forming, and Prome became farther away from the sea; the kingdom seemed to have declined rapidly, and the Pyus began to merge with the Burmese, who had now founded their kingdom at Pagan in Upper Burma. In the eleventh century, the Burmese made their kingdom strong enough to conquer and destroy the kingdom of Thaton. The Burmese were now supreme in the land.

But the conquest of Thaton opened the outer world beyond the seas to the Burmese. From the conquered Mons the Burmese became acquainted with Hindu literature and with Buddhist scriptures. Burmese society and Burmese law now experienced the double impact of Hinduism and Buddhism, but, of course, by that time, Hindu power in Southeast Asia was a spent force. Both Burmese society and Burmese law survived those two impacts.

Hindu jurisprudence and Hindu legal literature had

671 177 molded the native customary laws in the other regions of Southeast Asia, and the great Hindu Code of Manu, the hermit, the sage, the lawgiver, had gained enormous prestige and authority in Southeast Asia. The Burmese scholars and lawyers of the eleventh century studied the Code of Manu, but found [565] little in it to interest them. The rigid caste system, which served as the basis of Hindu law as embodied in the Code of Manu, made no appeal to the Burmese with their classless society. The Burmese never had an aristocracy or a middle class. The king was above others, but others were all equal. There was no hereditary nobility, and the Burmese have always been so individualistic that family names or surnames have never existed with the Burmese. The officers of the king could be said to have formed a nobility, but if that was so, it was a nobility into which every Burmese could enter by talent and personality alone. The king, the chieftain, and the headman were originally elected. Thus the idea of dividing society into classes distinguished only by birth seemed strange to the Burmese.

671 773 Nonetheless, the prestige of the Code of Manu was so high in Southeast Asia that the Burmese decided to make Manu their mythical law-giver. In Hindu mythology, Manu was a hermit, divinely inspired. In Burmese legend, Manu became a simple cowherd who was later elected king because of his mastery of customary law. The Burmese Manu also became a hermit later, but he became a hermit out of remorse because he once gave a wrong decision. This wrong judgment of the great Manu is well known in Burmese folklore as the case of the small cucumber. There was a cucumber plant growing in a man's garden, but as it was a creeper, it grew across the dividing hedge and bore fruit in the neighbor's garden. Now the man and the neighbor quarreled as to who was entitled to the small cucumber fruit, and they took their case before the great Manu, who decided in favor of the neighbor. But he soon reversed his decision, and feeling remorseful over his previous judgment, became a hermit. This clearly

illustrates that with the Burmese, Manu had become only an 671
ordinary human being with the human trait of making mis- 773
takes, so very different from the divine hermit of Hindu lore.

By the thirteenth century, the customary law of the Bur- 671
mese came to be collected and written down by jurists and [178]
scholars. Throughout the intervening centuries until the British conquest of the country, such collections of the law, and also collections of judicial precedents were made from time to time by scholars and jurists. But those collections were not codes, and were not fully binding on the judges. In all these [177]
collections, Manu was mentioned as the law-giver, and this lip-service paid to the prestige of the Hindu Code of Manu has misled modern scholars, especially European scholars of Burmese history and Burmese law, into thinking that the Burmese law was merely the Hindu Code of Manu modified and transplanted almost overnight in Burma of the eleventh century.

But in the eleventh century, the Burmese did become Bud- 177
dhists almost overnight. The Burmese took to Buddhism with 609
great enthusiasm, because the way of life preached by the 565
Buddha seemed to be identical with their own democratic 779
way of life. The Buddhistic revolt against the rigid caste system of the Hindu society could be appreciated by the Burmese, who called the Hindu half-playfully and half-seriously, "kula" or "caste people," and the Buddhistic emphasis on the equality of all men appealed to the Burmese with their classless society and their own emphasis on individual freedom. The [671]
jurists and the scholars waxed enthusiastic over Buddhism, and they gave a Buddhistic coloring and a Buddhistic background to their collections of Burmese customary law. This misled the early British administrators and judges in Burma into thinking that Burmese customary law was Buddhistic in origin, and gave to it the misleading official name of "Burmese Buddhist Law."

The impact of the English legal system introduced into 000

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The impact of the English legal system introduced into
671 the country after the annexation of 1886 shook Burmese cus-
177 tomary law to its very foundations, just as Burmese society
178 itself rocked with the shock of the impact. But Burmese society soon regained its balance, and so did Burmese customary law. The British, by statute, superseded the Burmese customary law of contract and tort with their own English common law, but recognized the Burmese customary law regarding marriage and divorce, adoption, inheritance, and religious usage, and these branches of the customary law remain valid today. Thus, whereas in India the legislature now struggles against strong public opposition to pass new statutes introducing changes in the Hindu law of marriage and inheritance so as to adjust Hindu law to new developments in Hindu society, the Burmese, after their hard-won independence, have not found it necessary to modify by statute or to codify their customary law. With regard to the English law of contract and tort that was introduced into the country after the British annexation, the Burmese did not find the new law strange and mysterious, for the fundamental principles of Burmese law of contract and tort had certain similarities with the funda-
675 mental principles of English common law. Thus the principles
671 of specific performance, of damages, of a period of limitation,
672 and a remoteness of damage were known to the Burmese law also. Even the English legal plea of "Act of God" for exemption from liability has its Burmese counterpart in the plea of "ill fortune." The following rules of law relating to ferries will illustrate this aspect of Burmese law:

> If a man, for the sake of hire, becomes a ferryman, let him follow these rules. He shall carefully consider and take only the correct fare. If he is careless, or jocular, or immodest, and as a result, property of a passenger is spilled or damaged, let him make good the loss to the owner. But if he crosses with proper care and proper behaviour, and property be lost or damaged, let him blame ill fortune, and he shall not be liable. Women with child, monks, and sick persons shall be ferried across, even if they have no money to pay as fare.

Although the kingdoms of Prome and Thaton probably based their wealth on trade and commerce, and the kingdom of Pagan based its power and wealth on commerce, the Burmese have been simple agriculturists throughout their history, and therefore Burmese customary law of contract and torts dealt with the business of agriculture, such as water-rights, land-rights, hire of cattle, carts, and implements, and with the relations between employers and laborers. As has been stated before, the Burmese law of contract and tort is no longer valid, and although the Burmese still remain agriculturalists, their business of agriculture is no longer simple as in the days before the British annexation. Nonetheless, some of the rules of law in contract and torts are still of interest. For example, let us consider the law relating to payment of wages to laborers. The Burmese law did not give emphasis to that part of the wages which was to be in the form of money. But it specifically laid down that (1) in the case of an agricultural laborer, he was to receive, in addition to wages in money, a suit of clothes at the end of each "season"—i.e., the "growing season" and the "reaping season," and (2) in the case of a nonagricultural laborer, he was to receive, throughout the period of his employment and in addition to wages in money, "regular meals of rice and curry." For the agricultural laborer, who had his own store of paddy, clothing was of great consequence, and to the nonagricultural laborer food was of great consequence. Thus the Burmese law ensured that the fluctuation either in the general level of wages or in the value of money should not adversely effect either the laborer or his employer. Moreover, as both the laborer and the employer wore the same homespun clothes and ate the same food, the arrangement was fair to both parties. With regard to professional services rendered also, the Burmese law attempted to be fair to both parties, as could be seen from the following rules of law regarding physicians and lawyers:

671 683 675 241 466 671 759 693

If a physician has been called for fee to attend to a sick person, but the sick person recovers or dies before the physician reaches

671 his bedside, the physician shall be entitled to his fee if he has
759 reached at least the doorway of the sick person's house. In the same
693 way, if a suit is withdrawn or settled, or the judge does not find it necessary to call upon the pleader to argue, the pleader shall be entitled to his fee if he has spoken even a few words, or if he has just pulled up the sleeve of his gown in a gesture of speech. If a client wishes to call in another physician, he shall pay the full fees to the first physician, and shall also offer him a cup of water in token of friendship. If a client wishes to engage another pleader, he shall pay the full fee to the first pleader.

671 The following rules regarding void sales and purchases will
432 further illustrate the essential similarity of Burmese law and the English law of contract:

> There are four cases when a sale or a purchase is void: (i) if the price fixed is below its value; by value it is meant market value at the time of the sale, and even a ruby worth a kingdom before may be sold for one-eighth of a basket of rice, if that is the prevailing market value of rubies; (ii) if the buyer is aware that the ownership of the property is being disputed; (iii) if the whereabouts of the property are not known; and (iv) if the owner of the property is in confinement or under duress.

672 Just as in the English law, under the Burmese law a per-
683 son was responsible for any injury which was the foreseeable consequence of his acts. Thus, it was a rule of law that if a person induced another person to accompany him to a place full of perils, and the latter suffered injury, the former was to pay damages to the full amount of the injury; however, if the second person was aware of the dangerous nature of the place, the damages payable were only half the amount of compensation for the injury. Under the same principle, if a host entertained his guest so well that the latter became intoxicated, the host owed a duty in law to see that the guest reached his home safely; if the guest should be allowed to go home unattended, and if he should die or suffer injury on the way through illness, exposure, snake-bite, attack by robbers or by wild beasts, the host was liable to pay full compensation. The

principle of contributory negligence was also known to Burmese law, and the following rules of law regarding "travelling at night with due caution" will serve as an illustration: 672 683

If there be occasion for a person at night to go about the city or the town, or the village, he shall go only with a lantern, for if he goes about without a lantern and is stopped, or hindered, or attacked, he shall not be entitled to damages. If, however, he is going about in search of a doctor, and if he shouts out this fact in the darkness, he shall be entitled to full compensation from the offender who stops or strikes him, even though he carries no lantern. In the same way, if a young woman goes about at night beyond the usual hours when people go about, and if she wears no kerchief on her breast, and if her modesty is outraged, she shall not be entitled to any damages.

The unity of Burmese society has always been the family, but unlike the rigidly knit Roman family or the Hindu joint family, it easily disintegrates. A Burmese family is loosely knit by ties of blood, and sometimes of marriage, and thus it usually consists of the father, the mother, and their unmarried sons and daughters. The sons however can leave the family even before marriage on attaining the age of puberty (sixteen years of age), and the daughters on attaining the age of majority, but sons and daughters of course usually leave the family only on marriage. Sometimes sons and daughters decide to remain in the family even after marriage, at least for some time. The head of the family is the father, and on his death, the mother succeeds to the headship of the family, as in Burmese law the husband and wife are heirs to each other. The head of the Burmese family exercises general control over the family, but unlike the heads of the Roman and Hindu families, he performs no religious duties. He or she has the right to betroth his or her daughter under the age of majority to a male of his or her choice, but the right is subject to the daughter's right of repudiating the betrothal, either by refusing to marry the man chosen by her parent, or by compelling the parent to recognize her betrothal to the man of her own choice. 671 693 [584]

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671 her own choice. The head of the Burmese family can also give
593 away children under the age of puberty or majority to another
597 family for adoption, but when the child attains the age of puberty or majority, he or she has the option to choose in which family (i.e. his original family or his adoptive family) he
671 will remain. Acquisitions by members of the family accrue
593 to the family, but as in Roman and Hindu laws, certain classes
428 of acquisition by members of the family accrue to the acquirer and not to the family. Gifts from grandparents, from the king, and in certain cases, from strangers, and earnings through exercise of skill in the arts and in astrology, medicine, advocacy, and alchemy accrue to the acquirer. When a member of the family wishes to leave the family, there is no necessity to gain the assistance of a court of law. By mutual consent among the members, he is permitted to leave and he is given his share of the family estate. When the whole family decides to break up also, no formality is required, and by general consent, the family estate is divided between the members according to the rules of law pertaining to the partition of an estate into various shares.

671 One of the main features of Burmese society is the high
562 status of its women. Unlike the situation in Hindu or Chinese society, the Burmese woman has never been a mere chattel at the disposal of the Burmese man. Since prehistoric times Burmese women have enjoyed an equality of status, rank, and opportunity with men. Under the Burmese kings, the women held high office, and served often as headman, chief-
[773] tainess, and queen. In Burmese folktales dealing with strange disputes and wonderful decisions, which are known as Juristic Tales, the judge is a woman, namely Princess Learned-in-the-Law. At the present day, all the learned professions are open to women, and approximately 25 per cent of the students at the University of Rangoon are women.

671 The high status of women in Burmese society is reflected
583 in the Burmese customary law relating to marriage, divorce,
586 and inheritance. In Burmese law, marriage is purely a civil
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contract, founded on the consent of the man and woman to 671
openly "eat and live together." Religion has nought to do 583
with the marriage, and no special ceremony is necessary, and 586
therefore in a court of law proof of marriage is not to be 428
found in certificates of documents or evidence of a marriage ceremony, but in the testimony of witnesses that the man and woman lived together as man and wife. No Burmese man or woman can be forced into marriage without his or her consent. After a son has attained the age of puberty, or a daughter the age of majority, even the consent of the parents is no longer necessary. Divorce results without much formality when both the husband and the wife mutually agree to part. Burmese jurists in their writings often describe the husband as the lord of the wife, but that seems to be mere opinion, and they often advise the wife to obey her husband, but it does not mean that their advice is always followed. The wife has a right to divorce her husband without his consent, if he is guilty of cruelty or serious matrimonial misconduct. On divorce, the wife takes a substantial share of the joint estate, and if she should marry again, she remains absolute owner of her estate from her previous marriage, and does not share it with her second husband. But although divorce therefore is comparatively easy, and the wife enjoys an important position in the family, divorces have always been rare, and an atmosphere of cordiality and harmony prevails in the Burmese family.

Burmese women have always possessed full rights of in- 671
heritance. As the husband and wife are the heirs of each other, 562
on the husband's death, the wife inherits a major share of the 428
family estate, and full authority as head of the family if the family decides not to disintegrate and partition the estate. On the death of the surviving parent, the daughters have full rights of inheritance in competition with their brothers. As the Burmese customary law has never recognized a right to dispose of property by will, these rights of inheritance cannot be defeated in any way.

These, then, briefly are the main features of Burmese cus- 000

30: Maung Htin Aung E-4 (no date) 1953 AP1 Burma
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671 These, then, briefly are the main features of Burmese customary law. The loosely-knit family with an atmosphere of cordiality and harmony is still the unit of Burmese society at the present day, and the essence of Burmese customary law at the present day is the same as many centuries ago. My colleagues of this conference who spoke before me have emphasized the fact that Southeast Asia as a region has been the crossroad of many cultures. Burma has borrowed freely from the great cultures of her neighboring countries, but at the same time, she has been able to preserve her own national character and her own national institutions. I have emphasized the similarity in spirit of Burmese and English law, in an attempt to show that the Burmese people have evolved a system of law as fair and just as the common law of England, which lawyers and jurists all over the world have learned to admire and respect. I have also emphasized the Burmese love of freedom and personal liberty, in an endeavor to prove that the idea of democracy that prevails in the Union of Burma at the present day is not a mere borrowing from the West. And as long as the Burmese people retain this love of freedom, and as long as Burmese law retains its spirit of justice and fairness, the Burmese do not need to be anxious of their future in a changing and uncertain world.

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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community over the individual—the restraining 674
influence of public opinion and of religion is greater. But even during the years of trouble, the years from 1885 till 1890, when, in the words of the Burmese proverb, 'the forest was on fire and the wild-cat slapped his arm,' there were certain peculiarities about the criminals that differentiated them from those of Europe. You would hear of a terrible crime, a village attacked at night by brigands, a large robbery of property, one or two villagers killed, and an old woman tortured for her treasure, and you would picture the perpetrators as hardened, brutal criminals, lost to all sense of humanity, tigers in human shape; and when you came to arrest them—if by good luck you did so—you would find yourself quite mistaken. One, perhaps, or two of the ringleaders might be such as I have described, but the others would be far different. They would be boys or young men led away by the idea of a frolic, allured by the romance of being a free-lance for a night, very sorry now, and ready to confess and do all in their power to atone for their misdeeds. Nothing, I think, was more striking than the universal confession of criminals on their arrest. Even now, despite the spread of lawyers and notions [177]
of law, in country districts accused men always confess, sometimes even they surrender themselves.[1] I have known many such cases. Here is one that happened to myself only the other day.

A man was arrested in another jurisdiction for 672
cattle theft; he was tried there and sentenced to

[1] This was written in 1896. In 1902 it is very different. The [175]
increase of all forms of perjury and false evidence is universal. [691]

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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672 two years' rigorous imprisonment. Shortly afterwards it was discovered that he was suspected of being concerned in a robbery in my jurisdiction, committed before his arrest. He was therefore transferred to the gaol near my court, and I inquired into the case, and committed him and four others for trial before the sessions judge for the robbery, which he admitted.

Now, it so happened that immediately after I had passed orders in the case I was obliged to go out hurriedly into camp, leaving the necessary warrants to be signed in my absence by my junior magistrate, and a mistake occurred by which the committal-warrant was only made out for the four. The other man being already under sentence for two years, it was not considered necessary to make out a remand-warrant for him. But, as it happened, he had appealed from his former sentence and he was acquitted, so a warrant of release arrived at the gaol, and, in absence of any other warrant, he was at once released.

Of course, on the mistake being discovered a fresh warrant was issued, and mounted police were sent over the country in search of him, without avail; he could not be found. But some four days afterwards, in the late afternoon, as I was sitting in my house, just returned from court, my servant told me a man wanted to see me. He was shown up into the veranda, and, lo! it was the very man I wanted. He had heard, he explained, that I wanted him, and had come to see me. I reminded him he was committed to stand his trial for dacoity, that was why I wanted him. He said that he

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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thought all that was over, as he was released; but I explained to him that the release only applied to the theft case. And then we walked over half a mile to court, I in front and he behind, across the wide plain, and he surrendered to the guard. He was tried and acquitted on this charge also. Not, as the sessions judge said later, that he had any doubt that my friend and the others were the right men, but because he considered some of the evidence unsatisfactory, and because the original confession was withdrawn. So he was released again, and went hence a free man.

But think of him surrendering himself! He knew he had committed the dacoity with which he was charged: he himself had admitted it to begin with, and again admitted it freely when he knew he was safe from further trial. He knew he was liable to very heavy punishment, and yet he surrendered because he understood that I wanted him. I confess that I do not understand it at all, for this is no solitary instance. The circumstances, truly, were curious, but the spirit in which the man acted was usual enough. I have had dacoit leaders with prices on their heads walk into my camp. It was a common experience with many officers. The Burmans often act as children do. Their crimes are the violent, thoughtless crimes of children; they are as little depraved by crime as children are. Who are more criminal than English boys? and yet they grow up decent, law-abiding men. Almost the only confirmed criminals have been made so by punishment, by that punishment which some consider is intended to uplift them, but which never does aught but degrade them.

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

672 Instead of cleansing the garment, it tears it, and renders it useless for this life.

It is a very difficult question, this of crime and punishment. I have not written all this because I have any suggestion to make to improve it. I have not written it because I think that the laws of Manu, which obtained under the Burmese kings, and their methods of punishment, were any improvement on ours. On the contrary, I think they were much worse. Their laws and their methods of enforcing the law were those of a very young people. But, notwithstanding this, there was a spirit in their laws different from and superior to ours.

181 I have been trying to see into the soul of this people whom I love so well, and nothing has struck me more than the way they regard crime and punishment; nothing has seemed to me more worthy of note than their ideas of the meaning and end of punishment, of its scope and its limits. It is so very different from ours. As in our religion, so in our laws: we believe in mercy at one time and in vengeance at another. We believe in vicarious punishment and vicarious salvation; they believe in absolute justice—always the same, eternal and unchangeable as the laws of the stars. We purposely make punishment degrading; they think it should be elevating, that in its purifying power lies its sole use and justification. We believe in tearing a soiled garment; they think it ought to be washed.

Surely these are great differences, surely thoughts like these, engraven in the hearts of a young people, will lead, in the great and glorious future that lies before them, to a conception of justice, to a method

Nats' powers for good include protecting the village from dacoit attacks but does not extend to modern warfare. When the Japanese armies were slicing up through Tenasserim in 1941, the elders of Maung Maung Than's village prayed for nat protection against the invaders. The nats replied "Dear villagers we ourselves are wearing raised longyis in this crisis (ready to run)." This is a Rangoon town joke told among the sophisticated collegiates at the University. Not so well defined, but still sensed is a growing distrust of the powers of nats to combat modern evils. 776 178 [195]

The nats can best be visualized as supernatural despots each with his province (the home, village, sea, babies) and each exacting tribute of periodic or constant attention in the form of flowers or food, red and white cloth strips, and an altar which may have the image of the nat carved in wood (or moulded in modern plasticene). Banyan trees with their multiple, snake-like trunks, are the most common places of abode. When disaster in the form of sickness or other ill fortune strikes, the nats are appeased with offerings immediately. The SAY SAYA will frequently check with the family of his patient to make sure this has been done. In Rangoon and elsewhere, business men whose fortunes have been good are the main supporters of the nat festivals which are given for the entertainment of all the nats once a year in October, for a seven day period. NAT KADAW (nat-wives) are the mediums who contact the nats by becoming possessed by them at this festival and other special occasions (for a single nat) throughout the year. These are married women or more rarely homosexuals who dance, answer questions and give opinions when possessed. 776 782 [759] [796] 791

Punishment for offense against the nats is first shown by accidents or sudden illnesses like paralysis meted out to the offender. If the offender continues the village as a whole will gradually be afflicted. For example, when a drunkard offends the nats with blasphemous language evil falls on the entire village. Villagers led by the elders and a prominent NAT-KADAW go in a body to the major banyan tree shrine to have an understanding with the offended nats. Offerings are given and attention of the nats called to the woes of 776 753 688 672 782

776 of the villagers. The head-nat, the guardian of the village, replies
753 with accusations that "the whole village has forgotten me", boasts of
688 his powers to punish and is finally molified. In Rangoon there are
672 professional nat-givers who parade the streets with a cart bearing the
782 image of "the conqueror of the salty waters" (special nat of entrepre-
[463] neurs). For a few annas he will make offerings to the nat and relcive the busy townspeople of this task.

776 The arrangement is a mutual one where the people enjoy freedom
782 from oppressions in return for certain concessions. This phenomenon closely parallels the traditional relationship between the rulers and the ruled in Burma. In a real sense the nat concept serves the function of allowing the Burmese a sense of control over catastrophic forces which do not fall into any other system (as secular, political,
[177] personal relationships, cosmology.). It is this system of controls that the western scientific system most immediately competes with. The administrative and entrepreneur class of Burmese especially in Rangoon say they "Do not believe" in nats. But it is usual for most individuals no matter what their western background to apply to nats in cases of ill fortune "just in case".

775 THAYEH (Ghosts) generally are a group of supernatural spirits closely related to nats in their origins but with a different set of properties. These are "recently" deceased individuals whose crimes and sins while on earth or manner of death condemn them to an eternity of wandering and mischief-making. Actually, each person becomes a ghost at death but is ordinarily released from earth at the moment of the interrment of the corpse for judgement in heaven. Those who die of
[761] "raw death" become ghosts. These include: death in childbirth, by wild animals (especially tigers), instant deaths by dahs as in warfare, or by hanging. In Maung Maung Than's village a prominent ghost is U Me Gyi (Mr. Blacky) a very sinful fellow who lived 50 or 60 years ago in the village. His complexion is quite black and horribly distorted. He inhabits a banyan tree and specializes in causing infant illness. Offerings of rice at the tree pacifies him. Ghosts are forces for evil only - evil of the more irritating and less important kind.
751 Older people wear red and white coloured strings about their necks as a protection against ghost evils. It is very common to wear a LET-PWET

29: Slater M-4 (no date) 1951 AP1 Burma
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792 881 the monastery. It is a day of excited celebration. Recalling the Great Renunciation, when Gautama left the royal court in his quest for truth, the boy, attired in princely robes, is feasted by his family and friends until the moment when he casts his finery aside to don the yellow robe of the Order.[31]

[301] 562 881 779* 871 Girls experience a similar ceremonial initiation, when (to the accompaniment of vigorous music) their ears are pierced to take the ear-rings which are the sign of womanhood. They cannot attend the monastic schools with the boys, but other means are found for their education, and they certainly do not lag behind their brothers in intelligence, character or Buddhist zeal. Mrs Hla Oung recounts the story of a little maid taken to the monastery to be reminded of the five precepts, after some childish misdemeanour. (The monk was benign. "There was the faintest suspicion of a smile on his calm face, to show, I suppose, that her backsliding was not to be taken as a defection from the faith.") The 'charity of learning' seems, then, to be shared by girls as well as boys. The status, freedom and privileges of Burmese women have already been remarked and Mrs Hla Oung affirms vigorously that "the life of the Burmese woman is bound up in her religion. Buddhism has formed the character of the Burmese woman.... There are few Burmese women, even in the villages, who are unable to read and write," and the Buddhist scriptures form the ground work of their studies.[32]

792 871 178 Not only are the monks numerous, but they are dispersed throughout the country. Every village has at least one monastery, and sometimes more. The educational influence of the Order has been, therefore, both organised and ubiquitous. In more recent times this influence has been challenged by new conditions. Government and mission schools have intervened, and the modern Burmese boy may only remain in the monastery as a novice for a brief, token period. But during the centuries which shaped the Burmese character and outlook, the monks as educators had no serious rivals.

792 [757] 737 672 Nor has their ministry to the community been confined to education. Herbs and potions from the monastery are held in high esteem, especially in Upper Burma.[33] The monastery also serves as alms-house and asylum.

[31] For a good description of this ceremony v. Ananda Metteya, quoted by G. Appleton, *Buddhism in Burma*, pp. 22–23.

[32] Ma M. Hla Oung, "The Women of Burma," *Buddhism*, Vol. I, No. 1, p. 61 (September, 1903, Rangoon); cf. a later series by Daw Mya Sein, "Kin Sein Hla," *Burma Today*, published by the Burma Government in India, 1944, in which the influence of the Monastery is not so strongly emphasised.

[33] "Theirs is faith cure rather than medicine," writes a Burmese correspondent, who cites cures from snake-bite, leprosy and hydrophobia.

29: Slater M-4 (no date) 1951 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

Old men will retire to the monastery to end their days there, and younger men, in poverty or other distress, will flee the world for a time. The hospitality of the monks has sometimes been more charitable than discriminate, a circumstances which has brought some monasteries into disrepute, for these temporary inhabitants are allowed to wear the yellow robe, and some are criminals, sheltering from justice. Father Sangermano reports the rescue of prisoners condemned to death. "In thus saving the lives of criminals, (the monks) believe that, as their law forbids them to kill, it must be meritorious to preserve the lives of others."[34]

792 737 672

The monastery is the social centre of the village. Buddhism in Burma is gaily attired, a religion of festival. Frequently there will be an open-air performance in the moonlight, when a birth-story of the Buddha is dramatized. All this spirited, colourful life gathers around the monastery.

792 621 [545]

But perhaps the Order's most valuable service to the community is the function fulfilled by the monk as *counsellor*. A group of villagers may gather for a special instruction, others may attend when the monks assemble for devotions, but the monastery is not regarded as a preaching centre or as a place of public worship. In modern times, crowds have flocked to hear the Monyin Sayadaw. Generally, however, the approach in this respect is individual. It is as the individual adviser of each villager that the monk's influence is most strongly felt.

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In many and tangible ways, therefore, the monastery serves the community, but it is probable that the villager himself reveres the monk more for services which are intangible and may not appear so valuable to sceptical observers. Early in the morning, the monk, attended by *koyins*, will go the round of the faithful, receiving their offerings of rice in his begging bowl.[35] For the monk himself it is an exercise in humility, for the villager it is one of the chief means of increasing that *kutho* or worthiness which ensures him happiness in this life and the next.[36]

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Most of all, however, it is those very aspects of the monk's vocation which distinguish him from the rest of the community, setting him apart, for which the monk is chiefly esteemed. It is because the greater part of his life is spent in spiritual exercises which the villagers do *not* share, that they value him most. The monastery stands for a Way of utter renun-

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[34] *The Burmese Empire*, 3d. Edition, ed. J. Jardine, (London, 1895), chap. xv, p. 122.

[35] Thus *bhikku or bhikpu*, usually translated monk, means, literally, mendicant. Strictly speaking, a *bhikku* is not a monk; cf. Rhys Davids, *Dialogues of the Buddha*, Part II (S.B.B.), p. 81, footnote.

[36] *Kutho* is frequently translated 'merit.' But 'worthiness' is more accurate.

30: Maung Htin Aung E-4 (no date) 1953 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

671 The impact of the English legal system introduced into
177 the country after the annexation of 1886 shook Burmese cus-
178 tomary law to its very foundations, just as Burmese society itself rocked with the shock of the impact. But Burmese society soon regained its balance, and so did Burmese customary law. The British, by statute, superseded the Burmese customary law of contract and tort with their own English common law, but recognized the Burmese customary law regarding marriage and divorce, adoption, inheritance, and religious usage, and these branches of the customary law remain valid today. Thus, whereas in India the legislature now struggles against strong public opposition to pass new statutes introducing changes in the Hindu law of marriage and inheritance so as to adjust Hindu law to new developments in Hindu society, the Burmese, after their hard-won independence, have not found it necessary to modify by statute or to codify their customary law. With regard to the English law of contract and tort that was introduced into the country after the British annexation, the Burmese did not find the new law strange and mysterious, for the fundamental principles of Burmese law of contract and tort had certain similarities with the funda-
675 mental principles of English common law. Thus the principles
671 of specific performance, of damages, of a period of limitation,
672 and a remoteness of damage were known to the Burmese law also. Even the English legal plea of "Act of God" for exemption from liability has its Burmese counterpart in the plea of "ill fortune." The following rules of law relating to ferries will illustrate this aspect of Burmese law:

> If a man, for the sake of hire, becomes a ferryman, let him follow these rules. He shall carefully consider and take only the correct fare. If he is careless, or jocular, or immodest, and as a result, property of a passenger is spilled or damaged, let him make good the loss to the owner. But if he crosses with proper care and proper behaviour, and property be lost or damaged, let him blame ill fortune, and he shall not be liable. Women with child, monks, and sick persons shall be ferried across, even if they have no money to pay as fare.

671 his bedside, the physician shall be entitled to his fee if he has
759 reached at least the doorway of the sick person's house. In the same
693 way, if a suit is withdrawn or settled, or the judge does not find it necessary to call upon the pleader to argue, the pleader shall be entitled to his fee if he has spoken even a few words, or if he has just pulled up the sleeve of his gown in a gesture of speech. If a client wishes to call in another physician, he shall pay the full fees to the first physician, and shall also offer him a cup of water in token of friendship. If a client wishes to engage another pleader, he shall pay the full fee to the first pleader.

671 The following rules regarding void sales and purchases will
432 further illustrate the essential similarity of Burmese law and the English law of contract:

> There are four cases when a sale or a purchase is void: (i) if the price fixed is below its value; by value it is meant market value at the time of the sale, and even a ruby worth a kingdom before may be sold for one-eighth of a basket of rice, if that is the prevailing market value of rubies; (ii) if the buyer is aware that the ownership of the property is being disputed; (iii) if the whereabouts of the property are not known; and (iv) if the owner of the property is in confinement or under duress.

672 Just as in the English law, under the Burmese law a per-
683 son was responsible for any injury which was the foreseeable consequence of his acts. Thus, it was a rule of law that if a person induced another person to accompany him to a place full of perils, and the latter suffered injury, the former was to pay damages to the full amount of the injury; however, if the second person was aware of the dangerous nature of the place, the damages payable were only half the amount of compensation for the injury. Under the same principle, if a host entertained his guest so well that the latter became intoxicated, the host owed a duty in law to see that the guest reached his home safely; if the guest should be allowed to go home unattended, and if he should die or suffer injury on the way through illness, exposure, snake-bite, attack by robbers or by wild beasts, the host was liable to pay full compensation. The

principle of contributory negligence was also known to Burmese law, and the following rules of law regarding "travelling at night with due caution" will serve as an illustration: 672 683

If there be occasion for a person at night to go about the city or the town, or the village, he shall go only with a lantern, for if he goes about without a lantern and is stopped, or hindered, or attacked, he shall not be entitled to damages. If, however, he is going about in search of a doctor, and if he shouts out this fact in the darkness, he shall be entitled to full compensation from the offender who stops or strikes him, even though he carries no lantern. In the same way, if a young woman goes about at night beyond the usual hours when people go about, and if she wears no kerchief on her breast, and if her modesty is outraged, she shall not be entitled to any damages.

The unity of Burmese society has always been the family, but unlike the rigidly knit Roman family or the Hindu joint family, it easily disintegrates. A Burmese family is loosely knit by ties of blood, and sometimes of marriage, and thus it usually consists of the father, the mother, and their unmarried sons and daughters. The sons however can leave the family even before marriage on attaining the age of puberty (sixteen years of age), and the daughters on attaining the age of majority, but sons and daughters of course usually leave the family only on marriage. Sometimes sons and daughters decide to remain in the family even after marriage, at least for some time. The head of the family is the father, and on his death, the mother succeeds to the headship of the family, as in Burmese law the husband and wife are heirs to each other. The head of the Burmese family exercises general control over the family, but unlike the heads of the Roman and Hindu families, he performs no religious duties. He or she has the right to betroth his or her daughter under the age of majority to a male of his or her choice, but the right is subject to the daughter's right of repudiating the betrothal, either by refusing to marry the man chosen by her parent, or by compelling the parent to recognize her betrothal to the man of her own choice. 671 693 [584]

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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CHAPTER LV

JUDICIAL ADMINISTRATION

BUDDHIST law as it was administered in Upper Burma dates from the beginning of the now existing world. The first crime was theft; the first punishment was a scolding, speedily followed by a thrashing; and the first judge was Mahā Thamada, elected by vote of the people to be ruler over them. No doubt there were written laws then, but they have not come down to us. The written code in use was given to the world by Manu, originally a cow-herd, but afterwards a minister. He found them written in large characters on the walls of another world, to which he was transported when in an ecstasy. These laws formed the first code. There have been since compiled from them eight other codes in the kingdom of Prome and other ancient states in Burmah. The last, called Mahā Manu Thaya Shwe Myin, was drawn up on the foundation of the sixth kingdom of Ava, in the year 1137 B.E. (1775 A.D.), by Minhkaung Gyi, who, with the aid of a learned monk, went through and carefully revised all the codes. These laws in their integrity are those which governed Upper Burma and now govern the whole of Burma in so far as they regulate social relations. The codes were written in Sanskrit and Magadha, a language usually called Pali through an error. The name Pali signifies really not a *language*, but "The Canon," handed down to Buddhists, as composed by pious disciples from the teachings of Shin Gautama. The Magadha or Pali code accepted is called Manu Wunnana, from its writer and compiler, a minister of state in Ava. It is looked upon as a commentary on, or a key to, the codes, and contains the whole of the laws.

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671 Besides the codes there exist also twenty standard collections of decisions, leading cases in which judgment was delivered by kings, queens, princesses, and ministers. These are by some regarded as obsolete, by many lugyis, however, considered to have still the force of law. The best known of these are:—

The decisions of Mahawthata, the embryo Budh.
" Widuya, one of the ten great avatars.
" Thudhammasari.
" Kutha.
" Dwuttabaung, first king of Prome.
" Sinbyushin.

671 The laws given by Manu to the ruler Mahā Thamada
673 numbered altogether eighteen. From these all others have been framed. The eighteen original laws had regard to:— 1. Borrowing money. 2. Deposits of money. 3. Stealing and altering the appearance of property and selling it. 4. When a gift may be had back on demanding it, and when not, there being six kinds of gifts. 5. Deciding the wages of carpenters. 6. Deciding the wages of labourers. 7. Breach of promise. 8. Deciding disputes between the owners of cattle and neat-herds. 9. Settling disputed boundaries. 10. Deciding whether property purchased may be returned. 11. Accusations. 12. Theft or concealment. 13. Assault. 14. Murder. 15. Deciding the proper conduct of husband and wife. 16. The question of slavery. 17. Deciding if cock-fighting, betting, or gambling debts shall be paid. 18. Partition of inherited property.

671 Manu also laid down that persons appointed to administer the laws should not only have a competent knowledge of the code, but should also possess fourteen qualifications, as follows:—1. To decide in strict accordance with the law. 2. To be respectable. 3. To be of moral character. 4. To inspire awe. 5. To command lo[illegible] 6. To be of good birth. 7. To be religious. 8. To [illegible] virtuous. 9. To be truthful. 10. To be talented. 11. To be devoted to the study of the law. 12. To possess honesty of purpose and intention. 13. Knowledge of the principal

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immediate superior a certain fixed sum, determined without regard to favourable seasons, health of the population, or anything of that kind, and as each man was judge over the people in his charge, it may naturally be supposed that the general population did not lead a very happy life. Complaints might be made against extortion and illegal decisions, but the heads of tracts, if they had the money, could always stifle inquiry. 692 647

Some of the laws deduced from Manu's eighteen original enactments strike one as being rather singular. For example, if two men quarrel and fight and one of them is killed, there is no penalty; but if a third party interferes and kills or injures one of the original combatants, he must pay the ordinary fine for murder, or causing hurt. Should he himself be killed, the other two are subject to no penalty. When a man is guilty of adultery with another man's wife, if it be proved to be the first time, he must pay the fine for adultery, usually the price of the woman, assessed according to the judge's opinion; if it is her second offence, he only pays half the fine; but if she has been guilty for a third time, he pays no penalty at all. 671 673

If one man curses another and some evil happens, he must pay twice the price of the damage incurred; thus, if the man dies he must pay twice the value of a man; two cows if a cow dies, and so on.

When the king dies there is a general pardon of all offences, and a remission of fines, except in the case of debt. There are also seven things which cannot be reclaimed after the death of the king under whom they were promised or given. These are:—1. Deposits. 2. Pledges. 3. Money paid wrongly by the parties in a law-suit. 4. Things carried off by violence, or seized upon without sufficient title. 5. Promises. 6. Things secretly stolen. 7. Things that have been voluntarily given up by one man and taken possession of by another. 673 643

The decisions of Mahawthata, Princess Thudhammasari, and others are of little value from a strictly legal point of view. They are chiefly of a religious character. The princess begins by saying that her cases are to be considered as guides to nobles and judges as to the line they 671 773

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671 773 should follow. To an English barrister they would seem to be excerpts from the *Arabian Nights*, and as far from precedents as it is possible to imagine anything. The play of Mahawthata tells of the Lord Buddha in the birth in which he exhibited the most consummate wisdom and acumen, as in Wethandaya he embodies the spirit of liberality. In both these births, as in his last, Shin Gautama spoke from the moment he was brought forth. As Wethandaya he immediately entreated his mother for something to give in charity to the poor, and distributed forthwith the four hundred pieces of silver she gave him. As Mahawthata he appeared in the world with a plant in his hand, and, holding it up, said, "This is medicinal herb." Throughout all this life he was constantly displaying extraordinary wisdom, jealous ministers being in the habit of propounding difficult cases to him. Thus he was shown a log of sha (*Acacia Catechu*), from which cutch, stupidly called *Terra Japonica*, is obtained, and asked which was the upper end and which the lower end. He solved the problem by putting it in the water, when the lower end, as being the heavier, sank deeper in the water. Another case is exactly similar to the famous Biblical decisions of Solomon. These decisions, though they may be interesting, are hardly valuable as standard leading cases.

673 Some of the definitions of crimes in the Dhammathat are a little singular. Thus among the ten descriptions of assault are mentioned: "saying in regard to a lunatic, a drunkard, or a half-witted person who is ill, that he will die, and he dies"; "refusing restitution for cattle killed"; "standing near an assailant." To avoid being summoned for one of the twenty-seven kinds of abuse one must be very circumspect, for there is ground for action if one says Hé to a man, as the Mandalay people were fond of shouting Hé Kalā after Europeans. It is equally risky to address a man as nin, *i.e.* in the third person; to say that he is "deficient in strength"; that he is a stutterer, bow-legged, broken-down, squinting, or afflicted with white spots on his body; that he is heretical, or, finally, that he is given to using bad language.

671 The niceties of the law may be illustrated by the following case from the Talaing Dhammathat. A man in search

to stomach ache, in the same way as it would be graceless to think that one could catch cold from the playing of thingyan water. 796 262

During the three days of the festival communal celebrations were also carried on, with shows and free feasting every night at pandals put up by each section of the streets. By the *a-tetnay*, rising day, when the Tha-gya Min goes back to the heavenly regions, everyone was a bit worn out, but the more energetic spirits declared that Tha-gya Min had forgotten his pipe or umbrella and had come back for one day more to fetch it. People try not to tell lies, quarrel, swear or lose their tempers during the days of the New Year. Apart from the offence it would give to the ears of the heavenly visitor in the vicinity it was considered a bad omen to begin the new year with such wicked behaviour. Children were always warned not to be disobedient in case the Tha-gya Min should note it, but the reason was also that the grown-ups should not be forced to scold them during this period. Woe to the servant maid who blunders then; greater woe indeed for her sin in causing the mistress to scold her and use angry words. 796 861

The years saw little change in the social programme of our visits to Ye, but in the absence of social changes, the human element always seemed more strong and primitive, and all the drama and romance of which we had so little in our placid district houses was concentrated in Ye. Life there seemed more full of physical movement and danger, anger was more strong, love more sweeping, quarrels more deep and lasting than we were used to. Births, deaths, disease and elopements all seemed to happen more frequently. It was all terror, excitement and romance to us. 000

A robbery at any of the houses in the village woke the whole quarter up, house by house, as the screams from there were taken up by frightened neighbours. My male cousins and all the men of the village hitched their longyis up around their loins, ran hither and thither in the night, with lanterns in one hand and dahs in the other. The womenfolk, as soon as the men had rushed out to the rescue, barricaded their doors and collected together in a whispering group, lest the fleeing robber should dodge into an open doorway in the shuttered line and demand silence and shelter at the point of his dah. On these occasions when we huddled together already terror-stricken, my grandmother recounted her story of the time when she failed to shut her door in time, and the robber was in the shadow of it as she went forward to fold it. "Not a word," he said, showing his blade. "Look out and see which way they have gone. Are they there? How many? Is the street clear? Don't talk loud." In this way Grandmother helped the felon to escape. Once or twice during the day we saw a saung, a blanket 674

674 like ours except that patches of blood made violent interruptions on the
764 chaste red and white striped design, being slung on a pole, carrying a
775 woman who had been hacked by the dah of a hot-tempered husband. When one of the villagers had died a sudden death through poisoning, we listened wide-eyed to Ma Aye Shwe's account of his burial. All the old and broken bottles of Ye had been collected and ground up. His grave was dug, and after the coffin had been put into it, was filled up with alternating layers of earth and of powdered glass. This was because one of our persisting animist beliefs is that a spirit whose body dies a "green" death, that is, sudden, violent and unnatural, will walk about the earth in the form of an undesirable ghost, and hence the glass which will keep it under the earth and prevent its escape, much as thieves are deterred from climbing a wall which has powdered glass strewn along its top.

731 Every few years also, the water of the Ye creek rose so high that the ground and main floors of all the houses were flooded, and my grandmother and aunts had to retreat with all perishable goods and furniture to the high reaches of the platform storey and camp there till the water retreated. How we longed to visit Ye when this happened, but the nearest we came to realizing these floods was to see unexpected little patches of the sand of the creek every now and again in the houses, where the traces of the visiting waters had not been swept away. In one really bad year the waters at chaung-bya swelled into a mountainous flood which rose suddenly in a great roar and carried with it huts and rafts and stored
[772] goods of all kinds. Grandmother and my great-aunts watched dumbly from the top of the pagoda hill, while cocks and hens and dogs and people clung to the thatched roofs of the floating houses, the cocks crowing and dogs baying and people praying, all rushing swiftly and inevitably past Ye, towards the great Thamoddhaya, the great ocean which is part of the waters which break the girdle of the Settkyawala Mountains circling the world around Myinmo Mount. Every few years, as a matter of fact, Uncle Thet Hnan, who had a garden and house at chaung-bya, lost a few tins of sesamum oil, or some part of his bamboo structures. This was because they all built and rebuilt the houses too near the water, to provide a quick escape from dacoits and enemies.

674 It was a dangerous life in these gardens even during our most recent years there, and my cousin Nyein Maung who was the stalwart to give my aunts most protection, developed into a rough and ready dispenser of justice. On one occasion he watched the hand of a thief creep up through the bamboo slathes of the flooring on which his little son played. The child wore a gold anklet which the hand coming out of the darkness tried to wrench off. Nyein Maung who anticipated that

the thief would soon lose his patience and cut off the troublesome ankle 674
joint, gave a swift and gentle cut at the hand with his own dah, and went on calmly with his work, while the thief realizing the justice of it, quietly withdrew his hand and fled. To these tucked-away gardens, also, [732]
came the deformed and mentally defective members of households, to find a more secluded place from public jeering both of themselves and of their families. We felt sad to see the goitre growths and scarred faces, but as children we joined in with the baiting of old crones whose great accomplishment was to utter automatic and irrelevant imprecations whenever they were dug in the ribs.

A much happier aspect was that in Ye the young people were always 583
eloping. As I grew older I used to wonder that love came so easily and in such unlikely places. A proper elopement must have certain attendant circumstances. Usually the parents do not agree to it, but quite often also the two people are very young and feel that love is wicked and is bound to be disapproved of, so they decide to elope. There is always a confidante of the girl's or man's or both, to help with the arrangements for the flight, or for the refuge. The girl usually wraps a few clothes in a small cloth bundle, and from the meeting place the journey to the secret destination is made by canoe, or bullock cart. The disappearance of the girl is soon discovered, the alarm is given, people rush about with exciting news, mother and father make a crying visit to the house of the elder friend and adviser of their or the young man's family, and beat their breasts at the shamelessness and wickedness of the girl. The hidden couple are soon tracked down, a reconciliation takes place and a proper wedding feast is held for the young people. Then the whole disgrace is completely forgotten, until about seventeen years later, when perhaps the daughter of the bride elopes, and her friends commiserating with her tears, shake their heads sadly and say that this is *nga-yè*, the punishment for her own sin of seventeen years before.

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body where it will not be visible. If it is not effectual, there is always open to them the signal afforded by kindly national custom to maidens longing for a mate. They cut off the lappets of hair, the bya-bazan, hanging over the ears, and the significance is the same as the well-known heather of the language of flowers, "heart for sale." In Rangoon the tattooing of a woman has a special signification, not recognised elsewhere. It means that she wants an Englishman for a husband. Poor thing! 305 562 832 [563] [369]

Another very universal kind of tattooing is that with a-hpi se. Almost every schoolboy in the country has a specimen of this on him, for does it not prevent him from feeling the pain when he is caned? No amount of falsified hopes in the experience of friends will persuade him that it may not be effectual in his case, and a flogging is often courted as an immediate test of its efficacy. Pride repels the inquiries of chums as to the results, but the experimenter is usually very well behaved for some time. In the case of older men the a-hpi se acts as a talisman against bullets, sword cuts, and ills of that kind. Allied to this are the thenat hpi, which soldiers and dacoits carry about with them. These are the horns of buffaloes and other animals, which may be plain, but are usually elaborately carved with figures according to fancy. They must be quite solid down to the root. A hollow or flaw of any kind deprives them of their virtue. While the man has such a talisman in his hands he cannot be killed. A monkey is a very favourite image to have carved in this way on a sword or dagger hilt, the reference being to the tale of the Ramayana. Of a similar nature are talismans which are especially used by soldiers and dacoits. These hkaung-beit-set are charmed or consecrated objects let into the flesh under the skin. They are of various kinds. Some are gold, silver, or lead; others curious pebbles, pieces of tortoise-shell, or bits of horn, all of them with incantations of mystic character written on them. Many famed dacoits have long rows and curves of them over the chest, showing in little knobs through the skin. When they get into English prisons, an energetic jailer has been known to cut them out, lest they should be pieces of gold or silver, or perhaps precious stones, with which the turnkeys

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might be bribed. The usual result is to break the robber's spirit. Once the continuity is interrupted the consecration is gone. More peaceable people wear necklaces or bracelets of such talismans in the belief that they are thus proof against malignant witches and necromancers. Most Englishmen in Burma, who are on friendly terms with the people, have been asked to test the virtue of such a charm, by firing at it tied up in a handkerchief. If the incantation is valid the handkerchief will be unharmed, though the muzzle of the pistol be held up to it. In such a case the pistol will burst.

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Another kind of tattooing is the mwe se, which guards against danger from snake bite. Similarly the a-kwè a-ka, the shielding, or defending drug, renders harmless the spells of wizards and geomancers, and keeps far away evil spirits of every kind. But the most hideous and weird of the superstitions about tattooing is that connected with the a-kyan se. There are but very few sayās who are acquainted with the necessary drugs and incantations, and fewer people still who have the courage to submit to the operation, for many men are pointed out whose minds have given way under the gruesome process, and who wander about graveyards, gnashing their teeth and fumbling about for human bones to gnaw and mouth. And no wonder, for some tattooers make them chew the raw flesh of a man who has been hanged, while the figure is being tattooed on the breast. Those who go through the operation are called Baw-di-tha-da. Some become Baw-di-tha-da without knowing it, and without the sickening necessity of mumbling human flesh like a ghoul. I knew an instance in a monastery. The patient was a boarder about fourteen years of age. A Shan tattooer wandering about the country spent a couple of nights in the kyaung, and the boy, attracted by the fellow's eerie tales, managed to save up a good many titbits for him from the food going in the monastery. Out of gratitude, and having nothing better to give him, for he was very poor and homeless, the sayā tattooed on the lad a figure with singular drugs, muttering queer phrases the while. Then he went away saying no more than that it would make the boy very strong. In About a month's time the boarder displayed unmistakable signs of being a Baw-di-tha-da. He

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Europeans

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down the river in the big rice-boat to one of the great milling towns. And so an uneventful life passes away: the greatest ambition to see the village boat successful at the Thadingyut races, and the village champion cock or buffalo triumphant over all others; the greatest desire to live peaceably with all men and observe the Ten Precepts; the greatest excitement the occasional visit of the English district officer, or the suspicion of a witch in that lonely house down by the spirit's pool on the creek. In Upper Burma formerly this quiet was more apt to be disturbed by the summoning of levies to serve in some special raid against audacious dacoits, or to make a demonstration against reiving mountaineers. If the myo-wun was a pious man, calls for enforced labour at digging tanks, building pagodas and monasteries, rest-houses and tazaungs, were likely to keep the villager a great deal more occupied than he cared for. There can be no doubt in any patriotic Burman's mind that the state of the people, regularly taxed though they be, under British rule, is infinitely happier than it was under their king, and all but the officials and their hangers-on longed for the day when the English flag was to float over all the land as far as Mogaung. There could be no hope for the country, where, even under a kindly king like Mindôn, ill-conditioned governors oppressed the populace with absolute impunity. Complaints were made, but his majesty could not venture to leave his palace for any great distance to inquire for himself, and gold easily dulled the senses of the highest minister round the golden throne. It is little wonder then that the people, kept perpetually in the lowest depths of poverty, were, if not actually dying out, certainly not increasing in numbers. There was nothing which so much indicated the popular feeling, and at the same time so irritated the Burmese Government, as the unceasing stream of emigrants to Lower Burma.

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Nevertheless, even in Independent territory the Burman preserved his light heart and buoyant disposition. No calamity is so overwhelming as to make him despond. Some years ago a large fire occurred in Mandalay, and spread with such terrible rapidity that the inhabitants of a whole quarter were unable to save anything but the clothes they

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243 much preparing. It is simply a portion of the field swept clean. It is sufficiently hard from the broiling sun, and a stake is driven into the centre of the circle. Two lines of sheaves are arranged round this, head to head, and the grain is trodden out by slow-moving bullocks in good old lazy fashion. The Christian Biblical precept, not to muzzle the ox that treadeth out the corn, does not fail of observance with the Buddhist farmer. Then the paddy, that is, the unhusked grain, is winnowed. In some places hand-winnowing machines of a simple pattern are used; but ordinarily a far more primitive and easy method, corresponding to the substitution of oxen for threshing-flails, is in use. A man stands on an elevated platform and capsizes baskets of paddy brought from the threshing-floor; the rice falls on a sloping bamboo mat and so to the ground, the wind blowing away a great part of the bits of broken straw, chaff, and light grain. The system may not be very thorough, but it saves an immense amount of trouble, which is the chief consideration. All that now remains to be done is to carry the grain off to the big rice-boat lying in the creek. There it is stowed in bulk; and after a day or two, the farmer makes a start, dropping leisurely down through the network of creeks into one of the main streams, and so making his way to Rangoon, or Bassein, whence he will return in a few weeks with fine Chinese neckerchiefs for his daughters and perhaps a gay Manchester paso or two for himself and his sons—
[452] unless, indeed, the Madras money-lender has snapped up all his receipts down in town, or some of the robber-boats that
[674] infest the creeks at this time of the year have pounced upon him and carried off everything but the boat and the paddles.

243 Rice-farming would be profitable as well as easy work
427 were it not for the reckless squandering of almost all the
433 cultivators. The average rent per acre is under three
435 shillings; the average produce of the land per acre is from eighty to a hundred bushels in the more fertile parts, while elsewhere the yield is from forty to fifty. The selling price of rice per maund (80 lbs.) in Rangoon is between 4s. 6d.
243 and 5s. Agriculturists, therefore, ought to grow rich. But
511 they are too fond of gambling and building works of merit
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563 within the past two or three decades. In almost every way, they form a
463 village within the village. They are spatially clustered together, apart from
184 the Burmese. Their living is earned by dairying; milk from their cattle and
[262] water buffaloes is sold in Rangoon, for cash, to Muslim restaurants. Since the Burmese do not consume milk, the Indian dairymen find no market for their product in the community. The only economic relationship between the two groups consists of some exchange of Burmese paddy stalk, when the harvest is over, for animal manure. The Indians use the paddy stalk as fodder for their animals, while the Burmese use animal manure to some extent for their not very fertile garden and rice lands.

563 The Indians being Hindus, the Burmese Buddhists, the two groups have no
571 basis for common participation in religious or ceremonial life. Nor is there
556 more than a negligible tendency towards intermarriage; our census showed two cases.

As shown by our figures on income, the Indians as a group are far more prosperous than the Burmese. Although the Burmese seem to realize this, they tend to phrase the matter not so much in terms of greater wealth of the Indians as in terms of how little the Indian spends of his income. To the average Burmese of the village, the Indian is something of a lesser breed who lives on next to nothing and so grows rich.

563 Throughout the course of research in Tadagale, an effort was made from time to time to study intergroup feelings and attitudes, but this was a subject on which informants who were quite ready to discuss almost any other matter were loath to speak. The Burmese seemed to know little (or at least so professed) about the ways of the Indians; the Indians were very tight-lipped concerning the Burmese.

175 It was towards the close of our work in Tadagale that certain events
669 occurred which brought out, in sharp focus, the nature of Burmese-Indian relations
674 and attitudes, and completely broke the silence maintained earlier. At this point, however, some digression is necessary to provide a background for understanding what took place.

In 1949-50, the internal disturbances which have beset Burma since the end of World War II were at their height. During this time the maintenance of law and order sank to a very low point; robbery, armed and unarmed, was rampant. Tadagale was robbed three times within the preceding year, according to informants. On such occasions, bandits entered the village, fired their guns into the air to frighten the defenseless villagers, and then proceeded to tie up some villagers and remove their money and other valuables. Anyone who resisted was beaten. According to villagers, the police, located about half a mile away, could not be depended upon for protection or for action once a crime occurred, for the bandits were better organized and armed than the police, making the latter extremely reluctant to take any action.

674 Some early evidences of distrust between Indians and Burmese appeared
563 about the middle of our research period, when an Indian dairyman stated that he
175 was convinced that the bandits who periodically invaded Tadagale had Burmese collaborators in the village. He based his belief on the fact that the bandits seemed always to find their way directly to the homes of the more prosperous inhabitants, which knowledge, he claimed, could be gotten only from villagers.

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On February 18, 1950, on arriving in the village early in the morning for our usual daily period of observation and interviewing concerning village life, we were immediately struck by the absence of villagers going to and fro in their daily tasks and by the deadly silent atmosphere pervading the whole village scene. On the veranda of one house located just across the bridge leading into the village a large number of people was assembled. An informant related that on the previous evening, about eleven o'clock, some fifteen armed bandits carrying automatic weapons as well as small arms came via Pazundaung Creek and invaded the village. Firing their guns into the air to frighten the people, they proceeded directly to the house where the large gathering was now assembled and demanded Rs. 1000 in cash and ten ticals of gold. When the head of the household protested that he did not have that much, they took him to the ricefields, bound his feet, and shot him to death. They also visited another home and made demands upon the woman who was the head of the household. When money was not forthcoming, they tied up the members of the family, struck the woman on the head, and removed all the clothing in the house except that being worn. Although the police were notified immediately after this attack upon the village, they did not come to investigate until many hours later. Villagers expected no real assistance from the authorities, whom they considered incompetent and afraid of bandits. The village headman said that although he suspected that there were accomplices among the villagers, he was afraid to name these suspects to the police, lest revenge be taken upon himself and his family.

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This event, climaxing a series of attacks upon the village within the past year, set in motion a number of actions which are interesting for what they reveal of the social structure of the village as well as for the light they throw on intergroup relations.

The village headman, who had spoken of the need for the community to arm itself, and of the high cost of doing so, decided that a village meeting should be called to consider the matter.

A few days after the murder described above, the meeting was called. Early one morning the village crier went through the community sounding a gong and summoning the people to the school-house. Within an hour some fifty villagers arrived. As the group slowly gathered, several men came to tell the headman that their gardening or other work was urgent and asked to be excused.

As the meeting began, the elders sat on the veranda of the school-house, surrounding the headman, who sat at the schoolmaster's desk. A good deal of informal discussion took place between the elders and the headman before the meeting was called to order, and it was at this point that actual decision making was doubtless done.

The headman opened the meeting formally by addressing the assembled group, telling them that he was sure they were tired of the attacks upon the village and that they wanted to take action; that there was no future for them so long as they remained defenseless; and that once the rainy season came, it would not even be possible to flee during an attack. Although he could have made a decision in consultation with the elders, the headman told the gathering, he had called a general meeting because he wanted to be sure the community would support him in any course of action he might take.

The headman now proposed that a fund be raised for the purchase of arms and a plan formulated for defending the village. Since the idea of a common

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621 fund, which he had broached informally on past occasions, did not meet with
• 674 enthusiasm, the headman suggested that the village be divided into territorial units, and that each unit be responsible for raising its own money for arms and for deciding on the custody of its weapons. He called for volunteers from the elders to take responsibility for soliciting funds from inhabitants of their respective areas.

The headman's speech was met with total silence for a time, followed by a great deal of whispered conversation among various small groups. At this point the eldest man in Tadagale, himself a retired headman and a relative of the present headman, exhorted, 'Speak out your thoughts. It is not good to keep things bottled up within yourselves.' The headman now told the group that as their representative he could do nothing unless they wished it.

As hushed conversations continued among the assembled villagers, the headman and elders proceeded to talk among themselves for several minutes. It was then and there decided that each household would be asked to contribute what it could afford; no fixed assessment would be levied. A household too poor to contribute to its unit fund would be expected to help in the event that an attack occurred. Since some elders objected to giving assistance to any unit which chose not to arm or could not afford to, it was decided that armed groups would not come to their aid. Now another call for volunteers to raise funds was made by the headman, and several elders offered their services. The headman asked them to make every effort to persuade people to contribute.

If we may digress for a moment, this village meeting is instructive in
623 showing how authority is exercised and decision making takes place in the community. The traditional emphasis upon the wisdom and authority of age is seen in the fact that only the elders spoke in the meeting, although the headman presumably called the meeting, in the first place, to mobilize village-wide support and tried to evoke expressions of opinion. An informant questioned later about the meeting said, 'It is not customary for the younger people to voice their opinions or take part in the discussion during a meeting. The elders do that.' The idea of a free give-and-take discussion is almost totally foreign to these peasants, who live but a few miles from Rangoon, a center of diffusion for western concepts and practices.

To return to the bearing of the above described meeting on Indian-Burmese
621 relations in the village. During the meeting the question arose whether the
563 Indians would be asked to contribute to the fund for purchasing arms, to which the headman answered in the affirmative. At that point one man quipped, 'Of course they must contribute; they have thousands of rupees.' [The meeting was concerned with defending the village against bandits. Analyst 2]

Two spokesmen for the Indians were present. The village headman explained to them that those who lived towards the northern end of the village would be included in a nearby unit for defense purposes, while the others could contribute their money directly to him. Then, half in jest, he said that each Indian household should give the cost of one gun. Somewhat irritated, one of the Indian spokesmen said that if need be he was willing to pay for five guns, but the question he wanted answered was who would have custody of the weapons. The headman was extremely hesitant to answer, and the Indians left the meeting without a definite answer.

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651 621 merchant as much as fifty or sixty. The assessment was levied according to the means of the villagers. So well was this done, that complaints against the decisions of the assessors were almost unknown—I might, I think, safely say were absolutely unknown. The assessment was made publicly, and each man was heard in his own defence before being assessed. Then the money was collected. If by any chance, such as death, any family could not pay, the deficiency was made good by the other villagers in proportion. When the money was got in it was paid to the governor.

●674 627 177 Crime such as gang-robbery, murder, and so on, had to be reported to the governor, and he arrested the criminals if he felt inclined, and knew who they were, and was able to do it. Generally something was in the way, and it could not be done. All lesser crime was dealt with in the village itself, not only dealt with when it occurred, but to a great extent prevented from occurring. You see, in a village anyone knows everyone, and detection is usually easy. If a man became a nuisance to a village, he was expelled. I have often heard old Burmans talking about this, and comparing these times with those. In those times all crimes were unpunished, and there was but little petty crime. Now all big criminals are relentlessly hunted down by the police; and the inevitable weakening of the village system has led to a large increase of petty crime, and certain breaches of morality and good conduct. I remember talking to a man not long ago—a man who had been a headman in the king's time, but was not so now. We were chatting of

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681 779 what he had been taught at school. As to the conduct of his master, he would be content to leave that unexplained. The Buddhist is content to leave many things unexplained until he can see the meaning. He is not fond of theories. If he does not know, he says so. 'It is beyond me,' he will say; 'I do not understand.' He has no theory of an occidental mind to explain acts of ours of which he cannot grasp the meaning; he would only not understand.

But the pity of it—think of the pity of it all! Surely there is nothing more pathetic than this: that a sinner should not understand the wherefore of his sentence, that the justice administered to him should be such as he cannot see the meaning of.

674 Certain forms of crime are very rife in Burma. The villages are so scattered, the roads so lonely, the amount of money habitually carried about so large, the people so habitually careless, the difficulty of detection so great, that robbery and kindred crimes are very common; and it is more common in the districts of the delta, long under our rule, than in the newly-annexed province in the north. Under like conditions the Burman is probably no more criminal and no less criminal than other people in the same state of civilization. Crime is a condition caused by opportunity, not by an inherent state of mind, except with the very few, the exceptional individuals; and in Upper Burma there is, now that the turmoil of the annexation is past, very little crime comparatively. There is less money there, and the village system—the control of the

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community over the individual—the restraining 674
influence of public opinion and of religion is greater. But even during the years of trouble, the years from 1885 till 1890, when, in the words of the Burmese proverb, 'the forest was on fire and the wild-cat slapped his arm,' there were certain peculiarities about the criminals that differentiated them from those of Europe. You would hear of a terrible crime, a village attacked at night by brigands, a large robbery of property, one or two villagers killed, and an old woman tortured for her treasure, and you would picture the perpetrators as hardened, brutal criminals, lost to all sense of humanity, tigers in human shape; and when you came to arrest them—if by good luck you did so—you would find yourself quite mistaken. One, perhaps, or two of the ringleaders might be such as I have described, but the others would be far different. They would be boys or young men led away by the idea of a frolic, allured by the romance of being a free-lance for a night, very sorry now, and ready to confess and do all in their power to atone for their misdeeds. Nothing, I think, was more striking than the universal confession of criminals on their arrest. Even now, despite the spread of lawyers and notions [177]
of law, in country districts accused men always confess, sometimes even they surrender themselves.[1] I have known many such cases. Here is one that happened to myself only the other day.

A man was arrested in another jurisdiction for 672
cattle theft; he was tried there and sentenced to

[1] This was written in 1896. In 1902 it is very different. The [175]
increase of all forms of perjury and false evidence is universal. [691]

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 API Burma
Burmese AP4

39. PAINTING OF SHINLAUNG FETE.

The constituted daily routine of the monastery takes no account of recreation. In practice there is a wide margin of leisure. But the wearer of the yellow robe is not seen at play. Arithmetical puzzles are the nearest approach to a game. On the other hand, the cheerfulness of the race suffers no restraint. There is decorum, without austerity or sanctimony. The severest penance laid upon the novice is temporary relegation to the secular state (*lein-byan*) for such faults as lying, theft, or killing anything. Cruelty to an animal is punished with caning.

The *yahán* exercise no exclusive function beyond that of admitting candidates to the novitiate and the full membership of their Assembly. The affairs of the Buddhist Church are initiated and conducted by the laity. The recluses merely add, by their presence, to the religious distinction of an occasion. At the shrine the recluse is like any other pilgrim; he never is a ministrant or priest. Neither is there any altar. The only material objects to which sanctity pertains are the relics of the Buddha. The members of the Assembly know no distinctions of men, racial or social. As regards the temporal power, of whatever origin, the recluse should be absolutely passive, neither contravening the laws nor invoking them when he suffers wrong. The recluse neither denounces nor harbours the criminal, a neutral attitude of which criminals are not slow to take advantage.

When admitted to full membership of the Assembly instituted by the Buddha (*Thingá*, Pâli *Sangha*), the novice becomes *Yahán* (*Yahándaw*, *Rahán*, *Arahan*), which signifies *perfected*, one advanced a stage

40. BOYS RECEIVING HIGHER INSTRUCTION

792 512 524 577 [689] 792 794 778 554 [674] 792 [871]

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

578. THE PALACE GARDENS.

the cause of suffering and death, and the discredit reflected on officialdom by its methods, lead the best elements of the population to shun office, as a touching of pitch. The dearth of ability and character in the governing classes leaves the governed without efficient protection. The religious motive further operates in withholding information about criminals. A pregnant category is that of the "five enemies"—Fire, Water, Robbers, Rulers, Ill-wishers. The governors and deputies who acted as judges heard causes at the *yôn*, an open shed in a public place. But every cause was presented in the first instance at the house of the official, and it is contrary to accepted ideas of politeness to approach a superior empty-handed, even on a mere visit of courtesy. The *pros* and *cons* of the case were understood before the regular hearing. At the hearing, the advocates of the parties (*ashé-ne*) publicly presented their pleas and the evidence was recorded. The Burmese form of oath is to take the *kyanza* in the hands, a book of imprecations which the witness invokes on his head if he should speak falsely. The judge or judges intimated their finding to their clerks (*sayé*), who recorded it in official style and read it out. The punishments awarded to criminals and the condition of prisoners were much like those prevailing in Europe at the time of the Renaissance. Every judgment of importance was registered in the *Hluttaw* or chancellery at the capital, presided over by the four chief ministers (*Wundyi*), through whom all royal commands to the governors of provinces issued. There was no regular system of appeals. The Hindu code of Manú served as a body of law, and statutes were decreed by the kings; but *thazan* (custom) supplied standards of a more practical and stable nature.

579. ROYAL MAID OF HONOUR (APYODAW).

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

APPENDIX D.

STATISTICAL.

AREA.

131 Burma Proper and Pegu (excluding Shan States, 61,000 sq. m.) square miles . . . . . 158,322 = 101,326,122 acres.
Area cropped, 1900 . . . . . 10,556,104 acres.

161 POPULATION IN 1901 (including Shan States, 1,228,460) . 9,221,161
Mean annual birth-rate per 1,000 . . . . . 37·34
" death " " . . . . . 28·16

DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION IN 1891.

162

Burmans and Talaings { males, 3,030,797; females, 3,098,385 } (Increase since 1881, 22½ per cent.)	6,129,182
Shans	206,794
Karéns	633,657
Chins	95,571
Chimpáws (Kachin ? more)	2,200
Chinese	37,407
Natives of India	432,639
Europeans (including 4000 troops)	12,491
Eurasians	6,978
Others	167,134
Total, census of 1891	7,722,053

FISCAL.

178 In 1796 the special impost of 33·3 tikals of fine silver per house took three years to collect, and produced the equivalent of about nine million rupees. The purchasing-power of money has
651 declined 50 to 60 per cent. since that time, apart from depreciation of silver.

435 In 1900 the gross revenue of Burma was 70,400,000 rupees, of which Pegu contributed 63 per cent. The expenditure was forty-three millions. Out of the surplus there was a balance of Rs. 24,700,000 of Imperial revenue over expenditure. The incidence of direct taxation (land and capitation taxes, which produce about one-half of the revenue) is four rupees per head of population; which, with an average of 5·5 inhabitants, comes to twenty-two rupees per house.

CRIMINAL, AVERAGES 1894–8.

674

Convictions for offences against life (including attempted murder and culpable homicide, 40 per cent.)	244
" " hurt	2,691
" " rape	76
" " robbery	654
" " theft	8,681

29: Slater M-4 (no date) 1951 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

782 customs. Grant Brown observes that, while Buddhists in the Chindwin
779* area still sacrifice fowls to the god of the harvest, 'the thing is done some-
771 what surreptitiously and shamefacedly.'[12]

Other practices survive more openly. In many Burmese villages there
755 is a *nat-ka-daw*, or spirit-medium, generally an elderly or middle-aged
791 woman, who is supposed to be married to a *Nat*. She tells fortunes, and is called in sometimes in cases of sickness to discover whether the patient will recover. Mr. Spear describes an incident of this kind which took place in the main street of a large town in the presence of many spectators. "The *nat-ka-daw*, in addition to her usual clothing, wore a sash around the waist and a cloth wound around her head. She danced with a dah, a long and heavy Burmese knife, in her hand, until she fell exhausted." Plantains and coconuts had been placed in a shelter, opposite the house, as offerings to the *Nat*.[13]

[782] In this case, apparently, the *Nat* was neither held responsible for the sickness nor expected to cure it. There are times of epidemic sickness, however, when a whole village is temporarily abandoned, and special rituals are followed to placate the *Nat*, who is considered to have caused the epidemic.

776 In an interesting account of the development of a modern *Nat* cultus,
782 a Burmese writer describes a public festival in honour of the *Nat*. A play is staged during which one of the Thirty Seven *Nats*, who is personified by a villager, asks the *Nat* of the locality if he is taking due care of the villagers. Here the *Nat* is obviously regarded as benevolent. But we are told that this was not always so. Formerly the Nat was cruel, unreasonable, mischievous and demoniac. But "he is now believed to have taken to religion, to keep the sabbath and to lead the life of a saintly god." In
[674] spite of his own sanctity, however, he seems to favour evil-doers. "No organised theft is ever committed in Lower Burma ... without invoking his aid." The would-be criminals cook a meal within a circle they have marked on the ground. If any of the rules of the succeeding ritual are
[779]* broken, the proposed robbery is abandoned. Some Buddhist monks of
[792] this region, more orthodox than others, have tried to suppress the Nat cultus, but in vain.[14]

771 Such beliefs and practices are obviously bound to affect thought and
776 conduct. The Burmese feel around them a vast, invisible *Nat* world, which is both near and remote. There are spirits in the trees, the rivers,

[12] *The Pre-Buddhist Religion of the Burmese*, p. 9.

[13] R. F. Spear, unpublished MS, *The Syncretism of Animism and Buddhism in Burma* (1928) chap. 1, p. 14.

[14] U Tha Khin, "Is U Yin Gyi a National God of the Burmans?" *J.B.R.S.*, Vol. XIV, part II (1924).

B 171 782 which was not at all unknown in European countries. About it see: R. Andree, Ethnographische Parallelen /Ethnographic Parallels/ (1878), pp. 18 ff.; F.S. Krauss, "Das Bauopfer bei den Südslaven" /Building Sacrifice among the Southern Slavs/, Mitteilungen der anthropologischen Gesellschaft zu Wien /Proceedings of the Vienna Anthropological Society/, Vol. 17 (1887), pp. 16 ff.; W.T. Brigham, The Ancient Hawaiian House (Memoirs B.P. Bishop Museum, Honolulu II, 3), pp. 27 ff.

B 361 712 In earlier days every Burmese settlement was surrounded by a fortification, cities having stone walls or stockades, the villages impenetrable fences of close rows of thorny bamboo shrubs, prickly cacti, or palisade-like fences of bamboo poles between which pointed bamboo stakes protruded. The latter type of fortification exists today only in the areas where the mountain tribes live, beyond the zone of British administration. Before B the British took over, the constant feuds between [628] the individual tribes and the excesses of robbery [674] made it necessary for each village to protect itself like a fort. With the increased safety of travel and property under the British rule this has become more and more unnecessary, although some districts still experience nocturnal robberies. The villages in the Prome District, which has one of the worst criminal records in Burma, are with practically no exfeptions enclosed by dense high, thorny hedges which have only narrow entrances.

S 341 The buildings of the Shan (11)--population in

11. Cf. especially L. Milne, Shans at Home (London, 1910), pp. 100 ff.; A.K. Gebauer, "Die nördlichen Schanstaaten und ihre Bewohner" /The Nor-

671 The impact of the English legal system introduced into
177 the country after the annexation of 1886 shook Burmese cus-
178 tomary law to its very foundations, just as Burmese society itself rocked with the shock of the impact. But Burmese society soon regained its balance, and so did Burmese customary law. The British, by statute, superseded the Burmese customary law of contract and tort with their own English common law, but recognized the Burmese customary law regarding marriage and divorce, adoption, inheritance, and religious usage, and these branches of the customary law remain valid today. Thus, whereas in India the legislature now struggles against strong public opposition to pass new statutes introducing changes in the Hindu law of marriage and inheritance so as to adjust Hindu law to new developments in Hindu society, the Burmese, after their hard-won independence, have not found it necessary to modify by statute or to codify their customary law. With regard to the English law of contract and tort that was introduced into the country after the British annexation, the Burmese did not find the new law strange and mysterious, for the fundamental principles of Burmese law of contract and tort had certain similarities with the fundamental principles of English common law. Thus the principles
675 of specific performance, of damages, of a period of limitation,
671 and a remoteness of damage were known to the Burmese law
672 also. Even the English legal plea of "Act of God" for exemption from liability has its Burmese counterpart in the plea of "ill fortune." The following rules of law relating to ferries will illustrate this aspect of Burmese law:

> If a man, for the sake of hire, becomes a ferryman, let him follow these rules. He shall carefully consider and take only the correct fare. If he is careless, or jocular, or immodest, and as a result, property of a passenger is spilled or damaged, let him make good the loss to the owner. But if he crosses with proper care and proper behaviour, and property be lost or damaged, let him blame ill fortune, and he shall not be liable. Women with child, monks, and sick persons shall be ferried across, even if they have no money to pay as fare.

30: Maung Htin Aung E-4 (no date) 1953 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

Although the kingdoms of Prome and Thaton probably based their wealth on trade and commerce, and the kingdom of Pagan based its power and wealth on commerce, the Burmese have been simple agriculturists throughout their history, and therefore Burmese customary law of contract and torts dealt with the business of agriculture, such as water-rights, land-rights, hire of cattle, carts, and implements, and with the relations between employers and laborers. As has been stated before, the Burmese law of contract and tort is no longer valid, and although the Burmese still remain agriculturalists, their business of agriculture is no longer simple as in the days before the British annexation. Nonetheless, some of the rules of law in contract and torts are still of interest. For example, let us consider the law relating to payment of wages to laborers. The Burmese law did not give emphasis to that part of the wages which was to be in the form of money. But it specifically laid down that (1) in the case of an agricultural laborer, he was to receive, in addition to wages in money, a suit of clothes at the end of each "season"—i.e., the "growing season" and the "reaping season," and (2) in the case of a nonagricultural laborer, he was to receive, throughout the period of his employment and in addition to wages in money, "regular meals of rice and curry." For the agricultural laborer, who had his own store of paddy, clothing was of great consequence, and to the nonagricultural laborer food was of great consequence. Thus the Burmese law ensured that the fluctuation either in the general level of wages or in the value of money should not adversely effect either the laborer or his employer. Moreover, as both the laborer and the employer wore the same homespun clothes and ate the same food, the arrangement was fair to both parties. With regard to professional services rendered also, the Burmese law attempted to be fair to both parties, as could be seen from the following rules of law regarding physicians and lawyers:

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If a physician has been called for fee to attend to a sick person, but the sick person recovers or dies before the physician reaches

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

leapt enormous heights in the air, jumped about and ran at random, carried with the utmost ease things which no one else could move. The abbot locked him up in a sadaik, the box in which the palm-leaf manuscripts were kept; he got out without injuring the lock in any way, sprang on to the roof of the monastery, forty feet high, and turned a somersault to the ground without hurting himself in the least. He had been a boy of very soft, easy temper, and now he became fiery and uncertain, and with his vast strength, very dangerous. He only calmed down when a monk preached the law to him. He was constantly doing marvellous things; one day he walked across the river in front of the monastery, holding a monk's ôk, or food vessel, in his hands. The depth of the water was over six fathoms, but it did not reach higher than his waist. On another occasion a tree which was being cut down fell on him. He sank into the ground and came forth quite uninjured. After some years his parents took him to Magwe in Upper Burma. There he fell into bad courses and became a dacoit. This was terrible for his family in a special way, because in native territory if they cannot catch the dacoit they seize all his friends and relations and put them in jail till they can get hold of the real culprit, and no one can lay hands on a Baw-di-tha-da. At last, however, he was restored to his right mind. A holy ascetic came across him, soothed him with the payeit gyi, and then with a rusty nail and sacred medicines, tattooed out the figure put on with such lamentable results by the Shan sayā. The quondam Baw-di-tha-da is now a staid and respected broker in the employ of one of the best-known English rice firms in Rangoon. He was fortunate; most Baw-di-tha-das have to be killed in their sleep.

But though Baw-di-tha-das are very rare, charmed tattooing is not, and there are some fast young men who seem almost to make picture galleries of themselves with emblems and patterns all over their chests, arms, backs, and the calves of their legs. The colour gradually dies away until at last nothing remains but the blue breeches. These really look well, and they last a man to his dying day.

The following recipes and formulæ to be repeated

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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564 767 coffin or digging the grave. This occupation has therefore fallen almost exclusively into the hands of the old parakyun, and helps to keep alive the ancient feeling. It must be allowed that the ways of the sandalās do not in any way tend to conciliate the multitude.

564 ●681 625 Finally there were the pagwet, the letyataung, or thaing-gyaing, the constables, jailers, executioners, lictors, mostly confined to the neighbourhood of the native kingdom Mandalay. These merited all the obloquy that could be cast on them, but their position of quasi-authority made them more secretly hated than openly flouted. They were never allowed to enter a free man's house, even in the exercise of their office; nor could they go within the walls of the palace stockade, but many a citizen smarted under the blows of the lictor's thaing, when a great man came round a corner suddenly, and the letyataung saw a chance for a back-hander with his fasces; and it was far too easy a matter for a man to get into jail in Mandalay to make it a wise proceeding to rail at the pagwet. It was an unlovely custom in Upper Burma which made the executioner both constable and jailer, and condemned him to live on his wits. The natural result was that he lived on the prisoners, and extorted the last pice out of his victim with threats of violence, or actual torture. Pagwet means a circle on the cheek, and this ring on the face implied that its bearer had been condemned for a capital crime, and was respited to become executioner. Others had devices descriptive of their offence tattooed on the chest, as luthat (murderer), thukho (thief), damya (dacoit or highway robber). An execution in Mandalay was a horrid sight. The "spotted man" danced round his victim, made feints with his sword and burst into fits of wild laughter or yells, to shake the doomed man's nerves. It must be admitted that the spectators were very little better. A skilful blow which just slit the skin and drew blood met with an approving shout. The pagwet, like other outcasts, [766] was buried like carrion when he died, or perhaps was simply thrown out with the town offal.

563 775 How does all this agree with the theory of Buddhism, that there is equality for all, and that the poorest man can raise himself to sublimest heights after death? The king

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within the palace, in a long trench dug for the purpose. The eldest prince, the Mekhaya, a man nearly three times Thibaw's age, and hated for his fierce, proud demeanour, died shrieking for mercy at the hands of his own slaves, whom he had often tortured. The Thonsè mintha, equally overbearing in his manner, and a fanatical hater of the English, whom he lost no opportunity of insulting, gained in his death an esteem he had never known while living. With his last breath he hurled defiance and imprecations at the brother whom he had always despised, and prophesied a speedy and bloody end for the "runaway monk." The weakly and gentle-mannered Maingtun murmured a prayer that the hideous sin of murder might be pardoned to its instigator and perpetrators, and then resigned his neck to the club which sent him to the blissful seats of nat-dewas. The princesses were subjected to nameless horrors, and the treatment of the children recalled the days when ravaging hordes marched through the land with babes spitted on their pike staffs for standards. The poor old regent of Pegu, governor at Rangoon when the British came in 1852, had his nostrils and gullet crammed with gunpowder, and was thus blown up. But the tale of horrors is not one to enlarge upon. They were conducted by those who became the king's most trusted advisers. All the three days bands of music were playing throughout the palace, and dancers posturing to divert attention from what was going on, and to drown the cries of the victims.

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The custom of putting to death all dangerous rivals on the accession of a new king was without doubt almost a recognised thing in Burma whenever there was a new sovereign. Many Burmans defend it warmly, on the plea that it secured the peace of the country. Where there were so many of the royal blood, the appointment of one, possibly among the youngest, to the supreme power, could not but lead to discontent, breaking out into open rebellion when the slighted found themselves strong enough to feel hope of success for a rising. The accession of Mindôn was marked by no such atrocities, but he came to the throne under exceptional circumstances. His brother, the Pagān Min, was deposed because he would do nothing to make peace with the English, then threatening

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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CHAPTER LV

JUDICIAL ADMINISTRATION

BUDDHIST law as it was administered in Upper Burma dates from the beginning of the now existing world. The first crime was theft; the first punishment was a scolding, speedily followed by a thrashing; and the first judge was Mahā Thamada, elected by vote of the people to be ruler over them. No doubt there were written laws then, but they have not come down to us. The written code in use was given to the world by Manu, originally a cow-herd, but afterwards a minister. He found them written in large characters on the walls of another world, to which he was transported when in an ecstasy. These laws formed the first code. There have been since compiled from them eight other codes in the kingdom of Prome and other ancient states in Burmah. The last, called Mahā Manu Thaya Shwe Myin, was drawn up on the foundation of the sixth kingdom of Ava, in the year 1137 B.E. (1775 A.D.), by Minhkaung Gyi, who, with the aid of a learned monk, went through and carefully revised all the codes. These laws in their integrity are those which governed Upper Burma and now govern the whole of Burma in so far as they regulate social relations. The codes were written in Sanskrit and Magadha, a language usually called Pali through an error. The name Pali signifies really not a *language*, but "The Canon," handed down to Buddhists, as composed by pious disciples from the teachings of Shin Gautama. The Magadha or Pali code accepted is called Manu Wunnana, from its writer and compiler, a minister of state in Ava. It is looked upon as a commentary on, or a key to, the codes, and contains the whole of the laws.

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2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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695 is adjudged to have lost the case, and judgment is delivered forthwith. The winning party, for all the friends are always present, immediately cause their band to strike up, dancers perform and songs are sung, and every token of triumph is
696 exhibited. Unfortunately, however, for any supposed efficacy of the system, substitutes are allowed, and in addition to this bribery plays as important a part almost as it did in the law-courts themselves. The man whose money went farthest won his case, whether decided according to the principles of the Dhammathat or the lottery of the ordeal.

● 681 The punishments inflicted were sometimes very cruel, and the treatment of the prisoners occasionally savage in the extreme. In criminal cases torture was frequently applied to extort confession from the accused or evidence from the witnesses. Rich men usually suffered nothing worse than a fine. For the impecunious, sentences varied from sundry stripes with a rattan, with or without imprison-
[567] ment, to mutilation, perpetual slavery, and death. Except for debt, a man sentenced by the court to slavery became so with all his descendants for ever, and they were usually allotted to some pagoda, doomed to support life by begging as tadaungsa, or relegated to some other of the outcast classes. Death in Mandalay was almost invariably by decapitation, the agony of the condemned being occasionally prolonged by a fiendish executioner; the custom of throwing victims to be devoured by wild beasts, or trodden to death by wild elephants in the elephant-trap, was latterly wholly given up. In the provinces, however, other methods were very frequently adopted. North of the capital "crucifixion" was particularly common. The letwakat, or wakattaing, does not at all resemble the ordinary pictorial representation of the cross. It is more like a double ladder, consisting of three stout bamboos fixed upright in the ground, three bars lashed to them horizontally with canes, and over these again two cross-bars in the shape of a St. Andrew's cross. These punishment stakes were most frequently put up on the river-bank or on sandbanks in the stream, and were particularly common where the Shan and Kachin hills come down anywhere near the Irrawaddy. Sometimes the criminal was killed before he was lashed up, sometimes he was tied up

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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first and then disembowelled with a sword-gash across the stomach, or rendered helpless by a few spear-thrusts. In either case the body was left hanging, to be picked clean by the vultures, and the bones gradually fell off. Formerly, when the mouth of the Irrawaddy was Burmese territory, a favourite method used to be to tie the convict down at the edge of the stream at low water and leave him to be drowned by the incoming tide. The fishes were often more expeditious than the vultures in devouring their prey. The favourite kind of stake for this purpose was the "stump of hell," the irregular short stem of the undeveloped trees in a mangrove swamp, looking like pinnacles or knobs rising out of the confused network of exposed roots.

But imprisonment was often worse than death. The prisons had never been cleaned out since they were made, some of them noisome underground cells, some flimsy wooden or bamboo structures open all round. The prisoners sat with their feet in the stocks perpetually, and the long bamboo which united them was occasionally triced up so far that the poor wretches only touched the ground with their shoulders. A favourite time for thus inverting them was at night. But a man who had not had enough money to satisfy the judge might often manage satisfactorily to square the jailer. If he effected that he was on the whole comfortable; he was allowed to go away in the morning, have his meals at home, and go back and deliver himself into custody at night again. But if he had no money, or no friends to pay it for him, his best course was to die at once, indeed he certainly would before long, for the only food to be had in prison was that supplied by relatives of the convicts. If no friend brought it, the jailer certainly would not supply any. It was better to be "proclaimed," to suffer maungkyaw, than to go to jail. This was a punishment almost confined to the capital, and greatly resembling the old English naval practice of flogging an offender "round the fleet." The criminal was taken to each gate of the city, to the corners of all the chief streets, and to sundry other frequented places. At each of these points his crime and sentence were read out and he was flogged. None but the strong-constitutioned could stand it, but those who survived were free men.

16:Fielding Hall G-8 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

685 what was justice, and what was punishment. To
671 the Burman all these words had one set of mean-
196 ings; to the Englishman they had another, a very different one. And each of them took his ideas from his religion. To all men the law here on earth is but a reflection of the heavenly law; the judge is the representative of his god. The justice of the court should be as the justice of heaven. Many nations have imagined their law to be heaven-given, to be inspired with the very breath of the Creator of the world. Other nations have derived their laws elsewhere. But this is of little account, for to the one, as to the other, the laws are a reflection of the religion.

681 And therefore on a man's religion depends all
671 his views of law and justice, his understanding of
779 the word 'punishment,' his idea of how sin should
196 be treated. And it was because of their different religions, because their religions differed so greatly on these points as to be almost opposed, that the English officer and his Burman servant failed to understand each other.

For to the Englishman punishment was a degradation. It seemed to him far more disgraceful that his servant should have been in gaol than that he should have committed theft. The theft he was ready to forgive, the punishment he could not. Punishment to him meant revenge. It is the revenge of an outraged and injured morality. The sinner had insulted the law, and therefore the law was to make him suffer. He was to be frightened into not doing it again. That is the idea. He was to be afraid of receiving punishment. And

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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again his punishment was to be useful as a warning to others. Indeed, the magistrate had especially increased it with that object in view. He was to suffer that others might be saved. The idea of punishment being an atonement hardly enters into our minds at all. To us it is practically a revenge. We do not expect people to be the better for it. We are sure they are the worse. It is a deterrent for others, not a healing process for the man himself. We punish A. that B. may be afraid, and not do likewise. Our thoughts are bent on B., not really on A. at all. As far as he is concerned the process is very similar to pouring boiling lead into a wound. We do not wish or intend to improve him, but simply and purely to make him suffer. After we have dealt with him he is never fit again for human society. That was in the officer's thought when he refused to take back his Burmese servant.

Now see the boy's idea.

Punishment is an atonement, a purifying of the soul from the stain of sin. That is the only justification for, and meaning of, suffering. If a man breaks the everlasting laws of righteousness and stains his soul with the stain of sin, he must be purified, and the only method of purification is by suffering. Each sin is followed by suffering, lasting just so long as to cleanse the soul—not a moment less, or the soul would not be white; not a moment more, or it would be useless and cruel. That is the law of righteousness, the eternal inevitable sequence that leads us in the end to wisdom and peace. And as it is with the greater laws, so it should, the Buddhist thinks, be with the lesser laws.

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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If a man steals, he should have such punishment and for such a time as will wean his soul from theft, as will atone for his sin. Just so much. You see, to him mercy is a falling short of what is necessary, a leaving of work half done, as if you were to leave a garment half washed. Excess of punishment is mere useless brutality. He recognizes no vicarious punishment. He cannot understand that A. should be damned in order to save B. This does not agree with his scheme of righteousness at all. It seems as futile to him as the action of washing one garment twice that another might be clean. Each man should atone for his own sin, *must* atone for his own sin, in order to be freed from it. No one can help him, or suffer for him. If I have a sore throat, it would be useless to blister you for it: that is his idea.

Consider this Burman. He had committed theft. That he admitted. He was prepared to atone for it. The magistrate was not content with that, but made him also atone for other men's sins. He was twice punished, because other men who escaped did ill. That was the first thing he could not understand. And then, when he had atoned both for his own sin and for that of others, when he came out of prison, he was looked upon as in a worse state than if he had never atoned at all. If he had never been in prison, his master would have forgiven his theft and taken him back, but now he would not. The boy was proud of having atoned in full, very full, measure for his sin; the master looked upon the punishment as inconceivably worse than the crime.

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

So the officer went about and told the story of his boy coming back, and expecting to be taken on again, as a curious instance of the mysterious working of the Oriental mind, as another example of the extraordinary way Easterns argue. 'Just to think,' said the officer, 'he was not ashamed of having been in prison!' And the boy? Well, he probably said nothing, but went away and did not understand, and kept the matter to himself, for they are very dumb, these people, very long-suffering, very charitable. You may be sure that he never railed at the law, or condemned his old master for harshness.

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He would wonder why he was punished because other people had sinned and escaped. He could not understand that vicariousness of punishment is a Christian idea. It would not occur to him that sending him to herd with other criminals, that cutting him off from all the gentle influences of life, from the green trees and the winds of heaven, from the society of women, from the example of noble men, from the teachings of religion, was a curious way to render him a better man. He would suppose it was intended to make him better, that he should leave gaol a better man than when he entered, and he would take the intention for the deed. Under his own king things were not any better. It is true that very few men were imprisoned, fine being the usual punishment, but still, imprisonment there was, and it was very bad of its kind. No government has been able to invent anything better. But he would not compare our government with his, but our theory of punishment with the Buddhist theory

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16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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681 779 what he had been taught at school. As to the conduct of his master, he would be content to leave that unexplained. The Buddhist is content to leave many things unexplained until he can see the meaning. He is not fond of theories. If he does not know, he says so. 'It is beyond me,' he will say; 'I do not understand.' He has no theory of an occidental mind to explain acts of ours of which he cannot grasp the meaning; he would only not understand.

But the pity of it—think of the pity of it all! Surely there is nothing more pathetic than this: that a sinner should not understand the wherefore of his sentence, that the justice administered to him should be such as he cannot see the meaning of.

674 Certain forms of crime are very rife in Burma. The villages are so scattered, the roads so lonely, the amount of money habitually carried about so large, the people so habitually careless, the difficulty of detection so great, that robbery and kindred crimes are very common; and it is more common in the districts of the delta, long under our rule, than in the newly-annexed province in the north. Under like conditions the Burman is probably no more criminal and no less criminal than other people in the same state of civilization. Crime is a condition caused by opportunity, not by an inherent state of mind, except with the very few, the exceptional individuals; and in Upper Burma there is, now that the turmoil of the annexation is past, very little crime comparatively. There is less money there, and the village system—the control of the

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

points, hardly even in minor points, does the law discriminate against women. 562 779

The law as regards marriage and inheritance and divorce will come each in its own place. It is very much the same both for the man and the woman. 562 671 586

The criminal law was the same for both; I have tried to find any difference, and this is all I have found: A woman's life was less valuable than a man's. The price of the body, as it is called, of a woman was less than that of a man. If a woman were accidentally killed, less compensation had to be paid than for a man. I asked a Burman about this once. 681

'Why is this difference?' I said. 'Why does the law discriminate?'

'It isn't the law,' he said, 'it is a fact. A woman is worth less than a man *in that way*. A maid-servant can be hired for less than a manservant, a daughter can claim less than a son. They cannot do so much work; they are not so strong. If they had been worth more, the law would have been the other way; of course they are worth less.'

And so this sole discrimination is a fact, not dogma. It is a fact, no doubt, everywhere. No one would deny it. The pecuniary value of a woman is less than that of a man. As to the soul's value, that is not a question of law, which confines itself to material affairs. But I suppose all laws have been framed out of the necessities of mankind. It was the incessant fighting during the times when our laws grew slowly into shape, the necessity of not allowing the possession of land, and the armed 562 671 428

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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troubled in mind, because he has only a daughter to succeed him. While his daughter, the Shan princess, plays and sings and dances in her garden, the merchants with the brother pass by. The brother and the princess fall in love with each other and plight their troth in song and dance. The chieftain arrives on the scene, but fortunately for all concerned, he approves of the young man and proclaims him heir.

Meanwhile the sister in Thaton is having her adventures. A god, who had been brother to her in a previous existence, gives her an ear-ring as a token of affection. She puts it away for wearing on special occasions. The king passes by her window, falls in love, and makes her queen. That night, as the new queen awaits her husband, she sings happy songs to herself, then puts on the ear-ring, and falls asleep. She now looks like an ogress for, unknown to the well-meaning god, the ear-ring causes its wearer to have the appearance of an ogress. The king, on entering, thinks her to be an ogress who has assumed human form to bring disaster to his kingdom. So he orders her execution and commands that her foster-father himself must execute her, as he suspects the nobleman of having known all the time that his adopted daughter is an evil being. So at dawn, the girl is put into a velvet bag,[1] and the doting father is ordered by soldiers to beat her to death. He refuses, in spite of tortures, until the girl begs him to dispatch her quickly and end her agony. She dies, singing pathetic songs, while the father and even the soldiers cry. In compliance with her request before her death, the dead body is sent floating down the river on a raft. The father then engages a bricklayer to build a pagoda on the spot where she was executed. The bricklayer is a cynical old fellow, who thinks some unnecessary fuss is being made of a dead girl. He is a comic character.

The god of the forest stops the raft and lays the dead queen on the river bank. Her ghost appears before the brother, now chief of the Shan state in succession to his father-in-law. He at once leaves for Thaton attended by a minister. The god of the forest, unknown to the brother, causes him to find the body of his sister. He is grief-stricken, and guessing from the velvet bag what had happened, swears revenge on the king of Thaton. He

[1] According to established custom, Burmese royalty were put into velvet bags before execution. Also, as no blood of royal persons should be shed on the scaffold, the usual method of their execution was by drowning, burning or beating. [645] [681]

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

578. THE PALACE GARDENS.

the cause of suffering and death, and the discredit reflected on officialdom by its methods, lead the best elements of the population to shun office, as a touching of pitch. The dearth of ability and character in the governing classes leaves the governed without efficient protection. The religious motive further operates in withholding information about criminals. A pregnant category is that of the "five enemies"—Fire, Water, Robbers, Rulers, Ill-wishers. The governors and deputies who acted as judges heard causes at the *yôn*, an open shed in a public place. But every cause was presented in the first instance at the house of the official, and it is contrary to accepted ideas of politeness to approach a superior empty-handed, even on a mere visit of courtesy. The *pros* and *cons* of the case were understood before the regular hearing. At the hearing, the advocates of the parties (*ashé-ne*) publicly presented their pleas and the evidence was recorded. The Burmese form of oath is to take the *kyanza* in the hands, a book of imprecations which the witness invokes on his head if he should speak falsely. The judge or judges intimated their finding to their clerks (*sayé*), who recorded it in official style and read it out. The punishments awarded to criminals and the condition of prisoners were much like those prevailing in Europe at the time of the Renaissance. Every judgment of importance was registered in the *Hluttaw* or chancellery at the capital, presided over by the four chief ministers (*Wundyi*), through whom all royal commands to the governors of provinces issued. There was no regular system of appeals. The Hindu code of Manú served as a body of law, and statutes were decreed by the kings; but *thnzan* (custom) supplied standards of a more practical and stable nature.

579. ROYAL MAID OF HONOUR (APYODAW).

178 Since those remote times, the Burmese customary law has
671 developed naturally, side by side with the growth and development of Burmese society. The Burmese have no great national code of laws gathered and authorized by a powerful king, no great charter forced from an unwilling king, no great statute passed by a national assembly fighting against tyranny, but nonetheless the Burmese customary law shows a conception of justice and a love of personal liberty in which every Burmese must take pride.

671 To the Burmese, before the partial introduction of the
643 English legal system, law meant civil law. To them, civil law was purely customary, and besides custom, there could be no other source of law. The idea of legislation by a parliament or a congress, or by executive order of the king was unfamiliar to the Burmese. In English common law, the king could do no
[685 wrong, and thus he was above the law. But with the Burmese,
694] the king himself was not exempt from the operation of the civil law, and the king was often the defendant in civil suits, usually for wrongful seizure of land. Admittedly the king was above his subjects, and he had the right to levy taxes in service or in kind, but he was also under a duty to give protection to the people. To protect the people and to preserve the peace, the king must prevent wrong-doing and punish wrong-doers, and it was for the king to proclaim which acts were wrongs from the point of view of public peace. Thus, at the beginning of each reign, the king proclaimed his list of crimes, and the punishments he would mete out to those who were found guilty of those crimes.

671 The list of crimes varied with each king, but the usual
681 crimes were offenses against the state, murder, robbery, theft, rape, and serious defamation. The usual penalties were whipping, confinement in irons, maiming, banishment, and death, with or without forfeiture to the king's treasury of the of-
[684] fender's possessions. In the eighteenth century, adultery was added to the list of crimes, with the punishment of whipping for both the woman and her paramour, and proclamation of their guilt by beat of drums and gongs. In the nineteenth

century, the punishment for abduction of women was enhanced from one of confinement in irons to that of death. Thus what the English lawyer would understand by the term "criminal law" was considered to be the personal concern of the king. Therefore, when the ruling king died, and a new king ascended the throne, all persons undergoing punishment for crimes committed under the previous king, automatically were freed. Criminal jurisdiction therefore was considered to be merely an administrative function of the crown, and it concerned the executive, and not the judicial, officers of the state. Modern European writers have ever emphasized the despotism of Burmese kings, but the Royal Edicts proclaimed at the beginning of each reign clearly showed that the Burmese king was not a blood-thirsty individual devoid of all mercy. In the Edicts, we find the king delegating the function of meting out criminal justice to three of his Chief Ministers, admonishing at the same time that they should temper justice with mercy. The king in the Edicts ordered that even in capital crimes, the punishment should be one of banishment, and the sentence of death was to be reserved for vicious criminals. Even when the sentence of death had been passed, the execution was to be postponed for at least ten days so as to enable the king to consider the case and alter the punishment to one of banishment if the facts justified such alteration.

But as in England, the king was considered to be the fountain of justice, for his was the supreme court of the land. The kingdom was divided into provinces, each under a viceroy. Each province was further divided into cities, each city under a governor. Each city or city area was subdivided into towns and each town or town area into villages, with a headman for each town and each village. The courts of the headmen of towns or villages dealt with suits of small value, and there was a right of appeal from those courts to the courts of the governors of cities. The courts of the governors exercised both original and appellate jurisdiction, and appeals from these courts lay to the court of the viceroy, which also exercised both

families in Rangoon have worries of this kind - resolved by arrangements with influence masters - usually undertaken by the wives of the families. Ordinarily, violence is not premediated but spur-of-the-moment actions based on passions. If ill-feeling grows gradually it is best handled through the influence masters. The function of this system in the village is to avoid open conflict that might prove disasterous to the solidarity of the community (as say feuding families in open warfare).

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25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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398. BULLOCK RACING.

in the ring and slaps his arm (*lenmáung-hat*) to the exclamation of *yáuk-kyá! báthá!*—man that you are and son of a man! (No. 153). When some one steps into the ring to take up the challenge, the pair are conducted by seconds to the judges, who decide if they are fairly matched; they then stand aside to await their turn. Every kind of attack is fair except pulling hair and biting; a cap is tied on the head to keep the long hair from coming loose. The first trace of blood betokens defeat, but matches are very frequently drawn. This may be the reason why there is no betting. Powerful seconds are on the alert to separate the combatants if they show temper. But the absence of temper, despite the severity of the contest, is its conspicuous feature. The frank dispositions of Burman and Taláing appear to rare advantage. The high spirits of the victor overflow in chivalrous deprecation of his prowess—"the merest fluke in the world!" That among such a people the sense of personal honour is keen goes without saying. Abuse is not so cheap as in India. The *vendetta* is unknown. Fatal quarrels occasionally arise from jealousy; the old national justice put the law into the hand of a betrayed husband.

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Pony-racing is the sport of the North, as boat-racing is that of Pegu with its network of channels. The races are run in heats of twos, like all races in Burma. There are small stakes for the owners, but betting is the soul of the sport. In this the women freely participate. The course is flat, half

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399. THE BOAT-RACE GOAL (PAN).

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2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

congregation has been made up, or when the family party is complete, the senior monk recites the Ten Precepts incumbent on all upathaka on duty days, and adds some portion of the sermons of Shin Gautama, the other pyinsin, sitting behind their big fans to hide the women from their sight, occasionally making the responses. Finally the Payeit-gyi, or some similar litany of praise, is intoned; all the congregation joining in the chant, with upraised hands clasping a flower or some other symbol of offering. With this the service ends. The yahans rise from behind their fans and file back to the monastery again, the food being carried after them by the pupils or the donors. When this is done the worshippers set about preparing their own breakfast—unless, indeed, as is probable, it was cooked at the same time as the food for the yahans. Each family eats separately, arranged in a circle round the great byat, or platter of rice. If, however, any one has some particular delicacy—the celebrated nga-pi gaung fish paste from Payā Gyi, in the An-gyi township, iguana's eggs from Shwe Gyin side, or pickled tea fresh from the Shan hills—he gives of his abundance to those round about; and any solitary stranger from a distance is always sure of an invitation to join some breakfast party. When all have finished eating, the fragments that remain are thrown out for the pariah dogs and the crows. Additional merit is of course gained by this act of charity. For the rest of the day, with the exception of the time that may be spent in repeating doxologies before the image of the Buddha at the pagoda, nothing is done. Every one is dressed in his best and goes about meeting his friends, or lolling comfortably with a cheroot in the zayat waiting for them to come to him. Vast quantities of betel-nut and pickled tea and local gossip are discussed. The racing-boat the Bassein men are getting ready to send for the October contests in Mandalay; the brass image Maung Waik, the extra assistant commissioner, is going to dedicate next month; the old witch down at Ywa Thit Gyi, who has caused the murrain among the Thu-gyi's buffaloes, and the nuisance it is that the English ayebaing will not allow her to be tied to a bamboo and pitched into the river in the good old fashion, to prove that she really does trade in the black art;

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16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

more severely. Most of this three months he spent dwelling in the hollow shell of a palm-fruit. The nuisance was, he explained, that this shell was close to the cattle-path, and that the lads as they drove the cattle afield in the early morning would bang with a stick against the shell. This made things very uncomfortable for him inside. 775

It is not an uncommon thing for a woman when about to be delivered of a baby to have a dream, and to see in that dream the spirit of someone asking for permission to enter the unborn child; for, to a certain extent, it lies within a woman's power to say who is to be the life of her child.

There was a woman once who loved a young man, not of her village, very dearly. And he loved her, too, as dearly as she loved him, and he demanded her in marriage from her parents; but they refused. Why they refused I do not know, but probably because they did not consider the young man a proper person for their daughter to marry. Then he tried to run away with her, and nearly succeeded, but they were caught before they got clear of the village.

The young man had to leave the neighbourhood. The attempted abduction of a girl is an offence severely punishable by law, so he fled; and in time, under pressure from her people, the girl married another man; but she never forgot. She lived with her husband quite happily; he was good to her, as most Burmese husbands are, and they got along well enough together. But there were no children. [683]

After some years, four or five, I believe, the former lover returned to his village. He thought

Although the kingdoms of Prome and Thaton probably based their wealth on trade and commerce, and the kingdom of Pagan based its power and wealth on commerce, the Burmese have been simple agriculturists throughout their history, and therefore Burmese customary law of contract and torts dealt with the business of agriculture, such as water-rights, land-rights, hire of cattle, carts, and implements, and with the relations between employers and laborers. As has been stated before, the Burmese law of contract and tort is no longer valid, and although the Burmese still remain agriculturalists, their business of agriculture is no longer simple as in the days before the British annexation. Nonetheless, some of the rules of law in contract and torts are still of interest. For example, let us consider the law relating to payment of wages to laborers. The Burmese law did not give emphasis to that part of the wages which was to be in the form of money. But it specifically laid down that (1) in the case of an agricultural laborer, he was to receive, in addition to wages in money, a suit of clothes at the end of each "season"—i.e., the "growing season" and the "reaping season," and (2) in the case of a nonagricultural laborer, he was to receive, throughout the period of his employment and in addition to wages in money, "regular meals of rice and curry." For the agricultural laborer, who had his own store of paddy, clothing was of great consequence, and to the nonagricultural laborer food was of great consequence. Thus the Burmese law ensured that the fluctuation either in the general level of wages or in the value of money should not adversely effect either the laborer or his employer. Moreover, as both the laborer and the employer wore the same homespun clothes and ate the same food, the arrangement was fair to both parties. With regard to professional services rendered also, the Burmese law attempted to be fair to both parties, as could be seen from the following rules of law regarding physicians and lawyers:

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If a physician has been called for fee to attend to a sick person, but the sick person recovers or dies before the physician reaches

671 his bedside, the physician shall be entitled to his fee if he has
759 reached at least the doorway of the sick person's house. In the same
693 way, if a suit is withdrawn or settled, or the judge does not find it necessary to call upon the pleader to argue, the pleader shall be entitled to his fee if he has spoken even a few words, or if he has just pulled up the sleeve of his gown in a gesture of speech. If a client wishes to call in another physician, he shall pay the full fees to the first physician, and shall also offer him a cup of water in token of friendship. If a client wishes to engage another pleader, he shall pay the full fee to the first pleader.

671 The following rules regarding void sales and purchases will
432 further illustrate the essential similarity of Burmese law and the English law of contract:

> There are four cases when a sale or a purchase is void: (i) if the price fixed is below its value; by value it is meant market value at the time of the sale, and even a ruby worth a kingdom before may be sold for one-eighth of a basket of rice, if that is the prevailing market value of rubies; (ii) if the buyer is aware that the ownership of the property is being disputed; (iii) if the whereabouts of the property are not known; and (iv) if the owner of the property is in confinement or under duress.

672 Just as in the English law, under the Burmese law a per-
683 son was responsible for any injury which was the foreseeable consequence of his acts. Thus, it was a rule of law that if a person induced another person to accompany him to a place full of perils, and the latter suffered injury, the former was to pay damages to the full amount of the injury; however, if the second person was aware of the dangerous nature of the place, the damages payable were only half the amount of compensation for the injury. Under the same principle, if a host entertained his guest so well that the latter became intoxicated, the host owed a duty in law to see that the guest reached his home safely; if the guest should be allowed to go home unattended, and if he should die or suffer injury on the way through illness, exposure, snake-bite, attack by robbers or by wild beasts, the host was liable to pay full compensation. The

principle of contributory negligence was also known to Bur- 672
mese law, and the following rules of law regarding "travelling 683
at night with due caution" will serve as an illustration:

If there be occasion for a person at night to go about the city or the town, or the village, he shall go only with a lantern, for if he goes about without a lantern and is stopped, or hindered, or attacked, he shall not be entitled to damages. If, however, he is going about in search of a doctor, and if he shouts out this fact in the darkness, he shall be entitled to full compensation from the offender who stops or strikes him, even though he carries no lantern. In the same way, if a young woman goes about at night beyond the usual hours when people go about, and if she wears no kerchief on her breast, and if her modesty is outraged, she shall not be entitled to any damages.

The unity of Burmese society has always been the family, 671
but unlike the rigidly knit Roman family or the Hindu joint 693
family, it easily disintegrates. A Burmese family is loosely knit by ties of blood, and sometimes of marriage, and thus it usually consists of the father, the mother, and their unmarried sons and daughters. The sons however can leave the family even before marriage on attaining the age of puberty (sixteen years of age), and the daughters on attaining the age of majority, but sons and daughters of course usually leave the family only on marriage. Sometimes sons and daughters decide to remain in the family even after marriage, at least for some time. The head of the family is the father, and on his death, the mother succeeds to the headship of the family, as in Burmese law the husband and wife are heirs to each other. The head of the Burmese family exercises general control over the family, but unlike the heads of the Roman and Hindu families, he performs no religious duties. He or she has the [584]
right to betroth his or her daughter under the age of majority to a male of his or her choice, but the right is subject to the daughter's right of repudiating the betrothal, either by refusing to marry the man chosen by her parent, or by compelling the parent to recognize her betrothal to the man of her own choice.

178 Since those remote times, the Burmese customary law has
671 developed naturally, side by side with the growth and development of Burmese society. The Burmese have no great national code of laws gathered and authorized by a powerful king, no great charter forced from an unwilling king, no great statute passed by a national assembly fighting against tyranny, but nonetheless the Burmese customary law shows a conception of justice and a love of personal liberty in which every Burmese must take pride.

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643 English legal system, law meant civil law. To them, civil law was purely customary, and besides custom, there could be no other source of law. The idea of legislation by a parliament or a congress, or by executive order of the king was unfamiliar to the Burmese. In English common law, the king could do no
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694] the king himself was not exempt from the operation of the civil law, and the king was often the defendant in civil suits, usually for wrongful seizure of land. Admittedly the king was above his subjects, and he had the right to levy taxes in service or in kind, but he was also under a duty to give protection to the people. To protect the people and to preserve the peace, the king must prevent wrong-doing and punish wrong-doers, and it was for the king to proclaim which acts were wrongs from the point of view of public peace. Thus, at the beginning of each reign, the king proclaimed his list of crimes, and the punishments he would mete out to those who were found guilty of those crimes.

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681 crimes were offenses against the state, murder, robbery, theft, rape, and serious defamation. The usual penalties were whipping, confinement in irons, maiming, banishment, and death, with or without forfeiture to the king's treasury of the of-
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16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

CHAPTER VIII

CRIME AND PUNISHMENT

'Overcome anger by kindness, evil by good.'
Dammapada.

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NOT very many years ago an officer in Rangoon lost some currency notes. He had placed them upon his table overnight, and in the morning they were gone. The amount was not large. It was, if I remember rightly, thirty rupees; but the loss annoyed him, and as all search and inquiry proved futile, he put the matter in the hands of the police.

And before long — the very next day — the possession of the notes was traced to the officer's Burman servant, who looked after his clothes and attended on him at table. The boy was caught in the act of trying to change one of the notes. He was arrested, and he confessed. He was very hard up, he said, and his sister had written asking him to help her. He could not do so, and he was troubling himself about the matter early that morning while tidying the room, and he saw the notes on the table, and so he took them. It was a sudden temptation, and he fell. When the officer learnt

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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all this, he would, I think, have withdrawn from the prosecution and forgiven the boy; but it was too late. In our English law theft is not compoundable. A complaint of theft once made must be proved or disproved; the accused must be tried before a magistrate. There is no alternative. So the lad—he was only a lad—was sent up before the magistrate, and he again pleaded guilty, and his master asked that the punishment might be light. The boy, he said, was an honest boy, and had yielded to a sudden temptation. He, the master, had no desire to press the charge, but the reverse. He would never have come to court at all if he could have withdrawn from the charge. Therefore he asked that the magistrate would consider all this, and be lenient.

But the magistrate did not see matters in the same light at all. He would consider his judgment and deliver it later on.

When he came into court again and read the judgment he had prepared, he said that he was unable to treat the case leniently. There were many such cases, he said. It was becoming quite common for servants to steal their employers' things, and they generally escaped. It was a serious matter, and he felt himself obliged to make an example of such as were convicted, to be a warning to others. So the boy was sentenced to six months' rigorous imprisonment; and his master went home, and before long had forgotten all about it.

But one day, as he was sitting in his veranda reading before breakfast, a lad came quickly up the stairs and into the veranda, and knelt down before

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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him. It was the servant. As soon as he was released from gaol, he went straight to his old master, straight to the veranda where he was sure he would be sitting at that hour, and begged to be taken back again into his service. He was quite pleased, and sure that his master would be equally pleased, at seeing him again, and he took it almost as a matter of course that he would be reinstated.

But the master doubted.

'How can I take you back again?' he said. 'You have been in gaol.'

'But,' said the boy, 'I did very well in gaol. I became a warder with a cap white on one side and yellow on the other. Let the thakin ask.'

Still the officer doubted.

'I cannot take you back,' he repeated. 'You stole my money, and you have been in prison. I could not have you as a servant again.'

'Yes,' admitted the boy, 'I stole the thakin's money, but I have been in prison for it a long time —six months. Surely that is all forgotten now. I stole; I have been in gaol—that is the end of it.'

'No,' answered the master, 'unfortunately, your having been in gaol only makes matters much worse. I could forgive the theft, but the being in gaol—how can I forgive that?'

And the boy could not understand.

'If I have stolen, I have been in gaol for it. That is wiped out now,' he said again and again, till at last he went away in sore trouble of mind, for he could not understand his master, nor could his master understand him.

Each had his own idea of what was law, and

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

685 what was justice, and what was punishment. To
671 the Burman all these words had one set of mean-
196 ings; to the Englishman they had another, a very different one. And each of them took his ideas from his religion. To all men the law here on earth is but a reflection of the heavenly law; the judge is the representative of his god. The justice of the court should be as the justice of heaven. Many nations have imagined their law to be heaven-given, to be inspired with the very breath of the Creator of the world. Other nations have derived their laws elsewhere. But this is of little account, for to the one, as to the other, the laws are a reflection of the religion.

681 And therefore on a man's religion depends all
671 his views of law and justice, his understanding of
779 the word 'punishment,' his idea of how sin should
196 be treated. And it was because of their different religions, because their religions differed so greatly on these points as to be almost opposed, that the English officer and his Burman servant failed to understand each other.

For to the Englishman punishment was a degradation. It seemed to him far more disgraceful that his servant should have been in gaol than that he should have committed theft. The theft he was ready to forgive, the punishment he could not. Punishment to him meant revenge. It is the revenge of an outraged and injured morality. The sinner had insulted the law, and therefore the law was to make him suffer. He was to be frightened into not doing it again. That is the idea. He was to be afraid of receiving punishment. And

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

SCENE 7

OUTSIDE THE PALACE-WALLS.

Enter KING *on one side.*

KING. Because I am the eldest son, I have ascended the throne of my father. I am determined to follow the tradition of my dynasty, and I will rule this kingdom with honour, flying the banner of justice and law. However, I do not know what the men and women of my city think. Do they praise me loudly? Or do they whisper my failings? Many events have happened since I was crowned king only this morning. I must know the opinion of my people. Therefore, I have come out of the palace, disguised as a poor labourer, so that I may wander in my city and listen to my people's gossip. 536* 539*

[*Enter* PARPAHEIN *on the other side.*]

PARPAHEIN. When I come to think of it, he is the ruler of this mighty realm. Still, my turn will come, and I shall be able to stand against his might. . . . Well, I suppose I must dare. I am alone, I am only a young prince. So what does it matter if I die? And if I live! I will be as sharp as a thorn, my glory will be as pointed as a spear. . . . I have been tattooed with magic charms; I now repeat the magic words to myself. [*A pause.*] Now I will jump and climb this wall. Steady on, my prince!

KING. Ah, as I walk disguised as a poor man, I see before me a nightman, a suspicious-looking person. He watches the palace-walls, and the palace drum has just struck the hour of midnight. He cannot be a very pure and law-abiding person. I will pretend that I do not see him. Hush! I will glance slyly and watch his movements.

PARPAHEIN. The time has come, the drum has struck the hour. I must scale the walls quickly and steal the magic weapons. This reminds me of the famous robber hero Ngatetpya, who raided even the palace in the kingdom of Sagaing.[1] I will dare as he dared. I am

[1] Sagaing, one of the many little kingdoms that came into being after the fall of Pagan, flourished from 1315 to 1364. Ngatetpya was a great philanthropist and built many monasteries and pagodas, which he always announced to have been 'built by public charity'. At night, disguised, he raided the houses of the wealthy, including the palace itself. He was not even suspected for the robberies until one night he met the king disguised as a robber. Ngatetpya asked the king to be his lieutenant, and together they raided many houses. They parted before dawn, but the king had by then recognized Ngatetpya. He was brought to trial the next day. The people, learning that the daring robberies were the work of one man, single-handed and unaided until he [195] [685]

178 Since those remote times, the Burmese customary law has
671 developed naturally, side by side with the growth and development of Burmese society. The Burmese have no great national code of laws gathered and authorized by a powerful king, no great charter forced from an unwilling king, no great statute passed by a national assembly fighting against tyranny, but nonetheless the Burmese customary law shows a conception of justice and a love of personal liberty in which every Burmese must take pride.

671 To the Burmese, before the partial introduction of the
643 English legal system, law meant civil law. To them, civil law was purely customary, and besides custom, there could be no other source of law. The idea of legislation by a parliament or a congress, or by executive order of the king was unfamiliar to the Burmese. In English common law, the king could do no
[685 wrong, and thus he was above the law. But with the Burmese,
694] the king himself was not exempt from the operation of the civil law, and the king was often the defendant in civil suits, usually for wrongful seizure of land. Admittedly the king was above his subjects, and he had the right to levy taxes in service or in kind, but he was also under a duty to give protection to the people. To protect the people and to preserve the peace, the king must prevent wrong-doing and punish wrong-doers, and it was for the king to proclaim which acts were wrongs from the point of view of public peace. Thus, at the beginning of each reign, the king proclaimed his list of crimes, and the punishments he would mete out to those who were found guilty of those crimes.

671 The list of crimes varied with each king, but the usual
681 crimes were offenses against the state, murder, robbery, theft, rape, and serious defamation. The usual penalties were whipping, confinement in irons, maiming, banishment, and death, with or without forfeiture to the king's treasury of the of-
[684] fender's possessions. In the eighteenth century, adultery was added to the list of crimes, with the punishment of whipping for both the woman and her paramour, and proclamation of their guilt by beat of drums and gongs. In the nineteenth

Nats' powers for good include protecting the village from dacoit attacks but does not extend to modern warfare. When the Japanese armies were slicing up through Tenasserim in 1941, the elders of Maung Maung Than's village prayed for nat protection against the invaders. The nats replied "Dear ~~Villagers we~~ ourselves are wearing raised longyis in this crisis (ready to run)." This is a Rangoon town joke told among the sophisticated collegiates at the University. Not so well defined, but still sensed is a growing distrust of the powers of nats to combat modern evils. 776 178 [195]

The nats can best be visualized as supernatural despots each with his province (the home, village, sea, babies) and each exacting tribute of periodic or constant attention in the form of flowers or food, red and white cloth strips, and an altar which may have the image of the nat carved in wood (or moulded in modern plasticene). Banyan trees with their multiple, snake-like trunks, are the most common places of abode. When disaster in the form of sickness or other ill fortune strikes, the nats are appeased with offerings immediately. The SAY SAYA will frequently check with the family of his patient to make sure this has been done. In Rangoon and elsewhere, business men whose fortunes have been good are the main supporters of the nat festivals which are given for the entertainment of all the nats once a year in October, for a seven day period. NAT KADAW (nat-wives) are the mediums who contact the nats by becoming possessed by them at this festival and other special occasions (for a single nat) throughout the year. These are married women or more rarely homosexuals who dance, answer questions and give opinions when possessed. 776 782 [759] [796] 791

Punishment for offense against the nats is first shown by accidents or sudden illnesses like paralysis meted out to the offender. If the offender continues the village as a whole will gradually be afflicted. For example, when a drunkard offends the nats with blasphemous language evil falls on the entire village. Villagers led by the elders and a prominent NAT-KADAW go in a body to the major banyan tree shrine to have an understanding with the offended nats. Offerings are given and attention of the nats called to the woes of 776 753 688 672 782

776 of the villagers. The head-nat, the guardian of the village, replies
753 with accusations that "the whole village has forgotten me", boasts of
688 his powers to punish and is finally molified. In Rangoon there are
672 professional nat-givers who parade the streets with a cart bearing the
782 image of "the conqueror of the salty waters" (special nat of entrepre-
[463] neurs). For a few annas he will make offerings to the nat and relcive the busy townspeople of this task.

776 The arrangement is a mutual one where the people enjoy freedom
782 from oppressions in return for certain concessions. This phenomenon closely parallels the traditional relationship between the rulers and the ruled in Burma. In a real sense the nat concept serves the function of allowing the Burmese a sense of control over catastrophic forces which do not fall into any other system (as secular, political,
[177] personal relationships, cosmology.). It is this system of controls that the western scientific system most immediately competes with. The administrative and entrepreneur class of Burmese especially in Rangoon say they "Do not believe" in nats. But it is usual for most individuals no matter what their western background to apply to nats in cases of ill fortune "just in case".

775 THAYEH (Ghosts) generally are a group of supernatural spirits closely related to nats in their origins but with a different set of properties. These are "recently" deceased individuals whose crimes and sins while on earth or manner of death condemn them to an eternity of wandering and mischief-making. Actually, each person becomes a ghost at death but is ordinarily released from earth at the moment of the interment of the corpse for judgement in heaven. Those who die of
[761] "raw death" become ghosts. These include: death in childbirth, by wild animals (especially tigers), instant deaths by dahs as in warfare, or by hanging. In Maung Maung Than's village a prominent ghost is U Me Gyi (Mr. Blacky) a very sinful fellow who lived 50 or 60 years ago in the village. His complexion is quite black and horribly distorted. He inhabits a banyan tree and specializes in causing infant illness. Offerings of rice at the tree pacifies him. Ghosts are forces for evil only - evil of the more irritating and less important kind.
751 Older people wear red and white coloured strings about their necks as a protection against ghost evils. It is very common to wear a LET-PWET

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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country when he was almost entirely driven from power, if not from office. He was a master of oriental craft, and tided through all the intrigues against him. He held a document from the late king, granting him immunity from all kinds of death. The list is a very frightful one, and ranges from vulgar, obvious beheading to the refined cruelty of throwing on a spread-eagled victim a nest of the fierce red ants known as kāgyin, whose mandibles drive a man raving mad in little over a quarter of an hour. But the palm-leaf patent would have been of little avail without a head that was well able to take care of itself. Like many of the older and better ministers, the Upathi Mingyi came from the cloister to office. On Mindôn's accession to the throne, he at once appointed the Pakhan Mingyi from a monastery to be an atwinwun, and in no very great time to the supreme rank of mingyi, a skipping of the lower grades which was very unusual, as was also the circumstance that the new minister married one of King Tharrawaddy's widows. The Kin Wungyi was in the Pakhan's monastery, shared his rise, and when the patron, who never lost the bilious, monkish look, and the cold, stiff pôngyi's manner, obtained the deliverance, succeeded him as mingyi. Had he been permitted, the foreign secretary would have made Burma a very different country from what it was.

The Upathi was certainly a superior man, and compiled some valuable digests of Burmese law after his retirement in Rangoon, but undoubtedly the most singular of the Mandalay court officials was the Pangyet Wun. He was a polished gentleman, spoke English fairly and French and Italian fluently, and had considerably more than a veneer of civilisation. As a boy he was at school in Calcutta, and having been well grounded there, proceeded to France. There he took his degree at the Panthéon, obtained a diploma in the Central Imperial School of Arts and Manufactures in Paris, and was altogether nearly twelve years in Europe. Notwithstanding his reminiscences of Mabille and the Champs Elysées, however, he accommodated himself very well to circumstances. When the young man returned to Mandalay, King Mindôn had a long talk with him, and finally said: "And these foreigners, then, have

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

39. PAINTING OF SHINLAUNG FETE.

The constituted daily routine of the monastery takes no account of recreation. In practice there is a wide margin of leisure. But the wearer of the yellow robe is not seen at play. Arithmetical puzzles are the nearest approach to a game. On the other hand, the cheerfulness of the race suffers no restraint. There is decorum, without austerity or sanctimony. The severest penance laid upon the novice is temporary relegation to the secular state (*lein-byan*) for such faults as lying, theft, or killing anything. Cruelty to an animal is punished with caning.

The *yahán* exercise no exclusive function beyond that of admitting candidates to the novitiate and the full membership of their Assembly. The affairs of the Buddhist Church are initiated and conducted by the laity. The recluses merely add, by their presence, to the religious distinction of an occasion. At the shrine the recluse is like any other pilgrim; he never is a ministrant or priest. Neither is there any altar. The only material objects to which sanctity pertains are the relics of the Buddha. The members of the Assembly know no distinctions of men, racial or social. As regards the temporal power, of whatever origin, the recluse should be absolutely passive, neither contravening the laws nor invoking them when he suffers wrong. The recluse neither denounces nor harbours the criminal, a neutral attitude of which criminals are not slow to take advantage.

When admitted to full membership of the Assembly instituted by the Buddha (*Thingâ*, Pâli *Sangha*), the novice becomes *Yahán* (*Yahán-daw*, *Rahán*, *Arahan*), which signifies *perfected*, one advanced a stage

40. BOYIN RECEIVING HIGHER INSTRUCTION

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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651 transit dues, and so on, all imposed whenever the district offered an opportunity for them.

A fertile source of profit to the officials were the fees on law-suits and criminal cases, as well as on minor matters, [691] such as the settlement of petty quarrels, divorce suits, and the like, which did not require to be formally tried, but could be settled in the verandah of the thugyi's house over a cheroot or a fid of betel. At the beginning of the year, and on other great kadaw days, special sums had always to be wrung out of the people to furnish the presents required to be offered to the king by all the officials, from the myosa 653 downwards. *Corvées* and enforced duties of all kinds were frequent, and the men selected for such service could only get off by furnishing a substitute, or bribing the tithing man. The king or some great man wanted to build a pagoda, and orders were sent round to the various circles that they must furnish a regular supply of workers daily. The taik or myothugyi drew up a roster, and each man had to go and work for a certain number of days. If he failed to go he was triced up to a post or a tree and got a sound flogging. Similar forced duties were the protection of the frontier and the pursuit of dacoits. Such work was particularly detested, [702] for the men had to keep themselves supplied with food, or get their friends to bring it to them, and this was not always an easy matter. Besides such service might last an indefinite time.

651 Added to all the ordinary imposts were occasional extraordinary contributions to the Crown on the occasion of entering upon war, or upon other public emergencies. The Hlutdaw in Mandalay fixed the amount, and it was divided among the governors of districts. In 1798 a call of thirty-three rupees was made from every house in the country. It was two years before the collection was finished, and the result was six million rupees. But how much more the people paid is quite another thing. Very heavy calls were also made in 1827 to meet the first instalment of the indemnity due to the British after the treaty of Yandabo. The money was sent down at dead of night to the British Commissioners, and all the people were ordered to close their doors and remain inside that they might not see the national

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

community over the individual—the restraining 674
influence of public opinion and of religion is greater. But even during the years of trouble, the years from 1885 till 1890, when, in the words of the Burmese proverb, 'the forest was on fire and the wild-cat slapped his arm,' there were certain peculiarities about the criminals that differentiated them from those of Europe. You would hear of a terrible crime, a village attacked at night by brigands, a large robbery of property, one or two villagers killed, and an old woman tortured for her treasure, and you would picture the perpetrators as hardened, brutal criminals, lost to all sense of humanity, tigers in human shape; and when you came to arrest them—if by good luck you did so—you would find yourself quite mistaken. One, perhaps, or two of the ringleaders might be such as I have described, but the others would be far different. They would be boys or young men led away by the idea of a frolic, allured by the romance of being a free-lance for a night, very sorry now, and ready to confess and do all in their power to atone for their misdeeds. Nothing, I think, was more striking than the universal confession of criminals on their arrest. Even now, despite the spread of lawyers and notions [177]
of law, in country districts accused men always confess, sometimes even they surrender themselves.[1] I have known many such cases. Here is one that happened to myself only the other day.

A man was arrested in another jurisdiction for 672
cattle theft; he was tried there and sentenced to

[1] This was written in 1896. In 1902 it is very different. The [175]
increase of all forms of perjury and false evidence is universal. [691]

:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

parties and pleaders in a suit. 14. Fearlessness in deciding cases, or being lion-hearted. 671

692 645 647

The supreme court in Burma was the Hlutdaw constituted of four wungyis, the chief ministers of state, who held their meetings in a hall within the palace, which took its name from the court. Each wungyi (great burden) had its wundauk (prop of the burden) as an assistant to sit with him in court. These wundauks formed the third rank of ministers, under the four atwinwuns (inner burdens), who were a kind of household ministers, or privy councillors, and sat in a special court, called the Byadeit, also in the palace. The latter had nominally as their chief duty to deal with the monopolies which Thibaw Min set himself to establish in such abundance. But as any man, no matter what special education or preparation he might have had, was considered eligible for any post, political, military, civil, or judicial, so both the Hlut and the Byadeit conducted all manner of business, from the external relations of the country to ordinary criminal or civil appeal cases sent up from the yôndaw, the criminal court, where the myowuns (city burdens), usually two in number, sat daily; or from the tayayôn, the civil court, where two tayathugyis (great men of the law) presided. In either of these inferior courts it was not at all uncommon for a wundauk, or even a wungyi, to attend and investigate important cases. But original suits were also frequently heard before the Hlut, and many cases were decided by the wungyis or any of the subordinate officials in their private houses. Formerly [651] indeed this was the chief source of their salaries, for costs to the amount of ten per cent on the property under dispute went of right to the judge. The late king instituted the custom of fixed salaries, and Thibaw Min retained it, but neglected to pay the money. It will thus be seen that law matters, even in the capital, were carried on in a very casual, haphazard sort of a way. There was no attempt at a distribution of public business into departments, and each individual wungyi took his part in deliberations on all kinds of subjects with as much confidence as if he were an expert.

If the capital displayed a lack of system, there was

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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If the capital displayed a lack of system, there was certainly little to be expected from the provinces. The same general system prevailed in the separate districts. Each one was ruled by a governor, or myowun, appointed by the Hlutdaw or by the king, and armed with full powers, military, judicial, civil, and fiscal. Appeals might be sent from his decisions to the Hlut, but otherwise he was entirely irresponsible, as long as he was regular in forwarding the prescribed revenue to the myosa, the prince or princess, or other great personage who "ate" the province. The "town-eater" almost never went to his district, so that it was entirely at the mercy of the myowun, and might be squeezed by him as much as he thought proper and judicious. The subordinate officials varied in different provinces according to their requirements. All, however, had myosayes, secretaries, or town-clerks, nahkandaws, "receivers of the royal orders," and sikkès, chiefs in war, military officers, who formed a provincial council or court holding daily sittings and making reports to the myowun. In some districts, according to the duties, there were in addition to these an akunwun, or revenue superintendent, an akaukwun, or collector of customs, as also in riparian districts a yewun, or myitsinwun, who had a jurisdiction over the entire river. This authority, however, very often vested in one of the governors. Thus the last Wun of Minhla had power of life and death, as high sheriff of the Irrawaddy, from his own town, close on the British frontier, right up to Sagaing, not far below Mandalay. Other officials were the htaunghmu, or jailer, the tagāhmu, governors of the gates, called windawhmu in the capital, where they were very important officers, and the ayatgaung, heads of quarters, in all the larger towns. Under each governor of a province were a number of governors of the separate towns under his jurisdiction. These were called myoôk when the appointment was temporary, or only for life, and myothugyi when it was hereditary, as was most frequently the case. Besides these, in some of the provinces there were taikthugyi, governors of circles or groups of villages, each of which had its own ywathugyi, who in turn had under him sundry gaungs to look after each his specially allotted number of houses. As each of these subordinates had to send in regularly to his

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

immediate superior a certain fixed sum, determined without regard to favourable seasons, health of the population, or anything of that kind, and as each man was judge over the people in his charge, it may naturally be supposed that the general population did not lead a very happy life. Complaints might be made against extortion and illegal decisions, but the heads of tracts, if they had the money, could always stifle inquiry. 692 647

Some of the laws deduced from Manu's eighteen original enactments strike one as being rather singular. For example, if two men quarrel and fight and one of them is killed, there is no penalty; but if a third party interferes and kills or injures one of the original combatants, he must pay the ordinary fine for murder, or causing hurt. Should he himself be killed, the other two are subject to no penalty. When a man is guilty of adultery with another man's wife, if it be proved to be the first time, he must pay the fine for adultery, usually the price of the woman, assessed according to the judge's opinion; if it is her second offence, he only pays half the fine; but if she has been guilty for a third time, he pays no penalty at all. 671 673

If one man curses another and some evil happens, he must pay twice the price of the damage incurred; thus, if the man dies he must pay twice the value of a man; two cows if a cow dies, and so on.

When the king dies there is a general pardon of all offences, and a remission of fines, except in the case of debt. There are also seven things which cannot be reclaimed after the death of the king under whom they were promised or given. These are:—1. Deposits. 2. Pledges. 3. Money paid wrongly by the parties in a law-suit. 4. Things carried off by violence, or seized upon without sufficient title. 5. Promises. 6. Things secretly stolen. 7. Things that have been voluntarily given up by one man and taken possession of by another. 673 643

The decisions of Mahawthata, Princess Thudhammasari, and others are of little value from a strictly legal point of view. They are chiefly of a religious character. The princess begins by saying that her cases are to be considered as guides to nobles and judges as to the line they 671 773

14: Brant E-5 (1949-50) 1954 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4
Indians

621 consider, because they did not want to lose the Indians as customers for their paddy stalk and as a source of manure for their gardens and fields.

563 The headman of Tadagale, when queried as to the reasons for the departure of the Indians, shrugged his shoulders and said simply that they were afraid, despite the plans for village defense, that their animals might be injured in the event of any fighting between villagers and bandits.

Within a few days, the Indians of Tadagale had all departed; and in the vacant spaces where their houses had stood, the Burmese were eagerly at work erecting buildings of their own.

Social Change

175 Prior to effective British rule in Lower Burma (about 1830), the local
631 autonomous unit was the village circle, consisting of several villages under
622 the authority of a headman. The office of headman seems to have been hereditary
626 in fact, although elections were held. That is to say, headmen tended to be elected in a particular lineage. Rule was through personal relationship between the headman and the villagers. Under the circle headman was a council of elders, appointed by him, one from each village in the circle. Disputes were almost entirely settled by arbitration and compromise, rather than with any concern over the abstract legal right and wrong of the case.

621 Within the village, a system called 'ten-house heads' was operative. This system appears to have been operative through British times, but at least since 1948 has lost effectiveness. Tadagale houses are strung out along a main path, and the ten-house division is such that the houses belonging to one group are mostly contiguous. The head of each ten-house section acted as a kind of deputy to the headman and sat on the council of elders.

175 With the coming of British rule, much of this changed. They established
631 a hierarchical system, in which there were, in descending order of size,
622 nation, division, district, township, village circle, and village. All officials at each level were appointed from the capital, even down to the village level, where the headman was made an appointed civil servant. He was paid on a percentage basis of his total tax collections and fines levied. The circle headman had police power and judicial authority in petty crimes.

175 A judicial system was introduced by the British to replace the old in-
692 formal arbitration. With an almost total disregard for indigenous institutions and customs, the British established a territorial system based upon law. The loosely structed and informal system of old gradually broke down.

669 Early in 1948 Burma gained her independence. Since that time the country
631 has been in a state of disorganization. The civil strife has brought about
182 an almost complete breakdown of administrative function on many levels. Certainly the ties of the village with higher units have been curtailed. One indication of this is the fact that the headman no longer submits reports with any degree of regularity to higher echelons, as was required under British rule. Even the local ten-house heads council has largely ceased to function. It exists, but is scarcely used.

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

378. THE PALACE GARDENS.

the cause of suffering and death, and the discredit reflected on officialdom by its methods, lead the best elements of the population to shun office, as a touching of pitch. The dearth of ability and character in the governing classes leaves the governed without efficient protection. The religious motive further operates in withholding information about criminals. A pregnant category is that of the "five enemies"—Fire, Water, Robbers, Rulers, Ill-wishers. The governors and deputies who acted as judges heard causes at the *yôn*, an open shed in a public place. But every cause was presented in the first instance at the house of the official, and it is contrary to accepted ideas of politeness to approach a superior empty-handed, even on a mere visit of courtesy. The *pros* and *cons* of the case were understood before the regular hearing. At the hearing, the advocates of the parties (*ashé-ne*) publicly presented their pleas and the evidence was recorded. The Burmese form of oath is to take the *kyanza* in the hands, a book of imprecations which the witness invokes on his head if he should speak falsely. The judge or judges intimated their finding to their clerks (*saye*), who recorded it in official style and read it out. The punishments awarded to criminals and the condition of prisoners were much like those prevailing in Europe at the time of the Renaissance. Every judgment of importance was registered in the *Hluttaw* or chancellery at the capital, presided over by the four chief ministers (*Wundyi*), through whom all royal commands to the governors of provinces issued. There was no regular system of appeals. The Hindu code of Manú served as a body of law, and statutes were decreed by the kings; but *thusan* (custom) supplied standards of a more practical and stable nature.

379. ROYAL MAID OF HONOUR (APYODAWI).

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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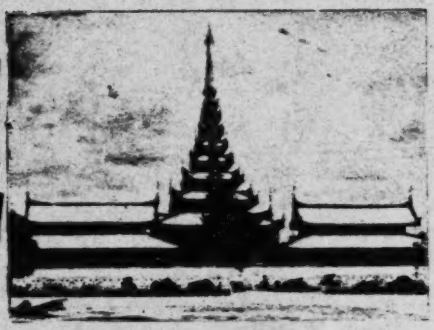

380. PALACE FRONT AND SPIRE.

The British administration preserves the native official machinery, from the *thadyt* to the *myoòk*, augmenting the numbers so as to reach every part of the area and curtailing the powers. Under native *régime* even *thadyts* might be *dâbaing*. The new *régime* takes account of the village *lûdyts* for the sake of their moral influence; many of them have been invested with power to compose differences up to small amounts, and some of the more prominent are honorary magistrates. Independent spirit is on the increase; the officials have to reckon with a new temper in the people. Nevertheless, in municipal councils the supineness and complaisance of the native members are calculated to stultify the position accorded to them. Road-making and sanitation do not arouse their interest, and the local excise, the matter they long to deal with, is excluded from their jurisdiction (*cf.* p. 157). The *thadyt* personally measures the fields, collects the land-tax and poll-tax from house to house, in such a circle as he can make the circuit of twice a year, and receives commission on the amount. He reports on matters within his circle. As many revenue-circles as a native magistrate can personally control are united into a township, under a *myoòk*, who at the same time supervises the co-ordinate grades of police distributed in the township. He publicly tries criminal and civil cases, under his powers as magistrate, by codes of law and procedure accessible to everybody. These codes form the most valuable models of system, in the vernacular, up to the present. By their help both judges and advocates have trained themselves in law. Five to eight townships, according to facilities for

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381. BURMAN PRINCESS.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

288. ROYAL INSIGNIA.

supervision, are combined into a district under a European magistrate, the Deputy Commissioner, who has a European officer for district superintendent of police, commanding an average force of four hundred native constables. At the district headquarters are a police-depôt, treasury, jail and hospital, besides courthouses and offices. The district officer hears appeals from the *myoôks*, and tries all offences except the gravest and heavy civil suits. This organisation is the backbone of the civil government, the 'Commission.' There are thirty-six such districts, and four hundred native magistrates, on salaries of one hundred to eight hundred rupees a month, besides one hundred and twenty-five native honorary magistrates. The success of this economical administration, organised by Sir Arthur Phayre, in ensuring the safety of life and property and the fulfilment of contracts has given a new value to enterprise and thrift. The British garrison of Burma in 1900 consisted of three thousand European and seven thousand five hundred Indian regular troops.

To return to native Burma—In the centre of the capital, and by euphemism of creation, rises the *pyatthat* which canopies the principal throne in the great hall of audience, where envoys and tributary princes used to be received. Here also the princes of his own blood and the high officers of state paid court to the king on *gaddaw-ne*, days when they craved pardon of the king for their shortcomings. The throne (No. 1) is ascended by a stair at the back, leading from the council-room of the king's cabinet of palace ministers, who were the medium of communication with the *Hluttaw*. On such occa-

289. ANCIENT CAPITAL SAGAING.

30: Maung Htin Aung E-4 (no date) 1953 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

century, the punishment for abduction of women was en- 671
hanced from one of confinement in irons to that of death. 681
Thus what the English lawyer would understand by the term 671
"criminal law" was considered to be the personal concern of 643
the king. Therefore, when the ruling king died, and a new king ascended the throne, all persons undergoing punishment for crimes committed under the previous king, automatically were freed. Criminal jurisdiction therefore was considered to be merely an administrative function of the crown, and it concerned the executive, and not the judicial, officers of the state. Modern European writers have ever emphasized the despotism of Burmese kings, but the Royal Edicts proclaimed at the beginning of each reign clearly showed that the Burmese king was not a blood-thirsty individual devoid of all mercy. In the [692
Edicts, we find the king delegating the function of meting out 645]
criminal justice to three of his Chief Ministers, admonishing at the same time that they should temper justice with mercy. The king in the Edicts ordered that even in capital crimes, the [682]
punishment should be one of banishment, and the sentence of death was to be reserved for vicious criminals. Even when the sentence of death had been passed, the execution was to be postponed for at least ten days so as to enable the king to consider the case and alter the punishment to one of banishment if the facts justified such alteration.

But as in England, the king was considered to be the foun- 692
tain of justice, for his was the supreme court of the land. The 631
kingdom was divided into provinces, each under a viceroy. Each province was further divided into cities, each city under a governor. Each city or city area was subdivided into towns and each town or town area into villages, with a headman for each town and each village. The courts of the headmen of towns or villages dealt with suits of small value, and there was a right of appeal from those courts to the courts of the governors of cities. The courts of the governors exercised both original and appellate jurisdiction, and appeals from these courts lay to the court of the viceroy, which also exercised both

692 original and appellate jurisdiction. These officers were execu-
631 tive officers under the crown, but when they sat as judges in their respective courts, they were judges in the full sense of the term, for they were free of all executive control. Finally there
[643] was the Supreme Court. This final court of appeal consisted of the king as the president, the crown prince as the vice-president, the four chief ministers, and their four deputies. The king, however, attended only on rare occasions, and thus the crown prince usually presided over the court. The law that these courts administered and interpreted was the customary
694 law of the Burmese people. One special feature of the courts
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671 Burmese history, like the history of many countries, re-
[178] cords rebellions, invasions, and violent struggles for power,
177 but the development of Burmese customary law has been
175 singularly free from catastrophes and sudden changes. There has never been a revolution in the Burmese customary law. However, the law in the course of its long history experienced three great impacts with the outside world. The first was the impact of Hindu jurisprudence, second was the impact of Buddhism, and the third was the impact of English law as the result of the British conquest of the country towards the end of the nineteenth century.

Some of my colleagues of this conference have already

592 sent to stay with us at various times and were sent to schools which taught English, but nothing would persuade them to take any interest in studies. My cousin Nyein Maung, whom I liked very much, could never bear to keep a shirt on, which was why he was always to be found with only a longyi tucked around his loins playing chinlon or helping boatmen with their canoes, when he should have been sitting fully clothed in a class-room.

[601] My young Uncle Pyant, whom we called U-Ngè, small Uncle, had
• 693 passed his B.A. and his law degree, and returned to Ye in preference to
177 a more modern life in a larger town. He walled off one doorway's space
44 from the main room of the house and filled it with bookcases, a big desk and chairs for visitors. Outside this room my Uncle Pyant put up a sign saying: "*A-htet tan shaynay gyi:* Advocate and Higher Grade Pleader," and within a very short time became the lawyer of the whole village; but so great was his attachment to this consultation-living-room, which had nothing in common with the rest of Ye, that he relinquished all cases whose developing complexities led client and lawyer to a higher court in Moulmein.

592 Grandmother had gardens about ten miles up the creek from Ye.
244 These contained coconuts, durians and areca nuts grown over about
276 fifty acres for commercial disposal. Around the bungalow in the centre
427 of the garden there grew mangosteen, rambutan, pomeloes and pineapples for eating on a large-scale, clumps of bamboos, a coffee tree, tobacco plants, capsicum, lime and citron trees, lemon grass, and vegetables of all kinds to serve the needs of the bungalow and the household in town. My aunts with one young male relative took turns to live at the garden and help the family that was hired to look after it permanently. It was a dangerous life in these plantations as dacoities were very frequent.
[501] The produce was taken down to Ye in a succession of graceful narrow boats shaped out of single tree trunks. The durians and coconuts were
[442] sold straight away to traders who travelled between Moulmein and Ye for this purpose. The areca nuts were first dried on a bamboo attic made by an extension of the platform upper storey of the house until it met the back slope of the roof. When they were dried the whole family gathered around in the back kitchen and removed the husks with blunted nutcrackers, leaving the smooth nut to be sold.

244 With the rice from the paddy-land on the opposite bank, fruits,
262 vegetables and spices from the garden, rolling their cheroots with a mix-
226 ture containing tobacco in leaves shed by the areca trees in the garden,
438 and grinding their own coffee berries, my aunts and grandmother only
276 needed to buy a little fish and meat for their daily consumption. This they could not provide themselves owing to the Buddhist law against

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

671 one, as also is the point as to who should be made defendants, and who should be the witnesses. The Talaing Dhammathat says that the incident occurred in the province of Kawdônpayit, in Hindustan, and that the case gave rise to the recognition of the root, trunk, and branches of the law, which till then had not been defined. From whom, or whether the doctor got his fee at all, we are not told.

693 Advocates, pleaders, or barristers were, it is stated, unknown until a case occurred when certain suitors from the jungle came before the king and were not able to understand the court language. A court official was therefore allowed to assist them and turn their rustic jargon into comprehensible speech. These as "standing before" the king were called Shéné, as it were mouthpieces for the parties to the suit, and the king, who acted as judge. The convenience derived from their superior knowledge and experience afterwards led to the establishment of a regular body of barristers.

695 If the laws are, some of them, somewhat singular to those who are accustomed to the scientific Indian penal and civil codes, as well as to the growth of centuries of Western practice, the method of binding over witnesses to tell the truth, or at least the book on which they are required to pledge themselves, is sufficiently startling. The Book of the Oath, Kyeinsa, is still used in British courts of justice, and it is to be hoped that all the younger members of the population know what terrible punishments they are drawing down on themselves when they hold it over their heads and promise to tell the truth; what frightful penalties will befall them if they swerve in the least degree from the exact facts of the case. In the old times a man used always to be sworn on this book in a place where there was no shadow, or in a pagoda, and this custom was maintained to the end in native Burma. There was a special shrine for the purpose in Mandalay, and at the Shwe Mingôn Payā, near the oil-wells of Yenangyaung, there is a stone, ordinarily deposited between two images of the Hentha, the Brahminy goose, which the swearer takes in his hand, lamps being lighted at the same time. The book itself might not be kept in ordinary places. Some copies were kept in the court in a specially consecrated box, some in a zayat, and some, more

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Although the kingdoms of Prome and Thaton probably based their wealth on trade and commerce, and the kingdom of Pagan based its power and wealth on commerce, the Burmese have been simple agriculturists throughout their history, and therefore Burmese customary law of contract and torts dealt with the business of agriculture, such as water-rights, land-rights, hire of cattle, carts, and implements, and with the relations between employers and laborers. As has been stated before, the Burmese law of contract and tort is no longer valid, and although the Burmese still remain agriculturalists, their business of agriculture is no longer simple as in the days before the British annexation. Nonetheless, some of the rules of law in contract and torts are still of interest. For example, let us consider the law relating to payment of wages to laborers. The Burmese law did not give emphasis to that part of the wages which was to be in the form of money. But it specifically laid down that (1) in the case of an agricultural laborer, he was to receive, in addition to wages in money, a suit of clothes at the end of each "season"—i.e., the "growing season" and the "reaping season," and (2) in the case of a nonagricultural laborer, he was to receive, throughout the period of his employment and in addition to wages in money, "regular meals of rice and curry." For the agricultural laborer, who had his own store of paddy, clothing was of great consequence, and to the nonagricultural laborer food was of great consequence. Thus the Burmese law ensured that the fluctuation either in the general level of wages or in the value of money should not adversely effect either the laborer or his employer. Moreover, as both the laborer and the employer wore the same homespun clothes and ate the same food, the arrangement was fair to both parties. With regard to professional services rendered also, the Burmese law attempted to be fair to both parties, as could be seen from the following rules of law regarding physicians and lawyers:

671 683 675 241 466 671 759 693

If a physician has been called for fee to attend to a sick person, but the sick person recovers or dies before the physician reaches

671 his bedside, the physician shall be entitled to his fee if he has
759 reached at least the doorway of the sick person's house. In the same
693 way, if a suit is withdrawn or settled, or the judge does not find it necessary to call upon the pleader to argue, the pleader shall be entitled to his fee if he has spoken even a few words, or if he has just pulled up the sleeve of his gown in a gesture of speech. If a client wishes to call in another physician, he shall pay the full fees to the first physician, and shall also offer him a cup of water in token of friendship. If a client wishes to engage another pleader, he shall pay the full fee to the first pleader.

671 The following rules regarding void sales and purchases will
432 further illustrate the essential similarity of Burmese law and the English law of contract:

> There are four cases when a sale or a purchase is void: (i) if the price fixed is below its value; by value it is meant market value at the time of the sale, and even a ruby worth a kingdom before may be sold for one-eighth of a basket of rice, if that is the prevailing market value of rubies; (ii) if the buyer is aware that the ownership of the property is being disputed; (iii) if the whereabouts of the property are not known; and (iv) if the owner of the property is in confinement or under duress.

672 Just as in the English law, under the Burmese law a per-
683 son was responsible for any injury which was the foreseeable consequence of his acts. Thus, it was a rule of law that if a person induced another person to accompany him to a place full of perils, and the latter suffered injury, the former was to pay damages to the full amount of the injury; however, if the second person was aware of the dangerous nature of the place, the damages payable were only half the amount of compensation for the injury. Under the same principle, if a host entertained his guest so well that the latter became intoxicated, the host owed a duty in law to see that the guest reached his home safely; if the guest should be allowed to go home unattended, and if he should die or suffer injury on the way through illness, exposure, snake-bite, attack by robbers or by wild beasts, the host was liable to pay full compensation. The

principle of contributory negligence was also known to Bur- 672
mese law, and the following rules of law regarding "travelling 683
at night with due caution" will serve as an illustration:

If there be occasion for a person at night to go about the city or the town, or the village, he shall go only with a lantern, for if he goes about without a lantern and is stopped, or hindered, or attacked, he shall not be entitled to damages. If, however, he is going about in search of a doctor, and if he shouts out this fact in the darkness, he shall be entitled to full compensation from the offender who stops or strikes him, even though he carries no lantern. In the same way, if a young woman goes about at night beyond the usual hours when people go about, and if she wears no kerchief on her breast, and if her modesty is outraged, she shall not be entitled to any damages.

The unity of Burmese society has always been the family, 671
but unlike the rigidly knit Roman family or the Hindu joint 693
family, it easily disintegrates. A Burmese family is loosely knit by ties of blood, and sometimes of marriage, and thus it usually consists of the father, the mother, and their unmarried sons and daughters. The sons however can leave the family even before marriage on attaining the age of puberty (sixteen years of age), and the daughters on attaining the age of majority, but sons and daughters of course usually leave the family only on marriage. Sometimes sons and daughters decide to remain in the family even after marriage, at least for some time. The head of the family is the father, and on his death, the mother succeeds to the headship of the family, as in Burmese law the husband and wife are heirs to each other. The head of the Burmese family exercises general control over the family, but unlike the heads of the Roman and Hindu families, he performs no religious duties. He or she has the [584]
right to betroth his or her daughter under the age of majority to a male of his or her choice, but the right is subject to the daughter's right of repudiating the betrothal, either by refusing to marry the man chosen by her parent, or by compelling the parent to recognize her betrothal to the man of her own choice.

178 Since those remote times, the Burmese customary law has
671 developed naturally, side by side with the growth and development of Burmese society. The Burmese have no great national code of laws gathered and authorized by a powerful king, no great charter forced from an unwilling king, no great statute passed by a national assembly fighting against tyranny, but nonetheless the Burmese customary law shows a conception of justice and a love of personal liberty in which every Burmese must take pride.

671 To the Burmese, before the partial introduction of the
643 English legal system, law meant civil law. To them, civil law was purely customary, and besides custom, there could be no other source of law. The idea of legislation by a parliament or a congress, or by executive order of the king was unfamiliar to the Burmese. In English common law, the king could do no
[685 wrong, and thus he was above the law. But with the Burmese,
694] the king himself was not exempt from the operation of the civil law, and the king was often the defendant in civil suits, usually for wrongful seizure of land. Admittedly the king was above his subjects, and he had the right to levy taxes in service or in kind, but he was also under a duty to give protection to the people. To protect the people and to preserve the peace, the king must prevent wrong-doing and punish wrong-doers, and it was for the king to proclaim which acts were wrongs from the point of view of public peace. Thus, at the beginning of each reign, the king proclaimed his list of crimes, and the punishments he would mete out to those who were found guilty of those crimes.

671 The list of crimes varied with each king, but the usual
681 crimes were offenses against the state, murder, robbery, theft, rape, and serious defamation. The usual penalties were whipping, confinement in irons, maiming, banishment, and death, with or without forfeiture to the king's treasury of the of-
[684] fender's possessions. In the eighteenth century, adultery was added to the list of crimes, with the punishment of whipping for both the woman and her paramour, and proclamation of their guilt by beat of drums and gongs. In the nineteenth

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631 tive officers under the crown, but when they sat as judges in their respective courts, they were judges in the full sense of the term, for they were free of all executive control. Finally there
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terrific in their denunciations, in little receptacles fixed high up in trees.

With the view of guarding thoughtless or reckless people against themselves there were certain classes enumerated who should not under any circumstances be allowed to take the oath, or to appear as witnesses. These were:—1. Those who do not believe in the merit of good works. 2. Such people as trade with the goods of others. 3. Parties interested in the case, as well as their relations, friends, and enemies. 4. Great talkers. 5. Sick persons. 6. Old men. 7. Children. 8. Overbearing men. 9. Public singers. 10. Actresses. 11. Women of ill fame. 12. Goldsmiths. 13. Painters. 14. Blacksmiths. 15. Cobblers. 16. Asthmatic persons. 17. Low people. 18. Gluttons. 19. Gamblers. 20. Hot-tempered people. 21. Doctors. 22. Thieves. 23. Pregnant women. 24. Hermaphrodites, a by no means uncommon class in Burma. If, however, both parties to the suit gave their consent, some of these classes might be allowed to give testimony. Another curious old provision was that when one of the litigants produced a witness, he himself was not required to take the oath, while contrariwise, if he swore on the book, it was not imperative that he should call witnesses. [143]

The Book of the Oath is not quite fixed in its length, nor in the number of the imprecations which it threatens against false witnesses. Some copies are much more diffuse than others. It is always written on palm-leaf, in the ordinary character, and these in English courts are kept wrapped up in the ecclesiastical kabbalwè, usually sewn for greater convenience. The commonest version is as follows:—

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I will speak the truth. If I should be influenced by the laws of demerits, namely, passion, folly, anger, false opinion, immodesty, pride, scepticism, hard-heartedness, then may all these calamities attend me and my relations, wherever we may be, by land or by water, travelling or remaining quietly at home. May the nats who guard the sacred heavens, the athura nats and all other giants, the nats who guard the three Baskets of the Sacred Law, delivered by the most excellent Buddha, and all the other holy writings and sermons; may the nats, the guardians of the sacred relics

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the holy hair, the teeth, the jawbone, the frontal bone, and all the other relics; the keepers and warders of countless shrines, all golden and made famous by sacred memories; the protectors of the images and figures of the supreme Buddha; may the nats who guard the sacred mount and all the hills of the Southern Island; the nats who watch and ward the mighty rivers, the lesser streams, the lakes, the torrents, cataracts, and whirlpools; the nats who preside over the vast forests and the single trees; the nats of the sun, the moon, the stars, and meteors, the clouds, winds, mists, and exhalations; may the nagā and the galôn, hideous dragons, and cruel birds, all bilus, ogres, demons, warlocks, all the evils that come from without the body; may all these spirits and ill things unite to slay me and mine, to the utmost limits of kinship, if I speak not the truth.

When I and my relations are on land, let all the hideous land creatures, tigers, bilus, elephants, male and female, demons and giants, buffaloes, poisonous serpents, the cobra, and the hamadryad, the scorpion, and the centipede; may they all seize, bite, crush, strangle, and devour us; may the earth open and swallow us up; a thunderbolt from heaven descend and annihilate us, if I speak not the truth.

When we travel by water may our boats sink and be shattered by storms; may crocodiles, writhing snakes, and ravenous fishes kill and devour us, that we suddenly die, perish, and come to utter destruction, if I speak not the truth.

May the five calamities occasioned by fire, water, thieves, governors and enemies oppress us; may we be subject to all the maladies of the body; may we be as fools and idiots, afflicted with madness and leprosy, with all kinds of loathsome disease and evils that deform the body, with itch, scurvy, ulcers, deafness, blindness, dysentery, the plague, and all manner of mental and corporal miseries; may we incur the hatred and punishments of judges and rulers; may we be for ever separated from our forefathers, children, and relations, throughout all succeeding worlds; may fire destroy our goods; lances, swords, arrows, and knives, and all sorts of weapons cut and pierce and maim our bodies; may I die instantly, vomiting up clotted, black blood before the assembled people, if I speak not the truth.

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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Moreover, if I speak not the truth, may I and all my family after death be instantly cast into the abyss of hell, there to wander for a cycle of worlds through the eight great hells, and all the smaller ones, suffering from all the torments of these places; and when at length I shall emerge thence, may I become a pyeitta, or a thurakè, and thereafter some hideous animal, passing through all the wretchedness of the four states of punishment. Finally, when after innumerable worlds I shall at length once more become man, may I be the slave of other men a hundred and a thousand times, if I speak not now the truth.

But if I speak truth, may I and all my relations escape the three calamities, the four states of punishment, and the five enemies; may all the ills in the body and all that are without the body keep far away; may our wealth, honour, and estimation ever increase, and when we die may we attain the happiness of men and dewas, and speedily entering on the noble path, reach the cloudless peace of Ne'ban.

A desire to avoid denouncing on themselves all these fearsome penalties led in the old times to a good deal of trying by ordeal, a form of decision which still prevails extensively in country districts, and occasionally was made use of even in Mandalay. The forms used are those familiar in old times in other parts of the world, such as eating consecrated rice, like the first English *corsnaed*, plunging the finger wrapped in a thin palm-leaf into melted tin; immersing accuser and accused in water to see who would remain longest below and prove his innocence or guilt. The yahans are usually present on these occasions, and recite certain formulæ beforehand, a great concourse of people assembling to see the test. The opposing parties wade into the river, or into a tank, up to the chest and then duck under, a couple of men holding a board over their heads to keep them down. The one that comes up first is cast in the case. Another form common at the pagodas is for both parties to resort thither, when the monks again recite the precepts and sundry other phrases. Then equal parts of wax are carefully weighed out, and from these candles are made for plaintiff and defendant. They are lighted simultaneously, and the holder of the candle which first burns out

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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615 is adjudged to have lost the case, and judgment is delivered forthwith. The winning party, for all the friends are always present, immediately cause their band to strike up, dancers perform and songs are sung, and every token of triumph is
696 exhibited. Unfortunately, however, for any supposed efficacy of the system, substitutes are allowed, and in addition to this bribery plays as important a part almost as it did in the law-courts themselves. The man whose money went farthest won his case, whether decided according to the principles of the Dhammathat or the lottery of the ordeal.

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[567] ment, to mutilation, perpetual slavery, and death. Except for debt, a man sentenced by the court to slavery became so with all his descendants for ever, and they were usually allotted to some pagoda, doomed to support life by begging as tadaungsa, or relegated to some other of the outcast classes. Death in Mandalay was almost invariably by decapitation, the agony of the condemned being occasionally prolonged by a fiendish executioner; the custom of throwing victims to be devoured by wild beasts, or trodden to death by wild elephants in the elephant-trap, was latterly wholly given up. In the provinces, however, other methods were very frequently adopted. North of the capital "crucifixion" was particularly common. The letwakat, or wakattaing, does not at all resemble the ordinary pictorial representation of the cross. It is more like a double ladder, consisting of three stout bamboos fixed upright in the ground, three bars lashed to them horizontally with canes, and over these again two cross-bars in the shape of a St. Andrew's cross. These punishment stakes were most frequently put up on the river-bank or on sandbanks in the stream, and were particularly common where the Shan and Kachin hills come down anywhere near the Irrawaddy. Sometimes the criminal was killed before he was lashed up, sometimes he was tied up

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

776 alone about midway between the river and the Shan
823 Mountains. It is thus very conspicuous, having no hills near it to share its majesty; and being in sight from all the old capitals, it is very well known in history and legend. It is covered with dense forest, and the villages close about are few. At the top there is a crater with a broken side, and a stream comes flowing out of this break down the mountain. Probably it was the denseness of its forests, the abundance of water, and its central position, more
[579] than its guardian Nats, that made it for so many years the last retreating-place of the half-robber, half-patriot bands that made life so uneasy for us. But the Nats of Popa Mountains are very famous.

776 When any foreigner was taken into the service
● 695 of the King of Burma he had to swear an oath of
823 fidelity. He swore upon many things, and among them were included 'all the Nats in Popa.' No Burman would have dared to break an oath sworn in such a serious way as this, and they did not imagine that anyone else would. It was and is a very dangerous thing to offend the Popa Nats; for they are still there in the mountain, and everyone who goes there must do them reverence.

776 A friend of mine, a police officer who was en-
823 gaged in trying to catch the last of the robber chiefs who hid near Popa, told me that when he went up
[782] the mountain shooting, he, too, had to make offerings. Some way up there is a little valley dark with overhanging trees, and a stream flows slowly along it. It is an enchanted valley, and if you look closely you will see that the stream is not as other streams, for it flows uphill. It comes rushing into

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

378. THE PALACE GARDENS.

the cause of suffering and death, and the discredit reflected on officialdom by its methods, lead the best elements of the population to shun office, as a touching of pitch. The dearth of ability and character in the governing classes leaves the governed without efficient protection. The religious motive further operates in withholding information about criminals. A pregnant category is that of the "five enemies"—Fire, Water, Robbers, Rulers, Ill-wishers. The governors and deputies who acted as judges heard causes at the *yôn*, an open shed in a public place. But every cause was presented in the first instance at the house of the official, and it is contrary to accepted ideas of politeness to approach a superior empty-handed, even on a mere visit of courtesy. The *pros* and *cons* of the case were understood before the regular hearing. At the hearing, the advocates of the parties (*ashé-ne*) publicly presented their pleas and the evidence was recorded. The Burmese form of oath is to take the *kyanza* in the hands, a book of imprecations which the witness invokes on his head if he should speak falsely. The judge or judges intimated their finding to their clerks (*sayé*), who recorded it in official style and read it out. The punishments awarded to criminals and the condition of prisoners were much like those prevailing in Europe at the time of the Renaissance. Every judgment of importance was registered in the *Hluttaw* or chancellery at the capital, presided over by the four chief ministers (*Wundyi*), through whom all royal commands to the governors of provinces issued. There was no regular system of appeals. The Hindu code of Manú served as a body of law, and statutes were decreed by the kings; but *thazan* (custom) supplied standards of a more practical and stable nature.

379. ROYAL MAID OF HONOUR (APYODAW).

29: Slater M-4 (no date) 1951 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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doubtless a virtue enjoined by Buddhism. Carried to this extreme, however, has it not distorted Buddhism beyond recognition?

The Buddhist reply is two-fold. In the first place, it is claimed that there are *Nat* beliefs and practices which are *not* inconsistent with Buddhism. Since the normal Buddhist foresees many possible rebirths before he attains Nibbāna, there is no reason why some of these rebirths should not occur in a *Nat* realm. As to the denial of the soul, that raises difficulties, but are they so very different from the questions raised by the *Jātaka* stories in Buddhist tradition itself? The learned Buddhist has his own explanations, and the villager is inclined to regard life itself as ultimately as great a mystery as Nibbāna, while he does lip service to the *an-attā* doctrine (soul-denial). 'The Buddha accepted the Indian universe of his day ready-made' with its conception of heavens and hells and innumerable worlds.[17] Popular Buddhism, as popular religion everywhere, lives in narrative form, and the ordinary Burman dwells in two worlds of story, Buddhist and *Nat*, which fuse together.

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As to *Nat* practices, some of these are innocent, and others have been given a Buddhist ethical content. Gratitude, for example, is both natural and good in itself. What harm, then, if a villager presents flowers at a *Nat* shrine from such a motive?[18] As to propititiation, even in this present life, men deem it wise to placate powerful humans. Buddhism, therefore, can wisely and tolerantly assimilate many *Nat* conceptions and practices without inconsistency. So it is argued.

Other ideas and customs, however, are admittedly incompatible with true Buddhism. These, it is claimed, have either been opposed or they have been tolerated for a time in confidence that sound religion would eventually prevail. Asked why he allowed *Nat* images in a Buddhist shrine, King A-naw-ra-hta is said to have replied, "Men will not come for the sake of the new faith. Let them come for their old gods and gradually they will be won over."[19] This confidence, it is held, has been justified: Buddhism has at least prevailed sufficiently to take the sting out of Animism; human sacrifice is no longer tolerated, and even animal sacrifices are furtive.

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Is there then no surviving superstitious fear of the *Nats*? This is debated. Temple quotes a formidable Oath, administered in the courts of law, which invokes the *Nats*:

"I will speak the truth.... May the Nats who guard the sacred heavens ... the keepers and warders of countless shrines ... the Nats

[17] J. B. Pratt, *The Pilgrimage of Buddhism*, chap. v, p. 76.

[18] Moung Po Ma, "Animism or Agnosticism?" *Buddhism*, Vol. I, No. 1 (1933, Rangoon), p. 95.

[19] H. Bay, *Theravāda Buddhism in Burma*, chap. VII, p. 262.

29: Slater M-4 (no date) 1951 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

who watch and ward the mighty rivers ... may the nāga and the galōn, hideous dragons and cruel birds, all ogres and demons ... may all these spirits and ill things unite to slay me and mine to the utmost limits of kinship, if I speak not the truth...."[20] 695 771 776

Respectable persons have trembled at the prospect of taking this oath, says Temple, so great was their dread of the *Nats*. A British magistrate, however, writing at a later day, observed drily that the fearsome Oath did not prevent false witness.[21] Perhaps these later witnesses did not know its terms, since the Oath was not read out in his court, only handled. Perhaps, however, they did not fear the *Nats* as much as their sires did. We may indeed question whether men who can talk of the Nats reforming their ways and turning to religion can hold them in any lively dread. Smeaton, in his *Loyal Karens of Burma*, refers to some Christian converts who still propitiated the *Nats*. "We must throw some sops to the foul demons who afflict us," they explained, "but our hearts are ever looking for God." Their Buddhist neighbours might offer a similar explanation. They may still deem it prudent to throw some sops to the *Nats*, while their hearts are towards the Buddha. We may term such an attitude superstitious, remembering that similar superstitious practices survive on similar grounds in other religious traditions. But we may well hesitate before we describe the Burmese as *Nat*-worshippers or say that their Buddhism is only a veneer. 771 779* 776

The Burman may claim that, while certain aspects of Animism can be tolerated without inconsistency, Buddhism has, in fact, opposed the more objectionable practices, has prevailed against them, and has altered the attitude to the *Nats*. This, in substance, is the reply contained in an article criticising the statement in the Census Report shortly after its publication. The *Nats*, says the writer, Moung Po Me, 'are real beings to the Burman and Buddhism does not deny their existence.' But they are certainly not bogeys. It is only when the Burman deviates from Buddhist ethics that Buddhism becomes a veneer.[22]

His verdict is confirmed by other observers who may be considered more impartial. "The nats were the gods of Burma before the Buddha arrived," says Professor Pratt. "But as soon as he came they learned their place as merely subordinate spirits, and they have kept their place very well ever since."[23] "Were spirit worship twice as prominent as it is," observes a Christian missionary, "I should still call Buddhism the religion

[20] Temple, *The Thirty Seven Nats*, p. 4; cf. Scott, *The Burman*, Vol. II, chap. XXVI, p. 250.

[21] C. J. Richards, *The Burman*, p. 50.

[22] Article in *Buddhism*, cited supra.

[23] *The Pilgrimage of Buddhism*, chap. VII, p. 127.

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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695 is adjudged to have lost the case, and judgment is delivered forthwith. The winning party, for all the friends are always present, immediately cause their band to strike up, dancers perform and songs are sung, and every token of triumph is
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[567] ment, to mutilation, perpetual slavery, and death. Except for debt, a man sentenced by the court to slavery became so with all his descendants for ever, and they were usually allotted to some pagoda, doomed to support life by begging as tadaungsa, or relegated to some other of the outcast classes. Death in Mandalay was almost invariably by decapitation, the agony of the condemned being occasionally prolonged by a fiendish executioner; the custom of throwing victims to be devoured by wild beasts, or trodden to death by wild elephants in the elephant-trap, was latterly wholly given up. In the provinces, however, other methods were very frequently adopted. North of the capital "crucifixion" was particularly common. The letwakat, or wakattaing, does not at all resemble the ordinary pictorial representation of the cross. It is more like a double ladder, consisting of three stout bamboos fixed upright in the ground, three bars lashed to them horizontally with canes, and over these again two cross-bars in the shape of a St. Andrew's cross. These punishment stakes were most frequently put up on the river-bank or on sandbanks in the stream, and were particularly common where the Shan and Kachin hills come down anywhere near the Irrawaddy. Sometimes the criminal was killed before he was lashed up, sometimes he was tied up

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696 Notwithstanding the severity of the treatment in the jails, the laws were really very mildly administered, and there were few whose relations could not muster up enough to secure them immunity from torture. Capital sentences were on the whole rare, except when political considerations came in. Then there was no mercy. Cattle-stealing was very severely punished, but murder could almost always be purged by a blood-bote.

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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first and then disembowelled with a sword-gash across the stomach, or rendered helpless by a few spear-thrusts. In either case the body was left hanging, to be picked clean by the vultures, and the bones gradually fell off. Formerly, when the mouth of the Irrawaddy was Burmese territory, a favourite method used to be to tie the convict down at the edge of the stream at low water and leave him to be drowned by the incoming tide. The fishes were often more expeditious than the vultures in devouring their prey. The favourite kind of stake for this purpose was the "stump of hell," the irregular short stem of the undeveloped trees in a mangrove swamp, looking like pinnacles or knobs rising out of the confused network of exposed roots.

But imprisonment was often worse than death. The prisons had never been cleaned out since they were made, some of them noisome underground cells, some flimsy wooden or bamboo structures open all round. The prisoners sat with their feet in the stocks perpetually, and the long bamboo which united them was occasionally triced up so far that the poor wretches only touched the ground with their shoulders. A favourite time for thus inverting them was at night. But a man who had not had enough money to satisfy the judge might often manage satisfactorily to square the jailer. If he effected that he was on the whole comfortable; he was allowed to go away in the morning, have his meals at home, and go back and deliver himself into custody at night again. But if he had no money, or no friends to pay it for him, his best course was to die at once, indeed he certainly would before long, for the only food to be had in prison was that supplied by relatives of the convicts. If no friend brought it, the jailer certainly would not supply any. It was better to be "proclaimed," to suffer maungkyaw, than to go to jail. This was a punishment almost confined to the capital, and greatly resembling the old English naval practice of flogging an offender "round the fleet." The criminal was taken to each gate of the city, to the corners of all the chief streets, and to sundry other frequented places. At each of these points his crime and sentence were read out and he was flogged. None but the strong-constitutioned could stand it, but those who survived were free men.

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body where it will not be visible. If it is not effectual, there is always open to them the signal afforded by kindly national custom to maidens longing for a mate. They cut off the lappets of hair, the bya-bazan, hanging over the ears, and the significance is the same as the white heather of the language of flowers, "heart for sale." In Rangoon the tattooing of a woman has a special signification, not recognised elsewhere. It means that she wants an Englishman for a husband. Poor thing!

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Another very universal kind of tattooing is that with a-hpi se. Almost every schoolboy in the country has a specimen of this on him, for does it not prevent him from feeling the pain when he is caned? No amount of falsified hopes in the experience of friends will persuade him that it may not be effectual in his case, and a flogging is often courted as an immediate test of its efficacy. Pride repels the inquiries of chums as to the results, but the experimenter is usually very well behaved for some time. In the case of older men the a-hpi se acts as a talisman against bullets, sword cuts, and ills of that kind. Allied to this are the thenat hpi, which soldiers and dacoits carry about with them. These are the horns of buffaloes and other animals, which may be plain, but are usually elaborately carved with figures according to fancy. They must be quite solid down to the root. A hollow or flaw of any kind deprives them of their virtue. While the man has such a talisman in his hands he cannot be killed. A monkey is a very favourite image to have carved in this way on a sword or dagger hilt, the reference being to the tale of the Ramayana. Of a similar nature are talismans which are especially used by soldiers and dacoits. These hkaung-beit-set are charmed or consecrated objects let into the flesh under the skin. They are of various kinds. Some are gold, silver, or lead; others curious pebbles, pieces of tortoise-shell, or bits of horn, all of them with incantations of mystic character written on them. Many famed dacoits have long rows and curves of them over the chest, showing in little knobs through the skin. When they get into English prisons, an energetic jailer has been known to cut them out, lest they should be pieces of gold or silver, or perhaps precious stones, with which the turnkeys

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might be bribed. The usual result is to break the robber's spirit. Once the continuity is interrupted the consecration is gone. More peaceable people wear necklaces or bracelets of such talismans in the belief that they are thus proof against malignant witches and necromancers. Most Englishmen in Burma, who are on friendly terms with the people, have been asked to test the virtue of such a charm, by firing at it tied up in a handkerchief. If the incantation is valid the handkerchief will be unharmed, though the muzzle of the pistol be held up to it. In such a case the pistol will burst.

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Another kind of tattooing is the mwe se, which guards against danger from snake bite. Similarly the a-kwè a-ka, the shielding, or defending drug, renders harmless the spells of wizards and geomancers, and keeps far away evil spirits of every kind. But the most hideous and weird of the superstitions about tattooing is that connected with the a-kyan se. There are but very few sayās who are acquainted with the necessary drugs and incantations, and fewer people still who have the courage to submit to the operation, for many men are pointed out whose minds have given way under the gruesome process, and who wander about graveyards, gnashing their teeth and fumbling about for human bones to gnaw and mouth. And no wonder, for some tattooers make them chew the raw flesh of a man who has been hanged, while the figure is being tattooed on the breast. Those who go through the operation are called Baw-di-tha-da. Some become Baw-di-tha-da without knowing it, and without the sickening necessity of mumbling human flesh like a ghoul. I knew an instance in a monastery. The patient was a boarder about fourteen years of age. A Shan tattooer wandering about the country spent a couple of nights in the kyaung, and the boy, attracted by the fellow's eerie tales, managed to save up a good many titbits for him from the food going in the monastery. Out of gratitude, and having nothing better to give him, for he was very poor and homeless, the sayā tattooed on the lad a figure with singular drugs, muttering queer phrases the while. Then he went away saying no more than that it would make the boy very strong. In about a month's time the boarder displayed unmistakable signs of being a Baw-di-tha-da. He

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carved with flowers and figures, and adorned with the usual flamboyant pinnacles, supported on massive teak pillars, painted vermilion colour at the base, and gilt higher up. Straight ahead is the great Hall of Audience, a colonnade, or columned arcade, extending along the entire eastern front, and opening directly upon it. At the end of a pillared vista stands the throne, on a dais, reached by five steps from the level of the hall. The top is a cushioned ledge, like the box in a theatre. Just over the throne, and in the centre of the palace, which is the centre of the city, which is the centre of Burma, which is the Turanian "hub" of the world, rises the seven-roofed spire, emblematic of royalty and religion. The princes of the highest rank sit in front to the right of the throne; those of the blood-royal, but not so closely connected, to the left. Then in regular gradation, opposite one another, the wungyi, atwinwuns, wundauks, and the minor officials. On either side of the hall of audience and behind are a number of minor throne-rooms, not rooms in the English sense of the word, but simply open roofed spaces, separated from each other by skirtings of planking, covered with gold-leaf, and supported by a multitude of teak pillars, dyed for the greater part of their height a deep red. Some rooms are almost entirely gilt, others are adorned with wall-paintings, others, again, with the favourite mosaic of bits of mirror and coloured glass, framed in a gilt network. Every room is furnished with one or more stands of arms; there is a rack of sadly ill-cared-for muskets round the throne itself. The palace is, in fact, a gigantic armoury. All the cannon and guns in the country are kept there. Hence it is that when the palace is taken by a usurper, the country is conquered. The abundance of gold-leaf ought to make the effect splendid, but the quantity of alloy there is in the gilding makes it speedily lose its glitter, and the general impression is that of dinginess, if not indeed of actual slip-shod tawdriness. But to be seen at its best the palace should be visited on a great beg-pardon day, when the rough plank floors are covered with gorgeous rugs and carpets, and the halls are filled with officials dressed in all the hues of the rainbow.

There are a variety of matters to be carefully observed by all who enter, or have anything to do with the palace.

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Monastery. As chiefs of the Letthôndaw, the Royal Page Bodyguard, they had the opportunity which won their rank. A daughter of the Taingda married the Hpaungwun, and the Atwinwun in consequence gave occasional dinners to the European and quasi-European dwellers in Mandalay. The guests were, as a rule, not in a position to brave his anger by a refusal, and had to endure most elaborate indignities at his hands. All the most humiliating formalities of the palace had to be observed towards the young minister, and the *menu* was said, by the victims, to be the worst of them all. In regard to this, it must be remembered that it took a very great deal to hurt the dignity of some Mandalay Europeans, and also that they were as fickle as any mob.

These three atwinwuns were the most powerful ministers, and had greater influence with the king than any of their technical superiors. The four wungyis were, with the exception of the Upathi, of very little account with any one. The Laungshwe Mingyi had been for long nearly bed-ridden, and was not able to appear even at Mindôn's funeral. The other three had all been in Europe, but the most that can be said of the Kampat Mingyi is that he became the king's father-in-law, while the Yaw was absent for nearly two years on an expedition against the Shan mountaineers. He effected nothing warlike, and rumour said that he was so fully occupied in keeping the troops from dispersing to their homes that he had no time to fight. The fourth, however, was a remarkable man. The Upathi, better known as the Kinwunmingyi, had been very prominent for years, and he lived for twenty years after the annexation as a pensioner of the British Government. He used to be commonly spoken of as the premier on English analogy, but there was really no such dignitary known in Burma, and the Kinwungyi's substantive appointment was simply that of foreign secretary. He was twice to Europe on embassies, and his naturally acute mind was thus enlarged in its views. Had it not been for his great command over the public feeling, and his influence even over King Thibaw, there would certainly have been war between Burma and Great Britain in 1879. The foreign secretary was the representative of order and it was a bad thing for the

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CHAPTER LIV

THE BURMESE ARMY

THE Burmese army was not thought very much of even by the most patriotic Burman who had seen soldiers in other parts of the world. Malignant people called it a rabble; more smooth-tongued and favourably-disposed critics were fain to acknowledge that it was deficient in discipline. In physique and courage the men were formidable enough, but flintlocks and long Enfields do not avail much against the breechloader, and when complete inability to manœuvre was added to this, it was evident that even in jungle warfare, except against an equally ill-armed foe, King Thibaw's forces would make but a sorry show. Military instruction of a certain kind they had, but it never extended beyond squad drill, and even this was but very perfunctorily learned, while movements of large bodies of men were never attempted, except the so-called reviews, which took place every now and again, and in 1879 were held within a day or two either way at the full moon of every month. These "reviews" were, however, nothing more than marches-out on a big scale, and were only useful as a means of displaying the soldier in the glory of his uniform, and giving him a little exercise. Except on these occasions, indeed, it was seldom that the soldiery appeared in military dress. Even when on guard they dispensed with every article of warlike attire, except the gun, and even that was more frequently to be found in the rack than in the sentry's hands. These military promenades, therefore, offered the most favourable opportunity of observing the royal levies.

The troops mustered at an early hour in the wide glacis

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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701 between the inner and outer stockades of the palace. There they fell in, in a theoretical formation of fours, and remained placidly waiting; conversation went on freely, and smoking and chewing betel were not interfered with. The bogyi and other officers of rank meanwhile assembled within the inner court. After, perhaps, three or four hours' waiting, the king came out and inspected the forces through a field-glass from the head of the broad flight of steps in front of the Hall of Audience, or, perhaps, a notice was sent out that his majesty would not even view his troops in this easy fashion, and the army was saved from the—to English notions—exceedingly unmilitary attitude of grovelling on its stomach for a matter of two minutes while the king looked through his binocular.

701 714 This over, the non-commissioned officers said *hé!* and the men sloped arms and started off anyhow. Outside the eastern gate a halt was made while the bogyis, colonels of regiments, mounted their elephants, got into position, and marshalled their bodyguards round about them. The lesser bos and thwethaukgyis, "great blood drinkers," were mounted on ponies and had their personal retainers about them too. The commanding officer came at the head of his regiment, preceded by twenty pages carrying double-barrelled smoothbores in red cloth covers. These pages were all dressed alike, according to the individual taste of the commander, in uniform turbans, tunic, and pason. The livery of the [569] young Kachin colonel of the Fourth Regiment was the most effective—red-flowered turbans, French grey jackets, and red pasos of the wavy "dog's tooth" pattern. The colonel of the Third Regiment, on the other hand, revelled in bilious contrasts—pea-green gaungbaungs, flowing red tunics, and yellow waistcloths of what a 'Varsity tradesman would call a neat quiet plaid pattern. This bodyguard walked at either side of the road in loose Indian file to see that the way was clear. The bo himself rode an elephant, gorgeously caparisoned, with tassels and streamers trailing to the ground from the velvet-covered howdah. He was dressed in the national turban and paso, but wore a tight-fitting tunic, covered with gold lace. All of them were either smoking or chewing betel. Behind the elephant came

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the umbrella-bearer, or, perhaps, two or three of them if the officer had attained such distinction. 701 714

The actual civilian commander of the regiment seldom came out to the review, so that there were comparatively few gold umbrellas, but the red and green military sun-shades, with deep fringes, added perhaps more to the brilliance of the array, considered simply as a spectacle. Behind the hti-bearers came the minor officers, mounted on ponies, with the ordinary Burmese scarlet cloth saddle and tassels sweeping [492] over the animal's flanks. Each of these minor chiefs also had his umbrella borne over his head, and a score or two of spear-men guarded the flanks of the cavalcade. Mingled up among them was a confused crowd of cheroot-bearers, spittoon-holders, betel-box carriers, and similar functionaries such as accompany a Burmese grandee wherever he goes. Behind this motley assemblage came the regimental colours. These were bifurcated red pennants, burgees bearing the number of the battalion, and leogryphs, lions, dogs, dragons, and similar distinguishing emblems for the different regiments. The standard was not very ponderous, but occasionally the bearer—he was not an officer—got tired of carrying it over his shoulder and lowered it to the trail without seeming to injure any one's sense of congruity. He was followed by 704 the band, or a portion of it, for the musicians were scattered 533 in twos and threes all over the regiment, usually at the head of a company, but not by any means necessarily so. Burmese music is ordinarily far from soft and gentle. At a play the trumpets blare, and the gongs, cymbals, and clappers clash and jingle and rattle in truly inspiriting fashion. But no such spirit-stirring strains are considered necessary to rouse martial ardour. A military bandsman required no preliminary education. All he had to do was to tap, tap away in the most stolid and monotonous fashion on a kyinaung. This is a brass or bell-metal gong, about the size of a dessert plate with a small round boss in the centre. The sound is sweet, and they are pitched in different keys, but a low-country Burman is at a loss to divine their precise use. The sound does not travel far, and they are not beaten in any fixed time, besides that the ahmudan would not step to it if they were; so that if it were not for the dignity

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712 forts Captain Barker of H.M.'s 89th P.V., the best English authority on Upper Burma military matters, said, "without ditch, without flank defence, without expense magazines, without traverses to protect the gunners, they are mere shell-
712 traps for the destruction of the garrison." He might have
361 added that they were without armament, and in 1885 they surrendered without firing a shot. Mandalay itself has naturally a strong position because of its inaccessibility. To the east it is guarded by the Shan mountains and the marshy plains below. Rivers and creeks make the approach from the south difficult. On the north is an impassable morass. On the west of the city are wide-spreading, thickly populated suburbs, and the river-side is defended by a high
●701 embankment. But the weakness of Mandalay lay in the
175 worthlessness of the army and the feebleness of its armament. The kingdom of Burma was, in fact, nothing like so powerful as it was a quarter of a century before, when the second Burmese war was ended. When the end came Mandalay fell to a force twenty miles away.

000 *Note.*—It has been brought to the writer's notice that several worthy Frenchmen have been hurt by the references to foreigners in this and in preceding and following chapters. It may therefore be noted here that the count who sold syrups was not the Comte de Trevelec, who was a contemporary of the Marquis de Gallifet at St. Cyr, and that there is no reference to General de Facieu, a popular, picturesque, and notable French gentleman. Neither were Louis Vossion nor Monsieur Fernand d'Avéra thought of when this book was written. Vossion was a stubborn patriot. Monsieur d'Avéra is a genial patriot with a doubt whether France or Upper Burma has the greater claims on him. In any case for fifty years Fernand d'Avéra has been one of the best known and best liked men in Burma.

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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the law, the unchangeable law that man is subject to. 779
There is no good thing but peace, no sin like strife 721
and war.' That is what the followers of the great teacher would tell the peasant yearning for help to strike a blow upon the invaders. The law is the same for all. There is not one law for you and another for the foreigner; there is not one law to-day and another to-morrow. Truth is for ever and for ever. It cannot change even to help you in your extremity. Think of the English soldier and the Burmese peasant. Can there be anywhere a greater contrast than this?

Truly this is not a creed for a soldier, not a creed for a fighting-man of any kind, for what the soldier wants is a personal god who will always be on his side, always share his opinions, always support him against everyone else. But a law that points out unalterably that right is always right, and wrong always wrong, that nothing can alter one into the other, nothing can ever make killing righteous and violence honourable, that is no creed for a soldier. And Buddhism has ever done this. It never bent 779
to popular opinion, never made itself a tool in the hands of worldly passion. It could not. You might as well say to gravity, 'I want to lift this stone; please don't act on it for a time,' as expect Buddhism to assist you to make war. Buddhism is the unalterable law of righteousness, and cannot ally itself with evil, cannot ever be persuaded that under any circumstances evil can be good.

And so the Burmese peasant had to fight his 721
own fight in 1885 alone. His king was gone, his 175
government broken up, he had no leaders. He had 701

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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no god to stand beside him when he fired at the foreign invaders; and when he lay a-dying, with a bullet in his throat, he had no one to open to him the gates of heaven.

And yet he fought—with every possible discouragement he fought, and sometimes he fought well. It has been thrown against him as a reproach that he did not do better. Those who have said this have never thought, never counted up the odds against him, never taken into consideration how often he did well.

Here was a people—a very poor people of peasants—with no leaders, absolutely none; no aristocracy of any kind, no cohesion, no fighting religion. They had for their leaders outlaws and desperadoes, and [411] for arms old flint-lock guns and soft iron swords. Could anything be expected from this except what actually did happen? And yet they often did well, their natural courage overcoming their bad weapons, their passionate desire of freedom giving them the necessary impulse.

In 1886, as I have said, all Burma was up. Even in the lower country, which we held for so long, insurrection was spreading fast, and troops and military police were being poured in from India.

There is above Mandalay a large trading village—a small town almost—called Shemmaga. It is the river port for a large trade in salt from the inner country, and it was important to hold it. The village lay along the river bank, and about the middle of it, some two hundred yards from the river, rises a small hill. Thus the village was a triangle,

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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with the base on the river, and the hill as apex. On the hill were some monasteries of teak, from which the monks had been ejected, and three hundred Ghurkas were in garrison there. A strong fence ran from the hill to the river like two arms, and there were three gates, one just by the hill, and one on each end of the river face. 721 175 701

Behind Shemmaga the country was under the rule of a robber chief called Maung Yaing, who could raise from among the peasants some two hundred or three hundred men, armed mostly with flint-locks. He had been in the king's time a brigand with a small number of followers, who defied or eluded the local authorities, and lived free in quarters among the most distant villages. Like many a robber chief in our country and elsewhere, he was liked rather than hated by the people, for his brutalities were confined to either strangers or personal enemies, and he was open-handed and generous. We look upon things now with different eyes to what we did two or three hundred years ago, but I dare say Maung Yaing was neither better nor worse than many a hero of ours long ago. He was a fairly good fighter, and had a little experience fighting the king's troops; and so it was very natural, when the machinery of government fell like a house of cards, and some leaders were wanted, that the young men should crowd to him, and put themselves under his orders. He had usually with him forty or fifty men, but he could, as I have said, raise five or six times as many for any particular service, and keep them together for a few days. He very soon discovered that he and his men were absolutely no match for our troops. 721 175 579 701

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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and the enemy were gone, no one could tell whither, into the night. 721 175

Such a scene of desolation as that village was next day! It was all destroyed—every house. All the food was gone, all furniture, all clothes, everything, and here and there was a corpse in among the blackened cinders. The whole countryside was terror-stricken at this failure to defend those who had depended on us. 579

I do not think this was a particularly gallant act, but it was a very able one. It was certainly war. It taught us a very severe lesson—more severe than a personal reverse would have been. It struck terror in the countryside. The memory of it hampered us for very long; even now they often talk of it. It was a brutal act—that of a brigand, not a soldier.

But there was no want of courage. If these men, inferior in number, in arms, in everything, could do this under the lead of a robber chief, what would they not have done if well led, if well trained, if well armed?

Of desperate encounters between our troops and the insurgents I could tell many a story. I have myself seen such fights. They nearly always ended in our favour—how could it be otherwise?

There was Ta Te, who occupied a pagoda enclosure with some eighty men, and was attacked by our mounted infantry. There was a long fight in that hot afternoon, and very soon the insurgents' ammunition began to fail, and the pagoda was stormed. Many men were killed, and Ta Te, when his men were nearly all dead, and his ammunition quite expended, climbed up the pagoda wall, and twisted off 721 157 701

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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721 pieces of the cement and threw them at the troops.
157 He would not surrender—not he—and he was killed.
701 There were many like him. The whole war was little affairs of this kind—a hundred, three hundred, of our men, and much the same, or a little more, of theirs. They only once or twice raised a force of two thousand men. Nothing can speak more forcibly of their want of organization than this. The whole country was pervaded by bands of fifty or a hundred men, very rarely amounting to more than two hundred, and no two bands ever acted in concert.

It is probable that most of the best men of the country were against us. It is certain, I think, that of those who openly joined us and accompanied us in our expedition, very, very few were other than men who had some private grudge to avenge, or some purpose to gain, by opposing their own people. Of such as these you cannot expect very much. And yet there were exceptions—men who showed up all the more brilliantly because they were exceptions—men whom I shall always honour. There were two I remember best of all. They are both dead now.

722 One was the eldest son of the hereditary governor
642 of a part of the country called Kawlin. It is in
631 the north-west of Upper Burma, and bordered on a semi-independent state called Wuntho. In the troubles that occurred after the deposition of King Thibaw, the Prince of Wuntho thought that he would be able to make for himself an independent kingdom, and he began by annexing Kawlin. So the governor had to flee, and with him his sons, and

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
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372. VILLAGE ELDERS IN CONCLAVE.

disperse as quickly as it was recruited or else it might develop into a band under a regular leader (*Bô*) and become the scourge of the country, rapidly attacking points separated by days' journeys. Against such bands the villagers combine and keep guard; torches are ready for night alarms. But when the brigands are too strong, the villagers have no choice but to enter into league with them and pay blackmail if they would not experience the horrors of barbarous war. At present brigandage is of very sporadic occurrence. Travellers are perfectly safe.

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Throughout Burma every man was liable to serve in war. He would have his own sabre and pike and would be provided with musket and ammunition, but no further accoutrements. Latterly the king's body-guards wore a sort of uniform (No. 9). Cannon are mentioned as early as 1350, and a century later, matchlocks were in use. Cæsar Frederick in 1569 speaks of pikes and arquebuses and good cannon. When disbanded, the soldiers had to surrender their muskets, but numbers were smuggled away, to add to the rigour of the guerilla waged by brigands and the severity of the villagers' retaliation.

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The military leader is called *Bô*; the civil governor or minister of the king, *Wun*, which means a burden or trust. The former might be a young man, the latter but rarely so. Age and influence are almost synonymous in Burma. If the elders—headmen, *Ithdyt*—are agreed upon a thing, it is done. The village elders represent the fundamental substratum of government in Burma. They are consulted by the officials on matters affecting the people, whose natural, if unofficial,

373. BURMAN OFFICIAL RECEIVING APPLICANTS.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

362. ROYAL INSIGNIA.

supervision, are combined into a district under a European magistrate, the Deputy Commissioner, who has a European officer for district superintendent of police, commanding an average force of four hundred native constables. At the district headquarters are a police-depôt, treasury, jail and hospital, besides courthouses and offices. The district officer hears appeals from the *myoôks*, and tries all offences except the gravest and heavy civil suits. This organisation is the backbone of the civil government, the 'Commission.' There are thirty-six such districts, and four hundred native magistrates, on salaries of one hundred to eight hundred rupees a month, besides one hundred and twenty-five native honorary magistrates. The success of this economical administration, organised by Sir Arthur Phayre, in ensuring the safety of life and property and the fulfilment of contracts has given a new value to enterprise and thrift. The British garrison of Burma in 1900 consisted of three thousand European and seven thousand five hundred Indian regular troops.

To return to native Burma—In the centre of the capital, and by euphemism of creation, rises the *pyatthat* which canopies the principal throne in the great hall of audience, where envoys and tributary princes used to be received. Here also the princes of his own blood and the high officers of state paid court to the king on *gadéw-ne*, days when they craved pardon of the king for their shortcomings. The throne (No. 1) is ascended by a stair at the back, leading from the council-room of the king's cabinet of palace ministers, who were the medium of communication with the *Hluttaw*. On such occa-

363. ANCIENT CAPITAL SAGAING.

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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not very much more could be said for the infantry—not so much in some cases. 704 714

The lancers were followed by the commissariat and control departments, a rabble of men carrying pots and pans and rolls of bamboo matting and boxes intended for ammunition, but containing none, and huge wicker baskets, besides a lot of other baggage which might be useful, but did not look like it. There were five or six hundred of these men, guarded by a handful of dah and spearmen. 705

In their wake followed the artillery corps; first, thirty or forty two-pounders, similar to those between the different regiments, and with the same complement of men to each gun, and the same appliances. Then the elephant battery, each elephant with two jingals mounted on the howdah. These jingals, throwing a half or three-quarter pound ball, with their long pointed tails and muzzles pointed up to the skies, look very much like telescopes from a distance. In actual warfare they would probably do nothing beyond scaring the elephant. Besides the mahaut, each elephant carried a man to manage the guns. Fifty of them were loaded with this mosquito artillery, and behind them came fifty more with nothing on them but the mahaut. Many were most magnificent tuskers, and they constituted the most valuable part of his majesty's army. 713 704

Behind the elephants came the heavier guns, drawn by buffaloes, but they were apt to stick in the heavy, unmade roads, and the buffaloes themselves were not easy brutes to manage, especially on a warm day when their skin begins to crack. This battery, therefore, usually went but a short distance. These heavy guns were mostly very ancient ship guns of Portuguese, Dutch, French, and Arakanese make, and would be considered valuable in an English parish museum. They were formidable to none except primitive mountaineers, and to them chiefly from the noise they made.

As this account shows, Thibaw's army was neither threatening nor efficient, and the events of 1885 bore out the estimate. When the time came for adding Upper Burma to the British dominions it was effected with the least possible amount of bloodshed on either side. It might be supposed from what has been said that the ahmudan 704 [175] 702

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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●702 had no drill, but this was very far from being the case. On the contrary, drill was going on constantly inside the palace
704 and at the various guard stations. The French and Italian
186 officers were always instructing them, but a want of belief
563 in the utility of mass movements rendered all their efforts useless. The recruits went through the balance-step with the utmost enthusiasm; when it came to forming fours they were a little less ardent, but by the time they ought to have been counter-marching and right-forming company they were tired of the whole business and poked fun at the instructor. European officers called themselves, and were called, generals and colonels and what not, but they were simply drill sergeants with very unpromising material. They were allowed no uniform; they never took command on a review day. Occasionally they complained of being insulted by their squads, and were told by a sententious mingyi that patience is one of the ten virtues which go to the making up of a true gentleman. To recompense them for their trials they made a great deal of money in a variety of ways, their salaries being the least part, and paid at long and uncertain intervals in a lump sum. The real "generals" were men who hardly ever came out at all, least of all when there was a chance of fighting. The commander-in-chief was for many months in jail, but still retained his title, and two of his sons remained in command of regiments. The men who managed the reviews and any work that was to be done were all let-thôndaw, the king's pages of honour. Few of them were over twenty, but their duties did not require much experience.

702 Besides the legitimate drill, conducted by the European instructors, there were other performances, the object of which would hardly be apparent to the compilers of the *Manual of Field Exercise*. The instructor, one of the junior officers, assembled the men in a big circle round about him, and proceeded in a fashion dictated to him apparently by nothing but his own fancy. He threw his gun into the air, caught it and cried *hé!* and the men followed his example to the best of their ability. He went through the same manœuvre behind his back, cried *hé!* again, and the men probably got some hard knocks in dutifully trying to imitate him. He cried *hé* and hunched up his shoulders; cried *hé* and brought

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them down again; slapped one thigh and then the other with a *hé;* pirouetted on one leg and brandished a jointless limb in the air, crying *hé* vigorously, all which performances his squad copied as best they could. The men dropped off as they got tired, and by and by the instructor sat down himself, and the party dissolved or not as it pleased. Laughter, criticism, and applause were constant throughout. This sort of exercise was almost constant in the capital in 1879, and it was pretty nearly the only drill the rural levies ever got. These latter were dressed in the uniform of Mindôn's reign, mostly cast-off tunics and trousers of the Madras native infantry. They wore round soup-tureen-like helmets, with a piece of looking-glass in front. Of these they were very proud, but did not disdain to drink water and eat their dinner out of them. There was only a limited supply of these adornments for the provinces, and as a consequence it was frequent for the man on guard to strip and hand over his uniform to the relief, and then go home happy.

There was no musketry practice. Occasionally on feast-days, or when his majesty went out, there was a lot of powder burnt, but it would have been a very risky matter discharging some of the more ancient firelocks, and so it was perhaps as well that class-firing was not introduced. The artillery never had any exercise. Burmans have not the same respect for big guns that the natives of India have. They imagine that such a big thing as a field-piece is sure to hit something, if it is only pointed in a general way in the right direction, and conclude therefore that any fool can manage a big gun without preliminary practice. King Mindôn appointed a French officer to look after the gunners. This gentleman thought he must do something for his salary—rather an unusual thing with the king's servants—and accordingly as the men could not be induced to drill, took a battery out to the paddy-fields towards Yankintaung for ball practice. There he got the guns into position and commenced firing. Loud sounds should never assail the royal ears, and when his majesty heard the din, he was fiercely enraged. The Kathé Horse were sent out in a body to stop it. The over-energetic Gaul was told that if he had not been an ignorant foreigner, who did not know any better, he would have been made a

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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●702 target for his own battery, but the Burman officer was flogged round the town. The guns were stowed away in the palace lest such an enormity might by misadventure be again perpetrated. There they remained till Thibaw Min got them dragged out for his reviews. They had never been cleaned all this time, any more than the infantry arms ever were. He was perhaps less sensitive on the score of noise, but he did not send his gunners out to practise, and they, as a rule, kept their spare clothes and cheroots and betel stowed away in the muzzles of their pieces.

The strength of the army at the disposal of King Thibaw was only limited by the number of men in the country. Every male was liable to serve as a soldier whenever he was called upon, and in 1879, when war with England was momentarily expected, levies of one man from every twenty houses, every twelve, every six, were called out, and finally an ameindaw, or royal mandate, was issued, summoning every able-bodied man in the country to hold himself in
702 readiness for taking the field. But in ordinary times the
705 amount of a Burmese force depended not upon the number
631 of the population, but on the body of men the neighbourhood could feed in a collective state, for it was the district and not the Government that supported them. At the best Thibaw Min could supply not more than 25,000 and 30,000 men with muskets, more or less useless, from long Enfields to ancient flintlocks, which would be most readily induced to go off by putting them on a fire. The method of raising forces was somewhat as follows. The king, with or without the advice of his ministers, decided how many men were wanted, and informed the Hlutdaw, which thereupon issued orders to all the governors of provinces, calling upon them to muster the quota which custom had decided their districts must provide. The provincial rulers then sent their instructions to the myothugyis and taikthugyis, heads of townships and village circles, who in their turn communicated with the subordinate headman of each separate village. This last official, with the assistance of the house-reeves, singled out the men. Substitutes were allowed, and as every thugyi was absolute in his own place, he usually made a very pretty thing out of such a levy, through fines

2:Scott G.S (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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and sums given to him to procure another man. The whole district was called upon to pay for the support and equipment of its contingent, and the men who were recruited were usually those who were unable to furnish their share of this tax. But the men who eventually went off as soldiers were not by any means commonly those whom the headman first nominated. He expected to have money extorted from him by his superiors, and made his arrangements accordingly, naming all the wealthiest men in the place in his first list. This method of raising troops is not expeditious, but nothing under Thibaw's rule was expeditious, and it gave abundant scope for palavering and extortion, the two chief accomplishments of the rural officials.

The inhabitants of certain districts, however, were considered the hereditary soldiers of the Alaungpaya dynasty, and these levies were looked upon as forming the standing army. They held their lands by military service and were exempt from all taxation. They considered themselves to be the flower of the service and adopted *Junker* manners. A dragon was tattooed on the back of their necks, just over the shoulders, to signify that they specially belonged to the king, and, strictly speaking, they alone were entitled to the name ahmudan. They mounted guard in the palace, and were almost never required to leave the capital. The chief Alaungpaya districts are in the north, round about Môtshobo, now called Shwebo, whence the founder of the present dynasty came. The rural levies got all the work there was to be done against marauding Shans and Kachins, and garrisoned the various fortified towns along the frontier. Many of these contingents were armed with nothing but spears and dahs. At Minhla, near the old British frontier, where there was a well-constructed fort, was posted the strongest and best-armed detachment out of Mandalay. Near Ava there were three forts: one, the face of the old city wall, an earthen rampart thirty feet thick and twenty feet high, faced on the outside with masonry; a second on the other side of the river at Sagaing, and the third farther up at the bend of the river, at Shwegyetyet. These commanded the river at a point where vessels proceeding up the river had to round a dangerous reef of rocks. But with regard to these

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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651 transit dues, and so on, all imposed whenever the district offered an opportunity for them.

A fertile source of profit to the officials were the fees on law-suits and criminal cases, as well as on minor matters, [691] such as the settlement of petty quarrels, divorce suits, and the like, which did not require to be formally tried, but could be settled in the verandah of the thugyi's house over a cheroot or a fid of betel. At the beginning of the year, and on other great kadaw days, special sums had always to be wrung out of the people to furnish the presents required to be offered to the king by all the officials, from the myosa 653 downwards. *Corvées* and enforced duties of all kinds were frequent, and the men selected for such service could only get off by furnishing a substitute, or bribing the tithing man. The king or some great man wanted to build a pagoda, and orders were sent round to the various circles that they must furnish a regular supply of workers daily. The taik or myothugyi drew up a roster, and each man had to go and work for a certain number of days. If he failed to go he was triced up to a post or a tree and got a sound flogging. Similar forced duties were the protection of the frontier and the pursuit of dacoits. Such work was particularly detested, [702] for the men had to keep themselves supplied with food, or get their friends to bring it to them, and this was not always an easy matter. Besides such service might last an indefinite time.

651 Added to all the ordinary imposts were occasional extraordinary contributions to the Crown on the occasion of entering upon war, or upon other public emergencies. The Hlutdaw in Mandalay fixed the amount, and it was divided among the governors of districts. In 1798 a call of thirty-three rupees was made from every house in the country. It was two years before the collection was finished, and the result was six million rupees. But how much more the people paid is quite another thing. Very heavy calls were also made in 1827 to meet the first instalment of the indemnity due to the British after the treaty of Yandabo. The money was sent down at dead of night to the British Commissioners, and all the people were ordered to close their doors and remain inside that they might not see the national

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The military leader is called *Bô*; the civil governor or minister of the king, *Wun*, which means a burden or trust. The former might be a young man, the latter but rarely so. Age and influence are almost synonymous in Burma. If the elders—headmen, *lôdyt*—are agreed upon a thing, it is done. The village elders represent the fundamental substratum of government in Burma. They are consulted by the officials on matters affecting the people, whose natural, if unofficial,

373. BURMAN OFFICIAL RECEIVING APPLICANTS.

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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The men smoked in the ranks and hailed their friends along the route in the freest possible fashion. When a man wanted a light or a drink of water he simply fell out and went in search of it among the spectators, rightly enough assured that none of the officers would bother their heads as to the reason of his departure. All along the line of march men who had been delayed in this way might be seen scuttling along to get somewhere near their proper places. Here and there one was left far away from his regiment, having been seduced into conversation with a friend. Now and then the non-commissioned officers caught sight of an Englishman looking on, and woke up to the sudden sense of their responsibilities, delivering sound thwacks with the butt end of their spears on the shoulders of any stragglers within reach in

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704 713 Between regiments came four cannon, pulled by men, and with little pennons stuck in the touch-holes. Two gunners accompanied each two-pounder, one carrying a galvanised tin bucket and the other a big canister, intended for shot and powder, but singularly unfitted for such material on a campaign. Sponges and rammers were wanting, and were said to be intentionally so in the hope that the guns might be mistaken for breech-loaders, and the men who drew the pieces were the bombardiers.

704 714 After the infantry, at an interval of two hundred yards, came two regiments of cavalry, numbering about five hundred lances in all. They wore helmets of Grecian pattern, like cuirassiers, but otherwise were in the national dress. The second of the two was the celebrated "Kathé Horse," who have won in English books on Burma a fame unknown in their own country. They were dressed in French grey jackets and red pasos, and looked very well; but their mounts were very poor for a country where ponies are so plentiful and where it was so easy for the commander to demand their excellence. The saddles had long flaps or wings hanging down in front to protect the riders' bare legs when riding through underwood, but it was so long since they had been in the jungle that the flaps were more of a decoration than a necessity. Cavalry is an arm of the service of little use in a country like Burma, but with their long slender lances and splendid trappings they made a fine show, and

?:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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the umbrella-bearer, or, perhaps, two or three of them if the officer had attained such distinction. 701 714

The actual civilian commander of the regiment seldom came out to the review, so that there were comparatively few gold umbrellas, but the red and green military sun-shades, with deep fringes, added perhaps more to the brilliance of the array, considered simply as a spectacle. Behind the hti-bearers came the minor officers, mounted on ponies, with the ordinary Burmese scarlet cloth saddle and tassels sweeping over the animal's flanks. Each of these minor chiefs also had his umbrella borne over his head, and a score or two of spear-men guarded the flanks of the cavalcade. Mingled up among them was a confused crowd of cheroot-bearers, spittoon-holders, betel-box carriers, and similar functionaries such as accompany a Burmese grandee wherever he goes. Behind this motley assemblage came the regimental colours. These were bifurcated red pennants, burgees bearing the number of the battalion, and leogryphs, lions, dogs, dragons, and similar distinguishing emblems for the different regiments. The standard was not very ponderous, but occasionally the bearer—he was not an officer—got tired of carrying it over his shoulder and lowered it to the trail without seeming to injure any one's sense of congruity. He was followed by the band, or a portion of it, for the musicians were scattered in twos and threes all over the regiment, usually at the head of a company, but not by any means necessarily so. Burmese music is ordinarily far from soft and gentle. At a play the trumpets blare, and the gongs, cymbals, and clappers clash and jingle and rattle in truly inspiriting fashion. But no such spirit-stirring strains are considered necessary to rouse martial ardour. A military bandsman required no preliminary education. All he had to do was to tap, tap away in the most stolid and monotonous fashion on a kyinaung. This is a brass or bell-metal gong, about the size of a dessert plate with a small round boss in the centre. The sound is sweet, and they are pitched in different keys, but a low-country Burman is at a loss to divine their precise use. The sound does not travel far, and they are not beaten in any fixed time, besides that the ahmudan would not step to it if they were; so that if it were not for the dignity

[492] 704 533

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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704 533 of the thing, there might just as well have been no band at all. But there they were, and they jingled away and stopped and began again in the most casual and independent possible way.

704 714 After all this came at last the ahmudan, King Thibaw's army of "immortals" in full array. They most assuredly had not a martial appearance, and there was not a semblance of discipline among them. It was just possible to make out that they were marching in column. Here and there was a ragged resemblance to an alignment of fours, achieved for a few minutes apparently more by chance than anything else. The soldiers were very gorgeous. Peony roses and sunflowers were as nothing to them. All had red tunics, but the facings, which were broad, were different in each regiment. Some were yellow, some green, some blue, some nondescript, and the effect on the red ground was not always pleasing. The trousers were very various. Blue, with a broad yellow stripe down the side, or occasionally for the sake of variety down the front or the back, green and red, yellow and maroon, scarlet and brown, were a few of the combinations. On their heads were worn helmets with burnished spikes, and a small metal dragon in front. These helmets do not suit at all with long hair. The topknot of a good many is so large that the *pickelhaube* balances on it, and wobbles about in undignified fashion.

The majority, however, found that the most satisfactory way of avoiding this was to put the helmet on the back of the head, which imparted to them a dissipated appearance, which was far from martial-looking. Not a few found the difference in weight between their ordinary silk turban and a papier-mâché or plaited wicker helmet more than they could bear, and solved the difficulty by carrying their headpiece on the end of their carbines. This met with no remonstrance or opposition on the part of the non-commissioned officers, who, armed with spears, marched at irregular intervals along the flanks of the column. The soldiers had no belts, and therefore no scabbards, and proceeded with bayonets fixed. The Fourth Regiment, commanded by the young Kachin before alluded to, had a habit, whether for the sake of distinction, or as signifying that they were prepared at any moment to give cold steel, of sloping arms in an eccentric way. Grasping

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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not very much more could be said for the infantry—not so much in some cases. 704 714

The lancers were followed by the commissariat and control departments, a rabble of men carrying pots and pans and rolls of bamboo matting and boxes intended for ammunition, but containing none, and huge wicker baskets, besides a lot of other baggage which might be useful, but did not look like it. There were five or six hundred of these men, guarded by a handful of dah and spearmen. 705

In their wake followed the artillery corps; first, thirty or forty two-pounders, similar to those between the different regiments, and with the same complement of men to each gun, and the same appliances. Then the elephant battery, each elephant with two jingals mounted on the howdah. These jingals, throwing a half or three-quarter pound ball, with their long pointed tails and muzzles pointed up to the skies, look very much like telescopes from a distance. In actual warfare they would probably do nothing beyond scaring the elephant. Besides the mahaut, each elephant carried a man to manage the guns. Fifty of them were loaded with this mosquito artillery, and behind them came fifty more with nothing on them but the mahaut. Many were most magnificent tuskers, and they constituted the most valuable part of his majesty's army. 713 704

Behind the elephants came the heavier guns, drawn by buffaloes, but they were apt to stick in the heavy, unmade roads, and the buffaloes themselves were not easy brutes to manage, especially on a warm day when their skin begins to crack. This battery, therefore, usually went but a short distance. These heavy guns were mostly very ancient ship guns of Portuguese, Dutch, French, and Arakanese make, and would be considered valuable in an English parish museum. They were formidable to none except primitive mountaineers, and to them chiefly from the noise they made.

As this account shows, Thibaw's army was neither threatening nor efficient, and the events of 1885 bore out the estimate. When the time came for adding Upper Burma to the British dominions it was effected with the least possible amount of bloodshed on either side. It might be supposed from what has been said that the ahmudan 704 [175] 702

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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702 had no drill, but this was very far from being the case. On the contrary, drill was going on constantly inside the palace
704 and at the various guard stations. The French and Italian
186 officers were always instructing them, but a want of belief
563 in the utility of mass movements rendered all their efforts useless. The recruits went through the balance-step with the utmost enthusiasm; when it came to forming fours they were a little less ardent, but by the time they ought to have been counter-marching and right-forming company they were tired of the whole business and poked fun at the instructor. European officers called themselves, and were called, generals and colonels and what not, but they were simply drill sergeants with very unpromising material. They were allowed no uniform; they never took command on a review day. Occasionally they complained of being insulted by their squads, and were told by a sententious mingyi that patience is one of the ten virtues which go to the making up of a true gentleman. To recompense them for their trials they made a great deal of money in a variety of ways, their salaries being the least part, and paid at long and uncertain intervals in a lump sum. The real "generals" were men who hardly ever came out at all, least of all when there was a chance of fighting. The commander-in-chief was for many months in jail, but still retained his title, and two of his sons remained in command of regiments. The men who managed the reviews and any work that was to be done were all let-thôndaw, the king's pages of honour. Few of them were over twenty, but their duties did not require much experience.

702 Besides the legitimate drill, conducted by the European instructors, there were other performances, the object of which would hardly be apparent to the compilers of the *Manual of Field Exercise*. The instructor, one of the junior officers, assembled the men in a big circle round about him, and proceeded in a fashion dictated to him apparently by nothing but his own fancy. He threw his gun into the air, caught it and cried *hé!* and the men followed his example to the best of their ability. He went through the same manœuvre behind his back, cried *hé!* again, and the men probably got some hard knocks in dutifully trying to imitate him. He cried *hé* and hunched up his shoulders; cried *hé* and brought

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Burmese AP4

702 target for his own battery, but the Burman officer was flogged round the town. The guns were stowed away in the palace lest such an enormity might by misadventure be again perpetrated. There they remained till Thibaw Min got them dragged out for his reviews. They had never been cleaned all this time, any more than the infantry arms ever were. He was perhaps less sensitive on the score of noise, but he did not send his gunners out to practise, and they, as a rule, kept their spare clothes and cheroots and betel stowed away in the muzzles of their pieces.

The strength of the army at the disposal of King Thibaw was only limited by the number of men in the country. Every male was liable to serve as a soldier whenever he was called upon, and in 1879, when war with England was momentarily expected, levies of one man from every twenty houses, every twelve, every six, were called out, and finally an ameindaw, or royal mandate, was issued, summoning every able-bodied man in the country to hold himself in
702 readiness for taking the field. But in ordinary times the
705 amount of a Burmese force depended not upon the number
631 of the population, but on the body of men the neighbourhood could feed in a collective state, for it was the district and not the Government that supported them. At the best Thibaw Min could supply not more than 25,000 and 30,000 men with muskets, more or less useless, from long Enfields to ancient flintlocks, which would be most readily induced to go off by putting them on a fire. The method of raising forces was somewhat as follows. The king, with or without the advice of his ministers, decided how many men were wanted, and informed the Hlutdaw, which thereupon issued orders to all the governors of provinces, calling upon them to muster the quota which custom had decided their districts must provide. The provincial rulers then sent their instructions to the myothugyis and taikthugyis, heads of townships and village circles, who in their turn communicated with the subordinate headman of each separate village. This last official, with the assistance of the house-reeves, singled out the men. Substitutes were allowed, and as every thugyi was absolute in his own place, he usually made a very pretty thing out of such a levy, through fines

2:Scott G.S (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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and sums given to him to procure another man. The whole district was called upon to pay for the support and equipment of its contingent, and the men who were recruited were usually those who were unable to furnish their share of this tax. But the men who eventually went off as soldiers were not by any means commonly those whom the headman first nominated. He expected to have money extorted from him by his superiors, and made his arrangements accordingly, naming all the wealthiest men in the place in his first list. This method of raising troops is not expeditious, but nothing under Thibaw's rule was expeditious, and it gave abundant scope for palavering and extortion, the two chief accomplishments of the rural officials.

The inhabitants of certain districts, however, were considered the hereditary soldiers of the Alaungpaya dynasty, and these levies were looked upon as forming the standing army. They held their lands by military service and were exempt from all taxation. They considered themselves to be the flower of the service and adopted *Junker* manners. A dragon was tattooed on the back of their necks, just over the shoulders, to signify that they specially belonged to the king, and, strictly speaking, they alone were entitled to the name ahmudan. They mounted guard in the palace, and were almost never required to leave the capital. The chief Alaungpaya districts are in the north, round about Môtshobo, now called Shwebo, whence the founder of the present dynasty came. The rural levies got all the work there was to be done against marauding Shans and Kachins, and garrisoned the various fortified towns along the frontier. Many of these contingents were armed with nothing but spears and dahs. At Minhla, near the old British frontier, where there was a well-constructed fort, was posted the strongest and best-armed detachment out of Mandalay. Near Ava there were three forts: one, the face of the old city wall, an earthen rampart thirty feet thick and twenty feet high, faced on the outside with masonry; a second on the other side of the river at Sagaing, and the third farther up at the bend of the river, at Shwegyetyet. These commanded the river at a point where vessels proceeding up the river had to round a dangerous reef of rocks. But with regard to these

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forts Captain Barker of H.M.'s 89th P.V., the best English authority on Upper Burma military matters, said, "without ditch, without flank defence, without expense magazines, without traverses to protect the gunners, they are mere shell-traps for the destruction of the garrison." He might have added that they were without armament, and in 1885 they surrendered without firing a shot. Mandalay itself has naturally a strong position because of its inaccessibility. To the east it is guarded by the Shan mountains and the marshy plains below. Rivers and creeks make the approach from the south difficult. On the north is an impassable morass. On the west of the city are wide-spreading, thickly populated suburbs, and the river-side is defended by a high embankment. But the weakness of Mandalay lay in the worthlessness of the army and the feebleness of its armament. The kingdom of Burma was, in fact, nothing like so powerful as it was a quarter of a century before, when the second Burmese war was ended. When the end came Mandalay fell to a force twenty miles away.

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Note.—It has been brought to the writer's notice that several worthy Frenchmen have been hurt by the references to foreigners in this and in preceding and following chapters. It may therefore be noted here that the count who sold syrups was not the Comte de Trevelec, who was a contemporary of the Marquis de Gallifet at St. Cyr, and that there is no reference to General de Facieu, a popular, picturesque, and notable French gentleman. Neither were Louis Vossion nor Monsieur Fernand d'Avéra thought of when this book was written. Vossion was a stubborn patriot. Monsieur d'Avéra is a genial patriot with a doubt whether France or Upper Burma has the greater claims on him. In any case for fifty years Fernand d'Avéra has been one of the best known and best liked men in Burma.

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

132 year. There are other festivals: of the New Year,
796 in March, with its water-throwing; of each great pagoda at its appointed time; but of all, the festival of the end of Lent is the greatest.

796 Wherever there are great pagodas the people will come in from far and near for the feast. There are many great pagodas in Burma; there is the Arakan pagoda in Mandalay, and there was the Incomparable pagoda, which has been burnt; there are great pagodas at Pegu, at Prome, at many other places; but perhaps the greatest of all is the Shwe Dagon at Rangoon.

778 You see it from far away as you come up the
346 river, steaming in from the open sea, a great tongue of flame before you. It stands on a small conical hill just behind the city of Rangoon, about two miles away from the wharves and shipping in the busy river. The hill has been levelled on the top and paved into a wide platform, to which you ascend by a flight of many steps from the gate below, where stand the dragons. This entrance-way is all roofed over, and the pillars and the ceiling are red and
● [712] painted. Here it was that much fighting took place in the early wars, in 1852 especially, and many men, English and Burmese, were killed in storming and defending this strong place. For it had been made a very strong place, this holy place of him who taught that peace was the only good, and the de-
346 fences round about it are standing still. Upon the top of this hill, the flat paved top, stands the pagoda, a great solid tapering cone over three hundred feet high, ending in an iron fretwork spire that glitters with gold and jewels; and the whole pagoda is

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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870. HEADMAN MUSTERING HIS VILLAGERS.

CHAPTER VII

POLITICAL

WITH alien races planted on his soil and the watchful rivalry of the Taláing to contend with, the Burman had hourly need to guard his camp. Besides the enemies without, and their potential allies within, brigand bands of his own race had to be held in check. The chronic wars of Burman and Taláing (Mun), who were separated by no natural frontier, have left their record in the stockaded villages between Prome and Mimbu, a no-man's-land in which soldiers were impressed to fight, now on this side, now on that, and where, on being disbanded, they continued the plunder by which the armies subsisted in war. The traditions of brigandage and the exploits of noted leaders are remembered, and such enterprises are still a resort of the *vauriens* of a village or country-side when they perceive their chance—*damyá-taik sâdya!* These brigands (*damyá*, gang-robbers, dacoits) lay their plans to surprise a village while the men are away at work or endeavour to create a panic by a night attack and so obtain their booty without risk of an encounter. An occasional gang might

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871. BURMAN OUTPOST STOCKADE.

B 171 782 which was not at all unknown in European countries. About it see: R. Andree, Ethnographische Parallelen /Ethnographic Parallels/ (1878), pp. 18 ff.; F.S. Krauss, "Das Bauopfer bei den Südslaven" /Building Sacrifice among the Southern Slavs/, Mitteilungen der anthropologischen Gesellschaft zu Wien /Proceedings of the Vienna Anthropological Society/, Vol. 17 (1887), pp. 16 ff.; W.T. Brigham, The Ancient Hawaiian House (Memoirs B.P. Bishop Museum, Honolulu II, 3), pp. 27 ff.

B 361 712 In earlier days every Burmese settlement was surrounded by a fortification, cities having stone walls or stockades, the villages impenetrable fences of close rows of thorny bamboo shrubs, prickly cacti, or palisade-like fences of bamboo poles between which pointed bamboo stakes protruded. The latter type of fortification exists today only in the areas where the mountain tribes live, beyond the zone of British administration. Before B [628] [674] the British took over, the constant feuds between the individual tribes and the excesses of robbery made it necessary for each village to protect itself like a fort. With the increased safety of travel and property under the British rule this has become more and more unnecessary, although some districts still experience nocturnal robberies. The villages in the Prome District, which has one of the worst criminal records in Burma, are with practically no exfeptions enclosed by dense high, thorny hedges which have only narrow entrances.

S 341 The buildings of the Shan (11)--population in

11. Cf. especially L. Milne, Shans at Home (London, 1910), pp. 100 ff.; A.K. Gebauer, "Die nördlichen Schanstaaten und ihre Bewohner" /The Nor-

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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704 703 714 most energetic and official fashion. As a rule, however, they contented themselves with getting over the ground. Many of the recruits viewed their trousers with very grave suspicions. They evidently thought that unless precautionary measures were adopted, the article would slip off, and therefore, with a vigilance which did credit to their sense of modesty, held on tight with one hand to their continuations. Perhaps the tailors were to blame. But in any case the attitude was undignified, and certainly not military. The garment was not regarded with any favour even by the veterans. When the ahmudan were on guard they generally wore the ordinary waistcloth and carried the trousers in one hand to show their status. The tunics were almost never worn except at the reviews.

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The lancers were followed by the commissariat and control departments, a rabble of men carrying pots and pans and rolls of bamboo matting and boxes intended for ammunition, but containing none, and huge wicker baskets, besides a lot of other baggage which might be useful, but did not look like it. There were five or six hundred of these men, guarded by a handful of dah and spearmen. 705

In their wake followed the artillery corps; first, thirty or forty two-pounders, similar to those between the different regiments, and with the same complement of men to each gun, and the same appliances. Then the elephant battery, each elephant with two jingals mounted on the howdah. These jingals, throwing a half or three-quarter pound ball, with their long pointed tails and muzzles pointed up to the skies, look very much like telescopes from a distance. In actual warfare they would probably do nothing beyond scaring the elephant. Besides the mahaut, each elephant carried a man to manage the guns. Fifty of them were loaded with this mosquito artillery, and behind them came fifty more with nothing on them but the mahaut. Many were most magnificent tuskers, and they constituted the most valuable part of his majesty's army. 713 704

Behind the elephants came the heavier guns, drawn by buffaloes, but they were apt to stick in the heavy, unmade roads, and the buffaloes themselves were not easy brutes to manage, especially on a warm day when their skin begins to crack. This battery, therefore, usually went but a short distance. These heavy guns were mostly very ancient ship guns of Portuguese, Dutch, French, and Arakanese make, and would be considered valuable in an English parish museum. They were formidable to none except primitive mountaineers, and to them chiefly from the noise they made.

As this account shows, Thibaw's army was neither threatening nor efficient, and the events of 1885 bore out the estimate. When the time came for adding Upper Burma to the British dominions it was effected with the least possible amount of bloodshed on either side. It might be supposed from what has been said that the ahmudan 704 [175] 702

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701 between the inner and outer stockades of the palace. There they fell in, in a theoretical formation of fours, and remained placidly waiting; conversation went on freely, and smoking and chewing betel were not interfered with. The bogyi and other officers of rank meanwhile assembled within the inner court. After, perhaps, three or four hours' waiting, the king came out and inspected the forces through a field-glass from the head of the broad flight of steps in front of the Hall of Audience, or, perhaps, a notice was sent out that his majesty would not even view his troops in this easy fashion, and the army was saved from the—to English notions—exceedingly unmilitary attitude of grovelling on its stomach for a matter of two minutes while the king looked through his binocular.

701 This over, the non-commissioned officers said *hé!* and
● 714 the men sloped arms and started off anyhow. Outside the eastern gate a halt was made while the bogyis, colonels of regiments, mounted their elephants, got into position, and marshalled their bodyguards round about them. The lesser bos and thwethaukgyis, "great blood drinkers," were mounted on ponies and had their personal retainers about them too. The commanding officer came at the head of his regiment, preceded by twenty pages carrying double-barrelled smooth-bores in red cloth covers. These pages were all dressed alike, according to the individual taste of the commander, in uniform turbans, tunic, and pason. The livery of the
[563] young Kachin colonel of the Fourth Regiment was the most effective—red-flowered turbans, French grey jackets, and red pasos of the wavy "dog's tooth" pattern. The colonel of the Third Regiment, on the other hand, revelled in bilious contrasts—pea-green gaungbaungs, flowing red tunics, and yellow waistcloths of what a 'Varsity tradesman would call a neat quiet plaid pattern. This bodyguard walked at either side of the road in loose Indian file to see that the way was clear. The bo himself rode an elephant, gorgeously caparisoned, with tassels and streamers trailing to the ground from the velvet-covered howdah. He was dressed in the national turban and paso, but wore a tight-fitting tunic, covered with gold lace. All of them were either smoking or chewing betel. Behind the elephant came

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the umbrella-bearer, or, perhaps, two or three of them if the officer had attained such distinction. 701 714

The actual civilian commander of the regiment seldom came out to the review, so that there were comparatively few gold umbrellas, but the red and green military sun-shades, with deep fringes, added perhaps more to the brilliance of the array, considered simply as a spectacle. Behind the hti-bearers came the minor officers, mounted on ponies, with the ordinary Burmese scarlet cloth saddle and tassels sweeping over the animal's flanks. Each of these minor chiefs also had his umbrella borne over his head, and a score or two of spear-men guarded the flanks of the cavalcade. Mingled up among them was a confused crowd of cheroot-bearers, spittoon-holders, betel-box carriers, and similar functionaries such as accompany a Burmese grandee wherever he goes. Behind this motley assemblage came the regimental colours. These were bifurcated red pennants, burgees bearing the number of the battalion, and leogryphs, lions, dogs, dragons, and similar distinguishing emblems for the different regiments. The standard was not very ponderous, but occasionally the bearer—he was not an officer—got tired of carrying it over his shoulder and lowered it to the trail without seeming to injure any one's sense of congruity. He was followed by the band, or a portion of it, for the musicians were scattered in twos and threes all over the regiment, usually at the head of a company, but not by any means necessarily so. Burmese music is ordinarily far from soft and gentle. At a play the trumpets blare, and the gongs, cymbals, and clappers clash and jingle and rattle in truly inspiriting fashion. But no such spirit-stirring strains are considered necessary to rouse martial ardour. A military bandsman required no preliminary education. All he had to do was to tap, tap away in the most stolid and monotonous fashion on a kyinaung. This is a brass or bell-metal gong, about the size of a dessert plate with a small round boss in the centre. The sound is sweet, and they are pitched in different keys, but a low-country Burman is at a loss to divine their precise use. The sound does not travel far, and they are not beaten in any fixed time, besides that the ahmudan would not step to it if they were; so that if it were not for the dignity

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704 533 of the thing, there might just as well have been no band at all. But there they were, and they jingled away and stopped and began again in the most casual and independent possible way.

704 714 After all this came at last the ahmudan, King Thibaw's army of "immortals" in full array. They most assuredly had not a martial appearance, and there was not a semblance of discipline among them. It was just possible to make out that they were marching in column. Here and there was a ragged resemblance to an alignment of fours, achieved for a few minutes apparently more by chance than anything else. The soldiers were very gorgeous. Peony roses and sunflowers were as nothing to them. All had red tunics, but the facings, which were broad, were different in each regiment. Some were yellow, some green, some blue, some nondescript, and the effect on the red ground was not always pleasing. The trousers were very various. Blue, with a broad yellow stripe down the side, or occasionally for the sake of variety down the front or the back, green and red, yellow and maroon, scarlet and brown, were a few of the combinations. On their heads were worn helmets with burnished spikes, and a small metal dragon in front. These helmets do not suit at all with long hair. The topknot of a good many is so large that the *pickelhaube* balances on it, and wobbles about in undignified fashion.

The majority, however, found that the most satisfactory way of avoiding this was to put the helmet on the back of the head, which imparted to them a dissipated appearance, which was far from martial-looking. Not a few found the difference in weight between their ordinary silk turban and a papier-mâché or plaited wicker helmet more than they could bear, and solved the difficulty by carrying their headpiece on the end of their carbines. This met with no remonstrance or opposition on the part of the non-commissioned officers, who, armed with spears, marched at irregular intervals along the flanks of the column. The soldiers had no belts, and therefore no scabbards, and proceeded with bayonets fixed. The Fourth Regiment, commanded by the young Kachin before alluded to, had a habit, whether for the sake of distinction, or as signifying that they were prepared at any moment to give cold steel, of sloping arms in an eccentric way. Grasping

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the rifle at the upper band, they threw the butt over the shoulder and proceeded with bayonets sticking out in front. As a necessary consequence they did not straggle so much as the others, for if a man lagged he was wakened up by a prod from the point of the bayonet in the nape of the neck, or between the shoulders. The chief objection to this method of keeping the men at fairly regular intervals, was that a prick in the rear was as likely as not to pass right on to the head of the column, with the result of a volley of abuse and very considerable disorganisation.

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The marines were the strongest in point of numbers, and far and away the best in drill. They kept their alignment very fairly, and frequently as many as three men in a section kept step. Their uniform was a blue-frogged red tunic and blue trousers with a scarlet stripe. On the helmet they wore an anchor instead of the ordinary dragon of the line. Their colonel was the Hpaungwun, Myowun, now Hlethin atwinwun, the minister who was so energetic in the palace massacres in 1879. The credit of their discipline was, however, entirely due to Commotto, a young Italian naval officer in the king's service, and engineer of all the river forts. The marines were quite a thousand strong, and their officers were mounted just like the rest. When there was practice in the war-boats, the mayor-colonel viewed the performance from the back of an elephant on the river-bank. Like all the great men, however, he did not trouble himself to go out to the reviews.

The men smoked in the ranks and hailed their friends along the route in the freest possible fashion. When a man wanted a light or a drink of water he simply fell out and went in search of it among the spectators, rightly enough assured that none of the officers would bother their heads as to the reason of his departure. All along the line of march men who had been delayed in this way might be seen scuttling along to get somewhere near their proper places. Here and there one was left far away from his regiment, having been seduced into conversation with a friend. Now and then the non-commissioned officers caught sight of an Englishman looking on, and woke up to the sudden sense of their responsibilities, delivering sound thwacks with the butt end of their spears on the shoulders of any stragglers within reach in

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shrewdness of his countrymen. The same story is told of the foundation of the Arakan empire by the younger of two brothers who came from India.

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But it is in the relations with the milder-natured tribes, such as the Karens and Chins, or the small if warlike septs such as the Kachins, that the Burman most comes up to the truculence of the Mahā Yazawin. Out of the northern Kachins—bold robber bands, armed with queer, home-made, stockless guns—little was to be gained. They lived on the hills, and owned nothing but pigs; but they raided on lowland villages, and the Burmans retaliated, and there were periodic seasons of mutual crucifixion. Long ago these clans had the reputation of kindly hospitality, but Burmese tyranny made most of them dangerous savages. It is different with the Karens and Chins. The former, a heavy, plethoric people, endure their wrongs with dull indifference, all but the fierce Red Karens, who kept up a perpetual guerilla warfare, after the manner of the Kachins. The Karens account for their wrongs in the following way. When Yŭwa created the world he took three handfuls of earth and threw them round about him. From one sprang the Burmans, from another the Karens, and from the third the Kalās, the foreigners. The Karens were very talkative and made more noise than all the others, and so the Creator believed that there were too many of them, and he threw another half handful to the Burmans, who thus gained such a supremacy that they soon overcame the Karens, and have oppressed them ever since.

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The Chins were subjected to such long-continued and systematic ill-treatment on the part of the Burmese, that traditions accounting for this oppression actually form a part of the national religion. All mankind, they say, is descended from a woman called Hlinyu, who laid 101 eggs, from the last laid of which sprang the Chins. Hlinyu loved the youngest best; but he had gone away, and before she found him again the whole world except bleak mountain-ranges had been partitioned out among her other children. So the Chin first man got the hills, and as compensation was given elephants, horses, cattle, goats, pigs, and fowls. Unfortunately, Hlinyu appointed the Burman brother to

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the right of land tenure should always have been so fixed and certain. The fondness with which the people cling to their ancestral lands has something of almost religious fervour in its tenacity. As long as a family remains in the neighbourhood of their inheritance nothing will persuade them to give up their connection with it. In Upper Burma, to the present day, land is never sold as the term would be understood in Europe. The transaction which goes by the name of a sale is, in reality, a kind of mortgaging, or, more exactly, pawning, if such a term can be used with regard to land. 423

The estate passes from one occupant to another for a certain sum of money, and it is clearly understood that if at any time the original owner is in a position to reclaim his property he may do so whether the purchaser likes it or not. Farther than this even, the buyer cannot sell the land to a third party without first obtaining the consent of its former owner. Notwithstanding this feeling, however, it is seldom that a property can be found which has remained for any considerable length of time in the same family. This is owing to the constant rebellions and wars between Peguans and Burmese and Shans, which afflicted the country for five hundred years. All those who were not killed were driven away from their former homes by ruthless invaders or were drafted off to fight for the king. In the short intervals of peace rival governors, in desperation for means to raise the revenues expected from their provinces, would tempt people away from their former homes by the offer of rewards or a reduction of body service. Thus in some cases the proprietors were killed out, in others they left for districts so remote that it was impossible to retain a hold on the ancestral property, however great their attachment to it. As an illustration of the sanctity attaching to ownership of land, the law concerning church lands may be quoted from Buddhaghosha's Parables: "Whoso shall take for himself or for another wutmye, consecrated or glebe-land, shall become a mite, or a white ant upon that sacred ground for the whole of 100,000 cycles." 423 721 175 [773]

The eighteenth of the original eighteen laws given by Manu to the king refers to the partition of property, and an elaboration of this points out sixteen descriptions of children who cannot claim a portion of their parents' property. The 423 428

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000 situation with regard to other nations, its climate, its occupations. It is a great subject that I cannot go into. I wish to take all such things as I find them, and to discuss only the effect of the religion upon the courage of the people, upon its fighting capabilities. That religion may have a very serious effect one way or the other, no one can doubt. I went through the war of annexation, from 1885 to 1889, and from it I will draw my examples.

175 642 721 When we declared war in Upper Burma, and the column advanced up the river in November 1885, there was hardly any opposition. A little fight there was at the frontier fort of Minhla, but beyond that nothing. The river that might have been blocked was open; the earthworks had no cannon, the men no guns. Such a collapse was never seen. There was no organization, no material, no money. The men wanted officers to command and teach them; the officers wanted authority and ability to command. The people looked to their rulers to repel the invaders; the rulers looked to the people. There was no common intelligence or will between them. Everything was wanting; nothing was as it should be. And so Mandalay fell without a shot, and King Thibaw, the young, incapable, kind-hearted king, was taken into captivity.

175 642 721 That was the end of the first act, brief and bloodless. For a time the people were stupefied. They could not understand what had happened; they could not guess what was going to happen. They expected that the English would soon retire, and that then their own government would reorganize itself. Meanwhile they kept quiet.

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It is curious to think how peaceful the country 175
really was from November 1885 till June 1886. 721
And then the trouble came. The people had by that time, even in the wild forest villages, begun to understand that we wanted to stay, that we did not intend going away unless forced to. They felt that it was of no further use looking to Mandalay for help. We had begun, too, to consider about collecting taxes, to interfere with the simple machinery of local affairs, to show that we meant to govern. And as the people did not desire to be governed—certainly not by foreigners, at least—they began to organize resistance. They looked to their local leaders for help, and, as too often these local governors were not very capable men, they sought, as all people have done, the assistance of such men of war as they could find—brigands, and freelances, and the like—and put themselves under their orders. The whole country rose, from Bhamo to Minhla, from the Shan Plateau to the Chin Mountains. All Upper Burma was in a passion of insurrection, a very fury of rebellion against the usurping foreigners. Our authority was confined to the range of our guns. Our forts were attacked, our convoys ambushed, our steamers fired into on the rivers. There was no safety for an Englishman or a native of India, save within the lines of our troops, and it was soon felt that these troops were far too few to cope with the danger. To overthrow King Thibaw was easy, to subdue the people a very different thing.

It is almost impossible to describe the state of 175
Upper Burma in 1886. It must be remembered 642
that the central government was never very strong 721

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175 —in fact, that beyond collecting a certain amount
642 of taxes, and appointing governors to the different
721 provinces, it hardly made itself felt outside Mandalay and the large river towns. The people to a great extent governed themselves. They had a very good system of village government, and managed nearly all their local affairs. But beyond the presence of a governor, there was but little to attach
642 them to the central government. There was, and
565 is, absolutely no aristocracy of any kind at all. The
722 Burmese are a community of equals, in a sense that has probably never been known elsewhere. All their institutions are the very opposite to feudalism. Now, feudalism was instituted to be useful in war. The Burmese customs were instituted that men should live in comfort and ease during peace; they were useless in war. So the natural leaders of a people, as in other countries, were absent. There were no local great men; the governors were men appointed from time to time from Mandalay, and usually knew nothing of their charges; there were
[565] no rich men, no large landholders—not one. There
795 still remained, however, one institution that other
642 nations have made useful in war, namely, the organization of religion. For Buddhism is fairly well organized—certainly much better than ever the government was. It has its heads of monasteries, its Gaing-dauks, its Gaing-oks, and finally the Thathanabaing, the head of the Burmese Buddhism. The overthrow of King Thibaw had not injured any of this. This was an organization in touch with the whole people, revered and honoured by every man and woman and child in the country. In this

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terrible scene of anarchy and confusion, in this death peril of their nation, what were the monks doing? 795 642

We know what religion can do. We have seen how it can preach war and resistance, and can organize that war and resistance. We know what ten thousand priests preaching in ten thousand hamlets can effect in making a people almost unconquerable, in directing their armies, in strengthening their determination. We remember La Vendée, we remember our Puritans, and we have had recent experience in the Soudan. We know what Christianity has done again and again; what Judaism, what Mahommedanism, what many kinds of paganism, have done.

To those coming to Burma in those days, fresh from the teachings of Europe, remembering recent events in history, ignorant of what Buddhism means, there was nothing more surprising than the fact that in this war religion had no place. They rode about and saw the country full of monasteries; they saw the monasteries full of monks, whom they called priests; they saw that the people were intensely attached to their religion; they had daily evidence that Buddhism was an abiding faith in the hearts of the people. And yet, for all the assistance it was to them in the war, the Burmese might have had no faith at all. 795 642 721

The explanation is, that the teachings of the Buddha forbid war. All killing is wrong, all war is hateful; nothing is more terrible than this destroying of your fellow-man. There is absolutely no getting free of this commandment. The teaching of the Buddha is that you must strive to make your

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795 own soul perfect. This is the first of all things, and
642 comes before any other consideration. Of the virtues
721 that only war can create and nourish this teaching
knows nothing. Be pure and kind-hearted, full of
charity and compassion, and so you may do good to
[792] others. These are the vows the Buddhist monks
make, these are the vows they keep; and so it
happened that all that great organization was useless
to the patriot fighter, was worse than useless, for it
175 was against him. The whole spectacle of Burma in
722 those days, with the country seething with strife, and
792 the monks going about their business calmly as ever,
begging their bread from door to door, preaching of
peace, not war, of kindness, not hatred, of pity, not
revenge, was to most foreigners quite inexplicable.
They could not understand it. I remember a friend
of mine with whom I went through many experiences
speaking of it with scorn. He was a cavalry officer,
'the model of a light cavalry officer'; he had with
him a squadron of his regiment, and we were trying
to subdue a very troubled part of the country.

We were camping in a monastery, as we frequently did—a monastery on a hill near a high golden pagoda. The country all round was under the sway of a brigand leader, and sorely the villagers suffered at his hands now that he had leapt into unexpected power. The villages were half abandoned, the fields untilled, the people full of unrest; but the monasteries were as full of monks as ever; the gongs rang, as they ever did, their message through the quiet evening air; the little boys were taught there just the same; the trees were watered and the gardens swept as if there were no change

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Religion meant to him something that would help you in your trouble, that would be a stay and a comfort, a sword wherewith to confront your enemies and a prop for yourself. Though he was himself an invader, he felt that the Burmans did no wrong in resisting him. They fought for their homes, as he would have fought; and their religion, if of any value, should assist them. It should urge them to battle, and promise them peace and happiness if dying in a good cause. His faith would do this for him. What was Buddhism doing? What help did it give to its believers in their extremity? It gave none. Think of the peasant lying there in the ghostly dim-lit fields waiting to attack us at the dawn. Where was his help? He thought, perhaps, of his king deported, his village invaded, his friends killed, himself reduced to the subject of a far-off queen. He would fight—yes, even though his faith told him not. There was no help there. His was no faith to strengthen his arm, to straighten his aim, to be his shield in the hour of danger.

If he died, if in the strife of the morning's fight he were to be killed, if a bullet were to still his heart, or a lance to pierce his chest, there was no hope for him of the glory of heaven. No, but every fear of hell, for he was sinning against the laws of righteousness—'Thou shalt take no life.' There is no exception to that at all, not even for a patriot fighting for his country. 'Thou shalt not take the life even of him who is the enemy of your king and nation.' He could count on no help in breaking the everlasting laws that the Buddha has revealed to us. If he went to his monks, they could but say: 'See

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the law, the unchangeable law that man is subject to. 779
There is no good thing but peace, no sin like strife 721
and war.' That is what the followers of the great teacher would tell the peasant yearning for help to strike a blow upon the invaders. The law is the same for all. There is not one law for you and another for the foreigner; there is not one law to-day and another to-morrow. Truth is for ever and for ever. It cannot change even to help you in your extremity. Think of the English soldier and the Burmese peasant. Can there be anywhere a greater contrast than this?

Truly this is not a creed for a soldier, not a creed for a fighting-man of any kind, for what the soldier wants is a personal god who will always be on his side, always share his opinions, always support him against everyone else. But a law that points out unalterably that right is always right, and wrong always wrong, that nothing can alter one into the other, nothing can ever make killing righteous and violence honourable, that is no creed for a soldier. And Buddhism has ever done this. It never bent 779
to popular opinion, never made itself a tool in the hands of worldly passion. It could not. You might as well say to gravity, 'I want to lift this stone; please don't act on it for a time,' as expect Buddhism to assist you to make war. Buddhism is the unalterable law of righteousness, and cannot ally itself with evil, cannot ever be persuaded that under any circumstances evil can be good.

And so the Burmese peasant had to fight his 721
own fight in 1885 alone. His king was gone, his 175
government broken up, he had no leaders. He had 701

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no god to stand beside him when he fired at the foreign invaders; and when he lay a-dying, with a bullet in his throat, he had no one to open to him the gates of heaven.

And yet he fought—with every possible discouragement he fought, and sometimes he fought well. It has been thrown against him as a reproach that he did not do better. Those who have said this have never thought, never counted up the odds against him, never taken into consideration how often he did well.

Here was a people—a very poor people of peasants—with no leaders, absolutely none; no aristocracy of any kind, no cohesion, no fighting religion. They had for their leaders outlaws and desperadoes, and for arms old flint-lock guns and soft iron swords. Could anything be expected from this except what actually did happen? And yet they often did well, their natural courage overcoming their bad weapons, their passionate desire of freedom giving them the necessary impulse.

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In 1886, as I have said, all Burma was up. Even in the lower country, which we held for so long, insurrection was spreading fast, and troops and military police were being poured in from India.

There is above Mandalay a large trading village—a small town almost—called Shemmaga. It is the river port for a large trade in salt from the inner country, and it was important to hold it. The village lay along the river bank, and about the middle of it, some two hundred yards from the river, rises a small hill. Thus the village was a triangle,

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with the base on the river, and the hill as apex. On the hill were some monasteries of teak, from which the monks had been ejected, and three hundred Ghurkas were in garrison there. A strong fence ran from the hill to the river like two arms, and there were three gates, one just by the hill, and one on each end of the river face. 721 175 701

Behind Shemmaga the country was under the rule of a robber chief called Maung Yaing, who could raise from among the peasants some two hundred or three hundred men, armed mostly with flint-locks. He had been in the king's time a brigand with a small number of followers, who defied or eluded the local authorities, and lived free in quarters among the most distant villages. Like many a robber chief in our country and elsewhere, he was liked rather than hated by the people, for his brutalities were confined to either strangers or personal enemies, and he was open-handed and generous. We look upon things now with different eyes to what we did two or three hundred years ago, but I dare say Maung Yaing was neither better nor worse than many a hero of ours long ago. He was a fairly good fighter, and had a little experience fighting the king's troops; and so it was very natural, when the machinery of government fell like a house of cards, and some leaders were wanted, that the young men should crowd to him, and put themselves under his orders. He had usually with him forty or fifty men, but he could, as I have said, raise five or six times as many for any particular service, and keep them together for a few days. He very soon discovered that he and his men were absolutely no match for our troops. 721 175 579 701

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In two or three attempts that he made to oppose the troops he was signally worsted, so he was obliged to change his tactics. He decided to boycott the enemy. No Burman was to accept service under him, to give him information or supplies, to be his guide, or to assist him in any way. This rule Maung Yaing made generally known, and he announced his intention of enforcing it with rigour. And he did so. There was a head man of a village near Shemmaga whom he executed because he had acted as guide to a body of troops, and he cut off all supplies from the interior, lying on the roads, and stopping all men from entering Shemmaga. He further issued a notice that the inhabitants of Shemmaga itself should leave the town. They could not move the garrison, therefore the people must move themselves. No assistance must be given to the enemy. The villagers of Shemmaga, mostly small traders in salt and rice, were naturally averse to leaving. This trade was their only means of livelihood, the houses their only homes, and they did not like the idea of going out into the unknown country behind. Moreover, the exaction by Maung Yaing of money and supplies for his men fell most heavily on the wealthier men, and on the whole they were not sorry to have the English garrison in the town, so that they could trade in peace. Some few left, but most did not, and though they collected money, and sent it to Maung Yaing, they at the same time told the English officer in command of Maung Yaing's threats, and begged that great care should be taken of the town, for Maung Yaing was very angry. When he found he could not cause the

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abandonment of the town, he sent in word to say that he would burn it. Not three hundred foreigners, nor three thousand, should protect these lazy, unpatriotic folk from his vengeance. He gave them till the new moon of a certain month, and if the town were not evacuated by that time he declared that he would destroy it. He would burn it down, and kill certain men whom he mentioned, who had been the principal assistants of the foreigners. This warning was quite public, and came to the ears of the English officer almost at once. When he heard it he laughed.

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He had three hundred men, and the rebels had three hundred. His were all magnificently trained and drilled troops, men made for war; the Burmans were peasants, unarmed, untrained. He could have defeated three thousand of them, or ten times that number, with his little force, and so, of course, he could if he met them in the open; no one knew that better, by bitter experience, than Maung Yaing. The villagers, too, knew, but nevertheless they were stricken with fear, for Maung Yaing was a man of his word. He was as good as his threat.

One night, at midnight, the face of the fort where the Ghurkas lived on the hill was suddenly attacked. Out of the brushwood near by a heavy fire was opened upon the breastwork, and there was shouting and beating of gongs. So all the Ghurkas turned out in a hurry, and ran to man the breastwork, and the return fire became hot and heavy. In a moment, as it seemed, the attackers were in the village. They had burst in the north gate by the river face, killed the guard on it, and streamed in.

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They lit torches from a fire they found burning, and in a moment the village was on fire. Looking down from the hill, you could see the village rushing into flame, and in the lurid light men and women and children running about wildly. There were shouts and screams and shots. No one who has never heard it, never seen it, can know what a village is like when the enemy has burst in at night. Everyone is mad with hate, with despair, with terror. They run to and fro, seeking to kill, seeking to escape being killed. No one can tell one from another. The bravest man is dismayed. And the noise is like a great moan coming out of the night, pierced with sharp cries. It rises and falls, like the death-cry of a dying giant. It is the most terrible sound in the world. It makes the heart stop.

To the Ghurkas this sight and sound came all of a sudden, as they were defending what they took to be a determined attack on their own position. The village was lost ere they knew it was attacked. And two steamers full of troops, anchored off the town, saw it, too. They were on their way up country, and had halted there that night, anchored in the stream. They were close by, but could not fire, for there was no telling friend from foe.

And before the relief party of Ghurkas could come swarming down the hill, only two hundred yards, before the boats could land the eager troops from the steamers, the rebels were gone. They went through the village and out of the south gate. They had fulfilled their threat and destroyed the town. They had killed the men they had declared they would kill. The firing died away from the fort side,

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and the enemy were gone, no one could tell whither, into the night. 721 175

Such a scene of desolation as that village was next day! It was all destroyed—every house. All the food was gone, all furniture, all clothes, everything, and here and there was a corpse in among the blackened cinders. The whole countryside was terror-stricken at this failure to defend those who had depended on us. 579

I do not think this was a particularly gallant act, but it was a very able one. It was certainly war. It taught us a very severe lesson—more severe than a personal reverse would have been. It struck terror in the countryside. The memory of it hampered us for very long; even now they often talk of it. It was a brutal act—that of a brigand, not a soldier.

But there was no want of courage. If these men, inferior in number, in arms, in everything, could do this under the lead of a robber chief, what would they not have done if well led, if well trained, if well armed?

Of desperate encounters between our troops and the insurgents I could tell many a story. I have myself seen such fights. They nearly always ended in our favour—how could it be otherwise?

There was Ta Te, who occupied a pagoda enclosure with some eighty men, and was attacked by our mounted infantry. There was a long fight in that hot afternoon, and very soon the insurgents' ammunition began to fail, and the pagoda was stormed. Many men were killed, and Ta Te, when his men were nearly all dead, and his ammunition quite expended, climbed up the pagoda wall, and twisted off 721 157 701

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721 pieces of the cement and threw them at the troops.
157 He would not surrender—not he—and he was killed.
701 There were many like him. The whole war was little affairs of this kind—a hundred, three hundred, of our men, and much the same, or a little more, of theirs. They only once or twice raised a force of two thousand men. Nothing can speak more forcibly of their want of organization than this. The whole country was pervaded by bands of fifty or a hundred men, very rarely amounting to more than two hundred, and no two bands ever acted in concert.

It is probable that most of the best men of the country were against us. It is certain, I think, that of those who openly joined us and accompanied us in our expedition, very, very few were other than men who had some private grudge to avenge, or some purpose to gain, by opposing their own people. Of such as these you cannot expect very much. And yet there were exceptions—men who showed up all the more brilliantly because they were exceptions—men whom I shall always honour. There were two I remember best of all. They are both dead now.

722 One was the eldest son of the hereditary governor
642 of a part of the country called Kawlin. It is in
631 the north-west of Upper Burma, and bordered on a semi-independent state called Wuntho. In the troubles that occurred after the deposition of King Thibaw, the Prince of Wuntho thought that he would be able to make for himself an independent kingdom, and he began by annexing Kawlin. So the governor had to flee, and with him his sons, and

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naturally enough they joined our columns when we advanced in that direction, hoping to be replaced. They were replaced, the father as governor under the direction of an English magistrate, and the son as his assistant. They were only kept there by our troops, and upheld in authority by our power against Wuntho. But they were desired by many of their own people, and so, perhaps, they could hardly be called traitors, as many of those who joined us were. The father was a useless old man, but his son, he of whom I speak, was brave and honourable, good tempered and courteous, beyond most men whom I have met. It was well known that he was the real power behind his father. It was he who assisted us in an attempt to quell the insurrections and catch the raiders that troubled our peace, and many a time they tried to kill him, many a time to murder him as he slept.

There was a large gang of insurgents who came across the Mu River one day, and robbed one of his villages, so a squadron of cavalry was sent in pursuit. We travelled fast and long, but we could not catch the raiders. We crossed the Mu into unknown country, following their tracks, and at last, being without guides, we camped that night in a little monastery in the forest. At midnight we were attacked. A road ran through our camp, and there was a picket at each end of the road, and sentries were doubled.

It was just after midnight that the first shot was fired. We were all asleep when a sudden volley was poured into the south picket, killing one sentry and wounding another. There was no time to dress,

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and we ran down the steps as we were (in sleeping dresses), to find the men rapidly falling in, and the horses kicking at their pickets. It was pitch-dark. The monastery was on a little cleared space, and there was forest all round that looked very black. Just as we came to the foot of the steps an outbreak of firing and shouts came from the north, and the Burmese tried to rush our camp from there; then they tried to rush it again from the south, but all their attempts were baffled by the steadiness of the pickets and the reinforcements that were running up. So the Burmese, finding the surprise ineffectual, and that the camp could not be taken, spread themselves about in the forest in vantage places, and fired into the camp. Nothing could be seen except the dazzling flashes from their guns as they fired here and there, and the darkness was all the darker for those flashes of flame, that cut it like swords. It was very cold. I had left my blanket in the monastery, and no one was allowed to ascend, because there, of all places, the bullets flew thickest, crushing through the mat walls, and going into the teak posts with a thud. There was nothing we could do. The men, placed in due order about the camp, fired back at the flashes of the enemy's guns. That was all they had to fire at. It was not much guide. The officers went from picket to picket encouraging the men, but I had no duty; when fighting began my work as a civilian was at a standstill. I sat and shivered with cold under the monastery, and wished for the dawn. In a pause of the firing you could hear the followers hammering the pegs that held the foot-ropes of the horses. Then the dead

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and wounded were brought and put near me, and in the dense dark the doctor tried to find out what injuries the men had received, and dress them as well as he could. No light dare be lit. The night seemed interminable. There were no stars, for a dense mist hung above the trees. After an hour or two the firing slackened a little, and presently, with great caution, a little lamp, carefully shrouded with a blanket, was lit. A sudden burst of shots that came splintering into the posts beside us caused the lamp to be hurriedly put out; but presently it was lit again, and with infinite caution one man was dressed. At last a little very faint silver dawn came gleaming through the tree-tops—the most beautiful sight I ever saw—and the firing stopped. The dawn came quickly down, and very soon we were able once more to see what we were about, and count our losses.

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Then we moved out. We had hardly any hope of catching the enemy, we who were in a strange country, who were mounted on horses, and had a heavy transport, and they who knew every stream and ravine, and had every villager for a spy. So we moved back a march into a more open country, where we hoped for better news, and two days later that news came.

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CHAPTER VI

WAR—II

'Never in the world does hatred cease by hatred. Hatred ceases by love.'—*Dammapada.*

721 WE were camped at a little monastery in some fields by a village, with a river in front. Up in the monastery there was but room for the officers, so small was it, and the men were camped beneath it in little shelters. It was two o'clock, and very hot, and we were just about to take tiffin, when news came that a party of armed men had been seen passing a little north of us. It was supposed they were bound to a village known to be a very bad one—Laka—and that they would camp there. So 'boot and saddle' rang from the trumpets, and in a few moments later we were off, fifty lances. Just as we started, his old Hindostani Christian servant came up to my friend, the commandant, and gave him a little paper. 'Put it in your pocket, sahib,' he said. The commandant had no time to talk, no time even to look at what it could be. He just crammed it into his breast-pocket, and we rode on. The governor's son was our guide,

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and he led us through winding lanes into a pass in the low hills. The road was very narrow, and the heavy forest came down to our elbows as we passed. Now and again we crossed the stream, which had but little water in it, and the path would skirt its banks for awhile. It was beautiful country, but we had no time to notice it then, for we were in a hurry, and whenever the road would allow we trotted and cantered. After five or six miles of this we turned a spur of the hills, and came out into a little grass-glade on the banks of the stream, and at the far end of this was the village where we expected to find those whom we sought. They saw us first, having a look-out on a high tree by the edge of the forest; and as our advanced guard came trotting into the open, he fired. The shot echoed far up the hills like an angry shout, and we could see a sudden stir in the village—men running out of the houses with guns and swords, and women and children running, too, poor things! sick with fear. They fired at us from the village fence, but had no time to close the gate ere our sowars were in. Then they escaped in various ways to the forest and scrub, running like madmen across the little bit of open, and firing at us directly they reached shelter where the cavalry could not come. Of course, in the open they had no chance, but in the dense forest they were safe enough. The village was soon cleared, and then we had to return. It was no good to wait. The valley was very narrow, and was commanded from both its sides, which were very steep and dense with forest. Beyond the village there was only forest

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721 again. We had done what we could: we had inflicted a very severe punishment on them; it was no good waiting, so we returned. They fired on us nearly all the way, hiding in the thick forest, and perched on high rocks. At one place our men had to be dismounted to clear a breastwork, run up to fire at us from. All the forest was full of voices —voices of men and women and even children— cursing our guide. They cried his name, that the spirits of the hills might remember that it was he who had brought desolation to their village. Figures started up on pinnacles of cliff, and cursed him as we rode by. Us they did not curse; it was our guide.

And so after some trouble we got back. That band never attacked us again.

As we were dismounting, my friend put his hand in his pocket, and found the little paper. He took it out, looked at it, and when his servant came up to him he gave the paper back with a curious little smile full of many thoughts. 'You see,' he said, 'I am safe. No bullet has hit me.' And the servant's eyes were dim. He had been very long with his master, and loved him, as did all who knew him. 'It was the goodness of God,' he said—'the great goodness of God. Will not the sahib keep the paper?' But the sahib would not. 'You may need it as well as I. Who can tell in this war?' And he returned it.

And the paper? It was a prayer—a prayer used by the Roman Catholic Church, printed on a sheet of paper. At the top was a red cross. The paper was old and worn, creased at the edges; it

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had evidently been much used, much read. Such was the charm that kept the soldier from danger.

The nights were cold then, when the sun had set, and after dinner we used to have a camp-fire built of wood from the forest, to sit round for a time and talk before turning in. The native officers of the cavalry would come and sit with us, and one or two of the Burmans, too. We were a very mixed assembly. I remember one night very well—I think it must have been the very night after the fight at Laka, and we were all of us round the fire. I remember there was a half-moon bending towards the west, throwing tender lights upon the hills, and turning into a silver gauze the light white mist that lay upon the rice-fields. Opposite to us, across the little river, a ridge of hill ran down into the water that bent round its foot. The ridge was covered with forest, very black, with silver edges on the sky-line. It was out of range for a Burmese flint-gun, or we should not have camped so near it. On all the other sides the fields stretched away till they ended in the forest that gloomed beyond. I was talking to the governor's son (our guide of the fight at Laka) of the prospects of the future, and of the intentions of the Prince of Wuntho, in whose country Laka lay. I remarked to him how the Burmans of Wuntho seemed to hate him, of how they had cursed him from the hills, and he admitted that it was true. 'All except my friends,' he said, 'hate me. And yet what have I done? I had to help my father to get back his governorship. They forget that they attacked us first.'

He went on to tell me of how every day he was

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721 threatened, of how he was sure they would murder
634 him some time, because he had joined us. 'They are sure to kill me some time,' he said. He seemed sad and depressed, not afraid.

So we talked on, and I asked him about charms. 'Are there not charms that will prevent you being hurt if you are hit, and that will not allow a sword to cut you? We hear of invulnerable men. There were the Immortals of the King's Guard, for instance.'

721 And he said, yes, there were charms, but no one
751 believed in them except the villagers. He did not, nor did men of education. Of course, the ignorant people believed in them. There were several sorts of charms. You could be tattooed with certain mystic letters that were said to insure you against being hit, and there were certain medicines you could drink. There were also charms made out of stone, such as a little tortoise he had once seen that was said to protect its wearer. There were mysterious writings on palm-leaves. There were men, he said vaguely, who knew how to make these things. For himself, he did not believe in them.

779 I tried to learn from him then, and I have tried
751 from others since, whether these charms have any connection with Buddhism. I cannot find that they have. They are never in the form of images of the Buddha, or of extracts from the sacred writings. There is not, so far as I can make out, any religious significance in these charms; mostly they are simply mysterious. I never heard that the people connect them with their religion. Indeed, all forms of enchantment and of charms are most strictly prohibited.

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There is no flexibility in Buddhism. It is a law,

and nothing can change it. Laws are for ever and 779
for ever, and there are no exceptions to them. The 721
law of the Buddha is against war—war of any kind at all—and there can be no exception. And so every Burman who fought against us knew that he was sinning. He did it with his eyes open; he could never imagine any exception in his favour. Never could he in his bivouac look at the stars, and imagine that any power looked down in approbation of his deeds. No one fought for him. Our bayonets and lances were no keys to open to him the gates of paradise; no monks could come and close his dying eyes with promises of rewards to come. He was sinning, and he must suffer long and terribly for this breach of the laws of righteousness.

If such be the faith of the people, and if they believe their faith, it is a terrible handicap to them in any fight: it delivers them bound into the hands of the enemy. And such is Buddhism.

But it must never be forgotten that, if this faith does not assist the believer in defence, neither does it in offence. What is so terrible as a war of religion? There can never be a war of Buddhism.

No ravished country has ever borne witness to the prowess of the followers of the Buddha; no murdered men have poured out their blood on their hearth-stones, killed in his name; no ruined women have cursed his name to high Heaven. He and his faith are clean of the stain of blood. He was the preacher of the Great Peace, of love, of charity, of compassion, and so clear is his teaching that it can never be misunderstood. Wars of invasion, the Burmese have waged, that is true, in Siam, in

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Assam, and in Pegu. They are but men, and men will fight. If they were perfect in their faith the race would have died out long ago. They have fought, but they have never fought in the name of their faith. They have never been able to prostitute its teachings to their own wants. Whatever the Burmans have done, they have kept their faith pure. When they have offended against the laws of the Buddha they have done so openly. Their souls are guiltless of hypocrisy, for whatever that may avail them; they have known the difference between good and evil, even if they have not always followed the good.

766 crowds leave the fair, the sellers their stalls, and of the caparisoned field
793 only a charred blackness remains.

•722 So soon the fires of war were to burn up not only the show and tinsel of Burma, but things more solid and golden than the life of a monk —rice fields and food of all kinds, *ain-daung-pyit-si*, the setting-up-house-goods of a million husbanding families, the houses, villages and towns whose peace allowed men and women to weave, cure fish, make boats, carve silver and wood and ivory, and indulge their laughing children. December 8th fell soon after the full moon of Tasaungmon, when the Lent-free season was but short-lived, and laid a blight upon the whole country. Destruction was so swift, so sudden.

For nations which declare war or have war declared on them, the day of outbreak ushers in a grim period, but it is clear in the minds of the people that this is a call to effort and sacrifice, for the idea of nation, sovereignty, liberty, whatever they have learnt to hold dear for long generations, or else have just newly won to cherish as something precious. They know, when war is declared, that they must defend their country, have ready for sacrifice their young men, and work with grim industry in a geared-up machine. But how could this apply in the case of Burma, a country which had lost proud sovereignty fifty-five years before, which had not yet gained a modern replacement for it, and which felt itself to be only incidentally in the path of the war monster's appetite. Even those of the people who had been expecting war with the rumours that flew around Rangoon for the six months previous to this, either from people who had cause to know or from a clear judgment, did not know quite how to feel when it came upon them. In our family councils as to which place would offer the best sanctuary from bombs, gunfire and the recklessness of fighting soldiery, a young cousin opposed the idea of our ancestral Thaton as being directly in the path of the invader. "Well, what if it is," said her mother; "do we go to the middle of the roadway, and stand, looking up with mouth open to receive the cannon balls? We are human beings, eating rice. We can reason like human beings and move aside, avoid a little, and the menace will go straight down the road, and after a time leave us safe behind."

This might be regarded as typical enough of the attitude of the majority of people—to move aside from big places and the scenes of war, to leave posts when to hold on to them would be snapping with jaws agape at the gunfire of a fast-winning invader. But the results of this policy was enough to fill us with wretchedness. People ran here and there, from one set of relatives to another, not always welcoming; setting out with foolish encumbrances of goods and chattels and gradually being

forced to shed them piece by piece, with the bitter realization that they could not be saved. But war raged like a forest fire which creeps to the farthest corner; like a deluge which rises to the highest hills, for people went northwards and northwards, and still found no sanctuary. 722•

Another thing that filled us with wretchedness was the feeling that all the activity of a normal life would cease. The people who thought reasonably in the face of the quick Japanese onrush, that the British would probably have to get out but would prepare, perhaps in India, and be able to return one day, expected to spend the next few years in quiet and hiding from danger. The average person just felt vaguely stunned, that now there would be a negation of all social and economic endeavour; he could not visualize any quick restoration of even a shell of the machinery of normal life which was so alarmingly disappearing before his eyes. Symbolic of this was the emptying of schools and colleges in Rangoon within the day on which the news of Pearl Harbour came through. I shall never forget the effect on my young sisters and their friends. They cried with grief as their parents came to take them home, parting them from friends, sweethearts, all companions of youth, books and the outside world, at best to go into the jungle and live as though they had never known a world looking towards Europe.

I was twenty-five when war broke out, and caught me up, in late February 1942, in a compulsory sea evacuation carried out by the military authorities. I felt as though my heart would break against this awful machine which had suddenly made us so unimportant, and which did not care that I was a Burman amidst the crowd of foreign women it was evacuating, taking me from mother and sisters to whom I could not get news or explanation of my desertion. 000

As we left Inya Hall with lights ablaze, fans full on, store-rooms thrown wide open and waiting for the invader, a vast and inexpressible sadness settled upon me. Dawn had not yet broken, and only the glare from Kemmendine fires still lighted the sky. How sad, how black and empty each familiar house-face looked, with shut eyes and shuttered doors. It was Goodbye indeed, for though the flames are dying now, we shrink from contemplating the charred desolation that we must see on our return.

But it would have been Goodbye in any case for another, happier reason; for I had just met my husband who would have carried me off to a different world in the farthermost corner of Burma, the Kengtung State of Shans, in a land of mountains, narrow valleys and pine trees, where simple people with rosy cheeks cultivate the hillsides and address the ruling family as "Heavenly", where women are not heard, but seen in meekness to obey and fear their husbands. That is another story. 563 562

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

175 —in fact, that beyond collecting a certain amount
642 of taxes, and appointing governors to the different
721 provinces, it hardly made itself felt outside Mandalay and the large river towns. The people to a great extent governed themselves. They had a very good system of village government, and managed nearly all their local affairs. But beyond the presence of a governor, there was but little to attach
642 them to the central government. There was, and
565 is, absolutely no aristocracy of any kind at all. The
722 Burmese are a community of equals, in a sense that has probably never been known elsewhere. All their institutions are the very opposite to feudalism. Now, feudalism was instituted to be useful in war. The Burmese customs were instituted that men should live in comfort and ease during peace; they were useless in war. So the natural leaders of a people, as in other countries, were absent. There were no local great men; the governors were men appointed from time to time from Mandalay, and usually knew nothing of their charges; there were
[565] no rich men, no large landholders—not one. There
795 still remained, however, one institution that other
642 nations have made useful in war, namely, the organization of religion. For Buddhism is fairly well organized—certainly much better than ever the government was. It has its heads of monasteries, its Gaing-dauks, its Gaing-oks, and finally the Thathanabaing, the head of the Burmese Buddhism. The overthrow of King Thibaw had not injured any of this. This was an organization in touch with the whole people, revered and honoured by every man and woman and child in the country. In this

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

795 own soul perfect. This is the first of all things, and
642 comes before any other consideration. Of the virtues
721 that only war can create and nourish this teaching
knows nothing. Be pure and kind-hearted, full of
charity and compassion, and so you may do good to
[792] others. These are the vows the Buddhist monks
make, these are the vows they keep; and so it
happened that all that great organization was useless
to the patriot fighter, was worse than useless, for it
175 was against him. The whole spectacle of Burma in
722 those days, with the country seething with strife, and
772 the monks going about their business calmly as ever,
begging their bread from door to door, preaching of
peace, not war, of kindness, not hatred, of pity, not
revenge, was to most foreigners quite inexplicable.
They could not understand it. I remember a friend
of mine with whom I went through many experiences
speaking of it with scorn. He was a cavalry officer,
'the model of a light cavalry officer'; he had with
him a squadron of his regiment, and we were trying
to subdue a very troubled part of the country.

We were camping in a monastery, as we frequently did—a monastery on a hill near a high golden pagoda. The country all round was under the sway of a brigand leader, and sorely the villagers suffered at his hands now that he had leapt into unexpected power. The villages were half abandoned, the fields untilled, the people full of unrest; but the monasteries were as full of monks as ever; the gongs rang, as they ever did, their message through the quiet evening air; the little boys were taught there just the same; the trees were watered and the gardens swept as if there were no change

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

at all—as if the king were still on his golden throne, and the English had never come; as if war had never burst upon them. And to us, after the very different scenes we saw now and then, saw and acted in, these monks and their monasteries were difficult to understand. The religion of the Buddha thus professed was strange.

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'What is the use,' said my friend, 'of this religion that we see so many signs of? Suppose these men had been Jews or Hindus or Mussulmans, it would have been a very different business, this war. These yellow-robed monks, instead of sitting in their monasteries, would have pervaded the country, preaching against us and organizing. No one organizes better than an ecclesiastic. We should have had them leading their men into action with sacred banners, and promising them heaven hereafter when they died. They would have made Ghazis of them. Any one of these is a religion worth having. But what is the use of Buddhism? What do these monks do? I never see them in a fight, never hear that they are doing anything to organize the people. It is, perhaps, as well for us that they do not. But what is the use of Buddhism?'

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So, or somewhat like this, spoke my friend, speaking as a soldier. Each of us speaks from our own standpoint. He was a brilliant soldier, and a religion was to him a sword, a thing to fight with. That was one of the first uses of a religion. He knew nothing of Buddhism; he cared to know nothing, beyond whether it would fight. If so, it was a good religion in its way. If not, then not.

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

721 pieces of the cement and threw them at the troops.
157 He would not surrender—not he—and he was killed.
701 There were many like him. The whole war was little affairs of this kind—a hundred, three hundred, of our men, and much the same, or a little more, of theirs. They only once or twice raised a force of two thousand men. Nothing can speak more forcibly of their want of organization than this. The whole country was pervaded by bands of fifty or a hundred men, very rarely amounting to more than two hundred, and no two bands ever acted in concert.

It is probable that most of the best men of the country were against us. It is certain, I think, that of those who openly joined us and accompanied us in our expedition, very, very few were other than men who had some private grudge to avenge, or some purpose to gain, by opposing their own people. Of such as these you cannot expect very much. And yet there were exceptions—men who showed up all the more brilliantly because they were exceptions—men whom I shall always honour. There were two I remember best of all. They are both dead now.

722 One was the eldest son of the hereditary governor
642 of a part of the country called Kawlin. It is in
631 the north-west of Upper Burma, and bordered on a semi-independent state called Wuntho. In the troubles that occurred after the deposition of King Thibaw, the Prince of Wuntho thought that he would be able to make for himself an independent kingdom, and he began by annexing Kawlin. So the governor had to flee, and with him his sons, and

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

naturally enough they joined our columns when we advanced in that direction, hoping to be replaced. They were replaced, the father as governor under the direction of an English magistrate, and the son as his assistant. They were only kept there by our troops, and upheld in authority by our power against Wuntho. But they were desired by many of their own people, and so, perhaps, they could hardly be called traitors, as many of those who joined us were. The father was a useless old man, but his son, he of whom I speak, was brave and honourable, good tempered and courteous, beyond most men whom I have met. It was well known that he was the real power behind his father. It was he who assisted us in an attempt to quell the insurrections and catch the raiders that troubled our peace, and many a time they tried to kill him, many a time to murder him as he slept.

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There was a large gang of insurgents who came across the Mu River one day, and robbed one of his villages, so a squadron of cavalry was sent in pursuit. We travelled fast and long, but we could not catch the raiders. We crossed the Mu into unknown country, following their tracks, and at last, being without guides, we camped that night in a little monastery in the forest. At midnight we were attacked. A road ran through our camp, and there was a picket at each end of the road, and sentries were doubled.

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It was just after midnight that the first shot was fired. We were all asleep when a sudden volley was poured into the south picket, killing one sentry and wounding another. There was no time to dress,

17: Orr E-5 (1950-1951) 1951 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

Introduction

This is a study of the falling standard of living of a Burmese family who were uprooted by the insurrection from their village home of Pathee in 1949 and transplanted in a refugee camp in Rangoon. The family consisted of U Myaing - a fisherman aged 47; his wife Ma Aye Myaing, age 33, Daw Aw Zar, his mother, age 72, and four daughters - Ma Yin Shwe, age 14, Ma Khin Myein, age 11, Ma Khni Saw, age 7, and Ma Win Tin, age 5.(1951). 121 [664] [722] [592]

An attempt is made to present quantitatively and qualitatively the items used in, and activities of everyday life in the home village as contrasted with the refugee camp. It is hoped this dynamic situation will reveal some of the basic facts of Burmese culture as they pertain to an average family. The bulk of the data was collected under my direction by Ko Sein Tu, Tutor of the Psychology Department, University of Rangoon, from August 1950 to May 1951. Ko Mya Tu, medical student at the University, helped in collecting the health data. Ma Khin Hmay, Assistant in Anthropology at the University, collected some of the more personal data from the ladies of the family. Professor Mohinda Nath, Head of the Department of Biology, University of Rangoon, kindly arranged for the scientific identification of the food items. Part of the data was collectedby the use of a tape recorder portions of which are reproduced verbatim in this report. Miss Mary Watson, Head Stenographer of the Community Project, gave her valuable help in proof reading and typing the stencils for this report. 121 114 126 128

A setting for the better understanding of the facts of the family is given in sections on general Burmese Concepts which follow the family data. This was provided by Ko Maung Than, student at the University, who worked as my assistant from August through November 1951. 128

I am indebted to Dr. Htin Aung, Professor of Anthropology and Rector of the University of Rangoon for his constant support and encouragement in this study. I carried out the study as a Fulbright grantee in Anthropology attached to the United States Educational Foundation in Rangoon, to whose officers I am grateful 122

Home in Lowis Road Refugee Camp

Since November 1949 U Myaing and his family have been living in the Lowis Road refugee camp, Rangoon. They had stopped at half a dozen places prior to their present abode, but their living had been on very much the same scale. The refugee camp is located about a mile north of the Shwe Dagon Pagoda on a hilly promontory. The area is not far from Tiger Alley (U Wisara Road) and along this road and others nearby, huts have been built up within the last few years, largely by war refugees. The buildings of the camp were earlier used as headquarters and barracks by the People's Volunteer Organisation (P.V.O.). The P.V.O. is an offshoot of the Burmese Patriot's Army following the end of the Second World War. It was originally an army, but after independence was converted into an "organisation" for political purposes. A Yellow Band and a White Band section developed and the White P.V.O.s becoming insurgents.

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The vital statistics of the camp as given by U Khant, the school master are as follows:- 269 families comprised of 856 adults (LU GYI), 211 young people (LU LAT), and 33 infants (NO SO) live in 15 huts . The number of families in each hut ranges from 9 in the smallest to 36 in the largest. The infant category includes those babies who are still breast feeding - up to one year of age. The adult category begins at the age of voting - 18 years. The proportion of the three categories as shown in the totals remains fairly consistent for each of the houses indicating that there are no special age-grade habitations. The refugees come for the most part from the Delta area of Lower Burma, from the districts of Pantanaw and Bassein but they have not organised themselves in their huts according to the district or village from which they come. The assignment of space has been on a pragmatic base according to who arrived at what time. The buildings consisted for the most part of rectangular huts measuring 30 feet by 60 feet with woven split bamboo walls and thatched roofs. When the area was converted into a refugee camp, each family was assigned a certain space which they then partitioned off. A map of the refugee camp area shows a haphazard plan. The only

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[792] apparently meaningful locations would be the huts of the PHON-GYIS
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The new PHON-GYI KYAUNG near the entrance of the camp was built by others, not by the refugees. The one at the back, on the other hand, was built by contributions among the refugees themselves. One PHON-GYI and one small boy reside here. The PHON-Gyi from the new KYAUNG comes for HSOON (food given to begging monks) once in a while. A third PHON-GYI KYAUNG at the far rear also was in existence before U Myaing's arrival at camp. Here also resides one PHON-GYI and one small boy.

723 U Myaing came by himself to camp and took possession of the
362 place he now lives in. The camp-head assigned the place to him. When they first arrived in Rangoon they had to rent a room at HPA-HSA-PA-LA-KWETHIT (an area of huts organised by the Anti-facists Peoples Freedom League, the political party now in power) for a period of 2½ months at Rs. 17/8 per month. This was because they did not know of the refugee camp. They learnt of its existence just as their money ran out, and they shifted over.

U Myaing is of opinion that since he is installed in these quarters no other family will come to put up there, but admits that if they did, he would not have any right to drive them out, since he does not own the place. He is a comparative latecomer to the camp. Other families have been here for nearly two years now, while U Myaing arrived only 10 months ago. The extensions to the eaves of the roof were made by U Myaing. The condition of the camp when he came was very much the same as it is now. Only two additional huts and one PHONGYI KYAUNG have been erected since. He considers that his quarters are slightly better off than those of others in that there is less bustle and confusion in the buildings.

722 The quarters assigned to U Myaing are formed by the extension
342 of the eaves of a rectangular house. The house, which measures 60 feet long by 20 feet wide has bamboo matwalls about 10 feet high, is floored with stone paves and has six windows 3 feet square on the long sides. There is a door 3 feet wide at one end. The roof is gabled with a ridge pole from which 8 rafters sixteen feet long are attached. The extensions of the roof consist of thatched leaves on

a bamboo frame extending for about eight feet. The interior of the house contains piles of small boxes in which the bones and ashes of the P.V.O. dead are stored. Consequently no one lives inside. Seven families live under theeaves on three sides of the house along a narrow strip nine feet wide. The area is divided into a number of rooms "6 TAUNG square - the same room size as in the Pathwe house." U Myaing's family occupies 2½ such rooms at the corner of the building. The head space varies from 8 feet against the wall of the house to less than two feet at the edges of the eaves. A break in the eaves forms an entrance at the corner. Figuring one room to be equivalent to a 6 foot square room 3½ feet high, we arrive at a total of 315 cubic feet of living space for the 2½ rooms. [764] 722 342

One and a half rooms are covered with a slightly raised bamboo floor on which U Myaing and his family sleep. A space 6' long by 2' wide is used as a work area and for social purposes, but this is not rigorously claimed, since the adjacent family frequently uses it as a storage space. In speaking of the refugee camp quarters U Myaing says:

> "It is very narrow (cramped) here. We eat and sleep in the same place. At Pathwe we kept 2 rooms separately to sleep in. Our house there was very wide and roomy. Here we sleep and cook all in one place." [511]

The sleeping and eating area is separated from the adjacent family by a woven split bamboo partition about 5 feet high; at five feet three inches from the floor, a number of bamboo poles criss-cross to form rafters on which objects are stored.

Here the sleeping mats are rolled up, along with sleeping equipment which consist of U Myaing's wooden pillow, makeshift pillow of rag bundles, 1 holey woolen blanket. One mosquito net used by U Myaing and his wife is also suspended from these rafters. At the far end of the bamboo flooring, there are three baskets. One of these baskets contains the women's clothing; another contains rice. Two clay pots are at the side. The altar consists of a slant board placed on the wall above the sleeping area and equipped with a flower vase. The objects found in the cooking area are: "U" shaped fire area made by 3 bricks touching on edge, bamboo stool for Ma Aye Myaing, hollow bamboo blow tube for starting fire, cooking pots, 352 415 [252]

quiet), the time when the children become quiet from 7 to 8. 9 to 10 p.m. is known as THATKYI-KAUNG-CHA (oldage-head-drop) when the elders begin to nod; from 11 to midnight and beyond is LUKLIN-PYAN CHAIN (Bachelors'-return-time) when young men complete their carousing and return to sleep. ATO (dawn) comes at the second cocks'crowing (first is at mid-night) about 4 o'clock. The KALA-DET (Indians-marching in) hollow wooden drum is struck in the phongyi-kyaungs at this time to awaken the village. The women who prepare breakfast, and the old folks who rise to worship appear at this time - but others may sleep on for an hour or so. 512 805 513

It is obligatory to wash the legs and feet before retiring. In warm weather a mat is preferred for coolness - but in colder and damp weather a mattress is considered necessary for protection. Prayers taking from 2 minutes (most) up to considerably longer are generally said before bed-time. These praise Buddha and include such supplications as "may I be lifted up to heaven soon." Dreams may be good or bad according to the disposition of the nats. Certain dreams have meanings applicable as omens. It is during sleep that the ghost of a recently departed loved one contacts the sleeper and, sometimes, succeeds in luring him away permanently. 513 [515] 782 828 [775]

Analysis of home standard in Pathwe and in Refugee Camp.

The Pathwe home was in nearly every way superior to refugee camp home. Let us examine the nature of this superiority and attempt to see the adjustment which U Myaing made in the refugee camp. The Pathwe home was an independent unit as compared to the refugee camp apartment-like home. However we may not assume that U Myaing found this a disadvantage, since living in Pantanaw was "close". The quarters in the one case were separated by half a dozen feet and on the other by a bamboo partition. An important difference is that the Pathwe home was owned by U Myaing and he had inalienable rights there, whereas the refugee camp apartment was loaned to him for a short time period. 511 722 342

Only about one fiftieth of the space was available in the refugee camp (15,000 cubic feet in Pathwe, 315 cubic feet in camp.) However, 511 722 361 342

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much of the Pathwe space was not vital in that it was used for social or storage functions only. 2987 cubic feet were used in Pathwe for sleeping, cooking, and religious purposes,-approximately 20% of the total amount of space. However, all of the space in the refugee camp was used for these vital purposes. About 1/10th of the Pathwe space for these functions was available in the camp. In commenting on the differences, U Myaing especially stressed the lack of space and the fact that all functions had to be done in the same enclosure. He did not seem particularly bothered about the lack of space for social functions or visitors.

There seemed to be no difference regarding costs of housing - non-existent in both cases beyond the original investment in Pathwe. Also there is no difference regarding use of land surrounding house. The reduction of space available for the altar from a six taung room to a place on the wall seemed to be regarded lightly. The Pathwe house was undoubtedly healthier with its windows and open space, and this handicap will be further discussed under the heading of health.

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There is considerable difference in the house furnishings of the two places. The quality and the quantity of the objects in the refugee camp are considerably lower. The bric-a-brac (porcelain duck glass elephant, and portelain water jug) were lost in Pathwe and regretted because of sentimental value. The earthen-ware jars used for storing fish have no use here and are not "desired", but the HSOON vessels would be useful now. These would cost about Rs. 25/- apiece here. The KYAUK-KAR food carrier is also desired and this would cost Rs. 10/- here. Mosquito nets for Daw Aw Zar and the children would certainly be desirable, but these would cost over Rs.30/- even if made from cheap plain material.

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The tables used in Pathwe are not found in camp since the family sit on the floor on the mats and hold their dishes in their laps, and one stool is used in camp and this by Ma Aye Myaing in preparing the food. Storage containers including cupboards and boxes have been dispensed with and their place taken by baskets in camp. The bedding in camp lacks the comforts of mattress and adequate mosquito nets and pillows. The point must be made however, that U Myaing's family is used to sleeping on hard surfaces and it may not be supposed that the

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quality of their sleep suffers to any appreciable extent. Americans who live in Rangoon suffer far more relatively from lack of "beauty rest" mattresses. 511 722 [513]

As far as the actual physical needs of the family go, the refugee camp situation does not seem to be far below an acceptable level. The Pathee house gave space far above that actually used for physical needs. The answer here would seem to be that social obligations in Pathee were much greater than here and the actual space fulfilled a real need there. Since such a demand is not present in the refugee camp, the lack of this space is not regarded as a privation. In general the refugee camp quarters are a compressed version of the Pathee quarters and do not represent any true innovations. The family has been able to contract the quantity and quality of their needs, but their nature has not been appreciably altered. The pattern of "Home" has not been shattered, but has been contracted and its quality somewhat changed. 352 415 [574] 511 178

The town of Pantanaw was recaptured from the insurgents early in the month of December 1950. U Myaing and his family are considering whether or not it would be advisable to return home. It seems that the government has offered to send back those who are willing to return. Government offers them, in addition to passage money, other things such as mosquito netting, or so U Myaing thinks. But they are also hesitant and afraid and would like to remain for some time longer in the peace and security of the refugee camp. However, when the country settles down and things return to normal, they would like to return. They prefer Pantanaw because they find it much easier to earn money there. Here they find it more difficult to find work - and it involves harder labour. Also, the prices here are very high in comparison. 722 669 511 [464] [435]

The daily work schedule of U Myaing while he was working as a fish processor (2 months in a year) was as follows:- 512 461 264

He rose at four or five in the morning said his prayers, drank plain tea, had boiled beans, fried fish and rice left over from the previous day's evening meal. After that he went to collect fish, bring it to the bank and start work on it. He rested from 11 o'clock to 2 o'clock. At two he resumed work till about five when he would be finished for the day. Sometimes he would sleep at the work place after returning home for his evening meal.

Work in the Refugee Camp.

Shortly after arriving at the Camp U Myaing worked in Sulian Park near the Kokine market where a factory for spinning and weaving cloth was being set up. The contractor was Chinese, and he engaged between 30 to 35 labourers every day. These labourers were unskilled and they were employed in levelling the ground and laying the foundation of the factory. Most of the labourers were Indians - there being only two Burmans, U Myaing and Ma Aye Myaing got Rs. 2/-. The working hours stretched from eight in the morning to 12 noon, with a break of one hour at 12. At one o'clock they resumed work and continued until five in the evening. In the mornings they had to go to the factory by themselves, and this took them about a half hour walk. Sometimes they were sent home in a truck in the evenings. U Myaing had to enquire each day at various places for a chance to work. He was not always successful. 722● 461 464 331

It was not usual for Ma Aye Myaing to come along like this to work as a labourer. This was the first time she did so. Ma Aye Myaing said that in future she would accompany U Myaing whenever there are prospects of such work. They knew that women worked in this way, but had not known that such work was available. [562]

As a matter of fact, I met U Myaing through the mats which were made in his camp. We got dinner place mats through him. These are rectangular 1½ feet by 2 feet mats of finelywoven split cane in an over 2 - under 2 pattern. They cost Rs. 2/8 each. U Myaing arranged for the making of these mats and collected the money for them, but 285 437

Comparison of Work in Pathwe and Camp

In his role as a refugee U Myaing is reduced from an expanding position as a fisherman in a cooperative enterprise to a transient labourer. He lives for the day of return to his village, and lacks the desire and know-how to adapt to a successful career in his new environment. His pattern of work as a labourer has not been broken he is simply doing a different kind of work. But it is now unskilled and lacks promise of development. Similarly, his wife's role has not appreciably changed: she continues to make mats as in the village in hard times; works as a coolie as a substitute for her contributions in processing fish. The eldest daughter has adapted to an urban trade that of cigar rolling, but is well within the pattern of juvenile work carried on in the village at this time. If the family remained in Rangoon, the children would of course adapt completely to the urban work pattern - but is seems improbable that the parents would.

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The reduction in income from work can be seen in the following table:

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Estimate of Family Average Income per year

Family Work	Income in Pathwe	Income in Camp
Selling Fish Products	1,500	
Mat making	150	600
Cattle Loaning	200	
Day Labour		1,032
Miscellaneous (gathering, etc.)	900	
Daughter Ma Tin Shwe		240
Government Help		372
Total	2,750	2,144

The purchasing power of the rupee in Camp is not ex toto appreciably different from that of Pathwe. The security of Pathwe work was not so much in the surplus which results, but rather in the guaranteed sources of work. Life was easy and a living to be had for the taking. In camp existence is hand to mouth with no real security. U Myaing expresses this when asked about his knowledge of world affairs: "We don't know whether the world situation has improved or not. We get bits of information, but our main worry is work - and how to provide

sufficient food for myself and my family." Yet, it is significant that he[1] manifests no anxiety symtoms, and appears happy and carefree. This suggests that despite the fact that he is presented with insecurity he does not react to it with tensions that have nervous manifestations. The ~~sense of insecurity~~ does not seem to be in his pattern of living, consequently his response is ill-defined.

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The points of difference that U Myaing especially emphasised were:-

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1. A few weeks of intensive work in Pathus would get him more than a whole year of salary working in Rangoon.

2. His income in Rangoon is established at a low level. In Pathus he might make 3 or 4 times his average income from fish products in a good year. In bad years he might just break even. But this did not affect his everyday living quality - since his food was for the most part gathered (fish, fruits etc.) or secured from the cattle loan (baskets of rice).

3. If he was sick in Pathus his standard of living was not threatened. He made his cash in a short time and had ample leisure for resting. In Rangoon if he does not work he does not eat.

4. In Pathus he usually had a surplus of 1000 to 1500 rupees on hand during a year. To be lent out (free of interest) to friends and relatives or (usually) invested in fish or family encouragement. Now he lives from hand to mouth. [454]

5. The loss of comfort and ease is severely felt by the adults. In Rangoon he works to stay alive, in Pathus, to enjoy a full life. [181]

[1 i.e., U Myaing -- ANALYST]

TABLE

Quantity of clothes and personal items on hand and consumed by U Myaing's family in Pathee and camp.*

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Item	Consumer	On hand and quantity consumed per year. Pathee	Camp.
Cotton Longyis	U Myaing	5 or 6	(2 or 3) 4
Silk Longyis	"	(4 or 5) 1	0
Cotton Shirts	"	7 or 8	(1) 2
Vests	"	6 or 7	(1) 2
Burmese jackets	"	(2) .25	0
Headbands	"	3	0
Handkerchiefs	"	12	0
Underwear pants	"	(5) 4	0
Head Towels	"	2	0
Umbrellas	"	(1) .25	0
Bamboo hats (topees)	"	(1) .5	0
Razor, Gillette brand	"	(1)	0
Safety razor blades	"	(12) 15	0
Big razors	"	(1)	Same
Haircuts	"	24	12
Cosmetique for hair, sticks.	"	12	0
Celluloid comb	"	1	0
Slippers, "Ki plane" pairs	"	3	0

*When there are two figures, the amount on hand is placed in parentheses. If the same item is used in both places the word "same" is used in camp column.

Cloth Table 1.(b)

Item	Consumer	Pathma	Camp.
Sandals, slippers pairs	U Myaing.	3	(1) 3
Wooden clogs, pairs	"	3 or 4	(1) 12
Face towels	"	2	0
Body towels	"	(1) 4	0
Ruby ring	"	(1)	0
Gold ring	"	(1)	0
Gold chain and buttons for fastening shirts	"	(1)	0
Silver cuff links	"	(1)	0
Cotton Tamein	Ma Aye Myaing	10	(4) 8
"	Daw Aw Zar	(3 or 4) 6 or 8	(2) 4
"	Two elder daughters	(10) 15	(6) 18
Jackets	Ma Aye Myaing	(7) 9	(3) 4
"	Daw Aw Zar	6	(2) 3
"	Two elder daughters, each	(4 to 6) 6	(3) 6
Frocks	2 younger daughters, together	(10) 12	(6) 8
Bodices	Ma Aye Myaing	(5) 6	(3) 5
"	Daw Aw Zar	(2) 8	(2) 3.5
Underwear	Two elder daughters, together.	(8) 9.5	(4) 6
Panties	2 younger daughters, together.	(5) 7.5	(4) 6
Slippers, leather, pairs	all females, each	1	0
Sandals, wooden, pairs	Ma Aye Myaing and Daw Aw Zar, each	(1) 4	(1) 12
"	The four daughters, each	(1) 4	(1) 12

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Cloth Table 1. (c)

Item	Consumer	Pathes	Camp
Scarf	Ma Aye Myaing and Daw Aw Zar	2	Same
Gold chain with pendant	Eldest Daughter	(1)	0
Ear-plugs with synthetic diamonds	Ma Aye Myaing	(1)	0
"	Eldest Daughter	(1)	0
Ear plugs with white stones	Ma Aye Myaing	0	(½)
Gold earrings	2 younger daughters, each	(1)	0
Copper and gold earrings	Youngest daughter	(1)	Same
Silver anklet, pair	2 youngest daughters, together	(2)	Same (1)
Face powder, sticks of sandal wood	All females	(80 to 100) 24	(1) 64
Cuticura brand, talcum powder, tins	Ma Aye Myaing and her children	(2) 12	0
Face powder, sticks of other woods	Daw Aw Zar	3	0
Ivory comb	Ma Aye Myaing	(1)	0
Bamboo comb	Ma Aye Myaing and Daw Aw Zar, each	(1) 1.3	(1) 1.3
Silver buttons, set	Ma Aye Myaing	0	(1)
Crystal buttons, set	Daw Aw Zar, Ma Aye Myaing and eldest daughter, each	(1)	Same
Green stone buttons, set	Eldest daughter	(1)	Same
Stone slab for making face powder	All females	(3)	(1)
Coconut oil for hair, ticals	All females	(20) 120	"small quantity" "few days"
Parasol	Children	(2) 4	0
Umbrella	Ma Aye Myaing	(1) 1.3	0

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Analysis of wearing a parel used by U Myaing's family.

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Fifty three items of wearing apparel and personal accoutrement were recorded. These are divided into three large catagories:

(1) Objects used in Pathwe but not in camp.
(2) Objects used in camp but not in Pathwe.
(3) Objects used in both localities.

Twenty nine items used in Pathwe were not used in camp. 55% of the Pathwe complex had been discontinued for a variety of reasons. The bulk of the objects were not replaced due to lack of funds. Many items such as umbrellas, towels, leather sandals were needed and desired. Some objects, such as men's jackets, headbands, silk longyis and associated underwear pants, men's bamboo hats, men's hair dressing comb, jewelry and parasols are recognised as luxury items. Both the ceremonial and social occasions in which such luxuries assumed the proportions of necessities had diminished or disappeared so that the desire for them is no longer as strong. This is reflected in the statements that some of the luxuries were no longer desired (hair dressing) or that smaller quantities (silk longyis) would be adequate.

It is interesting to note that whereas both U Myaing and the ladies had the same number of items in Pathwe (26 respectively) - in camp U Myaing has only 7 items or 28% of the Pathwe complex. The ladies, however, have 16 items or 59% of the Pathwe complex. This data suggests that the women's standards are less flexible than the men's. In order to be respectable the women have to have certain items. Whereas, U Myaing's demand depends more on his immediate situation. If this is so, then it follows that the men's standard might expand more rapidly under opulent conditions - with sets of special socio-ceremonial garb (headband, silk longyi, jacket, jewelry including western items(Gillette razor, topee, western jackets and shirts).

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Only three objects were used in camp but not in Pathwe. The rubber-tyred wooden sandals are simply new varieties of an old form used in Pathwe - a cheap and popular urban form due to abundance of tyre-rubber following the war. The earrings with white stones and set of silver buttons are also substitute varieties, not innovations.

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The silver button set, however is a sort of windfall, resulting from the family's contact with more opulent urban standards.

Thirty nine percent of the total complex, 21 items, were used in the two localities. These fell into the catagories of: (1) items taken from Pathwe, and (2) items secured to replace those used in Pathwe.

Only 6 items or 11% of the complex survived from Pathwe days. These were big razor, scarf, copper and gold earrings, silver anklets, crystal and blue stone button sets. The razor took on the new function of shaving U Myaing in addition to the heads of the children but this was a pre-gillette-razor-stage function.

One item, ladies bamboo combs, was used in exactly the same frequency in both locales. It is easy to understand why this low frequency, cheap and durable object was unaffected by the change in the standard of living. Either the quantity on hand or amount consumed varied in the other cases. In a few instances the camp frequency was higher: the elder daughters used more cotton TAMEINS (though less are kept on hand) - a reflection of their greater social activities as elder children in an urban situation; 2 or 3 times as many wooden sandals are used in camp because: (1) those are the cheapest footwear, and (2) they wear out more rapidly on the Rangoon pavement than on the Pathwe mud-walks. The other items showed marked reduction in quantity, ranging from ⅓ to ½. Qualitatively the reduction is not so easily measured. However, most of the items cost less than in Pathwe. With inflation and an urban market, the qualities must have fallen below those of Pathwe for the most part.

In conclusion: over half of the personal accoutrement complex of Pathwe was discontinued, with the greater sacrifice falling to U Myaing. These items become part of an inactive cultural inventory to be recovered when and if the family again resume their former standard of living.

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FOOD

Eating Routine

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Ma Aye Myaing does the cooking with the help of the eldest daughter. U Myaing never cooks. In our third interview U Myaing prompted his wife what to say, concerning the routine of cooking, indicating that he understood the main outlines of the art:

> "In the morning the fire has to be made so as to cook the rice. After the fire is made the rice is washed and cooked. Then it is HNUT (water drained and rice steamed.) The onions to put in the curry are then sliced, the chillies are pounded vinegar is added and then everything is placed on the fire. This is what you are required to say."

Thus prompted, Ma Aye Myaing gets off to a fast start in giving information of her province.

> "I rise early in the morning, draw water, make the fire, set the tea-pot on, wash the rice, cook it, drain the water away, steam it, pound chillies, chop fish, peel potatoes, slice onions and skin prawns. Sesamum oil is first put in and THUT (smell of oil is cured) with onions and chillies in the pan. After this the potatoes are put in - potatoes and prawns. We cook once in the morning at 7 o'clock and once in the evening at 3 o'clock. In the morning there are times when we cook potatoes with prawn, and also times when we cook with vegetables. The evening meal is cooked with fish - it differs. Sometimes also we cook the fish by itself.
>
> "The meals we had to eat in Pantanaw were better of course. Only at times do we find cooking oil and onions etc. for our meals here. Rice has to bought; only at times do we have fish to eat. Sometimes we have to eat with vinegar and chillies (for curry)- sometimes vegetables and prawns."

U Myaing gives some information on the source of food in camp.

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> "The government brings rice, oil and salt once every 7 days - four times a month. Sometimes they do not come four times but only about twice a month. In Pathwe where food was concerned, there were fields. We could buy the paddy from the fields very cheaply. We get fish from the INS also."

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There are no great differences between cooking procedure in Pathwe and in the refugee camp. The only difference is that, prices being lower in Pathwe, there is some difference in the ingredients used and the dishes eaten. For example, fish oil, which can be used in cooking was obtained free of charge. It was so plentiful that the villagers even used it as a lubricant for the rice mill and also as axle grease for their bullock carts.

the bereaved bring with them gifts of money and in this way seek to help them to defray the funeral expenses of which the funeral feast held 7 days after the death is most expensive. Sometimes these visitors are so generous that the householder does not need to contribute anything at all. Some people, however, prefer to reserve the right to pay for burial expenses of someone in the family, and put out an announcement requesting neighbours to refrain from making monetary contributions. 764 621 476

The community activities in the refugee camp are mainly of an economic nature - discussed in the section on "Work". The solidarity of the village is lacking and the feelings of obligation and responsibility beyond the basic economic ones are absent. 621 722

In Pathwe there are ethnic groups other than the Burmese. There are a few Karens, Indians of Madrasi affiliation, as well as a few Chinese who run stores. The attitude of the family toward these other groups are reflected in the following interview (Note: the concept of "religion" is used here as meaning "general way of life." 621 563 186

Q. "Does U Myaing know about other religions such as Christianity and Hinduism? If so, what is his attitude towards them.

A. "I don't understand them well. We are with our own religion. We are country folk. We understand our religion only. We don't understand other religions.

Q. "What is your attitude towards other racial groups living in the village?

A. "I don't hold any positive attitude. I harbour no evil thoughts. We hold them to be the same as we are.

Q. "Would you like to go back to live among the Karens you spoke of just now?

A. (D.A.Z.) "Of course not. Lots of Burmese were left behind. We wouldn't dare to live among the Karens."
(U.M.) "Some people do not dare to live among the Karens, but we do."
(D.A.Z.) U.M.)"We don't have enemies."
(D.A.Z.) "There are Karens who are friendly with us."
(U.M.) "Say that we lived together. We lived together."
(D.A.Z.)"Though we have no enemies we feel afraid. In the present turmoil and confusion people no longer know each other."

Q. " Do the Karens differ from you in religion?"

A. (U.M.) "Our religions do not differ. The religion of Karens in our place and our religion do not differ. It is Buddhism."

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Q. "We want to know your relations with adherents of other religions. There are people who worship Indian gods, Chinese gods, and Christians - what is your attitude towards them?"

A. (U.M.) "I don't hold any attitude at all."

Q. " Do you get on well?"

A. (U.M.) "Yes. We get on very well. They buy our goods and we buy theirs. They rent our fields and cultivate them. If there are cows they are borrowed and lent. We live together like this - buying and selling."

Q. "This is about the people. How about their attitude towards their gods?"

A. "I have no attitude."

Q. "Have you never thought about it?"

A. "I have never thought about it. Their god is only slightly different. There is only one god. There will be only one god. Only people differ somewhat. Our outlook should be improved. After all, his god is my god and my god is his god. Only the races differ. Even one race is divided within itself."

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The relationship of the family to the state in Pathwe involve taxes, military service and voting. In the pre-war days, U Myaing and family had to pay a capitation tax, levied at the rate of Rs. 5/- per year for a married couple, and Rs. 2/8 per year for a bachelor of twenty and over. Children and unmarried women and widows are exempt from any tax whatsoever. There was a land tax on cultivation fields - levied at the rate of annas 2 per acre per annum, and also on garden land at one anna or two annas per acre per annum according to the value of the land. The tax on INS - or purchase of the fishery rights amounted to a figure anywhere between Rs. 3000/- and Rs. 12,000/-. U Myaing is not liable to taxes because of his low income, he retains his voting privileges for general elections.

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The family was moved from Pathwe to the refugee camp because of the insurrection and has been under the protection of the government since coming to camp. The proportion of food and shelter benefits, which they receive from the government, has been noted under those headings. According to government policy, shelter is provided for the family, and food for all except one adult who is expected to work.

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Education for U Myaing's children is provided by the government both in Pantanaw and in the refugee camp. Only the cost of the books has to be paid by him.

Children in the Pathwe village learnt their lessons at the government school. This school, which was on THA-GYI-BET side, teaches pupils up to the tenth standard. The school house was built by contributions taken in the village. When U Myaing was young, they had to pay a tuition fee of four annas each to the schoolmaster every month. Now government has taken over the cost of educating the children, and fees are no longer required of them. The children only have to bring their own books and pencils. There are three teachers in the school; one headmaster and two assistants. The headmaster draws a salary of Rs. 100/- and the assistants of over Rs. 90/- each. There are other schools across the river but they teach only up till the fourth standard, and children of higher grades have to come to THA-GYI-BET to attend school.

Addenda

U Myaing is not a member of any political party. He is concerned mainly with his work and the daily task of providing food for his family. He does not belong to any union or other organisation of workers. 621 722● 622

There are about 1500 people in the refugee camp living in 14 or 15 buildings. The schoolmaster is regarded as a leader. There are two others who help him- Maung Myint and Aung Gyi. Maung Myint is 48 years old and Aung Gyi is 37. The young men in the camp also recognise these three people as elders. The three of them undertake all responsibilities for dealing with the government and making representations to the government regarding rice, milk-powder, etc. They are not paid anything in money, but get a larger share in the allotments of food, etc., made by the government to the camp. "If we get one condensed milk tin of rice, they get one basket." All the other members of the camp , including U Myaing, are satisfied with this arrangement since these three have been doing the work for the past two years. The Chief Justice of the Union, U E Maung asked them to undertake this responsibility for the camp.

In the case of thieves who are caught, the government consent to arrest the thieves. "If the people in the camp catch a thief, they would tell him and only afterwards settle with the government. It was the same back in Pathee when a thief was caught. Even if he did not die he would have to suffer terribly. In Pathee it was the task of the headman to take the offender to the police station, but here in camp the station is quite near and the householder can take him to the station by himself. 625

The government works through the school-master. It gives him recognition as a leader in the affairs of the camp. Maung Myint has to look after the welfare of two sheds and their inmates, Aung Gyi has the care of three, and Ko Ba Khant the school-master has the charge of the 621 641

These are his "eggs" and it is his duty to guard them while the others cluster around trying to get them away from him without being caught in the attempt. If they are successful in getting all the eggs away they then go and hide them. The "turtle" then has to go and look for eggs while the rest follow her giving encouragement clapping hands and shouting the chant " LEIT U PY UK LO LEIT MA SHAR THU KHIN BYAR NOO ME NOO MEY (Because her eggs are lost the poor female turtle is tearfully looking for them). If the child succeeds in catching any one in an attempt to get an egg away that person becomes the turtle. 527 858

In Pathwe they celebrated the water festival, but they did it in moderation and were satisfied if a person got slightly wet. MON-LET-HSAUNG was given in the village. 527

U Myaing did not save any money in Pathwe. Sometimes he made a great deal of money and sometimes he made nothing at all. Sometimes if he had a lot of money he would loan it out to some one else to be returned in three or four months time if possible. Sometimes these loans continued unsettled for about a year. Only in Rangoon do you have to pay interest. In Pathwe if you did not borrow from chettiars you did not need to pay any interest. U Myaing did not go to the chettiars. He borrowed only from his relatives. There were people who went to raise money from the chettiar money lenders and some of them lost house, cultivation fields etc. because they could not pay the high rate of interest and had the mortgages on their property foreclosed. 454 426 [563]

Analysis of Social and Ceremonial Activities

The refugee camp may be regarded as a new village composed of families who came from villages in the delta similar to Pathwe but placed in an urban setting. The other refugees have the same understandings as to socio-ceremonial activities as U Myaing and the basic 621 722 [369]

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structure of the social and political organization is the same in both places. However, the expectations and obligations of the original village are ill defined perhaps for the reason that the camp families no longer depend so completely on each other for their social and ceremonial activities. In Pathwe, U Myaing and his family were responsible citizens of the village as a whole. In camp, they are merely temporary residents with only the most rudimentary of obligations to their fellow refugees. The basic functions of the camp are carried out by semi-official persons. There is a minimum of feeling of solidarity in the camp where the immediate family is the major functioning unit.

Much has been lost with the passing of the communal activities of the small village. Yet the basic social and ceremonial activities are still carried out in Rangoon. The community has become a large, impersonal one but the values are the same. The activities, as at the gigantic Shwe Dagon pagoda, duplicate those of the village on a grand scale and are hence more stimulating - but the family is no longer in a special status position and are nameless and unknown in their activities. Because of lack of money the activities are greatly curtailed in scope, but also the obligation is less. In this sense the family is "freed" from pressing obligations of the village where, for example, they were expected to contribute relatively large sums to community activities.

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The familiar and beloved flavour of routine village activities is replaced by the excitement of life in the big town. Everything is new and different and while the basic understandings are still encountered the old restrictions of the small community have disappeared. Life in Rangoon is full of possibilities and amusement.

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Recently (during the summer of 1951) U Myaing was promoted from street cleaner to boss of the cleaners of one section. He still gets a salary of Rs. 86/- a month but has the position of an overseer somewhat equivalent in status to the IH overseer's job in Pathwe. There are many opportunities for an honest and intelligent person to rise in Rangoon. In October 1951 U Myaing visited me to take an order for table mats. His samples were much too large and bound with a violent

orange cloth but he remembered my original order and wanted to make these specialty items. I directed him to some friends who I thought would be interested. He was dressed in a new white shirt, colourful new longyi, a brown cloth topee and leather sandals and looked prosperous and contented. Recently, Ma Aye Myaing had presented him with another baby daughter and both were doing well. I asked him when he was going back to Pathwe. "Yes," he said, "as soon as it is safe to return." Even a considerably higher salary would not persuade him to stay in Rangoon. Here "though the eye is rich, the pocket is poor". U Myaing is well on his way to making a successful adjustment as an urbanite — but his heart will probably always remain in the village.

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CONCLUSION

Summary of Data

The data presented above on the changing standard of living of the Burmese fisherman-refugee family may be briefly summarized as follows:

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Home: A change from a large teak wood house personally owned to cramped quarters under the eves of a bamboo hut provided by the refugee camp. This represented a decline to 1/50th of the original home space but only to 1/10th of the original space used for the home vital functions of cooking, eating and sleeping. Home as a spacious area for social activities is replaced by an area used almost exclusively for the vital functions. There are no innovations and the pattern of home is not broken but is greatly contracted close to the minimum requirements.

Work: A change from a position as an overseer of a cooperative fishing organisation with income from cattle and fish products manufacturing to a day labourer. This represented a severe drop in income and prestige but was not outside of the labouring pattern which U Myaing was familiar with from his youth. It is a return to his basic occupation. The "road back" to position and higher income is being taken - at the present writing (November 1951) U Myaing has been raised to coolie boss of a section of street cleaners. Opportunities for rising in Rangoon are good and the future is once more promising.

Clothing: U Myaing is reduced by 72% from his former quantity, and the females of the family by 41%. The social clothing and accoutrement have been sacrificed and the inventory reduced to the garments essential for basic living. Quality of clothing has greatly declined. The process has been one of severe contraction but the pattern has not been broken or innovations substituted.

Health: The health of the family appears to be relatively unimpaired by change. However, the medical data necessary to arrive at a reliable analysis could not be secured. The most we can say is that hygenic conditions have not materially altered in the camp situation, and the family is not aware of any radical changes in health. The proximity of modern medical aid in Rangoon is of course a great advantage in any emergencies of which the family is becoming

511 increasingly cognizant.

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722 Food: The relative quality of food has remained the same but many expensive items have been discarded. Cheap foods when known previously have been elevated to importance in the camp diet but no previously unknown foods have been accepted - the new trifles which have become popular with the family are close enough in taste to the Pathwe trifles no longer available. Many foods which were secured free in Pathwe now cost money and have been discarded or reduced in quantity. The diet is reduced close to the essentials.

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Social and ceremonial activities: The active life in which the family was involved in a small folk community has given way to life in an urban community where the major consideration is gaining a livelihood. But the new life is promising and exciting and retains the basic activities of the village.

Concluding Analysis

121 Some preliminary conclusions can be drawn from this particular set of circumstances; also the data suggests hypothesis of wider application to Burmese culture specifically and human societies generally.

183 Nature of the case: The case is clearly one of reduction in standard of living where the pattern of living remains unbroken. As such, certain deductions concerning the flexibility of the pattern can be drawn. The general situation is a contraction where items were sloughed-off as the pattern approached a minimum situation. The extreme level beyond which the pattern would have broken and/or the family ceased to exist was not reached. Data on such cases would be most valuable in extending this study. For example, I heard of a case supposedly during the Japanese occupation where a girl became too poor to afford a longyi and had to use gunny-sacks for clothing. The story goes that this girl committed suicide. Also, during the war some families are reported to have been reduced to eating "only rice and ngapi" - apparently the irreducible condition. Data on families expanding economically would also be necessary to carry this type of study in the other direction. U Myaing's case gives data on the flexibility of the Burmese culture pattern under certain circumstances from a median point of average standard of living, to a point near the minimum standard.

183 The conditions under which this flexibility was observed were

369 those of a displaced family uprooted from a folk society and replanted in an refugee community within an urban society. As such the case

[792] apparently meaningful locations would be the huts of the PHON-GYIS
722 located on the peripheries of the camp on local promontories.
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The new PHON-GYI KYAUNG near the entrance of the camp was built
792 by others, not by the refugees. The one at the back, on the other
361 hand, was built by contributions among the refugees themselves. One PHON-GYI and one small boy reside here. The PHON-Gyi from the new KYAUNG comes for HSOON (food given to begging monks) once in a while. A third PHON-GYI KYAUNG at the far rear also was in existance before U Myaing's arrival at camp. Here also resides one PHON-GYI and one small boy.

●723 U Myaing came by himself to camp and took possession of the
362 place he now lives in. The camp-head assigned the place to him. When they first arrived in Rangoon they had to rent a room at HPA-HSA-PA-LA-KHETTHIT (an area of huts organised by the Anti-facists Peoples Freedom League, the political party now in power) for a period of 2½ months at Rs. 17/8 per month. This was because they did not know of the refugee camp. They learnt of its existence just as their money ran out, and they shifted over.

U Myaing is of opinion that since he is installed in these quarters no other family will come to put up there, but admits that if they did, he would not have any right to drive them out, since he does not own the place. He is a comparative latecomer to the camp. Other families have been here for nearly two years now, while U Myaing arrived only 10 months ago. The extensions to the eaves of the roof were made by U Myaing. The condition of the camp when he came was very much the same as it is now. Only two additional huts and one PHONGYI KYAUNG have been erected since. He considers that his quarters are slightly better off than those of others in that there is less bustle and confusion in the buildings.

722 The quarters assigned to U Myaing are formed by the extension
342 of the eaves of a rectangular house. The house, which measures 60 feet long by 20 feet wide has bamboo matwalls about 10 feet high, is floored with stone paves and has six windows 3 feet square on the long sides. There is a door 3 feet wide at one end. The roof is gabled with a ridge pole from which 8 rafters sixteen feet long are attached. The extensions of the roof consist of thatched leaves on

So the worship of the nats lived on, and with the advance o
795 civilization the spirit dances became elaborate, for though the belief
535 was primitive, the people were no longer so. The dances benefited from the developments that had taken place in Burmese music which, as we have seen, flourished under the patronage of the Pagan kings. New spirits were added, and they were usually those of heroic princes. The dancers were now many, for the mediums turned themselves into dancing and music mistresses. The chief medium of each spirit dressed herself in the special dress of the spirit, but the junior mediums, who were equivalent to the chorus of an English revue, were in the dress of Burmese princesses. It is interesting to note the
[292] origin of this dress. The mediums realized the necessity of dressing
[565] themselves in fine raiment, but as everybody wore clothes of bright colours, the only solution of the problem was to don the dress of the court and official class, which the commoners were forbidden to
[536] wear by law, except during feasts and dances. When drama proper came into being, the hero and the heroine dressed themselves in the court dress, even when they were representing common characters.

3. Miracles and Interludes

175 After the fall of the kingdom of Pagan in A.D. 1257, Burma was
369 the scene of fierce civil wars, but the trouble was mainly in the
● 726 capitals; in the villages and small towns life went on in its joyous
779 way. Religion continued to spread in spite of the fact that the throne
538 of Pagan was no longer in existence to support it. Learning began to reach the remotest parts of the country, carried far and near by monks. To escape from the aimless strife of the civil wars, men turned towards literature. Money was lacking to compose poems in brick as had been done at Pagan, and men now expressed their love for the religion and their love for the beautiful in writing. The new literature further educated the people and made even stronger the already strong religious fervour. As a result, at village feasts and on days of public rejoicing, the people turned towards their religion for amusement and entertainment. So pageants depicting scenes from the life of the Buddha and from his Birth Stories came into being.

796 Pageants were given on ordinary carts that were in use for all
541 kinds of transport and which are still in use in backward parts of the
493 country at the present day. Each cart carried a group of (amateur) actors standing still and representing a set scene. Originally, no doubt, there were only a few carts representing scenes from different stories. Later, a pageant came to consist of many carts and many

16 Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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ness. Can there be a more valuable knowledge for anyone than this?

In many ways she will act for her husband with vigour and address, and she is not afraid of appearing in his name or her own in law courts, for instance, or in transacting certain kinds of business. She knows that she can do certain business as well as or better than her husband, and she does it. There is nothing more remarkable than the way in which she makes a division of these matters in which she can act for herself, and those in which, if she act at all, it is for her husband.

Thus, as I have said, she will, as regards her own property or her own business, act freely in her own name, and will also frequently act for her husband too. They will both sign deeds, borrow money on joint security, lend money repayable to them jointly. But in public affairs she will never allow her name to appear at all. Not that she does not take a keen interest in such things. She lives in no world apart; all that affects her husband interests her as keenly as it does him. She lives in a world of men and women, and her knowledge of public affairs, and her desire and powers of influencing them, is great. But she learnt long ago that her best way is to act through and by her husband, and that his strength and his name are her bucklers in the fight. Thus women are never openly concerned in any political matters. How strong their feeling is can better be illustrated by a story than in any other way.

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In 1889 I was stationed far away on the north-west frontier of Burma, in charge of some four thousand square miles of territory which had been

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

newly incorporated. I went up there with the first column that ever penetrated that country, and I remained there when, after the partial pacification of the district, the main body of the troops were withdrawn. It was a fairly exciting place to live in. To say nothing of the fever which swept down men in batches, and the trans-frontier people who were always peeping over to watch a good opportunity for a raid, my own charge simply swarmed with armed men, who seemed to rise out of the very ground—so hard was it to follow their movements—attack anywhere they saw fit, and disappear as suddenly. There was, of course, a considerable force of troops and police to suppress these insurgents, but the whole country was so roadless, so unexplored, such a tangled labyrinth of hill and forest, dotted with sparse villages, that it was often quite impossible to trace the bands who committed these attacks; and to the sick and weary pursuers it sometimes seemed as if we should never restore peace to the country.

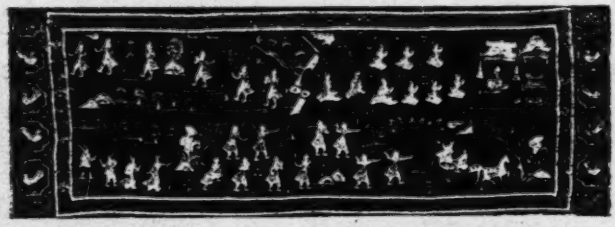
The villages were arranged in groups, and over each group there was a headman with certain powers and certain duties, the principal of the latter being to keep his people quiet, and, if possible, protect them from insurgents.

Now, it happened that among these headmen was one named Saw Ka, who had been a free-lance in his day, but whose services were now enlisted on the side of order—or, at least, we hoped so. He was a fighting-man, and rather fond of that sort of exercise; so that I was not much surprised one day when I got a letter from him to say that his villagers

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

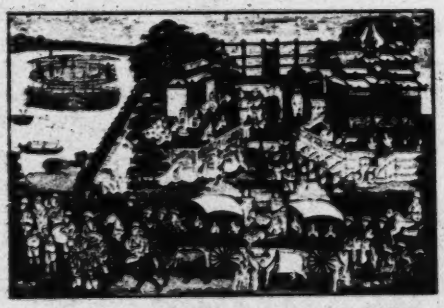
175 religion which actuated the kings to build temples on such a scale. In 1300 A.D. the power of the Pagán kingdom had spent itself, in a great degree [779] owing, as the Burmans believe, to the drain of the temple-building. But the force of the religion was unabated. Burma fell a prey to Shan invaders, who snatched the dominion for nearly two hundred years but failed to consolidate

[532 726]



9. BURMAN GENERAL GOING OUT TO WAR (APPLIQUE WORK).

it, splitting up into principalities like those of their native hills. The weakness of Burma allowed the Mun power to develop. The sixteenth century saw the rise of Pegu and the establishment of a shifting empire over Burma. Exhausted by wars, Pegu in turn declined and lay at the mercy of Siam (*Yôdayâ*) when Paung (*Tanng-ngu*) came to the rescue. In the seventeenth century the Paung-Peguan dynasty brought the Mun empire to its zenith, from which it waned in the eighteenth. Towards the middle of the latter century the Burmans under Aláung Payâ rose against the Mun garrisons, overthrew Pegu and finally established the empire of Burma. Arakán was incorporated; Siam was subjugated and made tributary for a time. The empire directed its ambition to the west. Manipúr was overrun [175 726 532] and the Arakanese pretensions in Chittagong were revived, which produced friction with the British power in India. Burman dominion had been a career of unbroken conquest in the memory of the then generation; the nation believed itself invincible. In the elation of their prowess at home they



10. BURMAN PICTURE OF THE FALL OF MANDALAY.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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370. HEADMAN MUSTERING HIS VILLAGERS.

CHAPTER VII

POLITICAL

WITH alien races planted on his soil and the watchful rivalry of the Taláing to contend with, the Burman had hourly need to guard his camp. Besides the enemies without, and their potential allies within, brigand bands of his own race had to be held in check. The chronic wars of Burman and Taláing (Mun), who were separated by no natural frontier, have left their record in the stockaded villages between Prome and Mimbu, a no-man's-land in which soldiers were impressed to fight, now on this side, now on that, and where, on being disbanded, they continued the plunder by which the armies subsisted in war. The traditions of brigandage and the exploits of noted leaders are remembered, and such enterprises are still a resort of the *vauriens* of a village or country-side when they perceive their chance—*damyá-taik sâdya!* These brigands (*damyá*, gang-robbers, dacoits) lay their plans to surprise a village while the men are away at work or endeavour to create a panic by a night attack and so obtain their booty without risk of an encounter. An occasional gang might

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726
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[712]

371. BURMAN OUTPOST STOCKADE.

581 divorce your husband or your wife without good—
586 very good and sufficient cause. And what is good and sufficient cause is very well understood. That a woman should have a nagging tongue, that a man should be a drunkard, what could be better cause than this? The gravity of the offence lies in whether it makes life unbearable together, not in the name you may give it.

The facility for divorce has other effects too. It makes a man and a woman very careful in their behaviour to each other. The chain that binds them is a chain of mutual forbearance, of mutual endurance, of mutual love; and if these be broken, then is the bond gone. Marriage is no fetter about a man or woman, binding both to that which they may get to hate.

[175] In the first Burmese war in 1825 there was a
[727] man, an Englishman, taken prisoner in Ava and put in prison, and there he found certain Europeans and Americans. And after a time, for fear of attempts at escape, these prisoners were chained together two and two. And he tells you, this Englishman, how terrible this was, and of the hate and repulsion that arose in your heart to your co-bondsman. Before they were chained together they lived in close neighbourhood, in peace and amity; but when the chains came it was far otherwise, though they were no nearer than before. They got to hate each other.

And this is the Burmese idea of marriage, that it is a partnership of love and affection, and that when these die, all should be over. An unbreakable marriage appears to them as a fetter, a bond, something hateful and hate inspiring. You see, they are

Zi: Hsin Aung B-5 (ca. 1880) 1987 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

101 walked up and down the stage—a dramatic practice which was taken
536* from the Siamese and used on the Burmese stage. The language was
the language of the court, artificial, but not so removed from reality as
538 to prevent it from being understood by the lowest classes. The
play was mostly in verse. The prose was poetic and elegant except in
comic scenes.

[175] When the Burmese conquered Siam in 1767, they were able to take the play back with them for various reasons. The play was to both nations a *Jataka* story. The manners and the language of the Siamese court, as depicted in the play, were similar in many ways to those of the Burmese court. The mythology was common to both nations. The play was easy of reproduction at the Burmese court because of the many characteristics common to both countries, and because the captive and exiled members of the Siamese nobility at the Burmese court were ready and willing to help not only because they were anxious to teach the new art to their conquerors, but also because they missed an entertainment to which they had been accustomed for generations.

3. The *Rama* Play at the Burmese Court

175 The age that followed the conquest of Siam in 1767 was one of
669 triumph. In 1752 the Burmese Empire had been destroyed by the
Talaings, and the conquerors were ruthlessly putting into practice
● 727 their policy of stopping the continual war between Burmese and
Talaing by exterminating the Burmese as a race. In the same year,
however, a humble villager arose, rallied the Burmese around him,
with the result that five years later the mighty Talaing Empire was
destroyed and the Talaings as a race disappeared from Burma. The
obscure villager became the great Alaungpaya, founder of the famous
dynasty that bore his name. He tried to conquer Siam, but died
when victory was in sight. His son, Hsinbyushin, carried on the war,
and continued the extension of the Empire. Manipur was soon
conquered, and in 1767 Siam was completely crushed and its capital
destroyed. The Siamese court was taken captive to the Burmese
capital. The weary army was given no rest, however, for the Chinese
had invaded Burma. From 1765 to 1769, the Chinese carried on a
serious campaign against Burma. There were four distinct invasions,
but each was repulsed. In 1769, the Chinese defeat was complete.
Of that age of triumph, Harvey says:

The victory [against the Chinese], coming as it did on top of a

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1980) 1987 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

generation of continual warfare which might well have exhausted the race, shows that the exploits of Alaungpaya were no mere flash in the pan, but were broad-based on the energy of the race as a whole. . . . The chronicles for the period are verbose and pompous, but it is impossible to read them without being struck with their fierce pride.[1]

It was during this age of triumph, after the Chinese invaders had been sent back defeated and people could breathe again without anxiety, that the Siamese *Rama* was produced at the Burmese court for the first time.

The court of Ava, then the capital of Burma, was in many ways comparable to the court of Elizabeth after the victory over Spain. Glory and wealth and splendour surrounded the king and his courtiers. Masters in the arts of war, they were also masters in the arts of peace. Almost everyone was learned, and the ablest soldiers and statesmen were also the foremost poets. Queens and ladies-in-waiting vied with princes and lords in the study and practice of learning and literature. Experts in the study of Pali, Sanskrit, and Buddhistic lore, keen students of foreign institutions and literatures, they were essentially Burmese, and enriched their own language and literature with borrowings from all sources. The period 1770 to 1824, the date of the first British conquest, that period of triumph, may easily be termed the age of translations, so keen were the people for knowledge from all sources. Siamese romances, Pali *Jatakas*, Chinese histories, Siamese and Cambodian chronicles, a history of Portugal, a Sanskrit work on sexual science—this list made at random shows clearly the range and variety of the translations. The court led the people in the pursuit of learning and literature. The courtiers were learned, the king was a patron of learning, and at the court the captives and hostages numbered among them great scholars and poets from conquered States. After the toils of war, men turned towards learning for rest and recreation. Men gloried in their country and studied their own literature, history, and institutions, and that study naturally led to the study of those of other countries. Almost everyone studied and almost everyone wrote. The age of triumph was an age of learning.[2]

The Siamese court plays appealed to the imagination of the court. The Siamese captives longed for their native entertainment.

[1] *History of Burma*, p. 258.

[2] Some account of the learned atmosphere of the court and of its more famous translators and poets is given by G. E. Harvey, op. cit., pp. 249 and 250.

674 like ours except that patches of blood made violent interruptions on the
764 chaste red and white striped design, being slung on a pole, carrying a
775 woman who had been hacked by the dah of a hot-tempered husband. When one of the villagers had died a sudden death through poisoning, we listened wide-eyed to Ma Aye Shwe's account of his burial. All the old and broken bottles of Ye had been collected and ground up. His grave was dug, and after the coffin had been put into it, was filled up with alternating layers of earth and of powdered glass. This was because one of our persisting animist beliefs is that a spirit whose body dies a "green" death, that is, sudden, violent and unnatural, will walk about the earth in the form of an undesirable ghost, and hence the glass which will keep it under the earth and prevent its escape, much as thieves are deterred from climbing a wall which has powdered glass strewn along its top.

• 731 Every few years also, the water of the Ye creek rose so high that the ground and main floors of all the houses were flooded, and my grandmother and aunts had to retreat with all perishable goods and furniture to the high reaches of the platform storey and camp there till the water retreated. How we longed to visit Ye when this happened, but the nearest we came to realizing these floods was to see unexpected little patches of the sand of the creek every now and again in the houses, where the traces of the visiting waters had not been swept away. In one really bad year the waters at chaung-bya swelled into a mountainous flood which rose suddenly in a great roar and carried with it huts and rafts and stored goods of all kinds. Grandmother and my great-aunts watched dumbly [772] from the top of the pagoda hill, while cocks and hens and dogs and people clung to the thatched roofs of the floating houses, the cocks crowing and dogs baying and people praying, all rushing swiftly and inevitably past Ye, towards the great Thamoddhaya, the great ocean which is part of the waters which break the girdle of the Settkyawala Mountains circling the world around Myinmo Mount. Every few years, as a matter of fact, Uncle Thet Hnan, who had a garden and house at chaung-bya, lost a few tins of sesamum oil, or some part of his bamboo structures. This was because they all built and rebuilt the houses too near the water, to provide a quick escape from dacoits and enemies.

674 It was a dangerous life in these gardens even during our most recent years there, and my cousin Nyein Maung who was the stalwart to give my aunts most protection, developed into a rough and ready dispenser of justice. On one occasion he watched the hand of a thief creep up through the bamboo slathes of the flooring on which his little son played. The child wore a gold anklet which the hand coming out of the darkness tried to wrench off. Nyein Maung who anticipated that

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma A P1
Burmese AP4
Upper Burma
Lower Burma
Europeans

Be 461 Be 461 181

down the river in the big rice-boat to one of the great milling towns. And so an uneventful life passes away: the greatest ambition to see the village boat successful at the Thadingyut races, and the village champion cock or buffalo triumphant over all others; the greatest desire to live peaceably with all men and observe the Ten Precepts; the greatest excitement the occasional visit of the English district officer, or the suspicion of a witch in that lonely house down by the spirit's pool on the creek. In Upper Burma formerly this quiet was more apt to be disturbed by the summoning of levies to serve in some special raid against audacious dacoits, or to make a demonstration against reiving mountaineers. If the myo-wun was a pious man, calls for enforced labour at digging tanks, building pagodas and monasteries, rest-houses and tazaungs, were likely to keep the villager a great deal more occupied than he cared for. There can be no doubt in any patriotic Burman's mind that the state of the people, regularly taxed though they be, under British rule, is infinitely happier than it was under their king, and all but the officials and their hangers-on longed for the day when the English flag was to float over all the land as far as Mogaung. There could be no hope for the country, where, even under a kindly king like Mindôn, ill-conditioned governors oppressed the populace with absolute impunity. Complaints were made, but his majesty could not venture to leave his palace for any great distance to inquire for himself, and gold easily dulled the senses of the highest minister round the golden throne. It is little wonder then that the people, kept perpetually in the lowest depths of poverty, were, if not actually dying out, certainly not increasing in numbers. There was nothing which so much indicated the popular feeling, and at the same time so irritated the Burmese Government, as the unceasing stream of emigrants to Lower Burma.

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Nevertheless, even in Independent territory the Burman preserved his light heart and buoyant disposition. No calamity is so overwhelming as to make him despond. Some years ago a large fire occurred in Mandalay, and spread with such terrible rapidity that the inhabitants of a whole quarter were unable to save anything but the clothes they

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

wore. Some of them went the next day to the English missionary chaplain, and told him of the misfortune that had befallen them, and how so completely were they rendered destitute that they had been indebted to the charity of the inhabitants of the monastery for a breakfast that morning. The clergyman promised to do what he could for them, and the same evening went along to view the site of the fire. What was his astonishment to find that the burnt-out victims had rigged up a rude stage among the charred stumps of their house-posts, and in default of a house to sleep in, were prepared to spend the night listening to the love-making of the princes and princesses, and laughing at the caustic witticisms of the clown, not a few of the jokes being inspired by the blackened surroundings. Such defiance of all the ills of fate is very characteristic, and would seem to a Burman mind the most natural thing to do under the circumstances, since it afforded both distraction and amusement.

If any one has escaped the curse of Adam it is the Burman. He does not need to earn his bread with the sweat of his brow, and riches having no attraction for him, when his patch of paddy land has been reaped, his only concern is how to pass the time, and that is no very difficult matter, where he has plenty of cheroots and betel-nut. He can stroll along to neighbour Maung Gyi's, whose son has a knack for wood-carving, and watch him as he deftly cuts out a piece of elaborate scroll-work for the roof of a neighbouring monastery, or finishes off the grim features of a bilu for the English Inspector of Police. Next door the sayā is engaged on a painting, the representation of some palace scene, or of some well-known event in the life of the Lord Buddha. Burmese artists do not, as a rule, paint likenesses, though they are by no means unsuccessful when they make the attempt. Any one but a high official would probably consider it a mark of great presumption and conceit to hang up a picture of himself in his house. There is, however, none of the objection to portrait painting which is so common with some other nations. For example, the Mohammedans will not suffer likenesses to be drawn for fear they should demand a soul on the Day of Judgment, and so some actual human being might come to be left out in the cold. Catlin

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

ends; females are larger at the base; those which swell out in the middle are a-thet ma-shi—without life; taing bilu, ogre's posts are largest at the top. As a general rule it may be taken for granted that if a house is built with neuter posts, its inmates will always be miserable and unlucky; if the posts are ogres, death and disaster will attend; male posts are easy-going and harmless; females, on the contrary, are fortunate and leading to honour. But it may happen that the character of the piece of ground on which the house is built upsets all these generalisations, so that it is necessary to get a wise man's opinion before you get your posts. The Deittôn gives many instructions on the subject, and among other things mentions how a man's fortune may be calculated from the Hle-ga-tit, the side pieces of the steps which lead up to the verandah. The presence or absence of knots, and if the former, their position, determines the luck of the householder. 341 787

Poor people use bamboo instead of wood, and make their walls of mats, woven of the same substance, split up. Occasionally, however, they rise to the dignity of common jungle timber. Richer people make use of the invaluable teak, or of pyinkado (*Xylia dolabriformis*), a wood almost as durable, and equally expensive. White ants will attack neither of these. The walls of such houses are planked. The roof is sometimes composed of small flat tiles, but more commonly of thatch. This consists in most places in the Delta of dani, the leaves of the toddy palm, which are first soaked in salt water, a precaution which prevents insects from destroying them. Up country a species of grass called thekkè is universally used. This style of roofing is very satisfactory in every respect but one. It is cheap, easily put on, reasonably water-tight, but very inflammable, and consequently is not allowed in any of the larger towns in the Province. In the smaller stations, however, it is almost universal, and the consequence is that when one house takes fire, the sparks from it kindle all the others, as a matter of course. Consequently, as an imperative measure of protection, every house is provided with a long hooked bamboo, called a mi-cheit, by means of which to pull off all the thatch as soon as a fire breaks out in the neighbourhood; and in 342 565 342 731 355

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

342 addition to this a mi-kat stands beside it. This is a broad
731 griddle, or flapper kind of thing, and its object is to beat out
355 the flame which may be caused by a spark lighting on the roof. In addition to this, in many parts of the country, pots full of water are always kept in readiness on the tops of the houses, so that when the hour of danger comes, the householder may douse his roof, and so do the best for himself. In Mandalay, under native rule, some of the pa-gwets, [368] and other outcasts, patrolled the streets all night, to watch for and prevent fires as much as possible.

342 Another kind of roofing is wā-kat, a sort of flat tile-like construction, six feet long by two feet broad, made of coarse bamboo matting. Bamboos split in half down the centre, and with the knots smoothed away, are also used. They are placed close together, with the hollow side upwards, extending all the way down from the ridge to the eaves, and over these again are placed others with the rounded side up, the whole presenting rather a curious appearance, but making a very serviceable roof and not nearly so dangerous as the leaf or grass thatching. The leaves of other trees are also occasionally used, but the simplicity and cheapness of the dani roof make it by far the most prevalent in the delta, as grass is elsewhere, notwithstanding its danger. In Rangoon and Maulmein, shingles, that is, small wooden slabs like slates, are being very generally introduced.

In the better class of houses the floors are made of planking, but poorer people have nothing better than a series [565] of whole or split bamboos laid side by side on the cross-beams and tied down with rattans. This is not very pleasant to walk on, and has the further disadvantage of being anything but cleanly, for the spaces between the bamboos offer an irresistible temptation to drop all litter and garbage on to the ground immediately underneath the house, and were it not for the pariah dogs the sanitary condition of the place would soon be very bad.

352 The house is thus simple enough in its character, but
177·35 the furniture is still more so. Intercourse with the English
369 has indeed brought many Burmans to indulge in English luxuries, and in many houses in Rangoon and the larger district towns, chandeliers, bookcases, pictures, and even

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma (Chinese Indians) AP1
Burmese AP4

village therefore remained, and has served to drag out a long suburb beyond the Arakan pagoda as a kind of connecting link. Numbers of later arrivals, however, settled in the royal City of Gems, and the wealthier merchants all eventually moved their headquarters thither, so that his majesty triumphed in the end. The best houses in Mandalay, the only brick ones, in fact, till the British came, are all in the possession of the Chinese and Indian merchants. Burmans had neither the right nor the money to build anything but wooden erections. These latter have, however, the compensating advantage that they stand all but the most violent earthquakes, while the brick houses, even when they are strengthened by an elaborate wooden framework, usually collapse when there is anything like a heavy shock.

But the great majority of the houses are simply wattled huts, with large open spaces in their rear which serve to keep the town airy and well ventilated. According to Burman custom each house has its little shop with the entire stock in trade displayed to the view of the passer-by. As in all Eastern towns, those who occupy themselves with a regular handicraft all flock together. Thus the umbrella-makers and sellers of saddlery live to the south of the palace, vendors of bamboo-work and lacquered boxes to the west, while the potters and miscellaneous goods shops are mostly along the street that leads to Payā Gyi, the Arakan pagoda.

There was no attempt at metalling any of the roads, except in independent times the broad thoroughfare which led up from the steamer ghaut, past the ministers' residences, up to the outskirts of the town, for Mandalay lies two miles away from the river-bank, the idea being that at Amarapura the noise of the foreigners' steamers disturbed the royal repose. The big stones which represented the metalling on this one road were rather a trouble than otherwise, except to the vultures and egrets in the wet weather, when all around was a sea of mud, and the boulders formed an eligible coign of vantage. Elsewhere the streets were cut into huge ruts, and the bullock-carts went along in the hot weather in a pyramid of dust, and in the rains a ploughed field would be smooth going in comparison. But the gaily-painted carriages which always suggest a dog-kennel on

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

62. DAYIN ORNAMENT.

exhausted their resources in the building of it. In the moist region the effects of rain and vegetation combine to dilapidate buildings in less than a lifetime. The stone-grey and lichen-covered wood attains the distinction of age before its time. In the dry zone of Burma Proper fires are very frequent. Few examples of wood architecture of over a century old exist anywhere. It is scarcely possible to trace the steps by which the present style developed from the Indian models.

As distinguished from the *kyaung*, *thein*, and other wood buildings, the *Zedi*, which are such a prominent feature of Burma and Siam, are of masonry. In Arakán they are of hewn stone; elsewhere they are of brick plastered with lime. It is a point of honour with the Buddhists of those countries to crown every eminence with a *zedi*. The chief *zedi* of a place—*Payá-dyí*—is on the highest ground in the vicinity, and is cared for by the public. The subsidiary *zedi*, the *wut*, *tazáung*, and other accessories which cluster around the *Payá-dyí*, are the work of private individuals. Old and new are huddled in chaotic profusion. Many erections are ruinous and disregarded. But so long as a vestige of the original structure, remains, it monopolises the site. The development of the conical *zedi* may be traced, step by step, from the ancient temple. Originally, *zedi* are shrines for relics of the Buddha—the Indian *Stupa*, *tôp*, *dāgaba*, *dagôba*, of which last "pagoda" is a transposition. The vast majority of *zedi* only pretend to symbolize actual shrines. The shrines of reputed relics are

63. DETAIL OF EAVES AND GABLE

346 735 [132 731]
346 778

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

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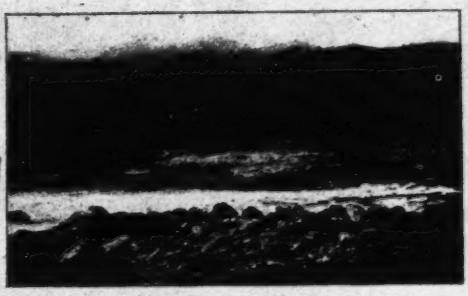
[133]
[731]



247. THE GREAT RAPID OF THE SALWEEN (HATJI).

the chance for the timber-trees. A seeding teak-tree may originate a clump of young teak on the natural clearing, just as happens on cultivation clearings (*taungya*, p. 149). Sometimes a mixture of trees in its turn suppresses the young bamboo. So far from forming vegetable mould on the surface, the great crisp leaves of teak (No. 355) provide rich fuel to the forest fires which burn every season and kill the struggling seedlings of trees. The bark of teak has about an eighth of an inch of a loose corky layer which protects the quick against scorching. The bare soil is exposed to severe erosion by rain. It is only where contributions of a better kind than its own are made to the soil that teak flourishes. Its occurrence is limited to patches of the dry forest zone, in which drainage and other factors not yet understood concur in a favourable way. Teak plantations are easy to start and the young trees are very promising. But they begin to languish and to seed prematurely when planted pure, as they mostly are. Teak attains its full height early, before commencing to flower, which it does in its axes of growth. Where the bloom drops off, no further straight length is grown. The stock of teak is in the main mature and over-mature. It is the savings which the mixed forest has accumulated of this imperishable wood, and is not supported by relays of younger generations in due proportion. Much even of the apparently rising stock is exhausted in vigour and is stationary; a tree crippled in vigour may never attain a girth of five feet. The blanks made by working out the teak are naturally filled up by the more numerous competing species. Teak seedlings in open situations grow twenty to thirty feet

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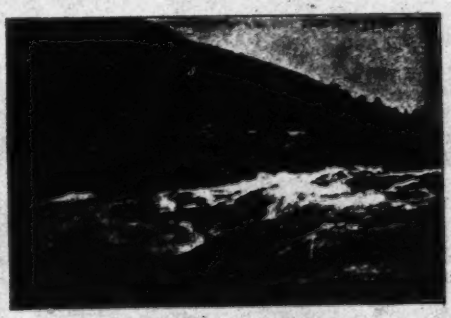

248. VORTEX OF THE GREAT RAPID.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma AP1
Indians
Burmese AP4

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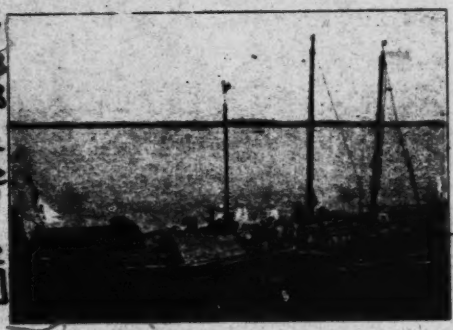
Ba Bse 511
Bse [501]



868. BRINGING THE PADDY TO THE RICE-MILLS.

of every class and caste, with his foreign connection and longer experience, has an incalculable advantage over the untravelled Burman. Beginning with a lower standard of comfort than the Burman—squatting on the bare soil where the poorest Burman makes a floor, wearing cotton where the other wears silk, and being able to improve his original condition upon half the return that the Burman expects for his work—the Indian immigrant finds land worth his labour which the Burman leaves waste. The influx of races whose religion it is to multiply, without regard to the prospect of subsistence, must speedily result in lowering the scale of life for everyone in Burma—a country of which it may now be said that "a large share of the happiness of each individual is derived from the consciousness of the well-being of other individuals." (Herbert Spencer, *Principles of Ethics*, Vol. I., p. 297.) Commencing by hiring the cheap Indian labour to reap his corn, then to plough and till his fields, the while emulating his neighbours in superfluous works, the Burman is apt to end by becoming the debtor of his servant, and mortgaging to him his lands. It seems to many that there is no escape for the Burman from the Indian flood that now menaces his country. But up to the present no class of Indians has attempted to deal with land subject to the vicissitudes of the Burman riverain soil. It is unlikely that people of less versatility and resource will establish themselves there. In 1879, when the vagaries of the Irawadi had submerged the cultivation on the Panhlaing creek some twelve feet, and the eaves of the houses were under water, the cattle were saved in hasty platforms made in

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868. FORESHORE AT THE FACTORIES.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 API Burma API
Indians
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trees. All that the villagers asked for (and of course got) was exemption from land-tax. Another hopeful feature is that the Burman is not devoid of the quality of self-criticism. With the Indian retail trader comes also the wholesale merchant—Persian, Parsi, Súrati, Chetti and Bania. And the Burmans at large accept the situation, never dreaming that by travelling abroad and seeing for themselves how other nations manage and how they fare, they might learn to conduct their own business, and help to save Burma from sinking to the level of proletariate countries. Natives of India and China have learned so much in their capacities of assistants to European merchants that they are getting the retail trade in European goods to themselves. Even as importers, with their agents in Europe, they are making themselves independent of the European merchant in the East. The European spheres of activity on which Burmans

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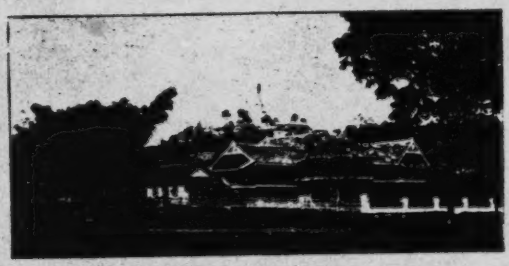

308. EUROPEAN TYPE OF HOUSE.

have entered are saw-mill enterprise and the profession of advocacy, in which latter they have attained a high standing.

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To the Burman, the native of India is the foreigner *par excellence*—*Kalá*—and shares the disrepute that a stay-at-home people commonly accord to the foreigner, especially when he is a needy one. To them he is the dog that eats the crumbs which fall from his table ("*Kwe-Kalá!*"). While the Chinaman, despite his uncouthness and uncanny parasitic trade, is considered an eligible man, *Kalá-mayá*—nigger's-wife—is a term of reproach. The *Kalá* half-breeds are called *Zerbádi*. They appear to possess fewer good qualities than either of the pure races. The Euro-Burman half-breeds are called *Baylnji*—(Feringhi, the Indian equivalent of Frank) explained by the Burmans as *Bayin-dyi* (adherent of) the Great Prince (the Pope).

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Europeans are the only remaining foreigners whom the Burmans encounter, excepting a few Armenians, Jews and Malays. Armenians were beginning to play

the thief would soon lose his patience and cut off the troublesome ankle 674
joint, gave a swift and gentle cut at the hand with his own dah, and went on calmly with his work, while the thief realizing the justice of it, quietly withdrew his hand and fled. To these tucked-away gardens, also, [732]
came the deformed and mentally defective members of households, to find a more secluded place from public jeering both of themselves and of their families. We felt sad to see the goitre growths and scarred faces, but as children we joined in with the baiting of old crones whose great accomplishment was to utter automatic and irrelevant imprecations whenever they were dug in the ribs.

A much happier aspect was that in Ye the young people were always 583
eloping. As I grew older I used to wonder that love came so easily and in such unlikely places. A proper elopement must have certain attendant circumstances. Usually the parents do not agree to it, but quite often also the two people are very young and feel that love is wicked and is bound to be disapproved of, so they decide to elope. There is always a confidante of the girl's or man's or both, to help with the arrangements for the flight, or for the refuge. The girl usually wraps a few clothes in a small cloth bundle, and from the meeting place the journey to the secret destination is made by canoe, or bullock cart. The disappearance of the girl is soon discovered, the alarm is given, people rush about with exciting news, mother and father make a crying visit to the house of the elder friend and adviser of their or the young man's family, and beat their breasts at the shamelessness and wickedness of the girl. The hidden couple are soon tracked down, a reconciliation takes place and a proper wedding feast is held for the young people. Then the whole disgrace is completely forgotten, until about seventeen years later, when perhaps the daughter of the bride elopes, and her friends commiserating with her tears, shake their heads sadly and say that this is *nga-yè*, the punishment for her own sin of seventeen years before.

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

sionally chance upon windfalls, but their wealth is of no use to them, for they can never retire, even in the extremest age. Like the pagoda slaves they have their headquarters in Pagān, and some of them are vehemently suspected of being runaway parakyuns from other parts of the country. But the advance in public estimation is of the slightest possible character. Among the sellers of nantagôn and other pagoda essentials, at the shrines of Rangoon, Prome, and Pegu, are here and there a few tadaungsa, tired of their wandering life; yet, notwithstanding the ill-favour with which they are regarded, they are never stinted for food.

Lepers and others afflicted with loathsome diseases, deformed and mutilated persons, are regarded more with pity than with aversion, but they are not the less outcasts, and must live in villages by themselves, or with the tadaungsa and parakyun if indeed they do not scorn to do so. They usually line the pagoda steps on a duty or feast day, and receive abundant alms, every third or fourth worshipper dropping a handful of rice or a copper coin into the basket or platter laid before them. The dislike to maimed people is very singular, and led to curious incidents in the first and second Burmese wars. The wounded men brought into the field hospitals refused to have arms or legs amputated to save their lives, and it is a matter of not unfrequent occurrence even now, in the hospitals, for a man to tear off the bandages wrapped round the stump, that he may not survive his misfortune and become a shame to his family. In some parts of the province the taint, or even the suspicion of leprosy in a family, becomes a fertile source of villainy. If the suspected person or the head of the house be at all well-to-do, heavy sums are extorted by the headman of the place in return for permission to stay on in the village, and sometimes informers make a good thing in demanding hush-money. But no amount of payments could save a man badly affected with the disease from being driven out of the town. Even in large towns the aversion is equally strong, and unless the leper is a rich man he has to live in prescribed quarters among the outcasts already mentioned. Equally despised are all those who have anything to do with funerals, either in making the

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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CHAPTER XXXVIII

GAMES

A VERY favourite game with Burmans of all ages is the gônnyinto pwè. The name is very suggestive. Gôn or hkôn means to jump, and nyin is to deny or bluster, and there is no doubt of the fitness of the implication. A more noisy and contentious game, not even omitting the uproariousness of the English enormities known as grab or pit, it would be difficult to find. Most writers on Burma have passed over gônnyinwaing lightly, as a simple, harmless, children's game. It would be well if it were only that, though the monks at the pôngyi kyaung often sally forth in great wrath (most dangerous for their future state), and armed with a stout bamboo, to put a stop to the clamorous disputes of the schoolboys over their seeds. But the police officers would tell a very different tale. Grown-up men play also, the quarrels sometimes end in assault and murder, and always in reckless gambling. Beinshu, opium-eaters, who with all respectable Burmans stand for types of iniquity, a kind of epitome of vice, often have as much as two or three hundred rupees on a single game, and the results of unrestrained gambling are best known to civilised people who frequent Monte Carlo. Consequently the police keep a sharp eye on grown-up gônnyinto players, and if a party is caught, they are all punished heavily for gambling, the daing, or keeper of the ground, being fined heaviest of all. For there are regular alleys kept for the purpose, the daing, or proprietor, carefully smoothing the ground, moistening it delicately in the hot weather, and keeping it from getting sodden during the monsoon. He charges his customers a small fee for the right to play, usually an anna in the rupee,

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16 Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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586 belonged to his wife, for she had inherited it from
593 her father, together with a house and a little money.
733 The man had nothing when he married her, but he was hardworking and honest and good-tempered, and they kept themselves going comfortably enough. But he had one fault: every now and then he would drink too much. This was in Lower Burma, where liquor shops are free to Burmans. In Upper Burma no liquor can be sold to them. He did not drink often. He was a teetotaler generally; but once a month, or once in two months, he would meet some friends, and they would drink in good fellowship, and he would return home drunk. His wife felt this very bitterly, and when he would come into the house, his eyes red and his face swollen, she would attack him with bitter words, as women do. She would upbraid him for his conduct, she would point at him the finger of scorn, she would tell him in biting words that he was drinking the produce of her fields, of her inheritance; she would even impute to him, in her passion, worse things than these, things that were not true. And the husband was usually good-natured, and admitted his wrong, and put up with all her abuse, and they lived happily till the next time.

After this had been going on for a few years, instead of getting accustomed to her husband, instead of seeing that if he had this fault he had many virtues, and that he was just as good a husband as she was a wife, or perhaps better, her anger against him increased every time, till now she would declare that she would abide it no longer, that he was past endurance, and she would have a divorce; and

16;Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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several times she even ran to the elders to demand it. But the elders would put it by. 'Let it wait,' they said, 'for a few days, and then we will see'; and by that time all was soothed down again. But at last the end came. One night she passed all bounds in her anger, using words that could never be forgiven; and when she declared as usual that she must have a divorce, her husband said: 'Yes, we will divorce. Let there be an end of it.' And so next day they went to the elders both of them, and as both demanded the divorce, the elders could not delay very long. A few days' delay they made, but the man was firm, and at last it was done. They were divorced. I think the woman would have drawn back at the last moment, but she could not, for very shame, and the man never wavered. He was offended past forgiveness.

So the divorce was given, and the man left the house and went to live elsewhere.

In a few days—a very few days—the wife sent for him again. 'Would he return?' And he refused. Then she went to the headman and asked him to make it up, and the headman sent for the husband, who came.

The woman asked her husband to return.

'Come back,' she said, 'come back. I have been wrong. Let us forgive. It shall never happen again.'

The man shook his head.

'No,' he said; 'a divorce is a divorce. I do not care to marry and divorce once a week. You were always saying, "I will divorce you, I will divorce you." Now it is done. Let it remain.'

The woman was struck with grief.

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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kyaungs has led to very imperfect and limited knowledge of these treasuries of sacred knowledge. Formerly it used to be said that the man who did not know the Thadda, the Pali "grammar," knew nothing. If this position were insisted on now, the number of ignorant people in Lower Burma would be somewhat startling.

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But there are many difficulties before you get to the Abidhamma and its cognate subjects. Even in the Payeit Gyi there is a section called Ta-zet, or Ta-zet-thut, which has the credit of sending many a probationer back to the noisy, sinful world. According to the couplet—

> Shin pyet ta-zet,
> Loo pyet a-yet.
>
> Brandy sends a man to hell;
> Ta-zet spoils the saint as well.

It is a sort of religious *Pons Asinorum.*

Besides prosecuting his religious studies, the shin is required also to attend on the pon-gyis and minister to their wants. He must lay before them at fixed times their daily food, the proper supply of water, the well-used betel-box, and whatever else the monk may require. He must of course go round every morning with the other members of the monastery, the begging-bowl strapped round his neck, accepting meekly, without word of thanks, or glance thrown to the right or left, even when he passes his father's house, the food poured in by the pious. When a pon-gyi goes abroad the neophyte may be required to follow, carrying his fan or umbrella, or perhaps an arm-load of palm-leaf books, if a function is to be performed anywhere. According to the strict letter of the law the ko-yin ought to eat only of the food presented in the morning, but a very great laxity has crept in in this respect, not only with the neophytes, but even among the professed members of the order. It is no uncommon thing for the parents of the youth to send in daily a special meal for him, or even, in the case of wealthy families, actually to keep a cook on the monastic premises to prepare his food. Such sybaritism is not by any means uncommon in Lower Burma, though even there hardly approved of. In any good monastery in Upper Burma, or

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indeed in any monastery at all, even in Mandalay, it would be promptly put a stop to. But where the monks themselves show the example of carnal weakness, the probationers cannot be expected to maintain the old austerity.

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The shin is subject in every way to the discipline of the monastery, but there are very few additional rules really incumbent on him. He has to observe always the Sè-ba Thila, the ten commandments. Five of these are obligatory on all Buddhists at all times: the other five are supposed to be incumbent upon laymen only on sacred days and during Lent. The five universal commandments are:—

1. Thou shalt not take any life at all.
2. Thou shalt not steal.
3. Thou shalt not commit adultery.
4. Thou shalt not lie.
5. Thou shalt not drink intoxicating liquor.

The additional five are:

6. Thou shalt not eat after mid-day.
7. Thou shalt not sing, dance, or play on any musical instrument.
8. Thou shalt not use cosmetics, or colour the face.
9. Thou shalt not sit, stand, or sleep on platforms or elevated places not proper for thee.
10. Thou shalt not touch gold or silver.

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These latter five are, it has been said, imposed upon laymen on sacred days, but the burden is very light, the people observing them or not, accordingly as they are observing the "duty-day." If they are not "keeping the feast," they conduct themselves precisely as they would on any other day, and buy and sell and attend pwès in their ordinary fashion.

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This laxity is, of course, not open to the shins, but it cannot be said that the regulations, except perhaps as to eating, are very irksome. The seventh and eighth commandments seem by themselves peculiar, but they refer to filthy habits more explicitly set forth in the Patimauk, or book of the enfranchisement, containing the 227 sins which

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for the day, filter it, and place it ready for use; the more advanced novices and others of full rank to sweep round the sacred trees and water them; the elders to meditate in solitude on the regulations of the order. Meditation is beyond all other actions meritorious. The first meditation of the day should be on the miseries of life and the conviction that we cannot free ourselves from them; such thoughts are honourable beyond the founding of a pagoda, or praying for the salvation of all living creatures. Some gather flowers and offer them before the pagoda, to impress upon the mind the virtues of the great teacher and the weaknesses and shortcomings of human nature.

Then comes the first meal of the day, a light refection usually preceded by a homily or grace, to the effect that the rice is eaten not to please the appetite, but to satisfy the wants of the body; that the yellow habit is worn not for vanity, but to cover nakedness; that they dwell in this house not for vainglory, but to be protected from the inclemency of the weather; that medicine is taken merely to recover health, and that health is desirable only that they may attend with greater diligence to prayer and meditation. After the meal all proceed to study for an hour. The ko-yins repeat what lessons they have learnt and apply themselves to new tasks. The early morning is considered especially favourable for committing to memory.

It is now close on eight o'clock, and, arranging themselves in Indian file, they set forth in orderly procession, with the abbot at their head, to beg their food. Slowly they wend their way through the chief street of the town or village, halting when any one comes out to pour his contribution of rice, or fruit, or vegetables, into the alms-bowl, but never saying a word, or even raising the eyes from the ground. It is they who confer the favour, not the givers. Were it not for the passing of the mendicants, the charitable would not have the opportunity of gaining for themselves merit. Not even a glance rewards the most bounteous donation. With eyes fixed unwaveringly on the ground six feet before them, and hands clasped beneath the begging-bowl, they pass on, solemnly meditating on their own unworthiness and the vileness of all human things. There are

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naturally certain places where they receive a daily dole; but should the open-handed good wife have been delayed at the bazaar, chatting with her gossips, or the pious old head of the house be away on a journey, the recluses would rather go without breakfast than halt for a second, as if implying that they remembered the house as an ordinary place of call. It is a furlong on the noble path lost to the absentees, and the double ration of the following day is noted without a phantom of acknowledgment. So they pass round, circling back to the monastery after a perambulation lasting perhaps an hour or an hour and a half. Some mendicants, especially the more austere, return as soon as their thabeits are well filled; others apparently walk for a certain fixed time, and if the bowl is filled before this time is over, they empty it carefully on the side of the road. This is not wastry; the food is eaten by the dogs and birds of the air, and the merit to the givers is the same.

On their arrival at the monastery, a portion of all the alms they have received on the tour is solemnly offered to the Buddha, and then all proceed to breakfast. In former times, and according to the strict letter of the law, this ought to consist solely of what has been received during the morning; but a very great number of monasteries have, sad to say, fallen away from the strictness of the old rule. Only the more austere abbots enforce the observance of the earlier asceticism. Certainly in the great majority of the kyaungs of Lower Burma there is a man, not a monk, called kappiyadayaka, or supporter, who provides for them a much more delicate and better dressed meal than they would have if they ate of the miscellaneous conglomerate turned out of the alms-bowl. That indiscriminate mixture of rice, cooked and raw; peas, boiled and parched; fish, flesh, and fowl, curried and plain, usually wrapped separately in plantain leaves; cocoa-nut cakes and cucumbers; mangoes and meat; is very seldom consumed, in the larger towns at any rate, by any but the most rigidly austere. It is handed over to the little boys, the scholars of the community, or to any wanderers who may be sojourning in the kyaung, who eat as much of it as they can, and give the rest to the crows and pariah dogs. The abbot and the pyin-sin find a smoking hot

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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breakfast ready prepared for them when they return from 792
their morning's walk, and are ready to set to with healthy 735
appetites. This question of Sybaritism is a chief source
of dispute between the rival sects of Mahā and Sula- [795]
gandi.

Breakfast done, they wash out the begging-bowls, and 792
chant a few lauds before the image of the Buddha, meditating for a short time on kindness and affection. During the succeeding hour the scholars are allowed to play about, but must not make a noise, or indulge in quarrelsome games; the religious pass the time in leisurely conversation, or in any other way they please; the kyaung po-go usually has visits from old people, who come to pay their respects, or perhaps [735]
the kyaung-tagā, the founder of the monastery, the patron of his benefice, comes to consult with him on various matters, or to converse about religion and good works. The etiquette observed on these occasions is always very stately and ceremonious. Whoever approaches, whether it be the poorest 792
villager, the founder of the monastery, or the governor of the 788
district, all alike must prostrate themselves three times be- 775
fore the yahan, and, with uplifted hands, say, "In order that all the sins I have committed, in thought, in word, or in deed, may be pardoned to me, I prostrate myself three times, once in honour of the Buddha, again in honour of the Law, and thirdly in honour of the Assembly, the three precious things. By so doing, I hope to be preserved from the three calamities, from the four states of punishment; and from the five enemies, fire, water, thieves, governors (literally translated burdens), and malevolent people." The sayā replies: "As a reward for his merit and his obeisances, may the supporter (tagā) be freed from the three calamities, the four states of punishment, the five enemies, and from harm of what kind soever. May all his aims be good and end well; may he advance firmly in the noble path, perfect himself in wisdom, and finally obtain rest in ne'ban." Whenever the visitor addresses the yahan he joins his hands together, and sitting as he does on a mat, slightly bends the body forward, applying the title of payā, or lord, and making use of the [198]
honorific forms of speech specially reserved for the religious. The mendicant on his part calls the layman, of whatever

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rank, tagā, supporter, or, if the visitor be a woman, tăgama. Somehow or other these conversations, like the addresses of the religious to the people in the rest-houses, always seem to come round to the subject of the merit of almsgiving. The recluse will say that whatever is presented, silk robe, mattress, pillow, betel-box, is purified by the merit of the alms deed. The poor could fill the Lord Buddha's begging-bowl with a handful of flowers; the rich could not do so with a hundred, a thousand, ten thousand measures of grain. The path in the noontide heat is hard to one who has no sandals, and no water-gourd. What, then, will be the path after death to one who has not charity and regard for the ten precepts! Alms deeds can defend a man and protect him against the influence and the sources of demerits which are man's true enemies. Liberality is chief among the ten great virtues; it is the second of the three works of perfection; it is the absolute soul of the five renouncements. With all these a man becomes a Buddha, without them he sinks to be an animal, or worse still, to the fiery chambers of hell.

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When the conversation is over the layman bows down three times again, saying, "My Lord's disciple does obeisance"; or U tin ba thi "places his forehead on the ground," rises, backs five or ten paces, and then turning on the right, as he would at the pagoda, departs. There may be quite a long succession of these visitors, and their respects are paid all through the afternoon, if the weather be not too hot.

At half-past eleven, however, there is another meal, usually a light refection of fruits, and this is the last of the day. The pyin-sin are expressly forbidden to eat after noon. Solid food taken after the shadows slope to the east endangers purity. The blood becomes heated, and, moreover, when the stomach is loaded the mind becomes overclouded and unfitted for meditation. It is worthy of remark that the religious must eat, as they walk, slowly and with gravity, only putting moderate-sized morsels into the mouth, and constantly bearing in mind that food is not intended for the gratification of the flesh, but for the nourishment of the body. The ceremony called a-kat must also be care-

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Indians

in the country. A very common scene shows the punishment which awaits fishermen in the next existence. The miserable destroyer of animal life is represented as dangling by the tongue on a fish-hook, while demons jerk him into the air, and drop him back into a lake of burning pitch. Many of them have inscriptions below to explain the subject of the picture. Thus in Pagàn:— Be 346 792 531

"When King Ne-bin Min-gyi reigned in Methila over the ten governors, according to the old books, the Thagya Min came from the nat heavens to help him."

"In the Monastery Yatana Shwe-daing, our Lord preached the Patenôn Tagayo, and remained several days."

"Shin Thumeda (Gautama), in the land of Thudawdana, received the Buddhaship under the banyan tree."

"Payā Alaung Theidat (the embryo Budh, Prince Siddartha), the King's son, married 4000 charming Yathe-mya."

"Our Lord rides on the elephant Nalagiri."

And so on in great variety. One also often finds such a notice as this scrawled on the wall: "In order to be prepared and to gain happiness in the seats of men, of nats, and of ne'ban, the rice-pots are set in order, the images are erected, and the paintings on the walls painted."

The monasteries are built, supported, and furnished by the pious, but there are not a few of them that have considerable sums of money laid away, usually under the control of the kappiya-dāyaka, the layman who lives in the kyaung, and provides for the wants of its inmates. A number of the royal fields round about Aungbinle, where the Burmese army assembled to seek victory before entering on a campaign, were set apart for the use of the Royal monastery at Payā Gyi, and the revenues were kept in a huge money-chest, which was always under the care of a guard of soldiers. Much of the money was devoted to the adornment of the adjacent pagoda. None can be spent on embellishing the monastery itself. That would be as great a sin as if a monk should build one for himself, besides that it would be depriving the populace of much opportunity for gaining merit. Be 792 735 423

There are a few monasteries of the Pônnas here and there in the large towns throughout the country. These Be 791 792

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Burmese AP4

out with his axe and hollow with his finger-nails. There were a few such cells cut in the rocks at the back of Mandalay Hill, and visitors to the sacred spot occasionally came across one of the hermits striding along, wrapped in thought, grasping an iron staff hung with rings, the rattle of which warns the people to get out of the way and not disturb the holy man's meditations. A few go away from human society altogether, just as St. Simeon Stylites isolated himself on a pillar, and the old Culdee monks from the north of England and Scotland wandered off to the snowy wastes of Iceland, there to seek repose and relief from the turmoil of the world. It is said that the Thadda, the grammar, was added to the Bitaghat, that the hermits who had withdrawn to the jungle might not destroy the power of the sermons and lauds by mispronunciation.

Mandalay Hill is always occupied, for the spot is particularly sacred. King Mindôn used to send thither daily a hundred fowls which had been bought and saved from death, and the pious gave them plenty to eat. Similar proceedings caused the sneer of Purchas, "For men they hadde not an hospitall that were thus hospitall to fowles"; but this is hardly deserved, at any rate in Burma. There in every monastery the Kappiya-dayaka has a stock of money, raised by selling the presents given to the monks, which he devotes in charity to the well-deserving sick and to poor travellers, while any one is welcome at all times to shelter and food in the kyaung as long as he conducts himself properly. The yatheit may be looked upon with pious awe for his austerities and mortifications of the flesh, but the ordinary pyin-sin is more favourably regarded. The building of monasteries and the giving of presents to their inmates is a constant strain on the generosity of the people. It is far more difficult to keep the balance of merit on the right side in Burma than in other countries. Almsgiving is a constant and imperative expense, in addition to regular and personal worship at the pagoda. In Thibet wind or water drives the prayer-machines for extinguishing sin, and the goodman acquires merit while he is snoring at night with his wife at his back. In some parts practical householders are able to calculate exactly what is set down to

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their credit, by the expedient of having the prayer-wheels turned when necessary by oxen. But nothing of this kind is practicable in Burma. You must pay your devotions in person, and unless you supplement these by almsgiving, your prospects towards a next existence are not such as your friends can regard otherwise than with concern. Fortunately the more holy the receiver the greater the merit of the alms. To support one hundred ordinary men is not so much as to feed one yahan, and so on in increasing ratio. The merit of giving one single meal to a Buddha outweighs that of supplying ten million Pyitsegs Buddhas with food. Thus the kyaungs are always well furnished, and their advantage in affording education to the children further gives them a hold over the country. It will be long before the number of monasteries decreases in Burma.

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1. Datu zedi, erected over relics of the Buddha, or models of these. 778

2. Paribawga zedi, over the sacred eight utensils, or their imitations.

3. Oddeitha zedi, enclosing images.

4. Damma zedi, enclosing the sacred books, such as the *Bitaghat thôn-bôn*, the three baskets of the Law, and other sacred volumes, like the *Bagawa*, appointed to be read during Lent. 778

It may be well to remark that the word "pagoda" is not known at all in Burmese, either in its English or Cinghalese form, any more than the word Mandarin is known in China. Such a building is called a Zedi, from the Pali chaitya, meaning the offering-place, or place of prayer, but the expression Payā, applicable as well to the image as to the shrine, is most frequently used in reference to the more famous centres of worship. 778 192

The greatest of the payās, such as the Shwe Dagôn in Rangoon, the most famous of all; the Shwe Maw-daw, the lotus-shrine of Pegu; the Shwe San-daw, the depository of the sacred hair at Prome; and the Mahā Myat Muni, the temple of the most exalted saint in Mandalay; all these were founded by single individuals, or brothers to whom the most excellent Master had given hairs from his head to deposit in the specified place. How the exact spot was found, and how successive kings increased the size of the first erection, and donations flowed in from the pious in all parts of the world to beautify and preserve the building, all these particulars are recorded in the palm-leaf records of the various temples. Many later Zedi, however, have been erected by villages, or by public subscription in whole districts, as pious memorials, or to commemorate some particular event, as well as for the obvious purposes of public convenience on the duty days of the month. Very many, and among them some of the most beautiful, are, on the other hand, the outcome of purely individual desire for merit. Some, such as the chaste, white Sibyo shrine at Mengôn, near Mandalay, are built in remembrance of individuals; the graceful pagoda mentioned being erected by a recent monarch in memory of a favourite queen. Under all, however, to render 778 173 778 [735]

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slab, and round this were arranged images of the chief disciples of Shin Gautama, each holding a golden bouquet. The jewelled casket containing the hairs was placed on the cradle, and high festival was held for many days. Numbers of other images of the Buddha himself, and of many eminent disciples, were placed round the sides of the tāpana taik, and countless offerings were made, the Tha-gyā king giving ten billions of gold, each of his queens forty thousand of silver; the father of the two brethren one thousand of gold, and many others equally great sums. But this was in the brave days of old, when imagination was vivid and evidence cursory.

Still even nowadays very costly offerings are often deposited in the relic chamber. An almost invariable gift is a representation in gold of the Lord Buddha, with the hooded snake raising itself over him, as in the images of Vishnu in India, or a great model of the Great Master as he received the supreme wisdom under the bawdi-bin. Examples of the last may be seen in the South Kensington Museum, as also of the Sabupati payā, representing him with the tower-like royal crown, the wings on legs and arms, and other emblems recalling the king's son who went out to dedicate himself as the Buddha and the conqueror of Mān-nat. Open-handed piety is twice as frequent as of yore, only the chroniclers of modern days have not the florid imaginations of their predecessors.

The dedication of a payā is a high festival, but there is no prescribed ritual in the sacred books, and each individual pôngyi, after reciting the precepts and the Ittipithaw, has a form of his own, embracing portions of the law and the sacred discourses. A prominent function in the service, as indeed always in giving alms, is the yeset-cha, the pouring out of water drop by drop on the ground. The great king Bimbathara did it himself from a gold cup when he presented the Weluwun or Bamboo-grove monastery, and so likewise it is recorded of the rich man Anātabein. The idea is to share the merit of the action with all creatures, and at the same time to call to witness, besides the mathôndaye nats, all gods and men, that the donor may have due reward for his piety. The same thing is frequently

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done in order to legally hand over a gift. As the water falls drop by drop on the ground, the pôngyis read out the formulæ, the substance of which is as follows: "Firm in my belief in the three precious things, the Lord, the Law, and the Assembly, I make this offering that I may be freed from all present and future miseries. May all creatures suffering torment in the four states of punishment reach the happy seats of nat-dêwas. May all my relatives, friends, and all men inhabiting this earth and the ten thousand worlds, share in the benefits of this meritorious work. O earth, and ye spirits, guardians of this place, bear me witness to the piety of this gift."

It is worthy of note that it is explicitly stated that the inward dispositions of the giver have nothing to do with the merit resulting from a good work. The merits are strictly proportioned to the degree of sanctity or perfection of him who receives the alms. Hence the glorious release which awaits an otherwise bad man who erects a pagoda.

Zedis are of many shapes and degrees of elaboration, but one common idea may be traced through them all. If you ask a Burman monk the cause of the variations in the form of the payā, he will tell you that the Buddha left no instructions regarding them in the holy books, but had only said that a small mound should be raised over his bones in the form of a heap of rice. Apart from the relation in which the payā stands to the Buddha himself as the representation of the holy one sunk in meditation, the ostensible object is the preservation of relics, and these are to be laid in a shrine, like the lotus-bud of which the zedi is typical, and later by an extending of the lines this got the form of a bell or spire. In the Malla Lingaya Wuttu we are told that the infant Buddha in the womb of Queen Maia resembled a lotus-bud, or a beautiful pagoda, and the conjunction of this idea with the simple original tumulus has undoubtedly led to the typical form as now seen in Burma. The names for various parts of the building all recall the idea of the flower-bud, with its young leaves folded in adoration. Thus the rounded swelling just below the slender spire is called the hnget-pyaw-bu, the banana palm-bud, and on the extreme summit

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CHAPTER XXV

A HARVEST FEAST

ONE of the pleasantest and most social of Burmese country festivals is the ceremony which goes by the name of Tamanè Hto-thi. It occurs in the month of Ta'saungmôn, or of Na'daw, when the harvest is over and the first of the new rice piled up in a heap near the farmer's house, or perhaps stowed away in the capacious bottom of the hnaw, the big rice-boat, with its stern rising ten or fifteen feet above the surface of the water, and ready to start for Rangoon whenever its owner shall have hit upon a lucky day for commencing the voyage. In order to acquire a store of merit as well towards the next existence as towards the journey immediately in view; to back up the verdict of the astrologer from the horoscope with the good wishes of the holy men of the monastery; and, above all, to have a feast such as generally comes in somewhere in all Burmese religious proceedings, the cultivator resolves to give away twenty baskets or so of rice in alms and presents to the yellow-robed monks and his neighbours. A special kind of rice is always used on these occasions. Englishmen generally are unaware probably that there are a great number of varieties of rice, and that they differ very much in their flavour. Most people imagine that all rice has the same taste (no taste, they would probably say); and distinguish in a rough material way between Patna rice, which is very small, and Rangoon rice, which is considerably larger in the grain, and finally Carolina rice, which is bigger than any of them. A Rangoon merchant would go a little farther, and say that there are two varieties—the nga-sein, which he likes best and gets most of, and the nga-kyauk, which comes in more sparingly. But beyond these—

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exercise of so meritorious a ceremony as the expounding of the Law. Accordingly the great crowd, who have been looking on with much interest at the progress up the taper-lit saungdan, commence generally to prepare for sleep in the zayats which surround the place where the stage is, or failing accommodation there, curl themselves up as comfortably as may be under the bullock-carts which brought them thither. A still greater proportion, however, gather together in circles to have a gossip, and this talk, accompanied by much smoking and chewing of pickled tea and betel, goes on till far into the night. An excuse for the scant reverence paid to the sermon, to which none but a few white-haired men and women listen, is, that what part of it is not in Pali is in such suggagyi, such a lofty and stilted style of Burmese, that no one can follow it. Accordingly the discourse is hurried through and the performers come down, and after putting off their fine clothes receive the congratulations of their friends. The image remains all night in "Tawadeintha," and the following evening the descent is made with similar ceremonial, and so the dramatic part of the festival is concluded.

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But this is very far from being the whole of the proceedings. On both days numerous presents are made to the yahans and offerings to the pagodas, and these are carried round about the town and by circuitous routes to the monasteries, so that the greatest amount of pleasure and publicity may accrue to the donors.

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Chief among these offerings are always huge spires, some of them fifty feet high, representing Tawadeintha, and similar to that on the summit of the stage platform. They are made of bamboo covered with pasteboard, glittering with gold and silver paper and painted in many colours, and are carried by ten or twenty men, on long bamboo poles. Round about them dance all the youth of the quarter or village they are presented by, young men and girls, all in their brightest clothes. In Rangoon scores of these offerings wend their way to the monasteries under the shadow of the great Shwe Dagôn.

Mingled up in the procession come white umbrellas, gold umbrellas, lofty bamboo poles with gilt balls quivering and swaying at the top, big pasteboard images of nat-dêwas,

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796 bilus, princes, and animals, from the crawling turtle to the familiar two-legged (or six-legged, which you please) horse, all of them surrounded by their group of vigorous dancers.
796 Most characteristic of the day are the padetha-bins, a sort of
● 735 Turanian Christmas-tree, representing the fabled wishing-tree of the Northern Island and the heavens of the nats. In those regions the fairy branches bear whatever is wanted, from a savoury ragout to a complete suit of clothes. Upon earth the quivering bamboo twigs carry, dangling by strings, whatever the bazaar shops will supply, packets of scented soap, matchboxes, razors, clasp-knives, little looking-glasses, coloured-glass tumblers, candles, and dolls; and piled round the roots are heavier and more useful articles — blankets, mats, bales of yellow cloth, and earthenware or lacquer begging-bowls. These trees, each with its attendant band of dancers, are carried round and finally deposited before the house of the head of the monastery. Occasionally a ngwe padetha is offered, if the inhabitants of the wealthy districts of the town are particularly pious. This silver padetha is a tree similar to the rest, except that from its branches hang exclusively rupees and smaller silver coins, each wrapped up in a piece of tinsel or coloured paper. These silver trees, some of which are worth from 500 to 1000 rupees, are more frequently presented to the pagodas than to the monasteries. In the former case the custodians of the shrine take charge of the money for the purposes of repair and the payment of watchmen; in the latter, the kyaungthagyi, the kappiya dayaka, or lay steward of the monastery, receives the money, as indeed he takes the miscellaneous collection from the other wishing-trees, and dispenses all for the benefit of the kyaung and the giving of alms to poor travellers. It is noticeable, however, that the ascetic Sulagandi monks would altogether refuse to accept such a temptation to break their vows as a silver rupee tree.

Spires and umbrellas, padetha-bins and hobby-horses,
796 hover about the streets on the way to the monasteries all day long throughout the duration of the festival, and at night, after the mystery play is over, the bands which have been performing sedulously all day crash out again on the night air, and fragments of plays and songs are to be heard

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everywhere. Chief among the night amusements too is the presentation of the naga, the huge serpent-like dragon, a great monster often considerably over a hundred feet long, formed of thin paper, distended on bamboo hoops. Each of these has a handle attached to it and a lighted taper fastened inside, and is carried by a man. The body is white, shading off into a blood-red head and jaws, and as the creature writhes its long folds and twists and darts from side to side of the road, the effect from a distance is very fine and startling on a first view. He plunges and coils about till the candles are nearly burnt out, and then is deposited with other offerings on the pagoda. All through the day and night there are generous people about, ready to give meat and drink, cheroots and betel, to any passer-by who chooses to afford them an opportunity of acquiring merit, for any act of charity accumulates kutho, even though the object aided be base.

The offerings to the monks are also not confined to the fruit of the padetha-bins. On the third day of the feast the image of Shin Gautama is carried away from the bamboo erection and dragged through the town in the early morning, the monks following with their begging-pots and receiving the abundant alms prepared for them at the Sôndawgyi feast, which is intimately connected with that of Tawadeintha, and commemorates as much the Lord Buddha's issuing from the ne'ban kyaung at Sampa Thanago to beg for his food on his return from the second heaven, as the pious gift of nogana, made after the long fast, by Thuzata.

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527 than any implying more of a religious character—assumes the appearance of a gigantic reception, or *conversazione*. Streets and quarters of the town make up a common purse for general decorations and the erection of stages for hired troupes of actors, in addition to individual effort. The dates are arranged beforehand so that no two streets shall make their effort on the same night, and so lessen the enjoyment of the public, or draw away from the expected number of spectators. A committee is elected, or appoints itself, and having got as much money as possible, hires the best available dancers and actors for the zat pwè, if possible a puppet troupe also, and in addition, as many unattached mummers and clowns as can be got, whose business it is to dance up and down the street in the guise of dragons, snakes, nagās, and demons of all sorts, and amuse such of the visitors as cannot get near enough to see the set play, or prefer walking about talking to their acquaintances. Bands are engaged in profusion, flower-garlanded arches erected at the ends of the street and at intervals along its length, and gay Chinese lanterns hung up everywhere. Complimentary packets of le'hpet, pickled tea, serving as invitations, are sent out in profusion, but the non-receipt of one of these does not deter anybody, and all comers of whatever nationality are welcome.

● 735 262 Nowadays the monks are wont to complain that the presents customarily made them at the Tawadeintha feast are not nearly so valuable, or even so satisfactory, as they used to be. But it is different with the Sôndawgyi *fête*. There the emblems of the archetypal nogana are all edible and of the most sumptuous kind. In every house the offerings for the ascetics are set out for display all night long and make a goodly show, if the process can hardly be supposed to improve them for consumption. Mountains of cooked rice send out spurs of beef and pork, with flat lands of dried fish and outlying peaks of roasted ducks and fowls, the legs with their claws and the neck with the head and beak being extended as if they had been drawn out tight to exhibit their greatest length. Ngapi, fish paste, in all its malodorous varieties of ngapigaung, seinsa, dhamin, nga-thalauk, abounds, and loads the air with suggestions of a fish-

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curing village, or an unclean fishmonger's in the dog days. Chinese patties of sugar and fat pork, plates full of fried silkworms, maggots from the top of the cocoa-nut tree, salt-pickled ginger and fried garlic, and a variety of other dishes beyond the ken of occidental cookery, abound all down the long tables. Alternating with these, and perhaps more pleasant to look at, are heaps of fruit, oranges, citrons, shaddocks, plantains, with here and there a late durian or two, rivalling the ngapi in its odour, and the brick-red or purple rind that conceals the luscious "snows" of the delicious mangosteen. Plentiful tins of sardines and Reading biscuits, with somewhat muddy-looking Bengali-made lemonade, give evidence of the progress of "civilisation"; and plates of betel with the fresh green leaves of the betel-vine suggest how the morrow's afternoon will be passed in well-filled meditations by the pôngyis of the neighbouring monastery.

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The house itself is decked out on a corresponding scale of magnificence. To the uninitiated foreigner an ordinary Burmese hut presents about as unfavourable raw material for decoration as can well be imagined. Built of rough teak planking, or of split bamboo mats, and raised a few feet off the ground on posts, it resembles a marquee tent in shape and in size (according to the principle of the old Joe Miller story about the stone which was as big as a lump of chalk). On all ordinary occasions there is not a vestige of furniture in it. A row of earthenware pots with water, a couple of wooden boxes, and the rolled-up mats and blankets whereon the household sleep, are the only things to be seen. The sides and ceiling are grimed with the smoke of the fire that cooks the daily meals; the floor stained with smudges of oil and red blotches of betel. Yet this unpromising shanty the Burman transforms into a palace chamber, or stage-like fairy bower. The sides of the house are thrown up towards the street, so that the room assumes the appearance of a verandah. The floor is covered with thick bamboo matting finely woven, over which bright-flowered rugs are spread. The dingy sides of the house are draped with flags and kullagās, elaborate stitched pieces of tapestry, ten or twelve feet long, and reaching down to the ground. White, or

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sionally chance upon windfalls, but their wealth is of no use to them, for they can never retire, even in the extremest age. Like the pagoda slaves they have their headquarters in Pagān, and some of them are vehemently suspected of being runaway parakyuns from other parts of the country. But the advance in public estimation is of the slightest possible character. Among the sellers of nantagôn and other pagoda essentials, at the shrines of Rangoon, Prome, and Pegu, are here and there a few tadaungsa, tired of their wandering life; yet, notwithstanding the ill-favour with which they are regarded, they are never stinted for food.

Lepers and others afflicted with loathsome diseases, deformed and mutilated persons, are regarded more with pity than with aversion, but they are not the less outcasts, and must live in villages by themselves, or with the tadaungsa and parakyun if indeed they do not scorn to do so. They usually line the pagoda steps on a duty or feast day, and receive abundant alms, every third or fourth worshipper dropping a handful of rice or a copper coin into the basket or platter laid before them. The dislike to maimed people is very singular, and led to curious incidents in the first and second Burmese wars. The wounded men brought into the field hospitals refused to have arms or legs amputated to save their lives, and it is a matter of not unfrequent occurrence even now, in the hospitals, for a man to tear off the bandages wrapped round the stump, that he may not survive his misfortune and become a shame to his family. In some parts of the province the taint, or even the suspicion of leprosy in a family, becomes a fertile source of villainy. If the suspected person or the head of the house be at all well-to-do, heavy sums are extorted by the headman of the place in return for permission to stay on in the village, and sometimes informers make a good thing in demanding hush-money. But no amount of payments could save a man badly affected with the disease from being driven out of the town. Even in large towns the aversion is equally strong, and unless the leper is a rich man he has to live in prescribed quarters among the outcasts already mentioned. Equally despised are all those who have anything to do with funerals, either in making the

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When a fire occurred in the Golden City, it was usually a very big one and burned until it could find no more fuel. There were two reasons for this. The most obvious was, of course, that wood huts, with an inflammable roof like thin grass thatch, caught fire with the slightest spark; and there was nothing in the shape of a fire-engine, even in the palace. The second was very characteristic of a despotism, and vastly more disastrous. Immemorial tradition associated a conflagration with a revolution. When an attempt was to be made to seize the throne, the attention of the people and the soldiery was always diverted by incendiary fires. Therefore when a house took fire the people found nearest to it by the night watchmen were always arrested and made responsible for the catastrophe. As a natural consequence, the moment flames burst out, not only the inmates of the house, but all the neighbours took to their heels and ran, without incommoding themselves with even the smallest portion of their property. A few of the royal troops came down after a time and unroofed a house here and there, and perhaps even pulled down some altogether, but their efforts as amateur firemen were usually of the most feeble and futile description, and the flames went on till there was nothing more to burn. Next day the unhappy burnt-out people came back and made for themselves little hovels of bamboo matting among the charred posts till something better could be run up again. The neighbouring quarters contributed something to support them, or they got their meals at the monasteries, and in a few months all traces of the fire had disappeared, the same rickety huts with the old scanty store of wares rose up again, and the scorched leaves fell off the trees and were replaced by fresh green foliage.

The population of Mandalay was a very queer one. Of the Burmans the great majority were soldiers or hangers-on of the various great men about the court. The residuum was composed of a few honest tradesmen and a vast quantity of bad characters, broken agriculturists, gamblers, thieves from Lower Burma, and outlaws from all parts. The number of yellow-robed yahans was extraordinary. King Mindôn used to give alms to five thousand of them daily. The jars of rice were arranged in long rows on a platform erected

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specially for the purpose, with mountains of bananas, and trays heaped up with ngapi, curries, and condiments of all kinds. Thibaw Min was not so eager for merit, and actually went the length of driving a couple of thousand of the holy men out of the capital. Still even he gave them periodical feasts, and there were at least ten thousand of the religious in the Golden City and its immediate neighbourhood. Besides these there were numerous other nationalities; the Chinaman, smooth-shaven and prosperous as always, whether gaunt and big-boned from Yün-nan and Szuch'uan, or sleek and sturdy from Rangoon and the Straits, defying the most greedy official to rob him of his profits, and drinking his tea and smoking his opium-pipe with supreme composure and good-humour; the bearded Surati with solemn face and Jewish tricks of trade; the Palaung come down from the north with his bamboo rafts laden with pickled tea; the stalwart Shan with baggy blue or white trousers and tattoo marks down to his ankles, journeying in a long caravan with sword-blades and iron-work, and a cavalcade of mountain ponies; the heavy, easy-going Karen; the lithe, treacherous Kachin, bringing presents perhaps from his village, and on his way down spying out villages easy to raid in a night attack; all these, and a host of others, might be seen any day in the Royal City of Gems. There were not a few white men too, even latterly, when evil times fell upon them, and there were not the pickings that were to be had when Mindôn Min was king. But many of them were there sorely against their inclination. Mandalay had become an asylum for insolvent debtors, runaway soldiers and sailors, and unlucky adventurers from British territory, just as Rangoon used to be for India in the old Burman days. There were numbers of French and Italians in government service, as military instructors and superintendents of the various factories; officers who had been cashiered, or disowned by their families, or were in other ways under a cloud. One Count there was, who constituted the scientific branch of the service in himself, manufactured and sold fruit syrups to the captains of steamers, preserved a pocket-handkerchief with a coronet in the corner, and carried his lands in his finger-nails. The old king was shamefully cheated by a variety of speculators, not a few of them Englishmen.

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764 heavy punishment under Burman rule. Latterly some
515 laymen in Rangoon have even been bold enough to glorify the
178 funerals of their relatives with keinnaya, figures of men or women with bird-like feet and lower extremities. These spangled toys, which are commonly to be seen in all monasteries, are properly only used at the last ceremonies of a member of the sacred order. But when some men are bold enough even to flaunt the royal white umbrella, it is hardly to be expected that the distinctive honours of the yahans would be respected.

764 The procession having been formed, a start is made.
[735] At the head come the alms intended for the monks and for the poor, some carried by men, some by women, the sexes going in separate lines. After this come the pyin-sin, never in any very great numbers, unless the a-hlu be particularly bountiful. Following them comes the band, and often a troop of singers. These are always hired for the purpose, and their callousness is as little to be cast up against Burman natural affection as the unlovable doings of the mutes at an English funeral. Close upon the musicians comes the bier carried by six or eight young men. Then in a general crowd follow the relations, friends, and neighbours, all on foot. Many passers-by, total strangers, join in the procession from motives of piety. Here and there the men carrying the bier stop and dance in a curious fantastic way to the measures of
[535] the dirge of the singers. The funeral *misereres* are usually the composition of an improvisatore in the chorus, and deal with the life and death and good actions of the deceased. A measure called maung pyaung is the most generally used.

Occasionally there is a tug-of-war with a rope as at a pôngyi's funeral, one side exclaiming, "We must bury our dead"; the other, "You shall not take away my friend." As a matter of necessity the former party must conquer, but they sometimes have to get recruits from the crowd before they can manage it.

764 It is a matter of regulation that a funeral should never
823 go to the north or to the east. The graveyard is usually to the west of the village, and the dead should all be carried out of a walled town by a gate reserved for this purpose. In Mandalay this a-mingala tagā was that to the south-west,

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and it was avoided by those who had business in the myo as cursed, as indeed its name imports. Other rules are that a corpse must never be carried towards the centre of the town, still less can it be taken into it. If the man has died in the jungle, and the funeral has to pass a village, it skirts round the outside of it. 764 823

When the cemetery is reached, the coffin is taken out and placed on the ground near the grave. The immediate mourners collect round about it; the rest of the people go to the zayats, of which there are always several at every graveyard. The music stops as soon as this place is reached. The alms are set up in order before the pôngyis, and these again intone the five secular commandments, and the ten good works, besides a long string of Pali doxologies. As soon as they have finished they leave and file off to the monastery, the a-hlu being carried after them. The chief mourner at the same time pours water slowly out of a cocoanut shell, saying, "May the deceased and all present share the merit of the offerings made and the ceremonies now proceeding." This performance, called ye-set-kya, is a regular accompaniment of all almsgiving. The idea is that the earth will bear witness where men may forget. When Shin Gautama ascended the throne under the bawdi tree, Mān-nat, the devil, claimed that it was his, because he had discovered it first, and all his mighty host shouted aloud when he called upon them as witnesses. The Lord Buddha had no witness but the earth, and to it he appealed, asking whether he had not achieved the Three Great Works of Perfection, the Ten Great Virtues, and the Five Renouncements. The earth gave testimony to this kaung-hmu with a terrible roaring and a violent earthquake, so that Mān-nat and all his legions fled in terror. Hence the pouring out of water when alms are given. 764 [735]

While this is going on women are walking about the zayats distributing cheroots and sweet drinks, betel, le'pet, and biscuits among the visitors. The nearest relations are carrying out the final rites. The coffin is swung three times backwards and forwards over the open grave, and then lowered in. This ceremony, called utaikthi, is looked upon as a kind of final farewell, and after each person has thrown 764

792 the small boys, as day pupils. Monastic education is a traditional part of
871 Burmese Buddhism, and almost all the men of Tadagale, whether reared in the village or elsewhere, have attended monastic schools for varying lengths of time.

The monastic school curriculum includes elementary reading, writing and
792 arithmetic, rudiments of history and geography, heavily colored by Burmese cosmology and folklore, and instruction in Buddhist precepts and proper conduct.
872 There is heavy emphasis upon proper conduct. Instruction takes the form of mass recitation and rote memorization. Discipline is strict and the inattentive
876 pupil is kept alert, when necessary, by means of the rod. As indicated earlier, many parents in the village favor the monastic as against the public school because of the strict discipline and the emphasis upon conduct and religion.

Concerning the second function of the monks, officiation at certain
793 rites, it should be indicated that because Burmese Buddhism is not a congregational type of religion, the monks are not called upon to officiate at regular assemblies in any fashion akin to the role of the Christian minister. The monks do, however, play an important part in the initiation of boys into the monkhood; and sometimes take part in funeral rites.

The monk's function of giving advice and guidance stems from the fact that he is regarded, in the thinking of the villagers, not only as one to whom the greatest respect and deference is due by virtue of his dedication to his life to religion, but also as a living repository of wisdom and universal knowledge. He is a person to whom one may turn in time of uncertainty, doubt or stress for personal counsel. Problems relating to the conduct of one's children; concern over persistent lack of success in one's economic activities; or even matters of health may be taken to the monk. A great deal of the advice rendered by monks is formulaic, folkloristic and magical in nature. Particular monks tend to acquire reputations as being especially wise and helpful in particular kinds of problems.

792 Support of the Monks. The monastery buildings and the land on which they stand are the property of the monastic order, held in perpetuity by grant
●235 of the government, free of taxation.

The monks are supported by the donations of the villagers. Every morning a monk, accompanied by one or two monastic school pupils, passes through the village to collect offerings of food. As he enters the compound of each home a member of the household takes a pot of cooked rice, which has been prepared for the morning meal, and places a few large spoonsful in the monk's begging bowl. This minimum daily contribution of food is made by every Buddhist household, without exception; in addition, many families send
[624] bowls of curry and rice to the monastery. Giving food to the monks is an important act of merit to Burmese Buddhists. It is regarded as unthinkable that any household would refuse. When the hypothetical case was posed of such a deviant household, villagers agreed that such a family would be severely criticized and shunned in the village.

The few other things that the monks require for their austere existence are given by villagers on the important ceremonial days of the year. These items include robes, soap, matches, begging bowls, water strainers and needles.

796 Duty Days. The Burmese calendar is a lunar one, and in each month there are four days -- duty or sabbath days -- on which the villagers go to the monastery

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with the rainy season. The Buddhist monks take vows to live strictly by the Buddhist precepts and not to spend a single night away from the monastery during this time. The laity pledge to observe the fast from noon of the weekly duty day to the following dawn, an observance that at other times of the year is carried out by few people. Marriage must not take place during this sacred period; engagement contracted before the beginning of Waso should be consummated in marriage before the period begins, not carried over to its close.

On the full moon day that inaugurates this sacred period, the villagers make gifts of robes to the monks. Households sometimes pool money in a common fund from which the robes are purchased. The robes may be sent to the monastery or the monks may be invited to a donor's house to be fed and presented with the garb.

On the following day, the young people of the village go out in small groups to pick the 'Waso flower,' the flower of the Padauk tree (Pterocarpus sp.). In the evening, dressed in their finest clothes, they offer these flowers to the image of the Buddha that stands to one side of the main path of the village, about halfway between the northern and southern ends of Tadagale. Some travel to Rangoon to make their flower offering at the Shwe Dagon pagoda, the most famous of Buddhist shrines in Burma.

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Thadingyut, the Festival of Lights. For three months, from the first day after the full moon of the month of Waso, until the first day after the full moon of Thadingyut (October) it is believed that the Lord Buddha is in the land of the spirits preaching to his mother. On the first day after the full moon of Thadingyut he is said to return to the world of human beings. For this occasion, lanterns are lit and houses are gaily decorated with them. The lanterns are made of colored paper, shaped into small cylinders and placed around a saucer in which there is a kerosene-soaked wick. Villagers nowadays purchase these lanterns ready-made in the bazaars of Rangoon and use candles rather than wicks in them. All over Rangoon, and along the road between Tadagale and the city, colored lanterns are lit and hung around the houses, fences and hedges, providing a bright and glittering spectacle. Many villagers go to Rangoon to see the lights at this time.

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Kahtein, a Ceremony of Offerings to Monks. Between the day following the full moon of Thadingyut and the day after the full moon of Tasaungmon (November) the villagers observe Kahtein. On this occasion of giving gifts to the monks, the offerings are on a larger scale than those of individual households at other times of the year.

The village headman collects money from each house in the village for this observance. A total of about Rs. 1000 (ca. $200) is gathered to purchase gifts for each of the four monasteries located near the community. The presentation ceremonies for the various monasteries are held on different days, and many villagers attend all of them.

The purchasing of the gifts for the monks is entrusted to the headman. This is done in Rangoon and includes robes, food-carriers, utensils, crockery, brooms, and fans.

The ceremony takes place at the monastery. Each family cooks a meal of rice, curry and a sweet dish. All the food is pooled, and after the monks have partaken of their morning meal, the villagers eat. Music, dancing and singing

goes on throughout the morning. About 2 P.M. a monk gives a sermon and recites prayers. One of the elders reads aloud to the assemblage an account of the expenditures for the gifts to the monks, concluding the event. 796 735

Animistic and Magical Beliefs

Underlying the elaborate organization and practice of Buddhism, there is a considerable belief in nats, or spirits, and magic. Spirit worship, supposedly contrary to the teachings of Buddhism and opposed by the monks, is indulged in to varying degrees by the villagers. In Tadagale one frequently comes upon small wooden box-like structures affixed to trees, on which there is usually a little food and perhaps a flower as offerings to a particular nat. There seems little doubt that animism was even more important among the Burmese prior to the coming of Buddhism centuries ago. As noted in the description of initiation and wedding ceremonies earlier, nat worship has become interwoven with Buddhist beliefs and practices. It is also manifested in beliefs concerning guardian spirits of houses and particular places and in theories of the causes of many illnesses, including bewitchment and mental disturbances. Mediums, specially versed in the ways of the nats and possessing knowledge of cures for spirit-caused maladies, may be called upon for assistance. 776 755 782

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essence of all truth. He is not cut off from society. There are other monks, and there are visitors, men and women. He may talk to them—he is no recluse; but he must not talk too much about worldly matters. He must be careful of his thoughts, that they do not lead him into wrong paths. His life is a life of self-culture.

Being no priest, he has few duties to others to perform; he is not called upon to interfere in the business of others. He does not visit the sick; he has no concern with births and marriages and deaths. On Sunday, and on certain other occasions, he may read the laws to the people, that is all. Of this I will speak in another chapter. It does not amount to a great demand upon his time. He is also the schoolmaster of the village, but this is aside entirely from his sacred profession. Certain duties he has, however. Every morning as the earliest sunlight comes upon the monastery spires, when the birds are still calling to the day, and the cool freshness of the morning still lies along the highways, you will see from every monastery the little procession come forth. First, perhaps, there will be two schoolboys with a gong slung on a bamboo between them, which they strike now and then. And behind them, in their yellow robes, their faces cast upon the ground, and the begging-bowls in their hands, follow the monks. Very slowly they pass along the streets, amid the girls hurrying to their stalls in the bazaar with baskets of fruit upon their heads, the housewives out to buy their day's requirements, the workman going to his work, the children running and laughing and falling in the dust. Everyone makes

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room for them as they go in slow and solemn procession, and from this house and that come forth women and children with a little rice that they have risen before daylight to cook, a little curry, a little fruit, to put into the bowls. Never is there any money given: a monk may not touch money, and his wants are very few. Presents of books, and so on, are made at other times; but in the morning only food is given.

The gifts are never acknowledged. The cover of the bowl is removed, and when the offering has been put in, it is replaced, and the monk moves on. And when they have made their accustomed round, they return, as they went, slowly to the monastery, their bowls full of food. I do not know that this food is always eaten by the monks. Frequently in large towns they are fed by rich men, who send daily a hot, fresh, well-cooked meal for each monk, and the collected alms are given to the poor, or to schoolboys, or to animals. But the begging round is never neglected, nor is it a form. It is a very real thing, as anyone who has seen them go knows. They must beg their food, and they do; it is part of the self-discipline that the law says is necessary to help the soul to humility. And the people give because it is a good thing to give alms. Even if they know the monks are fed besides, they will fill the bowls as the monks pass along. If the monks do not want it, there are the poor, there are the schoolboys, sons of the poorest of the people, who may often be in need of a meal; and if not, then there are the birds and the beasts. It is a good thing to give alms—good for yourself, I mean. So

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that this daily procession does good in two ways: it is good for the monk because he learns humility; it is good for the people because they have thereby offered them a chance of giving a little alms. Even the poorest may be able to give his spoonful of rice. All is accepted. Think not a great gift is more acceptable than a little one. You must judge by the giver's heart. 792 735

At every feast, every rejoicing, the central feature is presents to the monks. If a man put his son into a monastery, if he make merry at a stroke of good fortune, if he wish to celebrate a mark of favour from government, the principal ceremony of the feast will be presents to monks. They must be presents such as the monks can accept; of course, that is understood.

Therefore a man enters a monastery simply for this: to keep his body in health by perfect moderation and careful conduct, and to prepare his soul for heaven by meditation. That is the meaning of it all.

If you see a grove of trees before you on your ride, mangoes and tamarinds in clusters, with palms nodding overhead, and great broad-leaved plantains and flowering shrubs below, you may be sure that there is a monastery, for it is one of the commands to the monks of the Buddha to live under the shade of lofty trees, and this command they always keep. They are most beautiful, many of these monasteries — great buildings of dark-brown teak, weather-stained, with two or three roofs one above the other, and at one end a spire tapering up until it ends in a gilded 'tee.' Many of the monasteries 792 346

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was not known. You paid a rupee, and took the change in rice or other commodities.

The excitement of the great day of the full moon began in the morning, about ten o'clock, with the offerings to the monks. Outside the village gate there was a piece of straight road, dry and open, and on each side of this, in rows, were the people with their gifts; mostly they were eatables. You see that it is very difficult to find any variety of things to give a monk; he is very strictly limited in the things he is allowed to receive. Garments, yellow garments, curtains to partition off corners of the monasteries and keep away the draughts, sacred books and eatables—that is nearly all. But eatables allow a very wide range. A monk may accept and eat any food—not drink, of course—provided he eat but the one big meal a day before noon; and so most of the offerings were eatables. Each donor knelt there upon the road with his or her offerings in a tray in front. There was rice cooked in all sorts of shapes, ordinary rice for eating with curry, and the sweet purple rice, cooked in bamboos and coming out in sticks. There were vegetables, too, of very many kinds, and sugar and cakes and oil and honey, and many other such things. There were a few, very few, books, for they are very hard to get, being all in manuscript; and there were one or two tapestry curtains; but there were heaps of

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flowers. I remember there was one girl whose whole offering was a few orchid sprays, and a little, very little, heap of common rice. She was so poor; her father and mother were dead, and she was not married. It was all she could give. She sat behind

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her little offering, as did all the donors. And my gift? Well, although an English official, I was not then very much richer than the people about me, so my gift must be small, too—a tin of biscuits, a tin or two of jam, a new pair of scissors. I did not sit behind them myself, but gave them to the headman to put with his offerings; for the monks were old friends of mine. Did I not live in one of their monasteries for over two months when we first came and camped there with a cavalry squadron? And if there is any merit in such little charity, as the Burmese say there is, why should I not gain it, too? The monks said my present was best of all, because it was so uncommon; and the biscuits, they said, though they did not taste of much while you were eating them, had a very pleasant after-taste that lasted a long time. They were like charity, maybe: that has a pleasant after-taste, too, they tell me.

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When all the presents, with the donors behind them, dressed all in their best, were ready, the monks came. There were four monasteries near by, and the monks, perhaps in all thirty, old and young, monks and novices, came in one long procession, walking very slowly, with downcast eyes, between the rows of gifts and givers. They did not look at them at all. It is not proper for a monk to notice the gifts he receives; but schoolboys who came along behind attending on them, they saw and made remarks. Perhaps they saw the chance of some overflow of these good things coming their way. 'See,' one nudged the other; 'honey—what a lot! I can smell it, can't you?'

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796 And, '*My mother!* what a lot of sweet rice! Who
735 gave that? Oh, I see old U Hman.' 'I wonder
792 what's in that tin box?' remarked one as he passed my biscuits. 'I hope it's coming to our monastery, any way.'

Thus the monks passed, paying no sort of attention, while the people knelt to them; and when the procession reached the end of the line of offerings, it went on without stopping, across the fields, the monks of each monastery going to their own place; and the givers of presents rose up and followed them, each carrying his or her gifts. And so they went across the fields till each little procession was lost to sight.

796 That was all the ceremony for the day, but at dusk the illuminations began. The little pagoda in the fields was lighted up nearly to its top with concentric rings of lamps till it blazed like a pyramid of flame, seen far across the night. All the people came there, and placed little offerings of flowers at the foot of the pagoda, or added each his candle to the big illumination.

The house of the headman of the village was lit up with a few rows of lamps, and all the monasteries, too, were lit. There were no restaurants—every-
[444] one was at home, you see—but there were one or two little stalls, at which you could buy a cheroot, or even perhaps a cup of vermicelli; and there was
796 a dance. It was only the village girls who had
535 been taught, partly by their own mothers, partly by an old man, who knew something of the business. They did not dance very well, perhaps; they were none of them very beautiful; but what matter?

pagodas and those throughout the country are descendants of the pagoda slaves. 461 175 567

Beggars are rated below the pagoda slaves - but, because of the Buddhist merit associated with giving do well for themselves. 778 735 ●
The beggars live in communities on the outskirts of the town often in cemetaries. They are thought to exhume the dead to get the coins [779] placed in the mouth of the deceased to ensure expenses on his journey to heaven. The wood of the coffin is believed to be used in constructing their huts. 764 554 461 Professional undertakers or morticians are regarded with horror since they like the beggars, make their living from the dead. The functions of burial are performed gratis by the entire village. A story is currently going round the University dormitories [203] telling of an immensely wealthy Burmese coffin maker in Rangoon who has offered riches to the young man who will marry his beautiful daughter. When the future seems blank the students' friend advises "Hey, why don't you go and marry the coffin maker's daughter?" It seems that the money would scarcely compensate for the social discrimation. 461 The extent to which the occupation classes are rigid in marriage and other social exchanges is an interesting problem. 565 555

A young man is obliged to remain within the occupation class of his family or to rise to greater heights. He is advised at an early [867] age to "be simple, aim high, and tell the truth." When children [857] play at dacoits (thieves) of other "low class" games their parents object to their low aspirations and advise them to play nobles and ministers. One would feel justified in remaining idle rather than accept a position below that of his birth. It is better to accept a clerks job at a low salary than an artisans at a high salary. On the other hand those born into lower status occupation groups tend to be satisfied with their state as a condition of birth. In Rangoon, however, even the hawkers may have ambitions to achieve fame and fortune. The opportunities for social mobility is greater in the towns and cities [369] but difinitely restricted in the villages.

Apprenticeship to trades begins at the age of 12 to 14 years, and usually lasts for several years. Ordinarily the youth is attached to the shop of a relative where he lives and is payed a subsistence wage while learning. The key to high positions lies in education in 461 467 874 [602]

the husband is too old to work. Aged parents are invariably respected but those who can still support themselves are "worshipped". Parents do not rely on their sons who have their own families to support but feel that their daughters will always "bring them a cup of curry". 461 554 454 888

The third urge is to have wealth to donate to the Buddhist church. This is regarded as a sound investment since it not only brings a most satisfying honour especially in old age (to be a "pagoda giver") but also counts as merit credited to the individual's account in eternity. 461 554 735 775

Competition is keenly felt between individuals and families of the same occupation group or adjacent groups but not between the lower and upper classes. An exception is where family traditional land has changed hands - and hard feelings may persist. A carpenter's family does not envy and covet the riches of a government official's family. His lot is due to KARMA and even if he wished to attain such fortune it would be beyond his abilities. More important, it is not expected of him. So the carpenter is content with cheap jewelry for his women and an occasional gold coin - but the pattern is the same as for the upper class. However among the individuals and families of an occupation level there is much rivalry for the benefits wealth can bring. It is a point of pride to have the largest diamonds at a social function, and to give the biggest pagoda. Wives brag that their husbands "prevent the heirs of their hands from singeing" - that they have servants to cook. Rank and recognition are based on these considerations. 565 477 554 461

The women of the family exert powerful influence in financial matters and are respected for their sound judgement. Women's occupations include cigar manufacturing, pottery making, and especially shop keeping. 461 562 463

The beginning of an enterprise is conditioned by the wisdom of the ancients and especially the date and place which are given by formula in the Burmese calendar. There are NET-NATA (day king of) "fortunate days" and PYAD-THADA "unlucky days". For example the calendar announces that Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays of a particular month are fortunate days to begin enterprises, and other days either unfortunate or neutral. Rangoon sophisticates (but never villagers) tell such stories as this: Two phongyis travelled by boat; the first boarded the boat on a fortunate day to begin travelling. The next day the boat came to the second phongyi's village. This was an unfortunate 777 461

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day on the calendar but the second phongyi decided to embark anyway. Both phongyis were lost when the boat sank that day.

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The revered position of phongyis is open to all regardless of birth or position. It is felt that some take up the robe because they are unsuccessful in life, or wish an "easy living" - but perhaps this attitude is one of modern sophisticates. Certainly the dominant position of the brotherhood is unchallenged. Occasionally differences arise between the headman and the phongyis of a village. But the phongyis invariably prevail. Offending laymen can be "deprived the gate of heaven" by phongyis refusing to accept HSOON, alms, from th This is called inverting the begging bowl THA-BEIT-MAUK-TAI (Begging bowl-upturn) and is the current phrase for any sort of a "strike".

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Some unprincipalled phongyis have sought to enrich themselves by accepting gifts of land or other property, or by selling gifts for money to traders. When they leave the brotherhood and become laymen again this property becomes theirs. Such occurrences appear to be rare and are controlled by stipulations of the givers. For example a donor would hesitate to give paddy land to a suspected phongyi but might agree to giving the crops while retaining title.

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The government or administrative class is looked up to with great respect - in part a carry over from the days of royalty, in part an attitude towards power and influence. However, while the villager today may not know the details of the new constitution he knows there is a "code" wherein he can secure impartial justice.

Major Village Ceremonies

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With regard to religion there are four ceremonies which all the people in the village observe. These are: PAWAR THA NAR (give away ceremony), KA HTEIN (opening ceremony of end of lent), HSU TAUNG PYI (wish-and-fulfil) pagoda festival in the hot weather, and the KASON NYAUNG YE THUN (month of Kason-banyan tree-water pouring). There are also other ceremonies which are celebrated individually and according to personal preference and requirements, such as the Noviiiation ceremony and the other monthly festivals which are celebrated throughout the rest of the country.

The PAWAR THA NAR ceremony marks the end of the Buddhist Lent. It is held on the full moon of Thadingyut. At this time new robes are donated to the phongyis and all visitors are feasted. For this festival a meeting of elders in the village is convened. These elders then make arrangements and send out invitations to 30 or 35 phonyis to come to the village and partake of the HSOON and the other gifts that are to be donated. There are only three phongyis ordinarily resident in the village; the rest have to be invited over from the phongyi kyaungs in the countryside around. When the phongyis have been invited, the village is divided up into 30 or 35 groups of 10 to 20 houses each, and each of these groups sends one representative to the meeting. Then names of the several phongyis are placed in a box and each of the group representatives has to draw out one name. This name he carries back to his group, and the individual families in his group donate as much as they can, or as much as their reverence for this particular phongyi inspires them to. These donations can take various forms - such as robes, HSOON, coconuts, bananas, toffee, etc. Sometimes one single person in the group undertakes to donate everything for his group out of his own pocket.

When phongyis from elsewhere are invited over, they bring with them three or four young boys each, and these boys also have to be fed. Ordinarily, there is only one KOYIN in the village, one U PAZIN and one phongyi. But when SHIN PYU time comes, the number of KOYINS rises to seven or eight.

All the members of the group bring their offerings and donations to the house of the group elder. The donations sometimes include even pillows and blankets. U Myaing gave a HSOON OTE container full of HSOON which cost him Rs. 15/- or Rs. 20/-, and also some face towels. These are given only once a year and U Myaing gave for himself and his household. Complete accounts are kept by the elders of all these donations.

The gifts that have been received have also to be divided by lot among the phongyis. Since the number and quality of the donations from the various groups are bound to vary, everything is pooled and divided again as equally as possible into as many piles as there are phongyis. Then the phongyis have to draw lots as to who shall get which pile.

The KAHTEIN ceremony is also celebrated by the village as a whole. A feast is given to between two and three thousand people. Thirty or thirty five phongyis from the neighbouring villages are put up at the village phongyi kyaung. The money which is needed for the ceremony is collected in the village. U Myaing had to give about fifty or sixty rupees because he could afford to do so. Collections from the whole village amounted to between Rs. 1,500/- for later; it is used to donate to phonhyis and buy robes for them. No one demands a checking of the accounts, but those who are in charge read these accounts aloud before the assembled villagers. An orchestra and PYAZAT (play) is hired for the KAHTEIN ceremony. There is also a big PADETHAR (a gift tree) which is planted in the ground and anyone can come and hang gifts onto the branches of this tree - such as begging bowls, robes, tinned biscuits, exercise books, pencils, slippers [illegible], umbrellas, sacks of rice, toffee, etc. Later, these

phongyis have to draw lots for these.

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There are thirty days during which the KAHTEIN ceremony can be held - from the full moon of Thadingyut to the full moon of Tasaungmon When the phongyis have been given HSOON, the ceremony is over. But preparations have to be made four or five days ahead for building the equipment, for cooking the food, for rehearsing the play to be put up by the youngmen, etc.

The Tagu month festival is a religious festival and is celebrated in their village at the HSU TAUNG PYE pagoda. Collections are taken, and people donate from Rs. 2/- or Rs. 5/- right up to Rs. 300/- each. A BUF troupe is engaged for the occasion, and they are paid at the rate of Rs. 150/- or Rs. 200/- a night for six or seven nights. This festival takes place on the full moon of the month of Tagu. Beginning from the eve of the full moon, people start coming to the pagoda bringing gifts of fruit, PAUK PAUK HSOTE trifle, toffees, bread, cheroots, betel boxes GYIN THOKE trifle, etc., and these people have to be fed too. U Myaing donated between forty and sixty rupees; while people who are rich donate between three hundred and four hundred rupees. (U Myaing's village of Pathee is divided by a fork in the river into three sub-villages, and when collections are taken they are only confined to one's own side of the river.) Enough food is prepared to feed three or four thousand people. Butter is bought by the kerosene tin, ripe bananas, fried fish, pork, etc., and the guests are fed till everyone is satisfied. About twenty baskets of rice have to be boiled by about forty to fifty people.

The guests are fed in three rest houses, each holding fifty people at a time. Even so, there are so many guests that some people have to return home without having eaten anything at all, and even though a lot of food still remain. The guests who come are both Karens and Burmans, and when they come they sometimes bring along cows or horses which have decorations and gifts hung on them. Anyone who so desires can go and hang his gift on to the animal as well.

Everyone contributes his or her labour. It is not good to hold back. When there is a festival or a ceremony in the KLAUNG, all the families lock up their houses and go over to help. Even fish coming down to the IN are not picked up til the festival is over. Everyone helps in getting up festivals. Burmans and Karens all come to help at some household which intends to give charity on a grand scale. [476]

U Myaing's Shifting Relationship to Buddhism

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In an interview U Myaing was questioned as to his relationship to Buddhism as a "taker of lives" (fisherman). His sense of guilt in Pantanow where he fished and relief from this in the camp is given below verbatim from the interview.

42. Q. Would you tell U Myaing that I as a foreigner understand very little about Buddhism but I've heard that the fishermen who take lives of the fish are regarded unfavourably. Ask him if this is true.
A. (U.M.) There are the 5 KYAUK (commandments - Pali: KAUK - to do). Thou shalt not take the life of others. Thou shalt not wrong the wife and off-spring of another. Abstain from intoxicants and from stealing the property of others. We have to observe these. The Buddha has preached it.
Q. Isn't U Myaing, in working the IN, taking the lives of the fish?
A. Yes, I am taking the lives of the fish. I have to do it to get food - to make a living.
Q. But you do not wish to take life?

for an adult and 8 annas for a child." 574

In camp U Nyaing does not play cards very much except when at 525
funerals to pass the night away. His total stakes on such occasions [764]
are only about eight annas or a rupee. He has never been to the
races, and he never goes about town for fun. He does not go visiting
much except when on business. When he does go, he visits
Hla Hein, his first cousin who lives in HSIN-MIN-KWET-THIT, and his
cousin Ma Sein Naing who lives in Ahlone. In Rangoon there are
about 40,000 to 60,000 refugees from Pantanaw district. Sometimes
he visits other people whom he knew at the village. However, in a
single year his purely social visits to people outside of the camp
totals only three visits - one visit each to three houses.

Dr. Orr, Dr. Sheppard, Mr. Shaw and Mr. Musgrave are the only 619
white men he has met. He does not know any other Americans or
Englishmen.

U Nyaing has not gone to the pagoda once in the present month. 796
During the past month, when he was working at the Jubilee Hall, he 735
used to cross the pagoda platform twice a day going to and coming
from his work. In the last year he donated some money at the
Shwe Dagon. He gave 2 annas on three occasions four annas on 6
occasions, and once, when he drew his monthly pay, he donated a
rupee. Apart from these, he donated money 6 or 7 times during the
first one or two months of their arrival, during the time when he
was going around selling mats. He gave altogether three or four
rupees in these six or seven times.

Only Daw Aw Zar regularly goes to the pagoda solely for the 782
sake of worship and prayer. Ma Aye Nyaing has been there about 735
five times on three occasions, but, they were while she was on her
way elsewhere, and only once or twice purely for worship. Her
total offerings amount to only about a rupee. Daw Aw Zar remarked
that they would not have had the opportunity of praying at this
great pagoda if they were still in Pantanaw. Daw Aw Zar gives
offerings of flowers, money, candles and incense, and goes up the
pagoda frequently.

In his worship, U Nyaing recites the 5 SILAS. He prays for 782

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represented by the boat and shack dwellers of Rangoon's water-front as well as the beggar class of the villages.

Future Studies: This study has explored a portion of the Burmese culture pattern seen in dynamic situation of one family's case. It has indicated the importance of the family unit in Burmese society and expressed qualitatively two levels or standards of living. A study of a functioning community to define the interworkings of the family group and other social groups is being carried out at the present time by the Burma Community Research Project of the Department of Anthropology, University of Rangoon. The hypothesis developed in this paper will be further explored and new concepts of Burmese culture and society developed in the village project.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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29. NOVICES MAKING THE ROUND FOR DAILY FOOD (P. 18).

CHAPTER III

ADOLESCENCE

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30. THAMI-U ARRAYED FOR HER FETE.

BETWEEN the ages of ten and sixteen Burman lads enter upon the monastic novitiate, an occasion celebrated with a brilliant fête. The adoption of a religious life by girls is much less general, even for the short time it is embraced by the youths; and when it is adopted, there is no ceremony. But a holiday answering to that of the boy's novitiate is held in honour of the girl, especially when she is the first-born child—*thami-u*. In her case the ear-boring ceremony, if not the piercing itself, is deferred to the age of ten or twelve. The child, equipped in royal attire, or an imitation of it, and wearing a queen's crown (*shbôn*), is the centre of a great gathering of relatives and friends, who are entertained with music and plays.

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The lad who has prepared to renounce the world for a season, or it may be for life, is called *shinláung*. The *shinláung* festivals usher in the religious or lenten season—*wā*, June to September—the season of rain in Bahár,

p. 14

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

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37. SHINLAUNG RENEWING HIS PRAYER.

the world, but not from observation by the world. Great as is the homage accorded to him by the laity, a recluse who should disgrace his cloth—a thing almost unknown — would be promptly unfrocked by them.

For their sustenance the novices and regular recluses depend upon alms. They receive these in kind and according to daily need. Their appeal is mute. The morning after his reception the novice with his brethren will halt in front of his own parents' house and the houses of the neighbours to receive such dole of food as is offered (No. 29). He will not look to right or left, but keep his eyes rooted on the ground, making no sign beyond raising the cover of his alms-bowl. The recluse may not ask for anything whatever, nor even express a predilection. The food, ripe or ready-cooked, as the case may be, is doled indiscriminately into the *thabît* from the east side, usually by a woman of the house. A woman should not stand in the shadow of a recluse, of a shrine, *zedi*, temple or image. She should not occupy an upper floor when a [562] recluse happens to be beneath, nor enter a *Thein*, nor occupy a higher place with respect to men (p. 72). Food given in a religious spirit, as above described, is [576] called *sun*. The recluses when collecting *sun* are generally followed by a couple of scholars bearing a yoke and basket to receive larger offerings on behalf of the monastery (No. 41).

792 871 [805] 779 [576]

Those probationers who remain in the monastery for several years—reckoned by Lents (*wa*)—and who aspire to full membership of the Assembly, read with the recluse Pâli texts of the Tripitaka, and the commentaries on these, and commit portions, sometimes whole books of the canon, to memory. Recluses of standing and also laymen take part in these exercises.

38. GOYIN MAKING OBEISANCE.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

346 *kambawd*. The laity assembled outside the precincts let off rockets and guns
796 in celebration of the event. Finally, the ceremony of *yezitcha*, the pouring
778 of water (No. 100), is performed by the grantor of the site—as at every other

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46. ILLUMINATED KAMBAWA.

religious dedication—to signify that the property has been dedicated for ever. The precincts of the *thein* are marked by low boundary pillars, mostly of Sagáing marble, set in the trench, which is then filled in. A different form of *thein* is the *ye-thein*, which is built over the water to effect its isolation.

792 Although the *yahán*, as already stated, may not ask for anything, he may
● 735 decline what is offered. He signifies this by inverting his *thabít* (*thabeit-*
kmauk). The action has become a symbol for excommunication. The *yahán*
might assemble in the *thein* and perform *thabít-kmauk* against a layman for
[794] heinous wickedness. His house would be passed by in collecting *sun* and all
[178] offerings tendered by him refused. The practice has become obsolete; it is said to have no warrant in the scriptures, and to be contrary to their spirit.

Where the people are very prosperous and the *yahán* are not many, the collecting of *sun* in the streets has sunk to a formality observed by the novices only, who on return to the monastery empty their *thabít* to the dogs. But in other circumstances the sojourner *yahán*, novices and scholars live on the *sun*. An ordinance of the Buddha dispenses the *yahán* from collecting his food from house to house if there be pious people who proffer him his sustenance at his abode. The founder of the monastery (*Kyaung-tagá*), who nomin

47. SUN SENT BY THE KYAÚNGTABA.

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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49. FOREST KYAUNG.

ates the incumbent, regularly undertakes the support of the *pôndyí*, and frequently of his sojourner *yahán* as well. The food, which is the best of its kind, is brought every morning by the daughters and young children of the supporter, or, in the case of joint support, by children of the leading families in turn. An ornamented vessel is used, having a tall finial to the cover (*ôt*). The supplies are received by the lay scholars or the novices, and by them served to the *yahán*. The principal meal is taken shortly before noon, for no food may be eaten after that hour till the following sunrise. Water may be drunk and betel chewed at any time. Tobacco-smoking is discountenanced, especially in Burma Proper, where the religious views are strictest. Burma furnishes the standard both for scholarship and practice, and trains most of the incumbents of the monasteries of Pegu. Scholars and novices may prepare food at the monastery from raw supplies. These the *yahán* may not even handle. Hired labour (*kappiza dayaka*) may be attached to the monastery by the supporter for the preparation of food and other services. In some cases lands have been dedicated for the maintenance of monasteries and temples. But the *yahán* have no concern with their administration. Supplies of raiment, chattels and food are dedicated to the use of the recluses when the distinction of their presence is solicited, especially at *shinlaung* fêtes and funerals. The annual provision of raiment (*kathin thingán*) is made between the months of *Thadindyut* and *Tasáungmôn*. The offerings of necessaries are supplemented by accessories of every sort —books and writing materials, mats,

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50. VILLAGE KYAUNG.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

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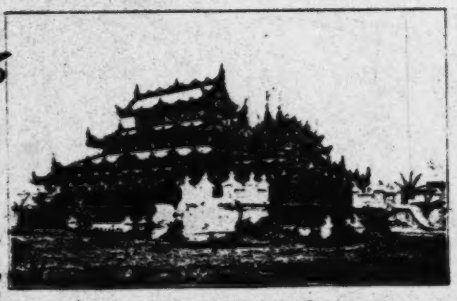

51. KYAUNG AT THE CAPITAL.

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carpets, cushions, handkerchiefs, tables, chairs, betel-boxes and spittoons, glassware and crockery, lamps, chandeliers, clocks, knicknacks and furniture, always to the exclusion of gold and silver. Gilt wares are permissible.

The strict *yahán* should prepare his shelter for himself, in an unfrequented place. But by the dispensation already referred to, he may avail himself of a solitary dwelling proffered for his use, and this is invariably the case. Not merely are these schools numerous, but they are the most spacious, substantial, and ornate edifices in the land. Many of them are of palatial size and appointments. The Burman finds nothing too good or too beautiful for those who subject themselves to the restraint of the recluse. The recluse on his part is conventionally oblivious of the magnificence that surrounds him. It is not for him to deprecate. The religious merit of the work, which furnishes the motive of the founder, is proportioned to the outlay upon it. From the bamboo *kyaung* in the forest costing a hundred rupees or less, individuals spend up to hundreds of thousands on the palatial monasteries of the towns (*cf.* p. 75).

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When the incumbent of a monastery removes or dies, the senior sojourner (*upazín*) may receive his place as *pôndyí*. Otherwise an *upazín* is invited from elsewhere, or the *pôndyí* of another *kyaung* is prevailed upon to move. The *upazín* who has become *pôndyí* defers to his preceptor as before. Every monastery has a titular Pâli appellation, such as *Thila-ekkaya kyaung*, Letter-of-the-Law monastery.

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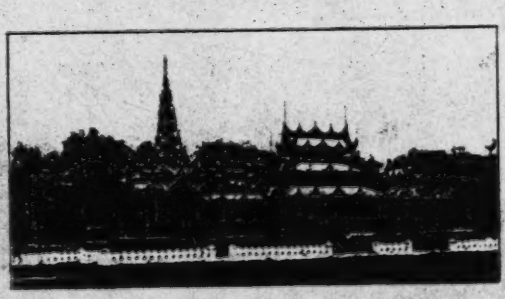
There is no hierarchy in the Assembly of *yahán*. But it commonly happens that a number of monasteries recognise a venerable teacher as referee upon matters of scholarship



52. PALACE KYAUNG.

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1931 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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60. DECADENT KYAUNG.

Gothic, especially in the richness of the *ensemble*. But the Burman decoration does not strike the eye as an efflorescence of the structure so much as an overlaying of it. The grandest work produces the effect of an elaborate model rather than a monumental achievement. The perspicuity of the play of forces operating in the structure, out of which the poetry of Gothic architecture flows, has a parallel in the Burman boat-building. But the effort which the land architecture incorporates, to interpret a masonry style in wood, was naturally productive of incongruities, despite the fact that the masonry was itself an interpretation of still earlier wood building. The outward incongruities have been mitigated in the unique style in which the genius of Burma has found expression. The stiff and monotonous feather-ornament of the Hindu gable (No. 74) has developed into the Burman flamboyant decoration. The bold finial is the sole element of the original which has been preserved literally (No. 62). The graduated ornament of the *pyatthat*, soaring above the verdure, recalls the proportions of some budding head-of-bloom—a case in point of the theory of the sources of architectural types, in the insensible suggestions of natural objects, expressed by Herbert Spencer. (*Essays*, vol. ii.) Through the Burman treatment types other than architectural, which Burma has borrowed, acquire a new and distinctive interest.

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When a *kyaung*, or any work of public utility, has been undertaken by the people of a village jointly, it is kept in good repair. But when it has been carried out at the cost of an individual—and this applies to most of the public works—the repairs are left to the founder and to his family, who have frequently

61. ORNAMENTATION OF KYAUNG.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

61. DAYIN ORNAMENT.

exhausted their resources in the building of it. In the moist region the effects of rain and vegetation combine to dilapidate buildings in less than a lifetime. The stone-grey and lichen-covered wood attains the distinction of age before its time. In the dry zone of Burma Proper fires are very frequent. Few examples of wood architecture of over a century old exist anywhere. It is scarcely possible to trace the steps by which the present style developed from the Indian models. 346 735 [132 731]

As distinguished from the *kyaung*, *thein*, and other wood buildings, the *Zedi*, which are such a prominent feature of Burma and Siam, are of masonry. In Arakán they are of hewn stone; elsewhere they are of brick plastered with lime. It is a point of honour with the Buddhists of those countries to crown every eminence with a *zedi*. The chief *zedi* of a place—*Payá-dyí*—is on the highest ground in the vicinity, and is cared for by the public. The subsidiary *zedi*, the *wut*, *tazáung*, and other accessories which cluster around the *Payá-dyí*, are the work of private individuals. Old and new are huddled in chaotic profusion. Many erections are ruinous and disregarded. But so long as a vestige of the original structure, remains, it monopolises the site. The development of the conical *zedi* may be traced, step by step, from the ancient temple. Originally, *zedi* are shrines for relics of the Buddha—the Indian *Stupa*, *tôp*, *dāgaba*, *dagôba*, of which last "pagoda" is a transposition. The vast majority of *zedi* only pretend to symboline actual shrines. The shrines of reputed relics are 346 778

62. DETAIL OF EAVES AND GABLE

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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88. METHILA ON THE ROUND FOR SUN.

struggles. Apart from this and the serfdom referred to at p. 32, slavery has only played a subordinate *rôle* in Burma within historic times. The *payadyún*, and they alone, are treated as outcasts by both of these populations. They beg for alms and also appropriate the offerings brought to the shrines in profusion at festivals. Their right to beg is admitted, although they frequently accumulate money and build fine houses.

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Lepers (*anû*) in many cases quit their families of their own accord and settle in the *payadyún* colony. In some places they were compelled to do so. The settlements have thus acquired the semblance of leper colonies. There are a few country villages of this character. Indigent lepers beg for alms. In 1891 there were 6,000 lepers in Burma, the highest ratio in the Indian Empire. There are now four leper asylums. Casual mendicancy is almost unknown in Burma.

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The Burman and Brahman soothsayers (p. 158) are regular frequenters of the shrines. The Burman astrologer (*bedin-sayâ*) casts horoscopes on the Brahman model (No. 279) and designates the days auspicious for undertakings. He takes his name from proficiency in reckoning, and is consulted about business calculations that cannot be done mentally.

89. SOOTHSAYER.

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The Buddhist duty-days (*âbôt-ne, thadin*) follow the quarters of the moon. They are kept regularly during lent. On these days the pious laity of both sexes and sedate years observe the rule of *pôthudaw* and *mèthila* from sunrise to sunrise (*âbôt-saung*). They adopt sober attire, or else white cotton clothing, which is considered the plainest of any. In the forenoon men and women separately repair to the temple rest-houses, whither food for the morning meal, which has been collected the previous evening from religious donors

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25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

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414. WATER-THROWING AT NEW-YEAR.

Party feeling, which often runs high between the quarters of a village, with their rival *kyaung* and *zedi*, finds an outlet at *Tagú* in the tug-of-war (*lun-swè*). As the superstitious whistle for the wind, so do they expect to tug in the monsoon by this means, at the season when everything is panting for rain.

After *Tagú*, the next festival season is *Wàzò*—in June—the commencement of the Buddhist Lent. This season is signalised by the *Shinláung fêtes*, described in Chapter III. During Lent there is no regular festival.

The great festival of *Thadlindyút* celebrates the close of Lent. It falls in October, when the rains are generally over, and is the one for which the most extensive preparations are made. Every festival is signalised by the offerings made to the *yahán*. But now they are literally "poured" in profusion, as the word implies (*sun-láung*). *Yazamá*—paths fenced with bamboo trellis, such as those prepared for the progress of royalty—are got ready along the chief thoroughfare. Through these on the morning of the great day the *yahán* defile in endless procession. As many as a thousand *yahán* may be invited to receive the *Thadlindyút* offerings in a large town. The offerings are poured into the alms-bowls by the laity; scholars are stationed at intervals to relieve the *yahán* of their loads of offerings. After the *yahán* come *pòthudaw* and *mèthilá*. Both ends of the *yazamá* are decorated with arches of bamboo and tinsel. About these are grouped life-size figures of mythical import—dragons to guard the entrance, princes and princesses of the *nats* to take part in the honour done to the *Thingá* (No. 151). In the evenings fire-

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415. RANGOON PROCESSION AT NEW-YEAR.

29: Slater M-4 (no date) 1951 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

Old men will retire to the monastery to end their days there, and younger men, in poverty or other distress, will flee the world for a time. The hospitality of the monks has sometimes been more charitable than discriminate, a circumstances which has brought some monasteries into disrepute, for these temporary inhabitants are allowed to wear the yellow robe, and some are criminals, sheltering from justice. Father Sangermano reports the rescue of prisoners condemned to death. "In thus saving the lives of criminals, (the monks) believe that, as their law forbids them to kill, it must be meritorious to preserve the lives of others."[34]

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The monastery is the social centre of the village. Buddhism in Burma is gaily attired, a religion of festival. Frequently there will be an open-air performance in the moonlight, when a birth-story of the Buddha is dramatized. All this spirited, colourful life gathers around the monastery.

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But perhaps the Order's most valuable service to the community is the function fulfilled by the monk as *counsellor*. A group of villagers may gather for a special instruction, others may attend when the monks assemble for devotions, but the monastery is not regarded as a preaching centre or as a place of public worship. In modern times, crowds have flocked to hear the Monyin Sayadaw. Generally, however, the approach in this respect is individual. It is as the individual adviser of each villager that the monk's influence is most strongly felt.

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In many and tangible ways, therefore, the monastery serves the community, but it is probable that the villager himself reveres the monk more for services which are intangible and may not appear so valuable to sceptical observers. Early in the morning, the monk, attended by *koyins*, will go the round of the faithful, receiving their offerings of rice in his begging bowl.[35] For the monk himself it is an exercise in humility, for the villager it is one of the chief means of increasing that *kutho* or worthiness which ensures him happiness in this life and the next.[36]

792 735 782

Most of all, however, it is those very aspects of the monk's vocation which distinguish him from the rest of the community, setting him apart, for which the monk is chiefly esteemed. It is because the greater part of his life is spent in spiritual exercises which the villagers do *not* share, that they value him most. The monastery stands for a Way of utter renun-

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[34] *The Burmese Empire*, 3d. Edition, ed. J. Jardine, (London, 1895), chap. xv, p. 122.

[35] Thus *bhikku or bhikṣu*, usually translated monk, means, literally, mendicant. Strictly speaking, a *bhikku* is not a monk; cf. Rhys Davids, *Dialogues of the Buddha*, Part II (S.B.B.), p. 81, footnote.

[36] *Kutho* is frequently translated 'merit.' But 'worthiness' is more accurate.

29: Slater M-4 (no date) 1951 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

its national, character. The frequent festivals not only enliven, they express and stabilise the community life. They are often local, but certain shrines, such as the Shwe Dagon Pagoda in Rangoon, have become centres of pilgrimage. In a country which has had a strong tendency to de-centralization — the king's authority was often very weak — the Buddhist Order has made for cohesion, and, in modern times, Buddhist monks have been active in the movement for national independence. 779* 796 621

In spite, however, of this social expression, Buddhism in Burma, as elsewhere, is very much a matter of *individual* concern. We have seen this individualism within the monastery. It is equally marked outside the monastery. One of the most popular *nats* is the story of Wethandaya, who, in order to gain his own salvation, gives away his wife and family to a rapacious Brahmin.[56] "Each must bear his own burden," is a favourite quotation.[57] Its primary reference may be to moral responsibility. 779* 775

This brings us to the decidely *ethical* character of Burmese Buddhism. *Kutho* (worthiness) is the central concept here, and "it is clear that the Burmese Buddhists have a more *mathematical* conception of Merit than other folk." "The ordinary belief is very concrete — so many good deeds mean so much to one's credit in another world."[58] Sometimes very material rewards are indicated. "The reward for building a monastery is a palace in a *Nat* heaven with seven towers, and in this palace dwell seven hundred *Nat* wives.... For a gift of sticks for use in a bath room, the donor will be reborn with perfumed body."[59]

Almsgiving is a sure means of 'heaping up *Kutho*.' Since the benefit accruing to the donor partly depends on the worthiness of the object, the maintenance of religion is a valued means of self-help. Hence the many pagodas. Hence the gifts to the monasteries. There is no more coveted title than 'Builder of Monasteries.' Hence, too, the welcome to the monk as he comes in the early morning with his begging bowl. The monk may seem to be the chief recipient. But in the things which matter, he is the donor. [735] [792]

Though others may thus provide the opportunity, essentially the activity is self-help. Emphasis is laid on individual responsibility. It is something a man must do for himself.

It is something he can do. Thus the conception of *Kutho* challenges any animistic idea that man is altogether at the mercy of capricious spirits.

[56] *M.B.B.*, pp. 44, 103.
[57] *M.B.B.*, p. 45.
[58] *M.B.B.*, p. 51, p. 76. The usual, though inadequate translation of Kutho, as already observed, is Merit.
[59] *M.B.B.*, p. 51.

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

187. DOMESTIC FLOWER-STAND (HYAUNG-YE-O, PP. 6, 62).

one, no disability of a practical kind exists for her. But it is the aspiration of every woman to transmigrate as a man in the next phase of existence (*hsiwa*, p. 43). As the state of a man is thought a more desirable one, so it is inferred that her life in the previous incarnation has brought the woman's state upon her. How deep and tender is the poetry which the idea of transmigration weaves into the life of the Buddhist may be judged from the example at the close of Chapter XXIII. of *The Soul of a People*. Orphans are adopted by relatives, and in default of such, never fail to find foster-parents. The division of labour between the sexes is the common one of out-door and in-door. Wherever circumstances permit, women are relieved of hardship; the sheltered places in boats and carts belong to the women and children. The great middle zone of commerce is neutral; women embark in wholesale trade, besides transacting the bulk of the retail trade. In certain localities women do the lighter part of the out-door work, and in the poorer districts of the dry zone they share in the heavy labour. Women are accorded precedence among men according to the standing they have acquired by marriage or by their independent efforts. The *Kyaungzaw*—the woman who has founded and who supports a school—enjoys a deference on all sides proportioned to the munificence of her gift. Women mix freely among men but are never jostled by them. At great gatherings men and women group apart. The Burman women are smart at repartee, and hold their own in the perpetual banter that goes on between the sexes.

188. WAYSIDE WATER-STAND IN THE CITY (PP. 21, 62).

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29: Slater M-4 (no date) 1951 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

792 the monastery. It is a day of excited celebration. Recalling the Great
881 Renunciation, when Gautama left the royal court in his quest for truth, the boy, attired in princely robes, is feasted by his family and friends until the moment when he casts his finery aside to don the yellow robe of the Order.[32]

[301] Girls experience a similar ceremonial initiation, when (to the accom-
562 paniment of vigorous music) their ears are pierced to take the ear-rings
881 which are the sign of womanhood. They cannot attend the monastic
779* schools with the boys, but other means are found for their education, and
871 they certainly do not lag behind their brothers in intelligence, character or Buddhist zeal. Mrs Hla Oung recounts the story of a little maid taken to the monastery to be reminded of the five precepts, after some childish misdemeanour. (The monk was benign. "There was the faintest suspicion of a smile on his calm face, to show, I suppose, that her backsliding was not to be taken as a defection from the faith.") The 'charity of learning' seems, then, to be shared by girls as well as boys. The status, freedom and privileges of Burmese women have already been remarked and Mrs Hla Oung affirms vigorously that "the life of the Burmese woman is bound up in her religion. Buddhism has formed the character of the Burmese woman.... There are few Burmese women, even in the villages, who are unable to read and write," and the Buddhist scriptures form the ground work of their studies.[33]

792 Not only are the monks numerous, but they are dispersed throughout
871 the country. Every village has at least one monastery, and sometimes
178 more. The educational influence of the Order has been, therefore, both organised and ubiquitous. In more recent times this influence has been challenged by new conditions. Government and mission schools have intervened, and the modern Burmese boy may only remain in the monastery as a novice for a brief, token period. But during the centuries which shaped the Burmese character and outlook, the monks as educators had no serious rivals.

792 Nor has their ministry to the community been confined to education.
[757] Herbs and potions from the monastery are held in high esteem, especially
737 in Upper Burma.[34] The monastery also serves as alms-house and asylum.
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[32] For a good description of this ceremony v. Ananda Metteya, quoted by G. Appleton, *Buddhism in Burma*, pp. 22–23.

[33] Ma M. Hla Oung, "The Women of Burma," *Buddhism*, Vol. I, No. 1, p. 61 (September, 1903, Rangoon); cf. a later series by Daw Mya Sein, "Kin Sein Hla," *Burma Today*, published by the Burma Government in India, 1944, in which the influence of the Monastery is not so strongly emphasised.

[34] "Theirs is faith cure rather than medicine," writes a Burmese correspondent, who cites cures from snake-bite, leprosy and hydrophobia.

29: Slater M-4 (no date) 1951 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

Old men will retire to the monastery to end their days there, and younger men, in poverty or other distress, will flee the world for a time. The hospitality of the monks has sometimes been more charitable than discriminate, a circumstances which has brought some monasteries into disrepute, for these temporary inhabitants are allowed to wear the yellow robe, and some are criminals, sheltering from justice. Father Sangermano reports the rescue of prisoners condemned to death. "In thus saving the lives of criminals, (the monks) believe that, as their law forbids them to kill, it must be meritorious to preserve the lives of others."[24]

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[25] Thus *bhikku or bhikpu*, usually translated monk, means, literally, mendicant. Strictly speaking, a *bhikku* is not a monk; cf. Rhys Davids, *Dialogues of the Buddha*, Part II (S.B.B.), p. 81, footnote.

[26] *Kutho* is frequently translated 'merit.' But 'worthiness' is more accurate.

becoming common. Borrowing money is always such a shameful thing to Burmans that highly usurious rates prevail. The minimum rate of these private money-lenders is Re. 1/8 per Rs. 100/- per month, *i.e.* 18% per annum. 452

But this emphasis on money-making during the retirement period was not pure avariciousness. It was connected with the ability to discharge the duties of a parent and a good Buddhist during one's last years, to have sufficient means to settle children in a good marriage, which is one of the duties laid down for a good parent, and to make many donations towards pagodas, resthouses and monasteries, all as a foundation for a rebirth into a better existence. 181 593

For men like my father, this last period of their lives was a soft and gentle immersion in the atmosphere which pervaded their childhood in the monastery, and which had been banished into a memory with the years of English education, government posts, courts and litigation, and the rearing of children whose future must be bound up with the obtaining of better government posts. 887 177

During these years, my father continued his daily prayers before the altar, but they were short and he said them softly, his feet were shod with shoes and socks, his tourings took him to headmen's houses more often than to monasteries, his evenings were spent in playing tennis instead of chinlon, and drinking lime-juice instead of coconut water, and his houses of the regulation pattern were filled with cane furniture made by convicts in jails. What a far cry from the dim light on wooden floors and pillars, the steady chorus of young monks at prayers. My father, who during his working years had encouraged us to eat, laugh and be merry in each present moment, now dismayed us with a sudden conviction of the vanity of all worldly things, towns, society, dress and ornament. We woke up at dawn to the sound of his prayers, and on most mornings he walked out of the town to the hills where the monasteries and resthouses were gathered; he walked barefoot again with great enjoyment in those quiet grounds, turned aside to supervise the building of a *thein*, a house for the ordination and meditation of monks, which he had persuaded a more wealthy friend to endow. He no longer showered on us de luxe editions of Western encyclopaedias and the collected works of Dickens and Scott as he used to, but bought richly carved book cases and sacred books for the monasteries in Thaton. We no longer ate our meals on chairs, sitting up at a table, but at a low round table on the polished floor. My father sat cross legged, but he could not go back to eating with his fingers, he still used a spoon and fork. At nights we fell asleep to the sound of his prayers and it was like a benediction. Buddhist prayers in Burma consist of two parts: the first is a 887 788 593 177 88 [541]

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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out with his axe and hollow with his finger-nails. There were a few such cells cut in the rocks at the back of Mandalay Hill, and visitors to the sacred spot occasionally came across one of the hermits striding along, wrapped in thought, grasping an iron staff hung with rings, the rattle of which warns the people to get out of the way and not disturb the holy man's meditations. A few go away from human society altogether, just as St. Simeon Stylites isolated himself on a pillar, and the old Culdee monks from the north of England and Scotland wandered off to the snowy wastes of Iceland, there to seek repose and relief from the turmoil of the world. It is said that the Thadda, the grammar, was added to the Bitaghat, that the hermits who had withdrawn to the jungle might not destroy the power of the sermons and lauds by mispronunciation.

Mandalay Hill is always occupied, for the spot is particularly sacred. King Mindôn used to send thither daily a hundred fowls which had been bought and saved from death, and the pious gave them plenty to eat. Similar proceedings caused the sneer of Purchas, "For men they hadde not an hospitall that were thus hospitall to fowles"; but this is hardly deserved, at any rate in Burma. There in every monastery the Kappiya-dayaka has a stock of money, raised by selling the presents given to the monks, which he devotes in charity to the well-deserving sick and to poor travellers, while any one is welcome at all times to shelter and food in the kyaung as long as he conducts himself properly. The yatheit may be looked upon with pious awe for his austerities and mortifications of the flesh, but the ordinary pyin-sin is more favourably regarded. The building of monasteries and the giving of presents to their inmates is a constant strain on the generosity of the people. It is far more difficult to keep the balance of merit on the right side in Burma than in other countries. Almsgiving is a constant and imperative expense, in addition to regular and personal worship at the pagoda. In Thibet wind or water drives the prayer-machines for extinguishing sin, and the goodman acquires merit while he is snoring at night with his wife at his back. In some parts practical householders are able to calculate exactly what is set down to

16;Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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than the feeling of exclusiveness. He abominates secrecy, mystery. His religion, his women, himself, are free; there are no dark places in his life where the light cannot come. He is ready that everything should be known, that all men should be his brothers.

And so all the people are on the same level. Richer and poorer there are, of course, but there are no very rich; there is none so poor that he cannot get plenty to eat and drink. All eat much the same food, all dress much alike. The amusements of all are the same, for entertainments are always free. So the Burman does not care to be rich. It is not in his nature to desire wealth, it is not in his nature to care to keep it when it comes to him. Beyond a sufficiency for his daily needs money has not much value. He does not care to add field to field or coin to coin; the mere fact that he has money causes him no pleasure. Money is worth to him what it will buy. With us, when we have made a little money we keep it to be a nest-egg to make more from. Not so a Burman: he will spend it. And after his own little wants are satisfied, after he has bought himself a new silk, after he has given his wife a gold bangle, after he has called all his village together and entertained them with a dramatic entertainment — sometimes even before all this—he will spend the rest on charity.

He will build a pagoda to the honour of the great teacher, where men may go to meditate on the great laws of existence. He will build a monastery school where the village lads are taught,

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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565 741 and where each villager retires some time in his life to learn the great wisdom. He will dig a well or build a bridge, or make a rest-house. And if the sum be very small indeed, then he will build, perhaps, a little house—a tiny little house—to hold two or three jars of water for travellers to drink. And he will keep the jars full of water, and put a little cocoanut-shell to act as cup.

741 742 The amount spent thus every year in charity is enormous. The country is full of pagodas; you see them on every peak, on every ridge along the river. They stand there as do the castles of the robber barons on the Rhine, only with what another meaning! Near villages and towns there are clusters of them, great and small. The great pagoda in Rangoon is as tall as St. Paul's; I have seen many a one not three feet high—the offering of some poor old man to the Great Name, and everywhere there are monasteries. Every village has one, at least; most have two or three. A large village will have many. More would be built if there was anyone to live in them, so anxious is each man to do something for the monks. As it is, more are built than there is actual need for.

741 485 There are rest-houses everywhere. Far away in the dense forests by the mountain-side you will find them, built in some little hollow by the road-side by someone who remembered his fellow-traveller. You cannot go five miles along any road without finding them. In villages they can be counted by tens, in towns by fifties. There are far more than are required.

In Burmese times such roads and bridges as

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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were made were made in the same way by private 741
charity. Nowadays, the British Government takes 485
that in hand, and consequently there is probably more money for rest-house building than is required. As time goes on, the charity will flow into other lines, no doubt, in addition. They will build and endow hospitals, they will devote money to higher education, they will spend money in many ways, not in what we usually call charity, for that they already do, nor in missions, as whatever missions they may send out will cost nothing. Holy men are those vowed to extreme poverty. But as their civilization (*their* civilization, not any imposed from outside) progresses, they will find out new wants for the rich to supply, and they will supply them. That is a mere question of material progress.

The inclination to charity is very strong. The 741
Burmans give in charity far more in proportion to their wealth than any other people. It is extraordinary how much they give, and you must remember that all of this is quite voluntary. With, I think, two or three exceptions, such as gilding the Shwe Dagon pagoda, collections are never made for any purpose. There is no committee of appeal, no organized collection. It is all given straight from the giver's heart. It is a very marvellous thing.

I remember long ago, shortly after I had come 565
to Burma, I was staying with a friend in Toungoo, and I went with him to the house of a Burman contractor. We had been out riding, and as we returned my friend said he wished to see the contractor about some business, and so we rode to his

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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565 house. He came out and asked us in, and we dismounted and went up the stairs into the veranda, and sat down. It was a little house built of wood, with three rooms. Behind was a little kitchen and a stable. The whole may have cost a thousand rupees. As my friend and the Burman talked of their business, I observed the furniture. There was very little; three or four chairs, two tables and a big box were all I could see. Inside, no doubt, were a few beds and more chairs. While we sat the wife and daughter came out and gave us cheroots, and I talked to them in my very limited Burmese till my friend was ready. Then we went away.

565 That contractor, so my friend told me as we
741 went home, made probably a profit of six or seven thousand rupees a year. He spent on himself about a thousand of this; the rest went in charity. The great new monastery school, with the marvellous carved façade, just to the south of the town, was his, the new rest-house on the mountain road far up in the hills was his. He supported many monks, he gave largely to the gilding of the pagoda. If a theatrical company came that way, he subscribed
[1886] freely. Soon he thought he would retire from contracting altogether, for he had enough to live on quietly for the rest of his life.

565 His action is no exception, but the rule. You
553 will find that every well-to-do man has built his pagoda or his monastery, and is called 'school-builder' or 'pagoda-builder.' These are the only titles the Burman knows, and they always are given most scrupulously. The builder of a bridge, a well,

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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565 or a rest-house may also receive the title of 'well-
553 builder,' and so on, but such titles are rarely used in common speech. Even the builder of a long shed for water-jars may call himself after it if he likes, but it is only big builders who receive any title from their fellows. But the satisfaction to the man himself, the knowledge that he has done a good deed, is much the same, I think.

741 A Burman's wants are very few, such wants as
181 money can supply—a little house, a sufficiency of
517 plain food, a cotton dress for weekdays, and a silk one for holidays, and that is nearly all.

You see, they are still a very young people. Many wants will come, perhaps, later on, but just now their desires are easily satisfied.

The Burman does not care for a big house, for there are always the great trees and the open spaces by the village. It is far pleasanter to sit out of doors than indoors. He does not care for books. He has what is better than many books—the life of his people all about him, and he has the eyes to see it and the heart to understand it. He cares not to see with other men's eyes, but with his own; he cares not to read other men's thoughts, but to think his own, for a love of books only comes to him who is shut always from the world by ill-health, by poverty, by circumstance. When we are poor and miserable, we like to read of those who are happier. When we are shut in towns, we love to read of the beauties of the hills. When we have no love in our hearts, we like to read of those who have. Few men who think their own thoughts care much to read the thoughts of others, for a man's

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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own thoughts are worth more to him than all the thoughts of all the world besides. That a man should think, that is a great thing. No great thinkers are at the same time great readers. And he who can live his life, what cares he for reading of the lives of other people? To have loved once is more than to have read all the poets that ever sang. So a Burman thinks. To see the moon rise on the river as you float along, while the boat rocks to and fro and someone talks to you, is not that better than any tale?

So a Burman lives his life, and he asks a great deal from it. He wants fresh air and sunshine, and the great thoughts that come to you in the forest. He wants love and companionship, the voice of friends, the low laugh of women, the delight of children. He wants his life to be a full one, and he wants leisure to teach his heart to enjoy all these things; for he knows that you must learn to enjoy yourself, that it does not always come naturally, that to be happy and good-natured and open-hearted requires an education. To learn to sympathize with your neighbours, to laugh with them and cry with them, you must not shut yourself away and work. His religion tells him that the first of all gifts is sympathy; it is the first step towards wisdom, and he holds it true. After that, all shall be added to you. He believes that happiness is the first of all things.

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We think differently. We are content with cheerless days, with an absence of love, of beauty, of all that is valuable to the heart, if we can but put away a little money, if we can enlarge our business,

Analysis

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The main active preventative measures are those of cleaning the body and the clothes. The Burmese seem to be fastidious in this regard. The boiling of water and food is a similar measure. However, there does not seem to be much concern with communal sanitary measures as practical in western countries. It is difficult to see a real difference in the standard of preventative measures in Camp as opposed to Pethwe. In effect, the individual standards are maintained and the communal ones remain as negative as previously.

The medical record as given by the family, though open to question as to accuracy in coming from laymen, does indicate a high incident of communicable diseases and apparent lack of deficiency disorders. The low incident of dysentery is surprising, but may not be accepted without question. The high incident of piles is interesting in suggesting a cultural disorder perhaps organically tied to the constant squat position. There appeared to be a greater incident of eyesores, chils, and skin diseases in the refugee camp - perhaps as a result of greater crowding in the the urban situation. Certainly the dust of Rangoon is an active hazard in this regard.

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Most of the family's medical care has been that of Burmese practitioners. Only 3 cases was western medicine used, and in two of these Burmese remedies were also used. Dr. Sheppard, ECA medical advisor, and Ko Mya Tu interviewed U Myaing for the purpose of finding out his reactions to western medicine. His increased contact with modern medicine in Rangoon has had an effect on his thought as seen in the interview below:

> U Myaing said: "In our practical experience we find that western medicine is more efficacious (than native Burmese medicines). I remember the woman whom you (Ko Mya Tu) came and gave injections to. She recovered at once and is now hale and hearty - the woman who lives in the shed near our place (in the refugee camp). She was stricken with dysentery. She was suffering from 11 o'clock at night till morning, when an ambulance was summoned by telephone to take her to the hospital. She was given injections and by noon she was feeling very much better. Burmese doctors take much longer. Some of them mix in western medicines with their own. If we were given the choice we would prefer western medicine because it takes effect quicker. I have seen one case of Burmese medicine succeeding where western medicine failed. This was a case of urinary trouble."

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

536* 178 791 554 profession of mediums, they could break away also from the tradition and conservatism of the spirit worshippers. They were outside the religion and outside the spirit worship. They were fettered by nothing. They were the only persons who could develop new ideas with regard to the *Nibhatkhin*. And they were the first to realize the possibilities of the new entertainment. Soon they had developed it into the Burmese equivalent of the English interlude.

536* 178 522 The professional dancers became actors. People were no longer satisfied with mere dancing and singing, for the *Nibhatkhin* had given them some taste of the dramatic scene. Therefore the dancers in the middle of their entertainment paused and gave a little scene, or rather a one-act play. The male dancer became the hero, the female dancer the heroine, and the other two or three dancers became minor characters. The clown had been long before borrowed from the *Nibhatkhin*, and he became a mimic-dancer attending on the others. For two reasons the scene was always the forest. First, it did not need much stage scenery, as the branch of a tree would be enough to indicate that the action was supposed to be taking place in a forest. Second, the journey through a forest by the hero and heroine made it possible for human beings and fairies, demons and gods, princes and commoners to meet and take part in various adventures and misadventures. Thus the Burmese interlude came into being.

536* 744 Perhaps it is not illogical to wonder whether there was an intermediary stage of development, whether there were plays comparable to the English morality plays, bridging the gap between the *Nibhatkhin* on the one hand and the Burmese interlude on the other. It is of course impossible to be certain with regard to the question, for no Burmese miracle play or interlude has come down to us in writing. I have said[1] that there are oral accounts regarding the *Nibhatkhin* and that entertainment which I have termed the interlude, and also written accounts regarding the latter. But there is absolutely no mention in those accounts of anything which could be termed the Burmese morality play. Yet, I venture to think that there must have been plays comparable to the English moralities. If it should be presumed that the interlude developed directly out of the *Nibhatkhin*, there would be a big gap between the two. I think that the professional actors first gave semi-religious plays in imitation of the *Nibhatkhin*. I think also that there were also plays actually dealing with abstract notions of morality and religion which formed the

[1] Introduction, pp. 7–10.

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
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subject of the English morality plays. Again and again we find 536* writers writing and actors saying in the prologue or epilogue that a 744 play represents but life in its various stages; as man begins in laughter and ends in misery and death, a play begins with the happiness of the hero and heroine, and then goes on to tell of their misery and parting. To the conservative Burmese Buddhist, professional acting was a sin, [779] and to get over the difficulty, the idea came into being that the play was only a species of preaching the religion. The existence of that idea perhaps supports my theory that there actually were plays dealing with morals which would favour the rise of such an idea. Perhaps the strongest evidence that there was a morality stage in the history of the development of Burmese drama is the existence of a popular play which has never been printed, but which is still sometimes acted. The play has no title. A rich miser marries a young wife and soon dies. The wife at once remarries. The miser now in Hell sues the wife and the new husband before the court of the governor of Hell, for the restitution of the property he had so patiently gathered and hoarded. There is a trial, and after hearing the arguments of both sides, the judge decides in favour of the young couple. The play ends with the judge moralizing on the emptiness and transitory nature of human riches. The play is quite crude and short, so that when presented today the actors have to lengthen the play to make it last the night. There is very little action, and the king of later dramas is absent. The names of the characters are general and abstract; Mister Miserly, Mistress Wife, Master New Husband, and Death (who takes the old husband to Hell).

The interlude was extremely popular, and at the court, at the houses 536* of officials (the Burmese had no hereditary nobility, and the officials [565] were the nobles) and at public feasts and festivals the interlude was presented. The importance of the interlude in the development of Burmese drama is great, but the importance of the professional actors who first presented the interlude in the development of the acting profession and stage conventions is even greater. The fact that the [554] original members of the profession were outside the social pale caused all actors and actresses to be looked down upon; that fact explains why in an essentially democratic society it was said with contempt that 'beggars and actors, they are the eaters of food thrown away as waste'.[1] [538]

[1] The stage conventions and the acting profession are described in detail in chap. vii.

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

CHAPTER I

FIRST YEARS

It is fortunate for the young Burman that on his first 844
appearance in the world all attention is directed to the mother, and the "little stranger" is left very much to himself till he has attained a stronger vitality. Were it not [822
so, the rival parties of the Dietists and Druggists might [751]
quarrel over the relative quantities of the four elements, fire, air, earth, and water, composing the new arrival, and diet and dose him out of existence immediately, in a heroic attempt to attain an equilibrium of forces. The mother indeed is the major point of interest in all countries, but childbirth nowhere entails such penalties as in Burma. Directly the child is born, the mother is rubbed all over with na-nwin (turmeric), and a big fire is lighted as near as the construction of the wooden or bamboo house permits, while rugs and blankets are heaped over her to the extent of the possessions of the family. As speedily as possible the midwife prepares a draught called se sein (green medicine), the composition of which is a tradition with the Wun-swès, and is kept a secret from inquisitive males.
This the victim in bed has to drink perpetually during seven 846
days, and for the same period, irrespective of the blankets and the time of year, is heated up with ôk pu. These are big circular or lozenge-shaped bricks. They are heated blazing hot in the wood fire, dropped for a few seconds into a pot full of water, and then wrapped up in cloths and applied to the body of the mother. In addition to this, doses of turmeric are regularly administered, and every now and then

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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Shan AP11

while nats, bilus, and compound animals called tiger-bilus are also frequent. Each representation is surrounded by a roughly oval tracery of a variety of letters of the alphabet, which form a curious and remarkably effective frame. Thus each animal has a setting of its own. Vacant spaces are filled up in a similar way, and the top and bottom are finished off with a scolloped line. Sometimes these letters are asserted to have a cabalistic meaning, but ordinarily no greater virtue is claimed for them than that of beauty. Mystic squares and ladder-step triangles of serious import are often added in vacant spaces, but all the more important and valid charms are reserved for other parts of the body and for special execution, usually too in vermilion. The old style, and that which prevails still in jungle districts, was to cover every available piece of skin with tracery, so that the figures became blurred and indistinct, and on a dark skin grown old were practically not visible without careful examination, which, considering the portion of the body, was embarrassing to both parties. The newer style, and that specially affected by those with a white skin, is to sacrifice mass of colour to distinctness of outline. The best sayās carry about sample-books with them containing clever drawings, from which the aspirant may select the patterns he likes best, and mark their relative positions before he takes the opium. But tigers, cats, monkeys, and bilus always predominate. To fill up space, and for greater certainty, the name of the animal is often added in the figure, after the style of juvenile art on slates, or with a piece of chalk on blank hoardings.

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The Shans tattoo even more extensively than the Burmans. The figures are carried down well over the calf of the leg and above the navel, while from the upper line tattooed rays run up to the chest and at the back, after the fashion of a rising sun, almost to the nape of the neck. Sometimes the retainers of the Sawbwas, or Shan chiefs, had every part of the body except the palms of the hands and the soles of the feet tattooed. Even the face was covered with the dark-blue markings. Mostly all the men who tattoo charms and cabalistic figures are Shans. They claim and are allowed a special skill in such matters, and as

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they mutter spells and incomprehensible incantations over the "medicine," are looked up to with profound belief and a very considerable deal of awe.

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The tattooing on the loins and legs is universal with all Burmans, and nothing more is ordinarily required; but there are very few who have not charms of some kind tattooed on the arms, back, chest, or even on the top of the head, which is shaved for the purpose. These figures are of all kinds—lizards, birds, mystic words and squares, rings, images of the Buddha, and sometimes merely a few scattered dots, the latter especially on the face, between the eyes, over the ears, or on the chin. The colouring matter is almost always vermilion, with drugs and solutions, according to requirement, mingled with it. The blue dye from the lampblack never disappears, but the red colour of the vermilion gradually fades away and vanishes. Nevertheless figures of this kind, more or less distinct, are to be found on Burmans of all ages, so great is the national superstition. Even the town youths, whose limbs are smooth and "unbreeched" as a girl's, are never without some charms of this kind, if it is only the a-nu se, which enables a man to gain the woman he loves. This "drug of tenderness" is composed of vermilion mixed with a variety of herbs and curious things, prominent among which is the bruised, dry skin of the tauktè, the trout-spotted gekko, whose sonorous cry and fidelity to the house where he establishes himself and brings luck, are well known to all who have visited Burma or Siam. It is very sparingly used, a few round spots arranged in the shape of a triangle being of sufficient virtue to ensure the object aimed at. The commonest place for them is between the eyes, but occasionally the se sayā recommends the lips, or even the tongue, and his advice is always followed. This is the only tattooing which women ever have executed on them, and there are not many of them who have it done. The patient is usually a love-sick maiden who is afraid the object of her affection will escape from her, or a girl whom rolling years warn that she must be quick if she would not be condemned to remain an a-pyo heing, an old maid. Except in very desperate cases, however, they always manage to persuade the operator to place the charm on some part of the

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2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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body where it will not be visible. If it is not effectual, there is always open to them the signal afforded by kindly national custom to maidens longing for a mate. They cut off the lappets of hair, the bya-bazan, hanging over the ears, and the significance is the same as the white heather of the language of flowers, "heart for sale." In Rangoon the tattooing of a woman has a special signification, not recognised elsewhere. It means that she wants an Englishman for a husband. Poor thing!

Another very universal kind of tattooing is that with a-hpi se. Almost every schoolboy in the country has a specimen of this on him, for does it not prevent him from feeling the pain when he is caned? No amount of falsified hopes in the experience of friends will persuade him that it may not be effectual in his case, and a flogging is often courted as an immediate test of its efficacy. Pride repels the inquiries of chums as to the results, but the experimenter is usually very well behaved for some time. In the case of older men the a-hpi se acts as a talisman against bullets, sword cuts, and ills of that kind. Allied to this are the thenat hpi, which soldiers and dacoits carry about with them. These are the horns of buffaloes and other animals, which may be plain, but are usually elaborately carved with figures according to fancy. They must be quite solid down to the root. A hollow or flaw of any kind deprives them of their virtue. While the man has such a talisman in his hands he cannot be killed. A monkey is a very favourite image to have carved in this way on a sword or dagger hilt, the reference being to the tale of the Ramayana. Of a similar nature are talismans which are especially used by soldiers and dacoits. These hkaung-beit-set are charmed or consecrated objects let into the flesh under the skin. They are of various kinds. Some are gold, silver, or lead; others curious pebbles, pieces of tortoise-shell, or bits of horn, all of them with incantations of mystic character written on them. Many famed dacoits have long rows and curves of them over the chest, showing in little knobs through the skin. When they get into English prisons, an energetic jailer has been known to cut them out, lest they should be pieces of gold or silver, or perhaps precious stones, with which the turnkeys

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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might be bribed. The usual result is to break the robber's spirit. Once the continuity is interrupted the consecration is gone. More peaceable people wear necklaces or bracelets of such talismans in the belief that they are thus proof against malignant witches and necromancers. Most Englishmen in Burma, who are on friendly terms with the people, have been asked to test the virtue of such a charm, by firing at it tied up in a handkerchief. If the incantation is valid the handkerchief will be unharmed, though the muzzle of the pistol be held up to it. In such a case the pistol will burst.

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Another kind of tattooing is the mwe se, which guards against danger from snake bite. Similarly the a-kwè a-k the shielding, or defending drug, renders harmless the spells of wizards and geomancers, and keeps far away evil spirits of every kind. But the most hideous and weird of the superstitions about tattooing is that connected with the a-kyan se. There are but very few sayās who are acquainted with the necessary drugs and incantations, and fewer people still who have the courage to submit to the operation, for many men are pointed out whose minds have given way under the gruesome process, and who wander about graveyards, gnashing their teeth and fumbling about for human bones to gnaw and mouth. And no wonder, for some tattooers make them chew the raw flesh of a man who has been hanged, while the figure is being tattooed on the breast. Those who go through the operation are called Baw-di-tha-da. Some become Baw-di-tha-da without knowing it, and without the sickening necessity of mumbling human flesh like a ghoul. I knew an instance in a monastery. The patient was a boarder about fourteen years of age. A Shan tattooer wandering about the country spent a couple of nights in the kyaung, and the boy, attracted by the fellow's eerie tales, managed to save up a good many titbits for him from the food going in the monastery. Out of gratitude, and having nothing better to give him, for he was very poor and homeless, the sayā tattooed on the lad a figure with singular drugs, muttering queer phrases the while. Then he went away saying no more than that it would make the boy very strong. In about a month's time the boarder displayed unmistakable signs of being a Baw-di-tha-da. He

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

leapt enormous heights in the air, jumped about and ran at random, carried with the utmost ease things which no one else could move. The abbot locked him up in a sadaik, the box in which the palm-leaf manuscripts were kept; he got out without injuring the lock in any way, sprang on to the roof of the monastery, forty feet high, and turned a somersault to the ground without hurting himself in the least. He had been a boy of very soft, easy temper, and now he became fiery and uncertain, and with his vast strength, very dangerous. He only calmed down when a monk preached the law to him. He was constantly doing marvellous things; one day he walked across the river in front of the monastery, holding a monk's ôk, or food vessel, in his hands. The depth of the water was over six fathoms, but it did not reach higher than his waist. On another occasion a tree which was being cut down fell on him. He sank into the ground and came forth quite uninjured. After some years his parents took him to Magwe in Upper Burma. There he fell into bad courses and became a dacoit. This was terrible for his family in a special way, because in native territory if they cannot catch the dacoit they seize all his friends and relations and put them in jail till they can get hold of the real culprit, and no one can lay hands on a Baw-di-tha-da. At last, however, he was restored to his right mind. A holy ascetic came across him, soothed him with the payeit gyi, and then with a rusty nail and sacred medicines, tattooed out the figure put on with such lamentable results by the Shan sayā. The quondam Baw-di-tha-da is now a staid and respected broker in the employ of one of the best-known English rice firms in Rangoon. He was fortunate; most Baw-di-tha-das have to be killed in their sleep.

304 754 [681] [792]

But though Baw-di-tha-das are very rare, charmed tattooing is not, and there are some fast young men who seem almost to make picture galleries of themselves with emblems and patterns all over their chests, arms, backs, and the calves of their legs. The colour gradually dies away until at last nothing remains but the blue breeches. These really look well, and they last a man to his dying day.

304 751

The following recipes and formulæ to be repeated

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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certain stones called amadé, said to be found in the 751
heads of birds, in trees, and in animals, are highly prized 787
as amulets. They will guard from musket shots, or sword thrusts, from painful blows, or evil spirits. Hmaw sayās always have them. When they are placed on a child's face, or introduced into any one's blood, nat thwin thi, they introduce a spirit. The person so possessed falls into a trance, and may be questioned as to the doings of any other evil spirits in the neighbourhood.

Letters, placed in the magic squares and triangular "in" 751
are la-gyi, na-gyi, ka-gyi, ga-gyi (great *l*, great *n*, great *k*, 304
and great *g*). Other very powerful s'ma, as these tattooed letters are called, are "round" sa, wa, la, and "bottom-indented" da. The arm is a favourite place for them.

The belief of every Burman in the efficacy of these tattooed charms is practically ineradicable. In 1881, in Rangoon, a young man had the figure of the great Peguan byaing, the "paddy-bird," a species of egret, tattooed upon him. This was to be as efficacious in preserving him from drowning as a child's caul used to be considered by British sailors. When it was finished, he suggested that an immediate experiment should be made. Accordingly his hands and feet were tied, and he was tossed over the side of a boat into the river. The under-currents in the Rangoon river are very dangerous, and the poor fellow was never seen again. The tattooers, master and assistant, were brought up on a charge of murder, and convicted of manslaughter, but the great mass of the Burman population thought they were very hardly treated, and that the fact of an unlucky side-wind, some mischance in the calculation from the horoscope, the machinations of an evil-disposed person against the deceased, or something of that kind, which had caused the lamentable issue, ought never to have led to the conviction of the skilled sayās. That they were charlatans was never once hinted.

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

The monks are perhaps

276 792 the most persistent chewers of the good betel. Smoking is prohibited, but nothing is said against betel, and it is considered a great stimulator of the meditative faculties. The lime used very speedily corrodes and destroys the teeth, and then the old pôngyi has to make the scholars crush up the nuts so that they may not hurt his toothless gums. It is a common belief that no one can speak Burmese well till he chews betel. Demosthenes is said to have put pebbles in his mouth when he was practising oratory.

517 515 302 Alternate smoking, chewing, and conversation serve to pass the day, and after dinner, when the sun goes down, our villager has a bath down by the well to freshen him up. The water is drawn up in a bucket and simply poured over the body. Soap is never used, and particular care is taken not to wet the hair. The head washing is a special ceremony, to be gone through only occasionally, and then with circumspection. Dandies, as a rule, put a solution of rice and water on their hair every day to make it grow long, and cocoanut oil is also very generally used. Both sexes are proud of the length of their hair, and it is not uncommon to see it reaching below the knee and down to the ankles. The men wear it in a yaung or knot on the top of the head, while the sadôn of the women is at the back of the head. Both men and women are in the habit of adding to its size by interweaving false tresses, which are easily got, seeing that everybody has black hair, and that some young member of the family is constantly getting his locks cut off on his entry into the monastery. There is no more sense of shame in using false hair than there is in improving the appearance by wearing fine clothes. At his bath it is usual for a pious [751] person to repeat a Pali charm over the first bucket of water, which is then slowly poured over the body. The object of this is to guard against sickness.

517 514 291 After bathing, the Burman, if he is young, usually puts on his fine clothes, for except in the rainy season there is sure to be a dramatic performance, or a yein dance by the village lads and lasses, or an entertainment of some kind going on at some house in the village. The dress is very simple and picturesque. The paso is a long silk cloth, fifteen cubits long and about two and a half wide. It is

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

—no doubt owing to the diversion of mind produced by banging away on the top of your roof, and the confidence and hope which the operation induces. Moreover, so much damage is done to the house itself that repairs take some time, which also serves to keep the mind occupied. 000

When the thayè tôpthi is over, the people return to their houses, where the pots with their consecrated contents are. The yellow string is unwound from the sticks and divided into lengths. Some people hang it all round the eaves of the house in little bags, others tie pieces of it round the left wrist, more especially those who go about much. At a time when there is cholera about, most of the young men may be seen with these wristlets. A Rangoon clerk detected wearing one colours with annoyance, and says his parents made him put it on. He very probably throws it away, but the same night he will have a fresh piece on. The thread is coloured with dye obtained from the wood of the jack-tree, the same which supplies the colouring matter for the monkish garments. The thabye bin leaves are kept in the pot, or scattered about the house. The tree is particularly highly esteemed by the Burmese. A species of it, the thabu thabye bin (the Malay apple, *Eugenia malaccensis*), is celebrated as the largest tree in the island which lies to the south of Mount Myinmo. Sprigs and leaves of the thabye bin are cut, prayers and supplications for absent friends and relatives offered up before them, and then the twig is thrown into a pot of water. A song has been composed about the tree itself, and is one of the most popular of those that do not belong to the category of love-songs. The jester in a play has always an unfailing draw when, wishing to testify his regard for some one, he declares he has cut down an entire thabye bin and thrown it into the river that his friend may enjoy good health. The joke lies in the contrast between this and the couple of leaves in a small pot used by people ordinarily. 755 751 [386] [522]

It might have been expected that contact with English civilisation and doctors would have put an end to the riotous absurdity of the thayè tôpthi; but it has not by any means. In fact the house-beating goes on more vigorously in Rangoon and the larger district towns than elsewhere. This is 757

14: Brant E-5 (1949-50) 1954 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

of milk. She is not permitted to read, sew, or to do anything that will 'arouse or stir the blood.' 846

Omens are read from the position of mongoloid spots on the newborn baby's body. They are said to represent marks put on in a previous existence and their presence proves that the child was then a human being. A blue spot on the foot presages a life of travel. Any marks leading from the right shoulder to the left hip, the line that the royal riband takes, traditionally indicated a royal future; today, however, in the absence of royalty in Burma, such marks merely forecast a 'great' future for the child. 787 845

A child is constantly watched from the time of birth for signs of whose reincarnation it represents. This is a constant topic in the family conversations. 775

Any disfigurement in a newborn child is regarded as a carry-over of the parents' store of demerit, as well as the child's, from earlier existences. It is regarded with a sense of shame and sorrow.

Although multiple births are neither preferred nor desired, they are not looked upon with any marked anxiety nor are there any supernatural means employed to prevent them. 854 751

A number of things are done by parents to protect the newborn baby from malevolent influences. Before it is a month old, a tiger bone should be ground on a stone, together with a little water, and mixed with honey. This is fed to the child to ward off a mysterious infant illness associated with the tiger. A connection is believed to exist between the tiger and convulsions; some parents place a tiger skin under the mattress of the baby's bed to guard against such illness. A knife similarly placed is said to protect against illness in general.

To insure good health and well-being for the child, a white thread over which certain prayers have been recited may be given by a Buddhist monk and tied around the baby's wrists. People should refrain from making admiring remarks about a baby's growth; if they do so, the thread may be left on the baby's wrists to neutralize the harm that may come.

When the stump of the child's umbilical cord has dried and fallen off, it is kept and used as a medicine for any illness that befalls the child. A little of it is ground up and mixed with water for such purposes. [846]

A very close connection is believed to exist between mother and child during the nursing period. Certain observances are necessary. The mother must not eat tomatoes at this time, for they may appear in the baby's stools; for the same reason, she must abstain from green vegetables. Any falling out of her hair during the nursing stage is said to be caused by bubbles blown into her by the suckling baby. To prevent the milk supply from drying up, the nursing mother avoids fruits of astringent quality, such as pomegranates and buds of the banyan. She must also take care not to allow milk to fall on the floor and dry. 853

The baby is weaned very gradually, beginning at the age of about nine months to a year in most cases, although some children may be given the breat occasionally up to the age of two or three years. Weaning is facilitated by the mother's application of a bitter substance to her breasts. 862

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1893 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

721 threatened, of how he was sure they would murder
634 him some time, because he had joined us. 'They are sure to kill me some time,' he said. He seemed sad and depressed, not afraid.

So we talked on, and I asked him about charms. 'Are there not charms that will prevent you being hurt if you are hit, and that will not allow a sword to cut you? We hear of invulnerable men. There were the Immortals of the King's Guard, for instance.'

721 And he said, yes, there were charms, but no one
751 believed in them except the villagers. He did not, nor did men of education. Of course, the ignorant people believed in them. There were several sorts of charms. You could be tattooed with certain mystic letters that were said to insure you against being hit, and there were certain medicines you could drink. There were also charms made out of stone, such as a little tortoise he had once seen that was said to protect its wearer. There were mysterious writings on palm-leaves. There were men, he said vaguely, who knew how to make these things. For himself, he did not believe in them.

779 I tried to learn from him then, and I have tried
751 from others since, whether these charms have any connection with Buddhism. I cannot find that they have. They are never in the form of images of the Buddha, or of extracts from the sacred writings. There is not, so far as I can make out, any religious significance in these charms; mostly they are simply mysterious. I never heard that the people connect them with their religion. Indeed, all forms of enchantment and of charms are most strictly prohibited.

304 The custom is dying out today; but, in the villages, the teen-age boy
562 frequently, on the encouragement of their family submit to the tattoo-
178 ing of a small area on the thigh. These decorations seen when the longyis are wrapped high were regarded as essential and those without them were openly criticised.

[751] A second type of tattooing consisting of potent symbols were, as still are, placed on the inner arm, back, or high forehead as a means of magical protection against harm. Snake, knife, cudgel and bullet proof motifs are common. Young girls frequently have the inner arm tattooed with such a charm.

838 Homo-sexuals are known as MEIN MA SHA ("woman-half") and are
826 recognised by their effeminate gestures, "pretty" locks and clothing. They frequently wear THANAKHA face powder, tie their longyis in a simple tucked-in fold, and wear jewelry like the women. They are rare in villages but have banded together into a society in Rangoon. They appear to be tolerated but are scorned.

It is believed that individuals known as MEIN-TWE-PON-LAIN-HNEH-PON-LAIN ("Female sex- 2 sexes") exist . These persons are supposed to be alternately a man for one month, and a woman for the following [775] month in a complete process of transformation. Both the MEIN MA SHA and these individuals result from illicit seduction activities in a previous existence - the MEIN MA SHA being the less sinful of the two

792 The PONGYI dress consist of orange cotton cloth - one garment
291 being a longyi with a folled tie at the waist; the other a wide band
293 draped as a robe. When begging the PONGYIS have a special arrangement of the robe which wraps the left arm and covers the neck region. The nuns wear a robe garment over a long sleeved KINGYI jacket of the same colour. They are frequently seen with a scarf folded on the head. Both orders carry orange-cloth (lacquered) parasols on long bamboo shafts, a string of beads and large palm leaf fans. The Pongyis carry leather bags suspended on a shoulder strap for personal effects. PONGYI slippers have a square toe, are made of stiff leather with reinforced soles.

[887] Religious women (including old women) wear chocolate coloured HTAMEINS, KINGYIS and carry a PUNA (a narrow scarf 4 or 5 feet in

Analysis

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The main active preventative measures are those of cleaning the body and the clothes. The Burmese seem to be fastidious in this regard. The boiling of water and food is a similar measure. However, there does not seem to be much concern with communal sanitary measures as practical in western countries. It is difficult to see a real difference in the standard of preventative measures in Camp as opposed to Pathwe. In effect, the individual standards are maintained and the communal ones remain as negative as previously.

The medical record as given by the family, though open to question as to accuracy in coming from laymen, does indicate a high incident of communicable diseases and apparent lack of deficiency disorders. The low incident of dysentery is surprising, but may not be accepted without question. The high incident of piles is interesting in suggesting a cultural disorder perhaps organically tied to the constant squat position. There appeared to be a greater incident of eyesores, chlis, and skin diseases in the refugee camp - perhaps as a result of greater crowding in the the urban situation. Certainly the dust of Rangoon is an active hazard in this regard.

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Most of the family's medical care has been that of Burmese practitioners. Only 3 cases was western medicine used, and in two of these Burmese remedies were also used. Dr. Sheppard, ECA medical advisor, and Ko Mya Tu interviewed U Myaing for the purpose of finding out his reactions to western medicine. His increased contact with modern medicine in Rangoon has had an effect on his thought as seen in the interview below:

> U Myaing said: "In our practical experience we find that western medicine is more efficacious (than native Burmese medicine). I remember the woman whom you (Ko Mya Tu) came and gave injections to. She recovered at once and is now hale and hearty - the woman who lives in the shed near our place (in the refugee camp). She was stricken with dysentery. She was suffering from 11 o'clock at night till morning, when an ambulance was summoned by telephone to take her to the hospital. She was given injections and by noon she was feeling very much better. Burmese doctors take much longer. Some of them mix in western medicines with their own. If we were given the choice we would prefer western medicine because it takes effect quicker. I have seen one case of Burmese medicine succeeding where western medicine failed. This was a case of urinary trouble."

753 The concept of KAMMA (fate) is important only in determining
777 the general well-being of the individual, as seen in Daw Aw Zar's
262 belief that her general good health was due to a morally-lived previous existence. "It is like a shadow". Some specific situations like being born blind is attributed to one's KAMMA - in this case the person had been a notorious fighter of cocks in the previous existence; cocks being frequently blinded in the fights.

Each person is regarded as subject to some special disorder or weakness such as being especially subject to colds or headaches, or stomach troubles. Collectively these are referred to as "age-group" weaknesses. (MIYAT - girls' weakness; DULAH - boys' weaknesses.) But this is due to childhood illnesses and neglect of early troubles rather than KAMMA. Persons with the weaknesses noted above avoid cucumbers (a "cold" vegetable), or hot foods including liquor (these cause greater heat to rise to the head), or green or raw vegetables (hard to digest). The choice of the correct diet to suit one's particular condition is important.

●751 Bodily exercise is a prime consideration for health. Calli-
526 thenics or sports for this purpose are unknown or unrecognized and by
461 " healthful exercise " is meant everyday work activities. Regular
757 daily motion is regarded as necessary for health, and a purgative is
514 taken regularly once a month. The idea is to " clean out disease ". Purgatives are taken first in most sicknesses. This is followed by drinking preparations in hot water to induce perspiration along with woolen blankets. The colour of the urine is checked "daily" since a too yellow colour indicates an unhealthy condition. If so - one must drink additional quantities of water and coconut water. "Urine takes the place of perspiration in cold weather". Over-working and lack of sleep also can lead to unhealthiness. The ideal
[593] sleep period is from 8 p.m. to 6 a.m. with a nap thrown in from 12 to 2 after "breakfast".

158 Too much worrying SAY-TAUNG-LO-KOJEH (mind-beating-because-
753 body-crush) leads to sickness. This is a common problem for mothers who worry about their children's futures. It results in THEHJEH-PYEIEH (small black bitter (gall)-disorder) where the gall fluid is

recognized as over-stimulated by anxieties. "Don't talk my gall into disorder" is a common reaction to calamity tales. 158 753

The weather is important is maintaining health. Changeable weather as during the late part of the Monsoon season is generally unhealthy and gives rise to pulmonary disorders. One should provide head protection (through covering or shade from umbrella) from the sun's rays - which cause headaches by melting the brain. Colds come from getting wet in the rain resulting from the lack of sufficient bodily heat. MIEH HNGME (earth-vapour) which rises as a steam in the early morning or after sudden rains is unhealthful in causing sore eyes and other inflamations. The "steam of the body" healthfully goes out in ordinary bathing and adds to one's comfort. Heat is a key factor in health and sickness being readily discerned as causes of local or general infection. The additional concept of "like producing like" helps explain the above beliefs. 753 132

The odor of AH HNYAW (fried food) is especially dangerous to babies and persons in a weakened condition. When frying, which will create extensive fumes, is to be undertaken the cook must give warning to the neighbourhood so that susceptible ones can be protected. Such persons take refuge behind the thick, cloth mosquito nets. Many heated arguments take place in our servants' quarters when the Indian fried food fumes carry over to the Burmese apartments. It is observed that this danger applies peculiarly to the Burmese - Chinese are also exempt since they are seen to cook with babies strapped on their backs. [252] [186]

Parts of the body are cared for with special ingredients. The eyes are cleaned with pure water or coconut water. Oil is frequently dropped into the ears through a feather quill. The mouth and teeth are cleaned with salt. Bitter foods keep keep the stomach fit. 515 751

Babies up to 1 year are fed on mother's milk or cow's milk. After one, rice chewed by the mother "to make it digestible" is added with some dried fish. After two, the child can chew its own rice, have a little meat, but no hot condiments. After five the child eats the same foods as the adults but is not allowed sour foods as this will "lessen the weight". After 16 or 17, this restriction is 853 561 262

776 of the villagers. The head-nat, the guardian of the village, replies
753 with accusations that "the whole village has forgotten me", boasts of
688 his powers to punish and is finally mollified. In Rangoon there are
672 professional nat-givers who parade the streets with a cart bearing the
782 image of "the conqueror of the salty waters" (special nat of entrepre-
[463] neurs). For a few annas he will make offerings to the nat and relieve the busy townspeople of this task.

776 The arrangement is a mutual one where the people enjoy freedom
782 from oppressions in return for certain concessions. This phenomenon closely parallels the traditional relationship between the rulers and the ruled in Burma. In a real sense the nat concept serves the function of allowing the Burmese a sense of control over catastrophic forces which do not fall into any other system (as secular, political,
[177] personal relationships, cosmology.). It is this system of controls that the western scientific system most immediately competes with. The administrative and entrepreneur class of Burmese especially in Rangoon say they "Do not believe" in nats. But it is usual for most individuals no matter what their western background to apply to nats in cases of ill fortune "just in case".

775 THAYEH (Ghosts) generally are a group of supernatural spirits closely related to nats in their origins but with a different set of properties. These are "recently" deceased individuals whose crimes and sins while on earth or manner of death condemn them to an eternity of wandering and mischief-making. Actually, each person becomes a ghost at death but is ordinarily released from earth at the moment of the interment of the corpse for judgement in heaven. Those who die of
[761] "raw death" become ghosts. These include: death in childbirth, by wild animals (especially tigers), instant deaths by dahs as in warfare, or by hanging. In Maung Maung Than's village a prominent ghost is U Ne Gyi (Mr. Blacky) a very sinful fellow who lived 50 or 60 years ago in the village. His complexion is quite black and horribly distorted. He inhabits a banyan tree and specializes in causing infant illness. Offerings of rice at the tree pacifies him. Ghosts are forces for evil only - evil of the more irritating and less important kind.
751 Older people wear red and white coloured strings about their necks as a protection against ghost evils. It is very common to wear a LET-PWET

(arm-tie) charm consisting of a small metal tube bound about the upper 751 ●
arm or neck and containing an inscription written by a pongyi on silver
or aluminum foil. Once a year, after new years (in March), a PAYA- 775
YUDA (prayer-recite) ceremony is held. At this time pongyis recite 792
the precepts of Buddha for the benefit of the ghosts - who "become 755
hot and run away". Younger people, especially children, are susceptible to being possessed by ghosts. At this time they "throw fits" and are uncontrolable. Under the supervision of a pongyi the ghost is cast out by means of threats and beatings administered to the person of the possessed one. Beatings are severe and continuous often lasting an hour, until the ghost says he is "afraid" and departs. The possessed one, thus cured, does not later complain of rough treatment since this is borne by the invading ghost. Perhaps this relates to the less formulated, "nameless horrors" of unseen and unaccountable forces that cause otherwise unexplainable events - which concept pervades much of western thought to this day.

A major difference between nats and ghosts is that ghosts cause 775
only harm while nats are ordinarily beneficial in the manner described 776
above. Ghosts may also be controlled for evil purposes against 789
individuals in a variety of black magic. The specialists in black 791
magic are PAH-YOH-GA-SAYA (influence-masters) of black magic or "lower
root", (hell-evil), who administer the evil influence - "upper root" (heaven) masters combat the "lower root evil". Witches also have personal magic powers that allow them to cause harm to an individual by introducing foreign matter such as lumps of meat, hair balls, into the body of the victim. It is never known for sure who the witches are but old women of peculiar habits, and especially of the fishermen's [463]
group, are suspected. Such individuals are considered generally malivalent and special precautions are needed to avoid offending them. The influence masters, however, are well known and receive gift-fees for performing services either of causing or controlling black magic influences. Both groups, but especially the influence masters of the lower root control ghosts for their purposes.

A major means of securing control of a ghost or "ghost-rearing" 775
is to get the finger bone of a recently deceased person who died a 789
"raw death". Incantations said over the bone insures the obedience of

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

536* part, although there was no stage convention preventing women from
534 taking it up as a vocation. The head of the orchestra was also the
462 head of the troupe. He was the most learned and experienced
463 member, and he was responsible for the organization and financial outlay, paying more or less fixed wages to the others, and taking the profits himself. When engaged for a performance, the troupe was paid by public subscription or by some philanthropic person, usually an official, and therefore no charge for admission was made, all being
[565] welcome to it. The Burmese actors as a class, unlike their Elizabethan counterparts who could endow a College of God's Gift or buy a coat-of-arms, were poor. But they never starved, for even the poorest villages would welcome and feed them on their wanderings all over the country. The troupe was one large family, and the children of the members accompanied it. In spite of the prejudice against them and their poverty, the actors loved their art, and enjoyed the performances themselves.

536* There were many conventions connected with the stage, and they can be divided into two classes: those imposed on the actors by themselves, and those imposed by the fear of becoming unpopular with the audience.

795 The actors never forgot that they were originally spirit-dancers,
536* and therefore they had conventions by which they showed their indebtedness to spirit worship. Before the performance offerings of food were made to the thirty-seven *nats*. As a curtain-raiser, there was a performance by a dancer or chorus of dancers. Each wore a red
[533] cloth round the head—the sign of a spirit worshipper. Singing invocations to the *nats* and dancing the appropriate dances, they asked for protection by the spirits, while the orchestra played a bar from each of the thirty-seven *nat* tunes. It was supposed that if this convention
[751] was broken, disaster would befall the troupe, the performance would prove a failure, and the actors would become mad; but often these conventions had been known to be broken, accidentally or otherwise.

536* The actors were looked upon as irreligious and immoral, and on
463 the slightest excuse, they were in danger of being considered profane.
554 Therefore, as has been stated, they took over the conventions from the *Nibhathkin*. The Buddha was never impersonated, and an *arahat*
[779] or saint only when absolutely necessary, and then by an able and 'serious' actor, who had to keep a fast that day. Not even a mild joke was to be made against the Buddha or an *arahat*, although even monks and the religion itself could be the butt of a clown's wit. But

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

536* 539* a man, I am a prince of valour. I must not be afraid. Come on, lad, care not for guns and swords and spears. Jump over the wall, risk your life. Do and dare. Steel yourself. My lord of the orchestra, play me a short encouragement to climb the wall.

[*The orchestra plays and stops.*]

KING. That man has some valour and some strength. He is trying to scale the wall. He is a nightman, a robber, a thief. If he is brave, I will be brave too. I will capture him single-handed, without using any weapon. As wax is subdued by fire, our friend of the night will be subdued by his king. My lord of the orchestra, make ready to help me, the king. [*The orchestra plays and stops.*]

PARPAHEIN. Come on, friend, scale this fort. Jump on to the wall. [751] Though it is high and well-guarded with spikes and all, I have the ability to negotiate it. I have a magic needle in my arm, I have on me the neck of a wild bird, the hair of a cockroach, the wing of a peacock, the intestines of a cat, the right arm of an alchemist who died in his laboratory just as he was going to become a *zawgyee*, a multi-coloured pumpkin. I have on my body tattooed pictures of a monkey, a lizard, and an ogre. They will help me to conquer this mighty wall.[1] O master of the orchestra, make ready to help me to win. [*The orchestra plays and stops.*]

KING. That person probably possesses some charm to be able to climb the wall. Well, the might of a king's body can match any charm. I will conquer him without any weapon, with my right arm only. My lord of the orchestra, help me to follow him.

met the king, proclaimed him hero; it came out at the trial that all the proceeds of the raids were spent wholly on the poor and in building pagodas; he and the king had learnt to admire each other, as during the raids they risked their lives together many a time; his cynical sense of humour, his respectful but fearless demeanour at the trial—all these factors combined together to win him his pardon. He later became a minister and led many warlike expeditions, and was much loved and respected.

The reference results in dramatic irony, for Parpahein does not realize that he is more like Ngatetpya than he imagines as he also is going to meet the king in disguise.

[1] All charms supposed to give their possessor great physical strength, and make him immune from injury.

23: Brant & Mi Mi Khaing E, I-5 (1949-1950)1951
AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

quite frequently help in rearing their grandchildren, telling them stories and 603
teaching them the Buddhist scriptures.

THE LIFE CYCLE OF THE INDIVIDUAL

Birth and Infancy. When a woman is pregnant her dreams are considered 843
especially significant. She is expected to remember those of her dreams that con- 787
cern what her child will be like. The welfare of the child is forecast by some dreams: a dream of only one of things that normally are paired, such as earrings, bodes ill, possibly death, of the child in infancy; a dream of her viscera coming out indicates a great future for the child. Persistent dreams of a particular deceased individual are indicative of whose reincarnation the child will represent. In all forebodings of ill the normal counter-measure is to consult a Buddhist [751]
monk or an astrologer, who may give the prospective mother an inscribed *mantra* (prayer) to keep or some amulet for the child to wear as protection.

Although the Burmese woman need not avoid any specific foods during her [262]
pregnancy, strong spices are regarded as harmful.

No supernatural means are employed to influence the sex of the prospective offspring. Certain signs are considered prognosticative: if the pregant woman's stomach is pointed, a boy will be born, whereas a broad, flat stomach indicates a girl is in prospect.

Pregnancy among the Burmese is considered a time of great happiness; the woman is greatly indulged and pampered by all concerned.

When the time for delivery approaches any other pregnant women in the 844
household must depart, lest their presence impede labor. Usually the woman's mother, grandmother, or aunt, in addition to a midwife, assists at birth. A fire is prepared in the room in which delivery is to take place and is maintained for ten days.

As soon as delivery has occurred, the umbilical cord is cut with a bamboo 846
knife. The afterbirth is wrapped in the new mother's skirt and is buried at once in the cardinal direction associated with the day of the week of the baby's birth. The mother is fed an infusion of turmeric, and turmeric paste is rubbed all over her body. She is kept close to the nearby fire and made very warm. For three days she is carefully watched to prevent her from sleeping heavily in daylight hours.

The new mother is treated as a delicate invalid for about a month and, in [262]
some cases, for as long as three months. She is fed only white rice and dried fish. [853]
A soup of garlic and banana stems is drunk to promote the flow of milk. She is not permitted to read, sew, or to do anything that will "arouse or stir the blood."

23: Brant & Mi Mi Khaing E, I-5 (1949-1950)1951
AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

787 826 Omens are read from the position of mongoloid spots on the newborn baby's body. They are said to represent marks put on in a previous existence and their presence proves the child was then a human being. A blue spot on the foot presages a life of travel. Any marks leading from the right shoulder to the left hip, the line that the royal riband takes, indicate a royal future; today, however, with no royalty in Burmese society, such marks merely forecast a "great" future for the child.

775 826 A child is constantly watched from the time of birth for signs of whose reincarnation it represents. This is a constant topic in the family conversations.

Any disfigurement in a newborn child is regarded as a carry-over of the parents' store of demerit, as well as that of the child, from previous existences. It is regarded with a sense of shame and sorrow.

845 Although multiple births are neither preferred nor desired, they are not looked upon with any marked anxiety nor are there any supernatural means employed to prevent them.

766 In the event of a stillborn baby, the corpse is given special treatment. It is kept in a case, clothed and powdered, and a tray of food is set in front of it every day. It is considered auspicious to care for a stillborn child in this manner: the spirits will guide the parents in their dreams toward the attainment of material prosperity.

751 854 [825] [753] For the normal baby who survives, a number of things are done by Burmese parents to protect it from malevolent influences. Before it is a month old, a tiger bone is ground on a stone, together with a little water, and mixed with honey. This is fed to the child to ward off a mysterious infant illness associated with the tiger. A connection is believed to exist between the tiger and convulsions; some parents place a tiger skin under the mattress of the baby's bed to guard against such illness. A knife placed under the baby's mattress is said to protect against illness in general.

To insure good health and well-being for the child, a white thread over which certain *mantras* have been recited may be given by a Buddhist monk and tied around the baby's wrists. Should a baby be admired by people for its growth, the thread may be left on to neutralize the harm that is believed to result from such expressions.

[278] When the child's umbilical cord has dried and fallen off, it is kept and used as a medicine for any illness that befalls the child. A little of it is ground up and mixed with water for such purposes.

000 A very close connection is believed to exist between mother and child during

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

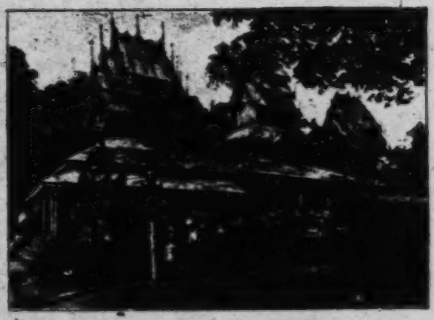
27. VILLAGE LAY SCHOOL.

next to a parent, with a life-long devotion.

Before or after the monastic novitiate, it is the custom for the Burman lads to have themselves tattooed from the waist to the knee (No. 152). Not to submit to this ordeal is to incur the reproach of cowardice. The tattooing is an intricate pattern of animals and tracery. Owing to the extent of surface involved, the process is most painful. It occupies days or weeks, according to the fortitude of the subject, who is drugged with opium for the occasion. The instrument has a handle weighted at the butt, and a long point of bronze, split like a ruling-pen. It is worked with great rapidity. The pigment is a kind of lamp-black of the consistence of ink. It shows bluish black through the brown skin. When a Burman tucks up his loin-cloth, as he always does for work or exercise (*kaddung-chaik*), he looks as if he had black knee-breeches. As plain as the contrast is to the eye, ordinary photographic plates fail to render it. In No. 153 it appears fully. On other parts of the body the men frequently have horoscopes and cabalistic diagrams tattooed with vermilion (*so-at*, No. 162) for luck and bravado. The Shan practice of letting in gold and silver discs the size of two-penny pieces—beneath the skin—is sometimes imitated by Burmans as a charm against sword-cuts and bullets (*dabyi*; *thanabyi*). The Arakanese, who repudiate the custom of *tigwin*, ascribe it to a Burman King, who endeavoured to disguise his leprosy in this way.

28. BUTTO-PLAYING.

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4



[illegible]. KOTHMENA YON (p. 191).

of the unsuccessfully vaccinated caught the disease, and ten of them died. None of the forty-four were attacked. These statistics could be multiplied. The medicine-dealers keep many of the crude commercial drugs, besides simples of their own collecting. Of the former, the principal are aloes, jalap, croton-seed, senna, bitter barks, catechu, opium, camphor, ginger, cardamom and other aromatics. The medicinal use of castor-oil is not known, though the plant is common. Spirits are now used medicinally. Many of the vegetable remedies are almost inert (see *The Burmese, what do they know of medicine?* by Dr. D. H. Cullimore). But there is one that deserves to be known, namely, the Shan remedy for tape-worm, *tkssé*, which is both effectual and mild. Among the mineral drugs are mercury, calomel, sulphur, blue and green vitriols, alum, salammoniac, nitre. There is a whole category of supposititious remedies, tiger's gall, rhinoceros' blood, ant-eater's scales, and so forth; they are charred before being made up. Allied to this class of remedies is that of charms, the vendors of which (nat-wives—*nakhaddw*) trade on the superstition that disease is caused by demons. Every patient will be as particular to mention his star as to describe his complaint. He will be advised to avoid certain classes of remedies on certain days. The "Sunday son" must not purge on Friday, and so on. In times of epidemic and panic, *thibbnzeli* are erected at every house, as they likewise are in cases of sickness (No. 431). They are merely of sand, held together with circles of bast. Sometimes they are erected to avert calamity declared to be impending in a *zkwgo-hlwdaw*, a message on gold foil dropped from heaven by a *Thadyd* (p. 186). Images are dedicated

[illegible]. CHILDREN'S BAZAR (p. [illegible]).

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

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278
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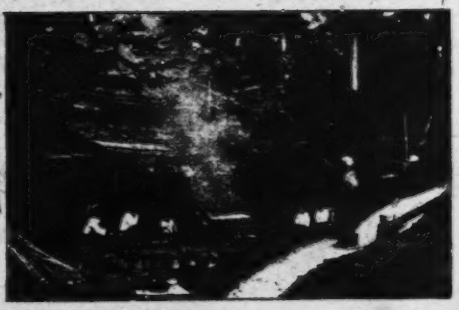
[782]



282. PREPARING TAWTHALIN OFFERINGS (p. 198).

at the temples in the same spirit. *Thèbônzedi* are erected on the day of a sick person's planet, and decorated with flags according to the years of age. Here Buddhism, which knows of no vicarious merit (or demerit), is tainted by a survival of animism (p. 188). The merit of the act is intended to cancel the demerit of some troubled spirit which is seeking to possess the body of the sufferer. Offerings are likewise set apart for the troubled spirit in the forest, to divert him from the sick person. When an epidemic of cholera occurs, the whole village sets up a din at sunset with bamboo sticks, to frighten the demons away. But many minds are averse to such superstitions, and they seek for natural explanations. They ascribe disease to states of the blood, to "heats" and "vapours." The cooling qualities of nitre are extolled for the one, and the cordial effects of spice for the other. Dietetic questions interest every-
758 body, and everyone has his or her pet nostrum. Very little operative surgery is
752 attempted as compared with India and China—merely the opening of abscesses and setting of bones. Hare-lip and cleft palate, and the cognate deformities, appear to be frequent. The dressings applied to wounds and sores are chiefly turmeric, slaked lime, *nhu*-leaves. Successful lithotomies and other major operations, and the boon of chloroform, have spread the fame of western surgery in a vastly wider circle than it can reach itself. The sick are ten-
[482] derly nursed by the Burmans, and never abandoned in panic fear as happens in epidemics among the hill-tribes. There are few greater sources of religious merit than ministering to
844 the sick. During the puerperium, the Burman custom is to main-

283. BURMAN CARRIER.

524 imitation of the webbed feet of a fowl. Done in quick tempo it becomes an acrobatic or a dancer's feat to sitters on chairs, but Burmans do it easily. We broke up into two teams and put out a prize cock in turn. The two cocks face each other and shuffle out their legs slowly to the rhythm of the accompanying verse: a slow and measured beat at first, then a sudden quickening with the acceleration of the rhythm, until at the crow given by the teams both go all out, quicker and quicker until one is exhaused and falls out vanquished. This is what we sang in chorus:

Kyet Hpa ta nyin	Two cocks, a fine pair
Taw go win	Walk in the forest dare
Maung Yin la, tay hnin pyit.	Comes Maung Yin and shoots with bow.
Ma pyit ba hnin,	O Maung Yin, don't shoot so,
Maung Yin yè	Styes will on your eyelids grow.*
Kyet-tet su tat tè.	
Bè beka su su	On the left eye, one two!
Nya beko su su	On the right eye, one two!
Khut laik gya so thu-ngè-gyin!	Come my friend then let us fight it!
Aw-ee-ee-uu!	Cock-a-doodle doo!
Nga do kyet hpa naing naing	Our cock will win it, win it!
Thu do kyet hpa shon shon.	Their cock will finish, finish!

Some of the games included forfeits, but the forfeits were of a broad comicality, dragging the victim by the ear, or if it happened to be one of the younger servants, rubbing soot on his face. Robbing stones from under the care of a guardian keeping watch over them within a circle was stealing the eggs from a mother tortoise; the postless figure in General Post was a *khway-yu*, mad dog; blind man's buff was *bok-ta-lon tauktè*, a tucktoo with a buff.

776 We spent a lot of time with A-Kyi and the men about the house.
857 It was they who filled our world with bogies and spirits who were no less real to them than they were to us. We were warned not to be too greedy, or we would turn into *peik-tas* in the next existence, great tall spirits with voracious appetites and mouths the size of a needle's eye, or others with mouths like yawning caverns wide enough to swallow a pig, but no stomachs to receive the food. We were told that miserly and avaricious people would never be parted from their possessions which would follow them into their next existence, when they would be *ok-ta-sauk*, pictured for us as assuming the guise of fair girls with thanakha on their

[753] *There is a belief that styes are retribution for the killing of a cock.

757 given to us in saucers, my mother invoking the Triple Gems while blowing on it and coaxing us to drink it as the medicine of the Three Gems: "*Paya-say, taya-say, thanga-say,*" she would say: "Physic of the Buddha, of the Law, of the Clergy." After this came two saucersful of hot water in which betel leaves had been boiled, to raise a sweat; my mother would cover us with an ok-saung, my father would come in on tiptoe to look at us very often, even when our temperatures were nearly normal, and the fever would leave us quite soon.

Our purgative was *dat-le-ba-say*, physic of the four elements; it was a glutinous paste of senna for purging, tamarind as acid and purgative, jaggery to soothe, liquorice to taste, and salt. It was nasty. My mother rolled about a golf ball size of the stuff into little balls which we were expected to swallow. But she was very firm that there must always be an odd number of balls, because Burmese people believe that odd numbers are more auspicious, like the *Three* Gems, the *Nine* Nawaya; when the shinbyu ceremony for the initiation of boys into the priesthood is carried out, or the ears of the girls bored ceremonially, it is inauspicious to "do" an even number of children. So if my mother's golf ball of the purgative made eight balls, she would always pinch more stuff out of the jar and make nine, and, as I grew older and more sceptical, both my stomach and my mood would react on each other and I generally got stuck at the sixth or eighth, much to my mother's dismay. But to this day I believe in the efficacy of these particular medicines for my own system.

•753 When any of us kept ailing over a long period it was felt that our
787 astronomical prospects were low, and the *bedin-saya*, vulgarly translated as fortune-teller, was called in. He was regarded as an astrologer. My mother brought out our horoscopes which had been cast by a brahmin when we were a few years old. These horoscopes, inscribed on a palm leaf doubled up and sewn tightly together, were precious objects kept at the head of my father's bed. The exact day and hour of the birth of the child, the auspicious name given according to this time and day, the astronomical bodies exerting influence over such a birth, and a table to show the heavenly influences which would prevail during the successive periods of the child's life so that future calculations could be made, were all inscribed finely on this neat yellow leaf. The bedin-saya made calculations now to see if our *kan* (fate, luck) was high or low; if low, he prescribed some counteracting influences. I was once given a chicken as a *khamè*, a charm which would keep the evil influences at bay, and the servants fed the chicken for me until I had recovered. Sometimes it is certain foods which bring the evil influences, and the prescribing of them even during good health was more annoying. One of my sisters, treated thus as a child, complained that the bedin-saya was a tiresome

old man with rhetorical leanings and included things because they formed a nice rhyme, and, indeed, she was not far from the truth. Our monosyllabic language is a heavenly gift to us with its endless scope for the most unrestrained punning and rhyming; the pun in Burmese is not execrable humour but a stepping stone for flights of fancy. What my sister was not allowed to eat were the three most precious foods as proverbalised in: *a-thi-hma tha-yet; a-yuet hma la-hpet; a-tha hma wet:* among fruits the *tha-yet*, among leaves the *la-hpet*, among flesh the *wet: tha-yet, la-hpet* and *wet* being the mango, the pickled tea-leaf and the pig's flesh respectively, and open to question as being really the prime specimens of their class, but certainly rhyming happily. 753 787 [522]

My parents were so good to us; they never scolded, beat or punished us that I can remember. Perhaps they had both had so much discipline in their own youths; I can remember the day we were told to answer them "Father" and "Mother" when they called us, instead of *Paya* as we had done formerly. Paya is the term of extreme respect and humility, sometimes adopted by children to parents, always by servants to their superiors, by subordinates to senior officials, and by all to royalty and the clergy. It is also the suffix to honorific titles. Its true and ancient use had associations of reverence only, but it has taken on a more subservient hue with the advent of government and foreign officials. 593 554

But whether we answered Paya or Father, my mother's guiding influence led us to look on my father with awe, even though he was the parent who clowned with us at home. We were always bathed and dressed before he came home, waiting for him. As soon as he entered the gate we raced down the drive to carry his umbrella, took him upstairs and scrambled to take his shoes off as soon as we could get him seated. His shoes, suspenders and socks were removed by combined efforts, my father pretending great helplessness all the while. We went for walks while my parents went to play tennis, but returned in time to carry their racquets upstairs and remove my father's shoes again. After dinner my mother and we lay on mats while my father sat in an easy chair and pretended to get his nursery rhymes all wrong, until we taught him: 593 857 538

A-hpo gyi oh, hka kon kon,	Old man so bent and grey,
Ma thay ba hnin ohn	Do not die as yet we pray.
Naung hnit-khu ta-saung-mon	Till next December try to tarry
Pate kyi ba ohn.	And watch the actors play and marry.

Or the voracious cat who ate everything:

Kyaung-gyi pè tè mi tan to	Oh you big and short tailed cat,
A-hai ko sa ba lo	Swallowing the lean
A-kha ko saya.	And eating the fat.

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

782 776 778 and little morsels of food. Often, if the village is larger, the shrine is much more pretentious, assuming almost the size and appearance of a zayat, a large tectum or roof, gabled and supported with red posts, the platform ornamented, and with a dais at one end, on which a representation of the nat is placed at the feast time, which, in imitation of the pagoda festivals, occurs at a regular fixed season. At other times these images are kept stowed away in an adjoining chamber, built for the purpose. It is particularly irritating to an educated Burman to see these absurd figures, which remind one of nothing so much as the fetiches of the prognathous African. Two gaudily dressed puppets, masquerading with spire-like crown, and royal, sharp-pointed swords, represent the much-feared nats, Shwe Pyin-gyi and Shwe Pyin-ngè, the Nyi-daw, Naung-daw, the Royal Younger Brother and the Royal Elder Brother, who command much respect in the neighbourhood of Mandalay and in Upper Burma generally. A still more dreaded spirit is one whose representation figures in a shrine at Tagaung, one of the ancient capitals of the country, half-way between Mandalay and Bhamaw. He appears simply as a head on a post, four feet high or thereabouts. A spire-like crown rests on his head, his eyes protrude and goggle in semi-globular wrath, asinine ears and a Punch-like nose complete the likeness, for he has no mouth, and his body is that of a dragon. Every one avoids his temple as much as possible, but the inhabitants of the village bow in that direction before they venture to do anything, and passing boatmen kindle lamps and offer flowers, of which he is said to be particularly fond, and fruit, for the [753] nat has an incorrigible habit of giving people the stomach-ache when he is offended, and death punishes the recalcitrant. "Tagaung colic" is a recognised ailment with the Burmese faculty. The demon is said to have been one of the ancient kings of the place, who acquired his power from magical arts which he learned in Northern India. Three famous pagodas in the defile take their names from episodes in his life; and [173] his two sons founded the dynasty of Prome. Oftenest of all, however, the nat-shrine contains no figure. It is occupied only by the viewless spirits of the air.

First in the list of personal spirits may be considered the

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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obtained. Red and yellow are, however, always the predominating colours. 531 285 322

The thi'si is turned to a variety of other uses besides the manufacture of lacquer-work; applied to wood, or to marble and clay images, it enables them readily to take on gilding. It is used as a waterproof varnish to all the umbrellas in the country, and makes them as impervious to rain as if they were made of wood, while it protects the palm-leaf against the rays of the sun, which otherwise would burn it as brittle as an egg-shell. All the racing and war-boats in Burma are painted with it, and the best caulking in the world could not make them more water-tight. Finally, boiled down thick it furnishes the material for delineating the square heavy characters of the sacred kammawa-sa, the ritual for the admission of brethren to the sacred order. 531 249

The oil is usually put in the sun for a short time before being used, and it is at first of a light brown colour, soon darkening into a brilliant black. It seems to be of a particularly mordant character, and raises huge blisters on the hands of some people, leaving marks of the ashy-white colour suggestive of leprosy. Hence strangers suspected of being afflicted with the terrible malady always declare they are thi'si workers; and many people avoid these latter, in case they might find they had been holding communication with an outcast. A lotion composed of fine teak-wood saw-dust, mixed with a little water, is used as a cure for blains. Many of the workmen periodically swallow small doses of the wood-oil, under the impression that it acts as a preventive. The capriciousness with which the varnish acts, leaving some men quite unharmed and punishing others severely, has given rise to a proverb in Nyaung-u:— [753] [757]

> Thi'si is a witness
> To a burgher's fitness;
> If bad, he's marked an outcast;
> If good, not long can doubt last.

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

774 827 blood is feverish or excited in any way, the butterfly necessarily becomes restless, and wanders about more or less rapidly and into more or less strange places, according to the degree of perturbation. Therefore it happens that the soul thus existing in itself, and straying or flying at random, sees extremely 774 strange and fantastic visions on these voyages. An elabora- 828 tion of this notion divides dreams into three special varieties: those which occur at the beginning of sleep, those about midnight, and those in the early morning; or the false, the mixed, and the true. Bedin-sayās and wise women are for this reason always very particular in their inquiries as to the precise time at which the dream occurred. If they foretell wrongly it is, of course, because the questionist made a mistake as to the time when his vision appeared to him.

774 776 These night wanderings of the butterfly spirit are not without their dangers. In addition to other hobgoblins and spectres, Burma is especially plagued by evil spirits called bilus—creatures in human guise who devour men. If they will eat the corporate man, there is small doubt what will happen to the fragile butterfly spirit should it come across such an ogre. Cases do happen when the leip-bya is gulped down, and then the man has slept his last sleep. More often, however, it is only a case of leip-bya lan; the soul is scared, and in its terror sometimes runs into unknown regions, from which it is unable to retrace its steps, when of course it dies and with it the owner; or it rushes home to its bodily dwelling-place with such precipitation that the whole system is ● 753 disorganised and sickness follows. This butterfly theory, 757 therefore, offers a grand field for quack doctors, of whom there are unfortunately a very large number in Burma. When a man falls ill they dose him with all the drugs and simples they have in their little bamboo phials. If he does not get better after taking even the fungus from the roots of the bamboo, culled in the eclipse, or vegetable soot prepared at the change of the moon, then there can be only one opinion; the leip-bya has had its system shaken by some ghoulish sight; or perhaps it is being kept in durance vile by some tasé, some demon (in the sense of the Greek δαίμων), or by a sôn, a wizard. In this case no bodily medicine can be of any use, were it even that celebrated

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

nostrum, the green powder, which contains 160 different ingredients. A witch doctor must be called in, and he resorts to the leip-bya hkaw. This ceremony is very much like that made use of in ordinary cases of oppression by evil genii, nat-sos, and witches. Offerings are laid outside the house, or perhaps outside the village, at night—heaps of cooked rice, bananas, salt fish, and other eatables; and the malevolent being, whether ghostly tasé or material witch, is begged to eat this rice instead of the butterfly spirit, and to let the prisoner free. Few are hardy enough to watch and see what happens; but the few who have done so agree in the discovery that the demon appears in the shape of a pariah dog, which does not differ from other pariah dogs in spirit, inasmuch as it will run away if you throw stones at it. The offerings are repeated till a change takes place. Perhaps the tasé is greedy, eats offerings, leip-bya, and all, and kills the man. Perhaps it is appeased. Then the butterfly spirit returns safe to its owner again, and convalescence sets in. This is called leip-bya win. Bilus are never successfully negotiated with in this way; they are too voracious. They occasionally appear in broad daylight upon earth; but may always be recognised, since they have red eyes and cast no shadow.

A particularly difficult operation is to separate two leip-byas that were intimately united in life. This is especially the case when a mother has died leaving a little infant. If the leip-bya kwè is not resorted to, the butterfly of the little one will follow the mother, and the child will die. A wise woman is therefore called in. She murmurs some mantras, and then places a looking-glass on the floor near the corpse. Still muttering, but with more and more rapid gesticulation, she drops a filmy shred of cotton down on the face of the mirror, and with frenzied words entreats the dead mother not to retain the infant soul, but let it come back to its earthly tenement. The fleecy down slowly slips down the mirror face and falls off into the handkerchief she holds below, and is then gently placed on the breast of the child. A similar ceremony is occasionally gone through when a husband or wife is more than usually overcome by the death of the yoke-fellow.

The whole notion is of course foreign to Buddhism, and

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

CHAPTER XLI

CHOLERA SPECIFICS

● 753 755 OCCASIONALLY a whole Burmese village or a quarter of the town seems to be seized with sudden madness. Without a moment's warning, apparently, and moved by one common impulse, the able-bodied scramble on to the tops of their houses and fall to work to beat the wooden or mat roofs with bamboos and billets of wood. The old and feeble stand down below and thump unmelodious drums, or bray their loudest on raucous trumpets, while the women and children dance round about and open their mouths and yell. No one has any right to talk about pandemonium till he has been scared by the sudden bursting on the night air of this diabolical uproar. New-comers in Rangoon, mindful of the scares which have been frequent of late years, on hearing the outburst for the first time, are apt to believe that the long-prophesied rising of the "budmash" population has at length commenced, and that the ferocious Burman has started on the war-path. They are the more inclined to believe it because the outbreak always takes place at night, and, at a distance, suggests nothing so much as a general free fight. But it is nothing of the kind; nothing could be farther from it. It is, in point of fact, the regular sequel to a religious ceremony. Cholera has appeared in the district. There have been a number of deaths, and the population is aroused to a sense of the danger. The terrible epidemic is of annual occurrence, notwithstanding all sanitary precautions, at the beginning of the south-west monsoon in May. The first heavy bursts of the rainy season wash all manner of surface impurities, animal and vegetable, into the wells

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and tanks, and cases of sporadic cholera are the consequence. So says the civil surgeon; but the Burmans do not believe him. They are convinced that a nat-so, some evil spirit, has taken up his abode in the place, and is exacting revenge for some real or fancied insult. They accordingly take this means of forcing him to quit; and if the malignant nat can be supposed to have any nerves whatever, it certainly ought to be effective. 753 755

The brethren of the monastery discountenance the practice as far as they can—as indeed every one not afflicted with a dulness of hearing might be expected to do. It is a remnant of the old geniolatry, and, having nothing to do with pure Buddhism, confounds the dewas of the six heavens with the heathenish spirits of the old wild tribes. But cholera is a pestilence that regards not the yellow robe of the mendicant any more than the gay paso of the frivolous; and so the pôngyis hold the ceremony which immediately precedes the wild riot called thayè tôpthi, and display their opposition no more violently than by getting out of the way as fast as the dignified walk prescribed to the Assembly of the Perfect permits. 755 795

It is related that long ago, at the time of the beginning of religion, the terrible pestilence swept over Kapilawut, the city of Thudawdana, the father of the Lord Buddha. Only at the intercession and by the merits of the prayers and good works of the saviour of the world and his assembly, was the plague stayed, and the city saved from desolation—hence the function called pareit yôtthi. Cholera has broken out in the village. Several deaths have occurred in succession with the terrible suddenness which is characteristic of the disease. The dirges played by the bands for the dead fade into one another and break out all down the street. Then one of the chief men of the place makes preparations and begs the monks to come down from the monastery. A raised dais is put up at the back of the room for the accommodation of the yahans, and covered with mats. Offerings to the holy men are arranged in a long row before the platform—rice, fruit, flowers, betel-boxes, pillows, cups and bowls. Alongside of these are placed the vessels which the monastic superior is to consecrate—nyaung ye-o, sacred to the use of 755 792

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757 of the falling of a thunderbolt and finds meteoric stones, has sufficient to set him up as a doctor at once. The scrapings of the stone, among other things, are the best possible ophthalmic medicine. Liquids are very seldom used. There are, however, two schools—the datsayās, or dietists, who trust solely to regulating the patient's food according to the derangement of the elements, which is supposed to cause his disease, and eschew drugs; and the beindawsayās, who rely upon the exhibition of medicines. These last, the druggists, are far more numerous than the dietists. It is a great deal more easy to get a reputation with potent drugs than with a simple regulation of the diet, and accordingly an upstart doctor is always a druggist. The best advisers are those who combine the two systems, but such sensible practitioners are unfortunately few and far between.

822 826 753 Both assert that the human body is composed of four dat, or elements. These are—patawi daht, earth; apaw dat, water; tezaw dat, fire; wayaw dat, air. Akatha, or ether, is sometimes added to these, but the doctors mostly disregard it. Earth constitutes the flesh, bones, hair, intestines, and the like members of a man. Water constitutes the fat, blood, bile, spittle, mucus, etc. Eating, drinking, chewing, and licking come from the fire element. Air produces the six kinds of winds. Any derangement of the equilibrium of these elements makes a man ill, and it is important to know the precise time of a man's birth in order to know in what proportion the dat should be present. 753 Therefore in the case of illness an experienced doctor almost always examines a man's birth certificate before he looks at the sick man himself. Besides the derangement of the elements, diseases may be caused by kan, the influence of the sum of good and bad actions a man has done in past existences. If a man is ill of kan, nothing will cure him but the preponderance of good in his past lives. Again, a man may fall sick through derangement of his seit, or mind; through the influence of the seasons, utu; or, lastly, through food, ahāya. These causes, being laid down as the basis of the diagnosis, naturally do not always lead to the best results in the case of affections which are in any way out of the common run. Even in perfectly evident illnesses, however,

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such as low fever, two persons in the same house afflicted in the same degree with the same ailment, are treated differently, simply because they were born under the influence of different planets, which have a special control over the effects of utu and ahāya, or over the respective relations of fire and water.

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The dietists are often particularly absurd in their regulation of the diet from the horoscope. Having ascertained the day on which the patient was born, they will forbid him to eat articles of food whose names commence with any of the letters assigned to that particular day, most especially those which have the same initial letter as the sick man has himself. Thus a man born on Sunday will have to eschew eggs (u), cocoanuts (ônthi), and other edibles whose name commences with a vowel. One whose birthday is Thursday must give up pumpkins (payônthi), mangosteens, and gourds (buthi), while a Monday's child must refrain from seasoning his curry with ginger (kyinsein) or garlic (kyetthônbyu), and so on through all the other days. It is worthy of note, however, that those born on a Saturday are never forbidden to eat their rice (tamin), nor those on Friday their curry (hin). An attempt to ostracise the staff of life, as curry and rice is to all Orientals, would only result in bad treatment to the too pedantic and precisely logical practitioner. Such affections are called "Monday's sickness," "Tuesday's sickness," and so on. (Taninla, Inga kan kaitthi.)

These vagaries of the dietists are, however, far from universal, and emanate mostly from the manifest quacks of the profession, just as newly-set-up druggists will imagine specially curative properties in every strange and new leaf, or seed, or mineral they come across, and manufacture such extraordinary compounds as the green powder nostrum, which was exhibited to an astonished English M.D. with the information that it contained one hundred and sixty different ingredients and was infallible in its results. No doubt it was.

There is no denying that the excitability and impatience of the people react on the proceedings of the Burmese doctors. Whenever a man falls sick he gets into a feverish state of alarm about himself, and probably sends off for

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789 Knowledge of this latter particular is imperative, and an
831 error of an hour or two makes all the difference in the composition of the potion.

757 It ought to be unsatisfactory to an intelligent Burman's feelings to think that the man who prescribes for him in a dangerous illness is possibly at the same time mixing cunning draughts for a love-sick maid, or is manufacturing an image of a girl with magical charms and drugs which shall drive the original mad and soothe the vengeful wrath of the rejected suitor. Perhaps it is on this account that a Rangoon Burman, if he falls ill out in the district anywhere, hurries back to town as fast as he can. If he cannot do that, the best thing is to call in a wéza in preference to an unknown doctor; for while the former will probably confine himself to incantations at first, the dietist will irritate all the gastric juices in your body by prescribing some new variety of food, and banning everything you have been accustomed to; while the druggist will cram you to the throat with cathartics and anthelmintics, with arsenic, fungi from bamboo roots, green vitriol, decoctions of lemon grass, borax, croton seeds, and vegetable soot.

● 753 The father of Burmese medical science was the celebrated physician Zewaka, who once cured a colic which afflicted the Lord Buddha Gautama, by simply giving him three flowers to smell. Upon the petals were strewn some potent powders which restored perfect health in a few hours. To this good medico is to be ascribed the assertion that the diseases which afflict mankind are ninety-six in number. These may vary in their symptoms according to the thirty-five temperaments, the forty-five accidents, the sixteen dangers, and the four elements, but there are no more than ninety-six wedana for all that. Accordingly, a very common beginning to a
[576] formal Burmese letter is to say that by his correspondent's good wishes the writer has been preserved from the ninety-six andayè; the thirty-two kan-chammā, or pieces of bad luck; the twenty-five baya, dangers from assassins, wild beasts, and the like; and finally from aneitta bala, evils of all kinds, envy, hatred, malice, and all uncharitableness: his friend's regard has kept all these things far from him, may the writer's good will be not less efficacious. Therefore it is

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very essential that even the most empirical doctor should know at least the names of these diseases. The mere sound of them is as good as medicine to a man with a stomach-ache.

Bewitchings, of course, do not count as diseases. Very often when a man has very strong griping pains which no amount of drugs will serve to alleviate, the doctor declares that there is an a-pin in him. Some wizard has introduced a piece of raw flesh into his stomach by means of a spell, and this goes on drawing everything to it till it kills the man. When a sick man is unable to pronounce certain letters the doctors are able to calculate in how many days or hours he will die. It is not wise to dispute this. The fulfilment of their prophecies lies very completely in their hands.

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Very often images of pagodas and Buddhas may be seen outside a house in the country villages. There is some one sick within, and the pious resort to this expedient to get rid of the malady. This method is called payā tayā, and does not exclude medical advice. The figures are small, and are usually made of pasteboard or clay. A man afflicted with a headache will often hang up pictures of peacocks and hares under his eaves, along with small fans. The peacock represents the sun and the hare the moon, and the indisposition is supposed to result from sun or moonstroke. Sometimes a sayā, when he is called in, will recommend that the patient be moved a little to the eastward or the westward, if his illness arises from kan. Similar to this is the ceremony called yedaya yayi or yedaya sin. A small coffin with a tiny corpse inside it is manufactured and carried a small distance to the east or the west and there buried. When the ayôp, the effigy of the patient, has been thus disposed of, he ought to get well. These matters are decided from the sick man's horoscope, which shows from what constellations he is particularly likely to suffer harm.

The witch doctor usually has an elaborate rod called ywatan, marked all over with cabalistic figures, and often with medicines let into it. The sayā stands before the possessed person and threatens a blow. The witch or spirit in the victim then becomes anxious and pays reverence with clasped hands. It is then forced to relate exactly its name

HEALTH
Disorders.

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U Myaing and Ma Aye Myaing were each approached individually by Ko Sein Tu (U Myaing) with Ko Nya Tu and Ma Khin Hmay (Ma Aye Myaing), for a history of the disorders of their family. This data is presented below directly as it has been received from the informants. The disorder is identified by its Burmese name and presumed English name, along with a description and period and place of affliction. This is followed by an account of the treatment.

Small-pox; KYAUK. U Myaing informs us that his two elder daughters had the small pox in 1942. Both were stricken at the same time, and recovered after 15 days. His two younger daughters were vaccinated. In describing this disorder, U Myaing says:

"At first the person is stricken with fever. At the end of the third day, small pustules appear on the body. When these ripen they are pricked and burst. Some Burmese practioners come and collect this pus for use as vaccine. Two or three days after GWAY DAUNG root, guava fruit and saffron are mixed and applied the pustules subside and the skin falls off. When the pustules started coming out, they were dark coloured, but when the patient is cured, the skin in those places becomes red. The small pox which the children had was not very severe. The whole course of treatment is carried out with Burmese medicines and by Burmese practioners. Soup of PE-LUN leaves is given to the patient. All sour and sweet foods are avoided when the rashes appear. When the pustules burst, guava fruit, saffron and Gway Daung root are made into a cream by rubbing on the rough surface of a KYAUK PYIN stone slab. The sores heal. The patient then has to bathe for three days in water which has boiled together with leaves of the NEEM tree. No charge was made for the medicines, and no expenses were incurred other than Practioner's fee of Rs. 5/-."

Malaria; HNGET HPYA (bird fever). U Myaing was stricken with malaria during 1942 for about 8 months. According to his description, in malaria, the patient goes down with high fever. The temperature rises and he begins to feel very warm. Then all at once he begins to feel very warm. Than all at once he begins to feel cold, and then colder and colder and starts shivering. In this condition three or four people are needed to hold him down. About four or five hours after feeling very cold he begins to grow hot again and his temperature falls when enough heat has left the patientés body. The next day, at the same time the temperature rises again. This sickness has to be cured with quinine. The Burmese cure for malaria seems to be mainly through dieting. Sour foods were eschewed, Neem leaves were eaten, and also NGA YAN fish was cooked with oil and eaten. The total expenditure for the cure amounted to Rs. 140/- or Rs. 150/- - if time lost for work is also included, Rs. 400/-.

Chicken pox; PE THI DAN: Every one in the family has had chicken pox at some time or the other. These were all in Pantanaw and lasted for about one month each. In this affliction the skin reddens, pus accumulates, and sores break out. These come out like the small pox and last for about a month. There is no internal suffering. Burmese practioners make the patient bathe frequently in cream made of guava fruit and saffron is applied.

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Measles: WET THET (Pig dropping): This is another disorder that has visited every member of the family at one time or another. This was in Pantanaw and lasted for about a month each. In measles, according to U Myaing, the skins reddens and pustules appear. These last for about 45 days and disappear when ashes of burnt pig dropping are administered in water to the patient. Plum Jam (Zee Yo) is also made and given to the patient to eat. Costs for ingredients of cure cost Rs. 14/- or Rs. 15/-.

Dysentery: MIN KAIK: U Myaing informs us that he had dysentery once at the age of thirty. It was a mild attack, lasting for about four or five days, and involving no mucus and no blood. It was cured by eating garlic and jaggery fried in oil, costing Rs. 4/- or Rs. 5/- to make. This was in Pantanaw.

Urticaria: GYAIK THO: U Myaing and his tenelder daughters have had urticaria; U Myaing when at the age of 24 and his daughters about 5 years ago. In Urticaria, U Myaing says, itchy swellings develop all over the body, which subside and are cured within two days if the right medicines are applied. Treatment is either through taking ashes of burnt IN leaves administered in water, or by gently pounding the patient seven times with a pounder used for husking rice, the patient holding his breath the while. This treatment cost nothing.

Abscess: THET-TANT: U Myaing has been affected by THET TANT once in his life, about four years ago and for a period of 18 days. In this disorder, a painful swelling develops on the back of the shoulder. There is no open sore. The patient begins to cough. When he begins to cough the Burmese practioner is called in. He uses his own medicine of which all U Myaing saw was a piece of garlic. With this he makes movements of dressing the swelling from the shoulder to the thumb, seven times in all. Then he tells the patient that within eight hours (in U Myaing's case from 12 o'clock to 8 o'clock) the swelling will have removed to the thumb. Within eight hours the pain is no longer located on the shoulder, and the swelling now appears on the thumb. This is now allowed to ripen and the accumulated pus is cleaned out. Antiseptic HPAN IE is used on the sore. The practioner charges Rs. 10/- as fees, and supplies his own medicine without further charge. This was in Pantanaw when U Myaing was a patient. The following account of the treatment of this disorder by U Myaing himself is given below,

> "About the disease THET TANT. I do not know how to recite the incantations used in the cure. In this disease a hot, painful and hard swelling appears. The other people came to call me (when a person in the refugee camp was afflicted with a similar ailment) because they thought it was THET TANT. As I had THET TANT once in my life I happen to know the cure for it. I managed to bring down swelling from the shoulder to the thumb. Within two or three hours of treatment the painful swelling from the shoulder to the thumb. Within two or three hours of treatment the painful swelling in the shoulder subsided and the thumb began to ache. The next morning, when the bandage was removed from the thumb pus was found to have accumulated there. When the pustule burst, it was treated as an ordinary open sore. In this disease, a swelling on the shoulder can be moved to the thumb and on the lower trunk or lower extremities to the big toe. The swelling is hard and elongated, and if not recognised and treated early starts to spread. This swelling never appears on the head or face. In the refugee camp there is one person by the name of Ma Saw Hla who had this disease during childhood, when she was about three years old. It was treated too late, and as a result she now walks with a limp."

U Myaing at this juncture sent for Ma Saw Hla and made her walk up and down in front of us to let us see her limping gait. He also made her give some information on her case. Ma Saw Hla said:

"I went down with this disease. A young practioner from Tavoy came and tried massage, but only made it worse. I had

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to go to the hospital (Pantanaw). When we met a Karen friend, he smeared some saffron onto the affected part, and recited something and at once two long lines appeared and it became apparent that the disease was THET TANT. (THET TANT, it is said is of two kinds, male and female, and this person had both. The difference between the two kinds seems to lie in the size of the swellings, the male being larger and more virulent.) The docter in the hospital had to operate on me. He told my parents that if I did not undergo any operation I would surely die, and even if it was successful it would affect a nerve and I would be left with a limp all my life. My parents had him operate and I was cured, but I've had this limp ever since. It was three months from inception before we knew that it was THET TANT."

When U Myaing cured his patient in Pantanaw, he lighted three or [755]
four candles and an incense burner; he recited prayers and the 5 Silas. At the head of the bed he placed the bowl containing water scented with Kalamet cream, Taung-Dan-Gyi cream and perfumes. Then U Myaing took this and began to sprinkle the water about the room, wishing aloud for the patient's recovery. Then he took seven single buds of garlic, weighing about 5 ticals and ground them together, and bandaged them around the thumb. U Myaing continues his account:

"I don't know the recitations for this desease. But what they do is to mix lime and saffron in water and smear it it on the affected part. Some people drink this. This is one method. Using garlic is another method. When the part is smeared with this mixture, the disease comes to the surface. There are some people who have died because the sore burst inside the body. As regards the garlic cure, when I enquired carefully, it turned out that the stanzas recited had nothing to do with effecting the cure. It must have been due to the garlic, because I could cure another person without reciting the stanzas. There are three kinds of THET TANT: the three months kind, the six months kind and the three years kind. It seems as if there is an internal swelling and it rises to the surface and disappears rises again, and so on. When there is a swelling and it is very hot, then it can be diagnosed as THET TANT. When it is is treated, the patient collapses with fever for one night - the night when the swelling is moved to the throb. The disease is not very rare. I have seen it five or six times. There have been cases like that of Ko Maung Thant in Pantanaw, where the patient has died of internal THET TANT without knowing the nature of his disease. Only when the person is about to die does the internal THET TANT come to the surface. The swelling is hot, but there are also some cases where it is not so.

"The patient who I treated a few days ago in camp is now better. There are various ways and means of treating this disease. Some do it with banzras. After I burst the pustule and squeeze out the pus, I do not put my medicine on the sore. The reason why it cannot be treated on the shoulder is that there is no pus - only an inflamed swelling which is very painful. Some practioners who do not know how to move the swelling smear on the shoulder certain mixtures which are designed to bring out the pus to the surface, and they cure the sore on the shoulder itself.

"I did not take any fee for curing the young boy in Pantanaw. He was very poor and I asked them only to buy the garlic for themselves. This was about 6 years ago, and the patient was about 16 years of age. He was in such a bad condition shouting and yelling in pain, that the parents expected him to die, and were weeping. I realized that whether my treatment proved efficacious or not, it could not make his condition any worse than it was, and so I

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started treatment. The day I started treatment the swelling reached his thumb, and four or five days later it burst. The thumb was placed in antiseptic HPAN YE liquid and smeared with crude petroleum oil and ashes. The name of the boy was Maung Hla Yin of Pathee village. I do not know whether or not they called in practioners. No one came to call me either. I heard of his sickness and went over. He had been suffering for about twenty days before I started to treat him. Not being a practioner, I do not know how to cure other diseases. I know how to cure this disease because it happened to me once and I witnessed the treatment.

"Some practioners cure the disease in another way - through saffron and white lime. They also have a wooden DAH fashioned out of the wood from a tree which has been struck by lighting. With this DAH they strike at the swelling lightly after which they smear the mixture on. I have no knowledge of where these practioners learn their trade. Burmese cures must be cheap and efficacious. It seems to me that recitations etc. are made to enable the practioner to command a higher fee, since people can and have been cured without any recitations at all. I do not believe in their incantations." [755]

Scabies: MEH (itch). During the Japanese regime, the youngest child had scabies when she was one year old. If the right medicine is given the cure takes only two or three months, and if not, as many years. These sores are moistened itchy skin sores which spread with great rapidity. The Burmese prescription for an ointment to cure scabies includes: sulphur, KYAUK KHA, MEE DAN and copper sulphate. Also THAMAT KHA root and KYAUK KHA are mixed together on a KYAUK PYIN stone slab to make a cream for application. The person affected has to bathe often. The medicine which really effected the cure, however, was M & B 693 (Mayer and Baker sulpha pills.) These cost U Myaing 8 annas for a dozen, and only 9 were necessary to cure the child. Before she was cured, her condition was so bad, and her sores so extensive that people were reluctant to carry the baby. They had to carry it swaddled in many clothes. [435]

Ringworm: PWAY. U Myaing had ringworm once when he was eighteen years old. This happened in Pantanaw, and it took him just three days to cure it. The ringworm whorls were so extensive that U Myaing did not dare to go out and mix with other people. In treatment, U Myaing used a western lotion of which the only distinguishing mark that he remembers is that it was of a "Two snake brand". He followed the directions on the label, bathing the whorls with soap and applying the lotion with a feather. The bottle held about four ounces and cost him Rs. 1/4. [435]

MWAY KYUT MAR (Hair-coming-off-sore). U Myaing had this affliction once in Pantanaw for a period of 15 days. When a hair falls out, the skin in that place reddens and pus accumulates on the leg. The Burmese treatment consists of smearing the affected part with ashes and water mixed together.

Sore eyes: MYET SI MAR (eye sore). Sore eyes have been had by everyone in the family at one time or another. In the last four of five years, each member of the family has been afflicted about once a year. The eye becomes red and inflamed and watery. Tamarind bark is made into a cream and applied. Tamarind leaves are pounded with salt and placed and bandaged on the forehead. The cost of treatment is negligible, since the cure involves the use of about only one anna's worth of salt and the tamarind is obtained free.

Disorders of the Nose: Cough and Cold. (H MA HI (cold-catch) MAUK NOK (NAUK NO) (Mucous Flowing-cough)): All the members of the family get these disorders periodically, that is, about once or twice a year each. Treatment is by smearing balm (Tiger balm or others)

●753 757 in the nose and by using it as an inhalant also. A bottle of balm costs between Rs. 1/4 or Rs. 1/8.

Sore in the Nose: . The youngest child had a sore in her nose during the month of October 1950. This was through falling on her nose. Pus accumulated, and the nose became inflamed. It lasted for two weeks and was cured through the application of nose drops given to the family by a medical student.

Toothache: THWA KAIK (tooth ache); U Myaing had a toothache once in his life when he was 33 years of age. This was due to a decayed tooth. He suffered off and on for a period of over two years, and obtained relief only when it became sufficiently weak for him to pull it out. U Myaing did not go to the dentist to have the tooth extracted, and therefore there was no cost. This is the only case of toothache in the family, and even Daw Aw Zar has a complete set of sound teeth.

Stomach-Ache: BAIK NAR (stomach pain): U Myaing informs us that all the members of the family have had stomach ache some time in their lives. This he attributed to "wind" in the stomach. No treatment was taken other than the eating of digestive salts or YET BAA (sodium chloride and crushed bark.)

Piles; DU LAR, LEIK GAUNG (Young man disorder - tortoise head (rectum)): U Myaing has had piles since he was thirty years of age. He still suffers from it, but it does not trouble him much. He has undergone no treatment to cure it, as, he says, "All men have this. It is only a matter of size."

[158] Fits: TET. U Myaing tells us that his youngest daughter is subject to fits. To be exact, she has had them twice in her life. once when about a year old, and once about 5 months ago - at the age of three years. This comes on when the child falls into an incontrollable rage, forgets to breathe, and her face becomes blue. In this condition, the child has to be quickly massaged, till it resumes breathing. The period of affliction is short and there is no cost of treatment.

Cuts and Wounds. All the members of the family have had cuts or wounds at some time or the other. On such occasions Burmese practioners come and recite certain incantations over the wound, with the ostensible object of making itheal. For sword cuts, onions and sessamum oil are applied externally. This heals the wound quickly. If the leg is pierced by an iron nail, salt is pressed into the wound. At the age of thirty-two, U Myaing cut his toe with a DAH and inflicted a severe wound on himself. He cured it with onion and sessamum oil. Ma Khin Saw was severely burnt in the leg by hot water when one year old. Betel leaves, sugar and Ngan Pyar Ye (fish paste water) were first applied to the burn, and later on crushed THE BUMT leaves mixed in water. There was no swelling at all. Daw Aw Zar, when at Rangoon developed a huge boil on the leg through having to walk in grass without any slippers on. She had to suffer for two months from this. Treatment consisted in bathing the boil with Hpan-Ye antiseptic liquid, and application of crushed KAZIN and gourd leaves mixed in water. The hospital also gave external medicines, but U Myaing does not know what medicine it was. It was healed after 2 months of treatment.

U Myaing was bitten twice by dogs. In such cases, treatment is by taking a silver THIN-CHA (tinture of iodine) rubbing charcoal onto its surface, and then pressing it seven times onto the wound while the person who is bitten holds his breath. There is a stanza which is usually recited on such occasions, but U Myaing does not happen to know it. When U Myaing himself was bitten, other people came and did the same service for him, and neither did they recite any stanza. However, his wound did not even faster.

There is also a stanza which is used to staunch the flow of blood. U Myaing believes in the efficacy of this stanza because

he has seen it work before his very eyes. The flow of blood lessens and stops even while the stanza is being recited. 753 757

Mastitis: _____): Ma Aye Myaing had mastitis on the right breast three months ago at the refugee camp. She felt feverish and had pain all over. On the third day, an English lady, probably a welfare worker, gave her fomentation for three days but it had no effect. On the next day, when an Indian doctor on volunteer service came to the camp, she consulted him. After careful examination he gave her a black ointment to apply to the affected area. She didnot know what ointment it was, but Ma Khin Hmay conjectures that it was Ethyl belladona. In addition to the ointment, he also gave her some white pills. These had to be taken orally twice at a time, three times a day for a period of ten days. After ten days of this combined treatment, Ma Aye Myaing's mastitis was completely cured.

Influenza: TONE KWAI (crouched position). Ma Aye Myaing tells us that she has had two attacks of influenza in her life time. The first was two years ago, and the second occured last year during the month of TAZAUNG-MON.

_____ ANAR PA HSOT (Sore heart). U Myaing once had an attack of Anar-pa-hsot when he was 35 years of age. This happened in Pantanaw, and was of 15 days duration. In this affliction, a swelling arises, red in colour, which rapidly accumulates pus. When this pustule bursts, new pustules rise at the base of the old swelling. If no medicines are taken, then the sore begins to spread but if treated with the right medicine the sore heals after the first pustule. The Burmese treatment for this disorder is as follows: Dried Hpan-Ga fruit is ground together with the mud from the mud-wasp's burrow, and placed on the sore. This stops the progress of infection within 5 days and effects the cure within another four or five days. The Hpan-Ga fruit costs about two or three annas, and that is about the total expenditure needed. However, if one does not know the cure, and has to consult a practioner, he will charge any amount between Rs. 10/- and Rs. 15/-. [435]

_____ HNYIN. Hnyin is a skin disease which brings out unsightly white patches on the skin. If not treated properly these tend to spread rapidly all over the body. The white patches are irritable and itchy, and very contagious. U Myaing has Hnyin patches on his body at present and has had them for the last three years. No medicines have been taken, because he regards it as a minor affliction.

The data on medicine and health was collected in the company and with the assistance of a medical student Ko Mya Tu who is at present studying in the Final Year M.B.B.S. class in the Rangoon University Medical College, preparatory to taking his final examinations. Ko Mya Tu proved to great help in interrogation and interpretation of data collected, and in diagnosing the nature of the various disorders from such symptoms and treatments as were remembered by the members of U Myaing's family. This technique elicited the information that there has been no case of Venereal Disease, Mental Disorder, Elephantiasis, Night-Blindness, Goiter, Plague, Mumps, Enteric, Beri-beri, Hernia, Cholera, Consumption and Disorders of the Ear in U Myaing's family. [124]

Menopause: MEK YAT THWAY SOME (Woman Disorder-Blood End). 886
Daw Aw Zar reached her climacteric at the age of 50. She did not suffer from menopause symptoms, as she had taken the following 757
preventative measures: she ha. eaten boiled duck eggs three at a time, and very frequently. Kyauk-Hpayon fruit jam was eaten all the time (since 25 ticals of jam can be offered on the altar and can then be eaten to last for 10 days. Phalaung-taung-hmwe root is thinly sliced, mixed with 25 ticals of palm jaggery, 6 pice worth of the 5 kinds of Hsa-mon seeds, and some salt, brewed together and taken. Also, each about two fingers small, were boiled and eaten with rice. Daw Aw Zar ate all these things until the age of 60.

Smallpox: (Preventatives). The Burmese preventative measure 757
for smallpox consists in rubbing the whole body in horse sweat and drinking mare's milk. The liver of the python is mixed with water and taken internally. Python flesh is also eaten and python skin is burnt and the ash mixed with jaggery (palm sugar) and made into pills to be taken orally. This is quite effective, and even if smallpox does come on later, it only does so in a mild form, as in the case of two of U Myaing's children who had only about 15 pustules each. U Myaing applied the preventatives. He tells us that practioners can shift the location of pustules. A pustule about to appear on the eyes of a child can be shifted elsewhere by using the tongue of the mother.

Medical injections-Vaccination and Cholera. Back in Pantanaw the English vaccinator came around only once in about three years, and consequently the children have been vaccinated only once in their lives. This, however is a service which is rendered free of charge. The youngest child has been vaccinated once here. The same remarks hold true for cholera injections also, except that every one in the family including the adults, have had only one inoculation each in their whole lives.

Cleanliness. For bathing, U Myaing's family uses the hydrant 515
in the camp twice a day. The soap which is used for washing clothes 2%
is also used on the body. In Pantanaw the river was used twice a day, and they had special soap for the body. In the camp clothes are washed every day because of their small number. In one month, the family uses up thirty cakes of soap each worth 2 annas, for bathing and washing. Teeth are cared for by cleaning them every morning with either salt or charcoal. This is true both of Pantanaw and refugee camp. It involves no special cost. In Pantanaw, the water used was water from the stream. This water was very clear, but it was also filtered before being used. In the refugee camp here the water is very clear and is used as it comes from the hydrant

Warts: KATO. The cure for warts is to kill the mother wart by 757
prodding it with some sharp instrument or pinching it away slowly.

An important factor in the health of the family has been the 753
supernatural. Daw Aw Zar was completely serious in informing us 775
that the reason she was in good health at 72 years of age was that she had been good in a previous existence. This idea is apparently tied to the concept of merit acquisition in which the deeds of the present existence add to or subtract from the well being of the future existence. U Myaing states it in this manner:

"The good in this life is because of the meritorious acts in the previous existence."

Basic Burmese Concepts of Health and Sickness.

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The Burmese regard health as the best of all earthly blessings. Although Buddha referred to the living body as a decaying corpse, which it was folly to feed, he recognized the necessity for bodily health in order to carry out the all-important mental activities connected with the Buddhist religion. It is then essential for each person to be as physically and mentally sound as he is able. The forces governing health and sickness are both supernatural and natural each with its own set of medical specialists. The specialists are called for only when the case is far advanced there being an extensive lore of home precautions and curative practices. In general, disorders caused by nats and ghosts (supernatural) or magic are recognized by their sudden, catastrophic or otherwise unusual nature, and are both instigated and cured by magical means. The natural disorders are caused by weaknesses in the constitution of the patient, foreign bodies, dangerous foods and such-like means, and are cured through knowledge of medical principles. The germ concept of disease is completely lacking, although when foreign matter is seen, as mosquito larvae in water, it is frequently regarded as unhealthy. The western idea of omnipresent harmful bacteria is regarded as fantastic in being contrary to observation - "our ancestors have lived for countless generations in these surroundings which you regard as dangerous", they will say. There are some 80 different kinds of PO MYOSIBA or harmful ingredients that can infect the body. These range from undesirable ingredients in food to mystical influences that rise in the teeth to cause tooth-ache. The cleanliness of the Burmese, as seen in their several daily baths and emphasis on clean clothes, is not out of regard for "hygenic" reasons, but rather for social reasons. One must look his best in public so as not to give offense to the eye or nose. The sick person is never washed since cold water would have the effect of driving the fever-heat inward to a fatal degree. The data for resumption of bathing for the convalescent is carefully considered; mistakes can result in relapse and death. Cool breezes must be avoided by the sick person for similar reasons. The house doors closed during the day invariably mean sickness within.

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●753 The concept of KARMA (fate) is important only in determining
777 the general well-being of the individual, as seen in Daw Aw Zar's
262 belief that her general good health was due to a morally-lived previous existence. "It is like a shadow". Some specific situations like being born blind is attributed to one's KARMA - in this case the person had been a notorious fighter of cocks in the previous existence; cocks being frequently blinded in the fights.

Each person is regarded as subject to some special disorder or weakness such as being especially subject to colds or headaches, or stomach troubles. Collectively these are referred to as "age-group" weaknesses. (MIYAT - girls' weakness; DULAH - boys' weaknesses.) But this is due to childhood illnesses and neglect of early troubles rather than KARMA. Persons with the weaknesses noted above avoid cucumbers (a "cold" vegetable), or hot foods including liquor (these cause greater heat to rise to the head), or green or raw vegetables (hard to digest). The choice of the correct diet to suit one's particular condition is important.

751 Bodily exercise is a prime consideration for health. Calli-
526 thenics or sports for this purpose are unknown or unrecognized and by
461 " healthful exercise " is meant everyday work activities. Regular
757 daily motion is regarded as necessary for health, and a purgative is
514 taken regularly once a month. The idea is to " clean out disease ". Purgatives are taken first in most sicknesses. This is followed by drinking preparations in hot water to induce perspiration along with woolen blankets. The colour of the urine is checked "daily" since a too yellow colour indicates an unhealthy condition. If so - one must drink additional quantities of water and coconut water. "Urine takes the place of perspiration in cold weather". Over-working and lack of sleep also tend to lead to unhealthiness. The ideal
[593] sleep period is from 8 p.m. to 6 a.m. with a nap thrown in from 12 to 2 after "breakfast".

158 Too much worrying SAY_TAUNG_LO_NOJEH (mind-beating-because-
753 body-crush) leads to sickness. This is a common problem for mothers who worry about their children's futures. It results in THEHJEH-PIZEH (small black bitter (gall)-disorder) where the gall fluid is

recognized as over-stimulated by anxieties. "Don't talk my gall into disorder" is a common reaction to calamity tales. 158 753

The weather is important is maintaining health. Changeable weather as during the late part of the Monsoon season is generally unhealthy and gives rise to pulmonary disorders. One should provide head protection (through covering or shade from umbrella) from the sun's rays - which cause headaches by melting the brain. Colds come from getting wet in the rain resulting from the lack of sufficient bodily heat. MIEH HNGWE (earth-vapour) which rises as a steam in the early morning or after sudden rains is unhealthful in causing sore eyes and other inflamations. The "steam of the body" healthfully goes out in ordinary bathing and adds to one's comfort. Heat is a key factor in health and sickness being readily discerned as causes of local or general infection. The additional concept of "like producing like" helps explain the above beliefs. 753 132

The odor of AH HNYAW (fried-food) is especially dangerous to babies and persons in a weakened condition. When frying, which will create extensive fumes, is to be undertaken the cook must give warning to the neighbourhood so that susceptible ones can be protected. Such persons take refuge behind the thick, cloth mosquito nets. Many heated arguments take place in our servants' quarters when the Indian fried food fumes carry over to the Burmese apartments. It is observed that this danger applies peculiarly to the Burmese - Chinese are also exempt since they are seen to cook with babies strapped on their backs. [252] [186]

Parts of the body are cared for with special ingredients. The eyes are cleaned with pure water or coconut water. Oil is frequently dropped into the ears through a feather quill. The mouth and teeth are cleaned with salt. Bitter foods keep keep the stomach fit. 515 751

Babies up to 1 year are fed on mother's milk or cow's milk. After one, rice chewed by the mother "to make it digestible" is added with some dried fish. After two, the child can chew its own rice, have a little meat, but no hot condiments. After five the child eats the same foods as the adults but is not allowed sour foods as this will "loosen the weight". After 16 or 17, this restriction is 853 561 262

Nats' powers for good include protecting the village from dacoit attacks but does not extend to modern warfare. When the Japanese armies were slicing up through Tenasserim in 1941, the elders of Maung Maung Than's village prayed for nat protection against the invaders. The nats replied "Dear ~~Villagers we ourselves~~ are wearing raised longyis in this crisis (ready to run)." This is a Rangoon town joke told among the sophisticated collegiates at the University. Not so well defined, but still sensed is a growing distrust of the powers of nats to combat modern evils. 776 178 [195]

The nats can best be visualized as supernatural despots each with his province (the home, village, sea, babies) and each exacting tribute of periodic or constant attention in the form of flowers or food, red and white cloth strips, and an altar which may have the image of the nat carved in wood (or moulded in modern plasticene). Banyan trees with their multiple, snake-like trunks, are the most common places of abode. When disaster in the form of sickness or other ill fortune strikes, the nats are appeased with offerings immediately. The SAY SAYA will frequently check with the family of his patient to make sure this has been done. In Rangoon and elsewhere, business men whose fortunes have been good are the main supporters of the nat festivals which are given for the entertainment of all the nats once a year in October, for a seven day period. NAT KADAW (nat-wives) are the mediums who contact the nats by becoming possessed by them at this festival and other special occasions (for a single nat) throughout the year. These are married women or more rarely homosexuals who dance, answer questions and give opinions when possessed. 776 782 [759] [796] 791

Punishment for offense against the nats is first shown by accidents or sudden illnesses like paralysis meted out to the offender. If the offender continues the village as a whole will gradually be afflicted. For example, when a drunkard offends the nats with blasphemous language evil falls on the entire village. Villagers led by the elders and a prominent NAT-KADAW go in a body to the major banyan tree shrine to have an understanding with the offended nats. Offerings are given and attention of the nats called to the woes of 776 753 688 672 782

776 of the villagers. The head-nat, the guardian of the village, replies
●753 with accusations that "the whole village has forgotten me", boasts of
688 his powers to punish and is finally molified. In Rangoon there are
672 professional nat-givers who parade the streets with a cart bearing the
782 image of "the conqueror of the salty waters" (special nat of entrepre-
[463] neurs). For a few annas he will make offerings to the nat and relcive the busy townspeople of this task.

776 The arrangement is a mutual one where the people enjoy freedom
782 from oppressions in return for certain concessions. This phenomenon closely parallels the traditional relationship between the rulers and the ruled in Burma. In a real sense the nat concept serves the function of allowing the Burmese a sense of control over catastrophic forces which do not fall into any other system (as secular, political,
[177] personal relationships, cosmology.). It is this system of controls that the western scientific system most immediately competes with. The administrative and entrepreneur class of Burmese especially in Rangoon say they "Do not believe" in nats. But it is usual for most individuals no matter what their western background to apply to nats in cases of ill fortune "just in case".

775 THAYEH (Ghosts) generally are a group of supernatural spirits closely related to nats in their origins but with a different set of properties. These are "recently" deceased individuals whose crimes and sins while on earth or manner of death condemn them to an eternity of wandering and mischief-making. Actually, each person becomes a ghost at death but is ordinarily released from earth at the moment of the interment of the copse for judgement in heaven. Those who die of
[761] "raw death" become ghosts. These include: death in childbirth, by wild animals (especially tigers), instant deaths by dahs as in warfare, or by hanging. In Maung Maung Than's village a prominent ghost is U Ne Gyi (Mr. Blacky) a very sinful fellow who lived 50 or 60 years ago in the village. His complexion is quite black and horribly distorted. He inhabits a banyan tree and specializes in causing infant illness. Offerings of rice at the tree pacifies him. Ghosts are forces for evil only - evil of the more irritating and less important kind.
751 Older people wear red and white coloured strings about their necks as a protection against ghost evils. It is very common to wear a LET-PMET

23: Brant & Mi Mi Khaing E, I-5 (1949-1950)1951
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787 826 Omens are read from the position of mongoloid spots on the newborn baby's body. They are said to represent marks put on in a previous existence and their presence proves the child was then a human being. A blue spot on the foot presages a life of travel. Any marks leading from the right shoulder to the left hip, the line that the royal riband takes, indicate a royal future; today, however, with no royalty in Burmese society, such marks merely forecast a "great" future for the child.

775 826 A child is constantly watched from the time of birth for signs of whose reincarnation it represents. This is a constant topic in the family conversations.

Any disfigurement in a newborn child is regarded as a carry-over of the parents' store of demerit, as well as that of the child, from previous existences. It is regarded with a sense of shame and sorrow.

845 Although multiple births are neither preferred nor desired, they are not looked upon with any marked anxiety nor are there any supernatural means employed to prevent them.

766 In the event of a stillborn baby, the corpse is given special treatment. It is kept in a case, clothed and powdered, and a tray of food is set in front of it every day. It is considered auspicious to care for a stillborn child in this manner: the spirits will guide the parents in their dreams toward the attainment of material prosperity.

751 854 [825] [753] For the normal baby who survives, a number of things are done by Burmese parents to protect it from malevolent influences. Before it is a month old, a tiger bone is ground on a stone, together with a little water, and mixed with honey. This is fed to the child to ward off a mysterious infant illness associated with the tiger. A connection is believed to exist between the tiger and convulsions; some parents place a tiger skin under the mattress of the baby's bed to guard against such illness. A knife placed under the baby's mattress is said to protect against illness in general.

To insure good health and well-being for the child, a white thread over which certain *mantras* have been recited may be given by a Buddhist monk and tied around the baby's wrists. Should a baby be admired by people for its growth, the thread may be left on to neutralize the harm that is believed to result from such expressions.

[278] When the child's umbilical cord has dried and fallen off, it is kept and used as a medicine for any illness that befalls the child. A little of it is ground up and mixed with water for such purposes.

000 A very close connection is believed to exist between mother and child during

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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846 757 she is made to smell samôn-net, a plant (the *Nigella sativa*), which is put in an earthen pot, strongly heated, and then triturated into the shape of a ball. The odour is not exactly such as one would recognise as calculated to exhilarate any one, but probably after the hot bricks and the se sein everything else comes as a matter of detail. All this is done to drive out the noxious humours which are supposed to be generated by the birth of a child. On the seventh day the woman takes an elementary kind of Turkish bath. She sits over a large jar of boiling water, medicated with tamarind twigs and a few other kinds of leaves and grasses, with a blanket over her. After about an hour of this she has a cold bath, and is then free to do as she pleases. She usually goes to bed.

165 846 177·84 184 It might be supposed that under this treatment death in child-bearing would be very frequent, but as far as imperfect statistics can show the percentage is not much higher than in other countries. The result, however, appears in another way. A woman ages up ten or fifteen years for every child she has. It is satisfactory to notice that in all the larger towns in Lower Burma the more unpleasant features are fading away before the example and influence of women of other nationalities. In the jungle and in Upper Burma, however, ancient use and wont still prevail, and the young mother of fourteen or fifteen is shrivelled into thirty with her first baby.

845 If a woman gives birth to a still-born child, a piece of iron is placed in the cloth in which the body is wrapped, or in the coffin if there is one, and at the burial some member of the family says some such formula as "Never more return into thy mother's womb till this metal becomes soft as down."

If a married woman dies before bearing a child (alôn [775] hnin the-thi), a Cæsarean operation is performed, and the alôn is buried in some secret place. The reason alleged for this is, that were it not done, the husband in future existences would marry this woman again, and she would die in the same way. 845 Were the embryo not secretly buried it ● 754 would be disinterred by hmaw-sayās, necromancers, and wizards, who would make evil uses of it. Children's cauls are as highly thought of by Burmans as they are by English

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sailors; only where the tar thinks he will be saved from drowning, the Turanian expects to gain the patronage of any great person he may address.

The infant having survived and the mother recovered from her roasting, the next thing to be done is to name the child. This usually happens about a fortnight after the birth. A fortunate day and hour is sought out by some Brahmin astrologer, or a sayā of lesser note, if there is no such dignitary in the neighbourhood. A great feast, as elaborate as the wealth or the ambition and borrowing capacities of the parents admit, is prepared, and all the friends of the family and the neighbours are invited to come. The child's head is usually washed for the first time on this day. The ceremony is therefore called kin-bôn tat thi. A decoction of the pods and bark of the soap acacia (*Acacia rugata*) or kin-bôn is prepared, and with this the midwife washes the infant's head and the guests wash their hands. Most of them bring friendly contributions towards the feast, or perhaps a little money. The mother sits down in the centre of the circle with the infant in her arms, and near her is the father. The company sit gravely smoking and chewing betel for a time, and then some elder, or a near relation of the parents, seems struck with a name, and suggests it aloud. Everybody accepts it on the spot, and falls to discussing the aptness of the name and the accomplishments and virtues of people they have known with that appellation. This is, however, all a pre-arranged thing. The father and mother have settled beforehand what the child is to be called, and have apprised the lu-gyi selected what is to be the result of his cogitations. The midwife then gets a present according to the means of the family, having previously, after the seven days' roasting, received the regulation fee of one pyi, the sixteenth of a basket of husked rice, one mat, and a four anna bit. Then everybody adjourns to the feast, which, with the dessert of le'-pet, salted ginger cut into small strips, ground nuts, fried garlic, the invariable betel apparatus, cheroots, and what not, pass the time till nightfall, when, except in the case of poor people, there is always a pwè which carries on proceedings till the next morning.

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making mud pies according to cosmopolitan infantile habit, and not seldom getting up decorous and serious representations of the choral dances and dramatic performances they have seen. The spectacle of a little girl vigorously puffing a big green cheroot while she moulds a heap of mud into shapely form is only a little more startling to the white-faced foreigner than the declamatory passion of a five-year-old princeling. So it goes on till the eighth year is reached; then it is time to go to the monastic school.

On the following page is a copy of the sadā of Shin Thuza. The young lady, I regret to say, is dead. The publication of her horoscope cannot therefore enable malicious persons to work her any harm by means of spells. The side represented is the obverse. I have submitted the figures to two very distinguished wranglers, but they have been unable to detect any system in them.

On the reverse, surrounded by an ornamental border of numbers written in accordance with a rhyme, are recorded in mystic language the details. The young lady was born in the year 1220 B.E. (twenty-three years ago), in the astrological cycle 422, in the month of Ta-bodwè, on the ninth of the waxing moon, and the seventh day (Friday) of the week, in the evening, at thôn chetti gyaw, a little past the third hour, or more exactly, three nayi, two pads, and ten bizana. Then the precise position of the constellation in the heavens is noted. It is thirteen bǎwa (feet), five finger breadths, three mayaw (grains' length), one sessamum seed (nan), and eight hairs' breadths from the planet. Then it winds up to the effect that this is the horoscope of the maiden, whom, that she may be known by a pleasant name, her parents have called Shin Thuza. "May she live to be a hundred and twenty!" Alas! she did not.

At either side of these details are two identical magic squares, formed in accordance with the well-known Hindoo Law. Over one is written "The Buddha"; over the other "The Law"; beneath the former "Rangoon," and the latter "650." The two palm-leaves are tightly sewn together, and the writings and figures, done with a metal style on the dry leaf, are very neatly executed.

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might be bribed. The usual result is to break the robber's spirit. Once the continuity is interrupted the consecration is gone. More peaceable people wear necklaces or bracelets of such talismans in the belief that they are thus proof against malignant witches and necromancers. Most Englishmen in Burma, who are on friendly terms with the people, have been asked to test the virtue of such a charm, by firing at it tied up in a handkerchief. If the incantation is valid the handkerchief will be unharmed, though the muzzle of the pistol be held up to it. In such a case the pistol will burst.

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Another kind of tattooing is the mwe se, which guards against danger from snake bite. Similarly the a-kwè a-ka, the shielding, or defending drug, renders harmless the spells of wizards and geomancers, and keeps far away evil spirits of every kind. But the most hideous and weird of the superstitions about tattooing is that connected with the a-kyan se. There are but very few sayās who are acquainted with the necessary drugs and incantations, and fewer people still who have the courage to submit to the operation, for many men are pointed out whose minds have given way under the gruesome process, and who wander about graveyards, gnashing their teeth and fumbling about for human bones to gnaw and mouth. And no wonder, for some tattooers make them chew the raw flesh of a man who has been hanged, while the figure is being tattooed on the breast. Those who go through the operation are called Baw-di-tha-da. Some become Baw-di-tha-da without knowing it, and without the sickening necessity of mumbling human flesh like a ghoul. I knew an instance in a monastery. The patient was a boarder about fourteen years of age. A Shan tattooer wandering about the country spent a couple of nights in the kyaung, and the boy, attracted by the fellow's eerie tales, managed to save up a good many titbits for him from the food going in the monastery. Out of gratitude, and having nothing better to give him, for he was very poor and homeless, the sayā tattooed on the lad a figure with singular drugs, muttering queer phrases the while. Then he went away saying no more than that it would make the boy very strong. In about a month's time the boarder displayed unmistakable signs of being a Baw-di-tha-da. He

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leapt enormous heights in the air, jumped about and ran at random, carried with the utmost ease things which no one else could move. The abbot locked him up in a sadaik, the box in which the palm-leaf manuscripts were kept; he got out without injuring the lock in any way, sprang on to the roof of the monastery, forty feet high, and turned a somersault to the ground without hurting himself in the least. He had been a boy of very soft, easy temper, and now he became fiery and uncertain, and with his vast strength, very dangerous. He only calmed down when a monk preached the law to him. He was constantly doing marvellous things; one day he walked across the river in front of the monastery, holding a monk's ôk, or food vessel, in his hands. The depth of the water was over six fathoms, but it did not reach higher than his waist. On another occasion a tree which was being cut down fell on him. He sank into the ground and came forth quite uninjured. After some years his parents took him to Magwe in Upper Burma. There he fell into bad courses and became a dacoit. This was terrible for his family in a special way, because in native territory if they cannot catch the dacoit they seize all his friends and relations and put them in jail till they can get hold of the real culprit, and no one can lay hands on a Baw-di-tha-da. At last, however, he was restored to his right mind. A holy ascetic came across him, soothed him with the payeit gyi, and then with a rusty nail and sacred medicines, tattooed out the figure put on with such lamentable results by the Shan sayā. The quondam Baw-di-tha-da is now a staid and respected broker in the employ of one of the best-known English rice firms in Rangoon. He was fortunate; most Baw-di-tha-das have to be killed in their sleep.

But though Baw-di-tha-das are very rare, charmed tattooing is not, and there are some fast young men who seem almost to make picture galleries of themselves with emblems and patterns all over their chests, arms, backs, and the calves of their legs. The colour gradually dies away until at last nothing remains but the blue breeches. These really look well, and they last a man to his dying day.

The following recipes and formulæ to be repeated

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sick will recover and the plague leave the locality. Thereupon the villagers rush off like madmen into the surrounding forest, and run about hither and thither in a reckless way with an open cloth, or the end of their waistcloth, in their hands. Some of them suddenly make a plunge with their cloth over a bush or a tussock of grass, and then closing it up carefully, hurry breathless back to the village. The leip-bya or "butterflies" of the sick man are supposed to have been captured. The paso, or cloth, is carefully opened and shaken over the patient's head, and the leip-bya is supposed to return to its proper habitation. This operation is repeated several times, in case a wrong "butterfly" might have been captured, or lest the actual one should have escaped on the way. Then everybody returns. The function is not without its danger, for it has happened that the
● [754] temporary mimes have become permanently possessed of evil spirits, and as witches and wizards have proved as great curses to the neighbourhood as any pestilence could have been. Which things are an allegory. The whole ceremony
[178] is beginning to get into very bad odour in the more settled parts of the province, and respectable people avoid having anything to do with it, while those who have taken a part are ashamed to own it.

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All these nats are directly connected with a particular locality, and therefore well known to, and regularly propitiated by, the inhabitants of that place. But there are abundance of nats to be found elsewhere, away from villages and houses, and all of them equally ready to resent any injury which the passer-by may unwittingly do them. When a Burman starts on a journey he hangs a bunch of plantains, or a twig of the tha-bye tree, on the pole of the buffalo cart or the stern of the boat, to conciliate any spirit whose beat he may intrude upon. The fisherman makes offerings in his nat-sin every time he launches his dug-out; the lonely hunter in the forest deposits some rice and ties together a few leaves whenever he comes across some particularly large and imposing tree, lest there might be a thi'pin-saung nat dwelling there. Should there be none, the tied-back twigs will at any rate stand in evidence to the taw-saung nat, the demon who presides over all the forest.

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are recorded with enthusiasm and delighted precision of detail; and when an hour or so has been passed in this way, a little more rice-husking is done, and the girls set to work getting ready the onions and sesamum seed, and slicing up the cocoa-nut kernels. This sort of thing goes on all the night through. There is half an hour's work, and then an hour of singing and story-telling and gossip; about the great Shinbinthalyaung, the gigantic recumbent image of Shin Gautama dug up lately near Pegu; of the two min-laungs, the embryo kings, who have been revealed there, and the third one, who is foretold by the old theit-sa, the prophecy which declares that he will restore the ancient Talaing kings and revive religion; of the new hti which is being set up on the pagoda of the lotus tank, and its exceeding splendour, each single one of the concentric rings having been assigned as a particular favour to one out of many competing districts. Then there is a discussion as to the new fashion of turbans, the one plain colour with worked flowers on it, which has supplemented the old thinner style with more braid-like patterns; and the present rage for waist-cloths with many-coloured stripes in place of the old wavy and dog's-tooth fashion. Then the girls are rallied about the method in which they dress their hair—all of them in the style just declared treasonable in the upper country. Queen Supayalat has hit upon some particular set, or plaiting of her tresses, which she thinks becomes her very well, and a royal order has come out making it penal for any meaner damsels to adopt the same method. Consequently all the maidens from Taungoo to Kyauk-Hpyu and the A-eng Pass to Malawun have made up after the queenly model and flatter themselves that it is *chic*. There are always ghost stories at these gatherings, tales about the three farmer brothers that were killed just after harvest time three years ago, and now haunt the dense patch of swampy jungle down by the creek as nat seins, and sometimes scare the fishermen out of a night's work by the violent agitation of the tree-tops on a still night; and then there is that old hag in the lone house at the far end of the village, who is certainly a witch; it must have been she who gave the old sikkè the tet, poor old man, and he a payā-tagā too, founder

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527 of the pagoda on the slope of the "Brother and Sister Hill";
521 and there is little Ma Mi; the old beldam looked at her over
●[754] the fence on the fifth of last waning, and the poor thing lost her sweetheart before the change of the moon, and had all her fine false hair stolen only three days ago: proof enough that of the *jettatura*.

527 It is long past midnight, when all the cocks of the village crow together, deriving their knowledge of the exact time from the diet of burnt astrological books, pecked at by their ancestors long ago, when the objection to cabalistic works was much more violent than it is nowadays; and sometimes daylight is coming in, and the sound of the morning chant steals over from the monastery, when the party breaks up and all go home. The kauk hnyin has been all husked, and, mixed up with the other ingredients, is simmering away over the fire. Every one has a virtuous consciousness of having gained considerable kutho in addition to having spent a very agreeable time. Few go to sleep. They have eaten too much le'hpet for that, and in an hour or two some of them will be wanted again to take the tamanè round. That is done about eight o'clock in the case of the monks. The farmer himself and his family carry it to the monastery in the spire-shaped lacquer-box, and having paid the usual reverence, deposit it before the superior, who looks on calmly without a word of thanks, or even the semblance of a recognition, but says before they go, that if they keep the Ten Precepts and live virtuously, they will escape the Four States of Punishment and be delivered from the Five Enemies. Then the "supporters" wheel on the right, and depart home to make up the portions for all their friends and neighbours. These are usually taken round by the girls, who go in bevies of three or four, dressed in their finest clothes and with flowers in their hair, and deliver the dainty with compliments, and injunctions to eat it immediately. By six o'clock in the evening, when the sonorous wooden bell of the monastery is summoning in all the scholars, the entire village is asleep; and they do not get up very early next morning. Nobody in the whole place has been drunk; and if there is an opium-eater in the village, he was not asked to the feast and had none of the tamanè.

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CHAPTER XLIV

WIZARDS, DOCTORS, AND WISE MEN

WIZARDS and witches are very common in Burma. The thing runs in families, and on the Chindwin river in Upper Burma there is a village called Kale Thaungthut, "the small town at the top of the sandbank," where the entire population is credited with supernatural power of this kind. They have a king there, and if a person who has been bewitched goes to him and represents that he has been malignantly and unjustifiably laid under a spell by some unknown person, the wizard king goes through some inverted prayers and ceremonies, and utters an incantation, which forces the bewitcher to his presence. An explanation is then demanded, and if no just cause can be shown, the witch is punished and the afflicted person is freed from his ailment. Many bewitched people who have gone there to be cured have, however, never come back again, and pilgrimages thither are therefore not so common as they might be otherwise, and of course no one, not afflicted, would be reckless enough to go, as it were, into the lion's den. 754

But there are good witches and bad. There are the sôns, who delight in nothing so much as in killing people, afflicting them with epilepsy, fits, and divers other ailments; and there are the wézas, who are good people, and strive to overthrow the machinations of the sôns against the welfare of mankind, while themselves learned in all the knowledge of the mystic art. Wéza simply means wisdom or knowledge, and the sorcery studied by both classes is the same. Both kinds of wise men are divided into four orders, according 789

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The doings of the wizards therefore enter largely into Burmese domestic life. There is a sôn in the neighbourhood, and all the mischief which happens there is ascribed to him, while the aid of the in sayās and others is called in to frustrate his knavish tricks. The sôn is of course unknown, or the people would soon make short work of him. In remote country places, among other remnants of trial by ordeal, they still occasionally put a suspected person to the old test. A woman is suspected of being a sônma. Her hands and feet are tied, and she is placed between two boats moored out in the river. A quantity of filth is heaped upon her, and the boats are then drawn away so that she falls into the water. If she swims she is a witch, and is put to death. If, on the contrary, she sinks, it is a proof of her innocence, and the accusers are punished. To prevent her from being drowned, a rope made of green bark is tied round her waist, so that she may be pulled on shore again. The great danger from the witches is that, like the *wehrwolf*, they can assume the appearance of animals, or living people, even of one's own relations. If, however, the apparition is wounded, the same injury will be found on the person of the actual witch. Few people, however, have the courage to attack a nocturnal visitant whom they believe to be a sôn, and prefer propitiation in the shape of refections laid outside the house. In all these points the beliefs and fears coincide with those of other countries, and it is therefore unnecessary to do more than allude to them.

The rudiments of the science are contained in the volumes of the Bedin and a book on astrology and cabalistic science called the Deittôn. These are very imperfect, and individual magic-workers advance far beyond the matter to be found in them. It is said that these books were complete, but that in the time of the Lord Buddha the people, worked on by his vivid preaching, seized on all the magic volumes, together with all weapons and objects for destroying life, and heaping them together, set fire to them. But Dewadat, cousin of Shin Gautama, and always plotting harm against him, snatched several of the sections from the flames, and so a portion of the old science was preserved in the world. This tradition of course shows the attitude of the monks and the

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religious towards the students of this sort of learning. Nevertheless, just as every Burman at some time in his life dabbles a little in alchemy, so the bedin sayās and hmaw sayās, and the magicians, good and evil, obtain believers and clients.

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As the sôns are supposed to afflict people with strange illnesses, the province of the wézas becomes very much mixed up with that of the professional doctors. The latter cannot complain, and the general public can see no reason why the one should not be as good a physician as the other, for doctors in Burma take no diploma, and are not required to give proofs of skill in the healing art to any one but themselves. Many of them therefore are the most arrant charlatans, giving medicines according to fancy and in unlimited quantities. On the principle of like to like, prescriptions mainly composed of cayenne, cloves, ginger, and the like, are made up for fever patients, while purgatives are rigidly withheld. If a patient says he is no better five minutes after he has swallowed a dose, something else is tried, and so on, till the wretched victim has a stomach loaded with drugs to the limit of the prescriber's pharmacopœia. These quacks are too often taken as the only representatives of Burmese medical skill, and it is denied that any one in the country has a right to the title of doctor at all. But it is certain that some have really useful and efficacious remedies for ordinary ailments, such as jungle fever, dysentery, and other frequently-met-with diseases, while it is admitted that they are particularly successful in the treatment of sores and ulcers. I knew of a case in Rangoon where varicose ulcers, which had resisted the efforts of the best English doctors in Rangoon and Calcutta, yielded to the simples of a Burmese sethama. He used earth-oil with an infusion of some seed or bark, and speedily effected a cure. The Burmese *materia medica* consists of barks, leaves, flowers, seeds, roots, and a few simple minerals, of which they have an empirical knowledge. They especially deal in pills and powders, which they carry about with them in little phials of bamboo. These little cylinders are usually gilt and painted bright red, and are always strongly perfumed. It does not so much matter about the materials as at what time of the moon and under what constellations the ingredients are gathered. Whoever reaches a place within three days

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A woman who has seven sons or seven daughters in unbroken succession is almost certain to become a witch; her husband had better not quarrel with her at any rate. 754

At Kāma, a small place between Prome and Thayetmyo, there is a spirit flame, a kind of Jack o' Lantern, in a hollow near the town. Long ago a smith was killed in a brawl and became a nat after death. He liked his old profession and set up a nat-fire, and worked away at nights on a spectral forge. The inhabitants soon found out what was going on, and after their first terror was over used to go out in the middle of the day and leave a piece of iron, saying, "Good Mr. Spirit, make me an axe, a dah, a hoe." Next day they found it all ready made. At last a Chin—just the sort of thing one of those stupid people would do—hid himself, and just when the midnight cocks had finished crowing, up rose the smith in human shape, dressed in a red paso and a flaring red turban. He began hammering away on his anvil, welding a sword. The infatuated Chin at last shouted, "Make it quick." The demon smith whipped round on the instant and flung the red-hot dah at him, burning his cheek. The indiscreet peeping Tom took to his heels and ran. After he had got a mile away he rubbed his blistered cheek, and in after-times there rose at that place Pāpôt, "the cheek-rubbing village." A mile farther on he began to shake all over with fatigue and terror, whence the name of Tôn, "the trembling village." Finally, when he reached the site of Paukpogu, the "swelling burst," he sank down on the ground, and was found there next morning with just enough life left to tell his story. The smith never worked again, but his fire may be seen to this day. Once a year all the house fires in Kāma are put out and lighted again from the nat-mi. Should any one neglect so to pay honour to the nat, his house and all his goods will be burnt before the year is out. The resemblance to the legend of Wayland Smith at Lambourn in Berkshire is obvious. The naming of the villages is also a favourite form of Horne Took etymology prevalent all over Burma. 823 [513] [186] [103]

The common notion of earthquakes is that the earth is supported on the shoulders of four creatures called nga-hlyin. These monsters are less sturdy than the classical Atlas, and 823

Basic Burmese Concepts of Health and Sickness.

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The Burmese regard health as the best of all earthly blessings. Although Buddha referred to the living body as a decaying corpse, which it was folly to feed, he recognized the necessity for bodily health in order to carry out the all-important mental activities connected with the Buddhist religion. It is then essential for each person to be as physically and mentally sound as he is able. The forces governing health and sickness are both supernatural and natural each with its own set of medical specialists. The specialists are called for only when the case is far advanced there being an extensive lore of home precautions and curative practices. In general, disorders caused by nats and ghosts (supernatural) or magic are recognized by their sudden, catastrophic or otherwise unusual nature, and are both instigated and cured by magical means. The natural disorders are caused by weaknesses in the constitution of the patient, foreign bodies, dangerous foods and such-like means, and are cured through knowledge of medical principles. The germ concept of disease is completely lacking, although when foreign matter is seen, as mosquito larvae in water, it is frequently regarded as unhealthy. The western idea of omnipresent harmful bacteria is regarded as fantastic in being contrary to observation - "our ancestors have lived for countless generations in these surroundings which you regard as dangerous", they will say. There are some 80 different kinds of PO MYOHZA or harmful ingredients that can infect the body. These range from undesirable ingredients in food to mystical influences that rise in the teeth to cause tooth-ache. The cleanliness of the Burmese, as seen in their several daily baths and emphasis on clean clothes, is not out of regard for "hygenic" reasons, but rather for social reasons. One must look his best in public so as not to give offense to the eye or nose. The sick person is never washed since cold water would have the effect of driving the fever-heat inward to a fatal degree. The date for resumption of bathing for the convalescent is carefully considered; mistakes can result in relapse and death. Cool breezes must be avoided by the sick person for similar reasons. The house doors closed during the day invariably mean sickness within.

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The Buddhas are, of course, above earthly contacts and their helpers the THAMA DEWA (heavenly-nats) function only as judges in the after-world - although they may counsel the living, as a "conscience", on right living. The MEKA-DEWA (earth-nats) on the other hand are major forces of this world. There are 37 major nats each with a characteristic appearance (in human form) and personality. Each has an origin legend involving a story of a human of extraordinary characteristics who met death in an unusual fashion and remained on earth to complicate men's affairs. Most have properties of guardian spirits who if their needs are attended to will protect the interests of a community or special group mainly by refraining from doing harm.

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keep away fever from the household. It must not be supposed that the nat guardian of the house has necessarily any affection for those who have built the place where he has taken up his abode. He probably regards them only with cold indifference, however generous they may be in their offerings, and were he not propitiated by these gifts he would almost certainly display his anger by doing the inhabitants some grievous injury. But then he dislikes his haunts being intruded upon, and if a stranger comes at an unwonted time—a burglar at midnight, for example—it is quite likely that the eing saung nat will attack him violently, scare him out of his wits, or give him the colic. Thus without any really estimable purpose in his mind, Min-magayi may be a considerable protection to his worshippers, just as an "awful example" is useful to teetotallers.

Beyond this guardian, or demon of the house, there is the guardian nat of the village, the ywa saung nat, of whose shrine at the end of the town I have already made mention. None of the lower-class Talaings would ever think of eating a morsel without first holding up his platter in the air, and breathing a prayer to the village nat. They are particularly fond of putting up shrines to the nats under the le'pan tree, from the wood of which coffins are frequently made. A feast must be held every three or four years in honour of this nat, at which the natkadaw, a woman called the nat's wife, dances. This is done in order that sickness may be kept away. Should an epidemic actually break out, a very elaborate ceremony is gone through. Probably first of all the figure of a spectre, or of a bilu, is painted on an ordinary earthenware water-pot, and this is solemnly smashed to pieces about sundown, with a heavy stick or a dah. As soon as it gets dark, the entire populace break out into yells, and make as much noise generally as they can compass, with the view of scaring away the evil spirit who has brought the disease. This is repeated on three several nights, and if it is not then effective the yahans are called in to give their assistance. The prior, with his following, repeat the Ten Precepts, chant the Payeit-gyi, and then one of the sermons of the Lord Buddha is declaimed, the same by the preaching of which he drove away the pestilence

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which was devastating the country of Wethali. If this last ceremony is not effectual the village is abandoned. The inhabitants leave the sick and the dying to their fate, and go off to the jungle, where each household camps out by itself for a time. Before they return again, the yellow-robed monks, in recognition of much alms, read the Law up and down the street between the houses. When they have gone back to the monastery, the nat's shrine is repaired, and abundant offerings deposited. Having thus made their peace with the representatives of both religions, the people return to their houses, light fires, cook rice for new offerings, and then enter upon their ordinary pursuits as if no interruption whatever had occurred.

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This is what would take place in any ordinary Burman village. But among the Talaings, and in the more retired places in the jungle, occupied by ignorant uncultivated Burmans, the function called ywakyathi would be carried out, which is much more purely geniolatric in its character. This is sometimes done when a prominent man in the hamlet is sick, more often when there is danger of a contagious disease. A great feast of cooked rice and meat, roasted fowls and ducks forming a prominent part of it, is heaped up on a platform specially erected for the purpose some distance outside the village. Everybody in the village is required to have some part in the ceremony. A few are sent out beforehand, who dress themselves up in a fantastic way, and pretend to be bilus, evil nats, and witches. With them are others who feign to be dogs, and rush about on all fours, barking and howling; others represent pigs, and grunt and nuzzle about with their noses in the ground. After this performance has been carried on for some time, the remainder of the villagers come out in a band, and, through one or more spokesmen, demand of the possessed whether those lying sick at home will recover, and whether the bad spirits are satisfied with the offerings. It is specially ordained at these exhibitions that no one shall be called by his real name; such mention, if made inadvertently, would expose the person addressed to considerable danger, even if he should make no sign betraying himself, for he certainly would not answer. The quasi tasés always reply that the

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sick will recover and the plague leave the locality. Thereupon the villagers rush off like madmen into the surrounding forest, and run about hither and thither in a reckless way with an open cloth, or the end of their waistcloth, in their hands. Some of them suddenly make a plunge with their cloth over a bush or a tussock of grass, and then closing it up carefully, hurry breathless back to the village. The leip-bya or "butterflies" of the sick man are supposed to have been captured. The paso, or cloth, is carefully opened and shaken over the patient's head, and the leip-bya is supposed to return to its proper habitation. This operation is repeated several times, in case a wrong "butterfly" might have been captured, or lest the actual one should have escaped on the way. Then everybody returns. The function is not without its danger, for it has happened that the [754] temporary mimes have become permanently possessed of evil spirits, and as witches and wizards have proved as great curses to the neighbourhood as any pestilence could have been. Which things are an allegory. The whole ceremony [178] is beginning to get into very bad odour in the more settled parts of the province, and respectable people avoid having anything to do with it, while those who have taken a part are ashamed to own it.

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All these nats are directly connected with a particular locality, and therefore well known to, and regularly propitiated by, the inhabitants of that place. But there are abundance of nats to be found elsewhere, away from villages and houses, and all of them equally ready to resent any injury which the passer-by may unwittingly do them. When a Burman starts on a journey he hangs a bunch of plantains, or a twig of the tha-bye tree, on the pole of the buffalo cart or the stern of the boat, to conciliate any spirit whose beat he may intrude upon. The fisherman makes offerings in his nat-sin every time he launches his dug-out; the lonely hunter in the forest deposits some rice and ties together a few leaves whenever he comes across some particularly large and imposing tree, lest there might be a thi'pin-saung nat dwelling there. Should there be none, the tied-back twigs will at any rate stand in evidence to the taw-saung nat, the demon who presides over all the forest.

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were killed. They are called nat-sein. Advantage is taken of this to guard the capital. When a town is founded, at each of the four corners of the city walls and under the gate-posts people are buried alive. Their spirits thereafter hover about the place and bring disaster on strangers who come there with evil intentions. Monks and nuns who lead bad lives and break their vows are also believed to pass into demons when they die. There is therefore a constant and lamentable recruiting of the forces of the nats and tasés.

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In some places certain nats have qualities ascribed to them which are not entirely obstructive and obnoxious. For example, in a nat's house at Nyaung-u, before the figure of a spirit called Apé Shwemyosin, lies a twisted, curious-shaped stone, which has magic powers ascribed to it. The sick come and try to lift it up. If they are successful they will soon recover health; if, on the other hand, its weight is too much for them, the inquirers will die. Similarly, on the ascent to Mandalay Hill there is a little chapel in which, besides three figures of the hentha, the Brahminy goose, each said to contain a sacred tooth brought from Ceylon, there is a flat, oval stone, with mystic characters inscribed on it. Many resort there to ascertain the probable issue of an intended journey or enterprise. If the stone proves heavy, the sign is bad.

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The belief in spirits naturally induces a corresponding faith in omens. The Deitton, an astrological book constantly in the hands of Bedin Sayās, but carefully excluded from all monasteries, gives a great variety of them; auguries from the flight and number of birds seen, omens from the barking of dogs, the movements of bees, and the laying of eggs by fowls. Rules are given for choosing the site on which a house is to be built, and omens drawn from the substances found in digging the foundations. Posts are called male, female, or a-thet ma shi, neuter, according as they are of the same girth throughout, larger at the bottom or in the middle. Under ordinary circumstances, houses with female taing are fortunate, with neuter disastrous. Posts which are largest at the top are called taing bilu, "demon beams," and are especially unhappy.

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CHAPTER XLI

CHOLERA SPECIFICS

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OCCASIONALLY a whole Burmese village or a quarter of the town seems to be seized with sudden madness. Without a moment's warning, apparently, and moved by one common impulse, the able-bodied scramble on to the tops of their houses and fall to work to beat the wooden or mat roofs with bamboos and billets of wood. The old and feeble stand down below and thump unmelodious drums, or bray their loudest on raucous trumpets, while the women and children dance round about and open their mouths and yell. No one has any right to talk about pandemonium till he has been scared by the sudden bursting on the night air of this diabolical uproar. New-comers in Rangoon, mindful of the scares which have been frequent of late years, on hearing the outburst for the first time, are apt to believe that the long-prophesied rising of the "budmash" population has at length commenced, and that the ferocious Burman has started on the war-path. They are the more inclined to believe it because the outbreak always takes place at night, and, at a distance, suggests nothing so much as a general free fight. But it is nothing of the kind; nothing could be farther from it. It is, in point of fact, the regular sequel to a religious ceremony. Cholera has appeared in the district. There have been a number of deaths, and the population is aroused to a sense of the danger. The terrible epidemic is of annual occurrence, notwithstanding all sanitary precautions, at the beginning of the south-west monsoon in May. The first heavy bursts of the rainy season wash all manner of surface impurities, animal and vegetable, into the wells

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and tanks, and cases of sporadic cholera are the consequence. So says the civil surgeon; but the Burmans do not believe him. They are convinced that a nat-so, some evil spirit, has taken up his abode in the place, and is exacting revenge for some real or fancied insult. They accordingly take this means of forcing him to quit; and if the malignant nat can be supposed to have any nerves whatever, it certainly ought to be effective. 753 755

The brethren of the monastery discountenance the practice as far as they can—as indeed every one not afflicted with a dulness of hearing might be expected to do. It is a remnant of the old geniolatry, and, having nothing to do with pure Buddhism, confounds the dewas of the six heavens with the heathenish spirits of the old wild tribes. But cholera is a pestilence that regards not the yellow robe of the mendicant any more than the gay paso of the frivolous; and so the pôngyis hold the ceremony which immediately precedes the wild riot called thayè tôpthi, and display their opposition no more violently than by getting out of the way as fast as the dignified walk prescribed to the Assembly of the Perfect permits. 755 795

It is related that long ago, at the time of the beginning of religion, the terrible pestilence swept over Kapilawut, the city of Thudawdana, the father of the Lord Buddha. Only at the intercession and by the merits of the prayers and good works of the saviour of the world and his assembly, was the plague stayed, and the city saved from desolation—hence the function called pareit yôtthi. Cholera has broken out in the village. Several deaths have occurred in succession with the terrible suddenness which is characteristic of the disease. The dirges played by the bands for the dead fade into one another and break out all down the street. Then one of the chief men of the place makes preparations and begs the monks to come down from the monastery. A raised dais is put up at the back of the room for the accommodation of the yahans, and covered with mats. Offerings to the holy men are arranged in a long row before the platform—rice, fruit, flowers, betel-boxes, pillows, cups and bowls. Alongside of these are placed the vessels which the monastic superior is to consecrate—nyaung ye-o, sacred to the use of 755 792

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the religious, and pareit-o, so called from the ceremony. These are partially filled with water, leaves of the thabye bin, a species of *Eugenia*, are put in, and along with them coarse yellow string wound round a small stick. When all is ready the monks come down in the grey of the evening, moving, as always, in slow procession of Indian file from the kyaung, followed by their disciples carrying the large monastic fan, or perhaps an arm-load of palm-leaf manuscript books. Meanwhile, and all through the ceremony, the people from all parts of the village come in, each person bearing his pareit-o, with its supply of thabye bin leaves and modicum of yellow string. The pôngyis, their eyes fixed humbly on the ground, take their allotted seats without a word to any one, not even to the master of the house. All the people kneel as they come in, and remain in the half-kneeling, half-prostrate position customary before members of the thenga.

The abbot of the kyaung then begins the service, longer or shorter according to the capability or inclination of the officiator. Certain formulæ reciting the praises of the Lord Buddha are always chanted; the Sèba Thila, the Ten Commandments incumbent on all believers on worship days and on the earnest always, are usually declaimed. Sometimes it ends with this; sometimes, if the abbot is an enthusiast, the law is preached. Then he extends his hands over the collected vessels and consecrates them, and the religious ceremony is over. The yahans rise and file back to their kyaung as solemnly as they came. The presents made to them are carried off at the same time, some by the boy pupils, some by the donors. The people then take away their pots to their houses, and shortly afterwards, at a given signal, the wild clattering on the roofs begins. This lasts till the performers are exhausted. Fortunately that usually occurs within half an hour. If the malignant demon can hold out so long, it is much more than most Europeans can, and their futile remonstrances and threats sometimes add to the general din, especially if, as not unfrequently happens, the disturbance is repeated for several nights.

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There is this much, however, to be said in favour of the custom, that it often actually does stay the spread of cholera

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—no doubt owing to the diversion of mind produced by banging away on the top of your roof, and the confidence and hope which the operation induces. Moreover, so much damage is done to the house itself that repairs take some time, which also serves to keep the mind occupied.

When the thayè tôpthi is over, the people return to their houses, where the pots with their consecrated contents are. The yellow string is unwound from the sticks and divided into lengths. Some people hang it all round the eaves of the house in little bags, others tie pieces of it round the left wrist, more especially those who go about much. At a time when there is cholera about, most of the young men may be seen with these wristlets. A Rangoon clerk detected wearing one colours with annoyance, and says his parents made him put it on. He very probably throws it away, but the same night he will have a fresh piece on. The thread is coloured with dye obtained from the wood of the jack-tree, the same which supplies the colouring matter for the monkish garments. The thabye bin leaves are kept in the pot, or scattered about the house. The tree is particularly highly esteemed by the Burmese. A species of it, the thabu thabye bin (the Malay apple, *Eugenia malaccensis*), is celebrated as the largest tree in the island which lies to the south of Mount Myinmo. Sprigs and leaves of the thabye bin are cut, prayers and supplications for absent friends and relatives offered up before them, and then the twig is thrown into a pot of water. A song has been composed about the tree itself, and is one of the most popular of those that do not belong to the category of love-songs. The jester in a play has always an unfailing draw when, wishing to testify his regard for some one, he declares he has cut down an entire thabye bin and thrown it into the river that his friend may enjoy good health. The joke lies in the contrast between this and the couple of leaves in a small pot used by people ordinarily.

It might have been expected that contact with English civilisation and doctors would have put an end to the riotous absurdity of the thayè tôpthi; but it has not by any means. In fact the house-beating goes on more vigorously in Rangoon and the larger district towns than elsewhere. This is

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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very essential that even the most empirical doctor should know at least the names of these diseases. The mere sound of them is as good as medicine to a man with a stomach-ache.

Bewitchings, of course, do not count as diseases. Very often when a man has very strong griping pains which no amount of drugs will serve to alleviate, the doctor declares that there is an a-pin in him. Some wizard has introduced a piece of raw flesh into his stomach by means of a spell, and this goes on drawing everything to it till it kills the man. When a sick man is unable to pronounce certain letters the doctors are able to calculate in how many days or hours he will die. It is not wise to dispute this. The fulfilment of their prophecies lies very completely in their hands.

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Very often images of pagodas and Buddhas may be seen outside a house in the country villages. There is some one sick within, and the pious resort to this expedient to get rid of the malady. This method is called payā tayā, and does not exclude medical advice. The figures are small, and are usually made of pasteboard or clay. A man afflicted with a headache will often hang up pictures of peacocks and hares under his eaves, along with small fans. The peacock represents the sun and the hare the moon, and the indisposition is supposed to result from sun or moonstroke. Sometimes a sayā, when he is called in, will recommend that the patient be moved a little to the eastward or the westward, if his illness arises from kan. Similar to this is the ceremony called yedaya yayi or yedaya sin. A small coffin with a tiny corpse inside it is manufactured and carried a small distance to the east or the west and there buried. When the ayôp, the effigy of the patient, has been thus disposed of, he ought to get well. These matters are decided from the sick man's horoscope, which shows from what constellations he is particularly likely to suffer harm.

The witch doctor usually has an elaborate rod called ywatan, marked all over with cabalistic figures, and often with medicines let into it. The sayā stands before the possessed person and threatens a blow. The witch or spirit in the victim then becomes anxious and pays reverence with clasped hands. It is then forced to relate exactly its name

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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place of abode, friends and relations, and so on. The possessing demon is usually a witch, and she acknowledges that she has entered the patient from motives of hatred or revenge, The wise man could now kill the witch with his bedin if he pleased, but is usually persuaded by the relatives of the sick man not to do so. A desire not to spoil his own trade is also not without its argument. So he accepts a number of presents from the patient's family, and is then won over, contenting himself with giving the possessed person a sound thrashing as a remembrance of him and a return for the fees. Then he commands the witch to depart and not come back again. As a conclusion the victim and his relations are enjoined not to pursue the witch any farther. Sometimes, however, they are obstinate, and refuse to rest here. Then, if the affair has happened in native territory, the case is brought before the magistrate, who has the accused tied to a bamboo and thrown into the river along with the accuser, who is served in the same fashion. The one that sinks wins the case, and the loser pays all costs. In English territory the magistrate has the complainants bundled out of court.

If any one doubts the power of the hmaw sayā, he works a miracle to cure them of their scepticism, and prove that he governs all creatures. He gets an empty earthenware jar, covers it with a cloth, and repeats his spells over it. When the cloth is removed, there is smoking-hot rice and roasted fowl in the jar, and those present are allowed to eat as much as they like. If they eat with perfect belief, they will never be hungry again; but perfect belief is practically never found. Sometimes, however, a demon gets angry at the display of power, and interferes in an officious way. He steals some of the cooked meat out of the jar, and does his best to work a counter-miracle. He never quite manages to do it, but the ceremony is disturbed by his interference and has to be gone through again. Sometimes the sayā himself indulges in a little pleasantry. The spectators see a beautiful melon so juicy and ripe that their mouths water at the very sight of it; but when they seize a piece and already feel it between their lips, it vanishes away and they bite their own fingers. Unless they are hopelessly stupid they do not laugh at hmaw sayās after that.

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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The following are a few prescriptions for whitlow and bad sores from a Maulmein doctor's books :— 755

1. The " hand " of a tauk-tè, the big trout-spotted gekko, that haunts old trees and the thatch of houses ; or, more probably, a bit of the stem of an epiphyte called the tauk-tè's hand.
2. Sulphur.
3. The bulb of a white lily.
4. A chilli roasted.
5. Cock's dung.

Mix in equal parts, and stir while heating it, and finally add some earth oil.

Again : Take a sufficient quantity of cock's dung, add to it a small quantity of copperas, pound them well together, and then mix with earth oil and some sesamum oil.

Seven or eight dry seeds of dankwè (*Cassia fœtida*), well bruised, and then intimately mixed with a little congee (rice water), with " sufficient " earth oil added, also proves a very effective remedy.

The bedin sayā's books are partly written, partly filled, with magic figures and pictures. The squares are all formed in accordance with the ordinary Hindoo law. When the wise man is asked questions, he keeps writing down numbers and characters on his parabaik tablets and rubbing them out, chanting to himself all the time. Sometimes he shakes cowries and seeds together, and when they fall out, decides from their position which of the pictures or rhymes in his book is to be consulted. Each of these gives its own answer, but they are not always as definite in their character as is desirable. The sayā always speaks in the declamatory monotone of the linga. 755 787 776

The following are the names of some of the familiar spirits and their likenesses :—

Upadana Pyuda, a spirit who lives under the earth and protects the husbandman. When he comes above ground he rides on a serpent. The inquiring farmer whose cowrie refers to this picture is most fortunate.

Sadi Wazadat, a wild figure galloping on a horse. This means failure of the attempt.

Saka Bada, a monkey mounted on a goat. Denotes fertility of mind.

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In another picture a crow is represented breaking a vessel full of money with its beak. Close at hand are a man and woman embracing one another. This denotes loss.

A man and his wife represented dancing together signify great gifts to the pagoda.

Another picture, which represents a husband and wife standing together in front of a house, with a horse and cow near it, denotes that the child to whom this picture may refer will be a farmer.

Near the picture of a dog, which one man holds by the tail while another hits it on the head, is written: "When the lot falls here, be not boastful, but humble; avoid pride and assumption, for that will only raise up enemies for you."

The following are some spells:—

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Take this amulet (a piece of bone carved rudely square, and with mystic figures on it), put your foot up against a thabye tree, and repeat the Ittipithaw (a form of worship in learning which one spends four or five months in the monasteries) thirty-seven times. Then you will be able to turn any given man into a ghost and make him do as you please.

Take the stalk of a betel leaf in your hand. Repeat "Ôm padan rupa wari thwa ha" seven times, and then throw the stalk at the person. He or she is sure then to listen to what you say.

The following is a charm to cause a dream about your lady-love:—Get an exact likeness of her made. Find out the hour and day on which she was born, her name and exact age. Then having begged permission from the guardian spirit of both the houses (your own and hers), chant as follows: "O Thurathadi, fairest goddess of flowers, daughter of nats most high, grant most graciously all that I desire of thee: tasa machan: without keeping back the least remainder; without withdrawing a single joy: prithee do this without fail, sweet goddess of woodland love." Repeat this seven times before the figure. Then go to sleep.

goes on throughout the morning. About 2 P.M. a monk gives a sermon and recites prayers. One of the elders reads aloud to the assemblage an account of the expenditures for the gifts to the monks, concluding the event. 796 735

Animistic and Magical Beliefs

Underlying the elaborate organization and practice of Buddhism, there is a considerable belief in nats, or spirits, and magic. Spirit worship, supposedly contrary to the teachings of Buddhism and opposed by the monks, is indulged in to varying degrees by the villagers. In Tadagale one frequently comes upon small wooden box-like structures affixed to trees, on which there is usually a little food and perhaps a flower as offerings to a particular nat. There seems little doubt that animism was even more important among the Burmese prior to the coming of Buddhism centuries ago. As noted in the description of initiation and wedding ceremonies earlier, nat worship has become interwoven with Buddhist beliefs and practices. It is also manifested in beliefs concerning guardian spirits of houses and particular places and in theories of the causes of many illnesses, including bewitchment and mental disturbances. Mediums, specially versed in the ways of the nats and possessing knowledge of cures for spirit-caused maladies, may be called upon for assistance. 776 755 782

to go to the hospital (Pantanaw). When we met a Karen friend, he smeared some saffron onto the affected part, and recited something and at once two long lines appeared and it became apparent that the disease was THET TANT. (THET TANT, it is said is of two kinds, male and female, and this person had both. The difference between the two kinds seem to lie in the size of the swellings, the male being larger and more virulent.) The docter in the hospital had to i operate on me. He told my parents that if I did not undergo any operation I would surely die, and even if it was successful it would affect a nerve and I would be left with a limp all my life. My parents had him operate and I was cured, but I've had this limp ever since. It was three months from inception before we knew that it was THET TANT." 753 757

When U Myaing cured his patient in Pantanaw, he lighted three or four candles and an incense burner; he recited prayers and the 5 Silas. At the head of the bed he placed the bowl containing water scented with Kalamet cream, Taung-Dan-Gyi cream and perfumes. Then U Myaing took this and began to sprinkle the water about the room, wishing aloud for the patient's recovery. Then he took seven single buds of garlic, weighing about 5 ticals and ground them together, and bandaged them around the thumb. U Myaing continues his account: [755]

"I don't know the recitations for this desease. but what they do is to mix lime and saffron in water and smear it it on the affected part. Some people drink this. This is one method. Using garlic is another method. When the part is smeared with this mixture, the disease comes to the surface. There are some people who have died because the sore burst inside the body. As regards the garlic cure, when I enquired carefully, it turned out that the stanzas recited had nothing to do with effecting the cure. It must have been due to the garlic, because I could cure another person without reciting the stanzas. There are three kinds of THET TANT: the three months kind, the six months kind and the three years kind. It seems as if there is an internal swelling and it rises to the surface and disappears rises again, and so on. When there is a swelling and it is very hot, then it can be diagnosed as THET TANT. When it is is treated, the patient collapses with fever for one night - the night when the swelling is moved to the thumb. The disease is not very rare. I have seen it five or six times. There have been cases like that of Ko Maung Thant in Pantanaw, where the patient has died of internal THET TANT without knowing the nature of his disease. Only when the person is about to die does the internal THET TANT come to the surface. The swelling is hot, but there are also some cases where it is not so.

"The patient who I treated a few days ago in camp is now better. There are various ways and means of treating this disease. Some do it with bamanas. After I burst the pustule and squeeze out the pus, I do not put any medicine on the sore. The reason why it cannot be treated on the shoulder is that there is no pus - only an inflamed swelling which is very painful. Some practioners who do not know how to move the swelling smear on the shoulder certain mixtures which are designed to bring out the pus to the surface, and they cure the sore on the shoulder itself.

"I did not take any fee for curing the young boy in Pantanaw. He was very poor and I asked them only to buy the garlic for themselves. This was about 6 years ago, and the patient was about 16 years of age. He was in such a bad condition shouting and yelling in pain, that the parents expected him to die, and were weeping. I realized that whether my treatment proved efficacious or not, it could not make his condition any worse than it was, and so I

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started treatment. The day I started treatment the swelling reached his thumb, and four or five days later it burst. The thumb was placed in antiseptic HPAN YE liquid and smeared with crude petroleum oil and ashes. The name of the boy was Maung Hla Yin of Pathne village. I do not know whether or not they called in practioners. No one came to call me either. I heard of his sickness and went over. He had been suffering for about twenty days before I started to treat him. Not being a practioner, I do not know how to cure other diseases. I know how to cure this disease because it happened to me once and I witnessed the treatment.

"Some practioners cure the disease in another way - through saffron and white lime. They also have a wooden DAH fashioned out of the wood from a tree which has been struck by lighting. With this DAH they strike at the swelling lightly after which they smear the mixture on. I have no knowledge of where these practioners learn their trade. Burmese cures must be cheap and efficacious. It seems to me that recitations etc. are made to enable the practioner to command a higher fee, since people can and have been cured without any recitations at all. I do not believe in their incantations." [755]

Scabies: NEH (itch). During the Japanese regime, the youngest child had scabies when she was one year old. If the right medicine is given the cure takes only two or three months, and if not, as many years. These sores are moistened itchy skin sores which spread with great rapidity. The Burmese prescription for an ointment to cure scabies includes: sulphur, KYAUK KHA, HSE DAN and copper sulphate. Also THANAT KHA root and KYAUK KHA are mixed together on a KYAUK PYIN stone slab to make a cream for application. The person affected has to bathe often. The medicine which really effected the cure, however, was M & B 693 (Mayer and Baker sulpha pills.) These cost U Myaing 8 annas for a dozen, and only 9 were necessary to cure the child. Before she was cured, her condition was so bad, and her sores so extensive that people were reluctant to carry the baby. They had to carry it swaddled in many clothes. [435]

Ringworm: PWAY. U Myaing had ringworm once when he was eighteen years old. This happened in Pantanaw, and it took him just three days to cure it. The ringworm whorls were so extensive that U Myaing did not dare to go out and mix with other people. In treatment, U Myaing used a western lotion of which the only distinguishing mark that he remembers is that it was of a "Two snake brand". He followed the directions on the label, bathing the whorls with soap and applying the lotion with a feather. The bottle held about four ounces and cost him Rs. 1/4. [435]

MWAY KYUT NAR (Hair-coming-off-sore). U Myaing had this affliction once in Pantanaw for a period of 15 days. When a hair falls out, the skin in that place reddens and pus accumulates on the leg. The Burmese treatment consists of smearing the affected part with ashes and water mixed together.

Sore eyes: MYEY SI NAR (eye sore). Sore eyes have been had by everyone in the family at one time or another. In the last four of five years, each member of the family has been afflicted about once a year. The eye becomes red and inflamed and watery. Tamarind bark is made into a cream and applied. Tamarind leaves are pounded with salt and placed and bandaged on the forehead. The cost of treatment is negligible, since the cure involves the use of about only one anna's worth of salt and the tamarind is obtained free.

Disorders of the Nose: Cough and Cold. AH EH MI (cold-catch) HNAR SUK CHAUNG BEO (Mucous Flowing-cough): All the members of the family get these disorders periodically, that is, about once or twice a year each. Treatment is by smearing balm (Tiger balm or others)

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561 removed. Old folks habitually like bitter foods - especially tea
263 leaves. Eating prepared foods left over night is strictly prohibited as a cause of illnesses. Curry must be eaten while it is hot. (There are no apparent reasons - just observation from eating spoiled
[757] foods). Boiled rice and fried dry fish comprises the standard sick diet in addition to other foods especially prescribed for the care or
177 for giving vigour. It is interesting to note that English foods such
757 as tinned biscuits ("Golden Puff biscuits") or milk preparations
262 ("Hollicks") are preferred for the sick diet by those who can afford them. The "strong" tastes of these foods give strength to the sick person. Lately, western medicines have been recognized as powerful. U Myaing's experiences above show the means by which this idea is established. However, the Burmese doctor is relied on even by families of the administrative class in Rangoon.

759 When a case of sickness seems beyond response to normal treatments, and it has been diagnosed as of a natural cause, the SAY SAYA (medicine-master) is called in. "Foot-hire" at a stiff rate of Rs.5/- for the first visit and 2 or 3 rupees for succeeding visits is paid for this service."Say-saya, we place the case in your hands" is entoned, to which the doctor replies "If our faith coincides (i.e. patients and doctors) then we will be successful - otherwise we cannot go against Karma". The doctor notes the symptoms, feels forehead for fever, inquires of colour of urine and the course of the
[198] disorder. He then chants in verse the diagnosis as "eyes yellow, motion irregular, forehead moist - (giving nature of sickness)". The treatment also follows in verse form as a rigid formula prescribing medicines and diet. The doctor is a specialist in one or more types of medicine which he has concocted such as "blood purifying medicine","fever medicine", "purgative medicine", and he will have
●[755] been called in because of this specialty. Charmed water is frequently given. Here verse formula is said over a cup of water to give it power.

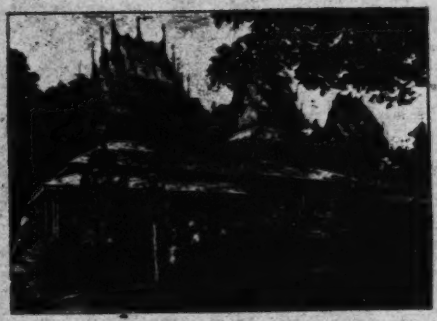
SAY SAYA are trained when young men as apprentices to older doctors. The training includes memorizing many books giving diagnosis and formulas for curing as well as learning the master's arts.

(arm-tie) charm consisting of a small metal tube bound about the upper 751
arm or neck and containing an inscription written by a pongyi on silver
or aluminum foil. Once a year, after new years (in March), a PAYA- 775
TUDA (prayer-recite) ceremony is held. At this time pongyis recite 792
the precepts of Buddha for the benefit of the ghosts - who "become 755
hot and run away". Younger people, especially children, are susceptible to being possessed by ghosts. At this time they "throw fits" and are uncontrolable. Under the supervision of a pongyi the ghost is cast out by means of threats and beatings administered to the person of the possessed one. Beatings are severe and continuous often lasting an hour, until the ghost says he is "afraid" and departs. The possessed one, thus cured, does not later complain of rough treatment since this is borne by the invading ghost. Perhaps this relates to the less formulated, "nameless horrors" of unseen and unaccountable forces that cause otherwise unexplainable events - which concept pervades much of western thought to this day.

A major difference between nats and ghosts is that ghosts cause 775
only harm while nats are ordinarily beneficial in the manner described 776
above. Ghosts may also be controlled for evil purposes against 789
individuals in a variety of black magic. The specialists in black 791
magic are PAH-YOH-GA-SAYA (influence-masters) of black magic or "lower - "upper root" (heaven) masters combat the "lower root evil" root", (hell-evil), who administer the evil influence. Witches also have personal magic powers that allow them to cause harm to an individual by introducing foreign matter such as lumps of meat, hair balls, into the body of the victim. It is never known for sure who the witches are but old women of peculiar habits, and especially of the fishermen's [463]
group, are suspected. Such individuals are considered generally malivalent and special precautions are needed to avoid offending them. The influence masters, however, are well known and receive gift-fees for performing services either of causing or controlling black magic influences. Both groups, but especially the influence masters of the lower root control ghosts for their purposes.

A major means of securing control of a ghost or "ghost-rearing" 775
is to get the finger bone of a recently deceased person who died a 789
"raw death". Incantations said over the bone insures the obedience of

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4



280. KUTHERNA (VOL. [illegible]).

of the unsuccessfully vaccinated caught the disease, and ten of them died. None of the forty-four were attacked. These statistics could be multiplied. The medicine-dealers keep many of the crude commercial drugs, besides simples of their own collecting. Of the former, the principal are aloes, jalap, croton-seed, senna, bitter barks, catechu, opium, camphor, ginger, cardamom and other aromatics. The medicinal use of castor-oil is not known, though the plant is common. Spirits are now used medicinally. Many of the vegetable remedies are almost inert (see *The Burmese, what do they know of medicine?* by Dr. D. H. Cullimore). But there is one that deserves to be known, namely, the Shan remedy for tape-worm, *tlssé*, which is both effectual and mild. Among the mineral drugs are mercury, calomel, sulphur, blue and green vitriols, alum, salammoniac, nitre. There is a whole category of supposititious remedies, tiger's gall, rhinoceros' blood, ant-eater's scales, and so forth; they are charred before being made up. Allied to this class of remedies is that of charms, the vendors of which (nat-wives—*nakhadáw*) trade on the superstition that disease is caused by demons. Every patient will be as particular to mention his star as to describe his complaint. He will be advised to avoid certain classes of remedies on certain days. The "Sunday son" must not purge on Friday, and so on. In times of epidemic and panic, *thbhuzadi* are erected at every house, as they likewise are in cases of sickness (No. 431). They are merely of sand, held together with circles of bast. Sometimes they are erected to avert calamity declared to be impending in a *sinsyo-khundat*, a message on gold foil dropped from heaven by a *Thadyá* (p. 186). Images are dedicated

281. CHILDREN'S BAZAR (p. [illegible]).

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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282. PREPARING TAWTHALIN OFFERINGS (p. 186).

at the temples in the same spirit. *Thèbônzedi* are erected on the day of a sick person's planet, and decorated with flags according to the years of age. Here Buddhism, which knows of no vicarious merit (or demerit), is tainted by a survival of animism (p. 188). The merit of the act is intended to cancel the demerit of some troubled spirit which is seeking to possess the body of the sufferer. Offerings are likewise set apart for the troubled spirit in the forest, to divert him from the sick person. When an epidemic of cholera occurs, the whole village sets up a din at sunset with bamboo sticks, to frighten the demons away. But many minds are averse to such superstitions, and they seek for natural explanations. They ascribe disease to states of the blood, to "heats" and "vapours." The cooling qualities of nitre are extolled for the one, and the cordial effects of spice for the other. Dietetic questions interest everybody, and everyone has his or her pet nostrum. Very little operative surgery is attempted as compared with India and China—merely the opening of abscesses and setting of bones. Hare-lip and cleft palate, and the cognate deformities, appear to be frequent. The dressings applied to wounds and sores are chiefly turmeric, slaked lime, *nîm*-leaves. Successful lithotomies and other major operations, and the boon of chloroform, have spread the fame of western surgery in a vastly wider circle than it can reach itself. The sick are tenderly nursed by the Burmans, and never abandoned in panic fear as happens in epidemics among the hill-tribes. There are few greater sources of religious merit than ministering to the sick. During the puerperium, the Burman custom is to main-

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283. BURMAN CARRIER.

29: Slater M-4 (no date) 1951 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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customs. Grant Brown observes that, while Buddhists in the Chindwin area still sacrifice fowls to the god of the harvest, 'the thing is done somewhat surreptitiously and shamefacedly.'[12]

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Other practices survive more openly. In many Burmese villages there is a *nat-ka-daw*, or spirit-medium, generally an elderly or middle-aged woman, who is supposed to be married to a *Nat*. She tells fortunes, and is called in sometimes in cases of sickness to discover whether the patient will recover. Mr. Spear describes an incident of this kind which took place in the main street of a large town in the presence of many spectators. "The *nat-ka-daw*, in addition to her usual clothing, wore a sash around the waist and a cloth wound around her head. She danced with a dah, a long and heavy Burmese knife, in her hand, until she fell exhausted." Plantains and coconuts had been placed in a shelter, opposite the house, as offerings to the *Nat*.[13]

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In this case, apparently, the *Nat* was neither held responsible for the sickness nor expected to cure it. There are times of epidemic sickness, however, when a whole village is temporarily abandoned, and special rituals are followed to placate the *Nat*, who is considered to have caused the epidemic.

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In an interesting account of the development of a modern *Nat* cultus, a Burmese writer describes a public festival in honour of the *Nat*. A play is staged during which one of the Thirty Seven *Nats*, who is personified by a villager, asks the *Nat* of the locality if he is taking due care of the villagers. Here the *Nat* is obviously regarded as benevolent. But we are told that this was not always so. Formerly the Nat was cruel, unreasonable, mischievous and demoniac. But "he is now believed to have taken to religion, to keep the sabbath and to lead the life of a saintly god." In spite of his own sanctity, however, he seems to favour evil-doers. "No organised theft is ever committed in Lower Burma ... without invoking his aid." The would-be criminals cook a meal within a circle they have marked on the ground. If any of the rules of the succeeding ritual are broken, the proposed robbery is abandoned. Some Buddhist monks ot this region, more orthodox than others, have tried to suppress the Naf cultus, but in vain.[14]

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Such beliefs and practices are obviously bound to affect thought and conduct. The Burmese feel around them a vast, invisible *Nat* world, which is both near and remote. There are spirits in the trees, the rivers,

[12] *The Pre-Buddhist Religion of the Burmese*, p. 9.

[13] R. F. Spear, unpublished MS, *The Syncretism of Animism and Buddhism in Burma* (1928) chap. 1, p. 14.

[14] U Tha Khin, "Is U Yin Gyi a National God of the Burmans?" *J.B.R.S.*, Vol. XIV, part II (1924).

faces and flowing hair, fair until they had enticed young men into the 776
treasure dens when they would suddenly turn into old women. There 257
were also *ta-says* who haunted human beings, *son-ma* witches who disguised themselves until they were ready to eat you, and *belus*, ogres which thrived on human beings. Far from the careful nurturing which is given to modern children of the West in attempts to prevent fears of the dark and loneliness, in Thanatpin I could have pointed out the actual tree in which the old witch lived, and when it grew dark both my nurse and I would shiver together in each other's arms at the thought of it.

Nor were the funny stories of the right type for Western children, 522
though they made us roar with delight. There were two brothers who wanted to make their grandmother beautiful, and bathed her in the hottest water they could produce; the water was boiling and the grandmother emerged clean and fair and rigid, and the two grandsons dressed her up and propped her in the doorway for all to admire. There was also the monkey who from his perch in a tree above the bazaar shouted: "Whoever eats of the fruit of this tree will have fragrant gases in his body." One poor human fool believed him, and ate, and went around hawking his ware of fragrant gases. He came to the court of the king, who caused seven layers of curtains to shroud the chamber for fear any of the fragrance would be lost when the experiment was carried out. We laughed to tears at the account of the poor fool's discomfiture.

When we were to be given any medicines or had any pain, however, 757
both my father and mother waited on us. We did not use Western medicines in the house. We always had stocks of various kinds of *yet-sa*, a linctus powder with digestive qualities containing liquorice and herbs in a salt base. The taste is pleasant to all Burmese people who eat it at the slightest provocation; excess of it causes no harm. There is a popular brand on the market called *lay-myo shit-sè*, 80 kinds of wind, but in addition to this, each family gets a specially prepared type from their family monk. My father, who was interested in herbal medicine, collected recipes and my mother compounded them at home. We ate yet-sa whenever we had a slight stomach ache or when my mother considered that the food had been too rich. For a general tonic my father got from the monk a honey mixture with special powers, partly owing to the holiness of the monk, and we ate a tiny spoonful of this each night after prayers. For coughs and sore throats we had pills, called *hpongyi-bo-sha-na*, from Moulmein. They were made of pepper, capsicum, liquorice and salt, and acted by stimulating the salivary and throat juices. All these medicines had a pleasant taste and we liked eating them, but when we had a fever we were given *ngan-say*, a black powder of herbs and salt, which was mixed with hot water and

•757 given to us in saucers, my mother invoking the Triple Gems while blowing on it and coaxing us to drink it as the medicine of the Three Gems: "*Paya-say, taya-say, thanga-say,*" she would say: "Physic of the Buddha, of the Law, of the Clergy." After this came two saucersful of hot water in which betel leaves had been boiled, to raise a sweat; my mother would cover us with an ok-saung, my father would come in on tiptoe to look at us very often, even when our temperatures were nearly normal, and the fever would leave us quite soon.

Our purgative was *dat-le-ba-say*, physic of the four elements; it was a glutinous paste of senna for purging, tamarind as acid and purgative, jaggery to soothe, liquorice to taste, and salt. It was nasty. My mother rolled about a golf ball size of the stuff into little balls which we were expected to swallow. But she was very firm that there must always be an odd number of balls, because Burmese people believe that odd numbers are more auspicious, like the *Three* Gems, the *Nine* Nawaya; when the shinbyu ceremony for the initiation ~~of boys~~ into the priesthood is carried out, or the ears of the girls bored ceremonially, it is inauspicious to "do" an even number of children. So if my mother's golf ball of the purgative made eight balls, she would always pinch more stuff out of the jar and make nine, and, as I grew older and more sceptical, both my stomach and my mood would react on each other and I generally got stuck at the sixth or eighth, much to my mother's dismay. But to this day I believe in the efficacy of these particular medicines for my own system.

753 When any of us kept ailing over a long period it was felt that our astronomical prospects were low, and the *bedin-saya*, vulgarly translated
787 as fortune-teller, was called in. He was regarded as an astrologer. My mother brought out our horoscopes which had been cast by a brahmin when we were a few years old. These horoscopes, inscribed on a palm leaf doubled up and sewn tightly together, were precious objects kept at the head of my father's bed. The exact day and hour of the birth of the child, the auspicious name given according to this time and day, the astronomical bodies exerting influence over such a birth, and a table to show the heavenly influences which would prevail during the successive periods of the child's life so that future calculations could be made, were all inscribed finely on this neat yellow leaf. The bedin-saya made calculations now to see if our *kan* (fate, luck) was high or low; if low, he prescribed some counteracting influences. I was once given a chicken as a *khamè*, a charm which would keep the evil influences at bay, and the servants fed the chicken for me until I had recovered. Sometimes it is certain foods which bring the evil influences, and the proscribing of them even during good health was more annoying. One of my sisters, treated thus as a child, complained that the bedin-saya was a tiresome

suffered from the accumulated toxic effects. Kyi-Kyi also spent days 262
in extracting the red oil from the heads of about fifty crayfish or big prawns. This red stuff gives the flavouring to prawns and we therefore find prawn curries tasteless where the cooks discard the oil with the teeth and other excretions from the heads. Kyi-Kyi filled jars with the rich oil and we kept it through weeks, mixing it with rice and salt. Or she bought about two hundred sparrows at one go and stripped and cooked them unaided. It does not sound sporting to eat sparrows, but the meat of other bigger and more "game" birds is too strong for us. Sparrows when fried crisp are edible to the last shred of bone, little round head and all. It was one of our favourite foods during visits to Thaton, until [157] •
after my littlest sister got measles and had her head shaved according to custom; when she went about looking so pathetically like the naked birds in the dish that none of us, from my father downwards, could bear to eat a sparrow for a long time afterwards.

All the dishes mentioned above are eaten with rice at the two main meals of the day, but there are also noodle dishes, both wheat and rice noodles, coconut-flavoured dishes and others which are eaten at luncheon parties or at mass gatherings of town and village people. At all social functions, also, there is an accompaniment to the cheroots and the betel box [276]
in the form of pickled tea-leaf and shredded pickled ginger served in small lacquer trays with nuts, sesamum, prawn powder, fried coconut and garlic These are all foods eaten at regular times of the day, and as such can be called *sa-sa-ya* foods. But we have not yet ventured into the realm of sweet things, for after a meal only fruit is eaten. All sweet dishes are kept to be eaten *between* meals, and as such are called *tha-yay-sa*, food for the saliva, and only incidentally for nourishment.

Tha-yay-sa usually means something sweet because there are so many sweet ones, but what does produce more saliva than any other are the sour ones. A favourite Burmese afternoon pastime is the eating of sour and green fruit with ngapi and chilly, in order to offset the drowsiness of the heat. Green mangoes, marians, chep-paung-thi, *yay-ngan-thi*, gwe-thi, *thit-to-thi* range through all degrees of sourness till you come to *ton-kyin-thi*, shiver-sour-fruit, so sour that you shiver when you bite it. On rainy afternoons we felt too chilly to eat these and nibbled at things with a nutty flavour. Roots, tubers, seeds and nuts are eaten dipped in raw sesamum oil and salt—the roots of the palmyra, and of a bean (*pè-myit*), arrowroot and sweet potatoes, chestnuts and the boiled seeds of the jack tree. But when we come to the real sweetmeats, what richness, what variety is there! As exiles of the Japanese War, we collect in parties to eat uninteresting and foreign foods, but after the meal we gather round and add flavour to the whole evening as we list all the

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846 757 she is made to smell samôn-net, a plant (the *Nigella sativa*), which is put in an earthen pot, strongly heated, and then triturated into the shape of a ball. The odour is not exactly such as one would recognise as calculated to exhilarate any one, but probably after the hot bricks and the se sein everything else comes as a matter of detail. All this is done to drive out the noxious humours which are supposed to be generated by the birth of a child. On the seventh day the woman takes an elementary kind of Turkish bath. She sits over a large jar of boiling water, medicated with tamarind twigs and a few other kinds of leaves and grasses, with a blanket over her. After about an hour of this she has a cold bath, and is then free to do as she pleases. She usually goes to bed.

165 846 177·84 184 It might be supposed that under this treatment death in child-bearing would be very frequent, but as far as imperfect statistics can show the percentage is not much higher than in other countries. The result, however, appears in another way. A woman ages up ten or fifteen years for every child she has. It is satisfactory to notice that in all the larger towns in Lower Burma the more unpleasant features are fading away before the example and influence of women of other nationalities. In the jungle and in Upper Burma, however, ancient use and wont still prevail, and the young mother of fourteen or fifteen is shrivelled into thirty with her first baby.

845 If a woman gives birth to a still-born child, a piece of iron is placed in the cloth in which the body is wrapped, or in the coffin if there is one, and at the burial some member of the family says some such formula as "Never more return into thy mother's womb till this metal becomes soft as down."

If a married woman dies before bearing a child (alôn [775] hnin the-thi), a Cæsarean operation is performed, and the alôn is buried in some secret place. The reason alleged for this is, that were it not done, the husband in future existences would marry this woman again, and she would die in the same way. 845 754 Were the embryo not secretly buried it would be disinterred by hmaw-sayās, necromancers, and wizards, who would make evil uses of it. Children's cauls are as highly thought of by Burmans as they are by English

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obtained. Red and yellow are, however, always the predominating colours. 531 285 322

The thi'si is turned to a variety of other uses besides the manufacture of lacquer-work; applied to wood, or to marble and clay images, it enables them readily to take on gilding. It is used as a waterproof varnish to all the umbrellas in the country, and makes them as impervious to rain as if they were made of wood, while it protects the palm-leaf against the rays of the sun, which otherwise would burn it as brittle as an egg-shell. All the racing and war-boats in Burma are painted with it, and the best caulking in the world could not make them more water-tight. Finally, boiled down thick it furnishes the material for delineating the square heavy characters of the sacred kammawa-sa, the ritual for the admission of brethren to the sacred order. 531 249

The oil is usually put in the sun for a short time before being used, and it is at first of a light brown colour, soon darkening into a brilliant black. It seems to be of a particularly mordant character, and raises huge blisters on the hands of some people, leaving marks of the ashy-white colour suggestive of leprosy. Hence strangers suspected of [753] being afflicted with the terrible malady always declare they are thi'si workers; and many people avoid these latter, in case they might find they had been holding communication with an outcast. A lotion composed of fine teak-wood saw- [757] dust, mixed with a little water, is used as a cure for blains. Many of the workmen periodically swallow small doses of the wood-oil, under the impression that it acts as a preventive. The capriciousness with which the varnish acts, leaving some men quite unharmed and punishing others severely, has given rise to a proverb in Nyaung-u:—

> Thi'si is a witness
> To a burgher's fitness;
> If bad, he's marked an outcast;
> If good, not long can doubt last.

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774 blood is feverish or excited in any way, the butterfly necessarily
827 becomes restless, and wanders about more or less rapidly and into more or less strange places, according to the degree of perturbation. Therefore it happens that the soul thus existing in itself, and straying or flying at random, sees extremely
774 strange and fantastic visions on these voyages. An elabora-
828 tion of this notion divides dreams into three special varieties: those which occur at the beginning of sleep, those about midnight, and those in the early morning; or the false, the mixed, and the true. Bedin-sayās and wise women are for this reason always very particular in their inquiries as to the precise time at which the dream occurred. If they foretell wrongly it is, of course, because the questionist made a mistake as to the time when his vision appeared to him.

774 These night wanderings of the butterfly spirit are not
776 without their dangers. In addition to other hobgoblins and spectres, Burma is especially plagued by evil spirits called bilus—creatures in human guise who devour men. If they will eat the corporate man, there is small doubt what will happen to the fragile butterfly spirit should it come across such an ogre. Cases do happen when the leip-bya is gulped down, and then the man has slept his last sleep. More often, however, it is only a case of leip-bya lan; the soul is scared, and in its terror sometimes runs into unknown regions, from which it is unable to retrace its steps, when of course it dies and with it the owner; or it rushes home to its bodily dwelling-place with such precipitation that the whole system is
753 disorganised and sickness follows. This butterfly theory,
757 therefore, offers a grand field for quack doctors, of whom there are unfortunately a very large number in Burma. When a man falls ill they dose him with all the drugs and simples they have in their little bamboo phials. If he does not get better after taking even the fungus from the roots of the bamboo, culled in the eclipse, or vegetable soot prepared at the change of the moon, then there can be only one opinion; the leip-bya has had its system shaken by some ghoulish sight; or perhaps it is being kept in durance vile by some tasé, some demon (in the sense of the Greek δαίμων), or by a sôn, a wizard. In this case no bodily medicine can be of any use, were it even that celebrated

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nostrum, the green powder, which contains 160 different ingredients. A witch doctor must be called in, and he resorts to the leip-bya hkaw. This ceremony is very much like that made use of in ordinary cases of oppression by evil genii, nat-sos, and witches. Offerings are laid outside the house, or perhaps outside the village, at night—heaps of cooked rice, bananas, salt fish, and other eatables; and the malevolent being, whether ghostly tasé or material witch, is begged to eat this rice instead of the butterfly spirit, and to let the prisoner free. Few are hardy enough to watch and see what happens; but the few who have done so agree in the discovery that the demon appears in the shape of a pariah dog, which does not differ from other pariah dogs in spirit, inasmuch as it will run away if you throw stones at it. The offerings are repeated till a change takes place. Perhaps the tasé is greedy, eats offerings, leip-bya, and all, and kills the man. Perhaps it is appeased. Then the butterfly spirit returns safe to its owner again, and convalescence sets in. This is called leip-bya win. Bilus are never successfully negotiated with in this way; they are too voracious. They occasionally appear in broad daylight upon earth; but may always be recognised, since they have red eyes and cast no shadow.

A particularly difficult operation is to separate two leip-byas that were intimately united in life. This is especially the case when a mother has died leaving a little infant. If the leip-bya kwè is not resorted to, the butterfly of the little one will follow the mother, and the child will die. A wise woman is therefore called in. She murmurs some mantras, and then places a looking-glass on the floor near the corpse. Still muttering, but with more and more rapid gesticulation, she drops a filmy shred of cotton down on the face of the mirror, and with frenzied words entreats the dead mother not to retain the infant soul, but let it come back to its earthly tenement. The fleecy down slowly slips down the mirror face and falls off into the handkerchief she holds below, and is then gently placed on the breast of the child. A similar ceremony is occasionally gone through when a husband or wife is more than usually overcome by the death of the yoke-fellow.

The whole notion is of course foreign to Buddhism, and

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—no doubt owing to the diversion of mind produced by banging away on the top of your roof, and the confidence and hope which the operation induces. Moreover, so much damage is done to the house itself that repairs take some time, which also serves to keep the mind occupied. 000

When the thayè tôpthi is over, the people return to their houses, where the pots with their consecrated contents are. The yellow string is unwound from the sticks and divided into lengths. Some people hang it all round the eaves of the house in little bags, others tie pieces of it round the left wrist, more especially those who go about much. At a time when there is cholera about, most of the young men may be seen with these wristlets. A Rangoon clerk detected wearing one colours with annoyance, and says his parents made him put it on. He very probably throws it away, but the same night he will have a fresh piece on. The thread is coloured with dye obtained from the wood of the jack-tree, the same which supplies the colouring matter for the monkish garments. The thabye bin leaves are kept in the pot, or scattered about the house. The tree is particularly highly esteemed by the Burmese. A species of it, the thabu thabye bin (the Malay apple, *Eugenia malaccensis*), is celebrated as the largest tree in the island which lies to the south of Mount Myinmo. Sprigs and leaves of the thabye bin are cut, prayers and supplications for absent friends and relatives offered up before them, and then the twig is thrown into a pot of water. A song has been composed about the tree itself, and is one of the most popular of those that do not belong to the category of love-songs. The jester in a play has always an unfailing draw when, wishing to testify his regard for some one, he declares he has cut down an entire thabye bin and thrown it into the river that his friend may enjoy good health. The joke lies in the contrast between this and the couple of leaves in a small pot used by people ordinarily. 755 751 [386] [522]

It might have been expected that contact with English civilisation and doctors would have put an end to the riotous absurdity of the thayè tôpthi; but it has not by any means. In fact the house-beating goes on more vigorously in Rangoon and the larger district towns than elsewhere. This is 757

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partly because cholera is more frequent there on account of the crowding together of the people, and the greater chances of the water being polluted; and partly because in small villages the people very often simply abandon the place, if there seems any danger of the malady getting a firm hold. Cholera is almost certainly fatal to any Burman attacked. The usual remedy adopted is a very astringent decoction of the rind of the mangosteen fruit, but it is seldom given soon enough to be of any use; and the Burman habit of trying to keep air away from the patient as much as possible, pretty nearly renders useless any effect the remedy might have had. All the windows and doors of the house are covered up, and a cloth is usually thrown over the sick man's head, so that he can hardly draw breath. Under these circumstances the man smitten with cholera invariably justifies the national belief that he is doomed. Any means, therefore, of keeping away the epidemic is eagerly seized upon, if it is only the embarkation of the whole population in unlimited gônnyinto playing, as was recently recommended as a favourable diversion to the public mind in Prome. No amount of reasoning or remonstrance is likely to put an end to the infliction of the thayè tôpthi. The Government officials are helpless against the superstition, and English police-inspectors have simply to stand by foolishly with their hands to their ears till the clatter and clamour dies down.

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religious towards the students of this sort of learning. Nevertheless, just as every Burman at some time in his life dabbles a little in alchemy, so the bedin sayās and hmaw sayās, and the magicians, good and evil, obtain believers and clients.

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As the sôns are supposed to afflict people with strange illnesses, the province of the wézas becomes very much mixed up with that of the professional doctors. The latter cannot complain, and the general public can see no reason why the one should not be as good a physician as the other, for doctors in Burma take no diploma, and are not required to give proofs of skill in the healing art to any one but themselves. Many of them therefore are the most arrant charlatans, giving medicines according to fancy and in unlimited quantities. On the principle of like to like, prescriptions mainly composed of cayenne, cloves, ginger, and the like, are made up for fever patients, while purgatives are rigidly withheld. If a patient says he is no better five minutes after he has swallowed a dose, something else is tried, and so on, till the wretched victim has a stomach loaded with drugs to the limit of the prescriber's pharmacopœia. These quacks are too often taken as the only representatives of Burmese medical skill, and it is denied that any one in the country has a right to the title of doctor at all. But it is certain that some have really useful and efficacious remedies for ordinary ailments, such as jungle fever, dysentery, and other frequently-met-with diseases, while it is admitted that they are particularly successful in the treatment of sores and ulcers. I knew of a case in Rangoon where varicose ulcers, which had resisted the efforts of the best English doctors in Rangoon and Calcutta, yielded to the simples of a Burmese sethama. He used earth-oil with an infusion of some seed or bark, and speedily effected a cure. The Burmese *materia medica* consists of barks, leaves, flowers, seeds, roots, and a few simple minerals, of which they have an empirical knowledge. They especially deal in pills and powders, which they carry about with them in little phials of bamboo. These little cylinders are usually gilt and painted bright red, and are always strongly perfumed. It does not so much matter about the materials as at what time of the moon and under what constellations the ingredients are gathered. Whoever reaches a place within three days

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●757 of the falling of a thunderbolt and finds meteoric stones, has sufficient to set him up as a doctor at once. The scrapings of the stone, among other things, are the best possible ophthalmic medicine. Liquids are very seldom used. There are, however, two schools—the datsayās, or dietists, who trust solely to regulating the patient's food according to the derangement of the elements, which is supposed to cause his disease, and eschew drugs; and the beindawsayās, who rely upon the exhibition of medicines. These last, the druggists, are far more numerous than the dietists. It is a great deal more easy to get a reputation with potent drugs than with a simple regulation of the diet, and accordingly an upstart doctor is always a druggist. The best advisers are those who combine the two systems, but such sensible practitioners are unfortunately few and far between.

822 826 753 Both assert that the human body is composed of four dat, or elements. These are—patawi daht, earth; apaw dat, water; tezaw dat, fire; wayaw dat, air. Akatha, or ether, is sometimes added to these, but the doctors mostly disregard it. Earth constitutes the flesh, bones, hair, intestines, and the like members of a man. Water constitutes the fat, blood, bile, spittle, mucus, etc. Eating, drinking, chewing, and licking come from the fire element. Air produces the six kinds of winds. Any derangement of the equilibrium of these elements makes a man ill, and it is important to know the precise time of a man's birth in order to know in what proportion the dat should be present. 753 Therefore in the case of illness an experienced doctor almost always examines a man's birth certificate before he looks at the sick man himself. Besides the derangement of the elements, diseases may be caused by kan, the influence of the sum of good and bad actions a man has done in past existences. If a man is ill of kan, nothing will cure him but the preponderance of good in his past lives. Again, a man may fall sick through derangement of his seit, or mind; through the influence of the seasons, utu; or, lastly, through food, ahāya. These causes, being laid down as the basis of the diagnosis, naturally do not always lead to the best results in the case of affections which are in any way out of the common run. Even in perfectly evident illnesses, however,

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such as low fever, two persons in the same house afflicted in the same degree with the same ailment, are treated differently, simply because they were born under the influence of different planets, which have a special control over the effects of utu and ahāya, or over the respective relations of fire and water. 753

The dietists are often particularly absurd in their regulation of the diet from the horoscope. Having ascertained the day on which the patient was born, they will forbid him to eat articles of food whose names commence with any of the letters assigned to that particular day, most especially those which have the same initial letter as the sick man has himself. Thus a man born on Sunday will have to eschew eggs (u), cocoanuts (ôntbi), and other edibles whose name commences with a vowel. One whose birthday is Thursday must give up pumpkins (payônthi), mangosteens, and gourds (buthi), while a Monday's child must refrain from seasoning his curry with ginger (kyinsein) or garlic (kyetthônbyu), and so on through all the other days. It is worthy of note, however, that those born on a Saturday are never forbidden to eat their rice (tamin), nor those on Friday their curry (hin). An attempt to ostracise the staff of life, as curry and rice is to all Orientals, would only result in bad treatment to the too pedantic and precisely logical practitioner. Such affections are called "Monday's sickness," "Tuesday's sickness," and so on. (Taninla, Inga kan kaitthi.) 757

These vagaries of the dietists are, however, far from universal, and emanate mostly from the manifest quacks of the profession, just as newly-set-up druggists will imagine specially curative properties in every strange and new leaf, or seed, or mineral they come across, and manufacture such extraordinary compounds as the green powder nostrum, which was exhibited to an astonished English M.D. with the information that it contained one hundred and sixty different ingredients and was infallible in its results. No doubt it was.

There is no denying that the excitability and impatience of the people react on the proceedings of the Burmese doctors. Whenever a man falls sick he gets into a feverish state of alarm about himself, and probably sends off for

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several doctors at once. The first one that comes prescribes, say for the liver. If the sick man does not feel better within a quarter of an hour at the outside, the physician is paid his fee of a few annas, sixpence say, and dismissed, and another is called in. Possibly he decides that the constituent of the disturbing element is the blood—the element of water, and not that of earth—and gives a dose accordingly. Should this not be speedily effective, he too gets his sixpence and his *congé*. And so on, as long as the means of the patient or the supply of doctors holds out. One consequence of this system is, that the richer a man is, and the more doctors there are in the neighbourhood, the greater is the probability that he will die; another equally unsatisfactory result is that the doctors, to maintain a reputation and ensure clients, are obliged to make their medicines as griping in character, as unpleasant in smell, and as nasty to taste as possible. In the larger towns many of the better-class Burmans resort now to English doctors or apothecaries. In many villages still, however, and in old-fashioned families, the patient is usually killed off by the variety of drugs given him by different doctors.

But in small towns and country villages the physicians are few, and when the se sayā cannot cure the sick man, he declares that he is possessed by an evil spirit or under a sôn's spell, and calls in the assistance of a witch doctor, a wéza of any one of the different classes, by preference, of course, an in wéza. Then there is a fresh consultation over the birth horoscope, an examination of the charms there may be on the sick man's body, a muttering of prayers and incantations, and finally the bedin sayā agrees that the man is bewitched. Thereupon he ties a rope round the patient's neck, and after chanting a formula with occasional jerks on the line, asks the demon in the victim what he has come for. If any answer is given and an object mentioned, this is taken to be the thing required, and it is placed outside the house in the road and left there all night. It will be gone by that time if it is worth taking (by men or nats). If the evil spirit does not then go out of the man, or if the tugging at the rope brings forth no answer, stronger measures are resorted to. He is soundly beaten with a stout bamboo, pins

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are stuck into him, red pepper is forced into his eyes, and the louder he shrieks and groans the better pleased are his friends and relations, for it is the witch, or the natso, that is suffering, and not the sick man at all. If this treatment does not kill or cure him, a final effort is made. A middle-aged woman, sometimes a member of the family, dresses herself up in a fantastic way, and assumes the name of "wife of the evil spirit." A shed is erected for the occasion just outside the house. Music is brought, and the woman begins to dance, slowly at first, and then gradually more and more furiously, until at length she works herself into a regular frenzy or ecstasy. Then it is supposed that the demon has passed out of the sick man into her, and that whatever answers she now gives to questions are the utterances of the demon. Consequently, whatever she directs is implicitly carried out. The instructions usually resolve themselves into offerings to be placed outside for the evil spirit at nightfall. If this fails, then the witch doctors and medicine doctors unite in declaring that the nat is too strong for them, and abandon their patient. Occasionally, if he is of a very strong constitution, he revives after that. Such performances are limited to remote jungle places nowadays. Thus, however, the provinces of the physician and the necromancer run into one another, and it is difficult to say where science ends and magic begins.

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Shampooing is almost always employed in every disease, in addition to the prescriptions of the doctor; and here, at any rate, we have real skill. The shampooers are almost always women, though most men know a little about it too. A professional has a most wonderful knowledge of all the tendons and muscles in the human body, and follows them up with a light pressure of the fingers that affords a relief in the case of rheumatism and stiffness from exhaustion, which is simply incredible to all but those who have experienced it.

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In addition to their other work, the hmaw sayās are very much resorted to for love philtres and potions by both sexes. They have always an answer pat if the prescription fails: it is due to the opposition of the eingsaung nat, the guardian spirit of the house; or the applicant has made a mistake as to the date of birth of the object of his affection

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789 Knowledge of this latter particular is imperative, and an
831 error of an hour or two makes all the difference in the composition of the potion.

757 It ought to be unsatisfactory to an intelligent Burman's feelings to think that the man who prescribes for him in a dangerous illness is possibly at the same time mixing cunning draughts for a love-sick maid, or is manufacturing an image of a girl with magical charms and drugs which shall drive the original mad and soothe the vengeful wrath of the rejected suitor. Perhaps it is on this account that a Rangoon Burman, if he falls ill out in the district anywhere, hurries back to town as fast as he can. If he cannot do that, the best thing is to call in a wéza in preference to an unknown doctor; for while the former will probably confine himself to incantations at first, the dietist will irritate all the gastric juices in your body by prescribing some new variety of food, and banning everything you have been accustomed to; while the druggist will cram you to the throat with cathartics and anthelmintics, with arsenic, fungi from bamboo roots, green vitriol, decoctions of lemon grass, borax, croton seeds, and vegetable soot.

753 The father of Burmese medical science was the celebrated physician Zewaka, who once cured a colic which afflicted the Lord Buddha Gautama, by simply giving him three flowers to smell. Upon the petals were strewn some potent powders which restored perfect health in a few hours. To this good medico is to be ascribed the assertion that the diseases which afflict mankind are ninety-six in number. These may vary in their symptoms according to the thirty-five temperaments, the forty-five accidents, the sixteen dangers, and the four elements, but there are no more than ninety-six wedana for all that. Accordingly, a very common beginning to a
[576] formal Burmese letter is to say that by his correspondent's good wishes the writer has been preserved from the ninety-six andayè; the thirty-two kan-chammā, or pieces of bad luck; the twenty-five baya, dangers from assassins, wild beasts, and the like; and finally from aneitta bala, evils of all kinds, envy, hatred, malice, and all uncharitableness: his friend's regard has kept all these things far from him, may the writer's good will be not less efficacious. Therefore it is

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

825 baby curled up together in a corner with the boa, making one another mutually cosy.

[757] The gall-bladder and fat of the sabba-gyi are much prized for medicinal purposes, the fat especially being esteemed as a sovereign remedy for rheumatism and strains.

Of the poisonous snakes the most dreaded is the ngan, or u-gwet, the "spotted forehead." This creature, the hamadryad or ophiophagus, is, as his name imports, a cannibal, and lives on his neighbour snakes. Specimens as long as nine feet from nose to tail have been killed near Rangoon, and in the forests which are his proper home he sometimes grows to fourteen or fifteen feet. Unlike all other reptiles, the ngan does not get out of the way of a man approaching his haunts, but attacks him immediately. He is worse than the walrus that roused the indignation of the French poet.

Bees are kept in a good many places in the country, but it is necessary to be very careful where you put the hives. It is a most ill-omened circumstance if wild bees make a nest under the house, or if bees of any kind fly under the floor. On the other hand, a hive on the house-top is very lucky. Honey is in great request to present to the pôngyis at various feasts, and especially for the embalming of the [764] body of a dead brother of the Robe. After the cremation the honey is sold in the bazaar. It is not eaten by Englishmen in Burma. "Tapping the governor" does not commend itself to everybody. The hill tribes in the Shan States keep bees in hives made of blocks of wood.

757 Rhinoceros horns are in as great favour with the Burmans as with Chinese medical men. Shavings of the horn are considered an invaluable cure for epilepsy, and also guard against poisons of all kinds. There are two distinct species found in the eastern forests—the single and the double-horned.

315 187 Near Yenangyaung, in the petroleum district, when a new oil-well is wanted, the workmen place a marble image of an elephant on a smooth, flat stone, and surround it with gifts of all kinds, and then sit down to watch. If the elephant itself moves it indicates the direction in which borings are to be made; if not, the offering on which its shadow first falls as the sun sinks down, is marked, and a bedin sayā consulted.

HEALTH
Disorders.

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U Myaing and Ma Aye Myaing were each approached individually by Ko Sein Tu (U Myaing) and Ma Khin Hmway (Ma Aye Myaing), for a history of the disorders of their family. This data is presented below directly as it has been received from the informants. The disorder is identified by its Burmese name and presented English name, along with a description and period and place of affliction. This is followed by an account of the treatment.

Small-pox; KYAUK. U Myaing informs us that his two elder daughters had the small pox in 1942. Both were stricken at the same time, and recovered after 15 days. His two younger daughters were vaccinated. In describing this disorder, U Myaing says:-

> "At first the person is stricken with fever. At the end of the third day, small pustules appear on the body. When these ripen they are pricked and burst. Some Burmese practioners come and collect this pus for use as vaccine. Two or three days after GWAY DAUNG root, guava fruit and saffron are mixed and applied the pustules subside and the skin falls off. When the pustules started coming out, they were dark coloured, but when the patient is cured, the skin in those places becomes red. The small pox which the children had was not very severe. The whole course of treatment is carried out with Burmese medicines and by Burmese practioners. Soup of PE-LUN leaves is given to the patient. All sour and sweet foods are avoided when the rashes appear. When the pustules burst, guava fruit, saffron and Gway Daung root are made into a cream by rubbing on the rough surface of a KYAUK PYIN stone slab. The sores heal. The patient then has to bathe for three days in water which has boiled together with leaves of the NEEM tree. No charge was made for the medicines, and no expenses were incurred other than Practioner's fee of Rs. 5/-."

Malaria: HNGET HPYA (bird fever). U Myaing was stricken with malaria during 1942 for about 8 months. According to his description, in malaria, the patient goes down with high fever. The temperature rises and he begins to feel very warm. Then all at once he begins to feel very warm. Than all at once he begins to feel cold, and then coldest and colder and starts shivering. In this condition three or four people are needed to hold him down. About four or five hours after feeling very cold he begins to grow hot again and his temperature falls when enough sweat has left the patientts body. The next day, at the same time the temperature rises again. This sickness has to be cured with quinine. The Burmese cure for malaria seems to be mainly through disting. Sour foods were eschewed, Neem leaves were eaten, and also NGA YAN fish was cooked with oil and eaten. The total expenditure for the cure amounted to Rs. 140/- or Rs. 150/- - if time lost for work is also included, Rs. 400/-.

Chicken pox: PE THI BAR: Every one in the family has had chicken pox at some time or the other. These were all in Pantanaw and lasted for about one month each. In this affliction the skin reddens, pus accumulates, and sores break out. These come out like the small pox and last for about a month. There is no internal suffering. Burmese practioners make the patient bathe frequently in cream made of guava fruit and saffron is applied.

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Measles: WET THET (Pig dropping): This is another disorder that has visited every member of the family at one time or another. This was in Pantanaw and lasted for about a month each. In measles, according to U Myaing, the skins reddens and pustules appear. These last for about 45 days and disappear when ashes of burnt pig dropping are administered in water to the patient. Plum Jam (Zee Yo) is also made and given to the patient to eat. Costs for ingredients of cure cost Rs. 14/- or Rs. 15/-.

Dysentery: WUN KAIK: U Myaing informs us that he had dysentery once at the age of thirty. It was a mild attack, lasting for about four or five days, and involving no mucus and no blood. It was cured by eating garlic and jaggery fried in oil, costing Rs. 4/- or Rs. 5/- to make. This was in Pantanaw.

Urticaria: GYAIK TWO: U Myaing and his twenty-odd daughters have had urticaria; U Myaing when at the age of 24 and his daughters about 5 years ago. In Urticaria, U Myaing says, itchy swellings develop all over the body, which subside and are cured within two days if the right medicines are applied. Treatment is either through taking ashes of burnt IN leaves administered in water, or by gently pounding the patient seven times with a pounder used for husking rice, the patient holding his breath the while. This treatment cost nothing.

Abscess: THET-TANT: U Myaing has been affected by THET TANT once in his life, about four years ago and for a period of 18 days. In this disorder, a painful swelling develops on the back of the shoulder. There is no open sore. The patient begins to cough. When he begins to cough the Burmese practioner is called in. He uses his own medicine of which all U Myaing saw was a piece of garlic. With this he makes movements of drawing the swelling from the shoulder to the thumb, seven times in all. Then he tells the patient that within eight hours (in U Myaing's case from 12 o'clock to 8 o'clock) the swelling will have removed to the thumb. Within eight hours the pain is no longer located on the shoulder, and the swelling now appears on the thumb. This is now allowed to ripen and the accumulated pus is cleaned out. Antiseptic NPAN YE is used on the sore. The practioner charges Rs. 10/- as fees, and supplies his own medicine without further charge. This was in Pantanaw when U Myaing was a patient. The following account of the treatment of this disorder by U Myaing himself is given below,

> "About the disease THET TANT. I do not know how to recite the incantations used in the cure. In this disease a hot, painful and hard swelling appears. The other people came to call me (when a person in the refugee camp was afflicted with a similar ailment) because they thought it was THET TANT. As I had THET TANT once in my life I happen to know the cure for it. I managed to bring down swelling from the shoulder to the thumb. Within two or three hours of treatment the painful swelling from the shoulder to the thumb. Within two or three hours of treatment the painful swelling in the shoulder subsided and the thumb began to ache. The next morning, when the bandage was removed from the thumb pus was found to have accumulated there. When the pustule burst, it was treated as an ordinary open sore. In this disease, a swelling on the shoulder can be moved to the thumb and on the lower trunk or lower extremities to the big toe. The swelling is hard and elongated, and if not recognised and treated early starts to spread. This swelling never appears on the head or face. In the refugee camp there is one person by the name of Ma Saw Hla who had this disease during childhood, when she was about three years old. It was treated too late, and as a result she now walks with a limp."

U Myaing at this juncture sent for Ma Saw Hla and made her walk up and down in front of us to let us see her limping gait. He also made her give some information on her case. Ma Saw Hla said:

> "I went down with this disease. A young practioner from [illegible] and tried massage, but only made it [illegible]

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to go to the hospital (Pantanaw). When we met a Karen friend, he smeared some saffron onto the affected part, and recited something and at once two long lines appeared and it became apparent that the disease was THET TANT. (THET TANT, it is said is of two kinds, male and female, and this person had both. The difference between the two kinds seems to lie in the size of the swellings, the male being larger and more virulent.) The doctor in the hospital had to operate on me. He told my parents that if I did not undergo any operation I would surely die, and even if it was successful it would affect a nerve and I would be left with a limp all my life. My parents had him operate and I was cured, but I've had this limp ever since. It was three months from inception before we knew that it was THET TANT."

When U Myaing cured his patient in Pantanaw, he lighted three or [755]
four candles and an incense burner; he recited prayers and the 5 Silas. At the head of the bed he placed the bowl containing water scented with Kalamet cream, Taung-Dan-Gyi cream and perfumes. Then U Myaing took this and began to sprinkle the water about the room, wishing aloud for the patient's recovery. Then he took seven single buds of garlic, weighing about 5 ticals and ground them together, and bandaged them around the thumb. U Myaing continues his account:

"I don't know the recitations for this desease. But what they do is to mix lime and saffron in water and smear it it on the affected part. Some people drink this. This is one method. Using garlic is another method. When the part is smeared with this mixture, the disease comes to the surface. There are some people who have died because the sore burst inside the body. As regards the garlic cure, when I enquired carefully, it turned out that the stanzas recited had nothing to do with effecting the cure. It must have been due to the garlic, because I could cure another person without reciting the stanzas. There are three kinds of THET TANT: the three months kind, the six months kind and the three years kind. It seems as if there is an internal swelling and it rises to the surface and disappears rises again, and so on. When there is a swelling and it is very hot, then it can be diagnosed as THET TANT. When it is is treated, the patient collapses with fever for one night - the night when the swelling is moved to the thumb. The disease is not very rare. I have seen it five or six times. There have been cases like that of Ko Maung Thant in Pantanaw, where the patient has died of internal THET TANT without knowing the nature of his disease. Only when the person is about to die does the internal THET TANT come to the surface. The swelling is hot, but there are also some cases where it is not so.

"The patient who I treated a few days ago in camp is now better. There are various ways and means of treating this disease. Some do it with bananas. After I burst the pustule and squeese out the pus, I do not put any medicine on the sore. The reason why it cannot be treated on the shoulder is that there is no pus - only an inflamed swelling which is very painful. Some practioners who do not know how to move the swelling smear on the shoulder certain mixtures which are designed to bring out the pus to the surface, and they cure the sore on the shoulder itself.

"I did not take any fee for curing the young boy in Pantanaw. He was very poor and I asked them only to buy the garlic for themselves. This was about 6 years ago, and the patient was about 16 years of age. He was in such a bad condition shouting and yelling in pain, that the parents expected him to die, and were weeping. I reflected that whether my treatment proved efficacious or not, it could not make his condition any worse than it was, and so I

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started treatment. The day I started treatment the swelling reached his thumb, and four or five days later it burst. The thumb was placed in antiseptic HPAN YE liquid and smeared with crude petroleum oil and ashes. The name of the boy was Maung Hla Yin of Pathne village. I do not know whether or not they called in practioners. No one came to call me either. I heard of his sickness and went over. He had been suffering for about twenty days before I started to treat him. Not being a practioner, I do not know how to cure other diseases. I know how to cure this disease because it happened to me once and I witnessed the treatment.

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"Some practioners cure the disease in another way - through saffron and white lime. They also have a wooden DAH fashioned out of the wood from a tree which has been struck by lighting. With this DAH they strike at the swelling lightly after which they smear the mixture on. I have no knowledge of where these practioners learn their trade. Burmese cures must be cheap and efficacious. It seems to me that recitations etc. are made to enable the practioner to command a higher fee, since people can and have been cured without any recitations at all. I do not believe in their incantations."

Scabies: MEH (itch). During the Japanese regime, the youngest child had scabies when she was one year old. If the right medicine is given the cure takes only two or three months, and if not, as many years. These sores are moistened itchy skin sores which spread with great rapidity. The Burmese prescription for an ointment to cure scabies includes: sulphur, KYAUK KHA, HSE DAN and copper sulphate. Also THAMAT KHA root and KYAUK KHA are mixed together on a KYAUK PYIN stone slab to make a cream for application. The person affected has to bathe often. The medicine which really effected the cure, however, was M & B 693 (Mayer and Baker sulpha pills.) These cost U Myaing 8 annas for a dozen, and only 9 were necessary to cure the child. Before she was cured, her condition was so bad, and her sores so extensive that people were reluctant to carry the baby. They had to carry it swaddled in many clothes.

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Ringworm: PWAY. U Myaing had ringworm once when he was eighteen years old. This happened in Pantanaw, and it took him just three days to cure it. The ringworm whorls were so extensive that U Myaing did not dare to go out and mix with other people. In treatment, U Myaing used a western lotion of which the only distinguishing mark that he remembers is that it was of a "Two snake brand". He followed the directions on the label, bathing the whorls with soap and applying the lotion with a feather. The bottle held about four ounces and cost him Rs. 1/4.

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MWAY KYUT MAR (Hair-coming-off-sore). U Myaing had this affliction once in Pantanaw for a period of 15 days. When a hair falls out, the skin in that place reddens and pus accumulates on the leg. The Burmese treatment consists of smearing the affected part with ashes and water mixed together.

Sore eyes: KYET SI MAR (eye sore). Sore eyes have been had by everyone in the family at one time or another. In the last four of five years, each member of the family has been afflicted about once a year. The eye becomes red and inflamed and watery. Tamarind bark is made into a cream and applied. Tamarind leaves are pounded with salt and placed and bandaged on the forehead. The cost of treatment is negligible, since the cure involves the use of about only one anna's worth of salt and the tamarind is obtained free.

Disorders of the Nose: Cough and Cold. AH KE MI (cold-catch) NAR SUK (NAMBE NAO (Mucous Flooding-cough): All the members of the family get these disorders periodically, that is, about once or twice a year each. Treatment is by smearing balm (Tiger balm or others)

753 in the nose and by using it as an inhalant also. A bottle of balm costs between Rs. 1/4 or Rs. 1/8.

•757 Sore in the Nose: _____. The youngest child had a sore in her nose during the month of October 1950. This was through falling on her nose. Pus accumulated, and the nose became inflamed. It lasted for two weeks and was cured through the application of nose drops given to the family by a medical student.

Toothache: THWA KAIK (tooth ache): U Myaing had a toothache once in his life when he was 33 years of age. This was due to a decayed tooth. He suffered off and on for a period of over two years, and obtained relief only when it became sufficiently weak for him to pull it out. U Myaing did not go to the dentist to have the tooth extracted, and therefore there was no cost. This is the only case of toothache in the family, and even Daw Aw Zar has a complete set of sound teeth.

Stomach-Ache: BAIK NAR (stomach pain): U Myaing informs us that all the members of the family have had stomach ache some time in their lives. This he attributed to "wind" in the stomach. No treatment was taken other than the eating of digestive salts or YET HSA (sodium chloride and crushed bark.)

Piles; DU LAR, LEIK GAUNG (Young man disorder - tortoise head (rectum)): U Myaing has had piles since he was thirty years of age. He still suffers from it, but it does not trouble him much. He has undergone no treatment to cure it, as, he says, "All men have this. It is only a matter of size."

[158] Fits: TET. U Myaing tells us that his youngest daughter is subject to fits. To be exact, she has had them twice in her life. once when about a year old, and once about 5 months ago - at the age of three years. This comes on when the child falls into an incontrollable rage, forgets to breathe, and her face becomes blue. In this condition, the child has to be quickly massaged, till it resumes breathing. The period of affliction is short and there is no cost of treatment.

Cuts and Wounds. All the members of the family have had cuts or wounds at some time or the other. On such occasions Burmese practioners come and recite certain incantations over the wound, with the ostensible object of making itheal. For sword cuts, onions and sessamum oil are applied externally. This heals the wound quickly. If the leg is pierced by an iron nail, salt is pressed into the wound. At the age of thirty-two, U Myaing cut his tow with a DAH and inflicted a severe wound on himself. He cured it with onion and sessamum oil. Ma Khin Saw was severely burnt in the leg by hot water when one year old. Betel leaves, sugar and Ngan Pyar Ye (fish paste water) were first applied to the burn, and later on crushed THE BUNT leaves mixed in water. There was no swelling at all. Daw Aw Zar, when at Kyaungon developed a huge boil on the leg through having to walk in grass without any slippers on. She had to suffer for two months from this. Treatment consisted in bathing the boil with Hpan-Ie antiseptic liquid, and application of crushed KAZUN and gourd leaves mixed in water. The hospital also gave external medicines, but U Myaing does not know what medicine it was. It was healed after 2 months of treatment.

U Myaing was bitten twice by dogs. In such cases, treatment is by taking a silver THIN-CHA (tincture of iodine) rubbing charcoal onto its surfaces, and then pressing it seven times onto the wound while the person who is bitten holds his breath. There is a stanza which is usually recited on such occasions, but U Myaing does not happen to know it. When U Myaing himself was bitten, other people came and did the same service for him, and neither did they recite any stanza. However, his wound did not even fester.

There is also a stanza which is used to staunch the flow of blood. U Myaing believes in the efficacy of this stanza because

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he has seen it work before his very eyes. The flow of blood lessens and stops even while the stanza is being recited.

Mastitis: _____)i Ma Aye Myaing had mastitis on the right breast three months ago at the refugee camp. She felt feverish and had pain all over. On the third day, an English lady, probably a welfare worker, gave her fomentation for three days but it had no effect. On the next day, when an Indian doctor on volunteer service came to the camp, she consulted him. After careful examination he gave her a black ointment to apply to the affected area. She didnot know what ointment it was, but Ma Khin Hmway conjectures that it was Ethyl belladona. In addition to the ointment, he also gave her some white pills. These had to be taken orally twice at a time, three times a day for a period of ten days. After ten days of this combined treatment, Ma Aye Myaing's mastitis was completely cured.

Influenza: TOKE KWAY (crouched position). Ma Aye Myaing tells us that she has had two attacks of influenza in her life time. The first was two years ago, and the second occured last year during the month of TAZAUNG-MON.

_____ ANAR PA HSOT (Sore heart). U Myaing once had an attack of Anar-pa-hsot when he was 35 years of age. This happened in Pantanaw, and was of 15 days duration. In this affliction, a swelling arises, red in colour, which rapidly accumulates pus. When this pustule bursts, new pustules rise at the base of the old swelling. If no medicines are taken, then the sore begins to spread but if treated with the right medicine the sore heals after the first pustule. The Burmese treatment for this disorder is as follows: Dried Hpan-Ga fruit is ground together with the mud from the mud-wasp's burrow, and placed on the sore. This stops the progress of infection within 5 days and effects the cure within another four or five days. The Hpan-Ga fruit costs about two or three annas, and that is about the total expenditure needed. However, if one does not know the cure, and has to consult a practioner, he will charge any amount between Rs. 10/- and Rs. 15/-. [435]

_____ HNYIN. Hnyin is a skin disease which brings out unsightly white patches on the skin. If not treated properly these tend to spread rapidly all over the body. The white patches are irritable and itchy, and very contagious. U Myaing has Hnyin patches on his body at present and has had them for the last three years. No medicines have been taken, because he regards it as a minor affliction.

The data on medicine and health was collected in the company and with the assistance of a medical student Ko Mya Tu who is at present studying in the Final Year M.B.B.S. class in the Rangoon University Medical College, preparatory to taking his final examinations. Ko Mya Tu proved of great help in interrogation and interpretation of data collected, and in diagnosing the nature of the various disorders from such symptoms and treatments as were remembered by the members of U Myaing's family. This technique elicited the information that there has been no case of Venereal Disease, Mental Disorder, Elephantiasis, Night-Blindness, Goiter, Plague, Mumps, Enteric, Beri-beri, Hernia, Cholera, Consumption and Disorders of the Ear in U Myaing's family. [124]

Menopause: MEE YAT THWAY SONE (Woman Disorder-Blood End). 886
Daw Aw Zar reached her climacteric at the age of 50. She did not 757
suffer from menopause symtoms, as she had taken the following preventative measures: she ha. eaten boiled duck eggs three at a time, and very frequently. Kyauk-Hpayon fruit jam was eaten all the time (since 25 ticals of jam can be offered on the altar and can then be eaten to last for 10 days. Phalaung-taung-hmwe root is thinly sliced, mixed with 25 ticals of palm jaggery, 6 pice worth of the 5 kinds of Hsa-mon seeds, and some salt, brewed together and taken. Also, each about two fingers small, were boiled and eaten with rice. Daw Aw Zar ate all these things until the age of 60.

Smallpox: (Preventatives). The Burmese preventative measure 757
for smallpox consists in rubbing the whole body in horse sweat and drinking mare's milk. The liver of the python is mixed with water and taken internally. Python flesh is also eaten and python skin is burnt and the ash mixed with jaggery (palm sugar) and made into pills to be taken orally. This is quite effective, and even if smallpox does come on later, it only does so in a mild form, as in the case of two of U Myaing's children who had only about 15 pustules each. U Myaing applied the preventatives. He tells us that practioners can shift the location of pustules. A pustule about to appear on the eyes of a child can be shifted elsewhere by using the tongue of the mother.

Medical injections-Vaccination and Cholera. Back in Pantanaw the English vaccinator came around only once in abc.t three years, and consequently the children have been vaccinated only once in their lives. This, however is a service which is rendered free of charge. The youngest child has been vaccinated once here. The same remarks hold true for cholera injections also, except that every one in the family including the adults, has had only one inoculation each in their whole lives.

Cleanliness. For bathing, U Myaing's family uses the hydrant 515
in the camp twice a day. The soap which is used for washing clothes 2%
is also used on the body. In Pantanaw the river was used twice a day, and they had special soap for the body. In the camp clothes are washed every day because of their small number. In one month, the family uses up thirty cakes of soap each worth 2 annas, for bathing and washing. Teeth are cared for by cleaning them every morning with either salt or charcoal. This is true both of Pantanaw. and refugee camp. It involves no special cost. In Pantanaw, the water used was water from the stream. This water was very clear, but it was also filtered before being used. In the refugee camp here the water is very clear and is used as it comes from the hydrant

Warts: KATO. The cure for warts is to kill the mother wart by 757
prodding it with some sharp instrument or pinching it away slowly.

An important factor in the health of the family has been the 753
supernatural. Daw Aw Zar was completely serious in informing us 775
that the reason she was in good health at 72 years of age was that she had been good in a previous existence. This idea is apparently tied to the concept of merit acquisition in which the deeds of the present existence add to or subtract from the well being of the future existence. U Myaing states it in this manner:

"The good in this life is because of the meritorious acts in the previous existence."

Analysis

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The main active preventative measures are those of cleaning the body and the clothes. The Burmese seem to be fastidious in this regard. The boiling of water and food is a similar measure. However, there does not seem to be much concern with communal sanitary measures as practical in western countries. It is difficult to see a real difference in the standard of preventative measures in Camp as opposed to Pathwe. In effect, the individual standards are maintained and the communal ones remain as negative as previously.

The medical record as given by the family, though open to question as to accuracy in coming from laymen, does indicate a high incident of communicable diseases and apparent lack of deficiency disorders. The low incident of dysentery is surprising, but may not be accepted without question. The high incident of piles is interesting in suggesting a cultural disorder perhaps organically tied to the constant squat position. There appeared to be a greater incident of sycsores, chlis, and skin diseases in the refugee camp - perhaps as a result of greater crowding in the the urban situation. Certainly the dust of Rangoon is an active hazard in this regard.

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Most of the family's medical care has been that of Burmese practitioners. Only 3 cases was western medicine used, and in two of these Burmese remedies were also used. Dr. Sheppard, ECA medical advisor, and Ko Mya Tu interviewed U Myaing for the purpose of finding out his reactions to western medicine. His increased contact with modern medicine in Rangoon has had an effect on his thought as seen in the interview below:

> U Myaing said: "In our practical experience we find that western medicine is more efficacious (than native Burmese medicines). I remember the woman whom you (Ko Mya Tu) came and gave injections to. She recovered at once and is now hale and hearty - the woman who lives in the shed near our place (in the refugee camp). She was stricken with dysentery. She was suffering from 11 o'clock at night till morning, when an ambulance was summoned by telephone to take her to the hospital. She was given injections and by noon she was feeling very much better. Burmese doctors take much longer. Some of them mix in western medicines with their own. If we were given the choice we would prefer western medicine because it takes effect quicker..I have seen one case of Burmese medicine succeeding where western medicine failed. This was a case of urinary trouble."

Basic Burmese Concepts of Health and Sickness.

The Burmese regard health as the best of all earthly blessings. Although Buddha referred to the living body as a decaying corpse, which it was folly to feed, he recognised the necessity for bodily health in order to carry out the all-important mental activities connected with the Buddhist religion. It is then essential for each person to be as physically and mentally sound as he is able. The forces governing health and sickness are both supernatural and natural each with its own set of medical specialists. The specialists are called for only when the case is far advanced there being an extensive lore of home precautions and curative practices. In general, disorders caused by nats and ghosts (supernatural) or magic are recognised by their sudden, catastrophic or otherwise unusual nature, and are both instigated and cured by magical means. The natural disorders are caused by weaknesses in the constitution of the patient, foreign bodies, dangerous foods and such-like means, and are cured through knowledge of medical principles. The germ concept of disease is completely lacking, although when foreign matter is seen, as mosquito larvae in water, it is frequently regarded as unhealthy. The western idea of omnipresent harmful bacteria is regarded as fantastic in being contrary to observation - "our ancestors have lived for countless generations in these surroundings which you regard as dangerous", they will say. There are some 80 different kinds of PO MYOSIBA or harmful ingredients that can infect the body. These range from undesirable ingredients in food to mystical influences that rise in the teeth to cause tooth-ache. The cleanliness of the Burmese, as seen in their several daily baths and emphasis on clean clothes, is not out of regard for "hygenic" reasons, but rather for social reasons. One must look his best in public so as not to give offense, to the eye or nose. The sick person is never washed since cold water would have the effect of driving the fever-heat inward to a fatal degree. The date for resumption of bathing for the convalescent is carefully considered; mistakes can result in relapse and death. Cool breezes must be avoided by the sick person for similar reasons. The house doors closed during the day invariably mean sickness within.

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753 The concept of KARMA (fate) is important only in determining
777 the general well-being of the individual, as seen in Daw Aw Zar's
262 belief that her general good health was due to a morally-lived previous existence. "It is like a shadow". Some specific situations like being born blind is attributed to ones KARMA - in this case the person had been a notorious fighter of cocks in the previous existence; cocks being frequently blinded in the fights.

Each person is regarded as subject to some special disorder or weakness such as being especially subject to colds or headaches, or stomach troubles. Collectively these are referred to as "age-group" weaknesses. (MIYAT - girls' weakness; DULAH - boys' weaknesses.) But this is due to childhood illnesses and neglect of early troubles rather than KARMA. Persons with the weaknesses noted above avoid cucumbers (a "cold" vegetable), or hot foods including liquor (these cause greater heat to rise to the head), or green or raw vegetables (hard to digest). The choice of the correct diet to suit one's particular condition is important.

751 Bodily exercise is a prime consideration for health. Calli-
526 thenics or sports for this purpose are unknown or unrecognized and by
461 " healthful exercise " is meant everyday work activities. Regular
•757 daily motion is regarded as necessary for health, and a purgative is
514 taken regularly once a month. The idea is to " clean out disease ". Purgatives are taken first in most sicknesses. This is followed by drinking preparations in hot water to induce perspiration along with woolen blankets. The colour of the urine is checked "daily" since a too yellow colour indicates an unhealthy condition. If so - one must drink additional quantities of water and coconut water. "Urine takes the place of perspiration in cold weather". Over-working and lack of sleep also tend to lead to unhealthiness. The ideal
[93] sleep period is from 8 p.m. to 6 a.m. with a nap thrown in from 12 to 2 after "breakfast".

158 Too much worrying SAY TAUNG YO NAYEN (mind-beating-because-
753 body-crush) leads to sickness. This is a common problem for mothers who worry about their children's futures. It results in THEHJEH-PYEZEN (small black bitter (gall)-disorder) where the gall fluid is

561 removed. Old folks habitually like bitter foods - especially tea
262 leaves. Eating prepared foods left over night is strictly prohibited as a cause of illnesses. Curry must be eaten while it is hot. (There are no apparent reasons - just observation from eating spoiled [757] foods). Boiled rice and fried dry fish comprises the standard sick diet in addition to other foods especially prescribed for the care or 177 for giving vigour. It is interesting to note that English foods such 757 as tinned biscuits ("Golden Puff biscuits") or milk preparations 262 ("Hollicks") are preferred for the sick diet by those who can afford them. The "strong" tastes of these foods give strength to the sick person. Lately, western medicines have been recognized as powerful. U Myaing's experiences above show the means by which this idea is established. However, the Burmese doctor is relied on even by families of the administrative class in Rangoon.

759 When a case of sickness seems beyond response to normal treatments, and it has been diagnosed as of a natural cause, the SAY SAYA (medicine-master) is called in. "Foot-hire" at a stiff rate of Rs.5/- for the first visit and 2 or 3 rupees for succeeding visits is paid for this service."Say-saya, we place the case in your hands" is entoned, to which the doctor replies "If our faith coincides (i.e. patients and doctors) then we will be successful - otherwise we cannot go against Karma". The doctor notes the symptoms, feels forehead for fever, inquires of colour of urine and the course of the disorder. He then chants in verse the diagnosis as "eyes yellow, [198] motion irregular, forehead moist - (giving nature of sickness)". The treatment also follows in verse form as a rigid formula prescribing medicines and diet. The doctor is a specialist in one or more types of medicine which he has concocted such as "blood purifying medicines","fever medicine", "purgative medicine", and he will have [755] been called in because of this specialty. Charmed water is frequently given. Here verse formula is said over a cup of water to give it power.

SAY SAYA are trained when young men as apprentices to older doctors. The training includes memorizing many books giving diagnosis and formulas for curing as well as learning the master's arts.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

Dealers, with the exception of 1164

276. THE LORD OF HELL RECEIVES HIS STEWARD'S ACCOUNT OF THE PAINS INFLICTED ON SINNERS (p. 121).

the dealer in medicine, who is at the same time the physician, do not receive the title *sayá*—teacher, doctor—which is accorded to every master workman. The physician (*sithama sayá*) makes no charge for his advice, but only for his medicines. There is, however, a school of doctors who oppose the use of drugs, and rely upon the regulation of diet and on shampooing; they make their charge for the latter operation. Ague (intermittent fever, *pyá-na*) is the commonest complaint in Burma, which no one escapes. The remittent form of malarial fever is also common. Attacks may be light and pass away of themselves, or they may be severe and protracted. Malaria is the chief cause of mortality. The common treatment is to encourage sweating. Aperients are not resorted to if it can be helped, as the Burmese drugs are drastic. In severe cases the head is shaved. Quinine was at one time making its way in the bazárs; but soon adulteration began to be practised, and it lost repute. The scheme of selling the Government quinine at the post offices may be effectual in rehabilitating the medicine. Santonin worm-tablets likewise had a great reputation until adulteration began. Rheumatism is common in Burma. It is treated by shampooing (*a-hnélik*), which in this complaint is most efficacious. *A-hnélik* is a kneading of the muscles and nervous plexuses; massage, in the sense of rubbing, is not practised. The expert shampooers possess an empirical knowledge of the interdependences in the nervo-muscular system which is remarkable. An attack of lumbago, which would cripple one for days, is cured in half an hour. Vapour baths, over the water of hot springs, are also resorted to. Heart-burn and colic are common ailments.

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277. BURMAN APOTHECARY.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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278. SHAMPOOING (A-HNEIK).

Dysentery is much less frequent in natives than in European residents. Consumption and pneumonia are rare, but coughs and bronchitis are common. Cancer is not unknown. Measles and chicken-pox follow a mild course. Scarlet fever does not occur, nor does typhus. It is uncertain whether typhoid fever existed in Burma or has been introduced; it is rare among the natives, but attacks Europeans in a bad form. Venereal diseases lurk in the towns. (For leprosy, see p. 41.) Diarrhœa and cholera recrudesce every hot season. There are no records of other pestilence. Small-pox rages in severe epidemics, but with greatly diminished incidence where vaccination has been accepted. Native practitioners were acquainted with inoculation. In introducing voluntary vaccination the British Government has met with great success. The introduction of this measure exemplifies how grotesque the arguments may be that prevail upon the people. The alleged motive of the government was too improbable; so wiseacres cast about for another. What more likely than a dream of the Queen of England—that a child existed in Burma who would overthrow her dominion! This child could not be known, but it would be reached and removed by the plan of poisoning the blood of the whole generation. It was many years before

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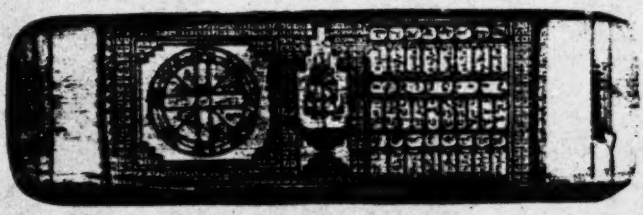

279. HOROSCOPE ON PALM-LEAF.

the myth was dispelled. In 1894, when small-pox was known to be approaching from Karennî, the Karên (nat-worshipping) village of Bilin-Mèwaing among others, consisting of sixty souls, submitted to vaccination. The lymph took in all but sixteen cases. Six months later small-pox reached the locality. Twelve

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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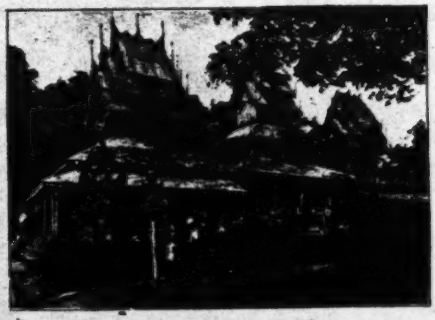

220. KOTHENA YON (p. 191).

of the unsuccessfully vaccinated 164
caught the disease, and ten of
them died. None of the forty- 759
four were attacked. These [778]
statistics could be multiplied.
The medicine-dealers keep 757
many of the crude commercial
drugs, besides simples of their 278
own collecting. Of the former,
the principal are aloes, jalap,
croton-seed, senna, bitter barks,
catechu, opium, camphor, ginger,
cardamom and other aromatics.
The medicinal use of castor-oil
is not known, though the plant is common. Spirits are now used medicinally.
Many of the vegetable remedies are almost inert (see *The Burmese, what do they* [113]
know of medicine? by Dr. D. H. Cullimore). But there is one that deserves to
be known, namely, the Shan remedy for tape-worm, *thssé*, which is both effectual
and mild. Among the mineral drugs are mercury, calomel, sulphur, blue and
green vitriols, alum, salammoniac, nitre. There is a whole category of supposi- 757
titious remedies, tiger's gall, rhinoceros' blood, ant-eater's scales, and so forth; 278
they are charred before being made up. Allied to this class of remedies is that
of charms, the vendors of which (nat-wives—*nakkadáw*) trade on the superstition 755
that disease is caused by demons. Every patient will be as particular to mention
his star as to describe his complaint. He will be advised to avoid certain classes
of remedies on certain days.
The "Sunday son" must not
purge on Friday, and so on.
In times of epidemic and panic,
thibbuzedi are erected at every
house, as they likewise are in
cases of sickness (No. 431).
They are merely of sand, held
together with circles of bast.
Sometimes they are erected to
avert calamity declared to be
impending in a *skwepe-khwdaw*,
a message on gold foil dropped
from heaven by a *Thadyá*
(p. 186). Images are dedicated

221. CHILDREN'S BAZAR (p. 191).

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25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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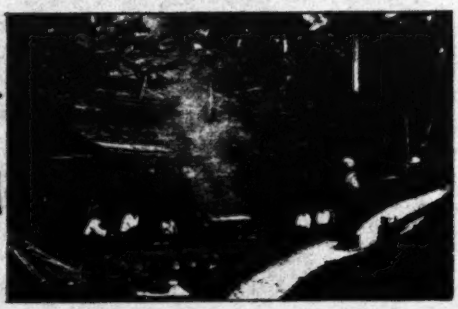

282. PREPARING TAWTHALIN OFFERINGS (p. 188).

at the temples in the same spirit. *Thèbôuzedi* are erected on the day of a sick person's planet, and decorated with flags according to the years of age. Here Buddhism, which knows of no vicarious merit (or demerit), is tainted by a survival of animism (p. 188). The merit of the act is intended to cancel the demerit of some troubled spirit which is seeking to possess the body of the sufferer. Offerings are likewise set apart for the troubled spirit in the forest, to divert him from the sick person. When an epidemic of cholera occurs, the whole village sets up a din at sunset with bamboo sticks, to frighten the demons away. But many minds are averse to such superstitions, and they seek for natural explanations. They ascribe disease to states of the blood, to "heats" and "vapours." The cooling qualities of nitre are extolled for the one, and the cordial effects of spice for the other. Dietetic questions interest everybody, and everyone has his or her pet nostrum. Very little operative surgery is attempted as compared with India and China—merely the opening of abscesses and setting of bones. Hare-lip and cleft palate, and the cognate deformities, appear to be frequent. The dressings applied to wounds and sores are chiefly turmeric, slaked lime, *nîm*-leaves. Successful lithotomies and other major operations, and the boon of chloroform, have spread the fame of western surgery in a vastly wider circle than it can reach itself. The sick are tenderly nursed by the Burmans, and never abandoned in panic fear as happens in epidemics among the hill-tribes. There are few greater sources of religious merit than ministering to the sick. During the puerperium, the Burman custom is to main-

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283. BURMAN CARRIER.

29: Slater M-4 (no date) 1951 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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the monastery. It is a day of excited celebration. Recalling the Great Renunciation, when Gautama left the royal court in his quest for truth, the boy, attired in princely robes, is feasted by his family and friends until the moment when he casts his finery aside to don the yellow robe of the Order.[21]

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Girls experience a similar ceremonial initiation, when (to the accompaniment of vigorous music) their ears are pierced to take the ear-rings which are the sign of womanhood. They cannot attend the monastic schools with the boys, but other means are found for their education, and they certainly do not lag behind their brothers in intelligence, character or Buddhist zeal. Mrs Hla Oung recounts the story of a little maid taken to the monastery to be reminded of the five precepts, after some childish misdemeanour. (The monk was benign. "There was the faintest suspicion of a smile on his calm face, to show, I suppose, that her backsliding was not to be taken as a defection from the faith.") The 'charity of learning' seems, then, to be shared by girls as well as boys. The status, freedom and privileges of Burmese women have already been remarked and Mrs Hla Oung affirms vigorously that "the life of the Burmese woman is bound up in her religion. Buddhism has formed the character of the Burmese woman.... There are few Burmese women, even in the villages, who are unable to read and write," and the Buddhist scriptures form the ground work of their studies.[22]

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Not only are the monks numerous, but they are dispersed throughout the country. Every village has at least one monastery, and sometimes more. The educational influence of the Order has been, therefore, both organised and ubiquitous. In more recent times this influence has been challenged by new conditions. Government and mission schools have intervened, and the modern Burmese boy may only remain in the monastery as a novice for a brief, token period. But during the centuries which shaped the Burmese character and outlook, the monks as educators had no serious rivals.

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Nor has their ministry to the community been confined to education. Herbs and potions from the monastery are held in high esteem, especially in Upper Burma.[23] The monastery also serves as alms-house and asylum.

[21] For a good description of this ceremony v. Ananda Metteya, quoted by G. Appleton, *Buddhism in Burma*, pp. 22–23.

[22] Ma M. Hla Oung, "The Women of Burma," *Buddhism*, Vol. I, No. 1, p. 61 (September, 1903, Rangoon); cf. a later series by Daw Mya Sein, "Kin Sein Hla," *Burma Today*, published by the Burma Government in India, 1944, in which the influence of the Monastery is not so strongly emphasised.

[23] "Theirs is faith cure rather than medicine," writes a Burmese correspondent, who cites cures from snake-bite, leprosy and hydrophobia.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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SAY SAYA are trained when young men as apprentices to older doctors. The training includes memorizing many books giving diagnosis and formulas for curing as well as learning the master's arts.

A village of 2000 persons may have 10 or more doctors. The more successful "move up" to the towns and cities. Most of the medicines are herbs and chemicals including roots, leaves, fruits, berries, salt, and sulphur. Many of the herbs are imported from India. Parts of animals such as crocodile skin, pig and horse droppings are used less frequently. The doctor must be a moral man of good character or the medicine will not be effective. He uses the right index finger "medical finger" to stir the concoctions. The family of the sick person may either prepare the medicine themselves from the doctor's directions or take his own special preparations. Many cures are effected by regulating diet, and in most cases this plays an important part in the cure. The knowledge which the SAY-SAYA must command is extensive including not only the medical wisdom of the ages but also the peculiarities of the patient and above all the relationship of the seasons (weather conditions) to the case.

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If one doctor fails to cure, another may be called in after dismissing the first. A keen feeling of rivalry exists between the various doctors and there are no cooperative consultations. Although each prides himself on a specialty the secrets of which he jealously guards he feels qualified also to handle any other medical problems. "If two are of the same thoughts, they are enemies" emphasizes the general attitude of competition seen in many other phases of Burmese life. The Burmese doctors are invariably applied to for help first. If this does not succeed modern midicinal facilities are sought. If modern medicine fails it is greatly derided. Maung Maung Than's aunt was ill for a long time and, after consulting many Burmese specialists she was taken to the Rangoon Mission Hospital where her case was diagnosed as advanced breast cancer beyond cure. His uncle, though not a medical man, is recognized as a last resort specialist who when the patient is beyond any other help administers lime juice (ordinarily fatal where fever is involved) in a "do or die" treatment. He is warned off when he appears at a sick house for the risk often does not pay off.

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Illness is frequently caused by supernatural spirits acting either independently or as agents for "black magic" specialists.

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Nats' powers for good include protecting the village from dacoit attacks but does not extend to modern warfare. When the Japanese armies were slicing up through Tenasserim in 1941, the elders of Maung Maung Than's village prayed for nat protection against the invaders. The nats replied "Dear Villagers we ourselves are wearing raised longyis in this crisis (ready to run)." This is a Rangoon town joke told among the sophisticated collegiates at the University. Not so well defined, but still sensed is a growing distrust of the powers of nats to combat modern evils. 776 178 [195]

The nats can best be visualized as supernatural despots each with his province (the home, village, sea, bahies) and each exacting tribute of periodic or constant attention in the form of flowers or food, red and white cloth strips, and an altar which may have the image of the nat carved in wood (or moulded in modern plasticene). Banyan trees with their multiple, snake-like trunks, are the most common places of abode. When disaster in the form of sickness or other ill fortune strikes, the nats are appeased with offerings immediately. The SAY SAYA will frequently check with the family of his patient to make sure this has been done. In Rangoon and elsewhere, business men whose fortunes have been good are the main supporters of the nat festivals which are given for the entertainment of all the nats once a year in October, for a seven day period. NAT KADAW (nat-wives) are the mediums who contact the nats by becoming possessed by them at this festival and other special occasions (for a single nat) throughout the year. These are married women or more rarely homosexuals who dance, answer questions and give opinions when possessed. 776 782 [759] [796] 791

Punishment for offense against the nats is first shown by accidents or sudden illnesses like paralysis meted out to the offender. If the offender continues the village as a whole will gradually be afflicted. For example, when a drunkard offends the nats with blasphemous language evil falls on the entire village. Villagers led by the elders and a prominent NAT-KADAW go in a body to the major banyan tree shrine to have an understanding with the offended nats. Offerings are given and attention of the nats called to the woes of 776 753 688 672 782

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

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278. SHAMPOOING (A-HNEIK).

Dysentery is much less frequent in natives than in European residents. Consumption and pneumonia are rare, but coughs and bronchitis are common. Cancer is not unknown. Measles and chicken-pox follow a mild course. Scarlet fever does not occur, nor does typhus. It is uncertain whether typhoid fever existed in Burma or has been introduced; it is rare among the natives, but attacks Europeans in a bad form. Venereal diseases lurk in the towns. (For leprosy, see p. 41.) Diarrhœa and cholera recrudesce every hot season. There are no records of other pestilence. Small-pox rages in severe epidemics, but with greatly diminished incidence where vaccination has been accepted. Native practitioners were acquainted with inoculation. In introducing voluntary vaccination the British Government has met with great success. The introduction of this measure exemplifies how grotesque the arguments may be that prevail upon the people. The alleged motive of the government was too improbable; so wiseacres cast about for another. What more likely than a dream of the Queen of England—that a child existed in Burma who would overthrow her dominion! This child could not be known, but it would be reached and removed by the plan of poisoning the blood of the whole generation. It was many years before

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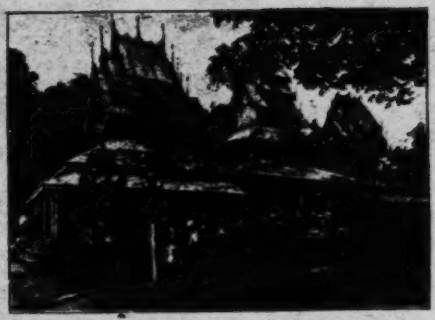
[787]

279. HOROSCOPE ON PALM-LEAF.

the myth was dispelled. In 1894, when small-pox was known to be approaching from Karenni, the Karén (nat-worshipping) village of Bilin-Mèwaing among others, consisting of sixty souls, submitted to vaccination. The lymph took in all but sixteen cases. Six months later small-pox reached the locality. Twelve

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4



200. KOTHEMA YON (p. 191).

of the unsuccessfully vaccinated caught the disease, and ten of them died. None of the forty-four were attacked. These statistics could be multiplied. The medicine-dealers keep many of the crude commercial drugs, besides simples of their own collecting. Of the former, the principal are aloes, jalap, croton-seed, senna, bitter barks, catechu, opium, camphor, ginger, cardamom and other aromatics. The medicinal use of castor-oil is not known, though the plant is common. Spirits are now used medicinally. Many of the vegetable remedies are almost inert (see *The Burmese, what do they know of medicine?* by Dr. D. H. Cullimore). But there is one that deserves to be known, namely, the Shan remedy for tape-worm, *tôssé*, which is both effectual and mild. Among the mineral drugs are mercury, calomel, sulphur, blue and green vitriols, alum, salammoniac, nitre. There is a whole category of suppositious remedies, tiger's gall, rhinoceros' blood, ant-eater's scales, and so forth; they are charred before being made up. Allied to this class of remedies is that of charms, the vendors of which (nat-wives—*nakkadáw*) trade on the superstition that disease is caused by demons. Every patient will be as particular to mention his star as to describe his complaint. He will be advised to avoid certain classes of remedies on certain days. The "Sunday son" must not purge on Friday, and so on. In times of epidemic and panic, *thèbluzedi* are erected at every house, as they likewise are in cases of sickness (No. 431). They are merely of sand, held together with circles of bast. Sometimes they are erected to avert calamity declared to be impending in a *sèwepo-hlwdàw*, a message on gold foil dropped from heaven by a *Thadyè* (p. 186). Images are dedicated

201. CHILDREN'S BAZAR (p. 191).

757 164 759 [778] 757 278 [113] 757 278 755 [751] [857]

30: Maung Htin Aung E-4 (no date) 1953 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

Although the kingdoms of Prome and Thaton probably based their wealth on trade and commerce, and the kingdom of Pagan based its power and wealth on commerce, the Burmese have been simple agriculturists throughout their history, and therefore Burmese customary law of contract and torts dealt with the business of agriculture, such as water-rights, land-rights, hire of cattle, carts, and implements, and with the relations between employers and laborers. As has been stated before, the Burmese law of contract and tort is no longer valid, and although the Burmese still remain agriculturalists, their business of agriculture is no longer simple as in the days before the British annexation. Nonetheless, some of the rules of law in contract and torts are still of interest. For example, let us consider the law relating to payment of wages to laborers. The Burmese law did not give emphasis to that part of the wages which was to be in the form of money. But it specifically laid down that (1) in the case of an agricultural laborer, he was to receive, in addition to wages in money, a suit of clothes at the end of each "season"—i.e., the "growing season" and the "reaping season," and (2) in the case of a nonagricultural laborer, he was to receive, throughout the period of his employment and in addition to wages in money, "regular meals of rice and curry." For the agricultural laborer, who had his own store of paddy, clothing was of great consequence, and to the nonagricultural laborer food was of great consequence. Thus the Burmese law ensured that the fluctuation either in the general level of wages or in the value of money should not adversely effect either the laborer or his employer. Moreover, as both the laborer and the employer wore the same homespun clothes and ate the same food, the arrangement was fair to both parties. With regard to professional services rendered also, the Burmese law attempted to be fair to both parties, as could be seen from the following rules of law regarding physicians and lawyers:

671 683 675 241 466 671 759 693

If a physician has been called for fee to attend to a sick person, but the sick person recovers or dies before the physician reaches

671 his bedside, the physician shall be entitled to his fee if he has
759 reached at least the doorway of the sick person's house. In the same
693 way, if a suit is withdrawn or settled, or the judge does not find it necessary to call upon the pleader to argue, the pleader shall be entitled to his fee if he has spoken even a few words, or if he has just pulled up the sleeve of his gown in a gesture of speech. If a client wishes to call in another physician, he shall pay the full fees to the first physician, and shall also offer him a cup of water in token of friendship. If a client wishes to engage another pleader, he shall pay the full fee to the first pleader.

671 The following rules regarding void sales and purchases will
432 further illustrate the essential similarity of Burmese law and the English law of contract:

> There are four cases when a sale or a purchase is void: (i) if the price fixed is below its value; by value it is meant market value at the time of the sale, and even a ruby worth a kingdom before may be sold for one-eighth of a basket of rice, if that is the prevailing market value of rubies; (ii) if the buyer is aware that the ownership of the property is being disputed; (iii) if the whereabouts of the property are not known; and (iv) if the owner of the property is in confinement or under duress.

672 Just as in the English law, under the Burmese law a per-
683 son was responsible for any injury which was the foreseeable consequence of his acts. Thus, it was a rule of law that if a person induced another person to accompany him to a place full of perils, and the latter suffered injury, the former was to pay damages to the full amount of the injury; however, if the second person was aware of the dangerous nature of the place, the damages payable were only half the amount of compensation for the injury. Under the same principle, if a host entertained his guest so well that the latter became intoxicated, the host owed a duty in law to see that the guest reached his home safely; if the guest should be allowed to go home unattended, and if he should die or suffer injury on the way through illness, exposure, snake-bite, attack by robbers or by wild beasts, the host was liable to pay full compensation. The

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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563 775 he must feel himself strong enough to beat down the fire of passions and remain steadfast to the end, for a lutwet, a man who has put his hand to the plough and turns back again, exposes himself to infinitely greater danger towards his next existence than he who has remained throughout in the world. The monastery is a house of refuge not to be lightly sought, and, sad to say, even it is not open to the outcast.

775 181 761 This doctrine of kan also accounts for the equanimity and callousness with which Buddhists view human misery and the taking of human life, notwithstanding the law which forbids the killing of even the smallest insect. They recognise apathetically the working out of inexorable destiny, and watch a man drowning in the river with undisturbed tranquillity, for they are not called upon or even justified in stirring a hand to prevent it. You cannot combat manifest fate.

564 But the outcast may not in any case enter the monastery, not even as a scholar. Even that last chance is withheld from him. He is the connecting link with the state of animals, the highest state of punishment. He is considered no better than an animal in thought; he meets with less toleration in actual life. Were he bedizened to the eyes with costly silks and priceless jewellery no girl would look at him. His wealth is of no use. He is not allowed to build a pagoda, or even to supply fresh-water pots on a wayside stand. The monk would refuse his alms; the starving free-man beggar would scorn his bounty. They will no doubt gradually disappear under British rule, but there will be those who will regret it. They may have to work hard for their living.

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764 by iron hoops and rattan lashings. Up in Mandalay some
772 are very much larger. These are let off at the funeral pile
389 from a distance of forty or fifty yards, the largest being mounted on go-carts, and many others guided by a rope fastened to the pya-that, the rocket sliding along by means of twisted cane loops. The great majority fail to have any other effect than making a great splutter and poisoning the air. A few refuse to budge at all; others topple off their carts and fizzle erratically on the grass. A pôngyi byan in the old days was frequently attended with loss of life. Some one, at any rate, of the bigger rockets was sure to fly off at a tangent and plunge into the crowd, where its weight, to say nothing of its fiery belchings, found one or more victims. Even now it is only by the strictest police regulations and a rigorous maintaining of order among the spectators, and system in the pyrotechnists, that like catastrophes do not happen. At last some lucky dôn plunges right into the inflammable materials piled below the bier, and in a few minutes the flames are leaping high above the topmost pinnacle of the spire. Roof after roof falls, setting fire to the offerings placed round the basement. The joints of bamboo explode with a noise like a pistol shot; the crowd cheer each separate occurrence, and when finally the central spire falls with a hiss, a shout rises from the multitude which suggests anything but death and pious observance. But here
●[761] in the manôtthapyi all is changeful, sad, and unreal, and one more death brings but nearer to the final rest of Ne'ban.

When the last smouldering embers have cooled, the monastic brethren search for any pieces of bones that may remain, and these are carefully gathered up and buried somewhere near the pagoda. Sometimes, in the case of a particularly saintly man, they are pounded down, mixed into a paste with thitsi, and moulded into an image of the Buddha, which is stored up in the monastery. The custom followed in other Buddhist countries of erecting a shrine over the dead is, in accordance with the teachings of Shin Gautama, an honour but rarely accorded in Burma. In the Shan States they are commoner, but are rarely anything more elaborate than a stucco-covered block of bricks, about three feet high and pointed at the top.

of their families. The bride and groom are each handed a spray of flowers from the offering bowls and they make obeisance to the guardian spirits of their respective households. With a second spray they make obeisance to their parents and elders. Then a small tray containing fruit and rice is placed before them. The lay elder places a spoonful of this food first to the bridegroom's, then to the bride's lips. As he does this he makes a statement to the effect that this is the auspicious meal and that he hopes blessings may flow from it. 794 585

At this point, a happy and fruitfully married couple from among the oldest people in the community step forward to marry the couple. The left hand of the man is placed on top of the right hand of the girl. Water is poured on their hands thus joined and a silk scarf tied over them as the elderly couple recite words to the effect that they are now united. A chanter arises and intones a song of praise for long life. The contents of the bowl of puffed rice and money are scattered among the audience, and everyone scrambles for them. Now the bride and groom rise and are led to the bridal chamber, across the doorway of which is stretched a golden chain. After the bride has entered, anyone who wishes to do so tries to barricade the doorway and demand money of the groom. He is obliged to pay everyone who makes such demands. This money is known as 'stone money,' from the old custom, still practiced sometimes, of stoning the house of a couple on their wedding night until the bridegroom arises and pays them to desist. This behavior, the taunts and demands that are expressed, has an implied bawdiness about it. Once the couple have entered the bridal chamber, others may go in to inspect it. When all have left the chamber there is a general feast. Usually the feast in Tadagale partakes of the nature of a tea party, since a full scale feast is expensive. Each guest receives a symbolic gift, usually a cigar or a fan.

Old Age. Old age is the period after one's children are grown, the 'third age' of life. Women are definitely regarded as old after the menopause. The Burmese terms for 'old lady' and 'old man' are synonymous with grandparent terms, both in address and reference. Sometimes 'old mother' is used instead of 'old lady.' Long life is considered a great blessing and an indication of merit earned. Long life is prayed for and old age greatly idealized. 386 601 761

The ideal aged person is one who has successfully reared a family, has grandchildren, and a certain amount of material wealth. The aged are expected to be retiring and unobstrusive in their behavior. They should not go out visiting very much; they should eat less and avoid appearing too well dressed or jeweled when attending religious observances. 388

An attitude of resignation characterizes the outlook of the aged person. It is unheard of that old people should work. A possible exception would be a village headman, who, it is felt, should be a person of long experience. When aged people live with their children they assume the role of teachers of their grandchildren. Most of the time of elderly people is spent in activities centering around the pagodas and monasteries, organizing of religious festivals, and raising funds for the monks and charities. They often take leading roles in such activities. 887

The elderly members of a household arise early to see that the rice is cooked for the daily offering to the monks, and to insure that the household altar is properly looked after. It is preferable for them to arise before dawn, for to do so is considered very meritorious.

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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ing, seated under a fig-tree. She came up to the Buddha, and told him of her losses, and how she had no one left; and she demanded of the Buddha that he should restore to her those that she had lost. And the Buddha had great compassion upon her, and tried to console her. 539

'All die,' he said; 'it comes to everyone, king and peasant, animal and man. Only through many deaths can we obtain the Great Peace. All this sorrow,' he said, 'is of the earth. All this is passion which we must get rid of, and forget before we reach heaven. Be comforted, my daughter, and turn to the holy life. All suffer as you do. It is part of our very existence here, sorrow and trouble without any end.' 539 779 761

But she would not be comforted, but demanded her dead of the Buddha. Then, because he saw it was no use talking to her, that her ears were deaf with grief, and her eyes blinded with tears, he said to her that he would restore to her those who were dead.

'You must go,' he said, 'my daughter, and get some mustard-seed, a pinch of mustard-seed, and I can bring back their lives. Only you must get this seed from the garden of him near whom death has never come. Get this, and all will be well.'

So the woman went forth with a light heart. It was so simple, only a pinch of mustard-seed, and mustard grew in every garden. She would get the seed and be back very quickly, and then the Lord Buddha would give her back those she loved who had died. She clothed herself again and tied up her hair, and went cheerfully and asked at the first

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539 house, 'Give me a pinch of mustard-seed,' and it was
771 given readily. So with her treasure in her hand she
761 was going forth back to the Buddha full of delight, when she remembered.

'Has ever anyone died in your household?' she asked, looking round wistfully.

The man answered 'Yes,' that death had been with them but recently. Who could this woman be, he thought, to ask such a question? And the woman went forth, the seed dropping from her careless fingers, for it was of no value. So she would try again and again, but it was always the same. Death had taken his tribute from all. Father or mother, son or brother, daughter or wife, there was always a gap somewhere, a vacant place beside the meal. From house to house throughout the city she went, till at last the new hope faded away, and she learned from the world, what she had not believed from the Buddha, that death and life are one.

[772] So she returned, and she became a nun, poor soul! taking on her the two hundred and twenty-seven vows, which are so hard to keep that nowadays nuns keep but five of them.[1]

779 This is the teaching of the Buddha, that death is
761 inevitable; this is the consolation he offers, that all men must know death; no one can escape death;

[772] [1] These five vows are:

1. Not to take life.
2. To be honest.
3. To tell the truth.
4. To abstain from intoxicants.
5. Chastity.

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no one can escape the sorrow of the death of those whom he loves. Death, he says, and life are one; not antagonistic, but the same; and the only way to escape from one is to escape from the other too. Only in the Great Peace, when we have found refuge from the passion and tumult of life, shall we find the place where death cannot come. Life and death are one.

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This is the teaching of the Buddha, repeated over and over again to his disciples when they sorrowed for the death of Thariputra, when they were in despair at the swift-approaching end of the great teacher himself. Hear what he says to Ananda, the beloved disciple, who is mourning over Thariputra.

'Ananda,' he said, 'often and often have I sought to bring shelter to your soul from the misery caused by such grief as this. There are two things alone that can separate us from father and mother, from brother and sister, from all those who are most cherished by us, and those two things are distance and death. Think not that I, though the Buddha, have not felt all this even as any other of you; was I not alone when I was seeking for wisdom in the wilderness?

'And yet what would I have gained by wailing and lamenting either for myself or for others? Would it have brought to me any solace from my loneliness? would it have been any help to those whom I had left? There is nothing that can happen to us, however terrible, however miserable, that can justify tears and lamentations and make them aught but a weakness.'

And so, we are told, in this way the Buddha

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soothed the affliction of Ananda, and filled his soul with consolation—the consolation of resignation.

For there is no other consolation possible but this, resignation to the inevitable, the conviction of the uselessness of sorrow, the vanity and selfishness of grief.

There is no meeting again with the dead. Nowhere in the recurring centuries shall we meet again those whom we have loved, whom we love, who seem to us to be parts of our very soul. That which survives of us, the part which is incarnated again and again, until it be fit for heaven, has nothing to do with love and hate.

Even if in the whirlpool of life our paths should cross again the paths of those whom we have loved, we are never told that we shall know them again and love them.

A friend of mine has just lost his mother, and he is very much distressed. He must have been very fond of her, for although he has a wife and children, and is happy in his family, he is in great sorrow. He proposes even to build a pagoda over her remains, a testimony of respect which in strict Buddhism is reserved to saints. He has been telling me about this, and how he is trying to get a sacred relic to put in the pagoda, and I asked him if he never hoped again to meet the soul of his mother on earth or in heaven, and he answered:

'No. It is very hard, but so are many things, and they have to be borne. Far better it is to face the truth than to escape by a pleasant falsehood. There is a Burmese proverb that tells us that all

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the world is one vast burial-ground; there are dead men everywhere.' 779 761

'One of our great men has said the same,' I answered.

He was not surprised.

'As it is true,' he said, 'I suppose all great men would see it.'

Thus there is no escape, no loophole for a delusive hope, only the cultivation of the courage of sorrow.

There are never any exceptions to the laws of the Buddha. If a law is a law, that is the end of it. Just as we know of no exceptions to the law of gravitation, so there are no exceptions to the law of death. 779 761 772

But although this may seem to be a religion of despair, it is not really so. This sorrow to which there is no relief is the selfishness of sorrow, the grief for our own loneliness; for of sorrow, of fear, of pity for the dead, there is no need. We know that in time all will be well with them. We know that, though there may be before them vast periods of suffering, yet that they will all at last be in Nebhan with us. And if we shall not know them there, still we shall know that they are there, all of them—not one will be wanting. Purified from the lust of life, white souls steeped in the Great Peace, all living things will attain rest at last. 779 761

There is this remarkable fact in Buddhism, that nowhere is any fear expressed of death itself, nowhere any apprehension of what may happen to the dead. It is the sorrow of separation, the terror of

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death to the survivors, that is always dwelt upon with compassion, and the agony of which it is sought to soothe.

That the dying man himself should require strengthening to face the King of Terrors is hardly ever mentioned. It seems to be taken for granted that men should have courage in themselves to take leave of life becomingly, without undue fears. Buddhism is the way to show us the escape from the miseries of life, not to give us hope in the hour of death.

It is true that to all Orientals death is a less fearful thing than it is to us. I do not know what may be the cause of this, courage certainly has little to do with it; but it is certain that the purely physical fear of death, that horror and utter revulsion that seizes the majority of us at the idea of death, is absent from most Orientals. And yet this cannot explain it all. For fear of death, though less, is still there, is still a strong influence upon their lives, and it would seem that no religion which ignored this great fact could become a great living religion.

Religion is made for man, to fit his necessities, not man for religion, and yet the faith of Buddhism is not concerned with death.

Consider our faith, how much of its teaching consists of how to avoid the fear of death, how much of its consolation is for the death-bed. How we are taught all our lives that we should live so as not to fear death; how we have priests and sacraments to soothe the dying man, and give him hope and courage, and how the crown and summit of our creed is that

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we should die easily. And consider that in Buddhism all this is absolutely wanting. Buddhism is a creed of life, of conduct; death is the end of that life, that is all.

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We have all seen death. We have all of us watched those who, near and dear to us, go away out of our ken. There is no need for me to recall the last hours of those of our faith, to bring up again the fading eye and waning breath, the messages of hope we search for in our Scriptures to give hope to him who is going, the assurances of religion, the cross held before the dying eyes.

Many men, we are told, turn to religion at the last after a life of wickedness, and a man may do so even at the eleventh hour and be saved.

That is part of our belief; that is the strongest part of our belief; and that is the hope that all fervent Christians have, that those they love may be saved even at the end.

I think it may truly be said that our Western creeds are all directed at the hour of death, as the great and final test of that creed.

And now think of Buddhism; it is a creed of life. In life you must win your way to salvation by urgent effort, by suffering, by endurance. On your death-bed you can do nothing. If you have done well, then it is well; if ill, then you must in future life try again and again till you succeed. A life is not washed, a soul is not made fit for the dwelling of eternity, in a moment.

Repentance to a Buddhist is but the opening of the eyes to see the path to righteousness; it has no virtue in itself. To have seen that we are sinners

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779 is but the first step to cleansing our sin; in itself it
761 cannot purify.

As well ask a robber of the poor to repent, and suppose thereby that those who have suffered from his guilt are compensated for the evil done to them by his repentance, as to ask a Buddhist to believe that a sinner can at the last moment make good to his own soul all the injuries caused to that soul by the wickedness of his life.

Or suppose a man who has destroyed his constitution by excess to be by the very fact of acknowledging that excess restored to health.

The Buddhist will not have that at all. A man is what he makes himself; and that making is a matter of terrible effort, of unceasing endeavour towards the right, of constant suppression of sin, till sin be at last dead within him. If a man has lived a wicked life, he dies a wicked man, and no wicked man can obtain the perfect rest of the sinless dead. Heaven is shut to him. But if heaven is shut it is not shut for ever; if hell may perhaps open to him it is only for a time, only till he is purified and washed from the stain of his sins; and then he can begin again, and have another chance to win heaven. If there is no immediate heaven there is no eternal hell, and in due time all will reach heaven; all will have learnt, through suffering, the wisdom the Buddha has shown to us, that only by a just life can men reach the Great Peace even as he did.

So you see that if Buddhism has none of the consolation for the dying man that Christianity holds out, in the hope of heaven, so it has none of the

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threats and terrors of our faith. There is no fear of an angry Judge—of a Judge who is angry.

And yet when I came to think over the matter, it seemed to me that surely there must be something to calm him in the face of death. If Buddhism does not furnish this consolation, he must go elsewhere for it. And I was not satisfied, because I could find nothing in the sacred books about a man's death, that therefore the creed of the people had ignored it. A living creed must, I was sure, provide for this somehow.

So I went to a friend of mine, a Burman magistrate, and I asked him:

'When a man is dying, what does he try to think of? What do you say to comfort him that his last moments may be peace? The monks do not come, I know.'

'The monks!' he said, shaking his head; 'what could they do?'

I did not know.

'Can you do anything,' I asked, 'to cheer him? Do you speak to him of what may happen after death, of hopes of another life?'

'No one can tell,' said my friend, 'what will happen after death. It depends on a man's life, if he has done good or evil, what his next existence will be, whether he will go a step nearer to the Peace. When the man is dying no monks will come, truly; but an old man, an old friend, father, perhaps, or an elder of the village, and he will talk to the dying man. He will say, "Think of your good deeds; think of all that you have done well in this life. Think of your good deeds."'

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'What is the use of that?' I asked. 'Suppose you think of your good deeds, what then? Will that bring peace?'

And the Burman seemed to think that it would.

'Nothing,' he said, 'was so calming to a man's soul as to think of even one deed he had done well in his life.'

Think of the man dying. The little house built of bamboo and thatch, with an outer veranda, where the friends are sitting, and the inner room, behind a wall of bamboo matting, where the man is lying. A pot of flowers is standing on a shelf on one side, and a few cloths are hung here and there beneath the brown rafters. The sun comes in through little chinks in roof and wall, making curious lights in the semi-darkness of the room, and it is very hot.

From outside come the noises of the village, cries of children playing, grunts of cattle, voices of men and women clearly heard through the still clear air of the afternoon. There is a woman pounding rice near by with a steady thud, thud of the lever, and there is a clink of a loom where a girl is weaving ceaselessly. All these sounds come into the house as if there were no walls at all, but they are unheeded from long custom.

The man lies on a low bed with a fine mat spread under him for bedding. His wife, his grown-up children, his sister, his brother are about him, for the time is short, and death comes very quickly in the East. They talk to him kindly and lovingly, but they read to him no sacred books; they give him no messages from the world to which he is bound; they whisper to him no hopes of heaven.

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He is tortured with no fears of everlasting hell. Yet life is sweet and death is bitter, and it is hard to go; and as he tosses to and fro in his fever there comes in to him an old friend, the headman of the village perhaps, with a white muslin fillet bound about his kind old head, and he sits beside the dying man and speaks to him.

'Remember,' he says slowly and clearly, 'all those things that you have done well. Think of your good deeds.'

And as the sick man turns wearily, trying to move his thoughts as he is bidden, trying to direct the wheels of memory, the old man helps him to remember.

'Think,' he says, 'of your good deeds, of how you have given charity to the monks, of how you have fed the poor. Remember how you worked and saved to build the little rest-house in the forest where the traveller stays and finds water for his thirst. All these are pleasant things, and men will always be grateful to you. Remember your brother, how you helped him in his need, how you fed him and went security for him till he was able again to secure his own living. You did well to him, surely that is a pleasant thing.'

I do not think it difficult to see how the sick man's face will lighten, how his eyes will brighten at the thoughts that come to him at the old man's words. And he goes on:

'Remember when the squall came up the river and the boat upset when you were crossing here; how it seemed as if no man could live alone in such waves, and yet how you clung to and saved the boy

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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who was with you, swimming through the water that splashed over your head and very nearly drowned you. The boy's father and mother have never forgotten that, and they are even now mourning without in the veranda. It is all due to you that their lives have not been full of misery and despair. Remember their faces when you brought their little son to them saved from death in the great river. Surely that is a pleasant thing. Remember your wife who is now with you; how you have loved her and cherished her, and kept faithful to her before all the world. You have been a good husband to her, and you have honoured her. She loves you, and you have loved her all your long life together. Surely that is a pleasant thing.'

Yes, surely these are pleasant things to have with one at the last. Surely a man will die easier with such memories as these before his eyes, with love in those about him, and the calm of good deeds in his dying heart. If it be a different way of soothing a man's end to those which other nations use, is it the worse for that?

Think of your good deeds. It seems a new idea to me that in doing well in our life we are making for ourselves a pleasant death, because of the memory of those things. And if we have none? or if evil so outnumbered the good deeds as to hide and overwhelm them, what then? His death will be terrible indeed if he cannot in all his days remember one good deed that he has done.

'All a man's life comes before him at the hour of death,' said my informant; 'all, from the earliest memory to the latest breath. Like a whole land-

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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scape called by a flash of lightning out of the dark night. It is all there, every bit of it, good and evil, pleasure and pain, sin and righteousness.'

A man cannot escape from his life even in death. In our acts of to-day we are determining what our death will be; if we have lived well, we shall die well; and if not, then not. As a man lives so shall he die, is the teaching of Buddhism as of other creeds.

So what Buddhism has to offer to the dying believer is this, that if he live according to its tenets he will die happily, and that in the life that he will next enter upon he will be less and less troubled by sin, less and less wedded to the lust of life, until sometime, far away, he shall gain the great Deliverance. He shall have perfect Peace, perfect rest, perfect happiness, he and his, in that heaven where his teacher went before him long ago.

And if we should say that this Deliverance from life, this Great Peace, is Death, what matter, if it be indeed Peace?

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

CHAPTER XXII

THE POTTER'S WHEEL

'Life is like a great whirlpool wherein we are dashed to and fro by our passions.'—*Saying of the Buddha.*

779 It is a hard teaching, this of the Buddha about
761 death. It is a teaching that may appeal to the
182 reason, but not to the soul. That when life goes out, this thing which we call 'I' goes out with it, and that love and remembrance are dead for ever.

It is so hard a teaching that in its purity the people cannot believe it. They accept it, but they have added on to it a belief which changes the whole form of it, a belief that is the outcome of that weakness of humanity which insists that death is not and cannot be all.

Though to the strict Buddhist death is the end of all worldly passion, to the Burmese villager that is not so. He cannot grasp, he cannot endure that it should be so, and he has made for himself out of Buddhism a belief that is opposed to all Buddhism in this matter.

775 He believes in the transmigration of souls, in the survival of the 'I.' The teaching that what survives

776 of the villagers. The head-nat, the guardian of the village, replies
753 with accusations that "the whole village has forgotten me", boasts of
688 his powers to punish and is finally mollified. In Rangoon there are
672 professional nat-givers who parade the streets with a cart bearing the
782 image of "the conqueror of the salty waters" (special nat of entrepre-
[463] neurs). For a few annas he will make offerings to the nat and relcive the busy townspeople of this task.

776 The arrangement is a mutual one where the people enjoy freedom
782 from oppressions in return for certain concessions. This phenomenon closely parallels the traditional relationship between the rulers and the ruled in Burma. In a real sense the nat concept serves the function of allowing the Burmese a sense of control over catastrophic forces which do not fall into any other system (as secular, political,
[177] personal relationships, cosmology.). It is this system of controls that the western scientific system most immediately competes with. The administrative and entrepreneur class of Burmese especially in Rangoon say they "Do not believe" in nats. But it is usual for most individuals no matter what their western background to apply to nats in cases of ill fortune "just in case".

775 THAYEH (Ghosts) generally are a group of supernatural spirits closely related to nats in their origins but with a different set of properties. These are "recently" deceased individuals whose crimes and sins while on earth or manner of death condemn them to an eternity of wandering and mischief-making. Actually, each person becomes a ghost at death but is ordinarily released from earth at the moment of the interrment of the copse for judgement in heaven. Those who die of
● [761] "raw death" become ghosts. These include: death in childbirth, by wild animals (especially tigers), instant deaths by dahs as in warfare, or by hanging. In Maung Maung Than's village a prominent ghost is U Me Gyi (Mr. Blacky) a very sinful fellow who lived 50 or 60 years ago in the village. His complexion is quite black and horribly distorted. He inhabits a banyan tree and specializes in causing infant illness. Offerings of rice at the tree pacifies him. Ghosts are forces for evil only - evil of the more irritating and less important kind.
751 Older people wear red and white coloured strings about their necks as a protection against ghost evils. It is very common to wear a LET-PWET

23: Brant & Mi Mi Khaing E, I-5 (1949-1950)1951
AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

888 To the Burmese, long life is a great blessing and an indication of merit earned. Long life is prayed for and old age greatly idealized.

The ideal aged person is one who has successfully reared a family, has grandchildren and a certain amount of material wealth. The aged are expected to be 887 retiring and unobtrusive in their behavior. They do not go out visiting very much; they eat less food; and avoid appearing too well dressed or jeweled when attending religious observances.

An attitude of resignation characterizes the outlook of the aged person in Burmese society. It is unheard of that aged people should work: a possible ex- [622] ception is the village headman, who, it is felt, should be a person of long experience. When aged people live with their children they assume the role of teachers of their grandchildren. Most of the time of elderly people is spent in activities centering around the pagodas and monasteries, organizing of religious festivals, and raising funds for the monks and charities. In fact, they take leading roles in such activities.

The elderly members of the household arise early to see that rice is cooked for the daily offering to the monks and to insure that the household altar is properly looked after. It is preferable for them to arise before dawn, for to do so is considered very meritorious.

[784] Certain of the taboos that apply to younger people, mostly those connected with death, do not apply to the aged.

Death and Funeral Observances. To the Burmese, the decline of the human ●761 body is part of the inevitable course of nature. When this occurs the soul must [775] leave. The butterfly is the symbol of life: when a person dies, "the butterfly leaves his body."

When death approaches, valuables, such as jewelry, are removed from the 763 person and the death-bed, because people are reluctant to use anything with which a person dies. These things are given to the monastery. A relative chants as the person is dying, to fix his mind upon the truths of Buddhism and to divert it from worldly goods and ties of kinship.

As soon as death has occurred, everyone present cries and wails. Before rigor 764 mortis sets in, relatives bathe the corpse, using a new water pot for the purpose and pouring the water over the body from foot to head, the opposite direction from that practiced by the living. If the water pot must be refilled at all, this [801] must be done an odd number of times. The pot is then put outside the house, upside down, and anyone outside the family of the deceased may take it. Then

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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423. PROPITIATING THE LOCAL NATS (NAKKAZA).

A nat is propitiated by offerings at a shrine, almost always in miniature. Only fruit, flowers, and music are offered by Buddhists. A special genius is assigned to the dwelling—*ein-dwin Min Magayi nat*, in whose little shrine a cocoa-nut is offered. The nut is replaced as the water dries up, which it is assumed the *nat* has drunk. There are *nats* who preside over countries, Û Mindyi and Û Mindyâ for Burma, Û Yindyi for Pegu, Bôdaw and his sons for Thatôn, and other local *nats*. These *nats* are propitiated by such offerings as a crown, or by standing guard before their images, upon undertaking a journey, entering on a race or other contest. The five *nats* of the firmament have a special cult associated with that of the eight planets, with which the Buddha and eight *yahánda* are mixed up. The local *nats* are most commonly propitiated in *pyatho* (December), the harvest month. The visitations of malign spirits are attributed to what the Burmans call unripe (*aséin*) deaths. Such are deaths from lightning-stroke, accidents of all sorts, child-bed, cholera, and whatever is violent and sudden. The normal re-incarnation of the *karma* of such is immature; they haunt localities as ghosts (*tasè*), and seek the bodies of the living for hosts, thereby causing sickness. Slaughter in battle accounts for a plague of this kind, and the one plague entails another.

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Pilgrimages to the great shrines are made in the dry months, especially at times of full moon. The most sacred shrine of the Peninsula and the perennial resort of pilgrims is the *zedi* on the site of the ancient Mun village Dagôn, renamed Yangôn (Rangoon). The legend declares that the original founders of the shrine deposited eight hairs

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424. SHRINE OF THE HOUSE-GENIUS—MIN MAGAYI NAT.

29: Slater M-4 (no date) 1951 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

771 It is necessary, therefore, at the outset of our inquiry to correct this impression.

A writer on Comparative Religion is dependent on the experts from different fields, and Dr Bouquet is only repeating what a number of commentators on Burmese religion have been saying for the past fifty years. But if we examine their statements we find that many of them merely reflect, without further evidence or critical examination, an opinion expressed by a European official in a Census Report of 1891. This opinion was emphasised by another Census official, Mr. C. C. Lowis, ten years later:

"The Burman has added to his Animism just so much Buddhism as suits him and with infantile inconsequence draws solace from each in turn. I know of no better definition of the religion of the great bulk of the people ... than that given by Mr Eales in his 1891 Census Report, 'a thin veneer of philosophy laid over the main structure of Shamanistic belief.' The facts are here exactly expressed. Animism supplies the solid constituents that hold the faith together, Buddhism the superficial polish. Far be it from me to underrate the value of that philosophic veneer. It has done all that a polish can do to smooth, to beautify and to brighten, but to the end of time it will never be anything more than a polish. In the hour of great heart-searchings it is profitless as the Apostle's sounding brass. It is then that the Burman falls back upon his primaeval beliefs. Let but the veneer be scratched, the crude animism that lurks below must out. Let but his inmost vital depths be touched, the Burman stands forth an Animist confessed."[4]

771 782 [563] [177] Mr Lowis' opinion is based on a critical examination of the situation, and it cannot be lightly gainsaid. He also refers to the prevailing Animistic beliefs of the surrounding hill tribes who still infiltrate into the plains of Burma, a factor which encourages the survival of primitive ideas among the Burmese themselves. This survival is not to be denied. It is impossible to live in Burma without coming across evidences of Animism, sooner or later — the coconut, surmounted by a red cloth, still hung in most Burmese households as a *Nat* offering; the 'bus driver halting his vehicle to run across the road and place a little bouqet of flowers at the foot of some tree which is the shrine of a local spirit. Most of these practices are innocent. Occasionally, however, one has a grim reminder of more fateful beliefs. Burmese students once explained to me, reluctantly, [761] that they had desisted in their efforts to save a drowning boy because it was obvious that he had been seized by the *Nat* of the lake.

[4] *Census of India Report*, Vol. XII, (Burma, 1891), Part 1, by C. C. Lowis, chap. III, p. 25.

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

They must have been in hiding close by, for it was early next morning that the boy came into my tent alone and very much abashed, and it was some little time before he could recover himself and talk freely as he would before, for he was greatly ashamed of himself. 583

But, after all, could he help it?

If you can imagine the tropic night, and the boy, full of high resolve, passing up the village street, now half asleep, and the girl, with shining eyes, coming to him out of the hibiscus shadows, and whispering in his ear words—words that I need not say—if you imagine all that, you will understand how it was that I lost my servant.

They both came to see me later on in the day after the marriage, and there was no bashfulness about either of them then. They came hand-in-hand, with the girl's father and mother and some friends, and she told me it was all her fault: she could not wait.

'Perhaps,' she said, with a little laugh and a side-glance at her husband—'perhaps, if he had gone with the thakin to Rangoon, he might have fallen in love with someone there and forgotten me; for I know they are very pretty, those Rangoon ladies, and of better manners than I, who am but a jungle girl.'

And when I asked her what it was like in the forest, she said it was the most beautiful place in all the world.

Things do not always go so well. Parents may be obdurate, and flight be impossible; or even her love may not be returned, and then terrible things 584 762

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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happen. I have held, not once nor twice alone, inquests over the bodies, the fair, innocent bodies, of quite young girls who died for love. Only that, because their love was unreturned; and so the sore little heart turned in her trouble to the great river, and gave herself and her hot despair to the cold forgetfulness of its waters.

They love so greatly that they cannot face a world where love is not. All the country is full of the romance of love—of love passionate and great as woman has ever felt. It seems to me here that woman has something of the passions of man, not only the enduring affection of a woman, but the hot love and daring of a man. It is part of their heritage, perhaps, as a people in their youth. One sees so much of it, hears so much of it, here. I have seen a girl in man's attire killed in a surprise attack upon an insurgent camp. She had followed her outlawed lover there, and in the mêlée she caught up sword and gun to fight by his side, and was cut down through neck and shoulder; for no one could tell in the early dawn that it was a girl.

She died about an hour afterwards, and though I have seen many sorrowful things in many lands, in war and out of it, the memory of that dying girl, held up by one of the mounted police, sobbing out her life beneath the wild forest shadow, with no one of her sex, no one of her kin to help her, comes back to me as one of the saddest and strangest.

Her lover was killed in action some time later fighting against us, and he died as a brave man should, his face to his enemy. He played his game, he lost, and paid; but the girl?

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

586 'I did not know,' she said; 'I was hot-tempered. I was foolish. But now I know. Ah! the house is so lonely! I have but two ears, I have but two eyes, and the house is so large.'

But the husband refused again.

'What is done, is done. Marriage is not to be taken off and put on like a jacket. I have made up my mind.'

[762] Then he went away, and after a little the woman went away too. She went straight to the big, lonely house, and there she hanged herself.

You see, she loved him all the time, but did not know till too late.

Men do not often apply for divorce except for very good cause, and with their minds fully made up to obtain it. They do obtain it, of course.

586 177 647 With this facility for divorce, it is remarkable how uncommon it is. In the villages and amongst respectable Burmans in all classes of life it is a great exception to divorce or to be divorced. The only class amongst whom it is at all common is the class of hangers-on to our Administration, the clerks and policemen, and so on. I fear there is little that is good to be said of many of them. It is terrible to see how demoralizing our contact is to all sorts and conditions of men. To be attached to our Administration is almost a stigma of disreputableness. I remember remarking once to a headman that a certain official seemed to be quite regardless of public opinion in his life, and asked him if the villagers did not condemn him. And the headman [554] answered with surprise: 'But he is an official'; as if officials were quite *super grammaticam* of morals.

● 763 Death and Funeral Observances. The decline of the human body is regarded simply as part of the inevitable course of nature. When this occurs, the soul must leave. The butterfly is the symbol of life; when one dies, 'the butterfly leaves the body.'

When death approaches, valuables, such as jewelery, are removed from the person and the death-bed, because people are reluctant to use anything with which a person dies. These things are given to the monastery. A relative chants as the person is dying, to fix his mind upon the truths of Buddhism and to divert it from worldly goods and ties of kinship.

764 As soon as death occurs, everyone present cries and wails. Sometime before rigor mortis sets in, relatives bathe the corpse, using a new water pot for this purpose, and pouring the water over the body from foot to head, the opposite direction from that practiced by the living. If the water pot must be refilled at all, this must be done an odd number of times. The pot is then put outside the house, upside down, and anyone outside the family of the deceased may take it. Then another filled pot is placed underneath the bed of the corpse. His hair is dried and spread out, hanging loose. His jacket is put on backwards; his longyi is tucked in or tied at the back instead of the front. The two large toes are tied together, as are the thumbs; the arms are folded on the breast; and the body is covered with a white sheet. Money may also be placed in the mouth. This practice is sometimes attributed to the practice of earlier times when, it is said, bodies were simply abandoned; the belief is that then the deceased had to walk to the cemetery, where the grave-digger buried him and took the coins from his mouth in payment.

The corpse must be watched at night; groups take turns at this duty. It is said that the night watch is kept to prevent malevolent spirits from stealing the body. An impending funeral may be the occasion for a pwe, an outdoor [535] theatrical presentation, and gambling games. In such event, the proceeds from the gambling will go to the bereaved family to help them. The corpse, in a coffin, will be placed on a bier nearby the scene of the pwe. It is said that thus he does not become lonely.

Burial occurs as soon as the relatives can conveniently gather together. While the body lies in state there is open house for those who wish to come to pay their last respects. When ready for burial, the body is placed in a wooden coffin, and a sheet is placed over the coffin. The water pot, taken from beneath the bed, is carried behind the coffin as it is taken out. Water is sprinkled on the floor until the party is out of the house, at which point the pot is broken. The body is carried feet first towards the cemetery. As it is lowered into the grave, the relatives kneel and make obeisance. On the return trip from the cemetery one member of the party is required to carry the sheet and to refrain from looking back.

By the time the funeral party reaches the house the bed has been cleared away for disposal. A white cloth is spread on a mat in one corner of the room. The person bearing the cloth says, as if talking to the deceased, 'There is your seat.'

On the sixth day after death, the person who placed the white cloth for the deceased to sit on, carries a paper umbrella to the cemetery and sticks it into the grave, saying, 'I have come to call you for tomorrow's ceremony.' If the umbrella remains upright it means the deceased will return as requested.

23: Brant & Mi Mi Khaing E, I-5 (1949-1950)1951
AP1 Burma
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435. THE VETERAN.

floats a *pasò* or *tamèin*, according to the sex of the deceased. Figures of winged *keinnayò* support the coffin. All these preparations are costly, but they are never omitted (except in the case of "unripe" deaths), for if the family of the deceased have not the means, the neighbours contribute. While the *dalò* is preparing, the relatives and neighbours are entertained in a pavilion erected in front of the house. Music, games, and *pwè* are provided by day and by night to help them to pass the time. The Burman word for funeral is *mathò*, a sorrowing; and the mourning of the relatives is open and loud. Death is spoken of with bated breath and true solemnity. It is not baldly stated that a person is dead, but that their life has ended. The dead are borne in tender memory. Nevertheless, the incidents of the funeral are so inconsistent with mourning that they receive point in a fable. The python snake with its gigantic size and forbidding aspect looks the king of venomous reptiles. And such, according to the satire, the python used to be. So potent was his venom that if he bit so much as the track of a creature it must die. On one occasion the serpent bit the foot-print of a man who had angered him, and crept to the village to enjoy his revenge. But he found nothing there to betoken sorrow. Music was playing and the people were dancing. This mortified him so that he climbed a lofty tree and spat all his venom forth. The preparation of the catafalque and the entertainment of the funeral guests are costly, but the offerings to the *yahán* are the chief expense. These are what give distinction to the funeral. As many *yahán* of the place and the surrounding country as the family can afford to present offerings to, are invited to precede the *cortège* to the cemetery. The offerings are all of identical nature and value. In the illus-

436. ENTERTAINING THE FUNERAL GUESTS.

674 like ours except that patches of blood made violent interruptions on the
• 764 chaste red and white striped design, being slung on a pole, carrying a
775 woman who had been hacked by the dah of a hot-tempered husband. When one of the villagers had died a sudden death through poisoning, we listened wide-eyed to Ma Aye Shwe's account of his burial. All the old and broken bottles of Ye had been collected and ground up. His grave was dug, and after the coffin had been put into it, was filled up with alternating layers of earth and of powdered glass. This was because one of our persisting animist beliefs is that a spirit whose body dies a "green" death, that is, sudden, violent and unnatural, will walk about the earth in the form of an undesirable ghost, and hence the glass which will keep it under the earth and prevent its escape, much as thieves are deterred from climbing a wall which has powdered glass strewn along its top.

731 Every few years also, the water of the Ye creek rose so high that the ground and main floors of all the houses were flooded, and my grandmother and aunts had to retreat with all perishable goods and furniture to the high reaches of the platform storey and camp there till the water retreated. How we longed to visit Ye when this happened, but the nearest we came to realizing these floods was to see unexpected little patches of the sand of the creek every now and again in the houses, where the traces of the visiting waters had not been swept away. In one really bad year the waters at chaung-bya swelled into a mountainous flood which rose suddenly in a great roar and carried with it huts and rafts and stored
[772] goods of all kinds. Grandmother and my great-aunts watched dumbly from the top of the pagoda hill, while cocks and hens and dogs and people clung to the thatched roofs of the floating houses, the cocks crowing and dogs baying and people praying, all rushing swiftly and inevitably past Ye, towards the great Thamoddhaya, the great ocean which is part of the waters which break the girdle of the Settkyawala Mountains circling the world around Myinmo Mount. Every few years, as a matter of fact, Uncle Thet Hnan, who had a garden and house at chaung-bya, lost a few tins of sesamum oil, or some part of his bamboo structures. This was because they all built and rebuilt the houses too near the water, to provide a quick escape from dacoits and enemies.

674 It was a dangerous life in these gardens even during our most recent years there, and my cousin Nyein Maung who was the stalwart to give my aunts most protection, developed into a rough and ready dispenser of justice. On one occasion he watched the hand of a thief creep up through the bamboo slathes of the flooring on which his little son played. The child wore a gold anklet which the hand coming out of the darkness tried to wrench off. Nyein Maung who anticipated that

584 family made it necessary to arrange things in a traditional manner. My brother had chosen his bride from a family of sisters who had been to school with us and with whom we were on the friendliest terms, so that he could have pressed his own suit if he wished, but since my sister-in-law's family also stood for tradition, we had to go through elaborate negotiations.

For a go-between we chose a lady who belonged to high circles of Rangoon society and who was known to be a great friend of the girl's family. One morning my mother and I paid her a formal call and made the proposal. my mother reciting the list of her son's qualifications which the lady already knew quite well. She promised to approach the guardian aunt of the girl's family. Shortly after this, we called on the aunt, who demurred, not to seem eager, and said, moreover, that she could not give an answer until she had consulted an astrologer to see whether the stars of the young man and woman formed an auspicious union. We thereupon gave her the date and hour of my brother's birth. During all this time, no word had passed between my future sister-in-law and us upon the matter; we did not, in fact, visit her. In due course, the aunt gave her answer, and while my brother was out of town on a tour, a party was held at the girl's house, with the senior relatives of both sides present to formalize the engagement. No unmarried young girls should attend this, out of modesty, and although I went along as my mother's right-hand, I had to closet myself in the bedroom with the girls. It was only then, when the elders were formalizing the engagement, that my sister-in-law did not feel it forward to talk about the wedding and future happiness with much excitement. After the engagement had been announced, my brother was allowed to call every day during the three months of their engagement, but they were not allowed to be seen together in public.

177. 19 764 775 Meanwhile, great preparations went on, for besides the social arrangements attendant on all weddings, the attire of the bride and bridegroom had to be matched in colour, a panegyric writer had to be found to write the poem of praise, and suitable elders to perform the ceremony had to be agreed upon. The modern Burmese custom is to ask the most respected highly placed Burmese couple among the family's friends, along with an equally respected English official to pronounce recognition in English. (This learning of English by a vast number of Burmans, and their daily activities in that language, have led to much duplication of effort in the disposal of their spirits also. When a person is buried, a notice is served on his spirit that this body is now to be vacated, and the spirit to go elsewhere for fear that the faithful spirit hovering round the grave may create a ta-say, a ghost. When a student died in term time at the University, the rites at her funeral were completed only when a

lecturer went to the head of the grave and said in English: "So-and-so, I give you notice that you are no longer in the Jr. B. A. class." When U Tin Gyi died during an official visit to England, we held his cremation at Golders Green and succeeded in getting a Singhalese hpongyi from the Buddhist Lodge in London to perform the rites. In spite of the environment of the crematorium we felt that we had achieved a dim and religious Buddhist atmosphere, such as he would have wished, by the time the hpongyi had intoned the verses, with all the gathered Burmese students repeating them phrase by phrase. But suddenly one of the English officers present got up and read in English: "U Tin Gyi, O.B.E., Registrar for Co-operative Societies in the Government of Burma, I give you leave to relinquish your post in the service of the Government. Signed—Adams." As if the persistent ghost might return to [illegible] in English, having been dismissed in only one of his two languages.)

Mr. Bernard Swithinbank of the I.C.S. had, through long years of friendship for Burmese people, laid the hands of many young couples one upon the other in marriage, and in this case he seemed particularly fitted for the task, for twenty-five years before he had married the parents of the bride, and though he could not perform for the bridegroom's parents their marriage ceremony which was held in Grandfather's time, it was he who gave my father leave to go to Thaton, as senior officer wishing him all prosperity in his marriage.

At last the great day arrived and all the male cousins and uncles collected at our house to dress the bridegroom with as much fuss as attends a bride in any other country. My mother had bought three pink silk turbans varying barely perceptibly in shade, so that the young man's complexion might be matched exactly when the fateful hour approached. My two young sisters and I took one each and sewed the finest possible seams, but submitting every inch as we went long to the scrutiny of my senior uncle Kyaw Din who said that a man's turban needed finer sewing than any woman's garment. My *Ko Lay*, most debonair of the cousins, tied the turban on my brother's head, while the band of elder brothers-once-removed stood around and complained that he did not make the floating end dance and toss with sufficient sprightliness. Two uncles and two cousins combined to tie his pasoe, the magnificent skirt which had been brought down from Mandalay and matched in the weaving with the bride's own skirt. My brother submitted to all of this with a meekness born of never having worn full Burmese dress before. All the while my three sisters danced around to look at him from every angle, exclaiming with sauciness and delight how beautiful and pink he looked, for my brother was really a robust and dark-skinned type of man who liked to wear sober English clothes.

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517 silks for their wives. The ordinary explanation is that every one can see what clothes you wear, while few people care to come and spy out what kind of a house you live in, and how you fare. But there can be very little doubt that the real reason is a survival of the idea of the old Yāzagaing, as well as the fact that long years of custom have impressed upon everybody the opinion that there are only two forms of architecture, the secular and the ecclesiastical, and no one, no matter how sure he might be that the Government would take no notice of his ambition, would brave the denunciations of the religious by adding a spire to his house, or even adorning the gable ends with carved pinnacles and flamboyant finials of the monasteries. Consequently the one regular form prevails everywhere.

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342 576 The Burman's dwelling, then, is always shaped more or less like a marquee tent, and never more than one storey high, to avoid the humiliating possibility of the feet of some one being over your head. But the whole house stands on posts, so that the floor is seven or eight feet from the ground. It consists often of only one room, usually, however, of two or more, and to the front of the house there is always a verandah, three or four feet lower than the general level of the house, and as often as not quite open to the street, or the garden, or whatever may be in front and always to the sky. The posts which form the main or central part of the house are usually six in number, and all have their names, such as Uyu, Kya-hngan, Nyaung-yan. The south post, in the main part of the house, the Thabye-taing, is the best known, as being always adorned with leaves and particularly marked as that in the top of which most probably lives the nat-spirit of the house. A dead body, after being swathed, and while waiting for the coffin, is always placed by it.

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341 787 A house ought never to be built till the foundations have been thoroughly dug up and shown to a soothsayer. He will determine, from the substances found, whether it is a lucky place to build a house in or not. It stands to reason that the building cannot be commenced till a lucky day and hour have been sought out. There is considerable care to be observed in the selection of the timber. Posts are masculine, feminine, and neuter. Male posts are of equal size at both

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789 the wiles of the nats are harmless. In case of the utmost
776 need, even the ordinary tharana-gôn, the payā, tayā, thengā, is of much avail, if only uttered with faith. It is with the idea of keeping away bilus, tasés, and demons that the
[792] members of the yellow robe are often summoned to death-
[764] beds. There is no thought of the monk administering spiritual consolation to the dying man. The good influence of his pious presence keeps away evil spirits, and nothing more. No exhortations of the yahan can alter the balance of merit and demerit which is already cast up for the dying man. On the other hand, in out-of-the-way parts of the country, and especially in the hills, spirit shrines are not unseldom found actually inside a monastery compound.

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minute evidences of the owner's rank and his precedence in that rank. Anklets of gold (kyegyin) were forbidden to all children but those of the royal family on pain of death. Silk cloth, brocaded with gold or silver flowers and figures of animals, might be worn by none but the royal blood and such of the wunkadaws, the minister's wives, as received a special grace enabling them to use it. Similarly the usage as to jewels and precious stones was very carefully laid down. Very few besides the king and his kinsfolk might wear diamonds. The display of emeralds and rubies was restricted in like manner, and so on with other precious stones less esteemed by Burmans. All rubies above a certain size found in the country were the property of the king, and the hapless digger as a rule got nothing in return. His head paid the penalty if he listened to the temptings of black merchants from India, and chipped it so as to bring it under the royalty size. Kadipa panat, velvet sandals, were allowed to none but persons of royal blood. The use of hinthapada, a vermilion dye obtained from cinnabar, was very jealously guarded. The kamauk, a great wide-brimmed hat, was an honour eagerly sought after by the lower rank of officials. The institution was not very ancient, and was primarily due to a prophecy that Burma would come to be ruled by a hat-wearing people. To cut out the Englishmen, therefore, the kamauk was invented, and was looked upon as a great distinction. Hundreds more instances might be given of the yazagaing, the sumptuary rules; but the above will probably suffice to exhibit their scope and character.

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Our present Burmese subjects delight in nothing so much as in their immunity from these enactments; and perhaps the permission to bury their dead in any way they please is the most popular privilege. In Mandalay, exclusive of the ceremonial at the cremation of a monk, which is identical all over the country, five kinds of funeral were ordained by the yazagaing. First, that of the king; then of any member of the royal family. Even if one of them were executed, he was put in a red velvet bag and committed to the waters of the Irrawaddy. Third in order were the funerals of those who died in the enjoyment of ministerial office—not always a certain thing, if the recipient did not

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die shortly after his promotion. Then came the obsequies of thutés, "rich men," people who had royal edicts conferring that title on them; and finally the rites of poor people, which were practically no rites at all. They probably would not even have been buried were it not for sanitary reasons. But now in all Burma the poorest man, if he can borrow the money, may have any honours he pleases for his dead. He may shade the catafalque with golden umbrellas, or white ones for the matter of that; he may hire elephants; he may fire guns, as long as he does not do it in the public thoroughfares; he may have any number of bands of music; he may erect a pagoda over the ashes of the deceased; he may revel in all the honours restricted by the yazagaing to the most privileged dead; and, in consequence, he may suffer in pocket as much as he dares. Further, he may heap up honorifics in his conversation and correspondence to the utmost of his desire and capability; finding infinite gratification in the fact that in former days the use of a single one of them would most assuredly have resulted in his being lodged in gaol, there to be treated according to the way in which he was able to satisfy the rapacity of his guardians. If yazagaing was unpleasant when it was in operation, the contemplation of it certainly affords an unfailing pleasure to those who are exempt from its provisions.

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825 baby curled up together in a corner with the boa, making one another mutually cosy.

[757] The gall-bladder and fat of the sabba-gyi are much prized for medicinal purposes, the fat especially being esteemed as a sovereign remedy for rheumatism and strains.

Of the poisonous snakes the most dreaded is the ngan, or u-gwet, the "spotted forehead." This creature, the hamadryad or ophiophagus, is, as his name imports, a cannibal, and lives on his neighbour snakes. Specimens as long as nine feet from nose to tail have been killed near Rangoon, and in the forests which are his proper home he sometimes grows to fourteen or fifteen feet. Unlike all other reptiles, the ngan does not get out of the way of a man approaching his haunts, but attacks him immediately. He is worse than the walrus that roused the indignation of the French poet.

Bees are kept in a good many places in the country, but it is necessary to be very careful where you put the hives. It is a most ill-omened circumstance if wild bees make a nest under the house, or if bees of any kind fly under the floor. On the other hand, a hive on the house-top is very lucky. Honey is in great request to present to the pôngyis at various feasts, and especially for the embalming of the [764] body of a dead brother of the Robe. After the cremation the honey is sold in the bazaar. It is not eaten by Englishmen in Burma. "Tapping the governor" does not commend itself to everybody. The hill tribes in the Shan States keep bees in hives made of blocks of wood.

757 Rhinoceros horns are in as great favour with the Burmans as with Chinese medical men. Shavings of the horn are considered an invaluable cure for epilepsy, and also guard against poisons of all kinds. There are two distinct species found in the eastern forests—the single and the double-horned.

315 787 Near Yenangyaung, in the petroleum district, when a new oil-well is wanted, the workmen place a marble image of an elephant on a smooth, flat stone, and surround it with gifts of all kinds, and then sit down to watch. If the elephant itself moves it indicates the direction in which borings are to be made; if not, the offering on which its shadow first falls as the sun sinks down, is marked, and a bedin sayā consulted.

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CHAPTER LXIII

A PÔNGYI BYAN

THE veneration and respect which meet the yahan all through his life are extended to his remains when he dies, or rather when he leaves this world. The monk does not "die" as a common layman does, he does not even, like the king, "ascend to the nat-déwas' village." The holy man in his last existence must have been holy in order to have accumulated the sum of merits which enabled him upon earth to remain steadfast in the sacred order. When he passes away, he "returns" to the highest heavens of nats, or to the meditative states of zān, or perhaps even to the pure and immaterial realms of arupa. Therefore a mendicant's funeral is called a pôngyi byan —the return of the great glory. Even a junior member is burnt with great solemnity and state; but when a distinguished brother dies, one famous for his learning, his austerity, or the great number of Lents he has spent in the cloister, the obsequies swell into a ceremonial which attracts people from all parts of the country.

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As soon as life leaves the body, the corpse is carefully washed in the usual way by the dead pôngyi's chief supporters and some of the monastic scholars. Then the intestines are taken out and buried in a quiet corner of the monastery grounds, or near the pagoda. The cavity of the stomach is then filled up with hot ashes, sawdust, a few spices, and whatever other available substances may be presumed likely to dry up the humours, and then the skin is sewed together again. A layer of wax is sometimes spread all over the body, but more often it is simply tightly swathed in white cloth from head to foot. This linen cloth is then

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varnished over with wood oil, so that every particle of the corpse may, if necessary, be covered with gold leaf, and this, except in very poor neighbourhoods, is always done. Where there is not money enough, the yellow sacred garments are wrapped round the corpse instead. The arms are always folded on the chest. The body is then placed in the coffin. This is not, as is the case with laymen, made of planks, but of a single log roughly hollowed out, and with a very substantial lid. This lid is not fastened down for a considerable time, and occasionally a bamboo pipe leads from the coffin into the ground to assist in drying up the embalmed body. The fastening down of the cover is sometimes rather an unpleasant spectacle. Many of the old pôngyis keep logs in their monasteries to serve for their coffins, and these, when hollowed out, are not always a satisfactory fit. Bishop Bigandet tells of a horrible sight he witnessed, when the lid had to be crushed on with wedges and the blows of a heavy mallet. The majority of aged yahans are, however, so shrivelled and shrunken before they die, that such an occurrence, which, it must not be supposed, is any less dreadful to a Burman than it is to an Englishman, could only happen very rarely, and then probably would not be carried out in the way which so justly shocked the good bishop.

The inner coffin is then, like the body, varnished with thitsi, and gilt all over. For it is prepared an outer casket called a payaung-bông, which is as magnificent as the skill of the local artificers and the liberality of the "benefactors" permit. This sarcophagus is often very large, and is richly [531] gilt and painted in the panels, which are fringed with the usual mosaic of bits of mirror, coloured glass, and zinc. The paintings naturally represent religious subjects, usually scenes from the life of Shin Gautama; his famous meetings with the old man, the sick, the dead, and the monk; his departure at night from the magnificent court of King Thudawdana; his ascent to Tawadeintha, and the like. Rearing itself over the top of the sarcophagus is usually the figure of a nagā, recalling the pious dragon chief that sheltered the Lord Buddha from a flood of rain by coiling seven times round his body and expanding its hood as a covering.

Meanwhile, money is being steadily collected for the

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remainder of the rites, and as this comes in from the elders of the surrounding villages and the kappiyadayakas of neighbouring religious houses, the kyaungthagyi of the deceased's monastery sets about erecting an edifice like a thein, a "monastery of the dead." This is a building, more or less substantial, according to the sanctity of the departed, built of teak, and open all round, with the tapering ecclesiastical pya-that rising over it. Hither the coffin, with the sarcophagus, is carried and deposited on a dais in the centre, a slight railing serving to keep off wild animals. Over it a large white umbrella, with a deep paper-lace fringe, is fixed, and round about hang a number of paintings, similar to those on the payaung-bông, some of them, however, representing the favourite subject of the different races of men as known to the artist—the swarthy Hindoo, the oblique-eyed Chinaman, the Kachin with his pig on his back, and the ghastly white-faced Englishman with dog and gun. Others are simply grotesque, and a few horrible, in their delineations of the horrors of hell. Nevertheless, they are all allowed to hang there, for though it is expressly stated that paintings are among the five species of gifts which are not meritorious (dancing is another), the ordinary layman thinks that the painting he gives must certainly be an exception. Here and there in this odd kind of mortuary chapel are also keinnaya, gay tinselled pasteboard figures of men with birds' lower extremities, manôttha keinnaya and nat keinnaya, the latter having the wings and gorgeous aspect of nat-dêwas. Here the body lies in state, and there is a constant stream of pilgrims—some of them from far distant parts of the country—who come to say their religious sentences, make offerings of flowers and fruit as they would at the pagoda, and contribute what they can afford towards the remainder of the ceremony.

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The body remains till the required sum is collected. During that time numbers of festivals are celebrated at the ne'ban kyaung; bands of music play frequently, and the same people often make three or four different offerings. The lying in state usually lasts several months, sometimes considerably over a year, and it is to be noted that a pôngyi byan never takes place during Lent.

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At last all the funds are collected. An open space outside the town is cleared of jungle, and in the centre of it is erected the funeral pyre. This is constructed of bamboo matting, pasteboard brightly painted, and covered with the usual tinsel. It is, of course, in the form of the seven-roofed spire, the number of roofs, as some think, representing the number of heavens of nat-déwas. It is square up to a height of fifteen or twenty feet, where there is a platform, on which is placed a sort of cenotaph, resembling the payaung bông in construction and decoration. Above this towers up, fifty or sixty feet higher, the bamboo canopy. When this is ready, a fortunate day is selected by the elders of the town, for they have the management of the funeral rites, to the exclusion of the brethren of the yellow robe. This is announced all over the country-side by sound of gong, and when the appointed day arrives the people come flocking from every side, each quarter or village bringing its pya-thats and padetha-bins, the former similar in construction to the spire on the funeral pile, the "wishing trees" laden with a-hlu for the surviving brethren of the pôngyi who is to be cremated. The spires are arranged round about the great central one, to be burnt along with it; the padetha-bins are delivered at the kyaung.

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There is always a great gathering round the monastery of the dead, where the sramana has been lying in state. The coffin is taken down with great ceremony, and placed on a strongly built, low four-wheeled car, surmounted by the eternal bamboo spire. Now comes a part of the ceremonial which always seems strangely absurd, not to say indecorous, to foreigners. Two, or sometimes four, stout rattan or coir ropes are fastened to the car, and forthwith all the able-bodied men present commence a frantically contested and uproarious tug-of-war. No sides whatever are selected, or numbers agreed upon. Reinforcements are always ready to back up a side which seems on the point of losing, and prematurely ending the struggle; and when a man loses his wind he leaves go his hold and sits down to have a rest. Sometimes the rope breaks, and then the progress of the funeral has to be suspended till a new one is procured and fastened on, for there is no rule as to a side abiding by its accidents. Sometimes the contest goes on for two or three

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hours, and there are instances recorded where it was not till the third day that a definite result was arrived at. The explanation is simple enough to a Burman, and it is surprising that it has not hitherto been given by any writer on Burma. It is a work of the greatest possible merit to drag a pôngyi's body to the funeral pyre, and this kutho falls to the share of those who win in the tug-of-war. The late Captain Forbes said that the explanation was that "the conquering village will get the better of their losing rivals in all sports, contests, or other matters during the year." But this is impossible where the winning side may be composed of men from a score of different villages in circles remote from one another. Besides, there are no championship meetings in Burma. It is to be noted also that during the lônswèthi it is usually only the payaung bông that is on the car. The actual coffin is brought down afterwards.

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At last the coffin is brought to the pyre and hoisted up to its lofty platform, beneath which is stored a great quantity of combustible material: wood soaked in oil, pitch, and abundance of scented chips. Then nothing remains but to light it. When a layman is burnt, fire is set to the pile by the nearest relations with a box of Bryant and May's matches. But this is much too worldly a method for a member of the Thenga, and even the fire obtained by the friction of a plug in a hollow bamboo—an ingenious amplification of the two dry sticks of a variety of barbarous tribes, common in most monasteries—would fail to satisfy the dignity of a pôngyi. The pyre is lighted by rockets fired from a distance. Scores of these dôn have been prepared weeks beforehand, and many have been carried round triumphantly in procession by the people who have made them, a band of music preceding, and young men and girls dancing and singing of the potency of the powder and the accuracy of the aim which will gain for them the glory of setting fire to the pyre. Each rocket has a figure of some kind, a nat-dêwa, a tiger, a hare, or a bilu attached to it. Some of them are of huge size, constructed of the stems of trees hollowed out and crammed full of combustibles, in which sulphur largely predominates. Many are eight or nine feet long and four or five in circumference, and secured

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by iron hoops and rattan lashings. Up in Mandalay some are very much larger. These are let off at the funeral pile from a distance of forty or fifty yards, the largest being mounted on go-carts, and many others guided by a rope fastened to the pya-that, the rocket sliding along by means of twisted cane loops. The great majority fail to have any other effect than making a great splutter and poisoning the air. A few refuse to budge at all; others topple off their carts and fizzle erratically on the grass. A pôngyi byan in the old days was frequently attended with loss of life. Some one, at any rate, of the bigger rockets was sure to fly off at a tangent and plunge into the crowd, where its weight, to say nothing of its fiery belchings, found one or more victims. Even now it is only by the strictest police regulations and a rigorous maintaining of order among the spectators, and system in the pyrotechnists, that like catastrophes do not happen. At last some lucky dôn plunges right into the inflammable materials piled below the bier, and in a few minutes the flames are leaping high above the topmost pinnacle of the spire. Roof after roof falls, setting fire to the offerings placed round the basement. The joints of bamboo explode with a noise like a pistol shot; the crowd cheer each separate occurrence, and when finally the central spire falls with a hiss, a shout rises from the multitude which suggests anything but death and pious observance. But here [761] in the manôtthapyi all is changeful, sad, and unreal, and one more death brings but nearer to the final rest of Ne'ban.

When the last smouldering embers have cooled, the monastic brethren search for any pieces of bones that may remain, and these are carefully gathered up and buried somewhere near the pagoda. Sometimes, in the case of a particularly saintly man, they are pounded down, mixed into a paste with thitsi, and moulded into an image of the Buddha, which is stored up in the monastery. The custom followed in other Buddhist countries of erecting a shrine over the dead is, in accordance with the teachings of Shin Gautama, an honour but rarely accorded in Burma. In the Shan States they are commoner, but are rarely anything more elaborate than a stucco-covered block of bricks, about three feet high and pointed at the top.

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CHAPTER LXIV

DEATH AND BURIAL

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WHEN a Burman dies, after the first interval of poignant grief on the part of those present, the body is carried to the side of the central room of the house, abutting on the front verandah, and there deposited between the house posts. Messages are then sent to the monastery, to the friends and neighbours, and a funeral band is summoned. Meanwhile the corpse is carefully washed from head to foot, and the two big toes, and usually also the thumbs, are tied together with the chema-gyo and the letma gyo, which, if practicable, should be locks of the hair of a son or daughter; but if this is not to be got, a strip of cotton cloth is used. The whole body then, from the armpits downwards, is closely swathed in new white cotton cloth, and when this is done the best clothes the deceased possessed are put on. If the family is wealthy the paso or tamein is often very rich and costly. The face is always left uncovered, unless there are special reasons for concealing it, arising from the cause of death. Between the teeth is placed the kado-ka, a piece of gold or [775] silver as ferry-money to pay for the passage of the mystic river, which is known to exist, but concerning which no further particulars are to be got from any Burman. It is no doubt a relic of old demon-worship, the meaning of which is forgotten, while the custom has clung on. Charon's toll of course immediately occurs to the classical reader. Probably the race on their march from their ancestral home to Burma had to cross a big river. If the family is very poor, a copper or lead coin is used, or perhaps nothing more valuable than a betel-nut. The coin, whatever it is, is usually quietly

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764 carried off by the grave-diggers. None but an outcast would venture to do such a thing.

By this time, or, if the death occurred at night, in the early morning, the band has arrived, and commences to play dirges in front of the house. The Sula-gandi monks greatly disapprove of this practice, as savouring of ostentation, and their followers therefore often dispense with the band, as do many Burmans in the large English towns. But otherwise the band is always engaged, and plays on steadily till the funeral takes place. Almost invariably, too, one or more of [793] the yahans from the monastery come along and stay in the house, their presence being invaluable in keeping away evil spirits, who might otherwise loiter about the place. The monk may or may not deliver a discourse, just as he sees fit. The body is then put into the coffin, which is a very flimsy kind of affair, ordinarily made of let-pan (*Bombax malabaricum*), a very light and porous kind of wood not unlike deal, or sometimes of eng tree (*Dipterocarpus tuberculatus*). This is fastened down roughly with any kind of nails that come to hand. A number of the relatives and friends now come to condole and lend their assistance in making and ornamenting the bier and hearse, most of them bringing presents of money or food with them. A few years ago a very [476] meritorious society called Upathaka was started in Rangoon, the object of which was to provide decent and honourable burial for all members. The actual society did not last very long, but it served to show that the old feeling of mutual help still existed. At no time, however, have the Burmans been backward in this meitswe a-paung a-paw, which is one of the thirty-eight points insisted on in the Mingala-thut, the most favourite sermon of the Lord Buddha's. Friends and neighbours troop in with presents of a few pice, baskets of rice, meat, fruit, tobacco, betel, and material for decorating the bier, so that a man who in his lifetime never had a rupee to bless himself with, receives in Lower Burma a funeral grand enough to bring everybody connected with it under the scope of the sumptuary laws, if it were held in King Thibaw's territory.

The body is kept a longer or shorter time according to the station of the deceased. If he was rich, the preparation

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of the funeral paraphernalia takes some time, and it is nowadays almost a matter of ceremonial necessity that all children and blood relations should assemble for the burial. Technically, if the death occurred on the last day of the month the funeral ceremonies should take place before midnight, certainly before the new moon appears. This rule, however, is far from being strictly observed nowadays. A poor man [565] is buried as quickly as possible to save expense; a rich man's obsequies last according to the pride of his family and their inclination to spend money. The coffin, called hkaung, is usually covered with tinsel paper, or perhaps gilt. The talā, the bier, is shaded by a light canopy, or spire made of bamboo, and carried by means of four long bamboo poles. This pya-that is usually most gaily decorated with coloured pasteboard, tinsel, and paintings of different kinds, and looks strangely bright and theatrical to Europeans. It is carpentered and decorated in the street before the house, for it is from eight or ten to twenty or thirty feet in height, and often overtops all the houses in the quarter.

When the day fixed for the funeral arrives the yahans [793] are invited to the house. They usually come in numbers proportioned to the amount of alms given. There is ordinarily an address in the house, dwelling mainly on the vanity of human wishes and the uncertainty and misery of life on earth. Then the coffin is brought out and placed on the 764 platform made for it in the lower part of the pya-that. 565 Over it is then thrown a paso if the deceased was a man, or 178 a tamein or neckerchief if a woman. This usually conceals the coffin, unless it is richly gilt, or painted, as is sometimes the case, with figures of the nobler of the animals, such as lions, tigers, monkeys, and elephants. Then the distinctive garment is looped up so that all may see. Over this cloth are usually placed short sticks wrapped round with gold and silver paper, shwe bidôn and ngwe bidôn which were forbidden in Mandalay except to the officials. Equally contrary to the Yazagaing are the sanda ya-mya, two long streamers which come down from the top of the spire and are taken in the hands of as many of the personal friends as can get hold of them. The musket shots which are fired often during the processions would have entailed especially

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heavy punishment under Burman rule. Latterly some laymen in Rangoon have even been bold enough to glorify the funerals of their relatives with keinnaya, figures of men or women with bird-like feet and lower extremities. These spangled toys, which are commonly to be seen in all monasteries, are properly only used at the last ceremonies of a member of the sacred order. But when some men are bold enough even to flaunt the royal white umbrella, it is hardly to be expected that the distinctive honours of the yahans would be respected.

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The procession having been formed, a start is made. At the head come the alms intended for the monks and for the poor, some carried by men, some by women, the sexes going in separate lines. After this come the pyin-sin, never in any very great numbers, unless the a-hlu be particularly bountiful. Following them comes the band, and often a troop of singers. These are always hired for the purpose, and their callousness is as little to be cast up against Burman natural affection as the unlovable doings of the mutes at an English funeral. Close upon the musicians comes the bier carried by six or eight young men. Then in a general crowd follow the relations, friends, and neighbours, all on foot. Many passers-by, total strangers, join in the procession from motives of piety. Here and there the men carrying the bier stop and dance in a curious fantastic way to the measures of the dirge of the singers. The funeral *misereres* are usually the composition of an improvisatore in the chorus, and deal with the life and death and good actions of the deceased. A measure called maung pyaung is the most generally used.

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Occasionally there is a tug-of-war with a rope as at a pôngyi's funeral, one side exclaiming, "We must bury our dead"; the other, "You shall not take away my friend." As a matter of necessity the former party must conquer, but they sometimes have to get recruits from the crowd before they can manage it.

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It is a matter of regulation that a funeral should never go to the north or to the east. The graveyard is usually to the west of the village, and the dead should all be carried out of a walled town by a gate reserved for this purpose. In Mandalay this a-mingala tagā was that to the south-west,

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and it was avoided by those who had business in the myo as cursed, as indeed its name imports. Other rules are that a corpse must never be carried towards the centre of the town, still less can it be taken into it. If the man has died in the jungle, and the funeral has to pass a village, it skirts round the outside of it. 764 823

When the cemetery is reached, the coffin is taken out and placed on the ground near the grave. The immediate mourners collect round about it; the rest of the people go to the zayats, of which there are always several at every graveyard. The music stops as soon as this place is reached. The alms are set up in order before the pôngyis, and these again intone the five secular commandments, and the ten good works, besides a long string of Pali doxologies. As soon as they have finished they leave and file off to the monastery, the a-hlu being carried after them. The chief mourner at the same time pours water slowly out of a cocoanut shell, saying, "May the deceased and all present share the merit of the offerings made and the ceremonies now proceeding." This performance, called ye-set-kya, is a regular accompaniment of all almsgiving. The idea is that the earth will bear witness where men may forget. When Shin Gautama ascended the throne under the bawdi tree, Mān-nat, the devil, claimed that it was his, because he had discovered it first, and all his mighty host shouted aloud when he called upon them as witnesses. The Lord Buddha had no witness but the earth, and to it he appealed, asking whether he had not achieved the Three Great Works of Perfection, the Ten Great Virtues, and the Five Renouncements. The earth gave testimony to this kaung-hmu with a terrible roaring and a violent earthquake, so that Mān-nat and all his legions fled in terror. Hence the pouring out of water when alms are given. 764 [735]

While this is going on women are walking about the zayats distributing cheroots and sweet drinks, betel, le'pet, and biscuits among the visitors. The nearest relations are carrying out the final rites. The coffin is swung three times backwards and forwards over the open grave, and then lowered in. This ceremony, called utaikthi, is looked upon as a kind of final farewell, and after each person has thrown 764

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764 [564] a handful of earth the grave-diggers fill up the grave. These sandalās are outcasts, the name being probably derived from the Sanskrit term for the lowest caste of the Hindoos. It is considered a mark of respect to wait till the grave is filled in, and when this is over, there is some conversation in the zayat over the refreshments, and then all make their way home. The pya-that, bamboos, and other paraphernalia are the perquisites of the sandalās, and they usually get all the alms intended for the poor, though at a great funeral there is often much competition for the pasos, turbans, and pieces of muslin given away in alms. It is to be observed that there is no tombstone put up; nothing to mark for future years where the grave was.

764 178 Though burial is becoming common with all classes, the old method of cremation still prevails extensively in the jungle districts, and was invariable in Independent Burma when the deceased had attained considerable age. When the body is to be burned, mithingyothi, it is not necessary that the coffin lid should be fastened down, and sometimes there is no lid at all. The preparations and procession are identical with that for burial. The pyre is composed of billets of wood, laid two and two at right angles to each other, quantities of sweet-smelling woods being placed in the intervals. A few billets are placed above the coffin as well as below, and at the bottom of the funeral pile is usually an iron trough into which any unconsumed bones may fall. The pyre is kindled at various points by the nearest relations, and the sandalās stay by to see that it burns freely, and that all is consumed. When the fire has burnt out, two or three of the nearest of kin come and search about among the ashes for the bones. These are washed clean with cocoanut milk, and in the case of great people in Lower Burma of late years, often with lavender water, eau de cologne, or any of Atkinson's or Piesse and Lubin's scents. They are then wrapped up in clean white cloths, and placed in a newly made earthenware pot, which is not uncommonly gilt, or covered with pictures of sacred events taken from the birth stories. This is then taken back to the house temporarily.

For seven days after either kind of funeral, mourning

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For seven days after either kind of funeral, mourning 765
goes on in the house. This means in wealthy houses 426
indiscriminate eating and drinking. Cooking goes on all 739
night, and all day relays of condoling visitors come and eat 775
and enjoy themselves. The yahans also come every morning and receive offerings, and recite a string of Pali sentences. Friends bring contributions towards all this expenditure, but the result of it too often is that the heir finds that not only are all his father's hoarded rupees gone, but he himself has contracted a very considerable burden of debt. Even in the case of poor people, where the feasting is limited to the seventh day, great expense is incurred. The yahans are as necessary then as at the funeral, for the house must be purified, and the evil spirits who may be hanging about, as well as the leip-bya of the deceased, have to be exorcised and driven away. Then the pot containing the bones, if the dead person was burnt, is taken to the graveyard and buried, or sometimes is put into a hole near the pagoda. Superstitious people at burials sometimes affirm that they have caught the "butterfly" of the deceased in a handkerchief, and take this home to the house, where it lies till the seventh day, when it is opened after the discourse of the yahans, and the leip-bya is driven from the house. It can then give no more trouble.

Sometimes a small pagoda is erected over the cremated 764
ashes of a highly respected relative. These are regarded 778
simply as monuments, even when they are over a king, to whom alone of laymen in Native Burma they could be erected. They must not be used as places to offer worship, and that this may be known, the members of the sacred order ordain that such pagodas shall have no hti, no umbrella, on the top. To obviate this it is usual with the builder to dedicate the place to Shin Gautama, and thus at once secure a monument and a hti. Pagodas erected in honour of yahandas, or particularly sainted pôngyis, receive the umbrella of right, and are places very eminently suited for the pious laymen to worship at. Such temple tombs are called ayo sedi, but are not of such frequent erection as they used to be.

In some cases the relations grind down the bones to powder, and mixing this with the wood oil called thitsi,

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mould the paste into a small image of the Lord Buddha, which they set up in an honoured place in their houses, and make use of as the object of their morning and evening doxologies. Such images are called tha-yo.

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Nowadays money and public estimation alone determine the character of the funeral; but formerly in Mandalay, apart from the ceremonial provided for a pôngyi byan, there were five kinds suitable for a layman—one for the sovereign; then for members of the royal family; thirdly, for nobles, and those who had received official rank, a rather precarious and dangerous possession; then for thuté, rich men—so designated by special patent, which placed them under the "protection" of the court, that is to say, made them accessible for the demand of "benevolences"; and finally, a funeral for ordinary people. The burials of the poor in Mandalay were gruesome spectacles. The body was carried to the graveyard in a big, roomy box, grown rickety with much use, or, more simply still, in a mat. The sandalās had dug a hole, little more than three feet deep. If it was not long enough the body was squeezed in without any regard for relatives feelings. Enough earth to cover it slightly was thrown on by the grave-diggers, and the howls and fights of the pariah dogs at night suggested how it was that epidemics did not arise.

In the case of the funeral, say of an Atwinwun's wife, the coffin might be gilt, with a web of white cotton cloth fastened at the head—velvet was only permissible for a person of royal blood; the bamboos composing the bier were covered with red cloth; the pasos, tameins, and so on, given in alms, were carried on long poles, each pole borne by two men. In the procession the insignia of the wun, his umbrellas, fans, kamauk, and the rest were carried in front; after the alms and yahans came a dozen or more young women, carrying the court dress and decorations of the deceased, then her state carriage and that of her husband, hers being usually a palanquin. The billets of wood on the funeral pyre were gilt. These honours were so greatly valued that not a single privilege would be omitted, though the husband had to borrow money for every single item. Indeed, were he to have omitted any of them, he might

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be in danger of losing all, as not sufficiently appreciating the dignities conferred upon him. 764 565

As soon as Mindôn Min died, or at least as soon as it was officially made known that he was dead (for there are great doubts as to whether he died on the 12th September or on the 1st October 1878, or on some date between these two), as soon as the ministerial announcement came out on the latter date, the bo-ho, the great drum and gong suspended in a tower by the eastern gate, were stopped. The new king's drum and gong were not sounded till nine o'clock in the evening of the funeral, after which they were struck in the ordinary way every three hours. Bands of soldiers and police with gongs patrolled the streets all night long to see that everything was quiet. The princes had been seized and cast into prison some time before, but there was a chance that their adherents might raise disturbances on their behalf, and this precaution was kept up for some time. Meanwhile a pagoda, to serve as a mausoleum, was being run up with the greatest expedition close to the Mint, on the eastern side of the palace, in the outer enclosure, and this was finished in four or five days. The king had specially requested that his body should not be burnt according to ordinary royal custom, and the Sinbyumè, the senior queen and chief mourner, had resolved that this wish should be respected. 764 643 175

The corpse was laid out in state, and on the 3rd October the greater number of the foreigners and the officials of inferior rank were admitted to look upon it. This ceremony was conducted in the Hman-nandaw, the "Glass Palace," a room in which Thibaw Min has received most Europeans since. The body lay in the fore part of the chamber on a gilt couch, or bedstead, studded with bits of glass, and was robed from head to foot in white, a piece of white satin covering the face. The royal number of white umbrellas was canopied overhead, and at the top part of the couch were arranged the regalia in a row. On this occasion the Sinbyumè and the Anauk Nammadaw, the favourite queen of the West Palace, sat by the couch and slowly waved gorgeous peacock fans. At other times the sonless queens took it in turn to watch by the body, two at a time.

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Round about were grouped all the other queens and princesses, weeping piteously. The deceased king's brother, the ex-Pagān Min, the newly elected Thibaw Min, and all the high officials, were behind at the farther end of the room. Suspended over the corpse was a small flat piece of gold shaped like a heart, called thényun, and in this the leip-bya, the butterfly spirit of the departed king, was supposed to dwell till such time as he should be buried. The public lying in state only lasted a few hours, but the body remained there unaltered till the time of the funeral. It was not certainly known whether any attempt at embalming was made, but the body was very much shrunk, and contrasted greatly with the genial presence of his majesty when last he was seen alive.

The funeral took place on the 7th, at noon. It was the first that took place that day, and no other was allowed until the royal obsequies were entirely over. The city gates were shut and strongly guarded to prevent any such going forth if any one had been bold or ignorant enough to attempt it. From the gates of the interior palace stockade to the tomb, the whole route of the procession was laid with scarlet cloth, and round the mausoleum was a wide bamboo fence covered with long cloth, inside of which were some slight sheds, run up for the accommodation of the queens and the chief ministers. It is worthy of notice also that, in a favourable position to view all that passed, was erected a similar mandut for the accommodation of the late Mr. Shaw, then British Resident in Mandalay, his assistants, and the Residency Chaplain, the late Rev. J. A. Colbeck. The Resident and Assistant Resident were admitted in full uniform, wearing their shoes and swords, and it was thought that at length a solution of the great shoe-question had been arrived at, for though in the outer court this dignity had always been allowed them, the fact that later on they saw the king not very far off roused hopes of an audience at a remote date with similar appendages. But alas, the hopes were vain.

Punctually at twelve the procession left the palace gates. At the head of the cortège came the late king's wan, a huge palanquin borne on men's shoulders. Close upon it came

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six elephants, in royal purple and gold housings, and after them two richly caparisoned ponies. Following these were three of the mingyis and a wundauk, the fourth chief minister, the Laungshwe being too old and feeble to appear. Then came the band, called byaing-daung, on such occasions, playing an ancient royal *miserere*, and after it a great crowd of the minor officials, wearing baungs, white official hats. Behind these came a number of men and women bearing the regalia and the utensils of the royal dead, the crown, the heavy court dress, the gold betel box, the spittoon, the hentha, and the rest. Then came an empty coffin, overlaid with scarlet velvet and plates of gold, and immediately behind it the body in a ta-nyin, or hammock of white velvet, attached to a bamboo swathed in red velvet, across which was thrown a white velvet covering spangled with gold. To the ta-nyin were attached two long cloths, sanda-ya-mya, held by a multitude of queens, princesses, and exceedingly young princes (all the older ones being in jail). Above were the eight white umbrellas, and over the Sinbyumè, the chief mourner, were held three of the same royal colour. Her three daughters, one of whom, the Supayalat, became Thibaw Min's queen, were shaded by bright yellow htis, a colour which ranks even over gold. Thus they proceeded to the bamboo enclosure. Then it was announced that the new king, Thibaw Min, was coming, having just received the beit-theit, been anointed by the Brahmin Pônnas. He appeared shortly, seated in a lofty wan, at each of the four corners of which crouched a maiden with bowed head and clasped hands, the whole being carried on the shoulders of forty men. Preceding him was his bodyguard of twelve pages all dressed alike and armed with double-barrelled breechloaders in red serge cases. The Shwe nan-yin payā, the new possessor of the golden throne, remained for half an hour, looking very ill at ease, and little inclined to inspect the splendid spectacle before him. Then he gave the order for the last rites, and in accordance with custom returned immediately to the palace. The actual ceremony of burial was now concluded with as little ceremony as previously there had been superabundance of it, and in a very short time the yahans, of whom there had been a great multitude

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present, were superintending the carrying off of the 108 (representing the number of divisions in the foot of the Lord Buddha, and the beads on the rosary) heaps of alms piled up in great mountains in a long shed to the east of the mausoleum. This was the last of the pious king, Maung Lun, Mindôn Min, the Convener of the Fifth Great Synod.

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The following is the substance of a funeral dirge sung in Mandalay by a Rangoon man whose wife had died in the royal city:—

Gone, gone art thou, sweet wife; gone far away,
Fair still and charmful, stretched on thy cold bier,
As erst thou wert upon that joyous day
When first I wed thee; gladsome brought thee here,
And joyed to think that thou wert mine. Ah me!
The butterfly's silk wings are shred; no more,
Ne'er more to rest upon thy head, Mah Meit—
Sweet name for wife: "affectionate." Deplore
Her death ye nats that rule forests and streams,
The hills and vales, and greater ye who guard
The sacred law, the holy shrines, the beams
Of silent moon, and sunlight baking hard
The hot-scorched earth, not scorched more and seared
Than is the parchment of my tortured heart.
Nay, bear with me, good neighbours. Be not feared.
I am not mad. The nat-so hath no part
Of me or mine. The spaewife sure hath said it.

Ay, thou wert mine when last I trod the earth,
Ere yet, all sinful, I was born as man,
And yet again, in yet another birth,
I'll claim thee; when mayhap a happier kan,
A fairer sum of merit, hardly won,
Will lead us on, linked-armed, to linked death,
That so progressing, joyful we may run
Through all life's changes, and with single breath,
Through heavens and zân and rupa, we may bound
To Ne'ban, blissful home of rest. So mote it be.

Alas, thou wert from Hanthawaddy's plains,
And were we there, where thou so fain hadst stayed,
A stately pomp had honoured thy remains,
In silk and velvet wound, with gilded shade
Of wide umbrella's pride, and regal spire
Had towered to the skies, all seemly draped
With flowing cloths and princesses' attire,
Such as now thou dost wear, from earth escaped

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763 Death and Funeral Observances. The decline of the human body is regarded simply as part of the inevitable course of nature. When this occurs, the soul must leave. The butterfly is the symbol of life; when one dies, 'the butterfly leaves the body.'

When death approaches, valuables, such as jewelery, are removed from the person and the death-bed, because people are reluctant to use anything with which a person dies. These things are given to the monastery. A relative chants as the person is dying, to fix his mind upon the truths of Buddhism and to divert it from worldly goods and ties of kinship.

● 764 As soon as death occurs, everyone present cries and wails. Sometime before rigor mortis sets in, relatives bathe the corpse, using a new water pot for this purpose, and pouring the water over the body from foot to head, the opposite direction from that practiced by the living. If the water pot must be refilled at all, this must be done an odd number of times. The pot is then put outside the house, upside down, and anyone outside the family of the deceased may take it. Then another filled pot is placed underneath the bed of the corpse. His hair is dried and spread out, hanging loose. His jacket is put on backwards; his longyi is tucked in or tied at the back instead of the front. The two large toes are tied together, as are the thumbs; the arms are folded on the breast; and the body is covered with a white sheet. Money may also be placed in the mouth. This practice is sometimes attributed to the practice of earlier times when, it is said, bodies were simply abandoned; the belief is that then the deceased had to walk to the cemetery, where the grave-digger buried him and took the coins from his mouth in payment.

The corpse must be watched at night; groups take turns at this duty. It is said that the night watch is kept to prevent malevolent spirits from stealing the body. An impending funeral may be the occasion for a pwe, an outdoor theatrical presentation, and gambling games. In such event, the proceeds from the gambling will go to the bereaved family to help them. The corpse, in a coffin, will be placed on a bier nearby the scene of the pwe. It is said that thus he does not become lonely. [525]

Burial occurs as soon as the relatives can conveniently gather together. While the body lies in state there is open house for those who wish to come to pay their last respects. When ready for burial, the body is placed in a wooden coffin, and a sheet is placed over the coffin. The water pot, taken from beneath the bed, is carried behind the coffin as it is taken out. Water is sprinkled on the floor until the party is out of the house, at which point the pot is broken. The body is carried feet first towards the cemetery. As it is lowered into the grave, the relatives kneel and make obeisance. On the return trip from the cemetery one member of the party is required to carry the sheet and to refrain from looking back.

By the time the funeral party reaches the house the bed has been cleared away for disposal. A white cloth is spread on a mat in one corner of the room. The person bearing the cloth says, as if talking to the deceased, 'There is your seat.'

On the sixth day after death, the person who placed the white cloth for the deceased to sit on, carries a paper umbrella to the cemetery and sticks it into the grave, saying, 'I have come to call you for tomorrow's ceremony.' If the umbrella remains upright it means the deceased will return as requested.

If the umbrella falls down it indicates that the spirit has departed and cannot return. The person who performs this ritual must not talk to anyone en route to the cemetery. 764

On the seventh day a ceremony takes place. The monks come to the house to eat and chant prayers. They are given offerings for their own use and a special tray containing white thread. The monks hold the thread, which symbolizes good, while they chant. The people present are seated before the monks, repeating the prayers and precepts after them. The deceased person is supposed to be sitting on the mat prepared for him and benefiting from this ceremony. Then the people are fed, the monks depart, and the influences of death are considered to be banished. The thread is kept in the house. 764 769

Graves are not visited, nor is there any upkeep of the cemetery, for folk belief has it that the tidying of graves will cause more people to die. The dead are commemorated by the meritorious act of feasting the Buddhist monks.

Associations

Bus Union. Owners of buses plying between Tadagale and Rangoon are organized into a union. In terms of its functions, this organization might be more fittingly termed a mutual protective and insurance association. These are: to prevent outsiders from infringing on their route and competing with them; payment of damages in case of accidents between members' buses and other vehicles or persons; payment of any costs of litigation that arise in connection with accidents; and maintenance of a repair shop and mechanic in the village. Members of the union pay an initial sum to join, plus monthly dues and a small toll fee for each trip that is made. 441 444

Peasants Union. The Tadagale Peasants Union is a constituent body of the All Burma Peasants Union and operates directly under the Insein Division of the parent organization. Some fifty to sixty households in Tadagale are members. When the head of a family or household joins, the union regards all its members as union members. In theory, meetings are supposed to occur once a month, but in fact take place at irregular intervals, whenever a problem arises that is considered sufficiently important to warrant a meeting. Commonly this is a dispute between members over land. If opinion remains divided after considerable discussion of a dispute or other issue, the union meeting votes by written ballot. 467 427 185

The more long-run aims of the Peasants Union concern rent and taxes of cultivators. Protests and petitions are sent to the government when it is felt taxes are too high. The union was characterized as 'an organization that is against the landlords.' At the time of our research, its aim was to reduce the landowners' share of the produce to one-third from two-thirds. The union also favored land nationalization, under which it was believed rent would be paid in a just amount to the government. Just where the Peasants Union fitted in with existing political party programs and alignments in the country at large it was not, for various reasons, feasible to investigate.

Ceremonial Assistance Groups. For purposes of rendering help at such ceremonies as weddings, funerals and initiations, the villagers are divided into informal groups. These are: men's group; married women's group; and unmarried girls' group. The men's group does the heavier tasks, such as chopping and carrying firewood, erecting ceremonial structures, and preparing 575 476

342 514 In U Myaing's house the lavatory is in the kitchen and is walled off with woven KYU (kind of fiber) mat. There is a hole cut open in the board flooring, and the area underneath this opening also is walled off with woven KYU. U Myaing and family did not take their meals in the kitchen but in the house proper.

361 368 346 [372] [364] The PHON-GYI KYAUNG or monastery is located further downstream from the village. It is a two storied brick building comprised of nine rooms, each 6 TAUNG square. Children are not taught here but learn their lessons at the government school. This school, which is on YWA-GYI-SHET side, teaches pupils up to the tenth standard. Below the PHON-GYI KYAUNG is the cemetery.

The houses in the village are separated one from the other by eight feet on each side. The rows of houses facing the river have porches on both sides. 342 U Myaing's house is typical of those found in the village - some may be more elaborate, some less. His house had been built only 435 [651] six or seven years, and cost Rs. 3000/- at that time. There are no accounts for each of the separate items and U Myaing does not remember. The land was free and they did not have to pay any revenue on it.

[366] [251] Separate from the houses and on the riverside is a huge platform built to process fish including the making of NGAPI. U Myaing had no land that owned round the house, although he could use the land directly in front of the house for various purposes.

U Myaing describes his house as follows;

342 592 "It is a wooden house, made of wooden posts - a two storied structure. The roof is of slates. Walls are of SHI-NGA-SHI wooden boards (boards 8 inches wide and about ½ inch thick) and there are four rooms. Other people have similar houses. It is a LAY-KIN-KIN (a four-tree-house or a house which has four supporting poles across the front) and all seven of us live in the house. We drop a kitchen from the back and cook there. The kitchen has three windows at the back, with one door leading into the house. We all live together in three rooms. We keep bedrooms. (U Myaing is speaking of a sketch of the house here). This side is for visitors - there is a room for people who come to buy goods. The old mother and the children live in one room and I and my wife in [366] another with the smallest child. We eat in the front part of the house in one room at the foot of the sleeping place. There are nine 6 TAUNG rooms without partitions on each of the two floors. The sides of the house are enclosed with timber planks of IN wood, but the bedrooms are also partitioned off. It is very wide and roomy to live in. The floor is made of teak planks."

a bamboo frame extending for about eight feet. The interior of the house contains piles of small boxes in which the bones and ashes of the P.V.O. dead are stored. Consequently no one lives inside. Seven families live under thesaves on three sides of the house along a narrow strip nine feet wide. The area is divided into a number of rooms "6 TAUNG square - the same room size as in the Pathme house." U Myaing's family occupies 2½ such rooms at the corner of the building. The head space varies from 8 feet against the wall of the house to less than two feet at the edges of the eaves. A break in the eaves forms an entrance at the corner. Figuring one room to be equivalent to a 6 foot square room 3½ feet high, we arrive at a total of 315 cubic feet of living space for the 2½ rooms. [764]● 722 342

One and a half rooms are covered with a slightly raised bamboo floor on which U Myaing and his family sleep. A space 6' long by 2' wide is used as a work area and for social purposes, but this is not rigorously claimed, since the adjacent family frequently uses it as a storage space. In speaking of the refugee camp quarters U Myaing says:

> "It is very narrow (cramped) here. We eat and sleep in the same place. At Pathme we kept 2 rooms separately to sleep in. Our house there was very wide and roomy. Here we sleep and cook all in one place." [511]

The sleeping and eating area is separated from the adjacent family by a woven split bamboo partition about 5 feet high; at five feet three inches from the floor, a number of bamboo poles criss-cross to form rafters on which objects are stored.

Here the sleeping mats are rolled up, along with sleeping equipment which consist of U Myaing's wooden pillow, makeshift pillow of rag bundles, 1 holey woolen blanket. One mosquito net used by U Myaing and his wife is also suspended from these rafters. At the far end of the bamboo flooring, there are three baskets. One of these baskets contains the women's clothing; another contains rice. Two clay pots are at the side. The altar consists of a slant board placed on the wall above the sleeping area and equipped with a flower vase. The objects found in the cooking area are: "U" shaped fire area made by 3 bricks touching on edge, bamboo stool for Ma Aye Myaing, hollow bamboo blow tube for starting fire, cooking pots, 352 415 [252]

pagodas and those throughout the country are descendants of the pagoda slaves.

Beggars are rated below the pagodo slaves - but, because of the Buddhist merit associated with giving do well for themselves. The beggars live in communities on the outskirts of the town often in cemetaries. They are thought to exhume the dead to get the coins placed in the mouth of the deceased to ensure expenses on his journey to heaven. The wood of the coffin is believed to be used in constructing their huts. Professional undertakers or morticians are regarded with horror since they like the beggars, make their living from the dead. The functions of burial are performed gratis by the entire village. A story is currently going round the University dormitories telling of an immensely wealthy Burmese coffin maker in Rangoon who has offered riches to the young man who will marry his beautiful daughter. When the future seems blank the students' friend advises "Hey, why don't you go and marry the coffin maker's daughter?" It seems that the money would scarcely compensate for the social discrimation. The extent to which the occupation classes are rigid in marriage and other social exchanges is an interesting problem.

A young man is obliged to remain within the occupation class of his family or to rise to greater heights. He is advised at an early age to "be simple, aim high, and tell the truth." When children play at dacoits (thieves) of other "low class" games their parents object to their low aspirations and advise them to play nobles and ministers. One would feel justified in remaining idle rather than accept a position below that of his birth. It is better to accept a clerks job at a low salary than an artisans at a high salary. On the other hand those born into lower status occupation groups tend to be satisfied with their state as a condition of birth. In Rangoon, however, even the hawkers may have ambitions to achieve fame and fortune. The opportunities for social mobility is greater in the towns and cities but difinitely restricted in the villages.

Apprenticeship to trades begins at the age of 12 to 14 years, and usually lasts for several years. Ordinarily the youth is attached to the shop of a relative where he lives and is payed a subsistence wage while learning. The key to high positions lies in education in

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or her daughters or sons who are financially well-to-do. U Myaing's sister who lives in Rangoon has given help to the eldest daughter by housing her near her cheroot-rolling job. The pattern of mutual aid among the relatives is strongly developed among the Burmese. "A tree will support a thousand birds" emphasises the importance of the relative who makes good for the rest of the family.

Relationship of Family to Community and State

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A large portion of the Pathwe community were related to U Myaing. Consequently many reciprocal activities fell within the family group. Most of the activities were prescribed by virtue of being a member of the community rather than by kinship ties. Such activities include cooperation in house raisings, funerals, marriage festivals, SHIN PYU ceremonies where the family involved needs help. Unpleasant occasions such as funerals demand everyone's attendance if not financial participation.

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On pleasant occasions the participants are apt to be one's friends and relatives. When someone builds a small house or puts a new thatch roof on, the other villagers come to help. He does not have to pay the workers anything or even feed them. He has only to cook and prepare for them the raw foods and chillies, onions, etc., which each one brings for himself. This statement, however, holds true only when small houses are built. Regular carpenters have to be hired to build the big ones. U Myaing frequently helped to build other people's houses - small houses that could be completed in a day. Help of this nature is offered without asking.

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When a person dies in the village, the villagers all go to the house and certain elders help to bathe and dress the corpse and place it on the bed, where it may be kept anywhere from three to seven days before being taken out and buried. The ground for burial is bought at the ceremony for the price of one pice. Now, in keeping with the general inflation, the price has risen to one anna. The grave is dug by the young men's group. The young men of the village carry the bier, or pull the bullock cart on which the coffin rests, and dig the grave. They also provide the orchestra. For performances on the night of the death and the day after a Burmese orchestra is engaged at the rate of Rs. 50/- to Rs. 100/-. The various visitors who come to condole with

the bereaved bring with them gifts of money and in this way seek to help them to defray the funeral expenses of which the funeral feast held 7 days after the death is most expensive. Sometimes these visitors are so generous that the householder does not need to contribute anything at all. Some people, however, prefer to reserve the right to pay for burial expenses of someone in the family, and put out an announcement requesting neighbours to refrain from making monetary contributions. 764● 621 476

The community activities in the refugee camp are mainly of an economic nature - discussed in the section on "Work". The solidarity of the village is lacking and the feelings of obligation and responsibility beyond the basic economic ones are absent. 621 722

In Pathmo there are ethnic groups other than the Burmese. There are a few Karens, Indians of Madrasi affiliation, as well as a few Chinese who run stores. The attitude of the family toward these other groups are reflected in the following interview: (Note: the concept of "religion" is used here as meaning "general way of life." 621 563 186

Q. "Does U Kyaing know about other religions such as Christianity and Hinduism? If so, what is his attitude towards them.

A. "I don't understand them well. We are with our own religion. We are country folk. We understand our religion only. We don't understand other religions.

Q. "What is your attitude towards other racial groups living in the village?

A. "I don't hold any positive attitude. I harbour no evil thoughts. We hold them to be the same as we are.

Q. "Would you like to go back to live among the Karens you spoke of just now?

A. (D.A.Z.) "Of course not. Lots of Burmese were left behind. We wouldn't dare to live among the Karens."
(U.M.) "Some people do not dare to live among the Karens, but we do."
(D.A.Z.) U.M.)"We don't have enemies."
(D.A.Z.) "There are Karens who are friendly with us."
(U.M.) "Say that we lived together. We lived together."
(D.A.Z.)"Though we have no enemies we feel afraid. In the present turmoil and confusion people no longer know each other."

Q. " Do the Karens differ from you in religion?"

A. (U.M.) "Our religions do not differ. The religion of Karens in our place and our religion do not differ. It is Buddhism."

for an adult and 8 annas for a child."

In camp U Myaing does not play cards very much except when at funerals to pass the night away. His total stakes on such occasions are only about eight annas or a rupee. He has never been to the races, and he never goes about town for fun. He does not go visiting much except when on business. When he does go, he visits Hla Khin, his first cousin who lives in HSIN-NIN-KWET-THIT, and his cousin Ma Sein Maing who lives in Ahlone. In Rangoon there are about 40,000 to 60,000 refugees from Pantanaw district. Sometimes he visits other people whom he knew at the village. However, in a single year his purely social visits to people outside of the camp totals only three visits - one visit each to three houses.

Dr. Orr, Dr. Sheppard, Mr. Shaw and Mr. Musgrave are the only white men he has met. He does not know any other Americans or Englishmen.

U Myaing has not gone to the pagoda once in the present month. During the past month, when he was working at the Jubilee Hall, he used to cross the pagoda platform twice a day going to and coming from his work. In the last year he donated some money at the Shwe Dagon. He gave 2 annas on three occasions four annas on 6 occasions, and once, when he drew his monthly pay, he donated a rupee. Apart from these, he donated money 6 or 7 times during the first one or two months of their arrival, during the time when he was going around selling mats. He gave altogether three or four rupees in these six or seven times.

Only Daw Aw Zar regularly goes to the pagoda solely for the sake of worship and prayer. Ma Aye Myaing has been there about five times on three occasions, but, they were while she was on her way elsewhere, and only once or twice purely for worship. Her total offerings amount to only about a rupee. Daw Aw Zar remarked that they would not have had the opportunity of praying at this great pagoda if they were still in Pantanaw. Daw Aw Zar gives offerings of flowers, money, candles and incense, and goes up the pagoda frequently.

In his worship, U Myaing recites the 5 SILAS. He prays for

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The whole family goes to the ANYEIN or marionette shows which are quite rare and sometimes not even seen in a year. If it is held, 536
this held during the months of TAGU, KASON and TAZAUNGMON. In the villages an ANYEIN gives over at about one or two in the morning.

The people from their village also go over to Karen villages 536
when they have puppet shows at cremation ceremonies. Some of the 764
Karens bury their dead and after three or four years they exhume the corpse to burn the bones and store the ashes away. At the ceremony for the cremation of the bones they stage these puppet shows and the members of U Myaing's family go to witness them.

In Pathwe the PYAZAT (stage performance or PWE) has not yet made an appearance. Ma Aye 536
Myaing had seen it in another village where she had to pay an admission charge of four annas. This was the only time she had seen it. On that occasion the show was followed by an enactment of one [779]
of the birth stories of Buddha and this went on till morning.

CHILDREN'S GAMES:

The children used to play several games. One of these was to 524
blind-fold one of their number and set him off in the direction of 857
an iron bar suspended about 25 yards away. The blindfolded boy was given an iron rod and it was his task to try and hit the suspended bar with his rod.

These games were played at a sports meeting organized for children and everyone in the village turned out to watch. Another [621]
item was the candle race where the children were given a lighted candle each and made to run a race. Then there was a cock fighting contest where two girls sat back on their haunches, faced each other and began to swing each knee forward alternatively until one or the other gave up. There was also a needle and thread race, a sack race, a one-legged race and an egg and spoon race. Each of these races were confined to only two contestants at a time.

CONKIN:- A CONKIN is the large flat seed and is used in a game that Burmese children play - U Myaing's children included. There have to be ten players, five a side and each side has to try and hit the seeds belonging to the opposing group according to complicated rules.

In Pathwe the children used to play marbles and not the youths [369]
as is sometimes found in Rangoon. In Pathwe the adults were all

23: Brant & Mi Mi Khaing E, I-5 (1949-1950) 1951
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888 To the Burmese, long life is a great blessing and an indication of merit earned. Long life is prayed for and old age greatly idealized.

The ideal aged person is one who has successfully reared a family, has grandchildren and a certain amount of material wealth. The aged are expected to be 887 retiring and unobtrusive in their behavior. They do not go out visiting very much; they eat less food; and avoid appearing too well dressed or jeweled when attending religious observances.

An attitude of resignation characterizes the outlook of the aged person in Burmese society. It is unheard of that aged people should work: a possible ex- [622] ception is the village headman, who, it is felt, should be a person of long experience. When aged people live with their children they assume the role of teachers of their grandchildren. Most of the time of elderly people is spent in activities centering around the pagodas and monasteries, organizing of religious festivals, and raising funds for the monks and charities. In fact, they take leading roles in such activities.

The elderly members of the household arise early to see that rice is cooked for the daily offering to the monks and to insure that the household altar is properly looked after. It is preferable for them to arise before dawn, for to do so is considered very meritorious.

[784] Certain of the taboos that apply to younger people, mostly those connected with death, do not apply to the aged.

Death and Funeral Observances. To the Burmese, the decline of the human 761 body is part of the inevitable course of nature. When this occurs the soul must [775] leave. The butterfly is the symbol of life: when a person dies, "the butterfly leaves his body."

When death approaches, valuables, such as jewelry, are removed from the 763 person and the death-bed, because people are reluctant to use anything with which a person dies. These things are given to the monastery. A relative chants as the person is dying, to fix his mind upon the truths of Buddhism and to divert it from worldly goods and ties of kinship.

As soon as death has occurred, everyone present cries and wails. Before rigor 764 mortis sets in, relatives bathe the corpse, using a new water pot for the purpose and pouring the water over the body from foot to head, the opposite direction from that practiced by the living. If the water pot must be refilled at all, this [801] must be done an odd number of times. The pot is then put outside the house, upside down, and anyone outside the family of the deceased may take it. Then

23: Brant & Mi Mi Khaing E, I-5 (1949-1950)1951
AP1 Burma
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another filled pot is placed underneath the bed of the corpse. The hair of the dead person is dried and spread out, hanging loose. His jacket is put on backwards; his skirt is tucked in at the back instead of the front. The two big toes are tied together, as are the thumbs; the arms are folded on the breast; and the body is covered with a white sheet. Money may also be placed in the mouth. This practice is sometimes attributed to the custom of earlier times when, it is said, bodies were simply abandoned: the belief is that the deceased had to walk to the cemetery, where the grave-digger buried him and took the coins from his mouth in payment.

The corpse must be watched at night; groups take turns at this duty. It is sometimes said that the night watch is kept to prevent malevolent spirits from stealing the body.

Burial occurs according to convenience, when the relatives can gather. While the body lies in state there is open house to those who wish to come to pay their last respects to the deceased. When ready for burial, the body is placed in a wooden coffin with a sheet over the coffin. The water pot, taken from under the bed, is carried behind the coffin as it is taken out. Water is sprinkled on the floor until the party is out of the house, at which point the pot is broken. The body is carried feet first toward the cemetery. As it is lowered into the grave, the relatives kneel and make obeisance. On the return trip from the cemetery one member of the party is required to carry the sheet and to refrain from looking back.

By the time the funeral party reaches the house the bed has been cleared away for disposal. A white cloth is spread on a mat in one corner of the room. The person bearing the cloth says, as if talking to the deceased, "There is your seat."

On the sixth day after death, the person who placed the white cloth for the deceased to sit upon carries a paper umbrella to the cemetery and sticks it into the grave, saying, "I have come to call you for tomorrow's ceremony." If the umbrella remains upright it means the deceased will return as requested. If the umbrella falls down it indicates that the spirit has departed and cannot return. The person who performs this ritual must not talk to anyone en route to the cemetery.

On the seventh day a ceremony takes place. The monks come to the house to eat and there is chanting of prayers. The monks are given offerings for their own use, plus a special tray containing white thread. The monks collectively hold the thread, which is a symbol of good, while they chant. The people present are

23: Brant & Mi Mi Khaing E, I-5 (1949-1950)1951
AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

764 seated before the monks, repeating prayers and precepts after them. The deceased person is supposed to be sitting on the mat prepared for him and benefiting from this ceremony. Then the people are fed, the monks depart, and the influences of death are considered to be banished. The thread is kept in the house.

769 The Burmese do not revisit graves. Nor is there any upkeep of cemeteries, for folk belief has it that the tidying of graves will cause more people to die. The dead are commemorated by the meritorious act of feasting the Buddhist monks.

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Ithaca, New York

Taunggyi
Southern Shan States, Burma

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

433. PAINTING OF KYAITTIYO PILGRIMAGE.

they study their religious books, occupy themselves with their grandchildren, teach them and tell them stories, and make toys for them. They do the light repairs of the house and gear, and when they are too old to go on pilgrimages with the others, they keep the house and tell their beads alone. The veteran can still halt to the shrine on duty-days. Every old man is by courtesy *ludyi*, and every old woman *amèdyi*. The old people wear plainer clothing than the young, and, according to old Burman fashion, less of it. The human dignity of the aged is of a kind that apparel cannot add to. Steeped in the spirit of Buddhism, the aged never yield to anger. Wanting neither for necessaries nor honour, the pathos of their serene old age is purely that of years. A peaceful end is their lot. (See *The Soul of a People*, p. 330.)

And now our Burman is equipped for the final stage. To the dead of whatever degree royal honours are accorded. The body is spoken of as *aláung*, "that which is about to be," to be something of a higher nature, namely, as the dead are spoken of in German as "blessed." The corpse is laid under a white or royal canopy, upon a temporary bier, for one or several days. The body is swathed in grave-clothes, the thumbs and great toes tied together with strips of white cotton cloth, and in the mouth of a lay person is put a gold or silver piece for *kadôga*—ferry-hire. While the body is lying in state, the catafalque (*dalâ*) is being prepared for carrying the bier to the cemetery. The *dalâ* is a tall erection of bamboo and paper, ending in a royal *pyatthat*, gay with colours and tinsel. The corpse is laid in a coffin similarly decorated, which is placed in or over the sarcophagus-shaped part of the *dalâ*. Above the coffin

434. HOME DEVOTIONS OF THE AGED.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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438. THE VETERAN.

floats a *pasô* or *tamlin*, according to the sex of the deceased. Figures of winged *kein-nayâ* support the coffin. All these preparations are costly, but they are never omitted (except in the case of "unripe" deaths), for if the family of the deceased have not the means, the neighbours contribute. While the *dalâ* is preparing, the relatives and neighbours are entertained in a pavilion erected in front of the house. Music, games, and *pwé* are provided by day and by night to help them to pass the time. The Burman word for funeral is *mathâ*, a sorrowing; and the mourning of the relatives is open and loud. Death is spoken of with bated breath and true solemnity. It is not baldly stated that a person is dead, but that their life has ended. The dead are borne in tender memory. Nevertheless, the incidents of the funeral are so inconsistent with mourning that they receive point in a fable. The python snake with its gigantic size and forbidding aspect looks the king of venomous reptiles. And such, according to the satire, the python used to be. So potent was his venom that if he bit so much as the track of a creature it must die. On one occasion the serpent bit the foot-print of a man who had angered him, and crept to the village to enjoy his revenge. But he found nothing there to betoken sorrow. Music was playing and the people were dancing. This mortified him so that he climbed a lofty tree and spat all his venom forth. The preparation of the catafalque and the entertainment of the funeral guests are costly, but the offerings to the *yahân* are the chief expense. These are what give distinction to the funeral. As many *yahân* of the place and the surrounding country as the family can afford to present offerings to, are invited to precede the *cortége* to the cemetery. The offerings are all of identical nature and value. In the illus-

439. ENTERTAINING THE FUNERAL GUESTS.

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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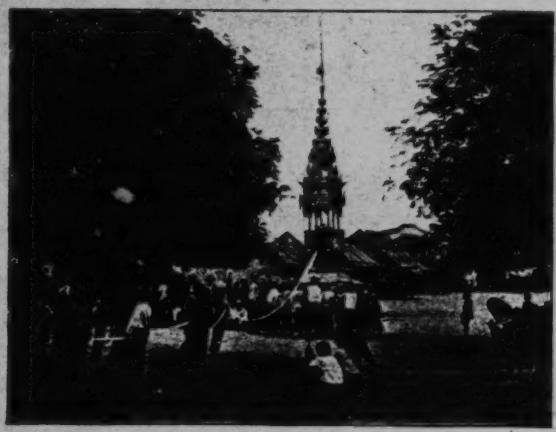


437. THE BIER LEAVING THE HOUSE.

tration, No. 438, there are forty, which cost nine rupees each. It is an honour to receive a share of the offering to bear with the funeral, which the women of the neighbourhood carry. The whole village turns out in *gala* costume; *Lu-dyis* of the highest standing follow the humblest funeral. Even the relatives have no badge of mourning in their apparel. At great funerals, processions of white-robed bearers of the offerings are arranged, and other demonstrations. At noon on the day of the funeral the young men of the quarter raise the catafalque, which they bear on their shoulders. The women place the offerings on their heads, and those who have nothing to carry make believe to drag the bier by long streamers of white cloth, from both ends. The bearers follow their movements with grotesque dancing, allowing the bier sometimes to advance, sometimes to recede, as if its possession were being contested. Where the roads are good enough, the bier is erected on a platform borne on wheels. The Taláings permit no backward movement of the bier, which they consider unlucky; they object to the bearing of a corpse from outside through the village or town. At the base of the catafalque are borne champions who posture in defiant attitudes. The funeral procession is preceded by a band

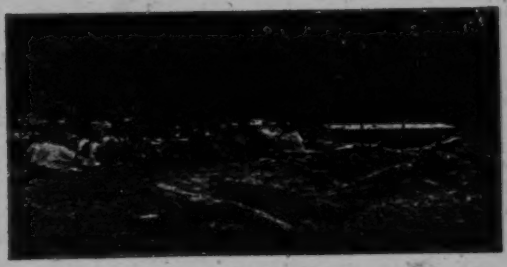
438. FUNERAL OF A WEALTHY BURMAN.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

764 playing music as florid in its way as is the decoration of the bier. At the cemetery the pyre has been partly prepared; it is reserved for the relatives to complete it by carrying heavy billets and putting them in place. The coffin is taken down from the catafalque and brought to the pyre, with the head to the West—the direction of the sacred *Bo* tree. The gay catafalque is cast on the

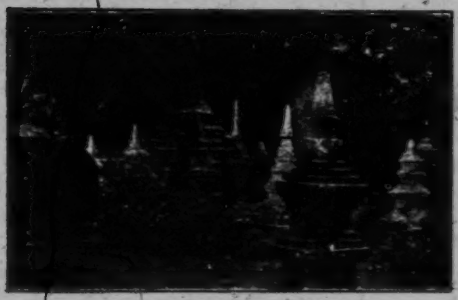
439. THE BIER REACHING THE CEMETERY.

ground, where it is allowed to decay. Before laying the coffin on the wood, it is swayed to and from the pyre seven times, in obeisance before the *Bo* tree. While this is done a sabre is held up with the edge facing the coffin, the signification of which is obscure. The cover is now removed, and the coffin turned over on the pyre and lifted away. Fuel is heaped on the corpse and the fire kindled. The relatives assemble before the *yahán* who have come to the cemetery, and the ceremony of *yezétcha* is performed in respect of the offerings dedicated, which have meanwhile been conveyed to the *kyaung*. All except the relatives return. When the pyre is consumed, the fragments of bones are collected in a vessel and brought to the house of the deceased. Here they are venerated for several months, after which they are deposited in sacred ground (*payá-mye*). Those who can afford it build a cinerarium (*ayó-ó*, Nos. 441, 442). In the case of earth burial, which is resorted to where fuel is scarce or costly, the seven obeisances are the same; the coffin is opened at the grave (which is about two cubits deep), and the grave-clothes are loosened. The corpse, if that of a man, is inclined towards the left,



440. THE FUNERAL PYRE.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4



441. CINERARIA ON SACRED GROUND.

if of a woman, towards the right. After the coffin has been lowered, the relatives and friends throw on the earth. The chief mourner waves a kerchief and calls on the spirit to return (*leippya-'kaw*); the kerchief is deposited where the corpse had lain in the dwelling, for seven days, when friends are bidden once more. Regular funerals are held when a person has died a death that is looked upon as natural. In the case of violent and other "*mripe*" deaths the body is buried in haste without any obsequies (p. 188). 764

Incongruous as are certain of the customs observed at lay-people's funerals, it is at the funerals of the solemn recluses that the boisterous Burman practices reach their climax. When the incumbent of a *kyaung* dies (much less pomp is displayed at the funeral of a sojourner), the body is embalmed, so as to allow of several months being devoted to the preparations for the funeral. The corpse is swathed like a mummy and laid in a solid dug-out coffin of hard wood. Mercury is poured in at the mouth and honey is applied externally. A support for the coffin is made in the form of a *nagá*, raising its head and fiery tongue to guard its trust. Upon the coffin rests an effigy of the deceased. Beneath the *nagá* is a throne (*ballin*), decorated with gilding and colours. Sometimes the whole structure is of glass mosaic (*thdyó*), and subsequently forms part of the catafalque. Such elaborate *dalá* are not burned, but brought back to the *kyaung*, where they are kept, although not used again. Over all is a royal canopy of corresponding magnificence, with the *tlhyu* or royal ensign at the four corners. Thus the coffin lies in state in the *kyaung*, or in a special building, it may be during the whole rains, while the *kyaungtagá* is occupied with the 764 792

442. THE LAST STAGE.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
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443. BIER OF PONDYI.

preparations for the grand funeral ceremony, which is called *pôndyi-byan*—the *translation* of the *yahán*. The expenses are frequently shared and public contributions flow in. The catafalque is of the same design as the ordinary *dalá*, but of several times greater dimensions—fifty to sixty feet high to the *ti* of the *pyatthat*. It is solidly constructed, and braced and strengthened in every direction. At the present day the catafalque is mostly erected on a stout platform on wheels. A long cable proceeds from each end of the carriage to draw it by, and enable it to be controlled where the road descends. It is difficult to manœuvre at the turns of the streets and under the telegraph-wires, although the latter are carried on special posts where they cross the approaches to cemeteries. The *pyatthat* often fails to reach its destination in its original perfection; nevertheless it stands out brilliantly in the grand display, in which it is frequently preceded and followed by subsidiary *pyatthat* erected over carriages which bear the largest offerings to the *kyaungs*. The Myimmo Daung with its denizens (p. 38) is built up on a carriage, others are bright with *nats* and *thadyá*, immense paper models of boats, ships, and steamers, and similar freaks of the *Thadindyut* carnival. Life-size models of white elephants, caparisoned with red and tinsel, move in the procession. Uniform costumes are got ready, and scores of young men are drilled for their parts in the *cortége*. The day is fixed long beforehand, and people throng in from all the neighbouring villages in their brightest silks. The sunny streets are lined with booths, *pwé* are being acted, and bands are playing. At noon the great catafalque begins its progress to the cemetery, drawn by the people, preceded and followed by regiments of masqueraders, endless lines of women carrying offerings, and sight-

444. CINERARIUM OF YAHAN.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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445. PONDYIBYAN.

seers. If the idea be to conjure up the utmost possible contrast to the life of the man who is being honoured, the object could not be more completely attained. When the bier has reached the cemetery, the coffin is not set on a pyre like that of the layman, but is burned in the catafalque, for which purpose the latter has been filled with combustibles. The fire is not lighted in the common way; it is kindled from a distance by means of rockets. These are contributed by different villages or quarters of the town. Each of them backs their rocket for the honour of starting the fire. In Burma Proper the great rockets are sent through the air, guided by rattans to the catafalque. But it is one thing to reach and another to kindle. The Taláing rockets, with the trunks of hard trees, hooped with iron, for barrels, and mounted on stout carriages, are merely aimed at the catafalque. It frequently happens that none of them hits the mark; then the fire is kindled by hand. But the rocket that went nearest has won the day; great sums of money change hands, and as they return home, some people's spirits are higher than ever, while everybody else puts the best face upon it. *Tè pondyi-byan kaung-dè*—, it was a glorious *pondyi-byan*, and the *kyaungtagè* will be congratulated upon it as long as he lives. It is as though feelings held in life-long repression had regained the field and were asserting their sway over the passive embodiment of the restraining power. Extremes meet; and herein the secret may lie of the spell Buddhism exerts over Burma, in her serious mood.

446. CINERARIUM OF KING MINDON MIN.

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The Burmans are wont to mark the course of life into five stages—first to get strength, then to get knowledge, then

342 of soothsayers (9). Consequently he is naturally
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9. Bedin-saya, derived from Sanskrit, meaning Veda teacher. Judson's Burmese-English Dictionary (Rangoon, 1893), p. 782.

very careful when it comes to the construction of his house. With the aid of the soothsayer the building site must be investigated, the day and hour when to start the construction, and the choice of the timber have to be considered carefully. The shape of the posts, the irregularities of their forms, the knots in the wood where the branches were furnish important clues for the fate of the future occupants. The number of the
342 posts varies in accordance with the size of the
776 house. Usually six posts are erected for the main tract and each post has its own name. One of the posts is considered by most tribes as the seat of the house spirits. In the Burmese house this is the southeastern corner post of the main tract. The body of a deceased person is always
[764] deposited close to it until the coffin arrives. A coconut always hangs there in honor of the Mahagiri-Nat (Min Magayi), the household spirit /Figure 3--Shan house with leaf roof, Southern Shan State of Mongpai (Burmese: Mobye)/ and the coconut must always be replaced when the milk dries up. To avoid bad luck which spirits, liv-
342 ing inside the wood knots, might threaten, the
776 tops of the posts, or at least every third one,
777 are covered with white or red fabric patches; sometimes for good luck, some Thanaka paste (grated rind of Murraya exotica) is smeared on them. Even the clerics do not seem to be immune
346 to the evil influence of these nature spirits,
776 whose origins date back to pre-Buddhistic times,
777 for these protective coverings of the posts can be observed not only at residential dwellings, guest houses, bridges, etc., but also at religi-

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

For seven days after either kind of funeral, mourning 765
goes on in the house. This means in wealthy houses 426
indiscriminate eating and drinking. Cooking goes on all 789
night, and all day relays of condoling visitors come and eat 775
and enjoy themselves. The yahans also come every morning and receive offerings, and recite a string of Pali sentences. Friends bring contributions towards all this expenditure, but the result of it too often is that the heir finds that not only are all his father's hoarded rupees gone, but he himself has contracted a very considerable burden of debt. Even in the case of poor people, where the feasting is limited to the seventh day, great expense is incurred. The yahans are as necessary then as at the funeral, for the house must be purified, and the evil spirits who may be hanging about, as well as the leip-bya of the deceased, have to be exorcised and driven away. Then the pot containing the boner, if the dead person was burnt, is taken to the graveyard and buried, or sometimes is put into a hole near the pagoda. Superstitious people at burials sometimes affirm that they have caught the "butterfly" of the deceased in a handkerchief, and take this home to the house, where it lies till the seventh day, when it is opened after the discourse of the yahans, and the leip-bya is driven from the house. It can then give no more trouble.

Sometimes a small pagoda is erected over the cremated 764
ashes of a highly respected relative. These are regarded 778
simply as monuments, even when they are over a king, to whom alone of laymen in Native Burma they could be erected. They must not be used as places to offer worship, and that this may be known, the members of the sacred order ordain that such pagodas shall have no hti, no umbrella, on the top. To obviate this it is usual with the builder to dedicate the place to Shin Gautama, and thus at once secure a monument and a hti. Pagodas erected in honour of yahandas, or particularly sainted pongyis, receive the umbrella of right, and are places very eminently suited for the pious laymen to worship at. Such temple tombs are called ayo sedi, but are not of such frequent erection as they used to be.

In some cases the relations grind down the bones to powder, and mixing this with the wood oil called thitsi,

all verandahs, trees, window-sills and gateways, the facade of the hall bearing a giant lantern in the shape of the Buddha. In the town the gayest display was put on by the trader residents of Gold Mountain and Goods Bazaar Rows. These people who cared not for races, garden tea parties nor fashionable weddings, put all their zest into the Tasaungdaing celebration. Each entrance to the streets was spanned with arch and pavilion, and between the two ends were contained lights, feeding at each house, a stage show, arrays of presents which were being offered to monasteries, and a jostling mass of people from all parts of the town. Among all the glitter moved the daughters of the houses, also on display; their breasts sparkling with the full stock of jewellery, the diamond spangles in their hair trembling in scintillation like the quivering balls of silver and tinsel on the decorations around them. 796

All this tinsel and glitter, sparkle and glistening tintillation reached its crowning point, only to be shown as vanity, fantasy, in the spectacle put forth at the cremation of a revered hpongyi—one whose life on the earth was all austerity and solidness of the worth of gold. A monk dies and is embalmed in honey and put to lie in state for perhaps a year, while the *lu*, ordinary humans, prepare for the cremation that is to send him off on his return flight to higher states of existence. He whose life has been lived in accordance with the belief that all earthly things, all ornament and pleasures of the earth, are illusion, impermanence and struggle, now has his exit prepared for by weaker mortals who build and decorate a seven-tiered pavilion for his pyre; and fantastic mammoth creatures to flank it high in the sky—giant birds, tigers and elephants, high on the slopes of Shwe Dagon Hill, tall and gigantic, but empty within, of inflammable bamboo and paper, caparisoned with gaudy, floating trimmings. Under the vast shadows of these empty creatures gay pavilions for feeding and the sale of bright wares are put up, lights are festooned for a night bazaar. When the day dawns for the burning, crowds throng to the fair, in merriment because the monk who so long ago renounced his attachment to human affections leaves no grieving widow and children; the coffin is lifted into its tiered catafalque and laid on a bed of inflammable tinder; it is drawn to the centre of the giant animals. When the feasting, buying and jostling have had their run, word passes round that the final moment is about to take place; people are drawn towards the canopy; the masters of ceremony throw rockets and torches into the decked bier; four, five and suddenly a hundred tongues of fire lick the bamboo, paper and the bed of tinder, and a magnificent blaze rises into the sky. Soon other torches set aflame the row of animals, and elephants, tigers, boats and birds go up in smoke, together with canopy, bier and coffin, leaving no traces of the saintly body. Excitement abates, the 766 793

• 766 crowds leave the fair, the sellers their stalls, and of the caparisoned field
793 only a charred blackness remains.

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722 So soon the fires of war were to burn up not only the show and tinsel of Burma, but things more solid and golden than the life of a monk —rice fields and food of all kinds, *ain-daung-pyit-si*, the setting-up-house-goods of a million husbanding families, the houses, villages and towns whose peace allowed men and women to weave, cure fish, make boats, carve silver and wood and ivory, and indulge their laughing children. December 8th fell soon after the full moon of Tasaungmon, when the Lent-free season was but short-lived, and laid a blight upon the whole country. Destruction was so swift, so sudden.

For nations which declare war or have war declared on them, the day of outbreak ushers in a grim period, but it is clear in the minds of the people that this is a call to effort and sacrifice, for the idea of nation, sovereignty, liberty, whatever they have learnt to hold dear for long generations, or else have just newly won to cherish as something precious. They know, when war is declared, that they must defend their country, have ready for sacrifice their young men, and work with grim industry in a geared-up machine. But how could this apply in the case of Burma, a country which had lost proud sovereignty fifty-five years before, which had not yet gained a modern replacement for it, and which felt itself to be only incidentally in the path of the war monster's appetite. Even those of the people who had been expecting war with the rumours that flew around Rangoon for the six months previous to this, either from people who had cause to know or from a clear judgment, did not know quite how to feel when it came upon them. In our family councils as to which place would offer the best sanctuary from bombs, gunfire and the recklessness of fighting soldiery, a young cousin opposed the idea of our ancestral Thaton as being directly in the path of the invader. "Well, what if it is," said her mother; "do we go to the middle of the roadway, and stand, looking up with mouth open to receive the cannon balls? We are human beings, eating rice. We can reason like human beings and move aside, avoid a little, and the menace will go straight down the road, and after a time leave us safe behind."

This might be regarded as typical enough of the attitude of the majority of people—to move aside from big places and the scenes of war, to leave posts when to hold on to them would be snapping with jaws agape at the gunfire of a fast-winning invader. But the results of this policy was enough to fill us with wretchedness. People ran here and there, from one set of relatives to another, not always welcoming; setting out with foolish encumbrances of goods and chattels and gradually being

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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564 767 coffin or digging the grave. This occupation has therefore fallen almost exclusively into the hands of the old parakyun, and helps to keep alive the ancient feeling. It must be allowed that the ways of the sandalās do not in any way tend to conciliate the multitude.

564 681 625 Finally there were the pagwet, the letyataung, or thaing-gyaing, the constables, jailers, executioners, lictors, mostly confined to the neighbourhood of the native kingdom Mandalay. These merited all the obloquy that could be cast on them, but their position of quasi-authority made them more secretly hated than openly flouted. They were never allowed to enter a free man's house, even in the exercise of their office; nor could they go within the walls of the palace stockade, but many a citizen smarted under the blows of the lictor's thaing, when a great man came round a corner suddenly, and the letyataung saw a chance for a back-hander with his fasces; and it was far too easy a matter for a man to get into jail in Mandalay to make it a wise proceeding to rail at the pagwet. It was an unlovely custom in Upper Burma which made the executioner both constable and jailer, and condemned him to live on his wits. The natural result was that he lived on the prisoners, and extorted the last pice out of his victim with threats of violence, or actual torture. Pagwet means a circle on the cheek, and this ring on the face implied that its bearer had been condemned for a capital crime, and was respited to become executioner. Others had devices descriptive of their offence tattooed on the chest, as luthat (murderer), thukho (thief), damya (dacoit or highway robber). An execution in Mandalay was a horrid sight. The "spotted man" danced round his victim, made feints with his sword and burst into fits of wild laughter or yells, to shake the doomed man's nerves. It must be admitted that the spectators were very little better. A skilful blow which just slit the skin and drew blood met with an approving shout. The pagwet, like other outcasts, ●[766] was buried like carrion when he died, or perhaps was simply thrown out with the town offal.

563 775 How does all this agree with the theory of Buddhism, that there is equality for all, and that the poorest man can raise himself to sublimest heights after death? The king

23: Brant & Mi Mi Khaing E, I-5 (1949-1950)1951
AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

787 Omens are read from the position of mongoloid spots on the newborn baby's
826 body. They are said to represent marks put on in a previous existence and their presence proves the child was then a human being. A blue spot on the foot presages a life of travel. Any marks leading from the right shoulder to the left hip, the line that the royal riband takes, indicate a royal future; today, however, with no royalty in Burmese society, such marks merely forecast a "great" future for the child.

775 A child is constantly watched from the time of birth for signs of whose
826 reincarnation it represents. This is a constant topic in the family conversations.

Any disfigurement in a newborn child is regarded as a carry-over of the parents' store of demerit, as well as that of the child, from previous existences. It is regarded with a sense of shame and sorrow.

845 Although multiple births are neither preferred nor desired, they are not looked upon with any marked anxiety nor are there any supernatural means employed to prevent them.

In the event of a stillborn baby, the corpse is given special treatment. It is
766 kept in a case, clothed and powdered, and a tray of food is set in front of it every day. It is considered auspicious to care for a stillborn child in this manner: the spirits will guide the parents in their dreams toward the attainment of material prosperity.

For the normal baby who survives, a number of things are done by Burmese
751 parents to protect it from malevolent influences. Before it is a month old, a
854 tiger bone is ground on a stone, together with a little water, and mixed with
[825] honey. This is fed to the child to ward off a mysterious infant illness associated
[753] with the tiger. A connection is believed to exist between the tiger and convulsions; some parents place a tiger skin under the mattress of the baby's bed to guard against such illness. A knife placed under the baby's mattress is said to protect against illness in general.

To insure good health and well-being for the child, a white thread over which certain *mantras* have been recited may be given by a Buddhist monk and tied around the baby's wrists. Should a baby be admired by people for its growth, the thread may be left on to neutralize the harm that is believed to result from such expressions.

When the child's umbilical cord has dried and fallen off, it is kept and used
[278] as a medicine for any illness that befalls the child. A little of it is ground up and mixed with water for such purposes.

000 A very close connection is believed to exist between mother and child during

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

sionally chance upon windfalls, but their wealth is of no use to them, for they can never retire, even in the extremest age. Like the pagoda slaves they have their headquarters in Pagān, and some of them are vehemently suspected of being runaway parakyuns from other parts of the country. But the advance in public estimation is of the slightest possible character. Among the sellers of nantagôn and other pagoda essentials, at the shrines of Rangoon, Prome, and Pegu, are here and there a few tadaungsa, tired of their wandering life; yet, notwithstanding the ill-favour with which they are regarded, they are never stinted for food.

Lepers and others afflicted with loathsome diseases, deformed and mutilated persons, are regarded more with pity than with aversion, but they are not the less outcasts, and must live in villages by themselves, or with the tadaungsa and parakyun if indeed they do not scorn to do so. They usually line the pagoda steps on a duty or feast day, and receive abundant alms, every third or fourth worshipper dropping a handful of rice or a copper coin into the basket or platter laid before them. The dislike to maimed people is very singular, and led to curious incidents in the first and second Burmese wars. The wounded men brought into the field hospitals refused to have arms or legs amputated to save their lives, and it is a matter of not unfrequent occurrence even now, in the hospitals, for a man to tear off the bandages wrapped round the stump, that he may not survive his misfortune and become a shame to his family. In some parts of the province the taint, or even the suspicion of leprosy in a family, becomes a fertile source of villainy. If the suspected person or the head of the house be at all well-to-do, heavy sums are extorted by the headman of the place in return for permission to stay on in the village, and sometimes informers make a good thing in demanding hush-money. But no amount of payments could save a man badly affected with the disease from being driven out of the town. Even in large towns the aversion is equally strong, and unless the leper is a rich man he has to live in prescribed quarters among the outcasts already mentioned. Equally despised are all those who have anything to do with funerals, either in making the

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2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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564 coffin or digging the grave. This occupation has therefore
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625 confined to the neighbourhood of the native kingdom Mandalay. These merited all the obloquy that could be cast on them, but their position of quasi-authority made them more secretly hated than openly flouted. They were never allowed to enter a free man's house, even in the exercise of their office; nor could they go within the walls of the palace stockade, but many a citizen smarted under the blows of the lictor's thaing, when a great man came round a corner suddenly, and the letyataung saw a chance for a back-hander with his fasces; and it was far too easy a matter for a man to get into jail in Mandalay to make it a wise proceeding to rail at the pagwet. It was an unlovely custom in Upper Burma which made the executioner both constable and jailer, and condemned him to live on his wits. The natural result was that he lived on the prisoners, and extorted the last pice out of his victim with threats of violence, or actual torture. Pagwet means a circle on the cheek, and this ring on the face implied that its bearer had been condemned for a capital crime, and was respited to become executioner. Others had devices descriptive of their offence tattooed on the chest, as luthat (murderer), thukho (thief), damya (dacoit or highway robber). An execution in Mandalay was a horrid sight. The "spotted man" danced round his victim, made feints with his sword and burst into fits of wild laughter or yells, to shake the doomed man's nerves. It must be admitted that the spectators were very little better. A skilful blow which just slit the skin and drew blood met
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775 that there is equality for all, and that the poorest man can raise himself to sublimest heights after death? The king

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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787 houses, for the niche shrines, if there are more than one at
782 the pagoda, are always at the four cardinal points, and if there
778 is only one, as is usual at small pagodas, it is to the East.
823 The sadā is carefully kept by the parents until the child
787 is old enough to take care of it himself, and thenceforward it
768 is guarded as the most valuable possession the person has. No matter how often the name is changed the new one is never put in the sadā, so that this certificate cannot be trusted to implicitly for a man's name. Some of them are very beautifully engraved and ornamented, but they are naturally not often to be seen. I only know of two in England at the present time (1881), one of which is my own and the other belonging to a travelling Burman. When a man dies, the sadā is either destroyed or preserved as a memento by the family. A great many sadās were found and carried off as curiosities during the Third Burmese War. There is one at Abbotsford.

787 A curious instance of the firm belief of the nation in the
436 reasonableness of the conviction that the planet under which
643 one is born influences the fates and actions of one's life, is
177 the fact that royalty ordained that the coins and measures used by traders should bear the emblem of the monarch's birthday. Thus for example all the gold coins used in Upper Burma bazaars during the penultimate reign had the figure of a lion on them, Mindôn Min having been born on a Tuesday. The few remaining from previous reigns bearing other symbols were rigidly kept out of the sight of Burmese officials. The Convenor of the Fifth Great Synod, though probably the mildest and best sovereign Burma ever had, would certainly have stood no trifling in matters of this kind, which, if not amounting actually to a part of the religion, were at any rate very intimately connected with it. His son Thibaw Min, however, notoriously indifferent to religion, if a stronger word might not even be admissible, let the old weights remain in use, and probably called it the march of civilisation.

852 The naming and the construction of the sadā being
957 finished, the principal events in the youthful Burman's life
[291] are over, and the children run about in as happy a state of nudity as the respectability of the family permits; and boys and girls steal grandmamma's cheroot, and potter about

23: Brant & Mi Mi Khaing E, I-5 (1949-1950)1951
AP1 Burma
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philandering husband, on the other hand, will usually do no more than display hurt feelings for a brief period; rarely will she separate from her husband, especially if they have children. 593 [837]

Siblings. It is the duty of the younger to show deference to the elder. This pertains to the order of serving food, fetching and carrying of things, and even the arrangement of sleeping mats or beds—a younger sibling never should sleep with his feet extended toward an elder sibling. Upon the death of a parent, the eldest sibling of the same sex assumes that parent's socio-economic role in the family. [768]

Father–Daughter. Consistent with the age principle, it is a daughter's duty to be obedient and to wait upon her father. Once an unmarried daughter passes the age of puberty, the father is expected to lead a circumspect and moral life more than ever before. Any deviant sexual behavior or drunkenness on his part reflects upon the daughter and detracts from her marital chances. [581]

Mother–Son. Although a son owes obedience to his mother, her claim upon him in this regard is tempered by the fact that in Burmese Buddhist thinking, being the mother of a son is itself considered the greatest event of a woman's life and represents the achievement of full existence as a female human being. The relationship is a close and indulgent one. The mother is regarded as more important by the son than his wife; in fact, a son will choose his wife with a great deal of regard for his mother's opinions and wishes. [581]

Mother–Daughter. The mother is the female child's early teacher. It is considered most important for the daughter to learn prayers, how to prepare the daily food offering for the household altar, and how to change the flowers on the altar. These things are taught almost from the time the child starts learning language. Other household duties in which the mother instructs her daughter vary considerably with the economic status of the family: in poor families some assistance with tending the animals and winnowing the rice crop is part of the girl's work from about the age of ten. Daughters are expected to show filial respect and deference equally to the mother and father. 593 868 462

Father–Son. The father occupies the role of disciplinarian in the family. Disciplining of sons may include physical punishment, though such measures to obtain conformity are not resorted to readily by the Burmese. Prior to adolescence, boys are taught prayers and good habits by their mothers, with the father remaining more or less in the background and interfering only when disciplinary action may be required of him. After a son passes adolescence the father becomes important as his mentor. 593 861

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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When there is a boat-race, the opposing crews have a preliminary row over the course with offerings placed on the prow for the nat who guards that stretch of the river. And so on through numberless examples. Some nats achieve fame, and are known far and wide by special appellations. Such is Maung In Gyi, a spirit who is feared in all the district round Rangoon, and away eastward and northward as far as Pegu. He lives in the water, and causes death. A special festival is celebrated in his honour, or rather in deprecation, in the month of Waso, the same in which Lent begins. Others more especially known in Upper Burma are Byindôn, Shwe Pyin-Gyi and his brother, and a drunkard nat called Maung Min Gyaw, to whom great quantities of rice spirit are offered. Uyingyi is a spirit universally known among the Talaings. The chief spirit of a district usually goes by the name of A-shin Gyi, the great lord, or, among the Talaings, Okkaya. Then there are generic names; there is the Hmin nat who lives in woods, and shakes those he meets so that they go mad. There is the Upaka, who flies about in the clouds to spy out men whom he may snap up. There is the Akakaso who lives in the tops of trees, Shekkaso who lives in the trunk, and Bumaso who is content with a dwelling in the roots. The presence of spirits or witches in trees may always be ascertained by the quivering and trembling of the leaves when all around are still. 776 782

The Talaings, and many of the Burmans in the Irrawaddy delta, have a regular nat-feast just before harvesting begins. The figure of a woman is fashioned out of straw, and a tamein, kerchief, and other portions of female dress placed along with it in a bullock cart. Great quantities of kauk-hnyin, "sticky rice," are heaped up, and the whole driven in procession round the ripe paddy fields. The figure is then set up in the place where the paddy is to be stored, and the offerings are usually swept away by the boys of the place, whose appetites overcome their fear of the nats, Bumadi, the guardian of the earth, and Nagyi, the guardian of the grain, to propitiate whom the feast is held. 776 527 782 101

There is a theory that persons who are executed or meet a violent death become nats and haunt the place where they 776 769

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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776 769 were killed. They are called nat-sein. Advantage is taken of this to guard the capital. When a town is founded, at each of the four corners of the city walls and under the gate-posts people are buried alive. Their spirits thereafter hover about the place and bring disaster on strangers who come there with evil intentions. Monks and nuns who lead bad lives and break their vows are also believed to pass into demons when they die. There is therefore a constant and lamentable recruiting of the forces of the nats and tasés.

776 755 In some places certain nats have qualities ascribed to them which are not entirely obstructive and obnoxious. For example, in a nat's house at Nyaung-u, before the figure of a spirit called Apé Shwemyosin, lies a twisted, curious-shaped stone, which has magic powers ascribed to it. The sick come and try to lift it up. If they are successful they will soon recover health; if, on the other hand, its weight is too much for them, the inquirers will die. Similarly, on the ascent to Mandalay Hill there is a little chapel in which, besides three figures of the hentha, the Brahminy goose, each said to contain a sacred tooth brought from Ceylon, there is a flat, oval stone, with mystic characters inscribed on it. Many resort there to ascertain the probable issue of an intended journey or enterprise. If the stone proves heavy, the sign is bad.

787 The belief in spirits naturally induces a corresponding faith in omens. The Deitton, an astrological book constantly in the hands of Bedin Sayās, but carefully excluded from all monasteries, gives a great variety of them; auguries from the flight and number of birds seen, omens from the barking of dogs, the movements of bees, and the laying of eggs by fowls. Rules are given for choosing the site on which a house is to be built, and omens drawn from the substances found in digging the foundations. Posts are called male, female, or a-thet ma shi, neuter, according as they are of the same girth throughout, larger at the bottom or in the middle. Under ordinary circumstances, houses with female taing are fortunate, with neuter disastrous. Posts which are largest at the top are called taing bilu, "demon beams," and are especially unhappy.

14: Brant E-5 (1949-50) 1954 AP1 Burma
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If the umbrella falls down it indicates that the spirit has departed and cannot return. The person who performs this ritual must not talk to anyone en route to the cemetery. 764

On the seventh day a ceremony takes place. The monks come to the house to eat and chant prayers. They are given offerings for their own use and a special tray containing white thread. The monks hold the thread, which symbolizes good, while they chant. The people present are seated before the monks, repeating the prayers and precepts after them. The deceased person is supposed to be sitting on the mat prepared for him and benefiting from this ceremony. Then the people are fed, the monks depart, and the influences of death are considered to be banished. The thread is kept in the house. 764 769

Graves are not visited, nor is there any upkeep of the cemetery, for folk belief has it that the tidying of graves will cause more people to die. The dead are commemorated by the meritorious act of feasting the Buddhist monks.

Associations

Bus Union. Owners of buses plying between Tadagale and Rangoon are organized into a union. In terms of its functions, this organization might be more fittingly termed a mutual protective and insurance association. These are to prevent outsiders from infringing on their route and competing with them; payment of damages in case of accidents between members' buses and other vehicles or persons; payment of any costs of litigation that arise in connection with accidents; and maintenance of a repair shop and mechanic in the village. Members of the union pay an initial sum to join, plus monthly dues and a small toll fee for each trip that is made. 441 494

Peasants Union. The Tadagale Peasants Union is a constituent body of the All Burma Peasants Union and operates directly under the Insein Division of the parent organization. Some fifty to sixty households in Tadagale are members. When the head of a family or household joins, the union regards all its members as union members. In theory, meetings are supposed to occur once a month, but in fact take place at irregular intervals, whenever a problem arises that is considered sufficiently important to warrant a meeting. Commonly this is a dispute between members over land. If opinion remains divided after considerable discussion of a dispute or other issue, the union meeting votes by written ballot. 467 427 185

The more long-run aims of the Peasants Union concern rent and taxes of cultivators. Protests and petitions are sent to the government when it is felt taxes are too high. The union was characterized as 'an organization that is against the landlords.' At the time of our research, its aim was to reduce the landowners' share of the produce to one-third from two-thirds. The union also favored land nationalization, under which it was believed rent would be paid in a just amount to the government. Just where the Peasants Union fitted in with existing political party programs and alignments in the country at large was not, for various reasons, feasible to investigate.

Ceremonial Assistance Groups. For purposes of rendering help at such ceremonies as weddings, funerals and initiations, the villagers are divided into informal groups. These are: men's group; married women's group; and unmarried girls' group. The men's group does the heavier tasks, such as chopping and carrying firewood, erecting ceremonial structures, and preparing 575 476

23: Brant & Mi Mi Khaing E, I-5 (1949-1950)1951
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764 seated before the monks, repeating prayers and precepts after them. The deceased person is supposed to be sitting on the mat prepared for him and benefiting from this ceremony. Then the people are fed, the monks depart, and the influences of death are considered to be banished. The thread is kept in the house.

769 The Burmese do not revisit graves. Nor is there any upkeep of cemeteries, for folk belief has it that the tidying of graves will cause more people to die. The dead are commemorated by the meritorious act of feasting the Buddhist monks.

Cornell University
Ithaca, New York

Taunggyi
Southern Shan States, Burma

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792 554 779 respect paid to him by the king was paid, not as to the head of the religion, but as to the personal teacher. The Burman in his prayers, or rather his meditations for the good of others, prays for his teacher before his parents. The five pleasant things in the world are: the shade of trees, the shade of parents, the shade of teachers, the shade of princes, the shade of the Buddha.

It is this republican tendency of Buddhism that gives it such a wonderful hold on the people. Rank does not confer on the mendicant greater honour, or release him from any of his obligations. The most learned and famous Sadaw must go forth every morning to beg his daily food. If he is very aged and decrepit he may be excused to some extent, but every now and again he must totter forth to preserve the letter of the law and show a proper example of humility. His dress is the same as that of the most recently admitted ko-yin, and in the eyes of the world he holds honour, not because he controls the affairs of the assembly, but because he is so close to the verge of Ne'ban. This feeling extends beyond the order into ordinary life. The religion brings all men down to the same level. The poor man may be a king of nats in the next life; the wealthy sinner may frizzle in the awful pains of hell. There is no difference between man and man but that which is established by superiority in virtue; [562] and hence it is that the state of women among Buddhists is so very much higher than it is among Oriental peoples, who do not hold by that faith. The Burmese woman enjoys many rights which her European sister is even now clamouring for.

792 771 We have seen that the whole male population of Burma enters the monastery, and that the great majority leave after a very short stay. Some, however, grow fond of the monastic ways, and remain to study and qualify themselves to be mendicants. In becoming pyin-sin they do not acquire any new spiritual power, nor do they constitute themselves directly teachers of the people. In a religious system, which acknowledges no supreme Deity, it is impossible for any one to intercede with a Creator whose existence is denied, in behalf of a man who can only attain to a higher state by his own pious life and earnest self-denial. The

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religious are merely initiated into a higher stage, and become members of an order in which every individual is aiming at a greater degree of sanctity. The doors of the kyaung are always open as well to those who wish to enter as to those who wish to leave it. The longest stayer has the greatest honour. A visitor monk, who has the greater number of wās, who has passed many lenten seasons in his yellow robe, will be shikho'd to, will receive the homage of the head of the monastery, even if he be a gaing-ôk, and the stranger but a simple pôngyi.

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In his ordination, therefore, the pyin-sin takes upon himself no burden in the shape of a cure of souls. He is not a priest like the Christian minister, who undertakes to guide others to salvation. He has no trouble for his food; a pious and kindly population supplies him far beyond his requirements, and expects no service in return for this support. He has no sermons to prepare; it is not expected that he will preach the law, and when of his own accord he occasionally does give an exposition, it is not any feeble excogitation of his own, but the thoughts and words of the Great Master himself, or of the highest and noblest of the men of old, that he delivers. His natural rest is never broken in upon by calls to administer consolation and comfort to the sick and the dying. Even his leisure is seldom interrupted to be present at the last rites for the dead. He is not a minister of religion, and all he has to do is to seek his own deliverance and salvation. All that is compulsory on him is the observance of continence, poverty, and humility, with tenderness to all living things, abstraction from the world, and a strict observance of a number of moral precepts, all tending to inculcate these things. It is curious perhaps, therefore, that greater numbers do not don the yellow robe. As it is, however, there is no lack of them.

Previous to admission the postulant must have reached the age of twenty years and have obtained his parents' permission. The origin of this stipulation dates from the earliest times. When Gautama attained the Buddhaship his half-brother Nanda was next heir, and was about to be proclaimed Crown Prince when he was persuaded to become yahan. Thereupon Thudaw-dana, the king, obtained a

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CHAPTER XIV

SCHISMATICS

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THE Buddhist religion is to its adherents the full and entire truth, and has remained almost entirely free from the schisms and dissensions which have sprung up in most other religions, especially in those of Europe, where the progress of science has caused the rise of multitudes of sects. Fully bound by their religion, in the complete sense of the word, are only the worshipper of the fetish whose object of adoration hangs up in his house, or dangles about his neck, and the Buddhist, whose teachers and models of faith rise and fall in flesh and blood before his eyes, vanishing to Ne'ban, there to be freed from all earthly concern, but leaving behind them as a guide to the same last resting-place the sacred World-Law, and at the same time the Assembly of the Perfect, who appear as an incarnation of that Law for the building up of piety among the laity. The yahans have already beaten down the adversaries within them, and, clothed with the yellow robe of transfiguration, exhibit in their persons the glorious results of adherence to the Law. Thus the reverence paid to the monks is a kind of spiritual hero-worship in the sense in which Carlyle speaks of it.

"The man yet a slave in the bondage of his lusts and passions gazes in admiration on these models, to whom the recognition of earthly vanity gives strength enough to reject all the allurements of the world and to live only for the future. The spirits are always present to the fetish-worshipper, for hideous devils scare him away from every natural object. So the great secret of the existence of the world is ever present to the Buddhist, and while in the political and social

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life of the European nations the manifold character of the questions of the day attract and occupy the minds and influence the religious beliefs of the people, the eyes of the Burman Buddhist are uninterruptedly fixed on the dark mysteries which surround his beginning, his end, and every moment of his existence. His religion enters into every action of his life, and its admirable system of morality need fear comparison with none other on earth; while everything else appears but as a matter of detail, or a different method of viewing the same things. He is not at all unwilling to enter into discussion as to what is the true religion: whether only one is the right, whether all have sprung from the same root and have only now assumed different forms, or whether, as the Deity gave to the hand different fingers, so He has given to mankind different paths. But the arguments of the proselytiser have but very little success, while, on the other hand, there is nowadays practically no attempt to gain converts to their own national faith. This is no doubt in great part due to the absence of all ministerial duties in the brethren of the yellow robe, but also to a belief that true faith can only grow up gradually, and cannot be forced on the mind. At the same time there is not a hint of bigotry. In Mandalay all forms of religion were allowed to be carried on without the least semblance of opposition. The solemn call of the muezzin; the tinkling of the convent-bell, under the cross of Rome; the noisy rites of devil and fire-worshippers; even the ceremonies of the former fierce enemies of Buddhism, the Brahmins—all of these were exercised without the least hindrance, and the processions of the various forms of faith passed one another in the street with the most complete amicability. Even a convert is left unharmed. There may be a sense of wonder and contempt for the man who voluntarily resigns his high hopes as a Buddhist for the probable fallacies of another cult, but there is never any real attempt at oppression.

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Heresies, therefore, never originate with the people; any there are come from the monasteries, but even these relate more to matters of discipline and internal regulation than to real points of faith. The yahans are very clever in dispute, and are far from being averse to it. The better educated of

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them know their ground perfectly well, and are quite able to take full advantage of the strong points of their position. They rely entirely on the holy books, and these they have at their fingers' ends. It is granted by all that they are, almost without exception, entirely free from intolerance, and are quite unable to comprehend the zeal for conversion. A venerable Sadaw in Bhamo came and listened attentively to a Burmese sermon of Dr. Mason, the celebrated American missionary. When it was over he came and complimented him on its depth and grasp, and then suggested that the reverend doctor should go with him to offer up worship before the image of Buddha! The monks do not think, with cynical mockery, that every one should be allowed to go his own way and be blessed after his own fashion; on the contrary, they seek zealously for new truths and explanations of mysteries; but they hold it presumptuous and unwarrantable, in view of the dark secrets which envelop the life of man from its dawning to its close, to set up each his individual opinion with dogmatic certainty as the only true form and the only one that can save. They take their standpoint on the actual state of things, on the misery and sorrow which is externally bound up with the nature of the human body as it exists. They devote themselves entirely to preparing the spirit for its delivery, when it will finally rest, raised above every fear of new change, in the harmonious equipoise of Ne'ban. For this last and highest aim no hypotheses have to be assumed. They require no personal deity who would demand a special place in the system of the world, and in a possible danger to the cosmic system might incur the same risk of destruction. They remain entirely within the clearly defined horizon of their limit of vision, and are therefore very difficult to attack in argument.

Nevertheless schisms have arisen from time to time, and exist at the present day, but they have sprung more from revolt against excessive austerity, or corresponding laxity, than from any real difference on doctrinal points. The Lord Buddha had hardly died before one of the most aged of the disciples, Subhadra, thus addressed the assembled brethren: "Revered ones, cease to mourn. We are now happily released from the rule of the great Sramana; we shall no

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CHAPTER XVII

IMAGES

771 778 THERE are few things which more irritate an educated Burman than to assert, or as most English do, calmly assume, that the Burmese are idolaters. The national idea is that idol-worship is especially the characteristic of the lowest savage tribes, and even fetichism is considered a superior faith. Therefore the accusation of bowing down to stocks and stones is intolerable, and the implication is combated with feverish energy. Where there are no prayers, in the technical sense of the word, there can be no idolatry. No one, not even Shin Gautama himself, can help a man in his strivings to lead a holy life. None but the individual in his own person can work out his special salvation, and he tries to do so by setting a splendid ideal before his mind. The words uttered before the impassive features of the Budh are not a supplication for mercy or aid, but the praises of the great Lord himself, through the contemplation of whose triumphant victory over passions and ignorance the most sinful may be led to a better state.

771 There is no Supreme Being; the Buddha himself, who even while he was on earth was no more than a perfect, sinless man, no longer exists to make intercession, were there any such power to which one might appeal. The only thing to be done is to praise, and in praising to strive to imitate, and through imitation to attain to the perfect knowledge, and so to the final deliverance, the exemption from the four burdens of heaviness, age, sickness, and death, which is the restful absorption of Ne'ban.

The worshippers of all creeds have always sought for a

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special place wherein to pay their devotions. The Burman erects a pagoda over sacred relics, and puts up an image of the great Lord of Truth there, not to worship, but to afford a means to the pious of localising their feelings and concentrating their thoughts on the supreme model. The candles and smoky oil lamps, the fruits and flowers offered on the shrine, are no more signs of idolatry than the offertory bag placed on the altar by the Christian priest. The Yatana Kalapa is perfectly distinct on this point. Under the heading U'bhato Kotito Panha we find it written: "It is bootless to worship the Buddha; nothing is necessary but to revere him and the memory of him. Statues are only useful in so far as they refresh the memory; for as the farmer sows the seed and gathers in the grain in due season, so will the man who trusts in the Buddha and holds fast by his sacred Law obtain the deliverance and pass into Ne'ban. The earth and the Buddha are alike in themselves inert."

There is thus no doubt left as to what the great master and his interpreters intended. The worship of the payā is nothing more than a simulation of the devotion which would be paid to Shin Gautama were he still upon earth. The Buddha is admired, he is lauded, he is tenderly loved; and this devotion is extended to the figures which are erected in remembrance of him, in recognition of his blameless life, the supreme wisdom which enabled him to teach the Law, and the great compassion and benevolence with which he regarded all living things. The characteristics of a Budh are the exercise of the Three Great Works of Perfection, the constant practising of the Ten Great Virtues, and the Five Renouncings; and to attain the deliverance, all must diligently strive to observe these. The Three Great Works of Perfection are:—

1. Assistance afforded to parents and relations.

2. Great offerings made in this and previous existences, coupled with strict observance of the enactments of the Law.

3. Benevolent dispositions towards all sentient beings indiscriminately.

The Ten Great Virtues are:—liberality; observance of the precepts of the Law; retreat into lonely places; diligence;

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protect the poor man's crops. May the nats who dwell in the air and the earth defend from evil creatures the two fat bullocks which plough the fields. May the guardian nats of the house and the city keep from harm Chit U, their son, and little Ma Mi, their darling daughter. And may the merit of this offering be shared with their children and with all living beings. May the excellent Lord pity them, the good spirits smile on them, the holy assembly receive them. So shall Maung San Ya and Mama Gyi gain much merit and rejoice in presenting this bell. Weight, seventy-five viss."

Such dedications are found here and there, but they are not common, for half the honour of presenting the bell is lost if the common crowd can read what is written on it; and doubtless Maung Chit U, when he has been to an English school, and has got a place under Government, or in an English merchant's office, will be rather ashamed of the quaint humility of his father's offering.

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The bells are not intended to summon worshippers to their devotions. There is no necessity for such a call where there is no formal service. Every man is responsible to himself only for his religious state; no one else has anything directly to do with him, or can give him help. The monks themselves display but little concern in the spiritual state of the laity. If a man is to attain a favourable change in a succeeding existence, it must be by his own exertions. He knows the regular duty-days, and on these and on the special feast-days he goes to gain kutho for himself and better his chance towards a new transincorporation. If he is a fond man, he parcels out the merit acquired by his devotions among those members of his family or friends who have not been to the pagoda. The use of the bells is to direct attention to the fact of the lauds of the Buddha having been recited. The worshipper, when he has finished, goes to one of the bells and strikes it three times, to bring to the notice of the guardian spirits and the four worlds what he has been doing. There are always a number of deer's antlers and billets of wood lying near the bell for this purpose. None of them have clappers, and metal is not used to strike them. There is no objection whatever to a non-Buddhist striking

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the bell; it is indeed rather a kindly action, for the more clangour there is the more likely the nats are to observe the devotions going on. After the bell itself has been struck it is proper to strike the ground, so that the spirits of the earth may know as well as the guardians of the air. Most of the bells have a fine tone, and a flick with the finger is sufficient to cause a vibration through the whole twenty-five tons of metal in Maha Ganda. What sound the Mengôn bell, second only in size to that presented by the Empress Catherine to Moscow, is capable of producing, will never, probably, be known, for the supports have given way, and half of the rim rests on the ground. But, as Colonel Yule says, it would have at any time required a battering-ram to bring out its music. It has, since the annexation, been hung by the enterprise of the Irrawaddy Flotilla Company.

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Besides those suspended round the precincts of the payā, the hti, or umbrella, on the top of the edifice, is always hung with a multitude of bells. Those on the more sacred shrines are very often entirely gold or silver. Several on the Shwe Dagôn are of gold, studded with precious stones, and are worth many hundred pounds sterling apiece. These, of course, are furnished with tongues, and the slightest breeze causes a constant harmonious tinkling, dear to the worshipper's heart. The object of these bells is identical with that of those below on the platform—to attract the attention of the good spirits in Tawa-deintha, and other abodes of the nat-déwas on Mount Myinmo.

Though the bells are very well moulded, the mode of casting them is of the most primitive possible character. A mould of clay is formed to represent the inside. This is covered with bees'-wax to the proposed thickness of the metal, and over this again is placed a heavy layer of clay, mixed with chopped paddy straw. Through this outer covering there are a number of funnel holes in parallel rings at distances of six or nine inches, and through these the molten metal is poured in, melting and taking the place of the bees'-wax, which flows out at the bottom. Straws inserted through the clay let out the air and steam. Thus the bell is formed in a series of rings one above the other. The

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CHAPTER XX

DUTY DAYS

THERE are four uboné, or duty days, in every lunar month, on which all good Burmans are expected to go and worship at the pagodas. These are the eighth of the crescent, the full moon, the eighth of the waning, and the change, of which the second and the fourth are the more sacred. As the monks have nothing to do with looking after the spiritual state of the people, it is entirely a matter to be settled by one's self whether any particular worship day is to be observed or not. If you conclude that strict religious observances are only necessary for your spiritual well-being on the day of the full moon, or at any rate that you may leave out the eighth of the crescent and waning moon, then the uboné does not concern you at all, and you may proceed about your ordinary business without being considered a reprobate. The very devout may go to the pagoda on all the four sacred days of the month; but if you choose to omit one or several, or substitute an ordinary day for that provided by religious custom, there is no one to take you to task for it. Were a Burman never to go to the pagoda at all, or fail to do so for any considerable time, he would indeed soon get a very bad character among his neighbours, and might even be formally excommunicated by the yahans. There is, however, practically no constraint save the force of public opinion. But the duties of worship are so light, and so dependent in their details upon yourself, and there is so much amusement to be got out of a visit to the pagoda on an uboné, that few, even of the most worldly-minded, miss any great number of the appointed days, and a special festival is always carefully observed.

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CHAPTER XXII

NATS AND SPIRIT-WORSHIP

NOTWITHSTANDING that Buddhism has been the established religion in Burma since shortly after the third great council at Patalipootra in 241 B.C. (283 of the sacred era), and that the purest form of the faith exists, and is firmly believed in, yet, throughout the whole Ashe Pyi (the Eastern country), both in Upper and Lower Burma, the old geniolatry still retains a firm hold on the minds of the people. Missionaries say that it is a natural revolting of the human mind against the denial of the existence of a Supreme Being, superior to man, and controlling his destiny. Government officers assert that the retention of the prior religion (for it is undoubtedly a kind of second religion) is due to the fact that surrounding, and scattered about amongst the Buddhist Burmans, are numerous tribes—Karens, Kachins, and others—who have no form of belief but nat-worship, the reverencing of the spirits of nature. As a simple matter of fact, it is undeniable that the propitiating of the nats is a question of daily concern to the lower class Burman, while the worship at the pagoda is only thought of once a week. For the nat may prove destructive and hostile at any time, whereas the acquisition of kutho at the pagoda is a thing which may be set about in a business-like way, and at proper and convenient seasons. It is just the difference between avoiding a motor car and avoiding the circular saw in a timber mill. 771 776 782 [184]

Before proceeding further, it will be well to discuss the word "nat" itself. General Phayre and Bishop Bigandet did not finally settle whether Nat is derived from the Sanskrit term nath, meaning "master, husband, lord," or not. The 776

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seemed to me a mystery such as I could not 775
understand. But when I went to the people, I 779
found that it was simple enough to them; for 771
I found that they remembered their former lives 779
often, that children, young children, could tell who 182
they were before they died, and remember details of that former existence. As they grew older the remembrance grew fainter and fainter, and at length almost died away. But in many children it was quite fresh, and was believed in beyond possibility of a doubt by all the people. So I saw that the teachings of their sacred books and the thoughts of the people were not at one in this matter.

Again, I read that there was no God. Nats 776
there were, spirits of great power like angels, and 779
there was the Buddha (the just man made perfect), 182
who had worked out for all men the way to reach surcease from evil; but of God I saw nothing. And because the Buddha had reached heaven (Nirvana), it would be useless to pray to him. For, having entered into his perfect rest, he could not be disturbed by the sharp cry of those suffering below; and if he heard, still he could not help; for each man must through pain and sorrow work out for himself his own salvation. So all prayer is futile.

And then I remembered I had seen the young mother going to the pagoda on the hilltop with a little offering of a few roses or an orchid spray, and pouring out her soul in passionate supplication to Someone — Someone unknown to her sacred books — that her firstborn might recover of his fever, and be to her once more the measureless

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776 delight of her life; and it would seem to me that
779 she must believe in a God and in prayer after all.
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So though I found much in these books that
• 771 was believed by the people, and much that was
779 to them the guiding influence of their lives, yet I
182 was unable to trust to them altogether, and I was in doubt where to seek for the real beliefs of these people. If I went to their monks, their holy men, the followers of the great teacher, Gaudama, they referred me to their books as containing all that a Buddhist believed; and when I pointed out the discrepancies, they only shook their heads, and said that the people were an ignorant people and confused their beliefs in that way.

779 When I asked what was a Buddhist, I was told
795 that, to be a Buddhist, a man must be accepted into
182 the religion with certain rites, certain ceremonies, he must become for a time a member of the community of the monks of the Buddha, and that a Buddhist was he who was so accepted, and who thereafter held by the teachings of the Buddha.

But when I searched the life of the Buddha, I could not find any such ceremonies necessary at all. So that it seemed that the religion of the Buddha was one religion, and the religion of the Buddhists another; but when I said so to the monks, they were horror-struck, and said that it was because I did not understand.

114 In my perplexity I fell back, as we all must, to
182 my own thoughts and those of my own people; and
779 I tried to imagine how a Burman would act if he
101 came to England to search into the religion of the English and to know the impulses of our lives.

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CHAPTER II

HE WHO FOUND THE LIGHT—I

'He who pointed out the way to those that had lost it.'
Life of the Buddha.

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THE life-story of Prince Theiddatha, who saw the light and became the Buddha twenty-five centuries ago, has been told in English many times. It has been told in translations from the Pali, from Burmese, and from Chinese, and now everyone has read it. The writers, too, of these books have been men of great attainments, of untiring industry in searching out all that can be known of this life, of gifts such as I cannot aspire to. So that there is now nothing new to learn of those long past days, nothing fresh for me to tell, no discovery that can be made. And yet in thinking out what I have to say about the religion of the Burmese, I have found that I must tell again some of the life of the Buddha, I must rewrite this ten-times-told tale, of which I know nothing new. And the reason is this: that although I know nothing that previous writers have not known, although I cannot bring to the task anything like their knowledge, yet I have something to say that

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they have not said. For they have written of him as they have learned from books, whereas I want to write of him as I have learned from men. Their knowledge has been taken from the records of the dead past, whereas mine is from the actualities of the living present.

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I do not mean that the Buddha of the sacred books and the Buddha of the Burman's belief are different persons. They are the same. But as I found it with their faith, so I find it with the life of their teacher. The Burmese regard the life of the Buddha from quite a different standpoint to that of an outsider, and so it has to them quite a different value, quite a different meaning, to that which it has to the student of history. For to the writer who studies the life of the Buddha with a view merely to learn what that life was, and to criticise it, everything is very different to what it is to the Buddhist who studies that life because he loves it and admires it, and because he desires to follow it. To the former the whole detail of every portion of the life of the Buddha, every word of his teaching, every act of his ministry, is sought out and compared and considered. Legend is compared with legend, and tradition with tradition, that out of many authorities some clue to the actual fact may be found. But to the Buddhist the important parts in the great teacher's life are those acts, those words, that appeal directly to him, that stand out bravely, lit with the light of his own experiences and feelings, that assist him in living his own life. His Buddha is the Buddha he understands, and who understood and sympathized with such as him.

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Other things may be true, but they are matters of indifference.

To hear of the Buddha from living lips in this country, which is full of his influence, where the spire of his monastery marks every village, and where every man has at one time or another been his monk, is quite a different thing to reading of him in far countries, under other skies and swayed by other thoughts. To sit in the monastery garden in the dusk, in just such a tropic dusk as he taught in so many years ago, and hear the yellow-robed monk tell of that life, and repeat his teaching of love, and charity, and compassion—eternal love, perfect charity, endless compassion—until the stars come out in the purple sky, and the silver-voiced gongs ring for evening prayers, is a thing never to be forgotten. As you watch the starlight die and the far-off hills fade into the night, as the sounds about you become still, and the calm silence of the summer night falls over the whole earth, you know and understand the teacher of the Great Peace as no words can tell you. A sympathy comes to you from the circle of believers, and you believe, too. An influence and an understanding breathes from the nature about you—the same nature that the teacher saw—from the whispering fig-trees and the scented champaks, and the dimly seen statues in the shadows of the shrines, that you can never gain elsewhere. And as they tell you the story of that great life, they bring it home to you with reflection and comment, with application to your everyday existence, till you forget that he of whom they speak lived so long ago, so very long

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

ago, and your heart is filled with sorrow when you 779
remember that he is dead, that he is entered into 771
his peace.

I do not hope that I can convey much of this in my writing. I always feel the hopelessness of trying to put on paper the great thoughts, the intense feeling, of which Buddhism is so full. But still I can, perhaps, give something of this life as I have heard it, make it a little more living than it has been to us, catch some little of that spirit of sympathy that it holds for all the world.

Around the life of the Buddha has gathered much 779
myth, like dust upon an ancient statue, like shadows upon the mountains far away, blurring detail here and there, and hiding the beauty. There are all sorts of stories of the great portents that foretold his coming: how the sun and the stars knew, and how the wise men prophesied. Marvels attended his birth, and miracles followed him in life and in death. And the appearance of the miraculous has even been heightened by the style of the chroniclers in telling us of his mental conflicts: by the personification of evil in the spirit man, and of desire in his three beautiful daughters.

All the teacher's thoughts, all his struggles, are materialized into forms, that they may be more readily brought home to the reader, that they may be more clearly realized by a primitive people as actual conflicts.

Therefore at first sight it seems that of all creeds none is so full of miracle, so teeming with the supernatural, as Buddhism, which is, indeed, the very reverse of the truth. For to the supernatural

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

And when I said that Yathodaya was also religious and had helped him in his thoughts, and that surely she would not have stopped him, the monk shook his head. 779 771

'Women are not like that,' he said.

And a woman said to me once: 'Surely she was very much to be pitied because her husband went away from her and her baby. Do you think that when she talked religion with her husband she ever thought that it would cause him to leave her and go away for ever? If she had thought that, she would never have done as she did. A woman would never help anything to sever her husband from her, not even religion. And when after ten years a baby had come to her! Surely she was very much to be pitied.' This woman made me understand that the highest religion of a woman is the true love of her husband, of her children; and what is it to her if she gain the whole world, but lose that which she would have?

All the story of Yathodaya and her dealings with her husband is full of the deepest pathos, full of passionate protest against her loss, even in order that her husband and all the world should gain. She would have held him, if she could, against the world, and deemed that she did well. And so, though it is probable that it was a great deal owing to Yathodaya's help, to her sympathy, to her support in all his difficulties, that Gaudama came to his final resolve to leave the world and seek for the truth, yet she acted unwittingly of what would be the end.

'She did not know,' said the woman. 'She

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

779 helped her husband, but she did not know to what.
771 And when she was ill, when she was giving birth to
● her baby, then her husband left her. Surely she was very much to be pitied.'

And so Yathodaya, the wife of the Prince Gaudama, who became the Buddha, is held in high honour, in great esteem, by all Buddhists. By the men, because she helped her husband to his resolve to seek for the truth, because she had been his great stay and help when everyone was against him, because if there had been no Yathodaya there had been perchance no Buddha. And by the women—I need not say why she is honoured by all women. If ever there was a story that appealed to woman's heart, surely it is this: her love, her abandonment, her courage, her submission when they met again in after-years, her protest against being sacrificed upon the altar of her husband's religion. Truly, it is all of the very essence of humanity. Whenever the story of the Buddha comes to be written, then will be written also the story of the life of Yathodaya his wife. And if one is full of wisdom and teaching, the other is full of suffering and teaching also. I cannot write it here. I have so much to say on other matters that there is no room. But some day it will be written. I trust, this old message to a new world.

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

539 house, 'Give me a pinch of mustard-seed,' and it was
771 given readily. So with her treasure in her hand she
761 was going forth back to the Buddha full of delight, when she remembered.

'Has ever anyone died in your household?' she asked, looking round wistfully.

The man answered 'Yes,' that death had been with them but recently. Who could this woman be, he thought, to ask such a question? And the woman went forth, the seed dropping from her careless fingers, for it was of no value. So she would try again and again, but it was always the same. Death had taken his tribute from all. Father or mother, son or brother, daughter or wife, there was always a gap somewhere, a vacant place beside the meal. From house to house throughout the city she went, till at last the new hope faded away, and she learned from the world, what she had not believed from the Buddha, that death and life are one.

[772] So she returned, and she became a nun, poor soul! taking on her the two hundred and twenty-seven vows, which are so hard to keep that nowadays nuns keep but five of them.[1]

779 This is the teaching of the Buddha, that death is
761 inevitable; this is the consolation he offers, that all men must know death; no one can escape death;

[772] [1] These five vows are:

1. Not to take life.
2. To be honest.
3. To tell the truth.
4. To abstain from intoxicants.
5. Chastity.

don't usually talk about these things with them. We invite the phongyis and worship them. We don't talk much with them. They preach the law and the 5 SILLS to us. 181 203

16. Q. Are there any persons of influence in camp who give advise on everyday living? 621

A. Yes, the person of influence is the schoolmaster, U Khant. But he only teaches the children and looks to the general cleanliness of the camp. Another person is the man who teaches the English. But they do not lay down what is right and what is wrong.

Activities of the Family in Relationship to the Supernatural.

The main forces which U Myaing and his family are concerned with are those of the Nats and those of Buddhism. Speaking historically, the Nats seem to represent a remnant of an early form of animism in which the Nats were tree or nature spirits. It is interesting to note the manner in which U Myaing blends the two religious systems. The Nats control earthly happenings, and the Buddhist structure the eternal. We are concerned with identifying some of the major practices, but primarily with the differentiation between religious practices in Pantanaw and in the refugee camp. 771● [178]

Nats.

The problem of the Nats come up in our study by the appearance of a bamboo pole split so as to form a small basket at one end. This object, called a KYAUNG ZAUNG rested on the roof of the camp hut next to U Myaing's. An interview in which Daw Aw Zar (D.A.Z.) and U Myaing (U.M.) discussed Nats, is given in its entirety below because it reveals the rather vague feelings of "superstition" held of the Nats on the one hand and their potency on the other. 776 782

Q. No. 25 (photograph) is a split bamboo pole with a basket at the top. What is this called and what is it used for?

A. (D.A.Z.) KYAUNG ZAUNG. The thing he took from the roof and photographed? It is called a KYAUNG ZAUNG. (U.M.) It is called KYAUNG ZAUNG.

Q. How do you use it ?

A. (D.A.Z.) We offer to U SHIN GYI and others. Offerings to Nats. Didn't you hear that big man speak? (To U Myaing).

Q. Who made this object? Who makes them?

A. (D.A.Z.) The people who give the offerings of course.

Q. Do you have to make these when you give offerings?

A. If we give offerings we make them.

21: Hrin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

have been celebrated year after year, at least since the reintroduction of Buddhism in 1056, and at least since March, 638, when an early king of Pagan, Popa Sawrahan (613–40), drew up the present Burmese era, the dawn of every Burmese new year has been the occasion for mirthful water-throwing.[1]

Buddhism had been introduced into the country through commercial relations with India long before the foundation of the kingdom of Pagan, but from the beginning it was only at second-hand and therefore feeble. The real religion of the Burmese before the reintroduction of Buddhism in 1056 was animistic, and they worshipped various spirits, known as *nats*. There were mediums, mostly women, who danced to please the spirits, and as the spirits were supposed to enter into the bodies of the mediums, sometimes it was believed that the spirits, and not the mediums, were actually dancing. Sometimes the medium herself actually believed that a spirit had taken control of her body, but usually she only pretended that a spirit had entered her, and gave an exhibition of acting. As the medium of each particular *nat* dressed herself in appropriate clothes, the spirit dances were essentially dramatic.[2] When Buddhism, in one of its purest forms, was introduced under Anawrahta, the great king realized the impossibility of attracting people suddenly to the new faith; so he compromised by recognizing the *nats* as Buddhist spirits and giving them shrines in his Shwezigôn Pagoda as its guardian spirits. When asked the reason, Anawrahta replied: 'Men will not come suddenly to the new faith. Let them come for their old gods, and they will gradually be won over.'[3]

So the worship of the *nats* lived on, and with the advance of

[1] Shway-Yoe (Sir George Scott) in *The Burman: His Life and Notions*, and Fielding Hall in *The Soul of a People* give detailed accounts of the feasts and life in the villages. However, as far as I have been able to find out, the Tazaungmôn celebrations have never been described in any English work.

[2] These dances are still performed on spirit-feast days at Taungbyôn (near Mandalay), a small town given up to spirit worship since the days of Pagan's greatness and perhaps even before.

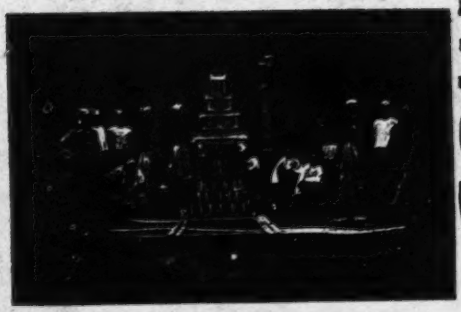
The belief in, as distinct from the worship of, spirits is not alien to Buddhism.

The chief works on the subject are: Sir R. C. Temple, *The Thirty-Seven Nats*; Grant Brown, 'The Taungbyon Festival' in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, 1915; the same author's 'The Pre-Buddhist Religion of the Burmese' in *Folk-Lore*, 1921; and G. E. Harvey, *History of Burma*.

[3] G. E. Harvey, op. cit., p. 33.

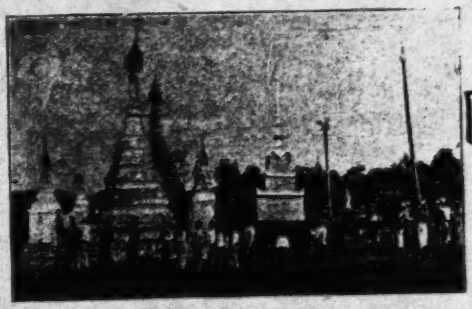
25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

dwellers to whom the Burmans pretend to owe their origin. These ethereal beings are subject to the law of *karma*, and re-birth. They have to attain *nirvâna* like men, through virtue. Under "gods" in the Pali scriptures are to be understood such beings as these. Together with men they form the group *thaddawâ* — rational beings—to whom the message of the Buddha is delivered. (See Stevenson, *Lexicon*, pp. 603, 788.) The higher orders of existence are not to be confounded with the higher religious states, *ayahât*, *ayâttapô*, which are attained by the "noble path" alone (p. 46). In this fairyland, situated in the *Hlmawûnta taw* (Himalayas) and its clouds, the poetry of the people centres. (See *The Soul of a People*, Chapter XXI.) As the heavens are indwelt by ethereal beings, so also everything on earth has its presiding genius. The heavenly *genii* are beneficent, the terrestrial ones friendly or malign. The *nats* of the mountains inspire awe, and their protection is invoked against wild beasts and dangers to wayfarers. A *nat* is pro-



420. RIVER ILLUMINATIONS AT THADINDYUT.

421. MAZES AT THADINDYUT.



422. TAZAUNGMON FESTIVAL.

29: Slater M-4 (no date) 1951 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

CHAPTER II

BUDDHISM AND ANIMISM IN BURMA

1. Animism or Buddhism?

It never occurred to anybody, remarked the Burmese critic quoted in our previous chapter, that the best way to find out what Nirvana meant was to consider its significance in some present, living tradition of Buddhism. His criticism was apposite in its immediate reference. As a matter of fact, however, it was precisely this course which *did* occur to Bishop Bigandet a century ago, as his voluminous footnotes to his translation of the Burmese Legend of Gaudama show.[1] The same may be said of his predecessor in the field, Father Sangermano, and of several successors.[2] Our present purpose is to take up the task where they left it. We hope to describe Buddhism in Burma in sufficient detail to exhibit the essentially religious character of the Nirvana paradox.

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Since the context is Burmese and the reference is to Hīnayāna or Southern Buddhism, Nirvana for the time being will be *Nibbāna*, which is its form in the Pali language of the Hīnayāna scriptures. In Burmese, Nibbāna is Nebban.

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One reason, perhaps, why this approach to the subject has been largely disregarded by Western scholars in recent years is the prevalent impression that the popular religion in Burma is a syncretism in which the dominant element is not Buddhism, but Animism. "Hinayana," writes Dr. Bouquet, in an outline of Comparative Religion, "is still 'the little vehicle,' because it does not and cannot appeal to the masses of any population.... It is true that it is the Buddhism of Burma and Ceylon. But anyone who knows these countries is well aware that the real popular faith of their peoples is not Hinayana but a thinly veiled animism."[3]

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[1] Rt. Rev. P. Bigandet, Bishop of Ramatha, *The Life or Legend of Gaudama, the Buddha of the Burmese*, first published in Rangoon 1858.

[2] Father Vincentius Sangermano, *The Burmese Empire*, first published in 1833.

[3] A. C. Bouquet, *Comparative Religion*, new ed., 1945, p. 129. Dr. J. B. Pratt's balanced estimate of the Burma situation in his *The Pilgrimage of Buddhism* (1928) should have done something to correct this impression.

29: Slater M-4 (no date) 1951 APl Burma
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771 It is necessary, therefore, at the outset of our inquiry to correct this impression.

A writer on Comparative Religion is dependent on the experts from different fields, and Dr Bouquet is only repeating what a number of commentators on Burmese religion have been saying for the past fifty years. But if we examine their statements we find that many of them merely reflect, without further evidence or critical examination, an opinion expressed by a European official in a Census Report of 1891. This opinion was emphasised by another Census official, Mr. C. C. Lowis, ten years later:

"The Burman has added to his Animism just so much Buddhism as suits him and with infantile inconsequence draws solace from each in turn. I know of no better definition of the religion of the great bulk of the people ... than that given by Mr Eales in his 1891 Census Report, 'a thin veneer of philosophy laid over the main structure of Shamanistic belief.' The facts are here exactly expressed. Animism supplies the solid constituents that hold the faith together, Buddhism the superficial polish. Far be it from me to underrate the value of that philosophic veneer. It has done all that a polish can do to smooth, to beautify and to brighten, but to the end of time it will never be anything more than a polish. In the hour of great heart-searchings it is profitless as the Apostle's sounding brass. It is then that the Burman falls back upon his primaeval beliefs. Let but the veneer be scratched, the crude animism that lurks below must out. Let but his inmost vital depths be touched, the Burman stands forth an Animist confessed."[4]

771 782 [563] [177] Mr Lowis' opinion is based on a critical examination of the situation, and it cannot be lightly gainsaid. He also refers to the prevailing Animistic beliefs of the surrounding hill tribes who still infiltrate into the plains of Burma, a factor which encourages the survival of primitive ideas among the Burmese themselves. This survival is not to be denied. It is impossible to live in Burma without coming across evidences of Animism, sooner or later — the coconut, surmounted by a red cloth, still hung in most Burmese households as a *Nat* offering; the 'bus driver halting his vehicle to run across the road and place a little bouqet of flowers at the foot of some tree which is the shrine of a local spirit. Most of these practices are innocent. Occasionally, however, one has a grim reminder of more fateful beliefs. Burmese students once explained to me, reluctantly, [761] that they had desisted in their efforts to save a drowning boy because it was obvious that he had been seized by the *Nat* of the lake.

[4] *Census of India Report*, Vol. XII, (Burma, 1901), Part 1, by C. C. Lowis, chap. III, p. 35.

29: Slater M-4 (no date) 1951 AP1 Burma
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Animism in Burma is usually termed Nat-worship. *Nat* has been compared with the Indian, *Natha*, but it is probably an indigenous term.[5] Strictly speaking, it should be distinguished from "disembodied spirit" or ghost, for which the Burmese name is *tasè*. The Burmese also speak of the "butterfly" soul in man, the *leip-bya*, which may leave the body even in life, during dream or unconsciousness.[6] "A *nat* is something quite different. The word is the equivalent of our word god, in the sense in which we speak of the gods of ancient Greece and Rome."[7] *Nat* legends, however, express the belief that most, if not all, of these godlings were once human beings. Thus the familiar household Nat, Min Magayi, was once a blacksmith, Maung Tin Dè, a man of such prodigious strength that whenever he struck his anvil the whole city was shaken, to the great wrath of the king who caused the blacksmith's death. His spirit continued to vex the neighbourhood until a temple was built in his honour.[8] In later times such spirits seem to have been elevated to *Nat* status by royal degree. Burmese tradition emphasises *the* Thirty Seven *Nats*, but the number has no special significance. Many *Nats* not included in the thirty seven are recognised today and some of the thirty seven ignored. Any attempt to denote the *Nat* realm too narrowly misrepresents what is, in fact, a fluctuating and ill defined situation. 'All is change' applies to this realm, in Burmese estimation, as much as to any other. Nor can we point to any one origin of the cultus. The Mondaing *Nat*, for example, may reflect a primitive Nature worship, since Mondaing signifies whirlwind, but local legend suggests another origin.[9] Some of the *Nats* are associated with Brahmanic and Buddhist legend. Others are definitely local and even recent. Sir George Scott, who was an acute observer, said that the Burman always distinguished the Spirits of Nature from the legendary gods imported from India.[10] On the other hand, there is a tendency to mingle Buddhist story and Nat story, and the Buddhist *yaks*, as well as the *devs* is quite at home among the Burmese *Nats*.[11]

In earlier times, a victim was slain in order to provide a guardian spirit for a new town or building, and as late as the eleventh century a queen is said to have given her life for such a purpose. Buddhist teaching against taking life has gradually prevailed, however, against these harsher

[5] Cf. Bigandet, *Life of Gaudama* Vol. I, p. 17, Vol. II, p. 324 and Temple, *The Thirty Seven Nats*, p. 8.
[6] Cf. Forbes, *British Burma*, chap. IV, p. 99.
[7] R. Grant Brown, *The Pre-Buddhist Religion of the Burmese*, p. 6.
[8] R. Grant Brown, *ibid.*, p. 13.
[9] *Ibid.*, p. 7.
[10] Temple, *ibid.*, p. 3.
[11] Cf. Bimala C. Law, *The Buddhist Conception of Spirits*.

29: Slater M-4 (no date) 1951 AP1 Burma
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customs. Grant Brown observes that, while Buddhists in the Chindwin area still sacrifice fowls to the god of the harvest, 'the thing is done somewhat surreptitiously and shamefacedly.'[13]

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Other practices survive more openly. In many Burmese villages there is a *nat-ka-daw*, or spirit-medium, generally an elderly or middle-aged woman, who is supposed to be married to a *Nat*. She tells fortunes, and is called in sometimes in cases of sickness to discover whether the patient will recover. Mr. Spear describes an incident of this kind which took place in the main street of a large town in the presence of many spectators. "The *nat-ka-daw*, in addition to her usual clothing, wore a sash around the waist and a cloth wound around her head. She danced with a dah, a long and heavy Burmese knife, in her hand, until she fell exhausted." Plantains and coconuts had been placed in a shelter, opposite the house, as offerings to the *Nat*.[13]

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In this case, apparently, the *Nat* was neither held responsible for the sickness nor expected to cure it. There are times of epidemic sickness, however, when a whole village is temporarily abandoned, and special rituals are followed to placate the *Nat*, who is considered to have caused the epidemic.

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In an interesting account of the development of a modern *Nat* cultus, a Burmese writer describes a public festival in honour of the *Nat*. A play is staged during which one of the Thirty Seven *Nats*, who is personified by a villager, asks the *Nat* of the locality if he is taking due care of the villagers. Here the *Nat* is obviously regarded as benevolent. But we are told that this was not always so. Formerly the Nat was cruel, unreasonable, mischievous and demoniac. But "he is now believed to have taken to religion, to keep the sabbath and to lead the life of a saintly god." In spite of his own sanctity, however, he seems to favour evil-doers. "No organised theft is ever committed in Lower Burma ... without invoking his aid." The would-be criminals cook a meal within a circle they have marked on the ground. If any of the rules of the succeeding ritual are broken, the proposed robbery is abandoned. Some Buddhist monks of this region, more orthodox than others, have tried to suppress the Naf cultus, but in vain.[14]

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Such beliefs and practices are obviously bound to affect thought and conduct. The Burmese feel around them a vast, invisible *Nat* world, which is both near and remote. There are spirits in the trees, the rivers,

[13] *The Pre-Buddhist Religion of the Burmese*, p. 9.

[13] R. F. Spear, unpublished MS, *The Syncretism of Animism and Buddhism in Burma* (1928) chap. 1, p. 14.

[14] U Tha Khin, "Is U Yin Gyi a National God of the Burmese?" *J.B.R.S.*, Vol. XIV, part II (1924).

29: Slater M-4 (no date) 1951 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

the lakes, the mountains and there are distant *Nat* realms ruled by *Nat* chieftains. All of these spirits are capricious. They encourage the view that life is a gamble. A man must bargain and wile his way through as best he can, hemmed in by a vague, immeasureable threat of evil. A religion, therefore, which points the way through the maze, indicates some order in the realm of caprice and promises deliverance from evil, may be the more welcome. On the other hand, it contains a challenge to caprice in oneself. 771 776

2. *Animism and Buddhism interwoven*

There is no question, therefore, of the survival of Animism in Burma, nor of its influence. The only question which arises is the *extent* of this influence. Is it so persistent and powerful that Buddhism is no more than a surface polish? 771 779*

At first sight, this indeed may seem to be the case, for not only is Animism a parallel cultus, sometimes furtive but frequently brazen; it also seems to be interwoven in the very texture of popular Buddhist expression and practice. As a boy, the Burman learns how Nats watched over the infant Buddha, how the Buddha, by his virtue, defeated the jealous Manh *Nat*, how the rest of the *Nat* world acclaimed the victory with shouts of exultation. *Nats* appear in all the subsequent events of the Buddha's history.[15] On pagoda platforms the boy may see scenes depicting the *Nats*. Early in his education, he may learn a poem celebrating the Buddha's victory. On the most memorable day of his life as a Buddhist, the day of his *shin-byu* or confirmation, he may *shikoh* to the *Nat* shrine. At his death, a monk may be called to his side, not to give him spiritual consolation but 'because the good influence of the monk's pious presence keeps away evil spirits.'[16] [792]

Consequently, Burmese Buddhists have been criticised for their inconsistency. How, it is asked, can a belief that a human 'spirit' has been transported to the *Nat* realm be reconciled with the Buddhist denial of the soul? If Buddhism denies the Divine, and even Buddha himself is not worshipped, how can it be right to worship and propitiate these *Nat* godlings? How can it be legitimate to expect their assistance, if man is the arbiter of his own destiny, subject to moral law alone, as Buddhism affirms? And Buddhism teaches: Thou shalt not kill. What, then, of fowls and oxen and even humans sacrificed to propitiate *Nats*? Toleration is [775] 782 779* 771

[15] Cf. Bigandet, op. cit. Vol. I, p. 37; cf. Temple, *Thirty Seven Nats*, p. 6.
[16] Cf. Purser and Saunders, *M.B.B.*, pp. 38, 97; Sir George Scott, *The Burman: His Life and Notions*, Vol. I, chap. XXII, p. 289.

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doubtless a virtue enjoined by Buddhism. Carried to this extreme, however, has it not distorted Buddhism beyond recognition?

The Buddhist reply is two-fold. In the first place, it is claimed that there are *Nat* beliefs and practices which are *not* inconsistent with Buddhism. Since the normal Buddhist foresees many possible rebirths before he attains Nibbāna, there is no reason why some of these rebirths should not occur in a *Nat* realm. As to the denial of the soul, that raises difficulties, but are they so very different from the questions raised by the *Jātaka* stories in Buddhist tradition itself? The learned Buddhist has his own explanations, and the villager is inclined to regard life itself as ultimately as great a mystery as Nibbāna, while he does lip service to the *an-attā* doctrine (soul-denial). 'The Buddha accepted the Indian universe of his day ready-made' with its conception of heavens and hells and innumerable worlds.[17] Popular Buddhism, as popular religion everywhere, lives in narrative form, and the ordinary Burman dwells in two worlds of story, Buddhist and *Nat*, which fuse together.

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As to *Nat* practices, some of these are innocent, and others have been given a Buddhist ethical content. Gratitude, for example, is both natural and good in itself. What harm, then, if a villager presents flowers at a *Nat* shrine from such a motive?[18] As to propititiation, even in this present life, men deem it wise to placate powerful humans. Buddhism, therefore, can wisely and tolerantly assimilate many *Nat* conceptions and practices without inconsistency. So it is argued.

Other ideas and customs, however, are admittedly incompatible with true Buddhism. These, it is claimed, have either been opposed or they have been tolerated for a time in confidence that sound religion would eventually prevail. Asked why he allowed *Nat* images in a Buddhist shrine, King A-naw-ra-hta is said to have replied, "Men will not come for the sake of the new faith. Let them come for their old gods and gradually they will be won over."[19] This confidence, it is held, has been justified: Buddhism has at least prevailed sufficiently to take the sting out of Animism; human sacrifice is no longer tolerated, and even animal sacrifices are furtive.

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Is there then no surviving superstitious fear of the *Nats*? This is debated. Temple quotes a formidable Oath, administered in the courts of law, which invokes the *Nats*:

"I will speak the truth.... May the Nats who guard the sacred heavens ... the keepers and warders of countless shrines ... the Nats

[17] J. B. Pratt, *The Pilgrimage of Buddhism*, chap. v, p. 76.

[18] Moung Po Me, "Animism or Agnosticism?" *Buddhism*, Vol. I, No. 1 (1903, Rangoon), p. 95.

[19] H. Bay, *Theravāda Buddhism in Burma*, chap. VII, p. 262.

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who watch and ward the mighty rivers ... may the nāga and the galōn, hideous dragons and cruel birds, all ogres and demons ... may all these spirits and ill things unite to slay me and mine to the utmost limits of kinship, if I speak not the truth...."[20]

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Respectable persons have trembled at the prospect of taking this oath, says Temple, so great was their dread of the *Nats*. A British magistrate, however, writing at a later day, observed drily that the fearsome Oath did not prevent false witness.[21] Perhaps these later witnesses did not know its terms, since the Oath was not read out in his court, only handled. Perhaps, however, they did not fear the *Nats* as much as their sires did. We may indeed question whether men who can talk of the Nats reforming their ways and turning to religion can hold them in any lively dread. Smeaton, in his *Loyal Karens of Burma*, refers to some Christian converts who still propitiated the *Nats*. "We must throw some sops to the foul demons who afflict us," they explained, "but our hearts are ever looking for God." Their Buddhist neighbours might offer a similar explanation. They may still deem it prudent to throw some sops to the *Nats*, while their hearts are towards the Buddha. We may term such an attitude superstitious, remembering that similar superstitious practices survive on similar grounds in other religious traditions. But we may well hesitate before we describe the Burmese as *Nat*-worshippers or say that their Buddhism is only a veneer.

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The Burman may claim that, while certain aspects of Animism can be tolerated without inconsistency, Buddhism has, in fact, opposed the more objectionable practices, has prevailed against them, and has altered the attitude to the *Nats*. This, in substance, is the reply contained in an article criticising the statement in the Census Report shortly after its publication. The *Nats*, says the writer, Moung Po Me, 'are real beings to the Burman and Buddhism does not deny their existence.' But they are certainly not bogeys. It is only when the Burman deviates from Buddhist ethics that Buddhism becomes a veneer.[22]

His verdict is confirmed by other observers who may be considered more impartial. "The nats were the gods of Burma before the Buddha arrived," says Professor Pratt. "But as soon as he came they learned their place as merely subordinate spirits, and they have kept their place very well ever since."[23] "Were spirit worship twice as prominent as it is," observes a Christian missionary, "I should still call Buddhism the religion

[20] Temple, *The Thirty Seven Nats*, p. 4; cf. Scott, *The Burman*, Vol. II, chap. XXVI, p. 250.

[21] C. J. Richards, *The Burman*, p. 50.

[22] Article in *Buddhism*, cited supra.

[23] *The Pilgrimage of Buddhism*, chap. VII, p. 127.

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of the Burman."[24] The most adequate inquiry on the subject to-date is the unpublished thesis by Mr. Spear which I have been privileged to quote. "It must be said," concludes Mr. Spear, "that Buddhism in Burma has kept itself remarkably free from the practice of taking ideas and customs associated with primitive religion in general and Nat worship in particular, and making them its own.... It is Buddhism which is the real religion of the people. It is what they practise in their best moments; it is what they want their children taught.... To be a Burman is to be a Buddhist."[25]

We arrive, then, at the opposite conclusion to that stated by Mr. Lowis in his Census Report. Instead of saying that 'the Burman has added to his animism just so much Buddhism as suits him,' it is nearer the truth to say that he has added to his Buddhism just so much animism as suits his Buddhism.

Those who judge otherwise generally pay full attention to the strength and vitality of Animism, but they give less than due attention to the greater strength and vitality of organised Buddhism. They fail to note the intimate relation of the Buddhist Monastic Order to the life of the community. To this subject we must now turn, not only to accentuate the fact that Burma is Buddhist Burma, but to observe in sufficient detail the essentially religious context of the hope of Nibbāna.

3. *Monastery and Community*

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A monastery suggests to many minds a cloistered company, shut away behind high walls, or secluded on some remote hillside, as frequently in China. In a sense, the Burmese monks are similarly secluded. The monastic building, with its seven-tiered roof denoting sanctity, is generally found just outside a village, set in a bamboo grove or flanked by shady mango trees. Rising to a tapering umbrella point *(htī)* above the trees, there is a *tsadi* or pagoda,[26] which may be painted white or gold. Smaller pagodas are grouped around. Generally within the monastery building, but sometimes outside, there is an image of the Buddha, and probably several others — but always the same Buddha, Gautama, and

[24] Rev. G. Whitehead, *M.B.B.*, p. 37.

[25] *The Syncretism of Animism and Buddhism in Burma*, p. 30.

[26] *Zedi* or *tsadi*, from the Pali, means the offering place or place of prayer. *Paya*, which has also the latter connotation, is more frequently used for larger *zedis* and other shrines. The *zedi* contains relics. Hence it is nowadays often termed a pagoda (from the Singhalese dhagoba — relic (*dhātu*) shrine. But pagoda is not a Burmese term. Cf. Scott, *The Burman*, Vol. 1, chap. XV, p. 186; Pratt, *The Pilgrimage of Buddhism*, chap. VII, pp. 126ff.

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The Buddhism of Burma, then, lies in between two levels. On the one level, there is the scholarly tradition of the monasteries, frequently in touch with Ceylon, watchful against heresies, pondering the scriptures, upholding the essential emphases of the Hīnayāna tradition, steadily prevailing against more primitive ideas. On the other level, there is the survival of Animism, linked to the conservatism of human nature, infiltrating the popular Buddhism. We can, therefore, accept Burmese Buddhism as a valid and typical expression of the Hīnayāna tradition. At the same time, we can expect to find certain distinctive, Burmese features. 779* 792

5. *Characteristics of Burmese Buddhism*

a. The characteristic of Burmese Buddhism which has been most frequently remarked is its buoyancy. "The Buddhist faith may be as dreary ... as many say it is, but no one would imagine it who looks on the gaily = dressed laughing crowd of men and maidens who throng to the pagoda feasts."[45] Only a Chaucer could do justice to these festivals, remarks a modern writer,[46] and an earlier observer concluded that "the Burmese do not fully believe the first of the Four Noble Truths that life is suffering."[47] 771 779* [796]

Climate and circumstance affect religious interpretation. In India, where Buddhism was begotten, "India, with its hot climate, its poverty and suffering, the pessimistic mood which looks upon life as a great evil rather than an achievable good, seems natural."[48] This may be. And in the subtropical climate of Burma, where people live in ephemeral bamboo houses and vegetation grows quickly and as quickly passes away, it is natural to believe that "All is change." But in Southern Burma at least, where a little labour wins a sufficient sustenance from the fruitful earth, and moonlight nights are soft and friendly, it is not so natural to add that "All is suffering."

Some observers insist that we must look beneath the surface of this Burmese gaiety. "Delightful as this sunny temperament is, it does not go deep enough to be called optimism."[49] Nobody, however, can question the Burmese vivacity — a vivacity which expresses itself in a lively, rhythmic music, and a delight in colour. "The secret of our happiness lies in our devotion to our beautiful religion," writes Mrs. Hla Oung, and the

[45] Scott, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, chap. XIX, p. 257.
[46] G. Appleton, *Buddhism in Burma*, p. 46.
[47] *M.B.B.*, p. 15.
[48] A. K. Reischauer, *Studies in Japanese Buddhism*, chap. I, p. 49.
[49] *M.B.B.*, p. 53.

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term 'beautiful' is here significant.[50] A Burmese *pwè* or open-air variety performamce will begin at dusk and sustain a frolic of wit and dance until the morning, and the same vivacity informs the frequent religious pageants and dramas. If the underlying Buddhism is indeed pessimism, it is at least 'touched with hope and mysticism.'[51]

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Fielding Hall has suggested that there is an element of Nature-mysticism in the Burman's outlook. Both his Animism and his Buddhism encourage him to believe that he is intimately related to all Nature: Buddhism because it will allow no separate souls but sees all Life as one; Animism because "legends and tales, the spirits of hills and rivers, of the trees and flowers" express the fact that "Life is a great whole."[52]

A Nature poem by a fifteenth century Burmese Buddhist may be regarded as some corroboration of this estimate. The writer conceives all Nature doing homage to the Buddha:

"A clamour of colour fills the vernal woods.
Tender fruits peep from the budded quicks.
Mellow clusters, luscious as ambrosia, sway in the air....
The acid lime, the delicious custard-apple, the juicy mango, the restless *petthet* and the riotous *grewia*
Rush to render their homage to the thrice-adored Sage."[53]

In his later work,[54] Fielding Hall seems to equate Burmese Buddhism with a vague and woolly pantheism in which all tigers are lambs and all roads lead to truth, but at least he sees the poetry of Burmese life and religion. Later reflection led him to correct the view contained in his *Soul of a People* that the Burmese feeling for Nature was separate from their Buddhism.[55] Instead, he now discerned a fusion giving colour and buoyancy to their faith. "Here was the world the Greeks had lived in. All the gods yet lived to those who still had ears to hear their voices in the forest sounds, eyes to see them flitting through the darkened woods or bathing in the mountain pools.... Were the trees alive? Surely they were. They had their life, they were not dead unlovely things, but living." Comparison with Greek ideas has occurred to others. Greek gods and Burmese *Nats* are similarly very human and capricious, it is suggested.

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The Greek comparison recurs to mind when we consider a further aspect of Burmese Buddhism — its social, with which may be joined

[50] "The Women of Burma." *Buddhism*, Vol. I, No. 1, (Rangoon).
[51] *M.B.B.*, p. 10.
[52] H. Fielding Hall, *The Inward Light*, chap. III, p. 24.
[53] "The 'Tawla' of Shin Uttamagyaw," ed. by U. Po Byu, free trans. by Maung Ba Han. *J.B.R.S.*, Vol. VII, pt. II, (1917).
[54] *The Inward Light*.
[55] *Ibid.*, pp. 6, 7, 24; cf. *The Soul of a People*, chap. XX, pp. 269 ff.

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CHAPTER VI

IN CONCLUSION AND WITHOUT CONCLUSION

1. "*Except for Buddhism*"

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As the result of this inquiry, it is possible to state certain conclusions. But the inquiry also brings us into that realm where man faces questions which seem beyond answer. We may, however, decide to frame some of these questions rather differently.

Our most definite conclusions relate to the character and definition of Buddhism, especially Southern Buddhism. If these are accepted, then we may claim to have challenged the classification which sometimes sets Buddhism in a special category, virtually seperated from the other great religions of the world. "Primitive Buddhism," remarks Dr. Matthews, "seem to stand alone among historical religions in having no doctrine of god and spirit."[1] This statement is typical of many references to Buddhism in the comparative study of religion. For one reason or another, Buddhism is isolated and quoted as an exception. There is everywhere, it is said, some recognition of the sacred — except in Hīnayāna Buddhism. Or again, it is said that the great religions are cultural, expressed in the life and institutions of some people — except for Southern Buddhism, which is monkish, cloistered and aloof from the community. Or again, the great religions have largely prevailed over more primitive ideas — except (so it is said) in Burma, where Buddhism, which "cannot appeal to the masses of any population,"[2] leaves the people to their Animism, with merely a lip-service to the higher faith. So the situation is sometimes represented — Southern Buddhism standing alone, so singular a religion that it is sometimes denied the name of religion and labelled a philosophy or a morality, unhappily (or happily) divorced from religion.

Questioning this misrepresentation, our first task has been to relate Southern Buddhism to the family of religions by interpreting its beliefs in the light of its cultural expression in Burma, where Hīnayāna teaching has been the dominant influence for eight centuries.

[1] W. R. Matthews, "The Idea of God" (*An Outline of Modern Knowledge*, p. 65).

[2] A. C. Bouquet, *Comparative Religion*, (new ed. 1945), chap. VII, p. 129.

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We can imagine the bewilderment of some Burmese villager suddenly transported to a township in the West and told that here he will find what he has not known in his own country — a religion permeating the life of the community. How many things he would miss in this Western town! Here he would find no religious teachers making the daily round of the households, morning after morning; no system whereby every boy is not only schooled by his clergy but spends part of his youth in their establishment, sharing their life. He could scarcely be gainsaid if he insisted that his own religion, as represented in Burma, was not to be distinguished from other traditions by the fact that it was *less* in touch with the life of the community, but by the fact that it was *more* in touch with that life.

We have emphasised this relation of the organised Saṃgha to the community, because it is the clue to the solution of many of the questions discussed. It establishes the relation of Burmese Buddhism to Buddhism in general, since the monks are avowedly Hīnayāna; it establishes the true relation of Buddhism to Animism, since it exhibits the influence of Buddhism; and it establishes the relation of the monastic interpretation to the popular religion. Admittedly, a distinction can be made, as in other religions, between scholar and peasant, clergy and laity, but it is a mis-statement to disjoin them, speaking of 'two religions,' ignoring their inter-action, presenting the one phase as an arid intellectualism and the other as a superstitious travesty. Allowing for human nature and making all due qualifications, what we find, in general, is a religion which is both vital and intelligent.

Within this context, Nibbāna (to use the Pali term again) appears, not as a philosophical perplexity, but as a definitely religious aspiration. To the villager, Nibbāna may be remote, a further shore at the end of a long pilgrimage through many rebirths, but it is the ultimate fulfilment of his highest ideas of felicity — the Great Peace. The monk's conception is more allied to the moral and mental exercises by which he hopes to put an end to those confusions and those attachments to things transient which hinder his peace. In this sense, Nibbāna is Extinction, Cessation (of hindrances) — a negative concept. In another sense he makes a greater affirmation than the layman, for he prays that 'he may attain Nibbāna very quickly,' he has renounced the world in order to do so, and, from his present, imperfect achievement of inward serenity he can anticipate the end of the Path and the perfect fulfilment. But he knows that he can only do so dimly. Studying the scriptures and the *Abhidhamma* interpretations, he may speculate at times concerning this ultimate Nibbāna condition, as we have seen from Shwe Zan Aung's Dialogue. He knows, however, the limit of these speculations. "No intuition, no salvation."

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Nor is the discipline by which he hopes to attain this saving vision merely intellectual. For scholar and peasant alike there is an ethical reference, which is one of the bonds which hold them together. The monk's Path is a Path of Purity — moral purification, as he is constantly reminded at the fortnightly *Uposatha* chapters. Similarly, the villager associates Nibbāna with his moral efforts to 'heap up *kutho*' (worthiness or merit). It is partly his sense of unworthiness which makes him consider Nibbāna a very distant prospect — a sense of remoteness corresponding to the more explicit negation in scholastic phraseology. Hence, for both monk and layman, there is an ethical reference, and this reference is partly responsible for the view that to those who have not yet attained, Nibbāna must necessarily be a Mystery.

In spite, however, of this element of negation, Nibbāna is fundamentally a positive concept, in keeping with that hopefulness and buoyancy which we have remarked as a characteristic of Burmese Buddhism. It is a religious aspiration — so definite that we have ventured to describe it as the religious ultimate of Southern Buddhism, in preference to *Dhamma*, and also to *Buddha*, who is indeed venerated, but is not regarded as divine: he is the Pathfinder but not the Goal.

We have suggested that it is this essentially religious character of the concept which may explain the apparent contradictions involved in its statement, the shifting from Yes to No and back to Yes, the fact that it can be affirmed as the sufficient goal of aspiration, a state of utter sanctity and bliss, yet also denoted as the Void, and finally said to be inexpressible. These conflicting terms have frequently been regarded as logical contradictions. As such they cannot be allowed to remain in the same house together. One must be expelled to make room for the other. Or they must be referred to different stages in the history of Buddhist thought.

While we consider that most of the apparently nihilistic passages in Buddhist literature are susceptible of an interpretation which escapes nihilism, we suggest that both affirmative and negative expressions should be accepted, not as terms of Buddhist philosophy, but as expressions of Buddhist religion. It is true that they have been discussed by Buddhists themselves from a philosophical standpoint, and they are often joined with philosophical concepts. Nevertheless their basic character is religious. As such they are not logical but paradoxical opposites, a distinction which is considered more fully below. Nibbāna, in the context of Burmese Buddhism, is a religious ultimate term, paradoxically expressed.

In support of this suggestion, we have attempted a cursory comparison with similar paradoxical expressions of other ultimate religious terms in

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other traditions. We do not suggest that this excursion proves that Nibbāna must necessarily be a religious term, but simply that it proves there is no reason why it should not be. In making this statement, we challenge the view that the Nibbāna language indicates the arid scholasticism, non-religious thought and essentially philosophical character of Hīnayāna Buddhism. This might plausibly be argued if we were obliged to accept the opposition in the Nibbāna language as logical. It fails if we are allowed to regard it as paradoxical.

It should, perhaps, be remarked that we are not affirming that Burmese, and hence, Hīnayāna Buddhism is a religion because Nibbāna is a paradoxical religious expression. The movement of thought is the reverse. What we affirm is, first, that Burmese Buddhism is a religion, and hence that Nibbāna is a paradoxical religious expression.

The comparison with other religions has, perhaps, served a further purpose: it has indicated the fundamental character of the relationship of the Nibbāna language to Hinduism. Other comparisons, we maintain, have sometimes proved too much, and also too little: too much, in identifying Buddhism *exclusively* with this or that trend of thought in Indian tradition, in so far as such identifications have been based on interpretations of Nibbāna language, regarded as the expression of a philosophical concept; too little, in so far as they have limited the connection to some particular phase of Hinduism, or even to Hinduism alone. The reference is more basic. And it is universal. Nibbāna, as an ultimate religious term, paradoxically affirmed, relates Buddhism to all such quests of faith, similarly expressed. Its reference is to man's complex and struggling estimate of his fundamental human situation.

2. *The Realm of Religious Paradox*

To relate Buddhism to Hinduism, Christianity and other religious traditions does not, of course, imply identity. In order to clarify the nature of this relation it is necessary to distinguish more precisely what may be called the realm of religious paradox which our comparison has brought into view. Here we can hope for no more than tentative conclusions, since our survey was limited and the selection somewhat arbitrary, sufficient maybe to show that the paradoxical expression of an ultimate religious term was not peculiar to Hīnayāna Buddhism, but scarcely sufficient to decide the larger questions which arise from the study of religion in general. It may, however, be some contribution to emphasise that these questions exist.

Paradox, it was stated in our introductory chapter, involved an imaginative contrast, as distinct from logical opposition. This distinction

245 and pink with juice; we shredded them in piles and ate them with prawn
262 powder and fish sauce. The *kanazo*, the *baccaurea sapida*, gave us a
824 fruit of a mouth-watering sweet-sourness. This fruit was said to induce diarrhœa and we were always made to eat the white piths which had a binding action.

262 Whereas we feasted on the fruits of trees, our elders turned to the sea for more fleshly succulence. My mother and aunts loved to get turtles' eggs, nastily soft white things the size of golf balls, boil them and tear them open to spill their richness on to a plate of boiled rice; they got oysters swimming soft and cold in vinegar; big nga-tha-lauk, hilsa fish, bursting with fatness, and thick buffalo's milk which always seemed to us more meaty and strong than cow's milk.

796 We came back to Ye itself for the New Year festival. The New
• 772 Year in our lunar calendar usually occurs round about April 13th, and
775 is the occasion of the descent of a spirit-king, the Tha-gya Min, king of the tha-gyas, from heavenly regions to the world of men. The Burman Buddhist idea of the universe places the hellish, the earthly and the heavenly regions in well-defined order. In the centre of the universe is Mount Myinmo, the highest peak in all the world, a million miles above the sea and a million below the waters. Round about the sides of this mountain are ranged the six levels of heavenly regions where the Dewas or heavenly spirits dwell. These heavenly spirits also have homes in the sun, moon and stars. Far up in the heavens, above the seats of the Dewas, are ranged the sixteen seats of more perfect beings, the Byammas, one above the other. And far above them, as high as the imagination can soar, are four sublime seats, on the borders of the supreme Nirvana. Below the six levels of the Dewa regions of Myinmo are seven ranges of mountains, girdling the earth in a perfect ring interposed only by seven seas. In these seas are set four great islands, to the north, south, east and west of Myinmo Mountain, each attended by five hundred small islands grouped around it. On each island grows a fabulous tree which gives its name to the island, and dwell beings whose heads are shaped like the shape of the island. The northern, eastern and western islands are all more fair than the southern, life lasts for five hundred or a thousand years, and the trees bear gorgeous dresses and delicious foods of meat, but the inhabitants of the southern islands are infinitely more blessed in their merit. This island of Zampudipa, shaped like a trapezium and bearing the Zampu tree, surrounded by five hundred islands where live the English and the other nations of the human world, is the abode of man, the Buddhist man, and the known neighbours who are heretics from Buddhism. Here the inhabitants must work to weave their clothes and cook their food and

live perhaps at the most a hundred years, but here also, and only here, do the Buddhas appear to teach the right way of living which is the only way in which the people can progress to the heavenly regions and to Nirvana. Down below the earth are situated the hells, eight great ones and forty thousand and forty smaller hells, regions of torture and punishment. 796, 772, 775

Whereas the inhabitants of the northern, eastern and western islands around Myinmo, never hearing the words of a Buddha and never knowing the way of good and evil, are always born into the same world, never going up or down, man, the inhabitant of Zampudipa, may pass into the nethermost hell or the highest heavenly seat, according to the progress in his successive lives. Ascending the ladder from deep hells, through earth to heavenly regions, the spirit meets with existences which are not only more blessed in the degree of enjoyment and material happiness, but also correspondingly more free from fleshly desires and sin. Our Buddhist hells are the most frightening places one can imagine; as a child I used to look at the vivid pictures drawn in the friezes round pagoda building walls, to show the damnation that would befall the evil-doer who was born into a hell. Boiling in oil, flesh being torn off the bones by monstrous dogs and vultures, saws and knives aflame with red heat slowly dismembering limb from limb, all these occur in life in any of the hells. The next stage upwards from hell is a life as an animal, which a man may be born to for lesser sins and an omission from doing meritorious deeds. Animals have their stages of nobility also. Lowest are those living on excrements of flesh of other animals, nobler are the herbivorous animals and noblest of all the elephant. Gautama Buddha passed one of his existences as a white elephant, which is the reason for the esteem in which a white elephant was held—so high, that Buddhist kings longed to be able to style themselves, *Hsin-byu Shin*, [643] Lord (Owner) of the white elephant. During his life as a man, a being had the opportunity to live a right life, observing the precepts, giving alms and attending the pagoda regularly. His next existence might then be as an inhabitant of one of the six seats of the Dewas. In all these six seats through which the being may progress, life is surrounded by delights of foods, clothing and dwelling, but passion is less sensual, and decreases with ascent. Successively, a touch of the hand, and then gazing at the lover, and finally the mere presence in the same existence is enough to satisfy love. From here, concentrated meditation will carry a being higher to the seats of the Byammas; here he must get rid of all remaining affection for matter, for all parts of the body, until he attains to the four seats of Arupa. The contempt for matter continues in these existences, and finally, when all false persuasions leave the spirit, he passes into Nirvana, the lifeless, timeless state of bliss, in which the

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772 spirit knows no joy and no sorrow, but remains perpetually contemplating
775 the abstract truth, delivered finally from the cycle of recurring existences.

This arrangement of the universe and of the progress of man
772 through different levels of it, was but a reflection of the Buddhist ideas
779 of cosmography prevalent at the time when the religion was first in flower. In our imagination they belonged with the distant Himalayas, the peaks too high for human sight, the clouds and mist on which a being with the Buddha's spiritual powers could ride in majesty. But whether every Burman Buddhist associates these regions with his daily life or not, there are few who, in the midst of their busiest worldly living, will not be excited, exalted, at the Canonical descriptions of the mind of the *arahat* when he becomes, by meditation and victory over the senses, ready to attain Nirvana. The following description is part of the Sammannaphala-sutta, one of the discourses of the Buddha :

"With mind concentrated, purified, cleansed, spotless, with the defilements gone, supple, ready to act, firm, impassible, he directs his attention to knowledge and insight. He understands that this my body has a shape, consists of the four elements, was produced by a mother and father, a collection of milk and gruel, subject to rubbing, pounding, breaking, and dissolution, and on this my consciousness rests, hereto it is bound.

"He then directs his attention to creating a mind-formed body. From his body he creates a mind-formed body having shape, and with all its limbs and faculties.

"He directs his attention to various kinds of magical powers. From being one he becomes many, and from being many becomes one. He goes across walls and hills without obstruction, plunges into and out of the earth, goes over water as if on dry land, passes through the air sitting cross-legged, and even touches the mighty moon and sun with his hand, and reaches to the world of Brahma.

"With purified divine ea. he hears divine and human sounds both distant and near.

"He understands the state of the minds of other beings.

"The last three stages he attains are called the knowledges.

"First, the monk directs his attention to remembering his former existences. He remembers thousands of births and many cycles of existence, and knows that in such a place he was a being of such a name and clan, and had certain experiences and length of life in each of these births.

"Second, he directs his attention to the knowledge of the passing away and rebirth of beings. With divine purified vision he sees evil doers being reborn in hell, and the virtuous in heaven, just as a man in a palace may see persons entering and coming out of a house.

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"Third he directs his attention to the knowledge of the destruction of the asavas*. He duly understands, 'this is pain,' 'this is the cause of pain,' 'this is the cessation of pain,' 'this is the way leading to the cessation of pain.' He duly understands, 'these are the asavas,' 'this is the cause of the asavas,' 'this is the cessation of the asavas,' 'this is the way to the cessation of the asavas.' When he thus knows and thus perceives, his mind is released from the asava of lust, from the asava of (desire for) existence, from the asava of ignorance. In the released is the knowledge of his release; he understands that rebirth is destroyed, the religious life has been led, done is what was to be done, there is nothing further beyond this world." 772* 779

At the New Year, then, the King of the tha-gyas, who are Dewas, comes to visit the earth which is suffering its hottest and driest month and looks to rain and coolness for deliverance. Before the descent each year, brahmins and astrologers get together and calculate the exact hour of his arrival, the means of his descent to the earth, whether astride a buffalo, a *naga* or a *galon* and whether he wields a spear or a water jar, for by these signs will the nature of the coming year be decided—heavy rains or drought, good crops or disturbances in the land—and the duration of his stay on the earth. All their findings are collected in leaflets which are distributed as the *tha-gyan sa*, and when I was young I used to think that they fell from heaven as prophetic messages. Actually the present day practice is to fix April 13th for the official occurrence of Thingyan each year. The celebration of the festival by pouring of water is to honour the heavenly visitor, to wash away the old year's dirtiness and to begin the new by good and auspicious deeds. 796 791

By the day before Tha-gya Min's arrival in Ye, the *a-kyo nay*, the preparing-to-greet day, bamboo palisades had been put up along the verandahs, arrangements had been made for communal celebration and large-scale washing and feeding. All the girls spent the morning grinding thanakha and other fragrant barks and the boys went out to cut the leaves of the *the-byay* tree for the sacred water pots to be poured out at the arrival of the visitor. In the evening, Grandmother and other old people walked up to the rest houses near the monastery where my father had been educated, for at their time of life, fasting, meditation and the contemplation of younger people's enjoyment is the happiest way of greeting the New Year. In the evening, too, we carried out Grandmother's good deed of inviting a number of people from the village to come and wash their hair. Hairwashing is part of the New Year's rituals because the noblest part of the body, the head, must be in a clean condition at this time. In the days of the Burmese kings, there 796

* Desires and impulses, expressions of the clinging to existence.

674 like ours except that patches of blood made violent interruptions on the
764 chaste red and white striped design, being slung on a pole, carrying a
775 woman who had been hacked by the dah of a hot-tempered husband. When one of the villagers had died a sudden death through poisoning, we listened wide-eyed to Ma Aye Shwe's account of his burial. All the old and broken bottles of Ye had been collected and ground up. His grave was dug, and after the coffin had been put into it, was filled up with alternating layers of earth and of powdered glass. This was because one of our persisting animist beliefs is that a spirit whose body dies a "green" death, that is, sudden, violent and unnatural, will walk about the earth in the form of an undesirable ghost, and hence the glass which will keep it under the earth and prevent its escape, much as thieves are deterred from climbing a wall which has powdered glass strewn along its top.

731 Every few years also, the water of the Ye creek rose so high that the ground and main floors of all the houses were flooded, and my grandmother and aunts had to retreat with all perishable goods and furniture to the high reaches of the platform storey and camp there till the water retreated. How we longed to visit Ye when this happened, but the nearest we came to realizing these floods was to see unexpected little patches of the sand of the creek every now and again in the houses, where the traces of the visiting waters had not been swept away. In one really bad year the waters at chaung-bya swelled into a mountainous flood which rose suddenly in a great roar and carried with it huts and rafts and stored
[772] goods of all kinds. Grandmother and my great-aunts watched dumbly from the top of the pagoda hill, while cocks and hens and dogs and people clung to the thatched roofs of the floating houses, the cocks crowing and dogs baying and people praying, all rushing swiftly and inevitably past Ye, towards the great Thamoddhaya, the great ocean which is part of the waters which break the girdle of the Settkyawala Mountains circling the world around Myinmo Mount. Every few years, as a matter of fact, Uncle Thet Hnan, who had a garden and house at chaung-bya, lost a few tins of sesamum oil, or some part of his bamboo structures. This was because they all built and rebuilt the houses too near the water, to provide a quick escape from dacoits and enemies.

674 It was a dangerous life in these gardens even during our most recent years there, and my cousin Nyein Maung who was the stalwart to give my aunts most protection, developed into a rough and ready dispenser of justice. On one occasion he watched the hand of a thief creep up through the bamboo slathes of the flooring on which his little son played. The child wore a gold anklet which the hand coming out of the darkness tried to wrench off. Nyein Maung who anticipated that

175 578 563 yet with Burma itself. Brought up as a complacent child of a government officer in Burma, this was the first time that I realized how we had unconsciously thought of England, the British Empire, as a permanent world force during our lifetime—a force with which we might bargain advantageously or without success, but one that our fathers and we had taken for granted for all the time that we could remember. But now we realized it as one power—leading perhaps—amongst other powers in the West, and we realized also the existence of Japan and remembered how the Burmans who visited it always brought back stories of the beauty, progress and good manners of the country.

We left our English friends in the first half of August 1940, as they waited, braced for an invasion, to go to what they and we considered a war-free country. I was in the Ladies Room of a big restaurant in London just before I left, when the attendant who watched me wrap my longyi asked me which country I came from. "Burma," I told her. "Burma," she repeated uncertainly. "Is there a war there, Miss?" "No," I said laughing, "but there is a Road there." Yet I was only amusing myself. As we set out home, the furthest that our thoughts of war and Burma ranged, was to wonder whether the Burma Road and the recent closing of it had made people think more about Japan and China than they had done in 1937, when the outbreak of war between the two countries had caused little excitement except that some of my friends became consistent boycotters of Japanese goods. We also wondered vaguely whether trade had been affected, and whether thought and general social conditions had been stimulated with the world-shattering event of a European war, not dreaming that this was but the splash of a pebble compared to the tempest that was to follow.

Since I had left Burma, my mother and brother and sisters had settled 177. 36 633 ● 772 themselves in Rangoon and I wondered how the city would seem after the big cities of the West. Rangoon is not one of the ancient cities of Burma. Its present position in the life of the country and people is a complete turnabout from its traditional place, for in days gone by it had attracted the inhabitants through spiritual rather than material renown. While Pagan, Ava, Toungoo and Mandalay rose and fell in political and commercial importance, Rangoon—Dagon as it was called—continued unchangingly a seat of pilgrimage, connected with fable and divinity, forming an actual link with another world cycle that existed in the universe before this present arrangement of Mount Myinmo, with its surrounding heavenly, earthly and hellish regions, was formed.

632 773 For it was on the hill called Theinguttara, which now casts its shadow on the city of Rangoon with its crown of the Shwe Dagon Pagoda, that he omens for the spiritual life of this world cycle were manifested, before

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and ninepins, played with the big flat seeds of a jungle creeper. Pleasant they were under the shade of the great mango and pipul trees and the lofty cocoa-nut and palmyra palms, and exciting were the games, so that the customary stillness of the place was rudely broken upon by disputing voices, till a monk would come out and bring all back to work again as a penance. Then during the work there was the fun of the writing hour, when everybody had to write out maxims and prayers on his little parabaik with a clumsy pointed steatite pencil. There were always some stiff-fingered big pupils who could not manage to write their copy neatly or correctly, and as punishment had to take the good writers on their backs and march ruefully up and down the long schoolroom during pleasure. Sometimes they were thrashed, but the other punishment was the more dreaded. Then there was the schoolmaster monk, who would tell fairy stories of the other three great islands which lie in the sea round about Myinmo mountain; of the half-moon-faced western islanders, and the wondrous tree that bore everything eatable one could wish for and delivered it ready cooked; the joys of the six heavens of the Nats and the grisly horrors of Nga-yè, with its fearful ages of fantastic punishments. Every now and again travelling necromancers and hmaw sayās would spend a night or two at the monastery, and in recompense for the little delicacies and odds and ends of food which good-natured neophytes would get for them, used to tell stories of witchery and marvel. Sometimes there would be a sā-haw yā, a kind of cyclic poet, who knew half the zats in the language by heart, and would recite a little just for practice. Or a tattooing sayā would come round and mark some particularly favoured youth with a quaint figure. Discussion as to its meaning and probable virtues would be carried on in the shadowy evenings for months afterwards. Varieties of this kind recur to the old Burman as he thinks of the school days long ago, and he sighs with as much conviction as any European that there are no days so happy as the school days.

English rule has disturbed old customs a good deal in the province, but even now we may say that, as an invari-

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CHAPTER X

THE EARTH AND ITS BEGINNING

772 THE Lord Buddha cared very little for speculations, or
779 theories as to the construction and extent of the terrestrial
171 globe, or as to the size and motions of the sun, the moon, and the stars. Shin Gautama was entirely a moral philosopher, concerned with the workings of the mind, whose highest aim was to despise matter and free itself from such trammels in the progress towards Ne'ban. The consideration of natural phenomena was therefore entirely outside the province of the true sage. It is probable, therefore, that the transmogrified Hindu system which does duty for Burmese cosmography was elaborated rather by the Buddha's disciples than by himself. It has been altered only to suit Buddhistic religious views, with here and there the fancies of a lively imagination thrown in, but the outline of it existed before Prince Theidat came.

The Burmese are therefore certainly not responsible for it, but as some knowledge of the system is necessary for the comprehension of various superstitions, phrases, and forms of speech, it may be desirable to give a slight sketch of these astronomical and cosmical theories.

772 The word lawka means a whole revolution of nature.
779 The world is being constantly destroyed and reproduced, but each lawka lasts an incalculable length of years. It is divided into four periods, and it is not till the arrival of the fourth period that man appears upon earth. During that last period, divided into sixty-four Andrakaps, the life of man must, in each Andrakap, wax from ten years to an Athinkaya (a time represented by a unit and a hundred and

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sixty-four ciphers, one and a half quintillion years), and then gradually wane to ten years again, on account respectively of the merit and demerit in the world. We are now in the waning term of the eleventh Andrakap. The Buddhas only appear upon earth during the waning season of man's life, chiefly, of course, to stay the increasing influence of evil by preaching the law, and also because when man's life is slowly lengthening to an Athinkaya he is not so disposed to listen to their teaching. 100,000 years before the destruction of the world the Déwas come down from their six blissful seats and wander about the earth with dishevelled hair and mournful garb, proclaiming the sad tidings of the impending destruction of the world. Once again a hundred years before the cataclysm they come, and all mankind strives to raise itself beyond the influence of the destroying element. The world must be destroyed in any case, but there are three great principles of demerit which determine by what means the catastrophe will be effected. Concupiscence is the most common and the least heinous of these principles, and the world of the lustful will be destroyed by fire. Next comes anger, a more grievous sin than concupiscence, and the world ruined by the principle of anger will be destroyed by water. Worst of all is the sin of ignorance. The world of the ignorant will be scattered about the bounds of space by a mighty rushing wind, which beginning so gently as barely to sway the leaves and flowers, ends by breaking up with its irresistible force the vast bulk of Mount Myinmo and the Sekyawala circle of hills. Of sixty-four worlds, fifty-six are destroyed by fire, seven by water, and one by wind. Fire reaches to the fifth seat of the Rupa, the beings called Perfect. Water mounts higher by three seats to the eighth of the Byammās, and wind one seat beyond this. Out of the thirty-one seats of the world there remain therefore only eleven undestroyed. The Four States of Punishment, the abode of man, the six blissful seats of Nats; and five, eight or nine of the lofty dwellings of the Rupa, according to the destroying agent, are altogether overwhelmed and dispersed throughout space. The seven highest seats of the Byammās and the four of Arupa, where dwell the Immaterials, who having broken all ties with the material world, are ripe

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772 for Ne'ban, these eleven seats only remain constantly
779 undisturbed.

Then there is chaos for an athinkaya. When that mighty season has passed, rain begins to fall again throughout infinity. Fire, water, or wind may destroy the world, but water alone can reproduce it, though both the sun and the wind have minor parts to play. The drops gradually increase in size till they reach the volume of five, ten, a
[804] hundred, even a thousand yuzanas (a yuzana being about twelve miles English). The wind blows the water together in the spot occupied by the last world. A greasy scum gathers on the surface. The action of the sun gradually hardens this into a crust, which eventually assumes the exact appearance and shape of the last world. The Lord Buddha himself, it is written, did not know which was the first world and which would be the last. Many learned writers say that there is neither a beginning nor an end to the production and destruction of worlds. It will go on for ever like a great wheel, even as the great wheel of the Law itself. Since sorrow then is shadow to life, how should all beings strive to escape from the vortex of existences? In the *Abhidhamma* we read that there are two descriptions of worlds, called Thôn-nya Kabā and A-thôn-nya Kabā, that is to say, worlds to which the Buddhas came, and those to which they did not come. Some think that the latter kind of worlds must have been uninhabited. However that may be, it is certain that the law has always existed. It existed Kalpas and Mahakalpas before the first Budh came to this earth. The Buddhas only revive the knowledge of it among creatures upon the painful ladder of existence. Our present world, called Badda, has been particularly favoured. Already four Buddhas have appeared, and when the dispensation of Shin Gautama shall have passed away, two thousand five hundred years hence, there will come another, Arimadéya, whose stature will exceed the highest mountains in all the Southern Island.

823 The system of the world as explained by the Buddhist
779 Yahandas is somewhat diiferent from that adopted by
772 western men of science. In the centre is the Myinmo Taung, Mount Meru, the highest peak of all the world. Its

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shape is somewhat peculiar, like a cask floating end upwards in water. A height of 84,000 yuzanas above the sea is counterbalanced by as many of depth below the surface. It is supported on three feet, each a huge ruby or carbuncle. In the space between these feet dwell the Athura, the Nats who were tempted to drink by new arrivals in the seat of Toktheeta, and when overcome by the liquor were hurled into the sea by their crafty rivals. At various heights on the central mountain are ranged the six blissful seats of the Déwas, but many of them dwell elsewhere. Thus, for example, the sun, the moon, and most of the stars and planets are simply gorgeous dwellings of Nats. Away in the empyrean, rising perpendicularly one above the other, are the sixteen seats of Rupa, where the Byammās, the Perfect, dwell. These have got rid of almost all the passions, but especially of concupiscence. It is not till they have freed themselves from all affection for matter and material things that they can pass beyond to the incalculable heights of the four seats of Arupa, where the Immaterials dwell in a state of sublimest contemplation waiting only for the moment when they shall pass beyond into Ne'ban. Down below the earth, in a mass of hard rock, are the eight great Hells and the numberless smaller ones. Surrounding the Myinmo Taung and girdling round the earth are the seven ranges of the Sekyawala mountains, with seven seas interposed. In the sea round about Mount Myinmo, the great Thamôddaya Ocean, are the four great islands—Ottayakuru to the north, Pyôppawideha to the east, Aparagawyan to the west, and Zampudipa to the south. In the Southern Island dwells the race of man. Each of the great islands has five hundred smaller ones round about it, and in these islands dwell the English and other nations other than the Buddhists and the Indian heretics.

The Thamôddaya sea is too stormy to allow of any one passing from one of the great islands to any other. The Southern Island is the largest, and is shaped like a trapezium. The Western Island is like the full moon, the Northern is square, and Pyôppawideha is shaped like the moon in her quarters. The shape of the head of the different inhabitants follows the shape of the island, and the different sides

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823 of Mount Meru give their different colours to each island.
779 Thus the Eastern Island is all white from being opposite to
772 the silver face of the mountain; the Western is green, because on that side Myinmo is of glass; the Northern Island glitters like gold, and the Southern is a pale-coloured brown-like carbuncle. Each island is named from the great tree which grows upon it and forms the sacred insignia of the island. Thus the Southern Island is named from the Zampu tree, the great Eugenia.

The Eastern, Western, and Northern Islands are very pleasant to dwell in, but especially the Northern. There the people live to the age of a thousand years, and always appear to be no more than eighteen. In the other islands they only live to be five hundred. In other respects the Northern Island is a regular land of Cockayne. The fabled Padetha Bin, elsewhere only found in the happy countries of the Nats, grows there. From its bounteous branches hang the most gorgeous dresses of every variety of colour, and the happy islanders have only to take them off. Nor are they at any necessity to till the ground to procure themselves food. From this tree they obtain also an abundant supply of a most excellent kind of rice, already husked to their hands. All that they have to do is to place it on a certain large stone, and it is forthwith cooked, and upon the branches of the trees round about appear the most dainty meats. Truly the Northern islanders have a most enviable existence. But in one respect, like the inhabitants of the Eastern and Western isles, they are unhappy. They are
779 always born back to the same island. They cannot raise
775 themselves in the scale of being, like the otherwise sorrowful Southern islanders. Only in Zampudipa do the Buddhas appear to teach the law and free the people from constant deaths and reappearances. From Tahingaya, the first Buddha, to Shin Gautama, under whose dispensation we now live, there have been twenty-eight Buddhas, and all of them have come to the great Southern Island. To Byammās, to Nats, even to animals and the agonised dwellers in the lowest hells, the blessed words have come, but never to those other dwellers in the islands of the great sea Thamôddaya. Thus are men enabled to attain to the state of Nats, to pass

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through the seats of Rupa and Arupa, until finally, freed from passion and sorrow and the trammels of matter, they sink into the bliss of Ne'ban. Therefore have pious writers of old called the Southern Island Ne'ban's ferry.

Down below the earth, in the deepest recesses of the Southern Island, are the eight great Hells, surrounded by 40,040 smaller ones. Four of the great Hells are called Awidzi, and in addition to other tortures, terrible flames leap from wall to wall across the monstrous space, and extend on all sides beyond for a thousand yuzanas. The other four are called Lawkantyè, and there, instead of flames, we find hideous cold. A day in any of these places of torment is as long as thousands of mundane years.

The world having been created is as yet uninhabited. Our present earth, Badda, was peopled in the following way, From the seats of Zān, to which the destructive element had not reached, came down certain Byammās, some say three, some as many as nine. Holy people as they were and freed from all passions, they existed at first, like Adam and Eve, in a state of perfect bliss and innocence. They were not as the Kāma, the generating beings of the Four States of Punishment and the Seven States of Happiness—that of man and the six seats of Nats. But, like Adam and Eve, they fell into sin and thence into misery. First we read that they prayed for light. We may imagine that already the spiritual light had forsaken them, for in answer to their prayers appeared the sun, the moon, and the stars. The holy people had hitherto lived on a flavoured earth, which, however, driven away by their growing desire for matter, vanished and gave place to another species of food, a sweet creeping plant called Padalata. This was perfect in odour and flavour, but still the appetites of the people grew, and the Padalata was taken away and in its place appeared the Thalé san, a peculiarly fine kind of rice, which grew ready husked, and had only to be put in a pot, when it would cook itself. But by eating the Thalé rice, the Byammās became more and more gross, until, like Adam and Eve after eating the apple, they attained a knowledge of good and evil, and marriage was instituted. After this the

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779 Thalé san became more and more scarce. At first, no
● 772 matter how much was eaten, at night the portion which had been cut during the day reappeared; but when the first people fell into the sin of lust the rice gradually vanished. Where the rice was cut in the morning, there remained a bare patch at night. Since then man has had to labour, and earn his bread with the sweat of his brow.

779 Owing to the scarcity, crime first appeared in the world.
829 One man, fearing that his stock would not last him, went and stole from his neighbours' barns. Thus theft was the first crime committed in the world. The man whose rice was stolen at first only scolded the thief, and let him go. The robber, however, did not care for this, and came back a second and a third time. The third time he was seized and beaten. Thus out of the original crime of thievery arose abuse, reviling, assault, falsehood, and then punishments. In this way did crime and consequently law and justice take their origin, and have lasted since the very beginning of the world. Hitherto on account of the happy state in which the people had lived, without crime and without punishments, every one had been equal, and there had been no necessity for marking different grades. As, however, crime increased, and with it revenge, more or less sweeping according to temperament, the people took counsel together and resolved to appoint a man to be ruler over them, who should regulate their affairs and punish wrongdoers. Thus a king was first appointed, and his revenue was derived from tithes given by the people. Each man set apart a tenth of his Thalé san for the support of the king. The tithe system was kept up among the Burmese, the most direct in descent from the original people, until a few years ago. The kings extended the system. The rulers and governors of provinces received in place of salary the tithes of the districts which were under their charge. But King Mindôn Min, finding that with unscrupulous men the method was liable to abuse, abolished the system of tithes, and introduced the English method of paying a regular salary. It did not, however, work well. Many of the myo-sas, finding that they did not receive their money regularly from the State, continued to exact tithes as before, only secretly and with many cunning devices to hide

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CHAPTER XI

THE LADDER OF EXISTENCE

NOTWITHSTANDING the change, the pain, and the vanity of everything upon earth, yet the Lu-pyi, the Manôt-tha-bông, the state of man, is desirable beyond all others. Transience, misery, unreality prevail in all the thirty-one seats of the world, even in the twenty superior heavens, where those acted on by Kāma, generating beings, find no entrance. The Déwas come down to our earth from their six seats of bliss; the Byammās, even to the fourth state of Zān, are occasionally found in earthly guise in the precincts of holy monasteries; even Yahandas, who have entered into Thodda, the current of perfection, and after death attain the dreamful joy of Ne'ban, the cessation from existence, even these immaterial beings diffuse a saintly presence over the Southern Island. The great Lord Gautama appeared in the seat of man and preached the sacred law, and he preached it there because all the twenty-seven Buddhas before him had done the same, and when he preached it on that soft Indian eve,

> I know it writ that they who heard
> Were more—lakhs more—crores more—than could be seen,
> For all the Devas and the Dead thronged there,
> Till Heaven was emptied to the seventh zone,
> And uttermost dark Hells opened their bars;
> Also the daylight lingered past its time
> In rose-leaf radiance on the watching peaks,
> So that it seemed Night listened in the glens
> And Noon upon the mountains; yea! they write,
> The Evening stood between them like some maid,
> Celestial, love-struck, rapt; the smooth-rolled clouds
> Her braided hair; the studded stars the pearls

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body-servants, carrying a gold-sheathed sword, a velvet pillow, spittoons, betel-nut boxes, and a variety of other things of uses more or less obvious. Last of all, surrounded by his page body-guard, comes the mintha himself, reclining in a wan, a finely-carved litter, borne by many shoulders. Many of the officials are, of course, unable to make such a grand display as this, but every one does his utmost to surpass his fellows in some point or other, and the result is a spectacle which would furnish abundance of valuable notions to a pantomime scenic artist racking his brains for novelties.

All the retinue is left outside when they come to the palace and ascend the broad flight of steps flanked by the two great gilded cannon, and approach the nandaw, the magnificent Hall of Audience. At stated points they pay lowly reverence to the graceful spire which rises over the throne and marks the centre of the palace, of the town, of Burma, and therefore of the universe. Inside the nandaw each man has his special place, according to his rank, Englishmen being ordinarily told off with ministers of the third grade. They sit there and smoke, placidly awaiting events.

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The Hall of Audience is a fine building of its kind; a long columned chamber, open on three sides, with gilt and red pillars, and a profusion of ornaments. The walls are made gorgeous with bits of looking-glass, porcelain, fragments of coloured glass, a mosaic of queer odds and ends fastened on with a resinous gum. This style of ornamentation is peculiarly Burmese, and is really very striking, though the materials may not seem promising. The effect of the whole is unique, if a little bewildering. It is like a compound chromotrope out of order. But close inspection gives an impression of tawdriness, and the national Burmese carelessness appears through all. Round the tops of the wooden walls runs beautifully carved lattice-work, but some of it has got broken in one place, and at another all the gilding has come off. There are some richly ornamented doors, but hinges have not been available when they were put up, and they swing on a sort of ball and socket contrivance which serves the purpose, but makes close-fitting and easy movement impossible.

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carved with flowers and figures, and adorned with the usual flamboyant pinnacles, supported on massive teak pillars, painted vermilion colour at the base, and gilt higher up. Straight ahead is the great Hall of Audience, a colonnade, or columned arcade, extending along the entire eastern front, and opening directly upon it. At the end of a pillared vista stands the throne, on a dais, reached by five steps from the level of the hall. The top is a cushioned ledge, like the box in a theatre. Just over the throne, and in the centre of the palace, which is the centre of the city, which is the centre of Burma, which is the Turanian "hub" of the world, rises the seven-roofed spire, emblematic of royalty and religion. The princes of the highest rank sit in front to the right of the throne; those of the blood-royal, but not so closely connected, to the left. Then in regular gradation, opposite one another, the wungyi, atwinwuns, wundauks, and the minor officials. On either side of the hall of audience and behind are a number of minor throne-rooms, not rooms in the English sense of the word, but simply open roofed spaces, separated from each other by skirtings of planking, covered with gold-leaf, and supported by a multitude of teak pillars, dyed for the greater part of their height a deep red. Some rooms are almost entirely gilt, others are adorned with wall-paintings, others, again, with the favourite mosaic of bits of mirror and coloured glass, framed in a gilt network. Every room is furnished with one or more stands of arms; there is a rack of sadly ill-cared-for muskets round the throne itself. The palace is, in fact, a gigantic armoury. All the cannon and guns in the country are kept there. Hence it is that when the palace is taken by a usurper, the country is conquered. The abundance of gold-leaf ought to make the effect splendid, but the quantity of alloy there is in the gilding makes it speedily lose its glitter, and the general impression is that of dinginess, if not indeed of actual slip-shod tawdriness. But to be seen at its best the palace should be visited on a great beg-pardon day, when the rough plank floors are covered with gorgeous rugs and carpets, and the halls are filled with officials dressed in all the hues of the rainbow.

There are a variety of matters to be carefully observed by all who enter, or have anything to do with the palace.

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782 prayer is to Him to preserve us in future, to assist us in our troubles, to give us our daily food, not to be too severe upon us, not to punish us as we deserve, but to be merciful and kind. We ask Him to protect us from our enemies, not to allow them to triumph over us, but to give us triumph over them.

782 But the Buddhist has far other thoughts than
772 these. He believes that the world is ruled by everlasting, unchangeable laws of righteousness. The great God lives far behind His laws, and they are for ever and ever. You cannot change the laws of righteousness by praising them, or by crying against them, any more than you can change the revolution of the earth. Sin begets sorrow, sorrow is the only purifier from sin; these are eternal sequences; they cannot be altered; it would not be good that they should be altered. The Buddhist believes that the sequences are founded on righteousness, are the path to righteousness, and he does not believe he could alter them for the better, even if he had the power by prayer to do so. He believes in the everlasting *righteousness*, that all things work for *good* in the end; he has no need for prayer or praise; he thinks that the world is governed with far greater wisdom than any of his—perfect wisdom, that is too great, too wonderful, for his petty praise.

God lives far behind His laws; think not He has made them so badly as to require continual rectification at the prayer of man. Think not that God is not bound by His own laws. The Buddhist will never believe that God can break His own laws; that He is like an earthly king who imagines one

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code of morality for his subjects and another for himself. Not so; the great laws are founded in righteousness, so the Buddhist believes, in everlasting righteousness; they are perfect, far beyond our comprehension; they are the eternal, unchangeable, marvellous will of God, and it is our duty not to be for ever fretfully trying to change them, but to be trying to understand them. That is the Buddhist belief in the meaning of religion, and in the laws of righteousness; that is, he believes the duty of him who would follow religion to be to try to understand these laws, to bring them home to the heart, so to order life as to bring it into harmony with righteousness.

Now see the difference. We believe that the world is governed not by eternal laws, but by a changeable and continually changing God, and that it is our duty to try and persuade Him to make it better.

We believe, really, that we know a great deal better than God what is good, not only for us, but for others; we do not believe His will is always righteous—not at all: God has wrath to be deprecated; He has mercy to be aroused; He has partiality to be turned towards us, and hence our prayers.

But to the Buddhist the whole world is ruled by righteousness, the same for all, the same for ever, and the only sin is ignorance of these laws.

The Buddha is he who has found for us the light to see these laws, and to order our life in accordance with them.

So it will be understood, I think, why there is no

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prayer, no gathering together for any ceremonial, in Buddhism; why there is no praise, no thanksgiving of any kind; why it is so very different in this way from our faith. Buddhism is a wisdom, a seeking of the light, a following of the light, each man as best he can, and it has very little to correspond with our prayer, our services of praise, our meetings together in the name of Christ.

Therefore, when you see a man kneeling before a pagoda, moving silent lips of prayer, when you see the people sitting quietly in the rest-houses on a Sunday, when you see the old men telling their beads to themselves slowly and sadly, when you hear the resonant chant of monks and children, lending a soul to the silence of the gloaming, you will know what they are doing. They are trying to understand and bring home to themselves the eternal laws of righteousness; they are honouring their great teacher.

This is all that there is; this is the meaning of all that you see and hear. The Buddhist praises and honours the Buddha, the Indian prince who so long ago went out into the wilderness to search for truth, and after many years found it in his own heart; he reverences the Buddha for seeing the light; he thanks the Buddha for his toil and exertion in making this light known to all men. It can do the Buddha no good, all this praise, for he has come to his eternal peace; but it can arouse the enthusiasm of the follower, can bring into his heart love for the memory of the great teacher, and a firm resolve to follow his teaching.

The service of his religion is to try and follow

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

782 these laws, to take them home into the heart, that
772 the follower, too, may come soon into the Great Peace.

This has been called a pessimism. Surely it is the greatest optimism the world has known—this certainty that the world is ruled by righteousness, that the world has been, that the world will always be, ruled by perfect righteousness.

To the Buddhist this is a certainty. The laws are laws of righteousness, if man would but see, would but understand. Do not complain and cry and pray, but open your eyes and see. The light is all about you, if you would only cast the bandage from your eyes and look. It is so wonderful, so beautiful, far beyond what any man has dreamt of, has prayed for, and it is for ever and for ever.

This is the attitude of Buddhism towards prayer, towards thanksgiving. It considers them an impertinence and a foolishness, born of ignorance, akin to the action of him who would daily desire Atlas not to allow the heavens to drop upon the earth.

The world is ruled by laws, and these laws are laws of righteousness.

And yet, and yet.

782 I remember standing once on the platform of a famous pagoda, the golden spire rising before us, and carved shrines around us, and seeing a woman lying there, her face to the pagoda. She was praying fervently, so fervently that her words could be heard, for she had no care for anyone about, in such trouble was she; and what she was asking was this, that her child, her baby, might not die. She held

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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the world is one vast burial-ground; there are dead men everywhere.' 779 761

'One of our great men has said the same,' I answered.

He was not surprised.

'As it is true,' he said, 'I suppose all great men would see it.'

Thus there is no escape, no loophole for a delusive hope, only the cultivation of the courage of sorrow.

There are never any exceptions to the laws of the Buddha. If a law is a law, that is the end of it. Just as we know of no exceptions to the law of gravitation, so there are no exceptions to the law of death. 779 761 772

But although this may seem to be a religion of despair, it is not really so. This sorrow to which there is no relief is the selfishness of sorrow, the grief for our own loneliness; for of sorrow, of fear, of pity for the dead, there is no need. We know that in time all will be well with them. We know that, though there may be before them vast periods of suffering, yet that they will all at last be in Nebhan with us. And if we shall not know them there, still we shall know that they are there, all of them—not one will be wanting. Purified from the lust of life, white souls steeped in the Great Peace, all living things will attain rest at last. 779 761

There is this remarkable fact in Buddhism, that nowhere is any fear expressed of death itself, nowhere any apprehension of what may happen to the dead. It is the sorrow of separation, the terror of

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
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91. SYMBOL OF MYIMMO-DAUNG.

of the Burman type is the one cast for the Shwe-Dagôn Payâ by the Emperor Sinbyu Shin in 1775, which weighs forty-one tons.

According to the Burman cosmogony the world consists of four great islands, North, South, East and West, surrounded by the ocean. Burma and the known countries are situated in the south island. In the centre of all rises Mount Meru (*Myimmo-daung*). This centre of the universe is symbolized by a conventional tower provided with niches or caverns for mythical inhabitants of every sort, *Nat*, *Zawdyt* (sorcerers), *Bilu* (ogres), monsters half human and half brute, and dragons (No. 392). The symbol of *Myimmo-daung*, made of bamboo, with paper and tinsel, is a feature of various festivals. In substantial masonry it is a frequent adjunct of the temples.

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The *Bo* tree (*Bawdi-bin*), together with the rest of the *ficus* family, is sacred to the Hindu. The *Bo* is a variety of the *pipal* (*ficus religiosa*), a deciduous *ficus* with long copper-coloured acumina to the leaves. It is sacred to the Buddhists because it was while resting under the shade of a *Bo* tree at Gáya in Bahár, 600 years before Christ, that Gawdama realised the vanity of the ceremonial and ascetic systems, resisted temptation, and attained to supreme enlightenment, which, as Buddha, it became his mission to impart to mankind. "The *Bo* tree is to Buddhists what the Cross is to Christians" (Bigandet). The original *Mahâ-bodi* was piously tended while Buddhism flourished in India, and trees propagated from it were planted by Buddhist pilgrims. Such a tree is the historical *Bo* tree at Anurádhapúra in Ceylon, planted in 245 B.C. and still flourishing. Young plants cultivated from this tree are brought home to

92. BAWDI TREE.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
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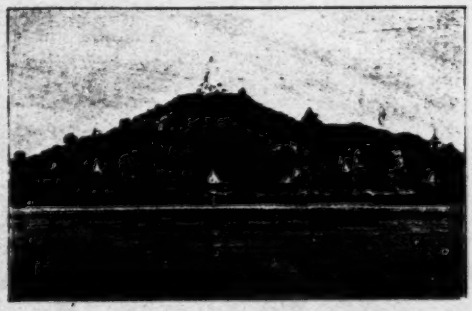
382. ROYAL INSIGNIA.

supervision, are combined into a district under a European magistrate, the Deputy Commissioner, who has a European officer for district superintendent of police, commanding an average force of four hundred native constables. At the district headquarters are a police-depôt, treasury, jail and hospital, besides courthouses and offices. The district officer hears appeals from the *myôôks*, and tries all offences except the gravest and heavy civil suits. This organisation is the backbone of the civil government, the 'Commission.' There are thirty-six such districts, and four hundred native magistrates, on salaries of one hundred to eight hundred rupees a month, besides one hundred and twenty-five native honorary magistrates. The success of this economical administration, organised by Sir Arthur Phayre, in ensuring the safety of life and property and the fulfilment of contracts has given a new value to enterprise and thrift. The British garrison of Burma in 1900 consisted of three thousand European and seven thousand five hundred Indian regular troops.

To return to native Burma—In the centre of the capital, and by euphemism of creation, rises the *pyatthat* which canopies the principal throne in the great hall of audience, where envoys and tributary princes used to be received. Here also the princes of his own blood and the high officers of state paid court to the king on *gaddw-ne*, days when they craved pardon of the king for their shortcomings. The throne (No. 1) is ascended by a stair at the back, leading from the council-room of the king's cabinet of palace ministers, who were the medium of communication with the *Hluttaw*. On such occa-



383. ANCIENT CAPITAL, SAGAING.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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418. SUHLAUNG AT THADINDYUT FESTIVAL.

and, in order to possess its proper value, should be completed in a day and a night. This is the only approach to a vigil. The texture is loose, and broad bands of tinsel are shot through to make up the woof faster.

Tawthalín is a minor festival, falling in Lent, and observed only in Pegu. The *Tawthalín* offerings are distinguished by being in thousands, one thousand little cakes, one thousand plantains, and so on (No. 282). The number one thousand is said to be symbolical of the thousand *gâta* or stanzas of the *Wéthandayâ zat*, the legend of Gawdama Buddha's last incarnation but one, closely prefiguring the final incarnation.

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The above are the Buddhist festivals, which are celebrated by the whole population together, with all the *éclat* they can give them. The only other recurring observances of a religious character have nothing to do with Buddhism, and are rejected by all earnest and enlightened Buddhists. These observances, if not furtively conducted, as is often the case, are kept by individuals only, or by households at a time; they have sufficient in common with the *nat* worship of the hill tribes, to show what the original Burman and Taláing worship may have been. Unlike the Karén, who knows only of evil *nats*, the Burman has both good and evil spirits. The former belong to the land of the *zat* romance, the latter are chiefly the survival of the primitive paganism. In the Burman cosmogony, *nat-yua* is the delectable land to which, by a courtesy analogous to the German "*hoch-*" and "*höchst-selig*," the kings are said to migrate at their demise. A higher order than *nat* is *thadyâ* and *thadyâ-min*, and above these the highest order of being, *byammâ*, the cloud-

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419. FIRE-BALLOONS AT THADINDYUT.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
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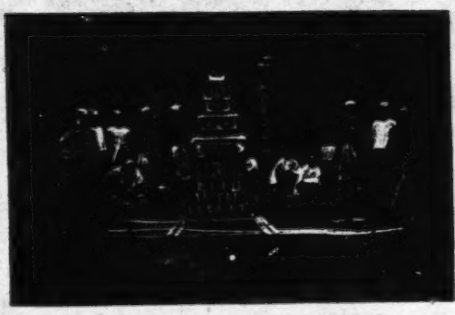
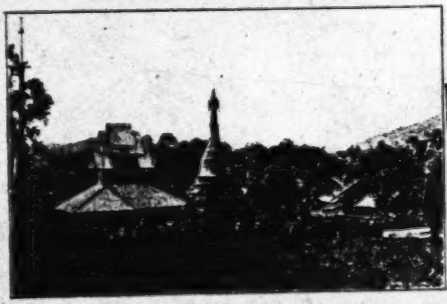
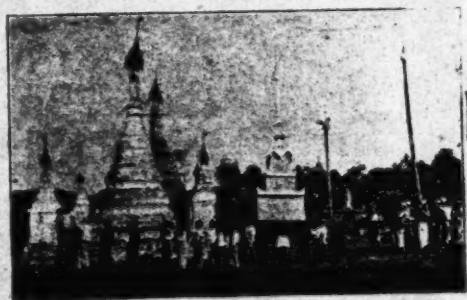
dwellers to whom the Burmans pretend to owe their origin. These ethereal beings are subject to the law of *karma*, and re-birth. They have to attain *nirvâna* like men, through virtue. Under "gods" in the Pali scriptures are to be understood such beings as these. Together with men they form the group *thaddawû* — rational beings—to whom the message of the Buddha is delivered. (See Stevenson, *Lexicon*, pp. 603, 788.) The higher orders of existence are not to be confounded with the higher religious states, *ayahât, ayâttapô*, which are attained by the "noble path" alone (p. 46). In this fairyland, situated in the *Himawinta taw* (Himalayas) and its clouds, the poetry of the people centres. (See *The Soul of a People*, Chapter XXI.) As the heavens are indwelt by ethereal beings, so also everything on earth has its presiding genius. The heavenly *genii* are beneficent, the terrestrial ones friendly or malign. The *nats* of the mountains inspire awe, and their protection is invoked against wild beasts and dangers to wayfarers. A *nat* is pro-



420. RIVER ILLUMINATIONS AT THADINDYUT.



421. MAZES AT THADINDYUT.



422. TAZAUNGMON FESTIVAL.

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Nibbāna be reconciled with the Buddhist denial of the soul? If there is no subject, if the apparent subject is analysed away, as seems to be the case in Buddhist psychology, what is there left to realise or attain Nibbāna? Thus Rhys Davids and others have held that the *An-attā* doctrine leaves no logical loophole for any conception of immortality.[61] In this Dialogue, however, U Agga's interpretation of Nibbāna certainly implies a conception of immortality. It is the more interesting because it is based on the definitely Buddhist theory that the individual is, in reality, an aggregate of the *khandhas*.[62] Nor is it suggested by his interrogators in the Dialogue that his view implies any soul-theory — that *bête noir* of Buddhism.[63]

The essential feature of U Agga's interpretation is a distinction between bad, unhealthy *khandhas* and good, healthy *khandhas*.[64] Condemnation of all *khandhas*, good or bad, he remarks to Sumana, recalls "those erring *rishis* of old who detested body and mortified it or who detested mind and stifled it." To deny the persistence of good *khandhas* in Nibbāna implies annihilation.

He leads up to this theory by discussing Sāriputta's statement that Nibbāna is the extinction of lust, ill-will and ignorance. Mere extinction is not Nibbāna, he argues, quoting Buddhaghosa and Dhammapāla. Extinction of corruptions implies ensuing health, and health, to be real, must be "bound up with sound body." Otherwise, health is merely an idea, a notion, a concept. "When a sick child who dreads medicine tells his mother that he is well, his health is (just) lip-health.... So any Nibbānic quality, ... to be real, must be bound up with sound *khandhas*." For confirmation, he quotes a Buddhist writer: "Indeed, because Nibbāna is conceived in dependence upon *khandhas*, it is made known even through our body." After all corruptions are purged, the Nibbāna life is expressed through sound *khandhas*.

This conclusion leads the disputants back to their rival conceptions of the nature of reality. Sumana objects that even sound *khandhas*, 'your

[61] *Dialogues of the Buddha*, Part I, pp. 187ff.

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[62] Sentient being is said to be constituted of five *khandhas*, each khandha an aggregate of ultimate elements of bodily form, feeling, perception, mental formations and consciousness Thus 'Form' (Rūpa) is analysed into 28 attributes. "The 'I' is nothing but a changing combination of physical and psychical phenomena;" cf. Nyanatiloka, *The Word of the Buddha*, p. 4; Tilbe, *Pali Buddhism*, pp. 24, 25.

[63] As the author of this Dialogue describes it elsewhere, "A Reply to Dr. Ross" *J.B.R.S.*, Vol. VIII, Part II, p. 168.

[64] Essentially this was the theory I attempted to elaborate to the Sayādaw in my interview.

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no one point in this line of development is it possible to find one stable expression of the personality. The totality of expressions is bound up in activity itself, but this totality, under *Saṃsāra* conditions, never comes to a point: after each life another commences. Personality is only acquired when the germinal flowers in the Unchangeable. 775* 779*

Nibbāna is the flowering of personality.[59] In self-supporting activity, pure activity, detached from any temporal determination, the Nibbāna personality results from the Buddhist discipline which may be said to have as its object this very achievement of personality. Primitive Buddhism was not so far removed from the conception of a soul as is sometimes supposed — a conception which Father d'Eypernon compares with the definition of personality given in Scholastic Philosophy. He suggests that it is partly the failure to note the scholastic definition of the soul which has prevented full recognition of the implications of the Buddhist approach. Buddhism, he concludes, is not inconsistent; it is incomplete — incomplete because it provides no principle of unity.

In favour of Father d'Eypernon's exposition is the fact that he links his solution not only to Buddhist theory, but to Buddhist life, especially to the cultivation of the interior life as pursued in the monastery. There is, however, in such an emphasis some danger of reviving the caricature of the Hīnayāna monk which represents him as entirely and selfishly concerned with his own salvation. Against such an exaggeration, we have to set all that has been previously said about the relation of the monastery to the life of the community. We have also to set the kind of ethical teaching contained in the Parable of the Saw where the monks are bidden 'to enfold the whole world in their radiant thoughts of love.'[60]

Incidentally, it is only part of the truth that the Buddhist objection to 'soul theory' was primarily a reaction against 'the fixation of the Hindu theory of the Ātman.'[61] There is ground for the view that the Buddhist objection is partly ethical. The Buddhist denies the soul, not only as a false core of permanence but as a false core of separation, detaching man from the rest of Nature. As against Monism, Hīnayāna Buddhism may be described as a pluralism, but it is a pluralism in which the whole of Nature seeps into every part of it.[62] [772]

The basic Buddhist objection to soul theories, however, is just the fact that they *are* theories. It is remembered that two questions of the kind are listed among the unprofitable questions to which the Buddha gave

[59] "Le Nirvāna est l'épanouissement de la personne," d'Eypernon, *ibid.*, S. 212.

[60] *M.* I. 127 (trans. Chalmers, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 83).

[61] d' Eypernon, *ibid.*, Part. II, Section 2, chap. 2, p. 201.

[62] Cf. A. N. Whitehead, *Nature and Life*, p. 31.

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175 578 563 yet with Burma itself. Brought up as a complacent child of a government officer in Burma, this was the first time that I realized how we had unconsciously thought of England, the British Empire, as a permanent world force during our lifetime—a force with which we might bargain advantageously or without success, but one that our fathers and we had taken for granted for all the time that we could remember. But now we realized it as one power—leading perhaps—amongst other powers in the West, and we realized also the existence of Japan and remembered how the Burmans who visited it always brought back stories of the beauty, progress and good manners of the country.

We left our English friends in the first half of August 1940, as they waited, braced for an invasion, to go to what they and we considered a war-free country. I was in the Ladies Room of a big restaurant in London just before I left, when the attendant who watched me wrap my longyi asked me which country I came from. "Burma," I told her. "Burma," she repeated uncertainly. "Is there a war there, Miss?" "No," I said laughing, "but there is a Road there." Yet I was only amusing myself. As we set out home, the furthest that our thoughts of war and Burma ranged, was to wonder whether the Burma Road and the recent closing of it had made people think more about Japan and China than they had done in 1937, when the outbreak of war between the two countries had caused little excitement except that some of my friends became consistent boycotters of Japanese goods. We also wondered vaguely whether trade had been affected, and whether thought and general social conditions had been stimulated with the world-shattering event of a European war, not dreaming that this was but the splash of a pebble compared to the tempest that was to follow.

Since I had left Burma, my mother and brother and sisters had settled 177. 36 633 772 themselves in Rangoon and I wondered how the city would seem after the big cities of the West. Rangoon is not one of the ancient cities of Burma. Its present position in the life of the country and people is a complete turnabout from its traditional place, for in days gone by it had attracted the inhabitants through spiritual rather than material renown. While Pagan, Ava, Toungoo and Mandalay rose and fell in political and commercial importance, Rangoon—Dagon as it was called—continued unchangingly a seat of pilgrimage, connected with fable and divinity, forming an actual link with another world cycle that existed in the universe before this present arrangement of Mount Myinmo, with its surrounding heavenly, earthly and hellish regions, was formed.

632 •773 For it was on the hill called Theinguttara, which now casts its shadow on the city of Rangoon with its crown of the Shwe Dagon Pagoda, that the omens for the spiritual life of this world cycle were manifested, before

the last world was dissolved in chaos. On this hill five lotus buds sprang out of the earth; they opened into blossom, and from each flew a sacred bird which bore a sacred yellow robe towards the heavens. These five robes presaged the coming of five Buddhas who would guide the future world along the noble path to Nirvana. After this sign, that former world was destroyed; the present world followed, and the Buddhas appeared as foretold: Kaukathan, Gaunagong, Kathapa and Gautama, who successively attained enlightenment in this world, and whose statues now sit, each fifty feet tall and twenty feet broad, back to back in a great quadrate at the Kyaikpun Pagoda, calm and majestic as the grass grows about them and the rain washes down on their faces, awaiting the arrival of the fifth and last Buddha, after which this world cycle will be destroyed in a universal chaos. As each Buddha saw his enlightenment in this world he left a relic at the Theinguttara Hill, which had foretold his coming and which would now mark his attainment of wisdom—Kaukathan his staff, Gaunagon his water filter, Kathapa a portion of his robe, and Gautama his eight hairs which were enshrined in the first Shwe Dagon Pagoda after many perilous journeys. 632 773

But now the importance of Rangoon banishes all that into the realm of our dreams. The beginnings of trade date from about 1760 after King Alaungpaya had won a battle here and called the place *Yangon*: end of strife; but the big foreign port sprang up suddenly after 1852 when the British gained possession of it; the ships coming into its harbour from the oceans grew larger and larger, buildings followed the expanding commerce, roads and railways were built to all parts of Burma, foreigners crowded in and stamped its character, and by 1941 Rangoon had become a cosmopolitan city of over 500,000 inhabitants, more than three times larger than the next largest city in Burma and controlling over 80% of its export trade. 177, 36 632

If the Burmese Empire of former days had been a sea-power, the development of Rangoon would not have been left to this late day, for its position makes it the obvious port for the whole country, and it had many natural beauties which would have made it a fair metropolis. Twenty-one miles up from the open sea, the Rangoon River gives a broad sweep to the left and allows a frontage of over two miles for ocean shipping to anchor. The river is a continuation of the Hlaing River flowing southwards from about 50 miles north of Rangoon and this, with the Pegu River and the Pazundaung Creek which join its waters opposite Rangoon from the right, made inland water transport also easy. The land giving on to the Rangoon River was open and flat for the layout of a fine city, with, further in, lakes and wooded hillocks, but just north of Rangoon the range of hills known as the Pegu Yomas stretched northwards for 361 504

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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and ninepins, played with the big flat seeds of a jungle creeper. Pleasant they were under the shade of the great mango and pipul trees and the lofty cocoa-nut and palmyra palms, and exciting were the games, so that the customary stillness of the place was rudely broken upon by disputing voices, till a monk would come out and bring all back to work again as a penance. Then during the work there was the fun of the writing hour, when everybody had to write out maxims and prayers on his little parabaik with a clumsy pointed steatite pencil. There were always some stiff-fingered big pupils who could not manage to write their copy neatly or correctly, and as punishment had to take the good writers on their backs and march ruefully up and down the long schoolroom during pleasure. Sometimes they were thrashed, but the other punishment was the more dreaded. Then there was the schoolmaster monk, who would tell fairy stories of the other three great islands which lie in the sea round about Myinmo mountain; of the half-moon-faced western islanders, and the wondrous tree that bore everything eatable one could wish for and delivered it ready cooked; the joys of the six heavens of the Nats and the grisly horrors of Nga-yè, with its fearful ages of fantastic punishments. Every now and again travelling necromancers and hmaw sayās would spend a night or two at the monastery, and in recompense for the little delicacies and odds and ends of food which good-natured neophytes would get for them, used to tell stories of witchery and marvel. Sometimes there would be a sā-haw sayā, a kind of cyclic poet, who knew half the zats in the language by heart, and would recite a little just for practice. Or a tattooing sayā would come round and mark some particularly favoured youth with a quaint figure. Discussion as to its meaning and probable virtues would be carried on in the shadowy evenings for months afterwards. Varieties of this kind recur to the old Burman as he thinks of the school days long ago, and he sighs with as much conviction as any European that there are no days so happy as the school days.

English rule has disturbed old customs a good deal in the province, but even now we may say that, as an invari-

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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585 with which he intends to set up house: a bundle of mats,
369 a long arm-chair, a teak box, mattresses, pillows, besides materials for the feast and presents for the bride. The people who have put up the string — called the gold or silver cord—usually young men intent on a jollification of their own, stop the happy man, and threaten to break the string with a curse on the married couple unless some money is given them. It is simple extortion, and English district officers sometimes forbid it. Nevertheless the speculation is usually successful. I suppose no one feels very niggardly on his marriage day.

585 The other custom is much more singular, more ancient, and infinitely more disagreeable. On the night of the marriage a band of the young bachelors of the place come and shower stones and sticks on the roof of the house where the happy couple are, keeping up sometimes such a sustained battery that the thatch or wooden shingles suffer materially, while the furniture and even the newly-wedded couple occasionally do not escape injury. In Lower Burma the lads are usually bought off with a sum of money, and where the officials do not interfere to prevent it, the custom has degenerated into a system of extortion. Not a few lawsuits have sprung out of such sieges. The money paid in toll to this horseplay goes by the name of ké-bo, and is supposed to be devoted by the receivers to making offerings at the pagoda, but the young men nowadays use it shame-
585 lessly for their own entertainment. In Upper Burma the
114 blackmail is never demanded, and consequently Father San Germano was puzzled to conceive any reason for the extraordinary practice. Captain Forbes seeing the payment to procure relief, believed that extortion was the sole origin as
585 well as object of the performance. But the learned in Bur-
773 mese folk-lore assign it a much higher and more estimable beginning. When, after the world was formed, it was first peopled from the superior heavens of the Byammās, of the nine that remained behind, weighed down by the gross earthly food they had eaten, five gradually became men and four women. When these Byammā-gyi ko-yauk, these nine great ancestors of the Burmese and of all mankind, had gradually degenerated, through the substitution of Pada-

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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lata for the original flavoured earth, and of Thale rice for the leguminous creeper, desire arose among them, and four of the men took the four women to wife. The fifth man naturally resented being left compulsorily single, and pelted the happy couples with stones on their marriage night. Sympathy with the feelings of this archetypal bachelor has perpetuated the stone-throwing by the lu-byos down to the present day, and if there is no dearth of eligible spinsters in our times, the lonely bachelor may be allowed to express his envy of his friend's bliss without being accused of anything but gross cupidity. 585 773

After marriage the couple almost always live for two or three years in the house of the bride's parents, the son-in-law becoming one of the family and contributing to its support. Setting up a separate establishment, even in Rangoon, where the young husband is a clerk in an English office, is looked upon with disfavour as a piece of pride and ostentation. If the girl is an only daughter, she and her husband stay on till the old people die. 591 583

Polygamy is recognised and permitted, but practically does not exist now in British territory. A man with more than one wife becomes a subject of common talk, and a native official now living is well known all through the delta as the myo-ok with twenty wives. In native territory the right to have several wives was equally little used in practice. Many of the high officials who travelled about over large districts had wives in almost all the towns they visited —a custom in great measure induced by the rule which provided that the mayā-gyi, the chief wife, had to be left in Mandalay as a hostage for the fidelity of the official. But the great bulk of the people are, and always have been, monogamous. King Mindôn had fifty-three recognised *wives*, of whom thirty-seven survived him. His children numbered one hundred and ten, of whom upwards of fifty survived him. Besides the wives, like Solomon, he had numerous concubines. So, indeed, have many lesser people. 595 [647]

The forbidden degrees are few. Marriages with mother, daughter, sister, and half-sister, aunt, grandmother, and granddaughter, are forbidden, but none else. A son may marry his stepmother; it is expressly mentioned in the 582

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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done in order to legally hand over a gift. As the water falls drop by drop on the ground, the pôngyis read out the formulæ, the substance of which is as follows: "Firm in my belief in the three precious things, the Lord, the Law, and the Assembly, I make this offering that I may be freed from all present and future miseries. May all creatures suffering torment in the four states of punishment reach the happy seats of nat-dêwas. May all my relatives, friends, and all men inhabiting this earth and the ten thousand worlds, share in the benefits of this meritorious work. O earth, and ye spirits, guardians of this place, bear me witness to the piety of this gift."

It is worthy of note that it is explicitly stated that the inward dispositions of the giver have nothing to do with the merit resulting from a good work. The merits are strictly proportioned to the degree of sanctity or perfection of him who receives the alms. Hence the glorious release which awaits an otherwise bad man who erects a pagoda.

Zedis are of many shapes and degrees of elaboration, but one common idea may be traced through them all. If you ask a Burman monk the cause of the variations in the form of the payā, he will tell you that the Buddha left no instructions regarding them in the holy books, but had only said that a small mound should be raised over his bones in the form of a heap of rice. Apart from the relation in which the payā stands to the Buddha himself as the representation of the holy one sunk in meditation, the ostensible object is the preservation of relics, and these are to be laid in a shrine, like the lotus-bud of which the zedi is typical, and later by an extending of the lines this got the form of a bell or spire. In the Malla Lingaya Wuttu we are told that the infant Buddha in the womb of Queen Maia resembled a lotus-bud, or a beautiful pagoda, and the conjunction of this idea with the simple original tumulus has undoubtedly led to the typical form as now seen in Burma. The names for various parts of the building all recall the idea of the flower-bud, with its young leaves folded in adoration. Thus the rounded swelling just below the slender spire is called the hnget-pyaw-bu, the banana palm-bud, and on the extreme summit

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Lower Burma

at the top of the hti is the seinbu, the diamond-bud, which in not a few poor districts is represented by a soda-water bottle, which combines the resemblance to a flower-bud with the good offices of a lightning conductor. The hnget-pyaw-bu is usually surrounded with lavish adornment of the sacred lotus. The payās that rise up into a plain cone or spire are therefore the nearest to the original tumulus, the top being simply drawn out into a conical point. On the other hand, the bell-like pagodas are only a direct imitation of the lotus-bud, and this has led to the more rounded dome-like forms, sometimes called thabeit hmauk, the inverted begging-pot. This term, however, is applied to the swelling-out round part on every pagoda, and has thence been borrowed to designate special shrines. It has nothing to do with phallic worship as some have imagined, nor is there any idea of the resemblance to a human skull. Such grim reminders of mortality common in Thibetan Buddhism do not commend themselves to the Burman.

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The buildings are all made of crumbling, sun-dried brick, for it is enough to gratify the pious feeling of the moment, and even the long years that the most solidly built stone edifices might last would only be as an evanescent drop in the stream of eternity. Thus the Burman sees no harm in building pagodas of sand, or even cloth and pasteboard, and in the national annals the victory which false shrines won over more substantial erections is a favourite theme. In Lower Burma, the payās are mostly of the simplest pattern, derived from the archetypal rice-heap and the lotus-bud. They are solid pyramidal cones, rising with a gradually diminishing rounded outline, and surmounted by a hti, or "umbrella" spire, a construction resembling the musical instrument called a *chapeau chinois*, formed of concentric rings, lessening to a rod with a small vane called hnget-ma-nā on the top. They are almost without exception erected on more or less elevated platforms. Burma is quite different from other Buddhist countries, where the relics are exhibited on great feast days. The payā is perfectly solid with the exception of the tāpana taik, situated directly under the spire and the hti, and

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"The good that I have done in this world; all the alms that I have given [may they be for the benefit of] my parents, teachers, cousins, and all my relations; all who in Zampu-dipa are kings of the earth, all queens, their sons and daughters; nobles and all men of rank, officers, and all people of the earth in the thirty-one seats of the world. All the merits I have gained, may they be shared with these. I give them and share them freely. The alms are manifest. I have given them. This good work, when I forget it [*i.e.* in my next life], may it be counted to me in the time of the Buddha Arimadeya, when he is revealed. The friendly witnessing nats will bear testimony, as they wring the water from their streaming hair." 000

The allusion to the witnessing spirits refers to the Mathôndaye nats who testified that Shin Gautama was the true Buddha. Mān Nat, the spirit of evil, came and claimed the throne under the Bawdi-bin as his, and appealed to all his countless retinue as witnesses that he was the true Buddha, and the rightful possessor of the throne. They replied with a great shout. The Lord Buddha had no one to call in evidence but the earth, and to it he addressed himself. The earth replied with a violent quaking and a roar that scared away all Mān Nat's noisy host. The Mathôndaye nats stand as representatives of the earth, and it is to gain their testimony that a cup of water is always poured out whenever an offering is made. Hence their wet hair. At the Shwe Zigôn pagoda between Nyaung-u and Pagān, the Mathôndaye nats are represented under umbrellas and with books. Their images almost always display them wringing the water out of their long tresses. It is to draw the attention of these nats that the worshipper, after striking the pagoda bell, strikes the earth. 773 788

The small bell in the South Kensington Museum, in the case close by the larger one, bears the following inscription:—"In the month of Tabodwè [February], on the fifth of the waning moon, in the year 1204 [1842 A.D.], on a Sunday at about four in the afternoon, this bell was cast and moulded of pure copper. Its weight is 594,049 kyats [this is an absurd misstatement, or a gross piece of flattery to the king]. There are four lions on the hanging apparatus. Its height 000

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CHAPTER XXIV

A GRACIOUS PLOUGHING

LIKE the "royal elder brother" of China, the king of Burma ought to go out once a year to plough the fields. Thibaw Min did not do it during the first two years of his reign, and, as far as I am aware, was equally heedless throughout the later years also. The consequences ought to have been disastrous. According to tradition, the failure of the Lètwin mingala to come off should have caused a drought all over the country. But the Mo hkaung did not ensue; on the contrary, there was Mo kaung: an aspirate makes all the difference between a water-famine and seasonable showers. King Thibaw went very little indeed out of his palace. The annals of the country supply too many instances of kings, who, having gone abroad, found on their return to the palace gates that a usurper had taken possession of the throne in the meantime, and had no better greeting for his predecessor than a short shrift and a red velvet sack in which to plunge his body into the Irrawaddy. This unlovable custom had great weight with King Thibaw; but it was unwise of him to entirely abandon so venerable a tradition as the Lètwin mingala. It was at this ceremonial that one of the earliest marvels in the life of the Buddha Gautama happened. The king Thudawdana, with eight hundred noblemen save one, was ploughing the fields at the annual festival. Many country people came to see the great sight, and the city emptied itself. The maids who had charge of the little Prince Theidat laid him down under the shade of a tree and went to look on. The infant Buddha rose up as soon as they were gone, and sitting

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cross-legged in the fashion in which he is ordinarily represented in the images, became sunk in meditation. The careless maids all through the hot afternoon forgot about their princely charge, until the returning crowds and the setting sun reminded them of their neglect. Then they hurried to the tree and found that the Zampu tha-bye had maintained its shadow in the exact same position all day as it was in when Prince Theidat was first laid down. Notwithstanding the arc the sun had described, the shade had all along hung over the head of the meditating Payā Alaung.

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The festival has therefore special reason to be celebrated by the descendants of the solar kings. It was also in every way a most picturesque fête, pleased the people, and offered a valuable opportunity for squeezing money out of them. King Mindôn never omitted it, even when he was grown old and portly, and little able to follow the slow-stepping bullocks. The ceremony took place in the beginning of June, about the time when the south-west monsoon usually breaks in Mandalay. The order went forth that the king would come out on such and such a day, and the people were enjoined to get ready. Not to see him—far from it. The right of a cat to look at a king in Mandalay was not well established. The Amein-daw was issued in order that the heads over ten houses, the Sè-eing gaungs, might see that the road in their district was in proper repair, and that the yazamat had not got out of order. The yazamat, or king's fence, was a kind of lattice-paling put up in every street in the walled town, and in any of those in the suburbs through which the king was likely at any time to pass. It was formed of thick diagonal spars made into hurdles, which were lashed to heavy posts sunk in the ground at regular intervals. The whole was whitewashed, and often flower-pots stood on the top of the posts to enliven the structure a little; and it certainly wanted enlivening a good deal. The lattice-fence undoubtedly looked very neat and tidy, as a long straight road lined with Lombardy poplars does; but it became terribly tiresome, when you found all the streets looking exactly the same, with this six-foot-high heavy wood fence standing within a couple of feet or so of

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the two are smashing away at one another with their long hair streaming over their faces and down their shoulders. Friends join in, and almost before you can realise what has happened, the actors disappear, the women and children run off home, and the street is filled with an excited crowd of men swaying backwards and forwards, and fighting promiscuously. For this reason pwès are now never allowed in towns without permission from the civil authority, and numbers of policemen are always at hand to nip any riot in the bud. With the same object performances are only allowed in large towns about the time of the full moon, when there is abundance of light, in case the street lamps should be put out. The worst row of the kind I ever saw, however, was started by two of the Burman policemen themselves. They quarrelled about the merits of two apyodaws, talented *danseuses*, and the crowd, relishing the absurdity of the thing, backed up the quarrel with such energy that broken heads were plentiful and a ward in the infirmary was filled.

545 579 [633]

Foreigners very often make the mistake of taking the performances of children's companies to be actual zāt plays. Even Captain Forbes, usually so accurate, falls into this error in speaking of a representation of the Wethandaya zāt. This must simply have been a yein, an adaptation of the great drama for performance by the little choral dancers. For people who do not understand Burmese well—among whom, of course, the late Captain Forbes was certainly not to be included—the mistake is very easy. They are far prettier to look at, and much preferable in every way to the actual text of the birth-story, mainly because they are not so dismally drawn out, and can ordinarily be got through in an evening.

536 773

The dramas are all founded on the tales which Shin Gautama told of five hundred and ten of his previous existences, or on events in the lives of kings and heroes in India. None of them are original. The story in every instance is taken from the Hindoo, the adapter in most cases not even taking the trouble to nationalise the names of places and characters. It is only in the extemporising of the clown that anything really characteristic comes out. The Hindoo sense of humour is vastly inferior to the

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Burmese. The term zāt or, still more so, wuttu (*i.e.* a real story) is properly applied only to the religious plays, the five hundred and ten Jatakas. The work of fiction not necessarily religious is called a Pyazat, an *acting* play. Thus you speak of the Utena Wuttu (given in part by Yule), but of the Zawta Gômma Pyazat.

Ten of the religious dramas stand out prominently from the others. These are called the Zatgyi Sèbwè, and are designed to show how the Lord Buddha in turn overcame all the deadly sins. They are named: (1) *Temi*, (2) *Zanecka*, (3) *Thuwunnashan*, (4) *Nemi*, (5) *Mahawthata*, (6) *Buyidat*, (7) *Sanda Gônimia*, (8) *Nayidda*, (9) *Widuya*, and (10) *Wethandaya*. Several of them are very interesting. The *Wethandaya* is probably best known on account of the real pathos of the story and the beauty of the composition. It illustrates the boundless pity of a Budh. The prince—Gautama's last incarnation on earth previous to his appearance as Prince Siddartha or Theidat—gives away everything he possesses, even to his wife and children. The Nemi and Buyida zāts, or wuttus as they are called indifferently, are also very popular on account of the particulars they give of the nga-yè, the great hell, and the country of the nagās, fabulous creatures, like the kraken, that sleep deep down below, far beyond the ken of mortal man. The similarities between Norse mythology and Buddhist cosmogonies have often been noticed, and the legend of the kraken or nagā is not the least singular.

Of the other more secular plays, U Hpo Nya is the most celebrated recent author. He was killed in King Mindôn's reign by the Tabè Mintha, one of the most brutal of the royal princes, and for whose son's head King Thibaw twice
[662] paid a thousand rupees. The young man, however, lived long after King Thibaw himself had gone. His father's victim, U Hpo Nya, was particularly celebrated for the sweetness and melody of the songs introduced in his pieces, these songs, of course, being practically original. No one before or since is equal to him in this respect. The *Wizaya Zat* is probably his masterpiece, and forms one of the stock-in-trade of every company in the country. Maung Hpe, the son of a former wungyi, or minister of state in Mandalay, is

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Here or elsewhere,
With praise and prayer
I seek him for my guide.

Ah, still the Wut
Its baleful fruit
Doth bring before mine eyes.
See, bright and clear,
The Saddan mere
And round the mountains rise.

Like jangled chime,
Or tangled rhyme,
The piteous tale is told;
The Saddan Min[1]
By death solves sin
Committed once of old.

Thrice wretched she,
By destiny
Marked out the blow to guide;
She, then as Queen
Thubadda seen
Had erewhile been his bride.

But beauty's curse
Hath made her nurse
Greed most akin to hate;
The milk-white tusk
She sought to busk
With glories six her state.

Then her behest
She hath addressed
To Thawnôtto, the hind;
Fell hunter that,
As Dewadat
Hath felon deeds designed.

[1] The Saddan Min is the Celestial White Elephant, an avatar of the Buddha Gautama. Hence it is that white elephants are so revered and regarded as the symbol of universal sovereignty. Thubadda had been the Saddan's queen in a previous existence. She repents, dies of sorrow, when she hears of the Lord White Elephant's end, and afterwards, in consequence, becomes a Yahanda in the time of the revealing of the Buddha. Mèbadda is the actual consort of the Saddan. She became, in after existence, Yathawdaya, the wife of Prince Theidat, before he left the palace and devoted himself to acquiring the Supreme Wisdom. Thawnôtto, the hunter, became the wicked Dewadat, cousin and brother-in-law of the Lord Buddha, and now languishes in Awidri, suffering punishment for his attempt on the life of Shin Gautama.

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O that curve in the round arm!
It has wrought men grievous harm.
Like the sylphs when they're at play,
Like the maids of Mandalay,
Without display
In everyday
Quiet dresses they
Are busked and gay
As the daughters of the palace, as the maidens of the skies
In their natural, their usual array.

O! could I but sing what I think,
My heart would no more on the brink
Of despairing love struggle and sink,
Ye maidens to heavens the link;
Each passer-by
Who casts his eye
Upon the buxom Hanthawaddy girls,
Though he be sage,
His feelings wage
Fierce war within his brain-pan till it whirls.

Dewa daughters, fair, fair,
Rosebud fairies, ware, ware,
Born men's hearts to snare, snare,
Can I paint your ways,
Better sound your praise,
In verse
That's terse
Than thus: You're fair as any maid in Mandalay.

Barani is a daughter of nats, corresponding very much to the classical Flora. [832]

Madi, the spouse of Prince Wethandaya, is always regarded as the model wife. [593]

Amè! "mother!" is the invariable exclamation of all Burmans on all possible occasions of astonishment, anger, doubt, or delight. [201]

The name Hanthawaddy, properly applied to the whole province, is, in songs, usually employed to designate Rangoon, for rhythmical more than any other reason, just as Mamye, or Mye, or Man stands for Mandalay. [195]

"Rosebud fairies," called bôngyo, are daughters of nats, who having stayed in the country of the déwas for a thousand years, are obliged to come down to the seat of man again. 539 773

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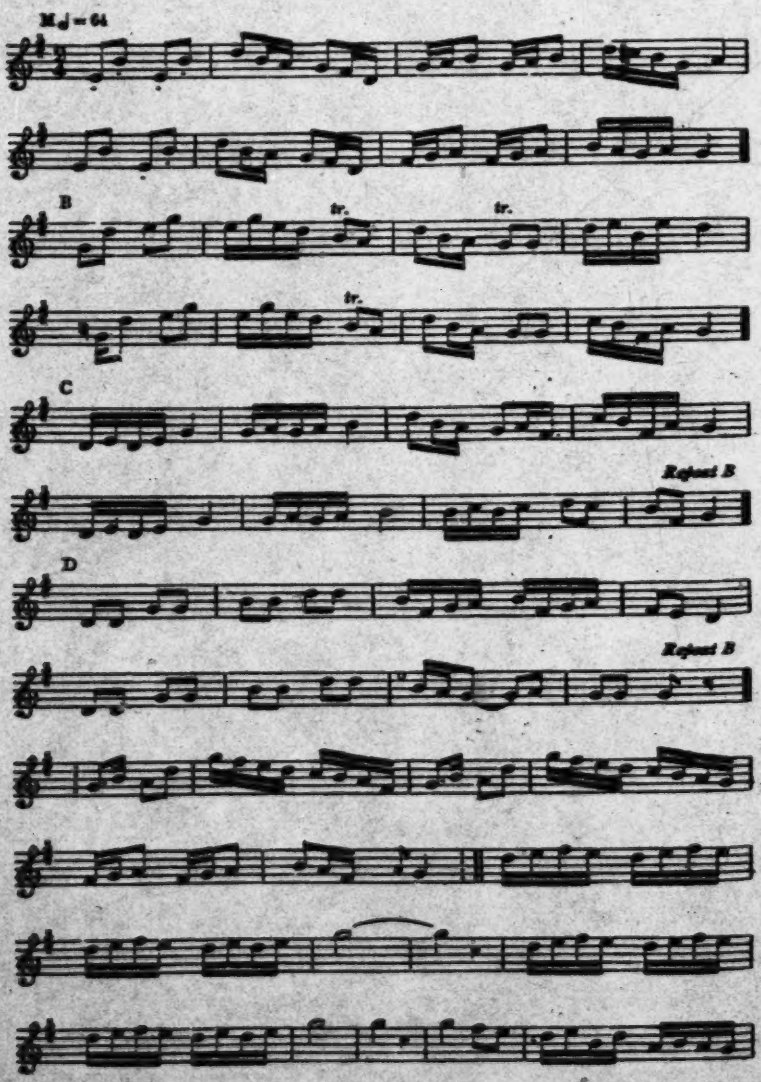
They are born from roses. Such charming houris apparently particularly affect Rangoon.

The following is the score as written down by Mr. St. Clair, now and for many years, editor of the *Singapore Free Press* :—

KAYA-THAN



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Love, the cloud-rack,
Flashed blue gleams of hope back,
Broke and furled its fringes black;
Here I wait
At thy gate;
Open straight,
Be not late,
Hot with hope I wait.

My pet is fair
With flowers twined in her hair,
Kerchief gold-meshed like a snare,
Like a net
Fairly set
Hearts to get,
Sweet my pet,
Mine lies in that net.

Courtly story
Tells of queenly glory:
My queen's as fair and more, aye.
Eyebrow tint,
Just a glint,
Slightest hint
Of art in 't,
Eyebrow's pencilled tint.

Painted cheeks sweet,
Nosegay where all scents meet,
See, I throw me at thy feet.
There is none
To be won,
No not one
'Neath the sun,
Like my love there's none.

● 713
789

The thein-nats are certain spirits, or superior beings, who preside over the showers. It rains whenever they come out of their houses (the stars), to sport about and have mimic fights in the air. The thunder and the lightning are the clashing and shining of the celestial arms. When the sun is in the house of the goat it is very hot, and the thein-nats do not come out. To arouse them from their lethargy, if the rains are long of coming, it is a common custom in country places to have a lônswéthi, a tug-of-war. A chain or a stout cable is got, and the villagers divide themselves into two parties, and pull and shout and get up as much excite-

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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ment as possible, to stimulate the thein-nats to exert themselves also. A lônswèthi sometimes continues for nearly an hour without definite result.

The "painted cheeks," or "fragrant cheeks," so frequently mentioned in all these love-songs, refers to the thana'kha, a sweet-scented, straw-coloured powder made from the bark and roots of the *Murraya paniculata*, a flowering shrub of the citron species. Some girls, and especially some actresses, have particular recipes for making up the cosmetic into a moist paste. It is applied with the finger, and a good deal of skill is exhibited in putting on the requisite amount. Unpractised hands usually smear on far too much, and it is as unsightly as a badly whitewashed outhouse. On others it is barely visible. All girls use it, and not a few town dandies.

The following may be regarded as somewhat of an approach to the European *vers de société*. I have not attempted to imitate the original metre :—

THE CIGAR-MAIDEN OF MADEYA, NEAR MANDALAY

Thy cheroots, so deftly fingered,
  Famous are in Burma's land,
Many a chief has fondly lingered,
  Watched the maiden's nimble hand.

Madeya, I'd spare to sing thee
  For cheroots and dainty maids,
For their crispness doth but bring thee
  Sorrow from the palace blades.

By the throne's great gilded grandeur
  Sits the prince, cheroot in hand,
And behind him little Ma Nyo,
  Pearl of all the village band.

Burnt up all my love and sighing,
  Like the ash of his cigar;
Hopes dispelled and idly flying,
  Like the smoke he puffs afar.

Thy cheroots so deftly fingered,
  Madeya are silver-white,
But the prince that came and lingered,
  Stole away the hamlet's light.

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CHAPTER XXXII

THE TAWADEINTHA FEAST

796 NEXT to the uproarious merriment of the New Year's feast in the spring, the festival of Tawadeintha is probably the most joyous and striking of the Burmese religious ceremonies. It is not of universal observance. Some districts keep it up with much more pomp than others, but are not always equally enthusiastic every year in the way in which they celebrate it. In Rangoon and Mandalay, however, it is carried out regularly with greater or less magnificence, and preparations for the procession and the performance of the mystery play often go on for many months beforehand.

● 173 The feast commences on the first of the waning moon of Ta'saungmôn, about the beginning of November, and lasts over three days. It is commemorative of the Lord Buddha's ascent from the earth to preach the Sacred Law to his mother, Maya, then a Queen of dêwas in Tawadeintha, the second nat-heaven. He was staying at the time in the country of Thawatti (probably the place now called Fyzabad), in the Zetawun monastery, and thence in three steps compassed the distance to the nat-heaven, situated above the Myinmo Taung, the centre of the universe. He had just finished a display of miracles on an immense road, constructed by him from one side of the world to the other, before a crowd covering an area of thirty-six yuzanas. The leader of the heretics who challenged the display of wonders, a man named Purana, was so overcome with chagrin that he tied himself to a weighted jar and was drowned. Arrived in the nat-seat, the Buddha preached a sermon on the duties of filial gratitude, to a vast congregation of byammās, nat-

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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dêwas, and arahats, and having expounded the Law which was to lead them into the noble path of deliverance, descended again by a magnificent ladder composed in separate strips of gold, silver, and precious stones, to the ne'ban kyaung, where he received the usual pious offerings of the people on his arrival, on the day of the full moon of Thadingyut.

To recall this event in the Buddha's life is the object of the feast, and the preparation of the stage often takes considerably over a week, notwithstanding the facility with which bamboo buildings are run up in Burma. A platform is prepared, from twenty to fifty or sixty feet in height, according to the subscriptions and the scale on which it is intended to carry out the performance. Over this is raised a gaily-decorated pya-that, the tower-like spire with seven diminishing roofs, characteristic of sacred buildings, and leading up to it is a sloping way, representing the Saungdan, the path by which Shin Gautama ascended. Sometimes there is a similar sloping descent on the other side, figuring the ladder which led down to the monastery in the neighbourhood of Sampa Thanago, but more often the ascent and descent are compassed on the same slope, which comes to an abrupt end six or eight feet from the ground, on a level platform, covered by an ordinary roof, if it represents merely the earth, or the sacred pya-that if it does duty also for the ne'ban kyaung. Half-way up there is sometimes a covered stage, representing the Ugandaw hill, on which the Lord Buddha found purchase for his final step to the nat-dêwa country. On the first day of the feast, usually about eight o'clock at night, the whole scene being lighted up by the brilliant moon, occasionally rather spoilt by smoky torches and the evil-smelling fumes of open crude-oil lamps, the procession begins. The image of the Teacher of the Law, always represented sitting cross-legged, is mounted on a little carriage, fitted to run on a tramway reaching right up to the top, and is dragged up by means of a rope and a windlass. This is done slowly and in a rather jerky fashion, partly because the apparatus does not admit of greater expedition, but principally to prolong the function as much as possible, so that all the people may see it and greater merit may be gained. Surrounding the Buddha is a great company

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CHAPTER XXXIII

A SÔNDAWGYI FEAST

● 773
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It is written that in the solitude of Uruwela a woman named Thuzata vowed an offering to the spirit of the place if she should have a male child. The prayer was granted, and the offering prepared. A thousand cows, new-calved, were milked; five hundred more were fed with this milk, and then with theirs two hundred and fifty more, and so on until the six noblest and best of all her herds produced a milk of surprising flavour and richness. This was boiled with sandal and fine spice in silver vessels, and fine ground rice, from chosen seed, set in new-broken ground, was added. Wonderful signs attended the preparation of the offering. A tha-gyā brought fuel to the fire; the great Brahma held an umbrella over the silver lota; four kings of nats sat by and watched; while subject spirits infused rich honey into the nogana. When it was ready Thuzata sent a servant to clear a place under a tree in the grove that she might make her offering to the wood-spirit. Sunama, the servant, found Shin Gautama sitting under the bawdi-tree. It was the day on which he attained the ne'ban of the passions, on which he became the Lord Buddha, and his face shone with a splendour beyond that of nats. Sunama returned and told her mistress that the spirit of the grove had appeared in person to receive the offering. Thuzata poured the nogana into a golden cup, worth a hundred thousand pieces of silver, such a cup as is always presented to the payalaung on the day wherein he becomes Buddha. Then she went to the grove, and prostrating herself humbly, made her offering, turned on the right, and retired. The Lord Buddha bathed

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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in the river Neritzara, at a place where more than 100,000 Buddhas had bathed, before obtaining the supreme intelligence. Then he divided the nogana into forty-nine mouthfuls, ate it, and mounted the throne, whereon he sat for forty-nine days tasting no food, and combating Mān Nat, the spirit of death and sin. But ere he lapsed into meditation he threw his golden bowl into the river. It ascended the stream swiftly, floated steadily for a short time, and then sank in a whirlpool far down, leagues beyond the earth into the country of the nagās, where it fell against the golden bowls of the three previous Budhs with a clang that resounded throughout the four worlds, and all things worshipped the present Lord:

> King and high Conqueror! thine hour is come.
> This is the night the ages waited for.

This event in the life of Shin Gautama is commemorated in the Sôndawgyi pwè. Sônthi is a sacred word set apart to denote the eating of members of the Holy Assembly, and, in remembrance of Thuzata's historic offering, the mendicants are feasted annually by the pious, with a splendour and profusion far exceeding the ordinary alms poured daily with unstinting hand into the begging-bowl. The date of the feast does not exactly correspond with the original event. According to the chronicle, the Lord Buddha attained the first state of ne'ban in the month of Kasôn, about April, whereas the feast of Tawadeintha, with which the Sôndawgyi is always immediately connected, is celebrated after Lent, at the full moon of Ta'saung-môn in November. The festival is essentially one of the town rather than of the country. Except the New Year's Feast, none of the religious celebrations can be really called universal, and the Sôndawgyi perhaps least of all. Villages and small country towns cannot get together the splendour necessary to distinguish the occasion from the ordinary domestic feasts, or even from the daily almsgiving to the mendicants. It is therefore in a large town like Rangoon, where there is a certain amount of money, and a facility for acquiring or borrowing ornaments and frippery, that the festivities are best seen. There the *fête*—the word is more appropriate

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527 302 643 only from the stranger's land, but so many miles through alien waters, and so it was necessary to seek for another place. Where could a better be found than the mighty Irrawaddy itself? Accordingly from then on till there ceased to be a king of Burma, the necessary amount was drawn from the centre of the river by the Ye-kyi-wun, a minister specially appointed for that purpose.

527 177 As in so many other cases the amenities of the thi'gyan pwè have led to the extorting of money. In the good old days, and in the country districts still, it was the practice for benevolent people to keep open house, and give food and dainties to all passers-by, with tea and flavoured drinks, cheroots and betel for those that preferred them. To lighten the expense, contributions, called kèbo, were invited from friends and neighbours, and out of this has sprung the system of blackmail prevalent in Rangoon. A bevy of girls go into an Englishman's house and sprinkle him with lavender-water, or the moss-rose bouquet, so much in favour with Burmese belles. After a little badinage, they produce plain water, and threaten further operations unless something is given them. This they usually get, and if Englishmen complain of shameless extortion it is their own fault. The fair speculators are not such as any respectable girl would care to be seen with, and the prettinesses with scents are no more national than the scents are themselves. A provincial beauty would infinitely prefer a good honest ducking with vulgar water to the mawkish sentimentality of *eau de Cologne*. Some of the results of superior civilisation are very undesirable.

805 527 On the final day of the feast a gun is fired at noon to signalise the ascent of the thi'gyą min to his happy realms again, and then all is over. The squirts are laid by for another year; clothes are hung up to dry, and nothing remains but to wait and see whether the pônnas are more successful than usual in their prognostications for the year.

805 527 773 The origin of the custom is no doubt the rain-making, described by Professor J. G. Frazer in *The Golden Bough*, but the Burmese explain it by a legend. The thi'gya min had a bet with a rival and the loser lost his head. This could not be allowed to be defiled by touching the ground, so it was caught by a daughter of Natdewas. Seven of them take it

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in turn to hold the head, and when the head passes from one goddess to another the New Year begins. The head is burning hot, and has to be cooled with pouring on of water. This is recalled by the splashing of one's neighbour with water at the New Year time.

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as the Burmese themselves. The Chins, the Karens, and, in some degree, even the stalwart if simple Shans, have all suffered in common with weaker nationalities from the cunning and braggadocio of the Burman. The Mahā Yazawin delights no less in recounting tales of barbaric diplomacy than in heroics about gallant generals who hold quicksilver in their mouths and advance on the quailing foe, leaping eighteen or twenty cubits in the air. For example, the chronicles of Prome relate the well-known world-story of the bullock's hide of ground. A tribe came from the East under the command of an Amazon. She obtained from the aborigines—probably now some of the hill-tribes in Arakan—a grant of as much land as could be enclosed within an ox-hide, and, following the example of Dido, cut the hide into strips. She got into difficulties, however, and would probably have been driven out had she not married a neighbouring king. A stepson of hers founded the ancient town of Tharekettara (Prome), an event said to have been prophesied by the Buddha Gautama himself, in proof whereof the Shwesandaw pagoda exists to the present day.

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A story of a similar character is told with regard to the Shans. The Burmans had a quarrel with some of these big-boned highlandmen as to the ownership of a tract of fine paddy-land. The Shans were in force, and perfectly prepared to fight about the matter. The Burmese therefore resorted to craft. An old hermit was referred to on the subject. He said that the party which first finished building a pagoda of a certain fixed size should have the disputed territory. So both sides set to work. The Burmese soon found that the sturdy hillmen were distancing them. At night, therefore, the chief had recourse to stratagem. He made a framework of bamboos of the required height, had it covered with cloth, and daubed the cloth with white plaster. When daylight came, and the Shans saw the Burmese shrine complete and perfect, even to the extent of offerings of fruit and candles, their astonishment and dismay were such that they marched off straightway to the hills—ascribing the rapid erection to supernatural assistance, and never dreaming of examining the precocious payā; whereat the Burmese chronicler chuckles with patriotic delight, and glorifies the

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shrewdness of his countrymen. The same story is told of the foundation of the Arakan empire by the younger of two brothers who came from India.

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But it is in the relations with the milder-natured tribes, such as the Karens and Chins, or the small if warlike septs such as the Kachins, that the Burman most comes up to the truculence of the Mahā Yazawin. Out of the northern Kachins—bold robber bands, armed with queer, home-made, stockless guns—little was to be gained. They lived on the hills, and owned nothing but pigs; but they raided on low-land villages, and the Burmans retaliated, and there were periodic seasons of mutual crucifixion. Long ago these clans had the reputation of kindly hospitality, but Burmese tyranny made most of them dangerous savages. It is different with the Karens and Chins. The former, a heavy, plethoric people, endure their wrongs with dull indifference, all but the fierce Red Karens, who kept up a perpetual guerilla warfare, after the manner of the Kachins. The Karens account for their wrongs in the following way. When Yŭwa created the world he took three handfuls of earth and threw them round about him. From one sprang the Burmans, from another the Karens, and from the third the Kalās, the foreigners. The Karens were very talkative and made more noise than all the others, and so the Creator believed that there were too many of them, and he threw another half handful to the Burmans, who thus gained such a supremacy that they soon overcame the Karens, and have oppressed them ever since.

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The Chins were subjected to such long-continued and systematic ill-treatment on the part of the Burmese, that traditions accounting for this oppression actually form a part of the national religion. All mankind, they say, is descended from a woman called Hlinyu, who laid 101 eggs, from the last laid of which sprang the Chins. Hlinyu loved the youngest best; but he had gone away, and before she found him again the whole world except bleak mountain-ranges had been partitioned out among her other children. So the Chin first man got the hills, and as compensation was given elephants, horses, cattle, goats, pigs, and fowls. Unfortunately, Hlinyu appointed the Burman brother to

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look after him. The Burman turned out a most wicked and unscrupulous guardian. He pretended to teach him, but only showed the blank side of the slate, so that the poor Chin never learned a single letter. He rubbed the elephant's back with cowhage, so that the Chin's bare legs were so tickled that he refused to have such an unpleasant animal, and gave all the elephants to the Burman. By similar tricks the buffaloes, the horses, and the cattle were obtained. When the Chin mounted to ride on the horse, the Burman's wife got in the way, and was knocked down; and as compensation for the injuries she sustained, and to quiet her clamour, the horse had to be handed over. Then at the Burman's instigation the Chin went to view his buffaloes, clad in fiery-red garments. The buffalo naturally chased him up a tree, and before he could gain the earth again the buffaloes had gone the way of the elephants and horses. Ultimately nothing remained but goats, pigs, and fowls. Even the barren mountains were not left in his undisturbed possession. When the boundaries of the different countries were marked out, the Burman took very good care to mark his with stones and pillars, but he persuaded the Chin that tufts of grass were good enough for him. These were all burned away by the jungle-fires, and then the despoiled Chin had to live wherever the Burman told him. Thus the race has never had a country or town of its own, but wanders about in a nomadic way over the hills on the fringe of Burma. The well-known custom some of the frontier Chin women have of tattooing their faces is an existing proof of this tyranny. They are naturally pretty; and this disfigurement—for they themselves acknowledge it to be such, and never adopted it in the heart of the Chin hills—was adopted to prevent the Burmese from carrying them off, as they once did constantly.

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The stories of the Mahā Yazawin fully account for and justify these queer traditions of the national religion of the Chins. But it is not in such minor points that the annalist is seen at his best. It is when he vapours about Chinese and Siamese and Munipuris, who come in armies numbered by hundreds of thousands, with elephants in tens of thousands, and the guardian nats of the nations fight on their respective

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sides and serve to account for Burmese retreats—then it is that the spirit of the Mahā Yazawin comes out and streams along in true 'Ercles vein. And except the plays the Burman has no other literature to read. It is not wonderful, therefore, that he has as good an opinion of himself as the "centennial Yankees."

> Breathes there a Yank, so mean, so small,
> Who never says, "Wal now, by Gaul,
> I reckon since old Adam's fall
> There's never growed on this 'ere ball
> A nation so all-fired tall
> As we centennial Yankees.'

The writer might well have been a worker on the Great Chronicle of Kings.

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CHAPTER XLVII

THE LORD OF THE CELESTIAL ELEPHANT AND OF MANY WHITE ELEPHANTS

773 THE *Royal History of Kings* enumerates altogether 587,000
175 kings, following one another in regular succession. From
643 Mahā Thamada, the great first ruler of land and of sea, there were 334,569 sovereigns till the time of the most excellent Buddha Gautama. From thence onward, the Mahā Yazawin carefully records the sequence of the predecessors of the last ruler of the Eastern Land, Thibaw Min. Western chroniclers point out incredulously that the hunter Aung Zaya, who died in 1760, founded the present dynasty under the title of Alaungpaya (commonly written Alompra), and till his rescue of the country from the victorious Peguans, held no more exalted rank than that of headman of his native village. But this scepticism ignores the doctrine of Kan, which provides that none can succeed to the throne of the Arbiter of Existence and Great Lord of Righteousness but those whose merit in previous existences entitles them to it.
643 The king emphatically rules by what is called in the Western kingdoms the right divine. The eldest daughter of the reigning king was always declared tabindaing, she was forbidden to marry till the death of the sovereign. When that occurred, if there were no sons to succeed, there was an interregnum till the tabindaing could find a husband to ascend the throne. This selection was not made by the laws of passion or personal inclination, but was solely decided according to the principles of kan. A royal chariot was harnessed to a fiery steed and driven away from the palace with no one to guide it. The horse roamed about,

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643 the peacock and the hare, typifying the descent of the king from the solar and lunar races, which was also directly laid claim to in the title, netwetbuyin, sovereign of the rising sun. Similarly with the titles khattia, implying that he had dominion over the crops, and yaza, because he could instruct men in the laws, a somewhat doubtful ability in regard to all except perhaps King Mindôn. The consecration by beittheit was completed in three special ceremonies, as was the case with the Payālaung chosen to be the first ruler.

1. Yaza-beit, the consecrating of him as king.

2. Manda beittheit, the solemn marrying him to a queen of royal lineage.

3. Thenga beittheit, the confirmation or renewal of his engagement to abide by the laws, whereupon full powers for the government and administration of the country are conferred.

643 773 177 793 The actual coronation ceremony was latterly a mere form, but was intended to mark the claim of the Lord of the Golden Palace to be the representative of the universal monarch, the Sekyawadé king, who never makes his appearance during the time allotted to the publication and duration of the religious institutions of a Buddha. It consisted principally in incantations and sprinkling with holy water from the Ganges, performed by the pônnas, the Brahmin astrologers; the Burman yahans had nothing whatever to do with it. Besides the pônnas, only a few of the chief ministers were present. The really national part of the ceremony was the royal progress round the city moat, made seven days after the beittheit. The king left 643 175 the city by the Eastern Gate, the precise moment being notified by a discharge of cannon. He then entered the state barge, a most gorgeously gilt and carved construction, surpassing even the traditional coach of the Lord Mayor of London. This boat was then slowly rowed round the moat, with music clashing all around, and bands of dancers supplying the place of a rejoicing populace. Then when the circuit had been completed, the newly crowned monarch entered again between the guardian ogres of the Eastern Gate, a fresh salvo of artillery announcing the arrival at the palace. The ceremony was simple enough, but King

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Thibaw never went through it. In the first days of his reign he was afraid to leave the nandaw, lest conspirators might find the chance too good a one to lose, and later on, a fear that the delayed festival might suggest ideas of previous faint-heartedness came in the way. Consequently, though he was crowned successor to Mahā Thamada as far as the beittheit was concerned, and therefore became the source of the law, the guardian of the welfare of the country, the recipient of the revenues, and the chief administrator of justice, he was no proper successor to the warlike Alaungpaya. Possibly the failure to assume the sturdy spirit of the first of the family may account for the deficiency in some of the attributes derived from the first king, a deficiency which even the most loyal of his subjects did not hesitate to admit. 643 175

The first ruler was chosen for his strict adherence to the five fundamental precepts now incumbent on all men, and for his general sanctity. These qualities are inherent in all successors, though sometimes it is difficult to distinguish them. From them sprang four other laws incumbent on all kings and rulers. These thengaha, kingly laws, or byammazoya are as follows:— 643 773

1. Thathameda, ordaining that he shall not receive more than a tithe of the produce of the country.

2. Purithameda, ordaining that the king shall engage to pay his servants and army once every six months.

3. Thamapatha, by which the king binds himself to assist his subjects with money, and to receive payment of it within three years, without charging interest.

4. Wāsapaya, the use of courteous and fitting language, according to the age and position in life of the persons addressed.

It is to be feared that these kindly kingly laws were not found suitable to the conditions of modern society. At any rate they were not very strictly observed by Thibaw Min.

Nevertheless that monarch was very far from being such an unlovely character as most Europeans have been led to believe. It was explicitly denied by many that he drank at all; it is certain that whatever excesses he may have plunged 643 175

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CHAPTER LII

THE LORD WHITE ELEPHANT

THE importance attached to the possession of a white elephant is traceable to the Buddhist system. The form in which Gautama Buddha entered the womb of Queen Maya to be born upon earth for the last time to "teach the Law and give the millions peace" was that of a white elephant. The Saddan, or celestial elephant, was an avatar of his many existences previously. The Saddan is gifted with special endowments, and is one of the seven precious things the possession of which marks the Sekyawadé, the Mahā Chakra Vartti Raja, "the great wheel-turning king," the holy and universal sovereign—a ruler who appears in once a cycle, at the time when the waxing and waning term of human life has reached its maximum of an athinkaya (a huge period represented by a unit and 164 cyphers) in duration. Thus the possession of an undoubted white elephant stands as a sign and symbol of universal sovereignty; and every Burmese king longed for the capture of such a treasure during his reign as a token that his legitimate royalty is recognised by the unseen powers. The great river of Burma, the Irrawaddy, is named from Airawata, the elephant of Indra, a sufficient assertion of the proper dwelling-place of all his successors. Hence the reverence of the Hindoos for the animal, and their not infrequent pilgrimages to Mandalay to see the royal creature and have a dursun, or interview of worship, with him.

All the elephants in the country, whether wild or tame, belonged to the king: whoever captured one had to give him up to the king, and he granted permission to the princes and to a few of the higher dignitaries to use them. The

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immediate superior a certain fixed sum, determined without regard to favourable seasons, health of the population, or anything of that kind, and as each man was judge over the people in his charge, it may naturally be supposed that the general population did not lead a very happy life. Complaints might be made against extortion and illegal decisions, but the heads of tracts, if they had the money, could always stifle inquiry. 692 647

Some of the laws deduced from Manu's eighteen original enactments strike one as being rather singular. For example, if two men quarrel and fight and one of them is killed, there is no penalty; but if a third party interferes and kills or injures one of the original combatants, he must pay the ordinary fine for murder, or causing hurt. Should he himself be killed, the other two are subject to no penalty. When a man is guilty of adultery with another man's wife, if it be proved to be the first time, he must pay the fine for adultery, usually the price of the woman, assessed according to the judge's opinion; if it is her second offence, he only pays half the fine; but if she has been guilty for a third time, he pays no penalty at all. 671 673

If one man curses another and some evil happens, he must pay twice the price of the damage incurred; thus, if the man dies he must pay twice the value of a man; two cows if a cow dies, and so on.

When the king dies there is a general pardon of all offences, and a remission of fines, except in the case of debt. There are also seven things which cannot be reclaimed after the death of the king under whom they were promised or given. These are:—1. Deposits. 2. Pledges. 3. Money paid wrongly by the parties in a law-suit. 4. Things carried off by violence, or seized upon without sufficient title. 5. Promises. 6. Things secretly stolen. 7. Things that have been voluntarily given up by one man and taken possession of by another. 673 643

The decisions of Mahawthata, Princess Thudhammasari, and others are of little value from a strictly legal point of view. They are chiefly of a religious character. The princess begins by saying that her cases are to be considered as guides to nobles and judges as to the line they 671 773

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671 should follow. To an English barrister they would seem to
773 be excerpts from the *Arabian Nights*, and as far from precedents as it is possible to imagine anything. The play of Mahawthata tells of the Lord Buddha in the birth in which he exhibited the most consummate wisdom and acumen, as in Wethandaya he embodies the spirit of liberality. In both these births, as in his last, Shin Gautama spoke from the moment he was brought forth. As Wethandaya he immediately entreated his mother for something to give in charity to the poor, and distributed forthwith the four hundred pieces of silver she gave him. As Mahawthata he appeared in the world with a plant in his hand, and, holding it up, said, "This is medicinal herb." Throughout all this life he was constantly displaying extraordinary wisdom, jealous ministers being in the habit of propounding difficult cases to him. Thus he was shown a log of sha (*Acacia Catechu*), from which cutch, stupidly called *Terra Japonica*, is obtained, and asked which was the upper end and which the lower end. He solved the problem by putting it in the water, when the lower end, as being the heavier, sank deeper in the water. Another case is exactly similar to the famous Biblical decisions of Solomon. These decisions, though they may be interesting, are hardly valuable as standard leading cases.

673 Some of the definitions of crimes in the Dhammathat are a little singular. Thus among the ten descriptions of assault are mentioned: "saying in regard to a lunatic, a drunkard, or a half-witted person who is ill, that he will die, and he dies"; "refusing restitution for cattle killed"; "standing near an assailant." To avoid being summoned for one of the twenty-seven kinds of abuse one must be very circumspect, for there is ground for action if one says Hé to a man, as the Mandalay people were fond of shouting Hé Kalā after Europeans. It is equally risky to address a man as nin, *i.e.* in the third person; to say that he is "deficient in strength"; that he is a stutterer, bow-legged, broken-down, squinting, or afflicted with white spots on his body; that he is heretical, or, finally, that he is given to using bad language.

671 The niceties of the law may be illustrated by the following case from the Talaing Dhammathat. A man in search

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CHAPTER LVII

LAND TENURE

IN India the Raja has always been considered the chief proprietor of the soil and the lord paramount over all those who own it or dwell upon it. In Burma precisely the reverse of this system obtained. The king was indeed considered entitled to a share of the produce, and, as a matter of fact, undoubtedly got pretty nearly all of it; but the origin of the land tenure rested on an entirely different foundation. The Burmans go back to the first peopling of the earth and the appointment of the saintly Payālaung to be ruler over them. Mahā Thamada came after the lands had been pretty generally taken up by the people, and therefore the cultivators of the original thalé san had no intention of appointing him supreme landlord, when they chose him to be the source of the Law and of the administration of justice. He acquired a share of the produce of the country only by the free gift of the people, who, to provide revenues for him, of their own accord surrendered a tenth part of all their crops that he might be free to devote himself entirely to the management of the public affairs and the execution of the laws. This right to a tenth of the produce of the soil, and no more, is explicitly laid down in the Indian Buddhist code, the Dhammathat, or laws of Manu. This ancient book, which, by the way, is entirely distinct from the Indian *Institutes of Manu*, enunciates as follows in the sixth chapter: "The king, who is our ruler, must abide by the ten kingly laws. All land which is unclaimed shall be his, but he shall have no right to take all. Such lands as are cultivated by man, or have been previously reclaimed, shall

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the right of land tenure should always have been so fixed and certain. The fondness with which the people cling to their ancestral lands has something of almost religious fervour in its tenacity. As long as a family remains in the neighbourhood of their inheritance nothing will persuade them to give up their connection with it. In Upper Burma, to the present day, land is never sold as the term would be understood in Europe. The transaction which goes by the name of a sale is, in reality, a kind of mortgaging, or, more exactly, pawning, if such a term can be used with regard to land. 423

The estate passes from one occupant to another for a certain sum of money, and it is clearly understood that if at any time the original owner is in a position to reclaim his property he may do so whether the purchaser likes it or not. Farther than this even, the buyer cannot sell the land to a third party without first obtaining the consent of its former owner. Notwithstanding this feeling, however, it is seldom that a property can be found which has remained for any considerable length of time in the same family. This is owing to the constant rebellions and wars between Peguans and Burmese and Shans, which afflicted the country for five hundred years. All those who were not killed were driven away from their former homes by ruthless invaders or were drafted off to fight for the king. In the short intervals of peace rival governors, in desperation for means to raise the revenues expected from their provinces, would tempt people away from their former homes by the offer of rewards or a reduction of body service. Thus in some cases the proprietors were killed out, in others they left for districts so remote that it was impossible to retain a hold on the ancestral property, however great their attachment to it. As an illustration of the sanctity attaching to ownership of land, the law concerning church lands may be quoted from Buddhaghosha's Parables: "Whoso shall take for himself or for another wutmye, consecrated or glebe-land, shall become a mite, or a white ant upon that sacred ground for the whole of 100,000 cycles." 423 721 175 [773]

The eighteenth of the original eighteen laws given by Manu to the king refers to the partition of property, and an elaboration of this points out sixteen descriptions of children who cannot claim a portion of their parents' property. The 423 428

114 533 very considerable the labour must have been. Experts in western notation who may be disposed to smile at the *Burmese Music Notes* will realise notwithstanding that here at last are the authentic classical tunes of the Burmese put on record in black and white, ready, and if desired, easy enough to be transcribed into western notation after a perusal of this article and its supplement 'The writing of Burmese music.'

534 114 In the second book of U San Win is appended most valuable and authentic information on the fundamentals of Burmese music, such as, the tuning of the Burmese harp (စောင်းတောတ်), its history; the tuning of the drum-circle (စိန်းစိန်း); the gong-circle (ကြီးမှုတ်စိန်း); the ခ *Hnè* (Burmese oboe), big and small; and the succession of Burmese keys. The word 'key' will arouse sudden interest. It will become very interesting indeed in due course. To begin with the classics:—

533 773 "*Preface*:—From the beginning of the world, during the sovereignty of the first President King, the five principal sounds of bass, string, percussion, wind and clapper, had been employed in music in ceremonies of sprinkling the holy water all over the world.

"Three hundred years before Buddha's Enlightenment, when, to avoid the enmity of Pañcala Rajā, the Sakya kings of Kapilavatthu, Devadaha and Koliya left the middle regions (Majjhimadesa) and founded the Tagaung kingdom of Saṅkassarattha, the same five kinds of instruments were wont to supply music for auspicious Royal occasions and entertainments.

"Also, during the life-time of Lord Buddha, according to *Sakkapañha Sutta*, deva Pañcasikhā, the wearer of five top-knots, renowned the Lord in song playing the seven times seven (49) melodic figures of *tiṭṭha pluta* on his celestial harp, which was said to be three-quarters of a *yojanā* (*i.e.*, about 2¾ miles)[1] in length, called Beluva-paṇḍu-vīṇā.

"The Buddhist anchorite Nārada of the middle regions compiled the treatise *Naradasikhā* from musicology as known to all learned ones from the beginning. In it was mentioned the same seven times seven (49) melodic figures (*tāna*) and three times seven (21) modes (*mucchanā*) which are mentioned in *Sakkapañha Sutta*.

"In the chronicle of Buddha are descriptions of how, when he was seated on the invincible throne Aparājita the devas came and paid homage with musical instruments; and how, on the occasion of His departure from their abode, Tāvatiṁsa to visit Saṅkassa Nagara, they followed in His wake proclaiming His excellence in music and song.

"After the death of Lord Buddha, too, in the history of the middle regions, the Buddhist nobility and gentry practised music on various instruments, classifying and utilising various kinds of sounds.

"In the history of our Buddhist country of Burma, music and musical instruments existed throughout the successive kingdoms of Tagaung, Srikhettara, Pagan, Myinsaing, Sagaing, Pinya, Ava, Konbaung, Amarapura, down to Ratnapura Mandalay.

1. Authorities differ on the exact measurement of *Yojanā*.

BURMESE MUSIC.

"Among all the kings of Burma, there was one King Thālun, during whose reign (1629-1648 A.D.) Minister U Aye compiled a treatise on Burmese music called *Naralèkha*[1] နရလေခ in which were included the 37 ritual songs. Later, in the reign of Bodawpaya (1782-1819 A.D.) this treatise was revised and enlarged by Myawadiwungyi U Sa. It was known to be printed in the royal press within the city in Mandalay. Apart from this no other Burmese work on Burmese music has been known to exist for all the fifty years and more after the British annexation (1885 A.D.). 533 173

"Because of this paucity of printed record, it was thought that music existed only in western countries and not in Burma. Not so. There is evidence in Buddhist literature that music has flourished in this country for a long time. Unfortunately, the theory and practice of music have not been put into writing. Instead, they were handed down from father to son by word of mouth and by hand-on-hand instruction, so that, human memory was the only repository of Burmese music.....

"*Appendix—vide* Abhidhāna Nissaya: The music which Pañcasikhā (the wearer of five top-knots) made on his three-quarter-*yojana* long celestial harp Bheluva is composed of 7 (ground tones) *Svara*, 3 *Grāmas*, 21 *Mūrchanas* and 49 *tānas*, the total effect of which is known as *Sramaṇḍala*.

"Bulls produce the Usabha tone; horses, the Dhevata; peacocks, the Çaḍya; goats, Gandhāra; cranes, Majjhima; cuckoos Pañcama; and elephants Nisāda.

Grāmas are three: Çaḍya, Majjhima and Sādhārana.

Therefore the above scale of seven tones played in three different positions, raised, lowered, or natural, produces the 21 varieties of sounds, which according to U Ba Choe in ဆယ်မဉ့်(၇)ပါး ဆင်ကြောင်း is the reason why twenty one is the number of drums in a drum-circle စိန်းစိန်း, gongs in a gong-circle ကြိုးနှင်ခိန်း and pieces of bamboo or iron in the ပုတ်လား *pattalar* the Burmese relative of the xylophone or the glockenspiel. 533 171

The above classical terms are explained authoritatively by Fox Strangways[2]: 533

GRĀMA (ဝါ) the name has been applied specifically only to three scales—the Sa-grāma, our major with a sharpened Sixth; Ma-grāma, *our major C-c, but intended presumably to be used as an F-f scale*[3] with a sharpened Sixth; and the Ga-grāma, possibly intermediate between the two, long obsolete.

1. None of the works on music mentioned are available nowadays. U San Win has seen *Naralèkha* နရလေခ in parabeik form and informed me that he would try to trace the whereabouts of the present owner in response to my suggestion that this valuable document should find its final resting place in the University Library. In an article on the 7 tones ဆယ်မဉ့်(၇)ပါးဆင်ကြောင်း in စာပေတော် Vol. 1, No. 3, 1936, U Ba Choe mentioned two more works *Nātyaśāstra* နာဋ္ဌသာတ္တ and *Māghasāstra* မာဃသာတ္တ of which only the former, a Sanskrit classic attributed to Bharata, is mentioned in the list of Sanskrit works on music in Fox Strangways' *Music of Hindostan*.

2. Music of Hindostan, p. 106 *et seq.* It should be noted however that these terms, in spite of their Burmese connexion, apply, so far as Fox Strangways is concerned, to the music of Hindostan.

3. The italics are mine. This statement seems to apply to the Burmese scale of *Hnyidaing* ဖွင့်ဆိုး C-c, which has puzzled me for a long time because that class of songs ကြိုးဝိုင်ခိန်ခိန် *Kyè, Bwè Thachigaw*, which I am sure have F as their tonic, are said to be played in the C-c scale. These words made me feel less puzzled. However, there are more puzzles to come concerning the Burmese scale.

533 VĀDĪ, SAMVĀDĪ, ANUVĀDĪ and VIVĀDĪ (Translated 'sonant' 'consonant' 'assonant' 'dissonant') are survivals of a theory of consonance (*Saṁvaditva*) now forgotten. *Samvādī* definitely means the consonance of Fourth and Fifth, as we should say 'Perfect consonance' *Vādī* is the note to which it is so related. *Vivādī* is applied by Bharata to the semitone. He speaks (verse 24) of notes being *vivādī* to one another when they are at the distance of twenty *çrutis*. This is the same thing as two *çrutis* (22-20) which reading actually appears in another manuscript. *Anuvādī* is the name for 'all other relations which are not *vādī*, *samvādī* or *vivādī*. These three relations belong to the tetrachord, and presumably *anuvādī* does too. Current tradition makes *anuvādī* the major Third. But Bharata says 'all other' (*çesha*), as if more than one relationship was *anuvādī*. If it is possible to suppose that in the term *anuvādī* he included the major and minor tones (which together make up the major Third) all the determining elements of Bharata's scale would be accounted for.

Fox Strangways has a chapter on legend and history too. I shall quote the legends in which the same well-known names recur.

533 713 "Once upon a time the great anchorite Nārada thought within himself he had mastered the whole art and science of music. To curb his pride the all-knowing Vishnu took him to visit the abode of the gods. They entered a spacious building the inmates of which were numerous men and women, who were all weeping over their broken limbs. Vishnu stopped short and enquired of them the reason for their lamentation. They answered that they were the Rāgs, and Raginis of music, created by Mahādeva; but as one anchorite of the name of Nārada, ignorant of the true knowledge of music and unskilful in performance, had sung them recklessly, their features were distorted and their limbs broken, and that unless Mahādeva or some other discreet and skilful person would sing them properly, there was slender hope of their ever being restored to their former state of body. Nārada, ashamed, kneeled down before Vishnu and asked to be forgiven."

"With Nārada, the R'shi who first 'heard' the laws of music, are associated Tumburu, the first singer, and Bharata, the first to draw up rules for the drama, of which music formed a large part. Of Tumburu it is said that he increased the scale in which the *Sāmaveda* was chanted from five notes to six or seven. The treatise which purports to record the doctrine of Nārada, the *Nāradaçikshā* is probably of late date (1000 A D. ?) and gives no clue whatever to the achievement of the Nārada of legend. The treatise which bears the name of Bharata, the *Nāṭyaçastra*, is similarly an eponym. One or other of these three names appears probably in every book on music that has been written, and the existence of the authors is held, though in complete absence of any specific doctrine attributed to them, as a pious belief.."

534 713 Among the Burmans the instrument of Guttila of the famous legend is a harp. Apparently it is a *vīnā*, according to Fox Strangways, "To the *vīnā*, the national instrument, there are so many references both direct and allusive, that it is difficult to choose. Perhaps one story, from the Jatakas, will be enough:

3: Khin Zaw I-5 (no date) 1940 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

BURMESE MUSIC.

A feeble musician, Musila (ꩁꩍꩀ) of Ujjeni, whose music on the *vina* was 'like scratching on a mat,' came to learn of Guttila (ꩌꩍꩀ) of Benares (the Bodhisatta). Guttila's parents when they heard him said "Shoo! Shoo! the rats are gnawing the *vina* to pieces'. Guttila who, as Bodhisatta, was 'skilled in discerning from the lineaments of the body' said 'Go my son, this art is not for you.' But Musila got his way; and Guttila, the Bodhisatta who did not stint his knowledge, at last pronounced his pupil perfect. Musila pressed to be taken into the king's service. This was done; but the king awarded Guttila twice as much as his pupil. Musila protested, and forced matters to a contest, of which proclamation was made to tuck of drum. The Bodhisatta reflected that he was old, and that 'if he beats me, death in the wood is better than the shame which will be my portion.' So to the woods he went; but 'kept returning through fear of death, and going back to the wood for fear of shame,' so that 'the grass died as he walked and his feet wore away a path.' In his trouble Sakka, the king of gods, appeared. Guttila was to break, in the contest, one string after another. beginning at the 'beestring' and the music should be as good as before. 'Then you shall go on playing with nothing but the body; and from the ends of the broken strings the sound shall go forth and fill all the land of Benares for the space of twelve leagues.' All happened as was foretold, and the scholar, beaten out of the field, was stoned and torn in pieces by the populace..." 533 773

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So far the classics: Yet it appears that in the music itself there is as much evidence (if not more) of Chinese and Siamese influence as there is of ancient Indian influence in literature. I hope these influences will receive the attention of researchers in Burmese history. 533 171

As far as I am aware the Chinese influence seems to be the oldest. An unspoilt Burmese ear will catch Chinese cadences in any extemporization on the black keys of the piano in the truly old Burmese style. But that is no evidence. I quote J. Kunst[1].

"....This being granted, Prof. von Hornbostel has made a very important discovery, that the scales of very different civilisations and peoples are derived from this ancient Chinese cycle of blown fifths. All these scales are composed of a series of notes, ordinarily 5 or 7, which follow each other in the cycle in some kind of regular fashion.

1. *De l'Origine des Echelles Musicales Jawano-Balinoises.* Conference faite le 7 Janvier 1928 a l'Institut Colonial d'Amsterdam *In* Journal of the Siam Society, Vol. XXIII, pt., pp. 115-116. Translated by G. [114]

342 MAHA-GIRI, is found in nearly every house (a junior member of a
776 family need revere only the symbol of the senior member of a family).
782 A dried coconut with attachment stems is placed in a basket, the top wrapped with a KAUNG-BONG (Head-wrap) of red and white cloth streamers and the basket hung on a nail to the primary corner post of the house. It must be adjusted correctly, and periodically sprinkled with sandlewood water. An interesting story explains the use of the coconut symbol.

●773 MAUNG TIN DE, a blacksmith of great powers had two beautiful sisters who he feared would be coveted by the king of the city in which they lived. He asked them for this reason to remain in seclusion. One day he returned from work to find them gone. He became very angry and pounded his anvil till the city shook and the people suffered from earache. For a while he eluded persuit but was finally caught and burned to death. Afterwards he became a powerful nat called MIN MAHA-GIRI with powers of protecting households. Since the coconut signifies coolness and thirst-quenching it came to be offered to the nat who had died from fire.

MIN MAHA-GIRI is consulted if sickness or other misfortunes visit the family. At such times the head of the family checks the coconut offering to make sure it is in good condition. If not this is remedied for much misfortune could be the result of MIN MAHA-GIRI's displeasure at being neglected. When a journey is contemplated he is also appealed to for protection. A lesser nat YON GIN O is in charge of the kitchen and more specifically the hearth. Ko Maung Than knew little of this
[563] nat since it is of minor importance or not considered in Mon households.

342 The home is very important as a place for socio-religious functions
[788] many ceremonies involving groups of people are observed or in part
[574] take place in the house (see below in socio-religious section). Social visiting is also common and much enjoyed. Hospitality, related to but differentiated from charity, gains merit for the host. There is a saying that visitors "come only when the home is pleasant."

512 The home, of course, performs a major "function" as a sleeping
805 place, and there are many beleife and observances in connection with
513 sleep. The evening hours are divided into LU NYAT THET SEIK (children

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The Buddhas are, of course, above earthly contacts and their helpers the THAMA DEWA (heavenly-nats) function only as judges in the after-world - although they may counsel the living, as a "conscience", on right living. The MEIZA-DEWA (earth-nats) on the other hand are major force. f this world. There are 37 major nats each with a characteristic appearance (in human form) and personality. Each has an origin legend involving a story of a human of extraordinary characteristics who met death in an unusual fashion and remained on earth to complicate men's affairs. Most have properties of guardian spirits who if their needs are attended to will protect the interests of a community or special group mainly by refraining from doing harm.

[773]

21: Htin Aung
773, 779

AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

[For folk mythology and Buddhist mythology and for incidents and characters therefrom in Burmese literature and drama, see category 116, pp. 1-149.]

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

2. Folk Feasts and Spirit Dances

According to legend, the Sanskrit drama was created in the Silver Age to cheer up the people, who were no longer happy as they were in the Golden Age; the Japanese drama was first used by the gods to beguile the sun-goddess to reappear; and the Chinese drama came into being as the result of the Emperor Yuen Tsaung ordering, in the eighth century after Christ, a group of children to be trained to sing the various deeds of the great national heroes before his consort, in appreciation of her love for him.[1] The Burmese, however, have no such legends, and the origins of their drama were in the religious *Nibbathkin*. But before considering those Burmese miracle plays, perhaps it will not be out of place to give an account of the various folk feasts and spirit dances, which have in them elements essentially dramatic, and which gave some idea of the dramatic to the people and paved a way for the coming of the religious pageants and plays.

536 * 773 ● 101 527 796 536 * 174

Folk feasts can be divided into two classes, those directly connected with Buddhism and those which are not. The Buddhist feasts occur on fixed dates and are celebrated all over the country. Of those, two are especially interesting, the feast of the Full Moon of the month of Tazaungmôn (which occurs in November) and the feast of the New Year (in April). Though the Full Moon of Tazaungmôn is an important Buddhist festival now, it is extremely probable that it was an important feast-day even before the introduction of Buddhism.[2] Special celebrations connected with the date have two distinct elements, the element of mimicry and the element of foolery. On that day, in the villages men dress themselves as animals, wearing appropriate masks, and dance through the village. The animal most commonly imitated is a sort of unicorn known to myth only. The desire to mimic animals probably came before the desire to mimic spirits, and I think the mimicry of animals, such as that we see in these celebrations, was the earliest attempt at the dramatic by the Burmese. Probably the mimicry of animals by men resulted in the presentation of animal puppet shows. In a Burmese puppet show, before the play begins, different animals come out one by

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[1] A. B. Keith, *The Sanskrit Drama*; F. A. Lombard, *Japanese Drama*; A. E. Zucker, *Chinese Theatre*.

[2] Some Buddhist festivals in Burma probably are of pre-Buddhist origins (cf. the English Christmas which has many elements derived from pre-Christian times). At least the special celebrations of Tazaungmôn described here are almost certainly pre-Buddhist.

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1980) 1987 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

536* While the interlude was developing, the drama, another form of
178 entertainment, was also becoming rapidly popular. The *Hawsa* or the
773 dramatic reading and recital of a Birth Story in verse was becoming
538 the fashion. The *Hawsa* was in dialogue form, and the reciter changed his voice and used dramatic gestures. As I have said, one cannot be certain of many things regarding the interlude, but it seems exceedingly probable that the early interludes were not literary. The actors were unlettered, unpractised in verse composition and only knew the *Jataka* Birth Stories from translations. The *Hawsa*, on the other hand, was a literary work. It was in verse. The reciter was an accomplished verse-writer if not a poet, and when reciting pieces he himself had not written, he invariably put in additions and modifications. He knew Pali and therefore could read the *Jatakas* in the original. Whilst the actor was looked upon as nothing more than a beggar, the reciter was greatly respected. This will perhaps explain why the *Hawsa*, and not the interlude, has come down to us in writing.[1] With all the differences, however, the reciter and the actor were akin to each other, and both contributed much to the rise of the developed play, just as both the dramatic recitations of the epic *Ramayana*, and the open-air performances of its scenes contributed much to the rise of the developed Sanskrit play in India.

536* There is no special term for that entertainment which I have called the interlude. The name *Pya-zat*, which means a play, is vaguely applied to it in common with developed plays, but it is certain that the term came into use only about the time of U Kyin U to denote developed plays. Therefore, I have ventured to name it the interlude, partly because of its similarity to the English interlude, but mainly because it was given in the middle of, or at least subsidiary to, the main entertainment of dancing.

[175] The interlude and the *Hawsa* were at the height of their popularity in 1767 when Siam was conquered. The results of the conquest are considered in Chapter II.

4. Sir William Ridgeway's Theory of the Origins and Development of Burmese Drama

536* Sir William Ridgeway, in *The Dramas and Dramatic Dances of*
114 *Non-European Races*, considers that the dramas and dramatic dances of those races support his theory regarding Greek tragedy, that it arose

[1] Some specimens of the *Hawsa* are given in the *Anthology of Burmese Literature*.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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81. SYMBOL OF MYIMMO-DAUNG.

of the Burman type is the one cast for the Shwe-Dagôn Payâ by the Emperor Sinbyu Shin in 1775, which weighs forty-one tons.

According to the Burman cosmogony the world consists of four great islands, North, South, East and West, surrounded by the ocean. Burma and the known countries are situated in the south island. In the centre of all rises Mount Meru (*Myimmo-daung*). This centre of the universe is symbolized by a conventional tower provided with niches or caverns for mythical inhabitants of every sort, *Nat*, *Zawdyi* (sorcerers), *Bilu* (ogres), monsters half human and half brute, and dragons (No. 392). The symbol of *Myimmo-daung*, made of bamboo, with paper and tinsel, is a feature of various festivals. In substantial masonry it is a frequent adjunct of the temples.

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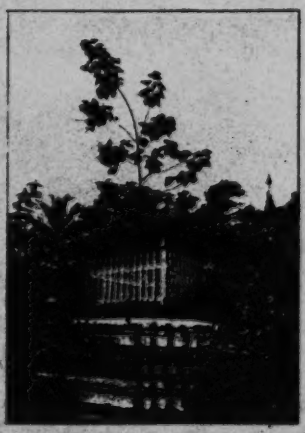
The *Bo* tree (*Bawdi-bin*), together with the rest of the *ficus* family, is sacred to the Hindu. The *Bo* is a variety of the *pipal* (*ficus religiosa*), a deciduous *ficus* with long copper-coloured acumina to the leaves. It is sacred to the Buddhists because it was while resting under the shade of a *Bo* tree at Gáya in Bahár, 600 years before Christ, that Gawdama realised the vanity of the ceremonial and ascetic systems, resisted temptation, and attained to supreme enlightenment, which, as Buddha, it became his mission to impart to mankind. "The *Bo* tree is to Buddhists what the Cross is to Christians" (Bigandet). The original *Mahâ-bodi* was piously tended while Buddhism flourished in India, and trees propagated from it were planted by Buddhist pilgrims. Such a tree is the historical *Bo* tree at Anurádhapúra in Ceylon, planted in 245 B.C. and still flourishing. Young plants cultivated from this tree are brought home to



82. BAWDI TREE.

29: Slater M-4 (no date) 1951 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

Animism in Burma is usually termed Nat-worship. *Nat* has been compared with the Indian, *Natha*, but it is probably an indigenous term.[5] Strictly speaking, it should be distinguished from "disembodied spirit" or ghost, for which the Burmese name is *tasē*. The Burmese also speak of the "butterfly" soul in man, the *leip-bya*, which may leave the body even in life, during dream or unconsciousness.[6] "A *nat* is something quite different. The word is the equivalent of our word god, in the sense in which we speak of the gods of ancient Greece and Rome."[7] *Nat* legends, however, express the belief that most, if not all, of these godlings were once human beings. Thus the familiar household Nat, Min Magayi, was once a blacksmith, Maung Tin Dè, a man of such prodigious strength that whenever he struck his anvil the whole city was shaken, to the great wrath of the king who caused the blacksmith's death. His spirit continued to vex the neighbourhood until a temple was built in his honour.[8] In later times such spirits seem to have been elevated to *Nat* status by royal degree. Burmese tradition emphasises *the* Thirty Seven *Nats*, but the number has no special significance. Many *Nats* not included in the thirty seven are recognised today and some of the thirty seven ignored. Any attempt to denote the *Nat* realm too narrowly misrepresents what is, in fact, a fluctuating and ill defined situation. 'All is change' applies to this realm, in Burmese estimation, as much as to any other. Nor can we point to any one origin of the cultus. The Mondaing *Nat*, for example, may reflect a primitive Nature worship, since Mondaing signifies whirlwind, but local legend suggests another origin.[9] Some of the *Nats* are associated with Brahmanic and Buddhist legend. Others are definitely local and even recent. Sir George Scott, who was an acute observer, said that the Burman always distinguished the Spirits of Nature from the legendary gods imported from India.[10] On the other hand, there is a tendency to mingle Buddhist story and Nat story, and the Buddhist *peta*, as well as the *deva* is quite at home among the Burmese *Nats*.[11]

In earlier times, a victim was slain in order to provide a guardian spirit for a new town or building, and as late as the eleventh century a queen is said to have given her life for such a purpose. Buddhist teaching against taking life has gradually prevailed, however, against these harsher

[5] Cf. Bigandet, *Life of Gaudama* Vol. I, p. 17, Vol. II, p. 324 and Temple, *The Thirty Seven Nats*, p. 8.

[6] Cf. Forbes, *British Burma*, chap. IV, p. 99.

[7] R. Grant Brown, *The Pre-Buddhist Religion of the Burmese*, p. 6.

[8] R. Grant Brown, *ibid.*, p. 13.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 7.

[10] Temple, *ibid.*, p. 3.

[11] Cf. Bimala C. Law, *The Buddhist Conception of Spirits*.

29: Slater M-4 (no date) 1951 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

779* It also modifies the sense of fatalism which might be derived from
775 another conception, this time a Buddhist conception — the idea that a man's present character and situation are largely determined, according to inexorable moral law, by what he has done, and not done, in previous births. "As the wheel follows the draught ox, punishment follows sin."[60] Yet man is no fettered slave. Like other people the world over, the Burman vacillates between fatalism and the sense of his own power to help himself, between *Kan* and *Kutho*. On the whole, *Kutho* wins. "Merit weighs heavy, demerit light," says the Burmese proverb hopefully.

Pessimism, then, 'touched, strongly touched, with hope' – such is the Burmese religion. But what of the further qualification, 'touched with mysticism.'? We have seen that there may be an element of Nature mysticism. Can we go further and discern any sense of the sacred, any sense of religious dependence on higher power? In spite of the Nature mysticism and an occasional side glance in the direction of benevolent *Nats*, Burmese religion seems to be a religion of self-reliance, self-assurance and self-responsibility. A man 'must work out his own salvation.' Does this mean that there is nothing at all which corresponds to the Christian addition to the text — "with fear and trembling, for it is God which worketh in you?"[61]

779* Various efforts have been made to locate such a recognition. It is
775 remarked that a pagoda in Prome is named "the image or pagoda where,
782 if you pray, you will receive."[62] But the term, prayer, is used rather loosely by some present-day Buddhists. The monastery 'prayers' which we have cited could scarcely be termed prayers in any strict sense. Instances have been reported of simple villagers petitioning the Buddha for mercies, such as a child's recovery from sickness,[63] and I have myself seen women in attitiudes of prayer, with clasped hands and suppliant faces, before Gautama's image. Peasants recite the 'Song of Victory", celebrating the Buddha's triumphs over foes and tempters, as a 'mantra' to ward off evil.[64] Since a man may pray that his own *Kutho* may avail to help others, a natural sequence of thought may lead him to consider that the Buddha's *Kutho* may also avail, though some would say that the Buddha is lost in Nibbāna, far beyond this present existence. It is very questionable, however, if there is any sense of Divine Grace or prayer in the sense of communion with a Divine Being.

The Buddha is certainly venerated. No account of Burmese Buddhism
779* would be adequate without emphasising very definitely the central place
●773 he holds in the life and thought of the people. Popular Buddhism, as we

[60] *M.B.B.*, p. 45.
[61] *2 Philippians* 2: 12, 13.
[62] *M.B.B.*, p. 70.
[63] *Ibid.*, p. 69.
[64] *M.B.B.*, p. 97.

29: Slater M-4 (no date) 1951 APl Burma
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have seen, is a religion of story, and it is essentially the Buddha story, the life of Gautama, rehearsed, recited, pictured, dramatised, told and told again. 779* 773

"To hear of the Buddha from living lips in this country, which is full of his influence, where the spire of his monastery marks every village, and where every man has at one time or another been his monk, is quite a different thing to reading of him in far off countries.... To hear the yellow-robed monk tell of that life ... is a thing never to be forgotten. A sympathy comes to you from the circle of believers and you believe too.... And as they tell you the story of that great life, they bring it home to you with reflection and comment ... till you forget that he of whom they speak lived so long ago."[65]

Yet Burmese laymen, villagers or craftsmen, let alone monks, will flatly reject any suggestion that the Buddha was divine. Many of them, moreover, will explain their devotion very intelligently. They will make it abundantly clear that Gautama is venerated as a Socrates or a Moses might be venerated. No more. No less. His life was human, and in that very fact they see encouragement for others. [774]

It is not, then, to the conception of the Buddha that we must look for the religious ultimate of Southern Buddhism. Nor is it to the conception of the *Dhamma*, as some have suggested. A highly sophisticated intellectual might conceivably worship the 'Law within' but the Burmese Buddhist is seldom highly sophisticated, nor does he think of the Dhamma as the Law within: it is the Law without, expounded by the *Saṃgha*. 779* 775

It is elsewhere we must look for the recognition of the Divine. It may perhaps be contained in that looking forward to Nibbāna, which is the goal of all Buddhist aspiration. From what has thus far been remarked of the character of Burmese Buddhism, we can at least expect to find a positive, not a negative, conception of Nibbāna in this context.

Perhaps, too, Buddhism in Burma illustrates, in some degree, what may have been the original emphasis of the Buddha's teaching and the secret of his appeal. Perhaps it has retained or recovered something of that original vitality. 779*

Mrs Rhys Davids has suggested that the Buddha aroused response because he preached a gospel of hopeful Wayfaring from Good to Better, a caravan journey through the worlds, "a pilgrim's progress ... not so much with a load of sin to be discarded, as with an ever growing force of *arīta* — the good, the needed, the better."[66] He believed, with the seers of his time, that the Divine was immanent in man,[67] but he saw this

[65] Fielding Hall, *The Soul of a People*, chap. II, p. 18.
[66] *Sakya*, chap. VI, pp. 104 ff. [67] *Ibid.*, chap. IV, pp. 69 ff.

29: Slater M-4 (no date) 1951 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

CHAPTER IV

THE PARADOX OF BUDDHISM

1. "*At the End of the World*"

A certain monk indulged in philosophical speculations, though this was against the teaching of the Buddha. The monk wanted to know where the world ended. He therefore left the Buddha and set out on a journey through the skies, questioning the gods of the different heavens, one after another. He questioned the gods who are called the Servants of the Four Kings. "Where does the world end?" But they replied, "Ask the Four Kings." When he came to the Four Kings, however, they replied, "Ask the Thirty Three Gods."

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Finally the monk came to the gods who are called the Servants of Brahmā.

"No," they replied to his question, "we ourselves do not know where the world ends. But ask Brahmā — the Great Brahmā, The Supreme One, the Mighty One, the All-seeing One, the Creator, the Father of all that are and are to be. He will know."

As they spoke, Brahmā himself appeared.

The monk put his question.

"I am the Great Brahmā," he answered, "the Supreme One, the Mighty One, the Father of all that are and are to be."

"I do not ask you, friend," said the monk, "whether you are indeed all that you now say. What I want to find out is where the world ends, where the four great elements cease, leaving no trace behind."

The great Brahmā hastily took the monk by the arm, and led him aside.

"Monk," he confessed, "I do not myself know where the world ends. But I did not want these gods who are my servants to hear me say so. Therefore I gave no answer in their presence. They think I know everything. But I do not know where the world ends. You had better go back to Buddha and ask him. Accept whatever answer he may give."[1]

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We venture to extend this parable from the scriptures. We can imagine the monk explaining that the Buddha will not discuss such questions; he does not speak plainly enough about Nibbāna.

[1] D. i, 215ff. (cf Rhys Davids, *Dialogues of the Buddha*, Part I, pp. 280ff.; cf. Warren, *Buddhism in Translations*, p. 308).

5 Slater

29: Slater M-4 (no date) 1951 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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The poem therefore emphasises three lessons:

1. The honor due to the Buddha.
2. The blessing brought by the Buddha.
3. A challenge to the pupil to follow the Buddha's moral example.

The stanzas here quoted are from the version given by Purser and Saunders, M.B.B., pp. 99ff.

V.

THE NEMI ZAT

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Zat is the Burmese for Jātaka (Buddhist Birth Story). Of these the Nemi, Temi, Zeneka and Wethandaya Zats are especially popular, and form part of the Burmese child's education.

Reference has already been made in the text to the Wethanday Zat (Story of Prince Wessantara) which commends a prince who was willing to give away a kingdom, chariot, children and even his wife in his zeal for his own salvation.

The following is an extract from the Burmese version of the Nemi Zat given by Bishop Bigandet. As will be seen, it sets out the pains of hell and the blessings of heaven. The Burmese are not the only people who have considered such stories suitable to encourage young children in the right path!

The Buddha explains how he was, in a former existence, the ruler of the country of Mitila. As such, from a tender age he "displayed the most liberal and pious dispositions in making abundant alms and fervently observing all the religious practices. All the inhabitants of that kingdom followed his example.... During those happy times, hell seemed to have become quite unnecessary...

"On a certain day Nemi appeared to be most anxious to know which was the most excellent practice, the bestowing of alms, or the observance of the precepts." The King of the *Nat* realm himself came down from his glorious seat to give the answer, and, on his return, he eulogised King Nemi so strongly that the other *Nats* wished to see this virtuous prince. Accordingly a young *Nat*, named Matali, was commanded to escort the king to the *Nat* realm.

Stepping into the carriage sent for him, the king "abandoned himself to the guidance of his heavenly guide."

"Two roads are now opened before us," said Matali, "the one through the dismal dungeons, where the wicked are consigned to undergo punishment for their offences, and the other through the blissful seats, where the good are enjoying the rewards allotted to them for their virtues. Which of the two do you wish to follow?"

The prince said he wished to visit both places.

Matali answered in a mild tone of voice that his request should be complied with.

29: Slater M-4 (no date) 1951 AP1 Burma
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The celestial guide directed his rapid course through the regions of desolation, where dwells an eternal horror. The first object they met with was a broad and deep river... glowing like a flame.... On the banks of that river stand the infernal ministers.... wounding, piercing the unfortunate wretches who try to get out of that horrible and burning water.....

"What are the crimes," asked the terrified prince, "that have committed the unfortunate inhabitants of this place to undergo such unheard-of sufferings?"

"They are," replied Matali, "the persecutors of the weak, the heartless oppressors of the poor etc."

At another hell, Matali explains, "These suffer for having done no good to their fellow-creatures, for preventing others to do some, and for having borne envy to their neighbours."

After visiting other hells and receiving similar explanations, "Nemi was suddenly brought over to the beautiful, smiling and blissful seats of the blessed. He soon descried the celebrated palace made of diamonds.... In that palace Biranee occupied a splendid apartment; she was then lying on a soft sofa, surrounded by more than a thousand beauties.

"What good works," asked Nemi, "has Biranee practised to deserve such a magnificent reward?"

Matali replied, "This daughter of *Nats* was formerly a slave in the house of a pounha. She was always very attentive to all the duties of her position, and at the same time regularly observed the precepts of the law. On a certain day her mistress, who was wont to feed eight Rahans (monks) daily, fell into a fit of anger, and said that she was unable to bear any longer the fatigue attending the maintenance of these religious. But the young slave, full of religious zeal, took upon herself the labour of feeding the Rahans. For this good and meritorious work she is enjoying the happiness of her present position."

After visiting other heavens and receiving other similar explanations, Nemi was introduced to the presence of the chief of the *Nats*.

On his return to his kigdom he told his people what he had seen "and concluded by exhorting his people to be liberal in bestowing alms, that they might hereafter be admitted to share in the enjoyment of the Nats' happiness.

---from Bishop Bigandet, *Op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 153ff.

(From the context it seems clear that the Bishop had not himself seen any copy of the Jatakas. He says that he has heard that there is such a book in Ceylon and makes a conjecture about its contents.)

NOTE C.

AN-ATTĀ DOCTRINE, NIBBĀNA AND INDIVIDUAL SURVIVAL

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The Buddhist denial of the soul or ego seems to the average non-Buddhist inconsistent with the belief in individual survival after death which belief in Nibbāna seems to imply. But intelligent Buddhists are equally bewilder-

30: Maung Htin Aung E-4 (no date) 1953 AP1 Burma
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671 molded the native customary laws in the other regions of
177 Southeast Asia, and the great Hindu Code of Manu, the hermit, the sage, the lawgiver, had gained enormous prestige and authority in Southeast Asia. The Burmese scholars and lawyers of the eleventh century studied the Code of Manu, but found
[565] little in it to interest them. The rigid caste system, which served as the basis of Hindu law as embodied in the Code of Manu, made no appeal to the Burmese with their classless society. The Burmese never had an aristocracy or a middle class. The king was above others, but others were all equal. There was no hereditary nobility, and the Burmese have always been so individualistic that family names or surnames have never existed with the Burmese. The officers of the king could be said to have formed a nobility, but if that was so, it was a nobility into which every Burmese could enter by talent and personality alone. The king, the chieftain, and the headman were originally elected. Thus the idea of dividing society into classes distinguished only by birth seemed strange to the Burmese.

671 Nonetheless, the prestige of the Code of Manu was so high
773 in Southeast Asia that the Burmese decided to make Manu their mythical law-giver. In Hindu mythology, Manu was a hermit, divinely inspired. In Burmese legend, Manu became a simple cowherd who was later elected king because of his mastery of customary law. The Burmese Manu also became a hermit later, but he became a hermit out of remorse because he once gave a wrong decision. This wrong judgment of the great Manu is well known in Burmese folklore as the case of the small cucumber. There was a cucumber plant growing in a man's garden, but as it was a creeper, it grew across the dividing hedge and bore fruit in the neighbor's garden. Now the man and the neighbor quarreled as to who was entitled to the small cucumber fruit, and they took their case before the great Manu, who decided in favor of the neighbor. But he soon reversed his decision, and feeling remorseful over his previous judgment, became a hermit. This clearly

30: Maung Htin Aung E-4 (no date) 1953 AP1 Burma
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illustrates that with the Burmese, Manu had become only an 671
ordinary human being with the human trait of making mis- 773
takes, so very different from the divine hermit of Hindu lore.

By the thirteenth century, the customary law of the Bur- 671
mese came to be collected and written down by jurists and [178]
scholars. Throughout the intervening centuries until the British conquest of the country, such collections of the law, and also collections of judicial precedents were made from time to time by scholars and jurists. But those collections were not codes, and were not fully binding on the judges. In all these [177]
collections, Manu was mentioned as the law-giver, and this lip-service paid to the prestige of the Hindu Code of Manu has misled modern scholars, especially European scholars of Burmese history and Burmese law, into thinking that the Burmese law was merely the Hindu Code of Manu modified and transplanted almost overnight in Burma of the eleventh century.

But in the eleventh century, the Burmese did become Bud- 177
dhists almost overnight. The Burmese took to Buddhism with 609
great enthusiasm, because the way of life preached by the 565
Buddha seemed to be identical with their own democratic 779
way of life. The Buddhistic revolt against the rigid caste system of the Hindu society could be appreciated by the Burmese, who called the Hindu half-playfully and half-seriously, "kula" or "caste people," and the Buddhistic emphasis on the equality of all men appealed to the Burmese with their classless so-
ciety and their own emphasis on individual freedom. The [671]
jurists and the scholars waxed enthusiastic over Buddhism, and they gave a Buddhistic coloring and a Buddhistic background to their collections of Burmese customary law. This misled the early British administrators and judges in Burma into thinking that Burmese customary law was Buddhistic in origin, and gave to it the misleading official name of "Burmese Buddhist Law."

The impact of the English legal system introduced into 000

30: Maung Htin Aung E-4 (no date) 1953 AP1 Burma
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671 her own choice. The head of the Burmese family can also give
593 away children under the age of puberty or majority to another
597 family for adoption, but when the child attains the age of puberty or majority, he or she has the option to choose in which family (i.e. his original family or his adoptive family) he
671 will remain. Acquisitions by members of the family accrue
593 to the family, but as in Roman and Hindu laws, certain classes
428 of acquisition by members of the family accrue to the acquirer and not to the family. Gifts from grandparents, from the king, and in certain cases, from strangers, and earnings through exercise of skill in the arts and in astrology, medicine, advocacy, and alchemy accrue to the acquirer. When a member of the family wishes to leave the family, there is no necessity to gain the assistance of a court of law. By mutual consent among the members, he is permitted to leave and he is given his share of the family estate. When the whole family decides to break up also, no formality is required, and by general consent, the family estate is divided between the members according to the rules of law pertaining to the partition of an estate into various shares.

671 One of the main features of Burmese society is the high
562 status of its women. Unlike the situation in Hindu or Chinese society, the Burmese woman has never been a mere chattel at the disposal of the Burmese man. Since prehistoric times Burmese women have enjoyed an equality of status, rank, and opportunity with men. Under the Burmese kings, the women held high office, and served often as headman, chief-
[773] tainess, and queen. In Burmese folktales dealing with strange disputes and wonderful decisions, which are known as Juristic Tales, the judge is a woman, namely Princess Learned-in-the-Law. At the present day, all the learned professions are open to women, and approximately 25 per cent of the students at the University of Rangoon are women.

671 The high status of women in Burmese society is reflected
583 in the Burmese customary law relating to marriage, divorce,
586 and inheritance. In Burmese law, marriage is purely a civil
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2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma AP1
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tells us that the American Indian chief was in a state of great alarm lest his soul might be carried off with his picture. A notion of the same kind appears in the Chinese custom of getting a priest to put in the pupil of the eye, a method which often has rather a ghastly effect when the reverend gentleman is not skilful. Similarly, every Chinese-owned craft, from the sampan to the English-built iron screw steamer, has a couple of eyes painted on its bows, in order that it may see the way. Down in the Straits, and in all places where there are many Chinese, the local steamers, whoever their owners may be, are all endowed with eyes. Were they not so favoured, no Chinaman would travel with them as a passenger, or send any of his goods aboard of them. The Burman is not troubled with any such fantastic notions, and has no objection whatever to sitting for his portrait, only, as King Mindôn said to Yule, they prefer a flattering likeness to an exact one. It is seldom, however, that a Burman has a picture gallery in his house, and the village artist usually confines himself to vivid-coloured sketches for the funeral of a pôngyi, or to be hung round the mandut, where the great people sit to look on at a play. The drawing and the perspective are naturally a little faulty, but the details are usually worked out with very creditable skill.

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Thus wandering about, seeing what his neighbours are doing, with an occasional visit to the monastery to have some edifying talk with the religious, the villager may spend the time very comfortably. Oftenest however, he stays at home, and waits for visitors to drop in and have a little gossip. The goodwife always has a little shop in the lower part of the building. There is hardly a single house in the whole village where something is not offered for sale: a few dried fish, betel-nut, with the fresh green leaves, lime, cardamoms, and cutch, all ready for making up, half a dozen cocoa-nuts, or perhaps some twopenny-ha'penny knives, looking-glasses, coloured tumblers, and paltry Manchester goods, or where there are many girls about the house, a few home-made lungyis and pasos, waist-cloths, woven at odd times in the loom which stands in the yard or in a corner of the verandah of every house. The stock-in-trade is

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2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma (Mon) AP1
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which was devastating the country of Wethali. If this last ceremony is not effectual the village is abandoned. The inhabitants leave the sick and the dying to their fate, and go off to the jungle, where each household camps out by itself for a time. Before they return again, the yellow-robed monks, in recognition of much alms, read the Law up and down the street between the houses. When they have gone back to the monastery, the nat's shrine is repaired, and abundant offerings deposited. Having thus made their peace with the representatives of both religions, the people return to their houses, light fires, cook rice for new offerings, and then enter upon their ordinary pursuits as if no interruption whatever had occurred.

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This is what would take place in any ordinary Burman village. But among the Talaings, and in the more retired places in the jungle, occupied by ignorant uncultivated Burmans, the function called ywakyathi would be carried out, which is much more purely geniolatric in its character. This is sometimes done when a prominent man in the hamlet is sick, more often when there is danger of a contagious disease. A great feast of cooked rice and meat, roasted fowls and ducks forming a prominent part of it, is heaped up on a platform specially erected for the purpose some distance outside the village. Everybody in the village is required to have some part in the ceremony. A few are sent out beforehand, who dress themselves up in a fantastic way, and pretend to be bilus, evil nats, and witches. With them are others who feign to be dogs, and rush about on all fours, barking and howling; others represent pigs, and grunt and nuzzle about with their noses in the ground. After this performance has been carried on for some time, the remainder of the villagers come out in a band, and, through one or more spokesmen, demand of the possessed whether those lying sick at home will recover, and whether the bad spirits are satisfied with the offerings. It is specially ordained at these exhibitions that no one shall be called by his real name; such mention, if made inadvertently, would expose the person addressed to considerable danger, even if he should make no sign betraying himself, for he certainly would not answer. The quasi tasés always reply that the

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sick will recover and the plague leave the locality. Thereupon the villagers rush off like madmen into the surrounding forest, and run about hither and thither in a reckless way with an open cloth, or the end of their waistcloth, in their hands. Some of them suddenly make a plunge with their cloth over a bush or a tussock of grass, and then closing it up carefully, hurry breathless back to the village. The leip-bya or "butterflies" of the sick man are supposed to have been captured. The paso, or cloth, is carefully opened and shaken over the patient's head, and the leip-bya is supposed to return to its proper habitation. This operation is repeated several times, in case a wrong "butterfly" might have been captured, or lest the actual one should have escaped on the way. Then everybody returns. The function is not without its danger, for it has happened that the [754] temporary mimes have become permanently possessed of evil spirits, and as witches and wizards have proved as great curses to the neighbourhood as any pestilence could have been. Which things are an allegory. The whole ceremony [178] is beginning to get into very bad odour in the more settled parts of the province, and respectable people avoid having anything to do with it, while those who have taken a part are ashamed to own it.

776 782 All these nats are directly connected with a particular locality, and therefore well known to, and regularly propitiated by, the inhabitants of that place. But there are abundance of nats to be found elsewhere, away from villages and houses, and all of them equally ready to resent any injury which the passer-by may unwittingly do them. When a Burman starts on a journey he hangs a bunch of plantains, or a twig of the tha-bye tree, on the pole of the buffalo cart or the stern of the boat, to conciliate any spirit whose beat he may intrude upon. The fisherman makes offerings in his nat-sin every time he launches his dug-out; the lonely hunter in the forest deposits some rice and ties together a few leaves whenever he comes across some particularly large and imposing tree, lest there might be a thi'pin-saung nat dwelling there. Should there be none, the tied-back twigs will at any rate stand in evidence to the taw-saung nat, the demon who presides over all the forest.

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of the seitathit, or results immediately connected with ideas, 828
throughout all the five stages of meditation up to upekka, 775
lead to rewards in the twenty superior heavens, where the contemplative gradually frees himself from the thanya, or false persuasions, and acquires a contempt for matter.

All this action has its place in the manaw, or the seat 775
of knowledge, and is duly explained to the Burman when he is in the monastery school, and afterwards, perhaps, in discourses of the Yahans in the rest-houses on feast-days, or other suitable occasions. Unfortunately, however, the matter is, to say the least, a little obscure, and not by any means easily to be grasped. Accordingly, the superstitious Burman having got a confused lot of big words into his head, after letting them simmer there for a while, evolved from his internal consciousness the notion of the leip-bya, or butterfly spirit.

This personation of the soul in a fairy-like form had 774 ●
natural elements of attractiveness in it; and the consequence is that the error of the unphilosophical Burman long ago has grown into a present national belief, and it is universally accepted that the life of man resides in the leip-bya and dies when it disappears. The man at the point of death opens his mouth and the butterfly escapes from the body, but only to die at the same time. Many strange things are explained by this doctrine. For example, the leip-bya is the cause of dreams. It is not absolutely necessary that the butterfly should remain constantly in the body; death will not necessarily ensue from the separation. When the man is asleep, therefore, it leaves the body and roams about far and wide. But in these wanderings it can only go to such places as a person to whom it belongs has previously been in. A straying from known paths would cause extreme danger to the sleeping body, for it might happen that the butterfly would lose its way and never return, and then both would die—the body because the animating principle was gone, the leip-bya because it had no earthly tenement to live in.
The butterfly is enabled to perform these journeys through 774
its existence as thwe seit, or soul of the blood; and it is 827
the state of this blood which makes the leip-bya more or less inclined to roam, and directs its movements. If the

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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774 827 blood is feverish or excited in any way, the butterfly necessarily becomes restless, and wanders about more or less rapidly and into more or less strange places, according to the degree of perturbation. Therefore it happens that the soul thus existing in itself, and straying or flying at random, sees extremely strange and fantastic visions on these voyages. An elaboration of this notion divides dreams into three special varieties: those which occur at the beginning of sleep, those about midnight, and those in the early morning; or the false, the mixed, and the true. Bedin-sayās and wise women are for this reason always very particular in their inquiries as to the precise time at which the dream occurred. If they foretell wrongly it is, of course, because the questionist made a mistake as to the time when his vision appeared to him.

774 776 These night wanderings of the butterfly spirit are not without their dangers. In addition to other hobgoblins and spectres, Burma is especially plagued by evil spirits called bilus—creatures in human guise who devour men. If they will eat the corporate man, there is small doubt what will happen to the fragile butterfly spirit should it come across such an ogre. Cases do happen when the leip-bya is gulped down, and then the man has slept his last sleep. More often, however, it is only a case of leip-bya lan; the soul is scared, and in its terror sometimes runs into unknown regions, from which it is unable to retrace its steps, when of course it dies and with it the owner; or it rushes home to its bodily dwelling-place with such precipitation that the whole system is disorganised and sickness follows. This butterfly theory, therefore, offers a grand field for quack doctors, of whom there are unfortunately a very large number in Burma. When a man falls ill they dose him with all the drugs and simples they have in their little bamboo phials. If he does not get better after taking even the fungus from the roots of the bamboo, culled in the eclipse, or vegetable soot prepared at the change of the moon, then there can be only one opinion; the leip-bya has had its system shaken by some ghoulish sight; or perhaps it is being kept in durance vile by some tasé, some demon (in the sense of the Greek δαίμων), or by a sôn, a wizard. In this case no bodily medicine can be of any use, were it even that celebrated

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2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 API Burma
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nostrum, the green powder, which contains 160 different ingredients. A witch doctor must be called in, and he resorts to the leip-bya hkaw. This ceremony is very much like that made use of in ordinary cases of oppression by evil genii, nat-sos, and witches. Offerings are laid outside the house, or perhaps outside the village, at night—heaps of cooked rice, bananas, salt fish, and other eatables; and the malevolent being, whether ghostly tasé or material witch, is begged to eat this rice instead of the butterfly spirit, and to let the prisoner free. Few are hardy enough to watch and see what happens; but the few who have done so agree in the discovery that the demon appears in the shape of a pariah dog, which does not differ from other pariah dogs in spirit, inasmuch as it will run away if you throw stones at it. The offerings are repeated till a change takes place. Perhaps the tasé is greedy, eats offerings, leip-bya, and all, and kills the man. Perhaps it is appeased. Then the butterfly spirit returns safe to its owner again, and convalescence sets in. This is called leip-bya win. Bilus are never successfully negotiated with in this way; they are too voracious. They occasionally appear in broad daylight upon earth; but may always be recognised, since they have red eyes and cast no shadow.

A particularly difficult operation is to separate two leip-byas that were intimately united in life. This is especially the case when a mother has died leaving a little infant. If the leip-bya kwè is not resorted to, the butterfly of the little one will follow the mother, and the child will die. A wise woman is therefore called in. She murmurs some mantras, and then places a looking-glass on the floor near the corpse. Still muttering, but with more and more rapid gesticulation, she drops a filmy shred of cotton down on the face of the mirror, and with frenzied words entreats the dead mother not to retain the infant soul, but let it come back to its earthly tenement. The fleecy down slowly slips down the mirror face and falls off into the handkerchief she holds below, and is then gently placed on the breast of the child. A similar ceremony is occasionally gone through when a husband or wife is more than usually overcome by the death of the yoke-fellow.

The whole notion is of course foreign to Buddhism, and

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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The whole notion is of course foreign to Buddhism, and is viewed with great disfavour by the members of the sacred assembly, but they are no more able to put a stop to it than they are to suppress nat-worship in the subsidiary form in which it still exists. It is somewhat discouraging to those who have the welfare of the people at heart; yet still when one comes to highly civilised countries such as are found in Europe and finds ghosts only a little less demonstratively believed in, a load is removed. The world is very small after all.

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The leip-bya idea, like a good many other peculiarities of the Burmese, occasionally gets them into trouble with foreigners. It is the cause of the great unwillingness all Burmans have to wake a sleeping man. It is obvious from the above explanation of the character of the leip-bya, that it would be highly injurious to rouse a man suddenly from his slumbers. His butterfly might be wandering far from the body, and probably would not have time to hurry back to its tenement. Then the man would certainly fall sick, or at any rate would be indisposed for a time. Consequently, it is useless to tell a Burman servant to wake you at a certain hour. He will come in at the appointed time and look wistfully at you, and wish something would fall down and make a noise; but he himself will tread as softly as a housebreaker, and will not even have the heart to instigate somebody outside to make a disturbance. The Englishman has not got "humanity," it is true; he has not been in a monastery, and is therefore not really a "man"; but there is no knowing but what he might have a leip-bya for all that. Consequently the master is not wakened, and gets up an hour and a half after he wanted to, and storms at the poor Burman for a lazy scoundrel who snores away till the sun is as high in the sky as the pagoda spire, let alone a tari palm.

The same thing occurs out in the country villages. An English assistant commissioner rides unexpectedly into a small towolet in his subdivision and calls for the headman. That worthy is having his afternoon siesta, and the good wife announces this with a composure which almost surprises the young sub-janta wallah into swearing. He says, "Well, then, wake him, and tell him to bring his accounts along to the traveller's bungalow." Old Ma Gyi shudders

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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at the very thought, and flatly refuses. The Englishman gallops off in a fury at the d—readful impertinence of the people, and Ma Gyi calls together all her gossips to hear of the brutality of the young wundauk, who actually wanted her to imperil her goodman's life. It needs something more than passing examinations and being a smart report-writer to govern the people well.

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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CHAPTER IV

THE WAY TO THE GREAT PEACE

'Come to Me: I teach a doctrine which leads to deliverance from all the miseries of life.'—*Saying of the Buddha.*

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To understand the teaching of Buddhism, it must be remembered that to the Buddhist, as to the Brahmin, man's soul is eternal.

In other faiths and other philosophies this is not so. There the soul is immortal; it cannot die, but each man's soul appeared newly on his birth. Its beginning is very recent.

To the Buddhist the beginning as well as the end is out of our ken. Where we came from we cannot know, but certainly the soul that appears in each newborn babe is not a new thing. It has come from everlasting, and the present life is merely a scene in the endless drama of existence. A man's identity, the sum of good and of evil tendencies, which is his soul, never dies, but endures for ever. Each body is but a case wherein the soul is enshrined for the time.

And the state of that soul, whether good predominate in it or evil, is purely dependent on that soul's thoughts and actions in time past.

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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Men are not born by chance wise or foolish, righteous or wicked, strong or feeble. A man's condition in life is the absolute result of an eternal law that as a man sows so shall he reap; that as he reaps so has he sown.

Therefore, if you find a man's desires naturally given towards evil, it is because he has in his past lives educated himself to evil. And if he is righteous and charitable, long-suffering and full of sympathy, it is because in his past existence he has cultivated these virtues; he has followed goodness, and it has become a habit of his soul.

Thus is every man his own maker. He has no one to blame for his imperfections but himself, no one to thank for his virtues but himself. Within the unchangeable laws of righteousness each man is absolutely the creator of himself and of his own destiny. It has lain, and it lies, within each man's power to determine what manner of man he shall be. Nay, it not only lies within his power to do so, but a man *must* actually mould himself. There is no other way in which he can develop.

Every man has had an equal chance. If matters are somewhat unequal now, there is no one to blame but himself. It is within his power to retrieve it, not perhaps in this short life, but in the next, maybe, or the next.

Man is not made perfect all of a sudden, but takes time to grow, like all valuable things. You might as well expect to raise a teak-tree in your garden in a night as to make a righteous man in a day. And thus not only is a man the sum of his passions, his acts and his thoughts, in past time,

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

779 but he is in his daily life determining his future—
774 what sort of man he shall be. Every act, every thought, has its effect, not only upon the outer world, but upon the inner soul. If you follow after evil, it becomes in time a habit of your soul. If you follow after good, every good act is a beautifying touch to your own soul.

Man is as he has made himself; man will be as he makes himself. This is a very simple theory, surely. It is not at all difficult to understand the Buddhist standpoint in the matter. It is merely the theory of evolution applied to the soul, with this difference: that in its later stages it has become a deliberate and a conscious evolution, and not an unconscious one.

779 The deduction from this is also simple. It is true, says Buddhism, that every man is the architect of himself, that he can make himself as he chooses. Now, what every man desires is happiness. As a man can form himself as he will, it is within his power to make himself happy, if he only knows how. Let us therefore carefully consider what happiness is, that we may attain it; what misery is, that we may avoid it.

It is a commonplace of many religions, and of many philosophies—nay, it is the actual base upon which they have been built, that this is an evil world.

Mahommedanism, indeed, and Judaism thought that the world was really a capital place, and that it was worth while doing well in order to enjoy it. But most other faiths thought very differently. Indeed, the very meaning of most religions and philosophies has been that they should be refuges

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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779 but where reigns unutterable peace. It is not death, but the Great Peace.

> 'Ever pure, and mirror bright and even,
> Life among the immortals glides away;
> Moons are waning, generations changing,
> Their celestial life flows everlasting,
> Changeless 'midst a ruined world's decay.'

779 ●774 This is Nirvana, the end to which we must all strive, the only end that there can be to the trouble of the world. Each man must realize this for himself, each man will do so surely in time, and all will come into the haven of rest. Surely this is a simple faith, the only belief that the world has known that is free from mystery and dogma, from ceremony and priestcraft; and to know that it is a beautiful faith you have but to look at its believers and be sure. If a people be contented in their faith, if they love it and exalt it, and are never ashamed of it, and if it exalts them and makes them happy, what greater testimony can you have than that?

It will seem that indeed I have compressed the teaching of this faith into too small a space—this faith about which so many books have been written, so much discussion has taken place. But I do not think it is so. I cannot see that even in this short chapter I have left out anything that is important in Buddhism. It is such a simple faith that all may be said in a very few words. It would be, of course, possible to refine on and gloze over certain points of the teaching. The real proof of the faith is in the results, in the deeds that men do in its name. Discussion will not alter these one way or another.

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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the exceptions, but no. Perhaps he is too rare to excite such fierce and deadly hate as makes the Burman forget his law and kill the viper. However it may be, the Burman is not ready to kill the hamadryad. A few weeks ago a friend of mine and myself came across two little Burman boys carrying a jar with a piece of broken tile over it. The lads kept lifting up the tile and peeping in, and then putting the tile on again in a great hurry, and their actions excited our curiosity. So we called them to come to us, and we looked into the jar. It was full of baby hamadryads. The lads had found a nest of them in the absence of the mother, who would have killed them if she had been there, and had secured all the little snakes. There were seven of them.

We asked the boys what they intended to do with the snakes, and they answered that they would show them to their friends in the village. 'And then?' we asked. And then they would let them go in the water. My friend killed all the hamadryads on the spot, and gave the boys some coppers, and we went on. Can you imagine this happening anywhere else? Can you think of any other schoolboys sparing any animal they caught, much less poisonous snakes? The extraordinary hold that this tenet of their religion has upon the Burmese must be seen to be understood. What I write will sound like some fairy story, I fear, to my people at home. It is far beneath the truth. The belief that it is wrong to take life is a belief with them as strong as any belief could be. I do not know anywhere any command, earthly or heavenly, that is acted up to with such earnestness as this command

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872 to go home because Grandmother would have sent him back for a double
792 beating, so he hitched up his longyi, tied his shirt round his head and
861 swam across the stream. One of the huts on the other bank belonged to a woman who had always been very fond of him because she believed
[775] him to be a reincarnation of her brother who had died in childhood; Burmese Buddhists believe that one goes through many existences on this earth, and sometimes children are born who have not yet forgotten their previous existence by the time they can talk; they adopt habits uncannily like those of the departed member who, the fond and grieving relatives hope, has returned to them in the guise of this new child; they say "My bed", "My clothes" to the possessions of the dead person, especially if eggs are not included in their diet, the belief being that eggs cause them to forget. When we were very young, the fame of a wonder child, who could recite the most learned religious passages untaught, spread throughout Burma, and my parents travelled to hear him; he had been a monk in his past existence and could remember.

792 My father's case was no outstanding one like this; he had just re-
561 sembled the lady's brother in looks and gesture, and a few childish utterances helped out by her belief had endeared my father to her as having been *winsa* (come in and inhabited) by her brother. The good and fond lady received the boy with open arms, agreed that he was getting too old for the monastery, and promised to go over and plead with my grandmother to take him out now and hasten his initiation ceremony into the priesthood. This was achieved and my father went back to his mother's house and prepared for the *shinbyu* as the ceremony was called.

484 The manner of his exit from the monastery, however, had made
177 him restless. During the short period he was free, he could go where
874 he willed, and in this way he often met traders who came and went between Ye and Tavoy, a seaport town about 100 miles away, to which passenger and cargo ships from Moulmein made regular trips. One day he was at the house on the opposite bank when a boy he used to know as a toddler returned from Tavoy after a trip to Moulmein. This boy could speak a few words of English. Moreover, he wore his hair in a *boha-dauk* (a Westerner's crop) and seemed to think my father a jungle boy. All the restlessness in my father flowed over then, because up to now he had always felt himself clever and ahead of other boys. He worried Grandmother to let him go to Moulmein and learn English, and and get a job with the government which would bring them hundreds of rupees each month. Other families who considered that Grandmother had clever sons agreed that this would be a good idea; though none of them had been to Moulmein and my father was still a boy, it would not be so daring an adventure as it sounded, because there was some one

245 and pink with juice; we shredded them in piles and ate them with prawn
262 powder and fish sauce. The *kanazo*, the *baccaurea sapida*, gave us a
824 fruit of a mouth-watering sweet-sourness. This fruit was said to induce diarrhœa and we were always made to eat the white piths which had a binding action.

262 Whereas we feasted on the fruits of trees, our elders turned to the sea for more fleshly succulence. My mother and aunts loved to get turtles' eggs, nastily soft white things the size of golf balls, boil them and tear them open to spill their richness on to a plate of boiled rice; they got oysters swimming soft and cold in vinegar; big nga-tha-lauk, hilsa fish, bursting with fatness, and thick buffalo's milk which always seemed to us more meaty and strong than cow's milk.

796 We came back to Ye itself for the New Year festival. The New
772 Year in our lunar calendar usually occurs round about April 13th, and
775 is the occasion of the descent of a spirit-king, the Tha-gya Min, king of the tha-gyas, from heavenly regions to the world of men. The Burman Buddhist idea of the universe places the hellish, the earthly and the heavenly regions in well-defined order. In the centre of the universe is Mount Myinmo, the highest peak in all the world, a million miles above the sea and a million below the waters. Round about the sides of this mountain are ranged the six levels of heavenly regions where the Dewas or heavenly spirits dwell. These heavenly spirits also have homes in the sun, moon and stars. Far up in the heavens, above the seats of the Dewas, are ranged the sixteen seats of more perfect beings, the Byammas, one above the other. And far above them, as high as the imagination can soar, are four sublime seats, on the borders of the supreme Nirvana. Below the six levels of the Dewa regions of Myinmo are seven ranges of mountains, girdling the earth in a perfect ring interposed only by seven seas. In these seas are set four great islands, to the north, south, east and west of Myinmo Mountain, each attended by five hundred small islands grouped around it. On each island grows a fabulous tree which gives its name to the island, and dwell beings whose heads are shaped like the shape of the island. The northern, eastern and western islands are all more fair than the southern, life lasts for five hundred or a thousand years, and the trees bear gorgeous dresses and delicious foods of meat, but the inhabitants of the southern islands are infinitely more blessed in their merit. This island of Zampudipa, shaped like a trapezium and bearing the Zampu tree, surrounded by five hundred islands where live the English and the other nations of the human world, is the abode of man, the Buddhist man, and the known neighbours who are heretics from Buddhism. Here the inhabitants must work to weave their clothes and cook their food and

live perhaps at the most a hundred years, but here also, and only here, do the Buddhas appear to teach the right way of living which is the only way in which the people can progress to the heavenly regions and to Nirvana. Down below the earth are situated the hells, eight great ones and forty thousand and forty smaller hells, regions of torture and punishment. 796 712 775.

Whereas the inhabitants of the northern, eastern and western islands around Myinmo, never hearing the words of a Buddha and never knowing the way of good and evil, are always born into the same world, never going up or down, man, the inhabitant of Zampudipa, may pass into the nethermost hell or the highest heavenly seat, according to the progress in his successive lives. Ascending the ladder from deep hells, through earth to heavenly regions, the spirit meets with existences which are not only more blessed in the degree of enjoyment and material happiness, but also correspondingly more free from fleshly desires and sin. Our Buddhist hells are the most frightening places one can imagine; as a child I used to look at the vivid pictures drawn in the friezes round pagoda building walls, to show the damnation that would befall the evil-doer who was born into a hell. Boiling in oil, flesh being torn off the bones by monstrous dogs and vultures, saws and knives aflame with red heat slowly dismembering limb from limb, all these occur in life in any of the hells. The next stage upwards from hell is a life as an animal, which a man may be born to for lesser sins and an omission from doing meritorious deeds. Animals have their stages of nobility also. Lowest are those living on excrements of flesh of other animals, nobler are the herbivorous animals and noblest of all the elephant. Gautama Buddha passed one of his existences as a white elephant, which is the reason for the esteem in which a white elephant was held—so high, that Buddhist kings longed to be able to style themselves, *Hsin-byu Shin*, [643] Lord (Owner) of the white elephant. During his life as a man, a being had the opportunity to live a right life, observing the precepts, giving alms and attending the pagoda regularly. His next existence might then be as an inhabitant of one of the six seats of the Dewas. In all these six seats through which the being may progress, life is surrounded by delights of foods, clothing and dwelling, but passion is less sensual, and decreases with ascent. Successively, a touch of the hand, and then gazing at the lover, and finally the mere presence in the same existence is enough to satisfy love. From here, concentrated meditation will carry a being higher to the seats of the Byamma; here he must get rid of all remaining affection for matter, for all parts of the body, until he attains to the four seats of Arupa. The contempt for matter continues in these existences, and finally, when all false persuasions leave the spirit, he passes into Nirvana, the lifeless, timeless state of bliss, in which the

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772 spirit knows no joy and no sorrow, but remains perpetually contemplating
775 the abstract truth, delivered finally from the cycle of recurring existences.

This arrangement of the universe and of the progress of man
772 through different levels of it, was but a reflection of the Buddhist ideas
779 of cosmography prevalent at the time when the religion was first in flower. In our imagination they belonged with the distant Himalayas, the peaks too high for human sight, the clouds and mist on which a being with the Buddha's spiritual powers could ride in majesty. But whether every Burman Buddhist associates these regions with his daily life or not, there are few who, in the midst of their busiest worldly living, will not be excited, exalted, at the Canonical descriptions of the mind of the *arahat* when he becomes, by meditation and victory over the senses, ready to attain Nirvana. The following description is part of the Sammannaphala-sutta, one of the discourses of the Buddha :

"With mind concentrated, purified, cleansed, spotless, with the defilements gone, supple, ready to act, firm, impassible, he directs his attention to knowledge and insight. He understands that this my body has a shape, consists of the four elements, was produced by a mother and father, a collection of milk and gruel, subject to rubbing, pounding, breaking, and dissolution, and on this my consciousness rests, hereto it is bound.

"He then directs his attention to creating a mind-formed body. From his body he creates a mind-formed body having shape, and with all its limbs and faculties.

"He directs his attention to various kinds of magical powers. From being one he becomes many, and from being many becomes one. He goes across walls and hills without obstruction, plunges into and out of the earth, goes over water as if on dry land, passes through the air sitting cross-legged, and even touches the mighty moon and sun with his hand, and reaches to the world of Brahma.

"With purified divine ea. he hears divine and human sounds both distant and near.

"He understands the state of the minds of other beings.

"The last three stages he attains are called the knowledges.

"First, the monk directs his attention to remembering his former existences. He remembers thousands of births and many cycles of existence, and knows that in such a place he was a being of such a name and clan, and had certain experiences and length of life in each of these births.

"Second, he directs his attention to the knowledge of the passing away and rebirth of beings. With divine purified vision he sees evil doers being reborn in hell, and the virtuous in heaven, just as a man in a palace may see persons entering and coming out of a house.

674 like ours except that patches of blood made violent interruptions on the
764 chaste red and white striped design, being slung on a pole, carrying a
• 775 woman who had been hacked by the dah of a hot-tempered husband. When one of the villagers had died a sudden death through poisoning, we listened wide-eyed to Ma Aye Shwe's account of his burial. All the old and broken bottles of Ye had been collected and ground up. His grave was dug, and after the coffin had been put into it, was filled up with alternating layers of earth and of powdered glass. This was because one of our persisting animist beliefs is that a spirit whose body dies a "green" death, that is, sudden, violent and unnatural, will walk about the earth in the form of an undesirable ghost, and hence the glass which will keep it under the earth and prevent its escape, much as thieves are deterred from climbing a wall which has powdered glass strewn along its top.

731 Every few years also, the water of the Ye creek rose so high that the ground and main floors of all the houses were flooded, and my grandmother and aunts had to retreat with all perishable goods and furniture to the high reaches of the platform storey and camp there till the water retreated. How we longed to visit Ye when this happened, but the nearest we came to realizing these floods was to see unexpected little patches of the sand of the creek every now and again in the houses, where the traces of the visiting waters had not been swept away. In one really bad year the waters at chaung-bya swelled into a mountainous flood which rose suddenly in a great roar and carried with it huts and rafts and stored
[772] goods of all kinds. Grandmother and my great-aunts watched dumbly from the top of the pagoda hill, while cocks and hens and dogs and people clung to the thatched roofs of the floating houses, the cocks crowing and dogs baying and people praying, all rushing swiftly and inevitably past Ye, towards the great Thamoddhaya, the great ocean which is part of the waters which break the girdle of the Settkyawala Mountains circling the world around Myinmo Mount. Every few years, as a matter of fact, Uncle Thet Hnan, who had a garden and house at chaung-bya, lost a few tins of sesamum oil, or some part of his bamboo structures. This was because they all built and rebuilt the houses too near the water, to provide a quick escape from dacoits and enemies.

674 It was a dangerous life in these gardens even during our most recent years there, and my cousin Nyein Maung who was the stalwart to give my aunts most protection, developed into a rough and ready dispenser of justice. On one occasion he watched the hand of a thief creep up through the bamboo slathes of the flooring on which his little son played. The child wore a gold anklet which the hand coming out of the darkness tried to wrench off. Nyein Maung who anticipated that

527 The younger children of the families also took the precepts, but it was not considered wrong if they felt too hungry or faint to keep to them. Everyone packed up and went home from the resthouse at about four in the afternoon. I found these duty evenings very long and depressing. There was no dinner, my father and mother told beads all evening, and at night their mattresses were removed and they slept only on mats.

428 342 We were now living in Grandfather's old house. Grandfather had left it to the four youngest among his children, and my mother had bought out the shares of the others because she was sentimentally attached to it and could not bear to see it pulled down. To others it had seemed an unwieldy shape taking so much good teak which could have built a compact modern house. My mother set about the task of transforming in into a comfortable domestic family house with a nicely disposed front and back, but it was a difficult task. There was no neat garden plot, no face, no bedrooms, but long stretches of gallery and verandah. We fenced off the well so that the village could continue to use it without infringing our privacy, the old big kitchen was dismantled and a compact kitchen made of one of the store-rooms near the washing platform, the old maternity room was stocked with commodes and made into a lavatory, the powder room was used as box-room. Six of us shared the big bedrooms. The altar, the water-pots and meals continued where they had always been. There was a large expanse of shining floor for visitors to sit on mats, and the head of the long verandah held a few chairs. The stable was cleaned up and given to Apana, now an old and rheumy-eyed man, and the downstairs hall, where a school had been, now held our stocks of rubber.

511 563 775 But still there was always so much space, the house seemed vast and empty, and the life so different from our district government houses with a crowd of servants, young men and dependents of all kinds. We felt the change acutely. My sisters were still children who played with each other and had plenty to eat during their short holidays, but I found the evenings silent and sad with the lifeless echoes which the dim light of the floorboards used to send up. I had been to stay at the house for short periods just before my Grandfather died, when I was about three or four years old. Here, where we washed our faces, we looked across to a house now mysteriously barred with a blank wooden face, but then inhabited by *ta-yok chi-thay-mas*, tiny-footed China-women, fabulous creatures according to my nurses, who, though they were slit-eyed and could curse you in an unknown tongue, could be sent reeling back with one touch of a finger. The ta-yok chi-thay-ma had other macabre qualities also. Her child had a big black patch of hair on its arm because it was the reincarnation of his dead sister. At the death of this

1: Mi Mi Khaing I-5 (no date) 1946 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4
Chinese

previous child, the ta-yok chi-thay-ma had frantically grabbed a piece of charcoal and had smudged the arm of the dying child, saying: "If I get this child back in my next labour, may I know her by this mark." Down below the arum bushes grew close and dark against the fence. They had frightened us, like green snakes that must not be touched, because the leaves made your tongue itch with an intangible and incurable itch although the roots were made into delicious soups. In Grandfather's bedroom was a window looking into the maternity chamber, still padlocked with a lock whose key had been lost nearly twenty years ago, and a patch of light wood nailed over the hole which a robber had made with the point of his damyaung. From the maternity chamber, also, an aunt had thrown a basin of washing water to splash on an uncle sitting below, with whom she had quarrelled and whose hpon would be lowered by the ignobility of the woman's labour. For my mother the house must have had sharp memories, but she never spoke of them while there because my father became ill shortly after. This oppressed her spirits, and made her think only with sorrow of her dead mother and father, her brothers and sisters, so many now dead and the rest scattered far and never returning after the death of Grandfather.

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584 family made it necessary to arrange things in a traditional manner. My brother had chosen his bride from a family of sisters who had been to school with us and with whom we were on the friendliest terms, so that he could have pressed his own suit if he wished, but since my sister-in-law's family also stood for tradition, we had to go through elaborate negotiations.

For a go-between we chose a lady who belonged to high circles of Rangoon society and who was known to be a great friend of the girl's family. One morning my mother and I paid her a formal call and made the proposal. my mother reciting the list of her son's qualifications which the lady already knew quite well. She promised to approach the guardian aunt of the girl's family. Shortly after this, we called on the aunt, who demurred, not to seem eager, and said, moreover, that she could not give an answer until she had consulted an astrologer to see whether the stars of the young man and woman formed an auspicious union. We thereupon gave her the date and hour of my brother's birth. During all this time, no word had passed between my future sister-in-law and us upon the matter; we did not, in fact, visit her. In due course, the aunt gave her answer, and while my brother was out of town on a tour, a party was held at the girl's house, with the senior relatives of both sides present to formalize the engagement. No unmarried young girls should attend this, out of modesty, and although I went along as my mother's right-hand, I had to closet myself in the bedroom with the girls. It was only then, when the elders were formalizing the engagement, that my sister-in-law did not feel it forward to talk about the wedding and future happiness with much excitement. After the engagement had been announced, my brother was allowed to call every day during the three months of their engagement, but they were not allowed to be seen together in public.

177. 19 764 775 Meanwhile, great preparations went on, for besides the social arrangements attendant on all weddings, the attire of the bride and bridegroom had to be matched in colour, a panegyric writer had to be found to write the poem of praise, and suitable elders to perform the ceremony had to be agreed upon. The modern Burmese custom is to ask the most respected highly placed Burmese couple among the family's friends, along with an equally respected English official to pronounce recognition in English. (This learning of English by a vast number of Burmans, and their daily activities in that language, have led to much duplication of effort in the disposal of their spirits also. When a person is buried, a notice is served on his spirit that this body is now to be vacated, and the spirit to go elsewhere for fear that the faithful spirit hovering round the grave may create a ta-say, a ghost. When a student died in term time at the University, the rites at her funeral were completed only when a

lecturer went to the head of the grave and said in English: "So-and-so, I give you notice that you are no longer in the Jr. B. A. class." When U Tin Gyi died during an official visit to England, we held his cremation at Golders Green and succeeded in getting a Singhalese hpongyi from the Buddhist Lodge in London to perform the rites. In spite of the environment of the crematorium we felt that we had achieved a dim and religious Buddhist atmosphere, such as he would have wished, by the time the hpongyi had intoned the verses, with all the gathered Burmese students repeating them phrase by phrase. But suddenly one of the English officers present got up and read in English: "U Tin Gyi, O.B.E., Registrar for Co-operative Societies in the Government of Burma, I give you leave to relinquish your post in the service of the Government. Signed—Adams." As if the persistent ghost might return to haunt in English, having been dismissed in only one of his two languages.)

Mr. Bernard Swithinbank of the I.C.S. had, through long years of friendship for Burmese people, laid the hands of many young couples one upon the other in marriage, and in this case he seemed particularly fitted for the task, for twenty-five years before he had married the parents of the bride, and though he could not perform for the bridegroom's parents their marriage ceremony which was held in Grandfather's time, it was he who gave my father leave to go to Thaton, as senior officer wishing him all prosperity in his marriage.

At last the great day arrived and all the male cousins and uncles collected at our house to dress the bridegroom with as much fuss as attends a bride in any other country. My mother had bought three pink silk turbans varying barely perceptibly in shade, so that the young man's complexion might be matched exactly when the fateful hour approached. My two young sisters and I took one each and sewed the finest possible seams, but submitting every inch as we went long to the scrutiny of my senior uncle Kyaw Din who said that a man's turban needed finer sewing than any woman's garment. My *Ko Lay*, most debonair of the cousins, tied the turban on my brother's head, while the band of elder brothers-once-removed stood around and complained that he did not make the floating end dance and toss with sufficient sprightliness. Two uncles and two cousins combined to tie his pasoe, the magnificent skirt which had been brought down from Mandalay and matched in the weaving with the bride's own skirt. My brother submitted to all of this with a meekness born of never having worn full Burmese dress before. All the while my three sisters danced around to look at him from every angle, exclaiming with sauciness and delight how beautiful and pink he looked, for my brother was really a robust and dark-skinned type of man who liked to wear sober English clothes.

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

846 757 she is made to smell samôn-net, a plant (the *Nigella sativa*), which is put in an earthen pot, strongly heated, and then triturated into the shape of a ball. The odour is not exactly such as one would recognise as calculated to exhilarate any one, but probably after the hot bricks and the se sein everything else comes as a matter of detail. All this is done to drive out the noxious humours which are supposed to be generated by the birth of a child. On the seventh day the woman takes an elementary kind of Turkish bath. She sits over a large jar of boiling water, medicated with tamarind twigs and a few other kinds of leaves and grasses, with a blanket over her. After about an hour of this she has a cold bath, and is then free to do as she pleases. She usually goes to bed.

165 846 177·84 184 It might be supposed that under this treatment death in child-bearing would be very frequent, but as far as imperfect statistics can show the percentage is not much higher than in other countries. The result, however, appears in another way. A woman ages up ten or fifteen years for every child she has. It is satisfactory to notice that in all the larger towns in Lower Burma the more unpleasant features are fading away before the example and influence of women of other nationalities. In the jungle and in Upper Burma, however, ancient use and wont still prevail, and the young mother of fourteen or fifteen is shrivelled into thirty with her first baby.

845 If a woman gives birth to a still-born child, a piece of iron is placed in the cloth in which the body is wrapped, or in the coffin if there is one, and at the burial some member of the family says some such formula as "Never more return into thy mother's womb till this metal becomes soft as down."

If a married woman dies before bearing a child (alôn hnin the-thi), a Cæsarean operation is performed, and the alôn is buried in some secret place. The reason alleged for this is, that were it not done, the husband in future existences would marry this woman again, and she would die in the same way. Were the embryo not secretly buried it would be disinterred by hmaw-sayās, necromancers, and wizards, who would make evil uses of it. Children's cauls are as highly thought of by Burmans as they are by English

[775] 845 754

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

All the ill deeds 872
he does will swell the sum of his demerits, but not a single 779
good action, no uttermost act of charity or devotion, will be 792
recorded to his advantage for another existence. Without 775
admission to the order, without "Buddhist baptism," no man 186
can count his present existence as other than an animal's. The great gift of having appeared in the likeness of a human being; the happy balancing of merits and demerits which has resulted in so glorious an opportunity of advancing towards Ne'-ban; the still greater fortune of existence in a country where the tenets of Buddhism offer supreme chances to the weary seeker after rest from the moil of a work-a-day world; all will have been recklessly thrown away. It is written that more hardly will a needle cast from the summit of Mount Myinmo across the wide Thamoddaya Sea, more hardly will it touch with its point as it falls another needle standing point upwards in the great Southern Island, than will any given creature become a human being. How are the Western foreigners, black and white, to be pitied, who have indeed by earnest strivings attained the seat of man, but, arrived there, find it all naught because they do not hear the teachings of the Buddha! How much worse the Burman, to whom all his life long the monastery door stands open, to whom a week's, a day's, an hour's sojourn would offer boundless possibilities, and yet who enters not in. If this be so, what then can be the prospect for the boy who having put his hand to the plough turns back, who entering the monastery as a child, imbibes the religious thoughts and becomes acquainted with the religious creed, and yet fails to seek the "humanity" so easily to be gained? Better have been born an animal or an Englishman, and scoffed at what he did not understand.

Consequently it may be invariably assumed that the 871
little scholar, as soon as age and acquirements admit, puts 792
on the yellow garb as a finish to his education. This used 177.87
to include every one. Till the English came and took the country, everybody went to the Pon-gyi-Kyaung. But now there are English government schools; there are Burmese laymen's schools, which neglect religious education altogether, and look to competitive examinations as the end and aim of juvenile existence, as the ne'-ban of school life.

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

CHAPTER III

BUDDHIST BAPTISM

THE term baptism as applied to a youth who enters a monastery in the state of probation (called shin) is not, as many people think, a mere idle analogy borrowed from the Christian faith. The novice actually and formally receives a new name to mark his accession to the full dignity of humanity. The great majority of shins, or ko-yins, are little boys of twelve or a little older, but occasionally a man secludes himself from the world at an advanced age. Till a Buddhist has entered the fraternity he cannot claim to be more than a mere animal. He has a lu nāmé, it is true, a worldly name, but so might any ox, or horse, or elephant. It is not till he has subjected himself to the discipline of the kyaung that he can reap the fruits of a holy past and look forward to a more glorious future.

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> The devils in the underworlds wear out
> Deeds that were wicked in an age gone by.

Man has less innocence than the animals, and cannot, like them, progress by merely omitting to sin. He may make golden stairways of his weaknesses indeed, but before he can do so he must abandon the world, if it is only for twenty-four hours. Then he becomes an upathaka, a believer, and towards another life will hold the gain as well as answer for the loss in the present one, death casting up the debit or credit.

[812]

> Higher than Indra's ye may lift your lot,
> And sink it lower than the worm or gnat.

In recognition of this new-gained power the novice drops

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2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4
Lower Burma

792 553 775 561 In recognition of this new-gained power the novice drops his secular name and receives a bwè, an honorific title, to mark that it is now open to him to escape from suffering. The name lapses when he returns to the world again, but it is sufficient that he has once borne it. He may now add to his kan, merit, and gain for himself a glorious new life by good works.

[198] This is what is meant by calling the ceremony a baptism. The bwè are almost invariably Pali, or Burmanised Pali names, and follow the same rules with regard to initial letters as the lu nāmé. Thus a Maung Po Myat, born on Thursday, might take the name of Pyinya-Zawta, while the bwè of a Sunday child, Maung An, would be Adesa. This religious or Buddhist (on the analogy of Christian) name is, of course, retained by the regular members of the monastery, and a monk is never addressed by any other when a name is used at all. When he becomes old a U is added, as U Adesa, but it must not be forgotten that [576] the use of a person's name in addressing him is considered very far from being polite in Burma, especially to one of rank and dignity such as a mendicant. On the other hand, one who has returned to the world never uses the bwè, not even when he accomplishes some great religious work such as the foundation of a pagoda, which according to a comforting belief ensures passage to Ne'ban after death.

The entry into the monastic order is therefore certainly the most important event in the life of a Burman, since only under the robe of the recluse and in the abandonment of the world can he completely fulfil the law and hope to find the way to eventual deliverance from the misery of ever-recur- [796] ring existences. The popular time for the ceremony is just at the beginning of Wā, the Buddhist Lent, which lasts from July to October, roughly speaking. Strict Buddhists make their sons stay throughout the whole Wā. During that season feasts, though they do occur, are very much discountenanced, and dramatic performances are energetically denounced by the religious.

792 561 184 177-84 According to the letter of the law the intending probationers should have reached the age of fifteen, but this regulation has almost entirely lapsed in Lower Burma, among other reasons chiefly because that is just the most

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breakfast ready prepared for them when they return from 792
their morning's walk, and are ready to set to with healthy 735
appetites. This question of Sybaritism is a chief source
of dispute between the rival sects of Mahā and Sula- [795]
gandi.

Breakfast done, they wash out the begging-bowls, and 792
chant a few lauds before the image of the Buddha, meditating for a short time on kindness and affection. During the succeeding hour the scholars are allowed to play about, but must not make a noise, or indulge in quarrelsome games; the religious pass the time in leisurely conversation, or in any other way they please; the kyaung po-go usually has visits
from old people, who come to pay their respects, or perhaps [735]
the kyaung-tagā, the founder of the monastery, the patron of his benefice, comes to consult with him on various matters, or to converse about religion and good works. The etiquette observed on these occasions is always very stately and ceremonious. Whoever approaches, whether it be the poorest 792
villager, the founder of the monastery, or the governor of the 788
district, all alike must prostrate themselves three times be- 775
fore the yahan, and, with uplifted hands, say, "In order that all the sins I have committed, in thought, in word, or in deed, may be pardoned to me, I prostrate myself three times, once in honour of the Buddha, again in honour of the Law, and thirdly in honour of the Assembly, the three precious things. By so doing, I hope to be preserved from the three calamities, from the four states of punishment; and from the five enemies, fire, water, thieves, governors (literally translated burdens), and malevolent people." The sayā replies: "As a reward for his merit and his obeisances, may the supporter (tagā) be freed from the three calamities, the four states of punishment, the five enemies, and from harm of what kind soever. May all his aims be good and end well; may he advance firmly in the noble path, perfect himself in wisdom, and finally obtain rest in ne'ban." Whenever the visitor addresses the yahan he joins his hands together, and sitting as he does on a mat, slightly bends the body forward,
applying the title of payā, or lord, and making use of the [198]
honorific forms of speech specially reserved for the religious. The mendicant on his part calls the layman, of whatever

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rank, tagā, supporter, or, if the visitor be a woman, tăgama. Somehow or other these conversations, like the addresses of the religious to the people in the rest-houses, always seem to come round to the subject of the merit of almsgiving. The recluse will say that whatever is presented, silk robe, mattress, pillow, betel-box, is purified by the merit of the alms deed. The poor could fill the Lord Buddha's begging-bowl with a handful of flowers; the rich could not do so with a hundred, a thousand, ten thousand measures of grain. The path in the noontide heat is hard to one who has no sandals, and no water-gourd. What, then, will be the path after death to one who has not charity and regard for the ten precepts! Alms deeds can defend a man and protect him against the influence and the sources of demerits which are man's true enemies. Liberality is chief among the ten great virtues; it is the second of the three works of perfection; it is the absolute soul of the five renouncements. With all these a man becomes a Buddha, without them he sinks to be an animal, or worse still, to the fiery chambers of hell.

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When the conversation is over the layman bows down three times again, saying, "My Lord's disciple does obeisance"; or U tin ba thi "places his forehead on the ground," rises, backs five or ten paces, and then turning on the right, as he would at the pagoda, departs. There may be quite a long succession of these visitors, and their respects are paid all through the afternoon, if the weather be not too hot.

At half-past eleven, however, there is another meal, usually a light refection of fruits, and this is the last of the day. The pyin-sin are expressly forbidden to eat after noon. Solid food taken after the shadows slope to the east endangers purity. The blood becomes heated, and, moreover, when the stomach is loaded the mind becomes overclouded and unfitted for meditation. It is worthy of remark that the religious must eat, as they walk, slowly and with gravity, only putting moderate-sized morsels into the mouth, and constantly bearing in mind that food is not intended for the gratification of the flesh, but for the nourishment of the body. The ceremony called a-kat must also be care-

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As yet they have not begun to demand an equal share 562 871

of education with the boys, and the only accomplishments most Burmese girls know are how to dress neatly, do up their hair, and powder their faces. This is the single open implication of their inferiority—except in worship at the pagoda, when every woman will pray that in another existence she may be a man—and it is not likely that female education will make much progress for another generation, the popular idea in Burma being that learning is no use to a girl when she has it, and she may, consequently, as well devote all her spare time to making herself look as pretty as possible. Here and there are a few who are deeply learned in Burmese literature. The young wife of one of the most prominent living Burman pleaders in Rangoon has as good a knowledge of the sacred books and as great a fluency in repeating Pali rituals as any pôngyi in the country. But the great majority of girls only know what they pick up from the conversation of their brothers and the men who come about the house. It is therefore greatly to their credit that they manage not only house affairs, but their husband's business into the bargain. A farmer's wife will carry out the sale of the whole rice crop to the agent of an English rice firm in her husband's absence, and generally strikes a better bargain than he would have made himself. If the village head constable is away, the wife will get together the policemen, stop a fight, arrest the offenders, and send them off to the lock-up all on her own responsibility. The wife sits by, no matter what public business is being transacted, and very often puts in her own opinion quite as a matter of course; in fact, she is virtual master of the house, and henpecked husbands are not by any means uncommon. The last king of Burma, Thibaw Min, was a notable instance. There never was a king of Burma before who remained for three years the husband of one wife. It was not inclination in his case. He had quite a number of *amourettes*; but the sturdy Supayā Lat and her formidable mother soon got the offending damsels out of the way. There is also little doubt that it was Supayā Lat and her mother who suggested the massacre of the Princes and prompted the defiance of the British Government, which brought about the ending of the Burmese monarchy.

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[1] [i.e., girls--ANALYST]

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823 779 772 of Mount Meru give their different colours to each island. Thus the Eastern Island is all white from being opposite to the silver face of the mountain; the Western is green, because on that side Myinmo is of glass; the Northern Island glitters like gold, and the Southern is a pale-coloured brown-like carbuncle. Each island is named from the great tree which grows upon it and forms the sacred insignia of the island. Thus the Southern Island is named from the Zampu tree, the great Eugenia.

The Eastern, Western, and Northern Islands are very pleasant to dwell in, but especially the Northern. There the people live to the age of a thousand years, and always appear to be no more than eighteen. In the other islands they only live to be five hundred. In other respects the Northern Island is a regular land of Cockayne. The fabled Padetha Bin, elsewhere only found in the happy countries of the Nats, grows there. From its bounteous branches hang the most gorgeous dresses of every variety of colour, and the happy islanders have only to take them off. Nor are they at any necessity to till the ground to procure themselves food. From this tree they obtain also an abundant supply of a most excellent kind of rice, already husked to their hands. All that they have to do is to place it on a certain large stone, and it is forthwith cooked, and upon the branches of the trees round about appear the most dainty meats. Truly the Northern islanders have a most enviable existence. But in one respect, like the inhabitants of the Eastern and Western isles, they are unhappy. They are always born back to the same island. They cannot raise themselves in the scale of being, like the otherwise sorrowful Southern islanders. Only in Zampudipa do the Buddhas appear to teach the law and free the people from constant deaths and reappearances. From Tahingaya, the first Buddha, to Shin Gautama, under whose dispensation we now live, there have been twenty-eight Buddhas, and all of them have come to the great Southern Island. To Byammās, to Nats, even to animals and the agonised dwellers in the lowest hells, the blessed words have come, but never to those other dwellers in the islands of the great sea Thamôddaya. Thus are men enabled to attain to the state of Nats, to pass

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through the seats of Rupa and Arupa, until finally, freed from passion and sorrow and the trammels of matter, they sink into the bliss of Ne'ban. Therefore have pious writers of old called the Southern Island Ne'ban's ferry.

Down below the earth, in the deepest recesses of the Southern Island, are the eight great Hells, surrounded by 40,040 smaller ones. Four of the great Hells are called Awidzi, and in addition to other tortures, terrible flames leap from wall to wall across the monstrous space, and extend on all sides beyond for a thousand yuzanas. The other four are called Lawkantyè, and there, instead of flames, we find hideous cold. A day in any of these places of torment is as long as thousands of mundane years.

The world having been created is as yet uninhabited. Our present earth, Badda, was peopled in the following way, From the seats of Zān, to which the destructive element had not reached, came down certain Byammās, some say three, some as many as nine. Holy people as they were and freed from all passions, they existed at first, like Adam and Eve, in a state of perfect bliss and innocence. They were not as the Kāma, the generating beings of the Four States of Punishment and the Seven States of Happiness—that of man and the six seats of Nats. But, like Adam and Eve, they fell into sin and thence into misery. First we read that they prayed for light. We may imagine that already the spiritual light had forsaken them, for in answer to their prayers appeared the sun, the moon, and the stars. The holy people had hitherto lived on a flavoured earth, which, however, driven away by their growing desire for matter, vanished and gave place to another species of food, a sweet creeping plant called Padalata. This was perfect in odour and flavour, but still the appetites of the people grew, and the Padalata was taken away and in its place appeared the Thalé san, a peculiarly fine kind of rice, which grew ready husked, and had only to be put in a pot, when it would cook itself. But by eating the Thalé rice, the Byammās became more and more gross, until, like Adam and Eve after eating the apple, they attained a knowledge of good and evil, and marriage was instituted. After this the

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000 And diamonds of her coronal; the moon
Her forehead jewel, and the deepening dark
Her woven garments. 'Twas her close-held breath
Which came in scented sighs across the lawns
While our Lord taught, and, while he taught, who heard—
Though he were stranger in the land, or slave,
High caste or low, come of the Aryan blood,
Or Mlech or Jungle-dweller, seemed to hear
What tongue his fellows talked. Nay, outside those
Who crowded by the river, great and small,
The birds and beasts and creeping things—'tis writ—
Had sense of Buddha's vast embracing love
And took the promise of his piteous speech;
So that their lives—prisoned in shape of ape,
Tiger, or deer, shagged bear, jackal, or wolf,
Foul-feeding kite, pearled dove, or peacock gemmed,
Squat toad, or speckled serpent, lizard, bat;
Yea, or of fish fanning the river-waves—
Touched meekly at the skirts of brotherhood
With man who hath less innocence than these;
And in mute gladness knew their bondage broke
Whilst Buddha spake these things before the King.

The Light of Asia.

779 And since that time some few have passed from our
● 775 earth to Ne'ban, where the silence lives; "seeking nothing, they gained all." But far the most have failed; some have sunk to the Four States of Punishment; some have risen to the blissful seats of Nats; fewer have passed beyond to the meditative realms of Zān.

It is written that the life of man waxes from ten years to the huge period of an Athinkaya, and then wanes to ten years again. How is it, then, that some men live beyond a hundred years, and others die almost ere they have drawn breath? The reason is that some have taken no life at all in previous existences, and that others have, unwittingly perhaps, destroyed many creatures, and their own existence is correspondingly graduated. To maintain his dignity of man it is absolutely necessary that a human being must observe, as far as his powers admit, the Five great Precepts. Failure to observe these will infallibly result in a fall in the next existence into the States of Punishment.

It will be well to begin the ladder of existence at the lowest rung, at the worst of these four states. This is Nga-yè, hell—the most hideous of all. Even in Nga-yè

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there are gradations: the one mighty seat is divided into eight great holds, arranged one below the other, all with punishments so terrible that none can be said to exceed any other in hideousness. The names of all the eight great chambers, from Theinzo above to Awizi the nethermost hell, are given, but a detailed catalogue is unnecessary. Each great hell is surrounded by sixteen inferior places of torture called Ôtthad-daret. From west to east the flames stream through all the mighty space and pass through on the other side to a distance of a thousand yuzanas, and from east to west the same. From north to south, from Nadir to Pole, and Pole to Nadir, it is the same, and yet the torments of this heat are but a tithe of the gruesome tortures the sinner must suffer. The life of the Déwas in Tawadeintha is reckoned at sixteen million human years. That period is but as a day and night in Kālathôt, the second hell. Thirty such days and nights make a month, twelve months one year; and the wicked in the Kālathôt hell must pass one thousand such horrible years. The Nats in Tôt-thita live five hundred and seventy-six million years, which is but as one revolving sun and moon to the tenants of Yawruwa. Of such appalling days they must make up a tale of four thousand agonising years. The miserable wretches in Awizi work out the evil of their sins only in the space of an Andrakap, a period so vast that the mind cannot grasp it. As if these punishments were not sufficient to scare the weak and ignorant from sin, it has been revealed what other tortures await the damned. In one of the Ten Great Sacred Mystery Plays it is related how a pious prince was shown the horrors of hell. The terrible pictures of the sixth book of the *Æneid*, the awful imaginings of Dante's poem, are outdone by the flesh-creeping minuteness of the Nemi Zāt. The prince saw men devoured by five-headed dogs, by famished vultures, by loathsome crows, the flesh being renewed as fast as the foul creatures tore it away; he saw others crushed beneath the weight of vast white-hot mountains, stretched on fiery bars and cut up with burning knives and flaming saws, their hearts slowly scratched and pierced with fiery needles, flame entering at the mouth and licking up the vitals, fiends all about, hacking, hewing, stabbing,

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lacerating the body with all that the human mind has imagined hideous, and all this, and ten times more, which it were only disgusting to write down, continued with never-abated torture to the wretched victims. The lesser hells are no less horrible; that of ordure, where huge stinging serpents and gnawing worms fasten on the sinners who are there immersed; those of burning coals, swords and knives, molten lead, fiery hammers which crush the bones at every stroke; that where the heart, lungs, and liver are torn out with hooks and slowly sliced and ever renewed. Occasionally the damned are transferred to the Lawkantyè hells, situated in the intermediate spaces between the Sekya worlds, where the tortures are those of frightful cold. Enough, however, has been said about the horrors of hell. The crimes which condemn a man, and the hell to which he is sent, are all duly recorded; but as one hell is as bad as another, it is unnecessary to recount these particulars. Suffice it to say that the man who scoffs at the Buddha and derides the law, will remain, throughout a whole revolution of nature, an entire Lawka, transfixed head downwards on a red-hot spit, in the lowest hell, hacked, gnawed, crushed, and beaten by all that is most awesome in all the flaming realms. There are twenty-one kinds of people who will fall into the lowest hell. Nineteen, however, if they see the error of their ways, and attend the pagodas with goodly offerings, may be redeemed; but the hunter and the fisherman cannot be saved. The impious Dewadat, cousin and brother-in-law of the Buddha, who tried to kill him, suffers terrible punishment. His feet are sunk ankle-deep in burning marl. His head is incased in a red-hot pan that caps it down to the lobe of the ears. Two large red-hot bars transfix him from back to front, two horizontally from right to left, and one impales him from head to foot. But since he repented when he sank into the earth to his doom, he will become a Pyitsega Buddha, under the name of Ahisara, in coming ages.

The State of Punishment above that of hell is that of the Thurakè. Their miseries are various. Some are keepers of hell by day or by night, themselves suffering all the horror of the terrible heat, assuming the form of man at other times. Others feed on their own flesh and

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blood, and tear themselves with great hooks. Some are six miles high, with projecting crab's eyes, short lids, and a mouth the size of an ordinary mortal's, so that they are incessantly tormented by hunger. Above them are the Pyeitta, who in many respects resemble them in their sufferings. They wander on desert sea-shores and mountains, and in dismal forests, far from the abodes of man, naked and continually lamenting. Some have huge bodies with a mouth no larger than the eye of a needle, so that they can never satiate their craving for food. Others have huge, gluttonous mouths, always seeking to devour, but with no stomach in which the food can be received. Maggots, earth-worms, ants, and the like are often called Pyeitta, because they live on excrements and all manner of filth. This state is the one specially assigned to misers and niggardly, uncharitable people.

The highest of the Four States of Punishment is that of Tareiksan, or animals. Those who do not keep a guard over their passions, who are abusive, and who refrain from giving alms, will fall into the Bông of animals. Just as one man by reason of previous merits is born a prince, while another barely scrapes into human existence as an outcast pagoda slave, a grave-digger, a leper, or a heretic, so there are grades in the state of animals. To be an elephant is of course nearly as good as being a man; to be a white elephant is usually very much better. Any herbivorous animal is in a better state than a creature which eats flesh. Lions, tigers, and all life-destroying creatures are particularly undesirable transincorporations. The vulture is highly honoured because it never takes life, but lives entirely on carrion. Some animals are particularly esteemed as having been incarnations of the Lord Buddha. Such are the white elephant, the hare, the pigeon. Shin Gautama's first existence was in the form of a little bird, and all the stages he passed through in after existences are recorded in the Ten Great Zāts and the five hundred and ten minor tales. He who would cross the ferry to Ne'ban may learn from them how he may do so, and how miserable the toil is. Who would not seek the higher paths when he sees what the alternative is?

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Raised from the Four States of Punishment to the Manôt-tha Bông, where as man the law is open to his study, the creature on his upward path should not be lightly stayed. To rise from the seat of man to that of Nats seems simple. Observe but the Five Precepts, give alms, live peaceably with all men, attend regularly at the pagodas on the appointed days that the image and model there presented to you may strengthen your resolution, do but live a respectable life, and the end is gained; you pass to the dwellings of the Déwas, there to spend long years of bliss. Good works will do much, but it is especially necessary to observe the Five Precepts. You must keep them in your mind every day, as you put your clothes on your body. The Ten Precepts must be kept on holy days, four times in every lunar month and throughout all Lent; these, and the daily giving of alms to the mendicants, will save you; your next existence will be in the Heavens of the Nats.

The Nat-pyi Chauk-tap, the six blissful seats, the highest of the Kāma Bông, the worlds of passion, are ranged on and around Mount Myinmo. Like the eight Hells they all have names, beginning with Zatu-ma-harit and ending with Para-neimmita Wot-thawati. The second and the fourth Heavens are the best known; for to Tawadeintha the Lord Buddha ascended in three steps to preach the law to his mother, the sainted Queen Maya, and countless Byammās and Immaterials from the far realms of Rupa and Arupa came to hear; and from Tôt-thita the embryo Budh descended to take flesh as Prince Theidat. The length of life in Tawadeintha is a thousand Déwa's years, that is, in earthly reckoning, nine millions. Similarly the four thousand of Tôt-thita are in human calendars five hundred and seventy-six million years.

Take up any book of fairy tales you have; revive your recollection of the *Arabian Nights*; recall any dream when you thought you had made your fortune, and you have a picture of the six blissful seats. A vision of song and dancing, beautiful and fragrant flowers, delicious fruits, palm-trees bearing, in place of leaves, rich garments and priceless ornaments and dainty cates, great gorgeous palaces with crystal pavements, golden columns, and jewelled walls; a

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tinkling of gold and silver bells, intoxicating music—everything the most fervid imagination can picture, all are found in these happy realms. Prince Nemi was granted a sight of them as well as of the horrors of hell.

Passion still prevails, but it becomes less and less sensual the higher we rise. In Tôt-thita a touch of the hand satisfies love; in the fifth seat, lovers simply gaze on each other; and in the sixth, existence in the same place is enough. The Nat of the highest Bông is not far from the twenty superior heavens.

Passage to the Déwa seats is obtained by the strict observance of the precepts and the regular performance of good works; the step beyond can only be accomplished by the aid of the intellect. Ignorance is always the chief hindrance to rise in the scale of worlds; it is especially so in the case of the superior heavens. The twenty higher seats can only be reached by concentrated meditation; by the performance of good works, not outwardly by the body, but inwardly by the soul. The three fundamental principles of Aneiksa, Dôkka, Anatta—transience, pain, vanity—must first be intently examined. Then we must pass on through the five kinds of meditation, the highest of which is Upekka, which brings perfect fixity, whence originates callousness to pleasure or pain, scorn or affection. Thus we pass through the successive stages of contemplation which lead us through the sixteen seats of Rupa, each of which constitute the first, second, and third Zāns—Thawtapan, Thakadagam, Anagam; the tenth and eleventh seats form the fourth Zān, and in the five highest, the Yahandas have entered on Thodda, on the current of perfection.

Thus we reach to the verge of the four immaterial superior heavens. To enter these we must get rid of all affection for matter. The thirty-two parts of the body are often mentioned in prayer by pious Buddhists, each part with its forty-four subdivisions. On these we must ponder till we understand and see the worthlessness of them. Then we must repeat ten thousand times "the firmament, or the æther, is immeasurable," till at length we reach the first Seit or idea of Arupa.

Thence we progress in contempt for matter till at last

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we are delivered from the three Thangya, or false persuasions, and reaching the topmost seat of Arupa, Newa-thangya-nathangya-yatana, tremble on the verge of Ne'ban.

What is Ne'ban?

> If any teach Nirvana is to cease,
> Say unto such they lie;
> If any teach Nirvana is to live,
> Say unto such they err.

The common illustration of the schools will not suffice for matter-of-fact Western heretics. You tell them life is like a lamp, with its wick and its little lake of oil. It may be kindled and extinguished many times, fresh oil may be added, other lamps kindled from it, but at length the oil is exhausted, the flame flickers and dies away for ever. That is annihilation, you say. It is not. When a man dies and goes to Ne'ban he ceases to be individualised; he is no more agitated by existence, wretched in itself, still more wretched from the woes it reveals in others; he falls into a calm and never-ending cessation of existence; he knows nothing of others, or of the world, and so is a stranger to all feelings of joy or sorrow; he contemplates fixedly the abstract truth, which even the highest Immaterials cannot, perpetually; but he is not annihilated as the heretics assert; nor does he slip, like the dew-drop, into the shining sea; he is not absorbed into the supreme Buddha, as the Brahmins loosely say; he remains perpetually in a sacred calm, unmoved by any feeling whatever, in lifeless, timeless bliss.

The teachers strive to give a detailed explanation, but who can know? who can tell for certain the composition and economy of even the nearest star? They tell us this: Ne'ban is the extinction of Kan, the soul of recurring existences, the influence of merits and demerits, exemption from which means utter cessation from existences; Ne'ban is the stifling of Seit, the fire of passions, the entire hundred and twenty volitions and desires; Ne'ban is the cessation of Utu, exemption from revolving years, from the changes of seasons, from the variations of heat and cold, darkness and light; Ne'ban is the death of Ahāya, taste, typifying all the senses; Ne'ban is, in fact, the going out of all that we know as making up a living being; there remains behind what no

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one can name and few even picture to themselves, and those who attempt it do so according to their individual fancies. When a person recovers from a grievous illness we can only say that to be free from infirmities is to recover one's health. So we say that a man has attained to Ne'ban when he is freed from the sorrows of existences.

In regard to the Lord Buddha himself, we are told that there are in reality three stages in Ne'ban. The first was the Ne'ban of Kiletha, of the earthly passions, when under the Baw-di Bin, the sacred banyan-tree, he renounced all and became a Buddha. The second was the Ne'ban of Khanda, when near Kôkthenayôn, he expired in the grove of sāl-trees, when the five supports of existence gave way and he finally departed from the thirty-one seats of the world. The third and last, the Ne'ban of Dat, will not be for nearly two thousand five hundred years, five thousand from the day of his death. Then the duration of the Great Master's teachings will have ceased, his cycle will have lapsed, and all his relics from all parts of the world will be miraculously gathered together into the place where the original Baw-di Bin stood; there will be many wondrous signs, and then all but the memory of him will be gone, the complete Ne'ban will have been attained.

The definition may be vague, and the monks of Burma, Siam, Japan, Ceylon, Thibet, and China may each have their own definition, but there is the same difficulty to be found in all religions with regard to the last mystery. Who can find agreement in the variety of Christian descriptions of the future life, where one places happiness in the eternal singing of songs and in feastings, another in gazing on the Deity, a third, with greater modesty, hopes to creep in by the door of which St. Peter holds the keys? Buddhists have in their six heavens and twenty superior seats a choice of every kind of bliss, suited to every liking. They have the Islamite delights of sense in the heavens of Dewas with the houri nat-daughters. Then for the various kinds of meditation and mysticism they have the contemplative Byammā seats, while the four seats of Arupa afford room for the most transcendental speculation.

Yet all these ideal realms of phantasy—the dreams of

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sense, of contemplation and mystic trance—have nothing to do with the state of Ne'ban. It is not a "nothing" A "nothing" that can be imagined is an all, for according to the laws of thought, non-existence can only be understood in a relative sense. The Buddhist system is much too logical to trouble itself with such incomprehensible problems, and in order to create no false impressions, the teachers surround the last state with the utmost possible uncertainty of expression. The Buddhist yearns to return from the endless whirl and turmoil of existences to the calm of the first beginning.

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CHAPTER XII

THE NOBLE ORDER OF THE YELLOW ROBE

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> That noble order of the yellow robe
> Which to this day standeth to help the world.

ALL living creatures are plodding on

> the noble Eightfold Path which brings to peace;
> By lower or by upper heights it goes,
> The firm soul hastes, the feeble tarries. All
> Will reach the sun-lit snows.

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The monks in Lower Burma are fond of the comparison which steam lends them now. The holy fraternity are pushing on by mail train to the emancipation from constant successions of new births, while the weary layman toils along the dusty road on foot, or at best in a jolting bullock-cart; the mendicant pushes up the stream of life in a huge throbbing paddle steamer; the man yet in the world struggles along painfully against the current, and whirled about by eddies in a rude canoe. Why, then, cannot all set forth on the path alike? Partly because of ignorance and its consequences; partly because of the kan which forms each man's life:

> The books say well, my Brothers! each man's life
> The outcome of his former living is,
> The bygone wrongs bring forth sorrows and woes,
> The bygone right breeds bliss.

A man's kan may be sufficient to gain him existence as a human being, but not enough to sustain him in the noble life of the monk. He may enter the noble order, he must, indeed, if he would be other than a brute beast; but his kan, the sum of actions that make up his life, the soul of

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792 transmigrations, forces him to leave and enter the forest of
775 the world, some from want of the gift of continence, some from ambition and desire for worldly power, some from a seeking after wealth, all from the predominance of some one of the hundred and twenty seit that incapacitate a man for
779 the calm meditative life of the pyin-sin.

792 In the Lord Buddha's time, when a man adopted the faith, the requisites were belief in his teaching, a willingness to live in poverty and chastity, and under strict rules. All the applicant had to do was to renounce the ordinary pursuits of life, give up all his goods, take the vows, and he was forthwith a member of the Thengā. From that time forward he lived in poverty, was dependent upon alms for his food, and upon charity for a shelter for his head; he was a beikku, a mendicant, and only those who were such were Buddhists. But as the believers increased, it was evident that all could not wholly adopt the religious life. Many had faith, but not faith enough to support them in the strict rule of the society, and soon Buddhists became divided into the two classes of laymen who adopted and believed in the religious tenets, and the religious who abandoned the world entirely, and strove only to lead the higher life. Hence also arose the hierarchy of the order, which exists to a certain extent in Burma, though very far from approaching the completeness of the system of Thibet, where there is a pontifical court, an elective sacerdotal chief, and a college of superior Lamas. In this respect, however, Burman Buddhism is as much closer to the primitive order in polity as it is in exact observance of the ordinations of the Wini. Theoretically, in the sacred assembly there are but three classes:

792 The shin, the novice, who has put on the yellow robe without becoming a professed member of the order, and probably with no other desire than that of obtaining his "humanity." These are called ko-yins, maung-shins, and a variety of other names.

The u-pyin-sin, those who, having lived a certain time in the monastery, have been formally admitted to the assembly with a prescribed ceremony, whereby the title of yahan is solemnly conferred. These are the pyit-shin, or religious.

Finally, there is the pôngyi, the "Great Glory," who by

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done in order to legally hand over a gift. As the water falls drop by drop on the ground, the pôngyis read out the formulæ, the substance of which is as follows: "Firm in my belief in the three precious things, the Lord, the Law, and the Assembly, I make this offering that I may be freed from all present and future miseries. May all creatures suffering torment in the four states of punishment reach the happy seats of nat-dêwas. May all my relatives, friends, and all men inhabiting this earth and the ten thousand worlds, share in the benefits of this meritorious work. O earth, and ye spirits, guardians of this place, bear me witness to the piety of this gift."

It is worthy of note that it is explicitly stated that the inward dispositions of the giver have nothing to do with the merit resulting from a good work. The merits are strictly proportioned to the degree of sanctity or perfection of him who receives the alms. Hence the glorious release which awaits an otherwise bad man who erects a pagoda.

Zedis are of many shapes and degrees of elaboration, but one common idea may be traced through them all. If you ask a Burman monk the cause of the variations in the form of the payā, he will tell you that the Buddha left no instructions regarding them in the holy books, but had only said that a small mound should be raised over his bones in the form of a heap of rice. Apart from the relation in which the payā stands to the Buddha himself as the representation of the holy one sunk in meditation, the ostensible object is the preservation of relics, and these are to be laid in a shrine, like the lotus-bud of which the zedi is typical, and later by an extending of the lines this got the form of a bell or spire. In the Malla Lingaya Wuttu we are told that the infant Buddha in the womb of Queen Maia resembled a lotus-bud, or a beautiful pagoda, and the conjunction of this idea with the simple original tumulus has undoubtedly led to the typical form as now seen in Burma. The names for various parts of the building all recall the idea of the flower-bud, with its young leaves folded in adoration. Thus the rounded swelling just below the slender spire is called the hnget-pyaw-bu, the banana palm-bud, and on the extreme summit

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779 patience; fortitude; wisdom; benevolence; truthfulness; indifference.

The Five Renouncings are the giving up, for holiness' sake, of—children; wife; goods; life; one's self.

775 This cannot all be effected in one existence, unless piety has been exhibited in many previous lives. Much depends on one's kan, the accumulation of merits from past time. Just as the fruits on a tree are some of them good, some bad, but have little or nothing in common with each other, or with those that went before, or may come after, so it is with a man's kan. But the diligent observance of the holy precepts, and especially the exercise of open-handed charity, will always tend to reduce the number of lives to be endured before the deliverance comes.

782 788 Prayer there is none in the technical sense of the word, and the doxologies repeated at the shrines are mostly those learnt in childhood at the monastery school, or special compositions of each individual for himself. There is nothing laid down in any of the Buddhist religious books concerning the formulæ of prayer. Whatever there is, is taken from the Apyin Aung-gyin, the record of the triumph of Shin Gautama over the outer foes, Mān-nat, the spirit of evil, and his daughters, and the Atwin Aung-gyin, the triumph over the inward foes, the kiletha, the passions of mankind. Many, however, repeat little more than the tharana-gōng, the form with which the pôngyis almost invariably commence worship: "I worship the Buddha; I worship the Law; I worship the Assembly." This, with the aneiksa, dôkha, anatta, "change, pain, illusion," forms the sentence to be repeated on the rosary. A very usual form of doxology commonly taught to the scholars of the kyaungs, and therefore retained through life, is the following:—"Awgatha, Awgatha, I worship with the body, with the mouth, and with the mind, with these three kans. The first, the second, the third; once, twice, until three times. The Lord, the precious one; the Law, the precious one; the Assembly, the precious one; these three precious things. I, the worshipper, most humbly, with fervid zeal, with clasped hands, pay reverence, give offerings, and with pious gaze bow me down. Thus by this worshipping I gain merit and

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yahanda, and attain Ne'ban. He is a favourite subject for pictures, which represent him sitting under his brazen roof, or on the stump of a tree, eating out of an alms-bowl, which he carries in his arms. Sometimes he is depicted gazing sideways up to the skies, where he seeks a place that is not polluted by corpses. Such a spot is not to be found on earth, where every stock and stone is but the receptacle of a departed spirit. The notion is like that of the Tibetan monks, who look upon the earth as simply a vast graveyard. They carry human finger-joints strung together for a rosary, eat their food out of a human skull, and instead of horns for trumpets use the bones of a man's forearm. "We are dead," they say, "and dead men have nothing to do with the things of the living."

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Of a similar character to this illuminating of the pagodas, the town, and the river, is the letting loose of fire-balloons, from the end of Lent to the Tawadeintha festival in Tasaungmôn. The balloons are sometimes very big, but they are simple enough structures. A bamboo framework is covered over with the thick, coarse, home-made paper manufactured from the bark of the mahlaingbin (*Broussonetia papyrifera*), which also supplies the material for the black parabaik note-books. At the bottom, across the open mouth of the balloon, is a little platform, on which pitch is heaped, and with torches attached to it. The balloon is then tethered to the ground. The torches and resinous matter are lighted, and when the strain on the stays is considered sufficient, they are cut, and the balloon goes off. They are dangerous in large towns, and are forbidden there, but the Burman considers that the law applies only to the ground round the town, and dozens are let off every year from spots only a hundred yards or so outside of municipal limits. Not unseldom dôn, rockets, and other kinds of fireworks are attached to them, not by any means tending to make them safer for the houses below. This mi-eing byan, as it is called, is in honour of the Sula-mani payā, a pagoda erected in Tawadeintha, over Mount Myinmo, by the Thagya, king of the Nat-déwas. When Prince Theidat left his palace, his wife, and forsook all to become a Buddha, he rode as far as the river Anawma and leaped over it on his famous

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are recorded with enthusiasm and delighted precision of detail; and when an hour or so has been passed in this way, a little more rice-husking is done, and the girls set to work getting ready the onions and sesamum seed, and slicing up the cocoa-nut kernels. This sort of thing goes on all the night through. There is half an hour's work, and then an hour of singing and story-telling and gossip; about the great Shinbinthalyaung, the gigantic recumbent image of Shin Gautama dug up lately near Pegu; of the two min-laungs, the embryo kings, who have been revealed there, and the third one, who is foretold by the old theit-sa, the prophecy which declares that he will restore the ancient Talaing kings and revive religion; of the new hti which is being set up on the pagoda of the lotus tank, and its exceeding splendour, each single one of the concentric rings having been assigned as a particular favour to one out of many competing districts. Then there is a discussion as to the new fashion of turbans, the one plain colour with worked flowers on it, which has supplemented the old thinner style with more braid-like patterns; and the present rage for waist-cloths with many-coloured stripes in place of the old wavy and dog's-tooth fashion. Then the girls are rallied about the method in which they dress their hair—all of them in the style just declared treasonable in the upper country. Queen Supayalat has hit upon some particular set, or plaiting of her tresses, which she thinks becomes her very well, and a royal order has come out making it penal for any meaner damsels to adopt the same method. Consequently all the maidens from Taungoo to Kyauk-Hpyu and the A-eng Pass to Malawun have made up after the queenly model and flatter themselves that it is *chic*. There are always ghost stories at these gatherings, tales about the three farmer brothers that were killed just after harvest time three years ago, and now haunt the dense patch of swampy jungle down by the creek as nat seins, and sometimes scare the fishermen out of a night's work by the violent agitation of the tree-tops on a still night; and then there is that old hag in the lone house at the far end of the village, who is certainly a witch; it must have been she who gave the old sikkè the tet, poor old man, and he a payā-tagā too, founder

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536 her go. Everything happened as he had foretold. She met
539 the prince and he followed her advice. They returned to the Pyinyawwada country, and all was happy."

536 The above is the merest outline of the story. The piece is very long, and there is abundance of incident. The prince's servant, and usually also the two holy men, do the comic part of the business, but this is always so purely personal a matter that the printed text can give no real notion of what actually is said. It serves merely to point out the lines which the lubyet must follow in his impersonation. The stage books, written on palm-leaf, contain but very few detailed speeches, and merely indicate the story, and throw out hints to the actors. The following is one of the songs sung by the prince in his wanderings through the
533 forest in quest of Palèthwè. It is written to the tune of the "Chase in the Tawmawyôn Forest," that in which the king
[775] goes to hunt in the epic of the Ramayana. The wut or wutdaw referred to is the penalty of suffering the same punishment, or death, which has in a former existence been wrongfully or needlessly inflicted on others. Thus the great minister, Widuya, spoken of, who was an avatar of the Lord Buddha, had in a previous life dragged a frog by the leg so that it died. Hence he is dragged at the tail of the fierce Nat's horse until he dies himself. The prince fears that some such evil destiny is working itself out on him. The jingle of the rhythm is intended. The whole play is of the "raging rocks and shivering shocks" pattern.

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FATE

The wind breathes chill
Across the rill
That cuts the forest track;
The haze to mist
Whitens, I wist,
And I am lost, alack.

The branches spread
Dull green and red
Flat o'er the sullen stream;
Comes through the gloom
The gibbon's boom,
And shrill the parrot's scream.

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Here or elsewhere,
With praise and prayer
I seek him for my guide.

Ah, still the Wut
Its baleful fruit
Doth bring before mine eyes.
See, bright and clear,
The Saddan mere
And round the mountains rise.

Like jangled chime,
Or tangled rhyme,
The piteous tale is told;
The Saddan Min[1]
By death solves sin
Committed once of old.

Thrice wretched she,
By destiny
Marked out the blow to guide;
She, then as Queen
Thubadda seen
Had erewhile been his bride.

But beauty's curse
Hath made her nurse
Greed most akin to hate;
The milk-white tusk
She sought to busk
With glories six her state.

Then her behest
She hath addressed
To Thawnôtto, the hind;
Fell hunter that,
As Dewadat
Hath felon deeds designed.

[1] The Saddan Min is the Celestial White Elephant, an avatar of the Buddha Gautama. Hence it is that white elephants are so revered and regarded as the symbol of universal sovereignty. Thubadda had been the Saddan's queen in a previous existence. She repents, dies of sorrow, when she hears of the Lord White Elephant's end, and afterwards, in consequence, becomes a Yahanda in the time of the revealing of the Buddha. Mèbadda is the actual consort of the Saddan. She became, in after existence, Yathawdaya, the wife of Prince Theidat, before he left the palace and devoted himself to acquiring the Supreme Wisdom. Thawnôtto, the hunter, became the wicked Dewadat, cousin and brother-in-law of the Lord Buddha, and now languishes in Awidzi, suffering punishment for his attempt on the life of Shin Gautama.

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Now list ye well
What then befell,
And quit your scoffing mood.

Straight to the cave,
Where crouched the knave,
He walks with gentle mien;
Himself bestows
The tusks' white snows
For Thubadda, the Queen.

Ah, cruel Wut,
Why strayed my foot
Unto this hateful spot?
See low I bow
To earth my brow;
Be mine less awesome lot.

Here erewhile trod
The embryo god,
Now all is dull and blear;
O'er land and sea
I seek for thee,
My Princess, even here.

By lonesome lake,
Through forest brake,
I'll track each rumour's breath;
Where roams the bear,
By fierce beast's lair,
I'll seek thee e'en past death.

But, 'gainst the Wut's
Fierce power what boots
To strive with eager zeal?
. . . . .
Peace, doubting heart,
No fate can part
True lovers fond and leal.

As an illustration of a purely religious play may be given the *Nemi Zat*, one of the Ten Great Birth Stories. It is occasionally represented as a yôkthe, or marionette play, but it is rather expensive to put it on the stage well. It was "preached" in the monastery of Meggadawun, during the stay of Shin Gautama in Mèthila, of which country he remembered to have been king in a previous existence. The following is the story in brief:—

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In old times the King Mingadeva ruled over the country, and for many years was entirely given up to pleasure and worldly passions, till one day his barber showed him a grey hair—"a flag of the king of death," as it is commonly called in Burmese—which he had found on the royal head. The king was struck with this *memento mori*, and immediately saw yawning before his eyes the abyss of mortality. The vision scared him, and he gave up the gay raiment and idle pleasures of earthly glory and wandered into the desert to end his life as a hermit. His self-denying piety gained for him on his death elevation to the seats of the Byammās, and all the 82,000 princes who succeeded him on the throne of Mèthila followed the example of their ancestor and retired into hermits' cells when they felt their end approaching. Mingadeva, from his blissful superior seat, followed with earnest solicitude the fortunes of his dynasty, and when at length he saw that it was drawing near its close, he returned once more to earth. He was conceived in the womb of the then Queen of Mèthila, and was born of her, and received the name of Prince Nemi. From his earliest years, as the pônnas discerned from his horoscope, his mind was firmly and unwaveringly directed to the prescriptions of religion and to pious observances. Once when he felt a doubt in his mind as to whether the outward giving of alms or inward self-contemplation was the more meritorious, the Tha-gyā King himself came down and instructed him that abundant charity would indeed secure him a new birth in the heavens of Nat-dêwas, but that only the cultivation of the mind could ensure a rise to the blessed regions of the Byammās. The Dêwa King was so attracted by the religious spirit and piety of the young prince that on his return he spoke of it with admiring delight to his subject Nats. Their curiosity was excited by the account of such distinguished qualities in a man, and they begged the Tha-gyā Min to procure for them the acquaintance of so holy a personage. Accordingly the king gave orders to a young Dêwa named Matali to descend to the earth and invite the young prince to a visit to the nat-heavens.

It was the day of the full moon, and all the inhabitants of Mèthila were assembled in the streets and on the pagoda

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platforms to observe the ceremonies of the holy day, when a great wonder happened. While the full moon shone high and clear in the heavens, there appeared through the clouds a glowing light in the east, so that all the people cried aloud in astonishment that two moons had arisen in the sky at the same time. But as the light gradually neared and neared, it became evident that it was a nat-chariot with the young Déwa inside. Matali advanced to the prince and invited him to enter the car and proceed to the realms of the blessed. Nemi stepped in without fear, and when he was told by the charioteer that there were two ways open to him, of which one led through the horrors of Nga-yè, and the other through the Elysian fields, he at once desired to visit both. First they went down to the eight vast burning chambers, and saw the pains of the damned in the fiery gloom of hell, and then they ascended and viewed the pure delights of bright paradise. After Nemi had met in audience the highest king of Nats, he returned to earth to give to his subjects a true account of what fate would befall them after death, according as they followed the path of virtue or of vice.

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After many peaceful and honoured years, when Nemi at last saw his hair begin to grow grey, he, like his predecessors, entered the state of Yahanda and abdicated the royal power. The same venerable custom was followed by his son Thalarazana, the last of the roll of kings, who, when old age began to snow upon them, devoted themselves to the holy order in the town of Yathemyo (Kappilavastu).

It is evident that such a play as this, though it offers plenty of incident, is for this very reason the more difficult to put on the stage, and can hardly be satisfactorily produced at all except as a marionette play. No zāt furnishes more subjects to the Burman artist than that of Nemi, and pagoda corridors all over the country are decorated with the scenes in hell, which are much more easily pictured to the mind and the eye than the pure joys of heaven.

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CHAPTER XL

THE BUTTERFLY SPIRIT

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IT is a matter of common knowledge that Buddhists deny the existence of a soul or spiritual principle in man. Each new being, spiritual nature as well as bodily substance, is the product of what has gone before, and differs entirely from the previous being. That faculty which performs all the actions referred by other religions to the soul is by the Buddhist system placed in a sixth sense called manaw, the heart, or faculty of knowing. This sense is as material in its action as any of the others which are denominated seeing, hearing, tasting, and so on. The manaw is, it is true, the most important of all the senses. The eyes, the ears, all the others, are merely channels to communicate impressions to the purely intellectual faculty of knowing; but it is not a separate something, distinct in composition and existence from the material body. The quality and keenness of perception of the manaw is a matter of serious importance to its owner; for it is only by meditation that a man can attain to the higher heavens, and the act of meditating can only be conducted by the sixth sense. The observance of the precepts and the performance of good actions meet with abundant reward in happy births on earth or in the six heavens of the nat-dewas; but the inward good deeds of the soul are incomparably more meritorious, and therefore the pondering on the lawki seit, the ideas of creatures yet under the influence of the passions, and on the lawkotara seit, which are the ideas of those happy beings who have entered into the current of perfection and move about in the regions of pure spiritualism—the consideration of these and

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of the seitathit, or results immediately connected with ideas, throughout all the five stages of meditation up to upekka, lead to rewards in the twenty superior heavens, where the contemplative gradually frees himself from the thanya, or false persuasions, and acquires a contempt for matter. 828 775

All this action has its place in the manaw, or the seat of knowledge, and is duly explained to the Burman when he is in the monastery school, and afterwards, perhaps, in discourses of the Yahans in the rest-houses on feast-days, or other suitable occasions. Unfortunately, however, the matter is, to say the least, a little obscure, and not by any means easily to be grasped. Accordingly, the superstitious Burman having got a confused lot of big words into his head, after letting them simmer there for a while, evolved from his internal consciousness the notion of the leip-bya, or butterfly spirit. 775

This personation of the soul in a fairy-like form had natural elements of attractiveness in it; and the consequence is that the error of the unphilosophical Burman long ago has grown into a present national belief, and it is universally accepted that the life of man resides in the leip-bya and dies when it disappears. The man at the point of death opens his mouth and the butterfly escapes from the body, but only to die at the same time. Many strange things are explained by this doctrine. For example, the leip-bya is the cause of dreams. It is not absolutely necessary that the butterfly should remain constantly in the body; death will not necessarily ensue from the separation. When the man is asleep, therefore, it leaves the body and roams about far and wide. But in these wanderings it can only go to such places as a person to whom it belongs has previously been in. A straying from known paths would cause extreme danger to the sleeping body, for it might happen that the butterfly would lose its way and never return, and then both would die—the body because the animating principle was gone, the leip-bya because it had no earthly tenement to live in. The butterfly is enabled to perform these journeys through its existence as thwe seit, or soul of the blood; and it is the state of this blood which makes the leip-bya more or less inclined to roam, and directs its movements. If the 774 774 827

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CHAPTER XLV

SLAVES AND OUTCASTS

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It is a work of the greatest possible merit to build a pagoda, and the founder, prefixing Payātaga to his signature, for the rest of his life is looked upon as certain to pass into ne'ban on the completion of this his present existence. Similarly a man acquires great kutho by repairing portions of one of the old national shrines, putting up a new umbrella on the summit, setting the steps that lead up to the platform in order, or even by simply gilding afresh a few square feet on a feast day. By doing any one of these things a man sets his balance of kan on the right side and gains the good opinion of his neighbours. It is, therefore, not unnatural that all foreigners should be struck with the fact that the regular servitors of the places of worship, those who sweep the platform, carry off dead leaves, broken branches, and litter generally, and keep the place in order, are not only slaves, but are regarded as outcasts with whom the rest of the community will have no dealings and whose society is contaminating. Not only is the original parakyun a slave for life, for no one, not even a king, can liberate him or provide a substitute in his place, but his descendants, till the cycle of Shin Gautama's religion shall have come to an end and all the relics shall vanish from the earth, all his children throughout the thousands of years that have to elapse, are fixed and settled slaves of the pagoda from their birth, and any one marrying a pagoda slave, even unwittingly, becomes himself, with all the children he may have had by a previous wife, irremediably a parakyun. The reason no doubt lies in the conviction of the existence of original sin. It is desirable

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564 coffin or digging the grave. This occupation has therefore
767 fallen almost exclusively into the hands of the old para-kyun, and helps to keep alive the ancient feeling. It must be allowed that the ways of the sandalās do not in any way tend to conciliate the multitude.

564 Finally there were the pagwet, the letyataung, or thaing-
681 gyaing, the constables, jailers, executioners, lictors, mostly
625 confined to the neighbourhood of the native kingdom Mandalay. These merited all the obloquy that could be cast on them, but their position of quasi-authority made them more secretly hated than openly flouted. They were never allowed to enter a free man's house, even in the exercise of their office; nor could they go within the walls of the palace stockade, but many a citizen smarted under the blows of the lictor's thaing, when a great man came round a corner suddenly, and the letyataung saw a chance for a back-hander with his fasces; and it was far too easy a matter for a man to get into jail in Mandalay to make it a wise proceeding to rail at the pagwet. It was an unlovely custom in Upper Burma which made the executioner both constable and jailer, and condemned him to live on his wits. The natural result was that he lived on the prisoners, and extorted the last pice out of his victim with threats of violence, or actual torture. Pagwet means a circle on the cheek, and this ring on the face implied that its bearer had been condemned for a capital crime, and was respited to become executioner. Others had devices descriptive of their offence tattooed on the chest, as luthat (murderer), thukho (thief), damya (dacoit or highway robber). An execution in Mandalay was a horrid sight. The "spotted man" danced round his victim, made feints with his sword and burst into fits of wild laughter or yells, to shake the doomed man's nerves. It must be admitted that the spectators were very little better. A skilful blow which just slit the skin and drew blood met
[766] with an approving shout. The pagwet, like other outcasts, was buried like carrion when he died, or perhaps was simply thrown out with the town offal.

563 How does all this agree with the theory of Buddhism,
●775 that there is equality for all, and that the poorest man can raise himself to sublimest heights after death? The king

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had and exercised the power of life and death over all his people. He ruled in the truest sense by divine right, and his subjects were all his slaves. The answer is—it is kan, it is the accumulation of merits or demerits in past existences. A man is rich, powerful, and great, because aforetime he was pious and good. Therefore now he has a right to govern and look down with contempt on the poor. The poor man must have been a bad man before he entered on this existence. He deserves to be miserable; he knows it himself, and submits fatuously. It is true the tyrant does not do well if he oppresses him, and perhaps may be punished for it in a later existence, and become the slave of him who, now a slave, may hereafter by good works attain the rank of king. But in his present existence the great man has the fullest right to oppress and grind down the poor as much as he chooses. He enjoys the fruits of previous virtues, and since he has perhaps in many existences mortified the flesh and done grievous penance, he has now a right to enjoy himself to the limit of his desires. Moreover, as he has great power and riches, it is always easy for him by much almsgiving and good works to add so much merit to his kan as to outweigh all his sins, and in the end preserve the balance still in his favour. This is, however, very hard for the poor man. His station exposes him to many temptations to sin. He has but very little to give to the beikku and to the pagodas. He has perhaps even, in order to save himself from starvation, to shoot deer and game, and catch fish, a mode of living which infallibly dooms him to a few millions of years in hell, whence again he has to work up through the upper three states of punishment before he can enter anew upon existence on earth, there to strive to accumulate hard-earned merit, that he may not incontinently topple back again to nga-yè. In any case the poor man's hope can only be directed to the future. From the seeds sown in past worlds, tares have sprung up in the soil of his present existence, and tares they will remain. The germ of a higher life may be sown, but it will only grow up in a new existence. There is happily one refuge for the man born to poverty and misery. It is always open to him to put on the yellow robe of the Assembly of the Perfect, but to do that

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563 he must feel himself strong enough to beat down the fire of
775 passions and remain steadfast to the end, for a lutwet, a man who has put his hand to the plough and turns back again, exposes himself to infinitely greater danger towards his next existence than he who has remained throughout in the world. The monastery is a house of refuge not to be lightly sought, and, sad to say, even it is not open to the outcast.

775 This doctrine of kan also accounts for the equanimity
181 and callousness with which Buddhists view human misery
761 and the taking of human life, notwithstanding the law which forbids the killing of even the smallest insect. They recognise apathetically the working out of inexorable destiny, and watch a man drowning in the river with undisturbed tranquillity, for they are not called upon or even justified in stirring a hand to prevent it. You cannot combat manifest fate.

564 But the outcast may not in any case enter the monastery, not even as a scholar. Even that last chance is withheld from him. He is the connecting link with the state of animals, the highest state of punishment. He is considered no better than an animal in thought; he meets with less toleration in actual life. Were he bedizened to the eyes with costly silks and priceless jewellery no girl would look at him. His wealth is of no use. He is not allowed to build a pagoda, or even to supply fresh-water pots on a wayside stand. The monk would refuse his alms; the starving free-man beggar would scorn his bounty. They will no doubt gradually disappear under British rule, but there will be those who will regret it. They may have to work hard for their living.

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spire. To show the soles of the feet to the throne is high treason. This is awkward for the inhabitants of some quarters, for there is a rule applying to all Buddhists, that they must not place their feet towards the east, where the sun rises and whence the next Buddha, Arimadeya, will come, nor to the west, where the bawdi bin stands, or stood, the tree under which Shin Gautama attained the supreme wisdom. The superstition is probably derived from the Brahmins, who threaten grievous dangers to the man who places his feet on the shadow of a dewa, a king, a teacher, a saint, or another man's wife. 644 [778] [182]

The frequent change of locality of the palace, and therefore of the capital, is a peculiarity of Burma. There are about a score of towns in the country which have been at one time or other the metropolis. Such are Tagaung, Old Pagān, and Shwebo, above Mandalay; Prome (under the title Tharekettara), Pagān, Sagaing, Ava, and Amarapura, below it. The last two are the best known; indeed some people to the present day persist in talking of the "Kingdom of Ava," though that once brilliant capital has been little better than a jungle for a great many years, and the lines of the old walls can only be traced with difficulty. 644 631

It is hardly correct to say, as most writers on Burma have hitherto done, that with a new king there should be a new capital. This has very frequently been the case, but the matter does not altogether depend upon the accession of a new sovereign. It is brought about by a very much more gruesome (the word is used advisedly) circumstance. On the foundation of a new capital, there are always a certain number of people buried alive. The idea is that they become nat-thein, that their spirits haunt the place where they were put to death, and attack all persons approaching with malevolent intentions. The notion is entirely due to the royal astrologers, the Brahmin pônnas, and as being repugnant to the tenets of Buddhism, is strenuously denounced by the true brethren of the yellow robe. But it fits in very well with the popular superstition regarding the existence of spirits, and has hence always firmly maintained its ground. It is a matter of common knowledge that this idea of 644 631 782 [775] [182]

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lucky discoverer of a white elephant was made a mingyi, and was exempted from taxes and burdens of every kind for the rest of his life. Red and spotted elephants were also held in great esteem.

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White crows, rats, mice, and hares are common and easily distinguished; but it is different with a white elephant. He is not to be considered as snow-white: very far from it. All the white elephants now existing in Siam and Burma are of a light mouse colour, somewhat of the same tint as the pale freckles to be found on the trunk of almost every ordinary elephant. This light grey is uniform all over, the spots on the trunk being white. The depth of the colour, however, varies greatly; and there are often blemishes in the shape of darker patches which would seem to ruin an otherwise eligible candidate's claims. It has been therefore found necessary to determine some infallible test points, which will demonstrate the right of the animal to his title. Determining white elephants is quite a science, and there is a very considerable literature on the subject. The Burmese skilled men fix upon two of these tests as superior to all others. One is that the elephant shall have five toe-nails on his hind feet instead of four. This is a good way of making certain, but occasionally there are indubitably black elephants which have the sacred number of toes. These are white elephants debased by sin, labouring under the evil kan of previous existences, and therefore ineligible for the honours accorded to the real animal. The other test is considered perfectly decisive, no matter what the precise tint of the skin may be. It is this: if you pour water upon a "white" elephant he turns red, while a black elephant only becomes blacker than ever. This is the final test always resorted to in Mandalay. A swarthy specimen who had twenty toe-nails and turned red when he was washed would be forthwith installed in all the honours and emoluments of the Sinbyudaw, no matter what scoffers might say about his colour. Such a creature was the last Lord White Elephant in Mandalay. He would not have been recognised as an albino by any except those who are learned in the science and well versed in the voluminous and puzzling minutiæ of the question. To most people he seemed an impostor, for

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CHAPTER LXIV

DEATH AND BURIAL

WHEN a Burman dies, after the first interval of poignant grief on the part of those present, the body is carried to the side of the central room of the house, abutting on the front verandah, and there deposited between the house posts. Messages are then sent to the monastery, to the friends and neighbours, and a funeral band is summoned. Meanwhile the corpse is carefully washed from head to foot, and the two big toes, and usually also the thumbs, are tied together with the chema-gyo and the letma gyo, which, if practicable, should be locks of the hair of a son or daughter; but if this is not to be got, a strip of cotton cloth is used. The whole body then, from the armpits downwards, is closely swathed in new white cotton cloth, and when this is done the best clothes the deceased possessed are put on. If the family is wealthy the paso or tamein is often very rich and costly. The face is always left uncovered, unless there are special reasons for concealing it, arising from the cause of death. Between the teeth is placed the kado-ka, a piece of gold or silver as ferry-money to pay for the passage of the mystic river, which is known to exist, but concerning which no further particulars are to be got from any Burman. It is no doubt a relic of old demon-worship, the meaning of which is forgotten, while the custom has clung on. Charon's toll of course immediately occurs to the classical reader. Probably the race on their march from their ancestral home to Burma had to cross a big river. If the family is very poor, a copper or lead coin is used, or perhaps nothing more valuable than a betel-nut. The coin, whatever it is, is usually quietly

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For seven days after either kind of funeral, mourning 765
goes on in the house. This means in wealthy houses 426
indiscriminate eating and drinking. Cooking goes on all 789
night, and all day relays of condoling visitors come and eat 775
and enjoy themselves. The yahans also come every morning and receive offerings, and recite a string of Pali sentences. Friends bring contributions towards all this expenditure, but the result of it too often is that the heir finds that not only are all his father's hoarded rupees gone, but he himself has contracted a very considerable burden of debt. Even in the case of poor people, where the feasting is limited to the seventh day, great expense is incurred. The yahans are as necessary then as at the funeral, for the house must be purified, and the evil spirits who may be hanging about, as well as the leip-bya of the deceased, have to be exorcised and driven away. Then the pot containing the bones, if the dead person was burnt, is taken to the graveyard and buried, or sometimes is put into a hole near the pagoda. Superstitious people at burials sometimes affirm that they have caught the "butterfly" of the deceased in a handkerchief, and take this home to the house, where it lies till the seventh day, when it is opened after the discourse of the yahans, and the leip-bya is driven from the house. It can then give no more trouble.

Sometimes a small pagoda is erected over the cremated 767
ashes of a highly respected relative. These are regarded 778
simply as monuments, even when they are over a king, to whom alone of laymen in Native Burma they could be erected. They must not be used as places to offer worship, and that this may be known, the members of the sacred order ordain that such pagodas shall have no hti, no umbrella, on the top. To obviate this it is usual with the builder to dedicate the place to Shin Gautama, and thus at once secure a monument and a hti. Pagodas erected in honour of yahandas, or particularly sainted pôngyis, receive the umbrella of right, and are places very eminently suited for the pious laymen to worship at. Such temple tombs are called ayo sedi, but are not of such frequent erection as they used to be.

In some cases the relations grind down the bones to powder, and mixing this with the wood oil called thitsi,

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of milk. She is not permitted to read, sew, or to do anything that will 'arouse or stir the blood.' 846

Omens are read from the position of mongoloid spots on the newborn baby's body. They are said to represent marks put on in a previous existence and their presence proves that the child was then a human being. A blue spot on the foot presages a life of travel. Any marks leading from the right shoulder to the left hip, the line that the royal riband takes, traditionally indicated a royal future; today, however, in the absence of royalty in Burma, such marks merely forecast a 'great' future for the child. 787 845

A child is constantly watched from the time of birth for signs of whose reincarnation it represents. This is a constant topic in the family conversations. 775

Any disfigurement in a newborn child is regarded as a carry-over of the parents' store of demerit, as well as the child's, from earlier existences. It is regarded with a sense of shame and sorrow.

Although multiple births are neither preferred nor desired, they are not looked upon with any marked anxiety nor are there any supernatural means employed to prevent them. 854 751

A number of things are done by parents to protect the newborn baby from malevolent influences. Before it is a month old, a tiger bone should be ground on a stone, together with a little water, and mixed with honey. This is fed to the child to ward off a mysterious infant illness associated with the tiger. A connection is believed to exist between the tiger and convulsions; some parents place a tiger skin under the mattress of the baby's bed to guard against such illness. A knife similarly placed is said to protect against illness in general.

To insure good health and well-being for the child, a white thread over which certain prayers have been recited may be given by a Buddhist monk and tied around the baby's wrists. People should refrain from making admiring remarks about a baby's growth; if they do so, the thread may be left on the baby's wrists to neutralize the harm that may come.

When the stump of the child's umbilical cord has dried and fallen off, it is kept and used as a medicine for any illness that befalls the child. A little of it is ground up and mixed with water for such purposes. [846]

A very close connection is believed to exist between mother and child during the nursing period. Certain observances are necessary. The mother must not eat tomatoes at this time, for they may appear in the baby's stools; for the same reason, she must abstain from green vegetables. Any falling out of her hair during the nursing stage is said to be caused by bubbles blown into her by the suckling baby. To prevent the milk supply from drying up, the nursing mother avoids fruits of astringent quality, such as pomegranates and buds of the banyan. She must also take care not to allow milk to fall on the floor and dry. 853

The baby is weaned very gradually, beginning at the age of about nine months to a year in most cases, although some children may be given the breat occasionally up to the age of two or three years. Weaning is facilitated by the mother's application of a bitter substance to her breasts. 862

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IV

RELIGION

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The people of Tadagale are overwhelmingly Theravada Buddhist in faith. The exceptions are the Indian minority, who are largely Hindus. There are three Indians who profess Mohammedanism, and three Indo-Burmans and one Pakistani of like faith. Being Burmese and Buddhist are almost identified in the thinking of the majority, as evidenced by the fact that almost all replied 'Burmese Buddhist' to the question, 'To what people do you consider yourself to belong?'

In discussing the religious life of Tadagale, realism calls for emphasis upon actual religious beliefs and behavior, rather than any extended setting down of the formal theology of Buddhism. The latter has been done in any number of specialized works, to which the interested reader may refer. Here we shall refer to Buddhist precepts insofar as is necessary to illuminate religious beliefs and practices of the villagers.

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The Five Precepts or Commandments. Almost all villagers know well the fundamental Buddhist injunctions against the taking of life in any form, the consumption of alcohol, illicit sexual activity, theft, and prevarication. These moral rules are, of course, sometimes breached. In Tadagale, the use of alcohol, sometimes to excess, is perhaps the most notable instance. The 'good Buddhist' does not, however, seem to experience feelings of guilt or pangs of conscience in such matters. Rather, the following of the moral precepts has instrumental value for him, in relation to his accumulation of merit and his reincarnation after death.

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Merit. One's behavior throughout life determines one's store of merit, and this, in turn, determines one's reincarnation after death. Morally proper behavior, such as the following of the five basic commandments of Buddhist faith, is regarded as contributing to one's store of merit and thus enhancing one's state of reincarnation after death. Religious acts, such as making daily offerings of food to the monks, saying prayers, and attending the pagoda festivals on the important sacred days are likewise considered to increase one's merit. Breaking the moral precepts, irreligiousity, acting selfish or quarrelsome, detract from merit and accordingly tend to lower one's state in reincarnation.

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Such is about the extent of the average villager's lay conception and understanding of the moral code and the ideas of the afterlife in Buddhism. He has little or no knowledge of the detailed concepts of reincarnation, with its elaborate gradationary ladder leading from the four states of punishment up to the ultimate achievement of Nirvana. Such theological learning is the property of the monkhood and of a few laymen who spent more than the usual few years as pupils in the monastic school.

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Functions of the Monks. The functions of the Buddhist monks in the village may be conveniently classified as three-fold: formal education; officiation at certain rites; and providing personal advice and guidance to individuals.

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With respect to formal education, the monks of four monasteries close to the village conduct schools which are attended by a considerable number of

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114 acquaintance with the theory of their faith as picked
121 up from a book or two—notably, Rhys Davids'
779 'Buddhism' and Bishop Bigandet's book—and from many inconsequent talks with the monks and others. Bu. the knowledge was but superficial, and I was painfully aware that it did not explain much that I had seen and that I saw every day.

So I sent for more books, such books as had been published in English, and I studied them, and hoped thereby to attain the explanations I wanted; and as I studied, I watched as I could the doings of the people, that I might see the effects of causes and the results of beliefs. I read in these
●715 sacred books of the mystery of Dharma, of how
779 a man has no soul, no consciousness after death; that to the Buddhist 'dead men rise up never,' and that those who go down to the grave are known no more. I read that all that survives is the effect of a man's actions, the evil effect, for good is merely negative, and that this is what causes pain and trouble to the next life. Everything changes, say the sacred books, nothing lasts even for a moment. 'It will be, and it has been,' is the life of man. The life that lives to-morrow in the next incarnation is no more the life that died in the last than the flame we light in the lamp to-day is the same that went out yesternight. It is as if a stone were thrown into a pool—that is the life, the splash of the stone; all that remains, when the stone lies resting in the mud and weeds below the waters of forgetfulness, are the circles ever widening on the surface, and the ripples never dying, but only spreading farther and farther away. And all this

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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seemed to me a mystery such as I could not understand. But when I went to the people, I found that it was simple enough to them; for I found that they remembered their former lives often, that children, young children, could tell who they were before they died, and remember details of that former existence. As they grew older the remembrance grew fainter and fainter, and at length almost died away. But in many children it was quite fresh, and was believed in beyond possibility of a doubt by all the people. So I saw that the teachings of their sacred books and the thoughts of the people were not at one in this matter.

Again, I read that there was no God. Nats there were, spirits of great power like angels, and there was the Buddha (the just man made perfect), who had worked out for all men the way to reach surcease from evil; but of God I saw nothing. And because the Buddha had reached heaven (Nirvana), it would be useless to pray to him. For, having entered into his perfect rest, he could not be disturbed by the sharp cry of those suffering below; and if he heard, still he could not help; for each man must through pain and sorrow work out for himself his own salvation. So all prayer is futile.

And then I remembered I had seen the young mother going to the pagoda on the hilltop with a little offering of a few roses or an orchid spray, and pouring out her soul in passionate supplication to Someone—Someone unknown to her sacred books—that her firstborn might recover of his fever, and be to her once more the measureless

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CHAPTER XVI

WOMEN—III

'For women are very tender-hearted.'
Wethandaya.

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'YOU know, thakin,' said a man to me, 'that we say sometimes that women cannot attain unto the great deliverance, that only men will come there. We think that a woman must be born again as a man before she can enter upon the way that leads to heaven.'

'Why should that be so?' I asked. 'I have looked at the life of the Buddha, I have read the sacred books, and I can find nothing about it. What makes you think that?'

He explained it in this way: 'Before a soul can attain deliverance it must renounce the world, it must have purified itself by wisdom and meditation from all the lust of the flesh. Only those who have done this can enter into the Great Peace. And many men do this. The country is full of monks, men who have left the world, and are trying to follow in the path of the great teacher. Not all these will immediately attain to heaven, for purifi-

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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562 cation is a very long process; but they have entered
● 775 into the path, they have seen the light, if it be even a long way off yet. They know whither they would go. But women, see how few become nuns! Only those who have suffered such shipwreck in life that this world holds nothing more for them worth having become nuns. And they are very few. For a hundred monks there is not one nun. Women are too attached to their home, to their fathers, their husbands, their children, to enter into the holy life; and, therefore, how shall they come to heaven except they return as men? Our teacher says nothing about it, but we have eyes, and we can see.'

562 All this is true. Women have no desire for the
792 holy life. They cannot tear themselves away from their home-life. If their passions are less than those of men, they have even less command over them than men have. Only the profoundest despair will drive a woman to a renunciation of the world. If on an average their lives are purer than those of men, they cannot rise to the heights to which men can. How many monks there are—how few nuns! Not one to a hundred.

562 Yet in some ways women are far more religious
782 than men. If you go to the golden pagoda on the hilltop and count the people kneeling there doing honour to the teacher, you will find they are nearly all women. If you go to the rest-houses by the monastery, where the monks recite the law on Sundays, you will find that the congregations are nearly all women. If you visit the monastery without the gate you will see many visitors bringing little presents, and they will be women.

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It is true that it is part of their great theory of life that the souls of men have risen from being souls of beasts, and that we may so relapse if we are not careful. Many stories are told of cases that have occurred where a man has been reincarnated as an animal, and where what is now the soul of a man used to live in a beast. But that makes no difference. Whatever a man may have been, or may be, he is a man now; whatever a beast may have been, he is a beast now. Never suppose that a Burman has any other idea than this. To him men are men, and animals are animals, and men are far the higher. But he does not deduce from this that man's superiority gives him permission to illtreat or to kill animals. It is just the reverse. It is because man is so much higher than the animal that he can and must observe towards animals the very greatest care, feel for them the very greatest compassion, be good to them in every way he can. The Burman's motto should be *Noblesse oblige;* he knows the meaning, if he knows not the words.

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For the Burman's compassion towards animals goes very much farther than a mere reluctance to kill them. Although he has no command on the subject, it seems to him quite as important to treat animals well during their lives as to refrain from taking those lives. His refusal to take life he shares with the Hindu; his perpetual care and tenderness to all living creatures is all his own. And here I may mention a very curious contrast, that whereas in India the Hindu will not take life and the Mussulman will, yet the Mussulman is by reputation far kinder to his beasts than the Hindu. Here the

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CHAPTER XXII

THE POTTER'S WHEEL

'Life is like a great whirlpool wherein we are dashed to and fro by our passions.'—*Saying of the Buddha.*

779 It is a hard teaching, this of the Buddha about
761 death. It is a teaching that may appeal to the
reason, but not to the soul. That when life goes
182 out, this thing which we call 'I' goes out with it, and that love and remembrance are dead for ever.

It is so hard a teaching that in its purity the people cannot believe it. They accept it, but they have added on to it a belief which changes the whole form of it, a belief that is the outcome of that weakness of humanity which insists that death is not and cannot be all.

Though to the strict Buddhist death is the end of all worldly passion, to the Burmese villager that is not so. He cannot grasp, he cannot endure that it should be so, and he has made for himself out of Buddhism a belief that is opposed to all Buddhism in this matter.

775 He believes in the transmigration of souls, in the survival of the 'I.' The teaching that what survives

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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is not the 'I,' but only the result of its action, is too deep for him to hold. True, if a flame dies the effects that it has caused remain, and the flame is dead for ever. A new flame is a new flame. But the 'I' of man cannot die, he thinks; it lives and loves for all time. 775

He has made out of the teaching a new teaching that is very far from that of the Buddha, and the teaching is this: When a man dies his soul remains, his 'I' has only changed its habitation. Still it lives and breathes on earth, not the effect, but the soul itself. It is reborn among us, and it may even be recognized very often in its new abode.

And that we should never forget this, that we should never doubt that this is true, it has been so ordered that many can remember something of these former lives of theirs. This belief is not to a Burman a mere theory, but is as true as anything he can see. For does he not daily see people who know of their former lives? Nay, does he not himself, often vaguely, have glimpses of that former life of his? No man seems to be quite without it, but of course it is clearer to some than others. Just as we tell stories in the dusk of ghosts and second sight, so do they, when the day's work is over, gossip of stories of second birth; only that they believe in them far more than we do in ghosts.

A friend of mine put up for the night once at a monastery far away in the forest near a small village. He was travelling with an escort of mounted police, and there was no place else to sleep but in the monastery. The monk was, as usual, hospitable, and put what he had, bare house-room, [574] [792]

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775 at the officer's disposal, and he and his men settled down for the night.

792 After dinner a fire was built on the ground, and the officer went and sat by it and talked to the 521 headman of the village and the monk. First they talked of the dacoits and of crops, unfailing subjects of interest, and gradually they drifted from one subject to another till the Englishman remarked about the monastery, that it was a very large and fine one for such a small secluded village to have built. The monastery was of the best and straightest teak, and must, he thought, have taken a very long time and a great deal of labour to build, for the teak must have been brought from very far away; and in explanation he was told a curious story.

792 It appeared that in the old days there used to be only a bamboo and grass monastery there, such a monastery as most jungle villages have; and the then monk was distressed at the smallness of his abode and the little accommodation there was for his school—a monastery is always a school. So one rainy reason he planted with great care a number of teak seedlings round about, and he watered them and cared for them. 'When they are grown up,' he would say, 'these teak-trees shall provide timber for a new and proper building; and I will myself return in another life, and with those trees will I build a monastery more worthy than this.' Teak-trees take a hundred years to reach a mature size, and while the trees were still but saplings the monk died, and another monk taught in his stead. And so it went on, and the years went by, and from time to time new monasteries of bamboo were built and

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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rebuilt, and the teak-trees grew bigger and bigger. 792
But the village grew smaller, for the times were troubled, and the village was far away in the forest. So it happened that at last the village found itself without a monk at all: the last monk was dead, and no one came to take his place.

It is a serious thing for a village to have no monk. To begin with, there is no one to teach the lads to read and write and do arithmetic; and there is no one to whom you can give offerings and thereby get merit, and there is no one to preach to you and tell you of the sacred teaching. So the village was in a bad way.

Then at last one evening, when the girls were all out at the well drawing water, they were surprised by the arrival of a monk walking in from the forest, weary with a long journey, footsore and hungry. The villagers received him with enthusiasm, fearing, however, that he was but passing through, and they furbished up the old monastery in a hurry for him to sleep in. But the curious thing was that the monk seemed to know it all. He knew the monastery and the path to it, and the ways about the village, and the names of the hills and the streams. It seemed, indeed, as if he must once have lived there in the village, and yet no one knew him or recognized his face, though he was but a young man still, and there were villagers who had lived there for seventy years. Next morning, instead of 792
going on his way, the monk came into the village 775
with his begging-bowl, as monks do, and went round and collected his food for the day; and in the evening, when the villagers went to see him at the

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1893 AP1 Burma
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792 monastery, he told them he was going to stay. He
775 recalled to them the monk who had planted the teak-trees, and how he had said that when the trees were grown he would return. 'I,' said the young monk, 'am he that planted these trees. Lo, they are grown up, and I am returned, and now we will build a monastery as I said.'

When the villagers, doubting, questioned him, and old men came and talked to him of traditions of long-past days, he answered as one who knew all. He told them he had been born and educated far away in the South, and had grown up not knowing who he had been; and that he had entered a monastery, and in time became a Pongyi. The remembrance came to him, he went on, in a dream of how he had planted the trees and had promised to return to that village far away in the forest.

The very next day he had started, and travelled day after day and week upon week, till at length he had arrived, as they saw. So the villagers were convinced, and they set to work and cut down the great boles, and built the monastery such as my friend saw. And the monk lived there all his life, and taught the children, and preached the marvellous teaching of the great Buddha, till at length his time came again and he returned; for of monks it is not said that they die, but that they return.

775 This is the common belief of the people. Into this has the mystery of Dharma turned, in the thoughts of the Burmese Buddhists, for no one can believe the incomprehensible. A man has a soul, and it passes from life to life, as a traveller from inn to inn, till at length it is ended in heaven. But not

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till he has attained heaven in his heart will he attain heaven in reality.

Many children, the Burmese will tell you, remember their former lives. As they grow older the memories die away and they forget, but to the young children they are very clear. I have seen many such.

About fifty years ago in a village named Okshitgon were born two children, a boy and a girl. They were born on the same day in neighbouring houses, and they grew up together, and played together, and loved each other. And in due course they married and started a family, and maintained themselves by cultivating their dry, barren fields about the village. They were always known as devoted to each other, and they died as they had lived—together. The same death took them on the same day; so they were buried without the village and were forgotten; for the times were serious.

It was the year after the English army had taken Mandalay, and all Burma was in a fury of insurrection. The country was full of armed men, the roads were unsafe, and the nights were lighted with the flames of burning villages. It was a bad time for peace-loving men, and many such, fleeing from their villages, took refuge in larger places nearer the centres of administration.

Okshitgon was in the midst of one of the worst of all the distressed districts, and many of its people fled, and one of them, a man named Maung Kan, with his young wife went to the village of Kabyu and lived there.

Now, Maung Kan's wife had borne to him twin

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775 sons. They were born at Okshitgon shortly before their parents had to run away, and they were named, the eldest Maung Gyi, which is Brother Big-fellow, and the younger Maung Ngè, which means Brother Little-fellow. These lads grew up at Kabyu, and soon learned to talk; and as they grew up their parents were surprised to hear them calling to each other at play, and calling each other, not Maung Gyi and Maung Ngè, but Maung San Nyein and Ma Gywin. The latter is a woman's name, and the parents remembered that these were the names of the man and wife who had died in Okshitgon about the time the children were born.

So the parents thought that the souls of the man and wife had entered into the children, and they took them to Okshitgon to try them. The children knew everything in Okshitgon; they knew the roads and the houses and the people, and they recognized the clothes they used to wear in a former life; there was no doubt about it. One of them, the younger, remembered, too, how she had borrowed two rupees once of a woman, Ma Thet, unknown to her husband, and left the debt unpaid. Ma Thet was still living, and so they asked her, and she recollected that it was true she had lent the money long ago. I did not hear that the children's father repaid the two rupees.

Shortly afterwards I saw these two children. They are now just over six years old. The elder, into whom the soul of the man entered, is a fat, chubby little fellow, but the younger twin is smaller, and has a curious dreamy look in his face, more like a girl than a boy. They told me much about their

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former lives. After they died they said they lived for sometime without a body at all, wandering in the air and hiding in the trees. This was for their sins. Then, after some months, they were born again as twin boys. 'It used,' said the elder boy, 'to be so clear, I could remember everything; but it is getting duller and duller, and I cannot now remember as I used to do.'

Of children such as this you may find any number. Only you have to look for them, as they are not brought forward spontaneously. The Burmese, like other people, hate to have their beliefs and ideas ridiculed, and from experience they have learned that the object of a foreigner in inquiring into their ways is usually to be able to show by his contempt how very much cleverer a man he is than they are. Therefore they are very shy. But once they understand that you only desire to learn and to see, and that you will always treat them with courtesy and consideration, they will tell you all that they think.

A fellow officer of mine has a Burmese police orderly, a young man about twenty, who has been with him since he came to the district two years ago. Yet my friend only discovered accidentally the other day that his orderly remembers his former life. He is very unwilling to talk about it. He was a woman apparently in that former life, and lived about twenty miles away. He must have lived a good life, for it is a step of promotion to be a man in this life; but he will not talk of it. He forgets most of it, he says, though he remembered it when he was a child.

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Sometimes this belief leads to lawsuits of a peculiarly difficult nature. In 1883, two years before the annexation of Upper Burma, there was a case that came into the local Court of the oil district which depended upon this theory of transmigration.

Opposite Yenangyaung there are many large islands in the river. These islands during the low water months are joined to the mainland, and are covered with a dense high grass in which many deer live.

When the river rises, it rises rapidly, communication with the mainland is cut off, and the islands are for a time, in the higher rises, entirely submerged. During the progress of the first rise some hunters went to one of these islands where many deer were to be found and set fire to the grass to drive them out of cover, shooting them as they came out. Some deer, fleeing before the fire, swam across and escaped, others fell victims, but one fawn, barely half grown, ran right down the island, and in its blind terror it leaped into a boat at anchor there. This boat was that of a fisherman who was plying his trade at some distance, and the only occupant of the boat was his wife. Now this woman had a year or so before lost her son, very much loved by her, but who was not quite of the best character, and when she saw the deer leaping into the boat, she at once fancied that she saw the soul of her erring son looking at her out of its great terrified eyes. So she got up and took the poor panting beast in her arms and soothed it, and when the hunters came running to her to claim it she refused.

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'He is my son,' she said, 'he is mine. Shall I give him up to death?' The hunters clamoured and threatened to take the deer by force, but the woman was quite firm. She would never give him up except with her life. 'You can see,' she said, 'that it is true that he is my son. He came running straight to me, as he always did in his trouble when he was a boy, and he is now quite quiet and contented, instead of being afraid of me as an ordinary deer would be.' And it was quite true that the deer took to her at once, and remained with her willingly. So the hunters went off to the court of the governor and filed a suit for the deer.

The case was tried in open court, and the deer was produced with a ribbon round its neck. Evidence there was naturally but little. The hunters claimed the deer because they had driven it out of the island by their fire. The woman resisted the claim on the ground that it was her son.

The decision of the court was this:

'The hunters are not entitled to the deer because they cannot prove that the woman's son's soul is not in the animal. The woman is not entitled to the deer because she cannot prove that it is. The deer will therefore remain with the court until some properly authenticated claim is put in.'

So the two parties were turned out, the woman in bitter tears, and the hunters angry and vexed, and the deer remained the property of the judge.

But this decision was against all Burmese ideas of justice. He should have given the deer to the woman. 'He wanted it for himself,' said a Burman, speaking to me of the affair. 'He probably killed

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75 it and ate it. Surely it is true that officials are of all the five evils the greatest.' Then my friend remembered that I was myself an official, and he looked foolish, and began to make complimentary remarks about English officials, that they would never give such an iniquitous decision. I turned it off by saying that no doubt the judge was now suffering in some other life for the evil wrought in the last, and the Burman said that probably he was now inhabiting a tiger.

It is very easy to laugh at such beliefs; nothing is, indeed, easier than to be witty at the expense of any belief. It is also very easy to say that it is all self-deception, that the children merely imagine that they remember their former lives, or are citing conversation of their elders.

How this may be I do not know. What is the explanation of this, perhaps the only belief of which we have any knowledge which is at once a living belief to-day and was so as far back as we can get, I do not pretend to say. For transmigration is no theory of Buddhism at all, but was a leading tenet in the far older faith of Brahmanism, of which Buddhism was but an offshoot, as was Christianity of Judaism.

I have not, indeed, attempted to reach the explanation of things I have seen. When I have satisfied myself that a belief is really held by the people, that I am not the subject of conscious deception, either by myself or others, I have conceived that my work was ended.

000 There are those who, in investigating any foreign customs and strange beliefs, can put their finger here

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There was one point that puzzled me for a time

775 in some of these stories of transmigration, such as the one I told about the man and wife being reborn twins. It was this: A man dies and leaves behind children, let us say, to whom he is devoutly attached. He is reborn in another family in the same village, maybe. It would be natural to suppose that he would love his former family as much as, or even more so than his new one. Complications might arise in this way which it is easy to conceive would cause great and frequent difficulties.

775 I explained this to a Burman one day, and asked
828 him what happened, and this is what he said: 'The affection of mother to son, of husband to wife, of brother to sister, belongs entirely to the body in which you may happen to be living. When it dies, so do these affections. New affections arise from the new body. The flesh of the son, being of one with his father, of course loves him; but as his present flesh has no sort of connection with his former one, he does not love those to whom he was related in his other lives. These affections are as much a part of the body as the hand or the eyesight; with one you put off the other.'

828 Thus all love, to the learned, even the purest affection of daughter to mother, of man to his friend, is in theory a function of the body—with the one we put off the other; and this may explain, perhaps, something of what my previous chapter did not make quite clear, that in the hereafter[1] of Buddhism there is no affection.

When we have put off all bodies, when we have

[1] The here fter—the state to which we attain when we have done with e: chly th'ngs.

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attained Nirvana, love and hate, desire and repulsion, will have fallen from us for ever. 828

Meanwhile, in each life, we are obliged to endure the affections of the body into which we may be born. It is the first duty of a monk, of him who is trying to lead the purer life, to kill all these affections, or rather to blend them into one great compassion to all the world alike. 'Gayūna,' compassion, that is the only passion that will be left to us. So say the learned. 792 828

I met a little girl not long ago, a wee little maiden about seven years old, and she told me all about her former life when she was a man. Her name was Maung Mon, she said, and she used to work the dolls in a travelling marionette show. It was through her knowledge and partiality for marionettes that it was first suspected, her parents told me, whom she had been in her former life. She could even as a sucking-child manipulate the strings of a marionette-doll. But the actual discovery came when she was about four years old, and she recognized a certain marionette booth and dolls as her own. She knew all about them, knew the name of each doll, and even some of the words they used to say in the plays. 'I was married four times,' she told me. 'Two wives died, one I divorced; one was living when I died, and is living still. I loved her very much indeed. The one I divorced was a dreadful woman. See,' pointing to a scar on her shoulder, 'this was given me once in a quarrel. She took up a chopper and cut me like this. Then I divorced her. She had a dreadful temper.' 775

It was immensely quaint to hear this little thing

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775 discoursing like this. The mark was a birth-mark, and I was assured that it corresponded exactly with one that had been given to the man by his wife in just such a quarrel as the one the little girl described.

The divorced wife and the much-loved wife are still alive and not yet old. The last wife wanted the little girl to go and live with her. I asked her why she did not go.

'You loved her so much, you know,' I said. 'She was such a good wife to you. Surely you would like to live with her again.'

'But all that,' she replied, 'was in a former life.'

Now she loved only her present father and mother. The last life was like a dream. Broken memories of it still remained, but the loves and hates, the passions and impulses, were all dead.

Another little boy told me once that the way remembrance came to him was by seeing the silk he used to wear made into curtains, which are given to the monks and used as partitions in their monasteries, and as walls to temporary erections made at festival times. He was taken when some three years old to a feast at the making of a lad, the son of a wealthy merchant, into a monk. There he recognized in the curtain walling in part of the bamboo building his old dress. He pointed it out at once.

This same little fellow told me that he passed three months between his death and his next incarnation without a body. This was because he had once accidentally killed a fowl. Had he killed it on purpose, he would have been punished very much

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more severely. Most of this three months he spent dwelling in the hollow shell of a palm-fruit. The nuisance was, he explained, that this shell was close to the cattle-path, and that the lads as they drove the cattle afield in the early morning would bang with a stick against the shell. This made things very uncomfortable for him inside. 775

It is not an uncommon thing for a woman when about to be delivered of a baby to have a dream, and to see in that dream the spirit of someone asking for permission to enter the unborn child; for, to a certain extent, it lies within a woman's power to say who is to be the life of her child.

There was a woman once who loved a young man, not of her village, very dearly. And he loved her, too, as dearly as she loved him, and he demanded her in marriage from her parents; but they refused. Why they refused I do not know, but probably because they did not consider the young man a proper person for their daughter to marry. Then he tried to run away with her, and nearly succeeded, but they were caught before they got clear of the village.

The young man had to leave the neighbourhood. The attempted abduction of a girl is an offence severely punishable by law, so he fled; and in time, under pressure from her people, the girl married another man; but she never forgot. She lived with her husband quite happily; he was good to her, as most Burmese husbands are, and they got along well enough together. But there were no children. [683]

After some years, four or five, I believe, the former lover returned to his village. He thought

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that after this lapse of time he would be safe from prosecution, and he was, moreover, very ill.

He was so ill that very soon he died, without ever seeing again the girl he was so fond of; and when she heard of his death she was greatly distressed, so that the desire of life passed away from her.

It so happened that at this very time she found herself enceinte with her first child, and not long before the due time came for the child to be born she had a dream.

She dreamt that her soul left her body, and went out into space and met there the soul of her lover who had died. She was rejoiced to meet him again, full of delight, so that the return of her soul to her body, her awakening to a world in which he was not, filled her with despair. So she prayed her lover, if it was now time for him again to be incarnated, that he would come to her—that his soul would enter the body of the little baby soon about to be born, so that they two might be together in life once more.

And in the dream the lover consented. He would come, he said, into the child of the woman he loved.

When the woman awoke she remembered it all, and the desire of life returned to her again, and all the world was changed because of the new life she felt within her. But she told no one then of the dream or of what was to happen.

Only she took the greatest care of herself; she ate well, and went frequently to the pagoda with flowers, praying that the body in which her lover

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was about to dwell might be fair and strong, worthy of him who took it, worthy of her who gave it. 775

In due time the baby was born. But alas and alas for all her hopes! The baby came but for a moment, to breathe a few short breaths, to cry, and to die; and a few hours later the woman died also. But before she went she told someone all about it, all about the dream and the baby, and that she was glad to go and follow her lover. She said that her baby's soul was her lover's soul, and that as he could not stay, neither would she; and with these words on her lips she followed him out into the void.

The story was kept a secret until the husband died, not long afterwards; but when I came to the village all the people knew it.

I must confess that this story is to me full of the deepest reality, full of pathos. These stories seem to me to be the unconscious protestation of humanity against the dogmas of religion and of the learned. However it may be stated that love is but one of the bodily passions that dies with it, however, even in the very stories themselves, this explanation is used to clear certain difficulties, however opposed eternal love may be to one of the central doctrines of Buddhism, it seems to me that the very essence of this story is the belief that love does not die with the body, that it lives for ever and ever, through incarnation after incarnation. These stories are the very cry of the agony of humanity. 000

'Love is strong as death; many waters cannot quench love'; ay, and love is stronger than death. Not any dogmas of any religion, not any philosophy,

quiet), the time when the children become quiet from 7 to 8. 9 to 10 p.m. is known as THATKYI-KAUNG-CHA (oldage-head-drop) when the elders begin to nod; from 11 to midnight and beyond is LUKLIN-PYAN CHAIN (Bachelors'-return-time) when young men complete their carousing and return to sleep. AYO (dawn) comes at the second cocks'crowing (first is at mid-night) about 4 o'clock. The KALA-DET (Indians-marching in) hollow wooden drum is strack in the phongyi-kyaungs at this time to awaken the village. The women who prepare breakfast, and the old folks who rise to worship appear at this time - but others may sleep on for an hour or so. 512 805 513

It is obligatory to wash the legs and feet before retiring. In warm weather a mat is preferred for coolness - but in colder and damp weather a mattress is considered necessary for protection. Prayers taking from 2 minutes (most) up to considerably longer are generally said before bed-time. These praise Buddha and include such applications as "may I be lifted up to heaven soon." Dreams may be good or bad according to the disposition of the nats. Certain dreams have meanings applicable as omens. It is during sleep that the ghost of a recently departed loved one contacts the sleeper and, sometimes, succeeds in luring him away permanently. 513 [515] 782 828 [775]

Analysis of home standard in Pathwe and in Refugee Camp.

The Pathwe home was in nearly every way superior to refugee camp home. Let us examine the nature of this superiority and attempt to see the adjustment which U Myaing made in the refugee camp. The Pathwe home was an independent unit as compared to the refugee camp apartment-like home. However we may not assume that U Myaing found this a disadvantage, since living in Pantanaw was "close". The quarters in the one case were separated by half a dozen feet and on the other by a bamboo partition. An important difference is that the Pathwe home was owned by U Myaing and he had inalienable rights there, whereas the refugee camp apartment was loaned to him for a short time period. 511 722 342

Only about one fiftieth of the space was available in the refugee camp (15,050 cubic feet in Pathwe, 315 cubic feet in camp.) However, 511 722 361 342

the husband is too old to work. Aged parents are invariably respected but those who can still support themselves are "worshipped". Parents do not rely on their sons who have their own families to support but feel that their daughters will always "bring them a cup of curry". 461 554 454 888

The third urge is to have wealth to donate to the Buddhist church. This is regarded as a sound investment since it not only brings a most satisfying honour especially in old age (to be a "pagoda giver") but also counts as merit credited to the individual's account in eternity. 461 554 735 775

Competition is keenly felt between individuals and families of the same occupation group or adjacent groups but not between the lower and upper classes. An exception is where family traditional land has changed hands - and hard feelings may persist. A carpenter's family does not envy and covet the riches of a government official's family. His lot is due to KAMMA and even if he wished to attain much fortune it would be beyond his abilities. More important, it is not expected of him. So the carpenter is content with cheap jewelry for his women and an occasional gold coin - but the pattern is the same as for the upper class. However among the individuals and families of an occupation level there is much rivalry for the benefits wealth can bring. It is a point of pride to have the largest diamonds at a social function, and to give the biggest pagoda. Wives brag that their husbands "prevent the hairs of their hands from singeing" - that they have servants to cook. Rank and recognition are based on these considerations. 565 477 554 461

The women of the family exert powerful influence in financial matters and are respected for their sound judgement. Women's occupations include cigar manufacturing, pottery making, and especially shop keeping. 461 562 463

The beginning of an enterprise is conditioned by the wisdom of the ancients and especially the date and place which are given by formula in the Burmese calendar. There are YET-NAZA (day king of) "fortunate days" and PYAD-THADA "unlucky days". For example the calendar announces that Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays of a particular month are fortunate days to begin enterprises, and other days either unfortunate or neutral. Rangoon sophisticates (but never villagers) tell such stories as this: Two phongyis travelled by boat; the first boarded the boat on a fortunate day to begin travelling. The next day the boat came to the second phongyi's village. This was an unfortunate 777 461

304 The custom is dying out today; but, in the villages, the teen-age boy
562 frequently, on the encouragement of their family submit to the tattoo-
178 ing of a small area on the thigh. These decorations seen when the longyis are wrapped high were regarded as essential and those without them were openly criticised.

[751] A second type of tattooing consisting of potent symbols were, as still are, placed on the inner arm, back, or high forehead as a means of magical protection against harm. Snake, knife, cudgel and bullet proof motifs are common. Young girls frequently have the inner arm tattooed with such a charm.

838 Homo-sexuals are known as MEIN MA SHA ("woman-half") and are
826 recognized by their effeminate gestures, "pretty" locks and clothing. They frequently wear THANAKHA face powder, tie their longyis in a simple tucked-in fold, and wear jewelry like the women. They are rare in villages but have banded together into a society in Rangoon. They appear to be tolerated but are scorned.

It is beleived that individuals known as MEIN-TEE-PON-LAIN-HNEH-PON-LAIN ("Female sex- 2 sexes") exist . These persons are supposed to be alternately a man for one month, and a woman for the following
[775] month in a complete process of transformation. Both the MEIN MA SHA and these individuals result from illicit seduction activities in a previous existence - the MEIN MA SHA being the less sinful of the two

792 The PONGYI dress consist of orange cotton cloth - one garment
291 being a longyi with a folled tie at the waist; the other a wide band
293 drapped as a robe. When begging the PONGYIS have a special arrangement of the robe which wraps the left arm and covers the neck region. The nuns wear a robe garment over a longsleeved KINGYI jacket of the same colour. They are frequently seen with a scarf folded on the head. Both orders carry orange-cloth (lacquered) parasols on long bamboo shafts, a string of beads and large palm leaf fans. The Pongyis carry leather bags suspended on a shoulder strap for personal effects. PONGYI slippers have a square toe, are made of stiff leather with reinforded soles.

[887] Religious women (including old women) wear chocolate coloured HTAMEINS, KINGYIS and carry a PUNA (a narrow scarf 4 of 5 feet in

Menopause: MEE YAT TEWAY SONE (Woman Disorder-Blood End). 886
Daw Aw Zar reached her climacteric at the age of 50. She did not suffer from menopause symptoms, as she had taken the following preventative measures: she ha. eaten boiled duck eggs three at a time, and very frequently. Kyauk-Hpayon fruit jam was eaten all the time (since 25 ticals of jam can be offered on the altar and can then be eaten to last for 10 days. Phalaung-taung-hmwe root is thinly sliced, mixed with 25 ticals of palm jaggery, 6 pice worth of the 5 kinds of Hsa-mon seeds, and some salt, brewed together and taken. Also, each about two fingers small, were boiled and eaten with rice. Daw Aw Zar ate all these things until the age of 60. 757

Smallpox: (Preventatives). The Burmese preventative measure for smallpox consists in rubbing the whole body in horse sweat and drinking mare's milk. The liver of the python is mixed with water and taken internally. Python flesh is also eaten and python skin is burnt and the ash mixed with jaggery (palm sugar) and made into pills to be taken orally. This is quite effective, and even if smallpox does come on later, it only does so in a mild form, as in the case of two of U Myaing's children who had only about 15 pustules each. U Myaing applied the preventatives. He tells us that practioners can shift the location of pustules. A pustule about to appear on the eyes of a child can be shifted elsewhere by using the tongue of the mother. 757

Medical injections-Vaccination and Cholera. Back in Pantanaw the English vaccinator came around only once in about three years, and consequently the children have been vaccinated only once in their lives. This, however is a service which is rendered free of charge. The youngest child has been vaccinated once here. The same remarks hold true for cholera injections also, except that every one in the family including the adults, have had only one inoculation each in their whole lives.

Cleanliness. For bathing, U Myaing's family uses the hydrant in the camp twice a day. The soap which is used for washing clothes is also used on the body. In Pantanaw the river was used twice a day, and they had special soap for the body. In the camp clothes are washed every day because of their small number. In one month, the family uses up thirty cakes of soap each worth 2 annas, for bathing and washing. Teeth are cared for by cleaning them every morning with either salt or charcoal. This is true both of Pantanaw and refugee camp. It involves no special cost. In Pantanaw, the water used was water from the stream. This water was very clear, but it was also filtered before being used. In the refugee camp here the water is very clear and is used as it comes from the hydrant 515 2%

Warts: KATO. The cure for warts is to kill the mother wart by prodding it with some sharp instrument or pinching it away slowly. 757

An important factor in the health of the family has been the supernatural. Daw Aw Zar was completely serious in informing us that the reason she was in good health at 72 years of age was that she had been good in a previous existence. This idea is apparently tied to the concept of merit acquisition in which the deeds of the present existence add to or subtract from the well being of the future existence. U Myaing states it in this manner: 753 775

"The good in this life is because of the meritorious acts in the previous existence."

776 of the villagers. The head-nat, the guardian of the village, replies
753 with accusations that "the whole village has forgotten me", boasts of
688 his powers to punish and is finally mollified. In Rangoon there are
672 professional nat-givers who parade the streets with a cart bearing the
782 image of "the conqueror of the salty waters" (special nat of entrepre-
[463] neurs). For a few annas he will make offerings to the nat and relcive the busy townspeople of this task.

776 The arrangement is a mutual one where the people enjoy freedom
782 from oppressions in return for certain concessions. This phenomenon closely parallels the traditional relationship between the rulers and the ruled in Burma. In a real sense the nat concept serves the function of allowing the Burmese a sense of control over catastrophic forces which do not fall into any other system (as secular, political,
[171] personal relationships, cosmology.). It is this system of controls that the western scientific system most immediately competes with. The administrative and entrepreneur class of Burmese especially in Rangoon say they "Do not believe" in nats. But it is usual for most individuals no matter what their western background to apply to nats in cases of ill fortune "just in case".

●775 THAYEH (Ghosts) generally are a group of supernatural spirits closely related to nats in their origins but with a different set of properties. These are "recently" deceased individuals whose crimes and sins while on earth or manner of death condemn them to an eternity of wandering and mischief-making. Actually, each person becomes a ghost at death but is ordinarily released from earth at the moment of the interment of the corpse for judgement in heaven. Those who die of
[761] "raw death" become ghosts. These include: death in childbirth, by wild animals (especially tigers), instant deaths by dahs as in warfare, or by hanging. In Maung Maung Than's village a prominent ghost is U Me Gyi (Mr. Blacky) a very sinful fellow who lived 50 or 60 years ago in the village. His complexion is quite black and horribly distorted. He inhabits a banyan tree and specializes in causing infant illness. Offerings of rice at the tree pacifies him. Ghosts are forces for evil only - evil of the more irritating and less important kind.
751 Older people wear red and white coloured strings about their necks as a protection against ghost evils. It is very common to wear a LET-PHET

(arm-tie) charm consisting of a small metal tube bound about the upper arm or neck and containing an inscription written by a pongyi on silver or aluminum foil. Once a year, after new years (in March), a PAYA-YUDA (prayer-recite) ceremony is held. At this time pongyis recite the precepts of Buddha for the benefit of the ghosts - who "become hot and run away". Younger people, especially children, are susceptible to being possessed by ghosts. At this time they "throw fits" and are uncontrolable. Under the supervision of a pongyi the ghost is cast out by means of threats and beatings administered to the person of the possessed one. Beatings are severe and continuous often lasting an hour, until the ghost says he is "afraid" and departs. The possessed one, thus cured, does not later complain of rough treatment since this is borne by the invading ghost. Perhaps this relates to the less formulated, "nameless horrors" of unseen and unaccountable forces that cause otherwise unexplainable events - which concept pervades much of western thought to this day. 751 775 792 755

A major difference between nats and ghosts is that ghosts cause only harm while nats are ordinarily beneficial in the manner described above. Ghosts may also be controlled for evil purposes against individuals in a variety of black magic. The specialists in black magic are PAH-YOH-GA-SAYA (influence-masters) of black magic or "lower root", (hell-evil), who administer the evil influence. - "upper root" (heaven) masters combat the "lower root evil" Witches also have personal magic powers that allow them to cause harm to an individual by introducing foreign matter such as lumps of meat, hair balls, into the body of the victim. It is never known for sure who the witches are but old women of peculiar habits, and especially of the fishermen's group, are suspected. Such individuals are considered generally malivalent and special precautions are needed to avoid offending them. The influence masters, however, are well known and receive gift-fees for performing services either of causing or controlling black magic influences. Both groups, but especially the influence masters of the lower root control ghosts for their purposes. 775 776 789 791 [463]

A major means of securing control of a ghost or "ghost-rearing" is to get the finger bone of a recently deceased person who died a "raw death". Incantations said over the bone insures the obedience of 775 789

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the ghost who must then render services as requested. "To rear ghosts is like keeping a cobra in the pocket" indicates the delicate relationship between captive ghost and master. An individual with a grudge against another for real or imaginal offenses will frequently secure the services of an influence master and his "pet ghost". When the victim feels the effects, as in cases of sudden illnesses such as appendicitis, heart trouble, or fainting spells, his family contacts another influence master (upper root type) to, by incantations, cast out the ghost from the victim. This results in a secret contest of magic between the influence masters involved.

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In actual practice no influence masters admit to rearing ghosts and the first-cause aggressor does not indentify himself as such. Influence masters play an important part in differences between affinal families. In this case the mother-in-law constantly competes with her son's wife for the attentions of the son. The mother will notice the lack of attentions, or monetary support of the son and his corresponding infatuation for his wife. She will claim that the wife is exercising magical control (usually through food) on the son. An influence master is applied to in order to control this evil influence by incantations, medicine, candles, and always an ingredient of money. When the wife's family understands what is happening they will also secure the help of another specialist to counteract the influence. The son is thus torn between the two forces. He is at first oblivious to this but later becomes uneasy in mind. If the strain on the son is too severe the mother may give in and the difference resolved on her part - whereupon the son continues in his former course. Often he will berate both groups saying " I am only normal, you are foolish to involve yourselves in a dispute". Sometimes the mother wins and the son thanks her for intevening and saving him. Another common situation is where a wife seeks to control the influence of another woman on her husband (when he philanders). In this case the forces are directed against the woman, who is to blame, and not the man.

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In the town centers the decline in one's fortunes is often blamed on the evil influence of one's rival. It is said that administrative

782 the well being of his family, for riches and the absence of privation and penury. He desires Nirvana. He prays that all the creatures inhabiting the 36 worlds may be infused with love for each other.

●[775] "Even if I change existence, may I be born into a better existence. It would not be a better existence if I were to become a cat or some other animal."

782 776 Daw Aw Zar prays that she may meet with good people and not meet up with enemies; that she may be enabled to meet the high-minded and avoid wicked people. Ma Aye Myaing's prayers are about the same as Daw Aw Zar, but she adds that she may be able to give charities liberally in this and successive existences.

In Pantanaw U Myaing prayed for the same things that he prays for now in camp. There he took life and had to expiate the demerit acquired from taking the lives of fish, with the merit accumulated through charities and other meritorious acts. He took some consolation in the fact that he did not take part personally in the killing itself but only gave directions, and even when, in those years in which he had to buy live fish from the IN workers, the fish poured into his boat died of their own accord and so no blame could be attached to him. He did not beat them to death. He believes that although fishermen have a bad reputation as people who take lives, that does not mean that the one necessarily implies the other. However, he concedes that he may be blamed for directing the killing to take place. He was not sure, and so he goes ahead with his charities.

Observations of Aspects of Life in Rangoon.

369 776 In Pathwe they had pigs killed occasionally for pork but it did not greatly disturb him. The mass slaughter of pigs in Rangoon spalled him as being a very gruesome affair. Fifty to sixty animals were lined up in the slaughter house on the occasion he witnessed such a killing. The slaughterers were Chinese and they took the squealing pigs, despatched them and handed them over to others who dip them in boiling water to clean off the hair, and this happened even if the pigs were not quite dead as yet. U Myaing thinks they must be getting a lot of demerit.

23: Brant & Mi Mi Khaing E, I-5 (1949-1950)1951
AP1 Burma
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593 husband's kinfolk. Post-marital residence is independent and is decided very
[591] largely on the basis of economic opportunity. The wife's opportunities for social intercourse with her family of orientation are, of course, greatest when residence is established in her home village; if, however, a couple from different villages marry and find it most opportune to settle in the husband's community, the
[574] chances are that the wife will maintain contact with her family of orientation by
[582] visits from time to time; such marriages seldom unite persons from villages that are very far apart. The very structural features of bilaterality and absence of extension militate against inequality and male domination.

562 Burmese culture is frequently remarked for the equality of the sexes, in con-
593 trast to the neighboring cultures of India and China. This status of the sexes seems to be the resultant historically of two patterns of thought. One is an apparently very old, pre-Buddhist emphasis upon equality, involving equal inheri-
[428] tance, equal sharing of the property brought to the marriage, equal division of
[586] property upon divorce, a prominent female role in social and economic life, and an absence of transmission of surnames. The other thought pattern dates from the superimposition of Buddhism upon older Burmese conceptions: whatever
[177] ideas of male superiority exist in Burmese life stem from Buddhist notions of
[775] reincarnation. Although Buddha never expressed himself explicitly on the matter, it is taken for granted that only a male can attain Nirvana, since Gautama Buddha, who attained that state, was a male.

462 In the family household the wife's role includes not only such routine tasks as
592 the preparation of food and serving of meals, keeping the house orderly and clean, and looking after small children; very often it involves control of the family income and the making of all important decisions as to expenditures.

593 Certain observances and taboos, reflective of deference to males, are expected
784 of the female partner in marriage. She is careful that her lower garments do not touch her husband's bed or his personal belongings; she avoids touching her husband's head. It is believed that the breaking of such taboos may ruin the husband's success and glory, especially his spiritual attainments. These injunctions are followed as a matter of course by Burmese wives and will be broken deliberately only as an act of spite by a woman who wishes to harm or lower her husband for some reason.

593 Despite the various equalitarian aspects of husband-wife relations, there is
837 a tendency towards a double standard of sexual behavior. A husband who has reason to believe that his wife is engaging in extra-marital affairs is very likely
[586] to display violent anger, beat her, and break up the marriage. The wife of a

23: Brant & Mi Mi Khaing E, I-5 (1949-1950)1951
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787 826 Omens are read from the position of mongoloid spots on the newborn baby's body. They are said to represent marks put on in a previous existence and their presence proves the child was then a human being. A blue spot on the foot presages a life of travel. Any marks leading from the right shoulder to the left hip, the line that the royal riband takes, indicate a royal future; today, however, with no royalty in Burmese society, such marks merely forecast a "great" future for the child.

775 826 A child is constantly watched from the time of birth for signs of whose reincarnation it represents. This is a constant topic in the family conversations.

Any disfigurement in a newborn child is regarded as a carry-over of the parents' store of demerit, as well as that of the child, from previous existences. It is regarded with a sense of shame and sorrow.

845 Although multiple births are neither preferred nor desired, they are not looked upon with any marked anxiety nor are there any supernatural means employed to prevent them.

766 In the event of a stillborn baby, the corpse is given special treatment. It is kept in a case, clothed and powdered, and a tray of food is set in front of it every day. It is considered auspicious to care for a stillborn child in this manner: the spirits will guide the parents in their dreams toward the attainment of material prosperity.

751 854 [825] [753] For the normal baby who survives, a number of things are done by Burmese parents to protect it from malevolent influences. Before it is a month old, a tiger bone is ground on a stone, together with a little water, and mixed with honey. This is fed to the child to ward off a mysterious infant illness associated with the tiger. A connection is believed to exist between the tiger and convulsions; some parents place a tiger skin under the mattress of the baby's bed to guard against such illness. A knife placed under the baby's mattress is said to protect against illness in general.

To insure good health and well-being for the child, a white thread over which certain *mantras* have been recited may be given by a Buddhist monk and tied around the baby's wrists. Should a baby be admired by people for its growth, the thread may be left on to neutralize the harm that is believed to result from such expressions.

[278] When the child's umbilical cord has dried and fallen off, it is kept and used as a medicine for any illness that befalls the child. A little of it is ground up and mixed with water for such purposes.

000 A very close connection is believed to exist between mother and child during

23: Brant & Mi Mi Khaing E, I-5 (1949-1950)1951
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888 To the Burmese, long life is a great blessing and an indication of merit earned. Long life is prayed for and old age greatly idealized.

The ideal aged person is one who has successfully reared a family, has grandchildren and a certain amount of material wealth. The aged are expected to be 887 retiring and unobtrusive in their behavior. They do not go out visiting very much; they eat less food; and avoid appearing too well dressed or jeweled when attending religious observances.

An attitude of resignation characterizes the outlook of the aged person in Burmese society. It is unheard of that aged people should work: a possible ex- [622] ception is the village headman, who, it is felt, should be a person of long experience. When aged people live with their children they assume the role of teachers of their grandchildren. Most of the time of elderly people is spent in activities centering around the pagodas and monasteries, organizing of religious festivals, and raising funds for the monks and charities. In fact, they take leading roles in such activities.

The elderly members of the household arise early to see that rice is cooked for the daily offering to the monks and to insure that the household altar is properly looked after. It is preferable for them to arise before dawn, for to do so is considered very meritorious.

[784] Certain of the taboos that apply to younger people, mostly those connected with death, do not apply to the aged.

761 *Death and Funeral Observances.* To the Burmese, the decline of the human body is part of the inevitable course of nature. When this occurs the soul must ●[775] leave. The butterfly is the symbol of life: when a person dies, "the butterfly leaves his body."

763 When death approaches, valuables, such as jewelry, are removed from the person and the death-bed, because people are reluctant to use anything with which a person dies. These things are given to the monastery. A relative chants as the person is dying, to fix his mind upon the truths of Buddhism and to divert it from worldly goods and ties of kinship.

764 As soon as death has occurred, everyone present cries and wails. Before rigor mortis sets in, relatives bathe the corpse, using a new water pot for the purpose and pouring the water over the body from foot to head, the opposite direction from that practiced by the living. If the water pot must be refilled at all, this [801] must be done an odd number of times. The pot is then put outside the house, upside down, and anyone outside the family of the deceased may take it. Then

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
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93. FAMILY OF A BURMAN NOTABLE AT THE SHRINE.

and fruit, gold-leaf laid on the image and its throne. No southern—that is, primitive Buddhist (see Rhys Davids, *Buddhism*)—lodges petitions with an image, as is the practice in countries where Buddhism is choked by fresh growth of the pagan ideas which it had arisen against. The Tibetan expedients are unheard of. Certain Buddhists in Burma, called *Paramát*, dispense with images. The mechanical aid to contemplation is the string of one hundred and eight beads (*badí*). Even the Buddhism of the common herd is no mere veneer, covering a substratum of the ancient animism (p. 186). The precepts of Buddhism are household words. The ideas and language of the race are pervaded by it. The personal aspect just described does not so engross the votary that he misses the doctrine of the Master. At the shrine the worshipper dwells on the *three gems* (*tharanagôn thômba*)—the BUDDHA, the LAW, the ASSEMBLY, and the other categories of the scheme. The BUDDHA (the Sage) was the supremely-enlightened one, filled with compassion for the subjects of *karma*, who extended to the universe the enlightenment that was the means of his own emancipation. The LAW (*Tayá*, *Tayamá*, Sanskr. *Dharma*, Pâli *Damma*).—By an impersonal cosmic process, sin works suffering and virtue effects deliverance. Re-incarnation is the legacy of sin and continues until the merit (*kûtho*), accumulated in successive
775 births (*bawa*), outweighs the demerit (*ākûtho*). Transmigration does not involve
779 transference of personality with consciousness of preceding states, but the

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94. MODERN RELIGIOUS SUBJECT.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
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95. FAMILY OF A BURMAN NOTABLE LEAVING THE SHRINE.

continuity of an individual moral account (*Kan*, Pâli *Kamma*, Sanskr. *Karma*); although the Buddha enlightened his disciples about the previous identities of himself, of many other individuals and even lower creatures. Reincarnation provides the scope for atoning the injustices of individual lives, without debarring the salvation of any. The slowness of the process by which vast results are achieved conforms to the analogy of nature, which does not create, but evolves. The doctrine of *kan* is, in fact, an adumbration of the principle of persistence of force. But instead of regarding the results of actions in a given phase of existence as being separately dissipated, as modern science would imply, they are thought of as combined to form the starting-points of fresh phases of individual existence, until final equilibrium is attained (*Nirvâna*). As a flame results from the concurrence of given antecedent conditions, continues to burn while they are maintained, and is extinguished upon their dispersion, yet not without bequeathing results of its own, so it is with sentiency, which continually becomes the source of fresh desires, of temptation, sin, and consequent suffering. For the avoidance of sin, the five cardinal precepts are given, and precept within precept up to the minute rule of life of the *yahân*. At the root of all evil lies *Ta-hnâ* (Sanskr. *trishna*, thirst, concupiscence). From this fundamental evil [532] proceed the forms *Lawba*, *Dawtha*, *Mawha* (greed, passion, ignorance), in the abstract, absence of *contentment*, absence of *self-control*, absence of *enlightenment*. With the extinction of selfish desire, virtuous conduct ensues, others are

98. THADI'A PRINCE AND PRINCESS DOING HOMAGE TO THE BUDDHA IN A PREVIOUS INCARNATION—WETHANDAYA (SHWEZAWA WORK p. 121).

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
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regarded as oneself, they are loved and are succoured, and by such actions the consequences of sin are atoned for. As imperfections are corrected by self-

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28. TEMPLE ZAYAT.

discipline, crimes are expiated by the pains of hell (*ngayi*). For the perception of the great aim, that is, extirpation of desire and all that desire entails, there are given the principles *Anissa, Dukha, Anatta* (change, trouble, dependence), which

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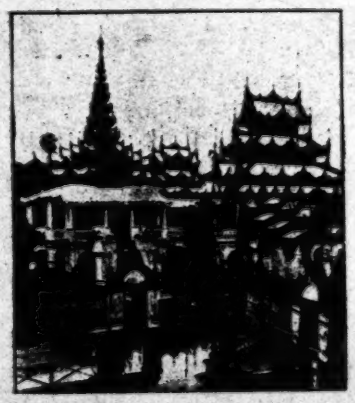

29. DECADENT KYAUNG (p. 28).

the pious ponder as they tell their beads, and which may be paraphrased as the *impermanence* of all things, the *struggle* which the "unpitying rush of changes" involves and the *helplessness* of the event, which is "at the mercy of blind

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
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779 forces." The only certain good within the control of man is the conduct of his own acts. The final annihilation of desire, attained in the course
● 775 of lives upon lives of self-discipline, ushers in the serene state of *Nirvâna* (*Neippan*, Pâli *Nibbân*), in which the subject of *karma* is no longer chained to forms of existence by any debt of sin. At death is then attained the perfect condition *Parî-nirvâna*, of which *Nirvâna* was the apprehension in life (Exposition of Sadâw Û Wuziyama, of Thîla-ekkaya *kyaung*). The spiritual stages to *Nirvâna* are *Ayalât* and *Ayâttapô*. But it is not claimed for the holiest living
[792] recluse, much less by himself, that one of these stages has been attained.

100. CEREMONY OF YEZETCHA (p. 22).

779 Devotion to the ideal is the utmost. The third of the gems is the ASSEMBLY, "the spiritual family" of the Buddha, or communion of those who adopt to the full the aids towards holy life inculcated by him and who perpetuate his doctrine and example. Nevertheless, life in the world, though unfavourable to attainment of holiness, in nowise debars it.

The Law of Gawdama Buddha is to last for a period of five thousand years, one half of which has elapsed. It is then to be superseded by the law of a new Buddha. The metaphysics of Gawdama are studied by few (see Rhys Davids, *Buddhism*, and Huxley, *Romanes Lecture*), but thanks to the network of schools, with which Buddhism has overspread Burma, its practical features are within the knowledge of all.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
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157. DOMESTIC FLOWER-STAND (NYAUNG-YE-O, pp. 9, 63).

one, no disability of a practical kind exists for her. But it is the aspiration of every woman to transmigrate as a man in the next phase of existence (*bawa*, p. 43). As the state of a man is thought a more desirable one, so it is inferred that her life in the previous incarnation has brought the woman's state upon her. How deep and tender is the poetry which the idea of transmigration weaves into the life of the Buddhist may be judged from the example at the close of Chapter XXIII. of *The Soul of a People*. Orphans are adopted by relatives, and in default of such, never fail to find foster-parents. The division of labour between the sexes is the common one of out-door and in-door. Wherever circumstances permit, women are relieved of hardship; the sheltered places in boats and carts belong to the women and children. The great middle zone of commerce is neutral; women embark in wholesale trade, besides transacting the bulk of the retail trade. In certain localities women do the lighter part of the out-door work, and in the poorer districts of the dry zone they share in the heavy labour. Women are accorded precedence among men according to the standing they have acquired by marriage or by their independent efforts. The *Kyaungamá*—the woman who has founded and who supports a school—enjoys a deference on all sides proportioned to the munificence of her gift. Women mix freely among men but are never jostled by them. At great gatherings men and women group apart. The Burman women are smart at repartee, and hold their own in the perpetual banter that goes on between the sexes.

158. WAYSIDE WATER-STAND IN THE CITY (pp. 31, 63).

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 API Burma
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166. VILLAGE CHEVAUX-DE-FRISE.

away from the company. In a similar spirit of courtesy a rider dismounts and umbrellas are closed. Among acts of discourtesy few are accounted so grave by the Burmans as that of awakening a sleeper. The reluctance to disturb a sleeper is connected with the belief that the spirit (*leippya*) leaves the body during sleep (p. 197). It is looked upon as a weakness to show resentment and temper (*dawtha*, p. 44). A visitor in a house is offered a new mat to sit upon, water to drink, betel to chew, and a spittoon. If it be meal-time he is invited to partake; otherwise he is asked if he has had food, and refreshment is brought. Although the quota of leisure that falls to everyone is greater in Burma than anywhere else, owing to the wide-spread prosperity of the inhabitants, there is perhaps no country in which every man, woman, and child is less exempt from business concern. Thus it happens that after a few commonplaces, conversation inevitably gravitates to business—prices, harvests, prospects. Next in interest come the festival programmes, the local celebrities and their doings. In every house there are scales and weights, and the household is engaged in occasional or regular trade. Accounts in money and kind are current between neighbours. Whatever spare produce remains is exposed for sale.

576 [349] [513 775] [152] 574 521 437

The villages either have a quick fence of impenetrable thorny bamboo (*myinwa*), or a hedge of cactus and briar, or bamboo *chevaux-de-frise*. In some parts they are open. The old towns (*myo*) had ramparts and stockades (Nos. 6, 371, 387). The highest sites about the village are for the *zedi*, the *Payā-myo* or sacred ground, the next best are for the *kyaung*. Then comes the enclosure of

167. APPROACH TO THE VILLAGE.

361 [349] [311] [346]

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
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418. SUNLAUNG AT THADINDYUT FESTIVAL.

and, in order to possess its proper value, should be completed in a day and a night. This is the only approach to a vigil. The texture is loose, and broad bands of tinsel are shot through to make up the woof faster.

Tawthalín is a minor festival, falling in Lent, and observed only in Pegu. The *Tawthalín* offerings are distinguished by being in thousands, one thousand little cakes, one thousand plantains, and so on (No. 282). The number one thousand is said to be symbolical [801] of the thousand *gâta* or stanzas of the *Wéthandayâ zat*, the legend of Gawdáma Buddha's last incarnation but one, closely prefiguring the final incarnation.

782 The above are the Buddhist festivals, which are celebrated by the whole population together, with all the *éclat* they can give them. The only other 776 recurring observances of a religious character have nothing to do with Buddhism, and are rejected by all earnest and enlightened Buddhists. These observances, if not furtively conducted, as is often the case, are kept by individuals only, or by households at a time; they have sufficient in common with the *nat* worship of the hill tribes, to show what the original Burman and Taláing worship may have been. Unlike the Karén, who knows only of evil *nats*, the Burman has both good and evil spirits. The former belong 776 to the land of the *zat* ro- 772 mance, the latter are chiefly 775 the survival of the primitive paganism. In the Burman cosmogony, *nat-yua* is the delectable land to which, by a courtesy analogous to the German "*hoch-*" and "*höchstselig*," [643] the kings are said to migrate at their demise. [524] A higher order than *nat* is *thadyâ* and *thadyâ-min*, and above these the highest order of being, *byammâ*, the cloud-

419. FIRE-BALLOONS AT THADINDYUT.

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
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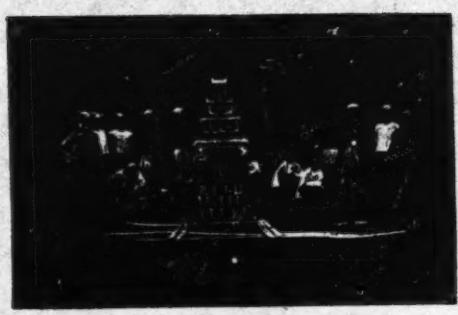
dwellers to whom the Burmans pretend to owe their origin. These ethereal beings are subject to the law of *karma*, and re-birth. They have to attain *nirvâna* like men, through virtue. Under "gods" in the Pali scriptures are to be understood such beings as these. Together with men they form the group *thaddawâ* — rational beings—to whom the message of the Buddha is delivered. (See Stevenson, *Lexicon*, pp. 603, 788.) The higher orders of existence are not to be confounded with the higher religious states, *ayahât, ayâttapî*, which are attained by the "noble path" alone (p. 46). In this fairyland, situated in the *Himawinta taw* (Himalayas) and its clouds, the poetry of the people centres. (See *The Soul of a People*, Chapter XXI.) As the heavens are indwelt by ethereal beings, so also everything on earth has its presiding genius. The heavenly *genii* are beneficent, the terrestrial ones friendly or malign. The *nats* of the mountains inspire awe, and their protection is invoked against wild beasts and dangers to wayfarers. A *nat* is pro-



420. RIVER ILLUMINATIONS AT THADINDYUT.

421. MAZES AT THADINDYUT.

422. TAZAUNGMON FESTIVAL.

29: Slater

AP1 Burma
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[For data on Nirvana and other conceptions bearing on the soul in relation to deity and the cosmos, and for data on the after life in Burmese Buddhist theology, see category 116, pp. 33-82.]

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the general reader may be well advised first to range himself alongside some one, specific tradition, not avoiding the details which present the difficulties as well as the rewards of investigation. He may thus escape those distortions, confusions and misinterpretations which result from a merely surface acquaintance when religious beliefs are torn from their living context and discussed as abstract propositions. 121

2. *The Paradox of Nirvana*

The symbol of Nirvana is the more emphatic because it is set against the distinctive backcloth of Indian belief, including the belief that present existence does not end with death: man is reborn in this world or a similar realm, and existence with all its ills may continue through a dreaded cycle of successive rebirths. Nirvana, for the Buddhist, is the word of release from this cycle. 779* 775

But what kind of release does Nirvana signify? Is it the finish, the final dissolution, or a new beginning under happier conditions? Conceptions of Nirvana as ultimate annihilation, we shall term negative. They may include the view that annihilation is postponed or preceded by a brief moment of enjoyed sanctity or intellectual illumination before the final death; but in the end, man reaches his terminus and there is nothing beyond.[3] "People ... disappear for ever in Nirvāṇa by being extinct."[4]

Positive conceptions, on the other hand, interpret Nirvana in terms of fulfilment, survival and bliss, a continuation of life beyond the cycle of present, chequered existence. Such conceptions may be compared with the hope of immortality in other religions. They signify an ultimate consummation, even when the conception of individual survival is vague or absent. "Nirvana is none other than that ultimate, eternal, primordial Mystery, which all religious people have sought for, divined and intuited, which all religions have tried to express by means of weak and insufficient symbols, similes, concepts and images."[5]

Now there are terms and passages in the Buddhist literature which seem to demand a choice between these two rival conceptions. But the Buddhist system of thought implies their combination. Herein we have the paradox of Nirvana. On the one hand, Nirvana is denoted in terms which encourage a positive conception. It is the further shore, the harbour of refuge, the cool cave, the matchless island, the holy city; it is peace, rest, supreme happiness. On the other hand we appear to be confronted by curt negation. Nibbana is the Void. It is Cessation.

[3] E.g., as in the theories of Childers, Rhys Davids.
[4] Th. Stcherbatsky, *The Conception of Buddhist Nirvāṇa*, p. 20.
[5] Friedrich Heiler, *Die buddhistische Verenkung*, chap. 10, p. 42.

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There is a further paradox. In spite of these terms which are connotative, whether positive or negative, Nirvana is also said to defy description. It is inexpressible. The state of Nirvana is unfathomable, beyond perception and beyond logic.[6]

There is a still further paradox. Even if this contrast of terms is resolved, the very conception of Nirvana seems to contradict the entire system of Buddhist thought.[7] For Buddhism, it is said, denies the soul. In the place of the soul, there is nothing but a temporary conjunction of phenomenal aggregates which dissolves at death. If we grant that Nirvana is a positive consummation, who is there to attain this goal? If, on the contrary, we interpret Nirvana as annihilation, who is there to be executed?

Nirvana, therefore, is a paradox set within a context of paradox.

3. *The Discovery of Buddhism*

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Amongst Western expositors, an earlier disposition to interpret Nirvana in terms of annihilation has been succeeded by a more positive conception, with one or two voices crying in the wilderness to maintain the older view.[8] The new tendency is exemplified by Fr. Tayman d'Eypernon, whose recent work represents Nirvana as "the flowering of personality."[9] He draws a parallel between Buddhist implications and the terms of European scholasticism. This conclusion is the more significant because it is derived from studies pursued in Ceylon, the citadel of Southern Buddhism. Some of the earlier scholars agreed that when Buddhism travelled north to China and Japan, Nirvana became a positive conception, but the scriptures of Southern Buddhism, reflecting an earlier, more authentic tradition, implied, they believed, a negative conception.

Western scholars, however, are still groping very much in the dark, for Buddhism, so far as the West is concerned, is a recent discovery. It was only in 1855 that Fausboll published his translation of the *Dhammapada*, the first text, and a slight text at that, of the important scriptures of Southern Buddhism to be made available to the West. There is still a vast literature to be translated and examined, and the rendering of basic terms is still in debate.[10]

[6] Cf. P.E.D. pp. 198ff.; Rhys Davids, *Early Buddhism*, pp. 73, 74; Binala Churn Law, *Concepts of Buddhism*, chap. XI, pp. 77ff.

[7] Fr. Taymans d'Eypernon, *Les Paradoxes du Bouddhisme*, Part II, Section 2, chap. 1, p. 187.

[8] Notably Stcherbatsky, whose *Conception of Buddhist Nirvana* was published in 1927.

[9] *Les Paradoxes du Bouddhisme*, Part II, Section 2, chap. II, pp. 212ff.

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779* [792] By the forming of the Order, it has been said, a vital gospel for Everyman was gradually transformed into a monkish discipline and a dry scholasticism.[21] Others, however, may see in the monastery, not only the very genius of Buddhism, but a further sign of its essentially religious character, while a wider reference will emphasise the relation of the monastery to the life of the community in countries such as Burma and Siam, where Buddhism has remained a dominant influence.

The religious character of Buddhism may be discerned even in the discord among his followers which began in the Buddha's lifetime and divided the first great council, which was held after his death, for sectarianism is more the sign of religious zeal than of philosophic interest. Rival interpretations led eventually to the two main divisions of Buddhism which exist today — the Mahāyāna (Greater Vehicle) or Northern Buddhism, prevalent in China and Japan, and the Hīnayāna (Lesser Vehicle) or Southern Buddhism, prevalent in Ceylon, Burma and Siam.

Prior to this division, there had been a vigorous revival of missionary activity under the great king, Aśoka (circa B.C. 245). Travelling overseas, Buddhism established its citadel in Ceylon when the new faith declined in India before a resurgent Hinduism. A similar missionary vitality expressed itself in the later developments which marked the rise of the Mahāyāna tradition. "The teaching of Buddha is for the salvation of all living beings," Aśvaghoṣa, the St. Paul of Northern Buddhism, is said to have declared when he became the willing and respected captive of the conqueror, Kaniṣka. Buddhism is essentially tolerant and seldom aggressive, but time and again in its long history it has manifested this fervour and persistence. It has known occasions of decline and even decadence. It has, in places, gone underground and almost disappeared. But through all vicissitudes it has shown a remarkable tenacity, and today it is still one of the living religions of the world. Father d'Eypernon remarks its 'suppleness.' Buddhist monks at the present time, he affirms, do not hesitate to affirm that Buddhism is excluded from any Communist campaign against religion, since the Buddha was the first Communist.[22]

779* 775 With the early expansion of Buddhism primarily in mind, Dahlmann reiterated Max Müller's objection that Nirvana, conceived as Annihilation, could never have been the goal of such a missionary faith as Buddhism. 'Nirvāṇa, die Oede des Nichts, ein "welteroberndes" Ideal!'[23] The exclamation arises even more irrepressibly if we consider the subsequent history of Buddhism. Nirvana, in its religious context, may not be

[21] Cf. Mrs. Rhys Davids, *Sakya*, and other works.

[22] *Les paradoxes du Bouddhisme*, Preface, p. IX.

[23] *Nirvāṇa, Eine Studie zur Vorgeschichte des Buddhismus*, pp. 5, 6.

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a simple, straightforward affirmation, but it is not denial. No religion could so persist if it merely brought man's elemental aspirations to a sharp cliff and threw them over. 779* 775

5. *Burmese Buddhism*

If there are good reasons for approaching the subject of religious paradox by a study of Buddhism, there are also good reasons for considering Buddhism as it appears in Burma where it is still a living and a dominant religion. 121

In the study of great religious traditions there is always need to maintain a balance between regard for the written texts and for the living expression. To consult one without the other is to misinterpret both. What the Christmas stories in the gospels mean to Christians cannot be fully discerned if they are isolated from Christmas observance any more than the Jātaka stories of Buddhism can be fully appreciated until they are read in the context of popular faith, with its drama and poetry. And what an entirely misleading impression of monastic Buddhism one might get from the Abhidhamma literature unless one has seen something of the life of a Buddhist monastery! This balance, as our Burmese critic observed, has not always been maintained in the study of Southern Buddhism.

Burma provides exceptional opportunities for such a study. "If anybody wants to know and see Buddhism as conceived and preached by the Buddha himself so far as the Saṃgha life goes," says a recent writer, "one can see a nearest approach to it in the monasteries of Burma.... Of all the Indianised lands of South-eastern Asia, Burma is indeed the only country where monastic Buddhism of the Theravāda nikāya survives to this day in its pristine purity."[24] And the same writer emphasises the impact of this monastic life on Burmese life and culture. [792]

In Burma, eighty-five per cent of the inhabitants are Buddhists. Of these, one in every hundred is a Buddhist monk. Go where you will, you find the yellow robe of the Order, the pagoda gleaming white across the plain or on the hillside, the monastery in every village, intimately related to the life of the people. This has been the situation for centuries. Here one can see Buddhism in action; one can try to interpret its symbols in the light of the very real, if rustic, civilisation which it has shaped and maintained. Burma is one of the most interesting countries in the Orient. Its people are literate. There is freedom from caste, and, for that matter, scarcely any class system. In the days of the monarchy, "when you left the king, you dropped at once to the villager."[25] An Englishman observed, [162] 779* 565 562 779*

[24] Nihar-Ranjan Ray, *Theravāda Buddhism in Burma*, chap. VII, p. 262.
[25] Fielding Hall, *The Soul of a People*, chap. IX, p. 106.

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What is of further importance for our present inquiry is the fact that the tradition thus established throughout Burma was the Hīnayāna tradition, not the Mahāyāna.[20] It will therefore be the more significant if we find in Burmese Buddhism a positive conception of Nirvana, for, in the past, scholars have frequently associated a negative conception with the Hīnayāna tradition, enlarging the distance between the two schools: Nirvana might spell paradise in China or Japan, it was argued, but for Southern Buddhists it was the Void. 175 779* 795 [775] 177

There were, it is true, outposts of the Mahāyāna faith in Burma, notably at Pagan, where Mahāyāna cults survived for perhaps two centuries after A-naw-ra-hta's conversion, tolerated by the now dominating Hīnayāna tradition which absorbed some elements of the sister faith.[20] There is also evidence, not only of Mahāyāna rivalry, but also of Brahmanical Hinduism (as at Pagan) in Southern Burma in the earlier centuries.[21]

A first glance at the map may occasion surprise that Mahāyāna influence on Burmese Buddhism was not more considerable, for China, where the Mahāyāna tradition thrived for several centuries, is just across the north east border and the Burmese themselves are a Mongolian race. A second glance, however, discovers the far distances between centres of influence. There is a sweeping borderland of mountain ranges and remote valleys, and, in the earlier centuries, the buffer state of Nanchao lay in between China and the Burmese kingdoms. The sea route from India was the easier route to Southern Burma and Indian traders and adventurers were the forerunners of Indian missionaries.

When all qualifications have been made, we must conclude that the formative tradition of Buddhism in Burma was the Hīnayāna, introduced from India and nourished from Ceylon. And from the eleventh century onwards, "the stronger vitality of the Southern school completely absorbed, assimilated and obliterated the Northern school."[22]

The royal encouragement given by A-naw-ra-hta was frequently echoed by later rulers. Burmese kings were styled 'great Captains of the Law,' and as late as the nineteenth century good King Mindon convened the 'Fifth Buddhist Council' at Mandalay, when the scriptures were engraved on over seven hundred tablets of marble. 643, 779* 175

[20] The term, Hīnayāna, is sometimes regarded as disparaging. 'Southern' or 'Theravāda' Buddhism might be preferred in this connection, but it is probably less confusing to use the terms now familiar in the West.

[20] Ray, *Sanskrit Buddhism in Burma*, p. 93, and *Theravāda Buddhism in Burma*, pp. 150ff.

[21] Ray, *Theravāda Buddhism in Burma*, pp. 86, 87; cf. Taw Sein Kho, *Census Report* (Burma, 1901), p. 32.

[22] Taw Sein Kho, *ibid.*, p. 32.

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CHAPTER II

BUDDHISM AND ANIMISM IN BURMA

1. Animism or Buddhism?

It never occurred to anybody, remarked the Burmese critic quoted in our previous chapter, that the best way to find out what Nirvana meant was to consider its significance in some present, living tradition of Buddhism. His criticism was apposite in its immediate reference. As a matter of fact, however, it was precisely this course which *did* occur to Bishop Bigandet a century ago, as his voluminous footnotes to his translation of the Burmese Legend of Gaudama show.[1] The same may be said of his predecessor in the field, Father Sangermano, and of several successors.[2] Our present purpose is to take up the task where they left it. We hope to describe Buddhism in Burma in sufficient detail to exhibit the essentially religious character of the Nirvana paradox. 114 121

Since the context is Burmese and the reference is to Hīnayāna or Southern Buddhism, Nirvana for the time being will be *Nibbāna*, which is its form in the Pali language of the Hīnayāna scriptures. In Burmese, Nibbāna is Nebban. 775 198

One reason, perhaps, why this approach to the subject has been largely disregarded by Western scholars in recent years is the prevalent impression that the popular religion in Burma is a syncretism in which the dominant element is not Buddhism, but Animism. "Hinayana," writes Dr. Bouquet, in an outline of Comparative Religion, "is still 'the little vehicle,' because it does not and cannot appeal to the masses of any population.... It is true that it is the Buddhism of Burma and Ceylon. But anyone who knows these countries is well aware that the real popular faith of their peoples is not Hinayana but a thinly veiled animism."[3] 771

[1] Rt. Rev. P. Bigandet, Bishop of Ramatha, *The Life or Legend of Gaudama, the Buddha of the Burmese*, first published in Rangoon 1858.

[2] Father Vincentius Sangermano, *The Burmese Empire*, first published in 1833.

[3] A. C. Bouquet, *Comparative Religion*, new ed., 1945, p. 129. Dr. J. B. Pratt's balanced estimate of the Burma situation in his *The Pilgrimage of Buddhism* (1928) should have done something to correct this impression.

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the lakes, the mountains and there are distant *Nat* realms ruled by *Nat* chieftains. All of these spirits are capricious. They encourage the view that life is a gamble. A man must bargain and wile his way through as best he can, hemmed in by a vague, immeasureable threat of evil. A religion, therefore, which points the way through the maze, indicates some order in the realm of caprice and promises deliverance from evil, may be the more welcome. On the other hand, it contains a challenge to caprice in oneself. 771 776

2. *Animism and Buddhism interwoven*

There is no question, therefore, of the survival of Animism in Burma, nor of its influence. The only question which arises is the *extent* of this influence. Is it so persistent and powerful that Buddhism is no more than a surface polish? 771 779*

At first sight, this indeed may seem to be the case, for not only is Animism a parallel cultus, sometimes furtive but frequently brazen; it also seems to be interwoven in the very texture of popular Buddhist expression and practice. As a boy, the Burman learns how Nats watched over the infant Buddha, how the Buddha, by his virtue, defeated the jealous Manh *Nat*, how the rest of the *Nat* world acclaimed the victory with shouts of exultation. *Nats* appear in all the subsequent events of the Buddha's history.[15] On pagoda platforms the boy may see scenes depicting the *Nats*. Early in his education, he may learn a poem celebrating the Buddha's victory. On the most memorable day of his life as a Buddhist, the day of his *shin-byu* or confirmation, he may *shikoh* to the *Nat* shrine. At his death, a monk may be called to his side, not to give him spiritual consolation but 'because the good influence of the monk's pious presence keeps away evil spirits.'[16] [792]

Consequently, Burmese Buddhists have been criticised for their inconsistency. How, it is asked, can a belief that a human 'spirit' has been transported to the *Nat* realm be reconciled with the Buddhist denial of the soul? If Buddhism denies the Divine, and even Buddha himself is not worshipped, how can it be right to worship and propitiate these *Nat* godlings? How can it be legitimate to expect their assistance, if man is the arbiter of his own destiny, subject to moral law alone, as Buddhism affirms? And Buddhism teaches: Thou shalt not kill. What, then, of fowls and oxen and even humans sacrificed to propitiate *Nats*? Toleration is [775] 782 779* 771

[15] Cf. Bigandet, op. cit. Vol. I, p. 37; cf. Temple, *Thirty Seven Nats*, p. 6.
[16] Cf. Purser and Saunders, *M.B.B.*, pp. 38, 97; Sir George Scott, *The Burman: His Life and Notions*, Vol. I, chap. XXII, p. 289.

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its national, character. The frequent festivals not only enliven, they express and stabilise the community life. They are often local, but certain shrines, such as the Shwe Dagon Pagoda in Rangoon, have become centres of pilgrimage. In a country which has had a strong tendency to de-centralization — the king's authority was often very weak — the Buddhist Order has made for cohesion, and, in modern times, Buddhist monks have been active in the movement for national independence. 779* 796 621

In spite, however, of this social expression, Buddhism in Burma, as elsewhere, is very much a matter of *individual* concern. We have seen this individualism within the monastery. It is equally marked outside the monastery. One of the most popular *zats* is the story of Wethandaya, who, in order to gain his own salvation, gives away his wife and family to a rapacious Brahmin.[56] "Each must bear his own burden," is a favourite quotation.[57] Its primary reference may be to moral responsibility. 779* 775

This brings us to the decidely *ethical* character of Burmese Buddhism. *Kutho* (worthiness) is the central concept here, and "it is clear that the Burmese Buddhists have a more *mathematical* conception of Merit than other folk." "The ordinary belief is very concrete — so many good deeds mean so much to one's credit in another world."[58] Sometimes very material rewards are indicated. "The reward for building a monastery is a palace in a *Nat* heaven with seven towers, and in this palace dwell seven hundred *Nat* wives.... For a gift of sticks for use in a bath room, the donor will be reborn with perfumed body."[59]

Almsgiving is a sure means of 'heaping up *Kutho*.' Since the benefit accruing to the donor partly depends on the worthiness of the object, the maintenance of religion is a valued means of self-help. Hence the many pagodas. Hence the gifts to the monasteries. There is no more coveted title than 'Builder of Monasteries.' Hence, too, the welcome to the monk as he comes in the early morning with his begging bowl. The monk may *seem* to be the chief recipient. But in the things which matter, he is the donor. [735] [792]

Though others may thus provide the opportunity, essentially the activity is self-help. Emphasis is laid on individual responsibility. It is something a man must do for himself.

It is something he *can* do. Thus the conception of *Kutho* challenges any animistic idea that man is altogether at the mercy of capricious spirits.

[56] *M.B.B.*, pp. 44, 103.
[57] *M.B.B.*, p. 45.
[58] *M.B.B.*, p. 51, p. 76. The usual, though inadequate translation of Kutho, as already observed, is Merit.
[59] *M.B.B.*, p. 51.

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779* It also modifies the sense of fatalism which might be derived from
775 another conception, this time a Buddhist conception — the idea that a man's present character and situation are largely determined, according to inexorable moral law, by what he has done, and not done, in previous births. "As the wheel follows the draught ox, punishment follows sin."[80] Yet man is no fettered slave. Like other people the world over, the Burman vacillates between fatalism and the sense of his own power to help himself, between *Kan* and *Kutho*. On the whole, *Kutho* wins. "Merit weighs heavy, demerit light," says the Burmese proverb hopefully.

Pessimism, then, 'touched, strongly touched, with hope' – such is the Burmese religion. But what of the further qualification, 'touched with mysticism.'? We have seen that there may be an element of Nature mysticism. Can we go further and discern any sense of the sacred, any sense of religious dependence on higher power? In spite of the Nature mysticism and an occasional side glance in the direction of benevolent *Nats*, Burmese religion seems to be a religion of self-reliance, self-assurance and self-responsibility. A man 'must work out his own salvation.' Does this mean that there is nothing at all which corresponds to the Christian addition to the text — "with fear and trembling, for it is God which worketh in you?"[81]

779* Various efforts have been made to locate such a recognition. It is
775 remarked that a pagoda in Prome is named "the image or pagoda where,
782 if you pray, you will receive."[82] But the term, prayer, is used rather loosely by some present-day Buddhists. The monastery 'prayers' which we have cited could scarcely be termed prayers in any strict sense. Instances have been reported of simple villagers petitioning the Buddha for mercies, such as a child's recovery from sickness,[83] and I have myself seen women in attitiudes of prayer, with clasped hands and suppliant faces, before Gautama's image. Peasants recite the 'Song of Victory", celebrating the Buddha's triumphs over foes and tempters, as a 'mantra' to ward off evil.[84] Since a man may pray that his own *Kutho* may avail to help others, a natural sequence of thought may lead him to consider that the Buddha's *Kutho* may also avail, though some would say that the Buddha is lost in Nibbāna, far beyond this present existence. It is very questionable, however, if there is any sense of Divine Grace or prayer in the sense of communion with a Divine Being.

The Buddha is certainly venerated. No account of Burmese Buddhism
779* would be adequate without emphasising very definitely the central place
773 he holds in the life and thought of the people. Popular Buddhism, as we

[80] *M.B.B.*, p. 45.
[81] *2 Philippians* 2: 12, 13.
[82] *M.B.B.*, p. 70.
[83] *Ibid.*, p. 69.
[84] *M.B.B.*, p. 97.

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have seen, is a religion of story, and it is essentially the Buddha story, the life of Gautama, rehearsed, recited, pictured, dramatised, told and told again. 779* 773

"To hear of the Buddha from living lips in this country, which is full of his influence, where the spire of his monastery marks every village, and where every man has at one time or another been his monk, is quite a different thing to reading of him in far off countries.... To hear the yellow-robed monk tell of that life ... is a thing never to be forgotten. A sympathy comes to you from the circle of believers and you believe too.... And as they tell you the story of that great life, they bring it home to you with reflection and comment ... till you forget that he of whom they speak lived so long ago."[65]

Yet Burmese laymen, villagers or craftsmen, let alone monks, will flatly reject any suggestion that the Buddha was divine. Many of them, moreover, will explain their devotion very intelligently. They will make it abundantly clear that Gautama is venerated as a Socrates or a Moses might be venerated. No more. No less. His life was human, and in that very fact they see encouragement for others. [774]

It is not, then, to the conception of the Buddha that we must look for the religious ultimate of Southern Buddhism. Nor is it to the conception of the *Dhamma*, as some have suggested. A highly sophisticated intellectual might conceivably worship the 'Law within' but the Burmese Buddhist is seldom highly sophisticated, nor does he think of the Dhamma as the Law within: it is the Law without, expounded by the *Saṃgha*. 779* 775

It is elsewhere we must look for the recognition of the Divine. It may perhaps be contained in that looking forward to Nibbāna, which is the goal of all Buddhist aspiration. From what has thus far been remarked of the character of Burmese Buddhism, we can at least expect to find a positive, not a negative, conception of Nibbāna in this context.

Perhaps, too, Buddhism in Burma illustrates, in some degree, what may have been the original emphasis of the Buddha's teaching and the secret of his appeal. Perhaps it has retained or recovered something of that original vitality. 779*

Mrs Rhys Davids has suggested that the Buddha aroused response because he preached a gospel of hopeful Wayfaring from Good to Better, a caravan journey through the worlds, "a pilgrim's progress ... not so much with a load of sin to be discarded, as with an ever growing force of *artha* — the good, the needed, the better."[66] He believed, with the seers of his time, that the Divine was immanent in man,[67] but he saw this

[65] Fielding Hall, *The Soul of a People*, chap. II, p. 18.
[66] *Sakya*, chap. VI, pp. 104ff. [67] *Ibid.*, chap. IV, pp. 69ff.

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The celestial guide directed his rapid course through the regions of desolation, where dwells an eternal horror. The first object they met with was a broad and deep river... glowing like a flame.... On the banks of that river stand the infernal ministers.... wounding, piercing the unfortunate wretches who try to get out of that horrible and burning water.....

"What are the crimes," asked the terrified prince, "that have committed the unfortunate inhabitants of this place to undergo such unheard-of sufferings?"

"They are," replied Matali, "the persecutors of the weak, the heartless oppressors of the poor etc."

At another hell, Matali explains, "These suffer for having done no good to their fellow-creatures, for preventing others to do some, and for having borne envy to their neighbours."

After visiting other hells and receiving similar explanations, "Nemi was suddenly brought over to the beautiful, smiling and blissful seats of the blessed. He soon descried the celebrated palace made of diamonds.... In that palace Biranee occupied a splendid apartment; she was then lying on a soft sofa, surrounded by more than a thousand beauties.

"What good works," asked Nemi, "has Biranee practised to deserve such a magnificent reward?"

Matali replied, "This daughter of *Nats* was formerly a slave in the house of a pounha. She was always very attentive to all the duties of her position, and at the same time regularly observed the precepts of the law. On a certain day her mistress, who was wont to feed eight Rahans (monks) daily, fell into a fit of anger, and said that she was unable to bear any longer the fatigue attending the maintenance of these religious. But the young slave, full of religious zeal, took upon herself the labour of feeding the Rahans. For this good and meritorious work she is enjoying the happiness of her present position."

After visiting other heavens and receiving other similar explanations, Nemi was introduced to the presence of the chief of the *Nats*.

On his return to his kigdom he told his people what he had seen "and concluded by exhorting his people to be liberal in bestowing alms, that they might hereafter be admitted to share in the enjoyment of the Nats' happiness.

---from Bishop Bigandet, *Op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 153ff.

(From the context it seems clear that the Bishop had not himself seen any copy of the Jatakas. He says that he has heard that there is such a book in Ceylon and makes a conjecture about its contents.)

NOTE C.

AN-ATTĀ DOCTRINE, NIBBĀNA AND INDIVIDUAL SURVIVAL

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The Buddhist denial of the soul or ego seems to the average non-Buddhist inconsistent with the belief in individual survival after death which belief in Nibbāna seems to imply. But intelligent Buddhists are equally bewilder-

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ed by the attitude of non-Buddhists. Disputants are often at cross purposes. In frequent discussions I have therefore tried to understand how the argument appears to the Buddhist.

Humpty Dumpty, thinks the non-Buddhist, has had a great fall in Buddhist psychology. He cannot see how all the king's horses and all the king's men of Buddhism can possibly put Humpty together again, and, unless they can, he sees no ground for any view of Nibbāna which includes a prospect of individual survival. He cannot, indeed, see how the Buddhist can consistently speak of individuals at all or reconcile his theories with individual persistence, before or after death, still less with ethical individual responsibility.

The Buddhist, on the other hand, doubts if Humpty ever sat on the wall. It is evident, to his mind, that Humpty has always been what he evidently seems to be now: a mix of shell, white and yolk — and, if you analayse the mix further, something still more complex: an aggregate of aggregates. There is, he admits, an individual splash on the ground and it is convenient to give it a name. But apart from the shell, the white, the yolk, what other Humpty can there be? Why seek to put him on the wall? This, of course, is not the simile he uses. He generally quotes the chariot analogy — Nāgasena's argument to King Milinda — the word 'chariot' is but a term for pole, axle, wheels, chariot-body and banner-staff.[1]

But there is sometimes apparent another ground for Buddhist bewilderment. He wonders how his Western questioner can be so naive! What he has in mind is his own development from childish ideas, and the childish, animistic ideas of simple villagers who still think of the butterfly *(leip-byā)* which is thought to leave the body at death — and may even do so during deep sleep[2]. This presumably intelligent Westerner, talking about a soul, appears still to believe in some little mannikin, some semi-material kernel. How incredible! Does he not realise that human personality is much more complex than that?

There are, it is true, many simple Buddhists in Burma who have no such difficulty. Their allegiance to the An-attā doctrine is merely lip-allegiance. To them Maung Maung is Maung Maung. And he may be Maung Maung's grandfather come to re-birth. Expectant mother's discuss such possible re-births. One of these, a young widow, lived in hope that the child to be born would be her deceased husband. We need not attribute such ideas solely to the survival of animism. They are just as much encouraged by Jātaka stories.

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In the Dialogue cited in chapter III, the argument for individual survival through the persistence of sound *khandhas* in the ultimate Nibbāna condition, *Anupādisesa*, is based on the distinction drawn between *upādi* and *upadhi*. The former, *upādi*, which is the term referred to in *Anupādisesa*, is derived from *upa* and the verb *ādiyati* – 'to be grasped.' Hence it is said to refer to the five *khandhas grasped at* by four *upādānas*. Buddha-

[1] Milindapañha, 25. 1 (Warren, *Buddhism in Translations*, pp. 129ff.).
[2] Cf. Forbes, *British Burma*, chap. IV, p. 92.

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ghosa is quoted in support of this interpretation: "The *Anupādisesa* Nibbāna is so called because of the non-becoming of the five khandhas which have been grasped at as effects by the *kamma* attended by desire, pride and error." U. Agga in the Dialogue concludes that it is clear that this leaves it open to believe that sound *khandhas*, the fruitional consciousness of arahantship obtains, in the *Anupādisesa* Nibbāna as in the prior condition, *Sa-upādisesa*. "The orthodox view according to the *Dhammasangaṇi* is that the worldly mind and material body alone are *upādāniya* and the transcendent, spiritual consciousness which is beyond the reach of *upādānas* is *anupādāniya*."

'Yet ninety nine per cent of Burman Buddhists.. understand this word *upādi* to mean all kinds of *khandhas*.' He has previously suggested that this may be partly due to the fact that they confuse *upādi* with *upadhi*. Now upadhi is derived from *upa* and the root *dhā* --- 'to bear, conduct or carry' and is thus applied to *khandhas* generally, besides corruptions, sensual desires and kamma. There are scriptural passages which speak of all *upadhis* being given up in Nibbāna, and a Brahmana who has attained Nibbāna is described as *nir-upadhi*.' It is argued, however, that these passages mean simply that such an arahant is released from *unsound khandhas* --- not all.

In his accompanying Essay, Pe Maung Tin gives an interpretation which also, on the whole, favours individual survival. But he says nothing about *anupādisesa khandhas*. *An-upādisesa* means "nibbāna without any residue of *upādi's* at the death of the saint" whose "aggregates are dissolved" --- but only his aggregates. There is no reference, therefore, to any annihilation of ultimate personality, and the Saṁyutta Nikāya says: "The saint on the dissolution of the body is established in the *dhamma* (dhammaṭṭho) and his personality is not counted as man, god, brahma or being" and the commentary explains dhammaṭṭho as meaning: "established in the nature of saints as well as in nibbāna itself." Pe Maung Tin emphasises the distinction between conditioned and unconditioned reality; he also emphasises that there is but one Nibbāna (*sa-upādisesa* and *an-upādisesa* being but a difference in name, as applied to different stages). He finally emphasises that 'no analysis will reveal the true nature of the Reality.' Knowledge can only be attained by intuition, and meantime can only be indicated in negative terms.

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Note on SHWE ZAN AUNG

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Besides translating (in collaboration with Mrs Rhys Davids) the *Kathā-Vatthu* and the *Abhidhammattha-Saṃgaha* for the Pali Text Society, with an Introductory Essay to the latter, Shwe Zan Aung published, in instalments, in the *Journal of the Burma Research Society* (1917) a study of "The Buddhist Philosophy of the Real" and followed this up by the "Dialogue on Nibbāna," which I have quoted in chapter III. Born in 1871 at Akyab, he graduated from Rangoon College in 1892 and was later appointed a Magistrate in Henzada.

"My colleage," wrote Mrs Rhys Davids, "has been in close touch with several very learned monks, including the distinguished Doctor, Ledi Sadaw, in a country where the study of Abhidhamma, or philosophy, is cultivated more than elsewhere. Bhikkus from Ceylon come now, as in days of old, to study philosophy under the Theras of Burma, so renowned are the latter for proficiency in this subject. Mr Aung has also, through a course of study necessarily limited ..... assimilated a notable purview of our own philosophic tradition. He is thus better fitted than most Oriental students to translate into our vehicles of expression the living meaning, as distinguished from the *etymological* connotation, of Buddhist philosophical terms."[1] "I have," wrote Shwe Zan Aung himself, in his last note in the *Compendium*, "no theories of my own. . . . I am acting only as the mouthpiece of my country's teachers. At best I am but an interpreter of Burmese views based on the Ceylon Commentary and the works of Buddhaghosa. You may take my essay as medieval Buddhism presented through modern glasses."[2]

This may have been true enough of the essay in question — the introductory essay to the Compendium. But in his 'Buddhist Philosophy of the Real' he certainly presented theories of his own which aroused considerable controversy at the time. His studies in Western philosophy, to which Mrs Rhys Davids referred, led him to conclude that there were marked affinities between Buddhist thought on the one hand, and Bergson and Bertrand Russell on the other hand. Bergson and Russell — a strange alignment! as Shwe Zan Aung's critics remarked. But Aung saw a comparison between Buddhism and Bergson's concept of durée and also between the Bergsonian and Buddhist emphasis on intuition, while Russell's relational logic resembled, to his mind, Buddhist logic. Both Bergson and Russell are said to have been interested in these comparisons from Burma.[3]

Aung's principal critic was Dr. G.R.T. Ross, who accused Aung of attempting to 'force an identity between the doctrines of these modern writers and Buddhism.' Ross wrote, that passages quoted by Aung himself

[1] Editor's Preface, *The Compendium of Philosophy*, pp. xiii, xiv.

[2] *Compendium of Philosophy:* Note 'On Authority in Buddhist Belief,' p. 283.

[3] Cf. *J.B.R.S.* Vol. VII, Part III, p. 229; Vol. VIII, part III, p. 266.

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showed that the Buddhist 'criterion of reality is permanence, that of unreality is impermanence.'[4] Aung had quoted Buddhaghosa: "There is nothing permanent and constant like Nibbāna". (If Aung can be said to have disregarded this interpretation of Nibbāna in his essay, he certainly did not do so in his Dialogue).

The criticism aroused a spirited reply, including a confession of orthodoxy. "Dr Ross thinks that I am dissatisfied with the present attitude of traditional Buddhism. Buddhist writers are conservative.... Now and again, we may have a controversy amidst our own ranks owing to different interpretations of one and the same passage. But the more I study traditional Buddhism as it has come down to us in writings, the more I have reason to be satisfied with it."[5]

This reply was published in the same year as his Dialogue. It seems clear that he regarded the Dialogue as a fair presentation of Saṃgha discussions. His own view is partly reflected in U Agga's opinions, but he also suggests that these opinions have roots in the past, while Sumana, the exponent of the Ledi school, speaks for more recent opinion. At the same time Sumana voices the objection emphasised by Ross that Nibbāna cannot be conceived as flux.

In the controversy, Aung had an ally in Professor K.M.Ward who emphasised both the reliability and significance of Shwe Zan Aung as an interpreter of Burmese Buddhism. Mrs Rhys Davids, said Ward, was dissatisfied with her own translation of Buddhist psychology. She felt that she had not been able to understand the traditional terms. Hence her collaboration with Aung in the 'Compendium.' "This book revolutionised the methods of Pali research," wrote Ward, "I think it safe to say that no western scholar of repute would now attempt a translation of the all-important Abhidhamma or other technical works without colleborating with someone on the spot — in Burma or Ceylon. U Shwe Zan Aung then inaugurated the new movement. He did not as Dr Ross would have his readers suppose .. give us dogmatically high sounding philosophical terms (whose substitution in the older translations immediately made sense of them). On the contrary he collected a number of definitions, sentences, quotations in which the disputed term appeared: he explained the traditional meanings to his English editor, ... By this means a near modern equivalent to the Buddhist term was generally found... What we want is more of such work."[6]

Besides his close contacts with the Saṃgha scholars, Aung collaborated, too, with another distinguished Pali translator, U Pe Maung Tin. As we have seen, Lēdi Sayādaw was among the scholars he consulted, and Lēdī's own work has had a wide influence on modern Burmese thought. Aung takes note of this, but he distinguishes it from earlier schools. There are grounds, then, for the conclusion that Shwe Zan Aung is himself the more reliable interpreter of the Burmese tradition as a whole.

[4] *J.B.R.S.*, Vol. VIII, Part I, pp. 57ff.
[5] *J.B.R.S.*, Vol. VIII, Part II, pp. 166ff.
[6] *J.B.R.S.*, Vol. VIII, Part III, pp. 263ff.

524 imitation of the webbed feet of a fowl. Done in quick tempo it becomes an acrobatic or a dancer's feat to sitters on chairs, but Burmans do it easily. We broke up into two teams and put out a prize cock in turn. The two cocks face each other and shuffle out their legs slowly to the rhythm of the accompanying verse: a slow and measured beat at first, then a sudden quickening with the acceleration of the rhythm, until at the crow given by the teams both go all out, quicker and quicker until one is exhaused and falls out vanquished. This is what we sang in chorus:

Kyet Hpa ta nyin	Two cocks, a fine pair
Taw go win	Walk in the forest dare
Maung Yin la, lay hnin pyit.	Comes Maung Yin and shoots with bow.
Ma pyit ba hnin,	O Maung Yin, don't shoot so,
Maung Yin yè	Styes will on your eyelids grow.*
Kyet-tet su tat tè.	
Bè beka su su	On the left eye, one two!
Nya beka su su	On the right eye, one two!
Khut laik gya so thu-ngè-gyin!	Come my friend then let us fight it!
Aw-ee-ee-uu!	Cock-a-doodle doo!
Nga do kyet hpa naing naing	Our cock will win it, win it!
Thu do kyet hpa shon shon.	Their cock will finish, finish!

Some of the games included forfeits, but the forfeits were of a broad comicality, dragging the victim by the ear, or if it happened to be one of the younger servants, rubbing soot on his face. Robbing stones from under the care of a guardian keeping watch over them within a circle was stealing the eggs from a mother tortoise; the postless figure in General Post was a *khway-yu*, mad dog; blind man's buff was *bok-ta-lon tauktè*, a tucktoo with a buff.

776 We spent a lot of time with A-Kyi and the men about the house. 357 It was they who filled our world with bogies and spirits who were no less real to them than they were to us. We were warned not to be too greedy, or we would turn into *peik-tas* in the next existence, great tall spirits with voracious appetites and mouths the size of a needle's eye, or others with mouths like yawning caverns wide enough to swallow a pig, but no stomachs to receive the food. We were told that miserly and avaricious people would never be parted from their possessions which would follow them into their next existence, when they would be *ok-ta-sauk*, pictured for us as assuming the guise of fair girls with thanakha on their

[753] *There is a belief that styes are retribution for the killing of a cock.

faces and flowing hair, fair until they had enticed young men into the 776
treasure dens when they would suddenly turn into old women. There 857
were also *ta-says* who haunted human beings, *son-ma* witches who disguised themselves until they were ready to eat you, and *belus*, ogres which thrived on human beings. Far from the careful nurturing which is given to modern children of the West in attempts to prevent fears of the dark and loneliness, in Thanatpin I could have pointed out the actual tree in which the old witch lived, and when it grew dark both my nurse and I would shiver together in each other's arms at the thought of it.

Nor were the funny stories of the right type for Western children, 522
though they made us roar with delight. There were two brothers who wanted to make their grandmother beautiful, and bathed her in the hottest water they could produce; the water was boiling and the grandmother emerged clean and fair and rigid, and the two grandsons dressed her up and propped her in the doorway for all to admire. There was also the monkey who from his perch in a tree above the bazaar shouted: "Whoever eats of the fruit of this tree will have fragrant gases in his body." One poor human fool believed him, and ate, and went around hawking his ware of fragrant gases. He came to the court of the king, who caused seven layers of curtains to shroud the chamber for fear any of the fragrance would be lost when the experiment was carried out. We laughed to tears at the account of the poor fool's discomfiture.

When we were to be given any medicines or had any pain, however, 757
both my father and mother waited on us. We did not use Western medicines in the house. We always had stocks of various kinds of *yet-sa*, a linctus powder with digestive qualities containing liquorice and herbs in a salt base. The taste is pleasant to all Burmese people who eat it at the slightest provocation; excess of it causes no harm. There is a popular brand on the market called *lay-myo shit-sè*, 80 kinds of wind, but in addition to this, each family gets a specially prepared type from their family monk. My father, who was interested in herbal medicine, collected recipes and my mother compounded them at home. We ate yet-sa whenever we had a slight stomach ache or when my mother considered that the food had been too rich. For a general tonic my father got from the monk a honey mixture with special powers, partly owing to the holiness of the monk, and we ate a tiny spoonful of this each night after prayers. For coughs and sore throats we had pills, called *hpongyi-bo-sha-na*, from Moulmein. They were made of pepper, capsicum, liquorice and salt, and acted by stimulating the salivary and throat juices. All these medicines had a pleasant taste and we liked eating them, but when we had a fever we were given *ngan-say*, a black powder of herbs and salt, which was mixed with hot water and

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772 spirit knows no joy and no sorrow, but remains perpetually contemplating
775 the abstract truth, delivered finally from the cycle of recurring existences.

This arrangement of the universe and of the progress of man
772 through different levels of it, was but a reflection of the Buddhist ideas
779 of cosmography prevalent at the time when the religion was first in flower. In our imagination they belonged with the distant Himalayas, the peaks too high for human sight, the clouds and mist on which a being with the Buddha's spiritual powers could ride in majesty. But whether every Burman Buddhist associates these regions with his daily life or not, there are few who, in the midst of their busiest worldly living, will not be excited, exalted, at the Canonical descriptions of the mind of the *arahat* when he becomes, by meditation and victory over the senses, ready to attain Nirvana. The following description is part of the Sammannaphala-sutta, one of the discourses of the Buddha :

"With mind concentrated, purified, cleansed, spotless, with the defilements gone, supple, ready to act, firm, impassible, he directs his attention to knowledge and insight. He understands that this my body has a shape, consists of the four elements, was produced by a mother and father, a collection of milk and gruel, subject to rubbing, pounding, breaking, and dissolution, and on this my consciousness rests, hereto it is bound.

"He then directs his attention to creating a mind-formed body. From his body he creates a mind-formed body having shape, and with all its limbs and faculties.

"He directs his attention to various kinds of magical powers. From being one he becomes many, and from being many becomes one. He goes across walls and hills without obstruction, plunges into and out of the earth, goes over water as if on dry land, passes through the air sitting cross-legged, and even touches the mighty moon and sun with his hand, and reaches to the world of Brahma.

"With purified divine ear he hears divine and human sounds both distant and near.

"He understands the state of the minds of other beings.

"The last three stages he attains are called the knowledges.

"First, the monk directs his attention to remembering his former existences. He remembers thousands of births and many cycles of existence, and knows that in such a place he was a being of such a name and clan, and had certain experiences and length of life in each of these births.

"Second, he directs his attention to the knowledge of the passing away and rebirth of beings. With divine purified vision he sees evil doers being reborn in hell, and the virtuous in heaven, just as a man in a palace may see persons entering and coming out of a house.

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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517 silks for their wives. The ordinary explanation is that every one can see what clothes you wear, while few people care to come and spy out what kind of a house you live in, and how you fare. But there can be very little doubt that the real reason is a survival of the idea of the old Yāzagaing, as well as the fact that long years of custom have impressed upon everybody the opinion that there are only two forms of architecture, the secular and the ecclesiastical, and no one, no matter how sure he might be that the Government would take no notice of his ambition, would brave the denunciations of the religious by adding a spire to his house, or even adorning the gable ends with carved pinnacles and flamboyant finials of the monasteries. Consequently the one regular form prevails everywhere.

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342 576 The Burman's dwelling, then, is always shaped more or less like a marquee tent, and never more than one storey high, to avoid the humiliating possibility of the feet of some one being over your head. But the whole house stands on posts, so that the floor is seven or eight feet from the ground. It consists often of only one room, usually, however, of two or more, and to the front of the house there is always a verandah, three or four feet lower than the general level of the house, and as often as not quite open to the street, or the garden, or whatever may be in front and always to the sky. The posts which form the main or central part of the house are usually six in number, and all have their names, such as Uyu, Kya-hngan, Nyaung-yan. The south post, in the main part of the house, the Thabye-taing, is the best known, as being always adorned with leaves and particularly marked as that in the top of which most probably lives the nat-spirit of the house. A dead body, after being swathed, and while waiting for the coffin, is always placed by it.

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341 787 A house ought never to be built till the foundations have been thoroughly dug up and shown to a soothsayer. He will determine, from the substances found, whether it is a lucky place to build a house in or not. It stands to reason that the building cannot be commenced till a lucky day and hour have been sought out. There is considerable care to be observed in the selection of the timber. Posts are masculine, feminine, and neuter. Male posts are of equal size at both

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yahanda, and attain Ne'ban. He is a favourite subject for pictures, which represent him sitting under his brazen roof, or on the stump of a tree, eating out of an alms-bowl, which he carries in his arms. Sometimes he is depicted gazing sideways up to the skies, where he seeks a place that is not polluted by corpses. Such a spot is not to be found on earth, where every stock and stone is but the receptacle of a departed spirit. The notion is like that of the Tibetan monks, who look upon the earth as simply a vast graveyard. They carry human finger-joints strung together for a rosary, eat their food out of a human skull, and instead of horns for trumpets use the bones of a man's forearm. "We are dead," they say, "and dead men have nothing to do with the things of the living."

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Of a similar character to this illuminating of the pagodas, the town, and the river, is the letting loose of fire-balloons, from the end of Lent to the Tawadeintha festival in Tasaungmôn. The balloons are sometimes very big, but they are simple enough structures. A bamboo framework is covered over with the thick, coarse, home-made paper manufactured from the bark of the mahlaingbin (*Broussonetia papyrifera*), which also supplies the material for the black parabaik note-books. At the bottom, across the open mouth of the balloon, is a little platform, on which pitch is heaped, and with torches attached to it. The balloon is then tethered to the ground. The torches and resinous matter are lighted, and when the strain on the stays is considered sufficient, they are cut, and the balloon goes off. They are dangerous in large towns, and are forbidden there, but the Burman considers that the law applies only to the ground round the town, and dozens are let off every year from spots only a hundred yards or so outside of municipal limits. Not unseldom dôn, rockets, and other kinds of fireworks are attached to them, not by any means tending to make them safer for the houses below. This mi-eing byan, as it is called, is in honour of the Sula-mani payā, a pagoda erected in Tawadeintha, over Mount Myinmo, by the Thagya, king of the Nat-dêwas. When Prince Theidat left his palace, his wife, and forsook all to become a Buddha, he rode as far as the river Anawma and leaped over it on his famous

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CHAPTER XXII

NATS AND SPIRIT-WORSHIP

NOTWITHSTANDING that Buddhism has been the established religion in Burma since shortly after the third great council at Patalipootra in 241 B.C. (283 of the sacred era), and that the purest form of the faith exists, and is firmly believed in, yet, throughout the whole Ashe Pyi (the Eastern country), both in Upper and Lower Burma, the old geniolatry still retains a firm hold on the minds of the people. Missionaries say that it is a natural revolting of the human mind against the denial of the existence of a Supreme Being, superior to man, and controlling his destiny. Government officers assert that the retention of the prior religion (for it is undoubtedly a kind of second religion) is due to the fact that surrounding, and scattered about amongst the Buddhist Burmans, are numerous tribes—Karens, Kachins, and others—who have no form of belief but nat-worship, the reverencing of the spirits of nature. As a simple matter of fact, it is undeniable that the propitiating of the nats is a question of daily concern to the lower class Burman, while the worship at the pagoda is only thought of once a week. For the nat may prove destructive and hostile at any time, whereas the acquisition of kutho at the pagoda is a thing which may be set about in a business-like way, and at proper and convenient seasons. It is just the difference between avoiding a motor car and avoiding the circular saw in a timber mill. 771 776 782 [184]

Before proceeding further, it will be well to discuss the word "nat" itself. General Phayre and Bishop Bigandet did not finally settle whether Nat is derived from the Sanskrit term nath, meaning "master, husband, lord," or not. The 776

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question may be philologically interesting, but is not likely to be definitely settled till the languages of "Farther India" are better known. What concerns us is the fact that "nat" means in Burmese two distinct kinds of individuals. It may be applied to the inhabitants of the six inferior heavens, properly called déwas, who figure in Hindu mythology, and have thence been transferred to the Buddhist world system. Kings and virtuous people are rewarded with happiness in these six seats after a good life upon earth. The Tha-gya min, the king of the nats, or déwas, comes down to earth at the beginning of the Burman year, and remains here for three days, and his subjects generally display great solicitude for the pious state and welfare of mankind, but otherwise they are matters of no concern to dwellers in the lupyi unless as objects of envy. Perfectly distinct from these are the nats of the house, the air, the water, the forest,—the spirits of nature, fairies, elves, gnomes, kelpies, kobolds, pixies, whatever other names they have received in other countries. Burmans never have any confusion in their mind on the subject, such as may occasionally occur to a foreigner. The genii and peris of Eastern story, though doubtless springing from the Hindu déwas, have no real analogy in Burmese literature, any more than the idea of the *devil*—etymologically connected with the word dév-a or déwa—has anything to do with the joys of Tawadeintha and Tôtthita, the best-known heavens of nats of the superior order.

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The worship of nats, of the spirits, then, has nothing to do with Buddhism, and is denounced by all the more earnest of the pyin-sin as being heretical and antagonistic to the teachings of the Lord Buddha. King Mindôn, who was a true defender of the faith, and possessed of a deeper knowledge of the Pali texts than many of the members of the Assembly of the Perfect, fulminated an edict against the reverence paid to the nats, and ordered its discontinuance under severe penalties, but the worship was never really stopped, and can no more be stopped than refusing to dine thirteen at table, to walk under ladders, to cross knives, or to refrain from throwing spilt salt on other people's carpets.

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The term spirit-*worship* hardly conveys a proper notion. Even the Karens and Kachins, who have no other form of

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and little morsels of food. Often, if the village is larger, the shrine is much more pretentious, assuming almost the size and appearance of a zayat, a large tectum or roof, gabled and supported with red posts, the platform ornamented, and with a dais at one end, on which a representation of the nat is placed at the feast time, which, in imitation of the pagoda festivals, occurs at a regular fixed season. At other times these images are kept stowed away in an adjoining chamber, built for the purpose. It is particularly irritating to an educated Burman to see these absurd figures, which remind one of nothing so much as the fetiches of the prognathous African. Two gaudily dressed puppets, masquerading with spire-like crown, and royal, sharp-pointed swords, represent the much-feared nats, Shwe Pyin-gyi and Shwe Pyin-ngè, the Nyi-daw, Naung-daw, the Royal Younger Brother and the Royal Elder Brother, who command much respect in the neighbourhood of Mandalay and in Upper Burma generally. A still more dreaded spirit is one whose representation figures in a shrine at Tagaung, one of the ancient capitals of the country, half-way between Mandalay and Bhamaw. He appears simply as a head on a post, four feet high or thereabouts. A spire-like crown rests on his head, his eyes protrude and goggle in semi-globular wrath, asinine ears and a Punch-like nose complete the likeness, for he has no mouth, and his body is that of a dragon. Every one avoids his temple as much as possible, but the inhabitants of the village bow in that direction before they venture to do anything, and passing boatmen kindle lamps and offer flowers, of which he is said to be particularly fond, and fruit, for the nat has an incorrigible habit of giving people the stomach-ache when he is offended, and death punishes the recalcitrant. "Tagaung colic" is a recognised ailment with the Burmese faculty. The demon is said to have been one of the ancient kings of the place, who acquired his power from magical arts which he learned in Northern India. Three famous pagodas in the defile take their names from episodes in his life; and his two sons founded the dynasty of Prome. Oftenest of all, however, the nat-shrine contains no figure. It is occupied only by the viewless spirits of the air.

First in the list of personal spirits may be considered the

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First in the list of personal spirits may be considered the kosaung nats, a kind of confusion of ideas between the proper spirit and the butterfly spirit, and representing as it were the genius of each individual, a kind of materialised conscience. They are twelve in number, six good and six bad, six male and six female, and regulate the life and doings of their *protégé* accordingly as the benevolent or the malevolent gain the upper hand.

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Next to these comes the eing saung nat, very often called Min-magayi, the guardian nat of the house. For his comfort the tops of all the posts in the house are covered with a hood of white cotton cloth, for it is in this situation that he usually takes up his abode. In almost every house, at the end of the verandah in front, you will find a water-pot full of pareityé, water over which certain gathas, magic spells, or religious formulæ have been uttered by the astrologer, or the prior of the district. This water, which is replenished once a month, or oftener in cases of danger from disease, or when a member of the family is absent on a journey, is every now and then sprinkled about the house as a protection against bilus and spectres, ogres and tasés. When the water is consecrated in this nyaungye-o, which is of a special shape, something like an overgrown Indian spittoon, there are always a few twigs and leaves of the thabyé tree floating on the top. These are mostly taken out and hung round about the eaves, but occasionally left in the water. The inordinately superstitious sometimes keep a small thabyé bin (the sacred eugenia) growing in a pot in the house, so that its benign influence may keep harm away. Talaing houses may usually be known by the cocoa-nut hanging up at the south side of the building. This is covered with strips and tags of yellow or red cloth, and is offered to Min-magayi, whom they call the king of the nats. Of these spirits (called kaluk in their language) they say there are thirty-seven distinct varieties, but Min-magayi rules them all. These are the "thirty-seven nats of Burma," but whether they were borrowed by the Burmese from the Talaings or not seems at any rate doubtful. At the beginning of the wet season they always wrap up the cocoa-nut afresh, and when the rains are over make new offerings of money, glutinous rice, eggs, jaggari, and fruit, in order that the eing saung nat may

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keep away fever from the household. It must not be supposed that the nat guardian of the house has necessarily any affection for those who have built the place where he has taken up his abode. He probably regards them only with cold indifference, however generous they may be in their offerings, and were he not propitiated by these gifts he would almost certainly display his anger by doing the inhabitants some grievous injury. But then he dislikes his haunts being intruded upon, and if a stranger comes at an unwonted time—a burglar at midnight, for example—it is quite likely that the eing saung nat will attack him violently, scare him out of his wits, or give him the colic. Thus without any really estimable purpose in his mind, Min-magayi may be a considerable protection to his worshippers, just as an "awful example" is useful to teetotallers.

Beyond this guardian, or demon of the house, there is the guardian nat of the village, the ywa saung nat, of whose shrine at the end of the town I have already made mention. None of the lower-class Talaings would ever think of eating a morsel without first holding up his platter in the air, and breathing a prayer to the village nat. They are particularly fond of putting up shrines to the nats under the le'pan tree, from the wood of which coffins are frequently made. A feast must be held every three or four years in honour of this nat, at which the natkadaw, a woman called the nat's wife, dances. This is done in order that sickness may be kept away. Should an epidemic actually break out, a very elaborate ceremony is gone through. Probably first of all the figure of a spectre, or of a bilu, is painted on an ordinary earthenware water-pot, and this is solemnly smashed to pieces about sundown, with a heavy stick or a dah. As soon as it gets dark, the entire populace break out into yells, and make as much noise generally as they can compass, with the view of scaring away the evil spirit who has brought the disease. This is repeated on three several nights, and if it is not then effective the yahans are called in to give their assistance. The prior, with his following, repeat the Ten Precepts, chant the Payeit-gyi, and then one of the sermons of the Lord Buddha is declaimed, the same by the preaching of which he drove away the pestilence

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which was devastating the country of Wethali. If this last ceremony is not effectual the village is abandoned. The inhabitants leave the sick and the dying to their fate, and go off to the jungle, where each household camps out by itself for a time. Before they return again, the yellow-robed monks, in recognition of much alms, read the Law up and down the street between the houses. When they have gone back to the monastery, the nat's shrine is repaired, and abundant offerings deposited. Having thus made their peace with the representatives of both religions, the people return to their houses, light fires, cook rice for new offerings, and then enter upon their ordinary pursuits as if no interruption whatever had occurred.

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This is what would take place in any ordinary Burman village. But among the Talaings, and in the more retired places in the jungle, occupied by ignorant uncultivated Burmans, the function called ywakyathi would be carried out, which is much more purely geniolatric in its character. This is sometimes done when a prominent man in the hamlet is sick, more often when there is danger of a contagious disease. A great feast of cooked rice and meat, roasted fowls and ducks forming a prominent part of it, is heaped up on a platform specially erected for the purpose some distance outside the village. Everybody in the village is required to have some part in the ceremony. A few are sent out beforehand, who dress themselves up in a fantastic way, and pretend to be bilus, evil nats, and witches. With them are others who feign to be dogs, and rush about on all fours, barking and howling; others represent pigs, and grunt and nuzzle about with their noses in the ground. After this performance has been carried on for some time, the remainder of the villagers come out in a band, and, through one or more spokesmen, demand of the possessed whether those lying sick at home will recover, and whether the bad spirits are satisfied with the offerings. It is specially ordained at these exhibitions that no one shall be called by his real name; such mention, if made inadvertently, would expose the person addressed to considerable danger, even if he should make no sign betraying himself, for he certainly would not answer. The quasi tasés always reply that the

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sick will recover and the plague leave the locality. Thereupon the villagers rush off like madmen into the surrounding forest, and run about hither and thither in a reckless way with an open cloth, or the end of their waistcloth, in their hands. Some of them suddenly make a plunge with their cloth over a bush or a tussock of grass, and then closing it up carefully, hurry breathless back to the village. The leip-bya or "butterflies" of the sick man are supposed to have been captured. The paso, or cloth, is carefully opened and shaken over the patient's head, and the leip-bya is supposed to return to its proper habitation. This operation is repeated several times, in case a wrong "butterfly" might have been captured, or lest the actual one should have escaped on the way. Then everybody returns. The function is not without its danger, for it has happened that the [754] temporary mimes have become permanently possessed of evil spirits, and as witches and wizards have proved as great curses to the neighbourhood as any pestilence could have been. Which things are an allegory. The whole ceremony [178] is beginning to get into very bad odour in the more settled parts of the province, and respectable people avoid having anything to do with it, while those who have taken a part are ashamed to own it.

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All these nats are directly connected with a particular locality, and therefore well known to, and regularly propitiated by, the inhabitants of that place. But there are abundance of nats to be found elsewhere, away from villages and houses, and all of them equally ready to resent any injury which the passer-by may unwittingly do them. When a Burman starts on a journey he hangs a bunch of plantains, or a twig of the tha-bye tree, on the pole of the buffalo cart or the stern of the boat, to conciliate any spirit whose beat he may intrude upon. The fisherman makes offerings in his nat-sin every time he launches his dug-out; the lonely hunter in the forest deposits some rice and ties together a few leaves whenever he comes across some particularly large and imposing tree, lest there might be a thi'pin-saung nat dwelling there. Should there be none, the tied-back twigs will at any rate stand in evidence to the taw-saung nat, the demon who presides over all the forest,

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When there is a boat-race, the opposing crews have a preliminary row over the course with offerings placed on the prow for the nat who guards that stretch of the river. And so on through numberless examples. Some nats achieve fame, and are known far and wide by special appellations. Such is Maung In Gyi, a spirit who is feared in all the district round Rangoon, and away eastward and northward as far as Pegu. He lives in the water, and causes death. A special festival is celebrated in his honour, or rather in deprecation, in the month of Waso, the same in which Lent begins. Others more especially known in Upper Burma are Byindôn, Shwe Pyin-Gyi and his brother, and a drunkard nat called Maung Min Gyaw, to whom great quantities of rice spirit are offered. Uyingyi is a spirit universally known among the Talaings. The chief spirit of a district usually goes by the name of A-shin Gyi, the great lord, or, among the Talaings, Okkaya. Then there are generic names; there is the Hmin nat who lives in woods, and shakes those he meets so that they go mad. There is the Upaka, who flies about in the clouds to spy out men whom he may snap up. There is the Akakaso who lives in the tops of trees, Shekkaso who lives in the trunk, and Bumaso who is content with a dwelling in the roots. The presence of spirits or witches in trees may always be ascertained by the quivering and trembling of the leaves when all around are still. 776 782

The Talaings, and many of the Burmans in the Irrawaddy delta, have a regular nat-feast just before harvesting begins. The figure of a woman is fashioned out of straw, and a tamein, kerchief, and other portions of female dress placed along with it in a bullock cart. Great quantities of kauk-hnyin, "sticky rice," are heaped up, and the whole driven in procession round the ripe paddy fields. The figure is then set up in the place where the paddy is to be stored, and the offerings are usually swept away by the boys of the place, whose appetites overcome their fear of the nats, Bumadi, the guardian of the earth, and Nagyi, the guardian of the grain, to propitiate whom the feast is held. 776 527 782 101

There is a theory that persons who are executed or meet a violent death become nats and haunt the place where they 776 769

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776 769 were killed. They are called nat-sein. Advantage is taken of this to guard the capital. When a town is founded, at each of the four corners of the city walls and under the gate-posts people are buried alive. Their spirits thereafter hover about the place and bring disaster on strangers who come there with evil intentions. Monks and nuns who lead bad lives and break their vows are also believed to pass into demons when they die. There is therefore a constant and lamentable recruiting of the forces of the nats and tasés.

776 755 In some places certain nats have qualities ascribed to them which are not entirely obstructive and obnoxious. For example, in a nat's house at Nyaung-u, before the figure of a spirit called Apé Shwemyosin, lies a twisted, curious-shaped stone, which has magic powers ascribed to it. The sick come and try to lift it up. If they are successful they will soon recover health; if, on the other hand, its weight is too much for them, the inquirers will die. Similarly, on the ascent to Mandalay Hill there is a little chapel in which, besides three figures of the hentha, the Brahminy goose, each said to contain a sacred tooth brought from Ceylon, there is a flat, oval stone, with mystic characters inscribed on it. Many resort there to ascertain the probable issue of an intended journey or enterprise. If the stone proves heavy, the sign is bad.

787 The belief *in spirits naturally induces a corresponding* faith in omens. The Deitton, an astrological book constantly in the hands of Bedin Sayās, but carefully excluded from all monasteries, gives a great variety of them; auguries from the flight and number of birds seen, omens from the barking of dogs, the movements of bees, and the laying of eggs by fowls. Rules are given for choosing the site on which a house is to be built, and omens drawn from the substances found in digging the foundations. Posts are called male, female, or a-thet ma shi, neuter, according as they are of the same girth throughout, larger at the bottom or in the middle. Under ordinary circumstances, houses with female taing are fortunate, with neuter disastrous. Posts which are largest at the top are called taing bilu, "demon beams," and are especially unhappy.

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If a hen lays an egg upon a cloth, its owner will lose money. To come across mushrooms at the beginning of a journey is a most fortunate sign. A snake crossing the path always denotes delay, whether in a lawsuit, a journey, or a warlike expedition. If a dog carries an unclean thing up into his master's house, he may get thrashed for it, but the man will become rich; and so on in infinite variety. 787

All this belief in supernatural powers tends to produce abundance of experts who profess to be able to explain signs and to control the evil spirits. Every district possesses its nat thungè, or nat meimma, a spirit woman who dances at the nat feasts, and at ordinary times is consulted by the superstitious on all kinds of subjects connected with her trade. She is asked where so-and-so, lately deceased, is, to what seat of the world he has migrated; where absent persons are, and what they are doing; what facilities there are for special undertakings, and when they should be begun. 791

The Bedin Sayās claim similar knowledge, and are equally abundant. Numbers of them may be seen at any time of the day sitting under the trees on the way up to the Shwe Dagôn pagoda, writing and rubbing out figures and letters on their black note-books, and drawing a comfortable income from an unfailing succession of inquirers. Sometimes such a magic-worker, wishing to establish a reputation, or having a spite against somebody, performs the ceremony called pônnaga taikgyin. He carries off some cinders from the funeral pyres of people who have been burnt, and collecting a large assortment of such charred pieces of wood, puts them secretly in the house of the person whose feelings he wishes to work on. At night the spirits come and keep up a battery of stones on the unfortunate man's roof, all attempts to find out where the stones come from being as unavailing as they were in a similar instance in the suburbs of London not very long ago.

It is consolatory, however, to know that piety will protect any one from the attacks of malevolent spirits. Numerous stories told by the yahans prove the virtue of the gâtas to guard against evil. If the victim has only knowledge and strength of mind sufficient to recite these religious formulæ, 789 776

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789 776 the wiles of the nats are harmless. In case of the utmost need, even the ordinary tharana-gôn, the payā, tayā, thengā, is of much avail, if only uttered with faith. It is with the idea of keeping away bilus, tasés, and demons that the [792] members of the yellow robe are often summoned to death- [764] beds. There is no thought of the monk administering spiritual consolation to the dying man. The good influence of his pious presence keeps away evil spirits, and nothing more. No exhortations of the yahan can alter the balance of merit and demerit which is already cast up for the dying man. On the other hand, in out-of-the-way parts of the country, and especially in the hills, spirit shrines are not unseldom found actually inside a monastery compound.

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536 devoted to scenes at court, and is adorned with a throne, golden umbrellas, and other royal insignia. The other extremity represents, with artfully-arranged twigs and tufts of grass, the jungle and forests to which, during some part of every play, the prince and princess are sure to have to fly. The puppets, which are frequently as much as two or three feet high, are always gorgeously and expensively dressed. [532] The larger ones are all cut in wood, and the carver's skill often turns out very clever presentments of rugged-faced old men and exuberantly jovial lubyets. Most of the zāts, 536 which deal greatly with the supernatural and fabulous, are 776 only represented as yôkthe pwès. No amount of technical skill could represent in the public streets an athurein, a creature (destined incalculable ages hence to be a Budh) whose height is a few thousand miles, and who produces eclipses in his play by taking the sun or moon in his fingers or between his toes.

536 Curious as it may seem, the puppet players often acquire a far more really personal reputation than the legitimate actors. The zatthama mostly get a name for dancing as much as for anything else. The Yindaw Ma Le, who came from a village near Meiktila in Upper Burma, indeed, was equally celebrated for her voice and her graceful movements, but the yokthethama become renowned for dramatic fervour, for tender passion, for dry wit, just as thoroughly and personally as if they actually appeared before the audience. Except the *prima donna* just alluded to (now dead) there are few professionals celebrated on the stage who are not far better known as first-class marionette players. These per- [562] formers are all men and boys. None of the female parts are ever taken by women. Maung Tha Byaw was unequalled in "prince's" parts. He was recognised as Thabinwun; every stage-manager, every zat-ôk in the country received his word as law. No tenor with a *voce fenomenale*, no bird-voiced Patti, was more sought after nor received with greater honours. His name became a proverb in the mouths of people who never heard him. "Tha Byaw Hé," a Mergui man will say when he makes a marvellous haul of fish or gets a super-excellent cheroot. A journey of his to Rangoon produced a popular saw, corresponding to the English "kill-

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774 827 blood is feverish or excited in any way, the butterfly necessarily becomes restless, and wanders about more or less rapidly and into more or less strange places, according to the degree of perturbation. Therefore it happens that the soul thus existing in itself, and straying or flying at random, sees extremely strange and fantastic visions on these voyages. An elaboration of this notion divides dreams into three special varieties: those which occur at the beginning of sleep, those about midnight, and those in the early morning; or the false, the mixed, and the true. Bedin-sayās and wise women are for this reason always very particular in their inquiries as to the precise time at which the dream occurred. If they foretell wrongly it is, of course, because the questionist made a mistake as to the time when his vision appeared to him.

774 776 These night wanderings of the butterfly spirit are not without their dangers. In addition to other hobgoblins and spectres, Burma is especially plagued by evil spirits called bilus—creatures in human guise who devour men. If they will eat the corporate man, there is small doubt what will happen to the fragile butterfly spirit should it come across such an ogre. Cases do happen when the leip-bya is gulped down, and then the man has slept his last sleep. More often, however, it is only a case of leip-bya lan; the soul is scared, and in its terror sometimes runs into unknown regions, from which it is unable to retrace its steps, when of course it dies and with it the owner; or it rushes home to its bodily dwelling-place with such precipitation that the whole system is disorganised and sickness follows. This butterfly theory, therefore, offers a grand field for quack doctors, of whom there are unfortunately a very large number in Burma. When a man falls ill they dose him with all the drugs and simples they have in their little bamboo phials. If he does not get better after taking even the fungus from the roots of the bamboo, culled in the eclipse, or vegetable soot prepared at the change of the moon, then there can be only one opinion; the leip-bya has had its system shaken by some ghoulish sight; or perhaps it is being kept in durance vile by some tasé, some demon (in the sense of the Greek δαίμων), or by a sôn, a wizard. In this case no bodily medicine can be of any use, were it even that celebrated

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The following are a few prescriptions for whitlow and bad sores from a Maulmein doctor's books :— 755

1. The " hand " of a tauk-tè, the big trout-spotted gekko, that haunts old trees and the thatch of houses ; or, more probably, a bit of the stem of an epiphyte called the tauk-tè's hand.
2. Sulphur.
3. The bulb of a white lily.
4. A chilli roasted.
5. Cock's dung.

Mix in equal parts, and stir while heating it, and finally add some earth oil.

Again : Take a sufficient quantity of cock's dung, add to it a small quantity of copperas, pound them well together, and then mix with earth oil and some sesamum oil.

Seven or eight dry seeds of dankwè (*Cassia fœtida*), well bruised, and then intimately mixed with a little congee (rice water), with " sufficient " earth oil added, also proves a very effective remedy.

The bedin sayā's books are partly written, partly filled, with magic figures and pictures. The squares are all formed in accordance with the ordinary Hindoo law. When the wise man is asked questions, he keeps writing down numbers and characters on his parabaik tablets and rubbing them out, chanting to himself all the time. Sometimes he shakes cowries and seeds together, and when they fall out, decides from their position which of the pictures or rhymes in his book is to be consulted. Each of these gives its own answer, but they are not always as definite in their character as is desirable. The sayā always speaks in the declamatory monotone of the linga. 755 787 776

The following are the names of some of the familiar spirits and their likenesses :—

Upadana Pyuda, a spirit who lives under the earth and protects the husbandman. When he comes above ground he rides on a serpent. The inquiring farmer whose cowrie refers to this picture is most fortunate.

Sadi Wazadat, a wild figure galloping on a horse. This means failure of the attempt.

Saka Bada, a monkey mounted on a goat. Denotes fertility of mind.

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In another picture a crow is represented breaking a vessel full of money with its beak. Close at hand are a man and woman embracing one another. This denotes loss.

A man and his wife represented dancing together signify great gifts to the pagoda.

Another picture, which represents a husband and wife standing together in front of a house, with a horse and cow near it, denotes that the child to whom this picture may refer will be a farmer.

Near the picture of a dog, which one man holds by the tail while another hits it on the head, is written: "When the lot falls here, be not boastful, but humble; avoid pride and assumption, for that will only raise up enemies for you."

The following are some spells:—

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Take this amulet (a piece of bone carved rudely square, and with mystic figures on it), put your foot up against a thabye tree, and repeat the Ittipithaw (a form of worship in learning which one spends four or five months in the monasteries) thirty-seven times. Then you will be able to turn any given man into a ghost and make him do as you please.

Take the stalk of a betel leaf in your hand. Repeat "Ôm padan rupa wari thwa ha" seven times, and then throw the stalk at the person. He or she is sure then to listen to what you say.

The following is a charm to cause a dream about your lady-love:—Get an exact likeness of her made. Find out the hour and day on which she was born, her name and exact age. Then having begged permission from the guardian spirit of both the houses (your own and hers), chant as follows: "O Thurathadi, fairest goddess of flowers, daughter of nats most high, grant most graciously all that I desire of thee: tasa machan: without keeping back the least remainder; without withdrawing a single joy: prithee do this without fail, sweet goddess of woodland love." Repeat this seven times before the figure. Then go to sleep.

14: Brant E-5 (1949-50) 1954 AP1 Burma
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goes on throughout the morning. About 2 P.M. a monk gives a sermon and recites prayers. One of the elders reads aloud to the assemblage an account of the expenditures for the gifts to the monks, concluding the event. 796 735

Animistic and Magical Beliefs

Underlying the elaborate organization and practice of Buddhism, there is a considerable belief in nats, or spirits, and magic. Spirit worship, supposedly contrary to the teachings of Buddhism and opposed by the monks, is indulged in to varying degrees by the villagers. In Tadagale one frequently comes upon small wooden box-like structures affixed to trees, on which there is usually a little food and perhaps a flower as offerings to a particular nat. There seems little doubt that animism was even more important among the Burmese prior to the coming of Buddhism centuries ago. As noted in the description of initiation and wedding ceremonies earlier, nat worship has become interwoven with Buddhist beliefs and practices. It is also manifested in beliefs concerning guardian spirits of houses and particular places and in theories of the causes of many illnesses, including bewitchment and mental disturbances. Mediums, specially versed in the ways of the nats and possessing knowledge of cures for spirit-caused maladies, may be called upon for assistance. 776 755 782

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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seemed to me a mystery such as I could not understand. But when I went to the people, I found that it was simple enough to them; for I found that they remembered their former lives often, that children, young children, could tell who they were before they died, and remember details of that former existence. As they grew older the remembrance grew fainter and fainter, and at length almost died away. But in many children it was quite fresh, and was believed in beyond possibility of a doubt by all the people. So I saw that the teachings of their sacred books and the thoughts of the people were not at one in this matter.

Again, I read that there was no God. Nats there were, spirits of great power like angels, and there was the Buddha (the just man made perfect), who had worked out for all men the way to reach surcease from evil; but of God I saw nothing. And because the Buddha had reached heaven (Nirvana), it would be useless to pray to him. For, having entered into his perfect rest, he could not be disturbed by the sharp cry of those suffering below; and if he heard, still he could not help; for each man must through pain and sorrow work out for himself his own salvation. So all prayer is futile.

And then I remembered I had seen the young mother going to the pagoda on the hilltop with a little offering of a few roses or an orchid spray, and pouring out her soul in passionate supplication to Someone—Someone unknown to her sacred books—that her firstborn might recover of his fever, and be to her once more the measureless

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776 delight of her life; and it would seem to me that
779 she must believe in a God and in prayer after all.
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So though I found much in these books that
771 was believed by the people, and much that was
779 to them the guiding influence of their lives, yet I
182 was unable to trust to them altogether, and I was in doubt where to seek for the real beliefs of these people. If I went to their monks, their holy men, the followers of the great teacher, Gaudama, they referred me to their books as containing all that a Buddhist believed; and when I pointed out the discrepancies, they only shook their heads, and said that the people were an ignorant people and confused their beliefs in that way.

779 When I asked what was a Buddhist, I was told
795 that, to be a Buddhist, a man must be accepted into
182 the religion with certain rites, certain ceremonies, he must become for a time a member of the community of the monks of the Buddha, and that a Buddhist was he who was so accepted, and who thereafter held by the teachings of the Buddha.

But when I searched the life of the Buddha, I could not find any such ceremonies necessary at all. So that it seemed that the religion of the Buddha was one religion, and the religion of the Buddhists another; but when I said so to the monks, they were horror-struck, and said that it was because I did not understand.

114 In my perplexity I fell back, as we all must, to
182 my own thoughts and those of my own people; and
779 I tried to imagine how a Burman would act if he
101 came to England to search into the religion of the English and to know the impulses of our lives.

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000 sympathy like the sympathy of the hills and streams; and sympathy comes from life. There is no sympathy with the dead.

When you are alone in the forest all this life will come and talk to you, if you are quiet and understand. There is love deep down in the passionate heart of the flower, as there is in the little quivering honey-sucker flitting after his mate, as there was in Romeo long ago. There is majesty in the huge brown precipice greater than ever looked from the face of a king. All life is one. The soul that moves within you when you hear the deer call to each other far above you in the misty meadows of the night is the same soul that moves in everything about you. No people who have lived much with Nature have failed to descry this. They have recognized the life, they have felt the sympathy of the world about them, and to this life they have given names and forms as they would to friends whom they loved. Fairies and goblins, fauns and spirits, these are but names and personifications of a real life. But to him who has never felt this life, who has never been wooed by the trees and hills, these things are but foolishness, of course.

776 To the Burman, not less than to the Greek of long ago, all nature is alive. The forest and the river and the mountains are full of spirits, whom the Burmans call Nats. There are all kinds of Nats, good and bad, great and little, male and female, now living round about us. Some of them live in the trees, especially in the huge fig-tree that shades half an acre without the village; or among the fern-like fronds of the tamarind; and you will often see

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beneath such a tree, raised upon poles or nestled in the branches, a little house built of bamboo and thatch, perhaps two feet square. You will be told when you ask that this is the house of the Tree-Nat. Flowers will be offered sometimes, and a little water or rice maybe, to the Nat, never supposing that he is in need of such things, but as a courteous and graceful thing to do; for it is not safe to offend these Nats, and many of them are very powerful. There is a Nat of whom I know, whose home is in a great tree at the crossing of two roads, and he has a house there built for him, and he is much feared. He is such a great Nat that it is necessary when you pass his house to dismount from your pony and walk to a respectful distance. If you haughtily ride past trouble will befall you. A friend of mine riding there one day rejected all the advice of his Burmese companions and did not dismount, and a few days later he was taken deadly sick of fever. He very nearly died, and had to go away to the Straits for a sea-trip to take the fever out of his veins. It was a very near thing for him. That was in the Burmese times, of course. After that he always dismounted. But all Nats are not so proud nor so much to be feared as this one, and it is usually safe to ride past.

Sometimes these Tree-Nats are given to throwing stones at houses near them, because they have taken a dislike to, or been insulted by, some dweller in the house. There is a lady I know who had a house in Maulmain, in the compound of which grew several magnificent trees, and Nats lived in them. For some reason or other these Nats took an enmity

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776 to the Burmese servant, and threw stones on the house, so that the lady and her husband could not sleep. For a time they could not discover the reason of this stone-throwing; but when the servant went away for a few days and the stoning stopped, it became apparent what the cause was. Directly he returned the stone-throwing became worse than ever, and as no means, though many were tried, were effectual in stopping it, it was necessary at last to dismiss the lad.

Even as I write, I am under the shadow of a tree where a Nat used to live, and the headman of the village has been telling me all about it. This is a government rest-house on a main road between two stations, and is built for government officials travelling on duty about their districts. To the west of it is a grand fig-tree of the kind called Nyaungbin by the Burmese. It is a very beautiful tree, though now a little bare, for it is just before the rains; but it is a great tree even now, and two months hence it will be glorious. It was never planted, the headman tells me, but came up of itself very many years ago, and when it was grown to full size a Nat came to live in it. This was in the king's time, of course. The Nat lived in the tree for many years, and took great care of it. No one might injure it or any living creature near it, so jealous was the Nat of his abode. And the villagers built a little Nat-house, such as I have described, under the branches, and offered flowers and water, and all things went well with those who did well. But if anyone did ill the Nat punished him. If he cut the roots of the tree the Nat hurt his feet, and if he

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injured the branches the Nat injured his arms; and if he cut the trunk the Nat came down out of the tree, and killed the sacrilegious man right off. There was no running away, because, as you know, the headman said, Nats can go a great deal faster than any man. Many men, careless strangers, who camped under the tree and then abused the hospitality of the Nat by hunting near his home, came to severe grief.

But the Nat has gone now, alas! The tree is still there, but the Nat has fled away these many years.

'I suppose he didn't care to stay,' said the headman. 'You see that the English government officials came and camped here, and didn't fear the Nats. They had fowls killed here for their dinner, and they sang and shouted; and they shot the green pigeons who ate his figs, and the little doves that nested in his branches.'

All these things were an abomination to the Nat, who hated loud, rough talk and abuse, and to whom all life was sacred.

So the Nat went away. The headman did not know where he was gone, but there are plenty of trees.

'He has gone somewhere to get peace,' the headman said. 'Somewhere in the jungle, where no one ever comes save the herd-boy and the deer, he will be living in a tree, though I do not think he will easily find a tree so beautiful as this.'

The headman seemed very sorry about it, and so did several villagers who were with him; and I suggested that if the Nat-houses were rebuilt, and

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776 flowers and water offered, the Nat might know and return. I even offered to contribute myself, that it might be taken as an *amende honorable* on behalf of the English government. But they did not think this would be any use. No Nat would come where there was so much going and coming, so little care for life, such a disregard for pity and for peace. If we were to take away our rest-house, well then, perhaps, after a time, something could be done, but not under present circumstances.

776 626 And so, besides dethroning the Burmese king, and occupying his golden palace, we are ousting from their pleasant homes the guardian spirits of the trees. They flee before the cold materialism of our belief, before the brutality of our manners. The headman did not say this; he did not mean to say this, for he is a very courteous man and a great friend of all of us; but that is what it came to, I think.

776 136 The trunk of this tree is more than ten feet through—not a round bole, but like the pillar in a Gothic cathedral, as of many smaller boles growing together; and the roots spread out into a pedestal before entering the ground. The trunk does not go up very far. At perhaps twenty-five feet above the ground it divides into a myriad of smaller trunks, not branches, till it looks more like a forest than a single tree; it is full of life still. Though the pigeons and the doves come here no longer, there are a thousand other birds flitting to and fro in their aerial city and chirping to each other. Two tiny squirrels have just run along a branch nearly over my head, in a desperate hurry apparently, their tails

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cocked over their backs, and a sky-blue chameleon is standing on the trunk near where it parts. There is always a breeze in this great tree; the leaves are always moving, and there is a continuous rustle and murmur up there. A mango-tree and tamarind near by are quite still. Not a breath shakes their leaves; they are as still as stone, but the shadow of the fig-tree is chequered with ever-changing lights. Is the Nat really gone? Perhaps not; perhaps he is still there, still caring for his tree, only shy now and distrustful, and therefore no more seen.

776 136

Whole woods are enchanted sometimes, and no one dare enter them. Such a wood I know, far away north, near the hills, which is full of Nats. There was a great deal of game in it, for animals sought shelter there, and no one dared to disturb them; nor the villagers to cut firewood, nor the girls seeking orchids, nor the hunter after his prey, dared to trespass upon that enchanted ground.

'What would happen,' I asked once, 'if anyone went into that wood? Would he be killed, or what?'

And I was told that no one could tell what would happen, only that he would never be seen again alive. 'The Nats would confiscate him,' they said, 'for intruding on their privacy.' But what they would do to him after the confiscation no one seemed to be quite sure. I asked the official who was with me, a fine handsome Burman who had been with us in many fights, whether he would go into the wood with me, but he declined at once. Enemies are one thing, Nats are quite another, and a very much more dreadful thing. You can escape

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776 626 from enemies, as witness my companion, who had been shot at times without number and had only once been hit in the leg, but you cannot escape Nats. Once, he told me, there were two very sacrilegious men, hunters by profession, only more abandoned than even the majority of hunters, and they went into this wood to hunt. 'They didn't care for Nats,' they said. They didn't care for anything at all apparently. 'They were absolutely without reverence, worse than any beast,' said my companion.

So they went into the wood to shoot, and they never came out again. A few days later their bare bones were found, flung out upon the road near the enchanted wood. The Nats did not care to have even the bones of such scoundrels in their wood, and so thrust them out. That was what happened to them, and that was what might happen to us if we went in there. We did not go.

Though the Nats of the forest will not allow even one of their beasts to be slain, the Nats of the rivers are not so exclusive. I do not think fish are ever regarded in quite the same light as animals. It is true that a fervent Buddhist will not kill even a fish, but a fisherman is not quite such a reprobate as a [782] hunter in popular estimation. And the Nats think so, too, for the Nat of a pool will not forbid all fishing. You must give him his share; you must be respectful to him, and not offend him; and then he will fill your nets with gleaming fish, and all will go well with you. If not, of course, you will come to grief; your nets will be torn, and your boat upset; and finally, if obstinate, you will be drowned. A

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great arm will seize you, and you will be pulled under and disappear for ever. 776 626

A Nat is much like a human being; if you treat him well he will treat you well, and conversely. Courtesy is never wasted on men or Nats, at least so a Burman tells me. [782]

The highest Nats live in the mountains. The higher the Nat the higher the mountain; and when you get to a very high peak indeed, like Mainthong Peak in Wuntho, you encounter very powerful Nats. 776 823

They tell a story of Mainthong Peak and the Nats there, how all of a sudden, one day in 1885, strange noises came from the hill. High up on his mighty side was heard the sound of great guns firing slowly and continuously; there was the thunder of falling rocks, cries as of someone bewailing a terrible calamity, and voices calling from the precipices. The people living in their little hamlets about his feet were terrified. Something they knew had happened of most dire import to them, some catastrophe which they were powerless to prevent, which they could not even guess. But when a few weeks later there came even into those remote villages the news of the fall of Mandalay, of the surrender of the king, of the 'great treachery,' they knew that this was what the Nats had been sorrowing over. All the Nats everywhere seem to have been distressed at our arrival, to hate our presence, and to earnestly desire our absence. They are the spirits of the country and of the people, and they cannot abide a foreign domination. [186]

But the greatest place for Nats is the Popa Mountain, which is an extinct volcano standing all

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776 alone about midway between the river and the Shan
823 Mountains. It is thus very conspicuous, having no hills near it to share its majesty; and being in sight from all the old capitals, it is very well known in history and legend. It is covered with dense forest, and the villages close about are few. At the top there is a crater with a broken side, and a stream comes flowing out of this break down the mountain. Probably it was the denseness of its forests, the abundance of water, and its central position, more
[519] than its guardian Nats, that made it for so many years the last retreating-place of the half-robber, half-patriot bands that made life so uneasy for us. But the Nats of Popa Mountains are very famous.

776 When any foreigner was taken into the service
695 of the King of Burma he had to swear an oath of
823 fidelity. He swore upon many things, and among them were included 'all the Nats in Popa.' No Burman would have dared to break an oath sworn in such a serious way as this, and they did not imagine that anyone else would. It was and is a very dangerous thing to offend the Popa Nats; for they are still there in the mountain, and everyone who goes there must do them reverence.

776 A friend of mine, a police officer who was en-
823 gaged in trying to catch the last of the robber chiefs
[782] who hid near Popa, told me that when he went up the mountain shooting, he, too, had to make offerings. Some way up there is a little valley dark with overhanging trees, and a stream flows slowly along it. It is an enchanted valley, and if you look closely you will see that the stream is not as other streams, for it flows uphill. It comes rushing into

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the valley with a great display of foam and froth, and it leaves in a similar way, tearing down the rocks, and behaving like any other boisterous hill rivulet; but in the valley itself it lies under a spell. It is slow and dark, and has a surface like a mirror, and it flows uphill. There is no doubt about it; anyone can see it. When they came here, my friend tells me, they made a halt, and the Burmese hunters with him unpacked his breakfast. He did not want to eat then, he said, but they explained that it was not for him, but for the Nats. All his food was unpacked, cold chicken and tinned meats, and jam and eggs and bread, and it was spread neatly on a cloth under a tree. Then the hunters called upon the Nats to come and take anything they desired, while my friend wondered what he should do if the Nats took all his food and left him with nothing. But no Nats came, although the Burmans called again and again. So they packed up the food, saying that now the Nats would be pleased at the courtesy shown to them, and that my friend would have good sport. Presently they went on, leaving, however, an egg or two and a little salt, in case the Nats might be hungry later, and true enough it was that they did have good luck. At other times, my friend says, when he did not observe this ceremony, he saw nothing to shoot at all, but on this day he did well.

The former history of all Nats is not known. Whether they have had a previous existence in another form, and if so, what, is a secret that they usually keep carefully to themselves, but the history of the Popa Nats is well known. Everyone who

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lives near the great hill can tell you that, for it all happened not so long ago. How long exactly no one can say, but not so long that the details of the story have become at all clouded by the mists of time.

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They were brother and sister, these Popa Nats, and they had lived away up North. The brother was a blacksmith, and he was a very strong man. He was the strongest man in all the country; the blow of his hammer on the anvil made the earth tremble, and his forge was as the mouth of hell. No one was so much feared and so much sought after as he. And as he was strong, so his sister was beautiful beyond all the maidens of the time. Their father and mother were dead, and there was no one but those two, the brother and sister, so they loved each other dearly, and thought of no one else. The brother brought home no wife to his house by the forge. He wanted no one while he had his sister there, and when lovers came wooing to her, singing amorous songs in the amber dusk, she would have nothing to do with them. So they lived there together, he growing stronger and she more beautiful every day, till at last a change came.

The old king died, and a new king came to the throne, and orders were sent about to all the governors of provinces and other officials that the most beautiful maidens were to be sent down to the Golden City to be wives to the great king. So the governor of that country sent for the blacksmith and his sister to his palace, and told them there what orders he had received, and asked the blacksmith to give his sister that she might be sent as

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queen to the king. We are not told what arguments the governor used to gain his point, but only this, that when he failed, he sent the girl in unto his wife, and there she was persuaded to go. There must have been something very tempting, to one who was but a village girl, in the prospect of being even one of the lesser queens, of living in the palace, the centre of the world. So she consented at last, and her brother consented, and the girl was sent down under fitting escort to find favour in the eyes of her king. But the blacksmith refused to go. It was no good the governor saying such a great man as he must come to high honour in the Golden City, it was useless for the girl to beg and pray him to come with her—he always refused. So she sailed away down the great river, and the blacksmith returned to his forge.

As the governor had said, the girl was acceptable in the king's sight, and she was made at last one of the principal queens, and of all she had most power over the king. They say she was most beautiful, that her presence was as soothing as shade after heat, that her form was as graceful as a young tree, and the palms of her hands were like lotus blossoms. She had enemies, of course. Most of the other queens were her enemies, and tried to do her harm. But it was useless telling tales of her to the king, for the king never believed; and she walked so wisely and so well, that she never fell into any snare. But still the plots never ceased.

There was one day when she was sitting alone in the garden pavilion, with the trees making moving shadows all about her, that the king came to her.

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They talked for a time, and the king began to speak to her of her life before she came to the palace, a thing he had never done before. But he seemed to know all about it, nevertheless, and he spoke to her of her brother, and said that he, the king, had heard how no man was so strong as this blacksmith, the brother of the queen. The queen said it was true, and she talked on and on and praised her brother, and babbled of the days of her childhood, when he carried her on his great shoulder, and threw her into the air, catching her again. She was delighted to talk of all these things, and in her pleasure she forgot her discretion, and said that her brother was wise as well as strong, and that all the people loved him. Never was there such a man as he. The king did not seem very pleased with it all, but he said only that the blacksmith was a great man, and that the queen must write to him to come down to the city, that the king might see him of whom there was such great report.

Then the king got up and went away, and the queen began to doubt; and the more she thought the more she feared she had not been acting wisely in talking as she did, for it is not wise to praise anyone to a king. She went away to her own room to consider, and to try if she could hear of any reason why the king should act as he had done, and desire her brother to come to him to the city; and she found out that it was all a plot of her enemies. Herself they had failed to injure, so they were now plotting against her through her brother. They had gone to the king, and filled his ear with

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slanderous reports. They had said that the queen's brother was the strongest man in all the kingdom. 'He was cunning, too,' they said, 'and very popular among all the people; and he was so puffed up with pride, now that his sister was a queen, that there was nothing he did not think he could do.' They represented to the king how dangerous such a man was in a kingdom, that it would be quite easy for him to raise such rebellion as the king could hardly put down, and that he was just the man to do such a thing. Nay, it was indeed proved that he must be disloyally plotting something, or he would have come down with his sister to the city when she came. But now many months had passed, and he never came. Clearly he was not to be trusted. Any other man whose sister was a queen would have come and lived in the palace, and served the king and become a minister, instead of staying up there and pretending to be a blacksmith.

The king's mind had been much disturbed by this, for it seemed to him that it must be in part true; and he went to the queen, as I have said, and his suspicions had not been lulled by what she told him, so he had ordered her to write to her brother to come down to the palace.

The queen was terrified when she saw what a mistake she had made, and how she had fallen into the trap of her enemies; but she hoped that the king would forget, and she determined that she would send no order to her brother to come. But the next day the king came back to the subject, and asked her if she had yet sent the letter, and she said 'No!' The king was very angry at this

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disobedience to his orders, and he asked her how it came that she had not done as he had commanded, and sent a letter to her brother to call him to the palace.

Then the queen fell at the king's feet and told him all her fears that her brother was sent for only to be imprisoned or executed, and she begged and prayed the king to leave him in peace up there in his village. She assured the king that he was loyal and good, and would do no evil.

The king was rather abashed that his design had been discovered, but he was firm in his purpose. He assured the queen that the blacksmith should come to no harm, but rather good; and he ordered the queen to obey him, threatening her that if she refused he would be sure that she was disloyal also, and there would be no alternative but to send and arrest the blacksmith by force, and punish her, the queen, too. Then the queen said that if the king swore to her that her brother should come to no harm, she would write as ordered. *And the king swore.*

So the queen wrote to her brother, and adjured him by his love to her to come down to the Golden City. She said she had dire need of him, and she told him that the king had sworn that no harm should come to him.

The letter was sent off by a king's messenger. In due time the blacksmith arrived, and he was immediately seized and thrown into prison to await his trial.

When the queen saw that she had been deceived, she was in despair. She tried by every way, by

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tears and entreaties and caresses, to move the king, but all without avail. Then she tried by plotting and bribery to gain her brother's release, but it was all in vain. The day for trial came quickly, and the blacksmith was tried, and he was condemned and sentenced to be burnt alive by the river on the following day.

On the evening of the day of trial the queen sent a message to the king to come to her; and when the king came reluctantly, fearing a renewal of entreaties, expecting a woman made of tears and sobs, full of grief, he found instead that the queen had dried her eyes and dressed herself still more beautifully than ever, till she seemed to the king the very pearl among women. And she told the king that he was right, and she was wrong. She said, putting her arms about him and caressing him, that she had discovered that it was true that her brother had been plotting against the king, and therefore his death was necessary. It was terrible, she said, to find that her brother, whom she had always held as a pattern, was no better than a traitor; but it was even so, and her king was the wisest of all kings to find it out.

The king was delighted to find his queen in this mood, and he soothed her and talked to her kindly and sweetly, for he really loved her, though he had given in to bad advice about the brother. And when the king's suspicions were lulled, the queen said to him that she had now but one request to make, and that was that she might have permission to go down with her maids to the river-shore in the early morning, and see herself the execution of her

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traitor brother. The king, who would now have granted her anything—anything she asked, except just that one thing, the life of her brother—gave permission; and then the queen said that she was tired and wished to rest after all the trouble of the last few days, and would the king leave her. So the king left her to herself, and went away to his own chambers.

Very early in the morning, ere the crimson flush upon the mountains had faded in the light of day, a vast crowd was gathered below the city, by the shore of the great river. Very many thousands were there, of many countries and peoples, crowding down to see a man die, to see a traitor burnt to death for his sins, for there is nothing men like so much as to see another man die.

Upon a little headland jutting out into the river the pyre was raised, with brushwood and straw, to burn quickly, and an iron post in the middle to which the man was to be chained. At one side was a place reserved, and presently down from the palace in a long procession came the queen and her train of ladies to the place kept for her. Guards were put all about to prevent the people crowding; and then came the soldiers, and in the midst of them the blacksmith; and amid many cries of 'Traitor, traitor!' and shouts of derision, he was bound to the iron post within the wood and the straw, and the guards fell back.

The queen sat and watched it all, and said never a word. Fire was put to the pyre, and it crept rapidly up in long red tongues with coils of black

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smoke. It went very quickly, for the wood was very dry, and a light breeze came laughing up the river and helped it. The flames played about the man chained there in the midst, and he made never a sign; only he looked steadily across at the purple mountain where his home lay, and it was clear that in a few more moments he would be dead. There was a deep silence everywhere.

Then of a sudden, before anyone knew, before a hand could be held out to hinder her, the queen rose from her seat and ran to the pyre. In a moment she was there and had thrown herself into the flames, and with her arms about her brother's neck she turned and faced the myriad eyes that glared upon them—the queen, in all the glory of her beauty, glittering with gems, and the man with great shackled bare limbs, dressed in a few rags, his muscles already twisted with the agony of the fire. A great cry of horror came from the people, and there was the movement of guards and officers rushing to stop the fire; but it was all of no use. A great flash of red flames came out of the logs, folding these twain like an imperial cloak, a whirl of sparks towered into the air, and when one could see again the woman and her brother were no longer there. They were dead and burnt, and the bodies mingled with the ashes of the fire. She had cost her brother his life, and she went with him into death.

Some days after this a strange report was brought to the palace. By the landing-place near the spot where the fire had been was a great fig-tree. It

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was so near to the landing-place, and was such a magnificent tree, that travellers coming from the boats, or waiting for a boat to arrive, would rest in numbers under its shade. But the report said that something had happened there. To travellers sleeping beneath the tree at night it was stated that two Nats had appeared, very large and very beautiful, a man Nat and a woman Nat, and had frightened them very much indeed. Noises were heard in the tree, voices and cries, and a strange terror came upon those who approached it. Nay, it was even said that men had been struck by unseen hands and severely hurt, and others, it was said, had disappeared. Children who went to play under the tree were never seen again: the Nats took them, and their parents sought for them in vain. So the landing-place was deserted, and a petition was brought to the king, and the king gave orders that the tree should be hewn down. So the tree was cut down, and its trunk was thrown into the river; it floated away out of sight, and nothing happened to the men who cut the tree, though they were deadly afraid.

The tree floated down for days, until at last it stranded near a landing-place that led to a large town, where the governor of these parts lived; and at this landing-place the portents that had frightened the people at the great city reappeared and terrified the travellers here too, and they petitioned the governor.

The governor sought out a great monk, a very holy man learned in these matters, and sent him to inquire, and the monk came down to the tree and

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spoke. He said that if any Nats lived in the tree, they should speak to him and tell him what they wanted. 'It is not fit,' he said, 'for great Nats to terrify the poor villagers at the landing-place. Let the Nats speak and say what they require. All that they want shall be given.' And the Nats spake and said that they wanted a place to live in where they could be at peace, and the monk answered for the governor that all his land was at their disposal. 'Let the Nats choose,' he said; 'all the country is before them.' So the Nats chose, and said that they would have Popa Mountain, and the monk agreed. 776 539

The Nats then left the tree and went away, far away inland, to the great Popa Mountain, and took up their abode there, and all the people there feared and reverenced them, and even made to their honour two statues with golden heads and set them up on the mountain.

This is the story of the Popa Nats, the greatest Nats of all the country of Burma, the guardian spirits of the mysterious mountain. The golden heads of the statues are now in one of our treasuries, put there for safe custody during the troubles, though it is doubtful if even then anyone would have dared to steal them, so greatly are the Nats feared. And the hunters and the travellers there must offer to the Nats little offerings, if they would be safe in these forests, and even the young man must obtain permission from the Nats before he marry. [782]

I think these stories that I have told, stories selected from very many that I have heard, will show what sort of spirits these are that the Burmese 776

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776 have peopled their trees and rivers with; will show what sort of religion it is that underlies, without influencing, the creed of the Buddha that they follow. It is of the very poetry of superstition, free from brutality, from baseness, from anything repulsive, springing, as I have said, from their innate sympathy with Nature and recognition of the life that works in all things. It always seems to me that beliefs such as these are a great key to the nature of a people, are, apart from all interest in their beauty, and in their akinness to other beliefs, of great value in trying to understand the character of a nation.

778 181 For to beings such as Nats and fairies the people who believe in them will attribute such qualities as are predominant in themselves, as they consider admirable; and, indeed, all supernatural beings are but the magnified shadows of man cast by the light of his imagination upon the mists of his ignorance.

Therefore, when you find that a people make their spirits beautiful and fair, calm and even-tempered, loving peace and the beauty of the trees and rivers, shrinkingly averse from loud words, from noises, and from the taking of life, it is because the people themselves think that these are great qualities. If no stress be laid upon their courage, their activity, their performance of great deeds, it is because the people who imagine them care not for such things. There is no truer guide, I am sure, to the heart of a young people than their superstitions; these they make entirely for themselves, apart from their religion, which is, to a certain extent, made for them. That is why I have written this chapter on Nats: not

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because I think it affects Buddhism very much one way or another, but because it seems to me to reveal the people themselves, because it helps us to understand them better, to see more with their eyes, to be in unison with their ideas—because it is a great key to the soul of the people.

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cloth, small enough to keep mosquitos out. The other kind was made of plain cloth to keep out the smallest insects. The nets are rectangular for a single bed, square for a double. They are suspended over the bed on a wooden framework and tucked under the mattress. Pathus: three were used by the family and two kept in reserve. Each lasted 4 or 5 years. The reserve nets cost Rs. 60/- each, the others Rs. 40/- or 45/- each. Camp: one old one was brought from Pathus, this is used by U Myaing and his wife. The rest of the family have none. Two are desired. 513 [435]

TA-SHET-SHE, broom: The hand broom is used to brush out dust and dirt from the floor of the house. It is about 2 feet long, 2 inches in diameter and consists of bent over bunches of stiff reeds bound at the top by a more flexible reed strip. The one used in camp cost 12 annas in Rangoon. 356 415

Burmese Concepts about the Home.

The following Burmese ideas about the home were secured mainly from Ko Maung Than, my research assistant. 342 183

The Burmese regard the KIN-YAR (home place) with great love, and as the most essential feature of life. The head of a family will frequently admonish: "My young ones let us remain with our nest intact and our eggs uncrushed", this is also a common prayer. The ideal is to preserve the family home with necessary repairs in its original form. Wooden (teak) houses are preferred to bamboo. The husband and wife are partners in the ownership of the home which they start at marriage. Indeed, the word for "marriage" KIN-DAUNG-PYU (House-separately-build) emphasizes the importance of building a home upon starting a family. In villages the mother and children spend almost all of their time in and around the home. Since the Burmese are especially sedentary, short journeys being unusual and infrequent events, the house is the spot where he lives and dies. It is furthermore his "castle" and place of security within which he is "ruler". [592] [591] [484]

Each house is under the direct protection of MIN MAHA-GIRI one of the 37 major nats of Burma. He controls the fortunes of the family and in return is revered. A coconut, the symbol of MIN- 342 776 782

342 MAHA-GIRI, is found in nearly every house (a junior member of a
●776 family Head revers only the symbol of the senior member of a family).
782 A dried coconut with attachment stems is placed in a basket, the top wrapped with a KAUNG-BONG (Head-wrap) of red and white cloth streamers and the basket hung on a nail to the primary corner post of the house. It must be adjusted correctly, and periodically sprinkled with sandlewood water. An interesting story explains the use of the coconut symbol.

773 MAUNG TIN DE, a blacksmith of great powers had two beautiful sisters who he feared would be coveted by the king of the city in which they lived. He asked them for this reason to remain in seclusion. One day he returned from work to find them gone. He became very angry and pounded his anvil till the city shook and the people suffered from earache. For a while he eluded persuit but was finally caught and burned to death. Afterwards he became a powerful nat called MIN MAHA-GIRI with powers of protecting households. Since the coconut signifies coolness and thirst-quenching it came to be offered to the nat who had died from fire.

MIN MAHA-GIRI is consulted if sickness or other misfortunes visit the family. At such times the head of the family checks the coconut offering to make sure it is in good condition. If not this is remedied for much misfortune could be the result of MIN MAHA-GIRI's displeasure at being neglected. When a journey is contemplated he is also appealed to for protection. A lesser nat YON GIN O is in charge of the kitchen and more specifically the hearth. Ko Maung Than knew little of this
[563] nat since it is of minor importance or not considered in Mon households.

342 The home is very important as a place for socio-religious functions
[788] many ceremonies involving groups of people are observed or in part take place in the house (see below in socio-religious section).
[574] Social visiting is also common and much enjoyed.
Hospitality, related to but differentiated from charity, gains merit for the host. There is a saying that visitors "come only when the home is pleasant."

512 The home, of course, performs a major "function" as a sleeping
805 place, and there are many beleifs and observances in connection with
513 sleep. The evening hours are divided into LU NYAT THET SEIK (children

A village of 2000 persons may have 10 or more doctors. The more successful "move up" to the towns and cities. Most of the medicines are herbs and chemicals including roots, leaves, fruits, berries, salt, and sulphur. Many of the herbs are imported from India. Parts of animals such as crocodile skin, pig and horse droppings are used less frequently. The doctor must be a moral man of good character or the medicine will not be effective. He uses the right index finger "medical finger" to stir the concoctions. The family of the sick person may either prepare the medicine themselves from the doctor's directions or take his own special preparations. Many cures are effected by regulating diet, and in most cases this plays an important part in the cure. The knowledge which the SAY-SAYA must command is extensive including not only the medical wisdom of the ages but also the peculiarities of the patient and above all the relationship of the seasons (weather conditions) to the case.

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If one doctor fails to cure, another may be called in after dismissing the first. A keen feeling of rivalry exists between the various doctors and there are no cooperative consultations. Although each prides himself on a specialty the secrets of which he jealously guards he feels qualified also to handle any other medical problems. "If two are of the same thoughts, they are enemies" emphasizes the general attitude of competition seen in many other phases of Burmese life. The Burmese doctors are invariably applied to for help first. If this does not succeed modern midicinal facilities are sought. If modern medicine fails it is greatly derided. Maung Maung Than's aunt was ill for a long time and, after consulting many Burmese specialists she was taken to the Rangoon Mission Hospital where her case was diagnosed as advanced breast cancer beyond cure. His uncle, though not a medical man, is recognized as a last resort specialist who when the patient is beyond any other help administers lime juice (ordinarily fatal where fever is involved) in a "do or die" treatment. He is warned off when he appears at a sick house for the risk often does not pay off.

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Illness is frequently caused by supernatural spirits acting either independently or as agents for "black magic" specialists.

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The Buddhas are, of course, above earthly contacts and their helpers the THAMA DEWA (heavenly-nats) function only as judges in the after-world - although they may counsel the living, as a "conscience", on right living. The MESA-DAWA (earth-nats) on the other hand are major force. f this world. There are 37 major nats each with a characteristic appearance (in human form) and personality. Each has an origin legend involving a story of a human of extraordinary characteristics who met death in an unusual fashion and remained on earth to complicate men's affairs. Most have properties of guardian spirits who if their needs are attended to will protect the interests of a community or special group mainly by refraining from doing harm.

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Nats' powers for good include protecting the village from dacoit attacks but does not extend to modern warfare. When the Japanese armies were slicing up through Tenasserim in 1941, the elders of Maung Maung Than's village prayed for nat protection against the invaders. The nats replied "Dear villagers we ourselves are wearing raised longyis in this crisis (ready to run)." This is a Rangoon town joke told among the sophisticated collegiates at the University. Not so well defined, but still sensed is a growing distrust of the powers of nats to combat modern evils. 776 178 [195]

The nats can best be visualized as supernatural despots each with his province (the home, village, sea, babies) and each exacting tribute of periodic or constant attention in the form of flowers or food, red and white cloth strips, and an altar which may have the image of the nat carved in wood (or moulded in modern plasticene). Banyan trees with their multiple, snake-like trunks, are the most common places of abode. When disaster in the form of sickness or other ill fortune strikes, the nats are appeased with offerings immediately. The SAY SAYA will frequently check with the family of his patient to make sure this has been done. In Rangoon and elsewhere, business men whose fortunes have been good are the main supporters of the nat festivals which are given for the entertainment of all the nats once a year in October, for a seven day period. NAT KADAW (nat-wives) are the mediums who contact the nats by becoming possessed by them at this festival and other special occasions (for a single nat) throughout the year. These are married women or more rarely homosexuals who dance, answer questions and give opinions when possessed. 776 782 [759] [796] 791

Punishment for offense against the nats is first shown by accidents or sudden illnesses like paralysis meted out to the offender. If the offender continues the village as a whole will gradually be afflicted. For example, when a drunkard offends the nats with blasphemous language evil falls on the entire village. Villagers led by the elders and a prominent NAT-KADAW go in a body to the major banyan tree shrine to have an understanding with the offended nats. Offerings are given and attention of the nats called to the woes of 776 753 688 672 782

776 753 688 672 782 [463]

of the villagers. The head-nat, the guardian of the village, replies with accusations that "the whole village has forgotten me", boasts of his powers to punish and is finally molified. In Rangoon there are professional nat-givers who parade the streets with a cart bearing the image of "the conqueror of the salty waters" (special nat of entrepreneurs). For a few annas he will make offerings to the nat and relcive the busy townspeople of this task.

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The arrangement is a mutual one where the people enjoy freedom from oppressions in return for certain concessions. This phenomenon closely parallels the traditional relationship between the rulers and the ruled in Burma. In a real sense the nat concept serves the function of allowing the Burmese a sense of control over catastrophic forces which do not fall into any other system (as secular, political, personal relationships, cosmology.). It is this system of controls that the western scientific system most immediately competes with. The administrative and entrepreneur class of Burmese especially in Rangoon say they "Do not believe" in nats. But it is usual for most individuals no matter what their western background to apply to nats in cases of ill fortune "just in case".

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THAYEH (Ghosts) generally are a group of supernatural spirits closely related to nats in their origins but with a different set of properties. These are "recently" deceased individuals whose crimes and sins while on earth or manner of death condemn them to an eternity of wandering and mischief-making. Actually, each person becomes a ghost at death but is ordinarily released from earth at the moment of the interment of the corpse for judgement in heaven. Those who die of "raw death" become ghosts. These include: death in childbirth, by wild animals (especially tigers), instant deaths by dahs as in warfare, or by hanging. In Maung Maung Than's village a prominent ghost is U Ma Gyi (Mr. Blacky) a very sinful fellow who lived 50 or 60 years ago in the village. His complexion is quite black and horribly distorted. He inhabits a banyan tree and specialises in causing infant illness. Offerings of rice at the tree pacifies him. Ghosts are forces for evil only - evil of the more irritating and less important kind.

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Older people wear red and white coloured strings about their necks as a protection against ghost evils. It is very common to wear a LET-PWET

(arm-tie) charm consisting of a small metal tube bound about the upper 751
arm or neck and containing an inscription written by a pongyi on silver
or aluminum foil. Once a year, after new years (in March), a PAYA- 775
YUDA (prayer-recite) ceremony is held. At this time pongyis recite 792
the precepts of Buddha for the benefit of the ghosts - who "become 755
hot and run away". Younger people, especially children, are suscepti-
ble to being possessed by ghosts. At this time they "throw fits" and
are uncontrolable. Under the supervision of a pongyi the ghost is
cast out by means of threats and beatings administered to the person
of the possessed one. Beatings are severe and continuous often
lasting an hour, until the ghost says he is "afraid" and departs.
The possessed one, thus cured, does not later complain of rough treat-
ment since this is borne by the invading ghost. Perhaps this relates
to the less formulated, "nameless horrors" of unseen and unaccountable
forces that cause otherwise unexplainable events - which concept per-
vades much of western thought to this day.

A major difference between nats and ghosts is that ghosts cause 775
only harm while nats are ordinarily beneficial in the manner described 776
above. Ghosts may also be controlled for evil purposes against 789
individuals in a variety of black magic. The specialists in black 791
magic are PAH-YOH-GA-SAYA (influence-masters) of black magic or "lower
root", (hell-evil), who administer the evil influence. - "upper root" (heaven) masters combat the "lower root evil"
Witches also
have personal magic powers that allow them to cause harm to an indivi-
dual by introducing foreign matter such as lumps of meat, hair balls,
into the body of the victim. It is never known for sure who the witches
are but old women of peculiar habits, and especially of the fishermen's [463]
group, are suspected. Such individuals are considered generally
malivalent and special precautions are needed to avoid offending them.
The influence masters, however, are well known and receive gift-fees
for performing services either of causing or controlling black magic
influences. Both groups, but especially the influence masters of the
lower root control ghosts for their purposes.

A major means of securing control of a ghost or "ghost-rearing" 775
is to get the finger bone of a recently deceased person who died a 789
"raw death". Incantations said over the bone insures the obedience of

don't usually talk about these things with them. We invite the phongyis and worship them. We don't talk much with them. They preach the law and the 5 SILAS to us. 181 203

16. Q. Are there any persons of influence in camp who give advise on everyday living? 621

A. Yes, the person of influence is the schoolmaster, U Khant. But he only teaches the children and looks to the general cleanliness of the camp. Another person is the man who teaches the English. But they do not lay down what is right and what is wrong.

Activities of the Family in Relationship
to the Supernatural.

The main forces which U Myaing and his family are concerned with are those of the Nats and those of Buddhism. Speaking historically, the Nats seem to represent a remnant of an early form of animism in which the Nats were tree or nature spirits. It is interesting to note the manner in which U Myaing blends the two religious systems. The Nats control earthly happenings, and the Buddhist structure the eternal. We are concerned with identifying some of the major practices, but primarily with the differentiation between religious practices in Pantanaw and in the refugee camp. 771 [178]

Nats.

The problem of the Nats came up in our study by the appearance of a bamboo pole split so as to form a small basket at one end. This object, called a KYAUNG ZAUNG rested on the roof of the camp hut next to U Myaing's. An interview in which Daw Aw Zar (D.A.Z.) and U Myaing (U.M.) discussed Nats, is given in its entirety below because it reveals the rather vague feelings of "superstition" held of the Nats on the one hand and their potency on the other. 776 782

Q. No. 25 (photograph) is a split bamboo pole with a basket at the top. What is this called and what is it used for?

A. (D.A.Z.) KYAUNG ZAUNG. The thing he took from the roof and photographed? It is called a KYAUNG ZAUNG.
(U.M.) It is called KYAUNG ZAUNG.

Q. How do you use it ?

A. (D.A.Z.) We offer to U SHIN GYI and others. Offerings to Nats. Didn't you hear that big man speak? (To U Myaing).

Q. Who made this object? Who makes them?

A. (D.A.Z.) The people who give the offerings of course.

Q. Do you have to make these when you give offerings?

A. If we give offerings we make them.

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Q. Don't you buy them?

A. We don't have to buy the bamboo and we know how to make it ourselves.

Q. (D.A.Z) Everyone around can come and make use of it when one has been made.

Q. Is there one for each household or for four or five households?

A. Whoever likes to give offerings comes and takes it and makes use of it.

63. Q. What offerings are put in these split bamboos?

A. (U.M. in aside) Include everything.
(D.A.Z.) You tell them. I don't know how to.

A. (U.M.) KAUKHYIN (Black rice) after it is prepared, coconuts, jaggery, Burmese tea leaves, betel quids.... these are offered to the nats.
(D.A.Z.) Fire sticks. Fire.
(U.M.) Fire is lighted and placed with the offerings.

Q. Are these candles or oil lamps?

A. It doesn't matter which. Either will do.

Q. Are the candles lit when they are put in the basket?

A. (U.M.) Yes, they are lit.

Q. How often are the offerings made?

A. It is not like this. We give offerings when we want to. If we feel like it we might give offerings today - or we may not do so for a whole year.

Q. Can you stay without doing so?
A. We can stay.

Q. It is not compulsory?
A. (U.M.) NO. It is not. You give offerings with a purpose - to ward off danger.

64. Q. Are the offerings given in hard times - in order to get better?

A. (U.M.) It is not like this either.
(D.A.Z.) It is because of worship. When someone is slightly unwell or indisposed offerings are made.

Q. And do they then get better?

A. (D.A.Z.) Yes. So it is said. People say that they regain health.
(U.M.) They are only practicing what the elders of the past have prescribed. You can stay without giving any offering.

65. Q. Do the Nats have names? If so what are some of the names?

A. (D.A.Z.) U SHIN GYI.

Q. Are there others besides U SHIN GYI?

A. (U.M.) There are 37 nats.

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Q. This is only for U SHIN GYI? (the bamboo basket)
A. Yes. A separate offering for U SHIN GYI.
Q. You don't offer to the 37 Nats?
A. (U.M.) No, we don't.

66. Q. Is this one Nat just for fishermen or is it just one of Nats?
A. (D.A.Z.) There is no connection with fishing.
Q. (U.M.) No connection.
(D.A.Z) The whole Burmese race worships him.

67. Q. Ask U Myaing or his mother to tell me a little bit of the Nats - some of the names of the Nats, what they are like, and so forth, and why he offers only to one Nat.
A. (U.M.) We can't. Since the eldest of the past did it, we follow them in this practice, We don't know much.
Q. Why is it that you give offerings to U SHIN GYI and not to the others?
A. We are not concerned with the other Nats, and that is why we don't give offerings to them.
Q. And are you concerned with U SHIN GYI?
A. U SHIN GYI also does not concern us. But since many.....
Q. Is it that the elders in the past did not give offerings to the other Nats?
A. (D.A.Z.) Those who wanted to give offerings did so.
(U.M.) There were all kinds. People who gave offerings did so. We give only to U SHIN GYI, we also do it.
Q. Other people of the past worshipped other Nats, didn't they?
A. (U.M.) Yes. But we do not know the source, neither have we asked about them. U SHIN GYI was shown at PWES in ZAT stories. A human being was called away alive by the Nats.
(D.A.Z.) In Rangoon haven't you seen dances for the other Nats?
Q. Please tell us something more about the Nats.
A. (U.M. & D.A.Z.) We can't tell much about U SHIN GYI either we know only how to give offerings.
Q. Tell us all you know about U SHIN GYI.
A. (D.A.Z.) We give offerings. We prepare KAUKHYIN and offer it. It keeps away danger.
Q. We are not asking about the offering but about U SHIN GYI.
A. We don't know about U SHIN GYI.
Q. How does U SHIN GYI look like? Have you ever seen him?
A. (U.M.) No, I have never seen him.

68. Q. Does U Myaing believe that the Nats control things on earth or are there some spirits with Buddhism that control things. Let me restate that question. The merit that U Myaing gets is for the future life. Is that correct?
A. (U.M. & D.A.Z.) It is for the future life of course.
Q. (D.A.Z.) Merit is for the future life.
(U.M.) The merit accumulated now cannot be seen.....
meritorious acts are done so that in the next existence..
(D.A.Z.) so that we might have a long life like mine...
we fast and pray. It is like this: I have lived to this age because in the past existence I prayed at pagodas, observed the 5 precepts and the 8 precepts.

69. Q. The Nats are apparently not very important then, and it is the merit that is gained in former existences that takes care of the present life?
A. (U.M.) Not important. The good in this life is because of the meritorious acts in the previous existence.
Q. And the Nats are not important in this life?
A. (D.A.Z.) No.
(U.M.) The Nats only give bad results. It is because they may work evil that offerings are made to them. We can't see them either.

70. (D.A.Z.) They don't bring any good. You can only get food if you have done good in the previous existence, in which case you will be wealthy and live long. 776 782

70. Q. What kind of misfortune do the Nats bring; he mentioned sickness - what are some of the others?
A. According to what many people say, they can cause ill health and even death - that's what they say.
Q. Do they mean to say that people are killed by the Nats?
A. (D.A.Z. & U.M.) Yes. We say that such a person has died because the Nats have caught him. That's what we mean when we say that the Nats work evil.
(U.M.) To die of drowning - that is because the Nats have been wronged; that is what most people say.
(D.A.Z.) We don't know these things very well.

71. Q. What about when the fishing is not good - the fish do not come upstream. Do the Nats have anything to do with that?
A. (U.M.) Many people say so - that the fish are said to be "lifted" or kept upstream by the Nats. We see nothing, but many people say that it is so. Acting on such talk we have to go to the Nats at the INS and give offerings of liquor, fowl curry and duck curry. According to IN custom we have to do it that way; we have to hang coconuts (on the offering place) and this is to appease the Nats who are holding up the fish, so that the fish might come downstream. When this happens, people become confirmed in their belief; when the fish don't come downstream they say, "Oh these are all lies about the Nats." They speak in this fashion.

The following information, which duplicates in part that given above, was secured at a later time.

"We give offerings only to U SHIN GYI and we do so twice a year, in the months of Waso and Thadingyut. These offerings are to keep us from harm. We do not worship other Nats because we have no family tradition of having done so. Of course, we do not have a family tradition of worshipping U SHIN GYI either, but then the whole Burmese nation worships him.

"In IN work we also give offerings to an Indian Nat who is known as KWIN BAING of Nat-Mauk IN. We give him offerings of roast chicken and liquor, black rice or KAUKHNYIN, bunches of bananas, coconuts, money, Htamains and GAUNG BAUNGS. These offerings are made only at IN time. No one bothers at other times.

"Some people even get possessed by the Nats, and then they say things like: 'The fish do not come downstream to the INS because I am preventing them. I am doing this because you do not worship me, etc.' When the people hasten to propitiate the Nat, the fish either come down to the INS or they do not. If through a coincidence the fish do come down, people come to believe in the Nat. I do not believe in them much. What I do, I do because those in the past have always done so.

"They have no U SHIN GYI ceremonies here comparable to those we had in Pantanaw. Here they give offerings to them only in their own homes. In Pathwe, the whole village got together for the ceremony. In the month of Pyatho when the river begins to subside we start to take collections in the village. We collect only on our side of Pathwe village, which is built on the three banks at a confluence of two streams. Our side of the village contains about 250 houses, and each house- 776 796

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hold contributes as much as it wants to from one anna to eight annas. If more money is needed, people who have money contribute more. These offerings are given so as to keep danger away. It is not for merit. We don't know about that. One thing is certain; epidemics like plague and cholera never visited our village, and we have not had a single case of dacoity in our village in my whole lifetime.

"The headman makes the necessary arrangements, buys the black rice, coconuts, jaggery, Burmese tea leaves, candles, bananas, and places them on the special place prepared for them.

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"We have not seen any person here in Rangoon being possessed by spirits, but we did have acquaintances in Pantanaw who were possessed, he loses consciousness of himself as a human being. He begins to tremble, and the Nat begins to speak through his mouth. I don't believe in the other Nats, but I do believe in U SHIN GYI because of the testimony of my own eyes. In the districts we place offerings to U SHIN GYI on a small bamboo framework made of four little bamboos each with a diameter about the size of your fountain pen. This framework is held together with pith of the nat fibre plant (MNEE). Sometimes sceptical people take a hand when the framework is being put up, and tie the MNEE very lightly, so as to break very easily. As a result the TAUNG high framework is so flimsy that it would collapse even if a bird were to jump on it. But the strange thing is that when a person becomes possessed and leaps onto the altar and dances about - nothing happens. In this condition, a person may perform on the harp (SAUNG) even though in his ordinary waking life he does not know how to play it. He also dances on glass tumblers. This took place before the whole of our family, together with about a hundred other spectators. Ko Ba THin's son, Htun Ngwe, who is of the same build as myself, leaped onto the bamboo framework and began eating the food laid out on it. On that occasion we had
[562] been expecting Ma Kyin Yone to be possessed, but she did not appear because her husband would not allow her to come. We had invited her to come because she had been possessed before. In our village these two were the only people who were possessed. The man was possessed once, and the woman about six times. On these occasions the whole village turns out to watch.

"The altar is built on the evening previous to the ceremony. It is made of two levels, and is about 4 TAUNG square and one TAUNG high, and is used to hold 37 plates, each holding plantains, black rice, coconuts, jaggery, LAPHET (Burmese pickled tea), etc. The elder in charge then prays to the 37 Nats including U SHIN GYI for help. This ceremony has nothing to do with the phongyis, and the village phongyi is not invited. The two spheres are entirely different. The phongyi does not worship the nats. The systems of belief are entirely different. We worship both. The spirit does not appear at every ceremony - only when there is someone to possess. We had relied on Khin Yone but she did not appear and Htun Ngwe was possessed instead.

"When the nat spoke through Htun Ngwe we asked him about himself and his past life, but he refused to say anything, saying that it made him sad to think back on it.(the possessing nat's past). When the person recovered and we questioned him, he could not remember anything of all that had occured while he was in the trance. In the whole district there are only four or five people who have been ever possessed, and so the majority of people in the district have not witnessed a single case of possession of Nats.

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"U SHIN GYI avoids eating flesh, does not drink liquor, and even when eating betel does not put tabacco (ASE) in his mouth. Out of all the food that is offered to him, the nat partakes only of a little of the black rice, the remainder being shared by the members of the village. Enough food is prepared to feed the whole village, and a crier is sent through the village to announce a general invitation to everyone. When food has been

set aside for the 37 plates, the people are served. 776●
"The Nat ceremony at the Nat-hauk IN is for KAIN 796
BAING, the Indian Nat. He is given offerings of chicken, liquor, Htameins, etc. This Nat lives in a tree and he has made this known by possessing someone and speaking through him. After the food is offered to this Nat, the people who gave the offering eat it all up, drink all the liquor and present the Htameins to the aged and elderly. The gold leaf is stuck onto the trunk of the Nat tree, and the black rice is thrown away.

"The person who works his IN for himself alone has to provide for his own offerings. If the IN undertaking is a cooperative one the various members get together to give offerings to the IN nat."

In holding a ceremony for U SHIN GYI there are some items offered which are only just sufficient for his consumption, and for a few other people. Some items of food, however, are prepared in sufficient quantity to feed the whole village.

The items used in the yearly offering to the IN nat KAIN BAING include:- One chicken, one bottle of liquor, jaggery, Rs. 2/8 worth of KAUKHWYIN or black rice and about four condensed milk tins of rice. No Htameins. The nat who likes Htameins is the HSE-DAW-SHIN nat to whom King Anawratha himself is believed to have given offerings.

Items used in a single ceremony for U Shin Gyi include:- Three [173]
condensed milk tins of black rice or KAUKHWYIN @ Rs. 8/-, ten coconuts @ Rs. 1/- each, 50 ticals of LAPHET or Burmese pickled tea @ Rs. 6/- per viss (100 ticals), about 4 or 6 annas worth of betel quid, about three viss of jaggery, costing Rs. 5/-, 8 packets of 10 candles @ 2 annas per packet and flowers just sufficient to place on the altar. Rs. 2/- worth of flowers are bought @ one anna per bundle. The flowers are mainly SEIN CHE (diamond decorated). Some flowers need not be purchased, but can be easily gathered from the trees. THA BYAY (pleasant country) flowers and coconut kernels are also placed on the altar. These kernels are obtained free of charge from the coconut trees.

Buddhism

The practices of Buddhism are both a religious duty and a social 779
occasion for the family. The difficulty of separating the everyday "secular" activities from the supernatural will be especially apparent in the passages below.

782 the well being of his family, for riches and the absence of privation and penury. He desires Nirvana. He prays that all the creatures inhabiting the 36 worlds may be infused with love for each other.
[775] "Even if I change existence, may I be born into a better existence. It would not be a better existence if I were to become a cat or some other animal."

782 Daw Aw Zar prays that she may meet with good people and not
•776 meet up with enemies; that she may be enabled to meet the high-minded and avoid wicked people. Ma Aye Myaing's prayers are about the same as Daw Aw Zar, but she adds that she may be able to give charities liberally in this and successive existences.

In Pantanaw U Myaing prayed for the same things that he prays for now in camp. There he took life and had to expiate the demerit acquired from taking the lives of fish, with the merit accumulated through charities and other meritorious acts. He took some consolation in the fact that he did not take part personally in the killing itself but only gave directions, and even when, in those years in which he had to buy live fish from the IN workers, the fish poured into his boat died of their own accord and so no blame could be attached to him. He did not beat them to death. He believes that although fishermen have a bad reputation as people who take lives, that does not mean that the one necessarily implies the other. However, he concedes that he may be blamed for directing the killing to take place. He was not sure, and so he goes ahead with his charities.

Observations of Aspects of Life in Rangoon.

369 In Pathee they had pigs killed occasionally for pork but it did
776 not greatly disturb him. The mass slaughter of pigs in Rangoon appalled him as being a very gruesome affair. Fifty to sixty animals were lined up in the slaughter house on the occasion he witnessed such a killing. The slaughterers were Chinese and they took the squealing pigs, despatched them and handed them over to others who dip them in boiling water to clean off the hair, and this happened even if the pigs were not quite dead as yet. U Myaing thinks they must be getting a lot of demerit.

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

However, the Burmese equivalent of the English interlude came into being all the same. It developed out of the equivalent of the English miracle play, but indirectly. The chance of developing the drama was seized by professional actors. To break away from the tradition and the conservatism, persons outside the pale of 'good' society were needed. Spirit dancers were such persons. They worshipped the *nats*[1] and most people looked upon them with fear as being in touch with sinister and unnatural forces. They were outside the religion, and their drunken dances—drunken from wine and ecstacy—were outside the popular conception of moral behaviour. Therefore the new professional actors were drawn from the ranks of the spirit mediums. However, those who took to the new profession were malcontents and failures in their original profession. The increase in the number of the spirit dancers had caused the mediums to form themselves into a fraternity, the entry to which was closely guarded. The economic attractions of spirit dancing tempted people who had no faith in the spirits to become mediums. These factors caused discontent and disunion among the mediums, and within and without the fraternity pseudo-mediums came into being. The advance of education had robbed the *nats* of many worshippers, but most people continued to patronize spirit dancing for mere love of music and dancing. The result was the rise of a class of professional entertainers who danced and sang and played on musical instruments. The new dancers pretended to be mediums and semi-mediums, but their dancing was unconnected with any spirit feast. The rise of this professional dancing was doubtless gradual and must have preceded the *Nibhatkhin*. As early as about the year 1400, two princes and their attendants, when turned out of their palace, earned their living as wandering minstrels and professional dancers, pretending to be spirit worshippers.[2] Because of the very fact that the new dancers were malcontents and failures in their original

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[1] The objects of the spirit worship are the thirty-seven *nats*, all of whom are more or less of evil character; but there are in addition to these many good *nats* who have little to do with human affairs. [176]

[2] One prince became King Minkaung (1401–22), the other, his brother, helping him to gain the throne. An attendant became King Mohnyinthadot (1427–40), and the others ministers (G. E. Harvey, op. cit., p. 96). [175]

The new dancers were mostly men. Men mediums were secondary to women mediums, and perhaps that was one of the reasons for the discontent among the mediums, and also the reason why the men took to wandering all over the country as dancers. [462]

Zi: Htin Aung · B-5 (ca. 1950) 1957 AP1 Burma
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178 witnessed Burmese plays.[1] Ridgeway approves of that theory. He
536 maintains that the tree is symbolic of the worship of the *nats*. In an
114 appendix to the book he quotes a letter from a resident in Burma (which arrived too late to be discussed in the book itself), describing some sort of a *nat* ritual where a spirit was supposed to be dwelling in a
[176] tree. However, *nats* are supposed to dwell, not only in trees, but also
[176] in houses, mountains, streams, lakes, on Mount Mayyu, in fact everywhere, and it is extremely unlikely that the tree should have been chosen specially to represent the abode of the *nat*. In all the ritual connected with the worship of the thirty-seven *nats*, the use of a tree does not occur except in the case of the *nat*, U-Yin-Gyi. When offerings are made to him, a wooden representation of a forked branch of a tree is used. But that symbol is used only when that particular spirit alone is being worshipped, i.e. when all the *nats* are being worshipped *en bloc* the symbol is not used. U-Yin-Gyi has no special connexion with the stage, and he is essentially connected with Lower Burma; and Upper Burma, not Lower, was the home of Burmese drama. And what Colonel Yule took to be a vague answer was the true answer. What he saw was an interlude and not a developed play, and, as has been stated, the scene of the interlude was almost always the forest, for it needed nothing except a tree to indicate the scene. Therefore, the tree which the ambassador saw was a piece of stage scenery and nothing more.

536* Though Ridgeway's theory that the drama had its origins in the
195 worship of the *nats*, therefore, is not founded on fact, his contention that the Burmese professional actors are the lineal descendants of the mediums who impersonated the spirits of the dead is not wrong. But the fact that the actors are the descendants of such persons should not mislead us into thinking the drama to be a descendant of spirit worship. There is a great danger of being thus misled if one knows the various stage conventions without knowing the real history of the drama. And had Ridgeway been acquainted with these conventions, which (strangely enough) were not known to him and his informants, he might have been strengthened in his view. The most important of the stage conventions is the *nat* chorus which often acts as a 'curtain-raiser' to the actual play. The chorus composed of females comes out and sings and dances to various *nat*

[1] H. Yule, *A Narrative of the Mission sent by the Governor-General of India to the Court of Ava in 1855*.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
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644 on such occa-
sions the king appeared in the royal insignia, which otherwise only figure as
[643] emblems of state. The insignia in the illustration are surmounted by a queen's
crown (*sîbôn*). The shape of a king's crown is seen in Nos. 151 and 425. There
[346] being but a single palace and thousands of *kyaungs* and temples, the palace
[344] appears to resemble a *kyaung*. But the converse is the fact; the *kyaung* it
is which in virtue of its religious character shares the
643 distinction of the palace. The most recent style adopted
by the Burman sovereigns was *Shin-Bayin*—Lord of
Lords. A chief title was *Sinbyû Shin*—Lord of the
White Elephant. Every subject prostrated himself in
the presence of the king, with face averted from the
effulgence of the royal countenance. An official called
thandawzin used to repeat aloud the words uttered by
the king. The ensign betokening the presence of the
[776] king and of the chief queen (*mîbayâ*) is the *tîbyû* (p. 101).
[532] Two to eight were borne according to the solemnity of the
occasion. The chief queens were frequently half-sisters
[588] of the kings. For all the royal acts, the lying, rising,
eating, speaking, there are euphemisms proper to the
occasion; one of the most current of these is *shwepawdaw*
—the golden foot. At his demise the sovereign is said
to migrate to the abode of *nats* or delectable land; the
staff of his *tîbyû* was broken. The paraphernalia of the
king's service were elaborate; but in his attitude to
the *yahán* he comported himself as an ordinary man.
The Royal White Elephant was maintained in great
pomp; it ate and drank out of golden vessels and had
[231] a retinue for its service. An elephant really white—
probably an albino—was captured in 1805, but was
pampered so that it died. A second was captured in
1806 which lived for fifty years. Other "white ele-
phants" kept for state have enjoyed their reputation
in virtue of possessing certain assumed criteria of the
"white" variety, as to the number of the toes, direction
of the tail-tuft and other distinctions, without regard to the colour of the skin.
644 Change of capital at the accession of a new sovereign was characteristic of
Burman empire, even when there was no change of dynasty or other political
633 convulsion. Events of the latter kind were no doubt the original reasons of
such changes. Next to Pagán, Sagáing, on the right bank of the Irawadi,
facing the flat and now desolate site of Ava, is the most impressive of the

381. CARVED FIGURE OF WAT.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
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396. TEMPLES RAISED BY A MODERN KING (THE KUTHODAW p. 122).

historic centres of Burman dominion. Sagáing was abandoned for the last time in 1776 for a new capital at Amayapôya (*Amarapúra* — Abode of Immortals) half-way between Ava (*Inwa*) and the modern capital Mandalé, which was founded in 1857, after the accession of King Mindôn Min. The most ancient capital is Tagáung, one hundred miles north of Mandalé. Other capitals were Shwebô, Myinzaing, Pannya. The capitals of the Taláing dominion were Thatôn, Pegu, and Prome (*Pye*). Rangoon (*Yangôn*), at the meeting point of five navigable channels, and with anchorage for the largest ships, has out-distanced all competitors since the modern development of commerce.

For the history of Burma the only available source is the official chronicle kept by command of the kings—*mahá-yazawín*. The first part is occupied with the legendary origin of the race from the cloud-dwellers—*Byamma* (the Burman form of *Brahma*).* The names and doings of legendary persons follow, and lines of legendary kings. The earliest historical facts which emerge are the founding of Tagáung, and incidents relating to the Buddha and the councils of his church in India. It is believed by Phayre that the *Savanna Bhumi* of ancient Indian books refers to Thatôn, and that under *Chryse Chersonesus* Ptolemy refers to the Eastern Peninsula of Asia. We do not reach a connected history till the founding of Pagán about 100 A.D. From that epoch onwards the history of the peninsula, until the Burman Empire was consolidated and the dynasty of

397. FIGURES OF BYAMMA (EMBROIDERY).

* The name is also written *Myamma*, but commonly pronounced *Bamá*, of which "Burma(h)" and "Birma" are corruptions.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
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419. SUNLAUNG AT THADINDYUT FESTIVAL.

and, in order to possess its proper value, should be completed in a day and a night. This is the only approach to a vigil. The texture is loose, and broad bands of tinsel are shot through to make up the woof faster.

Tawthalin is a minor festival, falling in Lent, and observed only in Pegu. The *Tawthalin* offerings are distinguished by being in thousands, one thousand little cakes, one thousand plantains, and so on (No. 282). The number one thousand is said to be symbolical

[801] of the thousand *gâta* or stanzas of the *Wéthandayâ zat*, the legend of Gawdama Buddha's last incarnation but one, closely prefiguring the final incarnation.

782 The above are the Buddhist festivals, which are celebrated by the whole population together, with all the *éclat* they can give them. The only other
776 recurring observances of a religious character have nothing to do with Buddhism, and are rejected by all earnest and enlightened Buddhists. These observances, if not furtively conducted, as is often the case, are kept by individuals only, or by households at a time; they have sufficient in common with the *nat* worship of the hill tribes, to show what the original Burman and Taláing worship may have been. Unlike the Karén, who knows only of evil *nats*, the Burman has both good and evil spirits. The former belong
776 to the land of the *zat* ro-
772 mance, the latter are chiefly the survival of the primitive
775 paganism. In the Burman cosmogony, *nat-yua* is the delectable land to which, by a courtesy analogous to the German "*hoch-*" and "*höchst-*
[643] *selig*," the kings are said to migrate at their demise.
[524] A higher order than *nat* is *thadyâ* and *thadyâ-min*, and above these the highest order of being, *byammâ*, the cloud-

419. FIRE-BALLOONS AT THADINDYUT.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
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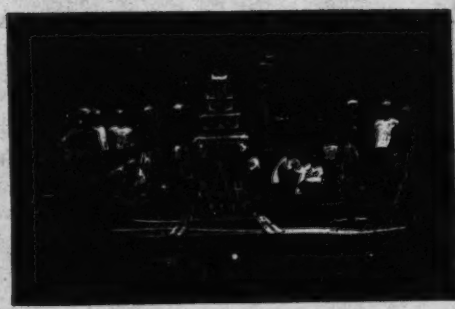
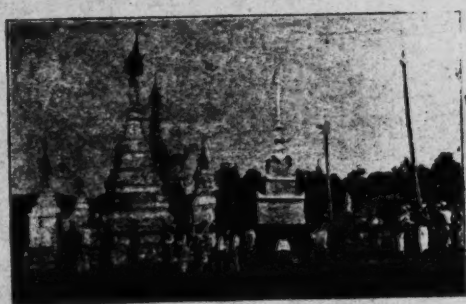
dwellers to whom the Burmans pretend to owe their origin. These ethereal beings are subject to the law of *karma*, and re-birth. They have to attain *nirvâna* like men, through virtue. Under "gods" in the Pali scriptures are to be understood such beings as these. Together with men they form the group *thaddawâ* — rational beings—to whom the message of the Buddha is delivered. (See Stevenson, *Lexicon*, pp. 603, 788.) The higher orders of existence are not to be confounded with the higher religious states, *ayahât*, *ayâttapô*, which are attained by the "noble path" alone (p. 46). In this fairyland, situated in the *Himawûnta taw* (Himalayas) and its clouds, the poetry of the people centres. (See *The Soul of a People*, Chapter XXI.) As the heavens are indwelt by ethereal beings, so also everything on earth has its presiding genius. The heavenly *genii* are beneficent, the terrestrial ones friendly or malign. The *nats* of the mountains inspire awe, and their protection is invoked against wild beasts and dangers to wayfarers. A *nat* is pro-



420. RIVER ILLUMINATIONS AT THADINDYUT.

421. MAZES AT THADINDYUT.



422. TAZAUNGMON FESTIVAL.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
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A nat is propitiated by offerings at a shrine, almost always in miniature. Only fruit, flowers, and music are offered by Buddhists. A special genius is assigned to the dwelling—*ein-dwin Min Magayi nat*, in whose little shrine a cocoa-nut is offered. The nut is replaced as the water dries up, which it is assumed the *nat* has drunk. There are *nats* who preside over countries, Û Mindyi and Û Mindyâ for Burma, Û Yindyi for Pegu, Bôdaw and his sons for Thatôn, and other local *nats*. These *nats* are propitiated by such offerings as a crown, or by standing guard before their images, upon undertaking a journey, entering on a race or other contest. The five *nats* of the firmament have a special cult associated with that of the eight planets, with which the Buddha and eight *yahánda* are mixed up. The local *nats* are most commonly propitiated in *pyatho* (December), the harvest month. The visitations of malign spirits are attributed to what the Burmans call unripe (*asin*) deaths. Such are deaths from lightning-stroke, accidents of all sorts, child-bed, cholera, and whatever is violent and sudden. The normal re-incarnation of the *karma* of such is immature; they haunt localities as ghosts (*tasi*), and seek the bodies of the living for hosts, thereby causing sickness. Slaughter in battle accounts for a plague of this kind, and the one plague entails another.

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423. PROPITIATING THE LOCAL NATS (NÁKKAZA).

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Pilgrimages to the great shrines are made in the dry months, especially at times of full moon. The most sacred shrine of the Peninsula and the perennial resort of pilgrims is the *zedi* on the site of the ancient Mun village Dagôn, renamed Yangôn (Rangoon). The legend declares that the original founders of the shrine deposited eight hairs

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424. SHRINE OF THE HOUSE-GENIUS—MIN MAGAYI NAT.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
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[opp. p. 190]

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488. KYAITTIYO PAYA. [To face p. 190.

29: Slater M-4 (no date) 1951 AP1 Burma
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Animism in Burma is usually termed Nat-worship. *Nat* has been compared with the Indian, *Natha*, but it is probably an indigenous term.[5] Strictly speaking, it should be distinguished from "disembodied spirit" or ghost, for which the Burmese name is *tasè*. The Burmese also speak of the "butterfly" soul in man, the *leip-bya*, which may leave the body even in life, during dream or unconsciousness.[6] "A *nat* is something quite different. The word is the equivalent of our word god, in the sense in which we speak of the gods of ancient Greece and Rome."[7] *Nat* legends, however, express the belief that most, if not all, of these godlings were once human beings. Thus the familiar household Nat, Min Magayi, was once a blacksmith, Maung Tin Dè, a man of such prodigious strength that whenever he struck his anvil the whole city was shaken, to the great wrath of the king who caused the blacksmith's death. His spirit continued to vex the neighbourhood until a temple was built in his honour.[8] In later times such spirits seem to have been elevated to *Nat* status by royal degree. Burmese tradition emphasises *the* Thirty Seven *Nats*, but the number has no special significance. Many *Nats* not included in the thirty seven are recognised today and some of the thirty seven ignored. Any attempt to denote the *Nat* realm too narrowly misrepresents what is, in fact, a fluctuating and ill defined situation. 'All is change' applies to this realm, in Burmese estimation, as much as to any other. Nor can we point to any one origin of the cultus. The Mondaing *Nat*, for example, may reflect a primitive Nature worship, since Mondaing signifies whirlwind, but local legend suggests another origin.[9] Some of the *Nats* are associated with Brahmanic and Buddhist legend. Others are definitely local and even recent. Sir George Scott, who was an acute observer, said that the Burman always distinguished the Spirits of Nature from the legendary gods imported from India.[10] On the other hand, there is a tendency to mingle Buddhist story and Nat story, and the Buddhist *peta*, as well as the *deva* is quite at home among the Burmese *Nats*.[11]

In earlier times, a victim was slain in order to provide a guardian spirit for a new town or building, and as late as the eleventh century a queen is said to have given her life for such a purpose. Buddhist teaching against taking life has gradually prevailed, however, against these harsher

[5] Cf. Bigandet, *Life of Gaudama* Vol. I, p. 17, Vol. II, p. 324 and Temple, *The Thirty Seven Nats*, p. 8.
[6] Cf. Forbes, *British Burma*, chap. IV, p. 99.
[7] R. Grant Brown, *The Pre-Buddhist Religion of the Burmese*, p. 6.
[8] R. Grant Brown, *ibid.*, p. 13.
[9] *Ibid.*, p. 7.
[10] Temple, *ibid.*, p. 3.
[11] Cf. Bimala C. Law, *The Buddhist Conception of Spirits*.

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customs. Grant Brown observes that, while Buddhists in the Chindwin area still sacrifice fowls to the god of the harvest, 'the thing is done somewhat surreptitiously and shamefacedly.'[12]

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Other practices survive more openly. In many Burmese villages there is a *nat-ka-daw*, or spirit-medium, generally an elderly or middle-aged woman, who is supposed to be married to a *Nat*. She tells fortunes, and is called in sometimes in cases of sickness to discover whether the patient will recover. Mr. Spear describes an incident of this kind which took place in the main street of a large town in the presence of many spectators. "The *nat-ka-daw*, in addition to her usual clothing, wore a sash around the waist and a cloth wound around her head. She danced with a dah, a long and heavy Burmese knife, in her hand, until she fell exhausted." Plantains and coconuts had been placed in a shelter, opposite the house, as offerings to the *Nat*.[13]

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In this case, apparently, the *Nat* was neither held responsible for the sickness nor expected to cure it. There are times of epidemic sickness, however, when a whole village is temporarily abandoned, and special rituals are followed to placate the *Nat*, who is considered to have caused the epidemic.

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In an interesting account of the development of a modern *Nat* cultus, a Burmese writer describes a public festival in honour of the *Nat*. A play is staged during which one of the Thirty Seven *Nats*, who is personified by a villager, asks the *Nat* of the locality if he is taking due care of the villagers. Here the *Nat* is obviously regarded as benevolent. But we are told that this was not always so. Formerly the Nat was cruel, unreasonable, mischievous and demoniac. But "he is now believed to have taken to religion, to keep the sabbath and to lead the life of a saintly god." In spite of his own sanctity, however, he seems to favour evil-doers. "No organised theft is ever committed in Lower Burma . . . without invoking his aid." The would-be criminals cook a meal within a circle they have marked on the ground. If any of the rules of the succeeding ritual are broken, the proposed robbery is abandoned. Some Buddhist monks of this region, more orthodox than others, have tried to suppress the Naf cultus, but in vain.[14]

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Such beliefs and practices are obviously bound to affect thought and conduct. The Burmese feel around them a vast, invisible *Nat* world, which is both near and remote. There are spirits in the trees, the rivers,

[12] *The Pre-Buddhist Religion of the Burmese*, p. 9.

[13] R. F. Spear, unpublished MS, *The Syncretism of Animism and Buddhism in Burma* (1928) chap. 1, p. 14.

[14] U Tha Khin, "Is U Yin Gyi a National God of the Burmans?" *J.B.R.S.*, Vol. XIV, part II (1924).

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the lakes, the mountains and there are distant *Nat* realms ruled by *Nat* chieftains. All of these spirits are capricious. They encourage the view that life is a gamble. A man must bargain and wile his way through as best he can, hemmed in by a vague, immeasureable threat of evil. A religion, therefore, which points the way through the maze, indicates some order in the realm of caprice and promises deliverance from evil, may be the more welcome. On the other hand, it contains a challenge to caprice in oneself. 771 776

2. *Animism and Buddhism interwoven*

There is no question, therefore, of the survival of Animism in Burma, nor of its influence. The only question which arises is the *extent* of this influence. Is it so persistent and powerful that Buddhism is no more than a surface polish? 771 779*

At first sight, this indeed may seem to be the case, for not only is Animism a parallel cultus, sometimes furtive but frequently brazen; it also seems to be interwoven in the very texture of popular Buddhist expression and practice. As a boy, the Burman learns how Nats watched over the infant Buddha, how the Buddha, by his virtue, defeated the jealous Manh *Nat*, how the rest of the *Nat* world acclaimed the victory with shouts of exultation. *Nats* appear in all the subsequent events of the Buddha's history.[15] On pagoda platforms the boy may see scenes depicting the *Nats*. Early in his education, he may learn a poem celebrating the Buddha's victory. On the most memorable day of his life as a Buddhist, the day of his *shin-byu* or confirmation, he may *shikoh* to the *Nat* shrine. At his death, a monk may be called to his side, not to give him spiritual consolation but 'because the good influence of the monk's pious presence keeps away evil spirits.'[16] [792]

Consequently, Burmese Buddhists have been criticised for their inconsistency. How, it is asked, can a belief that a human 'spirit' has been transported to the *Nat* realm be reconciled with the Buddhist denial of the soul? If Buddhism denies the Divine, and even Buddha himself is not worshipped, how can it be right to worship and propitiate these *Nat* godlings? How can it be legitimate to expect their assistance, if man is the arbiter of his own destiny, subject to moral law alone, as Buddhism affirms? And Buddhism teaches: Thou shalt not kill. What, then, of fowls and oxen and even humans sacrificed to propitiate *Nats*? Toleration is [775] 782 779* 771

[15] Cf. Bigandet, op. cit. Vol. I, p. 37; cf. Temple, *Thirty Seven Nats*, p. 6.
[16] Cf. Purser and Saunders, *M.B.B.*, pp. 33, 97; Sir George Scott, *The Burman: His Life and Notions*, Vol. I, chap. XXII, p. 299.

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doubtless a virtue enjoined by Buddhism. Carried to this extreme, however, has it not distorted Buddhism beyond recognition?

The Buddhist reply is two-fold. In the first place, it is claimed that there are *Nat* beliefs and practices which are *not* inconsistent with Buddhism. Since the normal Buddhist foresees many possible rebirths before he attains Nibbāna, there is no reason why some of these rebirths should not occur in a *Nat* realm. As to the denial of the soul, that raises difficulties, but are they so very different from the questions raised by the *Jātaka* stories in Buddhist tradition itself? The learned Buddhist has his own explanations, and the villager is inclined to regard life itself as ultimately as great a mystery as Nibbāna, while he does lip service to the *an-attā* doctrine (soul-denial). 'The Buddha accepted the Indian universe of his day ready-made' with its conception of heavens and hells and innumerable worlds.[17] Popular Buddhism, as popular religion everywhere, lives in narrative form, and the ordinary Burman dwells in two worlds of story, Buddhist and *Nat*, which fuse together.

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As to *Nat* practices, some of these are innocent, and others have been given a Buddhist ethical content. Gratitude, for example, is both natural and good in itself. What harm, then, if a villager presents flowers at a *Nat* shrine from such a motive?[18] As to propititiation, even in this present life, men deem it wise to placate powerful humans. Buddhism, therefore, can wisely and tolerantly assimilate many *Nat* conceptions and practices without inconsistency. So it is argued.

Other ideas and customs, however, are admittedly incompatible with true Buddhism. These, it is claimed, have either been opposed or they have been tolerated for a time in confidence that sound religion would eventually prevail. Asked why he allowed *Nat* images in a Buddhist shrine, King A-naw-ra-hta is said to have replied, "Men will not come for the sake of the new faith. Let them come for their old gods and gradually they will be won over."[19] This confidence, it is held, has been justified: Buddhism has at least prevailed sufficiently to take the sting out of Animism; human sacrifice is no longer tolerated, and even animal sacrifices are furtive.

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Is there then no surviving superstitious fear of the *Nats*? This is debated. Temple quotes a formidable Oath, administered in the courts of law, which invokes the *Nats*:

"I will speak the truth.... May the Nats who guard the sacred heavens ... the keepers and warders of countless shrines ... the Nats

[17] J. B. Pratt, *The Pilgrimage of Buddhism*, chap. v, p. 76.

[18] Moung Po Me, "Animism or Agnosticism?" *Buddhism*, Vol. I, No. 1 (1903, Rangoon), p. 95.

[19] N. Ray, *Theravāda Buddhism in Burma*, chap. VII, p. 242.

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who watch and ward the mighty rivers ... may the nāga and the galōn, hideous dragons and cruel birds, all ogres and demons ... may all these spirits and ill things unite to slay me and mine to the utmost limits of kinship, if I speak not the truth...."[20] 695 771 776

Respectable persons have trembled at the prospect of taking this oath, says Temple, so great was their dread of the *Nats*. A British magistrate, however, writing at a later day, observed drily that the fearsome Oath did not prevent false witness.[21] Perhaps these later witnesses did not know its terms, since the Oath was not read out in his court, only handled. Perhaps, however, they did not fear the *Nats* as much as their sires did. We may indeed question whether men who can talk of the Nats reforming their ways and turning to religion can hold them in any lively dread. Smeaton, in his *Loyal Karens of Burma*, refers to some Christian converts who still propitiated the *Nats*. "We must throw some sops to the foul demons who afflict us," they explained, "but our hearts are ever looking for God." Their Buddhist neighbours might offer a similar explanation. They may still deem it prudent to throw some sops to the *Nats*, while their hearts are towards the Buddha. We may term such an attitude superstitious, remembering that similar superstitious practices survive on similar grounds in other religious traditions. But we may well hesitate before we describe the Burmese as *Nat*-worshippers or say that their Buddhism is only a veneer. 771 779* 776

The Burman may claim that, while certain aspects of Animism can be tolerated without inconsistency, Buddhism has, in fact, opposed the more objectionable practices, has prevailed against them, and has altered the attitude to the *Nats*. This, in substance, is the reply contained in an article criticising the statement in the Census Report shortly after its publication. The *Nats*, says the writer, Moung Po Me, 'are real beings to the Burman and Buddhism does not deny their existence.' But they are certainly not bogeys. It is only when the Burman deviates from Buddhist ethics that Buddhism becomes a veneer.[22]

His verdict is confirmed by other observers who may be considered more impartial. "The nats were the gods of Burma before the Buddha arrived," says Professor Pratt. "But as soon as he came they learned their place as merely subordinate spirits, and they have kept their place very well ever since."[23] "Were spirit worship twice as prominent as it is," observes a Christian missionary, "I should still call Buddhism the religion

[20] Temple, *The Thirty Seven Nats*, p. 4; cf. Scott, *The Burman*, Vol. II, chap. XXVI, p. 250.

[21] C. J. Richards, *The Burman*, p. 50.

[22] Article in *Buddhism*, cited supra.

[23] *The Pilgrimage of Buddhism*, chap. VII, p. 127.

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of the Burman."[24] The most adequate inquiry on the subject to-date is the unpublished thesis by Mr. Spear which I have been privileged to quote. "It must be said," concludes Mr. Spear, "that Buddhism in Burma has kept itself remarkably free from the practice of taking ideas and customs associated with primitive religion in general and Nat worship in particular, and making them its own.... It is Buddhism which is the real religion of the people. It is what they practise in their best moments; it is what they want their children taught.... To be a Burman is to be a Buddhist."[25]

We arrive, then, at the opposite conclusion to that stated by Mr. Lowis. in his Census Report. Instead of saying that 'the Burman has added to his animism just so much Buddhism as suits him,' it is nearer the truth to say that he has added to his Buddhism just so much animism as suits his Buddhism.

Those who judge otherwise generally pay full attention to the strength and vitality of Animism, but they give less than due attention to the greater strength and vitality of organised Buddhism. They fail to note the intimate relation of the Buddhist Monastic Order to the life of the community. To this subject we must now turn, not only to accentuate the fact that Burma is Buddhist Burma, but to observe in sufficient detail the essentially religious context of the hope of Ṇibbāna.

3. *Monastery and Community*

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A monastery suggests to many minds a cloistered company, shut away behind high walls, or secluded on some remote hillside, as frequently in China. In a sense, the Burmese monks are similarly secluded. The monastic building, with its seven-tiered roof denoting sanctity, is generally found just outside a village, set in a bamboo grove or flanked by shady mango trees. Rising to a tapering umbrella point *(hti)* above the trees, there is a *tsedi* or pagoda,[26] which may be painted white or gold. Smaller pagodas are grouped around. Generally within the monastery building, but sometimes outside, there is an image of the Buddha, and probably several others — but always the same Buddha, Gautama, and

[24] Rev. G. Whitehead, *M.B.B.*, p. 37.

[25] *The Syncretism of Animism and Buddhism in Burma*, p. 80.

[26] *Zedi* or *tsedi*, from the Pali, means the offering place or place of prayer. *Paya*, which has also the latter connotation, is more frequently used for larger *zedis* and other shrines. The *zedi* contains relics. Hence it is nowadays often termed a pagoda (from the Singhalese dhagoba — relic (*dhātu*) shrine. But pagoda is not a Burmese term. Cf. Scott, *The Burman*, Vol. 1, chap. xv, p. 186; Pratt, *The Pilgrimage of Buddhism*, chap. VII, pp. 128 ff.

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have seen, is a religion of story, and it is essentially the Buddha story, the 779*
life of Gautama, rehearsed, recited, pictured, dramatised, told and told 773
again.

"To hear of the Buddha from living lips in this country, which is full of his influence, where the spire of his monastery marks every village, and where every man has at one time or another been his monk, is quite a different thing to reading of him in far off countries.... To hear the yellow-robed monk tell of that life ... is a thing never to be forgotten. A sympathy comes to you from the circle of believers and you believe too.... And as they tell you the story of that great life, they bring it home to you with reflection and comment ... till you forget that he of whom they speak lived so long ago."[65]

Yet Burmese laymen, villagers or craftsmen, let alone monks, will [774] ●
flatly reject any suggestion that the Buddha was divine. Many of them, moreover, will explain their devotion very intelligently. They will make it abundantly clear that Gautama is venerated as a Socrates or a Moses might be venerated. No more. No less. His life was human, and in that very fact they see encouragement for others.

It is not, then, to the conception of the Buddha that we must look for 779*
the religious ultimate of Southern Buddhism. Nor is it to the conception 775
of the *Dhamma*, as some have suggested. A highly sophisticated intellectual might conceivably worship the 'Law within' but the Burmese Buddhist is seldom highly sophisticated, nor does he think of the Dhamma as the Law within: it is the Law without, expounded by the *Saṃgha*.

It is elsewhere we must look for the recognition of the Divine. It may perhaps be contained in that looking forward to Nibbāna, which is the goal of all Buddhist aspiration. From what has thus far been remarked of the character of Burmese Buddhism, we can at least expect to find a positive, not a negative, conception of Nibbāna in this context.

Perhaps, too, Buddhism in Burma illustrates, in some degree, what 779*
may have been the original emphasis of the Buddha's teaching and the secret of his appeal. Perhaps it has retained or recovered something of that original vitality.

Mrs Rhys Davids has suggested that the Buddha aroused response because he preached a gospel of hopeful Wayfaring from Good to Better, a caravan journey through the worlds, "a pilgrim's progress ... not so much with a load of sin to be discarded, as with an ever growing force of *artha* — the good, the needed, the better."[66] He believed, with the seers of his time, that the Divine was immanent in man,[67] but he saw this

[65] Fielding Hall, *The Soul of a People*, chap. II, p. 18.
[66] *Sakya*, chap. VI, pp. 104ff. [67] *Ibid.*, chap. IV, pp. 69ff.

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APPENDIX

NOTE A

BURMESE *NAT* LEGENDS

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How the Burmese regard the *Nats* is illustrated by an account of the story and cultus of U Yin Gyi, described as 'a national god of the Burmans of Lower Burma.' Written by a Burmese writer, Maung Tha Kin, this account was published in the *Journal of the Burma Research Society*, Vol. XIV, Part 1, April 1924.

The writer observes that U Yin Gyi is 'quite a young god' compared with the Thirty Seven gods of Upper Burma, but 'he has pushed his way up so pluckily that in Lower Burma at least he has practically superseded these spiritual princes.'

The story goes, according to one version of the legend, that U Yin Gyi was once a young Burmese lumberman in the service of a timber merchant. He was also a very skilful player on the Burmese harp. Timber, hewn and collected in 'enchanted forests,' and formed into log rafts, was brought down the rivers to the town of Dalla. The fairies in the forests were so enchanted by the young musician that on one occasion they clung to the raft and prevented its voyage downstream. The perplexed timber merchant realised that some member of his crew was wanted by the spirit world. Lots were cast and three times the lot went to U Yin Gyi. He was therefore seized, securely bound and thrown overboard.

After this death by drowning and "his birth as a god, U Yin Gyi committed many acts of depredations in the districts... In consequence, U Yin Gyi was given a place in the pantheon of national gods by the frightened populace and regularly propitiated.... The propitiation is done by an offering of vegetarian diet."

Pictured as a cruel, capricious despot riding a ferocious tiger, this angry god was held responsible for diseases and 'accidents that no doctor could cure.' Since the beginning of the present century, however, the people have noticed a change in his behaviour. "He is now believed to have taken to religion, to keep sabbath and to lead the life of a saintly god," observes Maung Tha Kin; "but the people still entertain the belief that his council or assembly of under-gods still do continue to help or harass the people at will as of yore."

The god's new interest in religion does not, however, prevent him showing favour to evil-doers. At least, these evil-doers still expect his help, for it

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is observed that no organised theft, robbery or dacoity is ever committed in Lower Burma without having made offerings to U Yin Gyi and without invoking his aid for protection from arrest and capture. Those who premeditate such a crime mark a 'circular fence' on the ground, using a stick or pouring water to mark the boundary. They remain within the fence until a meal has been cooked and an offering made to the god. "Neither spitting nor answering the call of nature within that period is permitted. Even if unintentionally any of these rules is transgressed by any one of the party, the plan hatched is abandoned." Gamblers and speculators also invoke the help of the *Nat*.

Despite the opposition of some of the monks, public festivals in honour of this *Nat* are maintained. In these festivals U Yin Gyi shares the honours with another *Nat*, Koe Myo Yin, to whom he seems to owe allegiance. The writer describes one of these festivals.

Facing each other at a cross road are two miniature palaces of bamboo and paper. In one of these palaces U Yin Gyi is pictured as a youthful musician, flanked by two ghostly lieutenants.

During the festival there is a play, when the *Nats* are represented by human actors. First they are reverently invited to attend the festival and accept the offerings of food made to them. Then the *Nat*, Koe Myo Yin, comes majestically to the front of the stage, followed by U Yin Gyi. A dialogue follows in which U Yin Gyi is enjoined by his overlord to take due care of the people and protect them from danger and epidemic. U Yin Gyi emphasises his assurances that he will do so by summoning his army of undergods. Then the two Nats depart, "leaving the undergods to partake of the offerings made to them to their hearts content. The undergods, with dishevelled hair, dressed uncouthly in rags, painted with hideous hues and holding divers kinds of mock weapons of warfare, would make a sudden rush from all sides into the midst of the crowd, go to the altars and literally devour the *kauk hnyin* rice and other eatables. Thereafter they would give a merry devil dance, making weird noises and sounds for some time; and depart — bringing the festival aprubptly to an end."

In this account we may note the suggestion that the chief *Nats*, though still capricious, are no longer objects of dread but can be expected to be benevolent, if duly honoured. We may also note the opposition of the more zealous monks to this cultus.

It is interesting to compare this description of a modern *Nat* cultus with stories belonging to an earlier period, told in *The Chronicle of the City of Taguung*,[1] stories of palace intrigues which show the mingling of legend, Buddhist piety and animistic belief. King Thambawka, it is related, "regarded not the law of truth, he heeded not nor revered the Three Gems"[2] ... nor recked he aught of virtue, piety or holiness, scorned the

[1] *J.B.R.S.*, Vol. XI, Part I (1921), pp. 29ff. (translated by Pe Maung Tin and G. H. Luce; cf. their Introd. to *The Glass Palace Chronicle of the Kings of Burma*).

[2] The Three Gems, i.e., the Buddha, the Dhamma, the Sangha.

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practice of meditation, learning and love. Therefore because he forgot the law of truth, his glory and dominion waned; his queen broke faith with him, and took her pleasure with the Naga king, by whom she conceived." Her sons were born blind because "the breath of the Nagas had come upon them."[3]

The king soon died, and his successors only survived for brief periods. The Naga king from the spirit world is held responsible for their death. 'Twisting his way into the hollow of the palace post, the Naga prince came to the world of men and reigned seven years with the queen.'

A youth 'from a Brahmin village' resolved to end this state of affairs and seize the kingdom. He prepared himself by religious observance. 'He bathed his body and cleansed it; bowed down and did obeisance, worshipping the Three Gems, his great grandparents, grandfather, grandmother, mother and father, the spirits who keep watch over the great religion, the spirits who keep watch over cities and border villages. . . ."

On his way to the capital, halting at a village 'where of old the coming Buddhas sported and made merry,' the youth is encouraged by the god, Sakra, who 'with his fairy horse and fairy raiment went ahead with the prince in human guise.' Thus assisted, the youth invades the royal town, takes possession and is married to the Queen. Warned by Sakra to be watchful, the youth questions the Queen about the deaths of the previous kings. The Queen then confesses her intrigues with the Naga prince and helps him in a plot to seize the Naga, who is slain by the youthful and zealous conqueror.

NOTE B

BUDDHIST RELIGIOUS EDUCATION IN BURMA

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The chief lessons taught in the monastic schools in Burma are the following:

I. *The Three Jewels:*

I take refuge in the Buddha,
I take refuge in the Dhamma
I take refuge in the Sangha.

II. *The Five Precepts:*

Not to kill
Not to steal
Not to lie
Not to commit adultery
Not to drink strong drink.

[3] Nagas are "fabulous creatures that sleep deep down below:" cf. Scott, *The Burmese*, Vol. I, chap. XXIX, p. 352.

342 of soothsayers (9). Consequently he is naturally
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9. Bedin-saya, derived from Sanskrit, meaning Veda teacher. Judson's Burmese-English Dictionary (Rangoon, 1893), p. 782.

very careful when it comes to the construction of his house. With the aid of the soothsayer the building site must be investigated, the day and hour when to start the construction, and the choice of the timber have to be considered carefully. The shape of the posts, the irregularities of their forms, the knots in the wood where the branches were furnish important clues for the fate of the future occupants. The number of the
342 posts varies in accordance with the size of the
776 house. Usually six posts are erected for the main tract and each post has its own name. One of the posts is considered by most tribes as the seat of the house spirits. In the Burmese house this is the southeastern corner post of the main tract. The body of a deceased person is always
[764] deposited close to it until the coffin arrives. A coconut always hangs there in honor of the Mahagiri-Nat (Min Magayi), the household spirit /Figure 3--Shan house with leaf roof, Southern Shan State of Mongpai (Burmese: Mobye)/ and the coconut must always be replaced when the milk dries up. To avoid bad luck which spirits, liv-
342 ing inside the wood knots, might threaten, the
776 tops of the posts, or at least every third one,
777 are covered with white or red fabric patches; sometimes for good luck, some Thanaka paste (grated rind of Murraya exotica) is smeared on them. Even the clerics do not seem to be immune
346 to the evil influence of these nature spirits,
776 whose origins date back to pre-Buddhistic times,
777 for these protective coverings of the posts can be observed not only at residential dwellings, guest houses, bridges, etc., but also at religi-

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776 ous buildings, such as monasteries, /208/ monas-
777 tic rest houses and wooden chapels. The bury-
782 ing alive of human sacrifices at the posts of
776 the foundations of the entrances was in old Bur-
mese days considered as an indispensable method of protecting important buildings, such as princely palaces, city gates, bridges, etc. The ghost of the entombed—according to Burmese belief those who have been killed by violence are rooted to the spot where they died--is supposed to watch as a guardian over the building, post, or bridge foundation.

As late as the middle of the past century,
782 more than fifty human beings were buried alive
787 when the foundations for the palace and the city walls of Mandalay were laid. But the protective power of those ghosts was of limited duration. From certain omens it could be predicted that the protection was going to cease, and then it was time to leave the place which was open to disaster. This was the explanation given for the frequent change of residence of the Burmese rulers. The small chapels with their stone images of door guardians at the gates and corners of the walls of the palace area of Mandalay still indicate the locations where these human sacrifices have been buried, though the modern inhabitants will not admit this to a European. At the corners, filled oil jugs were sunk over the buried people; the dwindling of the oil in the containers, which were examined every seven years, foreshadowed an approaching catastrophe in 1880. They tried to avoid this catastrophe with new sacrifices. Nevertheless, it happened. The British occupied the country and the kingdom perished (10).

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782 10. Primarily, according to Shway Yoe, ibid., pp. 482 ff. It is well known that the burying of live sacrifices at construction foundations is a custom, widespread all over the world,

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872 on the whole future life of the young scholars. As long as
779 these monastic schools are attended, all attacks on the Buddhist faith must be fruitless.

872 Besides the commandments, the paya-shekho, and the
779 pareit-yôp-thi, the lauds of the Lord Buddha, and the
792 aspirations to be repeated at the holy shrines, the formulæ to be told over on the beads; besides these first principles, the young Burman is taught the thin-ki-ya, the rules which are to prepare him for assuming the yellow robe, and to guide him during his longer or shorter withdrawal from the sinful world to the calm tranquillity of the monastery. He must learn that the young novice carefully imitates the decorous pace of the yahan; does not walk fast; avoids swinging his hands; does not smile or laugh in passing through a village, and keeps far away from all secular amuse-
[292] ments. The yellow robe, distinctive of the order, is to be regarded not as a garment to cherish and comfort the wearer, not as a robe to adorn the outward man and make it look stately or pious, but merely as a concession to modesty, born of the weaknesses of poor human flesh—and further, as a means of enabling the worthless frame to endure the
[261] extremes of heat and cold. In the same way food is to be eaten only to support life. The member of the sacred order must not think of meal times as an occasion for gratifying his senses; he must avoid dwelling on the tastiness of the food and the gratification to his palate which the pious zeal of a supporter may afford in presenting an unusually dainty meal. Especially must he refrain from eating food to make himself strong and lusty. He must always remember the transitoriness, the misery and unreality of the world, and find relief in the Triple Consolation, the trust in the Lord, the Law, and the Assembly.

All these things are impressed on the young pupil as soon as he is able to read at all, every one of them assuming the fact that as soon as he is old enough, or as soon as he has gone through the necessary preparation, he will assume the yellow robe of the devout, to wear it perhaps for life, perhaps only for a day or two, but certainly to put it on, for
[885] without this he cannot attain to the full privileges of a man.
[777] His kan (luck) will be altogether one-sided. All the ill deeds

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pally due to the fact that the stranger is not a Buddhist, and has not as a boy been admitted into a monastery. To a Burman such a man is no better than a buffalo or a dog. In those of low degree this feeling shows itself in pitying kindness, in those in high positions in arrogance and insulting rudeness. 181 114

The unpleasant allegations of Father San Germano may be considered cancelled by the advocacy of the two military gentlemen, but there remains the united charge of unwarrantable laziness. Let us see what can be said for the defence on this point.

It may be taken for granted that the whole human race is more or less hampered by a dislike for work when there is no necessity for doing it. In addition to sharing this weakness, the Burman is fettered by a multiplicity of fortunate and unfortunate days. When he is born, his sadā, or horoscope, is cast, detailing minutely the moment at which he appeared, and the influence the presiding constellation has over him personally; and this sadā must be carefully examined before anything can be done. But beyond this there are a great variety of unlucky days which more or less concern everybody, and have to be avoided if a man is to hope for success in his enterprise or his journey. To enlist the sympathy of maritime England, I will begin with the superstition about Friday: 181 461 777

> Thaukkya ye gyaung
> Ma thwa kaung.
>
> On Friday boats sailing
> Cause weeping and wailing.

On the contrary, if you begin the study of a subject on Friday you will become an authority on it. Thursday is also a good day; but if you commence on Tuesday or Saturday you will soon die. Saturday is a bad day for everything, especially for fires—a fact which the Fire Brigade would probably corroborate. But doubtless it is somewhat irritating for an Englishman when he wants to commence a journey, and has everything ready except the bullocks for the cart, to find that he cannot persuade his servants to buy or engage them till Sunday, because such a proceeding would

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777 bring disaster on everybody connected with it. He declares it is dilatoriness, or the desire to stay and see some feast; whereas it is a matter of conscience, and was taught to the Burman in a rhyme when he was a little boy at school. 777 Similarly there are regulations as to the days proper for 302 washing one's head. This is a regular ceremony, performed only once a month or so, partly because it takes a long time with the Burman's luxuriant hair; partly because many people, especially in the small Talaing villages in Pegu, believe that too frequent washings would disturb and irritate the genius who dwells in the head and protects the man. Therefore when you collect the bark and saponaceous seeds and other material for the operation, you must remember that it is unlucky to wash your head on Monday, Friday, and Saturday. In the same way, parents sending their boy into the monastery must remember not to cut his hair on a Monday, a Friday, or on his birthday. A Burman's birthday, it must not be forgotten, occurs once a week, and his name recalls the day.

777 This circumstance gives rise to a number of barriers to the proceedings of the children of particular days, all of which are taught in the linga, the doggerel rhymes of the monastic and lay schools. Pyatthada ne (unlucky days) are as follows: Thursday and Saturday in the months of Tagu (April), Wagaung (August), and Na'daw (December). The months do not exactly correspond: Tagu, the first month of the Burman year, is really half April and half May; Na'daw, half December and half January, and so on; which must be remembered in the months mentioned below. Thursday and Saturday mean that the people born on those days are invariably unlucky in the specified three months, and had consequently much better remain at home, talking, smoking, and chewing betel, even though it irritate good missionaries, like San Germano, than endeavour to do work of any kind which could only result unfortunately. The monastery rhyme may be rendered as follows:—

> Tagu the hot, Wagaung the wet,
> Na'daw the dull and chilly,
> Scowl on the serpent and the rat,
> So rest ye, willy nilly,—

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the serpent being the sign of Saturday, and the rat of Thursday. Similarly the sons of Wednesday and Friday are debarred from work in Kasôn (May), Tawthalin (September), and Pyatho (January):

> Kasôn, Pyatho, and Tawthalin,
> These months are right unlucky,
> For Friday and for Wednesday
> At home or in Kentucky.

Sunday and Monday are bad days in the months of Nayôn (June), Thadingyut (October), and Tabodwè (February):

> The tiger and the gusty roc
> Must shun Nayôn and Thadingyut,
> Eke Tabodwè with dripping lock,
> Whate'er they do 'twill bear no fruit.

The tiger is the symbol for Monday; the Galôn, or roc, for Sunday. Tabodwè is the foggiest month of the year.

The Waso (July), Ta'saungmôn (November), and Tabaung (March), those under the sign of the lion (Tuesday), and the tuskless elephant, Haing—which represents the dark planet Yahu, and makes an eighth day of Wednesday after noontide—are shut out from active labour:

> In month Tabaung, 'twixt hot and cold,
> Ta'saungmôn, Waso breezy,
> Yahu and Tuesday's human fold
> Must take it precious easy.

On the other hand there are Yet Yaza, "kingly days," during which the Burman will display "much spasmodic energy." Such are Friday and Monday in April; Saturday and Thursday in May; Tuesday in June; Sunday and Wednesday in July; Friday and Wednesday in August; Thursday and Saturday in September; Tuesday in October; Tuesday and Yahu (noon to midnight on Wednesday) in November; Friday and Wednesday in December; Thursday and Saturday in January; Thursday and Tuesday in February; Saturday and Wednesday in March.

> Cease to weary,
> Whose lot's dreary,
> On these kings of kingly days.

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It must, of course, be borne in mind that these days are only lucky for those who were born on them, and not for everybody.

With all this the Burman is in a very considerable difficulty between lucky and unlucky days. If he declines a piece of work because it is his unlucky season, or undertakes it, but delays commencing till his fortunate time shall come round, the foreigner accuses him of laziness in the one case and dawdling in the other. Yet many Englishmen would not sit down as one of thirteen to dinner.

It would be bad enough if this were all; but there are other matters calling for the observance of the Burman if he would consult his well-being. It is ordained for him by paternally solicitous astrologers in what directions he must not travel at certain seasons of the year. This is regulated by the nagā hlè. The Nagā is a huge creature, half dragon, half serpent, coiled round the world, and gradually and steadily crawling in a constantly repeated circle; so that his head is now in one place, now in another; the circuit being completed in a year, and following the direction of the hands of a watch. You can journey from the tail towards the head with safety, but not from the direction of the head towards the tail, for then you would go straight into the monster's jaws. It is safe to go across in any direction. As long as you know the position of the head, therefore, you are safe; and this is recorded for you in the usual linga:

> From March to May, all April through,
> The huge Nagā towards Mount Meru
> His belly turns, his back to south;
> The west he frights with open mouth;
> His tail curled up holds all the east.
> Mark well how lies the grisly beast.

From June to August, therefore, the head is to the north, and you must not go southwards; from September to November the west is barred to you, and from then on till March it is dangerous to go north.

The difficulty an Englishman occasionally finds in getting boatmen to go in a particular direction, or porters to carry his baggage across country, is therefore easily accounted for without any necessity for stigmatising the Burmese as

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hopelessly lazy and averse to steady labour. The fact that men are always to be got eventually is no argument against the general belief in the theory, for the English persuade people to all manner of iniquity. Staunch members of the Order of the Yellow Robe will tell you that the brandy-drinkers and the opium-eaters (whom the English Thathanabaing, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and other good people believe to be so very numerous in Burma) are very frequently proselytes, and, at any rate, have been much influenced by the white foreigners. And probably every officer in the Commission who has at length got together a band of men to journey towards the nagā's jaws will bear out the assertion that they must have been a bad lot, and drank raw spirits and chewed opium enough to gladden the heart of an anti-opium society man in search of a frightful example. 777 ●

It may be asserted that the unlucky days were invented as an excuse for laziness; but the prevalence of the system with regard to other matters disproves this. For example, the blind god is supposed to laugh at barriers of rank and time and space; but most Burmans have a profound belief in the yan-pet linga—the rhyme of hostile pairs, referred to in the chapter on marriage. Again, in forming a partnership for purposes of trade, or the like, a due regard must be paid to birthdays. Lucky combinations are as follows:—Sunday and Friday, Tuesday and Thursday, Saturday and Wednesday, Monday and Yahu. 777 461

When you get a Burman on his lucky day, he will display an amount of "spasmodic energy" which has surprised many travellers into calling him hard-working. The boatmen on the Irrawaddy and the Sittang often row six, eight, and even ten hours at a stretch, on no more solid food than cold boiled rice, with a fragment or two of salt fish or curried vegetables. But that is when it is their "kingly day." Try them on a pyatthada day, and they will not even drift with the stream.

461 The key to high positions lies in education in
555 the high schools and Universities. Family support is necessary for
873 this and the student is constantly aware of his obligation to succeed
602 for their benefit. "One tree can support a thousand birds" illustrate
[538] the dependency of the relatives on the successful individual.

555 In order to succeed one needs each of these three qualities:
777 KAMMA (fate or luck), NYAN (intelligence), and WIRIYA(industriousness
152 The failure of any one can cause the lack of success. Ordinarily,
602 however, KAMMA is blamed in cases of failure - and the other two
credited for success. The concept of KAMMA includes merit and demerit
compiled in all previous existences. Because of this convenient
excuse the true causes of failure are seldom analysed by the individual
and he does not have a sense of personal blame or shame. Also social
condemnation does not fall heavily on the unsuccessful who has tried
and failed. However, one should finish what he starts or not attempt
it, "once you start climbing the pole you must reach the top". The
individual may not achieve fame or fortune but he is expected to
maintain his birth position. His relatives, who suffer shame if he
does not, help him. A major contribution of the individual is an
[583] advantagous marriage within or above his occupational group.

556 What does one strive for, by work, in the Burmese society? Not
554 subsistence, for food is ordinarily cheap and easily attained in the
461 villages. Clothing, shelter and the other necessities of life are
also not the objective. The subsistence pattern is simple and
essentially homogeneous throughout the village.

554 The ordinary head of a household thinks of three major benefits
301 to be gained from wealth. The first and most immediate are jewels to
461 adorn the women of the family. The status of the family is reflected
in public by the bangles, necklaces and earrings worn by the ladies.
Diamonds are most prized and the size is important. However, most
important is that each female be provided with "a set" of jewelry.
The wife of the middle and upper status group particularly will prod
the husband until he provides these necessities. The women's cloth-
ing and also the husbands and his son's must also be the finest they
461 can afford.
554 The second urge for wealth arises out of the desire for old age
454 security. Hence gold coins are saved (hidden) against the day when
888

the husband is too old to work. Aged parents are invariably respected but those who can still support themselves are "worshipped". Parents do not rely on their sons who have their own families to support but feel that their daughters will always "bring them a cup of curry". 461 554 454 888 461

The third urge is to have wealth to donate to the Buddhist church. This is regarded as a sound investment since it not only brings a most satisfying honour especially in old age (to be a "pagoda giver") but also counts as merit credited to the individual's account in eternity. 554 735 775

Competition is keenly felt between individuals and families of the same occupation group or adjacent groups but not between the lower and upper classes. An exception is where family traditional land has changed hands - and hard feelings may persist. A carpenter's family does not envy and covet the riches of a government official's family. His lot is due to KAMMA and even if he wished to attain such fortune it would be beyond his abilities. More important, it is not expected of him. So the carpenter is content with cheap jewelry for his women and an occasional gold coin - but the pattern is the same as for the upper class. However among the individuals and families of same occupation level there is much rivalry for the benefits wealth can bring. It is a point of pride to have the largest diamonds at a social function, and to give the biggest pagoda. Wives brag that their husbands "prevent the hairs of their hands from singeing" - that they have servants to cook. Rank and recognition are based on these considerations. 565 477 554 461

The women of the family exert powerful influence in financial matters and are respected for their sound judgement. Women's occupations include cigar manufacturing, pottery making, and especially shop keeping. 461 562 463

The beginning of an enterprise is conditioned by the wisdom of the ancients and especially the date and place which are given by formula in the Burmese calendar. There are YET-RAZA (day king of) "fortunate days" and PYAD-THADA "unlucky days". For example the calendar announces that Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays of a particular month are fortunate days to begin enterprises, and other days either unfortunate or neutral. Rangoon sophisticates (but never villagers) tell such stories as this: Two phongyis travelled by boat; the first boarded the boat on a fortunate day to begin travelling. The next day the boat came to the second phongyi's village. This was an unfortunate 777 461

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●777 day on the calendar but the second phongyi decided to embark anyway. Both phongyis were lost when the boat sank that day.

554 The revered position of phongyis is open to all regardless of
792 birth or position. It is felt that some take up the robe because they
178 are unsuccessful in life, or wish an "easy living" - but perhaps this
626 attitude is one of modern sophisticates. Certainly the dominant position of the brotherhood is unchallenged. Occasionally differences arise between the headman and the phongyis of a village. But the phongyis invariably prevail. Offending laymen can be "deprived the gate of heaven" by phongyis refusing to accept HSOON, alms, from th this is called inverting the begging bowl THA-BEIT-MAUK-TAI (Begging
[468] bowl-upturn) and is the current phrase for any sort of a "strike".

792 Some unprincipalled phongyis have sought to enrich themselves by
356 accepting gifts of land or other property, or by selling gifts for
[135] money to traders. When they leave the brotherhood and become laymen again this property becomes theirs. Such occurences appear to be rare and are controlled by stipulations of the givers. For example a donor would hesitate to give paddy land to a suspected phongyi but might agree to giving the crops while retaining title.

554 The government or administrative class is looked up to with
647 great respect - in part a carry over from the days of royalty, in part
641 an attitude towards power and influence. However, while the villager today may not know the details of the new constitution he knows there is a "code" wherein he can secure impartial justice.

753 The concept of KARMA (fate) is important only in determining
●777 the general well-being of the individual, as seen in Daw Aw Zar's
262 belief that her general good health was due to a morally-lived previous existence. "It is like a shadow". Some specific situations like being born blind is attributed to ones KARMA - in this case the person had been a notorious fighter of cocks in the previous existence; cocks being frequently blinded in the fights.

Each person is regarded as subject to some special disorder or weakness such as being especially subject to colds or headaches, or stomach troubles. Collectively these are referred to as "age-group" weaknesses. (MIYAT - girls' weakness; DULAH - boys' weaknesses.) But this is due to childhood illnesses and neglect of early troubles rather than KARMA. Persons with the weaknesses noted above avoid cucumbers (a "cold" vegetable), or hot foods including liquor (these cause greater heat to rise to the head), or green or raw vegetables (hard to digest). The choice of the correct diet to suit one's particular condition is important.

751 Bodily exercise is a prime consideration for health. Callis-
526 thenics or sports for this purpose are unknown or unrecognized and by
461 " healthful exercise " is meant everyday work activities. Regular
757 daily motion is regarded as necessary for health, and a purgative is
514 taken regularly once a month. The idea is to " clean out disease ". Purgatives are taken first in most sicknesses. This is followed by drinking preparations in hot water to induce perspiration along with woolen blankets. The colour of the urine is checked "daily" since a too yellow colour indicates an unhealthy condition. If so - one must drink additional quantities of water and coconut water. "Urine takes the place of perspiration in cold weather". Over-working and lack of sleep also lead to unhealthiness. The ideal
[513] sleep period is from 8 p.m. to 6 a.m. with a nap thrown in from 12 to 2 after "breakfast".

158 Too much worrying SAY_TAUNG_LO_MAJEH (mind-beating-because-
753 body-crush) leads to sickness. This is a common problem for mothers who worry about their children's futures. It results in THEHJEH-PIZEH (small black bitter (gall)-disorder) where the gall fluid is

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the ghost who must then render services as requested. "To rear ghosts is like keeping a cobra in the pocket" indicates the delicate relationship between captive ghost and master. An individual with a grudge against another for real or imaginal offenses will frequently secure the services of an influence master and his "pet ghost". When the victim feels the effects, as in cases of sudden illnesses such as appendicitis, heart trouble, or fainting spells, his family contacts another influence master (upper root type) to, by incantations, cast out the ghost from the victim. This results in a secret contest of magic between the influence masters involved.

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In actual practice no influence masters admit to rearing ghosts and the first-cause aggressor does not indentify himself as such. Influence masters play an important part in differences between affinal families. In this case the mother-in-law constantly competes with her son's wife for the attentions of the son. The mother will notice the lack of attentions, or monetary support of the son and his corresponding infatuation for his wife. She will claim that the wife is exercising magical control (usually through food) on the son. An influence master is applied to in order to control this evil influence by incantations, medicine, candles, and always an ingredient of money. When the wife's family understands what is happening they will also secure the help of another specialist to counteract the influence. The son is thus torn between the two forces. He is at first oblivious to this but later becomes uneasy in mind. If the strain on the son is too severe the mother may give in and the difference resolved on her part - whereupon the son continues in his former course. Often he will berate both groups saying " I am only normal, you are foolish to involve yourselves in a dispute". Sometimes the mother wins and the son thanks her for intevening and saving him. Another common situation is where a wife seeks to control the influence of another woman on her husband (when he philanders). In this case the forces are directed against the woman, who is to blame, and not the man.

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In the town centers the decline in one's fortunes is often blamed on the evil influence of one's rival. It is said that administrative

families in Rangoon have worries of this kind - resolved by arrangements with influence masters - usually undertaken by the wives of the families. Ordinarily, violence is not premediated but spur-of-the-moment actions based on passions. If ill-feeling grows gradually it is best handled through the influence masters. The function of this system in the village is to avoid open conflict that might prove disasterous to the solidarity of the community (as say feuding families in open warfare).

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342 like to the bamboo sticks and together with them
824 bound to the roof rafters (Figure 2). The larger leaves of the Ingyin (Shorea robusta) (8) are

8. According to J.G. Scott, Burma, 2nd ed., (London, 1911), p. 500; other botanical explanations by H.R. Spearman, British Burma Gazeteer 1 (Rangoon 1880), pp. 125 ff., H.J. Wehrli, Zur Wirtschafts- und Siedlungs-Geographie von Ober-Birma /Economic and Settlements Geography of Upper Burma/ (Zurich, 1906), p. 111; Ferrars, ibid., p. 227.

sometimes seen as roofing material, pinned together in rows /207/ with bamboo pins and squeezed with poles against the roof (Figure 3).
342 The grass roofs, particularly during the windy,
[656] dry winter season, are, of course, an extreme fire hazard and are therefore now prohibited for the cities. There--wherever brick or corrugated tin roofs have not been adopted--a roofing material, called "wakat," a shingle, cut from braided bamboo work is used. As a poor protec-
355 tion in case of fire, which frequently burns down whole villages, a wooden hook, attached to a long handle is employed to tear off those parts of the grass roof which have caught fire and a damper, made of bamboo braided material is used to extinguish the sparks. These two utensils can be seen in practically every house (cf. Plate IV, 1 and especially Plate IV, 3); sometimes a number of jugs, filled with water, are seen standing at the ridge of the roof for purposes of fire fighting.

342 The Burmese attributes good and bad luck in
● 777 all his undertakings to the influence of the in-
787 numerable benign and evil spirits (Nat) who were originally outside the Buddhist creed, and he makes his decisions dependent on omens and oracles

342 of soothsayers (9). Consequently he is naturally
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9. Bedin-saya, derived from Sanskrit, meaning Veda teacher. Judson's Burmese-English Dictionary (Rangoon, 1893), p. 782.

very careful when it comes to the construction of his house. With the aid of the soothsayer the building site must be investigated, the day and hour when to start the construction, and the choice of the timber have to be considered carefully. The shape of the posts, the irregularities of their forms, the knots in the wood where the branches were furnish important clues for the fate of the future occupants. The number of the
342 posts varies in accordance with the size of the
776 house. Usually six posts are erected for the main tract and each post has its own name. One of the posts is considered by most tribes as the seat of the house spirits. In the Burmese house this is the southeastern corner post of the main
[764] tract. The body of a deceased person is always deposited close to it until the coffin arrives. A coconut always hangs there in honor of the Mahagiri-Nat (Min Magayi), the household spirit /Figure 3--Shan house with leaf roof, Southern Shan State of Mongpai (Burmese: Mobye)/ and the coconut must always be replaced when the milk
342 dries up. To avoid bad luck which spirits, liv-
776 ing inside the wood knots, might threaten, the
777 tops of the posts, or at least every third one, are covered with white or red fabric patches; sometimes for good luck, some Thanaka paste (grated rind of Murraya exotica) is smeared on them. Even the clerics do not seem to be immune
346 to the evil influence of these nature spirits,
776 whose origins date back to pre-Buddhistic times,
777 for these protective coverings of the posts can be observed not only at residential dwellings, guest houses, bridges, etc., but also at religi-

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776 ous buildings, such as monasteries, /208/ monas-
777 tic rest houses and wooden chapels. The bury-
782 ing alive of human sacrifices at the posts of
776 the foundations of the entrances was in old Bur-
mese days considered as an indispensable method of protecting important buildings, such as princely palaces, city gates, bridges, etc. The ghost of the entombed—according to Burmese belief those who have been killed by violence are rooted to the spot where they died--is supposed to watch as a guardian over the building, post, or bridge foundation.

As late as the middle of the past century,
782 more than fifty human beings were buried alive
787 when the foundations for the palace and the city walls of Mandalay were laid. But the protective power of those ghosts was of limited duration. From certain omens it could be predicted that the protection was going to cease, and then it was time to leave the place which was open to disaster. This was the explanation given for the frequent change of residence of the Burmese rulers. The small chapels with their stone images of door guardians at the gates and corners of the walls of the palace area of Mandalay still indicate the locations where these human sacrifices have been buried, though the modern inhabitants will not admit this to a European. At the corners, filled oil jugs were sunk over the buried people; the dwindling of the oil in the containers, which were examined every seven years, foreshadowed an approaching catastrophe in 1880. They tried to avoid this catastrophe with new sacrifices. Nevertheless, it happened. The British occupied the country and the kingdom perished (10).

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782 10. Primarily, according to Shway Yoe, ibid., pp. 482 ff. It is well known that the burying of live sacrifices at construction foundations is a custom, widespread all over the world,

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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Taninla kya
Ta-sè nga
Ne nya
She yat ga.

Monday's number, I ween,
Is always fifteen;
The tiger's the beast,
And its place is the East.

There are various ways of calculating the horoscope, 787
most of them not to be understanded of the people, but the most popular, because the preliminaries are evident to everybody, is from the numbers given above. A person born on Monday remains under the influence of the moon for fifteen years. Then he passes into the house of Mars and sojourns there for eight years. At the age of twenty-three, Mercury presides over him and continues to do so for the next seventeen years, and so on to the end, which mounts up to 108 years. Should he outlive that he would begin the circle over again. Another way is to divide the inquirer's age by eight. If there is no remainder, the horoscope is made up from the gyo under which he was born. If there is a remainder, the Bedin Sayā counts it out round the figure, in the direction of the hands of a watch, commencing with the birth planet. Thus a man born on Thursday, now twenty-nine years of age, would be under the influence of the moon. The gyo at the four cardinal points, east, south, west, and north are happy in their influences, those on the diagonal rhumbs not so good. Yahu, and especially Saturday, have 787
a particularly sinister influence. A man does most of the 828
stupid and vicious things in his life while he is in Saturn's house. A young man born on Wednesday will need a lot of ballast to tide him through the ten years of Saturn, seeing that he enters on the danger at the age of seventeen.

Little gilded and red painted signboards are put up at 787
all the pagodas, displaying the nan, the symbol, and the 782
relative position of all the planets. Sometimes people 778
worshipping at the pagoda go to the point of the gyo, in whose house they were born, and offer up their lauds and candles there. But this is a mere matter of individual fancy, and is hardly open to those born in the diagonally situated

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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787 houses, for the niche shrines, if there are more than one at
782 the pagoda, are always at the four cardinal points, and if there
118 is only one, as is usual at small pagodas, it is to the East.
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The sadā is carefully kept by the parents until the child
787 is old enough to take care of it himself, and thenceforward it
768 is guarded as the most valuable possession the person has. No matter how often the name is changed the new one is never put in the sadā, so that this certificate cannot be trusted to implicitly for a man's name. Some of them are very beautifully engraved and ornamented, but they are naturally not often to be seen. I only know of two in England at the present time (1881), one of which is my own and the other belonging to a travelling Burman. When a man dies, the sadā is either destroyed or preserved as a memento by the family. A great many sadās were found and carried off as curiosities during the Third Burmese War. There is one at Abbotsford.

787 A curious instance of the firm belief of the nation in the
436 reasonableness of the conviction that the planet under which
643 one is born influences the fates and actions of one's life, is
177 the fact that royalty ordained that the coins and measures used by traders should bear the emblem of the monarch's birthday. Thus for example all the gold coins used in Upper Burma bazaars during the penultimate reign had the figure of a lion on them, Mindôn Min having been born on a Tuesday. The few remaining from previous reigns bearing other symbols were rigidly kept out of the sight of Burmese officials. The Convenor of the Fifth Great Synod, though probably the mildest and best sovereign Burma ever had, would certainly have stood no trifling in matters of this kind, which, if not amounting actually to a part of the religion, were at any rate very intimately connected with it. His son Thibaw Min, however, notoriously indifferent to religion, if a stronger word might not even be admissible, let the old weights remain in use, and probably called it the march of civilisation.

852 The naming and the construction of the sadā being
951 finished, the principal events in the youthful Burman's life
[291] are over, and the children run about in as happy a state of nudity as the respectability of the family permits; and boys and girls steal grandmamma's cheroot, and potter about

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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all carefully preserved, along with many other gifts of the home-keeping pious; rolls of yellow cloth, Dutch clocks, betel-nut boxes, spare spittoons, and begging-pots, rugs, and pots of honey. The images of the kyaung, contrary to the usual custom, are placed in a glass case in the centre of the room, instead of at the east end. This situation is due to their value, most of them being of silver or gold, and one or two studded with precious stones.

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The Thiho Taik was certainly one of the neatest and most methodically arranged monasteries to be seen anywhere. Unfortunately it was burnt with many others in the year of the Annexation. There were many more gorgeously decorated, and still more that were larger. The biggest in Burma was probably the Maha Yatana Paungdaw, which stood near the great Arakan Pagoda in the suburbs of Mandalay, and was in great part burnt down in 1879. The building, with its encircling platform, measured 440 feet by 200, and was supported by 404 massive teak trees, none less than two feet in diameter, and the central posts, which upheld the topmost tier of roof, must have been quite eighty feet in height. Near Maulmein, in Lower Burma, there is another kyaung remarkable for the huge girth of its posts.

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The brick monasteries are commonest in the neighbourhood of Mandalay and other old capitals. They are covered with chunam, and in place of having a spire, are themselves built in the form of a pya-that, rising in the shape of rectangular terraces to a considerable height. Round the central hall, which is often divided by a gilt railing across the centre, are a number of cloisters and corridors, which ensure a perpetual cool breeze. Many of these monasteries are adorned with fresco paintings in the hall and in the honeycomb of corridors, representing usually scenes from the Zats, passages in the life of Shin Gautama, an especially favourite one being the Jataka of Nemi, where the pious prince is represented as a white ghostly figure in a chariot, passing, like the *pius Æneas*, through the dismal abodes of Hell and the six heavens of the nats. Some other representations portray the occupations of daily life, such as feasting, hunting, weaving, and the different nationalities to be seen

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792 solicitous as to their welfare. A regular thing after worship
• 778 in the Arakan Pagoda at Mandalay is to go and feed the great turtle in the tank at the back of the cloisters. There are rows of women selling balls of cooked rice, cakes, and other delicacies which the pious buy for the consumption of the sacred reptiles. There was great consternation when, in March 1879, the tank dried up and many of the huge creatures died before the people could get water enough from the river, brought in chatties and household utensils, to save them from such a sad fate. The circumstance was supposed to be a sign from the nat guardians of the place of their abhorrence and anger at the shedding of the royal blood by King Theebaw in his holocaust of February. But taking further and totally innocent life seemed a rather singular fashion of expressing disapprobation.

778 The dog-fish of the Thihadaw Monastery, situated on a small island in the middle of the third and lowest defile of the Irrawaddy, are particularly celebrated, and having been referred to by every traveller in Burma, the little kyaung with its stone pagoda (one of the few of that material in the country) has become a regular show-place for all passengers to Bhamaw. The great five-feet-long, gape-mouthed creatures seem to know their bounds, and do not wander farther than half a mile or so from their sanctuary.

But this is far from being such a remarkable case as previous writers have seemed to imply. There is a tank with tame fish at the Maze Monastery near the Shwe Dagên pagoda in Rangoon. All monastic tanks have fish more or less tame, according to the good nature and sympathies of the cenobites, and there is, or was, at least one other place on the Irrawaddy where the fish were as domestic as the dog-fish of Thihadaw. This was near the Kyaik-lat pagoda and monastery, on one of the numerous mouths of the great river. I knew the place well years ago, and then there used to be great conflicts between the ill-conditioned, impious fishermen and the monks. The fish were of the species called nga-dan, well known on English breakfast-tables under the name of "butter-fish," and to provide for the unscrupulous appetites of the foreigner, people used to come at night to catch the unsuspecting nga-dan. The

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yahans had taught the fish to come and be fed when they beat on the bank and cried Tit, tit, tit; and it was easy to bring them up at any time by following this method. The fishermen came about midnight, and stamped on the bank, and when the nga-dan came, promptly whisked them out with a landing net. The scholars and novitiants had to take turn at watching for these marauders, and if any were discovered, the abbot with his entire *posse comitatus* sallied out to the rescue of his domesticated fish. If the impious life-taker was alone, or if the abbot's was the stronger party, the offenders were incontinently thrashed, and the young ko-yins wielded their cudgels with an energy and knowledge of tender spots which ordinarily made the victim give up his vile practices for the future. If, however, the law-breakers were in force, then the abbot adopted less violent tactics—though it would have gone hard with any hardened sinner who might have ventured to strike a pyin-sin. He simply sat down and preached the Law to them, recited the Ten Precepts, enumerated the horrors of hell, and thus soon choked them off for that occasion at any rate. But the presence and example of the English, and more especially their money, has a very bad effect on weak-minded, unprincipled men. In Upper Burma such a contest between wrong-doers and the upholders of the first of the Five Precepts could never have been prolonged—Thihadaw, where such scandals never occur, is indeed an instance of it; and since the country-side would not rise to the aid of the pyin-sin, they had to adopt other measures to save their friends and enjoy peaceful nights. They persuaded a pious supporter to dig a large tank near the river-bank and to connect it by a narrow ditch with the river. Then they devoted the results of a whole morning's begging to enticing the nga-dan into the tank, beating first at the mouth of their canal and then all along the banks of it, till they had got all safe in the tank, which abutted on the enclosure of the kyaung. But alas! this was done in the rainy season, and when the hot weather came round the water got shallow and warm, and the fish sickened and died; and in order to preserve at least some of them, the survivors had to be taken back to the river again. When I last was at Kyaik-lat, there

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778 were still a good number of the tame fish, tame enough to allow you to stroke them and put gold-leaf on their heads, but there were far from being as many as there should have been had the villagers duly observed the teachings of the [177.77] Buddha. The primeval simplicity of the people is fast fading away throughout the province. The travelling Englishman finds no difficulty in either getting people to sell fowls, or others still less hampered by doubts, to wring their necks and cook them.

792 108 The monastery sometimes has a name of its own; more frequently it is called by the Pali name of the town or pagoda near which it lies, or by that of its prior. The Thayet-daw Kyaung in Rangoon is so called from the magnificent mango-trees that grow within it. Well known in Upper Burma is the monastery of U Sandimā, or the Mingala-san Taik, where King Mindôn received his instruction in the religious texts which he knew so well. The name is usually given by the founder after consultation with the proposed head of the community, and it cannot be said that the consultation results in much originality.

792 Here and there throughout the country there are a few yatheit, hermits who withdraw into solitude in forests and desert places, and, like the old rathi (from which word of course the Burman term is derived), they live on wild fruits and roots and the chance alms of passers-by. But as the rathi were closely connected with the Brahmins, and as the custom is not recommended by the Buddha, nor looked upon with favour by the people, it is not of frequent occurrence. Occasionally a very austere monk buries himself in the solitude of the jungle during the season of Lent, in order the better to devote himself to meditation, but even this is not common. Nevertheless in the rocks above Nyaung-u, near Pagān, there are a few cells dug out high up in the cliffs which are always occupied, as any one who has gone out to shoot the rock pigeons which abound there will very speedily find. The yatheit comes down, confiscates the bag, and drives away the sportsman with terrible threats of future punishment. Such caves and holes in the rocks are not uncommon on other parts of the Irrawaddy, wherever the ascetic is able to climb up and finds the stratum soft enough to hack

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out with his axe and hollow with his finger-nails. There were a few such cells cut in the rocks at the back of Mandalay Hill, and visitors to the sacred spot occasionally came across one of the hermits striding along, wrapped in thought, grasping an iron staff hung with rings, the rattle of which warns the people to get out of the way and not disturb the holy man's meditations. A few go away from human society altogether, just as St. Simeon Stylites isolated himself on a pillar, and the old Culdee monks from the north of England and Scotland wandered off to the snowy wastes of Iceland, there to seek repose and relief from the turmoil of the world. It is said that the Thadda, the grammar, was added to the Bitaghat, that the hermits who had withdrawn to the jungle might not destroy the power of the sermons and lauds by mispronunciation. 792 [788]

Mandalay Hill is always occupied, for the spot is particularly sacred. King Mindôn used to send thither daily a hundred fowls which had been bought and saved from death, and the pious gave them plenty to eat. Similar proceedings caused the sneer of Purchas, "For men they hadde not an hospitall that were thus hospitall to fowles"; but this is hardly deserved, at any rate in Burma. There in every monastery the Kappiya-dayaka has a stock of money, raised by selling the presents given to the monks, which he devotes in charity to the well-deserving sick and to poor travellers, while any one is welcome at all times to shelter and food in the kyaung as long as he conducts himself properly. The yatheit may be looked upon with pious awe for his austerities and mortifications of the flesh, but the ordinary pyin-sin is more favourably regarded. The building of monasteries and the giving of presents to their inmates is a constant strain on the generosity of the people. It is far more difficult to keep the balance of merit on the right side in Burma than in other countries. Almsgiving is a constant and imperative expense, in addition to regular and personal worship at the pagoda. In Thibet wind or water drives the prayer-machines for extinguishing sin, and the goodman acquires merit while he is snoring at night with his wife at his back. In some parts practical householders are able to calculate exactly what is set down to 778 741 782 735

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CHAPTER XV

PAGODAS

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SOME one with a greater regard for alliteration than the truth once said that the principal productions of Burma were pagodas, pôngyis, and pariah dogs. As a superficial impression this is neat, and therefore it will continue to be quoted by forcible feebles to the end of their days, in Bayswater or Ealing. It certainly is marvellous how many pagodas there are in the country, far exceeding the number of those raised in the sacred island of Ceylon, or by the Thibetans and Chinese, pious Buddhists, though they have fallen into sad doctrinal heresies. A Burman does not notice the multitude of the religious edifices in his country till he leaves it and finds how far more sparing other nations are in their places of worship. The poorest village has its neatly kept shrine, with the remains of others mouldering away round about it. No hill is so steep and rocky, or so covered with jungle, as to prevent the glittering gold or snow-white spire rising up to guard the place from ghouls and sprites, and remind the surrounding people of the Saviour Lord, the teacher of Nirvana and the Law. There is good reason for this multiplication of fanes. No work of merit is so richly paid as the building of a pagoda. The Payā-taga is regarded as a saint on earth, and when he dies he obtains the last release; for him there are no more deaths. The man who sets up a row of water-pots on a dusty road does well; he who raises a ta-gôn-daing, or sacred post, who builds a rest-house, presents an image or a bell, or founds a monastery, gains much kutho and ensures a happy transincorporation when he passes away; but the

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●778 782 Payā-taga is finally freed from the three calamities, his kan is complete, the merits outweigh the demerits, and he attains the holy rest. That, at any rate, is the comforting belief, cherished by the most reprobate. Little wonder then that, with such a glorious reward in store for him, the pious man hoards his wealth for such an object, and that pagodas are so plentiful in the land. It avails little to repair a previous dedication, unless it be one of the great world shrines at Rangoon, Pegu, Prome, or Mandalay. In the case of ordinary pagodas the merit of the repair goes practically entirely to the original founder. Hence that puzzle to Europeans, the building of a bright new place of worship close to one which a very little care would save from crumbling away into a simple tumulus.

778 The word pagoda is seemingly a kind of verbal *hysteron proteron*, a metathesis of the Cinghalese dhagoba, derived from the Sanskrit dhatu garba, a relic shrine, and is properly applied only to a monument raised over some of the remains of the Lord Buddha. Such are dat-daw, pieces of Shin Gautama's flesh; an-daw, his teeth; san-daw, his hair; thin-gyat-daw, the frontal bone; hnyat-yo-daw, the jaw-bone, besides others. In addition to these there are the sacred utensils and other articles used by the teacher of the Law, such as the thengan, the yellow robe; the thabeit, or alms-bowl; the taung-we-daw, his staff; the padi, or rosary, and other things of the same kind. These holy relics, however, could not go far, even if they had been equitably divided between the great countries professing Buddhism, which they certainly were not. Burma alone claims more personal remains than could possibly have existed. The same thing is, I believe, true of Popish relics in Europe, where pieces of the true cross are as abundant as portions of the dress of the founder of Buddhism are in Burma. It is useless attempting to prove or disprove the authenticity of particular relics. To admit of the multiplication of shrines, models of the sacred things are permitted, and these only, in metal, precious stones, or clay, are deposited under the vast majority of pagodas. But images and sacred books are also so enshrined, and thus arises the classification of the four kinds of shrines, the Zedi le-ba.

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1. Datu zedi, erected over relics of the Buddha, or models of these. 778

2. Paribawga zedi, over the sacred eight utensils, or their imitations.

3. Oddeitha zedi, enclosing images.

4. Damma zedi, enclosing the sacred books, such as the *Bitaghat thôn-bôn*, the three baskets of the Law, and other sacred volumes, like the *Bagawa*, appointed to be read during Lent.

It may be well to remark that the word "pagoda" is not known at all in Burmese, either in its English or Cinghalese form, any more than the word Mandarin is known in China. Such a building is called a Zedi, from the Pali chaitya, meaning the offering-place, or place of prayer, but the expression Payā, applicable as well to the image as to the shrine, is most frequently used in reference to the more famous centres of worship. 778 192

The greatest of the payās, such as the Shwe Dagôn in Rangoon, the most famous of all; the Shwe Maw-daw, the lotus-shrine of Pegu; the Shwe San-daw, the depository of the sacred hair at Prome; and the Mahā Myat Muni, the temple of the most exalted saint in Mandalay; all these were founded by single individuals, or brothers to whom the most excellent Master had given hairs from his head to deposit in the specified place. How the exact spot was found, and how successive kings increased the size of the first erection, and donations flowed in from the pious in all parts of the world to beautify and preserve the building, all these particulars are recorded in the palm-leaf records of the various temples. Many later Zedi, however, have been erected by villages, or by public subscription in whole districts, as pious memorials, or to commemorate some particular event, as well as for the obvious purposes of public convenience on the duty days of the month. Very many, and among them some of the most beautiful, are, on the other hand, the outcome of purely individual desire for merit. Some, such as the chaste, white Sibyo shrine at Mengôn, near Mandalay, are built in remembrance of individuals; the graceful pagoda mentioned being erected by a recent monarch in memory of a favourite queen. Under all, however, to render 778 173 778 [735]

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778 them sacred, are buried some of the holy things. Without these, no hti, or umbrella, could be placed on the summit of the spire.

These objects are deposited in the tāpana taik, a square chamber, built in the basement of every payā, and always the first thing finished. Not only one, but many things are thus enclosed. Captain Cox, who saw the first beginnings of the huge Mengôn pagoda, describes the tāpaṅa taik of that vast amount of brickwork. It measured sixty-one and a half feet square, and was eleven feet deep. The interior was plastered white and gaily painted, and was divided into a number of compartments of various sizes to receive the offerings of the king and the courtiers, the innermost naturally containing the most sacred. The dedicated treasures themselves were very numerous, including a great variety of miniature pagodas and monasteries in silver and gold of varying degrees of purity; images of the same materials and of polished alabaster, some of them four feet high; a number of gold caskets, probably containing models of the sacred teeth and bones; besides these, there was a miscellaneous collection of other things—slabs of coloured glass, precious stones, white jars, such as are used by the royal family, and finally a soda-water machine, then almost as much a novelty
000 in England as in Burma. The offerings did not strike Captain Cox as being very valuable, but the then king, Bodaw Payā, cared a good deal more for his own special glory than for the raising of religion. Not long afterwards he claimed to be a new Buddha, and because the Sacred Order would not recognise his right to the title, turned heretic, and victimised the monks with renegade zeal.

778 The relic chamber at the great Shwe Maw-daw offers a
173 very decided contrast. The Buddha gave two hairs of his head to two brothers, with instructions to enshrine them on the Thu-da-thana hill. An earthquake revealed the exact spot to them, and a host of byammās and nat-dêwas came down to take part in the depositing of the relics. A chamber, ten cubits square, was prepared, and at the bottom was laid a slab of pearly white marble, set with diamonds. A similar slab, studded with emeralds, formed the lid. The Tha-gyā king placed a golden cradle in the centre of the bottom

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slab, and round this were arranged images of the chief disciples of Shin Gautama, each holding a golden bouquet. The jewelled casket containing the hairs was placed on the cradle, and high festival was held for many days. Numbers of other images of the Buddha himself, and of many eminent disciples, were placed round the sides of the tāpana taik, and countless offerings were made, the Tha-gyā king giving ten billions of gold, each of his queens forty thousand of silver; the father of the two brethren one thousand of gold, and many others equally great sums. But this was in the brave days of old, when imagination was vivid and evidence cursory.

Still even nowadays very costly offerings are often deposited in the relic chamber. An almost invariable gift is a representation in gold of the Lord Buddha, with the hooded snake raising itself over him, as in the images of Vishnu in India, or a great model of the Great Master as he received the supreme wisdom under the bawdi-bin. Examples of the last may be seen in the South Kensington Museum, as also of the Sabupati payā, representing him with the tower-like royal crown, the wings on legs and arms, and other emblems recalling the king's son who went out to dedicate himself as the Buddha and the conqueror of Mān-nat. Open-handed piety is twice as frequent as of yore, only the chroniclers of modern days have not the florid imaginations of their predecessors.

The dedication of a payā is a high festival, but there is no prescribed ritual in the sacred books, and each individual pôngyi, after reciting the precepts and the Itti pithaw, has a form of his own, embracing portions of the law and the sacred discourses. A prominent function in the service, as indeed always in giving alms, is the yeset-cha, the pouring out of water drop by drop on the ground. The great king Bimbathara did it himself from a gold cup when he presented the Weluwun or Bamboo-grove monastery, and so likewise it is recorded of the rich man Anātabein. The idea is to share the merit of the action with all creatures, and at the same time to call to witness, besides the mathôn-daye nats, all gods and men, that the donor may have due reward for his piety. The same thing is frequently

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●778 done in order to legally hand over a gift. As the water
789 falls drop by drop on the ground, the pôngyis read out
431 the formulæ, the substance of which is as follows: "Firm in my belief in the three precious things, the Lord, the Law, and the Assembly, I make this offering that I may be freed from all present and future miseries. May all creatures suffering torment in the four states of punishment reach the happy seats of nat-dêwas. May all my relatives, friends, and all men inhabiting this earth and the ten thousand worlds, share in the benefits of this meritorious work. O earth, and ye spirits, guardians of this place, bear me witness to the piety of this gift."

778 It is worthy of note that it is explicitly stated that the
735 inward dispositions of the giver have nothing to do with the
775 merit resulting from a good work. The merits are strictly proportioned to the degree of sanctity or perfection of him who receives the alms. Hence the glorious release which awaits an otherwise bad man who erects a pagoda.

778 Zedis are of many shapes and degrees of elaboration,
773 but one common idea may be traced through them all. If
346 you ask a Burman monk the cause of the variations in the form of the payā, he will tell you that the Buddha left no instructions regarding them in the holy books, but had only said that a small mound should be raised over his bones in the form of a heap of rice. Apart from the relation in which the payā stands to the Buddha himself as the representation of the holy one sunk in meditation, the ostensible object is the preservation of relics, and these are to be laid in a shrine, like the lotus-bud of which the zedi is typical, and later by an extending of the lines this got the form of a bell or spire. In the Malla Lingaya Wuttu we are told that the infant Buddha in the womb of Queen Maia resembled a lotus-bud, or a beautiful pagoda, and the conjunction of this idea with the simple original tumulus has undoubtedly led to the typical form as now seen in Burma. The names for various parts of the building all recall the idea of the flower-bud, with its young leaves folded in adoration. Thus the rounded swelling just below the slender spire is called the hnget-pyaw-bu, the banana palm-bud, and on the extreme summit

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at the top of the hti is the seinbu, the diamond-bud, which in not a few poor districts is represented by a soda-water bottle, which combines the resemblance to a flower-bud with the good offices of a lightning conductor. The hnget-pyaw-bu is usually surrounded with lavish adornment of the sacred lotus. The payās that rise up into a plain cone or spire are therefore the nearest to the original tumulus, the top being simply drawn out into a conical point. On the other hand, the bell-like pagodas are only a direct imitation of the lotus-bud, and this has led to the more rounded dome-like forms, sometimes called thabeit hmauk, the inverted begging-pot. This term, however, is applied to the swelling-out round part on every pagoda, and has thence been borrowed to designate special shrines. It has nothing to do with phallic worship as some have imagined, nor is there any idea of the resemblance to a human skull. Such grim reminders of mortality common in Thibetan Buddhism do not commend themselves to the Burman.

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The buildings are all made of crumbling, sun-dried brick, for it is enough to gratify the pious feeling of the moment, and even the long years that the most solidly built stone edifices might last would only be as an evanescent drop in the stream of eternity. Thus the Burman sees no harm in building pagodas of sand, or even cloth and pasteboard, and in the national annals the victory which false shrines won over more substantial erections is a favourite theme. In Lower Burma, the payās are mostly of the simplest pattern, derived from the archetypal rice-heap and the lotus-bud. They are solid pyramidal cones, rising with a gradually diminishing rounded outline, and surmounted by a hti, or "umbrella" spire, a construction resembling the musical instrument called a *chapeau chinois*, formed of concentric rings, lessening to a rod with a small vane called hnget-ma-nā on the top. They are almost without exception erected on more or less elevated platforms. Burma is quite different from other Buddhist countries, where the relics are exhibited on great feast days. The payā is perfectly solid with the exception of the tāpana taik, situated directly under the spire and the hti, and

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346 great wooden shed, hangs one of enormous size, inside which five or six men can stand with ease. It was presented by King Tharrawaddy in 1840, on the occasion of a state visit to Rangoon and the payā. It measures seven feet seven and a half inches across the mouth, fifteen inches in thickness, fourteen feet high, and weighs 94,682 lbs. With a proper hammer it ought to give forth a splendid sound, but the ordinary antlers and posts of wood used fail to do it justice. It is second in size in Burma to the great bell at Mengôn, which, apart from the monster at Moscow, is the largest in the world. There is a long inscription on the Maha Ganda (the great, sweet voice) at Rangoon, recounting the merits gained by the monarch who presented it and the praises of him chanted by the Nats, the guardians of the empire. The bell has a curious history. After the second Burmese war, the English made an attempt to carry it off to Calcutta as a trophy, but by some mishap the Maha Ganda toppled over, and sank to the bottom of the Rangoon river. English engineers made several attempts, but failed to raise it. The Burmans, after some years, begged that the sacred bell might be restored to them, if they could recover it. The petition was granted with a sneer, but they set to work, got it out, and carried it in triumph to the place where it now hangs. This success was ascribed by the thoughtful to supernatural aid, but the common people chuckled in a carnal and exultant manner over the victory, and not without very fair reason, for their appliances were of the most primitive kind.

●778 Buddhists fix the date of the erection of the Shwe Dagôn Payā in 588 B.C., but the site must have been sacred for cycles before, since the relics of the three preceding Buddhas were found interred, when the two Talaing brothers, Poo (dove) and Tapaw (plenty), came with their precious eight hairs to the Theinguttara hill. The original payā is said in the palm-leaf history to have been only twenty-seven feet high, and it has attained its present height by being repeatedly cased with an outer covering of bricks
346 several feet in thickness. Every now and again it has been
788 completely regilt. Sinbyu Shin, king of Burma, towards the end of the last century, used his own weight in gold in

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the process. He scaled twelve stone three, a remarkably good weight for a Burman, and the gold used cost over £9000. The last occasion when the whole vast bulk was gilt was in 1871, when King Mindôn sent down his hti. On every feast-day and uboné, however, numbers of the pious clamber up wherever they can and fix on little squares of gold-leaf, packets of which can be bought at the stalls below for a few rupees. The consequence is that every now and again the spire breaks out in a rash of bright patches, which give it a mysterious, rough, uneven appearance on clear moonlight nights. Of late years a great part of the lower portion has been covered with thin plates of gold brought by the pious from all parts of the Buddhist world.

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It is difficult to say what the real age of the building is, if, as sceptical Englishmen tell us, we are not to place implicit faith in the palm-leaf record. Trustworthy documents reach no further back than the time of the Peguan Queen Shin-saw-bu, who reigned in the early part of the sixteenth century; but there is every reason to believe that a pagoda existed there long before her time. The shrine has remained unaltered in size or shape since 1564, and probably will never be altered again. At all times and at all distances it looks imposing and sublime, like the religion whose followers have built it.

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At the base of the pagoda hill are many monasteries embowered in their groves of palmyra palms and shady trees; and to the south is a small convent of nuns, not far from the zayat which the king of Siam had built for pilgrims from his dominions. Similar rest-houses line the Saung-dan all the way up to the pagoda, and they always have occupants; while at the season of the feast in Tabaung they are crowded to overflowing. Lepers, and cripples, and nuns in their white robes, line the steps, and cry out in piteous tones for alms from the passers-by. Nearer the top and round the platform itself are sellers of candles and coloured tapers, Chinese incense-sticks, and prayer-flags, along with abundance of gold-leaf. Numbers of young girls sit about with flowers, especially of the lotus, and meats of different kinds for offerings. Others —these always enfranchised pagoda slaves—sell toys and

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articles for household use. The platform is never deserted. Even long after midnight the voice of the worshipper may be heard in the night air, chanting in solemn monotone his pious aspirations, while on a duty-day, and especially on a feast-day, the laughing, joyous crowd of men and maidens, in their gay national dress, makes the platform of the Shwe Dagôn one of the finest sights in the world.

The Shwe Dagôn Payā is by far the most widely celebrated of the great Buddhist shrines, but there are others which, if not so venerated in other lands, still enjoy an even greater local reputation for sanctity, and attract pilgrims from all parts of Burma and the dependent hills, with now and again a band of pious worshippers from distant countries. Chief among these is the Shwe Hmaw-daw at Pegu, which commands Talaing worship before even the shrine of "the slanted beam" on the Theinguttara hill. The pond close by it was covered with lotus blossoms immediately on the construction of the shapely spire and the great Tha-gyā Min, and countless Byammās and Nat-déwas assisted at the enshrinement of the relics. As with many other fanes, the king granted to the pagoda, and set apart from secular uses for ever, the whole space round it on which the shadow of the original pile fell between sunset and sunrise. Several hundred families were dedicated to its service, and in 1881 large sums were raised throughout all the low country for the manufacture of a new hti and the gilding of the whole surface, while many wondrous signs in the neighbourhood attested the sacred character of the undertaking. Similarly the Shwe San-daw at Prome, with its multitude of bells on the cramped hill-top, enjoys a special reputation on account of the prophecy there spoken by Shin Gautama himself, and the connection of the payā with the national hero-king, Dwut-tabaung, as recorded in the sacred books. In proof of this there exists to the present day, and may be seen at the foot of the hill, a huge stone with an inscription which none but the pure-minded can read, and few even of them understand. In other places examples of this duganan kye-ganan, a kind of cypher-writing, or cryptograph, as it appears to the unenfranchised, exists, and usually records in mystic phraseology and inverted orthography the alms presented to

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the pagoda. Many of the lists of donations are, however, graven in a less cramped kyauk-sa, or "stone writing," the givers having probably had a weak hankering after earthly fame. Thus a goodly marble slab with a long list of names may be seen at the Shwe Hmaw-daw, and a tablet near the Mya Thalôn, the Temple of the Emerald Bed (of the Buddha), at Ma-gwe in Upper Burma records how Min Din and Min La-go had in the year 2399 of religion covered the whole payā with yellow cloth, repaired it thoroughly, and had it painted red and gold. An exact account is given of the amount of materials used and the money paid to workmen, and the inscription ends up with a prayer that the family of the donors might be gratified with the birth of a son. Near it is a magic stone with the figure of a hare, surrounded by stars, deeply graven in it to represent the moon, and a peacock to represent the sun.

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A frequent adjunct of many pagodas is the Shwe Zet-daw, the imprint of the Lord Buddha's foot. It is too nearly square to command a painter's or sculptor's praise, and the toes are all of the same length, as may be seen in the example carried off by Captain Marryat, the novelist, in the first Burmese war, and now preserved in the British Museum. The sole is divided into a hundred and eight squares (taya shi' kwet), and on them are many lekkhana, representations of monasteries, pyathats, tigers, kalawaiks, henthas, parrots, seipputi fish, and the like, to signify that all things were under the feet of the Great Master. The number of beads on the rosary corresponds with the number of squares on the Shwe Zet-daw. The most famous example is at the pagoda of that name east of Mandalay, the great resort of the Shans, and another well-known one is opposite Magwe, inland from Minbu, where the mud volcanoes are, "the boiling vats of the nagās." But there are many specimens all over the country, not a few with the figure of a nagā, or sea monster, reared over them.

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Most famous among the small pagodas is the Kyaik-hti-yo, insignificant in size, but unique from its position. The hill on which it stands takes its name from the payā, and is over three thousand five hundred feet in height. On its summit are numbers of granitoid boulders, many of them

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balanced in a most extraordinary way, and all the more striking surmounted by little shrines. The Kyaik-hti-yo stands on a huge boulder, which itself rests on a projecting rock, separated from the rest of the hill by a chasm, fathomless to the eye, and reaching, so say the villagers, far below the depth of the hill. The boulder stands on the extreme verge of the bare rock, and hangs over it as if a gust of wind or a few extra pounds added would make it topple over and crash down the dizzy height far away into the green valley below. To this shrine people from all parts of the country, but more especially the Talaings, come in the month of February, and cast jewellery and precious stones into the yawning rift, and, clambering up the rock by the aid of a bamboo ladder, cover the payā with flowers and small lighted candles, making it look like a new nebulous constellation from the far-off plains. Inquirers are told with the utmost confidence that the pagoda is five thousand years old. It certainly has been there time out of mind, and the boulder has solely been kept in its place by the hair buried under the shrine, and given to a hermit by the great Budh himself when he returned from Tawa-deintha, the second heaven of the Nat-déwas, on the occasion of his preaching the Law to his mother. Near it is a spring which always flows freely with crystalline water, unless there is evil talk among the assembled people or if the sexes are not separated. A complete Thin-bông-gyi, the alphabet, is graven on the rock. The view from the pagoda is superb; bounded on the east by the blue Martaban hills, fading away into the dim peaks of Siam, and extending southwards over tangled jungle and yellow paddy lands to the bright waves of the Gulf of Martaban, while to the west the jewelled speck of the pagoda at Pegu almost leads one to imagine the stately bulk of the sacred Shwe Dagôn beyond.

There are many such shrines on the abrupt limestone hills in the Maulmein district, where the devotee has to clamber up bare rock faces, and scramble through treacherous débris, occasionally swinging over perilous deeps on the precarious footing of a rough bamboo ladder; his offerings tied to his back, and his heart between his teeth. And yet

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women are found to make the ascent, especially at the Zwè-kabin, the precipitous "Duke of York's nose," some forty miles up the Sittang river from Maulmein, where the Englishman is lost in amazement as to how they ever got the bricks and ironwork up the rocks to construct the pagoda and the hti. Yet thousands of people scramble up at the time of the annual feast, and the pagoda is as well adorned with offerings as any in the flat lands down by the sea, where a rise of a few feet in the ocean would put hundreds of square miles under water.

Every district pagoda has its special feast and all are well attended, for even though the locality may be thinly populated there are always to be found visitors from other places round about; partly as a kind of neighbourly courtesy, partly because there is always some fun in the shape of a travelling troupe, or a marionette play, at a pagoda feast, and chiefly, there can be no denying, from a feeling of genuine piety and a real desire to acquire merit. Pagoda feasts enable a Burman to see the world, as far as it can be seen in his native land. Without the periodical festivals he would only stop chewing betel in the wattled bothy where he was born to go out and smoke a cheroot round his patch of paddy land, and speculate on the time when the Rangoon or Bassein broker would come up to buy his crop from him. Most of the district Burmans would never see the Englishman and his doings were it not for the annual pilgrimage to Rangoon to worship at the Shwe Dagôn. During the rest of the year, unless he lives in the headquarters of an assistant commissionership, all he sees of the British occupation is a stray visit from a young official out shooting, or the chance appearance of an inspector of police in search of a criminal.

Similarly very few Burmans, except those attracted by business to the capital, would ever visit Mandalay were it not for the great "Arakan pagoda." The Mahā Myat Muni Payā is rendered especially sacred by the sitting image of Shin Gautama there preserved, and is on this account regarded by Upper Burmans as not inferior in sanctity to the Shwe Dagôn itself. The huge brass image, twelve feet in height, was brought over the hills from Akyab in the year

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1784 (1146 B.E.). According to the inscription, the king drew this Arakan Gautama to the shrine by the charm of his piety, but the historical books speak only of rough force of arms. However that may be, it is a mystery how the huge masses of metal—the figure was cast in three sections—were brought over the steep, pathless mountain sides. The inscription flatters the king, and the monks ascribe the feat to supernatural help, as they do the faultless joining together of the pieces. The image was set up, so says the legend, during the lifetime of the Great Master. The utmost skill and most persistent energy had failed in fitting the parts together, and the feelings of the pious were fearfully lacerated by the cracking of the head in their futile struggles. But the Buddha, perceiving from afar what was going on, and ever full of pity, came himself to the spot, and, embracing the image seven times, so joined together the fragments that the most sceptical eye cannot detect the points of junction, while the head was restored to its pristine smoothness. So like was the image, and so sublime the effulgence which shone around during the manifestation, that the reverently gazing crowd could not determine which was the model and which the Master. The resemblance has no doubt faded away with the wickedness of later times, for unlike most Burmese images, the Payā Gyi has most gross and repulsive features. Inspired by the divine embrace the figure spoke, but afterwards received the Teacher's command never again to open its lips till Arimadéya should come to reveal the new Law. The shrine in which it stands is one of the most splendid in the country. The image itself is covered by a great seven-roofed pya-that with goodly pillars, the ceiling gorgeous with mosaics. Long colonnades, supported on 252 massive pillars, all richly gilt and carved, with frescoed roofs and sides, lead up to it, and daily from the royal palace used to come sumptuous offerings in stately procession, marshalled by one of the ministers and shaded by the white umbrella, the emblem of sovereignty and the prerogative of the Arbiter of Existence. On its first arrival a hundred and twenty [793] families of Arakanese were assigned as slaves of the payā, and the number was frequently afterwards added to. In a long gallery there is an enormous number of inscriptions,

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gathered from all parts of the country, many on gilt slabs of marble, a still greater number on sandstone. All day long circles of constantly renewed worshippers chant aloud the praises of the Buddha, and the air is heavy with the effluvia of candles and the odours from thousands of smouldering incense-sticks. Within the precincts of the pagoda is a large tank, tenanted by sacred turtle, who wax huge on the rice and cakes thrown them by the multitudes of pilgrims. Probably not even at the Shwe Dagôn Payā is more enthusiastic devotion shown than at the Payā Gyi in Mandalay. It is regarded with special reverence by the Shans. [563]

Near the royal city, about nine miles up the river, on the right bank, is a huge monster of a pagoda, built on a low green bluff, running out from the barren, pagoda-sprinkled Sagaing hills. The groundwork of the great misshapen Mengôn Payā covers a square of 450 feet and its height is 165 feet, about one-third of the elevation intended for it when completed; but Mintaya Gyee, the crack-brained monarch who founded it, ran short of funds, and the building was stopped. Nature was jealous of the miniature mountain —the largest mass of brickwork in the world—and an earthquake in 1838 rent the gigantic cube with fantastic fissures from top to bottom, and cast down great masses of masonry, tons upon tons in weight, and yet not sufficient to destroy the main structure, massive and imperishable as Time itself. There it stands, unharmed alike by rain-floods and blistering suns, and laughing even at earthquakes. According to Burmese custom, Bodaw Payā built a model for the guidance of the workmen. This is called the Pôn-daw Payā, and is fifteen feet high. This consists of a bell-shaped dome surmounted by a *sikkhâra*, a pointed spire, and resting on a square plinth of solid brickwork. It is a hybrid between the Shwezigôn and Ananda pagodas of Pagān, and has all the requirements of a place of worship, circuit walls, staircases, ornamented arches, and leogryphs. [341]

Perhaps it was this proud stability which induced King Mindôn Min to attempt an even greater work. He planned a huge shrine to be raised east of Mandalay, under the shadow of the Shan hills. The Yankin-taung Payā was to be larger than the Mengôn monster, and it was to be built

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of stone. A fair-sized hill was hewn into blocks to furnish material. Canals several miles long were dug to convey the stones, and huge lighters were built upon them. The whole kingdom was called upon to furnish men to labour a few months at a time on the pious work. Architects, monks, foreigners, were called upon to offer suggestions and make plans. A French engineer, who declared that, with 5000 men working every day, it would require eighty-four years to complete the original design, came near being crucified on the spot. After four years' labour the basement, some four feet high, was completed, and then the Convener of the Fifth Great Synod returned to the village of Nats. Theebaw Min, who succeeded him, was the last man likely to finish the work, and there lie the mountains of squared stones and the heaps of rubble for the centre. The canals have silted up and the lighters foundered with their unloaded cargoes, and instead of a monument, King Mindôn has simply left a ghastly chaos. What kan King Mintaya Gyee must have had to get so far as he did!

The whole neighbourhood of Mandalay, Amarapoora, and Ava is rich with splendid fanes; but a detailed account of them would only weary the reader, as the visiting of them tires out the non-religious observer. Nevertheless some must at least be adverted to. There is the Ku-thu-daw, the "Royal Merit House," the richly-gilt shrine built by King Theebaw's uncle, the "War Prince," one of the most compact and tastefully adorned of pagodas, with beautifully carved gilt gates, the main spire being surrounded by a triple square of shrines, each shrine containing a marble slab engraved with a chapter of the Bitaghat on the back and front. The text of the three volumes of the Buddhist Scripture was carefully collated by the most learned Sadaws in the royal city, and is considered the best extant.

Especially interesting also is the Atumashi, the incomparable payā, the great, oblong, lofty-terraced chapel monastery of Mindôn Min, outwardly plain white, but within splendid with a gorgeously decorated shrine, purple and scarlet, and gold hangings, and velvet carpets. Here were preserved the gold spittoon, betel-box, kalawaik, and other paraphernalia of its founder. Unhappily it was burnt in 1892.

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Down the river there are hundreds of others of every variety and degree of decoration. There is the Naga Yôn Payā, the whole building wrought into the form of a dragon; the huge round-domed Kaung-hmu-daw, and the "king's victory pagoda" at Sagaing, the "golden cock-scratching," on the other side, commemorating a favourite legend of the boundless charity of the Budh. There are glistening white pinnacles, or flashing gold spires, far up the Sagaing hills, with thousands of steps wending wearily up over the steep, rough hill-side, and gazing up to them from the Amarapoora side are great massy temples, frowning over the river with all the stern solidity of a knightly hold. Each has its legend, some tale of bloodshed or piety, some event in Burmese history, or birth-story of the Buddha. 778 ●

Most renowned, however, for its pagodas is Pagān, in many respects the most remarkable religious city in the world. Jerusalem, Rome, Kieff, Benares, none of them can boast the multitude of temples, and the lavishness of design and ornament that make marvellous the deserted capital on the Irrawaddy. Deserted it practically is, for the few flimsy huts that stand by the river are inhabited only by pagoda slaves and men condemned to perpetual beggary. For eight miles along the river-bank and extending to a depth of two miles inland, the whole space is thickly studded with pagodas of all sizes and shapes, and the very ground is so thickly covered with crumbling remnants of vanished shrines, that according to the popular saying you cannot move foot or hand without touching a sacred thing. Some of the zedis are all but perfect. Restored by the pious, they stand out glistening snow-white, only to render more striking the hoary, weather-beaten ruins of their less-cared-for neighbours. Here the bell-shaped, solid pyramid of Lower Burma is rarely seen. The religious structures fully merit the word temple as understood in ordinary language. To quote Yule, who gives a detailed account of the principal shrines in his *Mission to Ava*, there are all kinds: "The bell-shaped pyramid of dead brickwork in all its varieties; the same raised over a square or octagonal cell, containing an image of the Buddha; the bluff, knob-like dome of the Ceylon Dagobats, with the square cap which seems to have characterised 778 361 346 [184]

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346 the most ancient Buddhist *chaityas*, as represented in the sculptures at Sanchi, and in the ancient model pagodas found near Buddhist remains in India; the fantastic bu-payā, or pumpkin pagoda, which seemed rather like a fragment of what we might conceive the architecture of the moon than anything terrestrial, and many variations on these types. But the predominant and characteristic form is that of the cruciform vaulted temple."

●778 361 The Irrawaddy just below Pagān widens out like a gigantic lake to over two miles in breadth, and the view of the sacred city from far down the river is particularly fine. Towering above the others rise the great temples of Ananda, Ta-pyi-nyu, and Gawdapalin, like visions of old-world cathedrals strayed into the desert. Round about them gradually rise into view hoary round towers, like a border "peel"; airy minarets as of an underground mosque; apparitions like the pyramids, chiselled into fairy terraced fretwork; huge bulbous mushrooms with slim lanterns on their backs, like the wide studio of a mad architect. There is a memorial line which, placing letters for numbers, declares the sum total of the pagodas to be 9999.

> Hlè win-yo than ta-nyan nyan
> Pagān payā paung.
>
> The cartwheel's creaking strains
> Pass Pagahn's storied fanes.

778 361 172 Probably, however, there are not nearly so many in anything like a complete state. Pagān ceased to be capital in 1284 A.D. The Emperor of China had sent a vast army to avenge the murder of an ambassador. The Burmese king pulled down a thousand arched temples, a thousand smaller ones, and four thousand square temples to strengthen the fortifications. But a prophecy found under one of the desecrated shrines robbed him of his courage, and he fled to the south; and ever since Pagān has remained in its present practically deserted state. The whole ground within the old walls is strewn with bricks and mortar. Some of the zedis are strangled with jungle growth, huge bushes spring from their summits and sides and tear the masonry asunder, and with the vast majority no attempt is made to arrest the ravages

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of time, but Mr. Taw Sein Ko says in his report of 1908: 778
"Numerous terra-cotta tiles have been found in the basements 361
and corridors of several of the pagodas. They illustrate 172
scenes in the *jâtakas* and in the life of the Buddha Gautama. 101
They are of two types. In the Ananda and Shwezigôn the tiles are enamelled green and show Chinese influence. In the Petleik pagoda they are of red baked clay and have South-Indian resemblances. All three shrines belong to the eleventh century A.D. The stone sculptures in the Ananda are fine, and the pose, drapery, and contour are distinctly Indian. In the Sein nyet pagoda, halfway between Myinpagān and Thiyipyitsaya, of the eleventh century, the Chinese influence preponderates. The twin Petleik pagodas are at Thiyipyitsaya."

Few, if any, contain actual relics. The cloistered and terraced temples are simply receptacles for huge images of the Buddha and others. The corridors of the Ananda and Gawdapalin are filled with sculptured groups representing events in the life of the Great Master, and figures of eminent disciples and yahanda. In the central recesses, where are the colossal figures of the Buddhas, the light is cunningly admitted from above so as to fall on the calm gilded face, producing a most weird and striking effect. But Pagān would require a monograph itself, and with it should be compared Shwegu, between Mandalay and Bhamaw. That sacred island is a perfect forest of pagodas, and only fails to obtain wider fame because of the existence of Pagān. There are 999 shrines within its limits, and a much larger proportion of these exist intact than is the case with Pagān, though none of them can compare with the magnificence of the Ananda.

The question of the architecture of the Pagān temples, 54
which is so different in style from that found in other parts 171
of Burma, has been fully discussed in Yule's admirable 172
Mission to Ava. He omits, however, to notice the fact that Anawrata-saw Min, when he established Buddhism in Pagān, built all the pagodas and temples after the exact model of those then existing in Thatôn, in the same order and of the same size. The town of Thatôn, above Maulmein, was the first settlement of Thawna and Ôttara, the

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346 171 172 missionaries from Central India who introduced the teachings of the Lord Buddha into Burma. There was certainly an ancient Hindu colony there, and its inhabitants may have brought some notions of their architecture with them. But whether this be so or not, Burmans find source for pride in the admitted fact that "there is nothing in India to compare with the classical beauty of some of the smaller temples, or the stupendous architectural majesty of the Ânanda, or the Ta-pyi-nyu."

●778 788 538 The following song is taken from a very favourite play, *Sawpé Sawmé*, written by a Pegu dramatist and published in 1880, and gives an idea of the canticles sung at the dedication of pagodas and similar ceremonies. It is set to a very popular air, the Yôddaya Nan-thein Than, "the Siamese Palace Tune," but I have not ventured to try to reproduce the original complicated metre. The sikkè or magistrate in question was U Maung Galé, a younger brother of the late U On, long the only Burmese C.I.E., and once second judge of the Small Cause Court in Rangoon.

539 THE GILDING OF THE SHWE MAW-DAW

Far-famed and bright, the Shwe Maw-daw
Is known where'er the Sacred Law
To toiling millions brings the peace,
Bids grief be still and turmoil cease.
Fair glory of Peguan land
Revered on earth's most distant strand,
Not more Dagôn's great golden pile
Hath honour in the Southern Isle,
Where'er beneath the zampû tree
The pious bend the suppliant knee,
Than thou the glorious lotus shrine
High temple of the hairs divine.
As leaps on high the funeral flame
Of some yahan of sainted name,
A beacon light to Neh'ban's rest
And haven sure to men distressed,
So skywards reared, thy shapely spire
Upsprings a pyramid of fire.

The hoar seer's words are now proved true,
Spoke ages since while yet all new

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And kneeling pray that they may gain
Release from fitful change and pain.
Ah, Saviour Buddha, hear them call
And grant the long, last life to all.

High striving to the upper air,
Great convent of the Sacred Hair,
Thou'st stood upon the foreland's brow
From misty ages e'en till now.
The Budh himself, with his own mouth,
Stood on this hill, and, looking south,
Foretold that on this spot should stand
A fane far-famed in farthest land;
And hither came the brethren twain
And reared with stone of precious vein
A lordly pile and gilt it o'er
And many a monarch added store,
Till last of all our Sikkè came
And joined to theirs a pious name.
From youngest years till hoarest hours,
Peguans all, great fame is ours;
Two Henthas dwelt here, male and mate,
Ten thousand kings kept regal state,
And ever till the kalpas end
Will pious pilgrims hither wend.
Ah, Sikkè, great reward is thine,
Thy fame doth last while lasts the shrine
And ere the shrine falls, falls the world.

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Pegu was the capital of the Talaing kingdom of Hanthawadi. Shin Gautama foretold that it would be founded in the 1116th year of his religion, and gave two of his hairs to two brothers, Mahā Thala and Sula Thala, to enshrine on the Thudathana Myinthila Hill. A pagoda fifty cubits high was erected over them, and this was the original of the Shwe Maw (or Hmaw) -daw Payā.

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CHAPTER XVI

THE LEGEND OF THE RANGOON PAGODA

AT the end of the last world-period five lotus-buds sprang up on the Theinguttara Hill, where now the Shwe Dagôn pagoda stands. They opened their leaves and disclosed each of them within its chalice a thengan, the holy yellow robe of the monastic brethren. Then a huge bird settled on the top of the hill and laid an egg, and from this was presently hatched the kalawaik, the carrying bird of Vishnu, which seized the sacred garments and flew up to the heavens. This was an omen foretelling the appearance of five Buddhas in the present world cycle, and accordingly the universe which had existed in the preceding kalpa was shortly afterwards destroyed, with Mount Meru, the enclosing Set-ya-wala hills, the six heavens of the nat-dêwas, and many of the lower seats of Byammās. Then followed myriads of years of chaos; then myriads more while the present world called Badda was being constructed atom by atom, and at last the earth was ready and prepared to receive the first Buddha, Kaukkathan. He left his staff on the Theinguttara Hill; his successor Gawnagông deposited his water-filter beside it, and the third Buddha, Kathapa, added a portion of his robe.

In the time of the fourth Buddha, Gautama, there lived on the Theinguttara Hill a gigantic scorpion, so huge that it devoured every day an elephant, and the tusks of its many victims were set up in a great ring fence round about its den. One day seven foreign ships passed along the coast. The sailors saw the white glimmer of the ivory from far out at sea, and landed to ascertain what it was. They began loading their ships with the precious treasure; and were working

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their hardest, when suddenly they saw the giant scorpion coming straight at them. They rushed on board, cut their cables, and stood out to sea. But here a new danger awaited them. A monster crab reared two gigantic claws out of the waters and threatened to crush anything that passed between. But there was no retreat, and, overwhelmed with terror, they drove before the wind. The vessels just managed to pass through without touching the claws with their yards or masts; but the scorpion, following in hot pursuit, rushed up against both pincers with its bulky body, and they closed in an instant, crushing and rending the monstrous prey. The crab itself died of the poisonous food, and the neighbourhood of the holy hill was thus freed from its terrors.

Not long afterwards another ship sailed in these waters. Near Twanté, a town about twenty miles from Rangoon, lived a pious Talaing merchant, who had two sons named Pu, or dove, and Tapaw, or plenty. These young men heard that there was a famine in the western lands, and set sail thither with a shipload of rice. They landed at the mouth of the Ganges, and having procured five hundred waggons, loaded them with their grain and travelled into the Wethali country. There one day their waggons were suddenly arrested, and as it were chained to the earth. While they were seeking for the cause, a nat, who in a previous existence had been their mother, appeared to them and asked: "Desire ye store of gold and precious things, or rather desire ye heavenly treasure?" They answered, "Heavenly treasure." Thereupon the nat bade them go to where Shin Gautama, the embryo Buddha, was sitting beneath the yaza-yatana tree in the seventh period of seven days' meditation, which immediately preceded his becoming perfect. They laid a sack of rice reverently at his feet, and in return received four hairs each. The Buddha renamed them Tapôt-tha and Palika, and enjoined them to deposit the hairs on the Theinguttara Hill, beside the relics of the three preceding Budhs. The place was to be determined by the "takun," a felled wood-oil tree "lying athwart," so that neither the top nor the roots touched the ground.

The brothers, happy in the possession of such inestimable relics, enclosed them in a golden casket, hastened back

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to their ship and set sail. But they visited many a distant shore without gaining any tidings of the whereabouts of the Theinguttara mount. In vain they besought the nats, the bilus, and yekkathas, good genii, ogres, and demons, of whom there were many upon earth in those days. The spirits knew no more than the men. At last the king of the Tha-gyas took pity upon them, came down from the heavens, and appearing before the seekers in the guise of a nat, told them to return to their own native land. There, not far from their birthplace, Twanté, was the hill they sought for, and the only being who could point it out to them was the guardian spirit of the hill, the aged Sulé nat. But this guardian nat had lived so long upon earth that his eyelids had become weak and heavy and had fallen together, so that he was stone blind. Before he could help them at all it would be necessary to restore to him his eyesight, and this could only be done by hoisting up his eyelids with two great wooden props. The Sulé nat was of gigantic stature, and the two brothers sought about in the forest for the tallest oil-palms they could find, cut them down, lopped them into shape, and then went out in quest of the aged guardian spirit. At length they found him so thickly covered with ancient moss and lichens that it was difficult to recognise a living creature in him. When he was asked where the Theinguttara Hill lay he became suspicious, and brought forward his blindness as an excuse for not being able to indicate its situation. But the two brothers were prepared with their remedy. They got their two great beams into position, and after much trouble managed to hoist up his heavy lids so far that the light fell in a narrow streak on his pupils. Sulé then indicated with a wave of his hand in what direction they were to go, and Tapôt-tha and Palika set off again on their search. But here they encountered a new difficulty. Instead of one hill they found three, with a lake in the middle of them, and there was nothing to show where the staff, the filter, and the bathing robe of the previous three Budhs lay buried. They were in despair, but the king of the Tha-gyās again came to their aid. He descended with his subject déwas during the night and united the three peaks into one. The next day the brothers felled the

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tree on the summit and it fulfilled the required conditions. "It remained poised on its centre on the peak. Its top touched not the ground, and its root touched not the ground. Therefore the place was called in the Môn language, Takun." A pagoda was built twenty-seven feet high, and all the land round about on which its shadow fell between sunrise and sunset was consecrated to it for ever. The déwa king prepared a golden boat to hold the casket containing the hairs, and this vessel circled about perpetually on the lake, and was protected by water-wheels, whose spokes were prolonged into great swords and knives that struck out in all directions and turned without ceasing, except for a moment at midday, when they halted for the space of time during which a woman might draw out a thread from her spinning-loom.

Long after, the royal elder brother of China, King Udibwa, during his wars with the Burmans, was exceedingly anxious to carry off the sacred relics which are deposited in the Rangoon shrine. He prepared a magic figure in human form and despatched it to steal the Budhs' remains. The creature crawled all the way down the Irrawaddy on its stomach until it arrived at the suburb of Rangoon called Kemindine ("the looking-post"). There it raised its head to look for a moment, and was so overcome by the splendour of the shrine that it delayed too long, and when at length it stretched out its hands to steal the relics, the favourable moment at noon was passed, and the whirling swords cut it in pieces. Since then the whole of the treasures have been walled up in the relic-chamber, whence nothing but the entire destruction of the payā could remove them. The marvellous wealth of the shrine has been a fruitful source of wonder and speculation to many. Nevertheless the statement of Sonnerat that the spire, which has now risen to a height of nearly 370 feet, has a narrow funnel descending from the top down to the basement, and that down this shaft princes, rich men, and the religious of all nations cast gold and silver and precious stones, has a foundation only in the imagination of the Gallic writer. The crown or "umbrella" at the top is known to be crusted thick on the upper ring with precious stones, and from it hang scores of jewelled gold bells, placed there in recent times, but to the

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mysterious relic-chamber no one has penetrated for hundreds of years, nor probably ever will. Neither the shrine itself, nor the relics, nor the images, are the objects of the adoration of the pious. The Burman, it cannot be too much urged, is not an idolater. He worships neither relic nor image. The pagoda and the figure only supply him with a seemly place to utter the praises of the great Buddha, and to form resolutions to imitate, as far as he can, the charity and the sinless life of the great model.

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CHAPTER XVII

IMAGES

771 THERE are few things which more irritate an educated Burman
●778 than to assert, or as most English do, calmly assume, that the Burmese are idolaters. The national idea is that idol-worship is especially the characteristic of the lowest savage tribes, and even fetichism is considered a superior faith. Therefore the accusation of bowing down to stocks and stones is intolerable, and the implication is combated with feverish energy. Where there are no prayers, in the technical sense of the word, there can be no idolatry. No one, not even Shin Gautama himself, can help a man in his strivings to lead a holy life. None but the individual in his own person can work out his special salvation, and he tries to do so by setting a splendid ideal before his mind. The words uttered before the impassive features of the Budh are not a supplication for mercy or aid, but the praises of the great Lord himself, through the contemplation of whose triumphant victory over passions and ignorance the most sinful may be led to a better state.

771 There is no Supreme Being; the Buddha himself, who even while he was on earth was no more than a perfect, sinless man, no longer exists to make intercession, were there any such power to which one might appeal. The only thing to be done is to praise, and in praising to strive to imitate, and through imitation to attain to the perfect knowledge, and so to the final deliverance, the exemption from the four burdens of heaviness, age, sickness, and death, which is the restful absorption of Ne'ban.

The worshippers of all creeds have always sought for a

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special place wherein to pay their devotions. The Burman erects a pagoda over sacred relics, and puts up an image of the great Lord of Truth there, not to worship, but to afford a means to the pious of localising their feelings and concentrating their thoughts on the supreme model. The candles and smoky oil lamps, the fruits and flowers offered on the shrine, are no more signs of idolatry than the offertory bag placed on the altar by the Christian priest. The Yatana Kalapa is perfectly distinct on this point. Under the heading U'bhato Kotito Panha we find it written: "It is bootless to worship the Buddha; nothing is necessary but to revere him and the memory of him. Statues are only useful in so far as they refresh the memory; for as the farmer sows the seed and gathers in the grain in due season, so will the man who trusts in the Buddha and holds fast by his sacred Law obtain the deliverance and pass into Ne'ban. The earth and the Buddha are alike in themselves inert."

There is thus no doubt left as to what the great master and his interpreters intended. The worship of the payā is nothing more than a simulation of the devotion which would be paid to Shin Gautama were he still upon earth. The Buddha is admired, he is lauded, he is tenderly loved; and this devotion is extended to the figures which are erected in remembrance of him, in recognition of his blameless life, the supreme wisdom which enabled him to teach the Law, and the great compassion and benevolence with which he regarded all living things. The characteristics of a Budh are the exercise of the Three Great Works of Perfection, the constant practising of the Ten Great Virtues, and the Five Renouncings; and to attain the deliverance, all must diligently strive to observe these. The Three Great Works of Perfection are:—

1. Assistance afforded to parents and relations.

2. Great offerings made in this and previous existences, coupled with strict observance of the enactments of the Law.

3. Benevolent dispositions towards all sentient beings indiscriminately.

The Ten Great Virtues are:—liberality; observance of the precepts of the Law; retreat into lonely places; diligence;

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788 variety of rice known as kauk hnyin, fired dry on a pan. It swells up and cracks open, and the grains are then dyed red, green, or yellow, while some are left plain white. The resemblance to flowers or flower-leaves at a distance is sufficiently striking. It is a work of merit to go about lighting tapers and candles which have blown out, or lamps which have got choked up, watering flowers, and so on.

● 778 The statues of Shin Gautama, then, are only his visible representatives to keep alive in the hearts of his flock feelings of love and adoration, and gratitude to the Great Master who strove so long to teach the Law, and was ever so pitiful towards earthly suffering. Like the Egyptians, Buddhists have large images, but stand diametrically opposed to them in the way in which they regard them. All the Egyptian's energies were directed to conquering the hostile powers of nature. He sought with anxious care to preserve the mummy in the recesses of huge mountains of stone, in order that the soul returning after the period of 5000 years might enter again its old home. He built for eternity, and hoped to defy decay and outlast the world. The Buddhist laughs at this notion, seeing that for him the stream of time levels and carries off every existence with it. The rising again of spirits has for him nothing but a suggestion of devilish arts. The idea raises in his mind a threatening of evil, as well to the living as to the disembodied spirit. Instead therefore of devising any such uncanny measures for the preservation of the corpse, he strives rather to destroy it as soon as may be on the funeral pyre, or even to blow it into small atoms with fireworks and bombs. Similarly, his images are made of mouldering brick. Where is the use of laboriously carving figures in the hardest stone, when the most indestructible of them could only last for a time, which is but as a ripple in the stream of eternity? Therefore the marble and brass Gautamas are but few compared with those of brick and mortar, or wood, and the crumbling away and rotting of these is viewed with the utmost equanimity. There will always be piety enough to keep the tazaung full until the cycles end.

The popular division of the Gautamas is into the classes of standing, sitting, and lying. This is somewhat crude, but

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Burmese AP4
Upper Burma
Lower Burma

it is perpetuated by a curious notion that though a man may present all three kinds of images, he must do so in a special order: the standing first, then the sitting, and last the lying down. As many as one pleases of one style may be presented, but you must not reverse the order: one dare not go backwards. The vast majority of images represent the master in a cross-legged attitude, in which he attained the Buddhaship, seated under the bawdi tree. This sitting figure is called Tinmyinkwé. The left hand lies palm upwards in the lap; the right hangs over the knee. The ears reach to the shoulder, and the face is calm and passionless. On the top of the head is a little knob or point. This is called the mani-daw, and represents the hair which Prince Theiddat cut off with his sword when he first put on the yellow robe. It was left a quarter of an inch long, and never grew again. In attaining to the supreme wisdom, the Prince attained to the Ne'ban, or annihilation of the passions. 778

Less common are the Shinbinthalyaung, the recumbent figures representing the Budh as he died and attained to the Ne'ban of earthly existence, reclining between the two sāl-trees. He lies on his right side, and is often represented with numbers of his lamenting disciples ranged around the couch. To these are not uncommonly added circles of the kings of the earth and the heavens, bilus, galôns, nats, yek-kathas, and a variety of other creatures. The figures of the latter often display some artistic skill in the modelling and the expression of the features, which it is impossible to show in the placid countenance of the teacher himself. The Shinbinthalyaung very often have the emblems of the Shwe-zet-daw carved on the soles of the feet.

Finally there is the Mat-tat-kodaw, or erect image, also called Mat-yat-daw, where the master is represented in the attitude of preaching, the right hand elevated, but still with the same calm, unmoved visage. These Mat-yat-daw are usually very large, and are far more common in the temples of Upper Burma than in the bell-pagodas of the low country. They are often Sapupati Payā, representing the Budh as a king with crown on head and the royal wings on arms and thighs. They are usually very large, like the recumbent figure. The standing figures in the Ananda at Pagān must [184]

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Upper Burma
Lower Burma

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be over forty feet in height, and form a very impressive sight. Light sufficient to illuminate the whole figure cannot be admitted at the comparatively low gateways of the shrine. Cunning architects have therefore cut slits far up in the chapel roof, and a narrow stream of light falls full on the gilded face of the Buddha. The effect is most solemn and awe-inspiring. The devotee passes through long dim corridors, where his foot falls soft on the mouldy pavement, and the smell is as of a charnel-house, and there is silence throughout the whole vast temple, broken fitfully by the eerie chant of a fellow-worshipper far away through the passages, and suddenly he comes on the chapel and sees before him the sad tranquil face, with a glory shed over it, and the hand stretched out as if in warning or benediction. One can then understand how it is that many of the ignorant and uninstructed do actually worship the Gautama as if it were an idol, and the Englishman involuntarily takes off his hat as he enters the sanctuary.

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The statues in the great lonely fanes at Pagān are certainly far more impressive than those in the smaller but more gaily-decked-out niche-shrines of the solid pyramidal pagodas of Lower Burma. The four great Mat-yat-daw in the Ananda Payā represent the four great Buddhas of this world-cycle. Kauk-kathan, as the first law-giver, is placed in the east; Gawnagông in the southern image chamber; Kathapa to the west, and the Buddha of the present religious period in the northern shrine. Kauk-kathan is made of the sweet-scented dantagu tree; Gawnagông of jasmine wood; Kathapa of brass, and Gautama of fir; but they have all been covered with plaster and gilt, and the material of which they are made is only known by tradition. An especially favourite figure to represent standing is Dibinkāya Payā, the fourth of the twenty-eight Buddhas whose names are recorded as appearing in successively destroyed worlds. It was this Buddha, the "Light-bringer," who first announced to Shin Gautama that he, then a fervent yahan, would hereafter, after many worlds, attain the supreme wisdom.

The temples of Pagān and other places in the upper territory are built specially for the reception of great images, and as the public zeal is concentrated on these, there are

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Lower Burma

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comparatively few surplus figures, and these mostly scattered along the sides of the dim corridors. In Lower Burma, however, where the sacred buildings are more particularly relic shrines, the images are more of an adjunct to the payā, and there is a most extraordinary multiplication of them. In each of the four image chambers round the base of the pagoda, besides the chief figure there are numbers of other Buddhas of all sizes, and these overflow into dozens of tazaungs, or image houses, all round about the central payā. This reserve stock is due to the unceasing desire for kutho. If a man cannot build a pagoda, or has not money enough to erect a monastery or a rest-house, there is at any rate no one so poor but he can gain merit by dedicating a Gautama; and so images of brass and marble, plaster and wood, and sun-dried clay, flow in a never-ending stream to the great district shrines. There has long ceased to be any room for them except in the image-houses, and there they remain, seldom visited by any but the very religious, and gradually becoming grimed and mouldy with age, notwithstanding the Yéthonpwè, at the new year, when the women come and wash them down. It is a maxim that devotions may and ought to be repeated before every image, but it is not often that a worshipper is seen in the tazaungs, and the offerings of candles and incense sticks, flowers and pauk-pauk san-pan (pop-corn), are few and far between. Nevertheless the houses are crammed with figures of all sizes, from huge ten feet high Sagaing marbles down to little clay painted and gilt specimens that you can put in your pocket, and that idolatry-detesting Britishers often do so serve and afterwards exhibit as having actually "been worshipped." Big and small, they are crowded together as close as they can be, the small ones reposing in the hand or the lap, or round about the sides of their bigger facsimiles. Sometimes, as is the case in a great long building at the Kyaik-than-lan Payā at Maulmein, the centre is occupied by a gigantic recumbent figure, the tinmyinkwe being placed in orderly array all round the sides facing the central dying Budh. Sometimes the figures stand side by side on steps rising one above the other with a small open space in the middle. The halls are always quite full, the most recently

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erected being apparently just spacious enough to hold all the images ready to put into it.

Few statues stand unprotected in the open. At Kyauktaran, on the Irrawaddy a few miles below Prome, there are a number of Gautamas cut out of the rocky face of a bluff overhanging the river. The ridge is about eighty feet high altogether, and the figures are thirty feet above the level of the water. They are all honestly cut out of the rock, and not, as some people think, simply brick and plaster erections —an idea induced by the habit of painting them white, or covering them with gold-leaf, occasionally indulged in by people anxious of bettering their chance towards a new existence. There are about fifty of them altogether, varying very considerably in size, some being very large. A similar work may be seen on the hill-side above Sagaing, opposite Ava. There the Buddhas, each in his separate niche, are carved at regular intervals, and the rock face sweeps round in a segment of a circle, the platform in front being strongly built up with a masonry revetment.

On the opposite side of the river, near the village of Sagyinwa, formerly a suburb of the old capital, Amarapoora, is a gigantic sedent figure built perfectly open and uncovered. It is situated close to a half-mile-long wooden bridge which once crossed the lagoon there, and the Budh gazes across the waters with eternal meditative smile. Round about are ranged double and treble circles of pigmy Zedi-yan, over which it towers to a height of ninety feet or more. The neighbourhood is practically deserted now that Mandalay has become the capital. There are almost no worshippers of the giant Buddha except the small colony of monks from the kyaung hard by. The birds will drop seeds between the crevices of the bricks and plaster, and another decade will probably see the great image torn out of all possibility of recognition.

Such a phenomenon actually does exist near the ancient Pegu town of Zaingganaing, on the opposite side of the river from the capital of the old Peguan kings. One of the singular pyramidal limestone rocks, common in the Tenasserim Province, has been built with the aid of bricks into the form of an enormous Gautama. On the top of the

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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head, glinting white through the trees, appears the slender spire of a small pagoda. The jungle growth has spread all over the hill, or image, and the outline and features of the Budh struggle to be seen through a heavy fog of varied green. Such monster images exist here and there all over the Eastern districts. They are all exceedingly ancient, and are regarded more as glorifications of the Great Master than as recognised places for devotion. The pious deposit offerings and chant their sentences before them as they do everywhere before the features of the Buddha, but otherwise the people regard them more with the curiosity of the foreigner than with the adoration of the devotee.

Among the more ignorant and superstitious classes it is not at all uncommon to find particular images regarded with especial awe and reverence, on account of the tale of some prodigy displayed. The sacred order and all true Buddhists, however, strenuously discountenance the idea of any miracles being wrought either by particular images or by holy relics. It is for this reason that the latter are in Burma all walled up and not brought out for the inspection of worshippers as in other Buddhist countries. The Kammawāsā in its denunciation of the claiming of magic powers is also considered to forbid the assertion that any particular statue displays more than usual power—a power which could not fail to lead directly to idolatry. The passage runs as follows: "No brother must arrogate to himself what goes beyond the power of human nature, and he must not boast of exceptional abilities. Whoso gives out with evil intentions that he possesses supernatural powers, saying that he has attained zān, or 'ne'ban, or command of religion, or undisturbed repose on the path that leads to the deliverance; he is no Sramana; he is no son of Sakya. As a broken palm-tree cannot be again united, as a twig broken from the stem cannot be joined on again, so is that religious man, who falsely declares that he has attained the superhuman, fallen away from the true Sramanas, separated from the sons of Sakya. So long as life lasts must this be avoided."

Nevertheless unprincipled yahans, fearing that the piety of their district is growing slack, or wishing to attract benevolent pilgrims to their neighbourhood, undoubtedly

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do occasionally originate, or at any rate stimulate, the belief in prodigies. A common wonder is that of the Tat-daw pwa, growing images. I am not aware that they are made of meteoric stones or any such substance. The carnal and unregenerate are wont to asssert that these images only grow at night and then in sudden jumps. In any case, they never grow very big.

A more unusual miraculous discovery actually resulted in the growth of a small fishing village into a prosperous town, and, owing to this latter circumstance, into the head of one of the subdivisions under the British Government. This is the station of Myan-aung on the Irawaddy. A Gautama rose out of the ground there. That was, however, not the wonder. It perspired! It perspired a thick, sticky exudation which precluded the necessity of using the milky juice of the thapan thi (*Ficus racemosa*), the gum usually employed in fixing gold-leaf on the images or pagodas. The tidings soon spread far and wide, and people journeyed from distant towns to see the wonder and to plaster on fabulous quantities of gold-leaf. The hamlet rapidly grew into a town. The surrounding country was taken up and cultivated, and Myan-aung is now as pretty a little station as any you will see on the great Irrawaddy, and is one of the principal centres of the great Henzada district.

Another little fishing village, farther down the river, below Maubin, possessed in 1879 a singular image. This Buddha in most unusual fashion suddenly began to develop a moustache. It was not much to speak of, and was certainly not pretty, but there was undoubtedly a growth of some kind on the upper lip. The phenomenon, however, never had more than an exceedingly local interest. A moustache is not an appendage that appeals to a Burman's finer feelings to any great extent, and if Shin Gautama had one in life he would certainly have shaved it off. Therefore the swampy, mosquito-haunted district failed to better its fortunes. A good many people came and gazed on the ugly bristles and made offerings, but they went away again, and the enthusiasm was strangled before it was well born. The military assistant commissioner of the district declared in an off-hand way that it was a fungus of a new kind, or

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some hitherto undiscovered lichen, and had thoughts of chipping a bit of the lip off and sending it to the British Museum. But he refrained, and the villagers missed even this poor chance of notoriety.

There are a few images specially noteworthy with less questionable reason. One of these stands half-way up Mandalay Hill under a lofty teak tectum. It is a gigantic standing image profusely gilt all over, and pointing with steadfast finger full at the glittering central spire of the palace rising gracefully over the throne of the Ruler of Existence. As a half-way house on the toilsome ascent of the hill it is always frequented, but the superstitious wayfarers gaze through the gilt railings more with the awe due to the guardian spirit of the capital than with the fervency of the worshipper. It has been burnt since the annexation.

In the chapel on the summit of the hill, looking over the wide, fertile plain towards the black, jagged Nat's Peak, haunted by goblins and wraiths, the silver windings of the mighty Irrawaddy and the barren pagoda-sprinkled Sagaing hills beyond, there is a singular statue. A notice begs the religious to put their gold-leaf, not indiscriminately all over the figure, but only on the eyeballs. The zeal of many years causes the pupils to start from their sockets as if the Buddha were horrified by some gruesome deed of sin perpetrated in the golden city below. The last time I was there I heard a matter-of-fact Briton marvelling how it was that the goodly nuggets had not long since been removed by a sacrilegious hand. It seems to be always Englishmen who think of these things first.

A hundred yards from the foot of the sacred hill in a tall brick building is a great marble Buddha, probably the biggest monolith in the world. The sitting figure must be quite twenty-five feet high, and scores of tons weight. It does the Mandalay workmen great credit that with their primitive appliances they should have been able to mount so ponderous a figure on its pedestal. In a wide square round about are arranged little six-foot shrines, each containing a gilt image and all looking towards the central Buddha. It is not the least wonderful of the many wonderful things to be seen round the foot of Mandalay Hill.

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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The casting of a brass image is a public festival, and the scene of general rejoicing. The people gather from miles round about, and there are plays and feastings for several nights, whether the Buddha is presented by an individual or by public subscription. The whole assemblage takes an interest in the proceedings, and rejoices in proportion to the success of the casting, which is effected in the same way as with bells. When the image is finished and ready to be dedicated, a great procession is formed; a band of music and dancers go at the head; the most wealthy men deem it an honour to be allowed to bear a hand in carrying the statue; men, women, and children from all the surrounding country, dressed in their gayest clothes, follow on foot or in brightly decorated bullock-carts to the bottom of the pagoda steps. Then the Buddha is carried up and solemnly deposited in the allotted place, myatta-thappè, in religious phraseology, a term not to be rendered without many words in English. It includes all the meanings of seemliness, dignity, beauty, splendour, and awe-compelling majesty. The ritual of the monks at the consecration of an image is, as in the case of the dedication of a pagoda, vague, and decided by individual opinion. Such a formal presentation service is called Nekaza, and is declared by the Sulagandi sect to be superfluous. The lineaments of the Budh are worthy of honour wherever seen, at the pagoda or in the workman's shop.

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The figures of Shin Gautama are not in themselves by any means handsome as works of art. The national skill in wood-carving is well known, and the little wooden lay figures made at Henzada and other places are remarkably clever in their variety of expression. None of this skill appears in the religious images. The modeller or sculptor is held fast by ancient custom. He must make his image of a particular pattern and with the recognised expression. The object is to portray the death of all human passions and earthly feelings. The calm, eternal sleep-like smile symbolises the attainment of ne'ban, the cessation of being, the end of the cycles of transincorporation of souls. This is all that is intended to be represented, and it is held out as a hope to the struggling sinner among earthly miseries.

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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The model to be followed would be worthless did the face express the hopes and fears and pleasures of wretched mortality. 778 532

The following triumphal song is taken from the same play of Sawpé Sawmé as the chant in celebration of the gilding of the Pegu pagoda, and is set to the same Yoddaya nan-thein than. The Mahā Myat Muni is the "Arakan Pagoda" in Mandalay. 778 796

ON THE IMAGE PRESENTED BY THE PEGU INSPECTOR TO THE MAHĀ MYAT-MUNI 539

Fair springs the sun at dawning
  From out the forest's green,
The nine gems on his nat-front
  Shine gloriously at e'en.

The rainbow weaves nat-raiment,
  Sweet is the lily's breath,
The malla flower is winsome,
  That weeps the Saddan's[1] death.

But fairer is the image
  That Hanthawadi sends,
Amid its gold and silver
  The pearl with ruby blends.

The maiden from her finger
  Drew off her jewelled rings,
The men brought costly diamonds
  And wealth of precious things,

And as 'mid shouts and clangour
  The flames leapt red as gold
All joyous cast their treasures
  Into the hissing mould.

So high hath Buddha honour
  In Hanthawadi's soil,
So gladly seek believers
  Release from earthly toil.

[1] The Saddan is the White Elephant, the last incarnation of Shin Gautama before he was conceived in Queen Maia's womb.

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There's many a goodly image 539
In Mahā Myat-muni,
But Mamyay[1] shall be aged
Ere it a fairer see.

And I, the poor Inspector,
May lay me down in peace,
For when this life is ended
Existences shall cease.

It is a very usual practice at the casting of bells and images for the onlookers to throw gold and silver articles of jewellery into the ladles of melted ore. 778 325

[1] Mamyay is a common poetical contraction for Mandalay. Man is also frequently used. [103]

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CHAPTER XIX

A PAGODA FEAST

A PAGODA feast in Burma is one of the most frequent, as well as one of the most picturesque sights in the country. Each shrine has its own special sacred day; and the annual celebration of it is made the occasion of a general picnic, the congregation of people, from all parts of the surrounding districts, being bent no less on pleasure than on pious observances. Reverence for the shrines of various saints in different parts of Europe gave rise to the great fairs which were general until the end of last century, and survive even now in out-of-the-way places. Doubtless, if the Burmese were a commercial people, and cared for the putting together of pieces of silver, these gatherings might degenerate into occasions of barter and bickerings of trade—just as, if they were a practical people, their zat-pwè might blossom into something of a more real character, as the old mystery and morality plays gave birth to the modern drama of Europe. But the Burmese do not care for any of these things; and the pagoda festivals retain therefore the character they have always had, of ostensible religious assemblies. Still their most obvious characteristic to the ordinary public mind is very different. Youths and girls look forward to them as seasons of mirth and flirtation: long nights at the open-air theatre, feastings and perpetual amusements, the pleasanter because lasting no more than a couple of days. Elderly people have no less liking for them. They meet their old friends, and receive and recount the gossip of half a dozen districts; and there is always a succession of new acquaintances. It is a joyous holiday; and it is sanctified by the

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2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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and little morsels of food. Often, if the village is larger, the shrine is much more pretentious, assuming almost the size and appearance of a zayat, a large tectum or roof, gabled and supported with red posts, the platform ornamented, and with a dais at one end, on which a representation of the nat is placed at the feast time, which, in imitation of the pagoda festivals, occurs at a regular fixed season. At other times these images are kept stowed away in an adjoining chamber, built for the purpose. It is particularly irritating to an educated Burman to see these absurd figures, which remind one of nothing so much as the fetiches of the prognathous African. Two gaudily dressed puppets, masquerading with spire-like crown, and royal, sharp-pointed swords, represent the much-feared nats, Shwe Pyin-gyi and Shwe Pyin-ngè, the Nyi-daw, Naung-daw, the Royal Younger Brother and the Royal Elder Brother, who command much respect in the neighbourhood of Mandalay and in Upper Burma generally. A still more dreaded spirit is one whose representation figures in a shrine at Tagaung, one of the ancient capitals of the country, half-way between Mandalay and Bhamaw. He appears simply as a head on a post, four feet high or thereabouts. A spire-like crown rests on his head, his eyes protrude and goggle in semi-globular wrath, asinine ears and a Punch-like nose complete the likeness, for he has no mouth, and his body is that of a dragon. Every one avoids his temple as much as possible, but the inhabitants of the village bow in that direction before they venture to do anything, and passing boatmen kindle lamps and offer flowers, of which he is said to be particularly fond, and fruit, for the nat has an incorrigible habit of giving people the stomach-ache when he is offended, and death punishes the recalcitrant. "Tagaung colic" is a recognised ailment with the Burmese faculty. The demon is said to have been one of the ancient kings of the place, who acquired his power from magical arts which he learned in Northern India. Three famous pagodas in the defile take their names from episodes in his life; and his two sons founded the dynasty of Prome. Oftenest of all, however, the nat-shrine contains no figure. It is occupied only by the viewless spirits of the air.

First in the list of personal spirits may be considered the

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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A special feature of the New Year's Feast was the formal washing of the king's head, called thi'gyan daw gyi. It is not to be supposed that his majesty washed his head only once a year, or that it is at any time an operation to be lightly undertaken, any more than it is by the humblest of his subjects. But at other times the ceremony was called hkaung-se mingala or thi'gyan daw hkaw, and was not attended with so great solemnity as characterised the function at the opening of a new year. Formerly the water for the purpose was annually brought up from Hkaung-se Gyun (Head-washing Island), a little rocky islet situated on the river opposite Maulmein. Hkaung-se Gyun is fabled to hang, with its little cluster of pagodas and monasteries, by an invisible cord from the heavens, and has therefore long enjoyed a special sanctity, not by any means reduced by the springs of clear bubbling water found on its limited surface. Therefore for long it supplied all the water for the royal head-washing. Latterly, however, it was abandoned, and with this there is a curious history connected. After the war of 1826, it was settled in a general way between the commissioners that the river Salween should form the boundary between Burma and the newly-acquired British province of Tenasserim. But later a question arose as to the ownership of the islands, and especially of the rich rice-growing Bilu-gyun, north and south of which the three rivers flow into the sea. After much fruitless palavering it was determined to leave the decision to chance. A couple of cocoa-nuts were tied together and taken some distance up the Salween and thrown into the water in the middle of the river. They went down bobbing gaily till they came to the place where the conflicting currents of the Gyaing and the Attaran come in, and there they twirled and twisted about in an aggravating way until at last an eddy caught them, and, carrying them past the old town of Martaban, decided for the Dayè outlet, through which they were swept away to sea. Thus the "Ogre's Isle" became British territory, and with it the little Hkaung-se Gyun. Nevertheless for many years water was still carried up to Mandalay for the thi'gyan law gyi, till at last Pegu was annexed to the British crown. Then it seemed undignified to carry the sacred water, not

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2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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spire. To show the soles of the feet to the throne is high treason. This is awkward for the inhabitants of some quarters, for there is a rule applying to all Buddhists, that they must not place their feet towards the east, where the sun rises and whence the next Buddha, Arimadeya, will come, nor to the west, where the bawdi bin stands, or stood, the tree under which Shin Gautama attained the supreme wisdom. The superstition is probably derived from the Brahmins, who threaten grievous dangers to the man who places his feet on the shadow of a dewa, a king, a teacher, a saint, or another man's wife.

The frequent change of locality of the palace, and therefore of the capital, is a peculiarity of Burma. There are about a score of towns in the country which have been at one time or other the metropolis. Such are Tagaung, Old Pagān, and Shwebo, above Mandalay; Prome (under the title Tharekettara), Pagān, Sagaing, Ava, and Amarapura, below it. The last two are the best known; indeed some people to the present day persist in talking of the "Kingdom of Ava," though that once brilliant capital has been little better than a jungle for a great many years, and the lines of the old walls can only be traced with difficulty.

It is hardly correct to say, as most writers on Burma have hitherto done, that with a new king there should be a new capital. This has very frequently been the case, but the matter does not altogether depend upon the accession of a new sovereign. It is brought about by a very much more gruesome (the word is used advisedly) circumstance. On the foundation of a new capital, there are always a certain number of people buried alive. The idea is that they become nat-thein, that their spirits haunt the place where they were put to death, and attack all persons approaching with malevolent intentions. The notion is entirely due to the royal astrologers, the Brahmin pônnas, and as being repugnant to the tenets of Buddhism, is strenuously denounced by the true brethren of the yellow robe. But it fits in very well with the popular superstition regarding the existence of spirits, and has hence always firmly maintained its ground. It is a matter of common knowledge that this idea of

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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For seven days after either kind of funeral, mourning 765
goes on in the house. This means in wealthy houses 426
indiscriminate eating and drinking. Cooking goes on all 739
night, and all day relays of condoling visitors come and eat 775
and enjoy themselves. The yahans also come every morning and receive offerings, and recite a string of Pali sentences. Friends bring contributions towards all this expenditure, but the result of it too often is that the heir finds that not only are all his father's hoarded rupees gone, but he himself has contracted a very considerable burden of debt. Even in the case of poor people, where the feasting is limited to the seventh day, great expense is incurred. The yahans are as necessary then as at the funeral, for the house must be purified, and the evil spirits who may be hanging about, as well as the leip-bya of the deceased, have to be exorcised and driven away. Then the pot containing the bones, if the dead person was burnt, is taken to the graveyard and buried, or sometimes is put into a hole near the pagoda. Superstitious people at burials sometimes affirm that they have caught the "butterfly" of the deceased in a handkerchief, and take this home to the house, where it lies till the seventh day, when it is opened after the discourse of the yahans, and the leip-bya is driven from the house. It can then give no more trouble.

Sometimes a small pagoda is erected over the cremated 744
ashes of a highly respected relative. These are regarded 778
simply as monuments, even when they are over a king, to whom alone of laymen in Native Burma they could be erected. They must not be used as places to offer worship, and that this may be known, the members of the sacred order ordain that such pagodas shall have no hti, no umbrella, on the top. To obviate this it is usual with the builder to dedicate the place to Shin Gautama, and thus at once secure a monument and a hti. Pagodas erected in honour of yahandas, or particularly sainted pongyis, receive the umbrella of right, and are places very eminently suited for the pious laymen to worship at. Such temple tombs are called ayo sedi, but are not of such frequent erection as they used to be.

In some cases the relations grind down the bones to powder, and mixing this with the wood oil called thitsi,

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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mould the paste into a small image of the Lord Buddha, which they set up in an honoured place in their houses, and make use of as the object of their morning and evening doxologies. Such images are called tha-yo.

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Nowadays money and public estimation alone determine the character of the funeral; but formerly in Mandalay, apart from the ceremonial provided for a pôngyi byan, there were five kinds suitable for a layman—one for the sovereign; then for members of the royal family; thirdly, for nobles, and those who had received official rank, a rather precarious and dangerous possession; then for thuté, rich men—so designated by special patent, which placed them under the "protection" of the court, that is to say, made them accessible for the demand of "benevolences"; and finally, a funeral for ordinary people. The burials of the poor in Mandalay were gruesome spectacles. The body was carried to the graveyard in a big, roomy box, grown rickety with much use, or, more simply still, in a mat. The sandalās had dug a hole, little more than three feet deep. If it was not long enough the body was squeezed in without any regard for relatives' feelings. Enough earth to cover it slightly was thrown on by the grave-diggers, and the howls and fights of the pariah dogs at night suggested how it was that epidemics did not arise.

In the case of the funeral, say of an Atwinwun's wife, the coffin might be gilt, with a web of white cotton cloth fastened at the head—velvet was only permissible for a person of royal blood; the bamboos composing the bier were covered with red cloth; the pasos, tameins, and so on, given in alms, were carried on long poles, each pole borne by two men. In the procession the insignia of the wun, his umbrellas, fans, kamaut, and the rest were carried in front; after the alms and yahans came a dozen or more young women, carrying the court dress and decorations of the deceased, then her state carriage and that of her husband, hers being usually a palanquin. The billets of wood on the funeral pyre were gilt. These honours were so greatly valued that not a single privilege would be omitted, though the husband had to borrow money for every single item. Indeed, were he to have omitted any of them, he might

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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are covered with carving along the façades and up the spires, scroll upon scroll of daintiest design, quaint groups of figures here and there, and on the gateways moulded dragons. All the carvings tell a story taken from the treasure-house of the nation's infancy, quaint tales of genii and fairy and wonderful adventure. Never, I think, do the carvings tell anything of the sacred life or teaching. The Burmese are not fond, as we are, of carving and painting scenes from sacred books. Perhaps they think the subject too holy for the hand of the craftsman, and so, with, as far as I know, but one exception in all Burma—a pagoda built by Indian architects long ago—you will look in vain for any sacred teaching in the carvings. But they are very beautiful, and their colour is so good, the deep rich brown of teak against the light green of the tamarinds, and the great leaves of the plantains all about. Within the monastery it will be all bare. However beautiful the building is without, no relaxation of his rules is allowed to the monk within. All is bare: only a few mats, perhaps, here and there on the plank floor, a hard wooden bed, a box or two of books.

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At one end there will be sure to be the image of the teacher, wrought in alabaster. These are always one of three stereotyped designs; they are not works of art at all. The wealth of imagination and desire of beauty that finds its expression in the carved stories in the façades has no place here at all. It would be thought a sacrilege to attempt in any way to alter the time-honoured figures that have come down to us from long ago.

16;Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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Over the head of the image there will be a white umbrella, whence we have derived our haloes, and perhaps a lotus blossom in an earthen pot in front. That will be all. There is this very remarkable fact: of all the great names associated with the life of the Buddha, you never see any presentment at all. 778●

The Buddha stands alone. Of Maya his mother, of Yathodaya his wife, of Rahoula his son, of his great disciple Thariputra, of his dearest disciple and brother Ananda, you see nothing. There are no saints in Buddhism at all, only the great teacher, he who saw the light. Surely this is a curious thing, that from the time of the prince to now, two thousand four hundred years, no one has arisen to be worthy of mention of record beside him. There is only one man holy to Buddhism — Gaudama the Buddha.

On one side of the monasteries there will be many pagodas, tombs of the Buddha. They are usually solid cones, topped with a gilded 'tee,' and there are many of them. Each man will build one in his lifetime if he can. They are always white. 792 346 778

And so there is much colour about a monastery— the brown of the wood and the white of the pagoda, and tender green of the trees. The ground is always kept clean-swept and beaten and neat. And there is plenty of sound, too—the fairy music of little bells upon the pagoda-tops when the breeze moves, the cooing of the pigeons in the eaves, the voices of the schoolboys. Monastery land is sacred. No life may be taken there, no loud sounds, no noisy merriment, no abuse is permitted anywhere within

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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the fence. Monasteries are places of meditation and peace.

Of course, all monasteries are not great and beautiful buildings; many are but huts of bamboo and straw, but little better than the villager's hut. Some villages are so poor that they can afford but little for their holy men. But always there will be trees, always the ground will be swept, always the place will be respected just the same. And as soon as a good crop gives the village a little money, it will build a teak monastery, be sure of that.

Monasteries are free to all. Any stranger may walk into a monastery and receive shelter. The monks are always hospitable. I have myself lived, perhaps, a quarter of my life in Burma in monasteries, or in the rest-houses attached to them. We break all their laws: we ride and wear boots within the sacred enclosure; our servants kill fowls for our dinners there, where all life is protected; we treat these monks, these who are the honoured of the nation, much in the offhand, unceremonious way that we treat all Orientals; we often openly laugh at their religion. And yet they always receive us; they are often even glad to see us and talk to us. Very, very seldom do you meet with any return in kind for your contempt of their faith and habits. I have heard it said sometimes that some monks stand aloof, that they like to keep to themselves. If they should do so, can you wonder? Would any people, not firmly bound by their religion, put up with it all for a moment? If you went into a Mahommedan mosque in Delhi with your boots on, you would probably be killed. Yet

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132 year. There are other festivals: of the New Year,
796 in March, with its water-throwing; of each great pagoda at its appointed time; but of all, the festival of the end of Lent is the greatest.

796 Wherever there are great pagodas the people will come in from far and near for the feast. There are many great pagodas in Burma; there is the Arakan pagoda in Mandalay, and there was the Incomparable pagoda, which has been burnt; there are great pagodas at Pegu, at Prome, at many other places; but perhaps the greatest of all is the Shwe Dagon at Rangoon.

● 778 You see it from far away as you come up the
346 river, steaming in from the open sea, a great tongue of flame before you. It stands on a small conical hill just behind the city of Rangoon, about two miles away from the wharves and shipping in the busy river. The hill has been levelled on the top and paved into a wide platform, to which you ascend by a flight of many steps from the gate below, where stand the dragons. This entrance-way is all roofed over, and the pillars and the ceiling are red and
[712] painted. Here it was that much fighting took place in the early wars, in 1852 especially, and many men, English and Burmese, were killed in storming and defending this strong place. For it had been made a very strong place, this holy place of him who taught that peace was the only good, and the de-
346 fences round about it are standing still. Upon the top of this hill, the flat paved top, stands the pagoda, a great solid tapering cone over three hundred feet high, ending in an iron fretwork spire that glitters with gold and jewels; and the whole pagoda is

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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covered with gold—pure leaf-gold. Down below it 346
is being always renewed by the pious offerings of those who come to pray and spread a little gold-leaf on it; but every now and then it is all regilt, from the top, far away above you, to the golden lions that guard its base. It is a most wonderful sight, this great golden cone, in that marvellous sunlight that bathes its sides like a golden sea. It seems to shake and tremble in the light like a fire. And all about the platform, edging it ere it falls away below, are little shrines, marvels of carven woodwork and red lacquer. They have tapering roofs, one above another, till they, too, end in a golden spire full of little bells with tongues. And as the wind blows the tongues move to and fro, and the air is full of music, so faint, so clear, like 'silver stir of strings in hollow shells.'

In most of these shrines there are statues of the 778
great teacher, cut in white alabaster, glimmering whitely in the lustrous shadows there within; and in one shrine is the great bell. Long ago we tried to take this great bell; we tried to send it home as a war trophy, this bell stolen from their sacred place, but we failed. As it was being put on board a ship, it slipped and fell into the river into the mud, where the fierce tides are ever coming and going. And when all the efforts of our engineers to raise it had failed, the Burmese asked: 'The bell, our bell, is there in the water. You cannot get it up. You have tried and you have failed. If we can get it up, may we have it back to hang in our pagoda as our own again?' And they were told, with a laugh, perhaps, that they might; and so they raised it up

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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778 again, the river giving back to them what it had refused to us, and they took and hung it where it used to be. There it is now, and you may hear it when you go, giving out a long, deep note, the beat of the pagoda's heart.

There are many trees, too, about the pagoda platform—so many, that seen far off you can only see the trees and the pagoda towering above them. Have not trees been always sacred things? Have not all religions been glad to give their fanes the glory and majesty of great trees?

You may look from the pagoda platform over the whole country, over the city and the river and the straight streets; and on the other side you may see the long white lakes and little hills covered with trees. It is a very beautiful place, this pagoda, and it is steeped in an odour of holiness, the perfume of the thousand thousand prayers that have been prayed there, of the thousand thousand holy thoughts that have been thought there.

778 782 The pagoda platform is always full of people kneeling, saying over and over the great precepts of their faith, trying to bring into their hearts the meaning of the teaching of him of whom this wonderful pagoda represents the tomb. There are always monks there passing to and fro, or standing leaning on the pillars of the shrines; there are always a crowd of people climbing up and down the long steps that lead from the road below. It is a place I always go to when I am in Rangoon; for, besides its beauty, there are the people; and if you go and stand near where the stairway reaches the platform you will see the people come up

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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They come up singly, in twos, in groups. First a nun, perhaps, walking very softly, clad in her white dress with her beads about her neck, and there in a corner by a little shrine she will spread a cloth upon the hard stones and kneel and bow her face to the great pagoda. And then she will repeat, 'Sorrow, misery, trouble,' over and over again, running her beads through her fingers, repeating the words in the hope that in the end she may understand whither they should lead her. 'Sorrow, misery, trouble'—ah! surely she must know what they mean, or she would not be a nun. And then comes a young man, and after a reverence to the pagoda he goes wandering round, looking for someone, maybe; and then comes an old man with his son. They stop at the little stalls on the stairs, and they have bought there each a candle. The old man has a plain taper, but the little lad must have one with his emblem on it. Each day has its own sign, a tiger for Monday, and so on, and the lad buys a candle like a little rat, for his birthday is Friday, and the father and son go on to the platform. And there they kneel down side by side, the old man and the little chubby lad, and they, too, say that all is misery and delusion. And then they rise and advance to the pagoda's golden base, and put their candles thereon and light them. This side of the pagoda is in shadow now, and so you can see the lights of the candles as little stars.

778 782 [805]

And then come three girls, sisters, perhaps, all so prettily dressed, with meek eyes, and they, too, buy candles; they, too, kneel and say their prayers, for long, so long, that you wonder if anything has

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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778 782 happened, if there has been any trouble that has brought them thus in the sunset to the remembrance of religion. But at last they rise, and they light their little candles near by where the old man and the boy have lit theirs, and then they go away. They are so sad, they keep their faces so turned upon the ground, that you fear there has been something, some trouble come upon them. You feel so sorry for them, you would like to ask them what it all is; you would like to help them if you could. But you can do nothing. They go away down the steps, and you hear the nun repeating always, 'Sorrow, misery, trouble.'

So they come and go.

776 778 But on the festival days at the end of Lent it is far more wonderful. Then for units there are tens, for tens there are hundreds—all come to do reverence to the great teacher at this his great holy place. There is no especial ceremony, no great service, such as we are accustomed to on our festivals. Only there will be many offerings; there will be a procession, maybe, with offerings to the pagoda, with offerings to the monks; there will be much gold-leaf spread upon the pagoda sides; there will be many people kneeling there—that is all. For Buddhism is not an affair of a community, but of each man's own heart.

To see the great pagoda on the festival days is one of the sights of the world. There are a great crowd of people coming and going, climbing up the steps. There are all sorts of people, rich and poor, old and young. Old men there are, climbing wearily up these steps that are so steep, steps that lead

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towards the Great Peace; and there are old women, too—many of them. 796 778

Young men will be there, walking briskly up, laughing and talking to each other, very happy, very merry, glad to see each other, to see so many people, calling pleasant greetings to their friends as they pass. They are all so gaily dressed, with [292] beautiful silks and white jackets and gay satin head-clothes, tied with a little end sticking up as a plume.

And the girls, how shall I describe them?—so sweet they are, so pretty in their fresh dresses, with downcast eyes of modesty, tempered with little side-glances. They laugh, too, as they go, and they talk, never forgetting the sacredness of the place, never forgetting the reverences due, kneeling always first as they come up to the great pagoda, but being of good courage, happy and contented. There are children, too, numbers and numbers of them, walking along, with their little hands clasping so tightly some bigger ones, very fearful lest they should be lost. They are as gay as butterflies in their dress, but their looks are very solemn. There is no solemnity like that of a little child; it takes all the world so very seriously, walking along with great eyes of wonder at all it sees about it.

They are all well dressed who come here; on 796 a festival day even the poor can be dressed well. 292 Pinks and reds are the prevailing colours, in checks, in stripes, mixed usually with white. These colours go best with their brown skins, and they are fondest of them. But there are other colours, too: there is silver and green embroidery, and there are shot-

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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796 silks in purple and orange, and there is dark blue.
292 All the jackets, or nearly all the jackets, are white with wide sleeves, showing the arm nearly up to the elbow. Each man has his turban very gay, while each girl has a bright handkerchief which she drapes as she likes upon her arm, or carries in her hand. Such a blaze of colour would not look well with us. Under our dull skies and with our sober lights it would be too bright; but here it is not so. Everything is tempered by the sun; it is so brilliant, this sunlight, such a golden flood pouring down and bathing the whole world, that these colours are only in keeping. And before them is the gold pagoda, and about them the red lacquer and dark-brown carving of the shrines.

796 You hear voices like the murmur of a summer sea, rising and falling, full of laughter low and sweet, and above is the music of the fairy bells.

Everything is in keeping—the shining pagoda and the gaily-dressed people, their voices and the bells, even the great bell far beyond, and all are so happy.

796 The feast lasts for seven days; but of these there are three that are greater, and of these, one, the day
● 778 of the full moon, is the greatest of all. On that day the offerings will be most numerous, the crowd densest. Down below the pagoda are many temporary stalls built, where you can buy all sorts of fairings, from a baby's jointed doll to a new silk dress; and there are restaurants where you may obtain refreshments; for the pagoda is some way from the streets of the city, and on festival days refreshments are much wanted.

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These stalls are always crowded with people buying and selling, or looking anxiously at the many pretty wares, unable, perhaps, to buy. The refreshments are usually very simple—rice and curry for supper, and for little refreshments between whiles there are sugar-cakes and vermicelli, and other little cakes. 796 262

The crowd going up and down the steps is like a gorgeous-coloured flood, crested with white foam, flowing between the dragons of the gate; and on the platform the crowd is thicker than ever. All day the festival goes on—the praying, the offering of gifts, the burning of little candles before the shrines—until the sun sets across the open country far beyond in gold and crimson glory. But even then there is no pause, no darkness, for hardly has the sun's last bright shaft faded from the pagoda spire far above, while his streamers are still bright across the west, than there comes in the east a new radiance, so soft, so wonderful, it seems more beautiful than the dying day. Across the misty fields the moon is rising; first a crimson globe hung low among the trees, but rising fast, and as it rises growing whiter. Its light comes flooding down upon the earth, pure silver with very black shadows. Then the night breeze begins to blow, very softly, very gently, and the trees give out their odour to the night, which woos them so much more sweetly than the day, till all the air is heavy with incense. 796

Behold, the pagoda has started into a new glory, for it is all hung about with little lamps, myriads of tiny cressets, and the façades of the shrines are lit up, too. The lamps are put in long rows or in 796 778 373

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796 circles, to fit the places they adorn. They are little
778 earthenware jars full of cocoanut oil, with a lip
373 where is the wick. They burn very redly, and throw a red light about the platform, breaking the shadows that the moonlight throws and staining its whiteness.

In the streets, too, there are lamps—the houses are lined with them—and there are little pagodas and ships designed in flame.

All the people come out to see the illuminations, just as they do with us at Christmas to see the shop-windows, and the streets are crowded with people going to and fro, laughing and talking. And there are dramatic entertainments going on, dances and marionette shows, all in the open air. The people are all so happy, they take their pleasure so pleasantly, that it is a delight to see them. You cannot help but be happy, too. The men joke and laugh, and you laugh, too; the children smile at you as they pass, and you must smile, too; can you help it? And to see the girls makes the heart glad within you. There is an infection from the good temper and the gaiety about you that is irresistible, even if you should want to resist it.

796 The festival goes on till very late. The moon is so bright that you forget how late it is, and only remember how beautiful is all around. You are very loath to leave it, and so it is not till the moon itself is falling low down in the same path whither the sun went before her, it is not till the lamps are dying one by one and the children are yawning very sleepily, that the crowd disperses and the pagoda is at rest.

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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776 have peopled their trees and rivers with; will show what sort of religion it is that underlies, without influencing, the creed of the Buddha that they follow. It is of the very poetry of superstition, free from brutality, from baseness, from anything repulsive, springing, as I have said, from their innate sympathy with Nature and recognition of the life that works in all things. It always seems to me that beliefs such as these are a great key to the nature of a people, are, apart from all interest in their beauty, and in their akinness to other beliefs, of great value in trying to understand the character of a nation.

778 181 For to beings such as Nats and fairies the people who believe in them will attribute such qualities as are predominant in themselves, as they consider admirable; and, indeed, all supernatural beings are but the magnified shadows of man cast by the light of his imagination upon the mists of his ignorance.

Therefore, when you find that a people make their spirits beautiful and fair, calm and even-tempered, loving peace and the beauty of the trees and rivers, shrinkingly averse from loud words, from noises, and from the taking of life, it is because the people themselves think that these are great qualities. If no stress be laid upon their courage, their activity, their performance of great deeds, it is because the people who imagine them care not for such things. There is no truer guide, I am sure, to the heart of a young people than their superstitions; these they make entirely for themselves, apart from their religion, which is, to a certain extent, made for them. That is why I have written this chapter on Nats: not

It will be noted that most of the living takes place on the downstairs floor where the bedrooms and the porch are located. The alter is also located downstairs 342 [512] [778]

U Myaing explained that the alt r should be upstairs but it was more convenient downstairs. The posts on which the house rests rise a few feet above the ground. In all there are about 15,050 cubic feet enclosed by the house. Of this amount 1450 cubic feet are used for sleeping quarters for the family, 729 cubic feet is devoted to religion in the alter room, and 800 cubic feet is used in the kitchen for preparing food. The rest of the space is for social functions including visitors and relaxation, with some space used for storage.

In Pathma there were no beds and no chairs except for one deck chair which had been handed down to U Myaing from his father. There were however, five small stools about four inches high and measuring about 12" by 6". These stools did not have four legs but instead were made of one flat board hammered onto two boards laid on their ends. They had one four legged stool measuring 2½ feet by 1½ feet and about 8 inches high. This was utilized as a chess board. (U Myaing and three or four others played chess four or five times a month in the afternoons. Their house was the only one in the village to possess a board and chessmen, U Myaing having received it from a cousin.) There was another stool about two feet high and one and a half feet square to hold the KYAUK KAR food carrier. 352 [428] [524] [415]

There were also two round Burmese tables. The smaller one was about three feet in diameter and one foot tall. Ma Aye Myaing could not estimate the diameter of the larger one but she remembered that eight men could eat at a time at this table, and that people who gave charities often came to borrow it for that reason. [426]

There was a three legged stand for holding two water pots. The pots were placed on two horizontal triangles formed one about two feet above the other by the pieces of wood holding together the three upright feet of the stand. This stand was made by U Myaing at home.

They also possessed two cupboards both of which had been handed down to U Myaing by his father. The first one, used for holding clothes, was three TAUNG high, two and one half TAUNG wide and little less than one [428]

also used to do this. Sometimes they are able to extract about 5 viss of oil each in one day. 226 463 621

"There are also cultivators in the village. Some of those who work INS also own fields. They rent out the land to tenants. There are altogether 12 people in our village who own cultivation fields. But the biggest landowner does not own lands more extensive than three hundred acres. Some own 40 or 50 acres. Some engage cultivators and work their fields themselves, while others rent out the fields for a certain percentage of the produce. 421 463 621 427

"There were paid workers in the IN. They were paid, not a daily wage, but a monthly salary of Rs. 30/- without food. About 50 of the 80 workers were paid workers, though some of them owned shares as well. In addition to their pay, these paid workers received quite a lot of fish which their families went around selling. They get one or two basket-loads of fish to sell, and in this way make quite a lot of money. 226 463 465

"Fish is not distributed in this manner every day - only when the fish start coming down in great numbers. On these occasions however the workers get about 25 to 30 viss each - that is, by the boatload. Ordinarily they are given just enough for one meal.

"I also own eleven cows; eight for loaning out to cultivators and three for breeding purposes. No milk is drawn for human consumption because that is not the custom in our native place." 231 [272]

One yoke of oxen hired out brought U Myaing 50 baskets of paddy a year. He had 4 yokes. They kept by 100 baskets for home consumption and sold the rest at a rate fluctuating between Rs. 100/- and Rs. 175/- per hundred baskets.

In those years when U Myaing works at INS, he has to confine himself to such work only. During those years when he does not work at INS, he buys the fish from IN workers and process them for sale as NGAGYI, NGA-CHAUK, etc. Each year he uses between four to five thousand fish. When U Myain his co-workers could not get an IN, he had to buy fish and make NGA-CHAUK, (dried fish), NGAPI and NGAMPYAR-YE. 226 463 433

On his former visits to Rangoon U Myaing came in a boat loaded with NGAGYI CHAUK (dried NGA GYI) and transferred it to the care of a broker in Rangoon. He then ascended the Shwe Dagon pagoda platform, donated money and water, returned to the broker, and went around the town to places like Mogul Street (the Indian quarter) for meats and ate pillau-rice etc. It took three or four days, and sometimes about ten days for the broker to dispose of his goods and in this time he would go round all the pagodas in Rangoon like the Botataung, Sule, Nga-htat-gyi etc. Once he went to a Chinese hotel known as the HAN-HIN hotel together with some traders from DABUBYU. They pooled the expenses. The journey home took a day and a night. He took back with him clothes, longyis, KINGYIS, durian fruit, 226 438 484 [778]

General Attitudes of the Burmese toward Work.

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Rank and status in the Burmese Village is determined to a large extent on the basis of occupation - with the factor of wealth where applicable taking precedence over occupation. The highest rank is accorded to the Buddhist monks who exert the ultimate influence. Government officials including the township officers, the THU GYI (headmen) and elders, and the schoolmaster occupy the second rank. The large land owners (of this group the rice-mill owners rate highest) rank next. Below these are the tradesmen - the paddy dealers, shop keepers and small holdings farmers who comprise the bulk of the population. Professional artisans such as carpenters, blacksmiths, gold and silver smiths occupy a lower position. However, it is common for the small holdings farmers to practice a secondary occupation such as pottery making.

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Fishermen and hunters are looked down on by the rest of the community because they offend Buddhist precepts by taking life. In this class also are those who raise animals (cows, poultry, pigs) for food, smugglers and brewers. Fishermen, particularly those such as U Myaing who operate IN fisheries often become wealthy, but the stigma of the source of this wealth is remembered by the community. A story is told of a rich fisherman who came to cover the Shwe Dagon Pagoda in Rangoon with gold plate. Unfortunately, he had sinned so much by taking the lives of fish that he could not see the pagoda. In a rage he returned to his IN to cover its posts with the gold. Because of the stigma attached to fishing those who make their living in this way tend to live together in their own communities. Thus Pathma, U Myaing's village is primarily a fisherman's community.

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In the days of the Burmese kings, wealthy men and nobles (THAKIN) would assign people under their command to serve as pagoda slaves. Their names were engraved in stone and their descendants for all eternity assigned to this position. The duties were light - consisting mainly of sweeping the platforms and carrying for the images, but the social position was next to the lowest. It is believed that the flower vendors on the platform of the Rangoon

pagodas and those throughout the country are descendants of the pagoda slaves. 461 175 567

Beggars are rated below the pagodo slaves - but, because of the Buddhist merit associated with giving do well for themselves. 778 735 The beggars live in communities on the outskirts of the town often in cemeteries. [779] They are thought to exhume the dead to get the coins placed in the mouth of the deceased to ensure expenses on his journey to heaven. 764 The wood of the coffin is believed to be used in constructing their huts. 554 461 Professional undertakers or morticians are regarded with horror since they like the beggars, make their living from the dead. The functions of burial are performed gratis by the entire village. A story is currently going round the University dormitories [203] telling of an immensely wealthy Burmese coffin maker in Rangoon who has offered riches to the young man who will marry his beautiful daughter. When the future seems blank the students' friend advises "Hey, why don't you go and marry the coffin maker's daughter?" It seems that the money would scarcely compensate for the social discrimation. 461 The extent to which the occupation classes are rigid in marriage and other social exchanges is an interesting problem. 565 555

A young man is obliged to remain within the occupation class of his family or to rise to greater heights. He is advised at an early age to "be simple, aim high, and tell the truth." [867] When children play at daccits (thieves) of other "low class" games their parents [857] object to their low aspirations and advise them to play nobles and ministers. One would feel justified in remaining idle rather than accept a position below that of his birth. It is better to accept a clerks job at a low salary than an artisans at a high salary. On the other hand those born into lower status occupation groups tend to be satisfied with their state as a condition of birth. In Rangoon, however, even the hawkers may have ambitions to achieve fame and fortune. The opportunities for social mobility is greater in the towns and cities [369] but difinitely restricted in the villages.

Apprenticeship to trades begins at the age of 12 to 14 years, 461 and usually lasts for several years. 467 Ordinarily the youth is attached to the shop of a relative where he lives and is payed a subsistence 874 wage while learning. [602] The key to high positions lies in education in

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 API Burma
Burmese AP4

39. PAINTING OF SHINLAUNG FETE.

The constituted daily routine of the monastery takes no account of recreation. In practice there is a wide margin of leisure. But the wearer of the yellow robe is not seen at play. Arithmetical puzzles are the nearest approach to a game. On the other hand, the cheerfulness of the race suffers no restraint. There is decorum, without austerity or sanctimony. The severest penance laid upon the novice is temporary relegation to the secular state (*lein-byan*) for such faults as lying, theft, or killing anything. Cruelty to an animal is punished with caning.

The *yahán* exercise no exclusive function beyond that of admitting candidates to the novitiate and the full membership of their Assembly. The affairs of the Buddhist Church are initiated and conducted by the laity. The recluses merely add, by their presence, to the religious distinction of an occasion. At the shrine the recluse is like any other pilgrim; he never is a ministrant or priest. Neither is there any altar. The only material objects to which sanctity pertains are the relics of the Buddha. The members of the Assembly know no distinctions of men, racial or social. As regards the temporal power, of whatever origin, the recluse should be absolutely passive, neither contravening the laws nor invoking them when he suffers wrong. The recluse neither denounces nor harbours the criminal, a neutral attitude of which criminals are not slow to take advantage.

When admitted to full membership of the Assembly instituted by the Buddha (*Thingá*, Pâli *Sangha*), the novice becomes *Yahán* (*Yahán-daw*, *Rahán*, *Arahan*), which signifies *perfected*, one advanced a stage

40. BOYIN RECEIVING HIGHER INSTRUCTION

25; Ferrars. E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

[opp. p.20]

48. SOYIN PRAYING FOR ADMISSION TO THE THINGA.

[To face p. 20.

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44. ANCIENT THEIN AT PAGAN.

not by age, but by the number of lenten seasons they have belonged to the Assembly. Vigils and restriction of night rest are not practised. The rule of life of the *yahán* is laid down in the *Wini* (*Vinaya Bitaka*), one of the three divisions ("baskets") of the Buddhist scriptures. A *kambawd*, or breviary of scripture, relating to membership of the Assembly, illuminated with lacquer on copper or ivory leaves, is read by turns by the five members of the conclave assembled for the reception of the new member. This solemnity is undertaken in the *thein*, a *wut* set apart for the *Thingá* alone. No lay persons enter the precincts, but they may be spectators from a distance. The new *yahán* is called *Upazin*, sojourner recluse, or assistant to the *Upyiza*, or *Pôndyl*, *Kindyl* (incumbent) of the monastery. In 1891 there were 13,613 *pôndyl*, 6,668 sojourner *yahán*, and 13,500 probationers in the monasteries of Burma, which numbered 15,371, in a Buddhist population of about seven millions.

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The dedication of the site for building such a *thein* (Pâli *sima*) is preceded by the solemnity of *thein-thamôt*. Ground so dedicated can never be alienated to any other use. In this respect the *thein* is more sacred than the temples in general. After the site has been levelled, it is surrounded with a trench, into which water is led. In the centre a small well is sunk (*alé-dwin*). The *yahán*, not less than twenty-four in number, assemble on the spot, over which a gay pavilion (*mandat*) has been erected, and wait for the water from the trench to percolate to the well. When this occurs, the site is said to have "taken" (*aung*). Otherwise it must be rejected. The *yahán* gather round the well and intone scriptural passages from a

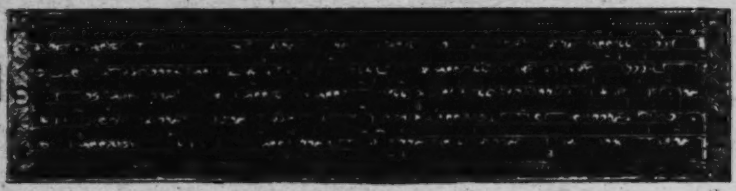
[792]

45. YAHAN ASSEMBLED FOR DEDICATION OF THEIN.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

346 *kambawk*. The laity assembled outside the precincts let off rockets and guns
796 in celebration of the event. Finally, the ceremony of *yezitcha*, the pouring
of water (No. 100), is performed by the grantor of the site—as at every other
● 778

[213]



46. ILLUMINATED KAMBAWA.

religious dedication—to signify that the property has been dedicated for ever. The precincts of the *thein* are marked by low boundary pillars, mostly of Sagáing marble, set in the trench, which is then filled in. A different form of *thein* is the *ye-thein*, which is built over the water to effect its isolation.

792 Although the *yahán*, as already stated, may not ask for anything, he may
735 decline what is offered. He signifies this by inverting his *thabéit* (*thabeit-kmauk*). The action has become a symbol for excommunication. The *yahán* might assemble in the *thein* and perform *thabéit-kmauk* against a layman for
[794] heinous wickedness. His house would be passed by in collecting *sun* and all offerings tendered by him refused. The
[178] practice has become obsolete; it is said to have no warrant in the scriptures, and to be contrary to their spirit.

Where the people are very prosperous and the *yahán* are not many, the collecting of *sun* in the streets has sunk to a formality observed by the novices only, who on return to the monastery empty their *thabéit* to the dogs. But in other circumstances the sojourner *yahán*, novices and scholars live on the *sun*. An ordinance of the Buddha dispenses the *yahán* from collecting his food from house to house if there be pious people who proffer him his sustenance at his abode. The founder of the monastery (*Kyaung-tagá*), who nomin-

47. SUN SENT BY THE GYAÔNGYASA.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

62. DAYIN ORNAMENT.

exhausted their resources in the building of it. In the moist region the effects of rain and vegetation combine to dilapidate buildings in less than a lifetime. The stone-grey and lichen-covered wood attains the distinction of age before its time. In the dry zone of Burma Proper fires are very frequent. Few examples of wood architecture of over a century old exist anywhere. It is scarcely possible to trace the steps by which the present style developed from the Indian models. 346 735 [132 731]

As distinguished from the *kyaung*, *thein*, and other wood buildings, the *Zedi*, which are such a prominent feature of Burma and Siam, are of masonry. In Arakán they are of hewn stone; elsewhere they are of brick plastered with lime. It is a point of honour with the Buddhists of those countries to crown every eminence with a *zedi*. The chief *zedi* of a place—*Payá-dyt*—is on the highest ground in the vicinity, and is cared for by the public. The subsidiary *zedi*, the *wut*, *tazdung*, and other accessories which cluster around the *Payá-dyt*, are the work of private individuals. Old and new are huddled in chaotic profusion. Many erections are ruinous and disregarded. But so long as a vestige of the original structure, remains, it monopolises the site. The development of the conical *zedi* may be traced, step by step, from the ancient temple. Originally, *zedi* are shrines for relics of the Buddha—the Indian *Stupa*, *tôp*, *dâgaba*, *dagôba*, of which last "pagoda" is a transposition. The vast majority of *zedi* only pretend to symbolize actual shrines. The shrines of reputed relics are 346 778

63. DETAIL OF EAVES AND GABLE.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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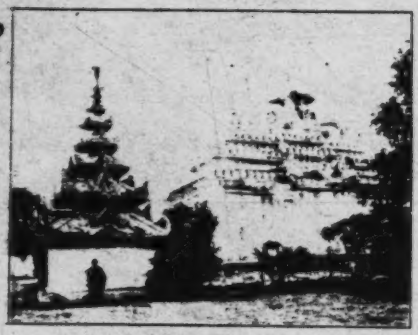
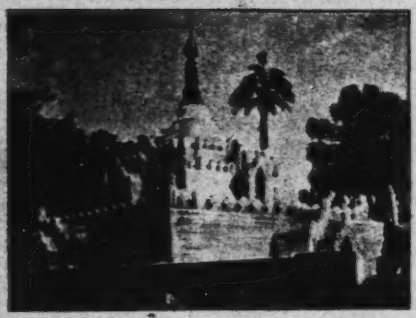


64. ANCIENT THEIN AND MODERN PYATTHAT.

visited by pilgrims from distances of months' journeys. The earliest relics cherished are said to have been the *parĕikaya* of Gawdama Buddha. Symbols of the sacred *thabĕit* are placed about the *zedi*. Later, the remains of the Buddha were venerated. Bones, teeth, and hairs are thus enshrined. Those reputed relics which can be exhibited, such as the teeth (Myohaung in Arakán, Anuradhapúra in Ceylon), are of many times the human proportions. The legend ascribes colossal stature to the Buddha. He did not tread the earth, but floated above it; his alms-bowl did not rest upon his hands, but remained suspended in the air (*cf.* p. 36). In its later form, the *zedi* consists of a pyramidal or polygonal base (*panát-chi*), with niches (*hlaing-gu*) for images of the Buddha. This part is the rudiment of the original four-square temple. It is represented in all stages of its decrement (Nos. 66, 97). Above the base come tapering courses (*pyissagan*), after these the bell-shaped body (*kaunglaung-bôn*) separated by three mouldings (*kyo-zwaing*) from the *thabĕit-kwauk* (inverted alms-bowl). Then follow seven heavy bead-rolls (*paung kun-hnilôn*) surmounted by the lotus (*kyá-lan, saláung-bôn*), out of which issues the bulb (*ngapyáw-bû, pein-hné-daung*). The canopy (*tî*, umbrella, No. 232) is a metal construction of graduated bands one above the other, richly embossed and ornamented. To the lower edges of these bands small bells are hung, which have vanes to their clappers to make them tinkle in the wind. The *tî* terminates in a long finial bearing a vane (*hngemmana*) and at the apex a silver orb studded with jewels (*seimbû*). On lesser *zedi* a glass ball or bottle caps the finial. The *tî* is always gilt, the cone generally whitewashed. In wealthy towns the cone of the *Payá-dyí* is gilt from crown to

65. LIMESTONE ROCK ON THE ATARAN.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4



68. BITAKA-TAIK, THATON.

platform (*tamánthalín*). Unlike the ancient temples with their stairs and corridors, the later *zedi* is a solid mass of brick and earth, plastered over. The summit is inaccessible, except by means of scaffolding (*nyau*, No. 217). *Zedi* are commonly spoken of as *Payâ*, in the same way as are the images of the Buddha, for which the distinctive term is *sindu*.

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In addition to the *zedi*, the *thein*, and *kyaung*, there are three other classes of religious edifices, the *tazáung*, *wut*, and *zayát*. All these may be decorated in the palatial style and are mostly of wood. But a public well or a roadside water-stand, the portal of a bridge or a wharf, may likewise be surmounted by the royal *pyatthat* in virtue of the religious distinction which attaches to every work dedicated to public use by private bounty. Nothing adds so much to the picturesqueness of Burma. The temple *zayát* (No. 98) is intended for sojourners in the precincts on duty days. The *wut* differs from the *zayát* in having a dais for images of the Buddha. The *tazáung* is only for the reception of images.

The ancient remains are almost entirely confined to the dry zone of Burma Proper, with the exception of a few in Thatôn and in Arakán. Those at Thatôn, dating from about 1000 A.D., have square bases built of huge laterite blocks in the Indian style. The ornament is deeply hewn into the stone. Above the laterite base is brick and plaster work of later date. Apart from the destructive influence of the climate, and of the rank vegetation the climate favours, a further reason of the scarcity of ancient monuments and inscriptions is the over-building of the shrines, by which the original work is lost to view.

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67. SHWE-HMAWDAW PAYA, PEGU.

Where we say "countless as the

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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[532]

71. TERRA-COTTA FIGURES AT THADYA PAYA, THATON.

of the Buddha, set against the column which supports the dome or Hindu cone. The later domes are pure vaults without central support. In these ancient temples the conical *zedi* now so typical of Burma forms the finial only, held like a jewel, by four cusps. The lowermost portion of this structure resembles an inverted *thabèit*, the name of the homologous part of the modern *zedi*. Possibly this forms the actual reliquary or is the symbol of the same.

An example of direct imitation of Indian monuments is the *Bawdi Payâ*. It takes its name from the *Bo* tree at Buddha Gáya in Bahár, and is a florid reproduction of the *stupa* there. It was built by King Zeyathinka about 1220 A.D.

The temple named after Ánanda, the chief disciple of the Buddha, was built by King Kyansitthu about 1080 A.D. Both the temple (No. 8) and the *thein* and *kyaung* adjoining (Nos. 64, 74) are in full preservation. The gigantic lattice gates of the inner temple are of teak-wood and probably coeval with the masonry.

The most imposing of the ancient monuments and the one which marks the best period of the Pagán architecture is Thappyinnyu Payâ, built by King Alaung Sitthu, about 1100 A.D. (No. 73). Its height is two hundred feet or more.

In the mural decorations at Pagán the Indian character is as marked as in the buildings themselves. India has evidently furnished the subjects of the Burman designer and trained his style (Nos. 272, 94).

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The Burman bricklayers had at one time lost the art of arch-building. A pointed arch like the Gothic is used in the temples of ancient Pagán (Nos. 75, 76).

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The images of the Buddha (*sindu*) are the principal features of the interior of the ancient temples, the true character of

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72. BAWDI PAYA, PAGAN.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
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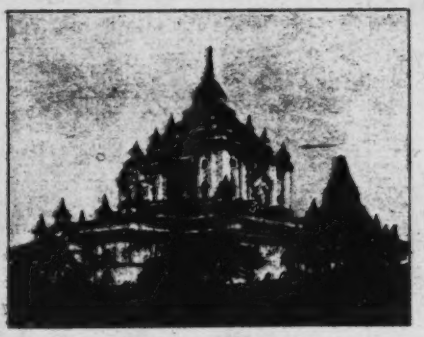
which is the same as that of the *zedi*. The images are of sandstone in Arakán, where, moreover, the Hindu caste-mark between the brows (*tika*) is not omitted



73. THAPPYINNYU PAYA, PAGAN.

as it commonly is in Burma. In Burma Proper and Pegu good stone is scarce, and the large immovable images are built of brick and plaster and finished in fine white lime. Movable images, up to several tons weight, are hewn in the marble of Sagáing, the freestone of Taung-u (opposite Pagán), and are cast in brass. Lighter images are made of wood or of lacquer (*man-Payá*). The

74. KYAUNG AT ANANDA PAYA.

postures are the cross-legged, seated in contemplation (*tinbyingwe*), the erect posture (*mayyattaw*), preaching or receiving alms, and the reclining posture

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

78. EXAMPLE OF KEYED VAULT AT PAGAN.

(*kyaung-daw*). In the sitting figure the garb is either the array of the prince before he became the Buddha or his subsequent garb of recluse. In the standing and reclining images the garb is always that of the recluse. The mound on the head represents the residue of hair, as cut off with his sword by the prince when he fled from the palace. According to the legend the hair grew no more. The pose of the conventional figure is the Indian one with its rigid symmetry. The fingers and toes are parallel and of equal length. The lobe of the ear reaches to the shoulder. Of late, under the stimulus of western art-products, the figure is beginning to be realistically treated, especially in the drapery, which is now modelled into natural folds in relief, instead of being conventionally mapped on the flat. Builders vie with each other in the size they give the figure. The recumbent images attain a length of fifty cubits. The image is set on a throne (*balin*) which is a conventionalised lotus in form, and is surmounted by floral tracery which symbolizes the sacred *Bo* tree. Images of the Buddha are reverently handled and are spoken of in honorific terms—*the sacred countenance, the venerable form*. There may be no bargaining about the purchase (*puzaw*) from the maker. The images are only placed in the temples or on the image-da" f the *kyaung*

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79. MODERN FALSE ARCH, AMAYAPOYA.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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77. IMAGE OF THE BUDDHA ENCIRCLED BY FICUS.

(*ôt-deitha*), where, after dedication, they cease to be private property. The sole virtue of these symbols lies in the pious intention with which they are dedicated. The figure of the disciple Ānanda is frequently placed in the houses or taken on journeys (No. 316).

Besides the reputed relics of the Buddha, the miraculous foot-prints which legend assigns to him on rocks in Burma and Arakán are venerated (*Chidaw-yá*). Every Burman knows that Gawdama never travelled out of Bahár and was in all respects as other men; the licence of the legend is a poetic one. Models of these foot-prints are placed in the temple precincts. Here conventionality reaches the extreme; the sole is laid out with rule and compass and the surface mapped into diagrams of cabalistic import (No. 450).

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The Buddhist scriptures should be deposited in masonry temples (*Bitaka-taik*, No. 66). These exist in a few places, but in general the scriptures are kept in special chests (*sadáik*) in the *kyaungs* (No. 453). The Shan-Tarôk (p. 146) place *sadáik* in their houses, and take pride in the volume of manuscripts these contain. The complete Páli text, together with the patristic commentaries and glosses, written on palm-leaf, would occupy a space of perhaps one hundred cubic feet. The text alone would cover about one thousand five hundred quarto pages of pica type. Only a few *kyaungs* possess the complete Tripitaka. Besides the scriptures, other ancient writings are treasured, such as the *kyauza* of cosmogony (see Sangermano), the *Zât* literature—the legendary lives of the Buddha in previous states of existence, embellished with romance of recent date.

78. IMAGE OF THE BUDDHA ON BALIN.

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

The tall flag-staff (*tagindaing*) is the most striking of the temple-accessories. It consists of a decorated spar, sixty to eighty feet high, from which floats a long streamer. The head of the pole is ornamented with a mythical animal, generally the *hintha* (*hanza*, a fantastic figure of the Brahmany duck) or else the *kinnayá*, a monster with the body of a woman in princely array and the wings and legs of a bird. The butt of the *tagindaing*, instead of being planted in the ground, is frequently set between piles which are carved into figures of the mythical *thadyá* (p. 186, No. 7). The pole is held up by transverse bars passing through it and the piles.

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79. TAGUNDAING WITH KEINNAYA.

80. TAGUNDAING WITH HINTHA.

Colossal lions (*chinthé*, No. 56) of the Burmese conventional type guard the temple approaches—monsters differing as much in their way from the prototype as the lions of our own heraldry.

Stands shaped like a *ballin* or throne, on which flowers and fruit are offered, are placed on the temple platforms.

Great bells are hung at every shrine (No. 97). The votary takes the deer-antler off the bar and strikes first the ground and then the bell. This is to call to witness beings both under the earth and above the earth and make them participators in the merit of the act of worship. The Burman bell has noble proportions and is hung by metal clasps of rich design, figuring the mythical dragon (*nagá*, No. 47). The tone of the bells is not rich, owing partly to the form, partly to flaws in casting. The greatest bell in Burma is that cast by the Emperor Bodaw Payá, on the European model, in 1790, for the temple he began at Mingún. It is said to weigh eighty-eight tons. A historic bell

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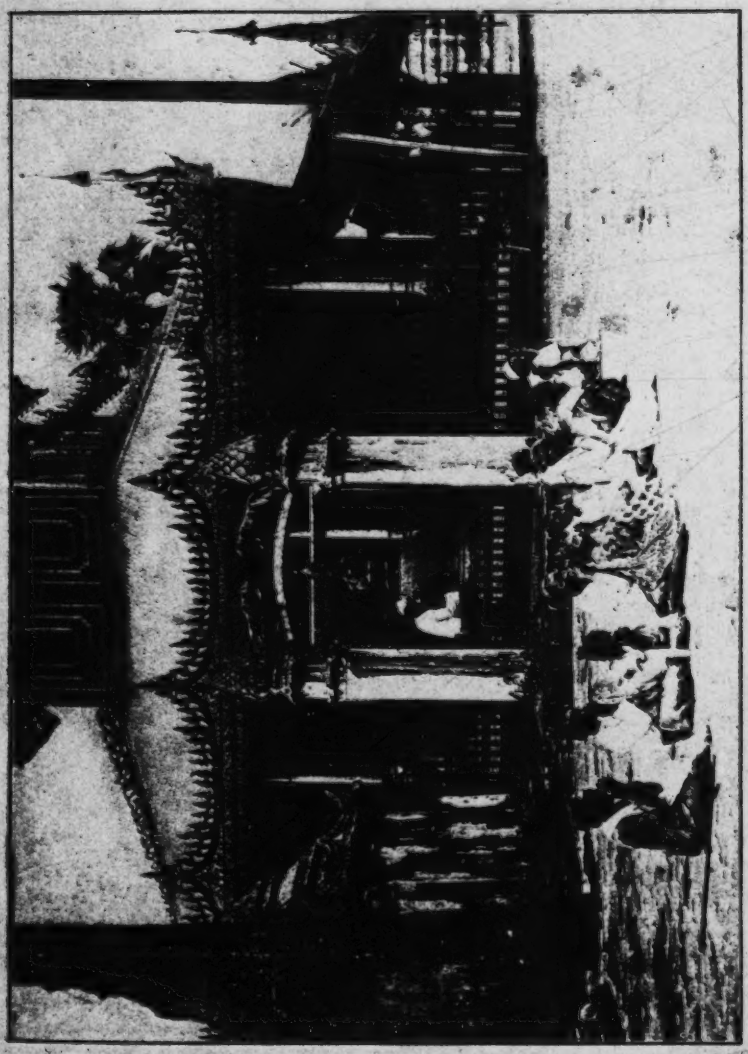
25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

[opp. p.44]



[To face p. 44

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BY. WORSHIPPERS ON THE TEMPLE PLATFORM.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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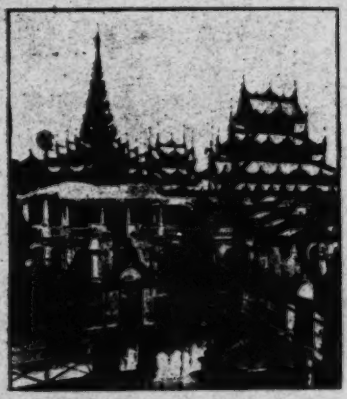
regarded as oneself, they are loved and are succoured, and by such actions the consequences of sin are atoned for. As imperfections are corrected by self-

[778
346]

98. TEMPLE ZAYAT.

discipline, crimes are expiated by the pains of hell (*ngayi*). For the perception of the great aim, that is, extirpation of desire and all that desire entails, there are given the principles *Anitsa*, *Dikha*, *Anatta* (change, trouble, dependence), which

[778
346]



99. DECADENT KYAUNG (p. 20).

the pious ponder as they tell their beads, and which may be paraphrased as the *impermanence* of all things, the *struggle* which the "unpitying rush of changes" involves and the *helplessness* of the event, which is "at the mercy of blind

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

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•[178

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[294]

135. SEWING CLOTH.

surface water. In some parts of the country the water is brackish. Shallow tanks with built-up earthen borders are made to store the rain-water for drinking, and, unlike the tanks in India, these are kept free from contamination. There is always a separate stand for the pots of drinking-water, either in the house itself, or within reaching distance, with a roof of its own. The domestic shrine and flower-stand (*nyaung ye-ô zin*) is frequently associated with the water-stand. Apart from the advantage of keeping away the drip the isolation of the water-stand is so marked as to suggest a religious intention—possibly of forgotten animistic import—in addition to the obvious one of a boon to the traveller, in virtue of which the water-stand is frequently decorated in the Buddhistic religious style (No. 158). As already noted, dwelling-houses are not fit places for images of the Buddha, but only temples. In the houses, the Buddha is venerated by keeping his sacred tree green in the flower-vases on the *nyaung ye-ô zin*, which is often richly decorated. The shrine takes its name from the *ficus*, but the plants actually used are such as keep green longest in the shade, especially the aloe (*môt*). The observance has very possibly been transferred from a pre-buddhistic one (No. 157).

372

The native method of getting fire is shown in No. 141. Except in the great plains, there is enough waste land about the settlements, bearing trees and scrub where dry faggots may be collected. Logs of dry timber are dragged in, and firewood for cooking split off as required, or billets are carted in and stored against the rainy season. In the cold season, fires are often made on the ground in front of the houses, for the inmates to sit around. But in general,

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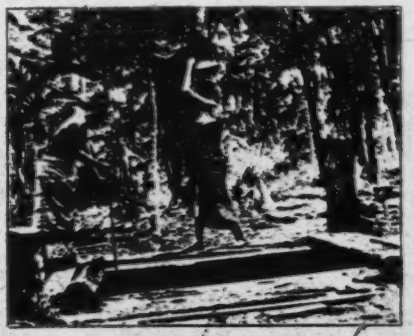
[354]



136. VILLAGE WELL.

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

[Opp. p. 64]

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615

[To face p. 64.

139. BATHING-PLACE ON THE RIVER-BANK (PAGAN, JULY).

25; Fetrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 · APl Burma
Burmese AP4

161. CHILDREN'S TUBS AT FLOOD-TIME (p. 61).

—the slave, his lordship's humble servant. There are special honorific terms for the coming and going, eating and sleeping of royalty and of the *yahán*. The most coveted titles or appellations are those of *kyaung-tagá*, *Payá-tagá* — founder of a school, founder of a temple. The first of these is given by courtesy to persons of venerable age. The great increase of prosperity has given a corresponding impetus to the founding of such works, so that the *tagá* are more numerous than ever before. The private foundations are on a scale of unprecedented magnificence. At no period has Buddhism shone throughout the land in such resplendence as now. Personal titles and badges (*sakaw*, No. 31) used to be given by the kings. Small dignities and offices have been hereditary in many places. Nevertheless, no aristocracy has developed. One of these titles was *Thakin* (master, lord), now assumed by all Europeans in the same way as "*sahib*" in India. Despite the punctilio in address, greetings are unusual between equals. After absence, a mere "Here you are again" and an inquiry about health—*ma-ohl?* At departure, "I'm off," "You're going"—*thwa dazumè*. There is nothing answering to the established *salám* or to our "Good day," "Good-bye." The verbal salutation to the *yahán*, after obeisance, is *Ghdaw-mya thápphyá fyippa-e lá*—is your Grace duly provided with the canonical

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554
[857]
[888]
[524]
[778]
576
792

162. CARVING OF CHINLON PLAYER (pp. 13, 179).

163. THE PABYA SHRINE (p. 189).

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

[opp. P.82]

THE FIRE IN THE TEMPLE PRECINCTS

[Fr. Acc. A. 82.]

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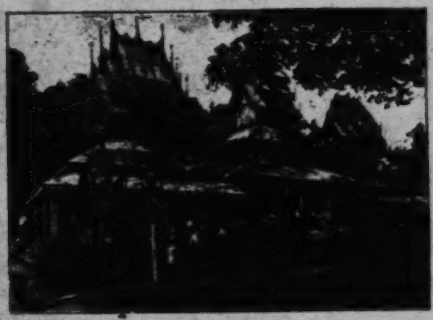
25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4



390. HOTHINNA YON (p. 191).

of the unsuccessfully vaccinated caught the disease, and ten of them died. None of the forty-four were attacked. These statistics could be multiplied. The medicine-dealers keep many of the crude commercial drugs, besides simples of their own collecting. Of the former, the principal are aloes, jalap, croton-seed, senna, bitter barks, catechu, opium, camphor, ginger, cardamom and other aromatics. The medicinal use of castor-oil is not known, though the plant is common. Spirits are now used medicinally. Many of the vegetable remedies are almost inert (see *The Burmese, what do they know of medicine?* by Dr. D. H. Cullimore). But there is one that deserves to be known, namely, the Shan remedy for tape-worm, *thsé*, which is both effectual and mild. Among the mineral drugs are mercury, calomel, sulphur, blue and green vitriols, alum, salammoniac, nitre. There is a whole category of supposititious remedies, tiger's gall, rhinoceros' blood, ant-eater's scales, and so forth; they are charred before being made up. Allied to this class of remedies is that of charms, the vendors of which (nat-wives—*nakkadáw*) trade on the superstition that disease is caused by demons. Every patient will be as particular to mention his star as to describe his complaint. He will be advised to avoid certain classes of remedies on certain days. The "Sunday son" must not purge on Friday, and so on. In times of epidemic and panic, *thMuzedi* are erected at every house, as they likewise are in cases of sickness (No. 431). They are merely of sand, held together with circles of bast. Sometimes they are erected to avert calamity declared to be impending in a *shwepe-hlwéza*, a message on gold foil dropped from heaven by a *Thadyá* (p. 186). Images are dedicated

391. CHILDREN'S BAZAR (p. 191).

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

balloons are sent off, and the rivers are illuminated with rafts carrying lamps which are set adrift. Labyrinths of bamboo are erected round the *zedi*, which entertain the children and especially the hill-people, who pique themselves, not

416. NEW-YEAR TUG-OF-WAR.

without reason, on their sense of locality. These labyrinths are called *Wingabá*, after the mountain maze, to which Prince Wéthandayâ was banished by his father, in the *zát* legend.

Tazáung-món is the next festival after *Thadindyút*; it is kept in Pegu, but not in Burma Proper. At this season Buddhists commemorate the miraculous journey of Gawdama Buddha to the *nat* country after the death of his mother, to impart to her the enlightenment which had come to him on earth, and by means of which he had attained peace. Spires of bamboo-work and tinsel—the *tazáung-daing*—are built twenty to fifty feet high, as symbols of the stair by which Gawdama ascended. These are carried round the place with music, and are finally dedicated at the *zedi* (No. 422). In the months of *Tazáung-món* and *Thadindyút* the *kattin-thingán* are dedicated, and the *mathó-thingán* are woven. The *kattin-thingán* is the annual supply of the primitive *parihaya*, and is of a nominal character, owing to the profusion of offerings at other times. The *mathó-thingán* is a cloth wherewith to deck the images of the Buddha and the *paung* of the *zedi* (Nos. 429, 449). It is the offering of the women who weave it,

417. SUNLAUNG AT THADINDYUT FESTIVAL.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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[782
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423. PROPITIATING THE LOCAL NATS (NAKKAZA).

A nat is propitiated by offerings at a shrine, almost always in miniature. Only fruit, flowers, and music are offered by Buddhists. A special genius is assigned to the dwelling—*ein-dwin Min Magayi nat*, in whose little shrine a cocoa-nut is offered. The nut is replaced as the water dries up, which it is assumed the *nat* has drunk. There are *nats* who preside over countries, Û Mindyi and Û Mindyâ for Burma, Û Yindyi for Pegu, Bôdaw and his sons for Thatôn, and other local *nats*. These *nats* are propitiated by such offerings as a crown, or by standing guard before their images, upon undertaking a journey, entering on a race or other contest. The five *nats* of the firmament have a special cult associated with that of the eight planets, with which the Buddha and eight *yahánda* are mixed up. The local *nats* are most commonly propitiated in *pyatho* (December), the harvest month. The visitations of malign spirits are attributed to what the Burmans call unripe (*asóin*) deaths. Such are deaths from lightning-stroke, accidents of all sorts, child-bed, cholera, and whatever is violent and sudden. The normal re-incarnation of the *karma* of such is immature; they haunt localities as ghosts (*tasé*), and seek the bodies of the living for hosts, thereby causing sickness. Slaughter in battle accounts for a plague of this kind, and the one plague entails another.

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Pilgrimages to the great shrines are made in the dry months, especially at times of full moon. The most sacred shrine of the Peninsula and the perennial resort of pilgrims is the *zedi* on the site of the ancient Mun village Dagôn, renamed Yangôn (Rangoon). The legend declares that the original founders of the shrine deposited eight hairs

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424. SHRINE OF THE HOUSE-GENIUS—MIN MAGAYI NAT.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
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488. PROPITIATING THE NAT, BODAW.

of the Buddha there. The shrine now known as *Shwe-Dagôn Payâ* (*Shwe-tî gôn*) was built over by the Emperor Sinbyu Shin in 1775 and brought to its present height of about three hundred feet above the platform. It stands at extremity of the southernmost spur of the Pegu Yôma, and occupies a commanding position over the port of Rangoon, asserting the Burman character of the place above the masts of ships that dwarf everything else. The present canopy was dedicated by King Mindôn Min in 1871, at the cost of half a million of rupees. It is not gilt in the ordinary way, but plated with gold foil. The cone of the *zedi* itself is gilt from the peak to the platform. Such a gilding costs three hundred thousand rupees and lasts fifteen to twenty years in the climate of Rangoon. Till the Shwe-Dagôn Payâ was brought to its present height by the Burman conquerors, the *zedi* at the Mun capital Pegu had been the greatest in the land, though not the most sacred as a reliquary. This is *Shwe-hmâwdaw Payâ*, also about three hundred feet high from platform to summit (No. 67). Its site is not so favourable as that of its rival, nevertheless the *zedi* is a noble object. After the *Shwe-Dagôn Payâ* the next greatest shrine is the *Mahâ-myaimmuni* at Ânayapôya (No. 449). This colossal image of the Buddha weighs several tons, and it was brought over the Arakán mountains by the Burman conquerors. The head was damaged when the *tazâung* over the image was burned down in

489. PROPITIATING THE NATS OF THE FIVE PLANETS.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
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427. PILGRIMS WITH THEIR BELONGINGS.

1884, and has had to be replaced. The body of the image is encrusted with gold which the pilgrims affix; by a miraculous quality of the image the gold leaf is said to adhere without the usual size. Next in celebrity to this image is the *Shwe-zatawv*, a sacred footprint on the rock, west of Mimbu on the Irawadi (*cf.* p. 36). Only the site of the original footprint on the hill is shown. The rock which bore it clove asunder, according to the legend, in consequence of a profanation. A model of the original occupies a *tazaung* beneath. The fourth great resort of pilgrims is *Kyaittiyo Payâ*, which is believed to enshrine two hairs of the Buddha. It is erected on a boulder which overhangs the peak of a mountain three thousand six hundred feet high, looking out on the plains of the Sittaung river. The legend tells how this boulder—which is not a rocking-stone—in days of greater piety used to float free above the summit. There are those who argue that even now a fine thread can be drawn between the boulder and the rock. About one hundred and fifty years ago

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428. SHWE-DAGON PAYA, RANGOON.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
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[DPP. P. 190]

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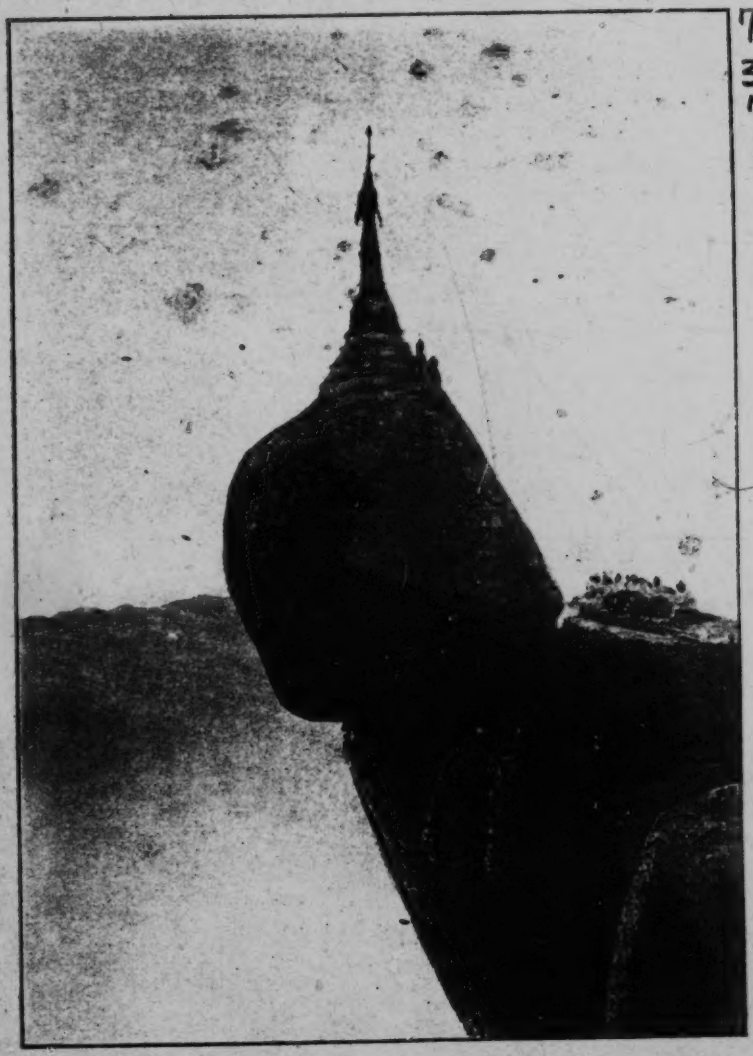

420. KYAITTIYO PAYA. [To face p. 190.

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
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A.D.

on behalf of Burma and besieges Myinzaing, but without effect. Pagán kingdom parcelled out among Shan leaders. Siam recovers Tenaserim. Pegu regains independence. Prome, Taung-ngu (Paung), Myinzaing, Pinya, Sagáing, Thayét assert independence. Pagán dynasty continues in name only. Shan dynasty of Beinnaka established in Burma Proper. 175

1306. King Zaw-aw Thin Hmaing of Pegu recaptures Tenaserim from Siam. Foundation of chronic hostility between Pegu and Siam. [778]

1330. Tenaserim recovered and Pegu made tributary by Siam (Siamese accounts).

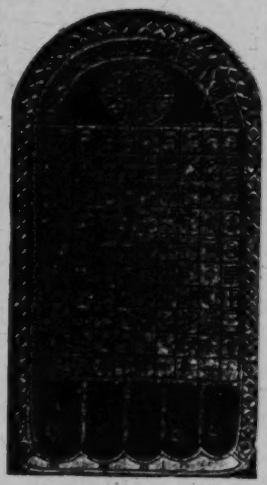
1348. King Sinbyu Shin of Pegu. First mention of cannon. The Mun have fire-arms.

1364. Inwa ("Ava," *Ratanaphya*—city of gems) founded by Shan-Burman King Rahúla (Thadô Minbya).

1385. Accession of King Yazadiyít the Great, of Pegu. War with Burma. Chinese interfere on behalf of latter. Arakán supports Burma. Peace concluded, 1421, on the basis that Prome is Burman territory.

1423. Death of King Yazadiyít of Pegu.

1438. The calendar adjusted by moving the date back two years. Nicolo d' Conti, traveller from Italy, describes Thatôn as a seaport. Other travellers from the West about this period—Ludovico Barthema of Bologna, Hieronimo Adorno, Hieronimo de San Stefano and the Russian, Athanasius Nitikin.



450. CHIDAW-YA p. 38.

1444. Chinese invasion of Burma repelled.

1446. Queen Shinsawbu of Pegu.

1454. Ali Khan usurps the kingdom of Arakán. Burman kingdom weakened by inroads from the North. Adventurers from Europe in the service of the rival kingdoms.

1461. King Dammazedi of Pegu. Zealous Buddhist.

1505. Shan Swabwa of Ûnaung overthrows the Shan-Burman king of Ava.

1530. Five independent kingdoms—Ava (Shan), Prome (Shan-Burman), Taung-ngu (Paung), Pegu (Mun) and Arakán. Taung-ngu begins to rise in power.

Thohambwa succeeds to the kingdom of Ava. Massacres of *yahda* and plunder of *zedi* take place. The king assassinated, 1542.

Travellers of the period—Ruy Nunes d'Alcunha, 1511. Giovanni de Sylveira (Arakán). Antonio Carrea (treats with the King of Pegu on behalf of Portugal, 1519). Odoardo Barbessa (reports the King of Pegu to be very powerful, 1520). Cæsar Frederick. Ralph Fitch. (Memoirs, ed. J. Horton Ryley. See Jardine, introduction to Sangermano's *Burmese Empire*.) Soldiers of fortune—Caspar d' Cruz, Boniface Damien, Giovanni Cayero and Ferdinand Mendez Pinto.

1540. Martabán (Môttamá) besieged by Siam.

1550. King Tabín Shwe-tí of Pegu advances on Ava, but is repulsed by a confederation of the Shans. Pagán is occupied and the other Burman kingdoms subjugated. Siam recovers Tenaserim. Nawratha (afterwards called *Bayin-naung*—next to the king) leads an expedition against Siam with assistance of the Portuguese adventurers, Seixas and Cayero, who bring five hundred Portuguese soldiers.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
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The terseness of the language appears in its proverbs. 195

For instance, *K'we-hle htale phe ma-ti*—"The dog-fox may jump but it raises no dust." Seven syllables as compared with the ten of the almost monosyllabic English. In the above sentence the order of ideas is much the same as our own. But as a rule the order is the opposite. "Fetch hither water to quench the fire" is *mê thaphe ye yagi*, literally, "fire to quench, water fetch hither." The ideas are expressed in order of their practical importance. The checked mutes of the Burmese language give it an abruptness which is reflected in the *staccato* of the Burmese music. But Burmese possesses sonorous qualities also, for instance, *Shwe Sandaw Paya*, *Shwe Zigôn Paya*. [538] 194

The sounds of the letters used in this work for transliterating Burmese words are as follows:— 194

Vowel-sounds.

a, e, i, o, u,	. . . . .	as in Italian
ê	. . . . .	„ English *bell* (but long in quantity)
ai	. . . . .	„ „ *aisle*
au	. . . . .	„ „ *cow*
aw	. . . . .	„ „ *caw*
ei	. . . . .	„ „ *eight*
Consonants	. . . . .	„ English, including the *th*, omitting *f*, *v*, and *x*.

Few Burmans can pronounce *r*, and generally substitute *y* for it in the Pâli words. All final consonants are mute. They are not wholly suppressed as they are in French, but are merely checked in pronunciation. The Burmese for *demon* is written *nat* in this work, because it is too inconvenient to indicate the checked mute by such a form as *nat'*. The final *n* should, strictly speaking, be always followed by a *g* or a suggestion of *g*, thus *dagông* or *dagôn'* instead of *dagôn*. But to write it in this way is inconvenient in many of the combinations. This should accordingly be borne in mind. The combinative changes on the other hand which consonants undergo in certain positions have been incorporated in the spelling and not left to the reader to form. Instead of the current form *sit-hgyin* (chess), which correctly renders the Burmese spelling of the word, the form *sipyin* is used, which renders the actual pronunciation. The letter *h* combined with *y* has a varying force according to its position. Thus *hye* is pronounced just as written, but in the duplicated form *hye-hye*, the pronunciation is *ye-hye*. There are a few exceptions such as *hsh-hyi* (scissors) pronounced as spelled. When the *h* is aspirated, its combination with *y* gives *shi* (English *ch*) and *zhi* (English *j*). *Kyaung* (a monastery) is pronounced as written. In the compound *htaw-kyaung* it is pronounced *htaw-chaung* (a forest monastery). But when it is the aspirated *h*, *htaw-hkyaung* makes *htaw-chaung* (a forest stream). The modification of the voice differentiates it further, thus *htaw-chaung*, with the second syllable rounded up sharply (still cut). In deliberate utterance certain of these modifications disappear again; just as we

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ORN. SHRINE (p. 22).

and full dress on a cushion, the centre of the crowd of people who have been invited for feasting, to have the ears pierced with a gold pin and after this always to wear diamond ear-rings, but the ceremony has no deeper significance than that the parent feels he has done the best for his daughter at this stage of her life. The shinbyu, however, is much more than a social event. It has a religious meaning of the fullest beauty. 881 585

Although the women of Burma figure as actively and have the same rights as men in the fields of business, property, and professions of the modern world, we always keep alive in us the religious feeling that we are "below" mankind. It is not so much a feeling that women are a lower race as that a man has the nobility of manhood in him. We call it *hpon*, the glory, the holiness of a man, and we respect this not with subservience but with the same feelings as we respect monks and parents. A wife does not throw her longyi across her husband's bed, she does not touch any of his possessions with her feet in carelessness, she uses a separate mug for her bathwater. A bad wife who does not respect her husband's manhood does him the greatest harm, for a man cannot prosper if his hpon is hampered; indeed, some women who indulge in black magic deliberately *hpon-nein* their husbands, that is, lower his hpon by carelessly wielding brooms above his head, throwing women's longyis on his pillow, thus making him subordinate, and believing that this makes the wife's will prevail over the husband's. But such a man can never make progress in his career. 562 784 789

It is the Buddhist belief that the attainment of a perfect life is as a man, as shown in Gautama Buddha's life as Prince Siddhartha. Prince Siddhartha was the son of King Suddhodana, who surrounded his son with all the luxury and splendour that his kingdom on the slopes of the Himalayas could offer. To prevent his son from renouncing his princely life for one of poverty and meditation he kept all sights of sorrow, sickness and decay hidden from him. He found him a perfect wife, beautiful, meek and affectionate, who bore him a son; but the prince in his excursions to a park in the city came across a decrepit old man, a sick old man and a corpse, which sights made him sad at the thought of human misery in this world. The next time, however, he saw a hermit which suggested that peace of mind was achievable by renunciation of the vanities of the world. On the night that his son was born, Prince Siddhartha made the Great Renunciation and left everything to go into solitude and find out the cause of misery, and the means of its removal. The Dhammapada says of the world: 779

> Come! behold this world which is like a decked royal chariot, wherein the foolish immerse themselves; but for the wise there is no attachment.

779 It is this renunciation[1] which we symbolize in the shinbyu ceremony
881 when a boy leaves his home and lives in the order. A parent who fails
792 to hold the ceremony or get his son initiated in some other way fails in his first duty towards his son, and those who hold a shinbyu for orphans or the sons of the poor achieve great merit.

To provide a background symbolic of Prince Siddhartha's circumstances, parents spend as much as they can afford; a flagged pavilion is put up before the house, a multitude of people are invited for feasting, the boy is dressed in princely garments and jewels, and rides around the town on a white horse, with a procession following. For him to return and wash the powder off his face, to doff the turban and show the newly shaven head, to change the glittering clothes of silk for a plain yellow
[292] robe showing golden on the bare brown skin,—this is moving indeed. And when he comes back the next day in procession with other monks, his eyes cast down and his bowl before him, his mother makes obeisance to him for the first time, not as her son now but as one of the priestly order, a hpongyi, a "great glory". That must be a moment of spiritual plenitude in a mother's life.

881 I do not remember much about my brother's shinbyu, but I re-
792 member the beauty of his face as he came back in procession on that first day. A good face has its nobility enhanced by the complete absence of such adornment, even as is provided by the frame of hair or the line of neck clothing; it has to stand alone. I am often struck with the beautiful calm faces of some older monks. There is a look of repose which they wear easily after years of daily meditation and freedom from petty irritations and personal relationships, and a glow to the brown skin which is the result of years spent in clean and open surroundings, with sufficient to eat, and regularity of hours; the strongly marked eyebrows giving a nobility to the face when the head has been shorn. The unconscious reflection of this look on the face of a small boy touches us profoundly; there is a sweet solemnity on the young shaven face; the most mischievous boys become awed and chastened without any prompting.

881 In recent years, we have had a full dress shinbyu in the family for
792 my husband's nephew, Sao Sai Long, who as the heir to the Shan
565 State of Kengtung was initiated into the priesthood with the full panoply due to Buddhist royalty. A long wide bamboo pavilion was set
[563] up, beginning with a high shelf for the offerings to all the monasteries in the town, the next platform for the monks who were to receive Sao Sai Long into their monastery, the next lower for the attendant boys who were also to be initiated, and for the *palin* (the jewelled *chaise longue* on which Sao Sai Long was to recline), the next for the family, and successively lower ones for the various grades of the people. (The

[1. The Great Renunciation of Prince Siddhartha--Analyst]

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772 spirit knows no joy and no sorrow, but remains perpetually contemplating
775 the abstract truth, delivered finally from the cycle of recurring existences.

This arrangement of the universe and of the progress of man
772 through different levels of it, was but a reflection of the Buddhist ideas
• 779 of cosmography prevalent at the time when the religion was first in flower. In our imagination they belonged with the distant Himalayas, the peaks too high for human sight, the clouds and mist on which a being with the Buddha's spiritual powers could ride in majesty. But whether every Burman Buddhist associates these regions with his daily life or not, there are few who, in the midst of their busiest worldly living, will not be excited, exalted, at the Canonical descriptions of the mind of the *arahat* when he becomes, by meditation and victory over the senses, ready to attain Nirvana. The following description is part of the Sammannaphala-sutta, one of the discourses of the Buddha :

"With mind concentrated, purified, cleansed, spotless, with the defilements gone, supple, ready to act, firm, impassible, he directs his attention to knowledge and insight. He understands that this my body has a shape, consists of the four elements, was produced by a mother and father, a collection of milk and gruel, subject to rubbing, pounding, breaking, and dissolution, and on this my consciousness rests, hereto it is bound.

"He then directs his attention to creating a mind-formed body. From his body he creates a mind-formed body having shape, and with all its limbs and faculties.

"He directs his attention to various kinds of magical powers. From being one he becomes many, and from being many becomes one. He goes across walls and hills without obstruction, plunges into and out of the earth, goes over water as if on dry land, passes through the air sitting cross-legged, and even touches the mighty moon and sun with his hand, and reaches to the world of Brahma.

"With purified divine ea. he hears divine and human sounds both distant and near.

"He understands the state of the minds of other beings.

"The last three stages he attains are called the knowledges.

"First, the monk directs his attention to remembering his former existences. He remembers thousands of births and many cycles of existence, and knows that in such a place he was a being of such a name and clan, and had certain experiences and length of life in each of these births.

"Second, he directs his attention to the knowledge of the passing away and rebirth of beings. With divine purified vision he sees evil doers being reborn in hell, and the virtuous in heaven, just as a man in a palace may see persons entering and coming out of a house.

"Third he directs his attention to the knowledge of the destruction of the asavas*. He duly understands, 'this is pain,' 'this is the cause of pain,' 'this is the cessation of pain,' 'this is the way leading to the cessation of pain.' He duly understands, 'these are the asavas,' 'this is the cause of the asavas,' 'this is the cessation of the asavas,' 'this is the way to the cessation of the asavas.' When he thus knows and thus perceives, his mind is released from the asava of lust, from the asava of (desire for) existence, from the asava of ignorance. In the released is the knowledge of his release; he understands that rebirth is destroyed, the religious life has been led, done is what was to be done, there is nothing further beyond this world." 772 779

At the New Year, then, the King of the tha-gyas, who are Dewas, comes to visit the earth which is suffering its hottest and driest month and looks to rain and coolness for deliverance. Before the descent each year, brahmins and astrologers get together and calculate the exact hour of his arrival, the means of his descent to the earth, whether astride a buffalo, a *naga* or a *galon* and whether he wields a spear or a water jar, for by these signs will the nature of the coming year be decided—heavy rains or drought, good crops or disturbances in the land—and the duration of his stay on the earth. All their findings are collected in leaflets which are distributed as the *tha-gyan sa*, and when I was young I used to think that they fell from heaven as prophetic messages. Actually the present day practice is to fix April 13th for the official occurrence of Thingyan each year. The celebration of the festival by pouring of water is to honour the heavenly visitor, to wash away the old year's dirtiness and to begin the new by good and auspicious deeds. 796 791

By the day before Tha-gya Min's arrival in Ye, the *a-kyo nay*, the preparing-to-greet day, bamboo palisades had been put up along the verandahs, arrangements had been made for communal celebration and large-scale washing and feeding. All the girls spent the morning grinding thanakha and other fragrant barks and the boys went out to cut the leaves of the *the-byay* tree for the sacred water pots to be poured out at the arrival of the visitor. In the evening, Grandmother and other old people walked up to the rest houses near the monastery where my father had been educated, for at their time of life, fasting, meditation and the contemplation of younger people's enjoyment is the happiest way of greeting the New Year. In the evening, too, we carried out Grandmother's good deed of inviting a number of people from the village to come and wash their hair. Hairwashing is part of the New Year's rituals because the noblest part of the body, the head, must be in a clean condition at this time. In the days of the Burmese kings, there 796

* Desires and impulses, expressions of the clinging to existence.

never talked about the business of their past working days when they met. Sometimes they showed a fleeting interest in news of the postings of friends still in service, but even the official matters of Thaton district itself did not enter into their discussions. They talked of charity donations, of the respective monasteries which they endowed and attended, and of formulæ of *eggaya-hto*, alchemy, or the search for the philosopher's stone which will turn all metals to gold. Most Burmans get interested in eggaya-hto during their later years, even if few now practise it. 887 521 [822]

This alchemy, which has no place among the true teachings of Buddhism, has to be done under auspicious astrological influences and is usually carried on in secret. Burman Buddhists condemn the use of it when it is carried on for *lawba*, greed for riches, but others justify the process as a means of concentrating the mental faculties. The common stories tell of hermits in the forests, who by their ascetic life and concentrated meditation have more powers over the forces of nature, as being well versed in the processes of alchemy. When such a hermit achieves the extreme concentration of mind on his task he is successful—the philosopher's stone is discovered, the body of the hermit then disappears in the dissolving of matter, and his spirit is free to live unhampered by the body, till the arrival of the next Buddha on the earth. Most Burmese women, however, although they believe that this happens in the case of hermits, object very strongly to the practice of alchemy on the part of their menfolk, owing to the money and energy that is wasted on seeking out new and expensive formulæ once the craze has got hold of a man. All experiments are started with mercury which is melted with other minerals, animal or vegetable substances which derive their magical properties partly from their inaccessibility, partly from being treated with prescribed rites. My father had no intention of taking up alchemy and impoverishing us, but he too was very interested to hear of the success and failure of various methods. These discussions must have been kept well anchored to reality by the other chief topic of discussion—the families of the pensioners. 822 792 779.

The five duties of a parent towards his children include the settling of the child in a good marriage. By the time the a-so-ya mins retire, their sons and daughters have reached a marriageable age. The sons are in the process of winning a good position in one of the government services and their daughters have been dressed with an adequate amount of jewellery. The marriage market, which had no existence in former Burmese society and which still is unheard of in Ye, and among the poorer people, is now a very concrete institution among the educated and modern classes. The rise of the minkadaw class and of higher paid Class I government officials has been mainly responsible for this. More 593 584 554 177. 58 565

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

matter of fact, the more noise there is going on, the more work there is being got through. 876 872

Doubtless it is a primitive method—doubtless there are thick-headed boys with tough lungs who shout out the ka gyi, ka gwe (the A, B, C) with but the slightest portion of it remaining in their brains. There must be, because sometimes a boy takes a year to get through the alphabet (called the thin-bon-gyi, the "great basket of learning"), the combination of vowel symbols, and the alterations of sound effected by the union of consonants, all of which are mere materials, and only a very small portion of the complicated system of the language. Nevertheless everybody learns in the end, and then they are set to read in the same way, and gradually advance in the immemorial regulation subjects. The first books—all the books, in fact, put in the boys' hands—are religious. They learn the five universal commandments, the five subsidiary rules, the Pali formulæ to be employed at the pagoda—pattering them over till they pour out of the lips with the fluency and precision of water out of a pump. When there are a number at the same stage in their studies, they repeat their lesson word for word after the teacher, sitting in wide rows before him, and all chanting with the same emphasis and apparently in the same key. The effect is very singular when a string of sonorous Pali versicles is being mouthed over in the striking intoned recitative peculiar to these formulæ. The twenty or thirty boys crouching down on their knees, their little heads every now and then bowing down to the ground over their hands joined in supplication, the yellow-robed monk sitting cross-legged on the dais before them, repeating in abrupt, jerky fashion the clauses of the form of worship, which the childish voices instantly catch up, forms a scene which never loses its novelty and attractiveness. 872 779 198

The little schoolboy slowly learns all these formulæ. Even near to and in the larger towns of Lower Burma the amount of secular learning, arithmetic, and so on that is learnt, is of the most meagre possible description. All relates to the tenets of religion—to the existences and teachings of the Lord Buddha. The things thus impressed on the youthful mind sink deep into the memory, and leave their mark 872 779

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

872 on the whole future life of the young scholars. As long as
● 779 these monastic schools are attended, all attacks on the Buddhist faith must be fruitless.

872 Besides the commandments, the paya-shekho, and the
779 pareit-yôp-thi, the lauds of the Lord Buddha, and the
792 aspirations to be repeated at the holy shrines, the formulæ to be told over on the beads; besides these first principles, the young Burman is taught the thin-ki-ya, the rules which are to prepare him for assuming the yellow robe, and to guide him during his longer or shorter withdrawal from the sinful world to the calm tranquillity of the monastery. He must learn that the young novice carefully imitates the decorous pace of the yahan; does not walk fast; avoids swinging his hands; does not smile or laugh in passing through a village, and keeps far away from all secular amuse-
[292] ments. The yellow robe, distinctive of the order, is to be regarded not as a garment to cherish and comfort the wearer, not as a robe to adorn the outward man and make it look stately or pious, but merely as a concession to modesty, born of the weaknesses of poor human flesh—and further, as a means of enabling the worthless frame to endure the
[261] extremes of heat and cold. In the same way food is to be eaten only to support life. The member of the sacred order must not think of meal times as an occasion for gratifying his senses; he must avoid dwelling on the tastiness of the food and the gratification to his palate which the pious zeal of a supporter may afford in presenting an unusually dainty meal. Especially must he refrain from eating food to make himself strong and lusty. He must always remember the transitoriness, the misery and unreality of the world, and find relief in the Triple Consolation, the trust in the Lord, the Law, and the Assembly.

All these things are impressed on the young pupil as soon as he is able to read at all, every one of them assuming the fact that as soon as he is old enough, or as soon as he has gone through the necessary preparation, he will assume the yellow robe of the devout, to wear it perhaps for life, perhaps only for a day or two, but certainly to put it on, for
[885] without this he cannot attain to the full privileges of a man.
[777] His kan (luck) will be altogether one-sided. All the ill deeds

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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All the ill deeds 872
he does will swell the sum of his demerits, but not a single 779
good action, no uttermost act of charity or devotion, will be 792
recorded to his advantage for another existence. Without 775
admission to the order, without "Buddhist baptism," no man 186
can count his present existence as other than an animal's. The great gift of having appeared in the likeness of a human being; the happy balancing of merits and demerits which has resulted in so glorious an opportunity of advancing towards Ne'-ban; the still greater fortune of existence in a country where the tenets of Buddhism offer supreme chances to the weary seeker after rest from the moil of a work-a-day world; all will have been recklessly thrown away. It is written that more hardly will a needle cast from the summit of Mount Myinmo across the wide Thamoddaya Sea, more hardly will it touch with its point as it falls another needle standing point upwards in the great Southern Island, than will any given creature become a human being. How are the Western foreigners, black and white, to be pitied, who have indeed by earnest strivings attained the seat of man, but, arrived there, find it all naught because they do not hear the teachings of the Buddha! How much worse the Burman, to whom all his life long the monastery door stands open, to whom a week's, a day's, an hour's sojourn would offer boundless possibilities, and yet who enters not in. If this be so, what then can be the prospect for the boy who having put his hand to the plough turns back, who entering the monastery as a child, imbibes the religious thoughts and becomes acquainted with the religious creed, and yet fails to seek the "humanity" so easily to be gained? Better have been born an animal or an Englishman, and scoffed at what he did not understand.

Consequently it may be invariably assumed that the 871
little scholar, as soon as age and acquirements admit, puts 792
on the yellow garb as a finish to his education. This used 177.87
to include every one. Till the English came and took the country, everybody went to the Pon-gyi-Kyaung. But now there are English government schools; there are Burmese laymen's schools, which neglect religious education altogether, and look to competitive examinations as the end and aim of juvenile existence, as the ne'-ban of school life.

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792 735 177-79 indeed in any monastery at all, even in Mandalay, it would be promptly put a stop to. But where the monks themselves show the example of carnal weakness, the probationers cannot be expected to maintain the old austerity.

792 779 The shin is subject in every way to the discipline of the monastery, but there are very few additional rules really incumbent on him. He has to observe always the Sè-ba Thila, the ten commandments. Five of these are obligatory on all Buddhists at all times: the other five are supposed to be incumbent upon laymen only on sacred days and during Lent. The five universal commandments are:—

1. Thou shalt not take any life at all.
2. Thou shalt not steal.
3. Thou shalt not commit adultery.
4. Thou shalt not lie.
5. Thou shalt not drink intoxicating liquor.

The additional five are:

6. Thou shalt not eat after mid-day.
7. Thou shalt not sing, dance, or play on any musical instrument.
8. Thou shalt not use cosmetics, or colour the face.
9. Thou shalt not sit, stand, or sleep on platforms or elevated places not proper for thee.
10. Thou shalt not touch gold or silver.

785 796 These latter five are, it has been said, imposed upon laymen on sacred days, but the burden is very light, the people observing them or not, accordingly as they are observing the "duty-day." If they are not "keeping the feast," they conduct themselves precisely as they would on any other day, and buy and sell and attend pwès in their ordinary fashion.

779 792 This laxity is, of course, not open to the shins, but it cannot be said that the regulations, except perhaps as to eating, are very irksome. The seventh and eighth commandments seem by themselves peculiar, but they refer to filthy habits more explicitly set forth in the Patimauk, or book of the enfranchisement, containing the 227 sins which

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a monk is liable to commit. The ninth refers to the common Oriental dislike to any person of insufficient dignity occupying an elevated place physically above worthier people.

So far, then, the shin is not very grievously burdened in the monastery. But the discipline maintained is very strict. None of the ko-yins or of the boarder-pupils must be out of the monastic limits after the bell has rung. A lay scholar may get permission from the kyaung po-go to sleep at home now and again, but this indulgence is naturally impossible to the neophyte; he must always stay in the monastery. Again, the boarders may run home in the afternoon to get some dinner at their parents' houses, but this the shin cannot do. Breaches of the rules are very severely punished. The culprit's hands are tied high above his head to a post, and the castigator lays on vigorously on the naked back with a stout bamboo. Cases of deliberate cruelty of course occasionally happen, for human nature is the same everywhere, and a Dotheboys Hall is not an entire figment; but they are rare, and on the whole the shin is happy in the monastery, and occasionally in later life looks back with regret to the old, quiet, unruffled, careless life of the pon-gyi kyaung.

In Upper Burma it has actually been his school, for but very few adopt the system of having private teachers to instruct their children; and in Lower Burma it probably contrasts favourably with the uncomfortable hard benches and desks of the English institution, and the still more irksome quietness demanded, and steady, prolonged application exacted by the English teacher. Those who have been to both remember most fondly the long dusky monastery schoolroom, where they sat on the floor and shouted out their lessons, and now and again slipped out into the air to take the stiffness out of their limbs with a quarter of an hour at chin lôn, Burmese football. In the English school you learned to make money; in the Burmese school you learned to be happy and contented.

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required about the monastery. This done, the day-scholars 792
go home and have their dinner, a few of the boarders perhaps gaining permission to do the same. The ko-yins, being under monastic discipline, are obliged to fast like their superiors. Most of them, and some few of the pon-gyis, go out for a staid and solemn walk round the village and out to the pagoda. Then, at sunset, the unmelodious, far-reaching notes of the kaladet summon all back to the kyaung. The strollers return immediately. None wearing the yellow [805]
robe may be without the monastery limits after the sun goes down, which occurs throughout the whole year close upon six o'clock. A short time afterwards the scholars are sum- 788
moned before the abbot or some of the pon-gyis and recite 792
steadily all that they have learned, from the Thin-bôn-gyi 779
up to the book they have last committed to memory. If the kyaung is large and there are a number of students, this thorough process is, however, modified, and only the work at the moment being learned is required of the pupils. The Pali rituals are chanted with spasmodic energy, abundance of sound in most cases doing duty for a just comprehension of the matter. Very few of the religious could string a sentence together in Pali, far less speak the language, yet most of them can pour forth homilies and dogmata for hours on end, so that the poor ko-yins are not to be scoffed at for their parrot-like volubility. When this examination is over, if the sayā is an enthusiast, or if there is time, that dignitary himself delivers a sermon, or gives an exposition of some knotty passage, or perhaps there is a general conversation on some question of doctrine, or other subject of ecclesiastical interest at the moment.

Thus the time passes away till half-past eight or nine, 792
when the evening is closed with devotions in the presence of 788
the image of the Buddha. All assemble according to their rank as in the morning, and together intone the vesper lauds. When the last sounds of the mournful chant have died away in the dimly-lighted chamber, one of the novices, or a clever scholar, stands up, and with a loud voice proclaims the hour, [805]
the day of the week, the day of the month, and the number of the year. Then all shikho before the Buddha thrice, and thrice before the abbot, and retire to rest. None who

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828 ignorant man's heart is all in one mass, while that of the well-instructed divides itself into three small parts.

885 779 581 As models of married women are held up the Taw le-wa, the most faithful and beautiful of wives, the consorts of four of the chief princes in the ten great Jatakas, treating of the last births of the Lord Buddha. To say that a girl is Taw le-wa win lauk, calculated to become like one of these four great queens, Amaya the wife of Mahawthata, the Solomon of Buddhist kings; Madi, the wife of Wethandaya, world-famed for his charity; Keinnayi or Thanbula, the partners of princes hardly less celebrated, is to pay the highest possible compliment to any woman. But these are somewhat vague and intangible matters. There are other recommendations which appeal much more directly to those intending to get married; to the man that seeks a wife, sanshwe, pure as "test gold"; or the girl who would avoid a linkwe, a "cur of a husband."

581 787 Prominent among these is the rhyme of "the hostile pairs," the yan-hpet, who, if they marry, will certainly have a short life.

Some violence is done to the niceties of language in the linga, so that I may be allowed the same in the translation of a portion of it.

Friday's daughter
Didn't oughter
Marry with a Monday's son;
Should she do it
Both will rue it,
Life's last lap will soon be run.

The same lamentable result would follow if the man were born on Friday and the woman on Monday. Again:

Saturdays and Thursdays,
The serpent and the rat,
You cannot find out worse days,
Life's short enough at that.

The serpent and the rat preside over Saturday and Thursday respectively. Similar curtailment of life would follow if the union was between Sunday and Wednesday, or between Tuesday and the eighth half-day Yahu. One or

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231 more fortunate than his Malay congener in possessing a tail, but asserts relationship with that animal in the possession of a horny hook, with this difference, that the hard excrescence is at the end of a tail of fair dimensions instead of being humbly situated on the rump, as is the case with the Straits tabby.

235 There are always some tame villatic fowl about the house. If the householder does not aspire to the ownership of a taik-kyet, a regular game cock, bred for the purpose, he has at least a kyet-hpa, an ordinary cock of combative instincts, and backs him against his neighbour's when occasion offers, through the absence of the constable, by chance, or by the influence of pecuniary profit acting on a sporting disposition. A cock that declines to fight under any circumstances is called a kyet nyaung-gan, and stands in great danger of dying suddenly and being converted into curry. Hens are regarded with indifference except in view of similar possibilities, for their eggs are of no use. A fowl may be killed by accident by a stick thrown at random, but the germ of life in an egg cannot die unless it is boiled or goes rotten. In the former case the boiler incurs mortal danger from breaking one of the Five Precepts; in the latter the egg
223 is undesirable. In small villages almost every one keeps a tè-gyet, a decoy cock, for luring the wild jungle-fowl. The fore-doomed hunter kills the game, and the pious owner of the decoy bird gets a good dinner. Similarly tè-gyo, pigeons, are bred specially as lures, and so are partridges. Ordinary pigeons, occasionally used for the same purpose, go by the
231 name of gyo-ta-nyin. Caged birds are not very common as
● 779 pets, though every here and there one comes across a hill
444 Mina, who has acquired a fair knowledge of the vernacular, and astonishes passers-by with the unceremonious way in which he hails them. But the Buddhist religion condemns keeping animals in confinement. So much is this the case that in Mandalay, and here and there in other places, there are men who make a regular living by catching birds and selling them to the pious, that they may gain merit by setting them free. Crafty birdcatchers are able so far to disable the bird, without doing it any material or visible harm, that they can catch it again immediately after their tender-hearted customer has gone his way.

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customer has gone his way. It used to be a common thing in the palace, during the late king's reign, to let loose a number of birds for the delectation of foreign worshippers at the golden feet, and the expansion of the royal merit. Ill-natured people said all the birds were recaptured in the next room, and appeared again for the next display of charity; but of that I can say nothing.

Be 342 351

Each house, with its ground, is surrounded by a rude fence more or less substantial according to the character of the district. Where there are many tigers or ill-doers, and especially north of Mandalay, where formerly the Kachins might swoop down any night, this is made very high and strong, and is further rendered effective by a formidable array of sharpened bamboos. Except where the British have taken the matter in hand, the village roads are simply places where the jungle is kept from growing. There is no attempt at metalling; in fact there is no material for the purpose. In some pretentious villages indeed there is a raised path formed of bricks set on edge, and about three feet broad. This is regarded as a public work of great value, and a distinction to the inhabitants of the place. It usually leads to the monastery. In many villages, however, it would be impossible to move about during the rains without some such contrivance. The mud would be too deep, and logs are slippery even to bare feet.

Ba. [563]
Be 487

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Swinging by a couple of ropes from the roof hangs in the centre of the house a rude basket, made snug with a blanket or some old clothes. This is the baby's cradle, and the mother may often be seen sitting by it crooning and gently swaying it backwards and forwards. Some of the lullabies are very clever. I have tried to give a version of one of the most popular, with as near an approach to the metre as practicable. It is sung to the favourite te-dat air.

Be 539

SEIN-NI LA-YAUNG

Clouds in Heaven,
Bright as levin,
Dyed with rosy diamond's light,
Did the Nine Gems
Stud your white hems,

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CHAPTER X

THE EARTH AND ITS BEGINNING

THE Lord Buddha cared very little for speculations, or theories as to the construction and extent of the terrestrial globe, or as to the size and motions of the sun, the moon, and the stars. Shin Gautama was entirely a moral philosopher, concerned with the workings of the mind, whose highest aim was to despise matter and free itself from such trammels in the progress towards Ne'ban. The consideration of natural phenomena was therefore entirely outside the province of the true sage. It is probable, therefore, that the transmogrified Hindu system which does duty for Burmese cosmography was elaborated rather by the Buddha's disciples than by himself. It has been altered only to suit Buddhistic religious views, with here and there the fancies of a lively imagination thrown in, but the outline of it existed before Prince Theidat came.

The Burmese are therefore certainly not responsible for it, but as some knowledge of the system is necessary for the comprehension of various superstitions, phrases, and forms of speech, it may be desirable to give a slight sketch of these astronomical and cosmical theories.

The word lawka means a whole revolution of nature. The world is being constantly destroyed and reproduced, but each lawka lasts an incalculable length of years. It is divided into four periods, and it is not till the arrival of the fourth period that man appears upon earth. During that last period, divided into sixty-four Andrakaps, the life of man must, in each Andrakap, wax from ten years to an Athinkaya (a time represented by a unit and a hundred and

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sixty-four ciphers, one and a half quintillion years), and then gradually wane to ten years again, on account respectively of the merit and demerit in the world. We are now in the waning term of the eleventh Andrakap. The Buddhas only appear upon earth during the waning season of man's life, chiefly, of course, to stay the increasing influence of evil by preaching the law, and also because when man's life is slowly lengthening to an Athinkaya he is not so disposed to listen to their teaching. 100,000 years before the destruction of the world the Déwas come down from their six blissful seats and wander about the earth with dishevelled hair and mournful garb, proclaiming the sad tidings of the impending destruction of the world. Once again a hundred years before the cataclysm they come, and all mankind strives to raise itself beyond the influence of the destroying element. The world must be destroyed in any case, but there are three great principles of demerit which determine by what means the catastrophe will be effected. Concupiscence is the most common and the least heinous of these principles, and the world of the lustful will be destroyed by fire. Next comes anger, a more grievous sin than concupiscence, and the world ruined by the principle of anger will be destroyed by water. Worst of all is the sin of ignorance. The world of the ignorant will be scattered about the bounds of space by a mighty rushing wind, which beginning so gently as barely to sway the leaves and flowers, ends by breaking up with its irresistible force the vast bulk of Mount Myinmo and the Sekyawala circle of hills. Of sixty-four worlds, fifty-six are destroyed by fire, seven by water, and one by wind. Fire reaches to the fifth seat of the Rupa, the beings called Perfect. Water mounts higher by three seats to the eighth of the Byammās, and wind one seat beyond this. Out of the thirty-one seats of the world there remain therefore only eleven undestroyed. The Four States of Punishment, the abode of man, the six blissful seats of Nats; and five, eight or nine of the lofty dwellings of the Rupa, according to the destroying agent, are altogether overwhelmed and dispersed throughout space. The seven highest seats of the Byammās and the four of Arupa, where dwell the Immaterials, who having broken all ties with the material world, are ripe

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for Ne'ban, these eleven seats only remain constantly undisturbed.

Then there is chaos for an athinkaya. When that mighty season has passed, rain begins to fall again throughout infinity. Fire, water, or wind may destroy the world, but water alone can reproduce it, though both the sun and the wind have minor parts to play. The drops gradually increase in size till they reach the volume of five, ten, a hundred, even a thousand yuzanas (a yuzana being about twelve miles English). The wind blows the water together in the spot occupied by the last world. A greasy scum gathers on the surface. The action of the sun gradually hardens this into a crust, which eventually assumes the exact appearance and shape of the last world. The Lord Buddha himself, it is written, did not know which was the first world and which would be the last. Many learned writers say that there is neither a beginning nor an end to the production and destruction of worlds. It will go on for ever like a great wheel, even as the great wheel of the Law itself. Since sorrow then is shadow to life, how should all beings strive to escape from the vortex of existences? In the *Abhidhamma* we read that there are two descriptions of worlds, called Thôn-nya Kabā and A-thôn-nya Kabā, that is to say, worlds to which the Buddhas came, and those to which they did not come. Some think that the latter kind of worlds must have been uninhabited. However that may be, it is certain that the law has always existed. It existed Kalpas and Mahakalpas before the first Budh came to this earth. The Buddhas only revive the knowledge of it among creatures upon the painful ladder of existence. Our present world, called Badda, has been particularly favoured. Already four Buddhas have appeared, and when the dispensation of Shin Gautama shall have passed away, two thousand five hundred years hence, there will come another, Arimadéya, whose stature will exceed the highest mountains in all the Southern Island.

The system of the world as explained by the Buddhist Yahandas is somewhat diferent from that adopted by western men of science. In the centre is the Myinmo Taung, Mount Meru, the highest peak of all the world. Its

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shape is somewhat peculiar, like a cask floating end upwards in water. A height of 84,000 yuzanas above the sea is counterbalanced by as many of depth below the surface. It is supported on three feet, each a huge ruby or carbuncle. In the space between these feet dwell the Athura, the Nats who were tempted to drink by new arrivals in the seat of Toktheeta, and when overcome by the liquor were hurled into the sea by their crafty rivals. At various heights on the central mountain are ranged the six blissful seats of the Déwas, but many of them dwell elsewhere. Thus, for example, the sun, the moon, and most of the stars and planets are simply gorgeous dwellings of Nats. Away in the empyrean, rising perpendicularly one above the other, are the sixteen seats of Rupa, where the Byammās, the Perfect, dwell. These have got rid of almost all the passions, but especially of concupiscence. It is not till they have freed themselves from all affection for matter and material things that they can pass beyond to the incalculable heights of the four seats of Arupa, where the Immaterials dwell in a state of sublimest contemplation waiting only for the moment when they shall pass beyond into Ne'ban. Down below the earth, in a mass of hard rock, are the eight great Hells and the numberless smaller ones. Surrounding the Myinmo Taung and girdling round the earth are the seven ranges of the Sekyawala mountains, with seven seas interposed. In the sea round about Mount Myinmo, the great Thamôddaya Ocean, are the four great islands—Ottayakuru to the north, Pyôppawideha to the east, Aparagawyan to the west, and Zampudipa to the south. In the Southern Island dwells the race of man. Each of the great islands has five hundred smaller ones round about it, and in these islands dwell the English and other nations other than the Buddhists and the Indian heretics.

The Thamôddaya sea is too stormy to allow of any one passing from one of the great islands to any other. The Southern Island is the largest, and is shaped like a trapezium. The Western Island is like the full moon, the Northern is square, and Pyôppawideha is shaped like the moon in her quarters. The shape of the head of the different inhabitants follows the shape of the island, and the different sides

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823 of Mount Meru give their different colours to each island.
779 Thus the Eastern Island is all white from being opposite to
772 the silver face of the mountain; the Western is green, because on that side Myinmo is of glass; the Northern Island glitters like gold, and the Southern is a pale-coloured brown-like carbuncle. Each island is named from the great tree which grows upon it and forms the sacred insignia of the island. Thus the Southern Island is named from the Zampu tree, the great Eugenia.

The Eastern, Western, and Northern Islands are very pleasant to dwell in, but especially the Northern. There the people live to the age of a thousand years, and always appear to be no more than eighteen. In the other islands they only live to be five hundred. In other respects the Northern Island is a regular land of Cockayne. The fabled Padetha Bin, elsewhere only found in the happy countries of the Nats, grows there. From its bounteous branches hang the most gorgeous dresses of every variety of colour, and the happy islanders have only to take them off. Nor are they at any necessity to till the ground to procure themselves food. From this tree they obtain also an abundant supply of a most excellent kind of rice, already husked to their hands. All that they have to do is to place it on a certain large stone, and it is forthwith cooked, and upon the branches of the trees round about appear the most dainty meats. Truly the Northern islanders have a most enviable existence. But in one respect, like the inhabitants of the Eastern and Western isles, they are unhappy. They are
779 always born back to the same island. They cannot raise
775 themselves in the scale of being, like the otherwise sorrowful Southern islanders. Only in Zampudipa do the Buddhas appear to teach the law and free the people from constant deaths and reappearances. From Tahingaya, the first Buddha, to Shin Gautama, under whose dispensation we now live, there have been twenty-eight Buddhas, and all of them have come to the great Southern Island. To Byammās, to Nats, even to animals and the agonised dwellers in the lowest hells, the blessed words have come, but never to those other dwellers in the islands of the great sea Thamôddaya. Thus are men enabled to attain to the state of Nats, to pass

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through the seats of Rupa and Arupa, until finally, freed from passion and sorrow and the trammels of matter, they sink into the bliss of Ne'ban. Therefore have pious writers of old called the Southern Island Ne'ban's ferry.

Down below the earth, in the deepest recesses of the Southern Island, are the eight great Hells, surrounded by 16,040 smaller ones. Four of the great Hells are called Awidzi, and in addition to other tortures, terrible flames leap from wall to wall across the monstrous space, and extend on all sides beyond for a thousand yuzanas. The other four are called Lawkantyè, and there, instead of flames, we find hideous cold. A day in any of these places of torment is as long as thousands of mundane years.

The world having been created is as yet uninhabited. Our present earth, Badda, was peopled in the following way, From the seats of Zān, to which the destructive element had not reached, came down certain Byammās, some say three, some as many as nine. Holy people as they were and freed from all passions, they existed at first, like Adam and Eve, in a state of perfect bliss and innocence. They were not as the Kāma, the generating beings of the Four States of Punishment and the Seven States of Happiness—that of man and the six seats of Nats. But, like Adam and Eve, they fell into sin and thence into misery. First we read that they prayed for light. We may imagine that already the spiritual light had forsaken them, for in answer to their prayers appeared the sun, the moon, and the stars. The holy people had hitherto lived on a flavoured earth, which, however, driven away by their growing desire for matter, vanished and gave place to another species of food, a sweet creeping plant called Padalata. This was perfect in odour and flavour, but still the appetites of the people grew, and the Padalata was taken away and in its place appeared the Thalé san, a peculiarly fine kind of rice, which grew ready husked, and had only to be put in a pot, when it would cook itself. But by eating the Thalé rice, the Byammās became more and more gross, until, like Adam and Eve after eating the apple, they attained a knowledge of good and evil, and marriage was instituted. After this the

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Thalé san became more and more scarce. At first, no matter how much was eaten, at night the portion which had been cut during the day reappeared; but when the first people fell into the sin of lust the rice gradually vanished. Where the rice was cut in the morning, there remained a bare patch at night. Since then man has had to labour, and earn his bread with the sweat of his brow.

Owing to the scarcity, crime first appeared in the world. One man, fearing that his stock would not last him, went and stole from his neighbours' barns. Thus theft was the first crime committed in the world. The man whose rice was stolen at first only scolded the thief, and let him go. The robber, however, did not care for this, and came back a second and a third time. The third time he was seized and beaten. Thus out of the original crime of thievery arose abuse, reviling, assault, falsehood, and then punishments. In this way did crime and consequently law and justice take their origin, and have lasted since the very beginning of the world. Hitherto on account of the happy state in which the people had lived, without crime and without punishments, every one had been equal, and there had been no necessity for marking different grades. As, however, crime increased, and with it revenge, more or less sweeping according to temperament, the people took counsel together and resolved to appoint a man to be ruler over them, who should regulate their affairs and punish wrongdoers. Thus a king was first appointed, and his revenue was derived from tithes given by the people. Each man set apart a tenth of his Thalé san for the support of the king. The tithe system was kept up among the Burmese, the most direct in descent from the original people, until a few years ago. The kings extended the system. The rulers and governors of provinces received in place of salary the tithes of the districts which were under their charge. But King Mindôn Min, finding that with unscrupulous men the method was liable to abuse, abolished the system of tithes, and introduced the English method of paying a regular salary. It did not, however, work well. Many of the myo-sas, finding that they did not receive their money regularly from the State, continued to exact tithes as before, only secretly and with many cunning devices to hide

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what they were doing. It is probable, therefore, that the custom of the ancients would have been reintroduced.

The appointment of a ruler to punish crime was therefore the second source of the law, and the first source of the administration of justice. The first king chosen was a Payālaung, a person destined in future ages to be a Buddha, and therefore of great sanctity and wisdom, and one who strictly conformed to the five natural and religious laws incumbent on all men, namely, not to murder, steal, commit adultery, drink fermented liquors, or speak falsely. From these immediately sprang the four thingahas or kingly laws, and the first laws laid down by the Payālaung were with regard to the twenty-five descriptions of theft, the ten kinds of assault, and the twenty-seven kinds of abusive language.

Notwithstanding the institution of a source of administrative justice, crime continued to increase, and those who wished to escape from its evil influences retired to the jungles and there built small houses for themselves, or gained a living by begging from village to village. Thus rose the caste of the Brahmins. Those who built themselves houses and acquired wealth by agriculture and trade, were called thaté thu-gywè, rich men, while those who were unfortunate and oppressed sank into the state of poverty and were called thu sinyè. Thus arose the legal classification of the people.

The first king, Mahāthamada as he was called, probably had a written code, but it has been superseded or lost. The laws which now guide us were drawn up by Menu, originally a cowherd, but afterwards a minister. To these laws all others owe their existence, for we read that in Greece, the earliest civilised country in Europe, Menu was styled Minos in Crete, and first gave them laws. In this way polity was established in the Southern Island. The original people soon greatly increased, and multiplied, and dispersed themselves not only all over the mainland, but some even went to the smaller islands round about, as did the English to the Pyi Gyi. Just as the children of one father take different names, so the different peoples took to themselves different titles, according to the part of the earth they settled in. Just also as some children in a family are good and some bad, so a few races preserved the sacred law of

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the Lord Buddha, and some fell away into lamentable heresies. Many of them still retain reminiscences of the teachings of the Great Master. Thus the Bible of the Christian contains moral precepts in a great measure identical with the sentiments conveyed in the thoughts or sermons of the Lord Buddha. There is even confirmation in the mention of the ages of Methuselah and other men of old, of the doctrine of the waxing and waning term of human life. Some learned Sadaws have held that the Lord Jesus is Dewadat, the cousin of Shin Gautama, who was always trying to overthrow the good works of the Buddha; and it is well known that the Siamese speak of the evil Dewadat as the God of Europe, and the causer of all the evil in the world. This opinion is not, however, generally held, and the best thing a Burman can wish for a good Englishman is that in some future existence, as a reward of good works, he may be born a Buddhist and if possible a Burman. For that the Burmese are most nearly descended [103] from the original holy people, their name Byammā or Bamā evidently shows, while no other nation preserves the sacred law more carefully and more exactly in its form as it came from the lips of the Lord Buddha himself. Moreover, the Burmese monarchs retained the titles given to Mahāthamada, the first king, and his immediate successors, and therefore they ranked above all others.

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CHAPTER XI

THE LADDER OF EXISTENCE

NOTWITHSTANDING the change, the pain, and the vanity of everything upon earth, yet the Lu-pyi, the Manôt-tha-bông, the state of man, is desirable beyond all others. Transience, misery, unreality prevail in all the thirty-one seats of the world, even in the twenty superior heavens, where those acted on by Kāma, generating beings, find no entrance. The Déwas come down to our earth from their six seats of bliss; the Byammās, even to the fourth state of Zān, are occasionally found in earthly guise in the precincts of holy monasteries; even Yahandas, who have entered into Thodda, the current of perfection, and after death attain the dreamful joy of Ne'ban, the cessation from existence, even these immaterial beings diffuse a saintly presence over the Southern Island. The great Lord Gautama appeared in the seat of man and preached the sacred law, and he preached it there because all the twenty-seven Buddhas before him had done the same, and when he preached it on that soft Indian eve,

> I know it writ that they who heard
> Were more—lakhs more—crores more—than could be seen,
> For all the Devas and the Dead thronged there,
> Till Heaven was emptied to the seventh zone,
> And uttermost dark He'ls opened their bars;
> Also the daylight lingered past its time
> In rose-leaf radiance on the watching peaks,
> So that it seemed Night listened in the glens
> And Noon upon the mountains; yea! they write,
> The Evening stood between them like some maid,
> Celestial, love-struck, rapt; the smooth-rolled clouds
> Her braided hair; the studded stars the pearls

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And diamonds of her coronal; the moon
Her forehead jewel, and the deepening dark
Her woven garments. 'Twas her close-held breath
Which came in scented sighs across the lawns
While our Lord taught, and, while he taught, who heard—
Though he were stranger in the land, or slave,
High caste or low, come of the Aryan blood,
Or Mlech or Jungle-dweller, seemed to hear
What tongue his fellows talked. Nay, outside those
Who crowded by the river, great and small,
The birds and beasts and creeping things—'tis writ—
Had sense of Buddha's vast embracing love
And took the promise of his piteous speech;
So that their lives—prisoned in shape of ape,
Tiger, or deer, shagged bear, jackal, or wolf,
Foul-feeding kite, pearled dove, or peacock gemmed,
Squat toad, or speckled serpent, lizard, bat;
Yea, or of fish fanning the river-waves—
Touched meekly at the skirts of brotherhood
With man who hath less innocence than these;
And in mute gladness knew their bondage broke
Whilst Buddha spake these things before the King.

The Light of Asia.

And since that time some few have passed from our earth to Ne'ban, where the silence lives; "seeking nothing, they gained all." But far the most have failed; some have sunk to the Four States of Punishment; some have risen to the blissful seats of Nats; fewer have passed beyond to the meditative realms of Zān.

It is written that the life of man waxes from ten years to the huge period of an Athinkaya, and then wanes to ten years again. How is it, then, that some men live beyond a hundred years, and others die almost ere they have drawn breath? The reason is that some have taken no life at all in previous existences, and that others have, unwittingly perhaps, destroyed many creatures, and their own existence is correspondingly graduated. To maintain his dignity of man it is absolutely necessary that a human being must observe, as far as his powers admit, the Five great Precepts. Failure to observe these will infallibly result in a fall in the next existence into the States of Punishment.

It will be well to begin the ladder of existence at the lowest rung, at the worst of these four states. This is Nga-yè, hell—the most hideous of all. Even in Nga-yè

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there are gradations: the one mighty seat is divided into eight great holds, arranged one below the other, all with punishments so terrible that none can be said to exceed any other in hideousness. The names of all the eight great chambers, from Theinzo above to Awizi the nethermost hell, are given, but a detailed catalogue is unnecessary. Each great hell is surrounded by sixteen inferior places of torture called Ôtthad-daret. From west to east the flames stream through all the mighty space and pass through on the other side to a distance of a thousand yuzanas, and from east to west the same. From north to south, from Nadir to Pole, and Pole to Nadir, it is the same, and yet the torments of this heat are but a tithe of the gruesome tortures the sinner must suffer. The life of the Déwas in Tawadeintha is reckoned at sixteen million human years. That period is but as a day and night in Kālathôt, the second hell. Thirty such days and nights make a month, twelve months one year; and the wicked in the Kālathôt hell must pass one thousand such horrible years. The Nats in Tôt-thita live five hundred and seventy-six million years, which is but as one revolving sun and moon to the tenants of Yawruwa. Of such appalling days they must make up a tale of four thousand agonising years. The miserable wretches in Awizi work out the evil of their sins only in the space of an Andrakap, a period so vast that the mind cannot grasp it. As if these punishments were not sufficient to scare the weak and ignorant from sin, it has been revealed what other tortures await the damned. In one of the Ten Great Sacred Mystery Plays it is related how a pious prince was shown the horrors of hell. The terrible pictures of the sixth book of the *Æneid*, the awful imaginings of Dante's poem, are outdone by the flesh-creeping minuteness of the Nemi Zāt. The prince saw men devoured by five-headed dogs, by famished vultures, by loathsome crows, the flesh being renewed as fast as the foul creatures tore it away; he saw others crushed beneath the weight of vast white-hot mountains, stretched on fiery bars and cut up with burning knives and flaming saws, their hearts slowly scratched and pierced with fiery needles, flame entering at the mouth and licking up the vitals, fiends all about, hacking, hewing, stabbing,

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lacerating the body with all that the human mind has imagined hideous, and all this, and ten times more, which it were only disgusting to write down, continued with never-abated torture to the wretched victims. The lesser hells are no less horrible; that of ordure, where huge stinging serpents and gnawing worms fasten on the sinners who are there immersed; those of burning coals, swords and knives, molten lead, fiery hammers which crush the bones at every stroke; that where the heart, lungs, and liver are torn out with hooks and slowly sliced and ever renewed. Occasionally the damned are transferred to the Lawkantyè hells, situated in the intermediate spaces between the Sekya worlds, where the tortures are those of frightful cold. Enough, however, has been said about the horrors of hell. The crimes which condemn a man, and the hell to which he is sent, are all duly recorded; but as one hell is as bad as another, it is unnecessary to recount these particulars. Suffice it to say that the man who scoffs at the Buddha and derides the law, will remain, throughout a whole revolution of nature, an entire Lawka, transfixed head downwards on a red-hot spit, in the lowest hell, hacked, gnawed, crushed, and beaten by all that is most awesome in all the flaming realms. There are twenty-one kinds of people who will fall into the lowest hell. Nineteen, however, if they see the error of their ways, and attend the pagodas with goodly offerings, may be redeemed; but the hunter and the fisherman cannot be saved. The impious Dewadat, cousin and brother-in-law of the Buddha, who tried to kill him, suffers terrible punishment. His feet are sunk ankle-deep in burning marl. His head is incased in a red-hot pan that caps it down to the lobe of the ears. Two large red-hot bars transfix him from back to front, two horizontally from right to left, and one impales him from head to foot. But since he repented when he sank into the earth to his doom, he will become a Pyitsega Buddha, under the name of Ahisara, in coming ages.

The State of Punishment above that of hell is that of the Thurakè. Their miseries are various. Some are keepers of hell by day or by night, themselves suffering all the horror of the terrible heat, assuming the form of man at other times. Others feed on their own flesh and

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blood, and tear themselves with great hooks. Some are six miles high, with projecting crab's eyes, short lids, and a mouth the size of an ordinary mortal's, so that they are incessantly tormented by hunger. Above them are the Pyeitta, who in many respects resemble them in their sufferings. They wander on desert sea-shores and mountains, and in dismal forests, far from the abodes of man, naked and continually lamenting. Some have huge bodies with a mouth no larger than the eye of a needle, so that they can never satiate their craving for food. Others have huge, gluttonous mouths, always seeking to devour, but with no stomach in which the food can be received. Maggots, earth-worms, ants, and the like are often called Pyeitta, because they live on excrements and all manner of filth. This state is the one specially assigned to misers and niggardly, uncharitable people.

The highest of the Four States of Punishment is that of Tareiksan, or animals. Those who do not keep a guard over their passions, who are abusive, and who refrain from giving alms, will fall into the Bông of animals. Just as one man by reason of previous merits is born a prince, while another barely scrapes into human existence as an outcast pagoda slave, a grave-digger, a leper, or a heretic, so there are grades in the state of animals. To be an elephant is of course nearly as good as being a man; to be a white elephant is usually very much better. Any herbivorous animal is in a better state than a creature which eats flesh. Lions, tigers, and all life-destroying creatures are particularly undesirable transincorporations. The vulture is highly honoured because it never takes life, but lives entirely on carrion. Some animals are particularly esteemed as having been incarnations of the Lord Buddha. Such are the white elephant, the hare, the pigeon. Shin Gautama's first existence was in the form of a little bird, and all the stages he passed through in after existences are recorded in the Ten Great Zāts and the five hundred and ten minor tales. He who would cross the ferry to Ne'ban may learn from them how he may do so, and how miserable the toil is. Who would not seek the higher paths when he sees what the alternative is?

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Raised from the Four States of Punishment to the Manôt-tha Bông, where as man the law is open to his study, the creature on his upward path should not be lightly stayed. To rise from the seat of man to that of Nats seems simple. Observe but the Five Precepts, give alms, live peaceably with all men, attend regularly at the pagodas on the appointed days that the image and model there presented to you may strengthen your resolution, do but live a respectable life, and the end is gained; you pass to the dwellings of the Déwas, there to spend long years of bliss. Good works will do much, but it is especially necessary to observe the Five Precepts. You must keep them in your mind every day, as you put your clothes on your body. The Ten Precepts must be kept on holy days, four times in every lunar month and throughout all Lent; these, and the daily giving of alms to the mendicants, will save you; your next existence will be in the Heavens of the Nats.

The Nat-pyi Chauk-tap, the six blissful seats, the highest of the Kāma Bông, the worlds of passion, are ranged on and around Mount Myinmo. Like the eight Hells they all have names, beginning with Zatu-ma-harit and ending with Para-neimmita Wot-thawati. The second and the fourth Heavens are the best known; for to Tawadeintha the Lord Buddha ascended in three steps to preach the law to his mother, the sainted Queen Maya, and countless Byammās and Immaterials from the far realms of Rupa and Arupa came to hear; and from Tôt-thita the embryo Budh descended to take flesh as Prince Theidat. The length of life in Tawadeintha is a thousand Déwa's years, that is, in earthly reckoning, nine millions. Similarly the four thousand of Tôt-thita are in human calendars five hundred and seventy-six million years.

Take up any book of fairy tales you have; revive your recollection of the *Arabian Nights*; recall any dream when you thought you had made your fortune, and you have a picture of the six blissful seats. A vision of song and dancing, beautiful and fragrant flowers, delicious fruits, palm-trees bearing, in place of leaves, rich garments and priceless ornaments and dainty cates, great gorgeous palaces with crystal pavements, golden columns, and jewelled walls; a

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tinkling of gold and silver bells, intoxicating music—everything the most fervid imagination can picture, all are found in these happy realms. Prince Nemi was granted a sight of them as well as of the horrors of hell.

Passion still prevails, but it becomes less and less sensual the higher we rise. In Tôt-thita a touch of the hand satisfies love; in the fifth seat, lovers simply gaze on each other; and in the sixth, existence in the same place is enough. The Nat of the highest Bông is not far from the twenty superior heavens.

Passage to the Déwa seats is obtained by the strict observance of the precepts and the regular performance of good works; the step beyond can only be accomplished by the aid of the intellect. Ignorance is always the chief hindrance to rise in the scale of worlds; it is especially so in the case of the superior heavens. The twenty higher seats can only be reached by concentrated meditation; by the performance of good works, not outwardly by the body, but inwardly by the soul. The three fundamental principles of Aneiksa, Dôkka, Anatta—transience, pain, vanity—must first be intently examined. Then we must pass on through the five kinds of meditation, the highest of which is Upekka, which brings perfect fixity, whence originates callousness to pleasure or pain, scorn or affection. Thus we pass through the successive stages of contemplation which lead us through the sixteen seats of Rupa, each of which constitute the first, second, and third Zāns—Thawtapan, Thakadagam, Anagam; the tenth and eleventh seats form the fourth Zān, and in the five highest, the Yahandas have entered on Thodda, on the current of perfection.

Thus we reach to the verge of the four immaterial superior heavens. To enter these we must get rid of all affection for matter. The thirty-two parts of the body are often mentioned in prayer by pious Buddhists, each part with its forty-four subdivisions. On these we must ponder till we understand and see the worthlessness of them. Then we must repeat ten thousand times "the firmament, or the æther, is immeasurable," till at length we reach the first Seit or idea of Arupa.

Thence we progress in contempt for matter till at last

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we are delivered from the three Thangya, or false persuasions, and reaching the topmost seat of Arupa, Newa-thangya-nathangya-yatana, tremble on the verge of Ne'ban.

What is Ne'ban?

> If any teach Nirvana is to cease,
> Say unto such they lie;
> If any teach Nirvana is to live,
> Say unto such they err.

The common illustration of the schools will not suffice for matter-of-fact Western heretics. You tell them life is like a lamp, with its wick and its little lake of oil. It may be kindled and extinguished many times, fresh oil may be added, other lamps kindled from it, but at length the oil is exhausted, the flame flickers and dies away for ever. That is annihilation, you say. It is not. When a man dies and goes to Ne'ban he ceases to be individualised; he is no more agitated by existence, wretched in itself, still more wretched from the woes it reveals in others; he falls into a calm and never-ending cessation of existence; he knows nothing of others, or of the world, and so is a stranger to all feelings of joy or sorrow; he contemplates fixedly the abstract truth, which even the highest Immaterials cannot, perpetually; but he is not annihilated as the heretics assert; nor does he slip, like the dew-drop, into the shining sea; he is not absorbed into the supreme Buddha, as the Brahmins loosely say; he remains perpetually in a sacred calm, unmoved by any feeling whatever, in lifeless, timeless bliss.

The teachers strive to give a detailed explanation, but who can know? who can tell for certain the composition and economy of even the nearest star? They tell us this: Ne'ban is the extinction of Kan, the soul of recurring existences, the influence of merits and demerits, exemption from which means utter cessation from existences; Ne'ban is the stifling of Seit, the fire of passions, the entire hundred and twenty volitions and desires; Ne'ban is the cessation of Utu, exemption from revolving years, from the changes of seasons, from the variations of heat and cold, darkness and light; Ne'ban is the death of Ahāya, taste, typifying all the senses; Ne'ban is, in fact, the going out of all that we know as making up a living being; there remains behind what no

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one can name and few even picture to themselves, and those who attempt it do so according to their individual fancies. When a person recovers from a grievous illness we can only say that to be free from infirmities is to recover one's health. So we say that a man has attained to Ne'ban when he is freed from the sorrows of existences.

In regard to the Lord Buddha himself, we are told that there are in reality three stages in Ne'ban. The first was the Ne'ban of Kiletha, of the earthly passions, when under the Baw-di Bin, the sacred banyan-tree, he renounced all and became a Buddha. The second was the Ne'ban of Khanda, when near Kôkthenayôn, he expired in the grove of sāl-trees, when the five supports of existence gave way and he finally departed from the thirty-one seats of the world. The third and last, the Ne'ban of Dat, will not be for nearly two thousand five hundred years, five thousand from the day of his death. Then the duration of the Great Master's teachings will have ceased, his cycle will have lapsed, and all his relics from all parts of the world will be miraculously gathered together into the place where the original Baw-di Bin stood; there will be many wondrous signs, and then all but the memory of him will be gone, the complete Ne'ban will have been attained.

The definition may be vague, and the monks of Burma, Siam, Japan, Ceylon, Thibet, and China may each have their own definition, but there is the same difficulty to be found in all religions with regard to the last mystery. Who can find agreement in the variety of Christian descriptions of the future life, where one places happiness in the eternal singing of songs and in feastings, another in gazing on the Deity, a third, with greater modesty, hopes to creep in by the door of which St. Peter holds the keys? Buddhists have in their six heavens and twenty superior seats a choice of every kind of bliss, suited to every liking. They have the Islamite delights of sense in the heavens of Dêwas with the houri nat-daughters. Then for the various kinds of meditation and mysticism they have the contemplative Byammā seats, while the four seats of Arupa afford room for the most transcendental speculation.

Yet all these ideal realms of phantasy—the dreams of

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sense, of contemplation and mystic trance—have nothing to do with the state of Ne'ban. It is not a "nothing" A "nothing" that can be imagined is an all, for according to the laws of thought, non-existence can only be understood in a relative sense. The Buddhist system is much too logical to trouble itself with such incomprehensible problems, and in order to create no false impressions, the teachers surround the last state with the utmost possible uncertainty of expression. The Buddhist yearns to return from the endless whirl and turmoil of existences to the calm of the first beginning.

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792 transmigrations, forces him to leave and enter the forest of
775 the world, some from want of the gift of continence, some from ambition and desire for worldly power, some from a seeking after wealth, all from the predominance of some one of the hundred and twenty seit that incapacitate a man for
779 the calm meditative life of the pyin-sin.

792 In the Lord Buddha's time, when a man adopted the faith, the requisites were belief in his teaching, a willingness to live in poverty and chastity, and under strict rules. All the applicant had to do was to renounce the ordinary pursuits of life, give up all his goods, take the vows, and he was forthwith a member of the Thengā. From that time forward he lived in poverty, was dependent upon alms for his food, and upon charity for a shelter for his head; he was a beikku, a mendicant, and only those who were such were Buddhists. But as the believers increased, it was evident that all could not wholly adopt the religious life. Many had faith, but not faith enough to support them in the strict rule of the society, and soon Buddhists became divided into the two classes of laymen who adopted and believed in the religious tenets, and the religious who abandoned the world entirely, and strove only to lead the higher life. Hence also arose the hierarchy of the order, which exists to a certain extent in Burma, though very far from approaching the completeness of the system of Thibet, where there is a pontifical court, an elective sacerdotal chief, and a college of superior Lamas. In this respect, however, Burman Buddhism is as much closer to the primitive order in polity as it is in exact observance of the ordinations of the Wini. Theoretically, in the sacred assembly there are but three classes:

792 The shin, the novice, who has put on the yellow robe without becoming a professed member of the order, and probably with no other desire than that of obtaining his "humanity." These are called ko-yins, maung-shins, and a variety of other names.

The u-pyin-sin, those who, having lived a certain time in the monastery, have been formally admitted to the assembly with a prescribed ceremony, whereby the title of yahan is solemnly conferred. These are the pyit-shin, or religious.

Finally, there is the pôngyi, the "Great Glory," who by

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respect paid to him by the king was paid, not as to the head of the religion, but as to the personal teacher. The Burman in his prayers, or rather his meditations for the good of others, prays for his teacher before his parents. The five pleasant things in the world are: the shade of trees, the shade of parents, the shade of teachers, the shade of princes, the shade of the Buddha.

It is this republican tendency of Buddhism that gives it such a wonderful hold on the people. Rank does not confer on the mendicant greater honour, or release him from any of his obligations. The most learned and famous Sadaw must go forth every morning to beg his daily food. If he is very aged and decrepit he may be excused to some extent, but every now and again he must totter forth to preserve the letter of the law and show a proper example of humility. His dress is the same as that of the most recently admitted ko-yin, and in the eyes of the world he holds honour, not because he controls the affairs of the assembly, but because he is so close to the verge of Ne'ban. This feeling extends beyond the order into ordinary life. The religion brings all men down to the same level. The poor man may be a king of nats in the next life; the wealthy sinner may frizzle in the awful pains of hell. There is no difference between man and man but that which is established by superiority in virtue; and hence it is that the state of women among Buddhists is so very much higher than it is among Oriental peoples, who do not hold by that faith. The Burmese woman enjoys many rights which her European sister is even now clamouring for.

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We have seen that the whole male population of Burma enters the monastery, and that the great majority leave after a very short stay. Some, however, grow fond of the monastic ways, and remain to study and qualify themselves to be mendicants. In becoming pyin-sin they do not acquire any new spiritual power, nor do they constitute themselves directly teachers of the people. In a religious system, which acknowledges no supreme Deity, it is impossible for any one to intercede with a Creator whose existence is denied, in behalf of a man who can only attain to a higher state by his own pious life and earnest self-denial. The

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dozen or more solemn-visaged monks sitting on their mats and coyly hiding their faces behind these big fans is apt to raise a smile on the face of a foreigner. But there is no doubt that the regulation is well advised. Women are disturbers of tranquil meditation.

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When these necessaries have been provided, the candidate proceeds to the appointed building. This is always a thein, a consecrated hall, built of teak, with open sides and the sacred three, five, or seven overlapping and diminishing roofs, not unlike the Albert Memorial in appearance, but much larger at the base. Here the examining body is assembled to the number of ten or twelve, ordinarily, but a minimum of four will suffice if the ceremony is conducted in the jungle. The senior is appointed upyitsi, or president, and a secretary is nominated, whose duty it is to bring forward the candidate and to read the Kammawāsā, the ritual of ordination. This is the most gorgeously ornamented of all the Burmese books. It is written, not in the ordinary round character, but in square letters painted on with a thick black resinous gum, and requires a special education to read it. The leaves are formed either of the ordinary palm-leaf, thickly covered with red lacquer, and profusely ornamented round the border and between the lines with gilded figures of nats and elaborate scroll-work, or in the case of the more sacred monasteries, of the discarded waistcloths of kings. None might wear these pasos after the Great King of Righteousness had tired of them, and many were therefore made use of for this purpose. Portions of them are taken, doubled over, and then covered with numerous coatings of wood-oil and a paste composed of this same thitsi, with finely sifted burnt rice-husks, sawdust, and rice-water, until at last they become firm as a piece of cardboard, but vastly more pliant. Then the sheets are emblazoned, and the text painted on, the whole being enclosed between richly ornamented teak boards. Few more splendid-looking manuscripts can be seen anywhere. Occasionally copies are found engrossed on thin sheets of ivory or copper, but those on the royal pasos, called Wut-lè Kammawāsās, are most highly esteemed. The text is always read in a peculiar way, in a high-pitched, jerky recitative, which is not without a certain impressive effect.

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792 of the fundamental precepts, and are not so ludicrous as some unbelievers would make out, except for the fact that they are set down so precisely when they might have been left to the imagination.

A monk must not build a monastery for himself without the aid of a benefactor. If his piety and talents are not such as to induce a layman to build a kyaung for him, let him patiently remain in the house into which he was ordained. He must see that the foundations of a monastery are not laid in a place where there are many insects or worms, which would thus be killed.

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For a similar reason he must not dig himself, except in a sandy place, where there can be no animal life. Neither must he spit, nor do anything of that kind on green grass, nor in fresh water, nor is he allowed to climb trees. There was a discussion in the Lord Buddha's time as to whether vegetation could be regarded as anywhere in the ladder of existence. Shin Gautama, on being asked, said it could not. Still trees and grass must not be destroyed, for they support life in other creatures. A yahan may not drive in a carriage or ride a pony. He must not travel in the same boat or remain under the same roof with a woman, or even with a female animal. When he walks abroad he must neither walk fast nor dawdle and lounge about the streets. He must allow no woman to wash or clean his robes, nor eat food cooked by female hands, if he can get any other; if a woman offers rice in her hand, he may take but not eat it. He must not look into a brother's thabeit, as suggesting that he does not receive much alms. He must not eat his food to the last mouthful, and must avoid highly-seasoned dishes as tending to heat the blood.

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In return for their self-denial the pyin-sin are bountifully honoured by the people, from the sovereign on the throne, who vacates his seat for the thā-thanā-baing, to the beggar in the street who prostrates himself in the dust when the yahan passes by. In the country villages all make obeisance when the mendicant passes, and the women kneel down on each side of the road. Such outward marks of respect are not usual in the larger towns, but there is no lack of veneration, and all make way for the monk when he walks abroad.

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them know their ground perfectly well, and are quite able to take full advantage of the strong points of their position. They rely entirely on the holy books, and these they have at their fingers' ends. It is granted by all that they are, almost without exception, entirely free from intolerance, and are quite unable to comprehend the zeal for conversion. A venerable Sadaw in Bhamo came and listened attentively to a Burmese sermon of Dr. Mason, the celebrated American missionary. When it was over he came and complimented him on its depth and grasp, and then suggested that the reverend doctor should go with him to offer up worship before the image of Buddha! The monks do not think, with cynical mockery, that every one should be allowed to go his own way and be blessed after his own fashion; on the contrary, they seek zealously for new truths and explanations of mysteries; but they hold it presumptuous and unwarrantable, in view of the dark secrets which envelop the life of man from its dawning to its close, to set up each his individual opinion with dogmatic certainty as the only true form and the only one that can save. They take their standpoint on the actual state of things, on the misery and sorrow which is externally bound up with the nature of the human body as it exists. They devote themselves entirely to preparing the spirit for its delivery, when it will finally rest, raised above every fear of new change, in the harmonious equipoise of Ne'ban. For this last and highest aim no hypotheses have to be assumed. They require no personal deity who would demand a special place in the system of the world, and in a possible danger to the cosmic system might incur the same risk of destruction. They remain entirely within the clearly defined horizon of their limit of vision, and are therefore very difficult to attack in argument.

Nevertheless schisms have arisen from time to time, and exist at the present day, but they have sprung more from revolt against excessive austerity, or corresponding laxity, than from any real difference on doctrinal points. The Lord Buddha had hardly died before one of the most aged of the disciples, Subhadra, thus addressed the assembled brethren: "Revered ones, cease to mourn. We are now happily released from the rule of the great Sramana; we shall no

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more be tormented with 'this is allowable' and 'that is not allowable'; we can now do what we wish, and leave undone what we do not care for." To put an end to this scandal to religion, and to fix definitely the bonds of morality, the great disciple, Kathapa, called together, forty-five years after the Buddha's death, in the year 543 B.C., the first great Council, at Rajagriha, in the country of Magadha. Kathapa himself was president. The Wini was read by Upali, whom Shin Gautama himself had pointed out as the most learned of his followers, and the Dharma by Ananda, the personal attendant and favourite disciple of the Budh. During seven months the various points in dispute were considered from all points, and after rulings had been publicly and authoritatively given, the Council broke up. Thus were the three "baskets of the Law" first settled.

But the backsliders were not corrected, and they gradually increased in number, until, one hundred years later, it was found necessary to call together another synod. There was now a considerable body of schismatics, and they formulated a demand for definite relaxations from the severity of the laws. The Council was again held in the country of Magadha (the modern Oudh), this time in the town of Wethali. The king, Kalathawka, built a splendid hall, and when all was ready, himself placed the ivory fan on the ledge of the pulpit, and sent a message to the members of the Thengā who had assembled for the conference, saying, "Lords, my task is finished." The relaxations demanded were then discussed. The most important were as follows:—Food might be taken until the shade of the sun was two inches in length; whereas Shin Gautama had directed that for the curbing of the flesh none should be eaten after noontide.

Whey might be drunk after mid-day; forbidden as being a component part of milk, and therefore approaching animal food.

Tari, or palm toddy, might be taken, because it looks like water. This was a particularly bold demand, seeing that all fermented liquors are forbidden, and that in modern days the same plea might be urged on behalf of gin.

Gold and silver might be accepted as alms; the use of them being strictly prohibited.

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A junior might lawfully copy a senior even in what is wrong; whereas no example could be any valid excuse for a wrong act. 795 779 173

Subsequent permission might cover an act; whereas the Wini required prior permission.

The restrictions against indulgences were to be in force only in the monasteries; and not for those who might be sojourning in villages.

These points, after lengthy discussion, were all given against the dissenters, and degradation was awarded them as a punishment.

Still matters got worse, and in 241 B.C. the great king Athawka, of Pataliputra, brought about the third and last great Council to cleanse the Church. After nine months' public reading of the Book of Rules and of the most excellent Law, 60,000 heretics were expelled from the Church, and it was resolved to propagate the religion far and wide. This last decision was fraught with the most momentous consequences to Burma, for among the missionaries sent north, south, east, and west from Behar were the two, Thawna and Ôttara, who proceeded to the country of Suvarna Bhumi, the "Golden Land," and landing at Thatôn, now north of Maulmein, but then on the sea-coast, proceeded to disseminate the Buddhist doctrines amongst the tribes in the great river-valleys of the country. It is important to notice that the doctrines they brought with them had just been revised and confirmed by a great Council of the Church. Since then, throughout all Burma, the old geniolatry has been displaced by the teachings of the Buddha. The regulations, introduced then in their first purity, have been retained ever since practically unchanged, so that at the present time Buddhism exists in Burma in a form much nearer to that which Shin Gautama taught than is found in any country where the Three Precious Things are held in reverence. 795 797 173

The only sect which has at any time started any doctrinal heresy is that of the Paramats. They reject the worship before pagodas and images, and pray only to the Nyan-daw, the godlike wisdom, which abides like a mountain of fire in the heavens, invisible to mortal eyes, and taking no interest and exercising no influence over mundane things. These 795 175

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795 dissenters pay reverence to the ordinary brethren of the
175 yellow robe, keep the Ten Precepts, repeat the Bawana (Payā, Tayā, Thengā, etc.) and the Ittipi-thaw, but they never go near the shrines, and recite their prayers and invocations in the jungle or in open fields. It is a kind of reminiscence of fire-worship, an ancestral adoration of the heavens in the sun, caused possibly by a shrinking from the suspicion of idolatry. A cardinal fault in them is that they give no alms, for most religions are at one on the question that charity covers a multitude of sins. The sect was founded at the beginning of this century by a pôngyi, called by his followers Shin Tabaung. He lived at Sinbyugyun, "White Elephant Island," a place half-way between Mandalay and the British frontier, and the dissent would probably never have spread beyond that district, or outlived the life of its originator, had it not been for the king Bodaw Payā. When the Thenga refused to recognise his claim to be the fifth Buddha of this world cycle, he espoused the cause of the Paramats, imposed penalties on all monks who would not accept their tenets, and went so far as to force a Thathanabaing, one of the heads of the Order, to marry, marriage being permissible under the doctrines of the dissenters. This gave the schism a prominence which it could not otherwise have attained, and enabled it to last down to the present time, though its numbers, never very great, have steadily dwindled away. There are perhaps more Paramats in Prome than in any other town of Burma, Lower
795 or Upper. Their most prominent doctrine is that the Shwe
779 Nyan-daw existed before the world began, and will exist for all eternity. Ideas may arise from the influence of exterior objects, but when they have been freed from their connection with bodily creations, they have an independent existence, and when once they have come into being continue to live. This is explained by the assertion that the quasi-deity of the Buddha is founded only on his supreme wisdom. Buddha means, etymologically, "the wise," and Shin Gautama was simply an incarnation of the pure Wisdom. Men believed they actually saw him when he was already really a deity—nothing else than the inspiring Nyan-daw, which made the five Khandas appear to have an

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actual earthly existence. Occasionally an energetic Sadaw excommunicates all the Paramats under his jurisdiction, and forbids all the laity to sell to them, or have any communication whatever with them, but as a rule they are let alone. The movement is too feeble to threaten any real danger to religion, and has never gained many adherents among the laity. 795 779

It is a different matter with the rival parties of the Mahagandi and the Sulagandi. Here there are no heretical doctrines in dispute; it is simply a question of greater adherence to the strict rule of the Order. Instead of, as in the early days of the Assembly, one party crying out against the too great austerity of the majority, it is a sturdy protest of a minority within the Church against the lamentable weakness and laxity of the great body of the Order in the observance of the precepts of the Book of the Enfranchisement. The quarrel is at present limited to Lower Burma, where the greater wealth of the country and the introduction of foreign luxuries among the laity have led to corresponding indulgences in many of the monasteries, against which the Sulagandis protest and preach with feverish energy. The austere party is strongest in Maulmein, Henzada, and Pegu, and faction feeling runs so high that street fights between the scholars of the two sects are very common, and often so embittered that the English authorities have to interfere to restore peace in the town, for the laity take sides with equally bitter animosity. 795 785

The questions in dispute are entirely matters of discipline. The Puritan party, as the Sulagandi may very well be called, denounce the habit, which is becoming very frequent, of wearing silk robes. The Kammawā sets forth that the thengan should be stitched together of rags picked up in the streets or in the graveyards, and such panthagu thengans the Sulagandis wear and glory in. The Mahagandis, on the other hand, have been gradually becoming more and more luxurious. At first new cloth was torn into irregular pieces, and then sewn together. Latterly it has been considered sufficient to tear a corner and stitch it up again, or perhaps only to rip a portion of a seam, and from this to the wearing of silk garments was no very great step.

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special place wherein to pay their devotions. The Burman erects a pagoda over sacred relics, and puts up an image of the great Lord of Truth there, not to worship, but to afford a means to the pious of localising their feelings and concentrating their thoughts on the supreme model. The candles and smoky oil lamps, the fruits and flowers offered on the shrine, are no more signs of idolatry than the offertory bag placed on the altar by the Christian priest. The Yatana Kalapa is perfectly distinct on this point. Under the heading U'bhato Kotito Panha we find it written: "It is bootless to worship the Buddha; nothing is necessary but to revere him and the memory of him. Statues are only useful in so far as they refresh the memory; for as the farmer sows the seed and gathers in the grain in due season, so will the man who trusts in the Buddha and holds fast by his sacred Law obtain the deliverance and pass into Ne'ban. The earth and the Buddha are alike in themselves inert."

There is thus no doubt left as to what the great master and his interpreters intended. The worship of the payā is nothing more than a simulation of the devotion which would be paid to Shin Gautama were he still upon earth. The Buddha is admired, he is lauded, he is tenderly loved; and this devotion is extended to the figures which are erected in remembrance of him, in recognition of his blameless life, the supreme wisdom which enabled him to teach the Law, and the great compassion and benevolence with which he regarded all living things. The characteristics of a Budh are the exercise of the Three Great Works of Perfection, the constant practising of the Ten Great Virtues, and the Five Renouncings; and to attain the deliverance, all must diligently strive to observe these. The Three Great Works of Perfection are:—

1. Assistance afforded to parents and relations.

2. Great offerings made in this and previous existences, coupled with strict observance of the enactments of the Law.

3. Benevolent dispositions towards all sentient beings indiscriminately.

The Ten Great Virtues are:—liberality; observance of the precepts of the Law; retreat into lonely places; diligence;

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•779 patience; fortitude; wisdom; benevolence; truthfulness; indifference.

The Five Renouncings are the giving up, for holiness' sake, of—children; wife; goods; life; one's self.

775 This cannot all be effected in one existence, unless piety has been exhibited in many previous lives. Much depends on one's kan, the accumulation of merits from past time. Just as the fruits on a tree are some of them good, some bad, but have little or nothing in common with each other, or with those that went before, or may come after, so it is with a man's kan. But the diligent observance of the holy precepts, and especially the exercise of open-handed charity, will always tend to reduce the number of lives to be endured before the deliverance comes.

782 788 Prayer there is none in the technical sense of the word, and the doxologies repeated at the shrines are mostly those learnt in childhood at the monastery school, or special compositions of each individual for himself. There is nothing laid down in any of the Buddhist religious books concerning the formulæ of prayer. Whatever there is, is taken from the Apyin Aung-gyin, the record of the triumph of Shin Gautama over the outer foes, Mān-nat, the spirit of evil, and his daughters, and the Atwin Aung-gyin, the triumph over the inward foes, the kiletha, the passions of mankind. Many, however, repeat little more than the tharana-gōng, the form with which the pôngyis almost invariably commence worship: "I worship the Buddha; I worship the Law; I worship the Assembly." This, with the aneiksa, dôkha, anatta, "change, pain, illusion," forms the sentence to be repeated on the rosary. A very usual form of doxology commonly taught to the scholars of the kyaungs, and therefore retained through life, is the following:—"Awgatha, Awgatha, I worship with the body, with the mouth, and with the mind, with these three kans. The first, the second, the third; once, twice, until three times. The Lord, the precious one; the Law, the precious one; the Assembly, the precious one; these three precious things. I, the worshipper, most humbly, with fervid zeal, with clasped hands, pay reverence, give offerings, and with pious gaze bow me down. Thus by this worshipping I gain merit and

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The sole distinction between Lent—lasting from the day after the full moon of July to the full moon of October—and the rest of the year, is that all laymen are expected to be much more regular in their observance of the weekly religious days. It is not a season of fasting, but simply of stricter execution of religious duties. No marriages, feasts, or public amusements are held, or only by the graceless; and some of the yahans retire into the depths of the jungle, where they can devote themselves to meditation with greater security from interruption. The custom of regarding these three months as peculiarly sacred undoubtedly rose from the habit of the monks, in the first days after the Buddha's teaching, remaining steadfastly in their monasteries in Magadha during the period of the annual rains, devoting all their time to pondering over the Sacred Law, and expounding it to any laymen dayakas, or upathakas, inquirers, or believers and searchers after the truth, who came to consult with them in their dwellings; seeking to enter the current of perfection, and, attaining the state of arahan, to float into Ne'ban, the state of joyless, painless calm. Nowadays all are expected to study the Law for themselves; but in order to prepare themselves worthily for the Wā, the wealthier people often call in the more learned yahans to deliver exhortations in their houses. Numbers of relations and friends are invited, who bring presents for the holy man, in the hope of sharing the merit of the transaction. Portions of the holy books usually are read on these occasions, especially the much-admired Wethandaya Wuttu. The doctrine inculcated by this zāt is charity; and malicious people do not hesitate to say that the giving of alms is the invariable theme of the pyinsin. But I have at least as often heard the praises of wisdom from the Lawkanidi recited at such Lenten lectures, and a portion may be quoted here: "The ignorant bow down before the wise man. The riches of the wise man are like a bubbling spring, a fountain that never runs dry, and that, however constantly you may draw from it, is ever filled anew. The beauty of women and the sweetness of the sugar-cane bring satiety, but the words of wisdom never pall. The lazy man will never get learning. Any man may be endowed with riches, beauty, rank, youth; but without

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knowledge he is but as a beautiful flower that hath no perfume. The fragrance of flowers is refreshing; more so is the light of the cool moon's rays; but the greatest delight comes from the words of wisdom. The sun may rise in the west; the summit of Mount Meru may be bent like a bow; the fires of hell may languish and die out; the lotus may spring on the tops of the mountains; but the words of truth and wisdom are always the same."

Similarly the riches of man are said to consist in his learning, his family, and his good name; of a woman in her beauty; of a great man in his rank, influence, position, and the number of his slaves; of a monk in his austerity; of a serpent in its poison; and of a pônna in his oaths and his prophecies.

Thirteen kinds of pride are enumerated. To lie in the cool shade, with the power of the heavens at his command, and to be victorious over his enemies, is the pride of the tha-gya king. The galôn delights in flying throughout the skies above or below. The naga prides himself in his wondrous works, bright and glorious. The lion's pride is to overcome his enemies and destroy all opposition. The merchant's pride is to have obedient slaves and abundance of gold and silver. The soldier's to enter a town with the clash of the cymbal and the pomp of military music. The peasant's to finish his toil honestly and well. The yahanda finds his pride in the power of wisdom and in books. The prince in triumphing over routed enemies and enriching himself with their spoil. A woman's pride is to talk in a pleasant and amusing way. A man's to be celebrated and feared for his strength of mind and body. A doctor's to effect successful cures with his own medicines, and a pônna's pride is in his wisdom and knowledge of the Bedin.

The significance of all this and a deal more similar useless information is that during the Wā the sacred books should be studied, while all youths should receive their Buddhist baptism by putting on the wā, the yellow robe of the cloister—a Burmese play upon words which has a further significance to the young neophytes, in the reflection that "wā" also means a bamboo, which yahans do not spare, Lent or no Lent.

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question may be philologically interesting, but is not likely to be definitely settled till the languages of "Farther India" are better known. What concerns us is the fact that "nat" means in Burmese two distinct kinds of individuals. It may be applied to the inhabitants of the six inferior heavens, properly called déwas, who figure in Hindu mythology, and have thence been transferred to the Buddhist world system. Kings and virtuous people are rewarded with happiness in these six seats after a good life upon earth. The Tha-gya min, the king of the nats, or déwas, comes down to earth at the beginning of the Burman year, and remains here for three days, and his subjects generally display great solicitude for the pious state and welfare of mankind, but otherwise they are matters of no concern to dwellers in the lupyi unless as objects of envy. Perfectly distinct from these are the nats of the house, the air, the water, the forest,—the spirits of nature, fairies, elves, gnomes, kelpies, kobolds, pixies, whatever other names they have received in other countries. Burmans never have any confusion in their mind on the subject, such as may occasionally occur to a foreigner. The genii and peris of Eastern story, though doubtless springing from the Hindu déwas, have no real analogy in Burmese literature, any more than the idea of the *devil*—etymologically connected with the word dév-a or déwa—has anything to do with the joys of Tawadeintha and Tôtthita, the best-known heavens of nats of the superior order.

The worship of nats, of the spirits, then, has nothing to do with Buddhism, and is denounced by all the more earnest of the pyin-sin as being heretical and antagonistic to the teachings of the Lord Buddha. King Mindôn, who was a true defender of the faith, and possessed of a deeper knowledge of the Pali texts than many of the members of the Assembly of the Perfect, fulminated an edict against the reverence paid to the nats, and ordered its discontinuance under severe penalties, but the worship was never really stopped, and can no more be stopped than refusing to dine thirteen at table, to walk under ladders, to cross knives, or to refrain from throwing spilt salt on other people's carpets.

The term spirit-*worship* hardly conveys a proper notion. Even the Karens and Kachins, who have no other form of

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CHAPTER XXVI

SILK-GROWING

REARING silkworms, though a very profitable occupation, is not looked upon with any favour in Burma. To get the silk the pupa must be killed; and the taking of life in any form is an impiety always looked upon with great horror by all good Buddhists. Silk-growers are classed together with professional hunters and fishermen. The Four States of Punishment yawn for them, and their portion will be in the lowest abyss of the lowest hell. Still there are colonies of silk-growers in various parts of the country; but they live apart from the rest of the inhabitants as a rule, and often have entire villages to themselves. Colonel Horace Browne who, more than any other Englishman took an interest in the ways and occupations of the districts under his charge, states that the cultivators near Prome, where more silk is produced than in any part of Burma, are nearly all Yabeins —a race of the same stock as the Burmese, but despised by them independently of their crime in the way of habitually taking animal life. So much has the cultivation of silk become identified with them, that to Burman ears the term Yabein is virtually synonymous with that of silk-grower. They usually live on the hillsides, occupying themselves like the poorer Burmans and Karens, with taung-ya cultivation; burning the forests on the slopes and sowing the ground thus enriched with the wood ashes, with rice, cotton, or oil-seed. The system is viewed with very little approval by the government officials, for the taung-ya soil, hardly exhausted by the single crop raised off it, immediately produces a dense shrub-growth of no use to anybody, certainly not to the foresters.

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demand. The indignation which a crusade against the condiment by a young civil officer with more zeal than discretion caused in 1880, will not soon be forgotten. Cholera was rather bad in Yandun, one of the great places for ngapi, and the Assistant Commissioner, convinced that the heavy smells must be the cause of it, issued an order forbidding the manufacture of the fish-paste, or its sale in the public markets, as well as that other cherished but strong-smelling dainty, prawn-head oil. The result was an avalanche of petitions to the Chief Commissioner, and something [illegible] like open riot in the town. Equanimity was not restored till the too energetic official was removed to another station, and the lugyis pointed exultantly to the fact that as soon as they began to make up arrears in the way of ngapi consumption, cholera left the place. Nevertheless, Yandun is not a charming place of residence to a man with a sensitive nose.

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Fishermen are promised terrible punishments in a future life for the number of lives they take, but popular sympathy finds a loophole of escape for them. They do not actually kill the fish. These are merely put out on the bank to dry, after their long soaking in the river, and if they are foolish and ill-judged enough to die while undergoing the process, it is their own fault. Nevertheless, some strict people hold by the doctrine of the Manichæans, who asserted that the soul of the farmer migrated into herbs so that it might be cut down and thrashed out. The baker becomes bread and is eaten. The killer of a deer becomes a deer; of a fish, a fish; and so on. But nevertheless, if all the fishermen became monks one day, the next would see some of the pious trying their hands with the cast-net.

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CHAPTER XXXIII

A SÔNDAWGYI FEAST

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It is written that in the solitude of Uruwela a woman named Thuzata vowed an offering to the spirit of the place if she should have a male child. The prayer was granted, and the offering prepared. A thousand cows, new-calved, were milked; five hundred more were fed with this milk, and then with theirs two hundred and fifty more, and so on until the six noblest and best of all her herds produced a milk of surprising flavour and richness. This was boiled with sandal and fine spice in silver vessels, and fine ground rice, from chosen seed, set in new-broken ground, was added. Wonderful signs attended the preparation of the offering. A tha-gyā brought fuel to the fire; the great Brahma held an umbrella over the silver lota; four kings of nats sat by and watched; while subject spirits infused rich honey into the nogana. When it was ready Thuzata sent a servant to clear a place under a tree in the grove that she might make her offering to the wood-spirit. Sunama, the servant, found Shin Gautama sitting under the bawdi-tree. It was the day on which he attained the ne'ban of the passions, on which he became the Lord Buddha, and his face shone with a splendour beyond that of nats. Sunama returned and told her mistress that the spirit of the grove had appeared in person to receive the offering. Thuzata poured the nogana into a golden cup, worth a hundred thousand pieces of silver, such a cup as is always presented to the payalaung on the day wherein he becomes Buddha. Then she went to the grove, and prostrating herself humbly, made her offering, turned on the right, and retired. The Lord Buddha bathed

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in the river Neritzara, at a place where more than 100,000 Buddhas had bathed, before obtaining the supreme intelligence. Then he divided the nogana into forty-nine mouthfuls, ate it, and mounted the throne, whereon he sat for forty-nine days tasting no food, and combating Mān Nat, the spirit of death and sin. But ere he lapsed into meditation he threw his golden bowl into the river. It ascended the stream swiftly, floated steadily for a short time, and then sank in a whirlpool far down, leagues beyond the earth into the country of the nagās, where it fell against the golden bowls of the three previous Budhs with a clang that resounded throughout the four worlds, and all things worshipped the present Lord: 773 779

> King and high Conqueror! thine hour is come.
> This is the night the ages waited for.

This event in the life of Shin Gautama is commemorated in the Sôndawgyi pwè. Sōnthi is a sacred word set apart to denote the eating of members of the Holy Assembly, and, in remembrance of Thuzata's historic offering, the mendicants are feasted annually by the pious, with a splendour and profusion far exceeding the ordinary alms poured daily with unstinting hand into the begging-bowl. The date of the feast does not exactly correspond with the original event. According to the chronicle, the Lord Buddha attained the first state of ne'ban in the month of Kasôn, about April, whereas the feast of Tawadeintha, with which the Sôndawgyi is always immediately connected, is celebrated after Lent, at the full moon of Ta'saung-môn in November. The festival is essentially one of the town rather than of the country. Except the New Year's Feast, none of the religious celebrations can be really called universal, and the Sôndawgyi perhaps least of all. Villages and small country towns cannot get together the splendour necessary to distinguish the occasion from the ordinary domestic feasts, or even from the daily almsgiving to the mendicants. It is therefore in a large town like Rangoon, where there is a certain amount of money, and a facility for acquiring or borrowing ornaments and frippery, that the festivities are best seen. There the *fête*—the word is more appropriate 796 796 369 [184] 527

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CHAPTER XXXIV

A WORK OF MERIT

"THE wisdom that made Asia mild" laid down no command which is better observed in Burma than the first of the Five Rules: Thu a-thet go ma that hnit (Thou shalt not take any life at all). Hardened convicts will not harm the vermin that infest their mattresses. A story is told of a man who allowed the snake that had killed his father to wriggle away unmolested through the tall elephant grass. I myself have seen a Burmese mother take up between two bits of bamboo the scorpion that had stung her little son, and simply throw the hideous creature out of the house. So far does the command to beware how they harm any meanest thing in its upward path lead earnest Buddhists. Mr. Edwin Arnold tells how, in a distant age, the great Lord Buddha offered up himself to preserve "this breath of fleeting life" in an animal: 577

> Drought withered all the land; the young rice died
> Ere it could hide a quail.

When between the hot walls of a nullah, our Lord spied, as he passed, a starving tigress, with two little cubs whining for the nourishment her shrunken frame could not give them. Then, heeding nought but the immense compassion of a Budh, the great yahan bethought himself: 779

"Lo! if I feed her, who shall lose but I?" and, throwing off his priestly robes, came forth with a "Ho! mother, here is meat for thee!" and died.

"So large the Master's heart was long ago," before he came upon earth for the last time to teach the Law and give

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the millions peace; not only when he came down from the hills, where in austere fastings he had been pondering to win the secret of "that curse which makes sweet love our anguish," and appeared before King Bimbasara to plead for the flocks that the white-robed Brahmin priests destined for sacrifice on the altar. The idea has always been a favourite one with Buddhists. A favourite myth is that of the hare. Kalpas since the Lord of ruth appeared on earth in the form of that animal. All creatures were making offerings to the Buddha who was then engaged in preaching the sacred Law. The hare bethought himself that he too must give some alms. But what had he to give? Man might bring costly gifts; the lion found it easy to offer the tender flesh of the fawn; birds of prey brought dainty morsels; fish could produce no less tasty signs of devotion; even the ant was able to drag along grains of sugar and aromatic leaves; but the hare, what had he? He might gather the most tender succulent shoots from the sunny forest glades, but they were useless even to form a couch for the teacher. There was nothing but his own body, and that he freely offered. The Supreme Lord declined the sacrifice, but in remembrance of the pious intention, placed the figure of the hare in the moon, and there it remains as a symbol of the queen of night to the present day.

Similarly just a little below Mandalay on the river, near the Ava road, there is a huge, castellated pagoda, the Shwe Gyet-yet, raised in commemoration of another performance of the Budh, in an avatar countless ages ago. The tale is that in a season of grievous dearth, when all flesh was dying of famine, the great Master, then in the shape of a jungle-fowl, spied a holy pilgrim in the last extremity of want. There was none to pity him, none to save him from death, and the Budh, conquering, even in that distant time, one of the latest lost of the ten deadly sins—the love of life—surrendered himself to save another. Hence the pagoda standing out boldly on a great rock over the river. To the east is a representation of a fowl in stone, recalling the event; and before this, daily by the pagoda slaves and others, and on feast-days by hundreds of worshippers, plentiful heaps of gilded grains are strewn.

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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These personal examples furnished by the teacher of neh'ban and the Law himself have only served to emphasise what is seen on the admission of every new member to the holy assembly. One of the articles with which, in addition to his dress and begging-bowl, every postulant must provide himself, is a strainer, without using which he must drink no water. The object is, of course, to prevent him from destroying life in the shape of the small animalcula to be found in water. Some zealous and scientific proselytiser endeavoured, by the use of microscopes, to persuade the people that this was of no avail, seeing that even in the strained water there was abundance of animal life; but a council decided that, provided the water had been filtered, if the ascetic could detect nothing living with his unaided eyes he was at liberty to drink the water without incurring blood-guiltiness. The attacks of science on Buddhism failed as completely as the efforts of most missionaries.

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The mingled pity and dislike with which professional hunters and fishermen, whose occupation implies the regular taking of life, are viewed by Buddhists, is well known, and makes itself evident in the fact that the villains in most plays are hunters. Fishermen are perhaps not so much decried—possibly on account of the plea brought forward on their behalf, that the fish die of themselves, being taken out of the water, and not through any direct action of their captors. It is in connection with fish, however, that one of the most curious national works of merit takes place annually —furnishing, like all Burmese festivals, occasion for much fun and frolic.

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The violence of the rain during the five or six months of the south-west monsoon floods the country. Not only do the rivers, which in many places rise regularly as much as thirty or forty feet above their hot-weather level—not only do they overflow their banks, and make wide seas of the neighbouring flat lands, but great lakes spring up everywhere. These are gradually stocked with fish of all kinds, most of which, by the sudden fall of the water, are cut off from all chance of retreat to the large rivers, where alone there is safety. Steadily the water goes down, the hot sun sucks up the pools, till at last the end seems to be come. The river

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

CHAPTER LII

THE LORD WHITE ELEPHANT

THE importance attached to the possession of a white elephant is traceable to the Buddhist system. The form in which Gautama Buddha entered the womb of Queen Maya to be born upon earth for the last time to "teach the Law and give the millions peace" was that of a white elephant. The Saddan, or celestial elephant, was an avatar of his many existences previously. The Saddan is gifted with special endowments, and is one of the seven precious things the possession of which marks the Sekyawadé, the Mahā Chakra Vartti Raja, "the great wheel-turning king," the holy and universal sovereign—a ruler who appears in once a cycle, at the time when the waxing and waning term of human life has reached its maximum of an athinkaya (a huge period represented by a unit and 164 cyphers) in duration. Thus the possession of an undoubted white elephant stands as a sign and symbol of universal sovereignty; and every Burmese king longed for the capture of such a treasure during his reign as a token that his legitimate royalty is recognised by the unseen powers. The great river of Burma, the Irrawaddy, is named from Airawata, the elephant of Indra, a sufficient assertion of the proper dwelling-place of all his successors. Hence the reverence of the Hindoos for the animal, and their not infrequent pilgrimages to Mandalay to see the royal creature and have a dursun, or interview of worship, with him.

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All the elephants in the country, whether wild or tame, belonged to the king: whoever captured one had to give him up to the king, and he granted permission to the princes and to a few of the higher dignitaries to use them. The

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2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

CHAPTER LV

JUDICIAL ADMINISTRATION

BUDDHIST law as it was administered in Upper Burma 671
dates from the beginning of the now existing world. The 673
first crime was theft; the first punishment was a scolding, 681
speedily followed by a thrashing; and the first judge was Mahā Thamada, elected by vote of the people to be ruler over them. No doubt there were written laws then, but they have not come down to us. The written code in use was given to the world by Manu, originally a cow-herd, but afterwards a minister. He found them written in large characters on the walls of another world, to which he was transported when in an ecstasy. These laws formed the first code. There have been since compiled from them eight other codes in the kingdom of Prome and other ancient states in Burmah. The last, called Mahā Manu Thaya Shwe Myin, was drawn up on the foundation of the sixth kingdom of Ava, in the year 1137 B.E. (1775 A.D.), by Minhkaung Gyi, who, with the aid of a learned monk, went through and carefully revised all the codes. These laws in their integrity are those which governed Upper Burma and now govern the whole of Burma in so far as they regulate social relations. The codes were written in San- 671
skrit and Magadha, a language usually called Pali through 719
an error. The name Pali signifies really not a *language*, but "The Canon," handed down to Buddhists, as composed by pious disciples from the teachings of Shin Gautama. The Magadha or Pali code accepted is called Manu Wunnana, from its writer and compiler, a minister of state in Ava. It is looked upon as a commentary on, or a key to, the codes, and contains the whole of the laws.

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

539 ichneumon, from which you may learn, that although man is superior to all animals, yet kindness shown to them will always meet with its reward.

539 The following sermon of the Lord Buddha is the chief
779 favourite with the Burmese. In its present form it is said
876 to have been handed down by the favourite disciple, Ananda, who heard it from the lips of Shin Gautama himself. The Mingala-thut is one of the first books the young scholar gets into his hands after he has learnt the ordinary formulæ of worship. There are few Burmans, even in these later days, who cannot repeat the Pali text from end to end.

Mingala-thut, the Buddhist Beatitudes, or Chapter of Blessings

539 Praise be to Buddha the holy, the all-wise.

When the adorable and most excellent Buddha dwelt in the great monastery of Zetawun, built by the rich man Anātabein, in the country of Thawatti, there came to him a déwa at the hour of midnight, when the whole building was illuminated by the effulgence which streamed from his body. The déwa placed himself neither too far nor too near, neither to the right nor to the left, but in the proper spot, and after bowing low in humble obeisance, thus addressed the Buddha:

"Most adorable and excellent Buddha, during twelve long years, many déwas and men, desirous of reaching to the holiness of Ne'ban, have striven to discover what things are blessed, but they still remain in ignorance. Do thou therefore instruct us in those matters which are most blessed."

The Adorable replied:—

"Thou son of déwas, to shun the company of the foolish; to pay homage to the learned; to worship what ought to be worshipped; these are blessed things. Déwa, mark them well.

"Thou son of déwas, to dwell among good men; to have with one's self the conciousness of good deeds done in a former state of existence; to guard well all one's

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

823 occasionally want to shift shoulders. When they do so an earthquake is the result. Others declare that the quaking of the earth is caused by gusts of wind on the under surface of the world. The idea is that the solid mass of the earth is supported on a double thickness of water, and this again by twice its thickness of air, below which is a vacuum, occasionally, however, disturbed by storms. The Buddha gave a much more extensive explanation to his favourite disciple Ananda. "My son," he said, "eight causes make the earth tremble. First, the earth lies on a mass of water, which rests on the air, and the air on space; when the air is set in motion, it shakes the water, which in its turn shakes the earth; second, any being gifted with extraordinary powers; third, the conception of a payā laung for his last existence; fourth, his birth; fifth, his becoming a Buddha; sixth, his preaching the Law of the Wheel; seventh, his mastering and renouncing existence; eighth, his obtaining the state of Ne'ban. These are the eight causes of earthquakes."

●779 The Law of the Wheel is the doctrine of the four great truths: pain, the production of pain, the destruction of pain, and the way leading to that destruction. These constantly revolve upon themselves, and the manifestation of these truths is the great work a Buddha has to perform.

787 Omens are drawn from the appearance of the sun and moon, and especially from the particular constellation which presides over one's birth. The howling of dogs, the flight and song of birds, the appearance of any strange creature, or of a wild animal in an unexpected place, all have their special meaning. So have the nervous twitchings of the eye, or of any part of the body. If the sun or any of the planets approaches the moon there is danger about. In the four months when Venus is not to be seen, in a month when there is an earthquake or an eclipse, and on the first or last day of a month, it is advisable not to cut one's hair, marry, build a house, or begin any important business whatever. These and hundreds more may be found in the Deitton, a book very full of singular information. Palmistry is a science of which every educated person professes to have more or less knowledge. The less a man knows, the more truculent his deductions are.

As for the classical cycle of keys, diagrams of which appeared both in U Ba Choe's article and U San Win's book 2, both U Ba Choe and U San Win quote authoritative verses from classical literature (*Natakaratanakosa* နာဋကရတနကောသကျမ်း) but regret that not all the keys mentioned are in use in this decadent age. With due reverence for the classics I shall assign these verses like Ruskin's works on art and Pater's, to literature. It is becoming increasingly difficult to fit classical theory with the actual music. Whereas our classical literature came *en masse* from ancient India along with Buddhism many hundred years ago our music seems to have come from the east. Indeed one class of songs *yodaya* ယိုးဒယား came *en masse* from Siam less than two centuries ago. Music is the last thing that could have come with Buddhism. It seems to have developed quite independently of classical literature. In fact Burmese poetry *linga* လင်္ဂ *alankara*) is quite distinct from Burmese song (*thachin* သချင်း) and from both stands massive and remote the Buddhist literature of the *tripitaka* in the Pali language. 533 178 101 [779] [538]

What seems to have happened is that while the elegant royalty and courtesans in the palace were delighting in the intricacies of Burmese versification with liberal infusion of both the Pali language and the Buddhist philosophy, music in its robust form was having its origins in animistic ritual (နတ်ဖွဲ့), in the village when somebody was giving alms and in the paddy-fields when the transplanting of the seedlings were in progress. For the former we have *Byaw*[1] (ဗျော) stick-struck drum songs, and for the latter we have *Bonshay* (ဘုံဆေ) long-drum or *kauksaik* (ကောက်ဆိုက်) transplanting songs. *Kyoh* (ကြိုး) that most ancient class of Burmese songs also must have been in the beginning a labour chant for concerted action that germinated in ancient row boats, grew into a boat-song, and then developed for royal ears into its present high order of melodic and literary grandeur (*vide* the royal barge songs: တောင်ဆိုက်ကြိုး when the barge makes port, ဘောင်ငင်ကြိုး when the barge is being towed out by rowers in open boats, ဘောင်ထောင်ကြိုး when the barge is underway[2]. The cadences of these still recall the rhythmic flash of wet oars in the sun. Thus Burmese music had as its sponsor the rustic festivals and the occupation of the hewers of wood and drawers of water, and not the Church as 533 178

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1. ကရေးဆရာ့ဘဝနဲ့ကျောင်းရောထဲက 'A dancer's life (or dancing) begins with a tray of banana offerings (or *pwé* marked by a central fire-bowl stand of plantain trunk) in a *byaw* music party. Till 1698 A. D. when the 8th king of the Nyaungyan dynasty ဝင်ရောင်း *Sané Min* came to the throne there existed only intoned poems ဝိုး ပေါ်ကျမ်း but no real Burmese music. သာဓုပရိုဂ်ထမ်း by U Nu. Sun Magazine, 1938.

2. U Ba Choe told me that this was not true. This class of songs used to be played as exercises in the playing of the Burmese harp, when the pupil first learnt to pluck simultaneously certain strings (ကြိုး *Kyoh*). For a full explanation of it see ဇာတ်ထပ်ကျမ်း by U San Win.

533 in Europe. Indeed the Buddhist religion so frowns upon music
178 that it was practised rather shamefacedly and its devotees are often
[179] called *Phet-khwet-sā* (Eaters out of leaves), *i.e.* vagabonds. Even so recently as last year a learned old Burmese gentleman loth to depart this life without imparting all of his Burmese learning concluded a series of Burmese articles on Burmese music and dancing with an apology for having at all indulged in such frivolities.

533 Music found in the irrepressible gaiety of the Burmese people
181 a fertile soil and it let its roots deep into the soil, and soon from
178 occupational songs music developed into an art-form which finally
565 invaded the towns, the capital and the royal palace. There it
177 received fresh impetus from a system of competitive patronage in which the king himself joined with his own band. There also, apparently it received its classical nomenclature. Names which sound imposing enough—သရ ဗူရှား ဂါမ ဆုတိ etc. *Svara*, *Mūrchana*, *Grāma*, *Çruti* etc.—but meant for quite different things, must have been borrowed in their entirety for the sake of their classical origin, so that the names were not in accordance with what they stood for, even as the Greek names, by which the western ecclesiastical modes were distinguished, were not in accordance with those of the ancient Greek octave system from which the names were taken. Thus it seems Burmese musical theory in the classical manner is a grafted dignity which dignifies but does not apply. Indeed it seems yet to be written.

533 However, to go on with Mariano: "Pure Burmese melodies are beautiful in themselves. But on account of the preponderance of grace-notes (mordente, acciaccatura, appoggiatura) Europeans find it difficult to catch Burmese tunes." This is very true, but not true enough. Ornament in Burmese music does something more than preponderate. They themselves are an inherent part of the tunes. That is why when a Burmese song is taken down by a western musican and reproduced, the ornaments having been unappreciated and eschewed the 'tune' that remains no longer sounds Burmese. Fox Strangways explains succinctly:

> "We think of grace-notes as something which may but need not be added to the note, not as something actually inherent in it. If cultivated for their own sake or used at all in excess they are regarded by us as meretricious.....Indian 'grace' is different in kind. There never is the least suggestion of anything having been 'added' to the note which is graced. The note with the grace makes one utterance. The object of grace is, of course, to add importance to the particular note, but there are such varying degrees in which this may be done

14: Brant E-5 (1949-50) 1954 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

IV

RELIGION

The people of Tadagale are overwhelmingly Theravada Buddhist in faith. The exceptions are the Indian minority, who are largely Hindus. There are three Indians who profess Mohammedanism, and three Indo-Burmans and one Pakistani of like faith. Being Burmese and Buddhist are almost identified in the thinking of the majority, as evidenced by the fact that almost all replied 'Burmese Buddhist' to the question, 'To what people do you consider yourself to belong?' 779 563

In discussing the religious life of Tadagale, realism calls for emphasis upon actual religious beliefs and behavior, rather than any extended setting down of the formal theology of Buddhism. The latter has been done in any number of specialized works, to which the interested reader may refer. Here we shall refer to Buddhist precepts insofar as is necessary to illuminate religious beliefs and practices of the villagers.

The Five Precepts or Commandments. Almost all villagers know well the fundamental Buddhist injunctions against the taking of life in any form, the consumption of alcohol, illicit sexual activity, theft, and prevarication. These moral rules are, of course, sometimes breached. In Tadagale, the use of alcohol, sometimes to excess, is perhaps the most notable instance. The 'good Buddhist' does not, however, seem to experience feelings of guilt or pangs of conscience in such matters. Rather, the following of the moral precepts has instrumental value for him, in relation to his accumulation of merit and his reincarnation after death. 779 577

Merit. One's behavior throughout life determines one's store of merit, and this, in turn, determines one's reincarnation after death. Morally proper behavior, such as the following of the five basic commandments of Buddhist faith, is regarded as contributing to one's store of merit and thus enhancing one's state of reincarnation after death. Religious acts, such as making daily offerings of food to the monks, saying prayers, and attending the pagoda festivals on the important sacred days are likewise considered to increase one's merit. Breaking the moral precepts, irreligiousity, acting selfish or quarrelsome, detract from merit and accordingly tend to lower one's state in reincarnation. 779 775

Such is about the extent of the average villager's lay conception and understanding of the moral code and the ideas of the afterlife in Buddhism. He has little or no knowledge of the detailed concepts of reincarnation, with its elaborate gradationary ladder leading from the four states of punishment up to the ultimate achievement of Nirvana. Such theological learning is the property of the monkhood and of a few laymen who spent more than the usual few years as pupils in the monastic school. 775 779 184

Functions of the Monks. The functions of the Buddhist monks in the village may be conveniently classified as three-fold: formal education; officiation at certain rites; and providing personal advice and guidance to individuals. 793

With respect to formal education, the monks of four monasteries close to the village conduct schools which are attended by a considerable number of 792 871

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

acts of theirs and customs, which I had seen and 114
noted, but of which I did not know the reason. We all know how hard it is to see into the heart even of our own people, those of our flesh and blood who are with us always, and whose ways are our ways, and whose thoughts are akin to ours. And if this be so with them, it is ten thousand times harder with those whose ways are not our ways, and from whose thoughts we must be far apart. It is true that there are no dark places in [181]
the lives of the Burmese as there are in the lives of other Orientals. All is open to the light of day in their homes and in their religion, and their women are the freest in the world. Yet the barriers of a strange tongue and a strange religion, and of ways caused by another climate than ours, is so great that, even to those of us who have every wish and every opportunity to understand, it seems sometimes as if we should never know their hearts. It seems as if we should never learn more of them than just the outside—that curiously varied outside which is so deceptive, and which is so apt to prevent our understanding that they are men just as we are and not strange creations from some far-away planet.

So when I settled down and sought to know 114
more of the meaning of what I had seen, I thought 121
that first of all I must learn somewhat of their 777
religion, of that mainspring of many actions, which seemed sometimes admirable, sometimes the reverse, and nearly always foreign to my ideas. It is true that I knew they were Buddhists, that I recognised the yellow-robed monks as followers of the word of Gaudama the Buddha, and that I had a general

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 18[illegible] AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

114 acquaintance with the theory of their faith as picked
121 up from a book or two—notably, Rhys Davids'
●779 'Buddhism' and Bishop Bigandet's book—and from many inconsequent talks with the monks and others. But the knowledge was but superficial, and I was painfully aware that it did not explain much that I had seen and that I saw every day.

So I sent for more books, such books as had been published in English, and I studied them, and hoped thereby to attain the explanations I wanted; and as I studied, I watched as I could the doings of the people, that I might see the effects of
715 causes and the results of beliefs. I read in these
779 sacred books of the mystery of Dharma, of how a man has no soul, no consciousness after death; that to the Buddhist 'dead men rise up never,' and that those who go down to the grave are known no more. I read that all that survives is the effect of a man's actions, the evil effect, for good is merely negative, and that this is what causes pain and trouble to the next life. Everything changes, say the sacred books, nothing lasts even for a moment. 'It will be, and it has been,' is the life of man. The life that lives to-morrow in the next incarnation is no more the life that died in the last than the flame we light in the lamp to-day is the same that went out yesternight. It is as if a stone were thrown into a pool—that is the life, the splash of the stone; all that remains, when the stone lies resting in the mud and weeds below the waters of forgetfulness, are the circles ever widening on the surface, and the ripples never dying, but only spreading farther and farther away. And all this

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

seemed to me a mystery such as I could not 775
understand. But when I went to the people, I 779
found that it was simple enough to them; for 771
I found that they remembered their former lives 779
often, that children, young children, could tell who 182
they were before they died, and remember details of that former existence. As they grew older the remembrance grew fainter and fainter, and at length almost died away. But in many children it was quite fresh, and was believed in beyond possibility of a doubt by all the people. So I saw that the teachings of their sacred books and the thoughts of the people were not at one in this matter.

Again, I read that there was no God. Nats 776
there were, spirits of great power like angels, and 779
there was the Buddha (the just man made perfect), 182
who had worked out for all men the way to reach surcease from evil; but of God I saw nothing. And because the Buddha had reached heaven (Nirvana), it would be useless to pray to him. For, having entered into his perfect rest, he could not be disturbed by the sharp cry of those suffering below; and if he heard, still he could not help; for each man must through pain and sorrow work out for himself his own salvation. So all prayer is futile.

And then I remembered I had seen the young mother going to the pagoda on the hilltop with a little offering of a few roses or an orchid spray, and pouring out her soul in passionate supplication to Someone — Someone unknown to her sacred books — that her firstborn might recover of his fever, and be to her once more the measureless

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

776 delight of her life; and it would seem to me that
779 she must believe in a God and in prayer after all.
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So though I found much in these books that
771 was believed by the people, and much that was
779 to them the guiding influence of their lives, yet I
182 was unable to trust to them altogether, and I was in doubt where to seek for the real beliefs of these people. If I went to their monks, their holy men, the followers of the great teacher, Gaudama, they referred me to their books as containing all that a Buddhist believed; and when I pointed out the discrepancies, they only shook their heads, and said that the people were an ignorant people and confused their beliefs in that way.

779 When I asked what was a Buddhist, I was told
795 that, to be a Buddhist, a man must be accepted into
182 the religion with certain rites, certain ceremonies, he must become for a time a member of the community of the monks of the Buddha, and that a Buddhist was he who was so accepted, and who thereafter held by the teachings of the Buddha.

But when I searched the life of the Buddha, I could not find any such ceremonies necessary at all. So that it seemed that the religion of the Buddha was one religion, and the religion of the Buddhists another; but when I said so to the monks, they were horror-struck, and said that it was because I did not understand.

114 In my perplexity I fell back, as we all must, to
182 my own thoughts and those of my own people; and
●779 I tried to imagine how a Burman would act if he
101 came to England to search into the religion of the English and to know the impulses of our lives.

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

I saw how he would be sent to the Bible as the 114
source of our religion, how he would be told to study 182
that if he would know what we believed and what 779●
we did not—what it was that gave colour to our 101
lives. I followed him in imagination as he took the Bible and studied it, and then went forth and watched our acts, and I could see him puzzled, as I was now puzzled when I studied his people.

I thought of him reading the New Testament, 000
and how he would come to these verses:

'27. But I say unto you which hear, Love your enemies, do good to them which hate you,

'28. Bless them that curse you, and pray for them which despitefully use you.

'29. And unto him that smiteth thee on the one cheek, offer also the other; and him that taketh away thy cloke, forbid him not to take thy coat also.

'30. Give to every man that asketh of thee; and of him that taketh away thy goods ask them not again.'

He would read them again and again, these wonderful verses, that he was told the people and Church believed, and then he would go forth to observe the result of this belief. And what would he see? He would see this: A nation proud and revengeful, glorying in her victories, always at war, a conqueror of other peoples, a mighty hater of her enemies. He would find that in the public life of the nation with other nations there was no thought of this command. He would find, too, in her inner life, that the man who took a cloak was not forgiven, but was terribly punished—he used to be hanged.

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

CHAPTER II

HE WHO FOUND THE LIGHT—I

'He who pointed out the way to those that had lost it.'
Life of the Buddha.

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THE life-story of Prince Theiddatha, who saw the light and became the Buddha twenty-five centuries ago, has been told in English many times. It has been told in translations from the Pali, from Burmese, and from Chinese, and now everyone has read it. The writers, too, of these books have been men of great attainments, of untiring industry in searching out all that can be known of this life, of gifts such as I cannot aspire to. So that there is now nothing new to learn of those long past days, nothing fresh for me to tell, no discovery that can be made. And yet in thinking out what I have to say about the religion of the Burmese, I have found that I must tell again some of the life of the Buddha, I must rewrite this ten-times-told tale, of which I know nothing new. And the reason is this: that although I know nothing that previous writers have not known, although I cannot bring to the task anything like their knowledge, yet I have something to say that

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

they have not said. For they have written of him as they have learned from books, whereas I want to write of him as I have learned from men. Their knowledge has been taken from the records of the dead past, whereas mine is from the actualities of the living present.

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I do not mean that the Buddha of the sacred books and the Buddha of the Burman's belief are different persons. They are the same. But as I found it with their faith, so I find it with the life of their teacher. The Burmese regard the life of the Buddha from quite a different standpoint to that of an outsider, and so it has to them quite a different value, quite a different meaning, to that which it has to the student of history. For to the writer who studies the life of the Buddha with a view merely to learn what that life was, and to criticise it, everything is very different to what it is to the Buddhist who studies that life because he loves it and admires it, and because he desires to follow it. To the former the whole detail of every portion of the life of the Buddha, every word of his teaching, every act of his ministry, is sought out and compared and considered. Legend is compared with legend, and tradition with tradition, that out of many authorities some clue to the actual fact may be found. But to the Buddhist the important parts in the great teacher's life are those acts, those words, that appeal directly to him, that stand out bravely, lit with the light of his own experiences and feelings, that assist him in living his own life. His Buddha is the Buddha he understands, and who understood and sympathized with such as him.

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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Other things may be true, but they are matters of indifference.

To hear of the Buddha from living lips in this country, which is full of his influence, where the spire of his monastery marks every village, and where every man has at one time or another been his monk, is quite a different thing to reading of him in far countries, under other skies and swayed by other thoughts. To sit in the monastery garden in the dusk, in just such a tropic dusk as he taught in so many years ago, and hear the yellow-robed monk tell of that life, and repeat his teaching of love, and charity, and compassion—eternal love, perfect charity, endless compassion—until the stars come out in the purple sky, and the silver-voiced gongs ring for evening prayers, is a thing never to be forgotten. As you watch the starlight die and the far-off hills fade into the night, as the sounds about you become still, and the calm silence of the summer night falls over the whole earth, you know and understand the teacher of the Great Peace as no words can tell you. A sympathy comes to you from the circle of believers, and you believe, too. An influence and an understanding breathes from the nature about you—the same nature that the teacher saw—from the whispering fig-trees and the scented champaks, and the dimly seen statues in the shadows of the shrines, that you can never gain elsewhere. And as they tell you the story of that great life, they bring it home to you with reflection and comment, with application to your everyday existence, till you forget that he of whom they speak lived so long ago, so very long

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ago, and your heart is filled with sorrow when you remember that he is dead, that he is entered into his peace. 779 771

I do not hope that I can convey much of this in my writing. I always feel the hopelessness of trying to put on paper the great thoughts, the intense feeling, of which Buddhism is so full. But still I can, perhaps, give something of this life as I have heard it, make it a little more living than it has been to us, catch some little of that spirit of sympathy that it holds for all the world.

Around the life of the Buddha has gathered much myth, like dust upon an ancient statue, like shadows upon the mountains far away, blurring detail here and there, and hiding the beauty. There are all sorts of stories of the great portents that foretold his coming: how the sun and the stars knew, and how the wise men prophesied. Marvels attended his birth, and miracles followed him in life and in death. And the appearance of the miraculous has even been heightened by the style of the chroniclers in telling us of his mental conflicts: by the personification of evil in the spirit man, and of desire in his three beautiful daughters. 779

All the teacher's thoughts, all his struggles, are materialized into forms, that they may be more readily brought home to the reader, that they may be more clearly realized by a primitive people as actual conflicts.

Therefore at first sight it seems that of all creeds none is so full of miracle, so teeming with the supernatural, as Buddhism, which is, indeed, the very reverse of the truth. For to the supernatural

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779 Buddhism owes nothing at all. It is in its very essence opposed to all that goes beyond what we can see of earthly laws, and miracle is never used as evidence of the truth of any dogma or of any doctrine.

If every supernatural occurrence were wiped clean out of the chronicles of the faith, Buddhism would, even to the least understanding of its followers, remain exactly where it is. Not in one jot or tittle would it suffer in the authority of its teaching. The great figure of the teacher would even gain were all the tinsel of the miraculous swept from him, so that he stood forth to the world as he lived—would gain not only to our eyes, but even to theirs who believe in him. For the Buddha was no prophet. He was no messenger from any power above this world, revealing laws of that power. No one came to whisper into his ear the secrets of eternity, and to show him where truth lived. In no trance, in no vision, did he enter into the presence of the Unknown, and return from thence full of the wisdom of another world; neither did he teach the worship of any god, of any power. He breathed no threatenings of revenge for disobedience, of forgiveness for the penitent. He held out no everlasting hell to those who refused to follow him, no easily gained heaven to his believers.

He went out to seek wisdom, as many a one has done, looking for the laws of God with clear eyes to see, with a pure heart to understand, and after many troubles, after many mistakes, after much suffering, he came at last to the truth.

Even as Newton sought for the laws of God in

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the movement of the stars, in the falling of a stone, in the stir of the great waters, so this Newton of the spiritual world sought for the secrets of life and death, looking deep into the heart of man, marking its toil, its suffering, its little joys with a soul attuned to catch every quiver of the life of the world. And as to Newton truth did not come spontaneously, did not reveal itself to him at his first call, but had to be sought with toil and weariness, till at last he reached it where it hid in the heart of all things, so it was with the prince. He was not born with the knowledge in him, but had to seek it as every other man has done. He made mistakes as other men do. He wasted time and labour following wrong roads, demonstrating to himself the foolishness of many thoughts. But, never discouraged, he sought on till he found, and what he found he gave as a heritage to all men for ever, that the way might be easier for them than it had been for him.

Nothing is more clear than this: that to the Buddhist his teacher was but a man like himself, erring and weak, who made himself perfect, and that even as his teacher has done, so, too, may he if he do but observe the everlasting laws of life which the Buddha has shown to the world. These laws are as immutable as Newton's laws, and come, like his, from beyond our ken.

And this, too, is another point wherein the parallel with Newton will help us: that just as when Newton discovered gravitation he was obliged to stop, for his knowledge of that did not lead him at once to the knowledge of the infinite, so when he had attained the laws of righteousness, Gaudama the

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Buddha also stopped, because here his standing-ground failed. It is not true, that which has been imputed to the Buddha by those who have never tried to understand him—that he denied some power greater than ourselves; that because he never tried to define the indefinite, to confine the infinite within the corners of a phrase, therefore his creed was materialistic. We do not say of Newton that he was an atheist because when he taught us of gravity he did not go further and define to us in equations Him who made gravity; and as we understand more of the Buddha, as we search into life and consider his teaching, as we try to think as he thought, and to see as he saw, we understand that he stopped as Newton stopped, because he had come to the end of all that he could see, not because he declared that he knew all things, and that beyond his knowledge there was nothing.

No teacher more full of reverence, more humble than Gaudama the Buddha ever lived to be an example to us through all time. He tells us of what he knows; of what he knows not he is silent. Of the laws that he can see, the great sequences of life and death, of evil and sorrow, of goodness and happiness, he tells in burning words. Of the beginning and the end of the world, of the intentions and the ways of the great Unknown, he tells us nothing at all. He is no prophet, as we understand the word, but a man; and all that is divine in him beyond what there is in us is that he hated the darkness and sought the light, sought and was not dismayed, and at last he found.

And yet nothing could be further from the truth

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than to call the Buddha a philosopher and Buddhism a philosophy. Whatever he was, he was no philosopher. Although he knew not any god, although he rested his claims to be heard upon the fact that his teachings were clear and understandable, that you were not required to believe, but only to open your eyes and see, and 'his delight was in the contemplation of unclouded truth,' yet he was far from a philosopher. His was not an appeal to our reason, to our power of putting two and two together and making five of them; his teachings were no curious designs woven with words, the counters of his thought. He appealed to the heart, not to the brain; to our feelings, not to our power of arranging these feelings. He drew men to him by love and reverence, and held them so for ever. Love and charity and compassion, endless compassion, are the foundations of his teachings; and his followers believe in him because they have seen in him the just man made perfect, and because he has shown to them the way in which all men may become even as he is.

He was a prince in a little kingdom in the North-east of India, the son of King Thudoodana and his wife Maya. He was strong, we are told, and handsome, famous in athletic exercises, and his father looked forward to the time when he should be grown a great man, and a leader of armies. His father's ambition for him was that he should be a great conqueror, that he should lead his troops against the neighbouring kings and overcome them, and in time make for himself a wide-stretching empire. India was in those days, as in many later ones, split up

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into little kingdoms, divided from each other by no natural boundary, overlooked by no sovereign power, and always at war. And the king, as fathers are, was full of dreams that this son of his should subdue all India to himself, and be the glory of his dynasty, and the founder of a great race.

Everything seemed to fall in with the desire of the king. The prince grew up strong and valiant, skilled in action, wise in counsel, so that all his people were proud of him. Everything fell in with the desire of the king except the prince himself, for instead of being anxious to fight, to conquer other countries, to be a great leader of armies, his desires led him away from all this. Even as a boy he was meditative and given to religious musings, and as he grew up he became more and more confirmed in his wish to know of sacred things, more and more an inquirer into the mysteries of life.

He was taught all the faith of those days, a faith so old that we do not know whence it came. He was brought up to believe that life is immortal, that no life can ever utterly die. He was taught that all life is one; that there is not one life of the beasts and one life of men, but that all life was one glorious unity, one great essence coming from the Unknown. Man is not a thing apart from this world, but of it. As man's body is but the body of beasts, refined and glorified, so the soul of man is but a higher stage of the soul of beasts. Life is a great ladder. At the bottom are the lower forms of animals, and some way up is man; but all are climbing upwards for ever, and sometimes, alas! falling back. Existence is for each man a great struggle, punctuated

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with many deaths; and each death ends one period but to allow another to begin, to give us a new chance of working up and gaining heaven.

He was taught that this ladder is very high, that its top is very far away, above us, out of our sight, and that perfection and happiness lie up there, and that we must strive to reach them. The greatest man, even the greatest king, was farther below perfection than an animal was below him. We are very near the beasts, but very far from heaven. So he was taught to remember that even as a very great prince he was but a weak and erring soul, and that unless he lived well and did honest deeds and was a true man, instead of rising he might fall.

This teaching appealed to the prince far more than all the urging of his father and of the courtiers that he should strive to become a great conqueror. It entered into his very soul, and his continual thought was how he was to be a better man, how he was to use this life of his so that he should gain and not lose, and where he was to find happiness.

All the pomp and glory of the palace, all its luxury and ease, appealed to him very little. Even in his early youth he found but little pleasure in it, and he listened more to those who spoke of holiness than to those who spoke of war. He desired, we are told, to become a hermit, to cast off from him his state and dignity, and to put on the yellow garments of a mendicant, and beg his bread wandering up and down upon the world, seeking for peace.

This disposition of the prince grieved his parents very much. That their son, who was so full of promise, so brave and so strong, so wise and so

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●779 much beloved by everyone, should become a mendicant clad in unclean garments, begging his daily food from house to house, seemed to them a horrible thing. It could never be permitted that a prince should disgrace himself in this way. Every effort must be taken to eradicate such ideas; after all, it was but the melancholy of youth, and it would pass. So stringent orders were given to distract his mind in every way from solemn thoughts, to attempt by a continued round of pleasure and luxury to attract him to more worldly things. And when he was eighteen he was married to his cousin Yathodaya, in the hope that in marriage and paternity he might forget his desire to be a hermit, might feel that love was better than wisdom. And if Yathodaya had been other than she was—who can tell?—perhaps after all the king might have succeeded; but it was not to be so. For to Yathodaya, too, life was a very solemn thing, not to be thrown away in laughter and frivolity, but to be used as a great gift worthy of all care. To the prince in his trouble there came a kindred soul, and though from the palace all the teachers of religion, all who would influence the prince against the desires of his father, were banished, yet Yathodaya more than made up to him for all he had lost. For nearly ten years they lived together there such a life as princes led in those days in the East, not, perhaps, so very different from what they lead now.

And all that time the prince had been gradually making up his mind, slowly becoming sure that life held something better than he had yet found, hardening his determination that he must leave all

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that he had and go out into the world looking for 77
peace. Despite all the efforts of the king his father, despite the guards and his young men companions, despite the beauty of the dancing-girls, the mysteries of life came home to him, and he was afraid. It is a beautiful story told in quaint imagery how it was that the knowledge of sickness and of death came to him, a horror stalking amid the glories of his garden. He learnt, and he understood, that he too would grow old, would fall sick, would die. And beyond death? There was the fear, and no one could allay it. Daily he grew more and more discontented with his life in the palace, more and more averse to the pleasures that were around him. Deeper and deeper he saw through the laughing surface to the depths that lay beneath. Silently all these thoughts ripened in his mind, till at last the change came. We are told that the end came suddenly, the resolve was taken in a moment. The lake fills and fills until at length it overflows, and in a night the dam is broken, and the pent-up waters are leaping far towards the sea.

As the prince returned from his last drive in his garden with resolve firmly established in his heart, there came to him the news that his wife had borne to him a son. Wife and child, his cup of desire was now full. But his resolve was unshaken. 'See, here is another tie, alas! a new and stronger tie that I must break,' he said; but he never wavered.

That night the prince left the palace. Silently in the dead of night he left all the luxury about him, and went out secretly with only his faithful

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servant, Maung San, to saddle for him his horse and lead him forth. Only before he left he looked in cautiously to see Yathodaya, the young wife and mother. She was lying asleep, with one hand upon the face of her firstborn, and the prince was afraid to go further. 'To see him,' he said, 'I must remove the hand of his mother, and she may awake; and if she awake, how shall I depart? I will go, then, without seeing my son. Later on, when all these passions are faded from my heart, when I am sure of myself, perhaps then I shall be able to see him. But now I must go.'

So he went forth very silently and very sadly, and leapt upon his horse—the great white horse that would not neigh for fear of waking the sleeping guards—and the prince and his faithful noble Maung San went out into the night. He was only twenty-eight when he fled from all his world, and what he sought was this: 'Deliverance for men from the misery of life, and the knowledge of the truth that will lead them unto the Great Peace.'

This is the great renunciation.

I have often talked about this with the monks and others, often heard them speak about this great renunciation, of this parting of the prince and his wife.

'You see,' said a monk once to me, 'he was not yet the Buddha, he had not seen the light, only he was desirous to look for it. He was just a prince, just a man like any other man, and he was very fond of his wife. It is very hard to resist a woman if she loves you and cries, and if you love her. So he was afraid.'

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And when I said that Yathodaya was also religious and had helped him in his thoughts, and that surely she would not have stopped him, the monk shook his head. 779 771

'Women are not like that,' he said.

And a woman said to me once: 'Surely she was very much to be pitied because her husband went away from her and her baby. Do you think that when she talked religion with her husband she ever thought that it would cause him to leave her and go away for ever? If she had thought that, she would never have done as she did. A woman would never help anything to sever her husband from her, not even religion. And when after ten years a baby had come to her! Surely she was very much to be pitied.' This woman made me understand that the highest religion of a woman is the true love of her husband, of her children; and what is it to her if she gain the whole world, but lose that which she would have?

All the story of Yathodaya and her dealings with her husband is full of the deepest pathos, full of passionate protest against her loss, even in order that her husband and all the world should gain. She would have held him, if she could, against the world, and deemed that she did well. And so, though it is probable that it was a great deal owing to Yathodaya's help, to her sympathy, to her support in all his difficulties, that Gaudama came to his final resolve to leave the world and seek for the truth, yet she acted unwittingly of what would be the end.

'She did not know,' said the woman. 'She

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779 helped her husband, but she did not know to what.
771 And when she was ill, when she was giving birth to her baby, then her husband left her. Surely she was very much to be pitied.'

And so Yathodaya, the wife of the Prince Gaudama, who became the Buddha, is held in high honour, in great esteem, by all Buddhists. By the men, because she helped her husband to his resolve to seek for the truth, because she had been his great stay and help when everyone was against him, because if there had been no Yathodaya there had been perchance no Buddha. And by the women—I need not say why she is honoured by all women. If ever there was a story that appealed to woman's heart, surely it is this: her love, her abandonment, her courage, her submission when they met again in after-years, her protest against being sacrificed upon the altar of her husband's religion. Truly, it is all of the very essence of humanity. Whenever the story of the Buddha comes to be written, then will be written also the story of the life of Yathodaya his wife. And if one is full of wisdom and teaching, the other is full of suffering and teaching also. I cannot write it here. I have so much to say on other matters that there is no room. But some day it will be written, I trust, this old message to a new world.

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CHAPTER III

HE WHO FOUND THE LIGHT—II

'He who never spake but good and wise words, he who was the light of the world, has found too soon the Peace.'—*Lament on the death of the Buddha.*

THE prince rode forth into the night, and as he went, even in the first flush of his resolve, temptation came to him. As the night closed behind he remembered all he was leaving: he remembered his father and his mother; his heart was full of his wife and child. 779

'Return!' said the devil to him. 'What seek you here? Return, and be a good son, a good husband, a good father. Remember all that you are leaving to pursue vain thoughts. You are a great man—you might be a great king, as your father wishes—a mighty conqueror of nations. The night is very dark, and the world before you is very empty.'

And the prince's heart was full of bitterness at the thought of those he loved, of all that he was losing. Yet he never wavered. He would not even turn to look his last on the great white city lying in a silver dream behind him. He set his face upon

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779 his way, trampling beneath him every worldly consideration, despising a power that was but vanity and illusion; he went on into the dark.

Presently he came to a river, the boundary of his father's kingdom, and here he stopped. Then the prince turned to Maung San, and told him that he must return. Beyond the river lay for the prince the life of a holy man, who needed neither servant nor horse, and Maung San must return. All his prayers were in vain; his supplications that he might be allowed to follow his master as a disciple; his protestations of eternal faith. No, he must return; so Maung San went back with the horse, and the prince was alone.

As he waited there alone by the river, alone in the dark waiting for the dawn ere he could cross, alone with his own fears and thoughts, doubt came to him again. He doubted if he had done right, whether he should ever find the light, whether, indeed, there was any light to find, and in his doubt and distress he asked for a sign. He desired that it might be shown to him whether all his efforts would be in vain or not, whether he should ever win in the struggle that was before him. We are told that the sign came to him, and he knew that, whatever happened, in the end all would go well, and he would find that which he sought.

So he crossed the river out of his father's kingdom into a strange country, and he put on the garment of a recluse, and lived as they did.

He sought his bread as they did, going from house to house for the broken victuals, which he collected in a bowl, retiring to a quiet spot to eat.

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The first time he collected this strange meal and attempted to eat, his very soul rose against the distastefulness of the mess. He who had been a prince, and accustomed to the very best of everything, could not at first bring himself to eat such fare, and the struggle was bitter. But in the end here, too, he conquered. 'Was I not aware,' he said, with bitter indignation at his weakness, 'that when I became a recluse I must eat such food as this? Now is the time to trample upon the appetite of nature.' He took up his bowl, and ate with a good appetite, and the fight had never to be fought again.

So in the fashion of those days he became a seeker after truth. Men, then, when they desired to find holiness, to seek for that which is better than the things of this world, had to begin their search by an utter repudiation of all that which the world holds good. The rich and worldly wore handsome garments, they would wear rags; those of the world were careful of their personal appearance, they would despise it; those of the world were cleanly, the hermits were filthy; those of the world were decent, and had a care for outward observances, and so hermits had no care for either decency or modesty. The world was evil, surely, and therefore all that the world held good was surely evil too. Wisdom was to be sought in the very opposites of the conventions of men.

The prince took on him their garments, and went to them to learn from all that which they had learnt. He went to all the wisest hermits of the land, to those renowned for their wisdom and holiness; and this is what they taught him, this is all the light they

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gave to him who came to them for light. 'There are,' they said, 'the soul and the body of man, and they are enemies; therefore, to purify the soul, you must destroy and punish the body. All that the body holds good is evil to the soul.' And so they purified their souls by ceremonies and forms, by torture and starvation, by nakedness and contempt of decency, by nameless abominations. And the young prince studied all their teaching, and essayed to follow their example, and he found it was all of no use. Here he could find no way to happiness, no raising of the soul to higher planes, but, rather, a degradation towards the beasts. For self-punishment is just as much a submission to the flesh as luxury and self-indulgence. How can you forget the body, and turn the soul to better thoughts, if you are for ever torturing that body, and thereby keeping it in memory? You can keep your lusts just as easily before your eyes by useless punishment as by indulgence. And how can you turn your mind to meditation and thought if your body is in suffering? So the prince soon saw that here was not the way he wanted. His soul revolted from them and their austerities, and he left them. As he fathomed the emptiness of his counsellors of the palace, so he fathomed the emptiness of the teachers of the cave and monastery. If the powerful and wealthy were ignorant, wisdom was not to be found among the poor and feeble, and he was as far from it as when he left the palace. And yet he did not despair. Truth was somewhere, he was sure; it must be found if only it be looked for with patience and sincerity, and he would find it. Surely there

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was a greater wisdom than mere contempt of wealth and comfort, surely a greater happiness than could be found in self-torture and hysteria. And so, as he could find no one to teach him, he went out into the forest to look for truth there. In the great forests where no one comes, where the deer feed and the tiger creeps, he would seek what man could not give him. They would know, those great trees that had seen a thousand rains, and outlived thirty generations of men; they would know, those streams that flashed from the far snow summits; surely the forest and the hills, the dawn and the night, would have something to tell him of the secrets of the world. Nature can never lie, and here, far away from the homes of men, he would learn that knowledge that men could not give him. With a body purified by abstinence, with a heart attuned by solitude, he would listen as the winds talked to the mountains in the dawn, and understand the beckoning of the stars. And so, as many others did then and afterwards, he left mankind and went to Nature for help. For six years he lived so in the fastnesses of the hills.

We are told but very little of those six years, only that he was often very lonely, often very sad with the remembrance of all whom he had left. 'Think not,' he said many years later to a favourite disciple—'think not that I, though the Buddha, have not felt all this even as any other of you. Was I not alone when I was seeking for wisdom in the wilderness? And yet what could I have gained by wailing and lamentation either for myself or for others? Would it have brought to me any solace

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from my loneliness? Would it have been any help to those I had left?'

And we are told that his fame as a solitary, as a man who communed with Nature, and subdued his own lower feelings, was so great that all men knew of it. His fame was as a 'bell hung in the canopy of the skies,' that all nations heard; and many disciples came to him. But despite all his fame among men, he himself knew that he had not yet come to the truth. Even the great soul of Nature had failed to tell him what he desired. The truth was as far off as ever, so he thought, and to those that came to him for wisdom he had nothing to teach. So, at the end of six years, despairing of finding that which he sought, he entered upon a great fast, and he pushed it to such an extreme that at length he fainted from sheer exhaustion and starvation.

And when he came to himself he recognized that he had failed again. No light had shone upon his dimmed eyes, no revelation had come to him in his senselessness. All was as before, and the truth—the truth, where was that?

He was no inspired teacher. He had no one to show him the way he should go; he was tried with failure, with failure after failure. He learnt as other men learn, through suffering and mistake. Here was his third failure. The rich had failed him, and the poor; even the voices of the hills had not told him of what he would know, even the radiant finger of dawn had pointed to him no way to happiness. Life was just as miserable, as empty, as meaningless, as before.

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All that he had done was in vain, and he must try again, must seek out some new way, if he were ever to find that which he sought.

He rose from where he lay, and took his bowl in his hands and went to the nearest village, and ate heartily and drank, and his strength came back to him, and the beauty he had lost returned.

And then came the final blow: his disciples left him in scorn.

'Behold,' they said to each other, 'he has lived through six years of mortification and suffering in vain. See, now, he goes forth and eats food, and assuredly he who does this will never attain wisdom. Our master's search is not after wisdom, but worldly things; we must look elsewhere for the guidance that we seek.'

They departed, leaving him to bear his disappointment alone, and they went into the solitude far away, to continue in their own way and pursue their search after their own method. He who was to be the Buddha had failed, and was alone.

To the followers of the Buddha, to those of our brothers who are trying to follow his teachings and emulate his example to attain a like reward, can there be any greater help than this: amid the failure and despair of our own lives to remember that the teacher failed, even as we are doing? If we find the way dark and weary, if our footsteps fail, if we wander in wrong paths, did not he do the same? And if we find we have to bear sufferings alone, so had he; if we find no one who can comfort us, neither did he; as we know in our hearts that we stand alone, to fight with our own hands, so did he.

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He is no model of perfection whom it is hopeless for us to imitate, but a man like ourselves, who failed and fought, and failed and fought again, and won. And so, if we fail, we need not despair. Did not our teacher fail? What he has done, we can do, for he has told us so. Let us be up again and be of good heart, and we, too, shall win in the end, even as he did. The reward will come in its own good time if we strive and faint not.

Surely this comes home to all of our hearts—this failure of him who found the light. That he should have won—ah, well, that is beautiful, yet by its very success is far away; but that he should have failed and failed, that is what comes home to us, because we too have failed many times. Can you wonder that his followers love him? Can you wonder that his teaching has come home to them as never did teaching elsewhere? I do not think it is hard to see why: it is simply because he was a man as we are. Had he been other than a man, had truth been revealed to him from the beginning, had he never fought, had he never failed, do you think that he would have held the love of men as he does? I fear, had it been so, this people would have lacked a soul.

His disciples left him, and he was alone. He went away to a great grove of trees near by—those beautiful groves of mango and palm and fig that are the delight of the heart in that land of burning, flooding sunshine — and there he slept, defeated, discredited, and abandoned; and there the truth came to him.

There is a story of how a young wife, coming to

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give her little offerings to the spirit of the great fig-tree, saw him, and took him for the spirit, so beautiful was his face as he rose.

There are spirits in all the great trees, in all the rivers, in all the hills—very beautiful, very peaceful, loving calm and rest.

The woman thought he was the spirit come down to accept her offering, and she gave it to him—the cup of curdled milk—in fear and trembling, and he took it. The woman went away again full of hope and joy, and the prince remained in the grove. He lived there for forty-nine days, we are told, under the great fig-tree by the river. And the fig-tree has become sacred for ever because he sat there and because there he found the truth. We are told of it all in wonderful trope and imagery—of his last fight over sin, and of his victory.

There the truth came to him at last out of his own heart. He had sought for it in men and in Nature, and found it not, and, lo! it was in his own heart.

When his eyes were cleared of imaginings, and his body purified by temperance, then at last he saw, down in his own soul, what he had sought the world over for. Every man carries it there. It is never dead, but lives with our life, this light that we seek. We darken it, and turn our faces from it to follow strange lights, to pursue vague glimmers in the dark, and there, all the time, is the light in each man's own heart. Darkened it may be, crusted over with our ignorance and sin, but never dead, never dim, always burning brightly for us when we care to seek for it.

The truth for each man is in his own soul. And

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so it came at last, and he who saw the light went forth and preached it to all the world. He lived a long life, a life full of wonderful teaching, of still more marvellous example. All the world loved him.

He saw again Yathodaya, she who had been his wife; he saw his son. Now, when passion was dead in him, he could do these things. And Yathodaya was full of despair, for if all the world had gained a teacher, she had lost a husband. So it will be for ever. This is the difference between men and women. She became a nun, poor soul! and her son—his son—became one of his disciples.

I do not think it is necessary for me to tell much more of his life. Much has been told already by Professor Max Müller and other scholars, who have spared no pains to come to the truth of that life. I do not wish to say more. So far, I have written to emphasize the view which, I think, the Burmese take of the Buddha, and how he came to his wisdom, how he loved, and how he died.

He died at a great age, full of years and love. The story of his death is most beautiful. There is nowhere anything more wonderful than how, at the end of that long good life, he entered into the Great Peace for which he had prepared his soul.

'Ananda,' he said to his weeping disciple, 'do not be too much concerned with what shall remain of me when I have entered into the Peace, but be rather anxious to practise the works that lead to perfection; put on these inward dispositions that will enable you also to reach the everlasting rest.'

And again:

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'When I shall have left life and am no more seen by you, do not believe that I am no longer with you. You have the laws that I have found, you have my teachings still, and in them I shall be ever beside you. Do not, therefore, think that I have left you alone for ever.'

And before he died:

'Remember,' he said, 'that life and death are one. Never forget this. For this purpose have I gathered you together; for life and death are one.'

And so 'the great and glorious teacher,' he who never spoke but good and wise words, he who has been the light of the world, entered into the Peace.

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CHAPTER IV

THE WAY TO THE GREAT PEACE

'Come to Me: I teach a doctrine which leads to deliverance from all the miseries of life.'—*Saying of the Buddha.*

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To understand the teaching of Buddhism, it must be remembered that to the Buddhist, as to the Brahmin, man's soul is eternal.

In other faiths and other philosophies this is not so. There the soul is immortal; it cannot die, but each man's soul appeared newly on his birth. Its beginning is very recent.

To the Buddhist the beginning as well as the end is out of our ken. Where we came from we cannot know, but certainly the soul that appears in each newborn babe is not a new thing. It has come from everlasting, and the present life is merely a scene in the endless drama of existence. A man's identity, the sum of good and of evil tendencies, which is his soul, never dies, but endures for ever. Each body is but a case wherein the soul is enshrined for the time.

And the state of that soul, whether good predominate in it or evil, is purely dependent on that soul's thoughts and actions in time past.

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Men are not born by chance wise or foolish, righteous or wicked, strong or feeble. A man's condition in life is the absolute result of an eternal law that as a man sows so shall he reap; that as he reaps so has he sown.

Therefore, if you find a man's desires naturally given towards evil, it is because he has in his past lives educated himself to evil. And if he is righteous and charitable, long-suffering and full of sympathy, it is because in his past existence he has cultivated these virtues; he has followed goodness, and it has become a habit of his soul.

Thus is every man his own maker. He has no one to blame for his imperfections but himself, no one to thank for his virtues but himself. Within the unchangeable laws of righteousness each man is absolutely the creator of himself and of his own destiny. It has lain, and it lies, within each man's power to determine what manner of man he shall be. Nay, it not only lies within his power to do so, but a man *must* actually mould himself. There is no other way in which he can develop.

Every man has had an equal chance. If matters are somewhat unequal now, there is no one to blame but himself. It is within his power to retrieve it, not perhaps in this short life, but in the next, maybe, or the next.

Man is not made perfect all of a sudden, but takes time to grow, like all valuable things. You might as well expect to raise a teak-tree in your garden in a night as to make a righteous man in a day. And thus not only is a man the sum of his passions, his acts and his thoughts, in past time,

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779 but he is in his daily life determining his future—
774 what sort of man he shall be. Every act, every thought, has its effect, not only upon the outer world, but upon the inner soul. If you follow after evil, it becomes in time a habit of your soul. If you follow after good, every good act is a beautifying touch to your own soul.

Man is as he has made himself; man will be as he makes himself. This is a very simple theory, surely. It is not at all difficult to understand the Buddhist standpoint in the matter. It is merely the theory of evolution applied to the soul, with this difference: that in its later stages it has become a deliberate and a conscious evolution, and not an unconscious one.

779 The deduction from this is also simple. It is true, says Buddhism, that every man is the architect of himself, that he can make himself as he chooses. Now, what every man desires is happiness. As a man can form himself as he will, it is within his power to make himself happy, if he only knows how. Let us therefore carefully consider what happiness is, that we may attain it; what misery is, that we may avoid it.

It is a commonplace of many religions, and of many philosophies—nay, it is the actual base upon which they have been built, that this is an evil world.

Mahommedanism, indeed, and Judaism thought that the world was really a capital place, and that it was worth while doing well in order to enjoy it. But most other faiths thought very differently. Indeed, the very meaning of most religions and philosophies has been that they should be refuges

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from the wickedness and unhappiness of the world. According to them the world has been a very weary world, full of wickedness and of deceit, of war and strife, of untruth and of hate, of all sorts of evil. 779

The world has been wicked, and man has been unhappy in it.

I do not know that any theory has usually been propounded to explain why this is so. It has been accepted as a fact that man is unhappy, accepted, I think, by most faiths over the world. Indeed, it is the belief that has been, one thinks, the cause of faiths. Had the world been happy, surely there had been no need of religions. In a summer sea, where is the need of havens? It is a generally accepted fact, accepted, as I have said, without explanation. But the Buddhist has not been contented to leave it so. He has thcught that it is in the right explanation of this cardinal fact that lies all truth. Life suffers from a disease called misery. He would be free from it. 'Let us, then,' says the Buddhist, 'first discover the cause of this misery, and so only can we understand how to cure it.'

It is this explanation which is really the distinguishing tenet of Buddhism, which differentiates it from all other faiths and all philosophies.

The reason, says Buddhism, why men are unhappy is that they are alive. Life and sorrow are inseparable—nay, they are one and the same thing. The mere fact of being alive is a misery. When you have clear eyes and discern the truth, you shall see this without a doubt, says the Buddhist. For consider, What man has ever sat down and said: 'Now am I in perfect happiness; just as I

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now am would I like to remain for ever and for ever without change'? No man has ever done so. What men desire is change. They weary of the present, and desire the future; and when the future comes they find it no better than the past. Happiness lies in yesterday and in to-morrow, but never in to-day. In youth we look forward, in age we look back. What is change but the death of the present? Life is change, and change is death, so says the Buddhist. Men shudder at and fear death, and yet death and life are the same thing—inseparable, indistinguishable, and one with sorrow. We men who desire life are as men athirst and drinking of the sea. Every drop we drink of the poisoned sea of existence urges on men surely to greater thirst still. Yet we drink on blindly, and say that we are athirst.

This is the explanation of Buddhism. The world is unhappy because it is alive, because it does not see that what it should strive for is not life, not change and hurry and discontent and death, but peace—the Great Peace. There is the goal to which a man should strive.

See now how different it is from the Christian theory. In Christianity there are two lives—this and the next. The present is evil, because it is under the empire of the devil—the world, the flesh, and the devil. The next will be beautiful, because it is under the reign of God, and the devil cannot intrude.

But Buddhism acknowledges only one life—an existence that has come from the forever, that may extend to the forever. If this life is evil, then is all life evil, and happiness can live but in peace,

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in surcease from the troubles of this weary world. 779
If, then, a man desire happiness—and in all faiths that is the desired end—he must strive to attain peace. This, again, is not a difficult idea to understand. It seems to me so simple that, when once it has been listened to, it may be understood by a child. I do not say believed and followed, but understood. Belief is a different matter. The law is deep; it is difficult to know and to believe it. It is very sublime, and can be comprehended only by means of earnest meditation,' for Buddhism is not a religion of children, but of men.

This is the doctrine that has caused Buddhism to be called pessimism. Taught, as we have been taught, to believe that life and death are antagonistic, that life in the world to come is beautiful, that death is a horror, it seems to us terrible to think that it is indeed our very life itself that is the evil to be eradicated, and that life and death are the same. But to those that have seen the truth, and believed it, it is not terrible, but beautiful. When you have cleansed your eyes from the falseness of the flesh, and come face to face with truth, it is beautiful. 'The law is sweet, filling the heart with joy.'

To the Buddhist, then, the end to be obtained is the Great Peace, the mighty deliverance from all sorrow. He must strive after peace; on his own efforts depends success or failure.

When the end and the agent have been determined, there remains but to discover the means, the road whereby the end may be reached. How shall a man so think and so act that he shall come at length unto the Great Peace? And the answer of

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Buddhism to this question is here: good deeds and good thoughts—these are the gate wherein alone you may enter into the way. Be honourable and just, be kind and compassionate, truth-loving and averse to wrong—this is the beginning of the road that leads unto happiness. Do good to others, not in order that they may do good to you, but because, by doing so, you do good to your own soul. Give alms, and be charitable, for these things are necessary to a man. Above all, learn love and sympathy. Try to feel as others feel, try to understand them, try to sympathize with them, and love will come. Surely he was a Buddhist at heart who wrote: 'Tout comprendre, c'est tout pardonner.' There is no balm to a man's heart like love, not only the love others feel towards him, but that he feels towards others. Be in love with all things, not only with your fellows, but with the whole world, with every creature that walks the earth, with the birds in the air, with the insects in the grass. All life is akin to man. Man's life is not apart from other life, but of it, and if a man would make his heart perfect, he must learn to sympathize with and understand all the great world about him. But he must always remember that he himself comes first. To make others just, you must yourself be just; to make others happy, you must yourself be happy first; to be loved, you must first love. Consider your own soul, to make it lovely. Such is the teaching of Buddha. But if this were all, then would Buddhism be but a repetition of the commonplaces of all religions, of all philosophies. In this teaching of righteousness is nothing new. Many teachers

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have taught it, and all have learnt in the end that 779
righteousness is no sure road to happiness, to peace. Buddhism goes farther than this. Honour and righteousness, truth and love, are, it says, very beautiful things, but are only the beginning of the way; they are but the gate. In themselves they will never bring a man home to the Great Peace. Herein lies no salvation from the troubles of the world. Far more is required of a man than to be righteous. Holiness alone is not the gate to happiness, and all that have tried have found it so. It alone will not give man surcease from pain. When a man has so purified his heart by love, has so weaned himself from wickedness by good acts and deeds, then he shall have eyes to see the further way that he should go. Then shall appear to him the truth that it is indeed life that is the evil to be avoided; that life is sorrow, and that the man who would escape evil and sorrow must escape from life itself—not in death. The death of this life is but the commencement of another, just as, if you dam a stream in one direction, it will burst forth in another. To take one's life now is to condemn one's self to longer and more miserable life hereafter. The end of misery lies in the Great Peace. A man must estrange himself from the world, which is sorrow. Hating struggle and fight, he will learn to love peace, and to so discipline his soul that the world shall appear to him clearly to be the unrest which it is. Then, when his heart is fixed upon the Great Peace, shall his soul come to it at last. Weary of the earth, it shall come into the haven where there are no more storms, where there is no more struggle,

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779 but where reigns unutterable peace. It is not death, but the Great Peace.

> 'Ever pure, and mirror bright and even,
> Life among the immortals glides away;
> Moons are waning, generations changing,
> Their celestial life flows everlasting,
> Changeless 'midst a ruined world's decay.'

779 774 This is Nirvana, the end to which we must all strive, the only end that there can be to the trouble of the world. Each man must realize this for himself, each man will do so surely in time, and all will come into the haven of rest. Surely this is a simple faith, the only belief that the world has known that is free from mystery and dogma, from ceremony and priestcraft; and to know that it is a beautiful faith you have but to look at its believers and be sure. If a people be contented in their faith, if they love it and exalt it, and are never ashamed of it, and if it exalts them and makes them happy, what greater testimony can you have than that?

It will seem that indeed I have compressed the teaching of this faith into too small a space—this faith about which so many books have been written, so much discussion has taken place. But I do not think it is so. I cannot see that even in this short chapter I have left out anything that is important in Buddhism. It is such a simple faith that all may be said in a very few words. It would be, of course, possible to refine on and gloze over certain points of the teaching. The real proof of the faith is in the results, in the deeds that men do in its name. Discussion will not alter these one way or another.

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CHAPTER V

WAR—I

'Love each other and live in peace.'
Saying of the Buddha.

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THIS is the Buddhist belief as I have understood it, and I have written so far in order to explain what follows. For my object is not to explain what the Buddha taught, but what the Burmese believe; and this is not quite the same thing, though in nearly every action of their life the influence of Buddhism is visible more or less strongly. Therefore I propose to describe shortly the ideas of the Burmese people upon the main objects of life; and to show how much or how little Buddhism has affected their conceptions. I will begin with courage.

I think it will be evident that there is no quality upon which the success of a nation so much depends as upon its courage. No nation can rise to a high place without being brave; it cannot maintain its independence even; it cannot push forward upon any path of life without courage. Nations that are cowards must fail.

I am aware that the courage of a nation depends, as do its other qualities, upon many things: its

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Religion meant to him something that would help you in your trouble, that would be a stay and a comfort, a sword wherewith to confront your enemies and a prop for yourself. Though he was himself an invader, he felt that the Burmans did no wrong in resisting him. They fought for their homes, as he would have fought; and their religion, if of any value, should assist them. It should urge them to battle, and promise them peace and happiness if dying in a good cause. His faith would do this for him. What was Buddhism doing? What help did it give to its believers in their extremity? It gave none. Think of the peasant lying there in the ghostly dim-lit fields waiting to attack us at the dawn. Where was his help? He thought, perhaps, of his king deported, his village invaded, his friends killed, himself reduced to the subject of a far-off queen. He would fight—yes, even though his faith told him not. There was no help there. His was no faith to strengthen his arm, to straighten his aim, to be his shield in the hour of danger.

If he died, if in the strife of the morning's fight he were to be killed, if a bullet were to still his heart, or a lance to pierce his chest, there was no hope for him of the glory of heaven. No, but every fear of hell, for he was sinning against the laws of righteousness—'Thou shalt take no life.' There is no exception to that at all, not even for a patriot fighting for his country. 'Thou shalt not take the life even of him who is the enemy of your king and nation.' He could count on no help in breaking the everlasting laws that the Buddha has revealed to us. If he went to his monks, they could but say: 'See

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the law, the unchangeable law that man is subject to. 779
There is no good thing but peace, no sin like strife 721
and war.' That is what the followers of the great teacher would tell the peasant yearning for help to strike a blow upon the invaders. The law is the same for all. There is not one law for you and another for the foreigner; there is not one law to-day and another to-morrow. Truth is for ever and for ever. It cannot change even to help you in your extremity. Think of the English soldier and the Burmese peasant. Can there be anywhere a greater contrast than this?

Truly this is not a creed for a soldier, not a creed for a fighting-man of any kind, for what the soldier wants is a personal god who will always be on his side, always share his opinions, always support him against everyone else. But a law that points out unalterably that right is always right, and wrong always wrong, that nothing can alter one into the other, nothing can ever make killing righteous and violence honourable, that is no creed for a soldier. And Buddhism has ever done this. It never bent 779
to popular opinion, never made itself a tool in the hands of worldly passion. It could not. You might as well say to gravity, 'I want to lift this stone; please don't act on it for a time,' as expect Buddhism to assist you to make war. Buddhism is the unalterable law of righteousness, and cannot ally itself with evil, cannot ever be persuaded that under any circumstances evil can be good.

And so the Burmese peasant had to fight his 721
own fight in 1885 alone. His king was gone, his 175
government broken up, he had no leaders. He had 701

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721 634 threatened, of how he was sure they would murder him some time, because he had joined us. 'They are sure to kill me some time,' he said. He seemed sad and depressed, not afraid.

So we talked on, and I asked him about charms. 'Are there not charms that will prevent you being hurt if you are hit, and that will not allow a sword to cut you? We hear of invulnerable men. There were the Immortals of the King's Guard, for instance.'

721 751 And he said, yes, there were charms, but no one believed in them except the villagers. He did not, nor did men of education. Of course, the ignorant people believed in them. There were several sorts of charms. You could be tattooed with certain mystic letters that were said to insure you against being hit, and there were certain medicines you could drink. There were also charms made out of stone, such as a little tortoise he had once seen that was said to protect its wearer. There were mysterious writings on palm-leaves. There were men, he said vaguely, who knew how to make these things. For himself, he did not believe in them.

● 779 751 I tried to learn from him then, and I have tried from others since, whether these charms have any connection with Buddhism. I cannot find that they have. They are never in the form of images of the Buddha, or of extracts from the sacred writings. There is not, so far as I can make out, any religious significance in these charms; mostly they are simply mysterious. I never heard that the people connect them with their religion. Indeed, all forms of enchantment and of charms are most strictly prohibited.

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One of the vows that monks take is never to have any dealings with charms or with the supernatural, and so Buddhism cannot even give such little assistance to its believers as to furnish them with charms. If they have charms, it is against their faith; it is a falling away from the purity of their teachings; it is simply the innate yearning of man to the supernatural, to the mysterious. Man's passions are very strong, and if he must fight, he must also have a charm to protect him in fight. If his religion cannot give it him, he must find it elsewhere. You see that, as the teachings of the Buddha have never been able to be twisted so as to permit war directly, neither have they been able to assist indirectly by furnishing charms, by making the fighter bullet-proof. And I thought then of the little prayer and the cross that were so certain a defence against hurt.

We talked for a long time in the waning moonlight by the ruddy fire, and at last we broke up to go to bed. As we rose a voice called to us across the water from the little promontory. In the still night every word was as clear as the note of a gong.

'Sleep well,' it cried — 'sleep well — sle-e-ep we-l-l.'

We all stood astonished — those who did not know Burmese wondering at the voice; those who did, wondering at the meaning. The sentries peered keenly towards the sound.

'Sleep well,' the voice cried again; 'eat well. It will not be for long. Sleep well while you may.'

And then, after a pause, it called the governor's

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000 son's name, and 'Traitor, traitor!' till the hills were full of sound.

The Burman turned away.

'You see,' he said, 'how they hate me. What would be the good of charms?'

The voice was quiet, and the camp sank into stillness, and ere long the moon set, and it was quite dark.

719 He was a brave man, and, indeed, there are
577 many brave men amongst the Burmese. They
157 kill leopards with sticks and stones very often, and even tigers. They take their frail little canoes across the Irrawaddy in flood in a most daring way. They in no way want for physical courage, but they have never made a cult of bravery; it has never been a necessity to them; it has never occurred to them that it is the prime virtue of a man. You will hear them confess in the calmest way, 'I was afraid.' We would not do that; we should be much more afraid to say it. And the teaching of Buddhism is all in favour of this. Nowhere is courage—I mean aggressive courage—praised. No soldier could be a fervent Buddhist; no nation of Buddhists could be good soldiers; for not only does Buddhism not inculcate bravery, but it does not inculcate obedience. Each man is the ruler of his life, but the very essence of good fighting is discipline, and discipline, subjection, is unknown to Buddhism. Therefore the inherent courage of the Burmans could have no assistance from their faith in any way, but the very contrary: it fought against them.

000 There is no flexibility in Buddhism. It is a law.

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There is no flexibility in Buddhism. It is a law, and nothing can change it. Laws are for ever and for ever, and there are no exceptions to them. The law of the Buddha is against war—war of any kind at all—and there can be no exception. And so every Burman who fought against us knew that he was sinning. He did it with his eyes open; he could never imagine any exception in his favour. Never could he in his bivouac look at the stars, and imagine that any power looked down in approbation of his deeds. No one fought for him. Our bayonets and lances were no keys to open to him the gates of paradise; no monks could come and close his dying eyes with promises of rewards to come. He was sinning, and he must suffer long and terribly for this breach of the laws of righteousness.

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If such be the faith of the people, and if they believe their faith, it is a terrible handicap to them in any fight: it delivers them bound into the hands of the enemy. And such is Buddhism.

But it must never be forgotten that, if this faith does not assist the believer in defence, neither does it in offence. What is so terrible as a war of religion? There can never be a war of Buddhism.

No ravished country has ever borne witness to the prowess of the followers of the Buddha; no murdered men have poured out their blood on their hearth-stones, killed in his name; no ruined women have cursed his name to high Heaven. He and his faith are clean of the stain of blood. He was the preacher of the Great Peace, of love, of charity, of compassion, and so clear is his teaching that it can never be misunderstood. Wars of invasion, the Burmese have waged, that is true, in Siam, in

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779 721 Assam, and in Pegu. They are but men, and men will fight. If they were perfect in their faith the race would have died out long ago. They have fought, but they have never fought in the name of their faith. They have never been able to prostitute its teachings to their own wants. Whatever the Burmans have done, they have kept their faith pure. When they have offended against the laws of the Buddha they have done so openly. Their souls are guiltless of hypocrisy, for whatever that may avail them; they have known the difference between good and evil, even if they have not always followed the good.

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000 people themselves—a hundred years behind them in civilization, a thousand years behind them in morality. Men will do in the name of government acts which, if performed in a private capacity, would cover them with shame before men, and would land them in a gaol or worse. The name of government is a cloak for the worst passions of manhood. It is not an interesting study, the government of mankind.

642 A government is no part of the soul of the people,
● 719 but is a mere excrescence; and so I have but little to say about this of Burma, beyond this curious fact—that religion had no part in it. Surely this is a very remarkable thing, that a religion having the hold upon its followers that Buddhism has upon the Burmese has never attempted to grasp the supreme authority and use it to its ends.

It is not quite an explanation to say that Buddhism is not concerned with such things; that its very spirit is against the assumption of any worldly power and authority; that it is a negation of the value of these things. Something of this sort might be said of other religions, and yet they have all striven to use the temporal power.

I do not know what the explanation is unless it be that the Burmese believe their religion and other people do not. However that may be, there is no doubt of the fact. Religion had nothing whatever—absolutely nothing in any way at all—to do with
642 government. There are no exceptions. What has
793 led people to think sometimes that there were exceptions is the fact that the king confirmed the That-
795 hanabaing—the head of the community of monks—

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it well, no one can doubt. They taxed themselves without friction, they built their own monastery schools by voluntary effort, they maintained a very high, a very simple, code of morals, entirely of their own initiative. 621

All this has passed, or is passing away. The king has gone to a banishment far across the sea, the ministers are either banished or powerless for good or evil. It will never rise again, this government of the king, which was so bad in all it did, and only good in what it left alone. It will never rise again. The people are now part of the British Empire, subjects of the Queen. What may be in store for them in the far future no one can tell, only we may be sure that the past can return no more. And the local government is passing away, too. It cannot exist with a strong government such as ours. For good or for evil, in a few years it, too, will be gone. 175 621 642

But, after all, these are but forms; the soul is far within. In the soul there will be no change. No one can imagine even in the far future any monk of the Buddha desiring temporal power, or interfering in any way with the government of the people. That is why I have written this chapter, to show how Buddhism holds itself towards the government. With us, we are accustomed to ecclesiastics trying to manage affairs of state, or attempting to grasp the secular power. It is in accordance with our ideals that they should do so. Our religious phraseology is full of such terms as lord and king and ruler and servant. Buddhism knows nothing of any of them. In our religion we 000 779 642

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are subject to the authority of deacons and priests and bishops and archbishops, and so on up to the Almighty Himself. But in Buddhism every man is free—free, subject to the inevitable laws of righteousness. There is no hierarchy in Buddhism: it is a religion of absolute freedom. No one can damn you except yourself; no one can save you except yourself. Governments cannot do it, and therefore it would be useless to try and capture the reins of government, even if you did not destroy your own soul in so doing. Buddhism does not believe that you can save a man by force.

And as Buddhism was, so it is, so it will remain. By its very nature it abhors all semblance of authority. It has proved that, under temptation such as no other religion has felt, and resisted; it is a religion of each man's own soul, not of governments and powers.

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685 what was justice, and what was punishment. To
671 the Burman all these words had one set of mean-
196 ings; to the Englishman they had another, a very different one. And each of them took his ideas from his religion. To all men the law here on earth is but a reflection of the heavenly law; the judge is the representative of his god. The justice of the court should be as the justice of heaven. Many nations have imagined their law to be heaven-given, to be inspired with the very breath of the Creator of the world. Other nations have derived their laws elsewhere. But this is of little account, for to the one, as to the other, the laws are a reflection of the religion.

681 And therefore on a man's religion depends all
671 his views of law and justice, his understanding of the word 'punishment,' his idea of how sin should
●779 be treated. And it was because of their different
196 religions, because their religions differed so greatly on these points as to be almost opposed, that the English officer and his Burman servant failed to understand each other.

For to the Englishman punishment was a degradation. It seemed to him far more disgraceful that his servant should have been in gaol than that he should have committed theft. The theft he was ready to forgive, the punishment he could not. Punishment to him meant revenge. It is the revenge of an outraged and injured morality. The sinner had insulted the law, and therefore the law was to make him suffer. He was to be frightened into not doing it again. That is the idea. He was to be afraid of receiving punishment. And

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again his punishment was to be useful as a warning to others. Indeed, the magistrate had especially increased it with that object in view. He was to suffer that others might be saved. The idea of punishment being an atonement hardly enters into our minds at all. To us it is practically a revenge. We do not expect people to be the better for it. We are sure they are the worse. It is a deterrent for others, not a healing process for the man himself. We punish A. that B. may be afraid, and not do likewise. Our thoughts are bent on B., not really on A. at all. As far as he is concerned the process is very similar to pouring boiling lead into a wound. We do not wish or intend to improve him, but simply and purely to make him suffer. After we have dealt with him he is never fit again for human society. That was in the officer's thought when he refused to take back his Burmese servant.

Now see the boy's idea.

Punishment is an atonement, a purifying of the soul from the stain of sin. That is the only justification for, and meaning of, suffering. If a man breaks the everlasting laws of righteousness and stains his soul with the stain of sin, he must be purified, and the only method of purification is by suffering. Each sin is followed by suffering, lasting just so long as to cleanse the soul—not a moment less, or the soul would not be white; not a moment more, or it would be useless and cruel. That is the law of righteousness, the eternal inevitable sequence that leads us in the end to wisdom and peace. And as it is with the greater laws, so it should, the Buddhist thinks, be with the lesser laws.

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If a man steals, he should have such punishment and for such a time as will wean his soul from theft, as will atone for his sin. Just so much. You see, to him mercy is a falling short of what is necessary, a leaving of work half done, as if you were to leave a garment half washed. Excess of punishment is mere useless brutality. He recognizes no vicarious punishment. He cannot understand that A. should be damned in order to save B. This does not agree with his scheme of righteousness at all. It seems as futile to him as the action of washing one garment twice that another might be clean. Each man should atone for his own sin, *must* atone for his own sin, in order to be freed from it. No one can help him, or suffer for him. If I have a sore throat, it would be useless to blister you for it: that is his idea.

Consider this Burman. He had committed theft. That he admitted. He was prepared to atone for it. The magistrate was not content with that, but made him also atone for other men's sins. He was twice punished, because other men who escaped did ill. That was the first thing he could not understand. And then, when he had atoned both for his own sin and for that of others, when he came out of prison, he was looked upon as in a worse state than if he had never atoned at all. If he had never been in prison, his master would have forgiven his theft and taken him back, but now he would not. The boy was proud of having atoned in full, very full, measure for his sin; the master looked upon the punishment as inconceivably worse than the crime.

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So the officer went about and told the story of his boy coming back, and expecting to be taken on again, as a curious instance of the mysterious working of the Oriental mind, as another example of the extraordinary way Easterns argue. 'Just to think,' said the officer, 'he was not ashamed of having been in prison!' And the boy? Well, he probably said nothing, but went away and did not understand, and kept the matter to himself, for they are very dumb, these people, very long-suffering, very charitable. You may be sure that he never railed at the law, or condemned his old master for harshness.

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He would wonder why he was punished because other people had sinned and escaped. He could not understand that vicariousness of punishment is a Christian idea. It would not occur to him that sending him to herd with other criminals, that cutting him off from all the gentle influences of life, from the green trees and the winds of heaven, from the society of women, from the example of noble men, from the teachings of religion, was a curious way to render him a better man. He would suppose it was intended to make him better, that he should leave gaol a better man than when he entered, and he would take the intention for the deed. Under his own king things were not any better. It is true that very few men were imprisoned, fine being the usual punishment, but still, imprisonment there was, and it was very bad of its kind. No government has been able to invent anything better. But he would not compare our government with his, but our theory of punishment with the Buddhist theory

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681 what he had been taught at school. As to the
779 conduct of his master, he would be content to leave that unexplained. The Buddhist is content to leave many things unexplained until he can see the meaning. He is not fond of theories. If he does not know, he says so. 'It is beyond me,' he will say; 'I do not understand.' He has no theory of an occidental mind to explain acts of ours of which he cannot grasp the meaning; he would only not understand.

But the pity of it—think of the pity of it all! Surely there is nothing more pathetic than this: that a sinner should not understand the wherefore of his sentence, that the justice administered to him should be such as he cannot see the meaning of.

674 Certain forms of crime are very rife in Burma. The villages are so scattered, the roads so lonely, the amount of money habitually carried about so large, the people so habitually careless, the difficulty of detection so great, that robbery and kindred crimes are very common; and it is more common in the districts of the delta, long under our rule, than in the newly-annexed province in the north. Under like conditions the Burman is probably no more criminal and no less criminal than other people in the same state of civilization. Crime is a condition caused by opportunity, not by an inherent state of mind, except with the very few, the exceptional individuals; and in Upper Burma there is, now that the turmoil of the annexation is past, very little crime comparatively. There is less money there, and the village system—the control of the

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if we can make a bigger figure in the world. Nay, we go beyond this: we believe that work, that drudgery, is a beautiful thing in itself, that perpetual toil and effort is admirable. 000

This we do because we do not know what to do with our leisure, because we do not know for what to seek, because we cannot enjoy. And so we go back to work, to feverish effort, because we cannot think, and see, and understand. 'Work is a means to leisure,' Aristotle told us long ago, and leisure, adds the Burman, is needed that you may compose your own soul. Work, no doubt, is a necessity, too, but not excess of it.

The necessary thing to a man is not gold, nor position, nor power, but simply his own soul. Nothing is worth anything to him compared with that, for while a man lives, what is the good of all these things if he have no leisure to enjoy them? And when he dies, shall they go down into the void with him? No; but a man's own soul shall go with and be with him for ever.

Like all men, a Burman's ideas of this world are dominated by his religion. His religion says to him, 'Consider your own soul, that is the main thing.' His religion says to him, 'The aim of every man should be happiness.' These are the fundamental parts of his belief; these he learns from his childhood: they are born in him. He looks at all the world by their light. Later on, when he grows older, his religion says to him, 'And happiness is only to be found by renouncing the whole world.' This is a hard teaching. This comes to him slowly, or all Buddhists would be monks; but, meanwhile, 517 779

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517 if he does but remember the first two precepts, he is on the right path.

He does do this. Happiness is the aim he seeks. Work and power and money are but the means by which he will arrive at the leisure to teach his own soul. First the body, then the spirit; but with us it is surely first the body, and then the body again.

He often watches us with surprise. He sees us work and work and work; he sees us grow old quickly, and our minds get weary; he sees our sympathies grow very narrow, our ideas bent into one groove, our whole souls destroyed for a little money, a little fame, a little promotion, till we go home, and do not know what to do with ourselves, because we have no work and no sympathy with anything; and at last we die, and take down with us our souls—souls fit for nothing but to be driven for ever with a goad behind and a golden fruit in front.

461 But do not suppose that the Burmese are idle. Such a nation of workers was never known. Every man works, every woman works, every child works. Life is not an easy thing, but a hard, and there is a great deal of work to be done. There is not an idle man or woman in all Burma. The class of those who live on other men's labour is unknown. I do not think the Burman would care for such a life, for a certain amount of work is good, he knows. A little work he likes; a good deal of work he does, because he is obliged often to do so to earn even the little he requires. And that is the end. He is a free man, never a slave to other men, nor to himself.

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CHAPTER X

THE MONKHOOD—I

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'Let his life be kindness, his conduct righteousness; then in the fulness of gladness he will make an end of grief.'—*Dammapada.*

DURING his lifetime, that long lifetime that remained to him after he had found the light, Gaudama the Buddha gathered round him many disciples. They came to learn from his lips of that truth which he had found, and they remained near him to practise that life which alone can lead unto the Great Peace.

And from time to time, as occasion arose, the teacher laid down precepts and rules to assist those who desired to live as he did—precepts and rules designed to help his disciples in the right way. Thus there arose about him a brotherhood of those who were striving to purify their souls, and lead the higher life, and that brotherhood has lasted ever since, till you see in it the monkhood of to-day, for that is all that the monks are—a brotherhood of men who are trying to live as their great master lived, to purify their souls from the lust of life, to travel the road that reaches unto deliverance. Only that, nothing more.

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There is no idea of priesthood about it at all, 779
for by a priest we understand one who has received 792
from above some power, who is, as it were, a representative on earth of God. Priests, to our thinking, are those who have delegated to them some of that authority of which God is the fountain-head. They can absolve from sin, we think; they can accept into the faith; they can eject from it; they can exhort with authority; they can administer the sacraments of religion; they can speed the parting soul to God; they can damn the parting soul to hell. A priest is one who is clothed with much authority and holiness.

But in Buddhism there is not, there cannot be, anything of all this. The God who lies far beyond our ken has delegated His authority to no one. He works through everlasting laws. His will is manifested by unchangeable sequences. There is nothing hidden about His laws that requires exposition by His agents, nor any ceremonies necessary for acceptance into the faith. Buddhism is a free religion. No one holds the keys of a man's salvation but himself. Buddhism never dreams that anyone can save or damn you but yourself, and so a Buddhist monk is as far away from our ideas of a priest as can be. Nothing could be more abhorrent to Buddhism than any claim of authority, of power, from above, of holiness acquired except by the earnest effort of a man's own soul.

These monks, who are so common all through 792
Burma, whose monasteries are outside every village, who can be seen in every street in the early morning begging their bread, who educate the whole youth

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down become green again, than an elect guilty of such pride be restored to his holy station. Take care for yourself that you do not give way to such an excess.'

Is not this teaching the very reverse of that of all other peoples and religions? Can you imagine the religious teachers of any other religion being warned to keep themselves free from visions? Are not visions and trances, dreams and imaginations, the very proof of holiness? But here it is not so. These are vain things, foolish imaginations, and he who would lead the pure life must put behind him all such things as mere dram-drinking of the soul.

This is a most wonderful thing, a religion that condemns all mysticisms. It stands alone here amongst all religions, pure from the tinsel of miracle, either past, or present, or to come. And yet this people is, like all young nations, given to superstition: its young men dream dreams, its girls see visions. There are interpreters of dreams, many of them, soothsayers of all kinds, people who will give you charms, and foretell events for you. Just as it was with us not long ago, the mystery, *what is* beyond the world, exercises a curious fascination over them. Everywhere you will meet with traces of it, and I have in another chapter told some of the principal phases of these. But the religion has kept itself pure. No hysteric visions, no madman's dreams, no clever conjurer's tricks, have ever shed a tawdry glory on the monkhood of the Buddha. Amid all the superstition round about them they have remained pure, as they have from passion and desire. Here in the far East, the very home, we

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think, of the unnatural and superhuman, the very cradle of the mysterious and the wonderful, is a religion which condemns it all, and a monkhood who follow their religion. Does not this out-miracle any miracle?

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With other faiths it is different: they hold out to those who follow their tenets and accept their ministry that in exchange for the worldly things which their followers renounce they shall receive other gifts, heavenly ones; they will be endued with power from above; they will have authority from on high; they will become the chosen messengers of God; they may even in their trances enter into His heaven, and see Him face to face.

Buddhism has nothing of all this to offer. A man must surrender all the world, with no immediate gain. There is only this: that if he struggle along in the path of righteousness, he will at length attain unto the Great Peace.

A monk who dreamed dreams, who said that the Buddha had appeared to him in a vision, who announced that he was able to prophesy, would be not exalted, but expelled. He would be deemed silly or mad; think of that—mad—for seeing visions, not holy at all! The boys would jeer at him; he would be turned out of his monastery.

A monk is he who observes purity and sanity of life. Hysteric dreams, the childishness of the mysterious, the insanity of the miraculous, are no part of that.

And so a monk has to put behind him everything that is called good in this life, and govern his body and his soul in strict temperance.

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that is no reason why the Buddhist monk or layman should also lower himself by getting angry and resent it; and so you may walk into any monastery or rest-house and act as you think fit, and no one will interfere with you. Nay, if you even show a little courtesy to the monks, your hosts, they will be glad to talk to you and tell you of their lives and their desires. It is very seldom that a pleasant word or a jest will not bring the monks into forgetting all your offences, and talking to you freely and openly. I have had, I have still, many friends among the monkhood; I have been beholden to them for many kindnesses; I have found them always, peasants as they are, courteous and well-mannered. Nay, there are greater things than these.

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When my dear friend was murdered at the outbreak of the war, wantonly murdered by the soldiers of a brutal official, and his body drifted down the river, everyone afraid to bury it, for fear of the wrath of government, was it not at last tenderly and lovingly buried by the monks near whose monastery it floated ashore? Would all people have done this? Remember, he was one of those whose army was engaged in subduing the kingdom; whose army imprisoned the king, and had killed, and were killing, many, many hundreds of Burmans. 'We do not remember such things. All men are brothers to the dead.' They are brothers to the living, too. Is there not a great monastery near Kindat, built by an Englishman as a memorial to the monk who saved his life at peril of his own at that same time, who preserved him till help came?

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Can anyone ever tell when the influence of a monk has been other than for pity or mercy? Surely they believe their religion? I did not know how people could believe till I saw them. 792 779

Martyrdom—what is martyrdom, what is death, for your religion, compared to living within its commands? Death is easy; life it is that is difficult. Men have died for many things: love and hate, and religion and science, for patriotism and avarice, for self-conceit and sheer vanity, for all sorts of things, of value and of no value. Death proves nothing. Even a coward can die well. But a pure life is the outcome only of the purest religion, of the greatest belief, of the most magnificent courage. Those who can live like this can die, too, if need be—have done so often and often; that is but a little matter indeed. No Buddhist would consider that as a very great thing beside a holy life.

There is another difference between us. We think a good death hallows an evil life; no Buddhist would hear of this for a moment.

The reverence in which a monk—ay, even the monk to-day who was but an ordinary man yesterday—is held by the people is very great. All those who address him do so kneeling. Even the king himself was lower than a monk, took a lower seat than a monk in the palace. He is addressed as 'Lord,' and those who address him are his disciples. Poor as he is, living on daily charity, without any power or authority of any kind, the greatest in the land would dismount and yield the road that he should pass. Such is the people's reverence for a holy life. Never was such voluntary homage 792 554 198

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Every man all through Burma has gone to a monastery school as a lad, has lived there with the monks, has learnt from them the elements of education and a knowledge of his faith. <It is an exception to find a Burman who cannot read and write.> Sometimes from lack of practice the art is lost in later manhood, but it has always been acquired. The education is not very deep—reading Burmese and writing; simple, very simple, arithmetic; a knowledge of the days and months, and a little geography, perhaps, and history—that is all. But of their religion they learn a great deal. They have to get by heart great portions of the sacred books, stories and teachings, and they have to learn many prayers. They have to recite them, too, as those who have lived much near monasteries know. Several times a day, at about nine o'clock at night, and again before dawn, you will hear the lads intoning clearly and loudly some of the sacred teachings. I have been awakened many a time in the early morning, before the dawn, before even the promise of the dawn in the eastern sky, by the children's voices intoning. And I have put aside my curtain and looked out from my rest-house and seen them in the dim starlight kneeling before the pagoda, the tomb of the great teacher, saying his laws. The light comes rapidly in this country: the sky reddens, the stars die quickly overhead, the first long beams of sunrise are trembling on the dewy bamboo feathers ere they have finished. It is one of the most beautiful sights imaginable to see monks and children kneeling on the bare ground, singing while the dawn comes.

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In the life of the Buddha nothing is said upon the subject. The great teacher never committed himself to an opinion as to whether men or women were the highest. He had men disciples, he had women disciples; he honoured both. Nowhere in any of his sayings can anything be found to show that he made any difference between them. That monks should be careful and avoid intercourse with women is merely the counterpart of the order that nuns should be careful in their intercourse with men. That man's greatest attraction is woman does not infer wickedness in woman; that woman's greatest attraction is man does not show that man is a devil. Wickedness is a thing of your own heart. If he could be sure that his desire towards women was dead, a monk might see them as much as he liked. The desire is the enemy, not the woman; therefore a woman is not damned because by her man is often tempted to evil; therefore a woman is not praised because by her a man may be led to better thoughts. She is but the outer and unconscious influence.

If, for instance, you cannot see a precipice without wishing to throw yourself down, you blame not the precipice, but your giddiness; and if you are wise you avoid precipices in future. You do not rail against steep places because you have a bad circulation. So it is with women: you should not contemn women because they rouse a devil in man.

And it is the same with man. Men and women are alike subject to the eternal laws. And they are alike subject to the laws of man; in no material

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points, hardly even in minor points, does the law discriminate against women. 562 779

The law as regards marriage and inheritance and divorce will come each in its own place. It is very much the same both for the man and the woman. 562 671 586

The criminal law was the same for both; I have tried to find any difference, and this is all I have found: A woman's life was less valuable than a man's. The price of the body, as it is called, of a woman was less than that of a man. If a woman were accidentally killed, less compensation had to be paid than for a man. I asked a Burman about this once. 681

'Why is this difference?' I said. 'Why does the law discriminate?'

'It isn't the law,' he said, 'it is a fact. A woman is worth less than a man *in that way*. A maidservant can be hired for less than a manservant, a daughter can claim less than a son. They cannot do so much work; they are not so strong. If they had been worth more, the law would have been the other way; of course they are worth less.'

And so this sole discrimination is a fact, not dogma. It is a fact, no doubt, everywhere. No one would deny it. The pecuniary value of a woman is less than that of a man. As to the soul's value, that is not a question of law, which confines itself to material affairs. But I suppose all laws have been framed out of the necessities of mankind. It was the incessant fighting during the times when our laws grew slowly into shape, the necessity of not allowing the possession of land, and the armed 562 671 428

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'Thakin, many men do not care for religion at all, but when a man does do so, he takes it very seriously. He follows it out to the end. He becomes a monk, and surrenders the whole world. But with women it is different. Many women, nearly all women, will like religion, and none will take it seriously. We mix it up with our home-life, and our affections, and our worldly doings; for we like a little of everything.' So said a woman to me. 562 782

Is this always true? I do not know, but it is very true in Burma. Nearly all the women are religious, they like to go to the monastery and hear the law, they like to give presents to the monks, they like to visit the pagoda and adore Gaudama the Buddha. I am sure that if it were not for their influence the laws against taking life and against intoxicants would not be observed as stringently as they are. So far they will go. As far as they can use the precepts of religion and retain their home-life they will do so; as it was with Yathodaya so long ago, so it is now. But when religion calls them and says, 'Come away from the world, leave all that you love, all that your heart holds good, for it is naught; see the light, and prepare your soul for peace,' they hold back. This they cannot do; it is far beyond them. 'Thakin, we *cannot do so.* It would seem to us terrible,' that is what they say. 562 779

A man who renounces the world is called 'the great glory,' but not so a woman.

I have said that the Buddhist religion holds men and women as equal. If women cannot observe its laws as men do, it is surely their own fault if they be held the less worthy.

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Women themselves admit this. They honour a man greatly who becomes a monk, not so a nun. Nuns have but little consideration. And why? Because what is good for a man is not good for a woman; and if, indeed, renunciation of the world be the only path to the Great Peace, then surely it must be true that women must be born again.

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heard of it; and although I thought my heart would break, I did not say anything. I told my husband, "Bring her here, let us live all together; it will be best so." I always did for the best, thakin. So he brought her, and she came to live with us a week ago. Ah, thakin, I did not know! She tramples on me. My head is under her feet. My husband does not care for me, only for her. And to-day, this evening, they went out together for a walk, and my husband took with him the concertina. As they went I could hear him play upon it, and they walked down through the trees, he playing and she leaning upon him. I heard the music.'

Then she began to cry bitterly, sobbing as if her heart would break. And the sunset died out of the sky, and the shadows took all the world and made it gray and dark. No one said anything, only the woman cried.

'Thakin,' she said at last, 'what am I to do? Tell me.'

Then my friend spoke.

'You can divorce him,' he said; 'you can go to the elders and get a divorce. Won't that be best?'

'But, thakin, you do not know. We are both Christians; we are married for ever. We were both at the mission-school in Rangoon, and we were married there, "for ever and for ever," so the padre said. We are not married according to Burmese customs, but according to your religion; we are husband and wife for ever.'

My friend said nothing. It seemed to him useless to speak to her of the High Court, five hundred

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miles away, and a decree nisi; it would have been a mockery of her trouble.

'Your husband had no right to take a second wife, if you are Christians and married,' he said.

'Ah,' she answered, 'we are Burmans; it is allowed by Burmese law. Other officials do it. What does my husband care that we were married by your law? Here we are alone with no other Christians near. But I would not mind so much,' she went on, 'only she treads me under her feet. And he takes her out and not me, who am the eld[illegible] wife, and he plays music to her; and I did all fo[illegible] the best. This trouble has come upon me, though all my life I have always acted for the best.'

There came another footstep up the stair, and a man entered. It was her husband. On his return he had missed his wife, and guessed whither she had gone, and had followed her. He came alone.

Then there was a sad scene, only restrained by respect for my friend. I need not tell it. There was a man's side to the question, a strong one. The wife had a terrible temper, a peevish, nagging, maddening fashion of talking. She was a woman very hard for a man to live with.

Does it matter much which was right or wrong, now that the mischief was done? They went away at last, not reconciled. Could they be reconciled? I cannot tell. I left there next day, and have never returned.

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There they had lived for many years among their own people, far away from the influence that had come upon their childhood, and led them into strange ways. And now all that was left of that influence

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Divorce is a dissolution of that partnership. A Burman would not ask, 'Were they married?' but, 'Are they man and wife?' And so with divorce, it is a cessation of the state of marriage. 586 779

Elders tell me that women ask for divorce far more than men do. 'Men have patience, and women have not,' that is what they say. For every little quarrel a woman will want a divorce. 'Thakin, if we were to grant divorces every time a woman came and demanded it, we should be doing nothing else all day long. If a husband comes home to find dinner not cooked, and speaks angrily, his wife will rush to us in tears for a divorce. If he speaks to another woman and smiles, if he does not give his wife a new dress, if he be fond of going out in the evening, all these are reasons for a breathless demand for a divorce. The wives get cross and run to us and cry, "My husband has been angry with me. Never will I live with him again. Give me a divorce." Or, "See my clothes, how old they are. I cannot buy any new dress. I will have a divorce." And we say, "Yes, yes; it is very sad. Of course, you must have a divorce; but we cannot give you one to-night. Go away, and come again in three days or in four days, when we have more time." And they go away, thakin, and they do not return. Next day it is all forgotten. You see, they don't know what they want; they turn with the wind—they have no patience.' 586 562 157

Sometimes they repent too late. Here is another of my memories about divorce: 586 573

There was a man and his wife, cultivators, living in a small village. The land that he cultivated

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571 and trying to improve them; as a nation we try to coerce weaker nations and to convert stronger ones, and as individuals we do the same. We are sure that other people cannot but be better and happier for being brought into our ways of thinking, by force even, if necessary. We call it philanthropy.

571 609 [779] But the Buddhist does not believe this at all. Each man, each nation has, he thinks, enough to do managing his or its own affairs. Interference, any sort of interference, he is sure can do nothing but harm. *You* cannot save a man. He can save himself; you can do nothing for him. You may force or persuade him into an outer agreement with you, but what is the value of that? All dispositions that are good, that are of any value at all, must come spontaneously from the heart of man. First, he must desire them, and then struggle to obtain them; by this means alone can any virtue be reached. This, which is the key of his religion, is the key also of his private life. Each man is a free man to do what he likes, in a way that we have never understood.

Even under the rule of the Burmese kings there was the very widest tolerance. You never heard of a foreigner being molested in any way, being forbidden to live as he liked, being forbidden to erect his own places of worship. He had the widest freedom, as long as he infringed no law. The Burmese rule may not have been a good one in many ways, but it was never guilty of persecution, of any attempt at forcible conversion, of any desire to make such an attempt.

This tolerance, this inclination to let each man

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CHAPTER XIX

'NOBLESSE OBLIGE'

'Sooner shall the cleft rock reunite so as to make a whole, than may he who kills any living being be admitted into our society.'—*Acceptance into the Monkhood.*

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IT is very noticeable throughout the bazaars of Burma that all the beef butchers are natives of India. No Burman will kill a cow or a bullock, and no Burman will sell its meat. It is otherwise with pork and fowls. Burmans may sometimes be found selling these; and fish are almost invariably sold by the wives of the fishermen. During the king's time, any man who was even found in possession of beef was liable to very severe punishment. The only exception, as I have explained elsewhere, was in the case of the queen when expecting an addition to her family, and it was necessary that she should be strengthened in all ways. None, not even foreigners, were allowed to kill beef, and this law was very stringently observed. Other flesh and fish might, as far as the law of the country went, be sold with impunity. You could not be fined for killing and eating goats, or fowls, or pigs,

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262 779 and these were sold occasionally. It is ten years since King Thibaw was overthrown, and there is now no law against the sale of beef. And yet, as I have said, no respectable Burman will even now kill or sell beef. The law was founded on the beliefs of the people, and though the law is dead, the beliefs remain.

231 779 It is true that the taking of life is against Buddhist commands. No life at all may be taken by him who adheres to Buddhistic teaching. Neither for sport, nor for revenge, nor for food, may any animal be deprived of the breath that is in it. And this is a command wonderfully well kept. There are a few exceptions, but they are known and accepted as breaches of the law, for the law itself knows no exceptions. Fish, as I have said, can be obtained almost everywhere. They are caught in great quantities in the river, and are sold in most bazaars, either fresh or salted. It is one of the staple foods of the Burmese. But although they [463] will eat fish, they despise the fisherman. Not so much, perhaps, as if he killed other living things, [554] but still, the fisherman is an outcast from decent society. He will have to suffer great and terrible punishment before he can be cleansed from the sins that he daily commits. Notwithstanding this, there are many fishermen in Burma.

A fish is a very cold-blooded beast. One must be very hard up for something to love to have any affection to spare upon fishes. They cannot be, or at all events they never are, domesticated, and most of them are not beautiful. I am not aware that they have ever been known to display any

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attachment to anyone, which accounts, perhaps, for the comparatively lenient eye with which their destruction is contemplated.

For with warm-blooded animals it is very different. Cattle, as I have said, can never be killed nor their meat sold by a Burman, and with other animals the difficulty is not much less.

I was in Upper Burma for some months before the war, and many a time I could get no meat at all. Living in a large town among prosperous people, I could get no flesh at all, only fish and rice and vegetables. When, after much trouble, my Indian cook would get me a few fowls, he would often be waylaid and forced to release them. An old woman, say, anxious to do some deed of merit, would come to him as he returned triumphantly home with his fowls and tender him money, and beg him to release the fowls. She would give the full price or double the price of the fowls; she had no desire to gain merit at another person's expense, and the unwilling cook would be obliged to give up the fowls. Public opinion was so strong he dare not refuse. The money was paid, the fowls set free, and I dined on tinned beef.

And yet the villages are full of fowls. Why they are kept I do not know. Certainly not for food. I do not mean to say that an accidental meeting between a rock and a fowl may not occasionally furnish forth a dinner, but this is not the object with which they are kept—of this I am sure.

You would not suppose that fowls were capable of exciting much affection, yet I suppose they are. Certainly in one case ducks were. There is a

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779 Burman lady I know who is married to an English-
231 man. He kept ducks. He bought a number of ducklings, and had them fed up so that they might be fat and succulent when the time came for them to be served at table. They became very fine ducks, and my friend had promised me one. I took an interest in them, and always noticed their increasing fatness when I rode that way. Imagine, then, my disappointment when one day I saw that all the ducks had disappeared.

I stopped to inquire. Yes, truly they were all gone, my friend told me. In his absence his wife had gone up the river to visit some friends, and had taken the ducks with her. She could not bear, she said, that they should be killed, so she took them away and distributed them among her friends, one here and one there, where she was sure they would be well treated and not killed. When she returned she was quite pleased at her success, and laughed at her husband and me.

This same lady was always terribly distressed when she had to order a fowl to be killed for her husband's breakfast, even if she had never seen it before. I have seen her, after telling the cook to kill a fowl for breakfast, run away and sit down in the veranda with her hands over her ears, and her face the very picture of misery, fearing lest she should hear its shrieks. I think that this was the one great trouble to her in her marriage, that her husband would insist on eating fowls and ducks, and that she had to order them to be killed.

And as she is, so are most Burmans. If there is all this trouble about fowls, it can be imagined

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how the trouble increases when it comes to goats or any larger beasts. In the jungle villages meat of any kind at all is never seen: no animals of any kind are allowed to be killed. An officer travelling in the district would be reduced to what he could carry with him, if it were not for an Act of Government obliging villages to furnish—on payment, of course—supplies for officers and troops passing through. The mere fact of such a law being necessary is sufficient proof of the strength of the feeling against taking life.

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Of course, all shooting, either for sport or for food, is looked upon as disgraceful. In many jungle villages where deer abound there are one or two hunters who make a living by hunting. But they are disgraced men. They are worse than fishermen, and they will have a terrible penalty to pay for it all. It will take much suffering to wash from their souls the cruelty, the blood-thirstiness, the carelessness to suffering, the absence of compassion, that hunting must produce. 'Is there no food in the bazaar, that you must go and take the lives of animals?' has been said to me many a time. And when my house-roof was infested by sparrows, who dropped grass and eggs all over my rooms, so that I was obliged to shoot them with a little rifle, this was no excuse. 'You should have built a sparrow-cote,' they told me. 'If you had built a sparrow-cote, they would have gone away and left you in peace. They only wanted to make nests and lay eggs and have little ones, and you went and shot them.' There are many sparrow-cotes to be seen in the villages.

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I might give example after example of this sort, for they happen every day. We who are meat-eaters, who delight in shooting, who have a horror of insects and reptiles, are continually coming into collision with the principles of our neighbours; for even harmful reptiles they do not care to kill. Truly I believe it is a myth, the story of the Burmese mother courteously escorting out of the house the scorpion which had just bitten her baby. A Burmese mother worships her baby as much as the woman of any other nation does, and I believe there is no crime she would not commit in its behalf. But if she saw a scorpion walking about in the fields, she would not kill it as we should. She would step aside and pass on. 'Poor beast!' she would say, 'why should I hurt it? It never hurt me.'

The Burman never kills insects out of sheer brutality. If a beetle drone annoyingly, he will catch it in a handkerchief and put it outside, and so with a bee. It is a great trouble often to get your Burmese servants to keep your house free of ants and other annoying creatures. If you tell them to kill the insects they will, for in that case the sin falls on you. Without special orders they would rather leave the ants alone.

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In the district in which I am now living snakes are very plentiful. There are cobras and keraits, but the most dreaded is the Russell's viper. He is a snake that averages from three to four feet long, and is very thick, with a big head and a stumpy tail. His body is marked very prettily with spots and blurs of light on a dark, grayish green, and he

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is amongst the Burmese. It is an abiding principle of their daily life.

Where the command came from I do not know. I cannot find any allusion to it in the life of the great teacher. We know that he ate meat. It seems to me that it is older even than he. It has been derived both by the Burmese Buddhists and the Hindus from a faith whose origin is hidden in the mists of long ago. It is part of that far older faith on which Buddhism was built, as was Christianity on Judaism.

But if not part of his teaching—and though it is included in the sacred books, we do not know how much of them are derived from the Buddha himself — it is in strict accordance with all his teaching. That is one of the most wonderful points of Buddhism, it is all in accordance; there are no exceptions.

I have heard amongst Europeans a very curious explanation of this refusal of Buddhists to take life. 'Buddhists,' they say, 'believe in the transmigration of souls. They believe that when a man dies his soul may go into a beast. You could not expect him to kill a bull, when perchance his grandfather's soul might inhabit there.' This is their explanation, this is the way they put two and two together to make five. They know that Buddhists believe in transmigration, they know that Buddhists do not like to take life, and therefore one is the cause of the other.

I have mentioned this explanation to Burmans while talking of the subject, and they have always laughed at it. They had never heard of it before.

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825 It is true that it is part of their great theory of life
779 that the souls of men have risen from being souls of beasts, and that we may so relapse if we are not
825 careful. Many stories are told of cases that have
775 occurred where a man has been reincarnated as an animal, and where what is now the soul of a man used to live in a beast. But that makes no difference. Whatever a man may have been, or may be, he is a man now; whatever a beast may have been, he is a beast now. Never suppose that a Burman has any other idea than this. To him men are men, and animals are animals, and men are far the higher. But he does not deduce from this that man's superiority gives him permission to illtreat or to kill animals. It is just the reverse. It is because man is so much higher than the animal that he can and must observe towards animals the very greatest care, feel for them the very greatest compassion, be good to them in every way he can. The Burman's motto should be *Noblesse oblige;* he knows the meaning, if he knows not the words.

825 For the Burman's compassion towards animals
101 goes very much farther than a mere reluctance to kill them. Although he has no command on the subject, it seems to him quite as important to treat animals well during their lives as to refrain from taking those lives. His refusal to take life he shares with the Hindu; his perpetual care and tenderness to all living creatures is all his own. And here I may mention a very curious contrast, that whereas in India the Hindu will not take life and the Mussulman will, yet the Mussulman is by reputation far kinder to his beasts than the Hindu. Here the

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ing, seated under a fig-tree. She came up to the Buddha, and told him of her losses, and how she had no one left; and she demanded of the Buddha that he should restore to her those that she had lost. And the Buddha had great compassion upon her, and tried to console her. 539

'All die,' he said; 'it comes to everyone, king and peasant, animal and man. Only through many deaths can we obtain the Great Peace. All this sorrow,' he said, 'is of the earth. All this is passion which we must get rid of, and forget before we reach heaven. Be comforted, my daughter, and turn to the holy life. All suffer as you do. It is part of our very existence here, sorrow and trouble without any end.' 539 779 761

But she would not be comforted, but demanded her dead of the Buddha. Then, because he saw it was no use talking to her, that her ears were deaf with grief, and her eyes blinded with tears, he said to her that he would restore to her those who were dead.

'You must go,' he said, 'my daughter, and get some mustard-seed, a pinch of mustard-seed, and I can bring back their lives. Only you must get this seed from the garden of him near whom death has never come. Get this, and all will be well.'

So the woman went forth with a light heart. It was so simple, only a pinch of mustard-seed, and mustard grew in every garden. She would get the seed and be back very quickly, and then the Lord Buddha would give her back those she loved who had died. She clothed herself again and tied up her hair, and went cheerfully and asked at the first

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539 house, 'Give me a pinch of mustard-seed,' and it was
771 given readily. So with her treasure in her hand she
761 was going forth back to the Buddha full of delight, when she remembered.

'Has ever anyone died in your household?' she asked, looking round wistfully.

The man answered 'Yes,' that death had been with them but recently. Who could this woman be, he thought, to ask such a question? And the woman went forth, the seed dropping from her careless fingers, for it was of no value. So she would try again and again, but it was always the same. Death had taken his tribute from all. Father or mother, son or brother, daughter or wife, there was always a gap somewhere, a vacant place beside the meal. From house to house throughout the city she went, till at last the new hope faded away, and she learned from the world, what she had not believed from the Buddha, that death and life are one.

[772] So she returned, and she became a nun, poor soul! taking on her the two hundred and twenty-seven vows, which are so hard to keep that nowadays nuns keep but five of them.[1]

● 779 This is the teaching of the Buddha, that death is
761 inevitable; this is the consolation he offers, that all men must know death; no one can escape death;

[772] [1] These five vows are:

1. Not to take life.
2. To be honest.
3. To tell the truth.
4. To abstain from intoxicants.
5. Chastity.

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no one can escape the sorrow of the death of those whom he loves. Death, he says, and life are one; not antagonistic, but the same; and the only way to escape from one is to escape from the other too. Only in the Great Peace, when we have found refuge from the passion and tumult of life, shall we find the place where death cannot come. Life and death are one.

This is the teaching of the Buddha, repeated over and over again to his disciples when they sorrowed for the death of Thariputra, when they were in despair at the swift-approaching end of the great teacher himself. Hear what he says to Ananda, the beloved disciple, who is mourning over Thariputra.

'Ananda,' he said, 'often and often have I sought to bring shelter to your soul from the misery caused by such grief as this. There are two things alone that can separate us from father and mother, from brother and sister, from all those who are most cherished by us, and those two things are distance and death. Think not that I, though the Buddha, have not felt all this even as any other of you; was I not alone when I was seeking for wisdom in the wilderness?

'And yet what would I have gained by wailing and lamenting either for myself or for others? Would it have brought to me any solace from my loneliness? would it have been any help to those whom I had left? There is nothing that can happen to us, however terrible, however miserable, that can justify tears and lamentations and make them aught but a weakness.'

And so, we are told, in this way the Buddha

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soothed the affliction of Ananda, and filled his soul with consolation—the consolation of resignation.

For there is no other consolation possible but this, resignation to the inevitable, the conviction of the uselessness of sorrow, the vanity and selfishness of grief.

There is no meeting again with the dead. Nowhere in the recurring centuries shall we meet again those whom we have loved, whom we love, who seem to us to be parts of our very soul. That which survives of us, the part which is incarnated again and again, until it be fit for heaven, has nothing to do with love and hate.

Even if in the whirlpool of life our paths should cross again the paths of those whom we have loved, we are never told that we shall know them again and love them.

A friend of mine has just lost his mother, and he is very much distressed. He must have been very fond of her, for although he has a wife and children, and is happy in his family, he is in great sorrow. He proposes even to build a pagoda over her remains, a testimony of respect which in strict Buddhism is reserved to saints. He has been telling me about this, and how he is trying to get a sacred relic to put in the pagoda, and I asked him if he never hoped again to meet the soul of his mother on earth or in heaven, and he answered:

'No. It is very hard, but so are many things, and they have to be borne. Far better it is to face the truth than to escape by a pleasant falsehood. There is a Burmese proverb that tells us that all

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the world is one vast burial-ground; there are dead men everywhere.' 779 761

'One of our great men has said the same,' I answered.

He was not surprised.

'As it is true,' he said, 'I suppose all great men would see it.'

Thus there is no escape, no loophole for a delusive hope, only the cultivation of the courage of sorrow.

There are never any exceptions to the laws of the Buddha. If a law is a law, that is the end of it. Just as we know of no exceptions to the law of gravitation, so there are no exceptions to the law of death. 779 761 772

But although this may seem to be a religion of despair, it is not really so. This sorrow to which there is no relief is the selfishness of sorrow, the grief for our own loneliness; for of sorrow, of fear, of pity for the dead, there is no need. We know that in time all will be well with them. We know that, though there may be before them vast periods of suffering, yet that they will all at last be in Nebhan with us. And if we shall not know them there, still we shall know that they are there, all of them—not one will be wanting. Purified from the lust of life, white souls steeped in the Great Peace, all living things will attain rest at last. 779 761

There is this remarkable fact in Buddhism, that nowhere is any fear expressed of death itself, nowhere any apprehension of what may happen to the dead. It is the sorrow of separation, the terror of

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death to the survivors, that is always dwelt upon with compassion, and the agony of which it is sought to soothe.

That the dying man himself should require strengthening to face the King of Terrors is hardly ever mentioned. It seems to be taken for granted that men should have courage in themselves to take leave of life becomingly, without undue fears. Buddhism is the way to show us the escape from the miseries of life, not to give us hope in the hour of death.

It is true that to all Orientals death is a less fearful thing than it is to us. I do not know what may be the cause of this, courage certainly has little to do with it; but it is certain that the purely physical fear of death, that horror and utter revulsion that seizes the majority of us at the idea of death, is absent from most Orientals. And yet this cannot explain it all. For fear of death, though less, is still there, is still a strong influence upon their lives, and it would seem that no religion which ignored this great fact could become a great living religion.

Religion is made for man, to fit his necessities, not man for religion, and yet the faith of Buddhism is not concerned with death.

Consider our faith, how much of its teaching consists of how to avoid the fear of death, how much of its consolation is for the death-bed. How we are taught all our lives that we should live so as not to fear death; how we have priests and sacraments to soothe the dying man, and give him hope and courage, and how the crown and summit of our creed is that

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we should die easily. And consider that in Buddhism all this is absolutely wanting. Buddhism is a creed of life, of conduct; death is the end of that life, that is all.

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We have all seen death. We have all of us watched those who, near and dear to us, go away out of our ken. There is no need for me to recall the last hours of those of our faith, to bring up again the fading eye and waning breath, the messages of hope we search for in our Scriptures to give hope to him who is going, the assurances of religion, the cross held before the dying eyes.

Many men, we are told, turn to religion at the last after a life of wickedness, and a man may do so even at the eleventh hour and be saved.

That is part of our belief; that is the strongest part of our belief; and that is the hope that all fervent Christians have, that those they love may be saved even at the end.

I think it may truly be said that our Western creeds are all directed at the hour of death, as the great and final test of that creed.

And now think of Buddhism; it is a creed of life. In life you must win your way to salvation by urgent effort, by suffering, by endurance. On your death-bed you can do nothing. If you have done well, then it is well; if ill, then you must in future life try again and again till you succeed. A life is not washed, a soul is not made fit for the dwelling of eternity, in a moment.

Repentance to a Buddhist is but the opening of the eyes to see the path to righteousness; it has no virtue in itself. To have seen that we are sinners

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is but the first step to cleansing our sin; in itself it cannot purify.

As well ask a robber of the poor to repent, and suppose thereby that those who have suffered from his guilt are compensated for the evil done to them by his repentance, as to ask a Buddhist to believe that a sinner can at the last moment make good to his own soul all the injuries caused to that soul by the wickedness of his life.

Or suppose a man who has destroyed his constitution by excess to be by the very fact of acknowledging that excess restored to health.

The Buddhist will not have that at all. A man is what he makes himself; and that making is a matter of terrible effort, of unceasing endeavour towards the right, of constant suppression of sin, till sin be at last dead within him. If a man has lived a wicked life, he dies a wicked man, and no wicked man can obtain the perfect rest of the sinless dead. Heaven is shut to him. But if heaven is shut it is not shut for ever; if hell may perhaps open to him it is only for a time, only till he is purified and washed from the stain of his sins; and then he can begin again, and have another chance to win heaven. If there is no immediate heaven there is no eternal hell, and in due time all will reach heaven; all will have learnt, through suffering, the wisdom the Buddha has shown to us, that only by a just life can men reach the Great Peace even as he did.

So you see that if Buddhism has none of the consolation for the dying man that Christianity holds out, in the hope of heaven, so it has none of the

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threats and terrors of our faith. There is no fear of an angry Judge—of a Judge who is angry.

And yet when I came to think over the matter, it seemed to me that surely there must be something to calm him in the face of death. If Buddhism does not furnish this consolation, he must go elsewhere for it. And I was not satisfied, because I could find nothing in the sacred books about a man's death, that therefore the creed of the people had ignored it. A living creed must, I was sure, provide for this somehow.

So I went to a friend of mine, a Burman magistrate, and I asked him:

'When a man is dying, what does he try to think of? What do you say to comfort him that his last moments may be peace? The monks do not come, I know.'

'The monks!' he said, shaking his head; 'what could they do?'

I did not know.

'Can you do anything,' I asked, 'to cheer him? Do you speak to him of what may happen after death, of hopes of another life?'

'No one can tell,' said my friend, 'what will happen after death. It depends on a man's life, if he has done good or evil, what his next existence will be, whether he will go a step nearer to the Peace. When the man is dying no monks will come, truly; but an old man, an old friend, father, perhaps, or an elder of the village, and he will talk to the dying man. He will say, "Think of your good deeds; think of all that you have done well in this life. Think of your good deeds."'

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'What is the use of that?' I asked. 'Suppose you think of your good deeds, what then? Will that bring peace?'

And the Burman seemed to think that it would.

'Nothing,' he said, 'was so calming to a man's soul as to think of even one deed he had done well in his life.'

Think of the man dying. The little house built of bamboo and thatch, with an outer veranda, where the friends are sitting, and the inner room, behind a wall of bamboo matting, where the man is lying. A pot of flowers is standing on a shelf on one side, and a few cloths are hung here and there beneath the brown rafters. The sun comes in through little chinks in roof and wall, making curious lights in the semi-darkness of the room, and it is very hot.

From outside come the noises of the village, cries of children playing, grunts of cattle, voices of men and women clearly heard through the still clear air of the afternoon. There is a woman pounding rice near by with a steady thud, thud of the lever, and there is a clink of a loom where a girl is weaving ceaselessly. All these sounds come into the house as if there were no walls at all, but they are unheeded from long custom.

The man lies on a low bed with a fine mat spread under him for bedding. His wife, his grown-up children, his sister, his brother are about him, for the time is short, and death comes very quickly in the East. They talk to him kindly and lovingly, but they read to him no sacred books; they give him no messages from the world to which he is bound; they whisper to him no hopes of heaven.

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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He is tortured with no fears of everlasting hell. Yet life is sweet and death is bitter, and it is hard to go; and as he tosses to and fro in his fever there comes in to him an old friend, the headman of the village perhaps, with a white muslin fillet bound about his kind old head, and he sits beside the dying man and speaks to him.

'Remember,' he says slowly and clearly, 'all those things that you have done well. Think of your good deeds.'

And as the sick man turns wearily, trying to move his thoughts as he is bidden, trying to direct the wheels of memory, the old man helps him to remember.

'Think,' he says, 'of your good deeds, of how you have given charity to the monks, of how you have fed the poor. Remember how you worked and saved to build the little rest-house in the forest where the traveller stays and finds water for his thirst. All these are pleasant things, and men will always be grateful to you. Remember your brother, how you helped him in his need, how you fed him and went security for him till he was able again to secure his own living. You did well to him, surely that is a pleasant thing.'

I do not think it difficult to see how the sick man's face will lighten, how his eyes will brighten at the thoughts that come to him at the old man's words. And he goes on:

'Remember when the squall came up the river and the boat upset when you were crossing here; how it seemed as if no man could live alone in such waves, and yet how you clung to and saved the boy

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

779 761 who was with you, swimming through the water that splashed over your head and very nearly drowned you. The boy's father and mother have never forgotten that, and they are even now mourning without in the veranda. It is all due to you that their lives have not been full of misery and despair. Remember their faces when you brought their little son to them saved from death in the great river. Surely that is a pleasant thing. Remember your wife who is now with you; how you have loved her and cherished her, and kept faithful to her before all the world. You have been a good husband to her, and you have honoured her. She loves you, and you have loved her all your long life together. Surely that is a pleasant thing.'

Yes, surely these are pleasant things to have with one at the last. Surely a man will die easier with such memories as these before his eyes, with love in those about him, and the calm of good deeds in his dying heart. If it be a different way of soothing a man's end to those which other nations use, is it the worse for that?

Think of your good deeds. It seems a new idea to me that in doing well in our life we are making for ourselves a pleasant death, because of the memory of those things. And if we have none? or if evil so outnumbered the good deeds as to hide and overwhelm them, what then? His death will be terrible indeed if he cannot in all his days remember one good deed that he has done.

'All a man's life comes before him at the hour of death,' said my informant; 'all, from the earliest memory to the latest breath. Like a whole land-

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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scape called by a flash of lightning out of the dark night. It is all there, every bit of it, good and evil, pleasure and pain, sin and righteousness.'

A man cannot escape from his life even in death. In our acts of to-day we are determining what our death will be; if we have lived well, we shall die well; and if not, then not. As a man lives so shall he die, is the teaching of Buddhism as of other creeds.

So what Buddhism has to offer to the dying believer is this, that if he live according to its tenets he will die happily, and that in the life that he will next enter upon he will be less and less troubled by sin, less and less wedded to the lust of life, until sometime, far away, he shall gain the great Deliverance. He shall have perfect Peace, perfect rest, perfect happiness, he and his, in that heaven where his teacher went before him long ago.

And if we should say that this Deliverance from life, this Great Peace, is Death, what matter, if it be indeed Peace?

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16sFielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

CHAPTER XXII

THE POTTER'S WHEEL

'Life is like a great whirlpool wherein we are dashed to and fro by our passions.'—*Saying of the Buddha.*

779 It is a hard teaching, this of the Buddha about
761 death. It is a teaching that may appeal to the
reason, but not to the soul. That when life goes
182 out, this thing which we call 'I' goes out with it, and that love and remembrance are dead for ever.

It is so hard a teaching that in its purity the people cannot believe it. They accept it, but they have added on to it a belief which changes the whole form of it, a belief that is the outcome of that weakness of humanity which insists that death is not and cannot be all.

Though to the strict Buddhist death is the end of all worldly passion, to the Burmese villager that is not so. He cannot grasp, he cannot endure that it should be so, and he has made for himself out of Buddhism a belief that is opposed to all Buddhism in this matter.

775 He believes in the transmigration of souls, in the survival of the 'I.' The teaching that what survives

General Attitudes of the Burmese toward Work.

621 463 554 461

Rank and status in the Burmese Village is determined to a large extent on the basis of occupation - with the factor of wealth where applicable taking precedence over occupation. The highest rank is accorded to the Buddhist monks who exert the ultimate influence. Government officials including the township officers, the THU GYI (headman) and elders, and the schoolmaster occupy the second rank. The large land owners (of this group the rice-mill owners rate highest) rank next. Below these are the tradesmen - the paddy dealers, shop keepers and small holdings farmers who comprise the bulk of the population. Professional artisans such as carpenters, blacksmiths, gold and silver smiths occupy a lower position. However, it is common for the small holdings farmers to practice a secondary occupation such as pottery making.

[226] [224] [779]

Fishermen and hunters are looked down on by the rest of the community because they offend Buddhist precepts by taking life. In this class also are those who raise animals (cows, poultry, pigs) for food, smugglers and brewers. Fishermen, particularly those such as U Myaing who operate IN fisheries often become wealthy, but the stigma of the source of this wealth is remembered by the community.

[538]

A story is told of a rich fisherman who came to cover the Shwe Dagon Pagoda in Rangoon with gold plate. Unfortunately, he had sinned so much by taking the lives of fish that he could not see the pagoda. In a rage he returned to his IN to cover its posts with the gold. Because of the stigma attached to fishing those who make their living in this way tend to live together in their own communities. Thus Pathus, U Myaing's village is primarily a fisherman's community.

175 567 778 461

In the days of the Burmese kings, wealthy men and nobles (THAKIN) would assign people under their command to serve as pagoda slaves. Their names were engraved in stone and their descendents for all eternity assigned to this position. The duties were light - consisting mainly of sweeping the platforms and carrying for the images, but the social position was next to the lowest. It is believed that the flower vendors on the platform of the Rangoon

pagodas and those throughout the country are descendants of the pagoda slaves. 461 175 567

Beggars are rated below the pagoda slaves - but, because of the Buddhist merit associated with giving do well for themselves. 778 735 The beggars live in communities on the outskirts of the town often in cemetaries. They are thought to exhume the dead to get the coins [779] placed in the mouth of the deceased to ensure expenses on his journey 764 to heaven. The wood of the coffin is believed to be used in constructing their huts. 554 461 Professional undertakers or morticians are regarded with horror since they like the beggars, make their living from the dead. The functions of burial are performed gratis by the entire village. A story is currently going round the University dormitories [203] telling of an immensely wealthy Burmese coffin maker in Rangoon who has offered riches to the young man who will marry his beautiful daughter. When the future seems blank the students' friend advises "Hey, why don't you go and marry the coffin maker's daughter?" It seems that the money would scarcely compensate for the social discrimation. 461 The extent to which the occupation classes are rigid in 565 marriage and other social exchanges is an interesting problem. 555

A young man is obliged to remain within the occupation class of his family or to rise to greater heights. He is advised at an early [867] age to "be simple, aim high, and tell the truth." When children [857] play at dacoits (thieves) or other "low class" games their parents object to their low aspirations and advise them to play nobles and ministers. One would feel justified in remaining idle rather than accept a position below that of his birth. It is better to accept a clerks job at a low salary than an artisans at a high salary. On the other hand those born into lower status occupation groups tend to be satisfied with their state as a condition of birth. In Rangoon, however, even the hawkers may have ambitions to achieve fame and fortune. The opportunities for social mobility is greater in the towns and cities [369] but difinitely restricted in the villages. 461

Apprenticeship to trades begins at the age of 12 to 14 years, 467 and usually lasts for several years. Ordinarily the youth is attached 874 to the shop of a relative where he lives and is payed a subsistence [602] wage while learning. The key to high positions lies in education in

of clothes. The old people take care to save the torn garments for use in wiping the hands after meals, for handling hot pots on the stove and the like. 291 554 181

There are three classes of clothing (1) working clothes (2) festive dress, and (3) religious dress. The working clothes consist of the cheaper and less ornate fabrics and are mainly of cotton. The men usually bind the longyi around the loins by looping the shirt in a band between the legs. Htamein (women's longyi) waist band is secured under the armpits when bathing. 291 292

While walking in the rain the longyis are also raised to prevent them from becoming wet. Festive dress involves the best which one has, usually silks and are worn on the Sabbath days and at special social occasions as the SHIN BYA and other ceremonies. Religious dress is worn constantly by Pongyis (orange robes), nuns (peach coloured) and frequently by old men (white) and old women (light chocolate coloured). On Sabbath days the particularly religious individuals of all ages, especially those belonging to Buddhist lay societies, wear religious dress. 291 779● [575]

The term LONGYI means "lower apparel" and is applied to both men's (PUSO) and women's (HTAMEIN). The men's festive longyi TAUNG-SHAY-PUSO (taung measurement- twenty-puso) worn frequently in the past and now reserved for special occasions was a double silk PUSO 8 yards long. A special method of securing this garment about the waist results in GAPEN YA ("Sticking out piece") a fold which protrudes 6 or more inches in the midline - only, however, when the silk is crisp and stiff (new and/or finest heavy quality). This is regarded as a very manly garment. Two styles of APAW KINGYI (over jacket) men's jacket are worn. The "Peking" type meeting at the mid-line is most common. A "Cantonese" type buttons over like the women's jacket at the side. 291 292

Formerly every young man had tattooed thighs, extending in a solid band of decoration from a few inches above the knees to the hips. The motifs were frequently mat symbols. The main purpose was to display manliness and courage since the process of tatooing, done with a 3 pronged fork dipped in pigment was extremely painful. 304 562 178

length) draped over one shoulder. The PUWA, part of the scarf, still draped, is placed on front of the worshipping woman for her head and hands as she bows. The beads, a string about 2 feet long made of black lacquer or red or white beads about ½ inch in diameter are called SKIN-PA-HEZ (count-beads). They are worn about the neck when not in use, and are "counted" by the fingers of one hand. Each bead, thus counted calls to the worshipper's mind a vision of Buddha as she says ARA HAHN (God) in a low voice. While in this dress women do not decorate their hair with flowers or wear jewelry or cosmetiques as such would be unseemly. 792 291 293 [788]

The older men and other religious men (who are gathering alms as members of Buddhist lay societies) wear a loose white robe over a white jacket, white head band, praying bead necklace, and a chocolate coloured scarf draped over one shoulder. The general public must wear their very best clothes for religious festivals but the women do not use cosmetiques. "Rangoon Sabbath" is the term applied to the less strict observations of the town people who may appear with a little THANAKA or other cosmetiques. The marriage dress of the bride is an older form of costume involving use of a long split skirt with out-flaring jackets. 888 779 575 291 [369] [779] [292] [585]

The hair styles are important and denote age and sex. Children of both sexes wear their hair in a knot at the top of the head with a fringe of short hair like a bowl below. The older men's style was long hair knotted on one side in the back of the head; except in villages this has been superseded by the western short crop ranging from a long "Pompador" to short "crew cuts" - the latter being rarer and more modern. Old men wear very short cropped hair or are shaven - as the Pongyis and nuns. Maidens wear their hair in elaborately woven tresses - earlier on top of the head in a disc-whorl - now in chain braids at the back of the head. False switches of hair are commonly used. Flowers are used as decoration on all occasions. The usual style for married ladies is a knot at the back of the head wound around a rectangular comb of wood, (common) tortoise shell, ivory or gold. Older and married women sometimes appear in an ancient ceremonial style consisting of the hair wrapped around a fiber cylinder 302 177 369

set aside for the 37 plates, the people are served.

"The Nat ceremony at the Nat-Kauk IN is for KAIN BAING, the Indian Nat. He is given offerings of chicken, liquor, Htameins, etc. This Nat lives in a tree and he has made this known by possessing someone and speaking through him. After the food is offered to this Nat, the people who gave the offering eat it all up, drink all the liquor and present the Htameins to the aged and elderly. The gold leaf is stuck onto the trunk of the Nat tree, and the black rice is thrown away. 776 796

"The person who works his IN for himself alone has to provide for his own offerings. If the IN undertaking is a cooperative one the various members get together to give offerings to the IN nat."

In holding a ceremony for U SHIN GYI there are some items offered which are only just sufficient for his consumption, and for a few other people. Some items of food, however, are prepared in sufficient quantity to feed the whole village.

The items used in the yearly offering to the IN nat KAIN BAING include:- One chicken, one bottle of liquor, jaggery, Rs. 2/8 worth of KAUKHNYIN or black rice and about four condensed milk tins of rice. No Htameins. The nat who likes Htameins is the HSE-DAW-SHIN nat to whom King Anawratha himself is believed to have given offerings.

Items used in a single ceremony for U Shin Gyi include:- Three condensed milk tins of black rice or KAUKHNYIN @ Rs. 8/-, ten coconuts @ Rs. 1/- each, 50 ticals of LAPHET or Burmese pickled tea @ Rs. 6/- per viss (100 ticals), about 4 or 6 annas worth of betel quid, about three viss of jaggery, costing Rs. 5/-, 8 packets of 10 candles @ 2 annas per packet and flowers just sufficient to place on the alter. Rs. 2/- worth of flowers are bought @ one anna per bundle. The flowers are mainly SHIN GHE (diamond decorated). Some flowers need not be purchased, but can be easily gathered from the trees. THA BYAY (pleasant country) flowers and coconut kernels are also placed on the alter. These kernels are obtained free of charge from the coconut trees. [173]

Buddhism

The practices of Buddhism are both a religious duty and a social occasion for the family. The difficulty of separating the everyday "secular" activities from the supernatural will be especially apparent in the passages below. 779

phongyis have to draw lots for these. 796 735

There are thirty days during which the KAHTEIN ceremony can be held - from the full moon of Thadingyut to the full moon of Tasaungmon When the phongyis have been given HSOON, the ceremony is over. But preparations have to be made four or five days ahead for building the equipment, for cooking the food, for rehearsing the play to be put up by the youngmen, etc.

The Tagu month festival is a religious festival and is celebrated in their village at the HSU TAUNG PYE pagoda. Collections are taken, and people donate from Rs. 2/- or Rs. 5/- right up to Rs. 300/- each. A EAT troupe is engaged for the occasion, and they are paid at the rate of Rs. 150/- or Rs. 200/- a night for six or seven nights. This festival takes place on the full moon of the month of Tagu. Beginning from the eve of the full moon, people start coming to the pagoda bringing gifts of fruit, PAUK PAUK HSOTE trifle, toffees, bread, cheroots, betel boxes GYIN THOKE trifle, etc., and these people have to be fed too. U Myaing donated between forty and sixty rupees; while people who are rich donate between three hundred and four hundred rupees. (U Myaing's village of Pathwe is divided by a fork in the river into three sub-villages, and when collections are taken they are only confined to one's own side of the river.) Enough food is prepared to feed three or four thousand people. Butter is bought by the kerosene tin, ripe bananas, fried fish, pork, etc., and the guests are fed till everyone is satisfied. About twenty baskets of rice have to be boiled by about forty to fifty people.

The guests are fed in three rest houses, each holding fifty people at a time. Even so, there are so many guests that some people have to return home without having eaten anything at all, and even though a lot of food still remain. The guests who come are both Karens and Burmans, and when they come they sometimes bring along cows or horses which have decorations and gifts hung on them. Anyone who so desires can go and hang his gift on to the animal as well.

Everyone contributes his or her labour. It is not good to hold back. When there is a festival or a ceremony in the KLAUNG, all the families lock up their houses and go over to help. Even fish coming down to the IN are not picked up til the festival is over. Everyone helps in getting up festivals. Burmans and Karens all come to help at some household which intends to give charity on a grand scale. [476]

U Myaing's Shifting Relationship to Buddhism

In an interview U Myaing was questioned as to his relationship to Buddhism as a "taker of lives" (fisherman). His sense of guilt in Pantanaw where he fished and relief from this in the camp is given below verbatim from the interview. 779

42. Q. Would you tell U Myaing that I as a foreigner understand very little about Buddhism but I've heard that the fishermen who take lives of the fish are regarded unfavourably. Ask him if this is true.
A. (U.M.) There are the 5 KAMS (commandments - Pali: KAMM - to do). Thou shalt not take the life of others. Thou shalt not wrong the wife and offspring of another. Abstain from intoxicants and from stealing the property of others. We have to observe these. The Buddha has preached it.
Q. Isn't U Myaing, in working the IN, taking the lives of the fish?
A. Yes, I am taking the lives of the fish. I have to do it to get food - to make a living.
Q. But you do not wish to take life?

●779

A. No. And even though I kill, I give charities. "If your work demerit, perform meritorious acts" so preached Buddha. We took life there, and we gave charities then, so it seemed that the demerit couldn't be very great. As the saying goes, "A tical of merit for a viss of demerit." We are asked to do a TABETHA (viss) worth of meritorious acts.

Q. What kinds of charities and offerings did U Myaing give in Pantanaw?

A. TAZAUNG (prayer platform), pagoda. I built a pagoda - a ZEDI.

Q. Did U Myaing erect this pagoda (spire) personally or in conjunction with others.

A. I built it alone all of us including my parents. I built it with the money I got.

Q. Was it built by your family as a whole?

A. It was with the money received by the seven of us - the money I own.

Q. How much did this cost to erect?

A. Rs. 1,400/- and slightly above.

46. Q. How much merit did U Myaing get? Can he measure the merit?

A. We cannot know. People say that it will do you good in some future existence, that is why you give charities.

47. Q. Is U Myaing able to observe many of the Buddhist rites here in Rangoon, could you compare the religious life around Pantanaw with that around here?

A. We can give little charities here because we have very little. There we could give much because we had lots of money. Here, besides food we can give only a little, such as flowers, etc.

48. Q. Is U Myaing unhappy because he is unable to give the things that he would like to now?

A. Yes. I observe the UBOT-NE (holy day) during the Wa (rains; the Buddhist lent coincides with the months of the rainy season) and I am not fully and completely equipped. There I could observe the holy day fully equipped. Here, since I cannot do so, I feel unhappy and neither would I get much merit.

Q. When you say "fully and completely equipped", what do you mean? With what things are you unequipped?

A. Offerings and charities. When we ascend the pagoda, we need flowers to offer and money to donate. We cannot donate because we don't have sufficient money. We cannot offer charities.

49. Q. Does the fact that U Myaing does not feel happy about his present situation indicate that he feels that he should be gaining more merit?

A. We cannot do much merit now. And the demerit now is also not great.

Q. So it is the same as in Pantanaw?

Yes. The same as in Pantanaw. In Pantanaw the merit was great and the demerit was great. Here the merit is not great, and the demerit also is not great. It is just the same.

The whole family goes to the Karen ANYEIN or marionette shows which are quite rare and sometimes not even seen in a year. If it is held, 536
it is held during the months of TAGU, KASON and TAZAUNGMON. In the villages an ANYEIN gives over at about one or two in the morning.

The people from their village also go over to Karen villages 536
when they have puppet shows at cremation ceremonies. Some of the 764
Karens bury their dead and after three or four years they exhume the corpse to burn the bones and store the ashes away. At the ceremony for the cremation of the bones they stage these puppet shows and the members of U Myaing's family go to witness them.

In Pathwe the PYAZWE (stage performance or PWE) has not yet made an appearance. Ma Aye 536
Myaing had seen it in another village where she had to pay an admission charge of four annas. This was the only time she had seen it. On that occasion the show was followed by an enactment of one [779]
of the birth stories of Buddha and this went on till morning.

CHILDREN'S GAMES:

The children used to play several games. One of these was to 524
blind-fold one of their number and set him off in the direction of 857
an iron bar suspended about 25 yards away. The blindfolded boy was given an iron rod and it was his task to try and hit the suspended bar with his rod.

These games were played at a sports meeting organized for children and everyone in the village turned out to watch. Another [621]
item was the candle race where the children were given a lighted candle each and made to run a race. Then there was a cock fighting contest where two girls sat back on their haunches, faced each other and began to swing each knee forward alternatively until one or the other gave up. There was also a needle and thread race, a sack race, a one-legged race and an egg and spoon race. Each of these races were confined to only two contestants at a time.

GONYIN:- A GONYIN is the large flat seed and is used in a game that Burmese children play - U Myaing's children included. There have to be ten players, five a side and each side has to try and hit the seeds belonging to the opposing group according to complicated rules.

In Pathwe the children used to play marbles and not the youths [369]
as is sometimes found in Rangoon. In Pathwe the adults were all

181 565 555 first a bewildered refugee, but gradually assumed the role of a labourer rising in the ranks. The case indicates the mobility of the Burmese family and shows clearly that it may function successfully outside of the confines of its original social atmosphere.

182 594 621 156 The family in Burmese society: The successful mobility of U Myaing's family indicate that the immediate family is the primary social unit of Burmese society. The Burmese community is then a congregation of immediate families who engage in activities of mutual benefit within the protective framework of the village structure. This interpretation high lights a particular type of individualism which is a family individualism depending on the roles of each member of the family for its full expression. This concept seems tied to the Buddhist idea of individual salvation through acts of merit on the one hand and the exigencies of gaining a livelihood on the other. The family is the basic economic unit and though it will enter cooperative endeavours (like the IN fisheries, or communal net propitiations), has the ultimate responsibility and capabilities of supporting itself. The extended family is important, as indeed is the total village social structure, only in so far as it contributes to the maintenance of the individual immediate family of procreation including spouses, offspring and aged parents. The "looseness" of the social structure conversely allows mobility of the immediate families. This analysis indicates that attempts at modernising of the Burmese people (acculturation) should meet with a minimum of structural obstacles - such as caste, clan and rigid associations might present.

[179] [474] [596]

181 156 369 555 The Burmese culture pattern and the individual: The village culture pattern is dominated by a series of relatively simple, interrelated ideas held by all. Each individual feels himself temporily occupying a particular situation which is only one of many existences and but an instant in eternity. He is fated to be a member of a particular family with a set of opportunities through life. Life should be pleasant and must be virtuous if future existences are to be pleasant. He must realise as fully as possible the talents and opportunities that come to him through his KAMMA situation. In the villages this concept is a great stabilizing force and tends to make an individual content with

21: Htin Aung
773, 779

AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

[For folk mythology and Buddhist mythology and for incidents and characters therefrom in Burmese literature and drama, see category 116, pp. 1-149.]

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4
Mon

175 it, carrying on trade with India and the rest of Indo-China. During this period Burmese dancing and music and poetry, as embodied in songs, perhaps assumed definite and national forms. But there was
177 no writing. The kings that came from India probably knew writing,
175 but their knowledge was perhaps limited; in any case, it never
212 reached the people. The introduction of Buddhism into the country brought no writing, as it came through traders whose knowledge of religious learning was meagre. The few religious tracts preserved in monasteries were looked upon merely as curious and sacred objects. The religion, feeble from the beginning, decayed and soon disappeared. The kingdom came to an end in the first century A.D.[1]

175 A new kingdom was founded in Upper Burma at Pagan, which
● 779 controlled the land and river trade-routes, and as a result of its
212 commercial advantages, it became a powerful kingdom with the ascension to the throne of Anawrahta in 1044. From that point Burmese history ceases to be conjectural. Through the influence of the learned and saintly monk, Shin Arahan, Buddhism in one of its purest forms was introduced into the kingdom by Anawrahta. With it, writing was also introduced. The alphabet was the 'Square Pali', and the literature the *Three Pitakas* embodying all the religious
101 teachings in Pali. Curiously enough, the alphabet and the literature
174 did not come directly from India, but from Burma itself—from the
144 Talaing kingdom of Thaton. The Talaings were a branch of the Burmese race. Many think that they were a mixture of native tribes with Indian traders. I venture to disagree. The earliest inhabitants of Burma were Indonesians, who settled on the coast of Burma during successive 'drifts' of humanity from the west, through India, to further east. Later, there was an infiltration of Mongolian tribes, who came down the rivers from the North. Inland, where the Indonesian element was weak, the new-comers dominated and later became the Burmese; along the coast where the Indonesian element was strong the tribes united and became the Talaings. However, all this is mere con-
175 jecture. The early history of the Talaing kingdom of Thaton, which
101 Anawrahta had to destroy to obtain possession of the alphabet and the *Three Pitakas*, is not known, except that it was perhaps in existence a few centuries before Christ and was under the influence

[1] Pe Maung Tin and G. H. Luce, *The Glass Palace Chronicle*; A. Phayre, *History of Burma*. G. E. Harvey in his *History of Burma* contends that the first Burmese kingdom was Prome, and that it flourished only in about the seventh century A.D.

[114]

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4
Mon

of Hindu traders from South India. After the introduction of Buddhism into South India by Asoka in 261 B.C., the traders began to bring Buddhist elements to Thaton. With the establishment in the third or fourth century after Christ of the Hindu kingdoms in Java and Sumatra, Thaton became an important trading centre, and with the rise of a great Buddhist centre at Conjeveram in Madras in the fifth century, the Talaings began to receive religious writings in Pali. From that time onwards, learning was definitely established in the kingdom, and, as a result, a Talaing literature came into being. Anawrahta was interested in Pali only, and therefore when he destroyed the city, he burnt all the manuscripts except those in Pali.[1]

175 101 [779] [177]

The writing and learning that were thus introduced into Pagan took root at once. Prose and poetry as embodied in the language of the court and in songs had been in existence long before, though unwritten, and now the new learning turned them into written forms and began to develop them. Pali was studied everywhere, and in the newly-built temples with their crowded monastic life, works in Pali on religion, on Pali grammar and prosody, and on the legal code of Manu came to be produced.[2] Translations were also made, and soon Pagan became famous throughout India for its Pali scholarship. But

175 212 779 538

[1] The Burmese language belongs to the Tibeto-Burmese group, whereas the Talaing belongs to the Mon-Khmar group. In spite of Anawrahta's conquest and in spite of the fact that racially they were cousins, the Talaings became completely merged with the Burmese only in the eighteenth century. The probability of the Sanskrit drama reaching the Talaings is considered in chap. ii.

[197] [101]

[2] G. E. Harvey, op. cit., pp. 59, 70.

The most famous for literary activity was the *Kyauku Ohmmin* temple. Though built perhaps even before Anawrahta, when a corrupted form of Buddhism was prevalent, it is still in an excellent condition (Harvey, p. 17).

The code of Manu was compiled originally in Sanskrit, during the period 200 B.C.–A.D. 200. Since that time it has been one of the chief sources of Hindu law (J. D. Mayne, *Hindu Law*). The Burmese received it in a Talaing-Pali version in which the sacerdotal element had been done away with. That explains why, although Manu is one of the chief sources also of Burmese Buddhist law, it has little in common with Hindu law. The existence of the code as the chief source of Talaing law (Harvey, op. cit., p. 111) raises again the question, how far were the Talaing writings under the influence of Sanskrit and its literature? We shall never know. When Anawrahta destroyed Talaing institutions and historical and literary works, he intended that all knowledge of the past greatness of the Talaings should pass into oblivion so as to smooth his way towards unifying Burma into one single State.

[671]

Pali has been, since 1044, the classical language of Burma.

[198]

Z1: Hsin Aung B-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

in spite of its greatness in other directions, from being a great period of Burmese literature. The love of beauty, which is the basis of all literature, had adequate satisfaction in the developed art of architecture. The poets of Pagan wrote their poems in bricks, instead of words, and their pagodas are still famous. When one stands on the shore of the Irrawaddy and looks towards the ruins of Pagan, one is reminded of the delicate beauty of an incomplete poem.[1]

Pagan fell in 1287 as the result of the Tartar onslaught during the time of Kubla Khan, the Scourge of God, and the country broke up into several little States, each attempting to control the others. For the next fifty years, political struggles went on in the capitals, but they failed to disturb the peace of smaller towns and villages. Many who had grown tired of the strife around the thrones flocked to the quiet of the village monasteries in order to find peace. Religion went on undiminished, but the learning connected with it decayed, for the royal patronage was lacking. Architecture also decayed because there was no royal support and because the country had become poor. Men turned to literature for its own sake, and during this period Burmese prose and poetry assumed definite forms with fully developed diction, rhythm, rhyme and style.[2]

[1] Many temples and pagodas of the Pagan period are in an excellent state of preservation and are still in use as places of worship. Scott O'Conner's *Mandalay and Other Cities* contains fine illustrations of the more famous of these religious buildings.

The achievement of the Pagan kings, the 'Temple Builders', is summed up by Harvey thus: 'The legacy of their fleeting sway has enriched posterity for ever. It was they who made the sun-scorched wilderness, the solitary plain of Myingyan, to blossom forth into the architectural magnificence of Pagan. If they produced no nation-builder like Simon de Montfort, no lawgiver like Edward I, they unified Burma for more than two centuries, and that in itself was an achievement. But their role was æsthetic and religious rather than political. To them the world owes in great measure the preservation of Theravada Buddhism, one of the purest faiths mankind has ever known. Brahminism had strangled it in the land of its birth; in Ceylon its existence was threatened again and again; east of Burma it was not yet free from priestly corruptions; but the kings of Burma never wavered, and at Pagan the stricken faith found a city of refuge. Vainglorious tyrants built themselves lasting sepulchres, but none of these men has a tomb. . . . These men's magnificence went to glorify their religion, not to deck the tent wherein they camped during this transitory life.'—*History of Burma*, p. 70.

[2] Ibid., p. 103. Since that time, prose and poetry show continuous development. The full history of Burmese literature still remains unwritten. However, the *Anthology of Burmese Literature*, a Government publication,

So the worship of the nats lived on, and with the advance o
795 civilization the spirit dances became elaborate, for though the belief
535 was primitive, the people were no longer so. The dances benefited from the developments that had taken place in Burmese music which, as we have seen, flourished under the patronage of the Pagan kings. New spirits were added, and they were usually those of heroic princes. The dancers were now many, for the mediums turned themselves into dancing and music mistresses. The chief medium of each spirit dressed herself in the special dress of the spirit, but the junior mediums, who were equivalent to the chorus of an English revue, were in the dress of Burmese princesses. It is interesting to note the
[292] origin of this dress. The mediums realized the necessity of dressing
[565] themselves in fine raiment, but as everybody wore clothes of bright colours, the only solution of the problem was to don the dress of the court and official class, which the commoners were forbidden to
[536] wear by law, except during feasts and dances. When drama proper came into being, the hero and the heroine dressed themselves in the court dress, even when they were representing common characters.

3. Miracles and Interludes

175 After the fall of the kingdom of Pagan in A.D. 1257, Burma was
369 the scene of fierce civil wars, but the trouble was mainly in the
726 capitals; in the villages and small towns life went on in its joyous
779 way. Religion continued to spread in spite of the fact that the throne
538 of Pagan was no longer in existence to support it. Learning began to reach the remotest parts of the country, carried far and near by monks. To escape from the aimless strife of the civil wars, men turned towards literature. Money was lacking to compose poems in brick as had been done at Pagan, and men now expressed their love for the religion and their love for the beautiful in writing. The new literature further educated the people and made even stronger the already strong religious fervour. As a result, at village feasts and on days of public rejoicing, the people turned towards their religion for amusement and entertainment. So pageants depicting scenes from the life of the Buddha and from his Birth Stories came into being.

Pageants were given on ordinary carts that were in use for all
796 kinds of transport and which are still in use in backward parts of the
541 country at the present day. Each cart carried a group of (amateur)
493 actors standing still and representing a set scene. Originally, no doubt, there were only a few carts representing scenes from different stories. Later, a pageant came to consist of many carts and many

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

subject of the English morality plays. Again and again we find writers writing and actors saying in the prologue or epilogue that a play represents but life in its various stages; as man begins in laughter and ends in misery and death, a play begins with the happiness of the hero and heroine, and then goes on to tell of their misery and parting. To the conservative Burmese Buddhist, professional acting was a sin, and to get over the difficulty, the idea came into being that the play was only a species of preaching the religion. The existence of that idea perhaps supports my theory that there actually were plays dealing with morals which would favour the rise of such an idea. Perhaps the strongest evidence that there was a morality stage in the history of the development of Burmese drama is the existence of a popular play which has never been printed, but which is still sometimes acted. The play has no title. A rich miser marries a young wife and soon dies. The wife at once remarries. The miser now in Hell sues the wife and the new husband before the court of the governor of Hell, for the restitution of the property he had so patiently gathered and hoarded. There is a trial, and after hearing the arguments of both sides, the judge decides in favour of the young couple. The play ends with the judge moralizing on the emptiness and transitory nature of human riches. The play is quite crude and short, so that when presented today the actors have to lengthen the play to make it last the night. There is very little action, and the king of later dramas is absent. The names of the characters are general and abstract; Mister Miserly, Mistress Wife, Master New Husband, and Death (who takes the old husband to Hell).

536 * 744 [779]

The interlude was extremely popular, and at the court, at the houses of officials (the Burmese had no hereditary nobility, and the officials were the nobles) and at public feasts and festivals the interlude was presented. The importance of the interlude in the development of Burmese drama is great, but the importance of the professional actors who first presented the interlude in the development of the acting profession and stage conventions is even greater. The fact that the original members of the profession were outside the social pale caused all actors and actresses to be looked down upon; that fact explains why in an essentially democratic society it was said with contempt that 'beggars and actors, they are the eaters of food thrown away as waste'.[1]

536 * [565] [554] [538]

[1] The stage conventions and the acting profession are described in detail in chap. vii.

Xl: Htin Aung B-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

CHAPTER III

U KYIN U

1. The Further History of the Interlude

When U Kyin U started writing his plays, he was not turning the interlude into a real play. The work had been done before him. It is impossible to determine, however, at what precise point the interlude became a proper play; at what time the dancer-actors ceased to give a play as a side-issue in the midst of their main entertainment of dancing and singing. The interlude, on being influenced by the court plays, became longer and more elaborate, and gradually the interlude ceased to be an interlude and came to be the main entertainment given by the professional dancer-actors. In fact, dancing and singing became less and less important until they disappeared from the play. In U Kyin U's plays, we find no dances, and only in *Daywagonban* do we find some songs. The interlude was further developed by becoming closely connected again with the *Jatakas*.

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We have seen how the interlude came into being, how it borrowed freely from the *Nibhathkhin* based on a Buddhist Birth Story, and how it was influenced and developed by the *Rama* play and the Burmese court plays. From the beginning the interlude was not fully religious, though the stories were *Jataka* stories and there was some undercurrent of religious teaching; nor was it fully secular. The court plays secularized the drama in that stories unconnected with the *Jatakas* were introduced. There was still some religious atmosphere in *Rama* because the play was taken to be founded entirely on a *Jataka*, but other court plays had no reference, direct or otherwise, to the religion. The interlude, on being influenced by the court plays, broke up its connexion with the *Jataka* stories. However, it soon went back to the Birth Stories for inspiration. There were many reasons for that return. The prejudice against secular dancing and acting as being sinful still remained strong, and the only way to overcome it was to retain the idea that the interlude preached the religion in some ways. The more common occasions for the presentation

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

536* of the interlude were religious feast days, and out of respect for those
779 occasions, the story had to be religious. Moreover, the interlude had
178 to contend with the *Hawsa* or dramatic recitation by one person of a
[538] story, which was a rival in popularity; and all *Hawsas* were based on religious stories. However, the most important reason why the interlude had to depend again on the *Jatakas* for its stories was the great popularity of the works of U Awbatha.

538 Shin U Awbatha was a monk who lived during the reigns of
178 Bodawpaya (1782–1819) and Bagyidaw (1819–37). He was a product
195 of the age of learning. Famed for his piety, religious learning, and
[192] knowledge of Sanskrit and Pali, he chose, like his contemporaries, to write in Burmese, and he enriched Burmese prose. The prose before him had been much neglected. The scholars were more interested in verse. When they did write prose, they never succeeded in forgetting that they were essentially verse-writers, and they used rhymed, balanced, and measured phrases. They used too rich an imagery. They broke into verse when they wanted to express any intensity of feeling. Often they introduced Pali words into their writings when there were more suitable Burmese ones. Burmese prose before U Awbatha was in the same position as English prose before Dryden. U Awbatha introduced a prose which was expressive and clear, simple yet effective. It was used to convey varieties of feelings and emotions, but it was always kept restrained and was never allowed to lose its
[871] clearness. His works are still well known and popular. The importance of U Awbatha to Burmese language and literature can be judged from the fact that from the junior forms to the Honours course in Burmese at Rangoon University, his books are textbooks.[1]

538 There are hundreds of Birth Stories, but the most important
178 are the *Ten Big Jatakas*. They are much longer than the rest. U Awbatha wrote Burmese prose versions of the eight longest of those. He followed closely the Pali originals as far as the incidents of the stories were concerned, but he portrayed character in detail, and made the characters more lifelike and therefore more interesting. The story was very well retold, but he was equally masterful in the portrayal of character and in his understanding of human psychology.

He wrote his first *Jataka* in 1785 when Burmese arms were flashing victorious in Assam and Manipur, but vainglorious references to contemporary events found no place in his works. In the peaceful

[1] A short account of U Awbatha is given in G. E. Harvey, op. cit., p. 269.

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

536* human. He drives home the moral—the power of knowledge and learning over all obstacles—with all the more force through making the good hero less good, and the bad villain less bad. Though he is quite artistically successful, he abandons the *Jataka*, presumably because, apart from the fact that an original story gives him more scope to use his dramatic powers, he cannot develop the character of the villain and of the hero as much as he wishes. In an earlier section I have stated how the conservative nature of the people and the danger that the comic spirit of both the actors and the audience might cause the drama to be profane gave rise to the stage convention that the Buddha should never be presented on the stage. That and the subsidiary conventions resulting from the same causes were against a dramatist making the villain more interesting and the hero less good. The only way out was to make the villain a comic character, as was done even in the earlier *Nibhatkhin*, and thus make the portrayal of him more sympathetic. U Kyin U, however, is not satisfied with that, and therefore he completely abandons the *Jataka* after writing two plays based on the Birth Stories. In *Daywagonban* the hero has villainous tendencies, but not satisfied with even that, in *Parpahein* the villain is the hero, for though he is shown to be the less worthy person to be king, he is the centre of our interest, as Macbeth the villain is the hero of Shakespeare's play. In the *Jatakas* the struggle is between the totally good and the totally bad, but in U Kyin U's play it is between the less good with the lesser. Withal, U Kyin U does not completely drive away the religious element. The best drama does not merely entertain but instructs, and we find some religious or moral teaching in his plays. He accepts religion as a refuge from [171] life, but he does so fully realizing that often religion is used as a mere excuse, for he makes a minister say in *Parpahein*: 'We give all excuses to live. We appeal to our religion, we appeal to this, we appeal to that . . .'

He realizes, too, that often the religion does not give complete comfort; Zayathein, in the same play, says:

> Until we reach Nirvana, we shall go through again and again this torture of grief, this torture of having to lose always the one we love . . . But this knowledge does not stay my tears . . . I am wise, I know my religion. But when it comes to grief, my experience and my learning cannot help me drowning in the ocean of sorrow.

The court dramatists, especially the minister, Myawaddi, showed how the interlude could display more interest in character, but the

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

536* 828 through good fortune he is given a princely sum of money, his regard for the silver halfpenny acquired through industry and thrift, and his love for the woman remain. In the hour of his acquisition of half the kingdom, he does not forget either his lover or his halfpenny. However, he soon loses his cheerfulness through having to fill his office with dignity and ability; the crown prince is no longer the laughing water-seller, indulging in mock-heroics, laughing unashamed at his own poverty. Wealth and power do not always make one happy and cheerful. To the previously contented water-seller ambition comes to disturb his peace of mind. He is next only to the king, but he wants to be king now—he, who was contented before with a halfpenny hidden safely away. His greed and ambition tempt him, to kill his friend and king, who is responsible for making him the crown prince. Fortunately, his old sense of honesty and gratitude still remain. The good and evil in him fight, and U Pon Nya gives us a fine picture of the struggle in the mind of the water-seller. In the end, the good wins. If the character of a person is essentially good, in the end, in spite of all temptations, the good in him will carry him through, just as the water-seller's character finally triumphs over ambition and greed that result from wealth and power. The king offers him the whole kingdom, he has but to say 'yes', and from being the lowest in the country, he will become the highest. But he refuses the offer. He has tasted both poverty and wealth and in the end he chooses poverty—the poverty and peace of a hermit's life. He has the courage to act according to his convictions, and we can but respect and admire his final action.[1]

4. *Wizaya*

536* ● 779 [m] The story of this play is taken with slight modifications from a semi-religious work on the history of Buddhism in Ceylon, which is classed in the same category as a *Jataka*. In the original not only the history of Ceylon, but also some account of the history of the kingdom in India from which the island was colonized, was given. U Pon Nya, however, begins only at the point where the colonists leave their mother country, and ends his play at the point where a dynasty is assured to Ceylon.

536* The king is holding his court when he hears cries for help. On inquiry he learns that his elder son, Wizaya, has long been in the

[1] A translation of the play is given in appendix vi.

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

536* 534 462 463 part, although there was no stage convention preventing women from taking it up as a vocation. The head of the orchestra was also the head of the troupe. He was the most learned and experienced member, and he was responsible for the organization and financial outlay, paying more or less fixed wages to the others, and taking the profits himself. When engaged for a performance, the troupe was paid by public subscription or by some philanthropic person, usually an official, and therefore no charge for admission was made, all being [565] welcome to it. The Burmese actors as a class, unlike their Elizabethan counterparts, who could endow a College of God's Gift or buy a coat-of-arms, were poor. But they never starved, for even the poorest villages would welcome and feed them on their wanderings all over the country. The troupe was one large family, and the children of the members accompanied it. In spite of the prejudice against them and their poverty, the actors loved their art, and enjoyed the performances themselves.

536* There were many conventions connected with the stage, and they can be divided into two classes: those imposed on the actors by themselves, and those imposed by the fear of becoming unpopular with the audience.

795 536* The actors never forgot that they were originally spirit-dancers, and therefore they had conventions by which they showed their indebtedness to spirit worship. Before the performance offerings of food were made to the thirty-seven *nats*. As a curtain-raiser, there was a performance by a dancer or chorus of dancers. Each wore a red [533] cloth round the head—the sign of a spirit worshipper. Singing invocations to the *nats* and dancing the appropriate dances, they asked for protection by the spirits, while the orchestra played a bar from each [751] of the thirty-seven *nat* tunes. It was supposed that if this convention was broken, disaster would befall the troupe, the performance would prove a failure, and the actors would become mad; but often these conventions had been known to be broken, accidentally or otherwise.

536* 463 594 The actors were looked upon as irreligious and immoral, and on the slightest excuse, they were in danger of being considered profane. Therefore, as has been stated, they took over the conventions from the *Nibbatkhin*. The Buddha was never impersonated, and an *arahat* [779] or saint only when absolutely necessary, and then by an able and 'serious' actor, who had to keep a fast that day. Not even a mild joke was to be made against the Buddha or an *arahat*, although even monks and the religion itself could be the butt of a clown's wit. But

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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131 Burma possessed no staples of trade to encourage
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5 LANDING-STAGE IN THE TIDAL REGION.

enterprise of the peaceable sort. Left entirely to her own resources, she developed her character in independence. It preserves a large measure of its original freshness and charm.

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Detached though Burma lay from the contact of other civilisation, the seed-corn of a spiritual influence was brought to her shore from afar, and took root and spread until it pervaded her whole life. The one extraneous influence under which she fell proved of a paramount order. But the inspiration of Buddhism was broadly human, not racial. Every people might take its message to heart in their own individual way. The restraints it enjoined and the ideals it held up became the occasions for Burma to unfold her own inmost nature. The abounding treasury of Buddhist legend furnished the subjects to exercise her poetic fancy. In the fifth century, A.D., long after Buddhism had declined at its source in India, and when it only prevailed in Ceylon, its real progress began among the people who were to give it an enduring home. Buddhism is popularly credited with five hundred millions of adherents. But the seven millions of Burma and perhaps a twentieth of that number in Ceylon, together with the half million Jains of India, are the practical Buddhists of the world. With the rest the profession has sunk to an empty name, as in China and Japan, or it is lax, as in Siam, or it is utterly transformed, as in Tibet.

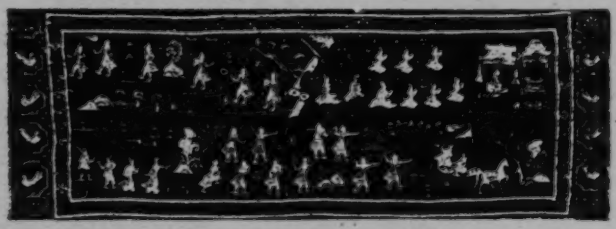
101 The phrase *Further India* gives point to a wide misconception. The surprise of so
[172] many persons on finding that the Burmans have no *caste*—to
[564] take the commonest instance—betrays the notion that Burma is part of India

6 RUINS OF CITY GATE, PAGAN.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

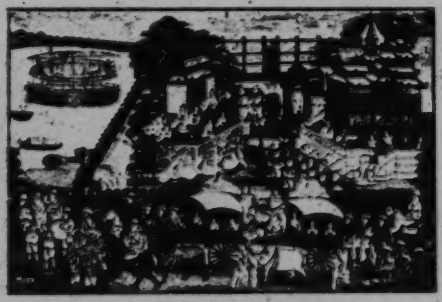
175 religion which actuated the kings to build temples on such a scale. In 1300 A.D. the power of the Pagán kingdom had spent itself, in a great degree [779] owing, as the Burmans believe, to the drain of the temple-building. But the force of the religion was unabated. Burma fell a prey to Shan invaders, who snatched the dominion for nearly two hundred years but failed to consolidate

[532 726]



9. BURMAN GENERAL GOING OUT TO WAR (APPLIQUE WORK).

it, splitting up into principalities like those of their native hills. The weakness of Burma allowed the Mun power to develop. The sixteenth century saw the rise of Pegu and the establishment of a shifting empire over Burma. Exhausted by wars, Pegu in turn declined and lay at the mercy of Siam (*Yôdayâ*) when Paung (*Tanng-ngu*) came to the rescue. In the seventeenth century the Paung-Peguan dynasty brought the Mun empire to its zenith, from which it waned in the eighteenth. Towards the middle of the latter century the Burmans under Aláung Payâ rose against the Mun garrisons, overthrew Pegu and finally established the empire of Burma. Arakán was incorporated; Siam was subjugated and made tributary for a time. The empire directed its ambition to the west. Manipúr was overrun [175 726 532] and the Arakanese pretensions in Chittagong were revived, which produced friction with the British power in India. Burman dominion had been a career of unbroken conquest in the memory of the then generation; the nation believed itself invincible. In the elation of their prowess at home they



10. BURMAN PICTURE OF THE FALL OF MANDALAY.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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23. MARBLES (GON-HNYIN).

long wooden slate blackened with soot and rice-water (*thumbôn*). The Burmese word-building is exceedingly regular and in the main phonetic (See appendix B). Reading is acquired in one term, without much effort on the part of pupil or teacher. The Burmans have a pure decimal notation in which the bugbears *eleven* and *twelve* are unrepresented. The Burmese *eleven* is literally "onety-one." Children can count up to hundreds before they come to school and can reckon up sums mentally. In arithmetic they are taught the
871 multiplication-table and a few rules of thumb (*bedin*). In addition to the
779 five Buddhist commandments (p. 16) and the objects of contemplation (p. 43),
867 which the children learn in their homes, they chant passages from the Pâli
869 scriptures in the school chorus and get other precepts by rote: such as the category of duties to parents, teachers and elders, *viz.*, reverence, support, mutual affection (*parlik*). They are taught the value of learning as an inalienable possession, together with many precepts from the *Lawkanlti* and *Mingala-thôt*; the conquests of the inner and outer worlds *Atwin-aungdyin*, *Apyin-aungdyin*, the story of the Buddha (see *The Light of Asia*) and the legendary cosmogony.

212 As the result of this Buddhist system of schools, nearly half of the male
871 and about 3 per cent. of the female population can read and write, as compared with 9 and 0·3 per cent. for men and women respectively in Bengal. The

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24. RACING TOY BOATS.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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27. SHINLAUNG RENEWING HIS PRAYER.

the world, but not from observation by the world. Great as is the homage accorded to him by the laity, a recluse who should disgrace his cloth—a thing almost unknown — would be promptly unfrocked by them.

For their sustenance the novices and regular recluses depend upon alms. They receive these in kind and according to daily need. Their appeal is mute. The morning after his reception the novice with his brethren will halt in front of his own parents' house and the houses of the neighbours to receive such dole of food as is offered (No. 29). He will not look to right or left, but keep his eyes rooted on the ground, making no sign beyond raising the cover of his alms-bowl. The recluse may not ask for anything whatever, nor even express a predilection. The food, ripe or ready-cooked, as the case may be, is doled indiscriminately into the *thabît* from the east side, usually by a woman of the house. A woman should not stand in the shadow of a recluse, of a shrine, *sedi*, temple or image. She should not occupy an upper floor when a [562] recluse happens to be beneath, nor enter a *Thein*, nor occupy a higher place with respect to men (p. 72). Food given in a religious spirit, as above described, is [576] called *sun*. The recluses when collecting *sun* are generally followed by a couple of scholars bearing a yoke and basket to receive larger offerings on behalf of the monastery (No. 41).

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Those probationers who remain in the monastery for several years—reckoned by Lents (*wa*)—and who aspire to full membership of the Assembly, read with the recluse Pâli texts of the Tripitaka, and the commentaries on these, and commit portions, sometimes whole books of the canon, to memory. Recluses of standing and also laymen take part in these exercises.

28. GOYIN MAKING OBEISANCE.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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41. YAHAN ON THE ROUND FOR SUN.

towards the higher spiritual condition of *Ayahát* and *Ayáttapô*. The primitive appellation is *Beikku* (Pâli *Bikku*), one dependent on alms. The spiritual state preceding *Yahán*, that of the man so imbued with the spirit of the Buddha's teaching as to desire membership of his Assembly, is called *Thawtapan*. The candidate for full membership must possess the qualifications for the degree of *goyín*, in addition to a knowledge of the rule of life of the *yahán* and a modicum of religious learning. Most *yahán* are *ngè-byu*—pure from youth—that is, have passed direct from their youthful novitiate to full membership. Men of any condition may be received, and at any age above twenty, if free from debt and other ties, but must undergo a fresh probation. Over and above the precepts observed by the *goyín*, the *yahán* observes one hundred detailed injunctions. He must not merely respect life, but also the means to life. He may not wantonly injure a blade of grass. Cleanliness is particularly enjoined. A notable injunction is not to lay up any store of food. He must not use a raised sleeping-place, though by day he reclines on the couches presented to the monastery. The *yahán* sweeps his dwelling, draws water, washes his clothing, and so forth, when there are not *goyín* or lay-disciples to perform these services for him. Otherwise his occupations are only those of teaching, study, and contemplation. In Lent the *yahán* remains indoors from sunset to sunrise. At this season he also frequently selects a forest retreat for contemplation in the early morning hours (*wunsaung*). The *yahán* practises confession to his brethren of the Assembly, all of whom are equals, but who defer to one another, according to seniority, which is reckoned

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42. BUDDHIST RECLUSE.

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

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44. ANCIENT THEIN AT PAGAN.

not by age, but by the number of lenten seasons they have belonged to the Assembly. Vigils and restriction of night rest are not practised. The rule of life of the *yahán* is laid down in the *Wini* (*Vinaya Bitaka*), one of the three divisions ("baskets") of the Buddhist scriptures. A *kambawá*, or breviary of scripture, relating to mem-
[212] bership of the Assembly, illuminated with lacquer on copper or ivory leaves, is read by turns by the five members of the conclave assembled for the reception of the new member. This solemnity is undertaken in the *thein*, a *wut* set apart for the *Thingá* alone. No lay persons enter the precincts, but they may be spectators from a distance. The new *yahán* is called *Upasin*, sojourner recluse, or assistant to the *Upyise*, or *Pôndyi*, *Kindyi* (incumbent) of the monastery. In
[162] 1891 there were 13,613 *pôndyi*, 6,668 sojourner *yahán*, and 13,500 probationers in the monasteries of Burma, which numbered 15,371, in a Buddhist population of about seven millions.

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The dedication of the site for building such a *thein* (Pâli *sima*) is preceded by the solemnity of *thein-thambi*. Ground so dedicated can never be alienated to any other use. In this respect the *thein* is more sacred than the temples in general. After the site has been levelled, it is surrounded with a trench, into which water is led. In the centre a small well is sunk (*alé-dwin*). The *yahán*, not less than twenty-four in number, assemble on the spot, over which a gay pavilion (*mandat*) has been erected, and wait for the water from the trench to
[792] percolate to the well. When this occurs, the site is said to have "taken" (*aung*). Otherwise it must be rejected. The *yahán* gather round the well and intone scriptural passages from a

45. YAHAN ASSEMBLED FOR DEDICATION OF THEIN.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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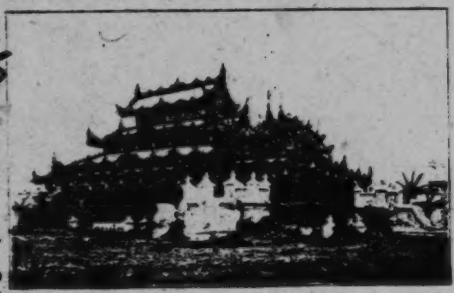

51. KYAUNG AT THE CAPITAL.

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carpets, cushions, handkerchiefs, tables, chairs, betel-boxes and spittoons, glass-ware and crockery, lamps, chandeliers, clocks, knicknacks and furniture, always to the exclusion of gold and silver. Gilt wares are permissible.

The strict *yahán* should prepare his shelter for himself, in an unfrequented place. But by the dispensation already referred to, he may avail himself of a solitary dwelling proffered for his use, and this is invariably the case. Not merely are these schools numerous, but they are the most spacious, substantial, and ornate edifices in the land. Many of them are of palatial size and appointments. The Burman finds nothing too good or too beautiful for those who subject themselves to the restraint of the recluse. The recluse on his part is conventionally oblivious of the magnificence that surrounds him. It is not for him to deprecate. The religious merit of the work, which furnishes the motive of the founder, is proportioned to the outlay upon it. From the bamboo *kyaung* in the forest costing a hundred rupees or less, individuals spend up to hundreds of thousands on the palatial monasteries of the towns (*cf.* p. 75).

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When the incumbent of a monastery removes or dies, the senior sojourner (*upazín*) may receive his place as *pôndyí*. Otherwise an *upazín* is invited from elsewhere, or the *pôndyí* of another *kyaung* is prevailed upon to move. The *upazín* who has become *pôndyí* defers to his preceptor as before. Every monastery has a titular Páli appellation, such as *Thíla-ekkaya kyaung*, Letter-of-the-Law monastery.

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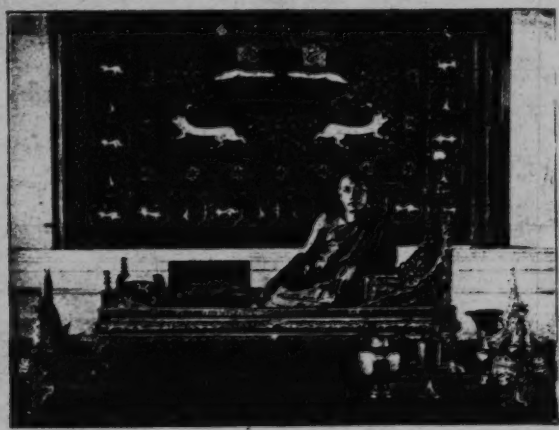
There is no hierarchy in the Assembly of *yahán*. But it commonly happens that a number of monasteries recognise a venerable teacher as referee upon matters of scholarship

52. PALACE KYAUNG.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

792 and doctrine. Such a group is called *gaing*, and its president *gaing-ok*, his
● 779 deputy *gaing-dauk*. In the same way a group recognise a *Sadáw—Sayá-daw*, or chief teacher. The whole body again defer to a chief *Sadáw*, usually the



84. YAHAN INSTALLED AS PONDIYI.

yahán who has been religious instructor to the King during his novitiate, and who is called *Thátthanabding*.

792 In reaction against the comfort with which the laity endow the monasteries,
785 the *yahán* periodically repair to country retreats for ten or twenty days at a time, either singly or in camps of many, for the sake of cultivating primitive use. Here each *yahán* has a dwelling of the narrowest compass and makes shift with the mere chattels ordained in the canon. But the laity, ever ready to minister to the *yahán*, convert these camps into centres of festivity for the

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86. WUSSAUNG CAMP.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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77. IMAGE OF THE BUDDHA ENCIRCLED BY FICUS.

(*bt-deitha*), where, after dedication, they cease to be private property. The sole virtue of these symbols lies in the pious intention with which they are dedicated. The figure of the disciple Ānanda is frequently placed in the houses or taken on journeys (No. 316).

Besides the reputed relics of the Buddha, the miraculous foot-prints which legend assigns to him on rocks in Burma and Arakán are venerated (*Chidaw-yá*). Every Burman knows that Gawdama never travelled out of Bahár and was in all respects as other men; the licence of the legend is a poetic one. Models of these foot-prints are placed in the temple precincts. Here conventionality reaches the extreme; the sole is laid out with rule and compass and the surface mapped into diagrams of cabalistic import (No. 450).

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The Buddhist scriptures should be deposited in masonry temples (*Bitakatnik*, No. 66). These exist in a few places, but in general the scriptures are kept in special chests (*sadáik*) in the *kyaungs* (No. 453). The Shan-Tarôk (p. 146) place *sadáik* in their houses, and take pride in the volume of manuscripts these contain. The complete Páli text, together with the patristic commentaries and glosses, written on palm-leaf, would occupy a space of perhaps one hundred cubic feet. The text alone would cover about one thousand five hundred quarto pages of pica type. Only a few *kyaungs* possess the complete Tripitaka. Besides the scriptures, other ancient writings are treasured, such as the *kyauza* of cosmogony (see Sangermano), the *Zât* literature—the legendary lives of the Buddha in previous states of existence, embellished with romance of recent date.

78. IMAGE OF THE BUDDHA ON BALIN.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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90. PAYA SUN-KAN.

(*Payá sun-kan*), or privately prepared, is conveyed. The day is devoted to contemplation, and the night is passed at the *zayát*. Those who keep the duty-day present offerings at the *zedi* and the adjoining *kyaung*. At either of these places a *yahán* is invited to rehearse the precepts, which the laity chant verse by verse after his lead (*thila-kan*). Passages from other scriptures are added, with their interpretations. This is called *Tayá-haw*—the preaching of the Law. The great Mun King, Yazadiyit of Pegu, in the year 1400 A.D., is reported to have been so impressed by the preaching of a *yahán* that he abandoned a campaign on which he had embarked. More than once in Burman history the peaceful contest of building rival temples has been substituted for battle by opposing armies.

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The Buddha has passed out of existence. While existent, all that the Buddha could accomplish for any being was the human service of showing him the way to work out deliverance by individual effort. Self-reliance is the cardinal principle. There is none to hear prayer. The true significance of the popular worship is not apprehended unless this be borne in mind. No virtue can surpass that of the Inestimable Master (*Myassiwa Payá*) who fulfilled the Law and bequeathed it to men. To cultivate the memory of his transcendent merit is itself meritorious in the first degree. Such is the personal side of the cult, to which the effigies of the founder appeal. Before the images of the Buddha are performed the gestures of homage, and are placed offerings symbolical of veneration—tapers lighted at the shrine, flowers

91. YAHAN RECITING THE PRECEPTS (TAYA-HAW).

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 API Burma
Burmese AP4

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93. FAMILY OF A BURMAN NOTABLE AT THE SHRINE.

and fruit, gold-leaf laid on the image and its throne. No southern—that is, primitive Buddhist (see Rhys Davids, *Buddhism*)—lodges petitions with an image, as is the practice in countries where Buddhism is choked by fresh growth of the pagan ideas which it had arisen against. The Tibetan expedients are unheard of. Certain Buddhists in Burma, called *Paramát*, dispense with images. The mechanical aid to contemplation is the string of one hundred and eight beads (*badí*). Even the Buddhism of the common herd is no mere veneer, covering a substratum of the ancient animism (p. 186). The precepts of Buddhism are household words. The ideas and language of the race are pervaded by it. The personal aspect just described does not so engross the votary that he misses the doctrine of the Master. At the shrine the worshipper dwells on the *three gems* (*tharanagôn thôuba*)—the BUDDHA, the LAW, the ASSEMBLY, and the other categories of the scheme. The BUDDHA (the Sage) was the supremely-enlightened one, filled with compassion for the subjects of *karma*, who extended to the universe the enlightenment that was the means of his own emancipation. The LAW (*Tayá*, *Tayamá*, Sanskr. *Dharma*, Pâli *Damma*).—By an impersonal cosmic process, sin works suffering and virtue effects deliverance. Re-incarnation is the legacy of sin and continues until the merit (*kûtho*), accumulated in successive
775 births (*bawa*), outweighs the demerit (*âkûtho*). Transmigration does not involve
779 transference of personality with consciousness of preceding states, but the

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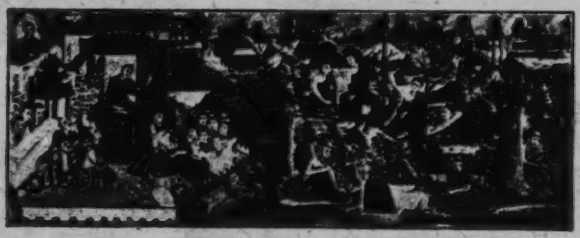

94. MODERN RELIGIOUS SUBJECT.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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95. FAMILY OF A BURMAN NOTABLE LEAVING THE SHRINE.

continuity of an individual moral account (*Kan*, Pâli *Kamma*, Sanskr. *Karma*); although the Buddha enlightened his disciples about the previous identities of himself, of many other individuals and even lower creatures. Reincarnation provides the scope for atoning the injustices of individual lives, without debarring the salvation of any. The slowness of the process by which vast results are achieved conforms to the analogy of nature, which does not create, but evolves. The doctrine of *kan* is, in fact, an adumbration of the principle of persistence of force. But instead of regarding the results of actions in a given phase of existence as being separately dissipated, as modern science would imply, they are thought of as combined to form the starting-points of fresh phases of individual existence, until final equilibrium is attained (*Nirvâna*). As a flame results from the concurrence of given antecedent conditions, continues to burn while they are maintained, and is extinguished upon their dispersion, yet not without bequeathing results of its own, so it is with sentiency, which continually becomes the source of fresh desires, of temptation, sin, and consequent suffering. For the avoidance of sin, the five cardinal precepts are given, and precept within precept up to the minute rule of life of the *yahán*. At the root of all evil lies *Ta-hnâ* (Sanskr. *trishna*, thirst, concupiscence). From this fundamental evil [532] proceed the forms *Lawba*, *Dawtha*, *Mawha* (greed, passion, ignorance), in the abstract, absence of *contentment*, absence of *self-control*, absence of *enlightenment*. With the extinction of selfish desire, virtuous conduct ensues, others are

98. THADYA PRINCE AND PRINCESS DOING HOMAGE TO THE BUDDHA IN A PREVIOUS INCARNATION—WETHANDAYA (SHWEZAWA WORK p. 121).

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

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regarded as oneself, they are loved and are succoured, and by such actions the consequences of sin are atoned for. As imperfections are corrected by self-

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98. TEMPLE ZAYAT.

discipline, crimes are expiated by the pains of hell (*ngayè*). For the perception of the great aim, that is, extirpation of desire and all that desire entails, there are given the principles *Anitsa*, *Dôkha*, *Anâtta* (change, trouble, dependence), which

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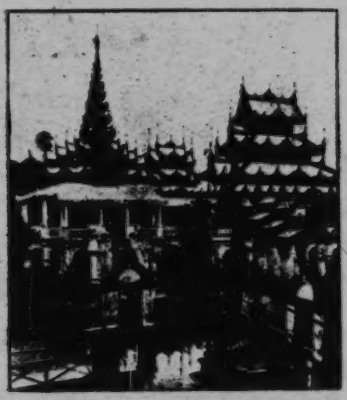

99. DECADENT KYAUNG (p. 26).

the pious ponder as they tell their beads, and which may be paraphrased as the *impermanence* of all things, the *struggle* which the "unpitying rush of changes" involves and the *helplessness* of the event, which is "at the mercy of blind

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

779 forces." The only certain good within the control of man is the conduct of his own acts. The final annihilation of desire, attained in the course
775 of lives upon lives of self-discipline, ushers in the serene state of *Nirvâna* (*Neippan*, Pâli *Nibbân*), in which the subject of *karma* is no longer chained to forms of existence by any debt of sin. At death is then attained the perfect condition *Parî-nirvâna*, of which *Nirvâna* was the apprehension in life (Exposition of Sadâw Û Wuziyama, of Thila-ekkaya *kyaung*). The spiritual stages to *Nirvâna* are *Ayahât* and *Ayâttapô*. But it is not claimed for the holiest living
[792] recluse, much less by himself, that one of these stages has been attained.

100. CEREMONY OF YEZETOHA (p. 82).

779 Devotion to the ideal is the utmost. The third of the gems is the ASSEMBLY, "the spiritual family" of the Buddha, or communion of those who adopt to the full the aids towards holy life inculcated by him and who perpetuate his doctrine and example. Nevertheless, life in the world, though unfavourable to attainment of holiness, in nowise debars it.

The Law of Gawdama Buddha is to last for a period of five thousand years, one half of which has elapsed. It is then to be superseded by the law of a new Buddha. The metaphysics of Gawdama are studied by few (see Rhys Davids, *Buddhism*, and Huxley, *Romanes Lecture*), but thanks to the network of schools, with which Buddhism has overspread Burma, its practical features are within the knowledge of all.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
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193. DABBING WITH FLY.

Next to the rice-industry the greatest industry of Burma is the catching and curing of fish. Unlike the rice, the fish is entirely for local consumption. The fisherman gets his living by taking life, contrary to the cardinal injunction of the Buddha—"let him not destroy, or cause to be destroyed, any life at all, or sanction the acts of those who do so." The subterfuge which the specious resort to in using animal food, namely, that they had no share in the act of taking life, was thus provided against by the Buddha in the form of his injunction. The Burman is a kind master to his animals, but much cruel suffering results from neglect of injuries, such as *dá*-cuts, often inflicted in temper. The merit of putting a suffering creature out of pain is not recognised or is denied. The reluctance to take life is operative in preventing the people at large from obtaining other animal food than fish. But such is the craving for flesh that the Burmans will consume that of animals dead from natural causes and of many animals commonly rejected for food. The Burmans do not eat the flesh of the monkey, dog, parrot and crow. The ways of taking fish are legion. Hooks are used with bait and also to mount a fly for dabbing (*ban lait*). A contrivance to be seen along the banks of every river is the *kayin*, a cage trap with falling door for large fish. Fish-spearing is practised by day and also by torch-light at night. On the largest scale, fish are taken by drawing off the water from the flat lagoons which form in the depressions of the *kwin* (*in*, p. 49). Screens of bamboo or reeds are set in the channels while the floods are

194. CASTING FISH SINGLY 'SAUNG-TO'.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

The cordage used in 283

218. LIMESTONE ROCKS.

Burma is twisted from the bast of the *shaw* tree (*sterculia* varieties). For guys, stays, and standing rigging of boats, rattan is employed. Split rattan is used for strong ties, and withes of split bamboo (*hnî*) for common ties. The *shaw* rope is three and four stranded, and is twisted with native gear very like that of our own rope-walks. A long and even four-stranded rope is made by three men. This furnishes a good example of mechanical advancement, when compared with the method of the hill-people, who require six men to twist a much shorter rope of the same number of strands (Nos. 219–20). Shaw rope is smooth, but has not the flexibility of cocoanut-fibre and manila-fibre ropes, which are now imported. Fine cotton yarn is twisted into cord for making nets. A coarse jute fibre (*paissan*) is also twisted for net-making. [171] [439]

Silk-culture is under the ban of Buddhism for the same reason as fishery. 288
The greater part of the silk yarn used is brought from China, but a good 231
deal is produced locally by the *Zabîn* or *Yabîn*, a people speaking Burmese [779]
and resembling the Burmans in most respects, but despised by the latter. 554
They are settled along the foot of the Pegu Yôma hill-range, on its eastern and 463]
western slopes, where they make clearings in the forest (*taungya*) and plant the mulberry. They prepare a yellow silk yarn which, coarse and knotty as it is, is preferred for the best class of Burman silk cloths (*luntayâ*, No. 132). The raw silk fetches thirty-five to forty rupees a viss. It is a perfect washing silk in all its dyes and wears a lifetime. In a few localities, silk-weaving is a special industry practised by men as well as women. Settlers from Manipúr

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219. LIME-KILN.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

219. ROPE-WALK.

inner side is brightly decorated with floss silks. Gilt umbrellas (*shwe-di*) are dedicated in the *kyaung*, but are not actually used. The white umbrella (*thbyu*) is the emblem of sovereignty. The *thbyu* is set above the images of the Buddha and above the remains of the *yahán*, who are assumed at their death to enter upon a higher spiritual stage. The metal canopy surmounting the *sedi* is a conventionalised *tl* (No. 232). Of late European umbrellas have become a staple import of Burma.

293 [283] [186] [179] [346] [177 439]

Lacquer-ware vessels and utensils—light, durable, and watertight—are made with the help of *thissi*, the exudation of the bark of *Melanorrhœa usitatissima*, a common tree of the *in* forest. The gum blackens to jet on exposure to the air. It dries slower than the "Japan black" of commerce, but is much tougher; it sells for two to three rupees a viss. *Thissi* is applied to wood turnery and bamboo wicherwork, either plain or with pigments, generally with vermilion. The commonest lacquer goods are platters (*byat* and *dawgluu*), which are turned of teak or *yamane* wood and given two or three coats of *thissi*. After the platters, the principal article of lacquer-ware is the betel-box (*kun-it*). Coarse lacquering is done everywhere in the dry region, but the betel-box industry is peculiar to Pagán. The advantage of lacquer-ware and of a deep cover for the betel-box, is to keep the green leaf fresh. At first sight it appears incredible that these exact cylindrical boxes with their trays and covers, fitting as if each piece had been turned out of the block, should start from a wicker-work frame. Yet so it is; the models are plaited so true that the rest

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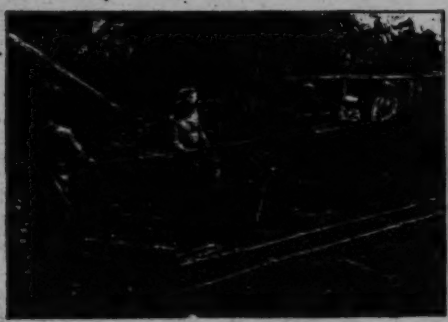

[283]

220. HILL-PEOPLE TWISTING ROPE.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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[491]

312. COUNTRY BRIDGE.

Shan hills, where alone breeding is a regular business. The Shan pony is stouter than the Burman, but not so hardy. The Burmans train their ponies to amble at a forced pace by sawing the bit as they urge them on; the ponies' mouths become hard in consequence. Ponies used to be worth twenty to fifty rupees, but now, many times more. Arab stud-horses have recently been introduced by the British Government. Ponies were used for riding only, doubtless owing to the want of roads and vehicles good enough for quick draught. There is little or no leather about the Burman saddle and accoutrements. The seat is a thick pad stuffed with cotton, with a hollow to leave the backbone free. The girth and stirrup holders are cotton web, the bridle and crupper are of thick cotton rope, plaited over with red cotton yarn; the stirrups are of brass, the plain bit is iron (No. 228). The Burmans hog their ponies' manes, but they admire a long natural tail. Very few animals are left entire.

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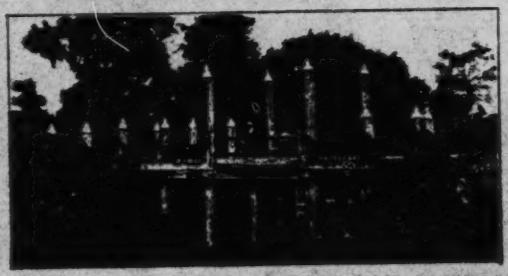
Travel is made easy in Burma. There are rest-houses (*zayát*) for travellers at every town and village and at every stage on the road. Both these and the needful foot-bridges (*tadá*) are provided from religious motives. The foot-traveller will get a lift on his way by cart or boat, and will take an oar or a hand at a job in return; those who can afford it pay their way. The Burman is a poor linguist, and is wholly engrossed with the language and ways of his own people. The aliens on his soil and the neighbouring races meet the Burman half way, saving him the need of learning languages and adopting from him their notions of culture and fashion. Encountering, as he does, within the limits of his travels, a material welfare little



313. ROYAL BRIDGE.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

378. THE PALACE GARDENS.

the cause of suffering and death, and the discredit reflected on officialdom by its methods, lead the best elements of the population to shun office, as a touching of pitch. The dearth of ability and character in the governing classes leaves the governed without efficient protection. The religious motive further operates in withholding information about criminals. 647 554 [341] [779 674]

A pregnant category is that of the "five enemies"—Fire, Water, Robbers, Rulers, Ill-wishers. The governors and deputies who acted as judges heard causes at the *yôn*, an open shed in a public place. But every cause was presented in the first instance at the house of the official, and it is contrary to accepted ideas of politeness to approach a superior empty-handed, even on a mere visit of courtesy. The *pros* and *cons* of the case were understood before the regular hearing. At the hearing, the advocates of the parties (*ashé-ne*) publicly presented their pleas and the evidence was recorded. The Burmese form of oath is to take the *kyanza* in the hands, a book of imprecations which the witness invokes on his head if he should speak falsely. The judge or judges intimated their finding to their clerks (*sayé*), who recorded it in official style and read it out. The punishments awarded to criminals and the condition of prisoners were much like those prevailing in Europe at the time of the Renaissance. Every judgment of importance was registered in the *Hluttaw* or chancellery at the capital, presided over by the four chief ministers (*Wundyi*), through whom all royal commands to the governors of provinces issued. There was no regular system of appeals. The Hindu code of Manú served as a body of law, and statutes were decreed by the kings; but *thazan* (custom) supplied standards of a more practical and stable nature. 695 [291] [681] [692] [671]

379. ROYAL MAID OF HONOUR (APYODAW).

29: Slater

AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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[For information on the theology and religious doctrines of Burmese Buddhism and allied cults, see category 116, pp. 1-82.]

29: Slater M-4 (no date) 1951 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

CHAPTER VI

IN CONCLUSION AND WITHOUT CONCLUSION

1. *"Except for Buddhism"*

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As the result of this inquiry, it is possible to state certain conclusions. But the inquiry also brings us into that realm where man faces questions which seem beyond answer. We may, however, decide to frame some of these questions rather differently.

Our most definite conclusions relate to the character and definition of Buddhism, especially Southern Buddhism. If these are accepted, then we may claim to have challenged the classification which sometimes sets Buddhism in a special category, virtually seperated from the other great religions of the world. "Primitive Buddhism," remarks Dr. Matthews, "seem to stand alone among historical religions in having no doctrine of god and spirit."[1] This statement is typical of many references to Buddhism in the comparative study of religion. For one reason or another, Buddhism is isolated and quoted as an exception. There is everywhere, it is said, some recognition of the sacred — except in Hīnayāna Buddhism. Or again, it is said that the great religions are cultural, expressed in the life and institutions of some people — except for Southern Buddhism, which is monkish, cloistered and aloof from the community. Or again, the great religions have largely prevailed over more primitive ideas — except (so it is said) in Burma, where Buddhism, which "cannot appeal to the masses of any population,"[2] leaves the people to their Animism, with merely a lip-service to the higher faith. So the situation is sometimes represented — Southern Buddhism standing alone, so singular a religion that it is sometimes denied the name of religion and labelled a philosophy or a morality, unhappily (or happily) divorced from religion.

Questioning this misrepresentation, our first task has been to relate Southern Buddhism to the family of religions by interpreting its beliefs in the light of its cultural expression in Burma, where Hīnayāna teaching has been the dominant influence for eight centuries.

[1] W. R. Matthews, "The Idea of God" (*An Outline of Modern Knowledge*, p. 65).

[2] A. C. Bouquet, *Comparative Religion*, (new ed. 1945), chap. VII, p. 129.

29: Slater M-4 (no date) 1951 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

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We can imagine the bewilderment of some Burmese villager suddenly transported to a township in the West and told that here he will find what he has not known in his own country — a religion permeating the life of the community. How many things he would miss in this Western town! Here he would find no religious teachers making the daily round of the households, morning after morning; no system whereby every boy is not only schooled by his clergy but spends part of his youth in their establishment, sharing their life. He could scarcely be gainsaid if he insisted that his own religion, as represented in Burma, was not to be distinguished from other traditions by the fact that it was *less* in touch with the life of the community, but by the fact that it was *more* in touch with that life.

We have emphasised this relation of the organised Saṃgha to the community, because it is the clue to the solution of many of the questions discussed. It establishes the relation of Burmese Buddhism to Buddhism in general, since the monks are avowedly Hīnayāna; it establishes the true relation of Buddhism to Animism, since it exhibits the influence of Buddhism; and it establishes the relation of the monastic interpretation to the popular religion. Admittedly, a distinction can be made, as in other religions, between scholar and peasant, clergy and laity, but it is a mis-statement to disjoin them, speaking of 'two religions,' ignoring their inter-action, presenting the one phase as an arid intellectualism and the other as a superstitious travesty. Allowing for human nature and making all due qualifications, what we find, in general, is a religion which is both vital and intelligent.

Within this context, Nibbāna (to use the Pali term again) appears, not as a philosophical perplexity, but as a definitely religious aspiration. To the villager, Nibbāna may be remote, a further shore at the end of a long pilgrimage through many rebirths, but it is the ultimate fulfilment of his highest ideas of felicity — the Great Peace. The monk's conception is more allied to the moral and mental exercises by which he hopes to put an end to those confusions and those attachments to things transient which hinder his peace. In this sense, Nibbāna is Extinction, Cessation (of hindrances) — a negative concept. In another sense he makes a greater affirmation than the layman, for he prays that 'he may attain Nibbāna very quickly,' he has renounced the world in order to do so, and, from his present, imperfect achievement of inward serenity he can anticipate the end of the Path and the perfect fulfilment. But he knows that he can only do so dimly. Studying the scriptures and the *Abhidhamma* interpretations, he may speculate at times concerning this ultimate Nibbāna condition, as we have seen from Shwe Zan Aung's Dialogue. He knows, however, the limit of these speculations. "No intuition, no salvation."

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Nor is the discipline by which he hopes to attain this saving vision merely intellectual. For scholar and peasant alike there is an ethical reference, which is one of the bonds which hold them together. The monk's Path is a Path of Purity — moral purification, as he is constantly reminded at the fortnightly *Uposatha* chapters. Similarly, the villager associates Nibbāna with his moral efforts to 'heap up *kutho*' (worthiness or merit). It is partly his sense of unworthiness which makes him consider Nibbāna a very distant prospect — a sense of remoteness corresponding to the more explicit negation in scholastic phraseology. Hence, for both monk and layman, there is an ethical reference, and this reference is partly responsible for the view that to those who have not yet attained, Nibbāna must necessarily be a Mystery.

In spite, however, of this element of negation, Nibbāna is fundamentally a positive concept, in keeping with that hopefulness and buoyancy which we have remarked as a characteristic of Burmese Buddhism. It is a religious aspiration — so definite that we have ventured to describe it as the religious ultimate of Southern Buddhism, in preference to *Dhamma*, and also to *Buddha*, who is indeed venerated, but is not regarded as divine: he is the Pathfinder but not the Goal.

We have suggested that it is this essentially religious character of the concept which may explain the apparent contradictions involved in its statement, the shifting from Yes to No and back to Yes, the fact that it can be affirmed as the sufficient goal of aspiration, a state of utter sanctity and bliss, yet also denoted as the Void, and finally said to be inexpressible. These conflicting terms have frequently been regarded as logical contradictions. As such they cannot be allowed to remain in the same house together. One must be expelled to make room for the other. Or they must be referred to different stages in the history of Buddhist thought.

While we consider that most of the apparently nihilistic passages in Buddhist literature are susceptible of an interpretation which escapes nihilism, we suggest that both affirmative and negative expressions should be accepted, not as terms of Buddhist philosophy, but as expressions of Buddhist religion. It is true that they have been discussed by Buddhists themselves from a philosophical standpoint, and they are often joined with philosophical concepts. Nevertheless their basic character is religious. As such they are not logical but paradoxical opposites, a distinction which is considered more fully below. Nibbāna, in the context of Burmese Buddhism, is a religious ultimate term, paradoxically expressed.

In support of this suggestion, we have attempted a cursory comparison with similar paradoxical expressions of other ultimate religious terms in

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other traditions. We do not suggest that this excursion proves that Nibbāna must necessarily be a religious term, but simply that it proves there is no reason why it should not be. In making this statement, we challenge the view that the Nibbāna language indicates the arid scholasticism, non-religious thought and essentially philosophical character of Hīnayāna Buddhism. This might plausibly be argued if we were obliged to accept the opposition in the Nibbāna language as logical. It fails if we are allowed to regard it as paradoxical.

It should, perhaps, be remarked that we are not affirming that Burmese, and hence, Hīnayāna Buddhism is a religion because Nibbāna is a paradoxical religious expression. The movement of thought is the reverse. What we affirm is, first, that Burmese Buddhism is a religion, and hence that Nibbāna is a paradoxical religious expression.

The comparison with other religions has, perhaps, served a further purpose: it has indicated the fundamental character of the relationship of the Nibbāna language to Hinduism. Other comparisons, we maintain, have sometimes proved too much, and also too little: too much, in identifying Buddhism *exclusively* with this or that trend of thought in Indian tradition, in so far as such identifications have been based on interpretations of Nibbāna language, regarded as the expression of a philosophical concept; too little, in so far as they have limited the connection to some particular phase of Hinduism, or even to Hinduism alone. The reference is more basic. And it is universal. Nibbāna, as an ultimate religious term, paradoxically affirmed, relates Buddhism to all such quests of faith, similarly expressed. Its reference is to man's complex and struggling estimate of his fundamental human situation.

2. *The Realm of Religious Paradox*

To relate Buddhism to Hinduism, Christianity and other religious traditions does not, of course, imply identity. In order to clarify the nature of this relation it is necessary to distinguish more precisely what may be called the realm of religious paradox which our comparison has brought into view. Here we can hope for no more than tentative conclusions, since our survey was limited and the selection somewhat arbitrary, sufficient maybe to show that the paradoxical expression of an ultimate religious term was not peculiar to Hīnayāna Buddhism, but scarcely sufficient to decide the larger questions which arise from the study of religion in general. It may, however, be some contribution to emphasise that these questions exist.

Paradox, it was stated in our introductory chapter, involved an imaginative contrast, as distinct from logical opposition. This distinction

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practice of meditation, learning and love. Therefore because he forgot the law of truth, his glory and dominion waned; his queen broke faith with him, and took her pleasure with the Naga king, by whom she conceived." Her sons were born blind because "the breath of the Nagas had come upon them."[3]

The king soon died, and his successors only survived for brief periods. The Naga king from the spirit world is held responsible for their death. 'Twisting his way into the hollow of the palace post, the Naga prince came to the world of men and reigned seven years with the queen.'

A youth 'from a Brahmin village' resolved to end this state of affairs and seize the kingdom. He prepared himself by religious observance. 'He bathed his body and cleansed it; bowed down and did obeissance, worshipping the Three Gems, his great grandparents, grandfather, grandmother, mother and father, the spirits who keep watch over the great religion, the spirits who keep watch over cities and border villages. . . ."

On his way to the capital, halting at a village 'where of old the coming Buddhas sported and made merry,' the youth is encouraged by the god, Sakra, who 'with his fairy horse and fairy raiment went ahead with the prince in human guise.' Thus assisted, the youth invades the royal town, takes possession and is married to the Queen. Warned by Sakra to be watchful, the youth questions the Queen about the deaths of the previous kings. The Queen then confesses her intrigues with the Naga prince and helps him in a plot to seize the Naga, who is slain by the youthful and zealous conqueror.

NOTE B

BUDDHIST RELIGIOUS EDUCATION IN BURMA

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The chief lessons taught in the monastic schools in Burma are the following:

I. *The Three Jewels:*

I take refuge in the Buddha,
I take refuge in the Dhamma
I take refuge in the Sangha.

II. *The Five Precepts:*

Not to kill
Not to steal
Not to lie
Not to commit adultery
Not to drink strong drink.

[3] Nagas are "fabulous creatures that sleep deep down below:" cf. Scott, *The Burman*, Vol. I, chap. XXIX, p. 352.

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III. *The Mingalā Thot:* The Song of Great Blessing. *(Mahāmaṅgala Sutta: Sutta Nipāta* II. 4).

"Thus have I heard:
Once when the Blessed One was at Jetavana in Anathapindika's Park, as night came on, a beautiful *Nat*[1] drew near, lighting up the whole place with his presence. He greeted the Blessed One, and then standing on one side addressed him in this verse:

"What many men and deities
Desiring Bliss, have sought to find – –
Come tell me, Master, what it is
That brings most blessing to mankind."

To whom the Sage made answer:

"To quit the fools, to court the wise,
This is the highest Paradise:

"To pay respect where it is due,
So shall true blessing wait on you:

"Seek a fit place and there remain,
And strive self-knowledge to attain:

"If in past lives you've stored up merit
The fruits thereof you'll now inherit:

"Let wisdom skill and discipline
And gracious kindly words be thine:

"Tend parents, cherish wife and child,
Pursue a blameless life and mild.

"Live thou devout, give ample alms,
Protect thy kin from life's alarms;

"Do good, shun ill and ever shrink
From snare of spirituous drink:

"So do thou persevere in good.
This is the true Beatitude:

"Be humble, with thy lot content,
Grateful and ever reverent.

[1] I have here used the Burmese term, *Nat* instead of *deva*. Fausböll translates "deity" in S.B.E., Vol. X (Sutta Nipāta) p. 42.

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"Study the law of righteousness,
This is the path that leads to Bliss.

"Patience, kind speech, as chance affords,
With holy men, religious words:

"The noble truths, austerity,
Nirvana here, and chastity.
This is true happiness.

"To live from all attachment free,
From sorrow and impurity,
This is the true security,
This is the Highest Bliss."

"The Mingala-thoht," says Sir George Scott, "is one of the first books the young scholar gets into his hands after he has learnt the ordinary formulae of worship. There are few Burmans ... who cannot repeat the Pali text from end to end."[2]

"Side by side with the Pali, they learn the Burmese text."[3] A Burmese version quoted by Father Sangermano begins each verse, "O Nat!" e.g., "O Nat! know that to keep far from the company of the ignorant," etc.[4]

The version given above is quoted from the Appendix to *Modern Buddhism in Burma* (Purser and Saunders), pp. 95, 96. The metric form recalls the sing-song repetition of the young *koyins* as they commit the Song to memory.

See also F L Woodward's translation in *Some Sayings of the Buddha*, Oxford University Press, ("The World's Classics") which brings out the refrain to each verse (not given above): "Theirs is the greatest blessing."

Bishop Bigandet added the following footnote to his version: "Within a narrow compass, Buddha has condensed an abridgment of almost all moral virtues."[5]

III

SONG OF EIGHT VICTORIES

Stories and songs in honour of the Buddha also form part of Monastic education for the laity, especially this medieval poem, probably composed in Siam. Scenes from the poem are depicted on pagoda platforms.

[2] *The Burmans*, Vol. II, p. 318.
[3] M.B.B., p. 12.
[4] *The Burmese Empire*, chap. XIV, p. 130.
[5] *Op. cit.* Vol. I, p. 123.

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The first stanza refers to the legend of Māra, King of Death and Lord of Hell, who is said to have opposed Gautama's passage to Nibbāna.

"By liberality did he
The Sage attain to victory,
Such was his chosen armoury!
Māra, by all his host attended,
With thousand flashing swords defended,
On his war-elephant so proudly seated,
In panoply of steel the Sage defeated.
Be yours his glorious victory
And yours its ample blessing be!"

The second stanza celebrates an encounter with a demon who used to devour children:

"By patience and tranquility
(Such was his chosen panoply)
The Sage achieved the victory.
Alavaka, the demon dread,
The livelong night he combated,
With heart of brass redoubtable,
Fiercer than Māra, lord of hell.
Be yours his glorious victory
And yours its ample blessing be."

The third stanza refers to the last of the murderous attempts of Devadutta, the cousin and would-be supplanter of the Buddha. It is told that the Buddha's compassion had such an effect on the elephant Nalagiri that the brute fell before him and removed the dust from the Buddha's feet.

"By the waters of his pity
He won the glorious victory
O'er Elephant Nalagiri!
As the dreadful thunder crashing,
As the lurid lightning flashing,
As the jungle-fire encroaching,
He beheld the brute approaching.
Be yours his glorious victory
And yours its ample blessing be!"

The fourth stanza relates an encounter with a robber; the fifth concerns a victory over slander as to Gautama's chastity; the sixth recounts his triumph over a false teacher; and the seventh points a moral by describing the victory attained by Moggallāna, one of Gautama's chief followers:

"His pupil too by magic might
Did aid him in the heroic fight...."

The eighth stanza refers to the Arahat's power to assume other forms and pass through the air unseen.

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The poem therefore emphasises three lessons:

1. The honor due to the Buddha.
2. The blessing brought by the Buddha.
3. A challenge to the pupil to follow the Buddha's moral example.

The stanzas here quoted are from the version given by Purser and Saunders, M.B.B., pp. 99ff.

V.

THE NEMI ZAT

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Zat is the Burmese for Jātaka (Buddhist Birth Story). Of these the Nemi, Temi, Zeneka and Wethandaya Zats are especially popular, and form part of the Burmese child's education.

Reference has already been made in the text to the Wethanday Zat (Story of Prince Wessantara) which commends a prince who was willing to give away a kingdom, chariot, children and even his wife in his zeal for his own salvation.

The following is an extract from the Burmese version of the Nemi Zat given by Bishop Bigandet. As will be seen, it sets out the pains of hell and the blessings of heaven. The Burmese are not the only people who have considered such stories suitable to encourage young children in the right path!

The Buddha explains how he was, in a former existence, the ruler of the country of Mitila. As such, from a tender age he "displayed the most liberal and pious dispositions in making abundant alms and fervently observing all the religious practices. All the inhabitants of that kingdom followed his example.... During those happy times, hell seemed to have become quite unnecessary...

"On a certain day Nemi appeared to be most anxious to know which was the most excellent practice, the bestowing of alms, or the observance of the precepts." The King of the *Nat* realm himself came down from his glorious seat to give the answer, and, on his return, he eulogised King Nemi so strongly that the other *Nats* wished to see this virtuous prince. Accordingly a young *Nat*, named Matali, was commanded to escort the king to the *Nat* realm.

Stepping into the carriage sent for him, the king "abandoned himself to the guidance of his heavenly guide."

"Two roads are now opened before us," said Matali, "the one through the dismal dungeons, where the wicked are consigned to undergo punishment for their offences, and the other through the blissful seats, where the good are enjoying the rewards allotted to them for their virtues. Which of the two do you wish to follow?"

The prince said he wished to visit both places.

Matali answered in a mild tone of voice that his request should be complied with.

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illustrates that with the Burmese, Manu had become only an 671
ordinary human being with the human trait of making mis- 773
takes, so very different from the divine hermit of Hindu lore.

By the thirteenth century, the customary law of the Bur- 671
mese came to be collected and written down by jurists and [178]
scholars. Throughout the intervening centuries until the British conquest of the country, such collections of the law, and also collections of judicial precedents were made from time to time by scholars and jurists. But those collections were not codes, and were not fully binding on the judges. In all these [177]
collections, Manu was mentioned as the law-giver, and this lip-service paid to the prestige of the Hindu Code of Manu has misled modern scholars, especially European scholars of Burmese history and Burmese law, into thinking that the Burmese law was merely the Hindu Code of Manu modified and transplanted almost overnight in Burma of the eleventh century.

But in the eleventh century, the Burmese did become Bud- 177
dhists almost overnight. The Burmese took to Buddhism with 609
great enthusiasm, because the way of life preached by the 565
Buddha seemed to be identical with their own democratic 779
way of life. The Buddhistic revolt against the rigid caste system of the Hindu society could be appreciated by the Burmese, who called the Hindu half-playfully and half-seriously, "kula" or "caste people," and the Buddhistic emphasis on the equality of all men appealed to the Burmese with their classless society and their own emphasis on individual freedom. The [671]
jurists and the scholars waxed enthusiastic over Buddhism, and they gave a Buddhistic coloring and a Buddhistic background to their collections of Burmese customary law. This misled the early British administrators and judges in Burma into thinking that Burmese customary law was Buddhistic in origin, and gave to it the misleading official name of "Burmese Buddhist Law."

The impact of the English legal system introduced into 000

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781 789 Meditation is the only path to the higher seats whereby man becomes a yahanda, fit for Ne'ban, possessed of the six kinds of wisdom :—

1. The faculty of seeing like a nat or dewa.
2. The faculty of hearing like a nat.
3. Creative power.
4. Knowledge of the thoughts of others.
5. Freedom from passion.
6. Knowledge of one's own past existences.

781 788 [824] They sit therefore for long hours fingering their rosaries, the beads made of the seeds of the *Canna indica*, "Indian shot," which sprang from Shin Gautama's blood, and repeating many times the prescribed formulæ, most often the Thamatawi Patthana—All is changeful, all is sad, all is unreal; followed by the Tharana Gôn, the invocation of the Three Precious Gems, the Lord, the Law, and the Assembly. So by abstraction of the mind they hope to acquire the four laws of Edepat :—

1. Absolute power over the will.
2. Absolute power over the mind.
3. Absolute power of execution.
4. Absolute power over the means to the object.

781 812 The discipline is terrible to all but a slow-minded man, and we can well imagine one who thus presents himself to the people as a living memento of all that is sacred and perfect in the religion, longing for the extinction of Ne'ban, where he may escape from the misery of recurring lives.

> Ask of the sick, the mourners, ask of him
> Who tottereth on his staff, lone and forlorn,
> Liketh thee life? These say, The babe is wise
> That weepeth being born.

792 So each one in the brotherhood passes the time each afternoon: some asleep, some racking the brain with mystical musings, some learning, some teaching, while throughout all sounds the din of the schoolroom, where the pupils are shouting out their tasks at the top of their voices.

Between three and four the lessons are finished, and the shins and scholars perform any domestic duties that may be

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with his own emancipation alone. This criticism is not entirely just. It ignores his service to the community, even if it is allowed that this service is not his primary aim. It also ignores certain emphases in the Buddhist scriptures, and at least one passage where the monk is enjoined to include in his meditations 'radiant thoughts of love' to all mankind.[39] 792

Nevertheless, the greater part of his activity is individual. In some respects, he may be compared with the scholar whose researches may ultimately benefit mankind though meantime they involve seclusion to the neglect of more obvious duties. The monk's value to the villagers is dependent on his own sanctity (as the villagers would readily agree).

Comparison with the scholar is apt in another sense, for the spiritual exercises which should occupy the monk's solitude seem, at first glance, to be severely and solely intellectual. Burmese monastic studies have been largely guided by the *Abhidhammatthasaṃgaha*,[40] a commentary which is nothing if not analytic. Its purpose is to guide the student to realise existence as the Buddhist estimates it, a flux of component elements. He is to persevere in meditations which will yield an utter detachment from all alluring vanities. In this manual "we see a philosophy which starts with an analysis of (1) what we find (a) within us, (b) around us, and of (2) what we aspire to find. Mind is analysed and catalogued," says Mrs. Rhys Davids. "We cannot but be struck ..... by the relatively strong microscopic power of the introspection employed" – –[41] so struck, indeed, that some have concluded that such a monk must live in a world far apart from the villagers he is supposed to instruct. *His* Buddhism is not *their* Buddhism. So it is argued. The monk is too much the scholar. 792 779* 781

Thus we have another theory of two religions in Burma, but this time it is not Buddhism and Animism, it is two Buddhisms: popular and monastic. The distinction is inescapable. We may question, however, whether the distance between scholar and peasant is any greater than in other religious traditions.

There are two qualifications which should prevent exaggeration. The first is the fact that the meditations by which the monk hopes to progress in the eightfold Path to Nibbāna are not so entirely intellectual as they appear to be at first glance. All through there is an equally strong emphasis on moral purity which the *Uposatha* recitals enforce. It is a persistent ethical reference which belongs to scholar and peasant alike.

Secondly, there are, as we have seen, different grades of monks. Not

[39] *M.1.* 123ff. *(Kakucūpama Sutta)*, cf. *D.1.* 4; cf. Yamakami Sōgen: *Systems of Buddhistic Thought*, chap. II, p. 56.

[40] Trans. by Shwe Zan Aung as *Compendium of Philosophy*, P.T.S., London, 1929.

[41] *Ibid.* Preface, pp. XVIII, XIX.

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every man in a yellow robe is fully ordained, and not every ordained monk is a scholar. There are Brother Junipers who have little more learning than the average farmer. On the other hand, there are laymen who have advanced a considerable way in higher studies and disciplines. The Lēdi Sayādaw's manual on the Exercises, for example, is written for laymen.[42] Thus between the scholar and the simple villager there is a mediating world, composed both of monks and laymen.

Through this mediating world, the moderating influence of scholarly orthodoxy filters down to the realm of popular Buddhism where imagination roves more freely.

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Here, however, we are met by another objection which, if true, cancels the first. There are so few scholars, it is said, so few really learned *monks* that their influence is negligible. The ordinary monk is not scholarly enough. He is just as much swayed by primitive superstitions as the people he instructs or fails to instruct. He is idle, ignorant and often dissolute. The last criticism need not detain us. Nearly every book on Burma debates the character of the monks. Few fail to acknowledge that, in general, the monks live up to their ideal of chastity. Father Sangermano, who was certainly no indulgent critic, even goes further and suggests that in this respect they might serve as an example to the religious of his own Church. He adds that an offender is expelled by indignant villagers, 'even driving him away with stones' — an observation which reminds us that the most vigilant critics of the monks may be the Burmese people themselves.[43] The Burmese name for monk, *pōn-gyi*, means 'great glory.' Since there is no suggestion of priestly or Brahmanical power, since the value of the monks depends on their *kutho* and their *kutho* on their character, it is difficult to believe that they could have retained this title and the esteem in which they are generally held, if they had been as unworthy as some of their harsher critics suggest.[44] As to their knowledge, whilst nobody would claim that every wearer of the yellow robe is a scholar, we have only to glance at such a survey as Bode's *Pali Literature* to realise that there has been a persistent tradition of Pali learning in Burma since the eleventh century which tends to orthodoxy and could not have failed to impress itself, in some degree, on the mind of the people.

[42] *The Vipassanā Dīpanī, or The Manual of Insight*, trans. by U Nyāna (Mandalay: no date).

[43] Op. cit., chaps. XIV, pp. 115–16.

[44] On the character of the monks, cf. *M.B.B.*, pp. 20, 21, 62; Bigandet, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 260, 270 ff.; Fielding Hall, *The Soul of a People*, chap. X, pp. 134 ff.; Nisbet, *Burma under British Rule*, p. 147; Richards, *The Burman*, p. 34.

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employed for this escape, but "the commentators take pains to show that the non-being in *nirodha* is not the mere passing away ... of the corruptions and the aggregates." It is the non-birth, non-origination of further Ill. Nibbāna has therefore a very positive significance. As one commentator insists, if Nibbāna merely denoted the extinction of lust, hate and dulness, then every stupid animal, every bear, leopard, deer, monkey when its lust subsided would experience Nibbāna, and there would be fifteen hundred Nibbānas as each various hindrance in the Path was overcome. Extinction of the corruptions is the condition, sanctity the result, nirodha the locus and the reality *(paramattha)* of Nibbāna. 779* 775*

But this reality can only be explained in negative terms. No concept will convey the true meaning, no analysis will reveal the true nature of the Reality. It is by intuition or penetration that it is attained. "Being intent, one realises the ultimate fact of cessation by the body and sees it by intuition through paññā.[a]" ... "Repeated contemplation by worldly knowledge brings about penetration or intuition by means of transcendental knowledge." [781]

6. *'No intuition, no selection'*

Threading the Dialogue and the Essay there is a similar insistence. Both U Agga and Sumana emphasise that Intuition alone gives full understanding, and U Agga, who is the more speculative of the two, does so the more emphatically. "In my view intellect and intuition are held to be radically different as poles asunder.... For us, who can only observe from without, Nibbāna must be present in time. And yet Ariyans intuit as out of time (kālavimutta) because they simply abide in their own intuition *(paccaṭṭhe viharati)* without reference to time concepts." 781 775*

Those who can only observe from without, those who have not entered the Path-of-the-Stream and attained this necessary insight, may seek to understand what has not yet been made clear to them personally, they may analyse here and inquire there, but ultimately they are dependent upon what the Ariyans have made known, from their penetrating vision, especially the greatest Ariyan of all, the Buddha. Hence they acknowledge, "I take refuge in the Buddha." Hence, too, in the speculations of the schoolmen, a recurrent appeal to scripture, as in this Dialogue, and, with this appeal, concern for what the earlier, great commentators have discerned, that the letter of scripture may be better understood. Much of the subsequent discussion takes the form of deductions from accepted dogma. In this reference, Buddhism may be described as a religion of

[a] paññā — constructive imagination; comprehension; insight.

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Revelation. No Buddhist prophets, it is true, have declared: 'Thus saith the Lord.' But the place of the prophets has been taken by the Ariyans, the saints, the enlightened ones who can declare: 'Thus have I seen.' And what they have seen is authoritative.

It is therefore misleading to represent Buddhism as entirely a religion of free inquiry and self-reliant rationalism. Buddhism, whether it be the Buddhism of the peasant or the Buddhism of the schoolman, is further removed from the occidental rationalism of the nineteenth century than some Western rationalists have realised. There are, it is true, passages in the Pali Canon in which the Buddha affirmed that each disciple must discover the truth for himself, without slavish dependence on authority. It is also true that 'the whole (Buddhist) system is based on intellectual activity.'[68] But this intellectual activity is never regarded as a means sufficient in itself. It is joined with an equal regard for moral purification, and it is always a means to an end — to that Ariyan *intuition* which is indispensable to Nibbānic fulfilment. It makes little difference whether this ultimate intuition is distinguished from intellect as a difference in degree or as a difference in kind — a point of dispute in the Dialogue. In either case, the distinction is emphatic. "No true knowledge is complete without intuition," observes the author of the Dialogue, in another context. "The Buddhist maxim is: 'No intuition, no salvation.... Arahants may lack knowledge, or may be excelled by others, or may have doubts, in ordinary, worldly, practical matters, though they possess the intuition of the real in common with the Buddha."[69]

In the Dialogue, and in his comparison between Bergsonian intuition and the Buddhist conception, Shwe Zan Aung suggests that this penetrating insight may be realised, at least partially and fitfully, in those intellectual exercises and analyses which lead to the Ariyan vision. But his general emphasis is upon the belief that full salvation, and, with it, full understanding, is only attained with full vision — in Nibbāna.

It follows, therefore, that all prior speculation is admittedly relative and limited. It is limited by reference to what the Ariyans have made known. It is limited by the inquirer's recognition of his own present inadequacy. Until he is purified from corruption, until he achieves the Nibbānic intuition, he can only hazard from outside.

It is further limited by the fences which surround Nibbāna, placing it 'out of time,' a separate category of reality, without parts or distinctions, a transcendental object.[70] Since it is thus distinguished from present,

[68] Rhys Davids, *American Lectures*, chap. v, p. 181.

[69] "The Buddhist Philosophy of the Real," *J.B.R.S.*, Vol. VII, Part III, (1917), p. 230.

[70] Cf. Aung, *Compendium of Philosophy*, pp. 6, 81ff.

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conditioned existence, none of the terms which belong to normal experience can properly apply. All the similes employed the — other shore, the island of refuge, the highest blessing — are but dim anticipations.

Speculation, indeed, advances at times to the utmost limit and may seem to venture beyond. The 'Compendium of Philosophy' indicates the exercises which should be followed in the quest for super-normal knowledge and seems, in places, to delineate what, one would suppose, can scarcely be known to inquisitive intellect. The final stages of the saint's progress are minutely analysed. This tendency to speculation is seen, maybe in the fact that the Abhidhamma Piṭaka elaborates a fivefold classification of jhāna, where the Sutta Piṭaka is content with a fourfold.[71] Philosophy is not to be gainsaid. Intellect strains at the leash. The Buddhist schoolman is as persevering as the Christian. He does not despise intellect and he works it hard. Thus Shwe Zan Aung is compelled to reject the suggestion of Martineau that 'the nanu (intuition) prepares us to meet some mode of apprehension at a glance, in which all process is dispensed with, and the end is struck by a flash.' For Buddhists have not dispensed with all process. On the contrary, they 'have to resort to a very peculiar and complicated process to win a momentary flash of abhiñña.'[72] The Compendium, for example, mentions forty stations of exercise in the exposition of 'Ānāpānasati', with recommendations for different types of aspirants — some for a passionate habit of mind, some for muddle-heads. Prior to these, there is a schooling in minute analysis, logical and psychological, which, one might suppose, would either defeat or cure any muddle-head!

The relation between this intellectual approach and the resultant insight is, as we have seen, debated by scholars. We might say that some of them are more rationalistic than others; they would not make too sharp a division between intellect and intuition; they are not so patiently agnostic as their fellows. Like other schoolmen, they cannot resist the temptation to define the Infinite. Philosophy must have its day, in Buddhism as elsewhere, and there is certainly ground for the criticism that philosophers — or dogmatists? — or both? — by their subtle discriminations and sharp determinations have turned poetry into prose and religion into metaphysics. Not, however, without resistance. And the point to be observed is, that this resistance arises within the Order, among the doctors. It is maintained by those who are mindful of the ultimate mystery of Nibbāna, those who mark the gulf between stumbling intellect and emancipating vision. The real, they insist, is finally inexpressible. It is beyond the capacities of intellect. Intellect is a useful

[71] *Ibid.*, p. 88, footnote. [72] *Ibid.*, p. 238.

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servant, but the servant must not be presumptuous. In this divergence we have part of the answer to the question raised at the outset of this chapter: the relationship between popular conceptions and the ideas of the learned bhikkus. If there are two Buddhisms in Burma (and I doubt it), the division is not to be drawn between monk and layman. It is between mystic and rationalist. And it cuts into the heart of the Saṃgha itself. There, among the learned bhikkus themselves, are scholars who would set a limit to speculation and narrowing definition. To them, as to the villager, Nibbāna, though differently apprehended, is remote, and for essentially the same reason: only the saint can experience Nibbāna, only the saint can know. Since all language is meantime inadequate, there is room enough for toleration.

If the point is pressed, the Burmese Buddhist is better described as a mystic than as a rationalist. His mysticism, however, is a sober, commonsense mysticism. Raptures, it is true, are mentioned in the scriptures and associated with *jhāna* (trance). But mystical raptures are not necessary to salvation.[73] There are 'dry-visioned' Arahats who attain emancipation without them. Greater emphasis is placed on will and concentration than on any emotional excitement which may make the Path more interesting. Serenity, not rapture, is the mark of the Buddhist saint.

Dry or rapturous, however, the Arahat must achieve vision — a power of insight beyond normal intellect.[74] Intellectualism stands at the portal of mysticism, the scholar doing homage to the seer.

Consequently, until this vision is attained, piety and commonsense dictate a reverent agnosticism. Nibbāna, 'the question of questions', remains a question. Such is the attitude maintained by the Burmese Buddhist in general. Scriptural similes are quoted, but many realise their inadequacy. The final word is that Nibbāna is inexpressible. One can indicate it best by saying what it is *not* not conditioned, not in time, not birth, not death. As a concept, it belongs to that class of religious apprehensions which defeats language, leaving us to do our best with negative terms.

Nevertheless it is a very positive apprehension, with positive, definite and religious impacts on Buddhist thought and life. It has certain features which recall other major terms in the history of religion.

It is dominating. In spite of its vagueness — 'that apex of vacuity,' Mrs Rhys Davids calls it — it is a persistent term. For the Buddhist it denotes an aspect of reality which will not let him go. There was Nibbāna before Buddhism, but, without Nibbāna, there could be no Buddhism.

[73] *Ibid.*, pp. 88, 220. [74] *Ibid.*, p. 235.

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Yet it is a term which vexes understanding. If non-Buddhists are at a loss to define it, if they disagree concerning it, they can scarcely be blamed, for Buddhists themselves are at a similar loss. This reality of realities leaves them confounded. 775* 781

Nevertheless, it is a consolidating, consummating term. "Nirvana is the *non plus ultra* of the *dhamma* expounded by the Buddha, the *summum bonum* of Buddhism, the ultimate of all that a Buddha taught or would teach. Thus Buddhism is in essence a proclamation of the truth of nirvana ... a tried path leading to Nirvana."[75]

Nibbāna is the *gospel* of Buddhism, the term which signifies emancipation, salvation. The greatest assurance which can encourage the devout disciple is the assurance that he is indeed in the Path-of-the-Stream and will now, without doubt, attain Nibbāna. It is the term which turns pessimism into optimism and makes it absurd to describe Buddhism as a pessimistic religion. At the same time, it is the term which makes it true to say that Buddhism *IS* a religion — not merely an ethic or a philosophy.[76]

Yet it is not without ethical reference, for Nibbāna is linked with the thought of necessary moral purification. While the persevering bhikku may seem to emphasise intellectual exercises, he knows that these exercises are vain unless, at the same time, there is a sustained moral discipline. He must go beyond 'mere morality' but he cannot desert it. The villager may approach Nibbāna at a leisurely pace, but every thought of Nibbāna is a challenge to that pace.[77] 775* 779* 781

[75] Bimala Churn Law, *Concepts of Buddhism*, chap. XI, p. 76.

[76] For this reason, *Nibbāna* rather than *Dhamma* is the consummating, central term of Buddhism — though much depends on the connotation assigned to *Dhamma*.

[77] Dr. W. Stede (in a Note sent me by the late Professor J. A. Stewart) observes: "We must never forget that two aspects are always interlinked in Indian (and therefore also in Buddhist) philosophy: the physical and the ethical. When the physical world is said to be non-spirit (or non-self) and unapproachable by man (Prakṛti is anātmā), this is counterposed by the reality of the self, the attā, which is its own master and ruler in the sphere of responsibility and the maker of its own fate. Here rules the commandment: *attadīpā viharatha* i. e. take your stand on the island of your self, and *Amata*, immortality will be your reward. And that is why complete cessation of craving, complete detachment from the working of physical nature, is equal to Nirvāṇa *and* Amata. He who is emancipated from his attachments is mentally released and spiritually happy. Where he *is* physically after the breaking up of the constituents, we do not know and cannot express; he must be somewhere but words are insufficient to describe his condition."

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There is therefore much to be said for the suggestion made by Dr. E .J. Thomas that it is to this Nibbāna aspiration we must look, if anywhere, to find in Buddhism a recognition which corresponds to the recognition of the Divine in other religions. "Nirvāṇa . . . is not stated in such a way that it can be identified with God, but it may be said to be feeling after an expression of the same truth."[78] Nibbāna is the religious ultimate of Buddhism, and, just as men have failed to express all that God IS, so they have failed to express all that Nibbāna is. Like all such terms which reflect, however dimly, the 'reality of realities' it eludes philosophy while it inspires life.

[78] *The Life of Buddha*, chap. XIV, p. 208.

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775* "Him I call indeed a Brahmana who .. penetrates to the real, whether
779* in earth, hell or heaven ... a sage, perfected in knowledge."[19] It might seem therefore that growth in science and intellectual acumen would anticipate this experience of perfect knowledge, and there are various descriptions of the bhikku's discipline which indeed suggest a gradual growth towards full realization as life becomes more worthy and intellect more discerning. There are also texts which appear to suggest this more directly. "If lust be abandoned .... to that extent, brahmin, Nibbāna is seen in this life. It is to be realised for themselves by the wise."[20] In the *Dhammapada*, the learned man who drives away vanity by earnestness is described as 'climbing the terraced heights of wisdom' and the bhikku who delights in reflection is close upon Nibbāna.[21] There are passages in which progress seems to be indicated, step by step, including progress from first discernments to higher knowledge and at last to final enlightenment in Nibbāna.

Surely at last we have brought Nibbāna nearer, in this capacity of the trained, persevering intellect? Not only, it would seem, is Nibbāna proclaimed as the goal but some glimpse of the goal itself is vouchsafed to those who are intelligent.

But here we come to the very core of the Buddhist paradox. At the summit of affirmation we are plunged into negation. For Nibbāna is not attained *through* enlightenment. Nibbāna *is* enlightenment. Nibbāna *is* Vision. Only by Vision can it be known and only to Vision can it be fully described. All power short of this Vision is inadequate. Intellect falls short. It is not despised, but neither is it exalted.

We have now to examine the nature and the reference of this negation.

3. *The Buddhist Negation*

[781] Intellect is the busy apprentice of Vision. No one who has studied the
779* exercises in concentration and meditation which form so large a part of
775* the monk's discipline can doubt this function. It is not, indeed, a purely
812 rationalistic function. The zealous Buddhist may be said to seek Nibbāna with all his heart, with all his mind and with all his strength. It is a discipline of the will and the emotions as much as a discipline of the mind. But the schooled, searching intellect certainly figures largely in this approach. There is a minute analysis, an elaborate classification, a sort

[19] *Dhp.* 423. for translation cf. *S.B.E.* X, 1, p. 96 and d'Eypernon, *ibid.*, 175.

[20] *A.* I. 156ff. (*The Book of Gradual Sayings*, Part I, p. 141).

[21] *Dhp.* 28ff. (cf. translation by Mrs. Rhys Davids, *The Minor Anthologies of the Pali Canon*, Part I, p. 13).

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of vivisection of phenomena, tearing existence asunder, piece by piece, until at last no fluttering thread is left to suggest delusive substance or present permanence. The flux is steadily discerned, the complex of intertwining relations displayed, that, through the flux, the mind may see Nibbāna. It is small wonder that Buddhists have claimed that their sages anticipated the methods and objectivity of modern science.

All this preliminary process, however, is negative. In itself it is not Vision. It is the clearing away of confusions to make Vision possible. One is reminded of the relation between patient research and the flash of intuition which has marked the progress of scientific discovery. Buddhists themselves have discussed, as we have seen, whether the resultant Vision should be regarded as enhanced intellectual discernment or distinguished as something radically different.

A glance at one of the mental exercises detailed in the Pali scriptures will illustrate the problem. The object of this exercise, called the Stages of Deliverance,[22] seems to be to deliver the aspirant from any illusion of substantiality in the phenomena around him; to train him to look Beyond. First he is to contemplate the form of his own body, then, unconscious of his own body, he is to contemplate forms exterior to himself. There follows a stage of intentness, dwelling on the thought, "It is fair." The fourth stage is attained "by passing wholly beyond all consciousness of material qualities (or forms), by the dying out of the awareness of sensory reaction, by the unheeding of any awareness of difference." Thus "he enters into that rapt ecstasy which is a consciousness of infinite space." "The idea of the infinity of space is the only idea that is present." Then he leaves space behind and thinks only of the infinity of reason or intellect (viññānañca).[23] Next he dwells on the thought, "Nothing at all exists." Then he "remains in the state of mind to which neither ideas nor the absence of ideas are specifically present, and finally he reaches the stage of mind in which both sensations and ideas have ceased to be." Other exercises focus the mind on particular objects in order to realise their impermanence. The discipline involves a resolute effort to look away from and beyond all conditioned existence.

Since Nibbāna Vision is the vision of *unconditioned* rea[illegible], it might be considered that such a resolute detachment from condit[illegible]ed reality as that indicated in the exercises would resolve into Vision, [illegible] that Vision might be construed as right direction and enhanced pow[illegible] of intellect. The Ledi Sayādaw seems to give a qualified support to such an interpretation. "For those whose knowledge has been abundantly trained in the doctrines of the intuitively wise Ariyan philosophers, even their inferential

[22] *D.* II, 112f.; *D.* III. 262f.;

[23] *A.* IV. 306. cf. Keith, *Buddhist Philosophy*, chap. VI, p. 124.

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knowledge may be said to partake of the nature of intuitive knowledge, since it invariably leads to the latter kind. By persistent cultivation that inferential knowledge is changed into intuitive knowledge."[24] And Shwe Zan Aung speaks of 'resort to a very peculiar and complicated process to win a momentary flash of abhiññā' (intuition, super-intellection).[25] Apprentice intellect, then, may have glimpses, perchance, of Nibbāna.

But a fleeting glimpse is a very different thing from the steady vision, the perfect understanding which betokens Nibbāna. Nor does it greatly affect the issue whether the full Nibbāna Vision is regarded as a difference in kind or a difference in degree from probing intellect. What is emphasised in Buddhist thought and practice is the fact that the difference is there, however it may be conceived.

Between the knowledge which belongs to enlightenment and the knowledge which precedes this enlightenment there is a wide gulf fixed. For this latter knowledge is still clouded by ignorance, hindered by corruptions not yet destroyed. Hence the Buddha's rebuke to his questioner: "It is possible, brethren, that some senseless fellow, sunk in ignorance and led astray by craving, may think to go beyond the Master's teaching!"[26] Hence the fact that he speaks, indeed, as Master. Hence the Buddha's authority. "The Buddha," it has been said, "speaks from experience"[27] — but, in the view of his followers, it is from super-normal experience. Therefore it is the Buddha's word upon which his followers base their teaching; the grain of that teaching they gather from the granary he has provided.[28] And the Buddha, for his part, distinguishes himself from other teachers who are still groping in blindness.[29]

It is this gulf in experience which partly explains his silence on questions which have since been classed by his followers as the Great Indeterminates, questions which the Buddha left open, answering neither Yea nor Nay.[30] Various reasons have been given for this silence.

It has been suggested that the Buddha himself did not know the answers or that he had reached no clear conclusion.[31] Or that he was not interested in philosophy, indeed, distrusted philosophy, and these ques-

[24] "Some Points in Buddhist Doctrine," *J.P.T.S.* 1913—14, p. 115; cf. also Mrs Rhys Davids, *The Birth of Indian Psychology*, chap. XX, pp. 425, 426.

[25] *Compendium of Philosophy*, p. 225.

[26] *A.* III. 104.

[27] Reischauer, *Studies in Japanese Buddhism*, chap. I, p. 30.

[28] *A.* IV. 163.

[29] *Ud.* 68.

[30] *D.* I. 17ff.; *D.* I. 187 etc.

[31] Keith, *Buddhist Philosophy*, chap. II, p. 45.

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tions were speculative. For this last explanation, there is some support in the Pali scriptures. "The jungle, the desert, the puppet show, the writhing, the entanglement of speculation . . . conduce neither to wisdom, nor to insight. . . ."[32] There is still stronger support for the suggestion that his silence was dictated by pastoral motives; "This question is not calculated to profit," the Buddha tells Potthapāda, "it is not concerned with the Dhamma."[33] Rhys Davids suggests that the speculations were eschewed because they were based on insufficient evidence.[34] But insufficient evidence for whom? For the Buddha himself, it might be said from the standpoint of the critical historian. We are considering the question, however, from the standpoint of his followers, from the standpoint of the Buddhist faith. From such a point of view there can be no question of insufficient evidence: the Buddha knew all that was to be known; he was the Enlightened One. But the Buddha himself might well consider that there was insufficient evidence for the disputants and for his followers who had not yet attained the Nibbāna vision. That, in fact, is the attitude indicated. Professor Keith, it is true, argues the contrary: the Buddha's agnosticism is "not based on any reasoned conviction of the limits of knowledge."[35] But against the evidence which Dr. Keith emphasises — the Buddha's admission that he did not reveal the past, even when true, if it did not tend to edification — there are the Buddha's answers which imply that what he had in mind was the flimsy basis of the views disputed, the vain arguments, as much as the views themselves. "In this case, brethren, some recluse or Brahman is addicted to logic and reasoning. He gives utterance to the following conclusion of his own, beaten out by his argumentations."[36] "In this case, brethren, some . . Brahman . . . resorts to wriggling like an eel."[37] The Buddha contrasts his own omniscience with the limited knowledge of these stumbling metaphysicians. *He* knows. They only surmise.

Apart, however, from any 'proof text,' such an attitude is the consequence of the gulf envisaged between an experience informed by Vision and an experience deprived of this Vision. The ten questions specifically listed as Indeterminates all refer to what might be regarded as 'unconditioned reality' — the ultimate nature of the world, the ultimate nature of man, the nature of Nibbāna.[38] Since Vision alone penetrates to this

[32] Eg. *M.* I. 455, trans. Rhys Davids, *op. cit.* Part I, p. 254).
[33] *D.* I. 188.
[34] *Dialogues of the Buddha*, Part I, p. 188.
[35] Keith, *op. cit.*, p. 45.
[36] *D.* I. 21, (trans. Rhys Davids, *op. cit.*, Part I, p. 34).
[37] *D.* I. 27, (trans. Rhys Davids, *op. cit.*, Part I, p. 39).
[38] Cf. Rhys Davids, *Dialogues of the Buddha*, Part I, p. 187.

M 197 484 101 177 my grandmother who, with her plot of paddy land and her fruit and vegetable gardens, was among the wealthiest in the village, never connected these with her children or those of her friends.

M 871 857 792 Grandfather died when quite young, leaving my Paw-Pwa (Grandmother) with four sons and two daughters, of whom my father was the eldest. Like all the boys of the village, my father after eight or nine years of unrestrained childish delights when he could play all day, in the stream and up and down the village streets, stopping only when hungry or tired, wheedling the grown-ups to let him sit up till late at night listening to stories, was sent to the monastery on the outskirts of the village. The word for monastery in Burmese, *kyaung*, is the same as the word used for school, and it was to be taught learning and holiness, obedience and discipline, dexterity in manual and domestic tasks, and to be given a deep spiritual influence to last throughout life, that Grandmother and her friends sent their sons there. The parents whose hearts suffered too much at the thought of inflicting any punishment themselves now handed B them over to the monks with the plea that they would teach them to be good and obedient, and chastise them severely if they did not obey.

792 ●792 346 The kyaung at Ye, like all kyaungs in Burma, was built in surroundings chosen for their pleasantness. On a slight slope overlooking the stream was a pagoda, the pagoda of the village where the people came on fasting and feast days to kneel on the paved platform around the tapering golden spire and recite the precepts. Down from the platform the steps were lined with shady trees, and to one side of this was the monastery, a wooden building with verandahs and tiered roofs, set in a large garden, containing a few flower beds for offerings at the altars, but chiefly wide shady spaces, great trees including a *nyaung-bin* (a sacred banyan, with huge spreading branches), flowering *gangaw* trees and deep green mango trees. In one corner was a well.

B 793 792 181 The monks consisted of the *saya-daw*, the senior monk who acted as head and abbot, about twenty monks who had been formally admitted to the order and were called *upasins*, and a number of novices who were wearing the yellow robe either for a short time, or to be admitted as monks later on. My father and his companions were admitted as *kyaungthas*, scholars. The monks spent their days in the recitation of religious formulæ and teachings, in meditation, in the telling of beads and the teaching of scholars. They did this while observing a strict and simple life, abstaining from solid food after noon, possessing no goods except the essential articles laid down in the monastic rules, observing chastity and poverty. To the people of the village they were the embodiment of good and holiness, living the noblest and most meritorious life a man can live. The people addressed them in conversation as

593 Or of far-off Meiktila Lake where the water stretches seven miles ong:
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Meiktila kan-daw auk ka	From the waters of Meiktila Lake
Hpa kauk hkè ba	Pick up a frog for me.
Hpa pa yin ta gaung pay ba	Poor little frog,
Myet lon ga kyaung taung taung hnin,	Eyes big agog, And body so thin and wee.
Hpa gaung ga thay.	

Or the jumping nonsensical rhyme about Gyat-Aye who got beaten by her mother and wept in a dark corner and started a train of kaleidoscopic events, for every time a line ended with a clanging rhythm it suggested a rhyming word to shout out and continue its own associations, and when you got back to a rhyme for Gyat-Aye, you had to start all over again, and poor Gyat-Aye got beaten and cried as long as children's voices held out.

Gyat-Aye	Gyat-Aye
Thu amay yaik lo	Beat by her mother so,
Hmaung maik hma ngo	Cries in dark corner "Oh",
Ko Lu Byo	Young bachelor Ko
Hta-yan pauk ka	Through hole in the mantel
Chay-dauk ko swè,	Pulls at her ankle
Twè-lè !	Dangle !
Twè-le yè	Dangling yet wait awhile,
Nay ba ohn	The rain clouds pile,
Mo tway ka chon	The heavens clang,
Mok lon !	Meringue !
Mok lon yè sekku kat pa lo	Meringue with paper stuck below
Kya ka-lat hnin hun-daw tin	Offer at altar in lacquer bowl,
Pa-lin paw ka myauk kalay,	From throne seat the monkey gay
Hsin chi lo pyay	Runs down and off with it away !
Gyat-Aye !	Gyat-Aye !

593 Before going to bed, A-Kyi or Ngwe Yin took us in to say our
•782 prayers in chorus. We then *shikkoed* our parents, that is, made obeisance to them by folding hands and bowing till our foreheads and outstretched palms touched the ground, first to my father, then to my mother, and they said in turn each night: *"Pongyi-ba-say, thetshay-ba-say meba hnin-o-aung-min-aung paung-ya-ba-say :* May your holiness be great and your life long, may you be united with your parents even until the attainment of old age."

873 We could not stage these shows at the University owing to the length of
536 them and the difficulty of procuring a company. We saw them often in childhood when there were two great companies touring the districts. Po Sein and Sein Gaden came with their companies to the district towns; they hired the local hall, and then charged their audiences by mat-space. Buyers of spaces came earlier in the day and laid down their thinbyus over the rough bamboo mats provided. At night the whole family, including grandmothers and young children, arrived with pillows, fans, goblets of drinking water and things to eat, and squatted and reclined each on its own mat. Vendors of pickled tea and jujube plums, both of which have the effect of keeping one awake, walked in and sold their packets without a license, but just as an overflow from the row of food stalls that had sprung up in the lane leading to the hall.

545 At the University, however, we always staged *anyein-pwès*, and not
873 these night-long zat-pwès. An anyein is a much handier, more compact sort of entertainment. The troupe consists of two clowns, one chief dancing girl and two subsidiary ones, and a band of musicians. Such a troupe can be hired for about Rs. 40/-. No seats are ever bought for an anyein; people hire them to celebrate weddings, shinbyus and other happy events. They perform on a rough open-air stage, and the show is free to all who wish to flock to see it. The poorest beggars may perch themselves on neighbouring trees and fences to enjoy the four-or five-hour programme of songs, dances and jokes.

545 When an anyein was held at University College, we entered the
534 grounds at about 7 p.m. and found the stage with its rear occupied by the orchestra tuning instruments and practising snatches of the airs; in the
• [782] centre a basinful of offerings to propitiate the nat-spirits so that the entertainment will be a success; and at the opposite corners of the front of the stage the two clowns squatting, watching the audience enter and uttering declamations about the occasion of the entertainment; but as yet in a very desultory fashion, while they scratched their heads, cleaned their ears and chewed betel, because nobody was ready to pay full attention. Very shortly, however, the orchestra came to life in a harmonious concert. Within the circular frames of two big harmonicums, about two to three feet high and four to five feet in diameter, sat the master players. The *kyi-waing* master was surrounded by a row of graduated gongs strung along the inside of the harmonicum, which he struck with a knobbed stick in quick melody. The *saing-waing* master produced a thinner strain from his graduated drums which he struck with the flat of his fingers. Between the two sat a *hnè* player, blowing loudly his clarionet which had a wide bell-shaped mouth; the *pulwày* master played lively dancing notes on his flute; a gentle looking youth

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Not only has every day its special character and its fixe

805 letters, but there is also a particular animal assigned to
825 symbolise it, and red or yellow wax candles are made in
● 782 the forms of these animals to be offered at the Pagoda by the
[527] pious. Each worshipper offers the creature-candle representing his birthday, or that of any particular friend or relation whom he wishes well. In this way Monday is represented by a tiger; Tuesday, by a lion; Wednesday, by an elephant with tusks; Yahu, by an elephant without tusks; Thursday, by a rat; Friday, by a guinea-pig; Saturday, by a nagā or dragon; Sunday, by a kalôn, the fabulous half-beast, half-bird, which guards one of the terraces of Mount Myinmo (Meru), the centre of the universe.

782 Little candles of this kind are to be had at any of the
443 stalls which cluster about the steps and the base of every pagoda in the country, and they are as freely offered as flowers, and fruits, and gold-leaf.

551 It will be seen that there is no such thing as a surname
553 among the Burmese. A man may have a dozen sons not one of whom has the same name as his father. Maung, literally "brother," has come to stand practically for "Mister." Po and Shwe and Ba may be applied to any one without regard to his birthday, Shwe implying usually politeness or affection. Nga, used in the English law-courts and by pompous native officials generally, implies superiority claimed by the speaker or writer. Ko denotes friendship, or superior age and dignity in the person addressed. Maung Shwe Than might call himself indifferently—Maung Than, Po Than, Ba Than, Ko Than, Nga Than, or Shwe Than, and might add Maung to any one of these. As a matter of fact most Burmans chop about their name a good deal during their lives. He may begin by being called Lugale Ngè, "Little Wee Man." When he grows up a little the family probably get to call him Lugale Gyi, "Big Little Man." Later, when he begins to think of his appearance and look after the girls—and they begin that sort of thing very early in Burma—he probably calls himself Maung Lugale or Shwe Lugale, "Mr. Littleman," or "Mr. Boy," or "Golden Boy." There are a variety of other changes possible and likely. Finally, when he reaches the age of thirty-five or forty he either readopts the original Ngè and calls himself

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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Taninla kya
Ta-sè nga
Ne nya
She yat ga.

Monday's number, I ween,
Is always fifteen;
The tiger's the beast,
And its place is the East.

There are various ways of calculating the horoscope, 787
most of them not to be understanded of the people, but the most popular, because the preliminaries are evident to everybody, is from the numbers given above. A person born on Monday remains under the influence of the moon for fifteen years. Then he passes into the house of Mars and sojourns there for eight years. At the age of twenty-three, Mercury presides over him and continues to do so for the next seventeen years, and so on to the end, which mounts up to 108 years. Should he outlive that he would begin the circle over again. Another way is to divide the inquirer's age by eight. If there is no remainder, the horoscope is made up from the gyo under which he was born. If there is a remainder, the Bedin Sayā counts it out round the figure, in the direction of the hands of a watch, commencing with the birth planet. Thus a man born on Thursday, now twenty-nine years of age, would be under the influence of the moon. The gyo at the four cardinal points, east, south, west, and north are happy in their influences, those on the diagonal rhumbs not so good. Yahu, and especially Saturday, have 787
a particularly sinister influence. A man does most of the 828
stupid and vicious things in his life while he is in Saturn's house. A young man born on Wednesday will need a lot of ballast to tide him through the ten years of Saturn, seeing that he enters on the danger at the age of seventeen.

Little gilded and red painted signboards are put up at 787
all the pagodas, displaying the nan, the symbol, and the 782
relative position of all the planets. Sometimes people 778
worshipping at the pagoda go to the point of the gyo, in whose house they were born, and offer up their lauds and candles there. But this is a mere matter of individual fancy, and is hardly open to those born in the diagonally situated

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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787 houses, for the niche shrines, if there are more than one at
782 the pagoda, are always at the four cardinal points, and if there
778 is only one, as is usual at small pagodas, it is to the East.
823

The sadā is carefully kept by the parents until the child
787 is old enough to take care of it himself, and thenceforward it
768 is guarded as the most valuable possession the person has. No matter how often the name is changed the new one is never put in the sadā, so that this certificate cannot be trusted to implicitly for a man's name. Some of them are very beautifully engraved and ornamented, but they are naturally not often to be seen. I only know of two in England at the present time (1881), one of which is my own and the other belonging to a travelling Burman. When a man dies, the sadā is either destroyed or preserved as a memento by the family. A great many sadās were found and carried off as curiosities during the Third Burmese War. There is one at Abbotsford.

787 A curious instance of the firm belief of the nation in the
436 reasonableness of the conviction that the planet under which
643 one is born influences the fates and actions of one's life, is
177 the fact that royalty ordained that the coins and measures used by traders should bear the emblem of the monarch's birthday. Thus for example all the gold coins used in Upper Burma bazaars during the penultimate reign had the figure of a lion on them, Mindôn Min having been born on a Tuesday. The few remaining from previous reigns bearing other symbols were rigidly kept out of the sight of Burmese officials. The Convenor of the Fifth Great Synod, though probably the mildest and best sovereign Burma ever had, would certainly have stood no trifling in matters of this kind, which, if not amounting actually to a part of the religion, were at any rate very intimately connected with it. His son Thibaw Min, however, notoriously indifferent to religion, if a stronger word might not even be admissible, let the old weights remain in use, and probably called it the march of civilisation.

852 The naming and the construction of the sadā being
857 finished, the principal events in the youthful Burman's life
[291] are over, and the children run about in as happy a state of nudity as the respectability of the family permits; and boys and girls steal grandmamma's chewpot and patter about

:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

for the day, filter it, and place it ready for use; the more advanced novices and others of full rank to sweep round the sacred trees and water them; the elders to meditate in solitude on the regulations of the order. Meditation is beyond all other actions meritorious. The first meditation of the day should be on the miseries of life and the conviction that we cannot free ourselves from them; such thoughts are honourable beyond the founding of a pagoda, or praying for the salvation of all living creatures. Some gather flowers and offer them before the pagoda, to impress upon the mind the virtues of the great teacher and the weaknesses and shortcomings of human nature.

Then comes the first meal of the day, a light refection usually preceded by a homily or grace, to the effect that the rice is eaten not to please the appetite, but to satisfy the wants of the body; that the yellow habit is worn not for vanity, but to cover nakedness; that they dwell in this house not for vainglory, but to be protected from the inclemency of the weather; that medicine is taken merely to recover health, and that health is desirable only that they may attend with greater diligence to prayer and meditation. After the meal all proceed to study for an hour. The ko-yins repeat what lessons they have learnt and apply themselves to new tasks. The early morning is considered especially favourable for committing to memory.

It is now close on eight o'clock, and, arranging themselves in Indian file, they set forth in orderly procession, with the abbot at their head, to beg their food. Slowly they wend their way through the chief street of the town or village, halting when any one comes out to pour his contribution of rice, or fruit, or vegetables, into the alms-bowl, but never saying a word, or even raising the eyes from the ground. It is they who confer the favour, not the givers. Were it not for the passing of the mendicants, the charitable would not have the opportunity of gaining for themselves merit. Not even a glance rewards the most bounteous donation. With eyes fixed unwaveringly on the ground six feet before them, and hands clasped beneath the begging-bowl, they pass on, solemnly meditating on their own unworthiness and the vileness of all human things. There are

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

out with his axe and hollow with his finger-nails. There were a few such cells cut in the rocks at the back of Mandalay Hill, and visitors to the sacred spot occasionally came across one of the hermits striding along, wrapped in thought, grasping an iron staff hung with rings, the rattle of which warns the people to get out of the way and not disturb the holy man's meditations. A few go away from human society altogether, just as St. Simeon Stylites isolated himself on a pillar, and the old Culdee monks from the north of England and Scotland wandered off to the snowy wastes of Iceland, there to seek repose and relief from the turmoil of the world. It is said that the Thadda, the grammar, was added to the Bitaghat, that the hermits who had withdrawn to the jungle might not destroy the power of the sermons and lauds by mispronunciation. 792 [788]

Mandalay Hill is always occupied, for the spot is particularly sacred. King Mindôn used to send thither daily a hundred fowls which had been bought and saved from death, and the pious gave them plenty to eat. Similar proceedings caused the sneer of Purchas, "For men they hadde not an hospitall that were thus hospitall to fowles"; but this is hardly deserved, at any rate in Burma. There in every monastery the Kappiya-dayaka has a stock of money, raised by selling the presents given to the monks, which he devotes in charity to the well-deserving sick and to poor travellers, while any one is welcome at all times to shelter and food in the kyaung as long as he conducts himself properly. The yatheit may be looked upon with pious awe for his austerities and mortifications of the flesh, but the ordinary pyin-sin is more favourably regarded. The building of monasteries and the giving of presents to their inmates is a constant strain on the generosity of the people. It is far more difficult to keep the balance of merit on the right side in Burma than in other countries. Almsgiving is a constant and imperative expense, in addition to regular and personal worship at the pagoda. In Thibet wind or water drives the prayer-machines for extinguishing sin, and the goodman acquires merit while he is snoring at night with his wife at his back. In some parts practical householders are able to calculate exactly what is set down to 778 741 782 735

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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their credit, by the expedient of having the prayer-wheels turned when necessary by oxen. But nothing of this kind is practicable in Burma. You must pay your devotions in person, and unless you supplement these by almsgiving, your prospects towards a next existence are not such as your friends can regard otherwise than with concern. Fortunately the more holy the receiver the greater the merit of the alms. To support one hundred ordinary men is not so much as to feed one yahan, and so on in increasing ratio. The merit of giving one single meal to a Buddha outweighs that of supplying ten million Pyitzega Buddhas with food. Thus the kyaungs are always well furnished, and their advantage in affording education to the children further gives them a hold over the country. It will be long before the number of monasteries decreases in Burma.

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

CHAPTER XV

PAGODAS

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SOME one with a greater regard for alliteration than the truth once said that the principal productions of Burma were pagodas, pôngyis, and pariah dogs. As a superficial impression this is neat, and therefore it will continue to be quoted by forcible feebles to the end of their days, in Bayswater or Ealing. It certainly is marvellous how many pagodas there are in the country, far exceeding the number of those raised in the sacred island of Ceylon, or by the Thibetans and Chinese, pious Buddhists, though they have fallen into sad doctrinal heresies. A Burman does not notice the multitude of the religious edifices in his country till he leaves it and finds how far more sparing other nations are in their places of worship. The poorest village has its neatly kept shrine, with the remains of others mouldering away round about it. No hill is so steep and rocky, or so covered with jungle, as to prevent the glittering gold or snow-white spire rising up to guard the place from ghouls and sprites, and remind the surrounding people of the Saviour Lord, the teacher of Nirvana and the Law. There is good reason for this multiplication of fanes. No work of merit is so richly paid as the building of a pagoda. The Payā-taga is regarded as a saint on earth, and when he dies he obtains the last release; for him there are no more deaths. The man who sets up a row of water-pots on a dusty road does well; he who raises a ta-gôn-daing, or sacred post, who builds a rest-house, presents an image or a bell, or founds a monastery, gains much kutho and ensures a happy transincorporation when he passes away; but the

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2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

778 Payā-taga is finally freed from the three calamities, his kan
782 is complete, the merits outweigh the demerits, and he attains the holy rest. That, at any rate, is the comforting belief, cherished by the most reprobate. Little wonder then that, with such a glorious reward in store for him, the pious man hoards his wealth for such an object, and that pagodas are so plentiful in the land. It avails little to repair a previous dedication, unless it be one of the great world shrines at Rangoon, Pegu, Prome, or Mandalay. In the case of ordinary pagodas the merit of the repair goes practically entirely to the original founder. Hence that puzzle to Europeans, the building of a bright new place of worship close to one which a very little care would save from crumbling away into a simple tumulus.

778 The word pagoda is seemingly a kind of verbal *hysteron proteron*, a metathesis of the Cinghalese dhagoba, derived from the Sanskrit dhatu garba, a relic shrine, and is properly applied only to a monument raised over some of the remains of the Lord Buddha. Such are dat-daw, pieces of Shin Gautama's flesh; an-daw, his teeth; san-daw, his hair; thingyat-daw, the frontal bone; hnyat-yo-daw, the jaw-bone, besides others. In addition to these there are the sacred utensils and other articles used by the teacher of the Law, such as the thengan, the yellow robe; the thabeit, or alms-bowl; the taung-we-daw, his staff; the padi, or rosary, and other things of the same kind. These holy relics, however, could not go far, even if they had been equitably divided between the great countries professing Buddhism, which they certainly were not. Burma alone claims more personal remains than could possibly have existed. The same thing is, I believe, true of Popish relics in Europe, where pieces of the true cross are as abundant as portions of the dress of the founder of Buddhism are in Burma. It is useless attempting to prove or disprove the authenticity of particular relics. To admit of the multiplication of shrines, models of the sacred things are permitted, and these only, in metal, precious stones, or clay, are deposited under the vast majority of pagodas. But images and sacred books are also so enshrined, and thus arises the classification of the four kinds of shrines, the Zedi le-ba.

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

779 patience; fortitude; wisdom; benevolence; truthfulness; indifference.

The Five Renouncings are the giving up, for holiness' sake, of—children; wife; goods; life; one's self.

775 This cannot all be effected in one existence, unless piety has been exhibited in many previous lives. Much depends on one's kan, the accumulation of merits from past time. Just as the fruits on a tree are some of them good, some bad, but have little or nothing in common with each other, or with those that went before, or may come after, so it is with a man's kan. But the diligent observance of the holy precepts, and especially the exercise of open-handed charity, will always tend to reduce the number of lives to be endured before the deliverance comes.

● 782 788 Prayer there is none in the technical sense of the word, and the doxologies repeated at the shrines are mostly those learnt in childhood at the monastery school, or special compositions of each individual for himself. There is nothing laid down in any of the Buddhist religious books concerning the formulæ of prayer. Whatever there is, is taken from the Apyin Aung-gyin, the record of the triumph of Shin Gautama over the outer foes, Mān-nat, the spirit of evil, and his daughters, and the Atwin Aung-gyin, the triumph over the inward foes, the kiletha, the passions of mankind. Many, however, repeat little more than the tharana-gōng, the form with which the pôngyis almost invariably commence worship: "I worship the Buddha; I worship the Law; I worship the Assembly." This, with the aneiksa, dôkha, anatta, "change, pain, illusion," forms the sentence to be repeated on the rosary. A very usual form of doxology commonly taught to the scholars of the kyaungs, and therefore retained through life, is the following:—"Awgatha, Awgatha, I worship with the body, with the mouth, and with the mind, with these three kans. The first, the second, the third; once, twice, until three times. The Lord, the precious one; the Law, the precious one; the Assembly, the precious one; these three precious things. I, the worshipper, most humbly, with fervid zeal, with clasped hands, pay reverence, give offerings, and with pious gaze bow me down. Thus by this worshipping I gain merit and

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increase in earnestness and purity of heart, and am freed from the Four States of Punishment; from the Three Evil Things, starvation, plague, and warfare; from the Eight Chambers of Hell; and from the Five Enemies. And at the end, when the last existence has come for me, may I pass into Ne'ban." 782 788

Such "prayers" are addressed not merely to the image, but to the whole pagoda, and not even on the platform of the latter. It is common for the pious at any period of the day to repeat their devotions simply in the direction of the pagoda, and often from a spot where hardly even the summit of it can be seen. The pilgrims to the Shwe Dagôn Payā in Rangoon prostrate themselves at intervals from the moment they catch sight of its glittering spire; but they repeat nothing further than the above, or some more fanciful formula, such as this: "Awgatha, Awgatha, Awgatha, I worship the footsteps of the great, the brilliant Buddha, to whom even the savage hunters turn, and the fierce dragons on the mountain tops and in the abysses of the hills. In the far land of Thiho (Ceylon) there, where, in the wilderness of woods, far from human dwellings, temples and pagodas rise up 84,000 in number, in the caves and the deeps; there I worship, there I bow me in devotion." By far the greater number, however, repeat simple Pali sentences, of which they have long forgotten the meaning, if indeed they ever knew it. Many of the pyin-sin can repeat whole [198] books and chapters in the sacred tongue, without having any but a very confused notion of the meaning of what they utter. Yet even this parrot-like performance has its merit, for it brings the mind into a fit state to contemplate the great ideal. A conclusive proof of this is recorded in the Malla Lingaya Wuttu, the life of Shin Gautama. There were many bats who lived in a cave in the time of the last Buddha, Kathapa, and great numbers of yahans were in the habit of resorting to this cave to meditate and give themselves up to devotion. These bats learned to repeat some of the phrases which they heard, but could not understand, and this pious exercise resulted in such benefit to their kan, that on their death they migrated to the seats of nat-dêwas. Afterwards, when Shin Gautama was preaching upon earth,

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Burmese AP4

782 788 they again appeared upon the seat of man as yahans, and, attending diligently to the precepts of the Law, were the first, as disciples of Thariputra, one of the chief followers of the Buddha, to comprehend the sublime law of the Abhidamma. If dumb creatures then can win such rewards for piety, how much more a man who repeats his sentences with at least a consciousness of what their import is.

[198] Similar to this feeling with regard to the Pali jargon, of which every Burman knows more or less, according to the length of his stay in the monastery or the depth of his religious sentiments, and prompted by a like idea, is the offering of little nan-tagôn. These prayer-flags—kyet-sha-taing, as they are sometimes called—are made of paper, cut fancifully into figures of dragons, lizards, and the like, with embroidery-work round their edges. In the centre is written some pious reflection or aspiration, and the offerer places it on the shrine. Most of those sold ready composed for the worshipper are in Pali, those which he writes for himself, in Burmese. Samples of these inscriptions are:—

"By means of this paper the offerer will become very strong."

"By the merit of this paper Wednesday's children will be blessed by spirits and men."

"May the man born on Friday gain reward for his pious offering."

"This paper is an offering for people born on any day of the week from Sunday to Saturday."

"May the man born on Monday be freed from sickness and from the Three Calamities."

Very often nothing but the names of certain days of the week are written on the nan-tagôn; but sometimes a friend of humanity, or a man with a particularly large family, covering with their birthdays the whole week, simply writes down the names of the days in any order he pleases. The commonest form at the stalls round about the Shwe Dagôn is this simple, bald list, and indeed Rangoon is particularly badly supplied in this way. There are other small flags or streamers made of coloured cloth, some of them, especially those presented by the Shans, stitched with many

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

plies until they stand out quite stiff. Others again are 782
made of varnished strips of zinc. These have nothing 788
written on them, and stand simply for the advancement in piety of their offerers, as do the candles representing the various nan, the animals which stand for the days of the week. Other offerings are flowers, single or arranged in bouquets, and almost invariably distinguished by the heavy sweetness of their odour. Candles and tapers, of all sizes and styles of manufacture, abound; some a couple of feet high, or occasionally much more, made of long, narrow coloured tapers, plaited together over an ordinary solid one, some plain white, others coloured all the hues of the rainbow, European manufactured sperm or paraffin articles, and home-made tapers of the crudest style of dip. Side by side with these are placed smoky oil-lamps, consisting of a little flat saucer full of oil, with a wick composed of a bit of cloth or a few threads of cotton roughly twisted together. The candles are simply softened with a match at the bottom and made to stick on the ledges in front of or round about the figures of the Buddha. Incense sticks and scented wood are often burnt on stone altars erected specially for such fire offerings.

The worshippers, if they are men, squat down, neither 788
kneeling nor sitting down, but resting the body on their heels as miners who are accustomed to low workings do. The body is bent a little forward, and the hands are joined together and raised to the forehead. The women kneel down altogether, and for this reason take especial care to cover up their feet, sometimes getting a friend to tuck their skirts over them. All are of course barefooted. The sandals are removed always at the foot of the pagoda steps, though these may begin in some places many hundred yards away from the shrine. Before commencing the repetition of the formulæ, three prostrations are made with the forehead to the ground, and the same is repeated at the close, and on rising to depart you must turn to the right. It is usual to hold some offering between the hands during worship—a prayer-flag, a flower, or something of the kind—and this is afterwards reverently deposited on the altar. A favourite offering, instead of real flowers, is pauk-pauk. This is the

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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CHAPTER XXII

NATS AND SPIRIT-WORSHIP

NOTWITHSTANDING that Buddhism has been the established 771
religion in Burma since shortly after the third great council 776
at Patalipootra in 241 B.C. (283 of the sacred era), and that 782 ●
the purest form of the faith exists, and is firmly believed [184]
in, yet, throughout the whole Ashe Pyi (the Eastern country), both in Upper and Lower Burma, the old geniolatry still retains a firm hold on the minds of the people. Missionaries say that it is a natural revolting of the human mind against the denial of the existence of a Supreme Being, superior to man, and controlling his destiny. Government officers assert that the retention of the prior religion (for it is undoubtedly a kind of second religion) is due to the fact that surrounding, and scattered about amongst the Buddhist Burmans, are numerous tribes—Karens, Kachins, and others—who have no form of belief but nat-worship, the reverencing of the spirits of nature. As a simple matter of fact, it is undeniable that the propitiating of the nats is a question of daily concern to the lower class Burman, while the worship at the pagoda is only thought of once a week. For the nat may prove destructive and hostile at any time, whereas the acquisition of kutho at the pagoda is a thing which may be set about in a business-like way, and at proper and convenient seasons. It is just the difference between avoiding a motor car and avoiding the circular saw in a timber mill.

Before proceeding further, it will be well to discuss the 776
word "nat" itself. General Phayre and Bishop Bigandet did not finally settle whether Nat is derived from the Sanskrit term nath, meaning "master, husband, lord," or not. The

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

● 732 776 778 and little morsels of food. Often, if the village is larger, the shrine is much more pretentious, assuming almost the size and appearance of a zayat, a large tectum or roof, gabled and supported with red posts, the platform ornamented, and with a dais at one end, on which a representation of the nat is placed at the feast time, which, in imitation of the pagoda festivals, occurs at a regular fixed season. At other times these images are kept stowed away in an adjoining chamber, built for the purpose. It is particularly irritating to an educated Burman to see these absurd figures, which remind one of nothing so much as the fetiches of the prognathous African. Two gaudily dressed puppets, masquerading with spire-like crown, and royal, sharp-pointed swords, represent the much-feared nats, Shwe Pyin-gyi and Shwe Pyin-ngè, the Nyi-daw, Naung-daw, the Royal Younger Brother and the Royal Elder Brother, who command much respect in the neighbourhood of Mandalay and in Upper Burma generally. A still more dreaded spirit is one whose representation figures in a shrine at Tagaung, one of the ancient capitals of the country, half-way between Mandalay and Bhamaw. He appears simply as a head on a post, four feet high or thereabouts. A spire-like crown rests on his head, his eyes protrude and goggle in semi-globular wrath, asinine ears and a Punch-like nose complete the likeness, for he has no mouth, and his body is that of a dragon. Every one avoids his temple as much as possible, but the inhabitants of the village bow in that direction before they venture to do anything, and passing boatmen kindle lamps and offer flowers, of which he is said to be particularly fond, and fruit, for the [753] nat has an incorrigible habit of giving people the stomachache when he is offended, and death punishes the recalcitrant. "Tagaung colic" is a recognised ailment with the Burmese faculty. The demon is said to have been one of the ancient kings of the place, who acquired his power from magical arts which he learned in Northern India. Three famous pagodas in the defile take their names from episodes in his life; and [173] his two sons founded the dynasty of Prome. Oftenest of all, however, the nat-shrine contains no figure. It is occupied only by the viewless spirits of the air.

First in the list of personal spirits may be considered the

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma (Mon)AP1
Burmese AP4

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First in the list of personal spirits may be considered the kosaung nats, a kind of confusion of ideas between the proper spirit and the butterfly spirit, and representing as it were the genius of each individual, a kind of materialised conscience. They are twelve in number, six good and six bad, six male and six female, and regulate the life and doings of their *protégé* accordingly as the benevolent or the malevolent gain the upper hand.

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Next to these comes the eing saung nat, very often called Min-magayi, the guardian nat of the house. For his comfort the tops of all the posts in the house are covered with a hood of white cotton cloth, for it is in this situation that he usually takes up his abode. In almost every house, at the end of the verandah in front, you will find a water-pot full of pareityé, water over which certain gathas, magic spells, or religious formulæ have been uttered by the astrologer, or the prior of the district. This water, which is replenished once a month, or oftener in cases of danger from disease, or when a member of the family is absent on a journey, is every now and then sprinkled about the house as a protection against bilus and spectres, ogres and tasés. When the water is consecrated in this nyaungye-o, which is of a special shape, something like an overgrown Indian spittoon, there are always a few twigs and leaves of the thabyé tree floating on the top. These are mostly taken out and hung round about the eaves, but occasionally left in the water. The inordinately superstitious sometimes keep a small thabyé bin (the sacred eugenia) growing in a pot in the house, so that its benign influence may keep harm away. Talaing houses may usually be known by the cocoa-nut hanging up at the south side of the building. This is covered with strips and tags of yellow or red cloth, and is offered to Min-magayi, whom they call the king of the nats. Of these spirits (called kaluk in their language) they say there are thirty-seven distinct varieties, but Min-magayi rules them all. These are the "thirty-seven nats of Burma," but whether they were borrowed by the Burmese from the Talaings or not seems at any rate doubtful. At the beginning of the wet season they always wrap up the cocoa-nut afresh, and when the rains are over make new offerings of money, glutinous rice, eggs, jaggari, and fruit, in order that the eing saung nat may

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keep away fever from the household. It must not be supposed that the nat guardian of the house has necessarily any affection for those who have built the place where he has taken up his abode. He probably regards them only with cold indifference, however generous they may be in their offerings, and were he not propitiated by these gifts he would almost certainly display his anger by doing the inhabitants some grievous injury. But then he dislikes his haunts being intruded upon, and if a stranger comes at an unwonted time—a burglar at midnight, for example—it is quite likely that the eing saung nat will attack him violently, scare him out of his wits, or give him the colic. Thus without any really estimable purpose in his mind, Min-magayi may be a considerable protection to his worshippers, just as an "awful example" is useful to teetotallers.

Beyond this guardian, or demon of the house, there is the guardian nat of the village, the ywa saung nat, of whose shrine at the end of the town I have already made mention. None of the lower-class Talaings would ever think of eating a morsel without first holding up his platter in the air, and breathing a prayer to the village nat. They are particularly fond of putting up shrines to the nats under the le'pan tree, from the wood of which coffins are frequently made. A feast must be held every three or four years in honour of this nat, at which the natkadaw, a woman called the nat's wife, dances. This is done in order that sickness may be kept away. Should an epidemic actually break out, a very elaborate ceremony is gone through. Probably first of all the figure of a spectre, or of a bilu, is painted on an ordinary earthenware water-pot, and this is solemnly smashed to pieces about sundown, with a heavy stick or a dah. As soon as it gets dark, the entire populace break out into yells, and make as much noise generally as they can compass, with the view of scaring away the evil spirit who has brought the disease. This is repeated on three several nights, and if it is not then effective the yahans are called in to give their assistance. The prior, with his following, repeat the Ten Precepts, chant the Payeit-gyi, and then one of the sermons of the Lord Buddha is declaimed, the same by the preaching of which he drove away the pestilence

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which was devastating the country of Wethali. If this last ceremony is not effectual the village is abandoned. The inhabitants leave the sick and the dying to their fate, and go off to the jungle, where each household camps out by itself for a time. Before they return again, the yellow-robed monks, in recognition of much alms, read the Law up and down the street between the houses. When they have gone back to the monastery, the nat's shrine is repaired, and abundant offerings deposited. Having thus made their peace with the representatives of both religions, the people return to their houses, light fires, cook rice for new offerings, and then enter upon their ordinary pursuits as if no interruption whatever had occurred.

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This is what would take place in any ordinary Burman village. But among the Talaings, and in the more retired places in the jungle, occupied by ignorant uncultivated Burmans, the function called ywakyathi would be carried out, which is much more purely geniolatric in its character. This is sometimes done when a prominent man in the hamlet is sick, more often when there is danger of a contagious disease. A great feast of cooked rice and meat, roasted fowls and ducks forming a prominent part of it, is heaped up on a platform specially erected for the purpose some distance outside the village. Everybody in the village is required to have some part in the ceremony. A few are sent out beforehand, who dress themselves up in a fantastic way, and pretend to be bilus, evil nats, and witches. With them are others who feign to be dogs, and rush about on all fours, barking and howling; others represent pigs, and grunt and nuzzle about with their noses in the ground. After this performance has been carried on for some time, the remainder of the villagers come out in a band, and, through one or more spokesmen, demand of the possessed whether those lying sick at home will recover, and whether the bad spirits are satisfied with the offerings. It is specially ordained at these exhibitions that no one shall be called by his real name; such mention, if made inadvertently, would expose the person addressed to considerable danger, even if he should make no sign betraying himself, for he certainly would not answer. The quasi tasés always reply that the

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sick will recover and the plague leave the locality. Thereupon the villagers rush off like madmen into the surrounding forest, and run about hither and thither in a reckless way with an open cloth, or the end of their waistcloth, in their hands. Some of them suddenly make a plunge with their cloth over a bush or a tussock of grass, and then closing it up carefully, hurry breathless back to the village. The leip-bya or "butterflies" of the sick man are supposed to have been captured. The paso, or cloth, is carefully opened and shaken over the patient's head, and the leip-bya is supposed to return to its proper habitation. This operation is repeated several times, in case a wrong "butterfly" might have been captured, or lest the actual one should have escaped on the way. Then everybody returns. The function is not without its danger, for it has happened that the [754] temporary mimes have become permanently possessed of evil spirits, and as witches and wizards have proved as great curses to the neighbourhood as any pestilence could have been. Which things are an allegory. The whole ceremony [178] is beginning to get into very bad odour in the more settled parts of the province, and respectable people avoid having anything to do with it, while those who have taken a part are ashamed to own it.

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All these nats are directly connected with a particular locality, and therefore well known to, and regularly propitiated by, the inhabitants of that place. But there are abundance of nats to be found elsewhere, away from villages and houses, and all of them equally ready to resent any injury which the passer-by may unwittingly do them. When a Burman starts on a journey he hangs a bunch of plantains, or a twig of the tha-bye tree, on the pole of the buffalo cart or the stern of the boat, to conciliate any spirit whose beat he may intrude upon. The fisherman makes offerings in his nat-sin every time he launches his dug-out; the lonely hunter in the forest deposits some rice and ties together a few leaves whenever he comes across some particularly large and imposing tree, lest there might be a thi'pin-saung nat dwelling there. Should there be none, the tied-back twigs will at any rate stand in evidence to the taw-saung nat, the demon who presides over all the forest.

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When there is a boat-race, the opposing crews have a preliminary row over the course with offerings placed on the prow for the nat who guards that stretch of the river. And so on through numberless examples. Some nats achieve fame, and are known far and wide by special appellations. Such is Maung In Gyi, a spirit who is feared in all the district round Rangoon, and away eastward and northward as far as Pegu. He lives in the water, and causes death. A special festival is celebrated in his honour, or rather in deprecation, in the month of Waso, the same in which Lent begins. Others more especially known in Upper Burma are Byindôn, Shwe Pyin-Gyi and his brother, and a drunkard nat called Maung Min Gyaw, to whom great quantities of rice spirit are offered. Uyingyi is a spirit universally known among the Talaings. The chief spirit of a district usually goes by the name of A-shin Gyi, the great lord, or, among the Talaings, Okkaya. Then there are generic names; there is the Hmin nat who lives in woods, and shakes those he meets so that they go mad. There is the Upaka, who flies about in the clouds to spy out men whom he may snap up. There is the Akakaso who lives in the tops of trees, Shekkaso who lives in the trunk, and Bumaso who is content with a dwelling in the roots. The presence of spirits or witches in trees may always be ascertained by the quivering and trembling of the leaves when all around are still. 776 782

The Talaings, and many of the Burmans in the Irrawaddy delta, have a regular nat-feast just before harvesting begins. The figure of a woman is fashioned out of straw, and a tamein, kerchief, and other portions of female dress placed along with it in a bullock cart. Great quantities of kauk-hnyin, "sticky rice," are heaped up, and the whole driven in procession round the ripe paddy fields. The figure is then set up in the place where the paddy is to be stored, and the offerings are usually swept away by the boys of the place, whose appetites overcome their fear of the nats, Bumadi, the guardian of the earth, and Nagyi, the guardian of the grain, to propitiate whom the feast is held. 776 527 782 101

There is a theory that persons who are executed or meet a violent death become nats and haunt the place where they 776 769

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phlegmatic old gentlemen capable, if you had seen them three days ago. Everywhere is bustle and excitement and anticipation. Even the township policemen have lost their ordinary official swagger, and are engaged in eager converse with individuals who, in ordinary times, command their attention in quite a different way. 526

There is very good reason for it. The full moon of Thadingyut is past; it is well on in October, and it is the time of the boat-races. For weeks past the Myanaung boat has been spurting up and down the long straight reach, or having a heavy training paddle to Akauktaung and back again, and now at last the great day has come. Myanaung has challenged Thônkwa, hitherto the unconquered champions of all the low country, and the race, in best-and-best boats, is to come off this afternoon. The down-river men with their boat, and pretty nearly the entire body of their fellow-villagers, arrived last night, and none except the privileged have seen anything of them yet, to enable them to judge whether they are in as fine form as they were last year when they rowed the Bassein boat to a standstill. No wonder there is excitement, for Myanaung is but a young subdivision, sprung up since the English occupation, with no speciality for paddlers, and Thônkwa cherishes a name for prowess on the river from far back in the old Burmese days.

But suddenly there is a lull in the buzz of talk, and every eye is directed up the river. The boats have started for the preliminary row over the course. It is necessary to propitiate the guardian spirits of the river, and the votive offerings are therefore to be made. At the stem of each boat crouches a man holding with outstretched arms a bunch of plantains, some cooked rice, flowers, and betel, for the soothing of the water-kelpie. This precaution must on no account be omitted. Who knows what disaster might not otherwise happen? The flouted nat might upset the craft with a flip of his finger, or cling to the keelson of the boat and tire to nothing the sinews of the brawniest arms. Therefore goodly alms are given, so that all may rest with the prowess of the rival crews. This breather serves also another purpose. It enables the spectators to have a final view of the antagonists, 526 782 526

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spire. To show the soles of the feet to the throne is high treason. This is awkward for the inhabitants of some quarters, for there is a rule applying to all Buddhists, that they must not place their feet towards the east, where the sun rises and whence the next Buddha, Arimadeya, will come, nor to the west, where the bawdi bin stands, or stood, the tree under which Shin Gautama attained the supreme wisdom. The superstition is probably derived from the Brahmins, who threaten grievous dangers to the man who places his feet on the shadow of a dewa, a king, a teacher, a saint, or another man's wife. 644 [778] [182]

The frequent change of locality of the palace, and therefore of the capital, is a peculiarity of Burma. There are about a score of towns in the country which have been at one time or other the metropolis. Such are Tagaung, Old Pagān, and Shwebo, above Mandalay; Prome (under the title Tharekettara), Pagān, Sagaing, Ava, and Amarapura, below it. The last two are the best known; indeed some people to the present day persist in talking of the "Kingdom of Ava," though that once brilliant capital has been little better than a jungle for a great many years, and the lines of the old walls can only be traced with difficulty. 644 631

It is hardly correct to say, as most writers on Burma have hitherto done, that with a new king there should be a new capital. This has very frequently been the case, but the matter does not altogether depend upon the accession of a new sovereign. It is brought about by a very much more gruesome (the word is used advisedly) circumstance. On the foundation of a new capital, there are always a certain number of people buried alive. The idea is that they become nat-thein, that their spirits haunt the place where they were put to death, and attack all persons approaching with malevolent intentions. The notion is entirely due to the royal astrologers, the Brahmin pônnas, and as being repugnant to the tenets of Buddhism, is strenuously denounced by the true brethren of the yellow robe. But it fits in very well with the popular superstition regarding the existence of spirits, and has hence always firmly maintained its ground. It is a matter of common knowledge that this idea of 644 631 782 [775] [182]

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sanctifying a building with human sacrifices is a notion which has prevailed in all parts of the world at different times, and instances of horrors of the kind are not unknown in Europe.

The virtue of the sacrifices only lasts a certain time, and when it is gone a new city should be built. There are certain signs, added to public disasters, which point out to the initiated when this alteration of site should take place. Mandalay was commenced in 1858, and two years later the seat of government was transferred from Amarapura, some five or six miles down the river. When the foundations of the city wall were laid, fifty-two persons of both sexes, and of various age and rank, were consigned to a living tomb. Three were buried under each of the twelve city gates, one at each of the four corners, one under each of the palace gates, and at the corners of the timber stockade, and four under the throne itself. The selection had to be made with care, for the victims were required to be representative people, born on special days of the week, and the boys buried were not to have any tattoo marks on them, the girls not to have their ears bored. When it was known that the troops were making the collection, no one was to be seen about the streets, except in great bands in the middle of the day. The government gave a series of magnificent dramatic performances, but no one went to see them. Eventually, however, the tale was made up, and the building went on apace. Along with the four human beings buried at the corners of the city were placed four jars full of oil, carefully covered over and protected from any damage that might come from the weight of earth pressing down upon them. These were examined every seven years by the royal astrologers, and as long as they remained intact the town was considered safe.

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At the third examination in 1880, however, it was found that the oil in two of the jars was either completely dried up or had leaked out. One was pretty far gone, and the fourth alone remained in a tolerably satisfactory state. At this very time, the January and February of 1880, a terrible scourge of smallpox was decimating the town, and two of the royal house, King Thibaw's infant son, his only child,

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and the ex-Pagān Min, the cock-fighting king, had fallen victims. This was bad enough, but other signs portending evil had happened. One of the most valued of the crown jewels, the Nansin Baddamya, had disappeared, a huge ruby, cherished as emblematic of the fortune of the dynasty since the days of Alaungpaya. A tiger in the royal gardens escaped from his cage, a most ominous circumstance, not for the poor wretch whom he killed and half ate before he could be recaptured, but for the city and the entire kingdom. The appearance of wild animals in a town is a sign that it will speedily turn to a wilderness. It was the discovery of a tiger and some deer in the environs of Amarapura which decided the fate of that "City of the Immortals." All these circumstances, coupled with the outward and visible sign of the wrath of the spirits in the shape of the plague of small-pox, decided the pônnas at once. It was no use filling the jars with oil again, or putting in fresh ones. Such parsimonious measures would be considerably worse than useless. A full conclave of the astrologers voted by a large majority for the change of the capital. This, however, neither the ministers nor Thibaw Min would hear of. Mandalay is very different from Amarapura and Ava. There are too many solid brick houses and mills and public manufactories —none of them working, it is true, but too costly to be abandoned—in the present capital to admit of its being thrown over in the old casual way, when a royal order forced everybody to migrate, on pain of imprisonment or death. The pônnas therefore held another meeting, and it was decided that the only other alternative was the offering of propitiatory sacrifices. At the instance of the Pônna Wun, a truculent old villain, it was resolved that the number should be the highest possible: a hundred men, a hundred women, a hundred boys, a hundred girls, a hundred soldiers, and a hundred foreigners. This the king agreed to, and a royal mandate was signed, and arrests forthwith commenced. A frightful panic spread in Mandalay after the first day. Every steamer leaving the capital was crowded to suffocation, boats went down the river in dozens, and there seemed every possibility that Mandalay would be deserted. Then the ministers took fright at the indignation which the

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644 631 782 announced massacres caused in England, and the whole thing was countermanded and denied. But upwards of a hundred people had been arrested, and some of these, when liberated months afterwards, declared that in the dark nights of terror, when no one ventured about Mandalay streets, people were buried under each of the posts at the twelve gates, as a compromise between the fear of the spirits and the fear that the English troops would cross the frontier. 644 787 Each of these posts bears an image of an animal from one of the seals of the king, and before the post sits a figure of a bilu, with a thick club, to act as watchman, in case the human guard should go to sleep. As Burman sentries generally sleep sounder than other people, the propitiation of these spirits at any rate was a very imperative precaution. Whether the oil-jars were filled and reburied *alone* is a dark mystery. But the smallpox left Mandalay, and the place is as happy as ever it was, which, however, is not saying much.

644 361 177.36 The British town of Mandalay is very different from that described. The Palace stockade has gone, and with it very many of the suites of apartments, notably in the women's quarter. The Hall of Audience for a time was converted into a Tamil Mission chapel; the Hlutdaw into a hideous collection of clerks' offices. This has been changed owing to the indignant protests of English visitors. Most of the Palace Halls are now empty: even the Upper Burma Club has been turned out.

The old City has now become cantonments with a few scattered barracks, officers' quarters, and wide stretches of grass. What formerly constituted the suburbs is now Mandalay town. The former execrable roads are now among the best in Burma. But many of the notable buildings, the elaborate monasteries, and gilt shrines have been burnt. Mandalay is certainly a dwindling town; the only question is how long it will remain the second town in Burma.

goes on throughout the morning. About 2 P.M. a monk gives a sermon and recites prayers. One of the elders reads aloud to the assemblage an account of the expenditures for the gifts to the monks, concluding the event. 796 735

Animistic and Magical Beliefs

Underlying the elaborate organization and practice of Buddhism, there is a considerable belief in nats, or spirits, and magic. Spirit worship, supposedly contrary to the teachings of Buddhism and opposed by the monks, is indulged in to varying degrees by the villagers. In Tadagale one frequently comes upon small wooden box-like structures affixed to trees, on which there is usually a little food and perhaps a flower as offerings to a particular nat. There seems little doubt that animism was even more important among the Burmese prior to the coming of Buddhism centuries ago. As noted in the description of initiation and wedding ceremonies earlier, nat worship has become interwoven with Buddhist beliefs and practices. It is also manifested in beliefs concerning guardian spirits of houses and particular places and in theories of the causes of many illnesses, including bewitchment and mental disturbances. Mediums, specially versed in the ways of the nats and possessing knowledge of cures for spirit-caused maladies, may be called upon for assistance. 776 755 782

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CHAPTER XII

PRAYER

'What is there that can justify tears and lamentations?'
Saying of the Buddha.

782 [345] DOWN below my house, in a grove of palms near the river, was a little rest-house. It was but a roof and a floor of teak boarding without any walls, and it was plainly built. It might have held, perhaps, twenty people; and here, as I strolled past in the evening when the sun was setting, I would see two or three old men sitting with beads in their hands. They were making their devotions, saying to themselves that the world was all trouble, all weariness, and that there was no rest anywhere except in observing the laws of righteousness. It was very pathetic, I thought, to see them there, saying this over and over again, as they told their beads through their withered fingers, for surely there was no necessity for them to learn it. Has not everyone learnt it, this, the first truth of Buddhism, long before his hair is gray, before his hands are shaking, before his teeth are gone? But there they would sit, evening after evening, thinking of the change

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● 782 about to come upon them soon, realizing the emptiness of life, wishing for the Great Peace.

On Sundays the rest-house, like many others round the village, was crowded. Old men there would be, and one or two young men, a few [792] children, and many women. Early in the morning they would come, and a monk would come down from the monastery near by, and each one would vow, with the monk as witness, that he or she would spend the day in meditation and in holy thought, would banish all thought of evil, and be for the day at least holy. And then, the vow made, the devotee would go and sit in the rest-house and meditate. The village is not very near; the sounds come very softly through the trees, not enough to disturb the mind; only there is the sigh of the wind wandering amid the leaves, and the occasional cry of birds. Once before noon a meal will be eaten, either food brought with them cold, or a simple pot of rice boiled beside the rest-house, and there they will stay till the sun sets and darkness is gathering about the foot of the trees. There is no service [792] at all. The monk may come and read part of the sacred books—some of the Abidama, or a sermon from the Thoots—and perhaps sometimes he may expound a little; that is all. There is nothing akin to our ideas of worship. For consider what our service consists of: there is thanksgiving and praise, there is prayer, there is reading of the Bible, there is a sermon. Our thanksgiving and praise is rendered to God for things He has done, the pleasure that He has allowed us to enjoy, the punishment that He might have inflicted upon us and has not. Our

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782 prayer is to Him to preserve us in future, to assist us in our troubles, to give us our daily food, not to be too severe upon us, not to punish us as we deserve, but to be merciful and kind. We ask Him to protect us from our enemies, not to allow them to triumph over us, but to give us triumph over them.

782 But the Buddhist has far other thoughts than
772 these. He believes that the world is ruled by everlasting, unchangeable laws of righteousness. The great God lives far behind His laws, and they are for ever and ever. You cannot change the laws of righteousness by praising them, or by crying against them, any more than you can change the revolution of the earth. Sin begets sorrow, sorrow is the only purifier from sin; these are eternal sequences; they cannot be altered; it would not be good that they should be altered. The Buddhist believes that the sequences are founded on righteousness, are the path to righteousness, and he does not believe he could alter them for the better, even if he had the power by prayer to do so. He believes in the everlasting *righteousness*, that all things work for *good* in the end; he has no need for prayer or praise; he thinks that the world is governed with far greater wisdom than any of his—perfect wisdom, that is too great, too wonderful, for his petty praise.

God lives far behind His laws; think not He has made them so badly as to require continual rectification at the prayer of man. Think not that God is not bound by His own laws. The Buddhist will never believe that God can break His own laws; that He is like an earthly king who imagines one

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code of morality for his subjects and another for himself. Not so; the great laws are founded in righteousness, so the Buddhist believes, in everlasting righteousness; they are perfect, far beyond our comprehension; they are the eternal, unchangeable, marvellous will of God, and it is our duty not to be for ever fretfully trying to change them, but to be trying to understand them. That is the Buddhist belief in the meaning of religion, and in the laws of righteousness; that is, he believes the duty of him who would follow religion to be to try to understand these laws, to bring them home to the heart, so to order life as to bring it into harmony with righteousness.

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Now see the difference. We believe that the world is governed not by eternal laws, but by a changeable and continually changing God, and that it is our duty to try and persuade Him to make it better.

We believe, really, that we know a great deal better than God what is good, not only for us, but for others; we do not believe His will is always righteous—not at all: God has wrath to be deprecated; He has mercy to be aroused; He has partiality to be turned towards us, and hence our prayers.

But to the Buddhist the whole world is ruled by righteousness, the same for all, the same for ever, and the only sin is ignorance of these laws.

The Buddha is he who has found for us the light to see these laws, and to order our life in accordance with them.

So it will be understood, I think, why there is no

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prayer, no gathering together for any ceremonial, in Buddhism; why there is no praise, no thanksgiving of any kind; why it is so very different in this way from our faith. Buddhism is a wisdom, a seeking of the light, a following of the light, each man as best he can, and it has very little to correspond with our prayer, our services of praise, our meetings together in the name of Christ.

Therefore, when you see a man kneeling before a pagoda, moving silent lips of prayer, when you see the people sitting quietly in the rest-houses on a Sunday, when you see the old men telling their beads to themselves slowly and sadly, when you hear the resonant chant of monks and children, lending a soul to the silence of the gloaming, you will know what they are doing. They are trying to understand and bring home to themselves the eternal laws of righteousness; they are honouring their great teacher.

This is all that there is; this is the meaning of all that you see and hear. The Buddhist praises and honours the Buddha, the Indian prince who so long ago went out into the wilderness to search for truth, and after many years found it in his own heart; he reverences the Buddha for seeing the light; he thanks the Buddha for his toil and exertion in making this light known to all men. It can do the Buddha no good, all this praise, for he has come to his eternal peace; but it can arouse the enthusiasm of the follower, can bring into his heart love for the memory of the great teacher, and a firm resolve to follow his teaching.

The service of his religion is to try and follow

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782 these laws, to take them home into the heart, that
772 the follower, too, may come soon into the Great Peace.

This has been called a pessimism. Surely it is the greatest optimism the world has known—this certainty that the world is ruled by righteousness, that the world has been, that the world will always be, ruled by perfect righteousness.

To the Buddhist this is a certainty. The laws are laws of righteousness, if man would but see, would but understand. Do not complain and cry and pray, but open your eyes and see. The light is all about you, if you would only cast the bandage from your eyes and look. It is so wonderful, so beautiful, far beyond what any man has dreamt of, has prayed for, and it is for ever and for ever.

This is the attitude of Buddhism towards prayer, towards thanksgiving. It considers them an impertinence and a foolishness, born of ignorance, akin to the action of him who would daily desire Atlas not to allow the heavens to drop upon the earth.

The world is ruled by laws, and these laws are laws of righteousness.

And yet, and yet.

782 I remember standing once on the platform of a famous pagoda, the golden spire rising before us, and carved shrines around us, and seeing a woman lying there, her face to the pagoda. She was praying fervently, so fervently that her words could be heard, for she had no care for anyone about, in such trouble was she; and what she was asking was this, that her child, her baby, might not die. She held

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the little thing in her arms, and as she looked upon it her eyes were full of tears. For it was very sick; its little limbs were but thin bones, with big knees and elbows, and its face was very wan. It could not even take any interest in the wonderful sights around, but hardly opened its careworn eyes now and then to blink upon the world.

'Let him recover, let him be well once more! the woman cried, again and again.

Whom was she beseeching? I do not know.

'Thakin, there will be Someone, Someone. A Spirit may hear. Who can tell? Surely someone will help me? Men would help me if they could, but they cannot; surely there will be someone?'

So she did not remember the story of Ma Pa Da.

Women often pray, I think—they pray that their husbands and those they love may be well. It is a frequent ending to a girl's letter to her lover: 'And I pray always that you may be well.' I never heard of their praying for anything but this: that they may be loved, and those they love may be well. Nothing else is worth praying for besides this. The queen would pray at the pagoda in the palace morning and evening. 'What did she pray for?' 'What should she pray for, thakin? Surely she prayed that her husband might be true to her, and that her children might live and be strong. That is what women pray for. Do you think a queen would pray differently to any other woman?'

'Women,' say the Buddhist monks, 'never understand. They *will* not understand; they cannot learn.' And so we say that most women must be

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born again, as men, before they can see the light and understand the laws of righteousness.'

What do women care for laws of righteousness? What do they care for justice? What for the everlasting sequences that govern the world? Would not they involve all other men, all earth and heaven, in bottomless chaos, to save one heart they loved? That is woman's religion.

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778 again, the river giving back to them what it had refused to us, and they took and hung it where it used to be. There it is now, and you may hear it when you go, giving out a long, deep note, the beat of the pagoda's heart.

There are many trees, too, about the pagoda platform—so many, that seen far off you can only see the trees and the pagoda towering above them. Have not trees been always sacred things? Have not all religions been glad to give their fanes the glory and majesty of great trees?

You may look from the pagoda platform over the whole country, over the city and the river and the straight streets; and on the other side you may see the long white lakes and little hills covered with trees. It is a very beautiful place, this pagoda, and it is steeped in an odour of holiness, the perfume of the thousand thousand prayers that have been prayed there, of the thousand thousand holy thoughts that have been thought there.

778 782 The pagoda platform is always full of people kneeling, saying over and over the great precepts of their faith, trying to bring into their hearts the meaning of the teaching of him of whom this wonderful pagoda represents the tomb. There are always monks there passing to and fro, or standing leaning on the pillars of the shrines; there are always a crowd of people climbing up and down the long steps that lead from the road below. It is a place I always go to when I am in Rangoon; for, besides its beauty, there are the people; and if you go and stand near where the stairway reaches the platform you will see the people come up

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

They come up singly, in twos, in groups. First a nun, perhaps, walking very softly, clad in her white dress with her beads about her neck, and there in a corner by a little shrine she will spread a cloth upon the hard stones and kneel and bow her face to the great pagoda. And then she will repeat, 'Sorrow, misery, trouble,' over and over again, running her beads through her fingers, repeating the words in the hope that in the end she may understand whither they should lead her. 'Sorrow, misery, trouble'—ah! surely she must know what they mean, or she would not be a nun. And then comes a young man, and after a reverence to the pagoda he goes wandering round, looking for someone, maybe; and then comes an old man with his son. They stop at the little stalls on the stairs, and they have bought there each a candle. The old man has a plain taper, but the little lad must have one with his emblem on it. Each day has its own sign, a tiger for Monday, and so on, and the lad buys a candle like a little rat, for his birthday is Friday, and the father and son go on to the platform. And there they kneel down side by side, the old man and the little chubby lad, and they, too, say that all is misery and delusion. And then they rise and advance to the pagoda's golden base, and put their candles thereon and light them. This side of the pagoda is in shadow now, and so you can see the lights of the candles as little stars.

And then come three girls, sisters, perhaps, all so prettily dressed, with meek eyes, and they, too, buy candles; they, too, kneel and say their prayers, for long, so long, that you wonder if anything has

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16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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778 happened, if there has been any trouble that has
782 brought them thus in the sunset to the remembrance of religion. But at last they rise, and they light their little candles near by where the old man and the boy have lit theirs, and then they go away. They are so sad, they keep their faces so turned upon the ground, that you fear there has been something, some trouble come upon them. You feel so sorry for them, you would like to ask them what it all is; you would like to help them if you could. But you can do nothing. They go away down the steps, and you hear the nun repeating always, 'Sorrow, misery, trouble.'

So they come and go.

796 But on the festival days at the end of Lent it is
778 far more wonderful. Then for units there are tens, for tens there are hundreds—all come to do reverence to the great teacher at this his great holy place. There is no especial ceremony, no great service, such as we are accustomed to on our festivals. Only there will be many offerings; there will be a procession, maybe, with offerings to the pagoda, with offerings to the monks; there will be much gold-leaf spread upon the pagoda sides; there will be many people kneeling there—that is all. For Buddhism is not an affair of a community, but of each man's own heart.

To see the great pagoda on the festival days is one of the sights of the world. There are a great crowd of people coming and going, climbing up the steps. There are all sorts of people, rich and poor, old and young. Old men there are, climbing wearily up these steps that are so steep, steps that lead

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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562 cation is a very long process; but they have entered
715 into the path, they have seen the light, if it be even a long way off yet. They know whither they would go. But women, see how few become nuns! Only those who have suffered such shipwreck in life that this world holds nothing more for them worth having become nuns. And they are very few. For a hundred monks there is not one nun. Women are too attached to their home, to their fathers, their husbands, their children, to enter into the holy life; and, therefore, how shall they come to heaven except they return as men? Our teacher says nothing about it, but we have eyes, and we can see.'

562 All this is true. Women have no desire for the
792 holy life. They cannot tear themselves away from their home-life. If their passions are less than those of men, they have even less command over them than men have. Only the profoundest despair will drive a woman to a renunciation of the world. If on an average their lives are purer than those of men, they cannot rise to the heights to which men can. How many monks there are—how few nuns! Not one to a hundred.

562 Yet in some ways women are far more religious
782 than men. If you go to the golden pagoda on the hilltop and count the people kneeling there doing honour to the teacher, you will find they are nearly all women. If you go to the rest-houses by the monastery, where the monks recite the law on Sundays, you will find that the congregations are nearly all women. If you visit the monastery without the gate you will see many visitors bringing little presents, and they will be women.

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

'Thakin, many men do not care for religion at all, but when a man does do so, he takes it very seriously. He follows it out to the end. He becomes a monk, and surrenders the whole world. But with women it is different. Many women, nearly all women, will like religion, and none will take it seriously. We mix it up with our home-life, and our affections, and our worldly doings; for we like a little of everything.' So said a woman to me. 562 782

Is this always true? I do not know, but it is very true in Burma. Nearly all the women are religious, they like to go to the monastery and hear the law, they like to give presents to the monks, they like to visit the pagoda and adore Gaudama the Buddha. I am sure that if it were not for their influence the laws against taking life and against intoxicants would not be observed as stringently as they are. So far they will go. As far as they can use the precepts of religion and retain their home-life they will do so; as it was with Yathodaya so long ago, so it is now. But when religion calls them and says, 'Come away from the world, leave all that you love, all that your heart holds good, for it is naught; see the light, and prepare your soul for peace,' they hold back. This they cannot do; it is far beyond them. 'Thakin, we *cannot do so.* It would seem to us terrible,' that is what they say. 562 779

A man who renounces the world is called 'the great glory,' but not so a woman.

I have said that the Buddhist religion holds men and women as equal. If women cannot observe its laws as men do, it is surely their own fault if they be held the less worthy.

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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776 626 from enemies, as witness my companion, who had been shot at times without number and had only once been hit in the leg, but you cannot escape Nats. Once, he told me, there were two very sacrilegious men, hunters by profession, only more abandoned than even the majority of hunters, and they went into this wood to hunt. 'They didn't care for Nats,' they said. They didn't care for anything at all apparently. 'They were absolutely without reverence, worse than any beast,' said my companion.

So they went into the wood to shoot, and they never came out again. A few days later their bare bones were found, flung out upon the road near the enchanted wood. The Nats did not care to have even the bones of such scoundrels in their wood, and so thrust them out. That was what happened to them, and that was what might happen to us if we went in there. We did not go.

Though the Nats of the forest will not allow even one of their beasts to be slain, the Nats of the rivers are not so exclusive. I do not think fish are ever regarded in quite the same light as animals. It is true that a fervent Buddhist will not kill even a fish, but a fisherman is not quite such a reprobate as a hunter in popular estimation. And the Nats think so, too, for the Nat of a pool will not forbid all fishing. You must give him his share; you must be respectful to him, and not offend him; and then he will fill your nets with gleaming fish, and all will go well with you. If not, of course, you will come to grief; your nets will be torn, and your boat upset; and finally, if obstinate, you will be drowned. A

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16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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great arm will seize you, and you will be pulled under and disappear for ever. 776 626

A Nat is much like a human being; if you treat him well he will treat you well, and conversely. Courtesy is never wasted on men or Nats, at least so a Burman tells me. [782]

The highest Nats live in the mountains. The higher the Nat the higher the mountain; and when you get to a very high peak indeed, like Mainthong Peak in Wuntho, you encounter very powerful Nats. 776 823

They tell a story of Mainthong Peak and the Nats there, how all of a sudden, one day in 1885, strange noises came from the hill. High up on his mighty side was heard the sound of great guns firing slowly and continuously; there was the thunder of falling rocks, cries as of someone bewailing a terrible calamity, and voices calling from the precipices. The people living in their little hamlets about his feet were terrified. Something they knew had happened of most dire import to them, some catastrophe which they were powerless to prevent, which they could not even guess. But when a few weeks later there came even into those remote villages the news of the fall of Mandalay, of the surrender of the king, of the 'great treachery,' they knew that this was what the Nats had been sorrowing over. All the Nats everywhere seem to have been distressed at our arrival, to hate our presence, and to earnestly desire our absence. They are the spirits of the country and of the people, and they cannot abide a foreign domination. [186]

But the greatest place for Nats is the Popa Mountain, which is an extinct volcano standing all

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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776 alone about midway between the river and the Shan
823 Mountains. It is thus very conspicuous, having no hills near it to share its majesty; and being in sight from all the old capitals, it is very well known in history and legend. It is covered with dense forest, and the villages close about are few. At the top there is a crater with a broken side, and a stream comes flowing out of this break down the mountain. Probably it was the denseness of its forests, the abundance of water, and its central position, more
[519] than its guardian Nats, that made it for so many years the last retreating-place of the half-robber, half-patriot bands that made life so uneasy for us. But the Nats of Popa Mountains are very famous.

776 When any foreigner was taken into the service
695 of the King of Burma he had to swear an oath of
823 fidelity. He swore upon many things, and among them were included 'all the Nats in Popa.' No Burman would have dared to break an oath sworn in such a serious way as this, and they did not imagine that anyone else would. It was and is a very dangerous thing to offend the Popa Nats; for they are still there in the mountain, and everyone who goes there must do them reverence.

776 A friend of mine, a police officer who was en-
823 gaged in trying to catch the last of the robber chiefs
[782] who hid near Popa, told me that when he went up the mountain shooting, he, too, had to make offerings. Some way up there is a little valley dark with overhanging trees, and a stream flows slowly along it. It is an enchanted valley, and if you look closely you will see that the stream is not as other streams, for it flows uphill. It comes rushing into

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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spoke. He said that if any Nats lived in the tree, they should speak to him and tell him what they wanted. 'It is not fit,' he said, 'for great Nats to terrify the poor villagers at the landing-place. Let the Nats speak and say what they require. All that they want shall be given.' And the Nats spake and said that they wanted a place to live in where they could be at peace, and the monk answered for the governor that all his land was at their disposal. 'Let the Nats choose,' he said; 'all the country is before them.' So the Nats chose, and said that they would have Popa Mountain, and the monk agreed. 776 539

The Nats then left the tree and went away, far away inland, to the great Popa Mountain, and took up their abode there, and all the people there feared and reverenced them, and even made to their honour two statues with golden heads and set them up on the mountain.

This is the story of the Popa Nats, the greatest Nats of all the country of Burma, the guardian spirits of the mysterious mountain. The golden heads of the statues are now in one of our treasuries, put there for safe custody during the troubles, though it is doubtful if even then anyone would have dared to steal them, so greatly are the Nats feared. And the hunters and the travellers there must offer to the Nats little offerings, if they would be safe in these forests, and even the young man must obtain permission from the Nats before he marry. [782]

I think these stories that I have told, stories selected from very many that I have heard, will show what sort of spirits these are that the Burmese 776

cloth, small enough to keep mosquitos out. The other kind was made of plain cloth to keep out the smallest insects. The nets are rectangular for a single bed, square for a double. They are suspended over the bed on a wooden framework and tucked under the mattress. Pathwe: three were used by the family and two kept in reserve. Each lasted 4 or 5 years. The reserve nets cost Rs. 60/- each, the others Rs. 40/- or 45/- each. Camp: one old one was brought from Pathwe, this is used by U Myaing and his wife. The rest of the family have none. Two are desired. 513 [435]

TA-BYET-SEE, broom: The hand broom is used to brush out dust and dirt from the floor of the house. It is about 2 feet long, 2 inches in diameter and consists of bent over bunches of stiff reeds bound at the top by a more flexible reed strip. The one used in camp cost 12 annas in Rangoon. 356 415

Burmese Concepts about the Home.

The following Burmese ideas about the home were secured mainly from Ko Maung Than, my research assistant. 342 183

The Burmese regard the KIN-YAR (home place) with great love, and as the most essential feature of life. The head of a family will frequently admonish: "My young ones let us remain with our nest intact and our eggs uncracked", this is also a common prayer. The ideal is to preserve the family home with necessary repairs in its original form. Wooden (teak) houses are preferred to bamboo. The husband and wife are partners in the ownership of the home which they start at marriage. Indeed, the word for "marriage" KIN-DAUNG-PYU (Home-separately-build) emphasizes the importance of building a home upon starting a family. In villages the mother and children spend almost all of their time in and around the home. Since the Burmese are especially sedentary, short journeys being unusual and infrequent events, the house is the spot where he lives and dies. It is furthermore his "castle" and place of security within which he is "ruler". [592] [591] [484]

Each house is under the direct protection of MIN MAHA-GIRI one of the 37 major nats of Burma. He controls the fortunes of the family and in return is revered. A coconut, the symbol of MIN- 342 776 782

342 MAHA-GIRI, is found in nearly every house (a junior member of a
776 family need revere only the symbol of the senior member of a family).
782 A dried coconut with attachment stems is placed in a basket, the top wrapped with a KAUNG-BONG (Head-wrap) of red and white cloth streamers and the basket hung on a nail to the primary corner post of the house. It must be adjusted correctly, and periodically sprinkled with sandlewood water. An interesting story explains the use of the coconut symbol.

713 MAUNG TIN DE, a blacksmith of great powers had two beautiful sisters who he feared would be coveted by the king of the city in which they lived. He asked them for this reason to remain in seclusion. One day he returned from work to find them gone. He became very angry and pounded his anvil till the city shook and the people suffered from earache. For a while he eluded persuit but was finally caught and burned to death. Afterwards he became a powerful nat called MIN MAHA-GIRI with powers of protecting households. Since the coconut signifies coolness and thirst-quenching it came to be offered to the nat who had died from fire.

MIN MAHA-GIRI is consulted if sickness or other misfortunes visit the family. At such times the head of the family checks the coconut offering to make sure it is in good condition. If not this is remedied for much misfortune could be the result of MIN MAHA-GIRI's displeasure at being neglected. When a journey is contemplated he is also appealed to for protection. A lesser nat YON GIN O is in charge of the kitchen and more specifically the hearth. Ko Maung Than knew little of this
[563] nat since it is of minor importance or not considered in Mon households.

342 The home is very important as a place for socio-religious functions
[788] many ceremonies involving groups of people are observed or in part
[574] take place in the house (see below in socio-religious section). Social visiting is also common and much enjoyed. Hospitality, related to but differentiated from charity, gains merit for the host. There is a saying that visitors "come only when the home is pleasant."

512 The home, of course, performs a major "function" as a sleeping
805 place, and there are many beliefs and observances in connection with
513 sleep. The evening hours are divided into LU NYAT THET SEIK (children

quiet), the time when the children become quiet from 7 to 8. 9 to 10 p.m. is known as THATKYI-KAUNG-CHA (oldage-head-drop) when the elders begin to nod; from 11 to midnight and beyond is LUKLIN-PYAN CHAIN (Bachelors'-return-time) when young men complete their carousing and return to sleep. ATO (dawn) comes at the second cocks'crowing (first is at mid-night) about 4 o'clock. The KALA-DET (Indians-marching in) hollow wooden drum is strack in the phongyi-kyaungs at this time to awaken the village The women who prepare breakfast, and the old folks who rise to worship appear at this time - but others may sleep on for an hour or so. 512 805 513

It is obligatary to wash the legs and feet before retiring. In warm weather a mat is preferred for coolness - but in colder and damp weather a mattress is considered necessary for protection. Prayers taking from 2 minutes (most) up to considerably longer are generally said before bed-time. These praise Buddha and include such supplications as "may I be lifted up to heaven soon." Dreams may be good or bad according to the disposition of the nats. Certain dreams have meanings applicable as omens, It is during sleep that the ghost of a recently departed loved one contacts the sleeper and, sometimes, succeeds in luring him away permanently. 513 [515] 782 828 [775]

Analysis of home standard in Pathwe and in Refugee Camp.

The Pathwe home was in nearly every way superior to refugee camp home. Let us examine the nature of this superiority and attempt to see the adjustment which U Myaing made in the refugee camp. The Pathwe home was an independent unit as compared to the refugee camp apartment-like home. However we may not assume that U Myaing found this a disadvantage, since living in Pantanaw was "close". The quarters in the one case were separated by half a dozen feet and on the other by a bamboo partition. An important difference is that the Pathwe home was owned by U Myaing and he had inalienable rights there, whereas the refugee camp apartment was loaned to him for a short time period. 511 722 342

Only about one fiftieth of the space was available in the refugee camp (15,050 cubic feet in Pathwe, 315 cubic feet in camp.) However, 511 722 361 342

Nats' powers for good include protecting the village from dacoit attacks but does not extend to modern warfare. When the Japanese armies were slicing up through Tenasserim in 1941, the elders of Maung Maung Than's village prayed for nat protection against the invaders. The nats replied "Dear ~~Villagers we ourselves~~ are wearing raised longyis in this crisis (ready to run)." This is a Rangoon town joke told among the sophisticated collegiates at the University. Not so well defined, but still sensed is a growing distrust of the powers of nats to combat modern evils. 776 178 [195]

The nats can best be visualized as supernatural despots each with his province (the home, village, sea, babies) and each exacting tribute of periodic or constant attention in the form of flowers or food, red and white cloth strips, and an altar which may have the image of the nat carved in wood (or moulded in modern plasticene). Banyan trees with their multiple, snake-like trunks, are the most common places of abode. When disaster in the form of sickness or other ill fortune strikes, the nats are appeased with offerings immediately. The SAY SAYA will frequently check with the family of his patient to make sure this has been done. In Rangoon and elsewhere, business men whose fortunes have been good are the main supporters of the nat festivals which are given for the entertainment of all the nats once a year in October, for a seven day period. NAT KADAW (nat-wives) are the mediums who contact the nats by becoming possessed by them at this festival and other special occasions (for a single nat) throughout the year. These are married women or more rarely homosexuals who dance, answer questions and give opinions when possessed. 776 782 [759] [796] 791

Punishment for offense against the nats is first shown by accidents or sudden illnesses like paralysis meted out to the offender. If the offender continues the village as a whole will gradually be afflicted. For example, when a drunkard offends the nats with blasphemous language evil falls on the entire village. Villagers led by the elders and a prominent NAT-KADAW go in a body to the major banyan tree shrine to have an understanding with the offended nats. Offerings are given and attention of the nats called to the woes of 776 753 688 672 782

776 of the villagers. The head-nat, the guardian of the village, replies
753 with accusations that "the whole village has forgotten me", boasts of
688 his powers to punish and is finally molified. In Rangoon there are
672 professional nat-givers who parade the streets with a cart bearing the
●782 image of "the conqueror of the salty waters" (special nat of entrepre-
[463] neurs). For a few annas he will make offerings to the nat and relcive the busy townspeople of this task.

776 The arrangement is a mutual one where the people enjoy freedom
782 from oppressions in return for certain concessions. This phenomenon closely parallels the traditional relationship between the rulers and the ruled in Burma. In a real sense the nat concept serves the function of allowing the Burmese a sense of control over catastrophic forces which do not fall into any other system (as secular, political,
[177] personal relationships, cosmology.). It is this system of controls that the western scientific system most immediately competes with. The administrative and entrepreneur class of Burmese especially in Rangoon say they "Do not believe" in nats. But it is usual for most individuals no matter what their western background to apply to nats in cases of ill fortune "just in case".

775 THAYEH (Ghosts) generally are a group of supernatural spirits closely related to nats in their origins but with a different set of properties. These are "recently" deceased individuals whose crimes and sins while on earth or manner of death condemn them to an eternity of wandering and mischief-making. Actually, each person becomes a ghost at death but is ordinarily released from earth at the moment of the interment of the corpse for judgement in heaven. Those who die of
[761] "raw death" become ghosts. These include: death in childbirth, by wild animals (especially tigers), instant deaths by dahs as in warfare, or by hanging. In Maung Maung Than's village a prominent ghost is U Ne Gyi (Mr. Blacky) a very sinful fellow who lived 50 or 60 years ago in the village. His complexion is quite black and horribly distorted. He inhabits a banyan tree and specializes in causing infant illness. Offerings of rice at the tree pacifies him. Ghosts are forces for evil only - evil of the more irritating and less important kind.
751 Older people wear red and white coloured strings about their necks as a protection against ghost evils. It is very common to wear a LET-PWET

don't usually talk about these things with them. We invite the phongyis and worship them. We don't talk much with them. They preach the law and the 5 SILLS to us. 181 203

16. Q. Are there any persons of influence in camp who give advise on everyday living? 621

A. Yes, the person of influence is the schoolmaster, U Khant. But he only teaches the children and looks to the general cleanliness of the camp. Another person is the man who teaches the English. But they do not lay down what is right and what is wrong.

Activities of the Family in Relationship
to the Supernatural.

The main forces which U Myaing and his family are concerned with are those of the Nats and those of Buddhism. Speaking historically, the Nats seem to represent a remnant of an early form of animism in which the Nats were tree or nature spirits. It is interesting to note the manner in which U Myaing blends the two religious systems. The Nats control earthly happenings, and the Buddhist structure the eternal. We are concerned with identifying some of the major practices, but primarily with the differentiation between religious practices in Pantanaw and in the refugee camp. 771 [178]

Nats.

The problem of the Nats come up in our study by the appearance of a bamboo pole split so as to form a small basket at one end. This object, called a KYAUNG ZAUNG rested on the roof of the camp hut next to U Myaing's. An interview in which Daw Aw Zar (D.A.Z.) and U Myaing (U.M.) discussed Nats, is given in its entirety below because it reveals the rather vague feelings of "superstition" held of the Nats on the one hand and their potency on the other. 776 782●

Q. No. 25 (photograph) is a split bamboo pole with a basket at the top. What is this called and what is it used for?

A. (D.A.Z.) KYAUNG ZAUNG. The thing he took from the roof and photographed? It is called a KYAUNG ZAUNG.
(U.M.) It is called KYAUNG ZAUNG.

Q. How do you use it ?

A. (D.A.Z.) We offer to U SHIN GYI and others. Offerings to Nats. Didn't you hear that big man speak? (To U Myaing).

Q. Who made this object? Who makes them?

A. (D.A.Z.) The people who give the offerings of course.

Q. Do you have to make these when you give offerings?

A. If we give offerings we make them.

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Q. Don't you buy them?

A. We don't have to buy the bamboo and we know how to make it ourselves.

Q. (D.A.Z) Everyone around can come and make use of it when one has been made.

Q. Is there one for each household or for four or five households?

A. Whoever likes to give offerings comes and takes it and makes use of it.

63. Q. What offerings are put in these split bamboos?

A. (U.M. in aside) Include everything.
(D.A.Z.) You tell them. I don't know how to.

A. (U.M.) KAUKHNYIN (Black rice) after it is prepared, coconuts, jaggery, Burmese tea leaves, betel quids.... these are offered to the nats.
(D.A.Z.) Fire sticks. Fire.
(U.M.) Fire is lighted and placed with the offerings.

Q. Are these candles or oil lamps?

A. It doesn't matter which. Either will do.

Q. Are the candles lit when they are put in the basket?

A. (U.M.) Yes, they are lit.

Q. How often are the offerings made?

A. It is not like this. We give offerings when we want to. If we feel like it we might give offerings today - or we may not do so for a whole year.

Q. Can you stay without doing so?
A. We can stay.

Q. It is not compulsory?
A. (U.M.) NO. It is not. You give offerings with a purpose - to ward off danger.

64. Q. Are the offerings given in hard times - in order to get better?

A. (U.M.) It is not like this either.
(D.A.Z.) It is because of worship. When someone is slightly unwell or indisposed offerings are made.

Q. And do they then get better?

A. (D.A.Z.) Yes. So it is said. People say that they regain health.
(U.M.) They are only practicing what the elders of the past have prescribed. You can stay without giving any offering.

65. Q. Do the Nats have names? If so what are some of the names?

A. (D.A.Z.) U SHIN GYI.

Q. Are there others besides U SHIN GYI?

A. (U.M.) There are 37 nats.

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Q. This is only for U SHIN GYI? (the bamboo basket)
A. Yes. A separate offering for U SHIN GYI.
Q. You don't offer to the 37 Nats?
A. (U.M.) No, we don't.

66. Q. Is this one Nat just for fishermen or is it just one of Nats?
A. (D.A.Z.) There is no connection with fishing.
Q. (U.M.) No connection.
(D.A.Z) The whole Burmese race worships him.

67. Q. Ask U Myaing or his mother to tell me a little bit of the Nats - some of the names of the Nats, what they are like, and so forth, and why he offers only to one Nat.
A. (U.M.) We can't. Since the eldest of the past did it, we follow them in this practice. We don't know much.
Q. Why is it that you give offerings to U SHIN GYI and not to the others?
A. We are not concerned with the other Nats, and that is why we don't give offerings to them.
Q. And are you concerned with U SHIN GYI?
A. U SHIN GYI also does not concern us. But since many.....
Q. Is it that the elders in the past did not give offerings to the other Nats?
A. (D.A.Z.) Those who wanted to give offerings did so.
(U.M.) There were all kinds. People who gave offerings did so. We give only to U SHIN GYI, we also do it.
Q. Other people of the past worshipped other Nats, didn't they?
A. (U.M.) Yes. But we do not know the source, neither have we asked about them. U SHIN GYI was shown at PNES in ZAT stories. A human being was called away alive by the Nats.
(D.A.Z.) In Rangoon haven't you seen dances for the other Nats?
Q. Please tell us something more about the Nats.
A. (U.M. & D.A.Z.) We can't tell much about U SHIN GYI either we know only how to give offerings.
Q. Tell us all you know about U SHIN GYI.
A. (D.A.Z.) We give offerings. We prepare KAUKHYIN and offer it. It keeps away danger.
Q. We are not asking about the offering but about U SHIN GYI.
A. We don't know about U SHIN GYI.
Q. How does U SHIN GYI look like? Have you ever seen him?
A. (U.M.) No, I have never seen him.

68. Q. Does U Myaing believe that the Nats control things on earth or are there some spirits with Buddhism that control things. Let me restate that question. The merit that U Myaing gets is for the future life. Is that correct?
A. (U.M. & D.A.Z.) It is for the future life of course.
Q. (D.A.Z.) Merit is for the future life.
(U.M.) The merit accumulated now cannot be seen..... meritorious acts are done so that in the next existence..
(D.A.Z.) so that we might have a long life like mine... we fast and pray. It is like this: I have lived to this age because in the past existence I prayed at pagodas, observed the 5 precepts and the 8 precepts.

69. Q. The Nats are apparently not very important then, and it is the merit that is gained in former existences that takes care of the present life?
A. (U.M.) Not important. The good in this life is because of the meritorious acts in the previous existence.
Q. And the Nats are not important in this life?
A. (D.A.Z.) No.
(U.M.) The Nats only give bad results. It is because they may work evil that offerings are made to them. We can't see them either.

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70. (D.A.Z.) They don't bring any good. You can only get food if you have done good in the previous existence, in which case you will be wealthy and live long.

70. Q. What kind of misfortune do the Nats bring; he mentioned sickness - what are some of the others?
A. According to what many people say, they can cause ill health and even death - that's what they say.
Q. Do they mean to say that people are killed by the Nats?
A. (D.A.Z. & U.M.) Yes. We say that such a person has died because the Nats have caught him. That's what we mean when we say that the Nats work evil.
(U.M.) To die of drowning - that is because the Nats have been wronged; that is what most people say.
(D.A.Z.) We don't know these things very well.

71. Q. What about when the fishing is not good - the fish do not come upstream. Do the Nats have anything to do with that?
A. (U.M.) Many people say so - that the fish are said to be "lifted" or kept upstream by the Nats. We see nothing, but many people say that it is so. Acting on such talk we have to go to the Nats at the INS and give offerings of liquor, fowl curry and duck curry. According to IN custom we have to do it that way; we have to hang coconuts (on the offering place) and this is to appease the Nats who are holding up the fish, so that the fish might come downstream. When this happens, people become confirmed in their belief; when the fish don't come downstream they say, "Oh these are all lies about the Nats." They speak in this fashion.

The following information, which duplicates in part that given above, was secured at a later time.

"We give offerings only to U SHIN GYI and we do so twice a year, in the months of Waso and Thadingyut. These offerings are to keep us from harm. We do not worship other Nats because we have no family tradition of having done so. Of course, we do not have a family tradition of worshipping U SHIN GYI either, but then the whole Burmese nation worships him.

"In IN work we also give offerings to an Indian Nat who is known as KWIN BAING of Nat-Hauk IN. We give him offerings of roast chicken and liquor, black rice or KAUKHNYIN, bunches of bananas, coconuts, money, Htameins and GAUNG BAUNGS. These offerings are made only at IN time. No one bothers at other times.

"Some people even get possessed by the Nats, and then they say things like: 'The fish do not come downstream to the INS because I am preventing them. I am doing this because you do not worship me, etc.' When the people hasten to propitiate the Nat, the fish either come down to the INS or they do not. If through a coincidence the fish do come down, people come to believe in the Nat. I do not believe in them much. What I do, I do because those in the past have always done so.

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"They have no U SHIN GYI ceremonies here comparable to those we had in Pantanaw. Here they give offerings to them only in their own homes. In Pathwe, the whole village got together for the ceremony. In the month of Pyatho when the river begins to subside we start to take collections in the village. We collect only on our side of Pathwe village, which is built on the three banks at a confluence of two streams. Our side of the village contains about 250 houses, and each house-

for an adult and 8 annas for a child." 574

In camp U Myaing does not play cards very much except when at 525
funerals to pass the night away. His total stakes on such occasions [764]
are only about eight annas or a rupee. He has never been to the
races, and he never goes about town for fun. He does not go visiting
much except when on business. When he does go, he visits
Kla Shin, his first cousin who lives in MSIN-MIN-KNET-THIT, and his
cousin Ma Sein Naing who lives in Ahlone. In Rangoon there are
about 40,000 to 60,000 refugees from Pantanaw district. Sometimes
he visits other people whom he knew at the village. However, in a
single year his purely social visits to people outside of the camp
totals only three visits - one visit each to three houses.

Dr. Orr, Dr. Sheppard, Mr. Shaw and Mr. Musgrave are the only 619
white men he has met. He does not know any other Americans or
Englishmen.

U Myaing has not gone to the pagoda once in the present month. 796
During the past month, when he was working at the Jubilee Hall, he 735
used to cross the pagoda platform twice a day going to and coming
from his work. In the last year he donated some money at the
Shwe Dagon. He gave 2 annas on three occasions four annas on 6
occasions, and once, when he drew his monthly pay, he donated a
rupee. Apart from these, he donated money 6 or 7 times during the
first one or two months of their arrival, during the time when he
was going around selling mats. He gave altogether three or four
rupees in these six or seven times.

Only Daw Aw Zar regularly goes to the pagoda solely for the 782
sake of worship and prayer. Ma Aye Myaing has been there about 735
five times on three occasions, but, they were while she was on her
way elsewhere, and only once or twice purely for worship. Her
total offerings amount to only about a rupee. Daw Aw Zar remarked
that they would not have had the opportunity of praying at this
great pagoda if they were still in Pantanaw. Daw Aw Zar gives
offerings of flowers, money, candles and incense, and goes up the
pagoda frequently.

In his worship, U Myaing recites the 5 SILAS. He prays for 782

● 782 the well being of his family, for riches and the absence of privation and penury. He desires Nirvana. He prays that all the creatures inhabiting the 36 worlds may be infused with love for each other.

[775] "Even if I change existance, may I be born into a better existence. It would not be a better existence if I were to become a cat or some other animal."

782 776 Daw Aw Zar prays that she may meet with good people and not meet up with enemies; that she may be enabled to meet the high-minded and avoid wicked people. Ma Aye Myaing's prayers are about the same as Daw Aw Zar, but she adds that she may be able to give charities liberally in this and successive existences.

In Pantanaw U Myaing prayed for the same things that he prays for now in camp. There he took life and had to expiate the demerit acquired from taking the lives of fish, with the merit accumulated through charities and other meritorious acts. He took some consolation in the fact that he did not take part personally in the killing itself but only gave directions, and even when, in those years in which he had to buy live fish from the IN workers, the fish poured into his boat died of their own accord and so no blame could be attached to him. He did not beat them to death. He believes that although fishermen have a bad reputation as people who take lives, that does not mean that the one necessarily implies the other. However, he concedes that he may be blamed for directing the killing to take place. He was not sure, and so he goes ahead with his charities.

Observations of Aspects of Life in Rangoon.

369 776 In Pathee they had pigs killed occasionally for pork but it did not greatly disturb him. The mass slaughter of pigs in Rangoon spalled him as being a very gruesome affair. Fifty to sixty animals were lined up in the slaughter house on the occasion he witnessed such a killing. The slaughterers were Chinese and they took the squealing pigs, despatched them and handed them over to others who dip them in boiling water to clean off the hair, and this happened even if the pigs were not quite dead as yet. U Myaing thinks they

must be getting a lot of demerit.

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 190 — AP1 Burma
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[opp. p.42]

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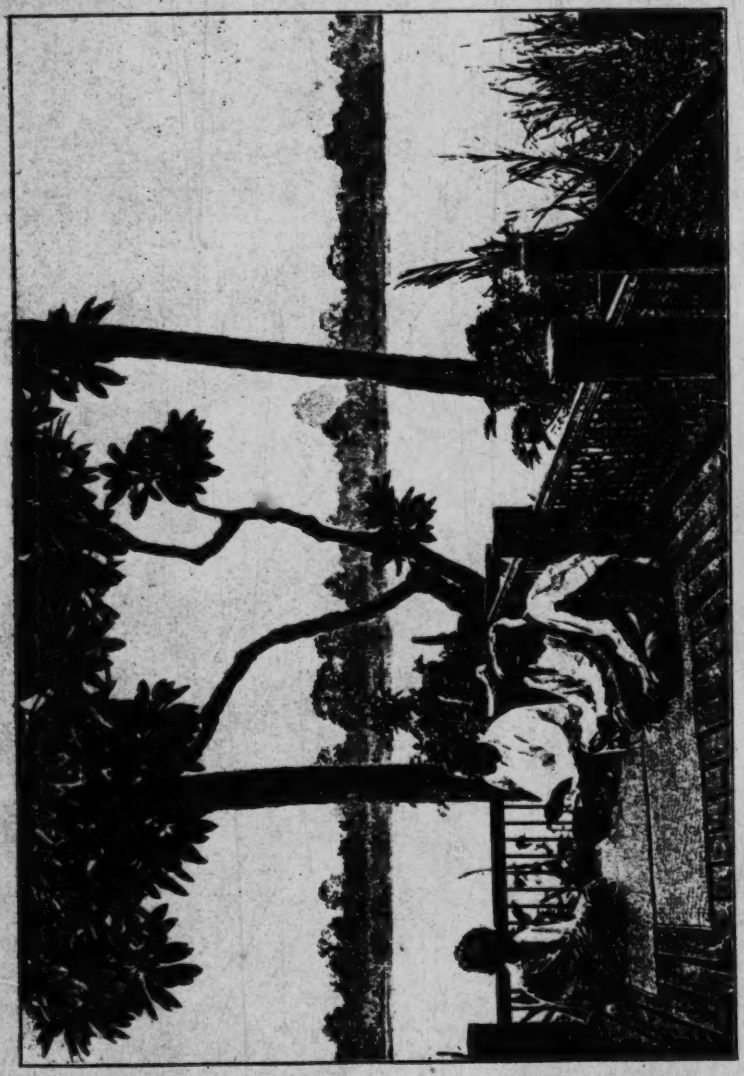


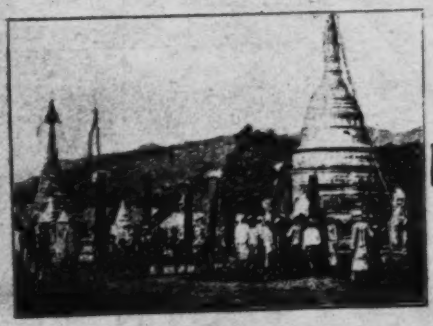
[To face A. 42.

02 ELDERS KEEPING DUTY DAY.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

122. CUTTING GIANT BAMBOO (WABO).

and the roof-rafters. Straight trees are selected for posts, and are either left plain, or the sapwood is dressed off, or they are dubbed octagonal; the timbers are rough-hewn with the *dâ*. Posts of hard and durable wood (*pyinkadô*) are also squared, and the scantlings for the timbers cut with the saw. A special significance attaches to the posts of the house. It is thought unlucky if birds alight on them before they are roofed in. Sham bows and arrows are set at the heads of the posts to scare them (*hugemmana*). Besides the miniature bow-and-arrow stuck in bazár goods to scare crows, this is the only form in which the long-bow and arrow survive in Burma; in practice, arrows are used with a crossbow (No. 204) and pellets with the plain bow (*le*), and that not extensively. Another curious custom is the one of laying a piece of cloth between the head of the post and the wall-plate as a propitiation to the *nat* of the tree (p. 187). Before the large posts of temples are reared, their heads are hung with offerings, which the workpeople afterwards share among themselves. The front bays of the house have a floor only a few feet off the ground (*kyanneing*)—unless where the flood-levels require it to be higher—making a verandah, the common or unenclosed portion of the house, free to strangers. The back bays have a floor about four cubits off the ground or above the lower floor. A bamboo or wooden ladder connects the floors. The upper floor is enclosed all round, and has one or two bays partitioned off. A pent-roof covers the cooking-place and grain-bin, where the rice-pounders and implements are stored as well; or else there is a shed for



123. REARING THE POSTS OF THE WUT.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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178 SCENE IN THE PLAINS AT FLOOD-TIME.

keep the pasture green till March. By April the elephant-grass in the *Kwin* is dry and ready to burn like a prairie. Camp fires and cultivation fires spread, or the stump of a burning cheroot starts the fire, which runs through the *kaing* and the bamboo forest till it is stopped by a broad water-course. In the hot weather the thatch and bamboo of the houses are as dry as tinder, and village fires are frequent. A hook and flapper on long bamboo poles are provided at every house to tear off the thatch and beat out the fire (No. 431). Water-pots are set along the roof-ridges, so that they only need to be overturned. But if a high wind is blowing, the burning thatch is carried across streets and creeks. The people can only save their movables and accept the situation, which they do with characteristic good humour. The religious buildings being more substantial, there is a better chance of extinguishing them when on fire. Religious merit is to be gained by the effort; the whole village turns out with waterpots to quench the flames and slake the embers.

[782]

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179. THE IRAWADI AT PROME (P. 187).

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
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[782]

282. PREPARING TAWTHALIN OFFERINGS (p. 188).

at the temples in the same spirit. *Thèbônzedi* are erected on the day of a sick person's planet, and decorated with flags according to the years of age. Here Buddhism, which knows of no vicarious merit (or demerit), is tainted by a survival of animism (p. 188). The merit of the act is intended to cancel the demerit of some troubled spirit which is seeking to possess the body of the sufferer. Offerings are likewise set apart for the troubled spirit in the forest, to divert him from the sick person. When an epidemic of cholera occurs, the whole village sets up a din at sunset with bamboo sticks, to frighten the demons away. But many minds are averse to such superstitions, and they seek for natural explanations. They ascribe disease to states of the blood, to "heats" and "vapours." The cooling qualities of nitre are extolled for the one, and the cordial effects of spice for the other. Dietetic questions interest everybody, and everyone has his or her pet nostrum. Very little operative surgery is attempted as compared with India and China—merely the opening of abscesses and setting of bones. Hare-lip and cleft palate, and the cognate deformities, appear to be frequent. The dressings applied to wounds and sores are chiefly turmeric, slaked lime, *nîm*-leaves. Successful lithotomies and other major operations, and the boon of chloroform, have spread the fame of western surgery in a vastly wider circle than it can reach itself. The sick are tenderly nursed by the Burmans, and never abandoned in panic fear as happens in epidemics among the hill-tribes. There are few greater sources of religious merit than ministering to the sick. During the puerperium, the Burman custom is to main-

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283. BURMAN CARRIER.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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[322]

287. COUNTRY SALE-DEPOT.

about three million rupees. At present both wood-oil and crude earth-oil are being superseded by kerosene. The crude earth-oil is used for preserving woodwork. But its place is being taken by the residues from the local refineries, now established in Rangoon.* Travelling pedlars hawk the silk goods of Burma Proper and all sorts of fancy nicknacks from the sea-ports to the villages of the interior. The approaches to the temples are favourite resorts of stall-keepers of all sorts of wares, especially of wax-tapers, plain and moulded, gold leaf, coloured paper flags and flowers for the votaries to decorate the shrines with, and toys wherewith to gladden the hearts of children—an act of merit befitting the shrine of religion in this cheerful land. In sad contrast to the gaiety of the booths is the spectacle of the lepers who beg for alms. The prominence of these unfortunates at such places creates a disproportionate impression of their numbers, high as these are (p. 41). The offerings dedicated on the occasions of *Shinlâung fêtes*, festivals, and funerals, make the trades of manufacturing and distributing the requisites of the *kyaung* very important ones. The wares collected in the *parêikaya* shop used to be representative of the manufactures of Burma. But of late, imported goods—crockery, glassware, lamps and clocks—have become a regular part of the *kyaung* furniture, and are offered in meaningless profusion. This has helped to bring the *parêikaya* trade into the hands of foreigners.

438 443 782

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Every year, after the floods have subsided, Burman dealers establish dry-

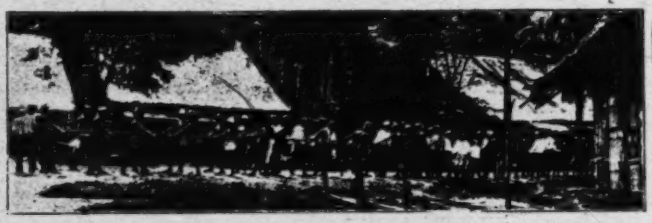
438 443 563

288. ROLLING CHEROOTS.

* See *The Occurrence of Petroleum in Burma*, by Dr. F. Noetling.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

balloons are sent off, and the rivers are illuminated with rafts carrying lamps which are set adrift. Labyrinths of bamboo are erected round the *zedi*, which entertain the children and especially the hill-people, who pique themselves, not 796



[526]

416. NEW-YEAR TUG-OF-WAR.

without reason, on their sense of locality. These labyrinths are called *Wingabá*, after the mountain maze, to which Prince Wéthandayâ was banished by his father, in the *zát* legend.

Tazáung-môn is the next festival after *Thadíndyút*; it is kept in Pegu, but not in Burma Proper. At this season Buddhists commemorate the miraculous journey of Gawdama Buddha to the *nat* country after the death of his mother, to impart to her the enlightenment which had come to him on earth, and by means of which he had attained peace. Spires of bamboo-work and tinsel—the *tazáung-daing*—are built twenty to fifty feet high, as symbols of the stair by which Gawdama ascended. These are carried round the place with music, and are finally dedicated at the *zedi* (No. 422). In the months of *Tazáung-môn* and *Thadíndyút* the *katín-thingán* are dedicated, and the *mathô-thingán* are woven. The *katín-thingán* is the annual supply of the primitive *parí-kaya*, and is of a nominal character, owing to the profusion of offerings at other times. The *mathô-thingán* is a cloth wherewith to deck the images of the Buddha and the *paung* of the *zedi* (Nos. 429, 449). It is the offering of the women who weave it,

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[778]

417. SUNLAUNG AT THADINDYUT FESTIVAL.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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418. SUNLAUNG AT THADINDYUT FESTIVAL.

and, in order to possess its proper value, should be completed in a day and a night. This is the only approach to a vigil. The texture is loose, and broad bands of tinsel are shot through to make up the woof faster.

Tawthalin is a minor festival, falling in Lent, and observed only in Pegu. The *Tawthalin* offerings are distinguished by being in thousands, one thousand little cakes, one thousand plantains, and so on (No. 282). The number one thousand is said to be symbolical [801] of the thousand *gâta* or stanzas of the *Wéthandayâ zat*, the legend of Gawdama Buddha's last incarnation but one, closely prefiguring the final incarnation.

782 The above are the Buddhist festivals, which are celebrated by the whole population together, with all the *éclat* they can give them. The only other 776 recurring observances of a religious character have nothing to do with Buddhism, and are rejected by all earnest and enlightened Buddhists. These observances, if not furtively conducted, as is often the case, are kept by individuals only, or by households at a time; they have sufficient in common with the *nat* worship of the hill tribes, to show what the original Burman and Taláing worship may have been. Unlike the Karén, who knows only of evil *nats*, the Burman has both good and evil spirits. The former belong 776 to the land of the *zat* ro- 772 mance, the latter are chiefly 775 the survival of the primitive paganism. In the Burman cosmogony, *nat-yua* is the delectable land to which, by a courtesy analogous to the German "*hoch-*" and "*höchst-* [643] *selig*," the kings are said to migrate at their demise. [524] A higher order than *nat* is *thadyâ* and *thadyâ-min*, and above these the highest order of being, *byammâ*, the cloud-

419. FIRE-BALLOONS AT THADINDYUT.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

A nat is propitiated by offerings at a shrine, almost always in miniature. Only fruit, flowers, and music are offered by Buddhists. A special genius is assigned to the dwelling—*ein-dwin Min Magayi nat*, in whose little shrine a cocoanut is offered. The nut is replaced as the water dries up, which it is assumed the *nat* has drunk. There are *nats* who preside over countries, Û Mindyi and Û Mindyâ for Burma, Û Yindyi for Pegu, Bôdaw and his sons for Thatôn, and other local *nats*. These *nats* are propitiated by such offerings as a crown, or by standing guard before their images, upon undertaking a journey, entering on a race or other contest. The five *nats* of the firmament have a special cult associated with that of the eight planets, with which the Buddha and eight *yahánda* are mixed up. The local *nats* are most commonly propitiated in *pyatho* (December), the harvest month. The visitations of malign spirits are attributed to what the Burmans call unripe (*asḗin*) deaths. Such are deaths from lightning-stroke, accidents of all sorts, child-bed, cholera, and whatever is violent and sudden. The normal re-incarnation of the *karma* of such is immature; they haunt localities as ghosts (*tasè*), and seek the bodies of the living for hosts, thereby causing sickness. Slaughter in battle accounts for a plague of this kind, and the one plague entails another.

Pilgrimages to the great shrines are made in the dry months, especially at times of full moon. The most sacred shrine of the Peninsula and the perennial resort of pilgrims is the *zedi* on the site of the ancient Mun village Dagôn, renamed Yangôn (Rangoon). The legend declares that the original founders of the shrine deposited eight hairs

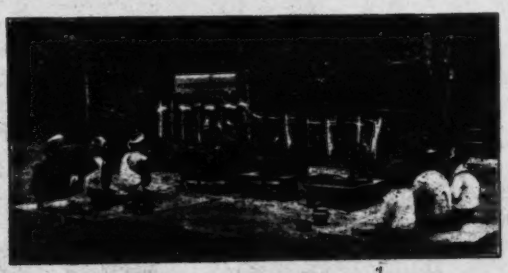
423. PROPITIATING THE LOCAL NATS (NAKKAZA).

424. SHRINE OF THE HOUSE-GENIUS—MIN MAGAYI NAT.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

428. PROPITIATING THE NAT BODAW.

of the Buddha there. The shrine now known as *Shwe-Dagôn Payâ* (*Shwe-tî gôn*) was built over by the Emperor Sinbyu Shin in 1775 and brought to its present height of about three hundred feet above the platform. It stands at the extremity of the southernmost spur of the Pegu Yôma, and occupies a commanding position over the port of Rangoon, asserting the Burman character of the place above the masts of ships that dwarf everything else. The present canopy was dedicated by King Mindôn Min in 1871, at the cost of half a million of rupees. It is not gilt in the ordinary way, but plated with gold foil. The cone of the *zedi* itself is gilt from the peak to the platform. Such a gilding costs three hundred thousand rupees and lasts fifteen to twenty years in the climate of Rangoon. Till the Shwe-Dagôn Payâ was brought to its present height by the Burman conquerors, the *zedi* at the Mun capital Pegu had been the greatest in the land, though not the most sacred as a reliquary. This is *Shwe-hmâwdaw Payâ*, also about three hundred feet high from platform to summit (No. 67). Its site is not so favourable as that of its rival, nevertheless the *zedi* is a noble object. After the *Shwe-Dagôn Payâ* the next greatest shrine is the *Mahâ-myammuni* at Āmayapôya (No. 449). This colossal image of the Buddha weighs several tons, and it was brought over the Arakán mountains by the Burman conquerors. The head was damaged when the *tazâung* over the image was burned down in



429. PROPITIATING THE NATS OF THE FIVE PLANETS.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

433. PAINTING OF KYAITTIYO PILGRIMAGE.

they study their religious books, occupy themselves with their grandchildren, teach them and tell them stories, and make toys for them. They do the light repairs of the house and gear, and when they are too old to go on pilgrimages with the others, they keep the house and tell their beads alone. The veteran can still halt to the shrine on duty-days. Every old man is by courtesy *ludyi*, and every old woman *amèdyi*. The old people wear plainer clothing than the young, and, according to old Burman fashion, less of it. The human dignity of the aged is of a kind that apparel cannot add to. Steeped in the spirit of Buddhism, the aged never yield to anger. Wanting neither for necessaries nor honour, the pathos of their serene old age is purely that of years. A peaceful end is their lot. (See *The Soul of a People*, p. 330.)

And now our Burman is equipped for the final stage. To the dead of whatever degree royal honours are accorded. The body is spoken of as *alàung*, "that which is about to be," to be something of a higher nature, namely, as the dead are spoken of in German as "blessed." The corpse is laid under a white or royal canopy, upon a temporary bier, for one or several days. The body is swathed in grave-clothes, the thumbs and great toes tied together with strips of white cotton cloth, and in the mouth of a lay person is put a gold or silver piece for *kadôga*—ferry-hire. While the body is lying in state, the catafalque (*dalâ*) is being prepared for carrying the bier to the cemetery. The *dalâ* is a tall erection of bamboo and paper, ending in a royal *pyatthat*, gay with colours and tinsel. The corpse is laid in a coffin similarly decorated, which is placed in or over the sarcophagus-shaped part of the *dalâ*. Above the coffin

434. HOME DEVOTIONS OF THE AGED.

29: Slater M-4 (no date) 1951 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

771 It is necessary, therefore, at the outset of our inquiry to correct this impression.

A writer on Comparative Religion is dependent on the experts from different fields, and Dr Bouquet is only repeating what a number of commentators on Burmese religion have been saying for the past fifty years. But if we examine their statements we find that many of them merely reflect, without further evidence or critical examination, an opinion expressed by a European official in a Census Report of 1891. This opinion was emphasised by another Census official, Mr. C. C. Lowis, ten years later:

"The Burman has added to his Animism just so much Buddhism as suits him and with infantile inconsequence draws solace from each in turn. I know of no better definition of the religion of the great bulk of the people ... than that given by Mr Eales in his 1891 Census Report, 'a thin veneer of philosophy laid over the main structure of Shamanistic belief.' The facts are here exactly expressed. Animism supplies the solid constituents that hold the faith together, Buddhism the superficial polish. Far be it from me to underrate the value of that philosophic veneer. It has done all that a polish can do to smooth, to beautify and to brighten, but to the end of time it will never be anything more than a polish. In the hour of great heart-searchings it is profitless as the Apostle's sounding brass. It is then that the Burman falls back upon his primaeval beliefs. Let but the veneer be scratched, the crude animism that lurks below must out. Let but his inmost vital depths be touched, the Burman stands forth an Animist confessed."[4]

771 782 [563] [177] Mr Lowis' opinion is based on a critical examination of the situation, and it cannot be lightly gainsaid. He also refers to the prevailing Animistic beliefs of the surrounding hill tribes who still infiltrate into the plains of Burma, a factor which encourages the survival of primitive ideas among the Burmese themselves. This survival is not to be denied. It is impossible to live in Burma without coming across evidences of Animism, sooner or later — the coconut, surmounted by a red cloth, still hung in most Burmese households as a *Nat* offering; the 'bus driver halting his vehicle to run across the road and place a little bouquet of flowers at the foot of some tree which is the shrine of a local spirit. Most of these practices are innocent. Occasionally, however, one has a grim reminder of more fateful beliefs. Burmese students once explained to me, reluctantly, [761] that they had desisted in their efforts to save a drowning boy because it was obvious that he had been seized by the *Nat* of the lake.

[4] *Census of India Report*, Vol. XII, (Burma, 1901), Part 1, by C. C. Lowis, chap. III, p. 35.

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Animism in Burma is usually termed Nat-worship. *Nat* has been compared with the Indian, *Natha*, but it is probably an indigenous term.[5] Strictly speaking, it should be distinguished from "disembodied spirit" or ghost, for which the Burmese name is *tasè*. The Burmese also speak of the "butterfly" soul in man, the *leip-bya*, which may leave the body even in life, during dream or unconsciousness.[6] "A *nat* is something quite different. The word is the equivalent of our word god, in the sense in which we speak of the gods of ancient Greece and Rome."[7] *Nat* legends, however, express the belief that most, if not all, of these godlings were once human beings. Thus the familiar household Nat, Min Magayi, was once a blacksmith, Maung Tin Dè, a man of such prodigious strength that whenever he struck his anvil the whole city was shaken, to the great wrath of the king who caused the blacksmith's death. His spirit continued to vex the neighbourhood until a temple was built in his honour.[8] In later times such spirits seem to have been elevated to *Nat* status by royal degree. Burmese tradition emphasises *the* Thirty Seven *Nats*, but the number has no special significance. Many *Nats* not included in the thirty seven are recognised today and some of the thirty seven ignored. Any attempt to denote the *Nat* realm too narrowly misrepresents what is, in fact, a fluctuating and ill defined situation. 'All is change' applies to this realm, in Burmese estimation, as much as to any other. Nor can we point to any one origin of the cultus. The Mondaing *Nat*, for example, may reflect a primitive Nature worship, since Mondaing signifies whirlwind, but local legend suggests another origin.[9] Some of the *Nats* are associated with Brahmanic and Buddhist legend. Others are definitely local and even recent. Sir George Scott, who was an acute observer, said that the Burman always distinguished the Spirits of Nature from the legendary gods imported from India.[10] On the other hand, there is a tendency to mingle Buddhist story and Nat story, and the Buddhist *peta*, as well as the *deva* is quite at home among the Burmese *Nats*.[11]

In earlier times, a victim was slain in order to provide a guardian spirit for a new town or building, and as late as the eleventh century a queen is said to have given her life for such a purpose. Buddhist teaching against taking life has gradually prevailed, however, against these harsher

[5] Cf. Bigandet, *Life of Gaudama* Vol. I, p. 17, Vol. II, p. 334 and Temple, *The Thirty Seven Nats*, p. 8.
[6] Cf. Forbes, *British Burma*, chap. IV, p. 99.
[7] R. Grant Brown, *The Pre-Buddhist Religion of the Burmese*, p. 6.
[8] R. Grant Brown, *ibid.*, p. 12.
[9] *Ibid.*, p. 7.
[10] Temple, *ibid.*, p. 2.
[11] Cf. Bimala C. Law, *The Buddhist Conception of Spirits*.

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782 customs. Grant Brown observes that, while Buddhists in the Chindwin
779* area still sacrifice fowls to the god of the harvest, 'the thing is done some-
771 what surreptitiously and shamefacedly.'[12]

Other practices survive more openly. In many Burmese villages there
755 is a *nat-ka-daw*, or spirit-medium, generally an elderly or middle-aged
woman, who is supposed to be married to a *Nat*. She tells fortunes, and is
791 called in sometimes in cases of sickness to discover whether the patient will recover. Mr. Spear describes an incident of this kind which took place in the main street of a large town in the presence of many spectators. "The *nat-ka-daw*, in addition to her usual clothing, wore a sash around the waist and a cloth wound around her head. She danced with a dah, a long and heavy Burmese knife, in her hand, until she fell exhausted." Plantains and coconuts had been placed in a shelter, opposite the house, as offerings to the *Nat*.[13]

[782] In this case, apparently, the *Nat* was neither held responsible for the sickness nor expected to cure it. There are times of epidemic sickness, however, when a whole village is temporarily abandoned, and special rituals are followed to placate the *Nat*, who is considered to have caused the epidemic.

776 In an interesting account of the development of a modern *Nat* cultus,
782 a Burmese writer describes a public festival in honour of the *Nat*. A play is staged during which one of the Thirty Seven *Nats*, who is personified by a villager, asks the *Nat* of the locality if he is taking due care of the villagers. Here the *Nat* is obviously regarded as benevolent. But we are told that this was not always so. Formerly the Nat was cruel, unreasonable, mischievous and demoniac. But "he is now believed to have taken to religion, to keep the sabbath and to lead the life of a saintly god." In
[674] spite of his own sanctity, however, he seems to favour evil-doers. "No organised theft is ever committed in Lower Burma . . . without invoking his aid." The would-be criminals cook a meal within a circle they have marked on the ground. If any of the rules of the succeeding ritual are
[779]* broken, the proposed robbery is abandoned. Some Buddhist monks ot
[792] this region, more orthodox than others, have tried to suppress the Naf cultus, but in vain.[14]

771 Such beliefs and practices are obviously bound to affect thought and
776 conduct. The Burmese feel around them a vast, invisible *Nat* world, which is both near and remote. There are spirits in the trees, the rivers,

[12] *The Pre-Buddhist Religion of the Burmese*, p. 9.

[13] R. F. Spear, unpublished MS, *The Syncretism of Animism and Buddhism in Burma* (1928) chap. 1, p. 14.

[14] U Tha Khin, "Is U Yin Gyi a National God of the Burmans?" *J.B.R.S.*, Vol. XIV, part II (1924).

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the lakes, the mountains and there are distant *Nat* realms ruled by *Nat* chieftains. All of these spirits are capricious. They encourage the view that life is a gamble. A man must bargain and wile his way through as best he can, hemmed in by a vague, immeasureable threat of evil. A religion, therefore, which points the way through the maze, indicates some order in the realm of caprice and promises deliverance from evil, may be the more welcome. On the other hand, it contains a challenge to caprice in oneself. 771 776

2. *Animism and Buddhism interwoven*

There is no question, therefore, of the survival of Animism in Burma, nor of its influence. The only question which arises is the *extent* of this influence. Is it so persistent and powerful that Buddhism is no more than a surface polish? 771 779*

At first sight, this indeed may seem to be the case, for not only is Animism a parallel cultus, sometimes furtive but frequently brazen; it also seems to be interwoven in the very texture of popular Buddhist expression and practice. As a boy, the Burman learns how Nats watched over the infant Buddha, how the Buddha, by his virtue, defeated the jealous Manh *Nat*, how the rest of the *Nat* world acclaimed the victory with shouts of exultation. *Nats* appear in all the subsequent events of the Buddha's history.[15] On pagoda platforms the boy may see scenes depicting the *Nats*. Early in his education, he may learn a poem celebrating the Buddha's victory. On the most memorable day of his life as a Buddhist, the day of his *shin-byu* or confirmation, he may *shikoh* to the *Nat* shrine. At his death, a monk may be called to his side, not to give him spiritual consolation but 'because the good influence of the monk's pious presence keeps away evil spirits.'[16] [792]

Consequently, Burmese Buddhists have been criticised for their inconsistency. How, it is asked, can a belief that a human 'spirit' has been transported to the *Nat* realm be reconciled with the Buddhist denial of the soul? If Buddhism denies the Divine, and even Buddha himself is not worshipped, how can it be right to worship and propitiate these *Nat* godlings? How can it be legitimate to expect their assistance, if man is the arbiter of his own destiny, subject to moral law alone, as Buddhism affirms? And Buddhism teaches: Thou shalt not kill. What, then, of fowls and oxen and even humans sacrificed to propitiate *Nats*? Toleration is [775] 782 779* 771

[15] Cf. Bigandet, op. cit. Vol. I, p. 37; cf. Temple, *Thirty Seven Nats*, p. 6.
[16] Cf. Purser and Saunders, *M.B.B.*, pp. 38, 97; Sir George Scott, *The Burman: His Life and Notions*, Vol. I, chap. XXII, p. 289.

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doubtless a virtue enjoined by Buddhism. Carried to this extreme, however, has it not distorted Buddhism beyond recognition?

The Buddhist reply is two-fold. In the first place, it is claimed that there are *Nat* beliefs and practices which are *not* inconsistent with Buddhism. Since the normal Buddhist foresees many possible rebirths before he attains Nibbāna, there is no reason why some of these rebirths should not occur in a *Nat* realm. As to the denial of the soul, that raises difficulties, but are they so very different from the questions raised by the *Jātaka* stories in Buddhist tradition itself? The learned Buddhist has his own explanations, and the villager is inclined to regard life itself as ultimately as great a mystery as Nibbāna, while he does lip service to the *an-attā* doctrine (soul-denial). 'The Buddha accepted the Indian universe of his day ready-made' with its conception of heavens and hells and innumerable worlds.[17] Popular Buddhism, as popular religion everywhere, lives in narrative form, and the ordinary Burman dwells in two worlds of story, Buddhist and *Nat*, which fuse together.

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As to *Nat* practices, some of these are innocent, and others have been given a Buddhist ethical content. Gratitude, for example, is both natural and good in itself. What harm, then, if a villager presents flowers at a *Nat* shrine from such a motive?[18] As to propititiation, even in this present life, men deem it wise to placate powerful humans. Buddhism, therefore, can wisely and tolerantly assimilate many *Nat* conceptions and practices without inconsistency. So it is argued.

Other ideas and customs, however, are admittedly incompatible with true Buddhism. These, it is claimed, have either been opposed or they have been tolerated for a time in confidence that sound religion would eventually prevail. Asked why he allowed *Nat* images in a Buddhist shrine, King A-naw-ra-hta is said to have replied, "Men will not come for the sake of the new faith. Let them come for their old gods and gradually they will be won over."[19] This confidence, it is held, has been justified:

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Buddhism has at least prevailed sufficiently to take the sting out of Animism; human sacrifice is no longer tolerated, and even animal sacrifices are furtive.

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Is there then no surviving superstitious fear of the *Nats*? This is debated. Temple quotes a formidable Oath, administered in the courts of law, which invokes the *Nats*:

"I will speak the truth.... May the Nats who guard the sacred heavens ... the keepers and warders of countless shrines ... the Nats

[17] J. B. Pratt, *The Pilgrimage of Buddhism*, chap. v, p. 76.

[18] Moung Po Me, "Animism or Agnosticism?" *Buddhism*, Vol. I, No. 1 (1903, Rangoon), p. 95.

[19] N. Ray, *Theravāda Buddhism in Burma*, chap. VII, p. 263.

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Old men will retire to the monastery to end their days there, and younger men, in poverty or other distress, will flee the world for a time. The hospitality of the monks has sometimes been more charitable than discriminate, a circumstances which has brought some monasteries into disrepute, for these temporary inhabitants are allowed to wear the yellow robe, and some are criminals, sheltering from justice. Father Sangermano reports the rescue of prisoners condemned to death. "In thus saving the lives of criminals, (the monks) believe that, as their law forbids them to kill, it must be meritorious to preserve the lives of others."[24]

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The monastery is the social centre of the village. Buddhism in Burma is gaily attired, a religion of festival. Frequently there will be an open-air performance in the moonlight, when a birth-story of the Buddha is dramatized. All this spirited, colourful life gathers around the monastery.

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But perhaps the Order's most valuable service to the community is the function fulfilled by the monk as *counsellor*. A group of villagers may gather for a special instruction, others may attend when the monks assemble for devotions, but the monastery is not regarded as a preaching centre or as a place of public worship. In modern times, crowds have flocked to hear the Monyin Sayadaw. Generally, however, the approach in this respect is individual. It is as the individual adviser of each villager that the monk's influence is most strongly felt.

626 79[illegible]

In many and tangible ways, therefore, the monastery serves the community, but it is probable that the villager himself reveres the monk more for services which are intangible and may not appear so valuable to sceptical observers. Early in the morning, the monk, attended by *koyins*, will go the round of the faithful, receiving their offerings of rice in his begging bowl.[25] For the monk himself it is an exercise in humility, for the villager it is one of the chief means of increasing that *kutho* or worthiness which ensures him happiness in this life and the next.[26]

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Most of all, however, it is those very aspects of the monk's vocation which distinguish him from the rest of the community, setting him apart, for which the monk is chiefly esteemed. It is because the greater part of his life is spent in spiritual exercises which the villagers do not share, that they value him most. The monastery stands for a Way of utter renun-

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[24] *The Burmese Empire*, 3d. Edition, ed. J. Jardine, (London, 1895), chap. xv, p. 122.

[25] Thus *bhikku* or *bhikshu*, usually translated monk, means, literally, mendicant. Strictly speaking, a *bhikku* is not a monk; cf. Rhys Davids, *Dialogues of the Buddha*, Part II (S.B.B.), p. 81, footnote.

[26] *Kutho* is frequently translated 'merit.' But 'worthiness' is more accurate.

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It also modifies the sense of fatalism which might be derived from another conception, this time a Buddhist conception — the idea that a man's present character and situation are largely determined, according to inexorable moral law, by what he has done, and not done, in previous births. "As the wheel follows the draught ox, punishment follows sin."[60] Yet man is no fettered slave. Like other people the world over, the Burman vacillates between fatalism and the sense of his own power to help himself, between *Kan* and *Kutho*. On the whole, *Kutho* wins. "Merit weighs heavy, demerit light," says the Burmese proverb hopefully.

Pessimism, then, 'touched, strongly touched, with hope' – such is the Burmese religion. But what of the further qualification, 'touched with mysticism.'? We have seen that there may be an element of Nature mysticism. Can we go further and discern any sense of the sacred, any sense of religious dependence on higher power? In spite of the Nature mysticism and an occasional side glance in the direction of benevolent *Nats*, Burmese religion seems to be a religion of self-reliance, self-assurance and self-responsibility. A man 'must work out his own salvation.' Does this mean that there is nothing at all which corresponds to the Christian addition to the text — "with fear and trembling, for it is God which worketh in you?"[61]

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Various efforts have been made to locate such a recognition. It is remarked that a pagoda in Prome is named "the image or pagoda where, if you pray, you will receive."[62] But the term, prayer, is used rather loosely by some present-day Buddhists. The monastery 'prayers' which we have cited could scarcely be termed prayers in any strict sense. Instances have been reported of simple villagers petitioning the Buddha for mercies, such as a child's recovery from sickness,[63] and I have myself seen women in attitiudes of prayer, with clasped hands and suppliant faces, before Gautama's image. Peasants recite the 'Song of Victory", celebrating the Buddha's triumphs over foes and tempters, as a 'mantra' to ward off evil.[64] Since a man may pray that his own *Kutho* may avail to help others, a natural sequence of thought may lead him to consider that the Buddha's *Kutho* may also avail, though some would say that the Buddha is lost in Nibbāna, far beyond this present existence. It is very questionable, however, if there is any sense of Divine Grace or prayer in the sense of communion with a Divine Being.

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The Buddha is certainly venerated. No account of Burmese Buddhism would be adequate without emphasising very definitely the central place he holds in the life and thought of the people. Popular Buddhism, as we

[60] *M.B.B.*, p. 45.
[61] *2 Philippians* 2: 12, 13.
[62] *M.B.B.*, p. 70.
[63] *Ibid.*, p. 69.
[64] *M.B.B.*, p. 97.

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776 ous buildings, such as monasteries, /208/ monas-
777 tic rest houses and wooden chapels. The bury-
782 ing alive of human sacrifices at the posts of
776 the foundations of the entrances was in old Bur-
mese days considered as an indispensable method of protecting important buildings, such as princely palaces, city gates, bridges, etc. The ghost of the entombed—according to Burmese belief those who have been killed by violence are rooted to the spot where they died--is supposed to watch as a guardian over the building, post, or bridge foundation.

As late as the middle of the past century,
782 more than fifty human beings were buried alive
787 when the foundations for the palace and the city walls of Mandalay were laid. But the protective power of those ghosts was of limited duration. From certain omens it could be predicted that the protection was going to cease, and then it was time to leave the place which was open to disaster. This was the explanation given for the frequent change of residence of the Burmese rulers. The small chapels with their stone images of door guardians at the gates and corners of the walls of the palace area of Mandalay still indicate the locations where these human sacrifices have been buried, though the modern inhabitants will not admit this to a European. At the corners, filled oil jugs were sunk over the buried people; the dwindling of the oil in the containers, which were examined every seven years, foreshadowed an approaching catastrophe in 1880. They tried to avoid this catastrophe with new sacrifices. Nevertheless, it happened. The British occupied the country and the kingdom perished (10).

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782 10. Primarily, according to Shway Yoe, ibid., pp. 482 ff. It is well known that the burying of live sacrifices at construction foundations is a custom, widespread all over the world,

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which was not at all unknown in European countries. About it see: R. Andree, Ethnographische Parallelen /Ethnographic Parallels/ (1878), pp. 18 ff.; F.S. Krauss, "Das Bauopfer bei den Südslaven" /Building Sacrifice among the Southern Slavs/, Mitteilungen der anthropologischen Gesellschaft zu Wien /Proceedings of the Vienna Anthropological Society/, Vol. 17 (1887), pp. 16 ff.; W.T. Brigham, The Ancient Hawaiian House (Memoirs B.P. Bishop Museum, Honolulu II, 3), pp. 27 ff.

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In earlier days every Burmese settlement was surrounded by a fortification, cities having stone walls or stockades, the villages impenetrable fences of close rows of thorny bamboo shrubs, prickly cacti, or palisade-like fences of bamboo poles between which pointed bamboo stakes protruded. The latter type of fortification exists today only in the areas where the mountain tribes live, beyond the zone of British administration. Before the British took over, the constant feuds between the individual tribes and the excesses of robbery made it necessary for each village to protect itself like a fort. With the increased safety of travel and property under the British rule this has become more and more unnecessary, although some districts still experience nocturnal robberies. The villages in the Prome District, which has one of the worst criminal records in Burma, are with practically no exfeptions enclosed by dense high, thorny hedges which have only narrow entrances.

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The buildings of the Shan (11)--population in

11. Cf. especially L. Milne, Shans at Home (London, 1910), pp. 100 ff.; A.K. Gebauer, "Die nördlichen Schanstaaten und ihre Bewohner" /The Nor-

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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pots full of fresh clean water, carry them off to the monastery to present them to the monks—not to throw over them, such liberties are never taken with the brethren. After having made their kadaw, "begged pardon with water," to the sacred order, they set off to the pagoda and there commence the yethôn pwè, the washing of the images. It is not to be supposed that these really require cleansing any more than the recluses do, but it renders them myatta-thappè, an expression not to be rendered by many words in English. It combines all the meanings of cleanliness, beauty, stateliness, proper position, majesty, and repose; and the laving with water is merely a recognition of this fact. The work is usually done by women, and they reverently clamber up and capsize their silver and earthenware goblets of water over the placid features. There are scores of them at work, and the ceremony is soon finished. Then all set off home again, and the jovial part of the festivities begin. All along the road are urchins with squirts and syringes, made of tin and bamboo, with which they have been furtively practising for the last few days, and their experience develops itself in extreme accuracy in catching you with a stream of water in the ear. Young men and girls salute one another mostly with cups and goblets of water, and stifled screams and shouts of merriment rise everywhere. Before breakfast every one is soaked, but no one changes, for it is fine warm weather. and there is lots more water to come,

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During the day there is a regular going round to pay the compliments of the season. It was a great kadaw day in the palace at Mandalay, and all the nobles and officials went to "beg-pardon," and worship at the golden feet—not with water, however. Similarly inferiors pay their respects to their superiors and masters, children to their parents, scholars to their teachers, and juniors generally to seniors There is water everywhere, more especially on those parts of your dress which cling most uncomfortably to you. The girls are the most enthusiastic in the matter, and as they generally go in bands and have a copious reservoir in the shape of big jars along with them, the unprotected male is routed in no time. Some zealous people go down to the river or creek, wade into the water knee-deep, and splash

and full dress on a cushion, the centre of the crowd of people who have been invited for feasting, to have the ears pierced with a gold pin and after this always to wear diamond ear-rings, but the ceremony has no deeper significance than that the parent feels he has done the best for his daughter at this stage of her life. The shinbyu, however, is much more than a social event. It has a religious meaning of the fullest beauty. 881 585

Although the women of Burma figure as actively and have the same rights as men in the fields of business, property, and professions of the modern world, we always keep alive in us the religious feeling that we are "below" mankind. It is not so much a feeling that women are a lower race as that a man has the nobility of manhood in him. We call it *hpon*, the glory, the holiness of a man, and we respect this not with subservience but with the same feelings as we respect monks and parents. A wife does not throw her longyi across her husband's bed, she does not touch any of his possessions with her feet in carelessness, she uses a separate mug for her bathwater. A bad wife who does not respect her husband's manhood does him the greatest harm, for a man cannot prosper if his hpon is hampered; indeed, some women who indulge in black magic deliberately *hpon-nein* their husbands, that is, lower his hpon by carelessly wielding brooms above his head, throwing women's longyis on his pillow, thus making him subordinate, and believing that this makes the wife's will prevail over the husband's. But such a man can never make progress in his career. 562 784 789

It is the Buddhist belief that the attainment of a perfect life is as a man, as shown in Gautama Buddha's life as Prince Siddhartha. Prince Siddhartha was the son of King Suddhodana, who surrounded his son with all the luxury and splendour that his kingdom on the slopes of the Himalayas could offer. To prevent his son from renouncing his princely life for one of poverty and meditation he kept all sights of sorrow, sickness and decay hidden from him. He found him a perfect wife, beautiful, meek and affectionate, who bore him a son; but the prince in his excursions to a park in the city came across a decrepit old man, a sick old man and a corpse, which sights made him sad at the thought of human misery in this world. The next time, however, he saw a hermit which suggested that peace of mind was achievable by renunciation of the vanities of the world. On the night that his son was born, Prince Siddhartha made the Great Renunciation and left everything to go into solitude and find out the cause of misery, and the means of its removal. The Dhammapada says of the world: 779

> Come! behold this world which is like a decked royal chariot, wherein the foolish immerse themselves; but for the wise there is no attachment.

23: Brant & Mi Mi Khaing E, I-5 (1949-1950)1951
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593 husband's kinfolk. Post-marital residence is independent and is decided very
[591] largely on the basis of economic opportunity. The wife's opportunities for social intercourse with her family of orientation are, of course, greatest when residence is established in her home village; if, however, a couple from different villages marry and find it most opportune to settle in the husband's community, the
[574] chances are that the wife will maintain contact with her family of orientation by
[582] visits from time to time; such marriages seldom unite persons from villages that are very far apart. The very structural features of bilaterality and absence of extension militate against inequality and male domination.

562 Burmese culture is frequently remarked for the equality of the sexes, in con-
593 trast to the neighboring cultures of India and China. This status of the sexes seems to be the resultant historically of two patterns of thought. One is an apparently very old, pre-Buddhist emphasis upon equality, involving equal inheri-
[428] tance, equal sharing of the property brought to the marriage, equal division of
[586] property upon divorce, a prominent female role in social and economic life, and an absence of transmission of surnames. The other thought pattern dates from the superimposition of Buddhism upon older Burmese conceptions: whatever
[177] ideas of male superiority exist in Burmese life stem from Buddhist notions of
[775] reincarnation. Although Buddha never expressed himself explicitly on the matter, it is taken for granted that only a male can attain Nirvana, since Gautama Buddha, who attained that state, was a male.

462 In the family household the wife's role includes not only such routine tasks as
592 the preparation of food and serving of meals, keeping the house orderly and clean, and looking after small children; very often it involves control of the family income and the making of all important decisions as to expenditures.

Certain observances and taboos, reflective of deference to males, are expected
593 of the female partner in marriage. She is careful that her lower garments do not
● 784 touch her husband's bed or his personal belongings; she avoids touching her husband's head. It is believed that the breaking of such taboos may ruin the husband's success and glory, especially his spiritual attainments. These injunctions are followed as a matter of course by Burmese wives and will be broken deliberately only as an act of spite by a woman who wishes to harm or lower her husband for some reason.

593 Despite the various equalitarian aspects of husband-wife relations, there is
837 a tendency towards a double standard of sexual behavior. A husband who has reason to believe that his wife is engaging in extra-marital affairs is very likely
[586] to display violent anger, beat her, and break up the marriage. The wife of a

23: Brant & Mi Mi Khaing E, I-5 (1949-1950)1951
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888 To the Burmese, long life is a great blessing and an indication of merit earned. Long life is prayed for and old age greatly idealized.

The ideal aged person is one who has successfully reared a family, has grandchildren and a certain amount of material wealth. The aged are expected to be 887 retiring and unobtrusive in their behavior. They do not go out visiting very much; they eat less food; and avoid appearing too well dressed or jeweled when attending religious observances.

An attitude of resignation characterizes the outlook of the aged person in Burmese society. It is unheard of that aged people should work: a possible ex- [622] ception is the village headman, who, it is felt, should be a person of long experience. When aged people live with their children they assume the role of teachers of their grandchildren. Most of the time of elderly people is spent in activities centering around the pagodas and monasteries, organizing of religious festivals, and raising funds for the monks and charities. In fact, they take leading roles in such activities.

The elderly members of the household arise early to see that rice is cooked for the daily offering to the monks and to insure that the household altar is properly looked after. It is preferable for them to arise before dawn, for to do so is considered very meritorious.

●[784] Certain of the taboos that apply to younger people, mostly those connected with death, do not apply to the aged.

761 *Death and Funeral Observances.* To the Burmese, the decline of the human body is part of the inevitable course of nature. When this occurs the soul must [775] leave. The butterfly is the symbol of life: when a person dies, "the butterfly leaves his body."

763 When death approaches, valuables, such as jewelry, are removed from the person and the death-bed, because people are reluctant to use anything with which a person dies. These things are given to the monastery. A relative chants as the person is dying, to fix his mind upon the truths of Buddhism and to divert it from worldly goods and ties of kinship.

764 As soon as death has occurred, everyone present cries and wails. Before rigor mortis sets in, relatives bathe the corpse, using a new water pot for the purpose and pouring the water over the body from foot to head, the opposite direction from that practiced by the living. If the water pot must be refilled at all, this [801] must be done an odd number of times. The pot is then put outside the house, upside down, and anyone outside the family of the deceased may take it. Then

face from bringing something off, money is paid in advance, rush tactics 593
are employed to prevent the man returning from abroad from marrying
the sweetheart of his college days, and in some cases even magic is resor- 584
ted to, though in secret. This black magic, especially, involves some 554
very undignified actions. A younger cousin of mine once warned his 177-
mother: "Please, Mother, never try to sell me like a bullock, or worse 58
still to arrange a marriage for my sister. I will not help you to jump
thrice on eggshells or throw ten viss of fish into a well at dead of night [789]
under instructions from a soothsayer."

Although marriages were constantly being arranged among our [585]
circle of friends in Thaton, I was not allowed to attend weddings as a 527
young unmarried girl. What we did attend regularly with the grown-
ups were the *u-bok-nay*, the duty day gatherings every week in the
resthouses among the hills. On these days Buddhists who choose to
observe the day, obey eight or ten precepts instead of five. Amongst
these ten are the abstaining from food after mid-day, absence of ornament
and cosmetics in dress, meditation and prayer, and absence of a high
couch in sleep. In Thaton the observance of this day was made the
weekly social event with the same combination of material enjoyment
and religious piety that characterizes all Burmese functions as described
previously. Each family went to the hills early in the morning with
mats, betel boxes and a well-cooked meal. The girls wore all the [556]
jewellery they had because we had not yet taken the precepts, and this
was a good chance of showing that a family did not lack wealth. We
met in the resthouses, to one of which a monk came to intone the pre-
cepts. These we repeated in chorus after him; then the elders talked
and chewed betel, and at about 10-30 the whole party went to bathe in
the pools made by the waterfalls down the hills. We went back to find
the pooled dishes of four or five families laid out in a rich feast. We
stuffed ourselves with this. The law states that food should not be eaten
after noon, and the law was always obeyed in the letter if not in the spirit.

One maiden lady in Rangoon who kept duty days regularly ate till 785
as near noon as she possibly could. She usually finished her meal with
fruit, and if she was eating a banana when noon struck with a loud bang 527
from the cannon at the Shwe Dagon Pagoda, "Haw!" she would ex-
claim, and in would go the whole length of the banana into her mouth.
After noon, tea and coffee are not allowed either but aerated waters,
which look so much like water, are sanctioned. When my husband was
a novice monk in the monastery, they were allowed medicinal pro-
ducts also after noon, and the hungry young novices often made a [278]
delicious soup of garlic (a digestive) fried in butter (medicinal compo-
nent), and water poured on to the fragrant compound.

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

792 735 177-79 indeed in any monastery at all, even in Mandalay, it would be promptly put a stop to. But where the monks themselves show the example of carnal weakness, the probationers cannot be expected to maintain the old austerity.

792 779 The shin is subject in every way to the discipline of the monastery, but there are very few additional rules really incumbent on him. He has to observe always the Sè-ba Thila, the ten commandments. Five of these are obligatory on all Buddhists at all times: the other five are supposed to be incumbent upon laymen only on sacred days and during Lent. The five universal commandments are:—

1. Thou shalt not take any life at all.
2. Thou shalt not steal.
3. Thou shalt not commit adultery.
4. Thou shalt not lie.
5. Thou shalt not drink intoxicating liquor.

The additional five are:

6. Thou shalt not eat after mid-day.
7. Thou shalt not sing, dance, or play on any musical instrument.
8. Thou shalt not use cosmetics, or colour the face.
9. Thou shalt not sit, stand, or sleep on platforms or elevated places not proper for thee.
10. Thou shalt not touch gold or silver.

785 796 These latter five are, it has been said, imposed upon laymen on sacred days, but the burden is very light, the people observing them or not, accordingly as they are observing the "duty-day." If they are not "keeping the feast," they conduct themselves precisely as they would on any other day, and buy and sell and attend pwès in their ordinary fashion.

779 792 This laxity is, of course, not open to the shins, but it cannot be said that the regulations, except perhaps as to eating, are very irksome. The seventh and eighth commandments seem by themselves peculiar, but they refer to filthy habits more explicitly set forth in the Patimauk, or book of the enfranchisement, containing the 227 sins which

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma (Indians)AP1
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Brahmin priests were originally brought captives from Manipur, and have been employed as astrologers ever since, their ranks being occasionally recruited by new arrivals. One of the requests preferred to Colonel Symes on his embassy to Ava in 1796 was that he would persuade the Governor-General to send a learned Brahmin and his wife to the capital. The race has been maintained tolerably pure, and the Pônna is readily distinguishable in the streets from the pôngyi. The astrologers muster naturally in greatest force in Mandalay, and their monastery there is situated in a magnificent grove of trees south of the town, and close to the cemeteries. Unlike the native religious, they do not raise their houses on posts above the ground, but follow the Indian custom of having the mat-covered earth for their floor. Foreigners are not admitted into their temples, but there is no objection to the images being brought out by a Pônna for exhibition to his friends. They worship Krishna and twenty-five other deities, but have all but no congregation, few of their faith coming to Mandalay, and those laymen who were carried away at the same time as themselves into captivity having turned to the Buddhist faith.

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No yahan is allowed to have a separate monastery built for him until he has spent five full Wā under the discipline of a prior. These Lents must also be consecutive. According to their seniority in this respect the monks obtain names. Thus a pyin-sin who has spent five years—which of course is implied by the Wā—is called Anuti, and is a fit object for the pious to honour by erecting a special kyaung for him. When he has been ten years in the order he is addressed as Myizza-ti, and those who have remained steadfastly for twenty years, attain to the full honour of Mahā-ti. Such a self-denying man is always sure of a magnificent funeral when he dies.

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It is a very good point about the life in the monastery that the great austerities and absurd mortifications of the flesh indulged in by the Brahminical houses find no place with the Buddhists, who reject them as unnecessary and unprofitable. The life of the initiated is one of constant self-denial; all superfluities and luxuries are renounced; all that is calculated to excite the passions is forbidden; but there

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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785 792 are no revolting self-inflicted penances such as are regarded as meritorious in themselves by the followers of the Hindu creed. Fasts and penitential deeds are indeed recommended to those living in the world, but that is because such methods are the best means for weakening the passions, and increasing the power of the spirit as against the flesh. They are not a part of perfection. They are not even on the direct way to the attainment of perfection. That is only to be achieved by meditation, by pondering on the various aspects of the substances and truths in the world. Therefore the pyin-sin do not make any difference, except in the case of the very austere, in the observance of the appointed duty days, during which it is incumbent on the laity to abstain from food up till mid-day. After noontide the yahan never eats. Considerable scandal is sometimes caused by the tricks of sundry of the weaker vessels. They sit all day with their back to the sun, and if in the afternoon they feel hungry, they ask a scholar if it is yet noon. The wily kyaung-tha, thinking to escape a thrashing on the morrow, promptly answers that it is a good way off twelve o'clock yet, and brings wherewithal to solace the hungry religious. The falsehood, or *suppressio veri*, on the part of the scholar is a venial offence at his age, and the yahan escapes sin, for if he breaks the law it is 805 because he was deceived. Again, Englishmen are often puzzled to know, in a country where, even now, clocks are by no means common, and where they are found, usually show the wrong time, how it is that the people know what o'clock it is. The matter is simple enough when the sun is to be seen, for its course is pretty nearly the same all the year round, and the Burman is tolerably skilled in guessing the time from its height or from the length of the shadows thrown. But it is different during the rainy season, when the sun is often not to be seen for weeks at a time. Here, however, so say the yahans, whom it most seriously concerns, a singular dispensation of nature steps in to their aid. The cocks and hens of Buddhist countries are not as the tame villatic fowl of Western lands. I do not refer to their powers of flying, which are sufficiently irritating to hungry life-taking voyagers, but to the fact that the cocks crow at stated hours, four times a day—at sunrise, noon, sundown, and midnight.

:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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actual earthly existence. Occasionally an energetic Sadaw excommunicates all the Paramats under his jurisdiction, and forbids all the laity to sell to them, or have any communication whatever with them, but as a rule they are let alone. The movement is too feeble to threaten any real danger to religion, and has never gained many adherents among the laity. 795 779

It is a different matter with the rival parties of the Mahagandi and the Sulagandi. Here there are no heretical doctrines in dispute; it is simply a question of greater adherence to the strict rule of the Order. Instead of, as in the early days of the Assembly, one party crying out against the too great austerity of the majority, it is a sturdy protest of a minority within the Church against the lamentable weakness and laxity of the great body of the Order in the observance of the precepts of the Book of the Enfranchisement. The quarrel is at present limited to Lower Burma, where the greater wealth of the country and the introduction of foreign luxuries among the laity have led to corresponding indulgences in many of the monasteries, against which the Sulagandis protest and preach with feverish energy. The austere party is strongest in Maulmein, Henzada, and Pegu, and faction feeling runs so high that street fights between the scholars of the two sects are very common, and often so embittered that the English authorities have to interfere to restore peace in the town, for the laity take sides with equally bitter animosity. 795 785

The questions in dispute are entirely matters of discipline. The Puritan party, as the Sulagandi may very well be called, denounce the habit, which is becoming very frequent, of wearing silk robes. The Kammawā sets forth that the thengan should be stitched together of rags picked up in the streets or in the graveyards, and such panthagu thengans the Sulagandis wear and glory in. The Mahagandis, on the other hand, have been gradually becoming more and more luxurious. At first new cloth was torn into irregular pieces, and then sewn together. Latterly it has been considered sufficient to tear a corner and stitch it up again, or perhaps only to rip a portion of a seam, and from this to the wearing of silk garments was no very great step.

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The Puritan party declare that this is simply a scandalous playing with the letter of the law. Again, the Sulagandis eat out of the alms-bowl as it comes in from the morning round, whereas the Mahagandis empty out the thabeit into plates and make as palatable a meal as possible from their collections, which, on the face of it, is a pandering to fleshly weakness. Others, much more bold in their backsliding, do not hesitate to have a special meal cooked for them every morning by the Kyaung-tha-gyi, and sit down to it smoking hot, after their morning's perambulation, while the begging-bowl is handed over to poor people staying in the monastery, or emptied out for the benefit of the dogs and crows. No sophistry, one would think, could explain away this Sybaritism, but the Mahagandis have the assurance to try to make a merit of it, saying that the money expended by the Kappiya-dayaka on the materials for the breakfast is the proceeds of the sale of previous offerings of the pious—rugs, blankets, lamps, and so on—and by thus making use of it, not only do the people gain merit for their gifts of food, but the monks themselves are enabled to extend their charity to the poor or the birds of the air. That is a severe straining of the command that the Ariya should live by alms.

Similarly when the Mahagandi goes abroad he wears sandals on his feet, and protects his shaven crown from the rays of the sun with an umbrella. The austere brother walks the streets barefooted and bareheaded; even though his head may ache and his feet be blistered with the shimmering heat of high noon. Only when he is on a long journey does the Sulagandi allow himself such superfluities as sandals or umbrella. The Mahagandi will receive coin in his own hands, covered by a handkerchief; the Sulagandi will not take it even through the instrumentality of a pupil, or off a ngwe-pa-detha, a rupee-hung tree, at Tawadeintha feast time. Pwès on feast days, or even in the neighbourhood of the pagodas, are denounced by the reforming party; so are balloons with fireworks in them; the habit many monks have fallen into of going to visit Englishmen, with no other object than curiosity; and above all the noisy saturnalia in the monasteries at the end of Lent which

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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have become so common in Rangoon. It will thus be seen that the great point at issue is the maintenance of the original humble character of the brotherhood. The different vernacular presses of Rangoon flood the country with controversial tracts written by both parties, and the laity adopt sides and carry polemical discussions into private life. So fierce had the quarrel become, that in 1880 one of the most learned and venerated of the Mandalay heads of the Church, the Thinkazā Sadaw, came down to settle the question. He was received everywhere with extraordinary honours. At Danubyu the whole of the populace lined the path up to the monastery prepared for him, and kneeling down, threw their hair across the way, so that from the river-bank to the steps of the kyaung he walked all the way on a carpet of human tresses. But he did not settle which party was in the right. After making abundant inquiries and hearing the most prominent advocates on either side, he halted at Henzada and announced that he was about to give his decision. Unfortunately it came to his ears that in that town, as well as in several others, the Ariya had been betting freely as to which way he would give his judgment. Thereupon the Sadaw grew furious, denounced both parties alike, and refused to say anything which would countenance the claims of either sect. He remained for a considerable time in the low country, giving numerous addresses for the building up of religion, but never on any occasion throwing out a hint as to which way he leaned, further than that both parties should give way a little and refrain from exhibiting such scandalous dissensions before the heretics. The warfare was calmed for a space, but the old fierce denunciations have broken out again. The opposing abbots bid their lay supporters refrain from giving alms to the rival sect. They recommend all the penalties of excommunication without having the power to go through the formal ceremony. But though the Mahagandis have the greater number of followers, the self-denying Sulagandis have all the more earnest and rightly-thinking men on their side and will probably prevail in the end, though a new great synod may have to be held before that is effected. The head of the reforming party is U Ôkgansa, a learned Sadaw, whose monastery is at Ôkpo

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2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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in the Tharrawadi district. He was at one time invited to go up to Mandalay to assume the control of a Kyaung and spend the rest of his days there. The Burmese Government offered to send down a royal steamer with high dignitaries to escort him to the capital, but the sturdy old "Bishop" refused to forsake his party until he should be persuaded that its principles would gain the victory in the end. And so no doubt they will, for not even the most casual observer can fail to see that they, in their bare ascetic monasteries, are far nearer to the ideal of the founder than the Mahagandis with all the appliances of their richly-stocked abiding-places.

14: Brant E-5 (1949-50) 1954 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

to worship. These are the eighth day of the waxing of the moon, full moon day, the eighth day of the waning moon, and a day during the transition to the new moon. The second and fourth of these are considered especially sacred. On these duty days all work in the village ceases and the public school is closed. The people go, usually in family groups, to the monastery. There they say prayers before the images of the Buddha and present gifts to the monks. For a good many, a large portion of the day, after the visit to the monastery, is passed in social visiting and in generally relaxing. For the more devout, usually the elderly people, the duty days are more serious; they abstain from food and drink after midday until the following sunrise, spending the day in silent meditation and prayer. 796 [887]

Ceremonies

Thingyan, the New Year. Throughout the year a number of the Burmese religious festivals are celebrated in Tadagale. We may begin with the New Year festival, which occurs in April, beginning on or about April 13th, according to the determination made by astrologers.

Traditionally, the New Year festival calls for visiting the pagodas and monasteries and washing the images of the Buddha, after which one calls upon his elders and sprinkles them gently with scented water from a silver bowl. The young men of the village go from house to house, dancing and singing to the accompaniment of an orchestra. At each house they sprinkle water on the elders and ask them to call out the young girls. The girls are likewise sprinkled with water by means of a flower carried in the bowls.

In Tadagale today, many of the traditional customs of the New Year are still observed. Preparatory to the holiday, houses are swept and compounds cleared of all refuse. Everything is made clean and orderly. The images of the Buddha are washed, elders are called upon, sprinkled with water, and wished well. But, as in many parts of the country, the New Year festival has tended to take on a rather secularized character in modern times. Water sprinkling has become water throwing; groups of people, especially youngsters, go into the towns in carts or trucks, armed with buckets of water which they throw at passers-by. The name 'Water Festival' which has been given to the New Year celebration is singularly appropriate, since water-throwing and associated hilarity has overshadowed the sacred significance of the occasion. Some villagers go into Rangoon for the celebration, where everyone engages in dousing everyone he encounters (monks excepted), utilising every means from buckets to large hoses attached to city water hydrants. These activities are in contrast with the traditionally serious, sacred character of the New Year as conceived by older villagers. The schoolmaster of the community, a middle-aged man with many years of religious training, spoke of the New Year: 796 178 527

> Thingyan is the New Year festival, but the villagers do not know the significance of the festival. They know only that it is a feast day and a holiday and a day for having fun. In reality there should be no frivolity on New Year's day; it is a day on which one should fast and pray, for one is now one year older and therefore nearer death. One should meditate on the futility of frivolity as compared with the blessedness of deeds of merit.

Waso, the Buddhist Lent. In July, on the full moon day of the month of Waso, there begins a sacred period of some three months, corresponding closely 796 785.

796 with the rainy season. The Buddhist monks take vows to live strictly by the Buddhist precepts and not to spend a single night away from the monastery during
● 785 this time. The laity pledge to observe the fast from noon of the weekly duty day to the following dawn, an observance that at other times of the year is carried out by few people. Marriage must not take place during this sacred period; engagement contracted before the beginning of Waso should be consummated in marriage before the period begins, not carried over to its close.

On the full moon day that inaugurates this sacred period, the villagers make gifts of robes to the monks. Households sometimes pool money in a common fund from which the robes are purchased. The robes may be sent to the monastery or the monks may be invited to a donor's house to be fed and presented with the garb.

On the following day, the young people of the village go out in small groups to pick the 'Waso flower,' the flower of the Padauk tree (Pterocarpus sp.). In the evening, dressed in their finest clothes, they offer these flowers to the image of the Buddha that stands to one side of the main path of the village, about halfway between the northern and southern ends of Tadagale. Some travel to Rangoon to make their flower offering at the Shwe Dagon pagoda, the most famous of Buddhist shrines in Burma.

796 Thadingyut, the Festival of Lights. For three months, from the first day after the full moon of the month of Waso, until the first day after the full moon of Thadingyut (October) it is believed that the Lord Buddha is in the land of the spirits preaching to his mother. On the first day after the full moon of Thadingyut he is said to return to the world of human beings. For this occasion, lanterns are lit and houses are gaily decorated with them. The lanterns are made of colored paper, shaped into small cylinders and placed around a saucer in which there is a kerosene-soaked wick. Villagers nowadays purchase these lanterns ready-made in the bazaars of Rangoon and use candles rather than wicks in them. All over Rangoon, and along the road between Tadagale and the city, colored lanterns are lit and hung around the houses, fences and hedges, providing a bright and glittering spectacle. Many villagers go to Rangoon to see the lights at this time.

796 Kahtein, a Ceremony of Offerings to Monks. Between the day following the full moon of Thadingyut and the day after the full moon of Tassungmon (November) the villagers observe Kahtein. On this occasion of giving gifts to the monks,
735 the offerings are on a larger scale than those of individual households at other times of the year.

The village headman collects money from each house in the village for this observance. A total of about Rs. 1000 (ca. $200) is gathered to purchase gifts for each of the four monasteries located near the community. The presentation ceremonies for the various monasteries are held on different days, and many villagers attend all of them.

The purchasing of the gifts for the monks is entrusted to the headman. This is done in Rangoon and includes robes, food-carriers, utensils, crockery, brooms, and fans.

The ceremony takes place at the monastery. Each family cooks a meal of rice, curry and a sweet dish. All the food is pooled, and after the monks have partaken of their morning meal, the villagers eat. Music, dancing and singing

16;Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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months depends all their maintenance for the rest of the year. Every man, every woman, every child, has hard work of some kind or another. 132 241

And so, what with the difficulties of travelling, what with the work there is to do, and what with the custom of Lent, everyone stays at home. It is the time for prayer, for fasting, for improving the soul. Many men during these months will live even as the monks live, will eat but before mid-day, will abstain from tobacco. There are no plays during Lent, and there are no marriages. It is the time for preparing the land for the crop; it is the time for preparing the soul for eternity. The congregations on the Sundays will be far greater at this time than at any other; there will be more thought of the serious things of life. 132 796 785

It is a very long Lent—three months; but with the full moon of October comes the end. The rains then are over; the great black bank of clouds that walled up all the south so long is gone. The south wind has died away, and the light, fresh north wind is coming down the river. The roads are drying up, the work in the fields is over for a time, awaiting the ripening of the grain. The damp has gone out of the air, and it is very clear. You can see once more the purple mountains that you have missed so long; there is a new feeling in the wind, a laughter in the sunshine, a flush of blossom along the fields like the awakening of a new joy. The rains are over and the cool weather is coming; Lent is over and gladness is returned; the crop has been sown, and soon will come the reaping. And so at this full moon of October is the great feast of the 132 796 [241]

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

31. SHINLAUNG ARRAYED FOR HIS FETE.

the home of the Buddha. In order to accentuate the renunciation of the world which the lad is making, he is arrayed and attended like a prince and makes a royal progress on horseback or in a chariot to the monastery. Attendants bear gilt umbrellas over him, and a retinue of relatives and friends carry his *parčikaya* and offerings for the use of the monastery. The *parčikaya* are the eight chattels, to the possession of which the regular recluse (*yahán*) is restricted. They consist of the *thingán* or monastic yellow robes, *viz.*, the loin-cloth (*thimbáing*), upper cloth (*eyasí*), wrapper (*thingán-dyí*), and red girdle (*kabán*); a needle (*at*), wherewith to piece his clothing together, a hard-baked black earthen pot (*thabčit*) in which to collect the morning dole of food, a filter (*yezit*) to strain the drinking water clear of living things, and a razor (*thindón-dá*) to shave the head and face (excepting the eyebrows). The garments are of plain cloth, without any cut, but torn into strips and joined up again (by the donors) in commemoration of the primitive rule of piecing the garments together from rags, as well as to deprive the cloth of value. The cloth is mostly cotton, but silk and wool are also offered. The stuffs are dyed a bright ochre, with chips of Jack-wood. By repeated washings the colour deepens to tan. These varying shades produce a picturesque effect. The recluse customarily also receives sandals to wear, a deer-skin to sit and sleep upon, a broom to sweep his dwelling with, and a large palm-leaf fan, both for a shelter from the sun and a screen from the sight of womankind. The *thabčit* is slung in a yellow cotton net, and has a lacquerwork stand and cover. In respect of chattels, however, these primitive tokens of privation have sunk to a form. The recluses have many changes of raiment and the use of spacious dwellings

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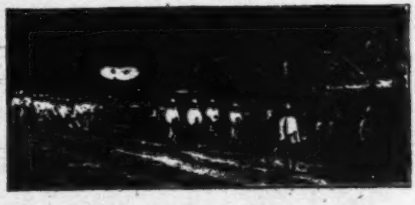

32. SHINLAUNG PAGEANT (BURMA PROPER).

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25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
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41. YAHAN ON THE ROUND FOR GUN.

towards the higher spiritual condition of *Ayahát* and *Ayáttapô*. The primitive appellation is *Beikku* (Pâli *Bikku*), one dependent on alms. The spiritual state preceding *Yahán*, that of the man so imbued with the spirit of the Buddha's teaching as to desire membership of his Assembly, is called *Thawtapan*. The candidate for full membership must possess the qualifications for the degree of *goyín*, in addition to a knowledge of the rule of life of the *yahán* and a modicum of religious learning. Most *yahán* are *ngè-byu*—pure from youth—that is, have passed direct from their youthful novitiate to full membership. Men of any condition may be received, and at any age above twenty, if free from debt and other ties, but must undergo a fresh probation. Over and above the precepts observed by the *goyín*, the *yahán* observes one hundred detailed injunctions. He must not merely respect life, but also the means to life. He may not wantonly injure a blade of grass. Cleanliness is particularly enjoined. A notable injunction is not to lay up any store of food. He must not use a raised sleeping-place, though by day he reclines on the couches presented to the monastery. The *yahán* sweeps his dwelling, draws water, washes his clothing, and so forth, when there are not *goyín* or lay-disciples to perform these services for him. Otherwise his occupations are only those of teaching, study, and contemplation. In Lent the *yahán* remains indoors from sunset to sunrise. At this season he also frequently selects a forest retreat for contemplation in the early morning hours (*twassaung*). The *yahán* practises confession to his brethren of the Assembly, all of whom are equals, but who defer to one another, according to seniority, which is reckoned

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42. BUDDHIST RECLUSE.

23: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
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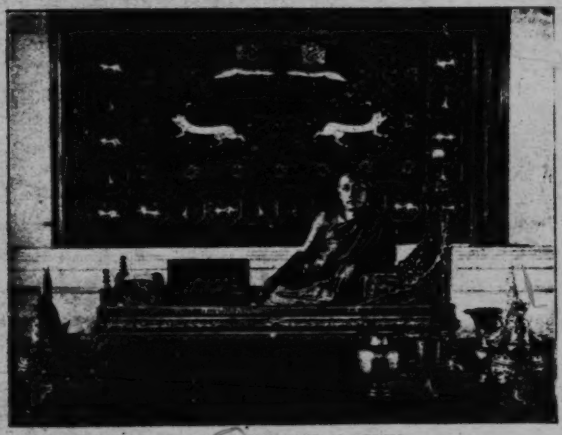
792 and doctrine. Such a group is called *gaing*, and its president *gaing-ôk*, his
779 deputy *gaing-dauk*. In the same way a group recognise a *Sadáw—Sayá-daw*, or chief teacher. The whole body again defer to a chief *Sadáw*, usually the



54. YAHAN INSTALLED AS PONDYI.

yahán who has been religious instructor to the King during his novitiate, and who is called *Thôthanabáing*.

792 In reaction against the comfort with which the laity endow the monasteries,
● 785 the *yahán* periodically repair to country retreats for ten or twenty days at a time, either singly or in camps of many, for the sake of cultivating primitive me. Here each *yahán* has a dwelling of the narrowest compass and makes shift with the mere chattels ordained in the canon. But the laity, ever ready to minister to the *yahán*, convert these camps into centres of festivity for the

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55. WUSSAUNG CAMP.

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25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

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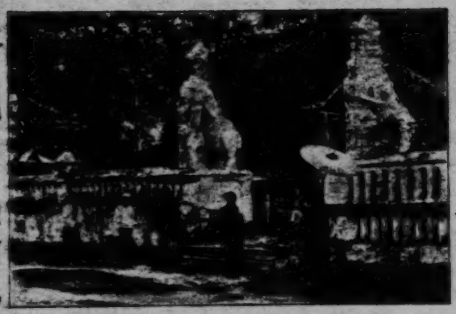

56. YAHAN PASSING THE STREETS.

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whole country-side. The camp is laid out in the rice-fields after harvest, in the form of a square, with a pavilion in the middle for the *yahán* to meet and practise confession (*âbo-pye*). There are a few *yahán* who do not settle in a *kyaung*, but wander from place to place, in the primitive way, the people providing them with temporary shelter.

The *yahán* make journeys to the seats of learning and the *kyaungs* of their former teachers, and make pilgrimages to shrines. A few travel as far as Ceylon and Buddha Gâya in Bahâr. On such journeys the *yahán* is accompanied by a scholar or attendant deputed by the *kyaungtagâ* to carry provisions and money, which the *yahán* may not handle. When not collecting their *sun*, the *yahán* go abroad with attendants and carry umbrellas, or suffer such to be carried over them, and wear sandals. The *yahán* allow themselves to be driven in ox and buffalo carts; but do not drive or mount an animal or avail themselves of horse-draught. They travel by boat, steamer, and rail. Aged *yahán* are carried on a litter (*yin, waw*).

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The *kyaung*, primarily a shelter for the *yahán*, has, in virtue of his occupation, come to be a school. It is at first established on the outskirts of a settlement or at some distance away from it. Secular buildings are not erected within the shadow of a religious building. But the growth of towns brings the houses up to the precincts (*parawún*) of the *kyaung*, which stands within a liberal enclosure, planted with fruit-trees. The *kyaung* as such has no particular style. The superposed roofs and decorated spires (*pyatthat*) of the votive *kyaung* are emblems of secular state, added to confer distinction.

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57. YAHAN ON HIS JOURNEY.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
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88. METHILA ON THE ROUND FOR SUN.

struggles. Apart from this and the serfdom referred to at p. 32, slavery has only played a subordinate *rôle* in Burma within historic times. The *payadyún*, and they alone, are treated as outcasts by both of these populations. They beg for alms and also appropriate the offerings brought to the shrines in profusion at festivals. Their right to beg is admitted, although they frequently accumulate money and build fine houses.

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Lepers (*anû*) in many cases quit their families of their own accord and settle in the *payadyún* colony. In some places they were compelled to do so. The settlements have thus acquired the semblance of leper colonies. There are a few country villages of this character. Indigent lepers beg for alms. In 1891 there were 6,000 lepers in Burma, the highest ratio in the Indian Empire. There are now four leper asylums. Casual mendicancy is almost unknown in Burma.

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787 The Burman and Brahman soothsayers (p. 158) are regular frequenters of the shrines. The Burman astrologer (*hedín-sayá*) casts horoscopes on the
803 Brahman model (No. 279) and designates the days auspicious for undertakings. He takes his name from proficiency in reckoning, and is consulted about business calculations that cannot be done mentally.

88. SOOTHSAYER.

796 The Buddhist duty-days (*ôbôt-ne, thadín*) follow the quarters of the moon.
785 They are kept regularly during lent. On these days the pious laity of both sexes and sedate years observe the rule of *pôthudaw* and *méthila* from sunrise to sunrise (*ôbôt-saung*). They adopt sober attire, or else white cotton clothing, which is considered the plainest of any. In the forenoon men and women separately repair to the temple rest-houses, whither food for the morning meal, which has been collected the previous evening from religious donors

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25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
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90. PAYA SUN-KAN.

(*Payá sun-kan*), or privately prepared, is conveyed. The day is devoted to contemplation, and the night is [illegible]ed at the *zayát*. Those who keep the duty-day present offerings at the *zedi* and the adjoining *kyaung*. At either of these places a *yahán* is invited to rehearse the precepts, which the laity chant verse by verse after his lead (*thlla-kan*). Passages from other scriptures are added, with their interpretations. This is called *Tayá-haw*—the preaching of the Law. The great Mun King, Yazadiyit of Pegu, in the year 1400 A.D., is reported to have been so impressed by the preaching of a *yahán* that he abandoned a campaign on which he had embarked. More than once in Burman history the peaceful contest of building rival temples has been substituted for battle by opposing armies.

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The Buddha has passed out of existence. While existent, all that the Buddha could accomplish for any being was the human service of showing him the way to work out deliverance by individual effort. Self-reliance is the cardinal principle. There is none to hear prayer. The true significance of the popular worship is not apprehended unless this be borne in mind. No virtue can surpass that of the Inestimable Master (*Myasswa Payá*) who fulfilled the Law and bequeathed it to men. To cultivate the memory of his transcendent merit is itself meritorious in the first degree. Such is the personal side of the cult, to which the effigies of the founder appeal. Before the images of the Buddha are performed the gestures of homage, and are placed offerings symbolical of veneration — tapers lighted at the shrine, flowers

91. YAHAN RECITING THE PRECEPTS (TAYA-HAW).

29: Slater M-4 (no date) 1951 AP1 Burma
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every man in a yellow robe is fully ordained, and not every ordained monk is a scholar. There are Brother Junipers who have little more learning than the average farmer. On the other hand, there are laymen who have advanced a considerable way in higher studies and disciplines. The Lēdī Sayādaw's manual on the Exercises, for example, is written for laymen.[42] Thus between the scholar and the simple villager there is a mediating world, composed both of monks and laymen.

Through this mediating world, the moderating influence of scholarly orthodoxy filters down to the realm of popular Buddhism where imagination roves more freely.

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Here, however, we are met by another objection which, if true, cancels the first. There are so few scholars, it is said, so few really learned *monks* that their influence is negligible. The ordinary monk is not scholarly enough. He is just as much swayed by primitive superstitions as the people he instructs or fails to instruct. He is idle, ignorant and often dissolute. The last criticism need not detain us. Nearly every book on Burma debates the character of the monks. Few fail to acknowledge that, in general, the monks live up to their ideal of chastity. Father Sangermano, who was certainly no indulgent critic, even goes further and suggests that in this respect they might serve as an example to the religious of his own Church. He adds that an offender is expelled by indignant villagers, 'even driving him away with stones' — an observation which reminds us that the most vigilant critics of the monks may be the Burmese people themselves.[43] The Burmese name for monk, *pōn-gyī*, means 'great glory.' Since there is no suggestion of priestly or Brahmanical power, since the value of the monks depends on their *kutho* and their *kutho* on their character, it is difficult to believe that they could have retained this title and the esteem in which they are generally held, if they had been as unworthy as some of their harsher critics suggest.[44] As to their knowledge, whilst nobody would claim that every wearer of the yellow robe is a scholar, we have only to glance at such a survey as Bode's *Pali Literature* to realise that there has been a persistent tradition of Pali learning in Burma since the eleventh century which tends to orthodoxy and could not have failed to impress itself, in some degree, on the mind of the people.

[42] *The Vipassanā Dīpanī, or The Manual of Insight*, trans. by U Nyāna (Mandalay: no date).

[43] Op. cit., chaps. XIV, pp. 115–16.

[44] On the character of the monks, cf. *M.B.B.*, pp. 20, 21, 62; Bigandet, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 260, 270 ff.; Fielding Hall, *The Soul of a People*, chap. X, pp. 134 ff.; Nisbet, *Burma under British Rule*, p. 147; Richards, *The Burmese*, p. 34.

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has been fulfilled. What had to be done has been accomplished. After this present life there will be no beyond';[44] he has, indeed, attained the full Vision of Deliverance and can cheer and exhort others along the Path.[45] His condition is summed up as a state of self-possession, investigation into the truth, energy, calm, joy, concentration and magnanimity.[46] And this condition, nothing more and nothing less, this, contends Rhys Davids, is Nibbāna. "It is not too much to say that Arahatship is Buddhism"[47] — a philosophy of life which aimed its keenest shafts at all forms of the supernatural and the mysterious and set before men an ideal of self-conquest, a 'final salvation . . . obtainable in this world and in this world alone.'[48]

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Now there is much in the apparent attitude of the Burmese Saṃgha to support Rhys David's interpretation. The devout bhikku certainly seems to hold before him the attainment of the Nibbāna-condition, the qualities of life which signify the Arahat. His conception of Nibbāna is very closely joined with this ideal. His immediate aim is to excel in the discipline which brings the ideal nearer, subduing the passions and employing the mind in those exercises which belong to the Path.

But two questions arise. The first is the question whether he really expects to realise this ideal and obtain this final salvation in this present life. Theoretically, no doubt, it is possible. In a reference to the *Abhiññā*, the supernormal insight which is attained by the Arahat, the Lēdī Sayādaw insists that in the Buddhist Scriptures we find, clearly shown, the means towards attaining the five supernatural faculties. That we do not see any person endowed with these today, "is due to the lack of strenuous physical and mental exertion towards their attainment."[49] A zealous missioner, held in the highest esteem throughout Burma,[50] few have done more in modern times than the Lēdī Sayādaw himself to encourage his compatriots, whether monks or laymen, to seek the Path. Yet it may be questioned whether he ever really expected any of his followers to attain the supernatural faculties in this present life. In another treatise he warns against false confidence.

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"It is ... very difficult to become aware of the attainment of the Paths and of the Fruits. In fact even the Ariyan (saint) who has attained

[44] D. 156 (cf. Rhys Davids, *op. cit.*, part I, p. 204).

[45] M. i. 146 (cf. Chalmers, *Further Dialogues of the Buddha*, Vol. I, p. 103.)

[46] Rhys Davids, *op. cit.*, p. 190.

[47] *American Lectures*, chap. IV, p. 151.

[48] *Dialogues of the Buddha*, pp. 141 ff.

[49] *Questions on Karma*; cf. comment in *M.B.B.*, p. 46.

[50] Cf. Thirkell-White, *A Civil Servant in Burma* (1913), chap. XI., p. 197.

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792 the First Path hardly knows that he has become an attainer of the Path-
775* of-the-Stream. Why? Because of the unfathomableness of the latent
779* period of the Defilements. Those Yogis or meditators who do not know the unfathomableness of the latent period of the Defilements, sometimes think themselves to be attainers of Path-of-the-Stream, while as yet their erroneous views and perplexity are only partially, but not completely, put away....."

While, therefore, he enjoins that the exercises which lead to insight and sanctity must be steadfastly practised 'for the whole time of life' he does not promise that the goal will be attained before death.

"If meditators practise these exercises for the whole term of life, their knowledge will be developed till they pass beyond the Puthujjana-bhūmi (the state of the ordinary, unenlightened man) and arrive at the Ariya-bhūmi either before death or at the time of death, *either in this life or the life following*, in which latter they will be reborn as Devas."[81]

• [985] Vainglory is forbidden the Buddhist monk. He must not claim for himself any superior sanctity or perfection, and there is certainly no record in modern times of any bhikku claiming Arahatship. Nor does he seem to expect the 'full Vision of Deliverance' in this present life. At best it will come in the life following. If Nibbāna is not for him quite such a distant view as it is for the layman, it is, nevertheless, no immediate prospect. And for the same fundamental, ethical reason. He is not worthy. But rebirth will give him another chance, a further opportunity: the partial progress he has made in this present life is not in vain. We may compare him with the Christian who hopes for heaven, but not at death; some further, intermediate, purgatorial stage, he conceives, must come in between.

The question arises whether this deliverance is conceived in terms of death or in terms of future, fuller life. Nibbāna clearly means extinction — extinction, certainly, of those cravings and false allurements which chain man to his present fevered existence. Until the Defilements are underfoot there is no prospect of any *ariyabhūmi*. Every bhikku believes that. No man is emancipated until base passions and befooling hallucinations are conquered. But what then? Is the Nibbāna condition but the brief enjoyment of this experience of emancipation until death terminates the short spell of life in which the emancipation is attained? Is it, as some have said, merely the conquest of the fear of death and the lust of immortality, a conquest achieved in this Nibbāna-condition? Or is it the conquest of death itself, the extinction of death together with existence, introducing a new quality of Life beyond destructive change as

[81] *The Vipassanā Dīpanī*, pp. 69, 70. italics mine.

757 given to us in saucers, my mother invoking the Triple Gems while blowing on it and coaxing us to drink it as the medicine of the Three Gems: "*Paya-say, taya-say, thanga-say,*" she would say: "Physic of the Buddha, of the Law, of the Clergy." After this came two saucersful of hot water in which betel leaves had been boiled, to raise a sweat; my mother would cover us with an ok-saung, my father would come in on tiptoe to look at us very often, even when our temperatures were nearly normal, and the fever would leave us quite soon.

Our purgative was *dat-le-ba-say*, physic of the four elements; it was a glutinous paste of senna for purging, tamarind as acid and purgative, jaggery to soothe, liquorice to taste, and salt. It was nasty. My mother rolled about a golf ball size of the stuff into little balls which we were expected to swallow. But she was very firm that there must always be an odd number of balls, because Burmese people believe that odd numbers are more auspicious, like the *Three* Gems, the *Nine* Nawaya; when the shinbyu ceremony for the initiation of boys into the priesthood is carried out, or the ears of the girls bored ceremonially, it is inauspicious to "do" an even number of children. So if my mother's golf ball of the purgative made eight balls, she would always pinch more stuff out of the jar and make nine, and, as I grew older and more sceptical, both my stomach and my mood would react on each other and I generally got stuck at the sixth or eighth, much to my mother's dismay. But to this day I believe in the efficacy of these particular medicines for my own system.

753 When any of us kept ailing over a long period it was felt that our astronomical prospects were low, and the *bedin-saya*, vulgarly translated 787 as fortune-teller, was called in. He was regarded as an astrologer. My mother brought out our horoscopes which had been cast by a brahmin when we were a few years old. These horoscopes, inscribed on a palm leaf doubled up and sewn tightly together, were precious objects kept at the head of my father's bed. The exact day and hour of the birth of the child, the auspicious name given according to this time and day, the astronomical bodies exerting influence over such a birth, and a table to show the heavenly influences which would prevail during the successive periods of the child's life so that future calculations could be made, were all inscribed finely on this neat yellow leaf. The bedin-saya made calculations now to see if our *kan* (fate, luck) was high or low; if low, he prescribed some counteracting influences. I was once given a chicken as a *khamè*, a charm which would keep the evil influences at bay, and the servants fed the chicken for me until I had recovered. Sometimes it is certain foods which bring the evil influences, and the proscribing of them even during good health was more annoying. One of my sisters, treated thus as a child, complained that the bedin-saya was a tiresome

old man with rhetorical leanings and included things because they formed 753
a nice rhyme, and, indeed, she was not far from the truth. Our mono- 787
syllabic language is a heavenly gift to us with its endless scope for the [522]
most unrestrained punning and rhyming; the pun in Burmese is not execrable humour but a stepping stone for flights of fancy. What my sister was not allowed to eat were the three most precious foods as proverbalised in: *a-thi-hma tha-yet; a-ywet hma la-hpet; a-tha hma wet:* among fruits the *tha-yet*, among leaves the *la-hpet*, among flesh the *wet: tha-yet, la-hpet* and *wet* being the mango, the pickled tea-leaf and the pig's flesh respectively, and open to question as being really the prize specimens of their class, but certainly rhyming happily.

My parents were so good to us; they never scolded, beat or punished 593
us that I can remember. Perhaps they had both had so much discipline 554
in their own youths; I can remember the day we were told to answer them "Father" and "Mother" when they called us, instead of *Paya* as we had done formerly. Paya is the term of extreme respect and humility, sometimes adopted by children to parents, always by servants to their superiors, by subordinates to senior officials, and by all to royalty and the clergy. It is also the suffix to honorific titles. Its true and ancient use had associations of reverence only, but it has taken on a more subservient hue with the advent of government and foreign officials.

But whether we answered Paya or Father, my mother's guiding 593
influence led us to look on my father with awe, even though he was the 857
parent who clowned with us at home. We were always bathed and 538
dressed before he came home, waiting for him. As soon as he entered the gate we raced down the drive to carry his umbrella, took him upstairs and scrambled to take his shoes off as soon as we could get him seated. His shoes, suspenders and socks were removed by combined efforts, my father pretending great helplessness all the while. We went for walks while my parents went to play tennis, but retuned in time to carry their racquets upstairs and remove my father's shoes again. After dinner my mother and we lay on mats while my father sat in an easy chair and pretended to get his nursery rhymes all wrong, until we taught him:

A-hpo gyi oh, hka kon kon,	Old man so bent and grey,
Ma thay ba hnin ohn	Do not die as yet we pray.
Naung hnit-kha ta-saung-mon	Till next December try to tarry
Pwè kyi ba ohn.	And watch the actors play and marry.

Or the voracious cat who ate everything:

Kyaung-gyi yè tè mi tan to	Oh you big and short tailed cat.
A-hai ko sa ba lo	Swallowing the lean
A-tha ko myo.	And eating the fat.

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Those born on Saturday have T, Ht, D, Dh, and N. The aspirated and unaspirated letters have to most Englishmen precisely the same sound, though a practised ear detects the difference immediately. Examples are:—Maung Ba Tu, Mr. Like His Father; Ma Ne Htun, Miss or Mrs. Sunshine; Maung Du Wun, Mr. Pole Star; Mi Nu, Miss Tender.

Those born on Thursday select from P, Hp, B, Hb, and M. For example:—U Po Mya, Old Grandfather Emerald; Maung Bo Gale, Mr. Little Officer; Ma Hmwe, Miss or Mrs. Fragrant; Mi Meit, Miss Affection.

Wednesday has L and W. Examples:—Maung Ho, Mr. Yonder; Ma Waing Hla, Miss or Mrs. All-Round Pretty; Ma Hein, Miss or Mrs. Growler.

From noon till midnight on Wednesday is represented as a special day, or, at any rate, under a special constellation called Yahu, and those born between those hours have the alternative of the two Y's, one of which is sounded R in Pali and by the Arakanese. Examples are:—Maung Yo, Mr. Honesty; Ma Yôn, Miss or Mrs. Rabbit, U Yauk, Old Individual. [194] [184]

Friday has Th and H. Examples:—Maung Than, Mr. Million; Maung Thet She, Mr. Long Life; Ma Thin, Miss or Mrs. Learned; Mè Thaw, (old) Mrs. Noisy.

A is the only letter assigned to Sunday, but the combination with it of the symbol of any other vowel changes it to the sound of that vowel. For example:—Maung Ôn, Mr. Cocoa-nut; Maung At Ni, Mr. Red Needle; Ma E, Miss Cold; Ma Eing Saung, Mrs. Housekeeper; U O, Old Pot.

A common popular belief is, that, according to the day of the week (or rather the constellation representing that day) on which a man is born, so will his character be. Thus a man's name discloses his probable characteristics to the superstitious. 828 551 787

A man born on Monday will be jealous; on Tuesday, honest; on Wednesday, short-tempered, but soon calm again, the characteristic being intensified under Yahu; on Thursday, mild; on Friday, talkative; on Saturday, hot-tempered and quarrelsome; on Sunday, parsimonious.

Not only has every day its special character and its fixed

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U Ngè, "Old Small" or "Old Wee"; or takes U Lugale 551
instead, "Old Boy." To this additions may be made 553
according to fancy. Indeed the possible forms of any given Burmese name would supply a very fair sum in permutations and combinations.

There is a similar freedom with the women's names. Every woman married or unmarried may be called Ma. When she becomes elderly Mè is very often used. Mi implies youth in the person addressed, or affection on the part of the speaker. A young husband or lover usually calls his lady love Mi Mi. She addresses him as Maung, "brother," or familiarly as Taw, or Shin. Ba in Lower 554
Burma is a polite form. In Upper Burma, especially in the Palace, Maung Maung, or Tin Tin, or Teit Tin (prostrating the forehead, Kowtowing) are used in a courteous way. It is considered hardly civil in any case to use the bare name; the office held, or some particular alms given by the person addressed, supplies the easiest equivalent; otherwise some friendly form is employed in speaking. Kin-le is used similarly in familiar fashion or in a friendly way to those of lesser rank. Thus a prince would use it in addressing an A-pyo-daw, a maid of honour.

Sometimes when a boy grows up he does not like the 553
name his parents gave him. He can then change it by a very simple process. He makes up a number of packets of le'-pet and sends round a friend to deliver them to all his acquaintances and relations. The messenger goes to the head of the house and says: "I have come from Maung Shwe Pyin (Mr. Golden Stupid). He is not to be called by that name any more. When you invite him call him Maung Hkyaw Hpe (Mr. Celebrated Father). Be good enough to eat this pickled tea," and then he goes on to the next house. It is not imperative that the letters of the birthday should be adhered to, but it is usually done. Women very seldom change names. It looks too much like a broad hint that they are growing up and have some notion of themselves, or that they have a mind of their own, which might prove irksome to possible husbands.

A careful note is made of the exact hour of birth with 787
the object of drawing up the sadā or certificate of birth

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which every Burman has, and carefully consults, with the help of an astrologer, for the fixing of fortunate days and hours throughout his life. Sometimes the sadā is drawn up very shortly after birth, but ordinarily not till the child is five or six years old. Then an old Pônna, a Brahmin, or any ordinary astrologer is called in. He records on a doubled up strip of palm leaf the year, the month, the day and hour at which the child was born; the name given to it; the planet in the ascendant at the moment of birth and the house in which it was at the time. This is scratched neatly on the palm leaf in the usual way with a metal style. On the other side are a number of cabalistic squares and numbers from which the future calculations may be made. There are said to be eight gyo, or planets, and from these the days of the week are named, Wednesday having a second, Yahu, which rules from mid-day to midnight. Each of the planets has its own point of the compass as follows:—

N.

	Yahu. 12 Symbol—Tuskless Elephant. Wednesday, 12 P.M. to 12 A.M. Unnamed.	Thauk-kya. 21 Symbol—Guinea-Pig. Friday. Venus.	Taninganwe. 6 Symbol—Kalohn. Sunday. The Sun.	
W.	Kyathabade. 19 Symbol—Rat. Thursday. Jupiter.		Taninla. 15 Symbol—Tiger. Monday. The Moon.	E.
	Sane. 10 Symbol—Nagah. Saturday. Saturn.	Boddahu. 17 Symbol—Tusked Elephant. Wednesday, 12 A.M. to 12 P.M. Mercury.	Ainga. Symbol—Lion. Tuesday. Mars.	

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The stations, numbers, and symbols of the planets are recorded in a jingling rhyme, which is one of the first things boys learn in the monastic schools, *e.g.*—

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Taninla kya
Ta-sè nga
Ne nya
She yat ga.

Monday's number, Lween,
Is always fifteen;
The tiger's the beast,
And its place is the East.

There are various ways of calculating the horoscope, 787
most of them not to be understanded of the people, but the most popular, because the preliminaries are evident to everybody, is from the numbers given above. A person born on Monday remains under the influence of the moon for fifteen years. Then he passes into the house of Mars and sojourns there for eight years. At the age of twenty-three, Mercury presides over him and continues to do so for the next seventeen years, and so on to the end, which mounts up to 108 years. Should he outlive that he would begin the circle over again. Another way is to divide the inquirer's age by eight. If there is no remainder, the horoscope is made up from the gyo under which he was born. If there is a remainder, the Bedin Sayā counts it out round the figure, in the direction of the hands of a watch, commencing with the birth planet. Thus a man born on Thursday, now twenty-nine years of age, would be under the influence of the moon. The gyo at the four cardinal points, east, south, west, and north are happy in their influences, those on the diagonal rhumbs not so good. Yahu, and especially Saturday, have 787
a particularly sinister influence. A man does most of the 828
stupid and vicious things in his life while he is in Saturn's house. A young man born on Wednesday will need a lot of ballast to tide him through the ten years of Saturn, seeing that he enters on the danger at the age of seventeen.

Little gilded and red painted signboards are put up at 787
all the pagodas, displaying the nan, the symbol, and the 782
relative position of all the planets. Sometimes people 778
worshipping at the pagoda go to the point of the gyo, in whose house they were born, and offer up their lauds and candles there. But this is a mere matter of individual fancy, and is hardly open to those born in the diagonally situated

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787 houses, for the niche shrines, if there are more than one at
782 the pagoda, are always at the four cardinal points, and if there
778 is only one, as is usual at small pagodas, it is to the East.
823 The sadā is carefully kept by the parents until the child
787 is old enough to take care of it himself, and thenceforward it
768 is guarded as the most valuable possession the person has. No matter how often the name is changed the new one is never put in the sadā, so that this certificate cannot be trusted to implicitly for a man's name. Some of them are very beautifully engraved and ornamented, but they are naturally not often to be seen. I only know of two in England at the present time (1881), one of which is my own and the other belonging to a travelling Burman. When a man dies, the sadā is either destroyed or preserved as a memento by the family. A great many sadās were found and carried off as curiosities during the Third Burmese War. There is one at Abbotsford.

787 A curious instance of the firm belief of the nation in the
436 reasonableness of the conviction that the planet under which
643 one is born influences the fates and actions of one's life, is
177 the fact that royalty ordained that the coins and measures used by traders should bear the emblem of the monarch's birthday. Thus for example all the gold coins used in Upper Burma bazaars during the penultimate reign had the figure of a lion on them, Mindôn Min having been born on a Tuesday. The few remaining from previous reigns bearing other symbols were rigidly kept out of the sight of Burmese officials. The Convenor of the Fifth Great Synod, though probably the mildest and best sovereign Burma ever had, would certainly have stood no trifling in matters of this kind, which, if not amounting actually to a part of the religion, were at any rate very intimately connected with it. His son Thibaw Min, however, notoriously indifferent to religion, if a stronger word might not even be admissible, let the old weights remain in use, and probably called it the march of civilisation.

852 The naming and the construction of the sadā being
857 finished, the principal events in the youthful Burman's life
[291] are over, and the children run about in as happy a state of nudity as the respectability of the family permits; and boys and girls steal grandmamma's cheroot, and potter about

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making mud pies according to cosmopolitan infantile habit, and not seldom getting up decorous and serious representations of the choral dances and dramatic performances they have seen. The spectacle of a little girl vigorously puffing a big green cheroot while she moulds a heap of mud into shapely form is only a little more startling to the white-faced foreigner than the declamatory passion of a five-year-old princeling. So it goes on till the eighth year is reached; then it is time to go to the monastic school.

On the following page is a copy of the sadā of Shin Thuza. The young lady, I regret to say, is dead. The publication of her horoscope cannot therefore enable malicious persons to work her any harm by means of spells. The side represented is the obverse. I have submitted the figures to two very distinguished wranglers, but they have been unable to detect any system in them.

On the reverse, surrounded by an ornamental border of numbers written in accordance with a rhyme, are recorded in mystic language the details. The young lady was born in the year 1220 B.E. (twenty-three years ago), in the astrological cycle 422, in the month of Ta-bodwè, on the ninth of the waxing moon, and the seventh day (Friday) of the week, in the evening, at thôn chetti gyaw, a little past the third hour, or more exactly, three nayi, two pads, and ten birana. Then the precise position of the constellation in the heavens is noted. It is thirteen bǎwa (feet), five finger breadths, three mayaw (grains' length), one sessamum seed (nan), and eight hairs' breadths from the planet. Then it winds up to the effect that this is the horoscope of the maiden, whom, that she may be known by a pleasant name, her parents have called Shin Thuza. "May she live to be a hundred and twenty!" Alas! she did not.

At either side of these details are two identical magic squares, formed in accordance with the well-known Hindoo Law. Over one is written "The Buddha"; over the other "The Law"; beneath the former "Rangoon," and the latter "650." The two palm-leaves are tightly sewn together, and the writings and figures, done with a metal style on the dry leaf, are very neatly executed.

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7	5	3
6	1	8

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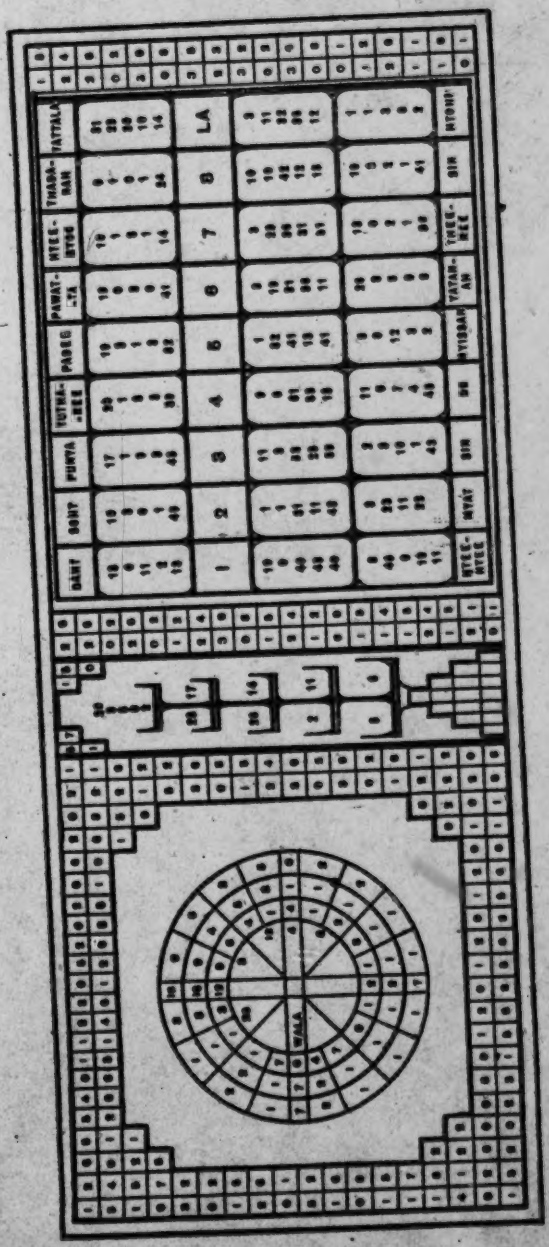

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The general construction of all sadās is the same, but there are very considerable divergences in the number of figures. In another—I do not say whose it is—there are two circles only in the left portion, and only eight divisions in the right half, while several of the headings to the columns are different. The ti-padi-taing, the "highest post," between the two, also varies. I may mention that, beginning with the second stage on the left, descending and going up the other side, the numbers increase by three: *e.g.* 2, 5, 8, 11, etc. This is the case in all sadās, but they do not necessarily begin with the same number.

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important age for the boy to be learning English and arithmetic, with a view to getting situations under Government or in English merchants' offices. Therefore in the vast majority of cases shin-pyu thi takes place at the age of twelve, or perhaps even a year earlier. 792 561 184 177.84

If the boy has been a scholar in the monastery beforehand, he is sure to be already prepared in all that is required of him. If not, he gets a few hasty lessons in the duties that will be incumbent on him. He must address a full member of the order in such and such language; he must walk decorously through the streets, keeping his eyes fixed on the ground six feet before him, and on no account gaze round him, no matter what exciting events may be going on; he must wear his thingan and du-gut in the prescribed fashion; he must eat with dignity and circumspection, and so on. All these details are set forth in most minute fashion in a code. When he has mastered the most essential portions, and has also given proof of an acquaintance with the ordinary forms of worship, all is ready. His horoscope now comes into requisition, and a bedinsayā or Ponna is called in to determine a lucky day and hour from the sadā. When this has been settled, three or four girls, the intending koyin-gale's sisters, or friends of the family, dress themselves up in their finest silks and jewels—often borrowing a large quantity of the latter—and go round the town, announcing to all relatives, friends, and neighbours when the induction will take place, and inviting them to the feast, presenting the little packet of le'-pet usual on such occasions. Almost all of these send some little present, either of money or victuals, to aid in the feast and make it as grand as possible. Not unseldom, if somebody else's son is also going to enter the kyaung and the town is not very large, the two join forces, while occasionally as many as half a dozen unite, especially if the families are not well off. 792 872 [576] [292] 792 561 [787] 796 [292]

On the appointed day the young neophyte dresses in his finest clothes, and loads himself with all the family gold chains and jewellery, and as much more as he can borrow for the occasion. He then mounts a pony or gets into a richly decorated car. Shaded by gold umbrellas, allowed formerly on this occasion only in Upper Burma, except to those who had got a special patent for them from the sovereign... [292] [554]

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certain stones called amadé said to be found in the 751
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heads of birds, in trees, and in animals, are highly prized as amulets. They will guard from musket shots, or sword thrusts, from painful blows, or evil spirits. Hmaw sayās always have them. When they are placed on a child's face, or introduced into any one's blood, nat thwin thi, they introduce a spirit. The person so possessed falls into a trance, and may be questioned as to the doings of any other evil spirits in the neighbourhood.

Letters, placed in the magic squares and triangular "in" 751
are la-gyi, na-gyi, ka-gyi, ga-gyi (great *l*, great *n*, great *k*, 304
and great *g*). Other very powerful s'ma, as these tattooed letters are called, are "round" sa, wa, la, and "bottom-indented" da. The arm is a favourite place for them.

The belief of every Burman in the efficacy of these tattooed charms is practically ineradicable. In 1881, in Rangoon, a young man had the figure of the great Peguan byaing, the "paddy-bird," a species of egret, tattooed upon him. This was to be as efficacious in preserving him from drowning as a child's caul used to be considered by British sailors. When it was finished, he suggested that an immediate experiment should be made. Accordingly his hands and feet were tied, and he was tossed over the side of a boat into the river. The under-currents in the Rangoon river are very dangerous, and the poor fellow was never seen again. The tattooers, master and assistant, were brought up on a charge of murder, and convicted of manslaughter, but the great mass of the Burman population thought they were very hardly treated, and that the fact of an unlucky side-wind, some mischance in the calculation from the horoscope, the machinations of an evil-disposed person against the deceased, or something of that kind, which had caused the lamentable issue, ought never to have led to the conviction of the skilled sayās. That they were charlatans was never once hinted.

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modestly closed in front, and to prevent the dainty slipper, just covering her toes and no more, from slipping off the foot. However that may be, it is an accomplishment indispensable to a Burmese belle. She takes as much pains over it as she does with her jetty tresses. In a word, the nā-twin mingala transforms the girl into a woman, just as much as admission to a monastery makes the boy a man. It is her baptism, and is the distinctive mark of her race. Most of the men get their ears bored too, but the ceremony is not so solemn with them, and latterly is not so universal, at any rate not in the towns on the coast.

The ceremony takes place at the age of twelve or thirteen, just when the girl has attained puberty in fact. Her sadā is submitted to a soothsayer, that a fortunate day and hour may be chosen, and that being fixed, a great feast is prepared, and all the friends of the family and the relations are invited. An invitation to an ear-boring feast is a very urgent matter. No one can refuse without a very good excuse, and serious business is often postponed to the demands of such a ceremony. Everybody comes early, and sits down in any place he can find round about the front part and sides of the room, the girl, with all her female relatives about her, reclining on a mat at the back. The bedin sayā stalks about gazing at a mysterious strip of palm-leaf, or apparently wrapped in deep thought. Beside him is the professional ear-borer. He carries the needles, which are almost always pure gold, and even in the case of the poorest, never of any baser metal than silver. Rich people very often have them set at the ends with precious stones. At last the soothsayer gives the sign that the favourable moment has arrived. The ear-borer moves up immediately and passes the needles through the lobe of the ear, sometimes using a cork as they do in England, but more often letting them pass between two of his fingers. The girl, who has been worked up into a high state of excitement and terror by all the preparations, usually struggles and shrieks as hard as she can, but the women round about hold her down, and the band of music in the street outside strikes up a rapid movement and drowns her lamentations, while all the visitors burst into a flood of talk

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828 ignorant man's heart is all in one mass, while that of the well-instructed divides itself into three small parts.

885 As models of married women are held up the Taw le-
779 wa, the most faithful and beautiful of wives, the consorts of
581 four of the chief princes in the ten great Jatakas, treating of the last births of the Lord Buddha. To say that a girl is Taw le-wa win lauk, calculated to become like one of these four great queens, Amaya the wife of Mahawthata, the Solomon of Buddhist kings; Madi, the wife of Wethandaya, world-famed for his charity; Keinnayi or Thanbula, the partners of princes hardly less celebrated, is to pay the highest possible compliment to any woman. But these are somewhat vague and intangible matters. There are other recommendations which appeal much more directly to those intending to get married; to the man that seeks a wife, sanshwe, pure as "test gold"; or the girl who would avoid a linkwe, a "cur of a husband."

581 Prominent among these is the rhyme of "the hostile
787 pairs," the yan-hpet, who, if they marry, will certainly have a short life.

Some violence is done to the niceties of language in the linga, so that I may be allowed the same in the translation of a portion of it.

Friday's daughter
Didn't oughter
Marry with a Monday's son;
Should she do it
Both will rue it,
Life's last lap will soon be run.

The same lamentable result would follow if the man were born on Friday and the woman on Monday. Again:

Saturdays and Thursdays,
The serpent and the rat,
You cannot find out worse days,
Life's short enough at that.

The serpent and the rat preside over Saturday and Thursday respectively. Similar curtailment of life would follow if the union was between Sunday and Wednesday, or between Tuesday and the eighth half-day Yahu. One or

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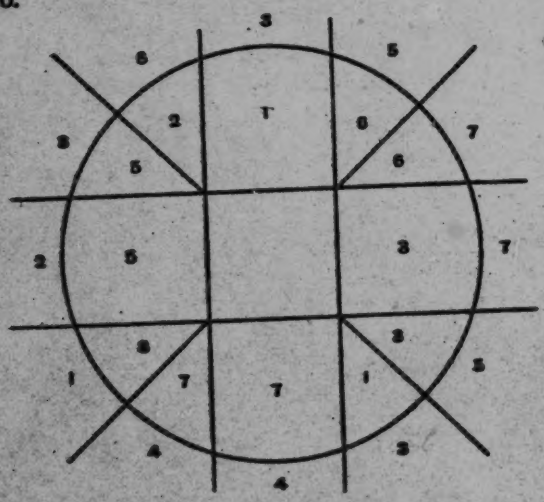
both contracting parties would soon die if children of these hostile days married. 581 787

On the other hand, there is an elaborate figure showing what unions according to birthdays will be lucky.

The numbers represent the days of the week according to the order. 1, Sunday; 2, Monday; 3, Tuesday; 4, Wednesday; 5, Thursday; 6, Friday; 7, Saturday; 8, Yahu (half Wednesday). The inner numbers represent the man's birthday; the outer the woman's. Those who choose their wives in accordance with this figure will be happy and well-to-do.



The outer ring the maiden's,
The inner ring the man's.
All ye who would live easeful
On this scheme form your plans.

All these rhymes are learned by the little boys at school, sometimes formally taught them by the preceptor as an excerpt from the Bedin, sometimes, when the yahan refuses to recognise the validity of these books, studied surreptitiously along with the secular plays and song-books. Whatever else a girl may know, you may be sure she can give you the marriage rhymes. 581 787 869

After the marriage has been settled upon, lucky combination of birthdays, parents' consent, settlement of dower and 585

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517 silks for their wives. The ordinary explanation is that every one can see what clothes you wear, while few people care to come and spy out what kind of a house you live in, and how you fare. But there can be very little doubt that the real reason is a survival of the idea of the old Yāzagaing, as well as the fact that long years of custom have impressed upon everybody the opinion that there are only two forms of architecture, the secular and the ecclesiastical, and no one, no matter how sure he might be that the Government would take no notice of his ambition, would brave the denunciations of the religious by adding a spire to his house, or even adorning the gable ends with carved pinnacles and flamboyant finials of the monasteries. Consequently the one regular form prevails everywhere.

565 342 641

342 576 The Burman's dwelling, then, is always shaped more or less like a marquee tent, and never more than one storey high, to avoid the humiliating possibility of the feet of some one being over your head. But the whole house stands on posts, so that the floor is seven or eight feet from the ground. It consists often of only one room, usually, however, of two or more, and to the front of the house there is always a verandah, three or four feet lower than the general level of the house, and as often as not quite open to the street, or the garden, or whatever may be in front and always to the sky. The posts which form the main or central part of the house are usually six in number, and all have their names, such as Uyu, Kya-hngan, Nyaung-yan. The south post, in the main part of the house, the Thabye-taing, is the best known, as being always adorned with leaves and particularly marked as that in the top of which most probably lives the nat-spirit of the house. A dead body, after being swathed, and while waiting for the coffin, is always placed by it.

[551] 353 776 [764]

341 787 A house ought never to be built till the foundations have been thoroughly dug up and shown to a soothsayer. He will determine, from the substances found, whether it is a lucky place to build a house in or not. It stands to reason that the building cannot be commenced till a lucky day and hour have been sought out. There is considerable care to be observed in the selection of the timber. Posts are masculine, feminine, and neuter. Male posts are of equal size at both

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ends; females are larger at the base; those which swell out in the middle are a-thet ma-shi—without life; taing bilu, ogre's posts are largest at the top. As a general rule it may be taken for granted that if a house is built with neuter posts, its inmates will always be miserable and unlucky; if the posts are ogres, death and disaster will attend; male posts are easy-going and harmless; females, on the contrary, are fortunate and leading to honour. But it may happen that the character of the piece of ground on which the house is built upsets all these generalisations, so that it is necessary to get a wise man's opinion before you get your posts. The Deittôn gives many instructions on the subject, and among other things mentions how a man's fortune may be calculated from the Hle-ga-tit, the side pieces of the steps which lead up to the verandah. The presence or absence of knots, and if the former, their position, determines the luck of the householder. 341 787

Poor people use bamboo instead of wood, and make their walls of mats, woven of the same substance, split up. Occasionally, however, they rise to the dignity of common jungle timber. Richer people make use of the invaluable teak, or of pyinkado (*Xylia dolabriformis*), a wood almost as durable, and equally expensive. White ants will attack neither of these. The walls of such houses are planked. The roof is sometimes composed of small flat tiles, but more commonly of thatch. This consists in most places in the Delta of dani, the leaves of the toddy palm, which are first soaked in salt water, a precaution which prevents insects from destroying them. Up country a species of grass called thekkè is universally used. This style of roofing is very satisfactory in every respect but one. It is cheap, easily put on, reasonably water-tight, but very inflammable, and consequently is not allowed in any of the larger towns in the Province. In the smaller stations, however, it is almost universal, and the consequence is that when one house takes fire, the sparks from it kindle all the others, as a matter of course. Consequently, as an imperative measure of protection, every house is provided with a long hooked bamboo, called a mi-cheit, by means of which to pull off all the thatch as soon as a fire breaks out in the neighbourhood, and in 342 565 342 731 355

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776 769 were killed. They are called nat-sein. Advantage is taken of this to guard the capital. When a town is founded, at each of the four corners of the city walls and under the gate-posts people are buried alive. Their spirits thereafter hover about the place and bring disaster on strangers who come there with evil intentions. Monks and nuns who lead bad lives and break their vows are also believed to pass into demons when they die. There is therefore a constant and lamentable recruiting of the forces of the nats and tasés.

776 755 In some places certain nats have qualities ascribed to them which are not entirely obstructive and obnoxious. For example, in a nat's house at Nyaung-u, before the figure of a spirit called Apé Shwemyosin, lies a twisted, curious-shaped stone, which has magic powers ascribed to it. The sick come and try to lift it up. If they are successful they will soon recover health; if, on the other hand, its weight is too much for them, the inquirers will die. Similarly, on the ascent to Mandalay Hill there is a little chapel in which, besides three figures of the hentha, the Brahminy goose, each said to contain a sacred tooth brought from Ceylon, there is a flat, oval stone, with mystic characters inscribed on it. Many resort there to ascertain the probable issue of an intended journey or enterprise. If the stone proves heavy, the sign is bad.

● 761 The belief in spirits naturally induces a corresponding faith in omens. The Deitton, an astrological book constantly in the hands of Bedin Sayās, but carefully excluded from all monasteries, gives a great variety of them; auguries from the flight and number of birds seen, omens from the barking of dogs, the movements of bees, and the laying of eggs by fowls. Rules are given for choosing the site on which a house is to be built, and omens drawn from the substances found in digging the foundations. Posts are called male, female, or a-thet ma shi, neuter, according as they are of the same girth throughout, larger at the bottom or in the middle. Under ordinary circumstances, houses with female taing are fortunate, with neuter disastrous. Posts which are largest at the top are called taing bilu, "demon beams," and are especially unhappy.

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If a hen lays an egg upon a cloth, its owner will lose money. To come across mushrooms at the beginning of a journey is a most fortunate sign. A snake crossing the path always denotes delay, whether in a lawsuit, a journey, or a warlike expedition. If a dog carries an unclean thing up into his master's house, he may get thrashed for it, but the man will become rich; and so on in infinite variety. 787

All this belief in supernatural powers tends to produce abundance of experts who profess to be able to explain signs and to control the evil spirits. Every district possesses its nat thungè, or nat meimma, a spirit woman who dances at the nat feasts, and at ordinary times is consulted by the superstitious on all kinds of subjects connected with her trade. She is asked where so-and-so, lately deceased, is, to what seat of the world he has migrated; where absent persons are, and what they are doing; what facilities there are for special undertakings, and when they should be begun. 791

The Bedin Sayās claim similar knowledge, and are equally abundant. Numbers of them may be seen at any time of the day sitting under the trees on the way up to the Shwe Dagôn pagoda, writing and rubbing out figures and letters on their black note-books, and drawing a comfortable income from an unfailing succession of inquirers. Sometimes such a magic-worker, wishing to establish a reputation, or having a spite against somebody, performs the ceremony called pônnaga taikgyin. He carries off some cinders from the funeral pyres of people who have been burnt, and collecting a large assortment of such charred pieces of wood, puts them secretly in the house of the person whose feelings he wishes to work on. At night the spirits come and keep up a battery of stones on the unfortunate man's roof, all attempts to find out where the stones come from being as unavailing as they were in a similar instance in the suburbs of London not very long ago.

It is consolatory, however, to know that piety will protect any one from the attacks of malevolent spirits. Numerous stories told by the yahans prove the virtue of the gâtas to guard against evil. If the victim has only knowledge and strength of mind sufficient to recite these religious formulæ, 789 776

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243 and they are not the varieties most in favour with the Burmese for their own consumption—there are at least thirty different kinds. There is the byat sabā, the "tray" rice, which is considered the best, but, like most of the other sorts, will not stand the rough treatment of the steam mill-stones, and breaks in pieces. Then there is the myi-she, which has a long awn, and the myi-tôn, which has no awn at all; the taung-pyan, "winged rice," and the nga-chywè, "buffalo grain"; and so on through a long list, ending up with "black rice," which is not by any means bad eating. But of
527 all the kinds, kauk-hnyin, "sticky rice," is the variety always
262 used at the harvest feast. It is mixed with thin sliced cocoa-nut, sesamum seeds, ginger, onions, and pepper, all stirred together and well boiled; and the resulting mess is called tamanè. The rice is well named. It is very emphatically sticky, and even when taken alone is not very easily digested; but when it comes in the form of tamanè, the result is usually a widespread attack of colic throughout the village. This, however, comes after the festival, when the fun is all over, and does not concern us in any way.

574 When the farmer has made up his mind as to the day
527 on which he is going to have the feast—a date which, of
[787] course, cannot be settled without consulting the wise men of the village and much pondering over the palm-leaf horoscope —he sends out a few boys with a number of packets of "pickled tea" to all the young men in the place, requesting them to be good enough to eat it and to come without fail that night to his homestead in order to help him to husk his rice for the tamanè hto-thi. A few girls are also asked to come; and they bring their friends for the sake of company, and the mothers follow for the sake of propriety. Thus there is quite a large assemblage at the farmer's when night falls and the business is to commence. There is a good deal of preliminary tea-drinking and smoking of cheroots and chewing of betel and le'hpet, and a great deal of laughing and talking. The girls profess to be astonished to find so many young men there; they had not imagined their host was meditating such extensive preparations, and thought there would be nobody there but his own and his wife's younger brothers. That is exactly what they will say next week

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is a movable feast, and the date of the commencement of the year was regularly fixed by the royal astrologers in Mandalay, who made a variety of intricate calculations, based on the position of various constellations. Since the annexation the duty of fixing the date of the new year has fallen on the Chief Secretary to the Local Government. The object is to determine at what time the king of the tha-gyās will descend upon earth, for it is his arrival which will inaugurate the year. The Déwa king is fairly punctual, and the descent occurs always between the 9th and 12th of April. For some few years he has appeared on the 11th, and scoffers in Rangoon declare that he will probably continue to do so to save the pônnas trouble. These gentlemen annually draw up a thi'gyan sah, a kind of prophetic almanac for the year, relating what is likely to happen, and whether it will be prosperous or not. These vaticinations depend upon a variety of circumstances. The tha-gyā min may come down wielding a spear, when there will be disturbances in the land; a water-jar, when the rains will be abundant and the crops good, a torch or a simple staff.

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It is from those objects that he bears with him, all of which are ascertained by previous inspection of the heavens and comparison with ancient precedents, that the astrologers are able to determine the exact time when the descent will be made. Other particulars are learned from the animals on which the nat-king rides. Sometimes he has a cow or a buffalo for a mount; at other times he bestrides a nagā, when there are sure to be very heavy rains; a galôn, on the other hand, presages violent squalls and atmospheric disturbances. When the tha-gyā min goes on foot with a lantern in his hand and shoes on his feet, it is a sign that the heat will be very great and prolonged. Besides this the king of the superior heavens, the Bumazonat, the spirit guardian of the earth, exercises also a considerable influence on the coming year, though he has nothing to do with its commencement. The pônnas, therefore, are at great pains to find out his exact position at the beginning of the month Tagu—whether in the trees, the flowers, or the paddy stubble. Each of these temporary habitations has its special signification, and the discovery of them is not only valuable

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in itself, but serves as a most satisfactory corroboration of the truth of the events prognosticated by the movements and surroundings of the tha-gyā king. The conclusions are all carefully noted down in the thi'gyan sa, and great piles of these are carefully preserved in the archives of the monkish library, seldom to be looked at again.

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Besides the events which are to happen in the coming year the astrologers are also able to determine whether the tha-gyā min will remain three days or four days upon earth. If he stays three days it is called a matulè year, if four, tawtulè, and the water-throwing is carried on a corresponding time.

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All these points are settled some time beforehand, so that every one in the remotest part of the country may have due notice, and then information is sent to the heads of monasteries, and the chief districts, and all is made ready to receive his nat-majesty with proper honours. When at last the day comes round, all are on the watch, and when the wise men give the signal, tha-gyā min kyabyi, the king has come down, a cannon is fired off, and forthwith all the people come out of doors with pots full of water, the mouths of the jars filled up with fresh green leaves and twigs of the sacred tha-bye tree. A formal prayer is said, and the water is poured out on the ground, and all are happy. Many years ago an event happened which singularly impressed true believers in the royal city. Just when expectation was at its highest and all ears were strained in expectation of the roar of the cannon, there was a terrific thunderclap, which made all the town quiver, and demonstrated the accuracy of the pônnas' calculations. There was no more thunder that night, and the ranks of the pious received great increase during the ensuing week. In country towns and villages every one who has a gun rushes out into the street at the appointed hour and fires it off. Most wonderful blunderbusses and old flintlocks and ancient rusty horse-pistols make their appearance, warranted to make a noise, but capable of little more. After this ceremony is over a few go to bed,—for the descent is usually made at midnight,—but the majority sit up and talk.

With the earliest glimmer of light all rise, and taking

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of some substance, which those who found it called a-yet hkè (congealed or solidified spirit), on the analogy of yè hkè (ice). How they came to try it I do not know; but after a while it was found out that this was the grand secret. A small fragment of this stuff proved thoroughly effectual in converting the baser metals into gold. No matter what it was tried on—tin, copper, lead, iron—the result was always satisfactory, and the discoverers travelled about the country for a time turning other people's scraps of metal into gold. Then the supply of the a-yet hkè ran out; and the great question is now where to get more of it. The invention of compressed beer created hope; but the acquisition of that article was disillusionising. It had not the magical properties of the a-yet khè, and it was not good to drink. There is here, perhaps, a promising field for sympathetic Western industry. It may be hoped that the wrecking of the ship had nothing to do with communicating its special virtue to the compressed spirit; otherwise we might have an alarming series of maritime disasters all round the Gulf of Martaban. Burning houses to get roast pig would be a trifle to this.

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These are a few of the methods adopted, and they may be taken as samples of them all. None of them are more scientific, and the three I have described enjoy the reputation of being entirely successful in the right hands. But the practice is much discountenanced by the pious. Alchemy is specially denounced by the Lord Buddha. It tends to induce covetousness; and the striving is in itself the best evidence of a love for the things of this world, which incapacitate a man for the contemplative states of zān and arupa—how much more, then, for ne'ban. The monks, the Assembly of the Perfect, of course denounce it; for, in addition to the consulting of horoscopes—itself, though universal (the pôngyi himself had one drawn up when he was a week old), a Brahminical practice, and remote from true Buddhism—there are numerous other observances connected with alchemy which are still more heretical. In addition to consulting his sadā for a lucky hour, the alchemist frequently also obtains omens through the augurs from the bones of a sacrificial fowl. It is arranged that the thigh bones of a chicken shall

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be examined. A condition is imposed that the bones shall exactly correspond, or that there shall be certain defined differences. The hollows of the tendons, for example, shall be like or unlike, the bones shall be even or uneven, and so on. This being accurately settled, the bones are, after the chanting of bedin, and cabalistic spells, held up side by side, and critically examined. An experienced eye is necessary to read the result properly, and interpret the full signification of the omens. Fortunately, or unfortunately, as you like to take it, if there are two augurs present, they almost always differ, and the intending experimenter is left free to follow the opinion that he approves of, or which fits in best with his plans. This superstition, besides being abhorrent in itself, on account of the taking of life, is particularly objectionable to the mendicants, as implying that there are others besides themselves commanding respect and receiving reverence. The openly avowed alchemists are therefore a much abused body. But they have the consolation of knowing that almost every Burman has tried his hand at eggayat htothi and failed. There are very many monasteries where experiments have been made notwithstanding theoretical denunciations.

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The following are a few prescriptions for whitlow and bad sores from a Maulmein doctor's books :— 755

1. The "hand" of a tauk-tè, the big trout-spotted gekko, that haunts old trees and the thatch of houses ; or, more probably, a bit of the stem of an epiphyte called the tauk-tè's hand.
2. Sulphur.
3. The bulb of a white lily.
4. A chilli roasted.
5. Cock's dung.

Mix in equal parts, and stir while heating it, and finally add some earth oil.

Again : Take a sufficient quantity of cock's dung, add to it a small quantity of copperas, pound them well together, and then mix with earth oil and some sesamum oil.

Seven or eight dry seeds of dankwè (*Cassia fœtida*), well bruised, and then intimately mixed with a little congee (rice water), with "sufficient" earth oil added, also proves a very effective remedy.

The bedin sayā's books are partly written, partly filled, with magic figures and pictures. The squares are all formed in accordance with the ordinary Hindoo law. When the wise man is asked questions, he keeps writing down numbers and characters on his parabaik tablets and rubbing them out, chanting to himself all the time. Sometimes he shakes cowries and seeds together, and when they fall out, decides from their position which of the pictures or rhymes in his book is to be consulted. Each of these gives its own answer, but they are not always as definite in their character as is desirable. The sayā always speaks in the declamatory monotone of the linga. 755 787 776

The following are the names of some of the familiar spirits and their likenesses :—

Upadana Pyuda, a spirit who lives under the earth and protects the husbandman. When he comes above ground he rides on a serpent. The inquiring farmer whose cowrie refers to this picture is most fortunate.

Sadi Wazadat, a wild figure galloping on a horse. This means failure of the attempt.

Saka Bada, a monkey mounted on a goat. Denotes fertility of mind.

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In another picture a crow is represented breaking a vessel full of money with its beak. Close at hand are a man and woman embracing one another. This denotes loss.

A man and his wife represented dancing together signify great gifts to the pagoda.

Another picture, which represents a husband and wife standing together in front of a house, with a horse and cow near it, denotes that the child to whom this picture may refer will be a farmer.

Near the picture of a dog, which one man holds by the tail while another hits it on the head, is written: "When the lot falls here, be not boastful, but humble; avoid pride and assumption, for that will only raise up enemies for you."

The following are some spells:—

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Take this amulet (a piece of bone carved rudely square, and with mystic figures on it), put your foot up against a thabye tree, and repeat the Ittipithaw (a form of worship in learning which one spends four or five months in the monasteries) thirty-seven times. Then you will be able to turn any given man into a ghost and make him do as you please.

Take the stalk of a betel leaf in your hand. Repeat "Ôm padan rupa wari thwa ha" seven times, and then throw the stalk at the person. He or she is sure then to listen to what you say.

The following is a charm to cause a dream about your lady-love:—Get an exact likeness of her made. Find out the hour and day on which she was born, her name and exact age. Then having begged permission from the guardian spirit of both the houses (your own and hers), chant as follows: "O Thurathadi, fairest goddess of flowers, daughter of nats most high, grant most graciously all that I desire of thee: tasa machan: without keeping back the least remainder; without withdrawing a single joy: prithee do this without fail, sweet goddess of woodland love." Repeat this seven times before the figure. Then go to sleep.

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suffering no one to enter till he came to the person decided by fate to rule the country, usually some one of the royal lineage, or of some other princely line, who had wandered or been carried off from court. Then the horse waited patiently till the sleeper should wake up; the tales always represent the prince as asleep when the chariot arrives. When he rouses himself he steps into the chariot, and without guidance, the horse forthwith gallops back to the palace and the tabindaing finds a husband and the country a king. Alompra became sovereign, only in a slightly different way, but his descent from Mahā Thamada must be unimpeachable.

Long before he took up arms and won for himself the throne, the soothsayers saw about him signs that betokened his coming dignity. When he slept his arms shone like fire; vultures perched on the houses of his enemies; gorgeous butterflies and gay-plumaged birds and strange animals entered his dwelling; he dug up an ancient image of the Buddha not far from his doorstep; when he came to fight it was manifest that he was favoured even beyond the great men of old. He possessed a sword that flew through the air and cut off heads; his shoes enabled him to clear miles at a stride; his fairy spear could spit a whole line of soldiers at once; his javelin could be hurled to any distance; finally, as a fifth weapon, he had a gun which never missed its mark, and was brought down to him by a thagyā. The possession of these five weapons at once proved his right to the throne and secured his holding it. It is true that some of the omens which signalised his right have appeared in others with very different result. A Karen minlaung, or embryo king, displayed the same fire-streaming arms, and raised a rebellion since the British occupation of Pegu. He gained a considerable following, and seemed formidable for a time, till the English wise men pointed out that the fiery glow was produced by rubbing phosphorus on his skin. Then all went against him as an impostor, and he very soon vanished into the hill-country. Similarly, in 1858, a poor fisherman at Twante, a large village not far from Rangoon, dragged up in his net a small image of the Buddha. Such discoveries are always looked upon as an omen of high

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destiny, and according to the common superstition, the fisherman believed that he would rise in dignity, restore the Talaing kingdom, and revive religion. He announced the supernatural call in the village bazaar. A few desperate characters joined him, took possession of the town, and issued a proclamation calling upon all the faithful to rally to his standard. But the British civil authorities stepped in and broke up the procession which was going in solemn state to the pagoda to inaugurate and consecrate the fisherman in his new profession. The claimant of royal honours escaped at the time, but was afterwards given up by the villagers. In each of these cases there was deception or misapprehension of the meaning of the omens, but the abundance of the signs in the case of Alompra disposes of the assertion that he was a mere adventurer. He himself thoroughly believed in his high destiny, and talked of it in right royal fashion to Captain Baker, an ambassador sent to him in 1755 by the Honourable East India Company. This gentleman, the commander of an East Indiaman, who, under the instructions of his employers, evidently regarded the great conqueror as little better than a savage, brought him a present of a chest or two of gunpowder, a couple of muskets and carbines, a gilt looking-glass, some red earth in bags, and half a dozen bottles of lavender water (there is no mention of glass beads), and offered Alompra the assistance of the great company. Whereupon his majesty burst into a defiant laugh and replied in the following fashion: "Have I asked, or do I want any assistance to reduce my enemies to subjection? Let none conceive such an opinion! Have I not in three years' time extended my conquests three months' journey in every quarter without the help of cannon or muskets? Nay, I have with bludgeons only, opposed and defeated these Peguans who destroyed the capital of this kingdom, and took the prince prisoner; and a month hence I intend to go with a great force to Dagôn (Rangoon), where I have an army now lying, when I will advance to the walls of Pegu, blockade and starve them out of it, which is the last town I have now to take to complete my conquest, and then I will go in quest of Bourno (the French governor of Syriam, whom he afterwards actually did put to

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death). Captain, see this sword; it is now three years since it has been constantly exercised in chastising my enemies; it is indeed almost blunt with use; but it shall be continued to the same till they are utterly dispersed. Do not talk of assistance. I require none. The Peguans I can wipe away as thus (drawing the palm of one hand over the other). See these arms and this thigh (drawing his loose coat-sleeve up to the armpit, and lifting his pasoh, so as to display a bare tattooed leg); amongst a thousand you cannot see my match. I can crush a hundred such as the King of Pegu." (Quoted from Crawford.)

Two years later he talked to Ensign Lester in the same bombastic strain, telling him that he would go to Madras, and that if a nine-pounder shot was to hit him it could do him no harm, with a good deal more to the same effect. He is described at this time, when he was about forty-five years of age, as five feet eleven in height, and of a powerful build, with a long, but not a thin face, the expression not being improved by a number of smallpox pitmarks. He had a broad but very retreating forehead, a characteristic shared by all his descendants, and prominent in the case of King Mindôn.

Alaungpaya, then, was no feeble founder of the present line of successors to the great Mahā Thamada. He certainly had the power to command, and his military successes carried the peacock flag from far away towards Dacca, down to the Siamese capital. Assuredly he was a worthy follower of the great first king, and the Burmese believed firmly in the unbroken character of the succession. Accordingly all the old Indian and Sakyan customs were carefully observed by the Burmese royal family. Such were the marriage with half-sisters, and the consequent preserving unmarried of the king's eldest daughter; the reverence of the three most excellent animals, the peacock of the sun, the hare of the moon, and the kalawaik, the carrying bird of Vishnu, whose eyes like jewels look friendly on the stranger; and the beit-theit, the consecration by pouring out of water at the accession. Marriage with half-sisters was only allowed to the king, not to the people at large, or even to the princes of the blood-royal. The throne was painted over with representations of

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sanctifying a building with human sacrifices is a notion which has prevailed in all parts of the world at different times, and instances of horrors of the kind are not unknown in Europe.

The virtue of the sacrifices only lasts a certain time, and when it is gone a new city should be built. There are certain signs, added to public disasters, which point out to the initiated when this alteration of site should take place. Mandalay was commenced in 1858, and two years later the seat of government was transferred from Amarapura, some five or six miles down the river. When the foundations of the city wall were laid, fifty-two persons of both sexes, and of various age and rank, were consigned to a living tomb. Three were buried under each of the twelve city gates, one at each of the four corners, one under each of the palace gates, and at the corners of the timber stockade, and four under the throne itself. The selection had to be made with care, for the victims were required to be representative people, born on special days of the week, and the boys buried were not to have any tattoo marks on them, the girls not to have their ears bored. When it was known that the troops were making the collection, no one was to be seen about the streets, except in great bands in the middle of the day. The government gave a series of magnificent dramatic performances, but no one went to see them. Eventually, however, the tale was made up, and the building went on apace. Along with the four human beings buried at the corners of the city were placed four jars full of oil, carefully covered over and protected from any damage that might come from the weight of earth pressing down upon them. These were examined every seven years by the royal astrologers, and as long as they remained intact the town was considered safe.

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At the third examination in 1880, however, it was found that the oil in two of the jars was either completely dried up or had leaked out. One was pretty far gone, and the fourth alone remained in a tolerably satisfactory state. At this very time, the January and February of 1880, a terrible scourge of smallpox was decimating the town, and two of the royal house, King Thibaw's infant son, his only child,

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and the ex-Pagān Min, the cock-fighting king, had fallen victims. This was bad enough, but other signs portending evil had happened. One of the most valued of the crown jewels, the Nansin Baddamya, had disappeared, a huge ruby, cherished as emblematic of the fortune of the dynasty since the days of Alaungpaya. A tiger in the royal gardens escaped from his cage, a most ominous circumstance, not for the poor wretch whom he killed and half ate before he could be recaptured, but for the city and the entire kingdom. The appearance of wild animals in a town is a sign that it will speedily turn to a wilderness. It was the discovery of a tiger and some deer in the environs of Amarapura which decided the fate of that "City of the Immortals." All these circumstances, coupled with the outward and visible sign of the wrath of the spirits in the shape of the plague of small-pox, decided the pônnas at once. It was no use filling the jars with oil again, or putting in fresh ones. Such parsimonious measures would be considerably worse than useless. A full conclave of the astrologers voted by a large majority for the change of the capital. This, however, neither the ministers nor Thibaw Min would hear of. Mandalay is very different from Amarapura and Ava. There are too many solid brick houses and mills and public manufactories —none of them working, it is true, but too costly to be abandoned—in the present capital to admit of its being thrown over in the old casual way, when a royal order forced everybody to migrate, on pain of imprisonment or death. The pônnas therefore held another meeting, and it was decided that the only other alternative was the offering of propitiatory sacrifices. At the instance of the Pônna Wun, a truculent old villain, it was resolved that the number should be the highest possible: a hundred men, a hundred women, a hundred boys, a hundred girls, a hundred soldiers, and a hundred foreigners. This the king agreed to, and a royal mandate was signed, and arrests forthwith commenced. A frightful panic spread in Mandalay after the first day. Every steamer leaving the capital was crowded to suffocation, boats went down the river in dozens, and there seemed very possibility that Mandalay would be deserted. Then the ministers took fright at the indignation which the

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644 631 782 announced massacres caused in England, and the whole thing was countermanded and denied. But upwards of a hundred people had been arrested, and some of these, when liberated months afterwards, declared that in the dark nights of terror, when no one ventured about Mandalay streets, people were buried under each of the posts at the twelve gates, as a compromise between the fear of the spirits and the fear that the English troops would cross the frontier. 644 787 Each of these posts bears an image of an animal from one of the seals of the king, and before the post sits a figure of a bilu, with a thick club, to act as watchman, in case the human guard should go to sleep. As Burman sentries generally sleep sounder than other people, the propitiation of these spirits at any rate was a very imperative precaution. Whether the oil-jars were filled and reburied *alone* is a dark mystery. But the smallpox left Mandalay, and the place is as happy as ever it was, which, however, is not saying much.

644 361 177.36 The British town of Mandalay is very different from that described. The Palace stockade has gone, and with it very many of the suites of apartments, notably in the women's quarter. The Hall of Audience for a time was converted into a Tamil Mission chapel; the Hlutdaw into a hideous collection of clerks' offices. This has been changed owing to the indignant protests of English visitors. Most of the Palace Halls are now empty: even the Upper Burma Club has been turned out.

The old City has now become cantonments with a few scattered barracks, officers' quarters, and wide stretches of grass. What formerly constituted the suburbs is now Mandalay town. The former execrable roads are now among the best in Burma. But many of the notable buildings, the elaborate monasteries, and gilt shrines have been burnt. Mandalay is certainly a dwindling town; the only question is how long it will remain the second town in Burma.

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Friday, Thaukkya (from Thaukkya, Venus); Saturday, Sané (from Thawri, Saturn). The selection of the planets to denote the days of the week by races so different now, whatever they may originally have been, as the Chinese, Scandinavians, Greeks, and all the Mohammedan tribes, is singular.

For ordinary purposes the day and the night are divided into four periods of three hours each: from six to nine, which is called ta-chetti, the first watch, one blow; twelve o'clock, the next quarter, is announced by hni'-chetti, the second watch, two blows; three o'clock, thôn-chetti, the third watch, three blows; and six, le-chetti, the fourth watch, four blows. These hours were sounded in Mandalay by alternate beating on a huge gong and drum placed in the clock-tower by the eastern gate; and at le-chetti, sundown or sunrise, the palace gates were closed, or opened, as the case might be. Noon is styled môn, and midnight tha'gaung; and the word byan is added in the sense of the English P.M. Thus nayi byan thôn-chetti would be 3 P.M.

In English territory of course the English system has been adopted, and now prevails over the whole country, Upper and Lower. For astronomical purposes, such as the casting of the horoscope and the calculations for fortunate days and the like, an exceedingly elaborate scale exists, but it is never made use of in ordinary life, though references to it in religious books are not uncommon. The unit is a naya. This is the period of time in which ten flashes of lightning may take place, or the time it takes to wink the eye ten times, or to throw out the arm as often. [787]

4 Naya	are equivalent	to one	Kanā, an "instant."
12 Kanā	"	"	Kayā.
10 Kayā	"	"	Pyan.
6 Pyan	"	"	Bizana.
15 Bizana	"	"	Pad.
4 Pad	"	"	Nayi, an "hour."
60 Nayi	"	"	Yet, a day and night.
15 Yet	"	"	Bekkha, or side (of the moon) a half month.
2 Bekkha	"	"	La, a month.
12 La	"	"	H'nit, a year.

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825 baby curled up together in a corner with the boa, making one another mutually cosy.

[757] The gall-bladder and fat of the sabba-gyi are much prized for medicinal purposes, the fat especially being esteemed as a sovereign remedy for rheumatism and strains.

Of the poisonous snakes the most dreaded is the ngan, or u-gwet, the "spotted forehead." This creature, the hamadryad or ophiophagus, is, as his name imports, a cannibal, and lives on his neighbour snakes. Specimens as long as nine feet from nose to tail have been killed near Rangoon, and in the forests which are his proper home he sometimes grows to fourteen or fifteen feet. Unlike all other reptiles, the ngan does not get out of the way of a man approaching his haunts, but attacks him immediately. He is worse than the walrus that roused the indignation of the French poet.

Bees are kept in a good many places in the country, but it is necessary to be very careful where you put the hives. It is a most ill-omened circumstance if wild bees make a nest under the house, or if bees of any kind fly under the floor. On the other hand, a hive on the house-top is very lucky. Honey is in great request to present to the pôngyis at various feasts, and especially for the embalming of the [764] body of a dead brother of the Robe. After the cremation the honey is sold in the bazaar. It is not eaten by Englishmen in Burma. "Tapping the governor" does not commend itself to everybody. The hill tribes in the Shan States keep bees in hives made of blocks of wood.

757 Rhinoceros horns are in as great favour with the Burmans as with Chinese medical men. Shavings of the horn are considered an invaluable cure for epilepsy, and also guard against poisons of all kinds. There are two distinct species found in the eastern forests—the single and the double-horned.

315 ● 787 Near Yenangyaung, in the petroleum district, when a new oil-well is wanted, the workmen place a marble image of an elephant on a smooth, flat stone, and surround it with gifts of all kinds, and then sit down to watch. If the elephant itself moves it indicates the direction in which borings are to be made; if not, the offering on which its shadow first falls as the sun sinks down, is marked, and a bedin sayā consulted.

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823 occasionally want to shift shoulders. When they do so an earthquake is the result. Others declare that the quaking of the earth is caused by gusts of wind on the under surface of the world. The idea is that the solid mass of the earth is supported on a double thickness of water, and this again by twice its thickness of air, below which is a vacuum, occasionally, however, disturbed by storms. The Buddha gave a much more extensive explanation to his favourite disciple Ananda. "My son," he said, "eight causes make the earth tremble. First, the earth lies on a mass of water, which rests on the air, and the air on space; when the air is set in motion, it shakes the water, which in its turn shakes the earth; second, any being gifted with extraordinary powers; third, the conception of a payā laung for his last existence; fourth, his birth; fifth, his becoming a Buddha; sixth, his preaching the Law of the Wheel; seventh, his mastering and renouncing existence; eighth, his obtaining the state of Ne'ban. These are the eight causes of earthquakes."

777 The Law of the Wheel is the doctrine of the four great truths: pain, the production of pain, the destruction of pain, and the way leading to that destruction. These constantly revolve upon themselves, and the manifestation of these truths is the great work a Buddha has to perform.

● 787 Omens are drawn from the appearance of the sun and moon, and especially from the particular constellation which presides over one's birth. The howling of dogs, the flight and song of birds, the appearance of any strange creature, or of a wild animal in an unexpected place, all have their special meaning. So have the nervous twitchings of the eye, or of any part of the body. If the sun or any of the planets approaches the moon there is danger about. In the four months when Venus is not to be seen, in a month when there is an earthquake or an eclipse, and on the first or last day of a month, it is advisable not to cut one's hair, marry, build a house, or begin any important business whatever. These and hundreds more may be found in the Deitton, a book very full of singular information. Palmistry is a science of which every educated person professes to have more or less knowledge. The less a man knows, the more truculent his deductions are.

14: Brant E-5 (1949-50) 1954 AP1 Burma
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of milk. She is not permitted to read, sew, or to do anything that will 'arouse or stir the blood.' 846

Omens are read from the position of mongoloid spots on the newborn baby's body. They are said to represent marks put on in a previous existence and their presence proves that the child was then a human being. A blue spot on the foot presages a life of travel. Any marks leading from the right shoulder to the left hip, the line that the royal riband takes, traditionally indicated a royal future; today, however, in the absence of royalty in Burma, such marks merely forecast a 'great' future for the child. 787 845

A child is constantly watched from the time of birth for signs of whose reincarnation it represents. This is a constant topic in the family conversations. 775

Any disfigurement in a newborn child is regarded as a carry-over of the parents' store of demerit, as well as the child's, from earlier existences. It is regarded with a sense of shame and sorrow.

Although multiple births are neither preferred nor desired, they are not looked upon with any marked anxiety nor are there any supernatural means employed to prevent them. 854 751

A number of things are done by parents to protect the newborn baby from malevolent influences. Before it is a month old, a tiger bone should be ground on a stone, together with a little water, and mixed with honey. This is fed to the child to ward off a mysterious infant illness associated with the tiger. A connection is believed to exist between the tiger and convulsions; some parents place a tiger skin under the mattress of the baby's bed to guard against such illness. A knife similarly placed is said to protect against illness in general.

To insure good health and well-being for the child, a white thread over which certain prayers have been recited may be given by a Buddhist monk and tied around the baby's wrists. People should refrain from making admiring remarks about a baby's growth; if they do so, the thread may be left on the baby's wrists to neutralize the harm that may come.

When the stump of the child's umbilical cord has dried and fallen off, it is kept and used as a medicine for any illness that befalls the child. A little of it is ground up and mixed with water for such purposes. [846]

A very close connection is believed to exist between mother and child during the nursing period. Certain observances are necessary. The mother must not eat tomatoes at this time, for they may appear in the baby's stools; for the same reason, she must abstain from green vegetables. Any falling out of her hair during the nursing stage is said to be caused by bubbles blown into her by the suckling baby. To prevent the milk supply from drying up, the nursing mother avoids fruits of astringent quality, such as pomegranates and buds of the banyan. She must also take care not to allow milk to fall on the floor and dry. 853

The baby is weaned very gradually, beginning at the age of about nine months to a year in most cases, although some children may be given the breat occasionally up to the age of two or three years. Weaning is facilitated by the mother's application of a bitter substance to her breasts. 862

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One of the vows that monks take is never to have any dealings with charms or with the supernatural, and so Buddhism cannot even give such little assistance to its believers as to furnish them with charms. If they have charms, it is against their faith; it is a falling away from the purity of their teachings; it is simply the innate yearning of man to the supernatural, to the mysterious. Man's passions are very strong, and if he must fight, he must also have a charm to protect him in fight. If his religion cannot give it him, he must find it elsewhere. You see that, as the teachings of the Buddha have never been able to be twisted so as to permit war directly, neither have they been able to assist indirectly by furnishing charms, by making the fighter bullet-proof. And I thought then of the little prayer and the cross that were so certain a defence against hurt.

We talked for a long time in the waning moonlight by the ruddy fire, and at last we broke up to go to bed. As we rose a voice called to us across the water from the little promontory. In the still night every word was as clear as the note of a gong.

'Sleep well,' it cried — 'sleep well — sle-e-ep we-l-l.'

We all stood astonished — those who did not know Burmese wondering at the voice; those who did, wondering at the meaning. The sentries peered keenly towards the sound.

'Sleep well,' the voice cried again; 'eat well. It will not be for long. Sleep well while you may.'

And then, after a pause, it called the governor's

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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down become green again, than an elect guilty of such pride be restored to his holy station. Take care for yourself that you do not give way to such an excess.'

Is not this teaching the very reverse of that of all other peoples and religions? Can you imagine the religious teachers of any other religion being warned to keep themselves free from visions? Are not visions and trances, dreams and imaginations, the very proof of holiness? But here it is not so. These are vain things, foolish imaginations, and he who would lead the pure life must put behind him all such things as mere dram-drinking of the soul.

This is a most wonderful thing, a religion that condemns all mysticisms. It stands alone here amongst all religions, pure from the tinsel of miracle, either past, or present, or to come. And yet this people is, like all young nations, given to superstition: its young men dream dreams, its girls see visions. There are interpreters of dreams, many of them, soothsayers of all kinds, people who will give you charms, and foretell events for you. Just as it was with us not long ago, the mystery, *what is* beyond the world, exercises a curious fascination over them. Everywhere you will meet with traces of it, and I have in another chapter told some of the principal phases of these. But the religion has kept itself pure. No hysteric visions, no madman's dreams, no clever conjurer's tricks, have ever shed a tawdry glory on the monkhood of the Buddha. Amid all the superstition round about them they have remained pure, as they have from passion and desire. Here in the far East, the very home, we

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think, of the unnatural and superhuman, the very cradle of the mysterious and the wonderful, is a religion which condemns it all, and a monkhood who follow their religion. Does not this out-miracle any miracle?

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With other faiths it is different: they hold out to those who follow their tenets and accept their ministry that in exchange for the worldly things which their followers renounce they shall receive other gifts, heavenly ones; they will be endued with power from above; they will have authority from on high; they will become the chosen messengers of God; they may even in their trances enter into His heaven, and see Him face to face.

Buddhism has nothing of all this to offer. A man must surrender all the world, with no immediate gain. There is only this: that if he struggle along in the path of righteousness, he will at length attain unto the Great Peace.

A monk who dreamed dreams, who said that the Buddha had appeared to him in a vision, who announced that he was able to prophesy, would be not exalted, but expelled. He would be deemed silly or mad; think of that—mad—for seeing visions, not holy at all! The boys would jeer at him; he would be turned out of his monastery.

A monk is he who observes purity and sanity of life. Hysteric dreams, the childishness of the mysterious, the insanity of the miraculous, are no part of that.

And so a monk has to put behind him everything that is called good in this life, and govern his body and his soul in strict temperance.

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

CHAPTER IV

76

U PON NYA

1. The Life of U Pon Nya

536* 644 792 538 U Pon Nya was born about the year 1807. His father was a minor nobleman at the court of Prince Tharrawaddy, a younger brother of King Bagyidaw (who lost the war against the British), and the young boy was brought up under the patronage of the prince. He was a precocious child and was placed under the tutorship of the most learned monk of the day. The prince rebelled against his brother and became king in 1837. U Pon Nya, in the meantime, had become a monk. During the rebellion, his father fell fighting for the prince, and the new king wanted U Pon Nya to take his father's office, but the future dramatist preferred to remain a monk. King Tharrawaddy continued to consider himself as godfather to U Pon Nya, who therefore was in constant contact with the court. On the death of that king, his son Pagan ascended the throne, and U Pon Nya left the capital for the little town of Salè, where he began to compose literary essays in about 1847. His essays and lyrics became immensely popular, and he came to be known all over the country as the 'Master of Salè', by which name he is more commonly referred to. In 1850 he became a layman again, and was appointed a court poet at the court of Prince Kanaung, a brother of the reigning king, Pagan. In 1851 Burma went to war again with the British and lost some more territory. Prince Kanaung and his other brother, Mindon, rebelled against the half-mad king. Mindon became the new king and made peace with the British. Kanaung became the crown prince, and U Pon Nya his official poet. He was then already recognized by the nation as the foremost poet, scholar and essayist of the day. He wrote astrological works and ●[787] won further fame as an astrologer. He believed that he was liable to die on the scaffold and asked for a proclamation by the king exempting him from punishment by death; otherwise he begged to leave the court for the monastery. The required proclamation was made.

23: Brant & Mi Mi Khaing E, I-5 (1949-1950)1951
AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

quite frequently help in rearing their grandchildren, telling them stories and 603
teaching them the Buddhist scriptures.

THE LIFE CYCLE OF THE INDIVIDUAL

Birth and Infancy. When a woman is pregnant her dreams are considered 843
especially significant. She is expected to remember those of her dreams that con- 787
cern what her child will be like. The welfare of the child is forecast by some dreams: a dream of only one of things that normally are paired, such as earrings, bodes ill, possibly death, of the child in infancy; a dream of her viscera coming out indicates a great future for the child. Persistent dreams of a particular deceased individual are indicative of whose reincarnation the child will represent. In all forebodings of ill the normal counter-measure is to consult a Buddhist [751]
monk or an astrologer, who may give the prospective mother an inscribed *mantra* (prayer) to keep or some amulet for the child to wear as protection.

Although the Burmese woman need not avoid any specific foods during her [262]
pregnancy, strong spices are regarded as harmful.

No supernatural means are employed to influence the sex of the prospective offspring. Certain signs are considered prognosticative: if the pregant woman's stomach is pointed, a boy will be born, whereas a broad, flat stomach indicates a girl is in prospect.

Pregnancy among the Burmese is considered a time of great happiness; the woman is greatly indulged and pampered by all concerned.

When the time for delivery approaches any other pregnant women in the 844
household must depart, lest their presence impede labor. Usually the woman's mother, grandmother, or aunt, in addition to a midwife, assists at birth. A fire is prepared in the room in which delivery is to take place and is maintained for ten days.

As soon as delivery has occurred, the umbilical cord is cut with a bamboo 846
knife. The afterbirth is wrapped in the new mother's skirt and is buried at once in the cardinal direction associated with the day of the week of the baby's birth. The mother is fed an infusion of turmeric, and turmeric paste is rubbed all over her body. She is kept close to the nearby fire and made very warm. For three days she is carefully watched to prevent her from sleeping heavily in daylight hours.

The new mother is treated as a delicate invalid for about a month and, in [262]
some cases, for as long as three months. She is fed only white rice and dried fish. [853]
A soup of garlic and banana stems is drunk to promote the flow of milk. She is
not permitted to read, sew, or to do anything that will "arouse or stir the blood."

23: Brant & Mi Mi Khaing E, I-5 (1949-1950)1951
AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

787 826 Omens are read from the position of mongoloid spots on the newborn baby's body. They are said to represent marks put on in a previous existence and their presence proves the child was then a human being. A blue spot on the foot presages a life of travel. Any marks leading from the right shoulder to the left hip, the line that the royal riband takes, indicate a royal future; today, however, with no royalty in Burmese society, such marks merely forecast a "great" future for the child.

775 826 A child is constantly watched from the time of birth for signs of whose reincarnation it represents. This is a constant topic in the family conversations.

Any disfigurement in a newborn child is regarded as a carry-over of the parents' store of demerit, as well as that of the child, from previous existences. It is regarded with a sense of shame and sorrow.

845 Although multiple births are neither preferred nor desired, they are not looked upon with any marked anxiety nor are there any supernatural means employed to prevent them.

766 In the event of a stillborn baby, the corpse is given special treatment. It is kept in a case, clothed and powdered, and a tray of food is set in front of it every day. It is considered auspicious to care for a stillborn child in this manner: the spirits will guide the parents in their dreams toward the attainment of material prosperity.

751 854 [825] [753] For the normal baby who survives, a number of things are done by Burmese parents to protect it from malevolent influences. Before it is a month old, a tiger bone is ground on a stone, together with a little water, and mixed with honey. This is fed to the child to ward off a mysterious infant illness associated with the tiger. A connection is believed to exist between the tiger and convulsions; some parents place a tiger skin under the mattress of the baby's bed to guard against such illness. A knife placed under the baby's mattress is said to protect against illness in general.

To insure good health and well-being for the child, a white thread over which certain *mantras* have been recited may be given by a Buddhist monk and tied around the baby's wrists. Should a baby be admired by people for its growth, the thread may be left on to neutralize the harm that is believed to result from such expressions.

[278] When the child's umbilical cord has dried and fallen off, it is kept and used as a medicine for any illness that befalls the child. A little of it is ground up and mixed with water for such purposes.

000 A very close connection is believed to exist between mother and child during

23: Brant & Mi Mi Khaing E, I-5 (1949-1950)1951
AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

mony, but in actual practice this often takes place as early as her seventh or eighth year. Since this is a feast occasion involving considerable expense to her family, there is a tendency to hold a single ceremony, at which perhaps a pubescent girl, together with her younger sisters or cousins, will all have their ears bored. On the same occasion male children of approximately the same age may be initiated into the Buddhist monkhood.[5] 304 881

The girl initiate is dressed for the occasion in the traditional garb of the Burmese court, and in addition she wears a spired-helmet type of head dress. The villagers gather at her family's house for the event. An elderly woman rubs an anaesthetic plant substance on the girl's ear lobes and pierces them with gold pins. The pins are left in the ears, bent back. Later, if larger holes are desired, rolled leaves may be inserted. The family presents gifts to the assembled guests; often these are conventionalized tokens, such as inscribed cigars and fans. [292] [278] [431]

Courtship and Marriage. Young people in the villages find ample opportunities to assess each other's manners, physical appearance, and personality in the company of others, at feasts and various gatherings. If a young man and woman are together apart from the company of others it is assumed that sex relations are involved. In fact, such going together is spoken of as "getting married." The Burmese find it hard to conceive of a young unmarried couple associating on a purely friendly, non-sexual basis: such behavior would be regarded as contrary to nature. However, unchaperoned association is disapproved and does not occur very frequently. 584 836

Once a pair have decided they wish to marry, the boy will inform his parents of his desire. They will already know, especially in the smaller villages, of the standing of the girl's family and of her dowry potentialities; in fact, as soon as they have sensed their son's interest in a particular girl they will take steps to acquire this information. They will also ascertain whether acceptance by the girl's family is likely. In a small community the approach may be made directly by the boy's parents. In larger centers a female go-between is more likely to be employed. The boy's parents will be informed by the girl's family that the decision must await the outcome of consultation with an astrologer concerning the compatibility of the birth dates of the prospective bride and groom. If the marriage is found to be an auspicious one—which it will usually be found to be if the girl's parents desire the match—an affirmative answer will be relayed to the boy's parents. The latter will then call upon her parents and in the presence of elders, not necessarily related to either family, formally ask for the girl's hand. 584 [787]

5 Description of the boy's initiation ceremony is being reserved for a separate publication.

23: Brant & Mi Mi Khaing E, I-5 (1949-1950)1951
AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

584 From this moment the couple are considered betrothed, and must not go about in public unchaperoned.

[787] The wedding date is astrologically determined. The length of the engagement period depends upon the availability of an auspicious wedding date. Generally speaking, lengthy engagements are disliked. In no case should an engagement carry over the Buddhist "Lent."

585 Before the wedding ceremony, the bride's house is open to friends and relatives, who are expected to drop in to help prepare the house for the wedding, lending household items that may be needed for the occasion. A pavilion adjoining the house is erected to accommodate the crowd that will attend. All the helpers and would-be helpers in this work are offered meals and light refreshments.

The bride's family normally bears all the expenses of these preparations, but sometimes the boy's family will mention a sum of money either as a contribution toward the wedding or as an indication of their son's ability to support a wife. If such funds are forthcoming, they will mention them at the time they ask for the girl's hand.

One room in the girl's house is set aside as the bridal chamber. In families of average or better financial means it is furnished with a bed, draperies, and complete toilet and dressing facilities. In poorer families that cannot afford to furnish the bridal chamber in elaborate fashion, some show of style will be made in furnishing the bed at least. By the evening before the wedding day the room must be ready, with all the wedding gifts on display.

On the wedding day three or four intimate married friends of the girl dress her. This must not be done by widows or divorcees, for it would bode ill for the marriage. For unmarried girls to perform this task would be immodest. Neither should a pregnant woman dress the bride, for this would be bad for her baby. The dressing of the bride begins sufficiently early for her to be ready at the astrologically-determined wedding hour.

The bridegroom's party arrives just prior to the appointed time for the ceremony. It includes two of his bachelor friends as well as his family. He takes his seat on a cushion on the platform that has been specially erected for the ceremony. The bride is brought out by her matrons, and approaches with her eyes downcast. She takes her seat on a cushion on the bridegroom's left. Across the platform, from left to right, are placed three silver offering bowls. A fourth bowl, on the right hand edge of the platform, contains puffed rice. The bride-

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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88. METHILA ON THE ROUND FOR SUN.

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struggles. Apart from this and the serfdom referred to at p. 32, slavery has only played a subordinate *rôle* in Burma within historic times. The *payadyún*, and they alone, are treated as outcasts by both of these populations. They beg for alms and also appropriate the offerings brought to the shrines in profusion at festivals. Their right to beg is admitted, although they frequently accumulate money and build fine houses.

Lepers (*anû*) in many cases quit their families of their own accord and settle in the *payadyún* colony. In some places they were compelled to do so. The settlements have thus acquired the semblance of leper colonies. There are a few country villages of this character. Indigent lepers beg for alms. In 1891 there were 6,000 lepers in Burma, the highest ratio in the Indian Empire. There are now four leper asylums. Casual
[735] mendicancy is almost unknown in Burma.

The Burman and Brahman soothsayers (p. 158) are regular frequenters of
● 787 the shrines. The Burman astrologer (*bedin-sayá*) casts horoscopes on the
803 Brahman model (No. 279) and designates the days auspicious for undertakings. He takes his name from proficiency in reckoning, and is consulted about business calculations that cannot be done mentally.

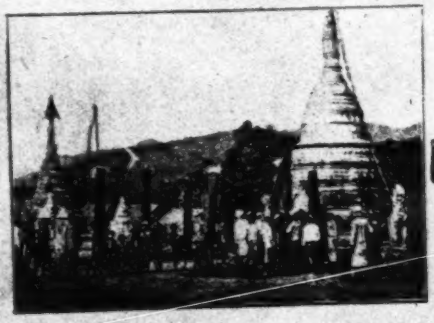
796 The Buddhist duty-days (*âbôt-ne, thadin*) follow the quarters of the moon.
785 They are kept regularly during lent. On these days the pious laity of both sexes and sedate years observe the rule of *pôthudaw* and *mèthila* from sunrise to sunrise (*âbôt-saung*). They adopt sober
[785] attire, or else white cotton clothing, which is considered the plainest of any. In the forenoon men and women separately repair to the temple rest-houses, whither food for the morning meal, which has been collected the previous evening from religious donors

89. SOOTHSAYER.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

122. CUTTING GIANT BAMBOO (WABO).

and the roof-rafters. Straight trees are selected for posts, and are either left plain, or the sapwood is dressed off, or they are dubbed octagonal; the timbers are rough-hewn with the *dâ*. Posts of hard and durable wood (*pyinkadó*) are also squared, and the scantlings for the timbers cut with the saw. A special significance attaches to the posts of the house. It is thought unlucky if birds alight on them before they are roofed in. Sham bows and arrows are set at the heads of the posts to scare them (*hugemmana*). Besides the miniature bow-and-arrow stuck in bazár goods to scare crows, this is the only form in which the long-bow and arrow survive in Burma; in practice, arrows are used with a crossbow (No. 204) and pellets with the plain bow (*le*), and that not extensively. Another curious custom is the one of laying a piece of cloth between the head of the post and the wall-plate as a propitiation to the *nat* of the tree (p. 187). Before the large posts of temples are reared, their heads are hung with offerings, which the workpeople afterwards share among themselves. The front bays of the house have a floor only a few feet off the ground (*kyanneing*)—unless where the flood-levels require it to be higher—making a verandah, the common or unenclosed portion of the house, free to strangers. The back bays have a floor about four cubits off the ground or above the lower floor. A bamboo or wooden ladder connects the floors. The upper floor is enclosed all round, and has one or two bays partitioned off. A pent-roof covers the cooking-place and grain-bin, where the rice-pounders and implements are stored as well; or else there is a shed for



123. REARING THE POSTS OF THE WUT.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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278. SHAMPOOING (A-HNEIK).

Dysentery is much less frequent in natives than in European residents. Consumption and pneumonia are rare, but coughs and bronchitis are common. Cancer is not unknown. Measles and chicken-pox follow a mild course. Scarlet fever does not occur, nor does typhus. It is uncertain whether typhoid fever existed in Burma or has been introduced; it is rare among the natives, but attacks Europeans in a bad form. Venereal diseases lurk in the towns. (For leprosy, see p. 41.) Diarrhœa and cholera recrudesce every hot season. There are no records of other pestilence. Small-pox rages in severe epidemics, but with greatly diminished incidence where vaccination has been accepted. Native practitioners were acquainted with inoculation. In introducing voluntary vaccination the British Government has met with great success. The introduction of this measure exemplifies how grotesque the arguments may be that prevail upon the people. The alleged motive of the government was too improbable; so wiseacres cast about for another. What more likely than a dream of the Queen of England—that a child existed in Burma who would overthrow her dominion! This child could not be known, but it would be reached and removed by the plan of poisoning the blood of the whole generation. It was many years before

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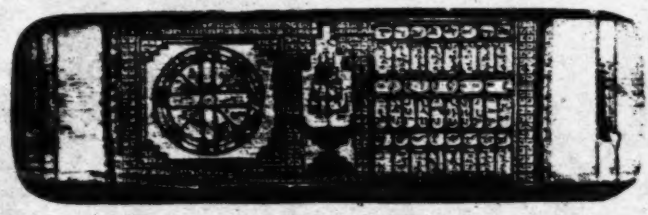

279. HOROSCOPE ON PALM-LEAF.

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the myth was dispelled. In 1894, when small-pox was known to be approaching from Karenni, the Karén (nat-worshipping) village of Bilin-Mèwaing among others, consisting of sixty souls, submitted to vaccination. The lymph took in all but sixteen cases. Six months later small-pox reached the locality. Twelve

29: Slater M-4 (no date) 1951 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

has been fulfilled. What had to be done has been accomplished. After this present life there will be no beyond';[44] he has, indeed, attained the full Vision of Deliverance and can cheer and exhort others along the Path.[45] His condition is summed up as a state of self-possession, investigation into the truth, energy, calm, joy, concentration and magnanimity.[46] And this condition, nothing more and nothing less, this, contends Rhys Davids, is Nibbāna. "It is not too much to say that Arahatship is Buddhism"[47] — a philosophy of life which aimed its keenest shafts at all forms of the supernatural and the mysterious and set before men an ideal of self-conquest, a 'final salvation . . . obtainable in this world and in this world alone.'[48]

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Now there is much in the apparent attitude of the Burmese Saṃgha to support Rhys David's interpretation. The devout bhikku certainly seems to hold before him the attainment of the Nibbāna-condition, the qualities of life which signify the Arahat. His conception of Nibbāna is very closely joined with this ideal. His immediate aim is to excel in the discipline which brings the ideal nearer, subduing the passions and employing the mind in those exercises which belong to the Paṭh.

But two questions arise. The first is the question whether he really expects to realise this ideal and obtain this final salvation in this present life. Theoretically, no doubt, it is possible. In a reference to the *Abhiññā*, the supernormal insight which is attained by the Arahat, the Lēdi Sayādaw insists that in the Buddhist Scriptures we find, clearly shown, the means towards attaining the five supernatural faculties. That we do not see any person endowed with these today, "is due to the lack of strenuous physical and mental exertion towards their attainment."[49] A zealous missioner, held in the highest esteem throughout Burma,[50] few have done more in modern times than the Lēdi Sayādaw himself to encourage his compatriots, whether monks or laymen, to seek the Path. Yet it may be questioned whether he ever really expected any of his followers to attain the supernatural faculties in this present life. In another treatise he warns against false confidence.

[785]
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"It is ... very difficult to become aware of the attainment of the Paths and of the Fruits. In fact even the Ariyan (saint) who has attained

[44] D. 158 (*cf.* Rhys Davids, *op. cit.*, part I, p. 204).
[45] M. i. 146 (*cf.* Chalmers, *Further Dialogues of the Buddha*, Vol. I, p. 168.)
[46] Rhys Davids, *op. cit.*, p. 190.
[47] *American Lectures*, chap. IV, p. 151.
[48] *Dialogues of the Buddha*, pp. 141 ff.
[49] *Questions on Karma*; *cf.* comment in *M.B.B.*, p. 46.
[50] Cf. Thirkell-White, *A Civil Servant in Burma* (1913), chap. XI., p. 197.

342 like to the bamboo sticks and together with them
824 bound to the roof rafters (Figure 2). The larger leaves of the Ingyin (Shorea robusta) (8) are

8. According to J.G. Scott, Burma, 2nd ed., (London, 1911), p. 500; other botanical explanations by H.R. Spearman, British Burma Gazeteer 1 (Rangoon 1880), pp. 125 ff., H.J. Wehrli, Zur Wirtschafts- und Siedlungs-Geographie von Ober-Birma /Economic and Settlements Geography of Upper Burma/ (Zurich, 1906), p. 111; Ferrars, ibid., p. 227.

sometimes seen as roofing material, pinned together in rows /207/ with bamboo pins and squeezed with poles against the roof (Figure 3).
342 The grass roofs, particularly during the windy,
[656] dry winter season, are, of course, an extreme fire hazard and are therefore now prohibited for the cities. There--wherever brick or corrugated tin roofs have not been adopted--a roofing material, called "wakat," a shingle, cut from braided bamboo work is used. As a poor protec-
355 tion in case of fire, which frequently burns down whole villages, a wooden hook, attached to a long handle is employed to tear off those parts of the grass roof which have caught fire and a damper, made of bamboo braided material is used to extinguish the sparks. These two utensils can be seen in practically every house (cf. Plate IV, 1 and especially Plate IV, 3); sometimes a number of jugs, filled with water, are seen standing at the ridge of the roof for purposes of fire fighting.

342 The Burmese attributes good and bad luck in
777 all his undertakings to the influence of the in-
●787 numerable benign and evil spirits (Nat) who were originally outside the Buddhist creed, and he makes his decisions dependent on omens and oracles

342 of soothsayers (9). Consequently he is naturally
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●787

9. Bedin-saya, derived from Sanskrit, meaning Veda teacher. Judson's Burmese-English Dictionary (Rangoon, 1893), p. 782.

very careful when it comes to the construction of his house. With the aid of the soothsayer the building site must be investigated, the day and hour when to start the construction, and the choice of the timber have to be considered carefully. The shape of the posts, the irregularities of their forms, the knots in the wood where the branches were furnish important clues for the fate of the future occupants. The number of the
342 posts varies in accordance with the size of the
776 house. Usually six posts are erected for the main tract and each post has its own name. One of the posts is considered by most tribes as the seat of the house spirits. In the Burmese house this is the southeastern corner post of the main tract. The body of a deceased person is always
[764] deposited close to it until the coffin arrives. A coconut always hangs there in honor of the Mahagiri-Nat (Min Magayi), the household spirit /Figure 3--Shan house with leaf roof, Southern Shan State of Mongpai (Burmese: Mobye)/ and the coconut must always be replaced when the milk dries up. To avoid bad luck which spirits, liv-
342 ing inside the wood knots, might threaten, the
776 tops of the posts, or at least every third one,
777 are covered with white or red fabric patches; sometimes for good luck, some Thanaka paste (grated rind of Murraya exotica) is smeared on them. Even the clerics do not seem to be immune
346 to the evil influence of these nature spirits,
776 whose origins date back to pre-Buddhistic times,
777 for these protective coverings of the posts can be observed not only at residential dwellings, guest houses, bridges, etc., but also at religi-

346
776 ous buildings, such as monasteries, /208/ monas-
777 tic rest houses and wooden chapels. The bury-
782 ing alive of human sacrifices at the posts of
776 the foundations of the entrances was in old Bur-
mese days considered as an indispensable method of protecting important buildings, such as princely palaces, city gates, bridges, etc. The ghost of the entombed—according to Burmese belief those who have been killed by violence are rooted to the spot where they died--is supposed to watch as a guardian over the building, post, or bridge foundation.

As late as the middle of the past century,
782 more than fifty human beings were buried alive
●787 when the foundations for the palace and the city walls of Mandalay were laid. But the protective power of those ghosts was of limited duration. From certain omens it could be predicted that the protection was going to cease, and then it was time to leave the place which was open to disaster. This was the explanation given for the frequent change of residence of the Burmese rulers. The small chapels with their stone images of door guardians at the gates and corners of the walls of the palace area of Mandalay still indicate the locations where these human sacrifices have been buried, though the modern inhabitants will not admit this to a European. At the corners, filled oil jugs were sunk over the buried people; the dwindling of the oil in the containers, which were examined every seven years, foreshadowed an approaching catastrophe in 1880. They tried to avoid this catastrophe with new sacrifices. Nevertheless, it happened. The British occupied the country and the kingdom perished (10).

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782 10. Primarily, according to Shway Yoe, ibid., pp. 482 ff. It is well known that the burying of live sacrifices at construction foundations is a custom, widespread all over the world,

501 His constructive skill with wood has been most successfully ex-
396 pressed in the vehicles for land and water transport—the bullock cart and the canoe. The classic pattern for a Burmese boat is the *laung*, built from a single hollowed-out trunk of the *thingan*, a tough tree growing near the water with a girth of 4—20 feet and a height of 15—75 feet. The trunk is hollowed out into a rough hull, the outside is adzed, circles of holes are bored through for a guide, and the shell is hollowed to a uniform thickness. It is then waterlogged, and fired slowly, the symmetry being carefully tended as the hull opens out with the firing. Planks are built up on the sides to increase capacity. These laungs, of a capacity from 10—40 tons, are the universal canoes of the rivers and creeks of Burma. Poled upstream and rowed downstream, they are ideal in the ease with which they can be bumped against rocks or got off shoals, the thingan hull lasting for 20 or 30 years. The bigger boats which still carry rice and other produce up the Irrawaddy are built up from stout ribs on a style which simulates the solid hull of the laung. These boats carry enormous sails and a crew of about fifteen men. Their bulk-heads are richly carved, and they glide along the great Irrawaddy, stately and calm beside the chugging river-steamers, their prows rising and falling like the heads of some fabulous birds.

493 The Burmese cart is a poem in curves of wood. The floor of the cart gives a slight curving sweep from front to back, the sides exaggerate this in crescents that sweep right up into the air, and the circle of the wheel has good balance and strength behind its symmetry. For the sake of the curves, the root wood of cutch and the curved branches of thingan are specially sought out.

326 Brassware, for which the old centres were at Amarapura and Sagaing
•788 in Upper Burma, we were familiar with in bells and gongs. Bells are
534 kept by the Burmese for sacred uses only. The delicate small bells hung high around the spires of pagodas, often of gold and silver, have tongues that are moved by the winds to give a sweet testimony, to all spirits, of the good work of men who built the pagoda and other men who pray below, and give the praying devotee a tinkling reassurance of his merit. The great big bells, however, made of molten copper and tin poured into moulds of clay and wax in pits dug in the earth, have no tongues; but when struck with deer's antlers or a wooden striker they
[552] sing a deep note of sweetness. The names given to some famous bells reflect their beauty: *Maha Ganda* (Great Voice), *Mahatti Thadda Ganda* (Great Sweet Sound). All big bells are hung on a cross bar with wooden supports at pagodas, where after recitation of precepts we picked up the striker in turn and struck three times to announce to the spirits

around that we had meritoriously praised the Lord Buddha, and then touched the earth with the striker to pass the message to the spirits there also. These big bells may weigh up to 25 tons; the bell at Mingun is said to be the second largest in the world. They are all inscribed with lauds and invocations for the welfare of the donor. Gongs of brass are the bells of the town-crier; all announcements are punctuated with the striking of a gong. *Maung le htu tè* is the equivalent of "broadcasting it around the town". Much attention is paid to the melodiousness of gongs for the Burmese have a musical instrument called the *kyi-waing*, which is a circular frame on which graduated gongs are hung and beaten with a knobbed stick to harmonize with the rest of a Burmese orchestra.

326 788• 534 [203]

There were numerous other objects for which my mother would never accept a substitute from English shops because they did not cater for our ingrained customs. Soup never tastes right when eaten with a metal spoon—we always used Burmese china spoons bought for about one anna each; rice is not to be stirred with a metal utensil either—the Burmese wooden ladle for this is the *yaung-ma*, the same word as for sister-in-law, the stirrer of trouble. There were, of course, particular places in Burma which supplied particular articles of dress, but I took an interest in this only when I was grown up.

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What delights me is to find now that, in the imported things about the house also, all minkadaw households bought a standard type. This was probably due to the enterprise of Messrs. Rowe and Co., a Rangoon firm selling general goods, which established branches in all district towns to provide officers with anything they could not buy in native shops. We all bought Gold Medal camp chairs and camp cots from Rowe's. We bought durwan's kerosene lamps for bedrooms, Storm King and Petromax lamps with incandescent mantles for sitting and dining rooms, we bought crockery which came out in three or four good standard patterns, with an adaptation from the orthodox English dinner service to provide soup and curry dishes suitable for Burmese meals. We got cane furniture made in the local jails, odd chairs and always the half-wood half-cane stores box to serve on tours, and the long basket trays in which my father's files and papers would come home and go to the office every day, on the head of the *chaprassi*. The *hpas*, soft expandable cane boxes in which Burmese people pack their bedding when travelling, were always covered with green canvas from Rowe's. With these hpas, matching the Gold Medal camp cots and chairs, the boxes from the jails, a clerk and two or three girls looking after the children, and a general air of solicitous attention from the people around, no one could mistake an a-so-ya government official's family on its touring travels.

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becoming common. Borrowing money is always such a shameful thing 452
to Burmans that highly usurious rates prevail. The minimum rate of these private money-lenders is Re. 1/8 per Rs. 100/- per month, *i.e.* 18% per annum.

But this emphasis on money-making during the retirement period 181
was not pure avariciousness. It was connected with the ability to dis- 593
charge the duties of a parent and a good Buddhist during one's last years, to have sufficient means to settle children in a good marriage, which is one of the duties laid down for a good parent, and to make many donations towards pagodas, resthouses and monasteries, all as a foundation for a rebirth into a better existence.

For men like my father, this last period of their lives was a soft and 887
gentle immersion in the atmosphere which pervaded their childhood in 177
the monastery, and which had been banished into a memory with the years of English education, government posts, courts and litigation, and the rearing of children whose future must be bound up with the obtaining of better government posts.

During these years, my father continued his daily prayers before 887
the altar, but they were short and he said them softly, his feet were shod 788
with shoes and socks, his tourings took him to headmen's houses more
often than to monasteries, his evenings were spent in playing tennis in- 593
stead of chinlon, and drinking lime-juice instead of coconut water, and
his houses of the regulation pattern were filled with cane furniture made 177.
by convicts in jails. What a far cry from the dim light on wooden floors and pillars, the steady chorus of young monks at prayers. My father, who during his working years had encouraged us to eat, laugh and be merry in each present moment, now dismayed us with a sudden conviction of the vanity of all worldly things, towns, society, dress and ornament. We woke up at dawn to the sound of his prayers, and on [741]
most mornings he walked out of the town to the hills where the monasteries and resthouses were gathered; he walked barefoot again with great enjoyment in those quiet grounds, turned aside to supervise the building of a *thein*, a house for the ordination and meditation of monks, which he had persuaded a more wealthy friend to endow. He no longer showered on us de luxe editions of Western encyclopaedias and the collected works of Dickens and Scott as he used to, but bought richly carved book cases and sacred books for the monasteries in Thaton. We no longer ate our meals on chairs, sitting up at a table, but at a low round table on the polished floor. My father sat cross legged, but he could not go back to eating with his fingers, he still used a spoon and fork. At nights we fell asleep to the sound of his prayers and it was like a benediction. Buddhist prayers in Burma consist of two parts: the first is a

1: Mi Mi Khaing I-5 (no date) 1946 AP1 Burma
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887 long recitation of precepts and lauds, mostly in Pali and not intelligible
• 788 to the casual ear. The second part, the *hsu-taung*, is the asking for
593 blessings in a formula which asks: "May (my mother) be blessed.
179. May (a married couple) have long life together." My father worked
88 through a list of all his and my mother's relations and connections. Going down in order of seniority he fitted them all into a rhythm and we came to know the place of each in this melodious chant. When we were young we sometimes waited with bated breath for the turn of a relation who had just quarrelled with my parents, but my father never omitted to ask for blessings on him. We loved this part of our parents' prayers. Uncles, first and second cousins whom we did not see for long stretches

of time, were kep familiar in this way. Relationships were prefixed to each name; births, deaths and marriages were registered, the infant cousins added, the newly-dead aunts omitted, and the new niece-at-law joined in a long and happy life to her husband. We loved especially our own place in the litany—my sisters, because they were given their full and correct names by which they were never called, and I, because I was an exception, called even in this formal litany by the affectionate name my parents had for me. "*Tha Maung Sett Kaing*," my father, would chant, "*Tha Maung Sett Kaing, Tha-mi Mamie, Tha-mi Ma Mya Thin, Tha-mi Ma Hin Aye, Tha-mi Ma Myat Kyi:* Son Succeeding and Lasting, Daughter Mamie, Daughter Fragrant Emerald, Daughter Cool as the Dew, Daughter Noble and Clear."

897 Most of the pensioners lived a similar life to my father's at this time.
52 It was indicative of the contentment of their retired existence that they

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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breakfast ready prepared for them when they return from 792
their morning's walk, and are ready to set to with healthy 735
appetites. This question of Sybaritism is a chief source
of dispute between the rival sects of Mahā and Sula- [795]
gandi.

Breakfast done, they wash out the begging-bowls, and 792
chant a few lauds before the image of the Buddha, meditating for a short time on kindness and affection. During the succeeding hour the scholars are allowed to play about, but must not make a noise, or indulge in quarrelsome games; the religious pass the time in leisurely conversation, or in any other way they please; the kyaung po-go usually has visits from old people, who come to pay their respects, or perhaps [735]
the kyaung-tagā, the founder of the monastery, the patron of his benefice, comes to consult with him on various matters, or to converse about religion and good works. The etiquette observed on these occasions is always very stately and ceremonious. Whoever approaches, whether it be the poorest 792
villager, the founder of the monastery, or the governor of the 788 ●
district, all alike must prostrate themselves three times be- 775
fore the yahan, and, with uplifted hands, say, "In order that all the sins I have committed, in thought, in word, or in deed, may be pardoned to me, I prostrate myself three times, once in honour of the Buddha, again in honour of the Law, and thirdly in honour of the Assembly, the three precious things. By so doing, I hope to be preserved from the three calamities, from the four states of punishment; and from the five enemies, fire, water, thieves, governors (literally translated burdens), and malevolent people." The sayā replies: "As a reward for his merit and his obeisances, may the supporter (tagā) be freed from the three calamities, the four states of punishment, the five enemies, and from harm of what kind soever. May all his aims be good and end well; may he advance firmly in the noble path, perfect himself in wisdom, and finally obtain rest in ne'ban." Whenever the visitor addresses the yahan he joins his hands together, and sitting as he does on a mat, slightly bends the body forward,
applying the title of payā, or lord, and making use of the [198]
honorific forms of speech specially reserved for the religious. The mendicant on his part calls the layman, of whatever

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rank, tagā, supporter, or, if the visitor be a woman, tăgama. Somehow or other these conversations, like the addresses of the religious to the people in the rest-houses, always seem to come round to the subject of the merit of almsgiving. The recluse will say that whatever is presented, silk robe, mattress, pillow, betel-box, is purified by the merit of the alms deed. The poor could fill the Lord Buddha's begging-bowl with a handful of flowers; the rich could not do so with a hundred, a thousand, ten thousand measures of grain. The path in the noontide heat is hard to one who has no sandals, and no water-gourd. What, then, will be the path after death to one who has not charity and regard for the ten precepts! Alms deeds can defend a man and protect him against the influence and the sources of demerits which are man's true enemies. Liberality is chief among the ten great virtues; it is the second of the three works of perfection; it is the absolute soul of the five renouncements. With all these a man becomes a Buddha, without them he sinks to be an animal, or worse still, to the fiery chambers of hell.

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When the conversation is over the layman bows down three times again, saying, "My Lord's disciple does obeisance"; or U tin ba thi "places his forehead on the ground," rises, backs five or ten paces, and then turning on the right, as he would at the pagoda, departs. There may be quite a long succession of these visitors, and their respects are paid all through the afternoon, if the weather be not too hot.

At half-past eleven, however, there is another meal, usually a light refection of fruits, and this is the last of the day. The pyin-sin are expressly forbidden to eat after noon. Solid food taken after the shadows slope to the east endangers purity. The blood becomes heated, and, moreover, when the stomach is loaded the mind becomes overclouded and unfitted for meditation. It is worthy of remark that the religious must eat, as they walk, slowly and with gravity, only putting moderate-sized morsels into the mouth, and constantly bearing in mind that food is not intended for the gratification of the flesh, but for the nourishment of the body. The ceremony called a-kat must also be care-

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fully observed, in accordance with the precise instructions laid down in the Wini. When a monk wants anything he must not go and get it for himself, nor direct any one in as many words to bring it to him. He must say to an attendant shin, or scholar, "Do what is lawful," whereupon the food is brought him, and the shin kneels down at a distance of a couple of feet, and, making the customary salutation, says, "This is lawful." The yahan then either takes it from his hand or directs him to place it within reach. The same ceremony is observed in everything, whether the religious wants water to wash his face or hands or to rinse out his mouth, or his sandals and fan when he goes out, or when offerings are made to him by the pious. The desire is of course to impart dignity to all the monk does, and to repress covetousness and inordinate carnal desires, and the custom dates from the very foundation of the order.

After the noontide meal all return to work again. A certain number undertake the teaching of the boys, who are at all stages of learning, from the children at the Thin-bôn-gyi, the spelling-book, up to the Ko-yins, who, in accordance with the law, are learning the Wini, the Whole Duty of the Monk, by heart, with a view to abandoning the world and adopting the religious life. Others set to work to read old texts and the commentaries on them, or go to superintend the professional writers who are copying out manuscripts, carefully scratching on the palm-leaves with sharp steel style. The pyin-sin themselves never do anything of the kind. The writers are all professionals, laymen, and almost without exception from Upper Burma. The sādaik, the carved and gilded box containing the palm-leaf books, stands in the central room near the images, and often shaded by a sacred umbrella. When a learned sadaw makes notes, or writes a commentary of his own, he dictates it all to these copyists, who afterwards engross it. Most of the older members of the kyaung do, however, what an Englishman would call nothing, all the afternoon. They talk with whatever idlers—and there are always an abundance of them—come about the place, and then sink into meditation and many of the weaker of them into sleep. Meditation is the only path to the higher seats whereby a

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781 789 Meditation is the only path to the higher seats whereby a man becomes a yahanda, fit for Ne'ban, possessed of the six kinds of wisdom :—

1. The faculty of seeing like a nat or dewa.
2. The faculty of hearing like a nat.
3. Creative power.
4. Knowledge of the thoughts of others.
5. Freedom from passion.
6. Knowledge of one's own past existences.

781 788 [824] They sit therefore for long hours fingering their rosaries, the beads made of the seeds of the *Canna indica*, "Indian shot," which sprang from Shin Gautama's blood, and repeating many times the prescribed formulæ, most often the Thamatawi Patthana—All is changeful, all is sad, all is unreal; followed by the Tharana Gôn, the invocation of the Three Precious Gems, the Lord, the Law, and the Assembly. So by abstraction of the mind they hope to acquire the four laws of Edepat :—

1. Absolute power over the will.
2. Absolute power over the mind.
3. Absolute power of execution.
4. Absolute power over the means to the object.

781 812 The discipline is terrible to all but a slow-minded man, and we can well imagine one who thus presents himself to the people as a living memento of all that is sacred and perfect in the religion, longing for the extinction of Ne'ban, where he may escape from the misery of recurring lives.

> Ask of the sick, the mourners, ask of him
> Who tottereth on his staff, lone and forlorn,
> Liketh thee life? These say, The babe is wise
> That weepeth being born.

792 So each one in the brotherhood passes the time each afternoon: some asleep, some racking the brain with mystical musings, some learning, some teaching, while throughout all sounds the din of the schoolroom, where the pupils are shouting out their tasks at the top of their voices.

Between three and four the lessons are finished, and the shins and scholars perform any domestic duties that may be

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required about the monastery. This done, the day-scholars go home and have their dinner, a few of the boarders perhaps gaining permission to do the same. The ko-yins, being under monastic discipline, are obliged to fast like their superiors. Most of them, and some few of the pon-gyis, go out for a staid and solemn walk round the village and out to the pagoda. Then, at sunset, the unmelodious, far-reaching notes of the kaladet summon all back to the kyaung. The strollers return immediately. None wearing the yellow robe may be without the monastery limits after the sun goes down, which occurs throughout the whole year close upon six o'clock. A short time afterwards the scholars are summoned before the abbot or some of the pon-gyis and recite steadily all that they have learned, from the Thin-bôn-gyi up to the book they have last committed to memory. If the kyaung is large and there are a number of students, this thorough process is, however, modified, and only the work at the moment being learned is required of the pupils. The Pali rituals are chanted with spasmodic energy, abundance of sound in most cases doing duty for a just comprehension of the matter. Very few of the religious could string a sentence together in Pali, far less speak the language, yet most of them can pour forth homilies and dogmata for hours on end, so that the poor ko-yins are not to be scoffed at for their parrot-like volubility. When this examination is over, if the sayā is an enthusiast, or if there is time, that dignitary himself delivers a sermon, or gives an exposition of some knotty passage, or perhaps there is a general conversation on some question of doctrine, or other subject of ecclesiastical interest at the moment.

Thus the time passes away till half-past eight or nine, when the evening is closed with devotions in the presence of the image of the Buddha. All assemble according to their rank as in the morning, and together intone the vesper lauds. When the last sounds of the mournful chant have died away in the dimly-lighted chamber, one of the novices, or a clever scholar, stands up, and with a loud voice proclaims the hour, the day of the week, the day of the month, and the number of the year. Then all shikho before the Buddha thrice, and thrice before the abbot, and retire to rest. None who

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have experienced the impressiveness of this ceremonial, called the Thā-thanā-hlyauk, will readily forget the powerful effect it has on the feelings. It is the fit ending of a day full of great possibilities for all. If the same routine gone through day after day becomes monotonous and loses some of its power for good, yet the effect of such a school, presided over by an abbot of intelligence and earnestness, must infallibly work for the good of all connected with it, and especially so in the case of an impulsive, impressionable people like the Burmese. As long as all the men of the country pass through the kyaungs, the teachings of Western missionaries can have but little power to shake the power of Buddhism over the people. The moral truths of both religions, Christianity and Buddhism, are practically the same, and who can give proof of aught else without calling in the aid of faith? The Burman is convinced that no other creed will suit him so well, and the number of monasteries in all parts of the country renders it easy for every one to obtain entrance for his children. The king sent his sons to the kyaung, and the poorest and most sinful wretch need not fear that his child will be turned away from the gates. Teaching is really all the pyin-sin do for the people; but it is precisely this moderate amount of teaching, revealing as it does to all the stern simplicity of the monastic life, that keeps the faith active in the country. Many monks are supremely lazy, but so are many of their fellow-countrymen, and if you are bidden by the Law to meditate deeply on the nature of mind and matter, of Nām and Rupa, of Seit and Sedathit, of Thissa and Zan, it is certain that you cannot be actively employed on other less important matters.

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Of late years the rudiments of Western knowledge, arithmetic, elementary geography, and history are more and more taught in the monasteries all over the country, and Government gives grants to the monasteries for the pupils who pass the prescribed examinations.

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out with his axe and hollow with his finger-nails. There were a few such cells cut in the rocks at the back of Mandalay Hill, and visitors to the sacred spot occasionally came across one of the hermits striding along, wrapped in thought, grasping an iron staff hung with rings, the rattle of which warns the people to get out of the way and not disturb the holy man's meditations. A few go away from human society altogether, just as St. Simeon Stylites isolated himself on a pillar, and the old Culdee monks from the north of England and Scotland wandered off to the snowy wastes of Iceland, there to seek repose and relief from the turmoil of the world. It is said that the Thadda, the grammar, was added to the Bitaghat, that the hermits who had withdrawn to the jungle might not destroy the power of the sermons and lauds by mispronunciation.

Mandalay Hill is always occupied, for the spot is particularly sacred. King Mindôn used to send thither daily a hundred fowls which had been bought and saved from death, and the pious gave them plenty to eat. Similar proceedings caused the sneer of Purchas, "For men they hadde not an hospitall that were thus hospitall to fowles"; but this is hardly deserved, at any rate in Burma. There in every monastery the Kappiya-dayaka has a stock of money, raised by selling the presents given to the monks, which he devotes in charity to the well-deserving sick and to poor travellers, while any one is welcome at all times to shelter and food in the kyaung as long as he conducts himself properly. The yatheit may be looked upon with pious awe for his austerities and mortifications of the flesh, but the ordinary pyin-sin is more favourably regarded. The building of monasteries and the giving of presents to their inmates is a constant strain on the generosity of the people. It is far more difficult to keep the balance of merit on the right side in Burma than in other countries. Almsgiving is a constant and imperative expense, in addition to regular and personal worship at the pagoda. In Thibet wind or water drives the prayer-machines for extinguishing sin, and the goodman acquires merit while he is snoring at night with his wife at his back. In some parts practical householders are able to calculate exactly what is set down to

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slab, and round this were arranged images of the chief disciples of Shin Gautama, each holding a golden bouquet. The jewelled casket containing the hairs was placed on the cradle, and high festival was held for many days. Numbers of other images of the Buddha himself, and of many eminent disciples, were placed round the sides of the tāpana taik, and countless offerings were made, the Tha-gyā king giving ten billions of gold, each of his queens forty thousand of silver; the father of the two brethren one thousand of gold, and many others equally great sums. But this was in the brave days of old, when imagination was vivid and evidence cursory.

Still even nowadays very costly offerings are often deposited in the relic chamber. An almost invariable gift is a representation in gold of the Lord Buddha, with the hooded snake raising itself over him, as in the images of Vishnu in India, or a great model of the Great Master as he received the supreme wisdom under the bawdi-bin. Examples of the last may be seen in the South Kensington Museum, as also of the Sabupati payā, representing him with the tower-like royal crown, the wings on legs and arms, and other emblems recalling the king's son who went out to dedicate himself as the Buddha and the conqueror of Mān-nat. Open-handed piety is twice as frequent as of yore, only the chroniclers of modern days have not the florid imaginations of their predecessors.

The dedication of a payā is a high festival, but there is no prescribed ritual in the sacred books, and each individual pôngyi, after reciting the precepts and the Itti pithaw, has a form of his own, embracing portions of the law and the sacred discourses. A prominent function in the service, as indeed always in giving alms, is the yeset-cha, the pouring out of water drop by drop on the ground. The great king Bimbathara did it himself from a gold cup when he presented the Weluwun or Bamboo-grove monastery, and so likewise it is recorded of the rich man Anātabein. The idea is to share the merit of the action with all creatures, and at the same time to call to witness, besides the mathôn-daye nats, all gods and men, that the donor may have due reward for his piety. The same thing is frequently

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778 done in order to legally hand over a gift. As the water
●789 falls drop by drop on the ground, the pôngyis read out
431 the formulæ, the substance of which is as follows: "Firm in my belief in the three precious things, the Lord, the Law, and the Assembly, I make this offering that I may be freed from all present and future miseries. May all creatures suffering torment in the four states of punishment reach the happy seats of nat-déwas. May all my relatives, friends, and all men inhabiting this earth and the ten thousand worlds, share in the benefits of this meritorious work. O earth, and ye spirits, guardians of this place, bear me witness to the piety of this gift."

778 It is worthy of note that it is explicitly stated that the
735 inward dispositions of the giver have nothing to do with the
775 merit resulting from a good work. The merits are strictly proportioned to the degree of sanctity or perfection of him who receives the alms. Hence the glorious release which awaits an otherwise bad man who erects a pagoda.

778 Zedis are of many shapes and degrees of elaboration,
773 but one common idea may be traced through them all. If
346 you ask a Burman monk the cause of the variations in the form of the payā, he will tell you that the Buddha left no instructions regarding them in the holy books, but had only said that a small mound should be raised over his bones in the form of a heap of rice. Apart from the relation in which the payā stands to the Buddha himself as the representation of the holy one sunk in meditation, the ostensible object is the preservation of relics, and these are to be laid in a shrine, like the lotus-bud of which the zedi is typical, and later by an extending of the lines this got the form of a bell or spire. In the Malla Lingaya Wuttu we are told that the infant Buddha in the womb of Queen Maia resembled a lotus-bud, or a beautiful pagoda, and the conjunction of this idea with the simple original tumulus has undoubtedly led to the typical form as now seen in Burma. The names for various parts of the building all recall the idea of the flower-bud, with its young leaves folded in adoration. Thus the rounded swelling just below the slender spire is called the hnget-pyaw-bu, the banana palm-bud, and on the extreme summit

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Pegu hills attracts at the time of the annual festival in March, pilgrims, not only from the farthest parts of Burma, but from Cambodia, Siam, and Corea. The stately pile stands upon a mound partly natural, partly artificial, which has been cut into two rectangular terraces, one above the other, each side, as is the case with all pagodas, facing one of the cardinal points of the compass. The upper terrace, which has been carefully levelled and paved and repaved by the pious, rises 166 feet from the level of the ground, and is 900 feet long by 685 wide according to English measurement. The ascent was by four flights of brick steps, one opposite the centre of each face, but the western approach has been closed by the fortifications built by the English conqueror to dominate the town and secure the pagoda, where there was so much desperate fighting in the Burmese wars. Ordinarily with other pagodas, the eastern flight is the most holy and therefore the most cared for; but the town of Rangoon lies to the south, and consequently this ascent is the grandest.

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At the foot are two gigantic leogryphs, built of brick, covered with plaster and gaudily painted. From them up to the platform, the saung-dan, the long stairs, are covered by a rising series of handsomely-carved teak roofs, supported on huge wood and masonry pillars. The heavy crossbeams and the panelling are in many places embellished with frescoes, representing scenes in the life of the Great Master and his disciples, and with hideously curious representations of the tortures of the wicked in the fiery chambers of hell. The steps themselves are exceedingly primitive and dilapidated. They have been manufactured piece by piece, apparently by ardent seekers after merit. Here and there they are made of broad stone flags from Penang and Bombay, but for great part of the distance they consist of simple sun-dried bricks, worn almost into a slope by the pious feet of myriads of worshippers—bare feet too, for none but Europeans are allowed to mount the steps with boots on. The stairs are wonderfully uncomfortable, not merely because they are so dilapidated, but because they are seemingly constructed with the object of preventing any one from ascending or descending with unseemly haste. They are

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her. When the prince grew to man's estate, he left his foster-mother and swam a broad river to escape from her. The tender mother's heart burst when he reached the other side, and she died; and in remembrance of her love, lions' figures are placed at the foot of all pagoda steps, and round the building itself.

The four chapels at the foot of the pagoda are adorned at the sides by colossal figures of the sitting Buddha, and in the farthest recess, in a niche of its own, is a still more goodly figure, the thick gilding darkened in many places by the fumes of thousands of burning tapers and candles. Hundreds of Gautamas, large and small, sitting, standing, and reclining, white and black, of alabaster, sun-dried clay, or the wood of the Pein-nè, the jack tree (*Artocarpus integrifolia*), gilded or plain, surround and are propped up on the larger images. Even the figures in the niches are elaborate carved woodwork, representing figures dancing or fighting, and others flying through the air, or, with head on hand, sunk in meditation; monsters of the woods and hills and streams. High stone altars for the offering of rice and flowers stand before the lions, the offering being made to the whole pagoda and not to them. Under the Manôt-thihas at the corners are niche altars for burnt offerings. On the outer edge of the platform are a host of small zedi-yan, each with its hti; tasaungs, image houses, overflowing with the gifts of generations of pilgrims; figures of the Budh in single, low stone chapels; tagôn-daing, tall posts, flaunting from which are long cylindrical streamers, of bamboo framework, pasted over with paper, depicting scenes in sacred history, and often inscribed with pious invocations from the offerer; others are surrounded by the sacred hentha, the Brahminy Goose (*Phœnicopterus rubra*), the emblem of the Talaings, or the kalawaik, the crane of the Burmese. Interspersed among these on the outer edge of the open platform are multitudes of bells of all sizes. Beside each bell, all of which are hung on stout crossbeams supported by two side posts, lie deer's antlers, and pieces of wood with which the worshipper strikes them as he passes. He strikes the bell and then the ground, to call the sky and the earth as witnesses to his prayers. On the eastern side, covered by a

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346 great wooden shed, hangs one of enormous size, inside which five or six men can stand with ease. It was presented by King Tharrawaddy in 1840, on the occasion of a state visit to Rangoon and the payā. It measures seven feet seven and a half inches across the mouth, fifteen inches in thickness, fourteen feet high, and weighs 94,682 lbs. With a proper hammer it ought to give forth a splendid sound, but the ordinary antlers and posts of wood used fail to do it justice. It is second in size in Burma to the great bell at Mengôn, which, apart from the monster at Moscow, is the largest in the world. There is a long inscription on the Maha Ganda (the great, sweet voice) at Rangoon, recounting the merits gained by the monarch who presented it and the praises of him chanted by the Nats, the guardians of the empire. The bell has a curious history. After the second Burmese war, the English made an attempt to carry it off to Calcutta as a trophy, but by some mishap the Maha Ganda toppled over, and sank to the bottom of the Rangoon river. English engineers made several attempts, but failed to raise it. The Burmans, after some years, begged that the sacred bell might be restored to them, if they could recover it. The petition was granted with a sneer, but they set to work, got it out, and carried it in triumph to the place where it now hangs. This success was ascribed by the thoughtful to supernatural aid, but the common people chuckled in a carnal and exultant manner over the victory, and not without very fair reason, for their appliances were of the most primitive kind.

778 Buddhists fix the date of the erection of the Shwe Dagôn Payā in 588 B.C., but the site must have been sacred for cycles before, since the relics of the three preceding Buddhas were found interred, when the two Talaing brothers, Poo (dove) and Tapaw (plenty), came with their precious eight hairs to the Theinguttara hill. The original payā is said in the palm-leaf history to have been only twenty-seven feet high, and it has attained its present height by being repeatedly cased with an outer covering of bricks
346 several feet in thickness. Every now and again it has been
●788 completely regilt. Sinbyu Shin, king of Burma, towards the end of the last century, used his own weight in gold in

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the process. He scaled twelve stone three, a remarkably good weight for a Burman, and the gold used cost over £9000. The last occasion when the whole vast bulk was gilt was in 1871, when King Mindôn sent down his hti. On every feast-day and ubonė, however, numbers of the pious clamber up wherever they can and fix on little squares of gold-leaf, packets of which can be bought at the stalls below for a few rupees. The consequence is that every now and again the spire breaks out in a rash of bright patches, which give it a mysterious, rough, uneven appearance on clear moonlight nights. Of late years a great part of the lower portion has been covered with thin plates of gold brought by the pious from all parts of the Buddhist world.

It is difficult to say what the real age of the building is, if, as sceptical Englishmen tell us, we are not to place implicit faith in the palm-leaf record. Trustworthy documents reach no further back than the time of the Peguan Queen Shin-saw-bu, who reigned in the early part of the sixteenth century; but there is every reason to believe that a pagoda existed there long before her time. The shrine has remained unaltered in size or shape since 1564, and probably will never be altered again. At all times and at all distances it looks imposing and sublime, like the religion whose followers have built it.

At the base of the pagoda hill are many monasteries embowered in their groves of palmyra palms and shady trees; and to the south is a small convent of nuns, not far from the zayat which the king of Siam had built for pilgrims from his dominions. Similar rest-houses line the Saung-dan all the way up to the pagoda, and they always have occupants; while at the season of the feast in Tabaung they are crowded to overflowing. Lepers, and cripples, and nuns in their white robes, line the steps, and cry out in piteous tones for alms from the passers-by. Nearer the top and round the platform itself are sellers of candles and coloured tapers, Chinese incense-sticks, and prayer-flags, along with abundance of gold-leaf. Numbers of young girls sit about with flowers, especially of the lotus, and meats of different kinds for offerings. Others —these always enfranchised pagoda slaves—sell toys and

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articles for household use. The platform is never deserted. Even long after midnight the voice of the worshipper may be heard in the night air, chanting in solemn monotone his pious aspirations, while on a duty-day, and especially on a feast-day, the laughing, joyous crowd of men and maidens, in their gay national dress, makes the platform of the Shwe Dagôn one of the finest sights in the world.

The Shwe Dagôn Payā is by far the most widely celebrated of the great Buddhist shrines, but there are others which, if not so venerated in other lands, still enjoy an even greater local reputation for sanctity, and attract pilgrims from all parts of Burma and the dependent hills, with now and again a band of pious worshippers from distant countries. Chief among these is the Shwe Hmaw-daw at Pegu, which commands Talaing worship before even the shrine of "the slanted beam" on the Theinguttara hill. The pond close by it was covered with lotus blossoms immediately on the construction of the shapely spire and the great Tha-gyā Min, and countless Byammās and Nat-dêwas assisted at the enshrinement of the relics. As with many other fanes, the king granted to the pagoda, and set apart from secular uses for ever, the whole space round it on which the shadow of the original pile fell between sunset and sunrise. Several hundred families were dedicated to its service, and in 1881 large sums were raised throughout all the low country for the manufacture of a new hti and the gilding of the whole surface, while many wondrous signs in the neighbourhood attested the sacred character of the undertaking. Similarly the Shwe San-daw at Prome, with its multitude of bells on the cramped hill-top, enjoys a special reputation on account of the prophecy there spoken by Shin Gautama himself, and the connection of the payā with the national hero-king, Dwut-tabaung, as recorded in the sacred books. In proof of this there exists to the present day, and may be seen at the foot of the hill, a huge stone with an inscription which none but the pure-minded can read, and few even of them understand. In other places examples of this duganan kye-ganan, a kind of cypher-writing, or cryptograph, as it appears to the unenfranchised, exists, and usually records in mystic phraseology and inverted orthography the alms presented to

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women are found to make the ascent, especially at the Zwè-kabin, the precipitous "Duke of York's nose," some forty miles up the Sittang river from Maulmein, where the Englishman is lost in amazement as to how they ever got the bricks and ironwork up the rocks to construct the pagoda and the hti. Yet thousands of people scramble up at the time of the annual feast, and the pagoda is as well adorned with offerings as any in the flat lands down by the sea, where a rise of a few feet in the ocean would put hundreds of square miles under water.

Every district pagoda has its special feast and all are well attended, for even though the locality may be thinly populated there are always to be found visitors from other places round about; partly as a kind of neighbourly courtesy, partly because there is always some fun in the shape of a travelling troupe, or a marionette play, at a pagoda feast, and chiefly, there can be no denying, from a feeling of genuine piety and a real desire to acquire merit. Pagoda feasts enable a Burman to see the world, as far as it can be seen in his native land. Without the periodical festivals he would only stop chewing betel in the wattled bothy where he was born to go out and smoke a cheroot round his patch of paddy land, and speculate on the time when the Rangoon or Bassein broker would come up to buy his crop from him. Most of the district Burmans would never see the Englishman and his doings were it not for the annual pilgrimage to Rangoon to worship at the Shwe Dagôn. During the rest of the year, unless he lives in the headquarters of an assistant commissionership, all he sees of the British occupation is a stray visit from a young official out shooting, or the chance appearance of an inspector of police in search of a criminal.

Similarly very few Burmans, except those attracted by business to the capital, would ever visit Mandalay were it not for the great "Arakan pagoda." The Mahā Myat Muni Payā is rendered especially sacred by the sitting image of Shin Gautama there preserved, and is on this account regarded by Upper Burmans as not inferior in sanctity to the Shwe Dagôn itself. The huge brass image, twelve feet in height, was brought over the hills from Akyab in the year

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missionaries from Central India who introduced the teachings of the Lord Buddha into Burma. There was certainly an ancient Hindu colony there, and its inhabitants may have brought some notions of their architecture with them. But whether this be so or not, Burmans find source for pride in the admitted fact that "there is nothing in India to compare with the classical beauty of some of the smaller temples, or the stupendous architectural majesty of the Ânanda, or the Ta-pyi-nyu."

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The following song is taken from a very favourite play, *Sawpé Sawmé*, written by a Pegu dramatist and published in 1880, and gives an idea of the canticles sung at the dedication of pagodas and similar ceremonies. It is set to a very popular air, the Yôddaya Nan-thein Than, "the Siamese Palace Tune," but I have not ventured to try to reproduce the original complicated metre. The sikkè or magistrate in question was U Maung Galé, a younger brother of the late U On, long the only Burmese C.I.E., and once second judge of the Small Cause Court in Rangoon.

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THE GILDING OF THE SHWE MAW-DAW

Far-famed and bright, the Shwe Maw-daw
Is known where'er the Sacred Law
To toiling millions brings the peace,
Bids grief be still and turmoil cease.
Fair glory of Peguan land
Revered on earth's most distant strand,
Not more Dagôn's great golden pile
Hath honour in the Southern Isle,
Where'er beneath the zampu tree
The pious bend the suppliant knee,
Than thou the glorious lotus shrine
High temple of the hairs divine.
As leaps on high the funeral flame
Of some yahan of sainted name,
A beacon light to Neh'ban's rest
And haven sure to men distressed,
So skywards reared, thy shapely spire
Upsprings a pyramid of fire.

The hoar seer's words are now proved true,
Spoke ages since while yet all new

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779 patience; fortitude; wisdom; benevolence; truthfulness; indifference.

The Five Renouncings are the giving up, for holiness' sake, of—children; wife; goods; life; one's self.

775 This cannot all be effected in one existence, unless piety has been exhibited in many previous lives. Much depends on one's kan, the accumulation of merits from past time. Just as the fruits on a tree are some of them good, some bad, but have little or nothing in common with each other, or with those that went before, or may come after, so it is with a man's kan. But the diligent observance of the holy precepts, and especially the exercise of open-handed charity, will always tend to reduce the number of lives to be endured before the deliverance comes.

782 788 Prayer there is none in the technical sense of the word, and the doxologies repeated at the shrines are mostly those learnt in childhood at the monastery school, or special compositions of each individual for himself. There is nothing laid down in any of the Buddhist religious books concerning the formulæ of prayer. Whatever there is, is taken from the Apyin Aung-gyin, the record of the triumph of Shin Gautama over the outer foes, Mān-nat, the spirit of evil, and his daughters, and the Atwin Aung-gyin, the triumph over the inward foes, the kiletha, the passions of mankind. Many, however, repeat little more than the tharana-gōng, the form with which the pôngyis almost invariably commence worship: "I worship the Buddha; I worship the Law; I worship the Assembly." This, with the aneiksa, dôkha, anatta, "change, pain, illusion," forms the sentence to be repeated on the rosary. A very usual form of doxology commonly taught to the scholars of the kyaungs, and therefore retained through life, is the following:—"Awgatha, Awgatha, I worship with the body, with the mouth, and with the mind, with these three kans. The first, the second, the third; once, twice, until three times. The Lord, the precious one; the Law, the precious one; the Assembly, the precious one; these three precious things. I, the worshipper, most humbly, with fervid zeal, with clasped hands, pay reverence, give offerings, and with pious gaze bow me down. Thus by this worshipping I gain merit and

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increase in earnestness and purity of heart, and am freed from the Four States of Punishment; from the Three Evil Things, starvation, plague, and warfare; from the Eight Chambers of Hell; and from the Five Enemies. And at the end, when the last existence has come for me, may I pass into Ne'ban." 782 788

Such "prayers" are addressed not merely to the image, but to the whole pagoda, and not even on the platform of the latter. It is common for the pious at any period of the day to repeat their devotions simply in the direction of the pagoda, and often from a spot where hardly even the summit of it can be seen. The pilgrims to the Shwe Dagôn Payā in Rangoon prostrate themselves at intervals from the moment they catch sight of its glittering spire; but they repeat nothing further than the above, or some more fanciful formula, such as this: "Awgatha, Awgatha, Awgatha, I worship the footsteps of the great, the brilliant Buddha, to whom even the savage hunters turn, and the fierce dragons on the mountain tops and in the abysses of the hills. In the far land of Thiho (Ceylon) there, where, in the wilderness of woods, far from human dwellings, temples and pagodas rise up 84,000 in number, in the caves and the deeps; there I worship, there I bow me in devotion." By far the greater number, however, repeat simple Pali sentences, of which they have long forgotten the meaning, if indeed they ever knew it. Many of the pyin-sin can repeat whole [198] books and chapters in the sacred tongue, without having any but a very confused notion of the meaning of what they utter. Yet even this parrot-like performance has its merit, for it brings the mind into a fit state to contemplate the great ideal. A conclusive proof of this is recorded in the Malla Lingaya Wuttu, the life of Shin Gautama. There were many bats who lived in a cave in the time of the last Buddha, Kathapa, and great numbers of yahans were in the habit of resorting to this cave to meditate and give themselves up to devotion. These bats learned to repeat some of the phrases which they heard, but could not understand, and this pious exercise resulted in such benefit to their kan, that on their death they migrated to the seats of nat-dêwas. Afterwards, when Shin Gautama was preaching upon earth,

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782 they again appeared upon the seat of man as yahans, and, attending diligently to the precepts of the Law, were the 788 first, as disciples of Thariputra, one of the chief followers of the Buddha, to comprehend the sublime law of the Abhidamma. If dumb creatures then can win such rewards for piety, how much more a man who repeats his sentences with at least a consciousness of what their import is.

[198] Similar to this feeling with regard to the Pali jargon, of which every Burman knows more or less, according to the length of his stay in the monastery or the depth of his religious sentiments, and prompted by a like idea, is the offering of little nan-tagôn. These prayer-flags—kyet-sha-taing, as they are sometimes called—are made of paper, cut fancifully into figures of dragons, lizards, and the like, with embroidery-work round their edges. In the centre is written some pious reflection or aspiration, and the offerer places it on the shrine. Most of those sold ready composed for the worshipper are in Pali, those which he writes for himself, in Burmese. Samples of these inscriptions are:—

"By means of this paper the offerer will become very strong."

"By the merit of this paper Wednesday's children will be blessed by spirits and men."

"May the man born on Friday gain reward for his pious offering."

"This paper is an offering for people born on any day of the week from Sunday to Saturday."

"May the man born on Monday be freed from sickness and from the Three Calamities."

Very often nothing but the names of certain days of the week are written on the nan-tagôn; but sometimes a friend of humanity, or a man with a particularly large family, covering with their birthdays the whole week, simply writes down the names of the days in any order he pleases. The commonest form at the stalls round about the Shwe Dagôn is this simple, bald list, and indeed Rangoon is particularly badly supplied in this way. There are other small flags or streamers made of coloured cloth, some of them, especially those presented by the Shans, stitched with many

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plies until they stand out quite stiff. Others again are 782
made of varnished strips of zinc. These have nothing 788
written on them, and stand simply for the advancement in piety of their offerers, as do the candles representing the various nan, the animals which stand for the days of the week. Other offerings are flowers, single or arranged in bouquets, and almost invariably distinguished by the heavy sweetness of their odour. Candles and tapers, of all sizes and styles of manufacture, abound; some a couple of feet high, or occasionally much more, made of long, narrow coloured tapers, plaited together over an ordinary solid one, some plain white, others coloured all the hues of the rainbow, European manufactured sperm or paraffin articles, and home-made tapers of the crudest style of dip. Side by side with these are placed smoky oil-lamps, consisting of a little flat saucer full of oil, with a wick composed of a bit of cloth or a few threads of cotton roughly twisted together. The candles are simply softened with a match at the bottom and made to stick on the ledges in front of or round about the figures of the Buddha. Incense sticks and scented wood are often burnt on stone altars erected specially for such fire offerings.

The worshippers, if they are men, squat down, neither 788
kneeling nor sitting down, but resting the body on their heels as miners who are accustomed to low workings do. The body is bent a little forward, and the hands are joined together and raised to the forehead. The women kneel down altogether, and for this reason take especial care to cover up their feet, sometimes getting a friend to tuck their skirts over them. All are of course barefooted. The sandals are removed always at the foot of the pagoda steps, though these may begin in some places many hundred yards away from the shrine. Before commencing the repetition of the formulæ, three prostrations are made with the forehead to the ground, and the same is repeated at the close, and on rising to depart you must turn to the right. It is usual to hold some offering between the hands during worship—a prayer-flag, a flower, or something of the kind—and this is afterwards reverently deposited on the altar. A favourite offering, instead of real flowers, is pauk-pauk. This is the

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788 variety of rice known as kauk hnyin, fired dry on a pan. It swells up and cracks open, and the grains are then dyed red, green, or yellow, while some are left plain white. The resemblance to flowers or flower-leaves at a distance is sufficiently striking. It is a work of merit to go about lighting tapers and candles which have blown out, or lamps which have got choked up, watering flowers, and so on.

778 The statues of Shin Gautama, then, are only his visible representatives to keep alive in the hearts of his flock feelings of love and adoration, and gratitude to the Great Master who strove so long to teach the Law, and was ever so pitiful towards earthly suffering. Like the Egyptians, Buddhists have large images, but stand diametrically opposed to them in the way in which they regard them. All the Egyptian's energies were directed to conquering the hostile powers of nature. He sought with anxious care to preserve the mummy in the recesses of huge mountains of stone, in order that the soul returning after the period of 5000 years might enter again its old home. He built for eternity, and hoped to defy decay and outlast the world. The Buddhist laughs at this notion, seeing that for him the stream of time levels and carries off every existence with it. The rising again of spirits has for him nothing but a suggestion of devilish arts. The idea raises in his mind a threatening of evil, as well to the living as to the disembodied spirit. Instead therefore of devising any such uncanny measures for the preservation of the corpse, he strives rather to destroy it as soon as may be on the funeral pyre, or even to blow it into small atoms with fireworks and bombs. Similarly, his images are made of mouldering brick. Where is the use of laboriously carving figures in the hardest stone, when the most indestructible of them could only last for a time, which is but as a ripple in the stream of eternity? Therefore the marble and brass Gautamas are but few compared with those of brick and mortar, or wood, and the crumbling away and rotting of these is viewed with the utmost equanimity. There will always be piety enough to keep the tazaung full until the cycles end.

The popular division of the Gautamas is into the classes of standing, sitting, and lying. This is somewhat crude, but

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CHAPTER XVIII

BELLS

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"THIS Bell is made by Koo-na-lin-gala, the priest—and weight 600 viss. No one body design to destroy this Bell. Maulmein, March 30th, 1855. He who destroyed to this Bell, they must be in the great Heell, and unable to coming out."

This inscription runs round the rim of the great bell at the Kyaik-than-lan pagoda at Maulmein. It is hardly a fiftieth part of the Maha Ganda at Rangoon, which, in turn, is a great deal smaller than the huge monster at Mengôn, near Mandalay; but it is noticeable as being the only bell in Burma, as far as I am aware, which has an English inscription on it. The circumstance is scarcely to be considered in the light of a compliment, for the bell has not the character of exceptional sanctity, and there is a lengthy Pali inscription on the upper part giving further particulars, and commending the pious donors to the safe keeping of the 5000 nats who guard the faith, the tutelary nats of the universe, the nats of the earth, the air, the forest, and the city; but there is nothing whatever in the shape of menaces to such as may have evil designs on the bell. Koo-na-lin-gala, the priest, however, no doubt thought this English addition very necessary and by no means unwarranted; for only two years before, after the conclusion of the second Burmese war, in 1853, the British troops had tried to carry off the sacred Shwe Dagôn bell, and had gone the length of getting it on board of a ship. Unfortunately the vessel turned over, and Maha Ganda, the "great sweet voice," was capsized into the mud at the bottom of the Rangoon river.

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The good mendicant, therefore, who superintended the casting of the bell for the Maulmein payā doubtless thought that none but the utmost terrors would serve to scare off the sacrilegious Briton, and therefore it is with punishment in awidzi, the lowest of the eight chambers of hell, ordinarily reserved for parricides, assaulters of an ascetic, and railers at the Buddha, that all who meditate harm to the Kyaik-than-lan bell are threatened. The fiery monk may rest happy. The bell has hung unmolested from the big crossbar, resting on its two huge teak uprights, and will doubtless long remain safe on the somewhat cramped platform at the end of the Taungnyo range.

The love of bells in Burma is somewhat remarkable. Every large pagoda has some dozens of them, of all sizes, hanging round the skirts of the zedi, the image-houses, and sacred posts. One or two were put up with the central shrine itself; others have been added at various times by the religious. Most of them have long Pali inscriptions on them recording the praises of the Lord and the aspirations of the giver. Here and there are a few with Burmese dedications, presented by poor, simple jungle people, the monks in whose district did not know Pali, or had the grace to say they were not learned enough to write an original composition in that language. Every Burman has learned a certain number of Pali formulæ to enable him to worship at the pagoda, but few even of the most renowned sadaws have anything like a thorough knowledge of the sacred language. Hence, when there is a modest monk in the kyaung, the simple cultivators have to fall back on their own vernacular, and produce plaintive appeals like the following:—

"This bell was moulded with great care and much expense, and is humbly offered by Maung San Ya, of the hamlet of Nga-pe-u, in the township of Maubin, and Mama Gyi, his wife, who seek refuge in the boundless mercy of the pitiful Buddha, in the majesty of the eternal Law, and in the example of the venerable Assembly of the Perfect, the three gems. They visit the precious things faithfully on the appointed days. Applaud, ye pious! They humbly strive to gain for themselves merit. May the good nats who guard the forest and the field look smilingly on them and

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protect the poor man's crops. May the nats who dwell in the air and the earth defend from evil creatures the two fat bullocks which plough the fields. May the guardian nats of the house and the city keep from harm Chit U, their son, and little Ma Mi, their darling daughter. And may the merit of this offering be shared with their children and with all living beings. May the excellent Lord pity them, the good spirits smile on them, the holy assembly receive them. So shall Maung San Ya and Mama Gyi gain much merit and rejoice in presenting this bell. Weight, seventy-five viss."

Such dedications are found here and there, but they are not common, for half the honour of presenting the bell is lost if the common crowd can read what is written on it; and doubtless Maung Chit U, when he has been to an English school, and has got a place under Government, or in an English merchant's office, will be rather ashamed of the quaint humility of his father's offering.

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The bells are not intended to summon worshippers to their devotions. There is no necessity for such a call where there is no formal service. Every man is responsible to himself only for his religious state; no one else has anything directly to do with him, or can give him help. The monks themselves display but little concern in the spiritual state of the laity. If a man is to attain a favourable change in a succeeding existence, it must be by his own exertions. He knows the regular duty-days, and on these and on the special feast-days he goes to gain kutho for himself and better his chance towards a new transincorporation. If he is a fond man, he parcels out the merit acquired by his devotions among those members of his family or friends who have not been to the pagoda. The use of the bells is to direct attention to the fact of the lauds of the Buddha having been recited. The worshipper, when he has finished, goes to one of the bells and strikes it three times, to bring to the notice of the guardian spirits and the four worlds what he has been doing. There are always a number of deer's antlers and billets of wood lying near the bell for this purpose. None of them have clappers, and metal is not used to strike them. There is no objection whatever to a non-Buddhist striking

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the bell; it is indeed rather a kindly action, for the more clangour there is the more likely the nats are to observe the devotions going on. After the bell itself has been struck it is proper to strike the ground, so that the spirits of the earth may know as well as the guardians of the air. Most of the bells have a fine tone, and a flick with the finger is sufficient to cause a vibration through the whole twenty-five tons of metal in Maha Ganda. What sound the Mengôn bell, second only in size to that presented by the Empress Catherine to Moscow, is capable of producing, will never, probably, be known, for the supports have given way, and half of the rim rests on the ground. But, as Colonel Yule says, it would have at any time required a battering-ram to bring out its music. It has, since the annexation, been hung by the enterprise of the Irrawaddy Flotilla Company.

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Besides those suspended round the precincts of the payā, the hti, or umbrella, on the top of the edifice, is always hung with a multitude of bells. Those on the more sacred shrines are very often entirely gold or silver. Several on the Shwe Dagôn are of gold, studded with precious stones, and are worth many hundred pounds sterling apiece. These, of course, are furnished with tongues, and the slightest breeze causes a constant harmonious tinkling, dear to the worshipper's heart. The object of these bells is identical with that of those below on the platform—to attract the attention of the good spirits in Tawa-deintha, and other abodes of the nat-dêwas on Mount Myinmo.

Though the bells are very well moulded, the mode of casting them is of the most primitive possible character. A mould of clay is formed to represent the inside. This is covered with bees'-wax to the proposed thickness of the metal, and over this again is placed a heavy layer of clay, mixed with chopped paddy straw. Through this outer covering there are a number of funnel holes in parallel rings at distances of six or nine inches, and through these the molten metal is poured in, melting and taking the place of the bees'-wax, which flows out at the bottom. Straws inserted through the clay let out the air and steam. Thus the bell is formed in a series of rings one above the other. The

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325 copper and tin are melted together in small open-air furnaces round about, and the crucibles are carried in little wicker baskets. Large bells usually are made in a pit dug in the ground. The metal images of the Buddha for the pagodas are cast in a similar way. When the mass has cooled, the outside is polished, and any flaws there may be are patched up. Then the inscription is chiselled on, and the bell is solemnly dedicated.

325 527 The casting is made quite as much a ceremony as it used to be in the Middle Ages in Europe. The whole district gathers to see the operation. Songs are sung, and bands clash and play while the actual casting is going on, and sometimes the vast multitude is wrought up to such a state of enthusiasm that women and children throw in their necklaces, and gold and silver rings and bangles. Traces of these are to be seen in the inside of many bells, in the shape of whitish or yellowish streaks. The workmen sometimes, in the case of large bells, try to strengthen them by twisting iron chains round the inner mould in the midst of the bees'-wax. Such a chain cable is distinctly to be seen in the great ninety-ton Mengôn bell. Since the "Great Monarch" of Moscow became a chapel, this is actually the biggest bell in the world.

788 534 The shape of Burmese bells is not handsome. They come straight down to the mouth like a barrel—not expanding at the rim, like those of European make, but their tone is very sweet. In Burma bells are entirely reserved for pagodas. A Burman never has a bell in his house; and it would, in fact, be no use to him there if he had it. Englishmen do not use them either, so that throughout the whole country the bell is only used for sacred purposes.

000 The following is a translation of the inscription on the bell numbered 15219 in the Indian section of the South Kensington Museum:—

"The Victor, the All-gracious" [referring to Gautama, the Lord Buddha].

"The gist of the discourse on worship, as it appears in the beginning of the Dhamma-set, is as follows:—One must give goods in alms; one must preach the Law: these two things are good deeds both for this world and for the next;

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

"The good that I have done in this world; all the alms that I have given [may they be for the benefit of] my parents, teachers, cousins, and all my relations; all who in Zampu-dipa are kings of the earth, all queens, their sons and daughters; nobles and all men of rank, officers, and all people of the earth in the thirty-one seats of the world. All the merits I have gained, may they be shared with these. I give them and share them freely. The alms are manifest. I have given them. This good work, when I forget it [*i.e.* in my next life], may it be counted to me in the time of the Buddha Arimadeya, when he is revealed. The friendly witnessing nats will bear testimony, as they wring the water from their streaming hair."

The allusion to the witnessing spirits refers to the Mathôndaye nats who testified that Shin Gautama was the true Buddha. Mān Nat, the spirit of evil, came and claimed the throne under the Bawdi-bin as his, and appealed to all his countless retinue as witnesses that he was the true Buddha, and the rightful possessor of the throne. They replied with a great shout. The Lord Buddha had no one to call in evidence but the earth, and to it he addressed himself. The earth replied with a violent quaking and a roar that scared away all Mān Nat's noisy host. The Mathôndaye nats stand as representatives of the earth, and it is to gain their testimony that a cup of water is always poured out whenever an offering is made. Hence their wet hair. At the Shwe Zigôn pagoda between Nyaung-u and Pagān, the Mathôndaye nats are represented under umbrellas and with books. Their images almost always display them wringing the water out of their long tresses. It is to draw the attention of these nats that the worshipper, after striking the pagoda bell, strikes the earth.

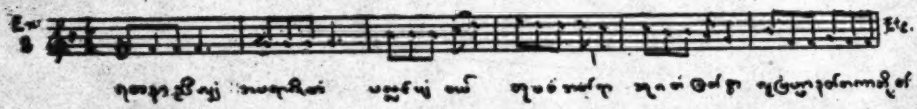
The small bell in the South Kensington Museum, in the case close by the larger one, bears the following inscription:—"In the month of Tabodwè [February], on the fifth of the waning moon, in the year 1204 [1842 A.D.], on a Sunday at about four in the afternoon, this bell was cast and moulded of pure copper. Its weight is 594,049 kyats [this is an absurd misstatement, or a gross piece of flattery to the king]. There are four lions on the hanging apparatus. Its height

13: Khin Zaw I-5 (no date) 1940 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

533 Thus: Ex: 18 Bell (ခေါ်) Clapper (ခေါ်) or

No great importance is attached to the variation. In one and the same piece of music the quadruple may sometimes change into the duple, or become faster or slower in accordance with the needs of the particular piece of music. But never must a musican get out of rhythmic time[1].

533 So far as I am aware compound time does not seem to be
●788 used at all in music, though I detect signs of it in the congregational
562 chanting of certain quasi-religious verses which used to be the rage
[178] among young Burmese ladies when Myawadi Phongyi was at the height of his singular career about 18 years ago.



I give in example 8 what I can remember of the verses I used to chant as the only boy among a sort of choir of young ladies. This particular verse pays homage to Buddha. But young ladies used to pay homage to his reverence too, kneeling down and singing his praise and wishing him long-life etc. Had I not been a sort of pitch-pipe I would have been as little tolerated in that beauty chorus as a bee in a bouquet.

533 Example 11 (ဘောလေး *Baw-lè*) illustrates how the vocal part weaves in and out of (အပ်ကြားတွင်) the instrumental part. Having no regular system of harmony or counterpoint the instrumental accompaniment to Burmese songs means something entirely different from what it means in the west. The instrument accompanies the voice with variations of the same tune liberally embellished. After each section the instrument plays a bar of interlude (အလတ်) either to emphasise the close by repetition, or to link it with the next section. In Example 11, so far as the voice is concerned, the section ends with its last note (the tonic in bar 9). But the instrument postpones this final tonic for yet another bar playing the interlude which too ends on that tonic.

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1. He is not *dead* in time like players of dance music. He keeps in time because he *feels* in time. One thinks of *Tempo Rubato*, but for its implication of virtuosity.

342 MAHA-GIRI, is found in nearly every house (a junior member of a
776 family need revere only the symbol of the senior member of a family).
782 A dried coconut with attachment stems is placed in a basket, the top wrapped with a KAUNG-BONG (Head-wrap) of red and white cloth streamers and the basket hung on a nail to the primary corner post of the house. It must be adjusted correctly, and periodically sprinkled with sandlewood water. An interesting story explains the use of the coconut symbol.

773 MAUNG TIN DE, a blacksmith of great powers had two beautiful sisters who he feared would be coveted by the king of the city in which they lived. He asked them for this reason to remain in seclusion. One day he returned from work to find them gone. He became very angry and pounded his anvil till the city shook and the people suffered from earache. For a while he eluded persuit but was finally caught and burned to death. Afterwards he became a powerful nat called MIN MAHA-GIRI with powers of protecting households. Since the coconut signifies coolness and thirst-quenching it came to be offered to the nat who had died from fire.

MIN MAHA-GIRI is consulted if sickness or other misfortunes visit the family. At such times the head of the family checks the coconut offering to make sure it is in good condition. If not this is remedied for much misfortune could be the result of MIN MAHA-GIRI's displeasure at being neglected. When a journey is contemplated he is also appealed to for protection. A lesser nat YON GIN O is in charge of the kitchen and more specifically the hearth. Ko Maung Than knew little of this
[563] nat since it is of minor importance or not considered in Mon households.

342 The home is very important as a place for socio-religious functions many ceremonies involving groups of people are observed or in part
● [788] take place in the house (see below in socio-religious section).
[574] Social visiting is also common and much enjoyed.
Hospitality, related to but differentiated from charity, gains merit for the host. There is a saying that visitors "come only when the home is pleasant."

512 The home, of course, performs a major "function" as a sleeping
805 place, and there are many beleifs and observances in connection with
513 sleep. The evening hours are divided into LU NYAT THET SEIK (children

length) draped over one shoulder. The PUWA, part of the scarf, still draped, is placed on front of the worshipping woman for her head and hands as she bows. The beads, a string about 2 feet long made of black lacquer or red or white beads about ½ inch in diametre are called SEIK-PA-DEE (count-beads). They are worn about the neck when not in use, and are "counted" by the fingers of one hand. Each bead, thus counted calls to the worshipper's mind a vision of Buddha as she says ARA HAHN (God) in a low voice. While in this dress women do not decorate their hair with flowers or wear jewelry or cosmetiques as such would be unseemly. 792 291 293 [788]

The older men and other religious men (who are gathering alms as members of Buddhist lay societies) wear a loose white robe over a white jacket, white head band, praying bead necklace, and a chocolate coloured scarf draped over one shoulder. The general public must wear their very best clothes for religious festivals but the women do not use cosmetiques. "Rangoon Sabbath" is the term applied to the less strict observations of the town people who may appear with a little THANAKA or other cosmetiques. The marriage dress of the bride is an older form of costume involving use of a long split skirt with cut-flaring jackets. 888 779 575 291 [369] [779] [292] [585]

The hair styles are important and denote age and sex. Children of both sexes wear their hair in a knot at the top of the head with a fringe of short hair like a bowl below. The older men's style was long hair knotted on one side in the back of the head; except in villages this has been superseded by the western short crop ranging from a long "Pompador" to short "crew cuts" - the latter being rarer and more modern. Old men wear very short cropped hair or are shaven - as the Pongyis and nuns. Maidens wear their hair in elaborately woven tresses - earlier on top of the head in a disc-whorl - now in chain braids at the back of the head. False switches of hair are commonly used. Flowers are used as decoration on all occasions. The usual style for married ladies is a knot at the back of the head wound around a rectangular comb of wood, (common) tortoise shell, ivory or gold. Older and married women sometimes appear in an ancient ceremonial style consisting of the hair wrapped around a fiber cylinder 302 177 369

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

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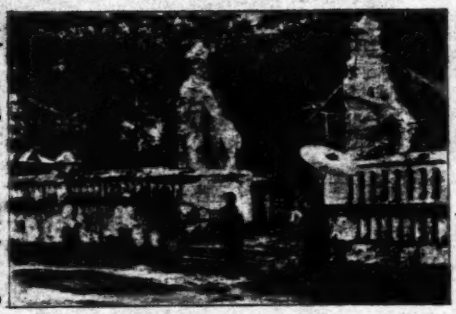

56. YAHAN PASSING THE STREETS.

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whole country-side. The camp is laid out in the rice-fields after harvest, in the form of a square, with a pavilion in the middle for the *yahán* to meet and practise confession (*dba-pye*). There are a few *yahán* who do not settle in a *kyaung*, but wander from place to place, in the primitive way, the people providing them with temporary shelter.

The *yahán* make journeys to the seats of learning and the *kyaungs* of their former teachers, and make pilgrimages to shrines. A few travel as far as Ceylon and Buddha Gâya in Bahâr. On such journeys the *yahán* is accompanied by a scholar or attendant deputed by the *kyaungtagâ* to carry provisions and money, which the *yahán* may not handle. When not collecting their *sun*, the *yahán* go abroad with attendants and carry umbrellas, or suffer such to be carried over them, and wear sandals. The *yahán* allow themselves to be driven in ox and buffalo carts; but do not drive or mount an animal or avail themselves of horse-draught. They travel by boat, steamer, and rail. Aged *yahán* are carried on a litter (*yin*, *waw*).

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The *kyaung*, primarily a shelter for the *yahán*, has, in virtue of his occupation, come to be a school. It is at first established on the outskirts of a settlement or at some distance away from it. Secular buildings are not erected within the shadow of a religious building. But the growth of towns brings the houses up to the precincts (*parawin*) of the *kyaung*, which stands within a liberal enclosure, planted with fruit-trees. The *kyaung* as such has no particular style. The superposed roofs and decorated spires (*pyatthat*) of the votive *kyaung* are emblems of secular state, added to confer distinction.

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57. YAHAN ON HIS JOURNEY.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

The tall flag-staff (*tagúndaing*) is the most striking of the temple-accessories. It consists of a decorated spar, sixty to eighty feet high, from which floats a long streamer. The head of the pole is ornamented with a mythical animal, generally the *hintha* (*hanza*, a fantastic figure of the Brahmany duck) or else the *kinnayá*, a monster with the body of a woman in princely array and the wings and legs of a bird. The butt of the *tagúndaing*, instead of being planted in the ground, is frequently set between piles which are carved into figures of the mythical *thadyá* (p. 186, No. 7). The pole is held up by transverse bars passing through it and the piles.

79. TAGUNDAING WITH KEINNAYA.

Colossal lions (*chinthé*, No. 56) of the Burmese conventional type guard the temple approaches—monsters differing as much in their way from the prototype as the lions of our own heraldry.

Stands shaped like a *balín* or throne, on which flowers and fruit are offered, are placed on the temple platforms.

Great bells are hung at every shrine (No. 97). The votary takes the deer-antler off the bar and strikes first the ground and then the bell. This is to call to witness beings both under the earth and above the earth and make them participators in the merit of the act of worship. The Burman bell has noble proportions and is hung by metal clasps of rich design, figuring the mythical dragon (*nagá*, No. 47). The tone of the bells is not rich, owing partly to the form, partly to flaws in casting. The greatest bell in Burma is that cast by the Emperor Bodaw Payá, on the European model, in 1790, for the temple he began at Mingún. It is said to weigh eighty-eight tons. A historic bell

80. TAGUNDAING WITH HINTHA.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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31. SYMBOL OF MYIMMO-DAUNG.

of the Burman type is the one cast for the Shwe-Dagôn Payâ by the Emperor Sinbyu Shin in 1775, which weighs forty-one tons.

According to the Burman cosmogony the world consists of four great islands, North, South, East and West, surrounded by the ocean. Burma and the known countries are situated in the south island. In the centre of all rises Mount Meru (*Myimmo-daung*). This centre of the universe is symbolized by a conventional tower provided with niches or caverns for mythical inhabitants of every sort, *Nat*, *Zawdyi* (sorcerers), *Bilu* (ogres), monsters half human and half brute, and dragons (No. 392). The symbol of *Myimmo-daung*, made of bamboo, with paper and tinsel, is a feature of various festivals. In substantial masonry it is a frequent adjunct of the temples.

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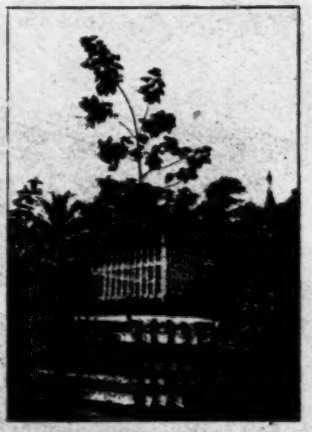
The *Bo* tree (*Bawdi-bin*), together with the rest of the *ficus* family, is sacred to the Hindu. The *Bo* is a variety of the *pipal* (*ficus religiosa*), a deciduous *ficus* with long copper-coloured acumina to the leaves. It is sacred to the Buddhists because it was while resting under the shade of a *Bo* tree at Gáya in Bahár, 600 years before Christ, that Gawdama realised the vanity of the ceremonial and ascetic systems, resisted temptation, and attained to supreme enlightenment, which, as Buddha, it became his mission to impart to mankind. "The *Bo* tree is to Buddhists what the Cross is to Christians" (Bigandet). The original *Mahâ-bodi* was piously tended while Buddhism flourished in India, and trees propagated from it were planted by Buddhist pilgrims. Such a tree is the historical *Bo* tree at Anurádhapúra in Ceylon, planted in 245 B.C. and still flourishing. Young plants cultivated from this tree are brought home to



32. BAWDI TREE.

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

83. DAUTCHA YATHE.

Burma by pilgrims. Dried and gilt leaves are also brought as relics. The seeds of the tropical *ficus* species germinate in the fork of some other tree or in a cranny of masonry and flourish in such mould as they find. The roots develop thick bands which dislodge the masonry, but, interlacing in all directions, hold the loose material together while the tree lives; or else, when the host is another tree, strangle it and take its place (Nos. 77, 245, 321). 788 824

The *yahán* are not the only religious celibates of Burma. Several other classes follow this way of life, observing many or few rules, according to their own choice. Nearest to the *yahán* are the *yathé*. They depend chiefly on alms, but cultivate gardens for themselves. Their appeal for alms is mute, they accept them in money as well as in kind, and they lay up a store for actual needs. They take food in the forenoon only. The *yathé*, who are few in number, live in forest caves or in derelict shrines, and shift for themselves, singly or in small colonies. The majority study, though they do not teach; some are illiterate. They receive a certain deference from the laity, and themselves defer to the *yahán*. The *yathé* are the subject of harmless satire and burlesque in the plays; the *yahán* never. The robe is like that of the *yahán*, but dyed tan instead of yellow. *Yathé* mostly shave the head, but there is a class who wear the hair long. Certain of them use a headgear called *dautcha*, which forms a receptacle for an image of the Buddha. Some are addicted to mild forms of occultism such as alchemy (p. 111) and devising cabalistic diagrams for charms and tattoo-marks. These practices are under the ban of Buddhism. Pretensions to occult powers, such as have 792

84. CAVE-SHRINE NEAR MAULMAIN.

[522] [301] [788] [291] 789 792

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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90. PAYA SUN-KAN.

(*Payá sun-kan*), or privately prepared, is conveyed. The day is devoted to contemplation, and the night is passed at the *zayát*. Those who keep the duty-day present offerings at the *zedi* and the adjoining *kyaung*. At either of these places a *yahán* is invited to rehearse the precepts, which the laity chant verse by verse after his lead (*thila-kan*). Passages from other scriptures are added, with their interpretations. This is called *Tayá-haw*—the preaching of the Law. The great Mun King, Yazadiyít of Pegu, in the year 1400 A.D., is reported to have been so impressed by the preaching of a *yahán* that he abandoned a campaign on which he had embarked. More than once in Burman history the peaceful contest of building rival temples has been substituted for battle by opposing armies.

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The Buddha has passed out of existence. While existent, all that the Buddha could accomplish for any being was the human service of showing him the way to work out deliverance by individual effort. Self-reliance is the cardinal principle. There is none to hear prayer. The true significance of the popular worship is not apprehended unless this be borne in mind. No virtue can surpass that of the Inestimable Master (*Myasswa Payá*) who fulfilled the Law and bequeathed it to men. To cultivate the memory of his transcendent merit is itself meritorious in the first degree. Such is the personal side of the cult, to which the effigies of the founder appeal. Before the images of the Buddha are performed the gestures of homage, and are placed offerings symbolical of veneration — tapers lighted at the shrine, flowers

91. YAHAN RECITING THE PRECEPTS (TAYA-HAW).

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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93. FAMILY OF A BURMAN NOTABLE AT THE SHRINE.

and fruit, gold-leaf laid on the image and its throne. No southern—that is, primitive Buddhist (see Rhys Davids, *Buddhism*)—lodges petitions with an image, as is the practice in countries where Buddhism is choked by fresh growth of the pagan ideas which it had arisen against. The Tibetan expedients are unheard of. Certain Buddhists in Burma, called *Paramát*, dispense with images. The mechanical aid to contemplation is the string of one hundred and eight beads (*badí*). Even the Buddhism of the common herd is no mere veneer, covering a substratum of the ancient animism (p. 186). The precepts of Buddhism are household words. The ideas and language of the race are pervaded by it. The personal aspect just described does not so engross the votary that he misses the doctrine of the Master. At the shrine the worshipper dwells on the *three gems* (*tharanagôn thômba*)—the BUDDHA, the LAW, the ASSEMBLY, and the other categories of the scheme. The BUDDHA (the Sage) was the supremely-enlightened one, filled with compassion for the subjects of *karma*, who extended to the universe the enlightenment that was the means of his own emancipation. The LAW (*Tayá*, *Tayamá*, Sanskr. *Dharma*, Pâli *Damma*).—By an impersonal cosmic process, sin works suffering and virtue effects deliverance. Re-incarnation is the legacy of sin and continues until the merit (*kûtho*), accumulated in successive
775 births (*bawa*), outweighs the demerit (*âkûtho*). Transmigration does not involve
779 transference of personality with consciousness of preceding states, but the

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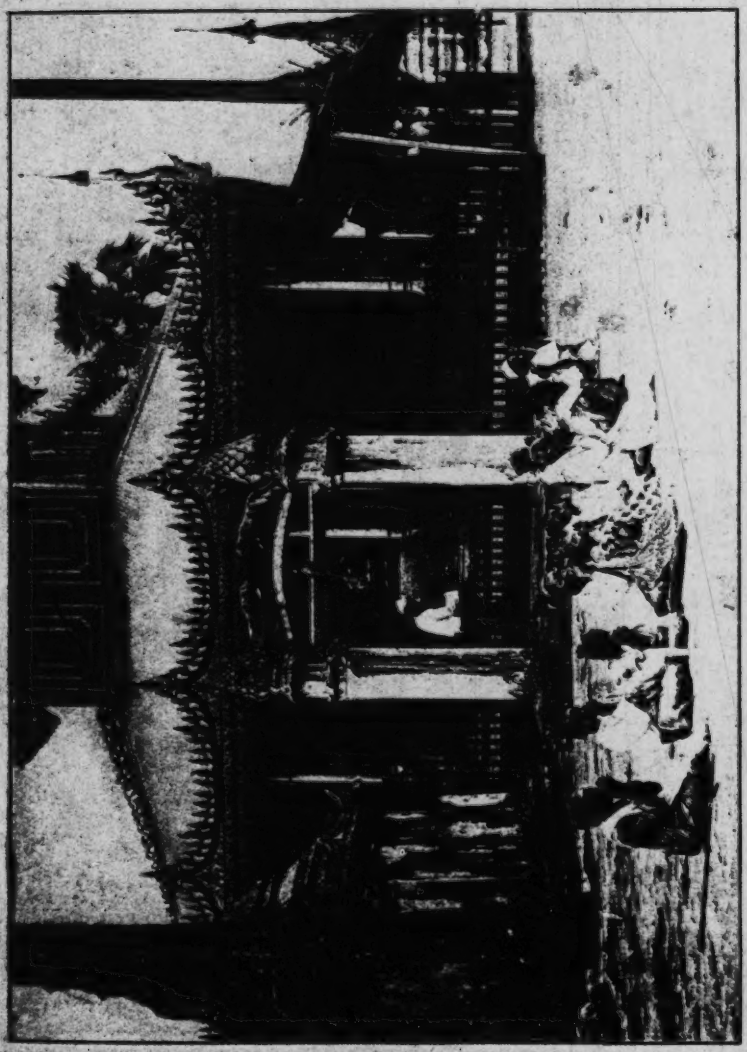
94. MODERN RELIGIOUS SUBJECT.

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

[opp. p.44]



97. WORSHIPPERS ON THE TEMPLE PLATFORM.

[To face p. 44]

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25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

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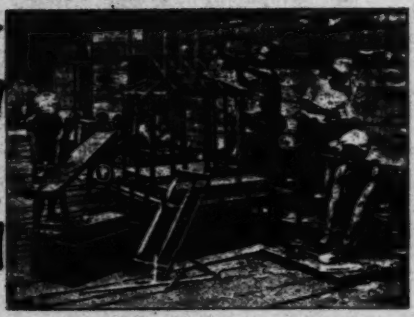

287. BURMAN CARPENTERS.

arbour of tracery, which entirely encloses them. Ivory hafts and scabbards of daggers and sabres are ornamented in the same way. The ivory carving is not polished.

The conventional flat design, painting and embroidery exhibit affinities to the Indian decoration of the ancient temples (Nos. 94, 272). The anachronisms and other naiveties of our mediæval designers are paralleled in modern Burma; witness the introduction of British officers with their field-glasses in the design of the Prince of Pagán destroying the monster at Hngep-pyittaung (No. 224). The medium used for painting is a coarse tempera. From the labels attached to European goods, many of which are excellent in design and colour, lessons in colouring and perspective have been learned. From photographs, ideas of accuracy have been gathered, and from illustrated news-papers, ideas of composition. Neither carver nor designer ever uses a model. The painter of No. 433 confessed that he had not seen the place himself; he had it described to him. In pure design with-out colour, the *shwezawô* work is the best. It is a kind of drawing in lacquer, which appears black on a gold ground (No. 96). Of late the Burmans have attempted cuts on type-metal for illustrations of books (No. 276). They are executed with chisel and punch; the graver is unknown.

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Ancient inscriptions are rare in Burma, although the *thamding*, or depository for slabs recording the circumstances of reli-gious foundations, is a recognised institu-tion. In many of the *thamding* at Pagán may be seen the ancient *Pâli* square cha-racter, of which the Burmese round character is a development. The square character is preserved in the *kambawô* (No. 46). The late King Mindôn Min caused the whole of the Pâli text of the Tripitaka to be

288. BURMAN TURNER.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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[322]

269. BURMAN WOOD-CARVER.

engraved on 729 marble slabs, 4 feet by 3 feet. These, set under as many stucco canopies, are known as the *Kûthodaw* or *Law-kama-yazin* — the royal work of merit (No. 385). They constitute the most important of the King's religious foundations. A number of years were spent by a committee of learned *yahán* in editing the text. Certain portions have since been transferred to type, and in time the whole of this text will be available in print. The development of the round Burmese character out of the square Páli was favoured by the nature of the material used for writing on—the leaf of the *pe* palm. The fan-leaf is split into its segments, which are piled, and dried under pressure. Then they are trimmed even, and punched with holes to file them by. The leaf is ruled with turmeric, and the writing is done with a sharp steel style, which scratches through the hard epidermis to the spongy layer underneath; both sides are written on. The transverse strokes tear the fibre more, and leave a plainer mark, which leads to a minimising of longitudinal strokes. When the writing is complete, the wooden covers are lacquered, the edges of the leaves gilt, and their faces oiled with crude brown petroleum, which both preserves the material and brings out the writing. The oiling is repeated from time to time. The leaves become dark and friable in fifty years, and the writing hard to decipher. Manuscripts over two hundred years old are scarce. Copyists are paid one rupee per *ingu* of ten leaves, the work of a day or two, according to their expertness. Until rag-paper began to be imported, the paper in use was

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[531]
[463]

270. CARVED SCENE FROM ZAT.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

A nat is propitiated by offerings at a shrine, almost always in miniature. Only fruit, flowers, and music are offered by Buddhists. A special genius is assigned to the dwelling—*ein-dwin Min Magayi nat*, in whose little shrine a cocoanut is offered. The nut is replaced as the water dries up, which it is assumed the *nat has drunk*. *There are nats* who preside over countries, Û Mindyi and Û Mindyâ for Burma, Û Yindyi for Pegu, Bôdaw and his sons for Thatôn, and other local *nats*. These *nats* are propitiated by such offerings as a crown, or by standing guard before their images, upon undertaking a journey, entering on a race or other contest. The five *nats* of the firmament have a special cult associated with that of the eight planets, with which the Buddha and eight *yahánda* are mixed up. The local *nats* are most commonly propitiated in *pyatho* (December), the harvest month. The visitations of malign spirits are attributed to what the Burmans call unripe (*asin*) deaths. Such are deaths from lightning-stroke, accidents of all sorts, child-bed, cholera, and whatever is violent and sudden. The normal re-incarnation of the *karma* of such is immature; they haunt localities as ghosts (*tasi*), and seek the bodies of the living for hosts, thereby causing sickness. Slaughter in battle accounts for a plague of this kind, and the one plague entails another.

423. PROPITIATING THE LOCAL NATS (NAKKAZA).

Pilgrimages to the great shrines are made in the dry months, especially at times of full moon. The most sacred shrine of the Peninsula and the perennial resort of pilgrims is the *zedi* on the site of the ancient Mun village Dagôn, renamed Yangôn (Rangoon). The legend declares that the original founders of the shrine deposited eight hairs

424. SHRINE OF THE HOUSE-GENIUS—MIN MAGAYI NAT.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

428. PROPITIATING THE NAT BODAW.

of the Buddha there. The shrine now known as *Shwe-Dagôn Payâ* (*Shwe-tî gôn*) was built over by the Emperor Sinbyu Shin in 1775 and brought to its present height of about three hundred feet above the platform. It stands at the extremity of the southernmost spur of the Pegu Yôma, and occupies a commanding position over the port of Rangoon, asserting the Burman character of the place above the masts of ships that dwarf everything else. The present canopy was dedicated by King Mindôn Min in 1871, at the cost of half a million of rupees. It is not gilt in the ordinary way, but plated with gold foil. The cone of the *zedi* itself is gilt from the peak to the platform. Such a gilding costs three hundred thousand rupees and lasts fifteen to twenty years in the climate of Rangoon. Till the Shwe-Dagôn Payâ was brought to its present height by the Burman conquerors, the *zedi* at the Mun capital Pegu had been the greatest in the land, though not the most sacred as a reliquary. This is *Shwe-hmâwdaw Payâ*, also about three hundred feet high from platform to summit (No. 67). Its site is not so favourable as that of its rival, nevertheless the *zedi* is a noble object. After the *Shwe-Dagôn Payâ* the next greatest shrine is the *Mahâ-myammuni* at Āmayapôya (No. 449). This colossal image of the Buddha weighs several tons, and it was brought over the Arakán mountains by the Burman conquerors. The head was damaged when the *tazdung* over the image was burned down in

429. PROPITIATING THE NATS OF THE FIVE PLANETS.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
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427. PILGRIMS WITH THEIR BELONGINGS.

1884, and has had to be replaced. The body of the image is encrusted with gold which the pilgrims affix; by a miraculous quality of the image the gold leaf is said to adhere without the usual size. Next in celebrity to this image is the *Shwe-zettaw*, a sacred footprint on the rock, west of Mimbu on the Irawadi (*cf.* p. 36). Only the site of the original footprint on the hill is shown. The rock which bore it clove asunder, according to the legend, in consequence of a profanation. A model of the original occupies a *tazáung* beneath. The fourth great resort of pilgrims is *Kyaittiyo Payá*, which is believed to enshrine two hairs of the Buddha. It is erected on a boulder which overhangs the peak of a mountain three thousand six hundred feet high, looking out on the plains of the Sittaung river. The legend tells how this boulder—which is not a rocking-stone—in days of greater piety used to float free above the summit. There are those who argue that even now a fine thread can be drawn between the boulder and the rock. About one hundred and fifty years ago

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428. SHWE-DAGON PAYA, RANGOON.

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
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[opp. p. 190]

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422. KYAITTIYO PAYA. [To face p. 190.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
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a Karén from this neighbourhood was taken prisoner in the wars and carried to Ava, where he eventually became *yahán*. One night he dreamt that in the cavity of a rock, on a hill near his home, were two hairs of the Buddha which had been deposited by Ôttara and Sawnasé, the missionary *yahán* who brought Buddhism to Pegu; they died and attained *parî-nirvana* at this place, and were buried at the foot of the hill. The Karén was allowed to travel to the spot, where he found what he had seen in his dream; a *zedi* was built there, which is now a famous resort of pilgrims—*Kôthena yôn* (No. 280).

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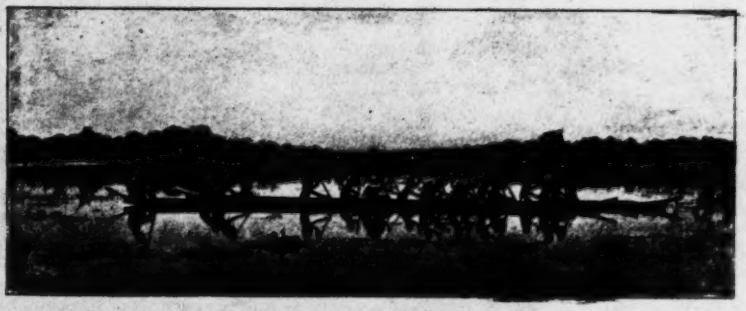

430. CANOES RACING (p. 178).

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

433. PAINTING OF KYAITTIYO PILGRIMAGE.

they study their religious books, occupy themselves with their grandchildren, teach them and tell them stories, and make toys for them. They do the light repairs of the house and gear, and when they are too old to go on pilgrimages with the others, they keep the house and tell their beads alone. The veteran can still halt to the shrine on duty-days. Every old man is by courtesy *ludyi*, and every old woman *amèdyi*. The old people wear plainer clothing than the young, and, according to old Burman fashion, less of it. The human dignity of the aged is of a kind that apparel cannot add to. Steeped in the spirit of Buddhism, the aged never yield to anger. Wanting neither for necessaries nor honour, the pathos of their serene old age is purely that of years. A peaceful end is their lot. (See *The Soul of a People*, p. 330.)

888 [532 788]

And now our Burman is equipped for the final stage. To the dead of whatever degree royal honours are accorded. The body is spoken of as *alâung*, "that which is about to be," to be something of a higher nature, namely, as the dead are spoken of in German as "blessed." The corpse is laid under a white or royal canopy, upon a temporary bier, for one or several days. The body is swathed in grave-clothes, the thumbs and great toes tied together with strips of white cotton cloth, and in the mouth of a lay person is put a gold or silver piece for *kadôga*—ferry-hire. While the body is lying in state, the catafalque (*dalâ*) is being prepared for carrying the bier to the cemetery. The *dalâ* is a tall erection of bamboo and paper, ending in a royal *pyatthat*, gay with colours and tinsel. The corpse is laid in a coffin similarly decorated, which is placed in or over the sarcophagus-shaped part of the *dalâ*. Above the coffin

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434. HOME DEVOTIONS OF THE AGED.

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29: Slater M-4 (no date) 1951 AP1 Burma
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792 ciation which the villagers themselves have not undertaken. In a sense, it
779* rebukes their lesser zeal. But it also inspires that zeal. It encourages their faith. It is the poetry in their life, symbolising the Great Peace, the Nibbāna, which is often out of their mind, a remote expectation, but nevertheless, their ultimate goal.

To this cloistered Buddhism of Burma we must now turn, for the full relation of the monk to the community can only be estimated in the light of the life he lives apart from the community.

4. *Within the Monastery*

•788 To some extent, the life of the monk within the monastery is corporate.
792 He joins with his brethren in a daily Act of Adoration —

"In order that I may escape the consequences of commissions and omissions, should I have done any in the course of the day or night, either physically or verbally or mentally, I hereby humbly adore and worship, physically, verbally and mentally, the Three Jewels — the Buddha, the Dhamma, and the Saṃgha.

"Because of this my adoration, may I escape the horrors of the four hells, the three *kappas* comprising famine, disease endemic and epidemic, the tragedies of war, the eight unpleasant places, the five enemies, the four wants, the five kinds of ruinations, the ten kinds of punishments, the twenty five kinds of dangers, the sixteen pitfalls in life, and the thirty two kinds of bad luck, but attain Nibbāna very quickly."[27]

In spite of the fact that this Act is said together, its very individual reference will be noted. The same applies to another collective act, when the monks assemble for the *Uposatha* or fortnightly chapter. The rules of the Order are recited, and each monk must confess any infringement. Sangermano notes among the offences to be admitted, "Giving scandal to laymen by small faults."[28] The monk may therefore be said to be concerned with the reputation of the Order and the good of the laity, but he is also very obviously concerned with his own progress in the discipline.

It is often said, in fact, that the Buddhist monk is entirely self-regarding. As he states in the prayer we have quoted, he wants "to attain Nibbana very quickly." He is not content with the more leisurely progress of the layman who expects to see many rebirths before he comes near the goal. The monk has chosen a shorter Path. He has cut adrift from domestic obligations and left the world. He is selfishly concerned

[27] I am indebted to U Lu Pe Win of Mandalay for this example of a typical 'prayer'; cf. Kenneth E. Wells, *Thai Buddhism: its rites and activities*, chap. III, p. 29.

[28] *Op. cit.*, chap. XIV, p. 120.

that is, the D.I.S. (District Inspector of Schools), whether active or re- 517
tired, was usually more permanent and could dig his toes in more 647
happily. The social relationship was also ideal. Earning less than the 351
other officials, he could yet offer them this rich hospitality of natural pleasures.

When we were in Maubin the D.I.S. was our friend U Taik Wan. 245
He and his family of ten sons and daughters had the u-yin developed to 252
its fullest. He had a low large house where the river took a bend and had fenced in this bed with bamboo stakes and a diving platform. The garden orchard stretched away from the house to a bamboo hut at the far end, with open verandahs under the trees. The speciality of his orchard were his sweet-sour marian trees. The marian is the *bonea Burmanica*, common to Burma and northern Assam, where it forms an ideal appetizer for the heat-drowsy inhabitants. It is sour, of a sharp biting sourness which now makes my mouth water with longing. It is too sour to eat except doused in strong salt sauce or fish paste, salt being our antidote to sourness, in which I differ from the English idea of cooking, for salt combines and merges in with sourness whereas a pound of sugar thrown into a gooseberry tart would still leave it too sour for me. The marian is a small fruit, green when young and orange-yellow when ripe, with a pretty purple seed which has given its name to the Burmese colour "mauve". There is a sweet variety which is not popular. Sometimes, however, a prize tree is found which produces a sweet-sour marian, a sour fruit with its sting taken off. Such a tree should be treated with the greatest care; its fruits must never be salted or pickled as sour fruits are treated, because the "sour" use would communicate itself to the tree by what may be called sympathetic magic. Rather, my mother made jam (with sugar) of these marians, for the improvement of U Taik Wan's tree.

My mother was very punctilious about such things; the girl servants 252
were never allowed to pluck the citron leaves for our salad because a 841
woman in menstruation makes the tender leaves of the citron tree curl
up and lose their succulence when she plucks them. U Taik Wan had 789
a row of sweet-sour marian trees which he guarded from flying foxes by throwing a net across one face of them, showing a wall of these creatures hanging head downwards, to passers-by.

Our pyaw-pwè-sas at the Taik Wan's always began with a lot of 526
water-fun. We never used bathing dresses, but adapted our longyis for 291
swimming. This longyi is shaped and wrapped, like the more famous 515
sarong, at the waist normally, but women and girls take it above the bosom when they discard their jackets. This enables all our poorer women to bathe with perfect decorum at public wells and streams.

and full dress on a cushion, the centre of the crowd of people who have been invited for feasting, to have the ears pierced with a gold pin and after this always to wear diamond ear-rings, but the ceremony has no deeper significance than that the parent feels he has done the best for his daughter at this stage of her life. The shinbyu, however, is much more than a social event. It has a religious meaning of the fullest beauty. 881 585

Although the women of Burma figure as actively and have the same rights as men in the fields of business, property, and professions of the modern world, we always keep alive in us the religious feeling that we are "below" mankind. It is not so much a feeling that women are a lower race as that a man has the nobility of manhood in him. We call it *hpon*, the glory, the holiness of a man, and we respect this not with subservience but with the same feelings as we respect monks and parents. A wife does not throw her longyi across her husband's bed, she does not touch any of his possessions with her feet in carelessness, she uses a separate mug for her bathwater. A bad wife who does not respect her nusband's manhood does him the greatest harm, for a man cannot prosper if his hpon is hampered; indeed, some women who indulge in black magic deliberately *hpon-nein* their husbands, that is, lower his hpon by carelessly wielding brooms above his head, throwing women's longyis on his pillow, thus making him subordinate, and believing that this makes the wife's will prevail over the husband's. But such a man can never make progress in his career. 562 784 789

It is the Buddhist belief that the attainment of a perfect life is as a man, as shown in Gautama Buddha's life as Prince Siddhartha. Prince Siddhartha was the son of King Suddhodana, who surrounded his son with all the luxury and splendour that his kingdom on the slopes of the Himalayas could offer. To prevent his son from renouncing his princely life for one of poverty and meditation he kept all sights of sorrow, sickness and decay hidden from him. He found him a perfect wife, beautiful, meek and affectionate, who bore him a son; but the prince in his excursions to a park in the city came across a decrepit old man, a sick old man and a corpse, which sights made him sad at the thought of human misery in this world. The next time, however, he saw a hermit which suggested that peace of mind was achievable by renunciation of the vanities of the world. On the night that his son was born, Prince Siddhartha made the Great Renunciation and left everything to go into solitude and find out the cause of misery, and the means of its removal. The Dhammapada says of the world: 779

> Come! behold this world which is like a decked royal chariot, wherein the foolish immerse themselves; but for the wise there is no attachment.

face from bringing something off, money is paid in advance, rush tactics 593
are employed to prevent the man returning from abroad from marrying
the sweetheart of his college days, and in some cases even magic is resor- 584
ted to, though in secret. This black magic, especially, involves some 554
very undignified actions. A younger cousin of mine once warned his 177-
mother: "Please, Mother, never try to sell me like a bullock, or worse 58
still to arrange a marriage for my sister. I will not help you to jump
thrice on eggshells or throw ten viss of fish into a well at dead of night [789]
under instructions from a soothsayer."

Although marriages were constantly being arranged among our [585]
circle of friends in Thaton, I was not allowed to attend weddings as a 527
young unmarried girl. What we did attend regularly with the grown-ups were the *u-bok-nay*, the duty day gatherings every week in the resthouses among the hills. On these days Buddhists who choose to observe the day, obey eight or ten precepts instead of five. Amongst these ten are the abstaining from food after mid-day, absence of ornament and cosmetics in dress, meditation and prayer, and absence of a high couch in sleep. In Thaton the observance of this day was made the weekly social event with the same combination of material enjoyment and religious piety that characterizes all Burmese functions as described previously. Each family went to the hills early in the morning with mats, betel boxes and a well-cooked meal. The girls wore all the [556]
jewellery they had because we had not yet taken the precepts, and this was a good chance of showing that a family did not lack wealth. We met in the resthouses, to one of which a monk came to intone the precepts. These we repeated in chorus after him; then the elders talked and chewed betel, and at about 10-30 the whole party went to bathe in the pools made by the waterfalls down the hills. We went back to find the pooled dishes of four or five families laid out in a rich feast. We stuffed ourselves with this. The law states that food should not be eaten after noon, and the law was always obeyed in the letter if not in the spirit.

One maiden lady in Rangoon who kept duty days regularly ate till 785
as near noon as she possibly could. She usually finished her meal with
fruit, and if she was eating a banana when noon struck with a loud bang 527
from the cannon at the Shwe Dagon Pagoda, "Haw!" she would exclaim, and in would go the whole length of the banana into her mouth. After noon, tea and coffee are not allowed either but aerated waters, which look so much like water, are sanctioned. When my husband was a novice monk in the monastery, they were allowed medicinal products also after noon, and the hungry young novices often made a [278]
delicious soup of garlic (a digestive) fried in butter (medicinal component), and water poured on to the fragrant compound.

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and ninepins, played with the big flat seeds of a jungle creeper. Pleasant they were under the shade of the great mango and pipul trees and the lofty cocoa-nut and palmyra palms, and exciting were the games, so that the customary stillness of the place was rudely broken upon by disputing voices, till a monk would come out and bring all back to work again as a penance. Then during the work there was the fun of the writing hour, when everybody had to write out maxims and prayers on his little parabaik with a clumsy pointed steatite pencil. There were always some stiff-fingered big pupils who could not manage to write their copy neatly or correctly, and as punishment had to take the good writers on their backs and march ruefully up and down the long schoolroom during pleasure. Sometimes they were thrashed, but the other punishment was the more dreaded. Then there was the schoolmaster monk, who would tell fairy stories of the other three great islands which lie in the sea round about Myinmo mountain; of the half-moon-faced western islanders, and the wondrous tree that bore everything eatable one could wish for and delivered it ready cooked; the joys of the six heavens of the Nats and the grisly horrors of Nga-yè, with its fearful ages of fantastic punishments. Every now and again travelling necromancers and hmaw sayās would spend a night or two at the monastery, and in recompense for the little delicacies and odds and ends of food which good-natured neophytes would get for them, used to tell stories of witchery and marvel. Sometimes there would be a sā-haw, yā, a kind of cyclic poet, who knew half the zats in the language by heart, and would recite a little just for practice. Or a tattooing sayā would come round and mark some particularly favoured youth with a quaint figure. Discussion as to its meaning and probable virtues would be carried on in the shadowy evenings for months afterwards. Varieties of this kind recur to the old Burman as he thinks of the school days long ago, and he sighs with as much conviction as any European that there are no days so happy as the school days.

English rule has disturbed old customs a good deal in the province, but even now we may say that, as an invari-

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781 Meditation is the only path to the higher seats whereby a
789 man becomes a yahanda, fit for Ne'ban, possessed of the six kinds of wisdom :—

1. The faculty of seeing like a nat or dewa.
2. The faculty of hearing like a nat.
3. Creative power.
4. Knowledge of the thoughts of others.
5. Freedom from passion.
6. Knowledge of one's own past existences.

781 They sit therefore for long hours fingering their rosaries, the
788 beads made of the seeds of the *Canna indica*, "Indian shot,"
[824] which sprang from Shin Gautama's blood, and repeating many times the prescribed formulæ, most often the Thamatawi Patthana—All is changeful, all is sad, all is unreal; followed by the Tharana Gôn, the invocation of the Three Precious Gems, the Lord, the Law, and the Assembly. So by abstraction of the mind they hope to acquire the four laws of Edepat :—

1. Absolute power over the will.
2. Absolute power over the mind.
3. Absolute power of execution.
4. Absolute power over the means to the object.

781 The discipline is terrible to all but a slow-minded man, and
812 we can well imagine one who thus presents himself to the people as a living memento of all that is sacred and perfect in the religion, longing for the extinction of Ne'ban, where he may escape from the misery of recurring lives.

> Ask of the sick, the mourners, ask of him
> Who tottereth on his staff, lone and forlorn,
> Liketh thee life? These say, The babe is wise
> That weepeth being born.

792 So each one in the brotherhood passes the time each afternoon: some asleep, some racking the brain with mystical musings, some learning, some teaching, while throughout all sounds the din of the schoolroom, where the pupils are shouting out their tasks at the top of their voices.

Between three and four the lessons are finished, and the shins and scholars perform any domestic duties that may be

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The following recipes and formulae to be repeated
304 during tattooing are taken from a Mandalay tattooer's
● 789 book :—

For an a-nu se: "I was Kutha Min, I. At the time when Papawadi was my queen, when I routed the kings of all the seven countries who came suing for her hand. Right beautiful was she, fair as the malla flower when it perfumes the forest with its odours. I the great Kutha Yaza."

This is to be repeated seven times at various stages in the operation. Kutha Yaza is the hero of one of the 510 Zats, detailing the previous births of the Lord Buddha.

For an a-hpi se: "Steal gold from the pagodas, fine, bright gold. Refine it in the fire and repeat the magic words in the house, on the lonely path, before the lucky star, at the pagoda; repeat them a thousand times save one. Consecrate the water, draw the circle of the flying galôn. Put it under the left arm, under the right arm. No harm will befall thee, safe and invulnerable."

"A parrot tattooed on the arm will give great favour with princes."

"Take a length of bamboo or of rattan the size of a joint of the merchant's finger, and repeat, pressing your foot against the tha-bye tree, Nat-tha wa-pa, wa-pa nat-tha na. Repeat this seven times and put the joint in your mouth when you are in danger. There is no better the-nat hpi."

[826] The merchant's finger (let thugywè) is the third—that on which rings are worn. The forefinger is called let-hno. Hno means to hate, but whether this is the meaning or not —as it were "the finger of scorn"—I do not know.

"Repeat sa ba pa wa wa ba pa wa with the tooth of the wild boar in your palm, with the wild boar's ear as you know. Draw the circle with pure red gold. Draw in it a nagā; then draw sideways the figure of a flying lion. Write round it ôm gyu-lu gyu-lu thwa ha ya. Then carry rice, fresh water, betel, tobacco, and le'pet to the pagoda and heap them together. When you have repeated a thousand times the words of the encircling gāta (spell) put it below the skin. But be careful not to give it to the first man who asks for it. It is very powerful." This is another a-hpi se.

Certain stones called amadé, said to be found in the

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The ceremony of excommunication, thabeit hmauk (literally, inverting the alms-bowl), is sufficiently solemn. The monks gather in a circle round the culprit, and the latter part of the Kammawā, that which is read to drive sickness and evil spirits out of a town, is gravely recited by the abbot, the surrounding brethren responding at the end of each sentence. When it is finished, his yellow robes are taken off him, his alms-bowl is turned mouth downwards, and he is hurried out of the monastery limits. His condition is pitiable. No one may speak to him; no monk will take alms from him; he can neither buy nor sell; he is not allowed even to draw water from a well, or drink from the jars at a wayside zayat. He is as much an outcast as any pagoda slave, and grievous is the penance he must go through before he is once more received into the society even of laymen. It occasionally happens when there is much evil living in a district, or if the people are lax in their religious observances, that the brethren of the kyaung put the neighbourhood under a ban by inverting their alms-bowls, and refusing to go out begging. There is no greater proof of the power of the assembly than the rapidity with which this effects its purpose. The most careless are brought to a sense of their sinfulness in a few days. Such excommunication is, however, more and more rare.

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Before the death of the Lord Buddha, the yahans all addressed one another as awutthaw; but after he had attained the ne'ban of khan-das under the eng-gyin-bin (*Shorea robusta*), a recognition of relative rank was instituted. The inferiors, we are told, called the more advanced in the order, bante, while the juniors were addressed in their turn, by their proper name, or that of their family. In Burma, however, this regulation prevails only to a very slight extent. With the mendicants, as with the royalty, and indeed with the populace at large, it is considered uncivil to mention a person's name in conversation, and his rank, or the kyaung he belongs to, is used instead, or perhaps only the designation of his sacred profession. The laity indiscriminately address all wearers of the yellow robe as payā (lord).

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Similarly the "punishment of Brahma," recommended by the great master to be employed against weaker brethren, is

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head, glinting white through the trees, appears the slender spire of a small pagoda. The jungle growth has spread all over the hill, or image, and the outline and features of the Budh struggle to be seen through a heavy fog of varied green. Such monster images exist here and there all over the Eastern districts. They are all exceedingly ancient, and are regarded more as glorifications of the Great Master than as recognised places for devotion. The pious deposit offerings and chant their sentences before them as they do everywhere before the features of the Buddha, but otherwise the people regard them more with the curiosity of the foreigner than with the adoration of the devotee. 778

Among the more ignorant and superstitious classes it is not at all uncommon to find particular images regarded with especial awe and reverence, on account of the tale of some prodigy displayed. The sacred order and all true Buddhists, however, strenuously discountenance the idea of any miracles being wrought either by particular images or by holy relics. It is for this reason that the latter are in Burma all walled up and not brought out for the inspection of worshippers as in other Buddhist countries. The Kammawāsā in its denunciation of the claiming of magic powers is also considered to forbid the assertion that any particular statue displays more than usual power—a power which could not fail to lead directly to idolatry. The passage runs as follows: "No brother must arrogate to himself what goes beyond the power of human nature, and he must not boast of exceptional abilities. Whoso gives out with evil intentions that he possesses supernatural powers, saying that he has attained zān, or ne'ban, or command of religion, or undisturbed repose on the path that leads to the deliverance; he is no Sramana; he is no son of Sakya. As a broken palm-tree cannot be again united, as a twig broken from the stem cannot be joined on again, so is that religious man, who falsely declares that he has attained the superhuman, fallen away from the true Sramanas, separated from the sons of Sakya. So long as life lasts must this be avoided."

Nevertheless unprincipled yahans, fearing that the piety of their district is growing slack, or wishing to attract benevolent pilgrims to their neighbourhood, undoubtedly 778 789

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do occasionally originate, or at any rate stimulate, the belief in prodigies. A common wonder is that of the Tat-daw pwa, growing images. I am not aware that they are made of meteoric stones or any such substance. The carnal and unregenerate are wont to asssert that these images only grow at night and then in sudden jumps. In any case, they never grow very big.

A more unusual miraculous discovery actually resulted in the growth of a small fishing village into a prosperous town, and, owing to this latter circumstance, into the head of one of the subdivisions under the British Government. This is the station of Myan-aung on the Irawaddy. A Gautama rose out of the ground there. That was, however, not the wonder. It perspired! It perspired a thick, sticky exudation which precluded the necessity of using the milky juice of the thapan thi (*Ficus racemosa*), the gum usually employed in fixing gold-leaf on the images or pagodas. The tidings soon spread far and wide, and people journeyed from distant towns to see the wonder and to plaster on fabulous quantities of gold-leaf. The hamlet rapidly grew into a town. The surrounding country was taken up and cultivated, and Myan-aung is now as pretty a little station as any you will see on the great Irrawaddy, and is one of the principal centres of the great Henzada district.

Another little fishing village, farther down the river, below Maubin, possessed in 1879 a singular image. This Buddha in most unusual fashion suddenly began to develop a moustache. It was not much to speak of, and was certainly not pretty, but there was undoubtedly a growth of some kind on the upper lip. The phenomenon, however, never had more than an exceedingly local interest. A moustache is not an appendage that appeals to a Burman's finer feelings to any great extent, and if Shin Gautama had one in life he would certainly have shaved it off. Therefore the swampy, mosquito-haunted district failed to better its fortunes. A good many people came and gazed on the ugly bristles and made offerings, but they went away again, and the enthusiasm was strangled before it was well born. The military assistant commissioner of the district declared in an off-hand way that it was a fungus of a new kind, or

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some hitherto undiscovered lichen, and had thoughts of chipping a bit of the lip off and sending it to the British Museum. But he refrained, and the villagers missed even this poor chance of notoriety.

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There are a few images specially noteworthy with less questionable reason. One of these stands half-way up Mandalay Hill under a lofty teak tectum. It is a gigantic standing image profusely gilt all over, and pointing with steadfast finger full at the glittering central spire of the palace rising gracefully over the throne of the Ruler of Existence. As a half-way house on the toilsome ascent of the hill it is always frequented, but the superstitious wayfarers gaze through the gilt railings more with the awe due to the guardian spirit of the capital than with the fervency of the worshipper. It has been burnt since the annexation.

In the chapel on the summit of the hill, looking over the wide, fertile plain towards the black, jagged Nat's Peak, haunted by goblins and wraiths, the silver windings of the mighty Irrawaddy and the barren pagoda-sprinkled Sagaing hills beyond, there is a singular statue. A notice begs the religious to put their gold-leaf, not indiscriminately all over the figure, but only on the eyeballs. The zeal of many years causes the pupils to start from their sockets as if the Buddha were horrified by some gruesome deed of sin perpetrated in the golden city below. The last time I was there I heard a matter-of-fact Briton marvelling how it was that the goodly nuggets had not long since been removed by a sacrilegious hand. It seems to be always Englishmen who think of these things first.

A hundred yards from the foot of the sacred hill in a tall brick building is a great marble Buddha, probably the biggest monolith in the world. The sitting figure must be quite twenty-five feet high, and scores of tons weight. It does the Mandalay workmen great credit that with their primitive appliances they should have been able to mount so ponderous a figure on its pedestal. In a wide square round about are arranged little six-foot shrines, each containing a gilt image and all looking towards the central Buddha. It is not the least wonderful of the many wonderful things to be seen round the foot of Mandalay Hill.

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If a hen lays an egg upon a cloth, its owner will lose money. To come across mushrooms at the beginning of a journey is a most fortunate sign. A snake crossing the path always denotes delay, whether in a lawsuit, a journey, or a warlike expedition. If a dog carries an unclean thing up into his master's house, he may get thrashed for it, but the man will become rich; and so on in infinite variety. 787

All this belief in supernatural powers tends to produce abundance of experts who profess to be able to explain signs and to control the evil spirits. Every district possesses its nat thungè, or nat meimma, a spirit woman who dances at the nat feasts, and at ordinary times is consulted by the superstitious on all kinds of subjects connected with her trade. She is asked where so-and-so, lately deceased, is, to what seat of the world he has migrated; where absent persons are, and what they are doing; what facilities there are for special undertakings, and when they should be begun. 791

The Bedin Sayās claim similar knowledge, and are equally abundant. Numbers of them may be seen at any time of the day sitting under the trees on the way up to the Shwe Dagôn pagoda, writing and rubbing out figures and letters on their black note-books, and drawing a comfortable income from an unfailing succession of inquirers. Sometimes such a magic-worker, wishing to establish a reputation, or having a spite against somebody, performs the ceremony called pônnaga taikgyin. He carries off some cinders from the funeral pyres of people who have been burnt, and collecting a large assortment of such charred pieces of wood, puts them secretly in the house of the person whose feelings he wishes to work on. At night the spirits come and keep up a battery of stones on the unfortunate man's roof, all attempts to find out where the stones come from being as unavailing as they were in a similar instance in the suburbs of London not very long ago.

It is consolatory, however, to know that piety will protect any one from the attacks of malevolent spirits. Numerous stories told by the yahans prove the virtue of the gâtas to guard against evil. If the victim has only knowledge and strength of mind sufficient to recite these religious formulæ, 789 776

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789 776 the wiles of the nats are harmless. In case of the utmost need, even the ordinary tharana-gôn, the payā, tayā, thengā, is of much avail, if only uttered with faith. It is with the idea of keeping away bilus, tasés, and demons that the [792] members of the yellow robe are often summoned to death- [764] beds. There is no thought of the monk administering spiritual consolation to the dying man. The good influence of his pious presence keeps away evil spirits, and nothing more. No exhortations of the yahan can alter the balance of merit and demerit which is already cast up for the dying man. On the other hand, in out-of-the-way parts of the country, and especially in the hills, spirit shrines are not unseldom found actually inside a monastery compound.

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Love, the cloud-rack,
Flashed blue gleams of hope back,
Broke and fringed its fringes black;
Here I wait
At thy gate;
Open straight,
Be not late,
Hot with hope I wait.

My pet is fair
With flowers twined in her hair,
Kerchief gold-meshed like a snare,
Like a net
Fairly set
Hearts to get,
Sweet my pet,
Mine lies in that net.

Courtly story
Tells of queenly glory:
My queen's as fair and more, aye.
Eyebrow tint,
Just a glint,
Slightest hint
Of art in 't,
Eyebrow's pencilled tint.

Painted cheeks sweet,
Nosegay where all scents meet,
See, I throw me at thy feet.
There is none
To be won,
No not one
'Neath the sun,
Like my love there's none.

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The thein-nats are certain spirits, or superior beings, who preside over the showers. It rains whenever they come out of their houses (the stars), to sport about and have mimic fights in the air. The thunder and the lightning are the clashing and shining of the celestial arms. When the sun is in the house of the goat it is very hot, and the thein-nats do not come out. To arouse them from their lethargy, if the rains are long of coming, it is a common custom in country places to have a lônswéthi, a tug-of-war. A chain or a stout cable is got, and the villagers divide themselves into two parties, and pull and shout and get up as much excite-

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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ment as possible, to stimulate the thein-nats to exert themselves also. A lônswèthi sometimes continues for nearly an hour without definite result.

The "painted cheeks," or "fragrant cheeks," so frequently mentioned in all these love-songs, refers to the thana'kha, a sweet-scented, straw-coloured powder made from the bark and roots of the *Murraya paniculata*, a flowering shrub of the citron species. Some girls, and especially some actresses, have particular recipes for making up the cosmetic into a moist paste. It is applied with the finger, and a good deal of skill is exhibited in putting on the requisite amount. Unpractised hands usually smear on far too much, and it is as unsightly as a badly whitewashed outhouse. On others it is barely visible. All girls use it, and not a few town dandies.

The following may be regarded as somewhat of an approach to the European *vers de société*. I have not attempted to imitate the original metre :—

THE CIGAR-MAIDEN OF MADEYA, NEAR MANDALAY

Thy cheroots, so deftly fingered,
  Famous are in Burma's land,
Many a chief has fondly lingered,
  Watched the maiden's nimble hand.

Madeya, I'd spare to sing thee
  For cheroots and dainty maids,
For their crispness doth but bring thee
  Sorrow from the palace blades.

By the throne's great gilded grandeur
  Sits the prince, cheroot in hand,
And behind him little Ma Nyo,
  Pearl of all the village band.

Burnt up all my love and sighing,
  Like the ash of his cigar;
Hopes dispelled and idly flying,
  Like the smoke he puffs afar.

Thy cheroots so deftly fingered,
  Madeya are silver-white,
But the prince that came and lingered,
  Stole away the hamlet's light.

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CHAPTER XLIV

WIZARDS, DOCTORS, AND WISE MEN

WIZARDS and witches are very common in Burma. The thing runs in families, and on the Chindwin river in Upper Burma there is a village called Kale Thaungthut, "the small town at the top of the sandbank," where the entire population is credited with supernatural power of this kind. They have a king there, and if a person who has been bewitched goes to him and represents that he has been malignantly and unjustifiably laid under a spell by some unknown person, the wizard king goes through some inverted prayers and ceremonies, and utters an incantation, which forces the bewitcher to his presence. An explanation is then demanded, and if no just cause can be shown, the witch is punished and the afflicted person is freed from his ailment. Many bewitched people who have gone there to be cured have, however, never come back again, and pilgrimages thither are therefore not so common as they might be otherwise, and of course no one, not afflicted, would be reckless enough to go, as it were, into the lion's den. 754

But there are good witches and bad. There are the sôns, who delight in nothing so much as in killing people, afflicting them with epilepsy, fits, and divers other ailments; and there are the wézas, who are good people, and strive to overthrow the machinations of the sôns against the welfare of mankind, while themselves learned in all the knowledge of the mystic art. Wéza simply means wisdom or knowledge, and the sorcery studied by both classes is the same. Both kinds of wise men are divided into four orders, according 789 ●

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789 to the branch of learning to which they have applied themselves more particularly. Thus there are—

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1. The Pyada wéza, the mercury wise man.
2. The Than wéza, the iron wise man.
3. The Se wéza, the medicine wise man.
4. The In wéza, the wise man learned in cabalistic signs and squares.

The than and in sorcerers are the most powerful and efficacious in their workings, whether for good or evil, and the others are looked upon more as experimenters and candidates for the higher ranks than as legitimate wizards. To the class of mercury wizards belong all those who make a regular practice of the study of alchemy with a view to the production of gold and silver, and on this subject almost every Burman has some pet notion. The medicine wizards are those who set up as professional doctors on the score of a particular knowledge of herbs and simples. It is a very simple matter starting as a doctor in Burma. All you have to do is to assert that you have acquired a special knowledge, and set to work prescribing the most villainous-tasted and drastic medicines you can concoct. As long as an undeniable result one way or the other is produced you are sure of getting a certain amount of reputation.

The than and in practitioners have a more legitimate title to the name of conjurers or workers in magic. The title of iron wizard is merely typical, and implies that the man has a knowledge of the properties of all natural objects, and is as capable, or more so, of acting the *rôle* of a medical adviser as the professed doctors. The discovery and preparation of the pieces of metal, stones, and what not, that are let under the skin of soldiers and dacoits is carried on by them, and this vending of charms is a regular source of income to them. An occasional marvel worked now and then acts as a recommendation and advertisement of their powers. Thus I have seen a hmaw sayā, a kind of generic term applied to all wonder-workers, roll up pieces of gold and silver leaf and thin sheets of copper, and throw them into a bowl of water. They of course sank immediately to the bottom, and then the sayā would make passes with his

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hands and mutter an incantation, when the metal would slowly rise to the top and float there. When sceptics were present, this man would suddenly stop the charm he was uttering, and the bits of metal would either remain floating in the middle of the bowl of water or sink down again, according to the part of the spell to which he had reached. How it was done is only known to wizards of his class and sleight-of-hand people perhaps, but to the actual fact of this khôntet letpwè, as it is called, numbers of people, Europeans as well as Burmans, can testify. The conjurer is a well-known man near the village of Pantanaw, fifty miles or so west of Rangoon.

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But however many miracles the than wéza may work, he is always exceeded in reputation by the constructor of cabalistic squares and symbols. These are in constant use by every Burman, or rather he gets them made and interpreted for him by a proficient. The horoscope which every one has drawn up at his birth has numbers of these mystical numbers on it, from which lucky days and dangerous combinations may be learnt. To calculate the more harmful spells the in sayā should have these data, or at any rate should know the date and hour of the victim's birth. Therefore it is a safe rule never to let a wizard or conjurer see your sadā, or to mention the hour of your birth to any one whom you may suspect of having an ill-will against you, for he might from even that one fact have a most potent charm thrown over you. These mystic squares and numbers have most extraordinary virtue. By holding up one of a particular kind for a short time you can set a house on fire. Another in engraved on a stone will make it float, and such a stone, buried in the skin of a man's body, would prevent him from drowning, unless some other magician destroyed its influence by a more potent spell. If you scratch an in on a tree or a house, you can make lightning strike it; another arrangement of the cabalistic words or numbers will preserve it from such a calamity. There is probably not a single Burman, tattooed at all, who has not several ins on different parts of his body. Some of them protect from special ailments; the most common are those which avert dangers from bullet or sword-cut.

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are stuck into him, red pepper is forced into his eyes, and the louder he shrieks and groans the better pleased are his friends and relations, for it is the witch, or the natso, that is suffering, and not the sick man at all. If this treatment does not kill or cure him, a final effort is made. A middle-aged woman, sometimes a member of the family, dresses herself up in a fantastic way, and assumes the name of "wife of the evil spirit." A shed is erected for the occasion just outside the house. Music is brought, and the woman begins to dance, slowly at first, and then gradually more and more furiously, until at length she works herself into a regular frenzy or ecstasy. Then it is supposed that the demon has passed out of the sick man into her, and that whatever answers she now gives to questions are the utterances of the demon. Consequently, whatever she directs is implicitly carried out. The instructions usually resolve themselves into offerings to be placed outside for the evil spirit at nightfall. If this fails, then the witch doctors and medicine doctors unite in declaring that the nat is too strong for them, and abandon their patient. Occasionally, if he is of a very strong constitution, he revives after that. Such performances are limited to remote jungle places nowadays. Thus, however, the provinces of the physician and the necromancer run into one another, and it is difficult to say where science ends and magic begins. 757

Shampooing is almost always employed in every disease, in addition to the prescriptions of the doctor; and here, at any rate, we have real skill. The shampooers are almost always women, though most men know a little about it too. A professional has a most wonderful knowledge of all the tendons and muscles in the human body, and follows them up with a light pressure of the fingers that affords a relief in the case of rheumatism and stiffness from exhaustion, which is simply incredible to all but those who have experienced it. [562]

In addition to their other work, the hmaw sayās are very much resorted to for love philtres and potions by both sexes. They have always an answer pat if the prescription fails: it is due to the opposition of the eingsaung nat, the guardian spirit of the house; or the applicant has made a mistake as to the date of birth of the object of his affection 789 931

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Burmese AP4

789 831 Knowledge of this latter particular is imperative, and an error of an hour or two makes all the difference in the composition of the potion.

757 It ought to be unsatisfactory to an intelligent Burman's feelings to think that the man who prescribes for him in a dangerous illness is possibly at the same time mixing cunning draughts for a love-sick maid, or is manufacturing an image of a girl with magical charms and drugs which shall drive the original mad and soothe the vengeful wrath of the rejected suitor. Perhaps it is on this account that a Rangoon Burman, if he falls ill out in the district anywhere, hurries back to town as fast as he can. If he cannot do that, the best thing is to call in a wéza in preference to an unknown doctor; for while the former will probably confine himself to incantations at first, the dietist will irritate all the gastric juices in your body by prescribing some new variety of food, and banning everything you have been accustomed to; while the druggist will cram you to the throat with cathartics and anthelmintics, with arsenic, fungi from bamboo roots, green vitriol, decoctions of lemon grass, borax, croton seeds, and vegetable soot.

753 The father of Burmese medical science was the celebrated physician Zewaka, who once cured a colic which afflicted the Lord Buddha Gautama, by simply giving him three flowers to smell. Upon the petals were strewn some potent powders which restored perfect health in a few hours. To this good medico is to be ascribed the assertion that the diseases which afflict mankind are ninety-six in number. These may vary in their symptoms according to the thirty-five temperaments, the forty-five accidents, the sixteen dangers, and the four elements, but there are no more than ninety-six wedana for all that. Accordingly, a very common beginning to a [576] formal Burmese letter is to say that by his correspondent's good wishes the writer has been preserved from the ninety-six andayè; the thirty-two kan-chammā, or pieces of bad luck; the twenty-five baya, dangers from assassins, wild beasts, and the like; and finally from aneitta bala, evils of all kinds, envy, hatred, malice, and all uncharitableness: his friend's regard has kept all these things far from him, may the writer's good will be not less efficacious. Therefore it is

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In another picture a crow is represented breaking a vessel full of money with its beak. Close at hand are a man and woman embracing one another. This denotes loss.

A man and his wife represented dancing together signify great gifts to the pagoda.

Another picture, which represents a husband and wife standing together in front of a house, with a horse and cow near it, denotes that the child to whom this picture may refer will be a farmer.

Near the picture of a dog, which one man holds by the tail while another hits it on the head, is written: "When the lot falls here, be not boastful, but humble; avoid pride and assumption, for that will only raise up enemies for you."

The following are some spells:—

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Take this amulet (a piece of bone carved rudely square, and with mystic figures on it), put your foot up against a thabye tree, and repeat the Ittipithaw (a form of worship in learning which one spends four or five months in the monasteries) thirty-seven times. Then you will be able to turn any given man into a ghost and make him do as you please.

Take the stalk of a betel leaf in your hand. Repeat "Ôm padan rupa wari thwa ha" seven times, and then throw the stalk at the person. He or she is sure then to listen to what you say.

The following is a charm to cause a dream about your lady-love:—Get an exact likeness of her made. Find out the hour and day on which she was born, her name and exact age. Then having begged permission from the guardian spirit of both the houses (your own and hers), chant as follows: "O Thurathadi, fairest goddess of flowers, daughter of nats most high, grant most graciously all that I desire of thee: tasa machan: without keeping back the least remainder; without withdrawing a single joy: prithee do this without fail, sweet goddess of woodland love." Repeat this seven times before the figure. Then go to sleep.

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For seven days after either kind of funeral, mourning goes on in the house. This means in wealthy houses indiscriminate eating and drinking. Cooking goes on all night, and all day relays of condoling visitors come and eat and enjoy themselves. The yahans also come every morning and receive offerings, and recite a string of Pali sentences. Friends bring contributions towards all this expenditure, but the result of it too often is that the heir finds that not only are all his father's hoarded rupees gone, but he himself has contracted a very considerable burden of debt. Even in the case of poor people, where the feasting is limited to the seventh day, great expense is incurred. The yahans are as necessary then as at the funeral, for the house must be purified, and the evil spirits who may be hanging about, as well as the leip-bya of the deceased, have to be exorcised and driven away. Then the pot containing the bones, if the dead person was burnt, is taken to the graveyard and buried, or sometimes is put into a hole near the pagoda. Superstitious people at burials sometimes affirm that they have caught the "butterfly" of the deceased in a handkerchief, and take this home to the house, where it lies till the seventh day, when it is opened after the discourse of the yahans, and the leip-bya is driven from the house. It can then give no more trouble.

Sometimes a small pagoda is erected over the cremated ashes of a highly respected relative. These are regarded simply as monuments, even when they are over a king, to whom alone of laymen in Native Burma they could be erected. They must not be used as places to offer worship, and that this may be known, the members of the sacred order ordain that such pagodas shall have no hti, no umbrella, on the top. To obviate this it is usual with the builder to dedicate the place to Shin Gautama, and thus at once secure a monument and a hti. Pagodas erected in honour of yahandas, or particularly sainted pôngyis, receive the umbrella of right, and are places very eminently suited for the pious laymen to worship at. Such temple tombs are called ayo sedi, but are not of such frequent erection as they used to be.

In some cases the relations grind down the bones to powder, and mixing this with the wood oil called thitsi,

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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792 down become green again, than an elect guilty of such pride be restored to his holy station. Take care for yourself that you do not give way to such an excess.'

779 Is not this teaching the very reverse of that of
787 all other peoples and religions? Can you imagine the religious teachers of any other religion being
789 warned to keep themselves free from visions? Are
792 not visions and trances, dreams and imaginations, the very proof of holiness? But here it is not so. These are vain things, foolish imaginations, and he who would lead the pure life must put behind him all such things as mere dram-drinking of the soul.

This is a most wonderful thing, a religion that condemns all mysticisms. It stands alone here amongst all religions, pure from the tinsel of miracle, either past, or present, or to come. And yet this people is, like all young nations, given to superstition: its young men dream dreams, its girls see visions. There are interpreters of dreams, many of them, soothsayers of all kinds, people who will give you charms, and foretell events for you. Just as it was with us not long ago, the mystery, *what is* beyond the world, exercises a curious fascination over them. Everywhere you will meet with traces of it, and I have in another chapter told some of the principal phases of these. But the religion has kept itself pure. No hysteric visions, no madman's dreams, no clever conjurer's tricks, have ever shed a tawdry glory on the monkhood of the Buddha. Amid all the superstition round about them they have remained pure, as they have from passion and desire. Here in the far East, the very home, we

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think, of the unnatural and superhuman, the very cradle of the mysterious and the wonderful, is a religion which condemns it all, and a monkhood who follow their religion. Does not this out-miracle any miracle? 779 787 789 792

With other faiths it is different: they hold out to those who follow their tenets and accept their ministry that in exchange for the worldly things which their followers renounce they shall receive other gifts, heavenly ones; they will be endued with power from above; they will have authority from on high; they will become the chosen messengers of God; they may even in their trances enter into His heaven, and see Him face to face.

Buddhism has nothing of all this to offer. A man must surrender all the world, with no immediate gain. There is only this: that if he struggle along in the path of righteousness, he will at length attain unto the Great Peace.

A monk who dreamed dreams, who said that the Buddha had appeared to him in a vision, who announced that he was able to prophesy, would be not exalted, but expelled. He would be deemed silly or mad; think of that—mad—for seeing visions, not holy at all! The boys would jeer at him; he would be turned out of his monastery.

A monk is he who observes purity and sanity of life. Hysteric dreams, the childishness of the mysterious, the insanity of the miraculous, are no part of that.

And so a monk has to put behind him everything that is called good in this life, and govern his body and his soul in strict temperance.

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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586 were the talk of the village. All attempts of the
593 headman and elders to restrain him were useless.
[626] He became quarrelsome, and went on from one thing to another, until at last he was suspected of being concerned in a crime. So then when all means had failed to restore her husband to her, when they had drifted far apart and there was nothing before them but trouble, she went to the elders of the village and demanded a divorce. And the elders granted it to her. Her husband objected; he did not want to be divorced. He claimed this, and he claimed that, but it was all of no use. So the tie that had united them was dissolved, as the love had been dissolved long before, and they parted. The man went away to Lower Burma. They tell me he has become a cultivator and has reformed, and is doing well; and the girl is ready to marry again. Half her property is gone, but half remains, and she has still her little business. I think they will both do well. But if they had been chained together, what then?

586 You see that divorce is free. Anyone can obtain
428 it by appearing before the elders of the village and demanding it. A writing of divorcement is made out, and the parties are free. Each retains his or her own property, and that earned during marriage is divided; only that the party claiming the divorce has to leave the house to the other—that is the only penalty, and it is not always enforced, unless the house be joint property.

586 As religion has nothing to do with marriage,
789 neither has it with divorce. Marriage is a status, a partnership, nothing more. But it is all that.

(arm-tie) charm consisting of a small metal tube bound about the upper arm or neck and containing an inscription written by a pongyi on silver or aluminum foil. Once a year, after new years (in March), a PAYA-YUDA (prayer-recite) ceremony is held. At this time pongyis recite the precepts of Buddha for the benefit of the ghosts - who "become hot and run away". Younger people, especially children, are susceptible to being possessed by ghosts. At this time they "throw fits" and are uncontrolable. Under the supervision of a pongyi the ghost is cast out by means of threats and beatings administered to the person of the possessed one. Beatings are severe and continuous often lasting an hour, until the ghost says he is "afraid" and departs. The possessed one, thus cured, does not later complain of rough treatment since this is borne by the invading ghost. Perhaps this relates to the less formulated, "nameless horrors" of unseen and unaccountable forces that cause otherwise unexplainable events - which concept pervades much of western thought to this day. 751 775 792 755

A major difference between nats and ghosts is that ghosts cause only harm while nats are ordinarily beneficial in the manner described above. Ghosts may also be controlled for evil purposes against individuals in a variety of black magic. The specialists in black magic are PAH-YOH-GA-SAYA (influence-masters) of black magic or "lower root", (hell-evil), who administer the evil influence. - "upper root" (heaven) masters combat the "lower root evil" Witches also have personal magic powers that allow them to cause harm to an individual by introducing foreign matter such as lumps of meat, hair balls, into the body of the victim. It is never known for sure who the witches are but old women of peculiar habits, and especially of the fishermen's group, are suspected. Such individuals are considered generally malivalent and special precautions are needed to avoid offending them. The influence masters, however, are well known and receive gift-fees for performing services either of causing or controlling black magic influences. Both groups, but especially the influence masters of the lower root control ghosts for their purposes. 775 776 789 791 [463]

A major means of securing control of a ghost or "ghost-rearing" is to get the finger bone of a recently deceased person who died a "raw death". Incantations said over the bone insures the obedience of 775 789

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the ghost who must then render services as requested. "To rear ghosts is like keeping a cobra in the pocket" indicates the delicate relation ship between captive ghost and master. An individual with a grudge against another for real or imaginal offenses will frequently secure the services of an influence master and his "pet ghost". When the victim feels the effects, as in cases of sudden illnesses such as appendicitis, heart trouble, or fainting spells, his family contacts another influence master (upper root type) to, by incantations, cast out the ghost from the victim. This results in a secret contest of magic between the influence masters involved.

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In actual practice no influence masters admit to rearing ghosts and the first-cause aggressor does not indentify himself as such. Influence masters play an important part in differences between affinal families. In this case the mother-in-law constantly competes with her son's wife for the attentions of the son. The mother will notice the lack of attentions, or monetary support of the son and his corresponding infatuation for his wife. She will claim that the wife is exercising magical control (usually through food) on the son. An influence master is applied to in order to control this evil influence by incantations, medicine, candles, and always an ingredient of money. When the wife's family understands what is happening they will also secure the help of another specialist to counteract the influence. The son is thus torn between the two forces. He is at first oblivious to this but later becomes uneasy in mind. If the strain on the son is too severe the mother may give in and the difference resolved on her part - whereupon the son continues in his former course. Often he will berate both groups saying " I am only mowal, you are foolish to involve yourselves in a dispute". Sometimes the mother wins and the son thanks her for intevening and saving him. Another common situation is where a wife seeks to control the influence of another woman on her husband (when he philanders). In this case the forces are directed against the woman, who is to blame, and not the man.

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In the town centers the decline in one's fortunes is often blamed on the evil influence of one's rival. It is said that administrative

families in Rangoon have worries of this kind - resolved by arrange-
ments with influence masters - usually undertaken by the wives of the
families. Ordinarily, violence is not premediated but spun-of-the-
moment actions based on passions. If ill-feeling grows gradually it
is best handled through the influence masters. The function of this
system in the village is to avoid open conflict that might prove dis-
asterous to the solidarity of the community (as say feuding families
in open warfare).

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21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

to be under the direct control of the state. But as living actors were now past such control, he turned his attention towards puppets, which were in great demand by the people. He realized the possibilities of puppets in the newly arisen national drama. The puppet show, which was then entirely independent of the drama and the living actors, started with different animals coming out one by one, and each gave a special dance to a particular tune of its own, played by the orchestra, then a *zaugyee*[1] appeared and danced, and finally, a prince and princess came out, made love, sang and danced. The puppets were from 2½ to 3 feet in height, and were worked by strings. As stage, there was a raised platform, with a black curtain, behind which the show-men stood and manipulated the puppets. The men's hands were visible, but as the platform was about four feet high and the audience had to look up, the hands did not distinctly come into the line of vision. The platform was about twenty feet in length, and the width of the part in front of the curtain was about four feet.

536 * 175 [534]

The minister put the puppet show under direct state patronage and control. Under him the puppet show became similar to an ordinary dramatic presentation except that puppets performed instead of living actors. The use of puppets to act the play of course caused the introduction of new puppets, but it also rendered the *zaugyee* and animal puppets unnecessary; yet they were retained all

536 * 175 [656]

[1] *Zaugyee* is the Burmese term for an alchemist. It is a derivative of the Indian word *yogi* but the Burmese alchemist has little in common with the Indian ascetic. It is an example of how names of Pali and semi-Buddhist origin were applied to already-existing native ideas.

789 822 [198]

A man (but not a woman) becomes a *zaugyee* when he has introduced into his body the right metal-compounds. To obtain those compounds, he has to experiment on metals with quicksilver or iron. In the first case, he becomes a 'quicksilver *zaugyee*' and in the second, an 'iron *zaugyee*', but both have the same powers. A *zaugyee* lives for millions of years, and can travel in the air, in water, or under the earth, for his body has reached the state when it is beyond the ordinary laws of nature. A halfway stage in the experiments is reached when a 'stone of live metal' (equivalent to the medieval 'philosopher's stone') is obtained. A person in actual possession of the stone can fly in the air and travel under the earth, but his powers are entirely dependent on the stone, i.e. his body is still an ordinary human body. The stone turns lead into silver and brass into gold. It will be seen that a Burman striving to become a *zaugyee* has much in common with the medieval European alchemist.

The beliefs connected with the *zaugyee* are still widely current. For a detailed account of Burmese alchemy, see the writer's 'Alchemy and Alchemists in Burma' in *Folk-Lore*, December 1933.

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25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
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83. DAUTCHA YATHE.

Burma by pilgrims. Dried and gilt leaves are also brought as relics. The seeds of the tropical *ficus* species germinate in the fork of some other tree or in a cranny of masonry and flourish in such mould as they find. The roots develop thick bands which dislodge the masonry, but, interlacing in all directions, hold the loose material together while the tree lives; or else, when the host is another tree, strangle it and take its place (Nos. 77, 245, 321). 788 824

The *yahán* are not the only religious celibates of Burma. Several other classes follow this way of life, observing many or few rules, according to their own choice. Nearest to the *yahán* are the *yathé*. They depend chiefly on alms, but cultivate gardens for themselves. Their appeal for alms is mute, they accept them in money as well as in kind, and they lay up a store for actual needs. They take food in the forenoon only. The *yathé*, who are few in number, live in forest caves or in derelict shrines, and shift for themselves, singly or in small colonies. The majority study, though they do not teach; some are illiterate. They receive a certain deference from the laity, and themselves defer to the *yahán*. The *yathé* are the subject of harmless satire and burlesque in the plays; the *yahán* never. The robe is like that of the *yahán*, but dyed tan instead of yellow. *Yathé* mostly shave the head, but there is a class who wear the hair long. Certain of them use a headgear called *dautcha*, which forms a receptacle for an image of the Buddha. Some are addicted to mild forms of occultism such as alchemy (p. 111) and devising cabalistic diagrams for charms and tattoo-marks. These practices are under the ban of Buddhism. Pretensions to occult powers, such as have 792

84. CAVE-SHRINE NEAR MAULMAIN.

[522] [301] [788] [291] 789 792

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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85. POTHUDAW.

been brought into a pseudo-connection with Buddhism by certain western neophytes of the Tibetan cult, are unheard of in Burma, which is the stronghold of primitive tradition.

Pôthudaw observe fewer *thila* than *yathé*. They make their appeal with a gong of triangular shape (*kyizi*, Nos. 22, 86), which spins on the string it hangs by, and emits a high and sustained throbbing note. *Pôthudaw* eat in the forenoon only. They accept alms in money and in kind, for which they carry baskets with a shoulder-yoke. They wear a white robe, shave the head, and pluck out the beard. *Pôthudaw* shift for themselves in *zayáts* about the temples and seldom remain long in one place.

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Mèthilá are female celibates who observe a rule parallel to that of the *Pôthudaw*. They shave the head. Their robe is like that of the other celibates with the addition of a jacket. The cloth is dyed a faint red. Both they and the *pôthudaw* are generally individuals who have lost their family ties. In some places *kyaungs* are provided for *mèthilá*, where they keep schools for girls. A few are possessed of learning. *Mèthilá* are about as numerous as *pôthudaw*, and both together are about one-tenth to one-twentieth as numerous as *yahán*, and several times more so than *yathé*. There is no class of female recluses answering to *yahán*.

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Payadyin form colonies in the vicinities of the principal shrines and of the cemeteries of large towns. They are the descendants of temple slaves, the condition to which captives in war were reduced both by the Burman and the Taláing races during their incessant

86. METHILA AT WORSHIP.

"Third he directs his attention to the knowledge of the destruction of the asavas*. He duly understands, 'this is pain,' 'this is the cause of pain,' 'this is the cessation of pain,' 'this is the way leading to the cessation of pain.' He duly understands, 'these are the asavas,' 'this is the cause of the asavas,' 'this is the cessation of the asavas,' 'this is the way to the cessation of the asavas.' When he thus knows and thus perceives, his mind is released from the asava of lust, from the asava of (desire for) existence, from the asava of ignorance. In the released is the knowledge of his release; he understands that rebirth is destroyed, the religious life has been led, done is what was to be done, there is nothing further beyond this world." 772 779

At the New Year, then, the King of the tha-gyas, who are Dewas, comes to visit the earth which is suffering its hottest and driest month and looks to rain and coolness for deliverance. Before the descent each year, brahmins and astrologers get together and calculate the exact hour of his arrival, the means of his descent to the earth, whether astride a buffalo, a *naga* or a *galon* and whether he wields a spear or a water jar, for by these signs will the nature of the coming year be decided—heavy rains or drought, good crops or disturbances in the land—and the duration of his stay on the earth. All their findings are collected in leaflets which are distributed as the *tha-gyan sa*, and when I was young I used to think that they fell from heaven as prophetic messages. Actually the present day practice is to fix April 13th for the official occurrence of Thingyan each year. The celebration of the festival by pouring of water is to honour the heavenly visitor, to wash away the old year's dirtiness and to begin the new by good and auspicious deeds. 796 791 •

By the day before Tha-gya Min's arrival in Ye, the *a-kyo nay*, the preparing-to-greet day, bamboo palisades had been put up along the verandahs, arrangements had been made for communal celebration and large-scale washing and feeding. All the girls spent the morning grinding thanakha and other fragrant barks and the boys went out to cut the leaves of the *the-byay* tree for the sacred water pots to be poured out at the arrival of the visitor. In the evening, Grandmother and other old people walked up to the rest houses near the monastery where my father had been educated, for at their time of life, fasting, meditation and the contemplation of younger people's enjoyment is the happiest way of greeting the New Year. In the evening, too, we carried out Grandmother's good deed of inviting a number of people from the village to come and wash their hair. Hairwashing is part of the New Year's rituals because the noblest part of the body, the head, must be in a clean condition at this time. In the days of the Burmese kings, there 796

* Desires and impulses, expressions of the clinging to existence.

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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sailors; only where the tar thinks he will be saved from drowning, the Turanian expects to gain the patronage of any great person he may address. 845 754

The infant having survived and the mother recovered from her roasting, the next thing to be done is to name the child. This usually happens about a fortnight after the birth. A fortunate day and hour is sought out by some Brahmin astrologer, or a sayā of lesser note, if there is no such dignitary in the neighbourhood. A great feast, as elaborate as the wealth or the ambition and borrowing capacities of the parents admit, is prepared, and all the friends of the family and the neighbours are invited to come. The child's head is usually washed for the first time on this day. The ceremony is therefore called kin-bôn tat thi. A decoction of the pods and bark of the soap acacia (*Acacia rugata*) or kin-bôn is prepared, and with this the midwife washes the infant's head and the guests wash their hands. Most of them bring friendly contributions towards the feast, or perhaps a little money. The mother sits down in the centre of the circle with the infant in her arms, and near her is the father. The company sit gravely smoking and chewing betel for a time, and then some elder, or a near relation of the parents, seems struck with a name, and suggests it aloud. Everybody accepts it on the spot, and falls to discussing the aptness of the name and the accomplishments and virtues of people they have known with that appellation. This is, however, all a pre-arranged thing. The father and mother have settled beforehand what the child is to be called, and have apprised the lu-gyi selected what is to be the result of his cogitations. The midwife then gets a present according to the means of the family, having previously, after the seven days' roasting, received the regulation fee of one pyi, the sixteenth of a basket of husked rice, one mat, and a four anna bit. Then everybody adjourns to the feast, which, with the dessert of le'-pet, salted ginger cut into small strips, ground nuts, fried garlic, the invariable betel apparatus, cheroots, and what not, pass the time till nightfall, when, except in the case of poor people, there is always a pwè which carries on proceedings till the next morning. 553 791 852 431

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which every Burman has, and carefully consults, with the help of an astrologer, for the fixing of fortunate days and hours throughout his life. Sometimes the sadā is drawn up very shortly after birth, but ordinarily not till the child is five or six years old. Then an old Pônna, a Brahmin, or any ordinary astrologer is called in. He records on a doubled up strip of palm leaf the year, the month, the day and hour at which the child was born; the name given to it; the planet in the ascendant at the moment of birth and the house in which it was at the time. This is scratched neatly on the palm leaf in the usual way with a metal style. On the other side are a number of cabalistic squares and numbers from which the future calculations may be made. There are said to be eight gyo, or planets, and from these the days of the week are named, Wednesday having a second, Yahu, which rules from mid-day to midnight. Each of the planets has its own point of the compass as follows:—

N.

	Yahu. 12 Symbol—Tuskless Elephant. Wednesday, 12 P.M. to 12 A.M. Unnamed.	Thauk-kya. 21 Symbol—Guinea-Pig. Friday. Venus.	Taninganwe. 6 Symbol—Kalohn. Sunday. The Sun.	
W.	Kyathabade. 19 Symbol—Rat. Thursday. Jupiter.		Taninla. 15 Symbol—Tiger. Monday. The Moon.	E.
	Sane. 10 Symbol—Nagah. Saturday. Saturn.	Boddahu. 17 Symbol—Tusked Elephant. Wednesday, 12 A.M. to 12 P.M. Mercury.	Ainga. Symbol—Lion. Tuesday. Mars.	

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The stations, numbers, and symbols of the planets are recorded in a jingling rhyme, which is one of the first things boys learn in the monastic schools, *e.g.*—

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1° 910 AP1 Burma AP1
Burmese AP4
Indians

in the country. A very common scene shows the punishment which awaits fishermen in the next existence. The miserable destroyer of animal life is represented as dangling by the tongue on a fish-hook, while demons jerk him into the air, and drop him back into a lake of burning pitch. Many of them have inscriptions below to explain the subject of the picture. Thus in Pagàn :—

Be 346 792 531

"When King Ne-bin Min-gyi reigned in Methila over the ten governors, according to the old books, the Thagya Min came from the nat heavens to help him."

"In the Monastery Yatana Shwe-daing, our Lord preached the Patenôn Tagayo, and remained several days."

"Shin Thumeda (Gautama), in the land of Thudawdana, received the Buddhaship under the banyan tree."

"Payā Alaung Theidat (the embryo Budh, Prince Siddartha), the King's son, married 4000 charming Yathe-mya."

"Our Lord rides on the elephant Nalagiri."

And so on in great variety. One also often finds such a notice as this scrawled on the wall: "In order to be prepared and to gain happiness in the seats of men, of nats, and of ne'ban, the rice-pots are set in order, the images are erected, and the paintings on the walls painted."

The monasteries are built, supported, and furnished by the pious, but there are not a few of them that have considerable sums of money laid away, usually under the control of the kappiya-dāyaka, the layman who lives in the kyaung, and provides for the wants of its inmates. A number of the royal fields round about Aungbinle, where the Burmese army assembled to seek victory before entering on a campaign, were set apart for the use of the Royal monastery at Payā Gyi, and the revenues were kept in a huge money-chest, which was always under the care of a guard of soldiers. Much of the money was devoted to the adornment of the adjacent pagoda. None can be spent on embellishing the monastery itself. That would be as great a sin as if a monk should build one for himself, besides that it would be depriving the populace of much opportunity for gaining merit.

Be 792 735 423

There are a few monasteries of the Pônnas here and there in the large towns throughout the country. These

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Brahmin priests were originally brought captives from Manipur, and have been employed as astrologers ever since, their ranks being occasionally recruited by new arrivals. One of the requests preferred to Colonel Symes on his embassy to Ava in 1796 was that he would persuade the Governor-General to send a learned Brahmin and his wife to the capital. The race has been maintained tolerably pure, and the Pônna is readily distinguishable in the streets from the pôngyi. The astrologers muster naturally in greatest force in Mandalay, and their monastery there is situated in a magnificent grove of trees south of the town, and close to the cemeteries. Unlike the native religious, they do not raise their houses on posts above the ground, but follow the Indian custom of having the mat-covered earth for their floor. Foreigners are not admitted into their temples, but there is no objection to the images being brought out by a Pônna for exhibition to his friends. They worship Krishna and twenty-five other deities, but have all but no congregation, few of their faith coming to Mandalay, and those laymen who were carried away at the same time as themselves into captivity having turned to the Buddhist faith.

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No yahan is allowed to have a separate monastery built for him until he has spent five full Wā under the discipline of a prior. These Lents must also be consecutive. According to their seniority in this respect the monks obtain names. Thus a pyin-sin who has spent five years—which of course is implied by the Wā—is called Anuti, and is a fit object for the pious to honour by erecting a special kyaung for him. When he has been ten years in the order he is addressed as Myizza-ti, and those who have remained steadfastly for twenty years, attain to the full honour of Mahā-ti. Such a self-denying man is always sure of a magnificent funeral when he dies.

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It is a very good point about the life in the monastery that the great austerities and absurd mortifications of the flesh indulged in by the Brahminical houses find no place with the Buddhists, who reject them as unnecessary and unprofitable. The life of the initiated is one of constant self-denial; all superfluities and luxuries are renounced; all that is calculated to excite the passions is forbidden; but there

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If a hen lays an egg upon a cloth, its owner will lose money. To come across mushrooms at the beginning of a journey is a most fortunate sign. A snake crossing the path always denotes delay, whether in a lawsuit, a journey, or a warlike expedition. If a dog carries an unclean thing up into his master's house, he may get thrashed for it, but the man will become rich; and so on in infinite variety. 787

All this belief in supernatural powers tends to produce abundance of experts who profess to be able to explain signs and to control the evil spirits. Every district possesses its nat thungè, or nat meimma, a spirit woman who dances at the nat feasts, and at ordinary times is consulted by the superstitious on all kinds of subjects connected with her trade. She is asked where so-and-so, lately deceased, is, to what seat of the world he has migrated; where absent persons are, and what they are doing; what facilities there are for special undertakings, and when they should be begun. 791

The Bedin Sayās claim similar knowledge, and are equally abundant. Numbers of them may be seen at any time of the day sitting under the trees on the way up to the Shwe Dagôn pagoda, writing and rubbing out figures and letters on their black note-books, and drawing a comfortable income from an unfailing succession of inquirers. Sometimes such a magic-worker, wishing to establish a reputation, or having a spite against somebody, performs the ceremony called pônnaga taikgyin. He carries off some cinders from the funeral pyres of people who have been burnt, and collecting a large assortment of such charred pieces of wood, puts them secretly in the house of the person whose feelings he wishes to work on. At night the spirits come and keep up a battery of stones on the unfortunate man's roof, all attempts to find out where the stones come from being as unavailing as they were in a similar instance in the suburbs of London not very long ago.

It is consolatory, however, to know that piety will protect any one from the attacks of malevolent spirits. Numerous stories told by the yahans prove the virtue of the gâtas to guard against evil. If the victim has only knowledge and strength of mind sufficient to recite these religious formulæ, 789 776

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774 The whole notion is of course foreign to Buddhism, and
●791 is viewed with great disfavour by the members of the sacred
795 assembly, but they are no more able to put a stop to it than they are to suppress nat-worship in the subsidiary form in which it still exists. It is somewhat discouraging to those who have the welfare of the people at heart; yet still when one comes to highly civilised countries such as are found in Europe and finds ghosts only a little less demonstratively believed in, a load is removed. The world is very small after all.

774 The leip-bya idea, like a good many other peculiarities of the Burmese, occasionally gets them into trouble with foreigners. It is the cause of the great unwillingness all Burmans have to wake a sleeping man. It is obvious from the above explanation of the character of the leip-bya, that it would be highly injurious to rouse a man suddenly from his slumbers. His butterfly might be wandering far from the body, and probably would not have time to hurry back to its tenement. Then the man would certainly fall sick, or at any rate would be indisposed for a time. Consequently, it is useless to tell a Burman servant to wake you at a certain hour. He will come in at the appointed time and look wistfully at you, and wish something would fall down and make a noise; but he himself will tread as softly as a housebreaker, and will not even have the heart to instigate somebody outside to make a disturbance. The Englishman has not got "humanity," it is true; he has not been in a monastery, and is therefore not really a "man"; but there is no knowing but what he might have a leip-bya for all that. Consequently the master is not wakened, and gets up an hour and a half after he wanted to, and storms at the poor Burman for a lazy scoundrel who snores away till the sun is as high in the sky as the pagoda spire, let alone a tari palm.

The same thing occurs out in the country villages. An English assistant commissioner rides unexpectedly into a small towolet in his subdivision and calls for the headman. That worthy is having his afternoon siesta, and the good wife announces this with a composure which almost surprises the young sub-janta wallah into swearing. He says, "Well, then, wake him, and tell him to bring his accounts along to the traveller's bungalow." Old Ma Gyi shudders

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789 to the branch of learning to which they have applied themselves more particularly. Thus there are—

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1. The Pyada wéza, the mercury wise man.
2. The Than wéza, the iron wise man.
3. The Se wéza, the medicine wise man.
4. The In wéza, the wise man learned in cabalistic signs and squares.

The than and in sorcerers are the most powerful and efficacious in their workings, whether for good or evil, and the others are looked upon more as experimenters and candidates for the higher ranks than as legitimate wizards. To the class of mercury wizards belong all those who make a regular practice of the study of alchemy with a view to the production of gold and silver, and on this subject almost every Burman has some pet notion. The medicine wizards are those who set up as professional doctors on the score of a particular knowledge of herbs and simples. It is a very simple matter starting as a doctor in Burma. All you have to do is to assert that you have acquired a special knowledge, and set to work prescribing the most villainous-tasted and drastic medicines you can concoct. As long as an undeniable result one way or the other is produced you are sure of getting a certain amount of reputation.

The than and in practitioners have a more legitimate title to the name of conjurers or workers in magic. The title of iron wizard is merely typical, and implies that the man has a knowledge of the properties of all natural objects, and is as capable, or more so, of acting the *rôle* of a medical adviser as the professed doctors. The discovery and preparation of the pieces of metal, stones, and what not, that are let under the skin of soldiers and dacoits is carried on by them, and this vending of charms is a regular source of income to them. An occasional marvel worked now and then acts as a recommendation and advertisement of their powers. Thus I have seen a hmaw sayā, a kind of generic term applied to all wonder-workers, roll up pieces of gold and silver leaf and thin sheets of copper, and throw them into a bowl of water. They of course sank immediately to the bottom, and then the sayā would make passes with his

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hands and mutter an incantation, when the metal would slowly rise to the top and float there. When sceptics were present, this man would suddenly stop the charm he was uttering, and the bits of metal would either remain floating in the middle of the bowl of water or sink down again, according to the part of the spell to which he had reached. How it was done is only known to wizards of his class and sleight-of-hand people perhaps, but to the actual fact of this khôntet letpwè, as it is called, numbers of people, Europeans as well as Burmans, can testify. The conjurer is a well-known man near the village of Pantanaw, fifty miles or so west of Rangoon.

But however many miracles the than wéza may work, he is always exceeded in reputation by the constructor of cabalistic squares and symbols. These are in constant use by every Burman, or rather he gets them made and interpreted for him by a proficient. The horoscope which every one has drawn up at his birth has numbers of these mystical numbers on it, from which lucky days and dangerous combinations may be learnt. To calculate the more harmful spells the in sayā should have these data, or at any rate should know the date and hour of the victim's birth. Therefore it is a safe rule never to let a wizard or conjurer see your sadā, or to mention the hour of your birth to any one whom you may suspect of having an ill-will against you, for he might from even that one fact have a most potent charm thrown over you. These mystic squares and numbers have most extraordinary virtue. By holding up one of a particular kind for a short time you can set a house on fire. Another in engraved on a stone will make it float, and such a stone, buried in the skin of a man's body, would prevent him from drowning, unless some other magician destroyed its influence by a more potent spell. If you scratch an in on a tree or a house, you can make lightning strike it; another arrangement of the cabalistic words or numbers will preserve it from such a calamity. There is probably not a single Burman, tattooed at all, who has not several ins on different parts of his body. Some of them protect from special ailments; the most common are those which avert dangers from bullet or sword-cut.

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The doings of the wizards therefore enter largely into Burmese domestic life. There is a sôn in the neighbourhood, and all the mischief which happens there is ascribed to him, while the aid of the in sayās and others is called in to frustrate his knavish tricks. The sôn is of course unknown, or the people would soon make short work of him. In remote country places, among other remnants of trial by ordeal, they still occasionally put a suspected person to the old test. A woman is suspected of being a sônma. Her hands and feet are tied, and she is placed between two boats moored out in the river. A quantity of filth is heaped upon her, and the boats are then drawn away so that she falls into the water. If she swims she is a witch, and is put to death If, on the contrary, she sinks, it is a proof of her innocence, and the accusers are punished. To prevent her from being drowned, a rope made of green bark is tied round her waist, so that she may be pulled on shore again. The great danger from the witches is that, like the *wehrwolf*, they can assume the appearance of animals, or living people, even of one's own relations. If, however, the apparition is wounded, the same injury will be found on the person of the actual witch. Few people, however, have the courage to attack a nocturnal visitant whom they believe to be a sôn, and prefer propitiation in the shape of refections laid outside the house. In all these points the beliefs and fears coincide with those of other countries, and it is therefore unnecessary to do more than allude to them.

The rudiments of the science are contained in the volumes of the Bedin and a book on astrology and cabalistic science called the Deittôn. These are very imperfect, and individual magic-workers advance far beyond the matter to be found in them. It is said that these books were complete, but that in the time of the Lord Buddha the people, worked on by his vivid preaching, seized on all the magic volumes, together with all weapons and objects for destroying life, and heaping them together, set fire to them. But Dewadat, cousin of Shin Gautama, and always plotting harm against him, snatched several of the sections from the flames, and so a portion of the old science was preserved in the world. This tradition of course shows the attitude of the monks and the

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religious towards the students of this sort of learning. Nevertheless, just as every Burman at some time in his life dabbles a little in alchemy, so the bedin sayās and hmaw sayās, and the magicians, good and evil, obtain believers and clients.

As the sôns are supposed to afflict people with strange illnesses, the province of the wézas becomes very much mixed up with that of the professional doctors. The latter cannot complain, and the general public can see no reason why the one should not be as good a physician as the other, for doctors in Burma take no diploma, and are not required to give proofs of skill in the healing art to any one but themselves. Many of them therefore are the most arrant charlatans, giving medicines according to fancy and in unlimited quantities. On the principle of like to like, prescriptions mainly composed of cayenne, cloves, ginger, and the like, are made up for fever patients, while purgatives are rigidly withheld. If a patient says he is no better five minutes after he has swallowed a dose, something else is tried, and so on, till the wretched victim has a stomach loaded with drugs to the limit of the prescriber's pharmacopœia. These quacks are too often taken as the only representatives of Burmese medical skill, and it is denied that any one in the country has a right to the title of doctor at all. But it is certain that some have really useful and efficacious remedies for ordinary ailments, such as jungle fever, dysentery, and other frequently-met-with diseases, while it is admitted that they are particularly successful in the treatment of sores and ulcers. I knew of a case in Rangoon where varicose ulcers, which had resisted the efforts of the best English doctors in Rangoon and Calcutta, yielded to the simples of a Burmese sethama. He used earth-oil with an infusion of some seed or bark, and speedily effected a cure. The Burmese *materia medica* consists of barks, leaves, flowers, seeds, roots, and a few simple minerals, of which they have an empirical knowledge. They especially deal in pills and powders, which they carry about with them in little phials of bamboo. These little cylinders are usually gilt and painted bright red, and are always strongly perfumed. It does not so much matter about the materials as at what time of the moon and under what constellations the ingredients are gathered. Whoever reaches a place within three days

584 is not particularly well known to them. The boy's parents will be informed by
● [791] the girl's family that their decision must await the outcome of consultation with an astrologer concerning the compatability of the birth dates of the prospective bride and groom. If the marriage is found to be an auspicious one -- which it usually will be found to be if the girl's parents desire the match -- an affirmative answer is relayed to the boy's parents. The latter thereupon call on her parents, and in the presence of elders, formally ask for the girl's hand. From this moment the couple are considered betrothed and must not go about in public unchaperoned.

585 The wedding date is astrologically determined. The length of the engagement depends upon the availability of an auspicious wedding date. In general, lengthy engagements are disliked. In no case should an engagement carry over the period of Waso, the so-called Buddhist 'Lent.'

Before the wedding ceremony, the bride's house is open to friends and relatives, who are expected to drop in to help prepare the house for the wedding, lending household items that may be needed for the occasion. A pavilion adjoining the house is erected to accomodate the crowd that will attend. All the helpers and would-be helpers in this work are offered meals and light refreshments.

The bride's family normally bears all the expenses of these preparations, but sometimes the boy's family will mention a sum of money either as a contribution towards the wedding or as an indication of their son's ability to support a wife. If such funds are offered, they will be mentioned at the time the girl's hand is sought.

One room in the girl's house is set aside as the bridal chamber. In families of average or better means it is furnished with a bed, draperies, and complete toilet and dressing facilities. In poorer families that cannot afford to furnish the bridal chamber in elaborate fashion, some show of style will be made in furnishing the bed, at least. By the evening before the wedding day the room must be ready, with all the wedding gifts on display.

On the wedding day three or four intimate married friends of the girl dress her. This must not be done by widows or divorcees, for it would bode ill for the marriage. For unmarried girls to perform this task would be immodest. Neither should a pregnant woman take part in dressing the bride, for that would be bad for her baby. The dressing of the bride must begin sufficiently early so that she will be completely ready at a precise, astrologically determined wedding hour.

The bridegroom's party arrives just prior to the appointed time for the ceremony. It includes two of his bachelor friends as well as his family. He takes his seat on a cushion on the platform that has been specially erected. The bride is brought out by her matrons and approaches with eyes downcast. She takes her seat on a cushion to the bridegroom's left. Across the platform, from left to right, are placed three silver offering bowls. A fourth bowl, on the right hand edge of the platform, contains puffed rice. The bridegroom's bachelor friends take seats to his rear; the matrons of the bride sit directly behind her.

794 A lay elder, arranged for by the bride's mother, officiates. He recites
585 a paean of praise concerning the merits of the bride and groom and the goodness

Nats' powers for good include protecting the village from dacoit attacks but does not extend to modern warfare. When the Japanese armies were slicing up through Tenasserim in 1941, the elders of Maung Maung Than's village prayed for nat protection against the invaders. The nats replied "Dear ~~Villagers we ourselves~~ are wearing raised longyis in this crisis (ready to run)." This is a Rangoon town joke told among the sophisticated collegiates at the University. Not so well defined, but still sensed is a growing distrust of the powers of nats to combat modern evils. 776 178 [195]

The nats can best be visualized as supernatural despots each with his province (the home, village, sea, babies) and each exacting tribute of periodic or constant attention in the form of flowers or food, red and white cloth strips, and an altar which may have the image of the nat carved in wood (or moulded in modern plasticene). Banyan trees with their multiple, snake-like trunks, are the most common places of abode. When disaster in the form of sickness or other ill fortune strikes, the nats are appeased with offerings immediately. The SAY SAYA will frequently check with the family of his patient to make sure this has been done. In Rangoon and elsewhere, business men whose fortunes have been good are the main supporters of the nat festivals which are given for the entertainment of all the nats once a year in October, for a seven day period. NAT KADAW (nat-wives) are the mediums who contact the nats by becoming possessed by them at this festival and other special occasions (for a single nat) throughout the year. These are married women or more rarely homosexuals who dance, answer questions and give opinions when possessed. 776 782 [759] [796] 791

Punishment for offense against the nats is first shown by accidents or sudden illnesses like paralysis meted out to the offender. If the offender continues the village as a whole will gradually be afflicted. For example, when a drunkard offends the nats with blasphemous language evil falls on the entire village. Villagers led by the elders and a prominent NAT-KADAW go in a body to the major banyan tree shrine to have an understanding with the offended nats. Offerings are given and attention of the nats called to the woes of 776 753 688 672 782

(arm-tie) charm consisting of a small metal tube bound about the upper 751
arm or neck and containing an inscription written by a pongyi on silver
or aluminum foil. Once a year, after new years (in March), a PAYA- 775
TUDA (prayer-recite) ceremony is held. At this time pongyis recite 792
the precepts of Buddha for the benefit of the ghosts - who "become 755
hot and run away". Younger people, especially children, are susceptible to being possessed by ghosts. At this time they "throw fits" and are uncontrolable. Under the supervision of a pongyi the ghost is cast out by means of threats and beatings administered to the person of the possessed one. Beatings are severe and continuous often lasting an hour, until the ghost says he is "afraid" and departs. The possessed one, thus cured, does not later complain of rough treatment since this is borne by the invading ghost. Perhaps this relates to the less formulated, "nameless horrors" of unseen and unaccountable forces that cause otherwise unexplainable events - which concept pervades much of western thought to this day.

A major difference between nats and ghosts is that ghosts cause 775
only harm while nats are ordinarily beneficial in the manner described 776
above. Ghosts may also be controlled for evil purposes against 789
individuals in a variety of black magic. The specialists in black 791
magic are PAH-YOH-GA-SAYA (influence-masters) of black magic or "lower
- "upper root" (heaven) masters combat the "lower root evil"
root", (hell-evil), who administer the evil influence. Witches also have personal magic powers that allow them to cause harm to an individual by introducing foreign matter such as lumps of meat, hair balls, into the body of the victim. It is never known for sure who the witches are but old women of peculiar habits, and especially of the fishermen's [463]
group, are suspected. Such individuals are considered generally malivalent and special precautions are needed to avoid offending them. The influence masters, however, are well known and receive gift-fees for performing services either of causing or controlling black magic influences. Both groups, but especially the influence masters of the lower root control ghosts for their purposes.

A major means of securing control of a ghost or "ghost-rearing" 775
is to get the finger bone of a recently deceased person who died a 789
"raw death". Incantations said over the bone insures the obedience of

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the ghost who must then render services as requested. "To rear ghosts is like keeping a cobra in the pocket" indicates the delicate relationship between captive ghost and master. An individual with a grudge against another for real or imaginal offenses will frequently secure the services of an influence master and his "pet ghost". When the victim feels the effects, as in cases of sudden illnesses such as appendicitis, heart trouble, or fainting spells, his family contacts another influence master (upper root type) to, by incantations, cast out the ghost from the victim. This results in a secret contest of magic between the influence masters involved.

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In actual practice no influence masters admit to rearing ghosts and the first-cause aggressor does not indentify himself as such. Influence masters play an important part in differences between affinal families. In this case the mother-in-law constantly competes with her son's wife for the attentions of the son. The mother will notice the lack of attentions, or monetary support of the son and his corresponding infatuation for his wife. She will claim that the wife is exercising magical control (usually through food) on the son. An influence master is applied to in order to control this evil influence by incantations, medicine, candles, and always an ingredient of money. When the wife's family understands what is happening they will also secure the help of another specialist to counteract the influence. The son is thus torn between the two forces. He is at first oblivious to this but later becomes uneasy in mind. If the strain on the son is too severe the mother may give in and the difference resolved on her part - whereupon the son continues in his former course. Often he will berate both groups saying " I am only normal, you are foolish to involve yourselves in a dispute". Sometimes the mother wins and the son thanks her for intevening and saving him. Another common situation is where a wife seeks to control the influence of another woman on her husband (when he philanders). In this case the forces are directed against the woman, who is to blame, and not the man.

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In the town centers the decline in one's fortunes is often blamed on the evil influence of one's rival. It is said that administrative

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hold contributes as much as it wants to from one anna to eight annas. If more money is needed, people who have money contribute more. These offerings are given so as to keep danger away. It is not for merit. We don't know about that. One thing is certain; epidemics like plague and cholera never visited our village, and we have not had a single case of dacoity in our village in my whole lifetime.

"The headman makes the necessary arrangements, buys the black rice, coconuts, jaggery, Burmese tea leaves, candles, bananas, and places them on the special place prepared for them.

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"We have not seen any person here in Rangoon being possessed by spirits, but we did have acquaintances in Pantanaw who were possessed, he loses consciousness of himself as a human being. He begins to tremble, and the Nat begins to speak through his mouth. I don't believe in the other Nats, but I do believe in U SHIN GYI because of the testimony of my own eyes. In the districts we place offerings to U SHIN GYI on a small bamboo framework made of four little bamboos each with a diameter about the size of your fountain pen. This framework is held together with pith of the mat fibre plant (HNEE). Sometimes sceptical people take a hand when the framework is being put up, and tie the HNEE very lightly, so as to break very easily. As a result the TAUNG high framework is so flimsy that it would collapse even if a bird were to jump on it. But the strange thing is that when a person becomes possessed and leaps onto the altar and dances about - nothing happens. In this condition, a person may perform on the harp (SAUNG) even though in his ordinary waking life he does not know how to play it. He also dances on glass tumblers. This took place before the whole of our family, together with about a hundred other spectators. Ko Ba THin's son, Htun Ngwe, who is of the same build as myself, leaped onto the bamboo framework and began eating the food laid out on it. On that occasion we had
[562] been expecting Ma Kyin Yone to be possessed, but she did not appear because her husband would not allow her to come. We had invited her to come because she had been possessed before. In our village these two were the only people who were possessed. The man was possessed once, and the woman about six times. On these occasions the whole village turns out to watch.

"The altar is built on the evening previous to the ceremony. It is made of two levels, and is about 4 TAUNG square and one TAUNG high, and is used to hold 37 plates, each holding plantains, black rice, coconuts, jaggery, LAPHET (Burmese pickled tea), etc. The elder in charge then prays to the 37 Nats including U SHIN GYI for help. This ceremony has nothing to do with the phongyis, and the village phongyi is not invited. The two spheres are entirely different. The phongyi does not worship the nats. The systems of belief are entirely different. We worship both. The spirit does not appear at every ceremony - only when there is someone to possess. We had relied on Khin Yone but she did not appear and Htun Ngwe was possessed instead.

"When the nat spoke through Htun Ngwe we asked him about himself and his past life, but he refused to say anything, saying that it made him sad to think back on it.(the possessing nat's past). When the person recovered and we questioned him, he could not remember anything of all that had occured while he was in the trance. In the whole district there are only four or five people who have been ever possessed, and so the majority of people in the district have not witnessed a single case of possession of Nats.

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"U SHIN GYI avoids eating flesh, does not drink liquor, and even when eating betel does not put tabacco (HSE) in his quid. Out of all the food that is offered to him, the nat partakes only of a little of the black rice, the remainder being shared by the members of the village. Enough food is prepared to feed the whole village, and a crier is sent through the village to announce a general invitation to everyone. When food has been

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1980) 1987 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

173 drama. In 1916 I saw a *Nibbathbin* at the obscure town of Pauk.
178 For this period, I am greatly indebted to the notes made by my
536* father. They are the results of inquiries and researches spread over
127 a period of forty or fifty years. I realise that to many European scholars the section on the *Nibbathbin* must appear conjectural in its dependence on tradition. My plea is that at present there is nothing else to depend on.[1]

175 With regard to the interlude, I am on surer ground. Again I
536* depend much on tradition, but it is now tradition supported by
[791] evidence. Besides the general and common tradition, there is the tradition of the spirit mediums and actors, and, as I shall explain, the
127 tradition of my own family.
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Professional tradition of the mediums and actors is more reliable
● [791] than common tradition because the two professions, especially the former, are closed fraternities, and as written records were never in use, they handed down the facts regarding the nature and history of their callings by word of mouth. To them oral tradition was as strong as written records. Moreover, their oral tradition can be checked by the stage conventions which exist at the present day. The various stage conventions are considered in Chapter VII.

The tradition in my family[2] begins from about the year 1800. About that time, an officer[3] in the victorious army of King Bodawpaya

[114] [1] Even Harvey, who wrote his *History of Burma* at Exeter College, Oxford, often accepts oral tradition supported by no other evidence as substantially correct (*History of Burma*, pp. 33, 41, 211, 252, 267, 299). In two instances, pp. 33 and 41, the tradition cited dates back to the eleventh century A.D.

[2] My father is U Pein, District Magistrate, Burma Commission, now retired. In Burma, historical researches and inquiries are often made by administrative officials, as their duties carry them all over the country and to the remotest villages. Messrs Harvey, Stewart, Furnivall—great names in the Burma Research Society—are all officials belonging to the Burma Commission.

[3] He was Maha Minhla Mindin Raza.

I have to cite in this section the full names and official positions of some members of my family because:

1. As the Burmese use no surnames, my name alone would not convey
[551] anything regarding their identity.

2. The service record of the family may perhaps be construed as evidence in favour of the reliability of its tradition. G. E. Harvey, op. cit., p. 310 where he rejects Fuhrer's statement regarding an inscription because the 'precious slab has never been produced, and in view of Fuhrer's service record its production is essential.'

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

have been celebrated year after year, at least since the reintroduction 527
of Buddhism in 1056, and at least since March, 638, when an early 796
king of Pagan, Popa Sawrahan (613–40), drew up the present Burmese [805]
era, the dawn of every Burmese new year has been the occasion for mirthful water-throwing.[1]

Buddhism had been introduced into the country through com- 177
mercial relations with India long before the foundation of the kingdom 439
of Pagan, but from the beginning it was only at second-hand and 771
therefore feeble. The real religion of the Burmese before the re- 791
introduction of Buddhism in 1056 was animistic, and they worshipped various spirits, known as *nats*. There were mediums, mostly women, [462]
who danced to please the spirits, and as the spirits were supposed to enter into the bodies of the mediums, sometimes it was believed that the spirits, and not the mediums, were actually dancing. Sometimes the medium herself actually believed that a spirit had taken control of her body, but usually she only pretended that a spirit had entered her, and gave an exhibition of acting. As the medium of each parti- [535]
cular *nat* dressed herself in appropriate clothes, the spirit dances were essentially dramatic.[2] When Buddhism, in one of its purest forms, was introduced under Anawrahta, the great king realized the impossibility of attracting people suddenly to the new faith; so he compromised by recognizing the *nats* as Buddhist spirits and giving them shrines in his Shwezigôn Pagoda as its guardian spirits. When asked the reason, Anawrahta replied: 'Men will not come suddenly to the new faith. Let them come for their old gods, and they will gradually be won over.'[3]

So the worship of the *nats* lived on, and with the advance of

[1] Shway-Yoe (Sir George Scott) in *The Burman: His Life and Notions*, and [114]
Fielding Hall in *The Soul of a People* give detailed accounts of the feasts and life in the villages. However, as far as I have been able to find out, the Tazaungmôn celebrations have never been described in any English work.

[2] These dances are still performed on spirit-feast days at Taungbyôn (near Mandalay), a small town given up to spirit worship since the days of Pagan's greatness and perhaps even before.

The belief in, as distinct from the worship of, spirits is not alien to Buddhism.

The chief works on the subject are: Sir R. C. Temple, *The Thirty-Seven* [113]
Nats; Grant Brown, 'The Taungbyon Festival' in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, 1915; the same author's 'The Pre-Buddhist Religion of the Burmese' in *Folk-Lore*, 1921; and G. E. Harvey, *History of Burma*.

[3] G. E. Harvey, op. cit., p. 33.

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

However, the Burmese equivalent of the English interlude came into being all the same. It developed out of the equivalent of the English miracle play, but indirectly. The chance of developing the drama was seized by professional actors. To break away from the tradition and the conservatism, persons outside the pale of 'good' society were needed. Spirit dancers were such persons. They worshipped the *nats*[1] and most people looked upon them with fear as being in touch with sinister and unnatural forces. They were outside the religion, and their drunken dances—drunken from wine and ecstacy—were outside the popular conception of moral behaviour. Therefore the new professional actors were drawn from the ranks of the spirit mediums. However, those who took to the new profession were malcontents and failures in their original profession. The increase in the number of the spirit dancers had caused the mediums to form themselves into a fraternity, the entry to which was closely guarded. The economic attractions of spirit dancing tempted people who had no faith in the spirits to become mediums. These factors caused discontent and disunion among the mediums, and within and without the fraternity pseudo-mediums came into being. The advance of education had robbed the *nats* of many worshippers, but most people continued to patronize spirit dancing for mere love of music and dancing. The result was the rise of a class of professional entertainers who danced and sang and played on musical instruments. The new dancers pretended to be mediums and semi-mediums, but their dancing was unconnected with any spirit feast. The rise of this professional dancing was doubtless gradual and must have preceded the *Nibhatkhin*. As early as about the year 1400, two princes and their attendants, when turned out of their palace, earned their living as wandering minstrels and professional dancers, pretending to be spirit worshippers.[2] Because of the very fact that the new dancers were malcontents and failures in their original

[1] The objects of the spirit worship are the thirty-seven *nats*, all of whom are more or less of evil character; but there are in addition to these many good *nats* who have little to do with human affairs.

[2] One prince became King Minkaung (1401–22), the other, his brother, helping him to gain the throne. An attendant became King Mohnyinthadot (1427–40), and the others ministers (G. E. Harvey, op. cit., p. 96).

The new dancers were mostly men. Men mediums were secondary to women mediums, and perhaps that was one of the reasons for the discontent among the mediums, and also the reason why the men took to wandering all over the country as dancers.

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

536* 178 791 554 profession of mediums, they could break away also from the tradition and conservatism of the spirit worshippers. They were outside the religion and outside the spirit worship. They were fettered by nothing. They were the only persons who could develop new ideas with regard to the *Nibhatkhin*. And they were the first to realize the possibilities of the new entertainment. Soon they had developed it into the Burmese equivalent of the English interlude.

536* 178 522 The professional dancers became actors. People were no longer satisfied with mere dancing and singing, for the *Nibhatkhin* had given them some taste of the dramatic scene. Therefore the dancers in the middle of their entertainment paused and gave a little scene, or rather a one-act play. The male dancer became the hero, the female dancer the heroine, and the other two or three dancers became minor characters. The clown had been long before borrowed from the *Nibhatkhin*, and he became a mimic-dancer attending on the others. For two reasons the scene was always the forest. First, it did not need much stage scenery, as the branch of a tree would be enough to indicate that the action was supposed to be taking place in a forest. Second, the journey through a forest by the hero and heroine made it possible for human beings and fairies, demons and gods, princes and commoners to meet and take part in various adventures and misadventures. Thus the Burmese interlude came into being.

536* 744 Perhaps it is not illogical to wonder whether there was an intermediary stage of development, whether there were plays comparable to the English morality plays, bridging the gap between the *Nibhatkhin* on the one hand and the Burmese interlude on the other. It is of course impossible to be certain with regard to the question, for no Burmese miracle play or interlude has come down to us in writing. I have said[1] that there are oral accounts regarding the *Nibhatkhin* and that entertainment which I have termed the interlude, and also written accounts regarding the latter. But there is absolutely no mention in those accounts of anything which could be termed the Burmese morality play. Yet, I venture to think that there must have been plays comparable to the English moralities. If it should be presumed that the interlude developed directly out of the *Nibhatkhin*, there would be a big gap between the two. I think that the professional actors first gave semi-religious plays in imitation of the *Nibhatkhin*. I think also that there were also plays actually dealing with abstract notions of morality and religion which formed the

[1] Introduction, pp. 7–10.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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151. THE IDEAL AND THE REAL

They are generally condoned. Burmans do not wait to make money in order to marry, but marry in order to make money. Girls marry from the age of about twenty, and men about twenty-five. The marriage is a quiet affair. A day is fixed, when the lad and his parents repair to the home of the girl, whither some of the elders of the village (*lûdyî*) have been invited for witness. The father of the lad addresses the parents of the girl in this wise: "Seeing that our children love each other, we pray you let your daughter be as our daughter and our son as your son" (*ekkan*). The girl's parents express their pleasure and approval, and according to one usage, the couple thereupon join hands (*lettat*), which means marriage; but the joining-of-hands is as a rule figurative. After this the lad goes and fetches his bedding, curtain, and clothes and places them in the house in token of reception into the family. In conclusion, the parties and the witnesses eat pickled tea together. When one or both parties are strangers in the place, friends undertake the part of parents and the elders make inquiries as to blood-relationship and pre-existing ties. Kinship closer than first-cousin and the corresponding step-relationships are respected—except by royalty (p. 170). Sometimes marriages are of a more festive description (*mingala*). Astrologers are called in and company entertained as at the *nâbauk mingala*. Other unions, again, are by mere mutual agreement, without formalities of any kind. By time-honoured custom the lads of the village claim the right to pelt the house of the new-married pair at night (*gê-pyit*), and it is usual to buy them off. New couples mostly start life in

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152. TATTOOING (TOGWIN, see p. 28).

29: Slater M-4 (no date) 1951 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

782 779* 771 customs. Grant Brown observes that, while Buddhists in the Chindwin area still sacrifice fowls to the god of the harvest, 'the thing is done somewhat surreptitiously and shamefacedly.'[12]

755 791 Other practices survive more openly. In many Burmese villages there is a *nat-ka-daw*, or spirit-medium, generally an elderly or middle-aged woman, who is supposed to be married to a *Nat*. She tells fortunes, and is called in sometimes in cases of sickness to discover whether the patient will recover. Mr. Spear describes an incident of this kind which took place in the main street of a large town in the presence of many spectators. "The *nat-ka-daw*, in addition to her usual clothing, wore a sash around the waist and a cloth wound around her head. She danced with a dah, a long and heavy Burmese knife, in her hand, until she fell exhausted." Plantains and coconuts had been placed in a shelter, opposite the house, as offerings to the *Nat*.[13]

[782] In this case, apparently, the *Nat* was neither held responsible for the sickness nor expected to cure it. There are times of epidemic sickness, however, when a whole village is temporarily abandoned, and special rituals are followed to placate the *Nat*, who is considered to have caused the epidemic.

776 782 In an interesting account of the development of a modern *Nat* cultus, a Burmese writer describes a public festival in honour of the *Nat*. A play is staged during which one of the Thirty Seven *Nats*, who is personified by a villager, asks the *Nat* of the locality if he is taking due care of the villagers. Here the *Nat* is obviously regarded as benevolent. But we are told that this was not always so. Formerly the Nat was cruel, unreasonable, mischievous and demoniac. But "he is now believed to have taken to religion, to keep the sabbath and to lead the life of a saintly god." In spite of his own sanctity, however, he seems to favour evil-doers. "No organised theft is ever committed in Lower Burma ... without invoking his aid." The would-be criminals cook a meal within a circle they have marked on the ground. If any of the rules of the succeeding ritual are broken, the proposed robbery is abandoned. Some Buddhist monks ot this region, more orthodox than others, have tried to suppress the Naf cultus, but in vain.[14]

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771 776 Such beliefs and practices are obviously bound to affect thought and conduct. The Burmese feel around them a vast, invisible *Nat* world, which is both near and remote. There are spirits in the trees, the rivers,

[12] *The Pre-Buddhist Religion of the Burmese*, p. 9.

[13] R. F. Spear, unpublished MS, *The Syncretism of Animism and Buddhism in Burma* (1938) chap. 1, p. 14.

[14] U Tha Khin, "Is U Yin Gyi a National God of the Burmans?" *J.B.R.S.*, Vol. XIV, part II (1924).

M 197 484 101 177 my grandmother who, with her plot of paddy land and her fruit and vegetable gardens, was among the wealthiest in the village, never connected these with her children or those of her friends.

M 871 857 792 Grandfather died when quite young, leaving my Paw-Pwa (Grandmother) with four sons and two daughters, of whom my father was the eldest. Like all the boys of the village, my father after eight or nine years of unrestrained childish delights when he could play all day, in the stream and up and down the village streets, stopping only when hungry or tired, wheedling the grown-ups to let him sit up till late at night listening to stories, was sent to the monastery on the outskirts of the village. The word for monastery in Burmese, *kyaung*, is the same as the word used for school, and it was to be taught learning and holiness, obedience and discipline, dexterity in manual and domestic tasks, and to be given a deep spiritual influence to last throughout life, that Grandmother and her friends sent their sons there. The parents whose hearts suffered too much at the thought of inflicting any punishment themselves now handed B them over to the monks with the plea that they would teach them to be good and obedient, and chastise them severely if they did not obey.

792 792 346 The kyaung at Ye, like all kyaungs in Burma, was built in surroundings chosen for their pleasantness. On a slight slope overlooking the stream was a pagoda, the pagoda of the village where the people came on fasting and feast days to kneel on the paved platform around the tapering golden spire and recite the precepts. Down from the platform the steps were lined with shady trees, and to one side of this was the monastery, a wooden building with verandahs and tiered roofs, set in a large garden, containing a few flower beds for offerings at the altars, but chiefly wide shady spaces, great trees including a *nyaung-bin* (a sacred banyan, with huge spreading branches), flowering *gangaw* trees and deep green mango trees. In one corner was a well.

B 793 792 181 The monks consisted of the *saya-daw*, the senior monk who acted as head and abbot, about twenty monks who had been formally admitted to the order and were called *upasins*, and a number of novices who were wearing the yellow robe either for a short time, or to be admitted as monks later on. My father and his companions were admitted as *kyaungthas*, scholars. The monks spent their days in the recitation of religious formulæ and teachings, in meditation, in the telling of beads and the teaching of scholars. They did this while observing a strict and simple life, abstaining from solid food after noon, possessing no goods except the essential articles laid down in the monastic rules, observing chastity and poverty. To the people of the village they were the embodiment of good and holiness, living the noblest and most meritorious life a man can live. The people addressed them in conversation as

"Your holiness" and themselves as "Your holiness' pupil". The monks addressed the people as *daga*, giver, for they lived by the gifts of the people who donated robes, household articles and other necessities to the monasteries, as good works which brought them merit. 793 792 191 [431]

When my grandparents took my father to the kyaung he was a frightened little boy dressed in a cotton skirt called a *longyi*, and a shirt without cuffs and collar; his hair was grown long in the centre and tied in a knot, the sides being cut in a fringe about two inches long all round, and the rest shaved clean, a way of growing hair common to both little boys and girls and enhancing their youthful appearance. He and all the other scholars performed the domestic tasks of the monastery, swept and rubbed the good hard wooden floors, the monastery grounds and pagoda steps, because in these precincts all comers went barefoot; they drew water for drinking, and for the bath of the older monks; they followed the monks on their rounds, two of them bearing a pole on which was slung a covered tray, to take any food donated in excess of what would go into the monk's bowl; they waited on the monks at meals; they learned to read and write, and do simple sums, to recite precepts and religious passages which they shouted at the tops of their childish voices in imitation of the deep intoning voice of the teacher monk, phrase by phrase; in the evenings they went home to eat the meal which the monks abstained from, but came back at sunset to recite the lessons of the day and many past days all over again, to join in the assembled night prayers, to sleep in the monastery and rise again before dawn. 858 792 872 302

When my father spoke to us of his years in the monastery he always chuckled with delight, in spite of this long list of disciplined tasks. He had the advantage from the first; he was stronger and taller than other boys, and in a system where all learning was by heart he had brilliant memorising powers. The school-room of the kyaung had not the formal atmosphere of the Western school-room with each child at a desk and chair, and a silence except for the voice of teacher or child. The monastery boys all went into the same big room of the monastery, irrespective of age or stage, each with his slate or book, got down on the floor 872 659 876

872 next to their friends, crouched over their work and started to shout out
854 whatever passage was being committed to memory. My father's chuckling
876 was at being able to remember how his voice was lustier than his rival's as he rested on his elbows and knees, and rocked backwards and forwards in rhythm to his chanting, with his legs going as high as he dared, giving surreptitious kicks and nudges to upset the balance of his similarly rocking rival, shouting out the passages all wrong when the supervising monk was at the other end of the room and could not distinguish his voice in the general din, so as to cause his rival to laugh and be reprimanded.

But these shortcomings of the schoolroom were punished with only a comical severity. During the play hour the lazy boys were made to cross their hands across their breasts and pull at each ear with the fingers of the opposite hand; in this position they were made to sit and stand, sit and stand, while one of the good boys, usually joined by a crowd of others, sang in rhythmic chorus: "*Hta-Htaing, Hta-Htaing*: Rise-sit, rise-sit." Or if the supervising monk was in a playful mood he made these bad boys each take a good boy on his back and race them up and down the garden. Shortcomings of a moral nature were not regarded as such a joke, however; disobedience and dishonesty were punished with severe beatings, in accordance with the injunction given to the monks by the fond parents when they

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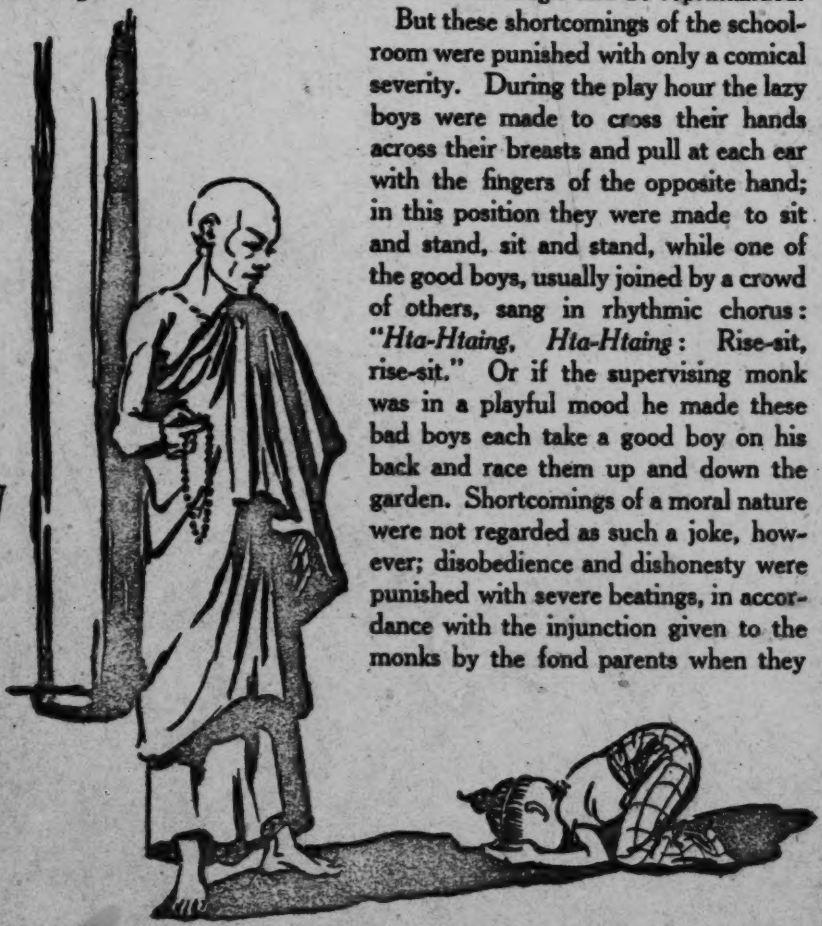

handed their children over: "*So yin na na yaik pa*: If he is naughty
892 please beat him hard."
561 My father spent about five years like this. The hair of his top-knot
792 grew longer year by year and it was nearing the time when he should cut

it off, offer it to his mother as a tress for her hair-dressing, and have his head shaved and be initiated into the monkhood amidst feasting and rejoicing. This initiation, which every Buddhist boy went through in order to attain his true manhood by wearing the yellow robe, would last only a week or a month, or as long as my father felt the urge to remain in the monastery; for ever if he liked, in which case he would be formally received as an upasin. It was expected, however, that he would leave after a few months and help Grandmother and the aunts with looking after the paddy and the gardens. As rain of accidents upset all these schemes. 872 561 792

When my father was about 14 he was already among the oldest boys in the kyauug, his learning was high and his conduct exemplary. The monks gave him the task of guarding the meat-safe where all the stores of sweetmeats given to the monastery were kept, as well as delicious titbits like the roe of *nga-tha-lauk* fish, and the rich red oil of the heads of lobsters, which were kept over for the meals of the monks on following days. These wire-netted cupboards are called "cat-houses" in Burmese, because they are meant to guard the food from depredations of cats, and they serve the purpose very well, but they could never guard against the appetites of little boys; for my father, even as I knew him in later years, loved people to eat good things and would always soften and allow his companions to have a bit just here and there. He was often scolded for it, but was so well-behaved otherwise that the post was not taken from him. Just at this time, however, a supervising monk with very decided ideas of discipline was given charge of the boys; all the faults of disobedience, telling of falsehoods, running off to the village at forbidden hours and such like, were stored up till the end of the month. Then, on punishment day, the monk would gather a pile of sticks beside him, and all the boys with faults in a row before him, and go through beating them, one stick to one boy until it broke. One month my father was included in this row because the inroads on the meat-safe stores had increased in spite of constant warnings. Being a big boy he was left to the end of the row, and could watch the zealous monk methodically working through the boys and the sticks. What we know of my father and physical pain is that my mother was once scolded very severely the only time in her life that she beat any of us, and that he himself, when about to take nasty medicine or a vaccination, would go through a series of shivering and comical protests, some of which I am sure were quite genuine. My poor father then watched the pile of sticks diminishing, and when there were but three sticks left and three boys between him and the untiring monk he suddenly took to his heels and fled, right out of the monastery grounds, down the pagoda hill and down to the creek. He did not dare 872 792 861

872 to go home because Grandmother would have sent him back for a double
792 beating, so he hitched up his longyi, tied his shirt round his head and
861 swam across the stream. One of the huts on the other bank belonged to a woman who had always been very fond of him because she believed
[775] him to be a reincarnation of her brother who had died in childhood; Burmese Buddhists believe that one goes through many existences on this earth, and sometimes children are born who have not yet forgotten their previous existence by the time they can talk; they adopt habits uncannily like those of the departed member who, the fond and grieving relatives hope, has returned to them in the guise of this new child; they say "My bed", "My clothes" to the possessions of the dead person, especially if eggs are not included in their diet, the belief being that eggs cause them to forget. When we were very young, the fame of a wonder child, who could recite the most learned religious passages untaught, spread throughout Burma, and my parents travelled to hear him; he had been a monk in his past existence and could remember.

792 My father's case was no outstanding one like this; he had just re-
561 sembled the lady's brother in looks and gesture, and a few childish utterances helped out by her belief had endeared my father to her as having been *winsa* (come in and inhabited) by her brother. The good and fond lady received the boy with open arms, agreed that he was getting too old for the monastery, and promised to go over and plead with my grandmother to take him out now and hasten his initiation ceremony into the priesthood. This was achieved and my father went back to his mother's house and prepared for the *shinbyu* as the ceremony was called.

484 The manner of his exit from the monastery, however, had made
177 him restless. During the short period he was free, he could go where
874 he willed, and in this way he often met traders who came and went between Ye and Tavoy, a seaport town about 100 miles away, to which passenger and cargo ships from Moulmein made regular trips. One day he was at the house on the opposite bank when a boy he used to know as a toddler returned from Tavoy after a trip to Moulmein. This boy could speak a few words of English. Moreover, he wore his hair in a *boha-dauk* (a Westerner's crop) and seemed to think my father a jungle boy. All the restlessness in my father flowed over then, because up to now he had always felt himself clever and ahead of other boys. He worried Grandmother to let him go to Moulmein and learn English, and and get a job with the government which would bring them hundreds of rupees each month. Other families who considered that Grandmother had clever sons agreed that this would be a good idea; though none of them had been to Moulmein and my father was still a boy, it would not be so daring an adventure as it sounded, because there was some one

779 It is this renunciation[1] which we symbolize in the shinbyu ceremony
881 when a boy leaves his home and lives in the order. A parent who fails
● 792 to hold the ceremony or get his son initiated in some other way fails in his first duty towards his son, and those who hold a shinbyu for orphans or the sons of the poor achieve great merit.

To provide a background symbolic of Prince Siddhartha's circumstances, parents spend as much as they can afford; a flagged pavilion is put up before the house, a multitude of people are invited for feasting, the boy is dressed in princely garments and jewels, and rides around the town on a white horse, with a procession following. For him to return and wash the powder off his face, to doff the turban and show the newly shaven head, to change the glittering clothes of silk for a plain yellow
[292] robe showing golden on the bare brown skin,—this is moving indeed. And when he comes back the next day in procession with other monks, his eyes cast down and his bowl before him, his mother makes obeisance to him for the first time, not as her son now but as one of the priestly order, a hpongyi, a "great glory". That must be a moment of spiritual plenitude in a mother's life.

881 I do not remember much about my brother's shinbyu, but I re-
792 member the beauty of his face as he came back in procession on that first day. A good face has its nobility enhanced by the complete absence of such adornment, even as is provided by the frame of hair or the line of neck clothing; it has to stand alone. I am often struck with the beautiful calm faces of some older monks. There is a look of repose which they wear easily after years of daily meditation and freedom from petty irritations and personal relationships, and a glow to the brown skin which is the result of years spent in clean and open surroundings, with sufficient to eat, and regularity of hours; the strongly marked eyebrows giving a nobility to the face when the head has been shorn. The unconscious reflection of this look on the face of a small boy touches us profoundly; there is a sweet solemnity on the young shaven face; the most mischievous boys become awed and chastened without any prompting.

881 In recent years, we have had a full dress shinbyu in the family for
792 my husband's nephew, Sao Sai Long, who as the heir to the Shan
565 State of Kengtung was initiated into the priesthood with the full pano-
[563] ply due to Buddhist royalty. A long wide bamboo pavilion was set up, beginning with a high shelf for the offerings to all the monasteries in the town, the next platform for the monks who were to receive Sao Sai Long into their monastery, the next lower for the attendant boys who were also to be initiated, and for the *palin* (the jewelled *chaise longue* on which Sao Sai Long was to recline), the next for the family, and successively lower ones for the various grades of the people. (The

[1] The Great Renunciation of Prince Siddhartha--Analyst

European officials and friends were given chairs in deference to their stiffer joints, but the chairs which eventually raised them higher than the family were placed on a side platform which had been cleverly made two inches lower than the family's platform.) On the day of the actual initiation, tall vases on the high shelf held robes, fans and slippers as offerings to the monks, and rupee coins put into long net cylinders to get around the rule that monks should not touch money. Sitting against this were a row of monks with eyes downcast, below and before them were the *shinlaungs*, sixteen little attendant boys all powdered white with silk clothes and golden chains around their necks. On the couch sat Sao Sai Long, Sao Thiri Raza, his face unpowdered but glowing with the beauty of his race, his clothes of finest silk and gold, on his head a jewelled crown sitting proudly above his young face.

Three days in succession before the actual initiation day he sat like this in front of the assembled people, and when the drums took up the strange sad music which is traditionally played for the departure of a king, he stepped into a throne-seat that was lifted high on an elephant to go in procession round the town. The music and the splendour of Buddhist kingship in these days of government officials stirred the unrealized, half forgotten roots in our breasts; it made us feel things we had known in some other world and brought tears to our eyes. Sao Sai Long, my nephew aged 14, who had just returned from a year at King's School, Canterbury, who had never given me a moment's peace with his affectionate and irreverent ways, and who is even now riding wildly round an Australian sheep farm, felt and looked a dignity which he has never achieved before or since, as he was lifted high on an elephant and rode around his beautiful old city with its big trees and mountains, with spears, banners, white and gold umbrellas before him, a king for the last time in full pomp. He must have felt like Tamurlaine:

> Oh, 'tis passing fair to be a king,
> And ride in triumph through Persepolis.

CHAPTER SEVEN

805 527 ROUND about the end of January each year, for our lunar dates do not fall on the same calendar dates every year, we celebrated my father's birthday. All Burmese celebrations have a basis of "doing merit" either in feasting people and perhaps fasting oneself, distributing gifts, or inviting monks to preach and others to hear them. An atmosphere of enjoyment is possible in these good works because Burmese people do not believe in divorcing their praying from their merry-making; usually both are carried out in the same room, the pleasure after the holiness; and the donor feels a great satisfaction of spirit as he says; "*A-hmya a-hmya* : Share with all, share with all (the merit from his good deed)." The friends gathered around reply to this "*Tha-du, tha-du :* Well done, well done."

527 352 On my father's birthday monks were "lifted" or invited to the house for a grand meal. All the Western chairs and tables were moved out of the sitting room; and one end of the room was laid with carpets of red and green rose design, specially kept for such occasions in all Burmese houses. This was for the monks to sit on and facing them the people would sit on mats. Between the monks and people were laid out all the presents for the monastery.

•792 192 [431] I was always sad when I saw these presents; to my childish eyes they looked so uninteresting. A monk who renounces worldly goods is allowed to possess only eight articles, three pieces of cloth which form his robes, a begging bowl, a mat, a blade, a needle and a water strainer. Dagas or donators can, therefore, only give these, or other articles necessary to the way of life conforming to their precepts. Such include religious books, mats, candles and matches, brooms, spittoons. These last make very elegant presents, and are a common sight at all distributions of presents, the standard pattern being of white enamel, with a red band around the edge. Children are told of one monastry whose holiness is so high that a spittoon donated to the monks there will echo the name of the donator each time a monk spits into it. With the presents all laid out, the monks walk in in a row, and sit with eyes downcast and legs crossed. My mother and father make obeisance to them and send for us after a few words with the chief monk. We were always nervous and subdued on these occasions; in speaking to a monk a vocabulary of honorifics has to be used, even for "Yes". The hpongyi always made

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joking enquiries about whether we were getting enough Buddhist and Burmese teaching for we were attending English Christian schools at the time.

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The monks have lost all touch with the schooling of the great majority of children by now. In the first decade of the century the monastic schools were still the backbone of instruction for boys throughout all the rural districts, being responsible for the high literacy figure of 49% for Burman males, as compared with 11.9% in Madras at the time. But lay schools, either established and run on Burman lines, or established by Christian missionary societies with perhaps grants-in-aid, or under the direct management of Government or a committee acting on behalf of the government, were springing up on all sides, until by 1934 the proportion of lay to recognized monastic schools for vernacular education was about five to one. Although there had been attempts to raise the utilitarian value of monastic education by the encouragement of such subjects as arithmetic, geography and land surveying, it was far easier for the lay schools to conform to the standards set by the Board of Examiners. With the passing of such standards becoming the means of obtaining employment and the changing of fashions, more and more children went to the lay schools. Moreover, the lay schools included schools for girls, either separately or in common with boys.

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In my childhood there were still echoes of the opposition between monastic and secular education. In about 1922 my Uncle Pyant, who was then a serious student at the University, told me the world was round, "but", he added, "the hpongyis say that this is not true and most elder people don't believe it." My husband also tells me that when he went home from his government school with the statement that the earth spun around on its axis and took twenty-four hours to do it, the elders were most scornful. "In that case," they said, "if you were to go up into the air and stay there for some time, you could not come down to Kengtung until the same time the next day, but might land in England for your lunch."

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Another difference between old and new ideas of education was that the elder people were aghast at the long years which a modern education from primary schools to University lasted. They felt that at least one must have learnt everything there was to learn by then, for a few years at a monastery taught a boy all the reading, writing, calculation and literature which any grown man was expected to know. Once my grandfather received a telegram announcing the birth of a grandson; the message contained the additional information that the doctors had found it necessary to perform a circumcision on the infant. The telegram was in English, according to the rules of the Posts and Telegraphs in Burma,

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792 and Grandfather called my cousin Ko Lu Pe to read it. My cousin had
871 been at a government school for some years and though he could read
177. and write English with some ease, he stuck at the word "circumcise".
87 "What!" exploded Grandfather, "five years learning English, and you can't even read a telegram. This education is quite useless." Whereupon he took the grandchildren and his two young sons out of their schools until his wrath subsided and they quietly started attendance again. It is a popular stage joke also, the B.A. who returns to his village and is asked in good faith by the hpongyi to mend a villager's watch that has gone wrong. The graduate confesses that he cannot mend it. The monk is horrified: "What, passed B.A. and cannot mend a watch?"

527 So now on my father's birthday the monks ask jokingly and kindly
792 about our school subjects. Their meal is laid out on a low round table,
574 and consists of all the good things my mother can think of, for they have only one main meal in the day. Rice and meat and vegetable dishes are followed by fruit, sweet milky coffee, sweet English cakes. The monastery boys are given their meal outside; the monks, after eating, rise and go, and the boys follow them bearing away the gifts for the monastery. At once there is a general shuffling into more relaxed positions, conversation swells out, we start to scamper around and help to wheel in more round tables. Then everybody eats, and my father feels a deep sense of well-being.

805 Our lunar calendar has twelve months in its year, beginning the new year about the middle of April with the month of *Tagu*. Each month contains the twenty-nine to thirty days of the moon's cycle, but the dates are numbered with only 15 numbers—15 waxing days starting from the crescent of the new moon: *la-hsan ta-yet*, *la-hsan hna-yet*, new moon first day, second day and so on, until the 15th and full moon day, *la-pyit nay*: after which come the waning days, *la-hsot*. With this system, we are 12 or 13 days short of the 365 each year, and hence every second year there occurs a double month of *Waso*, in July and August, which month also starts our Lent. Lent lasts the three months of the monsoon, until
796 *Thadingyut*, in October, when we see it out with lights, feasting and
262 much merriment. For the observance of festivals such as New Year and Thadingyut we usually visited relatives, but certain other observances came round each year to us in our own home.

Such is *htamanè-hto*, the making of a comestible known as *htamanè* in vast quantities, for distribution on the first full moon after the harvest. On the full moon night of *Tabodwè* in January-February, the villagers sit up all night in big parties of men and women singing and joking as they make all preparations for the cooking that is to take place by dawn. The basis of htamanè is a glutinous rice called *kaukhnyin*, always

never talked about the business of their past working days when they met. Sometimes they showed a fleeting interest in news of the postings of friends still in service, but even the official matters of Thaton district itself did not enter into their discussions. They talked of charity donations, of the respective monasteries which they endowed and attended, and of formulæ of *eggaya-hto*, alchemy, or the search for the philosopher's stone which will turn all metals to gold. Most Burmans get interested in eggaya-hto during their later years, even if few now practise it. 887 521 [822]

This alchemy, which has no place among the true teachings of Buddhism, has to be done under auspicious astrological influences and is usually carried on in secret. Burman Buddhists condemn the use of it when it is carried on for *lawba*, greed for riches, but others justify the process as a means of concentrating the mental faculties. The common stories tell of hermits in the forests, who by their ascetic life and concentrated meditation have more powers over the forces of nature, as being well versed in the processes of alchemy. When such a hermit achieves the extreme concentration of mind on his task he is successful—the philosopher's stone is discovered, the body of the hermit then disappears in the dissolving of matter, and his spirit is free to live unhampered by the body, till the arrival of the next Buddha on the earth. Most Burmese women, however, although they believe that this happens in the case of hermits, object very strongly to the practice of alchemy on the part of their menfolk, owing to the money and energy that is wasted on seeking out new and expensive formulæ once the craze has got hold of a man. All experiments are started with mercury which is melted with other minerals, animal or vegetable substances which derive their magical properties partly from their inaccessibility, partly from being treated with prescribed rites. My father had no intention of taking up alchemy and impoverishing us, but he too was very interested to hear of the success and failure of various methods. These discussions must have been kept well anchored to reality by the other chief topic of discussion—the families of the pensioners. 822 792 779

The five duties of a parent towards his children include the settling of the child in a good marriage. By the time the a-so-ya mins retire, their sons and daughters have reached a marriageable age. The sons are in the process of winning a good position in one of the government services and their daughters have been dressed with an adequate amount of jewellery. The marriage market, which had no existence in former Burmese society and which still is unheard of in Ye, and among the poorer people, is now a very concrete institution among the educated and modern classes. The rise of the minkadaw class and of higher paid Class I government officials has been mainly responsible for this. More 593 584 554 177. 58 565

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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CHAPTER II

SCHOOL DAYS

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I SUPPOSE Englishmen will never get rid of the notion that monastic schools must needs be dull and dismal, that hours of study only alternate with seasons of austerity and rough punishments. The uninhabited, almost deserted, appearance of the Burmese kyoung; its isolated position; the solemn, restful front which it always preserves, no matter how lightened up by profuse gilding and the carved magnificence of its panels and eaves' boards, or how embowered in rich and waving foliage; the austere aspect and slow-paced gait of the mendicants in their sad yellow robes—all these things inevitably encourage the foreigner in the belief that the monotony and the discipline must crush all life and light-heartedness out of the young scholars.

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Nothing, however, can be farther from the actual fact. No Etonian, no old Rugbeian, can look back with greater delight on triumphs on the river or in the football field, than the grown-up Burman does on his early days at the Pôngyi Kyaung. There are no rough games to remember, it is true, no strivings of any kind with members of another institution. Those things do well enough for a cold-country people. The Burman's reminiscences are of a quieter kind. There was the emulation with the chin lôn, the wicker football, to see who could keep it longest in the air by dexterous use of knee, foot, shoulder, thigh, and cheek. How it relieved the body and freshened the mind after hours of poring over little hand-blackboards, covered with cramped words and letters, in the quiet rooms inside. Then there were the games at gônnyinhto, an elementary combination of skittles

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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and ninepins, played with the big flat seeds of a jungle creeper. Pleasant they were under the shade of the great mango and pipul trees and the lofty cocoa-nut and palmyra palms, and exciting were the games, so that the customary stillness of the place was rudely broken upon by disputing voices, till a monk would come out and bring all back to work again as a penance. Then during the work there was the fun of the writing hour, when everybody had to write out maxims and prayers on his little parabaik with a clumsy pointed steatite pencil. There were always some stiff-fingered big pupils who could not manage to write their copy neatly or correctly, and as punishment had to take the good writers on their backs and march ruefully up and down the long schoolroom during pleasure. Sometimes they were thrashed, but the other punishment was the more dreaded. Then there was the schoolmaster monk, who would tell fairy stories of the other three great islands which lie in the sea round about Myinmo mountain; of the half-moon-faced western islanders, and the wondrous tree that bore everything eatable one could wish for and delivered it ready cooked; the joys of the six heavens of the Nats and the grisly horrors of Nga-yè, with its fearful ages of fantastic punishments. Every now and again travelling necromancers and hmaw sayās would spend a night or two at the monastery, and in recompense for the little delicacies and odds and ends of food which good-natured neophytes would get for them, used to tell stories of witchery and marvel. Sometimes there would be a sā-haw yā, a kind of cyclic poet, who knew half the zats in the language by heart, and would recite a little just for practice. Or a tattooing sayā would come round and mark some particularly favoured youth with a quaint figure. Discussion as to its meaning and probable virtues would be carried on in the shadowy evenings for months afterwards. Varieties of this kind recur to the old Burman as he thinks of the school days long ago, and he sighs with as much conviction as any European that there are no days so happy as the school days.

English rule has disturbed old customs a good deal in the province, but even now we may say that, as an invari-

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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able rule, when a boy has reached the age of eight or nine years he goes as a matter of course to the Pôngyi Kyaung. It is open to all alike—to the poor fisherman's son as well as to the scion of princely blood—for no one pays anything, and it is not carefully considered who it is that fills the monkish begging pots in the daily round. Thus every Buddhist boy in the country is taught to read and write, and in this respect at least there are but very few illiterate Burmans. This primary education must by no means be confounded with entry into the monastery as a koyin-gale, or novice. Strictly speaking, this ceremony ought not to take place before the age of fifteen, and the earlier sojourn is only a preparation for it. The younger pupils may become boarders in the monastic building if they choose, but they do not assume the yellow robe, which marks them, for however short a time it may be worn, as members of the Assembly of the Perfect. They wear their ordinary clothes and retain their secular name.

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As soon as the boy enters the monastery he is set down in the big schoolroom beside all the other boys, and receives a roughly-made black wooden slate. On this are written a few of the letters, perhaps the whole of the alphabet. A little explanation starts him off, and for the next few days he is engaged in shouting out their sounds at the top of his voice. Nobody minds him, for all the other scholars are similarly engaged in hallooing, and the monks derive a sense of comfort and a virtuous consciousness of doing good from the noise. It is as soothing as the sound of his mill-wheels to the miller, or the roar of traffic to the cockney. If a boy stops shouting, it is a sign that he has stopped working—and if he is not meditating mischief, it is probable that he is about to go to sleep, and he is corrected accordingly. The method is an admirable one for keeping the boys occupied—much more so than civilised Western methods—though I fear a council of English head-masters would scout the idea. The casual foreign observer who goes about taking notes, like Grose or the "Rampant M.P.," passes the ecclesiastical school, and in amazement at the seeming uproar within, declares that monastery schools are hopelessly badly conducted, and without the semblance of discipline. As a

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872 on the whole future life of the young scholars. As long as
779 these monastic schools are attended, all attacks on the Buddhist faith must be fruitless.

872 Besides the commandments, the paya-shekho, and the
779 pareit-yôp-thi, the lauds of the Lord Buddha, and the
● 712 aspirations to be repeated at the holy shrines, the formulæ to be told over on the beads; besides these first principles, the young Burman is taught the thin-ki-ya, the rules which are to prepare him for assuming the yellow robe, and to guide him during his longer or shorter withdrawal from the sinful world to the calm tranquillity of the monastery. He must learn that the young novice carefully imitates the decorous pace of the yahan; does not walk fast; avoids swinging his hands; does not smile or laugh in passing through a village, and keeps far away from all secular amuse-
[292] ments. The yellow robe, distinctive of the order, is to be regarded not as a garment to cherish and comfort the wearer, not as a robe to adorn the outward man and make it look stately or pious, but merely as a concession to modesty, born of the weaknesses of poor human flesh—and further, as a means of enabling the worthless frame to endure the
[261] extremes of heat and cold. In the same way food is to be eaten only to support life. The member of the sacred order must not think of meal times as an occasion for gratifying his senses; he must avoid dwelling on the tastiness of the food and the gratification to his palate which the pious zeal of a supporter may afford in presenting an unusually dainty meal. Especially must he refrain from eating food to make himself strong and lusty. He must always remember the transitoriness, the misery and unreality of the world, and find relief in the Triple Consolation, the trust in the Lord, the Law, and the Assembly.

All these things are impressed on the young pupil as soon as he is able to read at all, every one of them assuming the fact that as soon as he is old enough, or as soon as he has gone through the necessary preparation, he will assume the yellow robe of the devout, to wear it perhaps for life, perhaps only for a day or two, but certainly to put it on, for
[885] without this he cannot attain to the full privileges of a man.
[777] His kan (luck) will be altogether one-sided. All the ill deeds

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All the ill deeds, 872
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he does will swell the sum of his demerits, but not a single good action, no uttermost act of charity or devotion, will be recorded to his advantage for another existence. Without admission to the order, without "Buddhist baptism," no man can count his present existence as other than an animal's. The great gift of having appeared in the likeness of a human being; the happy balancing of merits and demerits which has resulted in so glorious an opportunity of advancing towards Ne'-ban; the still greater fortune of existence in a country where the tenets of Buddhism offer supreme chances to the weary seeker after rest from the moil of a work-a-day world; all will have been recklessly thrown away. It is written that more hardly will a needle cast from the summit of Mount Myinmo across the wide Thamoddaya Sea, more hardly will it touch with its point as it falls another needle standing point upwards in the great Southern Island, than will any given creature become a human being. How are the Western foreigners, black and white, to be pitied, who have indeed by earnest strivings attained the seat of man, but, arrived there, find it all naught because they do not hear the teachings of the Buddha! How much worse the Burman, to whom all his life long the monastery door stands open, to whom a week's, a day's, an hour's sojourn would offer boundless possibilities, and yet who enters not in. If this be so, what then can be the prospect for the boy who having put his hand to the plough turns back, who entering the monastery as a child, imbibes the religious thoughts and becomes acquainted with the religious creed, and yet fails to seek the "humanity" so easily to be gained? Better have been born an animal or an Englishman, and scoffed at what he did not understand.

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Consequently it may be invariably assumed that the little scholar, as soon as age and acquirements admit, puts on the yellow garb as a finish to his education. This used to include every one. Till the English came and took the country, everybody went to the Pon-gyi-Kyaung. But now there are English government schools; there are Burmese laymen's schools, which neglect religious education altogether, and look to competitive examinations as the end and aim of juvenile existence, as the ne'-ban of school life.

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There is a percentage of thirty-five in the "middle standard" (Government Education Department). What matters if the successful halt and stumble in the pareit-gyi? There are two boys who have a chance in the Calcutta University Matriculation Examinations. It is a matter of indifference that the thingyo is as unknown to them as it is to any poor foreigner. Nevertheless, notwithstanding their shortcomings in this respect, there are but few even of these young Burmans who have not become members of the society, if only for long enough to get their heads shaved and be invested with the yellow dress. Still in these latter years there are a few who have never gone through even this slight ceremony, and the number may be expected annually to increase as Western habits spread more widely over the country. Not till the monastic schools begin to be deserted will the Christian missionary find that his labours have had any effect on the vital energies of the ancient faith of the Buddha. That day is still far off. As yet the government and vernacular lay schools have had very little effect in reducing the number of scholars who go daily to study in the dim-lighted schoolrooms of the monastery. Not even in Rangoon have the monks to call for scholars; they flock there abundantly of their own accord.

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CHAPTER III

BUDDHIST BAPTISM

THE term baptism as applied to a youth who enters a monastery in the state of probation (called shin) is not, as many people think, a mere idle analogy borrowed from the Christian faith. The novice actually and formally receives a new name to mark his accession to the full dignity of humanity. The great majority of shins, or ko-yins, are little boys of twelve or a little older, but occasionally a man secludes himself from the world at an advanced age. Till a Buddhist has entered the fraternity he cannot claim to be more than a mere animal. He has a lu nāmé, it is true, a worldly name, but so might any ox, or horse, or elephant. It is not till he has subjected himself to the discipline of the kyaung that he can reap the fruits of a holy past and look forward to a more glorious future.

792 561 [551] 792 775

> The devils in the underworlds wear out
> Deeds that were wicked in an age gone by.

Man has less innocence than the animals, and cannot, like them, progress by merely omitting to sin. He may make golden stairways of his weaknesses indeed, but before he can do so he must abandon the world, if it is only for twenty-four hours. Then he becomes an upathaka, a believer, and towards another life will hold the gain as well as answer for the loss in the present one, death casting up the debit or credit.

[812]

> Higher than Indra's ye may lift your lot,
> And sink it lower than the worm or gnat.

In recognition of this new-gained power the novice drops

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792 In recognition of this new-gained power the novice drops
553 his secular name and receives a bwè, an honorific title, to
775 mark that it is now open to him to escape from suffering.
561 The name lapses when he returns to the world again, but it is sufficient that he has once borne it. He may now add to his kan, merit, and gain for himself a glorious new life by good works.

[198] This is what is meant by calling the ceremony a baptism. The bwè are almost invariably Pali, or Burmanised Pali names, and follow the same rules with regard to initial letters as the lu nāmé. Thus a Maung Po Myat, born on Thursday, might take the name of Pyinya-Zawta, while the bwè of a Sunday child, Maung An, would be Adesa. This religious or Buddhist (on the analogy of Christian) name is, of course, retained by the regular members of the monastery, and a monk is never addressed by any other when a name is used at all. When he becomes old a U is added, as U Adesa, but it must not be forgotten that
[576] the use of a person's name in addressing him is considered very far from being polite in Burma, especially to one of rank and dignity such as a mendicant. On the other hand, one who has returned to the world never uses the bwè, not even when he accomplishes some great religious work such as the foundation of a pagoda, which according to a comforting belief ensures passage to Ne'ban after death.

The entry into the monastic order is therefore certainly the most important event in the life of a Burman, since only under the robe of the recluse and in the abandonment of the world can he completely fulfil the law and hope to find the way to eventual deliverance from the misery of ever-recur-
[796] ring existences. The popular time for the ceremony is just at the beginning of Wā, the Buddhist Lent, which lasts from July to October, roughly speaking. Strict Buddhists make their sons stay throughout the whole Wā. During that season feasts, though they do occur, are very much discountenanced, and dramatic performances are energetically denounced by the religious.

792 According to the letter of the law the intending proba-
561 tioners should have reached the age of fifteen, but this
184 regulation has almost entirely lapsed in Lower Burma,
177-84 among other reasons chiefly because that is just the most

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important age for the boy to be learning English and arithmetic, with a view to getting situations under Government or in English merchants' offices. Therefore in the vast majority of cases shin-pyu thi takes place at the age of twelve, or perhaps even a year earlier. 792 561 184 177.84

If the boy has been a scholar in the monastery beforehand, he is sure to be already prepared in all that is required of him. If not, he gets a few hasty lessons in the duties that will be incumbent on him. He must address a full member of the order in such and such language; he must walk decorously through the streets, keeping his eyes fixed on the ground six feet before him, and on no account gaze round him, no matter what exciting events may be going on; he must wear his thingan and du-gut in the prescribed fashion; he must eat with dignity and circumspection, and so on. All these details are set forth in most minute fashion in a code. When he has mastered the most essential portions, and has also given proof of an acquaintance with the ordinary forms of worship, all is ready. His horoscope now comes into requisition, and a bedinsayā or Ponna is called in to determine a lucky day and hour from the sadā. When this has been settled, three or four girls, the intending koyin-gale's sisters, or friends of the family, dress themselves up in their finest silks and jewels—often borrowing a large quantity of the latter—and go round the town, announcing to all relatives, friends, and neighbours when the induction will take place, and inviting them to the feast, presenting the little packet of le'-pet usual on such occasions. Almost all of these send some little present, either of money or victuals, to aid in the feast and make it as grand as possible. Not unseldom, if somebody else's son is also going to enter the kyaung and the town is not very large, the two join forces, while occasionally as many as half a dozen unite, especially if the families are not well off. 792 872 [516] [292] 792 561 [787] 796 [292]

On the appointed day the young neophyte dresses in his finest clothes, and loads himself with all the family gold chains and jewellery, and as much more as he can borrow for the occasion. He then mounts a pony or gets into a richly decorated car. Shaded by gold umbrellas, allowed formerly on this occasion only in Upper Burma, except to those who had got a special patent for them from the sovereign... [292] [554]

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had got a special patent for them from the sovereign, he passes at a foot-pace through the village. A band of music goes before; all his friends and relatives crowd round him decked in their gayest; the young men dancing and singing vigorously; the girls laughing and smiling, with powdered faces and brilliant dresses. Thus he goes in succession to the houses of his relations and of all the local officials, to do them the obeisance due from a younger member of the family, and to bid them farewell. They in turn contribute money towards the expense of the band, and the solace of the supernumeraries. This triumphant march is meant to symbolise the maung-shin's abandonment of the follies of this world, and to recall Prince Theidat's last splendid appearance in Kapilawut, amidst a crowd of rejoicing clansmen and subjects, just previous to his abandonment of family and kingdom to become a homeless mendicant ascetic, and to obtain the Buddhaship under the bawdi tree. When the round of visits has been duly carried out, the procession turns back to the parents' house, where in the meantime the final preparations for the induction and subsequent feast have been concluded. The head of the kyaung to which the young postulants are to be admitted, together with several of his brother monks, are seated at the back of the room on a raised dais, in front of which are ranged the presents intended for the mendicants—heaps of fruit, cooked food, mats, yellow cloth, and so on. The "Talapoins" seated in a row carefully hold up the large lotus-leaf-shaped fans before their faces to shut out from view the female portion of the assemblage. Never is the command to the holy community not to look on woman more necessary and more arduous to observe than at a shin-pyu pwè. Burma's fairest daughters are assembled, bright in rainbow skirts and neckerchiefs, drowsy-scented flowers in the jetty tresses, jewellery flashing on the bosom, the fingers, and ears, the fragrance of thana'ka lingering over the smiling faces. Terrible trial it is for the young monk, if any such there be in the gaing ôk's following, and more imperative the concentration of the mind on the Payeit Gyi and other portions of the sacred writ which are loudly chanted as the postulants return, and the assembly shikhoes to the pon-

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gyis, and settles down to observe the proceedings. The boy throws off all his fine clothes and jewellery, and binds a piece of white cloth round his loins. Then his long hair is cut off close to the head. Often the locks are as much as three or four feet long, and are carefully preserved by the mother or sister, the latter often making them up into ta-su, the tails of hair twisted in with her own to increase the size of her sa-dôn—the knot of hair she wears at the back of her head. When the hair has been cut, the head is carefully shaved, the boy holding it over a cloth held by some of his relations. After this the head is washed in the usual way with a decoction of the seeds and bark of the kin-bôn thi, and rubbed well with saffron. A bath is then taken, and once more he puts on the bright paso, and repairs to the presence of the monks. Near at hand the parents have set ready the thingan, belt, ko-wut, and other yellow robes, the begging-pot and other requisites of the shin. The boy comes forward, prostrates himself three times, raises his hands joined in reverence, and begs, in a Pali formula got up by heart, to be admitted to the Holy Assembly as a neophyte, that he may walk steadily in the path of perfection, enjoy the advantages which result therefrom, and finally attain to the blessed state of Ne'ban. The kyaung po-go with his own hands gives him the garments; he is duly robed; the thabeit is hung round his neck by the strap, and then it is announced formally that he is a member of the monastery. He falls in among the other novices who have come with the mendicants. The abbot perhaps exhorts the assemblage for a short time, and then rising while all the people do obeisance, walks off slowly to the monastery, whither the newly-appointed ko-yins follow him, not unlikely helping to carry the presents which have been given at their induction.

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The feast at the parents' house begins immediately, and of course ends in a pwè, which lasts till dawn. Sometimes, though this is very seldom the case even in Rangoon, the young probationer comes back again the same night and assumes the lay dress. This *pro forma* observance of the ceremony of baptism is, however, vehemently opposed by all the monks who are worth anything. A few boys

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remain only twenty-four hours in the yellow dress, long enough to enable them to go once at least round the village begging from door to door in the train of the yahans. This, naturally, is very little better than leaving the kyaung immediately. It is considered hardly decent for the shin to leave under seven days of professed membership of the community. Some stay longer—a fortnight, a month, or two months; but all the more earnest believers insist that their sons shall remain at least one Wā, throughout the four months of Lent, in the rainy season. The best course for a fervent Buddhist, who nevertheless does not feel himself, adapted for a monkish life, is to stay over three Wās, one Lent for his father, one for his mother, and one for himself. It is on account of the importance of the Wā to the shin-pyu that most inductions take place at the beginning of that season. Yahans count their seniority by the number of Lents they have spent in the kyaung. A mendicant of twenty Wās must shekho to one of twenty-five, and so on. An individual who has left the holy community to re-enter the world is called a lu-twet, a runaway. On the other hand, a man who has been married, and has afterwards entered the monastery, goes by the name of taw-twet, one who has fled from the jungle of the world. The most revered yahans are those who have held steadfastly by the blameless, austere life of the fraternity since the time when they were first admitted as koyin-gale. Such are called ngè-byu, white, or stainless from youth, and if they attain to advanced age are always sure of a most splendid ceremonial funeral, whether they have been celebrated for piety and learning or not.

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If the shin-pyu stays on in the kyaung, he continues the same course of studies as he began as a scholar. If he has not already learnt the Payeit Gyi and the Paya Shikho, Pali sermons and forms of worship, or the Mingala Thut, the "Buddhist Beatitudes," he applies himself to them now. The most advanced pore over the metaphysical mysteries of the Abidhamma Konit-gyan, the seven books of the most difficult part of the Bitaghat. These, with the Thingyo and Thadda, afford ample room for consideration to the longest life. The modern system of shortened sojourn in the

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kyaungs has led to very imperfect and limited knowledge of these treasuries of sacred knowledge. Formerly it used to be said that the man who did not know the Thadda, the Pali "grammar," knew nothing. If this position were insisted on now, the number of ignorant people in Lower Burma would be somewhat startling.

792 871 [177·87] [184]

But there are many difficulties before you get to the Abidhamma and its cognate subjects. Even in the Payeit Gyi there is a section called Ta-zet, or Ta-zet-thut, which has the credit of sending many a probationer back to the noisy, sinful world. According to the couplet—

> Shin pyet ta-zet,
> Loo pyet a-yet.
>
> Brandy sends a man to hell;
> Ta-zet spoils the saint as well.

It is a sort of religious *Pons Asinorum.*

Besides prosecuting his religious studies, the shin is required also to attend on the pon-gyis and minister to their wants. He must lay before them at fixed times their daily food, the proper supply of water, the well-used betel-box, and whatever else the monk may require. He must of course go round every morning with the other members of the monastery, the begging-bowl strapped round his neck, accepting meekly, without word of thanks, or glance thrown to the right or left, even when he passes his father's house, the food poured in by the pious. When a pon-gyi goes abroad the neophyte may be required to follow, carrying his fan or umbrella, or perhaps an arm-load of palm-leaf books, if a function is to be performed anywhere. According to the strict letter of the law the ko-yin ought to eat only of the food presented in the morning, but a very great laxity has crept in in this respect, not only with the neophytes, but even among the professed members of the order. It is no uncommon thing for the parents of the youth to send in daily a special meal for him, or even, in the case of wealthy families, actually to keep a cook on the monastic premises to prepare his food. Such sybaritism is not by any means uncommon in Lower Burma, though even there hardly approved of. In any good monastery in Upper Burma, or

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792 735 177-79 indeed in any monastery at all, even in Mandalay, it would be promptly put a stop to. But where the monks themselves show the example of carnal weakness, the probationers cannot be expected to maintain the old austerity.

792 779 The shin is subject in every way to the discipline of the monastery, but there are very few additional rules really incumbent on him. He has to observe always the Sè-ba Thila, the ten commandments. Five of these are obligatory on all Buddhists at all times: the other five are supposed to be incumbent upon laymen only on sacred days and during Lent. The five universal commandments are:—

1. Thou shalt not take any life at all.
2. Thou shalt not steal.
3. Thou shalt not commit adultery.
4. Thou shalt not lie.
5. Thou shalt not drink intoxicating liquor.

The additional five are:

6. Thou shalt not eat after mid-day.
7. Thou shalt not sing, dance, or play on any musical instrument.
8. Thou shalt not use cosmetics, or colour the face.
9. Thou shalt not sit, stand, or sleep on platforms or elevated places not proper for thee.
10. Thou shalt not touch gold or silver.

785 796 These latter five are, it has been said, imposed upon laymen on sacred days, but the burden is very light, the people observing them or not, accordingly as they are observing the "duty-day." If they are not "keeping the feast," they conduct themselves precisely as they would on any other day, and buy and sell and attend pwès in their ordinary fashion.

779 792 This laxity is, of course, not open to the shins, but it cannot be said that the regulations, except perhaps as to eating, are very irksome. The seventh and eighth commandments seem by themselves peculiar, but they refer to filthy habits more explicitly set forth in the Patimauk, or book of the enfranchisement, containing the 227 sins which

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a monk is liable to commit. The ninth refers to the common Oriental dislike to any person of insufficient dignity occupying an elevated place physically above worthier people.

So far, then, the shin is not very grievously burdened in the monastery. But the discipline maintained is very strict. None of the ko-yins or of the boarder-pupils must be out of the monastic limits after the bell has rung. A lay scholar may get permission from the kyaung po-go to sleep at home now and again, but this indulgence is naturally impossible to the neophyte; he must always stay in the monastery. Again, the boarders may run home in the afternoon to get some dinner at their parents' houses, but this the shin cannot do. Breaches of the rules are very severely punished. The culprit's hands are tied high above his head to a post, and the castigator lays on vigorously on the naked back with a stout bamboo. Cases of deliberate cruelty of course occasionally happen, for human nature is the same everywhere, and a Dotheboys Hall is not an entire figment; but they are rare, and on the whole the shin is happy in the monastery, and occasionally in later life looks back with regret to the old, quiet, unruffled, careless life of the pon-gyi kyaung.

In Upper Burma it has actually been his school, for but very few adopt the system of having private teachers to instruct their children; and in Lower Burma it probably contrasts favourably with the uncomfortable hard benches and desks of the English institution, and the still more irksome quietness demanded, and steady, prolonged application exacted by the English teacher. Those who have been to both remember most fondly the long dusky monastery schoolroom, where they sat on the floor and shouted out their lessons, and now and again slipped out into the air to take the stiffness out of their limbs with a quarter of an hour at chin lôn, Burmese football. In the English school you learned to make money; in the Burmese school you learned to be happy and contented.

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CHAPTER IV

LIFE IN THE MONASTERY

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A LITTLE before daylight, "when there is light enough to see the veins in the hand," that is to say, in Burma, at half-past five in the morning, in accordance with the dina chariya, the whole monastic community rises, awakened by the sound of the kaladet. This is a big, oblong, trough-shaped bell, made of a piece of wood hollowed out, with little chiselled holes on the side. It is beaten with a wooden mallet, and makes noise enough to rouse the heaviest sleeper. The yahan then rinses out his mouth, washes his hands and face, arranges his dress, the same in which he has slept all night, and recites a few pious precepts, chief among which is the morning prayer: "How great a favour has the Lord Buddha bestowed upon me in manifesting to me his law, through the observance of which I may escape hell and secure my salvation."

There are always a few sleepy boarders, or shins, who have been indulging in the dissipation of whispered conversations till far into the night, whom nothing but a personal attack will awaken, but they are soon shaken up, and then the entire community arranges itself before the image of the Buddha, the abbot at the head, the rest of the brotherhood, pyin-sins, novices, and scholars, according to their order, and all together intone the morning service. This done, they each in their ranks present themselves before the kyaung po-go, and pledge themselves to observe during the day the vows and precepts incumbent upon them. They then separate for a short time, the pupils and shins to sweep the floor of the kyaung, and bring a supply of drinking water

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for the day, filter it, and place it ready for use; the more advanced novices and others of full rank to sweep round the sacred trees and water them; the elders to meditate in solitude on the regulations of the order. Meditation is beyond all other actions meritorious. The first meditation of the day should be on the miseries of life and the conviction that we cannot free ourselves from them; such thoughts are honourable beyond the founding of a pagoda, or praying for the salvation of all living creatures. Some gather flowers and offer them before the pagoda, to impress upon the mind the virtues of the great teacher and the weaknesses and shortcomings of human nature.

Then comes the first meal of the day, a light refection usually preceded by a homily or grace, to the effect that the rice is eaten not to please the appetite, but to satisfy the wants of the body; that the yellow habit is worn not for vanity, but to cover nakedness; that they dwell in this house not for vainglory, but to be protected from the inclemency of the weather; that medicine is taken merely to recover health, and that health is desirable only that they may attend with greater diligence to prayer and meditation. After the meal all proceed to study for an hour. The ko-yins repeat what lessons they have learnt and apply themselves to new tasks. The early morning is considered especially favourable for committing to memory.

It is now close on eight o'clock, and, arranging themselves in Indian file, they set forth in orderly procession, with the abbot at their head, to beg their food. Slowly they wend their way through the chief street of the town or village, halting when any one comes out to pour his contribution of rice, or fruit, or vegetables, into the alms-bowl, but never saying a word, or even raising the eyes from the ground. It is they who confer the favour, not the givers. Were it not for the passing of the mendicants, the charitable would not have the opportunity of gaining for themselves merit. Not even a glance rewards the most bounteous donation. With eyes fixed unwaveringly on the ground six feet before them, and hands clasped beneath the begging-bowl, they pass on, solemnly meditating on their own unworthiness and the vileness of all human things. There are

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naturally certain places where they receive a daily dole; but should the open-handed good wife have been delayed at the bazaar, chatting with her gossips, or the pious old head of the house be away on a journey, the recluses would rather go without breakfast than halt for a second, as if implying that they remembered the house as an ordinary place of call. It is a furlong on the noble path lost to the absentees, and the double ration of the following day is noted without a phantom of acknowledgment. So they pass round, circling back to the monastery after a perambulation lasting perhaps an hour or an hour and a half. Some mendicants, especially the more austere, return as soon as their thabeits are well filled; others apparently walk for a certain fixed time, and if the bowl is filled before this time is over, they empty it carefully on the side of the road. This is not wastry; the food is eaten by the dogs and birds of the air, and the merit to the givers is the same.

On their arrival at the monastery, a portion of all the alms they have received on the tour is solemnly offered to the Buddha, and then all proceed to breakfast. In former times, and according to the strict letter of the law, this ought to consist solely of what has been received during the morning; but a very great number of monasteries have, sad to say, fallen away from the strictness of the old rule. Only the more austere abbots enforce the observance of the earlier asceticism. Certainly in the great majority of the kyaungs of Lower Burma there is a man, not a monk, called kappiyadayaka, or supporter, who provides for them a much more delicate and better dressed meal than they would have if they ate of the miscellaneous conglomerate turned out of the alms-bowl. That indiscriminate mixture of rice, cooked and raw; peas, boiled and parched; fish, flesh, and fowl, curried and plain, usually wrapped separately in plantain leaves; cocoa-nut cakes and cucumbers; mangoes and meat; is very seldom consumed, in the larger towns at any rate, by any but the most rigidly austere. It is handed over to the little boys, the scholars of the community, or to any wanderers who may be sojourning in the kyaung, who eat as much of it as they can, and give the rest to the crows and pariah dogs. The abbot and the pyin-sin find a smoking hot

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breakfast ready prepared for them when they return from their morning's walk, and are ready to set to with healthy appetites. This question of Sybaritism is a chief source of dispute between the rival sects of Mahā and Sulagandi. 792 735 [795]

Breakfast done, they wash out the begging-bowls, and chant a few lauds before the image of the Buddha, meditating for a short time on kindness and affection. During the succeeding hour the scholars are allowed to play about, but must not make a noise, or indulge in quarrelsome games; the religious pass the time in leisurely conversation, or in any other way they please; the kyaung po-go usually has visits from old people, who come to pay their respects, or perhaps the kyaung-tagā, the founder of the monastery, the patron of his benefice, comes to consult with him on various matters, or to converse about religion and good works. The etiquette observed on these occasions is always very stately and ceremonious. Whoever approaches, whether it be the poorest villager, the founder of the monastery, or the governor of the district, all alike must prostrate themselves three times before the yahan, and, with uplifted hands, say, "In order that all the sins I have committed, in thought, in word, or in deed, may be pardoned to me, I prostrate myself three times, once in honour of the Buddha, again in honour of the Law, and thirdly in honour of the Assembly, the three precious things. By so doing, I hope to be preserved from the three calamities, from the four states of punishment; and from the five enemies, fire, water, thieves, governors (literally translated burdens), and malevolent people." The sayā replies: "As a reward for his merit and his obeisances, may the supporter (tagā) be freed from the three calamities, the four states of punishment, the five enemies, and from harm of what kind soever. May all his aims be good and end well; may he advance firmly in the noble path, perfect himself in wisdom, and finally obtain rest in ne'ban." Whenever the visitor addresses the yahan he joins his hands together, and sitting as he does on a mat, slightly bends the body forward, applying the title of payā, or lord, and making use of the honorific forms of speech specially reserved for the religious. The mendicant on his part calls the layman, of whatever

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rank, tagā, supporter, or, if the visitor be a woman, tăgama. Somehow or other these conversations, like the addresses of the religious to the people in the rest-houses, always seem to come round to the subject of the merit of almsgiving. The recluse will say that whatever is presented, silk robe, mattress, pillow, betel-box, is purified by the merit of the alms deed. The poor could fill the Lord Buddha's begging-bowl with a handful of flowers; the rich could not do so with a hundred, a thousand, ten thousand measures of grain. The path in the noontide heat is hard to one who has no sandals, and no water-gourd. What, then, will be the path after death to one who has not charity and regard for the ten precepts! Alms deeds can defend a man and protect him against the influence and the sources of demerits which are man's true enemies. Liberality is chief among the ten great virtues; it is the second of the three works of perfection; it is the absolute soul of the five renouncements. With all these a man becomes a Buddha, without them he sinks to be an animal, or worse still, to the fiery chambers of hell.

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When the conversation is over the layman bows down three times again, saying, "My Lord's disciple does obeisance"; or U tin ba thi "places his forehead on the ground," rises, backs five or ten paces, and then turning on the right, as he would at the pagoda, departs. There may be quite a long succession of these visitors, and their respects are paid all through the afternoon, if the weather be not too hot.

At half-past eleven, however, there is another meal, usually a light refection of fruits, and this is the last of the day. The pyin-sin are expressly forbidden to eat after noon. Solid food taken after the shadows slope to the east endangers purity. The blood becomes heated, and, moreover, when the stomach is loaded the mind becomes overclouded and unfitted for meditation. It is worthy of remark that the religious must eat, as they walk, slowly and with gravity, only putting moderate-sized morsels into the mouth, and constantly bearing in mind that food is not intended for the gratification of the flesh, but for the nourishment of the body. The ceremony called a-kat must also be care-

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fully observed, in accordance with the precise instructions laid down in the Wini. When a monk wants anything he must not go and get it for himself, nor direct any one in as many words to bring it to him. He must say to an attendant shin, or scholar, "Do what is lawful," whereupon the food is brought him, and the shin kneels down at a distance of a couple of feet, and, making the customary salutation, says, "This is lawful." The yahan then either takes it from his hand or directs him to place it within reach. The same ceremony is observed in everything, whether the religious wants water to wash his face or hands or to rinse out his mouth, or his sandals and fan when he goes out, or when offerings are made to him by the pious. The desire is of course to impart dignity to all the monk does, and to repress covetousness and inordinate carnal desires, and the custom dates from the very foundation of the order.

After the noontide meal all return to work again. A certain number undertake the teaching of the boys, who are at all stages of learning, from the children at the Thin-bôn-gyi, the spelling-book, up to the Ko-yins, who, in accordance with the law, are learning the Wini, the Whole Duty of the Monk, by heart, with a view to abandoning the world and adopting the religious life. Others set to work to read old texts and the commentaries on them, or go to superintend the professional writers who are copying out manuscripts, carefully scratching on the palm-leaves with sharp steel style. The pyin-sin themselves never do anything of the kind. The writers are all professionals, laymen, and almost without exception from Upper Burma. The sādaik, the carved and gilded box containing the palm-leaf books, stands in the central room near the images, and often shaded by a sacred umbrella. When a learned sadaw makes notes, or writes a commentary of his own, he dictates it all to these copyists, who afterwards engross it. Most of the older members of the kyaung do, however, what an Englishman would call nothing, all the afternoon. They talk with whatever idlers—and there are always an abundance of them—come about the place, and then sink into meditation and many of the weaker of them into sleep. Meditation is the only path to the higher seats whereby a

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781 789 Meditation is the only path to the higher seats whereby a man becomes a yahanda, fit for Ne'ban, possessed of the six kinds of wisdom :—

1. The faculty of seeing like a nat or dewa.
2. The faculty of hearing like a nat.
3. Creative power.
4. Knowledge of the thoughts of others.
5. Freedom from passion.
6. Knowledge of one's own past existences.

781 786 [824] They sit therefore for long hours fingering their rosaries, the beads made of the seeds of the *Canna indica*, "Indian shot," which sprang from Shin Gautama's blood, and repeating many times the prescribed formulæ, most often the Thamatawi Patthana—All is changeful, all is sad, all is unreal; followed by the Tharana Gôn, the invocation of the Three Precious Gems, the Lord, the Law, and the Assembly. So by abstraction of the mind they hope to acquire the four laws of Edepat :—

1. Absolute power over the will.
2. Absolute power over the mind.
3. Absolute power of execution.
4. Absolute power over the means to the object.

781 812 The discipline is terrible to all but a slow-minded man, and we can well imagine one who thus presents himself to the people as a living memento of all that is sacred and perfect in the religion, longing for the extinction of Ne'ban, where he may escape from the misery of recurring lives.

> Ask of the sick, the mourners, ask of him
> Who tottereth on his staff, lone and forlorn,
> Liketh thee life? These say, The babe is wise
> That weepeth being born.

● 792 So each one in the brotherhood passes the time each afternoon: some asleep, some racking the brain with mystical musings, some learning, some teaching, while throughout all sounds the din of the schoolroom, where the pupils are shouting out their tasks at the top of their voices.

Between three and four the lessons are finished, and the shins and scholars perform any domestic duties that may be

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required about the monastery. This done, the day-scholars go home and have their dinner, a few of the boarders perhaps gaining permission to do the same. The ko-yins, being under monastic discipline, are obliged to fast like their superiors. Most of them, and some few of the pon-gyis, go out for a staid and solemn walk round the village and out to the pagoda. Then, at sunset, the unmelodious, far-reaching notes of the kaladet summon all back to the kyaung. The strollers return immediately. None wearing the yellow robe may be without the monastery limits after the sun goes down, which occurs throughout the whole year close upon six o'clock. A short time afterwards the scholars are summoned before the abbot or some of the pon-gyis and recite steadily all that they have learned, from the Thin-bôn-gyi up to the book they have last committed to memory. If the kyaung is large and there are a number of students, this thorough process is, however, modified, and only the work at the moment being learned is required of the pupils. The Pali rituals are chanted with spasmodic energy, abundance of sound in most cases doing duty for a just comprehension of the matter. Very few of the religious could string a sentence together in Pali, far less speak the language, yet most of them can pour forth homilies and dogmata for hours on end, so that the poor ko-yins are not to be scoffed at for their parrot-like volubility. When this examination is over, if the sayā is an enthusiast, or if there is time, that dignitary himself delivers a sermon, or gives an exposition of some knotty passage, or perhaps there is a general conversation on some question of doctrine, or other subject of ecclesiastical interest at the moment.

Thus the time passes away till half-past eight or nine, when the evening is closed with devotions in the presence of the image of the Buddha. All assemble according to their rank as in the morning, and together intone the vesper lauds. When the last sounds of the mournful chant have died away in the dimly-lighted chamber, one of the novices, or a clever scholar, stands up, and with a loud voice proclaims the hour, the day of the week, the day of the month, and the number of the year. Then all shikho before the Buddha thrice, and thrice before the abbot, and retire to rest. None who

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have experienced the impressiveness of this ceremonial, called the Thā-thanā-hlyauk, will readily forget the powerful effect it has on the feelings. It is the fit ending of a day full of great possibilities for all. If the same routine gone through day after day becomes monotonous and loses some of its power for good, yet the effect of such a school, presided over by an abbot of intelligence and earnestness, must infallibly work for the good of all connected with it, and especially so in the case of an impulsive, impressionable people like the Burmese. As long as all the men of the country pass through the kyaungs, the teachings of Western missionaries can have but little power to shake the power of Buddhism over the people. The moral truths of both religions, Christianity and Buddhism, are practically the same, and who can give proof of aught else without calling in the aid of faith? The Burman is convinced that no other creed will suit him so well, and the number of monasteries in all parts of the country renders it easy for every one to obtain entrance for his children. The king sent his sons to the kyaung, and the poorest and most sinful wretch need not fear that his child will be turned away from the gates. Teaching is really all the pyin-sin do for the people; but it is precisely this moderate amount of teaching, revealing as it does to all the stern simplicity of the monastic life, that keeps the faith active in the country. Many monks are supremely lazy, but so are many of their fellow-countrymen, and if you are bidden by the Law to meditate deeply on the nature of mind and matter, of Nām and Rupa, of Seit and Sedathit, of Thissa and Zan, it is certain that you cannot be actively employed on other less important matters.

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Of late years the rudiments of Western knowledge, arithmetic, elementary geography, and history are more and more taught in the monasteries all over the country, and Government gives grants to the monasteries for the pupils who pass the prescribed examinations.

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leapt enormous heights in the air, jumped about and ran at random, carried with the utmost ease things which no one else could move. The abbot locked him up in a sadaik, the box in which the palm-leaf manuscripts were kept; he got out without injuring the lock in any way, sprang on to the roof of the monastery, forty feet high, and turned a somersault to the ground without hurting himself in the least. He had been a boy of very soft, easy temper, and now he became fiery and uncertain, and with his vast strength, very dangerous. He only calmed down when a monk preached the law to him. He was constantly doing marvellous things; one day he walked across the river in front of the monastery, holding a monk's ôk, or food vessel, in his hands. The depth of the water was over six fathoms, but it did not reach higher than his waist. On another occasion a tree which was being cut down fell on him. He sank into the ground and came forth quite uninjured. After some years his parents took him to Magwe in Upper Burma. There he fell into bad courses and became a dacoit. This was terrible for his family in a special way, because in native territory if they cannot catch the dacoit they seize all his friends and relations and put them in jail till they can get hold of the real culprit, and no one can lay hands on a Baw-di-tha-da. At last, however, he was restored to his right mind. A holy ascetic came across him, soothed him with the payeit gyi, and then with a rusty nail and sacred medicines, tattooed out the figure put on with such lamentable results by the Shan sayā. The quondam Baw-di-tha-da is now a staid and respected broker in the employ of one of the best-known English rice firms in Rangoon. He was fortunate; most Baw-di-tha-das have to be killed in their sleep.

But though Baw-di-tha-das are very rare, charmed tattooing is not, and there are some fast young men who seem almost to make picture galleries of themselves with emblems and patterns all over their chests, arms, backs, and the calves of their legs. The colour gradually dies away until at last nothing remains but the blue breeches. These really look well, and they last a man to his dying day.

The following recipes and formulæ to be repeated

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the monks are perhaps

276 the most persistent chewers of the good betel. Smoking is
792 prohibited, but nothing is said against betel, and it is considered a great stimulator of the meditative faculties. The lime used very speedily corrodes and destroys the teeth, and then the old pôngyi has to make the scholars crush up the nuts so that they may not hurt his toothless gums. It is a common belief that no one can speak Burmese well till he chews betel. Demosthenes is said to have put pebbles in his mouth when he was practising oratory.

517 Alternate smoking, chewing, and conversation serve to
515 pass the day, and after dinner, when the sun goes down, our
302 villager has a bath down by the well to freshen him up. The water is drawn up in a bucket and simply poured over the body. Soap is never used, and particular care is taken not to wet the hair. The head washing is a special ceremony, to be gone through only occasionally, and then with circumspection. Dandies, as a rule, put a solution of rice and water on their hair every day to make it grow long, and cocoanut oil is also very generally used. Both sexes are proud of the length of their hair, and it is not uncommon to see it reaching below the knee and down to the ankles. The men wear it in a yaung or knot on the top of the head, while the sadôn of the women is at the back of the head. Both men and women are in the habit of adding to its size by interweaving false tresses, which are easily got, seeing that everybody has black hair, and that some young member of the family is constantly getting his locks cut off on his entry into the monastery. There is no more sense of shame in using false hair than there is in improving the appearance
[751] by wearing fine clothes. At his bath it is usual for a pious person to repeat a Pali charm over the first bucket of water, which is then slowly poured over the body. The object of this is to guard against sickness.

517 After bathing, the Burman, if he is young, usually puts
514 on his fine clothes, for except in the rainy season there is
291 sure to be a dramatic performance, or a yein dance by the village lads and lasses, or an entertainment of some kind going on at some house in the village. The dress is very simple and picturesque. The paso is a long silk cloth, fifteen cubits long and about two and a half wide. It is

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CHAPTER XII

THE NOBLE ORDER OF THE YELLOW ROBE

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> That noble order of the yellow robe
> Which to this day standeth to help the world.

ALL living creatures are plodding on

> the noble Eightfold Path which brings to peace;
> By lower or by upper heights it goes,
> The firm soul hastes, the feeble tarries. All
> Will reach the sun-lit snows.

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The monks in Lower Burma are fond of the comparison which steam lends them now. The holy fraternity are pushing on by mail train to the emancipation from constant successions of new births, while the weary layman toils along the dusty road on foot, or at best in a jolting bullock-cart; the mendicant pushes up the stream of life in a huge throbbing paddle steamer; the man yet in the world struggles along painfully against the current, and whirled about by eddies in a rude canoe. Why, then, cannot all set forth on the path alike? Partly because of ignorance and its consequences; partly because of the kan which forms each man's life:

> The books say well, my Brothers! each man's life
> The outcome of his former living is,
> The bygone wrongs bring forth sorrows and woes,
> The bygone right breeds bliss.

A man's kan may be sufficient to gain him existence as a human being, but not enough to sustain him in the noble life of the monk. He may enter the noble order, he must, indeed, if he would be other than a brute beast; but his kan, the sum of actions that make up his life, the soul of

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792 transmigrations, forces him to leave and enter the forest of
775 the world, some from want of the gift of continence, some from ambition and desire for worldly power, some from a seeking after wealth, all from the predominance of some one of the hundred and twenty seit that incapacitate a man for
779 the calm meditative life of the pyin-sin.

792 In the Lord Buddha's time, when a man adopted the faith, the requisites were belief in his teaching, a willingness to live in poverty and chastity, and under strict rules. All the applicant had to do was to renounce the ordinary pursuits of life, give up all his goods, take the vows, and he was forthwith a member of the Thengā. From that time forward he lived in poverty, was dependent upon alms for his food, and upon charity for a shelter for his head; he was a beikku, a mendicant, and only those who were such were Buddhists. But as the believers increased, it was evident that all could not wholly adopt the religious life. Many had faith, but not faith enough to support them in the strict rule of the society, and soon Buddhists became divided into the two classes of laymen who adopted and believed in the religious tenets, and the religious who abandoned the world entirely, and strove only to lead the higher life. Hence also arose the hierarchy of the order, which exists to a certain extent in Burma, though very far from approaching the completeness of the system of Thibet, where there is a pontifical court, an elective sacerdotal chief, and a college of superior Lamas. In this respect, however, Burman Buddhism is as much closer to the primitive order in polity as it is in exact observance of the ordinations of the Wini. Theoretically, in the sacred assembly there are but three classes:

792 The shin, the novice, who has put on the yellow robe without becoming a professed member of the order, and probably with no other desire than that of obtaining his "humanity." These are called ko-yins, maung-shins, and a variety of other names.

The u-pyin-sin, those who, having lived a certain time in the monastery, have been formally admitted to the assembly with a prescribed ceremony, whereby the title of yahan is solemnly conferred. These are the pyit-shin, or religious.

Finally, there is the pôngyi, the "Great Glory," who by

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virtue of prolonged stay—ten years is the minimum—has proved his steadfastness and unflinching self-denial.

This division of the fraternity is not far removed from the classification of Shin Gautama's own time, when all people were regarded and addressed as dāyaka, laymen, who hear the preaching of the law, but are not yet converted to a firm acceptance of it; or upathaka, not merely hearers of the law, but steadfast believers and practisers of its precepts. Nowadays the term dāyaka is applicable to all mankind, for it is open to all to seek for refuge in the Law of Good.

Practically, however, there is a slightly extended distinction of rank.

1. The Shin, the postulant.

2. The Pyit-shin, the religious, the full member of the order.

3. The Sayā, always a pôngyi, the head of each kyaung, or religious house, who controls all the inmates.

4. The Gaing-ôk, the provincial, who has a jurisdiction extending over all the monasteries of a cluster of villages or over a whole district, giving advice in all the affairs of these communities, enforcing the rules against malcontents, and correcting any abuses.

5. The Sadaw, a royal teacher, or vicar-general of the order, who manages the entire affairs of the whole country, both Burma and the Shan States, in religious matters. These live in or near Mandalay, and are summoned thither on their appointment. There are ordinarily eight of them, all honoured with the title of Tha-thana-paing, *i.e.* supreme in matters appertaining to religion. It is a mistake to speak of *the* Tha-thana-paing as a sort of Burmese Buddhist pope. There is no such approximation to the heterodox Buddhism of Thibet, unless indeed the other sadaw-gyis have died, and there is but one remaining. Since the annexation of Upper Burma, the British Government has allowed the election of a single Tha-thana-paing and given letters patent to the monk chosen.

In the time of native rule the teacher of the reigning king was always created a Sadaw, if indeed he had not been one before he was called upon to take a royal pupil. The

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792 554 779 respect paid to him by the king was paid, not as to the head of the religion, but as to the personal teacher. The Burman in his prayers, or rather his meditations for the good of others, prays for his teacher before his parents. The five pleasant things in the world are: the shade of trees, the shade of parents, the shade of teachers, the shade of princes, the shade of the Buddha.

It is this republican tendency of Buddhism that gives it such a wonderful hold on the people. Rank does not confer on the mendicant greater honour, or release him from any of his obligations. The most learned and famous Sadaw must go forth every morning to beg his daily food. If he is very aged and decrepit he may be excused to some extent, but every now and again he must totter forth to preserve the letter of the law and show a proper example of humility. His dress is the same as that of the most recently admitted ko-yin, and in the eyes of the world he holds honour, not because he controls the affairs of the assembly, but because he is so close to the verge of Ne'ban. This feeling extends beyond the order into ordinary life. The religion brings all men down to the same level. The poor man may be a king of nats in the next life; the wealthy sinner may frizzle in the awful pains of hell. There is no difference between man and man but that which is established by superiority in virtue; [562] and hence it is that the state of women among Buddhists is so very much higher than it is among Oriental peoples, who do not hold by that faith. The Burmese woman enjoys many rights which her European sister is even now clamouring for.

792 771 We have seen that the whole male population of Burma enters the monastery, and that the great majority leave after a very short stay. Some, however, grow fond of the monastic ways, and remain to study and qualify themselves to be mendicants. In becoming pyin-sin they do not acquire any new spiritual power, nor do they constitute themselves directly teachers of the people. In a religious system, which acknowledges no supreme Deity, it is impossible for any one to intercede with a Creator whose existence is denied, in behalf of a man who can only attain to a higher state by his own pious life and earnest self-denial. The

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religious are merely initiated into a higher stage, and become members of an order in which every individual is aiming at a greater degree of sanctity. The doors of the kyaung are always open as well to those who wish to enter as to those who wish to leave it. The longest stayer has the greatest honour. A visitor monk, who has the greater number of wās, who has passed many lenten seasons in his yellow robe, will be shikho'd to, will receive the homage of the head of the monastery, even if he be a gaing-ôk, and the stranger but a simple pôngyi. 792 771

In his ordination, therefore, the pyin-sin takes upon himself no burden in the shape of a cure of souls. He is not a priest like the Christian minister, who undertakes to guide others to salvation. He has no trouble for his food; a pious and kindly population supplies him far beyond his requirements, and expects no service in return for this support. He has no sermons to prepare; it is not expected that he will preach the law, and when of his own accord he occasionally does give an exposition, it is not any feeble excogitation of his own, but the thoughts and words of the Great Master himself, or of the highest and noblest of the men of old, that he delivers. His natural rest is never broken in upon by calls to administer consolation and comfort to the sick and the dying. Even his leisure is seldom interrupted to be present at the last rites for the dead. He is not a minister of religion, and all he has to do is to seek his own deliverance and salvation. All that is compulsory on him is the observance of continence, poverty, and humility, with tenderness to all living things, abstraction from the world, and a strict observance of a number of moral precepts, all tending to inculcate these things. It is curious perhaps, therefore, that greater numbers do not don the yellow robe. As it is, however, there is no lack of them.

Previous to admission the postulant must have reached the age of twenty years and have obtained his parents' permission. The origin of this stipulation dates from the earliest times. When Gautama attained the Buddhaship his half-brother Nanda was next heir, and was about to be proclaimed Crown Prince when he was persuaded to become yahan. Thereupon Thudaw-dana, the king, obtained a 792 561

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promise from the Buddha that ever after none should put on the celibate robe without his parents' consent. The candidate must also give proof of a sufficient knowledge of the Pareit-gyi, the Padiseit, the three Bitaghats, and the like. When it is understood that he has given satisfaction in these subjects, his friends provide for him the complete equipment of a mendicant, the sacred eight utensils which a pyin-sin cannot do without. These are:—

[292] 1. The dugôt, a piece of yellow cloth of rectangular shape, folded many times and worn over the left shoulder, with the ends hanging down behind and before.

2. The kowut, a piece of cloth worn round the loins and reaching to the ankles.

3. The thinbaing, a square-shaped cloth, yellow like the others, thrown cloak-fashion over the chest and shoulders, and coming down as far as the knees.

[293] 4. The thabeit, or begging-pot, worn suspended round the neck by a cord. It is shaped like a large circular soup-tureen with a rounded bottom, and has no lid. This must be carried round every morning to receive the alms of the pious.

5. The kaban, a leathern girdle used for binding on the kowut.

6. The pèkot, a short-handled axe used for splitting firewood and the like.

7. An at, or needle.

8. A yesit, a strainer, or water dipper, an apparatus for filtering the water which he drinks, so that he may not, even unwittingly, take animal life.

To these pareik-kaya shit-ba, these sacred eight utensils, is usually added an awana or yap, a lotus-leaf-shaped fan, made from a single palm frond, with an edging of bamboo or light wood, and furnished with a handle fashioned like the letter S. The leaf used is that of the Talapat palm, hence the name of Talapoins given to the members of the brotherhood by the early Portuguese adventurers in Burma. Every mendicant must have this fan with him when he goes to an assemblage where there are likely to be women present, in order that he may be thus able to shut himself off from any temptation to carnal thoughts. The sight of half a

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dozen or more solemn-visaged monks sitting on their mats and coyly hiding their faces behind these big fans is apt to raise a smile on the face of a foreigner. But there is no doubt that the regulation is well advised. Women are disturbers of tranquil meditation.

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When these necessaries have been provided, the candidate proceeds to the appointed building. This is always a thein, a consecrated hall, built of teak, with open sides and the sacred three, five, or seven overlapping and diminishing roofs, not unlike the Albert Memorial in appearance, but much larger at the base. Here the examining body is assembled to the number of ten or twelve, ordinarily, but a minimum of four will suffice if the ceremony is conducted in the jungle. The senior is appointed upyitsi, or president, and a secretary is nominated, whose duty it is to bring forward the candidate and to read the Kammawāsā, the ritual of ordination. This is the most gorgeously ornamented of all the Burmese books. It is written, not in the ordinary round character, but in square letters painted on with a thick black resinous gum, and requires a special education to read it. The leaves are formed either of the ordinary palm-leaf, thickly covered with red lacquer, and profusely ornamented round the border and between the lines with gilded figures of nats and elaborate scroll-work, or in the case of the more sacred monasteries, of the discarded waistcloths of kings. None might wear these pasos after the Great King of Righteousness had tired of them, and many were therefore made use of for this purpose. Portions of them are taken, doubled over, and then covered with numerous coatings of wood-oil and a paste composed of this same thitsi, with finely sifted burnt rice-husks, sawdust, and rice-water, until at last they become firm as a piece of cardboard, but vastly more pliant. Then the sheets are emblazoned, and the text painted on, the whole being enclosed between richly ornamented teak boards. Few more splendid-looking manuscripts can be seen anywhere. Occasionally copies are found engrossed on thin sheets of ivory or copper, but those on the royal pasos, called Wut-lè Kammawāsās, are most highly esteemed. The text is always read in a peculiar way, in a high-pitched, jerky recitative, which is not without a certain impressive effect.

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The following detailed account of the ceremony of initiation is taken from the second volume of Bishop Bigandet's *Life of Gautama*, the bulk of it being a translation of the Kammawāsā :—

As soon as the pyin-sin have taken their places, the Kammawā-sayā (the secretary) introduces the novitiant duly clothed and bearing the necessary utensils. The candidate kneels down, and, with his hands raised to his forehead and his body bent, repeats three times :

"Venerable president, I acknowledge you to be my upyitsi."

The assistant, addressing himself to the candidate, says :

"Dost thou acknowledge this to be thy father, and these thy sacred vestments?"

The candidate audibly answers "Yes," and then withdraws to a distance of twelve cubits from the assembled fathers, whom the Kammawā-sayā addresses as follows :

"Venerable upyitsi, and you, brethren, here assembled, listen to my words. The candidate who now stands in a humble posture before you solicits from the upyitsi the favour of being honoured with the dignity of pyin-sin. If it appears to you that everything is properly arranged and disposed for this purpose, I will duly admonish him."

Then turning to the candidate he says :

"O candidate, be attentive to my words, and beware lest on this solemn occasion thou utterest an untruth, or concealest aught from our knowledge. Learn that there are certain incapacities and defects which render a person unfit for admission into our order. Moreover, when before the assembly thou art interrogated respecting such defects, thou art to answer truly and declare what incapacities thou mayest labour under. Now this is not the time to remain silent and decline thy head ; every member of the assembly has a right to interrogate thee at his pleasure, and it is thy bounden duty to return an answer to all his questions.

"Candidate! Art thou affected with leprosy or any such odious malady? Hast thou scrofula or any similar complaint? Dost thou suffer from asthma or cough? Art thou affected with those complaints which arise from a

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corrupted blood? Art thou afflicted by madness or other ills caused by giants, witches, or the evil spirits of the forests or mountains?"

To each question the candidate answers—

"From such complaints and bodily disorders I am free."

The examination continues:

"Art thou a man?"

"I am."

"Art thou a true and legitimate son?"

"I am."

"Art thou involved in debts?"

"I am not."

"Art thou the bondman and underling of some great man?"

"I am not."

"Have thy parents given their consent to thy ordination?"

"They have."

"Hast thou reached the age of twenty years?"

"I have."

"Are thy vestments and sacred begging-bowl prepared?"

"They are."

"Candidate, what is thy name?"

"Wago (a vile and unworthy being)."

"What is the name of thy master?"

"His name is upyitsi."

The assistant then turns to the assembled yahans and says:

"Venerable upyitsi, and ye assembled brethren, be pleased to listen to my words. I have duly admonished this candidate who seeks from you admission to our order. Does the present moment appear to you a meet and a fit one for his admission? If so, I will order him to approach."

The fathers remaining silent, the assistant instructs the postulant to go close to the assembly and to ask that he may be received. The candidate approaches the assembly, and sitting before them in a respectful attitude, resting on his heels, raises his joined hands and says three times, "I beg, O fathers of this assembly, to be admitted as yahan. Have pity on me, take me from my present state of a layman, which is one of sin and imperfection, advance me to that of yahan, which is one of virtue and perfection."

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The assistant then addresses the council and says:

"O ye fathers here assembled, hear my words. This candidate, humbly prostrated before you, begs of the upyitsi to be admitted among us; he is free from all defects, corporeal infirmities, and mental incapacities that would otherwise debar him from entering our holy state; he is provided with the patta and holy vestments, and he has duly asked the assembly in the name of the upyitsi for permission to be admitted. Now, therefore, let the assembled fathers complete his ordination. To whomsoever this seems good let him keep silence; whosoever thinks otherwise, let him declare that the candidate is unworthy of admission."

This he repeats thrice, and then continues:

"Since then none of the fathers object, but all are silent, which is a sign that all have consented, so therefore let it be done. Let this candidate pass out of the state of sin and imperfection into the perfect state of a yahan, and thus, by the consent of the upyitsi and all the fathers, let him be received."

The fathers must note down under what shade, on what day, at what hour, and in what season the candidate has been received.

The reader of the Kammawā, addressing the candidate, continues:

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"Let the candidate attend to the following account of the duties which are incumbent upon him, and to the faults which he must carefully avoid:—

"It is the duty of each member of our brotherhood to beg for his food with labour and with the exertion of the muscles of his feet, and through the whole course of his life he must gain his subsistence by the labour of his feet (he must not work with his hands, nor beg with his tongue). He is allowed to make use of all things that are offered to him in particular, or to the society in general, that are usually presented in banquets, that are sent by letter, and that are given on the new and full moon and at festivals. O candidate, all these things you may use for your food."

Candidate. "Sir, I understand what you tell me."

"It is a part of the duty of a member of our society to wear, through humility, yellow clothes made of rags thrown

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about in the streets or among the tombs. If, however, by his talent and virtue, one procures for himself many benefactors, he may receive from them for his habit the following articles, namely, cotton and silk, or cloth of red (of a Thibetan origin) or yellow wool." 792 ●

Candidate. "As I am instructed so will I perform." [342]

"Every member of the society must dwell in a house built under the shade of lofty trees. But if, owing to your zeal and virtue, you procure for yourself many benefactors who are willing to build for you a better habitation, you may dwell in it. The dwelling may be made of bamboo, wood, or bricks, with roofs adorned with spires of pyramidal or triangular form."

Candidate. "I will duly attend to these instructions."

"It is incumbent upon an elect to use as medicine the urine of a cow or of a black bullock, whereon lime and the juice of a lemon or other sour fruit has been poured. He may also use as medicines articles thrown out of markets, or picked up at the corners of streets. He may accept for medicinal purposes nutmegs or cloves. The following articles also may be used medicinally—butter, cream, and honey."

Candidate. "As I am instructed so will I perform."

The newly initiated yahan is now warned against the four sins, the commission of any one of which would entail the loss of the dignity he has just attained.

The Kammawā-sayā goes on: "Elect, being now admitted into our society, it is no longer lawful for you to indulge in carnal pleasures, whether with yourself or with animals. He who is guilty of such a sin can no longer be numbered among the perfect. Sooner shall the severed head be joined again to the neck, and life restored to the breathless body, than a pyin-sin who has committed fornication recover his lost sanctity. Beware therefore lest you pollute yourself with such a crime." 792

Candidate. "As I am instructed so will I perform."

"Again, it is unlawful and forbidden for an elect to take things that belong to another, or even to covet them, although their value should not exceed a quarter of a tical (about six annas). Whoever sins even to that small amount is thereby

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deprived of his sacred character, and can no more be restored to his pristine state than the branch cut from the tree can retain its luxuriant foliage and put forth buds. Beware of theft during the whole of your mortal journey."

Candidate. "As I am instructed so will I perform."

"Again, an elect can never knowingly deprive any living being of life, or wish the death of any one, however troublesome he may prove. Sooner shall the cleft rock reunite so as to make a whole, than he who kills any being be readmitted into the society. Cautiously avoid so heinous a crime."

Candidate. "As I am instructed so will I perform."

"Again, no member of our brotherhood can ever arrogate to himself extraordinary gifts or supernatural perfections, or through vainglory give himself out as a holy man; such, for instance, as to withdraw into solitary places, or on pretence of enjoying ecstasies like the ariya, afterwards presume to teach others the way to uncommon spiritual attainments. Sooner the lofty palm-tree that has been cut down can become green again, than an elect guilty of such pride be restored to his holy station. Take care that you do not give way to such an excess."

Candidate. "As I am instructed so will I perform."

(The pyin-sin who commits any one of these last four sins is *ipso facto* excluded from the society. Nothing can palliate them. Other sins may be atoned for by penance and repentance, but one who has committed any one of these crimes may indeed, if undetected, remain a member of the order; but inwardly he no longer belongs to it. He has become a living lie.)

These denunciations end the ceremony. The newly made yahan falls in with the rest, and on the rising of the council proceeds, in company with them, to his own monastery. It is thus clearly seen that the mendicant receives no spiritual powers whatever. He simply becomes a member of a holy society that he himself may observe the laws of the Master more perfectly. He has nothing to do with guiding his fellow-monks or the laity. The latter indeed may gain for themselves easy merit by pressing alms upon him, but that can hardly be said to be a merit in the pyin-sin.

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They may also go and consult him, and he will read portions of the Law, and explain them as far as his learning permits. He occasionally reads the Law aloud in a rest-house near the pagoda on a feast day; goes to a funeral, that the pious may have an opportunity of giving him presents, and so laying up a good store towards the kan of a future existence. But it is the teaching of the youth of the country that is his chief credit, and it is this that binds the country to the support of the monastic system.

Sometimes after the ritual of the Kammawā has been gone through, the sponsor of the elected pyin-sin stands up and reads a selection from the full rule of the order, which contains 227 precepts. This is called the Patimauk, or Book of the Enfranchisement, and its composition is attributed to the Lord Buddha himself; but it is much more probably, indeed certainly, like the Kammawāsā, the slow growth and production of a long series of observant apostles. Every possible action of the pyin-sin during the day is anticipated, and the precise way in which it should be performed carefully set forth. The sins he may commit are divided under seven main heads, of which the first, called Parazikan, comprises the four cardinal sins mentioned above. The others may be atoned for by confession to the kyaung-pogo or sayā, who appoints a penance or not as he thinks fit. The punishments are not severe in character, and are usually to water the sacred trees, to sweep out the rooms, to walk for a stated time in the heat of the sun, to carry a number of baskets of earth from one place to another, to sleep without a pillow, or to keep a vigil by night in a churchyard. But a series of infractions of the law would meet with very severe treatment, if not from the heads of the monastery, then from the mass of the people outside. If a pyin-sin committed any one of the four cardinal sins, he would most assuredly be unfrocked and turned out of the monastery doors to the mercy of the people, and they would certainly stone him, and perhaps even put him to death. Such lapses, and even the commission of more venial offences, are very rare, for the weak-minded yahan is always free to turn layman whenever he chooses, without consulting any one but himself and his frailties.

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The ceremony of excommunication, thabeit hmauk (literally, inverting the alms-bowl), is sufficiently solemn. The monks gather in a circle round the culprit, and the latter part of the Kammawā, that which is read to drive sickness and evil spirits out of a town, is gravely recited by the abbot, the surrounding brethren responding at the end of each sentence. When it is finished, his yellow robes are taken off him, his alms-bowl is turned mouth downwards, and he is hurried out of the monastery limits. His condition is pitiable. No one may speak to him; no monk will take alms from him; he can neither buy nor sell; he is not allowed even to draw water from a well, or drink from the jars at a wayside zayat. He is as much an outcast as any pagoda slave, and grievous is the penance he must go through before he is once more received into the society even of laymen. It occasionally happens when there is much evil living in a district, or if the people are lax in their religious observances, that the brethren of the kyaung put the neighbourhood under a ban by inverting their alms-bowls, and refusing to go out begging. There is no greater proof of the power of the assembly than the rapidity with which this effects its purpose. The most careless are brought to a sense of their sinfulness in a few days. Such excommunication is, however, more and more rare.

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Before the death of the Lord Buddha, the yahans all addressed one another as awutthaw; but after he had attained the ne'ban of khan-das under the eng-gyin-bin (*Shorea robusta*), a recognition of relative rank was instituted. The inferiors, we are told, called the more advanced in the order, bante, while the juniors were addressed in their turn, by their proper name, or that of their family. In Burma, however, this regulation prevails only to a very slight extent. With the mendicants, as with the royalty, and indeed with the populace at large, it is considered uncivil to mention a person's name in conversation, and his rank, or the kyaung he belongs to, is used instead, or perhaps only the designation of his sacred profession. The laity indiscriminately address all wearers of the yellow robe as payā (lord).

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Similarly the "punishment of Brahma," recommended by the great master to be employed against weaker brethren, is

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little used. This punishment was calculated to isolate the offending brother. The other yahans were to avoid speaking to him, to the extent of not even uttering a rebuke, if he indulged in indiscreet talk. Nowadays, when one pyin-sin is irritated with another, he does not indeed talk to him, or go and abuse him, but he advises the people to have nothing to do with him, and give him no alms.

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Indeed many laxities have crept in. Some casuists evade the rule against touching gold and silver. It is becoming lamentably common for monks, otherwise eminently pious and worthy of respect, not only not to refuse money, but actually to receive it with their own hands—covered with a handkerchief. Such unprincipled playing with the letter of the law is vehemently denounced by the Sulagandi, and disliked by the more earnest laymen, even when the pyin-sin does not personally shave so close to the wind, but bids one of his schoolboys take the coin and put it in the box. Of a piece with this is the roundabout way of getting anything the monk may especially desire. He may not directly ask for anything, if it were even food to save him from starvation, far less must he bargain for the object he wishes. Therefore an elaborate method of exchange has been invented by a yahan in whom the passion of covetousness was far from being extinguished. He says, such and such a thing "is useless to me; but what is the value of that? I have begging-bowls, iron, clay, and lacquer in abundance, but my robe is sadly worn and discoloured. That thengan is seemly and suitable for a holy man. Thrice blessed is he that giveth alms, his merit will wax great." Very often he thus gets the thing he wants without having to part with previous alms-gifts. Others, perhaps, a little more scrupulous, mention to the kappiyadāyaka, the manciple of the kyaung, that they would be glad to have such and such a thing, and he provides it out of the monastic funds. All this trifling with the spirit of the patimauk is, however, strenuously denounced by the Sulagandi, who in Lower Burma have gathered a large proportion of the more right-thinking of the laity to their side.

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Some of the regulations of the Book of the Enfranchisement are very singular, but all may be traced to some one

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792 of the fundamental precepts, and are not so ludicrous as some unbelievers would make out, except for the fact that they are set down so precisely when they might have been left to the imagination.

A monk must not build a monastery for himself without the aid of a benefactor. If his piety and talents are not such as to induce a layman to build a kyaung for him, let him patiently remain in the house into which he was
792 ordained. He must see that the foundations of a monastery
779 are not laid in a place where there are many insects or worms, which would thus be killed.

For a similar reason he must not dig himself, except in a sandy place, where there can be no animal life. Neither must he spit, nor do anything of that kind on green grass, nor in fresh water, nor is he allowed to climb trees. There was a discussion in the Lord Buddha's time as to whether vegetation could be regarded as anywhere in the ladder of existence. Shin Gautama, on being asked, said it could not. Still trees and grass must not be destroyed, for they support
792 life in other creatures. A yahan may not drive in a carriage or ride a pony. He must not travel in the same boat or remain under the same roof with a woman, or even with a female animal. When he walks abroad he must neither walk fast nor dawdle and lounge about the streets. He must allow no woman to wash or clean his robes, nor eat food cooked by female hands, if he can get any other; if a woman offers rice in her hand, he may take but not eat it. He must not look into a brother's thabeit, as suggesting that he does not receive much alms. He must not eat his food to the last mouthful, and must avoid highly-seasoned dishes as tending to heat the blood.

792 In return for their self-denial the pyin-sin are bountifully
554 honoured by the people, from the sovereign on the throne, who vacates his seat for the thā-thanā-baing, to the beggar in the street who prostrates himself in the dust when the yahan passes by. In the country villages all make obeisance when the mendicant passes, and the women kneel down on
[369] each side of the road. Such outward marks of respect are not usual in the larger towns, but there is no lack of veneration, and all make way for the monk when he walks abroad.

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The oldest layman assumes the title of disciple to the last inducted pyin-sin, and, with clasped hands, addresses him as payā, the highest title the language affords. The monk's commonest actions, walking, eating, sleeping, are referred to in honorific language, different from that which would be used of a layman, or even of the king, performing the same thing. The highest officials bow down before them, and impose upon themselves the greatest sacrifices, both of time and money, to build splendid kyaungs for them, and minister to their wants. Finally, the monk's person is sacred and inviolable. Nothing he does can subject him to the civil law. He bears the title of Thagiwin Mintha, Thagiwin Prince, as the heir of the scion of Kapilawut, and receiver of his inheritance.

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CHAPTER XIII

THE MONASTERIES

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OUTSIDE every village in Burma, no matter how small, there stands a pôngyi kyaung. There may have been no one wealthy enough, or zealous enough, to build a pagoda, or the proximity of some ancient and eminently famous shrine may have rendered unnecessary a general subscription for such a purpose, but there is always a building for the mendicants. Away from the noise of the people—for the monastery must not have secular houses near it—surrounded by great, well-foliaged trees, tamarinds, mangoes, jacks, cocoa-nut, and areca, and palmyra palms, sâl trees, and the tha-bye-bin, to shield them from the heat and supply them with fruit, the monks' position is well calculated to attract those who are tired of the tumult and bickerings and sorrows of the world. There the pyin-sin pass their time without a care to ruffle the tranquil current of their lives; without trouble as to their food, for a pious and kindly population supplies them far beyond their wants; with no irksome duties, for nothing is required of them in return; with no care but how to get through the day with as little trouble and ennui as possible; seeking nothing but the fulfilment of the Law, and the path to eventual deliverance from the misery of ever-recurring existences; no wonder many novices come to like the ways of the religious house and yearly swell the ranks of the order, so that there are no signs, two thousand five hundred years after the founding of the religion, of any weakening of its strength.

The first beikkus dwelt under the shade of the forest trees, or perhaps in small huts erected there to shelter them

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from the pitiless sun and the raging of the storms. This is the explanation of the circumstance that every Budh is specially connected with some tree, as Shin Gautama with the bawdi-bin, the banyan, under which he attained his full dignity, and the eng-gyin-bin, the *Shorea robusta*, under which he was born and died, and, as we are told, the last Budh of this world cycle, Arimadeya, will receive his Buddhaship under the *Mesua ferrea*. Hence the regard for trees which the Burmans share with so many other nations, ancient and modern, and the fact that a clump of palmyras and tamarinds seen in the distance infallibly suggests a monastery. It is not to be supposed, however, that it was the intention of the Lord Buddha that the sacred order should remain far away from mankind in lonesome huts in the depths of the forest. Very early in his teaching, kings, nobles, and wealthy men vied with one another in erecting spacious and magnificent dwellings for the Budh himself and his disciples. Most noted among these were the Zetawun Monastery, built by the rich man Anatabein, within which the celebrated Mingala Thôt sermon was preached by the Buddha to a pious-minded déwa; the Pôppayôn Kyaung and that of Weluwun built by the wealthy dame Withaka and King Bimbathara of Razagyo, to both of which Shin Gautama frequently retired to spend the rainy season of Lent. These were all magnificently adorned; and it is expressly mentioned that the pious need spare themselves no expense in constructing and adorning such religious buildings, though the inhabitant of the most gorgeous of them dresses in no way differently from the humblest anchorite, and has no more costly utensils.

Ordinarily the monastery is built of teak, though in many places, both in Mandalay and Lower Burma, brick buildings are being erected, notwithstanding the prejudice that exists against them from their greater liability to damage in the case of earthquakes. The shape is always oblong, and the inhabited portion is raised on posts or pillars, some eight or ten feet above the ground. They are, like all the other houses in the country, never more than one story high; for if it is an indignity to a layman to have any one over his head, it is much more so to a member of the

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brotherhood. The space between the ground and the floor of the kyaung is always kept open and is never used except by the school-boys, who have not arrived at notions of personal dignity, and find the locality retired and convenient for games at gôn-nyin-to, and the discussion of forbidden eatables, or subjects of conversation. There are always a few pariah dogs there too, dozing off the surfeit of food they have had from the morning begging-pots, or the offerings at the pagoda. A flight of steps of stone or wood leads up to the verandah, which extends all along the north and south sides, and frequently all round the building. If the steps are of stone, or rather brickwork covered with plaster, they are usually adorned at the foot by propylæa in the shape of two bilus, or a couple of manôt-thiha—curious creatures, half man half lion—usually bold enough in conception, if somewhat rough in execution. Tiers of trefoil heads usually characterise the parapets when they are of mason-work. When the ladder is of wood it is covered with spirited carving in deep relief, representing nats and ogres, dancing figures and grim warriors, with abundant scroll-work as everywhere else throughout the building.

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From the raised floor thus reached, rises the building, with tier upon tier of dark massive roofs, giving the appearance of many stories when there is actually but one, for the reason already mentioned. This style of roofing was allowed only for religious buildings, for the royal palaces, and for the houses of a few high officials who acquired the honour by special patent, and with whom the form and number of roofs was a matter of regulation settled by the sumptuary laws. Under British rule it is practically confined to monastic buildings and the houses of feudatory chiefs. This spire-like style of roof is called pyathat, and properly there are but three kinds: with three super-imposed roofs called yāma, with five roofs called thuba, and with seven, as the royal palace and the most sacred kyaungs, called thuyāma. The ends of the gables are adorned with pinnacles or finials, each with a curious wooden flag at the top and crowned with a hti, gilt and furnished with bells, copper, silver, or gold, the whole being elaborately carved. The triple, quintuple, and septuple roofs of the monastic houses, with their

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elaborate adornments, there is little doubt found their origin in the opportunity which wood gave for the development of ornament in the way of carving. If the wooden monasteries are compared with the strikingly similar wooden churches in Norway—at Hitterdal, for example, or Borgund—we have a proof that nature, under like circumstances, always produces like results from human ingenuity. It may be added that the simple tumulus, which was the original idea of the bell-pagoda, is also found in the Scandinavian *haug*.

The kyaung accommodation is very simple. It consists in the main of a great central hall divided into two portions, one level with the verandah where the scholars are taught, and most of the duties of the monastery carried on, and the other a raised dais, two feet or so above the level of the rest of the building. Seated upon this the yahans are accustomed to receive visitors, and at the back, against the wall, are arranged the images of Buddha, a large one usually standing in the centre on a kind of altar with candles, flowers, praying flags, and other offerings placed before it, and on shelves alongside a number of smaller figures of gold, silver, alabaster, clay or wood, according to the popularity of the kyaung and the faith of the neighbourhood. Close by are placed also the manuscript chests, sadaiks, small shrines, models in wood of monasteries and pagodas, the fans and other religious implements of the pyin-sin and the gifts of the pious, heaped together ordinarily in very careless fashion. The central image is almost invariably placed on the eastern side of the building. There are occasionally dormitories for the monks, but as a rule they sleep in the central hall, where the mats which form their beds may be seen rolled up round the pillow against the wall. In many monasteries there is a special room for the palm-leaf scribes, often detached from the main building, as are the cook-room and the bathing-houses.

The whole area of the extensive compound in which the monastery stands is enclosed by a heavy teak fence with massive squared posts and rails, seven or eight feet high. All within this parawun is sacred ground, and the laity, when they enter, take off their shoes and carry them in their hands. This rule applies to the highest in the land, and when a

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Shan prince or a high official arrives on his elephant, he must dismount at the monastery gate, and come in reverently barefooted. Within the one encircling fence there may be, and usually are, quite a number of separate buildings like that described, with their ecclesiastical roofs towering up, dark, or glittering with gold-leaf among the bright green foliage of the pipul and tamarind trees. Each house has a prior or superior, with his two or three brethren, and a certain number of probationers and scholars, and in the central building dwells the gaing-ôk, or sadaw. In a corner of the compound, or just outside, there is almost always a thein, a building for the performance of various rites and ceremonies, more particularly for the examination and ordination of yahans. The ground on which these stand is not only holy now, but has always been so since the Lord Buddha first preached the Law. When a new thein is to be built it is usually found possible to exhume the remains of an old building of the same kind, thus proving the immemorial sanctity of the site. Otherwise the ground is dedicated to religion in perpetuity. The consecration of the ground is, however, rare in these latter times, though several times the British Government has been asked to make a formal grant of land, to be used for religious purposes. Not far from Rangoon, in the neighbourhood of the Kyaik-ka-san pagoda, there is a thein-gyi, regarded as particularly holy, from the tradition that it is built over the remains of one of the yahanda, who brought the remains of Shin Gautama to Rangoon.

Within the monastery precincts are usually, also, one or two tasaungs, highly ornamented tectums, erected over an image of the Buddha. Very many zealous priors put up marble stones, or finger-posts, at certain points beyond the Parawun, with inscriptions on them to the effect that U Adeisa's or Pyinyazawta's monastery is to the westward, or southward, and you must not kill animals or conduct yourself in an unseemly manner near it. It is the ignoring or the ignorance of this injunction which has brought many sporting Englishmen into trouble, and led them to believe that the yahans condemn shooting altogether, and lay themselves out to thwart it; whereas the intention is only to avoid witnessing, if possible, what they regard as a flagrant

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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sin, and especially to protect the pigeons, which usually flock about the monastic trees. Not many people in England would think of going to shoot in a churchyard.

The majority of kyaungs in the jungle and in the smaller towns are plain teak wood, or brick and lime structures, with more or less ornate carving and moulding, and interior decorations; but to see the really gorgeous ecclesiastical buildings one must journey to Mandalay. There the Kyaung-daw-gyi, the Royal Monastery, is the most striking collection of edifices of their kind to be seen in the world. At the foot of Mandalay Hill, just outside the eastern gate of the city, it extends over an area of a good many acres. Every building in it is magnificent; every inch carved with the ingenuity of a Chinese toy; the whole ablaze with gold-leaf and a mosaic of fragments of looking-glass, embedded in a resinous gum, while the zinc roofs glisten like silver in the sun, and the golden bells on the gable spires tinkle melodiously with every breeze. The huge posts are gilt all over, or covered with a red lacquer; the eaves and gables represent all kinds of fantastic and grotesque figures. The interior is no less elaborate, the panels of wall and ceiling are some carved, some diapered with the mosaic mirror work, glistening like polished metal with a rough gold mesh net thrown over it. The wood-carving is particularly fine; the effect in some places, where the birds, pecking, taking wing, alighting, and in every other variety of attitude, are so cut as to appear to underlie the profuse flower tracery, being especially clever. The amount of gilding, spread thickly over every part of the kyaung, alone represents many hundred pounds. Singular from its plain unadorned appearance is the high, brown teak-wood tower in one corner, to which the Sadaw-gyi and his monks occasionally withdraw, to devote themselves to contemplation and the task of learning to know themselves and the khandas, as well as the Seit and the Seikdathit. For this withdrawal from their gorgeous surroundings, to indulge in abstract thought, they have the example and precept of the Lord Buddha himself, who, even when he reposed as a babe on the bosom of his aunt Gautami, gave himself over to contemplation.

The whole of the flat land between Mandalay Hill and

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Burmese AP4

792 the city walls was formerly covered with monasteries, each
576 of them standing separate and enclosed within its own
531 parawun, and almost all presided over by a sadaw, a monk of the highest rank. They were thus entirely independent of each other. One of the most interesting for Englishmen is the Thiho Taik, the "Ceylon Monastery," presided over by Lingayāmā, a sadaw who was in great favour with Mindôn Min, the last king but one. The term taik is always applied to a "bishop's monastery," as implying that his is the chief of a number of kyaungs, all under his care, and in which he makes occasional sojourns. The Thiho Taik is peculiar for its trim appearance. It is very new; the under part of all the buildings is of brick; the compound is kept scrupulously clean; there is not a single large tree in it, and the parawun is a neat sawn-wood fence, instead of being, as is the case almost everywhere else, composed simply of huge stems of trees placed side by side in the ground. The sadaw himself is a very enlightened man. He has been several times to Rangoon to worship at the
792 Great Pagoda, and to decide on questions in dispute. He
217 has, in his library, copies of the English Scriptures in the Burmese version of Judson, and has read them through. Numbers of American Baptists' tracts, and the sacred books of other religions, have also a place in his manuscript chests. These are all deposited in a separate building standing in the middle of the enclosure, and used for no other purpose, except that the scribes sit here making copies of borrowed MSS., or setting down notes of the learned bishop himself.
212 The palm-leaf book is still universal, and the work of making up a volume is therefore very laborious; for the most practised manipulator cannot, with his agate style and light strip of palmyra-leaf, exceed the speed of an English boy who has just got over the preliminary difficulties of pot-hooks and hangers. The letters scratched on the leaf are made more distinct by the application of crude earth-oil. This serves to darken the writing, as well as to preserve the book. The regular scribes are always laymen, and it is a matter of very considerable unpleasantness to the cenobites, that the cleverest of them are very often uncommonly bad livers, spending all their gains in libations of "Old Tom," or little

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4
Upper Burma

balls of opium. These vagaries are, however, frequently winked at, for a copyist who can write neatly and with accuracy is far from being common. 212

The Thiho Taik library is a model in its way. It is nearly the best monastic collection in Mandalay, and is certainly far better arranged than any other. The sadaiks, or manuscript boxes, are arranged in three rows, one over the other; the thôts and zāts—the sermons and birth-stories—of the Lord Buddha below; above them the Cinghalese commentaries and exegeses; and on the top shelf Burmese translations and the explanations of various learned sadaws. Each chest contains a large number of different books, every separate collection of leaves being enclosed between wooden boards, some plain, some carved in high relief, with figures of déwas and demons. Round this is wrapped a kabalwè, a square piece of cloth with inwoven scenes from the sacred books, or portions of the Law, and the formulæ used at the pagoda. Most of these are of silk, very often with narrow slips of bamboo worked in so as to give stiffness to the whole. Instead of this, or sometimes in addition, is used the sā-si-gyo, a riband, about two fingers' breadth, and upwards of a yard in length. This is knitted or crocheted in a peculiarly close fashion, which puzzles English ladies. On it is worked the name of the owner, his titles and distinctions, and whatever other aspirations he chooses to add. They are very neat, and quite easy to read, an advantage which does not always characterise Berlin wool work. The king's grants of forest land, monopolies, and the like, were usually executed in this way. 792 217 [212] [531]

All the boxes are kept carefully locked, and the door is barred at night, for such a library represents years of labour, and could only with the greatest difficulty be replaced. It is only in Mandalay that libraries of any value are to be found. In Lower Burma the majority of the kyaungs do not even possess a complete copy of the three parts of the Bitaghat, the Buddhist Bible, and some few have nothing beyond a copy of the Kammawāsā, and perhaps a Maña Lingaya Wuttu, a life of the Lord Buddha, or something of the kind. Many others have, no doubt, valuable collections, but the monks are ignorant, they cannot read the books [184]

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Burmese AP4

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themselves, and they do not care to exhibit them to those who can. Consequently, they moulder away in the bottom of the sadaik, crushed away into the darkest corner of the main room of the monastery. It is, perhaps, not surprising that the most learned monks do not belong to the large towns, but come from remote kyaungs in the depths of the jungle. This is true also of Upper Burma, for though the sadaws in Mandalay are the most learned in the country, they have acquired their reputation in jungle monasteries, and have only been summoned to the royal city when their fame has spread over the land, and the title of royal teacher has been conferred on them.

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The main room of Lingayāmā's Monastery contains a great number of curiosities collected by the Burmese Embassies on their travels through Europe. Most of these were presented by the Kin Wun-gyi, the head of the mission, and are in many ways most interesting. Prominent is a large photograph album, emblazoned with the Italian royal arms and containing a fine collection of views. Another album is filled with cartes of members of the Embassy, notably of the lamented Naingan-gyaw Wun-dauk, the portly and good-natured "Pio Nono" of the *Daily News*, who seems never to have missed being photographed wherever he went, and figured in every style, from the penny smudge, apparently taken on a country race-course or outside Battersea Park, to the coloured and gilt grandeur of a Neapolitan cabinet. The author of the *Encyclopædia of Burmese Literature* had no notion of changing the expression of his face, however. He looks stolidly like just having had his dinner in every impression, and the multiplication of photographs serves principally as a means of comparing different styles of art, and exhibiting the great stock of clothing which the worthy Wun-dauk carried about with him.

In addition to the photographs, there is a great collection of engravings, some of them very valuable; and mixed up with these are to be found some very queer items—old hotel bills, advertisements of gigantic hosiery establishments, with pictures of the same at the top, circus play-bills, shilling view guides, some sheets of the *Graphic*, the front page of the wrapper of *Punch*, and a few railway tickets. These are

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

all carefully preserved, along with many other gifts of the home-keeping pious; rolls of yellow cloth, Dutch clocks, betel-nut boxes, spare spittoons, and begging-pots, rugs, and pots of honey. The images of the kyaung, contrary to the usual custom, are placed in a glass case in the centre of the room, instead of at the east end. This situation is due to their value, most of them being of silver or gold, and one or two studded with precious stones.

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The Thiho Taik was certainly one of the neatest and most methodically arranged monasteries to be seen anywhere. Unfortunately it was burnt with many others in the year of the Annexation. There were many more gorgeously decorated, and still more that were larger. The biggest in Burma was probably the Maha Yatana Paungdaw, which stood near the great Arakan Pagoda in the suburbs of Mandalay, and was in great part burnt down in 1879. The building, with its encircling platform, measured 440 feet by 200, and was supported by 404 massive teak trees, none less than two feet in diameter, and the central posts, which upheld the topmost tier of roof, must have been quite eighty feet in height. Near Maulmein, in Lower Burma, there is another kyaung remarkable for the huge girth of its posts.

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The brick monasteries are commonest in the neighbourhood of Mandalay and other old capitals. They are covered with chunam, and in place of having a spire, are themselves built in the form of a pya-that, rising in the shape of rectangular terraces to a considerable height. Round the central hall, which is often divided by a gilt railing across the centre, are a number of cloisters and corridors, which ensure a perpetual cool breeze. Many of these monasteries are adorned with fresco paintings in the hall and in the honeycomb of corridors, representing usually scenes from the Zāts, passages in the life of Shin Gautama, an especially favourite one being the Jataka of Nemi, where the pious prince is represented as a white ghostly figure in a chariot, passing, like the *pius Æneas*, through the dismal abodes of hell and the six heavens of the nats. Some other representations portray the occupations of daily life, such as feasting, hunting, weaving, and the different nationalities to be seen

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1° 910 AP1 Burma AP1
Burmese AP4
Indians

in the country. A very common scene shows the punishment which awaits fishermen in the next existence. The miserable destroyer of animal life is represented as dangling by the tongue on a fish-hook, while demons jerk him into the air, and drop him back into a lake of burning pitch. Many of them have inscriptions below to explain the subject of the picture. Thus in Pagàn:—

Be 346 792 531

"When King Ne-bin Min-gyi reigned in Methila over the ten governors, according to the old books, the Thagya Min came from the nat heavens to help him."

"In the Monastery Yatana Shwe-daing, our Lord preached the Patenôn Tagayo, and remained several days."

"Shin Thumeda (Gautama), in the land of Thudawdana, received the Buddhaship under the banyan tree."

"Payā Alaung Theidat (the embryo Budh, Prince Siddartha), the King's son, married 4000 charming Yathe-mya."

"Our Lord rides on the elephant Ṇalagiri."

And so on in great variety. One also often finds such a notice as this scrawled on the wall: "In order to be prepared and to gain happiness in the seats of men, of nats, and of ne'ban, the rice-pots are set in order, the images are erected, and the paintings on the walls painted."

The monasteries are built, supported, and furnished by the pious, but there are not a few of them that have considerable sums of money laid away, usually under the control of the kappiya-dāyaka, the layman who lives in the kyaung, and provides for the wants of its inmates. A number of the royal fields round about Aungbinle, where the Burmese army assembled to seek victory before entering on a campaign, were set apart for the use of the Royal monastery at Payā Gyi, and the revenues were kept in a huge money-chest, which was always under the care of a guard of soldiers. Much of the money was devoted to the adornment of the adjacent pagoda. None can be spent on embellishing the monastery itself. That would be as great a sin as if a monk should build one for himself, besides that it would be depriving the populace of much opportunity for gaining merit.

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There are a few monasteries of the Pônnas here and there in the large towns throughout the country. These

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Burmese AP4

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Brahmin priests were originally brought captives from Manipur, and have been employed as astrologers ever since, their ranks being occasionally recruited by new arrivals. One of the requests preferred to Colonel Symes on his embassy to Ava in 1796 was that he would persuade the Governor-General to send a learned Brahmin and his wife to the capital. The race has been maintained tolerably pure, and the Pônna is readily distinguishable in the streets from the pôngyi. The astrologers muster naturally in greatest force in Mandalay, and their monastery there is situated in a magnificent grove of trees south of the town, and close to the cemeteries. Unlike the native religious, they do not raise their houses on posts above the ground, but follow the Indian custom of having the mat-covered earth for their floor. Foreigners are not admitted into their temples, but there is no objection to the images being brought out by a Pônna for exhibition to his friends. They worship Krishna and twenty-five other deities, but have all but no congregation, few of their faith coming to Mandalay, and those laymen who were carried away at the same time as themselves into captivity having turned to the Buddhist faith.

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No yahan is allowed to have a separate monastery built for him until he has spent five full Wā under the discipline of a prior. These Lents must also be consecutive. According to their seniority in this respect the monks obtain names. Thus a pyin-ein who has spent five years—which of course is implied by the Wā—is called Anuti, and is a fit object for the pious to honour by erecting a special kyaung for him. When he has been ten years in the order he is addressed as Myizza-ti, and those who have remained steadfastly for twenty years, attain to the full honour of Mahā-ti. Such a self-denying man is always sure of a magnificent funeral when he dies.

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It is a very good point about the life in the monastery that the great austerities and absurd mortifications of the flesh indulged in by the Brahminical houses find no place with the Buddhists, who reject them as unnecessary and unprofitable. The life of the initiated is one of constant self-denial; all superfluities and luxuries are renounced; all that is calculated to excite the passions is forbidden; but there

Z:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

785 are no revolting self-inflicted penances such as are regarded
792 as meritorious in themselves by the followers of the Hindu creed. Fasts and penitential deeds are indeed recommended to those living in the world, but that is because such methods are the best means for weakening the passions, and increasing the power of the spirit as against the flesh. They are not a part of perfection. They are not even on the direct way to the attainment of perfection. That is only to be achieved by meditation, by pondering on the various aspects of the substances and truths in the world. Therefore the pyin-sin do not make any difference, except in the case of the very austere, in the observance of the appointed duty days, during which it is incumbent on the laity to abstain from food up till mid-day. After noontide the yahan never eats. Considerable scandal is sometimes caused by the tricks of sundry of the weaker vessels. They sit all day with their back to the sun, and if in the afternoon they feel hungry, they ask a scholar if it is yet noon. The wily kyaung-tha, thinking to escape a thrashing on the morrow, promptly answers that it is a good way off twelve o'clock yet, and brings wherewithal to solace the hungry religious. The falsehood, or *suppressio veri*, on the part of the scholar is a venial offence at his age, and the yahan escapes sin, for if he breaks the law it is
805 because he was deceived. Again, Englishmen are often puzzled to know, in a country where, even now, clocks are by no means common, and where they are found, usually show the wrong time, how it is that the people know what o'clock it is. The matter is simple enough when the sun is to be seen, for its course is pretty nearly the same all the year round, and the Burman is tolerably skilled in guessing the time from its height or from the length of the shadows thrown. But it is different during the rainy season, when the sun is often not to be seen for weeks at a time. Here, however, so say the yahans, whom it most seriously concerns, a singular dispensation of nature steps in to their aid. The cocks and hens of Buddhist countries are not as the tame villatic fowl of Western lands. I do not refer to their powers of flying, which are sufficiently irritating to hungry life-taking voyagers, but to the fact that the cocks crow at stated hours, four times a day—at sunrise, noon, sundown, and midnight.

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Burmese AP4

They thus inform the inmates of the kyaung when they must cease eating for the day, and enable them to obey the provisions of the Patimauk. This useful acquirement of the Buddhist chanticleer was acquired in a singular way. Sundry books of the Bedin were burnt as containing unlawful cabalistic teachings. Among these was the Ā-tappana Bedin. When the fire had died out the barn-door flock came and pecked at the ashes, and so assimilated the astronomic lore contained in the book. I never had the opportunity of watching any particular cock to see if he actually crowed four times a day at the times reported. They fly about so, that for purposes of observation they might just as well be jungle fowl.

Thus even the powers of nature conspire for the well-being of the monks. It has been shown how the laity provide them with food and splendid dwellings. It may be unhesitatingly asserted that the most luscious fruits and the most delicate viands all find their way to the monasteries. A single instance will show to what an extent this is carried. In jungle places, where in the dry season there is often a great dearth of water, one spring is always set apart for the kyaung, because it would be a great sin, as well as being unpleasant for the yahan, to drink water which had been stirred up, and for that reason would be more likely to contain animal life. This reservation often compels the entire village to walk a mile or more for a supply of water, a very serious inconvenience to the easy-going Burman. In order that strangers and passers-by may have no excuse for drinking from the monastic well, a yellow cloth is hung over it from a bush or a post erected for the purpose. Here again a stumbling-block and stone of offence is set up in the way of the ignorant or unreflecting foreigner.

Everything near the monastery is rendered sacred, not merely when it is enclosed in the parawun, but as far as the prior may choose to proclaim it. This is especially common in the case of the large tanks or bricked reservoirs which the pious dig in many parts of the country. These are frequently well stocked with fish and turtle, and when the monks declare them sacred, the fish often become wonderfully tame from the abundant food that is brought them by yahans

Z:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

792 778 solicitous as to their welfare. A regular thing after worship in the Arakan Pagoda at Mandalay is to go and feed the great turtle in the tank at the back of the cloisters. There are rows of women selling balls of cooked rice, cakes, and other delicacies which the pious buy for the consumption of the sacred reptiles. There was great consternation when, in March 1879, the tank dried up and many of the huge creatures died before the people could get water enough from the river, brought in chatties and household utensils, to save them from such a sad fate. The circumstance was supposed to be a sign from the nat guardians of the place of their abhorrence and anger at the shedding of the royal blood by King Theebaw in his holocaust of February. But taking further and totally innocent life seemed a rather singular fashion of expressing disapprobation.

778 The dog-fish of the Thihadaw Monastery, situated on a small island in the middle of the third and lowest defile of the Irrawaddy, are particularly celebrated, and having been referred to by every traveller in Burma, the little kyaung with its stone pagoda (one of the few of that material in the country) has become a regular show-place for all passengers to Bhamaw. The great five-feet-long, gape-mouthed creatures seem to know their bounds, and do not wander farther than half a mile or so from their sanctuary.

But this is far from being such a remarkable case as previous writers have seemed to imply. There is a tank with tame fish at the Maze Monastery near the Shwe Dagên pagoda in Rangoon. All monastic tanks have fish more or less tame, according to the good nature and sympathies of the cenobites, and there is, or was, at least one other place on the Irrawaddy where the fish were as domestic as the dog-fish of Thihadaw. This was near the Kyaik-lat pagoda and monastery, on one of the numerous mouths of the great river. I knew the place well years ago, and then there used to be great conflicts between the ill-conditioned, impious fishermen and the monks. The fish were of the species called nga-dan, well known on English breakfast-tables under the name of "butter-fish," and to provide for the unscrupulous appetites of the foreigner, people used to come at night to catch the unsuspecting nga-dan. The

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

778 were still a good number of the tame fish, tame enough to allow you to stroke them and put gold-leaf on their heads, but there were far from being as many as there should have been had the villagers duly observed the teachings of the [177·77] Buddha. The primeval simplicity of the people is fast fading away throughout the province. The travelling Englishman finds no difficulty in either getting people to sell fowls, or others still less hampered by doubts, to wring their necks and cook them.

792 105 The monastery sometimes has a name of its own; more frequently it is called by the Pali name of the town or pagoda near which it lies, or by that of its prior. The Thayet-daw Kyaung in Rangoon is so called from the magnificent mango-trees that grow within it. Well known in Upper Burma is the monastery of U Sandimā, or the Mingala-san Taik, where King Mindôn received his instruction in the religious texts which he knew so well. The name is usually given by the founder after consultation with the proposed head of the community, and it cannot be said that the consultation results in much originality.

792 Here and there throughout the country there are a few yatheit, hermits who withdraw into solitude in forests and desert places, and, like the old rathi (from which word of course the Burman term is derived), they live on wild fruits and roots and the chance alms of passers-by. But as the rathi were closely connected with the Brahmins, and as the custom is not recommended by the Buddha, nor looked upon with favour by the people, it is not of frequent occurrence. Occasionally a very austere monk buries himself in the solitude of the jungle during the season of Lent, in order the better to devote himself to meditation, but even this is not common. Nevertheless in the rocks above Nyaung-u, near Pagān, there are a few cells dug out high up in the cliffs which are always occupied, as any one who has gone out to shoot the rock pigeons which abound there will very speedily find. The yatheit comes down, confiscates the bag, and drives away the sportsman with terrible threats of future punishment. Such caves and holes in the rocks are not uncommon on other parts of the Irrawaddy, wherever the ascetic is able to climb up and finds the stratum soft enough to hack

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Burmese AP4

out with his axe and hollow with his finger-nails. There were a few such cells cut in the rocks at the back of Mandalay Hill, and visitors to the sacred spot occasionally came across one of the hermits striding along, wrapped in thought, grasping an iron staff hung with rings, the rattle of which warns the people to get out of the way and not disturb the holy man's meditations. A few go away from human society altogether, just as St. Simeon Stylites isolated himself on a pillar, and the old Culdee monks from the north of England and Scotland wandered off to the snowy wastes of Iceland, there to seek repose and relief from the turmoil of the world. It is said that the Thadda, the grammar, was added to the Bitaghat, that the hermits who had withdrawn to the jungle might not destroy the power of the sermons and lauds by mispronunciation.

Mandalay Hill is always occupied, for the spot is particularly sacred. King Mindôn used to send thither daily a hundred fowls which had been bought and saved from death, and the pious gave them plenty to eat. Similar proceedings caused the sneer of Purchas, "For men they hadde not an hospitall that were thus hospitall to fowles"; but this is hardly deserved, at any rate in Burma. There in every monastery the Kappiya-dayaka has a stock of money, raised by selling the presents given to the monks, which he devotes in charity to the well-deserving sick and to poor travellers, while any one is welcome at all times to shelter and food in the kyaung as long as he conducts himself properly. The yatheit may be looked upon with pious awe for his austerities and mortifications of the flesh, but the ordinary pyin-sin is more favourably regarded. The building of monasteries and the giving of presents to their inmates is a constant strain on the generosity of the people. It is far more difficult to keep the balance of merit on the right side in Burma than in other countries. Almsgiving is a constant and imperative expense, in addition to regular and personal worship at the pagoda. In Thibet wind or water drives the prayer-machines for extinguishing sin, and the goodman acquires merit while he is snoring at night with his wife at his back. In some parts practical householders are able to calculate exactly what is set down to

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Burmese AP4

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But in Rangoon it has assumed in recent years a form which gives a great deal of offence to all the more serious people, and is especially condemned by the austere Sulagandis. Instead of having the offerings displayed in their houses and giving them to the yahans when they come round in the grey of the morning, the new fashion with the inhabitants of Rangoon is to carry all the alms to the monastery overnight, set them up in goodly array, there and then hold receptions, sing songs, dance, play musical instruments, and generally turn the quiet monastery into the semblance of an uproarious "penny gaff." This objectionable innovation has gradually arisen out of the practice of a few of the more pious old people who at the end of Lent used to go in the evenings with ahlu for the pyinsin, listen to some pious discourses, or the recitation of some sacred zāt, and then return betimes to bed. But now the frivolous find monks not less carnal-minded than themselves. Subscriptions are raised for weeks beforehand to make a grand display. One of the yahans is asked to grant the zayat near his house for the occasion. Some of the monks of the Thayet-daw kyaung in Godwin Road, which is the chief sinner in this respect, are even so shameless as actually to go touting about for people to take their zayats, or at times even part of the monastery itself.

Then at nightfall, on the full moon, the people begin to troop in. Those who have taken the management of the almsgiving are there before. We enter by one of the little wooden bridges, and come across a pya-that, a presentation spire, immediately, glittering bright in the moonlight and the glaring torches which are gathered thick farther on among the pôngyis' dwelling-places and the mango-trees from which the monastery takes its name. The spire has just been deposited, and the band has barely stopped the music which sounds so strange within the sacred parawun. But there is more coming that will be a far greater shock to up-country notions of religious propriety. The first place we come to is a zayat, and Maung Maung, the dispenser of hospitality, recognises us and calls us up. All his female friends are arranged in a row at the back, dressed in their finest, and before them, just as at the Tasaungmôn alms-

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feast, are heaped up piles of fruits, savoury curries, cakes, biscuits, and sweetmeats of all kinds, intended for the monks; while scattered about are great *repoussé* silver bowls full of sherbet, gold and silver cups, lamps, mirrors, and all the familiar adornments, fit enough for a private house, but singularly out of place where a gay piece of tapestry hung up barely conceals the image at the eastern side of the rest-house. Maung Maung offers us some lemonade, and we light cheroots, exchange a few compliments with the ladies, and pass on, just as a noisy half-dozen of young Englishmen from one of the mercantile houses come scrambling up the ladder-like steps. It would be well if these gentlemen would remember that each of the houses is to all intents and purposes a private assembly for the night, and that, though the host always welcomes them, he understands English, and does not by any means relish the mocking comments which are lavished on everything, and still less is inclined to approve of the criticisms passed on the ladies. But then there are so few Englishmen in Burma who understand the very shortest sentence in the language that they may be pardoned if they mistake for a promiscuous saturnalia what is nominally a religious ceremony. We leave them joking with Maung Maung and the hostess, as she offers them some beer—beer in a monastery! But then it is known that Englishmen will be there, and the Burman's notion is that an Englishman only leaves off drinking beer when he drinks brandy, so this last indignity is not objected to by the yahans.

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Farther on we come to the place we are specially in search of. The master of ceremonies here is our friend Maung Po Si, a Patama Byan, a certificated theologian and long resident in Mandalay, qualified, therefore, to be a yahan himself, and from his previous experiences, one would think, not at all likely to countenance such open contempt of the provisions of the Wini, which treatise his success in the above-mentioned "theological tripos" implies that he knows by heart. But "Mr. Grandfather Oil" is very emphatically in the world of kāma; he is far from having beaten down the passions, and his place is the most startlingly secular of them all. He has got the kyaung of a myizzi mati, a pôngyi who has been ten Lents in the Order, and

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ought therefore to scorn such desecration for any purpose whatever, and certainly should not be tempted by the offer of a feast for his palate. But the fact remains that not only has he given up the front part of his kyaung, all but the elevated dais on the eastern side, where the images stand and visitors are received, but there is actually a play going on, trumpets braying, drums beating, and the bamboo clappers sounding high over all. It is a zāt, a birth-story certainly, but that does not make it any less a sin for the pôngyi to be so near, and with all those thirty pretty girls looking on too. The monk is behind the curtain which shuts off the undesecrated part of the building, it is true, but he can hardly be asleep with all that music, surely, and it is a crime for a member of the Order to listen to music. Yet who is to condemn him to penance when the prior's house is very little better? In some of the kyaungs, indeed, the younger yahans take very little trouble to conceal the fact that they are looking through the chinks of the slight hangings which cut off their sleeping-places from the noisy throng on the other side. The Englishmen, when they come round, push aside the kalagas to see what is behind, stumble over the peeping postulants, and scare the conscience-stricken "ascetics" almost out of their senses, under the impression that it is a bilu who has been enabled to gain access, and is going to devour them incontinently. Nevertheless there is no check in the revelry. It goes on until far into the night, and increases in noise the later it gets. The liquor [273] which has been brought for expected visiting foreigners cannot be left behind in the kyaungs; they are not low enough for that yet. Consequently, the laymen must drink it. The result is that as time goes on there are quarrels and fights; and in this very Thayet-daw kyaung in the Thadingyut of 1879 a man was stabbed and died within the limits of the parawun. Little wonder that the strict Sulagandis are gaining over many of the more respectable inhabitants of Rangoon, for even this horror has not diminished the popularity of the wāgyut alms-feast.

The noise and hubbub go on till far into the morning, and when at last the people go, the monks may be supposed to have a little rest, for they can hardly have slept much

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before, however steadily they lay on their mats. The offerings are eaten next morning, and it is greatly to be feared that there are many abstentions from the morning's round of alms-begging. Such dissipation must scatter to the winds any merit acquired by diligent piety and meditation in the long weeks of Lent. It is only to be seen in Rangoon and a few other places where many foreigners congregate. The description is from the "country mouse" point of view.

In country towns, revels of this kind are never seen, and even in Mandalay, though there are festivities in abundance, the monasteries are never invaded in this scandalous way. The difference is that between the primitive Buddhist and the highly sophisticated latitudinarian. A more harmless and decidedly prettier custom is the illumination, called taungpyi pwè, of the pagodas and the town. In Rangoon a very fine effect is produced by hanging the Sule Pagoda, in Fytche Square, all round with Chinese lanterns, from the base up to the top of the thabeit-hmauk, where the body of the shrine begins to narrow into the spire. The rings of coloured light narrowing upwards in a veritable pyramid of fire, produce one of the finest sights of the kind to be seen in the country. The street lamps, however, somewhat handicap the simple means of illumination open to the inhabitants, and to see the illumination of a town at its best one must go to a place where there are no street lamps. There all the pagodas and many of the private houses are lighted up, and the contrast to the ordinary gloom is startling. Candles are placed on posts at intervals of ten paces in every street, and the sè-eing gaungs have very plain-worded instructions as to what will happen to them if any of the lights in front of the ten houses of which they have charge go out. Mandalay Hill at such a time was a fine sight and still is, though it is no more a royal town. The two covered ways which lead up the steep uneven sides to the pagoda and the richly gilt Gautama on the top, look like streams of flame, or fiery serpents from the haunted nat-taung, under the shade of the Shan hills. But the monasteries which cluster close in to the foot of the sacred hill are all as dark and still as on any night in the middle of the Wā. No unseemly orgies are permitted there. In the town, on the

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789 776 the wiles of the nats are harmless. In case of the utmost need, even the ordinary tharana-gôn, the payā, tayā, thengā, is of much avail, if only uttered with faith. It is with the idea of keeping away bilus, tasés, and demons that the [792] members of the yellow robe are often summoned to death-[764] beds. There is no thought of the monk administering spiritual consolation to the dying man. The good influence of his pious presence keeps away evil spirits, and nothing more. No exhortations of the yahan can alter the balance of merit and demerit which is already cast up for the dying man. On the other hand, in out-of-the-way parts of the country, and especially in the hills, spirit shrines are not unseldom found actually inside a monastery compound.

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and tanks, and cases of sporadic cholera are the consequence. So says the civil surgeon; but the Burmans do not believe him. They are convinced that a nat-so, some evil spirit, has taken up his abode in the place, and is exacting revenge for some real or fancied insult. They accordingly take this means of forcing him to quit; and if the malignant nat can be supposed to have any nerves whatever, it certainly ought to be effective. 753 755

The brethren of the monastery discountenance the practice as far as they can—as indeed every one not afflicted with a dulness of hearing might be expected to do. It is a remnant of the old geniolatry, and, having nothing to do with pure Buddhism, confounds the dewas of the six heavens with the heathenish spirits of the old wild tribes. But cholera is a pestilence that regards not the yellow robe of the mendicant any more than the gay paso of the frivolous; and so the pôngyis hold the ceremony which immediately precedes the wild riot called thayè tôpthi, and display their opposition no more violently than by getting out of the way as fast as the dignified walk prescribed to the Assembly of the Perfect permits. 755 795

It is related that long ago, at the time of the beginning of religion, the terrible pestilence swept over Kapilawut, the city of Thudawdana, the father of the Lord Buddha. Only at the intercession and by the merits of the prayers and good works of the saviour of the world and his assembly, was the plague stayed, and the city saved from desolation—hence the function called pareit yôtthi. Cholera has broken out in the village. Several deaths have occurred in succession with the terrible suddenness which is characteristic of the disease. The dirges played by the bands for the dead fade into one another and break out all down the street. Then one of the chief men of the place makes preparations and begs the monks to come down from the monastery. A raised dais is put up at the back of the room for the accommodation of the yahans, and covered with mats. Offerings to the holy men are arranged in a long row before the platform—rice, fruit, flowers, betel-boxes, pillows, cups and bowls. Alongside of these are placed the vessels which the monastic superior is to consecrate—nyaung ye-o, sacred to the use of 755 792

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the religious, and pareit-o, so called from the ceremony. These are partially filled with water, leaves of the thabye bin, a species of *Eugenia*, are put in, and along with them coarse yellow string wound round a small stick. When all is ready the monks come down in the grey of the evening, moving, as always, in slow procession of Indian file from the kyaung, followed by their disciples carrying the large monastic fan, or perhaps an arm-load of palm-leaf manuscript books. Meanwhile, and all through the ceremony, the people from all parts of the village come in, each person bearing his pareit-o, with its supply of thabye bin leaves and modicum of yellow string. The pôngyis, their eyes fixed humbly on the ground, take their allotted seats without a word to any one, not even to the master of the house. All the people kneel as they come in, and remain in the half-kneeling, half-prostrate position customary before members of the thenga.

The abbot of the kyaung then begins the service, longer or shorter according to the capability or inclination of the officiator. Certain formulæ reciting the praises of the Lord Buddha are always chanted; the Sèba Thila, the Ten Commandments incumbent on all believers on worship days and on the earnest always, are usually declaimed. Sometimes it ends with this; sometimes, if the abbot is an enthusiast, the law is preached. Then he extends his hands over the collected vessels and consecrates them, and the religious ceremony is over. The yahans rise and file back to their kyaung as solemnly as they came. The presents made to them are carried off at the same time, some by the boy pupils, some by the donors. The people then take away their pots to their houses, and shortly afterwards, at a given signal, the wild clattering on the roofs begins. This lasts till the performers are exhausted. Fortunately that usually occurs within half an hour. If the malignant demon can hold out so long, it is much more than most Europeans can, and their futile remonstrances and threats sometimes add to the general din, especially if, as not unfrequently happens, the disturbance is repeated for several nights.

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There is this much, however, to be said in favour of the custom, that it often actually does stay the spread of cholera

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Some thirty people about the Court were beheaded, and the queen dowager was relegated to the convent.

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Thibaw himself was brought up in an uncle's house and used to be unmercifully bullied by his cousins. When Dr. Marks, the eminent S.P.G. missionary, came to Mandalay and established a school, the late king asked what was the best age for a Burman to commence learning English. The reverend gentleman said, "About twelve years old." King Mindôn called for "all his sons that were twelve years old or thereabouts." Eleven were produced, and among them was Thibaw. The future king went to the royal school, but he sat apart from his late victims, and never came to school on the same elephant with them. He was a surly, morose boy, not very good at his lessons, and once or twice narrowly escaped the usual result of such conduct. I believe he was never actually birched, but he had several times to stand in the corner. When he left he was able to read a little, but he has forgotten all his English now. He used to be fond of cricket, and slogged away in fairly good pendulum form; but he never would field out, and used unprincely language to any one who bowled him. He was the youngest of the batch by a month or two, and was always quarrelling with his brothers and bullying the wretched slave who attended him and carried his cheroots and betel-nut. But nobody paid much attention to his vagaries then, for he was twentieth or thirtieth son, and the Mekhaya prince, the eldest, might very easily have been his father, or even grandfather.

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After he left the S.P.G. Royal School, King Mindôn made him a koyin, a neophant, in the royal monastery. There he seemed to get on better. At any rate when his novitiate was over, he passed with honours as Patama Kyaw, an examination in the Bitaghat thônbông, the three "baskets" of the Buddhist law, and sundry other volumes of ritual and controversy. This was what first drew the old king's attention to him. Mindôn Min was a very pious old gentleman, and had a particular delight in his title of Convener of the Fifth Great Synod. When therefore young Thibaw made a score in the Turanian Theological Tripos, his father bored everybody with his talk about the juvenile

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divine, and was not far off imagining that he was an embryo Budh. Thibaw an avatar of Arimadeya! Bradlaugh in the Salvation Army! Other people knew better even then. Even in those days Thibaw was a disgraceful little rip. The present Queen of the South and sundry other little petticoats came to flirt with him and his companions in the monastery. An ascetic should not even look at a woman, and the old kyaungpogo, the abbot of the royal mendicants, was terribly scandalised, and it is whispered about that he tied the raffish young princeling's hands up to a tree and swished him soundly. Some colour is lent to the report by the fact that Thibaw dismissed the venerable recluse as soon as he ascended the throne. However that may be, the old king heard nothing about it, and went on believing the "Senior Theolog" to be a miracle of piety and learning, and the sacred cocks and hens on Mandalay Hill had double rations for a month in honour of the event. Nevertheless, he did not by any means intend Thibaw to succeed him on the throne. The Nyaungyan was the man he named. But the mother of the Supayalat, now Thibaw's queen, took the matter in hand. She knew that Thibaw was deeply in love with her daughter, and thought she could easily manage the moon-struck, Pali-spouting novice. She communicated her views to the Kin Wunmingyi, the head of the ministry. That diplomatic old gentleman was equally deceived, and thought he would have no trouble in leading the verdant recluse as he pleased. The matter was arranged; the elder princes were all seized and thrown into prison before Mindôn Min died. Thibaw tolerated the Kin Wunmingyi for a short time, and let him formulate a wonderful production which the Turanian Foreign Secretary called a constitution. When the simple quondam mendicant found himself firm on the throne, and when the Nyaungyan, his great fear, had got away from the British Residency in Mandalay, and was safe in Calcutta, Thibaw threw off the mask. Eighty-six of his blood relations were battered and choked to death, or buried alive. The Kin Wungyi's hapless constitution was crumpled up and chucked over the frontier, and Thibaw stood forth as the most inhuman of a long line of savage despots. The

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CHAPTER LXIII

A PÔNGYI BYAN

THE veneration and respect which meet the yahan all through his life are extended to his remains when he dies, or rather when he leaves this world. The monk does not "die" as a common layman does, he does not even, like the king, "ascend to the nat-dêwas' village." The holy man in his last existence must have been holy in order to have accumulated the sum of merits which enabled him upon earth to remain steadfast in the sacred order. When he passes away, he "returns" to the highest heavens of nats, or to the meditative states of zān, or perhaps even to the pure and immaterial realms of arupa. Therefore a mendicant's funeral is called a pôngyi byan —the return of the great glory. Even a junior member is burnt with great solemnity and state; but when a distinguished brother dies, one famous for his learning, his austerity, or the great number of Lents he has spent in the cloister, the obsequies swell into a ceremonial which attracts people from all parts of the country.

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As soon as life leaves the body, the corpse is carefully washed in the usual way by the dead pôngyi's chief supporters and some of the monastic scholars. Then the intestines are taken out and buried in a quiet corner of the monastery grounds, or near the pagoda. The cavity of the stomach is then filled up with hot ashes, sawdust, a few spices, and whatever other available substances may be presumed likely to dry up the humours, and then the skin is sewed together again. A layer of wax is sometimes spread all over the body, but more often it is simply tightly swathed in white cloth from head to foot. This linen cloth is then

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varnished over with wood oil, so that every particle of the corpse may, if necessary, be covered with gold leaf, and this, except in very poor neighbourhoods, is always done. Where there is not money enough, the yellow sacred garments are wrapped round the corpse instead. The arms are always folded on the chest. The body is then placed in the coffin. This is not, as is the case with laymen, made of planks, but of a single log roughly hollowed out, and with a very substantial lid. This lid is not fastened down for a considerable time, and occasionally a bamboo pipe leads from the coffin into the ground to assist in drying up the embalmed body. The fastening down of the cover is sometimes rather an unpleasant spectacle. Many of the old pôngyis keep logs in their monasteries to serve for their coffins, and these, when hollowed out, are not always a satisfactory fit. Bishop Bigandet tells of a horrible sight he witnessed, when the lid had to be crushed on with wedges and the blows of a heavy mallet. The majority of aged yahans are, however, so shrivelled and shrunken before they die, that such an occurrence, which, it must not be supposed, is any less dreadful to a Burman than it is to an Englishman, could only happen very rarely, and then probably would not be carried out in the way which so justly shocked the good bishop.

The inner coffin is then, like the body, varnished with thitsi, and gilt all over. For it is prepared an outer casket called a payaung-bông, which is as magnificent as the skill of the local artificers and the liberality of the "benefactors" permit. This sarcophagus is often very large, and is richly gilt and painted in the panels, which are fringed with the usual mosaic of bits of mirror, coloured glass, and zinc. The paintings naturally represent religious subjects, usually scenes from the life of Shin Gautama; his famous meetings with the old man, the sick, the dead, and the monk; his departure at night from the magnificent court of King Thudawdana; his ascent to Tawadeintha, and the like. Rearing itself over the top of the sarcophagus is usually the figure of a nagā, recalling the pious dragon chief that sheltered the Lord Buddha from a flood of rain by coiling seven times round his body and expanding its hood as a covering.

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Meanwhile, money is being steadily collected for the

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remainder of the rites, and as this comes in from the elders of the surrounding villages and the kappiyadayakas of neighbouring religious houses, the kyaungthagyi of the deceased's monastery sets about erecting an edifice like a thein, a "monastery of the dead." This is a building, more or less substantial, according to the sanctity of the departed, built of teak, and open all round, with the tapering ecclesiastical pya-that rising over it. Hither the coffin, with the sarcophagus, is carried and deposited on a dais in the centre, a slight railing serving to keep off wild animals. Over it a large white umbrella, with a deep paper-lace fringe, is fixed, and round about hang a number of paintings, similar to those on the payaung-bông, some of them, however, representing the favourite subject of the different races of men as known to the artist—the swarthy Hindoo, the oblique-eyed Chinaman, the Kachin with his pig on his back, and the ghastly white-faced Englishman with dog and gun. Others are simply grotesque, and a few horrible, in their delineations of the horrors of hell. Nevertheless, they are all allowed to hang there, for though it is expressly stated that paintings are among the five species of gifts which are not meritorious (dancing is another), the ordinary layman thinks that the painting he gives must certainly be an exception. Here and there in this odd kind of mortuary chapel are also keinnaya, gay tinselled pasteboard figures of men with birds' lower extremities, manôttha keinnaya and nat keinnaya, the latter having the wings and gorgeous aspect of nat-dêwas. Here the body lies in state, and there is a constant stream of pilgrims—some of them from far distant parts of the country—who come to say their religious sentences, make offerings of flowers and fruit as they would at the pagoda, and contribute what they can afford towards the remainder of the cerem[illegible].

The body remains till the required sum is collected. During that time numbers of festivals are celebrated at the ne'ban kyaung; bands of music play frequently, and the same people often make three or four different offerings. The lying in state usually lasts several months, sometimes considerably over a year, and it is to be noted that a pôngyi byan never takes place during Lent.

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At last all the funds are collected. An open space outside the town is cleared of jungle, and in the centre of it is erected the funeral pyre. This is constructed of bamboo matting, pasteboard brightly painted, and covered with the usual tinsel. It is, of course, in the form of the seven-roofed spire, the number of roofs, as some think, representing the number of heavens of nat-déwas. It is square up to a height of fifteen or twenty feet, where there is a platform, on which is placed a sort of cenotaph, resembling the payaung bông in construction and decoration. Above this towers up, fifty or sixty feet higher, the bamboo canopy. When this is ready, a fortunate day is selected by the elders of the town, for they have the management of the funeral rites, to the exclusion of the brethren of the yellow robe. This is announced all over the country-side by sound of gong, and when the appointed day arrives the people come flocking from every side, each quarter or village bringing its pya-thats and padetha-bins, the former similar in construction to the spire on the funeral pile, the "wishing trees" laden with a-hlu for the surviving brethren of the pôngyi who is to be cremated. The spires are arranged round about the great central one, to be burnt along with it; the padetha-bins are delivered at the kyaung.

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There is always a great gathering round the monastery of the dead, where the sramana has been lying in state. The coffin is taken down with great ceremony, and placed on a strongly built, low four-wheeled car, surmounted by the eternal bamboo spire. Now comes a part of the ceremonial which always seems strangely absurd, not to say indecorous, to foreigners. Two, or sometimes four, stout rattan or coir ropes are fastened to the car, and forthwith all the able-bodied men present commence a frantically contested and uproarious tug-of-war. No sides whatever are selected, or numbers agreed upon. Reinforcements are always ready to back up a side which seems on the point of losing, and prematurely ending the struggle; and when a man loses his wind he leaves go his hold and sits down to have a rest. Sometimes the rope breaks, and then the progress of the funeral has to be suspended till a new one is procured and fastened on, for there is no rule as to a side abiding by its accidents. Sometimes the contest goes on for two or three

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hours, and there are instances recorded where it was not 792
till the third day that a definite result was arrived at. The 764
explanation is simple enough to a Burman, and it is surprising that it has not hitherto been given by any writer on Burma. It is a work of the greatest possible merit to drag a pôngyi's body to the funeral pyre, and this kutho falls to the share of those who win in the tug-of-war. The late Captain Forbes said that the explanation was that "the conquering village will get the better of their losing rivals in all sports, contests, or other matters during the year." But this is impossible where the winning side may be composed of men from a score of different villages in circles remote from one another. Besides, there are no championship meetings in Burma. It is to be noted also that during the lônswèthi it is usually only the payaung bông that is on the car. The actual coffin is brought down afterwards.

At last the coffin is brought to the pyre and hoisted up to its lofty platform, beneath which is stored a great quantity of combustible material: wood soaked in oil, pitch, and abundance of scented chips. Then nothing remains but to light it. When a layman is burnt, fire is set to the pile by the nearest relations with a box of Bryant and May's matches. But this is much too worldly a method for a member of the Thenga, and even the fire obtained by the [372]
friction of a plug in a hollow bamboo—an ingenious amplification of the two dry sticks of a variety of barbarous tribes, common in most monasteries—would fail to satisfy the 764
dignity of a pôngyi. The pyre is lighted by rockets 792
fired from a distance. Scores of these dôn have been 389
prepared weeks beforehand, and many have been carried round triumphantly in procession by the people who have made them, a band of music preceding, and young men and girls dancing and singing of the potency of the powder and the accuracy of the aim which will gain for them the glory of setting fire to the pyre. Each rocket has a figure of some kind, a nat-dêwa, a tiger, a hare, or a bilu attached to it. Some of them are of huge size, constructed of the stems of trees hollowed out and crammed full of combustibles, in which sulphur largely predominates. Many are eight or nine feet long and four or five in circumference, and secured

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by iron hoops and rattan lashings. Up in Mandalay some are very much larger. These are let off at the funeral pile from a distance of forty or fifty yards, the largest being mounted on go-carts, and many others guided by a rope fastened to the pya-that, the rocket sliding along by means of twisted cane loops. The great majority fail to have any other effect than making a great splutter and poisoning the air. A few refuse to budge at all; others topple off their carts and fizzle erratically on the grass. A pôngyi byan in the old days was frequently attended with loss of life. Some one, at any rate, of the bigger rockets was sure to fly off at a tangent and plunge into the crowd, where its weight, to say nothing of its fiery belchings, found one or more victims. Even now it is only by the strictest police regulations and a rigorous maintaining of order among the spectators, and system in the pyrotechnists, that like catastrophes do not happen. At last some lucky dôn plunges right into the inflammable materials piled below the bier, and in a few minutes the flames are leaping high above the topmost pinnacle of the spire. Roof after roof falls, setting fire to the offerings placed round the basement. The joints of bamboo explode with a noise like a pistol shot; the crowd cheer each separate occurrence, and when finally the central spire falls with a hiss, a shout rises from the multitude which suggests anything but death and pious observance. But here
[761] in the manôtthapyi all is changeful, sad, and unreal, and one more death brings but nearer to the final rest of Ne'ban.

When the last smouldering embers have cooled, the monastic brethren search for any pieces of bones that may remain, and these are carefully gathered up and buried somewhere near the pagoda. Sometimes, in the case of a particularly saintly man, they are pounded down, mixed into a paste with thitsi, and moulded into an image of the Buddha, which is stored up in the monastery. The custom followed in other Buddhist countries of erecting a shrine over the dead is, in accordance with the teachings of Shin Gautama, an honour but rarely accorded in Burma. In the Shan States they are commoner, but are rarely anything more elaborate than a stucco-covered block of bricks, about three feet high and pointed at the top.

Puberty and Adolescence. The Burmese view, in the village, is that one is an adult when one becomes physiologically mature. Upon reaching pubescence boys as well as girls are referred to by a term which means 'virgin.' The connotation is that the individual has now entered a period of life in which the dangers of temptation are especially great and in which correspondingly greater precautions are necessary. 881

A girl's first menstruation is believed to cleanse her system; frequently, such phenomena as eruption of the skin or sexually delinquent behavior preceding the first menstrual period are regarded as evidence that the 'blood is trying to flow.' Although the idea of uncleanliness is associated with menstruation, there is no segregation of the girl or any particular fear of contamination. So long as she conducts herself with propriety and modesty a girl is free to move in public at this time. 881 841

Ideally, the attainment of puberty is the time for the girl's ear-piercing ceremony, but in actual practice this often takes place as early as her seventh or eighth year -- if it occurs at all. There is a tendency for this ceremony to be omitted in Tadagale. Since it is a feast occasion involving considerable expense to her family, the trend is towards holding a single ceremony, at which several girls who are related will have their ears pierced. The initiate is dressed for this occasion in the traditional garb of the Burmese Court, and also wears a spired-helmet type of head dress. The villagers gather at the family house for the event. An elderly woman rubs an anaesthetic plant substance on the girl's ear lobes and pierces them with gold pins. These pins are left in the ears, bent back. Later, if larger holes are desired, rolled leaves may be inserted. The family presents gifts to the assembled guests; often these are conventionalized tokens, such as inscribed cigars or fans. 852

On the same occasion boys of approximately the same age may be initiated into the Buddhist monkhood. 881

Boys' Initiation. For Burmese boys one of the most important events is initiation as a novice into the Buddhist monkhood. The traditional rite of shinbyu continues to be an important part of Burmese culture, in the urban as well as the rural setting. In the towns and cities, of course, it has been affected by the greater contact with western culture; the procession, for example, is likely to take place in automobiles rather than on horseback and on foot. Nevertheless, city-bred as well as rural Burmese feel it is very important for social as well as religious reasons that their sons be initiated; and everywhere the shinbyu involves large expenditures if not great sacrifices, requires the services of many people for its planning and carrying out, and is the occasion par excellence for joyous celebration as well as religious solemnity. 792 369 177

No two shinbyu ceremonies are the same in detail. The circumstances of the sponsoring families, the physical setting, the idiosyncrasies of individual monks all make for variation. Here we shall indicate the main features of the initiation ceremony as observed in Tadagale. 881 792

The ceremony proper is held on the open-sided ground floor of a wooden building, in the upper portion of which the monks and their pupils live. On the south side of this room is a platform raised about three feet above the ground, on which the monks sit during the proceedings. The room is decorated with various hangings, tapestries, and net curtains; the floor is covered with mats and carpets. Four tables front the platform, on which are placed various

14: Brant E-5 (1949-50) 1954 AP1 Burma
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objects used in the ceremony. The largest table is covered with a lace cloth and on it stands an alabaster statue of the Buddha in a carved and decorated case. Before the figure of the Buddha are offerings of flowers, water, a candle, bananas and coconuts, placed in a special bowl. There is also a dish of puffed rice, a carved gilt bowl, and three new bowls, the latter for the initiates. Each of the bowls contains some of the traditional articles required for a monk: beads, water cups, needle and thread, a straight razor. The carved, gilt begging bowl symbolizes the type used by the Buddha when he was on earth. The second table contains offerings of bananas and coconuts for the monks, and richly decorated gilt trays symbolic of the kind used in the days of the Burmese kings but now only for purposes of decoration. These will be carried by young girls in the procession. The third table contains robes and other gifts for the several monks who are invited to the ceremony. On the fourth table are mats and pillows for the initiates to use. They will be presented to the monks as gifts afterwards.

The elaborate preparations for the ceremony begin on the morning of the preceding day. Young girls go from house to house to borrow betelnut boxes, mats and carpets. In the afternoon a five piece orchestra, hired for the occasion, arrives at the place of the ceremony. It consists of two large drums, a small drum, a wind instrument, a xylophone, and cymbals. Now an elder makes
534 offerings to the spirits (nats). Bananas, a coconut and a lighted candle are placed on a tray. The elder holds the tray and recites invocations to the good and the evil spirits. The evil spirits are implored not to harass any person who participates in the ceremony, because it is a work of merit; the good spirits are reminded of the meritorious nature of the ceremony and asked to watch over and protect the proceedings. As the spirits are so addressed he swings the tray towards each member of the orchestra in turn, sometimes three, sometimes nine, and sometimes twelve times. The orchestra continues to play intermittently throughout the afternoon, evening, and into the night. Early in the evening the young men of the village come to the monastery with their own musical instruments -- mandolins, guitars, and violins -- and sing and dance into the early morning hours. The orchestra group remains at the monastery all night.

252 About midnight, a group of men who are responsible for cooking the food set to work at this task. Women do not normally cook meals for an occasion as large as this; it is felt that the quantities of food required and the amount of labor involved is too much for them to manage. Around three hundred people are expected at a large shinbyu in the village. The cooks, about a dozen middle-
[522] aged men, sit around the fire they have lighted in a clearing a short distance from the monastery, drink tea, smoke, and make jokes. One man is introduced to the group as the 'all-Burma curry-cooking expert'; another is called 'No. 1 soup cook'; a third is dubbed 'best rice cook of the village.' During the night they prepare large quantities of boiled rice, pork curry, sour bean sprouts, fried fish paste, and a vegetable soup.

[291] Early on the morning of the day for the ceremony, the initiates are dressed by friends of their families. After a bath, thanakha, an astringent-like paste made from ground tree bark and water, is applied to their faces. Then they don silk longyis and thin, white muslin jackets, beneath which they wear cotton vests. The longyi is very ornate, made of heavy silk, and is seamless. Gold chains and necklace, bracelets and rings are put on. The head dress is a fine silk cloth, wound round the head, and decorated with garlands of flowers.

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Guests begin to arrive later in the morning at the site of the ceremony. As each enters he is given a large cheroot by one of the girls who is posted at the entrance to the room. The guests are seated on mats before the platform for the monks and the tables of offerings described above. They are served tea and pickled tea leaf while the orchestra entertains them. 881 792

The young men of the village arrive with their musical instruments, which they will play during the procession to follow. They join the other guests, taking seats on mats. The continued music of the orchestra forms a background to the constant buzz of conversation among the assembled guests. 881 796 792

The initiates are carried into the room -- on this day their feet must not touch the ground -- and seated in chairs facing the monks' platform. A few persons spontaneously break into dance as the music goes on; more guests arrive; the horses which have been hired for the procession are brought to the scene and tethered nearby. Gradually the guests are summoned, in groups, to eat in a nearby building.

When all have had their meal, the procession is made ready. The young girls are given the carved trays and betelnut containers. The initiates make obeisance (shiko) with folded hands to the monks, as do all the guests. A monk chants prayers and blessings, the audience sings responses. The initiates now are carried from the room and seated on the horses, which will carry them around the village. A golden umbrella is opened and raised over each initiate, whose young male attendants hold it aloft, guide his horse, and carry him on their shoulders whenever he is required to dismount.

About mid-morning the procession leaves the monastery grounds, lead by the fathers of the initiates and young male relatives carrying the lacquer begging bowls which the initiates will use, followed by their mothers and female relatives bearing mats and pillows. Next follow the young girls, each carrying a decorated tray or container. After them come the initiates on horseback, led by their male attendants and followed by the young men's musical band which dances, sings, and plays as it moves along. The guests followed in their rear.

This procession wends it way along the road that links Tadagale with Kokine Road, and arrives at a spirit shrine. The guests make obeisance to the shrine and sit on the ground. The initiates are carried to the shrine by their attendants, to be shown to the spirits so that these beings will know of their work of merit and thus restrain their evil influences. The procession resumes, going along the main village path to the large Buddha shrine located about midway along this route. Here the boys are again carried from their horses to make obeisance, after which the procession sets out on the last part of the route, to the monastery again.

Now the initiates are lifted from their horses and carried, shoulder-high, three times around the monastery building, in clockwise direction. They are followed by their fathers, young male kin, their mothers and the young girls bearing the trays and containers.

As the third round of the building is completed and the group reaches the entrance to the room of the ceremony and tries to enter, they find themselves blocked by two women who hold a silk scarf across the entrance and loudly demand a huge sum of money as payment for permission to pass. The father of an initiate offers them, instead, five balls of candied puffed rice. Much good-

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natured bickering and banter takes place, in the midst of which the boys' attendants carry them off and hide them nearby, out of sight of the crowd. They demand ransom. Finally, the women who have blocked the entrance accept the offer of puffed rice balls, and the attendants who have hidden the initiates are persuaded to reduce the huge sum they have demanded to a token amount. The boys are returned, the crowd enters the ceremonial room, and the rite may proceed.

Sometime before noon the monks and the pupils of the monastery school have a meal, their last of the day, while the assembled guests sit in groups sipping iced soft drinks, smoking and gossiping.

About two o'clock gongs are struck to summon the monks to the ceremony. Now the initiates no longer wear jewelery or flowers, symbols of worldliness; and the silk scarves which earlier were worn on their heads are now worn across their chests, under one arm and over the other shoulder. The initiates sit on mats before the chair on which the chief officiating monk will be seated. A new earthenware pot is filled with water, flowers are placed in it, and a few yards of white thread are twined around the flowers. The pot is placed on the table to the right of the monk's seat. Its presence is supposed to counteract any evil influences by spirits or humans. It is a warning to evil spirits and enemies not to mar the proceedings.

When the monks arrive the orchestra again begins to play and candles are lighted. The several monks ascend the platform and sit according to rank. The chief officiating monk sits, as indicated, in a chair below the platform, facing the initiates and assembled guests.

The initiates repeat after an elder prayers and requests that they be allowed to enter the monkhood. The audience intones prayers for the remission of its sins, and the chief officiating monk recites the Five-Fold Path of Buddha. Further prayers by the monks are recited, in Pali, and then the chief monk preaches a sermon. His emphasis is very strong on the great glory brought to parents through the sponsorship of an initiation ceremony for a son. There are numerous allusions to incidents in the history of Buddhism to illustrate the importance of shinbyu and the even greater significance of entrance into the monkhood for life.

Following the sermon, the fathers of the initiates ascend the platform and place before each monk an offering of a new robe in an aluminum bowl.

At this point comes the ritual of water-pouring. The initiates' parents and nearest of kin slowly pour water, drop by drop, from bowls into cups which are set on the ground, as the chief monk recites prayers to call the attention of the earth spirit to the deed of merit being performed. It is believed that if they should be reincarnated in some lower form, they can be reminded by the earth spirit of their good deeds, and this will relieve them of their suffering and help to transform them into better reincarnated forms.

Now, threads are taken from the enclosure in which the initiates sat during the sermon. Their entrance into this enclosure, which followed their asking for admission to the monkhood, symbolized their acceptance into the order. These threads are now tied across the initiates' chests, over one shoulder and under the other.

The orchestra plays as the initiates depart for the adjoining building to change into ordinary clothes, eat their last meal of the day, and bathe. Some guests now leave; borrowed articles, such as plates, cups and mats are gathered up for return to their owners, and eventually the orchestra departs. 881 796 792

The initiates return to the front of the building in which the ceremony took place. They sit on mats for the shaving of their heads. Two women hold a long piece of white cloth before them to catch the hair as several men proceed to wet their heads and shave them clean with straight razors. [302]

Once more the boys leave to bathe, then return and are seated before the chief monk. Their robes held in their hands before them, they recite prayers, give their robes to the monk, and ask him to dress them properly in the monkish garb.

Their robes donned, they squat before the monk and recite additional prayers, now following very carefully the special intonation appropriate to monks. The ceremony proper is complete. [195]

The following morning, early, a few relatives and close friends go to the monastery. The monks, including the novices, are offered food by them. A monk recites the Five-Fold Path, and then the ceremony of pouring water drop by drop is performed. Names are given the initiates -- special monastic names which they will bear only for the duration of their novitiate. [551]

In former times, and still today in the very remote villages of Burma, an initiate might spend many months, possibly several years, in the monkhood. Sometimes a boy would remain a monk for life. Today in Tadagale, as almost everywhere, initiates spend only a token period of about one week in the monkhood. During this time, they live the austere existence of the order, rising very early, spending long periods in prayer recitals, and abstaining from food after noon until the following morning. The short period of life as a novice is strongly in contrast with the easy-going, carefree childhood days that precede it. Some boys approach the time of their shinbyu with feelings of trepidation, and all are glad when the period spent in the monastery is over and they can return to the much less stern discipline of their parents. 881 792 188

Courtship and Marriage. Young people in the village find ample opportunities to assess each other's manners, physical appearance, and personality, in the company of others at feasts and various gatherings. If a young man and woman are together apart from the company of others, people assume that sex relations are involved. In fact, such going together is spoken of as 'getting married.' Villagers find it hard to conceive of a young unmarried couple associating on a purely friendly, non-sexual basis; such behavior is regarded as contrary to nature. But however much it occurs, unchaperoned association is not approved, much less encouraged. 584 831

Once a pair have decided they want to marry, the boy will inform his parents of his desire. They will already know, in a relatively small village such as Tadagale, something of the standing of the girl's family and of her dowry potentialities; in fact, as soon as they have sensed their son's interest in a particular girl, they will take steps to acquire this information. They will also ascertain whether acceptance by the girl's family is likely. Sometimes the approach to the girl's family is made directly; in other instances a female go-between will be employed. The latter is more likely when the girl's family 584

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IV

RELIGION

The people of Tadagale are overwhelmingly Theravada Buddhist in faith. The exceptions are the Indian minority, who are largely Hindus. There are three Indians who profess Mohammedanism, and three Indo-Burmans and one Pakistani of like faith. Being Burmese and Buddhist are almost identified in the thinking of the majority, as evidenced by the fact that almost all replied 'Burmese Buddhist' to the question, 'To what people do you consider yourself to belong?' 779 563

In discussing the religious life of Tadagale, realism calls for emphasis upon actual religious beliefs and behavior, rather than any extended setting down of the formal theology of Buddhism. The latter has been done in any number of specialized works, to which the interested reader may refer. Here we shall refer to Buddhist precepts insofar as is necessary to illuminate religious beliefs and practices of the villagers.

The Five Precepts or Commandments. Almost all villagers know well the fundamental Buddhist injunctions against the taking of life in any form, the consumption of alcohol, illicit sexual activity, theft, and prevarication. These moral rules are, of course, sometimes breached. In Tadagale, the use of alcohol, sometimes to excess, is perhaps the most notable instance. The 'good Buddhist' does not, however, seem to experience feelings of guilt or pangs of conscience in such matters. Rather, the following of the moral precepts has instrumental value for him, in relation to his accumulation of merit and his reincarnation after death. 779 577

Merit. One's behavior throughout life determines one's store of merit, and this, in turn, determines one's reincarnation after death. Morally proper behavior, such as the following of the five basic commandments of Buddhist faith, is regarded as contributing to one's store of merit and thus enhancing one's state of reincarnation after death. Religious acts, such as making daily offerings of food to the monks, saying prayers, and attending the pagoda festivals on the important sacred days are likewise considered to increase one's merit. Breaking the moral precepts, irreligiousity, acting selfish or quarrelsome, detract from merit and accordingly tend to lower one's state in reincarnation. 779 775

Such is about the extent of the average villager's lay conception and understanding of the moral code and the ideas of the afterlife in Buddhism. He has little or no knowledge of the detailed concepts of reincarnation, with its elaborate gradationary ladder leading from the four states of punishment up to the ultimate achievement of Nirvana. Such theological learning is the property of the monkhood and of a few laymen who spent more than the usual few years as pupils in the monastic school. 775 779 184

Functions of the Monks. The functions of the Buddhist monks in the village may be conveniently classified as three-fold: formal education; officiation at certain rites; and providing personal advice and guidance to individuals. 793

With respect to formal education, the monks of four monasteries close to the village conduct schools which are attended by a considerable number of 792 871

792 871 the small boys, as day pupils. Monastic education is a traditional part of Burmese Buddhism, and almost all the men of Tadagale, whether reared in the village or elsewhere, have attended monastic schools for varying lengths of time.

792 872 876 The monastic school curriculum includes elementary reading, writing and arithmetic, rudiments of history and geography, heavily colored by Burmese cosmology and folklore, and instruction in Buddhist precepts and proper conduct. There is heavy emphasis upon proper conduct. Instruction takes the form of mass recitation and rote memorization. Discipline is strict and the inattentive pupil is kept alert, when necessary, by means of the rod. As indicated earlier, many parents in the village favor the monastic as against the public school because of the strict discipline and the emphasis upon conduct and religion.

793 Concerning the second function of the monks, officiation at certain rites, it should be indicated that because Burmese Buddhism is not a congregational type of religion, the monks are not called upon to officiate at regular assemblies in any fashion akin to the role of the Christian minister. The monks do, however, play an important part in the initiation of boys into the monkhood; and sometimes take part in funeral rites.

The monk's function of giving advice and guidance stems from the fact that he is regarded, in the thinking of the villagers, not only as one to whom the greatest respect and deference is due by virtue of his dedication to his life to religion, but also as a living repository of wisdom and universal knowledge. He is a person to whom one may turn in time of uncertainty, doubt or stress for personal counsel. Problems relating to the conduct of one's children; concern over persistent lack of success in one's economic activities; or even matters of health may be taken to the monk. A great deal of the advice rendered by monks is formulaic, folkloristic and magical in nature. Particular monks tend to acquire reputations as being especially wise and helpful in particular kinds of problems.

792 235 Support of the Monks. The monastery buildings and the land on which they stand are the property of the monastic order, held in perpetuity by grant of the government, free of taxation.

The monks are supported by the donations of the villagers. Every morning a monk, accompanied by one or two monastic school pupils, passes through the village to collect offerings of food. As he enters the compound of each home a member of the household takes a pot of cooked rice, which has been prepared for the morning meal, and places a few large spoonsful in the monk's begging bowl. This minimum daily contribution of food is made by every Buddhist household, without exception; in addition, many families send bowls of curry and rice to the monastery. Giving food to the monks is an important act of merit to Burmese Buddhists. It is regarded as unthinkable that any household would refuse. When the hypothetical case was posed of such a deviant household, villagers agreed that such a family would be severely criticized and shunned in the village. [621]

The few other things that the monks require for their austere existence are given by villagers on the important ceremonial days of the year. These items include robes, soap, matches, begging bowls, water strainers and needles.

796 Duty Days. The Burmese calendar is a lunar one, and in each month there are four days — duty or sabbath days — on which the villagers go to the monastery

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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795 own soul perfect. This is the first of all things, and
642 comes before any other consideration. Of the virtues
721 that only war can create and nourish this teaching
knows nothing. Be pure and kind-hearted, full of
charity and compassion, and so you may do good to
others. These are the vows the Buddhist monks
[792] make, these are the vows they keep; and so it
happened that all that great organization was useless
to the patriot fighter, was worse than useless, for it
175 was against him. The whole spectacle of Burma in
722 those days, with the country seething with strife, and
792 the monks going about their business calmly as ever,
begging their bread from door to door, preaching of
peace, not war, of kindness, not hatred, of pity, not
revenge, was to most foreigners quite inexplicable.
They could not understand it. I remember a friend
of mine with whom I went through many experiences
speaking of it with scorn. He was a cavalry officer,
'the model of a light cavalry officer'; he had with
him a squadron of his regiment, and we were trying
to subdue a very troubled part of the country.

We were camping in a monastery, as we frequently did—a monastery on a hill near a high golden pagoda. The country all round was under the sway of a brigand leader, and sorely the villagers suffered at his hands now that he had leapt into unexpected power. The villages were half abandoned, the fields untilled, the people full of unrest; but the monasteries were as full of monks as ever; the gongs rang, as they ever did, their message through the quiet evening air; the little boys were taught there just the same; the trees were watered and the gardens swept as if there were no change

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at all—as if the king were still on his golden throne, and the English had never come; as if war had never burst upon them. And to us, after the very different scenes we saw now and then, saw and acted in, these monks and their monasteries were difficult to understand. The religion of the Buddha thus professed was strange.

'What is the use,' said my friend, 'of this religion that we see so many signs of? Suppose these men had been Jews or Hindus or Mussulmans, it would have been a very different business, this war. These yellow-robed monks, instead of sitting in their monasteries, would have pervaded the country, preaching against us and organizing. No one organizes better than an ecclesiastic. We should have had them leading their men into action with sacred banners, and promising them heaven hereafter when they died. They would have made Ghazis of them. Any one of these is a religion worth having. But what is the use of Buddhism? What do these monks do? I never see them in a fight, never hear that they are doing anything to organize the people. It is, perhaps, as well for us that they do not. But what is the use of Buddhism?'

So, or somewhat like this, spoke my friend, speaking as a soldier. Each of us speaks from our own standpoint. He was a brilliant soldier, and a religion was to him a sword, a thing to fight with. That was one of the first uses of a religion. He knew nothing of Buddhism; he cared to know nothing, beyond whether it would fight. If so, it was a good religion in its way. If not, then not.

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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after he had been elected by his fellow-monks. 642
The reason of this was as follows: All ecclesiastical 793
matters—I use the word 'ecclesiastical' because I 795
can find no other—were outside the jurisdiction of civil limits. By 'ecclesiastical' I mean such matters as referred to the ownership and habitation of monasteries, the building of pagodas and places of prayer, the discipline of the monkhood. Such questions were decided by ecclesiastical courts under the Thathanabaing.

Now, it was necessary sometimes, as may be understood, to enforce these decrees, and for that reason to apply to civil power. Therefore there must be a head of the monks acknowledged by the civil power as head, to make such applications as might be necessary in this, and perhaps some other such circumstances.

It became, therefore, the custom for the king to acknowledge by order the elect of the monks as Thathanabaing for all such purposes. That was all. The king did not appoint him at all.

Any such idea as a monk interfering in the affairs 642
of state, or expressing an opinion on war or law or 792
finance, would appear to the Burmese a negation of their faith. They were never led away by the idea that good might come of such interference. This terrible snare has never caught their feet. They hold that a man's first duty is to his own soul. Never think that you can do good to others at the same time as you injure yourself, and the greatest good for your own heart is to learn that beyond all this turmoil and fret there is the Great Peace—so great that we can hardly understand it, and to reach

16;Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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642 it you must fit yourself for it. The monk is he who
792 is attempting to reach it, and he knows that he cannot do that by attempting to rule his fellow-man; that is probably the very worst thing he could do. And therefore the monkhood, powerful as they were, left all politics alone. I have never been able to hear of a single instance in which they even expressed an opinion either as a body or as individuals on any state matter.

It is true that, if a governor oppressed his people, the monks would remonstrate with him, or even, in the last extremity, with the king; they would plead with the king for clemency to conquered peoples, to rebels, to criminals; their voice was always on the side of mercy. As far as urging the greatest of all virtues upon governors and rulers alike, they may be said to have interfered with politics; but this is not what is usually understood by religion interfering in things of state. It seems to me we usually mean the reverse of this, for we are of late beginning to regard it with horror. The Burmese have always done so. They would think it a denial of all religion.

642 And so the only things worth noting about the government of the Burmese were its exceeding badness, and its disconnection with religion. That it would have been a much stronger government had it been able to enlist on its side all the power of the monkhood, none can doubt. It might even have been a better government; of that I am not sure. But that such a union would have meant the utter destruction of the religion, the debasing of the very soul of the people, no one who has tried to

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621 All villages were not alike, of course, in their
626 enforcement of good manners and good morals, but, still, in every village they were enforced more or less. The opinion of the people was very decided, and made itself felt, and the influence of the monastery without the gate was strong upon the people.

626 Yet the monks never interfered with village
792 affairs. As they abstained from state government, so they did from local government. You never could imagine a Buddhist monk being a magistrate for his village, taking any part at all in municipal affairs. The same reasons that held them from affairs of the state held them from affairs of the commune. I need not repeat them. The monastery was outside the village, and the monk outside the community. I do not think he was ever consulted about any village matters. I know that, though I have many and many a time asked monks for their opinion to aid me in deciding little village disputes, I have never got an answer out of them. 'These are not our affairs,' they will answer always. 'Go to the people; they will tell you what you want.' Their influence is by example and precept, by teaching the laws of the great teacher, by living a life blameless before men, by preparing their souls for rest. It is a general influence, never a particular one. If anyone came to the monk for counsel, the monk would only repeat to him the sacred teaching, and leave him to apply it.

621 So each village managed its own affairs, untroubled by squire or priest, very little troubled by the state. That within their little means they did

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565 741 and where each villager retires some time in his life to learn the great wisdom. He will dig a well or build a bridge, or make a rest-house. And if the sum be very small indeed, then he will build, perhaps, a little house—a tiny little house—to hold two or three jars of water for travellers to drink. And he will keep the jars full of water, and put a little cocoanut-shell to act as cup.

741 742 The amount spent thus every year in charity is enormous. The country is full of pagodas; you see them on every peak, on every ridge along the river. They stand there as do the castles of the robber barons on the Rhine, only with what another meaning! Near villages and towns there are clusters of them, great and small. The great pagoda in Rangoon is as tall as St. Paul's; I have seen many a one not three feet high—the offering of some poor old man to the Great Name, and everywhere there are monasteries. Every village has one, at least; most have two or three. A large village will have many. More would be built if there was anyone to live in them, so anxious is each man to do something for the monks. As it is, more are built than there is actual need for.

741 485 There are rest-houses everywhere. Far away in the dense forests by the mountain-side you will find them, built in some little hollow by the road-side by someone who remembered his fellow-traveller. You cannot go five miles along any road without finding them. In villages they can be counted by tens, in towns by fifties. There are far more than are required.

In Burmese times such roads and bridges as

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CHAPTER X

THE MONKHOOD—I

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'Let his life be kindness, his conduct righteousness; then in the fulness of gladness he will make an end of grief.'—*Dammapada.*

DURING his lifetime, that long lifetime that remained to him after he had found the light, Gaudama the Buddha gathered round him many disciples. They came to learn from his lips of that truth which he had found, and they remained near him to practise that life which alone can lead unto the Great Peace.

And from time to time, as occasion arose, the teacher laid down precepts and rules to assist those who desired to live as he did—precepts and rules designed to help his disciples in the right way. Thus there arose about him a brotherhood of those who were striving to purify their souls, and lead the higher life, and that brotherhood has lasted ever since, till you see in it the monkhood of to-day, for that is all that the monks are—a brotherhood of men who are trying to live as their great master lived, to purify their souls from the lust of life, to travel the road that reaches unto deliverance. Only that, nothing more.

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There is no idea of priesthood about it at all, for by a priest we understand one who has received from above some power, who is, as it were, a representative on earth of God. Priests, to our thinking, are those who have delegated to them some of that authority of which God is the fountain-head. They can absolve from sin, we think; they can accept into the faith; they can eject from it; they can exhort with authority; they can administer the sacraments of religion; they can speed the parting soul to God; they can damn the parting soul to hell. A priest is one who is clothed with much authority and holiness. 779 792

But in Buddhism there is not, there cannot be, anything of all this. The God who lies far beyond our ken has delegated His authority to no one. He works through everlasting laws. His will is manifested by unchangeable sequences. There is nothing hidden about His laws that requires exposition by His agents, nor any ceremonies necessary for acceptance into the faith. Buddhism is a free religion. No one holds the keys of a man's salvation but himself. Buddhism never dreams that anyone can save or damn you but yourself, and so a Buddhist monk is as far away from our ideas of a priest as can be. Nothing could be more abhorrent to Buddhism than any claim of authority, of power, from above, of holiness acquired except by the earnest effort of a man's own soul.

These monks, who are so common all through Burma, whose monasteries are outside every village, who can be seen in every street in the early morning begging their bread, who educate the whole youth 792

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of the country, are simply men who are striving after good.

This is a difficult thing for us to understand, for our minds are bent in another direction. A religion without a priesthood seems to us an impossibility, and yet here it is so. The whole idea and thing of a priesthood would be repugnant to Buddhism.

It is a wonderful thing to contemplate how this brotherhood has existed all these many centuries, how it has always gained the respect and admiration of the people, how it has always held in its hands the education of the children, and yet has never aspired to sacerdotalism. Think of the temptation resisted here. The temptation to interfere in government was great, the temptation to arrogate to themselves priestly powers is far, far greater. And yet it has been always resisted. This brotherhood of monks is to-day as it was twenty-three centuries ago—a community of men seeking for the truth.

Therefore, in considering these monks, we must dismiss from our minds any idea of priesthood, any idea of extra-human sanctity, of extra-human authority. We must never liken them in any way to our priests, or even to our friars. I use the word monk, because it is the nearest of any English word I can find, but even that is not quite correct. I have often found this difficulty. I do not like to use the Burmese terms if I can help it, for this reason, that strange terms and names confuse us. They seem to lift us into another world—a world of people differing from us, not in habits alone, but in mind and soul. It is a dividing partition. It is very difficult to read a book speaking of people

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under strange terms, and feel that they are flesh and blood with us, and therefore I have, if possible, always used an English word where I can come anywhere near the meaning, and in this case I think monk comes closest to what I mean. Hermits they are not, for they live always in communities by villages, and they do not seclude themselves from human intercourse. Priests they are not, ministers they are not, clergymen they are not; mendicants only half describes them, so I use the word monk as coming nearest to what I wish to say.

The monks, then, are those who are trying to follow the teaching of Gaudama the Buddha, to wean themselves from the world, 'who have turned their eyes towards heaven, where is the lake in which all passions shall be washed away.' They are members of a great community, who are governed by stringent regulations—the regulations laid down in the Wini for observance by all monks. When a man enters the monkhood, he makes four vows—that he will be pure from lust, from desire of property, from the taking of any life, from the assumption of any supernatural powers. Consider this last, how it disposes once and for all of any desire a monk may have towards mysticism, for this is what he is taught:

'No member of our community may ever arrogate to himself extraordinary gifts or supernatural perfection, or through vainglory give himself out to be a holy man: such, for instance, as to withdraw into solitary places on pretence of enjoying ecstasies like the Ariahs, and afterwards to presume to teach others the way to uncommon spiritual attainments. Sooner may the lofty palm-tree that has been cut

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792 down become green again, than an elect guilty of such pride be restored to his holy station. Take care for yourself that you do not give way to such an excess.'

779 Is not this teaching the very reverse of that of
787 all other peoples and religions? Can you imagine
789 the religious teachers of any other religion being
792 warned to keep themselves free from visions? Are not visions and trances, dreams and imaginations, the very proof of holiness? But here it is not so. These are vain things, foolish imaginations, and he who would lead the pure life must put behind him all such things as mere dram-drinking of the soul.

This is a most wonderful thing, a religion that condemns all mysticisms. It stands alone here amongst all religions, pure from the tinsel of miracle, either past, or present, or to come. And yet this people is, like all young nations, given to superstition: its young men dream dreams, its girls see visions. There are interpreters of dreams, many of them, soothsayers of all kinds, people who will give you charms, and foretell events for you. Just as it was with us not long ago, the mystery, *what is* beyond the world, exercises a curious fascination over them. Everywhere you will meet with traces of it, and I have in another chapter told some of the principal phases of these. But the religion has kept itself pure. No hysteric visions, no madman's dreams, no clever conjurer's tricks, have ever shed a tawdry glory on the monkhood of the Buddha. Amid all the superstition round about them they have remained pure, as they have from passion and desire. Here in the far East, the very home, we

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think, of the unnatural and superhuman, the very cradle of the mysterious and the wonderful, is a religion which condemns it all, and a monkhood who follow their religion. Does not this out-miracle any miracle? 779 787 789 792

With other faiths it is different: they hold out to those who follow their tenets and accept their ministry that in exchange for the worldly things which their followers renounce they shall receive other gifts, heavenly ones; they will be endued with power from above; they will have authority from on high; they will become the chosen messengers of God; they may even in their trances enter into His heaven, and see Him face to face.

Buddhism has nothing of all this to offer. A man must surrender all the world, with no immediate gain. There is only this: that if he struggle along in the path of righteousness, he will at length attain unto the Great Peace.

A monk who dreamed dreams, who said that the Buddha had appeared to him in a vision, who announced that he was able to prophesy, would be not exalted, but expelled. He would be deemed silly or mad; think of that—mad—for seeing visions, not holy at all! The boys would jeer at him; he would be turned out of his monastery.

A monk is he who observes purity and sanity of life. Hysteric dreams, the childishness of the mysterious, the insanity of the miraculous, are no part of that.

And so a monk has to put behind him everything that is called good in this life, and govern his body and his soul in strict temperance.

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He must wear but yellow garments, ample and decent, but not beautiful; he must shave his head; he must have none but the most distant intercourse with women; he must beg his food daily in the streets; he must eat but twice, and then but a certain amount, and never after noon; he must take no interest in worldly affairs; he must own no property, must attend no plays or performances; 'he must eat, not to satisfy his appetite, but to keep his body alive; he must wear clothes, not from vanity, but from decency; he must live under a roof, not because of vainglory, but because the weather renders it necessary.' All his life is bounded by the very strictest poverty and purity.

Yet there is no austerity. A monk may not over-eat, but he must eat enough; he must not wear fine clothes, but he must be decent and comfortable; he must not have proud dwellings, but he should be sheltered from the weather.

There is no self-punishment in Buddhism. Did not the Buddha prove the futility of this long ago? The body must be kept in health, that the soul may not be hampered. And so the monks live a very healthy, very temperate life, eating and drinking just enough to keep the body in good health; that is the first thing, that is the very beginning of the pure life.

As he trains his body by careful treatment, so does he his soul. He must read the sacred books, he must meditate on the teachings of the great teacher, he must try by every means in his power to bring these truths home to himself, not as empty sayings, but as beliefs that are to be to him the very

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essence of all truth. He is not cut off from society. There are other monks, and there are visitors, men and women. He may talk to them—he is no recluse; but he must not talk too much about worldly matters. He must be careful of his thoughts, that they do not lead him into wrong paths. His life is a life of self-culture.

Being no priest, he has few duties to others to perform; he is not called upon to interfere in the business of others. He does not visit the sick; he has no concern with births and marriages and deaths. On Sunday, and on certain other occasions, he may read the laws to the people, that is all. Of this I will speak in another chapter. It does not amount to a great demand upon his time. He is also the schoolmaster of the village, but this is aside entirely from his sacred profession. Certain duties he has, however. Every morning as the earliest sunlight comes upon the monastery spires, when the birds are still calling to the day, and the cool freshness of the morning still lies along the highways, you will see from every monastery the little procession come forth. First, perhaps, there will be two schoolboys with a gong slung on a bamboo between them, which they strike now and then. And behind them, in their yellow robes, their faces cast upon the ground, and the begging-bowls in their hands, follow the monks. Very slowly they pass along the streets, amid the girls hurrying to their stalls in the bazaar with baskets of fruit upon their heads, the housewives out to buy their day's requirements, the workman going to his work, the children running and laughing and falling in the dust. Everyone makes

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room for them as they go in slow and solemn procession, and from this house and that come forth women and children with a little rice that they have risen before daylight to cook, a little curry, a little fruit, to put into the bowls. Never is there any money given: a monk may not touch money, and his wants are very few. Presents of books, and so on, are made at other times; but in the morning only food is given.

The gifts are never acknowledged. The cover of the bowl is removed, and when the offering has been put in, it is replaced, and the monk moves on. And when they have made their accustomed round, they return, as they went, slowly to the monastery, their bowls full of food. I do not know that this food is always eaten by the monks. Frequently in large towns they are fed by rich men, who send daily a hot, fresh, well-cooked meal for each monk, and the collected alms are given to the poor, or to schoolboys, or to animals. But the begging round is never neglected, nor is it a form. It is a very real thing, as anyone who has seen them go knows. They must beg their food, and they do; it is part of the self-discipline that the law says is necessary to help the soul to humility. And the people give because it is a good thing to give alms. Even if they know the monks are fed besides, they will fill the bowls as the monks pass along. If the monks do not want it, there are the poor, there are the schoolboys, sons of the poorest of the people, who may often be in need of a meal; and if not, then there are the birds and the beasts. It is a good thing to give alms—good for yourself, I mean. So

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that this daily procession does good in two ways: it is good for the monk because he learns humility; it is good for the people because they have thereby offered them a chance of giving a little alms. Even the poorest may be able to give his spoonful of rice. All is accepted. Think not a great gift is more acceptable than a little one. You must judge by the giver's heart. 792 735

At every feast, every rejoicing, the central feature is presents to the monks. If a man put his son into a monastery, if he make merry at a stroke of good fortune, if he wish to celebrate a mark of favour from government, the principal ceremony of the feast will be presents to monks. They must be presents such as the monks can accept; of course, that is understood.

Therefore a man enters a monastery simply for this: to keep his body in health by perfect moderation and careful conduct, and to prepare his soul for heaven by meditation. That is the meaning of it all.

If you see a grove of trees before you on your ride, mangoes and tamarinds in clusters, with palms nodding overhead, and great broad-leaved plantains and flowering shrubs below, you may be sure that there is a monastery, for it is one of the commands to the monks of the Buddha to live under the shade of lofty trees, and this command they always keep. They are most beautiful, many of these monasteries — great buildings of dark-brown teak, weather-stained, with two or three roofs one above the other, and at one end a spire tapering up until it ends in a gilded 'tee.' Many of the monasteries 792 346

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are covered with carving along the façades and up the spires, scroll upon scroll of daintiest design, quaint groups of figures here and there, and on the gateways moulded dragons. All the carvings tell a story taken from the treasure-house of the nation's infancy, quaint tales of genii and fairy and wonderful adventure. Never, I think, do the carvings tell anything of the sacred life or teaching. The Burmese are not fond, as we are, of carving and painting scenes from sacred books. Perhaps they think the subject too holy for the hand of the craftsman, and so, with, as far as I know, but one exception in all Burma—a pagoda built by Indian architects long ago—you will look in vain for any sacred teaching in the carvings. But they are very beautiful, and their colour is so good, the deep rich brown of teak against the light green of the tamarinds, and the great leaves of the plantains all about. Within the monastery it will be all bare. However beautiful the building is without, no relaxation of his rules is allowed to the monk within. All is bare: only a few mats, perhaps, here and there on the plank floor, a hard wooden bed, a box or two of books.

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At one end there will be sure to be the image of the teacher, wrought in alabaster. These are always one of three stereotyped designs; they are not works of art at all. The wealth of imagination and desire of beauty that finds its expression in the carved stories in the façades has no place here at all. It would be thought a sacrilege to attempt in any way to alter the time-honoured figures that have come down to us from long ago.

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Over the head of the image there will be a white umbrella, whence we have derived our haloes, and perhaps a lotus blossom in an earthen pot in front. That will be all. There is this very remarkable fact: of all the great names associated with the life of the Buddha, you never see any presentment at all. 778

The Buddha stands alone. Of Maya his mother, of Yathodaya his wife, of Rahoula his son, of his great disciple Thariputra, of his dearest disciple and brother Ananda, you see nothing. There are no saints in Buddhism at all, only the great teacher, he who saw the light. Surely this is a curious thing, that from the time of the prince to now, two thousand four hundred years, no one has arisen to be worthy of mention of record beside him. There is only one man holy to Buddhism—Gaudama the Buddha.

On one side of the monasteries there will be many pagodas, tombs of the Buddha. They are usually solid cones, topped with a gilded 'tee,' and there are many of them. Each man will build one in his lifetime if he can. They are always white. 792 346 778

And so there is much colour about a monastery—the brown of the wood and the white of the pagoda, and tender green of the trees. The ground is always kept clean-swept and beaten and neat. And there is plenty of sound, too—the fairy music of little bells upon the pagoda-tops when the breeze moves, the cooing of the pigeons in the eaves, the voices of the schoolboys. Monastery land is sacred. No life may be taken there, no loud sounds, no noisy merriment, no abuse is permitted anywhere within

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the fence. Monasteries are places of meditation and peace.

Of course, all monasteries are not great and beautiful buildings; many are but huts of bamboo and straw, but little better than the villager's hut. Some villages are so poor that they can afford but little for their holy men. But always there will be trees, always the ground will be swept, always the place will be respected just the same. And as soon as a good crop gives the village a little money, it will build a teak monastery, be sure of that.

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Monasteries are free to all. Any stranger may walk into a monastery and receive shelter. The monks are always hospitable. I have myself lived, perhaps, a quarter of my life in Burma in monasteries, or in the rest-houses attached to them. We break all their laws: we ride and wear boots within the sacred enclosure; our servants kill fowls for our dinners there, where all life is protected; we treat these monks, these who are the honoured of the nation, much in the offhand, unceremonious way that we treat all Orientals; we often openly laugh at their religion. And yet they always receive us; they are often even glad to see us and talk to us. Very, very seldom do you meet with any return in kind for your contempt of their faith and habits. I have heard it said sometimes that some monks stand aloof, that they like to keep to themselves. If they should do so, can you wonder? Would any people, not firmly bound by their religion, put up with it all for a moment? If you went into a Mahommedan mosque in Delhi with your boots on, you would probably be killed. Yet

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we clump round the Shwe Dagon pagoda at our ease, and no one interferes. Do not suppose that it is because the Burman believes less than the Hindu or Mahommedan. It is because he believes more, because he is taught that submission and patience are strong Buddhist virtues, and that a man's conduct is an affair of his own soul. He is willing to believe that the Englishman's breaches of decorum are due to foreign manners, to the necessities of our life, to ignorance. But even if he supposed that we did these things out of sheer wantonness, it would make no difference. If the foreigner is dead to every feeling of respect, of courtesy, of sympathy, that is an affair of the foreigner's own heart. It is not for the monk to enforce upon strangers the respect and reverence due to purity, to courage, to the better things. Each man is responsible for himself, the foreigner no less than the Burman. If a foreigner have no respect for what is good, that is his own business. It can hurt no one but himself if he is blatant, ignorant, contemptuous. No one is insulted by it, or requires revenge for it. You might as well try and insult gravity by jeering at Newton and his pupils, as injure the laws of righteousness by jeering at the Buddha or his monks. And so you will see foreigners take all sorts of liberties in monasteries and pagodas, break every rule wantonly, and disregard everything the Buddhist holds holy, and yet very little notice will be taken openly. Burmans will have their own opinion of you, do have their own opinion of you, without a doubt; but because you are lost to all sense of decency,

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that is no reason why the Buddhist monk or layman should also lower himself by getting angry and resent it; and so you may walk into any monastery or rest-house and act as you think fit, and no one will interfere with you. Nay, if you even show a little courtesy to the monks, your hosts, they will be glad to talk to you and tell you of their lives and their desires. It is very seldom that a pleasant word or a jest will not bring the monks into forgetting all your offences, and talking to you freely and openly. I have had, I have still, many friends among the monkhood; I have been beholden to them for many kindnesses; I have found them always, peasants as they are, courteous and well-mannered. Nay, there are greater things than these.

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When my dear friend was murdered at the outbreak of the war, wantonly murdered by the soldiers of a brutal official, and his body drifted down the river, everyone afraid to bury it, for fear of the wrath of government, was it not at last tenderly and lovingly buried by the monks near whose monastery it floated ashore? Would all people have done this? Remember, he was one of those whose army was engaged in subduing the kingdom; whose army imprisoned the king, and had killed, and were killing, many, many hundreds of Burmans. 'We do not remember such things. All men are brothers to the dead.' They are brothers to the living, too. Is there not a great monastery near Kindat, built by an Englishman as a memorial to the monk who saved his life at peril of his own at that same time, who preserved him till help came?

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Can anyone ever tell when the influence of a monk has been other than for pity or mercy? Surely they believe their religion? I did not know how people could believe till I saw them. 792 779

Martyrdom—what is martyrdom, what is death, for your religion, compared to living within its commands? Death is easy; life it is that is difficult. Men have died for many things: love and hate, and religion and science, for patriotism and avarice, for self-conceit and sheer vanity, for all sorts of things, of value and of no value. Death proves nothing. Even a coward can die well. But a pure life is the outcome only of the purest religion, of the greatest belief, of the most magnificent courage. Those who can live like this can die, too, if need be—have done so often and often; that is but a little matter indeed. No Buddhist would consider that as a very great thing beside a holy life.

There is another difference between us. We think a good death hallows an evil life; no Buddhist would hear of this for a moment.

The reverence in which a monk—ay, even the monk to-day who was but an ordinary man yesterday—is held by the people is very great. All those who address him do so kneeling. Even the king himself was lower than a monk, took a lower seat than a monk in the palace. He is addressed as 'Lord,' and those who address him are his disciples. Poor as he is, living on daily charity, without any power or authority of any kind, the greatest in the land would dismount and yield the road that he should pass. Such is the people's reverence for a holy life. Never was such voluntary homage 792 554 198

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yielded to any as to these monks. There is a special language for them, the ordinary language of life being too low to be applied to their actions. They do not sleep or eat or walk as do other men.

It seems strange to us, coming from our land where poverty is an offence, where the receipt of alms is a degradation, where the ideal is power, to see here all this reversed. The monks are the poorest of the poor, they are dependent on the people for their daily bread; for although lands may be given to a monastery—as a matter of fact, very few have any at all, and those only a few palm-trees—they have no power at all, either temporal or eternal; they are not very learned, and yet they are the most honoured of all people. Without any of the attributes which in our experience gather the love and honour of mankind, they are honoured above all men.

The Burman demands from the monk no assistance in heavenly affairs, no interference in worldly, only this, that he should live as becomes a follower of the great teacher. And because he does so live the Burman reverences him beyond all others. The king is feared, the wise man admired, perhaps envied, the rich man is respected, but the monk is honoured and loved. There is no one beside him in the heart of the people. If you would know what a Burman would be, see what a monk is: that is his ideal. But it is a very difficult ideal. The Burman is very fond of life, very full of life, delighting in the joy of existence, brimming over with vitality, with humour, with merriment. They are a young people, in the full flush of early nationhood. To them of all

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people the restraints of a monk's life must be terrible and hard to maintain. And because it is so, because they all know how hard it is to do right, and because the monks do right, they honour them, and they know they deserve honour. Remember that all these people have been monks themselves at one time or other; they know how hard the rules are, they know how well they are observed. They are reverencing what they thoroughly understand; they have seen the monkhood from the inside; their reverence is the outcome of a very real knowledge.

Of the internal management of the monkhood I have but little to say. There is the Thathanabaing, who is the head of the community; there are under him Gaing-oks, who each have charge of a district; each Gaing-ok has an assistant, a 'prop,' called Gaing-dauk; and there are the heads of monasteries. The Thathanabaing is chosen by the heads of the monasteries, and appoints his Gaing-oks and Gaing-dauks. There is no complication about it. Usually any serious dispute is decided by a court of three or four heads of monasteries, presided over by the Gaing-ok. But note this: no monk can be tried by any ecclesiastical court without his consent. Each monastery is self-governing; no monk can be called to account by any Gaing-ok or Gaing-dauk unless he consent. The discipline is voluntary entirely. There are no punishments by law for disobedience of an ecclesiastical court. A monk cannot be unfrocked by his fellows.

Therefore, it would seem that there would be no check over abuses, that monks could do as they liked,

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792 that irregularities could creep in, and that, in fact, there is nothing to prevent a monastery becoming a disgrace. This would be a great mistake. It must never be forgotten that monks are dependent on their village for everything—food and clothes, and even the monastery itself. Do not imagine that the villagers would allow their monks, their 'great glories,' to become a scandal to them. The supervision exercised by the people over their monks is most stringent. As long as the monks act as monks should, they are held in great honour, they are addressed by titles of great respect, they are supplied with all they want within the rules of the Wini, they are the glory of the village. But do you think a Burman would render this homage to a monk whom he could not respect, who did actions he should not? A monk is one who acts as a monk. Directly he breaks his laws, his holiness is gone. The villagers will have none such as he. They will hunt him out of the village, they will refuse him food, they will make him a byword, a scorn. I have known this to happen. If a monk's holiness be suspected, he must clear himself before a court, or leave that place quickly, lest worse befall him. It is impossible to conceive any supervision more close than this of the people over their monks, and so the breaches of any law by the monks are very rare—very rare indeed. You see, for one thing, that a monk never takes the vows for life. He takes them for six months, a year, two years, very often for five years; then, if he finds the life suit him, he continues. If he finds that he cannot live up to the standard required, he is free to go. There is no compulsion

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to stay, no stigma on going. As a matter of fact, very few monks there are but have left the monastery at one time or another. It is impossible to over-estimate the value of this safety valve. What with the certainty of detection and punishment from his people, and the knowledge that he can leave the monastery if he will at the end of his time without any reproach, a monk is almost always able to keep within his rules.

I have had for ten years a considerable experience of criminal law. I have tried hundreds of men for all sorts of offences; I have known of many hundreds more being tried, and the only cases where a monk was concerned that I can remember are these: three times a monk has been connected in a rebellion, once in a divorce case, once in another offence. This last case happened just as we annexed the country, and when our courts were not established. He was detected by the villagers, stripped of his robes, beaten, and hunted out of the place with every ignominy possible. There is only one opinion amongst all those who have tried to study the Buddhist monkhood—that their conduct is admirable. Do you suppose the people would reverence it as they do if it were corrupt? They know: they have seen it from the inside. It is not outside knowledge they have. And when it is understood that anyone can enter a monastery—thieves and robbers, murderers and sinners of every description, can enter, are even urged to enter monasteries, and try to live the holy life; and many of them do, either as a refuge against pursuit, or because they really repent—it will be conceded that the discipline

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of the monks, if obtained in a different way to elsewhere, is very effective.

The more you study the monkhood, the more you see that this community is the outcome of the very heart of the people. It is a part of the people, not cut off from them, but of them; it is recruited in great numbers from all sorts and conditions of men. In every village and town—nearly every man has been a monk at one time or another—it is honoured alike by all; it is kept in the straight way, not only from the inherent righteousness of its teaching, but from the determination of the people to allow no stain to rest upon what they consider as their 'great glory.' This whole monkhood is founded on freedom. It is held together not by a strong organization, but by general consent. There is no mystery about it, there are no dark places here where the sunlight of inquiry may not come. The whole business is so simple that the very children can and do understand it. I shall have expressed myself very badly if I have not made it understood how absolutely voluntary this monkhood is, held together by no everlasting vows, restrained by no rigid discipline. It is simply the free outcome of the free beliefs of the people, as much a part of them as the fruit is of the tree. You could no more imagine grapes without a vine than a Buddhist monkhood that did not spring directly from, and depend entirely on, the people. It is the higher expression of their life.

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In writing this account of the Burmese and their religion, I have tried always to see with my own

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eyes, to write my own thoughts without any reference to what anyone else may have thought or written. I have believed that whatever value may attach to any man's opinions consists in the fact that they are his opinions, and not a *réchauffé* of the thoughts of others, and therefore I have not even referred to, or quoted from, any other writer, preferring to write only what I have myself seen and thought. But I cannot end this chapter on the monks of the Buddha without a reference to what Bishop Bigandet has said on the same subject, for he is no observer prejudiced in favour of Buddhism, but the reverse. He was a bishop of the Church of Rome, believing always that his faith contained all truth, and that the Buddha was but a 'pretended saviour,' his teachings based on 'capital and revolting errors,' and marked with an 'inexplicable and deplorable eccentricity.' Bishop Bigandet was in no sympathy with Buddhism, but its avowed foe, desirous of undermining and destroying its influence over the hearts of men, and yet this is the way he ends his chapter:

'There is in that religious body—the monks—a latent principle of vitality that keeps it up and communicates to it an amount of strength and energy that has hitherto maintained it in the midst of wars, revolutionary and political, convulsions of all descriptions. Whether supported or not by the ruling power, it has remained always firm and unchanged. It is impossible to account satisfactorily for such a phenomenon, unless we find a clear and evident cause of such extraordinary vitality, a cause independent of ordinary occurrences of time and circumstances, a cause deeply rooted in the very soul of

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the populations that exhibit before the observer this great and striking religious feature.

'That cause appears to be the strong religious sentiment, the firm faith, that pervades the mass of Buddhists. The laity admire and venerate the religious, and voluntarily and cheerfully contribute to their maintenance and welfare. From its ranks the religious body is constantly recruited. There is hardly a man that has not been a member of the fraternity for a certain period of time.

'Surely such a general and continued impulse could not last long unless it were maintained by a powerful religious connection.

'The members of the order preserve, at least exteriorly, the decorum of their profession. The rules and regulations are tolerably well observed; the grades of hierarchy are maintained with scrupulous exactitude. The life of the religious is one of restraint and perpetual control. He is denied all sorts of pleasures and diversions. How could such a system of self-denial ever be maintained, were it not for the belief which the Rahans have in the merits that they amass by following a course of life which, after all, is repugnant to Nature? It cannot be denied that human motives often influence both the laity and the religious, but, divested of faith and the sentiments supplied by even a false belief, their action could not produce in a lasting and persevering manner the extraordinary and striking fact that we witness in Buddhist countries.'

This monkhood is the proof of how the people believe. Has any religion ever had for twenty-four centuries such a proof as this?

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CHAPTER XI

THE MONKHOOD—II

'The restrained in hand, restrained in foot, restrained in speech, of the greatest self-control. He whose delight is inward, who is tranquil and happy when alone—him they call "mendicant."'—*Acceptance into the Monkhood.*

BESIDES being the ideal of the Buddhists, the monk is more: he is the schoolmaster of all the boys. It must be remembered that this is a thing aside from his monkhood. A monk need not necessarily teach; the aim and object of the monkhood is, as I have written in the last chapter, purity and abstraction from the world. If the monk acts as schoolmaster, that is a thing apart. And yet all monasteries are schools. The word in Burmese is the same; they are identified in popular speech and in popular opinion. All the monasteries are full of scholars, all the monks teach. I suppose much the same reasons have had influence here as in other nations: the desire of the parents that their children should learn religion in their childhood, the fact that the wisest and most honoured men entered the monkhood, the leisure of the monks giving them opportunity for such occupation.

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Every man all through Burma has gone to a monastery school as a lad, has lived there with the monks, has learnt from them the elements of education and a knowledge of his faith. <It is an exception to find a Burman who cannot read and write.> Sometimes from lack of practice the art is lost in later manhood, but it has always been acquired. The education is not very deep—reading Burmese and writing; simple, very simple, arithmetic; a knowledge of the days and months, and a little geography, perhaps, and history—that is all. But of their religion they learn a great deal. They have to get by heart great portions of the sacred books, stories and teachings, and they have to learn many prayers. They have to recite them, too, as those who have lived much near monasteries know. Several times a day, at about nine o'clock at night, and again before dawn, you will hear the lads intoning clearly and loudly some of the sacred teachings. I have been awakened many a time in the early morning, before the dawn, before even the promise of the dawn in the eastern sky, by the children's voices intoning. And I have put aside my curtain and looked out from my rest-house and seen them in the dim starlight kneeling before the pagoda, the tomb of the great teacher, saying his laws. The light comes rapidly in this country: the sky reddens, the stars die quickly overhead, the first long beams of sunrise are trembling on the dewy bamboo feathers ere they have finished. It is one of the most beautiful sights imaginable to see monks and children kneeling on the bare ground, singing while the dawn comes.

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The education in their religion is very good, very thorough, not only in precept, but in practice; for in the monastery you must live a holy life, as the monks live, even if you are but a schoolboy. 792 871

But the secular education is limited. It is up to the standard of education amongst the people at large, but that is saying little. Beyond reading and writing and arithmetic it does not go. I have seen the little boys do arithmetic. They were adding sums, and they began, not as we would, on the right, but on the left. They added, say, the hundreds first; then they wrote on the slate the number of hundreds, and added up the tens. If it happened that the tens mounted up so as to add one or more to the hundreds, a little grimy finger would wipe out the hundreds already written and write in the correct numbers. It follows that if the units on being added up came to over ten, the tens must be corrected with the little grimy finger, first put in the mouth. Perhaps both tens and hundreds had to be written again. It will be seen that when you come to thousands and tens of thousands, a good deal of wiping out and re-writing may be required. A Burman is very bad at arithmetic; a villager will often write 133 as 100,303; he would almost as soon write 43 as 34; both figures are in each number, you see. 803

I never met a Burman who had any idea of cubic measurement, though land measurement they pick up very quickly. 804

I have said that the education in the monasteries is up to the average education of the people. That is so now. Whether when civilization progresses 792 871

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and more education is required the monasteries will be able to provide it, is another thing.

The education given now is mostly a means to an end: to learning the precepts of religion. Whether the monks will provide an education beyond such a want, I doubt. You see, a monk is by his vows, by the whole tenour of his life, apart from the world; too keen a search after knowledge, any kind of secular knowledge, would be a return to the things of this life, would, perhaps, re-kindle in him the desires that the whole meaning of his life is to annihilate. 'And after thou hast run over all things, what will it profit thee if thou hast neglected thyself?'

Besides, no knowledge, except mere theoretical knowledge, can be acquired without going about in the world. You cannot cut yourself off from the world and get knowledge of it. Yet the monk is apart from the world. It is true that Buddhism has no antagonism to science—nay, has every sympathy with, every attraction to, science. Buddhism will never try and block the progress of the truth, of light, secular or religious; but whether the monks will find it within their vows to provide that science, only time can prove. However it may be, it will not make any difference to the estimation in which the monks are held. They are not honoured for their wisdom—they often have but little; nor for their learning—they often have none at all; nor for their industry—they are never industrious; but because they are men trying to live—nay, succeeding in living—a life void of sin. Up till now the education given by the monks has met the wants

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of the people; in future it will do so less and less. But a community that has lived through twenty centuries of change, and is now of the strength and vitality that the Buddhist monkhood is, can have nothing to fear from any such change. Schoolmasters, except religious and elementary, they may cease to be, perhaps; the pattern and ensample of purity and righteousness they will always remain.

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782 about to come upon them soon, realizing the emptiness of life, wishing for the Great Peace.

On Sundays the rest-house, like many others round the village, was crowded. Old men there would be, and one or two young men, a few [792] children, and many women. Early in the morning they would come, and a monk would come down from the monastery near by, and each one would vow, with the monk as witness, that he or she would spend the day in meditation and in holy thought, would banish all thought of evil, and be for the day at least holy. And then, the vow made, the devotee would go and sit in the rest-house and meditate. The village is not very near; the sounds come very softly through the trees, not enough to disturb the mind; only there is the sigh of the wind wandering amid the leaves, and the occasional cry of birds. Once before noon a meal will be eaten, either food brought with them cold, or a simple pot of rice boiled beside the rest-house, and there they will stay till the sun sets and darkness is gathering about the foot of the trees. There is no service [792] at all. The monk may come and read part of the sacred books—some of the Abidama, or a sermon from the Thoots—and perhaps sometimes he may expound a little; that is all. There is nothing akin to our ideas of worship. For consider what our service consists of: there is thanksgiving and praise, there is prayer, there is reading of the Bible, there is a sermon. Our thanksgiving and praise is rendered to God for things He has done, the pleasure that He has allowed us to enjoy, the punishment that He might have inflicted upon us and has not. Our

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was not known. You paid a rupee, and took the change in rice or other commodities.

The excitement of the great day of the full moon began in the morning, about ten o'clock, with the offerings to the monks. Outside the village gate there was a piece of straight road, dry and open, and on each side of this, in rows, were the people with their gifts; mostly they were eatables. You see that it is very difficult to find any variety of things to give a monk; he is very strictly limited in the things he is allowed to receive. Garments, yellow garments, curtains to partition off corners of the monasteries and keep away the draughts, sacred books and eatables—that is nearly all. But eatables allow a very wide range. A monk may accept and eat any food—not drink, of course—provided he eat but the one big meal a day before noon; and so most of the offerings were eatables. Each donor knelt there upon the road with his or her offerings in a tray in front. There was rice cooked in all sorts of shapes, ordinary rice for eating with curry, and the sweet purple rice, cooked in bamboos and coming out in sticks. There were vegetables, too, of very many kinds, and sugar and cakes and oil and honey, and many other such things. There were a few, very few, books, for they are very hard to get, being all in manuscript; and there were one or two tapestry curtains; but there were heaps of flowers. I remember there was one girl whose whole offering was a few orchid sprays, and a little, very little, heap of common rice. She was so poor; her father and mother were dead, and she was not married. It was all she could give. She sat behind

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her little offering, as did all the donors. And my gift? Well, although an English official, I was not then very much richer than the people about me, so my gift must be small, too—a tin of biscuits, a tin or two of jam, a new pair of scissors. I did not sit behind them myself, but gave them to the headman to put with his offerings; for the monks were old friends of mine. Did I not live in one of their monasteries for over two months when we first came and camped there with a cavalry squadron? And if there is any merit in such little charity, as the Burmese say there is, why should I not gain it, too? The monks said my present was best of all, because it was so uncommon; and the biscuits, they said, though they did not taste of much while you were eating them, had a very pleasant after-taste that lasted a long time. They were like charity, maybe: that has a pleasant after-taste, too, they tell me.

When all the presents, with the donors behind them, dressed all in their best, were ready, the monks came. There were four monasteries near by, and the monks, perhaps in all thirty, old and young, monks and novices, came in one long procession, walking very slowly, with downcast eyes, between the rows of gifts and givers. They did not look at them at all. It is not proper for a monk to notice the gifts he receives; but schoolboys who came along behind attending on them, they saw and made remarks. Perhaps they saw the chance of some overflow of these good things coming their way. 'See,' one nudged the other; 'honey—what a lot! I can smell it, can't you?'

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796 And, '*My mother!* what a lot of sweet rice! Who
735 gave that? Oh, I see old U Hman.' 'I wonder
772 what's in that tin box?' remarked one as he passed my biscuits. 'I hope it's coming to our monastery, any way.'

Thus the monks passed, paying no sort of attention, while the people knelt to them; and when the procession reached the end of the line of offerings, it went on without stopping, across the fields, the monks of each monastery going to their own place; and the givers of presents rose up and followed them, each carrying his or her gifts. And so they went across the fields till each little procession was lost to sight.

796 That was all the ceremony for the day, but at dusk the illuminations began. The little pagoda in the fields was lighted up nearly to its top with concentric rings of lamps till it blazed like a pyramid of flame, seen far across the night. All the people came there, and placed little offerings of flowers at the foot of the pagoda, or added each his candle to the big illumination.

The house of the headman of the village was lit up with a few rows of lamps, and all the monasteries, too, were lit. There were no restaurants—every-
[444] one was at home, you see—but there were one or two little stalls, at which you could buy a cheroot, or even perhaps a cup of vermicelli; and there was
716 a dance. It was only the village girls who had
535 been taught, partly by their own mothers, partly by an old man, who knew something of the business. They did not dance very well, perhaps; they were none of them very beautiful; but what matter?

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562 sing, nor play, nor paint. It must never be forgotten
517 that their civilization is relatively a thousand years behind ours. Accomplishments are part of the polish that a civilization gives, and this they have not yet reached. Accomplishments are also the means to fill up time otherwise unoccupied; but very few Burmese girls have any time on their hands. There is no leisured class, and there are very few girls who have not to help, in one way or another, at the upkeep of the household.

Mr. Rudyard Kipling tells of a young lady who played the banjo. He has been more fortunate than myself, for I have never heard of such a person.
562 They have no accomplishments at all. House-
356 keeping they have not very much of. Houses are small, and households also are small; and there is very little furniture; and as the cooking is all the same, there is not much to learn in that way. I fear, too, that their houses could not compete as models of neatness with any other nation. Tidiness is one of the last gifts of civilization. We now pride ourselves on our order; we forget how very recent an accomplishment it is. To them it will come with the other gifts of age, for it must never be forgotten that they are a very young people—only children, big children—learning very slowly the lessons of experience and knowledge.

● 792 When they are between eight and fourteen years
561 of age the boys become monks for a time, as every
792 boy must, and they have a great festival at their
[562] entrance into the monastery. Girls do not enter
304 nunneries, but they, too, have a great feast in their
561 honour. They have their ears bored. It is a
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562 775 cation is a very long process; but they have entered into the path, they have seen the light, if it be even a long way off yet. They know whither they would go. But women, see how few become nuns! Only those who have suffered such shipwreck in life that this world holds nothing more for them worth having become nuns. And they are very few. For a hundred monks there is not one nun. Women are too attached to their home, to their fathers, their husbands, their children, to enter into the holy life; and, therefore, how shall they come to heaven except they return as men? Our teacher says nothing about it, but we have eyes, and we can see.'

562 792 All this is true. Women have no desire for the holy life. They cannot tear themselves away from their home-life. If their passions are less than those of men, they have even less command over them than men have. Only the profoundest despair will drive a woman to a renunciation of the world. If on an average their lives are purer than those of men, they cannot rise to the heights to which men can. How many monks there are—how few nuns! Not one to a hundred.

562 782 Yet in some ways women are far more religious than men. If you go to the golden pagoda on the hilltop and count the people kneeling there doing honour to the teacher, you will find they are nearly all women. If you go to the rest-houses by the monastery, where the monks recite the law on Sundays, you will find that the congregations are nearly all women. If you visit the monastery without the gate you will see many visitors bringing little presents, and they will be women.

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539 house, 'Give me a pinch of mustard-seed,' and it was
771 given readily. So with her treasure in her hand she
761 was going forth back to the Buddha full of delight, when she remembered.

'Has ever anyone died in your household?' she asked, looking round wistfully.

The man answered 'Yes,' that death had been with them but recently. Who could this woman be, he thought, to ask such a question? And the woman went forth, the seed dropping from her careless fingers, for it was of no value. So she would try again and again, but it was always the same. Death had taken his tribute from all. Father or mother, son or brother, daughter or wife, there was always a gap somewhere, a vacant place beside the meal. From house to house throughout the city she went, till at last the new hope faded away, and she learned from the world, what she had not believed from the Buddha, that death and life are one.

● [772] So she returned, and she became a nun, poor soul! taking on her the two hundred and twenty-seven vows, which are so hard to keep that nowadays nuns keep but five of them.[1]

779 This is the teaching of the Buddha, that death is
761 inevitable; this is the consolation he offers, that all men must know death; no one can escape death;

[772] [1] These five vows are:

1. Not to take life.
2. To be honest.
3. To tell the truth.
4. To abstain from intoxicants.
5. Chastity.

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is not the 'I,' but only the result of its action, is too deep for him to hold. True, if a flame dies the effects that it has caused remain, and the flame is dead for ever. A new flame is a new flame. But the 'I' of man cannot die, he thinks; it lives and loves for all time. 775

He has made out of the teaching a new teaching that is very far from that of the Buddha, and the teaching is this: When a man dies his soul remains, his 'I' has only changed its habitation. Still it lives and breathes on earth, not the effect, but the soul itself. It is reborn among us, and it may even be recognized very often in its new abode.

And that we should never forget this, that we should never doubt that this is true, it has been so ordered that many can remember something of these former lives of theirs. This belief is not to a Burman a mere theory, but is as true as anything he can see. For does he not daily see people who know of their former lives? Nay, does he not himself, often vaguely, have glimpses of that former life of his? No man seems to be quite without it, but of course it is clearer to some than others. Just as we tell stories in the dusk of ghosts and second sight, so do they, when the day's work is over, gossip of stories of second birth; only that they believe in them far more than we do in ghosts.

A friend of mine put up for the night once at a monastery far away in the forest near a small village. He was travelling with an escort of mounted police, and there was no place else to sleep but in the monastery. The monk was, as usual, hospitable, and put what he had, bare house-room, [574] [792]

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775 at the officer's disposal, and he and his men settled down for the night.

792 521 After dinner a fire was built on the ground, and the officer went and sat by it and talked to the headman of the village and the monk. First they talked of the dacoits and of crops, unfailing subjects of interest, and gradually they drifted from one subject to another till the Englishman remarked about the monastery, that it was a very large and fine one for such a small secluded village to have built. The monastery was of the best and straightest teak, and must, he thought, have taken a very long time and a great deal of labour to build, for the teak must have been brought from very far away; and in explanation he was told a curious story.

792 It appeared that in the old days there used to be only a bamboo and grass monastery there, such a monastery as most jungle villages have; and the then monk was distressed at the smallness of his abode and the little accommodation there was for his school—a monastery is always a school. So one rainy reason he planted with great care a number of teak seedlings round about, and he watered them and cared for them. 'When they are grown up,' he would say, 'these teak-trees shall provide timber for a new and proper building; and I will myself return in another life, and with those trees will I build a monastery more worthy than this.' Teak-trees take a hundred years to reach a mature size, and while the trees were still but saplings the monk died, and another monk taught in his stead. And so it went on, and the years went by, and from time to time new monasteries of bamboo were built and

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rebuilt, and the teak-trees grew bigger and bigger. 792
But the village grew smaller, for the times were troubled, and the village was far away in the forest. So it happened that at last the village found itself without a monk at all: the last monk was dead, and no one came to take his place.

It is a serious thing for a village to have no monk. To begin with, there is no one to teach the lads to read and write and do arithmetic; and there is no one to whom you can give offerings and thereby get merit, and there is no one to preach to you and tell you of the sacred teaching. So the village was in a bad way.

Then at last one evening, when the girls were all out at the well drawing water, they were surprised by the arrival of a monk walking in from the forest, weary with a long journey, footsore and hungry. The villagers received him with enthusiasm, fearing, however, that he was but passing through, and they furbished up the old monastery in a hurry for him to sleep in. But the curious thing was that the monk seemed to know it all. He knew the monastery and the path to it, and the ways about the village, and the names of the hills and the streams. It seemed, indeed, as if he must once have lived there in the village, and yet no one knew him or recognized his face, though he was but a young man still, and there were villagers who had lived there for seventy years. Next morning, instead of 792
going on his way, the monk came into the village 775
with his begging-bowl, as monks do, and went round and collected his food for the day; and in the evening, when the villagers went to see him at the

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792 775 monastery, he told them he was going to stay. He recalled to them the monk who had planted the teak-trees, and how he had said that when the trees were grown he would return. 'I,' said the young monk, 'am he that planted these trees. Lo, they are grown up, and I am returned, and now we will build a monastery as I said.'

When the villagers, doubting, questioned him, and old men came and talked to him of traditions of long-past days, he answered as one who knew all. He told them he had been born and educated far away in the South, and had grown up not knowing who he had been; and that he had entered a monastery, and in time became a Pongyi. The remembrance came to him, he went on, in a dream of how he had planted the trees and had promised to return to that village far away in the forest.

The very next day he had started, and travelled day after day and week upon week, till at length he had arrived, as they saw. So the villagers were convinced, and they set to work and cut down the great boles, and built the monastery such as my friend saw. And the monk lived there all his life, and taught the children, and preached the marvellous teaching of the great Buddha, till at length his time came again and he returned; for of monks it is not said that they die, but that they return.

775 This is the common belief of the people. Into this has the mystery of Dharma turned, in the thoughts of the Burmese Buddhists, for no one can believe the incomprehensible. A man has a soul, and it passes from life to life, as a traveller from inn to inn, till at length it is ended in heaven. But not

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attained Nirvana, love and hate, desire and repulsion, will have fallen from us for ever. 828

Meanwhile, in each life, we are obliged to endure the affections of the body into which we may be born. It is the first duty of a monk, of him who is trying to lead the purer life, to kill all these affections, or rather to blend them into one great compassion to all the world alike. 'Gayūna,' compassion, that is the only passion that will be left to us. So say the learned. 792 828

I met a little girl not long ago, a wee little maiden about seven years old, and she told me all about her former life when she was a man. Her name was Maung Mon, she said, and she used to work the dolls in a travelling marionette show. It was through her knowledge and partiality for marionettes that it was first suspected, her parents told me, whom she had been in her former life. She could even as a sucking-child manipulate the strings of a marionette-doll. But the actual discovery came when she was about four years old, and she recognized a certain marionette booth and dolls as her own. She knew all about them, knew the name of each doll, and even some of the words they used to say in the plays. 'I was married four times,' she told me. 'Two wives died, one I divorced; one was living when I died, and is living still. I loved her very much indeed. The one I divorced was a dreadful woman. See,' pointing to a scar on her shoulder, 'this was given me once in a quarrel. She took up a chopper and cut me like this. Then I divorced her. She had a dreadful temper.' 775

It was immensely quaint to hear this little thing

[792] 722 361 792 361 apparently meaningful locations would be the huts of the PHON-GYIS located on the peripheries of the camp on local promontories.

The new PHON-GYI KYAUNG near the entrance of the camp was built by others, not by the refugees. The one at the back, on the other hand, was built by contributions among the refugees themselves. One PHON-GYI and one small boy reside here. The PHON-Gyi from the new KYAUNG comes for HSOON (food giver to begging monks) once in a while. A third PHON-GYI KYAUNG at the far rear also was in existence before U Myaing's arrival at camp. Here also resides one PHON-GYI and one small boy.

723 362 U Myaing came by himself to camp and took possession of the place he now lives in. The camp-head assigned the place to him. When they first arrived in Rangoon they had to rent a room at HPA-HSA-PA-LA-KWETTHIT (an area of huts arganised by the Anti-facists Peoples Freedom League, the political party now in power) for a period of 2½ months at Rs. 17/8 per month. This was because they did not know of the refugee camp. They learnt of its existence just as their money ran out, and they shifted over.

U Myaing is of opinion that since he is installed in these quarters no other family will come to put up there, but admits that if they did, he would not have any right to drive them out, since he does not own the place. He is a comparative latecomer to the camp. Other families have been here for nearly two years now, while U Myaing arrived only 10 months ago. The extensions to the eaves of the roof were made by U Myaing. The condition of the camp when he came was very much the same as it is now. Only two additional huts and one PHONGYI KYAUNG have been erected since. He considers that his quarters are slightly better off than those of others in that there is less bustle and confusion in the buildings.

722 342 The quarters assigned to U Myaing are formed by the extension of the eaves of a rectangular house. The house, which measures 60 feet long by 20 feet wide has bamboo matwalls about 10 feet high, is floored with stone paves and has six windows 3 feet square on the long sides. There is a door 3 feet wide at one end. The roof is gabled with a ridge pole from which 8 rafters sixteen feet long are attached. The extensions of the roof consist of thatched leaves on

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777 day on the calendar but the second phongyi decided to embark anyway. Both phongyis were lost when the boat sank that day.

554 The revered position of phongyis is open to all regardless of
792 birth or position. It is felt that some take up the robe because the
178 are unsuccessful in life, or wish an "easy living" - but perhaps this
626 attitude is one of modern sophisticates. Certainly the dominant position of the brotherhood is unchallenged. Occasionally differences arise between the headman and the phongyis of a village. But the phongyis invariably prevail. Offending laymen can be "deprived the gate of heaven" by phongyis refusing to accept HSOON, alms, from th This is called inverting the begging bowl THA-BEIT-MAUK-TAI (Begging
[468] bowl-upturn) and is the current phrase for any sort of a "strike".

792 Some unprincipalled phongyis have sought to enrich themselves by
356 accepting gifts of land or other property, or by selling gifts for
[735] money to traders. When they leave the brotherhood and become laymen again this property become theirs. Such occurrences appear to be rare and are controlled by stipulations of the givers. For example a donor would hesitate to give paddy land to a suspected phongyi but might agree to giving the crops while retaining title.

554 The government or administrative class is looked up to with
647 great respect - in part a carry over from the days of royalty, in part
641 an attitude towards power and influence. However, while the villager today may not know the details of the new constitution he knows there is a "code" wherein he can secure impartial justice.

304 562 178 The custom is dying out today; but, in the villages, the teen-age boy frequently, on the encouragement of their family submit to the tattooing of a small area on the thigh. These decorations seen when the longyis are wrapped high were regarded as essentiall and those without them were openly criticised.

[751] A second type of tattooing consisting of potent symbols were, as still are, placed on the inner arm, back, or high forehead as a means of magical protection against harm. Snake, knife, cudgel and bullet proof motifs are common. Young girls frequently have the inner arm tattooed with such a charm.

838 826 Homo-sexuals are known as MEIN MA SHA ("woman-half") and are recognised by their effeminate gestures, "pretty" locks and clothing. They frequently wear THANAKHA face powder, tie their longyis in a simple tucked-in fold, and wear jewelry like the women. They are rare in villages but have banded together into a society in Rangoon. They appear to be tolerated but are scorned.

It is beleived that individuals known as MEIN-TEE-PON-LAIN-MEIN-PON-LAIN ("Female sex- 2 sexes") exist . These persons are supposed to be alternately a man for one month, and a woman for the following [775] month in a complete process of transformation. Both the MEIN MA SHA and these individuals result from illicit seduction activities in a previous existence - the MEIN MA SHA being the less sinful of the two

•792 291 293 The PONGYI dress consist of orange cotton cloth - one garment being a longyi with a folled tie at the waist; the other a wide band drapped as a robe. When begging the PONGYIS have a special arrangement of the robe which wraps the left arm and covers the neck region. The nuns wear a robe garment over a long sleeved KINGYI jacket of the same colour. They are frequently seen with a scarf folded on the head. Both orders carry orange-cloth (lacquered) parasols on long bamboo shafts, a string of beads and large palm leaf fans. The Pongyis carry leather bags suspended on a shoulder strap for personal effects. PONGYI slippers have a square toe, are made of stiff leather with reinforced soles.

[887] Religious women (including old women) wear chocolate coloured HTAMEINS, KINGYIS and carry a PUMA (a narrow scarf 4 of 5 feet in

length) draped over one shoulder. The PUNA, part of the scarf, still draped, is placed on front of the worshipping woman for her head and hands as she bows. The beads, a string about 2 feet long made of black lacquer or of red or white beads about ½ inch in diameter are called SEIK-PA-IEE (count-beads). They are worn about the neck when not in use, and are "counted" by the fingers of one hand. Each bead, thus counted calls to the worshipper's mind a vision of Buddha as she says ARA HANN (God) in a low voice. While in this dress women do not decorate their hair with flowers or wear jewelry or cosmetiques as such would be unseemly. 792 291 293 [788]

The older men and other religious men (who are gathering alms as members of Buddhist lay societies) wear a loose white robe over a white jacket, white head band, praying bead necklace, and a chocolate coloured scarf draped over one shoulder. The general public must wear their very best clothes for religious festivals but the women do not use cosmetiques. "Rangoon Sabbath" is the term applied to the less strict observations of the town people who may appear with a little THANAKA or other cosmetiques. The marriage dress of the bride is an older form of costume involving use of a long split skirt with cut-flaring jackets. 888 779 575 291 [369] [779] [292] [585]

The hair styles are important and denote age and sex. Children of both sexes wear their hair in a knot at the top of the head with a fringe of short hair like a bowl below. The older man's style was long hair knotted on one side in the back of the head; except in villages this has been superseded by the western short crop ranging from a long "Pompador" to short "crew cuts" - the latter being rarer and more modern. Old men wear very short cropped hair or are shaven - as the Pongyis and nuns. Maidens wear their hair in elaborately woven tresses - earlier on top of the head in a disc-shaped - now in chain braids at the back of the head. False switches of hair are commonly used. Flowers are used as decoration on all occasions. The usual style for married ladies is a knot at the back of the head wound around a rectangular comb of wood, (common) tortoise shell, ivory or gold. Older and married women sometimes appear in an ancient ceremonial style consisting of the hair wrapped around a fiber cylinder 302 177 369

(arm-tie) charm consisting of a small metal tube bound about the upper arm or neck and containing an inscription written by a pongyi on silver or aluminum foil. Once a year, after new years (in March), a PAYA-YUDA (prayer-recite) ceremony is held. At this time pongyis recite the precepts of Buddha for the benefit of the ghosts - who "become hot and run away". Younger people, especially children, are susceptible to being possessed by ghosts. At this time they "throw fits" and are uncontrolable. Under the supervision of a pongyi the ghost is cast out by means of threats and beatings administered to the person of the possessed one. Beatings are severe and continuous often lasting an hour, until the ghost says he is "afraid" and departs. The possessed one, thus cured, does not later complain of rough treatment since this is borne by the invading ghost. Perhaps this relates to the less formulated, "nameless horrors" of unseen and unaccountable forces that cause otherwise unexplainable events - which concept pervades much of western thought to this day.

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A major difference between nats and ghosts is that ghosts cause only harm while nats are ordinarily beneficial in the manner described above. Ghosts may also be controlled for evil purposes against individuals in a variety of black magic. The specialists in black magic are PAH-YOH-GA-SAYA (influence-masters) of black magic or "lower root", (hell-evil), who administer the evil influence. - "upper root" (heaven) masters combat the "lower root evil" Witches also have personal magic powers that allow them to cause harm to an individual by introducing foreign matter such as lumps of meat, hair balls, into the body of the victim. It is never known for sure who the witches are but old women of peculiar habits, and especially of the fishermen's group, are suspected. Such individuals are considered generally malivelent and special precautions are needed to avoid offending them. The influence masters, however, are well known and receive gift-fees for performing services either of causing or controlling black magic influences. Both groups, but especially the influence masters of the lower root control ghosts for their purposes.

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A major means of securing control of a ghost or "ghost-rearing" is to get the finger bone of a recently deceased person who died a "raw death". Incantations said over the bone insures the obedience of

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621 remaining huts. They have lists of the people in their charge.
641 Maung Hyunt and Aung Gyi are under the school-master, who is the most important and influential man of all. These people have to see to the THANI thatch roof, the bamboo, etc., and if there are any repairs needed they get together, estimate the cost , and then go to the government authorities. U Myaing does not know which office they go to.

621 The phongyis resident in the camp do not participate in the
792 secular life of the camp, beyond giving the SILAS and coming occasionally for HSOON. In Pathae village there were small boys whom they taught - thirty or forty of them, but in camp they do not help to educate the young. People go to these phongyis in camp on holy days, to take the SILAS. They do not even preach to the laity. This U Myaing thinks to be due to the fact that they do not know how to, being themselves refugees from country villages.

796 On the 8th and 15th day of the waxing moon and the 8th and 15th day of the waning moon, the four holy days of the month, Daw Aw Zar goes to the Shwe Dagon to say her prayers. U Myaing cannot do likewise because he has to go to work.

641 U Myaing has very little dealing with the government. They do
621 not come for taxes, and in fact even have to provide the refugees with items of food and apparel. The people in the camp are not members of a closely knit organization. They are made up of workers and families all thrown together by the exigencies of the political situation. The three mentioned above are the only ones in the whole camp who have charge of the camp welfare. They take the responsibility for disposing of the bucket sewage and the dirt accumulated in and around the camp. They arrange for government sweepers to come for these. There have been no fire drills or any such exercise held in the camp.

369 In Rangoon the family has few entertainments. There was once
541 a government film show screened in the camp, and the other night Ma Khin Hyein went with some friends to a nearby pagoda to see a lantern slide show of Buddha's Relics. They have never seen a modern Burmese play or PWEBAT. As Daw Aw Zar expressed it, "How
[435] can we go and see one when the charge for admission is a rupee for an adult and 8 annas for a child."

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

536* of the interlude were religious feast days, and out of respect for those
779 occasions, the story had to be religious. Moreover, the interlude had
178 to contend with the *Hawsa* or dramatic recitation by one person of a
story, which was a rival in popularity; and all *Hawsas* were based on
[538] religious stories. However, the most important reason why the
interlude had to depend again on the *Jatakas* for its stories was the
great popularity of the works of U Awbatha.

538 Shin U Awbatha was a monk who lived during the reigns of
178 Bodawpaya (1782–1819) and Bagyidaw (1819–37). He was a product
195 of the age of learning. Famed for his piety, religious learning, and
knowledge of Sanskrit and Pali, he chose, like his contemporaries, to
●[192] write in Burmese, and he enriched Burmese prose. The prose before
him had been much neglected. The scholars were more interested in
verse. When they did write prose, they never succeeded in forgetting
that they were essentially verse-writers, and they used rhymed,
balanced, and measured phrases. They used too rich an imagery.
They broke into verse when they wanted to express any intensity of
feeling. Often they introduced Pali words into their writings when
there were more suitable Burmese ones. Burmese prose before U
Awbatha was in the same position as English prose before Dryden.
U Awbatha introduced a prose which was expressive and clear, simple
yet effective. It was used to convey varieties of feelings and emotions,
but it was always kept restrained and was never allowed to lose its
[871] clearness. His works are still well known and popular. The
importance of U Awbatha to Burmese language and literature can be
judged from the fact that from the junior forms to the Honours
course in Burmese at Rangoon University, his books are textbooks.[1]

538 There are hundreds of Birth Stories, but the most important
178 are the *Ten Big Jatakas*. They are much longer than the rest.
U Awbatha wrote Burmese prose versions of the eight longest
of those. He followed closely the Pali originals as far as the incidents
of the stories were concerned, but he portrayed character in detail,
and made the characters more lifelike and therefore more interesting.
The story was very well retold, but he was equally masterful in the
portrayal of character and in his understanding of human psychology.

He wrote his first *Jataka* in 1785 when Burmese arms were flashing victorious in Assam and Manipur, but vainglorious references to contemporary events found no place in his works. In the peaceful

[1] A short account of U Awbatha is given in G. E. Harvey, op. cit., p. 269.

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
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CHAPTER IV

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U PON NYA

1. The Life of U Pon Nya

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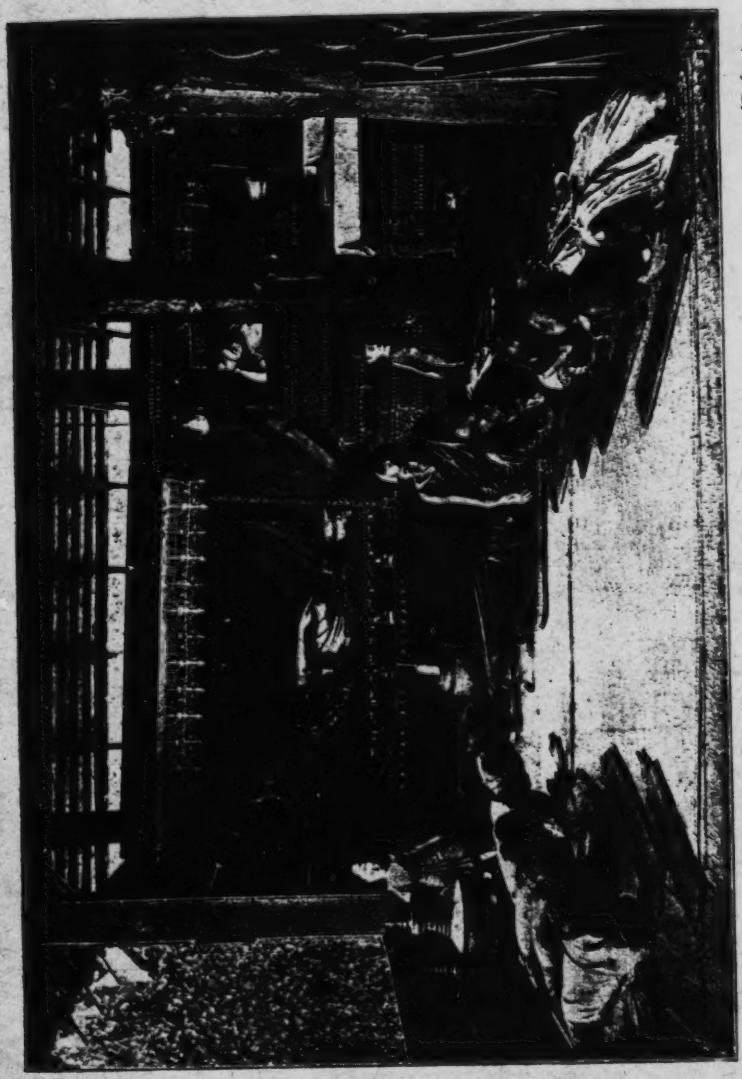
U Pon Nya was born about the year 1807. His father was a minor nobleman at the court of Prince Tharrawaddy, a younger brother of King Bagyidaw (who lost the war against the British), and the young boy was brought up under the patronage of the prince. He was a precocious child and was placed under the tutorship of the most learned monk of the day. The prince rebelled against his brother and became king in 1837. U Pon Nya, in the meantime, had become a monk. During the rebellion, his father fell fighting for the prince, and the new king wanted U Pon Nya to take his father's office, but the future dramatist preferred to remain a monk. King Tharrawaddy continued to consider himself as godfather to U Pon Nya, who therefore was in constant contact with the court. On the death of that king, his son Pagan ascended the throne, and U Pon Nya left the capital for the little town of Salè, where he began to compose literary essays in about 1847. His essays and lyrics became immensely popular, and he came to be known all over the country as the 'Master of Salè', by which name he is more commonly referred to. In 1850 he became a layman again, and was appointed a court poet at the court of Prince Kanaung, a brother of the reigning king, Pagan. In 1851 Burma went to war again with the British and lost some more territory. Prince Kanaung and his other brother, Mindon, rebelled against the half-mad king. Mindon became the new king and made peace with the British. Kanaung became the crown prince, and U Pon Nya his official poet. He was then already recognized by the nation as the foremost poet, scholar and essayist of the day. He wrote astrological works and [787] won further fame as an astrologer. He believed that he was liable to die on the scaffold and asked for a proclamation by the king exempting him from punishment by death; otherwise he begged to leave the court for the monastery. The required proclamation was made.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

[Opp. p. 10



[To face p. 10.

22. INTERIOR OF VILLAGE MONASTIC SCHOOL.

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25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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25. GAME OF SITOPPYIT.

Burman average stands midway between those of Ireland and Austria on the one hand, and Italy and Spain on the other. (Report of the Census of 1891.)

The boys at the monastery-school (*kyaung-tha*) do the domestic work—sweep the floors and enclosures, attend upon the recluses, and help in collecting the daily food. Some scholars live at the *kyaung*, others have the morning meal there, others again have their meals at home. The recluse exacts no deference from his scholar, but nevertheless receives from all lay persons a spontaneous homage identical with that accorded to royal personages. In the *kyaung* the lads acquire the good breeding of their country, for it is among the recluses that the élite of the race is to be sought. In the stage next to be described, the lad completes this training, by himself sharing in the deference paid to the yellow robe, which he assumes for a season as novice. The monastery-schools are open all the year, but have a large attendance only in the rainy season or *wa*.

871 Besides the monastic public schools there are private schools kept by laymen and occasionally also by women, in which girls as well as boys are taught. The subjects and methods are the same, but more time is given to arithmetic. The rules of thumb of the Indian *bedin* are being superseded by modern arithmetic, by help of the vernacular manual prepared by the missionary Stilson. A small fee is paid the lay teacher in money or in kind. Out of hours, the lay-school pupils are of use at their homes, minding their little brothers and sisters.

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The training begun in youth is never broken off. Study is a chief occupation of middle and advanced age. The teacher—*sayá*—clerical or lay, is reverenced,

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26. CYCLE RACE.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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29. NOVICES MAKING THE ROUND FOR DAILY FOOD (P. 78).

CHAPTER III

ADOLESCENCE

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30. THAMI-U ARRAYED FOR HER FETE.

BETWEEN the ages of ten and sixteen Burman lads enter upon the monastic novitiate, an occasion celebrated with a brilliant fête. The adoption of a religious life by girls is much less general, even for the short time it is embraced by the youths; and when it is adopted, there is no ceremony. But a holiday answering to that of the boy's novitiate is held in honour of the girl, especially when she is the first-born child—*thami-u*. In her case the ear-boring ceremony, if not the piercing itself, is deferred to the age of ten or twelve. The child, equipped in royal attire, or an imitation of it, and wearing a queen's crown (*sibôn*), is the centre of a great gathering of relatives and friends, who are entertained with music and plays.

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The lad who has prepared to renounce the world for a season, or it may be for life, is called *shinláung*. The *shinláung* festivals usher in the religious or lenten season—*wă*, June to September—the season of rain in Bahár,

p. 14

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

31. SHINLAUNG ARRAYED FOR HIS FETE.

the home of the Buddha. In order to accentuate the renunciation of the world which the lad is making, he is arrayed and attended like a prince and makes a royal progress on horseback or in a chariot to the monastery. Attendants bear gilt umbrellas over him, and a retinue of relatives and friends carry his *parĕikaya* and offerings for the use of the monastery. The *parĕikaya* are the eight chattels, to the possession of which the regular recluse (*yahán*) is restricted. They consist of the *thingán* or monastic yellow robes, *viz.*, the loin-cloth (*thimbáing*), upper cloth (*egasi*), wrapper (*thingán-dyi*), and red girdle (*kabán*); a needle (*at*), wherewith to piece his clothing together, a hard-baked black earthen pot (*thabĕit*) in which to collect the morning dole of food, a filter (*yezit*) to strain the drinking water clear of living things, and a razor (*thindôn-dá*) to shave the head and face (excepting the eyebrows). The garments are of plain cloth, without any cut, but torn into strips and joined up again (by the donors) in commemoration of the primitive rule of piecing the garments together from rags, as well as to deprive the cloth of value. The cloth is mostly cotton, but silk and wool are also offered. The stuffs are dyed a bright ochre, with chips of Jack-wood. By repeated washings the colour deepens to tan. These varying shades produce a picturesque effect. The recluse customarily also receives sandals to wear, a deer-skin to sit and sleep upon, a broom to sweep his dwelling with, and a large palm-leaf fan, both for a shelter from the sun and a screen from the sight of womankind. The *thabĕit* is slung in a yellow cotton net, and has a lacquerwork stand and cover. In respect of chattels, however, these primitive tokens of privation have sunk to a form. The recluses have many changes of raiment and the use of spacious dwellings

32. SHINLAUNG PAGEANT (BURMA PROPER).

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25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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with good furniture. In all other respects they rigidly observe the rule of their life.

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At the *kyaung*, or by another usage at the home of the candidate, whither the recluse has been invited to preach, the lad will pray for reception as

23. SHINLAUNG PAGEANT (PEGU).

probationer of the *thingd*—the assembly of devoted seekers after righteousness—presenting his *parikaya* at the same time. In response, the recluse will recite the ordinances of reception. First, he will inquire about the bodily integrity of the candidate, the consent of his parents, his freedom from debt and other bonds. Then he will recapitulate the rule of the novice's life, who, besides the five commandments binding on all men, must observe five additional injunctions (*thila*). The cardinal precepts of the Buddha are (1) to respect every form of life; (2) to respect the property of others; and (3) their wives and children;

24. SHINLAUNG PAGEANT (PEGU).

(4) to respect truth; and (5) sobriety. The additional rules are—to eschew sexuality, frequent meals, games, gold and silver, finery and worldliness. The recluse should meekly fix his gaze on the earth not more than "a four-span yoke" in front. He takes food in the forenoon only. The novice gives his hours to

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 API Burma
Burmese AP4

28. SHINLAUNG PRAYING FOR ACCEPTANCE (PEGU).

attendance upon his preceptor, to contemplation and sober study. His preceptor receives voluntary confession of faults, without questioning, prescribes penances, and is to his disciple as a parent. Having acquiesced in the rule of life, the candidate is admonished to divest himself of worldly state and personal adornment, and after that to renew his prayer for admission. 858 792

The *shinlaung* then retires to be divested of his grandeur. His long hair—the pride of the Burman—is cut close to the roots with scissors and preserved by his female relatives. His head is shaved by a male relative. The same day, or later, after bathing, the candidate will present himself clad in a plain loin-cloth, offering his robes and the rest of the *pariḱaya* for acceptance as before. The recluse will now accept the robes on behalf of the Assembly, and deliver them to the candidate, who retires to robe himself. Invested with the *thingán*, he returns as accepted probationer, to make obeisance (*shikô*) to his instructor. The novice takes no vow and owes no formal obedience. Like the full member of the Assembly, he is always free to abandon the religious rule of life (*hu-twet*—to become a layman again). The *goyin* (*maung-yin*, Pâli *samanera*, "*chinthamani*") or "gentle-brother," as the novice is designated, discontinues the use of his secular name, in lieu of which he receives from his preceptor a Pâli title (*hwi*), chosen in the same way as the secular name from one of seven sets. Thus Maung Shwe Ni, Brother Golden-red, becomes Ô Âlawka, Sage Above-the-world. [302] [291] [553]

29. SHINLAUNG PRAYING FOR ACCEPTANCE (BURMA).

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The whole male population of the village are free of the monastery. The recluse and his novices have withdrawn from participation in

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

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27. SHINLAUNG RENEWING HIS PRAYER.

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the world, but not from observation by the world. Great as is the homage accorded to him by the laity, a recluse who should disgrace his cloth—a thing almost unknown — would be promptly unfrocked by them.

For their sustenance the novices and regular recluses depend upon alms. They receive these in kind and according to daily need. Their appeal is mute. The morning after his reception the novice with his brethren will halt in front of his own parents' house and the houses of the neighbours to receive such dole of food as is offered (No. 29). He will not look to right or left, but keep his eyes rooted on the ground, making no sign beyond raising the cover of his alms-bowl. The recluse may not ask for anything whatever, nor even express a predilection. The food, ripe or ready-cooked, as the case may be, is doled indiscriminately into the *thabèit* from the east side, usually by a woman of the house. A woman should not stand in the shadow of a recluse, of a shrine, *zedi*, temple or image. She should not occupy an upper floor when a recluse happens to be beneath, nor enter a *Thein*, nor occupy a higher place with respect to men (p. 72). Food given in a religious spirit, as above described, is called *sun*. The recluses when collecting *sun* are generally followed by a couple of scholars bearing a yoke and basket to receive larger offerings on behalf of the monastery (No. 41).

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Those probationers who remain in the monastery for several years—reckoned by Lents (*wa*)—and who aspire to full membership of the Assembly, read with the recluse Pâli texts of the Tripitaka, and the commentaries on these, and commit portions, sometimes whole books of the canon, to memory. Recluses of standing and also laymen take part in these exercises.

28. GOYIN MAKING OBEISANCE.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

39. PAINTING OF SHINLAUNG FETE.

The constituted daily routine of the monastery takes no account of recreation. In practice there is a wide margin of leisure. But the wearer of the yellow robe is not seen at play. Arithmetical puzzles are the nearest approach to a game. On the other hand, the cheerfulness of the race suffers no restraint. There is decorum, without austerity or sanctimony. The severest penance laid upon the novice is temporary relegation to the secular state (*lein-byan*) for such faults as lying, theft, or killing anything. Cruelty to an animal is punished with caning. 792 512 524 577 [689]

The *yahán* exercise no exclusive function beyond that of admitting candidates to the novitiate and the full membership of their Assembly. The affairs of the Buddhist Church are initiated and conducted by the laity. The recluses merely add, by their presence, to the religious distinction of an occasion. At the shrine the recluse is like any other pilgrim; he never is a ministrant or priest. Neither is there any altar. The only material objects to which sanctity pertains are the relics of the Buddha. The members of the Assembly know no distinctions of men, racial or social. As regards the temporal power, of whatever origin, the recluse should be absolutely passive, neither contravening the laws nor invoking them when he suffers wrong. The recluse neither denounces nor harbours the criminal, a neutral attitude of which criminals are not slow to take advantage. 792 794 778 554 [674]

When admitted to full membership of the Assembly instituted by the Buddha (*Thingá*, Pâli *Sangha*), the novice becomes *Yahán* (*Yahán-daw*, *Rahán*, *Arahan*), which signifies *perfected*, one advanced a stage

40. BOYIN RECEIVING HIGHER INSTRUCTION

792 [871]

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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41. YAHAN ON THE ROUND FOR SUN.

towards the higher spiritual condition of *Ayahát* and *Ayáttapô*. The primitive appellation is *Beikku* (Pâli *Bikku*), one dependent on alms. The spiritual state preceding *Yahán*, that of the man so imbued with the spirit of the Buddha's teaching as to desire membership of his Assembly, is called *Thawtapan*. The candidate for full membership must possess the qualifications for the degree of *goyín*, in addition to a knowledge of the rule of life of the *yahán* and a modicum of religious learning. Most *yahán* are *ngè-byu*—pure from youth—that is, have passed direct from their youthful novitiate to full membership. Men of any condition may be received, and at any age above twenty, if free from debt and other ties, but must undergo a fresh probation. Over and above the precepts observed by
792 the *goyín*, the *yahán* observes one hundred detailed injunctions. He must not
785 merely respect life, but also the means to life. He may not wantonly injure a blade of grass. Cleanliness is particularly enjoined. A notable injunction is not
779 to lay up any store of food. He must not use a raised sleeping-place, though by day he reclines on the couches presented to the monastery. The *yahán* sweeps his dwelling, draws water, washes his clothing, and so forth, when there are not *goyín* or lay-disciples to perform these services for him. Otherwise his occupations are only those of teaching, study, and contemplation. In Lent the
[796] *yahán* remains indoors from sunset to sunrise. At this season he also frequently selects a forest retreat for contemplation in the early morning hours (*wussaung*).
792 The *yahán* practises confession to his brethren of the Assembly, all of whom
554 are equals, but who defer to one another, according to seniority, which is reckoned

42. BUDDHIST RECLUSE.

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

[opp. p.20]

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43. GOYIN PRAYING FOR ADMISSION TO THE THINGA.

[To face p. 20.

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
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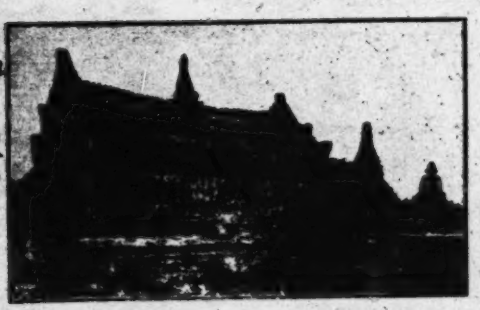

44. ANCIENT THEIN AT PAGAN.

not by age, but by the number of lenten seasons they have belonged to the Assembly. Vigils and restriction of night rest are not practised. The rule of life of the *yahán* is laid down in the *Wini* (*Vinaya Bitaka*), one of the three divisions ("baskets") of the Buddhist scriptures. A *kambawd*, or breviary of scripture, relating to mem-

[212] bership of the Assembly, illuminated with lacquer on copper or ivory leaves, is read by turns by the five members of the conclave assembled for the reception of the new member. This solemnity is undertaken in the *thein*, a *wut* set apart for the *Thingá* alone. No lay persons enter the precincts, but they may be spectators from a distance. The new *yahán* is called *Upazin*, sojourner recluse, or assistant to the *Upyiza*, or *Pôndyi*, *Kiwdyi* (incumbent) of the monastery. In

[162] 1891 there were 13,613 *pôndyi*, 6,668 sojourner *yahán*, and 13,500 probationers in the monasteries of Burma, which numbered 15,371, in a Buddhist population of about seven millions.

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The dedication of the site for building such a *thein* (Pâli *sima*) is preceded by the solemnity of *thein-thanbt*. Ground so dedicated can never be alienated to any other use. In this respect the *thein* is more sacred than the temples in general. After the site has been levelled, it is surrounded with a trench, into which water is led. In the centre a small well is sunk (*ale-dwin*). The *yahán*, not less than twenty-four in number, assemble on the spot, over which a gay pavilion (*mandat*) has been erected, and wait for the water from the trench to

[792] percolate to the well. When this occurs, the site is said to have "taken" (*aung*). Otherwise it must be rejected. The *yahán* gather round the well and intone scriptural passages from a

45. YAHAN ASSEMBLED FOR DEDICATION OF THEIN.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

346 *kambawá*. The laity assembled outside the precincts let off rockets and guns
796 in celebration of the event. Finally, the ceremony of *yezitcha*, the pouring
778 of water (No. 100), is performed by the grantor of the site—as at every other

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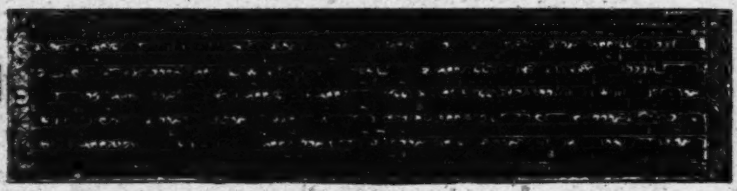

46. ILLUMINATED KAMBAWA.

religious dedication—to signify that the property has been dedicated for ever. The precincts of the *thein* are marked by low boundary pillars, mostly of Sagáing marble, set in the trench, which is then filled in. A different form of *thein* is the *ye-thein*, which is built over the water to effect its isolation.

792 Although the *yahán*, as already stated, may not ask for anything, he may
735 decline what is offered. He signifies this by inverting his *thabéit* (*thabeit-*
kmauk). The action has become a symbol for excommunication. The *yahán*
might assemble in the *thein* and perform *thabéit-kmauk* against a layman for
[794] heinous wickedness. His house would
be passed by in collecting *sun* and all
[178] offerings tendered by him refused. The
practice has become obsolete; it is said
to have no warrant in the scriptures, and
to be contrary to their spirit.

Where the people are very prosperous and the *yahán* are not many, the collecting of *sun* in the streets has sunk to a formality observed by the novices only, who on return to the monastery empty their *thabéit* to the dogs. But in other circumstances the sojourner *yahán*, novices and scholars live on the *sun*. An ordinance of the Buddha dispenses the *yahán* from collecting his food from house to house if there be pious people who proffer him his sustenance at his abode. The founder of the monastery (*Kyaung-taga*), who nomin-

47. SUN SENT BY THE KYAÔNSTADA.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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48. FOREST KYAUNG.

ates the incumbent, regularly undertakes the support of the *phôngyi*, and frequently of his sojourner *yahán* as well. The food, which is the best of its kind, is brought every morning by the daughters and young children of the supporter, or, in the case of joint support, by children of the leading families in turn. An ornamented vessel is used, having a tall finial to the cover (*ôf*). The supplies are received by the lay scholars

792 or the novices, and by them served to the *yahán*. The principal meal is
264 taken shortly before noon, for no food may be eaten after that hour till the
273 following sunrise. Water may be drunk and betel chewed at any time.
276 Tobacco-smoking is discountenanced, especially in Burma Proper, where the
101 religious views are strictest. Burma furnishes the standard both for scholarship and practice, and trains most of the incumbents of the monasteries of Pegu. Scholars and novices may prepare food at the monastery from raw supplies. These the *yahán* may not even handle. Hired labour (*kappiza dayaka*) may

[464] be attached to the monastery by the
792 supporter for the preparation of food
735 and other services. In some cases lands have been dedicated for the maintenance of monasteries and temples. But the *yahán* have no concern with their administration. Supplies of raiment, chattels and food are dedicated to the use of the recluses

[346] when the distinction of their presence is solicited, especially at *shinlaung* fêtes and funerals. The annual pro-

[796] vision of raiment (*kathin thingán*) is made between the months of *Thadingyut* and *Tazaungmon*. The offerings of necessaries are supplemented by accessories of every sort —books and writing materials, mats,

50. VILLAGE KYAUNG.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

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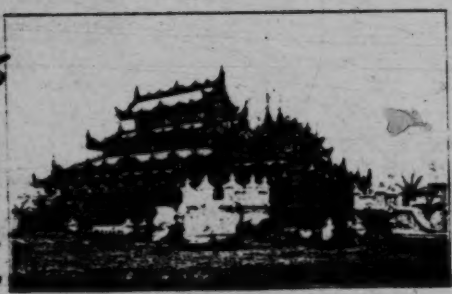

51. KYAUNG AT THE CAPITAL.

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carpets, cushions, handkerchiefs, tables, chairs, betel-boxes and spittoons, glass-ware and crockery, lamps, chandeliers, clocks, knicknacks and furniture, always to the exclusion of gold and silver. Gilt wares are permissible.

The strict *yahán* should prepare his shelter for himself, in an unfrequented place. But by the dispensation already referred to, he may avail himself of a solitary dwelling proffered for his use, and this is invariably the case. Not merely are these schools numerous, but they are the most spacious, substantial, and ornate edifices in the land. Many of them are of palatial size and appointments. The Burman finds nothing too good or too beautiful for those who subject themselves to the restraint of the recluse. The recluse on his part is conventionally oblivious of the magnificence that surrounds him. It is not for him to deprecate. The religious merit of the work, which furnishes the motive of the founder, is proportioned to the outlay upon it. From the bamboo *kyaung* in the forest costing a hundred rupees or less, individuals spend up to hundreds of thousands on the palatial monasteries of the towns (*cf.* p. 75).

792

When the incumbent of a monastery removes or dies, the senior sojourner (*upazin*) may receive his place as *pôndyí*. Otherwise an *upazin* is invited from elsewhere, or the *pôndyí* of another *kyaung* is prevailed upon to move. The *upazin* who has become *pôndyí* defers to his preceptor as before. Every monastery has a titular Pâli appellation, such as *Thilo-ekkaya kyaung*, Letter-of-the-Law monastery.

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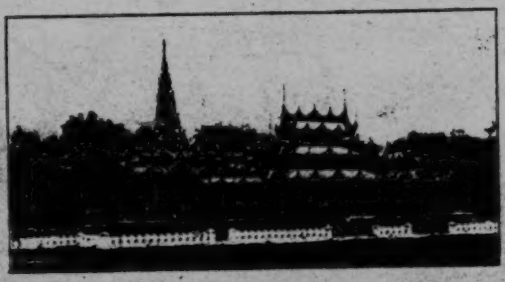
There is no hierarchy in the Assembly of *yahán*. But it commonly happens that a number of monasteries recognise a venerable teacher as referee upon matters of scholarship



52. PALACE KYAUNG.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

792 and doctrine. Such a group is called *gaing*, and its president *gaing-ôk*, his
779 deputy *gaing-dauk*. In the same way a group recognise a *Saddw—Sayd-daw*, or chief teacher. The whole body again defer to a chief *Saddw*, usually the

64. YAHAN INSTALLED AS PONDYI.

yahdn who has been religious instructor to the King during his novitiate, and who is called *Thôthamabding*.

792 In reaction against the comfort with which the laity endow the monasteries,
785 the *yahdn* periodically repair to country retreats for ten or twenty days at a time, either singly or in camps of many, for the sake of cultivating primitive use. Here each *yahdn* has a dwelling of the narrowest compass and makes shift with the mere chattels ordained in the canon. But the laity, ever ready to minister to the *yahdn*, convert these camps into centres of festivity for the

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65. WUSSAUNG CAMP.

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25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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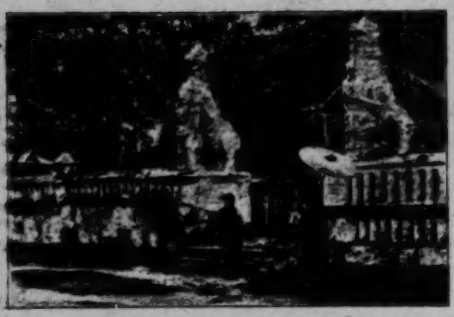

56. YAHAN PASSING THE STREETS.

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whole country-side. The camp is laid out in the rice-fields after harvest, in the form of a square, with a pavilion in the middle for the *yahán* to meet and practise confession (*dhu-pyé*). There are a few *yahán* who do not settle in a *kyaung*, but wander from place to place, in the primitive way, the people providing them with temporary shelter.

The *yahán* make journeys to the seats of learning and the *kyaungs* of their former teachers, and make pilgrimages to shrines. A few travel as far as Ceylon and Buddha Gáya in Bahár. On such journeys the *yahán* is accompanied by a scholar or attendant deputed by the *kyaungtagá* to carry provisions and money, which the *yahán* may not handle. When not collecting their *sun*, the *yahán* go abroad with attendants and carry umbrellas, or suffer such to be carried over them, and wear sandals. The *yahán* allow themselves to be driven in ox and buffalo carts; but do not drive or mount an animal or avail themselves of horse-draught. They travel by boat, steamer, and rail. Aged *yahán* are carried on a litter (*yin, waw*).

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The *kyaung*, primarily a shelter for the *yahán*, has, in virtue of his occupation, come to be a school. It is at first established on the outskirts of a settlement or at some distance away from it. Secular buildings are not erected within the shadow of a religious building. But the growth of towns brings the houses up to the precincts (*parawún*) of the *kyaung*, which stands within a liberal enclosure, planted with fruit-trees. The *kyaung* as such has no particular style. The superposed roofs and decorated spires (*pyatthat*) of the votive *kyaung* are emblems of secular state, added to confer distinction.

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57. YAHAN ON HIS JOURNEY.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

83. DAUTCHA YATHE.

Burma by pilgrims. Dried and gilt leaves are also brought as relics. The seeds of the tropical *ficus* species germinate in the fork of some other tree or in a cranny of masonry and flourish in such mould as they find. The roots develop thick bands which dislodge the masonry, but, interlacing in all directions, hold the loose material together while the tree lives; or else, when the host is another tree, strangle it and take its place (Nos. 77, 245, 321). 788 824

The *yahán* are not the only religious celibates of Burma. Several other classes follow this way of life, observing many or few rules, according to their own choice. Nearest to the *yahán* are the *yathé*. They depend chiefly on alms, but cultivate gardens for themselves. Their appeal for alms is mute, they accept them in money as well as in kind, and they lay up a store for actual needs. They take food in the forenoon only. The *yathé*, who are few in number, live in forest caves or in derelict shrines, and shift for themselves, singly or in small colonies. The majority study, though they do not teach; some are illiterate. They receive a certain deference from the laity, and themselves defer to the *yahán*. The *yathé* are the subject of harmless satire and burlesque in the plays; the *yahán* never. The robe is like that of the *yahán*, but dyed tan instead of yellow. *Yathé* mostly shave the head, but there is a class who wear the hair long. Certain of them use a headgear called *dautcha*, which forms a receptacle for an image of the Buddha. Some are addicted to mild forms of occultism such as alchemy (p. 111) and devising cabalistic diagrams for charms and tattoo-marks. These practices are under the ban of Buddhism. Pretensions to occult powers, such as have 792

84. CAVE-SHRINE NEAR MAULMAIN.

[522] [301] [788] [291] 789 792

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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85. POTHUDAW.

been brought into a pseudo-connection with Buddhism by certain western neophytes of the Tibetan cult, are unheard of in Burma, which is the stronghold of primitive tradition.

Pôthudaw observe fewer *thîla* than *yathé*. They make their appeal with a gong of triangular shape (*kyîzi*, Nos. 22, 86), which spins on the string it hangs by, and emits a high and sustained throbbing note. *Pôthudaw* eat in the forenoon only. They accept alms in money and in kind, for which they carry baskets with a shoulder-yoke. They wear a white robe, shave the head, and pluck out the beard. *Pôthudaw* shift for themselves in *zayât* about the temples and seldom remain long in one place.

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Mèthilá are female celibates who observe a rule parallel to that of the *Pôthudaw*. They shave the head. Their robe is like that of the other celibates with the addition of a jacket. The cloth is dyed a faint red. Both they and the *pôthudaw* are generally individuals who have lost their family ties. In some places *kyaungs* are provided for *mèthilá*, where they keep schools for girls. A few are possessed of learning. *Mèthilá* are about as numerous as *pôthudaw*, and both together are about one-tenth to one-twentieth as numerous as *yahán*, and several times more so than *yathé*. There is no class of female recluses answering to *yahán*.

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Payadyèn form colonies in the vicinities of the principal shrines and of the cemeteries of large towns. They are the descendants of temple slaves, the condition to which captives in war were reduced both by the Burman and the Taláing races during their incessant

86. METHILA AT WORSHIP.

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

[opp. p. 40]

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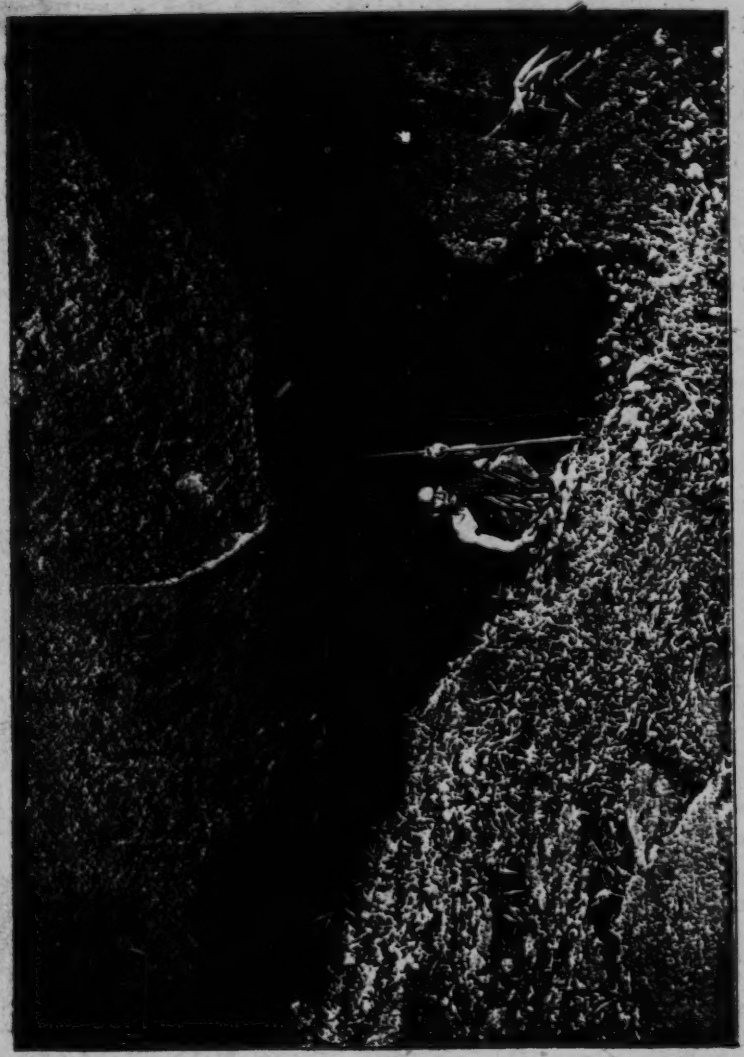

87. VATHE BEFORE HIS CAVE

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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[735]

88. METHILA ON THE ROUND FOR SUN.

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struggles. Apart from this and the serfdom referred to at p. 32, slavery has only played a subordinate *rôle* in Burma within historic times. The *payadyún*, and they alone, are treated as outcasts by both of these populations. They beg for alms and also appropriate the offerings brought to the shrines in profusion at festivals. Their right to beg is admitted, although they frequently accumulate money and build fine houses.

Lepers (*anû*) in many cases quit their families of their own accord and settle in the *payadyún* colony. In some places they were compelled to do so. The settlements have thus acquired the semblance of leper colonies. There are a few country villages of this character. Indigent lepers beg for alms. In 1891 there were 6,000 lepers in Burma, the highest ratio in the Indian Empire. There are now four leper asylums. Casual
[735] mendicancy is almost unknown in Burma.

787 The Burman and Brahman soothsayers (p. 158) are regular frequenters of
803 the shrines. The Burman astrologer (*bedin-sayû*) casts horoscopes on the Brahman model (No. 279) and designates the days auspicious for undertakings. He takes his name from proficiency in reckoning, and is consulted about business calculations that cannot be done mentally.

796 The Buddhist duty-days (*âbôt-ne, thadin*) follow the quarters of the moon.
785 They are kept regularly during lent. On these days the pious laity of both sexes and sedate years observe the rule of *pôthudaw* and *mèthila* from sunrise to sunrise (*âbôt-saung*). They adopt sober
[785] attire, or else white cotton clothing, which is considered the plainest of any. In the forenoon men and women separately repair to the temple rest-houses, whither food for the morning meal, which has been collected the previous evening from religious donors

89. SOOTHSAYER.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

779 forces." The only certain good within the control of man is the conduct of
779 his own acts. The final annihilation of desire, attained in the course of lives upon lives of self-discipline, ushers in the serene state of *Nirvâna* (*Neippan*, Pâli *Nibbân*), in which the subject of *karma* is no longer chained to forms of existence by any debt of sin. At death is then attained the perfect condition *Parî-nirvâna*, of which *Nirvâna* was the apprehension in life (Exposition of Sadâw Û Wuziyama, of Thîla-ekkaya *kyaung*). The spiritual stages to *Nirvâna* are *Ayahât* and *Ayâttapô*. But it is not claimed for the holiest living
[792] recluse, much less by himself, that one of these stages has been attained.

100. CEREMONY OF YEZEYCHA (p. 29).

779 Devotion to the ideal is the utmost. The third of the gems is the ASSEMBLY, "the spiritual family" of the Buddha, or communion of those who adopt to the full the aids towards holy life inculcated by him and who perpetuate his doctrine and example. Nevertheless, life in the world, though unfavourable to attainment of holiness, in nowise debars it.

The Law of Gawdama Buddha is to last for a period of five thousand years, one half of which has elapsed. It is then to be superseded by the law of a new Buddha. The metaphysics of Gawdama are studied by few (see Rhys Davids, *Buddhism*, and Huxley, *Romanes Lecture*), but thanks to the network of schools, with which Buddhism has overspread Burma, its practical features are within the knowledge of all.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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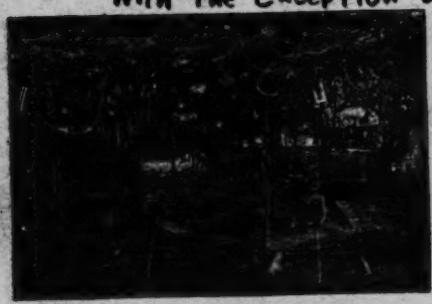
Such is the life that opens to every Burman; such are the scenes and the ideas in which he may grow up and live and die without having taken part in the world longer th n the years of childhood. But if, as happens in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, the novice of the Assembly returns to the world, he first takes leave of his *phudyi* and surrenders the *parâikaya* he brought as probationer.

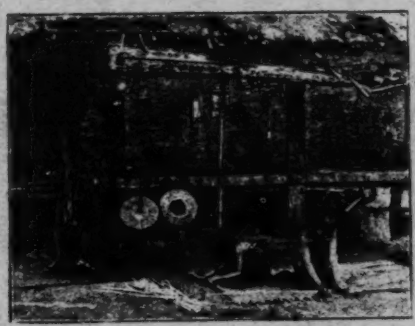
101. GOYIN PRAYING FOR LEAVE TO RETURN TO SECULAR LIFE

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

With the exception of the stuff for the 386
recluses' robes, cloth is not dyed 286
in the piece, but in the yarn. [192]
Dyes used for cotton are also
chiefly imported, but the in-
digenous dyes continue to be
used for silk. The Burmans [342]
excel in yellows, oranges, deep
reds, and rich deep greens,
which they harmonise with beau-
tiful effect. Their clear blues
and purples are indifferent.
Except in a few localities, where 286
weaving is a speciality, the men 462
take no share in the industry
beyond constructing the looms. Women spin and dye the yarn and weave [438]
the cloth. The lath of the loom (*lekha*) is of graceful outline—often elaborately
carved—and is furnished with two ornamented metal pins, with loose metal rings, [531]
that jangle at each swing of the beam, and proclaim the industry of the young
woman, to whom this business chiefly falls. Hence it comes that the loom is a [584]
favourite *rendezvous*. The same applies to other occupations of the girls, such
as rice-cleaning, when the suitor will take a turn at the heavy part of the work
and lounge while the sifting goes on. Common patterns of cloth are tartans, 286
for which two or three shuttle-spools are required. The plainest cloth woven
is at least shot with a colour different to that of the warp. The intricacy of
a pattern is denoted by the number of spools. Scroll patterns (*cheik*) in silk are
called *lun-taya* (hundred-spool). The warp is a cubit wide and about twenty
cubits long, which makes a man's
loin-cloth (*pasó*). The piece is
doubled and its edges sewn
together along one side; the turn
of the cloth serves as a bag or
wallet, according as the piece
is draped; it has no lining. The
pasó is hitched round the loins
and girt long or short, according
to fancy, without the help of a
belt; but elastic belts are now
coming in. The slack is worn
in a bunch in front (*habdungza*)
or is thrown over the shoulder.



128. BINDING THE THATCH.



127. PLAITING FLOOR-MATS (see p. 66).

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25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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159. CHILDREN AT THE RIVER SIDE (p. 91)

Every stranger, man or woman, is addressed *K'mbyâ*—sir, madam. There is a courteous address for nearly every relation in life. Children, in speaking to their parents, grandparents, uncles, and aunts, say *Shin* and *Daw*—lord, lady; wife to husband, *Shin*; husband to wife, *Byo*, *Bya*—terms of endearment; younger brother or sister to elder, *Go*, *Maung-dyt*; elder brother to younger *Maung*; brothers to sisters, *Ma*. *Maung* and *Ma* (brother and sister) have become the ordinary prefixes to names, answering to our Mr., Mrs., Miss. These are used even by parents to their grown-up children. To inferiors and in disparagement, the plain *nga*, *mè*, *mi* are used. Middle-aged men are given the address *Go*, and old men that of *Û* (uncle), which is also the prefix to the *bwè* of the *yahán*. Great regard is conveyed by the address *Sayâ*—teacher, master. The honorific word for wife is *gadáw*, thus—*sayâ-gadáw*, *min-gadáw*. To royalty the addresses were *Gôdaw*—re self; *Ashin-Payâ*—lord of lords; *Pôn-daw-dyt*—of great glory. These titles came to be used for ministers and governors, as more euphemistic ones were devised for the kings. The same addresses are accorded by courtesy to the *yahán*, who on their part address the layman as *Tagâ*, *Tagâdaw*—supporter, great founder. The layman refers to himself as *tabyt-daw*—the honoured disciple. In other relations of life, other periphrases are used for the pronouns of the first and second persons. The plain *I* and *you* — *ngâ*, *nin* — are only used in disparagement. Thus the current phrase for *I* is *tyunôk*—the humble servant. (For women, *tyunma*.) In addressing superiors, the phrase is *tyundáw*, *Payâ-tyundáw*

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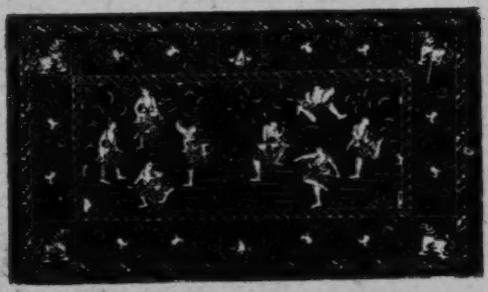

160. CHINLON GAME—APPLIQUE WORK (p. 178)

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 · AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

161. CHILDREN'S TUBS AT FLOOD-TIME (P. 91).

—the slave, his lordship's humble servant. There are special honorific terms for the coming and going, eating and sleeping of royalty and of the *yahán*. The most coveted titles or appellations are those of *kyaung-tagá*, *Payá-tagá* — founder of a school, founder of a temple. The first of these is given by courtesy to persons of venerable age. The great increase of prosperity has given a corresponding impetus to the founding of such works, so that the *tagá* are more numerous than ever before. The private foundations are on a scale of unprecedented magnificence. At no period has Buddhism shone throughout the land in such resplendence as now. Personal titles and badges (*sahu*, No. 31) used to be given by the kings. Small dignities and offices have been hereditary in many places. Nevertheless, no aristocracy has developed. One of these titles was *Thakin* (master, lord), now assumed by all Europeans in the same way as "*sahib*" in India. Despite the punctilio in address, greetings are unusual between equals. After absence, a mere "Here you are again" and an inquiry about health—*ma-ná-lá?* At departure, "I'm off," "You're going"—*thwa dawmi*. There is nothing answering to the established *salám* or to our "Good day," "Good-bye." The verbal salutation to the *yahán*, after obeisance, is *Gódaw-aya thippáyá pyippa-é lá*—is your Grace duly provided with the canonical

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162. CARVING OF CHINESE PLAYERS (PP. 18, 179).

163. THE PABYA SHRINE (P. 189).

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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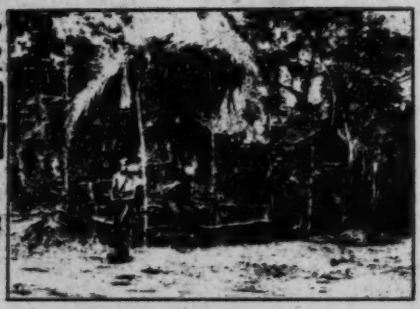

164. FOREST ZAYAT AND WATER-STAND P. 63.

requirements? To which the *yahán* cordially responds, *pyippa, pyippa, tagádaw*—that I am, my valued supporter! Just as salutations are ordinarily omitted, so thanks are only expressed for special favours. The sense of obligation is conveyed by adopting courteous forms of speech, in which the particle *ba* always figures. The set forms of *please* and *thank you* are thus dispensed with. Where, however, a disparity of age or position exists, every act of the superior becomes [431] by courtesy a boon. A Burman is disconcerted by a simple present, as well as by *bakshish* and payments above the stipulation, which he is particular to make beforehand. But when approaching a superior with a request, the inferior bears an offering of courtesy, generally fruit. The inferior makes *shikô* both on approaching and taking leave. A Burman does not stand, in the presence of his superior, but squats down. When he has occasion to pass close to his superior, he does not walk erect but crouches. By well-bred Burmans the gestures of respect are performed in a very graceful manner. Every Burman, the *yahán* not excepted, on ascending the *kyanníing* of a house, removes his [356] sandals or shoes. As we Westerns respect the *roof* that our host has provided by doffing our head-gear, so Easterns respect the *floor* that is provided—an observance of a practical nature where the floor serves both for seat and table. In 576 an analogous way to our greeting with the hat, the Oriental shows respect by slipping the sandals even outside the house. Still more [515] courteous is the practice of washing the feet before entering a house or *kyaung*. Burmans always contrive to sit so as to hide the soles of the feet or to turn them

165. RECEIVING A VISITOR.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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414. WATER-THROWING AT NEW-YEAR.

Party feeling, which often runs high between the quarters of a village, with their rival *kyáung* and *zedi*, finds an outlet at *Tagú* in the tug-of-war (*lun-sue*). As the superstitious whistle for the wind, so do they expect to tug in the monsoon by this means, at the season when everything is panting for rain.

After *Tagú*, the next festival season is *Wázó*—in June—the commencement of the Buddhist Lent. This season is signalised by the *Shinláung ftes*, described in Chapter III. During Lent there is no regular festival.

The great festival of *Thadlindyút* celebrates the close of Lent. It falls in October, when the rains are generally over, and is the one for which the most extensive preparations are made. Every festival is signalised by the offerings made to the *yahán*. But now they are literally "poured" in profusion, as the word implies (*sun-láung*). *Yazamá*—paths fenced with bamboo trellis, such as those prepared for the progress of royalty—are got ready along the chief thoroughfare. Through these on the morning of the great day the *yahán* defile in endless procession. As many as a thousand *yahán* may be invited to receive the *Thadlindyút* offerings in a large town. The offerings are poured into the alms-bowls by the laity; scholars are stationed at intervals to relieve the *yahán* of their loads of offerings. After the *yahán* come *pôthudaw* and *mèthilá*. Both ends of the *yazamá* are decorated with arches of bamboo and tinsel. About these are grouped life-size figures of mythical import—dragons to guard the entrance, princes and princesses of the *nats* to take part in the honour done to the *Thingá* (No. 151). In the evenings fire-

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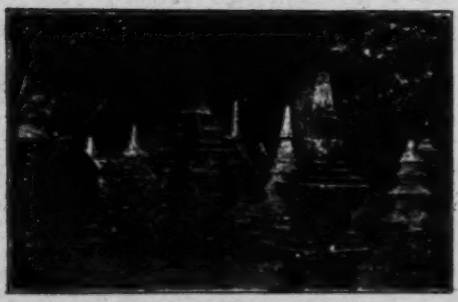
415. KANGOM PROCESSION AT NEW-YEAR.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4



441. CINERARIA ON SACRED GROUND.

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if of a woman, towards the right. After the coffin has been lowered, the relatives and friends throw on the earth. The chief mourner waves a kerchief and calls on the spirit to return (*leippya-'kaw*); the kerchief is deposited where the corpse had lain in the dwelling, for seven days, when friends are bidden once more. Regular funerals are held when a person has died a death that is looked upon as natural. In the case of violent and other "unripe" deaths the body is buried in haste without any obsequies (p. 188).

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Incongruous as are certain of the customs observed at lay-people's funerals, it is at the funerals of the solemn recluses that the boisterous Burman practices reach their climax. When the incumbent of a *kyaung* dies (much less pomp is displayed at the funeral of a sojourner), the body is embalmed, so as to allow of several months being devoted to the preparations for the funeral. The corpse is swathed like a mummy and laid in a solid dug-out coffin of hard wood. Mercury is poured in at the mouth and honey is applied externally. A support for the coffin is made in the form of a *naga*, raising its head and fiery tongue to guard its trust. Upon the coffin rests an effigy of the deceased. Beneath the *naga* is a throne (*ballin*), decorated with gilding and colours. Sometimes the whole structure is of glass mosaic (*thdyô*), and subsequently forms part of the catafalque. Such elaborate *dalâ* are not burned, but brought back to the *kyaung*, where they are kept, although not used again. Over all is a royal canopy of corresponding magnificence, with the *tlhyu* or royal ensign at the four corners. Thus the coffin lies in state in the *kyaung*, or in a special building, it may be during the whole rains, while the *kyaungtagâ* is occupied with the

442. THE LAST STAGE.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

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443. BIER OF PONDYI.

preparations for the grand funeral ceremony, which is called *pôndyî-byan*—the *translation* of the *yahán*. The expenses are frequently shared and public contributions flow in. The catafalque is of the same design as the ordinary *dalâ*, but of several times greater dimensions—fifty to sixty feet high to the *tî* of the *pyatthat*. It is solidly constructed, and braced and strengthened in every direction. At the present day the catafalque is mostly erected on a stout platform on wheels. A long cable proceeds from each end of the carriage to draw it by, and enable it to be controlled where the road descends. It is difficult to manœuvre at the turns of the streets and under the telegraph-wires, although the latter are carried on special posts where they cross the approaches to cemeteries. The *pyatthat* often fails to reach its destination in its original perfection; nevertheless it stands out brilliantly in the grand display, in which it is frequently preceded and followed by subsidiary *pyatthat* erected over carriages which bear the largest offerings to the *kyaungs*. The Myinmo Daung with its denizens (p. 38) is built up on a carriage, others are bright with *nats* and *thadyû*, immense paper models of boats, ships, and steamers, and similar freaks of the *Thadindyut* carnival. Life-size models of white elephants, caparisoned with red and tinsel, move in the procession. Uniform costumes are got ready, and scores of young men are drilled for their parts in the *cortége*. The day is fixed long beforehand, and people throng in from all the neighbouring villages in their brightest silks. The sunny streets are lined with booths, *pwé* are being acted, and bands are playing. At noon the great catafalque begins its progress to the cemetery, drawn by the people, preceded and followed by regiments of masqueraders, endless lines of women carrying offerings, and sight-

444. CINERARIUM OF YAHAN.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

448. PONDYIBYAN.

seers. If the idea be to conjure up the utmost possible contrast to the life of the man who is being honoured, the object could not be more completely attained. When the bier has reached the cemetery, the coffin is not set on a pyre like that of the layman, but is burned in the catafalque, for which purpose the latter has been filled with combustibles. The fire is not lighted in the common way; it is kindled from a distance by means of rockets. They are contributed by different villages or quarters of the town. Each of them backs their rocket for the honour of starting the fire. In Burma Proper the great rockets are sent through the air, guided by rattans to the catafalque. But it is one thing to reach and another to kindle. The Taláing rockets, with the trunks of hard trees, hooped with iron, for barrels, and mounted on stout carriages, are merely aimed at the catafalque. It frequently happens that none of them hits the mark; then the fire is kindled by hand. But the rocket that went nearest has won the day; great sums of money change hands, and as they return home, some people's spirits are higher than ever, while everybody else puts the best face upon it. *Tè pondyi-byan kaung-dè*—, it was a glorious *pondyi-byan*, and the *kyaungtagi* will be congratulated upon it as long as he lives. It is as though feelings held in life-long repression had regained the field and were asserting their sway over the passive embodiment of the restraining power. Extremes meet; and herein the secret may lie of the spell Buddhism exerts over Burma, in her serious mood.

446. CINERARIUM OF KING MINDON MIN.

The Burmans are wont to mark the course of life into five stages—first to get strength, then to get knowledge, then

29: Slater M-4 (no date) 1951 AP1 Burma
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779* [792] By the forming of the Order, it has been said, a vital gospel for Everyman was gradually transformed into a monkish discipline and a dry scholasticism.[21] Others, however, may see in the monastery, not only the very genius of Buddhism, but a further sign of its essentially religious character, while a wider reference will emphasise the relation of the monastery to the life of the community in countries such as Burma and Siam, where Buddhism has remained a dominant influence.

The religious character of Buddhism may be discerned even in the discord among his followers which began in the Buddha's lifetime and divided the first great council, which was held after his death, for sectarianism is more the sign of religious zeal than of philosophic interest. Rival interpretations led eventually to the two main divisions of Buddhism which exist today — the Mahāyāna (Greater Vehicle) or Northern Buddhism, prevalent in China and Japan, and the Hīnayāna (Lesser Vehicle) or Southern Buddhism, prevalent in Ceylon, Burma and Siam.

Prior to this division, there had been a vigorous revival of missionary activity under the great king, Aśoka (circa B.C. 245). Travelling overseas, Buddhism established its citadel in Ceylon when the new faith declined in India before a resurgent Hinduism. A similar missionary vitality expressed itself in the later developments which marked the rise of the Mahāyāna tradition. "The teaching of Buddha is for the salvation of all living beings," Aśvaghoṣa, the St. Paul of Northern Buddhism, is said to have declared when he became the willing and respected captive of the conqueror, Kaniṣka. Buddhism is essentially tolerant and seldom aggressive, but time and again in its long history it has manifested this fervour and persistence. It has known occasions of decline and even decadence. It has, in places, gone underground and almost disappeared. But through all vicissitudes it has shown a remarkable tenacity, and today it is still one of the living religions of the world. Father d'Eypernon remarks its 'suppleness.' Buddhist monks at the present time, he affirms, do not hesitate to affirm that Buddhism is excluded from any Communist campaign against religion, since the Buddha was the first Communist.[22]

779* 775 With the early expansion of Buddhism primarily in mind, Dahlmann reiterated Max Müller's objection that Nirvana, conceived as Annihilation, could never have been the goal of such a missionary faith as Buddhism. 'Nirvāṇa, die Oede des Nichts, ein "welteroberndes" Ideal!'[23] The exclamation arises even more irrepressibly if we consider the subsequent history of Buddhism. Nirvana, in its religious context, may not be

[21] Cf. Mrs. Rhys Davids, *Sakya*, and other works.

[22] *Les paradoxes du Bouddhisme*, Preface, p. IX.

[23] *Nirvāṇa, Eine Studie zur Vorgeschichte des Buddhismus*, pp. 5, 6.

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a simple, straightforward affirmation, but it is not denial. No religion could so persist if it merely brought man's elemental aspirations to a sharp cliff and threw them over. 779* 775

5. *Burmese Buddhism*

If there are good reasons for approaching the subject of religious paradox by a study of Buddhism, there are also good reasons for considering Buddhism as it appears in Burma where it is still a living and a dominant religion. 121

In the study of great religious traditions there is always need to maintain a balance between regard for the written texts and for the living expression. To consult one without the other is to misinterpret both. What the Christmas stories in the gospels mean to Christians cannot be fully discerned if they are isolated from Christmas observance any more than the Jātaka stories of Buddhism can be fully appreciated until they are read in the context of popular faith, with its drama and poetry. And what an entirely misleading impression of monastic Buddhism one might get from the Abhidhamma literature unless one has seen something of the life of a Buddhist monastery! This balance, as our Burmese critic observed, has not always been maintained in the study of Southern Buddhism.

Burma provides exceptional opportunities for such a study. "If anybody wants to know and see Buddhism as conceived and preached by the Buddha himself so far as the Saṃgha life goes," says a recent writer, "one can see a nearest approach to it in the monasteries of Burma.... Of all the Indianised lands of South-eastern Asia, Burma is indeed the only country where monastic Buddhism of the Theravāda nikāya survives to this day in its pristine purity."[34] And the same writer emphasises the impact of this monastic life on Burmese life and culture. [792]

In Burma, eighty-five per cent of the inhabitants are Buddhists. Of these, one in every hundred is a Buddhist monk. Go where you will, you find the yellow robe of the Order, the pagoda gleaming white across the plain or on the hillside, the monastery in every village, intimately related to the life of the people. This has been the situation for centuries. Here one can see Buddhism in action; one can try to interpret its symbols in the light of the very real, if rustic, civilisation which it has shaped and maintained. Burma is one of the most interesting countries in the Orient. Its people are literate. There is freedom from caste, and, for that matter, scarcely any class system. In the days of the monarchy, "when you left the king, you dropped at once to the villager."[35] An Englishman observed, [162] 779* 565 562 779*

[34] Nihar-Ranjan Ray, *Theravāda Buddhism in Burma*, chap. VII, p. 262.
[35] Fielding Hall, *The Soul of a People*, chap. IX, p. 106.

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175 But Burmese kings were not always good. The monasteries which became centres of community life in village after village have to be pictured more often against a dark background of marauding armies, political feud and violent revolt. This chequered history gives point to the suggestion that Burma owes its civilisation and 'the preservation of ... moral and mental balance' very largely to the Buddhist Order which persisted and grew apace through all vicissitudes.[33] Within the Order, there was a remarkable degree of discipline, upheld by a *Thāthanābaing* or Burmese Arch-Abbot. There was also a remarkable unanimity. Although there were different schools and parties, it is significant that there is little, if any, hint of doctrinal controversy. If there had been any considerable impact of Mahāyāna interpretation, we should surely have heard more about it. What, on the contrary, is much more evident, is the continued impact of Ceylon. Perhaps the most serious division was occasioned by a claim that it was necessary to resort to Ceylon to maintain the legitimate 'line of descent.'[34] There were, it is true, schismatics. Non-conformist Paramatā sects decried the Order and taught the existence of an immanent Divine Being, the *Shwe Nyan Daw*, a belief which may reflect either Mahāyāna or Hindu influence. By and large, however the dominating religious and cultural force was Hīnayāna Buddhism for eight centuries without interruption. We have therefore good reason for beginning a study of Southern Buddhism in a country which has been so deeply impressed by its influence.

There is also a personal reason. It was in Burma, some twenty years ago, that my own acquaintance with Buddhism began. It was during discussions with monks and laymen there that I began to think that Nirvana was the ultimate religious term of their faith — the term which symbolised the consummation of their doctrine, practice and aspiration. And the mode of expression of this Nirvana symbol seemed to me significant, not only for my Buddhist friends, but for all concerned with the study of religion and life.

[33] J. A. Stewart, "Note on Some Authorities for the History of Burma," *J.B.R.S.*, XIII (1923), p. 75.

[34] M. H. Bode, *Pali Literature of Burma*, chap. II, p. 19.

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782 customs. Grant Brown observes that, while Buddhists in the Chindwin
779* area still sacrifice fowls to the god of the harvest, 'the thing is done some-
771 what surreptitiously and shamefacedly.'[12]

Other practices survive more openly. In many Burmese villages there
755 is a *nat-ka-daw*, or spirit-medium, generally an elderly or middle-aged
woman, who is supposed to be married to a *Nat*. She tells fortunes, and is
791 called in sometimes in cases of sickness to discover whether the patient
will recover. Mr. Spear describes an incident of this kind which took place
in the main street of a large town in the presence of many spectators.
"The *nat-ka-daw*, in addition to her usual clothing, wore a sash around
the waist and a cloth wound around her head. She danced with a dah, a
long and heavy Burmese knife, in her hand, until she fell exhausted."
Plantains and coconuts had been placed in a shelter, opposite the house,
as offerings to the *Nat*.[13]

[782] In this case, apparently, the *Nat* was neither held responsible for the
sickness nor expected to cure it. There are times of epidemic sickness,
however, when a whole village is temporarily abandoned, and special
rituals are followed to placate the *Nat*, who is considered to have caused
the epidemic.

776 In an interesting account of the development of a modern *Nat* cultus,
782 a Burmese writer describes a public festival in honour of the *Nat*. A play
is staged during which one of the Thirty Seven *Nats*, who is personified
by a villager, asks the *Nat* of the locality if he is taking due care of the
villagers. Here the *Nat* is obviously regarded as benevolent. But we are
told that this was not always so. Formerly the Nat was cruel, unreason-
able, mischievous and demoniac. But "he is now believed to have taken
to religion, to keep the sabbath and to lead the life of a saintly god." In
[674] spite of his own sanctity, however, he seems to favour evil-doers. "No
organised theft is ever committed in Lower Burma ... without invoking
his aid." The would-be criminals cook a meal within a circle they have
marked on the ground. If any of the rules of the succeeding ritual are
[771]* broken, the proposed robbery is abandoned. Some Buddhist monks of
• [792] this region, more orthodox than others, have tried to suppress the Naf
cultus, but in vain.[14]

771 Such beliefs and practices are obviously bound to affect thought and
776 conduct. The Burmese feel around them a vast, invisible *Nat* world,
which is both near and remote. There are spirits in the trees, the rivers,

[12] *The Pre-Buddhist Religion of the Burmese*, p. 9.

[13] R. F. Spear, unpublished MS, *The Separation of Animism and Buddhism in Burma* (1928) chap. 1, p. 14.

[14] U Tha Khin, "Is U Yin Gyi a National God of the Burmese?" *J.B.R.S.*, Vol. XIV, part II (1924).

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the lakes, the mountains and there are distant *Nat* realms ruled by *Nat* chieftains. All of these spirits are capricious. They encourage the view that life is a gamble. A man must bargain and wile his way through as best he can, hemmed in by a vague, immeasureable threat of evil. A religion, therefore, which points the way through the maze, indicates some order in the realm of caprice and promises deliverance from evil, may be the more welcome. On the other hand, it contains a challenge to caprice in oneself. 771 776

2. *Animism and Buddhism interwoven*

There is no question, therefore, of the survival of Animism in Burma, nor of its influence. The only question which arises is the *extent* of this influence. Is it so persistent and powerful that Buddhism is no more than a surface polish? 771 779*

At first sight, this indeed may seem to be the case, for not only is Animism a parallel cultus, sometimes furtive but frequently brazen; it also seems to be interwoven in the very texture of popular Buddhist expression and practice. As a boy, the Burman learns how Nats watched over the infant Buddha, how the Buddha, by his virtue, defeated the jealous Manh *Nat*, how the rest of the *Nat* world acclaimed the victory with shouts of exultation. *Nats* appear in all the subsequent events of the Buddha's history.[15] On pagoda platforms the boy may see scenes depicting the *Nats*. Early in his education, he may learn a poem celebrating the Buddha's victory. On the most memorable day of his life as a Buddhist, the day of his *shin-byu* or confirmation, he may *shikoh* to the *Nat* shrine. At his death, a monk may be called to his side, not to give him spiritual consolation but 'because the good influence of the monk's pious presence keeps away evil spirits.'[16] [792]

Consequently, Burmese Buddhists have been criticised for their inconsistency. How, it is asked, can a belief that a human 'spirit' has been transported to the *Nat* realm be reconciled with the Buddhist denial of the soul? If Buddhism denies the Divine, and even Buddha himself is not worshipped, how can it be right to worship and propitiate these *Nat* godlings? How can it be legitimate to expect their assistance, if man is the arbiter of his own destiny, subject to moral law alone, as Buddhism affirms? And Buddhism teaches: Thou shalt not kill. What, then, of fowls and oxen and even humans sacrificed to propitiate *Nats*? Toleration is [775] 782 779* 771

[15] Cf. Bigandet, op. cit. Vol. I, p. 37; cf. Temple, *Thirty Seven Nats*, p. 6.
[16] Cf. Purser and Saunders, *M.B.B.*, pp. 38, 97; Sir George Scott, *The Burman: His Life and Notions*, Vol. I, chap. XXII, p. 289.

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of the Burman."[24] The most adequate inquiry on the subject to-date is the unpublished thesis by Mr. Spear which I have been privileged to quote. "It must be said," concludes Mr. Spear, "that Buddhism in Burma has kept itself remarkably free from the practice of taking ideas and customs associated with primitive religion in general and Nat worship in particular, and making them its own.... It is Buddhism which is the real religion of the people. It is what they practise in their best moments; it is what they want their children taught.... To be a Burman is to be a Buddhist."[25]

We arrive, then, at the opposite conclusion to that stated by Mr. Lowis. in his Census Report. Instead of saying that 'the Burman has added to his animism just so much Buddhism as suits him,' it is nearer the truth to say that he has added to his Buddhism just so much animism as suits his Buddhism.

Those who judge otherwise generally pay full attention to the strength and vitality of Animism, but they give less than due attention to the greater strength and vitality of organised Buddhism. They fail to note the intimate relation of the Buddhist Monastic Order to the life of the community. To this subject we must now turn, not only to accentuate the fact that Burma is Buddhist Burma, but to observe in sufficient detail the essentially religious context of the hope of Nibbāna.

3. *Monastery and Community*

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A monastery suggests to many minds a cloistered company, shut away behind high walls, or secluded on some remote hillside, as frequently in China. In a sense, the Burmese monks are similarly secluded. The monastic building, with its seven-tiered roof denoting sanctity, is generally found just outside a village, set in a bamboo grove or flanked by shady mango trees. Rising to a tapering umbrella point *(hti)* above the trees, there is a *tsedi* or pagoda,[26] which may be painted white or gold. Smaller pagodas are grouped around. Generally within the monastery building, but sometimes outside, there is an image of the Buddha, and probably several others — but always the same Buddha, Gautama, and

[24] Rev. G. Whitehead, *M.B.B.*, p. 37.

[25] *The Syncretism of Animism and Buddhism in Burma*, p. 80.

[26] *Zedi* or *tsedi*, from the Pali, means the offering place or place of prayer. *Paya*, which has also the latter connotation, is more frequently used for larger *zedis* and other shrines. The *zedi* contains relics. Hence it is nowadays often termed a pagoda (from the Singhalese dhagoba — relic (*dhātu*) shrine. But pagoda is not a Burmese term. Cf. Scott, *The Burman*, Vol. I, chap. xv, p. 196; Pratt, *The Pilgrimage of Buddhism*, chap. VII, pp. 128ff.

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invariably in the same posture, seated, with one arm across his lap. The whole atmosphere is one of ordered, unhurried peace, whether within the timbered buildings, or within the surrounding compound. 792 346

But the monastery is seldom far away from the village, and this is of set purpose. The Buddhist *Saṃgha* in Burma might well be described as a teaching Order. "Of all charities, charity of learning is the noblest," observes a Buddhist layman,[27] and the monastery dispenses this charity freely. It provides the village school. There the boys learn to read and write. There, moreover, they are tutored in Buddhist lore, with a firm emphasis on ethical requirements. They learn the 'three Jewels' which enjoin reverence for the Buddha, the Law *(Dhamma)*, and the Order, and the five precepts – – not to kill, not to steal, not to lie, not to commit adultery, not to drink intoxicants. In the *Mingalā Thot* or "Song of Great Blessing," which they recite by heart[28], they learn that a wise and good man will seek to store up merit by fulfilling his domestic duties, by giving ample alms, by seeking 'self-knowledge' and by learning from holy men 'as chance affords.' The monastic ideal of utter renunciation, 'from all attachment free', is also indicated and 'Nirvana here' is said to be 'true happiness' leading to the Highest Bliss.[29] They will also learn stories of the Buddha's previous birth from the *Jātakas*, and, above all, the story of the historic Buddha. 792 621 869 871

But attendance at the day school is not their only initiation in the faith. Every Burman boy, at the age of puberty or earlier, is expected to leave home and become a boarder at the monastery for a period which may vary from weeks to years. "A Buddhist who has not been a *koyin* (novice) or donned the yellow robe," remarks a Burmese writer, "is looked upon as one who has missed the most essential (part) of his experience in this world." The village school often appears to be a merry jumble to the outsider, but during this time as a novice "each boy gets individual attention.... There is a wholesome atmosphere of intimacy and understanding between the teacher and the taught." Most of the novices return to secular life, but some remain to become fully ordained monks.[30] 792 857

The *shin-byu* ceremony, or rite of confirmation, which is another essential in the Burmese boy's initiation, generally precedes his entry to 792 881

[27] U Set, "Life in a *Phongyi Kyaung*," *Rangoon Times*, (May 13, 1931).

[28] See Appendix for fuller account of this Song and other Monastic instruction.

[29] "To understand the literature, 'serious' or popular, of Burma we cannot know the Pali Jātaka too well," M. H. Bode, *The Pali Literature of Burma*, chap. v, pp. 81, 82.

[30] U Set, op. cit.; cf. Scott, *The Burman*, Vol. I, chaps. II, III, and IV.

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the monastery. It is a day of excited celebration. Recalling the Great Renunciation, when Gautama left the royal court in his quest for truth, the boy, attired in princely robes, is feasted by his family and friends until the moment when he casts his finery aside to don the yellow robe of the Order.[21]

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Girls experience a similar ceremonial initiation, when (to the accompaniment of vigorous music) their ears are pierced to take the ear-rings which are the sign of womanhood. They cannot attend the monastic schools with the boys, but other means are found for their education, and they certainly do not lag behind their brothers in intelligence, character or Buddhist zeal. Mrs Hla Oung recounts the story of a little maid taken to the monastery to be reminded of the five precepts, after some childish misdemeanour. (The monk was benign. "There was the faintest suspicion of a smile on his calm face, to show, I suppose, that her backsliding was not to be taken as a defection from the faith.") The 'charity of learning' seems, then, to be shared by girls as well as boys. The status, freedom and privileges of Burmese women have already been remarked and Mrs Hla Oung affirms vigorously that "the life of the Burmese woman is bound up in her religion. Buddhism has formed the character of the Burmese woman.... There are few Burmese women, even in the villages, who are unable to read and write," and the Buddhist scriptures form the ground work of their studies.[22]

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Not only are the monks numerous, but they are dispersed throughout the country. Every village has at least one monastery, and sometimes more. The educational influence of the Order has been, therefore, both organised and ubiquitous. In more recent times this influence has been challenged by new conditions. Government and mission schools have intervened, and the modern Burmese boy may only remain in the monastery as a novice for a brief, token period. But during the centuries which shaped the Burmese character and outlook, the monks as educators had no serious rivals.

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Nor has their ministry to the community been confined to education. Herbs and potions from the monastery are held in high esteem, especially in Upper Burma.[23] The monastery also serves as alms-house and asylum.

[21] For a good description of this ceremony v. Ananda Metteya, quoted by G. Appleton, *Buddhism in Burma*, pp. 22–23.

[22] Ma M. Hla Oung, "The Women of Burma," *Buddhism*, Vol. I, No. 1, p. 61 (September, 1903, Rangoon); cf. a later series by Daw Mya Sein, "Kin Sein Hla," *Burma Today*, published by the Burma Government in India, 1944, in which the influence of the Monastery is not so strongly emphasised.

[23] "Theirs is faith cure rather than medicine, "writes a Burmese correspondent, who cites cures from snake-bite, leprosy and hydrophobia.

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Old men will retire to the monastery to end their days there, and younger men, in poverty or other distress, will flee the world for a time. The hospitality of the monks has sometimes been more charitable than discriminate, a circumstances which has brought some monasteries into disrepute, for these temporary inhabitants are allowed to wear the yellow robe, and some are criminals, sheltering from justice. Father Sangermano reports the rescue of prisoners condemned to death. "In thus saving the lives of criminals, (the monks) believe that, as their law forbids them to kill, it must be meritorious to preserve the lives of others."[24]

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The monastery is the social centre of the village. Buddhism in Burma is gaily attired, a religion of festival. Frequently there will be an open-air performance in the moonlight, when a birth-story of the Buddha is dramatized. All this spirited, colourful life gathers around the monastery.

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But perhaps the Order's most valuable service to the community is the function fulfilled by the monk as *counsellor*. A group of villagers may gather for a special instruction, others may attend when the monks assemble for devotions, but the monastery is not regarded as a preaching centre or as a place of public worship. In modern times, crowds have flocked to hear the Monyin Sayadaw. Generally, however, the approach in this respect is individual. It is as the individual adviser of each villager that the monk's influence is most strongly felt.

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In many and tangible ways, therefore, the monastery serves the community, but it is probable that the villager himself reveres the monk more for services which are intangible and may not appear so valuable to sceptical observers. Early in the morning, the monk, attended by *koyins*, will go the round of the faithful, receiving their offerings of rice in his begging bowl.[25] For the monk himself it is an exercise in humility, for the villager it is one of the chief means of increasing that *kutho* or worthiness which ensures him happiness in this life and the next.[26]

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Most of all, however, it is those very aspects of the monk's vocation which distinguish him from the rest of the community, setting him apart, for which the monk is chiefly esteemed. It is because the greater part of his life is spent in spiritual exercises which the villagers do *not* share, that they value him most. The monastery stands for a Way of utter renun-

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[24] *The Burmese Empire*, 3d. Edition, ed. J. Jardine, (London, 1895), chap. xv, p. 122.

[25] Thus *bhikku or bhikṣu*, usually translated monk, means, literally, mendicant. Strictly speaking, a *bhikku* is not a monk; cf. Rhys Davids, *Dialogues of the Buddha*, Part II (S.B.B.), p. 81, footnote.

[26] *Kutho* is frequently translated 'merit.' But 'worthiness' is more accurate.

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ciation which the villagers themselves have not undertaken. In a sense, it rebukes their lesser zeal. But it also inspires that zeal. It encourages their faith. It is the poetry in their life, symbolising the Great Peace, the Nibbāna, which is often out of their mind, a remote expectation, but nevertheless, their ultimate goal.

To this cloistered Buddhism of Burma we must now turn, for the full relation of the monk to the community can only be estimated in the light of the life he lives apart from the community.

4. *Within the Monastery*

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To some extent, the life of the monk within the monastery is corporate. He joins with his brethren in a daily Act of Adoration —

"In order that I may escape the consequences of commissions and omissions, should I have done any in the course of the day or night, either physically or verbally or mentally, I hereby humbly adore and worship, physically, verbally and mentally, the Three Jewels — the Buddha, the Dhamma, and the Saṃgha.

"Because of this my adoration, may I escape the horrors of the four hells, the three *kappas* comprising famine, disease endemic and epidemic, the tragedies of war, the eight unpleasant places, the five enemies, the four wants, the five kinds of ruinations, the ten kinds of punishments, the twenty five kinds of dangers, the sixteen pitfalls in life, and the thirty two kinds of bad luck, but attain Nibbāna very quickly."[37]

In spite of the fact that this Act is said together, its very individual reference will be noted. The same applies to another collective act, when the monks assemble for the *Uposatha* or fortnightly chapter. The rules of the Order are recited, and each monk must confess any infringement. Sangermano notes among the offences to be admitted, "Giving scandal to laymen by small faults."[38] The monk may therefore be said to be concerned with the reputation of the Order and the good of the laity, but he is also very obviously concerned with his own progress in the discipline.

It is often said, in fact, that the Buddhist monk is entirely self-regarding. As he states in the prayer we have quoted, he wants "to attain Nibbana very quickly." He is not content with the more leisurely progress of the layman who expects to see many rebirths before he comes near the goal. The monk has chosen a shorter Path. He has cut adrift from domestic obligations and left the world. He is selfishly concerned

[37] I am indebted to U Lu Pe Win of Mandalay for this example of a typical 'prayer'; cf. Kenneth E. Wells, *Thai Buddhism: its rites and activities*, chap. III, p. 29.

[38] *Op. cit.*, chap. XIV, p. 120.

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with his own emancipation alone. This criticism is not entirely just. It ignores his service to the community, even if it is allowed that this service is not his primary aim. It also ignores certain emphases in the Buddhist scriptures, and at least one passage where the monk is enjoined to include in his meditations 'radiant thoughts of love' to all mankind.[39]

Nevertheless, the greater part of his activity is individual. In some respects, he may be compared with the scholar whose researches may ultimately benefit mankind though meantime they involve seclusion to the neglect of more obvious duties. The monk's value to the villagers is dependent on his own sanctity (as the villagers would readily agree).

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Comparison with the scholar is apt in another sense, for the spiritual exercises which should occupy the monk's solitude seem, at first glance, to be severely and solely intellectual. Burmese monastic studies have been largely guided by the *Abhidhammatthasaṃgaha*,[40] a commentary which is nothing if not analytic. Its purpose is to guide the student to realise existence as the Buddhist estimates it, a flux of component elements. He is to persevere in meditations which will yield an utter detachment from all alluring vanities. In this manual "we see a philosophy which starts with an analysis of (1) what we find (a) within us, (b) around us, and of (2) what we aspire to find. Mind is analysed and catalogued," says Mrs. Rhys Davids. "We cannot but be struck ..... by the relatively strong microscopic power of the introspection employed" – –[41] so struck, indeed, that some have concluded that such a monk must live in a world far apart from the villagers he is supposed to instruct. *His* Buddhism is not *their* Buddhism. So it is argued. The monk is too much the scholar.

Thus we have another theory of two religions in Burma, but this time it is not Buddhism and Animism, it is two Buddhisms: popular and monastic. The distinction is inescapable. We may question, however, whether the distance between scholar and peasant is any greater than in other religious traditions.

There are two qualifications which should prevent exaggeration. The first is the fact that the meditations by which the monk hopes to progress in the eightfold Path to Nibbāna are not so entirely intellectual as they appear to be at first glance. All through there is an equally strong emphasis on moral purity which the *Upasaṭha* recitals enforce. It is a persistent ethical reference which belongs to scholar and peasant alike.

Secondly, there are, as we have seen, different grades of monks. Not

[39] *M.1.* 123ff. *(Kakacūpama Sutta)*, cf. *D.1.* 4; cf. Yamakami Sōgen: *Systems of Buddhistic Thought*, chap. II, p. 56.

[40] Trans. by Shwe Zan Aung as *Compendium of Philosophy*, P.T.S., London, 1929.

[41] *Ibid.* Preface, pp. XVIII, XIX.

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every man in a yellow robe is fully ordained, and not every ordained monk is a scholar. There are Brother Junipers who have little more learning than the average farmer. On the other hand, there are laymen who have advanced a considerable way in higher studies and disciplines. The Lēdī Sayādaw's manual on the Exercises, for example, is written for laymen.[42] Thus between the scholar and the simple villager there is a mediating world, composed both of monks and laymen.

Through this mediating world, the moderating influence of scholarly orthodoxy filters down to the realm of popular Buddhism where imagination roves more freely.

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Here, however, we are met by another objection which, if true, cancels the first. There are so few scholars, it is said, so few really learned *monks* that their influence is negligible. The ordinary monk is not scholarly enough. He is just as much swayed by primitive superstitions as the people he instructs or fails to instruct. He is idle, ignorant and often dissolute. The last criticism need not detain us. Nearly every book on Burma debates the character of the monks. Few fail to acknowledge that, in general, the monks live up to their ideal of chastity. Father Sangermano, who was certainly no indulgent critic, even goes further and suggests that in this respect they might serve as an example to the religious of his own Church. He adds that an offender is expelled by indignant villagers, 'even driving him away with stones' — an observation which reminds us that the most vigilant critics of the monks may be the Burmese people themselves.[43] The Burmese name for monk, *pōn-gyī*, means 'great glory.' Since there is no suggestion of priestly or Brahmanical power, since the value of the monks depends on their *kutho* and their *kutho* on their character, it is difficult to believe that they could have retained this title and the esteem in which they are generally held, if they had been as unworthy as some of their harsher critics suggest.[44] As to their knowledge, whilst nobody would claim that every wearer of the yellow robe is a scholar, we have only to glance at such a survey as Bode's *Pali Literature* to realise that there has been a persistent tradition of Pali learning in Burma since the eleventh century which tends to orthodoxy and could not have failed to impress itself, in some degree, on the mind of the people.

[42] *The Vipassanā Dīpanī, or The Manual of Insight*, trans. by U Nyāna (Mandalay: no date).

[43] Op. cit., chaps. XIV, pp. 115–16.

[44] On the character of the monks, cf. *M.B.B.*, pp. 20, 21, 62; Bigandet, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 260, 270 ff.; Fielding Hall, *The Soul of a People*, chap. X, pp. 124 ff.; Nisbet, *Burma under British Rule*, p. 147; Richards, *The Burmese*, p. 24.

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The Buddhism of Burma, then, lies in between two levels. On the one level, there is the scholarly tradition of the monasteries, frequently in touch with Ceylon, watchful against heresies, pondering the scriptures, upholding the essential emphases of the Hīnayāna tradition, steadily prevailing against more primitive ideas. On the other level, there is the survival of Animism, linked to the conservatism of human nature, infiltrating the popular Buddhism. We can, therefore, accept Burmese Buddhism as a valid and typical expression of the Hīnayāna tradition. At the same time, we can expect to find certain distinctive, Burmese features. 779* 792

5. *Characteristics of Burmese Buddhism*

a. The characteristic of Burmese Buddhism which has been most frequently remarked is its buoyancy. "The Buddhist faith may be as dreary ... as many say it is, but no one would imagine it who looks on the gaily = dressed laughing crowd of men and maidens who throng to the pagoda feasts."[45] Only a Chaucer could do justice to these festivals, remarks a modern writer,[46] and an earlier observer concluded that "the Burmese do not fully believe the first of the Four Noble Truths that life is suffering."[47] 771 779* [796]

Climate and circumstance affect religious interpretation. In India, where Buddhism was begotten, "India, with its hot climate, its poverty and suffering, the pessimistic mood which looks upon life as a great evil rather than an achievable good, seems natural."[48] This may be. And in the subtropical climate of Burma, where people live in ephemeral bamboo houses and vegetation grows quickly and as quickly passes away, it is natural to believe that "All is change." But in Southern Burma at least, where a little labour wins a sufficient sustenance from the fruitful earth, and moonlight nights are soft and friendly, it is not so natural to add that "All is suffering."

Some observers insist that we must look beneath the surface of this Burmese gaiety. "Delightful as this sunny temperament is, it does not go deep enough to be called optimism."[49] Nobody, however, can question the Burmese vivacity — a vicacity which expresses itself in a lively, rhythmic music, and a delight in colour. "The secret of our happiness lies in our devotion to our beautiful religion," writes Mrs. Hla Oung, and the

[45] Scott, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, chap. XIX, p. 257.
[46] G. Appleton, *Buddhism in Burma*, p. 46.
[47] *M.B.B.*, p. 15.
[48] A. K. Reischauer, *Studies in Japanese Buddhism*, chap. I, p. 49.
[49] *M.B.B.*, p. 53.

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its national, character. The frequent festivals not only enliven, they express and stabilise the community life. They are often local, but certain shrines, such as the Shwe Dagon Pagoda in Rangoon, have become centres of pilgrimage. In a country which has had a strong tendency to de-centralization — the king's authority was often very weak — the Buddhist Order has made for cohesion, and, in modern times, Buddhist monks have been active in the movement for national independence. 779* 796 621

In spite, however, of this social expression, Buddhism in Burma, as elsewhere, is very much a matter of *individual* concern. We have seen this individualism within the monastery. It is equally marked outside the monastery. One of the most popular *nats* is the story of Wethandaya, who, in order to gain his own salvation, gives away his wife and family to a rapacious Brahmin.[56] "Each must bear his own burden," is a favourite quotation.[57] Its primary reference may be to moral responsibility. 779* 775

This brings us to the decidely *ethical* character of Burmese Buddhism. *Kutho* (worthiness) is the central concept here, and "it is clear that the Burmese Buddhists have a more *mathematical* conception of Merit than other folk." "The ordinary belief is very concrete — so many good deeds mean so much to one's credit in another world."[58] Sometimes very material rewards are indicated. "The reward for building a monastery is a palace in a *Nat* heaven with seven towers, and in this palace dwell seven hundred *Nat* wives.... For a gift of sticks for use in a bath room, the donor will be reborn with perfumed body."[59]

Almsgiving is a sure means of 'heaping up *Kutho*.' Since the benefit accruing to the donor partly depends on the worthiness of the object, the maintenance of religion is a valued means of self-help. Hence the many pagodas. Hence the gifts to the monasteries. There is no more coveted title than 'Builder of Monasteries.' Hence, too, the welcome to the monk as he comes in the early morning with his begging bowl. The monk may seem to be the chief recipient. But in the things which matter, he is the donor. [735] [792]

Though others may thus provide the opportunity, essentially the activity is self-help. Emphasis is laid on individual responsibility. It is something a man must do for himself.

It is something he can do. Thus the conception of *Kutho* challenges any animistic idea that man is altogether at the mercy of capricious spirits.

[56] *M.B.B.*, pp. 44, 103.

[57] *M.B.B.*, p. 45.

[58] *M.B.B.*, p. 51, p. 76. The usual, though inadequate translation of Kutho, as already observed, is Merit.

[59] *M.B.B.*, p. 51.

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779* doctrine of annihilation from his own reading of the Buddhist literature
775* available to him and the exposition of a few, more instructed Buddhists? The latter would seem to be the case, for he speaks of 'Buddhist doctors' [792] rather than 'Burmese doctors,' he refers specifically to a treatise he has translated and says that the monks in general "have no ardour for study." "I have met with a great number of laymen who were incomparably better informed."[21]

779* Yet the existence of many lax and ignorant monks — a circumstance
775* which Bigandet attributes to the relaxation of that centralised discipline
792 which had hitherto sustained the Order — does not mean that there were no devoted and zealous scholars at the same time. From other records we know that there were, and the Bishop himself refers to them. It is possible that they assisted him in his studies. He mentions visits to dignitaries. But it is also possible that some of these more able monks were amongst those who told him that a 'perfected being ... retains his individuality in Neibban' though unable to explain this condition further.

Later observers confirm Bishop Bigandet's conclusion that, in popular opinion, Nibbāna did not mean annihilation. It is a mystery, observes Sir George Scott, but it is not a "nothing." "Matter-of-fact Western heretics are mistaken when they conclude that the common illustration of the dying flame means annihilation." He cites an interesting funeral dirge, sung in Mandalay:

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> Gone, gone art thou, sweet wife; gone far away ...
> And yet again, in yet another birth,
> I'll claim thee; when mayhap a happier *kan*,
> A fairer sum of merit, hardly won,
> Will lead us on, linked-armed, to linked death,
> That so progressing, joyful we may run
> Through all life's changes, and with single breath,
> Through heavens and *zahn* and *rupa*, we may bound
> To neh'ban, blissful home of rest.[22]

779* In his popular, but well-informed accounts of Burmese life, Fielding
775* Hall also emphasises this positive belief. "It is a hard teaching, this of the Buddha ... that when life goes out, this thing which we call "I" goes out with it.... To the Burmese villager that is not so. He cannot grasp, he cannot endure that it should be so."[23] In a later book, Fielding Hall suggests that there is, indeed, no reason why the Burmese villager should

[21] *Ibid.*, Vol. II, footnote, p. 98, p. 252, p. 315.

[22] *The Burman, His Life and Notions* (1882), Vol. I, chap. XI, p. 125ff.; Vol. II, chap. XXXV, pp. 351, 352.

[23] *The Soul of a People*, chap. XXI, pp. 288, 289; chap. XXII, pp. 290, 291.

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think otherwise. Orthodoxy does not require it. The Buddha's teaching has been misunderstood. "They thought his ideal was Death, yet it was Life.... Only in Burma did the faith survive in somewhat of its early form."[24]

In a report published in 1914, replies to a questionnaire from some thirty correspondents indicate, according to the editors, "that there are inconsistencies in the current views." Buddhists in the Shan States, the Burmese borderland "hold a two-fold conception of Nirvana, conceptions that are absolutely contradictory, and are admitted to be so. They may all say that Nirvana is complete extinction of being ... and that the place or state is mysterious and inexplicable, and with the same breath they may, and do, call Nirvana the City of Gold, the Country of Happiness and Peace, a Home unutterably surpassing any earthly home." Their Burmese cousins are in similar case. "Agnosticism is the only orthodox attitude" but few are satisfied with this attitude. Thus, while some correspondents report that in popular opinion Nirvana signifies extinction of all being, others agree with Mr Charles Duroiselle that the great mass of the people 'believe in a life to come after the Arhat's death.' Mr Duroiselle adds that some of the monks, too, share this view, though others state that Nirvana is complete extinction and most of them say that it is a mystery: no one knows what it really is.[25]

We have, then, a series of reports, covering a century, by Western residents in Burma who made a serious attempt to discover what their Burmese neighbours really thought about Nibbāna. They begin with the report that Nibbāna signifies annihilation. But it is interesting to note that as time goes on this impression is qualified; positive as well as negative conceptions are discovered; and it is emphasised that Nibbāna spells mystery. Finally, we have a statement which is described as contradictory, but which, perhaps, might be better described as paradoxical.

3. *Popular ideas of Nibbāna*

We have now to consider the question introduced at the beginning of this chapter: the relation between the popular conception of Nibbāna and the teaching of the Saṃgha. The observations we have been considering may seem to indicate a considerable divergence between the two. On the one hand we have a popular conception which is said to flout orthodoxy; on the other hand, there is the teaching of the monks which may be supposed to exalt orthodoxy.

[24] *The Inward Light*, chap. XX, pp. 196, 198; cf. chap. XXII, pp. 219, 220.

[25] W. C. B. Purser and K. J. Saunders (editors), *Modern Buddhism in Burma*, pp. 48—50.

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Several consequent questions arise. How, for example, can we account for the persistence of this popular heresy, if indeed it be heresy, in view of the fact that the monastic Order is so influential? Heresies, it is true, flourish underground in every religion. But this 'heresy' is very much above ground. Are the monks themselves heretical, or the laity less heretical than they may appear to be?

Partial explanations will at once come to mind. Appeal may be made to the Buddhist emphasis on toleration, and further appeal may be made to the recognised distinction between what is expected of the layman and what is expected of the monk: the layman cannot be required to understand the truth which is only attained through monkish disciplines. These explanations are pertinent. But they are not sufficient.

The further explanation is to be found in certain undertones, certain basic tendencies, certain similarities of approach which influence monks and laity alike. These may be summed up and defined as the Agnostic Emphasis and the Ethical Emphasis. Making these emphases, though in different ways, learned bhikkus and simple villagers are in deeper, more effective sympathy than might be supposed if we merely isolate and regard their more explicit and divergent conceptions. In both cases, the resultant outlook is positive rather than negative. Hence the persistence of a lively popular faith which may seem at times to contradict its own basic dogmas.

In the following paragraphs, I shall select those results of my own inquiries which may elucidate this situation. I shall attempt to show how, in Burmese Buddhism, a fundamental agnosticism is derived in part from ethical considerations, and, secondly, how this agnosticism is associated with a positive faith, differently expressed but jointly affirmed by monk and layman, scholar and peasant.

The popular conception of Nibbāna will concern us first. But here there is need for discrimination. Whom have we in mind when we speak of this popular opinion? Burma is a country of villages, and we may conceive some very primitive peasant whose only concern is his rice field, his plough and his oxen. Over against such a simple peasant we may set the scholarly monk. But we must also bear in mind that large, intermediate class, already noted, which includes the more instructed layman and the less instructed monk.

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Nor should we exaggerate the simplicity of the Burmese villager. The Burmese may be a rural community, but they are also a civilised community, schooled and intelligent, very conscious of the difference between their conditions and the conditions of the surrounding, more primitive hill tribes. On the other hand, in seeking to estimate the popular opinion, we must be equally alert against the temptation to

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and self-control — but not yet!"[21] The average Burman has not renounced the world, he has not accepted the monastic discipline; and he knows it. Therefore he also knows that he cannot expect to share the greater understanding of those who *have* renounced the world.

Theoretically, maybe, even a layman may attain enlightenment.[22] But a wise instructor has likened the situation of the layman, exposed to the temptations of the world, to that of the traveller who was confronted by a tiger; the distractions and assaults of the world are tigerish.[23] The man who is in earnest will flee them. Even the monk, it is true, is not immune from these assaults. But the monk has a better chance. It is, then, the common view that if you really mean business, really mean to expedite progress towards Nibbāna, the obvious, sensible course is to join the Order. Those who have done so, those especially who have made some progress in the monastic life, the learned bhikkus, pursuing the hard disciplines of meditation, such may discern the distant shore of Nibbāna, such may hope to reach that shore, earlier than later: but not the householder, the man occupied by field or plough, wife or child. 'Undoubtedly every orthodox Buddhist hopes to obtain Nibbāna one day; but the monastic life is generally considered an essential condition for entry on the path to Nibbāna.'[24] It is only when one has followed this path some way that one can expect to know whither the path leads — if then. For the layman it is necessarily a distant prospect and a vague, mysterious concept. He is not worthy. He has not entered on the path which leads to 'the state of him who is worthy.' Therefore the layman is not presumptuous. This is a subject to be left to the learned bhikkus, partly because they are learned, partly because they are bhikkus. The two recognitions are associated, recognition of the expert, recognition of the better man, for the Burman knows that the monastic discipline is a mental discipline, enjoining study and meditation, but he also knows that the necessary, prior condition is moral.

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He knows, too, that the learned bhikkus themselves are hesitant on this subject. Not even they, notwithstanding their qualifications, can pretend to full knowledge. To them also, Nibbāna is ultimately a mystery.

The *very* learned bhikkus perhaps, the most devoted, can just discern

[21] St Augustine, *Confessions* VIII. 7.

[22] *A. III*, 451 mentions twenty one laymen-Arahats; cf. Rhys Davids, *Dialogues of the Buddha*, Part I, p. 63, footnote.

[23] Bigandet, "The Seven Ways to Neibban," *op. cit.* Vol. 2, p. 236.

[24] de la Vallée Poussin, *Nirvana*, chap. I, p. 3: "Sans doute tout bouddhiste orthodoxe espère obtenir un jour le Nirvana; mais la vie monastique est généralement considérée une condition essentielle de l'entrée dans le chemin du Nirvana."

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the Shore in the far, far distance, but whatever they may see, the little they see, defies communication. They cannot be expected to translate their vision into the language of everyday. All that the monk can do is to encourage you, by his example, to take the path yourself. That is what the Buddha himself did. Thus the village elder, as death approaches, will sometimes bethink himself and end his days in the monastery. A tardy beginning is better than none. It will not mean Nibbāna tomorrow, but it will mean a more definite step in the Way.

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Here, perhaps, we have a further significance of the concept, a reminder that Nibbāna imports a challenge as well as a promise — a challenge to that better, nobler, more sensible Way which a man may have disregarded for the greater part of his life. Since the Goal is never to be separated from the Way, Nibbāna is the reminder of Dhamma. While it holds the promise of deliverance and peace, it rebukes all that postpones that deliverance and denies that peace.

Nibbāna, then, is Mystery, but it is nevertheless the concept which completes faith and inspires conduct. Agnosticism is here, but it belongs to faith, not to doubt; it is joined with affirmation, not with negation. Every invocation, every blessing, every devotion ends with Nibbāna, as does life itself. No gaudy heaven, however attractive, can take the place of the Great Peace.

4. *'The Learned Monks'*

We turn now to the ideas of the monks about Nibbāna, so far as they affect the popular view. This last qualification is necessary, for any attempt at a full examination of their ideas would take us beyond our province and beyond present possibilities.

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The evidence here, must, therefore, be regarded as inconclusive, but it is perhaps sufficient to indicate further what has been suggested in the previous paragraphs: a basic agreement in approach and emphasis between monk and layman. For the learned bhikku, as well as for the villager, the final word is Mystery and the initial word an ethical emphasis, though for somewhat different reasons.

The monk has been more speculative. Duroiselle has suggested that, whilst the broader emphasis is agnostic, there has been a trend towards nihilistic interpretation.[35] But this may be doubted. It depends largely on how we regard such apparently negative terms as 'extinction' and 'cessation of existence.' Professor Pe Maung Tin and others have shown that these are not incompatible with a positive faith and an essential affirmation.

[35] *M.B.B.*, p. 48.

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The learned bhikku is, of course, well aware that some of the questions raised are listed in the scriptures among those unprofitable questions, beyond determination, to which the Buddha himself deigned no answer.[26] Yet it is humanly impossible to pursue a discipline without pondering the goal of that discipline, and the monk is human enough at times to anticipate, from scripture and from his own present experience, what may lie ahead.

'Nirvana,' said a Burmese abbot to Professor Platt, 'is like a distant house of which we can see only the outside. What it is like within we cannot even guess; yet we know that it is real.'[27]

This sounds to me more like a layman's simile! Or perhaps the simile of a less instructed monk — not a learned bhikku! Unless I am much mistaken, the learned bhikku conceives of Nibbāna more in terms of the *life* to be realised than of the house in which it will be lived — a new quality of life rather than a place, a realm, a sphere, a heaven. His whole present discipline encourages such a direction of his thought. "The Buddhist ideal," wrote Rhys Davids, "is a subjective state, to be realised in this world."[28] It is, he added, the ideal to be attained by following the eight-fold Path, and whenever the Buddha was questioned about the aim of the zealous disciple's way of life, he replied by indicating the condition of the Arahat, the man who is worthy, and the Path which leads to this condition. Such a monk has attained the *sambodhi* — the Insight, wisdom, awakening which is essential to the higher stages of his progress. Whilst still in the Path, seeking this fulfilment, he is said to be *sambodhi-paragāmo*.[29] When he has attained this condition, 'higher and sweeter, for the sake of which the brethren lead the religious life,' he is said, in the scriptures, to have destroyed the seven bonds which hinder such progress;[30] he has attained emancipation of heart and of mind;[31] he has a complete understanding of the nature and causes of sorrow (ill);[32] he wears the last body and has acquired perfect enlightenment;[33] thus set free he has the assurance: 'Rebirth has been destroyed. The higher life

[26] Such questions belong to the 'jungle, the desert, the puppet show' of vain speculation: cf. E. J. Thomas, *History of Buddhist Thought*, chap. x, p. 124.

[27] *The Pilgrimage of Buddhism*, chap. VII, p. 136.

[28] Cf. Rhys Davids, *Dialogues of the Buddha*, Part I, p. 190.

[29] D. 156 (cf. Rhys Davids, *Dialogues of the Buddha*, Part I, p. 192).

[30] A. IV 7 (cf. E. M. Hare *The Book of the Gradual Sayings*, Vol. IV, p. 5).

[31] D. 156 (cf. Rhys Davids, *op. cit.*, p. 201.)

[32] S. IV 51 (cf. Woodward, *The Book of the Kindred Sayings*, Part IV, pp. 26, 27).

[33] S. II. 478.

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has been fulfilled. What had to be done has been accomplished. After this present life there will be no beyond';[46] he has, indeed, attained the full Vision of Deliverance and can cheer and exhort others along the Path.[47] His condition is summed up as a state of self-possession, investigation into the truth, energy, calm, joy, concentration and magnanimity.[48] And this condition, nothing more and nothing less, this, contends Rhys Davids, is Nibbāna. "It is not too much to say that Arahatship is Buddhism"[49] — a philosophy of life which aimed its keenest shafts at all forms of the supernatural and the mysterious and set before men an ideal of self-conquest, a 'final salvation . . . obtainable in this world and in this world alone.'[50] 792 775* 779*

Now there is much in the apparent attitude of the Burmese Saṃgha to support Rhys David's interpretation. The devout bhikku certainly seems to hold before him the attainment of the Nibbāna-condition, the qualities of life which signify the Arahat. His conception of Nibbāna is very closely joined with this ideal. His immediate aim is to excel in the discipline which brings the ideal nearer, subduing the passions and employing the mind in those exercises which belong to the Path.

But two questions arise. The first is the question whether he really expects to realise this ideal and obtain this final salvation in this present life. Theoretically, no doubt, it is possible. In a reference to the *Abhiñnā*, the supernormal insight which is attained by the Arahat, the Lēdī Sayādaw insists that in the Buddhist Scriptures we find, clearly shown, the means towards attaining the five supernatural faculties. That we do not see any person endowed with these today, "is due to the lack of strenuous physical and mental exertion towards their attainment."[51] A zealous missioner, held in the highest esteem throughout Burma,[52] few have done more in modern times than the Lēdī Sayādaw himself to encourage his compatriots, whether monks or laymen, to seek the Path. Yet it may be questioned whether he ever really expected any of his followers to attain the supernatural faculties in this present life. In another treatise he warns against false confidence. [785] [787]

"It is ... very difficult to become aware of the attainment of the Paths and of the Fruits. In fact even the Ariyan (saint) who has attained

[46] D. 158 (cf. Rhys Davids, *op. cit.*, part I, p. 204).
[47] M. i. 146 (cf. Chalmers, *Further Dialogues of the Buddha*, Vol. I, p. 103.)
[48] Rhys Davids, *op. cit.*, p. 190.
[49] *American Lectures*, chap. IV, p. 151.
[50] *Dialogues of the Buddha*, pp. 141ff.
[51] *Questions on Karma*; cf. comment in *M.B.B.*, p. 46.
[52] Cf. Thirkell-White, *A Civil Servant in Burma* (1913), chap. XI., p. 197.

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792 the First Path hardly knows that he has become an attainer of the Path-
775* of-the-Stream. Why? Because of the unfathomableness of the latent
779* period of the Defilements. Those Yogis or meditators who do not know the unfathomableness of the latent period of the Defilements, sometimes think themselves to be attainers of Path-of-the-Stream, while as yet their erroneous views and perplexity are only partially, but not completely, put away...."

While, therefore, he enjoins that the exercises which lead to insight and sanctity must be steadfastly practised 'for the whole time of life' he does not promise that the goal will be attained before death.

"If meditators practise these exercises for the whole term of life, their knowledge will be developed till they pass beyond the Puthujjana-bhūmi (the state of the ordinary, unenlightened man) and arrive at the Ariya-bhūmi either before death or at the time of death, *either in this life or the life following*, in which latter they will be reborn as Devas."[51]

[785] Vainglory is forbidden the Buddhist monk. He must not claim for himself any superior sanctity or perfection, and there is certainly no record in modern times of any bhikku claiming Arahatship. Nor does he seem to expect the 'full Vision of Deliverance' in this present life. At best it will come in the life following. If Nibbāna is not for him quite such a distant view as it is for the layman, it is, nevertheless, no immediate prospect. And for the same fundamental, ethical reason. He is not worthy. But rebirth will give him another chance, a further opportunity: the partial progress he has made in this present life is not in vain. We may compare him with the Christian who hopes for heaven, but not at death; some further, intermediate, purgatorial stage, he conceives, must come in between.

The question arises whether this deliverance is conceived in terms of death or in terms of future, fuller life. Nibbāna clearly means extinction — extinction, certainly, of those cravings and false allurements which chain man to his present fevered existence. Until the Defilements are underfoot there is no prospect of any *ariyabhūmi*. Every bhikku believes that. No man is emancipated until base passions and befooling hallucinations are conquered. But what then? Is the Nibbāna condition but the brief enjoyment of this experience of emancipation until death terminates the short spell of life in which the emancipation is attained? Is it, as some have said, merely the conquest of the fear of death and the lust of immortality, a conquest achieved in this Nibbāna-condition? Or is it the conquest of death itself, the extinction of death together with existence, introducing a new quality of Life beyond destructive change as

[51] *The Vipassanā Dīpanī*, pp. 69, 70. italics mine.

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it is beyond our present knowledge? For the Burmese bhikku, is Nibbāna annihilation or Eternal Life?

With these questions in my mind, I set out in Christmas week, 1933, to interview a Sayādaw in a small Burmese town on the Irrawaddy river. The interview had been arranged by a young Buddhist layman, who held this Sayādaw in great esteem for his character and learning. There followed a full afternoon's discussion, which is quoted here as typical of others, and, for me at least, more illuminating than most — a discussion in which honest comparison was attempted. On the one hand, there was the Christian ideal of an Eternal quality of life, a heavenly life fore-tasted here and now; on the other hand, there was 'the complex ideal of Arahatship, or Nibbāna-under-present-conditions, a super-normal evolution of faculties combined with, not to say resulting from, ethical purity.'[22]

There were some interesting points of contact. In both Ways a progress was conceived. In both cases it might be said that earlier experience included some anticipation, some present, partial realisation of the ultimate, higher condition which was the goal. In both, the goal was descried but could not be described. In both, there were similar distinctions. Eternal, heavenly Life could be distinguished from 'mere existence'; the life with the Nibbāna aim, could be distinguished from the life which made no effort to break from the fetters and chain of existence. There were also approximate ethical comparisons: the Christian 'fruits of the Spirit,' could be compared with the Buddhist conception of ethical advance.

From time to time, the Sayādaw emphasised that the basic, essential condition, from his point of view, was the conquest of craving. In so far as any man extinguished *taṇhā*, he said tolerantly, he was bound to realise some higher stage, whatever his religious beliefs. It passed through my mind that this was an indication, not only of his attitude to myself, but to the simple villagers arranged around us. In his view, we were in similar case: people still much clouded by hallucinations and still concerned with irrelevant religious beliefs. But in so far as these religious beliefs encouraged ethical effort there was some hope for us: Christian ideas of heaven and popular conceptions of Nebban were in the same category. And this attitude probably reflected the attitude of the learned bhikkus generally to 'popular Buddhism.'

More illuminating, perhaps, than our points of contact, were our points of disagreement and our failures to make such contact.

There was nothing in the Sayādaw's conception which corresponded to the Christian belief in communion with Christ as the condition of

[22] Mrs. Rhys Davids, Preface to *Compendium of Philosophy*, p. xx.

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Note on SHWE ZAN AUNG

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Besides translating (in collaboration with Mrs Rhys Davids) the *Kathā-Vatthu* and the *Abhidhammattha-Saṃgaha* for the Pali Text Society, with an Introductory Essay to the latter, Shwe Zan Aung published, in instalments, in the *Journal of the Burma Research Society* (1917) a study of "The Buddhist Philosophy of the Real" and followed this up by the "Dialogue on Nibbāna," which I have quoted in chapter III. Born in 1871 at Akyab, he graduated from Rangoon College in 1892 and was later appointed a Magistrate in Henzada.

"My colleage," wrote Mrs Rhys Davids, "has been in close touch with several very learned monks, including the distinguished Doctor, Ledi Sadaw, in a country where the study of Abbidhamma, or philosophy, is cultivated more than elsewhere. Bhikkus from Ceylon come now, as in days of old, to study philosophy under the Theras of Burma, so renowned are the latter for proficiency in this subject. Mr Aung has also, through a course of study necessarily limited ..... assimilated a notable purview of our own philosophic tradition. He is thus better fitted than most Oriental students to translate into our vehicles of expression the living meaning, as distinguished from the *etymological* connotation, of Buddhist philosophical terms."[1] "I have," wrote Shwe Zan Aung himself, in his last note in the *Compendium*, "no theories of my own. . . . I am acting only as the mouthpiece of my country's teachers. At best I am but an interpreter of Burmese views based on the Ceylon Commentary and the works of Buddhaghosa. You may take my essay as medieval Buddhism presented through modern glasses."[2]

This may have been true enough of the essay in question — the introductory essay to the Compendium. But in his 'Buddhist Philosophy of the Real' he certainly presented theories of his own which aroused considerable controversy at the time. His studies in Western philosophy, to which Mrs Rhys Davids referred, led him to conclude that there were marked affinities between Buddhist thought on the one hand, and Bergson and Bertrand Russell on the other hand. Bergson and Russell — a strange alignment! as Shwe Zan Aung's critics remarked. But Aung saw a comparison between Buddhism and Bergson's concept of durée and also between the Bergsonian and Buddhist emphasis on intuition, while Russell's relational logic resembled, to his mind, Buddhist logic. Both Bergson and Russell are said to have been interested in these comparisons from Burma.[3]

Aung's principal critic was Dr. G.R.T. Ross, who accused Aung of attempting to 'force an identity between the doctrines of these modern writers and Buddhism.' Ross wrote, that passages quoted by Aung himself

[1] Editor's Preface, *The Compendium of Philosophy*, pp. xiii, xiv.

[2] *Compendium of Philosophy:* Note 'On Authority in Buddhist Belief,' p. 283.

[3] Cf. *J.B.R.S.* Vol. VII, Part III, p. 239; Vol. VIII, part III, p. 268.

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showed that the Buddhist 'criterion of reality is permanence, that of unreality is impermanence.'[4] Aung had quoted Buddhaghosa: "There is nothing permanent and constant like Nibbāna". (If Aung can be said to have disregarded this interpretation of Nibbāna in his essay, he certainly did not do so in his Dialogue).

The criticism aroused a spirited reply, including a confession of orthodoxy. "Dr Ross thinks that I am dissatisfied with the present attitude of traditional Buddhism. Buddhist writers are conservative.... Now and again, we may have a controversy amidst our own ranks owing to different interpretations of one and the same passage. But the more I study traditional Buddhism as it has come down to us in writings, the more I have reason to be satisfied with it."[5]

This reply was published in the same year as his Dialogue. It seems clear that he regarded the Dialogue as a fair presentation of Saṃgha discussions. His own view is partly reflected in U Agga's opinions, but he also suggests that these opinions have roots in the past, while Sumana, the exponent of the Ledi school, speaks for more recent opinion. At the same time Sumana voices the objection emphasised by Ross that Nibbāna cannot be conceived as flux.

In the controversy, Aung had an ally in Professor K.M.Ward who emphasised both the reliability and significance of Shwe Zan Aung as an interpreter of Burmese Buddhism. Mrs Rhys Davids, said Ward, was dissatisfied with her own translation of Buddhist psychology. She felt that she had not been able to understand the traditional terms. Hence her collaboration with Aung in the 'Compendium.' "This book revolutionised the methods of Pali research," wrote Ward, "I think it safe to say that no western scholar of repute would now attempt a translation of the all-important Abhidhamma or other technical works without colleborating with someone on the spot — in Burma or Ceylon. U Shwe Zan Aung then inaugurated the new movement. He did not as Dr Ross would have his readers suppose .. give us dogmatically high sounding philosophical terms (whose substitution in the older translations immediately made sense of them). On the contrary he collected a number of definitions, sentences, quotations in which the disputed term appeared: he explained the traditional meanings to his English editor, ... By this means a near modern equivalent to the Buddhist term was generally found... What we want is more of such work."[6]

Besides his close contacts with the Saṃgha scholars, Aung collaborated, too, with another distinguished Pali translator, U Pe Maung Tin. As we have seen, Lēdī Sayādaw was among the scholars he consulted, and Lēdī's own work has had a wide influence on modern Burmese thought. Aung takes note of this, but he distinguishes it from earlier schools. There are grounds, then, for the conclusion that Shwe Zan Aung is himself the more reliable interpreter of the Burmese tradition as a whole.

[4] *J.B.R.S.*, Vol. VIII, Part I, pp. 57ff.
[5] *J.B.R.S.*, Vol. VIII, Part II, pp. 166ff.
[6] *J.B.R.S.*, Vol. VIII, Part III, pp. 263ff.

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my grandmother who, with her plot of paddy land and her fruit and vegetable gardens, was among the wealthiest in the village, never connected these with her children or those of her friends.

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Grandfather died when quite young, leaving my Paw-Pwa (Grandmother) with four sons and two daughters, of whom my father was the eldest. Like all the boys of the village, my father after eight or nine years of unrestrained childish delights when he could play all day, in the stream and up and down the village streets, stopping only when hungry or tired, wheedling the grown-ups to let him sit up till late at night listening to stories, was sent to the monastery on the outskirts of the village. The word for monastery in Burmese, *kyaung*, is the same as the word used for school, and it was to be taught learning and holiness, obedience and discipline, dexterity in manual and domestic tasks, and to be given a deep spiritual influence to last throughout life, that Grandmother and her friends sent their sons there. The parents whose hearts suffered too much at the thought of inflicting any punishment themselves now handed B them over to the monks with the plea that they would teach them to be good and obedient, and chastise them severely if they did not obey.

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The kyaung at Ye, like all kyaungs in Burma, was built in surroundings chosen for their pleasantness. On a slight slope overlooking the stream was a pagoda, the pagoda of the village where the people came on fasting and feast days to kneel on the paved platform around the tapering golden spire and recite the precepts. Down from the platform the steps were lined with shady trees, and to one side of this was the monastery, a wooden building with verandahs and tiered roofs, set in a large garden, containing a few flower beds for offerings at the altars, but chiefly wide shady spaces, great trees including a *nyaung-bin* (a sacred banyan, with huge spreading branches), flowering *gangaw* trees and deep green mango trees. In one corner was a well.

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The monks consisted of the *saya-daw*, the senior monk who acted as head and abbot, about twenty monks who had been formally admitted to the order and were called *upasins*, and a number of novices who were wearing the yellow robe either for a short time, or to be admitted as monks later on. My father and his companions were admitted as *kyaungthas*, scholars. The monks spent their days in the recitation of religious formulæ and teachings, in meditation, in the telling of beads and the teaching of scholars. They did this while observing a strict and simple life, abstaining from solid food after noon, possessing no goods except the essential articles laid down in the monastic rules, observing chastity and poverty. To the people of the village they were the embodiment of good and holiness, living the noblest and most meritorious life a man can live. The people addressed them in conversation as

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"Your holiness" and themselves as "Your holiness' pupil". The monks 792
addressed the people as *daga*, giver, for they lived by the gifts of the 181
people who donated robes, household articles and other necessities to the [431]
monasteries, as good works which brought them merit.

When my grandparents took my father to the kyaung he was a 858
frightened little boy dressed in a cotton skirt called a *longyi*, and a shirt 792
without cuffs and collar; his hair was grown long in the centre and tied 872
in a knot, the sides being cut in a fringe about two inches long all round, 302
and the rest shaved clean, a way of growing hair common to both little boys and girls and enhancing their youthful appearance. He and all the other scholars performed the domestic tasks of the monastery, swept and rubbed the good hard wooden floors, the monastery grounds and pagoda steps, because in these precincts all comers went barefoot; they drew water for drinking, and for the bath of the older monks; they followed the monks on their rounds, two of them bearing a pole on which was slung a covered tray, to take any food donated in excess of what would go into the monk's bowl; they waited on the monks at meals; they learned to read and write, and do simple sums, to recite precepts and religious passages which they shouted at the tops of their childish voices in imitation of the deep intoning voice of the teacher monk, phrase by phrase; in the evenings they went home to eat the meal which the monks abstained from, but came back at sunset to recite the lessons of the day and many past days all over again, to join in the assembled night prayers, to sleep in the monastery and rise again before dawn.

When my father spoke to us of his years in the monastery he always 872
chuckled with delight, in spite of this long list of disciplined tasks. He 659
had the advantage from the first; he was stronger and taller than other 876
boys, and in a system where all learning was by heart he had brilliant memorising powers. The school-room of the kyaung had not the formal atmosphere of the Western school-room with each child at a desk and chair, and a silence except for the voice of teacher or child. The monastery boys all went into the same big room of the monastery, irrespective of age or stage, each with his slate or book, got down on the floor

all verandahs, trees, window-sills and gateways, the facade of the hall bearing a giant lantern in the shape of the Buddha. In the town the gayest display was put on by the trader residents of Gold Mountain and Goods Bazaar Rows. These people who cared not for races, garden tea parties nor fashionable weddings, put all their zest into the Tasaungdaing celebration. Each entrance to the streets was spanned with arch and pavilion, and between the two ends were contained lights, feeding at each house, a stage show, arrays of presents which were being offered to monasteries, and a jostling mass of people from all parts of the town. Among all the glitter moved the daughters of the houses, also on display; their breasts sparkling with the full stock of jewellery, the diamond spangles in their hair trembling in scintillation like the quivering balls of silver and tinsel on the decorations around them. 796

All this tinsel and glitter, sparkle and glistening tintillation reached its crowning point, only to be shown as vanity, fantasy, in the spectacle put forth at the cremation of a revered hpongyi—one whose life on the earth was all austerity and solidness of the worth of gold. A monk dies and is embalmed in honey and put to lie in state for perhaps a year, while the *lu*, ordinary humans, prepare for the cremation that is to send him off on his return flight to higher states of existence. He whose life has been lived in accordance with the belief that all earthly things, all ornament and pleasures of the earth, are illusion, impermanence and struggle, now has his exit prepared for by weaker mortals who build and decorate a seven-tiered pavilion for his pyre; and fantastic mammoth creatures to flank it high in the sky—giant birds, tigers and elephants, high on the slopes of Shwe Dagon Hill, tall and gigantic, but empty within, of inflammable bamboo and paper, caparisoned with gaudy, floating trimmings. Under the vast shadows of these empty creatures gay pavilions for feeding and the sale of bright wares are put up, lights are festooned for a night bazaar. When the day dawns for the burning, crowds throng to the fair, in merriment because the monk who so long ago renounced his attachment to human affections leaves no grieving widow and children; the coffin is lifted into its tiered catafalque and laid on a bed of inflammable tinder; it is drawn to the centre of the giant animals. When the feasting, buying and jostling have had their run, word passes round that the final moment is about to take place; people are drawn towards the canopy; the masters of ceremony throw rockets and torches into the decked bier; four, five and suddenly a hundred tongues of fire lick the bamboo, paper and the bed of tinder, and a magnificent blaze rises into the sky. Soon other torches set aflame the row of animals, and elephants, tigers, boats and birds go up in smoke, together with canopy, bier and coffin, leaving no traces of the saintly body. Excitement abates, the 766 793

766 crowds leave the fair, the sellers their stalls, and of the caparisoned field
•793 only a charred blackness remains.

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722 So soon the fires of war were to burn up not only the show and tinsel of Burma, but things more solid and golden than the life of a monk —rice fields and food of all kinds, *ain-daung-pyit-si*, the setting-up-house-goods of a million husbanding families, the houses, villages and towns whose peace allowed men and women to weave, cure fish, make boats, carve silver and wood and ivory, and indulge their laughing children. December 8th fell soon after the full moon of Tasaungmon, when the Lent-free season was but short-lived, and laid a blight upon the whole country. Destruction was so swift, so sudden.

For nations which declare war or have war declared on them, the day of outbreak ushers in a grim period, but it is clear in the minds of the people that this is a call to effort and sacrifice, for the idea of nation, sovereignty, liberty, whatever they have learnt to hold dear for long generations, or else have just newly won to cherish as something precious. They know, when war is declared, that they must defend their country, have ready for sacrifice their young men, and work with grim industry in a geared-up machine. But how could this apply in the case of Burma, a country which had lost proud sovereignty fifty-five years before, which had not yet gained a modern replacement for it, and which felt itself to be only incidentally in the path of the war monster's appetite. Even those of the people who had been expecting war with the rumours that flew around Rangoon for the six months previous to this, either from people who had cause to know or from a clear judgment, did not know quite how to feel when it came upon them. In our family councils as to which place would offer the best sanctuary from bombs, gunfire and the recklessness of fighting soldiery, a young cousin opposed the idea of our ancestral Thaton as being directly in the path of the invader. "Well, what if it is," said her mother; "do we go to the middle of the roadway, and stand, looking up with mouth open to receive the cannon balls? We are human beings, eating rice. We can reason like human beings and move aside, avoid a little, and the menace will go straight down the road, and after a time leave us safe behind."

This might be regarded as typical enough of the attitude of the majority of people—to move aside from big places and the scenes of war, to leave posts when to hold on to them would be snapping with jaws agape at the gunfire of a fast-winning invader. But the results of this policy was enough to fill us with wretchedness. People ran here and there, from one set of relatives to another, not always welcoming; setting out with foolish encumbrances of goods and chattels and gradually being

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778 articles for household use. The platform is never deserted.
788 Even long after midnight the voice of the worshipper may be heard in the night air, chanting in solemn monotone his pious aspirations, while on a duty-day, and especially on a feast-day, the laughing, joyous crowd of men and maidens, in their gay national dress, makes the platform of the Shwe Dagôn one of the finest sights in the world.

The Shwe Dagôn Payā is by far the most widely celebrated of the great Buddhist shrines, but there are others which, if not so venerated in other lands, still enjoy an even greater local reputation for sanctity, and attract pilgrims from all parts of Burma and the dependent hills, with now and again a band of pious worshippers from distant countries.
[563] Chief among these is the Shwe Hmaw-daw at Pegu, which commands Talaing worship before even the shrine of "the slanted beam" on the Theinguttara hill. The pond close by it was covered with lotus blossoms immediately on the construction of the shapely spire and the great Tha-gyā Min, and countless Byammās and Nat-déwas assisted at the enshrinement of the relics. As with many other fanes, the king granted to the pagoda, and set apart from secular uses for ever, the whole space round it on which the shadow of the original pile fell between sunset and sunrise. Several
[793] hundred families were dedicated to its service, and in 1881 large sums were raised throughout all the low country for the manufacture of a new hti and the gilding of the whole surface, while many wondrous signs in the neighbourhood attested the sacred character of the undertaking. Similarly the Shwe San-daw at Prome, with its multitude of bells on the cramped hill-top, enjoys a special reputation on account of the prophecy there spoken by Shin Gautama himself, and the connection of the payā with the national hero-king, Dwut-tabaung, as recorded in the sacred books. In proof
778 of this there exists to the present day, and may be seen at
212 the foot of the hill, a huge stone with an inscription which none but the pure-minded can read, and few even of them understand. In other places examples of this duganan kyeganan, a kind of cypher-writing, or cryptograph, as it appears to the unenfranchised, exists, and usually records in mystic phraseology and inverted orthography the alms presented to

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778 1784 (1146 B.E.). According to the inscription, the king drew this Arakan Gautama to the shrine by the charm of his piety, but the historical books speak only of rough force of arms. However that may be, it is a mystery how the huge masses of metal—the figure was cast in three sections—were brought over the steep, pathless mountain sides. The inscription flatters the king, and the monks ascribe the feat to supernatural help, as they do the faultless joining together of the pieces. The image was set up, so says the legend, during the lifetime of the Great Master. The utmost skill and most persistent energy had failed in fitting the parts together, and the feelings of the pious were fearfully lacerated by the cracking of the head in their futile struggles. But the Buddha, perceiving from afar what was going on, and ever full of pity, came himself to the spot, and, embracing the image seven times, so joined together the fragments that the most sceptical eye cannot detect the points of junction, while the head was restored to its pristine smoothness. So like was the image, and so sublime the effulgence which shone around during the manifestation, that the reverently gazing crowd could not determine which was the model and which the Master. The resemblance has no doubt faded away with the wickedness of later times, for unlike most Burmese images, the Payā Gyi has most gross and repulsive features. Inspired by the divine embrace the figure spoke, but afterwards received the Teacher's command never again to open its lips till Arimadéya should come to reveal the new Law. The shrine in which it stands is one of the most splendid in the country. The image itself is covered by a great seven-roofed pya-that with goodly pillars, the ceiling gorgeous with mosaics. Long colonnades, supported on 252 massive pillars, all richly gilt and carved, with frescoed roofs and sides, lead up to it, and daily from the royal palace used to come sumptuous offerings in stately procession, marshalled by one of the ministers and shaded by the white umbrella, the emblem of sovereignty and the prerogative of the Arbiter of Existence. On its first arrival a hundred and twenty [793] families of Arakanese were assigned as slaves of the payā, and the number was frequently afterwards added to. In a long gallery there is an enormous number of inscriptions,

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma (Europeans) AP1
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feast, are heaped up piles of fruits, savoury curries, cakes, biscuits, and sweetmeats of all kinds, intended for the monks; while scattered about are great *repoussé* silver bowls full of sherbet, gold and silver cups, lamps, mirrors, and all the familiar adornments, fit enough for a private house, but singularly out of place where a gay piece of tapestry hung up barely conceals the image at the eastern side of the rest-house. Maung Maung offers us some lemonade, and we light cheroots, exchange a few compliments with the ladies, and pass on, just as a noisy half-dozen of young Englishmen from one of the mercantile houses come scrambling up the ladder-like steps. It would be well if these gentlemen would remember that each of the houses is to all intents and purposes a private assembly for the night, and that, though the host always welcomes them, he understands English, and does not by any means relish the mocking comments which are lavished on everything, and still less is inclined to approve of the criticisms passed on the ladies. But then there are so few Englishmen in Burma who understand the very shortest sentence in the language that they may be pardoned if they mistake for a promiscuous saturnalia what is nominally a religious ceremony. We leave them joking with Maung Maung and the hostess, as she offers them some beer—beer in a monastery! But then it is known that Englishmen will be there, and the Burman's notion is that an Englishman only leaves off drinking beer when he drinks brandy, so this last indignity is not objected to by the yahans.

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Farther on we come to the place we are specially in search of. The master of ceremonies here is our friend Maung Po Si, a Patama Byan, a certificated theologian and long resident in Mandalay, qualified, therefore, to be a yahan himself, and from his previous experiences, one would think, not at all likely to countenance such open contempt of the provisions of the Wini, which treatise his success in the above-mentioned "theological tripos" implies that he knows by heart. But "Mr. Grandfather Oil" is very emphatically in the world of kāma; he is far from having beaten down the passions, and his place is the most startlingly secular of them all. He has got the kyaung of a myizzi mati, a pôngyi who has been ten Lents in the Order, and

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

643 the peacock and the hare, typifying the descent of the king from the solar and lunar races, which was also directly laid claim to in the title, netwetbuyin, sovereign of the rising sun. Similarly with the titles khattia, implying that he had dominion over the crops, and yaza, because he could instruct men in the laws, a somewhat doubtful ability in regard to all except perhaps King Mindôn. The consecration by beittheit was completed in three special ceremonies, as was the case with the Payālaung chosen to be the first ruler.

1. Yaza-beit, the consecrating of him as king.

2. Manda beittheit, the solemn marrying him to a queen of royal lineage.

3. Thenga beittheit, the confirmation or renewal of his engagement to abide by the laws, whereupon full powers for the government and administration of the country are conferred.

643 773 177 793 The actual coronation ceremony was latterly a mere form, but was intended to mark the claim of the Lord of the Golden Palace to be the representative of the universal monarch, the Sekyawadé king, who never makes his appearance during the time allotted to the publication and duration of the religious institutions of a Buddha. It consisted principally in incantations and sprinkling with holy water from the Ganges, performed by the pônnas, the Brahmin astrologers; the Burman yahans had nothing whatever to do with it. Besides the pônnas, only a few of the chief ministers were present. The really national part of the ceremony was the royal progress round the city moat, made seven days after the beittheit. The king left 643 175 the city by the Eastern Gate, the precise moment being notified by a discharge of cannon. He then entered the state barge, a most gorgeously gilt and carved construction, surpassing even the traditional coach of the Lord Mayor of London. This boat was then slowly rowed round the moat, with music clashing all around, and bands of dancers supplying the place of a rejoicing populace. Then when the circuit had been completed, the newly crowned monarch entered again between the guardian ogres of the Eastern Gate, a fresh salvo of artillery announcing the arrival at the palace. The ceremony was simple enough, but King

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

764 carried off by the grave-diggers. None but an outcast would venture to do such a thing.

By this time, or, if the death occurred at night, in the early morning, the band has arrived, and commences to play dirges in front of the house. The Sula-gandi monks greatly disapprove of this practice, as savouring of ostentation, and their followers therefore often dispense with the band, as do many Burmans in the large English towns. But otherwise the band is always engaged, and plays on steadily till the funeral takes place. Almost invariably, too, one or more of
●[793] the yahans from the monastery come along and stay in the house, their presence being invaluable in keeping away evil spirits, who might otherwise loiter about the place. The monk may or may not deliver a discourse, just as he sees fit. The body is then put into the coffin, which is a very flimsy kind of affair, ordinarily made of let-pan (*Bombax malabaricum*), a very light and porous kind of wood not unlike deal, or sometimes of eng tree (*Dipterocarpus tuberculatus*). This is fastened down roughly with any kind of nails that come to hand. A number of the relatives and friends now come to condole and lend their assistance in making and ornamenting the bier and hearse, most of them bringing presents
[476] of money or food with them. A few years ago a very meritorious society called Upathaka was started in Rangoon, the object of which was to provide decent and honourable burial for all members. The actual society did not last very long, but it served to show that the old feeling of mutual help still existed. At no time, however, have the Burmans been backward in this meitswe a-paung a-paw, which is one of the thirty-eight points insisted on in the Mingala-thut, the most favourite sermon of the Lord Buddha's. Friends and neighbours troop in with presents of a few pice, baskets of rice, meat, fruit, tobacco, betel, and material for decorating the bier, so that a man who in his lifetime never had a rupee to bless himself with, receives in Lower Burma a funeral grand enough to bring everybody connected with it under the scope of the sumptuary laws, if it were held in King Thibaw's territory.

The body is kept a longer or shorter time according to the station of the deceased. If he was rich, the preparation

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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of the funeral paraphernalia takes some time, and it is nowadays almost a matter of ceremonial necessity that all children and blood relations should assemble for the burial. Technically, if the death occurred on the last day of the month the funeral ceremonies should take place before midnight, certainly before the new moon appears. This rule, however, is far from being strictly observed nowadays. A poor man is buried as quickly as possible to save expense; a rich man's obsequies last according to the pride of his family and their inclination to spend money. The coffin, called hkaung, is usually covered with tinsel paper, or perhaps gilt. The talā, the bier, is shaded by a light canopy, or spire made of bamboo, and carried by means of four long bamboo poles. This pya-that is usually most gaily decorated with coloured pasteboard, tinsel, and paintings of different kinds, and looks strangely bright and theatrical to Europeans. It is carpentered and decorated in the street before the house, for it is from eight or ten to twenty or thirty feet in height, and often overtops all the houses in the quarter.

When the day fixed for the funeral arrives the yahans are invited to the house. They usually come in numbers proportioned to the amount of alms given. There is ordinarily an address in the house, dwelling mainly on the vanity of human wishes and the uncertainty and misery of life on earth. Then the coffin is brought out and placed on the platform made for it in the lower part of the pya-that. Over it is then thrown a paso if the deceased was a man, or a tamein or neckerchief if a woman. This usually conceals the coffin, unless it is richly gilt, or painted, as is sometimes the case, with figures of the nobler of the animals, such as lions, tigers, monkeys, and elephants. Then the distinctive garment is looped up so that all may see. Over this cloth are usually placed short sticks wrapped round with gold and silver paper, shwe bidôn and ngwe bidôn which were forbidden in Mandalay except to the officials. Equally contrary to the Yazagaing are the sanda ya-mya, two long streamers which come down from the top of the spire and are taken in the hands of as many of the personal friends as can get hold of them. The musket shots which are fired often during the processions would have entailed especially

14: Brant E-5 (1949-50) 1954 AP1 Burma
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IV

RELIGION

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The people of Tadagale are overwhelmingly Theravada Buddhist in faith. The exceptions are the Indian minority, who are largely Hindus. There are three Indians who profess Mohammedanism, and three Indo-Burmans and one Pakistani of like faith. Being Burmese and Buddhist are almost identified in the thinking of the majority, as evidenced by the fact that almost all replied 'Burmese Buddhist' to the question, 'To what people do you consider yourself to belong?'

In discussing the religious life of Tadagale, realism calls for emphasis upon actual religious beliefs and behavior, rather than any extended setting down of the formal theology of Buddhism. The latter has been done in any number of specialized works, to which the interested reader may refer. Here we shall refer to Buddhist precepts insofar as is necessary to illuminate religious beliefs and practices of the villagers.

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The Five Precepts or Commandments. Almost all villagers know well the fundamental Buddhist injunctions against the taking of life in any form, the consumption of alcohol, illicit sexual activity, theft, and prevarication. These moral rules are, of course, sometimes breached. In Tadagale, the use of alcohol, sometimes to excess, is perhaps the most notable instance. The 'good Buddhist' does not, however, seem to experience feelings of guilt or pangs of conscience in such matters. Rather, the following of the moral precepts has instrumental value for him, in relation to his accumulation of merit and his reincarnation after death.

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Merit. One's behavior throughout life determines one's store of merit, and this, in turn, determines one's reincarnation after death. Morally proper behavior, such as the following of the five basic commandments of Buddhist faith, is regarded as contributing to one's store of merit and thus enhancing one's state of reincarnation after death. Religious acts, such as making daily offerings of food to the monks, saying prayers, and attending the pagoda festivals on the important sacred days are likewise considered to increase one's merit. Breaking the moral precepts, irreligiousity, acting selfish or quarrelsome, detract from merit and accordingly tend to lower one's state in reincarnation.

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Such is about the extent of the average villager's lay conception and understanding of the moral code and the ideas of the afterlife in Buddhism. He has little or no knowledge of the detailed concepts of reincarnation, with its elaborate gradationary ladder leading from the four states of punishment up to the ultimate achievement of Nirvana. Such theological learning is the property of the monkhood and of a few laymen who spent more than the usual few years as pupils in the monastic school.

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Functions of the Monks. The functions of the Buddhist monks in the village may be conveniently classified as three-fold: formal education; officiation at certain rites; and providing personal advice and guidance to individuals.

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With respect to formal education, the monks of four monasteries close to the village conduct schools which are attended by a considerable number of

14: Brant E-5 (1949-50) 1954 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

792 the small boys, as day pupils. Monastic education is a traditional part of
871 Burmese Buddhism, and almost all the men of Tadagale, whether reared in the village or elsewhere, have attended monastic schools for varying lengths of time.

The monastic school curriculum includes elementary reading, writing and
792 arithmetic, rudiments of history and geography, heavily colored by Burmese
872 cosmology and folklore, and instruction in Buddhist precepts and proper conduct. There is heavy emphasis upon proper conduct. Instruction takes the form of
876 mass recitation and rote memorization. Discipline is strict and the inattentive pupil is kept alert, when necessary, by means of the rod. As indicated earlier, many parents in the village favor the monastic as against the public school because of the strict discipline and the emphasis upon conduct and religion.

793 Concerning the second function of the monks, officiation at certain rites, it should be indicated that because Burmese Buddhism is not a congregational type of religion, the monks are not called upon to officiate at regular assemblies in any fashion akin to the role of the Christian minister. The monks do, however, play an important part in the initiation of boys into the monkhood; and sometimes take part in funeral rites.

The monk's function of giving advice and guidance stems from the fact that he is regarded, in the thinking of the villagers, not only as one to whom the greatest respect and deference is due by virtue of his dedication to his life to religion, but also as a living repository of wisdom and universal knowledge. He is a person to whom one may turn in time of uncertainty, doubt or stress for personal counsel. Problems relating to the conduct of one's children; concern over persistent lack of success in one's economic activities; or even matters of health may be taken to the monk. A great deal of the advice rendered by monks is formulaic, folkloristic and magical in nature. Particular monks tend to acquire reputations as being especially wise and helpful in particular kinds of problems.

792 Support of the Monks. The monastery buildings and the land on which
235 they stand are the property of the monastic order, held in perpetuity by grant of the government, free of taxation.

The monks are supported by the donations of the villagers. Every morning a monk, accompanied by one or two monastic school pupils, passes through the village to collect offerings of food. As he enters the compound of each home a member of the household takes a pot of cooked rice, which has been prepared for the morning meal, and places a few large spoonsful in the monk's begging bowl. This minimum daily contribution of food is made by every Buddhist household, without exception; in addition, many families send
[624] bowls of curry and rice to the monastery. Giving food to the monks is an important act of merit to Burmese Buddhists. It is regarded as unthinkable that any household would refuse. When the hypothetical case was posed of such a deviant household, villagers agreed that such a family would be severely criticized and shunned in the village.

The few other things that the monks require for their austere existence are given by villagers on the important ceremonial days of the year. These items include robes, soap, matches, begging bowls, water strainers and needles.

796 Duty Days. The Burmese calendar is a lunar one, and in each month there are four days -- duty or sabbath days -- on which the villagers go to the monastery

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

000 people themselves—a hundred years behind them in civilization, a thousand years behind them in morality. Men will do in the name of government acts which, if performed in a private capacity, would cover them with shame before men, and would land them in a gaol or worse. The name of government is a cloak for the worst passions of manhood. It is not an interesting study, the government of mankind.

642 A government is no part of the soul of the people,
779 but is a mere excrescence; and so I have but little to say about this of Burma, beyond this curious fact—that religion had no part in it. Surely this is a very remarkable thing, that a religion having the hold upon its followers that Buddhism has upon the Burmese has never attempted to grasp the supreme authority and use it to its ends.

It is not quite an explanation to say that Buddhism is not concerned with such things; that its very spirit is against the assumption of any worldly power and authority; that it is a negation of the value of these things. Something of this sort might be said of other religions, and yet they have all striven to use the temporal power.

I do not know what the explanation is unless it be that the Burmese believe their religion and other people do not. However that may be, there is no doubt of the fact. Religion had nothing whatever—absolutely nothing in any way at all—to do with
642 government. There are no exceptions. What has
● 793 led people to think sometimes that there were exceptions is the fact that the king confirmed the That-
795 hanaBaing—the head of the community of monks—

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

after he had been elected by his fellow-monks. The reason of this was as follows: All ecclesiastical matters—I use the word 'ecclesiastical' because I can find no other—were outside the jurisdiction of civil limits. By 'ecclesiastical' I mean such matters as referred to the ownership and habitation of monasteries, the building of pagodas and places of prayer, the discipline of the monkhood. Such questions were decided by ecclesiastical courts under the Thathanabaing.

Now, it was necessary sometimes, as may be understood, to enforce these decrees, and for that reason to apply to civil power. Therefore there must be a head of the monks acknowledged by the civil power as head, to make such applications as might be necessary in this, and perhaps some other such circumstances.

It became, therefore, the custom for the king to acknowledge by order the elect of the monks as Thathanabaing for all such purposes. That was all. The king did not appoint him at all.

Any such idea as a monk interfering in the affairs of state, or expressing an opinion on war or law or finance, would appear to the Burmese a negation of their faith. They were never led away by the idea that good might come of such interference. This terrible snare has never caught their feet. They hold that a man's first duty is to his own soul. Never think that you can do good to others at the same time as you injure yourself, and the greatest good for your own heart is to learn that beyond all this turmoil and fret there is the Great Peace—so great that we can hardly understand it, and to reach

Z5: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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90. PAYA SUN-KAN.

(*Payá sun-kan*), or privately prepared, is conveyed. The day is devoted to contemplation, and the night is passed at the *zayát*. Those who keep the duty-day present offerings at the *zedi* and the adjoining *kyaung*. At either of these places a *yahán* is invited to rehearse the precepts, which the laity chant verse by verse after his lead (*thilo-kan*). Passages from other scriptures are added, with their interpretations. This is called *Tayá-haw*—the preaching of the Law. The great Mun King, Yazadiyit of Pegu, in the year 1400 A.D., is reported to have been so impressed by the preaching of a *yahán* that he abandoned a campaign on which he had embarked. More than once in Burman history the peaceful contest of building rival temples has been substituted for battle by opposing armies.

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The Buddha has passed out of existence. While existent, all that the Buddha could accomplish for any being was the human service of showing him the way, to work out deliverance by individual effort. Self-reliance is the cardinal principle. There is none to hear prayer. The true significance of the popular worship is not apprehended unless this be borne in mind. No virtue can surpass that of the Inestimable Master (*Myassua Payá*) who fulfilled the Law and bequeathed it to men. To cultivate the memory of his transcendent merit is itself meritorious in the first degree. Such is the personal side of the cult, to which the effigies of the founder appeal. Before the images of the Buddha are performed the gestures of homage, and are placed offerings symbolical of veneration — tapers lighted at the shrine, flowers

91. YAHAN REGITING THE PRECEPTS (TAYA-HAW).

29: Slater M-4 (no date) 1951 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

Old men will retire to the monastery to end their days there, and younger men, in poverty or other distress, will flee the world for a time. The hospitality of the monks has sometimes been more charitable than discriminate, a circumstances which has brought some monasteries into disrepute, for these temporary inhabitants are allowed to wear the yellow robe, and some are criminals, sheltering from justice. Father Sangermano reports the rescue of prisoners condemned to death. "In thus saving the lives of criminals, (the monks) believe that, as their law forbids them to kill, it must be meritorious to preserve the lives of others."[34]

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The monastery is the social centre of the village. Buddhism in Burma is gaily attired, a religion of festival. Frequently there will be an open-air performance in the moonlight, when a birth-story of the Buddha is dramatized. All this spirited, colourful life gathers around the monastery.

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But perhaps the Order's most valuable service to the community is the function fulfilled by the monk as *counsellor*. A group of villagers may gather for a special instruction, others may attend when the monks assemble for devotions, but the monastery is not regarded as a preaching centre or as a place of public worship. In modern times, crowds have flocked to hear the Monyin Sayadaw. Generally, however, the approach in this respect is individual. It is as the individual adviser of each villager that the monk's influence is most strongly felt.

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In many and tangible ways, therefore, the monastery serves the community, but it is probable that the villager himself reveres the monk more for services which are intangible and may not appear so valuable to sceptical observers. Early in the morning, the monk, attended by *koyins*, will go the round of the faithful, receiving their offerings of rice in his begging bowl.[35] For the monk himself it is an exercise in humility, for the villager it is one of the chief means of increasing that *kutho* or worthiness which ensures him happiness in this life and the next.[36]

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Most of all, however, it is those very aspects of the monk's vocation which distinguish him from the rest of the community, setting him apart, for which the monk is chiefly esteemed. It is because the greater part of his life is spent in spiritual exercises which the villagers do *not* share, that they value him most. The monastery stands for a Way of utter renun-

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[34] *The Burmese Empire*, 3d. Edition, ed. J. Jardine, (London, 1895), chap. xv, p. 122.

[35] Thus *bhikku or bhikyu*, usually translated monk, means, literally, mendicant. Strictly speaking, a *bhikku* is not a monk; cf. Rhys Davids, *Dialogues of the Buddha*, Part II (S.B.B.), p. 81, footnote.

[36] *Kutho* is frequently translated 'merit.' But 'worthiness' is more accurate.

584 [791] is not particularly well known to them. The boy's parents will be informed by the girl's family that their decision must await the outcome of consultation with an astrologer concerning the compatability of the birth dates of the prospective bride and groom. If the marriage is found to be an auspicious one -- which it usually will be found to be if the girl's parents desire the match -- an affirmative answer is relayed to the boy's parents. The latter thereupon call on her parents, and in the presence of elders, formally ask for the girl's hand. From this moment the couple are considered betrothed and must not go about in public unchaperoned.

585 The wedding date is astrologically determined. The length of the engagement depends upon the availability of an auspicious wedding date. In general, lengthy engagements are disliked. In no case should an engagement carry over the period of Waso, the so-called Buddhist 'Lent.'

Before the wedding ceremony, the bride's house is open to friends and relatives, who are expected to drop in to help prepare the house for the wedding, lending household items that may be needed for the occasion. A pavilion adjoining the house is erected to accomodate the crowd that will attend. All the helpers and would-be helpers in this work are offered meals and light refreshments.

The bride's family normally bears all the expenses of these preparations, but sometimes the boy's family will mention a sum of money either as a contribution towards the wedding or as an indication of their son's ability to support a wife. If such funds are offered, they will be mentioned at the time the girl's hand is sought.

One room in the girl's house is set aside as the bridal chamber. In families of average or better means it is furnished with a bed, draperies, and complete toilet and dressing facilities. In poorer families that cannot afford to furnish the bridal chamber in elaborate fashion, some show of style will be made in furnishing the bed, at least. By the evening before the wedding day the room must be ready, with all the wedding gifts on display.

On the wedding day three or four intimate married friends of the girl dress her. This must not be done by widows or divorcees, for it would bode ill for the marriage. For unmarried girls to perform this task would be immodest. Neither should a pregnant woman take part in dressing the bride, for that would be bad for her baby. The dressing of the bride must begin sufficiently early so that she will be completely ready at a precise, astrologically determined wedding hour.

The bridegroom's party arrives just prior to the appointed time for the ceremony. It includes two of his bachelor friends as well as his family. He takes his seat on a cushion on the platform that has been specially erected. The bride is brought out by her matrons and approaches with eyes downcast. She takes her seat on a cushion to the bridegroom's left. Across the platform, from left to right, are placed three silver offering bowls. A fourth bowl, on the right hand edge of the platform, contains puffed rice. The bridegroom's bachelor friends take seats to his rear; the matrons of the bride sit directly behind her.

● 794 585 A lay elder, arranged for by the bride's mother, officiates. He recites a poem of praise concerning the merits of the bride and groom and the goodness

of their families. The bride and groom are each handed a spray of flowers from the offering bowls and they make obeisance to the guardian spirits of their respective households. With a second spray they make obeisance to their parents and elders. Then a small tray containing fruit and rice is placed before them. The lay elder places a spoonful of this food first to the bridegroom's, then to the bride's lips. As he does this he makes a statement to the effect that this is the auspicious meal and that he hopes blessings may flow from it. 794 585

At this point, a happy and fruitfully married couple from among the oldest people in the community step forward to marry the couple. The left hand of the man is placed on top of the right hand of the girl. Water is poured on their hands thus joined and a silk scarf tied over them as the elderly couple recite words to the effect that they are now united. A chanter arises and intones a song of praise for long life. The contents of the bowl of puffed rice and money are scattered among the audience, and everyone scrambles for them. Now the bride and groom rise and are led to the bridal chamber, across the doorway of which is stretched a golden chain. After the bride has entered, anyone who wishes to do so tries to barricade the doorway and demand money of the groom. He is obliged to pay everyone who makes such demands. This money is known as 'stone money,' from the old custom, still practiced sometimes, of stoning the house of a couple on their wedding night until the bridegroom arises and pays them to desist. This behavior, the taunts and demands that are expressed, has an implied bawdiness about it. Once the couple have entered the bridal chamber, others may go in to inspect it. When all have left the chamber there is a general feast. Usually the feast in Tadagale partakes of the nature of a tea party, since a full scale feast is expensive. Each guest receives a symbolic gift, usually a cigar or a fan.

Old Age. Old age is the period after one's children are grown, the 'third age' of life. Women are definitely regarded as old after the menopause. The Burmese terms for 'old lady' and 'old man' are synonymous with grandparent terms, both in address and reference. Sometimes 'old mother' is used instead of 'old lady.' Long life is considered a great blessing and an indication of merit earned. Long life is prayed for and old age greatly idealized. 886 601 761

The ideal aged person is one who has successfully reared a family, has grandchildren, and a certain amount of material wealth. The aged are expected to be retiring and unobtrusive in their behavior. They should not go out visiting very much; they should eat less and avoid appearing too well dressed or jeweled when attending religious observances. 888

An attitude of resignation characterises the outlook of the aged person. It is unheard of that old people should work. A possible exception would be a village headman, who, it is felt, should be a person of long experience. When aged people live with their children they assume the role of teachers of their grandchildren. Most of the time of elderly people is spent in activities centering around the pagodas and monasteries, organizing of religious festivals, and raising funds for the monks and charities. They often take leading roles in such activities. 887

The elderly members of a household arise early to see that the rice is cooked for the daily offering to the monks, and to insure that the household altar is properly looked after. It is preferable for them to arise before dawn, for to do so is considered very meritorious.

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

39. PAINTING OF SHINLAUNG FETE.

The constituted daily routine of the monastery takes no account of recreation. In practice there is a wide margin of leisure. But the wearer of the yellow robe is not seen at play. Arithmetical puzzles are the nearest approach to a game. On the other hand, the cheerfulness of the race suffers no restraint. There is decorum, without austerity or sanctimony. The severest penance laid upon the novice is temporary relegation to the secular state (*lein-byan*) for such faults as lying, theft, or killing anything. Cruelty to an animal is punished with caning.

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The *yahán* exercise no exclusive function beyond that of admitting candidates to the novitiate and the full membership of their Assembly. The affairs of the Buddhist Church are initiated and conducted by the laity. The recluses merely add, by their presence, to the religious distinction of an occasion. At the shrine the recluse is like any other pilgrim; he never is a ministrant or priest. Neither is there any altar. The only material objects to which sanctity pertains are the relics of the Buddha. The members of the Assembly know no distinctions of men, racial or social. As regards the temporal power, of whatever origin, the recluse should be absolutely passive, neither contravening the laws nor invoking them when he suffers wrong. The recluse neither denounces nor harbours the criminal, a neutral attitude of which criminals are not slow to take advantage.

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When admitted to full membership of the Assembly instituted by the Buddha (*Thingá*, Pâli *Sangha*), the novice becomes *Yahán* (*Yahándaw*, *Rahán*, *Arahan*), which signifies *perfected*, one advanced a stage

40. BOYIN RECEIVING HIGHER INSTRUCTION

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25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

346 *kambawd*. The laity assembled outside the precincts let off rockets and guns
796 in celebration of the event. Finally, the ceremony of *yeêtcha*, the pouring
778 of water (No. 100), is performed by the grantor of the site—as at every other

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46. ILLUMINATED KAMBAWA.

religious dedication—to signify that the property has been dedicated for ever. The precincts of the *thein* are marked by low boundary pillars, mostly of Sagáing marble, set in the trench, which is then filled in. A different form of *thein* is the *ye-thein*, which is built over the water to effect its isolation.

792 Although the *yahán*, as already stated, may not ask for anything, he may
735 decline what is offered. He signifies this by inverting his *thabît* (*thabeit-kmauk*). The action has become a symbol for excommunication. The *yahán* might assemble in the *thein* and perform *thabît-kmauk* against a layman for
[794] heinous wickedness. His house would be passed by in collecting *sun* and all
[178] offerings tendered by him refused. The practice has become obsolete; it is said to have no warrant in the scriptures, and to be contrary to their spirit.

Where the people are very prosperous and the *yahán* are not many, the collecting of *sun* in the streets has sunk to a formality observed by the novices only, who on return to the monastery empty their *thabît* to the dogs. But in other circumstances the sojourner *yahán*, novices and scholars live on the *sun*. An ordinance of the Buddha dispenses the *yahán* from collecting his food from house to house if there be pious people who proffer him his sustenance at his abode. The founder of the monastery (*Kyaung-taga*), who nomin-

47. SUN SENT BY THE KYAÔNGTAGA.

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

breakfast ready prepared for them when they return from 792
their morning's walk, and are ready to set to with healthy 735
appetites. This question of Sybaritism is a chief source
of dispute between the rival sects of Mahā and Sula- [795]
gandi.

Breakfast done, they wash out the begging-bowls, and 792
chant a few lauds before the image of the Buddha, meditating for a short time on kindness and affection. During the succeeding hour the scholars are allowed to play about, but must not make a noise, or indulge in quarrelsome games; the religious pass the time in leisurely conversation, or in any other way they please; the kyaung po-go usually has visits from old people, who come to pay their respects, or perhaps [735]
the kyaung-tagā, the founder of the monastery, the patron of his benefice, comes to consult with him on various matters, or to converse about religion and good works. The etiquette observed on these occasions is always very stately and ceremonious. Whoever approaches, whether it be the poorest 792
villager, the founder of the monastery, or the governor of the 788
district, all alike must prostrate themselves three times be- 775
fore the yahan, and, with uplifted hands, say, "In order that all the sins I have committed, in thought, in word, or in deed, may be pardoned to me, I prostrate myself three times, once in honour of the Buddha, again in honour of the Law, and thirdly in honour of the Assembly, the three precious things. By so doing, I hope to be preserved from the three calamities, from the four states of punishment; and from the five enemies, fire, water, thieves, governors (literally translated burdens), and malevolent people." The sayā replies: "As a reward for his merit and his obeisances, may the supporter (tagā) be freed from the three calamities, the four states of punishment, the five enemies, and from harm of what kind soever. May all his aims be good and end well; may he advance firmly in the noble path, perfect himself in wisdom, and finally obtain rest in ne'ban." Whenever the visitor addresses the yahan he joins his hands together, and sitting as he does on a mat, slightly bends the body forward, applying the title of payā, or lord, and making use of the [198]
honorific forms of speech specially reserved for the religious. The mendicant on his part calls the layman, of whatever

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma (Indians) AP1
Burmese AP4

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Brahmin priests were originally brought captives from Manipur, and have been employed as astrologers ever since, their ranks being occasionally recruited by new arrivals. One of the requests preferred to Colonel Symes on his embassy to Ava in 1796 was that he would persuade the Governor-General to send a learned Brahmin and his wife to the capital. The race has been maintained tolerably pure, and the Pônna is readily distinguishable in the streets from the pôngyi. The astrologers muster naturally in greatest force in Mandalay, and their monastery there is situated in a magnificent grove of trees south of the town, and close to the cemeteries. Unlike the native religious, they do not raise their houses on posts above the ground, but follow the Indian custom of having the mat-covered earth for their floor. Foreigners are not admitted into their temples, but there is no objection to the images being brought out by a Pônna for exhibition to his friends. They worship Krishna and twenty-five other deities, but have all but no congregation, few of their faith coming to Mandalay, and those laymen who were carried away at the same time as themselves into captivity having turned to the Buddhist faith.

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No yahan is allowed to have a separate monastery built for him until he has spent five full Wā under the discipline of a prior. These Lents must also be consecutive. According to their seniority in this respect the monks obtain names. Thus a pyin-sin who has spent five years—which of course is implied by the Wā—is called Anuti, and is a fit object for the pious to honour by erecting a special kyaung for him. When he has been ten years in the order he is addressed as Myizza-ti, and those who have remained steadfastly for twenty years, attain to the full honour of Mahā-ti. Such a self-denying man is always sure of a magnificent funeral when he dies.

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It is a very good point about the life in the monastery that the great austerities and absurd mortifications of the flesh indulged in by the Brahminical houses find no place with the Buddhists, who reject them as unnecessary and unprofitable. The life of the initiated is one of constant self-denial; all superfluities and luxuries are renounced; all that is calculated to excite the passions is forbidden; but there

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

771 life of the European nations the manifold character of the questions of the day attract and occupy the minds and influence the religious beliefs of the people, the eyes of the Burman Buddhist are uninterruptedly fixed on the dark mysteries which surround his beginning, his end, and every moment of his existence. His religion enters into every action of his life, and its admirable system of morality need fear comparison with none other on earth; while everything else appears but as a matter of detail, or a different method of viewing the same things. He is not at all unwilling to enter into discussion as to what is the true religion: whether only one is the right, whether all have sprung from the same root and have only now assumed different forms, or whether, as the Deity gave to the hand different fingers, so He has given to mankind different paths. But the arguments of the proselytiser have but very little success, while, on the other hand, there is nowadays practically no attempt to gain converts to their own national faith. This is no doubt in great part due to the absence of all ministerial duties in the brethren of the yellow robe, but also to a belief that true faith can only grow up gradually, and cannot be forced on the mind. At the same time there is not a hint of bigotry. In Mandalay all forms of religion were allowed to be carried on without the least semblance of opposition. The solemn call of the muezzin; the tinkling of the convent-bell, under the cross of Rome; the noisy rites of devil and fire-worshippers; even the ceremonies of the former fierce enemies of Buddhism, the Brahmins—all of these were exercised without the least hindrance, and the processions of the various forms of faith passed one another in the street with the most complete amicability. Even a convert is left unharmed. There may be a sense of wonder and contempt for the man who voluntarily resigns his high hopes as a Buddhist for the probable fallacies of another cult, but there is never any real attempt at oppression.

Heresies, therefore, never originate with the people; any there are come from the monasteries, but even these relate more to matters of discipline and internal regulation than to real points of faith. The yahans are very clever in dispute, and are far from being averse to it. The better educated of

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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them know their ground perfectly well, and are quite able to take full advantage of the strong points of their position. They rely entirely on the holy books, and these they have at their fingers' ends. It is granted by all that they are, almost without exception, entirely free from intolerance, and are quite unable to comprehend the zeal for conversion. A venerable Sadaw in Bhamo came and listened attentively to a Burmese sermon of Dr. Mason, the celebrated American missionary. When it was over he came and complimented him on its depth and grasp, and then suggested that the reverend doctor should go with him to offer up worship before the image of Buddha! The monks do not think, with cynical mockery, that every one should be allowed to go his own way and be blessed after his own fashion; on the contrary, they seek zealously for new truths and explanations of mysteries; but they hold it presumptuous and unwarrantable, in view of the dark secrets which envelop the life of man from its dawning to its close, to set up each his individual opinion with dogmatic certainty as the only true form and the only one that can save. They take their standpoint on the actual state of things, on the misery and sorrow which is externally bound up with the nature of the human body as it exists. They devote themselves entirely to preparing the spirit for its delivery, when it will finally rest, raised above every fear of new change, in the harmonious equipoise of Ne'ban. For this last and highest aim no hypotheses have to be assumed. They require no personal deity who would demand a special place in the system of the world, and in a possible danger to the cosmic system might incur the same risk of destruction. They remain entirely within the clearly defined horizon of their limit of vision, and are therefore very difficult to attack in argument.

Nevertheless schisms have arisen from time to time, and exist at the present day, but they have sprung more from revolt against excessive austerity, or corresponding laxity, than from any real difference on doctrinal points. The Lord Buddha had hardly died before one of the most aged of the disciples, Subhadra, thus addressed the assembled brethren: "Revered ones, cease to mourn. We are now happily released from the rule of the great Sramana; we shall no

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more be tormented with 'this is allowable' and 'that is not allowable'; we can now do what we wish, and leave undone what we do not care for." To put an end to this scandal to religion, and to fix definitely the bonds of morality, the great disciple, Kathapa, called together, forty-five years after the Buddha's death, in the year 543 B.C., the first great Council, at Rajagriha, in the country of Magadha. Kathapa himself was president. The Wini was read by Upali, whom Shin Gautama himself had pointed out as the most learned of his followers, and the Dharma by Ananda, the personal attendant and favourite disciple of the Budh. During seven months the various points in dispute were considered from all points, and after rulings had been publicly and authoritatively given, the Council broke up. Thus were the three "baskets of the Law" first settled.

But the backsliders were not corrected, and they gradually increased in number, until, one hundred years later, it was found necessary to call together another synod. There was now a considerable body of schismatics, and they formulated a demand for definite relaxations from the severity of the laws. The Council was again held in the country of Magadha (the modern Oudh), this time in the town of Wethali. The king, Kalathawka, built a splendid hall, and when all was ready, himself placed the ivory fan on the ledge of the pulpit, and sent a message to the members of the Thengā who had assembled for the conference, saying, "Lords, my task is finished." The relaxations demanded were then discussed. The most important were as follows:—Food might be taken until the shade of the sun was two inches in length; whereas Shin Gautama had directed that for the curbing of the flesh none should be eaten after noontide.

Whey might be drunk after mid-day; forbidden as being a component part of milk, and therefore approaching animal food.

Tari, or palm toddy, might be taken, because it looks like water. This was a particularly bold demand, seeing that all fermented liquors are forbidden, and that in modern days the same plea might be urged on behalf of gin.

Gold and silver might be accepted as alms; the use of them being strictly prohibited.

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A junior might lawfully copy a senior even in what is wrong; whereas no example could be any valid excuse for a wrong act. 795 779 173

Subsequent permission might cover an act; whereas the Wini required prior permission.

The restrictions against indulgences were to be in force only in the monasteries; and not for those who might be sojourning in villages.

These points, after lengthy discussion, were all given against the dissenters, and degradation was awarded them as a punishment.

Still matters got worse, and in 241 B.C. the great king Athawka, of Pataliputra, brought about the third and last great Council to cleanse the Church. After nine months' public reading of the Book of Rules and of the most excellent Law, 60,000 heretics were expelled from the Church, and it was resolved to propagate the religion far and wide. This last decision was fraught with the most momentous consequences to Burma, for among the missionaries sent north, south, east, and west from Behar were the two, Thawna and Ôttara, who proceeded to the country of Suvarna Bhumi, the "Golden Land," and landing at Thatôn, now north of Maulmein, but then on the sea-coast, proceeded to disseminate the Buddhist doctrines amongst the tribes in the great river-valleys of the country. It is important to notice that the doctrines they brought with them had just been revised and confirmed by a great Council of the Church. Since then, throughout all Burma, the old geniolatry has been displaced by the teachings of the Buddha. The regulations, introduced then in their first purity, have been retained ever since practically unchanged, so that at the present time Buddhism exists in Burma in a form much nearer to that which Shin Gautama taught than is found in any country where the Three Precious Things are held in reverence. 795 173

The only sect which has at any time started any doctrinal heresy is that of the Paramats. They reject the worship before pagodas and images, and pray only to the Nyan-daw, the godlike wisdom, which abides like a mountain of fire in the heavens, invisible to mortal eyes, and taking no interest and exercising no influence over mundane things. These 795 175

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795 dissenters pay reverence to the ordinary brethren of the
175 yellow robe, keep the Ten Precepts, repeat the Bawana (Payā, Tayā, Thengā, etc.) and the Ittipi-thaw, but they never go near the shrines, and recite their prayers and invocations in the jungle or in open fields. It is a kind of reminiscence of fire-worship, an ancestral adoration of the heavens in the sun, caused possibly by a shrinking from the suspicion of idolatry. A cardinal fault in them is that they give no alms, for most religions are at one on the question that charity covers a multitude of sins. The sect was founded at the beginning of this century by a pôngyi, called by his followers Shin Tabaung. He lived at Sinbyugyun, "White Elephant Island," a place half-way between Mandalay and the British frontier, and the dissent would probably never have spread beyond that district, or outlived the life of its originator, had it not been for the king Bodaw Payā. When the Thenga refused to recognise his claim to be the fifth Buddha of this world cycle, he espoused the cause of the Paramats, imposed penalties on all monks who would not accept their tenets, and went so far as to force a Thathanabaing, one of the heads of the Order, to marry, marriage being permissible under the doctrines of the dissenters. This gave the schism a prominence which it could not otherwise have attained, and enabled it to last down to the present time, though its numbers, never very great, have steadily dwindled away. There are perhaps more Paramats in Prome than in any other town of Burma, Lower
795 or Upper. Their most prominent doctrine is that the Shwe
779 Nyan-daw existed before the world began, and will exist for all eternity. Ideas may arise from the influence of exterior objects, but when they have been freed from their connection with bodily creations, they have an independent existence, and when once they have come into being continue to live. This is explained by the assertion that the quasi-deity of the Buddha is founded only on his supreme wisdom. Buddha means, etymologically, "the wise," and Shin Gautama was simply an incarnation of the pure Wisdom. Men believed they actually saw him when he was already really a deity—nothing else than the inspiring Nyan-daw, which made the five Khandas appear to have an

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actual earthly existence. Occasionally an energetic Sadaw excommunicates all the Paramats under his jurisdiction, and forbids all the laity to sell to them, or have any communication whatever with them, but as a rule they are let alone. The movement is too feeble to threaten any real danger to religion, and has never gained many adherents among the laity. 795 779

It is a different matter with the rival parties of the Mahagandi and the Sulagandi. Here there are no heretical doctrines in dispute; it is simply a question of greater adherence to the strict rule of the Order. Instead of, as in the early days of the Assembly, one party crying out against the too great austerity of the majority, it is a sturdy protest of a minority within the Church against the lamentable weakness and laxity of the great body of the Order in the observance of the precepts of the Book of the Enfranchisement. The quarrel is at present limited to Lower Burma, where the greater wealth of the country and the introduction of foreign luxuries among the laity have led to corresponding indulgences in many of the monasteries, against which the Sulagandis protest and preach with feverish energy. The austere party is strongest in Maulmein, Henzada, and Pegu, and faction feeling runs so high that street fights between the scholars of the two sects are very common, and often so embittered that the English authorities have to interfere to restore peace in the town, for the laity take sides with equally bitter animosity. 795 785

The questions in dispute are entirely matters of discipline. The Puritan party, as the Sulagandi may very well be called, denounce the habit, which is becoming very frequent, of wearing silk robes. The Kammawā sets forth that the thengan should be stitched together of rags picked up in the streets or in the graveyards, and such panthagu thengans the Sulagandis wear and glory in. The Mahagandis, on the other hand, have been gradually becoming more and more luxurious. At first new cloth was torn into irregular pieces, and then sewn together. Latterly it has been considered sufficient to tear a corner and stitch it up again, or perhaps only to rip a portion of a seam, and from this to the wearing of silk garments was no very great step.

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The Puritan party declare that this is simply a scandalous playing with the letter of the law. Again, the Sulagandis eat out of the alms-bowl as it comes in from the morning round, whereas the Mahagandis empty out the thabeit into plates and make as palatable a meal as possible from their collections, which, on the face of it, is a pandering to fleshly weakness. Others, much more bold in their backsliding, do not hesitate to have a special meal cooked for them every morning by the Kyaung-tha-gyi, and sit down to it smoking hot, after their morning's perambulation, while the begging-bowl is handed over to poor people staying in the monastery, or emptied out for the benefit of the dogs and crows. No sophistry, one would think, could explain away this Sybaritism, but the Mahagandis have the assurance to try to make a merit of it, saying that the money expended by the Kappiya-dayaka on the materials for the breakfast is the proceeds of the sale of previous offerings of the pious—rugs, blankets, lamps, and so on—and by thus making use of it, not only do the people gain merit for their gifts of food, but the monks themselves are enabled to extend their charity to the poor or the birds of the air. That is a severe straining of the command that the Ariya should live by alms.

Similarly when the Mahagandi goes abroad he wears sandals on his feet, and protects his shaven crown from the rays of the sun with an umbrella. The austere brother walks the streets barefooted and bareheaded; even though his head may ache and his feet be blistered with the shimmering heat of high noon. Only when he is on a long journey does the Sulagandi allow himself such superfluities as sandals or umbrella. The Mahagandi will receive coin in his own hands, covered by a handkerchief; the Sulagandi will not take it even through the instrumentality of a pupil, or off a ngwe-pa-detha, a rupee-hung tree, at Tawadeintha feast time. Pwès on feast days, or even in the neighbourhood of the pagodas, are denounced by the reforming party; so are balloons with fireworks in them; the habit many monks have fallen into of going to visit Englishmen, with no other object than curiosity; and above all the noisy saturnalia in the monasteries at the end of Lent which

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have become so common in Rangoon. It will thus be seen that the great point at issue is the maintenance of the original humble character of the brotherhood. The different vernacular presses of Rangoon flood the country with controversial tracts written by both parties, and the laity adopt sides and carry polemical discussions into private life. So fierce had the quarrel become, that in 1880 one of the most learned and venerated of the Mandalay heads of the Church, the Thinkazā Sadaw, came down to settle the question. He was received everywhere with extraordinary honours. At Danubyu the whole of the populace lined the path up to the monastery prepared for him, and kneeling down, threw their hair across the way, so that from the river-bank to the steps of the kyaung he walked all the way on a carpet of human tresses. But he did not settle which party was in the right. After making abundant inquiries and hearing the most prominent advocates on either side, he halted at Henzada and announced that he was about to give his decision. Unfortunately it came to his ears that in that town, as well as in several others, the Ariya had been betting freely as to which way he would give his judgment. Thereupon the Sadaw grew furious, denounced both parties alike, and refused to say anything which would countenance the claims of either sect. He remained for a considerable time in the low country, giving numerous addresses for the building up of religion, but never on any occasion throwing out a hint as to which way he leaned, further than that both parties should give way a little and refrain from exhibiting such scandalous dissensions before the heretics. The warfare was calmed for a space, but the old fierce denunciations have broken out again. The opposing abbots bid their lay supporters refrain from giving alms to the rival sect. They recommend all the penalties of excommunication without having the power to go through the formal ceremony. But though the Mahagandis have the greater number of followers, the self-denying Sulagandis have all the more earnest and rightly-thinking men on their side and will probably prevail in the end, though a new great synod may have to be held before that is effected. The head of the reforming party is U Ôkgansa, a learned Sadaw, whose monastery is at Ôkpo

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in the Tharrawadi district. He was at one time invited to go up to Mandalay to assume the control of a Kyaung and spend the rest of his days there. The Burmese Government offered to send down a royal steamer with high dignitaries to escort him to the capital, but the sturdy old "Bishop" refused to forsake his party until he should be persuaded that its principles would gain the victory in the end. And so no doubt they will, for not even the most casual observer can fail to see that they, in their bare ascetic monasteries, are far nearer to the ideal of the founder than the Mahagandis with all the appliances of their richly-stocked abiding-places.

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774 The whole notion is of course foreign to Buddhism, and
791 is viewed with great disfavour by the members of the sacred
795 assembly, but they are no more able to put a stop to it than they are to suppress nat-worship in the subsidiary form in which it still exists. It is somewhat discouraging to those who have the welfare of the people at heart; yet still when one comes to highly civilised countries such as are found in Europe and finds ghosts only a little less demonstratively believed in, a load is removed. The world is very small after all.

774 The leip-bya idea, like a good many other peculiarities of the Burmese, occasionally gets them into trouble with foreigners. It is the cause of the great unwillingness all Burmans have to wake a sleeping man. It is obvious from the above explanation of the character of the leip-bya, that it would be highly injurious to rouse a man suddenly from his slumbers. His butterfly might be wandering far from the body, and probably would not have time to hurry back to its tenement. Then the man would certainly fall sick, or at any rate would be indisposed for a time. Consequently, it is useless to tell a Burman servant to wake you at a certain hour. He will come in at the appointed time and look wistfully at you, and wish something would fall down and make a noise; but he himself will tread as softly as a housebreaker, and will not even have the heart to instigate somebody outside to make a disturbance. The Englishman has not got "humanity," it is true; he has not been in a monastery, and is therefore not really a "man"; but there is no knowing but what he might have a leip-bya for all that. Consequently the master is not wakened, and gets up an hour and a half after he wanted to, and storms at the poor Burman for a lazy scoundrel who snores away till the sun is as high in the sky as the pagoda spire, let alone a tari palm.

The same thing occurs out in the country villages. An English assistant commissioner rides unexpectedly into a small townlet in his subdivision and calls for the headman. That worthy is having his afternoon siesta, and the good wife announces this with a composure which almost surprises the young sub-janta wallah into swearing. He says, "Well, then, wake him, and tell him to bring his accounts along to the traveller's bungalow." Old Ma Gyi shudders

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and tanks, and cases of sporadic cholera are the consequence. So says the civil surgeon; but the Burmans do not believe him. They are convinced that a nat-so, some evil spirit, has taken up his abode in the place, and is exacting revenge for some real or fancied insult. They accordingly take this means of forcing him to quit; and if the malignant nat can be supposed to have any nerves whatever, it certainly ought to be effective. 753 755

The brethren of the monastery discountenance the practice as far as they can—as indeed every one not afflicted with a dulness of hearing might be expected to do. It is a remnant of the old geniolatry, and, having nothing to do with pure Buddhism, confounds the dewas of the six heavens with the heathenish spirits of the old wild tribes. But cholera is a pestilence that regards not the yellow robe of the mendicant any more than the gay paso of the frivolous; and so the pôngyis hold the ceremony which immediately precedes the wild riot called thayè tôpthi, and display their opposition no more violently than by getting out of the way as fast as the dignified walk prescribed to the Assembly of the Perfect permits. 755 795

It is related that long ago, at the time of the beginning of religion, the terrible pestilence swept over Kapilawut, the city of Thudawdana, the father of the Lord Buddha. Only at the intercession and by the merits of the prayers and good works of the saviour of the world and his assembly, was the plague stayed, and the city saved from desolation—hence the function called pareit yôtthi. Cholera has broken out in the village. Several deaths have occurred in succession with the terrible suddenness which is characteristic of the disease. The dirges played by the bands for the dead fade into one another and break out all down the street. Then one of the chief men of the place makes preparations and begs the monks to come down from the monastery. A raised dais is put up at the back of the room for the accommodation of the yahans, and covered with mats. Offerings to the holy men are arranged in a long row before the platform—rice, fruit, flowers, betel-boxes, pillows, cups and bowls. Alongside of these are placed the vessels which the monastic superior is to consecrate—nyaung ye-o, sacred to the use of 755 792

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of some substance, which those who found it called a-yet hkè (congealed or solidified spirit), on the analogy of yè hkè (ice). How they came to try it I do not know; but after a while it was found out that this was the grand secret. A small fragment of this stuff proved thoroughly effectual in converting the baser metals into gold. No matter what it was tried on—tin, copper, lead, iron—the result was always satisfactory, and the discoverers travelled about the country for a time turning other people's scraps of metal into gold. Then the supply of the a-yet hkè ran out; and the great question is now where to get more of it. The invention of compressed beer created hope; but the acquisition of that article was disillusionising. It had not the magical properties of the a-yet khè, and it was not good to drink. There is here, perhaps, a promising field for sympathetic Western industry. It may be hoped that the wrecking of the ship had nothing to do with communicating its special virtue to the compressed spirit; otherwise we might have an alarming series of maritime disasters all round the Gulf of Martaban. Burning houses to get roast pig would be a trifle to this.

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These are a few of the methods adopted, and they may be taken as samples of them all. None of them are more scientific, and the three I have described enjoy the reputation of being entirely successful in the right hands. But the practice is much discountenanced by the pious. Alchemy is specially denounced by the Lord Buddha. It tends to induce covetousness; and the striving is in itself the best evidence of a love for the things of this world, which incapacitate a man for the contemplative states of zān and arupa—how much more, then, for ne'ban. The monks, the Assembly of the Perfect, of course denounce it; for, in addition to the consulting of horoscopes—itself, though universal (the pôngyi himself had one drawn up when he was a week old), a Brahminical practice, and remote from true Buddhism—there are numerous other observances connected with alchemy which are still more heretical. In addition to consulting his sadā for a lucky hour, the alchemist frequently also obtains omens through the augurs from the bones of a sacrificial fowl. It is arranged that the thigh bones of a chicken shall

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16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

776 delight of her life; and it would seem to me that
779 she must believe in a God and in prayer after all.
182

So though I found much in these books that
771 was believed by the people, and much that was
779 to them the guiding influence of their lives, yet I
182 was unable to trust to them altogether, and I was in doubt where to seek for the real beliefs of these people. If I went to their monks, their holy men, the followers of the great teacher, Gaudama, they referred me to their books as containing all that a Buddhist believed; and when I pointed out the discrepancies, they only shook their heads, and said that the people were an ignorant people and confused their beliefs in that way.

779 When I asked what was a Buddhist, I was told
●795 that, to be a Buddhist, a man must be accepted into
182 the religion with certain rites, certain ceremonies, he must become for a time a member of the community of the monks of the Buddha, and that a Buddhist was he who was so accepted, and who thereafter held by the teachings of the Buddha.

But when I searched the life of the Buddha, I could not find any such ceremonies necessary at all. So that it seemed that the religion of the Buddha was one religion, and the religion of the Buddhists another; but when I said so to the monks, they were horror-struck, and said that it was because I did not understand.

114 In my perplexity I fell back, as we all must, to
182 my own thoughts and those of my own people; and
779 I tried to imagine how a Burman would act if he
101 came to England to search into the religion of the English and to know the impulses of our lives.

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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175 —in fact, that beyond collecting a certain amount
642 of taxes, and appointing governors to the different
721 provinces, it hardly made itself felt outside Mandalay and the large river towns. The people to a great extent governed themselves. They had a very good system of village government, and managed nearly all their local affairs. But beyond the presence of a governor, there was but little to attach
642 them to the central government. There was, and
565 is, absolutely no aristocracy of any kind at all. The
722 Burmese are a community of equals, in a sense that has probably never been known elsewhere. All their institutions are the very opposite to feudalism. Now, feudalism was instituted to be useful in war. The Burmese customs were instituted that men should live in comfort and ease during peace; they were useless in war. So the natural leaders of a people, as in other countries, were absent. There were no local great men; the governors were men appointed from time to time from Mandalay, and usually knew nothing of their charges; there were
[565] no rich men, no large landholders—not one. There
● 795 still remained, however, one institution that other
642 nations have made useful in war, namely, the organization of religion. For Buddhism is fairly well organized—certainly much better than ever the government was. It has its heads of monasteries, its Gaing-dauks, its Gaing-oks, and finally the Thathanabaing, the head of the Burmese Buddhism. The overthrow of King Thibaw had not injured any of this. This was an organization in touch with the whole people, revered and honoured by every man and woman and child in the country. In this

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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terrible scene of anarchy and confusion, in this death peril of their nation, what were the monks doing? 795 642

We know what religion can do. We have seen how it can preach war and resistance, and can organize that war and resistance. We know what ten thousand priests preaching in ten thousand hamlets can effect in making a people almost unconquerable, in directing their armies, in strengthening their determination. We remember La Vendée, we remember our Puritans, and we have had recent experiente in the Soudan. We know what Christianity has done again and again; what Judaism, what Mahommedanism, what many kinds of paganism, have done.

To those coming to Burma in those days, fresh from the teachings of Europe, remembering recent events in history, ignorant of what Buddhism means, there was nothing more surprising than the fact that in this war religion had no place. They rode about and saw the country full of monasteries; they saw the monasteries full of monks, whom they called priests; they saw that the people were intensely attached to their religion; they had daily evidence that Buddhism was an abiding faith in the hearts of the people. And yet, for all the assistance it was to them in the war, the Burmese might have had no faith at all. 795 642 721

The explanation is, that the teachings of the Buddha forbid war. All killing is wrong, all war is hateful; nothing is more terrible than this destroying of your fellow-man. There is absolutely no getting free of this commandment. The teaching of the Buddha is that you must strive to make your

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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795 own soul perfect. This is the first of all things, and
642 comes before any other consideration. Of the virtues
721 that only war can create and nourish this teaching
knows nothing. Be pure and kind-hearted, full of
charity and compassion, and so you may do good to
[792] others. These are the vows the Buddhist monks
make, these are the vows they keep; and so it
happened that all that great organization was useless
to the patriot fighter, was worse than useless, for it
175 was against him. The whole spectacle of Burma in
722 those days, with the country seething with strife, and
792 the monks going about their business calmly as ever,
begging their bread from door to door, preaching of
peace, not war, of kindness, not hatred, of pity, not
revenge, was to most foreigners quite inexplicable.
They could not understand it. I remember a friend
of mine with whom I went through many experiences
speaking of it with scorn. He was a cavalry officer,
'the model of a light cavalry officer'; he had with
him a squadron of his regiment, and we were trying
to subdue a very troubled part of the country.

We were camping in a monastery, as we frequently did—a monastery on a hill near a high golden pagoda. The country all round was under the sway of a brigand leader, and sorely the villagers suffered at his hands now that he had leapt into unexpected power. The villages were half abandoned, the fields untilled, the people full of unrest; but the monasteries were as full of monks as ever; the gongs rang, as they ever did, their message through the quiet evening air; the little boys were taught there just the same; the trees were watered and the gardens swept as if there were no change

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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000 people themselves—a hundred years behind them in civilization, a thousand years behind them in morality. Men will do in the name of government acts which, if performed in a private capacity, would cover them with shame before men, and would land them in a gaol or worse. The name of government is a cloak for the worst passions of manhood. It is not an interesting study, the government of mankind.

642 A government is no part of the soul of the people,
779 but is a mere excrescence; and so I have but little to say about this of Burma, beyond this curious fact—that religion had no part in it. Surely this is a very remarkable thing, that a religion having the hold upon its followers that Buddhism has upon the Burmese has never attempted to grasp the supreme authority and use it to its ends.

It is not quite an explanation to say that Buddhism is not concerned with such things; that its very spirit is against the assumption of any worldly power and authority; that it is a negation of the value of these things. Something of this sort might be said of other religions, and yet they have all striven to use the temporal power.

I do not know what the explanation is unless it be that the Burmese believe their religion and other people do not. However that may be, there is no doubt of the fact. Religion had nothing whatever—absolutely nothing in any way at all—to do with
642 government. There are no exceptions. What has
793 led people to think sometimes that there were exceptions is the fact that the king confirmed the That-
795 hanaBaing—the head of the community of monks—

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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after he had been elected by his fellow-monks. 642
The reason of this was as follows: All ecclesiastical 793
matters—I use the word 'ecclesiastical' because I 795
can find no other—were outside the jurisdiction of civil limits. By 'ecclesiastical' I mean such matters as referred to the ownership and habitation of monasteries, the building of pagodas and places of prayer, the discipline of the monkhood. Such questions were decided by ecclesiastical courts under the Thathanabaing.

Now, it was necessary sometimes, as may be understood, to enforce these decrees, and for that reason to apply to civil power. Therefore there must be a head of the monks acknowledged by the civil power as head, to make such applications as might be necessary in this, and perhaps some other such circumstances.

It became, therefore, the custom for the king to acknowledge by order the elect of the monks as Thathanabaing for all such purposes. That was all. The king did not appoint him at all.

Any such idea as a monk interfering in the affairs 642
of state, or expressing an opinion on war or law or 792
finance, would appear to the Burmese a negation of their faith. They were never led away by the idea that good might come of such interference. This terrible snare has never caught their feet. They hold that a man's first duty is to his own soul. Never think that you can do good to others at the same time as you injure yourself, and the greatest good for your own heart is to learn that beyond all this turmoil and fret there is the Great Peace—so great that we can hardly understand it, and to reach

So the worship of the nats lived on, and with the advance of
775 civilisation the spirit dances became elaborate, for though the belief
535 was primitive, the people were no longer so. The dances benefited from the developments that had taken place in Burmese music which, as we have seen, flourished under the patronage of the Pagan kings. New spirits were added, and they were usually those of heroic princes. The dancers were now many, for the mediums turned themselves into dancing and music mistresses. The chief medium of each spirit dressed herself in the special dress of the spirit, but the junior mediums, who were equivalent to the chorus of an English revue, were in the dress of Burmese princesses. It is interesting to note the
[292] origin of this dress. The mediums realized the necessity of dressing
[565] themselves in fine raiment, but as everybody wore clothes of bright colours, the only solution of the problem was to don the dress of the court and official class, which the commoners were forbidden to
[5369] wear by law, except during feasts and dances. When drama proper came into being, the hero and the heroine dressed themselves in the court dress, even when they were representing common characters.

3. Miracles and Interludes

175 After the fall of the kingdom of Pagan in A.D. 1257, Burma was
369 the scene of fierce civil wars, but the trouble was mainly in the
726 capitals; in the villages and small towns life went on in its joyous
779 way. Religion continued to spread in spite of the fact that the throne of Pagan was no longer in existence to support it. Learning began
538 to reach the remotest parts of the country, carried far and near by monks. To escape from the aimless strife of the civil wars, men turned towards literature. Money was lacking to compose poems in brick as had been done at Pagan, and men now expressed their love for the religion and their love for the beautiful in writing. The new literature further educated the people and made even stronger the already strong religious fervour. As a result, at village feasts and on days of public rejoicing, the people turned towards their religion for amusement and entertainment. So pageants depicting scenes from the life of the Buddha and from his Birth Stories came into being.

796 Pageants were given on ordinary carts that were in use for all
541 kinds of transport and which are still in use in backward parts of the
493 country at the present day. Each cart carried a group of (amateur) actors standing still and representing a set scene. Originally, no doubt, there were only a few carts representing scenes from different stories. Later, a pageant came to consist of many carts and many

Zi: Hlin Aung · E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
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178 witnessed Burmese plays.[1] Ridgeway approves of that theory. He
536 maintains that the tree is symbolic of the worship of the *nats*. In an
114 appendix to the book he quotes a letter from a resident in Burma (which arrived too late to be discussed in the book itself), describing some sort of a *nat* ritual where a spirit was supposed to be dwelling in a
[116] tree. However, *nats* are supposed to dwell, not only in trees, but also
[196] in houses, mountains, streams, lakes, on Mount Mayyu, in fact everywhere, and it is extremely unlikely that the tree should have been chosen specially to represent the abode of the *nat*. In all the ritual connected with the worship of the thirty-seven *nats*, the use of a tree does not occur except in the case of the *nat*, U-Yin-Gyi. When offerings are made to him, a wooden representation of a forked branch of a tree is used. But that symbol is used only when that particular spirit alone is being worshipped, i.e. when all the *nats* are being worshipped *en bloc* the symbol is not used. U-Yin-Gyi has no special connexion with the stage, and he is essentially connected with Lower Burma; and Upper Burma, not Lower, was the home of Burmese drama. And what Colonel Yule took to be a vague answer was the true answer. What he saw was an interlude and not a developed play, and, as has been stated, the scene of the interlude was almost always the forest, for it needed nothing except a tree to indicate the scene. Therefore, the tree which the ambassador saw was a piece of stage scenery and nothing more.

536 Though Ridgeway's theory that the drama had its origins in the
195 worship of the *nats*, therefore, is not founded on fact, his contention that the Burmese professional actors are the lineal descendants of the mediums who impersonated the spirits of the dead is not wrong. But the fact that the actors are the descendants of such persons should not mislead us into thinking the drama to be a descendant of spirit worship. There is a great danger of being thus misled if one knows the various stage conventions without knowing the real history of the drama. And had Ridgeway been acquainted with those conventions, which (strangely enough) were not known to him and his informants, he might have been strengthened in his view. The most important of the stage conventions is the *nat* chorus which often acts as a 'curtain-raiser' to the actual play. The chorus composed of females comes out and sings and dances to various *nat*

[1] H. Yule, *A Narrative of the Mission sent by the Governor-General of India to the Court of Ava in 1855.*

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1927 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

tunes played by the orchestra. The chorus was first introduced for two reasons: the audience liked a dance, and the actors did not forget that their original calling was that of mediums. 536* 795

2. According to Ridgeway, the second stage of the drama was reached when the 'true dramatic element borrowed from the Indian historical plays of Rama, presented by the puppet players' had entered Burmese drama. The weak points in this theory will be apparent when the further history of the drama is considered in later chapters. The 'true dramatic element' was already in the *Nibbathbin*, or at least in the interlude; the Indian *Ramayana* coming by way of Siam did influence Burmese drama, but this was possible only because there was already a native drama to absorb this foreign influence. Nor were the *Rama* plays presented at first by puppet players. When the translations and adaptations of the Siamese *Ramayana* were being first presented at court, puppet plays were unknown. Ridgeway puts forward some opinions regarding the Burmese puppet show also, but they will be considered in Chapter VII. 536* 178 177 538

3. According to Ridgeway, the third stage of Burmese drama was reached when there appeared plays 'based on the Indian models, but finding their themes in the national history and mythology, intermixed with Buddhistic elements, and performed by puppets and living actors.' It is true that after the introduction of the Siamese *Rama* play to the Burmese court, plays of the type described appeared, but the plays were by no means modelled on the *Rama* play. The Siamese play gave rise to a native court drama which influenced the interlude and prepared the way for the first great Burmese dramatist, U Kyin U. And the 'Buddhistic elements' which entered the drama have a history of their own. All these points are considered in later chapters.

On the nature and achievements of Burmese drama, Ridgeway says: 'The Burmese drama has not remained crystallized as a piece of religious ritual. On the contrary, it has made distinct steps towards the true drama which Thepis in Greece and the forerunners of Marlowe and Shakespeare in England detached from the sacred shrines and lifted into a distinct artistic form. Yet it has not advanced beyond the lyrical stage, consisting of dancing, singing and instruments of music, the undulation of the vocal expression being much more subtle and intense than the expression of features, whilst gesture is restricted to the conventional gestures of the dance. The usual scene is the palace, its inmates the characters, and the drama 536* 114

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
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536* 534 462 463 part, although there was no stage convention preventing women from taking it up as a vocation. The head of the orchestra was also the head of the troupe. He was the most learned and experienced member, and he was responsible for the organization and financial outlay, paying more or less fixed wages to the others, and taking the profits himself. When engaged for a performance, the troupe was paid by public subscription or by some philanthropic person, usually an official, and therefore no charge for admission was made, all being [565] welcome to it. The Burmese actors as a class, unlike their Elizabethan counterparts who could endow a College of God's Gift or buy a coat-of-arms, were poor. But they never starved, for even the poorest villages would welcome and feed them on their wanderings all over the country. The troupe was one large family, and the children of the members accompanied it. In spite of the prejudice against them and their poverty, the actors loved their art, and enjoyed the performances themselves.

536* There were many conventions connected with the stage, and they can be divided into two classes: those imposed on the actors by themselves, and those imposed by the fear of becoming unpopular with the audience.

795 536* The actors never forgot that they were originally spirit-dancers, and therefore they had conventions by which they showed their indebtedness to spirit worship. Before the performance offerings of food were made to the thirty-seven *nats*. As a curtain-raiser, there was a performance by a dancer or chorus of dancers. Each wore a red [533] cloth round the head—the sign of a spirit worshipper. Singing invocations to the *nats* and dancing the appropriate dances, they asked for protection by the spirits, while the orchestra played a bar from each of the thirty-seven *nat* tunes. It was supposed that if this convention [751] was broken, disaster would befall the troupe, the performance would prove a failure, and the actors would become mad; but often these conventions had been known to be broken, accidentally or otherwise.

536* 463 554 The actors were looked upon as irreligious and immoral, and on the slightest excuse, they were in danger of being considered profane. Therefore, as has been stated, they took over the conventions from the *Nibhatkhin*. The Buddha was never impersonated, and an *arahat* [779] or saint only when absolutely necessary, and then by an able and 'serious' actor, who had to keep a fast that day. Not even a mild joke was to be made against the Buddha or an *arahat*, although even monks and the religion itself could be the butt of a clown's wit. But

29: Slater M-4 (no date) 1951 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

What is of further importance for our present inquiry is the fact that the tradition thus established throughout Burma was the Hīnayāna tradition, not the Mahāyāna.[20] It will therefore be the more significant if we find in Burmese Buddhism a positive conception of Nirvana, for, in the past, scholars have frequently associated a negative conception with the Hīnayāna tradition, enlarging the distance between the two schools: Nirvana might spell paradise in China or Japan, it was argued, but for Southern Buddhists it was the Void.

175- 779* 795 [775] 177

There were, it is true, outposts of the Mahāyāna faith in Burma, notably at Pagan, where Mahāyāna cults survived for perhaps two centuries after A-naw-ra-hta's conversion, tolerated by the now dominating Hīnayāna tradition which absorbed some elements of the sister faith.[20] There is also evidence, not only of Mahāyāna rivalry, but also of Brahmanical Hinduism (as at Pagan) in Southern Burma in the earlier centuries.[21]

A first glance at the map may occasion surprise that Mahāyāna influence on Burmese Buddhism was not more considerable, for China, where the Mahāyāna tradition thrived for several centuries, is just across the north east border and the Burmese themselves are a Mongolian race. A second glance, however, discovers the far distances between centres of influence. There is a sweeping borderland of mountain ranges and remote valleys, and, in the earlier centuries, the buffer state of Nanchao lay in between China and the Burmese kingdoms. The sea route from India was the easier route to Southern Burma and Indian traders and adventurers were the forerunners of Indian missionaries.

When all qualifications have been made, we must conclude that the formative tradition of Buddhism in Burma was the Hīnayāna, introduced from India and nourished from Ceylon. And from the eleventh century onwards, "the stronger vitality of the Southern school completely absorbed, assimilated and obliterated the Northern school."[22]

The royal encouragement given by A-naw-ra-hta was frequently echoed by later rulers. Burmese kings were styled 'great Captains of the Law,' and as late as the nineteenth century good King Mindon convened the 'Fifth Buddhist Council' at Mandalay, when the scriptures were engraved on over seven hundred tablets of marble.

643, 779* 175

[20] The term, Hīnayāna, is sometimes regarded as disparaging. 'Southern' or 'Theravāda' Buddhism might be preferred in this connection, but it is probably less confusing to use the terms now familiar in the West.

[20] Ray, *Sanskrit Buddhism in Burma*, p. 93, and *Theravāda Buddhism in Burma*, pp. 150ff.

[21] Ray, *Theravāda Buddhism in Burma*, pp. 86, 87; cf. Taw Sein Kho, *Census Report* (Burma, 1901), p. 32.

[22] Taw Sein Kho, *ibid.*, p. 32.

29: Slater M-4 (no date) 1951 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

175 792 779* But Burmese kings were not always good. The monasteries which became centres of community life in village after village have to be pictured more often against a dark background of marauding armies, political feud and violent revolt. This chequered history gives point to the suggestion that Burma owes its civilisation and 'the preservation of ... moral and mental balance' very largely to the Buddhist Order which persisted and grew apace through all vicissitudes.[33] Within the Order, there was a remarkable degree of discipline, upheld by a *Thāthanābaing* or Burmese Arch-Abbot. There was also a remarkable unanimity. [795] Although there were different schools and parties, it is significant that there is little, if any, hint of doctrinal controversy. If there had been any considerable impact of Mahāyāna interpretation, we should surely have heard more about it. What, on the contrary, is much more evident, is the 177 continued impact of Ceylon. Perhaps the most serious division was 795 occasioned by a claim that it was necessary to resort to Ceylon to maintain the legitimate 'line of descent.' 779* There were, it is true, schismatics. Non-conformist Paramata sects decried the Order and taught the existence of an immanent Divine Being, the *Shwe Nyan Daw*, a belief which may reflect either Mahāyāna or Hindu influence. By and large, however the dominating religious and cultural force was Hīnayāna Buddhism for eight centuries without interruption. We have therefore good reason for beginning a study of Southern Buddhism in a country which has been so deeply impressed by its influence.

114 121 There is also a personal reason. It was in Burma, some twenty years ago, that my own acquaintance with Buddhism began. It was during discussions with monks and laymen there that I began to think that Nirvana was the ultimate religious term of their faith — the term which symbolised the consummation of their doctrine, practice and aspiration. And the mode of expression of this Nirvana symbol seemed to me significant, not only for my Buddhist friends, but for all concerned with the study of religion and life.

[33] J. A. Stewart, "Note on Some Authorities for the History of Burma," *J.B.R.S.*, XIII (1923), p. 75.

[34] M. H. Bode, *Pali Literature of Burma*, chap. II, p. 19.

29: Slater M-4 (no date) 1951 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

779* he had made, how much more had to be done, before he could hope for
775* that ultimate vision of "things hard to understand, tranquilising, sweet, not to be grasped by mere logic."[58] Because he had not yet attained, Nibbāna was still a Mystery. But because he had attained thus far, he *knew* that it must be a Mystery. Nevertheless it was his goal, his Ziel, inspiring all his present purpose.

"Nibbāna," repeated the Sayādaw, "is not annihilation. Not that. It is - - - -"

He paused.

"How can I say?"

5. *A Dialogue on Nibbāna*

It is interesting to compare the Sayādaw's attitude in this interview, with the more speculative attitude illustrated by the Burmese scholar Shwe Zan Aung, in his *Dialogue on Nibbāna*.[59] In this Dialogue the nihilistic view that Nibbāna is "pure nothing" is mentioned briefly in the Dialogue, then dismissed. No doubt it existed in the past. This much is suggested, it is remarked, by the fact that every recent writer has gone out of his way to insist that Nibbāna is 'something.' But the view that Nibbāna is annihilation is said to have been exploded by Buddhist writers generally from the twelfth century onwards.

"We are all agreed that Nibbāna is something" remarks Tissa in the Dialogue, "though we differ as to the nature of that."

[795] "The Burmese Buddhist world of philosophy," it is further explained, "is divided into three camps, so to speak. There is the Shwegyin school which holds that Nibbāna is spiritual mind, while the Okpo school advances the view that it is unique mind and body. The Ledi school, however, teaches that it is neither mind nor body but purely calm." This third view, says one of the characters in the Dialogue, the view that Nibbāna is nothing but calm, tranquility or peace, has been accepted throughout the length and breadth of Burma.

In the Dialogue, this popular third view is more or less assumed as the background. It is represented in the questions and dissents of Sumana, 'a pupil of Dr. Ledi,' who visits a venerable exponent of the Shwegyin school, U Agga, to ascertain his interpretation. The exposition of the

[58] *D.* i. 17*ff.* (*Dialogues of the Buddha*, Part 1, pp. 30*ff.*).

[59] *J.B.R.S.* Vol. VIII, Part III, 1918. Deeply versed himself in Abhidhamma studies, translator of texts for the Pali Text Society, pupil of one of Burma's most learned bhikkus, Shwe Zan Aung had both special opportunity and special qualifications for the estimate he essayed in this Dialogue.

792 and Grandfather called my cousin Ko Lu Pe to read it. My cousin had
871 been at a government school for some years and though he could read
177. and write English with some ease, he stuck at the word "circumcise".
87 "What!" exploded Grandfather, "five years learning English, and you can't even read a telegram. This education is quite useless." Whereupon he took the grandchildren and his two young sons out of their schools until his wrath subsided and they quietly started attendance again. It is a popular stage joke also, the B.A. who returns to his village and is asked in good faith by the hpongyi to mend a villager's watch that has gone wrong. The graduate confesses that he cannot mend it. The monk is horrified: "What, passed B.A. and cannot mend a watch?"

527 So now on my father's birthday the monks ask jokingly and kindly
792 about our school subjects. Their meal is laid out on a low round table,
574 and consists of all the good things my mother can think of, for they have only one main meal in the day. Rice and meat and vegetable dishes are followed by fruit, sweet milky coffee, sweet English cakes. The monastery boys are given their meal outside; the monks, after eating, rise and go, and the boys follow them bearing away the gifts for the monastery. At once there is a general shuffling into more relaxed positions, conversation swells out, we start to scamper around and help to wheel in more round tables. Then everybody eats, and my father feels a deep sense of well-being.

805 Our lunar calendar has twelve months in its year, beginning the new year about the middle of April with the month of *Tagu*. Each month contains the twenty-nine to thirty days of the moon's cycle, but the dates are numbered with only 15 numbers—15 waxing days starting from the crescent of the new moon: *la-hsan ta-yet*, *la-hsan hna-yet*, new moon first day, second day and so on, until the 15th and full moon day, *la-pyit nay*: after which come the waning days, *la-hsot*. With this system, we are 12 or 13 days short of the 365 each year, and hence every second year there occurs a double month of *Waso*, in July and August, which month also starts our Lent. Lent lasts the three months of the monsoon, until *Thadingyut*, in October, when we see it out with lights, feasting and
796 much merriment. For the observance of festivals such as New Year
262 and Thadingyut we usually visited relatives, but certain other observances came round each year to us in our own home.

Such is *htamanè-hto*, the making of a comestible known as *htamanè* in vast quantities, for distribution on the first full moon after the harvest. On the full moon night of *Tabodwè* in January-February, the villagers sit up all night in big parties of men and women singing and joking as they make all preparations for the cooking that is to take place by dawn. The basis of htamanè is a glutinous rice called *kaukhnyin*, always

associated with fresh country mornings, dew on the grass and smoke from the wood fire, men and women with cheroots and red striped blankets flung over them grouped around the fire. A favourite way of eating kaukhnyin is to put it with a little salt into a bamboo stick that has been cut with a knotch to form a bottom, stop the top with a cork of paper and then roast it over a fire. By the time the stick is about to scorch, the rice is cooked and stuck together in a long tube held by a thin white skin from the inside of the bamboo. Cracked open and eaten with fried chicken it is delicious clean food; the best "kaukhnyin legs" and fried chicken were produced at Letpadan, in Tharawaddy district, for many years running. Other kaukhnyin eaters steam it with beans, pile it on lacquer trays and walk around to sell it in the early mornings about six o'clock, serving it on banana leaves, with sesamum salt and shredded coconut sprayed on top. 796 262

But htamanè is made ceremonially only once a year. Work parties of women used to come to our house the day before and sit under the trees cutting coconut and ginger into thin slices, shelling peanuts, picking husks out of the kaukhnyin, and winnowing this and the sesamum in cane trays. At about four the next morning my mother and the rest of the household got up, and helped by one or two of the young men from other houses, they made fires under the trees, put the kaukhnyin in big pans, with oil and all the prepared ingredients, and cooked if for hours, taking turns to stir the sticky mixture all the time while the others sat around the fire smoking and talking. In the early morning we put the htamanè into dishes for the monasteries and all the houses in the neighbourhood, into tins for sending away to relatives in other towns, and store-jars for keeping in the house to eat between meals.

These accounts of our life in the districts are of ceremonies and celebrations so far because I was a child in those days. My parents had their own pattern of life with a background of work. My father, as I have said, belonged to the Burma Civil Service, Class II. The administrative services in Burma included three grades of Civil Services: the I.C.S., which became the Burma Civil Service I after separation from India, the B.C.S., which then became B.C.S. II, and the Subordinate Civil Service. These three services supplied the executive administrative officers who were placed in charge of the various-sized units of administration, helped in their government by judicial administrative officers of corresponding ranks, and by officers for police, forests, education, excise and other public services for which a separate recruitment was made. 647

The myookship which my father obtained in 1912 was the most junior of these posts, usually filled by members of the Subordinate Civil 647 631

245 and pink with juice; we shredded them in piles and ate them with prawn
262 powder and fish sauce. The *hanaso*, the *baccaurea sapida*, gave us a
824 fruit of a mouth-watering sweet-sourness. This fruit was said to induce diarrhœa and we were always made to eat the white piths which had a binding action.

262 Whereas we feasted on the fruits of trees, our elders turned to the sea for more fleshly succulence. My mother and aunts loved to get turtles' eggs, nastily soft white things the size of golf balls, boil them and tear them open to spill their richness on to a plate of boiled rice; they got oysters swimming soft and cold in vinegar; big nga-tha-lauk, hilsa fish, bursting with fatness, and thick buffalo's milk which always seemed to us more meaty and strong than cow's milk.

• 796 We came back to Ye itself for the New Year festival. The New
772 Year in our lunar calendar usually occurs round about April 13th, and
775 is the occasion of the descent of a spirit-king, the Tha-gya Min, king of the tha-gyas, from heavenly regions to the world of men. The Burman Buddhist idea of the universe places the hellish, the earthly and the heavenly regions in well-defined order. In the centre of the universe is Mount Myinmo, the highest peak in all the world, a million miles above the sea and a million below the waters. Round about the sides of this mountain are ranged the six levels of heavenly regions where the Dewas or heavenly spirits dwell. These heavenly spirits also have homes in the sun, moon and stars. Far up in the heavens, above the seats of the Dewas, are ranged the sixteen seats of more perfect beings, the Byammas, one above the other. And far above them, as high as the imagination can soar, are four sublime seats, on the borders of the supreme Nirvana. Below the six levels of the Dewa regions of Myinmo are seven ranges of mountains, girdling the earth in a perfect ring interposed only by seven seas. In these seas are set four great islands, to the north, south, east and west of Myinmo Mountain, each attended by five hundred small islands grouped around it. On each island grows a fabulous tree which gives its name to the island, and dwell beings whose heads are shaped like the shape of the island. The northern, eastern and western islands are all more fair than the southern, life lasts for five hundred or a thousand years, and the trees bear gorgeous dresses and delicious foods of meat, but the inhabitants of the southern islands are infinitely more blessed in their merit. This island of Zampudipa, shaped like a trapezium and bearing the Zampu tree, surrounded by five hundred islands where live the English and the other nations of the human world, is the abode of man, the Buddhist man, and the known neighbours who are heretics from Buddhism. Here the inhabitants must work to weave their clothes and cook their food and

live perhaps at the most a hundred years, but here also, and only here, do the Buddhas appear to teach the right way of living which is the only way in which the people can progress to the heavenly regions and to Nirvana. Down below the earth are situated the hells, eight great ones and forty thousand and forty smaller hells, regions of torture and punishment. 796 712 775

Whereas the inhabitants of the northern, eastern and western islands around Myinmo, never hearing the words of a Buddha and never knowing the way of good and evil, are always born into the same world, never going up or down, man, the inhabitant of Zampudipa, may pass into the nethermost hell or the highest heavenly seat, according to the progress in his successive lives. Ascending the ladder from deep hells, through earth to heavenly regions, the spirit meets with existences which are not only more blessed in the degree of enjoyment and material happiness, but also correspondingly more free from fleshly desires and sin. Our Buddhist hells are the most frightening places one can imagine; as a child I used to look at the vivid pictures drawn in the friezes round pagoda building walls, to show the damnation that would befall the evil-doer who was born into a hell. Boiling in oil, flesh being torn off the bones by monstrous dogs and vultures, saws and knives aflame with red heat slowly dismembering limb from limb, all these occur in life in any of the hells. The next stage upwards from hell is a life as an animal, which a man may be born to for lesser sins and an omission from doing meritorious deeds. Animals have their stages of nobility also. Lowest are those living on excrements of flesh of other animals, nobler are the herbivorous animals and noblest of all the elephant. Gautama Buddha passed one of his existences as a white elephant, which is the reason for the esteem in which a white elephant was held—so high, that Buddhist kings longed to be able to style themselves, *Hsin-bya Shin*, [143] Lord (Owner) of the white elephant. During his life as a man, a being had the opportunity to live a right life, observing the precepts, giving alms and attending the pagoda regularly. His next existence might then be as an inhabitant of one of the six seats of the Dewas. In all these six seats through which the being may progress, life is surrounded by delights of foods, clothing and dwelling, but passion is less sensual, and decreases with ascent. Successively, a touch of the hand, and then gazing at the lover, and finally the mere presence in the same existence is enough to satisfy love. From here, concentrated meditation will carry a being higher to the seats of the Brammas; here he must get rid of all remaining affection for matter, for all parts of the body, until he attains to the four seats of Arupa. The contempt for matter continues in these existences, and finally, when all false persuasions leave the spirit, he passes into Nirvana, the lifeless, timeless state of bliss, in which the

"Third he directs his attention to the knowledge of the destruction of the asavas*. He duly understands, 'this is pain,' 'this is the cause of pain,' 'this is the cessation of pain,' 'this is the way leading to the cessation of pain.' He duly understands, 'these are the asavas,' 'this is the cause of the asavas,' 'this is the cessation of the asavas,' 'this is the way to the cessation of the asavas.' When he thus knows and thus perceives, his mind is released from the asava of lust, from the asava of (desire for) existence, from the asava of ignorance. In the released is the knowledge of his release; he understands that rebirth is destroyed, the religious life has been led, done is what was to be done, there is nothing further beyond this world." 772 779

At the New Year, then, the King of the tha-gyas, who are Dewas, comes to visit the earth which is suffering its hottest and driest month and looks to rain and coolness for deliverance. Before the descent each year, brahmins and astrologers get together and calculate the exact hour of his arrival, the means of his descent to the earth, whether astride a buffalo, a *naga* or a *galon* and whether he wields a spear or a water jar, for by these signs will the nature of the coming year be decided—heavy rains or drought, good crops or disturbances in the land—and the duration of his stay on the earth. All their findings are collected in leaflets which are distributed as the *tha-gyan sa*, and when I was young I used to think that they fell from heaven as prophetic messages. Actually the present day practice is to fix April 13th for the official occurrence of Thingyan each year. The celebration of the festival by pouring of water is to honour the heavenly visitor, to wash away the old year's dirtiness and to begin the new by good and auspicious deeds. 796 791

By the day before Tha-gya Min's arrival in Ye, the *a-kyo nay*, the preparing-to-greet day, bamboo palisades had been put up along the verandahs, arrangements had been made for communal celebration and large-scale washing and feeding. All the girls spent the morning grinding thanakha and other fragrant barks and the boys went out to cut the leaves of the *the-byay* tree for the sacred water pots to be poured out at the arrival of the visitor. In the evening, Grandmother and other old people walked up to the rest houses near the monastery where my father had been educated, for at their time of life, fasting, meditation and the contemplation of younger people's enjoyment is the happiest way of greeting the New Year. In the evening, too, we carried out Grandmother's good deed of inviting a number of people from the village to come and wash their hair. Hairwashing is part of the New Year's rituals because the noblest part of the body, the head, must be in a clean condition at this time. In the days of the Burmese kings, there 796

* Desires and impulses, expressions of the clinging to existence.

• 796 was a ceremonial washing of the King's hair at the New Year, called the *tha-gyan daw gyi*. The water was always brought from the clear springs of *Gaung-se kyun*, the island lying dark and green in the Moulmein river. The island had a special sanctity because it was believed to [823] hang suspended from the heavens by an invisible cord. When the island passed into British territory after the first Burmese war, however, the waters of Gaung-se kyun were no longer used for this sacred purpose, and substitute clear water was got from the Irrawaddy.

515 796 Burmese people wash their hair with the alkaline juices of the bark of a tree known as *tha-yaw*, combined with the seeds of the *accacia concina*. The bark, which is stored in a dried condition, is soaked for a few hours before washing, the accacia seeds are boiled in their pods until they are soft and are then crushed into the tha-yaw water. The result is a slippery mixture which we still use in preference to modern shampoos on the market. The provision of this in basins, and of clear water in big jars on our bamboo platform, was considered a meritorious act on New Year's eve. About twenty people came, bringing towels and a change of clothing. They washed their hair and bathed on the bamboo platform over the creek. The ladies put thanakha thickly on their cheeks and gave children blobs where the "roses" of English children's cheeks are, and we all sat on the edge of the platform, hair floating free in the breeze, and watched the sun go down. At night we helped to put the ground bark into little cups and stuck tha-byay leaves in the pots and went to bed full of pleasant anticipations. Tha-gya Min usually arrived about midnight, when Uncle Pyant got out his revolver and fired a salute to announce his arrival to the village. My male cousins stayed up to pour the water pots away, but we slept right through this actual arrival.

796 Early next morning we woke up to find big tubs of water placed on the front verandah. Uncle Pyant gave each child a piston for squirting water, and there was terrific excitement as we chased about the house to greet each other with the first pouring of water. Our maids and dependents always affected great terror at the immodesty of being bathed by great splashes from my male cousins; they shrieked and clambered up ladders in a most unladylike fashion and tried to barricade themselves from the drenching. In the street, too, fun had begun already. Children of about eight years and below were all stripped naked and let loose with their pistons and tubs of water to run and soak each passer-by.

But in the kitchens of the houses aunts and mothers were busy dishing out the morning meal to be sent up to the *zayat* where grandmothers keeping the fast would eat only this one meal of the day. My cousin Ma Aye Shwe and the dependent girls put on their brightest clothes of washable materials and set the trays on their heads. All the

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houses did likewise and the procession collected more girls as it passed each house on its way towards the zayats. Behind the girls, the young lads of the village followed with empty tins and buckets, to go and draw water with which to bathe the images of the Buddha, and then the bath-water for the old folk in the zayat. The procession always looked very gay, for the girls wore stout bright cotton prints instead of the usual white muslin jackets, so that the wet clinging clothes after a splashing would not make immodest figures of them. As this procession passed, not even the naughtiest urchin would dare to splash them as long as they headed in the direction of the monastery. Arrived at their destination, the young people served the meal to the elders, drew the water and washed the images, filled the jars with bathwater for their grandmothers, ate their own meal from the pooled remains of what they had brought, and then started uproarious fun. The young men had the advantage of their buckets, but the girls had the advantage of being able to use guile by affecting fear and helplessness until they could turn the buckets round on their pursuers. After this they went in search of the ngu branches, the equavalent, in Ye, of the *padauk* flowers which boys and girls in other parts of Burma were plucking. 796

The padauk is the *pterocarpus indica*, a tall tree growing in the mixed dry forests of Burma and giving a rich red wood which is much used in the making of bullock carts. It is also a beautiful flowering tree, whose bright yellow blossoms are always associated with the freshness of the New Year festivities, for it flowers at this time and its branches are cut down and dragged into houses with drops of water lighting up the golden 796 137 132 821

•796 yellow flowers against the rich dark green leaves, either water from the
137 water throwers or the *tha-gyan mo*, the thingyan showers. Light showers
132 usually fall about this time although the monsoon is far off yet; they come
821 from a small low pressure area over the land although when we were
young it seemed to be part of what the true tha-gyan sa leaflets should promise, a foretaste of the coolness of the real monsoon, and a recognition of Tha-gya Min's presence. If the rain was late in falling, the villagers set to work to hurry it on. The rain spirits live in the stars but they sometimes come out to play with each other in the space of the firmament. Then rain falls on the earth. But at other times, when the sun is not in the right quarter, they stay indoors and the earth receives only the scorching heat of the sun. Men can then rouse the rain spirits to show more energy and come out, by the beating of tin cans and by exerting energy themselves in a tug-of-war. In Ye, the upper street and the lower street used to put up teams for this and tugging was carried on amidst betting and cheering and the beating of empty kerosene tins by women and children around.

796 The girls and youths from the monastery returned at about noon,
262 wet and happy and dragging the branches of *ngu* along. Throughout the day the children ran into the street to pour water on passers-by; bullock carts went by, decorated with ngu branches and holding music and water parties of young men and girls, the young men richly painted and dancing in the open carts; rival teams drew up and staged water-fights in the street or went to besiege houses where beautiful girls with a reputation for coldness or coyness were hiding. Throughout the day, also, dishes of sweetmeats arrived, for each house does the good act of making a comestible in large quantities for distribution. Ours was made on the second day and was a Moulmein speciality for which my mother had the best talent. This *tha-gyan hta-min*, thingyan rice, sounds insipid when described as boiled rice, eaten floating in cold water which has been made fragrant, to the accompaniment of green mango salad and saltfish shredded and fried crisp. To us, of course, it is delicious. The water has received an infusion of the aroma from an earthen pot which is turned upside down over the burning of tallow and fragrant woods. The rice is not the moist steamy rice of meal times but has been drained after cooking, on tray-sieves of cane, and the grains lie clear and separate and whole. The delight of eating thingyan rice in the hot weather is indescribable to foreigners, perhaps even to all non-Moulmein people, eating it in wide china bowls, with china spoons, alternating the concentration of sour and salt tastes of mango and saltfish with the coolness and cleanness of the rice and its water. We could eat this throughout the day; being thingyan rice it carried a blessedness which made us immune

to stomach ache, in the same way as it would be graceless to think that one could catch cold from the playing of thingyan water. 796* 262

During the three days of the festival communal celebrations were also carried on, with shows and free feasting every night at pandals put up by each section of the streets. By the *a-tetnay*, rising day, when the Tha-gya Min goes back to the heavenly regions, everyone was a bit worn out, but the more energetic spirits declared that Tha-gya Min had forgotten his pipe or umbrella and had come back for one day more to fetch it. People try not to tell lies, quarrel, swear or lose their tempers during the days of the New Year. Apart from the offence it would give to the ears of the heavenly visitor in the vicinity it was considered a bad omen to begin the new year with such wicked behaviour. Children were always warned not to be disobedient in case the Tha-gya Min should note it, but the reason was also that the grown-ups should not be forced to scold them during this period. Woe to the servant maid who blunders then; greater woe indeed for her sin in causing the mistress to scold her and use angry words. 796 861

The years saw little change in the social programme of our visits to Ye, but in the absence of social changes, the human element always seemed more strong and primitive, and all the drama and romance of which we had so little in our placid district houses was concentrated in Ye. Life there seemed more full of physical movement and danger, anger was more strong, love more sweeping, quarrels more deep and lasting than we were used to. Births, deaths, disease and elopements all seemed to happen more frequently. It was all terror, excitement and romance to us. 000

A robbery at any of the houses in the village woke the whole quarter up, house by house, as the screams from there were taken up by frightened neighbours. My male cousins and all the men of the village hitched their longyis up around their loins, ran hither and thither in the night, with lanterns in one hand and dahs in the other. The womenfolk, as soon as the men had rushed out to the rescue, barricaded their doors and collected together in a whispering group, lest the fleeing robber should dodge into an open doorway in the shuttered line and demand silence and shelter at the point of his dah. On these occasions when we huddled together already terror-stricken, my grandmother recounted her story of the time when she failed to shut her door in time, and the robber was in the shadow of it as she went forward to fold it. "Not a word," he said, showing his blade. "Look out and see which way they have gone. Are they there? How many? Is the street clear? Don't talk loud." In this way Grandmother helped the felon to escape. Once or twice during the day we saw a saung, a blanket 674

in English : "Maung Sett Khaing and Khin Khin Su, I pronounce you man and wife." 585

All this was a solemn affair; there were no music, no speeches, no outsiders, and no photographs; but by the end of the ceremony murmurs of the activity in the garden floated in. There, a tea party such as the song recounts was being arranged, with an orchestra, Indian waiters, photographers and young men in bright longyis to usher the guests around. After the tea, the wedding guests went to see not so much the presents which were laid out on tables, but the bridal chamber, fitted with richest trappings, and guarded against male intrusion by a gold thread across the door, to break across which the men must pay in gold. All the guests now streamed into this chamber, the women peering here and there, lifting the coverlet of the bed to see if the traditional blankets of velvet were present, prodding the softness of the mattress, estimating the taste of the bride in the choice of fine linen and lace hangings. The custom is for the pair to spend their first days in this chamber in the house of the bride's family, before they go to live in their own house.

Different though the life in Rangoon was from the days in the districts, our Buddhist festivals still came round for social gathering and celebration. Being a big town, however, with electricity, crowded streets and cars, the celebrations tended to stand out more as night celebrations. Pagoda festivals at any of the pagodas in the suburbs drew a procession of cars and buses to the night bazaars, anyeins, and the light points twinkling out of the surrounding blackness. But these twinkling lights were multiplied a thousandfold at the lighting-up festivals of which we had two. Thadingyut, or the release from Lenten sobriety, ushers in the springtime of the year : now may all weddings, shinbyus and ear-borings take place, now may fasting days decrease and the full moons of lighting and harvesting and the new year water-play follow before another Lent; the deluge of the rains has ceased at last, the sky has been washed blue and the air blows cool and gentle. At Thadingyut, all houses light up their verandahs and gardens; streets of houses put up pavilions and offer food and stage shows to all the townspeople who ride along in cars, trams and rickshaws to look at the lights from end to end of the town. [369] 796

During my last Thadingyut in Burma we had a happier idea. Leaving our house with a nominal number of oil-flame dishes burning, we went in a party of twelve to the hill of the Shwe Dagon, to light there one thousand candles as our magnificent deed of merit. We walked up the western approach, a covered way of pillars and stalls selling fragrant flowers, incense sticks and candles for offering; barefooted up steps which we came to sweep at other times in the belief that this good deed brings the doer beauty of long and black hair in the next existence. From a

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796 number of stalls we bought our thousand candles—thin white candles made for us and for export, in the Syriam refinery across the river, from the petroleum of Burma's oilfields. Our arms laden with these packets we emerged on to the open, marble-paved platform from which the Shwe Dagon rose, surrounded by images, miniature pagodas and shrines in an encircling row. Along the circumference of the paved platform were big trees and resthouses where people kept sabbath, or reclined during a quiet day of eating and meditation. We chose a spot free from other worshippers and said our prayers. Then we began the lighting; each of us on a space two feet long, taking fire from the neighbouring lights of other offerings for the first candles, setting them down on the stone ledge encircling the shrines, and fixing the bases of row upon row from the fire of the beacon candle, until they overflowed on to the marble floor. How pretty they looked, those straight white unlit sticks, so regular in the dim light. Then we took a torch candle and used it as a taper, touching each stick into life; but the struggle of it, with the wind blowing so high on the hill, and a strong gust knocking down the infirm ones, and other candles lighting quicker than one's own, and the young children poaching on each other's rows and stealing fire, exciting us all as one after another each act of merit twinkled into light, until the last rows were done in time to have all thousand candles burning together in a beautiful bright offering.

The Thadingyut moon, on waning, was followed by the Tasaungmon, and when that moon grew full, the town was lighted up again. This time it was to commemorate the return of Gautama from his visit to Tawadeintha, the region of heavenly spirits into which his mother Maia had been reincarnated after her death on this earth. When I was very young we had a lesson about how, after attaining enlightenment, the Blessed One wished that his mother could hear the wisdom which he now possessed, how he journeyed up the Tawadeintha Mount to preach to her, and how, on his return, the monks and holy men of that region lighted his descent back to earth, holding tapers out of the gloom in two rows, on either side of him. As a child I dreamt of this as a wondrous vision; I pictured the space between the two worlds as black as only a void can be; not to be crossed by any means except the divine or the celestial, and I pictured the glowing tapers making a continuous ray of gold across this deep blackness, lighting up the yellow robes of the Holy Order and the face of the Buddha in its beatitude.

But the lighting up at Tasaungdaing is all tinsel and glitter; in Rangoon it was done with much more festivity than at Thadingyut. In the University every Buddhist student subscribed towards lighting up in rivalry between halls—lanterns and oil-flame dishes were arrayed along

all verandahs, trees, window-sills and gateways, the facade of the hall bearing a giant lantern in the shape of the Buddha. In the town the gayest display was put on by the trader residents of Gold Mountain and Goods Bazaar Rows. These people who cared not for races, garden tea parties nor fashionable weddings, put all their zest into the Tasaungdaing celebration. Each entrance to the streets was spanned with arch and pavilion, and between the two ends were contained lights, feeding at each house, a stage show, arrays of presents which were being offered to monasteries, and a jostling mass of people from all parts of the town. Among all the glitter moved the daughters of the houses, also on display; their breasts sparkling with the full stock of jewellery, the diamond spangles in their hair trembling in scintillation like the quivering balls of silver and tinsel on the decorations around them. 796

All this tinsel and glitter, sparkle and glistening tintillation reached its crowning point, only to be shown as vanity, fantasy, in the spectacle put forth at the cremation of a revered hpongyi—one whose life on the earth was all austerity and solidness of the worth of gold. A monk dies and is embalmed in honey and put to lie in state for perhaps a year, while the *lu*, ordinary humans, prepare for the cremation that is to send him off on his return flight to higher states of existence. He whose life has been lived in accordance with the belief that all earthly things, all ornament and pleasures of the earth, are illusion, impermanence and struggle, now has his exit prepared for by weaker mortals who build and decorate a seven-tiered pavilion for his pyre; and fantastic mammoth creatures to flank it high in the sky—giant birds, tigers and elephants, high on the slopes of Shwe Dagon Hill, tall and gigantic, but empty within, of inflammable bamboo and paper, caparisoned with gaudy, floating trimmings. Under the vast shadows of these empty creatures gay pavilions for feeding and the sale of bright wares are put up, lights are festooned for a night bazaar. When the day dawns for the burning, crowds throng to the fair, in merriment because the monk who so long ago renounced his attachment to human affections leaves no grieving widow and children; the coffin is lifted into its tiered catafalque and laid on a bed of inflammable tinder; it is drawn to the centre of the giant animals. When the feasting, buying and jostling have had their run, word passes round that the final moment is about to take place; people are drawn towards the canopy; the masters of ceremony throw rockets and torches into the decked bier; four, five and suddenly a hundred tongues of fire lick the bamboo, paper and the bed of tinder, and a magnificent blaze rises into the sky. Soon other torches set aflame the row of animals, and elephants, tigers, boats and birds go up in smoke, together with canopy, bier and coffin, leaving no traces of the saintly body. Excitement abates, the 766 793

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792 In recognition of this new-gained power the novice drops
553 his secular name and receives a bwè, an honorific title, to
775 mark that it is now open to him to escape from suffering.
561 The name lapses when he returns to the world again, but it is sufficient that he has once borne it. He may now add to his kan, merit, and gain for himself a glorious new life by good works.

[198] This is what is meant by calling the ceremony a baptism. The bwè are almost invariably Pali, or Burmanised Pali names, and follow the same rules with regard to initial letters as the lu nāmé. Thus a Maung Po Myat, born on Thursday, might take the name of Pyinya-Zawta, while the bwè of a Sunday child, Maung An, would be Adesa. This religious or Buddhist (on the analogy of Christian) name is, of course, retained by the regular members of the monastery, and a monk is never addressed by any other when a name is used at all. When he becomes old a U is added, as U Adesa, but it must not be forgotten that
[576] the use of a person's name in addressing him is considered very far from being polite in Burma, especially to one of rank and dignity such as a mendicant. On the other hand, one who has returned to the world never uses the bwè, not even when he accomplishes some great religious work such as the foundation of a pagoda, which according to a comforting belief ensures passage to Ne'ban after death.

The entry into the monastic order is therefore certainly the most important event in the life of a Burman, since only under the robe of the recluse and in the abandonment of the world can he completely fulfil the law and hope to find the way to eventual deliverance from the misery of ever-recur-
● [796] ring existences. The popular time for the ceremony is just at the beginning of Wā, the Buddhist Lent, which lasts from July to October, roughly speaking. Strict Buddhists make their sons stay throughout the whole Wā. During that season feasts, though they do occur, are very much discountenanced, and dramatic performances are energetically denounced by the religious.

792 According to the letter of the law the intending proba-
561 tioners should have reached the age of fifteen, but this
184 regulation has almost entirely lapsed in Lower Burma,
177.84 among other reasons chiefly because that is just the most

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important age for the boy to be learning English and arithmetic, with a view to getting situations under Government or in English merchants' offices. Therefore in the vast majority of cases shin-pyu thi takes place at the age of twelve, or perhaps even a year earlier. 792 561 184 177.84

If the boy has been a scholar in the monastery beforehand, he is sure to be already prepared in all that is required of him. If not, he gets a few hasty lessons in the duties that will be incumbent on him. He must address a full member of the order in such and such language; he must walk decorously through the streets, keeping his eyes fixed on the ground six feet before him, and on no account gaze round him, no matter what exciting events may be going on; he must wear his thingan and du-gut in the prescribed fashion; he must eat with dignity and circumspection, and so on. All these details are set forth in most minute fashion in a code. When he has mastered the most essential portions, and has also given proof of an acquaintance with the ordinary forms of worship, all is ready. His horoscope now comes into requisition, and a bedinsayā or Ponna is called in to determine a lucky day and hour from the sadā. When this has been settled, three or four girls, the intending koyin-gale's sisters, or friends of the family, dress themselves up in their finest silks and jewels—often borrowing a large quantity of the latter—and go round the town, announcing to all relatives, friends, and neighbours when the induction will take place, and inviting them to the feast, presenting the little packet of le'-pet usual on such occasions. Almost all of these send some little present, either of money or victuals, to aid in the feast and make it as grand as possible. Not unseldom, if somebody else's son is also going to enter the kyaung and the town is not very large, the two join forces, while occasionally as many as half a dozen unite, especially if the families are not well off. 792 872 [516] [292] 792 561 [787] 796 [292]

On the appointed day the young neophyte dresses in his finest clothes, and loads himself with all the family gold chains and jewellery, and as much more as he can borrow for the occasion. He then mounts a pony or gets into a richly decorated car. Shaded by gold umbrellas, allowed formerly on this occasion only in Upper Burma, except to those who had got a special patent for them from the sovereign... [292] [554]

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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had got a special patent for them from the sovereign, he passes at a foot-pace through the village. A band of music goes before; all his friends and relatives crowd round him decked in their gayest; the young men dancing and singing vigorously; the girls laughing and smiling, with powdered faces and brilliant dresses. Thus he goes in succession to the houses of his relations and of all the local officials, to do them the obeisance due from a younger member of the family, and to bid them farewell. They in turn contribute money towards the expense of the band, and the solace of the supernumeraries. This triumphant march is meant to symbolise the maung-shin's abandonment of the follies of this world, and to recall Prince Theidat's last splendid appearance in Kapilawut, amidst a crowd of rejoicing clansmen and subjects, just previous to his abandonment of family and kingdom to become a homeless mendicant ascetic, and to obtain the Buddhaship under the bawdi tree. When the round of visits has been duly carried out, the procession turns back to the parents' house, where in the meantime the final preparations for the induction and subsequent feast have been concluded. The head of the kyaung to which the young postulants are to be admitted, together with several of his brother monks, are seated at the back of the room on a raised dais, in front of which are ranged the presents intended for the mendicants—heaps of fruit, cooked food, mats, yellow cloth, and so on. The "Talapoins" seated in a row carefully hold up the large lotus-leaf-shaped fans before their faces to shut out from view the female portion of the assemblage. Never is the command to the holy community not to look on woman more necessary and more arduous to observe than at a shin-pyu pwè. Burma's fairest daughters are assembled, bright in rainbow skirts and neckerchiefs, drowsy-scented flowers in the jetty tresses, jewellery flashing on the bosom, the fingers, and ears, the fragrance of thana'ka lingering over the smiling faces. Terrible trial it is for the young monk, if any such there be in the gaing ôk's following, and more imperative the concentration of the mind on the Payeit Gyi and other portions of the sacred writ which are loudly chanted as the postulants return, and the assembly shikhoes to the pon-

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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gyis, and settles down to observe the proceedings. The boy throws off all his fine clothes and jewellery, and binds a piece of white cloth round his loins. Then his long hair is cut off close to the head. Often the locks are as much as three or four feet long, and are carefully preserved by the mother or sister, the latter often making them up into ta-su, the tails of hair twisted in with her own to increase the size of her sa-dôn—the knot of hair she wears at the back of her head. When the hair has been cut, the head is carefully shaved, the boy holding it over a cloth held by some of his relations. After this the head is washed in the usual way with a decoction of the seeds and bark of the kin-bôn thi, and rubbed well with saffron. A bath is then taken, and once more he puts on the bright paso, and repairs to the presence of the monks. Near at hand the parents have set ready the thingan, belt, ko-wut, and other yellow robes, the begging-pot and other requisites of the shin. The boy comes forward, prostrates himself three times, raises his hands joined in reverence, and begs, in a Pali formula got up by heart, to be admitted to the Holy Assembly as a neophyte, that he may walk steadily in the path of perfection, enjoy the advantages which result therefrom, and finally attain to the blessed state of Ne'ban. The kyaung po-go with his own hands gives him the garments; he is duly robed; the thabeit is hung round his neck by the strap, and then it is announced formally that he is a member of the monastery. He falls in among the other novices who have come with the mendicants. The abbot perhaps exhorts the assemblage for a short time, and then rising while all the people do obeisance, walks off slowly to the monastery, whither the newly-appointed ko-yins follow him, not unlikely helping to carry the presents which have been given at their induction.

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The feast at the parents' house begins immediately, and of course ends in a pwè, which lasts till dawn. Sometimes, though this is very seldom the case even in Rangoon, the young probationer comes back again the same night and assumes the lay dress. This *pro forma* observance of the ceremony of baptism is, however, vehemently opposed by all the monks who are worth anything. A few boys

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2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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remain only twenty-four hours in the yellow dress, long enough to enable them to go once at least round the village begging from door to door in the train of the yahans. This, naturally, is very little better than leaving the kyaung immediately. It is considered hardly decent for the shin to leave under seven days of professed membership of the community. Some stay longer—a fortnight, a month, or two months; but all the more earnest believers insist that their sons shall remain at least one Wā, throughout the four months of Lent, in the rainy season. The best course for a fervent Buddhist, who nevertheless does not feel himself, adapted for a monkish life, is to stay over three Wās, one Lent for his father, one for his mother, and one for himself. It is on account of the importance of the Wā to the shin-pyu that most inductions take place at the beginning of that season. Yahans count their seniority by the number of Lents they have spent in the kyaung. A mendicant of twenty Wās must shekho to one of twenty-five, and so on. An individual who has left the holy community to re-enter the world is called a lu-twet, a runaway. On the other hand, a man who has been married, and has afterwards entered the monastery, goes by the name of taw-twet, one who has fled from the jungle of the world. The most revered yahans are those who have held steadfastly by the blameless, austere life of the fraternity since the time when they were first admitted as koyin-gale. Such are called ngè-byu, white, or stainless from youth, and if they attain to advanced age are always sure of a most splendid ceremonial funeral, whether they have been celebrated for piety and learning or not.

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If the shin-pyu stays on in the kyaung, he continues the same course of studies as he began as a scholar. If he has not already learnt the Payeit Gyi and the Paya Shikho, Pali sermons and forms of worship, or the Mingala Thut, the "Buddhist Beatitudes," he applies himself to them now. The most advanced pore over the metaphysical mysteries of the Abidhamma Konit-gyan, the seven books of the most difficult part of the Bitaghat. These, with the Thingyo and Thadda, afford ample room for consideration to the longest life. The modern system of shortened sojourn in the

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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792 735 177-79 indeed in any monastery at all, even in Mandalay, it would be promptly put a stop to. But where the monks themselves show the example of carnal weakness, the probationers cannot be expected to maintain the old austerity.

792 779 The shin is subject in every way to the discipline of the monastery, but there are very few additional rules really incumbent on him. He has to observe always the Sè-ba Thila, the ten commandments. Five of these are obligatory on all Buddhists at all times: the other five are supposed to be incumbent upon laymen only on sacred days and during Lent. The five universal commandments are:—

1. Thou shalt not take any life at all.
2. Thou shalt not steal.
3. Thou shalt not commit adultery.
4. Thou shalt not lie.
5. Thou shalt not drink intoxicating liquor.

The additional five are:

6. Thou shalt not eat after mid-day.
7. Thou shalt not sing, dance, or play on any musical instrument.
8. Thou shalt not use cosmetics, or colour the face.
9. Thou shalt not sit, stand, or sleep on platforms or elevated places not proper for thee.
10. Thou shalt not touch gold or silver.

785 796 These latter five are, it has been said, imposed upon laymen on sacred days, but the burden is very light, the people observing them or not, accordingly as they are observing the "duty-day." If they are not "keeping the feast," they conduct themselves precisely as they would on any other day, and buy and sell and attend pwès in their ordinary fashion.

779 792 This laxity is, of course, not open to the shins, but it cannot be said that the regulations, except perhaps as to eating, are very irksome. The seventh and eighth commandments seem by themselves peculiar, but they refer to filthy habits more explicitly set forth in the Patimauk, or book of the enfranchisement, containing the 227 sins which

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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The casting of a brass image is a public festival, and the scene of general rejoicing. The people gather from miles round about, and there are plays and feastings for several nights, whether the Buddha is presented by an individual or by public subscription. The whole assemblage takes an interest in the proceedings, and rejoices in proportion to the success of the casting, which is effected in the same way as with bells. When the image is finished and ready to be dedicated, a great procession is formed; a band of music and dancers go at the head; the most wealthy men deem it an honour to be allowed to bear a hand in carrying the statue; men, women, and children from all the surrounding country, dressed in their gayest clothes, follow on foot or in brightly decorated bullock-carts to the bottom of the pagoda steps. Then the Buddha is carried up and solemnly deposited in the allotted place, myatta-thappè, in religious phraseology, a term not to be rendered without many words in English. It includes all the meanings of seemliness, dignity, beauty, splendour, and awe-compelling majesty. The ritual of the monks at the consecration of an image is, as in the case of the dedication of a pagoda, vague, and decided by individual opinion. Such a formal presentation service is called Nekaza, and is declared by the Sulagandi sect to be superfluous. The lineaments of the Budh are worthy of honour wherever seen, at the pagoda or in the workman's shop.

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The figures of Shin Gautama are not in themselves by any means handsome as works of art. The national skill in wood-carving is well known, and the little wooden lay figures made at Henzada and other places are remarkably clever in their variety of expression. None of this skill appears in the religious images. The modeller or sculptor is held fast by ancient custom. He must make his image of a particular pattern and with the recognised expression. The object is to portray the death of all human passions and earthly feelings. The calm, eternal sleep-like smile symbolises the attainment of ne'ban, the cessation of being, the end of the cycles of transincorporation of souls. This is all that is intended to be represented, and it is held out as a hope to the struggling sinner among earthly miseries.

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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The model to be followed would be worthless did the face express the hopes and fears and pleasures of wretched mortality. 778 532

The following triumphal song is taken from the same play of Sawpé Sawmé as the chant in celebration of the gilding of the Pegu pagoda, and is set to the same Yoddaya nan-thein than. The Mahā Myat Muni is the "Arakan Pagoda" in Mandalay. 778 796

ON THE IMAGE PRESENTED BY THE PEGU INSPECTOR TO THE MAHĀ MYAT-MUNI 539

Fair springs the sun at dawning
  From out the forest's green,
The nine gems on his nat-front
  Shine gloriously at e'en.

The rainbow weaves nat-raiment,
  Sweet is the lily's breath,
The malla flower is winsome,
  That weeps the Saddan's[1] death.

But fairer is the image
  That Hanthawadi sends,
Amid its gold and silver
  The pearl with ruby blends.

The maiden from her finger
  Drew off her jewelled rings,
The men brought costly diamonds
  And wealth of precious things,

And as 'mid shouts and clangour
  The flames leapt red as gold
All joyous cast their treasures
  Into the hissing mould.

So high hath Buddha honour
  In Hanthawadi's soil,
So gladly seek believers
  Release from earthly toil.

[1] The Saddan is the White Elephant, the last incarnation of Shin Gautama before he was conceived in Queen Maia's womb.

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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CHAPTER XIX

A PAGODA FEAST

A PAGODA feast in Burma is one of the most frequent, as well as one of the most picturesque sights in the country. Each shrine has its own special sacred day; and the annual celebration of it is made the occasion of a general picnic, the congregation of people, from all parts of the surrounding districts, being bent no less on pleasure than on pious observances. Reverence for the shrines of various saints in different parts of Europe gave rise to the great fairs which were general until the end of last century, and survive even now in out-of-the-way places. Doubtless, if the Burmese were a commercial people, and cared for the putting together of pieces of silver, these gatherings might degenerate into occasions of barter and bickerings of trade—just as, if they were a practical people, their zat-pwè might blossom into something of a more real character, as the old mystery and morality plays gave birth to the modern drama of Europe. But the Burmese do not care for any of these things; and the pagoda festivals retain therefore the character they have always had, of ostensible religious assemblies. Still their most obvious characteristic to the ordinary public mind is very different. Youths and girls look forward to them as seasons of mirth and flirtation: long nights at the open-air theatre, feastings and perpetual amusements, the pleasanter because lasting no more than a couple of days. Elderly people have no less liking for them. They meet their old friends, and receive and recount the gossip of half a dozen districts; and there is always a succession of new acquaintances. It is a joyous holiday; and it is sanctified by the

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2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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527 thought that the few hours spent at the payā gather up stores of kutho, not less certainly profitable than the social delights of the "duty day" are pleasurable.

796 101 The greatest of all the pagoda feasts is, of course, that of the Shwe Dagôn in Rangoon, with its pilgrims, not only from the farthest parts of Burma and far-away Shan hills, but also from over the seas, from Siam and Cambodia and the Corea. But the vastness of the gathering and the proximity of the great town spoil the national character of the festival, and introduce too many elements of nineteenth-century civilisation in the shape of merry-go-rounds and hack carriages. A "jungle" feast is not only more characteristic, but more appreciated in its way by both town and country folk.

796 There are three old Talaing pagodas near Rangoon, Kyaik-ka-san, Kyaik-ka-lo, and Kyaik-waing, whose annual duty days are looked forward to with pleasure by all the people round about. The feasts all occur in the month of Tabodwè, corresponding to our February or March. I have a suspicion that, were the proper date adhered to, all three would have the same uboné; but such a lavish squandering of the good a popular religion provides for us would hardly meet with lay approval, even if advocated by the most holy of hermits. Accordingly the three pagoda days occur at intervals of a week, without reference to the crescent or waning moon; and latterly, with singular convenience for Burmans occupied in business in Rangoon, [177-79] have usually been fixed for Sunday; so that English merchants are not troubled with the sudden ailments of their clerks at this season so much as used formerly to be the case. The Kyaik-ka-san is probably the most sacred of the three; containing as it does a tooth and bone of the forehead of Shin Gautama, brought to Rangoon by a yahanda, a blameless mendicant, over whose remains in Rangoon a huge thein-gyi, or ceremonial building, has been erected. Kyaik-ka-lo is, however, seemingly the more popular. It stands on the summit of a little hill about fourteen miles north of Rangoon, and is built of laterite blocks, now faced with bricks covered with plaster. The shrine was built in the second century before Christ, and,

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma (Chinese Shan) AP1
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ninety feet high itself, is surrounded by twenty-four smaller zediyan of a much later date.

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Great crowds of people go out every year from Rangoon, starting early in the morning, so as to avoid the heat, though in February the bracing winds of the cold weather have not altogether gone. Most of the travelling is done in bullock-carts. These conveyances are not nearly so fine as the Mandalay vehicles, but they are neat enough; the pole is elaborately carved at the end, and above all they are roomy, and allow "Jack Burma" and his family to loll about as they please. Bamboos are bent over to form a hood, and over this is thrown a kullagā, a piece of tapestry-work formed of pieces of many-coloured cloth sewn on to a red blanket so as to represent figures; the scenes being usually taken from some well-known play or from the court. They are eight or ten feet long, and four or five broad, affording a capital shelter from the sun, and combining the advantage of being easily moved when there is a breeze, with the still greater merit of looking very gay and bright. The party starts off before daylight, young master Lugalé being left behind to guard the house till the rest come back, and testifying his disapproval of the responsibility of this duty by strenuous bowls. The Madrasi sepoy lines are soon passed, and we get out into the undulating country beyond, and pass through the gardens and orchards which abound along the Prome road. The ground here is not suited for rice, and there are large areas covered with mango, jack, ma-yan, a kind of acid plum (which the perverse Englishman persists in calling Mary-Anne), and other fruit-trees, with pine-apples in long rows beneath their shade. The Chinese have great market-gardens here, miracles of neatness, but far from savoury in their odours. They never miss a chance of making money, and accordingly this morning turn over a few pice by selling sugar-cane to the girls, and bamboo pipes of palm-toddy to the men. The Shans, also born gardeners, to whom the fruit-trees mostly belong, are very pious, and join in the pilgrimage with their quaint offering-flags made of slim frameworks of bamboo, woven across in diverse patterns with vari-coloured cotton threads. A little farther on we get beyond the region of the market-gardens, and

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2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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pass between monotonous stretches of secondary jungle with no houses to be seen, though behind the strip of tangled bush there are wide expanses of rice-land with little bamboo huts dotted here and there in clusters. But the sun is getting high, and about half-way on the journey old Maung Gyi declares he is hungry, and draws up the cart under a bank in a shady hollow. The bullocks are turned loose, and preparations made for breakfast. The entire house service has been brought with us. It is not very extensive, certainly. A couple of earthen pots with covers, and a flat wooden spoon to stir up the rice or curry; a ladle made of half a cocoa-nut, with a handle in it; a big round flat dish of plain lacquered wood to place the entire feast on when it is ready; and a few bamboo, lacquered cups, without handles, with perhaps a plate or two, complete the list. The provender is equally simple. A heap of plain boiled rice, dried fish, chillies, onions, nga-pi, some salt and oil—that is the sum total. But it is eaten with zest and good appetite, and the little stream furnishes wherewith to wash it down. Then the ladies produce cheroots for the party from the recesses of their bamboo plaited pahs, and light up for everybody if they are good-natured.

Numbers of other carts have come up and stopped or passed on in the meantime, and, hilarious with his breakfast, Maung Gyi challenges neighbour U Hpe to a race; and forthwith the bullocks are brought into a shambling trot, and amidst much prodding with sticks and cries of "Hé noa" and "Tun-n-ng," and other sounds understanded of cattle, a fairly level race is kept up for half a mile or so. Then the carts are pulled up, and their inmates burst into loud talk, having been hitherto precluded from expressing their triumph or chagrin from a fear of biting their tongues off in the jolting, or of being choked with the dust. Notes are compared as to who is coming and who has stayed away, and then fresh acquaintances are sighted in the passing throng; and so with much good humour and pleasant meetings the fourteen-mile journey is safely got over. Arrived at the zayat, the rest-house, which marks the point whence the path to the shrine strikes off from the highway, the cart is turned aside among the low bushes; the oxen

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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are cast off and tethered up, the mats and bedding spread out below the cart in readiness against bed-time. Then our party breaks up to seek friends in the crowd; the girls taking off their travelling-dress and putting on their finest tameins, an operation which it would puzzle English women to do in public with equally scanty raiment and equal modesty. But they do it deftly; and, after touching up their complexion with a little fragrant thana'kha, are off, followed shortly by their brothers, who, in the absence of a looking-glass, have some difficulty in winding on their turbans to their liking. However, that is eventually done, and the remaining hours of daylight are spent in pleasant talk with friends, and wanderings through the shrub-growth and tall grass which cover the spur, at the end of which is the pagoda. The little tank, a brick-built pond, which lies at the foot of the hollow, falling away from the monastery, is a great rendezvous, and many of the older people climb the slope to have some talk with the abbot. 796 ●

At nightfall there is a general gathering in the cleared space where the stage for the puppet-play is erected. The monks of the kyaung are not Sulagandis, and do not prohibit the acting of a play so near to the sacred precincts. Besides, it is the Wethandaya Wuttu, one of the ten greatest birth-stories; and there is a troupe of famous manipulators from Rangoon. The marionette play is more esteemed by the people than the legitimate drama, and it is more suited to the neighbourhood of the relic-shrine. Nevertheless, a zat-pwè, got up by the amateur actors and actresses of the village of San-gyi-wa, a mile back on the road, is also well patronised, so that all tastes are consulted. 796 545

The people sit round about in a dense crowd, smoking and chewing betel, many of the young men strolling about and flirting in the impromptu bazaar which some business-like girls have started. This goes on till daylight, the audience alternately sleeping and looking on and applauding. At early dawn, the offerings are made to the yahans, and all crowd to the shrine to recite their sentences in praise of the Lord Buddha. After breakfast there is more gossip and conversation with friends. A few of the old people listen to the reading and expounding of the Law by 796

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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the superior of the monastery, but the young continue the amusements of the day before. The cool of the evening, or the following morning at latest, sees all on their way home again, the fun being kept up with, if anything, increased zest. Every one is in high spirits. There has been much merit gained by the pilgrimage, and the personal enjoyment of the trip has been no less satisfactory. Gay turbans are hung up as flags from the carts, and songs and choruses are frequent and jovial. Many a marriage is settled at these pious picnics. There is such abundant opportunity for love-making at the open-air encampment, where the old people are so engaged in talking with relations and friends whom they have not seen for the last twelve months, that they forget how craftily they utilised similar opportunities when they were young themselves. Besides, at the end of February, Lent is beginning to loom up, and in Lent nobody can be married, and those girls who do not care for the watery courtship of the New Year's Feast in April are often induced to be complaisant at the country pagoda feasts. Many a young couple have special cause to remember the happy ride back. The Buddhist faith may be as dreary, without hope, without belief in the world, as many say it is, but no one would imagine it so who looks on the gaily-dressed laughing crowd of men and maidens who throng to the country pagoda feasts.

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CHAPTER XX

DUTY DAYS

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THERE are four uboné, or duty days, in every lunar month, on which all good Burmans are expected to go and worship at the pagodas. These are the eighth of the crescent, the full moon, the eighth of the waning, and the change, of which the second and the fourth are the more sacred. As the monks have nothing to do with looking after the spiritual state of the people, it is entirely a matter to be settled by one's self whether any particular worship day is to be observed or not. If you conclude that strict religious observances are only necessary for your spiritual well-being on the day of the full moon, or at any rate that you may leave out the eighth of the crescent and waning moon, then the uboné does not concern you at all, and you may proceed about your ordinary business without being considered a reprobate. The very devout may go to the pagoda on all the four sacred days of the month; but if you choose to omit one or several, or substitute an ordinary day for that provided by religious custom, there is no one to take you to task for it. Were a Burman never to go to the pagoda at all, or fail to do so for any considerable time, he would indeed soon get a very bad character among his neighbours, and might even be formally excommunicated by the yahans. There is, however, practically no constraint save the force of public opinion. But the duties of worship are so light, and so dependent in their details upon yourself, and there is so much amusement to be got out of a visit to the pagoda on an uboné, that few, even of the most worldly-minded, miss any great number of the appointed days, and a special festival is always carefully observed.

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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With the really devout, a worship day always commences on the previous evening, that of the apeitné, or day of preparation. In most country villages, and occasionally even in the larger district towns, where there is more dissipation than devoutness, a few old men, as a voluntary work of merit, go round about the place beating the kyizi, the triangular gong, used only for this and similar religious purposes. The instrument is suspended by a string to a stick carried over the shoulder, and as the sounds vibrate, rise and fall, quicken and die away with the winding and unwinding of the cord, those who intend to keep the duty day well make ready for a start to the pagoda. Mats, sleeping-rugs, blankets, and eatables are gathered together; and the whole family, with the exception of a couple of the children and an old woman or so perhaps, left behind to look after the house, set off in a body, preceded in some cases by a kyizi of their own, struck at intervals by the head of the family, who slings it on a bamboo, to the other end of which, as a kind of equipoise, is fastened a lamp. The purpose of this ceremony of striking the gong is to announce to the four worlds the good work on which the party is engaged. They make their way to one of the numerous zayats, erected round the pagoda for the accommodation of pious people. If the family be a wealthy one they have probably such an open-sided, floored shed of their own, erected for the general use, but virtually reserved for themselves when required. If they have not, or if the shrine is small and the rest-houses few, they put up in one of the general zayats, where they can always find a quiet corner to settle in. There they sleep, or, what is better, tell their beads and meditate.

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Some time before daylight the food intended for the yahans is cooked, and when the sun rises a message is sent to the monastery that everything is ready. The alms have been put together in a heap in the middle of the zayat, in front of the permanent platform on which the mendicants take their station after they have arrived in a long procession of Indian file. In the meantime numbers of other more comfort-seeking laymen, who have slept at home, come trooping in from the town, also bringing offerings for the pagoda, and food for themselves and the pyinsin. When a

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congregation has been made up, or when the family party is complete, the senior monk recites the Ten Precepts incumbent on all upathaka on duty days, and adds some portion of the sermons of Shin Gautama, the other pyinsin, sitting behind their big fans to hide the women from their sight, occasionally making the responses. Finally the Payeit-gyi, or some similar litany of praise, is intoned; all the congregation joining in the chant, with upraised hands clasping a flower or some other symbol of offering. With this the service ends. The yahans rise from behind their fans and file back to the monastery again, the food being carried after them by the pupils or the donors. When this is done the worshippers set about preparing their own breakfast—unless, indeed, as is probable, it was cooked at the same time as the food for the yahans. Each family eats separately, arranged in a circle round the great byat, or platter of rice. If, however, any one has some particular delicacy—the celebrated nga-pi gaung fish paste from Payā Gyi, in the An-gyi township, iguana's eggs from Shwe Gyin side, or pickled tea fresh from the Shan hills—he gives of his abundance to those round about; and any solitary stranger from a distance is always sure of an invitation to join some breakfast party. When all have finished eating, the fragments that remain are thrown out for the pariah dogs and the crows. Additional merit is of course gained by this act of charity. For the rest of the day, with the exception of the time that may be spent in repeating doxologies before the image of the Buddha at the pagoda, nothing is done. Every one is dressed in his best and goes about meeting his friends, or lolling comfortably with a cheroot in the zayat waiting for them to come to him. Vast quantities of betel-nut and pickled tea and local gossip are discussed. The racing-boat the Bassein men are getting ready to send for the October contests in Mandalay; the brass image Maung Waik, the extra assistant commissioner, is going to dedicate next month; the old witch down at Ywa Thit Gyi, who has caused the murrain among the Thu-gyi's buffaloes, and the nuisance it is that the English ayebaing will not allow her to be tied to a bamboo and pitched into the river in the good old fashion, to prove that she really does trade in the black art;

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she really does trade in the black art; the new style in Manchester-flowered turbans that Ah Lôk, the Chinese pedlar, has brought in his boat from Rangoon—all these, and a great variety of kindred topics, are considered under all their aspects.

It must not, however, be supposed that all the people take this easy-going and frivolous view of duty days. Diligent seekers after kutho behave very differently. They do not merely limit themselves to the customary forms of worship and offerings. They sleep little, or not at all, the night before; telling their beads instead, and reading good books, some of the discourses of the Buddha, or portions of the greater zāts. All necessary business is transacted the day previous to the uboné, and neighbours are exhorted to observe the festival properly. After one simple dish in the morning, they eat nothing for the rest of the day; or perhaps on certain occasions do not break their fast till after mid-day, a custom very general on the first day of Lent. Instead of staying in the noisy zayat, where the assembled people are talking of light matters, laughing and diverting themselves, they retire to a tazaung on the pagoda platform, or to some place shaded by trees, where they finger the hundred and eight beads of their rosary, muttering, "All is transient, sorrowful, and vain; the Lord, the Law, the Assembly; the three precious things"; and meditate on the example of the Lord Buddha and the excellence of his Law. To vary the monotony of this performance, they go for an hour or two to one of the monasteries to talk with the prior or some learned brother, or perhaps to hear him read and expound one of the jatakas, or birth-stories.

So the duty day passes. By sunset most of the worshippers are making their way back to their homes; but a few zealous spirits remain all night in the zayat, and only return with daylight on the following morning. This simple round of celebration is repeated four times in every lunar month, with here and there a feast-day of some particular shrine thrown in, when the only difference is that there is greater ceremony and a more or less large influx of strangers, according to the sanctity of the pagoda.

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The sole distinction between Lent—lasting from the day after the full moon of July to the full moon of October—and the rest of the year, is that all laymen are expected to be much more regular in their observance of the weekly religious days. It is not a season of fasting, but simply of stricter execution of religious duties. No marriages, feasts, or public amusements are held, or only by the graceless; and some of the yahans retire into the depths of the jungle, where they can devote themselves to meditation with greater security from interruption. The custom of regarding these three months as peculiarly sacred undoubtedly rose from the habit of the monks, in the first days after the Buddha's teaching, remaining steadfastly in their monasteries in Magadha during the period of the annual rains, devoting all their time to pondering over the Sacred Law, and expounding it to any laymen dayakas, or upathakas, inquirers, or believers and searchers after the truth, who came to consult with them in their dwellings; seeking to enter the current of perfection, and, attaining the state of arahan, to float into Ne'ban, the state of joyless, painless calm. Nowadays all are expected to study the Law for themselves; but in order to prepare themselves worthily for the Wā, the wealthier people often call in the more learned yahans to deliver exhortations in their houses. Numbers of relations and friends are invited, who bring presents for the holy man, in the hope of sharing the merit of the transaction. Portions of the holy books usually are read on these occasions, especially the much-admired Wethandaya Wuttu. The doctrine inculcated by this zāt is charity; and malicious people do not hesitate to say that the giving of alms is the invariable theme of the pyinsin. But I have at least as often heard the praises of wisdom from the Lawkanidi recited at such Lenten lectures, and a portion may be quoted here: "The ignorant bow down before the wise man. The riches of the wise man are like a bubbling spring, a fountain that never runs dry, and that, however constantly you may draw from it, is ever filled anew. The beauty of women and the sweetness of the sugar-cane bring satiety, but the words of wisdom never pall. The lazy man will never get learning. Any man may be endowed with riches, beauty, rank, youth; but without

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527 steed Kantika. Then he drew his sword, cut off his long
506 hair and threw it into the air, where it remained suspended, till the Tha-gya-min carried it off in a basket and had his Sula-mani shrine built over it. Hence the offering of fire-balloons.

527 Thus offerings are made on earth, water, and in the air. The whole month, from the full moon which ends Lent till the feast commemorative of the nogāna alms of Thuzata, is distinguished by specially abundant ahlu to the pagodas and to the beikku. A peculiarly pretty offering is that called a pan-taing, a pyramid somewhat like a pya-that, entirely composed of flowers in wreaths and nosegays, which is conducted with much dancing and sounds of music, to be laid before the great image. Fantastic tin shrines and lanterns made to hold big, two-inch thick candles, often plaited of long tapers made of different coloured wax, are presented, and along with these, huge monkish fans, each adorned round the edge with tags of gold-leaf and little pictures; big muslin dragons distended on hoops and long streamers to be hung from the poles surmounted with the sacred hentha, or the kalawaik, are also frequent. It is also customary at this season to make the monks large offerings of honey—pya-ye hlu-thi. This can hardly be called a separate festival, but as the honey is only given in these months, it affords sufficient cause for the exhibition of plays and energetic dancing on the way to the monastery.

● 776 All these religious observances, sufficiently mixed up
527 with secular enjoyment, are accompanied by other occupations which cannot be said to have anything directly to do with religion. Such is the preparation of the boats, and the practice for the races, which always take place in Thadingyut. They must wait, however, till Lent is over; and the racing boats are almost always kept under the abodes of the yahans, so that even here there is ground for the assertion that all great public feasts in Burma are connected with religion. But the Burmans are very far from being sad worshippers, and any one who has been in the country in the months of October and November would be inclined to assert that the whole round of existence in Burma is made up of junketings and pleasure-parties.

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CHAPTER XXIV

A GRACIOUS PLOUGHING

LIKE the "royal elder brother" of China, the king of Burma ought to go out once a year to plough the fields. Thibaw Min did not do it during the first two years of his reign, and, as far as I am aware, was equally heedless throughout the later years also. The consequences ought to have been disastrous. According to tradition, the failure of the Lètwin mingala to come off should have caused a drought all over the country. But the Mo hkaung did not ensue; on the contrary, there was Mo kaung: an aspirate makes all the difference between a water-famine and seasonable showers. King Thibaw went very little indeed out of his palace. The annals of the country supply too many instances of kings, who, having gone abroad, found on their return to the palace gates that a usurper had taken possession of the throne in the meantime, and had no better greeting for his predecessor than a short shrift and a red velvet sack in which to plunge his body into the Irrawaddy. This unlovable custom had great weight with King Thibaw; but it was unwise of him to entirely abandon so venerable a tradition as the Lètwin mingala. It was at this ceremonial that one of the earliest marvels in the life of the Buddha Gautama happened. The king Thudawdana, with eight hundred noblemen save one, was ploughing the fields at the annual festival. Many country people came to see the great sight, and the city emptied itself. The maids who had charge of the little Prince Theidat laid him down under the shade of a tree and went to look on. The infant Buddha rose up as soon as they were gone, and sitting

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773 cross-legged in the fashion in which he is ordinarily represented in the images, became sunk in meditation. The careless maids all through the hot afternoon forgot about their princely charge, until the returning crowds and the setting sun reminded them of their neglect. Then they hurried to the tree and found that the Zampu tha-bye had maintained its shadow in the exact same position all day as it was in when Prince Theidat was first laid down. Notwithstanding the arc the sun had described, the shade had all along hung over the head of the meditating Payā Alaung.

241 The festival has therefore special reason to be celebrated
796 by the descendants of the solar kings. It was also in every
643 way a most picturesque fête, pleased the people, and offered a valuable opportunity for squeezing money out of them. King Mindôn never omitted it, even when he was grown old and portly, and little able to follow the slow-stepping bullocks. The ceremony took place in the beginning of June, about the time when the south-west monsoon usually breaks in Mandalay. The order went forth that the king would come out on such and such a day, and the people
643 were enjoined to get ready. Not to see him—far from it.
349 The right of a cat to look at a king in Mandalay was not well established. The Amein-daw was issued in order that the heads over ten houses, the Sè-eing gaungs, might see that the road in their district was in proper repair, and that the yazamat had not got out of order. The yazamat, or king's fence, was a kind of lattice-paling put up in every street in the walled town, and in any of those in the suburbs through which the king was likely at any time to pass. It was formed of thick diagonal spars made into hurdles, which were lashed to heavy posts sunk in the ground at regular intervals. The whole was whitewashed, and often flower-pots stood on the top of the posts to enliven the structure a little; and it certainly wanted enlivening a good deal. The lattice-fence undoubtedly looked very neat and tidy, as a long straight road lined with Lombardy poplars does; but it became terribly tiresome, when you found all the streets looking exactly the same, with this six-foot-high heavy wood fence standing within a couple of feet or so of

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the walls of the houses, and shutting out all view of these wooden structures. It had, however, to be kept in constant repair, and the house-reeve has to go round carefully to see that none of the whitewash had been rubbed off, nor any of the transverse bars sprung with the sun. Behind these the entire populace had to stay when the king, or any one of the queens, went out. Woe betide the wretch who was caught outside them when the procession had started. He might consider himself lucky if he escaped with only a belabouring from the fasces of the shrieking lictors. No one was supposed even to look through the little diamond-shaped holes. As a matter of fact they did; but by way of condoning for the offence, they rendered it more difficult by planting flowering shrubs between the bamboo houses and the lattice-work. 643 349

The procession on the route out to the Lèya, the royal acre, to be ploughed, was magnificent. The king was clad in all his robes of state: the paso with the daungyôp, the peacock sacred to royalty; the long silk surcoat, or tunic, so thickly crusted with jewels that its colour could not be seen; the tharapu, the spire-like crown, also a mass of precious stones; the twenty-four strings of the Order of the Salwè across his breast; and over his forehead the gold plate, or frontlet. The great gates in front of the stairs from the Hall of Audience were opened for him. Except the King of the Golden Throne no one might pass through them; there was the low red postern at the side for meaner beings—a shrewd device to make every one bow his head to the palace, whether he liked it or not. His majesty mounted the white elephant, which none save he might ride—for is not the noble creature a king himself? 643 241 796 292

The king mounted the Lord White Elephant at the palace of the latter, to the right of the Hall of Audience; but the princes and ministers, all of whom came to attend the great function in their robes of state, might not enter their howdahs till the stockade of the nandaw had been passed. Then they fell into line in order of precedence, the wuns and wundauks wearing their official mitres—tall red velvet hats, with the top curled back like a nautilus, and the base surrounded with a row of gilt spear-heads. The long 644 796

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crimson velvet cassocks edged with rich brocade were also worn, and every one paraded all the umbrellas, gold, or vermilion, or green, that he was entitled to.

Thus they pass through the official town into the suburbs. The road taken is that by the east gate, whence, in a line with the steps of the Hall of Audience, a broad way runs straight away to the blue Shan hills; or at least to where, in Mindôn's reign, the great Yankin-taung pagoda was being built, a few miles from where the hills rise, steep as out of a lake, from the flat rice lands. A death-like stillness prevails after the procession has passed the two timber guard-houses, between the tall columns of the eastern gate, surmounted by fantastic, triple-roofed teak pavilions, looking like Chinese joss-houses with their flamboyant carvings. The people are no doubt all there—we speak as those who know—crouching on their stomachs and peeping as best they can through yazamat and leaves of the bushes and legs of the soldiers that line the royal path all the way, striving their utmost to get a glimpse of the king and the splendour of his retinue; but they are not to be seen, and no one so much as sneezes. Thus the richly carved and gilt royal monastery is passed on the left; and immediately afterwards comparatively open ground is reached, stretching out on either side of the high, raised road. A little farther on, half a mile or so from the eastern gate, a halt is made at the selected portion of the lèdawgyi. Ploughs stand ready in a long row, extending away as far as one can see; for all the princes and ministers must plough as well as the king. The royal plough is thickly covered with gold-leaf; the part on which his majesty stands—for it must not be forgotten that the Burmese plough is something like a giant rake, and is not really a plough to English ideas at all—is gold, roughened with pearls and emeralds. The milk-white oxen that draw it rival the Lord White Elephant in the splendour of their harness. Crimson and gold bands hook them on; the reins are stiff with rubies and diamonds; heavy gold tassels hang from gilded horns. The gold-tipped ox-goad his majesty wields is covered with jewels and flashes like a rod of fire in the sun.

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The king ploughs a couple of furrows—or, rather, passes

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the big rake once up and down the rain-sodden field—and then stops; for he is portly, and short of breath now. The ministers, no matter how fat they are, have to go on ploughing as long as the Arbiter of Existence chooses to look on. At last he declares that enough has been done, and preparations are made to go back again. He doffs his royal robes, for the tharapu, with its spire and jewelled ear-flappets, is burdensome, and the long surcoat, with its thousands of precious stones, is said to weigh about a hundred pounds. The Lord White Elephant is relieved too. He stalks back unencumbered, with his household of thirty retainers fussing about him with fans and swaying umbrellas.

The king gets into an open car, something like what Roman racing chariots are represented to have been. It is of course adorned as richly as everything else, and is drawn not by ponies or bullocks, but by men, eight of them pulling at each of the flexible shafts. The object is to prevent any one, the driver for example, sitting higher than the king. The English carriages presented at various times to different Burmese monarchs met with little approval. At first it was thought that the king was to sit on the box; but then it was found that with this arrangement there was nothing for it but that the driver should run by the side and therefore maintain a constant erect attitude in the presence of royalty. When it was found that the king was supposed to sit inside, with the driver two or three feet above him, a burst of indignation suggested that it was an insidious plot to put an insult on the majesty of the lord of the umbrella-bearing chiefs. For a time the vehicles were put away as lumber; but an ingenious handicraftsman adorned them with pyathats—five-roofed ecclesiastical or royal spires. They were now, when drawn by men, suitable for royal occupation; but unfortunately the solid teak-wood spires made them top-heavy, and especially unstable on rough Mandalay roads. They therefore degenerated into paraphernalia for exhibition on a kadaw day, or gauds for a procession at Tawadeintha feast time.

The king consequently returns on his low, gilt, native-made carriage, reclining on a mattress placed on the floor. He is now dressed in the ordinary national way, with a light

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linen jacket and a slender pawlôn (a fillet of book-muslin wound round the head), showing the thin white hair tied up in a little knot on the top of the head. The chief ministers are round about, fanning him assiduously; and he is in extreme good-humour, chaffing the Kin Wungyi, the astute prime minister, on the way he let his bullocks straggle away at random and the difficulties he got into in trying to turn them at the end of the field; while the stout old Naingan-gya Wun-dauk is rallied about the absurd state of heat he was brought into by his exertions. Possibly, if a venture-some and inquisitive subject were to be seen now, the king might pardon him for his rude gaping. But nobody knows in what temper the king is, and the silence is as death-like as when the party moved out. As soon, however, as the great procession has passed and has wound its way into the palace, the hitherto deserted streets are crowded again. Pwès begin with startling suddenness at every corner. Bands strike up; long lines of candles illuminate the streets at nightfall; rockets are let off, fire-balloons ascend, and every-thing is given up to rejoicing; for the lèdawgyi has been graciously ploughed, and the Lètwin mingala is a presage of abundant crops.

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It is needless to say that the persons mentioned are now all dead and that the British Government does not maintain the Lètwin mingala. The spectacle of the Lieu-tenant-Governor balancing himself on a harrow with the Commissioner of the Northern Division and the Judicial Commissioner for Upper Burma as acolytes, or rivals, would not be impressive. A striking spectacle has gone and cannot be revived.

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could afford so much as this. The best engagements are those known as ahlu pwè, given by a rich man in celebration of some religious festival, or to commemorate some event in his family, such as the donning by his son of the yellow robes of the monastery. The elders of the village, or the custodians of the pagoda, often collect money for the performance of some of the religious zāts, depicting avatars of the Lord Buddha. Then there are subscription pwès, where some energetic lover of the drama suggests the propriety of a play to the inhabitants of the village, or of a street in the town. He goes round gathering subscriptions, and then negotiates with the zat-ôk for as many nights as the manager is inclined to give for the money. This system has unfortunately led to abuses. Sharp individuals have discovered the possibility of collecting three or four hundred rupees among the people, paying the manager two hundred out of this, and keeping the rest for themselves. The dodge has been too often tried in Rangoon, but in the smaller towns it is still practicable, and is far too often carried out. Besides these performances by accredited companies, there are others called kyigyin pwè, given by professionals anxious to make a name for themselves, and for this purpose giving gratuitous exhibitions. These are naturally very uneven from the difficulty of getting a complete company together. But in all cases the vast majority of the spectators pay nothing at all. The guests invited by packets of le'hpet usually contribute a rupee or two towards the expenses of their host, but otherwise the entire cost is defrayed by him.

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The pwè is begun by the arrival of the band, which, with characteristic Burmese disregard of the value of time, ordinarily comes upon the scene several hours before the actual commencement of operations. They occupy one side of the stage, and tune up their saing and play away vigorously while the people gather. The zatthama and zatthamā, the male and female artistes, drop in casually along with the spectators. Each is ordinarily accompanied by a servant to carry their dresses and help them in robing. All of them, women as well as men, make their preparations in full view of everybody. Each lady has a toilette-box with all the necessaries for making up. Many are the hints the village

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CHAPTER XXXII

THE TAWADEINTHA FEAST

796 NEXT to the uproarious merriment of the New Year's feast in the spring, the festival of Tawadeintha is probably the most joyous and striking of the Burmese religious ceremonies. It is not of universal observance. Some districts keep it up with much more pomp than others, but are not always equally enthusiastic every year in the way in which they celebrate it. In Rangoon and Mandalay, however, it is carried out regularly with greater or less magnificence, and preparations for the procession and the performance of the mystery play often go on for many months beforehand.

773 The feast commences on the first of the waning moon of Ta'saungmôn, about the beginning of November, and lasts over three days. It is commemorative of the Lord Buddha's ascent from the earth to preach the Sacred Law to his mother, Maya, then a Queen of déwas in Tawadeintha, the second nat-heaven. He was staying at the time in the country of Thawatti (probably the place now called Fyzabad), in the Zetawun monastery, and thence in three steps compassed the distance to the nat-heaven, situated above the Myinmo Taung, the centre of the universe. He had just finished a display of miracles on an immense road, constructed by him from one side of the world to the other, before a crowd covering an area of thirty-six yuzanas. The leader of the heretics who challenged the display of wonders, a man named Purana, was so overcome with chagrin that he tied himself to a weighted jar and was drowned. Arrived in the nat-seat, the Buddha preached a sermon on the duties of filial gratitude, to a vast congregation of byammās, nat-

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dêwas, and arahats, and having expounded the Law which was to lead them into the noble path of deliverance, descended again by a magnificent ladder composed in separate strips of gold, silver, and precious stones, to the ne'ban kyaung, where he received the usual pious offerings of the people on his arrival, on the day of the full moon of Thadingyut. 773

To recall this event in the Buddha's life is the object of the feast, and the preparation of the stage often takes considerably over a week, notwithstanding the facility with which bamboo buildings are run up in Burma. A platform is prepared, from twenty to fifty or sixty feet in height, according to the subscriptions and the scale on which it is intended to carry out the performance. Over this is raised a gaily-decorated pya-that, the tower-like spire with seven diminishing roofs, characteristic of sacred buildings, and leading up to it is a sloping way, representing the Saungdan, the path by which Shin Gautama ascended. Sometimes there is a similar sloping descent on the other side, figuring the ladder which led down to the monastery in the neighbourhood of Sampa Thanago, but more often the ascent and descent are compassed on the same slope, which comes to an abrupt end six or eight feet from the ground, on a level platform, covered by an ordinary roof, if it represents merely the earth, or the sacred pya-that if it does duty also for the ne'ban kyaung. Half-way up there is sometimes a covered stage, representing the Ugandaw hill, on which the Lord Buddha found purchase for his final step to the nat-dêwa country. On the first day of the feast, usually about eight o'clock at night, the whole scene being lighted up by the brilliant moon, occasionally rather spoilt by smoky torches and the evil-smelling fumes of open crude-oil lamps, the procession begins. The image of the Teacher of the Law, always represented sitting cross-legged, is mounted on a little carriage, fitted to run on a tramway reaching right up to the top, and is dragged up by means of a rope and a windlass. This is done slowly and in a rather jerky fashion, partly because the apparatus does not admit of greater expedition, but principally to prolong the function as much as possible, so that all the people may see it and greater merit may be gained. Surrounding the Buddha is a great company

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● 796 of worshippers from all the higher seats of the universe, earthly kings in royal dress, the white umbrella borne over their heads, and ministers and pages at hand with trailing robes and gorgeous peacock fans; nat-déwas and their rulers in rainbow hues, with wings on arm and thigh; byammās from the thoughtful realms of the upper sky; a glittering throng, all uniting in praise to the Saviour of the World, the chant rising and falling on the night air as they slowly ascend. As a general thing it takes quite an hour to get up. There are many doxologies to be sung, and the performers, all laymen from the town, have paid many rupees for their dresses and want as many people to see their grandeur as possible. Technically, on the first night the image should go no farther than the Ugandaw hill, but, as already said, this half-way house very often does not exist at all, and even when it does there is usually no more than half an hour's halt, and then the procession goes on to Tawadeintha, the spire-covered platform on the summit. There the gay throng gather round the image in the attitude of adoration, and a man with a powerful voice stands behind it and declaims the sermon written down in the sacred books as having been preached on the occasion. The subject is filial piety. "I, the great Sramana, the mightiest of all beings, the teacher of ne'ban and the Law; I, the all-powerful, who by my preaching can lead my mother into the path of salvation and the final deliverance; I, who know all things and have beat down the passions under my feet; even I, with all this can but repay the debt due to one of the breasts that suckled me. What then can man offer in love and gratitude to the mother who nourished him at her breast?"

The sermon takes very much less time than the ascent. [538] There is a Burmese proverb—

> Sa nahtaung thaw
> Taye pyaw.
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> When the pôngyi preaches
> No harm the sleeper reaches;

that is to say, no great evil can befall you when you are assisting, in presence of body, if in no other way, at the

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exercise of so meritorious a ceremony as the expounding of the Law. Accordingly the great crowd, who have been looking on with much interest at the progress up the taper-lit saungdan, commence generally to prepare for sleep in the zayats which surround the place where the stage is, or failing accommodation there, curl themselves up as comfortably as may be under the bullock-carts which brought them thither. A still greater proportion, however, gather together in circles to have a gossip, and this talk, accompanied by much smoking and chewing of pickled tea and betel, goes on till far into the night. An excuse for the scant reverence paid to the sermon, to which none but a few white-haired men and women listen, is, that what part of it is not in Pali is in such suggagyi, such a lofty and stilted style of Burmese, that no one can follow it. Accordingly the discourse is hurried through and the performers come down, and after putting off their fine clothes receive the congratulations of their friends. The image remains all night in "Tawadeintha," and the following evening the descent is made with similar ceremonial, and so the dramatic part of the festival is concluded.

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But this is very far from being the whole of the proceedings. On both days numerous presents are made to the yahans and offerings to the pagodas, and these are carried round about the town and by circuitous routes to the monasteries, so that the greatest amount of pleasure and publicity may accrue to the donors.

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Chief among these offerings are always huge spires, some of them fifty feet high, representing Tawadeintha, and similar to that on the summit of the stage platform. They are made of bamboo covered with pasteboard, glittering with gold and silver paper and painted in many colours, and are carried by ten or twenty men, on long bamboo poles. Round about them dance all the youth of the quarter or village they are presented by, young men and girls, all in their brightest clothes. In Rangoon scores of these offerings wend their way to the monasteries under the shadow of the great Shwe Dagôn.

Mingled up in the procession come white umbrellas, gold umbrellas, lofty bamboo poles with gilt balls quivering and swaying at the top, big pasteboard images of nat-dêwas,

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796 bilus, princes, and animals, from the crawling turtle to the familiar two-legged (or six-legged, which you please) horse, all of them surrounded by their group of vigorous dancers. 796 Most characteristic of the day are the padetha-bins, a sort of 735 Turanian Christmas-tree, representing the fabled wishing-tree of the Northern Island and the heavens of the nats. In those regions the fairy branches bear whatever is wanted, from a savoury ragout to a complete suit of clothes. Upon earth the quivering bamboo twigs carry, dangling by strings, whatever the bazaar shops will supply, packets of scented soap, matchboxes, razors, clasp-knives, little looking-glasses, coloured-glass tumblers, candles, and dolls; and piled round the roots are heavier and more useful articles — blankets, mats, bales of yellow cloth, and earthenware or lacquer begging-bowls. These trees, each with its attendant band of dancers, are carried round and finally deposited before the house of the head of the monastery. Occasionally a ngwe padetha is offered, if the inhabitants of the wealthy districts of the town are particularly pious. This silver padetha is a tree similar to the rest, except that from its branches hang exclusively rupees and smaller silver coins, each wrapped up in a piece of tinsel or coloured paper. These silver trees, some of which are worth from 500 to 1000 rupees, are more frequently presented to the pagodas than to the monasteries. In the former case the custodians of the shrine take charge of the money for the purposes of repair and the payment of watchmen; in the latter, the kyaungthagyi, the kappiya dayaka, or lay steward of the monastery, receives the money, as indeed he takes the miscellaneous collection from the other wishing-trees, and dispenses all for the benefit of the kyaung and the giving of alms to poor travellers. It is noticeable, however, that the ascetic Sulagandi monks would altogether refuse to accept such a temptation to break their vows as a silver rupee tree.

796 Spires and umbrellas, padetha-bins and hobby-horses, hover about the streets on the way to the monasteries all day long throughout the duration of the festival, and at night, after the mystery play is over, the bands which have been performing sedulously all day crash out again on the night air, and fragments of plays and songs are to be heard

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everywhere. Chief among the night amusements too is the presentation of the naga, the huge serpent-like dragon, a great monster often considerably over a hundred feet long, formed of thin paper, distended on bamboo hoops. Each of these has a handle attached to it and a lighted taper fastened inside, and is carried by a man. The body is white, shading off into a blood-red head and jaws, and as the creature writhes its long folds and twists and darts from side to side of the road, the effect from a distance is very fine and startling on a first view. He plunges and coils about till the candles are nearly burnt out, and then is deposited with other offerings on the pagoda. All through the day and night there are generous people about, ready to give meat and drink, cheroots and betel, to any passer-by who chooses to afford them an opportunity of acquiring merit, for any act of charity accumulates kutho, even though the object aided be base.

The offerings to the monks are also not confined to the fruit of the padetha-bins. On the third day of the feast the image of Shin Gautama is carried away from the bamboo erection and dragged through the town in the early morning, the monks following with their begging-pots and receiving the abundant alms prepared for them at the Sôndawgyi feast, which is intimately connected with that of Tawadeintha, and commemorates as much the Lord Buddha's issuing from the ne'ban kyaung at Sampa Thanago to beg for his food on his return from the second heaven, as the pious gift of nogana, made after the long fast, by Thuzata.

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in the river Neritzara, at a place where more than 100,000 Buddhas had bathed, before obtaining the supreme intelligence. Then he divided the nogana into forty-nine mouthfuls, ate it, and mounted the throne, whereon he sat for forty-nine days tasting no food, and combating Mān Nat, the spirit of death and sin. But ere he lapsed into meditation he threw his golden bowl into the river. It ascended the stream swiftly, floated steadily for a short time, and then sank in a whirlpool far down, leagues beyond the earth into the country of the nagās, where it fell against the golden bowls of the three previous Budhs with a clang that resounded throughout the four worlds, and all things worshipped the present Lord:

> King and high Conqueror! thine hour is come.
> This is the night the ages waited for.

This event in the life of Shin Gautama is commemorated in the Sôndawgyi pwè. Sōnthi is a sacred word set apart to denote the eating of members of the Holy Assembly, and, in remembrance of Thuzata's historic offering, the mendicants are feasted annually by the pious, with a splendour and profusion far exceeding the ordinary alms poured daily with unstinting hand into the begging-bowl. The date of the feast does not exactly correspond with the original event. According to the chronicle, the Lord Buddha attained the first state of ne'ban in the month of Kasôn, about April, whereas the feast of Tawadeintha, with which the Sôndawgyi is always immediately connected, is celebrated after Lent, at the full moon of Ta'saung-môn in November. The festival is essentially one of the town rather than of the country. Except the New Year's Feast, none of the religious celebrations can be really called universal, and the Sôndawgyi perhaps least of all. Villages and small country towns cannot get together the splendour necessary to distinguish the occasion from the ordinary domestic feasts, or even from the daily almsgiving to the mendicants. It is therefore in a large town like Rangoon, where there is a certain amount of money, and a facility for acquiring or borrowing ornaments and frippery, that the festivities are best seen. There the *fête*—the word is more appropriate

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CHAPTER XXXV

THE NEW YEAR'S FEAST

ALTHOUGH religious festivals and *fêtes* are so abundant in Burma, it is undoubtedly true that none of them are universally observed in all parts of the country, except the New Year's Feast. In localities where the people are exceptionally pious, the end of Lent may be more carefully observed than elsewhere, some devoting themselves especially to pious observances, others to the more worldly ceremonies of the sôndawgyi feast. The Tawadeintha festival is an annual observance in some districts, in others it practically passes over unnoticed. Similarly with all the minor *fêtes*. But it is not so with the thi'gyan pwè. All over Burma, from the smallest jungle hamlet to the crowded streets of Rangoon and the straggling suburbs of Mandalay, the New Year is ushered in with the old formalities, and with perennial enthusiasm. Not an hour is cut off from the allotted number of days, and every item of the old practice is carried out with the same vigour. 796 527 184

For this reason the "Water Feast," as it is called by Englishmen, has forced itself on the attention of the most careless observer, and every one who has written about Burma devotes a greater or less amount of space to a description of the good-humoured merriment with which the New Year is introduced. I do not propose, therefore, to do more than allude to the lesser known formalities observed on the occasion.

The month Tagoo, the first of the Burman year, occurs in the spring, and New Year's Day is in the earlier half of April. But it does not fall annually on the same day. It 805

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remainder of the rites, and as this comes in from the elders of the surrounding villages and the kappiyadayakas of neighbouring religious houses, the kyaungthagyi of the deceased's monastery sets about erecting an edifice like a thein, a "monastery of the dead." This is a building, more or less substantial, according to the sanctity of the departed, built of teak, and open all round, with the tapering ecclesiastical pya-that rising over it. Hither the coffin, with the sarcophagus, is carried and deposited on a dais in the centre, a slight railing serving to keep off wild animals. Over it a large white umbrella, with a deep paper-lace fringe, is fixed, and round about hang a number of paintings, similar to those on the payaung-bông, some of them, however, representing the favourite subject of the different races of men as known to the artist—the swarthy Hindoo, the oblique-eyed Chinaman, the Kachin with his pig on his back, and the ghastly white-faced Englishman with dog and gun. Others are simply grotesque, and a few horrible, in their delineations of the horrors of hell. Nevertheless, they are all allowed to hang there, for though it is expressly stated that paintings are among the five species of gifts which are not meritorious (dancing is another), the ordinary layman thinks that the painting he gives must certainly be an exception. Here and there in this odd kind of mortuary chapel are also keinnaya, gay tinselled pasteboard figures of men with birds' lower extremities, manôttha keinnaya and nat keinnaya, the latter having the wings and gorgeous aspect of nat-dêwas. Here the body lies in state, and there is a constant stream of pilgrims—some of them from far distant parts of the country—who come to say their religious sentences, make offerings of flowers and fruit as they would at the pagoda, and contribute what they can afford towards the remainder of the ceremony.

The body remains till the required sum is collected. During that time numbers of festivals are celebrated at the ne'ban kyaung; bands of music play frequently, and the same people often make three or four different offerings. The lying in state usually lasts several months, sometimes considerably over a year, and it is to be noted that a pôngyi byan never takes place during Lent.

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Guests begin to arrive later in the morning at the site of the ceremony. As each enters he is given a large cheroot by one of the girls who is posted at the entrance to the room. The guests are seated on mats before the platform for the monks and the tables of offerings described above. They are served tea and pickled tea leaf while the orchestra entertains them. 881 792

The young men of the village arrive with their musical instruments, which they will play during the procession to follow. They join the other guests, taking seats on mats. The continued music of the orchestra forms a background to the constant buzz of conversation among the assembled guests. 881 796 792

The initiates are carried into the room -- on this day their feet must not touch the ground -- and seated in chairs facing the monks' platform. A few persons spontaneously break into dance as the music goes on; more guests arrive; the horses which have been hired for the procession are brought to the scene and tethered nearby. Gradually the guests are summoned, in groups, to eat in a nearby building.

When all have had their meal, the procession is made ready. The young girls are given the carved trays and betelnut containers. The initiates make obeisance (shiko) with folded hands to the monks, as do all the guests. A monk chants prayers and blessings, the audience sings responses. The initiates now are carried from the room and seated on the horses, which will carry them around the village. A golden umbrella is opened and raised over each initiate, whose young male attendants hold it aloft, guide his horse, and carry him on their shoulders whenever he is required to dismount.

About mid-morning the procession leaves the monastery grounds, lead by the fathers of the initiates and young male relatives carrying the lacquer begging bowls which the initiates will use, followed by their mothers and female relatives bearing mats and pillows. Next follow the young girls, each carrying a decorated tray or container. After them come the initiates on horseback, led by their male attendants and followed by the young men's musical band which dances, sings, and plays as it moves along. The guests followed in their rear.

This procession wends it way along the road that links Tadagale with Kokine Road, and arrives at a spirit shrine. The guests make obeisance to the shrine and sit on the ground. The initiates are carried to the shrine by their attendants, to be shown to the spirits so that these beings will know of their work of merit and thus restrain their evil influences. The procession resumes, going along the main village path to the large Buddha shrine located about midway along this route. Here the boys are again carried from their horses to make obeisance, after which the procession sets out on the last part of the route, to the monastery again.

Now the initiates are lifted from their horses and carried, shoulder-high, three times around the monastery building, in clockwise direction. They are followed by their fathers, young male kin, their mothers and the young girls bearing the trays and containers.

As the third round of the building is completed and the group reaches the entrance to the room of the ceremony and tries to enter, they find themselves blocked by two women who hold a silk scarf across the entrance and loudly demand a huge sum of money as payment for permission to pass. The father of an initiate offers them, instead, five balls of candied puffed rice. Much good-

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natured bickering and banter takes place, in the midst of which the boys' attendants carry them off and hide them nearby, out of sight of the crowd. They demand ransom. Finally, the women who have blocked the entrance accept the offer of puffed rice balls, and the attendants who have hidden the initiates are persuaded to reduce the huge sum they have demanded to a token amount. The boys are returned, the crowd enters the ceremonial room, and the rite may proceed.

Sometime before noon the monks and the pupils of the monastery school have a meal, their last of the day, while the assembled guests sit in groups sipping iced soft drinks, smoking and gossiping.

About two o'clock gongs are struck to summon the monks to the ceremony. Now the initiates no longer wear jewelery or flowers, symbols of worldliness; and the silk scarves which earlier were worn on their heads are now worn across their chests, under one arm and over the other shoulder. The initiates sit on mats before the chair on which the chief officiating monk will be seated. A new earthenware pot is filled with water, flowers are placed in it, and a few yards of white thread are twined around the flowers. The pot is placed on the table to the right of the monk's seat. Its presence is supposed to counteract any evil influences by spirits or humans. It is a warning to evil spirits and enemies not to mar the proceedings.

When the monks arrive the orchestra again begins to play and candles are lighted. The several monks ascend the platform and sit according to rank. The chief officiating monk sits, as indicated, in a chair below the platform, facing the initiates and assembled guests.

The initiates repeat after an elder prayers and requests that they be allowed to enter the monkhood. The audience intones prayers for the remission of its sins, and the chief officiating monk recites the Five-Fold Path of Buddha. Further prayers by the monks are recited, in Pali, and then the chief monk preaches a sermon. His emphasis is very strong on the great glory brought to parents through the sponsorship of an initiation ceremony for a son. There are numerous allusions to incidents in the history of Buddhism to illustrate the importence of shinbyu and the even greater significance of entrance into the monkhood for life.

Following the sermon, the fathers of the initiates ascend the platform and place before each monk an offering of a new robe in an aluminum bowl.

At this point comes the ritual of water-pouring. The initiates' parents and nearest of kin slowly pour water, drop by drop, from bowls into cups which are set on the ground, as the chief monk recites prayers to call the attention of the earth spirit to the deed of merit being performed. It is believed that if they should be reincarnated in some lower form, they can be reminded by the earth spirit of their good deeds, and this will relieve them of their suffering and help to transform them into better reincarnated forms.

Now, threads are taken from the enclosure in which the initiates sat during the sermon. Their entrance into this enclosure, which followed their asking for admission to the monkhood, symbolized their acceptance into the order. These threads are now tied across the initiates' chests, over one shoulder and under the other.

The orchestra plays as the initiates depart for the adjoining building to change into ordinary clothes, eat their last meal of the day, and bathe. Some guests now leave; borrowed articles, such as plates, cups and mats are gathered up for return to their owners, and eventually the orchestra departs. 881 796 792

The initiates return to the front of the building in which the ceremony took place. They sit on mats for the shaving of their heads. Two women hold a long piece of white cloth before them to catch the hair as several men proceed to wet their heads and shave them clean with straight razors. [302]

Once more the boys leave to bathe, then return and are seated before the chief monk. Their robes held in their hands before them, they recite prayers, give their robes to the monk, and ask him to dress them properly in the monkish garb.

Their robes donned, they squat before the monk and recite additional prayers, now following very carefully the special intonation appropriate to monks. The ceremony proper is complete. [195]

The following morning, early, a few relatives and close friends go to the monastery. The monks, including the novices, are offered food by them. A monk recites the Five-Fold Path, and then the ceremony of pouring water drop by drop is performed. Names are given the initiates -- special monastic names which they will bear only for the duration of their novitiate. [55]

In former times, and still today in the very remote villages of Burma, an initiate might spend many months, possibly several years, in the monkhood. Sometimes a boy would remain a monk for life. Today in Tadagale, as almost everywhere, initiates spend only a token period of about one week in the monkhood. During this time, they live the austere existence of the order, rising very early, spending long periods in prayer recitals, and abstaining from food after noon until the following morning. The short period of life as a novice is strongly in contrast with the easy-going, carefree childhood days that precede it. Some boys approach the time of their shinbyu with feelings of trepidation, and all are glad when the period spent in the monastery is over and they can return to the much less stern discipline of their parents. 881 792 198

Courtship and Marriage. Young people in the village find ample opportunities to assess each other's manners, physical appearance, and personality, in the company of others at feasts and various gatherings. If a young man and woman are together apart from the company of others, people assume that sex relations are involved. In fact, such going together is spoken of as 'getting married.' Villagers find it hard to conceive of a young unmarried couple associating on a purely friendly, non-sexual basis; such behavior is regarded as contrary to nature. But however much it occurs, unchaperoned association is not approved, much less encouraged. 584 831

Once a pair have decided they want to marry, the boy will inform his parents of his desire. They will already know, in a relatively small village such as Tadagale, something of the standing of the girl's family and of her dowry potentialities; in fact, as soon as they have sensed their son's interest in a particular girl, they will take steps to acquire this information. They will also ascertain whether acceptance by the girl's family is likely. Sometimes the approach to the girl's family is made directly; in other instances a female go-between will be employed. The latter is more likely when the girl's family 584

792 the small boys, as day pupils. Monastic education is a traditional part of
871 Burmese Buddhism, and almost all the men of Tadagale, whether reared in the village or elsewhere, have attended monastic schools for varying lengths of time.

The monastic school curriculum includes elementary reading, writing and
792 arithmetic, rudiments of history and geography, heavily colored by Burmese cosmology and folklore, and instruction in Buddhist precepts and proper conduct.
872 There is heavy emphasis upon proper conduct. Instruction takes the form of mass recitation and rote memorization. Discipline is strict and the inattentive
876 pupil is kept alert, when necessary, by means of the rod. As indicated earlier, many parents in the village favor the monastic as against the public school because of the strict discipline and the emphasis upon conduct and religion.

Concerning the second function of the monks, officiation at certain
793 rites, it should be indicated that because Burmese Buddhism is not a congregational type of religion, the monks are not called upon to officiate at regular assemblies in any fashion akin to the role of the Christian minister. The monks do, however, play an important part in the initiation of boys into the monkhood; and sometimes take part in funeral rites.

The monk's function of giving advice and guidance stems from the fact that he is regarded, in the thinking of the villagers, not only as one to whom the greatest respect and deference is due by virtue of his dedication to his life to religion, but also as a living repository of wisdom and universal knowledge. He is a person to whom one may turn in time of uncertainty, doubt or stress for personal counsel. Problems relating to the conduct of one's children; concern over persistent lack of success in one's economic activities; or even matters of health may be taken to the monk. A great deal of the advice rendered by monks is formulaic, folkloristic and magical in nature. Particular monks tend to acquire reputations as being especially wise and helpful in particular kinds of problems.

Support of the Monks. The monastery buildings and the land on which
792 they stand are the property of the monastic order, held in perpetuity by grant of the government, free of taxation.
735

The monks are supported by the donations of the villagers. Every morning a monk, accompanied by one or two monastic school pupils, passes through the village to collect offerings of food. As he enters the compound of each home a member of the household takes a pot of cooked rice, which has been prepared for the morning meal, and places a few large spoonsful in the monk's begging bowl. This minimum daily contribution of food is made by every Buddhist household, without exception; in addition, many families send
[624] bowls of curry and rice to the monastery. Giving food to the monks is an important act of merit to Burmese Buddhists. It is regarded as unthinkable that any household would refuse. When the hypothetical case was posed of such a deviant household, villagers agreed that such a family would be severely criticised and shunned in the village.

The few other things that the monks require for their austere existence are given by villagers on the important ceremonial days of the year. These items include robes, soap, matches, begging bowls, water strainers and needles.

Duty Days. The Burmese calendar is a lunar one, and in each month there
• 796 are four days -- duty or sabbath days -- on which the villagers go to the monastery

14: Brant E-5 (1949-50) 1954 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

to worship. These are the eighth day of the waxing of the moon, full moon day, the eighth day of the waning moon, and a day during the transition to the new moon. The second and fourth of these are considered especially sacred. On these duty days all work in the village ceases and the public school is closed. The people go, usually in family groups, to the monastery. There they say prayers before the images of the Buddha and present gifts to the monks. For a good many, a large portion of the day, after the visit to the monastery, is passed in social visiting and in generally relaxing. For the more devout, usually the elderly people, the duty days are more serious; they abstain from food and drink after midday until the following sunrise, spending the day in silent meditation and prayer. 796 [887]

Ceremonies

Thingyan, the New Year. Throughout the year a number of the Burmese religious festivals are celebrated in Tadagale. We may begin with the New Year festival, which occurs in April, beginning on or about April 13th, according to the determination made by astrologers.

Traditionally, the New Year festival calls for visiting the pagodas and monasteries and washing the images of the Buddha, after which one calls upon his elders and sprinkles them gently with scented water from a silver bowl. The young men of the village go from house to house, dancing and singing to the accompaniment of an orchestra. At each house they sprinkle water on the elders and ask them to call out the young girls. The girls are likewise sprinkled with water by means of a flower carried in the bowls.

In Tadagale today, many of the traditional customs of the New Year are still observed. Preparatory to the holiday, houses are swept and compounds cleared of all refuse. Everything is made clean and orderly. The images of the Buddha are washed, elders are called upon, sprinkled with water, and wished well. But, as in many parts of the country, the New Year festival has tended to take on a rather secularized character in modern times. Water sprinkling has become water throwing; groups of people, especially youngsters, go into the towns in carts or trucks, armed with buckets of water which they throw at passers-by. The name 'Water Festival' which has been given to the New Year celebration is singularly appropriate, since water-throwing and associated hilarity has overshadowed the sacred significance of the occasion. Some villagers go into Rangoon for the celebration, where everyone engages in dousing everyone he encounters (monks excepted), utilizing every means from buckets to large hoses attached to city water hydrants. These activities are in contrast with the traditionally serious, sacred character of the New Year as conceived by older villagers. The schoolmaster of the community, a middle-aged man with many years of religious training, spoke of the New Year: 796 178 527

> Thingyan is the New Year festival, but the villagers do not know the significance of the festival. They know only that it is a feast day and a holiday and a day for having fun. In reality there should be no frivolity on New Year's day; it is a day on which one should fast and pray, for one is now one year older and therefore nearer death. One should meditate on the futility of frivolity as compared with the blessedness of deeds of merit.

Waso, the Buddhist Lent. In July, on the full moon day of the month of Waso, there begins a sacred period of some three months, corresponding closely 796 785

796 785 with the rainy season. The Buddhist monks take vows to live strictly by the Buddhist precepts and not to spend a single night away from the monastery during this time. The laity pledge to observe the fast from noon of the weekly duty day to the following dawn, an observance that at other times of the year is carried out by few people. Marriage must not take place during this sacred period; engagement contracted before the beginning of Waso should be consummated in marriage before the period begins, not carried over to its close.

On the full moon day that inaugurates this sacred period, the villagers make gifts of robes to the monks. Households sometimes pool money in a common fund from which the robes are purchased. The robes may be sent to the monastery or the monks may be invited to a donor's house to be fed and presented with the garb.

On the following day, the young people of the village go out in small groups to pick the 'Waso flower,' the flower of the Padauk tree (Pterocarpus sp.). In the evening, dressed in their finest clothes, they offer these flowers to the image of the Buddha that stands to one side of the main path of the village, about halfway between the northern and southern ends of Tadagale. Some travel to Rangoon to make their flower offering at the Shwe Dagon pagoda, the most famous of Buddhist shrines in Burma.

796 Thadingyut, the Festival of Lights. For three months, from the first day after the full moon of the month of Waso, until the first day after the full moon of Thadingyut (October) it is believed that the Lord Buddha is in the land of the spirits preaching to his mother. On the first day after the full moon of Thadingyut he is said to return to the world of human beings. For this occasion, lanterns are lit and houses are gaily decorated with them. The lanterns are made of colored paper, shaped into small cylinders and placed around a saucer in which there is a kerosene-soaked wick. Villagers nowadays purchase these lanterns ready-made in the bazaars of Rangoon and use candles rather than wicks in them. All over Rangoon, and along the road between Tadagale and the city, colored lanterns are lit and hung around the houses, fences and hedges, providing a bright and glittering spectacle. Many villagers go to Rangoon to see the lights at this time.

796 735 Kahtein, a Ceremony of Offerings to Monks. Between the day following the full moon of Thadingyut and the day after the full moon of Tasaungmon (November) the villagers observe Kahtein. On this occasion of giving gifts to the monks, the offerings are on a larger scale than those of individual households at other times of the year.

The village headman collects money from each house in the village for this observance. A total of about Rs. 1000 (ca. $200) is gathered to purchase gifts for each of the four monasteries located near the community. The presentation ceremonies for the various monasteries are held on different days, and many villagers attend all of them.

The purchasing of the gifts for the monks is entrusted to the headman. This is done in Rangoon and includes robes, food-carriers, utensils, crockery, brooms, and fans.

The ceremony takes place at the monastery. Each family cooks a meal of rice, curry and a sweet dish. All the food is pooled, and after the monks have partaken of their morning meal, the villagers eat. Music, dancing and singing

goes on throughout the morning. About 2 P.M. a monk gives a sermon and recites prayers. One of the elders reads aloud to the assemblage an account of the expenditures for the gifts to the monks, concluding the event. 796 735

Animistic and Magical Beliefs

Underlying the elaborate organization and practice of Buddhism, there is a considerable belief in nats, or spirits, and magic. Spirit worship, supposedly contrary to the teachings of Buddhism and opposed by the monks, is indulged in to varying degrees by the villagers. In Tadagale one frequently comes upon small wooden box-like structures affixed to trees, on which there is usually a little food and perhaps a flower as offerings to a particular nat. There seems little doubt that animism was even more important among the Burmese prior to the coming of Buddhism centuries ago. As noted in the description of initiation and wedding ceremonies earlier, nat worship has become interwoven with Buddhist beliefs and practices. It is also manifested in beliefs concerning guardian spirits of houses and particular places and in theories of the causes of many illnesses, including bewitchment and mental disturbances. Mediums, specially versed in the ways of the nats and possessing knowledge of cures for spirit-caused maladies, may be called upon for assistance. 776 755 782

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

CHAPTER XIII

FESTIVALS

'The law is sweet, filling the soul with joy.'
Saying of the Buddha.

796 THE three months of the rains, from the full moon
132 of July to the full moon of October, is the Buddhist
484 Lent. It was during these months that the Buddha
241 would retire to some monastery and cease from travelling and teaching for a time. The custom was far older even than that—so old that we do not know how it arose. Its origin is lost in the mists of far-away time. But whatever the beginning may have been, it fits in very well with the habits of the people; for in the rains travelling is not easy. The roads are very bad, covered even with water, often deep in mud; and the rest-houses, with open sides, are not very comfortable with the rain drifting in. Even if there were no custom of Lent, there would be but little travelling then. People would stay at home, both because of the discomfort of moving, and because there is much work then at
132 the village. For this is the time to plough, this is
241 the time to sow; on the villagers' exertions in these

6:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

months depends all their maintenance for the rest of the year. Every man, every woman, every child, has hard work of some kind or another. 132 241

And so, what with the difficulties of travelling, what with the work there is to do, and what with the custom of Lent, everyone stays at home. It is the time for prayer, for fasting, for improving the soul. Many men during these months will live even as the monks live, will eat but before mid-day, will abstain from tobacco. There are no plays during Lent, and there are no marriages. It is the time for preparing the land for the crop; it is the time for preparing the soul for eternity. The congregations on the Sundays will be far greater at this time than at any other; there will be more thought of the serious things of life. 132 796 785

It is a very long Lent—three months; but with the full moon of October comes the end. The rains then are over; the great black bank of clouds that walled up all the south so long is gone. The south wind has died away, and the light, fresh north wind is coming down the river. The roads are drying up, the work in the fields is over for a time, awaiting the ripening of the grain. The damp has gone out of the air, and it is very clear. You can see once more the purple mountains that you have missed so long; there is a new feeling in the wind, a laughter in the sunshine, a flush of blossom along the fields like the awakening of a new joy. The rains are over and the cool weather is coming; Lent is over and gladness is returned; the crop has been sown, and soon will come the reaping. And so at this full moon of October is the great feast of the 132 796 [241]

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132 year. There are other festivals: of the New Year,
796 in March, with its water-throwing; of each great pagoda at its appointed time; but of all, the festival of the end of Lent is the greatest.

796 Wherever there are great pagodas the people will come in from far and near for the feast. There are many great pagodas in Burma; there is the Arakan pagoda in Mandalay, and there was the Incomparable pagoda, which has been burnt; there are great pagodas at Pegu, at Prome, at many other places; but perhaps the greatest of all is the Shwe Dagon at Rangoon.

778 You see it from far away as you come up the
346 river, steaming in from the open sea, a great tongue of flame before you. It stands on a small conical hill just behind the city of Rangoon, about two miles away from the wharves and shipping in the busy river. The hill has been levelled on the top and paved into a wide platform, to which you ascend by a flight of many steps from the gate below, where stand the dragons. This entrance-way is all roofed over, and the pillars and the ceiling are red and
[712] painted. Here it was that much fighting took place in the early wars, in 1852 especially, and many men, English and Burmese, were killed in storming and defending this strong place. For it had been made a very strong place, this holy place of him who taught that peace was the only good, and the de-
346 fences round about it are standing still. Upon the top of this hill, the flat paved top, stands the pagoda, a great solid tapering cone over three hundred feet high, ending in an iron fretwork spire that glitters with gold and jewels; and the whole pagoda is

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778 782 happened, if there has been any trouble that has brought them thus in the sunset to the remembrance of religion. But at last they rise, and they light their little candles near by where the old man and the boy have lit theirs, and then they go away. They are so sad, they keep their faces so turned upon the ground, that you fear there has been something, some trouble come upon them. You feel so sorry for them, you would like to ask them what it all is; you would like to help them if you could. But you can do nothing. They go away down the steps, and you hear the nun repeating always, 'Sorrow, misery, trouble.'

So they come and go.

796 778 But on the festival days at the end of Lent it is far more wonderful. Then for units there are tens, for tens there are hundreds—all come to do reverence to the great teacher at this his great holy place. There is no especial ceremony, no great service, such as we are accustomed to on our festivals. Only there will be many offerings; there will be a procession, maybe, with offerings to the pagoda, with offerings to the monks; there will be much gold-leaf spread upon the pagoda sides; there will be many people kneeling there—that is all. For Buddhism is not an affair of a community, but of each man's own heart.

To see the great pagoda on the festival days is one of the sights of the world. There are a great crowd of people coming and going, climbing up the steps. There are all sorts of people, rich and poor, old and young. Old men there are, climbing wearily up these steps that are so steep, steps that lead

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towards the Great Peace; and there are old women, too—many of them. 796 778

Young men will be there, walking briskly up, laughing and talking to each other, very happy, very merry, glad to see each other, to see so many people, calling pleasant greetings to their friends as they pass. They are all so gaily dressed, with [292] beautiful silks and white jackets and gay satin head-clothes, tied with a little end sticking up as a plume.

And the girls, how shall I describe them?—so sweet they are, so pretty in their fresh dresses, with downcast eyes of modesty, tempered with little side-glances. They laugh, too, as they go, and they talk, never forgetting the sacredness of the place, never forgetting the reverences due, kneeling always first as they come up to the great pagoda, but being of good courage, happy and contented. There are children, too, numbers and numbers of them, walking along, with their little hands clasping so tightly some bigger ones, very fearful lest they should be lost. They are as gay as butterflies in their dress, but their looks are very solemn. There is no solemnity like that of a little child; it takes all the world so very seriously, walking along with great eyes of wonder at all it sees about it.

They are all well dressed who come here; on 796 a festival day even the poor can be dressed well. 292 Pinks and reds are the prevailing colours, in checks, in stripes, mixed usually with white. These colours go best with their brown skins, and they are fondest of them. But there are other colours, too: there is silver and green embroidery, and there are shot-

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796 silks in purple and orange, and there is dark blue.
292 All the jackets, or nearly all the jackets, are white with wide sleeves, showing the arm nearly up to the elbow. Each man has his turban very gay, while each girl has a bright handkerchief which she drapes as she likes upon her arm, or carries in her hand. Such a blaze of colour would not look well with us. Under our dull skies and with our sober lights it would be too bright; but here it is not so. Everything is tempered by the sun; it is so brilliant, this sunlight, such a golden flood pouring down and bathing the whole world, that these colours are only in keeping. And before them is the gold pagoda, and about them the red lacquer and dark-brown carving of the shrines.

796 You hear voices like the murmur of a summer sea, rising and falling, full of laughter low and sweet, and above is the music of the fairy bells.

Everything is in keeping—the shining pagoda and the gaily-dressed people, their voices and the bells, even the great bell far beyond, and all are so happy.

796 The feast lasts for seven days; but of these there
778 are three that are greater, and of these, one, the day of the full moon, is the greatest of all. On that day the offerings will be most numerous, the crowd densest. Down below the pagoda are many temporary stalls built, where you can buy all sorts of fairings, from a baby's jointed doll to a new silk dress; and there are restaurants where you may obtain refreshments; for the pagoda is some way from the streets of the city, and on festival days refreshments are much wanted.

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These stalls are always crowded with people buying and selling, or looking anxiously at the many pretty wares, unable, perhaps, to buy. The refreshments are usually very simple—rice and curry for supper, and for little refreshments between whiles there are sugar-cakes and vermicelli, and other little cakes. 796 262

The crowd going up and down the steps is like a gorgeous-coloured flood, crested with white foam, flowing between the dragons of the gate; and on the platform the crowd is thicker than ever. All day the festival goes on—the praying, the offering of gifts, the burning of little candles before the shrines—until the sun sets across the open country far beyond in gold and crimson glory. But even then there is no pause, no darkness, for hardly has the sun's last bright shaft faded from the pagoda spire far above, while his streamers are still bright across the west, than there comes in the east a new radiance, so soft, so wonderful, it seems more beautiful than the dying day. Across the misty fields the moon is rising; first a crimson globe hung low among the trees, but rising fast, and as it rises growing whiter. Its light comes flooding down upon the earth, pure silver with very black shadows. Then the night breeze begins to blow, very softly, very gently, and the trees give out their odour to the night, which woos them so much more sweetly than the day, till all the air is heavy with incense. 796

Behold, the pagoda has started into a new glory, for it is all hung about with little lamps, myriads of tiny cressets, and the façades of the shrines are lit up, too. The lamps are put in long rows or in 796 778 373

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circles, to fit the places they adorn. They are little earthenware jars full of cocoanut oil, with a lip where is the wick. They burn very redly, and throw a red light about the platform, breaking the shadows that the moonlight throws and staining its whiteness.

In the streets, too, there are lamps—the houses are lined with them—and there are little pagodas and ships designed in flame.

All the people come out to see the illuminations, just as they do with us at Christmas to see the shop-windows, and the streets are crowded with people going to and fro, laughing and talking. And there are dramatic entertainments going on, dances and marionette shows, all in the open air. The people are all so happy, they take their pleasure so pleasantly, that it is a delight to see them. You cannot help but be happy, too. The men joke and laugh, and you laugh, too; the children smile at you as they pass, and you must smile, too; can you help it? And to see the girls makes the heart glad within you. There is an infection from the good temper and the gaiety about you that is irresistible, even if you should want to resist it.

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The festival goes on till very late. The moon is so bright that you forget how late it is, and only remember how beautiful is all around. You are very loath to leave it, and so it is not till the moon itself is falling low down in the same path whither the sun went before her, it is not till the lamps are dying one by one and the children are yawning very sleepily, that the crowd disperses and the pagoda is at rest.

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Such is a great feast at a great pagoda. 796

But whenever I think of a great feast, whenever the growing autumn moon tells me that the end of Lent is drawing nigh, it is not the great feast of the Shwe Dagon, nor of any other famous pagoda that comes into my mind, but something far different.

It was on a frontier long ago that there was the festival that I remember so well. The country there was very far away from all the big towns; the people were not civilized as those of Mandalay or of Rangoon; the pagoda was a very small one. There was no gilding upon it at all, and no shrines were about it; it stood alone, just a little white plastered pagoda, with a few trees near it, on a bare rice-field. There were a few villages about, dotted here and there in the swamp, and the people of these were all that came to our festival. 796 433 436 369

For long before the villagers were preparing for it, saving a little money here, doing a little extra work there, so that they might be able to have presents ready for the monks, so that they might be able to subscribe to the lights, so that they would have a good dress in which they might appear.

The men did a little more work at the fields, bamboo-cutting in the forest, making baskets in the evening, and the women wove. All had to work very hard to have even a little margin; for there, although food—plain rice—was very cheap, all other things were very expensive. It was so far to bring them, and the roads were so bad. I remember that the only European things to be bought there then were matches and tinned milk, and copper money

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was not known. You paid a rupee, and took the change in rice or other commodities.

The excitement of the great day of the full moon began in the morning, about ten o'clock, with the offerings to the monks. Outside the village gate there was a piece of straight road, dry and open, and on each side of this, in rows, were the people with their gifts; mostly they were eatables. You see that it is very difficult to find any variety of things to give a monk; he is very strictly limited in the things he is allowed to receive. Garments, yellow garments, curtains to partition off corners of the monasteries and keep away the draughts, sacred books and eatables—that is nearly all. But eatables allow a very wide range. A monk may accept and eat any food—not drink, of course—provided he eat but the one big meal a day before noon; and so most of the offerings were eatables. Each donor knelt there upon the road with his or her offerings in a tray in front. There was rice cooked in all sorts of shapes, ordinary rice for eating with curry, and the sweet purple rice, cooked in bamboos and coming out in sticks. There were vegetables, too, of very many kinds, and sugar and cakes and oil and honey, and many other such things. There were a few, very few, books, for they are very hard to get, being all in manuscript; and there were one or two tapestry curtains; but there were heaps of flowers. I remember there was one girl whose whole offering was a few orchid sprays, and a little, very little, heap of common rice. She was so poor; her father and mother were dead, and she was not married. It was all she could give. She sat behind

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her little offering, as did all the donors. And my 796
gift? Well, although an English official, I was not 735
then very much richer than the people about me, so 792
my gift must be small, too—a tin of biscuits, a tin or two of jam, a new pair of scissors. I did not sit behind them myself, but gave them to the headman to put with his offerings; for the monks were old friends of mine. Did I not live in one of their monasteries for over two months when we first came and camped there with a cavalry squadron? And if there is any merit in such little charity, as the Burmese say there is, why should I not gain it, too? The monks said my present was best of all, because it was so uncommon; and the biscuits, they said, though they did not taste of much while you were eating them, had a very pleasant after-taste that lasted a long time. They were like charity, maybe: that has a pleasant after-taste, too, they tell me.

When all the presents, with the donors behind them, dressed all in their best, were ready, the monks came. There were four monasteries near by, and the monks, perhaps in all thirty, old and young, monks and novices, came in one long procession, walking very slowly, with downcast eyes, between the rows of gifts and givers. They did not look at them at all. It is not proper for a monk to notice the gifts he receives; but schoolboys who came along behind attending on them, they saw and made remarks. Perhaps they saw the chance of some overflow of these good things coming their way. 'See,' one nudged the other; 'honey—what a lot! I can smell it, can't you?'

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796 And, '*My mother!* what a lot of sweet rice! Who
735 gave that? Oh, I see old U Hman.' 'I wonder
792 what's in that tin box?' remarked one as he passed my biscuits. 'I hope it's coming to our monastery, any way.'

Thus the monks passed, paying no sort of attention, while the people knelt to them; and when the procession reached the end of the line of offerings, it went on without stopping, across the fields, the monks of each monastery going to their own place; and the givers of presents rose up and followed them, each carrying his or her gifts. And so they went across the fields till each little procession was lost to sight.

796 That was all the ceremony for the day, but at dusk the illuminations began. The little pagoda in the fields was lighted up nearly to its top with concentric rings of lamps till it blazed like a pyramid of flame, seen far across the night. All the people came there, and placed little offerings of flowers at the foot of the pagoda, or added each his candle to the big illumination.

The house of the headman of the village was lit up with a few rows of lamps, and all the monasteries, too, were lit. There were no restaurants—every-
[444] one was at home, you see—but there were one or two little stalls, at which you could buy a cheroot, or even perhaps a cup of vermicelli; and there was
796 a dance. It was only the village girls who had
535 been taught, partly by their own mothers, partly by an old man, who knew something of the business. They did not dance very well, perhaps; they were none of them very beautiful; but what matter?

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We knew them all; they were our neighbours, the kinswomen of half the village; everyone liked to see them dance, to hear them sing; they were all young, and are not all young girls pretty? And amongst the audience were there not the girls' relations, their sisters, their lovers? would not that alone make the girls dance well, make the audience enthusiastic? And so, what with the illuminations, and the chat and laughter of friends, and the dance, we kept it up till very late; and we all went to bed happy and well pleased with each other, well pleased with ourselves. Can you imagine a more successful end than that?

To write about these festivals is so pleasant, it brings back so many delightful memories, that I could go on writing for long and long. But there is no use in doing so, as they are all very much alike, with little local differences depending on the enterprise of the inhabitants and the situation of the place. There might be boat-races, perhaps, on a festival day, or pony-races, or boxing. I have seen all these, if not at the festival at the end of Lent, at other festivals. I remember once I was going up the river on a festival night by the full moon, and we saw point after point crowned with lights upon the pagodas; and as we came near the great city we saw a new glory; for there was a boat anchored in mid-stream, and from this boat there dropped a stream of fire; myriads of little lamps burned on tiny rafts that drifted down the river in a golden band. There were every now and then bigger rafts, with figures made in light—boats and pagodas and monasteries. The lights heaved with

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the long swell of the great river, and bent to and fro like a great snake following the tides, until at length they died far away into the night.

I do not know what is the meaning of all these lights; I do not know that they have any inner meaning, only that the people are very glad, only that they greatly honour the great teacher who died so long ago, only that they are very fond of light and colour and laughter and all beautiful things.

But although these festivals often become also fairs, although they are the great centres for amusement, although the people look to them as their great pleasure of the year, it must not be forgotten that they are essentially religious feasts, holy days. Though there be no great ceremony of prayer, or of thanksgiving, no public joining in any religious ceremony, save perhaps, the giving of alms to the monks, yet religion is the heart and soul of them. Their centre is the pagoda, their meaning is a religious meaning.

What if the people make merry, too, if they make their holy days into holidays, is that any harm? For their pleasures are very simple, very innocent; there is nothing that the moon, even the cold and distant moon, would blush to look upon. The people make merry because they are merry, because their religion is to them a very beautiful thing, not to be shunned or feared, but to be exalted to the eye of day, to be rejoiced in.

352 TAUNG thick. The door had two leaves to it and one mirror. However, this cupboard had fallen into disuse as a receptacle for clothes, the family preferring to keep their clothing in teak boxes. The other cupboard had no mirror and was used to store crockery in. It measured 2 TAUNGS wide, three TAUNGS high and little less than one TAUNG thick.

There were also two huge boxes both of which had been received as a bequest from his father. They were very heavy and needed two people to lift each of them. Each measured one TAUNG and five fingers long, one TAUNG broad, and one TAUNG high. Each had four legs two inches high. They were identical and both were used for clothing.

There was also a round table with four legs about two feet tall and with a diameter of two feet. This U Myaing bought in Rangoon for Rs. 3/8.

[291] [562] [651] A special basket was kept for storing women's HTA-MEINS (outer feminine nether garments). The Burmese do not allow mixture of women's and men's clothing. They had one of these baskets with lid in Pathee. It was bought in Pantanaw and cost them 12 annas.

353 415 The following bric-a-brac is reported:- a porcelain duck and a porcelain rooster which had been handed down for two or three generations and had been used as a receptacle for trinkets and other small articles; a glass elephant also about a hundred years old with drawers to contain trinkets.

The following items are containers which may be regarded as household furnishings: betel box about a hundred years old with a diameter [251] of about twelve inches; a clay water jug overlaid with porcelain, also a hundred years old; two huge vessels for HNOON, one costing Rs. 25/- and lasting twenty years, and the other costing Rs. 15/- and lasting 13 years.

● [796] These vessels were used when the family went to the KYAUNG to observe the sacred days. On such days HNOON for the whole family would be carried in these vessels. A KYAUK KAR food carrier woven of HNEE, (pith of the fibre used for mat weaving and overlaid with KYAUK KAR) cost Rs. 8/- and was used for about thirteen years. Five huge [251] earthenware jars each 3½ feet in diameter and 3 feet high, and three small jars were used to store fish. Each of the large jars cost Rs. 30/- and the small ones cost Rs. 4/8.

Nats' powers for good include protecting the village from dacoit attacks but does not extend to modern warfare. When the Japanese armies were slicing up through Tenasserim in 1941, the elders of Naung Naung Thun's village prayed for nat protection against the invaders. The nats replied "Dear Villagers-to-ourselves are wearing raised longyis in this crisis (ready to run)." This is a Rangoon town joke told among the sophisticated collegiates at the University. Not so well defined, but still sensed is a growing distrust of the powers of nats to combat modern evils.

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The nats can best be visualized as supernatural despots each with his province (the home, village, sea, babies) and each exacting tribute of periodic or constant attention in the form of flowers or food, red and white cloth strips, and an altar which may have the image of the nat carved in wood (or moulded in modern plasticene). Banyan trees with their multiple, snake-like trunks, are the most common places of abode. When disaster in the form of sickness or other ill fortune strikes, the nats are appeased with offerings immediately. The SAY SAYA will frequently check with the family of his patient to make sure this has been done. In Rangoon and elsewhere, business men whose fortunes have been good are the main supporters of the nat festivals which are given for the entertainment of all the nats once a year in October, for a seven day period. NAT KADAW (nat-wives) are the mediums who contact the nats by becoming possessed by them at this festival and other special occasions (for a single nat) throughout the year. These are married women or more rarely homosexuals who dance, answer questions and give opinions when possessed.

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Punishment for offense against the nats is first shown by accidents or sudden illnesses like paralysis meted out to the offender. If the offender continues the village as a whole will gradually be afflicted. For example, when a drunkard offends the nats with blasphemous language evil falls on the entire village. Villagers led by the elders and a prominent NAT-KADAW go in a body to the major banyan tree shrine to have an understanding with the offended nats. Offerings are given and attention of the nats called to the woes of

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during the months of Waso and Wagaung. Mangoes can be preserved in the form of pickle or of salted mangoes. In Rangoon, ripe mangoes can be obtained all year round since some are laid by in cold storage, but they are very expensive out of season and cost about three rupees each. 262 [369] [251]

MAYAN THEE AHNE (ripe mariens) appear during the months of Tabaung, Tagu, Kason and Nayon. In Nayon month the output of marian fruit lessens.

Consumption of NGAPI YE: NGAPI YE is available all the year round. In Pantanaw it was eaten every day for both meals of the day. Ten ticals of NGAPI YE lasted the family four meals. In camp it is consumed only occasionally - about four days in the month. Two and one half ticals are taken with each meal and this would add up to twenty ticals for the eight meals in the month.

Consumption of firewood: If all the firewood needed by the family in camp had to be bought, the consumption of firewood per month in the camp would amount to 200 pieces of Kanazoe wood at the rate of Rs. 4/- per 100 pieces. About 3 months ago they found that they did not need to buy any firewood at all as they could gather a sufficient amount of brushwood to serve in its place; but now none of the members of the family remain free to go in search of brushwood and all their requirements have to be bought. 313

In Pantanaw, their needs of firewood for cooking were filled by three huge Koko trees which they owned. This was also supplemented by the wood that they had to buy for processing the fish. Three tons of firewood would last 1½ or 2 months, costing Rs. 25/- per ton. The firewood for cooking did not cost anything beyond the two or three rupees that had to be paid to the person who cut down the branches.

Consumption of PAUK PAUK PYIN: This is not found in Rangoon at all. In Pantanaw it was eaten at charities, particularly the Waso month charity. Each member of the family ate about 10 ticals each, and 40 or 50 ticals were needed for all. This was eaten only once a year and even then not necessarily every year. 262 [796]

KAYE KAYAR is eaten in camp only about once a year. This is the Rangoon equivalent of PAUK PAUK PYIN. KAYE KAYAR is different in having no oil in it. One anna's worth weighs five ticals and six or seven people eat an anna's worth each at one eating.

In Pantanaw bread was sometimes eaten at SHIN PYUS (novitiation ceremonies). MON-HIN-GA was eaten at the beginning of the Buddhist lent, when PAUK PAUK PHIN, MON KYAR YOE and MON SEIN BAUNG were also eaten sometimes. KAUK HNYIN BAUNG was eaten at this time and also at U Myaing's daughter's naming ceremony. GYIN THOKE, LAPHET and tea were served during novitiation ceremonies, and Mandalay HTO MON was eaten during the naming ceremony. Sweet tea was also served during marriage ceremonies. Rice and curries were eaten at some of the bigger festivls. KAUK HNYIN was prepared for almost every ceremony or festival. [796]

In Rangoon, U Myaing had MON HIN GA and sweet tea on the full moon of Tasaungmon from a charity in the THAYET-TAW KYAUNG-TAIK. He also had some MON-HIN-GA not long ago at a head washing ceremony for a child. There are no charities held in the camp enclosure. [796]

70. (D.A.Z.) They don't bring any good. You can only get food if you have done good in the previous existence, in which case you will be wealthy and live long. 776 782

70. Q. What kind of misfortune do the Nats bring; he mentioned sickness - what are some of the others?

A. According to what many people say, they can cause ill health and even death - that's what they say.

Q. Do they mean to say that people are killed by the Nats?

A. (D.A.Z. & U.M.) Yes. We say that such a person has died because the Nats have caught him. That's what we mean when we say that the Nats work evil.
(U.M.) To die of drowning - that is because the Nats have been wronged; that is what most people say.
(D.A.Z.) We don't know these things very well.

71. Q. What about when the fishing is not good - the fish do not come upstream. Do the Nats have anything to do with that?

A. (U.M.) Many people say so - that the fish are said to be "lifted" or kept upstream by the Nats. We see nothing, but many people say that it is so. Acting on such talk we have to go to the Nats at the INS and give offerings of liquor, fowl curry and duck curry. According to IN custom we have to do it that way; we have to hang coconuts (on the offering place) and this is to appease the Nats who are holding up the fish, so that the fish might come downstream. When this happens, people become confirmed in their belief; when the fish don't come downstream they say, "Oh these are all lies about the Nats." They speak in this fashion.

The following information, which duplicates in part that given above, was secured at a later time.

"We give offerings only to U SHIN GYI and we do so twice a year, in the months of Waso and Thadingyut. These offerings are to keep us from harm. We do not worship other Nats because we have no family tradition of having done so. Of course, we do not have a family tradition of worshipping U SHIN GYI either, but then the whole Burmese nation worships him.

"In IN work we also give offerings to an Indian Nat who is known as KWIN BAING of Nat-Hauk IN. We give him offerings of roast chicken and liquor, black rice or KAUKMYIN, bunches of bananas, coconuts, money, Htamains and GAUNG BAUNGS. These offerings are made only at IN time. No one bothers at other times.

"Some people even get possessed by the Nats, and then they say things like: 'The fish do not come downstream to the INS because I am preventing them. I am doing this because you do not worship me, etc.' When the people hasten to propitiate the Nat, the fish either come down to the INS or they do not. If through a coincidence the fish do come down, people come to believe in the Nat. I do not believe in them much. What I do, I do because those in the past have always done so.

"They have no U SHIN GYI ceremonies here comparable to those we had in Pantanaw. Here they give offerings to them only in their own homes. In Pathwe, the whole village got together for the ceremony. In the month of Pyatho when the river begins to subside we start to take collections in the village. We collect only on our side of Pathwe village, which is built on the three banks at a confluence of two streams. Our side of the village contains about 250 houses, and each house- 776 796

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hold contributes as much as it wants to from one anna to eight annas. If more money is needed, people who have money contribute more. These offerings are given so as to keep danger away. It is not for merit. We don't know about that. One thing is certain; epidemics like plague and cholera never visited our village, and we have not had a single case of dacoity in our village in my whole lifetime.

"The headman makes the necessary arrangements, buys the black rice, coconuts, jaggery, Burmese tea leaves, candles, bananas, and places them on the special place prepared for them.

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"We have not seen any person here in Rangoon being possessed by spirits, but we did have acquaintances in Pantanaw who were possessed, he loses consciousness of himself as a human being. He begins to tremble, and the Nat begins to speak through his mouth. I don't believe in the other Nats, but I do believe in U SHIN GYI because of the testimony of my own eyes. In the districts we place offerings to U SHIN GYI on a small bamboo framework made of four little bamboos each with a diameter about the size of your fountain pen. This framework is held together with pith of the mat fibre plant (MHEE). Sometimes sceptical people take a hand when the framework is being put up, and tie the MHEE very lightly, so as to break very easily. As a result the TAUNG high framework is so flimsy that it would collapse even if a bird were to jump on it. But the strange thing is that when a person becomes possessed and leaps onto the altar and dances about - nothing happens. In this condition, a person may perform on the harp (SAUNG) even though in his ordinary waking life he does not know how to play it. He also dances on glass tumblers. This took place before the whole of our family, together with about a hundred other spectators. Ko Ba THin's son, Htun Ngwe, who is of the same build as myself, leaped onto the bamboo framework and began eating the food laid out on it. On that occasion we had been expecting Ma Myin Yone to be possessed, but she did not appear because her husband would not allow her to come. We had invited her to come because she had been possessed before. In our village these two were the only people who were possessed. The man was possessed once, and the woman about six times. On these occasions the whole village turns out to watch.

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"The altar is built on the evening previous to the ceremony. It is made of two levels, and is about 4 TAUNG square and one TAUNG high, and is used to hold 37 plates, each holding plantains, black rice, coconuts, jaggery, LAPHET (Burmese pickled tea), etc. The elder in charge then prays to the 37 Nats including U SHIN GYI for help. This ceremony has nothing to do with the phongyis, and the village phongyi is not invited. The two spheres are entirely different. The phongyi does not worship the nats. The systems of belief are entirely different. We worship both. The spirit does not appear at every ceremony - only when there is someone to possess. We had relied on Khin Yone but she did not appear and Htun Ngwe was possessed instead.

"When the nat spoke through Htun Ngwe we asked him about himself and his past life, but he refused to say anything, saying that it made him sad to think back on it.(the possessing nat's past).' When the person recovered and we questioned him, he could not remember anything of all that had occured while he was in the trance. In the whole district there are only four or five people who have been ever possessed, and so the majority of people in the district have not witnessed a single case of possession of Nats.

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"U SHIN GYI avoids eating flesh, does not drink liquor, and even when eating betel does not put tobacco (HSE) in his quid. Out of all the food that is offered to him, the nat partakes only of a little of the black rice, the remainder being shared by the members of the village. Enough food is prepared to feed the whole village, and a crier is sent through the village to announce a general invitation to everyone. When food has been

set aside for the 37 plates, the people are served.

"The Nat ceremony at the Nat-Kauk IN is for KAIN BAING, the Indian Nat. He is given offerings of chicken, liquor, Htameins, etc. This Nat lives in a tree and he has made this known by possessing someone and speaking through him. After the food is offered to this Nat, the people who gave the offering eat it all up, drink all the liquor and present the Htameins to the aged and elderly. The gold leaf is stuck onto the trunk of the Nat tree, and the black rice is thrown away. 776 796

"The person who works his IN for himself alone has to provide for his own offerings. If the IN undertaking is a cooperative one the various members get together to give offerings to the IN nat."

In holding a ceremony for U SHIN GYI there are some items offered which are only just sufficient for his consumption, and for a few other people. Some items of food, however, are prepared in sufficient quantity to feed the whole village.

The items used in the yearly offering to the IN nat KAIN BAING include:- One chicken, one bottle of liquor, jaggery, Rs. 2/8 worth of KAUKHNYIN or black rice and about four condensed milk tins of rice. No Htameins. The nat who likes Htameins is the HSE-DAW-SHIN nat to whom King Anawratha himself is believed to have given offerings.

Items used in a single ceremony for U Shin Gyi include:- Three condensed milk tins of black rice or KAUKHNYIN @ Rs. 8/-, ten coconuts @ Re. 1/- each, 50 ticals of LAPHET or Burmese pickled tea @ Rs. 6/- per viss (100 ticals), about 4 or 6 annas worth of betel quid, about three viss of jaggery, costing Rs. 5/-, 8 packets of 10 candles @ 2 annas per packet and flowers just sufficient to place on the altar. Rs. 2/- worth of flowers are bought @ one anna per bundle. The flowers are mainly SHIN GHE (diamond decorated) . Some flowers need not be purchased, but can be easily gathered from the trees. THA BYAY (pleasant country) flowers and coconut kernels are also placed on the altar. These kernels are obtained free of charge from the coconut trees. [173]

Buddhism

The practices of Buddhism are both a religious duty and a social occasion for the family. The difficulty of separating the everyday "secular" activities from the supernatural will be especially apparent in the passages below. 779

Major Village Ceremonies

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With regard to religion there are four ceremonies which all the people in the village observe. These are: PAWAR THA NAR (give away ceremony), KA HTEIN (opening ceremony of end of lent), HSU TAUNG PYI (wish-ask-fulfil) pagoda festival in the hot weather, and the KASON HYAUNG YE THUN (month of Kason-banyan tree-water pouring). There are also other ceremonies which are celebrated individually and according to personal preference and requirements, such as the Novitiation ceremony and the other monthly festivals which are celebrated through out the rest of the country.

The PAWAR THA NAR ceremony marks the end of the Buddhist Lent. It is held on the full moon of Thadingyut. At this time new robes are donated to the phongyis and all visitors are feasted. For this festival a meeting of elders in the village is convened. These elders then make arrangements and send out invitations to 30 or 35 phonyis to come to the village and partake of the HSOON and the other gifts that are to be donated. There are only three phongyis ordinarily resident in the village; the rest have to be invited over from the phongyi kyaungs in the countryside around. When the phongyis have been invited, the village is divided up into 30 or 35 groups of 10 to 20 houses each, and each of these groups sends one representative to the meeting. Then names of the several phongyis are placed in a box and each of the group representatives has to draw out one name. This name he carries back to his group, and the individual families in his group donate as much as they can, or as much as their reverence for this particular phongyi inspires them to. These donations can take various forms - such as robes, HSOON, coconuts, bananas, toffee, etc. Sometimes one single person in the group under takes to donate everything for his group out of his own pocket.

When phongyis from elsewhere are invited over, they bring with them three or four young boys each, and these boys also have to be fed. Ordinarily, there is only one KOYIN in the village, one U PAZIN and one phongyi. But when SHIN PYU time comes, the number of KOYINS rises to seven or eight.

All the members of the group bring their offerings and donations to the house of the group elder. The donations sometimes include even pillows and blankets. U Myaing gave a HSOON OTE container full of HSOON which cost him Rs. 15/- or Rs. 20/-, and also some face towels. These are given only once a year and U Myaing gave for himself and his household. Complete accounts are kept by the elders of all these donations.

The gifts that have been received have also to be divided by lot among the phongyis. Since the number and quality of the donations from the various groups are bound to vary, everything is pooled and divided again as equally as possible into as many piles as there are phongyis. Then the phongyis have to draw lots as to who shall get which pile.

The KAHTEIN ceremony is also celebrated by the village as a whole. A feast is given to between two and three thousand people. Thirty or thirty five phongyis from the neighbouring villages are put up at the village phongyi kyaung. The money which is needed for the ceremony is collected in the village. U Myaing had to give about fifty or sixty rupees because he could afford to do so. Collections from the whole village amounted to between Rs. 1,500/- for later; it is used to donate to phonhyis and buy robes for them. No one demands a checking of the accounts, but those who are in charge read these accounts aloud before the assembled villagers. An orchestra and PYAZAT (play) is hired for the KAHTEIN ceremony. There is also a big PADETHAR (a gift tree) which is planted in the ground and anyone can come and hang gifts onto the branches of this tree - such as begging bowls, robes, tinned biscuits, exercise books, pencils, slippers [illegible] umbrellas, sacks of rice, toffee, etc. Later, these

phongyis have to draw lots for these. 796 735

There are thirty days during which the KAHTEIN ceremony can be held - from the full moon of Thadingyut to the full moon of Tazaungmon When the phongyis have been given HSOON, the ceremony is over. But preparations have to be made four or five days ahead for building the equipment, for cooking the food, for rehearsing the play to be put up by the youngmen, etc.

The Tagu month festival is a religious festival and is celebrated in their village at the HSU TAUNG PYE pagoda. Collections are taken, and people donate from Rs. 2/- or Rs. 5/- right up to Rs. 300/- each. A BAT troupe is engaged for the occasion, and they are paid at the rate of Rs. 150/- or Rs. 200/- a night for six or seven nights. This festival takes place on the full moon of the month of Tagu. Beginning from the eve of the full moon, people start coming to the pagoda bringing gifts of fruit, PAUK PAUK HSOTE trifle, toffees, bread, cheroots, betel boxes GYIN THOKE trifle, etc., and these people have to be fed too. U Myaing donated between forty and sixty rupees; while people who are rich donate between three hundred and four hundred rupees. (U Myaing's village of Pathee is divided by a fork in the river into three sub-villages, and when collections are taken they are only confined to one's own side of the river.) Enough food is prepared to feed three or four thousand people. Butter is bought by the kerosene tin, ripe bananas, fried fish, pork, etc., and the guests are fed till everyone is satisfied. About twenty baskets of rice have to be boiled by about forty to fifty people.

The guests are fed in three rest houses, each holding fifty people at a time. Even so, there are so many guests that some people have to return home without having eaten anything at all, and even though a lot of food still remain. The guests who come are both Karens and Burmans, and when they come they sometimes bring along cows or horses which have decorations and gifts hung on them. Anyone who so desires can go and hang his gift on to the animal as well.

Everyone contributes his or her labour. It is not good to hold back. When there is a festival or a ceremony in the KLAUNG, all the families lock up their houses and go over to help. Even fish coming down to the IN are not picked up til the festival is over. Everyone helps in getting up festivals. Burmans and Karens all come to help at some household which intends to give charity on a grand scale. [476]

U Myaing's Shifting Relationship to Buddhism

In an interview U Myaing was questioned as to his relationship 779

to Buddhism as a "taker of lives" (fisherman). His sense of guilt in Pantanaw where he fished and relief from this in the camp is given below verbatim from the interview.

42. Q. Would you tell U Myaing that I as a foreigner understand very little about Buddhism but I've heard that the fisherman who take lives of the fish are regarded unfavourably. Ask him if this is true.
A. (U.M.) There are the 5 KAMS (commandments - Pali: KAMM - to do). Thou shalt not take the life of others. Thou shalt not wrong the wife and offspring of another. Abstain from intoxicants and from stealing the property of others. We have to observe these. The Buddha has preached it.
Q. Isn't U Myaing, in working the IN, taking the lives of the fish?
A. Yes, I am taking the lives of the fish. I have to do it to get food - to make a living.
Q. But you do not wish to take life?

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remaining huts. They have lists of the people in their charge. Maung Nyunt and Aung Gyi are under the school-master, who is the most important and influential man of all. These people have to see to the DHANI thatch roof, the bamboo, etc., and if there are any repairs needed they get together, estimate the cost , and then go to the government authorities. U Myaing does not know which office they go to.

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The phongyis resident in the camp do not participate in the secular life of the camp, beyond giving the SILAS and coming occasionally for HSOON. In Pathwe village there were small boys whom they taught - thirty or forty of them, but in camp they do not help to educate the young. People go to these phongyis in camp on holy days, to take the SILAS. They do not even preach to the laity. This U Myaing thinks to be due to the fact that they do not know how to, being themselves refugees from country villages.

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On the 8th and 15th day of the waxing moon and the 8th and 15th day of the waning moon, the four holy days of the month, Daw Aw Zar goes to the Shwe Dagon to say her prayers. U Myaing cannot do likewise because he has to go to work.

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U Myaing has very little dealing with the government. They do not come for taxes, and in fact even have to provide the refugees with items of food and apparel. The people in the camp are not members of a closely knit organisation. They are made up of workers and families all thrown together by the exigencies of the political situation. The three mentioned above are the only ones in the whole camp. who have charge of the camp welfare. They take the responsibility for disposing of the bucket sewage and the dirt accumulated in and around the camp. They arrange for government sweepers to come for these. There have been no fire drills or any such exercise held in the camp.

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In Rangoon the family has few entertainments. There was once a government film show screened in the camp, and the other night Ma Khin Myein went with some friends to a nearby pagoda to see a lantern slide show of Buddha's Relics. They have never seen a modern Burmese play or PWEZAT. As Daw Aw Zar expressed it, "How can we go and see one when the charge for admission is a rupee

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for an adult and 8 annas for a child."

for an adult and 8 annas for a child." 574

In camp U Myaing does not play cards very much except when at 525
funerals to pass the night away. His total stakes on such occasions [764]
are only about eight annas or a rupee. He has never been to the
races, and he never goes about town for fun. He does not go visiting
much except when on business. When he does go, he visits
Hla Khin, his first cousin who lives in HSIN-MIN-KWET-THIT, and his
cousin Ma Sein Maing who lives in Ahlone. In Rangoon there are
about 40,000 to 60,000 refugees from Pantanaw district. Sometimes
he visits other people whom he knew at the village. However, in a
single year his purely social visits to people outside of the camp
totals only three visits - one visit each to three houses.

Dr. Orr, Dr. Sheppard, Mr. Shaw and Mr. Musgrave are the only 619
white men he has met. He does not know any other Americans or
Englishmen.

U Myaing has not gone to the pagoda once in the present month. 796 ●
During the past month, when he was working at the Jubilee Hall, he 735
used to cross the pagoda platform twice a day going to and coming
from his work. In the last year he donated some money at the
Shwe Dagon. He gave 2 annas on three occasions four annas on 6
occasions, and once, when he drew his monthly pay, he donated a
rupee. Apart from these, he donated money 6 or 7 times during the
first one or two months of their arrival, during the time when he
was going around selling mats. He gave altogether three or four
rupees in these six or seven times.

Only Daw Aw Zar regularly goes to the pagoda solely for the 782
sake of worship and prayer. Ma Aye Myaing has been there about 735
five times on three occasions, but, they were while she was on her
way elsewhere, and only once or twice purely for worship. Her
total offerings amount to only about a rupee. Daw Aw Zar remarked
that they would not have had the opportunity of praying at this
great pagoda if they were still in Pantanaw. Daw Aw Zar gives
offerings of flowers, money, candles and incense, and goes up the
pagoda frequently.

In his worship, U Myaing recites the 5 SILAS. He prays for 782

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2. Folk Feasts and Spirit Dances

According to legend, the Sanskrit drama was created in the Silver Age to cheer up the people, who were no longer happy as they were in the Golden Age; the Japanese drama was first used by the gods to beguile the sun-goddess to reappear; and the Chinese drama came into being as the result of the Emperor Yuen Tsaung ordering, in the eighth century after Christ, a group of children to be trained to sing the various deeds of the great national heroes before his consort, in appreciation of her love for him.[1] The Burmese, however, have no such legends, and the origins of their drama were in the religious *Nibbathdin*. But before considering those Burmese miracle plays, perhaps it will not be out of place to give an account of the various folk feasts and spirit dances, which have in them elements essentially dramatic, and which gave some idea of the dramatic to the people and paved a way for the coming of the religious pageants and plays.

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Folk feasts can be divided into two classes, those directly connected with Buddhism and those which are not. The Buddhist feasts occur on fixed dates and are celebrated all over the country. Of those, two are especially interesting, the feast of the Full Moon of the month of Tazaungmôn (which occurs in November) and the feast of the New Year (in April). Though the Full Moon of Tazaungmôn is an important Buddhist festival now, it is extremely probable that it was an important feast-day even before the introduction of Buddhism.[2] Special celebrations connected with the date have two distinct elements, the element of mimicry and the element of foolery. On that day, in the villages men dress themselves as animals, wearing appropriate masks, and dance through the village. The animal most commonly imitated is a sort of unicorn known to myth only. The desire to mimic animals probably came before the desire to mimic spirits, and I think the mimicry of animals, such as that we see in these celebrations, was the earliest attempt at the dramatic by the Burmese. Probably the mimicry of animals by men resulted in the presentation of animal puppet shows. In a Burmese puppet show, before the play begins, different animals come out one by

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[1] A. B. Keith, *The Sanskrit Drama*; F. A. Lombard, *Japanese Drama*; A. E. Zucker, *Chinese Theatre*.

[2] Some Buddhist festivals in Burma probably are of pre-Buddhist origins (cf. the English Christmas which has many elements derived from pre-Christian times). At least the special celebrations of Tazaungmôn described here are almost certainly pre-Buddhist.

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one, and each gives a special dance of its own.[1] At night, as part of the celebrations, there is a feast of fools. Young men and boys roam the village, throwing *zibyu* fruits at houses and stealing things, which will be found in the centre of the village the next morning: the objects of the good-natured theft are mostly articles that would provoke laughter—such as a lady's under-skirt; or those which would cause temporary inconvenience in the morning—such as cooking utensils, steps from stairs, or a piece from the roof. The Feast of the New Year is one of mirth and foolery. It is known as the Water Festival because on that occasion, every Burman takes a delight in throwing water at his neighbour and getting soaked himself as the result of the other's counter-attack. The men derive great enjoyment from drenching the women, who in their turn are not slow to have their revenge. Young men group themselves and dance joyously along the streets, at times being chased by bands of elderly maiden ladies who lie in wait to catch the ringleaders. When caught, the youths are lightly bound with silken cords and their faces are blackened with soot. Then they are made to perform a monkey dance before being granted their release. The spirit of fun apparent in these Burmese feasts of foolery is akin to that which moved the young clerks of the *Parlement* of Paris and the members of the Inns of Court in London to stage their Feasts of Fools in medieval times.[2]

As the villagers lead a communal life and every joy and sorrow of a villager is shared by all others, a joyful event is celebrated by a public feast. Marriage, birth, the admission of a son to his novitiate (for every Burmese boy enters priesthood for at least a week), and the piercing of the ear of a daughter are occasions for mirth and jollity. At these feasts they sing and dance and mimic, groups of villagers vie with each other for new methods of giving entertainment, and there is keen rivalry between youths and maidens. The most mirthful feast of all is the Harvest Feast in February, when the paddy has been reaped, and the village is ready to enjoy a well-earned rest of four after a working period of eight months.

These folk feasts are of great antiquity, though, because of the essentially unchanging life in the villages, they continue to exist even at the present day. The Tazaungmôn and other Buddhist feasts

[1] The puppet show is described in a later chapter.

[2] Cf. E. K. Chambers, *The Medieval Stage*, chap. xiii, 'The Feast of Fools'; also E. Welsford, *The Court Masque*, p. 2.

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have been celebrated year after year, at least since the reintroduction of Buddhism in 1056, and at least since March, 638, when an early king of Pagan, Pops Sawrahan (613–40), drew up the present Burmese era, the dawn of every Burmese new year has been the occasion for mirthful water-throwing.[1] 527 796 [805]

Buddhism had been introduced into the country through commercial relations with India long before the foundation of the kingdom of Pagan, but from the beginning it was only at second-hand and therefore feeble. The real religion of the Burmese before the reintroduction of Buddhism in 1056 was animistic, and they worshipped various spirits, known as *nats*. There were mediums, mostly women, who danced to please the spirits, and as the spirits were supposed to enter into the bodies of the mediums, sometimes it was believed that the spirits, and not the mediums, were actually dancing. Sometimes the medium herself actually believed that a spirit had taken control of her body, but usually she only pretended that a spirit had entered her, and gave an exhibition of acting. As the medium of each particular *nat* dressed herself in appropriate clothes, the spirit dances were essentially dramatic.[2] When Buddhism, in one of its purest forms, was introduced under Anawrahta, the great king realized the impossibility of attracting people suddenly to the new faith; so he compromised by recognizing the *nats* as Buddhist spirits and giving them shrines in his Shwezigôn Pagoda as its guardian spirits. When asked the reason, Anawrahta replied: 'Men will not come suddenly to the new faith. Let them come for their old gods, and they will gradually be won over.'[3] 177 439 771 791 [462] [535]

So the worship of the *nats* lived on, and with the advance of

[1] Shway-Yoe (Sir George Scott) in *The Burman: His Life and Notions*, and Fielding Hall in *The Soul of a People* give detailed accounts of the feasts and life in the villages. However, as far as I have been able to find out, the Tazaungmôn celebrations have never been described in any English work. [114]

[2] These dances are still performed on spirit-feast days at Taungbyôn (near Mandalay), a small town given up to spirit worship since the days of Pagan's greatness and perhaps even before.

The belief in, as distinct from the worship of, spirits is not alien to Buddhism.

The chief works on the subject are: Sir R. C. Temple, *The Thirty-Seven Nats*; Grant Brown, 'The Taungbyon Festival' in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, 1915; the same author's 'The Pre-Buddhist Religion of the Burmese' in *Folk-Lore*, 1921; and G. E. Harvey, *History of Burma*. [113]

[3] G. E. Harvey, op. cit., p. 33.

So the worship of the nats lived on, and with the advance of
795 civilization the spirit dances became elaborate, for though the belief
535 was primitive, the people were no longer so. The dances benefited from the developments that had taken place in Burmese music which, as we have seen, flourished under the patronage of the Pagan kings. New spirits were added, and they were usually those of heroic princes. The dancers were now many, for the mediums turned themselves into dancing and music mistresses. The chief medium of each spirit dressed herself in the special dress of the spirit, but the junior mediums, who were equivalent to the chorus of an English revue, were in the dress of Burmese princesses. It is interesting to note the
[292] origin of this dress. The mediums realized the necessity of dressing
[565] themselves in fine raiment, but as everybody wore clothes of bright colours, the only solution of the problem was to don the dress of the court and official class, which the commoners were forbidden to
[536] wear by law, except during feasts and dances. When drama proper came into being, the hero and the heroine dressed themselves in the court dress, even when they were representing common characters.

3. Miracles and Interludes

175 After the fall of the kingdom of Pagan in A.D. 1257, Burma was
369 the scene of fierce civil wars, but the trouble was mainly in the
726 capitals; in the villages and small towns life went on in its joyous
779 way. Religion continued to spread in spite of the fact that the throne
538 of Pagan was no longer in existence to support it. Learning began to reach the remotest parts of the country, carried far and near by monks. To escape from the aimless strife of the civil wars, men turned towards literature. Money was lacking to compose poems in brick as had been done at Pagan, and men now expressed their love for the religion and their love for the beautiful in writing. The new literature further educated the people and made even stronger the already strong religious fervour. As a result, at village feasts and on days of public rejoicing, the people turned towards their religion for amusement and entertainment. So pageants depicting scenes from the life of the Buddha and from his Birth Stories came into being.

776 Pageants were given on ordinary carts that were in use for all
541 kinds of transport and which are still in use in backward parts of the
493 country at the present day. Each cart carried a group of (amateur) actors standing still and representing a set scene. Originally, no doubt, there were only a few carts representing scenes from different stories. Later, a pageant came to consist of many carts and many

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scenes. Still later, the scenes came to be taken from one story only, so that a whole story was given by the pageant. Dresses became quite gorgeous and the scheme elaborate. The pageant now needed organization. Therefore, the village came to be divided into two parts, eastern and western quarters or northern and southern quarters (the village was usually greater in length than breadth, being built along a main road). In larger villages and towns, the division was into four quarters. Each quarter was responsible for the production of a pageant. There was intense rivalry between the quarters to produce the finest pageant; it was usually friendly, but often enmity arose, and many pageants were occasions for free fights. The rivalry further developed the pageant, for new ideas would be introduced by one quarter to outrival the others. Soon the pageant became a play, its scenes coming to life.

The *Nibhathkhin* was the Burmese equivalent of the English miracle and mystery plays. It was the pageant come to life. With the pageant, the religious processions went along the main streets without stopping, each cart representing a set scene. But with the *Nibhathkhin*, each cart stopped at certain places. The most common of such places were the market-place, the house of the chief administrative officer, and the pagoda where the procession ended. At each of those places, each cart stopped, and the scene came to life. Dialogue and action were used. Therefore, people at the stopping places saw what was in effect a play.

The *Nibhathkhin* was extremely popular, and it lived on until recently, just as many of the English miracle plays continued to be produced right through the Elizabethan period. I saw one in the out-of-the-way town of Pauk as recently as 1916. However, I do not think that *Nibhathkhins* are produced anywhere nowadays. Sometimes one sees a procession on cars and motor lorries as a sort of reminiscence of the *Nibhathkhin*. But such processions are mere shows and lack the essential features of the Burmese miracle plays.

It was for the entertainment of the populace that the *Nibhathkhin* came into being, and as the Burmese entertainment connotes laughter, soon the element of humour came into the *Nibhathkhin*. At first none of the characters was made humorous, for they all came out of religious stories. And so the clown was introduced. The clown or *Lu-byet* ('the non-serious man') was put into the *Nibhathkhin* as an extra character, an attendant on the prince-hero. He was extremely popular, and soon another clown, an attendant on the princess-heroine,

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536* 522 was introduced. The clowns were usually males, though later a female clown-attendant of the princess occasionally appeared. The clown was so popular that he continued to appear as an extra character even when the plays of the great dramatists came to be produced later. He was essentially outside the play. He made up his own part, he invented his own dialogue, and made up his jokes as the play moved along. However, even with the *Nibhatkhin*, he was not allowed to interfere with the movement of the play and its story. He played and joked at the beginning of the first scene when the actual story had not begun, he gave sometimes an outline of the story and its sources, and he gave information regarding the production of the [57%] procession and the play. He was the most privileged person among the actors, for he alone could without offence laugh at, and satirize, all things and all persons.

536* 796 522 178 However, the clown was essentially unconnected with the actual story, and soon the actual characters came to be burlesqued. As the devil in the English miracle plays, the villain of the *Nibhatkhin* (in the Birth Stories, the villain was a previous incarnation of Devadat who repeatedly tried to harm the Buddha) became a humorous and popular character. The Burmese love of humour and gentle satire would have turned the whole *Nibhatkhin* into pure farce had not a convention arisen with regard to the presentation of religious characters. The Buddha was never to be represented on the stage. Stories about him up to the time he actually attained Buddhahood could be presented, but no one should impersonate him when he had become the Buddha. It was soon followed by another convention that the character of an *arahat* (saint) should not be presented unless it was absolutely necessary, and then only when the part was to be taken by an able and 'serious' actor, who must be actually keeping a fast on the day and night the *Nibhatkhin* was being presented. As a person keeping a fast has to behave in a dignified manner, that convention prevented the part from being turned into a humorous one.

With all these developments, people did not forget that the *Nibhatkhin* was essentially a religious show presented in connexion with religious festivals, and therefore further development was impossible. The conservatism of the village, the dislike of the amateur actors to be in any way profane or thought to be so, the restricted scope of the stories and the characters, all prevented any further development of the religious drama as such.

21: Htin Aung . E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

178 witnessed Burmese plays.[1] Ridgeway approves of that theory. He
536* maintains that the tree is symbolic of the worship of the *nats*. In an
114 appendix to the book he quotes a letter from a resident in Burma (which arrived too late to be discussed in the book itself), describing some sort of a *nat* ritual where a spirit was supposed to be dwelling in a
[776] tree. However, *nats* are supposed to dwell, not only in trees, but also in houses, mountains, streams, lakes, on Mount Mayyu, in fact every-
[796] where, and it is extremely unlikely that the tree should have been chosen specially to represent the abode of the *nat*. In all the ritual connected with the worship of the thirty-seven *nats*, the use of a tree does not occur except in the case of the *nat*, U-Yin-Gyi. When offerings are made to him, a wooden representation of a forked branch of a tree is used. But that symbol is used only when that particular spirit alone is being worshipped, i.e. when all the *nats* are being worshipped *en bloc* the symbol is not used. U-Yin-Gyi has no special connexion with the stage, and he is essentially connected with Lower Burma; and Upper Burma, not Lower, was the home of Burmese drama. And what Colonel Yule took to be a vague answer was the true answer. What he saw was an interlude and not a developed play, and, as has been stated, the scene of the interlude was almost always the forest, for it needed nothing except a tree to indicate the scene. Therefore, the tree which the ambassador saw was a piece of stage scenery and nothing more.

536* Though Ridgeway's theory that the drama had its origins in the
795 worship of the *nats*, therefore, is not founded on fact, his contention that the Burmese professional actors are the lineal descendants of the mediums who impersonated the spirits of the dead is not wrong. But the fact that the actors are the descendants of such persons should not mislead us into thinking the drama to be a descendant of spirit worship. There is a great danger of being thus misled if one knows the various stage conventions without knowing the real history of the drama. And had Ridgeway been acquainted with those conventions, which (strangely enough) were not known to him and his informants, he might have been strengthened in his view. The most important of the stage conventions is the *nat* chorus which often acts as a 'curtain-raiser' to the actual play. The chorus composed of females comes out and sings and dances to various *nat*

[1] H. Yule, *A Narrative of the Mission sent by the Governor-General of India to the Court of Ava in 1855.*

23: Brant & Mi Mi Khaing E, I-5 (1949-1950)1951
APl Burma
Burmese AP4

38. yaucá Husband (referential).
39. mù Husband's younger brother; husband's younger sister's husband. 601
40. khê'óu Elder sister's husband; husband's elder brother; husband's elder sister's husband.
41. yaunmà Husband's sister; husband's brother's wife.

As may readily be seen by inspection of the charts, this kinship system reflects clearly the bilateral family structure, with an absence of terminological differentiation on the basis of the sex of the connecting relative. The other outstanding characteristic is the recognition of relative age at many points. For each generation a distinct set of terms is used. On ego's generation all cousins are merged with siblings; the terms are differentiated, however, according to relative age. In the first ascending generation, it will be noted, parents' siblings are terminologically distinguished according to degree of age relative to the parent. In the first descending generation, however, the factor of age loses significance; sex is the sole differentiating factor, apart from distinguishing terms for ego's own children. On successive descending generations sex distinction is absent and all relatives of a single generation are subsumed under a single kinship term.

Behaviorally as well as terminologically, relative age is the all-important hub 561 upon which the wheel of Burmese social life revolves. Deference to one's elders 602 is reflected in such customs as carrying things for them, refraining from sitting with one's head higher than those of elders, and avoiding postures in which the [516] feet are extended towards such persons.

Beyond such matters of etiquette, the importance of age is even more fundamentally demonstrated in the showing of obeisance to one's elders. This is done on all the important ceremonial occasions. Four such occasions are regarded as [782] obligatory times for paying one's respects. These are the beginning and the end of the Buddhist "Lent"—a period of about three months, roughly from mid-July to mid-October—the New Year, and the harvest. Respect is paid to all of one's elders in the parental generation and above. A visit is made at which an offering, valuable or symbolic, is brought and the elder's blessings are received.

SOCIAL RELATIONS OF KIN

Husband–Wife. The household is normally composed of husband and wife 593 and their offspring. It is a bilateral, limited type of family structure, contrasting [592] markedly with the patrilineal extended Chinese family and joint family of India. [594] Unlike the position of the wife in the Chinese and Indian family systems, that of the Burmese wife is not one of an outsider living in a group dominated by her

[Text continues on page 442]

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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29. NOVICES MAKING THE ROUND FOR DAILY FOOD (P. 18).

CHAPTER III

ADOLESCENCE

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30. THAMI-U ARRAYED FOR HER FETE.

BETWEEN the ages of ten and sixteen Burman lads enter upon the monastic novitiate, an occasion celebrated with a brilliant fête. The adoption of a religious life by girls is much less general, even for the short time it is embraced by the youths; and when it is adopted, there is no ceremony. But a holiday answering to that of the boy's novitiate is held in honour of the girl, especially when she is the first-born child—*thami-u*. In her case the ear-boring ceremony, if not the piercing itself, is deferred to the age of ten or twelve. The child, equipped in royal attire, or an imitation of it, and wearing a queen's crown (*sibin*), is the centre of a great gathering of relatives and friends, who are entertained with music and plays.

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The lad who has prepared to renounce the world for a season, or it may be for life, is called *shinlaung*. The *shinlaung* festivals usher in the religious or lenten season—*wā*, June to September—the season of rain in Bahár,

p. 14

25: Ferrars 'E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

31. SHINLAUNG ARRAYED FOR HIS FETE.

the home of the Buddha. In order to accentuate the renunciation of the world which the lad is making, he is arrayed and attended like a prince and makes a royal progress on horseback or in a chariot to the monastery. Attendants bear gilt umbrellas over him, and a retinue of relatives and friends carry his *parlikaya* and offerings for the use of the monastery. The *parlikaya* are the eight chattels, to the possession of which the regular recluse (*yahán*) is restricted. They consist of the *thingán* or monastic yellow robes, *viz.*, the loin-cloth (*thimbáing*), upper cloth (*eguzí*), wrapper (*thingán-dyí*), and red girdle (*kabán*); a needle (*at*), wherewith to piece his clothing together, a hard-baked black earthen pot (*thabéit*) in which to collect the morning dole of food, a filter (*yezít*) to strain the drinking water clear of living things, and a razor (*thindín-dá*) to shave the head and face (excepting the eyebrows). The garments are of plain cloth, without any cut, but torn into strips and joined up again (by the donors) in commemoration of the primitive rule of piecing the garments together from rags, as well as to deprive the cloth of value. The cloth is mostly cotton, but silk and wool are also offered. The stuffs are dyed a bright ochre, with chips of Jack-wood. By repeated washings the colour deepens to tan. These varying shades produce a picturesque effect. The recluse customarily also receives sandals to wear, a deer-skin to sit and sleep upon, a broom to sweep his dwelling with, and a large palm-leaf fan, both for a shelter from the sun and a screen from the sight of womankind. The *thabéit* is slung in a yellow cotton net, and has a lacquerwork stand and cover. In respect of chattels, however, these primitive tokens of privation have sunk to a form. The recluses have many changes of raiment and the use of spacious dwellings

32. SHINLAUNG PAGEANT (BURMA PROPER).

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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41. YAHAN ON THE ROUND FOR ALMS.

towards the higher spiritual condition of *Ayahát* and *Ayáttapó*. The primitive appellation is *Beikku* (Pâli *Bikku*), one dependent on alms. The spiritual state preceding *Yahán*, that of the man so imbued with the spirit of the Buddha's teaching as to claim membership of his Assembly, is called *Thawtapan*. The candidate for full membership must possess the qualifications for the degree of *goyín*, in addition to a knowledge of the rule of life of the *yahán* and a modicum of religious learning. Most *yahán* are *ngè-byu*—pure from youth—that is, have passed direct from their youthful novitiate to full membership. Men of any condition may be received, and at any age above twenty, if free from debt and other ties, but must undergo a fresh probation. Over and above the precepts observed by

792 the *goyín*, the *yahán* observes one hundred detailed injunctions. He must
785 merely respect life, but also the means to life. He may not wantonly injure a blade of grass. Cleanliness is particularly enjoined. A notable injunction is not
779 to lay up any store of food. He must not use a raised sleeping-place, though by day he reclines on the couches presented to the monastery. The *yahán* sweeps his dwelling, draws water, washes his clothing, and so forth, when there are not *goyín* or lay-disciples to perform these services for him. Otherwise his occupations are only those of teaching, study, and contemplation. In Lent the

[796] *yahán* remains indoors from sunset to sunrise. At this season he also frequently selects a forest retreat for contemplation in the early morning hours (*wussaung*).

792 The *yahán* practises confession to his
554 brethren of the Assembly, all of whom are equals, but who defer to one another, according to seniority, which is reckoned

42. BUDDHIST RECLUSE.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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44. ANCIENT THEIN AT PAGAN.

not by age, but by the number of lenten seasons they have belonged to the Assembly. Vigils and restriction of night rest are not practised. The rule of life of the *yahán* is laid down in the *Wini* (*Vinaya Bitaka*), one of the three divisions ("baskets") of the Buddhist scriptures. A *kambaud*, or breviary of scripture, relating to membership of the Assembly, illuminated with lacquer on copper or ivory leaves, is read by turns by the five members of the conclave assembled for the reception of the new member. This solemnity is undertaken in the *thein*, a *wut* set apart for the *Thingi* alone. No lay persons enter the precincts, but they may be spectators from a distance. The new *yahán* is called *Upazin*, sojourner recluse, or assistant to the *Upyine*, or *Pôndyi*, *Kindyi* (incumbent) of the monastery. In 1891 there were 13,613 *phôdyi*, 6,668 sojourner *yahán*, and 13,500 probationers in the monasteries of Burma, which numbered 15,371, in a Buddhist population of about seven millions.

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The dedication of the site for building such a *thein* (Pâli *sima*) is preceded by the solemnity of *thein-thambi*. Ground so dedicated can never be alienated to any other use. In this respect the *thein* is more sacred than the temples in general. After the site has been levelled, it is surrounded with a trench, into which water is led. In the centre a small well is sunk (*ah-dwin*). The *yahán*, not less than twenty-four in number, assemble on the spot, over which a gay pavilion (*mandat*) has been erected, and wait for the water from the trench to percolate to the well. When this occurs, the site is said to have "taken" (*aung*). Otherwise it must be rejected. The *yahán* gather round the well and intone scriptural passages from a

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45. YAHAN ASSEMBLED FOR DEDICATION OF THEIN.

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

346 *hamhead*. The laity assembled outside the precincts let off rockets and guns
796 in celebration of the event. Finally, the ceremony of *yeitcha*, the pouring
778 of water (No. 100), is performed by the grantor of the site—as at every other

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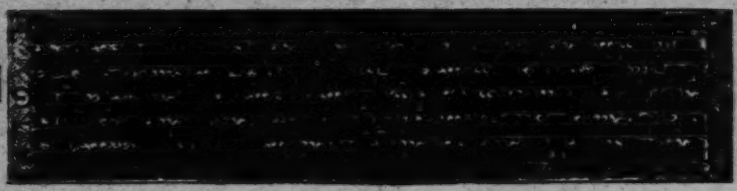

46. ILLUMINATED KAMBAWA.

religious dedication—to signify that the property has been dedicated for ever. The precincts of the *thein* are marked by low boundary pillars, mostly of Sagaing marble, set in the trench, which is then filled in. A different form of *thein* is the *ye-thein*, which is built over the water to effect its isolation.

792 Although the *yahdn*, as already stated, may not ask for anything, he may
735 decline what is offered. He signifies this by inverting his *thabît* (*thabît-*
kmauk). The action has become a symbol for excommunication. The *yahdn*
might assemble in the *thein* and perform *thabît-kmauk* against a layman for
[794] heinous wickedness. His house would be passed by in collecting *sun* and all offerings tendered by him refused. The
[178] practice has become obsolete; it is said to have no warrant in the scriptures, and to be contrary to their spirit.

Where the people are very prosperous and the *yahdn* are not many, the collecting of *sun* in the streets has sunk to a formality observed by the novices only, who on return to the monastery empty their *thabît* to the dogs. But in other circumstances the sojourner *yahdn*, novices and scholars live on the *sun*. An ordinance of the Buddha dispenses the *yahdn* from collecting his food from house to house if there be pious people who proffer him his sustenance at his abode. The founder of the monastery (*Kyaung-taga*), who nomin-

47. SUN SENT BY THE SYAMBUTHAR.

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 API Burma
Burmese AP4

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49. FOREST KYAUNG.

ates the incumbent, regularly undertakes the support of the *phudyi*, and frequently of his sojourner *yahán* as well. The food, which is the best of its kind, is brought every morning by the daughters and young children of the supporter, or, in the case of joint support, by children of the leading families in turn. An ornamented vessel is used, having a tall finial to the cover (*ôt*). The supplies are received by the lay scholars

792 or the novices, and by them served to the *yahán*. The principal meal is taken shortly before noon, for no food may be eaten after that hour till the
264 following sunrise. Water may be drunk and betel chewed at any time.
273 Tobacco-smoking is discountenanced, especially in Burma Proper, where the religious views are strictest. Burma furnishes the standard both for scholarship
276 and practice, and trains most of the incumbents of the monasteries of Pegu.
101 Scholars and novices may prepare food at the monastery from raw supplies. These the *yahán* may not even handle. Hired labour (*happizu dayaka*) may
[464] be attached to the monastery by the supporter for the preparation of food
792 and other services. In some cases
735 lands have been dedicated for the maintenance of monasteries and temples. But the *yahán* have no concern with their administration. Supplies of raiment, chattels and food are dedicated to the use of the recluses
[346] when the distinction of their presence is solicited, especially at *shinlaung* fêtes and funerals. The annual pro-
[796] vision of raiment (*hatlin thingán*) is made between the months of *Thadingyut* and *Tazaungmon*. The offerings of necessaries are supplemented by accessories of every sort —books and writing materials, mats,

50. VILLAGE KYAUNG.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
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91. SYMBOL OF MYIMMO-DAUNG.

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of the Burman type is the one cast for the Shwe-Dagôn Payâ by the Emperor Sinbyu Shin in 1775, which weighs forty-one tons.

According to the Burman cosmogony the world consists of four great islands, North, South, East and West, surrounded by the ocean. Burma and the known countries are situated in the south island. In the centre of all rises Mount Meru (*Myimmo-daung*). This centre of the universe is symbolized by a conventional tower provided with niches or caverns for mythical inhabitants of every sort, *Nat*, *Zawdyl* (sorcerers), *Bilu* (ogres), monsters half human and half brute, and dragons (No. 392). The symbol of *Myimmo-daung*, made of bamboo, with paper and tinsel, is a feature of various festivals. In substantial masonry it is a frequent adjunct of the temples.

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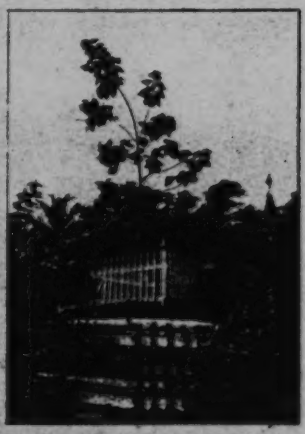
The *Bo* tree (*Bawdi-bin*), together with the rest of the *ficus* family, is sacred to the Hindu. The *Bo* is a variety of the *pipal* (*ficus religiosa*), a deciduous *ficus* with long copper-coloured acumina to the leaves. It is sacred to the Buddhists because it was while resting under the shade of a *Bo* tree at Gáya in Bahár, 600 years before Christ, that Gawdama realised the vanity of the ceremonial and ascetic systems, resisted temptation, and attained to supreme enlightenment, which, as Buddha, it became his mission to impart to mankind. "The *Bo* tree is to Buddhists what the Cross is to Christians" (Bigandet). The original *Mahá-bodi* was piously tended while Buddhism flourished in India, and trees propagated from it were planted by Buddhist pilgrims. Such a tree is the historical *Bo* tree at Anurádhapúra in Ceylon, planted in 245 B.C. and still flourishing. Young plants cultivated from this tree are brought home to



92. BAWDI TREE.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1899) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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88. METHILA ON THE ROUND FOR SUN.

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struggles. Apart from this and the serfdom referred to at p. 32, slavery has only played a subordinate *rôle* in Burma within historic times. The *payadyún*, and they alone, are treated as outcasts by both of these populations. They beg for alms and also appropriate the offerings brought to the shrines in profusion at festivals. Their right to beg is admitted, although they frequently accumulate money and build fine houses.

Lepers (*anû*) in many cases quit their families of their own accord and settle in the *payadyún* colony. In some places they were compelled to do so. The settlements have thus acquired the semblance of leper colonies. There are a few country villages of this character. Indigent lepers beg for alms. In 1891 there were 6,000 lepers in Burma, the highest ratio in the Indian Empire. There are now four leper asylums. Casual mendicancy is almost unknown in Burma.

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The Burman and Brahman soothsayers (p. 158) are regular frequenters of the shrines. The Burman astrologer (*hedín-sayá*) casts horoscopes on the Brahman model (No. 279) and designates the days auspicious for undertakings. He takes his name from proficiency in reckoning, and is consulted about business calculations that cannot be done mentally.

89. SOOTHSAYER.

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The Buddhist duty-days (*ûbôt-ne, thadín*) follow the quarters of the moon. They are kept regularly during lent. On these days the pious laity of both sexes and sedate years observe the rule of *pôthudaw* and *mèthila* from sunrise to sunrise (*ûbôt-saung*). They adopt sober attire, or else white cotton clothing, which is considered the plainest of any. In the forenoon men and women separately repair to the temple rest-houses, whither food for the morning meal, which has been collected the previous evening from religious donors

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25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
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90. PAYA SUN-KAN.

(*Payá sun-kan*), or privately prepared, is conveyed. The day is devoted to contemplation, and the night is passed at the *zayát*. Those who keep the duty-day present offerings at the *zedi* and the adjoining *kyaung*. At either of these places a *yahán* is invited to rehearse the precepts, which the laity chant verse by verse after his lead (*thlla-kan*). Passages from other scriptures are added, with their interpretations. This is called *Tayá-haw*—the preaching of the Law. The great Mun King, Yazadiyít of Pegu, in the year 1400 A.D., is reported to have been so impressed by the preaching of a *yahán* that he abandoned a campaign on which he had embarked. More than once in Burman history the peaceful contest of building rival temples has been substituted for battle by opposing armies.

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The Buddha has passed out of existence. While existent, all that the Buddha could accomplish for any being was the human service of showing him the way, to work out deliverance by individual effort. Self-reliance is the cardinal principle. There is none to hear prayer. The true significance of the popular worship is not apprehended unless this be borne in mind. No virtue can surpass that of the Inestimable Master (*Myasswa Payá*) who fulfilled the Law and bequeathed it to men. To cultivate the memory of his transcendent merit is itself meritorious in the first degree. Such is the personal side of the cult, to which the effigies of the founder appeal. Before the images of the Buddha are performed the gestures of homage, and are placed offerings symbolical of veneration — tapers lighted at the shrine, flowers

91. YAHAN RECITING THE PRECEPTS (TAYA-HAW).

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 API Burma
Burmese AP4

412. SNAKE-CHARMER'S PERFORMANCE.

cremation of the *yahán*. Burmese New-Year—moon-change at *Tagú*—falls in April, as the sun enters the sign of Aries. The calendar has been regulated on the Brahman model with intercalary days and months (Appendix E). New-Year marks the greatest crisis in the seasons; the heat has reached its climax, to drop abruptly at the break of the south-west monsoon. Now is the time of drought; many of the wells are empty, and water has to be fetched from a distance. There is no greater luxury than abundance of water at this season; water is the most seasonable offering, and great supplies are stored in the jars at the *kyaungs*. In a symbolic spirit, water is poured over the images of the Buddha. But the great feature of the New-Year festival is the burlesque of these libations. In the true spirit of the carnival, the women douse the men, and the men douse the women, all regardless of their festal attire. The young women in particular wait in ambush for the gallants, perhaps to be caught in a second ambush by some urchin. The liberty of water-throwing lasts for the days of *akyó*, *akyá*, *akyát*, and *atét*, the stages of the journey which a *thadyá* makes from heaven to earth to see the works of men if they be good. The legend is probably derived from the Hindu myth of the rain-god Indra, to whom water is offered at the season of his expected descent. A religious feature of the festival is the ransom of cattle. An animal kept for slaughter by the Indian Musulman butcher is borrowed and gaily decked out, with its horns gilded. It is led round the village or quarter of the town, followed by a festive throng, and contributions are gathered until the price of the animal is made up, when it is set free at the *kyaung* to be an evidence of goodwill to all things living.

413. NEW-YEAR FETE (PAYA-YE-GHO).

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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414. WATER-THROWING AT NEW-YEAR.

Party feeling, which often runs high between the quarters of a village, with their rival *kyaung* and *zedi*, finds an outlet at *Tagú* in the tug-of-war (*lun-saw*). As the superstitious whistle for the wind, so do they expect to tug in the monsoon by this means, at the season when everything is panting for rain.

After *Tagú*, the next festival season is *Wàzò*—in June—the commencement of the Buddhist Lent. This season is signalised by the *Shinláung fêtes*, described in Chapter III. During Lent there is no regular festival.

The great festival of *Thadìndyút* celebrates the close of Lent. It falls in October, when the rains are generally over, and is the one for which the most extensive preparations are made. Every festival is signalised by the offerings made to the *yahán*. But now they are literally "poured" in profusion, as the word implies (*sun-láung*). *Yazamá*—paths fenced with bamboo trellis, such as those prepared for the progress of royalty—are got ready along the chief thoroughfare. Through these on the morning of the great day the *yahán* defile in endless procession. As many as a thousand *yahán* may be invited to receive the *Thadìndyút* offerings in a large town. The offerings are poured into the alms-bowls by the laity; scholars are stationed at intervals to relieve the *yahán* of their loads of offerings. After the *yahán* come *pòthudaw* and *mèthilá*. Both ends of the *yazamá* are decorated with arches of bamboo and tinsel. About these are grouped life-size figures of mythical import—dragons to guard the entrance, princes and princesses of the *nats* to take part in the honour done to the *Thingá* (No. 151). In the evenings fire-

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415. RANGOON PROCESSION AT NEW-YEAR.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

balloons are sent off, and the rivers are illuminated with rafts carrying lamps which are set adrift. Labyrinths of bamboo are erected round the *zedi*, which entertain the children and especially the hill-people, who pique themselves, not 796

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416. NEW-YEAR TUG-OF-WAR.

without reason, on their sense of locality. These labyrinths are called *Wingabá*, after the mountain maze, to which Prince Wéthandayâ was banished by his father, in the *zât* legend.

Tazáung-mòn is the next festival after *Thadindyút*; it is kept in Pegu, but not in Burma Proper. At this season Buddhists commemorate the miraculous journey of Gawdama Buddha to the *nat* country after the death of his mother, to impart to her the enlightenment which had come to him on earth, and by means of which he had attained peace. Spires of bamboo-work and tinsel—the *tazáung-daing*—are built twenty to fifty feet high, as symbols of the stair by which Gawdama ascended. These are carried round the place with music, and are finally dedicated at the *zedi* (No. 422). In the months of *Tazáung-mòn* and *Thadindyút* the *katéin-thingán* are dedicated, and the *mathò-thingán* are woven. The *katéin-thingán* is the annual supply of the primitive *parèi-kaya*, and is of a nominal character, owing to the profusion of offerings at other times. The *mathò-thingán* is a cloth wherewith to deck the images of the Buddha and the *paung* of the *zedi* (Nos. 429, 449). It is the offering of the women who weave it,

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417. SUNLAUNG AT THADINDYUT FESTIVAL.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

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418. SUNLAUNG AT THADINDYUT FESTIVAL.

and, in order to possess its proper value, should be completed in a day and a night. This is the only approach to a vigil. The texture is loose, and broad bands of tinsel are shot through to make up the woof faster.

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419. FIRE-BALLOONS AT THADINDYUT.

29: Slater M-4 (no date) 1951 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

The Buddhism of Burma, then, lies in between two levels. On the one level, there is the scholarly tradition of the monasteries, frequently in touch with Ceylon, watchful against heresies, pondering the scriptures, upholding the essential emphases of the Hīnayāna tradition, steadily prevailing against more primitive ideas. On the other level, there is the survival of Animism, linked to the conservatism of human nature, infiltrating the popular Buddhism. We can, therefore, accept Burmese Buddhism as a valid and typical expression of the Hīnayāna tradition. At the same time, we can expect to find certain distinctive, Burmese features. 779* 792

5. *Characteristics of Burmese Buddhism*

a. The characteristic of Burmese Buddhism which has been most frequently remarked is its buoyancy. "The Buddhist faith may be as dreary ... as many say it is, but no one would imagine it who looks on the gaily = dressed laughing crowd of men and maidens who throng to the pagoda feasts."[45] Only a Chaucer could do justice to these festivals, remarks a modern writer,[46] and an earlier observer concluded that "the Burmese do not fully believe the first of the Four Noble Truths that life is suffering."[47] 771 779* [796]

Climate and circumstance affect religious interpretation. In India, where Buddhism was begotten, "India, with its hot climate, its poverty and suffering, the pessimistic mood which looks upon life as a great evil rather than an achievable good, seems natural."[48] This may be. And in the subtropical climate of Burma, where people live in ephemeral bamboo houses and vegetation grows quickly and as quickly passes away, it is natural to believe that "All is change." But in Southern Burma at least, where a little labour wins a sufficient sustenance from the fruitful earth, and moonlight nights are soft and friendly, it is not so natural to add that "All is suffering."

Some observers insist that we must look beneath the surface of this Burmese gaiety. "Delightful as this sunny temperament is, it does not go deep enough to be called optimism."[49] Nobody, however, can question the Burmese vivacity — a vivacity which expresses itself in a lively, rhythmic music, and a delight in colour. "The secret of our happiness lies in our devotion to our beautiful religion," writes Mrs. Hla Oung, and the

[45] Scott, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, chap. XIX, p. 257.
[46] G. Appleton, *Buddhism in Burma*, p. 46.
[47] *M.B.B.*, p. 18.
[48] A. K. Reischauer, *Studies in Japanese Buddhism*, chap. I, p. 49.
[49] *M.B.B.*, p. 53.

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term 'beautiful' is here significant.[50] A Burmese *pwé* or open-air variety performamce will begin at dusk and sustain a frolic of wit and dance until the morning, and the same vivacity informs the frequent religious pageants and dramas. If the underlying Buddhism is indeed pessimism, it is at least 'touched with hope and mysticism.'[51]

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Fielding Hall has suggested that there is an element of Nature-mysticism in the Burman's outlook. Both his Animism and his Buddhism encourage him to believe that he is intimately related to all Nature: Buddhism because it will allow no separate souls but sees all Life as one; Animism because "legends and tales, the spirits of hills and rivers, of the trees and flowers" express the fact that "Life is a great whole."[52]

A Nature poem by a fifteenth century Burmese Buddhist may be regarded as some corroboration of this estimate. The writer conceives all Nature doing homage to the Buddha:

"A clamour of colour fills the vernal woods.
Tender fruits peep from the budded quicks.
Mellow clusters, luscious as ambrosia, sway in the air....
The acid lime, the delicious custard-apple, the juicy mango, the restless *petthet* and the riotous *grewia*
Rush to render their homage to the thrice-adored Sage."[53]

In his later work,[54] Fielding Hall seems to equate Burmese Buddhism with a vague and woolly pantheism in which all tigers are lambs and all roads lead to truth, but at least he sees the poetry of Burmese life and religion. Later reflection led him to correct the view contained in his *Soul of a People* that the Burmese feeling for Nature was separate from their Buddhism.[55] Instead, he now discerned a fusion giving colour and buoyancy to their faith. "Here was the world the Greeks had lived in. All the gods yet lived to those who still had ears to hear their voices in the forest sounds, eyes to see them flitting through the darkened woods or bathing in the mountain pools.... Were the trees alive? Surely they were. They had their life, they were not dead unlovely things, but living." Comparison with Greek ideas has occurred to others. Greek gods and Burmese *Nats* are similarly very human and capricious, it is suggested.

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The Greek comparison recurs to mind when we consider a further aspect of Burmese Buddhism — its social, with which may be joined

[50] "The Women of Burma." *Buddhism*, Vol. I, No. 1, (Rangoon).
[51] *M.B.B.*, p. 10.
[52] H. Fielding Hall, *The Inward Light*, chap. III, p. 24.
[53] "The 'Tawla' of Shin Uttamagyaw," ed. by U. Po Byu, free trans. by Maung Ba Han. *J.B.R.S.*, Vol. VII, pt. II, (1917).
[54] *The Inward Light*.
[55] *Ibid.*, pp. 6, 7, 24; cf. *The Soul of a People*, chap. XX, pp. 269 ff.

29: Slater M-4 (no date) 1951 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

its national, character. The frequent festivals not only enliven, they express and stabilise the community life. They are often local, but certain shrines, such as the Shwe Dagon Pagoda in Rangoon, have become centres of pilgrimage. In a country which has had a strong tendency to de-centralisation — the king's authority was often very weak — the Buddhist Order has made for cohesion, and, in modern times, Buddhist monks have been active in the movement for national independence. 779* 796 621

In spite, however, of this social expression, Buddhism in Burma, as elsewhere, is very much a matter of *individual* concern. We have seen this individualism within the monastery. It is equally marked outside the monastery. One of the most popular *nats* is the story of Wethandaya, who, in order to gain his own salvation, gives away his wife and family to a rapacious Brahmin.[56] "Each must bear his own burden," is a favourite quotation.[57] Its primary reference may be to moral responsibility. 779* 775

This brings us to the decidely *ethical* character of Burmese Buddhism. *Kutho* (worthiness) is the central concept here, and "it is clear that the Burmese Buddhists have a more *mathematical* conception of Merit than other folk." "The ordinary belief is very concrete — so many good deeds mean so much to one's credit in another world."[58] Sometimes very material rewards are indicated. "The reward for building a monastery is a palace in a *Nat* heaven with seven towers, and in this palace dwell seven hundred *Nat* wives.... For a gift of sticks for use in a bath room, the donor will be reborn with perfumed body."[59]

Almsgiving is a sure means of 'heaping up *Kutho*.' Since the benefit accruing to the donor partly depends on the worthiness of the object, the maintenance of religion is a valued means of self-help. Hence the many pagodas. Hence the gifts to the monasteries. There is no more coveted title than 'Builder of Monasteries.' Hence, too, the welcome to the monk as he comes in the early morning with his begging bowl. The monk may seem to be the chief recipient. But in the things which matter, he is the donor. [735] [792]

Though others may thus provide the opportunity, essentially the activity is self-help. Emphasis is laid on individual responsibility. It is something a man must do for himself.

It is something he can do. Thus the conception of *Kutho* challenges any animistic idea that man is altogether at the mercy of capricious spirits.

[56] *M.B.B.*, pp. 44, 102.

[57] *M.B.B.*, p. 45.

[58] *M.B.B.*, p. 51, p. 76. The usual, though inadequate translation of Kutho, as already observed, is Merit.

[59] *M.B.B.*, p. 51.

Such schools, both for boys and girls, were set up in the big towns, Rangoon, Mandalay, Moulmein, Maymyo, Toungoo, etc. Most of them were mission or religious schools, aided by the government and by the diocese or a religious mission.

Very few Burmans at that time sent daughters to such schools, though sons were sent commonly enough, and the distinctions made against the stray natives who entered the rolls began from the moment of entry. The diocesan schools insisted on our adopting English Christian and surnames, from an aversion to including heathen names on their registers. Burman Buddhist were thus transformed into orthodox Christian names: Sir Htoon Aung Gyaw and his brothers became a family of Thompsons, Sir Paw Tun was happily converted into Potter, and my brother U Sett Kaing, with less relevance, became Robert Downs. Thus many distinguished Burmans spent years under these assumed names. The Roman Catholic schools were kinder. They merely required us to adopt a system of first name and surname, which does not exist among Burmans, and wished us to pick a Christian first name so that the nuns could pronounce it easily. Thus we got Kathleen Maung, Grace Nee, Sarah Tin Gyi, the daughters of U Maung Maung, U Nee and U Tin Gyi. My own name Mi Mi Khaing was brought into line as Mamie Kaing.

We went to a Roman Catholic convent where the nuns made no attacks on Buddhism and no attempts to proselytise us—despite which I became attracted to their religion for a few years—but with sincere conviction and fervour they condemned everything else in us that was different from the great mass of Anglo-Burmans who filled the school. A good proportion of these children were the children of Englishmen who, not having entered into a legal marriage with the Burmese mothers, had now left mother and child with a sum of money which the kind nuns stretched to cover as much schooling as was possible. These and other Anglo-Burman children were encouraged to swank over us with childish cruelty about our darker skins, flat noses, and uncurling hair. They did this to such an extent that many of us in our minority and our helpless misery, branded our distinguished parents as being "half Burmese and half English", in order to gain their good opinion. We were told that Burmese food was stinking, that the use of oil for the hair was dirty and insanitary, and when young sisters ran after their elder ones calling Ma Ma, Elder Sister, all the children hooted with laughter. No wonder that my sister Mya Mya during her first weeks at school would sit by the gate, evening after evening, singing mournfully:

May May yay-ay
La pa taw
Kyi-gan ta-maw maw.

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

A junior might lawfully copy a senior even in what is wrong; whereas no example could be any valid excuse for a wrong act. 795 779 173

Subsequent permission might cover an act; whereas the Wini required prior permission.

The restrictions against indulgences were to be in force only in the monasteries; and not for those who might be sojourning in villages.

These points, after lengthy discussion, were all given against the dissenters, and degradation was awarded them as a punishment.

Still matters got worse, and in 241 B.C. the great king Athawka, of Pataliputra, brought about the third and last great Council to cleanse the Church. After nine months' public reading of the Book of Rules and of the most excellent Law, 60,000 heretics were expelled from the Church, and it was resolved to propagate the religion far and wide. This last decision was fraught with the most momentous consequences to Burma, for among the missionaries sent north, south, east, and west from Behar were the two, Thawna and Ôttara, who proceeded to the country of Suvarna Bhumi, the "Golden Land," and landing at Thatôn, now north of Maulmein, but then on the sea-coast, proceeded to disseminate the Buddhist doctrines amongst the tribes in the great river-valleys of the country. It is important to notice that the doctrines they brought with them had just been revised and confirmed by a great Council of the Church. Since then, throughout all Burma, the old geniolatry has been displaced by the teachings of the Buddha. The regulations, introduced then in their first purity, have been retained ever since practically unchanged, so that at the present time Buddhism exists in Burma in a form much nearer to that which Shin Gautama taught than is found in any country where the Three Precious Things are held in reverence. 795 797 173

The only sect which has at any time started any doctrinal heresy is that of the Paramats. They reject the worship before pagodas and images, and pray only to the Nyan-daw, the godlike wisdom, which abides like a mountain of fire in the heavens, invisible to mortal eyes, and taking no interest and exercising no influence over mundane things. These 795 175

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

They thus inform the inmates of the kyaung when they must cease eating for the day, and enable them to obey the provisions of the Patimauk. This useful acquirement of the Buddhist chanticleer was acquired in a singular way. Sundry books of the Bedin were burnt as containing unlawful cabalistic teachings. Among these was the Ā-tappana Bedin. When the fire had died out the barn-door flock came and pecked at the ashes, and so assimilated the astronomic lore contained in the book. I never had the opportunity of watching any particular cock to see if he actually crowed four times a day at the times reported. They fly about so, that for purposes of observation they might just as well be jungle fowl. 805

Thus even the powers of nature conspire for the well-being of the monks. It has been shown how the laity provide them with food and splendid dwellings. It may be unhesitatingly asserted that the most luscious fruits and the most delicate viands all find their way to the monasteries. A single instance will show to what an extent this is carried. In jungle places, where in the dry season there is often a great dearth of water, one spring is always set apart for the kyaung, because it would be a great sin, as well as being unpleasant for the yahan, to drink water which had been stirred up, and for that reason would be more likely to contain animal life. This reservation often compels the entire village to walk a mile or more for a supply of water, a very serious inconvenience to the easy-going Burman. In order that strangers and passers-by may have no excuse for drinking from the monastic well, a yellow cloth is hung over it from a bush or a post erected for the purpose. Here again a stumbling-block and stone of offence is set up in the way of the ignorant or unreflecting foreigner. 792 792 312

Everything near the monastery is rendered sacred, not merely when it is enclosed in the parawun, but as far as the prior may choose to proclaim it. This is especially common in the case of the large tanks or bricked reservoirs which the pious dig in many parts of the country. These are frequently well stocked with fish and turtle, and when the monks declare them sacred, the fish often become wonderfully tame from the abundant food that is brought them by yahans 792 798

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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life of the European nations the manifold character of the questions of the day attract and occupy the minds and influence the religious beliefs of the people, the eyes of the Burman Buddhist are uninterruptedly fixed on the dark mysteries which surround his beginning, his end, and every moment of his existence. His religion enters into every action of his life, and its admirable system of morality need fear comparison with none other on earth; while everything else appears but as a matter of detail, or a different method of viewing the same things. He is not at all unwilling to enter into discussion as to what is the true religion: whether only one is the right, whether all have sprung from the same root and have only now assumed different forms, or whether, as the Deity gave to the hand different fingers, so He has given to mankind different paths. But the arguments of the proselytiser have but very little success, while, on the other hand, there is nowadays practically no attempt to gain converts to their own national faith. This is no doubt in great part due to the absence of all ministerial duties in the brethren of the yellow robe, but also to a belief that true faith can only grow up gradually, and cannot be forced on the mind. At the same time there is not a hint of bigotry. In Mandalay all forms of religion were allowed to be carried on without the least semblance of opposition. The solemn call of the muezzin; the tinkling of the convent-bell, under the cross of Rome; the noisy rites of devil and fire-worshippers; even the ceremonies of the former fierce enemies of Buddhism, the Brahmins—all of these were exercised without the least hindrance, and the processions of the various forms of faith passed one another in the street with the most complete amicability. Even a convert is left unharmed. There may be a sense of wonder and contempt for the man who voluntarily resigns his high hopes as a Buddhist for the probable fallacies of another cult, but there is never any real attempt at oppression.

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Heresies, therefore, never originate with the people; any there are come from the monasteries, but even these relate more to matters of discipline and internal regulation than to real points of faith. The yahans are very clever in dispute, and are far from being averse to it. The better educated of

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

them know their ground perfectly well, and are quite able to take full advantage of the strong points of their position. They rely entirely on the holy books, and these they have at their fingers' ends. It is granted by all that they are, almost without exception, entirely free from intolerance, and are quite unable to comprehend the zeal for conversion. A venerable Sadaw in Bhamo came and listened attentively to a Burmese sermon of Dr. Mason, the celebrated American missionary. When it was over he came and complimented him on its depth and grasp, and then suggested that the reverend doctor should go with him to offer up worship before the image of Buddha! The monks do not think, with cynical mockery, that every one should be allowed to go his own way and be blessed after his own fashion; on the contrary, they seek zealously for new truths and explanations of mysteries; but they hold it presumptuous and unwarrantable, in view of the dark secrets which envelop the life of man from its dawning to its close, to set up each his individual opinion with dogmatic certainty as the only true form and the only one that can save. They take their standpoint on the actual state of things, on the misery and sorrow which is externally bound up with the nature of the human body as it exists. They devote themselves entirely to preparing the spirit for its delivery, when it will finally rest, raised above every fear of new change, in the harmonious equipoise of Ne'ban. For this last and highest aim no hypotheses have to be assumed. They require no personal deity who would demand a special place in the system of the world, and in a possible danger to the cosmic system might incur the same risk of destruction. They remain entirely within the clearly defined horizon of their limit of vision, and are therefore very difficult to attack in argument.

Nevertheless schisms have arisen from time to time, and exist at the present day, but they have sprung more from revolt against excessive austerity, or corresponding laxity, than from any real difference on doctrinal points. The Lord Buddha had hardly died before one of the most aged of the disciples, Subhadra, thus addressed the assembled brethren: "Revered ones, cease to mourn. We are now happily released from the rule of the great Sramana; we shall no

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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hands and mutter an incantation, when the metal would slowly rise to the top and float there. When sceptics were present, this man would suddenly stop the charm he was uttering, and the bits of metal would ever remain floating in the middle of the bowl of water or sink down again, according to the part of the spell to which he had reached. How it was done is only known to wizards of his class and sleight-of-hand people perhaps, but to the actual fact of this khôntet letpwè, as it is called, numbers of people, Europeans as well as Burmans, can testify. The conjurer is a well-known man near the village of Pantanaw, fifty miles or so west of Rangoon. 789 791

But however many miracles the than wéza may work, he is always exceeded in reputation by the constructor of cabalistic squares and symbols. These are in constant use by every Burman, or rather he gets them made and interpreted for him by a proficient. The horoscope which every one has drawn up at his birth has numbers of these mystical numbers on it, from which lucky days and dangerous combinations may be learnt. To calculate the more harmful spells the in sayā should have these data, or at any rate should know the date and hour of the victim's birth. Therefore it is a safe rule never to let a wizard or conjurer see your sadā, or to mention the hour of your birth to any one whom you may suspect of having an ill-will against you, for he might from even that one fact have a most potent charm thrown over you. These mystic squares and numbers have most extraordinary virtue. By holding up one of a particular kind for a short time you can set a house on fire. Another in engraved on a stone will make it float, and such a stone, buried in the skin of a man's body, would prevent him from drowning, unless some other magician destroyed its influence by a more potent spell. If you scratch an in on a tree or a house, you can make lightning strike it; another arrangement of the cabalistic words or numbers will preserve it from such a calamity. There is probably not a single Burman, tattooed at all, who has not several ins on different parts of his body. Some of them protect from special ailments; the most common are those which avert dangers from bullet or sword-cut. 801 789

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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419. SUHLAUNG AT THADINDYUT FESTIVAL.

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419. FIRE-BALLOONS AT THADINDYUT.

23: Brant & Mi Mi Khaing E, I-5 (1949-1950)1951
AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

888 To the Burmese, long life is a great blessing and an indication of merit earned. Long life is prayed for and old age greatly idealized.

The ideal aged person is one who has successfully reared a family, has grandchildren and a certain amount of material wealth. The aged are expected to be 887 retiring and unobtrusive in their behavior. They do not go out visiting very much; they eat less food; and avoid appearing too well dressed or jeweled when attending religious observances.

An attitude of resignation characterizes the outlook of the aged person in Burmese society. It is unheard of that aged people should work: a possible ex- [622] ception is the village headman, who, it is felt, should be a person of long experience. When aged people live with their children they assume the role of teachers of their grandchildren. Most of the time of elderly people is spent in activities centering around the pagodas and monasteries, organizing of religious festivals, and raising funds for the monks and charities. In fact, they take leading roles in such activities.

The elderly members of the household arise early to see that rice is cooked for the daily offering to the monks and to insure that the household altar is properly looked after. It is preferable for them to arise before dawn, for to do so is considered very meritorious.

[784] Certain of the taboos that apply to younger people, mostly those connected with death, do not apply to the aged.

761 *Death and Funeral Observances.* To the Burmese, the decline of the human body is part of the inevitable course of nature. When this occurs the soul must [775] leave. The butterfly is the symbol of life: when a person dies, "the butterfly leaves his body."

763 When death approaches, valuables, such as jewelry, are removed from the person and the death-bed, because people are reluctant to use anything with which a person dies. These things are given to the monastery. A relative chants as the person is dying, to fix his mind upon the truths of Buddhism and to divert it from worldly goods and ties of kinship.

764 As soon as death has occurred, everyone present cries and wails. Before rigor mortis sets in, relatives bathe the corpse, using a new water pot for the purpose and pouring the water over the body from foot to head, the opposite direction from that practiced by the living. If the water pot must be refilled at all, this [801] must be done an odd number of times. The pot is then put outside the house, upside down, and anyone outside the family of the deceased may take it. Then

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

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23. MARBLES (GON-HNYIN).

long wooden slate blackened with soot and rice-water (*thumbôn*). The Burmese word-building is exceedingly regular and in the main phonetic (See appendix B). Reading is acquired in one term, without much effort on the part of pupil or teacher. The Burmans have a pure decimal notation in which the bugbears *eleven* and *twelve* are unrepresented. The Burmese *eleven* is literally "onety-one." Children can count up to hundreds before they come to school and can reckon up sums mentally. In arithmetic they are taught the multiplication-table and a few rules of thumb (*bedin*). In addition to the five Buddhist commandments (p. 16) and the objects of contemplation (p. 43), which the children learn in their homes, they chant passages from the Pâli scriptures in the school chorus and get other precepts by rote: such as the category of duties to parents, teachers and elders, *viz.*, reverence, support, mutual affection (*parêik*). They are taught the value of learning as an inalienable possession, together with many precepts from the *Lawkanîti* and *Mingala-thôt*; the conquests of the inner and outer worlds *Atwin-aungdyin*, *Apyin-aungdyin*, the story of the Buddha (see *The Light of Asia*) and the legendary cosmogony.

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As the result of this Buddhist system of schools, nearly half of the male and about 3 per cent. of the female population can read and write, as compared with 9 and 0·3 per cent. for men and women respectively in Bengal. The

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24. RACING TOY BOATS.

294 563 441 466 was sweated labour indeed. Possibly he paid the cutter two pice, the seamstress three annas, the button-loop maker two annas, for each garment. We met one of the button-loop makers one evening as she brought a pile of finished garments, a Chinese girl of ten years, with eyes which looked tired from two years of exquisite hemming on the ten button loops of each Burmese jacket, nine jackets each day. When we had got our jackets the tayok-kalay added up our three bills into one on his abacus. There may be many ways of using an [405 abacus, but our tayok-kalay's was bafflingly simple. He had each • 803] bead on the first rung representing one anna, each on the second one representing four of these, that is four annas; and each on the third rung representing four of these again, that is one rupee, there being sixteen annas in the rupee. When he wanted to add Rs. 5/10 and Rs. 9/11 for example, he represented the first sum on the three rungs above the median bar by drawing down towards it, two beads of the first rung, two of the second and five of the third. Then he represented the second sum on the rungs below the bar by drawing up to it three beads of the first rung, two of the second and nine of the third. He then counted up the sum of all the beads along the bar, pushing back every four beads of the first rung and pulling down one of the second as equivalent, pushing back every four of the second and pulling down one of the third again as its equivalent. All this he did with lightning speed, and, counting finally one bead on the first rung, one on the second and fifteen on the third, he announced Rs. 15/5, a sum which my sisters had arrived at long before by mental arithmetic and had, in vain, been trying to thrust on his notice.

441 563 I needed also a superior quality comb to wind my hair around in a knot at the back of my head, having given away the old one I had as a curiosity in England. My mother took me to the west end of Rangoon where the Chinese community are concentrated in about six or seven streets, mostly narrow streets of three storeyed houses packed closely together, containing valuable ivory and mother-of-pearl inlaid chairs within and jewellery behind safe doors, but bordering deep and dirty drains and congestion in the street. These were houses of rich men who got their money from trading in indigenous products; by long years of industry building up lakhs of money from the supplying of onions, coconuts, potatoes and other dry goods to the retail shops in bazaars. In the Strand running along the south end of these streets and in the broad Latter Street in the centre of the quarter, were the big emporiums of these traders. One of my father's greatest friends U Chein Swan was a Burma Chinese of this description, and we stayed for short periods in his three-storeyed house in 20th Street when we were children. With

16;Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

The education in their religion is very good, very thorough, not only in precept, but in practice; for in the monastery you must live a holy life, as the monks live, even if you are but a schoolboy. 792 871

But the secular education is limited. It is up to the standard of education amongst the people at large, but that is saying little. Beyond reading and writing and arithmetic it does not go. I have seen the little boys do arithmetic. They were adding sums, and they began, not as we would, on the right, but on the left. They added, say, the hundreds first; then they wrote on the slate the number of hundreds, and added up the tens. If it happened that the tens mounted up so as to add one or more to the hundreds, a little grimy finger would wipe out the hundreds already written and write in the correct numbers. It follows that if the units on being added up came to over ten, the tens must be corrected with the little grimy finger, first put in the mouth. Perhaps both tens and hundreds had to be written again. It will be seen that when you come to thousands and tens of thousands, a good deal of wiping out and re-writing may be required. A Burman is very bad at arithmetic; a villager will often write 133 as 100,303; he would almost as soon write 43 as 34; both figures are in each number, you see. 803

I never met a Burman who had any idea of cubic measurement, though land measurement they pick up very quickly. 804

I have said that the education in the monasteries is up to the average education of the people. That is so now. Whether when civilization progresses 792 871

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
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[735]

88. METHILA ON THE ROUND FOR SUN.

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struggles. Apart from this and the serfdom referred to at p. 32, slavery has only played a subordinate *rôle* in Burma within historic times. The *payadyún*, and they alone, are treated as outcasts by both of these populations. They beg for alms and also appropriate the offerings brought to the shrines in profusion at festivals. Their right to beg is admitted, although they frequently accumulate money and build fine houses.

Lepers (*anû*) in many cases quit their families of their own accord and settle in the *payadyún* colony. In some places they were compelled to do so. The settlements have thus acquired the semblance of leper colonies. There are a few country villages of this character. Indigent lepers beg for alms. In 1891 there were 6,000 lepers in Burma, the highest ratio in the Indian Empire. There are now four leper asylums. Casual mendicancy is almost unknown in Burma.

[735]

787
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The Burman and Brahman soothsayers (p. 158) are regular frequenters of the shrines. The Burman astrologer (*bedín-sayá*) casts horoscopes on the Brahman model (No. 279) and designates the days auspicious for undertakings. He takes his name from proficiency in reckoning, and is consulted about business calculations that cannot be done mentally.

89. SOOTHSAYER.

796
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The Buddhist duty-days (*ûbôt-ne, thadín*) follow the quarters of the moon. They are kept regularly during lent. On these days the pious laity of both sexes and sedate years observe the rule of *pôthudaw* and *mèthila* from sunrise to sunrise (*ûbôt-saung*). They adopt sober attire, or else white cotton clothing, which is considered the plainest of any. In the forenoon men and women separately repair to the temple rest-houses, whither food for the morning meal, which has been collected the previous evening from religious donors

[785]

grass and leaves for us to find. But expeditions to the kha-yay trees were approved of because the tree also scatters pretty white starry flowers of a delicate fragrance; the beautiful ladies in my dreams always wore *kha yay pan* in their hair. A-Kyi took us on these walks; we collected seeds, and the flowers we deposited in cane sieve trays; when we got home we helped her to thread them in garlands, the first for the altar, next for my mother's hair and the rest for A-Kyi and the girls. Our tiniest seeds were the *yway si*, seeds of the *adenanthera* tree, bright red and black seeds about the size of an orange pip. Goldsmiths use them as their lowest unit of weight, ninety-six of these seeds forming one tola. They were very difficult to find and I used to pun and call them *ma-yway si* (cannot pick seeds), but it was exciting to turn over a leaf and see the seed suddenly, like a bright ladybird asleep.

My brother was very scornful about our girlish *sètauk-tè*, seed flicking games, but sometimes when Hla Aung and Hla Maung were working he would join in the *son-la ma-la* game, guessing whether a pile of seeds was *son*, a pair, that is even; or *ma*, female, that is odd. We could play this to gamble our privileges or possessions on the strength of guessing right. I always annoyed my brother at this game; when it came to my turn to pose the question I would take as great a pile as my two hands could cover because I loved counting. My father told me I was mathematical, and so I had counted everything I could; I knew the number of steps leading up to every pagoda we had visited, how many matches there were in a box, how many holes the lattice work round our house contained, and now I counted hundreds of custard apple seeds while my brother tried his best not to hit me, to swallow his impatience to see whether he had guessed right or wrong. He himself hated to count.

On moonlight nights my mother gave permission for A-Kyi and the other girls to play with us in the company of the male servants and clerks. We played *bi-yaung-tan*, the comb seller, in which we formed a long row one behind the other to form the teeth of a comb, and after a long altercation between the head of the row—the seller—and the catcher, the latter tried to catch the end person on the row. Or we drew lines of white lime on the red gravel road outside and played *htok-si-tan*, in teams, one team "keeping" the lines and the other dashing through until a member got trapped by the keepers. I can still see the long line of the human comb waving sinuously as the players ran to and fro, and the straight white lines of the htok-si-tan, as patterns in the flood of moonlight. They were invariably broken by a bout of "cock-fighting" to exhaust everyone's legs and lungs and spirits before bed.

The Burmese representation of a cock walk is to sit on the haunches, and then slide each foot forward and sideways while in that position, in

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

772 for Ne'ban, these eleven seats only remain constantly
779 undisturbed.

Then there is chaos for an athinkaya. When that mighty season has passed, rain begins to fall again throughout infinity. Fire, water, or wind may destroy the world, but water alone can reproduce it, though both the sun and the wind have minor parts to play. The drops gradually increase in size till they reach the volume of five, ten, a
● [804] hundred, even a thousand yuzanas (a yuzana being about twelve miles English). The wind blows the water together in the spot occupied by the last world. A greasy scum gathers on the surface. The action of the sun gradually hardens this into a crust, which eventually assumes the exact appearance and shape of the last world. The Lord Buddha himself, it is written, did not know which was the first world and which would be the last. Many learned writers say that there is neither a beginning nor an end to the production and destruction of worlds. It will go on for ever like a great wheel, even as the great wheel of the Law itself. Since sorrow then is shadow to life, how should all beings strive to escape from the vortex of existences? In the *Abhidhamma* we read that there are two descriptions of worlds, called Thôn-nya Kabā and A-thôn-nya Kabā, that is to say, worlds to which the Buddhas came, and those to which they did not come. Some think that the latter kind of worlds must have been uninhabited. However that may be, it is certain that the law has always existed. It existed Kalpas and Mahakalpas before the first Budh came to this earth. The Buddhas only revive the knowledge of it among creatures upon the painful ladder of existence. Our present world, called Badda, has been particularly favoured. Already four Buddhas have appeared, and when the dispensation of Shin Gautama shall have passed away, two thousand five hundred years hence, there will come another, Arimadéya, whose stature will exceed the highest mountains in all the Southern Island.

823 The system of the world as explained by the Buddhist
779 Yahandas is somewhat different from that adopted by
772 western men of science. In the centre is the Myinmo Taung, Mount Meru, the highest peak of all the world. Its

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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805 of course, with the charity of the neighbourhood; "breakfast time," usually eight o'clock; "dinner time," about five; "after mid-day"; "sky-closing time" about 6 P.M.; "brothers don't know each other time," that is, just after dark; "when the lamps are lighted"; "children's go-to-bed time," about eight o'clock; "lads go courting time," about the same period; "when grown-up people lay their heads down," ten o'clock in the country, twelve with the kālathas of the towns; "all the world quiet time"; tha'gaung gyaw, "the wee short hour ayont the twal'"; when "the iron tongue of midnight hath told twelve," as Shakespeare has it; a-yôn kyè-ni paw, "when the red star rises,"—all these and a multitude of others are in common everyday use, and from the simple habits of the people, and their own graphic force, are quite sufficient to mark the desired time and ensure punctuality. Many can tell the time simply by looking at their own shadow. Burmans not being yet affected by this "age of machinery," as Carlyle calls it, are quite satisfied with equally simple methods of indicating duration of time. Athet ta-daung, "a breath's space," serves to denote a moment; "the chewing of a fid of betel" occupies ten minutes; "the time it would take to boil one pot of rice," twenty minutes, is well known to everybody where the cooking goes on in the front of the house. These being recognised, the chewing of two betel nuts, the boiling of three pots of rice, do not imply too great an effort of mental arithmetic. The simple rural Burmans understand as little of the English system of horology as they do of the nayas, and bizanas, and pads of the royal astronomers—measures of time which nevertheless appear in all their horoscopes.

807 Measures of distance are described in equally picturesque language. Thus we have "a stone's throw," from fifty to sixty yards, beats on record with throwing the cricket ball being unknown; "a call," about a couple of hundred yards; "a musket's sound," half an English mile; "morning meal's distance," that is to say, as far as a man could walk between sunrise and breakfast time, say six miles English; a mu, the eighth of a taing, quarter of a mile; a mat, twice as far; "nga mu," literally five mus or half a taing, an English mile.

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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The book measures of length are, however, very elaborate. A san-kyi, or hair's breadth, is taken as the unit.

10 San-kyi	=	one hnan, a grain of sesamum seed.
6 Hnan	=	one mu-yaw, a barley-corn.
4 Mu-yaw	=	one let-thit, a finger's breadth.
8 Let-thit	=	one meik, the width of the fist with the thumb extended.
3 Meik	=	one taung, a cubit (19½ inches).
4 Taung	=	one lan, a fathom.
7 Taung	=	one ta, a measuring rod.
20 Ta	=	one ôkthapa.
1000 Ta	=	one daing, one Burmese, nearly two English miles.
20 Okthapa	=	one kawtha.
4 Kawtha	=	one gawut.
4 Gawut	=	one yuzana.

A yuzana is reckoned to measure 6400 ta, that is, six daing and 400 ta. The daing, or post, is the standard in common use with the Burmese for the measurement of long distances. It is also used as a generic term for any measure approaching it in length, such as a league, a kos, an English mile, and so on, as engaleik daing, an English mile.

Twelve fingers' breadths are reckoned equal to one htwa, a span. Ta implies measure in general, and is used as an auxiliary to the other measures of length, as taung ta, a cubit.

The hill tribes have a peculiar way of speaking of a place as being "one hill" or "three hills" distant. The expression may be very vague, but it gives the wayfarer an idea of what is before him which could not be expressed in the simple statement that he had ten miles to go. The road might be all down hill, or all up, for all this would convey to his mind. Similarly river boatmen talk of "two reaches" or "four reaches."

The measures of capacity start from the ear of corn. One ear, ta-hnan, ought to contain 200 grains.

200 A-se, or grains	=	one let-sôn, as much as can be placed on the ends of the fingers joined together.

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2	Let-sôn	=	one let-sôt, the quantity of grain which may be grasped in the fist.
3	Let-sôt	=	one let-hpet, as much grain as can be heaped on the palm of the hand.
2	Let-hpet	=	one let-kut, the quantity which may be heaped on the surface of both hands joined together.
2	Let-kut	=	one kônsa, what is sufficient for the meal of one person.
5	Kônsa	=	one pyi, a small measure.
2	Pyi	=	one sa-ywet.
2	Sa-ywet	=	one seit, quarter of a basket.
2	Seit	=	one hkwè, half a basket.
2	Hkwè	=	one tin, a basket.
4	Tin	=	one to.
20	To	=	one ta-pôn, or ta-su, a heap or two cart-loads—hlè hni' si.

The pyi is also subdivided into four salè. Practically, the only measures used are the tin, the seit, the pyi, and the salè. All depend upon the size of the tin, but as this varies not only in almost every district, but also in many parts of the same district, the results are somewhat embarrassing to merchants making purchases from the cultivators. The English have made an attempt to introduce a standard "basket," containing 2218.19 cubic inches, but without any very great success. Application for legal establishment of the standard would cause disturbance to trade and irritation of the old-fashioned people, but it is evident that it must come some day. If Burmans had the money-grubbing instincts of the natives of India it would have been done long ago, but as long as everybody gets enough to eat and there is overplus, after offerings to the monks and the pagoda, wherewith to get money for new clothes, the Burman farmer cares very little what entangled sums in arithmetic have to be worked out by the unlucky purchaser.

The standard of weight begins exceedingly low in the scale. Parama nu-myu are atoms of a subtle fluid, invisible to men, but visible to nat-dewas and the highly advanced in religion.

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36 Parama nu-myu	=	one a-nu-myu, visible particles of dust, such as the motes dancing in the sunbeam.
36 Anu-myu	=	one ka-nyit-che, a gross particle, such as the dust which falls from the style, when a scribe writes on a palm-leaf.
7 Ka-nyit-che	=	one than ôk-kaung, a louse's head.
7 Than ôk-kaung	=	one môn-nyin se, a mustard seed.
3 Môn-nyin se	=	one hnan se, a grain of sesamum.
4 Hnan se	=	one san se, a grain of rice.
4 San se	=	one hkyin ywe, a seed of the *Abrus precatorius.*
2 Hkyin ywe	=	one ywegyi, a seed of the *Adenanthera pavorina.*
4 Ywegyi	=	one pè.
2 Pè	=	one mu.
2 Mu	=	one mat.
4 Mat	=	one kyat.
5 Kyat	=	one bo.
20 Bo	=	beittha, a viss, 3.652 lbs. avoirdupois.
4 Beittha	=	one tula.
4000 Tula	=	one tapông, or tasu.

The only weights in ordinary use are the mu, mat, ngamu (or hkwè), half a kyat, and the kyat. The standard weights are usually formed with a figure of the sacred hantha on them, or sometimes with the animal representing the royal birthday. [531]

Formerly the Burmese had no stamped coinage, and the silver and gold used, mixed in greater or less amount with alloy, which necessitated the calling in of an assayer for every transaction, was always dealt out by weight. King Mindôn struck gold coins stamped with the lion and the peacock, silver and copper with the royal peacock, and lead with the hare. The lead coins were simply blobs of metal like a spherical bullet squeezed out of shape. One might examine thousands of them and never see a hare. Mandalay

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16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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The education in their religion is very good, very thorough, not only in precept, but in practice; for in the monastery you must live a holy life, as the monks live, even if you are but a schoolboy. 792 871

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and saffron are mixed with the dried and salted mangoes to make mango pickle. This pickle is eaten with rice. The mango is steamed to make it softer and easier to tear apart. THAYET-THEE-THANAT was eaten during three meals a month in Pathwe, where three or four pieces were consumed at each meal. One piece of mango pickle is about 1/6th of one mango. The pickle was made at home from mangoes that were obtained free of charge. The figures for consumption per meal in camp are the same, but here it is eaten more often - once in every two or three days. One anna's worth of mango pickle lasts two meals here.

MAYAN-THEE-THANAT (Marian-fruit-pickle: Bouea burmanica, Griff.): MAYAN THEE-THANAT has not been made once by Ma Aye Myaing. In Pantanaw no one made this, but in camp they have eaten some which they purchase from Indian women who come around selling it. Ma Aye Myaing does not know how Marian pickle can be made. Marian fruit is also eaten as a flavouring ingredient in dishes, after being sliced into halves and dried in the sun. Fish is chopped and washed, mixed with NGAN PYAR YE, pounded chillies, pounded onions, sessamum oil, water and dried marian. The main ingredient i this dish is fish, and the dried marian is just a flavouring agent. It serves as a flavouring in the NGA-SHIN-YE-HIN dish. Marian pickle is not desired by the family.

ZEE-YO (Plum jam: zizyphus jujuba, Lam.): Plum jam is bought from the sellers. It is eaten as a trifle in the daytime. One annas worth of plum jam weighs about 2½ ticals. In Pantanaw also ZEE YO sellers used to come around to the house; it was much cheaper there than Rangoon since one anna would buy 7½ ticals of plum jam. In Pathwe one tea-cup full weighing about 2½ ticals cost an anna and lasted one meal. ZEE-YO was eaten there only once a month. In camp it is eaten four or five times a month but the consumption per eating has dropped to ½ of one teacup, which costs one anna. One Burmese tea-cup is equivalent to about ½ the standard western teacup.

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[415]

THAYET-THEE-HSA-SHIN (mango-fruit-salt-soaked: mangifera indica, Linn): Salted mangoes are eaten with rice as TOZAIA. It is buried in rice and eaten with NGAPI water. To make salted mangoes, wash the required amount of mangoes, mix with salt and place in large earthenware jars. After three days mix salt with water and place on the fire, and then pour the salted water into the jar so that the mangoes inside will be completely submerged. In Pantanaw one salted mango sufficed for one meal, and salted mangoes were eaten once every two or three days. They were salted at home, the cost of making 120 salted mangoes amounting to Rs. 10/- in all. The family has not eaten salted mangoes in camp "even once".

MAYAN-THEE-HSA-SHIN (Marian-fruit-salt-soaked: Bouea burmanica, Griff.): Salted marian is prepared in the same manner as bove. In Pathwe marians were obtained free and salted at home. 1000 marians could be salted for one rupee. Six marians were eaten at each meal, and they were eaten almost every day. Salted marians have not been eaten in camp at all by the family.

NYE-NAT-YO (pineapple jam: ananas sativa, Linn.) has never been made by Ma Aye Myaing. She buys the jam from sellers who come round It can be eaten either by itself or with plain tea in the afternoons. In Pathwe village it was not eaten at all, and in camp they have had it only once, when they ate 5 ticals of jam worth four annas.

THAYET-YO (Mango-jam: mangifera indica, Linn.): It is bought from sellers and usually eaten in the afternoons as a trifle. It has not been eaten at all in camp. In Pantanaw mango jam was made once every year. Mangoes were obtained free and four annas worth of sugar gave ten or fifteen ticals of jam. One teacup was consumed at every eating.

OH-YO (coconut-jam: cocos nucifera, Linn.): Coconut jam has to be bought by pieces. They are usually of hite colour and square in shape. One stick measures 2" by 1½" by ½". They are made by mixing sugar with water and placing on the fire. Coconut scrapings are added, and when the liquid solidifies the hard coconut jam surface is cut up into separate pieces. OHYO was not eaten in Pathwe. In camp it is

GLOSSARY

Measurements: 104 804

LET MAH (finger-major) 1st thumb joint, 1 inch.
TA TAUNG (one-tip of finger to elbow) - 1½ feet.
TA LAN (one-distance from finger tips with arms spread to side) about 6 feet.
TA BU (one-tin) condensed milk tin a cylinder 3" high and 2.8" in diameter.
TA BYEE (one-medium basket) 8 BU.
TA DIN (one-big basket) 16 BYEE.

Months: The Burmese calendar for 1951-52 is as follows: 805

TA GU - 7th April - 5th May.
KA SON - 6th May - 4th June.
NA YON - 5th June - 2nd July.
WA SO - 4th July - 2nd August.
WA GAUNG - 3rd August - 31st August.
TAW THA LIN - 1st September - 30th September.
THA DIN GYUT - 1st October - 29th October.
TA ZAUNG MON - 30th October - 28th November.
NA DAW - 29th November - 27th December.
PHYAR THO - 28th December - 27th January.
TA BO DWE - 28th January - 27th February.
TA BAUNG - 28th February - 29th March.

Coinage: 436

Pice (Indian), PI SON (Burmese) - ¼ anna.
Anna (Indian), PEE (Burmese) - 1/16th rupee.
Ripee (Indian), CHYAT (Burmese) - 21 American cents.

Weights: 804

Tical - (Indian); BYAT (Burmese, rupee) 1/100th of a viss.
Viss - (Indian); PE THA (Burmese, viss) - 3.65 pounds.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

APPENDIX E.

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MEASURES.

TIME.

Obsolete	10 ślipa (*bawsi*)	= 1 *byan*
	6 *byan*	= 1 *hsana*.
	60 *hsana*	= 1 hour (*nayi*).
	60 hours	= 1 day (*ni*).
	30 days	= 1 month (*la*).
	12 months	= 1 year (*hnit*).

[177] Since the introduction of clocks and watches the old day of sixty *nayi* has become obsolete and the day of twenty-four hours universal. The days of the week are named after the sun, moon, and planets, correspondingly to our own. The month is divided into the waxing (*lazán*) and the waning (*labyiatyaw*) moon of fifteen days each, alternately with months of fifteen days waxing and fourteen days waning. Seven years in every nineteen admit an intercalar month of thirty days. In leap years the month *Wázó* is repeated under the name *Dátiya Wázó*.

The months correspond more or less with our months, as follows :—

1. *Kasón*	30 days,	April to May.		7. *Tasiungmón*	30 days,	October to November.
2. *Nayón*	29 ,,	May to June.		8. *Nadáw*	29 ,,	November to December.
3. *Wasó*	30 ,,	June to July.		9. *Pyatló*	30 ,,	December to January.
4. *Wágaung*	29 ,,	July to August.		10. *Tabódwé*	29 ,,	January to February
5. *Tawthalin*	30 ,,	August to September.		11. *Tabáung*	30 ,,	February to March.
6. *Thadinyut*	29 ,,	September to October.		12. *Tagú*	29 ,,	March to April.

The present era (*thagayi*) commenced in 638 A.D. Thus the year 1900 A.D. is the Burmese year 1261-262.

LENGTH.

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4 grains of rice = 1 finger-breadth (*lattathit*).
8 *thit* = 1 *mait* (breadth of palm with thumb extended, 6 inches).
12 *thit* = 1 *twe* (span, 9 inches).
2 *twe* = 1 *daung* (cubit, 18 inches).
7 *daung* = 1 *ta*.
500 *ta* = *ngayu-chein* (one mile, 1609·33 *metres*).
1000 *ta* = 1 *daing*.
6400 *ta* = 1 *yubana* (obsolete).

6 grains = 1 thumb (inch, *lowma*).
2 *mait* = 1 *ye* (foot, 12 inches, 30·5 c.m.).
4 *daung* = 1 *dáw* (spear, fathom, 6 feet).

CAPACITY.

				Brass.
2 *nali*	(sixty-fourth)	1 pint		0·567
4 *nali*	= 1 *byi* (sixteenth)	2 quarts		
2 *byi*	= 1 *nagi* (eighth)	1 gallon		4·543
2 *nagi*	= 1 *nait* (quarter)	2 gallons		
2 *nait*	= 1 *gwe* (half)	4 ,,		
2 *gwe*	= 1 *dáw* (basket)	8 ,,		36·346

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
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The *ein* (basket) is the unit by which grain is sold. It used to vary locally, but is now standardised to the British imperial bushel. Liquids are sold by weight, not by capacity.

A bushel of rice in the husk weighs 46 lbs.
" " cleaned " 60 "

Weight.

			Grains.	Grammes.
2 *hnyat* (seed of *Abrus precatorius*)	= 1 *yadyi*		3·99	0·53
4 *yadyi*	= 1 *pidyi*	(sixteenth)	15·98	1·06
2 *pidyi*	= 1 *mudyi*	(eighth)	31·96	2·12
2 *mudyi* (2½ *mugali*)	= 1 *mat*	(quarter)	63·91	4·24
4 *mat*, or 8 *mudyi*, or 10 *mugali*	= 1 *kyat*	(tikal)	255·64	16·96
			lbs.	Kilo.
100 *kyat*	= 1 *baitha*	(viss)	3·652	1·696
10 *baitha*	= 1 *kwet*	(*kwettaw*)	36·52	
20 "	= 2 *kwet*	(*kwemmaw*)		
100 "	= *ashin taya*		365·2	

488. HINTHA-SHAPED WEIGHT OF BRASS.

Money.

			Grains.	Grammes.
(copper) 3 pie* (*tuinge*)	= 1 pice	(*tabyd*).		
12 pie	= 1 anna	(*Ai*, sixteenth).		
(silver) 2 annas	= 1 *mu*	(two-anna piece, eighth)	22·5	1·43
4 annas or 2 *mu*	= 1 *mat*	(four-anna piece, quarter)	45	
8 annas or 2 *mat*	= ½ rupee	(*ngdaw*, 5 *mugali*)	90	
16 annas or 4 *mat*	= 1 rupee	(*kyat*)	180	11·5

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Although the rupee is called *kyat*, it weighs only a tola and not a tikal, which latter is the *kyat* used in weighing goods. The tola is the Indian postal unit of weight.

* Single pie do not circulate in Burma.

CHAPTER SEVEN

• 805 527 ROUND about the end of January each year, for our lunar dates do not fall on the same calendar dates every year, we celebrated my father's birthday. All Burmese celebrations have a basis of "doing merit" either in feasting people and perhaps fasting oneself, distributing gifts, or inviting monks to preach and others to hear them. An atmosphere of enjoyment is possible in these good works because Burmese people do not believe in divorcing their praying from their merry-making; usually both are carried out in the same room, the pleasure after the holiness; and the donor feels a great satisfaction of spirit as he says; "*A-hmya a-hmya* : Share with all, share with all (the merit from his good deed)." The friends gathered around reply to this "*Tha-du, tha-du :* Well done, well done."

527 352 On my father's birthday monks were "lifted" or invited to the house for a grand meal. All the Western chairs and tables were moved out of the sitting room; and one end of the room was laid with carpets of red and green rose design, specially kept for such occasions in all Burmese houses. This was for the monks to sit on and facing them the people would sit on mats. Between the monks and people were laid out all the presents for the monastery.

792 192 [431] I was always sad when I saw these presents; to my childish eyes they looked so uninteresting. A monk who renounces worldly goods is allowed to possess only eight articles, three pieces of cloth which form his robes, a begging bowl, a mat, a blade, a needle and a water strainer. Dagas or donators can, therefore, only give these, or other articles necessary to the way of life conforming to their precepts. Such include religious books, mats, candles and matches, brooms, spittoons. These last make very elegant presents, and are a common sight at all distributions of presents, the standard pattern being of white enamel, with a red band around the edge. Children are told of one monastry whose holiness is so high that a spittoon donated to the monks there will echo the name of the donator each time a monk spits into it. With the presents all laid out, the monks walk in in a row, and sit with eyes downcast and legs crossed. My mother and father make obeisance to them and send for us after a few words with the chief monk. We were always nervous and subdued on these occasions; in speaking to a monk a vocabulary of honorifics has to be used, even for "Yes". The hpongyi always made

792 and Grandfather called my cousin Ko Lu Pe to read it. My cousin had
871 been at a government school for some years and though he could read
177. and write English with some ease, he stuck at the word "circumcise".
87 "What!" exploded Grandfather, "five years learning English, and you can't even read a telegram. This education is quite useless." Whereupon he took the grandchildren and his two young sons out of their schools until his wrath subsided and they quietly started attendance again. It is a popular stage joke also, the B.A. who returns to his village and is asked in good faith by the hpongyi to mend a villager's watch that has gone wrong. The graduate confesses that he cannot mend it. The monk is horrified: "What, passed B.A. and cannot mend a watch?"

527 So now on my father's birthday the monks ask jokingly and kindly
792 about our school subjects. Their meal is laid out on a low round table,
574 and consists of all the good things my mother can think of, for they have only one main meal in the day. Rice and meat and vegetable dishes are followed by fruit, sweet milky coffee, sweet English cakes. The monastery boys are given their meal outside; the monks, after eating, rise and go, and the boys follow them bearing away the gifts for the monastery. At once there is a general shuffling into more relaxed positions, conversation swells out, we start to scamper around and help to wheel in more round tables. Then everybody eats, and my father feels a deep sense of well-being.

805 Our lunar calendar has twelve months in its year, beginning the new year about the middle of April with the month of *Tagu*. Each month contains the twenty-nine to thirty days of the moon's cycle, but the dates are numbered with only 15 numbers—15 waxing days starting from the crescent of the new moon: *la-hsan ta-yet, la-hsan hna-yet*, new moon first day, second day and so on, until the 15th and full moon day, *la-pyit nay*: after which come the waning days, *la-hsot*. With this system, we are 12 or 13 days short of the 365 each year, and hence every second year there occurs a double month of *Waso*, in July and August, which month also starts our Lent. Lent lasts the three months of the monsoon, until *Thadingyut*, in October, when we see it out with lights, feasting and
796 much merriment. For the observance of festivals such as New Year
42 and Thadingyut we usually visited relatives, but certain other observances came round each year to us in our own home.

Such is *htamanè-hto*, the making of a comestible known as *htamanè* in vast quantities, for distribution on the first full moon after the harvest. On the full moon night of *Tabodwè* in January-February, the villagers sit up all night in big parties of men and women singing and joking as they make all preparations for the cooking that is to take place by dawn. The basis of htamanè is a glutinous rice called *kaukhnyin*, always

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The name given thus[1] appears to be entirely a matter of choice; but this is not so. The consonants of the language are divided into groups which are assigned to the days of the week, Sunday having all the vowels to itself. With all respectable families it is an invariable rule that the child's name must begin with one of the letters belonging to the day on which it was born, but within these limits any name may be chosen. As an immediate consequence it follows that a Burman has a birthday every week, a frequency of recurrence which renders the event monotonous, and precludes the friendly amenities of western nations on such occasions.

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The letters of the alphabet are apportioned to the days of the week in the following rough rhyme, which every Burman child can repeat with as much certainty as the English one will display in the recitation of Little Jack Horner :—

Ka, kha, ga, gha, nga, Taninla.
Sa, hsa, za, zha, nya, Ainga.
Ta, hta, da, dha, na, Sane.
Pa, hpa, ba, bha, ma, Kya-thahade.
La, wa, Boddahu.
Ya, ya (the Pali and Arakanese ra), Yahu.
Tha, ha, Thauk-kya.
A, Taninganwe.

That is to say, children born on Monday have for the initial letter of their names, K, Kh, G, Gh, or Ng; for example—Maung, Ngwe Khaing, Mr. Silver Sprig; Maung Gauk, Mr. Crooked; Ma Kwe Yo, Miss or Mrs. Dog's Bone; Ma Khin, Miss or Mrs. Lovable. It will be noticed that in Miss Dog's Bone's names the initial letters of the two words do not agree as to the day. This often occurs, and the first name (Maung and Ma being merely honorary additions) always denotes the birthday. The better class families avoid such a mixing, however, as far as possible.

Tuesday's children have the choice of S or S aspirated (practically the same), Z, Zh, and Ny. For example:—Maung San Nyun, Mr. Beyond Comparison; Maung Po Sin, Mr. Grandfather Elephant; Ma So, Miss or Mrs. Naughty.

[1] [Cf. category 553, p. 3 -- ANALYST]

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Not only has every day its special character and its fixed letters, but there is also a particular animal assigned to symbolise it, and red or yellow wax candles are made in the forms of these animals to be offered at the Pagoda by the pious. Each worshipper offers the creature-candle representing his birthday, or that of any particular friend or relation whom he wishes well. In this way Monday is represented by a tiger; Tuesday, by a lion; Wednesday, by an elephant with tusks; Yahu, by an elephant without tusks; Thursday, by a rat; Friday, by a guinea-pig; Saturday, by a nagā or dragon; Sunday, by a kalôn, the fabulous half-beast, half-bird, which guards one of the terraces of Mount Myinmo (Meru), the centre of the universe.

Little candles of this kind are to be had at any of the stalls which cluster about the steps and the base of every pagoda in the country, and they are as freely offered as flowers, and fruits, and gold-leaf.

It will be seen that there is no such thing as a surname among the Burmese. A man may have a dozen sons not one of whom has the same name as his father. Maung, literally "brother," has come to stand practically for "Mister." Po and Shwe and Ba may be applied to any one without regard to his birthday, Shwe implying usually politeness or affection. Nga, used in the English law-courts and by pompous native officials generally, implies superiority claimed by the speaker or writer. Ko denotes friendship, or superior age and dignity in the person addressed. Maung Shwe Than might call himself indifferently—Maung Than, Po Than, Ba Than, Ko Than, Nga Than, or Shwe Than, and might add Maung to any one of these. As a matter of fact most Burmans chop about their name a good deal during their lives. He may begin by being called Lugale Ngè, "Little Wee Man." When he grows up a little the family probably get to call him Lugale Gyi, "Big Little Man." Later, when he begins to think of his appearance and look after the girls—and they begin that sort of thing very early in Burma—he probably calls himself Maung Lugale or Shwe Lugale, "Mr. Littleman," or "Mr. Boy," or "Golden Boy." There are a variety of other changes possible and likely. Finally, when he reaches the age of thirty-five or forty he either readopts the original Ngè and calls himself

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required about the monastery. This done, the day-scholars go home and have their dinner, a few of the boarders perhaps gaining permission to do the same. The ko-yins, being under monastic discipline, are obliged to fast like their superiors. Most of them, and some few of the pon-gyis, go out for a staid and solemn walk round the village and out to the pagoda. Then, at sunset, the unmelodious, far-reaching notes of the kaladet summon all back to the kyaung. The strollers return immediately. None wearing the yellow robe may be without the monastery limits after the sun goes down, which occurs throughout the whole year close upon six o'clock. A short time afterwards the scholars are summoned before the abbot or some of the pon-gyis and recite steadily all that they have learned, from the Thin-bôn-gyi up to the book they have last committed to memory. If the kyaung is large and there are a number of students, this thorough process is, however, modified, and only the work at the moment being learned is required of the pupils. The Pali rituals are chanted with spasmodic energy, abundance of sound in most cases doing duty for a just comprehension of the matter. Very few of the religious could string a sentence together in Pali, far less speak the language, yet most of them can pour forth homilies and dogmata for hours on end, so that the poor ko-yins are not to be scoffed at for their parrot-like volubility. When this examination is over, if the sayā is an enthusiast, or if there is time, that dignitary himself delivers a sermon, or gives an exposition of some knotty passage, or perhaps there is a general conversation on some question of doctrine, or other subject of ecclesiastical interest at the moment.

Thus the time passes away till half-past eight or nine, when the evening is closed with devotions in the presence of the image of the Buddha. All assemble according to their rank as in the morning, and together intone the vesper lauds. When the last sounds of the mournful chant have died away in the dimly-lighted chamber, one of the novices, or a clever scholar, stands up, and with a loud voice proclaims the hour, the day of the week, the day of the month, and the number of the year. Then all shikho before the Buddha thrice, and thrice before the abbot, and retire to rest. None who

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585 so on, all satisfactorily arranged, the formalities are not yet
● 805 over. A lucky day has to be sought from the horoscopes of the two chief parties, but beyond this there are a number of obstacles which must on no account be overlooked. In the first place, with the pious the same rule prevails as in England, that no marriages should take place in Lent. This cuts upwards of three months out of the year immediately. Unfortunately a number of persons are so completely in the world of kāma, the seat of the passions, that they care very little whether it is the season of the Wā or not. But almost every one, whether pious or not, considers well the character of the months as given in the marriage linga. The year begins with Tagu, commencing about the middle of April. In this month and Kasôn the next, couples marrying will be very rich. In Nayôn they will love one another. Those marrying in Waso and Wagaung, when Lent begins, will die or be grievously sick. If the young pair are so mad as to brave the danger, their parents should stop the marriage. In Tawthalin, Na'daw, and Pyatho, if you marry, you will lose goods and money. In Thadingyut you will have slaves, children, and money as much as you want. In Tasaungmôn slaves, buffaloes, cattle, and furniture in abundance, will flow in upon the married couple. Tabodwè and Tabaung are very unlucky for those who tempt Hymen. There will be no children, or only girls, and misfortunes will
587 be frequent. Nevertheless though there is all this trouble in getting a wife to your mind, as well as lucky in time of birth, worldly goods, and season of marriage, there are very few Burmans, not in the sacred order, who are not married before they are twenty, and happily married too. As the popular saying puts it—

> Ye hnin nga,
> Lin hnin maya.
>
> Fish to the water,
> Man to Eve's daughter.

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785 are no revolting self-inflicted penances such as are regarded
792 as meritorious in themselves by the followers of the Hindu creed. Fasts and penitential deeds are indeed recommended to those living in the world, but that is because such methods are the best means for weakening the passions, and increasing the power of the spirit as against the flesh. They are not a part of perfection. They are not even on the direct way to the attainment of perfection. That is only to be achieved by meditation, by pondering on the various aspects of the substances and truths in the world. Therefore the pyin-sin do not make any difference, except in the case of the very austere, in the observance of the appointed duty days, during which it is incumbent on the laity to abstain from food up till mid-day. After noontide the yahan never eats. Considerable scandal is sometimes caused by the tricks of sundry of the weaker vessels. They sit all day with their back to the sun, and if in the afternoon they feel hungry, they ask a scholar if it is yet noon. The wily kyaung-tha, thinking to escape a thrashing on the morrow, promptly answers that it is a good way off twelve o'clock yet, and brings wherewithal to solace the hungry religious. The falsehood, or *suppressio veri*, on the part of the scholar is a venial offence at his age, and the yahan escapes sin, for if he breaks the law it is
805 because he was deceived. Again, Englishmen are often puzzled to know, in a country where, even now, clocks are by no means common, and where they are found, usually show the wrong time, how it is that the people know what o'clock it is. The matter is simple enough when the sun is to be seen, for its course is pretty nearly the same all the year round, and the Burman is tolerably skilled in guessing the time from its height or from the length of the shadows thrown. But it is different during the rainy season, when the sun is often not to be seen for weeks at a time. Here, however, so say the yahans, whom it most seriously concerns, a singular dispensation of nature steps in to their aid. The cocks and hens of Buddhist countries are not as the tame villatic fowl of Western lands. I do not refer to their powers of flying, which are sufficiently irritating to hungry life-taking voyagers, but to the fact that the cocks crow at stated hours, four times a day—at sunrise, noon, sundown, and midnight.

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They thus inform the inmates of the kyaung when they must cease eating for the day, and enable them to obey the provisions of the Patimauk. This useful acquirement of the Buddhist chanticleer was acquired in a singular way. Sundry books of the Bedin were burnt as containing unlawful cabalistic teachings. Among these was the Ā-tappana Bedin. When the fire had died out the barn-door flock came and pecked at the ashes, and so assimilated the astronomic lore contained in the book. I never had the opportunity of watching any particular cock to see if he actually crowed four times a day at the times reported. They fly about so, that for purposes of observation they might just as well be jungle fowl. 805

Thus even the powers of nature conspire for the well-being of the monks. It has been shown how the laity provide them with food and splendid dwellings. It may be unhesitatingly asserted that the most luscious fruits and the most delicate viands all find their way to the monasteries. A single instance will show to what an extent this is carried. In jungle places, where in the dry season there is often a great dearth of water, one spring is always set apart for the kyaung, because it would be a great sin, as well as being unpleasant for the yahan, to drink water which had been stirred up, and for that reason would be more likely to contain animal life. This reservation often compels the entire village to walk a mile or more for a supply of water, a very serious inconvenience to the easy-going Burman. In order that strangers and passers-by may have no excuse for drinking from the monastic well, a yellow cloth is hung over it from a bush or a post erected for the purpose. Here again a stumbling-block and stone of offence is set up in the way of the ignorant or unreflecting foreigner. 792 792 312

Everything near the monastery is rendered sacred, not merely when it is enclosed in the parawun, but as far as the prior may choose to proclaim it. This is especially common in the case of the large tanks or bricked reservoirs which the pious dig in many parts of the country. These are frequently well stocked with fish and turtle, and when the monks declare them sacred, the fish often become wonderfully tame from the abundant food that is brought them by yahans 792 798

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could afford so much as this. The best engagements are those known as ahlu pwè, given by a rich man in celebration of some religious festival, or to commemorate some event in his family, such as the donning by his son of the yellow robes of the monastery. The elders of the village, or the custodians of the pagoda, often collect money for the performance of some of the religious zāts, depicting avatars of the Lord Buddha. Then there are subscription pwès, where some energetic lover of the drama suggests the propriety of a play to the inhabitants of the village, or of a street in the town. He goes round gathering subscriptions, and then negotiates with the zat-ôk for as many nights as the manager is inclined to give for the money. This system has unfortunately led to abuses. Sharp individuals have discovered the possibility of collecting three or four hundred rupees among the people, paying the manager two hundred out of this, and keeping the rest for themselves. The dodge has been too often tried in Rangoon, but in the smaller towns it is still practicable, and is far too often carried out. Besides these performances by accredited companies, there are others called kyigyin pwè, given by professionals anxious to make a name for themselves, and for this purpose giving gratuitous exhibitions. These are naturally very uneven from the difficulty of getting a complete company together. But in all cases the vast majority of the spectators pay nothing at all. The guests invited by packets of le'hpet usually contribute a rupee or two towards the expenses of their host, but otherwise the entire cost is defrayed by him.

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The pwè is begun by the arrival of the band, which, with characteristic Burmese disregard of the value of time, ordinarily comes upon the scene several hours before the actual commencement of operations. They occupy one side of the stage, and tune up their saing and play away vigorously while the people gather. The zatthama and zatthamā, the male and female artistes, drop in casually along with the spectators. Each is ordinarily accompanied by a servant to carry their dresses and help them in robing. All of them, women as well as men, make their preparations in full view of everybody. Each lady has a toilette-box with all the necessaries for making up. Many are the hints the village

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CHAPTER XXXV

THE NEW YEAR'S FEAST

ALTHOUGH religious festivals and *fêtes* are so abundant in Burma, it is undoubtedly true that none of them are universally observed in all parts of the country, except the New Year's Feast. In localities where the people are exceptionally pious, the end of Lent may be more carefully observed than elsewhere, some devoting themselves especially to pious observances, others to the more worldly ceremonies of the sôndawgyi feast. The Tawadeintha festival is an annual observance in some districts, in others it practically passes over unnoticed. Similarly with all the minor *fêtes*. But it is not so with the thi'gyan pwè. All over Burma, from the smallest jungle hamlet to the crowded streets of Rangoon and the straggling suburbs of Mandalay, the New Year is ushered in with the old formalities, and with perennial enthusiasm. Not an hour is cut off from the allotted number of days, and every item of the old practice is carried out with the same vigour.

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For this reason the "Water Feast," as it is called by Englishmen, has forced itself on the attention of the most careless observer, and every one who has written about Burma devotes a greater or less amount of space to a description of the good-humoured merriment with which the New Year is introduced. I do not propose, therefore, to do more than allude to the lesser known formalities observed on the occasion.

The month Tagoo, the first of the Burman year, occurs in the spring, and New Year's Day is in the earlier half of April. But it does not fall annually on the same day. It

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is a movable feast, and the date of the commencement of the year was regularly fixed by the royal astrologers in Mandalay, who made a variety of intricate calculations, based on the position of various constellations. Since the annexation the duty of fixing the date of the new year has fallen on the Chief Secretary to the Local Government. The object is to determine at what time the king of the tha-gyās will descend upon earth, for it is his arrival which will inaugurate the year. The Déwa king is fairly punctual, and the descent occurs always between the 9th and 12th of April. For some few years he has appeared on the 11th, and scoffers in Rangoon declare that he will probably continue to do so to save the pônnas trouble. These gentlemen annually draw up a thi'gyan sah, a kind of prophetic almanac for the year, relating what is likely to happen, and whether it will be prosperous or not. These vaticinations depend upon a variety of circumstances. The tha-gyā min may come down wielding a spear, when there will be disturbances in the land; a water-jar, when the rains will be abundant and the crops good, a torch or a simple staff.

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It is from those objects that he bears with him, all of which are ascertained by previous inspection of the heavens and comparison with ancient precedents, that the astrologers are able to determine the exact time when the descent will be made. Other particulars are learned from the animals on which the nat-king rides. Sometimes he has a cow or a buffalo for a mount; at other times he bestrides a nagā, when there are sure to be very heavy rains; a galôn, on the other hand, presages violent squalls and atmospheric disturbances. When the tha-gyā min goes on foot with a lantern in his hand and shoes on his feet, it is a sign that the heat will be very great and prolonged. Besides this the king of the superior heavens, the Bumazonat, the spirit guardian of the earth, exercises also a considerable influence on the coming year, though he has nothing to do with its commencement. The pônnas, therefore, are at great pains to find out his exact position at the beginning of the month Tagu—whether in the trees, the flowers, or the paddy stubble. Each of these temporary habitations has its special signification, and the discovery of them is not only valuable

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in itself, but serves as a most satisfactory corroboration of the truth of the events prognosticated by the movements and surroundings of the tha-gyā king. The conclusions are all carefully noted down in the thi'gyan sa, and great piles of these are carefully preserved in the archives of the monkish library, seldom to be looked at again.

Besides the events which are to happen in the coming year the astrologers are also able to determine whether the tha-gyā min will remain three days or four days upon earth. If he stays three days it is called a matulè year, if four, tawtulè, and the water-throwing is carried on a corresponding time.

All these points are settled some time beforehand, so that every one in the remotest part of the country may have due notice, and then information is sent to the heads of monasteries, and the chief districts, and all is made ready to receive his nat-majesty with proper honours. When at last the day comes round, all are on the watch, and when the wise men give the signal, tha-gyā min kyabyi, the king has come down, a cannon is fired off, and forthwith all the people come out of doors with pots full of water, the mouths of the jars filled up with fresh green leaves and twigs of the sacred tha-bye tree. A formal prayer is said, and the water is poured out on the ground, and all are happy. Many years ago an event happened which singularly impressed true believers in the royal city. Just when expectation was at its highest and all ears were strained in expectation of the roar of the cannon, there was a terrific thunderclap, which made all the town quiver, and demonstrated the accuracy of the pônnas' calculations. There was no more thunder that night, and the ranks of the pious received great increase during the ensuing week. In country towns and villages every one who has a gun rushes out into the street at the appointed hour and fires it off. Most wonderful blunderbusses and old flintlocks and ancient rusty horse-pistols make their appearance, warranted to make a noise, but capable of little more. After this ceremony is over a few go to bed,—for the descent is usually made at midnight,—but the majority sit up and talk.

With the earliest glimmer of light all rise, and taking

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pots full of fresh clean water, carry them off to the monastery to present them to the monks—not to throw over them, such liberties are never taken with the brethren. After having made their kadaw, "begged pardon with water," to the sacred order, they set off to the pagoda and there commence the yethôn pwè, the washing of the images. It is not to be supposed that these really require cleansing any more than the recluses do, but it renders them myatta-thappè, an expression not to be rendered by many words in English. It combines all the meanings of cleanliness, beauty, stateliness, proper position, majesty, and repose; and the laving with water is merely a recognition of this fact. The work is usually done by women, and they reverently clamber up and capsize their silver and earthenware goblets of water over the placid features. There are scores of them at work, and the ceremony is soon finished. Then all set off home again, and the jovial part of the festivities begin. All along the road are urchins with squirts and syringes, made of tin and bamboo, with which they have been furtively practising for the last few days, and their experience develops itself in extreme accuracy in catching you with a stream of water in the ear. Young men and girls salute one another mostly with cups and goblets of water, and stifled screams and shouts of merriment rise everywhere. Before breakfast every one is soaked, but no one changes, for it is fine warm weather. and there is lots more water to come.

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During the day there is a regular going round to pay the compliments of the season. It was a great kadaw day in the palace at Mandalay, and all the nobles and officials went to "beg-pardon," and worship at the golden feet—not with water, however. Similarly inferiors pay their respects to their superiors and masters, children to their parents, scholars to their teachers, and juniors generally to seniors There is water everywhere, more especially on those parts of your dress which cling most uncomfortably to you. The girls are the most enthusiastic in the matter, and as they generally go in bands and have a copious reservoir in the shape of big jars along with them, the unprotected male is routed in no time. Some zealous people go down to the river or creek, wade into the water knee-deep, and splash

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water at one another till they are tired and the thing begins to seem monotonous. No one escapes; in fact no one would care to get through the three days with dry clothes, for the wetting is considered a compliment. A clerk comes up to his master, shikhos to him, and gravely pours the contents of a silver cup down the back of his neck, saying ye-kadaw mi, "I will do homage to you with water." A polite but less humble form of speech is ye-laung-thi, to "pour" water over; while equals, and the young people generally, yepetthi, "splash" one another with the utmost vigour. It is to be observed that dirty water is never used. The barbaric innovation of squirts is a sign of decadence.

Foreigners do not object to the custom, except perhaps some of the more pompous and stolid natives of India, whose minds are incapable of appreciating a joke in any form whatever. The rollicking Chinaman takes it up with the utmost zeal, and sets about the thing in the most business-like way. The last time I was in Maulmein one of the storekeepers in the main street had rigged up a garden hydrant in front of his house and connected it with the well. A coolie was engaged to work it all day, and a continuous jet of water, sufficient to put out a small conflagration, streamed from the nozzle the entire duration of the feast. Not only was Boon Tek enabled to drench everybody, but he advertised his machines and made a good thing of it.

But the Chinaman was exceeded in zeal by a young Englishman in Prome, not many years ago. He was a Government official, and there were two friends dining with him. A note came round to him from a neighbour in the next street saying that the yepetthi girls were out and would be round his way shortly. So he forthwith made preparations. The Madrasi "boys" got a huge bath tub on to the verandah, and tin pannikins were placed handy, and the dinner proceeded. But unfortunately there was no one put to watch for the arrival of the girls, and the first notice of their appearance was a well-directed stream of water in the nearest man's shirt-front. To sally forth was the work of an instant, but it was found that the tub was in the possession of the enemy, and only served to eke out the abundant

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supply they had brought with them in big silver bowls. The three Englishmen were soaked through at the first discharge. But the Assistant Commissioner was not to be discomfited so easily. He rushed through a perfect cascade, and seizing the first damsel he came across, incontinently plunged her in the bathing-tub and soused her under. This filled the rest with dismay, and they forthwith took to their heels and ran, followed as speedily as her clinging garments would permit by the offended beauty who had been so unceremoniously treated. The occurrence was rather unfortunate, for the girls were all daughters of some of the principal Burmans in the town, and it is a very grave impropriety for a man to lay hands on a woman even in joke; how much more to duck her in a wash-tub and wet all her hair! That young official had no more compliments paid him at New Year's time, to his own loudly expressed regret.

The most ludicrous story I have heard on the subject of the water-feast may serve as a warning to Englishmen who arrive in Burma in April. The victim reached Rangoon on the second day of the water-feast, and having no Indian outfit got himself up in a tall hat, frock-coat, and the rest, to go and present a letter of introduction. After much trouble and irritation, caused by the meanderings of his ghari-wallah, not by any means alleviated by the heat—for the sun is usually at its hottest in April—he arrived at the desired house, and proceeded upstairs. On the verandah he found three or four Burmese girls, who forthwith asked permission to throw water on him. He naturally supposed they were asking whether he wanted to see the master of the house, and nodded violently. Whereupon they capsized their bowls of water over him, including the hat in the libation. The astonished man took it to be a custom of the country to cool down over-heated foreigners, but thought the inclusion of his hat an unnecessary detail. Just then the owner of the house appeared, having retired previously to get some money to buy himself off a ducking, and having been informed of the state of affairs, burst into a fit of such violent laughter at the griff's notion of the ceremony as roused in the latter a wrath so fiery that it almost dried him again.

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527 302 643 only from the stranger's land, but so many miles through alien waters, and so it was necessary to seek for another place. Where could a better be found than the mighty Irrawaddy itself? Accordingly from then on till there ceased to be a king of Burma, the necessary amount was drawn from the centre of the river by the Ye-kyi-wun, a minister specially appointed for that purpose.

527 177 As in so many other cases the amenities of the thi'gyan pwè have led to the extorting of money. In the good old days, and in the country districts still, it was the practice for benevolent people to keep open house, and give food and dainties to all passers-by, with tea and flavoured drinks, cheroots and betel for those that preferred them. To lighten the expense, contributions, called kèbo, were invited from friends and neighbours, and out of this has sprung the system of blackmail prevalent in Rangoon. A bevy of girls go into an Englishman's house and sprinkle him with lavender-water, or the moss-rose bouquet, so much in favour with Burmese belles. After a little badinage, they produce plain water, and threaten further operations unless something is given them. This they usually get, and if Englishmen complain of shameless extortion it is their own fault. The fair speculators are not such as any respectable girl would care to be seen with, and the prettinesses with scents are no more national than the scents are themselves. A provincial beauty would infinitely prefer a good honest ducking with vulgar water to the mawkish sentimentality of *eau de Cologne*. Some of the results of superior civilisation are very undesirable.

● 805 527 On the final day of the feast a gun is fired at noon to signalise the ascent of the thi'gya min to his happy realms again, and then all is over. The squirts are laid by for another year; clothes are hung up to dry, and nothing remains but to wait and see whether the pônnas are more successful than usual in their prognostications for the year.

805 527 773 The origin of the custom is no doubt the rain-making, described by Professor J. G. Frazer in *The Golden Bough*, but the Burmese explain it by a legend. The thi'gya min had a bet with a rival and the loser lost his head. This could not be allowed to be defiled by touching the ground, so it was caught by a daughter of Natdewas. Seven of them take it

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in turn to hold the head, and when the head passes from one goddess to another the New Year begins. The head is burning hot, and has to be cooled with pouring on of water. This is recalled by the splashing of one's neighbour with water at the New Year time.

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CHAPTER L

KING THIBAW

III.—A KADAW DAY

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"THE princes, the governors, and the captains, the judges, the treasurers, the counsellors, the sheriffs, and all the rulers of the provinces were gathered together and fell down and worshipped at what time they heard the sound of the cornet, flute, harp, sackbut, psaltery, dulcimer, and all kinds of music."

That is an exact description of the course of proceedings in Mandalay on a kadaw day. The gentlemen of the court and band as aforesaid, in the plain of Dura, must have greatly resembled Thibaw's worshippers, though it would be unfair to compare Nebuchadnezzar with the feckless last king of the Burmans. A kadaw-né means, literally translated, "a beg-pardon day." On such occasions all the officials, the tributary chiefs, and most eminent men in the country have to come to the palace and do homage and worship at the Golden Feet. There may be as many "Beg-pardon Days" during the year as his majesty pleases, but the most regular and best-attended, as well as the most brilliant, are always at the beginning and end of Lent, which extends, roughly speaking, from June to October. The end of Lent is probably the greatest occasion of all, and the audience sometimes, as was the case in 1880, extends over three days.

During Lent, every one is supposed to fast and be pious and improve his mind generally. On the conclusion of such a period, therefore, it is fitting that all loyal subjects should renew their allegiance to the Great Lord of Righteousness,

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and prostrate themselves with humble regard at his magnificent feet. The giving of presents or kadaw—no one can go near the king without a present—is represented as a deprecatory offering to avert deserved punishment for offences.

The whole town is *en fête* on such occasions. The Lord Mayor's show, or the transformation scene in a pantomime, which are the stay-at-home Englishman's idea of supreme magnificence, are as nothing compared to the procession round the moat which encircles the city walls. Mingyis, Atwinwuns, Sawbwas, Myosas; officials and vassals in formidable numbers and with terrible names; each man accompanied and adorned with his utmost possessions in the way of man, beast, gauds, and raiment, file proudly round preparatory to entering the palace. The description of a prince's order of going may suffice to give an idea of the whole. First come the lictors, prancing along with their fasces and hoarse shoutings, yelling to everybody to clear the way, regardless of the fact that the populace is all down on its knees by the side of the road, shikhoing reverentially. They are about half a dozen in number, and to a short-sighted man appear to be stark naked. A closer inspection with a glass, however, reveals the fact that they have some regard for decency, if they have little for anything else. Behind them comes the family band, braying, and clashing, and skirling its loudest. Undisturbed by the din, stalk composedly in the rear half a dozen elephants, the first couple splendid tuskers, in complete war-array, with fighting howdahs on their backs, and brilliant housings trailing to the ground; the second pair with ordinary furnishings, and the others with no further encumbrance than the mahaut on their backs. As near to these as their syces can persuade them to go, caper a number of led horses, harnessed with gay scarlet saddles, and saddle flaps, with tassels of the same colour sweeping the earth. Immediately in their rear is a bright-hued cloud of retainers, armed with guns, spears, and swords, and many carrying fans of all sorts and sizes. Floating over their head like a great red cloud, is the prince's wide satin-fringed umbrella, or perhaps it may be a gold one, if he enjoys his master's favour. Then there is a rabble of

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CHAPTER LIX

ERAS, COMPUTATION OF TIME, WEIGHT, ETC.

BURMESE chronology recognises five different eras, only the last of which, however, is ever practically used. These are:— 805

1. The Kawza era, which was abolished by Shin Gautama's grandfather. It had extended over 8650 years, and came to an end in the year 691 before the Christian era.

2. Bodaw Insana, the Buddha's grandfather, then established an era of his own. It lasted only 148 years, or till 543 B.C., in which year Shin Gautama died.

3. The Religious era. Fixed by Ayatathat, King of Magadha in India, dating from the death of the most excellent payā, and current till A.D. 82.

4. King Thamôddayit's era, established by that monarch in A.D. 82 at Prome, and lasting till A.D. 639, or for a period of 562 years.

5. The current era, established by the Yahan Pôppasaw, when he usurped the throne of Pagān in A.D. 639. The year 1244 of this era begins in April 1882.

The changing of the eras was in most cases to avoid calamities, threatened for certain years by old prophecies, and in a few instances of eras which gained no permanent place, merely for the sake of gratifying royal vanity.

The ordinary year consists of twelve lunar months, of twenty-nine and thirty days alternately. Every third year a thirteenth month is intercalated between the fourth and fifth. The date on which the year begins in the month of April was determined by the calculations of the royal astrologers in Mandalay, and published throughout the country by the pongyis and district officials. The Chief Secretary

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● 805 to the Burma Government now fixes the day. He consults the astrologers theoretically and sees that it is suitable for the polo tournament at Maymyo, the hot weather headquarters of the local government.

The months, with their corresponding English equivalents, are as follows:—

Tagu	about	April.
Kasôn	"	May.
Nayôn	"	June.
Waso	"	July.

(A second, a Dutiya Waso, intercalated every third year.)

Wagaung	about	August.
Tawthalin	"	September.
Thadingyut	"	October.
Tasaungmôn	"	November.
Na'daw	"	December.
Pyatho	"	January.
Tabodwè	"	February.
Tabaung	"	March.

The days are not counted right through the month as in the European system, but as with a watch, or as with the "day" itself, the month is divided into two parts: the la-san, or waxing moon, which lasts from the first to the la-byi, the full moon; and from the following day, the 16th, to the end of the month (the la-gwè) comes the waning, la-sôk or la-byigyaw.

Besides this there is a division corresponding to that into weeks in the European system. The seven days are named after the eight planets, or astrological houses. Sunday is Taninganwe (the day of the Ne Yawi or Sun); Monday, Taninla (from La, or Sanda, the Moon); Tuesday, Inga (from Inga, Mars); Wednesday, from one in the morning till noon, Bôddahu (Bôdda, Mercury); the rest of Wednesday, from mid-day till midnight, Yahu (from the dark planet of the same name, a monstrous foul nat, who strives to swallow the sun and moon, and causes partial eclipses by licking and pawing them; once every three years he attacks the sun, and once in six months the moon); Thursday, Kyathabedé (from Prispati, or Pyèpati, Jupiter);

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Friday, Thaukkya (from Thaukkya, Venus); Saturday, Sané (from Thawri, Saturn). The selection of the planets to denote the days of the week by races so different now, whatever they may originally have been, as the Chinese, Scandinavians, Greeks, and all the Mohammedan tribes, is singular.

For ordinary purposes the day and the night are divided into four periods of three hours each: from six to nine, which is called ta-chetti, the first watch, one blow; twelve o'clock, the next quarter, is announced by hni'-chetti, the second watch, two blows; three o'clock, thôn-chetti, the third watch, three blows; and six, le-chetti, the fourth watch, four blows. These hours were sounded in Mandalay by alternate beating on a huge gong and drum placed in the clock-tower by the eastern gate; and at le-chetti, sundown or sunrise, the palace gates were closed, or opened, as the case might be. Noon is styled môn, and midnight tha'gaung; and the word byan is added in the sense of the English P.M. Thus nayi byan thôn-chetti would be 3 P.M.

In English territory of course the English system has been adopted, and now prevails over the whole country, Upper and Lower. For astronomical purposes, such as the casting of the horoscope and the calculations for fortunate days and the like, an exceedingly elaborate scale exists, but it is never made use of in ordinary life, though references to it in religious books are not uncommon. The unit is a naya. This is the period of time in which ten flashes of lightning may take place, or the time it takes to wink the eye ten times, or to throw out the arm as often. [787]

4 Naya	are equivalent	to one	Kanā, an "instant."
12 Kanā	"	"	Kayā.
10 Kayā	"	"	Pyan.
6 Pyan	"	"	Bizana.
15 Bizana	"	"	Pad.
4 Pad	"	"	Nayi, an "hour."
60 Nayi	"	"	Yet, a day and night.
15 Yet	"	"	Bekkha, or side (of the moon) a half month.
2 Bekkha	"	"	La, a month.
12 La	"	"	Hnit, a year.

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865 Besides the ordinary names given above for the twelve months, the soothsayers, for the sake of the increased learning it seems to give them, are accustomed to refer to the months by the names of the twelve signs of the zodiac called Yathi.

Thus Tagu is known as Meittha, the ram.
" Kasôn " Pyeittha, the bull.
" Nayôn " Medôn, the union of the procreating powers of the male and female.
" Waso " Karakat, the crab.
" Wagaung " Thein, the lion.
" Tawthalin " Kan, the virgin.
" Thadingyut " Tu, the scales.
" Tasaungmôn " Pyeitsa, the scorpion.
" Na'daw " Nu, the bow.
" Pyatho " Makāya, the sea monster.
" Tabodwè " Kôn, the water-pot.
" Tabaung " Mein, the fish.

There are reckoned to be three seasons, the cold, the hot, and the wet.

The cold season, saung-dwin, heman, or hemanta utu, lasts from the first of the waning of Tasaungmôn to the first of the waning of Tabaung, from the end of November to the beginning of March.

The hot season, nwe, geman, or gemanta utu, lasts from the first of the waning of Tabaung to the first of the waning of Waso, from the beginning of March to the beginning of July.

The wet season, mo, wathan, or wathanta utu, lasts from the first of the waning of Waso to the first of the waning of Tasaungmôn, from the beginning of July to the end of November.

865 132 This is a very hard and fast division, but it is fairly accurate. The cold weather is, however, only perceptible in the early morning. Fifty degrees is about the lowest known in Rangoon, but it is colder in other stations. Still you have to journey beyond Bhamaw in the north before you come to the region of duck frosts. There is no mistake

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about the rains. In Rangoon the annual average rainfall is a hundred inches, but in Maulmein, Akyab, and other towns considerably over twice that amount is registered. In Rangoon, on 3rd November 1879, between one o'clock in the morning and two in the afternoon eleven inches fell. Happily this sort of thing is not usual.

In Mandalay, time was calculated by means of a water-clock, which stood in the bo-ho, the clock-tower by the eastern gate, where were also the gong and drum on which the watches were sounded by one, two, three, or four alternate blows. The water-clock is a simple enough affair. It consists of nothing more than a large vessel filled with water, in which cups are placed, perforated so that an hour—a Burmese nayi—elapses before they sink to the bottom. It is only at the vernal and autumnal equinoxes that the hours of the day and night are equal. At other times they vary, and the Burmans make a great fuss over their complicated calculations. In July the days are longest with thirty-six hours, the night only lasting twenty-four, while these figures are exactly reversed in January. Any inaccuracy in Burmese computations arises from the loss of the fourth book of Bedin (the Indian Vedas), which was destroyed in the bonfire made by the religious of all fishing-nets, snares, weapons of war, and such writings as are denounced in the sacred books. It was by pecking at the ashes of this volume that the domestic fowls of Burma acquired that astronomical lore which induces them to crow all together at midnight (tha'gaung kyet).

It is only, however, in the capital that the water-clock is found, and in the rest of the country, and especially in all the smaller villages and towns, time is only roughly indicated by a reference to the position of the sun or the moon, or to certain daily occurrences taking place at fixed times, as "in the morning when the sun was a span above the horizon"; or "when the sun was as high as a toddy-palm"; "before the sky was light"; "when the light gets strength" about half-past five; "the earliest cock-crowing time"; "when the monks go a-begging," that is to say, six or seven in the morning, according to the custom of the local monastery; "monks' returning time," usually about eight, but varying,

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of course, with the charity of the neighbourhood; "breakfast time," usually eight o'clock; "dinner time," about five; "after mid-day"; "sky-closing time" about 6 P.M.; "brothers don't know each other time," that is, just after dark; "when the lamps are lighted"; "children's go-to-bed time," about eight o'clock; "lads go courting time," about the same period; "when grown-up people lay their heads down," ten o'clock in the country, twelve with the kālathas of the towns; "all the world quiet time"; tha'gaung gyaw, "the wee short hour ayont the twal'"; when "the iron tongue of midnight hath told twelve," as Shakespeare has it; a-yôn kyè-ni paw, "when the red star rises,"—all these and a multitude of others are in common everyday use, and from the simple habits of the people, and their own graphic force, are quite sufficient to mark the desired time and ensure punctuality. Many can tell the time simply by looking at their own shadow. Burmans not being yet affected by this "age of machinery," as Carlyle calls it, are quite satisfied with equally simple methods of indicating duration of time. Athet ta-daung, "a breath's space," serves to denote a moment; "the chewing of a fid of betel" occupies ten minutes; "the time it would take to boil one pot of rice," twenty minutes, is well known to everybody where the cooking goes on in the front of the house. These being recognised, the chewing of two betel nuts, the boiling of three pots of rice, do not imply too great an effort of mental arithmetic. The simple rural Burmans understand as little of the English system of horology as they do of the nayas, and bizanas, and pads of the royal astronomers—measures of time which nevertheless appear in all their horoscopes.

Measures of distance are described in equally picturesque language. Thus we have "a stone's throw," from fifty to sixty yards, bests on record with throwing the cricket ball being unknown; "a call," about a couple of hundred yards; "a musket's sound," half an English mile; "morning meal's distance," that is to say, as far as a man could walk between sunrise and breakfast time, say six miles English; a mu, the eighth of a taing, quarter of a mile; a mat, twice as far; "nga mu," literally five mus or half a taing, an English mile.

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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They come up singly, in twos, in groups. First a nun, perhaps, walking very softly, clad in her white dress with her beads about her neck, and there in a corner by a little shrine she will spread a cloth upon the hard stones and kneel and bow her face to the great pagoda. And then she will repeat, 'Sorrow, misery, trouble,' over and over again, running her beads through her fingers, repeating the words in the hope that in the end she may understand whither they should lead her. 'Sorrow, misery, trouble'—ah! surely she must know what they mean, or she would not be a nun. And then comes a young man, and after a reverence to the pagoda he goes wandering round, looking for someone, maybe; and then comes an old man with his son. They stop at the little stalls on the stairs, and they have bought there each a candle. The old man has a plain taper, but the little lad must have one with his emblem on it. Each day has its own sign, a tiger for Monday, and so on, and the lad buys a candle like a little rat, for his birthday is Friday, and the father and son go on to the platform. And there they kneel down side by side, the old man and the little chubby lad, and they, too, say that all is misery and delusion. And then they rise and advance to the pagoda's golden base, and put their candles thereon and light them. This side of the pagoda is in shadow now, and so you can see the lights of the candles as little stars.

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And then come three girls, sisters, perhaps, all so prettily dressed, with meek eyes, and they, too, buy candles; they, too, kneel and say their prayers, for long, so long, that you wonder if anything has

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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nearly every house there will be a loom, where the wife or daughter weaves for herself or for sale. But many men weave also, and the finest silks are all woven by men. I once asked a woman why they did not weave the best silks, instead of leaving them all to the men. 462 286

'Men do them better,' she said, with a laugh. 'I tried once, but I cannot manage that embroidery.'

They also work in the fields—light work, such as weeding and planting. The heavy work, such as ploughing, is done by men. They also work on the roads carrying things, as all Oriental women do. It is curious that women carry always on their heads, men always on their shoulders. I do not know why. 462 241 482

But the great occupation of women is petty trading. I have already said that there are few large merchants among the Burmese. Nearly all the retail trade is small, most of it is very small indeed, and practically the whole of it is in the hands of the women. 462 444

Women do not often succeed in any wholesale trade. They have not, I think, a wide enough grasp of affairs for that. Their views are always somewhat limited; they are too penny-wise and pound-foolish for big businesses. The small retail trade, gaining a penny here and a penny there, just suits them, and they have almost made it a close profession. [442]

This trade is almost exclusively done in bazaars. In every town there is a bazaar, from six till ten each morning. When there is no town near, the bazaar will be held on one day at one village and on another at a neighbouring one. It depends on the 443 [805]

342 MAHA-GIRI, is found in nearly every house (a junior member of a
776 family need revere only the symbol of the senior member of a family).
782 A dried coconut with attachment stems is placed in a basket, the top wrapped with a KAUNG-BONG (Head-wrap) of red and white cloth streamers and the basket hung on a nail to the primary corner post of the house. It must be adjusted correctly, and periodically sprinkled with sandlewood water. An interesting story explains the use of the coconut symbol.

773 MAUNG TIN DE, a blacksmith of great powers had two beautiful sisters who he feared would be coveted by the king of the city in which they lived. He asked them for this reason to remain in seclusion. One day he returned from work to find them gone. He became very angry and pounded his anvil till the city shook and the people suffered from earache. For a while he eluded persuit but was finally caught and burned to death. Afterwards he became a powerful nat called MIN MAHA-GIRI with powers of protecting households. Since the coconut signifies coolness and thirst-quenching it came to be offered to the nat who had died from fire.

MIN MAHA-GIRI is consulted if sickness or other misfortunes visit the family. At such times the head of the family checks the coconut offering to make sure it is in good condition. If not this is remedied for much misfortune could be the result of MIN MAHA-GIRI's displeasure at being neglected. When a journey is contemplated he is also appealed to for protection. A lesser nat YON GIN O is in charge of the kitchen and more specifically the hearth. Ko Maung Than knew little of this
[563] nat since it is of minor importance or not considered in Mon households.

342 The home is very important as a place for socio-religious functions
[788] many ceremonies involving groups of people are observed or in part
[574] take place in the house (see below in socio-religious section). Social visiting is also common and much enjoyed. Hospitality, related to but differentiated from charity, gains merit for the host. There is a saying that visitors "come only when the home is pleasant."

512 The home, of course, performs a major "function" as a sleeping
● 805 place, and there are many beliefs and observances in connection with
513 sleep. The evening hours are divided into LU NYAT THET SEIK (children

quiet), the time when the children become quiet, from 7 to 8. 9 to 10 p.m. is known as THAYKYI-KAUNG-CHA (oldage-head-drop) when the elders begin to nod; from 11 to midnight and beyond is LUKLIN-PYAN CHAIN (Bachelors'-return-time) when young men complete their carousing and return to sleep. AYO (dawn) comes at the second cocks'crowing (first is at mid-night) about 4 o'clock. The KALA-DET (Indians-marching in) hollow wooden drum is struck in the phongyi-kyaungs at this time to awaken the village. The women who prepare breakfast, and the old folks who rise to worship appear at this time - but others may sleep on for an hour or so. 512 805 513

It is obligatory to wash the legs and feet before retiring. In warm weather a mat is preferred for coolness - but in colder and damp weather a mattress is considered necessary for protection. Prayers taking from 2 minutes (most) up to considerably longer are generally said before bed-time. These praise Buddha and include such supplications as "may I be lifted up to heaven again." Dreams may be good or bad according to the disposition of the mats. Certain dreams have meanings applicable as omens. It is during sleep that the ghost of a recently departed loved one contacts the sleeper and, sometimes, succeeds in luring him away permanently. 513 [515] 782 828 [775]

Analysis of home standard in Pathee and in Refugee Camp.

The Pathee home was in nearly every way superior to refugee camp home. Let us examine the nature of this superiority and attempt to see the adjustment which U Myaing made in the refugee camp. The Pathee home was an independent unit as compared to the refugee camp apartment-like home. However we may not assume that U Myaing found this a disadvantage, since living in Pantanaw was "close". The quarters in the one case were separated by half a dozen feet and on the other by a bamboo partition. An important difference is that the Pathee home was owned by U Myaing and he had inalienable rights there, whereas the refugee camp apartment was loaned to him for a short time period. 511 722 342

Only about one fiftieth of the space was available in the refugee camp (15,030 cubic feet in Pathee, 315 cubic feet in camp.) However, 511 722 361 342

GLOSSARY

Measurements: 104 804

LET MAH (finger-major) 1st thumb joint, 1 inch.
TA TAUNG (one-tip of finger to elbow) - 1½ feet.
TA LAN (one-distance from finger tips with arms spread to side) about 6 feet.
TA BU (one-tin) condensed milk tin a cylinder 3" high and 2.8" in diameter.
TA BYEE (one-medium basket) 8 BU.
TA DIN (one-big basket) 16 BYEE.

Months: The Burmese calendar for 1951-52 is as follows: 805●

TA GU - 7th April - 5th May.
KA SON - 6th May - 4th June.
NA YON - 5th June - 3rd July.
WA SO - 4th July - 2nd August.
WA GAUNG - 3rd August - 31st August.
TAW THA LIN - 1st September - 30th September.
THA DIN GYUT - 1st October - 29th October.
TA ZAUNG MON - 30th October - 28th November.
NA DAW - 29th November - 27th December.
PHYAR THO - 28th December - 27th January.
TA BO DWE - 28th January - 27th February.
TA BAUNG - 28th February - 29th March.

Coinage: 436

Pice (Indian), PI SON (Burmese) - ¼ anna.
Anna (Indian), PEN (Burmese) - 1/16th rupee.
Ripee (Indian), CHYAT (Burmese) - 21 American cents.

Weights: 804

Tical - (Indian); BYAT (Burmese, rupee) 1/100th of a viss.
Viss - (Indian); PE THA (Burmese, viss) - 3.65 pounds.

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

175 538 536* Though prose and poetry had thus assumed definite forms by about the fourteenth, or early fifteenth century, the drama was unknown until very much later. The first real Burmese drama appeared, though it had its origins some decades earlier, only towards the close of the eighteenth century, and during the next hundred years it developed and then decayed. Burmese dramatic literature developed in a historical sequence and in a way essentially similar to that of the Elizabethan drama. But why the similarity? Is it accident? Is it because of the similarity in the geographical isolation of the two countries? Or, is there a definite way in which all dramas have to develop in natural sequence?

2. Sources of Information

178 536* The history of Burmese drama can be divided into six stages. First, there is the age of the *Nibhatkhin*, comparable to the English miracle play, ending about 1752. Second, we have, from 1752 to 1819, the period of the interlude[1] (comparable to the English morality and interlude) and the court drama. Third, we have the period of the dramatist, U Kyin U, 1819 to 1853. Fourth, we have the period of the poet, U Pon Nya, 1853 to 1878. Fifth, there is the period of decadence, 1878 to 1886. Sixth, we have the time from [444] 1886 to the present day. As dates are in many cases uncertain in [805] determining the periods I am taking the reigns of various kings. As the drama depended much on the court and the victories and defeats of the king, perhaps I am justified in so doing. In any case, if a date is wrong, it is wrong by not more than two or three years.

175 538 536* The time before 1752 is the most difficult period as far as research is concerned. The centuries that followed the fall of Pagan—the time of internal wars, 1287 to 1531—saw the rise of a vernacular literature, which is found existing in the Empire of 1531 to 1752.[2]

[114] arranges its extracts in more or less chronological order, and therefore gives a good idea of the development. The subject is outside the scope of this work [538] but I mention it to show how late the first appearance of Burmese drama was [178] as compared with other branches of Burmese literature.

[1] The term 'interlude' is explained in chap. i.

175 [2] Perhaps it will not be out of place to give a short summary of the history. The various small States into which the country broke up after 1287 gave place, after some fifty years of incessant strife, to Ava, the kingdom of the Burmese, and Pegu, that of the Talaings. The small principality of Toungoo under Ava rebelled and conquered the whole of Burma in 1531.

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1037 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

have been celebrated year after year; at least since the reintroduction of Buddhism in 1056, and at least since March, 638, when an early king of Pagan, Popa Sawrahan (613–40), drew up the present Burmese era, the dawn of every Burmese new year has been the occasion for mirthful water-throwing.[1]

Buddhism had been introduced into the country through commercial relations with India long before the foundation of the kingdom of Pagan, but from the beginning it was only at second-hand and therefore feeble. The real religion of the Burmese before the reintroduction of Buddhism in 1056 was animistic, and they worshipped various spirits, known as *nats*. There were mediums, mostly women, who danced to please the spirits, and as the spirits were supposed to enter into the bodies of the mediums, sometimes it was believed that the spirits, and not the mediums, were actually dancing. Sometimes the medium herself actually believed that a spirit had taken control of her body, but usually she only pretended that a spirit had entered her, and gave an exhibition of acting. As the medium of each particular *nat* dressed herself in appropriate clothes, the spirit dances were essentially dramatic.[2] When Buddhism, in one of its purest forms, was introduced under Anawrahta, the great king realized the impossibility of attracting people suddenly to the new faith; so he compromised by recognizing the *nats* as Buddhist spirits and giving them shrines in his Shwezigôn Pagoda as its guardian spirits. When asked the reason, Anawrahta replied: 'Men will not come suddenly to the new faith. Let them come for their old gods, and they will gradually be won over.'[3]

So the worship of the *nats* lived on, and with the advance of

[1] Shway-Yoe (Sir George Scott) in *The Burman: His Life and Notions*, and Fielding Hall in *The Soul of a People* give detailed accounts of the feasts and life in the villages. However, as far as I have been able to find out, the Tazaungmôn celebrations have never been described in any English work.

[2] These dances are still performed on spirit-feast days at Taungbyôn (near Mandalay), a small town given up to spirit worship since the days of Pagan's greatness and perhaps even before.

The belief in, as distinct from the worship of, spirits is not alien to Buddhism.

The chief works on the subject are: Sir R. C. Temple, *The Thirty-Seven Nats*; Grant Brown, 'The Taungbyon Festival' in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, 1915; the same author's 'The Pre-Buddhist Religion of the Burmese' in *Folk-Lore*, 1921; and G. E. Harvey, *History of Burma*.

[3] G. E. Harvey, op. cit., p. 33.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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27. SHINLAUNG RENEWING HIS PRAYER.

the world, but not from observation by the world. Great as is the homage accorded to him by the laity, a recluse who should disgrace his cloth—a thing almost unknown — would be promptly unfrocked by them.

For their sustenance the novices and regular recluses depend upon alms. They receive these in kind and according to daily need. Their appeal is mute. The morning after his reception the novice with his brethren will halt in front of his own parents' house and the houses of the neighbours to receive such dole of food as is offered (No. 29). He will not look to right or left, but keep his eyes rooted on the ground, making no sign beyond raising the cover of his alms-bowl. The recluse may not ask for anything whatever, nor even express a predilection. The food, ripe or ready-cooked, as the case may be, is doled indiscriminately into the *thabît* from the east side, usually by a woman of the house. A woman should not stand in the shadow of a recluse, of a shrine, *zedi*, temple or image. She should not occupy an upper floor when a recluse happens to be beneath, nor enter a *Thein*, nor occupy a higher place with respect to men (p. 72). Food given in a religious spirit, as above described, is called *sun*. The recluses when collecting *sun* are generally followed by a couple of scholars bearing a yoke and basket to receive larger offerings on behalf of the monastery (No. 41).

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Those probationers who remain in the monastery for several years—reckoned by Lents (*wa*)—and who aspire to full membership of the Assembly, read with the recluse Pâli texts of the Tripitaka, and the commentaries on these, and commit portions, sometimes whole books of the canon, to memory. Recluses of standing and also laymen take part in these exercises.

28. GOYIN MAKING OBEISANCE.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

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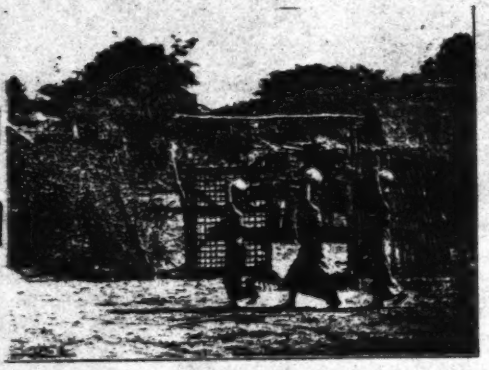

137. CARRYING HOME THE WATER-POTS.

fuel is required only for cooking and in manufactures.

Rice is the staple of every meal, except in the dry zone. The millet and sorghum which there take the place of rice are cooked in the same way but need longer boiling. "A rice-boiling" (*ta-ô-dyét*) is the common phrase for an interval of about twenty minutes. After washing in several waters, rice is put to boil in an earthen pot with enough water to cover it, and boiled till the grains are quite clear. The rice-water is poured off, and the rice is put back on the fire to steam. Rice is cooked fresh for every meal and is eaten hot. A relish is made to eat with the rice, consisting of a watery stew of fresh greens or of pulse. The fat used is sesamum oil (*hnan-zi*). This curry is seasoned with turmeric (*sanzin*), capsicum (*ngayôtthi*—chilli), and either salt-fish or *ngapi* (p. 92). Fresh fish, prawns, or meat are added if available. In default of cultivated vegetables, wild greens of all sorts, bamboo-shoots and sprouting leaves, are used. Pickles of lime and other fruits are used as separate relishes. There are two meals in the day, both of the same nature. The morning meal is eaten at about nine o'clock, the other before dark. Meals are taken by the household in common. The housewife or daughter gets mats ready in the *kyaunting* and places in the centre a *byat*—a large, deep, wooden platter, lacquered red—into which she turns out the cooked rice (*tamin*). In the middle of the rice is set a bowl with the curry and a spoon. The family squat round the *byat*, or if a large household round several.

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138. STAND FOR THE DRINKING-WATER.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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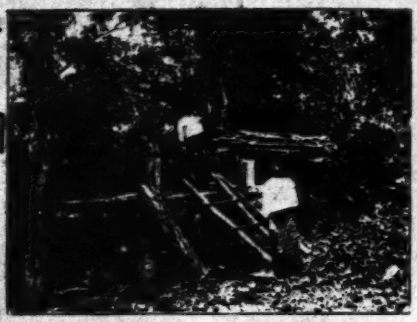

140. FETCHING IN FUEL.

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In the villages the passing traveller is invited to join in the meal. Everyone in turn ladles gravy from the bowl on the rice in front of him and mixes and eats it with his fingers. Before and after eating, mouth and fingers are rinsed. After the meal a drink of water is taken. Fruit is eaten after meals and at odd times. The importation of delf crockery and enamelled ware has been going on for a long time.

Betel (*kun*) is taken at all times except at meals, and tobacco is smoked by men, women, and children (No. 21). The betel-box plays the same part in Burman sociality as the snuff-box still does in parts of Europe. The chew of betel is made up of the fresh leaf of the betel-vine (*kun-yuèt*, No. 409) smeared with moist slaked lime (*tôn*) and folded over slices of the nut of the areca or betel palm. Dried tobacco-leaf, cutch and spices—cinnamon and cloves—are frequently added. "A betel-chewing" is a common phrase for about a quarter of an hour. Old people who have lost their teeth pound up the betel in a small brass mortar (*kun-dyeik*) for chewing. The spittoon (*tuk-gan*) is indispensable.

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The native tea is prepared by hill-tribes of the North. It is either in dry balls the size of a fist (*sin-chî*) or loose (*lepptchauk*), or is pickled (*leppèkkan*). The dry tea is infused in the Chinese fashion (*leppèyye*, No. 146).

141. GETTING FIRE BY THE NATIVE METHOD.

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When the platters have been rinsed after the evening meal and the tables put by—*sabwè-hmauk*—which gives the name to the hour, the day's work is over and the young women smarten themselves up to receive their *hanur*. The chief toilet-requisite is the face-powder (*than-ákhî*)—the cream-coloured bark

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
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Having made her evening toilet

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148. TEA (LEPPEYVE).

the girl takes some light work, such as cotton to roll for the wheel for the hour of *Inbyô-hlè*, as the dusk of evening is called, literally, the time of the "bachelors' round." The young men are expected to make short calls only, so as not to keep the old people up late. By "old men's sleeping time," as the hour after the short twilight is called, they must have left, so as to relieve the duenna, who, if not in sight, is always in waiting for the girls to come up into the house for the night. Courtship has quite a language of its own in which the suitor needs to be proficient. Young people of fashion are referred to as *kàla-thá, kàla-thamî*—lads and girls "of the period," who cultivate smartness in their speech, bearing and dress. The suitor brings presents of flowers and fruit and ornaments. Oranges, expensively stored one by one, long past the season, are for this sole purpose. Carved

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[198]
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147. BELLE AT HER TOILET.

149. VILLAGE BELLE.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

412. SNAKE-CHARMER'S PERFORMANCE.

cremation of the *yahán*. Burmese New-Year—moon-change at *Tagú*—falls in April, as the sun enters the sign of Aries. The calendar has been regulated on the Brahman model with intercalary days and months (Appendix E). New-Year marks the greatest crisis in the seasons; the heat has reached its climax, to drop abruptly at the break of the south-west monsoon. Now is the time of drought; many of the wells are empty, and water has to be fetched from a distance. There is no greater luxury than abundance of water at this season; water is the most seasonable offering, and great supplies are stored in the jars at the *kyaungs*. In a symbolic spirit, water is poured over the images of the Buddha. But the great feature of the New-Year festival is the burlesque of these libations. In the true spirit of the carnival, the women douse the men, and the men douse the women, all regardless of their festal attire. The young women in particular wait in ambush for the gallants, perhaps to be caught in a second ambush by some urchin. The liberty of water-throwing lasts for the days of *akyó*, *akyá*, *akyát*, and *atét*, the stages of the journey which a *thadyá* makes from heaven to earth to see the works of men if they be good. The legend is probably derived from the Hindu myth of the rain-god Indra, to whom water is offered at the season of his expected descent. A religious feature of the festival is the ransom of cattle. An animal kept for slaughter by the Indian Musulman butcher is borrowed and gaily decked out, with its horns gilded. It is led round the village or quarter of the town, followed by a festive throng, and contributions are gathered until the price of the animal is made up, when it is set free at the *kyaung* to be an evidence of goodwill to all things living.

413. NEW-YEAR FETE (PAYA-YE-CHO).

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

APPENDIX E.

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MEASURES.

TIME.

Obsolete	10 fillips (*kamat*)	= 1 *hyan*
	6 *hyan*	= 1 *hinana.*
	60 *hinana*	= 1 hour (*nayi*).
	60 hours	= 1 day (*ne*).
	30 days	= 1 month (*la*).
	12 months	= 1 year (*hnit*).

[177]

Since the introduction of clocks and watches the old day of sixty *nayi* has become obsolete and the day of twenty-four hours universal. The days of the week are named after the sun, moon, and planets, correspondingly to our own. The month is divided into the waxing (*lazán*) and the waning (*labyidyaw*) moon of fifteen days each, alternately with months of fifteen days waxing and fourteen days waning. Seven years in every nineteen admit an intercalar month of thirty days. In leap years the month *Wázó* is repeated under the name *Dútiya Wázó*.

The months correspond more or less with our months, as follows :—

1. *Kasón*	30 days,	April to May.		7. *Tasáungmón*	30 days,	October to November.
2. *Nayón*	29 ,,	May to June.		8. *Nadáw*	29 ,,	November to December.
3. *Wasó*	30 ,,	June to July.		9. *Pyátló*	30 ,,	December to January.
4. *Wágáung*	29 ,,	July to August.		10. *Tabódwé*	29 ,,	January to February
5. *Tawthalin*	30 ,,	August to September.		11. *Tabáung*	30 ,,	February to March.
6. *Thadinkyut*	29 ,,	September to October.		12. *Tagú*	29 ,,	March to April.

The present era (*thagayit*) commenced in 638 A.D. Thus the year 1900 A.D. is the Burmese year 1261–62.

LENGTH.

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4 grains of rice = 1 finger-breadth (*letatkhit*).
8 *thit* = 1 *mait* (breadth of palm with thumb extended, 6 inches).
12 *thit* = 1 *twe* (span, 9 inches).
2 *twe* = 1 *daung* (cubit, 18 inches).
7 *daung* = 1 *ta*.
500 *ta* = *ngáyu-thein* (one mile, 1609·33 *metres*).
1000 *ta* = 1 *daing*.
6400 *ta* = 1 *yubana* (obsolete).

6 grains = 1 thumb (inch, *lemma*).
2 *mait* = 1 *pó* (foot, 12 inches, 30·5 c.m.).
4 *daung* = 1 *dlan* (spear, fathom, 6 feet).

CAPACITY.

					Imp.
1 *nali*		(sixty-fourth)	1 pint		0·567
4 *nali*	= 1 *byi*	(sixteenth)	2 quarts		
2 *byi*	= 1 *nayki*	(eighth)	1 gallon		4·543
2 *nayki*	= 1 *nait*	(quarter)	2 gallons		
2 *nait*	= 1 *gwé*	(half)	4 ,,		
2 *gwé*	= 1 *ahu*	(basket)	8 ,,		36·346

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

CHAPTER III

BUDDHIST BAPTISM

THE term baptism as applied to a youth who enters a monastery in the state of probation (called shin) is not, as many people think, a mere idle analogy borrowed from the Christian faith. The novice actually and formally receives a new name to mark his accession to the full dignity of humanity. The great majority of shins, or ko-yins, are little boys of twelve or a little older, but occasionally a man secludes himself from the world at an advanced age. Till a Buddhist has entered the fraternity he cannot claim to be more than a mere animal. He has a lu nāmé, it is true, a worldly name, but so might any ox, or horse, or elephant. It is not till he has subjected himself to the discipline of the kyaung that he can reap the fruits of a holy past and look forward to a more glorious future.

> The devils in the underworlds wear out
> Deeds that were wicked in an age gone by.

Man has less innocence than the animals, and cannot, like them, progress by merely omitting to sin. He may make golden stairways of his weaknesses indeed, but before he can do so he must abandon the world, if it is only for twenty-four hours. Then he becomes an upathaka, a believer, and towards another life will hold the gain as well as answer for the loss in the present one, death casting up the debit or credit.

> Higher than Indra's ye may lift your lot,
> And sink it lower than the worm or gnat.

In recognition of this new-gained power the novice drops

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

781 Meditation is the only path to the higher seats whereby a
789 man becomes a yahanda, fit for Ne'ban, possessed of the six kinds of wisdom :—

1. The faculty of seeing like a nat or dewa.
2. The faculty of hearing like a nat.
3. Creative power.
4. Knowledge of the thoughts of others.
5. Freedom from passion.
6. Knowledge of one's own past existences.

781 They sit therefore for long hours fingering their rosaries, the
788 beads made of the seeds of the *Canna indica*, "Indian shot,"
[824] which sprang from Shin Gautama's blood, and repeating many times the prescribed formulæ, most often the Thamatawi Patthana—All is changeful, all is sad, all is unreal; followed by the Tharana Gôn, the invocation of the Three Precious Gems, the Lord, the Law, and the Assembly. So by abstraction of the mind they hope to acquire the four laws of Edepat :—

1. Absolute power over the will.
2. Absolute power over the mind.
3. Absolute power of execution.
4. Absolute power over the means to the object.

781 The discipline is terrible to all but a slow-minded man, and
812 we can well imagine one who thus presents himself to the people as a living memento of all that is sacred and perfect in the religion, longing for the extinction of Ne'ban, where he may escape from the misery of recurring lives.

> Ask of the sick, the mourners, ask of him
> Who tottereth on his staff, lone and forlorn,
> Liketh thee life? These say, The babe is wise
> That weepeth being born.

792 So each one in the brotherhood passes the time each afternoon: some asleep, some racking the brain with mystical musings, some learning, some teaching, while throughout all sounds the din of the schoolroom, where the pupils are shouting out their tasks at the top of their voices.

Between three and four the lessons are finished, and the shins and scholars perform any domestic duties that may be

29: Slater M-4 (no date) 1951 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

775* 779* "Him I call indeed a Brahmana who .. penetrates to the real, whether in earth, hell or heaven ... a sage, perfected in knowledge."[19] It might seem therefore that growth in science and intellectual acumen would anticipate this experience of perfect knowledge, and there are various descriptions of the bhikku's discipline which indeed suggest a gradual growth towards full realization as life becomes more worthy and intellect more discerning. There are also texts which appear to suggest this more directly. "If lust be abandoned .... to that extent, brahmin, Nibbāna is seen in this life. It is to be realised for themselves by the wise."[20] In the *Dhammapada*, the learned man who drives away vanity by earnestness is described as 'climbing the terraced heights of wisdom' and the bhikku who delights in reflection is close upon Nibbāna.[21] There are passages in which progress seems to be indicated, step by step, including progress from first discernments to higher knowledge and at last to final enlightenment in Nibbāna.

Surely at last we have brought Nibbāna nearer, in this capacity of the trained, persevering intellect? Not only, it would seem, is Nibbāna proclaimed as the goal but some glimpse of the goal itself is vouchsafed to those who are intelligent.

But here we come to the very core of the Buddhist paradox. At the summit of affirmation we are plunged into negation. For Nibbāna is not attained *through* enlightenment. Nibbāna *is* enlightenment. Nibbāna *is* Vision. Only by Vision can it be known and only to Vision can it be fully described. All power short of this Vision is inadequate. Intellect falls short. It is not despised, but neither is it exalted.

We have now to examine the nature and the reference of this negation.

3. *The Buddhist Negation*

[781] 779* 775* 812 Intellect is the busy apprentice of Vision. No one who has studied the exercises in concentration and meditation which form so large a part of the monk's discipline can doubt this function. It is not, indeed, a purely rationalistic function. The zealous Buddhist may be said to seek Nibbāna with all his heart, with all his mind and with all his strength. It is a discipline of the will and the emotions as much as a discipline of the mind. But the schooled, searching intellect certainly figures largely in this approach. There is a minute analysis, an elaborate classification, a sort

[19] *Dhp.* 423. for translation cf. *S.B.E.* X, 1, p. 96 and d'Eypernon, *ibid.*, 175.

[20] *A.* I. 156ff. (*The Book of Gradual Sayings*, Part I, p. 141).

[21] *Dhp.* 28ff. (cf. translation by Mrs. Rhys Davids, *The Minor Anthologies of the Pali Canon*, Part I, p. 13).

29: Slater M-4 (no date) 1951 API Burma
Burmese AP4

of vivisection of phenomena, tearing existence asunder, piece by piece, until at last no fluttering thread is left to suggest delusive substance or present permanence. The flux is steadily discerned, the complex of intertwining relations displayed, that, through the flux, the mind may see Nibbāna. It is small wonder that Buddhists have claimed that their sages anticipated the methods and objectivity of modern science.

All this preliminary process, however, is negative. In itself it is not Vision. It is the clearing away of confusions to make Vision possible. One is reminded of the relation between patient research and the flash of intuition which has marked the progress of scientific discovery. Buddhists themselves have discussed, as we have seen, whether the resultant Vision should be regarded as enhanced intellectual discernment or distinguished as something radically different.

A glance at one of the mental exercises detailed in the Pali scriptures will illustrate the problem. The object of this exercise, called the Stages of Deliverance,[22] seems to be to deliver the aspirant from any illusion of substantiality in the phenomena around him; to train him to look Beyond. First he is to contemplate the form of his own body, then, unconscious of his own body, he is to contemplate forms exterior to himself. There follows a stage of intentness, dwelling on the thought, "It is fair." The fourth stage is attained "by passing wholly beyond all consciousness of material qualities (or forms), by the dying out of the awareness of sensory reaction, by the unheeding of any awareness of difference." Thus "he enters into that rapt ecstasy which is a consciousness of infinite space." "The idea of the infinity of space is the only idea that is present." Then he leaves space behind and thinks only of the infinity of reason or intellect (viññānañca).[23] Next he dwells on the thought, "Nothing at all exists." Then he "remains in the state of mind to which neither ideas nor the absence of ideas are specifically present, and finally he reaches the stage of mind in which both sensations and ideas have ceased to be." Other exercises focus the mind on particular objects in order to realise their impermanence. The discipline involves a resolute effort to look away from and beyond all conditioned existence.

Since Nibbāna Vision is the vision of *unconditioned* reality, it might be considered that such a resolute detachment from conditioned reality as that indicated in the exercises would resolve into Vision, or that Vision might be construed as right direction and enhanced power of intellect. The Lēdi Sayādaw seems to give a qualified support to such an interpretation. "For those whose knowledge has been abundantly trained in the doctrines of the intuitively wise Ariyan philosophers, even their inferential

[22] *D.* II, 112f.; *D.* III. 262f.;
[23] *A.* IV. 306. cf. Keith, *Buddhist Philosophy*, chap. VI, p. 124.

29: Slater M-4 (no date) 1951 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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term 'beautiful' is here significant.[50] A Burmese *pwè* or open-air variety performamce will begin at dusk and sustain a frolic of wit and dance until the morning, and the same vivacity informs the frequent religious pageants and dramas. If the underlying Buddhism is indeed pessimism, it is at least 'touched with hope and mysticism.'[51]

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Fielding Hall has suggested that there is an element of Nature-mysticism in the Burman's outlook. Both his Animism and his Buddhism encourage him to believe that he is intimately related to all Nature: Buddhism because it will allow no separate souls but sees all Life as one; Animism because "legends and tales, the spirits of hills and rivers, of the trees and flowers" express the fact that "Life is a great whole."[52]

A Nature poem by a fifteenth century Burmese Buddhist may be regarded as some corroboration of this estimate. The writer conceives all Nature doing homage to the Buddha:

"A clamour of colour fills the vernal woods.
Tender fruits peep from the budded quicks.
Mellow clusters, luscious as ambrosia, sway in the air....
The acid lime, the delicious custard-apple, the juicy mango, the restless *petthet* and the riotous *grewia*
Rush to render their homage to the thrice-adored Sage."[53]

In his later work,[54] Fielding Hall seems to equate Burmese Buddhism with a vague and woolly pantheism in which all tigers are lambs and all roads lead to truth, but at least he sees the poetry of Burmese life and religion. Later reflection led him to correct the view contained in his *Soul of a People* that the Burmese feeling for Nature was separate from their Buddhism.[55] Instead, he now discerned a fusion giving colour and buoyancy to their faith. "Here was the world the Greeks had lived in. All the gods yet lived to those who still had ears to hear their voices in the forest sounds, eyes to see them flitting through the darkened woods or bathing in the mountain pools.... Were the trees alive? Surely they were. They had their life, they were not dead unlovely things, but living." Comparison with Greek ideas has occurred to others. Greek gods and Burmese *Nats* are similarly very human and capricious, it is suggested.

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The Greek comparison recurs to mind when we consider a further aspect of Burmese Buddhism — its social, with which may be joined

[50] "The Women of Burma." *Buddhism*, Vol. I, No. 1, (Rangoon).
[51] *M.B.B.*, p. 10.
[52] H. Fielding Hall, *The Inward Light*, chap. III, p. 24.
[53] "The 'Tawla' of Shin Uttamagyaw," ed. by U. Po Byu, free trans. by Maung Ba Han. *J.B.R.S.*, Vol. VII, pt. II, (1917).
[54] *The Inward Light*.
[55] *Ibid.*, pp. 6, 7, 24; cf. *The Soul of a People*, chap. XX, pp. 269 ff.

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joking enquiries about whether we were getting enough Buddhist and Burmese teaching for we were attending English Christian schools at the time.

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The monks have lost all touch with the schooling of the great majority of children by now. In the first decade of the century the monastic schools were still the backbone of instruction for boys throughout all the rural districts, being responsible for the high literacy figure of 49% for Burman males, as compared with 11.9% in Madras at the time. But lay schools, either established and run on Burman lines, or established by Christian missionary societies with perhaps grants-in-aid, or under the direct management of Government or a committee acting on behalf of the government, were springing up on all sides, until by 1934 the proportion of lay to recognized monastic schools for vernacular education was about five to one. Although there had been attempts to raise the utilitarian value of monastic education by the encouragement of such subjects as arithmetic, geography and land surveying, it was far easier for the lay schools to conform to the standards set by the Board of Examiners. With the passing of such standards becoming the means of obtaining employment and the changing of fashions, more and more children went to the lay schools. Moreover, the lay schools included schools for girls, either separately or in common with boys.

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In my childhood there were still echoes of the opposition between monastic and secular education. In about 1922 my Uncle Pyant, who was then a serious student at the University, told me the world was round, "but", he added, "the hpongyis say that this is not true and most elder people don't believe it." My husband also tells me that when he went home from his government school with the statement that the earth spun around on its axis and took twenty-four hours to do it, the elders were most scornful. "In that case," they said, "if you were to go up into the air and stay there for some time, you could not come down to Kengtung until the same time the next day, but might land in England for your lunch."

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Another difference between old and new ideas of education was that the elder people were aghast at the long years which a modern education from primary schools to University lasted. They felt that at least one must have learnt everything there was to learn by then, for a few years at a monastery taught a boy all the reading, writing, calculation and literature which any grown man was expected to know. Once my grandfather received a telegram announcing the birth of a grandson; the message contained the additional information that the doctors had found it necessary to perform a circumcision on the infant. The telegram was in English, according to the rules of the Posts and Telegraphs in Burma,

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1: Mi Mi Khaing I-5 (no date) 1946 AP1 Burma
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houses did likewise and the procession collected more girls as it passed each house on its way towards the zayats. Behind the girls, the young lads of the village followed with empty tins and buckets, to go and draw water with which to bathe the images of the Buddha, and then the bath-water for the old folk in the zayat. The procession always looked very gay, for the girls wore stout bright cotton prints instead of the usual white muslin jackets, so that the wet clinging clothes after a splashing would not make immodest figures of them. As this procession passed, not even the naughtiest urchin would dare to splash them as long as they headed in the direction of the monastery. Arrived at their destination, the young people served the meal to the elders, drew the water and washed the images, filled the jars with bathwater for their grandmothers, ate their own meal from the pooled remains of what they had brought, and then started uproarious fun. The young men had the advantage of their buckets, but the girls had the advantage of being able to use guile by affecting fear and helplessness until they could turn the buckets round on their pursuers. After this they went in search of the new branches, the equavalent, in Ye, of the *padauk* flowers which boys and girls in other parts of Burma were plucking. 796

The padauk is the *pterocarpus indica*, a tall tree growing in the mixed dry forests of Burma and giving a rich red wood which is much used in the making of bullock carts. It is also a beautiful flowering tree, whose bright yellow blossoms are always associated with the freshness of the New Year festivities, for it flowers at this time and its branches are cut down and dragged into houses with drops of water lighting up the golden 796 137 132 821

796 yellow flowers against the rich dark green leaves, either water from the
137 water throwers or the *tha-gyan mo*, the thingyan showers. Light showers
132 usually fall about this time although the monsoon is far off yet; they come
821 from a small low pressure area over the land although when we were
young it seemed to be part of what the true tha-gyan sa leaflets should promise, a foretaste of the coolness of the real monsoon, and a recognition of Tha-gya Min's presence. If the rain was late in falling, the villagers set to work to hurry it on. The rain spirits live in the stars but they sometimes come out to play with each other in the space of the firmament. Then rain falls on the earth. But at other times, when the sun is not in the right quarter, they stay indoors and the earth receives only the scorching heat of the sun. Men can then rouse the rain spirits to show more energy and come out, by the beating of tin cans and by exerting energy themselves in a tug-of-war. In Ye, the upper street and the lower street used to put up teams for this and tugging was carried on amidst betting and cheering and the beating of empty kerosene tins by women and children around.

796 The girls and youths from the monastery returned at about noon,
262 wet and happy and dragging the branches of *ngu* along. Throughout the day the children ran into the street to pour water on passers-by; bullock carts went by, decorated with ngu branches and holding music and water parties of young men and girls, the young men richly painted and dancing in the open carts; rival teams drew up and staged water-fights in the street or went to besiege houses where beautiful girls with a reputation for coldness or coyness were hiding. Throughout the day, also, dishes of sweetmeats arrived, for each house does the good act of making a comestible in large quantities for distribution. Ours was made on the second day and was a Moulmein speciality for which my mother had the best talent. This *tha-gyan hta-min*, thingyan rice, sounds insipid when described as boiled rice, eaten floating in cold water which has been made fragrant, to the accompaniment of green mango salad and saltfish shredded and fried crisp. To us, of course, it is delicious. The water has received an infusion of the aroma from an earthen pot which is turned upside down over the burning of tallow and fragrant woods. The rice is not the moist steamy rice of meal times but has been drained after cooking, on tray-sieves of cane, and the grains lie clear and separate and whole. The delight of eating thingyan rice in the hot weather is indescribable to foreigners, perhaps even to all non-Moulmein people, eating it in wide china bowls, with china spoons, alternating the concentration of sour and salt tastes of mango and saltfish with the coolness and cleanness of the rice and its water. We could eat this throughout the day; being thingyan rice it carried a blessedness which made us immune

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
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414. WATER-THROWING AT NEW-YEAR.

Party feeling, which often runs high between the quarters of a village, with their rival *kyaung* and *zedi*, finds an outlet at *Tagú* in the tug-of-war (*lun-swè*). As the superstitious whistle for the wind, so do they expect to tug in the monsoon by this means, at the season when everything is panting for rain.

After *Tagú*, the next festival season is *Wàzò*—in June—the commencement of the Buddhist Lent. This season is signalised by the *Shinláung fêtes*, described in Chapter III. During Lent there is no regular festival.

The great festival of *Thadlindyút* celebrates the close of Lent. It falls in October, when the rains are generally over, and is the one for which the most extensive preparations are made. Every festival is signalised by the offerings made to the *yahán*. But now they are literally "poured" in profusion, as the word implies (*sun-láung*). *Yazamá*—paths fenced with bamboo trellis, such as those prepared for the progress of royalty—are got ready along the chief thoroughfare. Through these on the morning of the great day the *yahán* defile in endless procession. As many as a thousand *yahán* may be invited to receive the *Thadlindyút* offerings in a large town. The offerings are poured into the alms-bowls by the laity; scholars are stationed at intervals to relieve the *yahán* of their loads of offerings. After the *yahán* come *pòthudaw* and *mèthilá*. Both ends of the *yazamá* are decorated with arches of bamboo and tinsel. About these are grouped life-size figures of mythical import—dragons to guard the entrance, princes and princesses of the *nats* to take part in the honour done to the *Thingó* (No. 151). In the evenings fire-

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415. KANDOM PROCESSION AT NEW-YEAR.

never talked about the business of their past working days when they met. Sometimes they showed a fleeting interest in news of the postings of friends still in service, but even the official matters of Thaton district itself did not enter into their discussions. They talked of charity donations, of the respective monasteries which they endowed and attended, and of formulæ of *eggaya-hto*, alchemy, or the search for the philosopher's stone which will turn all metals to gold. Most Burmans get interested in eggaya-hto during their later years, even if few now practise it. 887 521 [822].

This alchemy, which has no place among the true teachings of Buddhism, has to be done under auspicious astrological influences and is usually carried on in secret. Burman Buddhists condemn the use of it when it is carried on for *lawba*, greed for riches, but others justify the process as a means of concentrating the mental faculties. The common stories tell of hermits in the forests, who by their ascetic life and concentrated meditation have more powers over the forces of nature, as being well versed in the processes of alchemy. When such a hermit achieves the extreme concentration of mind on his task he is successful—the philosopher's stone is discovered, the body of the hermit then disappears in the dissolving of matter, and his spirit is free to live unhampered by the body, till the arrival of the next Buddha on the earth. Most Burmese women, however, although they believe that this happens in the case of hermits, object very strongly to the practice of alchemy on the part of their menfolk, owing to the money and energy that is wasted on seeking out new and expensive formulæ once the craze has got hold of a man. All experiments are started with mercury which is melted with other minerals, animal or vegetable substances which derive their magical properties partly from their inaccessibility, partly from being treated with prescribed rites. My father had no intention of taking up alchemy and impoverishing us, but he too was very interested to hear of the success and failure of various methods. These discussions must have been kept well anchored to reality by the other chief topic of discussion—the families of the pensioners. 822 792 779

The five duties of a parent towards his children include the settling of the child in a good marriage. By the time the a-so-ya mins retire, their sons and daughters have reached a marriageable age. The sons are in the process of winning a good position in one of the government services and their daughters have been dressed with an adequate amount of jewellery. The marriage market, which had no existence in former Burmese society and which still is unheard of in Ye, and among the poorer people, is now a very concrete institution among the educated and modern classes. The rise of the minkadaw class and of higher paid Class I government officials has been mainly responsible for this. More 593 584 554 177. 58 565

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

CHAPTER I

FIRST YEARS

It is fortunate for the young Burman that on his first appearance in the world all attention is directed to the mother, and the "little stranger" is left very much to himself till he has attained a stronger vitality. Were it not so, the rival parties of the Dietists and Druggists might quarrel over the relative quantities of the four elements, fire, air, earth, and water, composing the new arrival, and diet and dose him out of existence immediately, in a heroic attempt to attain an equilibrium of forces. The mother indeed is the major point of interest in all countries, but childbirth nowhere entails such penalties as in Burma. Directly the child is born, the mother is rubbed all over with na-nwin (turmeric), and a big fire is lighted as near as the construction of the wooden or bamboo house permits, while rugs and blankets are heaped over her to the extent of the possessions of the family. As speedily as possible the midwife prepares a draught called se sein (green medicine), the composition of which is a tradition with the Wun-swès, and is kept a secret from inquisitive males. This the victim in bed has to drink perpetually during seven days, and for the same period, irrespective of the blankets and the time of year, is heated up with ôk pu. These are big circular or lozenge-shaped bricks. They are heated blazing hot in the wood fire, dropped for a few seconds into a pot full of water, and then wrapped up in cloths and applied to the body of the mother. In addition to this, doses of turmeric are regularly administered, and every now and then

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2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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CHAPTER XLII

MAKING GOLD

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THE Burmese have no more escaped from the craze for the discovery of the philosopher's stone than other civilised peoples. Even at the present day there are numbers of goldsmiths and other handicraftsmen in the principal towns of Lower Burma who might be prosperous and happy, did not the craving for the discovery of a means of making gold perpetually disturb their minds, and impel them to waste their earnings in dabblings with mercury and strange-looking mineral and vegetable products. Mercury is what the experimenter always starts with. Every would-be discoverer commences his researches with mercury; and it is on this account a matter for congratulation that it is so expensive; otherwise, we might have far more people doing damage to themselves and others than is even now the case. A very great fire in Rangoon was caused by a searcher after secrets capsizing his crucible while suddenly pouring in mercury. For greater secrecy, and because his horoscope said it was a favourable time, he was working at three in the morning. His house took fire; and when day dawned the whole of Edward Street—one of the wealthiest inhabited by Burmans—was a heap of smouldering ashes. The originator of the fire, instead of being abused for his carelessness, was condoled with, because he was able to assert that the accident happened at the supreme moment, when he was trembling on the verge of the great discovery that would have made his own and all the neighbouring goldsmiths' fortunes. But accidents of this kind are not of frequent occurrence. The damage is usually limited to burnt fingers,

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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and constitutions shattered with the red fumes of the heated mercury. Sometimes, however, men who have lost their possessions in attempting to make gold, fall upon the notion of repairing their fortunes by making money—coining as it is called in ordinary parlance. Luckily, few have the skill requisite for this smashing business; and the counterfeit coin put about is such as should hardly deceive any man who has ever seen a genuine piece of money before.

Naturally with so many people experimenting, there are always rumours of the discovery having been made. Indeed, methods are known by which the great object can be attained—with proper care and the selection of a favourable hour. One of these is quite infallible, and is so regarded even by those who have tried it many times without success. If there has been any failure it is because of some miscalculation in selecting a lucky moment from the sada, the horoscope which every one possesses; or because some unavoidable hitch in the operations allowed the propitious hour to pass. That there is any doubt about the feasibility of the process no one dreams of hinting. Have not skilled sayās exhibited the metal—undoubted gold—which they have made?

This method is as follows. On the slopes of Kyaikhtiyo, the hill on which, perched on a gigantic boulder, stands the famed pagoda of that name, grows a peculiar kind of tree, the stem of which is flattened out in a singular way, so that it gets the name of se nga-pè, from a flat flounder-like fish called nga-pè. This tree is cut down, and the trunk is chopped into little pieces, which are then squeezed in as effectual a way as the limited machineries in a Burman's household can do it. The chips are pressed between two stones; or the bullock-cart is passed over them; or the good man of the house puts his teak box on the top of them, and summons the family to sit upon it. Any way, the chips must be well squeezed; many failures are due to remissness in this respect. The chips are next thrown into a long crucible, half filled with mercury, and the mixture is subjected to the heat of a roaring wood fire. By this simple process, the sayās have obtained pure gold—a little mixed with ashes, if there has been too much of

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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the se nga-pè, but otherwise pure enough to content the most fastidious assayist. The only time I ever witnessed the operation, we were prematurely choked off by the wood smoke and the red fumes of the mercury; and when we went back again towards sunrise, we got nothing but a quantity of very malodorous charred wood. There was a mistake somewhere in conducting the experiment.

There is another method well vouched for, and it is much less trying to the temper and constitution than the other, though perhaps a little more difficult of execution; seeing that a good deal depends upon extraneous help, which is not always available, and then only in special localities. You get a small piece of paladôtta, copperas, or green vitriol, and persuade a fish to swallow it. Any kind of fish will not do. You must seek out the nga hkônma, a silvery fish, which grows to the length of about a foot, and is, I believe, known to science as *Barbus sarana*. It is most certain if you introduce the copperas into the living fish, let the creature loose, and catch it again. If you are in a hurry, however, it is sufficient to put the copperas into the dead creature's stomach. When it is taken out again it is quite changed in appearance. I have never been fortunate enough to see the thing done, but sayās say the change is quite remarkable. This new substance is put into a mass of copper, and either allowed to remain there till the change comes about, or heated in a crucible to accelerate the process. In a successful experiment half the metal should become pure silver, and the other half remain copper, the two being on separate sides of the vessel and not mixed up together. This method, competent alchemists say, is infallible; but somehow it does not seem to enrich them. Perhaps they spend their gains in searching after more lucrative processes. When you can make silver, the desire to make gold is doubtless only intensified.

I will mention only one more method, which was more satisfactory than any while it lasted, but was brought to an abrupt end by the exhaustion of the raw material. A ship was driven on shore near Negrais, the promontory on the south-west coast of Burma, and was broken up in a violent storm. Among the wreckage was discovered a small quantity

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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of some substance, which those who found it called a-yet hkè (congealed or solidified spirit), on the analogy of yè hkè (ice). How they came to try it I do not know; but after a while it was found out that this was the grand secret. A small fragment of this stuff proved thoroughly effectual in converting the baser metals into gold. No matter what it was tried on—tin, copper, lead, iron—the result was always satisfactory, and the discoverers travelled about the country for a time turning other people's scraps of metal into gold. Then the supply of the a-yet hkè ran out; and the great question is now where to get more of it. The invention of compressed beer created hope; but the acquisition of that article was disillusionising. It had not the magical properties of the a-yet khè, and it was not good to drink. There is here, perhaps, a promising field for sympathetic Western industry. It may be hoped that the wrecking of the ship had nothing to do with communicating its special virtue to the compressed spirit; otherwise we might have an alarming series of maritime disasters all round the Gulf of Martaban. Burning houses to get roast pig would be a trifle to this.

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These are a few of the methods adopted, and they may be taken as samples of them all. None of them are more scientific, and the three I have described enjoy the reputation of being entirely successful in the right hands. But the practice is much discountenanced by the pious. Alchemy is specially denounced by the Lord Buddha. It tends to induce covetousness; and the striving is in itself the best evidence of a love for the things of this world, which incapacitate a man for the contemplative states of zān and arupa—how much more, then, for ne'ban. The monks, the Assembly of the Perfect, of course denounce it; for, in addition to the consulting of horoscopes—itself, though universal (the pôngyi himself had one drawn up when he was a week old), a Brahminical practice, and remote from true Buddhism—there are numerous other observances connected with alchemy which are still more heretical. In addition to consulting his sadā for a lucky hour, the alchemist frequently also obtains omens through the augurs from the bones of a sacrificial fowl. It is arranged that the thigh bones of a chicken shall

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2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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be examined. A condition is imposed that the bones shall exactly correspond, or that there shall be certain defined differences. The hollows of the tendons, for example, shall be like or unlike, the bones shall be even or uneven, and so on. This being accurately settled, the bones are, after the chanting of bedin, and cabalistic spells, held up side by side, and critically examined. An experienced eye is necessary to read the result properly, and interpret the full signification of the omens. Fortunately, or unfortunately, as you like to take it, if there are two augurs present, they almost always differ, and the intending experimenter is left free to follow the opinion that he approves of, or which fits in best with his plans. This superstition, besides being abhorrent in itself, on account of the taking of life, is particularly objectionable to the mendicants, as implying that there are others besides themselves commanding respect and receiving reverence. The openly avowed alchemists are therefore a much abused body. But they have the consolation of knowing that almost every Burman has tried his hand at eggayat htothi and failed. There are very many monasteries where experiments have been made notwithstanding theoretical denunciations.

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

757 of the falling of a thunderbolt and finds meteoric stones, has sufficient to set him up as a doctor at once. The scrapings of the stone, among other things, are the best possible ophthalmic medicine. Liquids are very seldom used. There are, however, two schools—the datsayās, or dietists, who trust solely to regulating the patient's food according to the derangement of the elements, which is supposed to cause his disease, and eschew drugs; and the beindawsayās, who rely upon the exhibition of medicines. These last, the druggists, are far more numerous than the dietists. It is a great deal more easy to get a reputation with potent drugs than with a simple regulation of the diet, and accordingly an upstart doctor is always a druggist. The best advisers are those who combine the two systems, but such sensible practitioners are unfortunately few and far between.

●822 826 753 Both assert that the human body is composed of four dat, or elements. These are—patawi daht, earth; apaw dat, water; tezaw dat, fire; wayaw dat, air. Akatha, or ether, is sometimes added to these, but the doctors mostly disregard it. Earth constitutes the flesh, bones, hair, intestines, and the like members of a man. Water constitutes the fat, blood, bile, spittle, mucus, etc. Eating, drinking, chewing, and licking come from the fire element. Air produces the six kinds of winds. Any derangement of the equilibrium of these elements makes a man ill, and it is important to know the precise time of a man's birth in order to know in what proportion the dat should be present. 753 Therefore in the case of illness an experienced doctor almost always examines a man's birth certificate before he looks at the sick man himself. Besides the derangement of the elements, diseases may be caused by kan, the influence of the sum of good and bad actions a man has done in past existences. If a man is ill of kan, nothing will cure him but the preponderance of good in his past lives. Again, a man may fall sick through derangement of his seit, or mind; through the influence of the seasons, utu; or, lastly, through food, ahāya. These causes, being laid down as the basis of the diagnosis, naturally do not always lead to the best results in the case of affections which are in any way out of the common run. Even in perfectly evident illnesses, however,

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
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534* begs his mother to let him go his own way. The king does not know whether to break his word or not, but he is more or less forced to decide in favour of Zayathein as all the ministers press for the appointment of that prince as successor. The king then retires to the forest and Zayathein becomes king. The new king bears no malice towards Parpahein, who, however, refuses to come and pay homage to him. As the messengers sent to order him to come and pay homage are roughly treated by Parpahein and his followers, the king has no choice but to arrest his brother and put him as a labourer in the elephant stables as punishment. Athumbain, the youngest of the brothers, tries to get Parpahein's release, but in vain. That night, however, Parpahein succeeds in escaping from the stables and tries to scale the walls of the palace with the intention of assassinating the king. The latter, fortunately, is not in the palace. He has come out to listen unrecognized to the gossip of the city and learn the verdict of his people on the happenings of the day and the changes in the palace. The king sees Parpahein, and in the scuffle that follows, the king is victorious. The palace-guards come out in alarm, and Parpahein is given in charge to be executed at dawn. Athumbain arrives on the scene, and succeeds in obtaining the king's pardon for Parpahein, who is, however, ordered to leave the kingdom at once. Parpahein pretends to leave for the frontier, but actually he goes to a remote part of the kingdom. He arrives there at dawn, and succeeds in winning the villagers to his side. He and his men make ready to march on the city. At dusk, in a part of the forest near the rebellious villages, Athumbain and a few bodyguards arrive on an embassy to a neighbouring kingdom to bring back its princess to be the queen of Zayathein. They pitch their camp for the night. During the night, Parpahein and his rebels march through the forest on their way to attack the city, and discover Athumbain and his followers. The young prince is executed on a trivial charge, and his followers are forced to join the rebel army. Parpahein and his men take the city and palace by surprise, but Zayathein escapes with his magic sword and spear. There is still some chance for him to regain the throne with his magic weapons, and he goes to the forest to bide his time. There he finds the dead body of his brother, and he is nearly maddened with grief. An [111] alchemist[1] enters on the scene and recognizing his king, restores the

[1] The Burmese alchemist is somewhat different from his European counterpart.

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

to be under the direct control of the state. But as living actors were now past such control, he turned his attention towards puppets, which were in great demand by the people. He realized the possibilities of puppets in the newly arisen national drama. The puppet show, which was then entirely independent of the drama and the living actors, started with different animals coming out one by one, and each gave a special dance to a particular tune of its own, played by the orchestra, then a *zaugyee*[1] appeared and danced, and finally, a prince and princess came out, made love, sang and danced. The puppets were from 2½ to 3 feet in height, and were worked by strings. As stage, there was a raised platform, with a black curtain, behind which the show-men stood and manipulated the puppets. The men's hands were visible, but as the platform was about four feet high and the audience had to look up, the hands did not distinctly come into the line of vision. The platform was about twenty feet in length, and the width of the part in front of the curtain was about four feet. 536 * 175 [534]

The minister put the puppet show under direct state patronage and control. Under him the puppet show became similar to an ordinary dramatic presentation except that puppets performed instead of living actors. The use of puppets to act the play of course caused the introduction of new puppets, but it also rendered the *zaugyee* and animal puppets unnecessary; yet they were retained all 536 * 175 [656]

[1] *Zaugyee* is the Burmese term for an alchemist. It is a derivative of the Indian word *yogi* but the Burmese alchemist has little in common with the Indian ascetic. It is an example of how names of Pali and semi-Buddhist origin were applied to already-existing native ideas. 789 822 [198]

A man (but not a woman) becomes a *zaugyee* when he has introduced into his body the right metal-compounds. To obtain those compounds, he has to experiment on metals with quicksilver or iron. In the first case, he becomes a 'quicksilver *zaugyee*' and in the second, an 'iron *zaugyee*', but both have the same powers. A *zaugyee* lives for millions of years, and can travel in the air, in water, or under the earth, for his body has reached the state when it is beyond the ordinary laws of nature. A halfway stage in the experiments is reached when a 'stone of live metal' (equivalent to the medieval 'philosopher's stone') is obtained. A person in actual possession of the stone can fly in the air and travel under the earth, but his powers are entirely dependent on the stone, i.e. his body is still an ordinary human body. The stone turns lead into silver and brass into gold. It will be seen that a Burman striving to become a *zaugyee* has much in common with the medieval European alchemist.

The beliefs connected with the *zaugyee* are still widely current. For a detailed account of Burmese alchemy, see the writer's 'Alchemy and Alchemists in Burma' in *Folk-Lore*, December 1933. [113]

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
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229. GOLD-BEATERS.

gold and silver bullion were used for exchange, as they still are in the Shan States. Chinese gold is current in the form of foil with the market stamp of fineness. It can be conveniently cut with scissors and weighed. Travellers often carry their bullion in this form. Silver is used by the Shans in the form of ingots which have to be hewn and assayed when making a purchase. The standard for commodities, wages and rent is silver, the fluctuation being referred to the gold. The lowest coin that circulates in Burma is three times the value of the lowest Indian coin. Notes have no circulation as yet among the Burmans, although they now bear their figures of value in Burmese.

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Rubies and sapphires (*kyauwmyat*) are separated from the sand and gravel of certain localities, notably Mogôk, in the same way as gold is. Hard gems are cut with gem-dust on a horizontal wheel driven by a fly-wheel and treadle in a regular lathe-stand. Rock-crystal is cut in this way and also on a hone. Jade is found at Mogaung and is exported to China. Amber is found at Bamâw.

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Gold-leaf is used in enormous quantities for gilding *zedi* and images. Only pure gold is employed. The paper for separating the gold-leaf in the book in

230. ALCHEMISTS.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 API Burma
Burmese AP4

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822
[133]

242. DEFILE BELOW THE GREAT RAPID OF THE SALWEEN.

which it is hammered is obtained from bamboo-fibre.

In Burma the idea still prevails that gold may be compounded from baser metals or the quantity of fine gold augmented by their means. Alchemists are found in every town, who experiment in the hope of success or practise on dupes who furnish the gold that is to be increased. A furnace and blast is the chief appliance of the laboratory, and the potent agent relied upon is mercury. Ingredients of every sort, animal, vegetable and mineral, are experimented with, under the influence of charms and cabalistic forms, whence the name for alchemy, *ekhaya-tè*. The business is under the ban of religion, not alone as being actuated by greed (*lawba*, p. 44), but because primitive Buddhism eschews every thing mystical and occult. The operations are carried on at night for secrecy. Reputed adepts are found among the class of recluses called *yathé*, who from their life in the wilds are supposed to penetrate the arcana of nature.

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Wood-work was greatly restricted until better tools were imported. Planks and scantlings used to be laboriously prepared for boat-building and for palaces, religious edifices, and the houses of the great. Excepting the inner gates of the masonry temples, wood-work over a century old is scarce. But before the Burmans possessed the means of turning their timber to account for themselves, the country had become noted for its stock of teak. Burma possesses many valuable woods, but the pre-eminence of teak is such that for general purposes *timber* had come to mean always *teak* timber. Teak possesses the advantages

243. TEAK-TREE OUT OF LEAF (MARCH).

1: Mi Mi Khaing I-5 (no date) 1946 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4
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796 was a ceremonial washing of the King's hair at the New Year, called the *tha-gyan daw gyi*. The water was always brought from the clear springs of *Gaung-se kyun*, the island lying dark and green in the Moulmein river. The island had a special sanctity because it was believed to hang suspended from the heavens by an invisible cord. When the [823] island passed into British territory after the first Burmese war, however, the waters of Gaung-se kyun were no longer used for this sacred purpose, and substitute clear water was got from the Irrawaddy.

515 Burmese people wash their hair with the alkaline juices of the bark
796 of a tree known as *tha-yaw*, combined with the seeds of the *accacia concina*. The bark, which is stored in a dried condition, is soaked for a few hours before washing, the accacia seeds are boiled in their pods until they are soft and are then crushed into the tha-yaw water. The result is a slippery mixture which we still use in preference to modern shampoos on the market. The provision of this in basins, and of clear water in big jars on our bamboo platform, was considered a meritorious act on New Year's eve. About twenty people came, bringing towels and a change of clothing. They washed their hair and bathed on the bamboo platform over the creek. The ladies put thanakha thickly on their cheeks and gave children blobs where the "roses" of English children's cheeks are, and we all sat on the edge of the platform, hair floating free in the breeze, and watched the sun go down. At night we helped to put the ground bark into little cups and stuck tha-byay leaves in the pots and went to bed full of pleasant anticipations. Tha-gya Min usually arrived about midnight, when Uncle Pyant got out his revolver and fired a salute to announce his arrival to the village. My male cousins stayed up to pour the water pots away, but we slept right through this actual arrival.

796 Early next morning we woke up to find big tubs of water placed on the front verandah. Uncle Pyant gave each child a piston for squirting water, and there was terrific excitement as we chased about the house to greet each other with the first pouring of water. Our maids and dependents always affected great terror at the immodesty of being bathed by great splashes from my male cousins; they shrieked and clambered up ladders in a most unladylike fashion and tried to barricade themselves from the drenching. In the street, too, fun had begun already. Children of about eight years and below were all stripped naked and let loose with their pistons and tubs of water to run and soak each passer-by.

But in the kitchens of the houses aunts and mothers were busy dishing out the morning meal to be sent up to the *zayat* where grandmothers keeping the fast would eat only this one meal of the day. My cousin Ma Aye Shwe and the dependent girls put on their brightest clothes of washable materials and set the trays on their heads. All the

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

787 houses, for the niche shrines, if there are more than one at
782 the pagoda, are always at the four cardinal points, and if there
778 is only one, as is usual at small pagodas, it is to the East.
823 The sadā is carefully kept by the parents until the child
787 is old enough to take care of it himself, and thenceforward it
768 is guarded as the most valuable possession the person has. No matter how often the name is changed the new one is never put in the sadā, so that this certificate cannot be trusted to implicitly for a man's name. Some of them are very beautifully engraved and ornamented, but they are naturally not often to be seen. I only know of two in England at the present time (1881), one of which is my own and the other belonging to a travelling Burman. When a man dies, the sadā is either destroyed or preserved as a memento by the family. A great many sadās were found and carried off as curiosities during the Third Burmese War. There is one at Abbotsford.

787 A curious instance of the firm belief of the nation in the
436 reasonableness of the conviction that the planet under which
643 one is born influences the fates and actions of one's life, is
177 the fact that royalty ordained that the coins and measures used by traders should bear the emblem of the monarch's birthday. Thus for example all the gold coins used in Upper Burma bazaars during the penultimate reign had the figure of a lion on them, Mindôn Min having been born on a Tuesday. The few remaining from previous reigns bearing other symbols were rigidly kept out of the sight of Burmese officials. The Convenor of the Fifth Great Synod, though probably the mildest and best sovereign Burma ever had, would certainly have stood no trifling in matters of this kind, which, if not amounting actually to a part of the religion, were at any rate very intimately connected with it. His son Thibaw Min, however, notoriously indifferent to religion, if a stronger word might not even be admissible, let the old weights remain in use, and probably called it the march of civilisation.

852 The naming and the construction of the sadā being
857 finished, the principal events in the youthful Burman's life
[291] are over, and the children run about in as happy a state of nudity as the respectability of the family permits; and boys and girls steal grandmamma's cheroot, and potter about

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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772 for Ne'ban, these eleven seats only remain constantly
779 undisturbed.

Then there is chaos for an athinkaya. When that mighty season has passed, rain begins to fall again throughout infinity. Fire, water, or wind may destroy the world, but water alone can reproduce it, though both the sun and the wind have minor parts to play. The drops gradually increase in size till they reach the volume of five, ten, a
[804] hundred, even a thousand yuzanas (a yuzana being about twelve miles English). The wind blows the water together in the spot occupied by the last world. A greasy scum gathers on the surface. The action of the sun gradually hardens this into a crust, which eventually assumes the exact appearance and shape of the last world. The Lord Buddha himself, it is written, did not know which was the first world and which would be the last. Many learned writers say that there is neither a beginning nor an end to the production and destruction of worlds. It will go on for ever like a great wheel, even as the great wheel of the Law itself. Since sorrow then is shadow to life, how should all beings strive to escape from the vortex of existences? In the *Abhidhamma* we read that there are two descriptions of worlds, called Thôn-nya Kabā and A-thôn-nya Kabā, that is to say, worlds to which the Buddhas came, and those to which they did not come. Some think that the latter kind of worlds must have been uninhabited. However that may be, it is certain that the law has always existed. It existed Kalpas and Mahakalpas before the first Budh came to this earth. The Buddhas only revive the knowledge of it among creatures upon the painful ladder of existence. Our present world, called Badda, has been particularly favoured. Already four Buddhas have appeared, and when the dispensation of Shin Gautama shall have passed away, two thousand five hundred years hence, there will come another, Arimadéya, whose stature will exceed the highest mountains in all the Southern Island.

● 823 The system of the world as explained by the Buddhist
779 Yahandas is somewhat different from that adopted by
772 western men of science. In the centre is the Myinmo Taung, Mount Meru, the highest peak of all the world. Its

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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shape is somewhat peculiar, like a cask floating end upwards in water. A height of 84,000 yuzanas above the sea is counterbalanced by as many of depth below the surface. It is supported on three feet, each a huge ruby or carbuncle. In the space between these feet dwell the Athura, the Nats who were tempted to drink by new arrivals in the seat of Toktheeta, and when overcome by the liquor were hurled into the sea by their crafty rivals. At various heights on the central mountain are ranged the six blissful seats of the Déwas, but many of them dwell elsewhere. Thus, for example, the sun, the moon, and most of the stars and planets are simply gorgeous dwellings of Nats. Away in the empyrean, rising perpendicularly one above the other, are the sixteen seats of Rupa, where the Byammās, the Perfect, dwell. These have got rid of almost all the passions, but especially of concupiscence. It is not till they have freed themselves from all affection for matter and material things that they can pass beyond to the incalculable heights of the four seats of Arupa, where the Immaterials dwell in a state of sublimest contemplation waiting only for the moment when they shall pass beyond into Ne'ban. Down below the earth, in a mass of hard rock, are the eight great Hells and the numberless smaller ones. Surrounding the Myinmo Taung and girdling round the earth are the seven ranges of the Sekyawala mountains, with seven seas interposed. In the sea round about Mount Myinmo, the great Thamôddaya Ocean, are the four great islands—Ottayakuru to the north, Pyôppawideha to the east, Aparagawyan to the west, and Zampudipa to the south. In the Southern Island dwells the race of man. Each of the great islands has five hundred smaller ones round about it, and in these islands dwell the English and other nations other than the Buddhists and the Indian heretics.

The Thamôddaya sea is too stormy to allow of any one passing from one of the great islands to any other. The Southern Island is the largest, and is shaped like a trapezium. The Western Island is like the full moon, the Northern is square, and Pyôppawideha is shaped like the moon in her quarters. The shape of the head of the different inhabitants follows the shape of the island, and the different sides

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of Mount Meru give their different colours to each island. Thus the Eastern Island is all white from being opposite to the silver face of the mountain; the Western is green, because on that side Myinmo is of glass; the Northern Island glitters like gold, and the Southern is a pale-coloured brown-like carbuncle. Each island is named from the great tree which grows upon it and forms the sacred insignia of the island. Thus the Southern Island is named from the Zampu tree, the great Eugenia.

The Eastern, Western, and Northern Islands are very pleasant to dwell in, but especially the Northern. There the people live to the age of a thousand years, and always appear to be no more than eighteen. In the other islands they only live to be five hundred. In other respects the Northern Island is a regular land of Cockayne. The fabled Padetha Bin, elsewhere only found in the happy countries of the Nats, grows there. From its bounteous branches hang the most gorgeous dresses of every variety of colour, and the happy islanders have only to take them off. Nor are they at any necessity to till the ground to procure themselves food. From this tree they obtain also an abundant supply of a most excellent kind of rice, already husked to their hands. All that they have to do is to place it on a certain large stone, and it is forthwith cooked, and upon the branches of the trees round about appear the most dainty meats. Truly the Northern islanders have a most enviable existence. But in one respect, like the inhabitants of the Eastern and Western isles, they are unhappy. They are always born back to the same island. They cannot raise themselves in the scale of being, like the otherwise sorrowful Southern islanders. Only in Zampudipa do the Buddhas appear to teach the law and free the people from constant deaths and reappearances. From Tahingaya, the first Buddha, to Shin Gautama, under whose dispensation we now live, there have been twenty-eight Buddhas, and all of them have come to the great Southern Island. To Byammās, to Nats, even to animals and the agonised dwellers in the lowest hells, the blessed words have come, but never to those other dwellers in the islands of the great sea Thamôddaya. Thus are men enabled to attain to the state of Nats, to pass

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the pagoda. Many of the lists of donations are, however, graven in a less cramped kyauk-sa, or "stone writing," the givers having probably had a weak hankering after earthly fame. Thus a goodly marble slab with a long list of names may be seen at the Shwe Hmaw-daw, and a tablet near the Mya Thalôn, the Temple of the Emerald Bed (of the Buddha), at Ma-gwe in Upper Burma records how Min Din and Min La-go had in the year 2399 of religion covered the whole payā with yellow cloth, repaired it thoroughly, and had it painted red and gold. An exact account is given of the amount of materials used and the money paid to workmen, and the inscription ends up with a prayer that the family of the donors might be gratified with the birth of a son. Near it is a magic stone with the figure of a hare, surrounded by stars, deeply graven in it to represent the moon, and a peacock to represent the sun. 778 212

A frequent adjunct of many pagodas is the Shwe Zet-daw, the imprint of the Lord Buddha's foot. It is too nearly square to command a painter's or sculptor's praise, and the toes are all of the same length, as may be seen in the example carried off by Captain Marryat, the novelist, in the first Burmese war, and now preserved in the British Museum. The sole is divided into a hundred and eight squares (taya shi' kwet), and on them are many lekkhana, representations of monasteries, pyathats, tigers, kalawaiks, henthas, parrots, seipputi fish, and the like, to signify that all things were under the feet of the Great Master. The number of beads on the rosary corresponds with the number of squares on the Shwe Zet-daw. The most famous example is at the pagoda of that name east of Mandalay, the great resort of the Shans, and another well-known one is opposite Magwe, inland from Minbu, where the mud volcanoes are, "the boiling vats of the nagās." But there are many specimens all over the country, not a few with the figure of a nagā, or sea monster, reared over them. 778 [563] [823]

Most famous among the small pagodas is the Kyaik-htiyo, insignificant in size, but unique from its position. The hill on which it stands takes its name from the payā, and is over three thousand five hundred feet in height. On its summit are numbers of granitoid boulders, many of them 778

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A woman who has seven sons or seven daughters in unbroken succession is almost certain to become a witch; her husband had better not quarrel with her at any rate. 754

At Kāma, a small place between Prome and Thayetmyo, there is a spirit flame, a kind of Jack o' Lantern, in a hollow near the town. Long ago a smith was killed in a brawl and became a nat after death. He liked his old profession and set up a nat-fire, and worked away at nights on a spectral forge. The inhabitants soon found out what was going on, and after their first terror was over used to go out in the middle of the day and leave a piece of iron, saying, "Good Mr. Spirit, make me an axe, a dah, a hoe." Next day they found it all ready made. At last a Chin—just the sort of thing one of those stupid people would do—hid himself, and just when the midnight cocks had finished crowing, up rose the smith in human shape, dressed in a red paso and a flaring red turban. He began hammering away on his anvil, welding a sword. The infatuated Chin at last shouted, "Make it quick." The demon smith whipped round on the instant and flung the red-hot dah at him, burning his cheek. The indiscreet peeping Tom took to his heels and ran. After he had got a mile away he rubbed his blistered cheek, and in after-times there rose at that place Pāpôt, "the cheek-rubbing village." A mile farther on he began to shake all over with fatigue and terror, whence the name of Tôn, "the trembling village." Finally, when he reached the site of Paukpogu, the "swelling burst," he sank down on the ground, and was found there next morning with just enough life left to tell his story. The smith never worked again, but his fire may be seen to this day. Once a year all the house fires in Kāma are put out and lighted again from the nat-mi. Should any one neglect so to pay honour to the nat, his house and all his goods will be burnt before the year is out. The resemblance to the legend of Wayland Smith at Lambourn in Berkshire is obvious. The naming of the villages is also a favourite form of Horne Took etymology prevalent all over Burma. 823 [513] [186] [103]

The common notion of earthquakes is that the earth is supported on the shoulders of four creatures called nga-hlyin. These monsters are less sturdy than the classical Atlas, and 823

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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823 occasionally want to shift shoulders. When they do so an earthquake is the result. Others declare that the quaking of the earth is caused by gusts of wind on the under surface of the world. The idea is that the solid mass of the earth is supported on a double thickness of water, and this again by twice its thickness of air, below which is a vacuum, occasionally, however, disturbed by storms. The Buddha gave a much more extensive explanation to his favourite disciple Ananda. "My son," he said, "eight causes make the earth tremble. First, the earth lies on a mass of water, which rests on the air, and the air on space; when the air is set in motion, it shakes the water, which in its turn shakes the earth; second, any being gifted with extraordinary powers; third, the conception of a payā laung for his last existence; fourth, his birth; fifth, his becoming a Buddha; sixth, his preaching the Law of the Wheel; seventh, his mastering and renouncing existence; eighth, his obtaining the state of Ne'ban. These are the eight causes of earthquakes."

779 The Law of the Wheel is the doctrine of the four great truths: pain, the production of pain, the destruction of pain, and the way leading to that destruction. These constantly revolve upon themselves, and the manifestation of these truths is the great work a Buddha has to perform.

787 Omens are drawn from the appearance of the sun and moon, and especially from the particular constellation which presides over one's birth. The howling of dogs, the flight and song of birds, the appearance of any strange creature, or of a wild animal in an unexpected place, all have their special meaning. So have the nervous twitchings of the eye, or of any part of the body. If the sun or any of the planets approaches the moon there is danger about. In the four months when Venus is not to be seen, in a month when there is an earthquake or an eclipse, and on the first or last day of a month, it is advisable not to cut one's hair, marry, build a house, or begin any important business whatever. These and hundreds more may be found in the Deitton, a book very full of singular information. Palmistry is a science of which every educated person professes to have more or less knowledge. The less a man knows, the more truculent his deductions are.

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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764 heavy punishment under Burman rule. Latterly some
S.5 laymen in Rangoon have even been bold enough to glorify the
178 funerals of their relatives with keinnaya, figures of men or women with bird-like feet and lower extremities. These spangled toys, which are commonly to be seen in all monasteries, are properly only used at the last ceremonies of a member of the sacred order. But when some men are bold enough even to flaunt the royal white umbrella, it is hardly to be expected that the distinctive honours of the yahans would be respected.

764 The procession having been formed, a start is made.
[735] At the head come the alms intended for the monks and for the poor, some carried by men, some by women, the sexes going in separate lines. After this come the pyin-sin, never in any very great numbers, unless the a-hlu be particularly bountiful. Following them comes the band, and often a troop of singers. These are always hired for the purpose, and their callousness is as little to be cast up against Burman natural affection as the unlovable doings of the mutes at an English funeral. Close upon the musicians comes the bier carried by six or eight young men. Then in a general crowd follow the relations, friends, and neighbours, all on foot. Many passers-by, total strangers, join in the procession from motives of piety. Here and there the men carrying the bier stop and dance in a curious fantastic way to the measures of
[533] the dirge of the singers. The funeral *misereres* are usually the composition of an improvisatore in the chorus, and deal with the life and death and good actions of the deceased. A measure called maung pyaung is the most generally used.

Occasionally there is a tug-of-war with a rope as at a pôngyi's funeral, one side exclaiming, "We must bury our dead"; the other, "You shall not take away my friend." As a matter of necessity the former party must conquer, but they sometimes have to get recruits from the crowd before they can manage it.

764 It is a matter of regulation that a funeral should never
● 823 go to the north or to the east. The graveyard is usually to the west of the village, and the dead should all be carried out of a walled town by a gate reserved for this purpose. In Mandalay this a-mingala tagâ was that to the south-west,

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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and it was avoided by those who had business in the myo as cursed, as indeed its name imports. Other rules are that a corpse must never be carried towards the centre of the town, still less can it be taken into it. If the man has died in the jungle, and the funeral has to pass a village, it skirts round the outside of it. 764 823

When the cemetery is reached, the coffin is taken out and placed on the ground near the grave. The immediate mourners collect round about it; the rest of the people go to the zayats, of which there are always several at every graveyard. The music stops as soon as this place is reached. The alms are set up in order before the pôngyis, and these again intone the five secular commandments, and the ten good works, besides a long string of Pali doxologies. As soon as they have finished they leave and file off to the monastery, the a-hlu being carried after them. The chief mourner at the same time pours water slowly out of a cocoanut shell, saying, "May the deceased and all present share the merit of the offerings made and the ceremonies now proceeding." This performance, called ye-set-kya, is a regular accompaniment of all almsgiving. The idea is that the earth will bear witness where men may forget. When Shin Gautama ascended the throne under the bawdi tree, Mān-nat, the devil, claimed that it was his, because he had discovered it first, and all his mighty host shouted aloud when he called upon them as witnesses. The Lord Buddha had no witness but the earth, and to it he appealed, asking whether he had not achieved the Three Great Works of Perfection, the Ten Great Virtues, and the Five Renouncements. The earth gave testimony to this kaung-hmu with a terrible roaring and a violent earthquake, so that Mān-nat and all his legions fled in terror. Hence the pouring out of water when alms are given. 764 [735]

While this is going on women are walking about the zayats distributing cheroots and sweet drinks, betel, le'pet, and biscuits among the visitors. The nearest relations are carrying out the final rites. The coffin is swung three times backwards and forwards over the open grave, and then lowered in. This ceremony, called utaikthi, is looked upon as a kind of final farewell, and after each person has thrown 764

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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great arm will seize you, and you will be pulled under and disappear for ever. 776 626

A Nat is much like a human being; if you treat him well he will treat you well, and conversely. Courtesy is never wasted on men or Nats, at least so a Burman tells me. [782]

The highest Nats live in the mountains. The higher the Nat the higher the mountain; and when you get to a very high peak indeed, like Mainthong Peak in Wuntho, you encounter very powerful Nats. 776 823

They tell a story of Mainthong Peak and the Nats there, how all of a sudden, one day in 1885, strange noises came from the hill. High up on his mighty side was heard the sound of great guns firing slowly and continuously; there was the thunder of falling rocks, cries as of someone bewailing a terrible calamity, and voices calling from the precipices. The people living in their little hamlets about his feet were terrified. Something they knew had happened of most dire import to them, some catastrophe which they were powerless to prevent, which they could not even guess. But when a few weeks later there came even into those remote villages the news of the fall of Mandalay, of the surrender of the king, of the 'great treachery,' they knew that this was what the Nats had been sorrowing over. All the Nats everywhere seem to have been distressed at our arrival, to hate our presence, and to earnestly desire our absence. They are the spirits of the country and of the people, and they cannot abide a foreign domination. [186]

But the greatest place for Nats is the Popa Mountain, which is an extinct volcano standing all

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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776 alone about midway between the river and the Shan
823 Mountains. It is thus very conspicuous, having no hills near it to share its majesty; and being in sight from all the old capitals, it is very well known in history and legend. It is covered with dense forest, and the villages close about are few. At the top there is a crater with a broken side, and a stream comes flowing out of this break down the mountain. Probably it was the denseness of its forests, the abundance of water, and its central position, more
[579] than its guardian Nats, that made it for so many years the last retreating-place of the half-robber, half-patriot bands that made life so uneasy for us. But the Nats of Popa Mountains are very famous.

776 When any foreigner was taken into the service
695 of the King of Burma he had to swear an oath of fidelity. He swore upon many things, and among
823 them were included 'all the Nats in Popa.' No Burman would have dared to break an oath sworn in such a serious way as this, and they did not imagine that anyone else would. It was and is a very dangerous thing to offend the Popa Nats; for they are still there in the mountain, and everyone who goes there must do them reverence.

776 A friend of mine, a police officer who was en-
823 gaged in trying to catch the last of the robber chiefs who hid near Popa, told me that when he went up
[782] the mountain shooting, he, too, had to make offerings. Some way up there is a little valley dark with overhanging trees, and a stream flows slowly along it. It is an enchanted valley, and if you look closely you will see that the stream is not as other streams, for it flows uphill. It comes rushing into

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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the valley with a great display of foam and froth, and it leaves in a similar way, tearing down the rocks, and behaving like any other boisterous hill rivulet; but in the valley itself it lies under a spell. It is slow and dark, and has a surface like a mirror, and it flows uphill. There is no doubt about it; anyone can see it. When they came here, my friend tells me, they made a halt, and the Burmese hunters with him unpacked his breakfast. He did not want to eat then, he said, but they explained that it was not for him, but for the Nats. All his food was unpacked, cold chicken and tinned meats, and jam and eggs and bread, and it was spread neatly on a cloth under a tree. Then the hunters called upon the Nats to come and take anything they desired, while my friend wondered what he should do if the Nats took all his food and left him with nothing. But no Nats came, although the Burmans called again and again. So they packed up the food, saying that now the Nats would be pleased at the courtesy shown to them, and that my friend would have good sport. Presently they went on, leaving, however, an egg or two and a little salt, in case the Nats might be hungry later, and true enough it was that they did have good luck. At other times, my friend says, when he did not observe this ceremony, he saw nothing to shoot at all, but on this day he did well.

The former history of all Nats is not known. Whether they have had a previous existence in another form, and if so, what, is a secret that they usually keep carefully to themselves, but the history of the Popa Nats is well known. Everyone who

children such as were playing about them. We were ready-made re- 528
productions sent back by my father and Uncle San Lin who disappeared 177
into an unknown world many years ago. At house after house, and at the same houses year after year, we sat in a row on the benches they kept on the verandahs of all houses, eight children awkward and re-
strained, while the old people peered and chuckled at us: "Yes, that is 827
San Lin, all right—but there is Htwa Yin's nose; look at this expression, it is Maung Chit Kaing himself—oh but look here, here is the image of Maung Pyant, yes, exactly Maung Pyant, hullo you little Pyant, oh, look at her." This was my poor sister Mya Mya whose face seemed to be the quintessence of the features of my father and all his brothers and sisters. My sister Aye and I, who had the good fortune to take after my mother's family, were noticed very little during these visits, but my poor little Mya Mya sat there solemn and unhappy, thrusting her face out until even to us she looked comically like the forty-year-old aunts and uncles.

When I think back on eating the fruits of Grandmother's garden, 245
they seem to have the quality of some heavenly ambrosia about them. 262
They were all such luscious fruits. For example, the durian, the fruit 824
which foreigners describe as smelling most foul, usually had in Rangoon only a thin layer of the precious golden flesh around the seeds. In this garden we ate only *shwe-dinga* durians, gold-sovereign durians, whose flesh was so soft and full that a gold coin could be stood on edge on the seed and be buried in it. Moreover, the eating of durians in excess was usually discouraged anywhere else, because of the heating qualities of the fruit, but here they grew beside the cooling mangosteen, which we always ate after the durian. This delicious fruit never travels successfully; even from district to district it gets bruised and stained. The mangosteen tree was most exciting to me as a child. It was full of dark foliage and the distilled nectar of the snow-white fruit seemed to be enclosed in bitterness and fraught with dangers, for the thick skin which contains tannin was bitter, its stain was indelible and to be kept carefully away from our clothes, and the fruit itself was said to be poisonous when eaten with sugar. This was owing to the belief that the sap of the rind made a toxic combination with sugar. Even the coconuts in Ye had a succulence about them. They were so abundant in the garden that we discarded all the fruit in which the meat had hardened beyond the *zun-chit*, the "spoon-scrape", stage when the flesh was of such tenderness that it could be scraped up with a spoon as a transparent jelly, to be put into the drink of coconut water. We were encouraged to drink this because it was said to make the heat "kick" and come out of the system. The grains of the pomeloes also were swollen

245 and pink with juice; we shredded them in piles and ate them with prawn
262 powder and fish sauce. The *kanazo*, the *baccaurea sapida*, gave us a
•824 fruit of a mouth-watering sweet-sourness. This fruit was said to induce diarrhoea and we were always made to eat the white piths which had a binding action.

262 Whereas we feasted on the fruits of trees, our elders turned to the sea for more fleshly succulence. My mother and aunts loved to get turtles' eggs, nastily soft white things the size of golf balls, boil them and tear them open to spill their richness on to a plate of boiled rice; they got oysters swimming soft and cold in vinegar; big nga-tha-lauk, hilsa fish, bursting with fatness, and thick buffalo's milk which always seemed to us more meaty and strong than cow's milk.

796 We came back to Ye itself for the New Year festival. The New
772 Year in our lunar calendar usually occurs round about April 13th, and
775 is the occasion of the descent of a spirit-king, the Tha-gya Min, king of the tha-gyas, from heavenly regions to the world of men. The Burman Buddhist idea of the universe places the hellish, the earthly and the heavenly regions in well-defined order. In the centre of the universe is Mount Myinmo, the highest peak in all the world, a million miles above the sea and a million below the waters. Round about the sides of this mountain are ranged the six levels of heavenly regions where the Dewas or heavenly spirits dwell. These heavenly spirits also have homes in the sun, moon and stars. Far up in the heavens, above the seats of the Dewas, are ranged the sixteen seats of more perfect beings, the Byammas, one above the other. And far above them, as high as the imagination can soar, are four sublime seats, on the borders of the supreme Nirvana. Below the six levels of the Dewa regions of Myinmo are seven ranges of mountains, girdling the earth in a perfect ring interposed only by seven seas. In these seas are set four great islands, to the north, south, east and west of Myinmo Mountain, each attended by five hundred small islands grouped around it. On each island grows a fabulous tree which gives its name to the island, and dwell beings whose heads are shaped like the shape of the island. The northern, eastern and western islands are all more fair than the southern, life lasts for five hundred or a thousand years, and the trees bear gorgeous dresses and delicious foods of meat, but the inhabitants of the southern islands are infinitely more blessed in their merit. This island of Zampudipa, shaped like a trapezium and bearing the Zampu tree, surrounded by five hundred islands where live the English and the other nations of the human world, is the abode of man, the Buddhist man, and the known neighbours who are heretics from Buddhism. Here the inhabitants must work to weave their clothes and cook their food and

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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781 Meditation is the only path to the higher seats whereby a
789 man becomes a yahanda, fit for Ne'ban, possessed of the six kinds of wisdom :—

1. The faculty of seeing like a nat or dewa.
2. The faculty of hearing like a nat.
3. Creative power.
4. Knowledge of the thoughts of others.
5. Freedom from passion.
6. Knowledge of one's own past existences.

781 They sit therefore for long hours fingering their rosaries, the
788 beads made of the seeds of the *Canna indica*, "Indian shot,"
[824] which sprang from Shin Gautama's blood, and repeating many times the prescribed formulæ, most often the Thamatawi Patthana—All is changeful, all is sad, all is unreal; followed by the Tharana Gôn, the invocation of the Three Precious Gems, the Lord, the Law, and the Assembly. So by abstraction of the mind they hope to acquire the four laws of Edepat :—

1. Absolute power over the will.
2. Absolute power over the mind.
3. Absolute power of execution.
4. Absolute power over the means to the object.

781 The discipline is terrible to all but a slow-minded man, and
812 we can well imagine one who thus presents himself to the people as a living memento of all that is sacred and perfect in the religion, longing for the extinction of Ne'ban, where he may escape from the misery of recurring lives.

> Ask of the sick, the mourners, ask of him
> Who tottereth on his staff, lone and forlorn,
> Liketh thee life? These say, The babe is wise
> That weepeth being born.

792 So each one in the brotherhood passes the time each afternoon: some asleep, some racking the brain with mystical musings, some learning, some teaching, while throughout all sounds the din of the schoolroom, where the pupils are shouting out their tasks at the top of their voices.

Between three and four the lessons are finished, and the shins and scholars perform any domestic duties that may be

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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animals generally when a journey is being made for any distance. At night the carts are arranged in a laager with the high backs outwards, and all inside, including even the pariah dogs, are safe from wild animals. The waggoners used to glory in the strident sound of their wheels, which often can be heard miles off in the forest. A wheel with a creak of particular volume and power of penetration is highly prized, and an experienced driver can tell whom he is going to meet or overtake by the groanings of the axles and the key in which they are pitched. Every bullock in addition carries a square metal bell tied under his throat.

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In the yard round about the house there is very often a little garden fenced off in a rough kind of way, but no particular care is taken to keep it neat and free from weeds—no easy matter even for an active gardener in Burma. The favourite plant is always the Bôddha Tharanat (*Canna Indica*, or Indian shot), so named from its seeds, which are used for the beads of the rosary. The flowers are red, or sometimes white. The fable relates that it sprang from the Buddha's blood. His impious and evil-minded brother-in-law and cousin Dewadat, enraged that he was not allowed to have a separate assembly of his own, went to the top of a hill and rolled down a huge stone, intending to destroy the most excellent payā. But the boulder burst into a thousand pieces, and only one little bit bruised Shin Gautama's toe, and drew a few drops of blood, whence sprang the sacred flower. The renowned physician Zewaka healed the great teacher's wound in a single day, and almost immediately afterwards the earth opened and swallowed up the sacrilegious Dewadat. The plants and flowers usually stand demurely in a single row, or perhaps in three or four, like a patch of peas. The *Datura tatula* is almost always found, and among the other mingled vegetables and medicinal plants the *Celosia cristata*, in both its yellow and purple varieties, is a special favourite. But the Burman can scarcely vaunt his success as a flower gardener.

There are always a few domestic animals and pets about the premises. Every family has its dog, which trots about the establishment and makes a terrible to-do whenever a white man appears. The pariahs are magnificent watch-

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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Ah, sad the scene;
But yet, I ween,
A sadder wight am I;
The thuyaung seed[1]
Gives lovers rede,
But sears my tortured eye.

Ah, cruel spite,
Ah, cursed night,
That tore my Queen away;
More comfort here,
In jungle drear,
Than in the golden day.

The fog's death-cloud
Hangs like a shroud
Upon the shagg'd hillside;
The tall trees mope,
The wild beasts grope,
Nor know what may betide.

Yet the great sun
Needs cast but one
Fierce eye upon the gloom;
The mists all rise,
Mix with the skies,
And rainbows deck his loom.

Ah, wretched wight,
Such omen bright
Gleams not upon my fate;
Nor faint, nor bright,
Hope's golden light
Lends me no heart to wait.

The story old
Of Nat so bold
Creeps o'er my harassed thought;
Haply this hill
He treadeth still,
And here that horror wrought.

In warlike guise,
With wings on thighs,
He scales where eagles flag;

[1] The fruit of the thuyaung bin, a kind of half shrub, half tree, has a curious resemblance to the figure of a woman, and *soupirants* are wont to detect fancied resemblances to the object of their affections, and deduce favourable omens from the discovery.

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25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
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31. SYMBOL OF MYIMMO-DAUNG.

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of the Burman type is the one cast for the Shwe-Dagôn Payâ by the Emperor Sinbyu Shin in 1775, which weighs forty-one tons.

According to the Burman cosmogony the world consists of four great islands, North, South, East and West, surrounded by the ocean. Burma and the known countries are situated in the south island. In the centre of all rises Mount Meru (*Myimmo-daung*). This centre of the universe is symbolized by a conventional tower provided with niches or caverns for mythical inhabitants of every sort, *Nat*, *Zawdyi* (sorcerers), *Bliu* (ogres), monsters half human and half brute, and dragons (No. 392). The symbol of *Myinmo-daung*, made of bamboo, with paper and tinsel, is a feature of various festivals. In substantial masonry it is a frequent adjunct of the temples.

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[773]

The *Bo* tree (*Bawdi-bin*), together with the rest of the *ficus* family, is sacred to the Hindu. The *Bo* is a variety of the *pipal* (*ficus religiosa*), a deciduous *ficus* with long copper-coloured acumina to the leaves. It is sacred to the Buddhists because it was while resting under the shade of a *Bo* tree at Gáya in Bahár, 600 years before Christ, that Gawdama realised the vanity of the ceremonial and ascetic systems, resisted temptation, and attained to supreme enlightenment, which, as Buddha, it became his mission to impart to mankind. "The *Bo* tree is to Buddhists what the Cross is to Christians" (Bigandet). The original *Mahâ-bodi* was piously tended while Buddhism flourished in India, and trees propagated from it were planted by Buddhist pilgrims. Such a tree is the historical *Bo* tree at Anurádhapúra in Ceylon, planted in 245 B.C. and still flourishing. Young plants cultivated from this tree are brought home to

32. GAWDI TREE.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

83. DAUTCHA YATHÉ.

Burma by pilgrims. Dried and gilt leaves are also brought as relics. The seeds of the tropical *ficus* species germinate in the fork of some other tree or in a cranny of masonry and flourish in such mould as they find. The roots develop thick bands which dislodge the masonry, but, interlacing in all directions, hold the loose material together while the tree lives; or else, when the host is another tree, strangle it and take its place (Nos. 77, 245, 321). 788 824

The *yahán* are not the only religious celibates of Burma. Several other classes follow this way of life, observing many or few rules, according to their own choice. Nearest to the *yahán* are the *yathé*. They depend chiefly on alms, but cultivate gardens for themselves. Their appeal for alms is mute, they accept them in money as well as in kind, and they lay up a store for actual needs. They take food in the forenoon only. The *yathé*, who are few in number, live in forest caves or in derelict shrines, and shift for themselves, singly or in small colonies. The majority study, though they do not teach; some are illiterate. They receive a certain deference from the laity, and themselves defer to the *yahán*. The *yathé* are the subject of harmless satire and burlesque in the plays; the *yahán* never. The robe is like that of the *yahán*, but dyed tan instead of yellow. *Yathé* mostly shave the head, but there is a class who wear the hair long. Certain of them use a headgear called *dautcha*, which forms a receptacle for an image of the Buddha. Some are addicted to mild forms of occultism such as alchemy (p. 111) and devising cabalistic diagrams for charms and tattoo-marks. These practices are under the ban of Buddhism. Pretensions to occult powers, such as have 792

84. CAVE-SHRINE NEAR MAULMAIN.

[522] [301] [788] [291] 789 792

342 of the roof ridge. Rafters--thin bamboo poles--
335 are placed over this roof structure (Figure 1). Split and flattened bamboo poles are used for floor boards as well as being joined together to serve as doors. The outer walls and partitions consist of frames (zali) with strong bamboo wickerwork (yaing). The outer walls are frequent-
[353] ly decorated with black and white ornaments (Plate IV, 4); more delicate wickerwork is used for the floor covering. Not one single nail can be found in the entire house. The posts and the strong cross beams are mortised with each other; to fasten the roof rafters and the mat walls, tough green ribbons are cut from bamboo and are made pliable by soaking them in water. The doors have no hinges, but turn in sunken in peg extensions on top and bottom of the door cases (7).

[171] 7. The avoidance of nails through fastening with plant fibers (bamboo, rattan) is the rule for the bamboo house all over Burma and Assam. H. Frobenius, ibid., p. 568, points out the same with regard to the central Oceanic architectural area.

The houses in the cities are usually built of
342 wood; the famous teak wood which was selected
● 824 primarily for monasteries and the palaces of the princes has long since become a costly building material. Therefore even the well-to-do people use it only for the main posts; its resinous oil protects it against attacks from termites. For the better housing constructions iron wood (Xylia dolabriformis, Burmese: pyinkado) which is just as durable, is mostly used. For the simplest roofing material the thekké grass (Saccharum cylindricum and Saccharum spontaneum) is preferred in the entire country, with the exception of lower Burma where palm leaf material is popular. The former is a coarse grass related to the sugar cane. Their stalks are tied fringe-

342 like to the bamboo sticks and together with them
824 bound to the roof rafters (Figure 2). The larger leaves of the Ingyin (Shorea robusta) (8) are

8. According to J.G. Scott, Burma, 2nd ed., (London, 1911), p. 500; other botanical explanations by H.R. Spearman, British Burma Gazeteer 1 (Rangoon 1880), pp. 125 ff., H.J. Wehrli, Zur Wirtschafts- und Siedlungs-Geographie von Ober-Birma /Economic and Settlements Geography of Upper Burma/ (Zurich, 1906), p. 111; Ferrars, ibid., p. 227.

sometimes seen as roofing material, pinned together in rows /207/ with bamboo pins and squeezed with poles against the roof (Figure 3).
342 The grass roofs, particularly during the windy,
[656] dry winter season, are, of course, an extreme fire hazard and are therefore now prohibited for the cities. There--wherever brick or corrugated tin roofs have not been adopted--a roofing material, called "wakat," a shingle, cut from braided bamboo work is used. As a poor protec-
355 tion in case of fire, which frequently burns down whole villages, a wooden hook, attached to a long handle is employed to tear off those parts of the grass roof which have caught fire and a damper, made of bamboo braided material is used to extinguish the sparks. These two utensils can be seen in practically every house (cf. Plate IV, 1 and especially Plate IV, 3); sometimes a number of jugs, filled with water, are seen standing at the ridge of the roof for purposes of fire fighting.

342 The Burmese attributes good and bad luck in
777 all his undertakings to the influence of the in-
numerable benign and evil spirits (Nat) who were
787 originally outside the Buddhist creed, and he makes his decisions dependent on omens and oracles

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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Not only has every day its special character and its fixed
805 letters, but there is also a particular animal assigned to
825 symbolise it, and red or yellow wax candles are made in
782 the forms of these animals to be offered at the Pagoda by the
[527] pious. Each worshipper offers the creature-candle representing his birthday, or that of any particular friend or relation whom he wishes well. In this way Monday is represented by a tiger; Tuesday, by a lion; Wednesday, by an elephant with tusks; Yahu, by an elephant without tusks; Thursday, by a rat; Friday, by a guinea-pig; Saturday, by a nagā or dragon; Sunday, by a kalôn, the fabulous half-beast, half-bird, which guards one of the terraces of Mount Myinmo (Meru), the centre of the universe.

782 Little candles of this kind are to be had at any of the
443 stalls which cluster about the steps and the base of every pagoda in the country, and they are as freely offered as flowers, and fruits, and gold-leaf.

551 It will be seen that there is no such thing as a surname
553 among the Burmese. A man may have a dozen sons not one of whom has the same name as his father. Maung, literally "brother," has come to stand practically for "Mister." Po and Shwe and Ba may be applied to any one without regard to his birthday, Shwe implying usually politeness or affection. Nga, used in the English law-courts and by pompous native officials generally, implies superiority claimed by the speaker or writer. Ko denotes friendship, or superior age and dignity in the person addressed. Maung Shwe Than might call himself indifferently—Maung Than, Po Than, Ba Than, Ko Than, Nga Than, or Shwe Than, and might add Maung to any one of these. As a matter of fact most Burmans chop about their name a good deal during their lives. He may begin by being called Lugale Ngè, "Little Wee Man." When he grows up a little the family probably get to call him Lugale Gyi, "Big Little Man." Later, when he begins to think of his appearance and look after the girls—and they begin that sort of thing very early in Burma—he probably calls himself Maung Lugale or Shwe Lugale, "Mr. Littleman," or "Mr. Boy," or "Golden Boy." There are a variety of other changes possible and likely. Finally, when he reaches the age of thirty-five or forty he either readopts the original Ngè and calls himself

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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they mutter spells and incomprehensible incantations over the "medicine," are looked up to with profound belief and a very considerable deal of awe.

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The tattooing on the loins and legs is universal with all Burmans, and nothing more is ordinarily required; but there are very few who have not charms of some kind tattooed on the arms, back, chest, or even on the top of the head, which is shaved for the purpose. These figures are of all kinds—lizards, birds, mystic words and squares, rings, images of the Buddha, and sometimes merely a few scattered dots, the latter especially on the face, between the eyes, over the ears, or on the chin. The colouring matter is almost always vermilion, with drugs and solutions, according to requirement, mingled with it. The blue dye from the lampblack never disappears, but the red colour of the vermilion gradually fades away and vanishes. Nevertheless figures of this kind, more or less distinct, are to be found on Burmans of all ages, so great is the national superstition. Even the town youths, whose limbs are smooth and "unbreeched" as a girl's, are never without some charms of this kind, if it is only the a-nu se, which enables a man to gain the woman he loves. This "drug of tenderness" is composed of vermilion mixed with a variety of herbs and curious things, prominent among which is the bruised, dry skin of the tauktè, the trout-spotted gekko, whose sonorous cry and fidelity to the house where he establishes himself and brings luck, are well known to all who have visited Burma or Siam. It is very sparingly used, a few round spots arranged in the shape of a triangle being of sufficient virtue to ensure the object aimed at. The commonest place for them is between the eyes, but occasionally the se sayā recommends the lips, or even the tongue, and his advice is always followed. This is the only tattooing which women ever have executed on them, and there are not many of them who have it done. The patient is usually a love-sick maiden who is afraid the object of her affection will escape from her, or a girl whom rolling years warn that she must be quick if she would not be condemned to remain an a-pyo heing, an old maid. Except in very desperate cases, however, they always manage to persuade the operator to place the charm on some part of the

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is far away, and there will be no rain for months. Another day or two will suffice to bake and split into long fissures the bottom of the puddle, wherein are yet hundreds of animate things, from the whiskered mud-fish to the lordly hilsa, the salmon of India. Then the seekers after merit come out, bearing with them big chatties, huge earthenware jars, the size of some of which makes the story of *Ali Baba and the Forty Thieves* seem very much more credible. Girls and boys, old men and old women, go tramping about in the soft slush, capturing the fish and dropping them into the jars of water. Great laughter there is over the wild plunges and flounderings of the boys, the little screams and "a-mè lele, a-mè le-taw" of the girls as they step upon a fish, which whizzes away with a suddenness that is apt to disturb the equilibrium, or slip with one leg slowly but irremediably into a hole—perhaps a last year's buffalo-wallow—out of which they are only extricated after much teasing and tickling by the boys. Then there is the stalking and driving of a great nga-gyi into a corner, whence with a flop and a muddy dash he escapes into the middle again, amidst a chorus of the inevitable amè! ("mother") which springs to a Burman's lips on all possible and unexpected occasions. There is the caution to be observed in seizing the stinging mud-fish, the gingerliness with which, when he is caught, the waving whiskers are avoided; especially the control over yourself to be maintained if he does sting you, lest you should spoil all your chance of merit in a moment of irritation, by doing him an injury. Sometimes the fish are caught in nets; but this reckless wastefulness in the matter of combining merit with merriment is not very favourably viewed by the neighbourhood.

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At last the fish are all caught and crowded together in the sin-o—the water-jars. There is, perhaps, a considerable pause before they are liberated. The nga-hlut pwè usually occurs a little after the carnival of the water feast, when everybody is doused with water; and if the fish have been rescued from their danger some time before that, they have to wait in their uncomfortable quarters all the longer. The *fête* seems to be celebrated with more enthusiasm in Maulmein than in any other large town in Lower Burma.

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amusement to both native and English spectators. The fun goes on all the way with jokes at the expense both of the performers and the lookers-on, and shouts and roars of laughter at every new buffoonery. At last they reach the spot on the river-bank selected for freeing the fish, and after a few pious formulæ have been recited, the contents of the jars are capsized into the water. Many of the fish are already dead, and not a few are so sickly that there is little chance of their escaping being eaten by cannibal brethren; but this does not disturb the equanimity of any one. A great kaunghmu has been done, much merit has been gained, and there has been great fun over it. The motley procession wends its way back again, and everybody goes at nightfall to see the great kyi-gyin pwè given by some public-spirited and drama-loving quarter or street in the town.

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CHAPTER LII

THE LORD WHITE ELEPHANT

THE importance attached to the possession of a white elephant is traceable to the Buddhist system. The form in which Gautama Buddha entered the womb of Queen Maya to be born upon earth for the last time to "teach the Law and give the millions peace" was that of a white elephant. The Saddan, or celestial elephant, was an avatar of his many existences previously. The Saddan is gifted with special endowments, and is one of the seven precious things the possession of which marks the Sekyawadé, the Mahā Chakra Vartti Raja, "the great wheel-turning king," the holy and universal sovereign—a ruler who appears in once a cycle, at the time when the waxing and waning term of human life has reached its maximum of an athinkaya (a huge period represented by a unit and 164 cyphers) in duration. Thus the possession of an undoubted white elephant stands as a sign and symbol of universal sovereignty; and every Burmese king longed for the capture of such a treasure during his reign as a token that his legitimate royalty is recognised by the unseen powers. The great river of Burma, the Irrawaddy, is named from Airawata, the elephant of Indra, a sufficient assertion of the proper dwelling-place of all his successors. Hence the reverence of the Hindoos for the animal, and their not infrequent pilgrimages to Mandalay to see the royal creature and have a dursun, or interview of worship, with him.

All the elephants in the country, whether wild or tame, belonged to the king: whoever captured one had to give him up to the king, and he granted permission to the princes and to a few of the higher dignitaries to use them. The

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lucky discoverer of a white elephant was made a mingyi, and was exempted from taxes and burdens of every kind for the rest of his life. Red and spotted elephants were also held in great esteem.

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White crows, rats, mice, and hares are common and easily distinguished; but it is different with a white elephant. He is not to be considered as snow-white: very far from it. All the white elephants now existing in Siam and Burma are of a light mouse colour, somewhat of the same tint as the pale freckles to be found on the trunk of almost every ordinary elephant. This light grey is uniform all over, the spots on the trunk being white. The depth of the colour, however, varies greatly; and there are often blemishes in the shape of darker patches which would seem to ruin an otherwise eligible candidate's claims. It has been therefore found necessary to determine some infallible test points, which will demonstrate the right of the animal to his title. Determining white elephants is quite a science, and there is a very considerable literature on the subject. The Burmese skilled men fix upon two of these tests as superior to all others. One is that the elephant shall have five toe-nails on his hind feet instead of four. This is a good way of making certain, but occasionally there are indubitably black elephants which have the sacred number of toes. These [775] are white elephants debased by sin, labouring under the evil kan of previous existences, and therefore ineligible for the honours accorded to the real animal. The other test is considered perfectly decisive, no matter what the precise tint of the skin may be. It is this: if you pour water upon a "white" elephant he turns red, while a black elephant only becomes blacker than ever. This is the final test always resorted to in Mandalay. A swarthy specimen who had twenty toe-nails and turned red when he was washed would be forthwith installed in all the honours and emoluments of the Sinbyudaw, no matter what scoffers might say about his colour. Such a creature was the last Lord White Elephant in Mandalay. He would not have been recognised as an albino by any except those who are learned in the science and well versed in the voluminous and puzzling minutiæ of the question. To most people he seemed an impostor, for

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his colour was a mixture of light-brown and dingy, smoke-smirched cream colour. The eye, when you know it, is perhaps the best rough test for an amateur. The iris ought to be yellow, with a reddish outer annulus. The effect of this is decisive to the connoisseur, if only sinister to the outsider. But the red ring represents the circle of the nine precious gems. In other respects the Sinbyudaw was not attractive in appearance; he was very big, but, notwithstanding the care taken of him, was remarkably lean and hollow-sided. His tusks, however, were magnificent—white, smooth, and curving forward in front of his trunk so that they almost met. In his young days he was suckled by women, who stood in a long row outside his palace, and the honour was eagerly sought after, for the creature was a national pride and not merely a royal monopoly. A hundred soldiers guarded his palace, and the Sovereign of the Golden Throne himself made offerings and paid him reverence. An establishment of thirty men waited on him, and among them was a Minister of State, who managed his affairs and looked after the revenues of the province that was assigned to him to "eat." His palace stood within the inner stockade and was decorated with the royal pya-that. Every day he was bathed with scented sandal water, and all his vessels and utensils were made of gold. Troupes of the palace *coryphées* danced for his pleasure, and there were choruses of sweet-voiced singers to lull him to sleep.

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Nevertheless his lordship was very bad-tempered, and his attendants were much afraid of him. Such things are, however, not unknown with human kings. On one occasion the Sinbyudaw killed a man who had ventured too near, and there was a good deal of trouble and noise before the body could be got away from him. The king—Thibaw's father—heard the commotion, and inquired what was the matter. When he was told, he expressed great concern and not a little alarm for the future state of the Lord White Elephant, with the red stain of murder on him, blotting out hosts of previous good deeds. But the elephant's minister calmed his mind and restored him to equanimity by saying, "Pray do not be disturbed, payā; lu ma hôk bu kalā—it was not a man only a foreigner."

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Probably because he was so vicious, the last Lord White Elephant was never ridden, as previous incumbents were. No one but the king himself could have ridden him; and latterly King Mindôn became very fat and feeble, while King Thibaw's nerves were not strong enough. The Sinbyudaw is king of elephants, and therefore none but a king might mount him. His royal trappings were kept in his palace, and were very magnificent. Draperies of silk and bands of rich red cloth ran from the head-stall to the back and thence to the tail, hanging in curves over the body. They were richly embroidered in gold and studded with rubies and emeralds. On the forehead was a plate of gold, recording his majesty's titles, such as was worn by every man of rank in the country up to the Arbiter of Existence himself. Bosses of pure gold and clusters of precious stones covered the head-stall, and golden tassels hung down over the ears. When he went forth to take the air, he was shaded by golden and white umbrellas. He and the king shared all the white umbrellas in the country between them. The king of men had nine; the king of elephants two, but he had also four golden ones. Not even the heir-apparent, if there were one, had a right to use the white umbrella. He had to be contented with his eight golden shades; the display of a white one would have been regarded as a declaration of rebellion, and would have resulted in his immediate execution. No wonder, then, that the attendants and visitors took off their shoes when they entered Sinbyudaw's palace, and that the people bowed down low and did humble obeisance when he passed through the streets. These were swept and sprinkled with water for him as for the King of the Golden Throne himself.

The Lord White Elephant's suite accounted for his irritable temper by the bad treatment which he met with in his early days. The royal coffers were low, and the English were clamouring for the last instalments of the Yandabo indemnity money. So the rents of the elephant were appropriated to pay off the troublesome foreigners. Every care was taken to soften the indignity. The king himself wrote a long address on a palm-leaf, requesting the Lord White Elephant not to take it amiss that his revenues were devoted

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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to the payment of the barbarians. In any case he should not suffer, for the whole sum would be refunded in two months' time. The circumstance, however, seems to have preyed on his mind, for the bodyguard said that his majesty (the elephant) had never been the same since.

There are frequent reports of the capture of white elephants, and special questing parties are sent out every now and then. But the candidates almost invariably fail to satisfy the water test, or the tail is not long enough, or the position of the eye is wrong, and the red ring is wanting. At any rate, genuine "white" elephants are very seldom found. As with the king, when the Sinbyudaw died it was not permissible to say so in as many rude words. It had to be whispered that his majesty had "departed" or "disappeared." He used to get a royal funeral.

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When Mandalay was taken in 1886 the Royal White Elephant was sent down to Rangoon, where he was to have been kept in the Zoological Gardens. But he died immediately after he arrived. There has been no suggestion of the discovery of a White Elephant since.

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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CHAPTER LXII

STRAY NOTES

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THERE are some curious national superstitions about the sabba-gyi or boa-constrictor. Although he is now innocuous as far as biting is concerned, he was originally the only poisonous snake. The way in which he lost his dangerous qualities is rather curious. The crow, that great benefactor to the entire race of fable writers, one day set himself to annoy the python, and declared that though he might think himself very big and very dangerous, he never killed anybody for all his biting. The sabba-gyi got very angry, and eventually spat up all his poison in a pet. It was swallowed by a great variety of other creeping things, and so the race of thanatophidians was vastly increased in numbers, if not in size, while the python would be harmless were it not for his vast strength.

Nevertheless the Tavoy fishermen make a domestic pet of him, and declare he is invaluable as a weather prophet. When they put out to sea they carry their boa with them, and he remains coiled up comfortably in the bows of the vessel until a storm is coming on. Then he promptly slips overboard and makes for the shore, and the sailors hoist sail and follow him with all possible expedition. The sabba-gyi is a much surer guide than the Meteorological Office. He is kept quite quiet and tame by being well fed on nutriment that does not excite his blood. His diet is usually eggs, with vast platters of pauk-pauk, "gummy rice," which is sufficiently heavy to deprive the eater, whether man or boa, of all desire to exert himself unduly. It is somewhat curious, as a first experience, to see the cat, the dog, and the

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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825 baby curled up together in a corner with the boa, making one another mutually cosy.

[757] The gall-bladder and fat of the sabba-gyi are much prized for medicinal purposes, the fat especially being esteemed as a sovereign remedy for rheumatism and strains.

Of the poisonous snakes the most dreaded is the ngan, or u-gwet, the "spotted forehead." This creature, the hamadryad or ophiophagus, is, as his name imports, a cannibal, and lives on his neighbour snakes. Specimens as long as nine feet from nose to tail have been killed near Rangoon, and in the forests which are his proper home he sometimes grows to fourteen or fifteen feet. Unlike all other reptiles, the ngan does not get out of the way of a man approaching his haunts, but attacks him immediately. He is worse than the walrus that roused the indignation of the French poet.

Bees are kept in a good many places in the country, but it is necessary to be very careful where you put the hives. It is a most ill-omened circumstance if wild bees make a nest under the house, or if bees of any kind fly under the floor. On the other hand, a hive on the house-top is very lucky. Honey is in great request to present to the pôngyis at various feasts, and especially for the embalming of the [764] body of a dead brother of the Robe. After the cremation the honey is sold in the bazaar. It is not eaten by Englishmen in Burma. "Tapping the governor" does not commend itself to everybody. The hill tribes in the Shan States keep bees in hives made of blocks of wood.

757 Rhinoceros horns are in as great favour with the Burmans as with Chinese medical men. Shavings of the horn are considered an invaluable cure for epilepsy, and also guard against poisons of all kinds. There are two distinct species found in the eastern forests—the single and the double-horned.

3,5 787 Near Yenangyaung, in the petroleum district, when a new oil-well is wanted, the workmen place a marble image of an elephant on a smooth, flat stone, and surround it with gifts of all kinds, and then sit down to watch. If the elephant itself moves it indicates the direction in which borings are to be made; if not, the offering on which its shadow first falls as the sun sinks down, is marked, and a bedin sayā consulted.

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

how the trouble increases when it comes to goats or any larger beasts. In the jungle villages meat of any kind at all is never seen: no animals of any kind are allowed to be killed. An officer travelling in the district would be reduced to what he could carry with him, if it were not for an Act of Government obliging villages to furnish—on payment, of course—supplies for officers and troops passing through. The mere fact of such a law being necessary is sufficient proof of the strength of the feeling against taking life.

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Of course, all shooting, either for sport or for food, is looked upon as disgraceful. In many jungle villages where deer abound there are one or two hunters who make a living by hunting. But they are disgraced men. They are worse than fishermen, and they will have a terrible penalty to pay for it all. It will take much suffering to wash from their souls the cruelty, the blood-thirstiness, the carelessness to suffering, the absence of compassion, that hunting must produce. 'Is there no food in the bazaar, that you must go and take the lives of animals?' has been said to me many a time. And when my house-roof was infested by sparrows, who dropped grass and eggs all over my rooms, so that I was obliged to shoot them with a little rifle, this was no excuse. 'You should have built a sparrow-cote,' they told me. 'If you had built a sparrow-cote, they would have gone away and left you in peace. They only wanted to make nests and lay eggs and have little ones, and you went and shot them.' There are many sparrow-cotes to be seen in the villages.

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16;Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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I might give example after example of this sort, for they happen every day. We who are meat-eaters, who delight in shooting, who have a horror of insects and reptiles, are continually coming into collision with the principles of our neighbours; for even harmful reptiles they do not care to kill. Truly I believe it is a myth, the story of the Burmese mother courteously escorting out of the house the scorpion which had just bitten her baby. A Burmese mother worships her baby as much as the woman of any other nation does, and I believe there is no crime she would not commit in its behalf. But if she saw a scorpion walking about in the fields, she would not kill it as we should. She would step aside and pass on. 'Poor beast!' she would say, 'why should I hurt it? It never hurt me.'

The Burman never kills insects out of sheer brutality. If a beetle drone annoyingly, he will catch it in a handkerchief and put it outside, and so with a bee. It is a great trouble often to get your Burmese servants to keep your house free of ants and other annoying creatures. If you tell them to kill the insects they will, for in that case the sin falls on you. Without special orders they would rather leave the ants alone.

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In the district in which I am now living snakes are very plentiful. There are cobras and keraits, but the most dreaded is the Russell's viper. He is a snake that averages from three to four feet long, and is very thick, with a big head and a stumpy tail. His body is marked very prettily with spots and blurs of light on a dark, grayish green, and he

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

is so like the shadows of the grass and weeds in a dusty road, that you can walk on him quite unsuspectingly. Then he will bite you, and you die. He comes out usually in the evening before dark, and lies about on footpaths to catch the home-coming ploughman or reaper, and, contrary to the custom of other snakes, he will not flee on hearing a footstep. When anyone approaches he lies more still than ever, not even a movement of his head betraying him. He is so like the colour of the ground, he hopes he will be passed unseen; and he is slow and lethargic in his movements, and so is easy to kill when once detected. As a Burman said, 'If he sees you first, he kills you; if you see him first, you kill him.'

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In this district no Burman hesitates a moment in killing a viper when he has the chance. Usually he has to do it in self-defence. This viper is terribly feared, as over a hundred persons a year die here by his bite. He is so hated and feared that he has become an outcast from the law that protects all life.

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But with other snakes it is not so. There is the hamadryad, for instance. He is a great snake about ten to fourteen feet long, and he is the only snake that will attack you first. He is said always to do so, certainly he often does. One attacked me once when out quail shooting. He put up his great neck and head suddenly at a distance of only five or six feet, and was just preparing to strike, when I literally blew his head off with two charges of shot.

You would suppose he was vicious enough to be included with the Russell's viper in the category of

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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the exceptions, but no. Perhaps he is too rare to excite such fierce and deadly hate as makes the Burman forget his law and kill the viper. However it may be, the Burman is not ready to kill the hamadryad. A few weeks ago a friend of mine and myself came across two little Burman boys carrying a jar with a piece of broken tile over it. The lads kept lifting up the tile and peeping in, and then putting the tile on again in a great hurry, and their actions excited our curiosity. So we called them to come to us, and we looked into the jar. It was full of baby hamadryads. The lads had found a nest of them in the absence of the mother, who would have killed them if she had been there, and had secured all the little snakes. There were seven of them.

We asked the boys what they intended to do with the snakes, and they answered that they would show them to their friends in the village. 'And then?' we asked. And then they would let them go in the water. My friend killed all the hamadryads on the spot, and gave the boys some coppers, and we went on. Can you imagine this happening anywhere else? Can you think of any other schoolboys sparing any animal they caught, much less poisonous snakes? The extraordinary hold that this tenet of their religion has upon the Burmese must be seen to be understood. What I write will sound like some fairy story, I fear, to my people at home. It is far beneath the truth. The belief that it is wrong to take life is a belief with them as strong as any belief could be. I do not know anywhere any command, earthly or heavenly, that is acted up to with such earnestness as this command

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16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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is amongst the Burmese. It is an abiding principle of their daily life.

Where the command came from I do not know. I cannot find any allusion to it in the life of the great teacher. We know that he ate meat. It seems to me that it is older even than he. It has been derived both by the Burmese Buddhists and the Hindus from a faith whose origin is hidden in the mists of long ago. It is part of that far older faith on which Buddhism was built, as was Christianity on Judaism.

But if not part of his teaching—and though it is included in the sacred books, we do not know how much of them are derived from the Buddha himself—it is in strict accordance with all his teaching. That is one of the most wonderful points of Buddhism, it is all in accordance; there are no exceptions.

I have heard amongst Europeans a very curious explanation of this refusal of Buddhists to take life. 'Buddhists,' they say, 'believe in the transmigration of souls. They believe that when a man dies his soul may go into a beast. You could not expect him to kill a bull, when perchance his grandfather's soul might inhabit there.' This is their explanation, this is the way they put two and two together to make five. They know that Buddhists believe in transmigration, they know that Buddhists do not like to take life, and therefore one is the cause of the other.

I have mentioned this explanation to Burmans while talking of the subject, and they have always laughed at it. They had never heard of it before.

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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825 It is true that it is part of their great theory of life
779 that the souls of men have risen from being souls of beasts, and that we may so relapse if we are not
825 careful. Many stories are told of cases that have
775 occurred where a man has been reincarnated as an animal, and where what is now the soul of a man used to live in a beast. But that makes no difference. Whatever a man may have been, or may be, he is a man now; whatever a beast may have been, he is a beast now. Never suppose that a Burman has any other idea than this. To him men are men, and animals are animals, and men are far the higher. But he does not deduce from this that man's superiority gives him permission to illtreat or to kill animals. It is just the reverse. It is because man is so much higher than the animal that he can and must observe towards animals the very greatest care, feel for them the very greatest compassion, be good to them in every way he can. The Burman's motto should be *Noblesse oblige;* he knows the meaning, if he knows not the words.

825 For the Burman's compassion towards animals
101 goes very much farther than a mere reluctance to kill them. Although he has no command on the subject, it seems to him quite as important to treat animals well during their lives as to refrain from taking those lives. His refusal to take life he shares with the Hindu; his perpetual care and tenderness to all living creatures is all his own. And here I may mention a very curious contrast, that whereas in India the Hindu will not take life and the Mussulman will, yet the Mussulman is by reputation far kinder to his beasts than the Hindu. Here the

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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Burman combines both qualities. He has all the kindness to animals that the Mahommedan has, and more, and he has the same horror of taking life that the Hindu has.

Coming from half-starved, over-driven India, it is a revelation to see the animals in Burma. The village ponies and cattle and dogs in India are enough to make the heart bleed for their sordid misery, but in Burma they are a delight to the eye. They are all fat, every one of them—fat and comfortable and impertinent; even the ownerless dogs are well fed. I suppose the indifference of the ordinary native of India to animal suffering comes from the evil of his own lot. He is so very poor, he has such hard work to find enough for himself and his children, that his sympathy is all used up. He has none to spare. He is driven into a dumb heartlessness, for I do not think he is actually cruel.

The Burman is full of the greatest sympathy towards animals of all kinds, of the greatest understanding of their ways, of the most humorously good-natured attitude towards them. Looking at them from his manhood, he has no contempt for them; but the gentle toleration of a father to very little children who are stupid and troublesome often, but are very lovable. He feels himself so far above them that he can condescend towards them, and forbear with them.

His ponies are pictures of fatness and impertinence and go. They never have any vice because the Burman is never cruel to them; they are never well trained, partly because he does not know how to train them, partly because they are so near the

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21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
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2. Folk Feasts and Spirit Dances

According to legend, the Sanskrit drama was created in the Silver Age to cheer up the people, who were no longer happy as they were in the Golden Age; the Japanese drama was first used by the gods to beguile the sun-goddess to reappear; and the Chinese drama came into being as the result of the Emperor Yuen Tsaung ordering, in the eighth century after Christ, a group of children to be trained to sing the various deeds of the great national heroes before his consort, in appreciation of her love for him.[1] The Burmese, however, have no such legends, and the origins of their drama were in the religious *Nibhatkhin*. But before considering those Burmese miracle plays, perhaps it will not be out of place to give an account of the various folk feasts and spirit dances, which have in them elements essentially dramatic, and which gave some idea of the dramatic to the people and paved a way for the coming of the religious pageants and plays.

536 ✱ 773 101 527 796 536 ✱ 174

Folk feasts can be divided into two classes, those directly connected with Buddhism and those which are not. The Buddhist feasts occur on fixed dates and are celebrated all over the country. Of those, two are especially interesting, the feast of the Full Moon of the month of Tazaungmôn (which occurs in November) and the feast of the New Year (in April). Though the Full Moon of Tazaungmôn is an important Buddhist festival now, it is extremely probable that it was an important feast-day even before the introduction of Buddhism.[2] Special celebrations connected with the date have two distinct elements, the element of mimicry and the element of foolery. On that day, in the villages men dress themselves as animals, wearing appropriate masks, and dance through the village. The animal most commonly imitated is a sort of unicorn known to myth only. The desire to mimic animals probably came before the desire to mimic spirits, and I think the mimicry of animals, such as that we see in these celebrations, was the earliest attempt at the dramatic by the Burmese. Probably the mimicry of animals by men resulted in the presentation of animal puppet shows. In a Burmese puppet show, before the play begins, different animals come out one by

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[1] A. B. Keith, *The Sanskrit Drama*; F. A. Lombard, *Japanese Drama*; A. E. Zucker, *Chinese Theatre*.

[2] Some Buddhist festivals in Burma probably are of pre-Buddhist origins (cf. the English Christmas which has many elements derived from pre-Christian times). At least the special celebrations of Tazaungmôn described here are almost certainly pre-Buddhist.

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1987 AP1 Burma
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sheer wealth of imagination, no other play can surpass it: gods, demons, princes, soldiers, ogres, spirit-animals[1] fight and strive, entertaining the audience and holding its breathless interest. Moreover, each scene in the play is well constructed and dramatic. The dramatist seems to be bent on giving scene after scene of dramatic incident and dialogue. And to me the play is the most Burmese of U Kyin U's plays. The unreal world of romance and adventure in which the play moves lives in the imagination of the people. The very lack of logic in the play is typically Burmese; no other nation in the world loves life and laughter more than the Burmese, and yet they profoundly believe that life is one long pain and the cloister the only safe place of refuge from life.[2]

5. *Parpahein*

This play is U Kyin U's masterpiece.

It begins at once with a dramatic situation. The aged king, wishing to retire to the monastery, is looking for a successor. He has three sons, the eldest and the youngest being the sons of the chief queen, and the other, Parpahein, being the son of a junior queen. Because of his seniority in age and the seniority in rank of his mother, the eldest, Zayathein, should be the heir, but unfortunately for nursing him back to life, the king had long ago promised Parpahein's mother that the throne would be given to Parpahein. To make the problem more difficult, Parpahein, strong and cruel, roams about the country with his drunken followers, and the ministers are against his succession, for it is very probable that the kingdom would go to rack and ruin if the throne were given to him. The king holds his final audience to appoint his successor, and Parpahein and his mother appear on the scene. The mother is uncertain as to what course she should take. She wants her son to be king, but at the same time realizes that public opinion is against him. In the end, at her son's request, she demands the throne for him in full audience. The king tries to argue with her and offers to give Parpahein a province. The queen returns to her son greatly disappointed, but realizing that the fiery nature of Parpahein will lead him into danger unless he is pacified, tries to soothe him and advises him to give up all attempts to become king. However, he thinks that the throne is worth all risks and

[1] For example, the *galôn* and the *naga* which possess supernatural powers in Burmese mythology.

[2] A translation of the play is given in appendix iii.

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21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
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without ever knowing or caring for the European drama itself, the Burmese may have borrowed their puppets and puppet stage-craft, without ever caring for the shadow drama itself. Such borrowings were possible although the shadow drama itself never reached Burma, for Burmese trading or raiding expeditions were in continuous contact with Siam, and to a lesser extent with Malaya and the East Indies. 536* 101 177

1. (*a*) The Burmese puppets are worked in delicate detail, and are similar in this and other respects to the Javanese and Siamese figures.

(*b*) But the Burmese puppets are worked by strings, whereas most other eastern puppets are moved by sticks from below. However, some puppets of India and China are stringed.

2. (*a*) The Burmese puppet show-men make offerings to the spirits before a performance. Such offerings are also made in Java before the presentation of a shadow play.

(*b*) But, although the offerings are not made particularly to the thirty-seven *nats*, it may be that the puppet show-men, who consider their calling to be just a branch of the acting profession, are only following the custom of the living actors.

3. (*a*) The puppet show begins with dances by animals, which are perhaps reminiscent of the Javanese 'fantastic vine' with birds and monkeys on it. A monkey appears among the Burmese puppets. [825]

(*b*) But Burmese folk feasts occasioned mimicry of animals, and that practice may have influenced the puppet show. Moreover, the Burmese animal puppets consist, in addition to the monkey, of the tiger, the elephant, and the horse. The *zaungyee* has no counterpart in the Javanese show, and the Burmese show has no bird puppets.

4. (*a*) Burmese women are not admitted to membership of a puppet troupe, and are not allowed to step on the puppet stage, even when no actual performance is in progress. Is this reminiscent of the Java show, where women are not allowed to see the actual puppets perform? [462]

(*b*) But the practice may have been only an attempt by men to reserve the profession for themselves.

5. (*a*) An appropriate tune to identify a new animal puppet is played in Burma. This is perhaps akin to the Javanese practice of identifying a new figure that has entered by the orchestra playing a special tune. [533]

(*b*) But the practice of identifying a new scene (which is almost the same as identifying a new figure) by an appropriate tune has always existed in the performances of living actors, and the puppet show-men may have borrowed it.

23: Brant & Mi Mi Khaing E, I-5 (1949-1950)1951
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Burmese AP4

787 826 Omens are read from the position of mongoloid spots on the newborn baby's body. They are said to represent marks put on in a previous existence and their presence proves the child was then a human being. A blue spot on the foot presages a life of travel. Any marks leading from the right shoulder to the left hip, the line that the royal riband takes, indicate a royal future; today, however, with no royalty in Burmese society, such marks merely forecast a "great" future for the child.

775 826 A child is constantly watched from the time of birth for signs of whose reincarnation it represents. This is a constant topic in the family conversations.

Any disfigurement in a newborn child is regarded as a carry-over of the parents' store of demerit, as well as that of the child, from previous existences. It is regarded with a sense of shame and sorrow.

845 Although multiple births are neither preferred nor desired, they are not looked upon with any marked anxiety nor are there any supernatural means employed to prevent them.

In the event of a stillborn baby, the corpse is given special treatment. It is 766 kept in a case, clothed and powdered, and a tray of food is set in front of it every day. It is considered auspicious to care for a stillborn child in this manner: the spirits will guide the parents in their dreams toward the attainment of material prosperity.

751 854 [825] [753] For the normal baby who survives, a number of things are done by Burmese parents to protect it from malevolent influences. Before it is a month old, a tiger bone is ground on a stone, together with a little water, and mixed with honey. This is fed to the child to ward off a mysterious infant illness associated with the tiger. A connection is believed to exist between the tiger and convulsions; some parents place a tiger skin under the mattress of the baby's bed to guard against such illness. A knife placed under the baby's mattress is said to protect against illness in general.

To insure good health and well-being for the child, a white thread over which certain *mantras* have been recited may be given by a Buddhist monk and tied around the baby's wrists. Should a baby be admired by people for its growth, the thread may be left on to neutralize the harm that is believed to result from such expressions.

When the child's umbilical cord has dried and fallen off, it is kept and used [278] as a medicine for any illness that befalls the child. A little of it is ground up and mixed with water for such purposes.

000 A very close connection is believed to exist between mother and child during

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

The following recipes and formulae to be repeated
304 during tattooing are taken from a Mandalay tattooer's
789 book :—

For an a-nu se: "I was Kutha Min, I. At the time when Papawadi was my queen, when I routed the kings of all the seven countries who came suing for her hand. Right beautiful was she, fair as the malla flower when it perfumes the forest with its odours. I the great Kutha Yaza."

This is to be repeated seven times at various stages in the operation. Kutha Yaza is the hero of one of the 510 Zats, detailing the previous births of the Lord Buddha.

For an a-hpi se: "Steal gold from the pagodas, fine, bright gold. Refine it in the fire and repeat the magic words in the house, on the lonely path, before the lucky star, at the pagoda; repeat them a thousand times save one. Consecrate the water, draw the circle of the flying galôn. Put it under the left arm, under the right arm. No harm will befall thee, safe and invulnerable."

"A parrot tattooed on the arm will give great favour with princes."

"Take a length of bamboo or of rattan the size of a joint of the merchant's finger, and repeat, pressing your foot against the tha-bye tree, Nat-tha wa-pa, wa-pa nat-tha na. Repeat this seven times and put the joint in your mouth when you are in danger. There is no better the-nat hpi."

● [826] The merchant's finger (let thugywè) is the third—that on which rings are worn. The forefinger is called let-hno. Hno means to hate, but whether this is the meaning or not —as it were "the finger of scorn"—I do not know.

"Repeat sa ba pa wa wa ba pa wa with the tooth of the wild boar in your palm, with the wild boar's ear as you know. Draw the circle with pure red gold. Draw in it a nagā; then draw sideways the figure of a flying lion. Write round it ôm gyu-lu gyu-lu thwa ha ya. Then carry rice, fresh water, betel, tobacco, and le'pet to the pagoda and heap them together. When you have repeated a thousand times the words of the encircling gāta (spell) put it below the skin. But be careful not to give it to the first man who asks for it. It is very powerful." This is another a-hpi se.

Certain stones called amadé, said to be found in the

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

757 of the falling of a thunderbolt and finds meteoric stones, has sufficient to set him up as a doctor at once. The scrapings of the stone, among other things, are the best possible ophthalmic medicine. Liquids are very seldom used. There are, however, two schools—the datsayās, or dietists, who trust solely to regulating the patient's food according to the derangement of the elements, which is supposed to cause his disease, and eschew drugs; and the beindawsayās, who rely upon the exhibition of medicines. These last, the druggists, are far more numerous than the dietists. It is a great deal more easy to get a reputation with potent drugs than with a simple regulation of the diet, and accordingly an upstart doctor is always a druggist. The best advisers are those who combine the two systems, but such sensible practitioners are unfortunately few and far between.

822 826 753 Both assert that the human body is composed of four dat, or elements. These are—patawi daht, earth; apaw dat, water; tezaw dat, fire; wayaw dat, air. Akatha, or ether, is sometimes added to these, but the doctors mostly disregard it. Earth constitutes the flesh, bones, hair, intestines, and the like members of a man. Water constitutes the fat, blood, bile, spittle, mucus, etc. Eating, drinking, chewing, and licking come from the fire element. Air produces the six kinds of winds. Any derangement of the equilibrium of these elements makes a man ill, and it is important to know the precise time of a man's birth in order to know in what proportion the dat should be present. 753 Therefore in the case of illness an experienced doctor almost always examines a man's birth certificate before he looks at the sick man himself. Besides the derangement of the elements, diseases may be caused by kan, the influence of the sum of good and bad actions a man has done in past existences. If a man is ill of kan, nothing will cure him but the preponderance of good in his past lives. Again, a man may fall sick through derangement of his seit, or mind; through the influence of the seasons, utu; or, lastly, through food, ahāya. These causes, being laid down as the basis of the diagnosis, naturally do not always lead to the best results in the case of affections which are in any way out of the common run. Even in perfectly evident illnesses, however,

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Naming. It is believed that one's name can influence the course of life events; therefore the name of a child is chosen with care. Burmese personal names normally consist of monosyllables which are chosen in a rather complex manner. The thirty-three characters of the alphabet are traditionally divided into seven groups, each group corresponding to a given day of the week. The first syllable in a personal name begins with a letter which belongs to the group of letters assigned to the particular day of the week on which the child was born. Another syllable begins with a letter belonging to a day that is considered congenial to the day of birth. There is a tendency for the villagers to follow these rules only for the first syllable of the name. The terms in the name stand for qualities of character, physical beauty, various gems, wealth or prosperity. Boys' names usually denote strength, success or brilliance; while grace, beauty, tenderness and various precious stones are the most common meanings of girls' names. A son is never named syllable for syllable after his father, for this is considered disrespectful and an obstruction to each other's prosperity. There is also a tendency to avoid naming children after deceased relatives. Terms indicating large numbers, such as million, sometimes appear in the names of both sexes.

The name of the child is conferred rather informally by means of a feast to which the family invites relatives and friends in the village. Sometimes written invitations are sent on which the name of the child is announced. The feast takes place at home, where the invited guests bring gifts and may see the child. The only ritualized feature of this event is the washing of the child's hair, always done by an elderly person. This may occur, however, before the arrival of the guests.

Because of the significance and influence attributed to the personal name, it may be changed very readily and informally. If it is felt that ill fortune is in the offing, an announcement may be made in the village of the change of one's name.

Childhood nicknames as well as teknonymy are used in the village, but not to the exclusion of use of the personal name.

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Childhood. The children in Tadagale are generally indulged and their existence is more or less carefree, unencumbered by rigid discipline -- apart from inculcation of respect for elders -- until they are of educational age and considered capable of understanding the moral teachings of Buddhism. A male child is valued religiously, for at an early age he will be initiated into the monkhood as a novice. This brings great religious merit to his parents.

Children are valued for the economic help they render. This varies, of course, with family circumstances. But in the ordinary family of Tadagale, sons and daughters help from the age of nine or ten in tending cattle, getting firewood, and winnowing rice. Children are also looked upon as a kind of social insurance for old age.

304 The custom is dying out today; but, in the villages, the teen-age boy
562 frequently, on the encouragement of their family submit to the tattoo-
178 ing of a small area on the thigh. These decorations seen when the longyis are wrapped high were regarded as essential and those without them were openly criticized.

[751] A second type of tattooing consisting of potent symbols were, as still are, placed on the inner arm, back, or high forehead as a means of magical protection against harm. Snake, knife, cudgel and bullet proof motifs are common. Young girls frequently have the inner arm tattooed with such a charm.

838 Homo-sexuals are known as MEIN MA SHA ("woman-half") and are
826 recognised by their effeminate gestures, "pretty" looks and clothing. They frequently wear THANAKHA face powder, tie their longyis in a simple tucked-in fold, and wear jewelry like the women. They are rare in villages but have banded together into a society in Rangoon. They appear to be tolerated but are scorned.

It is beleived that individuals known as MEIN-TEE-PON-LAIN-HNEH-PON-LAIN ("Female sex- 2 sexes") exist . These persons are supposed to be alternately a man for one month, and a woman for the following
[775] month in a complete process of transformation. Both the MEIN MA SHA and these individuals result from illicit seduction activities in a previous existence - the MEIN MA SHA being the less sinful of the two

792 The PONGYI dress consist of orange cotton cloth - one garment
291 being a longyi with a folled tie at the waist; the other a wide band
293 draped as a robe. When begging the PONGYIS have a special arrangement of the robe which wraps the left arm and covers the neck region. The nuns wear a robe garment over a long sleeved KINGYI jacket of the same colour. They are frequently seen with a scarf folded on the head. Both orders carry orange-cloth (lacquered) parasols on long bamboo shafts, a string of beads and large palm leaf fans. The Pongyis carry leather bags suspended on a shoulder strap for personal effects. PONGYI slippers have a square toe, are made of stiff leather with reinforded soles.

[887] Religious women (including old women) wear chocolate coloured HTAMEINS, KINGYIS and carry a PUNA (a narrow scarf 4 of 5 feet in

A village of 2000 persons may have 10 or more doctors. The more successful "move up" to the towns and cities. Most of the medicines are herbs and chemicals including roots, leaves, fruits, berries, salt, and sulphur. Many of the herbs are imported from India. Parts of animals such as crocodile skin, pig and horse droppings are used less frequently. The doctor must be a moral man of good character or the medicine will not be effective. He uses the right index finger "medical finger" to stir the concoctions. The family of the sick person may either prepare the medicine themselves from the doctor's directions or take his own special preparations. Many cures are effected by regulating diet, and in most cases this plays an important part in the cure. The knowledge which the SAY-SAYA must command is extensive including not only the medic: wisdom of the ages but also the peculiarities of the patient and above all the relationship of the seasons (weather conditions) to the case.

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If one doctor fails to cure, another may be called in after dismissing the first. A keen feeling of rivalry exists between the various doctors and there are no cooperative consultations. Although each prides himself on a specialty the secrets of which he jealously guards he feels qualified also to handle any other medical problems. "If two are of the same thoughts, they are enemies" emphasizes the general attitude of competition seen in many other phases of Burmese life. The Burmese doctors are invariably applied to for help first. If this does not succeed modern midicinal facilities are sought. If modern medicine fails it is greatly derided. Maung Maung Than's aunt was ill for a long time and, after consulting many Burmese specialists she was taken to the Rangoon Mission Hospital where her case was diagnosed as advanced breast cancer beyond cure. His uncle, though not a medical man, is recognized as a last resort specialist who when the patient is beyond any other help administers lime juice (ordinarily fatal where fever is involved) in a "do or die" treatment. He is warned off when he appears at a sick house for the risk often does not pay off.

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Illness is frequently caused by supernatural spirits acting either independently or as agents for "black magic" specialists.

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23: Brant & Mi Mi Khaing E, I-5 (1949-1950)1951
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787 Omens are read from the position of mongoloid spots on the newborn baby's
● 826 body. They are said to represent marks put on in a previous existence and their presence proves the child was then a human being. A blue spot on the foot presages a life of travel. Any marks leading from the right shoulder to the left hip, the line that the royal riband takes, indicate a royal future; today, however, with no royalty in Burmese society, such marks merely forecast a "great" future for the child.

775 A child is constantly watched from the time of birth for signs of whose
826 reincarnation it represents. This is a constant topic in the family conversations.

Any disfigurement in a newborn child is regarded as a carry-over of the parents' store of demerit, as well as that of the child, from previous existences. It is regarded with a sense of shame and sorrow.

845 Although multiple births are neither preferred nor desired, they are not looked upon with any marked anxiety nor are there any supernatural means employed to prevent them.

In the event of a stillborn baby, the corpse is given special treatment. It is
766 kept in a case, clothed and powdered, and a tray of food is set in front of it every day. It is considered auspicious to care for a stillborn child in this manner: the spirits will guide the parents in their dreams toward the attainment of material prosperity.

751 For the normal baby who survives, a number of things are done by Burmese
854 parents to protect it from malevolent influences. Before it is a month old, a tiger bone is ground on a stone, together with a little water, and mixed with
[825] honey. This is fed to the child to ward off a mysterious infant illness associated
[753] with the tiger. A connection is believed to exist between the tiger and convulsions; some parents place a tiger skin under the mattress of the baby's bed to guard against such illness. A knife placed under the baby's mattress is said to protect against illness in general.

To insure good health and well-being for the child, a white thread over which certain *mantras* have been recited may be given by a Buddhist monk and tied around the baby's wrists. Should a baby be admired by people for its growth, the thread may be left on to neutralize the harm that is believed to result from such expressions.

When the child's umbilical cord has dried and fallen off, it is kept and used
[278] as a medicine for any illness that befalls the child. A little of it is ground up and mixed with water for such purposes.

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29: Slater M-4 (no date) 1951 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

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Nibbāna be reconciled with the Buddhist denial of the soul? If there is no subject, if the apparent subject is analysed away, as seems to be the case in Buddhist psychology, what is there left to realise or attain Nibbāna? Thus Rhys Davids and others have held that the *An-attā* doctrine leaves no logical loophole for any conception of immortality.[61] In this Dialogue, however, U Agga's interpretation of Nibbāna certainly implies a conception of immortality. It is the more interesting because it is based on the definitely Buddhist theory that the individual is, in reality, an aggregate of the *khandhas*.[62] Nor is it suggested by his interrogators in the Dialogue that his view implies any soul-theory — that *bête noir* of Buddhism.[63]

The essential feature of U Agga's interpretation is a distinction between bad, unhealthy *khandhas* and good, healthy *khandhas*.[64] Condemnation of all *khandhas*, good or bad, he remarks to Sumana, recalls "those erring *rishis* of old who detested body and mortified it or who detested mind and stifled it." To deny the persistence of good *khandhas* in Nibbāna implies annihilation.

He leads up to this theory by discussing Sāriputta's statement that Nibbāna is the extinction of lust, ill-will and ignorance. Mere extinction is not Nibbāna, he argues, quoting Buddhaghosa and Dhammapāla. Extinction of corruptions implies ensuing health, and health, to be real, must be "bound up with sound body." Otherwise, health is merely an idea, a notion, a concept. "When a sick child who dreads medicine tells his mother that he is well, his health is (just) lip-health.... So any Nibbānic quality, ... to be real, must be bound up with sound *khandhas*." For confirmation, he quotes a Buddhist writer: "Indeed, because Nibbāna is conceived in dependence upon *khandhas*, it is made known even through our body." After all corruptions are purged, the Nibbāna life is expressed through sound *khandhas*.

This conclusion leads the disputants back to their rival conceptions of the nature of reality. Sumana objects that even sound *khandhas*, 'your

[61] *Dialogues of the Buddha*, Part I, pp. 187ff.

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[62] Sentient being is said to be constituted of five *khandhas*, each khandha an aggregate of ultimate elements of bodily form, feeling, perception, mental formations and consciousness Thus 'Form' (Rūpa) is analysed into 28 attributes. "The 'I' is nothing but a changing combination of physical and psychical phenomena;" cf. Nyanatiloka, *The Word of the Buddha*, p. 4; Tilbe, *Pali Buddhism*, pp. 24, 25.

[63] As the author of this Dialogue describes it elsewhere, "A Reply to Dr. Ross" *J.B.R.S.*, Vol. VIII, Part II, p. 168.

[64] Essentially this was the theory I attempted to elaborate to the Sayādaw in my interview.

children such as were playing about them. We were ready-made re- 528
productions sent back by my father and Uncle San Lin who disappeared 177
into an unknown world many years ago. At house after house, and at the same houses year after year, we sat in a row on the benches they kept on the verandahs of all houses, eight children awkward and re-
strained, while the old people peered and chuckled at us: "Yes, that is 827
San Lin, all right—but there is Htwa Yin's nose; look at this expression, it is Maung Chit Kaing himself—oh but look here, here is the image of Maung Pyant, yes, exactly Maung Pyant, hullo you little Pyant, oh, look at her." This was my poor sister Mya Mya whose face seemed to be the quintessence of the features of my father and all his brothers and sisters. My sister Aye and I, who had the good fortune to take after my mother's family, were noticed very little during these visits, but my poor little Mya Mya sat there solemn and unhappy, thrusting her face out until even to us she looked comically like the forty-year-old aunts and uncles.

When I think back on eating the fruits of Grandmother's garden, 245
they seem to have the quality of some heavenly ambrosia about them. 262
They were all such luscious fruits. For example, the durian, the fruit 824
which foreigners describe as smelling most foul, usually had in Rangoon only a thin layer of the precious golden flesh around the seeds. In this garden we ate only *shwe-dinga* durians, gold-sovereign durians, whose flesh was so soft and full that a gold coin could be stood on edge on the seed and be buried in it. Moreover, the eating of durians in excess was usually discouraged anywhere else, because of the heating qualities of the fruit, but here they grew beside the cooling mangosteen, which we always ate after the durian. This delicious fruit never travels successfully; even from district to district it gets bruised and stained. The mangosteen tree was most exciting to me as a child. It was full of dark foliage and the distilled nectar of the snow-white fruit seemed to be enclosed in bitterness and fraught with dangers, for the thick skin which contains tannin was bitter, its stain was indelible and to be kept carefully away from our clothes, and the fruit itself was said to be poisonous when eaten with sugar. This was owing to the belief that the sap of the rind made a toxic combination with sugar. Even the coconuts in Ye had a succulence about them. They were so abundant in the garden that we discarded all the fruit in which the meat had hardened beyond the *zun-chit*, the "spoon-scrape", stage when the flesh was of such tenderness that it could be scraped up with a spoon as a transparent jelly, to be put into the drink of coconut water. We were encouraged to drink this because it was said to make the heat "kick" and come out of the system. The grains of the pomeloes also were swollen

1: Mi Mi Khaing I-5 (no date) 1946 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

craned and her eyes round with wonder and appetite, her thanakha legs sticking out brown and chalky from under her white petticoat.

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Hand in hand with the keen delight in the tastes of food goes our interest in the physiological effects of foods. Thus medicine and food are closely allied, and the good health of a normally constituted person is maintained with very little reliance on bottled tonics, even among modern townspeople. For this reason, too, Burmese people often eat foods which are not altogether good for them but the taste of which they like, and they rely on the counteracting effect of the antidote food which is usually contained in the recipe. "Neutralization is more epicurean than prevention." Just as the cooling mangosteen is eaten after the heating durian, the pickled tea-leaf which contracts the menstrual flow of women is eaten with ginger, which, shredded and pickled in lemon juice and salt, can be eaten in large amounts to have a counteracting effect. Cucumber also causes *lay-hto-tè*, the wind-to-pierce in the body, but citron is *lay-naing-tè*, conquers wind. Citron leaves and cucumber are often seen on the some to-sa-ya plate. Mushrooms which have a toxic effect are cooked with the water-greens called *ga-zun-ywet*, which not only counteract the poison but also provide a neutralizing

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green taste to the richness of mushrooms. When we were constipated, my mother gave us a sherbet of tamarind, sweetened with jaggery—the cooked sugar juices of the palmyra palm—both of which are purging. The sherbet tasted cool and delicious and the jaggery has, in addition, a soothing effect on the stomach and intestinal linings. Guavas are best eaten green and crisp, when they might give one a stomach ache, but in any case they taste better when dipped in yet-sa, the linctus powder with digestive properties. There are numerous other examples. A crowning one may be seen in the *zi-byu-thi*, the Indian gooseberry, which has an astringent taste that on drinking water leaves a clean sweetness in the mouth. The contracting effect of this on the menstruation of a woman is considered so great that some elders say: "A girl has but to sit under a zibyu tree for her menstruation to stop." College girls of Rangoon University used to eat these fruits by the pile, sucking the pungent juices out of each bite as they talked and talked, and then they all trooped off to the college food shop where they each ate one anna's worth of ginger salad and never knew any ill effects.

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

of the seitathit, or results immediately connected with ideas, throughout all the five stages of meditation up to upekka, lead to rewards in the twenty superior heavens, where the contemplative gradually frees himself from the thanya, or false persuasions, and acquires a contempt for matter.

All this action has its place in the manaw, or the seat of knowledge, and is duly explained to the Burman when he is in the monastery school, and afterwards, perhaps, in discourses of the Yahans in the rest-houses on feast-days, or other suitable occasions. Unfortunately, however, the matter is, to say the least, a little obscure, and not by any means easily to be grasped. Accordingly, the superstitious Burman having got a confused lot of big words into his head, after letting them simmer there for a while, evolved from his internal consciousness the notion of the leip-bya, or butterfly spirit.

This personation of the soul in a fairy-like form had natural elements of attractiveness in it; and the consequence is that the error of the unphilosophical Burman long ago has grown into a present national belief, and it is universally accepted that the life of man resides in the leip-bya and dies when it disappears. The man at the point of death opens his mouth and the butterfly escapes from the body, but only to die at the same time. Many strange things are explained by this doctrine. For example, the leip-bya is the cause of dreams. It is not absolutely necessary that the butterfly should remain constantly in the body; death will not necessarily ensue from the separation. When the man is asleep, therefore, it leaves the body and roams about far and wide. But in these wanderings it can only go to such places as a person to whom it belongs has previously been in. A straying from known paths would cause extreme danger to the sleeping body, for it might happen that the butterfly would lose its way and never return, and then both would die—the body because the animating principle was gone, the leip-bya because it had no earthly tenement to live in. The butterfly is enabled to perform these journeys through its existence as thwe seit, or soul of the blood; and it is the state of this blood which makes the leip-bya more or less inclined to roam, and directs its movements. If the

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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774 blood is feverish or excited in any way, the butterfly necessarily
827 becomes restless, and wanders about more or less rapidly and into more or less strange places, according to the degree of perturbation. Therefore it happens that the soul thus existing in itself, and straying or flying at random, sees extremely
774 strange and fantastic visions on these voyages. An elabora-
823 tion of this notion divides dreams into three special varieties: those which occur at the beginning of sleep, those about midnight, and those in the early morning; or the false, the mixed, and the true. Bedin-sayās and wise women are for this reason always very particular in their inquiries as to the precise time at which the dream occurred. If they foretell wrongly it is, of course, because the questionist made a mistake as to the time when his vision appeared to him.

774 These night wanderings of the butterfly spirit are not
776 without their dangers. In addition to other hobgoblins and spectres, Burma is especially plagued by evil spirits called bilus—creatures in human guise who devour men. If they will eat the corporate man, there is small doubt what will happen to the fragile butterfly spirit should it come across such an ogre. Cases do happen when the leip-bya is gulped down, and then the man has slept his last sleep. More often, however, it is only a case of leip-bya lan; the soul is scared, and in its terror sometimes runs into unknown regions, from which it is unable to retrace its steps, when of course it dies and with it the owner; or it rushes home to its bodily dwelling-place with such precipitation that the whole system is
753 disorganised and sickness follows. This butterfly theory,
757 therefore, offers a grand field for quack doctors, of whom there are unfortunately a very large number in Burma. When a man falls ill they dose him with all the drugs and simples they have in their little bamboo phials. If he does not get better after taking even the fungus from the roots of the bamboo, culled in the eclipse, or vegetable soot prepared at the change of the moon, then there can be only one opinion; the leip-bya has had its system shaken by some ghoulish sight; or perhaps it is being kept in durance vile by some tasé, some demon (in the sense of the Greek δαίμων), or by a sôn, a wizard. In this case no bodily medicine can be of any use, were it even that celebrated

23: Brant & Mi Mi Khaing E, I-5 (1949-1950)1951
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2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

Those born on Saturday have T, Ht, D, Dh, and N. The aspirated and unaspirated letters have to most Englishmen precisely the same sound, though a practised ear detects the difference immediately. Examples are:—Maung Ba Tu, Mr. Like His Father; Ma Ne Htun, Miss or Mrs. Sunshine; Maung Du Wun, Mr. Pole Star; Mi Nu, Miss Tender.

Those born on Thursday select from P, Hp, B, Hb, and M. For example:—U Po Mya, Old Grandfather Emerald; Maung Bo Gale, Mr. Little Officer; Ma Hmwe, Miss or Mrs. Fragrant; Mi Meit, Miss Affection.

Wednesday has L and W. Examples:—Maung Ho, Mr. Yonder; Ma Waing Hla, Miss or Mrs. All-Round Pretty; Ma Hein, Miss or Mrs. Growler.

From noon till midnight on Wednesday is represented as a special day, or, at any rate, under a special constellation called Yahu, and those born between those hours have the alternative of the two Y's, one of which is sounded R in Pali and by the Arakanese. Examples are:—Maung Yo, Mr. Honesty; Ma Yôn, Miss or Mrs. Rabbit, U Yauk, Old Individual. [194] [184]

Friday has Th and H. Examples:—Maung Than, Mr. Million; Maung Thet She, Mr. Long Life; Ma Thin, Miss or Mrs. Learned; Mè Thaw, (old) Mrs. Noisy.

A is the only letter assigned to Sunday, but the combination with it of the symbol of any other vowel changes it to the sound of that vowel. For example:—Maung Ôn, Mr. Cocoa-nut; Maung At Ni, Mr. Red Needle; Ma E, Miss Cold; Ma Eing Saung, Mrs. Housekeeper; U O, Old Pot.

A common popular belief is, that, according to the day of the week (or rather the constellation representing that day) on which a man is born, so will his character be. Thus a man's name discloses his probable characteristics to the superstitious. 828 551 787

A man born on Monday will be jealous; on Tuesday, honest; on Wednesday, short-tempered, but soon calm again, the characteristic being intensified under Yahu; on Thursday, mild; on Friday, talkative; on Saturday, hot-tempered and quarrelsome; on Sunday, parsimonious.

Not only has every day its special character and its fixed

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Taninla kya
Ta-sè nga
Ne nya
She yat ga.

Monday's number, I ween,
Is always fifteen;
The tiger's the beast,
And its place is the East.

There are various ways of calculating the horoscope, 787
most of them not to be understanded of the people, but the most popular, because the preliminaries are evident to everybody, is from the numbers given above. A person born on Monday remains under the influence of the moon for fifteen years. Then he passes into the house of Mars and sojourns there for eight years. At the age of twenty-three, Mercury presides over him and continues to do so for the next seventeen years, and so on to the end, which mounts up to 108 years. Should he outlive that he would begin the circle over again. Another way is to divide the inquirer's age by eight. If there is no remainder, the horoscope is made up from the gyo under which he was born. If there is a remainder, the Bedin Sayā counts it out round the figure, in the direction of the hands of a watch, commencing with the birth planet. Thus a man born on Thursday, now twenty-nine years of age, would be under the influence of the moon. The gyo at the four cardinal points, east, south, west, and north are happy in their influences, those on the diagonal rhumbs not so good. Yahu, and especially Saturday, have 787
a particularly sinister influence. A man does most of the 828
stupid and vicious things in his life while he is in Saturn's house. A young man born on Wednesday will need a lot of ballast to tide him through the ten years of Saturn, seeing that he enters on the danger at the age of seventeen.

Little gilded and red painted signboards are put up at 787
all the pagodas, displaying the nan, the symbol, and the 782
relative position of all the planets. Sometimes people 778
worshipping at the pagoda go to the point of the gyo, in whose house they were born, and offer up their lauds and candles there. But this is a mere matter of individual fancy, and is hardly open to those born in the diagonally situated

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584 abilities, contrives a series of unexpected meetings, and does everything, in fact, to further the project. There are regular practitioners in the business, and others who dabble in it for want of something to do and from sheer love of scheming.

Courting, whether authorised by the parents or not, is very seldom carried on in daylight. So much is this the case that the phrase Lu-byo hlè thi achein, "Courting time," is commonly used in ordinary conversation to designate nine o'clock at night, or a little before or after. The time may be due to the fact that occupation, or the heat, prevent it during the day, but there is an old saw which may account for it, to the effect that in the morning women are cross and peevish; in the middle of the day they are testy and quarrelsome; but at night they are sweet and amiable. Authorised courtship, if the term is not too unromantic, is always carried on at this time, and preparations for it are duly made by the girls. A couple of hours after nightfall the lover, with a friend or two, makes his appearance near the house and dawdles up and down till he finds the old people have gone to bed, or retired from the scene. Then he goes up the steps along with his supporters and finds the girl alone, or with a companion or two, dressed in her best, with flowers in her hair, powder on her cheeks and neck, and generally prepared for conquest. The old people are never present, though they can hear everything, and the mother, as I am credibly informed, pauk-kyi thi, has a convenient chink in the bamboo walls through which she can survey operations and prevent too ardent love-making. Interviews vary in length, and the nature of the conversation may be best left to the imagination. If one of the accompanying young men has also an appointment that evening he naturally endeavours to curtail his friend's philandering as much as possible, in order that he himself may have the more time in another place to press his suit. Even in clandestine flirtations the courting is always effected in a formal way like this. Meetings in lover's loans, or *à quatre yeux*, would ruin a girl's character immediately. Her own mother would be the first to put the worst construction on such doings.

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Burman is always very kind to his wife, while every girl is taught from her earliest years to look with the highest respect upon man as man, and to defer in all things to his judgment, though she is far more free than the Indian wife. The Burman consults with his partner in all his affairs, public and private, and often is entirely guided by her. She keeps the shop that is to be found in almost every house in the country towns, and usually makes far more money than the goodman himself. It is a simple matter to blame the Burmese for easy marriage customs, but the system speedily puts an end to unhappy and ill-assorted unions, and illegitimate children are exceedingly rare. Finally, unless there is good known cause for a separation the divorced parties are not by any means looked upon with a favourable eye. The man who enters a monastery to get rid of a wife goes by the contemptuous name of taw-twet "jungle runaway," for the rest of his life, while the ta-ku-lat, the *divorcée*, is a perennial subject of joke to the jester in the play:—

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> She that's neither maid, married, nor widow,
> Fits all men as a pot does it's lid, O.

That is to say, a divorced woman needs small wooing. Such a woman will not hesitate to cut off the bya-bazan, the lappets of hair that fall down over the ears, the last resource of the despairing and unwilling celibate.

The literature of marriage is not inconsiderable. The tattooing ceremonies, a-nu se, love-philtres, charms, and what not, are referred to elsewhere. There remain a number of singular matters to be taken note of by those who would be happy in married life. Thus the girls are told how they may ascertain a man's character by the colour of his heart's blood—though how they are to ascertain this colour without injury to the subject of inquiry is not mentioned. A lustful man's blood is dark red; a cross, quarrelsome man's is so dark as almost to be black; a lazy man's like elephant's water; a rough-speaking man's like boiled peas: a charitable man's like the flower of the mahā hlegā, a species of bauhinia; while a learned man's heart's blood is beautiful as the ruby.

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Similarly useless knowledge is the statement that an

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828 ignorant man's heart is all in one mass, while that of the well-instructed divides itself into three small parts.

885 779 581 As models of married women are held up the Taw le-wa, the most faithful and beautiful of wives, the consorts of four of the chief princes in the ten great Jatakas, treating of the last births of the Lord Buddha. To say that a girl is Taw le-wa win lauk, calculated to become like one of these four great queens, Amaya the wife of Mahawthata, the Solomon of Buddhist kings; Madi, the wife of Wethandaya, world-famed for his charity; Keinnayi or Thanbula, the partners of princes hardly less celebrated, is to pay the highest possible compliment to any woman. But these are somewhat vague and intangible matters. There are other recommendations which appeal much more directly to those intending to get married; to the man that seeks a wife, sanshwe, pure as "test gold"; or the girl who would avoid a linkwe, a "cur of a husband."

581 787 Prominent among these is the rhyme of "the hostile pairs," the yan-hpet, who, if they marry, will certainly have a short life.

Some violence is done to the niceties of language in the linga, so that I may be allowed the same in the translation of a portion of it.

> Friday's daughter
> Didn't oughter
> Marry with a Monday's son;
> Should she do it
> Both will rue it,
> Life's last lap will soon be run.

The same lamentable result would follow if the man were born on Friday and the woman on Monday. Again:

> Saturdays and Thursdays,
> The serpent and the rat,
> You cannot find out worse days,
> Life's short enough at that.

The serpent and the rat preside over Saturday and Thursday respectively. Similar curtailment of life would follow if the union was between Sunday and Wednesday, or between Tuesday and the eighth half-day Yahu. One or

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263 strongly-flavoured nga-pi, without which no Burman would consider his meal complete. Sometimes the big, fierce-stinging kā-gyin, a species of red ant, is used along with this fish paste, sometimes it is fried in oil by itself. As may be imagined, they have an acid and decidedly pungent flavour about them. Roasted turtle's and iguana's eggs, [828] dried fish, and fried ginger are gourmand's adjuncts. There is a particular objection to the smell of cookery, and when anything is fried in oil, or prepared so as to produce a strong savour, it is always done to leeward of the house, and where the fumes may not reach any other dwelling. Such smells 264 are believed to be very productive of fever. Nothing is ever 271 drunk at meals, but each one, when he has finished, goes to 273 the earthenware jar full of water which stands in a corner of the verandah, and rinses out his mouth. It is a lamentable fact that many Burmans in the low country now drink beer and spirits, but this is never done at meals nor in the house, where, indeed, the wife would not allow it. It is deplorable, because it is drinking for the sake of drinking, and is never done in moderation. The tippling Burman goes to the "toddy-shop" for his liquor, and he does not know when to stop. Brandy of the fiery description known to the British soldier as "fixed bayonets," or "chain-shot," is often drunk, but the usual tipple is "Old Tom." A particularly heady mixture of this with cheap beer is affected by confirmed [183] topers. It is contrary to the national religion, and it does not suit the national temperament.

276 After meals every one smokes—men, women, and children. Facetious people have declared that Burman babies blow a cloud while they are still at the breast. This is inaccurate. They never indulge till they are able to walk without needing the assistance of their hands, but their mothers give them whiffs long before that. The ordinary Burman cheroot is very mild and has really very little tobacco in it. The full-flavoured article to be seen occasionally in London shops is manufactured entirely for English residents. The se paw-leip, the cigar for home consumption, commonly known as the green cheroot, is very large, from six to eight inches long and about an inch in diameter at one end, tapering to slightly less at the other.

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CHAPTER XL

THE BUTTERFLY SPIRIT

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It is a matter of common knowledge that Buddhists deny the existence of a soul or spiritual principle in man. Each new being, spiritual nature as well as bodily substance, is the product of what has gone before, and differs entirely from the previous being. That faculty which performs all the actions referred by other religions to the soul is by the Buddhist system placed in a sixth sense called manaw, the heart, or faculty of knowing. This sense is as material in its action as any of the others which are denominated seeing, hearing, tasting, and so on. The manaw is, it is true, the most important of all the senses. The eyes, the ears, all the others, are merely channels to communicate impressions to the purely intellectual faculty of knowing; but it is not a separate something, distinct in composition and existence from the material body. The quality and keenness of perception of the manaw is a matter of serious importance to its owner; for it is only by meditation that a man can attain to the higher heavens, and the act of meditating can only be conducted by the sixth sense. The observance of the precepts and the performance of good actions meet with abundant reward in happy births on earth or in the six heavens of the nat-dewas; but the inward good deeds of the soul are incomparably more meritorious, and therefore the pondering on the lawki seit, the ideas of creatures yet under the influence of the passions, and on the lawkotara seit, which are the ideas of those happy beings who have entered into the current of perfection and move about in the regions of pure spiritualism—the consideration of these and

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of the seitathit, or results immediately connected with ideas, throughout all the five stages of meditation up to upekka, lead to rewards in the twenty superior heavens, where the contemplative gradually frees himself from the thanya, or false persuasions, and acquires a contempt for matter. 828 775

All this action has its place in the manaw, or the seat of knowledge, and is duly explained to the Burman when he is in the monastery school, and afterwards, perhaps, in discourses of the Yahans in the rest-houses on feast-days, or other suitable occasions. Unfortunately, however, the matter is, to say the least, a little obscure, and not by any means easily to be grasped. Accordingly, the superstitious Burman having got a confused lot of big words into his head, after letting them simmer there for a while, evolved from his internal consciousness the notion of the leip-bya, or butterfly spirit. 775

This personation of the soul in a fairy-like form had natural elements of attractiveness in it; and the consequence is that the error of the unphilosophical Burman long ago has grown into a present national belief, and it is universally accepted that the life of man resides in the leip-bya and dies when it disappears. The man at the point of death opens his mouth and the butterfly escapes from the body, but only to die at the same time. Many strange things are explained by this doctrine. For example, the leip-bya is the cause of dreams. It is not absolutely necessary that the butterfly should remain constantly in the body; death will not necessarily ensue from the separation. When the man is asleep, therefore, it leaves the body and roams about far and wide. But in these wanderings it can only go to such places as a person to whom it belongs has previously been in. A straying from known paths would cause extreme danger to the sleeping body, for it might happen that the butterfly would lose its way and never return, and then both would die—the body because the animating principle was gone, the leip-bya because it had no earthly tenement to live in. The butterfly is enabled to perform these journeys through its existence as thwe seit, or soul of the blood; and it is the state of this blood which makes the leip-bya more or less inclined to roam, and directs its movements. If the 774 774 827

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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774 827 blood is feverish or excited in any way, the butterfly necessarily becomes restless, and wanders about more or less rapidly and into more or less strange places, according to the degree of perturbation. Therefore it happens that the soul thus existing in itself, and straying or flying at random, sees extremely strange and fantastic visions on these voyages. An elaboration of this notion divides dreams into three special varieties: those which occur at the beginning of sleep, those about midnight, and those in the early morning; or the false, the mixed, and the true. Bedin-sayās and wise women are for this reason always very particular in their inquiries as to the precise time at which the dream occurred. If they foretell wrongly it is, of course, because the questionist made a mistake as to the time when his vision appeared to him.

774 776 These night wanderings of the butterfly spirit are not without their dangers. In addition to other hobgoblins and spectres, Burma is especially plagued by evil spirits called bilus—creatures in human guise who devour men. If they will eat the corporate man, there is small doubt what will happen to the fragile butterfly spirit should it come across such an ogre. Cases do happen when the leip-bya is gulped down, and then the man has slept his last sleep. More often, however, it is only a case of leip-bya lan; the soul is scared, and in its terror sometimes runs into unknown regions, from which it is unable to retrace its steps, when of course it dies and with it the owner; or it rushes home to its bodily dwelling-place with such precipitation that the whole system is disorganised and sickness follows. This butterfly theory, therefore, offers a grand field for quack doctors, of whom there are unfortunately a very large number in Burma. When a man falls ill they dose him with all the drugs and simples they have in their little bamboo phials. If he does not get better after taking even the fungus from the roots of the bamboo, culled in the eclipse, or vegetable soot prepared at the change of the moon, then there can be only one opinion; the leip-bya has had its system shaken by some ghoulish sight; or perhaps it is being kept in durance vile by some tasé, some demon (in the sense of the Greek δαίμων), or by a sôn, a wizard. In this case no bodily medicine can be of any use, were it even that celebrated

753 757

606 Since the son-in-law has the social status of a son in his wife's family, he has the right to expect his father-in-law to sponsor his career, even more than he expects this of his own father.

A daughter-in-law is expected to regard and treat her husband's father very much as her own father.

603 Grandparent and Grandchild. Because of the great difference in age between these generations, great respect is theoretically due grandparents. In practice, this may be flouted and great indulgence shown to grandchildren. Grandparents quite frequently help in rearing their grandchildren, tell them stories and teach them the Buddhist precepts.

The Life Cycle of the Individual

843 838 Birth and Infancy. When a woman is pregnant her dreams are considered to be especially significant. She is expected to remember those dreams that concern what her child will be like. The welfare of the child is forecast by some dreams. A dream of only one of things that normally come in pairs, such as earrings, bodes ill, possibly death, of the child in infancy. If the woman dreams of her viscera coming out it is indicative of a great future for the child. Persistent dreams of a particular deceased individual are indicative that the child will represent his reincarnation. In all forebodings of ill the normal counter-measure is to consult a Buddhist monk or an astrologer, who may give the woman an inscribed prayer (mantra) to keep or some amulet for the child to wear as protection.

843 Although village women need not avoid any specific foods during pregnancy, strong spices are regarded as harmful.

No supernatural means are employed to influence the sex of the prospective offspring. Certain signs are considered prognosticative. If the pregnant woman's stomach appears pointed, a boy will be born; a flat, broad stomach indicates that a girl is in prospect.

Pregnancy is considered a time of great happiness; the woman is greatly indulged and pampered by all concerned.

844 When the time for delivery approaches, any other pregnant women in the household must depart, lest their presence impede labor. Normally the woman's mother, grandmother, or aunt, in addition to a midwife, assists at birth. A fire is prepared in the room in which delivery is to take place and is maintained for ten days.

844 846 As soon as delivery has occurred, the umbilical cord is cut with a bamboo knife. The afterbirth is wrapped in the mother's skirt and is buried at once in the cardinal direction associated with the day of the week of the baby's birth. The mother is fed an infusion of turmeric, and turmeric paste is rubbed all over her body. She is kept close to the fire and made very warm. For three days she is carefully watched to prevent her from sleeping heavily during daylight hours.

846 The mother is treated as a delicate invalid for about one month and, in some cases, for as long as three months. She is fed only white rice and dried fish. A soup of garlic and banana stems is drunk to promote the flow

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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There was one point that puzzled me for a time

775 in some of these stories of transmigration, such as the one I told about the man and wife being reborn twins. It was this: A man dies and leaves behind children, let us say, to whom he is devoutly attached. He is reborn in another family in the same village, maybe. It would be natural to suppose that he would love his former family as much as, or even more so than his new one. Complications might arise in this way which it is easy to conceive would cause great and frequent difficulties.

775 I explained this to a Burman one day, and asked
828 him what happened, and this is what he said: 'The affection of mother to son, of husband to wife, of brother to sister, belongs entirely to the body in which you may happen to be living. When it dies, so do these affections. New affections arise from the new body. The flesh of the son, being of one with his father, of course loves him; but as his present flesh has no sort of connection with his former one, he does not love those to whom he was related in his other lives. These affections are as much a part of the body as the hand or the eyesight; with one you put off the other.'

828 Thus all love, to the learned, even the purest affection of daughter to mother, of man to his friend, is in theory a function of the body—with the one we put off the other; and this may explain, perhaps, something of what my previous chapter did not make quite clear, that in the hereafter[1] of Buddhism there is no affection.

When we have put off all bodies, when we have

[1] The here fter = the state to which we attain when we have done with e: chly th'ngs.

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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attained Nirvana, love and hate, desire and repulsion, will have fallen from us for ever. 828

Meanwhile, in each life, we are obliged to endure the affections of the body into which we may be born. It is the first duty of a monk, of him who is trying to lead the purer life, to kill all these affections, or rather to blend them into one great compassion to all the world alike. 'Gayūna,' compassion, that is the only passion that will be left to us. So say the learned. 792 828

I met a little girl not long ago, a wee little maiden about seven years old, and she told me all about her former life when she was a man. Her name was Maung Mon, she said, and she used to work the dolls in a travelling marionette show. It was through her knowledge and partiality for marionettes that it was first suspected, her parents told me, whom she had been in her former life. She could even as a sucking-child manipulate the strings of a marionette-doll. But the actual discovery came when she was about four years old, and she recognized a certain marionette booth and dolls as her own. She knew all about them, knew the name of each doll, and even some of the words they used to say in the plays. 'I was married four times,' she told me. 'Two wives died, one I divorced; one was living when I died, and is living still. I loved her very much indeed. The one I divorced was a dreadful woman. See,' pointing to a scar on her shoulder, 'this was given me once in a quarrel. She took up a chopper and cut me like this. Then I divorced her. She had a dreadful temper.' 775

It was immensely quaint to hear this little thing

quiet), the time when the children become quiet, from 7 to 8, 9 to 10 p.m. is known as THATKYI-KAUNG-CHA (oldage-head-drop) when the elders begin to nod; from 11 to midnight and beyond is LUKLIN-PYAN CHAIN (Bachelors'-return-time) when young men complete their carousing and return to sleep. AYO (dawn) comes at the second cocks'crowing (first is at mid-night) about 4 o'clock. The KALA-DET (Indians-marching in) hollow wooden drum is struck in the phongyi-kyaungs at this time to awaken the village. The women who prepare breakfast, and the old folks who rise to worship appear at this time - but others may sleep on for an hour or so. 512 805 513

It is obligatory to wash the legs and feet before retiring. In warm weather a mat is preferred for coolness - but in colder and damp weather a mattress is considered necessary for protection. Prayers taking from 2 minutes (most) up to considerably longer are generally said before bed-time. These praise Buddha and include such supplications as "may I be lifted up to heaven again." Dreams may be good or bad according to the disposition of the mate. Certain dreams have meanings applicable as omens. It is during sleep that the ghost of a recently departed loved one contacts the sleeper and, sometimes, succeeds in luring him away permanently. 513 [515] 782 828 [775]

Analysis of home standard in Pathwe and in Refugee Camp.

The Pathwe home was in nearly every way superior to refugee camp home. Let us examine the nature of this superiority and attempt to see the adjustment which U Myaing made in the refugee camp. The Pathwe home was an independent unit as compared to the refugee camp apartment-like home. However we may not assume that U Myaing found this a disadvantage, since living in Pantanaw was "close". The quarters in the one case were separated by half a dozen feet and on the other by a bamboo partition. An important difference is that the Pathwe home was owned by U Myaing and he had inalienable rights there, whereas the refugee camp apartment was loaned to him for a short time period. 511 722 342

Only about one fiftieth of the space was available in the refugee camp (15,050 cubic feet in Pathwe, 315 cubic feet in camp.) However, 511 722 361 342

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

536* led him to something which approximates to the observance of the 'unities' of time and place as well as of action.

In the grouping of the characters, U Pon Nya shows his greatness as a dramatist, and gives an impression of beauty of form and completeness to the play. The first scene begins with the prince and the two water-sellers. The attention of the audience is drawn and concentrated on these three from the beginning. When their characters have been portrayed in part, other persons are introduced to the audience. But the attention of the audience is not allowed to waver from the three. Others are mere figures that serve as background. They are allowed to say so little that we can scarcely even call them minor characters. The three characters are well portrayed, the man water-seller the most fully of the three. He is the central figure, and on one side of him we have the king, admiring the water-seller, liking him; on the other side we have the woman, loving him. As a result the play gives the impression of a symmetrical structure, with the man as the centre, the king and the woman as wings, and other persons of the play as background. In the last scene also, U Pon Nya shows his mastery in grouping the figures on the stage to give an effect of beauty of structure. When the king and his followers arrive at the garden, the king and the crown prince occupy the centre of the stage, and we have the princess with the ladies on one side, and the courtiers on the other. When the climax of the play—the attempt of the prince on the life of the king—is reached, other figures are absent, because the attention of the audience has to be concentrated on the prince alone. When the climax is over, again two distinct groups of characters enter on different sides. At the end, the water-sellers leave on one side, and the king and the courtiers on the other, the centre of the stage being left empty.

536* 828 *Paduma* shows that U Pon Nya had not learnt to portray character. With regard to the princess in that play, he was trying to convince the audience that there was no logic or reason in a woman, and that she had no character as she was merely a creature of desire. Therefore he had no reason to dwell upon the princess but this very fact should have caused him to portray Paduma's character, which he failed to do. This seems to prove that he only learnt to portray character through the experience gained from his first play. In *The Water-seller*, he is a master of that art. He wants the audience to concentrate its interest on the man water-seller, but he sketches the other two in convincing detail. The king is a philosopher and sincere

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
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friend, and one can appreciate his treatment of the water-seller. He is a conscientious king, but his place is really the study, and he finds even one day of kingship tiresome. He would have liked the water-seller to share the responsibility of ruling the kingdom, but he could appreciate his desire to seek the peace of the forest. He is human in his attitude towards religion; he wishes to be a Buddha one day; he believes that the monastery alone can offer real peace; he finds his crown burdensome; and he admires the water-seller for being able to leave the luxuries of the palace for the simple life of a hermit; but he himself cannot leave his palace and power, for, being but an ordinary mortal, he loves comfort and wealth and power. The woman water-seller is an ordinary woman, honest, charming, lovable. She earns her living scrupulously; she is poor but honest. She appreciates the sterling qualities in the other water-seller, and falls in love with him. She trusts him, but womanlike, she wants the marriage to be celebrated according to convention. Luxury and power do not change her character. Politics do not interest her. A lovable woman as a water-seller, she remains lovable as a princess, and therefore the ladies at the court cry their hearts out when she leaves them, though they have served her but one afternoon. She is a woman above all, and she loves the man water-seller for himself alone; he may change his social status, he may be a water-seller, a prince, a monk, but he remains forever her man, and she will follow him everywhere. She has the utmost faith in him, and what he does is right to her. When he wishes to go to the forest, she does not persuade him to stay. Politics and religion and philosophy play a very small part in her life; she just follows the water-seller to the forest, because she loves him and cannot stay without him.

The portrayal of the man water-seller constitutes a real advance in Burmese drama. It is a study in character development. U Kyin U and his precursors had studied character, but in their works the character was fixed from the beginning to the end, and it did not develop before the eyes of the audience. We have seen how brilliantly Parpahein was portrayed by U Kyin U; but throughout, he remained the same Parpahein that we knew when the play began. The man water-seller is very poor, but his character is such that he can keep himself cheerful and quite contented. Honesty and buoyancy of temperament make him happy. His outlook as to wealth is very narrow; he has no other ambition but to earn a few coppers more. He cheerfully and frankly woos his bride. When

21: Htin-Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
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536* through good fortune he is given a princely sum of money, his regard
828 for the silver halfpenny acquired through industry and thrift, and his love for the woman remain. In the hour of his acquisition of half the kingdom, he does not forget either his lover or his halfpenny. However, he soon loses his cheerfulness through having to fill his office with dignity and ability; the crown prince is no longer the laughing water-seller, indulging in mock-heroics, laughing unashamed at his own poverty. Wealth and power do not always make one happy and cheerful. To the previously contented water-seller ambition comes to disturb his peace of mind. He is next only to the king, but he wants to be king now—he, who was contented before with a halfpenny hidden safely away. His greed and ambition tempt him, to kill his friend and king, who is responsible for making him the crown prince. Fortunately, his old sense of honesty and gratitude still remain. The good and evil in him fight, and U Pon Nya gives us a fine picture of the struggle in the mind of the water-seller. In the end, the good wins. If the character of a person is essentially good, in the end, in spite of all temptations, the good in him will carry him through, just as the water-seller's character finally triumphs over ambition and greed that result from wealth and power. The king offers him the whole kingdom, he has but to say 'yes', and from being the lowest in the country, he will become the highest. But he refuses the offer. He has tasted both poverty and wealth and in the end he chooses poverty—the poverty and peace of a hermit's life. He has the courage to act according to his convictions, and we can but respect and admire his final action.[1]

4. *Wizaya*

536* The story of this play is taken with slight modifications from a
719 semi-religious work on the history of Buddhism in Ceylon, which is
[177] classed in the same category as a *Jataka*. In the original not only the history of Ceylon, but also some account of the history of the kingdom in India from which the island was colonized, was given. U Pon Nya, however, begins only at the point where the colonists leave their mother country, and ends his play at the point where a dynasty is assured to Ceylon.

536* The king is holding his court when he hears cries for help. On inquiry he learns that his elder son, Wizaya, has long been in the

[1] A translation of the play is given in appendix vi.

29: Slater M-4 (no date) 1951 APl Burma
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ed by the attitude of non-Buddhists. Disputants are often at cross purposes. In frequent discussions I have therefore tried to understand how the argument appears to the Buddhist.

Humpty Dumpty, thinks the non-Buddhist, has had a great fall in Buddhist psychology. He cannot see how all the king's horses and all the king's men of Buddhism can possibly put Humpty together again, and, unless they can, he sees no ground for any view of Nibbāna which includes a prospect of individual survival. He cannot, indeed, see how the Buddhist can consistently speak of individuals at all or reconcile his theories with individual persistence, before or after death, still less with ethical individual responsibility.

The Buddhist, on the other hand, doubts if Humpty ever sat on the wall. It is evident, to his mind, that Humpty has always been what he evidently seems to be now: a mix of shell, white and yolk — and, if you analayse the mix further, something still more complex: an aggregate of aggregates. There is, he admits, an individual splash on the ground and it is convenient to give it a name. But apart from the shell, the white, the yolk, what other Humpty can there be? Why seek to put him on the wall? This, of course, is not the simile he uses. He generally quotes the chariot analogy — Nāgasena's argument to King Milinda — the word 'chariot' is but a term for pole, axle, wheels, chariot-body and banner-staff.[1]

But there is sometimes apparent another ground for Buddhist bewilderment. He wonders how his Western questioner can be so naive! What he has in mind is his own development from childish ideas, and the childish, animistic ideas of simple villagers who still think of the butterfly *(leip-byā)* which is thought to leave the body at death — and may even do so during deep sleep[2]. This presumably intelligent Westerner, talking about a soul, appears still to believe in some little mannikin, some semi-material kernel. How incredible! Does he not realise that human personality is much more complex than that?

There are, it is true, many simple Buddhists in Burma who have no such difficulty. Their allegiance to the An-attā doctrine is merely lip-allegiance. To them Maung Maung is Maung Maung. And he may be Maung Maung's grandfather come to re-birth. Expectant mother's discuss such possible re-births. One of these, a young widow, lived in hope that the child to be born would be her deceased husband. We need not attribute such ideas solely to the survival of animism. They are just as much encouraged by Jataka stories.

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In the Dialogue cited in chapter III, the argument for individual survival through the persistence of sound *khandhas* in the ultimate Nibbāna condition, *Anupādisesa*, is based on the distinction drawn between *upādi* and *upadhi*. The former, *upādi*, which is the term referred to in *Anupādisesa*, is derived from *upa* and the verb *ādiyati* – 'to be grasped.' Hence it is said to refer to the five khandhas *grasped at* by four *upādānas*. Buddha-

[1] Milindapañha. 25. 1 (Warren, *Buddhism in Translations*, pp. 129ff.).
[2] Cf. Forbes, *British Burma*, chap. IV, p. 99.

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ghosa is quoted in support of this interpretation: "The *Anupādisesa* Nibbāna is so called because of the non-becoming of the five khandhas *which have been grasped at* as effects by the *kamma* attended by desire, pride and error." U. Agga in the Dialogue concludes that it is clear that this leaves it open to believe that sound *khandhas*, the fruitional consciousness of arahantship obtains, in the *Anupādisesa* Nibbāna as in the prior condition, *Sa-upādisesa*. "The orthodox view according to the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi* is that the worldly mind and material body alone are *upādāniya* and the transcendent, spiritual consciousness which is beyond the reach of *upādānas* is *anupādāniya*."

'Yet ninety nine per cent of Burman Buddhists.. understand this word *upādi* to mean all kinds of *khandhas*.' He has previously suggested that this may be partly due to the fact that they confuse *upādi* with *upadhi*. Now upadhi is derived from *upa* and the root *dhā* --- 'to bear, conduct or carry' and is thus applied to *khandhas* generally, besides corruptions, sensual desires and kamma. There are scriptural passages which speak of all *upadhis* being given up in Nibbāna, and a Brahmana who has attained Nibbāna is described as *nir-upadhi*.' It is argued, however, that these passages mean simply that such an arahant is released from *unsound khandhas* --- not all.

In his accompanying Essay, Pe Maung Tin gives an interpretation which also, on the whole, favours individual survival. But he says nothing about *anupādisesa khandhas*. *An-upādisesa* means "nibbāna without any residue of *upādi's* at the death of the saint" whose "aggregates are dissolved" --- but only his aggregates. There is no reference, therefore, to any annihilation of ultimate personality, and the Saṁyutta Nikāya says: "The saint on the dissolution of the body is established in the *dhamma* (dhammaṭṭho) and his personality is not counted as man, god, brahma or being" and the commentary explains dhammaṭṭho as meaning: "established in the nature of saints as well as in nibbāna itself." Pe Maung Tin emphasises the distinction between conditioned and unconditioned reality; he also emphasises that there is but one Nibbāna (*sa-upādisesa* and *an-upādisesa* being but a difference in name, as applied to different stages). He finally emphasises that 'no analysis will reveal the true nature of the Reality.' Knowledge can only be attained by intuition, and meantime can only be indicated in negative terms.

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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779 Thalé san became more and more scarce. At first, no
772 matter how much was eaten, at night the portion which had been cut during the day reappeared; but when the first people fell into the sin of lust the rice gradually vanished. Where the rice was cut in the morning, there remained a bare patch at night. Since then man has had to labour, and earn his bread with the sweat of his brow.

779 Owing to the scarcity, crime first appeared in the world.
829 One man, fearing that his stock would not last him, went and stole from his neighbours' barns. Thus theft was the first crime committed in the world. The man whose rice was stolen at first only scolded the thief, and let him go. The robber, however, did not care for this, and came back a second and a third time. The third time he was seized and beaten. Thus out of the original crime of thievery arose abuse, reviling, assault, falsehood, and then punishments. In this way did crime and consequently law and justice take their origin, and have lasted since the very beginning of the world. Hitherto on account of the happy state in which the people had lived, without crime and without punishments, every one had been equal, and there had been no necessity for marking different grades. As, however, crime increased, and with it revenge, more or less sweeping according to temperament, the people took counsel together and resolved to appoint a man to be ruler over them, who should regulate their affairs and punish wrongdoers. Thus a king was first appointed, and his revenue was derived from tithes given by the people. Each man set apart a tenth of his Thalé san for the support of the king. The tithe system was kept up among the Burmese, the most direct in descent from the original people, until a few years ago. The kings extended the system. The rulers and governors of provinces received in place of salary the tithes of the districts which were under their charge. But King Mindôn Min, finding that with unscrupulous men the method was liable to abuse, abolished the system of tithes, and introduced the English method of paying a regular salary. It did not, however, work well. Many of the myo-sas, finding that they did not receive their money regularly from the State, continued to exact tithes as before, only secretly and with many cunning devices to hide

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what they were doing. It is probable, therefore, that the custom of the ancients would have been reintroduced.

The appointment of a ruler to punish crime was therefore the second source of the law, and the first source of the administration of justice. The first king chosen was a Payālaung, a person destined in future ages to be a Buddha, and therefore of great sanctity and wisdom, and one who strictly conformed to the five natural and religious laws incumbent on all men, namely, not to murder, steal, commit adultery, drink fermented liquors, or speak falsely. From these immediately sprang the four thingahas or kingly laws, and the first laws laid down by the Payālaung were with regard to the twenty-five descriptions of theft, the ten kinds of assault, and the twenty-seven kinds of abusive language.

Notwithstanding the institution of a source of administrative justice, crime continued to increase, and those who wished to escape from its evil influences retired to the jungles and there built small houses for themselves, or gained a living by begging from village to village. Thus rose the caste of the Brahmins. Those who built themselves houses and acquired wealth by agriculture and trade, were called thaté thu-gywè, rich men, while those who were unfortunate and oppressed sank into the state of poverty and were called thu sinyè. Thus arose the legal classification of the people.

The first king, Mahāthamada as he was called, probably had a written code, but it has been superseded or lost. The laws which now guide us were drawn up by Menu, originally a cowherd, but afterwards a minister. To these laws all others owe their existence, for we read that in Greece, the earliest civilised country in Europe, Menu was styled Minos in Crete, and first gave them laws. In this way polity was established in the Southern Island. The original people soon greatly increased, and multiplied, and dispersed themselves not only all over the mainland, but some even went to the smaller islands round about, as did the English to the Pyi Gyi. Just as the children of one father take different names, so the different peoples took to themselves different titles, according to the part of the earth they settled in. Just also as some children in a family are good and some bad, so a few races preserved the sacred law of

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the Lord Buddha, and some fell away into lamentable heresies. Many of them still retain reminiscences of the teachings of the Great Master. Thus the Bible of the Christian contains moral precepts in a great measure identical with the sentiments conveyed in the thoughts or sermons of the Lord Buddha. There is even confirmation in the mention of the ages of Methuselah and other men of old, of the doctrine of the waxing and waning term of human life. Some learned Sadaws have held that the Lord Jesus is Dewadat, the cousin of Shin Gautama, who was always trying to overthrow the good works of the Buddha; and it is well known that the Siamese speak of the evil Dewadat as the God of Europe, and the causer of all the evil in the world. This opinion is not, however, generally held, and the best thing a Burman can wish for a good Englishman is that in some future existence, as a reward of good works, he may be born a Buddhist and if possible a Burman. For that the Burmese are most nearly descended [103] from the original holy people, their name Byammā or Bamā evidently shows, while no other nation preserves the sacred law more carefully and more exactly in its form as it came from the lips of the Lord Buddha himself. Moreover, the Burmese monarchs retained the titles given to Mahāthamada, the first king, and his immediate successors, and therefore they ranked above all others.

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are stuck into him, red pepper is forced into his eyes, and the louder he shrieks and groans the better pleased are his friends and relations, for it is the witch, or the natso, that is suffering, and not the sick man at all. If this treatment does not kill or cure him, a final effort is made. A middle-aged woman, sometimes a member of the family, dresses herself up in a fantastic way, and assumes the name of "wife of the evil spirit." A shed is erected for the occasion just outside the house. Music is brought, and the woman begins to dance, slowly at first, and then gradually more and more furiously, until at length she works herself into a regular frenzy or ecstasy. Then it is supposed that the demon has passed out of the sick man into her, and that whatever answers she now gives to questions are the utterances of the demon. Consequently, whatever she directs is implicitly carried out. The instructions usually resolve themselves into offerings to be placed outside for the evil spirit at nightfall. If this fails, then the witch doctors and medicine doctors unite in declaring that the nat is too strong for them, and abandon their patient. Occasionally, if he is of a very strong constitution, he revives after that. Such performances are limited to remote jungle places nowadays. Thus, however, the provinces of the physician and the necromancer run into one another, and it is difficult to say where science ends and magic begins.

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Shampooing is almost always employed in every disease, in addition to the prescriptions of the doctor; and here, at any rate, we have real skill. The shampooers are almost always women, though most men know a little about it too. A professional has a most wonderful knowledge of all the tendons and muscles in the human body, and follows them up with a light pressure of the fingers that affords a relief in the case of rheumatism and stiffness from exhaustion, which is simply incredible to all but those who have experienced it.

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In addition to their other work, the hmaw sayās are very much resorted to for love philtres and potions by both sexes. They have always an answer pat if the prescription fails: it is due to the opposition of the eingsaung nat, the guardian spirit of the house; or the applicant has made a mistake as to the date of birth of the object of his affection

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789 Knowledge of this latter particular is imperative, and an
● 831 error of an hour or two makes all the difference in the composition of the potion.

757 It ought to be unsatisfactory to an intelligent Burman's feelings to think that the man who prescribes for him in a dangerous illness is possibly at the same time mixing cunning draughts for a love-sick maid, or is manufacturing an image of a girl with magical charms and drugs which shall drive the original mad and soothe the vengeful wrath of the rejected suitor. Perhaps it is on this account that a Rangoon Burman, if he falls ill out in the district anywhere, hurries back to town as fast as he can. If he cannot do that, the best thing is to call in a wéza in preference to an unknown doctor; for while the former will probably confine himself to incantations at first, the dietist will irritate all the gastric juices in your body by prescribing some new variety of food, and banning everything you have been accustomed to; while the druggist will cram you to the throat with cathartics and anthelmintics, with arsenic, fungi from bamboo roots, green vitriol, decoctions of lemon grass, borax, croton seeds, and vegetable soot.

753 The father of Burmese medical science was the celebrated physician Zewaka, who once cured a colic which afflicted the Lord Buddha Gautama, by simply giving him three flowers to smell. Upon the petals were strewn some potent powders which restored perfect health in a few hours. To this good medico is to be ascribed the assertion that the diseases which afflict mankind are ninety-six in number. These may vary in their symptoms according to the thirty-five temperaments, the forty-five accidents, the sixteen dangers, and the four elements, but there are no more than ninety-six wedana
[576] for all that. Accordingly, a very common beginning to a formal Burmese letter is to say that by his correspondent's good wishes the writer has been preserved from the ninety-six andayè; the thirty-two kan-chammā, or pieces of bad luck; the twenty-five baya, dangers from assassins, wild beasts, and the like; and finally from aneitta bala, evils of all kinds, envy, hatred, malice, and all uncharitableness: his friend's regard has kept all these things far from him, may the writer's good will be not less efficacious. Therefore it is

14: Brant E-5 (1949-50) 1954 AP1 Burma
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The orchestra plays as the initiates depart for the adjoining building to change into ordinary clothes, eat their last meal of the day, and bathe. Some guests now leave; borrowed articles, such as plates, cups and mats are gathered up for return to their owners, and eventually the orchestra departs. 881 796 792

The initiates return to the front of the building in which the ceremony took place. They sit on mats for the shaving of their heads. Two women hold a long piece of white cloth before them to catch the hair as several men proceed to wet their heads and shave them clean with straight razors. [302]

Once more the boys leave to bathe, then return and are seated before the chief monk. Their robes held in their hands before them, they recite prayers, give their robes to the monk, and ask him to dress them properly in the monkish garb.

Their robes donned, they squat before the monk and recite additional prayers, now following very carefully the special intonation appropriate to monks. The ceremony proper is complete. [195]

The following morning, early, a few relatives and close friends go to the monastery. The monks, including the novices, are offered food by them. A monk recites the Five-Fold Path, and then the ceremony of pouring water drop by drop is performed. Names are given the initiates -- special monastic names which they will bear only for the duration of their novitiate. [551]

In former times, and still today in the very remote villages of Burma, an initiate might spend many months, possibly several years, in the monkhood. Sometimes a boy would remain a monk for life. Today in Tadagale, as almost everywhere, initiates spend only a token period of about one week in the monkhood. During this time, they live the austere existence of the order, rising very early, spending long periods in prayer recitals, and abstaining from food after noon until the following morning. The short period of life as a novice is strongly in contrast with the easy-going, carefree childhood days that precede it. Some boys approach the time of their shinbyu with feelings of trepidation, and all are glad when the period spent in the monastery is over and they can return to the much less stern discipline of their parents. 881 792 188

Courtship and Marriage. Young people in the village find ample opportunities to assess each other's manners, physical appearance, and personality, in the company of others at feasts and various gatherings. If a young man and woman are together apart from the company of others, people assume that sex relations are involved. In fact, such going together is spoken of as 'getting married.' Villagers find it hard to conceive of a young unmarried couple associating on a purely friendly, non-sexual basis; such behavior is regarded as contrary to nature. But however much it occurs, unchaperoned association is not approved, much less encouraged. 584 831

Once a pair have decided they want to marry, the boy will inform his parents of his desire. They will already know, in a relatively small village such as Tadagale, something of the standing of the girl's family and of her dowry potentialities; in fact, as soon as they have sensed their son's interest in a particular girl, they will take steps to acquire this information. They will also ascertain whether acceptance by the girl's family is likely. Sometimes the approach to the girl's family is made directly; in other instances a female go-between will be employed. The latter is more likely when the girl's family 584

585 When we arrived in procession at the bride's house, we found all her relatives gathered in the drawing-room, men down one side and women down the other; at the head a couch for the presiding elders, U Maung Maung and Mr. Swithinbank, before it a pair of rich cushions for the bridal pair to sit upon, and before it again a giant bowl of carved silver, filled with flowers and offerings. Everything in here was silent, restrained and correct. None but relatives were present, not divorcees, nor those whose married lives had been scandalous, lest they spoil the auspicious nature of the day.

585 292 832 I slipped into the bedroom to see the bride and, pausing, caught my breath to see how lovely she looked at that moment. On her wedding-day a Burmese woman wears the full court-dress of the by-gone days of the Burmese kings; the dress was worn by the queens and princesses of our songs and history, as they bowed before the magnificence of the king on his throne, as they stood by casements in the moonlight, as they sang songs of melancholy when evil days were upon them and their enemies had prevailed over them. The long side tress, the trailing open skirt, the tight jacket which left the bosom bare for necklaces of diamonds, were created to show the perfections of a beautiful woman. Neither tall nor short should she be, her waist small and her breast carried high, her skin smooth and yellow like the thanakha finely ground, rich and creamy, her eyes like those of a golden doe, beneath eyebrows arched no heavier than a three days' moon, her lips two ruby gems, and her hair as black as a beetle's wings. Such was Ommadhanti, such Pabhawadi, the beautiful one. Such was my sister-in-law on that day as she came out, betraying no emotion and recognizing no one as she walked up the room in silence and sank down on the cushion beside the bridegroom.

585 Now the writer of the panegyric rose and chanted the paean of praise. The young *tha-do-tha*, Maung Sett Kaing, so blessed with virtues, complete with every manly quality; the young *tha-do-thami*, Khin Khin Su, so beautiful and full of womanly dignity; both of good race, good stock, to be married thus auspiciously, to have a good long life together, so great is their merit. Then the elder presiding lady put the offerings from the silver bowl, one after another, into the hands of the bride, and she made obeisance with each one. Now was every evil banished and every good present, for the performance of the *mingala*, the auspicious thing. The bridal pair rose from the cushions and took their places on the couch; U Maung Maung took the hands of bride and groom, laid them one upon the other, and dipped them into a golden bowl of water as the reader of the panegyric now called witness to the marriage. Then Mr. Swithinbank held their hands together and said

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S they mutter spells and incomprehensible incantations over
B the "medicine," are looked up to with profound belief and a
305 very considerable deal of awe.
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The tattooing on the loins and legs is universal with all
B Burmans, and nothing more is ordinarily required; but there
304 are very few who have not charms of some kind tattooed on
531 the arms, back, chest, or even on the top of the head, which is shaved for the purpose. These figures are of all kinds—lizards, birds, mystic words and squares, rings, images of the Buddha, and sometimes merely a few scattered dots, the latter especially on the face, between the eyes, over the ears, or on the chin. The colouring matter is almost always vermilion, with drugs and solutions, according to requirement, mingled with it. The blue dye from the lampblack never disappears, but the red colour of the vermilion gradually fades away and vanishes. Nevertheless figures of this kind, more or less distinct, are to be found on Burmans of all ages, so great is the national superstition. Even the town
B youths, whose limbs are smooth and "unbreeched" as a
[832] girl's, are never without some charms of this kind, if it is only the a-nu se, which enables a man to gain the woman he loves. This "drug of tenderness" is composed of vermilion mixed with a variety of herbs and curious things, prominent
B among which is the bruised, dry skin of the tauktè, the
[825] trout-spotted gekko, whose sonorous cry and fidelity to the
[101] house where he establishes himself and brings luck, are well known to all who have visited Burma or Siam. It is very sparingly used, a few round spots arranged in the shape of a triangle being of sufficient virtue to ensure the object aimed at. The commonest place for them is between the eyes,
B but occasionally the se sayā recommends the lips, or even
305 the tongue, and his advice is always followed. This is the
562 only tattooing which women ever have executed on them,
832 and there are not many of them who have it done. The patient is usually a love-sick maiden who is afraid the object of her affection will escape from her, or a girl whom rolling years warn that she must be quick if she would not be condemned to remain an a-pyo heing, an old maid. Except in very desperate cases, however, they always manage to persuade the operator to place the charm on some part of the

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body where it will not be visible. If it is not effectual, there is always open to them the signal afforded by kindly national custom to maidens longing for a mate. They cut off the lappets of hair, the bya-bazan, hanging over the ears, and the significance is the same as the white heather of the language of flowers, "heart for sale." In Rangoon the tattooing of a woman has a special signification, not recognised elsewhere. It means that she wants an Englishman for a husband. Poor thing!

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Another very universal kind of tattooing is that with a-hpi se. Almost every schoolboy in the country has a specimen of this on him, for does it not prevent him from feeling the pain when he is caned? No amount of falsified hopes in the experience of friends will persuade him that it may not be effectual in his case, and a flogging is often courted as an immediate test of its efficacy. Pride repels the inquiries of chums as to the results, but the experimenter is usually very well behaved for some time. In the case of older men the a-hpi se acts as a talisman against bullets, sword cuts, and ills of that kind. Allied to this are the thenat hpi, which soldiers and dacoits carry about with them. These are the horns of buffaloes and other animals, which may be plain, but are usually elaborately carved with figures according to fancy. They must be quite solid down to the root. A hollow or flaw of any kind deprives them of their virtue. While the man has such a talisman in his hands he cannot be killed. A monkey is a very favourite image to have carved in this way on a sword or dagger hilt, the reference being to the tale of the Ramayana. Of a similar nature are talismans which are especially used by soldiers and dacoits. These hkaung-beit-set are charmed or consecrated objects let into the flesh under the skin. They are of various kinds. Some are gold, silver, or lead; others curious pebbles, pieces of tortoise-shell, or bits of horn, all of them with incantations of mystic character written on them. Many famed dacoits have long rows and curves of them over the chest, showing in little knobs through the skin. When they get into English prisons, an energetic jailer has been known to cut them out, lest they should be pieces of gold or silver, or perhaps precious stones, with which the turnkeys

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CHAPTER IV

EAR-BORING

881 304 THE first great event in a Burmese girl's life is the nā-twin mingala, the boring of her ears. She is not out of the doll stage till that happens. She may have toddled after her mother to the market with a basket of fruit on her head, long before the ear-boring, but that ceremony is as much an epoch to her as putting on the yellow robe, or getting his legs tattooed, is to her brother. Ever afterwards she will look upon every male as a possible lover. No more taking alternate whiffs at a big green cheroot with little Maung Po; no more teasing Po Shan to let her have a taste of those fine nettè mangoes his father has got down from Mandalay; no more dawdling about the streets by herself, watching the small boys playing with the round gôn nyin seeds, or having a hurried glimpse of the puppet play, while she is supposed to be at home looking after the house with her little brother. When she walks out now it will be with her mother, or an aunt, or married sister, as a chaperone; and if she goes to the play it will be in formal procession, and with all her finest clothes on. Nothing like getting the ears bored to set a girl thinking about the wave of the hair that falls down in lappets by her ears, or the best recipe for the fragrant straw-coloured thanaka, with which she tints her face and charms half the senses of the gallants. It even alters her walk. She sets about practising the coquettish sway of the body in walking, which is considered so attractive, and which a philosophical matter-of-fact Darwinian would probably declare was first of all due to an involuntary throwing out of the heel with each step to keep the folds of the dress

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modestly closed in front, and to prevent the dainty slipper, just covering her toes and no more, from slipping off the foot. However that may be, it is an accomplishment indispensable to a Burmese belle. She takes as much pains over it as she does with her jetty tresses. In a word, the nā-twin mingala transforms the girl into a woman, just as much as admission to a monastery makes the boy a man. It is her baptism, and is the distinctive mark of her race. Most of the men get their ears bored too, but the ceremony is not so solemn with them, and latterly is not so universal, at any rate not in the towns on the coast.

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The ceremony takes place at the age of twelve or thirteen, just when the girl has attained puberty in fact. Her sadā is submitted to a soothsayer, that a fortunate day and hour may be chosen, and that being fixed, a great feast is prepared, and all the friends of the family and the relations are invited. An invitation to an ear-boring feast is a very urgent matter. No one can refuse without a very good excuse, and serious business is often postponed to the demands of such a ceremony. Everybody comes early, and sits down in any place he can find round about the front part and sides of the room, the girl, with all her female relatives about her, reclining on a mat at the back. The bedin sayā stalks about gazing at a mysterious strip of palm-leaf, or apparently wrapped in deep thought. Beside him is the professional ear-borer. He carries the needles, which are almost always pure gold, and even in the case of the poorest, never of any baser metal than silver. Rich people very often have them set at the ends with precious stones. At last the soothsayer gives the sign that the favourable moment has arrived. The ear-borer moves up immediately and passes the needles through the lobe of the ear, sometimes using a cork as they do in England, but more often letting them pass between two of his fingers. The girl, who has been worked up into a high state of excitement and terror by all the preparations, usually struggles and shrieks as hard as she can, but the women round about hold her down, and the band of music in the street outside strikes up a rapid movement and drowns her lamentations, while all the visitors burst into a flood of talk

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545 Zawtagômma melodrama, which the old sayā at Pegu has just brought out, and which is having a tremendous run all through the low country. The song is about the Saddan mere, the lake of the Lord White Elephant, where golden lotuses flower perpetually, where the gorgeous yin-dwin bird sails on the silvery waters, great butterflies flap about with painted wings and sip the nectar of the fabled jasmine, and peacocks stalk proudly on the jewelled margin, while around
522 roam elephants white, red, and black in happy security. The singer has hardly finished when the lu-byet, the village jester, breaks in with a travesty of the whole thing, mocking at the tremolos and the lofty style, and taking off the peculiarities of the singer. He went out to a lake too, and launched a canoe on it, but he was capsized by a huge creature that came up from below; and then he found that he had got into a slimy buffalo wallow, out of which he only escaped after great peril from the horns of its three outraged owners, who butted him under the surface many times; and at last, when he crawled out, he was so brown and dirty that some passers-by took him for a hermit, and gave him some rotten
522 plantains in alms. Before the "prince" has time to show
593 any bad temper, a girl commences a coquettish ditty, somewhat after the fashion of the English "Paddle my own canoe," about a poor wife whose husband comes home and storms and growls and abuses because there is no rice ready cooked, softens down when he has crammed himself with curry and rice, but breaks out into grumbling again at night because his wife cries and will not go to sleep. Such tyranny the young lady declares she will never expose herself to, or
533 at any rate "she'll be no submissive wife." Then there are a
832 few love-songs, wherein the girls are compared with the maids of the palace in Mandalay, and the Mandalay girls generally (who are *ex officio* pretty) with the daughters of nats, with Madi, the model wife of Wethandaya (the prince who in his next existence became the Lord Buddha), with flowers and stars and gems, and whatever similes lovers all the world over are in the habit of making. The swaying of the body as they walk, the turning in of the elbows, the fragrant powder on their cheeks and necks, and a few other items which would not commend themselves to a Western admirer,

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are recorded with enthusiasm and delighted precision of detail; and when an hour or so has been passed in this way, a little more rice-husking is done, and the girls set to work getting ready the onions and sesamum seed, and slicing up the cocoa-nut kernels. This sort of thing goes on all the night through. There is half an hour's work, and then an hour of singing and story-telling and gossip; about the great Shinbinthalyaung, the gigantic recumbent image of Shin Gautama dug up lately near Pegu; of the two min-laungs, the embryo kings, who have been revealed there, and the third one, who is foretold by the old theit-sa, the prophecy which declares that he will restore the ancient Talaing kings and revive religion; of the new hti which is being set up on the pagoda of the lotus tank, and its exceeding splendour, each single one of the concentric rings having been assigned as a particular favour to one out of many competing districts. Then there is a discussion as to the new fashion of turbans, the one plain colour with worked flowers on it, which has supplemented the old thinner style with more braid-like patterns; and the present rage for waist-cloths with many-coloured stripes in place of the old wavy and dog's-tooth fashion. Then the girls are rallied about the method in which they dress their hair—all of them in the style just declared treasonable in the upper country. Queen Supayalat has hit upon some particular set, or plaiting of her tresses, which she thinks becomes her very well, and a royal order has come out making it penal for any meaner damsels to adopt the same method. Consequently all the maidens from Taungoo to Kyauk-Hpyu and the A-eng Pass to Malawun have made up after the queenly model and flatter themselves that it is *chic*. There are always ghost stories at these gatherings, tales about the three farmer brothers that were killed just after harvest time three years ago, and now haunt the dense patch of swampy jungle down by the creek as nat seins, and sometimes scare the fishermen out of a night's work by the violent agitation of the tree-tops on a still night; and then there is that old hag in the lone house at the far end of the village, who is certainly a witch; it must have been she who gave the old sikkè the tet, poor old man, and he a payā-tagā too, founder

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O that curve in the round arm!
It has wrought men grievous harm.
Like the sylphs when they're at play,
Like the maids of Mandalay,
Without display
In everyday
Quiet dresses they
Are busked and gay
As the daughters of the palace, as the maidens of the skies
In their natural, their usual array.

O! could I but sing what I think,
My heart would no more on the brink
Of despairing love struggle and sink,
Ye maidens to heavens the link;
Each passer-by
Who casts his eye
Upon the buxom Hanthawaddy girls,
Though he be sage,
His feelings wage
Fierce war within his brain-pan till it whirls.

Dewa daughters, fair, fair,
Rosebud fairies, ware, ware,
Born men's hearts to snare, snare,
Can I paint your ways,
Better sound your praise,
In verse
That's terse
Than thus: You're fair as any maid in Mandalay.

Barani is a daughter of nats, corresponding very much to the classical Flora. [832]

Madi, the spouse of Prince Wethandaya, is always regarded as the model wife. [593]

Amè! "mother!" is the invariable exclamation of all Burmans on all possible occasions of astonishment, anger, doubt, or delight. [201]

The name Hanthawaddy, properly applied to the whole province, is, in songs, usually employed to designate Rangoon, for rhythmical more than any other reason, just as Mamye, or Mye, or Man stands for Mandalay. [195]

"Rosebud fairies," called bôngyo, are daughters of nats, who having stayed in the country of the déwas for a thousand years, are obliged to come down to the seat of man again. 539 773

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death). Captain, see this sword; it is now three years since it has been constantly exercised in chastising my enemies; it is indeed almost blunt with use; but it shall be continued to the same till they are utterly dispersed. Do not talk of assistance. I require none. The Peguans I can wipe away as thus (drawing the palm of one hand over the other). See these arms and this thigh (drawing his loose coat-sleeve up to the armpit, and lifting his pasoh, so as to display a bare tattooed leg); amongst a thousand you cannot see my match. I can crush a hundred such as the King of Pegu." (Quoted from Crawford.)

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Two years later he talked to Ensign Lester in the same bombastic strain, telling him that he would go to Madras, and that if a nine-pounder shot was to hit him it could do him no harm, with a good deal more to the same effect. He is described at this time, when he was about forty-five years of age, as five feet eleven in height, and of a powerful build, with a long, but not a thin face, the expression not being improved by a number of smallpox pitmarks. He had a broad but very retreating forehead, a characteristic shared by all his descendants, and prominent in the case of King Mindôn.

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Alaungpaya, then, was no feeble founder of the present line of successors to the great Mahā Thamada. He certainly had the power to command, and his military successes carried the peacock flag from far away towards Dacca, down to the Siamese capital. Assuredly he was a worthy follower of the great first king, and the Burmese believed firmly in the unbroken character of the succession. Accordingly all the old Indian and Sakyan customs were carefully observed by the Burmese royal family. Such were the marriage with half-sisters, and the consequent preserving unmarried of the king's eldest daughter; the reverence of the three most excellent animals, the peacock of the sun, the hare of the moon, and the kalawaik, the carrying bird of Vishnu, whose eyes like jewels look friendly on the stranger; and the beit-theit, the consecration by pouring out of water at the accession. Marriage with half-sisters was only allowed to the king, not to the people at large, or even to the princes of the blood-royal. The throne was painted over with representations of

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into in the remorse caused by the massacres of February 1879, he was assuredly not a confirmed drunkard. His worst fault was that he was easy, or call it weak-spirited if you like. It is an open secret that he was not intended to be king. His father, Mindôn Min, had a strong liking for the young yahan, but his intention, if he had any, was that the pious and well-read Nyaungyan prince, who died a refugee at Barrackpore, near Calcutta, was to be his successor, and if the court or the town had been polled, the choice would have fallen on the same burly, good-natured individual.

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It must be understood that, notwithstanding the precautions for the preservation of the pure blood-royal, the system of keeping a princess tabindaing, to be married to the new ruler, it by no means followed that the eldest son of this union, or, indeed, any son by this queen at all, necessarily succeeded to the throne. It was not often that there was a recognised Eingshemin, an heir-apparent to the throne, but when there was such a dignitary, he might be the fifth, or the tenth, or the thirtieth son, the only stipulation being that he should be the child of one of the four chief queens. The nomination rested with the king. A consideration of the gruesome history of the parricide kings, who reigned in one of the countries of the Myissi Madetha, the middle country, as India is called, each of whom ascended a throne stained with a father's blood, until the horrified populace of Pataliputra revolted and exterminated the whole house; the reading of this bloody chapter in the royal annals may have prompted the custom, but it is certain that it is not often that the heir to the throne was recognised. Mindôn made no

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sign till his last illness came upon him. Then when it was evident that he could not survive, he named the Nyaungyan mintha and after him the yellow-robed Thibaw prince. Then palace intrigue began. The Thibaw prince, it was well known, had a passion for the tabindaing, Selin Supaya (Selina Sophia as she was called by some of the English residents in Mandalay), and the second of the Supayās, for there were three of them, was equally enamoured of the young Patama Byan. Therefore the

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mony, but in actual practice this often takes place as early as her seventh or eighth year. Since this is a feast occasion involving considerable expense to her family, there is a tendency to hold a single ceremony, at which perhaps a pubescent girl, together with her younger sisters or cousins, will all have their ears bored. On the same occasion male children of approximately the same age may be initiated into the Buddhist monkhood.[5] 304 881

The girl initiate is dressed for the occasion in the traditional garb of the Burmese court, and in addition she wears a spired-helmet type of head dress. The villagers gather at her family's house for the event. An elderly woman rubs an anaesthetic plant substance on the girl's ear lobes and pierces them with gold pins. The pins are left in the ears, bent back. Later, if larger holes are desired, rolled leaves may be inserted. The family presents gifts to the assembled guests; often these are conventionalized tokens, such as inscribed cigars and fans. [292] [278] [431]

Courtship and Marriage. Young people in the villages find ample opportunities to assess each other's manners, physical appearance, and personality in the company of others, at feasts and various gatherings. If a young man and woman are together apart from the company of others it is assumed that sex relations are involved. In fact, such going together is spoken of as "getting married." The Burmese find it hard to conceive of a young unmarried couple associating on a purely friendly, non-sexual basis: such behavior would be regarded as contrary to nature. However, unchaperoned association is disapproved and does not occur very frequently. 584 836

Once a pair have decided they wish to marry, the boy will inform his parents of his desire. They will already know, especially in the smaller villages, of the standing of the girl's family and of her dowry potentialities; in fact, as soon as they have sensed their son's interest in a particular girl they will take steps to acquire this information. They will also ascertain whether acceptance by the girl's family is likely. In a small community the approach may be made directly by the boy's parents. In larger centers a female go-between is more likely to be employed. The boy's parents will be informed by the girl's family that the decision must await the outcome of consultation with an astrologer concerning the compatibility of the birth dates of the prospective bride and groom. If the marriage is found to be an auspicious one—which it will usually be found to be if the girl's parents desire the match—an affirmative answer will be relayed to the boy's parents. The latter will then call upon her parents and in the presence of elders, not necessarily related to either family, formally ask for the girl's hand. 584 [787]

5 Description of the boy's initiation ceremony is being reserved for a separate publication.

591 101 matter. The wife's opportunities for social intercourse with her family of orientation are, of course, greatest when residence is established in her home village; if, however, a couple from different villages marry and find it most opportune to settle in the husband's community, the chances are that the wife will maintain contact with her family of orientation by visits from time to time. 582 People from Tadagale seldom marry individuals from villages that are very distant. The structural features of bilaterality and absence of extension militate against inequality and male domination in the family.

562 Burmese culture is frequently remarked for the equality of the sexes, in contrast to the neighboring cultures of India and China. This status of the sexes seems to be the historic resultant of two patterns of thought. One is the apparently very old, pre-Buddhist emphasis upon equality, involving equal inheritance, equal sharing of the property brought to the marriage, equal division of property in the event of divorce, a prominent female role in social and economic life, and the absence of transmission of surnames. The other thought pattern dates from the superimposition of Buddhism upon older Burmese concepts: whatever ideas of male superiority exist stem from Buddhist ideas of reincarnation, it being assumed that only a man can attain reincarnation.

593 In the family household the wife's role includes not only such routine tasks as preparation of food and serving of meals, keeping the house orderly and clean, and looking after small children; very often it involves control of the family income and the making of all important decisions as to expenditures.

Certain observances and taboos, reflective of a deferential attitude towards males, are expected of a wife. She is careful that her lower garments do not touch her husband's bed or his personal belongings; she avoids touching her husband's head. It is believed that the breaking of such taboos may ruin the husband's success and glory, especially his spiritual attainments. These injunctions are followed as a matter of course by village wives and will be broken deliberately only as an act of malice by a woman who wishes to harm or lower her husband for some reason.

● 837 Despite the various equalitarian aspects of husband-wife relations, there is a tendency towards a double standard of sexual conduct. A husband who has reason to believe that his wife is engaging in extra-marital affairs is very likely to display violent anger, beat her, and break up the marriage. The wife of a philandering husband, on the other hand, will usually do no more than display hurt feelings for a brief period; rarely will she separate from her husband, especially if they have children.

593 Siblings. It is the duty of the younger to show deference to the elder. This pertains to the order of serving food, fetching and carrying things, and even the arrangement of sleeping mats -- a younger sibling should never sleep with his feet extended towards an elder sibling. Upon the death of a parent, the eldest child of the same sex assumes that parent's socio-economic role in the family.

Father and Daughter. Consistent with the age principle, it is a daughter's duty to be obedient and to wait upon her father. Once an unmarried daughter passes the age of puberty, her father is expected to lead a circumspect and moral life more than ever before. Any deviant sexual behavior or drunkenness on his part reflects upon his daughter and detracts from her marital chances. [581]

Mother and Son. Although a son owes obedience to his mother, her claim upon him in this regard is tempered by the fact that, in Burmese Buddhist

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593 husband's kinfolk. Post-marital residence is independent and is decided very
[591] largely on the basis of economic opportunity. The wife's opportunities for social intercourse with her family of orientation are, of course, greatest when residence is established in her home village; if, however, a couple from different villages marry and find it most opportune to settle in the husband's community, the
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[177] ideas of male superiority exist in Burmese life stem from Buddhist notions of
[775] reincarnation. Although Buddha never expressed himself explicitly on the matter, it is taken for granted that only a male can attain Nirvana, since Gautama Buddha, who attained that state, was a male.

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Father–Daughter. Consistent with the age principle, it is a daughter's duty to be obedient and to wait upon her father. Once an unmarried daughter passes the age of puberty, the father is expected to lead a circumspect and moral life more than ever before. Any deviant sexual behavior or drunkenness on his part reflects upon the daughter and detracts from her marital chances. [581]

Mother–Son. Although a son owes obedience to his mother, her claim upon him in this regard is tempered by the fact that in Burmese Buddhist thinking, being the mother of a son is itself considered the greatest event of a woman's life and represents the achievement of full existence as a female human being. The relationship is a close and indulgent one. The mother is regarded as more important by the son than his wife; in fact, a son will choose his wife with a great deal of regard for his mother's opinions and wishes. [581]

Mother–Daughter. The mother is the female child's early teacher. It is considered most important for the daughter to learn prayers, how to prepare the daily food offering for the household altar, and how to change the flowers on the altar. These things are taught almost from the time the child starts learning language. Other household duties in which the mother instructs her daughter vary considerably with the economic status of the family: in poor families some assistance with tending the animals and winnowing the rice crop is part of the girl's work from about the age of ten. Daughters are expected to show filial respect and deference equally to the mother and father. 593 868 462

Father–Son. The father occupies the role of disciplinarian in the family. Disciplining of sons may include physical punishment, though such measures to obtain conformity are not resorted to readily by the Burmese. Prior to adolescence, boys are taught prayers and good habits by their mothers, with the father remaining more or less in the background and interfering only when disciplinary action may be required of him. After a son passes adolescence the father becomes important as his mentor. 593 861

304 The custom is dying out today; but, in the villages, the teen-age boy
562 frequently, on the encouragement of their family submit to the tattoo-
178 ing of a small area on the thigh. These decorations seen when the longyis are wrapped high were regarded as essentiall and those without them were openly criticized.

[751] A second type of tattooing consisting of potent symbols were, as still are, placed on the inner arm, back, or high forehead as a means of magical protection against harm. Snake, knife, cudgel and bullet proof motifs are common. Young girls frequently have the inner arm tattooed with such a charm.

●838 Homo-sexuals are known as MEIN MA SHA ("women-half") and are
826 recognized by their effeminate gestures, "pretty" looks and clothing. They frequently wear THANAKHA face powder, tie their longyis in a simple tucked-in fold, and wear jewelry like the women. They are rare in villages but have banded together into a society in Rangoon. They appear to be tolerated but are scorned.

It is beleived that individuals known as MEIN-TEE-PON-LAIN-HNEH-PON-LAIN ("Female sex- 2 sexes") exist . These persons are supposed to be alternately a man for one month, and a woman for the following
[775] month in a complete process of transformation. Both the MEIN MA SHA and these individuals result from illicit seduction activities in a previous existence - the MEIN MA SHA being the less sinful of the two

792 The PONGYI dress consist of orange cotton cloth - one garment
291 being a longyi with a folled tie at the waist; the other a wide band
293 drapped as a robe. When begging the PONGYIS have a special arrangement of the robe which wraps the left arm and covers the neck region. The nuns wear a robe garment over a longsleeved KINGYI jacket of the same colour. They are frequently seen with a scarf folded on the head. Both orders carry orange-cloth (lacquered) parasols on long bamboo shafts, a string of beads and large palm leaf fans. The Pongyis carry leather bags suspended on a shoulder strap for personal effects. PONGYI slippers have a square toe, are made of stiff leather with reinforced soles.

[887] Religious women (including old women) wear chocolate coloured HTAMEINS, KINGYIS and carry a PUWL (a narrow scarf 4 of 5 feet in

that is, the D.I.S. (District Inspector of Schools), whether active or re- 517
tired, was usually more permanent and could dig his toes in more 647
happily. The social relationship was also ideal. Earning less than the 351
other officials, he could yet offer them this rich hospitality of natural pleasures.

When we were in Maubin the D.I.S. was our friend U Taik Wan. 245
He and his family of ten sons and daughters had the u-yin developed to 252
its fullest. He had a low large house where the river took a bend and had fenced in this bed with bamboo stakes and a diving platform. The garden orchard stretched away from the house to a bamboo hut at the far end, with open verandahs under the trees. The speciality of his orchard were his sweet-sour marian trees. The marian is the *bonea Burmanica*, common to Burma and northern Assam, where it forms an ideal appetizer for the heat-drowsy inhabitants. It is sour, of a sharp biting sourness which now makes my mouth water with longing. It is too sour to eat except doused in strong salt sauce or fish paste, salt being our antidote to sourness, in which I differ from the English idea of cooking, for salt combines and merges with sourness whereas a pound of sugar thrown into a gooseberry tart would still leave it too sour for me. The marian is a small fruit, green when young and orange-yellow when ripe, with a pretty purple seed which has given its name to the Burmese colour "mauve". There is a sweet variety which is not popular. Sometimes, however, a prize tree is found which produces a sweet-sour marian, a sour fruit with its sting taken off. Such a tree should be treated with the greatest care; its fruits must never be salted or pickled as sour fruits are treated, because the "sour" use would communicate itself to the tree by what may be called sympathetic magic. Rather, my mother made jam (with sugar) of these marians, for the improvement of U Taik Wan's tree.

My mother was very punctilious about such things; the girl servants 252
were never allowed to pluck the citron leaves for our salad because a 841
woman in menstruation makes the tender leaves of the citron tree curl 789
up and lose their succulence when she plucks them. U Taik Wan had a row of sweet-sour marian trees which he guarded from flying foxes by throwing a net across one face of them, showing a wall of these creatures hanging head downwards, to passers-by.

Our pyaw-pwè-sas at the Taik Wan's always began with a lot of 526
water-fun. We never used bathing dresses, but adapted our longyis for 291
swimming. This longyi is shaped and wrapped, like the more famous 515
sarong, at the waist normally, but women and girls take it above the bosom when they discard their jackets. This enables all our poorer women to bathe with perfect decorum at public wells and streams.

Puberty and Adolescence. The Burmese view, in the village, is that one is an adult when one becomes physiologically mature. Upon reaching pubescence boys as well as girls are referred to by a term which means 'virgin.' The connotation is that the individual has now entered a period of life in which the dangers of temptation are especially great and in which correspondingly greater precautions are necessary. 881

A girl's first menstruation is believed to cleanse her system; frequently, such phenomena as eruption of the skin or sexually delinquent behavior preceding the first menstrual period are regarded as evidence that the 'blood is trying to flow.' Although the idea of uncleanliness is associated with menstruation, there is no segregation of the girl or any particular fear of contamination. So long as she conducts herself with propriety and modesty a girl is free to move in public at this time. 881 841

Ideally, the attainment of puberty is the time for the girl's ear-piercing ceremony, but in actual practice this often takes place as early as her seventh or eighth year — if it occurs at all. There is a tendency for this ceremony to be omitted in Tadagale. Since it is a feast occasion involving considerable expense to her family, the trend is towards holding a single ceremony, at which several girls who are related will have their ears pierced. The initiate is dressed for this occasion in the traditional garb of the Burmese Court, and also wears a spired-helmet type of head dress. The villagers gather at the family house for the event. An elderly woman rubs an anaesthetic plant substance on the girl's ear lobes and pierces them with gold pins. These pins are left in the ears, bent back. Later, if larger holes are desired, rolled leaves may be inserted. The family presents gifts to the assembled guests; often these are conventionalized tokens, such as inscribed cigars or fans. 852

On the same occasion boys of approximately the same age may be initiated into the Buddhist monkhood. 881

Boys' Initiation. For Burmese boys one of the most important events is initiation as a novice into the Buddhist monkhood. The traditional rite of shinbyu continues to be an important part of Burmese culture, in the urban as well as the rural setting. In the towns and cities, of course, it has been affected by the greater contact with western culture; the procession, for example, is likely to take place in automobiles rather than on horseback and on foot. Nevertheless, city-bred as well as rural Burmese feel it is very important for social as well as religious reasons that their sons be initiated; and everywhere the shinbyu involves large expenditures if not great sacrifices, requires the services of many people for its planning and carrying out, and is the occasion par excellence for joyous celebration as well as religious solemnity. 881 742 369 177

No two shinbyu ceremonies are the same in detail. The circumstances of the sponsoring families, the physical setting, the idiosyncrasies of individual monks all make for variation. Here we shall indicate the main features of the initiation ceremony as observed in Tadagale. 881 742

The ceremony proper is held on the open-sided ground floor of a wooden building, in the upper portion of which the monks and their pupils live. On the south side of this room is a platform raised about three feet above the ground, on which the monks sit during the proceedings. The room is decorated with various hangings, tapestries, and net curtains; the floor is covered with mats and carpets. Four tables front the platform, on which are placed various

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on top of the head. Scented hair oil is used by both sexes on special occasions.

The HTAMEIN is regarded as "unworthy" for a man to touch. A severe insult is for a wife to request her husband to bring her HTAMEIN or to wash it. Drying HTAMEINS in the front of the house is never allowed; and it is strictly forbidden for this garment to touch any pongyi utensils. Parents instruct their boys never to pass under the strings of a line of which HTAMEINS are drying as such is thought to take away the masculine powers, and render the tattooed charms ineffective. Men and women's clothes are washed and stored separately.

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When a son neglects his mother after marriage she will complain with rage that he has not come out of the HTAMEIN and is under the HTAMEIN government of his wife.

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Women usually wear solid black HTAMEINS during menstruation. Boys, in jest, inform one of their companions that he may now become serious when the girl of his choice appears in a black dress for the first time.

Slippers of both sexes are regarded as "dirty" objects and are left outside of the houses. They are strictly prohibited in pagoda enclosures and land. When a girl is angry at a teasing boy (or quarreling with a woman) she will threaten to slap his face with her sandal. This is a double insult since the head is regarded as a particularly sacred part of the body. Barbers must ask permission and apologise for touching the heads of their customers.

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Western clothing has a higher status than Burmese clothing in certain situations and on certain occasions especially where western people are present in suits. However, for most occasions, everyday or special, the Burmese costume is preferred. When abroad the Burmese men usually wear western garb. The wearer of western clothes

[186]

is often open to the taunt that he is "Bo Gyi (term for Englishmen) made in Burma". There is a strong feeling in all cases to be "properly" dressed and not to stand out from the rest of the group. This tendency is stronger in men than women who with their jewels and fine silks attempt to rival each other in a contest for social position.

[562]

Burmese girl students who go abroad almost invariably wear their native costumes.

Normal and Preventative Measures.

Childbirth; MEE-BWA (Fire-Birth). U Myaing gives a short description of the handling of childbirth: 844

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23: Brant & Mi Mi Khaing E, I-5 (1949-1950)1951
AP1 Burma
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553 which the family invites the people of the village. In the larger communities a written invitation may be sent, in which the name of the child is announced. The [431] feast occurs in the family house, to which the invited guests bring presents and where they may see the child. The only ritualized feature of this event is the washing of the child's hair, which is always done by an elderly person. This may occur, however, before the arrival of the guests.

Because of the significance and influence attributed to the personal name, it may be changed very readily and informally. If it is felt that ill fortune is in the offing, an announcement may be made in the village of change of one's name.

[551] Childhood nicknames as well as teknonymy are utilized by the Burmese, but not to the exclusion of use of the personal name.

Childhood. Burmese children are generally indulged and their existence is 857 more or less carefree and unencumbered by rigid discipline, apart from early 858 inculcation of respect for elders, until they are of educational age and considered capable of understanding the moral teachings of Buddhism. A male child is valued religiously, for at an early age he will be initiated into the monkhood, [851] remaining from a few days to several years, depending upon family circumstances and needs. The initiation of a son brings great religious merit to his parents.

In the Burmese village children are valued for the economic help they render. This will, of course, vary with family circumstances. But in the ordinary cultivator's family, sons and daughters help from the age of about nine or ten years in tending cattle, getting firewood, and winnowing rice. Children are also looked upon as a kind of social insurance for old age.

[884] *Puberty and Adolescence.* Apart from modern legal ideas concerning the attainment of adulthood, the Burmese view is that one is adult when physiologically mature. Upon reaching pubescence boys as well as girls are referred to by a 881 term meaning "virgin." The connotation is that the individual has now entered a period of life in which the dangers of temptation are especially great and in which corresponding precautions are necessary.

A girl's first menstruation is believed to cleanse her system; frequently, such phenomena as eruption of the skin or sexually delinquent behavior preceding the first menstrual period are regarded as evidence that the "blood is trying to flow." [841] Although the idea of uncleanliness is associated with menstruation, there is no segregation of the girl or particular fear of contamination. So long as she conducts herself with propriety and modesty a girl is free to move in public at this time.

304 881 Ideally, the attainment of puberty is the time for the girl's ear-boring cere-

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843 Although village women need not avoid any specific foods during pregnancy, strong spices are regarded as harmful.

No supernatural means are employed to influence the sex of the prospective offspring. Certain signs are considered prognosticative. If the pregnant woman's stomach appears pointed, a boy will be born; a flat, broad stomach indicates that a girl is in prospect.

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2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

CHAPTER I

FIRST YEARS

It is fortunate for the young Burman that on his first appearance in the world all attention is directed to the mother, and the "little stranger" is left very much to himself till he has attained a stronger vitality. Were it not so, the rival parties of the Dietists and Druggists might quarrel over the relative quantities of the four elements, fire, air, earth, and water, composing the new arrival, and diet and dose him out of existence immediately, in a heroic attempt to attain an equilibrium of forces. The mother indeed is the major point of interest in all countries, but childbirth nowhere entails such penalties as in Burma. Directly the child is born, the mother is rubbed all over with na-nwin (turmeric), and a big fire is lighted as near as the construction of the wooden or bamboo house permits, while rugs and blankets are heaped over her to the extent of the possessions of the family. As speedily as possible the midwife prepares a draught called se sein (green medicine), the composition of which is a tradition with the Wun-swès, and is kept a secret from inquisitive males. This the victim in bed has to drink perpetually during seven days, and for the same period, irrespective of the blankets and the time of year, is heated up with ôk pu. These are big circular or lozenge-shaped bricks. They are heated blazing hot in the wood fire, dropped for a few seconds into a pot full of water, and then wrapped up in cloths and applied to the body of the mother. In addition to this, doses of turmeric are regularly administered, and every now and then

844 [822 [751] 846

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as a roller, and as the aunt from whom she is learning embroidery went into confinement quite recently, she has returned home to the camp. When this aunt had her child, Daw Aw Zar had to go and keep her company for a period of twenty days. Ma Aye Myaing made one or two visits to inquire into her progress. The actual delivery was performed not by Daw Aw Zar, but by someone else, a midwife. When Ma Aye Myaing gives birth to her child the other relatives are sure to offer help, especially if she had the baby in her own home. However, there are only about ten families from Pathwe in Rangoon and out of that number only two or three will be able to come. There would be no need to ask them to come - they would come of their own accord if they heard the news. At present they live in distant parts of Rangoon town. In Pathwe, on an occasion like this everyone comes to ask after the health of the mother and child, even though they may be no relations at all. On the seventh day after birth the house is washed and all visitors to the house are provided with scented water to wash their hair - and it is also sent to those elders who are unble to come. The water is scented with the cream of TAUNG-DAN-GYI, NATHAPYU and KALAMET roots. Enough scented water is provided for about 60 visitors. Most of the visitors are women and girls - very few young men come. 159 369 602 844

In Rangoon it is very easy to earn two or three rupees in one day as labourers, while in Pathwe even the worker who worked at the INS for a monthly wage was paid only twenty to thirty rupees. But to offset that, the prices in Pathwe were very much lower than those in Rangoon. NGAPI workers earn Rs. 10/- a month, and the foreman for the NGAPI workers is paid Rs. 15/- a month. This salary of ten rupees was more than sufficient for buying decent clothing and other necessities. These men had to be fed by their employer. The IN workmen who earned twenty to thirty rupees a month had to find their own food. 369 511 465

U Myaing has made some friends among his fellow workers in Rangoon and has visited the house of one of them, but even this was not a social visit, as he went there to enquire about their work. 574

23: Brant & Mi Mi Khaing E, I-5 (1949-1950)1951
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25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

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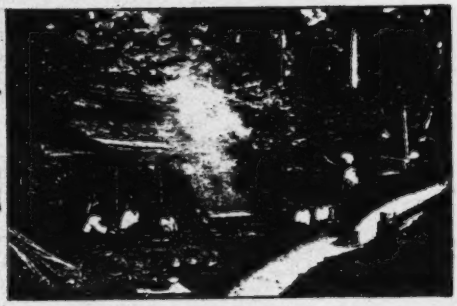

282. PREPARING TAWTHALIN OFFERINGS (p. 186).

at the temples in the same spirit. *Thibôn-zedi* are erected on the day of a sick person's planet, and decorated with flags according to the years of age. Here Buddhism, which knows of no vicarious merit (or demerit), is tainted by a survival of animism (p. 188). The merit of the act is intended to cancel the demerit of some troubled spirit which is seeking to possess the body of the sufferer. Offerings are likewise set apart for the troubled spirit in the forest, to divert him from the sick person. When an epidemic of cholera occurs, the whole village sets up a din at sunset with bamboo sticks, to frighten the demons away. But many minds are averse to such superstitions, and they seek for natural explanations. They ascribe disease to states of the blood, to "heats" and "vapours." The cooling qualities of nitre are extolled for the one, and the cordial effects of spice for the other. Dietetic questions interest everybody, and everyone has his or her pet nostrum. Very little operative surgery is attempted as compared with India and China—merely the opening of abscesses and setting of bones. Hare-lip and cleft palate, and the cognate deformities, appear to be frequent. The dressings applied to wounds and sores are chiefly turmeric, slaked lime, *nîm*-leaves.

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Successful lithotomies and other major operations, and the boon of chloroform, have spread the fame of western surgery in a vastly wider circle than it can reach itself. The sick are tenderly nursed by the Burmans, and never abandoned in panic fear as happens in epidemics among the hill-tribes. There are few greater sources of religious merit than ministering to the sick. During the puerperium, the Burman custom is to main-

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283. BURMAN CARRIER.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
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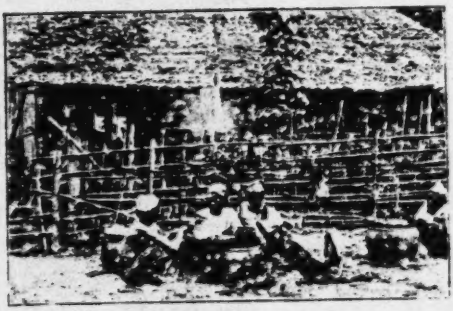

283. PEDLARS.

tain a fire of billets on a special hearth as big as the couch, and placed alongside of it, for five or seven days. The antiseptic property of the smoke may be of value, but the relaxing effect of the artificial heat is believed to be a reason why the Burman women are so much less hardy in this particular than the neighbouring races. The hospital of the Lady Dufferin Fund is helping to spread a more enlightened practice. The ratio of insane in the population is about a quarter of that of Western Europe and America, but is double that of India.

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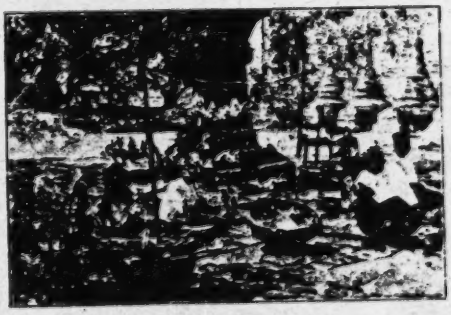
Almost the only dealer who hawks his goods in the street is the seller of oil (*hnanzi*, No. 282). He uses a light spring yoke of the wood of the *zi*-tree, the heavier form of which is seen in No. 283. By its springiness the yoke maintains the load at an even level, thus saving waste of work. As much as a hundredweight is carried for long distances. In merely shifting goods at warehouses, carriers will move two hundredweight. They earn six to twelve annas a day. The only vegetable oil used for burning is the oil or resin of the *ka-nyin* (No. 362). Chips are soaked in the wood-oil and made up into torches (*mídaing*) with leaves of the pandanus. The oil is obtained by hewing deep recesses into the butts of the trees for it to collect in, and firing these from time to time to induce a fresh flow. In the valley of the Irawadi, the crude earth-oil from the wells at Yenándyaung is burned in open lamps. This is the earliest petroleum known to commerce, under the name "Rangoon oil." In recent years petroleum has also been found in Arakán. The out-turn from the Burma oilwells in 1898–99 was thirty-two million gallons, valued at

[373]

315

[432]



288. TOY AND FLOWER STALLS

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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● 845 If a woman gives birth to a still-born child, a piece of iron is placed in the cloth in which the body is wrapped, or in the coffin if there is one, and at the burial some member of the family says some such formula as "Never more return into thy mother's womb till this metal becomes soft as down."

[775] If a married woman dies before bearing a child (alôn hnin the-thi), a Cæsarean operation is performed, and the alôn is buried in some secret place. The reason alleged for this is, that were it not done, the husband in future existences would marry this woman again, and she would die in the same way. 845 754 Were the embryo not secretly buried it would be disinterred by hmaw-sayās, necromancers, and wizards, who would make evil uses of it. Children's cauls are as highly thought of by Burmans as they are by English

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

sailors; only where the tar thinks he will be saved from drowning, the Turanian expects to gain the patronage of any great person he may address. 845 754

The infant having survived and the mother recovered from her roasting, the next thing to be done is to name the child. This usually happens about a fortnight after the birth. A fortunate day and hour is sought out by some Brahmin astrologer, or a sayā of lesser note, if there is no such dignitary in the neighbourhood. A great feast, as elaborate as the wealth or the ambition and borrowing capacities of the parents admit, is prepared, and all the friends of the family and the neighbours are invited to come. The child's head is usually washed for the first time on this day. The ceremony is therefore called kin-bôn tat thi. A decoction of the pods and bark of the soap acacia (*Acacia rugata*) or kin-bôn is prepared, and with this the midwife washes the infant's head and the guests wash their hands. Most of them bring friendly contributions towards the feast, or perhaps a little money. The mother sits down in the centre of the circle with the infant in her arms, and near her is the father. The company sit gravely smoking and chewing betel for a time, and then some elder, or a near relation of the parents, seems struck with a name, and suggests it aloud. Everybody accepts it on the spot, and falls to discussing the aptness of the name and the accomplishments and virtues of people they have known with that appellation. This is, however, all a pre-arranged thing. The father and mother have settled beforehand what the child is to be called, and have apprised the lu-gyi selected what is to be the result of his cogitations. The midwife then gets a present according to the means of the family, having previously, after the seven days' roasting, received the regulation fee of one pyi, the sixteenth of a basket of husked rice, one mat, and a four anna bit. Then everybody adjourns to the feast, which, with the dessert of le'-pet, salted ginger cut into small strips, ground nuts, fried garlic, the invariable betel apparatus, cheroots, and what not, pass the time till nightfall, when, except in the case of poor people, there is always a pwè which carries on proceedings till the next morning. 553 791 852 431

14: Brant E-5 (1949-50) 1954 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

of milk. She is not permitted to read, sew, or to do anything that will 'arouse or stir the blood.' 846

Omens are read from the position of mongoloid spots on the newborn baby's body. They are said to represent marks put on in a previous existence and their presence proves that the child was then a human being. A blue spot on the foot presages a life of travel. Any marks leading from the right shoulder to the left hip, the line that the royal riband takes, traditionally indicated a royal future; today, however, in the absence of royalty in Burma, such marks merely forecast a 'great' future for the child. 787 845

A child is constantly watched from the time of birth for signs of whose reincarnation it represents. This is a constant topic in the family conversations. 775

Any disfigurement in a newborn child is regarded as a carry-over of the parents' store of demerit, as well as the child's, from earlier existences. It is regarded with a sense of shame and sorrow.

Although multiple births are neither preferred nor desired, they are not looked upon with any marked anxiety nor are there any supernatural means employed to prevent them. 854 751

A number of things are done by parents to protect the newborn baby from malevolent influences. Before it is a month old, a tiger bone should be ground on a stone, together with a little water, and mixed with honey. This is fed to the child to ward off a mysterious infant illness associated with the tiger. A connection is believed to exist between the tiger and convulsions; some parents place a tiger skin under the mattress of the baby's bed to guard against such illness. A knife similarly placed is said to protect against illness in general.

To insure good health and well-being for the child, a white thread over which certain prayers have been recited may be given by a Buddhist monk and tied around the baby's wrists. People should refrain from making admiring remarks about a baby's growth; if they do so, the thread may be left on the baby's wrists to neutralize the harm that may come.

When the stump of the child's umbilical cord has dried and fallen off, it is kept and used as a medicine for any illness that befalls the child. A little of it is ground up and mixed with water for such purposes. [846]

A very close connection is believed to exist between mother and child during the nursing period. Certain observances are necessary. The mother must not eat tomatoes at this time, for they may appear in the baby's stools; for the same reason, she must abstain from green vegetables. Any falling out of her hair during the nursing stage is said to be caused by bubbles blown into her by the suckling baby. To prevent the milk supply from drying up, the nursing mother avoids fruits of astringent quality, such as pomegranates and buds of the banyan. She must also take care not to allow milk to fall on the floor and dry. 853

The baby is weaned very gradually, beginning at the age of about nine months to a year in most cases, although some children may be given the breat occasionally up to the age of two or three years. Weaning is facilitated by the mother's application of a bitter substance to her breasts. 862

23: Brant & Mi Mi Khaing E, I-5 (1949-1950)1951
AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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826 body. They are said to represent marks put on in a previous existence and their presence proves the child was then a human being. A blue spot on the foot presages a life of travel. Any marks leading from the right shoulder to the left hip, the line that the royal riband takes, indicate a royal future; today, however, with no royalty in Burmese society, such marks merely forecast a "great" future for the child.

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In the event of a stillborn baby, the corpse is given special treatment. It is
766 kept in a case, clothed and powdered, and a tray of food is set in front of it every day. It is considered auspicious to care for a stillborn child in this manner: the spirits will guide the parents in their dreams toward the attainment of material prosperity.

For the normal baby who survives, a number of things are done by Burmese
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854 tiger bone is ground on a stone, together with a little water, and mixed with
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To insure good health and well-being for the child, a white thread over which certain *mantras* have been recited may be given by a Buddhist monk and tied around the baby's wrists. Should a baby be admired by people for its growth, the thread may be left on to neutralize the harm that is believed to result from such expressions.

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2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

CHAPTER I

FIRST YEARS

It is fortunate for the young Burman that on his first appearance in the world all attention is directed to the mother, and the "little stranger" is left very much to himself till he has attained a stronger vitality. Were it not so, the rival parties of the Dietists and Druggists might quarrel over the relative quantities of the four elements, fire, air, earth, and water, composing the new arrival, and diet and dose him out of existence immediately, in a heroic attempt to attain an equilibrium of forces. The mother indeed is the major point of interest in all countries, but childbirth nowhere entails such penalties as in Burma. Directly the child is born, the mother is rubbed all over with na-nwin (turmeric), and a big fire is lighted as near as the construction of the wooden or bamboo house permits, while rugs and blankets are heaped over her to the extent of the possessions of the family. As speedily as possible the midwife prepares a draught called se sein (green medicine), the composition of which is a tradition with the Wun-swès, and is kept a secret from inquisitive males. This the victim in bed has to drink perpetually during seven days, and for the same period, irrespective of the blankets and the time of year, is heated up with ôk pu. These are big circular or lozenge-shaped bricks. They are heated blazing hot in the wood fire, dropped for a few seconds into a pot full of water, and then wrapped up in cloths and applied to the body of the mother. In addition to this, doses of turmeric are regularly administered, and every now and then

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[822
[751]
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2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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606 Since the son-in-law has the social status of a son in his wife's family, he has the right to expect his father-in-law to sponsor his career, even more than he expects this of his own father.

A daughter-in-law is expected to regard and treat her husband's father very much as her own father.

603 Grandparent and Grandchild. Because of the great difference in age between these generations, great respect is theoretically due grandparents. In practice, this may be flouted and great indulgence shown to grandchildren. Grandparents quite frequently help in rearing their grandchildren, tell them stories and teach them the Buddhist precepts.

The Life Cycle of the Individual

843 828 Birth and Infancy. When a woman is pregnant her dreams are considered to be especially significant. She is expected to remember those dreams that concern what her child will be like. The welfare of the child is forecast by some dreams. A dream of only one of things that normally come in pairs, such as earrings, bodes ill, possibly death, of the child in infancy. If the woman dreams of her viscera coming out it is indicative of a great future for the child. Persistent dreams of a particular deceased individual are indicative that the child will represent his reincarnation. In all forebodings of ill the normal counter-measure is to consult a Buddhist monk or an astrologer, who may give the woman an inscribed prayer (mantra) to keep or some amulet for the child to wear as protection.

843 Although village women need not avoid any specific foods during pregnancy, strong spices are regarded as harmful.

No supernatural means are employed to influence the sex of the prospective offspring. Certain signs are considered prognosticative. If the pregnant woman's stomach appears pointed, a boy will be born; a flat, broad stomach indicates that a girl is in prospect.

Pregnancy is considered a time of great happiness; the woman is greatly indulged and pampered by all concerned.

844 When the time for delivery approaches, any other pregnant women in the household must depart, lest their presence impede labor. Normally the woman's mother, grandmother, or aunt, in addition to a midwife, assists at birth. A fire is prepared in the room in which delivery is to take place and is maintained for ten days.

844 846 As soon as delivery has occurred, the umbilical cord is cut with a bamboo knife. The afterbirth is wrapped in the mother's skirt and is buried at once in the cardinal direction associated with the day of the week of the baby's birth. The mother is fed an infusion of turmeric, and turmeric paste is rubbed all over her body. She is kept close to the fire and made very warm. For three days she is carefully watched to prevent her from sleeping heavily during daylight hours.

846 The mother is treated as a delicate invalid for about one month and, in some cases, for as long as three months. She is fed only white rice and dried fish. A soup of garlic and banana stems is drunk to promote the flow

14: Brant E-5 (1949-50) 1954 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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Normal and Preventative Measures.

Childbirth; MEE-BNA (Fire-Birth). U Myaing gives a short description of the handling of childbirth: 844

> "In the process of birth, the umbilical cord is severed with a flat bamboo. The midwife then washes the baby, wraps it up in cloth and puts it to sleep. After delivery saffron is mixed with water and given to the mother to drink. It is also smeared on the mother's body. After one week she is given hot baths once a day for three days in succession, 'to bring out the sweat'. There are no costs for delivery. Midwives do it free of charge. However, the family is obliged to give them presents of Kingyis, clothes, etc., but never money. Furthermore, it is perfectly all right even if no presents are made."

Ma Aye Myaing gives a more complete description of the entire course of pregnancy and labour, followed by the initial treatment of the new-born infant: 843 844 846

> "During the first four months of pregnancy, the expectant mother experiences occasional spells of dizziness and palpitation, and after a while begins to vomit once a day early in the morning until the time for labour. Two days before the onset of labour, pain begins to be felt in the abdomen and in the back. A mixture of saffron and water was taken internally three times a day and hot brick was applied twice a day for one week. The cost of saffron for one month is Rs. 3/-. The patient is made to perspire by boiling herbs known as "Thanat-ywet" and 'Sin-kho-ywet' in a pot and placing the pot in a covered place where the patient had to sit andperspire. The midwife visited her for seven days and applied massage to the abdomen. The umbilical cord was cut by the midwife. In cutting the cord, a silver coin was placed underneath and the cord was tied by a string. The navel cord dropped after three days. During the first week after labour, a mixture of "Yin-pya" and saffron also had to be taken to prevent haemorrhage. The infant was fed after three days, when the milk appeared. On the third day after labour, "saffron smoking" was given, and if the patient felt sleepy she had to smell "sa-mon-net". This day is known as "Thwe-thit-laung-de-ne" and is regarded as an important day. Great care is taken, as it is believed that any shock or excitement is fatal. The patient is not allowed to oversleep in the daytime. That is the reason why "sa-mon-net" is given."

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Ma Aye Myaing also reported an abortion on the third month of pregnancy at Kyaunggon on their way to Rangoon. This was due to the rigors of the evacuation. No treatment was taken.

Menstruation; YAR THI LAR. (Season-coming). Menstruation for Ma Aye Myaing started at the age of fifteen years, then disappeared for seven months, after which it appeared again and has occured regularly since. For this, she takes a mixture of jaggery and ginger. Jaggery for one day costs one anna and ginger costs .33 annas. The black longyi worn at this time absorbs the discharge and does not show the stain. The upper classes in towns now use western pads in public, but black longyis are still in use in private. 841 [177]

23: Brant & Mi Mi Khaing E, I-5 (1949-1950)1951
AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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Pregnancy among the Burmese is considered a time of great happiness; the woman is greatly indulged and pampered by all concerned.

When the time for delivery approaches any other pregnant women in the 844
household must depart, lest their presence impede labor. Usually the woman's mother, grandmother, or aunt, in addition to a midwife, assists at birth. A fire is prepared in the room in which delivery is to take place and is maintained for ten days.

As soon as delivery has occurred, the umbilical cord is cut with a bamboo 846
knife. The afterbirth is wrapped in the new mother's skirt and is buried at once in the cardinal direction associated with the day of the week of the baby's birth. The mother is fed an infusion of turmeric, and turmeric paste is rubbed all over her body. She is kept close to the nearby fire and made very warm. For three days she is carefully watched to prevent her from sleeping heavily in daylight hours.

The new mother is treated as a delicate invalid for about a month and, in [262]
some cases, for as long as three months. She is fed only white rice and dried fish. [853]
A soup of garlic and banana stems is drunk to promote the flow of milk. She is
not permitted to read, sew, or to do anything that will "arouse or stir the blood."

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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12. BABY'S BATH.

CHAPTER II

CHILDHOOD

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[531]
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13. THE RATTAN CRADLE (PAKET).

THE cradle and the flower-stand are the two things that strike one in every Burman dwelling by the care bestowed on them. The plainest cradle has a turned rail and a carved headpiece (p. 8). The cradle swings by ropes to which the mosquito curtain is tied. The bed is made of a cotton mattress and a few plies of cloth. The infant is swaddled while its mother is lying in, and for a week or two later according to the season of the year. After that it wears only necklets and bangles. The first clothes the child gets are for grand occasions, after it has learned to run about and take care of itself. When the mother has recovered, she takes her babe with her wherever she goes, and if a wood or cane cradle is not handy she slings the infant in a plain hammock of cloth (No. 284). The Burmans do not carry their young children in a sling on the back like the hill people, but on the hip as soon as they can sit up (Nos. 327, 424).
854 When the babe is hardy enough to go without covering, it spends its waking
342 hours on a smooth mat spread over a springy bamboo floor which somewhat

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4
Upper Burma
Lower Burma

423 distinctions are more minute than is at all necessary or indeed
428 comprehensible. They include all children born out of wed-
848 lock, among whom are reckoned such as are born before the parents have been married ten months; all children that are
[597] purchased, or adopted by any other ceremony than that of abadita or keiktima; and such as "from respect or affection
423 style their guardians father or mother." The settlement of
184 boundary marks was one of the earliest duties of the first ruler. The thale rice became constantly scarcer and scarcer, and it was determined that it would be well to give every person his share and mark it off distinctly. The appointment of persons to execute this duty was the first occasion on which executive officials were found necessary. Manu enumerated twenty-five objects suitable for legal landmarks. These included all natural objects, such as lakes, rivers, ridges, and hills, remarkable large trees and clumps of bamboos; artificial boundaries of an equally permanent character, such as pagodas, shrines for demon-worship, zayats, or rest-houses, stone pillars and sacred posts, wells and cairns; finally such singular distinguishing marks as heads of cattle, chaff, ashes, charcoal, sand, broken earthenware vessels, and men's bones. "Beating the bounds," one would think, must have been very necessary with the younger members of the household in the case of such perishable boundary lines as could be constituted by chaff, or even sand. In Upper Burma the cultivating
[161] population was so sparse that no difficulty was found in the matter of boundaries. In Lower Burma farms are as distinctly marked off as land-surveyors' chains can effect the operation in pointing out the little raised ridges which separate the plots of paddy land from one another. Nevertheless they are hardly such as the South of England farmers would approve.

423 These allodial tenures are the only ones which exist in
[177·92] Burma now. In independent territory there were two other kinds of holding, which were not, however, very numerous or
651 extensive. The first of these were called thugyisa fields, and
622 consisted of certain tracts of land near the town or village set apart for the maintenance of the headman. As that official was anything but a permanency, the tenant for the time being very seldom cultivated them himself, but let them

23: Brant & Mi Mi Khaing E, I-5 (1949-1950)1951
AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

553 which the family invites the people of the village. In the larger communities a written invitation may be sent, in which the name of the child is announced. The [431] feast occurs in the family house, to which the invited guests bring presents and where they may see the child. The only ritualized feature of this event is the washing of the child's hair, which is always done by an elderly person. This may occur, however, before the arrival of the guests.

Because of the significance and influence attributed to the personal name, it may be changed very readily and informally. If it is felt that ill fortune is in the offing, an announcement may be made in the village of change of one's name.

[551] Childhood nicknames as well as teknonymy are utilized by the Burmese, but not to the exclusion of use of the personal name.

Childhood. Burmese children are generally indulged and their existence is 857 more or less carefree and unencumbered by rigid discipline, apart from early 858 inculcation of respect for elders, until they are of educational age and considered capable of understanding the moral teachings of Buddhism. A male child is valued religiously, for at an early age he will be initiated into the monkhood, [851] remaining from a few days to several years, depending upon family circumstances and needs. The initiation of a son brings great religious merit to his parents.

In the Burmese village children are valued for the economic help they render. This will, of course, vary with family circumstances. But in the ordinary cultivator's family, sons and daughters help from the age of about nine or ten years in tending cattle, getting firewood, and winnowing rice. Children are also looked upon as a kind of social insurance for old age.

[884] *Puberty and Adolescence.* Apart from modern legal ideas concerning the attainment of adulthood, the Burmese view is that one is adult when physiologically mature. Upon reaching pubescence boys as well as girls are referred to by a 881 term meaning "virgin." The connotation is that the individual has now entered a period of life in which the dangers of temptation are especially great and in which corresponding precautions are necessary.

A girl's first menstruation is believed to cleanse her system; frequently, such phenomena as eruption of the skin or sexually delinquent behavior preceding the first menstrual period are regarded as evidence that the "blood is trying to flow." [841] Although the idea of uncleanliness is associated with menstruation, there is no segregation of the girl or particular fear of contamination. So long as she conducts herself with propriety and modesty a girl is free to move in public at this time.

304 Ideally, the attainment of puberty is the time for the girl's ear-boring cere-
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2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

sailors; only where the tar thinks he will be saved from drowning, the Turanian expects to gain the patronage of any great person he may address.

The infant having survived and the mother recovered from her roasting, the next thing to be done is to name the child. This usually happens about a fortnight after the birth. A fortunate day and hour is sought out by some Brahmin astrologer, or a sayā of lesser note, if there is no such dignitary in the neighbourhood. A great feast, as elaborate as the wealth or the ambition and borrowing capacities of the parents admit, is prepared, and all the friends of the family and the neighbours are invited to come. The child's head is usually washed for the first time on this day. The ceremony is therefore called kin-bôn tat thi. A decoction of the pods and bark of the soap acacia (*Acacia rugata*) or kin-bôn is prepared, and with this the midwife washes the infant's head and the guests wash their hands. Most of them bring friendly contributions towards the feast, or perhaps a little money. The mother sits down in the centre of the circle with the infant in her arms, and near her is the father. The company sit gravely smoking and chewing betel for a time, and then some elder, or a near relation of the parents, seems struck with a name, and suggests it aloud. Everybody accepts it on the spot, and falls to discussing the aptness of the name and the accomplishments and virtues of people they have known with that appellation. This is, however, all a pre-arranged thing. The father and mother have settled beforehand what the child is to be called, and have apprised the lu-gyi selected what is to be the result of his cogitations. The midwife then gets a present according to the means of the family, having previously, after the seven days' roasting, received the regulation fee of one pyi, the sixteenth of a basket of husked rice, one mat, and a four anna bit. Then everybody adjourns to the feast, which, with the dessert of le'-pet, salted ginger cut into small strips, ground nuts, fried garlic, the invariable betel apparatus, cheroots, and what not, pass the time till nightfall, when, except in the case of poor people, there is always a pwè which carries on proceedings till the next morning.

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Z:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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which every Burman has, and carefully consults, with the help of an astrologer, for the fixing of fortunate days and hours throughout his life. Sometimes the sadā is drawn up very shortly after birth, but ordinarily not till the child is five or six years old. Then an old Pônna, a Brahmin, or any ordinary astrologer is called in. He records on a doubled up strip of palm leaf the year, the month, the day and hour at which the child was born; the name given to it; the planet in the ascendant at the moment of birth and the house in which it was at the time. This is scratched neatly on the palm leaf in the usual way with a metal style. On the other side are a number of cabalistic squares and numbers from which the future calculations may be made. There are said to be eight gyo, or planets, and from these the days of the week are named, Wednesday having a second, Yahu, which rules from mid-day to midnight. Each of the planets has its own point of the compass as follows:—

N.

	Yahu. 12 Symbol—Tuskless Elephant. Wednesday, 12 P.M. to 12 A.M. Unnamed.	Thauk-kya. 21 Symbol—Guinea-Pig. Friday. Venus.	Taninganwe. 6 Symbol—Kalohn. Sunday. The Sun.	
W.	Kyathabade. 19 Symbol—Rat. Thursday. Jupiter.		Taninla. 15 Symbol—Tiger. Monday. The Moon.	E.
	Sane. 10 Symbol—Nagah. Saturday. Saturn.	Boddahu. 17 Symbol—Tusked Elephant. Wednesday, 12 A.M. to 12 P.M. Mercury.	Ainga. Symbol—Lion. Tuesday. Mars.	

S.

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The stations, numbers, and symbols of the planets are recorded in a jingling rhyme, which is one of the first things boys learn in the monastic schools, *e.g.*—

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

787 houses, for the niche shrines, if there are more than one at
782 the pagoda, are always at the four cardinal points, and if there
778 is only one, as is usual at small pagodas, it is to the East.
823

The sadā is carefully kept by the parents until the child
787 is old enough to take care of it himself, and thenceforward it
768 is guarded as the most valuable possession the person has. No matter how often the name is changed the new one is never put in the sadā, so that this certificate cannot be trusted to implicitly for a man's name. Some of them are very beautifully engraved and ornamented, but they are naturally not often to be seen. I only know of two in England at the present time (1881), one of which is my own and the other belonging to a travelling Burman. When a man dies, the sadā is either destroyed or preserved as a memento by the family. A great many sadās were found and carried off as curiosities during the Third Burmese War. There is one at Abbotsford.

787 A curious instance of the firm belief of the nation in the
436 reasonableness of the conviction that the planet under which
643 one is born influences the fates and actions of one's life, is
177 the fact that royalty ordained that the coins and measures used by traders should bear the emblem of the monarch's birthday. Thus for example all the gold coins used in Upper Burma bazaars during the penultimate reign had the figure of a lion on them, Mindôn Min having been born on a Tuesday. The few remaining from previous reigns bearing other symbols were rigidly kept out of the sight of Burmese officials. The Convenor of the Fifth Great Synod, though probably the mildest and best sovereign Burma ever had, would certainly have stood no trifling in matters of this kind, which, if not amounting actually to a part of the religion, were at any rate very intimately connected with it. His son Thibaw Min, however, notoriously indifferent to religion, if a stronger word might not even be admissible, let the old weights remain in use, and probably called it the march of civilisation.

● 852 The naming and the construction of the sadā being
951 finished, the principal events in the youthful Burman's life
[291] are over, and the children run about in as happy a state of nudity as the respectability of the family permits; and boys and girls steal grandmamma's cheroot, and potter about

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

making mud pies according to cosmopolitan infantile habit, and not seldom getting up decorous and serious representations of the choral dances and dramatic performances they have seen. The spectacle of a little girl vigorously puffing a big green cheroot while she moulds a heap of mud into shapely form is only a little more startling to the white-faced foreigner than the declamatory passion of a five-year-old princeling. So it goes on till the eighth year is reached; then it is time to go to the monastic school.

On the following page is a copy of the sadā of Shin Thuza. The young lady, I regret to say, is dead. The publication of her horoscope cannot therefore enable malicious persons to work her any harm by means of spells. The side represented is the obverse. I have submitted the figures to two very distinguished wranglers, but they have been unable to detect any system in them.

On the reverse, surrounded by an ornamental border of numbers written in accordance with a rhyme, are recorded in mystic language the details. The young lady was born in the year 1220 B.E. (twenty-three years ago), in the astrological cycle 422, in the month of Ta-bodwè, on the ninth of the waxing moon, and the seventh day (Friday) of the week, in the evening, at thôn chetti gyaw, a little past the third hour, or more exactly, three nayi, two pads, and ten bizana. Then the precise position of the constellation in the heavens is noted. It is thirteen bǎwa (feet), five finger breadths, three mayaw (grains' length), one sessamum seed (nan), and eight hairs' breadths from the planet. Then it winds up to the effect that this is the horoscope of the maiden, whom, that she may be known by a pleasant name, her parents have called Shin Thuza. "May she live to be a hundred and twenty!" Alas! she did not.

At either side of these details are two identical magic squares, formed in accordance with the well-known Hindoo Law. Over one is written "The Buddha"; over the other "The Law"; beneath the former "Rangoon," and the latter "650." The two palm-leaves are tightly sewn together, and the writings and figures, done with a metal style on the dry leaf, are very neatly executed.

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7	5	3
6	1	8

Puberty and Adolescence. The Burmese view, in the village, is that one is an adult when one becomes physiologically mature. Upon reaching pubescence boys as well as girls are referred to by a term which means 'virgin.' The connotation is that the individual has now entered a period of life in which the dangers of temptation are especially great and in which correspondingly greater precautions are necessary. 881

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Ideally, the attainment of puberty is the time for the girl's ear-piercing ceremony, but in actual practice this often takes place as early as her seventh or eighth year — if it occurs at all. There is a tendency for this ceremony to be omitted in Tadagale. Since it is a feast occasion involving considerable expense to her family, the trend is towards holding a single ceremony, at which several girls who are related will have their ears pierced. The initiate is dressed for this occasion in the traditional garb of the Burmese Court, and also wears a spired-helmet type of head dress. The villagers gather at the family house for the event. An elderly woman rubs an anaesthetic plant substance on the girl's ear lobes and pierces them with gold pins. These pins are left in the ears, bent back. Later, if larger holes are desired, rolled leaves may be inserted. The family presents gifts to the assembled guests; often these are conventionalized tokens, such as inscribed cigars or fans. 852

On the same occasion boys of approximately the same age may be initiated into the Buddhist monkhood. 881

Boys' Initiation. For Burmese boys one of the most important events is initiation as a novice into the Buddhist monkhood. The traditional rite of shinbyu continues to be an important part of Burmese culture, in the urban as well as the rural setting. In the towns and cities, of course, it has been affected by the greater contact with western culture; the procession, for example, is likely to take place in automobiles rather than on horseback and on foot. Nevertheless, city-bred as well as rural Burmese feel it is very important for social as well as religious reasons that their sons be initiated; and everywhere the shinbyu involves large expenditures if not great sacrifices, requires the services of many people for its planning and carrying out, and is the occasion par excellence for joyous celebration as well as religious solemnity. 792 369 177

No two shinbyu ceremonies are the same in detail. The circumstances of the sponsoring families, the physical setting, the idiosyncrasies of individual monks all make for variation. Here we shall indicate the main features of the initiation ceremony as observed in Tadagale. 881 792

The ceremony proper is held on the open-sided ground floor of a wooden building, in the upper portion of which the monks and their pupils live. On the south side of this room is a platform raised about three feet above the ground, on which the monks sit during the proceedings. The room is decorated with various hangings, tapestries, and net curtains; the floor is covered with mats and carpets. Four tables front the platform, on which are placed various

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

14. BURMAN MOTHER AND INFANT.

tempers Nature's discipline of knocks 854
and bumps, as compared with the bare 342
hard ground of the Indian hut. Nevertheless the young Burman's converse with his environment is unrestricted enough. By the time he is a year old he may be trusted to himself on a flimsy platform many feet off the ground or over the water. There are few things in the way 854
of the child that it may not handle. The 356
very cheroot its mother is smoking is a 866
coveted plaything. The daily bath at the river-side or well has familiarised the child with another element. It may rush out into the first tropical shower and splash to its heart's content with its older playmates in the first tepid puddle. The [593
Burman's regular exclamation of wonder 152]
or fear is "mother!"—*amè*.

When the child is a few months old, 852●
relatives and friends are assembled and entertained with tea and sweets to 574
witness the ceremony of piercing the ears and giving a name. The Burmans 553
have no patronymics. The name is chosen from a set of current euphemisms proper to the days of the week and their planets, according to the star presiding over the day of birth. The fancy of the parents and the prognostics of the soothsayer unite to decide the choice. Names are single or are compounded from two series (in Arakán from three). Common names, beginning with the "Sunday-son," are Ôn, Kyaw, San, Shwe, Po, Tha, Dun. Men's and women's names are taken from the same sets; only the courtesy-prefixes differ (p. 74). The needle-hole made in the lobe of the ear on the naming-day is expanded by means of plugs and rolls of bast. In the course of a few years the lobe takes a plug one-half to three-quarters

15. MUDLARKS.

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25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

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[178]
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[562]
[868]

16. THE FIRST STEP.

of an inch thick. This custom is on the decline, and the ears of boys are not so generally pierced as they used to be. The *naddung* or women's ear-plug of gold is being replaced by the *nagát* with its slender stem (No. 241). With eldest-born girls the fête is frequently deferred until they are twelve or fourteen, and is then celebrated with all the more splendour (p. 14).

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854 Burman children are not weaned until the second or third year. Nevertheless they begin to receive solid food as soon as they will take it. The illusion prevails that the earlier they do so the stronger they will be. It is a [165] chief source of infant sickness and mortality, and of the smallness of the families reared. A curious feature of Burman sociality is the promiscuous suckling of infants in the circle of relatives and friends.

855 Children's heads are shaved
858 in more or less fanciful ways up to the ages of ten or twelve, after
302 which the hair is allowed to grow long.

858 The road-fronts of the houses
857 are always peopled with children. Children are equals and are free
524 to roam through the neighbours' houses and plots, where they are kindly noticed. Adults take in- [854] terest in their games, and make kites and reels, boats, carts and other simple toys for them.

17. THE WOODEN CRADLE (BAUNGBAN).

14: Brant E-5 (1949-50) 1954 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

of milk. She is not permitted to read, sew, or to do anything that will 'arouse or stir the blood.' 846

Omens are read from the position of mongoloid spots on the newborn baby's body. They are said to represent marks put on in a previous existence and their presence proves that the child was then a human being. A blue spot on the foot presages a life of travel. Any marks leading from the right shoulder to the left hip, the line that the royal riband takes, treditionally indicated a royal future; today, however, in the absence of royalty in Burma, such marks merely forecast a 'great' future for the child. 787 845

A child is constantly watched from the time of birth for signs of whose reincarnation it represents. This is a constant topic in the family conversations. 775

Any disfigurement in a newborn child is regarded as a carry-over of the parents' store of demerit, as well as the child's, from earlier existences. It is regarded with a sense of shame and sorrow.

Although multiple births are neither preferred nor desired, they are not looked upon with any marked anxiety nor are there any supernatural means employed to prevent them. 854 751

A number of things are done by parents to protect the newborn baby from malevolent influences. Before it is a month old, a tiger bone should be ground on a stone, together with a little water, and mixed with honey. This is fed to the child to ward off a mysterious infant illness associated with the tiger. A connection is believed to exist between the tiger and convulsions; some parents place a tiger skin under the mattress of the baby's bed to guard against such illness. A knife similarly placed is said to protect against illness in general.

To insure good health and well-being for the child, a white thread over which certain prayers have been recited may be given by a Buddhist monk and tied around the baby's wrists. People should refrain from making admiring remarks about a baby's growth; if they do so, the thread may be left on the baby's wrists to neutralize the harm that may come.

When the stump of the child's umbilical cord has dried and fallen off, it is kept and used as a medicine for any illness that befalls the child. A little of it is ground up and mixed with water for such purposes. [846]

A very close connection is believed to exist between mother and child during the nursing period. Certain observances are necessary. The mother must not eat tomatoes at this time, for they may appear in the baby's stools; for the same reason, she must abstain from green vegetables. Any falling out of her hair during the nursing stage is said to be caused by bubbles blown into her by the suckling baby. To prevent the milk supply from drying up, the nursing mother avoids fruits of astringent quality, such as pomegranates and buds of the banyan. She must also take care not to allow milk to fall on the floor and dry. 853

The baby is weaned very gradually, beginning at the age of about nine months to a year in most cases, although some children may be given the breat occasionally up to the age of two or three years. Weaning is facilitated by the mother's application of a bitter substance to her breasts. 862

recognized as over-stimulated by anxieties. "Don't talk my gall into disorder" is a common reaction to calamity tales. 158 753

The weather is important is maintaining health. Changeable weather as during the late part of the Monsoon season is generally unhealthy and gives rise to pulmonary disorders. One should provide head protection (through covering or shade from umbrella) from the sun's rays - which cause headaches by melting the brain. Colds come from getting wet in the rain resulting from the lack of sufficient bodily heat. MIEH HNGME (earth-vapour) which rises as a steam in the early morning or after sudden rains is unhealthful in causing sore eyes and other inflamations. The "steam of the body" healthfully goes out in ordinary bathing and adds to one's comfort. Heat is a key factor in health and sickness being readily discerned as causes of local or general infection. The additional concept of "like producing like" helps explain the above beliefs. 753 132

The odor of AH HNYAW (fried food) is especially dangerous to babies and persons in a weakened condition. When frying, which will create extensive fumes, is to be undertaken the cook must give warning to the neighbourhood so that susceptible ones can be protected. Such persons take refuge behind the thick, cloth mosquito nets. Many heated arguments take place in our servants' quarters when the Indian fried food fumes carry over to the Burmese apartments. It is observed that this danger applies peculiarly to the Burmese - Chinese are also exempt since they are seen to cook with babies strapped on their backs. [252] [186]

Parts of the body are cared for with special ingredients. The eyes are cleaned with pure water or coconut water. Oil is frequently dropped into the ears through a feather quill. The mouth and teeth are cleaned with salt. Bitter foods heap keep the stomach fit. 515 751

Babies up to 1 year are fed on mother's milk or cow's milk. After one, rice chewed by the mother "to make it digestible" is added with some dried fish. After two, the child can chew its own rice, have a little meat, but no hot condiments. After five the child eats the same foods as the adults but is not allowed sour foods as this will "lessen the weight". After 16 or 17, this restriction is 853 561 262

23: Brant & Mi Mi Khaing E, I-5 (1949-1950)1951
AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

quite frequently help in rearing their grandchildren, telling them stories and 603
teaching them the Buddhist scriptures.

THE LIFE CYCLE OF THE INDIVIDUAL

Birth and Infancy. When a woman is pregnant her dreams are considered 843
especially significant. She is expected to remember those of her dreams that con- 787
cern what her child will be like. The welfare of the child is forecast by some dreams: a dream of only one of things that normally are paired, such as earrings, bodes ill, possibly death, of the child in infancy; a dream of her viscera coming out indicates a great future for the child. Persistent dreams of a particular deceased individual are indicative of whose reincarnation the child will represent. In all forebodings of ill the normal counter-measure is to consult a Buddhist [751]
monk or an astrologer, who may give the prospective mother an inscribed *mantra* (prayer) to keep or some amulet for the child to wear as protection.

Although the Burmese woman need not avoid any specific foods during her [262]
pregnancy, strong spices are regarded as harmful.

No supernatural means are employed to influence the sex of the prospective offspring. Certain signs are considered prognosticative: if the pregant woman's stomach is pointed, a boy will be born, whereas a broad, flat stomach indicates a girl is in prospect.

Pregnancy among the Burmese is considered a time of great happiness; the woman is greatly indulged and pampered by all concerned.

When the time for delivery approaches any other pregnant women in the 844
household must depart, lest their presence impede labor. Usually the woman's mother, grandmother, or aunt, in addition to a midwife, assists at birth. A fire is prepared in the room in which delivery is to take place and is maintained for ten days.

As soon as delivery has occurred, the umbilical cord is cut with a bamboo 846
knife. The afterbirth is wrapped in the new mother's skirt and is buried at once in the cardinal direction associated with the day of the week of the baby's birth. The mother is fed an infusion of turmeric, and turmeric paste is rubbed all over her body. She is kept close to the nearby fire and made very warm. For three days she is carefully watched to prevent her from sleeping heavily in daylight hours.

The new mother is treated as a delicate invalid for about a month and, in [262]
some cases, for as long as three months. She is fed only white rice and dried fish. [853]
A soup of garlic and banana stems is drunk to promote the flow of milk. She is not permitted to read, sew, or to do anything that will "arouse or stir the blood."

23: Brant & Mi Mi Khaing E, I-5 (1949-1950)1951
AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

A very close connection is believed to exist between mother and child during 853
the nursing period. Certain observances are necessary. For example, the mother 262
must not eat tomatoes at this time, for they may appear in the baby's stools;
for the same reason, she must abstain from green vegetables. Any falling out of
her hair during the nursing period is said to be caused by bubbles blown into [827]
her by the nursing baby. To prevent the milk supply from drying up, the nursing
mother avoids fruits of astringent quality, such as pomegranates and buds of the
banyan. She must also take care not to allow milk to fall on the floor and dry.

The Burmese baby is weaned very gradually, beginning at the age of nine 862
months to a year in most cases. This is facilitated by the mother's application of
some bitter substance to her breasts.

From infancy an attempt is made to mold the child's features. The ears are 856
pulled outward and the bridge of the nose is pulled upward, to prevent a flat 826
nose. A protuberant, prominent forehead is disliked; to prevent it people play
at bumping foreheads with the child. To elongate its neck the child is held
under the chin when lifted up from its bath. After being dressed its limbs are
pulled straight and it is wrapped around, to insure straight growth. A baby girl's
nipples are squeezed to prevent her having a large bosom.

Naming. The Burmese believe that one's name can influence the course of 551
events in life; therefore the name of a child is chosen with care. Burmese personal
names consist of monosyllables that are selected in a rather intricate manner.
The thirty-three characters of the alphabet are traditionally divided into seven
groups, each corresponding to a day of the week. The first syllable in a personal
name begins with a letter belonging to the group of letters assigned to the particular day of the week on which the child was born. Another syllable begins
with a letter belonging to a day that is considered congenial to the day of birth.
In the urban centers the tendency nowadays is to follow these rules only for the
first term in the name. The syllables of the name stand for qualities of character,
physical beauty, various gems, wealth or prosperity. Boys' names usually denote
strength, success or brilliance, while grace, beauty, tenderness, and various
precious stones are the most common meanings of girls' names. A son is never
named syllable for syllable after his father, for this is considered disrespectful
and an obstruction to each other's prosperity. There is also a tendency to avoid
naming children after deceased relatives. Terms indicating large numbers, such as
million, *lakh* (one hundred thousand), sometimes appear in the names of both
sexes. An interesting contemporary example is the comic strip heroine of a leading
Rangoon daily newspaper, Than Than, literally "Million Million."

The name of the child is rather informally conferred by means of a feast to 553

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma (Kachin) AP1
Burmese AP4

Be 231 779

customer has gone his way. It used to be a common thing in the palace, during the late king's reign, to let loose a number of birds for the delectation of foreign worshippers at the golden feet, and the expansion of the royal merit. Ill-natured people said all the birds were recaptured in the next room, and appeared again for the next display of charity; but of that I can say nothing.

Be 342 251

Each house, with its ground, is surrounded by a rude fence more or less substantial according to the character of the district. Where there are many tigers or ill-doers, and especially north of Mandalay, where formerly the Kachins might swoop down any night, this is made very high and strong, and is further rendered effective by a formidable array of sharpened bamboos. Except where the British have taken the matter in hand, the village roads are simply places where the jungle is kept from growing. There is no attempt at metalling; in fact there is no material for the purpose. In some pretentious villages indeed there is a raised path formed of bricks set on edge, and about three feet broad. This is regarded as a public work of great value, and a distinction to the inhabitants of the place. It usually leads to the monastery. In many villages, however, it would be impossible to move about during the rains without some such contrivance. The mud would be too deep, and logs are slippery even to bare feet.

Ba. [563]
Be 487

Swinging by a couple of ropes from the roof hangs in the centre of the house a rude basket, made snug with a blanket or some old clothes. This is the baby's cradle, and the mother may often be seen sitting by it crooning and gently swaying it backwards and forwards. Some of the lullabies are very clever. I have tried to give a version of one of the most popular, with as near an approach to the metre as practicable. It is sung to the favourite te-dat air.

Be 854 352 533

Be 539

SEIN-NI LA-YAUNG

Clouds in Heaven,
Bright as levin,
Dyed with rosy diamond's light,
Did the Nine Gems
Stud your white hems,

14: Brant E-5 (1949-50) 1954 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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When the stump of the child's umbilical cord has dried and fallen off, it is kept and used as a medicine for any illness that befalls the child. A little of it is ground up and mixed with water for such purposes. [846]

A very close connection is believed to exist between mother and child during the nursing period. Certain observances are necessary. The mother must not eat tomatoes at this time, for they may appear in the baby's stools; for the same reason, she must abstain from green vegetables. Any falling out of her hair during the nursing stage is said to be caused by bubbles blown into her by the suckling baby. To prevent the milk supply from drying up, the nursing mother avoids fruits of astringent quality, such as pomegranates and buds of the banyan. She must also take care not to allow milk to fall on the floor and dry. 853

The baby is weaned very gradually, beginning at the age of about nine months to a year in most cases, although some children may be given the breat occasionally up to the age of two or three years. Weaning is facilitated by the mother's application of a bitter substance to her breasts. 862

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

562 her; and as her surroundings change, so will she. What she was a thousand years ago I do not care, what she may be a thousand years hence I do not know; it is of what she is to-day that I have tried to know and write.

858 Children in Burma have, I think, a very good
562 time when they are young. Parentage in Burma
871 has never degenerated into a sort of slavery. It has never been supposed that gaiety and goodness are opposed. And so they grow up little merry naked things, sprawling in the dust of the gardens, sleeping in the sun with their arms round the village
● [854] dogs, very sedate, very humorous, very rarely crying. Boys and girls when they are babies grow up together, but with the schooldays comes a division. All the boys go to school at the monastery without the walls, and there learn in noisy fashion their arithmetic, letters, and other useful knowledge. But little girls have nowhere to go. They cannot go to the monasteries, these are for boys alone, and the nunneries are very scarce. For twenty monasteries there is not one nunnery. Women do not seem to care to learn to become nuns as men do to become monks. Why this is so I cannot tell, but there is no doubt of the fact. And so there are no schools for girls as there are for boys, and consequently the girls
[369] are not well educated as a rule. In great towns there are, of course, regular schools for girls, generally for girls and boys together; but in the villages
562 these very seldom exist. The girls may learn from
212 their mothers how to read and write, but most of
871 them cannot do so. It is an exception in country places to find a girl who can read, as it is to find

23: Brant & Mi Mi Khaing E, I-5 (1949-1950)1951
AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

787 Omens are read from the position of mongoloid spots on the newborn baby's
826 body. They are said to represent marks put on in a previous existence and their presence proves the child was then a human being. A blue spot on the foot presages a life of travel. Any marks leading from the right shoulder to the left hip, the line that the royal riband takes, indicate a royal future; today, however, with no royalty in Burmese society, such marks merely forecast a "great" future for the child.

775 A child is constantly watched from the time of birth for signs of whose
826 reincarnation it represents. This is a constant topic in the family conversations.

Any disfigurement in a newborn child is regarded as a carry-over of the parents' store of demerit, as well as that of the child, from previous existences. It is regarded with a sense of shame and sorrow.

845 Although multiple births are neither preferred nor desired, they are not looked upon with any marked anxiety nor are there any supernatural means employed to prevent them.

In the event of a stillborn baby, the corpse is given special treatment. It is
766 kept in a case, clothed and powdered, and a tray of food is set in front of it every day. It is considered auspicious to care for a stillborn child in this manner: the spirits will guide the parents in their dreams toward the attainment of material prosperity.

751 For the normal baby who survives, a number of things are done by Burmese parents to protect it from malevolent influences. Before it is a month old, a
854 tiger bone is ground on a stone, together with a little water, and mixed with honey. This is fed to the child to ward off a mysterious infant illness associated
[825] with the tiger. A connection is believed to exist between the tiger and convulsions;
[753] some parents place a tiger skin under the mattress of the baby's bed to guard against such illness. A knife placed under the baby's mattress is said to protect against illness in general.

To insure good health and well-being for the child, a white thread over which certain *mantras* have been recited may be given by a Buddhist monk and tied around the baby's wrists. Should a baby be admired by people for its growth, the thread may be left on to neutralize the harm that is believed to result from such expressions.

When the child's umbilical cord has dried and fallen off, it is kept and used
[278] as a medicine for any illness that befalls the child. A little of it is ground up and mixed with water for such purposes.

000 A very close connection is believed to exist between mother and child during

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

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12. BABY'S BATH.

CHAPTER II

CHILDHOOD

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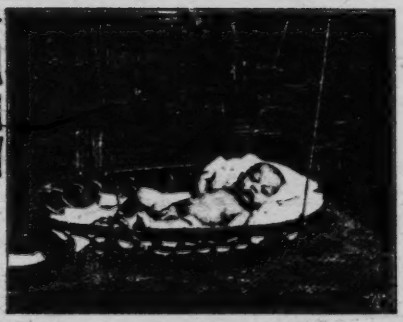

13. THE RATTAN CRADLE (PAKET).

THE cradle and the flower-stand are the two things that strike one in every Burman dwelling by the care bestowed on them. The plainest cradle has a turned rail and a carved headpiece (p. 8). The cradle swings by ropes to which the mosquito curtain is tied. The bed is made of a cotton mattress and a few plies of cloth. The infant is swaddled while its mother is lying in, and for a week or two later according to the season of the year. After that it wears only necklets and bangles. The first clothes the child gets are for grand occasions, after it has learned to run about and take care of itself. When the mother has recovered, she takes her babe with her wherever she goes, and if a wood or cane cradle is not handy she slings the infant in a plain hammock of cloth (No. 284). The Burmans do not carry their young children in a sling on the back like the hill people, but on the hip as soon as they can sit up (Nos. 327, 424).
854 When the babe is hardy enough to go without covering, it spends its waking
342 hours on a smooth mat spread over a springy bamboo floor which somewhat

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

14. BURMAN MOTHER AND INFANT.

tempers Nature's discipline of knocks and bumps, as compared with the bare hard ground of the Indian hut. Nevertheless the young Burman's converse with his environment is unrestricted enough. By the time he is a year old he may be trusted to himself on a flimsy platform many feet off the ground or over the water. There are few things in the way of the child that it may not handle. The very cheroot its mother is smoking is a coveted plaything. The daily bath at the river-side or well has familiarised the child with another element. It may rush out into the first tropical shower and splash to its heart's content with its older playmates in the first tepid puddle. The Burman's regular exclamation of wonder or fear is "mother!"—*amè*.

854 342 854 356 866 [593 152]

When the child is a few months old, relatives and friends are assembled and entertained with tea and sweets to witness the ceremony of piercing the ears and giving a name. The Burmans have no patronymics. The name is chosen from a set of current euphemisms proper to the days of the week and their planets, according to the star presiding over the day of birth. The fancy of the parents and the prognostics of the soothsayer unite to decide the choice. Names are single or are compounded from two series (in Arakan from three). Common names, beginning with the "Sunday-son," are Ôn, Kyaw, San, Shwe, Po, Tha, Dun. Men's and women's names are taken from the same sets; only the courtesy-prefixes differ (p. 74). The needle-hole made in the lobe of the ear on the naming-day is expanded by means of plugs and rolls of bast. In the course of a few years the lobe takes a plug one-half to three-quarters

852 574 553 [857 351] 301 854 852

15. MUDLARKS.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

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16. THE FIRST STEP.

of an inch thick. This custom is on the decline, and the ears of boys are not so generally pierced as they used to be. The *naddung* or women's ear-plug of gold is being replaced by the *nagát* with its slender stem (No. 241). With eldest-born girls the fête is frequently deferred until they are twelve or fourteen, and is then celebrated with all the more splendour (p. 14).

862
854 Burman children are not weaned until the second or third year. Nevertheless they begin to receive solid food as soon as they will take it. The illusion prevails that the earlier they do so the stronger they will be. It is a [165] chief source of infant sickness and mortality, and of the smallness of the families reared. A curious feature of Burman sociality is the promiscuous suckling of infants in the circle of relatives and friends.

855 Children's heads are shaved
858 in more or less fanciful ways up
302 to the ages of ten or twelve, after which the hair is allowed to grow long.

858 The road-fronts of the houses
857 are always peopled with children.
524 Children are equals and are free to roam through the neighbours' houses and plots, where they are kindly noticed. Adults take in- [854] terest in their games, and make kites and reels, boats, carts and other simple toys for them.

17. THE WOODEN CRADLE (BAUNGBAN).

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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17. THE WOODEN CRADLE (SAUNGBAN).

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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25. GAME OF SITOPPYIT.

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Burman average stands midway between those of Ireland and Austria on the one hand, and Italy and Spain on the other. (Report of the Census of 1891.)

The boys at the monastery-school (*kyaung-tha*) do the domestic work—sweep the floors and enclosures, attend upon the recluses, and help in collecting the daily food. Some scholars live at the *kyaung*, others have the morning meal there, others again have their meals at home. The recluse exacts no deference from his scholar, but nevertheless receives from all lay persons a spontaneous homage identical with that accorded to royal personages. In the *kyaung* the lads acquire the good breeding of their country, for it is among the recluses that the élite of the race is to be sought. In the stage next to be described, the lad completes this training, by himself sharing in the deference paid to the yellow robe, which he assumes for a season as novice. The monastery-schools are open all the year, but have a large attendance only in the rainy season or *wá*.

871 Besides the monastic public schools there are private schools kept by laymen and occasionally also by women, in which girls as well as boys are taught. The subjects and methods are the same, but more time is given to arithmetic. The rules of thumb of the Indian *bedin* are being superseded by modern arithmetic, by help of the vernacular manual prepared by the missionary Stilson. A small fee is paid the lay teacher in money or in kind. Out of hours, the lay-school pupils are of use at their homes, minding their little brothers and sisters.

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The training begun in youth is never broken off. Study is a chief occupation of middle and advanced age. The teacher—*sayá*—clerical or lay, is reverenced,

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26. CYCLE RACE.

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From infancy an attempt is made to mold the child's features. The ears are pulled outward and the bridge of the nose is pulled upward to prevent a flat nose. A protuberant, prominent forehead is disliked; to prevent it, people play at bumping foreheads with the child. To elongate its neck the child is held under the chin when lifted up from its bath. After being dressed its limbs are pulled straight and it is wrapped around, to insure straight growth. A baby girl's nipples are squeezed to prevent her having a large bosom.

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Naming. It is believed that one's name can influence the course of life events; therefore the name of a child is chosen with care. Burmese personal names normally consist of monosyllables which are chosen in a rather complex manner. The thirty-three characters of the alphabet are traditionally divided into seven groups, each group corresponding to a given day of the week. The first syllable in a personal name begins with a letter which belongs to the group of letters assigned to the particular day of the week on which the child was born. Another syllable begins with a letter belonging to a day that is considered congenial to the day of birth. There is a tendency for the villagers to follow these rules only for the first syllable of the name. The terms in the name stand for qualities of character, physical beauty, various gems, wealth or prosperity. Boys' names usually denote strength, success or brilliance; while grace, beauty, tenderness and various precious stones are the most common meanings of girls' names. A son is never named syllable for syllable after his father, for this is considered disrespectful and an obstruction to each other's prosperity. There is also a tendency to avoid naming children after deceased relatives. Terms indicating large numbers, such as million, sometimes appear in the names of both sexes.

The name of the child is conferred rather informally by means of a feast to which the family invites relatives and friends in the village. Sometimes written invitations are sent on which the name of the child is announced. The feast takes place at home, where the invited guests bring gifts and may see the child. The only ritualized feature of this event is the washing of the child's hair, always done by an elderly person. This may occur, however, before the arrival of the guests.

Because of the significance and influence attributed to the personal name, it may be changed very readily and informally. If it is felt that ill fortune is in the offing, an announcement may be made in the village of the change of one's name.

Childhood nicknames as well as teknonymy are used in the village, but not to the exclusion of use of the personal name.

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Childhood. The children in Tadagale are generally indulged and their existence is more or less carefree, unencumbered by rigid discipline -- apart from inculcation of respect for elders -- until they are of educational age and considered capable of understanding the moral teachings of Buddhism. A male child is valued religiously, for at an early age he will be initiated into the monkhood as a novice. This brings great religious merit to his parents.

Children are valued for the economic help they render. This varies, of course, with family circumstances. But in the ordinary family of Tadagale, sons and daughters help from the age of nine or ten in tending cattle, getting firewood, and winnowing rice. Children are also looked upon as a kind of social insurance for old age.

23: Brant & Mi Mi Khaing E, I-5 (1949-1950)1951
AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

A very close connection is believed to exist between mother and child during 853
the nursing period. Certain observances are necessary. For example, the mother 262
must not eat tomatoes at this time, for they may appear in the baby's stools;
for the same reason, she must abstain from green vegetables. Any falling out of
her hair during the nursing period is said to be caused by bubbles blown into [827]
her by the nursing baby. To prevent the milk supply from drying up, the nursing
mother avoids fruits of astringent quality, such as pomegranates and buds of the
banyan. She must also take care not to allow milk to fall on the floor and dry.

The Burmese baby is weaned very gradually, beginning at the age of nine 862
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nose. A protuberant, prominent forehead is disliked; to prevent it people play
at bumping foreheads with the child. To elongate its neck the child is held
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name begins with a letter belonging to the group of letters assigned to the par-
ticular day of the week on which the child was born. Another syllable begins
with a letter belonging to a day that is considered congenial to the day of birth.
In the urban centers the tendency nowadays is to follow these rules only for the
first term in the name. The syllables of the name stand for qualities of character,
physical beauty, various gems, wealth or prosperity. Boys' names usually denote
strength, success or brilliance, while grace, beauty, tenderness, and various
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named syllable for syllable after his father, for this is considered disrespectful
and an obstruction to each other's prosperity. There is also a tendency to avoid
naming children after deceased relatives. Terms indicating large numbers, such as
million, *lakh* (one hundred thousand), sometimes appear in the names of both
sexes. An interesting contemporary example is the comic strip heroine of a leading
Rangoon daily newspaper, Than Than, literally "Million Million."

The name of the child is rather informally conferred by means of a feast to 553

524 imitation of the webbed feet of a fowl. Done in quick tempo it becomes an acrobatic or a dancer's feat to sitters on chairs, but Burmans do it easily. We broke up into two teams and put out a prize cock in turn. The two cocks face each other and shuffle out their legs slowly to the rhythm of the accompanying verse: a slow and measured beat at first, then a sudden quickening with the acceleration of the rhythm, until at the crow given by the teams both go all out, quicker and quicker until one is exhaused and falls out vanquished. This is what we sang in chorus:

Kyet Hpa ta nyin	Two cocks, a fine pair
Taw go win	Walk in the forest dare
Maung Yin la, lay hnin pyit.	Comes Maung Yin and shoots with bow.
Ma pyit ba hnin,	O Maung Yin, don't shoot so,
Maung Yin yè	Styes will on your eyelids grow.*
Kyet-tet su tat tè.	
Bè beka su su	On the left eye, one two!
Nya beka su su	On the right eye, one two!
Khut laik gya so thu-ngè-gyin!	Come my friend then let us fight it!
Aw-ee-ee-uu!	Cock-a-doodle doo!
Nga do kyet hpa naing naing	Our cock will win it, win it!
Thu do kyet hpa shon shon.	Their cock will finish, finish!

Some of the games included forfeits, but the forfeits were of a broad comicality, dragging the victim by the ear, or if it happened to be one of the younger servants, rubbing soot on his face. Robbing stones from under the care of a guardian keeping watch over them within a circle was stealing the eggs from a mother tortoise; the postless figure in General Post was a *khway-yu*, mad dog; blind man's buff was *bok-ta-lon tauktè*, a tucktoo with a buff.

776 We spent a lot of time with A-Kyi and the men about the house.
357 It was they who filled our world with bogies and spirits who were no less real to them than they were to us. We were warned not to be too greedy, or we would turn into *peik-tas* in the next existence, great tall spirits with voracious appetites and mouths the size of a needle's eye, or others with mouths like yawning caverns wide enough to swallow a pig, but no stomachs to receive the food. We were told that miserly and avaricious people would never be parted from their possessions which would follow them into their next existence, when they would be *ok-ta-sauk*, pictured for us as assuming the guise of fair girls with thanakha on their

[753] *There is a belief that styes are retribution for the killing of a cock.

faces and flowing hair, fair until they had enticed young men into the 776
treasure dens when they would suddenly turn into old women. There 857
were also *ta-says* who haunted human beings, *son-ma* witches who disguised themselves until they were ready to eat you, and *belus*, ogres which thrived on human beings. Far from the careful nurturing which is given to modern children of the West in attempts to prevent fears of the dark and loneliness, in Thanatpin I could have pointed out the actual tree in which the old witch lived, and when it grew dark both my nurse and I would shiver together in each other's arms at the thought of it.

Nor were the funny stories of the right type for Western children, 522
though they made us roar with delight. There were two brothers who wanted to make their grandmother beautiful, and bathed her in the hottest water they could produce; the water was boiling and the grandmother emerged clean and fair and rigid, and the two grandsons dressed her up and propped her in the doorway for all to admire. There was also the monkey who from his perch in a tree above the bazaar shouted: "Whoever eats of the fruit of this tree will have fragrant gases in his body." One poor human fool believed him, and ate, and went around hawking his ware of fragrant gases. He came to the court of the king, who caused seven layers of curtains to shroud the chamber for fear any of the fragrance would be lost when the experiment was carried out. We laughed to tears at the account of the poor fool's discomfiture.

When we were to be given any medicines or had any pain, however, 757
both my father and mother waited on us. We did not use Western medicines in the house. We always had stocks of various kinds of *yet-sa*, a linctus powder with digestive qualities containing liquorice and herbs in a salt base. The taste is pleasant to all Burmese people who eat it at the slightest provocation; excess of it causes no harm. There is a popular brand on the market called *lay-myo shit-sè*, 80 kinds of wind, but in addition to this, each family gets a specially prepared type from their family monk. My father, who was interested in herbal medicine, collected recipes and my mother compounded them at home. We ate yet-sa whenever we had a slight stomach ache or when my mother considered that the food had been too rich. For a general tonic my father got from the monk a honey mixture with special powers, partly owing to the holiness of the monk, and we ate a tiny spoonful of this each night after prayers. For coughs and sore throats we had pills, called *hpongyi-bo-sha-na*, from Moulmein. They were made of pepper, capsicum, liquorice and salt, and acted by stimulating the salivary and throat juices. All these medicines had a pleasant taste and we liked eating them, but when we had a fever we were given *ngan-say*, a black powder of herbs and salt, which was mixed with hot water and

old man with rhetorical leanings and included things because they formed 753
a nice rhyme, and, indeed, she was not far from the truth. Our mono- 787
syllabic language is a heavenly gift to us with its endless scope for the [522]
most unrestrained punning and rhyming; the pun in Burmese is not execrable humour but a stepping stone for flights of fancy. What my sister was not allowed to eat were the three most precious foods as proverbalised in: *a-thi-hma tha-yet; a-ywet hma la-hpet; a-tha hma wet:* among fruits the *tha-yet*, among leaves the *la-hpet*, among flesh the *wet: tha-yet, la-hpet* and *wet* being the mango, the pickled tea-leaf and the pig's flesh respectively, and open to question as being really the prize specimens of their class, but certainly rhyming happily.

My parents were so good to us; they never scolded, beat or punished 593
us that I can remember. Perhaps they had both had so much discipline 554
in their own youths; I can remember the day we were told to answer them "Father" and "Mother" when they called us, instead of *Paya* as we had done formerly. Paya is the term of extreme respect and humility, sometimes adopted by children to parents, always by servants to their superiors, by subordinates to senior officials, and by all to royalty and the clergy. It is also the suffix to honorific titles. Its true and ancient use had associations of reverence only, but it has taken on a more subservient hue with the advent of government and foreign officials.

But whether we answered Paya or Father, my mother's guiding 593
influence led us to look on my father with awe, even though he was the 857
parent who clowned with us at home. We were always bathed and 538
dressed before he came home, waiting for him. As soon as he entered the gate we raced down the drive to carry his umbrella, took him upstairs and scrambled to take his shoes off as soon as we could get him seated. His shoes, suspenders and socks were removed by combined efforts, my father pretending great helplessness all the while. We went for walks while my parents went to play tennis, but retuned in time to carry their racquets upstairs and remove my father's shoes again. After dinner my mother and we lay on mats while my father sat in an easy chair and pretended to get his nursery rhymes all wrong, until we taught him:

A-hpo gyi oh, hka kon kon,	Old man so bent and grey,
Ma thay ba hnin ohn	Do not die as yet we pray.
Naung hnit-kha ta-saung-mon	Till next December try to tarry
Pwè kyi ba ohn.	And watch the actors play and marry.

Or the voracious cat who ate everything:

Kyaung-gyi yè tè mi tan to	Oh you big and short tailed cat.
A-hsi ko sa ba lo	Swallowing the lean
A-tha ko myo.	And eating the fat.

593 Or of far-off Meiktila Lake where the water stretches seven miles ong:
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Meiktila kan-daw auk ka	From the waters of Meiktila Lake
Hpa kauk hkè ba	Pick up a frog for me.
Hpa pa yin ta gaung pay ba	Poor little frog,
Myet lon ga kyaung taung taung hnin,	Eyes big agog, And body so thin and wee.
Hpa gaung ga thay.	

Or the jumping nonsensical rhyme about Gyat-Aye who got beaten by her mother and wept in a dark corner and started a train of kaleidoscopic events, for every time a line ended with a clanging rhythm it suggested a rhyming word to shout out and continue its own associations, and when you got back to a rhyme for Gyat-Aye, you had to start all over again, and poor Gyat-Aye got beaten and cried as long as children's voices held out.

Gyat-Aye	Gyat-Aye
Thu amay yaik lo	Beat by her mother so,
Hmaung maik hma ngo	Cries in dark corner "Oh",
Ko Lu Byo	Young bachelor Ko
Hta-yan pauk ka	Through hole in the mantel
Chay-dauk ko swè,	Pulls at her ankle
Twè-lè !	Dangle !
Twè-le yè	Dangling yet wait awhile,
Nay ba ohn	The rain clouds pile,
Mo tway ka chon	The heavens clang,
Mok lon !	Meringue !
Mok lon yè sekku kat pa lo	Meringue with paper stuck below
Kya ka-lat hnin hsun-daw tin	Offer at altar in lacquer bowl,
Pa-lin paw ka myauk kalay,	From throne seat the monkey gay
Hsin chi lo pyay	Runs down and off with it away !
Gyat-Aye !	Gyat-Aye !

593 Before going to bed, A-Kyi or Ngwe Yin took us in to say our
782 prayers in chorus. We then *shikkoed* our parents, that is, made obeisance to them by folding hands and bowing till our foreheads and outstretched palms touched the ground, first to my father, then to my mother, and they said in turn each night: "*Pongyi-ba-say, thetshay-ba-say meba hnin-o-aung-min-aung paung-ya-ba-say :* May your holiness be great and your life long, may you be united with your parents even until the attainment of old age."

CHAPTER SIX

THE social life which my parents led with other families in the district towns was shared by us and all the other children. Burmese children do not live in a child's world cut off from reality—there is no specially created world for them like that of J. M. Barrie—they are given enough food for their wildest imagination, but this feeds equally the grandmother and nurses who tell them stories. No special children's parties with cakes and games for them are provided; they go everywhere with the grown-ups, on visits, excursions and festivals, they eat and sleep in the same rooms as the elders and hear most of the conversation. One result is to make Burmese children more conscious of family ties and responsibilities, and to prepare them better for any calamities that may befall them in adolescence or any time before they are fully grown up. Yet no one who sees Burmese children can doubt that delight, wonder and pure joy are present in their lives. 857 593

All Burmese social gatherings centre round either religious observances or eating. We are still unsophisticated enough to have the same way of enjoying ourselves whether in city or country, and for that reason these district towns formed such a perfect background for happy days. In the towns that I remember, a river ran through, with sandbanks at edges or in midstream; this, with the monasteries and pagoda precincts a little way out of the busy quarters, private garden orchards and the houses of friends, provided the background for all the social life which my parents had, and is the reason why Burmese people never form social clubs. Most of the officials went to play tennis at the Gymkhana club with European members, but it had no real part in their lives. 517 369 575

When we went on *pyaw-pwè-sas*, happy-eating-gatherings, at pagodas, with two or three other families, the grown-ups, including aunts and dependents of the families, made elaborate food arrangements because the joy of the occasion was to cook on a large-scale in the open air. They took pots, dishes, food and washing apparatus for about twenty people. We started with silent recitation of prayers before the golden spire in the cool morning air, holding silver lilies between folded hands and being so careful not to breathe in the fragrance of the flowers, because my mother taught us that we should not first enjoy the beauty of flowers which are to be offered. When our short prayers were through, we stuck the flowers in a vase or niche at the pagoda base, lighted a row of candles 517

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

787 houses, for the niche shrines, if there are more than one at
782 the pagoda, are always at the four cardinal points, and if there
778 is only one, as is usual at small pagodas, it is to the East.
823 The sadā is carefully kept by the parents until the child
787 is old enough to take care of it himself, and thenceforward it
768 is guarded as the most valuable possession the person has. No matter how often the name is changed the new one is never put in the sadā, so that this certificate cannot be trusted to implicitly for a man's name. Some of them are very beautifully engraved and ornamented, but they are naturally not often to be seen. I only know of two in England at the present time (1881), one of which is my own and the other belonging to a travelling Burman. When a man dies, the sadā is either destroyed or preserved as a memento by the family. A great many sadās were found and carried off as curiosities during the Third Burmese War. There is one at Abbotsford.

787 A curious instance of the firm belief of the nation in the
436 reasonableness of the conviction that the planet under which
643 one is born influences the fates and actions of one's life, is
177 the fact that royalty ordained that the coins and measures used by traders should bear the emblem of the monarch's birthday. Thus for example all the gold coins used in Upper Burma bazaars during the penultimate reign had the figure of a lion on them, Mindôn Min having been born on a Tuesday. The few remaining from previous reigns bearing other symbols were rigidly kept out of the sight of Burmese officials. The Convenor of the Fifth Great Synod, though probably the mildest and best sovereign Burma ever had, would certainly have stood no trifling in matters of this kind, which, if not amounting actually to a part of the religion, were at any rate very intimately connected with it. His son Thibaw Min, however, notoriously indifferent to religion, if a stronger word might not even be admissible, let the old weights remain in use, and probably called it the march of civilisation.

852 The naming and the construction of the sadā being
● 851 finished, the principal events in the youthful Burman's life
[291] are over, and the children run about in as happy a state of nudity as the respectability of the family permits; and boys and girls steal grandmamma's cheroot, and potter about

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

making mud pies according to cosmopolitan infantile habit, and not seldom getting up decorous and serious representations of the choral dances and dramatic performances they have seen. The spectacle of a little girl vigorously puffing a big green cheroot while she moulds a heap of mud into shapely form is only a little more startling to the white-faced foreigner than the declamatory passion of a five-year-old princeling. So it goes on till the eighth year is reached; then it is time to go to the monastic school.

On the following page is a copy of the sadā of Shin Thuza. The young lady, I regret to say, is dead. The publication of her horoscope cannot therefore enable malicious persons to work her any harm by means of spells. The side represented is the obverse. I have submitted the figures to two very distinguished wranglers, but they have been unable to detect any system in them.

On the reverse, surrounded by an ornamental border of numbers written in accordance with a rhyme, are recorded in mystic language the details. The young lady was born in the year 1220 B.E. (twenty-three years ago), in the astrological cycle 422, in the month of Ta-bodwè, on the ninth of the waxing moon, and the seventh day (Friday) of the week, in the evening, at thôn chetti gyaw, a little past the third hour, or more exactly, three nayi, two pads, and ten bizana. Then the precise position of the constellation in the heavens is noted. It is thirteen bāwa (feet), five finger breadths, three mayaw (grains' length), one sessamum seed (nan), and eight hairs' breadths from the planet. Then it winds up to the effect that this is the horoscope of the maiden, whom, that she may be known by a pleasant name, her parents have called Shin Thuza. "May she live to be a hundred and twenty!" Alas! she did not.

At either side of these details are two identical magic squares, formed in accordance with the well-known Hindoo Law. Over one is written "The Buddha"; over the other "The Law"; beneath the former "Rangoon," and the latter "650." The two palm-leaves are tightly sewn together, and the writings and figures, done with a metal style on the dry leaf, are very neatly executed.

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pagodas and those throughout the country are descendants of the pagoda slaves.

Beggars are rated below the pagoda slaves - but, because of the Buddhist merit associated with giving do well for themselves. The beggars live in communities on the outskirts of the town often in cemetaries. They are thought to exhume the dead to get the coins placed in the mouth of the deceased to ensure expenses on his journey to heaven. The wood of the coffin is believed to be used in constructing their huts. Professional undertakers or morticians are regarded with horror since they like the beggars, make their living from the dead. The functions of burial are performed gratis by the entire village. A story is currently going round the University dormitories telling of an immensely wealthy Burmese coffin maker in Rangoon who has offered riches to the young man who will marry his beautiful daughter. When the future seems blank the students' friend advises "Hey, why don't you go and marry the coffin maker's daughter?" It seems that the money would scarcely compensate for the social discrimation. The extent to which the occupation classes are rigid in marriage and other social exchanges is an interesting problem.

A young man is obliged to remain within the occupation class of his family or to rise to greater heights. He is advised at an early age to "be simple, aim high, and tell the truth." When children play at dacoits (thieves) of other "low class" games their parents object to their low aspirations and advise them to play nobles and ministers. One would feel justified in remaining idle rather than accept a position below that of his birth. It is better to accept a clerks job at a low salary than an artisans at a high salary. On the other hand those born into lower status occupation groups tend to be satisfied with their state as a condition of birth. In Rangoon, however, even the hawkers may have ambitions to achieve fame and fortune. The opportunities for social mobility is greater in the towns and cities but difinitely restricted in the villages.

Apprenticeship to trades begins at the age of 12 to 14 years, and usually lasts for several years. Ordinarily the youth is attached to the shop of a relative where he lives and is payed a subsistence wage while learning. The key to high positions lies in education in

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The whole family goes to the ANYEIN or marionette shows which are quite rare and sometimes not even seen in a year. If it is held, 536
it is held during the months of TAGU, KASON and TAZAUNGMON. In the villages an ANYEIN gives over at about one or two in the morning.

The people from their village also go over to Karen villages 536
when they have puppet shows at cremation ceremonies. Some of the 764
Karens bury their dead and after three or four years they exhume the corpse to burn the bones and store the ashes away. At the ceremony for the cremation of the bones they stage these puppet shows and the members of U Myaing's family go to witness them.

In Pathwe the PYAZIT (stage performance or PWE) has not yet made an appearance. Ma Aye 536
Myaing had seen it in another village where she had to pay an admission charge of four annas. This was the only time she had seen it. On that occasion the show was followed by an enactment of one [779]
of the birth stories of Buddha and this went on till morning.

CHILDREN'S GAMES:

The children used to play several games. One of these was to 524
blind-fold one of their number and set him off in the direction of 857●
an iron bar suspended about 25 yards away. The blindfolded boy was given an iron rod and it was his task to try and hit the suspended bar with his rod.

These games were played at a sports meeting organized for children and everyone in the village turned out to watch. Another [621]
item was the candle race where the children were given a lighted candle each and made to run a race. Then there was a cock fighting contest where two girls sat back on their haunches, faced each other and began to swing each knee forward alternatively until one or the other gave up. There was also a needle and thread race, a sack race, a one-legged race and an egg and spoon race. Each of these races were confined to only two contestants at a time.

GONYIN:- A GONYIN is the large flat seed and is used in a game that Burmese children play - U Kyaing's children included. There have to be ten players, five a side and each side has to try and hit the seeds belonging to the opposing group according to complicated rules.

In Pathwe the children used to play marbles and not the youths [367]
as is sometimes found in Rangoon. In Pathwe the adults were all

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In Pathwe the adults were all occupied with the question of how to acquire money. The children played at skipping a rope. There is also a game where two children sit facing each other and raise progressively higher and higher barriers with their feet and their hands, while a third child has to jump high enough to clear the obstraction. If he succeeds they raise it slightly higher and so on. If he fails, then it is his turn to provide the barrier with one while the other starts jumping from the lowest level. They also play the games "SALTS" and "HOP-SCOTCH" Then there is a game where about 20 children stand in a circle with faces turned inwards. There is a person left outside who runs round the circle and while running, drops a small bundle of cloth behind someone's back. If that person knows of it he picks up the bundle and chases the first child round the circle and if fleet enough has an opportunity of dealing him several hard whacks before he finds shelter in the vacant place of the person following and it is then the turn of the person with the bundle to make the rounds and drop it behind someone elses back. If a person does not realise that the bundle has been laid down behind him the first person completes another round, and then picks it up himself and chases him around the circle back to his own place.

There is another game which is known as "THE HUGE LIN-NNE SNAKE" where the children form a long line by holding each other's waist from behind. Someone then has to come pretending to sell something and the head of the line makes a purchase. When the seller demands payment he is referred by each child to the one behind him until the leader shouts that he can take the person last in the line in payment if he can catch him. The seller tries to do this while the whole line wriggles and twists in an effort to foil him.

When U Myaing was young he used to play "THE TURTLE AND THE EGGS". They first had to find a person who would play as the "turtle" and to do this they recited the Burmese alphabet starting with the letter "KA" for one person and "KHA" for the second and so on round and round the circle until the letter "A" is reached. The person on whom this letter falls has to be the "turtle". He is placed in a circle with as many stones as there are people in the game.

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23: Brant & Mi Mi Khaing E, I-5 (1949-1950)1951
AP1 Burma
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553 which the family invites the people of the village. In the larger communities a written invitation may be sent, in which the name of the child is announced. The [431] feast occurs in the family house, to which the invited guests bring presents and where they may see the child. The only ritualized feature of this event is the washing of the child's hair, which is always done by an elderly person. This may occur, however, before the arrival of the guests.

Because of the significance and influence attributed to the personal name, it may be changed very readily and informally. If it is felt that ill fortune is in the offing, an announcement may be made in the village of change of one's name.

[551] Childhood nicknames as well as teknonymy are utilized by the Burmese, but not to the exclusion of use of the personal name.

Childhood. Burmese children are generally indulged and their existence is 857 more or less carefree and unencumbered by rigid discipline, apart from early 858 inculcation of respect for elders, until they are of educational age and considered capable of understanding the moral teachings of Buddhism. A male child is valued religiously, for at an early age he will be initiated into the monkhood, [851] remaining from a few days to several years, depending upon family circumstances and needs. The initiation of a son brings great religious merit to his parents.

In the Burmese village children are valued for the economic help they render. This will, of course, vary with family circumstances. But in the ordinary cultivator's family, sons and daughters help from the age of about nine or ten years in tending cattle, getting firewood, and winnowing rice. Children are also looked upon as a kind of social insurance for old age.

[884] *Puberty and Adolescence.* Apart from modern legal ideas concerning the attainment of adulthood, the Burmese view is that one is adult when physiologically mature. Upon reaching pubescence boys as well as girls are referred to by a 881 term meaning "virgin." The connotation is that the individual has now entered a period of life in which the dangers of temptation are especially great and in which corresponding precautions are necessary.

A girl's first menstruation is believed to cleanse her system; frequently, such phenomena as eruption of the skin or sexually delinquent behavior preceding the first menstrual period are regarded as evidence that the "blood is trying to flow." [841] Although the idea of uncleanliness is associated with menstruation, there is no segregation of the girl or particular fear of contamination. So long as she conducts herself with propriety and modesty a girl is free to move in public at this time.

304 Ideally, the attainment of puberty is the time for the girl's ear-boring cere-
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25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

14. BURMAN MOTHER AND INFANT.

tempers Nature's discipline of knocks and bumps, as compared with the bare hard ground of the Indian hut. Nevertheless the young Burman's converse with his environment is unrestricted enough. By the time he is a year old he may be trusted to himself on a flimsy platform many feet off the ground or over the water. There are few things in the way of the child that it may not handle. The very cheroot its mother is smoking is a coveted plaything. The daily bath at the river-side or well has familiarised the child with another element. It may rush out into the first tropical shower and splash to its heart's content with its older playmates in the first tepid puddle. The Burman's regular exclamation of wonder or fear is "mother!"—*amè*.

When the child is a few months old, relatives and friends are assembled and entertained with tea and sweets to witness the ceremony of piercing the ears and giving a name. The Burmans have no patronymics. The name is chosen from a set of current euphemisms proper to the days of the week and their planets, according to the star presiding over the day of birth. The fancy of the parents and the prognostics of the soothsayer unite to decide the choice. Names are single or are compounded from two series (in Arakán from three). Common names, beginning with the "Sunday-son," are Ôn, Kyaw, San, Shwe, Po, Tha, Dun. Men's and women's names are taken from the same sets; only the courtesy-prefixes differ (p. 74). The needle-hole made in the lobe of the ear on the naming-day is expanded by means of plugs and rolls of bast. In the course of a few years the lobe takes a plug one-half to three-quarters

15. MUDLARKS.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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16. THE FIRST STEP.

of an inch thick. This custom is on the decline, and the ears of boys are not so generally pierced as they used to be. The *naddung* or women's ear-plug of gold is being replaced by the *nagát* with its slender stem (No. 241). With eldest-born girls the fête is frequently deferred until they are twelve or fourteen, and is then celebrated with all the more splendour (p. 14).

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854 Burman children are not weaned until the second or third year. Nevertheless they begin to receive solid food as soon as they will take it. The illusion prevails that the earlier they do so the stronger they will be. It is a [165] chief source of infant sickness and mortality, and of the smallness of the families reared. A curious feature of Burman sociality is the promiscuous suckling of infants in the circle of relatives and friends.

855 Children's heads are shaved
858 in more or less fanciful ways up
302 to the ages of ten or twelve, after which the hair is allowed to grow long.

858 The road-fronts of the houses
857 are always peopled with children.
524 Children are equals and are free to roam through the neighbours' houses and plots, where they are kindly noticed. Adults take in- [854] terest in their games, and make kites and reels, boats, carts and other simple toys for them.

17. THE WOODEN CRADLE (SAUNGBAN).

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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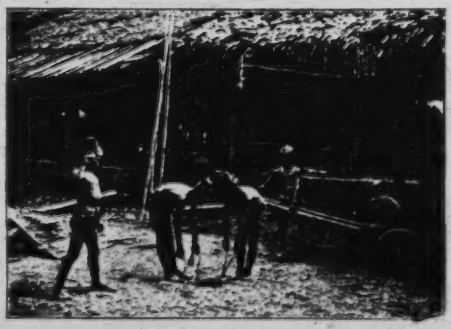
20. TOY CART.

of a savage description. Children have pretty manners; they are respectful to their elders without shyness or cringing.

Children grow up among the implements they will use in after life. Wooden mills for husking rice, tilt-hammers and mortars for pounding, cotton-seeders with geared rollers, spinning-wheels, weaving-looms and other simple machines are in every household; besides agricultural implements, carts and boats, all of which are made or kept in repair by the inmates (*cf.* p. 120). The workshops of artizans of every class are open to view, and the processes are obvious to every passer-by. The interest aroused in children is more diversified than in cold countries with their more secluded life. From mimicking the occupations of adults children learn to take part and soon begin to like a real share in them. Their trade begins with make-believe wares, then come scraps of house and garden produce till it develops into a source of pocket-money and training in business (Nos. 281, 431). The years of tutelage merge into the age of responsibility without abrupt transition. The intelligence which the school-teacher proceeds [153] to build on has insensibly developed under conditions more than commonly favourable, which may help to account for the precocity of Burman school-children under good teaching.

871 From the ages of eight to ten, boys begin attending [524] the school of the Buddhist monastery (*kyaung*), where 876 they are taught free by the 413 recluse (*pôndyi*) or by his sojourner recluses (*upasin*). The spelling-book is chanted in a chorus led by a senior pupil, and is copied out with a white steatite pencil on a



21. PEG-TOPS (DYIN-PAUK).

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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110. BUFFALOES TRAMPLING DOWN THE CLODS

are worth twenty to sixty rupees a head, buffaloes twenty-five to fifty. The latter are heavier and more powerful, and better able to work in the wet and to forage for themselves, but they are subject to many distempers, of which the worst is anthrax. The noses of the draught-cattle are pierced and a thin rope rove through which is spliced at the back of the horns. During a great part of the year there is no work for the buffaloes, as they are of little service for wheel-draught; then they are left to roam at large. They frequent the streams and lagoons, where they are followed by egrets and crows, which pick the worms out of the mud as the buffaloes turn over in their wallow. While crops are standing, cattle have to be kept in pens at night, and to be herded by day. This work is done by children from twelve [857] years upwards. The buffalo-pen is made near the house, if possible in a water-logged spot where the animals can wallow in the mud, which protects them from the bites of gad-flies and mosquitoes. Where there is no wallow, smoky fires are made to keep the insects away. In certain localities of the delta cattle need to be protected with curtains. In the arid region fodder is grown for the cattle, but goats find pasture and are kept for their milk; they are worth five to twenty rupees a head.

243 The rice-fields first ploughed and ready are sown broad-cast for nurseries (*pyo-gin*). A month [231] later, when the rice-plants are about a foot high, they are taken up and transplanted into the prepared fields, a span apart. The roots are simply pressed down into the soft slush

111. DRIVING HOME THE BUFFALOES.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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159. CHILDREN AT THE RIVER SIDE (p. 81)

Every stranger, man or woman, is addressed *K'mbyâ*—sir, madam. There is a courteous address for nearly every relation in life. Children, in speaking to their parents, grandparents, uncles, and aunts, say *Shin* and *Daw*—lord, lady; wife to husband, *Shin*; husband to wife, *Byo*, *Bya*—terms of endearment; younger brother or sister to elder, *Go*, *Maung-dyt*; elder brother to younger *Maung*; brothers to sisters, *Ma*. *Maung* and *Ma* (brother and sister) have become the ordinary prefixes to names, answering to our Mr., Mrs., Miss. These are used even by parents to their grown-up children. To inferiors and in disparagement, the plain *uga*, *mè*, *mi* are used. Middle-aged men are given the address *Go*, and old men that of *Û* (uncle), which is also the prefix to the *bwè* of the *yahán*. Great regard is conveyed by the address *Sayâ*—teacher, master. The honorific word for wife is *gadáw*, thus—*sayâ-gadáw*, *min-gadáw*. To royalty the addresses were *Gôdaw*—re self; *Ashin-Payâ*—lord of lords; *Pôn-daw-dyt*—of great glory. These titles came to be used for ministers and governors, as more euphemistic ones were devised for the kings. The same addresses are accorded by courtesy to the *yahán*, who on their part address the layman as *Tagâ*, *Tagâdaw*—supporter, great founder. The layman refers to himself as *tabyt-daw*—the honoured disciple. In other relations of life, other periphrases are used for the pronouns of the first and second persons. The plain *I* and *you* — *ugâ*, *nin* — are only used in disparagement. Thus the current phrase for *I* is *tyunôk*—the humble servant. (For women, *tyunma*.) In addressing superiors, the phrase is *tyundáw*, *Payâ-tyundáw*

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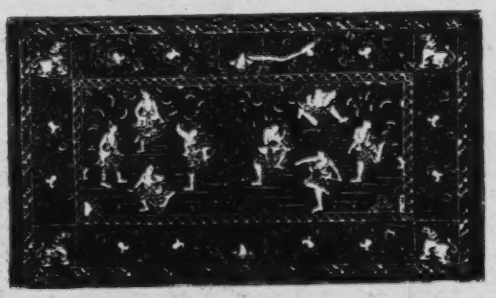

160. CHINLON GAME—APPLIQUE WORK (p. 179).

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 · APl Burma
Burmese AP4

161. CHILDREN'S TUBS AT FLOOD-TIME (p. 81)

—the slave, his lordship's humble servant. There are special honorific terms for the coming and going, eating and sleeping of royalty and of the *yahán*. The most coveted titles or appellations are those of *kyaung-tagá*, *Payá-tagá* — founder of a school, founder of a temple. The first of these is given by courtesy to persons of venerable age. The great increase of prosperity has given a corresponding impetus to the founding of such works, so that the *tagá* are more numerous than ever before. The private foundations are on a scale of unprecedented magnificence. At no period has Buddhism shone throughout the land in such resplendence as now. Personal titles and badges (*sahwé*, No. 31) used to be given by the kings. Small dignities and offices have been hereditary in many places. Nevertheless, no aristocracy has developed. One of these titles was *Thakín* (master, lord), now assumed by all Europeans in the same way as "*sahib*" in India. Despite the punctilio in address, greetings are unusual between equals. After absence, a mere "Here you are again" and an inquiry about health—*ma-e-lá?* At departure, "I'm off," "You're going"—*thwa dawmé*. There is nothing answering to the established *salám* or to our "Good day," "Good-bye." The verbal salutation to the *yahán*, after obeisance, is *Gôdaw-mya tháppáyá pyippa-e lá*—is your Grace duly provided with the canonical

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162. CARVING OF CHINLON PLAYER (pp. 18, 179)

163. THE PABYA SHRINE (p. 188)

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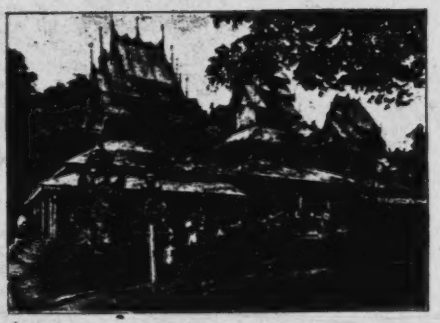
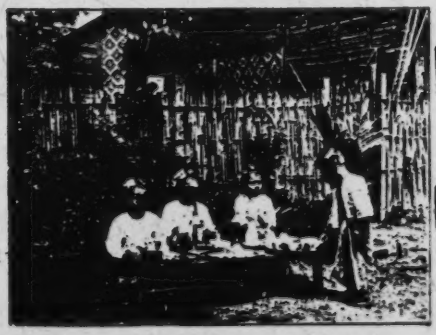
25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4



280. KOTHENA YON (p. 191).

of the unsuccessfully vaccinated caught the disease, and ten of them died. None of the forty-four were attacked. These statistics could be multiplied. The medicine-dealers keep many of the crude commercial drugs, besides simples of their own collecting. Of the former, the principal are aloes, jalap, croton-seed, senna, bitter barks, catechu, opium, camphor, ginger, cardamom and other aromatics. The medicinal use of castor-oil is not known, though the plant is common. Spirits are now used medicinally. Many of the vegetable remedies are almost inert (see *The Burmese, what do they know of medicine?* by Dr. D. H. Cullimore). But there is one that deserves to be known, namely, the Shan remedy for tape-worm, *tôssé*, which is both effectual and mild. Among the mineral drugs are mercury, calomel, sulphur, blue and green vitriols, alum, salammonaic, nitre. There is a whole category of supposititious remedies, tiger's gall, rhinoceros' blood, ant-eater's scales, and so forth; they are charred before being made up. Allied to this class of remedies is that of charms, the vendors of which (nat-wives—*nakkadáw*) trade on the superstition that disease is caused by demons. Every patient will be as particular to mention his star as to describe his complaint. He will be advised to avoid certain classes of remedies on certain days. The "Sunday son" must not purge on Friday, and so on. In times of epidemic and panic, *thèbôuzedi* are erected at every house, as they likewise are in cases of sickness (No. 431). They are merely of sand, held together with circles of bast. Sometimes they are erected to avert calamity declared to be impending in a *shwepe-khwáza*, a message on gold foil dropped from heaven by a *Thadyá* (p. 186). Images are dedicated



281. CHILDREN'S BAZAR (p. 191).

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
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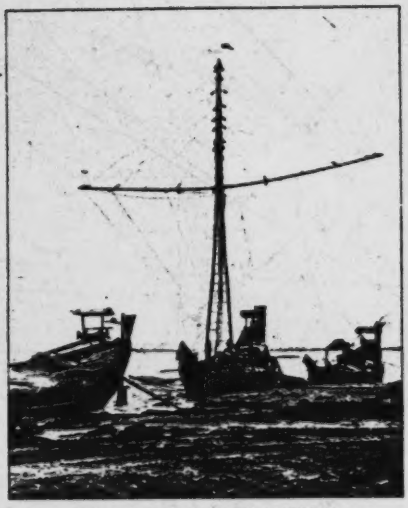

300. LAUNG-ZAT POLING UP-STREAM.

channel in the sand or mud. But it cannot sail near the wind, and it makes great leeway. Only a square-sail is carried. The prow of the boat is solid and the bulk-head above is ornamented with carving. The still more ornamented poop has to be built up in the large boats, to get the full sweep of curve that is obtained in a single piece in the canoe (*laung*). The boat has a good deal of buoyancy even when full of water. The *laung-gô* is rather crank, a defect which is obviated by the use of bamboo side-buoys (*baw-wa*, No. 176). *Thingán* hulls last twenty to thirty years; the canoe is used up to the last stump. When past repair, it is sawn asunder and boards nailed across the sound pieces. A tub of

● [857] this kind is a treasure to a child (No. 161). The anchor (*kyauk*) used to be a wood fork weighted with stone; the European pattern is now general. The *laung-gô* is rowed with the stream only, by three or four sweep-oars; it is poled up-stream. The boatman thrusts his pole from the hollow above the collar-bone. Thus the hands are free to hold the body down to the rail, and every muscle is called into service. No. 289 shows the "tiger" style of poling, No. 298 the "scorpion" style. The

[463] crew of the *laung-gô* consists of three to five men; they get their food and a stipulated sum for the trip, which comes to twelve to sixteen annas per

501 working day. Cargo

435 boats cost from 1,000 to 3,000 rupees, chiefly for the solid hull.

301. LAUNG-ZAT LOADING.

29: Slater M-4 (no date) 1951 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

invariably in the same posture, seated, with one arm across his lap. The whole atmosphere is one of ordered, unhurried peace, whether within the timbered buildings, or within the surrounding compound. 792 346

But the monastery is seldom far away from the village, and this is of set purpose. The Buddhist *Saṃgha* in Burma might well be described as a teaching Order. "Of all charities, charity of learning is the noblest," observes a Buddhist layman,[27] and the monastery dispenses this charity freely. It provides the village school. There the boys learn to read and write. There, moreover, they are tutored in Buddhist lore, with a firm emphasis on ethical requirements. They learn the 'three Jewels' which enjoin reverence for the Buddha, the Law *(Dhamma)*, and the Order, and the five precepts – – not to kill, not to steal, not to lie, not to commit adultery, not to drink intoxicants. In the *Mingalā Thot* or "Song of Great Blessing," which they recite by heart[28], they learn that a wise and good man will seek to store up merit by fulfilling his domestic duties, by giving ample alms, by seeking 'self-knowledge' and by learning from holy men 'as chance affords.' The monastic ideal of utter renunciation, 'from all attachment free', is also indicated and 'Nirvana here' is said to be 'true happiness' leading to the Highest Bliss.[29] They will also learn stories of the Buddha's previous birth from the *Jātakas*, and, above all, the story of the historic Buddha. 792 621 869 871

But attendance at the day school is not their only initiation in the faith. Every Burman boy, at the age of puberty or earlier, is expected to leave home and become a boarder at the monastery for a period which may vary from weeks to years. "A Buddhist who has not been a *koyin* (novice) or donned the yellow robe," remarks a Burmese writer, "is looked upon as one who has missed the most essential (part) of his experience in this world." The village school often appears to be a merry jumble to the outsider, but during this time as a novice "each boy gets individual attention.... There is a wholesome atmosphere of intimacy and understanding between the teacher and the taught." Most of the novices return to secular life, but some remain to become fully ordained monks.[30] 792 857

The *shin-byu* ceremony, or rite of confirmation, which is another essential in the Burmese boy's initiation, generally precedes his entry to 792 881

[27] U Set, "Life in a *Phongyi Kyaung*," *Rangoon Times*, (May 13, 1931).

[28] See Appendix for fuller account of this Song and other Monastic instruction.

[29] "To understand the literature, 'serious' or popular, of Burma we cannot know the Pali Jātaka too well," M. H. Bode, *The Pali Literature of Burma*, chap. v, pp. 81, 82.

[30] U Set, op. cit.; cf. Scott, *The Burman*, Vol. I, chaps. II, III, and IV.

"Your holiness" and themselves as "Your holiness' pupil". The monks addressed the people as *daga*, giver, for they lived by the gifts of the people who donated robes, household articles and other necessities to the monasteries, as good works which brought them merit. 793 792 181 [431]

When my grandparents took my father to the kyaung he was a frightened little boy dressed in a cotton skirt called a *longyi*, and a shirt without cuffs and collar; his hair was grown long in the centre and tied in a knot, the sides being cut in a fringe about two inches long all round, and the rest shaved clean, a way of growing hair common to both little boys and girls and enhancing their youthful appearance. He and all the other scholars performed the domestic tasks of the monastery, swept and rubbed the good hard wooden floors, the monastery grounds and pagoda steps, because in these precincts all comers went barefoot; they drew water for drinking, and for the bath of the older monks; they followed the monks on their rounds, two of them bearing a pole on which was slung a covered tray, to take any food donated in excess of what would go into the monk's bowl; they waited on the monks at meals; they learned to read and write, and do simple sums, to recite precepts and religious passages which they shouted at the tops of their childish voices in imitation of the deep intoning voice of the teacher monk, phrase by phrase; in the evenings they went home to eat the meal which the monks abstained from, but came back at sunset to recite the lessons of the day and many past days all over again, to join in the assembled night prayers, to sleep in the monastery and rise again before dawn. 858 792 872 302

When my father spoke to us of his years in the monastery he always chuckled with delight, in spite of this long list of disciplined tasks. He had the advantage from the first; he was stronger and taller than other boys, and in a system where all learning was by heart he had brilliant memorising powers. The school-room of the kyaung had not the formal atmosphere of the Western school-room with each child at a desk and chair, and a silence except for the voice of teacher or child. The monastery boys all went into the same big room of the monastery, irrespective of age or stage, each with his slate or book, got down on the floor 872 859 876

872 next to their friends, crouched over their work and started to shout out
● 858 whatever passage was being committed to memory. My father's chuckling
876 was at being able to remember how his voice was lustier than his rival's as he rested on his elbows and knees, and rocked backwards and forwards in rhythm to his chanting, with his legs going as high as he dared, giving surreptitious kicks and nudges to upset the balance of his similarly rocking rival, shouting out the passages all wrong when the supervising monk was at the other end of the room and could not distinguish his voice in the general din, so as to cause his rival to laugh and be reprimanded.

But these shortcomings of the schoolroom were punished with only a comical severity. During the play hour the lazy boys were made to cross their hands across their breasts and pull at each ear with the fingers of the opposite hand; in this position they were made to sit and stand, sit and stand, while one of the good boys, usually joined by a crowd of others, sang in rhythmic chorus: "*Hta-Htaing, Hta-Htaing*: Rise-sit, rise-sit." Or if the supervising monk was in a playful mood he made these bad boys each take a good boy on his back and race them up and down the garden. Shortcomings of a moral nature were not regarded as such a joke, however; disobedience and dishonesty were punished with severe beatings, in accordance with the injunction given to the monks by the fond parents when they

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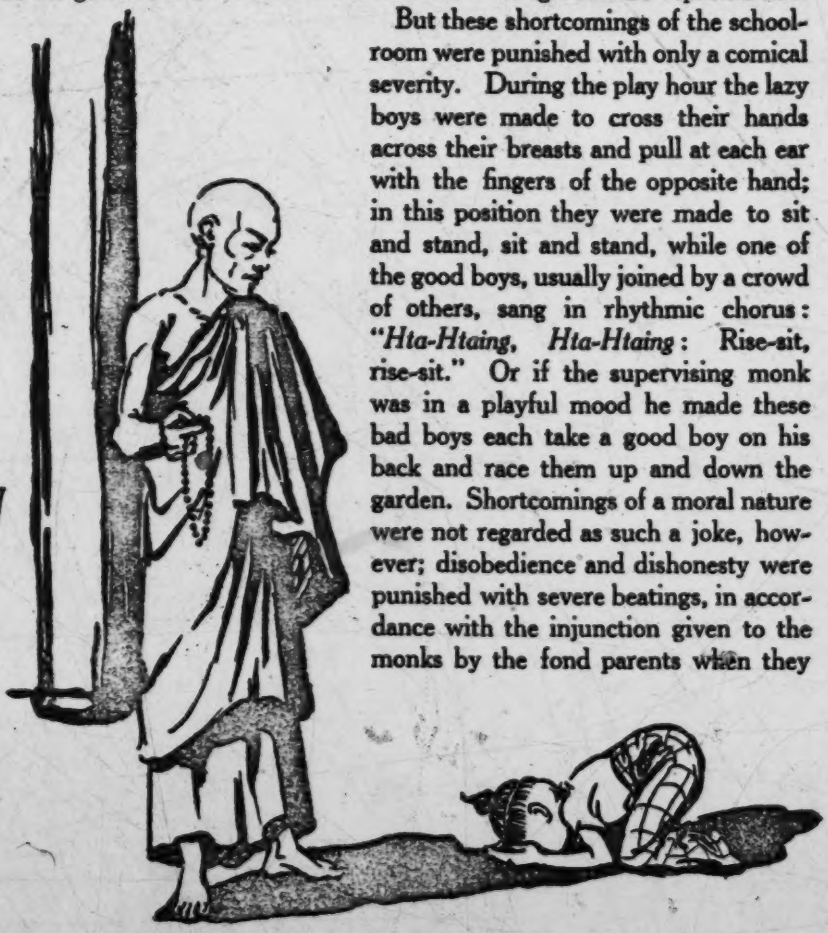

handed their children over: "*So yin na na yaik pa:* If he is naughty
892 please beat him hard."
561 My father spent about five years like this. The hair of his top-knot
792 grew longer year by year and it was nearing the time when he should cut

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

making mud pies according to cosmopolitan infantile habit, and not seldom getting up decorous and serious representations of the choral dances and dramatic performances they have seen. The spectacle of a little girl vigorously puffing a big green cheroot while she moulds a heap of mud into shapely form is only a little more startling to the white-faced foreigner than the declamatory passion of a five-year-old princeling. So it goes on till the eighth year is reached; then it is time to go to the monastic school.

On the following page is a copy of the sadā of Shin Thuza. The young lady, I regret to say, is dead. The publication of her horoscope cannot therefore enable malicious persons to work her any harm by means of spells. The side represented is the obverse. I have submitted the figures to two very distinguished wranglers, but they have been unable to detect any system in them.

On the reverse, surrounded by an ornamental border of numbers written in accordance with a rhyme, are recorded in mystic language the details. The young lady was born in the year 1220 B.E. (twenty-three years ago), in the astrological cycle 422, in the month of Ta-bodwè, on the ninth of the waxing moon, and the seventh day (Friday) of the week, in the evening, at thôn chetti gyaw, a little past the third hour, or more exactly, three nayi, two pads, and ten bizana. Then the precise position of the constellation in the heavens is noted. It is thirteen bǎwa (feet), five finger breadths, three mayaw (grains' length), one sessamum seed (nan), and eight hairs' breadths from the planet. Then it winds up to the effect that this is the horoscope of the maiden, whom, that she may be known by a pleasant name, her parents have called Shin Thuza. "May she live to be a hundred and twenty!" Alas! she did not.

At either side of these details are two identical magic squares, formed in accordance with the well-known Hindoo Law. Over one is written "The Buddha"; over the other "The Law"; beneath the former "Rangoon," and the latter "650." The two palm-leaves are tightly sewn together, and the writings and figures, done with a metal style on the dry leaf, are very neatly executed.

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7	5	3
6	1	8

856 From infancy an attempt is made to mold the child's features. The ears
826 are pulled outward and the bridge of the nose is pulled upward to prevent a flat nose. A protuberant, prominent forehead is disliked; to prevent it, people play at bumping foreheads with the child. To elongate its neck the child is held under the chin when lifted up from its bath. After being dressed its limbs are pulled straight and it is wrapped around, to insure straight growth. A baby girl's nipples are squeezed to prevent her having a large bosom.

551 Naming. It is believed that one's name can influence the course of life
553 events; therefore the name of a child is chosen with care. Burmese personal names normally consist of monosyllables which are chosen in a rather complex manner. The thirty-three characters of the alphabet are traditionally divided into seven groups, each group corresponding to a given day of the week. The first syllable in a personal name begins with a letter which belongs to the group of letters assigned to the particular day of the week on which the child was born. Another syllable begins with a letter belonging to a day that is considered congenial to the day of birth. There is a tendency for the villagers to follow these rules only for the first syllable of the name. The terms in the name stand for qualities of character, physical beauty, various gems, wealth or prosperity. Boys' names usually denote strength, success or brilliance; while grace, beauty, tenderness and various precious stones are the most common meanings of girls' names. A son is never named syllable for syllable after his father, for this is considered disrespectful and an obstruction to each other's prosperity. There is also a tendency to avoid naming children after deceased relatives. Terms indicating large numbers, such as million, sometimes appear in the names of both sexes.

The name of the child is conferred rather informally by means of a feast to which the family invites relatives and friends in the village. Sometimes written invitations are sent on which the name of the child is announced. The feast takes place at home, where the invited guests bring gifts and may see the child. The only ritualized feature of this event is the washing of the child's hair, always done by an elderly person. This may occur, however, before the arrival of the guests.

Because of the significance and influence attributed to the personal name, it may be changed very readily and informally. If it is felt that ill fortune is in the offing, an announcement may be made in the village of the change of one's name.

Childhood nicknames as well as teknonymy are used in the village, but not to the exclusion of use of the personal name.

861 Childhood. The children in Tadagale are generally indulged and their
858 existence is more or less carefree, unencumbered by rigid discipline -- apart from inculcation of respect for elders -- until they are of educational age and considered capable of understanding the moral teachings of Buddhism. A male child is valued religiously, for at an early age he will be initiated into the monkhood as a novice. This brings great religious merit to his parents.

Children are valued for the economic help they render. This varies, of course, with family circumstances. But in the ordinary family of Tadagale, sons and daughters help from the age of nine or ten in tending cattle, getting firewood, and winnowing rice. Children are also looked upon as a kind of social insurance for old age.

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

562 her; and as her surroundings change, so will she. What she was a thousand years ago I do not care, what she may be a thousand years hence I do not know; it is of what she is to-day that I have tried to know and write.

858 Children in Burma have, I think, a very good
562 time when they are young. Parentage in Burma
871 has never degenerated into a sort of slavery. It has never been supposed that gaiety and goodness are opposed. And so they grow up little merry naked things, sprawling in the dust of the gardens, sleeping in the sun with their arms round the village
[854] dogs, very sedate, very humorous, very rarely crying. Boys and girls when they are babies grow up together, but with the schooldays comes a division. All the boys go to school at the monastery without the walls, and there learn in noisy fashion their arithmetic, letters, and other useful knowledge. But little girls have nowhere to go. They cannot go to the monasteries, these are for boys alone, and the nunneries are very scarce. For twenty monasteries there is not one nunnery. Women do not seem to care to learn to become nuns as men do to become monks. Why this is so I cannot tell, but there is no doubt of the fact. And so there are no schools for girls as there are for boys, and consequently the girls
[369] are not well educated as a rule. In great towns there are, of course, regular schools for girls, generally for girls and boys together; but in the villages
562 these very seldom exist. The girls may learn from
212 their mothers how to read and write, but most of
871 them cannot do so. It is an exception in country places to find a girl who can read, as it is to find

These are his "eggs" and it is his duty to guard them while the others cluster around trying to get them away from him without being caught in the attempt. If they are successful in getting all the eggs away they then go and hide them. The "turtle" then has to go and look for eggs while the rest follow her giving encouragement clapping hands and shouting the chant " LEIT U PY UK LO LEIT MA SHAR THU KHIN BYLR NOO NE NOO MET (Because her eggs are lost the poor female turtle is tearfully looking for them). If the child succeeds in catching any one in an attempt to get an egg away that person becomes the turtle. 527 858●

In Pathwe they celebrated the water festival, but they did it in moderation and were satisfied if a person got slightly wet. MON-LET-HSAUNG was given in the village. 527

U Myaing did not save any money in Pathwe. Sometimes he made a great deal of money and sometimes he made nothing at all. Sometimes if he had a lot of money he would loan it out to some one else to be returned in three or four months time if possible. Sometimes these loans continued unsettled for about a year. Only in Rangoon do you have to pay interest. In Pathwe if you did not borrow from chettiars you did not need to pay any interest. U Myaing did not go to the chettiars. He borrowed only from his relatives. There were people who went to raise money from the chettiar money lenders and some of them lost house, cultivation fields etc. because they could not pay the high rate of interest and had the mortgages on their property foreclosed. 454 426 [563]

Analysis of Social and Ceremonial Activities

The refugee camp may be regarded as a new village composed of families who came from villages in the delta similar to Pathwe but placed in an urban setting. The other refugees have the same understandings as to socio-ceremonial activities as U Myaing and the basic 621 722 [369]

23: Brant & Mi Mi Khaing E, I-5 (1949-1950)1951
AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

553 which the family invites the people of the village. In the larger communities a written invitation may be sent, in which the name of the child is announced. The [431] feast occurs in the family house, to which the invited guests bring presents and where they may see the child. The only ritualized feature of this event is the washing of the child's hair, which is always done by an elderly person. This may occur, however, before the arrival of the guests.

Because of the significance and influence attributed to the personal name, it may be changed very readily and informally. If it is felt that ill fortune is in the offing, an announcement may be made in the village of change of one's name.

[551] Childhood nicknames as well as teknonymy are utilized by the Burmese, but not to the exclusion of use of the personal name.

Childhood. Burmese children are generally indulged and their existence is 857 more or less carefree and unencumbered by rigid discipline, apart from early 858 inculcation of respect for elders, until they are of educational age and considered capable of understanding the moral teachings of Buddhism. A male child is valued religiously, for at an early age he will be initiated into the monkhood, [851] remaining from a few days to several years, depending upon family circumstances and needs. The initiation of a son brings great religious merit to his parents.

In the Burmese village children are valued for the economic help they render. This will, of course, vary with family circumstances. But in the ordinary cultivator's family, sons and daughters help from the age of about nine or ten years in tending cattle, getting firewood, and winnowing rice. Children are also looked upon as a kind of social insurance for old age.

[884] *Puberty and Adolescence.* Apart from modern legal ideas concerning the attainment of adulthood, the Burmese view is that one is adult when physiologically mature. Upon reaching pubescence boys as well as girls are referred to by a 881 term meaning "virgin." The connotation is that the individual has now entered a period of life in which the dangers of temptation are especially great and in which corresponding precautions are necessary.

A girl's first menstruation is believed to cleanse her system; frequently, such phenomena as eruption of the skin or sexually delinquent behavior preceding the first menstrual period are regarded as evidence that the "blood is trying to flow." [841] Although the idea of uncleanliness is associated with menstruation, there is no segregation of the girl or particular fear of contamination. So long as she conducts herself with propriety and modesty a girl is free to move in public at this time.

304 Ideally, the attainment of puberty is the time for the girl's ear-boring cere-
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25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

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[868]

16. THE FIRST STEP.

of an inch thick. This custom is on the decline, and the ears of boys are not so generally pierced as they used to be. The *naddung* or women's ear-plug of gold is being replaced by the *nagdt* with its slender stem (No. 241). With eldest-born girls the fête is frequently deferred until they are twelve or fourteen, and is then celebrated with all the more splendour (p. 14).

Burman children are not weaned until the second or

862
854 third year. Nevertheless they begin to receive solid food as soon as they will take it. The illusion prevails that the earlier they do so the stronger they will be. It is a
[165] chief source of infant sickness and mortality, and of the smallness of the families reared. A curious feature of Burman sociality is the promiscuous suckling of infants in the circle of relatives and friends.

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●858 Children's heads are shaved in more or less fanciful ways up to the ages of ten or twelve, after
302 which the hair is allowed to grow long.

858 The road-fronts of the houses
857 are always peopled with children. Children are equals and are free
524 to roam through the neighbours' houses and plots, where they are kindly noticed. Adults take in-
[854] terest in their games, and make kites and reels, boats, carts and other simple toys for them.

17. THE WOODEN CRADLE (SAUNGBAN).

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

18. YOUNG CHILDREN'S TOYS.

Manufactured toys are the most noticeable wares in the sale-booths. A universal toy is the seed from the giant pod of the *dô* creeper (No. 251). Like marbles with us, the seeds—*gôn-hnyin*—are the prizes of the game. In Sangermano's time (1783-1806) these games used to be played by adults. A characteristic boys' game is *sitôppyit* (No. 25). Lots are cast for riders and horses. A ball or bundle is thrown from rider to rider till a player misses the catch, when all the riders dismount and scramble with the horses for the ball. The one who secures it becomes or remains a rider as the case may be. Boys run races for their own sport and that of their elders, and race their toy boats. They fight duels with their kites, each flier seeking to saw through his opponent's kite-line, for which purpose a length of string has been roughened with sand or pounded glass. The peg-top is a favourite toy. That it is indigenous is proved by certain proverbial sayings. Burman boys are more like our own and take to European games more kindly than other Asiatics (*cf.* p. 69). The toy of the day is the tricycle, which parents will pinch themselves to provide for their children, and which the happy possessors of will make the common property of all their playmates. Where children awaken such genuine interest, punishment is rarely called for and is never

19. GAMES IN THE WATER.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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20. TOY CART.

of a savage description. Children have pretty manners; they are respectful to their elders without shyness or cringing.

Children grow up among the implements they will use in after life. Wooden mills for husking rice, tilt-hammers and mortars for pounding, cotton-seeders with geared rollers, spinning-wheels, weaving-looms and other simple machines are in every household; besides agricultural implements, carts and boats, all of which are made or kept in repair by the inmates (*cf.* p. 120). The workshops of artizans of every class are open to view, and the processes are obvious to every passer-by. The interest aroused in children is more diversified than in cold countries with their more secluded life. From mimicking the occupations of adults children learn to take part and soon begin to like a real share in them. Their trade begins with make-believe wares, then come scraps of house and garden produce till it develops into a source of pocket-money and training in business (Nos. 281, 431). The years of tutelage merge into the age of responsibility without abrupt transition. The intelligence which the school-teacher proceeds
[153] to build on has insensibly developed under conditions more than commonly favourable, which may help to account for the precocity of Burman school-children under good teaching.

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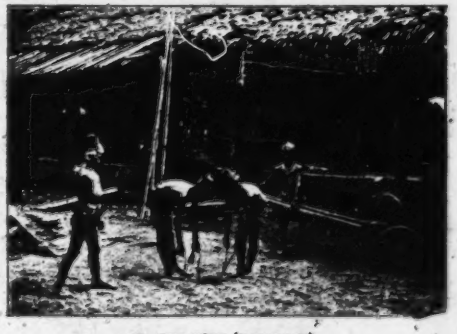
From the ages of eight to ten, boys begin attending the school of the Buddhist monastery (*kyaung*), where they are taught free by the recluse (*pôndyt*) or by his sojourner recluses (*upazin*). The spelling-book is chanted in a chorus led by a senior pupil, and is copied out with a white steatite pencil on a



21. PEG-TOPS (DYIN-PAUK).

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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29. NOVICES MAKING THE ROUND FOR DAILY FOOD (P. 18).

CHAPTER III

ADOLESCENCE

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30. THAMI-Ú ARRAYED FOR HER FETE.

BETWEEN the ages of ten and sixteen Burman lads enter upon the monastic novitiate, an occasion celebrated with a brilliant fête. The adoption of a religious life by girls is much less general, even for the short time it is embraced by the youths; and when it is adopted, there is no ceremony. But a holiday answering to that of the boy's novitiate is held in honour of the girl, especially when she is the first-born child—*thamí-u*. In her case the ear-boring ceremony, if not the piercing itself, is deferred to the age of ten or twelve. The child, equipped in royal attire, or an imitation of it, and wearing a queen's crown (*sìbòn*), is the centre of a great gathering of relatives and friends, who are entertained with music and plays.

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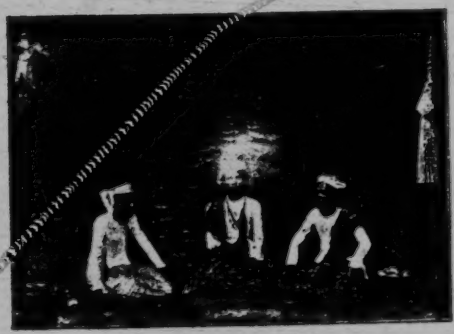
The lad who has prepared to renounce the world for a season, or it may be for life, is called *shinláung*. The *shinláung* festivals usher in the religious or lenten season—*wá*, June to September—the season of rain in Bahár,

p.14

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4



31. SHINLAUNG ARRAYED FOR HIS PETE.

the home of the Buddha. In order to accentuate the renunciation of the world which the lad is making, he is arrayed and attended like a prince and makes a royal progress on horseback or in a chariot to the monastery. Attendants bear gilt umbrellas over him, and a retinue of relatives and friends carry his *parĕikaya* and offerings for the use of the monastery. The *parĕikaya* are the eight chattels, to the possession of which the regular recluse (*yahán*) is restricted. They consist of the *thingán* or monastic yellow robes, *viz.*, the loin-cloth (*thimbáing*), upper cloth (*egasĕ*), wrapper (*thingán-dyĕ*), and red girdle (*kabán*); a needle (*at*), wherewith to piece his clothing together, a hard-baked black earthen pot (*thabĕit*) in which to collect the morning dole of food, a filter (*yezĕt*) to strain the drinking water clear of living things, and a razor (*thindôn-dá*) to shave the head and face (excepting the eyebrows). The garments are of plain cloth, without any cut, but torn into strips and joined up again (by the donors) in commemoration of the primitive rule of piecing the garments together from rags, as well as to deprive the cloth of value. The cloth is mostly cotton, but silk and wool are also offered. The stuffs are dyed a bright ochre, with chips of Jack-wood. By repeated washings the colour deepens to tan. These varying shades produce a picturesque effect. The recluse customarily also receives sandals to wear, a deer-skin to sit and sleep upon, a broom to sweep his dwelling with, and a large palm-leaf fan, both for a shelter from the sun and a screen from the sight of womankind. The *thabĕit* is slung in a yellow cotton net, and has a lacquerwork stand and cover. In respect of chattels, however, these primitive tokens of privation have sunk to a form. The recluses have many changes of raiment and the use of spacious dwellings

32. SHINLAUNG PAGEANT (BURMA PROPER).

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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with good furniture. In all other respects they rigidly observe the rule of their life.

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At the *kyaung*, or by another usage at the home of the candidate, whither the recluse has been invited to preach, the lad will pray for reception as

33. SHINLAUNG PAGEANT (PEGU).

probationer of the *thingâ*—the assembly of devoted seekers after righteousness—presenting his *parikaya* at the same time. In response, the recluse will recite the ordinances of reception. First, he will inquire about the bodily integrity of the candidate, the consent of his parents, his freedom from debt and other bonds. Then he will recapitulate the rule of the novice's life, who, besides the five commandments binding on all men, must observe five additional injunctions (*thila*). The cardinal precepts of the Buddha are (1) to respect every form of life; (2) to respect the property of others; and (3) their wives and children;

34. SHINLAUNG PAGEANT (PEGU).

(4) to respect truth; and (5) sobriety. The additional rules are—to eschew sexuality, frequent meals, games, gold and silver, finery and worldliness. The recluse should meekly fix his gaze on the earth not more than "a four-span yoke" in front. He takes food in the forenoon only. The novice gives his hours to

25: Fetrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4.

25. SHINLAUNG PRAYING FOR ACCEPTANCE (PEGU).

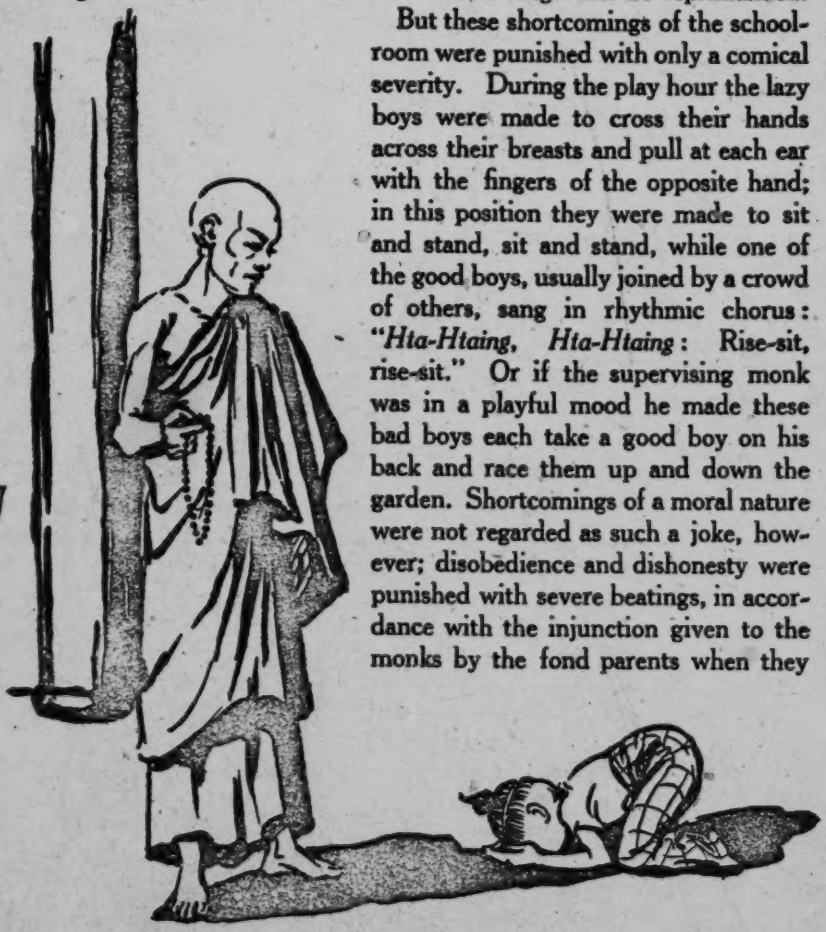
attendance upon his preceptor, to contemplation and sober study. His preceptor receives voluntary confession of faults, without questioning, prescribes penances, and is to his disciple as a parent. Having acquiesced in the rule of life, the candidate is admonished to divest himself of worldly state and personal adornment, and after that to renew his prayer for admission. 858 792

The *shinlaung* then retires to be divested of his grandeur. His long hair—the pride of the Burman—is cut close to the roots with scissors and preserved by his female relatives. His head is shaved by a male relative. The same day, or later, after bathing, the candidate will present himself clad in a plain loin-cloth, offering his robes and the rest of the *parĕikaya* for acceptance as before. The recluse will now accept the robes on behalf of the Assembly, and deliver them to the candidate, who retires to robe himself. Invested with the *thingán*, he returns as accepted probationer, to make obeisance (*shikô*) to his instructor. The novice takes no vow and owes no formal obedience. Like the full member of the Assembly, he is always free to abandon the religious rule of life (*hu-twét*—to become a layman again). The *gyein* (*maung-yin*, Pâli *samanera*, "*chinthamané*") or "gentle-brother," as the novice is designated, discontinues the use of his secular name, in lieu of which he receives from his preceptor a Pâli title (*bwé*), chosen in the same way as the secular name from one of seven sets. Thus Maung Shwe Ni, Brother Golden-red, becomes Û Âlawka, Sage Above-the-world. [302] [291] [553]

26. SHINLAUNG PRAYING FOR ACCEPTANCE (BURMA). 792

The whole male population of the village are free of the monastery. The recluse and his novices have withdrawn from participation in

872 next to their friends, crouched over their work and started to shout out
854 whatever passage was being committed to memory. My father's chuckling
876 was at being able to remember how his voice was lustier than his rival's as he rested on his elbows and knees, and rocked backwards and forwards in rhythm to his chanting, with his legs going as high as he dared, giving surreptitious kicks and nudges to upset the balance of his similarly rocking rival, shouting out the passages all wrong when the supervising monk was at the other end of the room and could not distinguish his voice in the general din, so as to cause his rival to laugh and be reprimanded.



[861]

But these shortcomings of the schoolroom were punished with only a comical severity. During the play hour the lazy boys were made to cross their hands across their breasts and pull at each ear with the fingers of the opposite hand; in this position they were made to sit and stand, sit and stand, while one of the good boys, usually joined by a crowd of others, sang in rhythmic chorus: "*Hta-Htaing, Hta-Htaing*: Rise-sit, rise-sit." Or if the supervising monk was in a playful mood he made these bad boys each take a good boy on his back and race them up and down the garden. Shortcomings of a moral nature were not regarded as such a joke, however; disobedience and dishonesty were punished with severe beatings, in accordance with the injunction given to the monks by the fond parents when they handed their children over: "*So yin na na yaik pa:* If he is naughty please beat him hard."

892 My father spent about five years like this. The hair of his top-knot
561 grew longer year by year and it was nearing the time when he should cut
792

it off, offer it to his mother as a tress for her hair-dressing, and have his head shaved and be initiated into the monkhood amidst feasting and rejoicing. This initiation, which every Buddhist boy went through in order to attain his true manhood by wearing the yellow robe, would last only a week or a month, or as long as my father felt the urge to remain in the monastery; for ever if he liked, in which case he would be formally received as an upasin. It was expected, however, that he would leave after a few months and help Grandmother and the aunts with looking after the paddy and the gardens. As rain of accidents upset all these schemes. 872 561 792

When my father was about 14 he was already among the oldest boys in the kyaung, his learning was high and his conduct exemplary. The monks gave him the task of guarding the meat-safe where all the stores of sweetmeats given to the monastery were kept, as well as delicious titbits like the roe of *nga-tha-lauk* fish, and the rich red oil of the heads of lobsters, which were kept over for the meals of the monks on following days. These wire-netted cupboards are called "cat-houses" in Burmese, because they are meant to guard the food from depredations of cats, and they serve the purpose very well, but they could never guard against the appetites of little boys; for my father, even as I knew him in later years, loved people to eat good things and would always soften and allow his companions to have a bit just here and there. He was often scolded for it, but was so well-behaved otherwise that the post was not taken from him. Just at this time, however, a supervising monk with very decided ideas of discipline was given charge of the boys; all the faults of disobedience, telling of falsehoods, running off to the village at forbidden hours and such like, were stored up till the end of the month. Then, on punishment day, the monk would gather a pile of sticks beside him, and all the boys with faults in a row before him, and go through beating them, one stick to one boy until it broke. One month my father was included in this row because the inroads on the meat-safe stores had increased in spite of constant warnings. Being a big boy he was left to the end of the row, and could watch the zealous monk methodically working through the boys and the sticks. What we know of my father and physical pain is that my mother was once scolded very severely the only time in her life that she beat any of us, and that he himself, when about to take nasty medicine or a vaccination, would go through a series of shiverings and comical protests, some of which I am sure were quite genuine. My poor father then watched the pile of sticks diminishing, and when there were but three sticks left and three boys between him and the untiring monk he suddenly took to his heels and fled, right out of the monastery grounds, down the pagoda hill and down to the creek. He did not dare 872 792 861

872 to go home because Grandmother would have sent him back for a double
792 beating, so he hitched up his longyi, tied his shirt round his head and
● 861 swam across the stream. One of the huts on the other bank belonged to
a woman who had always been very fond of him because she believed
[775] him to be a reincarnation of her brother who had died in childhood;
Burmese Buddhists believe that one goes through many existences on this earth, and sometimes children are born who have not yet forgotten their previous existence by the time they can talk; they adopt habits uncannily like those of the departed member who, the fond and grieving relatives hope, has returned to them in the guise of this new child; they say "My bed", "My clothes" to the possessions of the dead person, especially if eggs are not included in their diet, the belief being that eggs cause them to forget. When we were very young, the fame of a wonder child, who could recite the most learned religious passages untaught, spread throughout Burma, and my parents travelled to hear him; he had been a monk in his past existence and could remember.

792 My father's case was no outstanding one like this; he had just re-
561 sembled the lady's brother in looks and gesture, and a few childish utterances helped out by her belief had endeared my father to her as having been *winsa* (come in and inhabited) by her brother. The good and fond lady received the boy with open arms, agreed that he was getting too old for the monastery, and promised to go over and plead with my grandmother to take him out now and hasten his initiation ceremony into the priesthood. This was achieved and my father went back to his mother's house and prepared for the *shinbyu* as the ceremony was called.

484 The manner of his exit from the monastery, however, had made
177 him restless. During the short period he was free, he could go where
874 he willed, and in this way he often met traders who came and went between Ye and Tavoy, a seaport town about 100 miles away, to which passenger and cargo ships from Moulmein made regular trips. One day he was at the house on the opposite bank when a boy he used to know as a toddler returned from Tavoy after a trip to Moulmein. This boy could speak a few words of English. Moreover, he wore his hair in a *boha-dauk* (a Westerner's crop) and seemed to think my father a jungle boy. All the restlessness in my father flowed over then, because up to now he had always felt himself clever and ahead of other boys. He worried Grandmother to let him go to Moulmein and learn English, and and get a job with the government which would bring them hundreds of rupees each month. Other families who considered that Grandmother had clever sons agreed that this would be a good idea; though none of them had been to Moulmein and my father was still a boy, it would not be so daring an adventure as it sounded, because there was some one

to stomach ache, in the same way as it would be graceless to think that one could catch cold from the playing of thingyan water. 796 262

During the three days of the festival communal celebrations were also carried on, with shows and free feasting every night at pandals put up by each section of the streets. By the *a-tetnay*, rising day, when the Tha-gya Min goes back to the heavenly regions, everyone was a bit worn out, but the more energetic spirits declared that Tha-gya Min had forgotten his pipe or umbrella and had come back for one day more to fetch it. People try not to tell lies, quarrel, swear or lose their tempers during the days of the New Year. Apart from the offence it would give to the ears of the heavenly visitor in the vicinity it was considered a bad omen to begin the new year with such wicked behaviour. Children were always warned not to be disobedient in case the Tha-gya Min should note it, but the reason was also that the grown-ups should not be forced to scold them during this period. Woe to the servant maid who blunders then; greater woe indeed for her sin in causing the mistress to scold her and use angry words. 796 861

The years saw little change in the social programme of our visits to Ye, but in the absence of social changes, the human element always seemed more strong and primitive, and all the drama and romance of which we had so little in our placid district houses was concentrated in Ye. Life there seemed more full of physical movement and danger, anger was more strong, love more sweeping, quarrels more deep and lasting than we were used to. Births, deaths, disease and elopements all seemed to happen more frequently. It was all terror, excitement and romance to us. 000

A robbery at any of the houses in the village woke the whole quarter up, house by house, as the screams from there were taken up by frightened neighbours. My male cousins and all the men of the village hitched their longyis up around their loins, ran hither and thither in the night, with lanterns in one hand and dahs in the other. The womenfolk, as soon as the men had rushed out to the rescue, barricaded their doors and collected together in a whispering group, lest the fleeing robber should dodge into an open doorway in the shuttered line and demand silence and shelter at the point of his dah. On these occasions when we huddled together already terror-stricken, my grandmother recounted her story of the time when she failed to shut her door in time, and the robber was in the shadow of it as she went forward to fold it. "Not a word," he said, showing his blade. "Look out and see which way they have gone. Are they there? How many? Is the street clear? Don't talk loud." In this way Grandmother helped the felon to escape. Once or twice during the day we saw a saung, a blanket 674

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

a monk is liable to commit. The ninth refers to the common Oriental dislike to any person of insufficient dignity occupying an elevated place physically above worthier people.

So far, then, the shin is not very grievously burdened in the monastery. But the discipline maintained is very strict. None of the ko-yins or of the boarder-pupils must be out of the monastic limits after the bell has rung. A lay scholar may get permission from the kyaung po-go to sleep at home now and again, but this indulgence is naturally impossible to the neophyte; he must always stay in the monastery. Again, the boarders may run home in the afternoon to get some dinner at their parents' houses, but this the shin cannot do. Breaches of the rules are very severely punished. The culprit's hands are tied high above his head to a post, and the castigator lays on vigorously on the naked back with a stout bamboo. Cases of deliberate cruelty of course occasionally happen, for human nature is the same everywhere, and a Dotheboys Hall is not an entire figment; but they are rare, and on the whole the shin is happy in the monastery, and occasionally in later life looks back with regret to the old, quiet, unruffled, careless life of the pon-gyi kyaung.

In Upper Burma it has actually been his school, for but very few adopt the system of having private teachers to instruct their children; and in Lower Burma it probably contrasts favourably with the uncomfortable hard benches and desks of the English institution, and the still more irksome quietness demanded, and steady, prolonged application exacted by the English teacher. Those who have been to both remember most fondly the long dusky monastery schoolroom, where they sat on the floor and shouted out their lessons, and now and again slipped out into the air to take the stiffness out of their limbs with a quarter of an hour at chin lôn, Burmese football. In the English school you learned to make money; in the Burmese school you learned to be happy and contented.

thinking, being the mother of a son is itself considered the greatest event of a woman's life and represents the achievement of full existence as a female human being. The relationship is close and indulgent. The mother is regarded by her son as more important than his wife; in fact, a son normally will choose a wife with a great deal of regard for his mother's opinions and wishes. 593

Mother and Daughter. The mother is her daughter's early teacher. It is considered most important for the girl to learn prayers, how to prepare the daily food offering, and how to change the flowers on the household altar. These things are taught almost from the time the child begins to speak and understand. Other household duties in which a mother instructs her daughter vary considerably with the economic status of the family. In poor families some assistance with tending animals and winnowing the rice is part of the girl's work from about the age of ten. Daughters are expected to show filial respect and deference equally to the mother and father. 593 868 [565]

Father and Son. The father occupies the role of disciplinarian in the family. Disciplining of sons may include physical punishment, though such measures are not resorted to readily. Prior to adolescence, boys are taught prayers and good habits by their mothers, with the father remaining more or less in the background and interfering only when disciplinary action may be required of him. After a son passes adolescence the father becomes important as his mentor. 593 861

Husband and Wife's Elder Sister. This relationship tends to mirror a conflict between age and sex as status factors in the social structure. There is an implicit conflict between the husband's position as a man and his wife's elder sister's position, in many cases, as his senior, having a claim on outward respect and obedience. In practice this relationship is often cool and aloof in nature, very much in contrast to the free and easy one between a man and his wife's younger sisters. 607 182 602

Husband and Wife's Younger Sister. A man is expected to show great favor to his wife's younger sisters and to display more interest in them than in his own sisters. He buys them presents, gives them spending money when he can, and covertly he is expected to be on the lookout for prospective husbands for them. Quite frequently, the wife's younger sisters will accompany her and her husband when she marries, and all will live together in the same house. Although husband and wife's younger sisters engage in a great deal of mutual joking and teasing, the relationship does not normally assume a sexual aspect. Polygyny is permissable but very rarely practiced; when it is, however, it takes the sororal form. The rather free and easy relationship between a husband and his wife's younger sisters sometimes gives rise to village gossip-- especially when it is known that he and his wife are not getting along well-- that he is carrying on love affairs with his younger sisters-in-law. 607 587

In-laws. A daughter-in-law is definitely subordinate to her mother-in-law. If they live in the same household, the mother-in-law is entitled to the best room and to be waited upon by her daughter-in-law. Significantly, the Burmese word for daughter-in-law (cwêimà) means 'sweat women. 606

The term for son-in-law (Qame?) means 'desired son.' A son-in-law is a privileged member of his wife's family. His wishes are respected and his comforts looked after. His mother-in-law instructs her younger children to show him respect and deference.

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From infancy an attempt is made to mold the child's features. The ears are pulled outward and the bridge of the nose is pulled upward to prevent a flat nose. A protuberant, prominent forehead is disliked; to prevent it, people play at bumping foreheads with the child. To elongate its neck the child is held under the chin when lifted up from its bath. After being dressed its limbs are pulled straight and it is wrapped around, to insure straight growth. A baby girl's nipples are squeezed to prevent her having a large bosom.

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Naming. It is believed that one's name can influence the course of life events; therefore the name of a child is chosen with care. Burmese personal names normally consist of monosyllables which are chosen in a rather complex manner. The thirty-three characters of the alphabet are traditionally divided into seven groups, each group corresponding to a given day of the week. The first syllable in a personal name begins with a letter which belongs to the group of letters assigned to the particular day of the week on which the child was born. Another syllable begins with a letter belonging to a day that is considered congenial to the day of birth. There is a tendency for the villagers to follow these rules only for the first syllable of the name. The terms in the name stand for qualities of character, physical beauty, various gems, wealth or prosperity. Boys' names usually denote strength, success or brilliance; while grace, beauty, tenderness and various precious stones are the most common meanings of girls' names. A son is never named syllable for syllable after his father, for this is considered disrespectful and an obstruction to each other's prosperity. There is also a tendency to avoid naming children after deceased relatives. Terms indicating large numbers, such as million, sometimes appear in the names of both sexes.

The name of the child is conferred rather informally by means of a feast to which the family invites relatives and friends in the village. Sometimes written invitations are sent on which the name of the child is announced. The feast takes place at home, where the invited guests bring gifts and may see the child. The only ritualized feature of this event is the washing of the child's hair, always done by an elderly person. This may occur, however, before the arrival of the guests.

Because of the significance and influence attributed to the personal name, it may be changed very readily and informally. If it is felt that ill fortune is in the offing, an announcement may be made in the village of the change of one's name.

Childhood nicknames as well as teknonymy are used in the village, but not to the exclusion of use of the personal name.

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Childhood. The children in Tadagale are generally indulged and their existence is more or less carefree, unencumbered by rigid discipline -- apart from inculcation of respect for elders -- until they are of educational age and considered capable of understanding the moral teachings of Buddhism. A male child is valued religiously, for at an early age he will be initiated into the monkhood as a novice. This brings great religious merit to his parents.

Children are valued for the economic help they render. This varies, of course, with family circumstances. But in the ordinary family of Tadagale, sons and daughters help from the age of nine or ten in tending cattle, getting firewood, and winnowing rice. Children are also looked upon as a kind of social insurance for old age.

23: Brant & Mi Mi Khaing E, I-5 (1949-1950)1951
AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

philandering husband, on the other hand, will usually do no more than display hurt feelings for a brief period; rarely will she separate from her husband, especially if they have children. 593 [837]

Siblings. It is the duty of the younger to show deference to the elder. This pertains to the order of serving food, fetching and carrying of things, and even the arrangement of sleeping mats or beds—a younger sibling never should sleep with his feet extended toward an elder sibling. Upon the death of a parent, the eldest sibling of the same sex assumes that parent's socio-economic role in the family. [768]

Father–Daughter. Consistent with the age principle, it is a daughter's duty to be obedient and to wait upon her father. Once an unmarried daughter passes the age of puberty, the father is expected to lead a circumspect and moral life more than ever before. Any deviant sexual behavior or drunkenness on his part reflects upon the daughter and detracts from her marital chances. [581]

Mother–Son. Although a son owes obedience to his mother, her claim upon him in this regard is tempered by the fact that in Burmese Buddhist thinking, being the mother of a son is itself considered the greatest event of a woman's life and represents the achievement of full existence as a female human being. The relationship is a close and indulgent one. The mother is regarded as more important by the son than his wife; in fact, a son will choose his wife with a great deal of regard for his mother's opinions and wishes. [581]

Mother–Daughter. The mother is the female child's early teacher. It is considered most important for the daughter to learn prayers, how to prepare the daily food offering for the household altar, and how to change the flowers on the altar. These things are taught almost from the time the child starts learning language. Other household duties in which the mother instructs her daughter vary considerably with the economic status of the family: in poor families some assistance with tending the animals and winnowing the rice crop is part of the girl's work from about the age of ten. Daughters are expected to show filial respect and deference equally to the mother and father. 593 868 462

Father–Son. The father occupies the role of disciplinarian in the family. Disciplining of sons may include physical punishment, though such measures to obtain conformity are not resorted to readily by the Burmese. Prior to adolescence, boys are taught prayers and good habits by their mothers, with the father remaining more or less in the background and interfering only when disciplinary action may be required of him. After a son passes adolescence the father becomes important as his mentor. 593 861

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

18. YOUNG CHILDREN'S TOYS.

Manufactured toys are the most noticeable wares in the sale-booths. A universal toy is the seed from the giant pod of the *dô* creeper (No. 251). Like marbles with us, the seeds—*gôn-hnyin*—are the prizes of the game. In Sangermano's time (1783-1806) these games used to be played by adults. A characteristic boys' game is *sitôppyit* (No. 25). Lots are cast for riders and horses. A ball or bundle is thrown from rider to rider till a player misses the catch, when all the riders dismount and scramble with the horses for the ball. The one who secures it becomes or remains a rider as the case may be. Boys run races for their own sport and that of their elders, and race their toy boats. They fight duels with their kites, each flier seeking to saw through his opponent's kite-line, for which purpose a length of string has been roughened with sand or pounded glass. The peg-top is a favourite toy. That it is indigenous is proved by certain proverbial sayings. Burman boys are more like our own and take to European games more kindly than other Asiatics (*cf.* p. 69). The toy of the day is the tricycle, which parents will pinch themselves to provide for their children, and which the happy possessors of will make the common property of all their playmates. Where children awaken such genuine interest, punishment is rarely called for and is never

19. GAMES IN THE WATER.

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25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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20. TOY CART.

of a savage description. Children have pretty manners; they are respectful to their elders without shyness or cringing.

Children grow up among the implements they will use in after life. Wooden mills for husking rice, tilt-hammers and mortars for pounding, cotton-seeders with geared rollers, spinning-wheels, weaving-looms and other simple machines are in every household; besides agricultural implements, carts and boats, all of which are made or kept in repair by the inmates (*cf.* p. 120). The workshops of artizans of every class are open to view, and the processes are obvious to every passer-by. The interest aroused in children is more diversified than in cold countries with their more secluded life. From mimicking the occupations of adults children learn to take part and soon begin to like a real share in them. Their trade begins with make-believe wares, then come scraps of house and garden produce till it develops into a source of pocket-money and training in business (Nos. 281, 431). The years of tutelage merge into the age of responsibility without abrupt transition. The intelligence which the school-teacher proceeds to build on has insensibly developed under conditions more than commonly favourable, which may help to account for the precocity of Burman school-children under good teaching.

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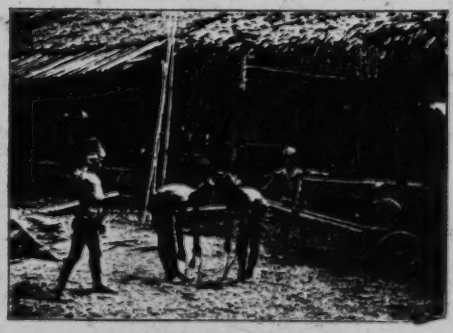
From the ages of eight to ten, boys begin attending the school of the Buddhist monastery (*kyaung*), where they are taught free by the recluse (*pôndyî*) or by his sojourner recluses (*upasin*). The spelling-book is chanted in a chorus led by a senior pupil, and is copied out with a white steatite pencil on a



21. PEG-TOPS (DYIN-PAUK).

of milk. She is not permitted to read, sew, or to do anything that will 'arouse or stir the blood.' 846

Omens are read from the position of mongoloid spots on the newborn baby's body. They are said to represent marks put on in a previous existence and their presence proves that the child was then a human being. A blue spot on the foot presages a life of travel. Any marks leading from the right shoulder to the left hip, the line that the royal riband takes, traditionally indicated a royal future; today, however, in the absence of royalty in Burma, such marks merely forecast a 'great' future for the child. 787 845

A child is constantly watched from the time of birth for signs of whose reincarnation it represents. This is a constant topic in the family conversations. 775

Any disfigurement in a newborn child is regarded as a carry-over of the parents' store of demerit, as well as the child's, from earlier existences. It is regarded with a sense of shame and sorrow.

Although multiple births are neither preferred nor desired, they are not looked upon with any marked anxiety nor are there any supernatural means employed to prevent them. 854 751

A number of things are done by parents to protect the newborn baby from malevolent influences. Before it is a month old, a tiger bone should be ground on a stone, together with a little water, and mixed with honey. This is fed to the child to ward off a mysterious infant illness associated with the tiger. A connection is believed to exist between the tiger and convulsions; some parents place a tiger skin under the mattress of the baby's bed to guard against such illness. A knife similarly placed is said to protect against illness in general.

To insure good health and well-being for the child, a white thread over which certain prayers have been recited may be given by a Buddhist monk and tied around the baby's wrists. People should refrain from making admiring remarks about a baby's growth; if they do so, the thread may be left on the baby's wrists to neutralize the harm that may come.

When the stump of the child's umbilical cord has dried and fallen off, it is kept and used as a medicine for any illness that befalls the child. A little of it is ground up and mixed with water for such purposes. [846]

A very close connection is believed to exist between mother and child during the nursing period. Certain observances are necessary. The mother must not eat tomatoes at this time, for they may appear in the baby's stools; for the same reason, she must abstain from green vegetables. Any falling out of her hair during the nursing stage is said to be caused by bubbles blown into her by the suckling baby. To prevent the milk supply from drying up, the nursing mother avoids fruits of astringent quality, such as pomegranates and buds of the banyan. She must also take care not to allow milk to fall on the floor and dry. 853

The baby is weaned very gradually, beginning at the age of about nine months to a year in most cases, although some children may be given the breast occasionally up to the age of two or three years. Weaning is facilitated by the mother's application of a bitter substance to her breasts. 862

23: Brant & Mi Mi Khaing E, I-5 (1949-1950)1951
AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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at bumping foreheads with the child. To elongate its neck the child is held
under the chin when lifted up from its bath. After being dressed its limbs are
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nipples are squeezed to prevent her having a large bosom.

Naming. The Burmese believe that one's name can influence the course of 551
events in life; therefore the name of a child is chosen with care. Burmese personal
names consist of monosyllables that are selected in a rather intricate manner.
The thirty-three characters of the alphabet are traditionally divided into seven
groups, each corresponding to a day of the week. The first syllable in a personal
name begins with a letter belonging to the group of letters assigned to the particular day of the week on which the child was born. Another syllable begins
with a letter belonging to a day that is considered congenial to the day of birth.
In the urban centers the tendency nowadays is to follow these rules only for the
first term in the name. The syllables of the name stand for qualities of character,
physical beauty, various gems, wealth or prosperity. Boys' names usually denote
strength, success or brilliance, while grace, beauty, tenderness, and various
precious stones are the most common meanings of girls' names. A son is never
named syllable for syllable after his father, for this is considered disrespectful
and an obstruction to each other's prosperity. There is also a tendency to avoid
naming children after deceased relatives. Terms indicating large numbers, such as
million, *lakh* (one hundred thousand), sometimes appear in the names of both
sexes. An interesting contemporary example is the comic strip heroine of a leading
Rangoon daily newspaper, Than Than, literally "Million Million."

The name of the child is rather informally conferred by means of a feast to 553

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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16. THE FIRST STEP.

of an inch thick. This custom is on the decline, and the ears of boys are not so generally pierced as they used to be. The *nadáung* or women's ear-plug of gold is being replaced by the *nagát* with its slender stem (No. 241). With eldest-born girls the fête is frequently deferred until they are twelve or fourteen, and is then celebrated with all the more splendour (p. 14).

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Burman children are not weaned until the second or third year. Nevertheless they begin to receive solid food as soon as they will take it. The illusion prevails that the earlier they do so the stronger they will be. It is a chief source of infant sickness and mortality, and of the smallness of the families reared. A curious feature of Burman sociality is the promiscuous suckling of infants in the circle of relatives and friends.

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Children's heads are shaved in more or less fanciful ways up to the ages of ten or twelve, after which the hair is allowed to grow long.

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The road-fronts of the houses are always peopled with children. Children are equals and are free to roam through the neighbours' houses and plots, where they are kindly noticed. Adults take interest in their games, and make kites and reels, boats, carts and other simple toys for them.

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17. THE WOODEN CRADLE (SAUNGBAN).

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

14. BURMAN MOTHER AND INFANT.

tempers Nature's discipline of knocks and bumps, as compared with the bare hard ground of the Indian hut. Nevertheless the young Burman's converse with his environment is unrestricted enough. By the time he is a year old he may be trusted to himself on a flimsy platform many feet off the ground or over the water. There are few things in the way of the child that it may not handle. The very cheroot its mother is smoking is a coveted plaything. The daily bath at the river-side or well has familiarised the child with another element. It may rush out into the first tropical shower and splash to its heart's content with its older playmates in the first tepid puddle. The Burman's regular exclamation of wonder or fear is "mother!"—*ami*.

When the child is a few months old, relatives and friends are assembled and entertained with tea and sweets to witness the ceremony of piercing the ears and giving a name. The Burmans have no patronymics. The name is chosen from a set of current euphemisms proper to the days of the week and their planets, according to the star presiding over the day of birth. The fancy of the parents and the prognostics of the soothsayer unite to decide the choice. Names are single or are compounded from two series (in Arakán from three). Common names, beginning with the "Sunday-son," are On, Kyaw, San, Shwe, Po, Tha, Dun. Men's and women's names are taken from the same sets; only the courtesy-prefixes differ (p. 74). The needle-hole made in the lobe of the ear on the naming-day is expanded by means of plugs and rolls of bast. In the course of a few years the lobe takes a plug one-half to three-quarters

15. MUDLARKS.

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pagodas and those throughout the country are descendants of the pagoda slaves.

Beggars are rated below the pagoda slaves - but, because of the Buddhist merit associated with giving do well for themselves. The beggars live in communities on the outskirts of the town often in cemetaries. They are thought to exhume the dead to get the coins placed in the mouth of the deceased to ensure expenses on his journey to heaven. The wood of the coffin is believed to be used in constructing their huts. Professional undertakers or morticians are regarded with horror since they like the beggars, make their living from the dead. The functions of burial are performed gratis by the entire village. A story is currently going round the University dormitories [203] telling of an immensely wealthy Burmese coffin maker in Rangoon who has offered riches to the young man who will marry his beautiful daughter. When the future seems blank the students' friend advises "Hey, why don't you go and marry the coffin maker's daughter?" It seems that the money would scarcely compensate for the social discrimation. The extent to which the occupation classes are rigid in marriage and other social exchanges is an interesting problem.

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A young man is obliged to remain within the occupation class of his family or to rise to greater heights. He is advised at an early age to "be simple, aim high, and tell the truth." When children play at dacoits (thieves) of other "low class" games their parents object to their low aspirations and advise them to play nobles and ministers. One would feel justified in remaining idle rather than accept a position below that of his birth. It is better to accept a clerks job at a low salary than an artisans at a high salary. On the other hand those born into lower status occupation groups tend to be satisfied with their state as a condition of birth. In Rangoon, however, even the hawkers may have ambitions to achieve fame and fortune. The opportunities for social mobility is greater in the towns and cities but difinitely restricted in the villages.

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Apprenticeship to trades begins at the age of 12 to 14 years, and usually lasts for several years. Ordinarily the youth is attached to the shop of a relative where he lives and is payed a subsistence wage while learning. The key to high positions lies in education in

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21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

restrained in his use of the blood-and-thunder scenes, and his heroic heroes have depth of character; they are not mere figures shouting defiance and doing glorious deeds. The artistic genius of U Kyin U is mainly responsible for the restrained use of heroics. But there is another reason. The audience was no longer keen on such things; when U Kyin U was writing his plays, the Anglo-Burmese War of 1824 was over, the Burmese had tasted their first defeat for many years, and two of the three maritime provinces were in British hands. 536*

The plays not only entertain but make the audience think. U Kyin U is out to teach the audience to look at both sides of a question, for in *Parpahein* there is some justification for Parpahein's contention that he is a victim of injustice; after all the old king did make the promise, and the queen did deserve that promise, did earn it as a reward for saving his life. Yet we can sympathize with the decision of the king to give the throne to Zayathein. In that play, too, we are shown the dangers of being humane in certain cases, the dangers of becoming a kindly man at the cost of losing strength as a king, for Zayathein and Athumbain are both weak in their treatment of Parpahein; good brothers they are, but their goodness plunges the kingdom into disaster by causing the wrong man to hold power. In *Daywagonban*, we are shown how empty strife is, how the irony of life plays tricks on us, poor mortals, for look at Daywagonban, he is fighting his own brother to win the very princess who was betrothed to him since childhood. In that play, too, we are set a problem. Is the hermit's life worth the sacrifice of the three glorious years of prophecy—would it not have been better if the king of the gods had left well alone? The king of the gods himself is not keen on telling Daywagonban the true nature of his birth and parentage, for it would result in the loss of the promised years of glory to the kingdom of the ogres. It is well for the hermit and the princesses to be saved, but what of the ogre-kingdom left without a king and without a successor? Is it right for Daywagonban to save his soul at the cost of the kingdom that has adopted him? The same question arises with regard to Zayathein. When the alchemist is so ready, and so certain of winning back the throne, is it right of Zayathein to retire to the peace of the forest, leaving his unhappy kingdom under a drunken king? The retirement to the cloister may often be an act of great selfishness and may even appear ridiculous as in *Daywagonban* where the hermit calmly lets his princess wander unguarded in the forest. These problems, which interest us now, interested still more the 536* 867

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audience of U Kyin U's day, for then the throne was disgraced, half Burma was lost, and men were depressed and tired of life; many shunned the court and lived in retirement and in peace, and some turned to the comforts of religion and the monastery. And there was the eternal question of succession, for Alaungpaya's dynasty—the last in Burma—did not settle the succession by any fixed rule; sometimes brother succeeded brother, at other times son or grandson; promises and appointments with regard to the succession were made only to be broken later. Men did not know which prince to follow; Bagyidaw, the reigning king, was a good man, a kind man, but a weak man also, under the thumb of a wicked and scheming queen; a kindly man, a good husband, he was responsible for the collapse of organization at the court and the resulting British victory; it would not do to choose a weak prince like that king and like Zayathein; but it was not very safe to choose a strong prince, for he might be foolish like Kaywut and be overcome by the wisdom and cunning of the British. Men were troubled in mind and weary of politics, and that feeling of tiredness with the world is found in U Kyin U. In fact the political conditions of the times, especially the war with the British, must have contributed much to the ideas expressed in the plays; ideas that must have been appreciated by the people who had just realized, with the defeat of their forces and the death of their General Bandoola—a product of the heroic age of triumph—in the recent war, the transitory nature of human glory, the bitterness of defeat, and the sufferings of war. The sympathetic portrayal of Kaywut was due mainly to the genius of the dramatist, but the recent defeat must have contributed something towards it, for both U Kyin U and his audience could see in Kaywut their own court, foolish but none the less pathetic through defeat. They could sympathize with that character as Milton did with Satan. The ability to appreciate the point of view of the other side, the ability to see the good points in the villain, are also due in some measure to the same war, for the Burmese found the British to be valiant foes, who treated the captured wounded with loving care—a practice unknown before in the East—and found them to be conquerors who were kind to the people of the annexed provinces. Therefore the plays of U Kyin U are the product of his times.

536* U Kyin U, with his spirits and magic and gods and heroic deeds, is doubtless a romantic. His scenes, where some of the characters on the stage are supposed not to see and hear the others, though all are

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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23. MARBLES (GON-HNYIN).

long wooden slate blackened with soot and rice-water (*thumbôn*). The Burmese word-building is exceedingly regular and in the main phonetic (See appendix B). Reading is acquired in one term, without much effort on the part of pupil or teacher. The Burmans have a pure decimal notation in which the bugbears *eleven* and *twelve* are unrepresented. The Burmese *eleven* is literally "onety-one." Children can count up to hundreds before they come to school and can reckon up sums mentally. In arithmetic they are taught the multiplication-table and a few rules of thumb (*bedin*). In addition to the five Buddhist commandments (p. 16) and the objects of contemplation (p. 43), which the children learn in their homes, they chant passages from the Pâli scriptures in the school chorus and get other precepts by rote: such as the category of duties to parents, teachers and elders, *viz.*, reverence, support, mutual affection (*paréik*). They are taught the value of learning as an inalienable possession, together with many precepts from the *Lawkanîti* and *Mingala-thôt*; the conquests of the inner and outer worlds *Atwin-aungdyin*, *Apyin-aungdyin*, the story of the Buddha (see *The Light of Asia*) and the legendary cosmogony.

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As the result of this Buddhist system of schools, nearly half of the male and about 3 per cent. of the female population can read and write, as compared with 9 and 0·3 per cent. for men and women respectively in Bengal. The

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24. RACING TOY BOATS.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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25. GAME OF SITOPPYIT.

Burman average stands midway between those of Ireland and Austria on the one hand, and Italy and Spain on the other. (Report of the Census of 1891.)

The boys at the monastery-school (*kyaung-tha*) do the domestic work—sweep the floors and enclosures, attend upon the recluses, and help in collecting the daily food. Some scholars live at the *kyaung*, others have the morning meal there, others again have their meals at home. The recluse exacts no deference from his scholar, but nevertheless receives from all lay persons a spontaneous homage identical with that accorded to royal personages. In the *kyaung* the lads acquire the good breeding of their country, for it is among the recluses that the élite of the race is to be sought. In the stage next to be described, the lad completes this training, by himself sharing in the deference paid to the yellow robe, which he assumes for a season as novice. The monastery-schools are open all the year, but have a large attendance only in the rainy season or *wā*.

871 Besides the monastic public schools there are private schools kept by laymen and occasionally also by women, in which girls as well as boys are taught. The subjects and methods are the same, but more time is given to arithmetic. The rules of thumb of the Indian *bedin* are being superseded by modern arithmetic, by help of the vernacular manual prepared by the missionary Stilson. A small fee is paid the lay teacher in money or in kind. Out of hours, the lay-school pupils are of use at their homes, minding their little brothers and sisters.

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The training begun in youth is never broken off. Study is a chief occupation of middle and advanced age. The teacher—*sayā*—clerical or lay, is reverenced,

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26. CYCLE RACE.

thinking, being the mother of a son is itself considered the greatest event of a 593
woman's life and represents the achievement of full existence as a female human being. The relationship is close and indulgent. The mother is regarded by her son as more important than his wife; in fact, a son normally will choose a wife with a great deal of regard for his mother's opinions and wishes.

Mother and Daughter. The mother is her daughter's early teacher. It is 593
considered most important for the girl to learn prayers, how to prepare the 868
daily food offering, and how to change the flowers on the household altar. These things are taught almost from the time the child begins to speak and understand. Other household duties in which a mother instructs her daughter [565]
vary considerably with the economic status of the family. In poor families some assistance with tending animals and winnowing the rice is part of the girl's work from about the age of ten. Daughters are expected to show filial respect and deference equally to the mother and father.

Father and Son. The father occupies the role of disciplinarian in the 593
family. Disciplining of sons may include physical punishment, though such 861
measures are not resorted to readily. Prior to adolescence, boys are taught prayers and good habits by their mothers, with the father remaining more or less in the background and interfering only when disciplinary action may be required of him. After a son passes adolescence the father becomes important as his mentor.

Husband and Wife's Elder Sister. This relationship tends to mirror a 607
conflict between age and sex as status factors in the social structure. There 182
is an implicit conflict between the husband's position as a man and his wife's 602
elder sister's position, in many cases, as his senior, having a claim on outward respect and obedience. In practice this relationship is often cool and aloof in nature, very much in contrast to the free and easy one between a man and his wife's younger sisters.

Husband and Wife's Younger Sister. A man is expected to show great favor 607
to his wife's younger sisters and to display more interest in them than in his 587
own sisters. He buys them presents, gives them spending money when he can, and covertly he is expected to be on the lookout for prospective husbands for them. Quite frequently, the wife's younger sisters will accompany her and her husband when she marries, and all will live together in the same house. Although husband and wife's younger sisters engage in a great deal of mutual joking and teasing, the relationship does not normally assume a sexual aspect. Polygyny is permissable but very rarely practiced; when it is, however, it takes the sororal form. The rather free and easy relationship between a husband and his wife's younger sisters sometimes gives rise to village gossip-- especially when it is known that he and his wife are not getting along well-- that he is carrying on love affairs with his younger sisters-in-law.

In-Laws. A daughter-in-law is definitely subordinate to her mother-in- 606
law. If they live in the same household, the mother-in-law is entitled to the best room and to be waited upon by her daughter-in-law. Significantly, the Burmese word for daughter-in-law (cwôimk) means 'sweat women.

The term for son-in-law (Ôame?) means 'desired son.' A son-in-law is a privileged member of his wife's family. His wishes are respected and his comforts looked after. His mother-in-law instructs her younger children to show him respect and deference.

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

a boy who cannot. If there were more nunneries, there would be more education among the women; here is cause and effect. But there are not, so the little girls work instead. While their brothers are in the monasteries, the girls are learning to weave and herd cattle, drawing water, and collecting firewood. They begin very young at this work, but it is very light; they are never overworked, and so it does them no harm usually, but good.

The daughters of better-class people, such as merchants, and clerks, and advocates, do not, of course, work at field labour. They usually learn to read and write at home, and they weave, and many will draw water. For to draw water is to go to the well, and the well is the great meeting-place of the village. As they fill their jars they lean over the curb and talk, and it is here that is told the latest news, the latest flirtation, the little scandal of the place. Very few men or boys come for water; carrying is not their duty, and there is a proper place for flirtation. So the girls have the well almost to themselves.

Almost every girl can weave. In many houses there are looms where the girls weave their dresses and those of their parents; and many girls have stalls in the bazaar. Of this I will speak later. Other duties are the husking of rice and the making of cheroots. Of course, in richer households there will be servants to do all this; but even in them the daughter will frequently weave either for herself or her parents. Almost every girl will do something, if only to pass the time.

They have no accomplishments. They do not

23: Brant & Mi Mi Khaing E, I-5 (1949-1950)1951
AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

philandering husband, on the other hand, will usually do no more than display hurt feelings for a brief period; rarely will she separate from her husband, especially if they have children. 593 [837]

Siblings. It is the duty of the younger to show deference to the elder. This pertains to the order of serving food, fetching and carrying of things, and even the arrangement of sleeping mats or beds—a younger sibling never should sleep with his feet extended toward an elder sibling. Upon the death of a parent, the eldest sibling of the same sex assumes that parent's socio-economic role in the family. [768]

Father–Daughter. Consistent with the age principle, it is a daughter's duty to be obedient and to wait upon her father. Once an unmarried daughter passes the age of puberty, the father is expected to lead a circumspect and moral life more than ever before. Any deviant sexual behavior or drunkenness on his part reflects upon the daughter and detracts from her marital chances. [581]

Mother–Son. Although a son owes obedience to his mother, her claim upon him in this regard is tempered by the fact that in Burmese Buddhist thinking, being the mother of a son is itself considered the greatest event of a woman's life and represents the achievement of full existence as a female human being. The relationship is a close and indulgent one. The mother is regarded as more important by the son than his wife; in fact, a son will choose his wife with a great deal of regard for his mother's opinions and wishes. [581]

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Father–Son. The father occupies the role of disciplinarian in the family. Disciplining of sons may include physical punishment, though such measures to obtain conformity are not resorted to readily by the Burmese. Prior to adolescence, boys are taught prayers and good habits by their mothers, with the father remaining more or less in the background and interfering only when disciplinary action may be required of him. After a son passes adolescence the father becomes important as his mentor. 593 861

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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20. TOY CART.

of a savage description. Children have pretty manners; they are respectful to their elders without shyness or cringing.

Children grow up among the implements they will use in after life. Wooden mills for husking rice, tilt-hammers and mortars for pounding, cotton-seeders with geared rollers, spinning-wheels, weaving-looms and other simple machines are in every household; besides agricultural implements, carts and boats, all of which are made or kept in repair by the inmates (*cf.* p. 120). The workshops of artizans of every class are open to view, and the processes are obvious to every passer-by. The interest aroused in children is more diversified than in cold countries with their more secluded life. From mimicking the occupations of adults children learn to take part and soon begin to like a real share in them. Their trade begins with make-believe wares, then come scraps of house and garden produce till it develops into a source of pocket-money and training in business (Nos. 281, 431). The years of tutelage merge into the age of responsibility without abrupt transition. The intelligence which the school-teacher proceeds [153] to build on has insensibly developed under conditions more than commonly favourable, which may help to account for the precocity of Burman school-children under good teaching.

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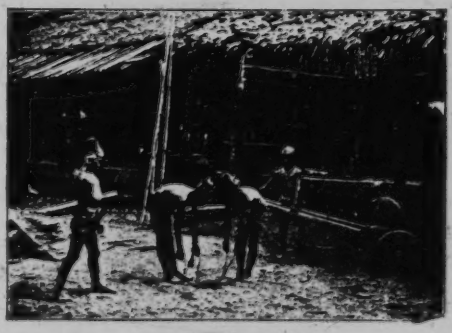
From the ages of eight to ten, boys begin attending the school of the Buddhist monastery (*kyaung*), where they are taught free by the recluse (*pôndyt*) or by his sojourner recluses (*upazin*). The spelling-book is chanted in a chorus led by a senior pupil, and is copied out with a white steatite pencil on a



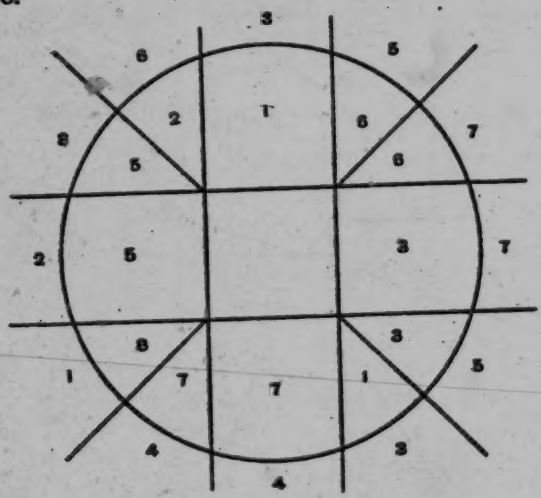
21. PEG-TOPS (DYIN-PAUK).

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

both contracting parties would soon die if children of these hostile days married. 581 787

On the other hand, there is an elaborate figure showing what unions according to birthdays will be lucky.

The numbers represent the days of the week according to the order. 1, Sunday; 2, Monday; 3, Tuesday; 4, Wednesday; 5, Thursday; 6, Friday; 7, Saturday; 8, Yahu (half Wednesday). The inner numbers represent the man's birthday; the outer the woman's. Those who choose their wives in accordance with this figure will be happy and well-to-do.



The outer ring the maiden's,
The inner ring the man's.
All ye who would live easeful
On this scheme form your plans.

All these rhymes are learned by the little boys at school, sometimes formally taught them by the preceptor as an excerpt from the Bedin, sometimes, when the yahan refuses to recognise the validity of these books, studied surreptitiously along with the secular plays and song-books. Whatever else a girl may know, you may be sure she can give you the marriage rhymes. 581 787 869

After the marriage has been settled upon, lucky combination of birthdays, parents' consent, settlement of dower and 585

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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24. RACING TOY BOATS.

29: Slater M-4 (no date) 1951 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

invariably in the same posture, seated, with one arm across his lap. The whole atmosphere is one of ordered, unhurried peace, whether within the timbered buildings, or within the surrounding compound. 792 346

But the monastery is seldom far away from the village, and this is of set purpose. The Buddhist *Saṃgha* in Burma might well be described as a teaching Order. "Of all charities, charity of learning is the noblest," observes a Buddhist layman,[27] and the monastery dispenses this charity freely. It provides the village school. There the boys learn to read and write. There, moreover, they are tutored in Buddhist lore, with a firm emphasis on ethical requirements. They learn the 'three Jewels' which enjoin reverence for the Buddha, the Law *(Dhamma)*, and the Order, and the five precepts – – not to kill, not to steal, not to lie, not to commit adultery, not to drink intoxicants. In the *Mingalā Thot* or "Song of Great Blessing," which they recite by heart[28], they learn that a wise and good man will seek to store up merit by fulfilling his domestic duties, by giving ample alms, by seeking 'self-knowledge' and by learning from holy men 'as chance affords.' The monastic ideal of utter renunciation, 'from all attachment free', is also indicated and 'Nirvana here' is said to be 'true happiness' leading to the Highest Bliss.[29] They will also learn stories of the Buddha's previous birth from the *Jātakas*, and, above all, the story of the historic Buddha. 792 621 869 871

But attendance at the day school is not their only initiation in the faith. Every Burman boy, at the age of puberty or earlier, is expected to leave home and become a boarder at the monastery for a period which may vary from weeks to years. "A Buddhist who has not been a *koyin* (novice) or donned the yellow robe," remarks a Burmese writer, "is looked upon as one who has missed the most essential (part) of his experience in this world." The village school often appears to be a merry jumble to the outsider, but during this time as a novice "each boy gets individual attention.... There is a wholesome atmosphere of intimacy and understanding between the teacher and the taught." Most of the novices return to secular life, but some remain to become fully ordained monks.[30] 792 857

The *shin-byu* ceremony, or rite of confirmation, which is another essential in the Burmese boy's initiation, generally precedes his entry to 792 881

[27] U Set, "Life in a *Phongyi Kyaung*," *Rangoon Times*, (May 13, 1931).

[28] See Appendix for fuller account of this Song and other Monastic instruction.

[29] "To understand the literature, 'serious' or popular, of Burma we cannot know the Pali Jātaka too well," M. H. Bode, *The Pali Literature of Burma*, chap. v, pp. 81, 82.

[30] U Set, op. cit.; cf. Scott, *The Burman*, Vol. I, chaps. II, III, and IV.

CHAPTER THREE

MY mother, as I have said, was the fair young jewel of her father's eye; and my grandfather had flashes of the most radical behaviour. Though he refused to learn English and this irreligious language was never spoken in his house, he suddenly decided to send my mother to learn English, not just as a second language, nor even to spend a few years at a totally English-speaking school—for an accomplishment, as a few other Burmese girls of the time did—but to study seriously until she passed the High School Standard of a European Code school which did all its teaching in English. My mother was thus the first Burmese Buddhist woman to pass the High School Examination in the European Code, and today she can speak faultless English though she never uses it unless necessary, and can even read some of the books of Virginia Woolf, although she does not like them. She and her two young brothers were sent to Moulmein; they stayed at the house of my eldest uncle who had settled there, and my mother attended an American Baptist Mission School. This was just before 1900. 177 871 562

My father, in the meantime, had arrived in Moulmein at the same time as my mother. The world had opened for him suddenly. After the strict and simple life of the monastery he found himself a smart young man with a Western crop and a collared shirt and outer jacket. He carefully put away his mother's ring to be put on again only on his visits back to Ye; he found a big and busy town to range in and no anxious mother waiting at home. I think it was during these years that my father got his love of all the sweet pleasures of life. A non-smoker and a teetotaller, he was one of the most spontaneously happy people. He loved food and many friends, to see young people happy and free from discipline, to spend all his resources in order to create happiness around him; he glorified the ability to think and work quickly and leave the maximum time for eating and laughing. 000

Particularly in this, Moulmein appealed to him. Having grown up in the monastic system of education by memorizing, he was bewildered at a system which prescribed a whole year of full-day studies for five or six thin text-books. As soon as he could read and understand he committed all his year's text-books to memory within a month, and could not conceive that there was anything else to be learnt unless they prescribed fresh books to be memorized. During school hours he wrote an Arith- 177, 87 876

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joking enquiries about whether we were getting enough Buddhist and Burmese teaching for we were attending English Christian schools at the time.

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The monks have lost all touch with the schooling of the great majority of children by now. In the first decade of the century the monastic schools were still the backbone of instruction for boys throughout all the rural districts, being responsible for the high literacy figure of 49% for Burman males, as compared with 11.9% in Madras at the time. But lay schools, either established and run on Burman lines, or established by Christian missionary societies with perhaps grants-in-aid, or under the direct management of Government or a committee acting on behalf of the government, were springing up on all sides, until by 1934 the proportion of lay to recognized monastic schools for vernacular education was about five to one. Although there had been attempts to raise the utilitarian value of monastic education by the encouragement of such subjects as arithmetic, geography and land surveying, it was far easier for the lay schools to conform to the standards set by the Board of Examiners. With the passing of such standards becoming the means of obtaining employment and the changing of fashions, more and more children went to the lay schools. Moreover, the lay schools included schools for girls, either separately or in common with boys.

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In my childhood there were still echoes of the opposition between monastic and secular education. In about 1922 my Uncle Pyant, who was then a serious student at the University, told me the world was round, "but", he added, "the hpongyis say that this is not true and most elder people don't believe it." My husband also tells me that when he went home from his government school with the statement that the earth spun around on its axis and took twenty-four hours to do it, the elders were most scornful. "In that case," they said, "if you were to go up into the air and stay there for some time, you could not come down to Kengtung until the same time the next day, but might land in England for your lunch."

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Another difference between old and new ideas of education was that the elder people were aghast at the long years which a modern education from primary schools to University lasted. They felt that at least one must have learnt everything there was to learn by then, for a few years at a monastery taught a boy all the reading, writing, calculation and literature which any grown man was expected to know. Once my grandfather received a telegram announcing the birth of a grandson; the message contained the additional information that the doctors had found it necessary to perform a circumcision on the infant. The telegram was in English, according to the rules of the Posts and Telegraphs in Burma, [206]

792 and Grandfather called my cousin Ko Lu Pe to read it. My cousin had
871 been at a government school for some years and though he could read
177. and write English with some ease, he stuck at the word "circumcise".
87 "What!" exploded Grandfather, "five years learning English, and you can't even read a telegram. This education is quite useless." Whereupon he took the grandchildren and his two young sons out of their schools until his wrath subsided and they quietly started attendance again. It is a popular stage joke also, the B.A. who returns to his village and is asked in good faith by the hpongyi to mend a villager's watch that has gone wrong. The graduate confesses that he cannot mend it. The monk is horrified: "What, passed B.A. and cannot mend a watch?"

527 So now on my father's birthday the monks ask jokingly and kindly
792 about our school subjects. Their meal is laid out on a low round table,
574 and consists of all the good things my mother can think of, for they have only one main meal in the day. Rice and meat and vegetable dishes are followed by fruit, sweet milky coffee, sweet English cakes. The monastery boys are given their meal outside; the monks, after eating, rise and go, and the boys follow them bearing away the gifts for the monastery. At once there is a general shuffling into more relaxed positions, conversation swells out, we start to scamper around and help to wheel in more round tables. Then everybody eats, and my father feels a deep sense of well-being.

805 Our lunar calendar has twelve months in its year, beginning the new year about the middle of April with the month of *Tagu*. Each month contains the twenty-nine to thirty days of the moon's cycle, but the dates are numbered with only 15 numbers—15 waxing days starting from the crescent of the new moon: *la-hsan ta-yet, la-hsan hna-yet*, new moon first day, second day and so on, until the 15th and full moon day, *la-pyit nay*: after which come the waning days, *la-hsot*. With this system, we are 12 or 13 days short of the 365 each year, and hence every second year there occurs a double month of *Waso*, in July and August, which month also starts our Lent. Lent lasts the three months of the monsoon, until *Thadingyut*, in October, when we see it out with lights, feasting and
796 much merriment. For the observance of festivals such as New Year
262 and Thadingyut we usually visited relatives, but certain other observances came round each year to us in our own home.

Such is *htamanè-hto*, the making of a comestible known as *htamanè* in vast quantities, for distribution on the first full moon after the harvest. On the full moon night of *Tabodwè* in January-February, the villagers sit up all night in big parties of men and women singing and joking as they make all preparations for the cooking that is to take place by dawn. The basis of htamanè is a glutinous rice called *kaukhnyin*, always

1: Mi Mi Khaing I-5 (no date) 1946 AP1 Burma
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CHAPTER TWELVE

WE lived at Thaton for two years, and then my father became ill and had to be moved to Rangoon for treatment. This meant the packing up of the household, and when my father died shortly afterwards, my mother never went back to live at the great echoing house, but stayed in Rangoon to be near our schools. Thus the long period of our district life came to an end. From now onwards, my mother and sisters were to become merged in the increasing company of *Yan-gon-thu*, Rangoon dwellers, but we saw nothing of this life yet. School walls and student interests at the University enfolded us, and our holidays were spent at Ye and other country places. I was already at the University by this time, after having spent nine years at an English school—nine years during which the alternating periods of school and holidays transported me by turns into two completely different worlds, each kept shut off from the other by childish self-consciousness and reticence. The educational system in Burma did not have a homogeneous structure owing to the different media of instructions in use, and I have always felt that we were the particular victims of this shortcoming. Mistakenly sent to exclusive schools, we were denied the company of a great crowd of Burmeseplay mates during the greater part of these nine years.

Classified according to the language of instruction, there were three types of schools in Burma—the Vernacular, the Anglo-Vernacular and the European. There were over 5,000 recognized vernacular schools in Burma, which contributed towards raising the literacy of the poorest classes, but did little more. The pupils could not hope to continue their studies at the University where the medium of instruction was English, and, although high-school classes were introduced after 1931, they did not qualify a student for any post except that of teaching in such a school. There were few well-paid posts open to those without a knowledge of English.

The great bulk of schools in Burma were Anglo-Vernacular schools, where instruction was carried on in Burmese, but English was taught as a subject; and in the highest classes, some of the text-books used were in English, as the translation of schoolbooks into Burmese was still at an infant stage. My experiences of teaching at the Teachers' Training College, Rangoon, where we had an Anglo-Vernacular school for model

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teaching and practical training of educational students, were a fair example of the multiple forms of instruction prevailing. I taught in Burmese from a text-book which had not yet been translated into Burmese, as the subject, Home Science, was a new one. I explained the lesson and questioned the pupils in Burmese, but when summing up the points on the blackboard, wrote in English, so that the copying children could more easily correlate the matter with the contents of their English text-books. When answering examinations they were free to write in English or Burmese, and there were many who had a deficient knowledge of English but preferred to write in this language because the text-book had been in English. Among the educational students taking notes, also, there might be included a few Anglo-Burman students who did not know Burmese well. Up to 1935 it was still possible to enter Rangoon University without any knowledge of Burmese, and one grade of the Burmese "lectures" there started with the learning of the alphabet, progressing to the stage of writing sentences by the end of the two-year course. Almost all towns with a population of more than 5,000 inhabitants had a girls' school and a mixed school of the Anglo-Vernacular type —either government or mission or national schools, which later received government aid. The majority of the students at the University was from these Anglo-Vernacular schools.

Finally there were the European Code schools, teaching in English with Burmese as an alternative second language to French or even to Additional English in the high school, until about 1933 when Burmese was made the compulsory second language and the standard of it was also raised to approximate more closely to the Anglo-Vernacular standard.

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When my brother and I were first to be sent to school, about 22 years ago, government officials like my father were still under the impression that education in an English school would give a child a great advantage in making his way in Burma. All the examinations for higher government services were conducted in English, and all well-paid posts required a knowledge of English. We were therefore sent to a European Code school, although such schools were started primarily for English-speaking children. Owing to the peculiar social conditions prevailing in the schools at the time, we underwent acute misery during all the years that we were there.

Such schools, both for boys and girls, were set up in the big towns, Rangoon, Mandalay, Moulmein, Maymyo, Toungoo, etc. Most of them were mission or religious schools, aided by the government and by the diocese or a religious mission.

Very few Burmans at that time sent daughters to such schools, though sons were sent commonly enough, and the distinctions made against the stray natives who entered the rolls began from the moment of entry. The diocesan schools insisted on our adopting English Christian and surnames, from an aversion to including heathen names on their registers. Burman Buddhist were thus transformed into orthodox Christian names: Sir Htoon Aung Gyaw and his brothers became a family of Thompsons, Sir Paw Tun was happily converted into Potter, and my brother U Sett Kaing, with less relevance, became Robert Downs. Thus many distinguished Burmans spent years under these assumed names. The Roman Catholic schools were kinder. They merely required us to adopt a system of first name and surname, which does not exist among Burmans, and wished us to pick a Christian first name so that the nuns could pronounce it easily. Thus we got Kathleen Maung, Grace Nee, Sarah Tin Gyi, the daughters of U Maung Maung, U Nee and U Tin Gyi. My own name Mi Mi Khaing was brought into line as Mamie Kaing.

We went to a Roman Catholic convent where the nuns made no attacks on Buddhism and no attempts to proselytise us—despite which I became attracted to their religion for a few years—but with sincere conviction and fervour they condemned everything else in us that was different from the great mass of Anglo-Burmans who filled the school. A good proportion of these children were the children of Englishmen who, not having entered into a legal marriage with the Burmese mothers, had now left mother and child with a sum of money which the kind nuns stretched to cover as much schooling as was possible. These and other Anglo-Burman children were encouraged to swank over us with childish cruelty about our darker skins, flat noses, and uncurling hair. They did this to such an extent that many of us in our minority and our helpless misery, branded our distinguished parents as being "half Burmese and half English", in order to gain their good opinion. We were told that Burmese food was stinking, that the use of oil for the hair was dirty and insanitary, and when young sisters ran after their elder ones calling Ma Ma, Elder Sister, all the children hooted with laughter. No wonder that my sister Mya Mya during her first weeks at school would sit by the gate, evening after evening, singing mournfully:

May May yay-ay
La pa taw
Kyi-gan ta-maw maw.

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Oh mother, mother,
When will you come?
The crow is tired with a-cawing.

But conditions improved with time; we grew older and less imaginative, and above all the tide of Burmese nationalist feeling which surged into being in about 1920 was at last beginning to seep through the convent walls.

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Even the nuns heard, in 1930, about Saya San who raised a rebellion in Tharawaddy district, and roused such fervour among a certain section of the population that about 2,000 rebel followers were killed—their bodies vulnerable to gunfire in spite of the charms they had tattooed on—before the Government succeeded in suppressing the rebellion. Although Saya San was a charlatan to those in authority, and his followers a band of unruly dacoits, his conviction that he was born to become the monarch of a newly resurrected Burmese kingdom fired the imagination of some nationalists. To them he was an intrepid spirit, his courage so keen and his body so hardy: *Kya ko Khalok, thitngok hnin hsu ko thinbyu:* The tiger his stubbing stone, tree stumps and bushes of thorns his smoothest mat. By the time the nuns had heard of Saya San I had another Burmese girl as a fellow boarder and class-mate. Grace Nee was a girl of great spirit and mental liveliness. Her father was also an a-so-ya min, and we derived great comfort and happiness from each other's presence. When the class-teacher scolded one of us, saying, "You Burmans nowadays are expecting us to kow-tow to you. Yes, this mad fellow Saya San. And you think that we must bow to you," then the other would bang desk and chair in sympathy and indignation. Our hearts would swell to bursting point, for though we knew little yet about nationalism or patriotism, we identified our country and our race with the persons of our parents, and we could hardly bear this constant humiliation of their name. We shrank from telling them about it, however. My father never knew how different our life at school was from the world at home, and my mother will learn of it for the first time when she reads this.

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What a glorious new world opened out before us when we went to the University. What splendour there was in the richness of Burmese dress, food, companions, religious celebration, music, dancing and wit. I only regret that I could not take full advantage of these years because family troubles tumbled around my ears just then, and when they had subsided I was forced into earnest study to win the best degree possible in order to comfort my mother. This was necessary because up till this time I had always disappointed my parents because I had preferred popularity among companions to concentration on studies. Rangoon

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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CHAPTER II

SCHOOL DAYS

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I SUPPOSE Englishmen will never get rid of the notion that monastic schools must needs be dull and dismal, that hours of study only alternate with seasons of austerity and rough punishments. The uninhabited, almost deserted, appearance of the Burmese kyoung; its isolated position; the solemn, restful front which it always preserves, no matter how lightened up by profuse gilding and the carved magnificence of its panels and eaves' boards, or how embowered in rich and waving foliage; the austere aspect and slow-paced gait of the mendicants in their sad yellow robes—all these things inevitably encourage the foreigner in the belief that the monotony and the discipline must crush all life and light-heartedness out of the young scholars.

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Nothing, however, can be farther from the actual fact. No Etonian, no old Rugbeian, can look back with greater delight on triumphs on the river or in the football field, than the grown-up Burman does on his early days at the Pôngyi Kyaung. There are no rough games to remember, it is true, no strivings of any kind with members of another institution. Those things do well enough for a cold-country people. The Burman's reminiscences are of a quieter kind. There was the emulation with the chin lôn, the wicker football, to see who could keep it longest in the air by dexterous use of knee, foot, shoulder, thigh, and cheek. How it relieved the body and freshened the mind after hours of poring over little hand-blackboards, covered with cramped words and letters, in the quiet rooms inside. Then there were the games at gônnyinhto, an elementary combination of skittles

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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and ninepins, played with the big flat seeds of a jungle creeper. Pleasant they were under the shade of the great mango and pipul trees and the lofty cocoa-nut and palmyra palms, and exciting were the games, so that the customary stillness of the place was rudely broken upon by disputing voices, till a monk would come out and bring all back to work again as a penance. Then during the work there was the fun of the writing hour, when everybody had to write out maxims and prayers on his little parabaik with a clumsy pointed steatite pencil. There were always some stiff-fingered big pupils who could not manag to write their copy neatly or correctly, and as punishment had to take the good writers on their backs and march ruefully up and down the long schoolroom during pleasure. Sometimes they were thrashed, but the other punishment was the more dreaded. Then there was the schoolmaster monk, who would tell fairy stories of the other three great islands which lie in the sea round about Myinmo mountain; of the half-moon-faced western islanders, and the wondrous tree that bore everything eatable one could wish for and delivered it ready cooked; the joys of the six heavens of the Nats and the grisly horrors of Nga-yè, with its fearful ages of fantastic punishments. Every now and again travelling necromancers and hmaw sayās would spend a night or two at the monastery, and in recompense for the little delicacies and odds and ends of food which good-natured neophytes would get for them, used to tell stories of witchery and marvel. Sometimes there would be a sā-haw ā, a kind of cyclic poet, who knew half the zats in the language by heart, and would recite a little just for practice. Or a tattooing sayā would come round and mark some particularly favoured youth with a quaint figure. Discussion as to its meaning and probable virtues would be carried on in the shadowy evenings for months afterwards. Varieties of this kind recur to the old Burman as he thinks of the school days long ago, and he sighs with as much conviction as any European that there are no days s happy as the school days.

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English rule has disturbed old customs a good deal in the province, but even now we may say that, as an invari-

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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871 able rule, when a boy has reached the age of eight or nine years he goes as a matter of course to the Pôngyi Kyaung. It is open to all alike—to the poor fisherman's son as well as to the scion of princely blood—for no one pays anything, and it is not carefully considered who it is that fills the monkish begging pots in the daily round. Thus every Buddhist boy in the country is taught to read and write, and in this respect at least there are but very few illiterate Burmans. This primary education must by no means be confounded with entry into the monastery as a koyin-gale, or novice. Strictly speaking, this ceremony ought not to take place before the age of fifteen, and the earlier sojourn is only a preparation for it. The younger pupils may become boarders in the monastic building if they choose, but they do not assume the yellow robe, which marks them, for however short a time it may be worn, as members of the Assembly of the Perfect. They wear their ordinary clothes and retain their secular name.

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As soon as the boy enters the monastery he is set down in the big schoolroom beside all the other boys, and receives a roughly-made black wooden slate. On this are written a few of the letters, perhaps the whole of the alphabet. A little explanation starts him off, and for the next few days he is engaged in shouting out their sounds at the top of his voice. Nobody minds him, for all the other scholars are similarly engaged in hallooing, and the monks derive a sense of comfort and a virtuous consciousness of doing good from the noise. It is as soothing as the sound of his mill-wheels to the miller, or the roar of traffic to the cockney. If a boy stops shouting, it is a sign that he has stopped working—and if he is not meditating mischief, it is probable that he is about to go to sleep, and he is corrected accordingly. The method is an admirable one for keeping the boys occupied—much more so than civilised Western methods—though I fear a council of English head-masters would scout the idea. The casual foreign observer who goes about taking notes, like Grose or the "Rampant M.P.," passes the ecclesiastical school, and in amazement at the seeming uproar within, declares that monastery schools are hopelessly badly conducted, and without the semblance of discipline. As a

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All the ill deeds 872
he does will swell the sum of his demerits, but not a single 779
good action, no uttermost act of charity or devotion, will be 792
recorded to his advantage for another existence. Without 775
admission to the order, without "Buddhist baptism," no man 186
can count his present existence as other than an animal's. The great gift of having appeared in the likeness of a human being; the happy balancing of merits and demerits which has resulted in so glorious an opportunity of advancing towards Ne'-ban; the still greater fortune of existence in a country where the tenets of Buddhism offer supreme chances to the weary seeker after rest from the moil of a work-a-day world; all will have been recklessly thrown away. It is written that more hardly will a needle cast from the summit of Mount Myinmo across the wide Thamoddaya Sea, more hardly will it touch with its point as it falls another needle standing point upwards in the great Southern Island, than will any given creature become a human being. How are the Western foreigners, black and white, to be pitied, who have indeed by earnest strivings attained the seat of man, but, arrived there, find it all naught because they do not hear the teachings of the Buddha! How much worse the Burman, to whom all his life long the monastery door stands open, to whom a week's, a day's, an hour's sojourn would offer boundless possibilities, and yet who enters not in. If this be so, what then can be the prospect for the boy who having put his hand to the plough turns back, who entering the monastery as a child, imbibes the religious thoughts and becomes acquainted with the religious creed, and yet fails to seek the "humanity" so easily to be gained? Better have been born an animal or an Englishman, and scoffed at what he did not understand.

Consequently it may be invariably assumed that the 871 ●
little scholar, as soon as age and acquirements admit, puts 792
on the yellow garb as a finish to his education. This used 177.87
to include every one. Till the English came and took the country, everybody went to the Pon-gyi-Kyaung. But now there are English government schools; there are Burmese laymen's schools, which neglect religious education altogether, and look to competitive examinations as the end and aim of juvenile existence, as the ne'-ban of school life.

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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remain only twenty-four hours in the yellow dress, long enough to enable them to go once at least round the village begging from door to door in the train of the yahans. This, naturally, is very little better than leaving the kyaung immediately. It is considered hardly decent for the shin to leave under seven days of professed membership of the community. Some stay longer—a fortnight, a month, or two months; but all the more earnest believers insist that their sons shall remain at least one Wā, throughout the four months of Lent, in the rainy season. The best course for a fervent Buddhist, who nevertheless does not feel himself adapted for a monkish life, is to stay over three Wās, one Lent for his father, one for his mother, and one for himself. It is on account of the importance of the Wā to the shin-pyu that most inductions take place at the beginning of that season. Yahans count their seniority by the number of Lents they have spent in the kyaung. A mendicant of twenty Wās must shekho to one of twenty-five, and so on. An individual who has left the holy community to re-enter the world is called a lu-twet, a runaway. On the other hand, a man who has been married, and has afterwards entered the monastery, goes by the name of taw-twet, one who has fled from the jungle of the world. The most revered yahans are those who have held steadfastly by the blameless, austere life of the fraternity since the time when they were first admitted as koyin-gale. Such are called ngè-byu, white, or stainless from youth, and if they attain to advanced age are always sure of a most splendid ceremonial funeral, whether they have been celebrated for piety and learning or not.

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If the shin-pyu stays on in the kyaung, he continues the same course of studies as he began as a scholar. If he has not already learnt the Payeit Gyi and the Paya Shikho, Pali sermons and forms of worship, or the Mingala Thut, the "Buddhist Beatitudes," he applies himself to them now. The most advanced pore over the metaphysical mysteries of the Abidhamma Konit-gyan, the seven books of the most difficult part of the Bitaghat. These, with the Thingyo and Thadda, afford ample room for consideration to the longest life. The modern system of shortened sojourn in the

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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kyaungs has led to very imperfect and limited knowledge of these treasuries of sacred knowledge. Formerly it used to be said that the man who did not know the Thadda, the Pali "grammar," knew nothing. If this position were insisted on now, the number of ignorant people in Lower Burma would be somewhat startling.

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But there are many difficulties before you get to the Abidhamma and its cognate subjects. Even in the Payeit Gyi there is a section called Ta-zet, or Ta-zet-thut, which has the credit of sending many a probationer back to the noisy, sinful world. According to the couplet—

> Shin pyet ta-zet,
> Loo pyet a-yet.
>
> Brandy sends a man to hell;
> Ta-zet spoils the saint as well.

It is a sort of religious *Pons Asinorum.*

Besides prosecuting his religious studies, the shin is required also to attend on the pon-gyis and minister to their wants. He must lay before them at fixed times their daily food, the proper supply of water, the well-used betel-box, and whatever else the monk may require. He must of course go round every morning with the other members of the monastery, the begging-bowl strapped round his neck, accepting meekly, without word of thanks, or glance thrown to the right or left, even when he passes his father's house, the food poured in by the pious. When a pon-gyi goes abroad the neophyte may be required to follow, carrying his fan or umbrella, or perhaps an arm-load of palm-leaf books, if a function is to be performed anywhere. According to the strict letter of the law the ko-yin ought to eat only of the food presented in the morning, but a very great laxity has crept in in this respect, not only with the neophytes, but even among the professed members of the order. It is no uncommon thing for the parents of the youth to send in daily a special meal for him, or even, in the case of wealthy families, actually to keep a cook on the monastic premises to prepare his food. Such sybaritism is not by any means uncommon in Lower Burma, though even there hardly approved of. In any good monastery in Upper Burma, or

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a monk is liable to commit. The ninth refers to the common Oriental dislike to any person of insufficient dignity occupying an elevated place physically above worthier people.

So far, then, the shin is not very grievously burdened in the monastery. But the discipline maintained is very strict. None of the ko-yins or of the boarder-pupils must be out of the monastic limits after the bell has rung. A lay scholar may get permission from the kyaung po-go to sleep at home now and again, but this indulgence is naturally impossible to the neophyte; he must always stay in the monastery. Again, the boarders may run home in the afternoon to get some dinner at their parents' houses, but this the shin cannot do. Breaches of the rules are very severely punished. The culprit's hands are tied high above his head to a post, and the castigator lays on vigorously on the naked back with a stout bamboo. Cases of deliberate cruelty of course occasionally happen, for human nature is the same everywhere, and a Dotheboys Hall is not an entire figment; but they are rare, and on the whole the shin is happy in the monastery, and occasionally in later life looks back with regret to the old, quiet, unruffled, careless life of the pon-gyi kyaung.

In Upper Burma it has actually been his school, for but very few adopt the system of having private teachers to instruct their children; and in Lower Burma it probably contrasts favourably with the uncomfortable hard benches and desks of the English institution, and the still more irksome quietness demanded, and steady, prolonged application exacted by the English teacher. Those who have been to both remember most fondly the long dusky monastery schoolroom, where they sat on the floor and shouted out their lessons, and now and again slipped out into the air to take the stiffness out of their limbs with a quarter of an hour at chin lôn, Burmese football. In the English school you learned to make money; in the Burmese school you learned to be happy and contented.

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

fully observed, in accordance with the precise instructions laid down in the Wini. When a monk wants anything he must not go and get it for himself, nor direct any one in as many words to bring it to him. He must say to an attendant shin, or scholar, "Do what is lawful," whereupon the food is brought him, and the shin kneels down at a distance of a couple of feet, and, making the customary salutation, says, "This is lawful." The yahan then either takes it from his hand or directs him to place it within reach. The same ceremony is observed in everything, whether the religious wants water to wash his face or hands or to rinse out his mouth, or his sandals and fan when he goes out, or when offerings are made to him by the pious. The desire is of course to impart dignity to all the monk does, and to repress covetousness and inordinate carnal desires, and the custom dates from the very foundation of the order.

After the noontide meal all return to work again. A certain number undertake the teaching of the boys, who are at all stages of learning, from the children at the Thin-bôn-gyi, the spelling-book, up to the Ko-yins, who, in accordance with the law, are learning the Wini, the Whole Duty of the Monk, by heart, with a view to abandoning the world and adopting the religious life. Others set to work to read old texts and the commentaries on them, or go to superintend the professional writers who are copying out manuscripts, carefully scratching on the palm-leaves with sharp steel style. The pyin-sin themselves never do anything of the kind. The writers are all professionals, laymen, and almost without exception from Upper Burma. The sādaik, the carved and gilded box containing the palm-leaf books, stands in the central room near the images, and often shaded by a sacred umbrella. When a learned sadaw makes notes, or writes a commentary of his own, he dictates it all to these copyists, who afterwards engross it. Most of the older members of the kyaung do, however, what an Englishman would call nothing, all the afternoon. They talk with whatever idlers—and there are always an abundance of them—come about the place, and then sink into meditation and many of the weaker of them into sleep. Meditation is the only path to the higher seats whereby a

Z:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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have experienced the impressiveness of this ceremonial, called the Thā-thanā-hlyauk, will readily forget the powerful effect it has on the feelings. It is the fit ending of a day full of great possibilities for all. If the same routine gone through day after day becomes monotonous and loses some of its power for good, yet the effect of such a school, presided over by an abbot of intelligence and earnestness, must infallibly work for the good of all connected with it, and, especially so in the case of an impulsive, impressionable people like the Burmese. As long as all the men of the country pass through the kyaungs, the teachings of Western missionaries can have but little power to shake the power of Buddhism over the people. The moral truths of both religions, Christianity and Buddhism, are practically the same, and who can give proof of aught else without calling in the aid of faith? The Burman is convinced that no other creed will suit him so well, and the number of monasteries in all parts of the country renders it easy for every one to obtain entrance for his children. The king sent his sons to the kyaung, and the poorest and most sinful wretch need not fear that his child will be turned away from the gates. Teaching is really all the pyin-sin do for the people; but it is precisely this moderate amount of teaching, revealing as it does to all the stern simplicity of the monastic life, that keeps the faith active in the country. Many monks are supremely lazy, but so are many of their fellow-countrymen, and if you are bidden by the Law to meditate deeply on the nature of mind and matter, of Nām and Rupa, of Seit and Sedathit, of Thissa and Zan, it is certain that you cannot be actively employed on other less important matters.

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Of late years the rudiments of Western knowledge, arithmetic, elementary geography, and history are more and more taught in the monasteries all over the country, and Government gives grants to the monasteries for the pupils who pass the prescribed examinations.

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

As yet they have not begun to demand an equal share of education with the boys, and the only accomplishments most Burmese girls know are how to dress neatly, do up their hair, and powder their faces. This is the single open implication of their inferiority—except in worship at the pagoda, when every woman will pray that in another existence she may be a man—and it is not likely that female education will make much progress for another generation, the popular idea in Burma being that learning is no use to a girl when she has it, and she may, consequently, as well devote all her spare time to making herself look as pretty as possible. Here and there are a few who are deeply learned in Burmese literature. The young wife of one of the most prominent living Burman pleaders in Rangoon has as good a knowledge of the sacred books and as great a fluency in repeating Pali rituals as any pôngyi in the country. But the great majority of girls only know what they pick up from the conversation of their brothers and the men who come about the house. It is therefore greatly to their credit that they manage not only house affairs, but their husband's business into the bargain. A farmer's wife will carry out the sale of the whole rice crop to the agent of an English rice firm in her husband's absence, and generally strikes a better bargain than he would have made himself. If the village head constable is away, the wife will get together the policemen, stop a fight, arrest the offenders, and send them off to the lock-up all on her own responsibility. The wife sits by, no matter what public business is being transacted, and very often puts in her own opinion quite as a matter of course; in fact, she is virtual master of the house, and henpecked husbands are not by any means uncommon. The last king of Burma, Thibaw Min, was a notable instance. There never was a king of Burma before who remained for three years the husband of one wife. It was not inclination in his case. He had quite a number of *amourettes*; but the sturdy Supayā Lat and her formidable mother soon got the offending damsels out of the way. There is also little doubt that it was Supayā Lat and her mother who suggested the massacre of the Princes and prompted the defiance of the British Government, which brought about the ending of the Burmese monarchy.

562 871 [775] 562 [432] 562 581 643 175

[1] [i.e., girls--ANALYST]

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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CHAPTER LVIII

MANDALAY AND RANGOON

[This chapter describes these towns as they were in 1881.]

AMERICANS talk, and with good reason, of the magic growth of their cities. But for mere mushroom growth, Mandalay might compare even with Chicago itself, and if we are to judge of the progress of a commercial place by the fair criterion of business results, Rangoon may hold up its head in confident rivalry with any of the typical American cities. In the middle of last century the site of Mandalay was swampy paddy land and rank jungle. Now an area of five square miles is covered with houses, many of them squalid enough certainly, and with large patches of unused land round about them, but none the less contained within the city limits. Rangoon came into British hands in 1852, and at that time possessed no commerce worthy of the name, indeed it was only known as the place for pilgrims to the Shwe Dagôn pagoda to stay at, and the residence of the Regent of Pegu, as being the guard station on the most accessible mouth of the Irrawaddy. Ten years later, ships entered or cleared from the port having a tonnage of 295,000 tons, and the imports were worth £1,200,000, the exports £1,400,000, and since that date—a year or two after Mandalay had been founded—the tonnage has increased to 1,000,000, the value of the imports to £5,000,000 sterling, and the exports to £4,000,000. In a quarter of a century the commerce of British Burma rose to nearly £20,000,000 sterling. The population has quadrupled; public works are carried on; education is widely disseminated; the administration is carefully managed by British officials; a railway,

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large amounts of food. The married women prepare food, serve, and entertain the guests, while the unmarried girls assist them. If a ceremony involves a procession, the unmarried girls bear the gifts which are invariably taken to the monks on such occasions.

These 'groups' are so informal and loosely organized that in the strict sociological sense they should not be so designated; rather, they are simply the conventional lines along which cooperation takes place and labor is divided, in a spirit of mutual aid, whenever a family sponsors a ceremony -- an occasion involving much work. Each is willing to help, for when his own family sponsors an event, similar assistance will be expected and forthcoming.

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Education. In addition to the Buddhist monastic schools, to be discussed in the next chapter, there is a small secular school in the village. This is operated on a voluntary basis by a middle-aged schoolmaster, a widower, who migrated, together with his daughter, to Tadagale two years ago. It is his hope that eventually the school will be incorporated into the regular school system, as compulsory education is gradually extended to the country. The school is financed wholly by voluntary contributions. The village headman personally contributes ten rupees per month, his brother gives a like amount, and the Bus Union donates five rupees. From this income of twenty-five rupees per month ($5.25) the schoolmaster pays five rupees for his house rent and provides blackboard chalk and his own books and pencils. On what remains, plus a little profit he derives from maintaining a small shop in his house, he must support his daughter and himself. But he is confident that once compulsory education is extended to Tadagale, his sacrificial efforts of the present will be rewarded by a regular appointment at Rs. 100 per month, an expanded program of instruction, and perhaps the services of an assistant. For the present he operates the school without any responsibilities to superiors, devising his own curriculum and teaching according to his own methods. The schoolmaster was himself once a student at a normal school in Moulmein.

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About eighty children attend the school with varying degrees of regularity. The average daily attendance is about sixty. The schoolmaster feels that many more children of school-age living in the community should attend, but finds that parents are reluctant to send their children. Some feel they are needed for household and field labor; others prefer what they regard as the stricter environment of the monastic school, with its great emphasis upon religion and correct conduct. The schoolmaster deplores the ignorance and negative attitudes of villagers concerning education, and their unwillingness to contribute financially to the maintenance of his school.

Instruction is given in five grades or 'standards' as they are called in Burma. These are termed 1B, 1A, 2, 3, and 4.

Standard 1B is equivalent to the kindergarten of the pre-World War II schools. The schoolmaster has divided the class into two sections, one for the children of seven to eight years who already can read to some extent, the other for the younger ones of four to six who cannot. According to the rules of the government schools six years is the minimum school age, but the schoolmaster in Tadagale is not bound by such regulations. He teaches these two groups of kindergarteners according to their own levels and at the pace which he thinks appropriate. They learn the alphabet and simple numbers at first, later moving on to reading and spelling. No regular allocation of time to different subjects is possible, since the schoolmaster must teach this and four other classes without any assistance.

14: Brant E-5 (1949-50) 1954 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

IV

RELIGION

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The people of Tadagale are overwhelmingly Theravada Buddhist in faith. The exceptions are the Indian minority, who are largely Hindus. There are three Indians who profess Mohammedanism, and three Indo-Burmans and one Pakistani of like faith. Being Burmese and Buddhist are almost identified in the thinking of the majority, as evidenced by the fact that almost all replied 'Burmese Buddhist' to the question, 'To what people do you consider yourself to belong?'

In discussing the religious life of Tadagale, realism calls for emphasis upon actual religious beliefs and behavior, rather than any extended setting down of the formal theology of Buddhism. The latter has been done in any number of specialized works, to which the interested reader may refer. Here we shall refer to Buddhist precepts insofar as is necessary to illuminate religious beliefs and practices of the villagers.

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The Five Precepts or Commandments. Almost all villagers know well the fundamental Buddhist injunctions against the taking of life in any form, the consumption of alcohol, illicit sexual activity, theft, and prevarication. These moral rules are, of course, sometimes breached. In Tadagale, the use of alcohol, sometimes to excess, is perhaps the most notable instance. The 'good Buddhist' does not, however, seem to experience feelings of guilt or pangs of conscience in such matters. Rather, the following of the moral precepts has instrumental value for him, in relation to his accumulation of merit and his reincarnation after death.

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Merit. One's behavior throughout life determines one's store of merit, and this, in turn, determines one's reincarnation after death. Morally proper behavior, such as the following of the five basic commandments of Buddhist faith, is regarded as contributing to one's store of merit and thus enhancing one's state of reincarnation after death. Religious acts, such as making daily offerings of food to the monks, saying prayers, and attending the pagoda festivals on the important sacred days are likewise considered to increase one's merit. Breaking the moral precepts, irreligiousity, acting selfish or quarrelsome, detract from merit and accordingly tend to lower one's state in reincarnation.

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Such is about the extent of the average villager's lay conception and understanding of the moral code and the ideas of the afterlife in Buddhism. He has little or no knowledge of the detailed concepts of reincarnation, with its elaborate gradationary ladder leading from the four states of punishment up to the ultimate achievement of Nirvana. Such theological learning is the property of the monkhood and of a few laymen who spent more than the usual few years as pupils in the monastic school.

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Functions of the Monks. The functions of the Buddhist monks in the village may be conveniently classified as three-fold: formal education; officiation at certain rites; and providing personal advice and guidance to individuals.

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With respect to formal education, the monks of four monasteries close to the village conduct schools which are attended by a considerable number of

792 the small boys, as day pupils. Monastic education is a traditional part of Burmese Buddhism, and almost all the men of Tadagale, whether reared in the
● 871 village or elsewhere, have attended monastic schools for varying lengths of time.

The monastic school curriculum includes elementary reading, writing and
792 arithmetic, rudiments of history and geography, heavily colored by Burmese cosmology and folklore, and instruction in Buddhist precepts and proper conduct.
872 There is heavy emphasis upon proper conduct. Instruction takes the form of mass recitation and rote memorization. Discipline is strict and the inattentive
876 pupil is kept alert, when necessary, by means of the rod. As indicated earlier, many parents in the village favor the monastic as against the public school because of the strict discipline and the emphasis upon conduct and religion.

Concerning the second function of the monks, officiation at certain
793 rites, it should be indicated that because Burmese Buddhism is not a congregational type of religion, the monks are not called upon to officiate at regular assemblies in any fashion akin to the role of the Christian minister. The monks do, however, play an important part in the initiation of boys into the monkhood; and sometimes take part in funeral rites.

The monk's function of giving advice and guidance stems from the fact that he is regarded, in the thinking of the villagers, not only as one to whom the greatest respect and deference is due by virtue of his dedication to his life to religion, but also as a living repository of wisdom and universal knowledge. He is a person to whom one may turn in time of uncertainty, doubt or stress for personal counsel. Problems relating to the conduct of one's children; concern over persistent lack of success in one's economic activities; or even matters of health may be taken to the monk. A great deal of the advice rendered by monks is formulaic, folkloristic and magical in nature. Particular monks tend to acquire reputations as being especially wise and helpful in particular kinds of problems.

Support of the Monks. The monastery buildings and the land on which
792 they stand are the property of the monastic order, held in perpetuity by grant of the government, free of taxation.
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The monks are supported by the donations of the villagers. Every morning a monk, accompanied by one or two monastic school pupils, passes through the village to collect offerings of food. As he enters the compound of each home a member of the household takes a pot of cooked rice, which has been prepared for the morning meal, and places a few large spoonsful in the monk's begging bowl. This minimum daily contribution of food is made by every Buddhist household, without exception; in addition, many families send
[624] bowls of curry and rice to the monastery. Giving food to the monks is an important act of merit to Burmese Buddhists. It is regarded as unthinkable that any household would refuse. When the hypothetical case was posed of such a deviant household, villagers agreed that such a family would be severely criticized and shunned in the village.

The few other things that the monks require for their austere existence are given by villagers on the important ceremonial days of the year. These items include robes, soap, matches, begging bowls, water strainers and needles.

Duty Days. The Burmese calendar is a lunar one, and in each month there
796 are four days -- duty or sabbath days -- on which the villagers go to the monastery

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

CHAPTER XI

THE MONKHOOD—II

'The restrained in hand, restrained in foot, restrained in speech, of the greatest self-control. He whose delight is inward, who is tranquil and happy when alone—him they call "mendicant."'—*Acceptance into the Monkhood.*

BESIDES being the ideal of the Buddhists, the monk is more: he is the schoolmaster of all the boys. It must be remembered that this is a thing aside from his monkhood. A monk need not necessarily teach; the aim and object of the monkhood is, as I have written in the last chapter, purity and abstraction from the world. If the monk acts as schoolmaster, that is a thing apart. And yet all monasteries are schools. The word in Burmese is the same; they are identified in popular speech and in popular opinion. All the monasteries are full of scholars, all the monks teach. I suppose much the same reasons have had influence here as in other nations: the desire of the parents that their children should learn religion in their childhood, the fact that the wisest and most honoured men entered the monkhood, the leisure of the monks giving them opportunity for such occupation.

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16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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Every man all through Burma has gone to a monastery school as a lad, has lived there with the monks, has learnt from them the elements of education and a knowledge of his faith. <It is an exception to find a Burman who cannot read and write.> Sometimes from lack of practice the art is lost in later manhood, but it has always been acquired. The education is not very deep—reading Burmese and writing; simple, very simple, arithmetic; a knowledge of the days and months, and a little geography, perhaps, and history—that is all. But of their religion they learn a great deal. They have to get by heart great portions of the sacred books, stories and teachings, and they have to learn many prayers. They have to recite them, too, as those who have lived much near monasteries know. Several times a day, at about nine o'clock at night, and again before dawn, you will hear the lads intoning clearly and loudly some of the sacred teachings. I have been awakened many a time in the early morning, before the dawn, before even the promise of the dawn in the eastern sky, by the children's voices intoning. And I have put aside my curtain and looked out from my rest-house and seen them in the dim starlight kneeling before the pagoda, the tomb of the great teacher, saying his laws. The light comes rapidly in this country: the sky reddens, the stars die quickly overhead, the first long beams of sunrise are trembling on the dewy bamboo feathers ere they have finished. It is one of the most beautiful sights imaginable to see monks and children kneeling on the bare ground, singing while the dawn comes.

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

The education in their religion is very good, very thorough, not only in precept, but in practice; for in the monastery you must live a holy life, as the monks live, even if you are but a schoolboy. 792 871

But the secular education is limited. It is up to the standard of education amongst the people at large, but that is saying little. Beyond reading and writing and arithmetic it does not go. I have seen the little boys do arithmetic. They were adding sums, and they began, not as we would, on the right, but on the left. They added, say, the hundreds first; then they wrote on the slate the number of hundreds, and added up the tens. If it happened that the tens mounted up so as to add one or more to the hundreds, a little grimy finger would wipe out the hundreds already written and write in the correct numbers. It follows that if the units on being added up came to over ten, the tens must be corrected with the little grimy finger, first put in the mouth. Perhaps both tens and hundreds had to be written again. It will be seen that when you come to thousands and tens of thousands, a good deal of wiping out and re-writing may be required. A Burman is very bad at arithmetic; a villager will often write 133 as 100,303; he would almost as soon write 43 as 34; both figures are in each number, you see. 803

I never met a Burman who had any idea of cubic measurement, though land measurement they pick up very quickly. 804

I have said that the education in the monasteries is up to the average education of the people. That is so now. Whether when civilization progresses 792 871

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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and more education is required the monasteries will be able to provide it, is another thing.

The education given now is mostly a means to an end: to learning the precepts of religion. Whether the monks will provide an education beyond such a want, I doubt. You see, a monk is by his vows, by the whole tenour of his life, apart from the world; too keen a search after knowledge, any kind of secular knowledge, would be a return to the things of this life, would, perhaps, re-kindle in him the desires that the whole meaning of his life is to annihilate. 'And after thou hast run over all things, what will it profit thee if thou hast neglected thyself?'

Besides, no knowledge, except mere theoretical knowledge, can be acquired without going about in the world. You cannot cut yourself off from the world and get knowledge of it. Yet the monk is apart from the world. It is true that Buddhism has no antagonism to science—nay, has every sympathy with, every attraction to, science. Buddhism will never try and block the progress of the truth, of light, secular or religious; but whether the monks will find it within their vows to provide that science, only time can prove. However it may be, it will not make any difference to the estimation in which the monks are held. They are not honoured for their wisdom—they often have but little; nor for their learning—they often have none at all; nor for their industry—they are never industrious; but because they are men trying to live—nay, succeeding in living—a life void of sin. Up till now the education given by the monks has met the wants

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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of the people; in future it will do so less and less. But a community that has lived through twenty centuries of change, and is now of the strength and vitality that the Buddhist monkhood is, can have nothing to fear from any such change. Schoolmasters, except religious and elementary, they may cease to be, perhaps; the pattern and ensample of purity and righteousness they will always remain.

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

562 her; and as her surroundings change, so will she. What she was a thousand years ago I do not care, what she may be a thousand years hence I do not know; it is of what she is to-day that I have tried to know and write.

858 Children in Burma have, I think, a very good
562 time when they are young. Parentage in Burma
871 has never degenerated into a sort of slavery. It has never been supposed that gaiety and goodness are opposed. And so they grow up little merry naked things, sprawling in the dust of the gardens, sleeping in the sun with their arms round the village
[854] dogs, very sedate, very humorous, very rarely crying. Boys and girls when they are babies grow up together, but with the schooldays comes a division. All the boys go to school at the monastery without the walls, and there learn in noisy fashion their arithmetic, letters, and other useful knowledge. But little girls have nowhere to go. They cannot go to the monasteries, these are for boys alone, and the nunneries are very scarce. For twenty monasteries there is not one nunnery. Women do not seem to care to learn to become nuns as men do to become monks. Why this is so I cannot tell, but there is no doubt of the fact. And so there are no schools for girls as there are for boys, and consequently the girls
[369] are not well educated as a rule. In great towns there are, of course, regular schools for girls, generally for girls and boys together; but in the villages
562 these very seldom exist. The girls may learn from
212 their mothers how to read and write, but most of
871 them cannot do so. It is an exception in country places to find a girl who can read, as it is to find

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

a boy who cannot. If there were more nunneries, there would be more education among the women; here is cause and effect. But there are not, so the little girls work instead. While their brothers are in the monasteries, the girls are learning to weave and herd cattle, drawing water, and collecting firewood. They begin very young at this work, but it is very light; they are never overworked, and so it does them no harm usually, but good.

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The daughters of better-class people, such as merchants, and clerks, and advocates, do not, of course, work at field labour. They usually learn to read and write at home, and they weave, and many will draw water. For to draw water is to go to the well, and the well is the great meeting-place of the village. As they fill their jars they lean over the curb and talk, and it is here that is told the latest news, the latest flirtation, the little scandal of the place. Very few men or boys come for water; carrying is not their duty, and there is a proper place for flirtation. So the girls have the well almost to themselves.

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Almost every girl can weave. In many houses there are looms where the girls weave their dresses and those of their parents; and many girls have stalls in the bazaar. Of this I will speak later. Other duties are the husking of rice and the making of cheroots. Of course, in richer households there will be servants to do all this; but even in them the daughter will frequently weave either for herself or her parents. Almost every girl will do something, if only to pass the time.

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They have no accomplishments. They do not

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Q. "We want to know your relations with adherents of other religions. There are people who worship Indian gods, Chinese gods, and Christians - what is your attitude towards them?"

A. (U.M.) "I don't hold any attitude at all."

Q. " Do you get on well?"

A. (U.M.) "Yes. We get on very well. They buy our goods and we buy theirs. They rent our fields and cultivate them. If there are cows they are borrowed and lent. We live together like this - buying and selling."

Q. "This is about the people. How about their attitude towards their gods?"

A. "I have no attitude."

Q. "Have you never thought about it?"

A. "I have never thought about it. Their god is only slightly different. There is only one god. There will be only one god. Only people differ somewhat. Our outlook should be improved. After all, his god is my god and my god is his god. Only the races differ. Even one race is divided within itself."

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The relationship of the family to the state in Pathwe involve taxes, military service and voting. In the pre-war days, U Myaing and family had to pay a capitation tax, levied at the rate of Rs. 5/- per year for a married couple, and Rs. 2/8 per year for a bachelor of twenty and over. Children and unmarried women and widows are exempt from any tax whatsoever. There was a land tax on cultivation fields - levied at the rate of annas 2 per acre per annum, and also on garden land at one anna or two annas per acre per annum according to the value of the land. The tax on INS - or purchase of the fishery rights amounted to a figure anywhere between Rs. 3000/- and Rs. 12,000/-. U Myaing is not liable to taxes because of his low income, he retains his voting privileges for general elections.

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The family was moved from Pathwe to the refugee camp because of the insurrection and has been under the protection of the government since coming to camp. The proportion of food and shelter benefits, which they receive from the government, has been noted under those headings. According to government policy, shelter is provided for the family, and food for all except one adult who is expected to work.

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Education for U Myaing's children is provided by the government both in Pantanaw and in the refugee camp. Only the cost of the books has to be paid by him.

Children in the Pathwe village learnt their lessons at the government school. This school, which was on YWA-GYI-BET side, teaches pupils up to the tenth standard. The school house was built by contributions taken in the village. When U Myaing was young, they had to pay a tuition fee of four annas each to the schoolmaster every month. Now government has taken over the cost of educating the children, and fees are no longer required of them. The children only have to bring their own books and pencils. There are three teachers in the school; one headmaster and two assistants. The headmaster draws a salary of Rs. 100/- and the assistants of over Rs. 90/- each. There are other schools across the river but they teach only up till the fourth standard, and children of higher grades have to come to YWA-GYI-BET to attend school.

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

536* of the interlude were religious feast days, and out of respect for those
779 occasions, the story had to be religious. Moreover, the interlude had
178 to contend with the *Hawsa* or dramatic recitation by one person of a
[538] story, which was a rival in popularity; and all *Hawsas* were based on religious stories. However, the most important reason why the interlude had to depend again on the *Jatakas* for its stories was the great popularity of the works of U Awbatha.

538 Shin U Awbatha was a monk who lived during the reigns of
178 Bodawpaya (1782–1819) and Bagyidaw (1819–37). He was a product
195 of the age of learning. Famed for his piety, religious learning, and
[192] knowledge of Sanskrit and Pali, he chose, like his contemporaries, to write in Burmese, and he enriched Burmese prose. The prose before him had been much neglected. The scholars were more interested in verse. When they did write prose, they never succeeded in forgetting that they were essentially verse-writers, and they used rhymed, balanced, and measured phrases. They used too rich an imagery. They broke into verse when they wanted to express any intensity of feeling. Often they introduced Pali words into their writings when there were more suitable Burmese ones. Burmese prose before U Awbatha was in the same position as English prose before Dryden. U Awbatha introduced a prose which was expressive and clear, simple yet effective. It was used to convey varieties of feelings and emotions, but it was always kept restrained and was never allowed to lose its
● [871] clearness. His works are still well known and popular. The importance of U Awbatha to Burmese language and literature can be judged from the fact that from the junior forms to the Honours course in Burmese at Rangoon University, his books are textbooks.[1]

538 There are hundreds of Birth Stories, but the most important
178 are the *Ten Big Jatakas*. They are much longer than the rest. U Awbatha wrote Burmese prose versions of the eight longest of those. He followed closely the Pali originals as far as the incidents of the stories were concerned, but he portrayed character in detail, and made the characters more lifelike and therefore more interesting. The story was very well retold, but he was equally masterful in the portrayal of character and in his understanding of human psychology.

He wrote his first *Jataka* in 1785 when Burmese arms were flashing victorious in Assam and Manipur, but vainglorious references to contemporary events found no place in his works. In the peaceful

[1] A short account of U Awbatha is given in G. E. Harvey, op. cit., p. 269.

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

could not and did not achieve success, even though the translator was the learned scholar and journalist, U Shwe Kyu.[1] The translations went unnoticed, and as the magazine became defunct in 1913, the precious issues which contain them are now available only in some libraries. After this failure to introduce Shakespeare into the vernacular, no further attempt was made, and Burmese is one of the very few civilized languages into which the plays of the great dramatist have not been successfully translated. 536* 177

In 1919, after the Great War, a wave of national aspiration swept over Asia, and Burma was affected by it. With the resulting revival of interest in Burmese institutions, the study of U Kyin U and U Pon Nya has become again popular, not only in schools and colleges, but all over the country. In schools following the established educational practice of prescribing Shakespeare's plays as textbooks, the plays of U Kyin U and U Pon Nya are now so prescribed. The newly established Rangoon University, founded by the Government in 1920, the Burma Research Society[2] and the Burma Book Club—institutions founded by the British Government and University officials interested in Burmese history and literature, encouraged and led to the study of Burmese literature, including the drama, side by side with the English. And when adaptations in Burmese of a play by Molière and another by Tchekov appeared in 1928 in the magazine of the Book Club,[3] there were hopes that a new drama was in course of being developed. But the study has been from the beginning independent of, and unconnected with, the theatre of the professional actors, who are in great demand and still popular with the majority of the people. Therefore the interest in the drama, even though spread beyond the university walls, remains academic rather than practical. And as far as I can see, there are no signs of the coming in the near future of a new national drama. 536* 178 668 871

[1] The magazine in which the translation appeared was the *Shwe Kyu Magazine*, and U Shwe Kyu was its founder and editor. [113]

[2] The Text Publication Committee of the Research Society has published U Kyin U's *Daywagonban* and *Parpahein* with editorial notes, contributing much to our knowledge of the dramatist.

[3] The adaptations were from English translations of the two plays. English is the only medium of contact with the western drama for the Burmese, and, as in India, the influence of other European literatures can come only through English channels.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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20. TOY CART.

of a savage description. Children have pretty manners; they are respectful to their elders without shyness or cringing.

Children grow up among the implements they will use in after life. Wooden mills for husking rice, tilt-hammers and mortars for pounding, cotton-seeders with geared rollers, spinning-wheels, weaving-looms and other simple machines are in every household; besides agricultural implements, carts and boats, all of which are made or kept in repair by the inmates (*cf.* p. 120). The workshops of artizans of every class are open to view, and the processes are obvious to every passer-by. The interest aroused in children is more diversified than in cold countries with their more secluded life. From mimicking the occupations of adults children learn to take part and soon begin to like a real share in them. Their trade begins with make-believe wares, then come scraps of house and garden produce till it develops into a source of pocket-money and training in business (Nos. 281, 431). The years of tutelage merge into the age of responsibility without abrupt transition. The intelligence which the school-teacher proceeds to build on has insensibly developed under conditions more than commonly favourable, which may help to account for the precocity of Burman school-children under good teaching.

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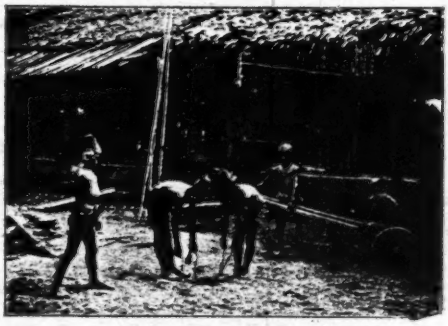
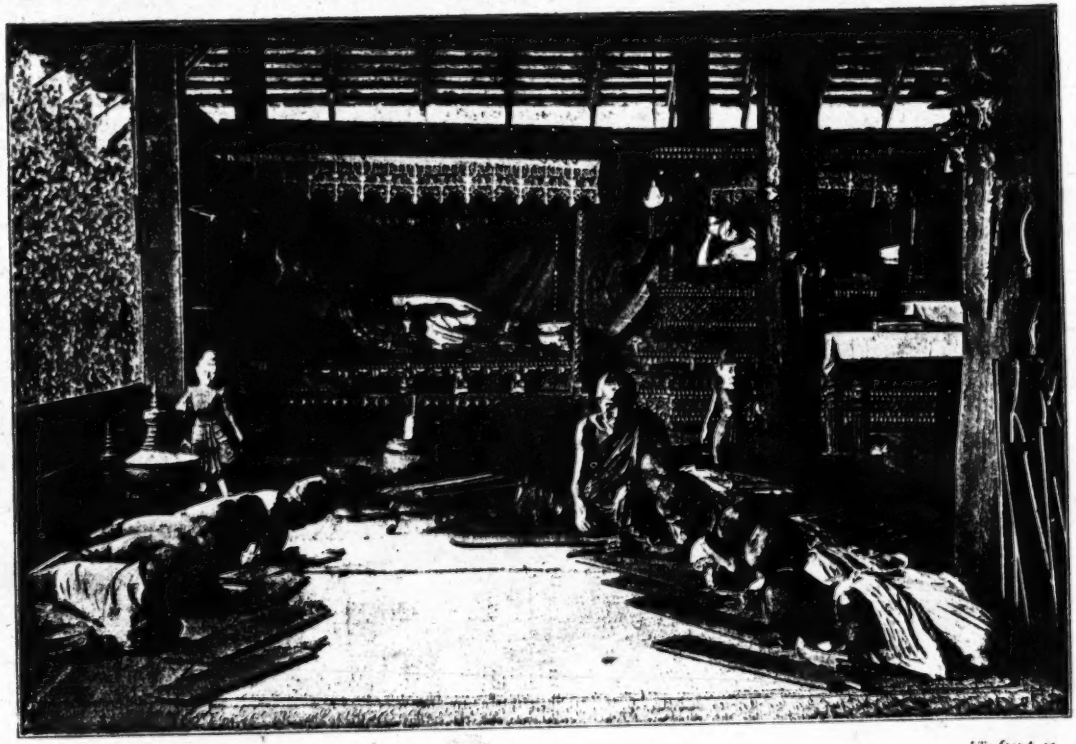
From the ages of eight to ten, boys begin attending the school of the Buddhist monastery (*kyaung*), where they are taught free by the recluse (*pôndyí*) or by his sojourner recluses (*upazín*). The spelling-book is chanted in a chorus led by a senior pupil, and is copied out with a white steatite pencil on a



21. PEG-TOPS (DYIN-PAUK).

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 API Burma
Burmese AP4



22. INTERIOR OF VILLAGE MONASTIC SCHOOL.

[To face p. 10.

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25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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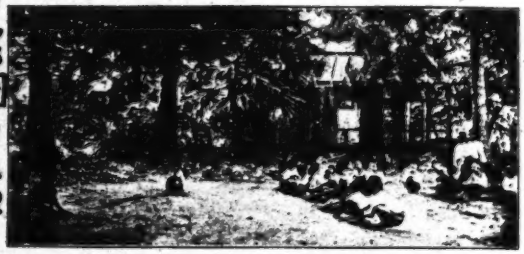

23. MARBLES (GON-HNYIN).

long wooden slate blackened with soot and rice-water (*thimbôn*). The Burmese word-building is exceedingly regular and in the main phonetic (See appendix B). Reading is acquired in one term, without much effort on the part of pupil or teacher. The Burmans have a pure decimal notation in which the bugbears *eleven* and *twelve* are unrepresented. The Burmese *eleven* is literally "onety-one." Children can count up to hundreds before they come to school and can reckon up sums mentally. In arithmetic they are taught the
871 multiplication-table and a few rules of thumb (*bedin*). In addition to the
779 five Buddhist commandments (p. 16) and the objects of contemplation (p. 43),
867 which the children learn in their homes, they chant passages from the Pâli
869 scriptures in the school chorus and get other precepts by rote: such as the category of duties to parents, teachers and elders, *viz.*, reverence, support, mutual affection (*paráik*). They are taught the value of learning as an inalienable possession, together with many precepts from the *Lawkanîti* and *Mingala-thôt*; the conquests of the inner and outer worlds *Atwîn-aungdyîn*, *Apyîn-aungdyîn*, the story of the Buddha (see *The Light of Asia*) and the legendary cosmogony.

212 As the result of this Buddhist system of schools, nearly half of the male
871 and about 3 per cent. of the female population can read and write, as compared with 9 and 0·3 per cent. for men and women respectively in Bengal. The

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24. RACING TOY BOATS.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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25. GAME OF SITOPPYIT.

Burman average stands midway between those of Ireland and Austria on the one hand, and Italy and Spain on the other. (Report of the Census of 1891.)

The boys at the monastery-school (*kyaung-tha*) do the domestic work—sweep the floors and enclosures, attend upon the recluses, and help in collecting the daily food. Some scholars live at the *kyaung*, others have the morning meal there, others again have their meals at home. The recluse exacts no deference from his scholar, but nevertheless receives from all lay persons a spontaneous homage identical with that accorded to royal personages. In the *kyaung* the lads acquire the good breeding of their country, for it is among the recluses that the élite of the race is to be sought. In the stage next to be described, the lad completes this training, by himself sharing in the deference paid to the yellow robe, which he assumes for a season as novice. The monastery-schools are open all the year, but have a large attendance only in the rainy season or *wa*.

871 Besides the monastic public schools there are private schools kept by laymen and occasionally also by women, in which girls as well as boys are taught. The subjects and methods are the same, but more time is given to arithmetic. The rules of thumb of the Indian *bedin* are being superseded by modern arithmetic, by help of the vernacular manual prepared by the missionary Stilson. A small fee is paid the lay teacher in money or in kind. Out of hours, the lay-school pupils are of use at their homes, minding their little brothers and sisters.

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The training begun in youth is never broken off. Study is a chief occupation of middle and advanced age. The teacher—*sayâ*—clerical or lay, is reverenced,

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26. CYCLE RACE.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

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next to a parent, with a life-long devotion.

Before or after the monastic novitiate, it is the custom for the Burman lads to have themselves tattooed from the waist to the knee (No. 152). Not to submit to this ordeal is to incur the reproach of cowardice. The tattooing is an intricate pattern of animals and tracery. Owing to the extent of surface involved, the process is most painful. It occupies days or weeks, according to the fortitude of the subject, who is drugged with opium for the occasion. The instrument has a handle weighted at the butt, and a long point of bronze, split like a ruling-pen. It is worked with great rapidity. The pigment is a kind of lamp-black of the consistence of ink. It shows bluish black through the brown skin. When a Burman tucks up his loin-cloth, as he always does for work or exercise (*kadáung-chhik*), he looks as if he had black knee-breeches. As plain as the contrast is to the eye, ordinary photographic plates fail to render it. In No. 153 it appears fully. On other parts of the body the men frequently have horoscopes and cabalistic diagrams tattooed with vermilion (*se-ní*, No. 162) for luck and bravado. The Shan practice of letting in gold and silver discs the size of two-penny pieces—beneath the skin—is sometimes imitated by Burmans as a charm against sword-cuts and bullets (*dábyi*; *thenabbyi*). The Arakanese, who repudiate the custom of *thgwin*, ascribe it to a Burman King, who endeavoured to disguise his leprosy in this way.

27. VILLAGE LAY SCHOOL.

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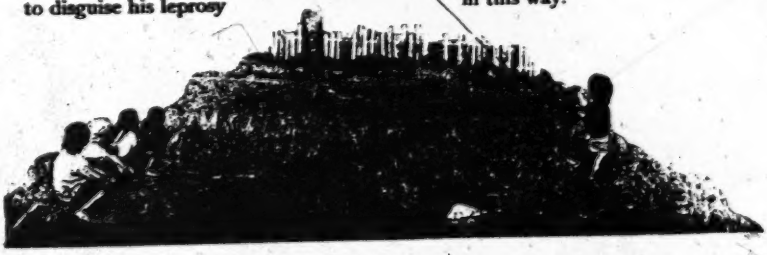

28. KITE-FLYING.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

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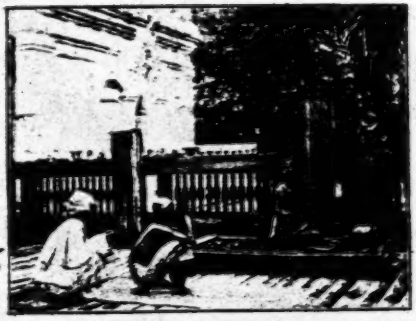

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37. SHINLAUNG RENEWING HIS PRAYER.

the world, but not from observation by the world. Great as is the homage accorded to him by the laity, a recluse who should disgrace his cloth—a thing almost unknown — would be promptly unfrocked by them.

For their sustenance the novices and regular recluses depend upon alms. They receive these in kind and according to daily need. Their appeal is mute. The morning after his reception the novice with his brethren will halt in front of his own parents' house and the houses of the neighbours to receive such dole of food as is offered (No. 29). He will not look to right or left, but keep his eyes rooted on the ground, making no sign beyond raising the cover of his alms-bowl. The recluse may not ask for anything whatever, nor even express a predilection. The food, ripe or ready-cooked, as the case may be, is doled indiscriminately into the *thabèit* from the east side, usually by a woman of the house. A woman should not stand in the shadow of a recluse, of a shrine, *zedi*, temple or image. She should not occupy an upper floor when a recluse happens to be beneath, nor enter a *Thein*, nor occupy a higher place with respect to men (p. 72). Food given in a religious spirit, as above described, is called *sun*. The recluses when collecting *sun* are generally followed by a couple of scholars bearing a yoke and basket to receive larger offerings on behalf of the monastery (No. 41).

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Those probationers who remain in the monastery for several years—reckoned by Lents (*wa*)—and who aspire to full membership of the Assembly, read with the recluse Pâli texts of the Tripitaka, and the commentaries on these, and commit portions, sometimes whole books of the canon, to memory. Recluses of standing and also laymen take part in these exercises.

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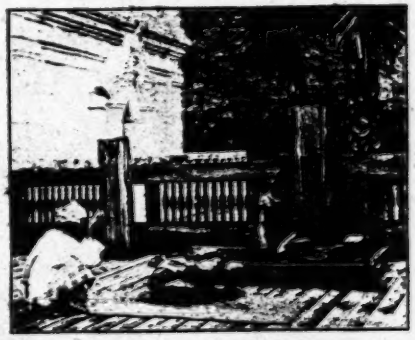

38. GOYIN MAKING OBEISANCE.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

39. PAINTING OF SHINLAUNG PETE.

The constituted daily routine of the monastery takes no account of recreation. In practice there is a wide margin of leisure. But the wearer of the yellow robe is not seen at play. Arithmetical puzzles are the nearest approach to a game. On the other hand the cheerfulness of the race suffers no restraint. There is decorum, without austerity or sanctimony. The severest penance laid upon the novice is temporary relegation to the secular state (*lein-byan*) for such faults as lying, theft, or killing anything. Cruelty to an animal is punished with caning.

The *yahdn* exercise no exclusive function beyond that of admitting candidates to the novitiate and the full membership of their Assembly. The affairs of the Buddhist Church are initiated and conducted by the laity. The recluses merely add, by their presence, to the religious distinction of an occasion. At the shrine the recluse is like any other pilgrim; he never is a ministrant or priest. Neither is there any altar. The only material objects to which sanctity pertains are the relics of the Buddha. The members of the Assembly know no distinctions of men, racial or social. As regards the temporal power, of whatever origin, the recluse should be absolutely passive, neither contravening the laws nor invoking them when he suffers wrong. The recluse neither denounces nor harbours the criminal, a neutral attitude of which criminals are not slow to take advantage.

When admitted to full membership of the Assembly instituted by the Buddha (*Thingâ*, Pâli *Sangha*), the novice becomes *Yahdn* (*Yahdawn*, *Rahân*, *Arahan*), which signifies *perfected*, one advanced a stage

40. BOYS RECEIVING HIGHER INSTRUCTION

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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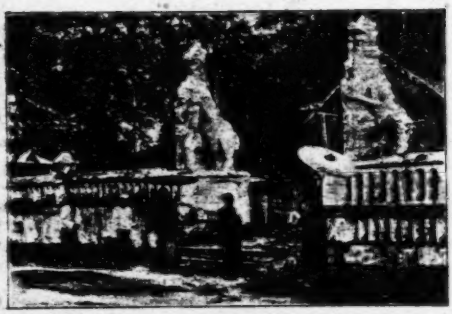

56. YAHAN PASSING THE STREETS.

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whole country-side. The camp is laid out in the rice-fields after harvest, in the form of a square, with a pavilion in the middle for the *yahán* to meet and practise confession (*dha-pye*). There are a few *yahán* who do not settle in a *kyaung*, but wander from place to place, in the primitive way, the people providing them with temporary shelter.

The *yahán* make journeys to the seats of learning and the *kyaungs* of their former teachers, and make pilgrimages to shrines. A few travel as far as Ceylon and Buddha Gâya in Bahâr. On such journeys the *yahán* is accompanied by a scholar or attendant deputed by the *kyaungtagâ* to carry provisions and money, which the *yahán* may not handle. When not collecting their *sun*, the *yahán* go abroad with attendants and carry umbrellas, or suffer such to be carried over them, and wear sandals. The *yahán* allow themselves to be driven in ox and buffalo carts; but do not drive or mount an animal or avail themselves of horse-draught. They travel by boat, steamer, and rail. Aged *yahán* are carried on a litter (*yin, waw*).

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The *kyaung*, primarily a shelter for the *yahán*, has, in virtue of his occupation, come to be a school. It is at first established on the outskirts of a settlement or at some distance away from it. Secular buildings are not erected within the shadow of a religious building. But the growth of towns brings the houses up to the precincts (*parawún*) of the *kyaung*, which stands within a liberal enclosure, planted with fruit-trees. The *kyaung* as such has no particular style. The superposed roofs and decorated spires (*pyatthat*) of the votive *kyaung* are emblems of secular state, added to confer distinction.

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57. YAHAN ON HIS JOURNEY.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
1 Burmese AP4

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85. POTHUDAW.

been brought into a pseudo-connection with Buddhism by certain western neophytes of the Tibetan cult, are unheard of in Burma, which is the stronghold of primitive tradition.

Pôthudaw observe fewer *thila* than *yathé*. They make their appeal with a gong of triangular shape (*kyìzi*, Nos, 22, 86), which spins on the string it hangs by, and emits a high and sustained throbbing note. *Pôthudaw* eat in the forenoon only. They accept alms in money and in kind, for which they carry baskets with a shoulder-yoke. They wear a white robe, shave the head, and pluck out the beard. *Pôthudaw* shift for themselves in *zayáts* about the temples and seldom remain long in one place.

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Mèthilá are female celibates who observe a rule parallel to that of the *Pôthudaw*. They shave the head. Their robe is like that of the other celibates with the addition of a jacket. The cloth is dyed a faint red. Both they and the *pôthudaw* are generally individuals who have lost their family ties. In some places *kyaungs* are provided for *mèthilá*, where they keep schools for girls. A few are possessed of learning. *Mèthilá* are about as numerous as *pôthudaw*, and both together are about one-tenth to one-twentieth as numerous as *yahán*, and several times more so than *yathé*. There is no class of female recluses answering to *yahán*.

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Payadyin form colonies in the vicinities of the principal shrines and of the cemeteries of large towns. They are the descendants of temple slaves, the condition to which captives in war were reduced both by the Burman and the Taláing races during their incessant

86. METHILA AT WORSHIP.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

212 still is used by the Shans for their sacred MSS. The Burmans use the paper chiefly in the form of stiff tablets (*parabéik*), blackened, like the *thimbôn*, for writing on with a steatite pencil. Burmese type was cut (No. 452) and the first
213 printing-plant set up in Burma by the American Baptist Mission. At present

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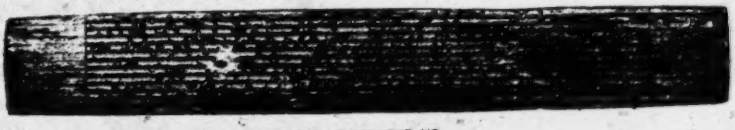

274. PALM-LEAF MS.

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●871 there are a number of printing establishments owned by Burmans, from which quite a literature of their religious works has issued. At first the Buddhists of
198 Burma considered print not good enough for the scripture canon. Modernised
203 legends of the Buddha in his previous incarnations (*zat*) are beginning to form the foundation of a romance-literature of indigenous type. Newspapers have not yet taken a firm hold, even in the large towns; but news travels very fast in the ordinary way, especially news about the prices of goods. This western art has not contributed to the spread of western knowledge in the way that might be expected. The Yaw Mindyi, a minister of the late King Mindôn Min, made a most praiseworthy effort to popularise western ideas in a series of MS. treatises. A native undertaking upon a grand scale—nothing less than a Burmese encyclopædia—was on foot in the sixties, but fell through for want of organised support. In Japan, an analogous enterprise was successful. What applies to concerted action in matters like the above, applies equally to political combination. Few Burmans, even after years of schooling, learn enough to read an English newspaper with
[212] profit. To this day there is no Burmese manual for the study of English. The scholars learn only enough of the language to procure them employment as accountants and copyists. Similarly, there are few English who can understand a Burmese newspaper.

275. COPYIST AT WORK.

000 Dealers, with the exception of the

29: Slater M-4 (no date) 1951 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

invariably in the same posture, seated, with one arm across his lap. The whole atmosphere is one of ordered, unhurried peace, whether within the timbered buildings, or within the surrounding compound. 792 346

But the monastery is seldom far away from the village, and this is of set purpose. The Buddhist *Saṃgha* in Burma might well be described as a teaching Order. "Of all charities, charity of learning is the noblest," observes a Buddhist layman,[27] and the monastery dispenses this charity freely. It provides the village school. There the boys learn to read and write. There, moreover, they are tutored in Buddhist lore, with a firm emphasis on ethical requirements. They learn the 'three Jewels' which enjoin reverence for the Buddha, the Law *(Dhamma)*, and the Order, and the five precepts – – not to kill, not to steal, not to lie, not to commit adultery, not to drink intoxicants. In the *Mingalā Thot* or "Song of Great Blessing," which they recite by heart[28], they learn that a wise and good man will seek to store up merit by fulfilling his domestic duties, by giving ample alms, by seeking 'self-knowledge' and by learning from holy men 'as chance affords.' The monastic ideal of utter renunciation, 'from all attachment free', is also indicated and 'Nirvana here' is said to be 'true happiness' leading to the Highest Bliss.[29] They will also learn stories of the Buddha's previous birth from the *Jātakas*, and, above all, the story of the historic Buddha. 792 621 869 871

But attendance at the day school is not their only initiation in the faith. Every Burman boy, at the age of puberty or earlier, is expected to leave home and become a boarder at the monastery for a period which may vary from weeks to years. "A Buddhist who has not been a *koyin* (novice) or donned the yellow robe," remarks a Burmese writer, "is looked upon as one who has missed the most essential (part) of his experience in this world." The village school often appears to be a merry jumble to the outsider, but during this time as a novice "each boy gets individual attention.... There is a wholesome atmosphere of intimacy and understanding between the teacher and the taught." Most of the novices return to secular life, but some remain to become fully ordained monks.[30] 792 857

The *shin-byu* ceremony, or rite of confirmation, which is another essential in the Burmese boy's initiation, generally precedes his entry to 792 881

[27] U Set, "Life in a *Phongyi Kyaung*," *Rangoon Times*, (May 13, 1931).

[28] See Appendix for fuller account of this Song and other Monastic instruction.

[29] "To understand the literature, 'serious' or popular, of Burma we cannot know the Pali Jātaka too well," M. H. Bode, *The Pali Literature of Burma*, chap. v, pp. 81, 82.

[30] U Set, op. cit.; cf. Scott, *The Burman*, Vol. I, chaps. II, III, and IV.

29: Slater M-4 (no date) 1951 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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the monastery. It is a day of excited celebration. Recalling the Great Renunciation, when Gautama left the royal court in his quest for truth, the boy, attired in princely robes, is feasted by his family and friends until the moment when he casts his finery aside to don the yellow robe of the Order.[21]

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Girls experience a similar ceremonial initiation, when (to the accompaniment of vigorous music) their ears are pierced to take the ear-rings which are the sign of womanhood. They cannot attend the monastic schools with the boys, but other means are found for their education, and they certainly do not lag behind their brothers in intelligence, character or Buddhist zeal. Mrs Hla Oung recounts the story of a little maid taken to the monastery to be reminded of the five precepts, after some childish misdemeanour. (The monk was benign. "There was the faintest suspicion of a smile on his calm face, to show, I suppose, that her backsliding was not to be taken as a defection from the faith.") The 'charity of learning' seems, then, to be shared by girls as well as boys. The status, freedom and privileges of Burmese women have already been remarked and Mrs Hla Oung affirms vigorously that "the life of the Burmese woman is bound up in her religion. Buddhism has formed the character of the Burmese woman.... There are few Burmese women, even in the villages, who are unable to read and write," and the Buddhist scriptures form the ground work of their studies.[22]

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Not only are the monks numerous, but they are dispersed throughout the country. Every village has at least one monastery, and sometimes more. The educational influence of the Order has been, therefore, both organised and ubiquitous. In more recent times this influence has been challenged by new conditions. Government and mission schools have intervened, and the modern Burmese boy may only remain in the monastery as a novice for a brief, token period. But during the centuries which shaped the Burmese character and outlook, the monks as educators had no serious rivals.

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Nor has their ministry to the community been confined to education. Herbs and potions from the monastery are held in high esteem, especially in Upper Burma.[23] The monastery also serves as alms-house and asylum.

[21] For a good description of this ceremony v. Ananda Metteya, quoted by G. Appleton, *Buddhism in Burma*, pp. 22–23.

[22] Ma M. Hla Oung, "The Women of Burma," *Buddhism*, Vol. I, No. 1, p. 61 (September, 1903, Rangoon); cf. a later series by Daw Mya Sein, "Kin Sein Hla," *Burma Today*, published by the Burma Government in India, 1944, in which the influence of the Monastery is not so strongly emphasised.

[23] "Theirs is faith cure rather than medicine, "writes a Burmese correspondent, who cites cures from snake-bite, leprosy and hydrophobia.

29: Slater M-4 (no date) 1951 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

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practice of meditation, learning and love. Therefore because he forgot the law of truth, his glory and dominion waned; his queen broke faith with him, and took her pleasure with the Naga king, by whom she conceived." Her sons were born blind because "the breath of the Nagas had come upon them."[3]

The king soon died, and his successors only survived for brief periods. The Naga king from the spirit world is held responsible for their death. 'Twisting his way into the hollow of the palace post, the Naga prince came to the world of men and reigned seven years with the queen.'

A youth 'from a Brahmin village' resolved to end this state of affairs and seize the kingdom. He prepared himself by religious observance. 'He bathed his body and cleansed it; bowed down and did obeissance, worshipping the Three Gems, his great grandparents, grandfather, grandmother, mother and father, the spirits who keep watch over the great religion, the spirits who keep watch over cities and border villages. . . ."

On his way to the capital, halting at a village 'where of old the coming Buddhas sported and made merry,' the youth is encouraged by the god, Sakra, who 'with his fairy horse and fairy raiment went ahead with the prince in human guise.' Thus assisted, the youth invades the royal town, takes possession and is married to the Queen. Warned by Sakra to be watchful, the youth questions the Queen about the deaths of the previous kings. The Queen then confesses her intrigues with the Naga prince and helps him in a plot to seize the Naga, who is slain by the youthful and zealous conqueror.

NOTE B

BUDDHIST RELIGIOUS EDUCATION IN BURMA

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The chief lessons taught in the monastic schools in Burma are the following:

I. *The Three Jewels:*

I take refuge in the Buddha,
I take refuge in the Dhamma
I take refuge in the Sangha.

II. *The Five Precepts:*

Not to kill
Not to steal
Not to lie
Not to commit adultery
Not to drink strong drink.

[3] Nagas are "fabulous creatures that sleep deep down below:" cf. Scott, *The Burman*, Vol. I, chap. XXIX, p. 352.

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III. *The Mingalā Thot:* The Song of Great Blessing. *(Mahāmaṅgala Sutta: Sutta Nipāta* II. 4).

"Thus have I heard:
Once when the Blessed One was at Jetavana in Anathapindika's Park, as night came on, a beautiful *Nat*[1] drew near, lighting up the whole place with his presence. He greeted the Blessed One, and then standing on one side addressed him in this verse:

"What many men and deities
Desiring Bliss, have sought to find – –
Come tell me, Master, what it is
That brings most blessing to mankind."

To whom the Sage made answer:

"To quit the fools, to court the wise,
This is the highest Paradise:

"To pay respect where it is due,
So shall true blessing wait on you:

"Seek a fit place and there remain,
And strive self-knowledge to attain:

"If in past lives you've stored up merit
The fruits thereof you'll now inherit:

"Let wisdom skill and discipline
And gracious kindly words be thine:

"Tend parents, cherish wife and child,
Pursue a blameless life and mild.

"Live thou devout, give ample alms,
Protect thy kin from life's alarms;

"Do good, shun ill and ever shrink
From snare of spirituous drink:

"So do thou persevere in good.
This is the true Beatitude:

"Be humble, with thy lot content,
Grateful and ever reverent.

[1] I have here used the Burmese term, *Nat* instead of *deva*. Fausböll translates "deity" in S.B.E., Vol. X (Sutta Nipāta) p. 42.

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"Study the law of righteousness,
This is the path that leads to Bliss.

"Patience, kind speech, as chance affords,
With holy men, religious words:

"The noble truths, austerity,
Nirvana here, and chastity.
This is true happiness.

"To live from all attachment free,
From sorrow and impurity,
This is the true security,
This is the Highest Bliss."

"The Mingala-thoht," says Sir George Scott, "is one of the first books the young scholar gets into his hands after he has learnt the ordinary ormulae of worship. There are few Burmans ... who cannot repeat the Pali text from end to end."[2]

"Side by side with the Pali, they learn the Burmese text."[3] A Burmese version quoted by Father Sangermano begins each verse, "O Nat!" e.g., "O Nat! know that to keep far from the company of the ignorant," etc.[4]

The version given above is quoted from the Appendix to *Modern Buddhism in Burma* (Purser and Saunders), pp. 95, 96. The metric form recalls the sing-song repetition of the young *koyins* as they commit the Song to memory.

See also F L Woodward's translation in *Some Sayings of the Buddha*, Oxford University Press, ("The World's Classics") which brings out the refrain to each verse (not given above): "Theirs is the greatest blessing."

Bishop Bigandet added the following footnote to his version: "Within a narrow compass, Buddha has condensed an abridgment of almost all moral virtues."[5]

III

SONG OF EIGHT VICTORIES

Stories and songs in honour of the Buddha also form part of Monastic education for the laity, especially this medieval poem, probably composed in Siam. Scenes from the poem are depicted on pagoda platforms.

[2] *The Burman*, Vol. II, p. 318.
[3] M.B.B., p. 12.
[4] *The Burmese Empire*, chap. XIV, p. 130.
[5] *Op. cit.* Vol. I, p. 123.

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The first stanza refers to the legend of Māra, King of Death and Lord of Hell, who is said to have opposed Gautama's passage to Nibbāna.

"By liberality did he
The Sage attain to victory,
Such was his chosen armoury!
Māra, by all his host attended,
With thousand flashing swords defended,
On his war-elephant so proudly seated,
In panoply of steel the Sage defeated.
Be yours his glorious victory
And yours its ample blessing be!"

The second stanza celebrates an encounter with a demon who used to devour children:

"By patience and tranquility
(Such was his chosen panoply)
The Sage achieved the victory.
Alavaka, the demon dread,
The livelong night he combated,
With heart of brass redoubtable,
Fiercer than Māra, lord of hell.
Be yours his glorious victory
And yours its ample blessing be."

The third stanza refers to the last of the murderous attempts of Devadutta, the cousin and would-be supplanter of the Buddha. It is told that the Buddha's compassion had such an effect on the elephant Nalagiri that the brute fell before him and removed the dust from the Buddha's feet.

"By the waters of his pity
He won the glorious victory
O'er Elephant Nalagiri!
As the dreadful thunder crashing,
As the lurid lightning flashing,
As the jungle-fire encroaching,
He beheld the brute approaching.
Be yours his glorious victory
And yours its ample blessing be!"

The fourth stanza relates an encounter with a robber; the fifth concerns a victory over slander as to Gautama's chastity; the sixth recounts his triumph over a false teacher; and the seventh points a moral by describing the victory attained by Moggallāna, one of Gautama's chief followers:

"His pupil too by magic might
Did aid him in the heroic fight...."

The eighth stanza refers to the Arahat's power to assume other forms and pass through the air unseen.

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The poem therefore emphasises three lessons:

1. The honor due to the Buddha.
2. The blessing brought by the Buddha.
3. A challenge to the pupil to follow the Buddha's moral example.

The stanzas here quoted are from the version given by Purser and Saunders, M.B.B., pp. 99ff.

V.

THE NEMI ZAT

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Zat is the Burmese for Jātaka (Buddhist Birth Story). Of these the Nemi, Temi, Zeneka and Wethandaya Zats are especially popular, and form part of the Burmese child's education.

Reference has already been made in the text to the Wethanday Zat (Story of Prince Wessantara) which commends a prince who was willing to give away a kingdom, chariot, children and even his wife in his zeal for his own salvation.

The following is an extract from the Burmese version of the Nemi Zat given by Bishop Bigandet. As will be seen, it sets out the pains of hell and the blessings of heaven. The Burmese are not the only people who have considered such stories suitable to encourage young children in the right path!

The Buddha explains how he was, in a former existence, the ruler of the country of Mitila. As such, from a tender age he "displayed the most liberal and pious dispositions in making abundant alms and fervently observing all the religious practices. All the inhabitants of that kingdom followed his example.... During those happy times, hell seemed to have become quite unnecessary...

"On a certain day Nemi appeared to be most anxious to know which was the most excellent practice, the bestowing of alms, or the observance of the precepts." The King of the *Nat* realm himself came down from his glorious seat to give the answer, and, on his return, he eulogised King Nemi so strongly that the other *Nats* wished to see this virtuous prince. Accordingly a young *Nat*, named Matali, was commanded to escort the king to the *Nat* realm.

Stepping into the carriage sent for him, the king "abandoned himself to the guidance of his heavenly guide."

"Two roads are now opened before us," said Matali, "the one through the dismal dungeons, where the wicked are consigned to undergo punishment for their offences, and the other through the blissful seats, where the good are enjoying the rewards allotted to them for their virtues. Which of the two do you wish to follow?"

The prince said he wished to visit both places.

Matali answered in a mild tone of voice that his request should be complied with.

"Your holiness" and themselves as "Your holiness' pupil". The monks addressed the people as *daga*, giver, for they lived by the gifts of the people who donated robes, household articles and other necessities to the monasteries, as good works which brought them merit. 793 792 191 [431]

When my grandparents took my father to the kyaung he was a frightened little boy dressed in a cotton skirt called a *longyi*, and a shirt without cuffs and collar; his hair was grown long in the centre and tied in a knot, the sides being cut in a fringe about two inches long all round, and the rest shaved clean, a way of growing hair common to both little boys and girls and enhancing their youthful appearance. He and all the other scholars performed the domestic tasks of the monastery, swept and rubbed the good hard wooden floors, the monastery grounds and pagoda steps, because in these precincts all comers went barefoot; they drew water for drinking, and for the bath of the older monks; they followed the monks on their rounds, two of them bearing a pole on which was slung a covered tray, to take any food donated in excess of what would go into the monk's bowl; they waited on the monks at meals; they learned to read and write, and do simple sums, to recite precepts and religious passages which they shouted at the tops of their childish voices in imitation of the deep intoning voice of the teacher monk, phrase by phrase; in the evenings they went home to eat the meal which the monks abstained from, but came back at sunset to recite the lessons of the day and many past days all over again, to join in the assembled night prayers, to sleep in the monastery and rise again before dawn. 858 792 872 302

When my father spoke to us of his years in the monastery he always chuckled with delight, in spite of this long list of disciplined tasks. He had the advantage from the first; he was stronger and taller than other boys, and in a system where all learning was by heart he had brilliant memorising powers. The school-room of the kyaung had not the formal atmosphere of the Western school-room with each child at a desk and chair, and a silence except for the voice of teacher or child. The monastery boys all went into the same big room of the monastery, irrespective of age or stage, each with his slate or book, got down on the floor 872 859 976

872 next to their friends, crouched over their work and started to shout out
854 whatever passage was being committed to memory. My father's chuckling
876 was at being able to remember how his voice was lustier than his rival's as he rested on his elbows and knees, and rocked backwards and forwards in rhythm to his chanting, with his legs going as high as he dared, giving surreptitious kicks and nudges to upset the balance of his similarly rocking rival, shouting out the passages all wrong when the supervising monk was at the other end of the room and could not distinguish his voice in the general din, so as to cause his rival to laugh and be reprimanded.

But these shortcomings of the schoolroom were punished with only a comical severity. During the play hour the lazy boys were made to cross their hands across their breasts and pull at each ear with the fingers of the opposite hand; in this position they were made to sit and stand, sit and stand, while one of the good boys, usually joined by a crowd of others, sang in rhythmic chorus: "*Hta-Htaing, Hta-Htaing*: Rise-sit, rise-sit." Or if the supervising monk was in a playful mood he made these bad boys each take a good boy on his back and race them up and down the garden. Shortcomings of a moral nature were not regarded as such a joke, however; disobedience and dishonesty were punished with severe beatings, in accordance with the injunction given to the monks by the fond parents when they

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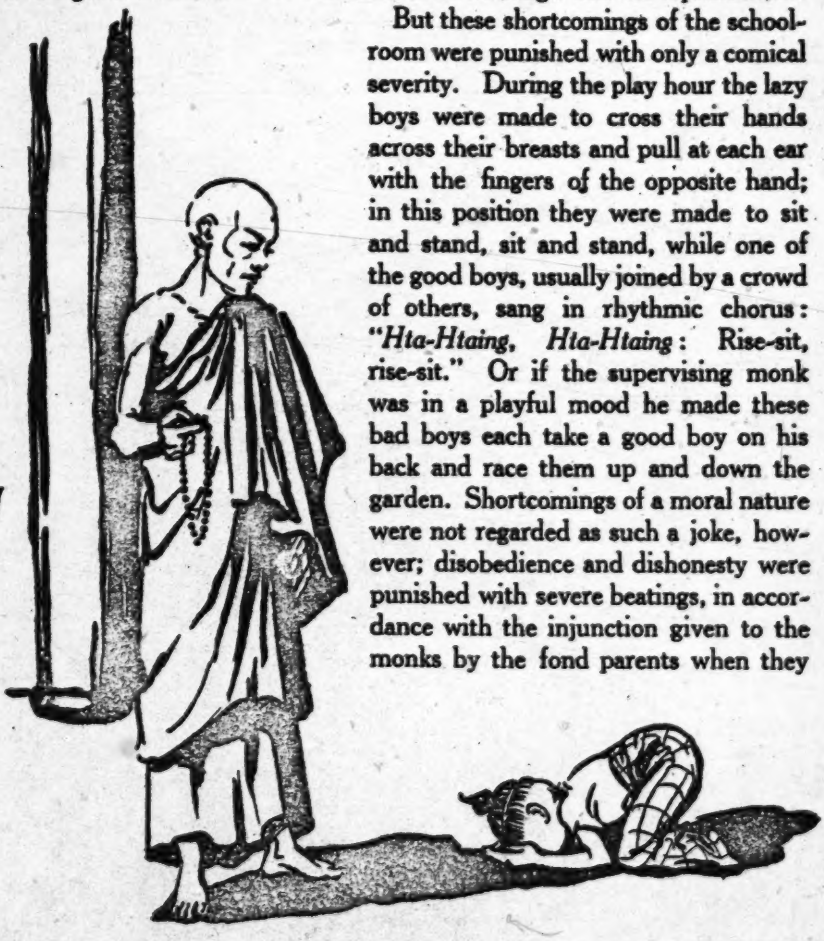

handed their children over: "*So yin na na yaik pa:* If he is naughty
872 please beat him hard."
561 My father spent about five years like this. The hair of his top-knot
792 grew longer year by year and it was nearing the time when he should cut

it off, offer it to his mother as a tress for her hair-dressing, and have his head shaved and be initiated into the monkhood amidst feasting and rejoicing. This initiation, which every Buddhist boy went through in order to attain his true manhood by wearing the yellow robe, would last only a week or a month, or as long as my father felt the urge to remain in the monastery; for ever if he liked, in which case he would be formally received as an upasin. It was expected, however, that he would leave after a few months and help Grandmother and the aunts with looking after the paddy and the gardens. A rain of accidents upset all these schemes. 872 561 792

When my father was about 14 he was already among the oldest boys in the kyauug, his learning was high and his conduct exemplary. The monks gave him the task of guarding the meat-safe where all the stores of sweetmeats given to the monastery were kept, as well as delicious titbits like the roe of *nga-tha-lauk* fish, and the rich red oil of the heads of lobsters, which were kept over for the meals of the monks on following days. These wire-netted cupboards are called "cat-houses" in Burmese, because they are meant to guard the food from depredations of cats, and they serve the purpose very well, but they could never guard against the appetites of little boys; for my father, even as I knew him in later years, loved people to eat good things and would always soften and allow his companions to have a bit just here and there. He was often scolded for it, but was so well-behaved otherwise that the post was not taken from him. Just at this time, however, a supervising monk with very decided ideas of discipline was given charge of the boys; all the faults of disobedience, telling of falsehoods, running off to the village at forbidden hours and such like, were stored up till the end of the month. Then, on punishment day, the monk would gather a pile of sticks beside him, and all the boys with faults in a row before him, and go through beating them, one stick to one boy until it broke. One month my father was included in this row because the inroads on the meat-safe stores had increased in spite of constant warnings. Being a big boy he was left to the end of the row, and could watch the zealous monk methodically working through the boys and the sticks. What we know of my father and physical pain is that my mother was once scolded very severely the only time in her life that she beat any of us, and that he himself, when about to take nasty medicine or a vaccination, would go through a series of shiverings and comical protests, some of which I am sure were quite genuine. My poor father then watched the pile of sticks diminishing, and when there were but three sticks left and three boys between him and the untiring monk he suddenly took to his heels and fled, right out of the monastery grounds, down the pagoda hill and down to the creek. He did not dare 872 792 861

872 to go home because Grandmother would have sent him back for a double
792 beating, so he hitched up his longyi, tied his shirt round his head and
861 swam across the stream. One of the huts on the other bank belonged to a woman who had always been very fond of him because she believed
[775] him to be a reincarnation of her brother who had died in childhood; Burmese Buddhists believe that one goes through many existences on this earth, and sometimes children are born who have not yet forgotten their previous existence by the time they can talk; they adopt habits uncannily like those of the departed member who, the fond and grieving relatives hope, has returned to them in the guise of this new child; they say "My bed", "My clothes" to the possessions of the dead person, especially if eggs are not included in their diet, the belief being that eggs cause them to forget. When we were very young, the fame of a wonder child, who could recite the most learned religious passages untaught, spread throughout Burma, and my parents travelled to hear him; he had been a monk in his past existence and could remember.

792 My father's case was no outstanding one like this; he had just re-
561 sembled the lady's brother in looks and gesture, and a few childish utterances helped out by her belief had endeared my father to her as having been *winsa* (come in and inhabited) by her brother. The good and fond lady received the boy with open arms, agreed that he was getting too old for the monastery, and promised to go over and plead with my grandmother to take him out now and hasten his initiation ceremony into the priesthood. This was achieved and my father went back to his mother's house and prepared for the *shinbyu* as the ceremony was called.

484 The manner of his exit from the monastery, however, had made
177 him restless. During the short period he was free, he could go where
874 he willed, and in this way he often met traders who came and went between Ye and Tavoy, a seaport town about 100 miles away, to which passenger and cargo ships from Moulmein made regular trips. One day he was at the house on the opposite bank when a boy he used to know as a toddler returned from Tavoy after a trip to Moulmein. This boy could speak a few words of English. Moreover, he wore his hair in a *boha-dauk* (a Westerner's crop) and seemed to think my father a jungle boy. All the restlessness in my father flowed over then, because up to now he had always felt himself clever and ahead of other boys. He worried Grandmother to let him go to Moulmein and learn English, and and get a job with the government which would bring them hundreds of rupees each month. Other families who considered that Grandmother had clever sons agreed that this would be a good idea; though none of them had been to Moulmein and my father was still a boy, it would not be so daring an adventure as it sounded, because there was some one

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which every Burman has, and carefully consults, with the help of an astrologer, for the fixing of fortunate days and hours throughout his life. Sometimes the sadā is drawn up very shortly after birth, but ordinarily not till the child is five or six years old. Then an old Pônna, a Brahmin, or any ordinary astrologer is called in. He records on a doubled up strip of palm leaf the year, the month, the day and hour at which the child was born; the name given to it; the planet in the ascendant at the moment of birth and the house in which it was at the time. This is scratched neatly on the palm leaf in the usual way with a metal style. On the other side are a number of cabalistic squares and numbers from which the future calculations may be made. There are said to be eight gyo, or planets, and from these the days of the week are named, Wednesday having a second, Yahu, which rules from mid-day to midnight. Each of the planets has its own point of the compass as follows:—

N.

Yahu. 12 Symbol—Tuskless Elephant. Wednesday, 12 P.M. to 12 A.M. Unnamed.	Thauk-kya. 21 Symbol—Guinea-Pig. Friday. Venus.	Taninganwe. 6 Symbol—Kalohn. Sunday. The Sun.
Kyathabade. 19 Symbol—Rat. Thursday. Jupiter.		Taninla. 15 Symbol—Tiger. Monday. The Moon.
Sane. 10 Symbol—Nagah. Saturday. Saturn.	Boddahu. 17 Symbol—Tusked Elephant. Wednesday, 12 A.M. to 12 P.M. Mercury.	Ainga. Symbol—Lion. Tuesday. Mars.

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The stations, numbers, and symbols of the planets are recorded in a jingling rhyme, which is one of the first things boys learn in the monastic schools, *e.g.*—

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Taninla kya
Ta-sè nga
Ne nya
She yat ga.

Monday's number, I ween,
Is always fifteen;
The tiger's the beast,
And its place is the East.

There are various ways of calculating the horoscope, 787
most of them not to be understanded of the people, but the most popular, because the preliminaries are evident to everybody, is from the numbers given above. A person born on Monday remains under the influence of the moon for fifteen years. Then he passes into the house of Mars and sojourns there for eight years. At the age of twenty-three, Mercury presides over him and continues to do so for the next seventeen years, and so on to the end, which mounts up to 108 years. Should he outlive that he would begin the circle over again. Another way is to divide the inquirer's age by eight. If there is no remainder, the horoscope is made up from the gyo under which he was born. If there is a remainder, the Bedin Sayā counts it out round the figure, in the direction of the hands of a watch, commencing with the birth planet. Thus a man born on Thursday, now twenty-nine years of age, would be under the influence of the moon. The gyo at the four cardinal points, east, south, west, and north are happy in their influences, those on the diagonal rhumbs not so good. Yahu, and especially Saturday, have 787
a particularly sinister influence. A man does most of the 828
stupid and vicious things in his life while he is in Saturn's house. A youhg man born on Wednesday will need a lot of ballast to tide him through the ten years of Saturn, seeing that he enters on the danger at the age of seventeen.

Little gilded and red painted signboards are put up at 787
all the pagodas, displaying the nan, the symbol, and the 782
relative position of all the planets. Sometimes people 778
worshipping at the pagoda go to the point of the gyo, in whose house they were born, and offer up their lauds and candles there. But this is a mere matter of individual fancy, and is hardly open to those born in the diagonally situated

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and ninepins, played with the big flat seeds of a jungle creeper. Pleasant they were under the shade of the great mango and pipul trees and the lofty cocoa-nut and palmyra palms, and exciting were the games, so that the customary stillness of the place was rudely broken upon by disputing voices, till a monk would come out and bring all back to work again as a penance. Then during the work there was the fun of the writing hour, when everybody had to write out maxims and prayers on his little parabaik with a clumsy pointed steatite pencil. There were always some stiff-fingered big pupils who could not manage to write their copy neatly or correctly, and as punishment had to take the good writers on their backs and march ruefully up and down the long schoolroom during pleasure. Sometimes they were thrashed, but the other punishment was the more dreaded. Then there was the schoolmaster monk, who would tell fairy stories of the other three great islands which lie in the sea round about Myinmo mountain; of the half-moon-faced western islanders, and the wondrous tree that bore everything eatable one could wish for and delivered it ready cooked; the joys of the six heavens of the Nats and the grisly horrors of Nga-yè, with its fearful ages of fantastic punishments. Every now and again travelling necromancers and hmaw sayās would spend a night or two at the monastery, and in recompense for the little delicacies and odds and ends of food which good-natured neophytes would get for them, used to tell stories of witchery and marvel. Sometimes there would be a sā-haw yā, a kind of cyclic poet, who knew half the zats in the language by heart, and would recite a little just for practice. Or a tattooing sayā would come round and mark some particularly favoured youth with a quaint figure. Discussion as to its meaning and probable virtues would be carried on in the shadowy evenings for months afterwards. Varieties of this kind recur to the old Burman as he thinks of the school days long ago, and he sighs with as much conviction as any European that there are no days so happy as the school days.

English rule has disturbed old customs a good deal in the province, but even now we may say that, as an invari-

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871 able rule, when a boy has reached the age of eight or nine years he goes as a matter of course to the Pôngyi Kyaung. 871 It is open to all alike—to the poor fisherman's son as well 212 as to the scion of princely blood—for no one pays anything, 792 and it is not carefully considered who it is that fills the 561 monkish begging pots in the daily round. Thus every Buddhist boy in the country is taught to read and write, and in this respect at least there are but very few illiterate Burmans. This primary education must by no means be confounded with entry into the monastery as a koyin-gale, or novice. Strictly speaking, this ceremony ought not to take place before the age of fifteen, and the earlier sojourn is only a preparation for it. The younger pupils may become boarders in the monastic building if they choose, but they do not assume the yellow robe, which marks them, for however short a time it may be worn, as members of the Assembly of the Perfect. They wear their ordinary clothes and retain their secular name.

876 As soon as the boy enters the monastery he is set down in the big schoolroom beside all the other boys, and receives ● 872 a roughly-made black wooden slate. On this are written a few of the letters, perhaps the whole of the alphabet. A little explanation starts him off, and for the next few days he is engaged in shouting out their sounds at the top of his voice. Nobody minds him, for all the other scholars are similarly engaged in hallooing, and the monks derive a sense of comfort and a virtuous consciousness of doing good from the noise. It is as soothing as the sound of his mill-wheels to the miller, or the roar of traffic to the cockney. If a boy stops shouting, it is a sign that he has stopped working—and if he is not meditating mischief, it is probable that he is about to go to sleep, and he is corrected accordingly. The method is an admirable one for keeping the boys occupied—much more so than civilised Western methods—though I fear a council of English head-masters would scout the idea. The casual foreign observer who goes about taking notes, like Grose or the "Rampant M.P.," passes the ecclesiastical school, and in amazement at the seeming uproar within, declares that monastery schools are hopelessly badly conducted, and without the semblance of discipline. As a

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matter of fact, the more noise there is going on, the more work there is being got through.

Doubtless it is a primitive method—doubtless there are thick-headed boys with tough lungs who shout out the ka gyi, ka gwe (the A, B, C) with but the slightest portion of it remaining in their brains. There must be, because sometimes a boy takes a year to get through the alphabet (called the thin-bon-gyi, the "great basket of learning"), the combination of vowel symbols, and the alterations of sound effected by the union of consonants, all of which are mere materials, and only a very small portion of the complicated system of the language. Nevertheless everybody learns in the end, and then they are set to read in the same way, and gradually advance in the immemorial regulation subjects. The first books—all the books, in fact, put in the boys' hands—are religious. They learn the five universal commandments, the five subsidiary rules, the Pali formulæ to be employed at the pagoda—pattering them over till they pour out of the lips with the fluency and precision of water out of a pump. When there are a number at the same stage in their studies, they repeat their lesson word for word after the teacher, sitting in wide rows before him, and all chanting with the same emphasis and apparently in the same key. The effect is very singular when a string of sonorous Pali versicles is being mouthed over in the striking intoned recitative peculiar to these formulæ. The twenty or thirty boys crouching down on their knees, their little heads every now and then bowing down to the ground over their hands joined in supplication, the yellow-robed monk sitting cross-legged on the dais before them, repeating in abrupt, jerky fashion the clauses of the form of worship, which the childish voices instantly catch up, forms a scene which never loses its novelty and attractiveness.

The little schoolboy slowly learns all these formulæ. Even near to and in the larger towns of Lower Burma the amount of secular learning, arithmetic, and so on that is learnt, is of the most meagre possible description. All relates to the tenets of religion—to the existences and teachings of the Lord Buddha. The things thus impressed on the youthful mind sink deep into the memory, and leave their mark

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872 on the whole future life of the young scholars. As long as
779 these monastic schools are attended, all attacks on the Buddhist faith must be fruitless.

872 Besides the commandments, the paya-shekho, and the
779 pareit-yôp-thi, the lauds of the Lord Buddha, and the
792 aspirations to be repeated at the holy shrines, the formulæ to be told over on the beads; besides these first principles, the young Burman is taught the thin-ki-ya, the rules which are to prepare him for assuming the yellow robe, and to guide him during his longer or shorter withdrawal from the sinful world to the calm tranquillity of the monastery. He must learn that the young novice carefully imitates the decorous pace of the yahan; does not walk fast; avoids swinging his hands; does not smile or laugh in passing through a village, and keeps far away from all secular amuse-
[292] ments. The yellow robe, distinctive of the order, is to be regarded not as a garment to cherish and comfort the wearer, not as a robe to adorn the outward man and make it look stately or pious, but merely as a concession to modesty, born of the weaknesses of poor human flesh—and further, as a means of enabling the worthless frame to endure the
[261] extremes of heat and cold. In the same way food is to be eaten only to support life. The member of the sacred order must not think of meal times as an occasion for gratifying his senses; he must avoid dwelling on the tastiness of the food and the gratification to his palate which the pious zeal of a supporter may afford in presenting an unusually dainty meal. Especially must he refrain from eating food to make himself strong and lusty. He must always remember the transitoriness, the misery and unreality of the world, and find relief in the Triple Consolation, the trust in the Lord, the Law, and the Assembly.

All these things are impressed on the young pupil as soon as he is able to read at all, every one of them assuming the fact that as soon as he is old enough, or as soon as he has gone through the necessary preparation, he will assume the yellow robe of the devout, to wear it perhaps for life, perhaps only for a day or two, but certainly to put it on, for
[885] without this he cannot attain to the full privileges of a man.
[777] His kan (luck) will be altogether one-sided. All the ill deeds

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

All the ill deeds 872
he does will swell the sum of his demerits, but not a single 779
good action, no uttermost act of charity or devotion, will be 792
recorded to his advantage for another existence. Without 775
admission to the order, without "Buddhist baptism," no man 186
can count his present existence as other than an animal's. The great gift of having appeared in the likeness of a human being; the happy balancing of merits and demerits which has resulted in so glorious an opportunity of advancing towards Ne'-ban; the still greater fortune of existence in a country where the tenets of Buddhism offer supreme chances to the weary seeker after rest from the moil of a work-a-day world; all will have been recklessly thrown away. It is written that more hardly will a needle cast from the summit of Mount Myinmo across the wide Thamoddaya Sea, more hardly will it touch with its point as it falls another needle standing point upwards in the great Southern Island, than will any given creature become a human being. How are the Western foreigners, black and white, to be pitied, who have indeed by earnest strivings attained the seat of man, but, arrived there, find it all naught because they do not hear the teachings of the Buddha! How much worse the Burman, to whom all his life long the monastery door stands open, to whom a week's, a day's, an hour's sojourn would offer boundless possibilities, and yet who enters not in. If this be so, what then can be the prospect for the boy who having put his hand to the plough turns back, who entering the monastery as a child, imbibes the religious thoughts and becomes acquainted with the religious creed, and yet fails to seek the "humanity" so easily to be gained? Better have been born an animal or an Englishman, and scoffed at what he did not understand.

Consequently it may be invariably assumed that the 871
little scholar, as soon as age and acquirements admit, puts 792
on the yellow garb as a finish to his education. This used 177.87
to include every one. Till the English came and took the country, everybody went to the Pon-gyi-Kyaung. But now there are English government schools; there are Burmese laymen's schools, which neglect religious education altogether, and look to competitive examinations as the end and aim of juvenile existence, as the ne'-ban of school life.

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4
Lower Burma

important age for the boy to be learning English and arithmetic, with a view to getting situations under Government or in English merchants' offices. Therefore in the vast majority of cases shin-pyu thi takes place at the age of twelve, or perhaps even a year earlier. 792 561 184 177.84

If the boy has been a scholar in the monastery beforehand, he is sure to be already prepared in all that is required of him. If not, he gets a few hasty lessons in the duties that will be incumbent on him. He must address a full member of the order in such and such language; he must walk decorously through the streets, keeping his eyes fixed on the ground six feet before him, and on no account gaze round him, no matter what exciting events may be going on; he must wear his thingan and du-gut in the prescribed fashion; he must eat with dignity and circumspection, and so on. All these details are set forth in most minute fashion in a code. When he has mastered the most essential portions, and has also given proof of an acquaintance with the ordinary forms of worship, all is ready. His horoscope now comes into requisition, and a bedinsayā or Ponna is called in to determine a lucky day and hour from the sadā. When this has been settled, three or four girls, the intending koyin-gale's sisters, or friends of the family, dress themselves up in their finest silks and jewels—often borrowing a large quantity of the latter—and go round the town, announcing to all relatives, friends, and neighbours when the induction will take place, and inviting them to the feast, presenting the little packet of le'-pet usual on such occasions. Almost all of these send some little present, either of money or victuals, to aid in the feast and make it as grand as possible. Not unseldom, if somebody else's son is also going to enter the kyaung and the town is not very large, the two join forces, while occasionally as many as half a dozen unite, especially if the families are not well off. 792 872 [516] [292] 792 561 [787] 796 [292]

On the appointed day the young neophyte dresses in his finest clothes, and loads himself with all the family gold chains and jewellery, and as much more as he can borrow for the occasion. He then mounts a pony or gets into a richly decorated car. Shaded by gold umbrellas, allowed formerly on this occasion only in Upper Burma, except to those who had got a special patent for them from the sovereign... [292] [554]

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

643 Some thirty people about the Court were beheaded, and the queen dowager was relegated to the convent.

643 177-64 872 Thibaw himself was brought up in an uncle's house and used to be unmercifully bullied by his cousins. When Dr. Marks, the eminent S.P.G. missionary, came to Mandalay and established a school, the late king asked what was the best age for a Burman to commence learning English. The reverend gentleman said, "About twelve years old." King Mindôn called for "all his sons that were twelve years old or thereabouts." Eleven were produced, and among them was Thibaw. The future king went to the royal school, but he sat apart from his late victims, and never came to school on the same elephant with them. He was a surly, morose boy, not very good at his lessons, and once or twice narrowly escaped the usual result of such conduct. I believe he was never actually birched, but he had several times to stand in the corner. When he left he was able to read a little, but he has forgotten all his English now. He used to be fond of cricket, and slogged away in fairly good pendulum form; but he never would field out, and used unprincely language to any one who bowled him. He was the youngest of the batch by a month or two, and was always quarrelling with his brothers and bullying the wretched slave who attended him and carried his cheroots and betel-nut. But nobody paid much attention to his vagaries then, for he was twentieth or thirtieth son, and the Mekhaya prince, the eldest, might very easily have been his father, or even grandfather.

643 792 After he left the S.P.G. Royal School, King Mindôn made him a koyin, a neophant, in the royal monastery. There he seemed to get on better. At any rate when his novitiate was over, he passed with honours as Patama Kyaw, an examination in the Bitaghat thônbông, the three "baskets" of the Buddhist law, and sundry other volumes of ritual and controversy. This was what first drew the old king's attention to him. Mindôn Min was a very pious old gentleman, and had a particular delight in his title of Convener of the Fifth Great Synod. When therefore young Thibaw made a score in the Turanian Theological Tripos, his father bored everybody with his talk about the juvenile

14: Brant E-5 (1949-50) 1954 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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large amounts of food. The married women prepare food, serve, and entertain the guests, while the unmarried girls assist them. If a ceremony involves a procession, the unmarried girls bear the gifts which are invariably taken to the monks on such occasions.

These 'groups' are so informal and loosely organized that in the strict sociological sense they should not be so designated; rather, they are simply the conventional lines along which cooperation takes place and labor is divided, in a spirit of mutual aid, whenever a family sponsors a ceremony -- an occasion involving much work. Each is willing to help, for when his own family sponsors an event, similar assistance will be expected and forthcoming.

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Education. In addition to the Buddhist monastic schools, to be discussed in the next chapter, there is a small secular school in the village. This is operated on a voluntary basis by a middle-aged schoolmaster, a widower, who migrated, together with his daughter, to Tadagale two years ago. It is his hope that eventually the school will be incorporated into the regular school system, as compulsory education is gradually extended to the country. The school is financed wholly by voluntary contributions. The village headman personally contributes ten rupees per month, his brother gives a like amount, and the Bus Union donates five rupees. From this income of twenty-five rupees per month ($5.25) the schoolmaster pays five rupees for his house rent and provides blackboard chalk and his own books and pencils. On what remains, plus a little profit he derives from maintaining a small shop in his house, he must support his daughter and himself. But he is confident that once compulsory education is extended to Tadagale, his sacrificial efforts of the present will be rewarded by a regular appointment at Rs. 100 per month, an expanded program of instruction, and perhaps the services of an assistant. For the present he operates the school without any responsibilities to superiors, devising his own curriculum and teaching according to his own methods. The schoolmaster was himself once a student at a normal school in Moulmein.

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About eighty children attend the school with varying degrees of regularity. The average daily attendance is about sixty. The schoolmaster feels that many more children of school-age living in the community should attend, but finds that parents are reluctant to send their children. Some feel they are needed for household and field labor; others prefer what they regard as the stricter environment of the monastic school, with its great emphasis upon religion and correct conduct. The schoolmaster deplores the ignorance and negative attitudes of villagers concerning education, and their unwillingness to contribute financially to the maintenance of his school.

Instruction is given in five grades or 'standards' as they are called in Burma. These are termed 1B, 1A, 2, 3, and 4.

Standard 1B is equivalent to the kindergarten of the pre-World War II schools. The schoolmaster has divided the class into two sections, one for the children of seven to eight years who already can read to some extent, the other for the younger ones of four to six who cannot. According to the rules of the government schools six years is the minimum school age, but the schoolmaster in Tadagale is not bound by such regulations. He teaches these two groups of kindergarteners according to their own levels and at the pace which he thinks appropriate. They learn the alphabet and simple numbers at first, later moving on to reading and spelling. No regular allocation of time to different subjects is possible, since the schoolmaster must teach this and four other classes without any assistance.

14: Brant E-5 (1949-50) 1954 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

In Standard 1A, numerals up to one hundred and the various arithmetic operations are taught. Reading is done from a primer which contains fifteen commandments of the Buddha in Pali, with Burmese translations. In addition, a more advanced reader is used, containing sermons of the Buddha in both languages. The children in this class range in age from six to thirteen years, the average being nine. 872

The next class, Standard 2, provides further reading in the sermons and precepts of Buddhism, arithmetic ranging into high numbers, multiplication tables up to sixteen, and sums involving money. The geography of Burma is introduced. The pupils average ten and a half years.

More advanced arithmetic, reading of historical tales, and more advanced geography are included in the curriculum of Standard 3, the pupils of which average in age about the same as those in Standard 2. Hygiene is begun, literally called 'lessons to insure good health.' Besides cleanliness, the children learn proper postures for sitting, sleeping, and eating. Exercises in Burmese grammar are given by mass recitation -- which is the method of teaching all subjects. Another subject is the writing of letters and social invitations.

Children ranging from ten to fourteen years are in Standard 4. They use an advanced reader containing Buddhist sermons and history. Their arithmetic includes weights and measures, land measurement, and simple interest calculations. There is more emphasis on writing of letters and essays.

The school building is simply a vacant house. The entire school group is assembled at the same time, seated on the floor. The lessons of the different standards are recited one after another. While one standard is engaged in recitation, the other pupils are expected to study, or at least remain quiet. On the religious duty days, and of course on the holidays, the school is not in session.

This school contributes to the literacy of the village, although in large measure the high literacy here and generally in Burma, as compared with India and China, is attributable to the monastic schools. In Tadagale, 357 of a total of 640 persons, eight years of age and above, on whom literacy data could be secured, were literate. This is 55%. The criterion of literacy employed was ability to read a newspaper in some language. Of the 331 men in this number, 251 were literate, or nearly 76%. Women, however, were only 31% literate. Literacy in English is rare in the village; there were but twelve persons who could read an English language newspaper, and of these, nine were men. 872 212

Tadagale's proximity to Rangoon, where several newspapers are published, gives villagers access to the press. In fact, a few vendors of the metropolitan newspapers sell them in the community. Few persons buy them, but these copies receive very wide circulation. A survey of newspaper reading, carried out among those claiming literacy indicated a frequency range from zero to daily reading of newspapers. The largest group, nearly a third, both men and women, read a paper once or twice a week, while another 20% read one twice or three times a month. 10% reported never reading papers, while 16% claimed to be daily readers. 212 204

Intergroup Relations

As indicated earlier, about 6% of the population of Tadagale consists of Indians, some of them born in Burma. The Indian inhabitants came to the village 563

792 the small boys, as day pupils. Monastic education is a traditional part of Burmese Buddhism, and almost all the men of Tadagale, whether reared in the
871 village or elsewhere, have attended monastic schools for varying lengths of time.

The monastic school curriculum includes elementary reading, writing and
792 arithmetic, rudiments of history and geography, heavily colored by Burmese cosmology and folklore, and instruction in Buddhist precepts and proper conduct.
872 There is heavy emphasis upon proper conduct. Instruction takes the form of mass recitation and rote memorization. Discipline is strict and the inattentive
876 pupil is kept alert, when necessary, by means of the rod. As indicated earlier, many parents in the village favor the monastic as against the public school because of the strict discipline and the emphasis upon conduct and religion.

Concerning the second function of the monks, officiation at certain
793 rites, it should be indicated that because Burmese Buddhism is not a congregational type of religion, the monks are not called upon to officiate at regular assemblies in any fashion akin to the role of the Christian minister. The monks do, however, play an important part in the initiation of boys into the monkhood; and sometimes take part in funeral rites.

The monk's function of giving advice and guidance stems from the fact that he is regarded, in the thinking of the villagers, not only as one to whom the greatest respect and deference is due by virtue of his dedication to his life to religion, but also as a living repository of wisdom and universal knowledge. He is a person to whom one may turn in time of uncertainty, doubt or stress for personal counsel. Problems relating to the conduct of one's children; concern over persistent lack of success in one's economic activities; or even matters of health may be taken to the monk. A great deal of the advice rendered by monks is formulaic, folkloristic and magical in nature. Particular monks tend to acquire reputations as being especially wise and helpful in particular kinds of problems.

Support of the Monks. The monastery buildings and the land on which
792 they stand are the property of the monastic order, held in perpetuity by grant
235 of the government, free of taxation.

The monks are supported by the donations of the villagers. Every morning a monk, accompanied by one or two monastic school pupils, passes through the village to collect offerings of food. As he enters the compound of each home a member of the household takes a pot of cooked rice, which has been prepared for the morning meal, and places a few large spoonsful in the monk's begging bowl. This minimum daily contribution of food is made by every Buddhist household, without exception; in addition, many families send
[621] bowls of curry and rice to the monastery. Giving food to the monks is an important act of merit to Burmese Buddhists. It is regarded as unthinkable that any household would refuse. When the hypothetical case was posed of such a deviant household, villagers agreed that such a family would be severely criticized and shunned in the village.

The few other things that the monks require for their austere existence are given by villagers on the important ceremonial days of the year. These items include robes, soap, matches, begging bowls, water strainers and needles.

Duty Days. The Burmese calendar is a lunar one, and in each month there
796 are four days -- duty or sabbath days -- on which the villagers go to the monastery

342 514 In U Myaing's house the lavatory is in the kitchen and is walled off with woven KYU (kind of fiber) mat. There is a hole cut open in the board flooring, and the area underneath this opening also is walled off with woven KYU. U Myaing and family did not take their meals in the kitchen but in the house proper.

361 368 346 [872] [364] The PHON-GYI KYAUNG or monastery is located further downstream from the village. It is a two storied brick building comprised of nine rooms, each 6 TAUNG square. Children are not taught here but learn their lessons at the government school. This school, which is on YWA-GYI-EKT side, teaches pupils up to the tenth standard. Below the PHON-GYI KYAUNG is the cemetery.

The houses in the village are separated one from the other by eight feet on each side. The rows of houses facing the river have porches on 342 both sides. U Myaing's house is typical of those found in the village - some may be more elaborate, some less. His house had been built only 435 [651] six or seven years, and cost Rs. 3000/- at that time. There are no accounts for each of the separate items and U Myaing does not remember. The land was free and they did not have to pay any revenue on it. [366] Separate from the houses and on the riverside is a huge platform built [252] to process fish including the making of NGAPI. U Myaing had no land that he owned round the house, although he could use the land directly in front of the house for various purposes.

U Myaing describes his house as follows;

342 592 "It is a wooden house, made of wooden posts - a two storied structure. The roof is of slates. Walls are of SHI-NWA-NU wooden boards (boards 8 inches wide and about ½ inch thick) and there are four rooms. Other people have similar houses. It is a LAY-BIN-KIN (a four-tree-house or a house which has four supporting poles across the front) and all seven of us live in the house. We drop a kitchen from the back and cook there. The kitchen has three windows at the back, with one door leading into the house. We all live together in three rooms. We keep bedrooms. (U Myaing is speaking of a sketch of the house here). This side is for visitors - there is a room for people who come to buy goods. The [366] old mother and the children live in one room and I and my wife in another with the smallest child. We eat in the front part of the house in one room at the foot of the sleeping place. There are nine 6 TAUNG rooms without partitions on each of the two floors. The sides of the house are enclosed with timber planks of IN wood, but the bedrooms are also partitioned off. It is very wide and roomy to live in. The floor is made of teak planks."

177. 89 876 metic book for an old man called Samuel who produced a series of swot books on various subjects, beautifully tabulated books with questions and answers, invaluable for examinations and used even in my day when we and our school teachers whisked them out of sight of Education Inspectors who came on the prowl for just such unprogressive methods of education. He also went across to the American Mission School where quite often the teachers were more Christian and painstaking than brilliant, to help old Teacher Nellie with Geometry riders, and in this way he met my mother.

●873 593 562 582 My parents could not get married as soon as they left school. My father had first to go to the University, which consisted then of Rangoon College, affiliated to Calcutta University, and then he felt he must work to buy my grandmother a big enough plot of paddy land so that her two youngest sons would not need to look after her in Ye, but could come into the world like my father. He now felt that they should not be denied the wonderful opportunities which he had found. My father did go to College, but had passed only his F. A. (corresponding to Intermediate) when he heard that my mother was now going out to teach in a school at Thaton, and that she was having to put on a European gown and hat in order to be less conspicuous, because at that time no Burmese Buddhist ladies went out to work. My father left his studies at once and got a job in the same school to look after her, and it was only after some months of persuasion by Grandfather and my mother that he consented to leave and look for a better paid position.

647 177. 65 582 He managed to obtain a myookship in the Government Service, which is a junior administrative post but considered a very good job for Burmans in those days. In this job he could save enough to buy Grandmother her paddy land, after which he and my mother would get married. But my father with his good looks, his teetotaller habits, and his myookship, was considered a desirable son-in-law by many people, and other parents were not like Grandfather; they would try to engage the young man's affections for their daughters. I am sure my mother spent the next three years in some anxiety, as she heard stories of the young myook's gay and happy life in such far-off towns as Toungoo and Shwegyin. But one day the children dashed up to her with a telegram; she opened it and read *Gyi will you marry me.* My mother, who has never shown any excitement as far as I can remember, got up very quietly and went to her chest of drawers. She took out ten annas in change, and wired back *Yes.*

584 Soon after this my father arrived amidst great excitement on the part of my mother's family and a pretence of complete ignorance on Grandfather's part. My aunts expected an explosion from him when

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Oh mother, mother,
When will you come ?
The crow is tired with a-cawing.

But conditions improved with time; we grew older and less imaginative, and above all the tide of Burmese nationalist feeling which surged into being in about 1920 was at last beginning to seep through the convent walls.

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Even the nuns heard, in 1930, about Saya San who raised a rebellion in Tharawaddy district, and roused such fervour among a certain section of the population that about 2,000 rebel followers were killed—their bodies vulnerable to gunfire in spite of the charms they had tattooed on—before the Government succeeded in suppressing the rebellion. Although Saya San was a charlatan to those in authority, and his followers a band of unruly dacoits, his conviction that he was born to become the monarch of a newly resurrected Burmese kingdom fired the imagination of some nationalists. To them he was an intrepid spirit, his courage so keen and his body so hardy: *Kya ko Khalok, thitngok hnin hsu ko thinbyu :* The tiger his stubbing stone, tree stumps and bushes of thorns his smoothest mat. By the time the nuns had heard of Saya San I had another Burmese girl as a fellow boarder and class-mate. Grace Nee was a girl of great spirit and mental liveliness. Her father was also an a-so-ya min, and we derived great comfort and happiness from each other's presence. When the class-teacher scolded one of us, saying, "You Burmans nowadays are expecting us to kow-tow to you. Yes, this mad fellow Saya San. And you think that we must bow to you," then the other would bang desk and chair in sympathy and indignation. Our hearts would swell to bursting point, for though we knew little yet about nationalism or patriotism, we identified our country and our race with the persons of our parents, and we could hardly bear this constant humiliation of their name. We shrank from telling them about it, however. My father never knew how different our life at school was from the world at home, and my mother will learn of it for the first time when she reads this.

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What a glorious new world opened out before us when we went to the University. What splendour there was in the richness of Burmese dress, food, companions, religious celebration, music, dancing and wit. I only regret that I could not take full advantage of these years because family troubles tumbled around my ears just then, and when they had subsided I was forced into earnest study to win the best degree possible in order to comfort my mother. This was necessary because up till this time I had always disappointed my parents because I had preferred popularity among companions to concentration on studies. Rangoon

University, which was embodied in 1920 from two colleges which had been affiliated to Calcutta University, now consisted of four constituent colleges—University College, Judson College, Teachers' Training College and Medical College. Of these, the Teachers' Training College led a self-sufficient collegiate life of its own, with its normal school, its Anglo-Vernacular high school and its graduate students. Judson College which was an American missionary college contained a very large percentage of Karens and Christians. Medical College was situated a good distance away from the University estate, and in any case students did not enter its buildings until their third year. For the great majority of Burman Buddhists, therefore, the University meant University College with its strength of about 200 women and 800 men students. 873 •

The buildings of the college were laid out on a garden estate of the University, about four miles out of Rangoon. There were brick and wood residential halls grouped in units, great blocks of teaching buildings in a series of rectangular arms from a main block, a University Convocation Hall in the form of a massive square structure laid heavily at the head of a fine central drive, a narrower and lofty University Library building, a Union Hall, a gymnasium with bright dancing murals on its outside walls, and later a Buddhist Congregational Hall with the traditional tiered roofs in concrete. Opposite was Judson College in the same style, but with the scale greatly contracted. The whole arrangement was set out with stretches of grassy lawns, gardens, great trees and the thousand smaller trees, which had been planted when the estate was first laid, and residential houses for the staff; and bordering all were the Kokine Lakes, extensive stretches of water with pretty banks and wooded islands. The University estate could have been developed into a self-sufficient garden city for it had already a post office, a bookshop and a small hospital of its own, and a servants' village stretched out till it joined the Teachers' Training College not far away. Although the blocks of modern structures could have been built in a more Burmese style, there was enough romance in these surroundings for those of us who had come from English schools. The Convocation Hall was guarded by two giant bronze gryphons squatting on slabs of concrete, in the way that lion gryphons guard all our pagodas. The names of the residential halls were the names of ancient capitals of Burma—Prome, Tagaung, Pagan and Ava; Pegu, Thaton, Sagaing and Inya. The bus service connecting the University with Rangoon town was marked with the naga—the dragon of our mythology and a noble beneficent creature. It was the most elevated of the Rangoon Electric Tramway's attempts at symbols for the illiterate users of buses—an aeroplane for Mingaladon 873 873 494 212

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where the airport of Rangoon was situated, a horse's head for the suburb of Insein where wild horses used to graze before the area was cleared and built up, a prawn for the suburb of Pasundaung which name means "Mountain of Prawns" and a naga for the *Tegatho*, the Taxila of learning.

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Burmese girls and boys came to this University from the age of sixteen upwards. They studied English and Burmese and a combination of three other subjects for two years, reducible to one for more promising students, and then took an Intermediate Arts or Science examination. After this, a small percentage read an Honours Course for three years, and the great majority took a B.A. or a B.Sc. with a combination of three subjects. There were facilities for an M.A. course, a Law Degree, and an Engineering Degree in a special Engineering College endowed by the Burma Oil Company. For graduates who wished to return to cram for a competitive examination for one of the government services, there was a useful system of minor tutorship posts which, originally paying Rs. 120/- per month, had been split up into two or three posts paying Rs. 40/- to Rs. 60/- for about four to six hours of work per week. This enabled students to have an extra year or two of preparation without any support from home, because boarding fees in any of the halls amounted to Rs. 24/- only. Indeed for the richer classes of Burmese people, life at the University was one of the cheapest ways of passing years in pleasant surroundings, and only the existing rules prevented some from continuing their adolescence into their late thirties. One of my cousins who showed such promise that he matriculated at fifteen, became a rowing man with much money to spend after he joined the University and spent altogether fifteen years as an undergraduate, dodging from one college to another, alternating the arts and the sciences as a reason for his long stay. My uncle Kyaw Din, who carried off the prize of the year in his Intermediate examination, subsequently spent seven years getting his B.A. because he was the best footballer of his day.

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Although there were students here and there who were buried in books either from a love of learning or from being the only breadwinner of a family, my remembrance of University College, Rangoon, is of a great mass of boys and girls who tried to get a passable degree round examination time, but were otherwise submerged in a flood of love and dramatic entertainment. The various associations of arts and sciences, religious and racial fraternities, were more social than intellectual in their activities, but in the Union there was no lack of exciting and impassioned discussions. Here it was that Thakin Nu, Foreign Minister during the Japanese occupation, and Major-General Aung San, leader of the Burmese National Army, harangued us as junior students. Here there was such fierce heartburning about agrarian troubles, labour strikes at the

Yenangyaung oilfields, support of Ministers, and the indifference of the less worthy sections of University staff and students towards the nationalist movement. 873 668

The crowning event of my years there was the great strike of 1936 when about 600 students got into buses just before the final examinations and encamped themselves on the slopes of the Shwe Dagon Pagoda hill, with much sympathy and material support from the public, the men returning every morning to picket the black-leg examination candidates by lying across all exits and entrances—a completely successful technique, for it is an unthinkable insult to a Buddhist male to have his body trodden on, and no Burman, or Burma Indian or Chinese for that matter, will dare to inflict such an insult. Some of the strikers felt, after the rallying speeches in the Union, that they were striking to evict an immoral member of the staff who had the support of the Principal whom they considered an autocrat; others knew that definite demands had been put forward for the amendment of the University Act, the ultimate result of which would be to make this Principal more accountable to Burmese political leaders; a great majority felt a wave of unnameable exaltation as they stormed hall after hall for recruits, ringing bells and shouting, "Come on, sisters, the day of freedom has arrived at last!" and almost all banged and cheered as they drove away, on the roofs, the steps and the wheels of the buses, at the thought of no examinations that year, and the exciting days of picketing ahead. But it was a tragic and unhappy time for some who did not have money to waste on another year before graduation and who trusted that the authorities would succeed in holding the examinations, or for others who did not join out of personal loyalties of the moment and who had friends and brothers with impassioned convictions on the other side. I shall always remember the face of my friend Ko Ohn, as he refused to let a doctor into Inya Hall to attend to a sick non-striker, his good face so full of distress and his longyi all smudged with the melted tarmac of the road in which he had been lying under the hot March sun. "Please, we must do it," he said; "I am so thirsty and my head is aching, but we must do it for our country." [577]

One of the reasons for the focussing of public interest on the University students was the great interest taken in the development of the young women there. The male students, like the public, were not interested in them only for reasons of courtship or companionship, but took a keen objective interest in them. It has been said of Burma that she has no feminist movements because none have been necessary; the women have always had all the rights they wanted. But it goes further than that. Burmese men take a sincere pride in the achievements of a woman who can successfully invade spheres outside her domestic tasks. 873 562 178

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Far from the medical and legal professions presenting a closed phalanx to the first women seeking to enter, Burmans love to introduce their distinguished women as "the first lady doctor" and "the first lady barrister". On the other hand they demand that on no account shall a woman take on mannish and immodest behaviour and outlook with her new abilities. Allowances will be made, if necessary, for weaker constitutions, extra time spent on the making of a formal sadone hair style before attending work, or for soft voices.

Hence, in University College, where there was a generation of adolescent girls, some of whom had never before been to Rangoon from their district schools, the greatest interest was taken in their line of development—their scholastic success, their interest in or indifference to politics and nationalism, the degree of their response to Westernizing influences, their clothes and their morals—and yet the most censorious interest was not to be taken as personal or malicious. It was concern for the future of Burmese womanhood, we were told. Thus no woman student had any private life or anonymity. Whatever characteristics she possessed were taken up by a few who were interested in those particular qualities and then received the attentions of the great body of men students who only wanted something to sharpen their wit on. The height of this interfering concern, on the part of young men, for the moral welfare of young women was reached in 1940 when a petition was seriously put up to the Principal of University College, by a number of students, that certain young women be ordered to shorten the shoulder straps of the ornamental bodices worn under the transparent jackets. So sincere was their solicitude that the Principal felt constrained to refer the matter to the Warden of the Women's Hall for action.

But the young men were not stinting in approval either, even though the majority expressed it in loud good-natured chaff. In fact, for a keen interest in politics, for wit, for exquisite coyness or a proud beauty, the girls in University College were in as much limelight as can surround a rugger hero at an English University. And indeed, the word "hero" was used for them because the word "heroine" could not be shouted in Burmese euphony. Hence, if a report had gone abroad that a girl had swum the 2,000 yards of the cross-lake track, or had harangued a group of young men for bad manners, or was coming to a lecture with her hair in an informal knot at the back of her head instead of a formal sadone, she was greeted on entrance by a hundred odd youths stamping and cheering and jeering and all shouting, "Hero! Hero!"

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No wonder there was love everywhere. Even in modern Rangoon an unmarried young man and woman could not be seen without the presence of a third person, but sentimental love flourished all the more

for that. It surged up amongst all the back benches of the lecture rooms 873
and flowed into the corridors where the poor stricken couples blushed 562
and spoke in whispers in spite of the applause of all passers-by. It 883
flowed along the shores of the Inya Lake on whose banks the girls walked in groups of two or three after their evening bath and toilet, and the youths walked in other bands until they met and spoke to the girls. Particularly on the fine evenings of the first monsoon or the first cool dry weather after the deluge had spent itself, the shores of Inya Lake presented a scene of the greatest human felicity. All that was sweet in life seemed to be collected there—youth and pretty faces, fine Burmese silks and newly washed hair, anticipations of joyful meetings, the clear calm water and the brilliant evening sky, the islands in the distance and the bands of young men singing sad songs by the water's edge.

Dramatic entertainment was very rich at the University. It was 873
rarely that the students themselves performed in musical concerts or 536
stage dancing, but troupes of actors were hired to give performances at all celebrations of sports victories, scholastic successes, farewells to popular tutors who had got into government service, or celebrations of religious festivals. The traditional Burmese stage-play is the *zat-pwè*, the staging of one of a few well-known stories, based mainly on the Jatakas which are stories showing incarnations of the Buddha in his various existences on this earth. Such were the *Wethandaya Zat*, the *Mahaw Zat*, of U Kyin U, the stories of Buddha's life as Prince Wethandaya and as Mahaw, son of a rich nobleman. Written in this form all zats, whether based on the Jatakas or not, contained episodes to provide King and Minister scenes, doleful partings and the weeping dirge of the heroine, scenes of clowning, of sorcerers and heavenly spirits and, highlight of all, the happy meeting scene of the Prince-Hero and the Princess-Heroine, when they sing and dance and joke with the attendant characters, singly and together, for a whole hour or two maybe, while they and the audience forget the thread of the story in the wonderful agile dancing of the hero, his feet falling as softly and as lightly as a kitten's paws but with all the speed, the unexpected turns, the beauty of body and of costume, which make the male zat dancer the essence of the national gaiety. In our time, the old zat plays are treated much as the miracle plays of Elizabethan England probably were—the plot is there, but each company of actors uses the play to hold its own songs, dances and comic lines. The zat lasts for hours, all the night through until sunrise, but the form of it is such that the audience sees it as episodes against a known background of plot, and can thus eat, talk or even doze during the tedious connecting scenes and sit up in enthralled silence for the first appearance of the hero, the duet dances, the songs of the heroine.

• 873 536 We could not stage these shows at the University owing to the length of them and the difficulty of procuring a company. We saw them often in childhood when there were two great companies touring the districts. Po Sein and Sein Gadon came with their companies to the district towns; they hired the local hall, and then charged their audiences by mat-space. Buyers of spaces came earlier in the day and laid down their thinbyus over the rough bamboo mats provided. At night the whole family, including grandmothers and young children, arrived with pillows, fans, goblets of drinking water and things to eat, and squatted and reclined each on its own mat. Vendors of pickled tea and jujube plums, both of which have the effect of keeping one awake, walked in and sold their packets without a license, but just as an overflow from the row of food stalls that had sprung up in the lane leading to the hall.

545 873 At the University, however, we always staged *anyein-pwès*, and not these night-long zat-pwès. An anyein is a much handier, more compact sort of entertainment. The troupe consists of two clowns, one chief dancing girl and two subsidiary ones, and a band of musicians. Such a troupe can be hired for about Rs. 40/-. No seats are ever bought for an anyein; people hire them to celebrate weddings, shinbyus and other happy events. They perform on a rough open-air stage, and the show is free to all who wish to flock to see it. The poorest beggars may perch themselves on neighbouring trees and fences to enjoy the four-or five-hour programme of songs, dances and jokes.

545 534 When an anyein was held at University College, we entered the grounds at about 7 p.m. and found the stage with its rear occupied by the orchestra tuning instruments and practising snatches of the airs; in the [782] centre a basinful of offerings to propitiate the nat-spirits so that the entertainment will be a success; and at the opposite corners of the front of the stage the two clowns squatting, watching the audience enter and uttering declamations about the occasion of the entertainment; but as yet in a very desultory fashion, while they scratched their heads, cleaned their ears and chewed betel, because nobody was ready to pay full attention. Very shortly, however, the orchestra came to life in a harmonious concert. Within the circular frames of two big harmonicums, about two to three feet high and four to five feet in diameter, sat the master players. The *kyi-waing* master was surrounded by a row of graduated gongs strung along the inside of the harmonicum, which he struck with a knobbed stick in quick melody. The *saing-waing* master produced a thinner strain from his graduated drums which he struck with the flat of his fingers. Between the two sat a *hnè* player, blowing loudly his clarionet which had a wide bell-shaped mouth; the *pulway* master played lively dancing notes on his flute; a gentle looking youth

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Dweller of Mandalay, City of Jewels,
With a generous heart
To come and take part
As student of our greatest schools.
Indeed so willing
So glad to be filling
Our need for the cause of the National School.
With mind so kind towards the fund
For Buddhist girls, our country's dower,
As this succeeds our plans shall flower.
She comes to dance for the National School,
She comes to dance,
She comes to dance,
Young lady Ohn, sweet, single, pretty,
For whom Shwe Daing Nyun has written this ditty.

•873 522 We laughed loud and long at the jokes of our most popular pair of clowns—a thin shrivelled man called Hnyat-Gyi ("great nut-cracker")

and a big well-fed man called Dambouk ("pillau rice")—on the occasions when we could hear them, but during the intervals our daily companions at the University did not allow us to miss them very much. The average Burman spends much time and thought, comparatively speaking, on making puns and spoonerisms, fashioning riddles and conceits to spice or flower his normal speech, and both the native wit and the monosyllabic language ensure a roaring success. It was the commonest thing to pass a crowd of students sitting or standing around having a

verbal contest, and to hear at intervals a cheering and clapping as they 873.
shouted "Point! Point!" which English word they had adopted for 522
applauding a telling thrust. This interest in wit enabled our lecturers to enliven their discourses with spontaneous humour rather than to draw upon a perennial stock of jokes. There were both serious and frivolous uses of this privilege. We had two serious old Burmese lecturers [576]
—Saya Lin and Saya Pwa—who belonged to my grandfather's world, coming to lecture every day in the purest Burmese but never noticing the existence of the modern college, its young inhabitants or other branches of learning. They were regarded with so much veneration that no student ever answered the now universally adopted English "Present" to their roll-call but replied: "*Shi ba tè, Saya:* I am here, please, Master."

At one time Saya Lin's junior Bachelor classes contained a girl student who was admired by a young man called Maung Chan Tha (which name means "Prosperity"). Maung Chan Tha had passed his junior Bachelor year and was in a senior class, but he attended the junior class daily in order to have a back view of his loved one whom he did not dare to address. This dumb worship occasioned a daily distraction among the embarrassed girl and her companions and a lot of ribald comments from the back benches. Saya Lin continued oblivious of all this until one day the term, "*paw-rana saga:* descriptive old usage", occurred in his text. "Now, shall I explain to you what *paw-rana saga* is?" said Saya Lin. "It is the other name for an object or an animal, which must describe its qualities. We have the pig, which in paw-rana may be termed *to-pwa*: prolific increase; and then we have the ox. The ox", said the old man with a fierce denouncing arm pointed at the offending swain, "may be termed Prosperity—*Chan Tha*!" At which a hundred lusty throats yelled "Point! Point!" and the discomfited Maung Chan Tha fled, never to attend a junior class again.

When the strikers of 1936 attacked the moral influence of a young member of the staff, one of the 18 serious charges they formally laid to his account was his habit of punning with the names of young lady students in too playful a manner. Among his students were two pretty sisters whose names, A-si and A-yi, could mean respectively, "in a row" and "smiling", a Christian girl called Margaret who was serious enough but whose name pronounced in Burmese scanned and rhymed with a word denoting excessive frivolity, and a noisy Chinese girl called Ma Ngan Chu. Said the poetic lecturer in illustrating various points:

Myet-lon galay ga ta-kyi-kyi	Little eyes, clear, beguiling,
Thwa galay ga a-si a-yi.	Little teeth, *seried, smiling.*
Kalet tet-tet	Coquette, coquette,
Mar-ga-ret.	*Margaret.*

873 Or, in less complimentary vain :

522 *Hsu Hsu pu pu* Boisterous shrew
Ma Ngan Chu. *Ma Ngan Chu.*

522 But only in a novel can justice be done to the sustained humour,
538 precision and allusiveness of colloquial speech. Proverbs may be a pointer, however, and the following, a few of the hundreds familiarly used by the normal Burman, are typical of the condensation of thought, the concrete nature of the allusions, and the witty rhyming usually present.

Kala ma-naing, *Ya-kaing mè.*	Can't get the better of the Indian, So the Arakanese is black.	Venting your wrath on a scapegoat.
Paya lè pu yin *Leiku lè tu yin.*	While worshipping at pagoda, Digging for turtle's eggs too.	Kill two birds with one stone.
Khat taing ngan-de *Pago hsa.*	O Pegu salt That flavours every ladleful.	The ubiquitous person.
Hsin pa-sat *Hnan-pet.*	Pelting the elephant's mouth With sesame seeds.	Five loaves and two fishes.
Kala taik *Kya win kaik.*	Into Indian building Tiger enters and bites.	Bedlam.
Mi-gyaung min *Yay gin pya.*	Showing the crocodile King The water tracks.	Teach Grandmother to suck eggs.
Thay yin myay gyi *Nay yin shway hti.*	Die, the earth ; Stay, the gold umbrella.	Do or die. Be corpse or King.
Taung hma a-kut *Meinma hma a-wut.*	As border to basket So dress to a woman.	
Shin bayin tahka htwet *Pe-gyi ta-lay kyet.*	One appearance of a King, One boatload of broad-beans can be cooked.	Person who is always late in appearing dressed.

tinkled with every passing breeze. The Shwe Dagon Paya was a beautiful 346
and sacred thing. In the early mornings it gave a radiance to the clear air and the blue sky; in the daylight it shone forth like a blaze of gold, burning and pure; in the evenings it glowed softly as the breeze tinkled its bells, and filled the heart with a gentle sadness which is not grief but a sweet perception of unearthly things; and at night the lights flooded it to stand high and illumined above the dark wooded slopes of the hill. At all times and from all parts of Rangoon it could be seen, calm and sublime, with the same smiling look as is seen on the face of the Buddha, not smiling in the eyes or mouth but in the serene expression of inward calm.

As we landed in Rangoon we saw a great gathering of people waiting 177.
to meet us. Going abroad for years of study is still a rare enough event 57
to be of interest to all relatives and neighbours, so that the people were 873
assembled not only for an affectionate reunion, but also to observe in
what way the stay in England might have corrupted Burmese habits. 186
In the case of a man it is always feared that he may bring back an English 582
wife, and it sometimes happens that a loved child who has been away for five and six years may be greeted with tears and mourning rather than expressions of joy, if he has married an English girl. The tears of mother and sisters are very heartfelt; they express shame at what the neighbours will think, sorrow at the alienation of the man and his children which must inevitably occur, and chagrin at the loss of the rich dowry which might have been procured in the marriage market.

Even when a man does not marry in England, he is strongly scrutinized for undesirable preferences in the matter of marriage arrangements. I remember the night my brother came home. It was his first evening in Burma after nine years of English schooling and University, and it was clear enough that he was neither married nor secretly engaged to an English girl. But my Ma Ma Gyi, my eldest woman cousin who had children as old as we were, subjected him to a searching enquiry. "Set-Set," she said, calling him by his childhood name, "do you think English girls are more attractive than Burmese girls?" My brother who had many English friends but had not noticed any Burmese girls during his few hours in Burma, tried not to answer this question. On being held to it, he said they were different from each other and could not be compared. My cousin said, "But which do *you* like better?" She was getting quite stern by this time, and my mother and we who felt very sorry for my brother were all praying that he would tell a lie, as we held our breath. My brother repeated with much awkwardness that the two were different; so now my cousin took his opinion for granted, and lectured him on the desirability of marrying in an orthodox Burmese manner so that he would prove himself a good son to his mother, a good

177. brother to his young sisters, and thus give joy to the whole family.
57 "For," said she, "our family has always commanded respect. Grandfather
was a great man, and you are the only son of the youngest family of his
•873 grandchildren, and it should not be said that with us the end tapers to a
186 point;" which is the expression for a stock which degenerates with
582 successive generations.

In the case of a girl, there was not of course, the fear that she would bring back an English husband, but the concern that Burmese standards of morality and dignity would be affected by an unchaperoned stay in a foreign country was very great. As we landed, I remembered enough of my childhood environment to feel the eyes of elder relatives and friends on me while I tried to restrain the wild excitement and love I felt at seeing again my mother and my young sisters now grown so sweet and shy, and I noticed also that my brother had been home long enough not to kiss me in front of my aunts as he had done when he himself had first returned from England. I felt this scrutiny also when my mother took me on the round of obeisance visits during my first days at home, and it formed a complement to the visit which I had paid to each of these elder relatives and friends before I left for England three years before. Then, each had given me a lecture which contained strong injunctions to keep to the path of virtue, modesty and dignity. But these were just *son-ma saga*, admonitory words, to be received with meekness, and not a slight on the strength of my character, just as now, when, satisfied with their scrutiny, they told my mother that her womb should be layered
[192] with gold leaf (sacrilegiously using the term for the gilding of sacred objects) for having brought forth such daughters, I was not expected to take conceit.

In all the houses of friends in Rangoon, in Thaton and Ye, I went
192 through the same ritual, but the words of the hpongyi at Thaton moved
186 me more than any other. "Now I will tell three stories about Mi Mi Khaing," he said, and proceeded in beautiful words and a chanting flow; "You are like a young tree planted of good seed in the fertile earth. Now the tree is heavy with ripe fruit, but the boughs are tender and bend under the weight. The tree must grow carefully and steadily, so that the full fruit do not break the young bough.....Let your stature be measured by your shadow that is cast after the noonday sun, for your knowledge and learning are now at noonday height. So your shadow will grow longer and longer towards the setting of the day.....Let your merit be like a river that gathers more strength from the rain that falls about it, and grows from a stream into a great river before it joins the mighty Thammodhaya." Then he took the monk's expression off his face, and turned to me with a smile and asked in a normal speaking

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The key to high positions lies in education in the high schools and Universities. Family support is necessary for this and the student is constantly aware of his obligation to succeed for their benefit. "One tree can support a thousand birds" illustrate the dependency of the relatives on the successful individual.

In order to succeed one needs each of these three qualities: KARMA (fate or luck), NYAN (intelligence), and WIRIYA(industriousness The failure of any one can cause the lack of success. Ordinarily, however, KARMA is blamed in cases of failure - and the other two credited for success. The concept of KARMA includes merit and demerit compiled in all previous existences. Because of this convenient excuse the true causes of failure are seldom analysed by the individual and he does not have a sense of personal blame or shame. Also social condemnation does not fall heavily on the unsuccessful who has tried and failed. However, one should finish what he starts or not attempt it, "once you start climbing the pole you must reach the top". The individual may not achieve fame or fortune but he is expected to maintain his birth position. His relatives, who suffer shame if he does not, help him. A major contribution of the individual is an advantagous marriage within or above his occupational group.

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What does one strive for, by work, in the Burmese society? Not subsistence, for food is ordinarily cheap and easily attained in the villages. Clothing, shelter and the other necessities of life are also not the objective. The subsistence pattern is simple and essentially homogeneous throughout the village.

554 301 461

The ordinary head of a household thinks of three major benefits to be gained from wealth. The first and most immediate are jewels to adorn the women of the family. The status of the family is reflected in public by the bangles, necklaces and earrings worn by the ladies. Diamonds are most prized and the size is important. However, most important is that each female be provided with "a set" of jewelry. The wife of the middle and upper status group particularly will prod the husband until he provides these necessities. The women's clothing and also the husbands and his son's must also be the finest they can afford.

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The second urge for wealth arises out of the desire for old age security. Hence gold coins are saved (hidden) against the day when

872 to go home because Grandmother would have sent him back for a double
792 beating, so he hitched up his longyi, tied his shirt round his head and
861 swam across the stream. One of the huts on the other bank belonged to a woman who had always been very fond of him because she believed
[775] him to be a reincarnation of her brother who had died in childhood; Burmese Buddhists believe that one goes through many existences on this earth, and sometimes children are born who have not yet forgotten their previous existence by the time they can talk; they adopt habits uncannily like those of the departed member who, the fond and grieving relatives hope, has returned to them in the guise of this new child; they say "My bed", "My clothes" to the possessions of the dead person, especially if eggs are not included in their diet, the belief being that eggs cause them to forget. When we were very young, the fame of a wonder child, who could recite the most learned religious passages untaught, spread throughout Burma, and my parents travelled to hear him; he had been a monk in his past existence and could remember.

792 My father's case was no outstanding one like this; he had just re-
561 sembled the lady's brother in looks and gesture, and a few childish utterances helped out by her belief had endeared my father to her as having been *winsa* (come in and inhabited) by her brother. The good and fond lady received the boy with open arms, agreed that he was getting too old for the monastery, and promised to go over and plead with my grandmother to take him out now and hasten his initiation ceremony into the priesthood. This was achieved and my father went back to his mother's house and prepared for the *shinbyu* as the ceremony was called.

484 The manner of his exit from the monastery, however, had made
177 him restless. During the short period he was free, he could go where
● 874 he willed, and in this way he often met traders who came and went between Ye and Tavoy, a seaport town about 100 miles away, to which passenger and cargo ships from Moulmein made regular trips. One day he was at the house on the opposite bank when a boy he used to know as a toddler returned from Tavoy after a trip to Moulmein. This boy could speak a few words of English. Moreover, he wore his hair in a *boha-dauk* (a Westerner's crop) and seemed to think my father a jungle boy. All the restlessness in my father flowed over then, because up to now he had always felt himself clever and ahead of other boys. He worried Grandmother to let him go to Moulmein and learn English, and and get a job with the government which would bring them hundreds of rupees each month. Other families who considered that Grandmother had clever sons agreed that this would be a good idea; though none of them had been to Moulmein and my father was still a boy, it would not be so daring an adventure as it sounded, because there was some one

among our relations in the village who had Anglo-Burman connections in Moulmein. These would put my father in school and look after him. 484 177 874

So after his shinbyu and his spell in the monastery, my father set off down the ye creek to catch a sailing boat of trader friends who, in their sailing ships called *kattu*, ventured as far as the Nicobar Islands and could sail to Moulmein in about seven days. His head was now shopped, and my grandmother had put a ruby ring on his finger; he was 16 years old, which was a very late age to start English schooling and pass it in time to get a good civil service job, but everyone at home thought he would do it easily for he had been the brightest boy in the monastery school.

285 they were made by friends. Ma Aye Myaing and Daw Aw Zar appear to
437 specialize in the larger mats such as used for sleeping. Mat making appears to be an occupation which in ordinary times is unimportant but it is relied heavily upon in bad times.

461 The children are put to work around the house and in processing
562 the fish at an early age. Just recently U Myaing's eldest daughter
561 left school to learn a trade. She left one month ago from the fourth
[277] standard, to learn cheroot rolling. In another month's time she will
●874 have learnt how. She does not have to pay any fees - neither is she
[294] paid for her help. She lives with her aunt (U Myaing's sister) and has her meals there. Near their house there is also an embroidery shop which is owned by her aunt. At night U Myaing's daughter is taught embroidery and sewing by her aunt. The owner of the cheroot rolling shop is not a relative, but the women who work there are aunts and grand-aunts of the girl. When she has learnt the trade, then she will be paid between two and three rupees a day on piece work basis.

463 At present (May 1951) U Myaing is working as a sweeper in the
363 Rangoon Municipality on a monthly wage of Rs. 80/-. There is an over-
512 seer placed over him every day. U Myaing's main job is to keep one street in town clean. He leaves his house at six and arrives at the overseer's by half past six and there a roll-call is taken of about a hundred of them. At seven he begins on his street and stops at about half-eight to go to answer the roll-call (see below for rest of schedule). He has personal contact only with the overseer, the doctor and the WUNDAUK (official). All three of them go around the town to see if they work hard enough. The WUNDAUK also comes everyday to witness the roll-call. "If we do not do good work we shall be dismissed. Everything is in their hands. But they do so after two or three warnings. We do not possess any rights at all. Sometimes offenders are sent to other streets that require harder labour."

U Myaing's street is located in Myeni-gon, and he has to clean the street of dirt as well as clean the drains on either side.

His daily schedule at present is as follows: He rises at 4, washes his face and cleans his teeth, says his prayers and then has plain tea which Ma Aye Myaing has prepared for him. At six he leaves

pagodas and those throughout the country are descendants of the pagoda slaves. 461 175 567

Beggars are rated below the pagoda slaves - but, because of the Buddhist merit associated with giving do well for themselves. 778 735 The beggars live in communities on the outskirts of the town often in cemetaries. [779] They are thought to exhume the dead to get the coins placed in the mouth of the deceased to ensure expenses on his journey to heaven. 764 The wood of the coffin is believed to be used in constructing their huts. 554 461 Professional undertakers or morticians are regarded with horror since they like the beggars, make their living from the dead. The functions of burial are performed gratis by the entire village. A story is currently going round the University dormitories [203] telling of an immensely wealthy Burmese coffin maker in Rangoon who has offered riches to the young man who will marry his beautiful daughter. When the future seems blank the students' friend advises "Hey, why don't you go and marry the coffin maker's daughter?" It seems that the money would scarcely compensate for the social discrimation. 461 The extent to which the occupation classes are rigid in marriage and other social exchanges is an interesting problem. 565 555

A young man is obliged to remain within the occupation class of his family or to rise to greater heights. He is advised at an early [867] age to "be simple, aim high, and tell the truth." [857] When children play at dacoits (thieves) of other "low class" games their parents object to their low aspirations and advise them to play nobles and ministers. One would feel justified in remaining idle rather than accept a position below that of his birth. It is better to accept a clerks job at a low salary than an artisans at a high salary. On the other hand those born into lower status occupation groups tend to be satisfied with their state as a condition of birth. In Rangoon, however, even the hawkers may have ambitions to achieve fame and fortune. The opportunities for social mobility is greater in the towns and cities [367] but difinitely restricted in the villages. 461

Apprenticeship to trades begins at the age of 12 to 14 years, 467 and usually lasts for several years. Ordinarily the youth is attached 874 to the shop of a relative where he lives and is payed a subsistence [602] wage while learning. The key to high positions lies in education in

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

and ninepins, played with the big flat seeds of a jungle creeper. Pleasant they were under the shade of the great mango and pipul trees and the lofty cocoa-nut and palmyra palms, and exciting were the games, so that the customary stillness of the place was rudely broken upon by disputing voices, till a monk would come out and bring all back to work again as a penance. Then during the work there was the fun of the writing hour, when everybody had to write out maxims and prayers on his little parabaik with a clumsy pointed steatite pencil. There were always some stiff-fingered big pupils who could not manage to write their copy neatly or correctly, and as punishment had to take the good writers on their backs and march ruefully up and down the long schoolroom during pleasure. Sometimes they were thrashed, but the other punishment was the more dreaded. Then there was the schoolmaster monk, who would tell fairy stories of the other three great islands which lie in the sea round about Myinmo mountain; of the half-moon-faced western islanders, and the wondrous tree that bore everything eatable one could wish for and delivered it ready cooked; the joys of the six heavens of the Nats and the grisly horrors of Nga-yè, with its fearful ages of fantastic punishments. Every now and again travelling necromancers and hmaw sayās would spend a night or two at the monastery, and in recompense for the little delicacies and odds and ends of food which good-natured neophytes would get for them, used to tell stories of witchery and marvel. Sometimes there would be a sā-haw yā, a kind of cyclic poet, who knew half the zats in the language by heart, and would recite a little just for practice. Or a tattooing sayā would come round and mark some particularly favoured youth with a quaint figure. Discussion as to its meaning and probable virtues would be carried on in the shadowy evenings for months afterwards. Varieties of this kind recur to the old Burman as he thinks of the school days long ago, and he sighs with as much conviction as any European that there are no days so happy as the school days.

English rule has disturbed old customs a good deal in the province, but even now we may say that, as an invari-

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
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25. GAME OF SITOPPYIT.

Burman average stands midway between those of Ireland and Austria on the one hand, and Italy and Spain on the other. (Report of the Census of 1891.)

The boys at the monastery-school (*kyaung-tha*) do the domestic work—sweep the floors and enclosures, attend upon the recluses, and help in collecting the daily food. Some scholars live at the *kyaung*, others have the morning meal there, others again have their meals at home. The recluse exacts no deference from his scholar, but nevertheless receives from all lay persons a spontaneous homage identical with that accorded to royal personages. In the *kyaung* the lads acquire the good breeding of their country, for it is among the recluses that the élite of the race is to be sought. In the stage next to be described, the lad completes this training, by himself sharing in the deference paid to the yellow robe, which he assumes for a season as novice. The monastery-schools are open all the year, but have a large attendance only in the rainy season or *wâ*.

871 Besides the monastic public schools there are private schools kept by laymen and occasionally also by women, in which girls as well as boys are taught. The subjects and methods are the same, but more time is given to arithmetic. The rules of thumb of the Indian *bedin* are being superseded by modern arithmetic, by help of the vernacular manual prepared by the missionary Stilson. A small fee is paid the lay teacher in money or in kind. Out of hours, the lay-school pupils are of use at their homes, minding their little brothers and sisters.

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The training begun in youth is never broken off. Study is a chief occupation of middle and advanced age. The teacher—*sayâ*—clerical or lay, is reverenced,

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26. CYCLE RACE.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

next to a parent, with a life-long devotion.

Before or after the monastic novitiate, it is the custom for the Burman lads to have themselves tattooed from the waist to the knee (No. 152). Not to submit to this ordeal is to incur the reproach of cowardice. The tattooing is an intricate pattern of animals and tracery. Owing to the extent of surface involved, the process is most painful. It occupies days or weeks, according to the fortitude of the subject, who is drugged with opium for the occasion. The instrument has a handle weighted at the butt, and a long point of bronze, split like a ruling-pen. It is worked with great rapidity. The pigment is a kind of lamp-black of the consistence of ink. It shows bluish black through the brown skin. When a Burman tucks up his loin-cloth, as he always does for work or exercise (*kaddung-chaik*), he looks as if he had black knee-breeches. As plain as the contrast is to the eye, ordinary photographic plates fail to render it. In No. 153 it appears fully. On other parts of the body the men frequently have horoscopes and cabalistic diagrams tattooed with vermilion (*se-nt*, No. 162) for luck and bravado. The Shan practice of letting in gold and silver discs the size of two-penny pieces—beneath the skin—is sometimes imitated by Burmans as a charm against sword-cuts and bullets (*dâbyi*; *thenabbyi*). The Arakanese, who repudiate the custom of *tôgwin*, ascribe it to a Burman King, who endeavoured to disguise his leprosy in this way.

27. VILLAGE LAY SCHOOL.

28. KITE-FLYING.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

157. DOMESTIC FLOWER-STAND (NYAUNG-YE-O, PP. 6, 63).

one, no disability of a practical kind exists for her. But it is the aspiration of every woman to transmigrate as a man in the next phase of existence (*bawa*, p. 43). As the state of a man is thought a more desirable one, so it is inferred that her life in the previous incarnation has brought the woman's state upon her. How deep and tender is the poetry which the idea of transmigration weaves into the life of the Buddhist may be judged from the example at the close of Chapter XXIII. of *The Soul of a People*. Orphans are adopted by relatives, and in default of such, never fail to find foster-parents. The division of labour between the sexes is the common one of out-door and in-door. Wherever circumstances permit, women are relieved of hardship; the sheltered places in boats and carts belong to the women and children. The great middle zone of commerce is neutral; women embark in wholesale trade, besides transacting the bulk of the retail trade. In certain localities women do the lighter part of the out-door work, and in the poorer districts of the dry zone they share in the heavy labour. Women are accorded precedence among men according to the standing they have acquired by marriage or by their independent efforts. The *Kyaungmá*—the woman who has founded and who supports a school—enjoys a deference on all sides proportioned to the munificence of her gift. Women mix freely among men but are never jostled by them. At great gatherings men and women group apart. The Burman women are smart at repartee, and hold their own in the perpetual banter that goes on between the sexes.

562 [775] [531] 353] [736] [462]

158. WAYSIDE WATER-STAND IN THE CITY (PP. 31, 63).

[875] [271] [521]

"Your holiness" and themselves as "Your holiness' pupil". The monks addressed the people as *daga*, giver, for they lived by the gifts of the people who donated robes, household articles and other necessities to the monasteries, as good works which brought them merit.

When my grandparents took my father to the kyaung he was a frightened little boy dressed in a cotton skirt called a *longyi*, and a shirt without cuffs and collar; his hair was grown long in the centre and tied in a knot, the sides being cut in a fringe about two inches long all round, and the rest shaved clean, a way of growing hair common to both little boys and girls and enhancing their youthful appearance. He and all the other scholars performed the domestic tasks of the monastery, swept and rubbed the good hard wooden floors, the monastery grounds and pagoda steps, because in these precincts all comers went barefoot; they drew water for drinking, and for the bath of the older monks; they followed the monks on their rounds, two of them bearing a pole on which was slung a covered tray, to take any food donated in excess of what would go into the monk's bowl; they waited on the monks at meals; they learned to read and write, and do simple sums, to recite precepts and religious passages which they shouted at the tops of their childish voices in imitation of the deep intoning voice of the teacher monk, phrase by phrase; in the evenings they went home to eat the meal which the monks abstained from, but came back at sunset to recite the lessons of the day and many past days all over again, to join in the assembled night prayers, to sleep in the monastery and rise again before dawn.

When my father spoke to us of his years in the monastery he always chuckled with delight, in spite of this long list of disciplined tasks. He had the advantage from the first; he was stronger and taller than other boys, and in a system where all learning was by heart he had brilliant memorising powers. The school-room of the kyaung had not the formal atmosphere of the Western school-room with each child at a desk and chair, and a silence except for the voice of teacher or child. The monastery boys all went into the same big room of the monastery, irrespective of age or stage, each with his slate or book, got down on the floor

872 next to their friends, crouched over their work and started to shout out
854 whatever passage was being committed to memory. My father's chuckling
876 was at being able to remember how his voice was lustier than his rival's as he rested on his elbows and knees, and rocked backwards and forwards in rhythm to his chanting, with his legs going as high as he dared, giving surreptitious kicks and nudges to upset the balance of his similarly rocking rival, shouting out the passages all wrong when the supervising monk was at the other end of the room and could not distinguish his voice in the general din, so as to cause his rival to laugh and be reprimanded.

But these shortcomings of the schoolroom were punished with only a comical severity. During the play hour the lazy boys were made to cross their hands across their breasts and pull at each ear with the fingers of the opposite hand; in this position they were made to sit and stand, sit and stand, while one of the good boys, usually joined by a crowd of others, sang in rhythmic chorus: "*Hta-Htaing, Hta-Htaing*: Rise-sit, rise-sit." Or if the supervising monk was in a playful mood he made these bad boys each take a good boy on his back and race them up and down the garden. Shortcomings of a moral nature were not regarded as such a joke, however; disobedience and dishonesty were punished with severe beatings, in accordance with the injunction given to the monks by the fond parents when they

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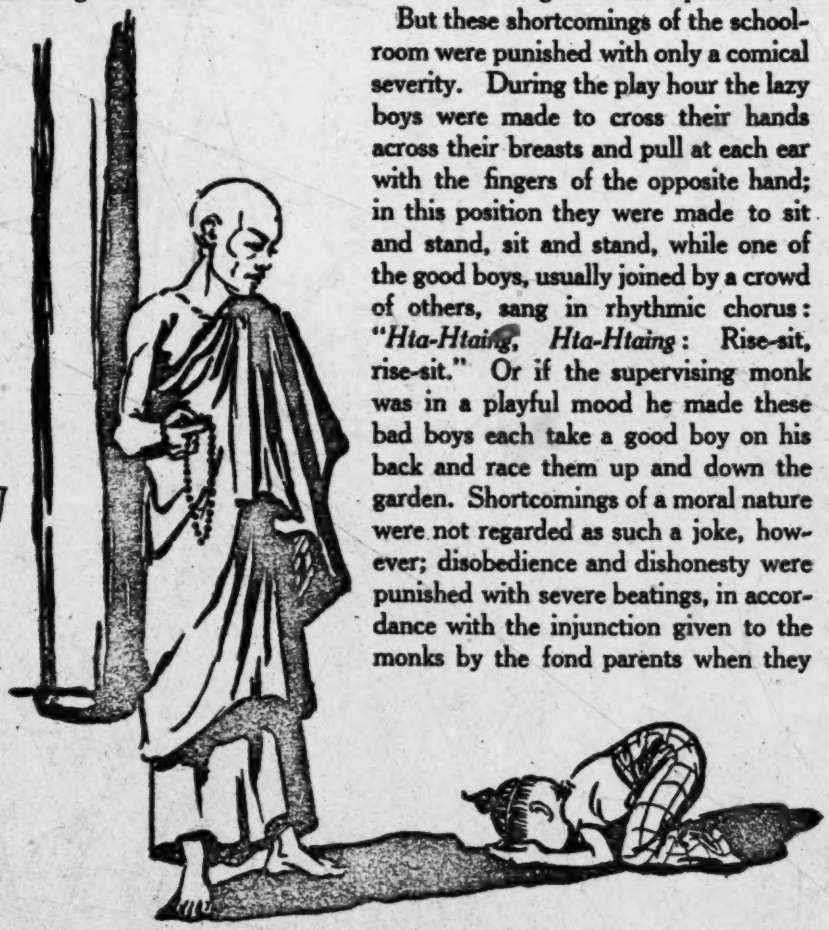

handed their children over: "*So yin na na yaik pa*: If he is naughty
872 please beat him hard."
561 My father spent about five years like this. The hair of his top-knot
792 grew longer year by year and it was nearing the time when he should cut

CHAPTER THREE

MY mother, as I have said, was the fair young jewel of her father's eye; and my grandfather had flashes of the most radical behaviour. Though he refused to learn English and this irreligious language was never spoken in his house, he suddenly decided to send my mother to learn English, not just as a second language, nor even to spend a few years at a totally English-speaking school—for an accomplishment, as a few other Burmese girls of the time did—but to study seriously until she passed the High School Standard of a European Code school which did all its teaching in English. My mother was thus the first Burmese Buddhist woman to pass the High School Examination in the European Code, and today she can speak faultless English though she never uses it unless necessary, and can even read some of the books of Virginia Woolf, although she does not like them. She and her two young brothers were sent to Moulmein; they stayed at the house of my eldest uncle who had settled there, and my mother attended an American Baptist Mission School. This was just before 1900. 177 871 562

My father, in the meantime, had arrived in Moulmein at the same time as my mother. The world had opened for him suddenly. After the strict and simple life of the monastery he found himself a smart young man with a Western crop and a collared shirt and outer jacket. He carefully put away his mother's ring to be put on again only on his visits back to Ye; he found a big and busy town to range in and no anxious mother waiting at home. I think it was during these years that my father got his love of all the sweet pleasures of life. A non-smoker and a teetotaller, he was one of the most spontaneously happy people. He loved food and many friends, to see young people happy and free from discipline, to spend all his resources in order to create happiness around him; he glorified the ability to think and work quickly and leave the maximum time for eating and laughing. 000

Particularly in this, Moulmein appealed to him. Having grown up in the monastic system of education by memorizing, he was bewildered at a system which prescribed a whole year of full-day studies for five or six thin text-books. As soon as he could read and understand he committed all his year's text-books to memory within a month, and could not conceive that there was anything else to be learnt unless they prescribed such books to be memorized. During school hours he wrote an Arith- 177, 85 876

177. metic book for an old man called Samuel who produced a series of swot
87 books on various subjects, beautifully tabulated books with questions
● 876 and answers, invaluable for examinations and used even in my day when we and our school teachers whisked them out of sight of Education Inspectors who came on the prowl for just such unprogressive methods of education. He also went across to the American Mission School where quite often the teachers were more Christian and painstaking than brilliant, to help old Teacher Nellie with Geometry riders, and in this way he met my mother.

873 My parents could not get married as soon as they left school. My
593 father had first to go to the University, which consisted then of Rangoon
562 College, affiliated to Calcutta University, and then he felt he must work
582 to buy my grandmother a big enough plot of paddy land so that her two youngest sons would not need to look after her in Ye, but could come into the world like my father. He now felt that they should not be denied the wonderful opportunities which he had found. My father did go to College, but had passed only his F. A. (corresponding to Intermediate) when he heard that my mother was now going out to teach in a school at Thaton, and that she was having to put on a European gown and hat in order to be less conspicuous, because at that time no Burmese Buddhist ladies went out to work. My father left his studies at once and got a job in the same school to look after her, and it was only after some months of persuasion by Grandfather and my mother that he consented to leave and look for a better paid position.

647 He managed to obtain a myookship in the Government Service,
177. which is a junior administrative post but considered a very good job for
65 Burmans in those days. In this job he could save enough to buy Grand-
582 mother her paddy land, after which he and my mother would get married. But my father with his good looks, his teetotaller habits, and his myookship, was considered a desirable son-in-law by many people, and other parents were not like Grandfather; they would try to engage the young man's affections for their daughters. I am sure my mother spent the next three years in some anxiety, as she heard stories of the young myook's gay and happy life in such far-off towns as Toungoo and Shwegyin. But one day the children dashed up to her with a telegram; she opened it and read *Gyi will you marry me.* My mother, who has never shown any excitement as far as I can remember, got up very quietly and went to her chest of drawers. She took out ten annas in change, and wired back *Yes.*

584 Soon after this my father arrived amidst great excitement on the part of my mother's family and a pretence of complete ignorance on Grandfather's part. My aunts expected an explosion from him when

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and ninepins, played with the big flat seeds of a jungle creeper. Pleasant they were under the shade of the great mango and pipul trees and the lofty cocoa-nut and palmyra palms, and exciting were the games, so that the customary stillness of the place was rudely broken upon by disputing voices, till a monk would come out and bring all back to work again as a penance. Then during the work there was the fun of the writing hour, when everybody had to write out maxims and prayers on his little parabaik with a clumsy pointed steatite pencil. There were always some stiff-fingered big pupils who could not manage to write their copy neatly or correctly, and as punishment had to take the good writers on their backs and march ruefully up and down the long schoolroom during pleasure. Sometimes they were thrashed, but the other punishment was the more dreaded. Then there was the schoolmaster monk, who would tell fairy stories of the other three great islands which lie in the sea round about Myinmo mountain; of the half-moon-faced western islanders, and the wondrous tree that bore everything eatable one could wish for and delivered it ready cooked; the joys of the six heavens of the Nats and the grisly horrors of Nga-yè, with its fearful ages of fantastic punishments. Every now and again travelling necromancers and hmaw sayās would spend a night or two at the monastery, and in recompense for the little delicacies and odds and ends of food which good-natured neophytes would get for them, used to tell stories of witchery and marvel. Sometimes there would be a sā-haw ʼā, a kind of cyclic poet, who knew half the zats in the language by heart, and would recite a little just for practice. Or a tattooing sayā would come round and mark some particularly favoured youth with a quaint figure. Discussion as to its meaning and probable virtues would be carried on in the shadowy evenings for months afterwards. Varieties of this kind recur to the old Burman as he thinks of the school days long ago, and he sighs with as much conviction as any European that there are no days s happy as the school days.

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871 524 871 212 876 872 792 875 [772] [789] [773] [364] 871 [177.87]

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871 able rule, when a boy has reached the age of eight or nine years he goes as a matter of course to the Pôngyi Kyaung. 871 It is open to all alike—to the poor fisherman's son as well 212 as to the scion of princely blood—for no one pays anything, 792 and it is not carefully considered who it is that fills the 561 monkish begging pots in the daily round. Thus every Buddhist boy in the country is taught to read and write, and in this respect at least there are but very few illiterate Burmans. This primary education must by no means be confounded with entry into the monastery as a koyin-gale, or novice. Strictly speaking, this ceremony ought not to take place before the age of fifteen, and the earlier sojourn is only a preparation for it. The younger pupils may become boarders in the monastic building if they choose, but they do not assume the yellow robe, which marks them, for however short a time it may be worn, as members of the Assembly of the Perfect. They wear their ordinary clothes and retain their secular name.

● 876 As soon as the boy enters the monastery he is set down 872 in the big schoolroom beside all the other boys, and receives a roughly-made black wooden slate. On this are written a few of the letters, perhaps the whole of the alphabet. A little explanation starts him off, and for the next few days he is engaged in shouting out their sounds at the top of his voice. Nobody minds him, for all the other scholars are similarly engaged in hallooing, and the monks derive a sense of comfort and a virtuous consciousness of doing good from the noise. It is as soothing as the sound of his mill-wheels to the miller, or the roar of traffic to the cockney. If a boy stops shouting, it is a sign that he has stopped working—and if he is not meditating mischief, it is probable that he is about to go to sleep, and he is corrected accordingly. The method is an admirable one for keeping the boys occupied—much more so than civilised Western methods—though I fear a council of English head-masters would scout the idea. The casual foreign observer who goes about taking notes, like Grose or the "Rampant M.P.," passes the ecclesiastical school, and in amazement at the seeming uproar within, declares that monastery schools are hopelessly badly conducted, and without the semblance of discipline. As a

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matter of fact, the more noise there is going on, the more work there is being got through. 876 812

Doubtless it is a primitive method—doubtless there are thick-headed boys with tough lungs who shout out the ka gyi, ka gwe (the A, B, C) with but the slightest portion of it remaining in their brains. There must be, because sometimes a boy takes a year to get through the alphabet (called the thin-bon-gyi, the "great basket of learning"), the combination of vowel symbols, and the alterations of sound effected by the union of consonants, all of which are mere materials, and only a very small portion of the complicated system of the language. Nevertheless everybody learns in the end, and then they are set to read in the same way, and gradually advance in the immemorial regulation subjects. The first books—all the books, in fact, put in the boys' hands—are religious. They learn the five universal commandments, the five subsidiary rules, the Pali formulæ to be employed at the pagoda—pattering them over till they pour out of the lips with the fluency and precision of water out of a pump. When there are a number at the same stage in their studies, they repeat their lesson word for word after the teacher, sitting in wide rows before him, and all chanting with the same emphasis and apparently in the same key. The effect is very singular when a string of sonorous Pali versicles is being mouthed over in the striking intoned recitative peculiar to these formulæ. The twenty or thirty boys crouching down on their knees, their little heads every now and then bowing down to the ground over their hands joined in supplication, the yellow-robed monk sitting cross-legged on the dais before them, repeating in abrupt, jerky fashion the clauses of the form of worship, which the childish voices instantly catch up, forms a scene which never loses its novelty and attractiveness. 872 779 198

The little schoolboy slowly learns all these formulæ. Even near to and in the larger towns of Lower Burma the amount of secular learning, arithmetic, and so on that is learnt, is of the most meagre possible description. All relates to the tenets of religion—to the existences and teachings of the Lord Buddha. The things thus impressed on the youthful mind sink deep into the memory, and leave their mark 872 779

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CHAPTER LX

THE LANGUAGE

193 194 THE Burmese language is monosyllabic, and is therefore, like all the other monosyllabic languages, forced into the tonic system on account of the limited number of combinations of which the consonants admit. The multitude of meanings which a slight difference of accentuation gives to an otherwise identical sound is the greatest difficulty which a stranger has to contend with in studying the language, and never fails to land the beginner in a most embarrassing maze of complications. The modulations of the voice which European nations employ only to express astonishment, disbelief, interrogation, and alarm, become in Burmese and other Indo-Chinese tongues a means for distinguishing between words of different meaning; and this peculiarity offers particular difficulties to the phlegmatic, monotonous-voiced Englishman. It does not simplify matters that Burmese is, of all these languages, the softest and most pliable, and has therefore received the title of the Italian of the Far East. The varying cadence of the sounds produces to the ear the semblance of a chant, and all the people seem to speak in a kind of rhythm, so that as long as a man has ideas, it is not [523] a very difficult matter to compose linga. But this only [195] renders it more puzzling to the Occidental, and accounts for the fact that very few Englishmen learn Burmese, and still fewer speak it well. Of the mercantile community not one in fifty has any knowledge of Burmese at all; and the civil officers, who have to pass examinations before they get 194 promotion, are but poor hands in conversation. The chief ● 876 reason of this is, of course, that the European is accustomed

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to learn by the eye, while the Burman learns almost entirely by ear, and the language is correspondingly affected. The semi-civilised man has a gift for catching faint distinctions of sound; and a modulation hardly perceptible to the European is enough to give to the Burman an entirely new meaning to the word. Fortunately the grammar is of the easiest possible character, and there is an extensive written literature, so that recourse may be had to the system of learning by the eye; but this only produces book scholars, and without a knowledge of the pronunciation it is impossible to appreciate the smooth flow of the dramatic metres. Individual sentences, too, may be clear enough, and the immediate connection of subordinate ideas with the leading thought is a great help, but longer compositions can often only be understood by a careful collating of the whole meaning, when once reading aloud would make the whole idea perfectly evident to a Burman.

One of the principal features in the language is the arrangement of words in a sentence, which, as is the case also in Thibetan, is the exact reverse of the order followed in English. This is the more singular and significant to the philologist, because the surrounding Shans, Talaings, and Karens observe practically the same sequence as in English. Another peculiarity is in the nouns, adjectives, and tenses of verbs, which are all formed by the addition of suffixes or affixes to the verbal root. Passive verbs are in very many cases transformed into the active form by the aspiration of the initial consonant, and transitives from intransitives in the same way; as kya-thi, to fall; hkya-thi, to throw down, or cause to fall; pyet-thi, to be ruined; hpyet-thi, to bring to ruin; lut-thi, to be free; hlut-gyi, to set free. The language is written from left to right, and there are no spaces between the words, and but very few paik, or stops, to mark separate sentences, except the paik-gyi which divides paragraphs, and consists of four short perpendicular lines arranged in couples. The written characters are, all but one or two, composed of circles, or segments of circles, having acquired that shape from the original Nagari, by the custom of writing with a pointed style on palm leaves. The alphabet is derived from

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539 ichneumon, from which you may learn, that although man is superior to all animals, yet kindness shown to them will always meet with its reward.

539 779 876 The following sermon of the Lord Buddha is the chief favourite with the Burmese. In its present form it is said to have been handed down by the favourite disciple, Ananda, who heard it from the lips of Shin Gautama himself. The Mingala-thut is one of the first books the young scholar gets into his hands after he has learnt the ordinary formulæ of worship. There are few Burmans, even in these later days, who cannot repeat the Pali text from end to end.

Mingala-thut, the Buddhist Beatitudes, or Chapter of Blessings

539 Praise be to Buddha the holy, the all-wise.

When the adorable and most excellent Buddha dwelt in the great monastery of Zetawun, built by the rich man Anātabein, in the country of Thawatti, there came to him a déwa at the hour of midnight, when the whole building was illuminated by the effulgence which streamed from his body. The déwa placed himself neither too far nor too near, neither to the right nor to the left, but in the proper spot, and after bowing low in humble obeisance, thus addressed the Buddha:

"Most adorable and excellent Buddha, during twelve long years, many déwas and men, desirous of reaching to the holiness of Ne'ban, have striven to discover what things are blessed, but they still remain in ignorance. Do thou therefore instruct us in those matters which are most blessed."

The Adorable replied:—

"Thou son of déwas, to shun the company of the foolish; to pay homage to the learned; to worship what ought to be worshipped; these are blessed things. Déwa, mark them well.

"Thou son of déwas, to dwell among good men; to have with one's self the conciousness of good deeds done in a former state of existence; to guard well all one's

792 the small boys, as day pupils. Monastic education is a traditional part of
871 Burmese Buddhism, and almost all the men of Tadagale, whether reared in the village or elsewhere, have attended monastic schools for varying lengths of time.

The monastic school curriculum includes elementary reading, writing and
792 arithmetic, rudiments of history and geography, heavily colored by Burmese cosmology and folklore, and instruction in Buddhist precepts and proper conduct.
872 There is heavy emphasis upon proper conduct. Instruction takes the form of mass recitation and rote memorization. Discipline is strict and the inattentive
● 876 pupil is kept alert, when necessary, by means of the rod. As indicated earlier, many parents in the village favor the monastic as against the public school because of the strict discipline and the emphasis upon conduct and religion.

Concerning the second function of the monks, officiation at certain
793 rites, it should be indicated that because Burmese Buddhism is not a congregational type of religion, the monks are not called upon to officiate at regular assemblies in any fashion akin to the role of the Christian minister. The monks do, however, play an important part in the initiation of boys into the monkhood; and sometimes take part in funeral rites.

The monk's function of giving advice and guidance stems from the fact that he is regarded, in the thinking of the villagers, not only as one to whom the greatest respect and deference is due by virtue of his dedication to his life to religion, but also as a living repository of wisdom and universal knowledge. He is a person to whom one may turn in time of uncertainty, doubt or stress for personal counsel. Problems relating to the conduct of one's children; concern over persistent lack of success in one's economic activities; or even matters of health may be taken to the monk. A great deal of the advice rendered by monks is formulaic, folkloristic and magical in nature. Particular monks tend to acquire reputations as being especially wise and helpful in particular kinds of problems.

Support of the Monks. The monastery buildings and the land on which
792 they stand are the property of the monastic order, held in perpetuity by grant
735 of the government, free of taxation.

The monks are supported by the donations of the villagers. Every morning a monk, accompanied by one or two monastic school pupils, passes through the village to collect offerings of food. As he enters the compound of each home a member of the household takes a pot of cooked rice, which has been prepared for the morning meal, and places a few large spoonsful in the monk's begging bowl. This minimum daily contribution of food is made by every Buddhist household, without exception; in addition, many families send
[621] bowls of curry and rice to the monastery. Giving food to the monks is an important act of merit to Burmese Buddhists. It is regarded as unthinkable that any household would refuse. When the hypothetical case was posed of such a devisnt household, villagers agreed that such a family would be severely criticized and shunned in the village.

The few other things that the monks require for their austere existence are given by villagers on the important ceremonial days of the year. These items include robes, soap, matches, begging bowls, water strainers and needles.

Duty Days. The Burmese calendar is a lunar one, and in each month there
796 are four days -- duty or sabbath days -- on which the villagers go to the monastery

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

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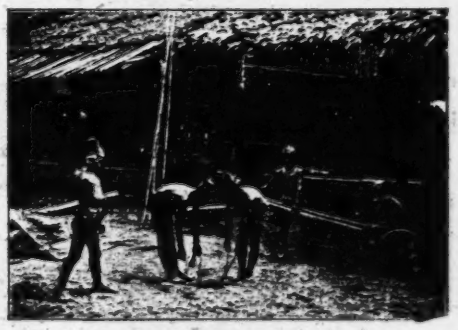
20. TOY CART.

of a savage description. Children have pretty manners; they are respectful to their elders without shyness or cringing.

Children grow up among the implements they will use in after life. Wooden mills for husking rice, tilt-hammers and mortars for pounding, cotton-seeders with geared rollers, spinning-wheels, weaving-looms and other simple machines are in every household; besides agricultural implements, carts and boats, all of which are made or kept in repair by the inmates (*cf.* p. 120). The workshops of artizans of every class are open to view, and the processes are obvious to every passer-by. The interest aroused in children is more diversified than in cold countries with their more secluded life. From mimicking the occupations of adults children learn to take part and soon begin to like a real share in them. Their trade begins with make-believe wares, then come scraps of house and garden produce till it develops into a source of pocket-money and training in business (Nos. 281, 431). The years of tutelage merge into the age of responsibility without abrupt transition. The intelligence which the school-teacher proceeds [153] to build on has insensibly developed under conditions more than commonly favourable, which may help to account for the precocity of Burman school-children under good teaching.

871 From the ages of eight to ten, boys begin attending [524] the school of the Buddhist monastery (*kyaung*), where ●876 they are taught free by the 413 recluse (*pôndyî*) or by his sojourner recluses (*upazîn*). The spelling-book is chanted in a chorus led by a senior pupil, and is copied out with a white steatite pencil on a



21. PEG-TOPS (DYIN-PAUK).

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

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23. MARBLES (GON-HNYIN).

long wooden slate blackened with soot and rice-water (*thumbôn*). The Burmese word-building is exceedingly regular and in the main phonetic (See appendix B). Reading is acquired in one term, without much effort on the part of pupil or teacher. The Burmans have a pure decimal notation in which the bugbears *eleven* and *twelve* are unrepresented. The Burmese *eleven* is literally "onety-one." Children can count up to hundreds before they come to school and can reckon up sums mentally. In arithmetic they are taught the multiplication-table and a few rules of thumb (*bedin*). In addition to the five Buddhist commandments (p. 16) and the objects of contemplation (p. 43), which the children learn in their homes, they chant passages from the Pâli scriptures in the school chorus and get other precepts by rote: such as the category of duties to parents, teachers and elders, *viz.*, reverence, support, mutual affection (*parêik*). They are taught the value of learning as an inalienable possession, together with many precepts from the *Lawkanîti* and *Mingala-thôt*; the conquests of the inner and outer worlds *Atwin-aungdyin*, *Apyin-aungdyin*, the story of the Buddha (see *The Light of Asia*) and the legendary cosmogony.

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212 As the result of this Buddhist system of schools, nearly half of the male and about 3 per cent. of the female population can read and write, as compared with 9 and 0·3 per cent. for men and women respectively in Bengal. The

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24. RACING TOY BOATS.

526 After the bath a dry longyi is slipped on over the wet one which is then
291 washed clean straight away. The poorest, who do not always possess a
515 spare longyi, sometimes let themselves into a stream gradually, lifting the longyi higher as they go in, and when the water is bosom-high they keep the garment on their head, letting it down again as they emerge. Our use for the adaptability of the longyi was to stand on a diving platform with it opened wide at the bottom, jump feet first and let the air rush in, nicking the longyi in at the ankles as we struck the water. This

makes you land with a balloon which floats you for a minute or two like those swollen celluloid ducks in babies' tubs. My friend Tin Tin Thoung was just like a swan on these occasions; she was not pretty normally, being very thin and angular, but she had a long and graceful neck, and when she floated on the water, gliding along with her neck rising out of her big round longyi, she looked like a beautiful swan to me.
[262] After bathing, the Taik Wans' mother had basketfuls of Indian corn, the tender ones boiled and the tougher ones roasted, and dishes of the peeled marians doused in fish sauce awaiting us.

881 Besides these social visits there were special festivals that came with
585 the months, and occasions common to every family's history—the ear-boring of the girl, the initiation into the priesthood of the boy, and marriages of grown-up children—which had to be celebrated in traditional forms. Most minkadaws preferred to hold marriage ceremonies in Rangoon, Moulmein or Mandalay to have as much fashion and show as possible, but the ear-boring (*nadwin*) and initiation into priesthood (*shinbyu*) find a better background in country towns. Nadwin is the coming of age of a girl, not for marriage, but for the initiation into the pleasant vanities of a woman's life. It is fine enough to sit with a rich

and full dress on a cushion, the centre of the crowd of people who have been invited for feasting, to have the ears pierced with a gold pin and after this always to wear diamond ear-rings, but the ceremony has no deeper significance than that the parent feels he has done the best for his daughter at this stage of her life. The shinbyu, however, is much more than a social event. It has a religious meaning of the fullest beauty. 881 585

Although the women of Burma figure as actively and have the same rights as men in the fields of business, property, and professions of the modern world, we always keep alive in us the religious feeling that we are "below" mankind. It is not so much a feeling that women are a lower race as that a man has the nobility of manhood in him. We call it *hpon*, the glory, the holiness of a man, and we respect this not with subservience but with the same feelings as we respect monks and parents. A wife does not throw her longyi across her husband's bed, she does not touch any of his possessions with her feet in carelessness, she uses a separate mug for her bathwater. A bad wife who does not respect her husband's manhood does him the greatest harm, for a man cannot prosper if his hpon is hampered; indeed, some women who indulge in black magic deliberately *hpon-nein* their husbands, that is, lower his hpon by carelessly wielding brooms above his head, throwing women's longyis on his pillow, thus making him subordinate, and believing that this makes the wife's will prevail over the husband's. But such a man can never make progress in his career. 562 784 789

It is the Buddhist belief that the attainment of a perfect life is as a man, as shown in Gautama Buddha's life as Prince Siddhartha. Prince Siddhartha was the son of King Suddhodana, who surrounded his son with all the luxury and splendour that his kingdom on the slopes of the Himalayas could offer. To prevent his son from renouncing his princely life for one of poverty and meditation he kept all sights of sorrow, sickness and decay hidden from him. He found him a perfect wife, beautiful, meek and affectionate, who bore him a son; but the prince in his excursions to a park in the city came across a decrepit old man, a sick old man and a corpse, which sights made him sad at the thought of human misery in this world. The next time, however, he saw a hermit which suggested that peace of mind was achievable by renunciation of the vanities of the world. On the night that his son was born, Prince Siddhartha made the Great Renunciation and left everything to go into solitude and find out the cause of misery, and the means of its removal. The Dhammapada says of the world: 779

> Come! behold this world which is like a decked royal chariot, wherein the foolish immerse themselves; but for the wise there is no attachment.

779 It is this renunciation[1] which we symbolize in the shinbyu ceremony
*881 when a boy leaves his home and lives in the order. A parent who fails
792 to hold the ceremony or get his son initiated in some other way fails in his first duty towards his son, and those who hold a shinbyu for orphans or the sons of the poor achieve great merit.

To provide a background symbolic of Prince Siddhartha's circumstances, parents spend as much as they can afford; a flagged pavilion is put up before the house, a multitude of people are invited for feasting, the boy is dressed in princely garments and jewels, and rides around the town on a white horse, with a procession following. For him to return and wash the powder off his face, to doff the turban and show the newly shaven head, to change the glittering clothes of silk for a plain yellow
[292] robe showing golden on the bare brown skin,—this is moving indeed. And when he comes back the next day in procession with other monks, his eyes cast down and his bowl before him, his mother makes obeisance to him for the first time, not as her son now but as one of the priestly order, a hpongyi, a "great glory". That must be a moment of spiritual plenitude in a mother's life.

881 I do not remember much about my brother's shinbyu, but I re-
792 member the beauty of his face as he came back in procession on that first day. A good face has its nobility enhanced by the complete absence of such adornment, even as is provided by the frame of hair or the line of neck clothing; it has to stand alone. I am often struck with the beautiful calm faces of some older monks. There is a look of repose which they wear easily after years of daily meditation and freedom from petty irritations and personal relationships, and a glow to the brown skin which is the result of years spent in clean and open surroundings, with sufficient to eat, and regularity of hours; the strongly marked eyebrows giving a nobility to the face when the head has been shorn. The unconscious reflection of this look on the face of a small boy touches us profoundly; there is a sweet solemnity on the young shaven face; the most mischievous boys become awed and chastened without any prompting.

881 In recent years, we have had a full dress shinbyu in the family for
792 my husband's nephew, Sao Sai Long, who as the heir to the Shan
565 State of Kengtung was initiated into the priesthood with the full pano-
[563] ply due to Buddhist royalty. A long wide bamboo pavilion was set up, beginning with a high shelf for the offerings to all the monasteries in the town, the next platform for the monks who were to receive Sao Sai Long into their monastery, the next lower for the attendant boys who were also to be initiated, and for the *palin* (the jewelled *chaise longue* on which Sao Sai Long was to recline), the next for the family, and successively lower ones for the various grades of the people. (The

[1] e.g., The Great Renunciation of Prince Siddhartha--Analyst

European officials and friends were given chairs in deference to their stiffer joints, but the chairs which eventually raised them higher than the family were placed on a side platform which had been cleverly made two inches lower than the family's platform.) On the day of the actual initiation, tall vases on the high shelf held robes, fans and slippers as offerings to the monks, and rupee coins put into long net cylinders to get around the rule that monks should not touch money. Sitting against this were a row of monks with eyes downcast, below and before them were the *shinlaungs*, sixteen little attendant boys all powdered white with silk clothes and golden chains around their necks. On the couch sat Sao Sai Long, Sao Thiri Raza, his face unpowdered but glowing with the beauty of his race, his clothes of finest silk and gold, on his head a jewelled crown sitting proudly above his young face.

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Three days in succession before the actual initiation day he sat like this in front of the assembled people, and when the drums took up the strange sad music which is traditionally played for the departure of a king, he stepped into a throne-seat that was lifted high on an elephant to go in procession round the town. The music and the splendour of Buddhist kingship in these days of government officials stirred the unrealized, half forgotten roots in our breasts; it made us feel things we had known in some other world and brought tears to our eyes. Sao Sai Long, my nephew aged 14, who had just returned from a year at King's School, Canterbury, who had never given me a moment's peace with his affectionate and irreverent ways, and who is even now riding wildly round an Australian sheep farm, felt and looked a dignity which he has never achieved before or since, as he was lifted high on an elephant and rode around his beautiful old city with its big trees and mountains, with spears, banners, white and gold umbrellas before him, a king for the last time in full pomp. He must have felt like Tamurlaine:

> Oh, 'tis passing fair to be a king,
> And ride in triumph through Persepolis.

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

CHAPTER IV

EAR-BORING

881 304 THE first great event in a Burmese girl's life is the nā-twin mingala, the boring of her ears. She is not out of the doll stage till that happens. She may have toddled after her mother to the market with a basket of fruit on her head, long before the ear-boring, but that ceremony is as much an epoch to her as putting on the yellow robe, or getting his legs tattooed, is to her brother. Ever afterwards she will look upon every male as a possible lover. No more taking alternate whiffs at a big green cheroot with little Maung Po; no more teasing Po Shan to let her have a taste of those fine nettè mangoes his father has got down from Mandalay; no more dawdling about the streets by herself, watching the small boys playing with the round gôn nyin seeds, or having a hurried glimpse of the puppet play, while she is supposed to be at home looking after the house with her little brother. When she walks out now it will be with her mother, or an aunt, or married sister, as a chaperone; and if she goes to the play it will be in formal procession, and with all her finest clothes on. Nothing like getting the ears bored to set a girl thinking about the wave of the hair that falls down in lappets by her ears, or the best recipe for the fragrant straw-coloured thanaka, with which she tints her face and charms half the senses of the gallants. It even alters her walk. She sets about practising the coquettish sway of the body in walking, which is considered so attractive, and which a philosophical matter-of-fact Darwinian would probably declare was first of all due to an involuntary throwing out of the heel with each step to keep the folds of the dress

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2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

modestly closed in front, and to prevent the dainty slipper, just covering her toes and no more, from slipping off the foot. However that may be, it is an accomplishment indispensable to a Burmese belle. She takes as much pains over it as she does with her jetty tresses. In a word, the nā-twin mingala transforms the girl into a woman, just as much as admission to a monastery makes the boy a man. It is her baptism, and is the distinctive mark of her race. Most of the men get their ears bored too, but the ceremony is not so solemn with them, and latterly is not so universal, at any rate not in the towns on the coast.

The ceremony takes place at the age of twelve or thirteen, just when the girl has attained puberty in fact. Her sadā is submitted to a soothsayer, that a fortunate day and hour may be chosen, and that being fixed, a great feast is prepared, and all the friends of the family and the relations are invited. An invitation to an ear-boring feast is a very urgent matter. No one can refuse without a very good excuse, and serious business is often postponed to the demands of such a ceremony. Everybody comes early, and sits down in any place he can find round about the front part and sides of the room, the girl, with all her female relatives about her, reclining on a mat at the back. The bedin sayā stalks about gazing at a mysterious strip of palm-leaf, or apparently wrapped in deep thought. Beside him is the professional ear-borer. He carries the needles, which are almost always pure gold, and even in the case of the poorest, never of any baser metal than silver. Rich people very often have them set at the ends with precious stones. At last the soothsayer gives the sign that the favourable moment has arrived. The ear-borer moves up immediately and passes the needles through the lobe of the ear, sometimes using a cork as they do in England, but more often letting them pass between two of his fingers. The girl, who has been worked up into a high state of excitement and terror by all the preparations, usually struggles and shrieks as hard as she can, but the women round about hold her down, and the band of music in the street outside strikes up a rapid movement and drowns her lamentations, while all the visitors burst into a flood of talk

14: Brant E-5 (1949-50) 1954 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

Puberty and Adolescence. The Burmese view, in the village, is that one is an adult when one becomes physiologically mature. Upon reaching pubescence boys as well as girls are referred to by a term which means 'virgin.' The connotation is that the individual has now entered a period of life in which the dangers of temptation are especially great and in which correspondingly greater precautions are necessary. 881

A girl's first menstruation is believed to cleanse her system; frequently, such phenomena as eruption of the skin or sexually delinquent behavior preceding the first menstrual period are regarded as evidence that the 'blood is trying to flow.' Although the idea of uncleanliness is associated with menstruation, there is no segregation of the girl or any particular fear of contamination. So long as she conducts herself with propriety and modesty a girl is free to move in public at this time. 881 841

Ideally, the attainment of puberty is the time for the girl's ear-piercing ceremony, but in actual practice this often takes place as early as her seventh or eighth year -- if it occurs at all. There is a tendency for this ceremony to be omitted in Tadagale. Since it is a feast occasion involving considerable expense to her family, the trend is towards holding a single ceremony, at which several girls who are related will have their ears pierced. The initiate is dressed for this occasion in the traditional garb of the Burmese Court, and also wears a spired-helmet type of head dress. The villagers gather at the family house for the event. An elderly woman rubs an anaesthetic plant substance on the girl's ear lobes and pierces them with gold pins. These pins are left in the ears, bent back. Later, if larger holes are desired, rolled leaves may be inserted. The family presents gifts to the assembled guests; often these are conventionalized tokens, such as inscribed cigars or fans. 852

On the same occasion boys of approximately the same age may be initiated into the Buddhist monkhood. 881

Boys' Initiation. For Burmese boys one of the most important events is initiation as a novice into the Buddhist monkhood. The traditional rite of shinbyu continues to be an important part of Burmese culture, in the urban as well as the rural setting. In the towns and cities, of course, it has been affected by the greater contact with western culture; the procession, for example, is likely to take place in automobiles rather than on horseback and on foot. Nevertheless, city-bred as well as rural Burmese feel it is very important for social as well as religious reasons that their sons be initiated; and everywhere the shinbyu involves large expenditures if not great sacrifices, requires the services of many people for its planning and carrying out, and is the occasion par excellence for joyous celebration as well as religious solemnity. 792 369 177

No two shinbyu ceremonies are the same in detail. The circumstances of the sponsoring families, the physical setting, the idiosyncrasies of individual monks all make for variation. Here we shall indicate the main features of the initiation ceremony as observed in Tadagale. 881 792

The ceremony proper is held on the open-sided ground floor of a wooden building, in the upper portion of which the monks and their pupils live. On the south side of this room is a platform raised about three feet above the ground, on which the monks sit during the proceedings. The room is decorated with various hangings, tapestries, and net curtains; the floor is covered with mats and carpets. Four tables front the platform, on which are placed various

881 792 objects used in the ceremony. The largest table is covered with a lace cloth and on it stands an alabaster statue of the Buddha in a carved and decorated case. Before the figure of the Buddha are offerings of flowers, water, a candle bananas and coconuts, placed in a special bowl. There is also a dish of puffed rice, a carved gilt bowl, and three new bowls, the latter for the initiates. Each of the bowls contains some of the traditional articles required for a monk: beads, water cups, needle and thread, a straight razor. The carved, gilt begging bowl symbolizes the type used by the Buddha when he was on earth. The second table contains offerings of bananas and coconuts for the monks, and richly decorated gilt trays symbolic of the kind used in the days of the Burmese kings but now only for purposes of decoration. These will be carried by young girls in the procession. The third table contains robes and other gifts for the several monks who are invited to the ceremony. On the fourth table are mats and pillows for the initiates to use. They will be presented to the monks as gifts afterwards.

The elaborate preparations for the ceremony begin on the morning of the preceding day. Young girls go from house to house to borrow betelnut boxes, mats and carpets. In the afternoon a five piece orchestra, hired for the occasion, arrives at the place of the ceremony. It consists of two large drums, a small drum, a wind instrument, a xylophone, and cymbals. Now an elder makes 534 offerings to the spirits (nats). Bananas, a coconut and a lighted candle are placed on a tray. The elder holds the tray and recites invocations to the good and the evil spirits. The evil spirits are implored not to harass any person who participates in the ceremony, because it is a work of merit; the good spirits are reminded of the meritorious nature of the ceremony and asked to watch over and protect the proceedings. As the spirits are so addressed he swings the tray towards each member of the orchestra in turn, sometimes three, sometimes nine, and sometimes twelve times. The orchestra continues to play intermittently throughout the afternoon, evening, and into the night. Early in the evening the young men of the village come to the monastery with their own musical instruments -- mandolins, guitars, and violins -- and sing and dance into the early morning hours. The orchestra group remains at the monastery all night.

About midnight, a group of men who are responsible for cooking the food 252 set to work at this task. Women do not normally cook meals for an occasion as large as this; it is felt that the quantities of food required and the amount of labor involved is too much for them to manage. Around three hundred people are expected at a large shinbyu in the village. The cooks, about a dozen middle-aged men, sit around the fire they have lighted in a clearing a short distance [522] from the monastery, drink tea, smoke, and make jokes. One man is introduced to the group as the 'all-Burma curry-cooking expert'; another is called 'No. 1 soup cook'; a third is dubbed 'best rice cook of the village.' During the night they prepare large quantities of boiled rice, pork curry, sour bean sprouts, fried fish paste, and a vegetable soup.

Early on the morning of the day for the ceremony, the initiates are [292] dressed by friends of their families. After a bath, thanakha, an astringent-like paste made from ground tree bark and water, is applied to their faces. Then they don silk longyis and thin, white muslin jackets, beneath which they wear cotton vests. The longyi is very ornate, made of heavy silk, and is seamless. Gold chains and necklace, bracelets and rings are put on. The head dress is a fine silk cloth, wound round the head, and decorated with garlands of flowers.

14: Brant E-5 (1949-50) 1954 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

Guests begin to arrive later in the morning at the site of the ceremony. As each enters he is given a large cheroot by one of the girls who is posted at the entrance to the room. The guests are seated on mats before the platform for the monks and the tables of offerings described above. They are served tea and pickled tea leaf while the orchestra entertains them. 881 792

The young men of the village arrive with their musical instruments, which they will play during the procession to follow. They join the other guests, taking seats on mats. The continued music of the orchestra forms a background to the constant buzz of conversation among the assembled guests. 881 796 792

The initiates are carried into the room -- on this day their feet must not touch the ground -- and seated in chairs facing the monks' platform. A few persons spontaneously break into dance as the music goes on; more guests arrive; the horses which have been hired for the procession are brought to the scene and tethered nearby. Gradually the guests are summoned, in groups, to eat in a nearby building.

When all have had their meal, the procession is made ready. The young girls are given the carved trays and betelnut containers. The initiates make obeisance (shiko) with folded hands to the monks, as do all the guests. A monk chants prayers and blessings, the audience sings responses. The initiates now are carried from the room and seated on the horses, which will carry them around the village. A golden umbrella is opened and raised over each initiate, whose young male attendants hold it aloft, guide his horse, and carry him on their shoulders whenever he is required to dismount.

About mid-morning the procession leaves the monastery grounds, lead by the fathers of the initiates and young male relatives carrying the lacquer begging bowls which the initiates will use, followed by their mothers and female relatives bearing mats and pillows. Next follow the young girls, each carrying a decorated tray or container. After them come the initiates on horseback, led by their male attendants and followed by the young men's musical band which dances, sings, and plays as it moves along. The guests followed in their rear.

This procession wends it way along the road that links Tadagale with Kokine Road, and arrives at a spirit shrine. The guests make obeisance to the shrine and sit on the ground. The initiates are carried to the shrine by their attendants, to be shown to the spirits so that these beings will know of their work of merit and thus restrain their evil influences. The procession resumes, going along the main village path to the large Buddha shrine located about midway along this route. Here the boys are again carried from their horses to make obeisance, after which the procession sets out on the last part of the route, to the monastery again.

Now the initiates are lifted from their horses and carried, shoulder-high, three times around the monastery building, in clockwise direction. They are followed by their fathers, young male kin, their mothers and the young girls bearing the trays and containers.

As the third round of the building is completed and the group reaches the entrance to the room of the ceremony and tries to enter, they find themselves blocked by two women who hold a silk scarf across the entrance and loudly demand a huge sum of money as payment for permission to pass. The father of an initiate offers them, instead, five balls of candied puffed rice. Much good-

14: Brant E-5 (1949-50) 1954 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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natured bickering and banter takes place, in the midst of which the boys' attendants carry them off and hide them nearby, out of sight of the crowd. They demand ransom. Finally, the women who have blocked the entrance accept the offer of puffed rice balls, and the attendants who have hidden the initiates are persuaded to reduce the huge sum they have demanded to a token amount. The boys are returned, the crowd enters the ceremonial room, and the rite may proceed.

Sometime before noon the monks and the pupils of the monastery school have a meal, their last of the day, while the assembled guests sit in groups sipping iced soft drinks, smoking and gossiping.

About two o'clock gongs are struck to summon the monks to the ceremony. Now the initiates no longer wear jewelery or flowers, symbols of worldliness; and the silk scarves which earlier were worn on their heads are now worn across their chests, under one arm and over the other shoulder. The initiates sit on mats before the chair on which the chief officiating monk will be seated. A new earthenware pot is filled with water, flowers are placed in it, and a few yards of white thread are twined around the flowers. The pot is placed on the table to the right of the monk's seat. Its presence is supposed to counteract any evil influences by spirits or humans. It is a warning to evil spirits and enemies not to mar the proceedings.

When the monks arrive the orchestra again begins to play and candles are lighted. The several monks ascend the platform and sit according to rank. The chief officiating monk sits, as indicated, in a chair below the platform, facing the initiates and assembled guests.

The initiates repeat after an elder prayers and requests that they be allowed to enter the monkhood. The audience intones prayers for the remission of its sins, and the chief officiating monk recites the Five-Fold Path of Buddha. Further prayers by the monks are recited, in Pali, and then the chief monk preaches a sermon. His emphasis is very strong on the great glory brought to parents through the sponsorship of an initiation ceremony for a son. There are numerous allusions to incidents in the history of Buddhism to illustrate the importance of shinbyu and the even greater significance of entrance into the monkhood for life.

Following the sermon, the fathers of the initiates ascend the platform and place before each monk an offering of a new robe in an aluminum bowl.

At this point comes the ritual of water-pouring. The initiates' parents and nearest of kin slowly pour water, drop by drop, from bowls into cups which are set on the ground, as the chief monk recites prayers to call the attention of the earth spirit to the deed of merit being performed. It is believed that if they should be reincarnated in some lower form, they can be reminded by the earth spirit of their good deeds, and this will relieve them of their suffering and help to transform them into better reincarnated forms.

Now, threads are taken from the enclosure in which the initiates sat during the sermon. Their entrance into this enclosure, which followed their asking for admission to the monkhood, symbolized their acceptance into the order. These threads are now tied across the initiates' chests, over one shoulder and under the other.

14: Brant E-5 (1949-50) 1954 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

The orchestra plays as the initiates depart for the adjoining building to change into ordinary clothes, eat their last meal of the day, and bathe. Some guests now leave; borrowed articles, such as plates, cups and mats are gathered up for return to their owners, and eventually the orchestra departs. 881 ● 796 792

The initiates return to the front of the building in which the ceremony took place. They sit on mats for the shaving of their heads. Two women hold a long piece of white cloth before them to catch the hair as several men proceed to wet their heads and shave them clean with straight razors. [302]

Once more the boys leave to bathe, then return and are seated before the chief monk. Their robes held in their hands before them, they recite prayers, give their robes to the monk, and ask him to dress them properly in the monkish garb.

Their robes donned, they squat before the monk and recite additional prayers, now following very carefully the special intonation appropriate to monks. The ceremony proper is complete. [195]

The following morning, early, a few relatives and close friends go to the monastery. The monks, including the novices, are offered food by them. A monk recites the Five-Fold Path, and then the ceremony of pouring water drop by drop is performed. Names are given the initiates -- special monastic names which they will bear only for the duration of their novitiate. [551]

In former times, and still today in the very remote villages of Burma, an initiate might spend many months, possibly several years, in the monkhood. Sometimes a boy would remain a monk for life. Today in Tadagale, as almost everywhere, initiates spend only a token period of about one week in the monkhood. During this time, they live the austere existence of the order, rising very early, spending long periods in prayer recitals, and abstaining from food after noon until the following morning. The short period of life as a novice is strongly in contrast with the easy-going, carefree childhood days that precede it. Some boys approach the time of their shinbyu with feelings of trepidation, and all are glad when the period spent in the monastery is over and they can return to the much less stern discipline of their parents. 881 792 198

Courtship and Marriage. Young people in the village find ample opportunities to assess each other's manners, physical appearance, and personality, in the company of others at feasts and various gatherings. If a young man and woman are together apart from the company of others, people assume that sex relations are involved. In fact, such going together is spoken of as 'getting married.' Villagers find it hard to conceive of a young unmarried couple associating on a purely friendly, non-sexual basis; such behavior is regarded as contrary to nature. But however much it occurs, unchaperoned association is not approved, much less encouraged. 584 831

Once a pair have decided they want to marry, the boy will inform his parents of his desire. They will already know, in a relatively small village such as Tadagale, something of the standing of the girl's family and of her dowry potentialities; in fact, as soon as they have sensed their son's interest in a particular girl, they will take steps to acquire this information. They will also ascertain whether acceptance by the girl's family is likely. Sometimes the approach to the girl's family is made directly; in other instances a female go-between will be employed. The latter is more likely when the girl's family 584

must ask permission of the parents or Daw Aw Zar when they wish to go to town or anywhere else even when leaving for school. In a special sense the children are "owned" by the parents. Considerate children appreciate the efforts of their parents and take care of them when they become old. If he had a son he would have to make the financial arrangements to "put him through" the novitiation or SHIN PYU ceremony. The corresponding "initiation" ceremony of the girls, that of ear-boring has not been done for the daughters. For the KIN MUN TAT (name giving) or "christaining" of the eldest daughter, U Myaing bought 50 leaves of bread, as well as sugar and coconuts to feed the children of the village. The ceremony cost Rs. 90/- or 100/-. The ceremony for the second and third daughters was celebrated with a black rice preparation called KAUKHMYIN-BAUNG (treacle rice steamed). The ingredients consisted of 2 baskets of black rice (costing Rs. 10/-), 8 PYI of beans (costing Rs. 3/10), 2 condensed milk tins of sessamum oil (costing Rs. 1/-), 10 to 15 ticals of salt (costing 2 annas), and 4 coconuts. The family had to evacuate from Pathme before the ceremony of the youngest daughter. U Myaing was made a novice at the age of nine, together with six other young boys. The donors who were bearing the costs of the ceremony decked them out in fine clothes and in the evening, after being taught the stanza asking for the robes, they were made KOYINS. Charities were given . U Myaing remained seven days as a KOYIN. His SHIN PYU or novitiation ceremony costs altogether between Rs. 3000/- and Rs. 4000/- (for the seven boys), because, besides other expenses HTA MEINS were distributed free to all the women guests and PU SOLS to the men. U Myaing's grandfather bore the costs of making 14 boys KOYINS and one into an UPAZIN or monk. The whole village helped to cook the food for the reception. This help was entirely voluntary and the helpers did not wait till requests were made for their help.

In times of financial difficulty U Myaing may borrow money from relations (preferred) or close friends. U Myaing's eldest brother is the first person to apply to - however, he does not have much money so cannot help in this way. But he can be depended on in various other ways. For example, he will help in a fight, or give good advice on where U Myaing might go for a job or to borrow money. A mainstay financially is U Myaing's mother's elder sister (Daw Gyi), Ma Ohn Nyunt,

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23: Brant & Mi Mi Khaing E, I-5 (1949-1950)1951
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553 which the family invites the people of the village. In the larger communities a written invitation may be sent, in which the name of the child is announced. The [431] feast occurs in the family house, to which the invited guests bring presents and where they may see the child. The only ritualized feature of this event is the washing of the child's hair, which is always done by an elderly person. This may occur, however, before the arrival of the guests.

Because of the significance and influence attributed to the personal name, it may be changed very readily and informally. If it is felt that ill fortune is in the offing, an announcement may be made in the village of change of one's name.

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Childhood. Burmese children are generally indulged and their existence is 857 more or less carefree and unencumbered by rigid discipline, apart from early 858 inculcation of respect for elders, until they are of educational age and considered capable of understanding the moral teachings of Buddhism. A male child is valued religiously, for at an early age he will be initiated into the monkhood, [851] remaining from a few days to several years, depending upon family circumstances and needs. The initiation of a son brings great religious merit to his parents.

In the Burmese village children are valued for the economic help they render. This will, of course, vary with family circumstances. But in the ordinary cultivator's family, sons and daughters help from the age of about nine or ten years in tending cattle, getting firewood, and winnowing rice. Children are also looked upon as a kind of social insurance for old age.

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304 881 Ideally, the attainment of puberty is the time for the girl's ear-boring cere-

23; Brant & Mi Mi Khaing E, I-5 (1949-1950)1951
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mony, but in actual practice this often takes place as early as her seventh or eighth year. Since this is a feast occasion involving considerable expense to her family, there is a tendency to hold a single ceremony, at which perhaps a pubescent girl, together with her younger sisters or cousins, will all have their ears bored. On the same occasion male children of approximately the same age may be initiated into the Buddhist monkhood.[5] 304 881

The girl initiate is dressed for the occasion in the traditional garb of the Burmese court, and in addition she wears a spired-helmet type of head dress. The villagers gather at her family's house for the event. An elderly woman rubs an anaesthetic plant substance on the girl's ear lobes and pierces them with gold pins. The pins are left in the ears, bent back. Later, if larger holes are desired, rolled leaves may be inserted. The family presents gifts to the assembled guests; often these are conventionalized tokens, such as inscribed cigars and fans. [292] [278] [431]

Courtship and Marriage. Young people in the villages find ample opportunities to assess each other's manners, physical appearance, and personality in the company of others, at feasts and various gatherings. If a young man and woman are together apart from the company of others it is assumed that sex relations are involved. In fact, such going together is spoken of as "getting married." The Burmese find it hard to conceive of a young unmarried couple associating on a purely friendly, non-sexual basis: such behavior would be regarded as contrary to nature. However, unchaperoned association is disapproved and does not occur very frequently. 584 836

Once a pair have decided they wish to marry, the boy will inform his parents of his desire. They will already know, especially in the smaller villages, of the standing of the girl's family and of her dowry potentialities; in fact, as soon as they have sensed their son's interest in a particular girl they will take steps to acquire this information. They will also ascertain whether acceptance by the girl's family is likely. In a small community the approach may be made directly by the boy's parents. In larger centers a female go-between is more likely to be employed. The boy's parents will be informed by the girl's family that the decision must await the outcome of consultation with an astrologer concerning the compatibility of the birth dates of the prospective bride and groom. If the marriage is found to be an auspicious one—which it will usually be found to be if the girl's parents desire the match—an affirmative answer will be relayed to the boy's parents. The latter will then call upon her parents and in the presence of elders, not necessarily related to either family, formally ask for the girl's hand. 584 [787]

5 Description of the boy's initiation ceremony is being reserved for a separate publication.

29: Slater M-4 (no date) 1951 AP1 Burma
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invariably in the same posture, seated, with one arm across his lap. The whole atmosphere is one of ordered, unhurried peace, whether within the timbered buildings, or within the surrounding compound. 792 346

But the monastery is seldom far away from the village, and this is of set purpose. The Buddhist *Saṃgha* in Burma might well be described as a teaching Order. "Of all charities, charity of learning is the noblest," observes a Buddhist layman,[27] and the monastery dispenses this charity freely. It provides the village school. There the boys learn to read and write. There, moreover, they are tutored in Buddhist lore, with a firm emphasis on ethical requirements. They learn the 'three Jewels' which enjoin reverence for the Buddha, the Law *(Dhamma)*, and the Order, and the five precepts – – not to kill, not to steal, not to lie, not to commit adultery, not to drink intoxicants. In the *Mingalā Thot* or "Song of Great Blessing," which they recite by heart[28], they learn that a wise and good man will seek to store up merit by fulfilling his domestic duties, by giving ample alms, by seeking 'self-knowledge' and by learning from holy men 'as chance affords.' The monastic ideal of utter renunciation, 'from all attachment free', is also indicated and 'Nirvana here' is said to be 'true happiness' leading to the Highest Bliss.[29] They will also learn stories of the Buddha's previous birth from the *Jātakas*, and, above all, the story of the historic Buddha. 792 621 869 871

But attendance at the day school is not their only initiation in the faith. Every Burman boy, at the age of puberty or earlier, is expected to leave home and become a boarder at the monastery for a period which may vary from weeks to years. "A Buddhist who has not been a *koyin* (novice) or donned the yellow robe," remarks a Burmese writer, "is *looked upon as one who has missed the most essential* (part) of his experience in this world." The village school often appears to be a merry jumble to the outsider, but during this time as a novice "each boy gets individual attention.... There is a wholesome atmosphere of intimacy and understanding between the teacher and the taught." Most of the novices return to secular life, but some remain to become fully ordained monks.[30] 792 857

The *shin-byu* ceremony, or rite of confirmation, which is another essential in the Burmese boy's initiation, generally precedes his entry to 792 881

[27] U Set, "Life in a *Phongyi Kyaung*," *Rangoon Times*, (May 13, 1931).

[28] See Appendix for fuller account of this Song and other Monastic instruction.

[29] "To understand the literature, 'serious' or popular, of Burma we cannot know the Pali Jātaka too well," M. H. Bode, *The Pali Literature of Burma*, chap. v, pp. 81, 82.

[30] U Set, op. cit.; cf. Scott, *The Burman*, Vol. I, chaps. II, III, and IV.

29: Slater M-4 (no date) 1951 AP1 Burma
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the monastery. It is a day of excited celebration. Recalling the Great Renunciation, when Gautama left the royal court in his quest for truth, the boy, attired in princely robes, is feasted by his family and friends until the moment when he casts his finery aside to don the yellow robe of the Order.[31]

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Girls experience a similar ceremonial initiation, when (to the accompaniment of vigorous music) their ears are pierced to take the ear-rings which are the sign of womanhood. They cannot attend the monastic schools with the boys, but other means are found for their education, and they certainly do not lag behind their brothers in intelligence, character or Buddhist zeal. Mrs Hla Oung recounts the story of a little maid taken to the monastery to be reminded of the five precepts, after some childish misdemeanour. (The monk was benign. "There was the faintest suspicion of a smile on his calm face, to show, I suppose, that her backsliding was not to be taken as a defection from the faith.") The 'charity of learning' seems, then, to be shared by girls as well as boys. The status, freedom and privileges of Burmese women have already been remarked and Mrs Hla Oung affirms vigorously that "the life of the Burmese woman is bound up in her religion. Buddhism has formed the character of the Burmese woman.... There are few Burmese women, even in the villages, who are unable to read and write," and the Buddhist scriptures form the ground work of their studies.[32]

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Not only are the monks numerous, but they are dispersed throughout the country. Every village has at least one monastery, and sometimes more. The educational influence of the Order has been, therefore, both organised and ubiquitous. In more recent times this influence has been challenged by new conditions. Government and mission schools have intervened, and the modern Burmese boy may only remain in the monastery as a novice for a brief, token period. But during the centuries which shaped the Burmese character and outlook, the monks as educators had no serious rivals.

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Nor has their ministry to the community been confined to education. Herbs and potions from the monastery are held in high esteem, especially in Upper Burma.[33] The monastery also serves as alms-house and asylum.

[31] For a good description of this ceremony v. Ananda Metteya, quoted by G. Appleton, *Buddhism in Burma*, pp. 22–23.

[32] Ma M. Hla Oung, "The Women of Burma," *Buddhism*, Vol. I, No. 1, p. 61 (September, 1903, Rangoon); cf. a later series by Daw Mya Sein, "Kin Sein Hla," *Burma Today*, published by the Burma Government in India, 1944, in which the influence of the Monastery is not so strongly emphasised.

[33] "Theirs is faith cure rather than medicine, "writes a Burmese correspondent, who cites cures from snake-bite, leprosy and hydrophobia.

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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CHAPTER IV

EAR-BORING

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THE first great event in a Burmese girl's life is the nā-twin mingala, the boring of her ears. She is not out of the doll stage till that happens. She may have toddled after her mother to the market with a basket of fruit on her head, long before the ear-boring, but that ceremony is as much an epoch to her as putting on the yellow robe, or getting his legs tattooed, is to her brother. Ever afterwards she will look upon every male as a possible lover. No more taking alternate whiffs at a big green cheroot with little Maung Po; no more teasing Po Shan to let her have a taste of those fine nettè mangoes his father has got down from Mandalay; no more dawdling about the streets by herself, watching the small boys playing with the round gôn nyin seeds, or having a hurried glimpse of the puppet play, while she is supposed to be at home looking after the house with her little brother. When she walks out now it will be with her mother, or an aunt, or married sister, as a chaperone; and if she goes to the play it will be in formal procession, and with all her finest clothes on. Nothing like getting the ears bored to set a girl thinking about the wave of the hair that falls down in lappets by her ears, or the best recipe for the fragrant straw-coloured thanaka, with which she tints her face and charms half the senses of the gallants. It even alters her walk. She sets about practising the coquettish sway of the body in walking, which is considered so attractive, and which a philosophical matter-of-fact Darwinian would probably declare was first of all due to an involuntary throwing out of the heel with each step to keep the folds of the dress

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2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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modestly closed in front, and to prevent the dainty slipper, just covering her toes and no more, from slipping off the foot. However that may be, it is an accomplishment indispensable to a Burmese belle. She takes as much pains over it as she does with her jetty tresses. In a word, the nā-twin mingala transforms the girl into a woman, just as much as admission to a monastery makes the boy a man. It is her baptism, and is the distinctive mark of her race. Most of the men get their ears bored too, but the ceremony is not so solemn with them, and latterly is not so universal, at any rate not in the towns on the coast.

The ceremony takes place at the age of twelve or thirteen, just when the girl has attained puberty in fact. Her sadā is submitted to a soothsayer, that a fortunate day and hour may be chosen, and that being fixed, a great feast is prepared, and all the friends of the family and the relations are invited. An invitation to an ear-boring feast is a very urgent matter. No one can refuse without a very good excuse, and serious business is often postponed to the demands of such a ceremony. Everybody comes early, and sits down in any place he can find round about the front part and sides of the room, the girl, with all her female relatives about her, reclining on a mat at the back. The bedin sayā stalks about gazing at a mysterious strip of palm-leaf, or apparently wrapped in deep thought. Beside him is the professional ear-borer. He carries the needles, which are almost always pure gold, and even in the case of the poorest, never of any baser metal than silver. Rich people very often have them set at the ends with precious stones. At last the soothsayer gives the sign that the favourable moment has arrived. The ear-borer moves up immediately and passes the needles through the lobe of the ear, sometimes using a cork as they do in England, but more often letting them pass between two of his fingers. The girl, who has been worked up into a high state of excitement and terror by all the preparations, usually struggles and shrieks as hard as she can, but the women round about hold her down, and the band of music in the street outside strikes up a rapid movement and drowns her lamentations, while all the visitors burst into a flood of talk

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Far from the medical and legal professions presenting a closed phalanx to the first women seeking to enter, Burmans love to introduce their distinguished women as "the first lady doctor" and "the first lady barrister". On the other hand they demand that on no account shall a woman take on mannish and immodest behaviour and outlook with her new abilities. Allowances will be made, if necessary, for weaker constitutions, extra time spent on the making of a formal sadone hair style before attending work, or for soft voices.

Hence, in University College, where there was a generation of adolescent girls, some of whom had never before been to Rangoon from their district schools, the greatest interest was taken in their line of development—their scholastic success, their interest in or indifference to politics and nationalism, the degree of their response to Westernizing influences, their clothes and their morals—and yet the most censorious interest was not to be taken as personal or malicious. It was concern for the future of Burmese womanhood, we were told. Thus no woman student had any private life or anonymity. Whatever characteristics she possessed were taken up by a few who were interested in those particular qualities and then received the attentions of the great body of men students who only wanted something to sharpen their wit on. The height of this interfering concern, on the part of young men, for the moral welfare of young women was reached in 1940 when a petition was seriously put up to the Principal of University College, by a number of students, that certain young women be ordered to shorten the shoulder straps of the ornamental bodices worn under the transparent jackets. So sincere was their solicitude that the Principal felt constrained to refer the matter to the Warden of the Women's Hall for action.

But the young men were not stinting in approval either, even though the majority expressed it in loud good-natured chaff. In fact, for a keen interest in politics, for wit, for exquisite coyness or a proud beauty, the girls in University College were in as much limelight as can surround a rugger hero at an English University. And indeed, the word "hero" was used for them because the word "heroine" could not be shouted in Burmese euphony. Hence, if a report had gone abroad that a girl had swum the 2,000 yards of the cross-lake track, or had harangued a group of young men for bad manners, or was coming to a lecture with her hair in an informal knot at the back of her head instead of a formal sadone, she was greeted on entrance by a hundred odd youths stamping and cheering and jeering and all shouting, "Hero! Hero!"

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No wonder there was love everywhere. Even in modern Rangoon an unmarried young man and woman could not be seen without the presence of a third person, but sentimental love flourished all the more

for that. It surged up amongst all the back benches of the lecture rooms and flowed into the corridors where the poor stricken couples blushed and spoke in whispers in spite of the applause of all passers-by. It flowed along the shores of the Inya Lake on whose banks the girls walked in groups of two or three after their evening bath and toilet, and the youths walked in other bands until they met and spoke to the girls. Particularly on the fine evenings of the first monsoon or the first cool dry weather after the deluge had spent itself, the shores of Inya Lake presented a scene of the greatest human felicity. All that was sweet in life seemed to be collected there—youth and pretty faces, fine Burmese silks and newly washed hair, anticipations of joyful meetings, the clear calm water and the brilliant evening sky, the islands in the distance and the bands of young men singing sad songs by the water's edge. 873 562 883

Dramatic entertainment was very rich at the University. It was rarely that the students themselves performed in musical concerts or stage dancing, but troupes of actors were hired to give performances at all celebrations of sports victories, scholastic successes, farewells to popular tutors who had got into government service, or celebrations of religious festivals. The traditional Burmese stage-play is the *zat-pwè*, the staging of one of a few well-known stories, based mainly on the Jatakas which are stories showing incarnations of the Buddha in his various existences on this earth. Such were the *Wethandaya Zat*, the *Mahaw Zat*, of U Kyin U, the stories of Buddha's life as Prince Wethandaya and as Mahaw, son of a rich nobleman. Written in this form all zats, whether based on the Jatakas or not, contained episodes to provide King and Minister scenes, doleful partings and the weeping dirge of the heroine, scenes of clowning, of sorcerers and heavenly spirits and, highlight of all, the happy meeting scene of the Prince-Hero and the Princess-Heroine, when they sing and dance and joke with the attendant characters, singly and together, for a whole hour or two maybe, while they and the audience forget the thread of the story in the wonderful agile dancing of the hero, his feet falling as softly and as lightly as a kitten's paws but with all the speed, the unexpected turns, the beauty of body and of costume, which make the male zat dancer the essence of the national gaiety. In our time, the old zat plays are treated much as the miracle plays of Elizabethan England probably were—the plot is there, but each company of actors uses the play to hold its own songs, dances and comic lines. The zat lasts for hours, all the night through until sunrise, but the form of it is such that the audience sees it as episodes against a known background of plot, and can thus eat, talk or even doze during the tedious connecting scenes and sit up in enthralled silence for the first appearance of the hero, the duet dances, the songs of the heroine. 873 536

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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Having made her evening toilet the girl takes some light work, such as cotton to roll for the wheel for the hour of *Inbyô-hlè*, as the dusk of evening is called, literally, the time of the "bachelors' round." The young men are expected to make short calls only, so as not to keep the old people up late. By "old men's sleeping time," as the hour after the short twilight is called, they must have left, so as to relieve the duenna, who, if not in sight, is always in waiting for the girls to come up into the house for the night. Courtship has quite a language of its own in which the suitor needs to be proficient. Young people of fashion are referred to as *kâla-thâ*, *kâla-thami*—lads and girls "of the period," who cultivate smartness in their speech, bearing and dress. The suitor brings presents of flowers and fruit and ornaments. Oranges, expensively stored one by one, long past the season, are for this sole purpose. Carved

146. TEA (LEPPEYYE).

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147. BELLE AT HER TOILET.

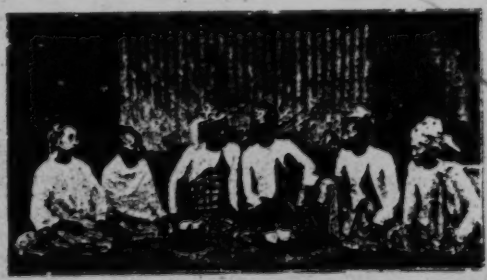
148. VILLAGE BELLE.

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

149. THE SUITOR'S VISIT.

work-boxes, loom-laths, mirror-stands are often the lover's handiwork. Not the least of the lover's offerings is poetry. If he be a scholar, he will sing or recite to his mistress verses of his own in praise of her charms. But there are current ditties to the fancy of every one. The imagery which is the main feature of these odes, is borrowed from every source of beauty, blossom and flower, dewdrop and pearl, planet and star. Burmese metre is largely eked out with euphonic particles; at other times the diction is so compressed as to make the sense most difficult for a foreigner to grasp. 883 431 538

Marriages of affection are general. Romantic attachments are frequent in real life, as they are the rule in the play. The frequency of the mere marriage of convenience is not greater in Burma than in England or America. In this respect there is no parallel to the customs of the hill-tribes of Burma, the neighbouring Asiatic civilisations or even the Latin races of Europe. Their mutual qualities, physical, moral, and material, are for the most part known to the parties from childhood. Burmans evince an openness and frankness amounting to joviality, not to be met with in other parts of Asia. They indulge a much freer play of feature and yet greater freedom in the modulation of the voice. The term for betrothal—*sayán-pe*, earnest-money—testifies to the original purchase of the bride. In modern usage, however, the *sayán* is merely a share of the cost of outfit, according to means. It takes the form of a silk *htamein* or a piece of jewellery for the girl, and is brought by the lad when he comes with his parents to ask the consent of the girl's parents to the marriage. Where parents oppose, runaway matches are frequent. 581 152 584 581



150. MARRIAGE CEREMONY.

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23: Brant & Mi Mi Khaing E, I-5 (1949-1950)1951
AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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872 on the whole future life of the young scholars. As long as
779 these monastic schools are attended, all attacks on the Buddhist faith must be fruitless.

872 Besides the commandments, the paya-shekho, and the
779 pareit-yôp-thi, the lauds of the Lord Buddha, and the
792 aspirations to be repeated at the holy shrines, the formulæ to be told over on the beads; besides these first principles, the young Burman is taught the thin-ki-ya, the rules which are to prepare him for assuming the yellow robe, and to guide him during his longer or shorter withdrawal from the sinful world to the calm tranquillity of the monastery. He must learn that the young novice carefully imitates the decorous pace of the yahan; does not walk fast; avoids swinging his hands; does not smile or laugh in passing through a village, and keeps far away from all secular amuse-
[292] ments. The yellow robe, distinctive of the order, is to be regarded not as a garment to cherish and comfort the wearer, not as a robe to adorn the outward man and make it look stately or pious, but merely as a concession to modesty, born of the weaknesses of poor human flesh—and further, as a means of enabling the worthless frame to endure the
[261] extremes of heat and cold. In the same way food is to be eaten only to support life. The member of the sacred order must not think of meal times as an occasion for gratifying his senses; he must avoid dwelling on the tastiness of the food and the gratification to his palate which the pious zeal of a supporter may afford in presenting an unusually dainty meal. Especially must he refrain from eating food to make himself strong and lusty. He must always remember the transitoriness, the misery and unreality of the world, and find relief in the Triple Consolation, the trust in the Lord, the Law, and the Assembly.

All these things are impressed on the young pupil as soon as he is able to read at all, every one of them assuming the fact that as soon as he is old enough, or as soon as he has gone through the necessary preparation, he will assume the yellow robe of the devout, to wear it perhaps for life, perhaps only for a day or two, but certainly to put it on, for
[885] without this he cannot attain to the full privileges of a man.
[777] His kan (luck) will be altogether one-sided. All the ill deeds

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

CHAPTER V

TATTOOING

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WHATEVER his parents may think, the Burman youth considers the tattooing of his thighs quite as important a matter as his entry into a monastery. If he attains to the full dignity of humanity by becoming a shin, it is no less settled in his own mind that till he is tattooed in proper fashion there may be doubts as to his thorough manhood. Accordingly, very often at a tender age, varying with the spiritedness of his character, he begins to get figures tattooed on various parts of his thighs. When the operation is finished, the whole body from the waist, in a line with the navel, downwards to just beyond the knee-cap, is completely covered, the effect to the eye being not so much of a marking of the cuticle as of a skin-tight pair of *caleçons*, fitting better than the best glove ever made. The origin of the custom may or may not be the shameful reason assigned by foreign writers. No true Burman believes it. But in any case the tattooing looks very well on the olive skin, and I have heard English ladies admire it. The custom will probably never die out. There are, it is true, not a few puny Rangoonites, spiritless sons of the town, who do not get tattooed, but they are ashamed of it and take every opportunity of concealing their weakness. But there is not a single up-country man, not a solitary taw-tha, the sturdy inhabitants of the small towns and villages, who is not decorated with the dark blue tracery. They would as soon think of wearing a woman's skirt as of omitting to be tattooed, and they are strengthened in the feeling by the opinion of the girls themselves.

The operation is not by any means pleasant. In fact in

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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304 places such as the tender inside parts of the thigh and at
● 885 the joints of the knee, it needs more stoicism than most youths can command, to endure it without relieving the mind in speech. Therefore it is common to put the boy
[276] under the influence of opium while it is being done, though some parents will not allow this, for cases have occurred where the youth has died of an over-dose. For the same reason it is very seldom that more than three or four figures are done at a time. The part swells up a good deal, and there is danger of fever; besides that a few days afterwards the itchiness which supervenes is almost as intolerable as the first tattooing, while if the skin is broken by scratching there is not only a nasty sore, but the figure is spoilt. You not uncommonly hear of cases where the whole surface was finished at one sitting, but you only hear of them because it is unusual, and because the youth is proud of it.

304 The instrument used is a pricker about two feet long,
531 weighted at the top with a brass figure, sometimes plain, but in the case of good sayās, always carved more or less elaborately in the figure of a bird, a nat, or a bilu. The yat, or style part, is solid, with a round, sharp point, split up into four by long slits at right angles to each other, which serve to hold the colouring matter. This style is about four inches long and fits into a hollow pipe, which again joins it to the weighted end. Thus the length required for free work is gained without too great weight, except where it is wanted. The tattooer catches the pricker with his right hand, and guides the point with a rest formed by the forefinger and thumb of his left, the hand resting firmly on the person's body. The dye used is lampblack, the best being that obtained by the burning of sessamum oil, and this is mixed with water as it is wanted. Good sayās always sketch the outline of the figure roughly on the skin with an ordinary camel's-hair brush, and then the pattern is executed with a series of punctures close together, forming what afterwards fades into a rough line. Skilful men are very quick at it. I have had fifteen figures done in little over half an hour. But then Sayā Chein is a celebrated man.

The figures tattooed are those of all kinds of animals, tigers, cats, monkeys, and elephants being the commonest,

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

828 ignorant man's heart is all in one mass, while that of the well-instructed divides itself into three small parts.

885 779 581 As models of married women are held up the Taw le-wa, the most faithful and beautiful of wives, the consorts of four of the chief princes in the ten great Jatakas, treating of the last births of the Lord Buddha. To say that a girl is Taw le-wa win lauk, calculated to become like one of these four great queens, Amaya the wife of Mahawthata, the Solomon of Buddhist kings; Madi, the wife of Wethandaya, world-famed for his charity; Keinnayi or Thanbula, the partners of princes hardly less celebrated, is to pay the highest possible compliment to any woman. But these are somewhat vague and intangible matters. There are other recommendations which appeal much more directly to those intending to get married; to the man that seeks a wife, sanshwe, pure as "test gold"; or the girl who would avoid a linkwe, a "cur of a husband."

581 787 Prominent among these is the rhyme of "the hostile pairs," the yan-hpet, who, if they marry, will certainly have a short life.

Some violence is done to the niceties of language in the linga, so that I may be allowed the same in the translation of a portion of it.

Friday's daughter
Didn't oughter
Marry with a Monday's son;
Should she do it
Both will rue it,
Life's last lap will soon be run.

The same lamentable result would follow if the man were born on Friday and the woman on Monday. Again:

Saturdays and Thursdays,
The serpent and the rat,
You cannot find out worse days,
Life's short enough at that.

The serpent and the rat preside over Saturday and Thursday respectively. Similar curtailment of life would follow if the union was between Sunday and Wednesday, or between Tuesday and the eighth half-day Yahu. One or

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

593 usual for both husband and wife to sign all deeds
562 they may have occasion to execute. Nothing more
421 free than a woman's position in the marriage state can be imagined. By law she is absolutely the mistress of her own property and her own self; and if it usually happens that the husband is the head of the house, that is because his nature gives him that position, not any law.

With us marriage means to a girl an utter breaking of her old ties, the beginning of a new life, of new duties, of new responsibilities. She goes out into a new and unknown world, full of strange facts, leaving one dependence for another, the shelter of a father for the shelter of a husband. She has even lost her own name, and becomes known but as the mistress of her husband; her soul is merged in his. But in Burma it is not so at all. She is still herself, still mistress of herself, an equal partner for life.

593 I have said that the Burmese have no ideals, and
885 this is true; but in the Laws of Manu there are laid
671 down some of the requisite qualities for a perfect wife. There are seven kinds of wife, say the Laws of Manu: a wife like a thief, like an enemy, like a master, like a friend, like a sister, like a mother, like a slave. The last four of these are good, but the last is the best, and these are some of her qualities:

'She should fan and soothe her master to sleep, and sit by him near the bed on which he lies. She will fear and watch lest anything should disturb him. Every noise will be a terror to her; the hum of a mosquito as the blast of a trumpet; the fall of a leaf without will sound as loud as thunder. Even she

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

ill guard her breath as it passes her lips to and o, lest she awaken him whom she fears.

'And she will remember that when he awakens e will have certain wants. She will be anxious hat the bath be to his custom, that his clothes are s he wishes, that his food is tasteful to him. Always he will have before her the fear of his anger.'

It must be remembered that the Laws of Manu re of Indian origin, and are not totally accepted by he Burmese. I fear a Burmese girl would laugh at his ideal of a wife. She would say that if a wife vere always afraid of her husband's wrath, she and e, too, must be poor things. A household is ruled y love and reverence, not by fear. A girl has no dea when she marries that she is going to be her husband's slave, but a free woman, yielding to him in those things in which he has most strength, and aking her own way in those things that pertain to a woman. She has a very keen idea of what things she can do best, and what things she should leave to her husband. Long experience has taught her that there are many things she should not interfere with; and she knows it is experience that has proved it, and not any command. She knows that the reason women are not supposed to interfere in public affairs is because their minds and bodies are not fitted for them. Therefore she accepts this, in the same way as she accepts physical inferiority, as a fact against which it is useless and silly to declaim, knowing that it is not men who keep her out, but her own unfitness. Moreover, she knows that it is made good to her in other ways, and thus the balance is redressed. You see, she knows her own strength and her own weak-

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16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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ness. Can there be a more valuable knowledge for anyone than this?

In many ways she will act for her husband with vigour and address, and she is not afraid of appearing in his name or her own in law courts, for instance, or in transacting certain kinds of business. She knows that she can do certain business as well as or better than her husband, and she does it. There is nothing more remarkable than the way in which she makes a division of these matters in which she can act for herself, and those in which, if she act at all, it is for her husband.

Thus, as I have said, she will, as regards her own property or her own business, act freely in her own name, and will also frequently act for her husband too. They will both sign deeds, borrow money on joint security, lend money repayable to them jointly. But in public affairs she will never allow her name to appear at all. Not that she does not take a keen interest in such things. She lives in no world apart; all that affects her husband interests her as keenly as it does him. She lives in a world of men and women, and her knowledge of public affairs, and her desire and powers of influencing them, is great. But she learnt long ago that her best way is to act through and by her husband, and that his strength and his name are her bucklers in the fight. Thus women are never openly concerned in any political matters. How strong their feeling is can better be illustrated by a story than in any other way.

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In 1889 I was stationed far away on the north-west frontier of Burma, in charge of some four thousand square miles of territory which had been

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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In old times the King Mingadeva ruled over the country, and for many years was entirely given up to pleasure and worldly passions, till one day his barber showed him a grey hair—"a flag of the king of death," as it is commonly called in Burmese—which he had found on the royal head. The king was struck with this *memento mori*, and immediately saw yawning before his eyes the abyss of mortality. The vision scared him, and he gave up the gay raiment and idle pleasures of earthly glory and wandered into the desert to end his life as a hermit. His self-denying piety gained for him on his death elevation to the seats of the Byammās, and all the 82,000 princes who succeeded him on the throne of Mèthila followed the example of their ancestor and retired into hermits' cells when they felt their end approaching. Mingadeva, from his blissful superior seat, followed with earnest solicitude the fortunes of his dynasty, and when at length he saw that it was drawing near its close, he returned once more to earth. He was conceived in the womb of the then Queen of Mèthila, and was born of her, and received the name of Prince Nemi. From his earliest years, as the pônnas discerned from his horoscope, his mind was firmly and unwaveringly directed to the prescriptions of religion and to pious observances. Once when he felt a doubt in his mind as to whether the outward giving of alms or inward self-contemplation was the more meritorious, the Tha-gyā King himself came down and instructed him that abundant charity would indeed secure him a new birth in the heavens of Nat-déwas, but that only the cultivation of the mind could ensure a rise to the blessed regions of the Byammās. The Déwa King was so attracted by the religious spirit and piety of the young prince that on his return he spoke of it with admiring delight to his subject Nats. Their curiosity was excited by the account of such distinguished qualities in a man, and they begged the Tha-gyā Min to procure for them the acquaintance of so holy a personage. Accordingly the king gave orders to a young Déwa named Matali to descend to the earth and invite the young prince to a visit to the nat-heavens.

It was the day of the full moon, and all the inhabitants of Mèthila were assembled in the streets and on the pagoda

14: Brant E-5 (1949-50) 1954 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

of their families. The bride and groom are each handed a spray of flowers from the offering bowls and they make obeisance to the guardian spirits of their respective households. With a second spray they make obeisance to their parents and elders. Then a small tray containing fruit and rice is placed before them. The lay elder places a spoonful of this food first to the bridegroom's, then to the bride's lips. As he does this he makes a statement to the effect that this is the auspicious meal and that he hopes blessings may flow from it. 794 585

At this point, a happy and fruitfully married couple from among the oldest people in the community step forward to marry the couple. The left hand of the man is placed on top of the right hand of the girl. Water is poured on their hands thus joined and a silk scarf tied over them as the elderly couple recite words to the effect that they are now united. A chanter arises and intones a song of praise for long life. The contents of the bowl of puffed rice and money are scattered among the audience, and everyone scrambles for them. Now the bride and groom rise and are led to the bridal chamber, across the doorway of which is stretched a golden chain. After the bride has entered, anyone who wishes to do so tries to barricade the doorway and demand money of the groom. He is obliged to pay everyone who makes such demands. This money is known as 'stone money,' from the old custom, still practiced sometimes, of stoning the house of a couple on their wedding night until the bridegroom arises and pays them to desist. This behavior, the taunts and demands that are expressed, has an implied bawdiness about it. Once the couple have entered the bridal chamber, others may go in to inspect it. When all have left the chamber there is a general feast. Usually the feast in Tadagale partakes of the nature of a tea party, since a full scale feast is expensive. Each guest receives a symbolic gift, usually a cigar or a fan.

Old Age. Old age is the period after one's children are grown, the 'third age' of life. Women are definitely regarded as old after the menopause. The Burmese terms for 'old lady' and 'old man' are synonymous with grandparent terms, both in address and reference. Sometimes 'old mother' is used instead of 'old lady.' Long life is considered a great blessing and an indication of merit earned. Long life is prayed for and old age greatly idealized. 886 601 761

The ideal aged person is one who has successfully reared a family, has grandchildren, and a certain amount of material wealth. The aged are expected to be retiring and unobstrusive in their behavior. They should not go out visiting very much; they should eat less and avoid appearing too well dressed or jeweled when attending religious observances. 888

An attitude of resignation characterizes the outlook of the aged person. It is unheard of that old people should work. A possible exception would be a village headman, who, it is felt, should be a person of long experience. When aged people live with their children they assume the role of teachers of their grandchildren. Most of the time of elderly people is spent in activities centering around the pagodas and monasteries, organizing of religious festivals, and raising funds for the monks and charities. They often take leading roles in such activities. 887

The elderly members of a household arise early to see that the rice is cooked for the daily offering to the monks, and to insure that the household altar is properly looked after. It is preferable for them to arise before dawn, for to do so is considered very meritorious.

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

565 house. He came out and asked us in, and we dismounted and went up the stairs into the veranda, and sat down. It was a little house built of wood, with three rooms. Behind was a little kitchen and a stable. The whole may have cost a thousand rupees. As my friend and the Burman talked of their business, I observed the furniture. There was very little; three or four chairs, two tables and a big box were all I could see. Inside, no doubt, were a few beds and more chairs. While we sat the wife and daughter came out and gave us cheroots, and I talked to them in my very limited Burmese till my friend was ready. Then we went away.

565 That contractor, so my friend told me as we
741 went home, made probably a profit of six or seven thousand rupees a year. He spent on himself about a thousand of this; the rest went in charity. The great new monastery school, with the marvellous carved façade, just to the south of the town, was his, the new rest-house on the mountain road far up in the hills was his. He supported many monks, he gave largely to the gilding of the pagoda. If a theatrical company came that way, he subscribed freely. Soon he thought he would retire from con-
[786] tracting altogether, for he had enough to live on quietly for the rest of his life.

565 His action is no exception, but the rule. You
553 will find that every well-to-do man has built his pagoda or his monastery, and is called 'school-builder' or 'pagoda-builder.' These are the only titles the Burman knows, and they always are given most scrupulously. The builder of a bridge, a well,

Menopause: MEE YAT THWAY SONE (Woman Disorder-Blood End). 886●
Daw Aw Zar reached her climacteric at the age of 50. She did not suffer from menopause symptoms, as she had taken the following 757
preventative measures: she ha eaten boiled duck eggs three at a time, and very frequently. Kyauk-Hpayon fruit jam was eaten all the time (since 25 ticals of jam can be offered on the altar and can then be eaten to last for 10 days. Phalaung-taung-hmwe root is thinly sliced, mixed with 25 ticals of palm jaggery, 6 pice worth of the 5 kinds of Hsa-mon seeds, and some salt, brewed together and taken. Also, each about two fingers small, were boiled and eaten with rice. Daw Aw Zar ate all these things until the age of 60.

Smallpox: (Preventatives). The Burmese preventative measure 757
for smallpox consists in rubbing the whole body in horse sweat and drinking mare's milk. The liver of the python is mixed with water and taken internally. Python flesh is also eaten and python skin is burnt and the ash mixed with jaggery (palm sugar) and made into pills to be taken orally. This is quite effective, and even if smallpox does come on later, it only does so in a mild form, as in the case of two of U Myaing's children who had only about 15 pustules each. U Myaing applied the preventatives. He tells us that practioners can shift the location of pustules. A pustule about to appear on the eyes of a child can be shifted elsewhere by using the tongue of the mother.

Medical injections-Vaccination and Cholera. Back in Pantanaw the English vaccinator came around only once in about three years, and consequently the children have been vaccinated only once in their lives. This, however is a service which is rendered free of charge. The youngest child has been vaccinated once here. The same remarks hold true for cholera injections also, except that every one in the family including the adults, have had only one inoculation each in their whole lives.

Cleanliness. For bathing, U Myaing's family uses the hydrant 515
in the camp twice a day. The soap which is used for washing clothes 2%
is also used on the body. In Pantanaw the river was used twice a day, and they had special soap for the body. In the camp clothes are washed every day because of their small number. In one month, the family uses up thirty cakes of soap each worth 2 annas, for bathing and washing. Teeth are cared for by cleaning them every morning with either salt or charcoal. This is true both of Pantanaw and refugee camp. It involves no special cost. In Pantanaw, the water used was water from the stream. This water was very clear, but it was also filtered before being used. In the refugee camp here the water is very clear and is used as it comes from the hydrant

Warts: KATO. The cure for warts is to kill the mother wart by 757
prodding it with some sharp instrument or pinching it away slowly.

An important factor in the health of the family has been the 753
supernatural. Daw Aw Zar was completely serious in informing us 775
that the reason she was in good health at 72 years of age was that she had been good in a previous existence. This idea is apparently tied to the concept of merit acquisition in which the deeds of the present existence add to or subtract from the well being of the future existence. U Myaing states it in this manner:

"The good in this life is because of the meritorious acts in the previous existence."

23: Brant & Mi Mi Khaing E, I-5 (1949-1950)1951
AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

groom's bachelor friends take seats to his rear; the matrons of the bride sit directly behind her. 585

Either a Brahmin or a lay elder, arranged for by the bride's mother, officiates. He recites a paean of praise concerning the merits of the bride and groom and the goodness of their families. The bride and groom are each handed a spray of flowers from the offering bowls and they make obeisance to the guardian spirits of their respective households. With a second spray they make obeisance to their parents and elders. Then a small tray containing fruit and rice is placed before them. The person officiating then places a spoonful of this food first to the bridegroom's, then to the bride's lips. As he does this he makes a statement to the effect that this is the auspicious meal and that he hopes blessing may flow from it.

At this point, a happy and fruitfully married couple from among the oldest people in the community step forward to marry the couple. The left hand of the man is placed on top of the right hand of the girl. Water is poured on their hands thus joined and a silk scarf tied over them as the elderly couple recite words to the effect that they are now united. If there is a Brahmin or professional chanter present he arises and intones a chant of praise for long life. The contents of the bowl of puffed rice and silver (or money) are scattered among the audience and everyone scrambles for them. Now the bride and groom rise and are led to the bridal chamber, across the doorway of which is stretched a golden chain. After the bride has entered, anyone who wishes to do so tries to barricade the doorway and demand money of the groom. He is obliged to pay everyone who makes such demands. This money is known as "stone money," from the old custom, still practiced in some cases, of stoning the house of the couple on the wedding night until paid to desist. This behavior, the taunts and demands that are expressed, has an implied bawdiness about it. Once the couple have entered the bridal chamber others have a right to go in to inspect it. When all have left the chamber there is general feasting. In former times wedding feasts were on a large scale, when every guest was given a present. Today, however, the feast partakes more of the nature of a tea party and only a symbolic gift, usually either a cigar or a fan, is given. [431]

Old Age. Old age, in Burmese thought, is the period after one's children are grown, the "third age" of life. Women are definitely considered to be in old age after the menopause. The terms in Burmese for "old lady" and "old man" are synonymous with grandparent terms, both in address and reference. Sometimes "old mother" is used for "old lady." 886

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AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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1: Mi Mi Khaing I-5 (no date) 1946 AP1 Burma
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CHAPTER NINE

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MEN of my father's generation followed a definite pattern in the stages of their lives. They passed their infancy and early childhood playing around their mother's knee, but as soon as they were capable of receiving spiritual influence and training, the atmosphere of the monastery and the men of religion enwrapt them. Thus their spiritual life began at the monastery. After they left it they spent many stages in the world of offices and money-earning, but none of them could be reconciled to this as the final stage of their lives. They hoped to leave this when they were fifty or soon after, and go back full circle to spending the twilight in the atmosphere of religion, before they went out finally in childish decay to another and better existence. The retirement from the civil service was therefore a very important point in my father's life. The English term "pensioner" has come to be incorporated into popular Burmese usage, as *pin-sin tha-ma*, so full of meaning is it. Most men at this time look about for a town which will ensure easy living and performance of meritorious deeds, in which to settle down. We went back to Thaton because of our family connections, but, as it happened, Thaton was also the most noted town in Burma for the settling of pin-sin tha-mas; it was indeed the pensioner's paradise.

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Thaton is a very old town. From the fifth to the tenth century A.D. it flourished as the centre of a Buddhist kingdom of Talaings, while the greater Burmese capital at Pagan was still without the true faith. There the Burmese King and the people were under the sway of a body of monks called the Aris, whose hypnotic influence was exercised through the practice of ritualistic observances contrary to the teachings of the Buddha and of which they set themselves to be the high priests. To this capital came a Buddhist monk from Thaton called Shin Arahan. He came into the presence of the King with his staff and a simple robe and the stamp of an ascetic life on his face, but also with the serene assurance that a monk's life ennobled any man beyond all other men, for he went up to the throne of the King and sat upon it. King Anawrahta asked, "What is the true teaching of this holy religion, and where can one get its Books?" Shin Arahan then told the King of the Buddhist kingdom of Thaton and the sacred scriptures which were there. The King of Pagan sent messengers to Thaton for copies of the scriptures, but the proud King at Thaton would not yield them. The

Burmese King thereupon went down with an army which succeeded in carrying off King, Clergy and Scriptures from the unfortunate city of Thaton. King Manuha of Thaton languished on a throne seat of bare stone in Pagan, but the religion thrived and blossomed into the grandeur of the thousand pagodas and temples of Pagan, so that even today Burmans can see the white majesty of the Ananda and rejoice in the way their kings received and enshrined their faith. With king and religion transplanted, Thaton fell into a decline, and soon lost her trade also, for the sea coast extended and left Thaton a dry inland town. However, [133] it never lost its reputation as the old seat of religion; its rich geographical features also remained—a soil which can grow rice, fruits and plantations of other crops in abundance; its easy access to the big towns of Moulmein and Rangoon; the Martaban Hills which were ranged behind the town, and over which waterfalls tumbled down to cross the red laterite roads as streams of clear water.

Most pensioners, by the time they retired, had already established some form of livelihood other than the drawing of their pension. My father owned two rubber plantations just outside Thaton, each about 110 acres. Burma is not one of the chief rubber producing areas of the world, but the country round Tenasserim is suitable for rubber-growing and produced the greater part of what was, in 1939, a total of over 22,000,000 lbs. Thaton district contained about 15,628 acres of rubber, between big planters and many small plantations like ours.

My parents started our estates in the form of clearings which they planted with the help of my grandfather in about 1910, before my father became a myook, and were in time to reap the riches of the great boom in the post-war years, when they were selling rubber at Rs. 2/- per lb. and my father bought a motor boat and my mother many diamonds. As a Government servant my father was not allowed to work at any trade, so he handed over the possession of the estates to my mother's sister, our Kyi-Kyi Lon, who all her spinster life has devoted herself to my mother and to us. She worked the estates for us and, in the awful years of the slump that followed, we quite forgot indeed that we owned any such things as rubber plantations, for the only connection which my father ever had with them, the receipt of money from Kyi-Kyi, disappeared completely. In 1935, however, when my father retired, the market for rubber had just begun to stir into being, the Burma Rubber Committee allowed planters like us an annual quota of about 20,000 lbs or two-thirds of our production, which we hoped to sell at roughly as. 7 per lb, and my father was free to work them again. He had no technical knowledge and the minimum amount of business acumen, and I never ceased to wonder how money could come to us in this haphazard way. We

becoming common. Borrowing money is always such a shameful thing 459
to Burmans that highly usurious rates prevail. The minimum rate of these private money-lenders is Re. 1/8 per Rs. 100/- per month, *i.e.* 18% per annum.

But this emphasis on money-making during the retirement period 181
was not pure avariciousness. It was connected with the ability to dis- 593
charge the duties of a parent and a good Buddhist during one's last years, to have sufficient means to settle children in a good marriage, which is one of the duties laid down for a good parent, and to make many donations towards pagodas, resthouses and monasteries, all as a foundation for a rebirth into a better existence.

For men like my father, this last period of their lives was a soft and 887
gentle immersion in the atmosphere which pervaded their childhood in 177
the monastery, and which had been banished into a memory with the years of English education, government posts, courts and litigation, and the rearing of children whose future must be bound up with the obtaining of better government posts.

During these years, my father continued his daily prayers before 887
the altar, but they were short and he said them softly, his feet were shod 788
with shoes and socks, his tourings took him to headmen's houses more often than to monasteries, his evenings were spent in playing tennis in- 593
stead of chinlon, and drinking lime-juice instead of coconut water, and his houses of the regulation pattern were filled with cane furniture made 177, 88
by convicts in jails. What a far cry from the dim light on wooden floors and pillars, the steady chorus of young monks at prayers. My father, who during his working years had encouraged us to eat, laugh and be merry in each present moment, now dismayed us with a sudden conviction of the vanity of all worldly things, towns, society, dress and ornament. We woke up at dawn to the sound of his prayers, and on [741]
most mornings he walked out of the town to the hills where the monasteries and resthouses were gathered; he walked barefoot again with great enjoyment in those quiet grounds, turned aside to supervise the building of a *thein*, a house for the ordination and meditation of monks, which he had persuaded a more wealthy friend to endow. He no longer showered on us de luxe editions of Western encyclopaedias and the collected works of Dickens and Scott as he used to, but bought richly carved book cases and sacred books for the monasteries in Thaton. We no longer ate our meals on chairs, sitting up at a table, but at a low round table on the polished floor. My father sat cross legged, but he could not go back to eating with his fingers, he still used a spoon and fork. At nights we fell asleep to the sound of his prayers and it was like a benediction. Buddhist prayers in Burma consist of two parts: the first is a

long recitation of precepts and lauds, mostly in Pali and not intelligible to the casual ear. The second part, the *hsu-taung*, is the asking for blessings in a formula which asks: "May (my mother) be blessed. May (a married couple) have long life together." My father worked through a list of all his and my mother's relations and connections. Going down in order of seniority he fitted them all into a rhythm and we came to know the place of each in this melodious chant. When we were young we sometimes waited with bated breath for the turn of a relation who had just quarrelled with my parents, but my father never omitted to ask for blessings on him. We loved this part of our parents' prayers. Uncles, first and second cousins whom we did not see for long stretches

of time, were kep familiar in this way. Relationships were prefixed to each name; births, deaths and marriages were registered, the infant cousins added, the newly-dead aunts omitted, and the new niece-at-law joined in a long and happy life to her husband. We loved especially our own place in the litany—my sisters, because they were given their full and correct names by which they were never called, and I, because I was an exception, called even in this formal litany by the affectionate name my parents had for me. "*Tha Maung Sett Kaing*," my father, would chant, "*Tha Maung Sett Kaing, Tha-mi Mamie, Tha-mi Ma Mya Thin, Tha-mi Ma Hin Aye, Tha-mi Ma Myat Kyi:* Son Succeeding and Lasting, Daughter Mamie, Daughter Fragrant Emerald, Daughter Cool as the Dew, Daughter Noble and Clear."

Most of the pensioners lived a similar life to my father's at this time. It was indicative of the contentment of their retired existence that they

never talked about the business of their past working days when they met. Sometimes they showed a fleeting interest in news of the postings of friends still in service, but even the official matters of Thaton district itself did not enter into their discussions. They talked of charity donations, of the respective monasteries which they endowed and attended, and of formulæ of *eggaya-hto*, alchemy, or the search for the philosopher's stone which will turn all metals to gold. Most Burmans get interested in eggaya-hto during their later years, even if few now practise it.

This alchemy, which has no place among the true teachings of Buddhism, has to be done under auspicious astrological influences and is usually carried on in secret. Burman Buddhists condemn the use of it when it is carried on for *lawba*, greed for riches, but others justify the process as a means of concentrating the mental faculties. The common stories tell of hermits in the forests, who by their ascetic life and concentrated meditation have more powers over the forces of nature, as being well versed in the processes of alchemy. When such a hermit achieves the extreme concentration of mind on his task he is successful—the philosopher's stone is discovered, the body of the hermit then disappears in the dissolving of matter, and his spirit is free to live unhampered by the body, till the arrival of the next Buddha on the earth. Most Burmese women, however, although they believe that this happens in the case of hermits, object very strongly to the practice of alchemy on the part of their menfolk, owing to the money and energy that is wasted on seeking out new and expensive formulæ once the craze has got hold of a man. All experiments are started with mercury which is melted with other minerals, animal or vegetable substances which derive their magical properties partly from their inaccessibility, partly from being treated with prescribed rites. My father had no intention of taking up alchemy and impoverishing us, but he too was very interested to hear of the success and failure of various methods. These discussions must have been kept well anchored to reality by the other chief topic of discussion—the families of the pensioners.

The five duties of a parent towards his children include the settling of the child in a good marriage. By the time the a-so-ya mins retire, their sons and daughters have reached a marriageable age. The sons are in the process of winning a good position in one of the government services and their daughters have been dressed with an adequate amount of jewellery. The marriage market, which had no existence in former Burmese society and which still is unheard of in Ye, and among the poorer people, is now a very concrete institution among the educated and modern classes. The rise of the minkadaw class and of higher paid Class I government officials has been mainly responsible for this. More

of their families. The bride and groom are each handed a spray of flowers from the offering bowls and they make obeisance to the guardian spirits of their respective households. With a second spray they make obeisance to their parents and elders. Then a small tray containing fruit and rice is placed before them. The lay elder places a spoonful of this food first to the bridegroom's, then to the bride's lips. As he does this he makes a statement to the effect that this is the auspicious meal and that he hopes blessings may flow from it. 794 585

At this point, a happy and fruitfully married couple from among the oldest people in the community step forward to marry the couple. The left hand of the man is placed on top of the right hand of the girl. Water is poured on their hands thus joined and a silk scarf tied over them as the elderly couple recite words to the effect that they are now united. A chanter arises and intones a song of praise for long life. The contents of the bowl of puffed rice and money are scattered among the audience, and everyone scrambles for them. Now the bride and groom rise and are led to the bridal chamber, across the doorway of which is stretched a golden chain. After the bride has entered, anyone who wishes to do so tries to barricade the doorway and demand money of the groom. He is obliged to pay everyone who makes such demands. This money is known as 'stone money,' from the old custom, still practiced sometimes, of stoning the house of a couple on their wedding night until the bridegroom arises and pays them to desist. This behavior, the taunts and demands that are expressed, has an implied bawdiness about it. Once the couple have entered the bridal chamber, others may go in to inspect it. When all have left the chamber there is a general feast. Usually the feast in Tadagale partakes of the nature of a tea party, since a full scale feast is expensive. Each guest receives a symbolic gift, usually a cigar or a fan.

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An attitude of resignation characterizes the outlook of the aged person. It is unheard of that old people should work. A possible exception would be a village headman, who, it is felt, should be a person of long experience. When aged people live with their children they assume the role of teachers of their grandchildren. Most of the time of elderly people is spent in activities centering around the pagodas and monasteries, organizing of religious festivals, and raising funds for the monks and charities. They often take leading roles in such activities. 887

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to worship. These are the eighth day of the waxing of the moon, full moon day, the eighth day of the waning moon, and a day during the transition to the new moon. The second and fourth of these are considered especially sacred. On these duty days all work in the village ceases and the public school is closed. The people go, usually in family groups, to the monastery. There they say prayers before the images of the Buddha and present gifts to the monks. For a good many, a large portion of the day, after the visit to the monastery, is passed in social visiting and in generally relaxing. For the more devout, usually the elderly people, the duty days are more serious; they abstain from food and drink after midday until the following sunrise, spending the day in silent meditation and prayer. 796 [887]

Ceremonies

Thingyan, the New Year. Throughout the year a number of the Burmese religious festivals are celebrated in Tadagale. We may begin with the New Year festival, which occurs in April, beginning on or about April 13th, according to the determination made by astrologers.

Traditionally, the New Year festival calls for visiting the pagodas and monasteries and washing the images of the Buddha, after which one calls upon his elders and sprinkles them gently with scented water from a silver bowl. The young men of the village go from house to house, dancing and singing to the accompaniment of an orchestra. At each house they sprinkle water on the elders and ask them to call out the young girls. The girls are likewise sprinkled with water by means of a flower carried in the bowls.

In Tadagale today, many of the traditional customs of the New Year are still observed. Preparatory to the holiday, houses are swept and compounds cleared of all refuse. Everything is made clean and orderly. The images of the Buddha are washed, elders are called upon, sprinkled with water, and wished well. But, as in many parts of the country, the New Year festival has tended to take on a rather secularized character in modern times. Water sprinkling has become water throwing; groups of people, especially youngsters, go into the towns in carts or trucks, armed with buckets of water which they throw at passers-by. The name 'Water Festival' which has been given to the New Year celebration is singularly appropriate, since water-throwing and associated hilarity has overshadowed the sacred significance of the occasion. Some villagers go into Rangoon for the celebration, where everyone engages in dousing everyone he encounters (monks excepted), utilizing every means from buckets to large hoses attached to city water hydrants. These activities are in contrast with the traditionally serious, sacred character of the New Year as conceived by older villagers. The schoolmaster of the community, a middle-aged man with many years of religious training, spoke of the New Year: 796 178 527

> Thingyan is the New Year festival, but the villagers do not know the significance of the festival. They know only that it is a feast day and a holiday and a day for having fun. In reality there should be no frivolity on New Year's day; it is a day on which one should fast and pray, for one is now one year older and therefore nearer death. One should meditate on the futility of frivolity as compared with the blessedness of deeds of merit.

Waso, the Buddhist Lent. In July, on the full moon day of the month of Waso, there begins a sacred period of some three months, corresponding closely 796 785

304 The custom is dying out today; but, in the villages, the teen-age boy
562 frequently, on the encouragement of their family submit to the tattoo-
178 ing of a small area on the thigh. These decorations seen when the longyis are wrapped high were regarded as essential and those without them were openly criticised.

[751] A second type of tattooing consisting of potent symbols were, as still are, placed on the inner arm, back, or high forehead as a means of magical protection against harm. Snake, knife, cudgel and bullet proof motifs are common. Young girls frequently have the inner arm tattooed with such a charm.

838 Homo-sexuals are known as MEIN MA SHA ("women-half") and are
826 recognized by their effeminate gestures, "pretty" locks and clothing. They frequently wear THANAKHA face powder, tie their longyis in a simple tucked-in fold, and wear jewelry like the women. They are rare in villages but have banded together into a society in Rangoon. They appear to be tolerated but are scorned.

It is beleived that individuals known as MIN-THE-PON-LAIN-HNEI-PON-LAIN ("Female sex- 2 sexes") exist . These persons are supposed to be alternately a man for one month, and a woman for the following [775] month in a complete process of transformation. Both the MEIN MA SHA and these individuals result from illicit seduction activities in a previous existence - the MEIN MA SHA being the less sinful of the two

792 The PONGYI dress consist of orange cotton cloth - one garment
291 being a longyi with a folled tie at the waist; the other a wide band
293 drapped as a robe. When begging the PONGYIS have a special arrangement of the robe which wraps the left arm and covers the neck region. The nuns wear a robe garment over a longsleeved KINGYI jacket of the same colour. They are frequently seen with a scarf folded on the head. Both orders carry orange-cloth (lacquered) parasols on long bamboo shafts, a string of beads and large palm leaf fans. The Pongyis carry leather bags suspended on a shoulder strap for personal effects. PONGYI slippers have a square toe, are made of stiff leather with reinforced soles.

[887] Religious women (including old women) wear chocolate coloured HTAMEINS, KINGYIS and carry a PONG (a narrow scarf 4 of 5 feet in

23: Brant & Mi Mi Khaing E, I-5 (1949-1950)1951
AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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[622] ception is the village headman, who, it is felt, should be a person of long experience. When aged people live with their children they assume the role of teachers of their grandchildren. Most of the time of elderly people is spent in activities centering around the pagodas and monasteries, organizing of religious festivals, and raising funds for the monks and charities. In fact, they take leading roles in such activities.

The elderly members of the household arise early to see that rice is cooked for the daily offering to the monks and to insure that the household altar is properly looked after. It is preferable for them to arise before dawn, for to do so is considered very meritorious.

[784] Certain of the taboos that apply to younger people, mostly those connected with death, do not apply to the aged.

761 *Death and Funeral Observances.* To the Burmese, the decline of the human body is part of the inevitable course of nature. When this occurs the soul must
[775] leave. The butterfly is the symbol of life: when a person dies, "the butterfly leaves his body."

763 When death approaches, valuables, such as jewelry, are removed from the person and the death-bed, because people are reluctant to use anything with which a person dies. These things are given to the monastery. A relative chants as the person is dying, to fix his mind upon the truths of Buddhism and to divert it from worldly goods and ties of kinship.

764 As soon as death has occurred, everyone present cries and wails. Before rigor mortis sets in, relatives bathe the corpse, using a new water pot for the purpose and pouring the water over the body from foot to head, the opposite direction from that practiced by the living. If the water pot must be refilled at all, this
[801] must be done an odd number of times. The pot is then put outside the house, upside down, and anyone outside the family of the deceased may take it. Then

of their families. The bride and groom are each handed a spray of flowers from the offering bowls and they make obeisance to the guardian spirits of their respective households. With a second spray they make obeisance to their parents and elders. Then a small tray containing fruit and rice is placed before them. The lay elder places a spoonful of this food first to the bridegroom's, then to the bride's lips. As he does this he makes a statement to the effect that this is the auspicious meal and that he hopes blessings may flow from it. 794 585

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The key to high positions lies in education in the high schools and Universities. Family support is necessary for this and the student is constantly aware of his obligation to succeed for their benefit. "One tree can support a thousand birds" illustrate the dependency of the relatives on the successful individual.

In order to succeed one needs each of these three qualities: KAMMA (fate or luck), NYAN (intelligence), and WIRIYA(industriousness The failure of any one can cause the lack of success. Ordinarily, however, KAMMA is blamed in cases of failure - and the other two credited for success. The concept of KAMMA includes merit and demerit compiled in all previous existences. Because of this convenient excuse the true causes of failure are seldom analysed by the individual and he does not have a sense of personal blame or shame. Also social condemnation does not fall heavily on the unsuccessful who has tried and failed. However, one should finish what he starts or not attempt it, "once you start climbing the pole you must reach the top". The individual may not achieve fame or fortune but he is expected to maintain his birth position. His relatives, who suffer shame if he does not, help him. A major contribution of the individual is an advantagous marriage within or above his occupational group.

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What does one strive for, by work, in the Burmese society? Not subsistence, for food is ordinarily cheap and easily attained in the villages. Clothing, shelter and the other necessities of life are also not the objective. The subsistence pattern is simple and essentially homogeneous throughout the village.

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The ordinary head of a household thinks of three major benefits to be gained from wealth. The first and most immediate are jewels to adorn the women of the family. The status of the family is reflected in public by the bangles, necklaces and earrings worn by the ladies. Diamonds are most prized and the size is important. However, most important is that each female be provided with "a set" of jewelry. The wife of the middle and upper status group particularly will prod the husband until he provides these necessities. The women's clothing and also the husbands and his son's must also be the finest they can afford.

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The second urge for wealth arises out of the desire for old age security. Hence gold coins are saved (hidden) against the day when

the husband is too old to work. Aged parents are invariably respected but those who can still support themselves are "worshipped". Parents do not rely on their sons who have their own families to support but feel that their daughters will always "bring them a cup of curry". 461 554 454 888

The third urge is to have wealth to donate to the Buddhist church. This is regarded as a sound investment since it not only brings a most satisfying honour especially in old age (to be a "pagoda giver") but also counts as merit credited to the individual's account in eternity. 461 554 735 775

Competition is keenly felt between individuals and families of the same occupation group or adjacent groups but not between the lower and upper classes. An exception is where family traditional land has changed hands - and hard feelings may persist. A carpenter's family does not envy and covet the riches of a government official's family. His lot is due to KARMA and even if he wished to attain such fortune it would be beyond his abilities. More important, it is not expected of him. So the carpenter is content with cheap jewelry for his women and an occasional gold coin - but the pattern is the same as for the upper class. However among the individuals and families of an occupation level there is much rivalry for the benefits wealth can bring. It is a point of pride to have the largest diamonds at a social function, and to give the biggest pagoda. Wives brag that their husbands "prevent the hairs of their hands from singeing" - that they have servants to cook. Rank and recognition are based on these considerations. 565 477 554 461

The women of the family exert powerful influence in financial matters and are respected for their sound judgement. Women's occupations include cigar manufacturing, pottery making, and especially shop keeping. 461 562 463

The beginning of an enterprise is conditioned by the wisdom of the ancients and especially the date and place which are given by formula in the Burmese calendar. There are YET-RAZA (day king of) "fortunate days" and PYAD-THADA "unlucky days". For example the calendar announces that Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays of a particular month are fortunate days to begin enterprises, and other days either unfortunate or neutral. Rangoon sophisticates (but never villagers) tell such stories as this: Two phongyis travelled by boat; the first boarded the boat on a fortunate day to begin travelling. The next day the boat came to the second phongyi's village. This was an unfortunate 777 461

length) draped over one shoulder. The PUWA, part of the scarf, still draped, is placed on front of the worshipping woman for her head and hands as she bows. The beads, a string about 2 feet long made of black lacquer or of red or white beads about ½ inch in diameter are called SEIK-PA-DEE (count-beads). They are worn about the neck when not in use, and are "counted" by the fingers of one hand. Each bead, thus counted calls to the worshipper's mind a vision of Buddha as she says ARA HAHN (God) in a low voice. While in this dress women do not decorate their hair with flowers or wear jewelry or cosmetiques as such would be unseemly. 792 291 293 [788]

The older men and other religious men (who are gathering alms as members of Buddhist lay societies) wear a loose white robe over a white jacket, white head band, praying bead necklace, and a chocolate coloured scarf draped over one shoulder. The general public must wear their very best clothes for religious festivals but the women do not use cosmetiques. "Rangoon Sabbath" is the term applied to the less strict observations of the town people who may appear with a little THANAKA or other cosmetiques. The marriage dress of the bride is an older form of costume involving use of a long split skirt with cut-flaring jackets. 888● 779 575 291 [369] [779] [292] [585]

The hair styles are important and denote age and sex. Children of both sexes wear their hair in a knot at the top of the head with a fringe of short hair like a bowl below. The older men's style was long hair knotted on one side in the back of the head; except in villages this has been superseded by the western short crop ranging from a long "Pompador" to short "crew cuts" - the latter being rarer and more modern. Old men wear very short cropped hair or are shaven - as the Pongyis and nuns. Maidens wear their hair in elaborately woven tresses - earlier on top of the head in a disc-whorl - now in chain braids at the back of the head. False switches of hair are commonly used. Flowers are used as decoration on all occasions. The usual style for married ladies is a knot at the back of the head wound around a rectangular comb of wood, (common) tortoise shell, ivory or gold. Older and married women sometimes appear in an ancient ceremonial style consisting of the hair wrapped around a fiber cylinder 302 177 369

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The elderly members of the household arise early to see that rice is cooked for the daily offering to the monks and to insure that the household altar is properly looked after. It is preferable for them to arise before dawn, for to do so is considered very meritorious.

[784] Certain of the taboos that apply to younger people, mostly those connected with death, do not apply to the aged.

761 *Death and Funeral Observances.* To the Burmese, the decline of the human body is part of the inevitable course of nature. When this occurs the soul must [775] leave. The butterfly is the symbol of life: when a person dies, "the butterfly leaves his body."

763 When death approaches, valuables, such as jewelry, are removed from the person and the death-bed, because people are reluctant to use anything with which a person dies. These things are given to the monastery. A relative chants as the person is dying, to fix his mind upon the truths of Buddhism and to divert it from worldly goods and ties of kinship.

764 As soon as death has occurred, everyone present cries and wails. Before rigor mortis sets in, relatives bathe the corpse, using a new water pot for the purpose and pouring the water over the body from foot to head, the opposite direction from that practiced by the living. If the water pot must be refilled at all, this [801] must be done an odd number of times. The pot is then put outside the house, upside down, and anyone outside the family of the deceased may take it. Then

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 · AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

161. CHILDREN'S TUBS AT FLOOD-TIME (p. 81)

—the slave, his lordship's humble servant. There are special honorific terms for the coming and going, eating and sleeping of royalty and of the *yahán*. The most coveted titles or appellations are those of *kyaung-tagá*, *Payá-tagá* — founder of a school, founder of a temple. The first of these is given by courtesy to persons of venerable age. The great increase of prosperity has given a corresponding impetus to the founding of such works, so that the *tagá* are more numerous than ever before. The private foundations are on a scale of unprecedented magnificence. At no period has Buddhism shone throughout the land in such resplendence as now. Personal titles and badges (*sahwé*, No. 31) used to be given by the kings. Small dignities and offices have been hereditary in many places. Nevertheless, no aristocracy has developed. One of these titles was *Thakín* (master, lord), now assumed by all Europeans in the same way as "*sahib*" in India. Despite the punctilio in address, greetings are unusual between equals. After absence, a mere "Here you are again" and an inquiry about health—*ma-e-lá?* At departure, "I'm off," "You're going"—*thwa dawmè*. There is nothing answering to the established *salám* or to our "Good day," "Good-bye." The verbal salutation to the *yahán*, after obeisance, is *Gôdaw-mya thappâyá pyippa-e lá*—is your Grace duly provided with the canonical

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162. CARVING OF CHINLON PLAYER (pp. 18, 179)

163. THE PADYA SHRINE (p. 188)

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25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
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431. DECORATING THE THEBONZEDI p. 127.

CHAPTER IX

AGE AND MORTALITY

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432. A DAUGHTER PRAYING HER PARENTS TO NOBO-SAT.

THE men and women of the tropics age and die sooner than those of temperate climates. One meets reputed centenarians in Burma, but it is rarely that the old people can prove their age, unless they are able to connect their year of birth with some historical event. Ninety years is a very great age for a native of Burma to attain. When parents are past their prime their children pray them to *nobo-sat*, which means that they should be at the children's charge for the remainder of their lives, as the children had first been at their parents'. The turning-point is not marked by any formality, but a child approaching parents on a solemn occasion adopts the gesture of veneration. The aged are not idle; they preserve a great elasticity of mind and interest in things;

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25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

433. PAINTING OF KYAITTIYO PILGRIMAGE.

they study their religious books, occupy themselves with their grandchildren, teach them and tell them stories, and make toys for them. They do the light repairs of the house and gear, and when they are too old to go on pilgrimages with the others, they keep the house and tell their beads alone. The veteran can still halt to the shrine on duty-days. Every old man is by courtesy *ludyi*, and every old woman *amèdyi*. The old people wear plainer clothing than the young, and, according to old Burman fashion, less of it. The human dignity of the aged is of a kind that apparel cannot add to. Steeped in the spirit of Buddhism, the aged never yield to anger. Wanting neither for necessaries nor honour, the pathos of their serene old age is purely that of years. A peaceful end is their lot. (See *The Soul of a People*, p. 330.)

And now our Burman is equipped for the final stage. To the dead of whatever degree royal honours are accorded. The body is spoken of as *alaung*, "that which is about to be," to be something of a higher nature, namely, as the dead are spoken of in German as "blessed." The corpse is laid under a white or royal canopy, upon a temporary bier, for one or several days. The body is swathed in grave-clothes, the thumbs and great toes tied together with strips of white cotton cloth, and in the mouth of a lay person is put a gold or silver piece for *kadôga*—ferry-hire. While the body is lying in state, the catafalque (*dalâ*) is being prepared for carrying the bier to the cemetery. The *dalâ* is a tall erection of bamboo and paper, ending in a royal *pyatthat*, gay with colours and tinsel. The corpse is laid in a coffin similarly decorated, which is placed in or over the sarcophagus-shaped part of the *dalâ*. Above the coffin

434. HOME DEVOTIONS OF THE AGED

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
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435. THE VETERAN.

floats a *pasô* or *taméin*, according to the sex of the deceased. Figures of winged *keinnayd* support the coffin. All these preparations are costly, but they are never omitted (except in the case of "unripe" deaths), for if the family of the deceased have not the means, the neighbours contribute. While the *dalâ* is preparing, the relatives and neighbours are entertained in a pavilion erected in front of the house. Music, games, and *pwé* are provided by day and by night to help them to pass the time. The Burman word for funeral is *mathâ*, a sorrowing; and the mourning of the relatives is open and loud. Death is spoken of with bated breath and true solemnity. It is not baldly stated that a person is dead, but that their life has ended. The dead are borne in tender memory. Nevertheless, the incidents of the funeral are so inconsistent with mourning that they receive point in a fable. The python snake with its gigantic size and forbidding aspect looks the king of venomous reptiles. And such, according to the satire, the python used to be. So potent was his venom that if he bit so much as the track of a creature it must die. On one occasion the serpent bit the foot-print of a man who had angered him, and crept to the village to enjoy his revenge. But he found nothing there to betoken sorrow. Music was playing and the people were dancing. This mortified him so that he climbed a lofty tree and spat all his venom forth. The preparation of the catafalque and the entertainment of the funeral guests are costly, but the offerings to the *yahán* are the chief expense. These are what give distinction to the funeral. As many *yahán* of the place and the surrounding country as the family can afford to present offerings to, are invited to precede the bier to the cemetery. The offerings are all of identical nature and value. In the illus-

436. ENTERTAINING THE FUNERAL GUESTS.